

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE «V.PÂRVAN»

D A C I A

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LX

2016



EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

DACIA

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LX

2016

EN SOUVENIR D'ALEXANDRU VULPE

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LX

2016



EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

RÉDACTION

Rédacteur en chef :

EUGEN NICOLAE

Rédacteur en chef adjoint :

CRISTINA-GEORGETA ALEXANDRESCU

Collège de rédaction :

MARIA ALEXANDRESCU VIANU (Bucarest), ALEXANDRU AVRAM (Le Mans), DOUGLASS W. BAILEY (San Francisco), MIHAI BĂRBULESCU (Cluj-Napoca), PIERRE DUPONT (Lyon), SVEND HANSEN (Berlin), ANTHONY HARDING (Exeter), RADU HARHOIU (Bucarest), ATTILA LÁSZLÓ (Iași), SILVIA MARINESCU-BÎLCU (Bucarest), MONICA MĂRGINEANU-CÂRSTOIU (Bucarest), VIRGIL MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA (Iași), JEAN-PAUL MOREL (Aix-en-Provence), CONSTANTIN C. PETOLESCU (Bucarest) IOAN PISO (Cluj-Napoca), CLAUDE RAPIN (Aix-en-Provence), WOLFRAM SCHIER (Berlin), VICTOR SPINEI (Iași)

Comité de rédaction :

IRINA ACHIM, IULIAN BÎRZESCU, ADINA BORONEANȚ, ANDREI MĂGUREANU, ALEXANDRU NICULESCU, LIANA OȚA, ADRIANA PANAITTE, ANCA DIANA POPESCU, DANIEL SPÂNU, AUREL VÎLCU

Secrétaire de rédaction : RALUCA KOGĂLNICEANU

Rédaction éditoriale : OLGA DUMITRU, ANA BOROȘ

Informatique éditoriale : OFELIA COȘMAN

Toute commande sera adressée à :

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE, Calea 13 Septembrie nr. 13, sector 5, 050711, București, România ;
Tél. 4021-318 8146, 4021-318 8106, Fax 4021-318 2444, E-mail : edacad@ear.ro

ORION PRESS IMPEX 2000 S.R.L., P. O. Box 77-19, sector 3, București, România ; Tél./Fax : 4021-610 6765,
4021-210 6787, Tél. 0311 044 668, E-mail : office@orionpress.ro

S.C. MANPRESS DISTRIBUTION S.R.L., Piața Presei Libere, nr. 1, Corp B, Etaj 3, Cam. 301-302, sector 1,
București, Tel.: 4021 314 63 39, fax: 4021 314 63 39, E-mail: abonamente@manpress.ro, office@manpress.ro,
www.manpress.ro

SORIRORI SOLUTIONS, Tel.: 0040765262077, 0040765166433; Internet: <http://www.sorirori.ro>; E-mail:
sorin.costreie@sorirori.ro, rosana.guta@sorirori.ro

Les manuscrits et les périodiques proposés en échange, ainsi que toute correspondance seront adressés à la Rédaction : Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », 11, rue H. Coandă, 010667 Bucarest, Roumanie, Tél./Fax 4021 212 88 62, E-mail : iab.redactie@gmail.com



© 2017, EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

www.ear.ro

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE «VASILE PÂRVAN»

DACIA LX, 2016

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE
JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ARCHÄOLOGIE UND GESCHICHTE DES ALTERTUMS
ЖУРНАЛ АРХЕОЛОГИИ И ДРЕВНЕЙ ИСТОРИИ

SOMMAIRE
CONTENTS
I N H A L T

En souvenir d'Alexandru Vulpe (16 juin 1931 - 9 février 2016).....	7
<i>ÉTUDES</i>	
SVEND HANSEN, Kupferzeitliche Marmorobjekte aus Măgura Gorgana bei Pietrele an der Unteren Donau	17
CRISTIAN EDUARD ȘTEFAN, Playing with clay: anthropomorphic figurines from Șoimuș – <i>La Avicola (Ferma 2)</i> , Hunedoara County.....	31
GABRIEL BĂLAN, COLIN P. QUINN, GREGORY HODGINS, The Wietenberg culture: periodization and chronology.....	67
OLIVER DIETRICH, Tekirdağ und Troja. Zur Verbreitungsgrenze südosteuropäischer Tüllenbeile in der Türkei	93
ZOE PETRE, <i>Thucydides Mythistoricus</i>	103
JULIAN GALLEGO, La politique, une invention humaine ou divine ? La pensée de Protagoras et le regard platonicien.....	111
AUREL VÎLCU, EUGEN NICOLAE, Aspects de la diffusion des monnaies d'argent istriennes au nord du Danube à la lumière du trésor découvert à Ivancea.....	121
IULIAN BÎRZESCU, Das Perirrhanterion aus dem Tempel M von Histria	129
FLORINA PANAIT BÎRZESCU, The sons of Istros and the classical silver coins of Histria.....	137
STELUȚA MARIN, VIRGIL IONIȚĂ, Pseudo-autonomous coins minted at Callatis	147
ALEXANDRU AVRAM, OCTAVIAN MITROI, Un fragment de cadran solaire d'époque impériale découvert à Tomis	173
MIHAI BĂRBULESCU, Le mobilier et la vaisselle représentés sur les monuments funéraires de Dacie.....	183
ADRIANA PANAIT, CARMEN MIU (BEM), Roman roads identified on aerial and satellite images within the territory of the city of Tropaeum Traiani (Moesia Inferior).....	201
LUCREȚIU MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Le témoignage épigraphique des <i>villae</i> en Mésie Inférieure : remarques sur les propriétaires et sur le personnel administratif.....	221
DANIEL SPÂNU, MIHAI DIMA, ALIN FRÎNCULEASA, The Mălăieștii de Jos (Prahova County) silver craftsman's hoard from the end of the 3rd century AD.....	237
STEFFEN KRAUS, ERNST PERNICKA, Chemical analyses on Roman coins and silver objects from the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard, Romania	275
<i>NOTES ET DISCUSSIONS</i>	
ATTILA LÁSZLÓ, Cui bono? Thoughts about a "reconsideration" of the Tărtăria tablets.....	281
JEREMY M. HUTTON, NATHANIEL E. GREENE, A note on the Aramaic text of the bilingual Guras inscription (PAT 0251 = CIL III 3.7999 = CIS 3906).....	293

CONSTANTIN C. PETOLESCU, MIHAI POPESCU, Une contribution à PIR ² , P 926 : <i>C. Prastina Messalinus</i>	301
GHEORGHE ALEXANDRU NICULESCU, On Florin Curta's attack.....	307
VIRGIL MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Numismatics and other sciences.....	329

COMPTE RENDUS

<i>Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure</i> , volume IV, Tropaeum - Durostorum - <i>Axiopolis</i> , recueillies, traduites et accompagnées de commentaires et d'index par Emilian Popescu, Editura Academiei Române, București - Editura Basilica, București - Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 2015, 412 pages, 17 planches avec photos des inscriptions. (<i>Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba</i>).....	335
--	-----

IN MEMORIAM

Ion-Șerban Motzoi-Chicideanu (9. Dezember 1943 - 8. Oktober 2016) (<i>Nikolaus Boroffka</i>)	341
--	-----

<i>ABRÉVIATIONS</i>	349
---------------------------	-----



EN SOUVENIR D'ALEXANDRU VULPE

(16 juin 1931- 9 février 2016)

C'est l'étude de l'Antiquité qui fut à l'origine du parcours scientifique d'Alexandru Vulpe, dans les années 1950. Descendant d'une famille d'archéologues formés à l'école de Vasile Pârvan, élève de D.M. Pippidi et d'Ion Nestor, Alexandru Vulpe se penche très tôt sur l'étude des âges du bronze et du fer. Son immense curiosité, son esprit savant et sa solide formation lui ont permis d'approfondir des thèmes assez divers concernant la préhistoire et la protohistoire de l'espace roumain et balkanique mais aussi du bassin de la mer Noire. Ses contributions proposent de nouvelles interprétations sur l'âge du bronze et l'âge du fer en Roumanie, l'histoire des Thraces et des Illyriens, la géographie et les géographes de l'Antiquité, l'histoire des Odryses, les sources littéraires antiques liées à l'histoire ancienne de l'espace roumain, l'histoire et l'archéologie des Cimmériens. La maturité du savant s'exprime pleinement dans les pages du *Traité d'Histoire des Roumains* (le premier volume, paru en 2001, seconde édition - 2010), dont il fut coordinateur et co-auteur. C'est un modèle d'étude éventuellement contestable, mais reconnu et nécessaire en l'absence des synthèses archéologiques plus poussées.

Diplômé de l'Université de Bucarest (en 1954), docteur de la même université (en 1968), chercheur intégré à l'équipe de l'Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » depuis 1965, directeur de l'institut à partir de 1999 jusqu'à sa disparition, en février 2016, Alexandru Vulpe est devenu l'une des figures incontournables de l'archéologie roumaine. Leader d'équipe, responsable des fouilles de Ferigile,

DACIA N.S., tome LX, Bucarest, 2016, p. 7-15

Popești, Costișa, Tigveni, Susani, Rotbav, Ceparî, Rudeni, il a fait constamment preuve d'une exquise affabilité envers ses jeunes collègues, qu'il accueillait habituellement chez soi, dans la bibliothèque, voire dans son salon, à ses soirées musicales ou pour s'entretenir en partageant une collation.

En remontant le temps, on retrouve le savant dans le collège de rédaction de la prestigieuse revue américaine *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* (Mc Lean, Virginia, à partir de 1973) ou bien dans le Conseil permanent de l'Union Internationale des Sciences Pré- et Protohistoriques (UISPP, membre ordinaire depuis 1976, membre du Comité Exécutif à partir de 1991). Toujours en 1976, il a été désigné membre correspondant du Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, une reconnaissance à la mesure de sa valeur.

Sa solide éducation et ses connaissances d'allemand lui ont permis, en dépit de la politique isolationniste du régime communiste, de mener une intense activité de *visiting professor* ou de conférencier dans différentes universités d'Allemagne, telles que Francfort, Marburg, Berlin, Heidelberg, Münster, Saarbrücken et Bonn. Ses rapports furent toujours vivants et féconds avec le groupement de recherche de la Römisch-Germanische Kommission et de sa publication, *Germania*, ou avec celui de la Freie Universität Berlin, d'où émane le *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*.

Sa carrière scientifique, construite avec méticulosité, fut jalonnée par une intense activité universitaire. D'abord professeur associé à la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest (entre 1990 et 1994), il fut par la suite professeur titulaire de ce prestigieux établissement académique. Il a été l'homme qui a su présenter passionnément à plusieurs générations d'étudiants l'œuvre d'Hérodote et faire revivre, à travers ses brillants cours de licence, de maîtrise ou d'études approfondies, la préhistoire du territoire roumain et l'histoire des Cimmériens. Sous sa direction, plus d'une vingtaine d'étudiants en thèse ont obtenu le titre de docteur en histoire à l'Université de Bucarest.

Plus de 50 ans d'activité dans le champ des sciences historiques confèrent au destin scientifique d'Alexandru Vulpe une substance particulière, qui, par l'avantage de la longévité, a permis au savant de vivre le moment de la reconnaissance publique de ses mérites académiques dans son propre pays. Les hommages affluèrent après 1990 et surtout durant les deux dernières décennies de sa vie. Ainsi, il a été élu membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine en 1996. En 2000, le Président de la République l'a décoré de l'Ordre national « Steaua României » en grade de commandeur. En 2007, il devient membre d'honneur de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Iași et reçoit le titre de *Doctor honoris causa* de l'Université de Timișoara. Deux ans plus tard, en 2009, il est élu membre titulaire de l'Académie Roumaine et on lui confia la Présidence de la Section des sciences historiques et d'archéologie.

Son discours de réception à l'Académie Roumaine, prononcé le 15 mai 2013, en dit long sur son érudition et sur l'envergure de sa vision de l'histoire et de l'archéologie. À travers les lignes chargées de sève de ce discours, intitulé *Histoire et archéologie ou Archéologie et histoire : le Premier Âge du fer en Roumanie*, il révèle une espèce de contrepoint triomphant dans son destin professionnel : à l'origine un historien à jamais attaché à la mémoire de son maître, D.M. Pippidi, métamorphosé subtilement, presque à son insu, en archéologue. Un aveu sert de conclusion à ce texte, exprimant un esprit lucide et sincère : « Je désirais et j'espérais être, avant tout, historien et je suis devenu ce que je ne voulais pas, archéologue. »

Derrière l'image du savant, les collègues, les élèves et les amis gardent dans l'esprit l'image de l'homme passionné pour les classiques grecs, qu'il lisait en original, d'un fidèle lecteur du texte du Nouveau Testament, de celui qui aimait follement la montagne, du mélomane, fervent admirateur de la musique de Wagner, étant attiré par l'énergie et le mysticisme de ce compositeur.

Quand le rideau est tombé, à la sourdine, Alexandru Vulpe est parti chercher son repos éternel dans un lieu chargé d'histoire de la capitale, un endroit imprégné de la mémoire culturelle de son pays. La communauté scientifique lui rend hommage dans les pages qui suivent.

PUBLICATIONS MARQUANTES

Volumes d'auteur

1. *Necropola hallstattiană de la Ferigile. Monografie arheologică*, Biblioteca de Arheologie 11, București, 1967.
2. *Die Äxte und Beile in Rumänien I*, PBF IX, 2, München, 1970 (ouvrage distingué au Prix « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie Roumaine en 1974).
3. *Die Äxte und Beile in Rumänien II*, PBF IX, 5, München, 1975.
4. *Die Kurzschwerter, Dolche und Streitmesser der Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, PBF VI, 9, München, 1990.

Volumes en collaboration

5. *Istoria Românilor I. Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, București, 2002 (coordinateur, avec M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița; le chapitre introductif, chapitres III-V et partiellement le chapitre VIII).
6. *Geto-Dacii în istoria militară a lumii antice*, București, 1987 (en collaboration avec M. Zahariade; chapitres I, II, III, VI).
7. *Dacia înainte de Dromihete*, București, 1988 (en collaboration avec V. Dumitrescu; chapitre V: *Istoria și civilizația Daciei în secolele IX-IV î.e.n.*); avec versions en allemand (1983) et anglais (1988).

Articles

8. *Depozitul de la Tufa și topoarele cu ceafa cilindrică*, SCIV 10, 1959, 2, p. 265-276.
9. *Cimitir din prima epocă a fierului la Ferigele (r. Horezu, reg. Pitești)*, MCA 5, 1959, p. 363-372.
10. *Săpăturile de la Costești - Ferigele (r. Horezu, reg. Pitești)*, MCA 6, 1959, p. 237-249.
11. *Voprosy v svjazi s koncom ranneželeznoogo veka v svete raskopok v Feridzele*, Dacia N.S. 4, 1960, p. 181-199.
12. *K voprosu o periodizacii bronzovego veka v Moldove*, Dacia N.S. 5, 1961, p. 105-122.
13. *Descoperiri arheologice pe cursul mijlociu al Siretului (Sondajele de la Mîndrișca și Răcăciuni, reg. Bacău)*, ArhMold 1, 1961, p. 65-80.
14. *Săpăturile de la Ferigele*, MCA 7, 1961, p. 219-225.
15. *Sălașul hallstattian de la Novaci (r. Drăgănești-Vlașca, reg. București)*, MCA 8, 1962, p. 359-368.
16. *Săpăturile de la Costișa (r. Buhuși, reg. Bacău)*, MCA 8, 1962, p. 309-316 (en collaboration avec M. Zamoșteanu).
17. *Traci și iliri la sfârșitul primei epoci a fierului în Oltenia*, SCIV 13, 1962, 2, p. 307-324.
18. *Nackenscheibenäxte aus der Moldau*, Dacia N.S. 7, 1963, p. 511-516.
19. *Cu privire la unele topoare de aramă și bronz din Moldova*, ArhMold 2-3, 1964, p. 127-141.
20. *Ptolemy and the ancient geography of Moldavia*, StCl 6, 1964, p. 233-246.
21. *Cu privire la cronologia topoarelor de aramă cu brațele „în cruce”*, SCIV 15, 1964, 4, p. 457-466.
22. *Les phases de la civilisation de Tei à la lumière des fouilles de Novaci*, Dacia N.S. 8, 1964, p. 319-330.
23. *Reprezentări umane pe cupele getice de la Popești*, SCIV 16, 1965, 2, p. 341-351.
24. *Zur mittleren Hallstattzeit in Rumänien (die Basarabi-Kultur)*, Dacia N.S. 9, 1965, p. 105-132.
25. *Necropola tumulară de la Milostea*, RevMuz 3, 1966, 2, p. 148-155 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
26. *Date noi privind periodizarea culturii Tei și cunoașterea culturii Basarabi (Săpăturile de la Novaci, 1961)*, SCIV 18, 1967, 1, p. 83-112 (en collaboration avec V. Veselovski-Bușilă).
27. *Un nou depozit de topoare la Ostrovul Corbului*, SCIV 19, 1968, 3, p. 505-511 (en collaboration avec M. Davidescu).
28. *Date noi privind grupul Ferigile în Argeș*, StComPitești 1, 1968, p. 23-31 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
29. *Bronzuri inedite din Maramureș în colecția prof. Francisc Nistor din Sighetul Marmației*, SCIV 20, 1969, 2, p. 181-194 (en collaboration avec F. Nistor).
30. *Cu privire la topoarele de metal cu gaură de înmănușare transversală*, SCIV 21, 1970, 3, p. 417-427 (en collaboration avec E. Tudor).
31. *Depozitul de brățări de bronz de la Vadul-Izei*, SCIV 21, 1970, 4, p. 623-631 (en collaboration avec F. Nistor).
32. *Gemeinsame Elemente der späthallstattzeitlichen Gruppen im Donau-Karpatenraum*, dans J. Filip (éd.), *Actes du VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, Prague 21-27 août 1966*, Praga, 1971, p. 880-885.

33. *Metode matematice de cercetare în arheologie*, dans *Metode noi și probleme de perspectivă ale cercetării științifice*, București, 1971, p. 132-136.
34. *Cu privire la sistemul cronologic al lui B. Hänsel pentru epoca mijlocie a bronzului*, SCIV 22, 1971, 2, p. 301-312.
35. *Toporul de bronz cu două tășuri de la Izvoarele (jud. Ilfov)*, SCIV 22, 1971, 3, p. 485-489.
36. *Topoare de aramă în muzeul din Dej*, SCIV 22, 1971, 4, p. 651-654 (en collaboration avec F. Gavrilescu).
37. *Une tombe isolé de l'époque de Latène à Răcătău*, Apulum 9, 1971, p. 155-164 (en collaboration avec V. Căpitanu).
38. *Archäologische Forschungen und historische Betrachtungen über das 7. bis 5. Jh. im Donau-Karpatenraum*, MemAnt 2, 1970, p. 115-213.
39. *Contribution à la connaissance des débuts de la culture géto-dacique dans la zone subcarpatique Vilcea-Argeș (La nécropole tumulaire de Tigveni)*, Dacia N.S. 16, 1972, p. 75-111 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
40. *Observații privitoare la analiza antropologică a osemintelor incinerate din mormintele hallstattiene de la Ferigile*, Buridava 1, 1972, p. 269-272.
41. *Începuturile metalurgiei aramei în spațiul carpato-dunărean*, SCIV 24, 1973, 2, p. 217-237.
42. *Cetatea dacică de la Polovragi*, Drobeta 1, 1974, p. 141-145 (en collaboration avec V. Veselovski-Bușilă).
43. *Depozitul de bronzuri de la Crăciunești (Maramureș)*, SCIV 25, 1974, 1, p. 5-18 (en collaboration avec F. Nistor).
44. *The Cultural Unity of the North-Thracian Tribes in the Balkano-Carpathian-Hallstatt*, JIES 2, 1974, 1, p. 1-21.
45. *Puncte de vedere cu privire la unele descoperiri din Hallstattul mijlociu la Dunărea sîrbească*, Oltenia 1, 1974, p. 25-28.
46. *Probleme actuale privind metalurgia aramei și a bronzului în epoca bronzului în România*, RI 27, 1974, 2, p. 243-255.
47. *Einige Bemerkungen über die mittlere und die späte Bronzezeit im Norden Rumäniens*, Dacia N.S. 19, 1975, p. 69-76.
48. *Nouveaux points de vue sur la civilisation géto-dace: l'apport de l'archéologie*, Dacia N.S. 20, 1976, p. 19-21.
49. *Bols à reliefs de Popești*, Dacia N.S. 20, 1976, p. 167-198 (en collaboration avec M. Gheorghită).
50. *La nécropole tumulaire gète de Popești*, Thraco-Dacica 1, 1976, p. 193-215.
51. *Une contribution archéologique à l'étude de la religion des Gêto-Daces*, Thraco-Dacica 1, 1976, p. 217-226 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
52. *Zu den Anfängen der Kupfer- und Bronzemetallurgie in Rumänien*, dans *Les Débuts de la Métallurgie, IXe Congrès du UISPP, Colloque XXIII*, Nice, 1976, p. 134-175.
53. *Contribuții la studiul cupelor cu decor în relief getice de la Popești, jud. Ilfov*, MN 3, 1976, p. 97-99 (en collaboration avec M. Gheorghită).
54. *Der Hügel von Susani*, PZ 52, 1977, 1, p. 28-60 (en collaboration avec I. Stratan).
55. *Zur Chronologie der Ferigile-Gruppe*, Dacia N.S. 21, 1977, p. 81-112.
56. *Kritische Anmerkungen zu den karpatenländischen Kulturzeugnissen der Altbronzezeit*, Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt/Main, 1977, p. 101-111.
57. *Aspects significatifs dans l'histoire et la culture des gèto-daces*, RÉSEE 16, 1978, 4, p. 619-631.
58. *Puncte de vedere privind istoria Daciei preromane*, RI 32, 12, 1979, p. 2261-2284.
59. *Cu privire la cronologia grupului cultural Ferigile*, Danubius 8-9, 1979, p. 93-122.
60. *Șantierul arheologic Popești, com. Mihăilești, jud. Ilfov. Raport preliminar asupra rezultatelor din campania anilor 1976-1977*, CA 3, 1979, p. 95-104 (en collaboration avec M. Gheorghită).
61. *Points de vue sur l'histoire et la culture des Gêto-Daces avant Burebista*, dans *Actes du deuxième Symposium International de Thracologie, Rome, 12-15 novembre 1979*, Milano, 1980, p. 43-55.
62. *Problèmes actuels de la protohistoire thrace*, dans *Actes du II^e Congrès International de Thracologie (Bucarest, 4-10 septembre 1976)*, București, 1980, p. 215-221.
63. *Sur la culture des Gêto-Daces de la zone sous-carpathique: la nécropole de Cepari*, dans *Actes du II^e Congrès International de Thracologie (Bucarest, 4-10 septembre 1976)*, București, 1980, p. 259-265 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
64. *Geto-dacii ca unitate etno-istorică în lumea tracă*, SCIVA 31, 1980, 1, p. 5-11.
65. *Zur Frühbronzezeit in Mittelrumänien*, dans H. Lorenz (éd.), *Studien zur Bronzezeit, Festschrift für Wilhelm Albert v. Brunn*, Mainz/Rhein, 1981, p. 489-496.
66. *Zur Definition und Verbreitung der Basarabi-Kultur*, dans P. Medović (éd.), *Die ältere Eisenzeit in der Wojwodina und ihre Verbreitungen mit anderen donauländischen und benachbarten Gebieten*, Materijali 19, Novi Sad, 1981, p. 179-189.
67. *Șantierul arheologic Popești-Mihăilești, jud. Giurgiu. Raport preliminar asupra rezultatelor din campaniile anilor 1978-1979*, CA 4, 1981, p. 58-65 (en collaboration avec M. Gheorghită).
68. *Cercetări arheologice în raza comunei Năeni (Buzău)*, SCIVA 32, 1981, 2, p. 171-193 (en collaboration avec V. Drâmbocianu).

69. *Beitrag zu den bronzezeitlichen Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Rumänien und Griechenland*, dans B. Hänsel (éd.), *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 v.Chr.*, PAS 1, Berlin, 1982, p. 321-328.
70. *Nouvelles découvertes du type Ferigile*, Dacia N.S. 26, 1982, p. 77-114 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
71. *Ein reichverzierter Bronzedolch aus der Moldau*, Thraco-Dacica 3, 1982, p. 118-120 (en collaboration avec M. Zamoșteanu).
72. *Le tumulus thrace de Susani (contribution à la connaissance du Hallstatt ancien en Banat)*, dans *Le monde thrace, Actes du II. Congrès International de Thracologie, Bucharest 1976*, Paris - Rome - Montreal, 1982, p. 222-231 (en collaboration avec I. Stratan).
73. *Pe marginea a trei cărți noi despre traci și sciți*, Istros 2-3, 1983, p. 115-144.
74. *Der hallstattzeitliche Depotfund von Bistrița, Jud. Vâlcea, Rumänien*, PZ 58, 1983, 1, p. 127-140 (en collaboration avec Gh. Petre).
75. *Pe marginea unor noi descoperiri din bronzul timpuriu*, SCIVA 34, 1983, 1, p. 71-75.
76. *Descoperirile hallstattiene din zona Aiudului*, Thraco-Dacica 5, 1984, p. 36-63.
77. *Spada de la Marvila*, MemAnt 9-11, 1977-1979 (1985), p. 497-502 (en collaboration avec V. Căpitanu).
78. *Mărturii despre geto-dacii din Subcarpații Meridionali din secolele VII-V î.e.n.*, dans *Documente recent descoperite și informații arheologice*, București, 1985, p. 12-23.
79. *Der Goldschatz von Rădeni, Jud. Neamț, in der Westmoldau, Rumänien*, PZ 60, 1985, 1, p. 47-69 (en collaboration avec V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba).
80. *The North Thracian goldsmiths at the end of the Bronze Age in the light of some recent discoveries*, dans *The Bronze Age in the Thracian lands and beyond, International Thracian conference, Boston, 7-10 June 1984*, Milano, 1986, p. 299-308.
81. *Zur Entstehung der geto-dakischen Zivilisation. Die Basarabikultur*, Dacia N.S. 30, 1986, p. 49-89.
82. *Limita de vest a Sciției la Herodot*, StCl 24, 1986, p. 33-43.
83. *Primele mențiuni antice despre geto-daci în lumina unei analize istorico-arheologice*, RI 39, 1986, 9, p. 825-834.
84. *Les plus anciens témoignages sur les Thraces du Nord (Point de vue historique et archéologique)*, RÉSEE 24, 1986, 4, p. 333-342.
85. *Despre unele aspecte ale spiritualității dacice*, Thraco-Dacica 7, 1986, p. 101-111.
86. *Tezaurul de la Rădeni-Neamț*, MemAnt 12-14, 1980-1982 (1986), p. 41-63 (en collaboration avec V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba).
87. *Săpăturile arheologice din stațiunea getică de la Popești, com. Mihăilești, jud. Giurgiu, 1980-1981 și 1983*, CA 8, 1986, p. 43-52 (en collaboration avec M. Gheorghîță).
88. *Despre cele mai vechi akinakai pe teritoriul României*, ActaMP 11, 1987, p. 83-89.
89. *Die Geto-Daker. Geschichte eines Jahrtausends vor Burebista*, Dacia N.S. 31, 1987, p. 77-86.
90. *Arta aurului la traci nordici în concepția lui Vasile Pârvan*, ArhMold 11, 1987, p. 21-25.
91. *Das vorrömische Dakien. Ein geographisch-historischer Überblick*, MitteilungenBerlin 8, 1987, p. 70-80.
92. *Varia archaeologica (I)*, Thraco-Dacica 8, 1987, p. 117-191.
93. *Varia archaeologica (II)*, Thraco-Dacica 9, 1988, p. 207-217.
94. *Zum Problem der latènezeitlichen Höhenanlagen in den Südkarpaten*, SlovArch 36, 1988, 1, p. 241-250.
95. *Cu privire la agatirși*, SympThrac 7, 1989, p. 62-70.
96. *Neue Bronzefunde aus Transilvanien*, Dacia N.S. 33, 1989, p. 235-246 (en collaboration avec V. Lazăr).
97. *Archäologische und schriftliche Quellen über die Gründung der Stadt Istros und ihre Bedeutung für die Chronologie der donaukarpartischen Hallstattzeit*, dans *Akten des XIII internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988, Mainz, 1990*, p. 600-601.
98. *Neue Beiträge zur Chronologie und kulturellen Gliederung der Frühbronzezeit im unteren Donaugebiet*, Starinar 40-41, 1989-1990 (1991), p. 105-111.
99. *Depozitul de bronzuri de la Gioseni*, Carpica 20, 1989 (1991), p. 69-81 (en collaboration avec V. Căpitanu).
100. *Die Westgrenze Skythiens bei Herodot*, Thracia Pontica 4, Sozopol 6-12 October 1988, Sofia, 1991, p. 177-196.
101. *Necropola de tip Ferigile de la Rudeni, jud. Argeș*, MCA 17-I (A XVII-a Sesiune Anuală de Rapoarte, Ploiești, 1983, Partea I), 1992, p. 109-113 (en collaboration avec E. Popescu).
102. *Depozitul de vase ceramice de la Bistrița (Vâlcea)*, AO 9, 1994, p. 25-41 (en collaboration avec Gh. Petre).
103. *Der Schatz von Perșinari in Südrumänien*, dans A. Jockenhövel (éd.), *Festschrift für Hermann Müller-Karpe zum 70. Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1995, p. 43-62.
104. *Zur Deutung und Datierung des Hügels von Susani im Banat*, dans B. Schmid-Sikimić, Ph. Della Casa (éds.), *Trans Europam. Beiträge zur Bronze- und Eisenzeit zwischen Atlantik und Altai, Festschrift für Margarita Primas*, Bonn, 1995, p. 81-87.

105. *Der Hortfund von Gioseni, Kr. Bacău, in der Moldau*, dans T. Soroceanu (éd.), *Bronzefunde aus Rumänien*, PAS 10, Berlin, 1995, p. 237-245 (en collaboration avec V. Căpitanu).
106. *Stand und Aufgaben der Urnenfelderforschung im Karpatenraum*, dans *Beiträge zur Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*, MonographRGZM 35, Mainz, 1995, p. 389-397.
107. *Epoca bronzului în spațiul carpato-dunărean / The Bronze Age in the Carpatho-Danubian region. General view*, dans *Comori ale epocii bronzului din România / Treasure of the Bronze Age in Romania*, București, 1995, p. 24-30.
108. *Deponierungen, Opferstätten und Symbolgut im Karpatengebiet*, dans P. Schauer (éd.), *Archäologische Forschungen zum Kultgeschehen in der jüngeren Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas. Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums in Regensburg 4.-7. Oktober 1993*, Bonn, 1996, p. 517-533.
109. *Spațiul egeo-anatolian și Europa sud-estică în lumina unei revizuirii a cronologiei epocii bronzului*, MSSIA IV, 21, 1996 (1997), p. 33-47.
110. *Die Nackenscheibenaxt von Bogata in Mittelsiebenbürgen (Rumänien)*, dans C. Becker, M.-L. Dunkelmann, C. Metzner-Nebelsick, H. Peter-Röcher, M. Roeder, B. Teržan (éds.), *Chronos. Beiträge zur prähistorischen Archäologie zwischen Nord- und Südosteuropa, Festschrift für Bernhard Hänsel*, Espelkamp, 1997, p. 303-311 (en collaboration avec V. Lazăr).
111. *Tezaurul de la Perșinari. O nouă prezentare*, CCDJ 15, 1997, p. 265-301.
112. *En Marge de PsScymnus 766-770/Comentariu la PsScymnus 766-770*, dans *Premier Âge du Fer aux bouches du Danube et dans les régions autour de la Mer Noire / Prima epocă a fierului la gurile Dunării și în zonele circumpontice*, Tulcea, 1997, p. 181-191.
113. *Săpăturile de la Popești. Prezentarea campaniilor 1988-1993*, CA 10, 1997, p. 163-172.
114. *Les chapitres La cultura Basarabi et Il tardo Hallstatt e l'inizio della seconda età del ferro*, dans *I Daci*, Milano, 1997, p. 23-39.
115. *Considerații privind începutul și definirea perioadei timpurii a epocii bronzului în România*, dans M. Cihă, V. Nistor, D. Zaharia (éds.), *Timpul Istoriei I. Memorie și patrimoniu, In honorem emeritae Ligiae Bârză*, București, 1998, p. 37-50.
116. *Geto-Dacii?*, CICSA 1-2, 1998, p. 2-11.
117. *The Legacy of Ancient Times*, dans D.C. Giurescu, S. Fischer-Galați (éds.), *Romania. A Historic Perspective*, New York, 1998, p. 3-43.
118. *Toporul de bronz de la Gostinu (județul Giurgiu)*, BMTAGiurgiu 2-4, 1996-1998, p. 123-128.
119. *Storia e civiltà della Dacia preromana*, dans G. Arbore Popescu (éd.), *Traiano ai confini dell'Impero*, Milano, 1998, p. 103-108.
120. *Zu Trogus. Prol. XXXII. Ein archäologischer Beitrag*, dans M.R. Vasić (éd.), *Le Djerdap. Les Portes de Fer à la deuxième moitié du premier millénaire av. J.Ch. jusqu'aux guerres daciques, Kolloquium in Kladovo - Drobeta-Turnu Severin (September - Oktober 1998)*, Beograd, 1999, p. 15-17.
121. *Despre un pasaj din Istoriile Filipice ale lui Pompeius Trogus, Prologus XXXII. O contribuție arheologică*, MSSIA IV, 23, 1998 (2000), p. 181-187.
122. *Din nou despre geografia antică a Moldovei la vest de Prut*, dans T. Teoteoi, B. Murgescu, Ș. Solcan (éds.), *Fațetele istoriei. Existențe, identități, dinamici. Omagiu academicianului Ștefan Ștefănescu*, București, 2000, p. 407-419.
123. *Autour de la fondation du Royaume Odyse*, dans A. Avram, M. Babeș (éds.), *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques. Hommage à Petre Alexandrescu à son 70^e anniversaire*, Bucarest, 2000, p. 76-82.
124. *Spada de fier de la Dobolii de Jos (Aldoboly)*, Angustia 5, 2000, p. 227-233.
125. *Ältere Eisenzeit / Späthallstattzeit (8. - 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*, dans *Thraker und Kelten beidseits der Karpaten*, Schriftenreihe des Keltenmuseums Hochdorf/Enz. 4, Eberdingen 2000/2001, p. 42-51.
126. *Perioada mijlocie a epocii bronzului la est și vest de Carpații Răsăriteni*, dans V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia (éds.), *Cultura Costișa în contextul epocii bronzului din România*, Piatra Neamț, 2001, p. 9-12.
127. *Considerations upon the Beginning and the Evolution of the Early Bronze Age in Romania*, dans R.M. Boehmer, J. Maran (éds.), *Lux Orientis. Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa, Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Internationale Archäologie. Studia honoraria 12, Rahden/Westf., 2001, p. 419-425.
128. *The Aegean-Anatolian and South-Eastern Europe in the Light of a Revision of the Bronze Age Chronology*, dans C. Kacsó (éd.), *Der Nordkarpatische Raum in der Bronzezeit, Symposium Baia Mare, 7.-10. Oktober 1998*, Baia Mare, 2001, p. 9-21.
129. *Cimmerienii: un etnonim cu multiple înțelesuri*, BMTAGiurgiu 7-8, 2001-2002, p. 123-146.
130. *Herodot IV, 94: Gebeleizis?*, dans C.C. Petolescu, T. Teoteoi, A. Gabor (éds.), *Studia Historica et Theologica. Omagiu profesorului Emilian Popescu*, Iași, 2003, p. 61-65.

131. *Cum să-l înțelegem pe Herodot*, dans D. Marcu Istrate, A. Istrate, C. Gaiu (éds.), *In memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizației românești în context european*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 57-63.
132. *Problema scitică în România*, dans Ș. Ștefănescu, F. Constantiniu, D. Rusu (éds.), *Identitate națională și spirit european. Academicianul Dan Berindei la 80 de ani*, București, 2003, p. 113-134.
133. *Rumänien und Republik Moldau. Prähistorie*, dans *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 24, Berlin-New York, 2003, p. 465-469.
134. *Rumänien i tidens spegel*, dans K. Slej, S. Unge Sörling, D.N. Popovici (éds.), *Guldsfatter Rumänien under 7000 år*, Stockholm, 2004, p. 13-21.
135. *Die Agathyrsen. Eine zusammenfassende Darstellung*, dans J. Chochorowski (éd.), *Kimmerowie, scytowie, sarmaci. Księga poświęcona pamięci profesora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego / Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians. In memory of Professor Tadeusz Sulimirski*, Kraków, 2004, p. 473-482.
136. *Reflecții despre problema geto-dacică*, dans V. Spinei, C.-M. Lazarovici, D. Monah (éds.), *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița oblata*, Iași, 2005, p. 563-578.
137. *50 years of systematic archaeological excavations at the pre- and protohistoric site at Popești*, *Dacia* N.S. 48-49, 2004-2005, p. 19-37.
138. *Migrații. O temă arheologică și istorică. Modelul Est→Vest*, *MSȘIA* IV, 31, 2006, p. 29-40.
139. *Urgeschichte und Antike im Donau-Karpatenraum*, dans Th. Kahl, M. Metzeltin, M.-R. Ungureanu (éds.), *Rumänien. Raum und Bevölkerung, Geschichte und Geschichtsbilder, Kultur, Gesellschaft und Politik heute, Wirtschaft, Recht und Verfassung, historische Regionen*, Wien/Berlin, 2006, p. 171-193.
140. *Despre centrul de putere al dacilor din Defileul Oltului de la Racoș*, dans *Studia in honorem Florea Costea*, Brașov, 2007, p. 78-82.
141. *Burobostes. Ein dakischer König im 2. Jh. V. Chr.? (zu Trogus, Prol. XXXII)*, *Dacia* N.S. 51, 2007, p. 227-231.
142. *Zu den Grabsitten der älteren Hallstattzeit in Rumänien*, dans F. Verse, B. Knoche, J. Graefe, M. Hohlbein, K. Schierhold, C. Siemann, M. Uckelmann, G. Woltermann (éds.), *Durch die Zeiten...: Festschrift für Albrecht Jockenhövel zum 65. Geburtstag*, *Internationale Archäologie. Studia honoraria* 28, Rahden/Westf., 2008, p. 269-273.
143. *Reflecții în urma unei dezbateri despre Indo-Europeni*, dans S.C. Ailincăi, C. Micu, F. Mihail (éds.), *Omagiu lui Gavrilă Simion la a 80-a aniversare*, Constanța, 2008, p. 23-28.
144. *Herodot și religia geților*, dans A. Zanoci, T. Arnăut, M. Băț (éds.), *Studia archaeologiae et historiae antiquae: Doctissimo viro Scientiarum Archeologiae et Historiae Ion Niculiță, anno septuagesimo aetatis suae, dedicatur*, Chișinău, 2009, p. 117-127.
145. *Impactul cercetării civilizației geto-dacice asupra societății contemporane*, *Angustia* 14, 2010, p. 293-298.
146. *The Urnfield in Hinova, Mehedinți county (Roumania)*, *Dacia* N.S. 54, 2010, p. 43-95 (en collaboration avec M. Davidescu).
147. *Necropola de incinerare de la Hinova, jud. Mehedinți*, *Drobeta* 20, 2010, p. 117-179 (en collaboration avec M. Davidescu).
148. *Agathyrsii în imaginarul lumii antice*, dans D. Măgureanu, D. Măndescu, S. Matei (éds.), *Archaeology: making of and practice. Studies in honor of Mircea Babeș at his 70th anniversary*, Pitești, 2011, p. 139-144.
149. *Fost-au cimrierii o populație nomadă? O discuție pe marginea unei cărți recent apărute*, dans V. Nistor, D. Zaharia (éds.), *Armele Atenei, In honorem Zoe Petre*, București, 2012, p. 89-117.
150. *Sciți și agathyrsi în spațiul carpato-dunărean*, *SCIIVA* 63, 2012, 1-2, p. 27-66.
151. *Herodotus and the Scythian problem in Romania*, *Dacia* N.S. 56, 2012, p. 47-75.
152. *Transformări culturale la sfârșitul epocii bronzului în sud-vestul spațiului carpato-dunărean*, *AO* 28, 2014, p. 1-16.
153. *La Colonna di Traiano nel pensiero di Radu Vulpe*, *EphemDac* 16, 2014, p. 125-130.
154. *La Colonne Trajane et Flavius Josephus*, *Ant.Jud.*, XVIII, 22, dans C.C. Petolescu, M. Galinier, F. Matei-Popescu (éds.), *Colonne Trajane et Trophées Romains, Actes du Colloque franco-roumain « Études sur la Colonne Trajane. 1900 ans depuis l'inauguration (113-2013) »*, Bucarest, 28-29 octobre 2013, Bucarest, 2015, p. 49-65.
155. *Transformări culturale în nord-vestul României la sfârșitul epocii bronzului*, dans V. Spinei, N. Ursulescu, V. Cotiugă (éds.), *Orbis Praehistoriae. Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița - in memoriam*, Iași, 2015, p. 509-523.

Comptes rendus (sélection)

156. J.F.S. Stone, L.C. Thomas, *The Use and Distribution of Fayance in the Ancient East and Prehistoric Europe*, *PPS* 22, 1956, p. 37-84, dans *SCIV* 9, 1958, 1, p. 204-209.
157. V. Leahu, *Cultura Tei*, București, 1966, dans *SCIV* 19, 1968, 2, p. 371-375.

158. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der mittleren Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken*, Bonn, 1968, dans *Dacia N.S.* 16, 1972, p. 414-419.
159. M. Novotná, *Die Äxe und Beile in der Slowakei*, PBF IX, 3, München, 1970, dans *Dacia N.S.* 17, 1973, p. 441-445.
160. F.-W. von Hase, *Die Trensen der Früheisenzeit in Italien*, PBF XVI, 1, München, 1969, dans *SCIV* 24, 1973, 3, 545-546.
161. C. Preda, *Monedele geto-dacilor*, București, 1973, dans *Dacia N.S.* 19, 1975, p. 328-330.
162. A. Păunescu, P. Șadurschi, V. Chirica, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Botoșani*, București, 1976, dans *Dacia N.S.* 21, 1977, p. 384-385.
163. G. Wegner, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Flußfunde aus dem Main und aus dem Rhein bei Mainz*, Materialhefte zur bayerischen Vorgeschichte 30, Kallmünz, 1976, dans *Dacia N.S.* 22, 1978, p. 371-372.
164. B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, dans *Germania* 57, 1979, p. 207-215.
165. M. Dusek, *Die Thraker im Karpatenbecken*, Amsterdam, 1978, dans *Dacia N.S.* 25, 1981, p. 396-398.
166. V. Vasiliev, *Sciții agatârși pe teritoriul României*, Cluj, 1980, dans *Dacia N.S.* 25, 1981, p. 398-404.
167. A.I. Meljukova, *Skifja i frakiiskii mir*, Moskva, 1979, dans *Dacia N.S.* 25, 1981, p. 404-406.
168. M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Die Sichel in Rumänien mit Corpus der jung- und spätbronzezeitlichen Horte Rumäniens*, PBF XVIII, 1, München, 1978, dans *Germania* 59, 1981, 2, p. 427-430.
169. M. Gedl, *Die Dolche und Stabdolche in Polen*, PBF VI, 4, München, 1980, dans *Dacia N.S.* 27, 1983, p. 211-212.
170. G. Gallay, *Die kupfer- und altbronzezeitlichen Dolche und Stadbolche in Frankreich*, PBF VI, 5, München, 1981, dans *Dacia N.S.* 27, 1983, p. 212-213.
171. S. Sievers, *Die mitteleuropäischen Hallstattdolche*, PBF VI, 6, München, 1982, dans *Dacia N.S.* 27, 1983, p. 213-214.
172. H. Todorova, *Die kupferzeitlichen Äxte und Beile in Bulgarien*, PBF IX, 14, München, 1981, dans *Germania* 64, 1986, 2, p. 609-612.
173. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit*, PBF XI, 2, München, 1979, dans *PZ* 61, 1986, 2, p. 222-223.
174. T. Bader, *Die Fibeln in Rumänien*, PBF XIV, 6, München, 1983, dans *Germania* 65, 1987, 2, p. 477-483.
175. G. Schumacher-Matthäus, *Studien zu bronzezeitlichen Schmucktrachten im Karpatenbecken. Ein Beitrag zur Deutung der Hortfunde im Karpatenbecken*, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 6, Mainz, 1985, dans *Germania* 66, 1988, 1, p. 191-194.
176. W.M. Werner, *Eisenzeitliche Trensen an der unteren und mittleren Donau*, PBF XVI, 4, München, 1988, dans *Germania* 70, 1992, 1, p. 154-158.
177. A. MacKenzie, *Archaeology in Romania/The Mystery of Roman Occupation*, London, 1986, dans *PZ* 67, 1992, 2, p. 247-248.
178. J. Makkay, *The Tiszazölöls Treasure*, *Studia archaeologica* 10, Budapest, 1989, dans *PZ* 67, 2, 1992, p. 251-253.
179. T. Bader, *Die Schwerter in Rumänien*, PBF IV, 8, Stuttgart, 1991, dans *Germania* 75, 1997, p. 339-343.
180. C. Sommerfeld, *Gerätegeld Sichel. Studien zur monetären Struktur bronzezeitlicher Horte im nördlichen Mitteleuropa*, Berlin-New York, 1994, dans *ActaPraehArch* 32, 2000, p. 167-168.
181. A.I. Ivantschik, *Am Vorabend der Kolonisation. Das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet und die Steppennomaden des 8.-7. Jhs. v. Chr. in der klassischen Literaturtradition: Mündliche Überlieferung, Literatur und Geschichte*, *Pontus Septentrionalis III*, Moskau-Berlin, 2005, dans *EurAnt* 16, 2010, p. 360-370.
182. I. Motzoi Chicideanu, *Obiceiuri funerare din epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*, vol I (text), vol II (planșe), Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2011, dans *Dacia N.S.* 56, 2012, p. 187-193.
183. C. Kacsó, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Maramureș [The Archaeological Record of Maramureș County]*, Maramureș County Museum of History and Archaeology, *Bibliotheca Marmatia* 3, vol. I (text): 628 p; vol II: 318 p. (71 maps and 323 figs.), Ed. Eurotip, Baia Mare, 2011, dans *Dacia N.S.* 56, 2012, p. 197-200.
- 4 mots d'entrée dans: J. Filip (sous la direction de), *Encyklopädisches Handbuch zur Vor-und Frühgeschichte*, Praga, 1966.
 - 112 mots d'entrée dans: D.M. Pippidi (sous la direction de), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României*, București, 1976.
 - 44 mots d'entrée dans: C. Preda (sous la direction de), *Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României*, București (I, 1994, II, 1996).

À cette liste s'ajoutent des présentations de livres dans la revue *SCIV(A)*, préfaces/avant-propos, notices nécrologiques, ainsi que de nombreux articles de popularisation dans différentes revues, journaux et d'autres publications.

Discours de réception

Istorie și arheologie sau arheologie și istorie. Prima epocă a fierului în România, Discours de réception, *Academica* 23, 2013, 5, p. 54-64.

Hommages

C. Kacsó (éd.), *Bronzezeitliche Kulturerscheinungen im Karpatischen Raum. Die Beziehungen zu den Benachbarten Gebieten, Ehrensymposium für Alexandru Vulpe zum 70. Geburtstag, Baia Mare 10.-13. Oktober 2001*, Bibliotheca Marmatia 2, Baia Mare, 2003, p. 379-401.

KUPFERZEITLICHE MARMOROBJEKTE AUS MĂGURA
GORGANA BEI PIETRELE AN DER UNTEREN DONAU

SVEND HANSEN*

Keywords: Pietrele, Copper Age, figurines, marble**Abstract:** A newly found marble figurine from the Copper Age settlement Pietrele at the Lower Danube belongs to a group of similar statuettes on the Balkan peninsula. The iconographic analyses however show certain differences. South of the Danube, the marble figurines have heads similar to those from clay figurines. The marble figurine from Pietrele, however, is clearly imitating bone figurines which were much more important in the Gumelnița culture than in the Kodjadermen and Karanovo cultures. Beside figurines, marble was used for the production of beads and vessels as the discoveries from Pietrele show. Marble was a rare raw material and especially used for objects with symbolic value. A supra-regional study of marble objects from Copper Age sites should include also XRF measurements to reconstruct the raw material networks in the 5th millennium BC.**Cuvinte-cheie:** Pietrele, eneolitic, figurine, marmură**Rezumat:** O figurină eneolitică din marmură recent descoperită în aşezarea de la Pietrele la Dunărea de Jos se încadrează într-un grup de statuete similare din Peninsula Balcanică. Analizele iconografice au putut însă evidenția anumite diferențe. La sud de Dunăre, figurinele din marmură au capetele similare celor din lut. Figurina de la Pietrele, însă, imită figurine din os care erau mult mai importante în cultura Gumelnița decât în culturile Kodjadermen și Karanovo. Pe lângă figurine, marmura era folosită pentru producerea mărgelilor și unor recipiente, așa cum arată și descoperiri de la Pietrele. Marmura era un material rar și folosit pentru obiecte cu valoare simbolică. Un studiu supraregional asupra obiectelor din marmură în eneolitic ar trebui să includă și măsurători cu un echipament XRF care permit stabilirea provenienței materialului litic în mileniul al V-lea a.Chr.

Alexandru Vulpe habe ich zunächst als Forscher kennengelernt, der sich auf die Bronze- und Früheisenzeit spezialisiert hatte, und der wie ich am Phänomen der Horte interessiert war. Für diesen Gedenkband kann aus meiner Feder jedoch nur ein letzter Gruß aus Pietrele passend sein. Denn als Direktor des Archäologischen Instituts hat er den Plan, einen kupferzeitlichen Siedlungshügel auszugraben von Anfang an unterstützt. Durch neue Grabungen die Chronologie der Kupferzeit auf eine solide Basis zu stellen, die wirtschaftlichen Strategien durch die Zeit zu verfolgen und die kupferzeitliche Landschaft zu rekonstruieren, leuchtete ihm sofort ein. Tatsächlich war Vulpe auch in allen Fragen der Kupferzeit höchst kenntnisreich und nahm an den Ergebnissen der Ausgrabung regen Anteil. Ohne seine stete Unterstützung wäre die Arbeit in Pietrele nicht möglich gewesen. Für die langjährige vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit und vielen Gespräche nicht nur über die Kupferzeit bleibe ich Alexandru Vulpe dankbar verbunden.

* Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin; svend.hansen@dainst.de.

DER SIEDLUNGSHÜGEL IM 5. JT. V. CHR.

Măgura Gorgana bei Pietrele (Abb. 1) ist einer von zahlreichen Siedlungshügeln des 5. Jt. v. Chr. an der Unteren Donau, d.h. zwischen Eisernem Tor und Schwarzem Meer. Um 4300 v. Chr. fand die Besiedlung von Măgura Gorgana ihr Ende¹. Der Beginn des Siedlungshügels konnte noch nicht genau ermittelt werden, da die entsprechenden Fundschichten bislang noch nicht erreicht wurden. Manches spricht jedoch dafür, dass Măgura Gorgana zur gleichen Zeit wie viele andere Siedlungshügel um ca. 4600 v. Chr. oder kurz danach errichtet wurde. Nach den bisherigen Ergebnissen der Grabungen innerhalb der Flachsiedlung, begann diese im Mittelneolithikum (Dudești-Kultur). Die ¹⁴C-Daten reichen dort bis in die Zeit um 5200 v. Chr. zurück, doch gibt es noch keine lückenlose Sequenz bis zum Beginn des Siedlungshügels. Die Flachsiedlung endete, wie der Siedlungshügel ebenfalls um 4300 v. Chr.

Der Siedlungshügel Măgura Gorgana war somit einerseits nur Teil einer weit größeren Siedlung, die sich im Norden und Westen von ihm erstreckte. Das Wohnen auf dem Hügel markierte andererseits eine herausgehobene Zone innerhalb der Gesamtsiedlung, deren genaue Funktion im Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Siedlungsteile noch genauer zu beschreiben sein wird. Der Hügel entstand nicht quasi naturwüchsig, sondern war von Anfang an geplant. Der Siedlungshügel als ein Architekturkonzept war im 5. Jt. v. Chr. an der Unteren Donau eine Innovation. Hier hatte man zuvor nämlich keine Siedlungshügel angelegt, wie sie seit dem Frühneolithikum im 6. Jt. v. Chr. in Griechenland, Makedonien oder Thrakien charakteristisch waren. In den meisten spätneolithischen Kulturen Südosteuropas war diese Siedlungsarchitektur aber bereits in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jt. v. Chr. schon Geschichte².

Um ca. 4600 v. Chr. griff man an der Unteren Donau somit auf eine anachronistische Siedlungsarchitektur zurück und man muss dies als eine bewusste Entscheidung interpretieren. Dabei war es von Anfang an das Bemühen der Bewohner, dem Hügel möglichst rasch Höhe zu verleihen. Anders ist die charakteristische, hoch aufragende Form dieser Hügel, welche sie beispielsweise von den flachen Siedlungshügeln der südungarischen Tiefebene markant unterscheidet, kaum zu verstehen. In den Grabungen auf Măgura Gorgana konnten massive Aufschüttungen nachgewiesen werden³. Die verbrannten oder verfallenen Häuser wurden regelmäßig von einer bis zu zwei Meter massiven Auffüllschicht aus Lehm und Sand, teilweise auch älteren Siedlungsresten, überdeckt, welche zugleich den Baugrund und das Pfostenfundament für das neue Gebäude abgab⁴. Auch Aufschüttungen zur Erweiterung des Hügels lassen sich nachweisen.

Die Architektur des Siedlungshügels war ein Darstellungsmittel unter anderem für Besitzrechte. Die Höhe des Hügels suggerierte eine zeitliche Tiefe, was den Besitzansprüchen eine größere Legitimität verlieh. Andere Interpretationen betonen die Verbindung mit der langen Kette der Ahnen, die an ein und demselben Platz wohnten⁵. Der Unterschied des Wohnens auf oder um den Siedlungshügel drückt möglicherweise die Ungleichheit der verschiedenen Deszendenzgruppen, beispielsweise innerhalb einer Häuptlingsgesellschaft aus⁶. In solchen Gesellschaften konnte beobachtet werden, dass die führende Abstammungsgruppe den Häuptling stellte und die Kontrolle über den Landbesitz beanspruchte⁷. Diese Ungleichheit bedurfte in der Regel der Legitimierung durch die Berufung auf einen göttlichen Urahn.

Es ist unübersehbar, dass im 5. Jt. v. Chr. soziale Differenzierungsprozesse abliefen, die im Gräberfeld von Varna an der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste ihren bislang augenfälligsten Ausdruck fanden. Jean-Paul Demoule spricht nicht nur im Zusammenhang mit Varna, sondern mit Blick auf die europäische Entwicklung, von einem „*origine des inégalités*“⁸. Ungleichheit hatte man in einer neolithischen bzw. kupferzeitlichen

¹ Über die Ausgrabungen finden sich ausführliche Vorberichte in der Zeitschrift *Eurasia Antiqua*. In rumänischer Sprache ist eine ausführliche Darstellung erschienen in Hansen *et alii* 2009. Eine aktuelle Gesamtdarstellung bei Hansen 2015 sowie Hansen, Toderas, Wunderlich 2015.

² Gogăltan 2003; Rosenstock 2005; Link 2006.

³ Z.B. Hansen *et alii* 2009, S. 17.

⁴ Hansen, Uhl 2016.

⁵ Chapman 1994.

⁶ Hansen, Toderas 2010.

⁷ Kohl 1993, S. 62.

⁸ Demoule 2007, S. 79.



Abb. 1. Luftbild des Siedlungshügels Mägura Gorgana bei Pietrele im Sommer 2016 mit Blick auf die Fläche B (Foto: K. Scheele).



Abb. 2. Flache Knochenstatuetten aus Pietrele (Foto S. Hansen).



Abb. 3. Marmorstatuette aus Pietrele
(Foto S. Hansen).

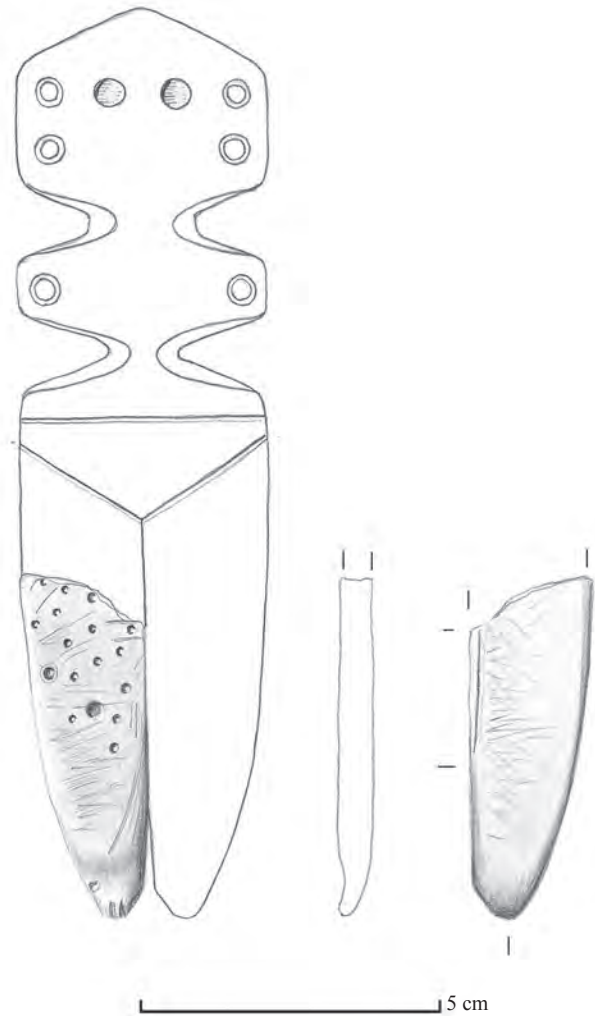


Abb. 4. Fragment einer großen Knochenfigur aus Pietrele
(P11F83807048) (Zeichnung T. Vachta).



Abb. 5. Ruse, goldenes Blech mit Frauendarstellung.
Kopie im Museum Ruse (Foto T. Vachta).

Gesellschaft eigentlich nicht vermutet. Varna ist deshalb bis heute eine der größten Herausforderungen für die Sozialarchäologie. Denn es ist nicht nur nach „Ungleichheit“, sondern mit Demoule nach „Ungleichheiten“ zu fragen. Neben der sich in Varna manifestierenden sozialen Ungleichheit sind beispielsweise auch Ungleichheiten der Geschlechter oder der Zugangsmöglichkeiten zu den imaginären Mächten, den Geistern und Göttern zu untersuchen. Gerade wenn die Beziehungen zu den imaginären Mächten von einer Lineage kontrolliert und monopolisiert werden können, vergrößern sich die Ungleichheiten. Die „reichen“ Gräber in Varna sind nicht nur wegen ihrer Materialwerte, sondern auch aufgrund der Fülle ihrer symbolischen Bezüge reich. Nach den neuen ¹⁴C-Datierungen gehören diese Gräber in die Zeit zwischen 4600 und 4500 v. Chr. und sind damit deutlich älter als man lange annahm⁹. Sie sind somit ungefähr mit dem Beginn des Phänomens der Siedlungshügel an der Unteren Donau zu synchronisieren.

EINE NEUE MARMORSTATUETTE AUS PIETRELE

Ebenso wie die Anlage von Siedlungshügeln war auch die Figuralplastik ein Anachronismus, denn in den meisten Regionen Südosteuropas hatte man im Laufe des 5. Jt. v. Chr. die Verwendung der Tonplastik bereits aufgegeben¹⁰. Die Plastik der Gumelnița-Kultur war zudem keine direkte Fortsetzung älterer Darstellungstypen, sondern setzte neue Akzente. So begann man erstmals Statuetten aus Knochen zu fertigen. Über Jahrtausende hatte man in den neolithischen Kulturen Vorderasiens und Südosteuropas Statuetten aus Ton hergestellt, Stein spielte nur eine untergeordnete Rolle als Herstellungsmaterial. Die erstmalige Herstellung anthropomorpher Figuren aus Knochen war eine Traditionsüberschreitung und zugleich ein spezifisches, neues Symbolangebot. Neben prismatischen und phallischen Knochenfiguren¹¹ sind die flachen weiblichen Knochenfiguren¹² besonders charakteristisch, die in Măgura Gorgana ebenfalls zahlreich belegt sind (Abb. 2). Sie waren vermutlich auf einem Untergrund befestigt, sei es dass sie auf der Kleidung getragen wurden oder am bzw. im Haus an der Wand befestigt waren.

Durch den Neufund einer 14 cm hohen Marmorstatuette (Abb. 3), deren Form den Knochenstatuetten weitgehend entspricht, wird die Bedeutung dieser Plastiken unterstrichen. Sie wurde bei der Erweiterung von Fläche B in Pietrele im Sommer 2011 etwa 20 cm unter der Oberfläche des Siedlungshügels unmittelbar an der Grenze zu den ausgedehnten Grabungsflächen von D. Berciu¹³ gefunden. Die Statuette lag in einer grauen mit Hüttenlehmstücken durchsetzten Schicht ohne weitere Strukturen auf dem Rücken. Ein klarer Befund wird für die Figur nicht mehr zu ermitteln sein, doch kann man davon ausgehen, dass sie ursprünglich unter den Trümmern eines abgebrannten Hauses der letzten Siedlungsphase um 4300 v. Chr. verschüttet wurde, was die Brandspuren auf der Vorderseite der Figur erklären dürfte. Die Marmorstatuette aus Pietrele ist mit 14 cm deutlich größer als die große Mehrzahl der flachen Knochenfiguren. Eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme bildet das Fragment einer Knochenfigurine aus der Fläche F, die ebenso groß wie die Marmorstatuette gewesen sein könnte (Abb. 4). Es ist bemerkenswert, dass an den Grenzen zu den Grabungsflächen der 1940er Jahre mehrere Fragmente überdurchschnittlich großer Statuetten gefunden wurden.

Die Marmorfigur besitzt eine matte, stumpfe Vorderseite mit Brandspuren. Die typisch kristalline Struktur des Marmors ist nur auf der nicht verbrannten Rückseite und natürlich an den Bruchstellen zu erkennen. Auf der rechten Seite der Figur sind Teile des Kopfes, sowie der Arm und Teile des Unterkörpers abgebrochen. Der fünfeckige Kopf ist schwach plastisch mit der Hervorhebung der Nase ausgearbeitet. Bei den Knochenfiguren sind Augen, Nase und Mund durch Einritzungen dargestellt. Im Fall der Marmorfigurine waren sie möglicherweise aufgemalt. Charakteristisch sind die drei Löcher am Rand des Kopfes, wie wir sie auch von den Knochenfiguren kennen. In sie konnte kupferner Schmuck eingesetzt werden. Auch der Hals und die Taille der Knochenfigurinen waren mit kupfernen Ringen geschmückt¹⁴. In zwei Fällen

⁹ Higham *et alii* 2007.

¹⁰ Hansen 2007, S. 274.

¹¹ Hansen 2013; Müller 2015.

¹² Andreescu 1995; Andreescu 2002.

¹³ Berciu 1956.

¹⁴ Müller 2015, S. 357, Abb. 4.

konnten auch Ketten als Schmuck nachgewiesen werden. Bei den Knochenfigurinen sind unterhalb des Mundes drei oder vier Vertiefungen zu erkennen. Nach einem Befund im Gräberfeld von Varna handelte es sich um kleine Goldstifte, die unterhalb des Mundes eingesetzt waren. Diese *Piercings* sind auch auf den Knochenstatuetten mit kleinen Vertiefungen dargestellt. Zudem sind bei den Knochenstatuetten das große Schamdreieck sowie häufig die Oberschenkel mit *Piercings* geschmückt. Auf dem berühmten, leider verschollenen, anthropomorphen Goldblech aus Ruse (Abb. 5) sind die *Piercings* als plastische Buckel dargestellt. Die Statuetten zeigen, dass Körpermodifikationen in der Kupferzeit an der Unteren Donau eine wichtige Rolle spielten. Die Marmorfigur lässt nichts von dem erkennen. Möglicherweise waren *Piercings* durch Farbtupfen dargestellt.

Der Oberkörper weist die größten Unterschiede zu den Knochenfiguren auf, denn die Arme sind ausgearbeitet und vom Körper frei gestellt. Die Hände ruhen auf dem Bauch. Typisch sind das breite Gesäß und die verhältnismäßig kurzen Beine. Vergleiche für die Darstellung des Oberkörpers findet die Marmorfigur aus Pietrele südlich der Donau, wo aus kupferzeitlichen Siedlungen deutlich mehr Marmorfiguren bekannt sind¹⁵. Sehr ähnlich sind die beiden Figuren aus Blagoevo und Sulica (Abb. 6), die die gleichen Proportionen, wie die Statuette aus Pietrele aufweisen. Auch deren Arme sind von den Oberkörpern frei herausgearbeitet und die Hände auf den Bauch gelegt. Unverkennbar sind aber zugleich die Unterschiede der Kopfgestaltung. Die bulgarischen Exemplare sind an der Gestaltung des Kopfes in Tonplastik orientiert, während für das Exemplar aus Pietrele die Knochenplastik Vorbild war. Diese spielte im Bereich der Gumelnița-Kultur eine deutlich wichtigere Rolle als in Thrakien oder Nordostbulgarien¹⁶. Die Steinfigurine aus Pietrele ist somit nicht die Kopie eines, sondern die Kombination mehrerer bekannter Darstellungstypen. Die unterschiedlichen Darstellungskonventionen in der Stein-, Knochen- und Tonplastik konnten also durch die verschiedenen Herstellungsmaterialien diffundieren.

WEITERE MARMOROBJEKTE AUS PIETRELE

Die Marmorstatuette (Abb. 3) vermehrt die Zahl der Steinfiguren aus Măgura Gorgana auf nunmehr drei Exemplare. Bereits in der Grabung von Berciu fand sich eine Steinfigurine, eine zweite kam 2007 zutage¹⁷. Letztere imitiert offenbar Cucuteni-Figurinen.

Im Zuge materialkundlicher Bestimmungen mit einem portablen Röntgenfluoreszenzspektrometer konnten 15 weitere Marmorobjekte (Abb. 7) im Fundbestand von Pietrele bestimmt werden¹⁸. Einige von ihnen waren bereits makroskopisch identifiziert worden, andere wurden erst durch die Messung als Marmorobjekte erkannt. Anhand der chemischen Zusammensetzungen lassen sich mindestens zwei Marmorarten unterscheiden. Eine feinere Differenzierung ist gegenwärtig jedoch nicht möglich, zumal Vergleichsmessungen aus anderen kupferzeitlichen Siedlungen fehlen. Aus der Literatur ist kein aktuelles Gesamtbild der Verwendung von Marmor in Neolithikum und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa zu gewinnen.

Zu den neu identifizierten Stücken gehört eine flache runde Scheibe mit zentralem Loch (Abb. 7, unten links), die aus der obersten verbrannten Fundschicht stammt. Sie wurde aufgrund ihrer matten Oberfläche, die Ergebnis des Brandes ist, bislang irrtümlich als Kalksteinscheibe angesehen.

Zwei Randfragmente von Marmorgefäßen konnten ebenfalls durch die Messungen identifiziert werden (Abb. 7, oben Mitte). Marmorgefäße waren seit dem Neolithikum geläufig. Besonders hervorzuheben sind Marmorrytha aus der Ägäis, z.B. Keos und Tigani sowie aus Westanatolien, wo sie aus Gülpınar oder Kumtepe bekannt sind¹⁹. Auch in Varna wurde in Grab 41 neben einer Marmorschale ein Rhyton gefunden²⁰. Mehrere Marmorgefäße stammen aus der neolithischen Siedlung Promachon-Topolnica an der

¹⁵ Hansen 2007, S. 254.

¹⁶ Vgl. Hansen *et alii* 2008, S. 49; Müller 2015.

¹⁷ Hansen *et alii* 2008, S. 49, Abb. 49 und 51.

¹⁸ Die Messungen führte Dr. Daniel Steiniger in Pietrele durch. Seine Ergebnisse werden in *Eurasia Antiqua* ausführlich vorgestellt (Steiniger, in Vorbereitung).

¹⁹ Takaoğlu 2006, S. 309-310; Lichter 2011, S. 37-39.

²⁰ Fol, Lichardus 1988, S. 107, Abb. 59.

griechisch-bulgarischen Grenze²¹. Die Randfragmente aus Pietrele dürften eher von Schalen stammen, für die sich in Gülpınar²² und Kumtepe²³, aber auch Varna²⁴ annähernd zeitgleiche Beispiele finden. In Kulaksızlar bei Manisa nordöstlich von Izmir wurde eine Werkstatt für Marmorgefäße gefunden²⁵, die nach den keramischen Beifunden im 5. Jt. v. Chr. gearbeitet hat. Es wäre überaus wünschenswert diese versprengten Einzelbelege auch materialanalytisch zu untersuchen.

Ein Dreiecksanhänger aus Pietrele (Abb.7, Mitte) mit einer unfertigen Durchbohrung war bereits als Marmorobjekt erkannt worden. In Pietrele wurden zahlreiche knöcherne Dreiecksanhänger gefunden²⁶. Drei Dreiecksanhänger fanden sich in Ruse²⁷. In Varna sind Dreiecksanhänger aus Gold ebenfalls bekannt²⁸. In die Durchlochung waren kleine Goldringe eingehängt, so dass die Anhänger einzeln oder als Kette getragen werden konnten. Es handelt sich um eine Form, die offenbar einen gewissen Symbolwert hatte, so dass man sie auch in Gold herstellte.

Zwei Marmoranhänger (Abb. 7, Mitte rechts) aus Pietrele imitieren Hirschgrandeln. Imitationen dieses Anhängerschmucks aus anderen Materialien sind aus zahlreichen neolithisch-kupferzeitlichen Kontexten bekannt²⁹. Die Cucuteni-Horte von Hăbășești mit 22 und Brad mit 287 Hirschgrandeln, jeweils mit Metallschmuck vergesellschaftet, zeigen eindrucksvoll ihre hohe Wertschätzung³⁰.

Schließlich sind mindestens acht Perlen unterschiedlicher Form aus Marmor zu nennen (Abb. 7, unten Mitte). Unter ihnen sind die bikonischen Perlen die technisch anspruchvollsten. Für sie gibt es in Varna wenige Vergleiche, z.B in Grab 67³¹. In Pietrele sind vergleichsweise viele Perlen aus Kalkstein zum Vorschein gekommen, während diese in anderen Siedlungsgrabungen nur selten sind. Die meisten Perlen wurden einzeln gefunden, es gibt nur wenige Fälle, in denen sie als Kette in den Boden kamen³². Die kleinsten Perlen stammen auch in Pietrele aus dem Sieb.

Für eine detaillierte Einordnung der Perlen und des Anhängerschmucks aus Marmor wäre eine umfassende Zusammenstellung des neolithischen und kupferzeitlichen Perlen- und Anhängerschmucks in Südosteuropa sehr wünschenswert. Marmor war nur *ein* Material in einer großen Varianz von Schmuck.

Die Ringe, Perlen und anderen Elemente des Schmucks dienten der Markierung der sozialen Positionen ihrer Besitzer³³. Perlen repräsentierten seit dem Jungpaläolithikum ein Element des Exotischen: Muscheln wurden für die Perlenherstellung über hunderte von Kilometern weitergegeben. Während *Homo Erectus* und Neanderthaler vermutlich nur die Körperbemalung als Schmuck oder Element der Veränderung in Ritualen praktizierten, war es der anatomisch moderne Mensch, der begann, Molluskengehäuse als Schmuck zu verwenden und dies bereits sehr früh³⁴. Perlenschmuck lässt sich in einem abstrakteren Sinne auch als eine Informationstechnologie auffassen³⁵. Die Standardisierung der Elemente, ihre differenzierte Kombinierbarkeit, ihre Variabilität, darüber hinaus aber auch ihre Akkumulation als Verstärkung der Botschaft und ihre Transferierbarkeit von einem zum anderen Individuum, spielten hierfür eine Rolle. Schmuck markierte die sozialen Unterschiede.

Von größtem Interesse sind die Schmuckformen auch deswegen, weil viele von ihnen sehr großräumig verbreitet waren. Dies gilt insbesondere für die scheibenförmigen Kalksteinperlen, die vom Pariser Becken

²¹ Koukouli-Chryssanthaki *et alii* 2008, Abb. 53/1.

²² Takaoglu 2006, S. 310, Fig. 14, 44.

²³ Sperling 1936, S. 311, Taf. 70.

²⁴ Anthony, Chi 2010, S. 238, Nr. 169 mit Abb.

²⁵ Takaoglu 2002.

²⁶ Wrobel 2008, S. 47-48, Abb. 66.

²⁷ Todorova, Vajsov 2001, S. 63, Taf. 21, S. 251-254.

²⁸ Todorova, Vajsov 2001, S. 72, Taf. 26, S. 342.

²⁹ Heumüller 2009, S. 177-183; Choyke 2001.

³⁰ Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Ţurcanu 2009, S. 121 Abb. 3; 261 mit Abb.

³¹ Todorova, Vajsov 2001, S. 33 Taf. 1-2.

³² Wrobel 2008, S. 63, Abb. 63.

³³ Wright, Garrard 2003, S. 267; Avramova 2002, S. 203, Abb. 236.

³⁴ Vanhaeren *et alii* 2006.

³⁵ Kuhn, Stiner 2007.

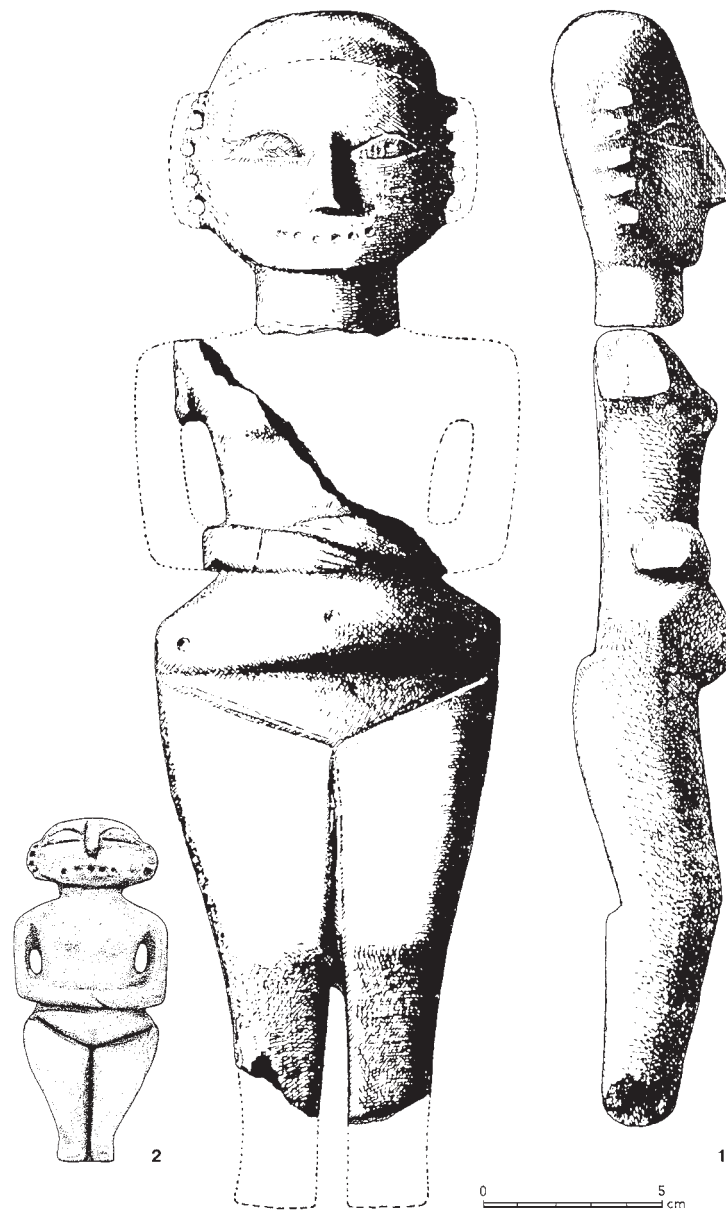


Abb. 6. Marmorfiguren aus Blagoevo und Sulica (nach Hansen 2007, S. 254, Abb. 155).

bis an die Untere Donau belegt sind³⁶. Sie lösten im 5. Jt. v. Chr. in Süddeutschland die bandkeramischen Spondylusperlen ab. Im östlichen Mitteleuropa waren im 5. Jt v. Chr. auch die Spondylusperlen weiterhin stark vertreten³⁷. Unabhängig vom Material präferierte man im neolithischen Europa weißen Perlenschmuck, worin sich auch die Marmorperlen aus Pietrele sowie zahlreichen Fundorten in Mitteleuropa³⁸ einfügen. Marmorarmringe konnten solche aus Spondylus imitieren³⁹. Dies zeigt beispielsweise die „Nachbildung“ eines breiten Spondylusarmrings in Marmor aus dem Hamangia-zeitlichen Gräberfeld von

³⁶ Bonnardin 2009; Heumüller 2009.

³⁷ Heumüller 2009, S. 132-142.

³⁸ Heumüller 2009, S. 134.

³⁹ Baysal, Erdoğan 2014, S. 373-374.



Abb. 7. Marmorobjekte aus Pietrele (Foto S. Hansen).

Cernavodă-Columbia D⁴⁰. Armringe aus Marmor sind in größerer Zahl aus Dispilo in Makedonien aus der Zeit um 5300/5100 v. Chr. bekannt⁴¹. Der Marmor soll aus Naxos stammen, was die räumlichen Dimensionen des Austauschs dieses raren Guts verdeutlicht.

Man darf annehmen, dass für die Träger der Schmuckperlen das Material eine Eigenschaft darstellte, die symbolisch aufgeladen war. Eine Imitation in unserem modernen Verständnis war deshalb die Nachbildung eines Spondylusrings in Marmor sicher nicht. Die Materialien hatten jeweils spezifische Wertigkeiten, welche nicht beliebig austauschbar waren, sondern vielmehr kombiniert werden sollten. Das eine Material war nicht der Ersatz des anderen, sondern vielmehr seine Ergänzung. Perlen nicht nur einer Qualität, sondern verschiedener Qualitäten zu besitzen, zeugte überdies von den privilegierten Zugangsmöglichkeiten zu den Materialien, z.B. durch eine Vielfalt der Tauschbeziehungen, und markierte damit auch höheren sozialen Status. Auch unter dem Aspekt der apotropäischen Qualitäten der Perlen waren viele Materialien letztlich ein erhöhter Schutz vor den Gefahren des Lebens⁴².

Weiß war die dominierende Farbe für Perlen in Pietrele. Obwohl die Beile in Pietrele die Nutzung vielfältiger Steinvarietäten erkennen lassen⁴³, wurden bisher keine Perlen aus farbigen Steinen gefunden. Die Bevorzugung von weiß in der Schmuckperlenherstellung ist seit dem Frühneolithikum in Südosteuropa augenfällig⁴⁴. Freilich konnte Spondylus partiell auch rot sein.

⁴⁰ Kogălniceanu 2012, S. 83, Abb. 51.

⁴¹ Ifantidis, Papageorgiou 2011.

⁴² Knuf, Knuf 1984.

⁴³ Klimscha 2016, Taf. 41-63.

⁴⁴ Vitezović 2012.

Im Neolithikum Griechenlands finden sich hingegen neben weißen Perlen und Anhängern auch solche aus schwarzen Steinen⁴⁵. In Barcin Höyük, einer Siedlung in der westtürkischen Marmararegion, die zwischen 6500 und 6000 v. Chr. datiert wird, fanden sich zu gleichen Teilen jeweils weiße, schwarze und farbige (orange, rote, grüne) Perlen⁴⁶. Auch unter den neolithischen Perlen in der südlichen Levante herrschen farbige Perlen vor⁴⁷. Kostov stellt für das neolithische Bulgarien zahlreiche Objekte aus Nephrit heraus während diese in der Kupferzeit des 5. Jt. fehlten⁴⁸. In Pietrele gibt es nur einen beilförmigen Anhänger aus Nephrit.

Das Weiß des neolithisch/kupferzeitlichen Europa ist also vornehmlich auf das 5. und 4. Jt. v. Chr. begrenzt. Es steht in deutlichem Kontrast zur zunehmenden Farbigkeit des Perlenschmucks im Orient, wo in der Mitte des 4. Jt. v. Chr. rote Schmucksteine dominieren⁴⁹. Auch in diesem Punkt ist allerdings das Gräberfeld von Varna eine Besonderheit. Denn hier finden sich zahlreiche Karneolperlen, von denen einige sogar flächig geschliffen sind. In dem Bohrkanal einer Karneolperle fand sich überdies ein goldener Mikrozyylinder⁵⁰.

Eine detaillierte Untersuchung der Perlen- und Schmuckfunde des ostmittel- und südosteuropäischen Neolithikums bzw. der Kupferzeit ist eine noch zu leistende Aufgabe. Die Materialbestimmung mittels Röntgenfluoreszenz-Spektroskopie ist dabei von unschätzbbarer Hilfe zur Identifizierung unterschiedlicher Materialien. Da die Herstellung der Perlen bereits arbeitsteilig organisiert war, wie in der Siedlung Hornstadt-Hörnle gezeigt werden konnte⁵¹, muss man auch mit dem weiträumigen Austausch von Schmuckperlen bzw. den Rohstoffen rechnen. Für den Spondylus, der aus dem Mittelmeer beschafft werden musste, ist dies seit langem bekannt⁵². Auch grüne Steine, die vermutlich wegen ihrer apotropäischen Qualität geschätzt wurden, mussten in der Regel über einige Entfernung beschafft werden⁵³. Solche Perlen besaßen eine besondere Bedeutung. Doch auch Colliers mit Kalkstein, Spondylus oder Marmorperlen sind als wertvolle Güter anzusehen. Sie bedürfen einer gemeinsamen Betrachtung, da Kalkstein, Marmor und Spondylus im Karpatenbecken und an der Unteren Donau in Kombination vorkommen⁵⁴. Die Beschaffung der Rohmaterialien und die Herstellung der Perlen erforderten einen erheblichen Arbeitsaufwand. In den langen Ketten der Toten in Varna oder in Tiszapolgár-Basatanya stecken mehrere hundert Stunden Arbeit. Daher waren sie auch nur einer kleinen elitären Schicht vorbehalten. Der neolithische Schmuck ist eine weithin unterschätzte Fundgattung, die viel über die sozialen Beziehungen derjenigen verrät, die über ihn verfügen konnten.

AUSBLICK

Die vielfältigen Dimensionen der Verwendung von Steinen in der Stein- und der Steinkupferzeit⁵⁵ sind noch nicht ausreichend ausgemessen. Marmor war in Pietrele nicht lokal verfügbar, sondern musste, ebenso wie der Flint oder die schweren Reibschalen von den entsprechenden Steinbrüchen bzw. Werkstätten beschafft werden. Die Begrenzung auf die Herstellung von Schmuckperlen, Statuetten und Gefäßen und ihre geringe Zahl zeigen, dass es sich um ein rares Gut handelte, das sicher aus mehr als einer Quelle stammte. Marmor ist eines der wenigen überregional getauschten Materialien, bei denen die Hoffnung besteht, durch mikroskopische Untersuchungen und die Bestimmung der chemischen Zusammensetzung die Herkunft zu ermitteln und so zur Rekonstruktion des neolithisch-kupferzeitlichen Tauschnetzes beizutragen. Es sollte deshalb im Bereich des Möglichen liegen, den Forschungsstand in absehbarer Zeit sowohl bezüglich der Fundvorlage als auch der Analytik mittels eines portablen Röntgenfluoreszenzspektrometers deutlich zu verbessern.

⁴⁵ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001.

⁴⁶ Baysal 2014, S. 4.

⁴⁷ Bar-Yosef Mayer 2013.

⁴⁸ Kostov 2010, S. 391.

⁴⁹ Emberling, McDonald 2002, S. 950, Abb. 3.

⁵⁰ Kostov, Pelevina 2008, Abb. 1.

⁵¹ Heumüller 2009.

⁵² Willms 1985; Müller 1997; Dimitrijević, Tripković 2006; Ifantidis, Nikolaidou 2011; Baysal, Erdoğan 2014.

⁵³ Bar-Yosef Mayer, Porat 2008.

⁵⁴ Siklósi 2004.

⁵⁵ Z.B. Avramova 2008.

Danksagung

Für Hinweise, Diskussionen und Bildvorlagen danke ich Sven Brummack, Michael Müller, Konstantin Scheele, Daniel Steiniger, Meda Toderaş, Tilmann Vachta. Die Bildbearbeitung besorgte Anke Reuter.

LITERATUR

- Andreescu 1995 – R.-R. Andreescu, *Căscioarele-Ostrovul. Plastica de os din nivelul Gumelnița B1*, CCDJ 13-14, 1995, S. 41-48.
- Andreescu 2002 – R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, București, 2002.
- Anthony, Chi 2010 – D. Anthony, J.Y. Chi (Hrsg.), *The Lost World of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000-3500 BC*, New York – Princeton – Oxford, 2010.
- Avramova 2002 – M. Avramova, *Der Schmuck aus den Gräbern von Durankulak*, in H. Todorova (Hrsg.), *Durankulak II. Die Prähistorischen Gräberfelder. Teil I-II*, Sofia, 2002, S. 191-206.
- Avramova 2008 – M. Avramova, “Special” *Stones in Prehistoric Practices: Cases from Bulgaria*, in R.I. Kostov, B. Gaydarska, M. Gurova (Hrsg.), *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomineralogy. Proceedings of the International Conference, 29-30 October 2008*, Sofia, 2008, S. 211-215.
- Bar-Yosef Mayer 2013 – D.E. Bar-Yosef Mayer, *Towards a typology of stone beads in the Neolithic Levant*, JFA 38, 2013, S. 129-142.
- Bar-Yosef Mayer, Porat 2008 – D.E. Bar-Yosef Mayer, N. Porat, *Green stone beads at the dawn of agriculture*, PNAS 105, 2008, S. 8548-8551.
- Baysal 2014 – E. Baysal, *A preliminary typology for beads from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic levels of Barcın Höyük*, *Anatolia Antiqua* 22, 2014, S. 1-10.
- Baysal, Erdoğan 2014 – E. Baysal, B. Erdoğan, *Frog in the Pond: Gökçeada (Imbros), an Aegean Stepping-stone in the Chalcolithic use of Spondylus Shell*, PPS 80, 2014, S. 363 - 378.
- Berciu 1956 – D. Berciu, *Săpăturile de la Pietrele, Raionul Giurgiu. 1943 și 1948*, MCA 2, 1956, S. 503-544.
- Bonnardin 2009 – S. Bonnardin, *La parure funéraire des premières sociétés agro-pastorales des Bassins parisiens et rhénans: Rubané, Hinkelstein et Villeneuve-Saint-Germain*, Paris, 2009.
- Chapman 1994 – J. Chapman, *The living, the dead and the ancestors: time, life cycles and the mortuary domain in later European prehistory*, in J. Davies (Hrsg.), *Ritual and remembrance: responses to death in human societies*, Sheffield, 1994, S. 40-85.
- Choyke 2001 – A.M. Choyke, *Late Neolithic Red Deer Canine Beads and Their Imitations*, in A.M. Choyke, L. Bartosiewicz (Hrsg.), *Crafting Bone - Skeletal Technologies through Time and Space*, BARIntSer 937, Oxford, 2001, S. 251-266.
- Demoule 2007 – J.-P. Demoule (Hrsg.), *La révolution néolithique en France*, Paris, 2007.
- Dimitrijević, Tripković 2006 – V. Dimitrijević, B. Tripković, *Spondylus and Glycymeris bracelets: trade reflections at Neolithic Vinča-Belo Brdo*, *Documenta Praehistorica* 33, 2006, S. 237-252.
- Emberling, McDonald 2002 – G. Emberling, H. McDonald, *Recent finds from the northern Mesopotamian city of Tell Brak*, *Antiquity* 76, 2002, S. 949-950.
- Fol, Lichardus 1988 – A. Fol, J. Lichardus (Hrsg.), *Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Das Gräberfeld von Varna (Bulgarien) und die Anfänge einer neuen europäischen Zivilisation*, Saarbrücken, 1988.
- Gogâltan 2003 – F. Gogâltan, *Die neolithischen Tellsiedlungen im Karpatenbecken. Ein Überblick*, in E. Jerem, P. Raczky (Hrsg.), *Morgenrot der Kulturen. Frühe Etappen der Menschheitsgeschichte in Mittel- und Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Nándor Kalicz zum 75. Geburtstag*, Budapest, 2003, S. 223-262.
- Hansen 2007 – S. Hansen, *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur anthropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*, *Archäologie in Eurasien* 20, Mainz, 2007.
- Hansen 2013 – S. Hansen, *Figuren aus Stein und Bein in der südosteuropäischen Kupferzeit*, in A. Anders, G. Kulcsár (Hrsg.), *Moments in Time. Papers Presented to Pál Raczky on His 60th Birthday*, Budapest, 2013, S. 539-556.
- Hansen 2015 – S. Hansen, *Pietrele – Lakeside Settlement, 5200–4250 BC*, in S. Hansen, P. Raczky, A. Anders, A. Reingruber (Hrsg.), *Neolithic and Copper Age between the Carpathians and the Aegean Sea. Chronologies and Technologies from the 6th to 4th Millennium BC. International Workshop Budapest 2012*, Bonn, 2015, S. 273-294.
- Hansen, Toderaş 2010 – S. Hansen, M. Toderaş, *Pietrele und die neuen Dimensionen kupferzeitlicher Siedlungen an der Unteren Donau*, in S. Hansen (Hrsg.), *Leben auf dem Tell als soziale Praxis. Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Berlin*, Bonn, 2010, S. 85-105.

- Hansen, Toderas, Wunderlich 2015 – S. Hansen, M. Toderas, J. Wunderlich, *Pietrele: Neolithische und kupferzeitliche Siedlung am See 5200-4250 v. Chr.*, e-Forschungs Berichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Faszikel 3, 2015, S. 93-112.
- Hansen, Uhl 2016 – S. Hansen, R. Uhl, *Vom Debris zum Fundament... Neue Erkenntnisse zum Bauen in der Kupferzeit südlich und östlich der Karpaten*, in A. Zanoci, E. Kaiser, M. Kashuba, E. Izbitser, M. Băt (Hrsg.), *Mensch, Kultur und Gesellschaft von der Kupferzeit bis zur frühen Eisenzeit im nördlichen Eurasien. Beiträge zu Ehren zum 60. Geburtstag von Eugen Sava*, Chişinău, 2016, S. 26-39.
- Hansen et alii 2008 – S. Hansen, M. Toderas, A. Reingruber, I. Gatsov, F. Klimscha, P. Nedelcheva, R. Neef, M. Prange, T.D. Price, J. Wahl, B. Weniger, H. Wrobel, J. Wunderlich, P. Zidarov, *Der Kupferzeitliche Siedlungshügel Măgura Gorgana bei Pietrele in der Walachei. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Sommer 2007*, EurAnt 14, 2008, S. 19-100.
- Hansen et alii 2009 – S. Hansen, M. Toderas, A. Reingruber, J. Wunderlich, *Pietrele-Măgura Gorgana: o aşezare eneolitică la Dunărea de Jos între 4500 și 4250 î.e.n.*, MCA S.N. 5, 2009, S. 39-90.
- Heumüller 2009 – M. Heumüller, *Der Schmuck der jungneolithischen Ufersiedlung Hornstaad Hörnle IA im Rahmen des mitteleuropäischen Mittel- und Jungneolithikums*, Stuttgart, 2009.
- Higham et alii 2007 – T. Higham, J. Chapman, V. Slavchev, B. Gaydarska, N. Honch, Y. Yordanov, B. Dimitrova, *New perspectives on the Varna cemetery (Bulgaria) – AMS dates and social implications*, Antiquity 81, 2007, S. 640-654.
- Ifantidis, Nikolaidou 2011 – F. Ifantidis, M. Nikolaidou (Hrsg.), *Spondylus in Prehistory: new data and approaches. Contributions to the Archaeology of Shell Technologies*, Oxford, 2011.
- Ifantidis, Papageorgiou 2011 – F. Ifantidis, P. Papageorgiou, *Sur un anneau néolithique en marbre fragmenté (Dispilo, Grèce)*, in F. Wateau (Hrsg.), *Profils d'objets. Approches d'anthropologues et d'archéologues*, Paris, 2011, S. 33-43.
- Klimscha 2016 – F. Klimscha, *Pietrele I: Beile und Äxte aus Stein. Distinktion und Kommunikation während der Kupferzeit im östlichen Balkangebiet*, Archäologie in Eurasien 34, Bonn, 2016.
- Kohl 1993 – K.-H. Kohl, *Ethnologie - die Wissenschaft vom kulturell Fremden*, München, 1993.
- Kostov 2010 – R.I. Kostov, *Gem Minerals and Materials from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods in Bulgaria and their Impact on the History of Gemmology*, in *Proceedings of the XIX CBGA Congress, Thessaloniki, Greece. Scientific Annals, School of Geology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*, Special volume 100, Thessaloniki, 2010, S. 391-397.
- Kostov, Pelevina 2008 – R. Kostov, O. Pelevina, *Complex faceted and other Carnelian Beads from the Varna Chalcolithic Necropolis: Archaeogemmological Analysis*, in R.I. Kostov, B. Gaydarska, M. Gurova (Hrsg.), *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomineralogy. Proceedings of the International Conference, 29-30 October 2008 Sofia*, Sofia, 2008, S. 67-72.
- Kuhn, Stiner 2007 – S.L. Kuhn, M.C. Stiner, *Body Ornamentation as Information Technology: Towards an Understanding of the Significance of Early Beads*, in P. Mellars, K. Boyle, O. Bar-Yosef, C. Stringer (Hrsg.), *Rethinking the human revolution. New behavioural and biological perspectives on the origin and dispersal of modern humans*, Cambridge, 2007, S. 45-54.
- Kogălniceanu 2012 – R. Kogălniceanu, *Adornments from the Hamangia cemetery excavated at Cernovodă – Columbia D. Contextual analysis*, in R. Kogălniceanu, R.-G. Curcă, M. Gligor, S. Stratton (Hrsg.), *Homines, Funera, Astra. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Funerary Anthropology 5-8 June 2011 '1 Decembrie 1918' University (Alba Iulia, Romania)*, Oxford, 2012, S. 81-95.
- Koukouli-Chryssanthaki et alii 2008 – C. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, H. Todorova, I. Aslanis, I. Vajsov, M. Valla, *Promachon-Topolnica. A greek-bulgarian archaeological project*, in H. Todorova, M. Stefanovich, G. Ivanov (Hrsg.), *The Struma / Strymon River Valley in Prehistory. Proceedings of the International Symposium Strymon Praehistoricus. Kjustendil-Blagoevgrad (Bulgaria)/Serres-Amphipolis (Greece) 27.09-01.10.2004. In the Steps of James Harvey Gaul*, Volume 2, Sofia, 2008, S. 43-78.
- Knuf, Knuf 1984 – A. Knuf, J. Knuf, *Amulette und Talismane*, Köln, 1984.
- Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001 – N. Κυπαρίσση-Αποστολίκα, *Τα προϊστορικά κοσμήματα της Θεσσαλίας*, Athen, 2001.
- Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Ţurcanu 2009 – C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh.-C. Lazarovici, S. Ţurcanu, *Cucuteni. A Great Civilization of the Prehistoric World*, Iaşi, 2009.
- Lichter 2011 – C. Lichter, *Von nichts kommt nichts. Steinzeitliche Vorgänger der Kykladenkultur*, in *Kykladen. Lebenswelten einer frühgriechischen Kultur*, Ausstellungskatalog, Karlsruhe, 2011, S. 32-40.
- Link 2006 – T. Link, *Das Ende der neolithischen Tellsiedlungen. Ein kulturgeschichtliches Phänomen des 5. Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Karpatenbecken*, Bonn, 2006.
- Müller 1997 – J. Müller, *Neolithische und chalkolithische Spondylus-Artefakte. Anmerkungen zu Verbreitung, Tauschgebiet und sozialer Funktion*, in C. Becker, M.-L. Dunkelmann, C. Metzner-Nebelsick, H. Peter-Röcher,

- M. Roeder, B. Teržan (Hrsg.), *Xpóvoç. Beiträge zur prähistorischen Archäologie zwischen Nord- und Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Bernhard Hänsel*, Internationale Archäologie Studia honoraria 1, Espelkamp, 1997, S. 91-106.
- Müller 2015 – M. Müller, *On the Distribution of Different Types of Anthropomorphic Figurines of the Copper Age on the Eastern Balkan Peninsula and the Lower Danube Valley*, in S. Hansen, P. Raczky, A. Anders, A. Reingruber (Hrsg.), *Neolithic and Copper Age between the Carpathians and the Aegean Sea. Chronologies and Technologies from the 6th to 4th Millennium BC. International Workshop Budapest 2012*, Bonn, 2015, S. 353-367.
- Rosenstock 2005 – E. Rosenstock, *Höyük, Toumba and Mogila: a settlement form in Anatolia and the Balkans and its ecological determination 6500-5500 cal. BC*, in C. Lichter (Hrsg.), *How Did Farming Reach Europe?. Anatolian-European relations from the second half of the 7th through the first half of the 6th millennium cal BC. Proceedings of the International Workshop Istanbul 20-22 May 2004*, Istanbul, 2005, S. 221-237.
- Siklósi 2004 – Zs. Siklósi, *Prestige Goods in the Eneolithic of the Carpathian Basin. Material Manifestation of Social Differentiation*, ActaArchHung 55, 2004, S. 1-62.
- Sperling 1936 – J.W. Sperling, *Kum Tepe in the Troad. Trial Excavation 1934*, Hesperia 45, 1936, S. 305-364.
- Steiniger in Vorbereitung – D. Steiniger, *Die Artefakte aus Marmor*, EurAnt 20, 2017.
- Takaoğlu 2002 – T. Takaoğlu, *Chalcolithic Marble Working at Kulaksızlar in Western Anatolia*, TÜBA-AR 5, 2002, S. 71-93.
- Takaoğlu 2006 – T. Takaoğlu, *The Late Neolithic in the Eastern Aegean. Excavations at Gülpınar in the Troad*, Hesperia 75, 2006, S. 289-315.
- Todorova, Vajsov 2001 – H. Todorova, I. Vajsov, *Der kupferzeitliche Schmuck in Bulgarien*, Stuttgart, 2001.
- Vanhaeren *et alii* 2006 – M.F. Vanhaeren, F. Errico, C. Struinger, S.L. James, J.A. Todd, H.K. Mienies, *Middle Paleolithic shell beads in Israel and Algeria*, Science 312, 2006, S. 1758-1788.
- Vitezović 2012 – S. Vitezović, *The white beauty – Starčevo culture jewellery*, Documenta Praehistorica 39, 2012, S. 215-226.
- Willms 1985 – C. Willms, *Neolithischer Spondylusschmuck. Hundert Jahre Forschung*, Germania 63, 1985, S. 331-434.
- Wright, Garrard 2003 – K. Wright, A. Garrard, *Social identities and the expansion of stone bead-making in Neolithic Western Asia: new evidence from Jordan*, Antiquity 77, 2003, S. 267-284.
- Wrobel 2008 – H. Wrobel (Nørgaard), *Der nichtmetallene Schmuck*, in S. Hansen, M. Toderas, A. Reingruber, I. Gatsov, F. Klimscha, P. Nedelcheva, R. Neef, M. Prange, T.D. Price, J. Wahl, B. Weniger, H. Wrobel, J. Wunderlich, P. Zidarov, *Der Kupferzeitliche Siedlungshügel Mägura Gorgana bei Pietrele in der Walachei. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Sommer 2007*, EurAnt 14, 2008, S. 62-69.

PLAYING WITH CLAY: THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES FROM ȘOIMUȘ – *LA AVICOLA (FERMA 2)*, HUNEDOARA COUNTY

CRISTIAN EDUARD ȘTEFAN*

Keywords: Neolithic, Turdaș, Șoimuș, clay figurines, settlement, context

Abstract: In this study a group of clay figurines from the Turdaș settlement of Șoimuș – *La Avicola (Ferma 2)*, Hunedoara County is analysed. Most of the pieces were recovered from secure contexts (pits, dwellings, ditches), being found in a fragmentary state. Since the seminal work of Peter J. Ucko (1962) to present days a multitude of ideas regarding the function of anthropomorphic figurines discovered in different contexts and periods were issued. Four decades later we have another interesting approach, belonging to Richard G. Lesure (2002), which we are trying to apply in analysing the figurines of Șoimuș.

Cuvinte-cheie: neolitic, Turdaș, Șoimuș, figurine de lut, așezare, context

Rezumat: În acest studiu este analizat un grup de figurine din lut provenind din așezarea turdășeană de la Șoimuș – *La Avicola (Ferma 2)*, jud. Hunedoara. Cele mai multe piese au fost recuperate din contexte sigure (gropi, locuințe, șanțuri) și se prezintă într-o stare fragmentară. De la studiul esențial al lui Peter J. Ucko (1962) până astăzi au fost emise o multitudine de păreri cu privire la funcția figurinelor antropomorfe descoperite în diverse contexte și perioade. Patru decenii mai târziu avem o nouă abordare interesantă, cea a lui Richard G. Lesure (2002), pe care încercăm s-o aplicăm și noi pentru analiza figurinelor de la Șoimuș.

INTRODUCTION

Especially for the last decade, rescue excavations have constituted a mandatory preliminary stage in the motorway construction in Romania. With more motorway construction came more interesting discoveries. Among them are those attributed to the less known Turdaș Neolithic civilization, to give only one example. On the occasion of the A1 motorway construction, on the segment located between Deva and Orăștie, a joint team of archaeologists from the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology (Bucharest), the Roman and Dacian Civilization Museum (Deva) and the National Museum of Romanian History (Bucharest) conducted rescue archaeological excavations at the settlement of Șoimuș, between the 16th of August and the 16th of November 2011.

The above-mentioned settlement is located within the administrative area of the Șoimuș commune, between Șoimuș and Bălata villages (Hunedoara County), at the place called *La Avicola (Ferma 2)*, on the middle sector of the first terrace of the Mureș River (East-West direction) (Pl. I/1). On the maps of the Military Topographic Department from the 1970's, the area of study was mentioned as *Dumbrava* (Pl. I/2). Given the size and the archaeological complexity of the excavations, the site was divided into two sectors: *zone A*, comprising the core of the Neolithic site - investigated by the specialists of the Institute of Archaeology and the Romanian National History Museum in Bucharest, and *zone B*, a Bronze Age settlement investigated by the specialists of the Deva Museum. In the area of *zone A* ca. 700 features were identified, attributed to the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Roman, post-Roman and early medieval periods.

Based on the preliminary field reports and surveys carried out in the area¹, the existence of a Neolithic settlement with two main habitation levels attributed to the Turdaș tradition² was confirmed. In terms of

* “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest; cristarh_1978@yahoo.com.

¹ Andrițoiu 1979; Drașovean, Rotea 1986.

² *Sensu* Tilley 1982, p. 5.

stratigraphy, the first habitation stage corresponded to a settlement with huts, followed by a levelling of the site with a brown-ash sediment observed in the upper part of the infill of many features. The second stage of habitation corresponded to a settlement with surface dwellings and appeared at a depth of 0.40 m (depths were measured after the removal of the overlying vegetation). At that depth, a substantial destruction level was observed, consisting of burnt debris scattered all over the surface (some of the daub fragments still bearing wattle traces), hearths and clay floors; below those was a thin layer of gravel, some negative impressions of poles and a large quantity of archaeological material (pottery, bones and lithic items). The majority of the prehistoric features was represented by a variety of multifunctional pits, but also huts, dwellings and ditches³. In this contribution, the author discusses the 76 anthropomorphic figurines (complete or fragments) found at Șoimuș in different contexts such as pits, huts, ditches and dwellings.

INTERPRETATION

During the last decades, a multitude of approaches was applied in figurine interpretation, from the reductionist view of expressing a fertility and fecundity cult to an individual expression of identity⁴. The present intention is not to review those ideas and concepts, but rather to apply Lesure's conceptual framework⁵ in analysing the figurines of Șoimuș (Fig. 1).

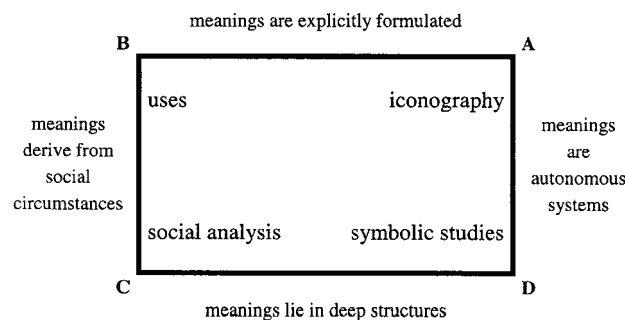


Fig. 1. Conceptual framework for figurine interpretation (after Lesure 2002).

Iconography – meanings are explicitly formulated

Lesure considers that the most obvious question to formulate is what figurines were intended to represent. For him there are many steps to be taken in decoding the meaning of figurines, such as identifying the themes, coding strategies, narrative specificity or coexistence of multiple representational systems⁶. Given the fragmentary nature of the figurines discussed here, it is very difficult to take such steps in interpreting them; we can only speculate on this matter. We can observe, for example, that many of the pieces have a triangular face as if they were wearing masks (Pl. II/3; III/6; IV/7; V/2-4; IX/2, 4; XI/4; XII/4; XIII/2; XVI/2, 4; XVII/2). Some of the finds from the Vinča area can give us some hints on certain ceremonies/rituals involving masks: *e.g.* the fragmentary masks of Uivar⁷ and the famous Liubcova figurine carrying a pot in one hand and a mask in the other⁸. Also, from the eponymous site, there are several other figurines in the same

³ For further details, see Petcu, Petcu, Heroiu 2012; Ștefan, Petcu, Petcu 2013; Ștefan 2014; Niță *et alii* 2015; Ștefan, Petcu, Petcu 2015; Ștefan, Petcu 2015; Dobrescu, Ștefan, Bonsall 2016.

⁴ Ștefan 2005-2006, p. 74; Ștefan 2013; Bailey 2005.

⁵ Lesure 2002, p. 588, Fig. 1.

⁶ Lesure 2002, p. 589.

⁷ Schier, Drașovean 2004-2005 especially fig. 1-2. The tradition of using masks in certain ceremonials was carried on also during the later periods, such as the Copper Age (the Baden culture) at Balatonőszöd (for further details see Horváth 2015, p. 25-42).

⁸ Schier 2005, p. 60, fig. 1.

tradition which clearly wear masks on their faces⁹. It is an interesting fact to see that other such similar artefacts also appear at Şoimuş, e.g. the anthropomorphic representations¹⁰ or so-called altars¹¹. The semiotics of masks is a rather complex matter which constitutes a topic in itself, given their ability to transform the identity of those who wear them and to be the gate between the various worlds (maybe the gate towards the ancestors)¹². On the other hand, we have a very realistic representation of a man's head, as shown in Pl. VI/2.

The feminine prevails (22 pieces) over the masculine (2 items), 47 figurines are neutral/indeterminable and five are small fragments impossible to determine. Also, 24 figurines show incised signs or traces of painting on the body, which is a significant percentage (almost a third). Some of the incisions are present all over the body (clothing?), others only on certain parts of it (tattoos?), in the neck area (collars), and in one case, on the top of the head suggesting perhaps a hairstyle (Pl. III/8).

Uses – meanings derive from social circumstances

As Lesure wrote, some previous attempts to decode the meanings of figurines considered them “toys, amulets, teaching aides, object of worship, votive images, curing aides, and tokens of economic or social relationships”¹³. We know that in the Vinča area figurines are strongly related with the domestic sphere of activity¹⁴. At Şoimuş – *La Avicola (Ferma 2)*, most of the figurines were found in pits and a few in huts, dwellings, the ditch and the habitation layers (Fig. 2).

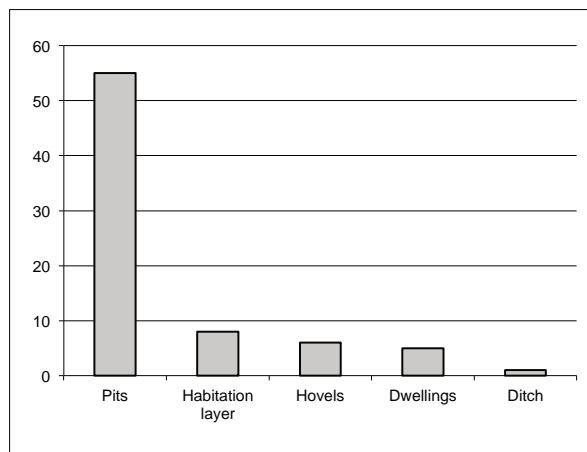


Fig. 2. The contexts of the figurines from Şoimuş – *La Avicola (Ferma 2)*.

In some cases, the aspect of the figurine itself provided us with a clue concerning its use. One item from the Vinča site of Medvednjak – *Smederevska Palanka* (Serbia) was used as a seal stamp as shown in Fig. 3¹⁵. Also, two of the figurines of Şoimuş (Cat. not. 28 and 61) were later re-used as polishers.

One of the approach angles that Lesure is sceptical about is the deliberate breakage of figurines¹⁶. On the other hand, Chapman argues that “the deposition of figurines in pits connects the living to the ancestors through figurine fragments, matching fragments of which are enchained to those same ancestors

⁹ Schier 2005, p. 57-59, fig. 57-60. Some vessels with triangular masks depicted on them were recovered at Balta Sărată – *Câmpul lui Poșta* (pers. comm., D.P. Negrei). Another known example of masked figurine is the one from Achilleion (Bailey 2005, p. 148, Fig. 7.1).

¹⁰ Ștefan *et alii* 2013, p. 58, Pl. IV/1, 2.

¹¹ Ștefan 2014, p. 16-17, fig. 6, 10.

¹² Pollock 1995.

¹³ Lesure 2002, p. 590.

¹⁴ Chapman 1981, p. 65-66; see also Hodder 1990, p. 53-70, fig. 3.5.

¹⁵ Gimbutas, Campbell 2008, p. 14, fig. 21.

¹⁶ Lesure 2002, p. 590. For a different point of view, with strong arguments, see Biehl 2000.



Fig. 3. The figurine from Medvednjak – *Smederevska Palanka* (after Gimbutas, Campbell 2008).

in whatever other contexts they may be used or deposited”¹⁷. The same author considers that the more elaborate pieces, such as the *Lady of Vinča* or the rare marble figurines, were used in those relationships where permanence was highly valued¹⁸.

Social analysis – meanings lie in deep structures

The third analytical approach considers the figurines’ meanings as social products; two visible tendencies are to be seen in the figurine studies: they are either the tools of understanding certain segments of the society that produced them, or, we need to understand those societies in order to be able to interpret the figurines¹⁹.

A possible answer to this dilemma can be the amazing discovery made at the Crkvine-Stubline (Serbia). Here, in a Vinča settlement (House 1), 43 figurines were found on a platform, near an oven, arranged as if in some kind of scenario. Eight groups of figurines, some of them with tools in their hands, send us a message from the past²⁰. Based on their arrangement, the author of the research concluded that the Vinča society was vertically stratified and hierarchical²¹.

Most of the figurines from Șoimuș were discovered in pits, in a fragmentary state, associated with other objects, some of them recurrent (Table 1). Chapman’s “structured deposition”²², although a concept contested by other scholars²³, may be observed in the case of Șoimuș.

Generally, at Șoimuș, there are few figurines recovered from habitation structures, with two exceptions: Feature 39 (7 pieces) and Feature 93 (six pieces). The archaeological recording of these structures did not show any special spatial deposition or arrangement of the figurines. There are a few examples in the south-eastern European Neolithic with figurines found in special arrangements: the famous “scene” of Ovčarovo (Bulgaria) interpreted later in the key of miniaturism²⁴, the house model of Plateia Magoula Zarkou (Greece) interpreted in the key of nuclear family²⁵ or the set of figurines from Ghelăiești (Romania) seen as groups of allied individuals in a domestic setting²⁶.

¹⁷ Chapman 2000a, p. 72.

¹⁸ Chapman 2000a, p. 75.

¹⁹ Lesure 2002, p.591.

²⁰ Crnobraj 2011, p. 139, Fig. 8-10; Spasić 2014.

²¹ Crnobraj 2011, p. 141.

²² Chapman 2000b.

²³ Garrow 2012.

²⁴ Bailey 2005, p. 26-44.

²⁵ Bailey 2005, p. 170, Fig. 7.13.

²⁶ Bailey 2005, p. 91-92, Fig. 5.3.

Pit	Material										
	Pottery	Daub	Flint	Obsidian	Animal bones / antler	Bone and/or antler tools	Stone axe(s)	Stone disk	Human bones	Shells	Clay weights
C.13	*	*	*	*	*	*					
C.39	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	
C.75	*	*			*					*	
C.98	*	*	*		*	*		*			
C.110	*				*					*	
C.152	*		*	*	*	*	*				
C.206	*	*			*		*				*
C.210	*		*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*
C.215	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	
C.270	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*		
C.280	*	*	*		*	*					*
C.295	*	*			*	*					*
C.353	*		*	*	*	*		*			*
C.354	*		*		*	*	*				*
C.357	*				*	*					*
C.376	*	*			*	*					
C.378	*		*		*	*					
C.383	*	*			*	*					
C.385	*	*			*	*					
C.390	*		*		*	*					
C.392	*	*	*		*	*					*
C.395	*	*	*		*	*	*				*
C.403	*		*		*	*					
C.428	*	*	*		*						
C.444A	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	
C.469	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
C.474	*		*		*	*				*	
C.500	*		*		*						
C.504B	*	*									
C.524	*	*	*		*	*					*
C.538	*	*	*		*	*					*

Table 1. The inventory of pits (items other than the figurines) from Şoimuş – *La Avicola (Ferma 2)*.

An interesting situation was also documented at Drama – *Merdzumekja* (Bulgaria). Here, most of the anthropomorphic figurines were found inside the houses, some of them in pairs. Also, in House 244, behind the oven, in a tilted vessel, a whole figurine was discovered, with other figurines found in the same house. The pair-figurines were interpreted as the work of the same craftsman²⁷.

Symbolic studies – meanings are autonomous systems

Lesure's fourth approach implies the idea that meanings can be treated as autonomous systems, three principal sources of evidence being identified: the indigenous commentary, the archaeological context and the analogies²⁸. For the indigenous commentary Lesure used the work of Joyce Marcus on Formative figurines from Oaxaca, in the case of the symbolic associations between death, divination and animals²⁹. In the same sense, we recall the case of the Maidarat community, a *sakai* tribe from Malaysia, which were using clay figurines to keep the members of the community safe from disease³⁰.

In what the archaeological context is concerned, Lesure attacks Hodder's structuralist approach: if images of women are found in the houses then "woman" and "house" are linked concepts. From here to the "woman as transformer of wild into domestic" is just a small step, which is a very optimistic one in Lesure's view³¹.

In the case of analogical arguments, Lesure remarks that "symbolic interpretations of Neolithic Greek figurines are supported by appealing both to general human characteristics and to more specific features supposedly entailed by a Neolithic existence"³². Indeed, there is much debate in archaeology on essentialism versus the alien world of prehistory but it is not the place to discuss such a complex matter³³.

Sometimes the substance itself is very important in establishing the various significations of material culture. A very interesting study proves this theory: two different and remotely situated sites are analysed from the perspective offered by the use of the two substances, i.e. the clay for Çatalhöyük and the water for the Moche communities from Peru³⁴. Another excellent study, comparing the clay figurines and stelae from the Alps and the Central Mediterranean points out the different ways of using the two types of artefacts: clay figurines involved probably a few people, at long intervals or sporadically, possibly in rites of childbirth or coming of age, while the stelae were used "in aggregation or perhaps large groups for public ceremonial occasions."³⁵ Robb is describing in a very plastic manner the many directions of interpreting the phenomenon we are observing³⁶:

"...Consider a flock of starlings wheeling across the sky. What is it exactly? Each bird is a living, autonomous creature which directs its own flight. Yet the flock is obviously not just a collection of randomly moving birds. It rises in a smooth flow of birds, turns, spirals and descends in a loose, fluid unity. In other words, it possesses an obvious flock-ness which develops through the flight patterns of single birds but is not reducible to them; how each bird flies is reciprocally conditioned by the movement of all the others."

A final aspect that is worth mentioning is that of imagery. We know from psychology that there are seven basic emotions: fear, happiness, sadness, anger, contempt, disgust and surprise³⁷. If we compare the facial expression of happiness (in the image played by the famous actor Tim Roth) and one of the realistic figurines from Șoimuș depicting a man's head from Feature 98 (Pl. VI/2), we observe obvious similarities (Fig. 4a).

Analysing the facial expressions on the figurines from Șoimuș, we tried to identify certain basic emotions: contempt (Fig. 4b) on a figurine from Feature 357 (Pl. XI/2), surprise (Fig. 4c) on an item recovered from the archaeological layer (Pl. XVIII/3) or sadness (Fig. 4d) on a figurine from Feature 78 (Pl. IV/7).

²⁷ Becker 2016, especially Fig. 2-5.

²⁸ Lesure 2002, p. 593-594.

²⁹ Marcus 1998, p. 22.

³⁰ Frazer 1980, p. 60-61.

³¹ Lesure 2002, p. 594.

³² Lesure 2002, p. 594.

³³ A very good volume on this topic, in my opinion, is Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright 2016.

³⁴ Weismantel, Meskell 2014.

³⁵ Robb 2008, p. 338-339.

³⁶ Robb 2008, p. 332.

³⁷ <https://1cartepesaptamana.ro/emotii-fundamentale-microexpresii-asociate/> (accessed 2nd October 2016).

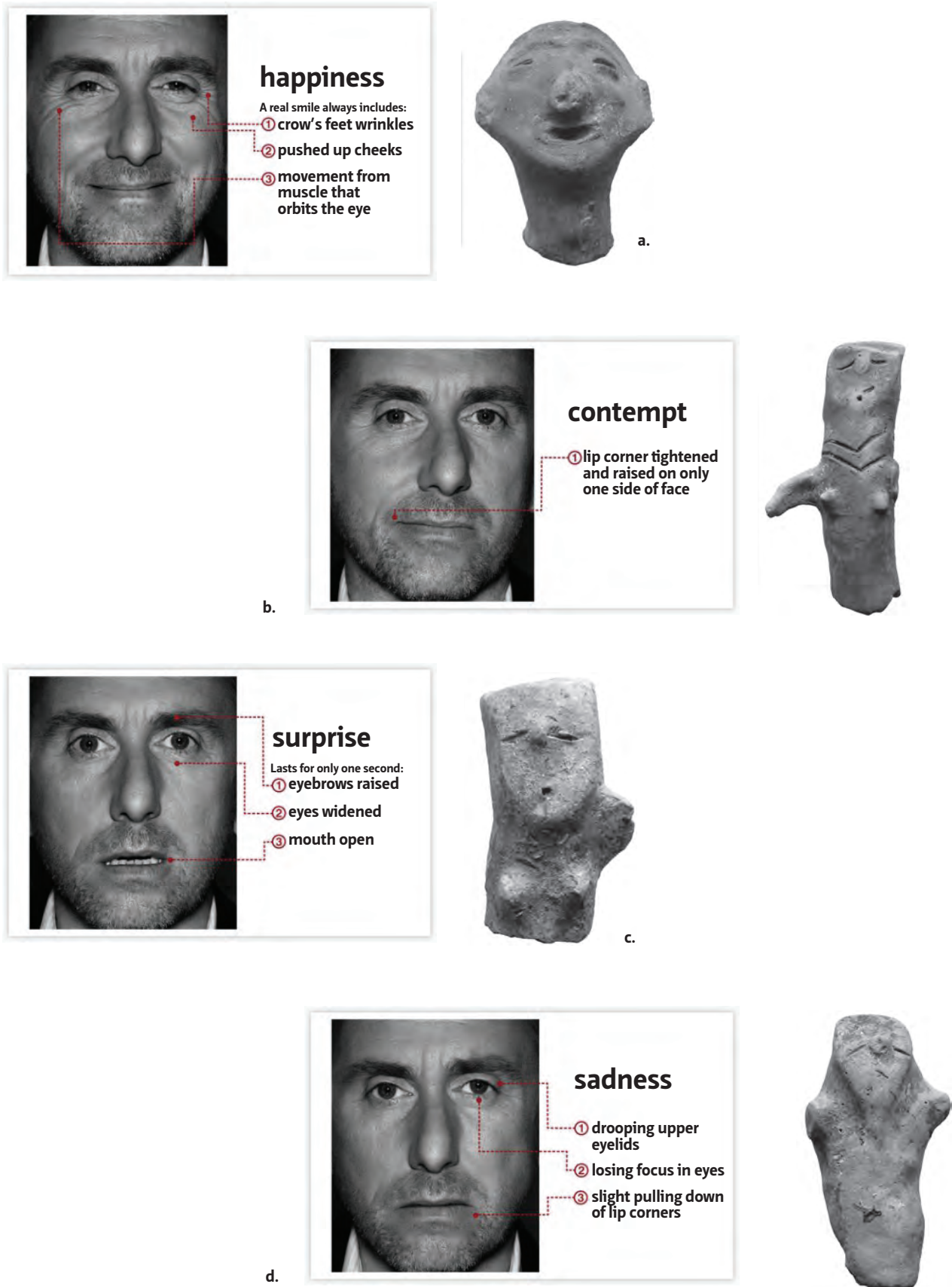


Fig. 4. Basic emotions depicted on the figurines from Șoimuș: a) happiness; b) contempt; c) surprise; d) sadness.

The important question to be asked regards whether these expressive figurines represented real people or whether they only personified the emotions identified. If we take into consideration the very realistic depiction of the individual in Fig. 4a (right) my answer will be that figurines (at least this one) represent indeed specific individuals.

My personal point of view regarding the possible meanings of the figurines from Șoimuș is related to Chapman's concept of "structured deposition" (*see infra*). It is worth mentioning that many of the 40 examples of structured deposition in pits across the Neolithic Europe presented by Chapman also contained figurines, associated with common and/or exotic items³⁸. It seems they represent the proof of some kind of the ceremonies involving ancestors, especially if we take into consideration the presence of human bones (Feature 270, see Table 1)³⁹. Human bones were also documented in other types of features from Șoimuș, such as Feature 239 (a ditch⁴⁰) or Dwelling L2. In the central area of Dwelling L2, an infant skull was discovered, caught in the clay floor, associated with daub fragments and a piece of antler.

At the settlement of Orăștie – *Dealul Pemilor*, three anthropomorphic figurines were discovered in Dwelling L3/1992-1993, in a context that the author interpreted as a "cult feature"⁴¹. Another interesting context is the pit from Tărtăria, which contained the famous clay tablets, but also burnt human remains of an individual, two alabaster figurines, 26 clay figurines, a clay "anchor" and a *Spondylus* bracelet⁴².

If we take a closer look at the general aspect of the figurines from Șoimuș, they share some common elements such as the triangular shape of the face, the pattern of the disposal of the incisions on the body and the surface treatment (rough or burnished), but also many differences in the morphology of the body, the surface treatment (painting and/or excision and filling with white paste), sex and the realistic/non-realistic depiction of human traits. Among the 76 clay figurines of Șoimuș not two are identical or very similar, so we can suppose the existence of more than one artisan who made them. Also, the figurine from Feature 270 (Pl. VIII/4) is very similar in style to the ones made in the Boian area, so maybe we are in the presence of an artefact made by a "foreigner" arrived from the south of the Carpathians.

Considering the diversity in shapes, decorations and surface treatment of the figurines and the similarity between the figurines, anthropomorphic vessels, anthropomorphic representations and "altars" displaying human traits from Șoimuș⁴³, we see that the artisans of this Neolithic community played with clay using fire as agent of transmutation⁴⁴.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Despite the many discussions on the topic of figurines during the past 50 years, things are far from being solved. The problem remains open for future research and there is hope that further spectacular discoveries such as the one from Crkvine-Stubline, would throw some light in interpretation of the Neolithic figurines. Instead, inspired by Peter J. Ucko⁴⁵, I would like to suggest a few directions for the future research, answering questions that were not answered in a satisfactory manner so far (in my opinion):

Why most of the Neolithic figurines are feminine representations and the masculine ones represent only *ca.* 1% in the Cucuteni and Gumelnița areas, for example?

Why some of the figurines were "decorated" and others were not? What is the signification of these so-called "decorations"? Clothes? Tattoos? Social codes?

³⁸ Chapman 2000b, p. 69-76.

³⁹ From Feature 270 was also recovered a clay lid with human face (Ștefan, Petcu 2015, p. 118, Pl. III/2a-c).

⁴⁰ The complexity of Feature 239, which clearly represents more than a simple enclosing ditch, was already discussed elsewhere (see Ștefan, Petcu, Petcu 2015, p. 188-189, Fig. 5/1, 4). At Șoimuș a total number of 12 structures containing human bones were documented.

⁴¹ Luca 1997, p. 64-66, Pl. XV/1-3.

⁴² Vlassa 1963.

⁴³ Ștefan, Petcu 2015, p. 119.

⁴⁴ Eliade 2008, p. 79.

⁴⁵ Ucko 1996, p. 303-304.

Why some of the figurines were of a better quality than others?

What role played the so-called neutral figurines? Were they really neutral?

Why most of the Neolithic figurines were found in a fragmentary state? Was this fragmentation intentional?

Is there a link between the styles of the figurines and those of the pottery?

CATALOGUE OF FIGURINES AND THEIR CONTEXTS

1) Anthropomorphic figurine, female, fragmentary state; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, the nose and breasts being represented by knobs. The bottom is made by two chunks of added clay and the figurine has almost all the body surface incised. The body has a cylindrical shape with the lower part broader to ensure its stability. It has a brick-red colour, the fabric is fine and sand tempered (Pl. II/1). The figurine was recovered from Feature 7 – a Migration Age pit (4th-5th centuries AD) with a diameter of 1.6 m; together with the typical Migration Age material, from this pit were also recovered Neolithic artefacts (pottery, debris, clay weight, flint, animal bones and bone tools) most probably fallen inside at the moment the pit was dug.

2) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the upper part of the body was preserved; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, the nose is figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. It has a brick-red colour, semi-fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. II/3). The figurine was recovered from Feature 13 – a pit with dimensions of 2 × 2.7 m and a maximum depth of 0.38 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, flint and obsidian pieces, animal remains, and bone and antler tools. The pit had an irregular shape with vertical walls and a flat base and its infill consisted of ash-grey soil with small fragments of daub. In the middle area of the pit, under this level, it was a lens of yellow soil (Pl. II/2).

3) Complete anthropomorphic figurine with a prominent back; the item has incisions on the body and two pinholes on its upper and lower part. The figurine has a red-brick colour and sand tempered fine fabric (Pl. II/5). It was recovered from Feature 14 – a hut with dimensions of 4 × 5.5 m and a maximum depth of 1.08 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, flint, obsidian and quartzite items, stone axes, bone tools, and animal bones (both burnt and unburnt). The hut had an irregular shape with two types of infill (a dark-brown one beneath and a grey coloured one above) and abundant archaeological material. To the southern and north-western areas some steps were documented; the feature had vertical walls and a flat base (Pl. II/4).

4) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head, the nose figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The arms are disposed to the sides of the figurine and the breasts are suggested by two knobs. The piece presents angular incisions on the face, back and head (hair?). It has a brick-red colour and grog tempered coarse fabric (Pl. III/8). The figurine was recovered from Feature 39 – a pit with dimensions of 2.75 × 4.4 m and a maximum depth of 0.6 m. It contained pottery, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, flint and obsidian items, a stone axe, bone tools, animal remains, shells and charcoal. The pit had an oval but irregular shape; its infill consisted of black soil mixed with daub fragments. In the centre of the pit, towards the top, a consistent layer of daub was documented (Pl. III/1).

5) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; the breasts are figured by two knobs and the bottom presents a vertical incision. The figurine has a cylindrical shape, was made of a pebble tempered semi-fine fabric, red-brick in colour (Pl. III/3). The piece was recovered from Feature 39.

6) Complete anthropomorphic figurine, female; it is figured in a sitting position, with the breasts suggested by two knobs and the arms positioned on the sides and along the body. The nose is also figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The spine is suggested by a small groove on the back of the figurine. The piece has a red-brick colour, and was made of sand tempered semi-fine fabric (Pl. III/5); it was recovered from Feature 39.

7) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head, triangular face, the eyes figured by two horizontal incisions and the nose by a knob. The breasts are figured also by two knobs, the arms and legs are short and the bottom is prominent. The figurine has a red-brick colour and was made of sand tempered fine fabric (Pl. III/6); it was recovered from Feature 39.

8) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a triangular face, the breasts are figured by two knobs, the arms are short and laterally positioned. The figurine has a cylindrical body, red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. III/4); it was recovered from Feature 39.

9) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the upper part was preserved; the face has a triangular shape, the nose is suggested by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The body is cylindrical; the piece has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. III/7), being recovered from Feature 39.

10) Anthropomorphic figurine, fragmentary state, only the lower was preserved; it has a cylindrical body, a red-brick colour, coarse fabric and was tempered sand with pebbles (Pl. III/2). The figurine was recovered from Feature 39.

11) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, the nose is figured by a knob with two holes, the eyes and eyebrows by four horizontal incisions. The figurine has two laterally disposed arms and two holes through the head, probably for suspension. It had a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IV/2). The piece was recovered from Feature 58 which represents a hut with dimensions of 5.4×6 m and a maximum depth of 1.4 m. It contained pottery, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, a clay weight, hearth fragments, flint and obsidian items, stone chisels, bone tools, animal bones (burnt and unburnt), shells and charcoal. Five post holes were identified at different depths (along all sides of the hut). Also to the sides of the hut some steps were observed at different depths; on its upper side the infill of the pit consisted of greyish soil mixed with daub fragments (the abandonment level) and underneath a lens of black soil with ashes and charcoal. The actual habitation level had a dark brown colour; the soil was mixed with daub fragments and contained the majority of the archaeological material. It is possible that the hearth was at the north side of the hut (in its deepest part) where a black lens of burnt soil was documented (Pl. IV/1).

12) Complete anthropomorphic figurine; it has a triangular face and the ears were marked by two chunks of clay. The body is cylindrical with no arms and was red-brick in colour, made of a fine fabric and sand tempered (Pl. IV/4). The figurine was recovered from Feature 75 – a pit with dimensions of 0.94×1.18 m and a maximum depth of 0.9 m, interpreted as an oven. It contained pottery, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, a strainer, hearth fragments, burnt and unburnt animal bones and shells. The infill of the pit consisted of two successive layers, the upper one made of black soil mixed with daub fragments, and the lower one with a strong reddish colour containing a large quantity of burnt daub. Both layers were very friable and contained also many stones (Pl. IV/3).

13) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head and a round face, eyes marked by two horizontal incisions. It has a grey colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IV/5); was discovered in Feature 75.

14) Complete anthropomorphic figurine; the arms are laterally disposed and has a prominent bottom with a vertical incision. It has a mitred head and a triangular face, the nose being marked by a knob and the eyes and mouth by incisions. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IV/7). It was recovered from Feature 78 – a hut with dimensions of 2.6×6.2 m and a maximum depth of 1.1 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, obsidian items, a stone disk, a stone amulet, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, bone and antler tools, animal bones, unworked antler. After the vegetal soil was removed the remains of a destroyed circular oven were noticed, made from burnt daub. In the southern part of the hut a thick layer of burnt material was documented, possibly representing the remains of the destroyed oven; it contained thin layers of ashes, charcoal, daub fragments and lenses of yellow clay. Big chunks of burnt daub were identified also in the northern part of the hut. The rest of the infill consisted of a brown-greyish soil; in the northern side this layer overlapped other layers of dark brown soil mixed with daub and lenses of ashes, yellow clay and charcoal. No postholes were identified but some steps were noted along the entire length of the hut (Pl. IV/6).

15) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the head was preserved; the head is mitred and the face triangular. The nose is represented by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. V/4); it was recovered from Feature 93 – a hut with dimensions of 8.4×9 m and a maximum depth of 1.8 m. It contained pottery, hearth fragments, a clay weight, flint and obsidian items, stone axes, bone tools and animal bones. The hut was complex and large, with many shallow pits inside. Postholes were documented on almost all sides of the feature and even inside it. Within the feature, three main areas were documented (each with several steps and shallow pits), and a hearth in the south-eastern sector. The hut had been destroyed and re-occupied several times. The infill had a brown-greyish colour with pigments of daub, yellow clay lenses and charcoal. This infill was interrupted by three layers of burning with ash and charcoal (Pl. V/1).

16) Complete anthropomorphic figurine in a sitting position. It has a mitred head and a triangular face, the nose is figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The toes are represented by short incisions. The piece has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. V/3); was recovered from Feature 93.

17) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; only the torso was preserved and partially the arms, probably aligned along the body; the breasts were suggested by two knobs. The piece has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. V/5); it was recovered from Feature 93.

18) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with a cylindrical body; only a part of the torso and an arm were preserved. It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. V/7); it was discovered in Feature 93.

19) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with a cylindrical body; it has angular incisions on the body surface, a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. V/6); it was discovered in Feature 93.

20) Complete anthropomorphic figurine; it has a mitred head, a triangular face and the nose represented by a perforated knob. The short arms are placed to the front of the body and the bottom is bulged. On the back of the piece some angular incisions are figured, the body is cylindrical with the lower part broader and concave to ensure the stability of the piece. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. V/2); it was recovered from Feature 93.

21) Anthropomorphic figurine, male, only the head was preserved; the head is made in a very realistic manner indicating the eyes, eyebrows, mouth, ears, nose, hair and even Adam's apple. The figurine has a greyish colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. VI/2); it was recovered from Feature 98 which was a pit with a diameter of 4.3 m and a maximum depth of 3.4 m. It contained pottery, daub, flint items, a stone disk, a whetstone, bone tools and animal bones. The pit was documented at the northern limit of the future motorway area and perforated through the dwelling floor; the last layer was full of daub fragments. The upper half of the pit consisted of layers of burnt soil with daub, ash and charcoal, followed by a dark-brown infill "cut in" by thin layers of ash, daub and charcoal. These two layers were separated by another layer consisting of brown-yellowish clay pigmented with small daub fragments. The lower third of the pit was also burnt and had a darker colour compared to the rest of the feature (Pl. VI/1).

22) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; the nose is figured by a knob and the eyes by two cavities in which two oblique lines were incised. The short arms are placed on the sides of the body. The figurine has a greyish colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. VI/4); it was discovered in Feature 110 which represents a pit with dimensions of 1.2 × 1.6 m and a maximum depth of 0.24 m. It contained pottery, animal bones and shells. The pit had a dark brown infill and was "cut" by Feature 47 (ditch) on north-south direction (Pl. VI/3).

23) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the upper part was preserved; it has a mitred head and a triangular face; the nose was figured by a knob and the eyes marked by two horizontal incisions. It has two short arms placed sideways. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric, and was sand and pebble tempered (Pl. VI/6); it was recovered from Feature 152 – a pit with dimensions of 2.7 × 3.4 m and a maximum depth of 1.1 m. It contained pottery, zoomorphic figurines, a strainer, flint and obsidian items, stone axes, bone tools and animal bones. The pit had an irregular shape and presented several niches carved in the pit walls, and steps cut on the northern side. On the eastern part the infill consisted of a brown-greyish soil with daub pigment while on the western part the infill was a lighter colour and contained many yellow clay lenses and a dark lens of greyish clay towards the base of the feature (Pl. VI/5).

24) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female, only the lower part was preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure its stability. The piece has two short arms placed on the sides, breasts suggested by two knobs and a prominent bottom. It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. VII/2). The figurine was discovered in Feature 206 – a pit with dimensions of 2.15 × 3.2 m and a maximum depth of 0.9 m. It contained pottery, daub fragments, a clay weight, a stone axe, burnt and unburnt animal bones. The pit had an oval shape with slightly oblique walls and a flat floor. The infill consisted of brown-greyish soil with daub pigment; on the northern part of the feature, under the described layer, another one was documented, also brown-greyish in colour, but lighter, with little daub pigment (Pl. VII/1).

25) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female, poorly preserved; it has a cylindrical body, the eyes and nose marked by incisions, the breasts suggested by two knobs and two short arms placed on the sides. The figurine presents angular incisions on the body surface, it has a black colour, fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. VII/4); it was recovered from Feature 209 – a hut with dimensions of 3.3 × 3.4 m and a maximum depth of 1.55 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, flint items, and bone tools, burnt and unburnt animal bones. The hut had a circular shape and the north-western wall presented successive niches. Several steps were observed at the bottom of the feature and two post holes were identified on the south-western part. The initial infill consisted of a brown soil with chalk and daub fragments and above it a thick layer of burnt materials was documented (ash, charcoal, burnt daub) spread on the whole surface of the feature. The second infill consisted of a brown-greyish soil with daub pigment

followed by a burnt daub and ash layer and another brown-greyish layer which made the connection between the two layers of burnt materials (Pl. VII/3).

26) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; only the lower part was preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure its stability, and a prominent bottom. The figurine has a grey colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. VII/6); it was discovered in Feature 210 – a pit with dimensions of 3.1×6.8 m and a maximum depth of 0.46 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, flint and obsidian items, a stone disk, a stone axe, a stone chisel, burnt and unburnt bone tools and animal bones, worked and unworked antler and shells. At the top, the feature was made of two adjacent pits: one to the northern part, small in size, with a diameter of *ca.* 0.6 m (possibly a post hole) filled with a brown, friable soil. The second pit was deeper, filled with a brown-yellowish soil mixed with daub pigment. Towards the upper part were documented two layers: an ash and burnt daub lens and second one of yellow-greenish clay. The two features were overlapped by a big pit filled with greyish soil mixed with ash, charcoal and burnt daub. Due to the big quantity of stone and bone tools (finished and partially worked), we suggest this feature was a small workshop (Pl. VII/5).

27) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female, only the lower part was preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure its stability. The breasts were figured by two knobs and there were angular incisions on the back of the piece. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. VIII/2); it was recovered from Feature 215 – a pit with dimensions of 4.25×4.3 m and a maximum depth of 1 m. It contained pottery, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, a strainer, flint and items obsidian, burnt and unburnt bone tools, and animal bones, antler and shells. The pit had an irregular shape and was deeper towards its centre. The lower infill consisted of a dark brown soil and the upper one of a brown-greyish soil with daub pigment and stones. The two layers were separated by a lens of yellow clay (Pl. VIII/1).

28) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a mitred head; the nose was marked by a clay extension. The piece has two short arms, was grey coloured, made from sand tempered fine fabric (Pl. VIII/4). The lower part of the figurine was used later as a polisher. The figurine was recovered from Feature 270 – a pit with dimensions of 4.4×6.9 m and a maximum depth of 1.3 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, flint items, human bones, bone and antler tools, animal bones, shells, polished stone tools, a strainer and a stone disk. This feature was systematically filled in, there were no natural depositions. From the infill were recovered a fragment of a skull and a broken mandible, both human. On the eastern side, the feature presented many shallow cavities, while steps appeared on the northern and southern parts (Pl. VIII/3).

29) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female (?); it has two arms placed on the sides of the body and a prominent bottom with a vertical incision. A similar incision is figured also on the front of the figurine (vulva?); the piece has also angular incisions on the body surface. The lower part is very blunt due to the later use of the piece as a polisher. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. VIII/6); it was discovered in Feature 280 – a pit with the dimensions of 3.3×4.4 m and a maximum depth of 1.1 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, flint items, animal bones, a clay weight, bone tools and an antler. The pit presented many successive burnt layers consisting of burnt daub, ash, charcoal, brown-greyish soil, brown-yellowish soil with lenses of yellow clay and charcoal pigment, ash, daub and clogged clay between them (Pl. VIII/5).

30) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, the eyes being marked by two horizontal incisions and the mouth by a small aperture. The arms are placed on both sides of the body and the breasts were figured by two knobs. The figurine presents some angular incisions in the neck area (necklace?). It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IX/2); it was recovered from Feature 295 – a pit with the dimensions of 3.8×5.1 m and a maximum depth of 1.4 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, animal bones, daub fragments and bone tools. The pit had an irregular shape, many cavities and two niches to the south-western and northern sides, and was “cut” by Feature 294 (the palisade). The pit had an infill consisting of layers of ash, charcoal and burnt daub; it presented steps on all sides (Pl. IX/1).

31) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the lower part was present, with the legs well preserved. It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IX/3); it was discovered in Feature 353 – a pit with the dimensions of 6.25×17.5 m and a maximum depth of 1.6 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, a strainer, a stone disk, flint and obsidian items, a quern, animal bones and antler tools. After the removal of the vegetal soil was observed a large area with a brown infill consisting of soil, daub pigment and daub fragments. Due to its irregular shape, the feature may have been a clay extraction pit, later used for the deposition of debris (Pl. IX/7).

32) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the upper part was preserved; it has a mitred head and a triangular face; the nose was marked by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The short arms were placed on both sides of the body and the surface of the figurine was burnished. Some traces of yellow painting were observed. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IX/4); it was recovered from Feature 353.

33) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the lower part was preserved; it has a cylindrical shape with a broader lower part to ensure its stability. The figurine has a grey colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IX/5); it was recovered from Feature 353.

34) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with a broader lower part to ensure its stability; it has two short arms placed on the sides, perforated, a prominent bottom and shows incisions on the front and rear of the body. The figurine has a greyish colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. IX/6); it was discovered in Feature 353.

35) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a cylindrical shape, with a broader lower part to ensure its stability, two short arms set to the lateral sides and a prominence on the rear side indicating the bottom. The figurine bears angular and horizontal incisions both on the front and the back; it has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. X/3); it was recovered from Feature 354 – a pit with dimensions of 4.1×7 m and a maximum depth of 1.3 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, flint items, a quern, a stone axe, a stone chisel, bone tools and animal bones. The pit is overlapped from north to south by Feature 238 (palisade). The pit had an irregular, ovoid shape and its infill consisted of many layers of burnt materials - charcoal, ash and burnt daub. In the middle of the section a post hole with a diameter of *ca.* 0.5 m was documented, which was filled with dark brown soil mixed with daub pigment. The sides of the pit were indicative of several episodes of warping and soil collapse (Pl. X/1).

36) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a cylindrical body; only the upper part was preserved. The nose is marked by a knob, the eyes by two horizontal incisions and the breasts are clearly figured. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. X/4); it was found in Feature 354.

37) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the lower part was preserved; the body is rectangular in section with the lower part broader to ensure its stability. The piece presents zig-zag incisions all over its body, has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. X/5); it was recovered from Feature 354.

38) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a cylindrical body, two short, laterally disposed arms, the eyes marked by two horizontal incisions and the nose by a knob. The figurine has a grey colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. X/2); it was discovered in Feature 354.

39) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; the breasts are figured by two knobs and the figurine presents irregular incisions all over its cylindrical body. It has a grey colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. X/3); it was recovered from Feature 354.

40) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head, the face has a triangular shape, the nose is figured by a knob and the eyes marked by incisions. The arms are on the lateral sides, along the body (only one was preserved) and the figurine presents double angular incisions on the front and the rear sides. The breasts are prominent and the bottom has a vertical incision. The piece has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XI/2); it was recovered from Feature 357 – a pit with dimensions of 2.12×2.25 m and a maximum depth of 0.9 m. It contained pottery, a clay weight, bone tools and animal bones. The pit had a circular shape and was one step deeper in the centre, compared to its lateral areas. When observed in the field, the infill was a brown-greyish, sandy soil. This was followed by a thick layer of black soil with traces of burning, charcoal, ashes, daub, yellow clay lenses and by other layers of yellow clay, black soil and brown-greyish soil (Pl. XI/1).

41) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; only the lower part was preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the figurine; it presents a small cavity in the proximity of the breakage. It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XI/3); it was discovered in Feature 357.

42) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with a cylindrical body and a broader lower part to ensure its stability. It has a red-brick colour, coarse fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. XI/5); it was recovered from Feature 357.

43) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head and a triangular head; the nose was figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The two short arms are placed on the lateral sides and were found broken. The piece displays circular incisions on the face and wavy ones on the head; it has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XI/4); it was recovered from Feature 357.

44) Anthropomorphic figurine with a cylindrical body and a broader lower part to ensure its stability; it has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XII/2); it was discovered in Feature 365 – a ditch with a maximum length of 41.5 m, a maximum width of 0.60 m and a maximum depth of 0.95 m. It contained pottery, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, a clay weight, flint items, a stone axe, human bones, bone tools and animal bones. The ditch overlapped several features and between baulks 3 and 4 a few post holes were documented, suggesting the existence of a palisade (Pl. XII/1).

45) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; only the upper part was preserved; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, two perforated arms placed on the lateral sides, the nose and eyes figured by incisions. The piece has a red-brick colour with traces of yellow painting, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XII/4); it was recovered from Feature 376 – a pit with dimensions of 2.1 × 2.35 m and a maximum depth of 0.9 m. It contained pottery, daub, bone tools and animal bones. The feature had an ovoid shape, with big niches dug on its northern and southern sides; on the eastern side, it had several steps. The infill consisted of a brown-greyish soil with daub pigment on the western side, and brown-greyish soil mixed with ashes, charcoal, yellow clay lenses and burnt daub on the eastern side. Underneath those was documented a thick ash layer with yellow clay, charcoal and black soil (Pl. XII/3).

46) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with only the lower part preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece. The bottom is figured by a prominence and a part of a short arm was also preserved. The piece has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XII/5); it was discovered in Feature 378 – a pit with dimensions of 0.5 × 5.5 m and a maximum depth of 2.5 m. It contained pottery, a quern, flint items, bone tools and animal bones. After the removal of the vegetal soil on both sides of the baulk left inside Feature 365, three other features designated as A, B and C were observed, with no clear delimitation between them (Pl. XII/6).

47) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with only the upper part preserved; it has a mitred head and a triangular face. The nose is figured by a small knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The piece has two laterally positioned arms, a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XIII/2); it was recovered from Feature 383 – a pit with dimensions of 3 × 3.5 m and a maximum depth of 1.2 m. It contained pottery, daub, a strainer, burnt and unburnt bone tools and animal bones. A niche was observed on the eastern wall and the floor presented several shallow cavities. To the south-eastern and north-eastern sides were documented several steps. The infill of the pit consisted at the top of a brown-greyish soil with ashes and daub, followed by a thick layer of burning made of thin lenses of charcoal, ashes and fragments of burnt daub (Pl. XIII/1).

48) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head, a triangular face, a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure its stability. The piece has two perforated, laterally positioned arms, the breasts figured by two knobs and the eyes by two horizontal incisions. The figurine shows traces of red painting, has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XIII/4); it was recovered from Feature 385 – a pit with a diameter of 3.3 m and a maximum depth of 1.1 m. It contained pottery, daub, a strainer, burnt and unburnt bone tools and animal bones. The pit had an ovoid shape with a shallow niche on south-western wall. On the floor of the feature two big cavities were noted. Its infill consisted of several layers of burnt materials containing charcoal, ashes and burnt daub. On the upper part of the pit these layers were “cut through” by two postholes filled with brown-greyish soil. At the bottom of the feature traces of black clay were documented (Pl. XIII/3).

49) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with only the lower part preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure its stability. The prominent bottom shows a vertical incision and the arms are placed on the sides. The figurine has a grey colour, semi-fine fabric and was pebble tempered (Pl. XIII/6); it was discovered in Feature 390 – a pit with dimensions of 2.2 × 3.7 m and a maximum depth of 3.2 m. It contained pottery, flint items, burnt and unburnt bone tools and animal bones. For safety reasons the pit was documented only down to a depth of 3.2 m. On its south-western side the pit had a step at the depth of 0.8 m, and on its north-eastern side another step at the depth of 0.6 m. Its infill consisted of brown-greyish soil, while on the upper part daub pigment and several ash lenses prevailed (Pl. XIII/5).

50) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a cylindrical body, with two short, laterally set (broken) arms. The eyes were figured by two oblique cavities which also emphasized the nose. The body was covered with angular incisions and the bottom is figured by a knob. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XIV/1); it was recovered from Feature 392 – a pit with dimensions of 3 × 3.9 m and a maximum depth of 1.7 m. It contained pottery, daub, a clay weight, flint items, hearth fragments, bone tools, animal bones, antler tools and unworked antler. The feature had two areas: the eastern part had an infill consisting of a brown-greyish soil with traces of burning and ashes in the middle, daub pigments and small lenses of yellow clay; the western part was deeper,

had a circular shape and presented several shallow cavities on the north-western side; the infill consisted of several burnt layers with thin lenses of charcoal, ash, burnt daub mixed with soil and yellow clay intrusions.

51) Anthropomorphic figurine, female, with a cylindrical body; it has a triangular face with the eyes and mouth figured by incisions, and two lateral arms; the bottom is prominent, on the lower part of the frontal side, two small knobs seem to suggest the knees. The piece has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XIV/3); it was recovered from Feature 395 – a pit with dimensions of 5×7.5 m and a maximum depth of 1.35 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, a clay weight, a strainer, flint items, stone axes, unburnt and burnt bone tools and animal bones, and unworked antler. The pit had two areas: A to the south and B to the north, with different infills; was overlapped by Feature 365 on its western side. The infill of the northern area (B) presented successive layers of burning with brown-yellowish clay in between them, and a layer of yellow clay with pebbles towards the top. The infill of the southern area (A) area had successive layers coloured brown-greyish, brown and brown with daub and yellow pigment, plus a layer of burnt materials with ash pigment and daub small fragments (Pl. XIV/2).

52) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female, with a cylindrical body; only an arm with two perforations and one breast were preserved and the body shows many incisions; the piece has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XIV/5); it was discovered in Feature 403 – a pit with dimensions of 2.40×3.20 m and a maximum depth of 1.25 m. It contained pottery, flint items, bone tools, animal bones and unworked antler. The pit had an irregular, ovoid shape and overlapped Feature 402 on its western part. On the western and south-western sides the pit presented several steps, and niches on the southern and eastern walls. The infill of the feature consisted of several layers of burning and soil with ashes, charcoal and daub (Pl. XIV/4).

53) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, with the eyes figured by oblique incisions and the nose by a knob. The piece has two laterally set arms and shows angular incisions on the body surface. It has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XIV/7); it was recovered from Feature 405 – a hut with dimensions of 2.9×4.8 m and a maximum depth of 1.1 m. It contained pottery, hearth fragments, flint and obsidian items, a stone axe, animal bones and antler tools. It is possible that the hut had three “rooms”; hearth fragments were also present; a post hole was documented on the south-eastern side. In section, two different pits were documented, with distinct infills. The eastern pit had an infill consisting of black-greyish soil with a few yellow clay intrusions; the western pit was smaller and had oblique walls; its infill consisted of black-greyish soil with daub pigment and ashes, and also chalk on the eastern half (Pl. XIV/6).

54) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head with a circular face, the nose and eyebrows also figured. The eyes and mouth were represented by horizontal incisions, the ears were perforated (probably for the suspension of figurine), the (broken) arms were placed on the sides and the breasts were figured by two knobs. The piece had a burnished surface, red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XV/2); it was discovered in Feature 428 – a pit with dimensions of 1.2×2.6 m and a maximum depth of 0.25 m. It contained pottery, daub, a clay bead, flint items and animal bones. The feature had an irregular shape with the infill consisting of brown-greyish soil with daub pigment (Pl. XV/1).

55) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; only the lower part was preserved; it has a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece, a prominent bottom and well preserved legs. The piece has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XV/3); it was recovered from Feature 444A – a pit with a diameter of 3.40 m and a maximum depth of 1.1 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, hearth fragments, flint and obsidian items, a quern, a hammer-stone, bone tools, animal bones, unworked antlers, and shells. At the lower part of the pit a compact layer of clogged yellow clay, black soil and crushed daub was found, and at the upper part was documented an orange infill made of a large quantity of daub. Feature 444A overlapped Feature 444B.

56) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with only the lower part preserved; it has a truncated cone shape with a prominent bottom and incisions with white paste; the piece has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand and chaff tempered (Pl. XV/5); it was recovered from Feature 469 – a pit with dimensions of 3.7×5.4 m and a maximum depth of 1.6 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, a clay weight, a strainer, flint and obsidian items, burnt and unburnt bone tools, animal bones, unworked antler, and shells. When sectioning the feature, two pits were observed, named A and B. Both had a circular shape and their upper infill consisted of brown-greyish soil with daub, followed by a thick layer of burnt materials consisting of lenses of ashes, charcoal, daub and yellow clay (Pl. XV/4).

57) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a triangular face, the eyes, mouth and nose figured by deep incisions. The piece has two laterally set arms and the breasts figured by two knobs; it has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XV/6); it was discovered in Feature 469.

58) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has laterally positioned arms, roughly made, and the head figured by a small cavity. It has a grey colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XV/8); it was recovered from Feature 474 – a pit with a diameter of 3.5 m and a maximum depth of 1.3 m. It contained pottery, zoomorphic figurines, flint items, bone tools, animal bones, unworked antler, and shells. On its southern and eastern sides the pit had steps and further east overlapped Feature 377 and was overlapped by Feature 479. Its infill consisted of a sequence of thin, brown-greyish layers, mixed with lenses of daub, ash and charcoal. On the sides, on its lower part, the infill was brown-greyish with few pigments of charcoal or ashes (Pl. XV/7).

59) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; the breasts are figured by two knobs and the bottom also by a knob with a vertical incision. The figurine seems that have been set on a sort of a pedestal, perhaps as part of larger assemblage. It has a grey colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVI/3); it was discovered in Feature 500 – a pit with dimensions of 1 × 2 m and a maximum depth of 0.35 m. It contained pottery, animal bones, a clay ball and flint items. The pit had an ovoid, irregular shape and an infill consisting of a brown-greyish soil with layers of yellow clay and lime concretions.

60) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a cylindrical body, with only the upper part preserved. The piece has a mitred head with a triangular face. The nose is figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions; the figurine has two laterally set arms, the breast and bottom figured by prominences. It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVI/2); it was recovered from Feature 504B – a pit with a diameter of 1.20 m and a maximum depth of 1.5 m. It contained pottery, hearth fragments and daub. The pit had an infill consisting of brown-greyish soil and was overlapped by a completely destroyed oven, dated to the Migration period (Pl. XVI/1).

61) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; the breasts are figured by two knobs and the body was covered by angular and horizontal incisions. The piece has two laterally set arms, and was later reused as polisher. It has a grey colour, semi-fine fabric and was pebble tempered (Pl. XVI/6); it was discovered in Feature 524 – a pit with dimensions of 3.8 × 3.9 m and a maximum depth of 1.6 m. It contained pottery, daub with and without wattle traces, a clay weight, flint items, a hammer-stone, bone tools and animal bones. When sectioned, three areas were documented (A, B and C), with successive warping episodes at their bottoms, followed by layers of charcoal and burnt clay (Pl. XVI/5).

62) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a pentagonal face, the nose figured by a knob and the eyes by two horizontal incisions; two short arms are placed on the sides and the breasts are figured by two prominent knobs. The body is cylindrical with a prominent bottom and incisions in the neck area (collar) and on the rear side. The piece has red-brick colour, fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. XVI/4); it was discovered in Feature 538 – a pit with the dimensions of 3.3 × 4.3 m and a maximum depth of 0.8 m. It contained pottery, daub, a strainer, a clay weight, flint items, bone tools and animal bones.

63) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head and a triangular face, the nose being figured by a knob and the eyes by oblique incisions. Only the upper part of the figurine was preserved; the breasts were figured by two prominences and the (laterally set) arms were broken. The piece has a grey colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVII/2); it was recovered from Dwelling L2 which had a rectangular form, with a length of 12 m and a width of 10 m. From its debris layer (0.40 m thick) pottery, daub fragments with and without wattle traces, flint and obsidian items, stone tools, bone tools, human bones and animal bones were recovered. Underneath this debris layer a habitation level was identified; the dwelling had no stuck clay floor, rather made from battered clay (Pl. XVII/1).

64) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with only the lower part preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVII/4); it was discovered in Dwelling L2.

65) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with only the lower part preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was grog tempered (Pl. XVII/3); it was discovered in Dwelling L2.

66) Anthropomorphic figurine, in a fragmentary state, with only the lower part preserved; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece. The bottom is figured by a prominence; the figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVII/5). It was recovered from Dwelling L6 which had a rectangular form, with a length of 11 m and a width of 10 m. It was constructed in the wattle-and-daub technique and was affected by ploughing. The infill of the dwelling consisted of 0.50 m heavy debris. During the excavations, no foundation trenches or poles were observed but the inventory was rich: pottery, clay weights, stone, obsidian and flint tools.

67) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has two short, lateral arms (only one being preserved partially) and breasts figured by two knobs. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand and pebble tempered (Pl. XVII/7); it was discovered in Dwelling L9 which had a rectangular form, with a length of 7 m and a width of 5 m. The 0.40 m destruction level contained daub fragments and pottery (Pl. XVII/6).

68) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; the breasts and the laterally set arms were well figured and incisions were present on the front and rear side of the piece. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVII/8); it was recovered from Dwelling L9.

69) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a triangular face and the eyes marked by two horizontal incisions. The piece has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was pebble tempered (Pl. XVIII/1); it was recovered from the habitation level.

70) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, female; it has a mitred head and a triangular face. The nose is figured by a knob, the eyes by two horizontal incisions and the mouth by a prick. The piece has two laterally set arms, the breasts figured by two knobs and a prominent bottom. It has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVIII/3); it was discovered in the habitation level.

71) Complete anthropomorphic figurine, with a mitred head, the nose figured by a knob and the eyes marked by two horizontal incisions. The arms are placed on the sides and the figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVIII/5); it was recovered from the habitation level.

72) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the upper part was preserved; it has a mitred head and a triangular head, the nose was figured by a knob. The figurine has a red-brick colour, semi-fine fabric and was sand and pebble tempered (Pl. XVIII/4); it was discovered in the habitation level.

73) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state; it has a cylindrical body with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece. It has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVIII/6); it was recovered from the habitation level.

74) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, only the half upper part was preserved; it has a triangular face, the nose was a knob and the eyes two horizontal incisions. The cylindrical body has two laterally set arms. The figurine has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVIII/8); it was recovered from the habitation level.

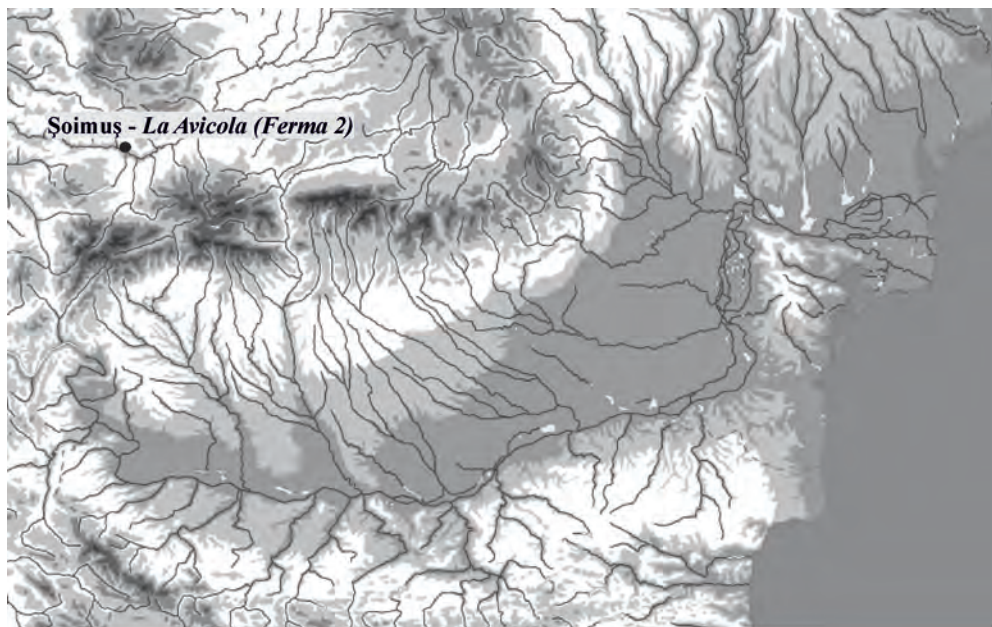
75) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with a cylindrical body; it has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVIII/7); it was discovered in the habitation level.

76) Anthropomorphic figurine in a fragmentary state, with a broader lower part to ensure the stability of the piece, and two laterally set arms. The piece has a red-brick colour, fine fabric and was sand tempered (Pl. XVIII/2); it was recovered from the habitation level.

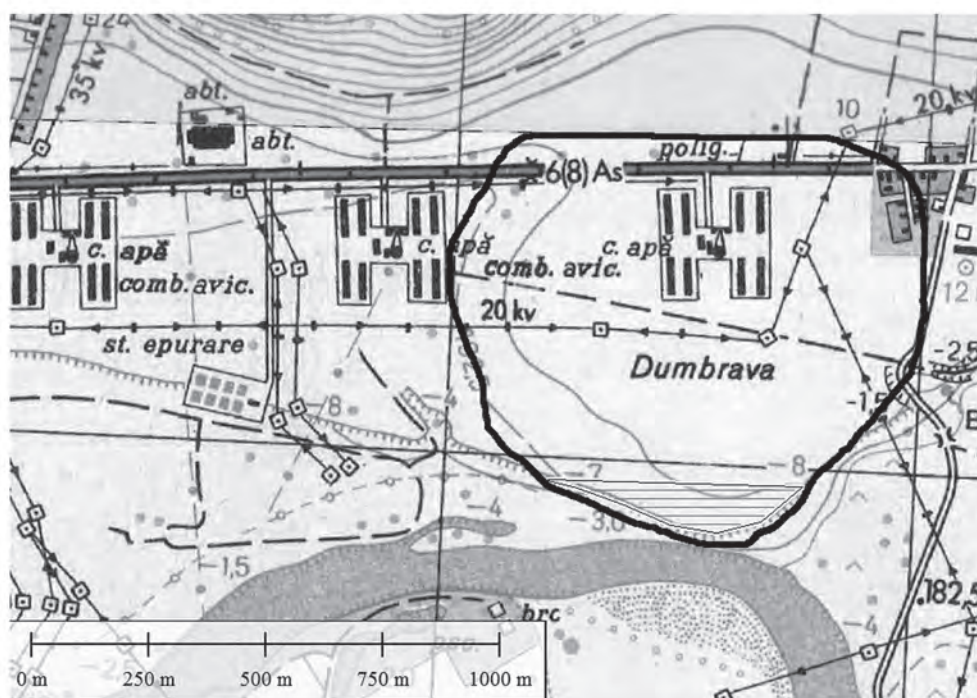
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrițoiu 1979 – I. Andrițoiu, *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al județului Hunedoara*, Sargetia 14, 1979, p. 15-34.
- Bailey 2005 – D.W. Bailey, *Prehistoric Figurines. Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*, London – New York, 2005.
- Becker 2016 – V. Becker, *Gesichter der Kupferzeit. Anthropomorphe Figurinen aus Drama, Südostbulgarien*, Tüva Mitteilungen. Tübinger Verein zur Förderung der Ur- und Frühgeschichtlicher Archäologie 15, Tübingen, 2016, p. 105-121.
- Biehl 2000 – P.F. Biehl, *Neue Untersuchungen zur intentionalen Zerstörung frühkupferzeitlichen Menschenstatuetten Bulgariens*, in S. Kadrow (ed.), *A Turning of Ages/Im Wandel der Zeiten. Jubilee Book Dedicated to Professor Jan Machnik on His 70th Anniversary*, Cracovia, 2000, p. 25-45.
- Chapman 1981 – J. Chapman, *The Vinča culture in South-East Europe: studies in chronology, economy and society*, BARIntSer 119, Oxford, 1981.
- Chapman 2000a – J. Chapman, *Fragmentation in archaeology. People, places and broken objects in the prehistory of south-eastern Europe*, London, 2000.
- Chapman 2000b – J. Chapman, *Pit-digging and Structured deposition in the Neolithic and Copper Age*, PPS 66, 2000, p. 61-87.

- Crnobrnja 2011 – A.N. Crnobrnja, *Arrangement of Vinča culture figurines: a study of social structure and organisation*, Documenta Praehistorica 38, 2011, p. 131-147.
- Dobrescu, Ștefan, Bonsall 2016 – R. Dobrescu, C.E. Ștefan, C. Bonsall, *Observations sur l'industrie en obsidienne découverte à Șoimuș-La Avicola (Ferma 2)*, MCA S.N. 12, 2016, p. 45-56.
- Drașovean, Rotea 1986 – F. Drașovean, M. Rotea, *Așezarea neolitică de la Șoimuș. Contribuții la problemele neoliticului târziu din sud-vestul Transilvaniei*, Apulum 23, 1986, p. 9-24.
- Eliade 2008 – M. Eliade, *Făurari și alchimiști*, București, 2008.
- Frazer 1980 – J.G. Frazer, *Creanga de aur*, vol. IV, București, 1980.
- Garrow 2012 – D. Garrow, *Odd deposits and average practice. A critical history of the concept of structured deposition*, Archaeological Dialogues 19, 2012, 2, p. 85-115.
- Gimbutas, Campbell 2008 – M. Gimbutas, J. Campbell, *The Language of the Goddess*, London, 2008.
- Hamilton, Whitehouse, Wright 2016 – S. Hamilton, R.D. Whitehouse, K.I. Wright (Eds.), *Archaeology and Women. Ancient and Modern Issues*, London, 2016.
- Hodder 1990 – I. Hodder, *The Domestication of Europe. Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Societies*, Oxford, 1990.
- Horváth 2015 – T. Horváth, *The mask illusion from the Late Copper Age site at Balatonöszöd*, in N.C. Rișcuța, I.V. Ferencz, O. Tutilă Bărbat (eds.), *Representations, Signs and Symbols. Proceedings of the Symposium on Religion and Magic*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, p. 25-42.
- Lesure 2002 – R. Lesure, *The Goddess Diffracted. Thinking about the Figurines of Early Villages*, Current Anthropology 43, 2002, 4, p. 587-610.
- Luca 1997 – S.A. Luca, *Așezări neolitice pe Valea Mureșului (I). Habitatul turdășean de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor (punct x2)*, Alba Iulia, 1997.
- Marcus 1998 – J. Marcus, *Women's ritual in Formative Oaxaca: Figurine-making, divination, death, and the ancestors. Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Valley of Oaxaca II*, Ann Arbor, 1998.
- Niță et alii 2015 – L. Niță, C.E. Ștefan, M. Dimache, T. Hila, R. Petcu, *Considerații privind industria litică de la Șoimuș-La Avicola (Ferma 2), jud. Hunedoara*, BMJT 7, 2015, p. 97-116.
- Petcu, Petcu, Heroiu 2012 – R. Petcu, R. Petcu, A. Heroiu, *Șoimuș I (Avicola), km. 29+750 – 30+300*, CCA, campania 2011, Târgu Mureș 2012, p. 291-292.
- Pollock 1995 – D. Pollock, *Masks and the Semiotics of Identity*, JRAI 1, 1995, 3, p. 581-597.
- Robb 2008 – J. Robb, *Tradition and agency: human body representations in later prehistoric Europe*, World Archaeology 40, 2008, 3, p. 332-353.
- Schier 2005 – W. Schier, *Katalog zur Sonderausstellung Masken, Menschen, Rituale. Alltag und Kult vor 7000 Jahren in der prähistorischen Siedelung von Uivar, Rumänien, Würzburg*, 2005.
- Schier, Drașovean 2004-2005 – W. Schier, F. Drașovean, *Masca rituală descoperită în tellul neolitic de la Uivar (jud. Timiș)*, AnB S.N. 13, 2004-2005, p. 41-56.
- Spasić 2014 – M. Spasić, *A group find of neolithic figurines of the Vinča culture from Stubline, Serbia*, Newsletter of the Association for Coroplastic Studies 12, 2014, p. 5-7.
- Ștefan 2005-2006 – C. Ștefan, *Several points of view regarding the interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines*, Peuce S.N. 3-4, 2005-2006, p. 71-76.
- Ștefan 2013 – C.E. Ștefan, *Noi date privind plastica de lut din așezarea eneolitică de la Radovanu-La Muscalu*, in S.C. Ailincăi, A. Țârlea, C. Micu (eds.), *Din preistoria Dunării de Jos. 50 de ani de la începutul cercetărilor arheologice la Babadag (1962-2012)*, Tulcea, 2013, p. 45-66.
- Ștefan 2014 – C.E. Ștefan, *Some special clay artifacts from Șoimuș-La Avicola (Ferma 2), Hunedoara County, Romania*, The Old Potter's Almanack 19, 2014, 2, p. 14-21.
- Ștefan, Petcu 2015 – C.E. Ștefan, R. Petcu, *Notă asupra unor capace de lut cu trăsături umane de la Șoimuș-La Avicola (Ferma 2), jud. Hunedoara*, SP 12, 2015, p. 117-126.
- Ștefan, Petcu, Petcu 2013 – C.E. Ștefan, R. Petcu, R. Petcu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe din așezarea neolitică de la Șoimuș-La Avicola (Ferma 2), jud. Hunedoara*, SP 10, 2013, p. 49-66.
- Ștefan, Petcu, Petcu 2015 – C.E. Ștefan, R. Petcu, R. Petcu, *Vase cu picioare de la Șoimuș-La Avicola (Ferma 2), jud. Hunedoara*, SCIIVA 66, 2015, 3-4, p. 183-209.
- Tilley 1982 – Chr. Tilley, *An assessment of the Scanian Battle-Axe tradition: towards a social perspective*, Scripta Minora 1, Lund, 1982.
- Ucko 1962 – P.J. Ucko, *The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines*, JRAI-GBI 92, 1962, p. 38-54.
- Uco 1996 – P.J. Ucko, *Mother, Are You There?*, CAJ 6, 1996, 2, p. 300-304.
- Vlassa 1963 – N. Vlassa, *Chronology of the Neolithic in Transylvania in the light of the Tărtăria settlement's stratigraphy*, Dacia N.S. 7, 1963, p. 485-495.
- Weismantel, Meskell 2014 – M. Weismantel, L. Meskell, *Substances: 'Following the Material' through two prehistoric cases*, JMC 19, 2014, 3, p. 233-251.

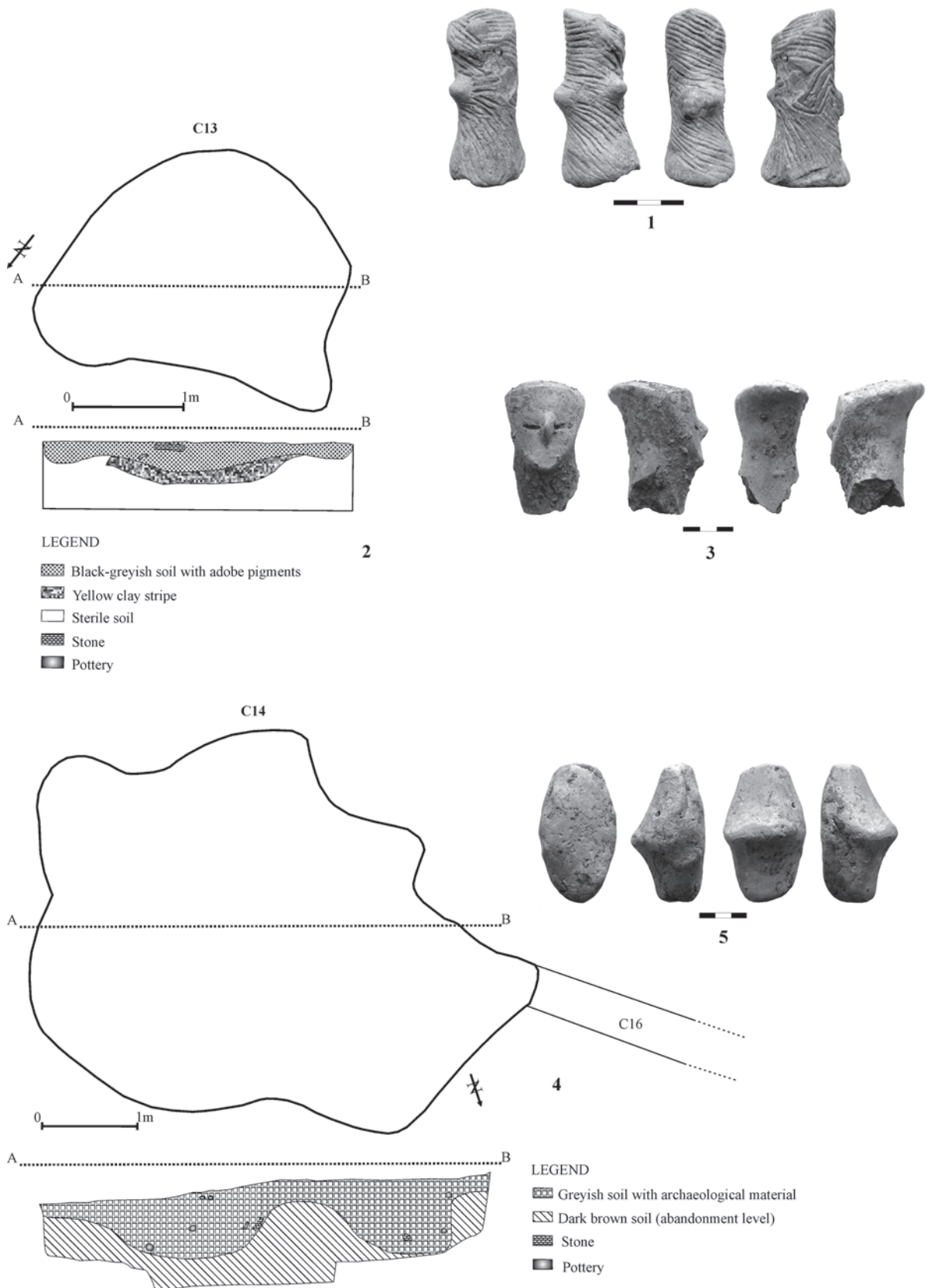


1

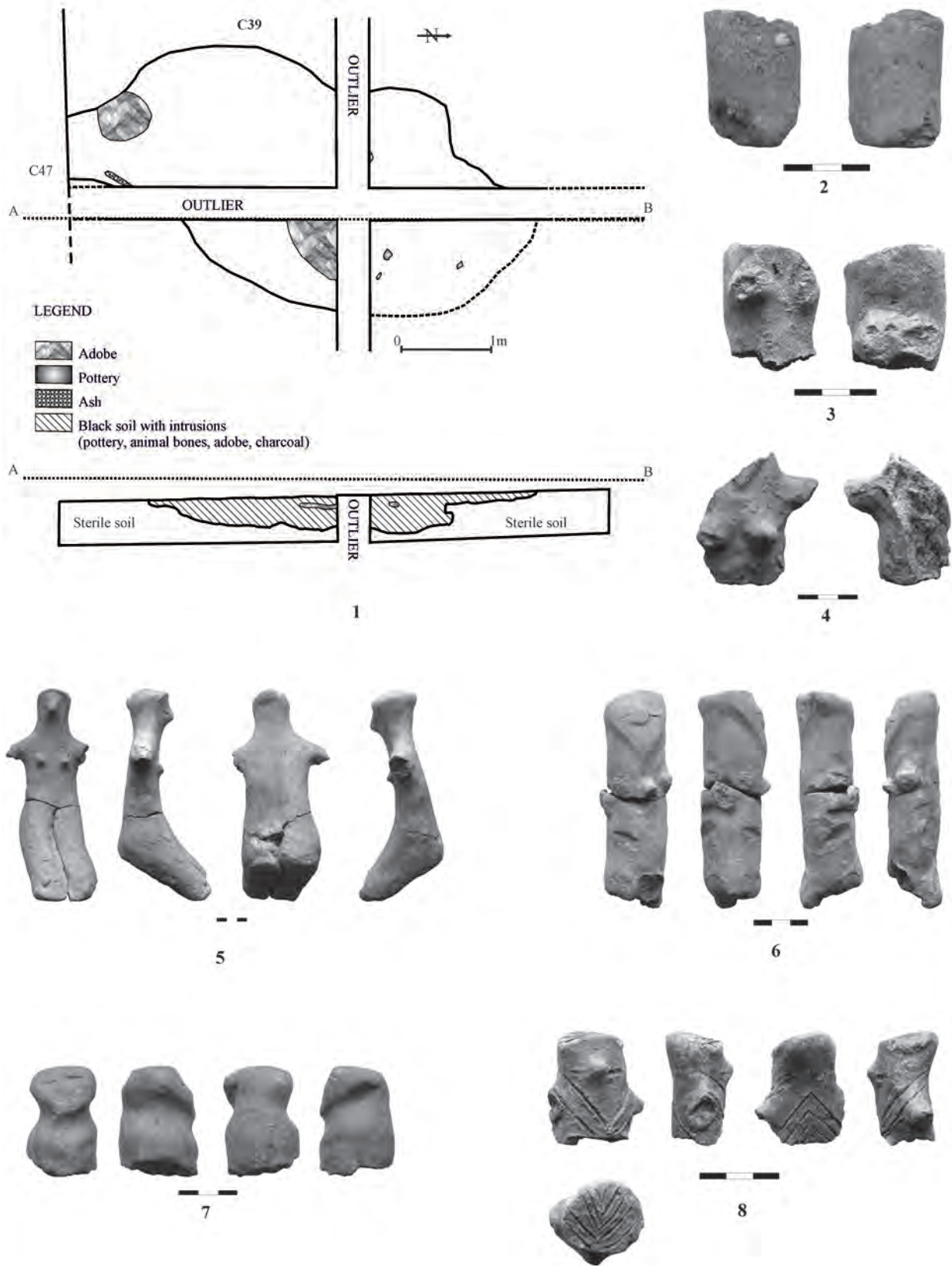


2

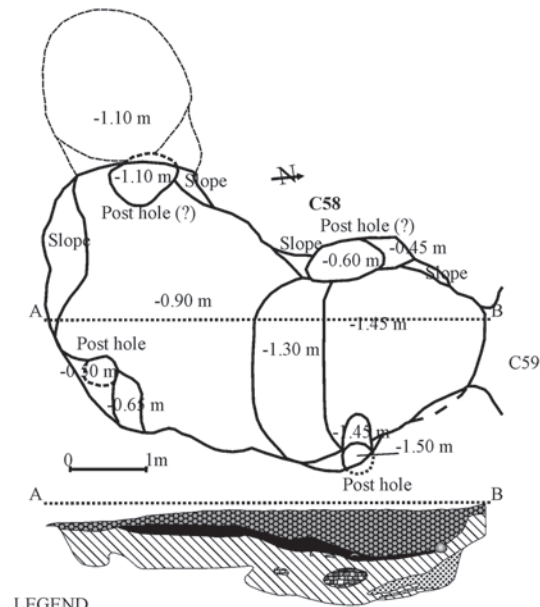
Pl. I. 1. Position on map of the settlement from Șoimuș – *La Avicola* (Ferma 2); 2. Topographic position of the settlement with the excavated area (hatched).



Pl. II. 1. Figurine from Feature 7; 2. Feature 13; 3. Figurine from Feature 13; 4. Feature 14; 5. Figurine from Feature 14.



Pl. III. 1. Feature 39; 2-8. Figurines from Feature 39.

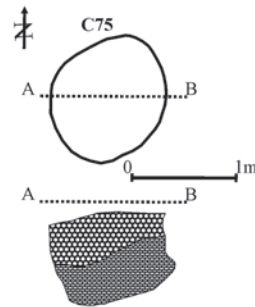


- LEGEND**
- Abandonment layer with adobe pigments
 - Black burnt soil with yellow clay pigments
 - Yellow clay stripe
 - Black burnt soil with adobe pigments
 - Dark brown soil with archaeological material
 - Pottery
 - Stone

1

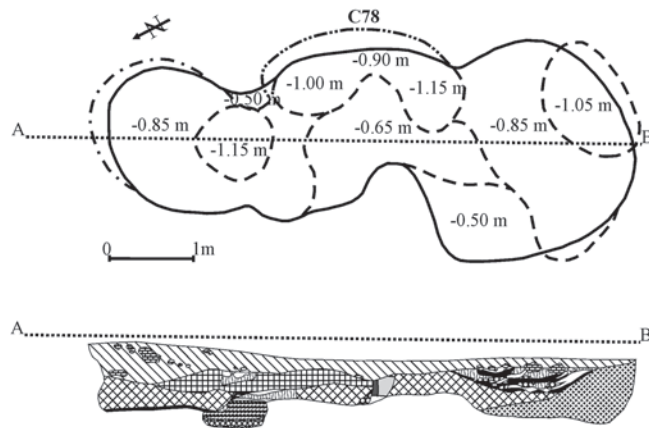


2



3

- LEGEND**
- Black, friable soil with ash, stones, pottery and adobe
 - Brown-reddish, friable soil with adobe and stones



- LEGEND**
- Brown-greyish soil with archaeological material and adobe
 - Dark brown soil with yellow clay and adobe pigments
 - Brown soil mixed with yellow clay, ash and charcoal
 - Burnt adobe
 - Ash
 - Charcoal
 - Yellow clay
 - Dark brown soil with adobe pigments
 - Black, friable soil
 - Brown-yellowish soil
 - Brown soil mixed with yellow clay
 - Dark brown/black soil

6



4

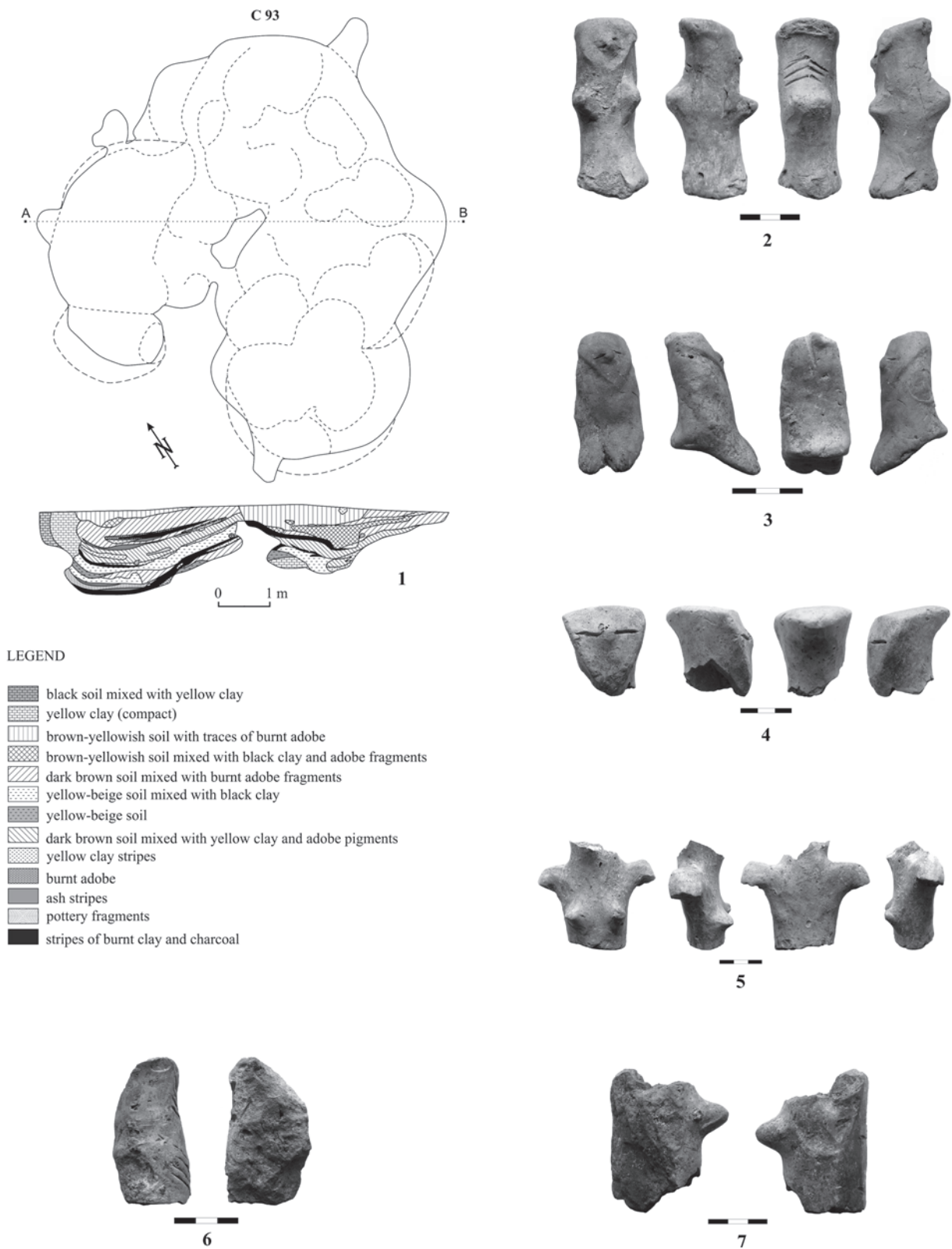


5

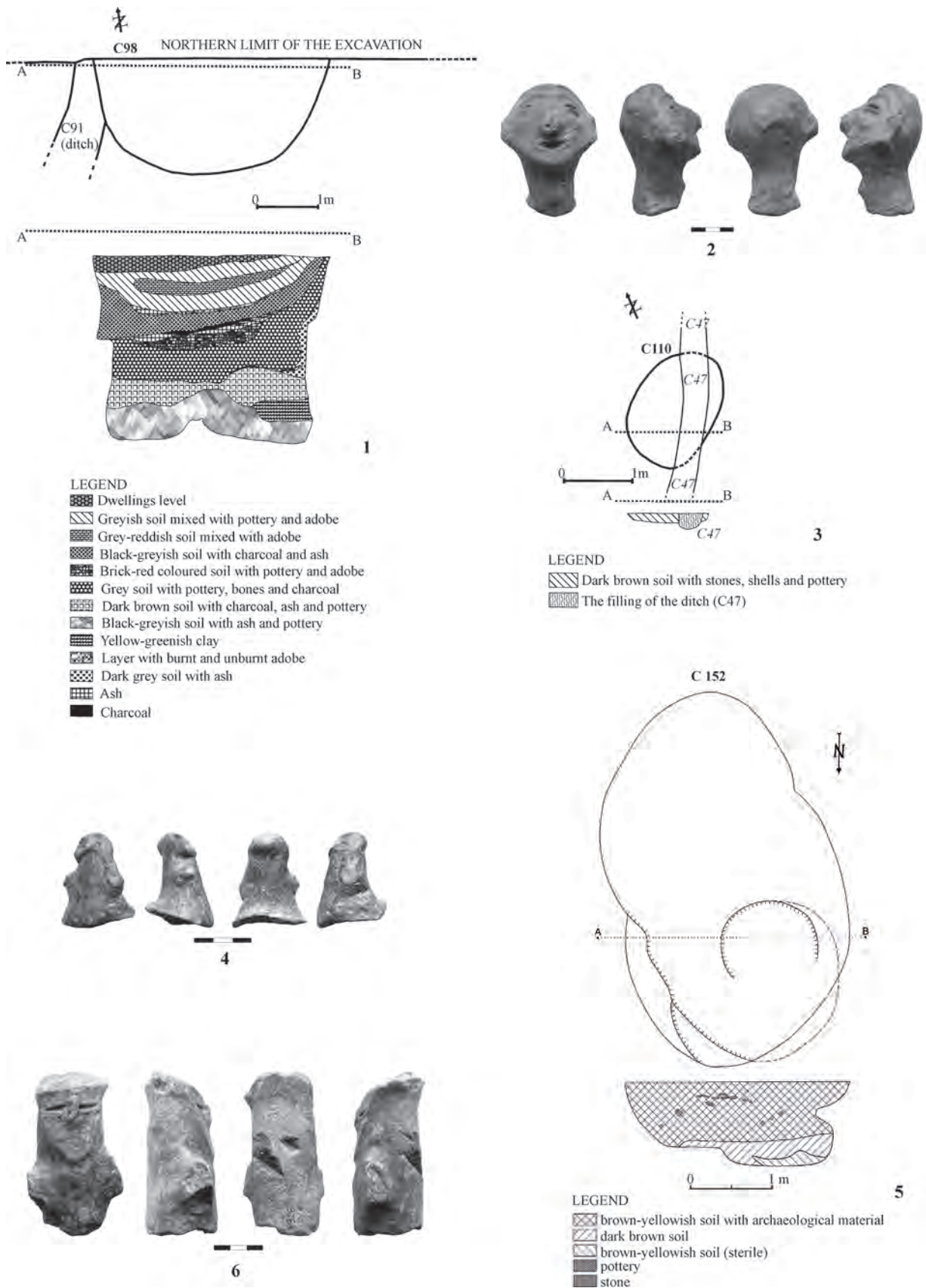


7

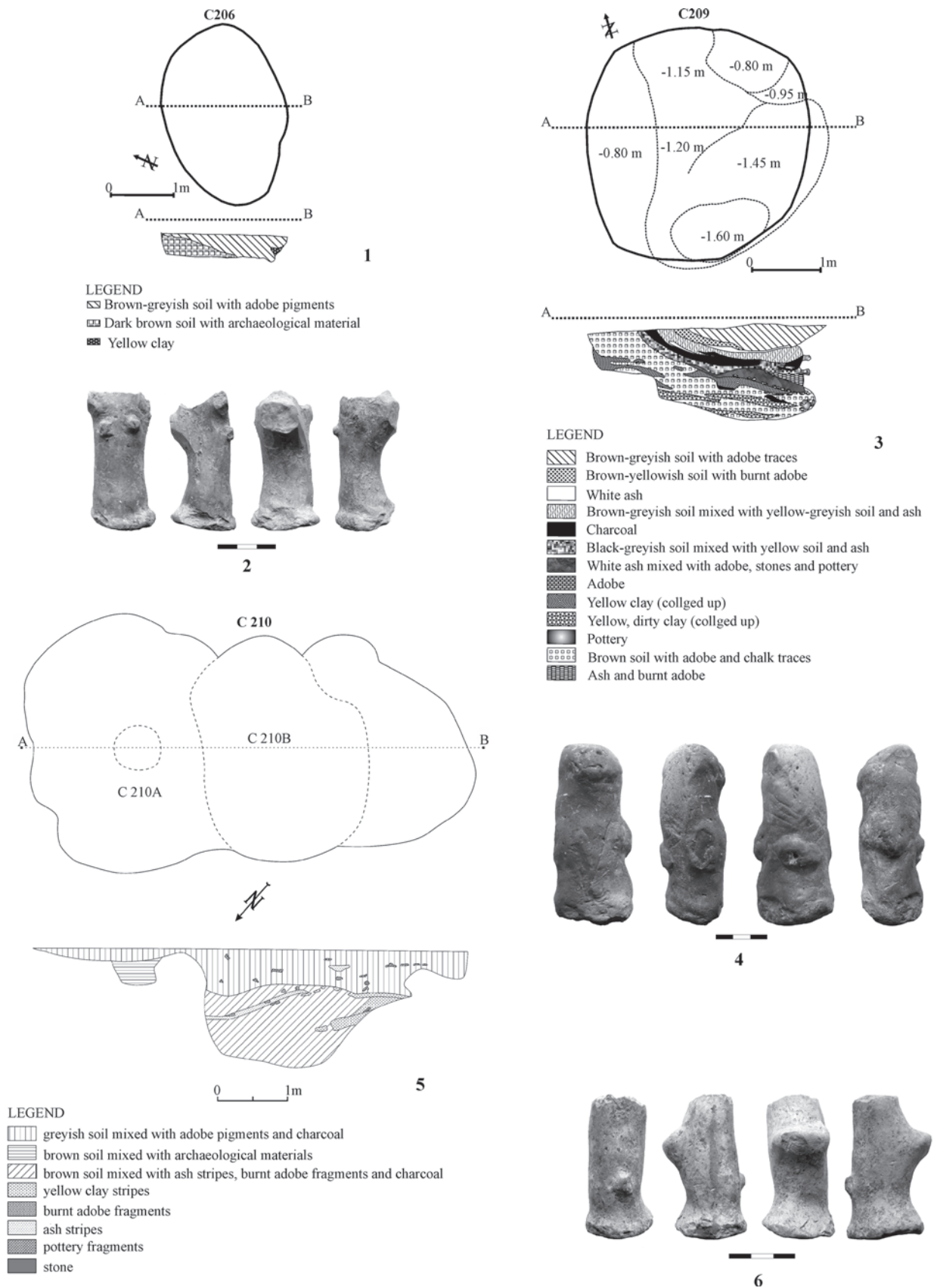
Pl. IV. 1. Feature 58; 2. Figurine from Feature 58; 3. Feature 75; 4-5. Figurines from Feature 75; 6. Feature 78; 7. Figurine from Feature 78.



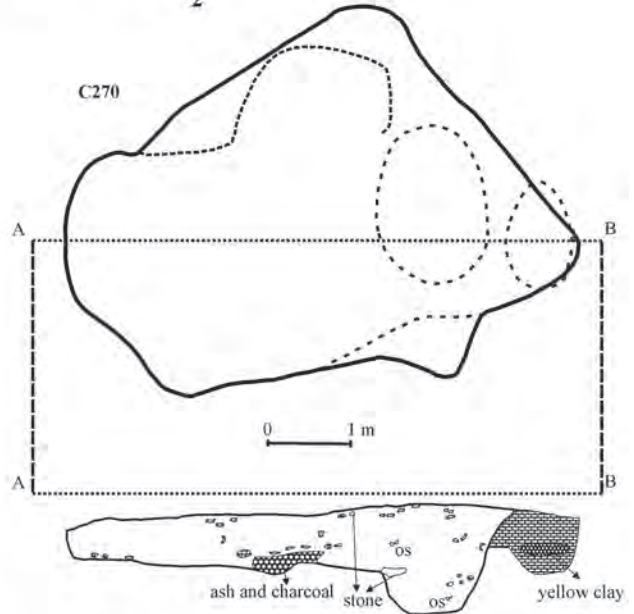
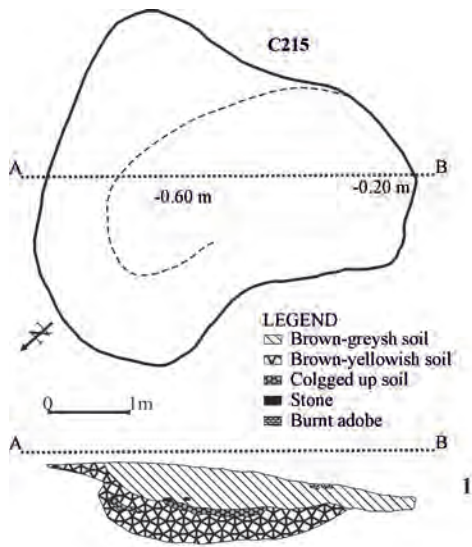
Pl. V. 1. Feature 93; 2-7. Figurines from Feature 93.



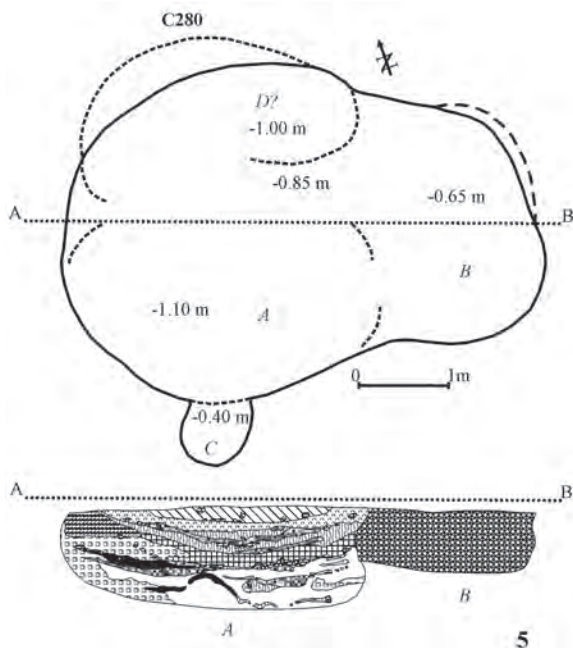
Pl. VI. 1. Feature 98; 2. Figurine from Feature 98; 3. Feature 110; 4. Figurine from Feature 110; 5. Feature 152; 6. Figurine from Feature 152.



Pl. VII. 1. Feature 206; 2. Figurine from Feature 206; 3. Feature 209; 4. Figurine from Feature 209; 5. Feature 210; 6. Figurine from Feature 210.



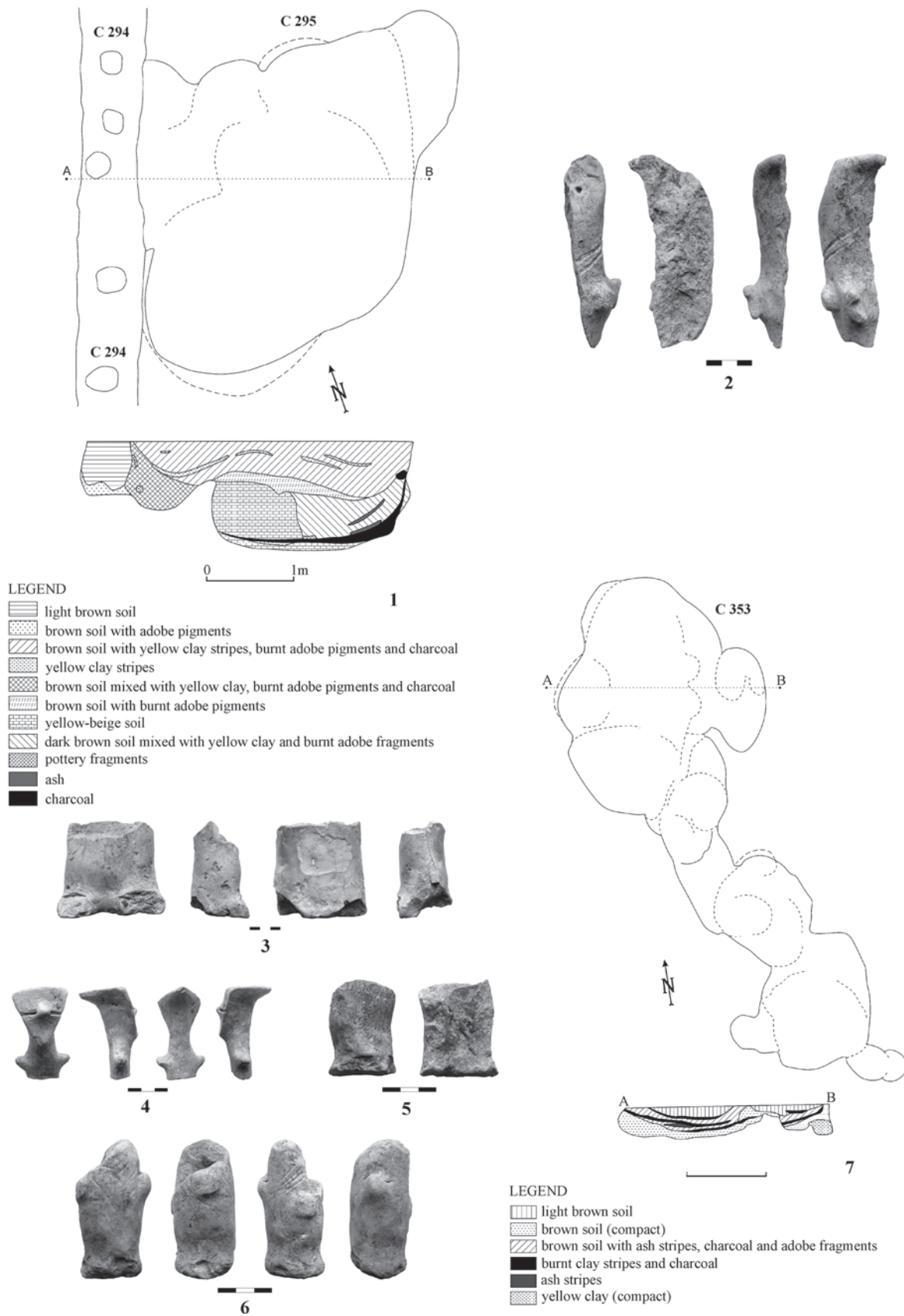
LEGEND
 ▨ black-greyish soil mixed with debris
 ▩ light greyish soil mixed with yellow clay
 ▤ pottery
 ▧ adobe



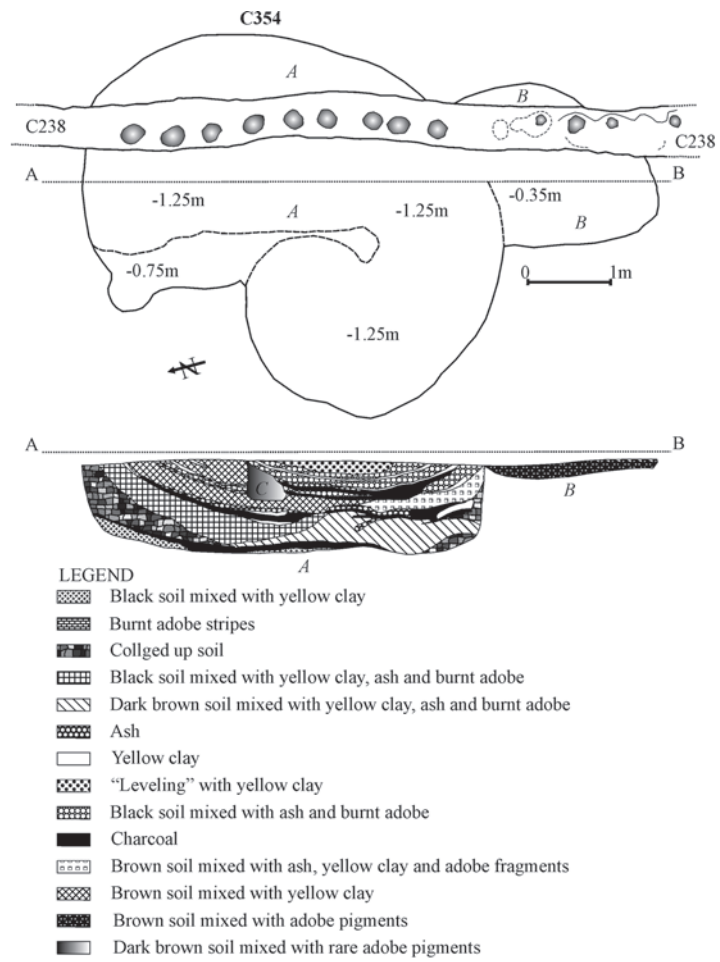
LEGEND
 ▨ Light brown soil with burnt adobe
 ▩ Layer of burnt adobe, beaten clay, stone and red burn
 ▧ Burnt adobe
 ▤ Brown-yellowish soil
 ▥ Brown-greyish soil
 ▦ Ash
 ▧ Soil with charcoal
 ▨ Collged up, yellow soil
 ▩ Black burn
 ▪ Brown-yellowish soil mixed with dark brown clay
 ▫ Brown soil mixed with yellow clay
 ▬ Adobe stripe



Pl. VIII. 1. Feature 215; 2. Figurine from Feature 215; 3. Feature 270;
 4. Figurine from Feature 270; 5. Feature 280; 6. Figurine from Feature 280.



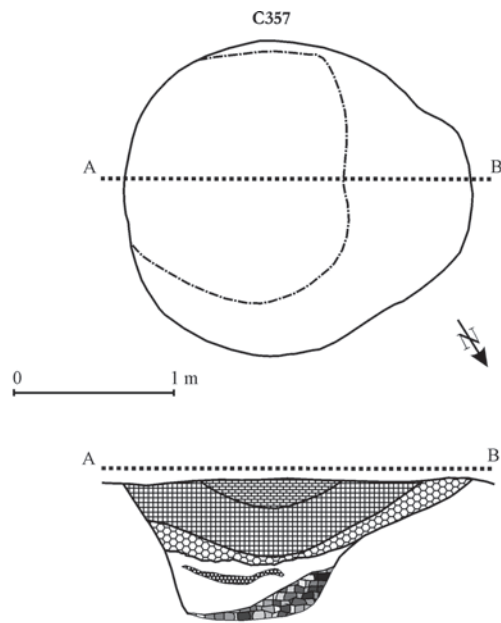
Pl. IX. 1. Feature 295; 2. Figurine from Feature 295; 3-6. Figurines from Feature 353; 7. Feature 353.









1



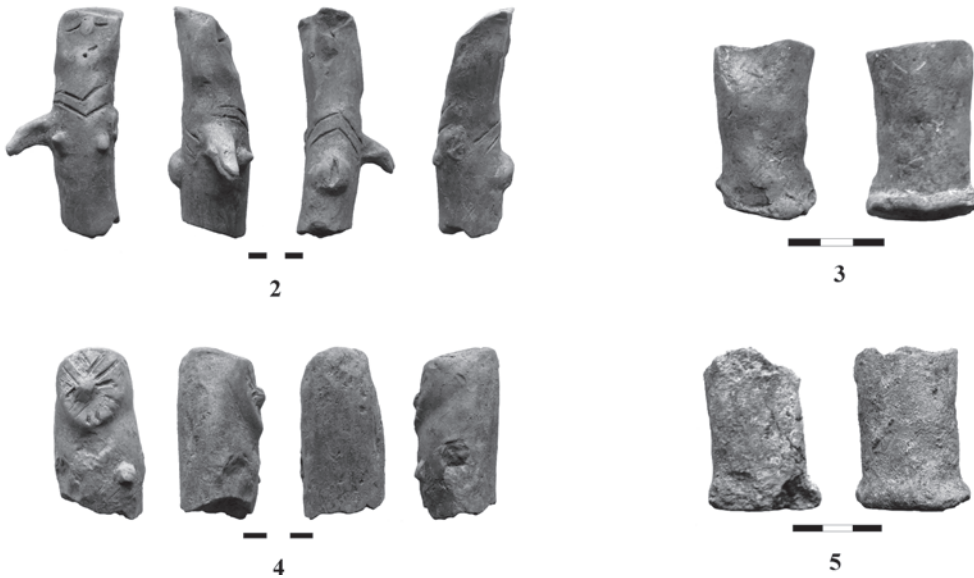
Pl. X. 1. Feature 354; 2-5. Figurines from Feature 354.



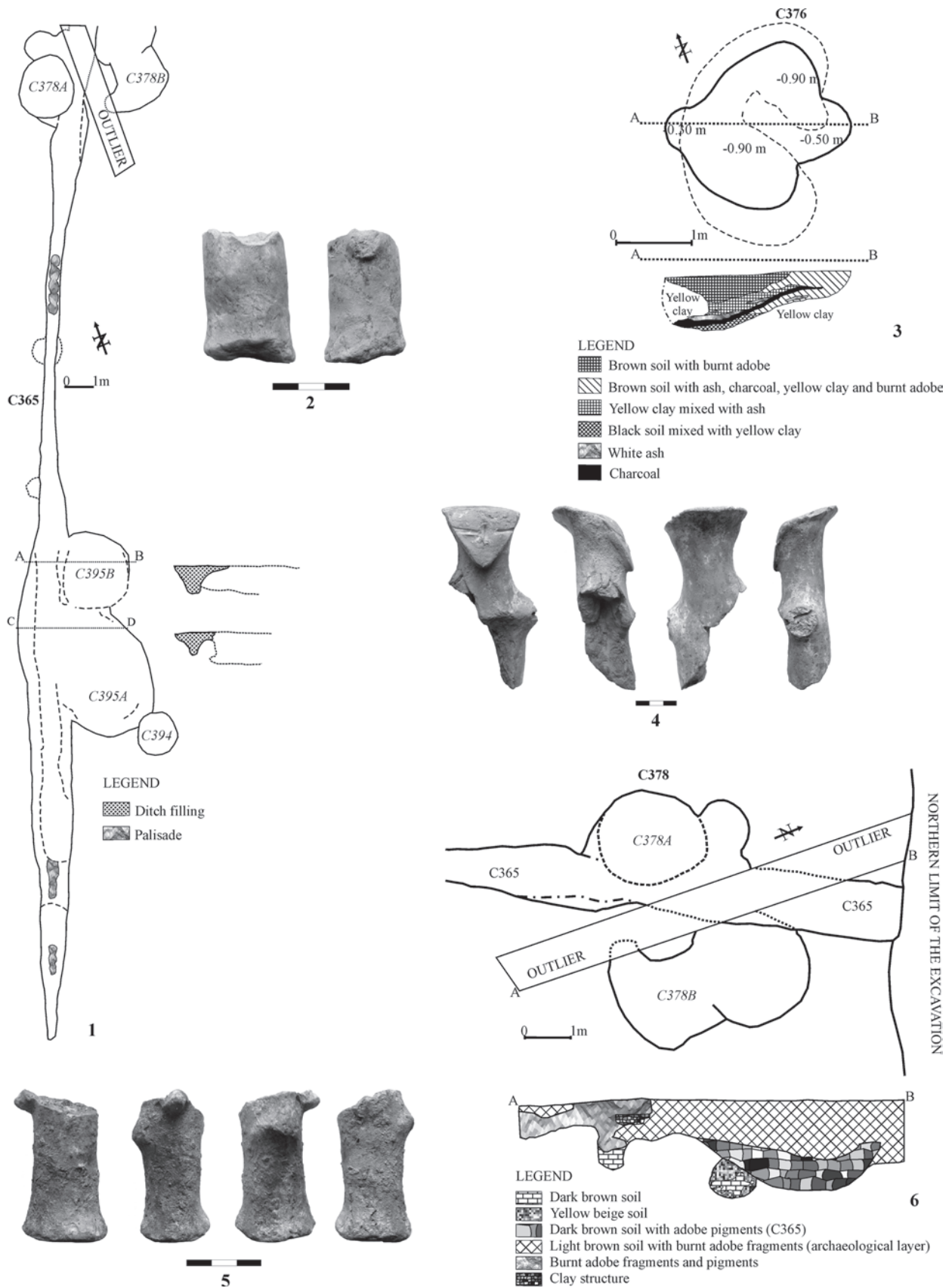
LEGEND

-  Light grey soil mixed with small adobe fragments
-  Dark grey soil mixed with pottery fragments, animal bones, adobe, charcoal, ash and yellow soil stripes
-  Yellow, sandy soil with greenish shades (probably vegetal remains)
-  Grey sediment
-  Yellow grey soil with sandy aspect
-  Dark brown sediment

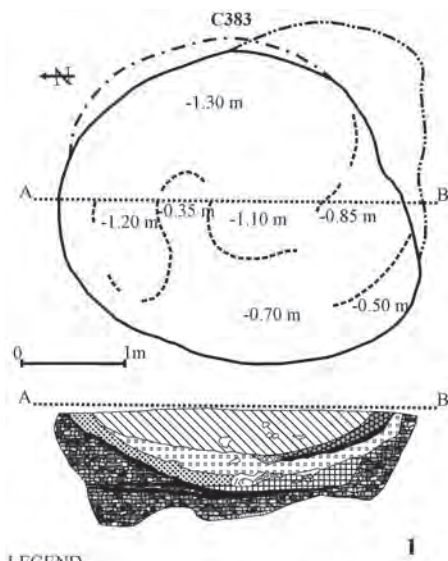
1



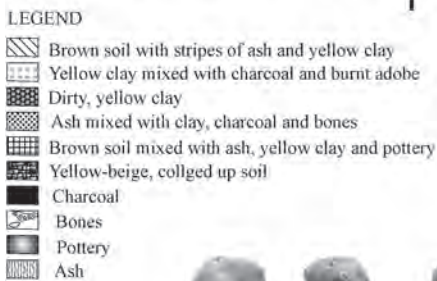
Pl. XI. 1. Feature 357; 2-5. Figurines from Feature 357.



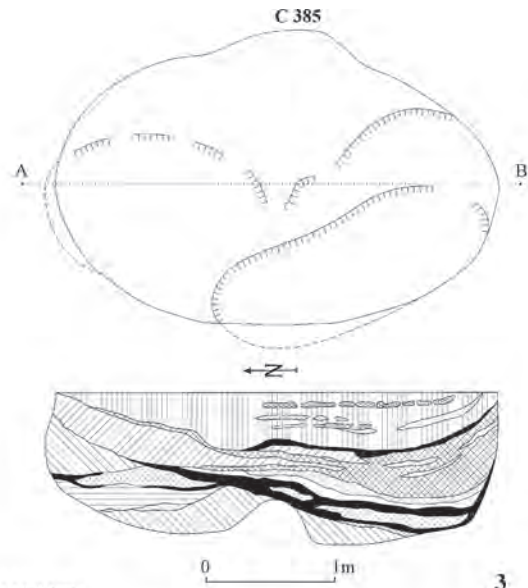
Pl. XII. 1. Feature 365; 2. Figurine from Feature 365; 3. Feature 376; 4. Figurine from Feature 376; 5. Figurine from Feature 378; 6. Feature 378.



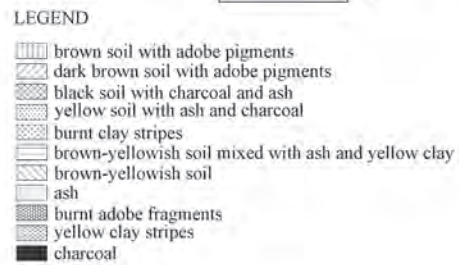
1



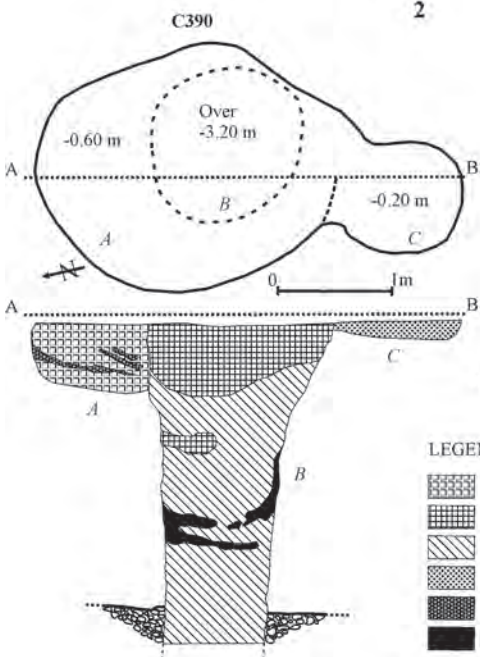
2



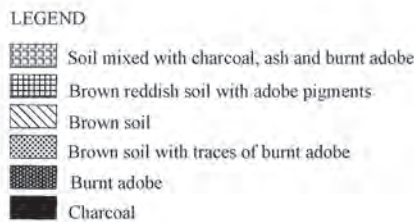
3



4

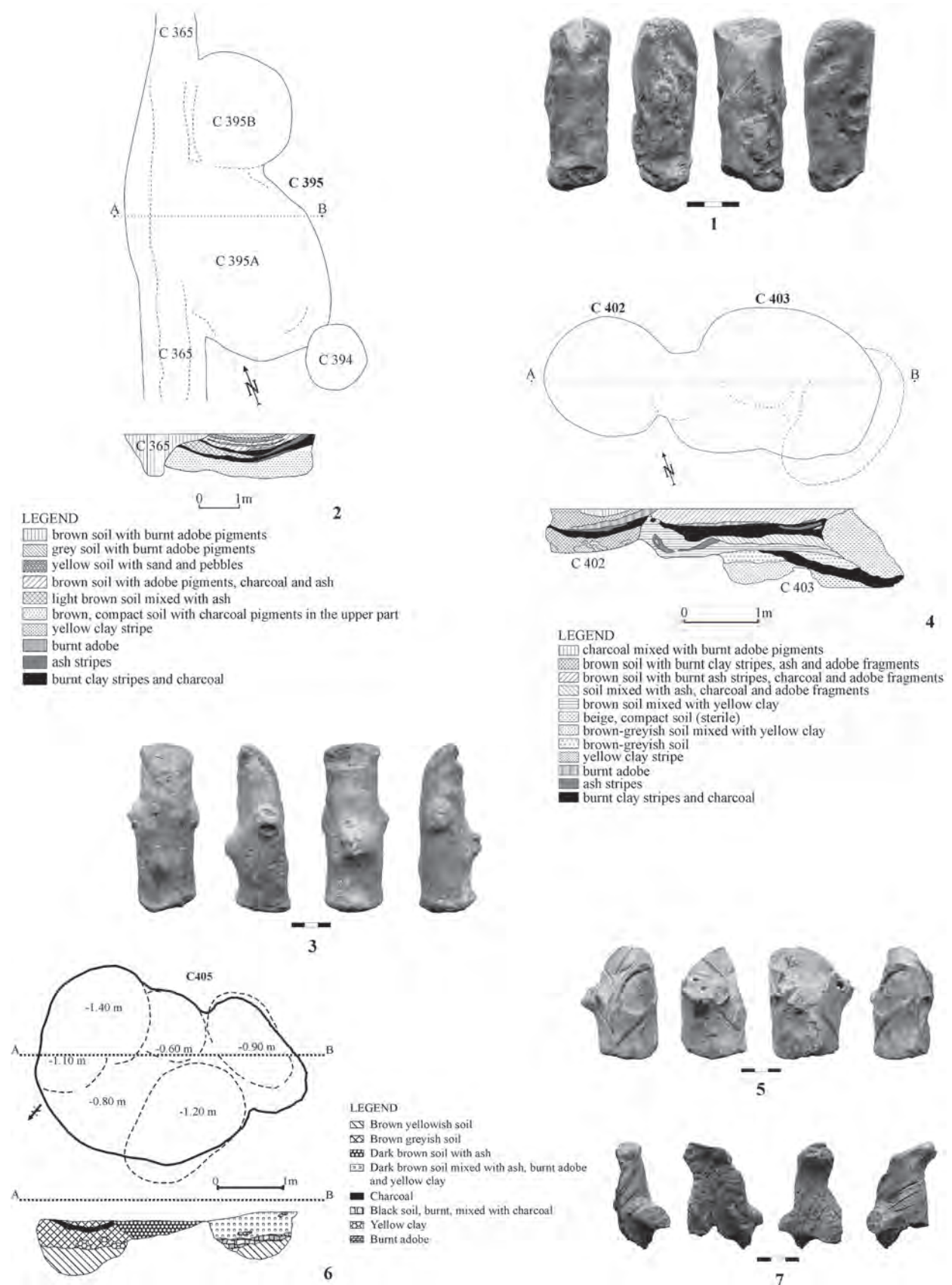


5

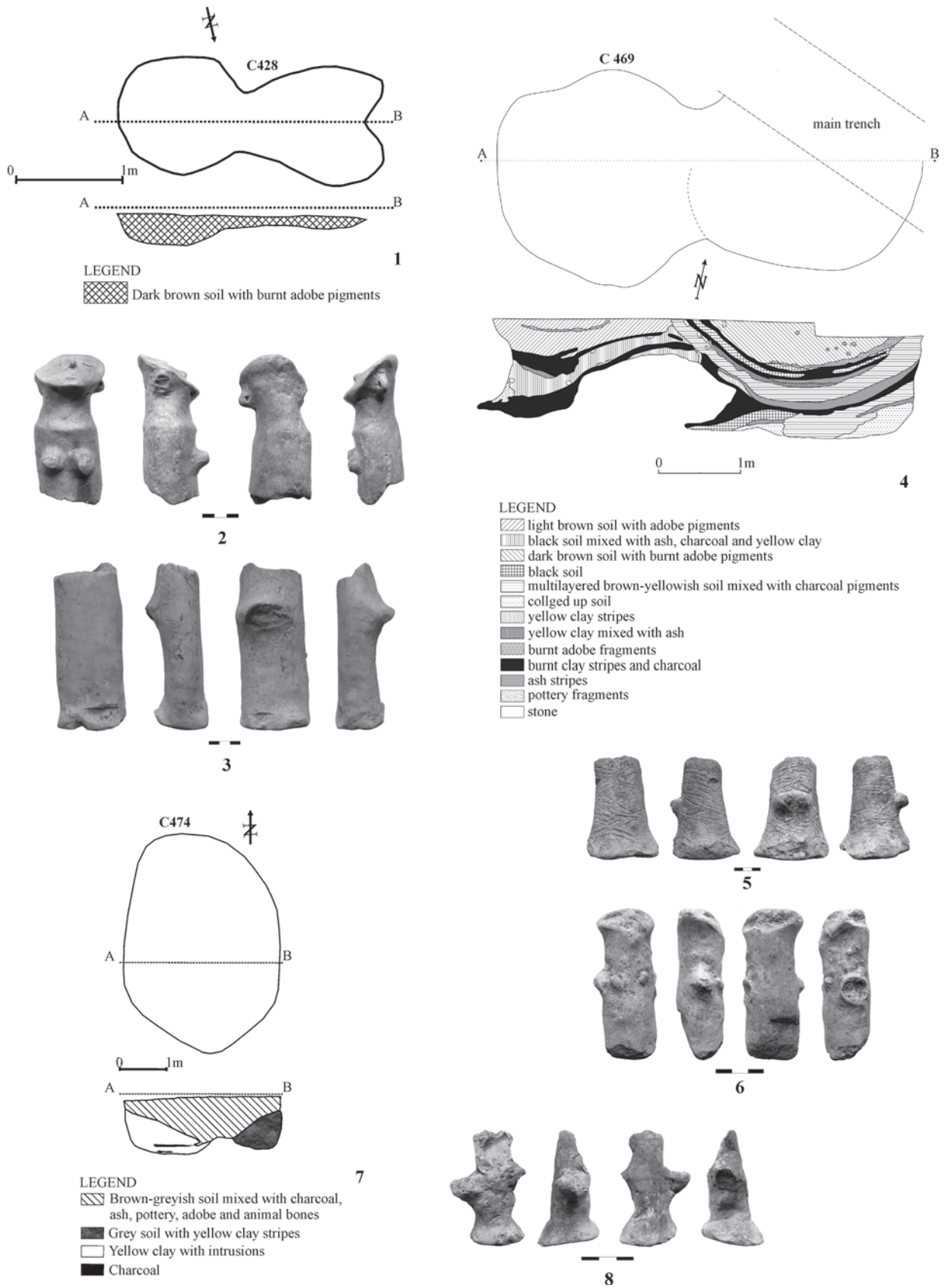


6

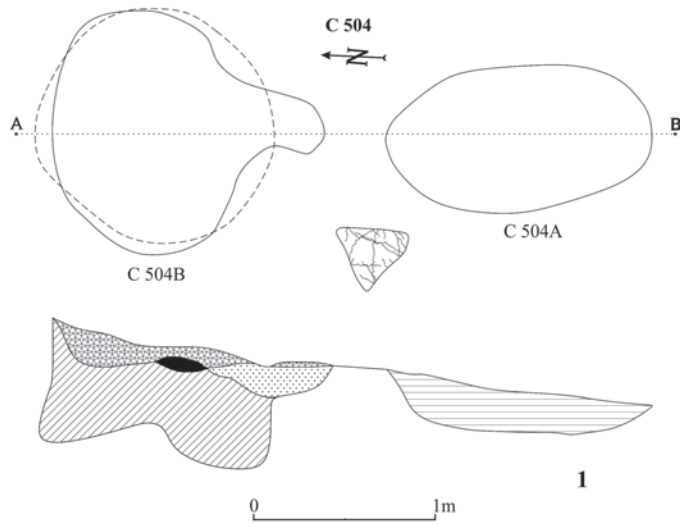
Pl. XIII. 1. Feature 383; 2. Figurine from Feature 383; 3. Feature 385; 4. Figurine from Feature 385; 5. Feature 390; 6. Figurine from Feature 390.



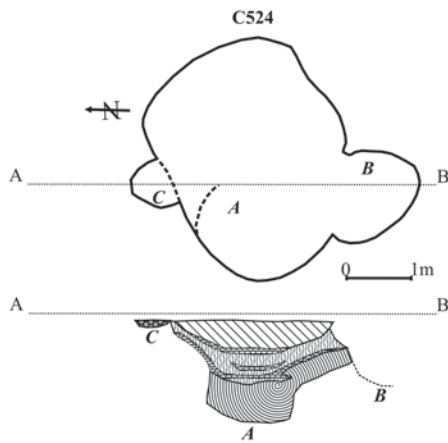
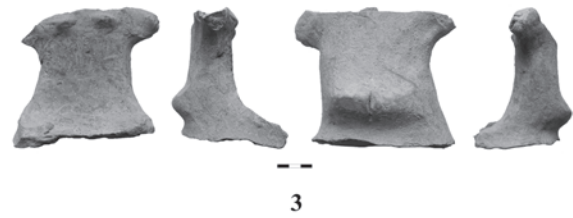
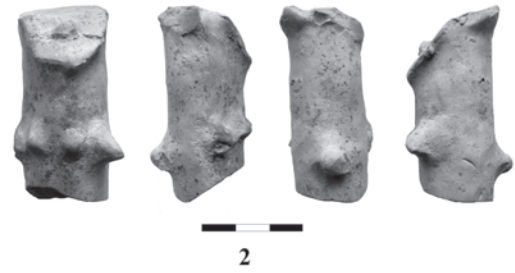
Pl. XIV. 1. Figurine from Feature 392; 2. Feature 395; 3. Figurine from Feature 395; 4. Feature 403; 5. Figurine from Feature 403; 6. Feature 405; 7. Figurine from Feature 405.



Pl. XV. 1. Feature 428; 2. Figurine from Feature 428; 3. Figurine from feature 444A; 4. Feature 469; 5-6. Figurines from Feature 469; 7. Feature 474; 8. Figurine from feature 474.



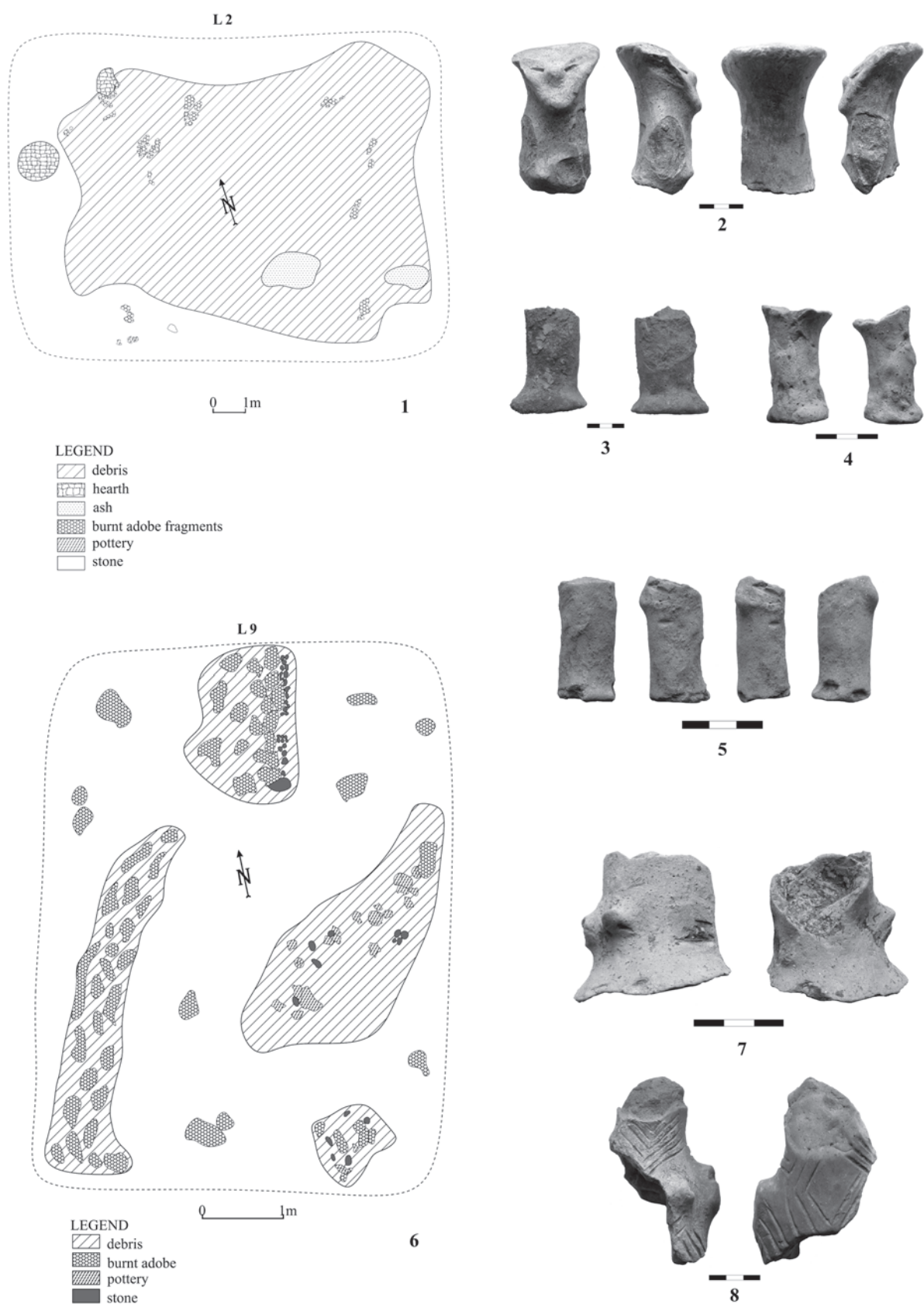
- LEGEND
- the heat imprint of the medieval oven
 - yellow soil with burn traces
 - black soil
 - grey soil
 - greyish soil with charcoal and adobe pigments
 - stone



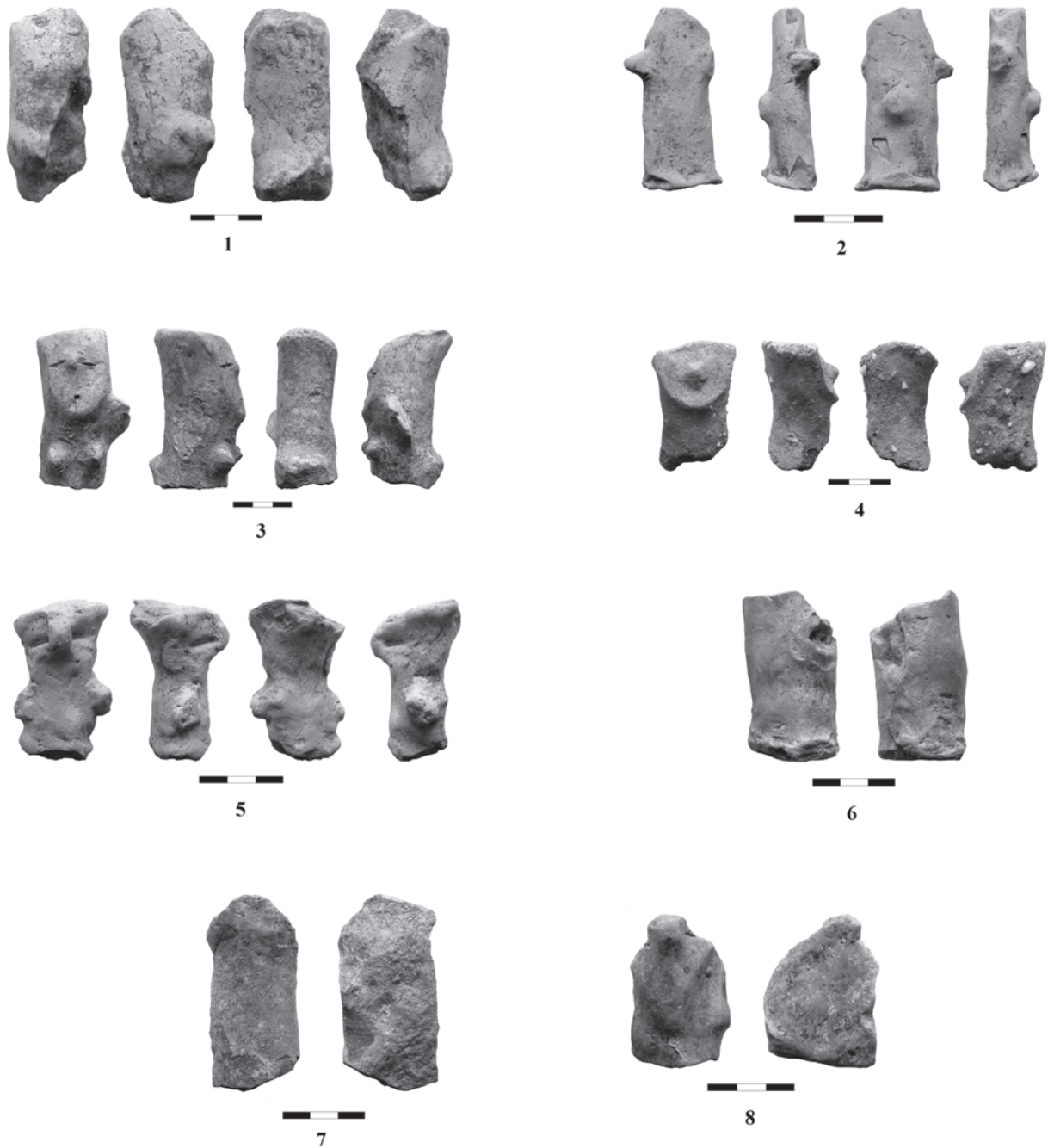
- LEGEND
- Brown soil with adobe pigments
 - Burnt adobe
 - Successive layers of charcoal, ash and soil
 - Collged up soil
 - White ash



Pl. XVI. 1. Feature 504B; 2. Figurine from Feature 504B; 3. Figurine from Feature 500; 4. Figurine from Feature 538; 5. Feature 524; 6. Figurine from Feature 524.



Pl. XVII. 1. Dwelling L2; 2-4. Figurines from Dwelling L2; 5. Figurine from Dwelling L6; 6. Dwelling L9; 7-8. Figurines from Dwelling L9.



Pl. XVIII. Figurines from the habitation layer.

THE WIETENBERG CULTURE: PERIODIZATION AND CHRONOLOGY

GABRIEL BĂLAN*, COLIN P. QUINN**, GREGORY HODGINS***

Keywords: Middle Bronze Age, Wietenberg culture, ceramic style, periodization, chronology, ¹⁴C dating

Abstract: Based on pottery shapes and ornaments, the study proposes a new periodization of the Wietenberg culture in three distinctive phases: early, classical and late. The early phase is represented by pottery with origins in the late Early Bronze Age; it coincides with Chidioșan I-II and Boroffka A1-2 phases. According to the ¹⁴C results, this phase can be dated between the 20th and the 18th centuries BC. In the classical phase, new elements in the pottery technology (shapes and decorations) emerged, present in the last two levels of the settlement at Derșida. This phase is similar to the Chidioșan III and Boroffka B-C stages and, according to the ¹⁴C dates it lasted between the 18th and the 16th centuries BC. The last phase was defined by N. Chidioșan, who identified at several sites vessels that were different in shape and ornament from the ones on the settlement at Derșida. The sites from this phase cover only the western half of the previously occupied area, as a consequence of the appearance of the Noua culture, contemporary for a short time with the Wietenberg. It is similar to Chidioșan IV and Boroffka D phases. The ¹⁴C dates for the Noua and the late Wietenberg sites limit chronologically the late Wietenberg phase to the 16th and 15th centuries BC.

Cuvinte-cheie: epoca bronzului mijlociu, cultura Wietenberg, stiluri ceramice, periodizare, cronologie, datare ¹⁴C

Rezumat: Studiul propune o nouă periodizare a culturii Wietenberg în trei faze distincte bazate pe formele și ornamentele ceramice: timpurie, clasică și târzie. Faza timpurie se caracterizează printr-o ceramică cu tradiții în bronzul timpuriu final și este similară fazelor I-II potrivit periodizării propuse de N. Chidioșan și fazelor A1-2 definite de N. Boroffka. Conform datelor ¹⁴C, această fază poate fi datată în intervalul secolelor al XX-lea și al XVIII-lea a.Chr. Faza clasică prezintă noi elemente în confecționarea ceramicii (forme și ornamente), evidențiate în ultimele două niveluri din așezarea de la Derșida. Acum sunt create vase bogat ornamentate specifice culturii Wietenberg, care au stat la baza definirii ei. Este similară fazelor III Chidioșan și B-C Boroffka și poate fi datată în intervalul secolelor XVIII-XVI a.Chr., conform datelor ¹⁴C. Faza Wietenberg târzie este caracterizată de materiale ceramice diferite din punct de vedere al formelor și ornamentelor față de cele descoperite în așezarea de la Derșida. Aria de răspândire se restrânge în jumătatea de vest a spațiului ocupat anterior, fapt care poate fi pus în legătură cu apariția culturii Noua, care este contemporană pentru o scurtă perioadă de timp cu faza Wietenberg finală. Este similară fazelor IV Chidioșan și D Boroffka. Datele ¹⁴C din aria culturii Noua și din siturile specifice fazei Wietenberg târzii limitează această etapă într-un interval de timp între secolele al XVI-lea și al XV-lea a.Chr.

The Middle Bronze Age in the Intra-Carpathian Basin is represented by the Wietenberg culture, distinguishable from the nearby communities (Otomani-Füzesabony, Mureș/Periam-Pecica, Suciul de Sus, Balta Sărată, Tei, Verbicioara, Monteoru and Costișa) by the ceramic decoration styles and pottery shapes. Even though it drew the attention of several scholars, the periodization of this culture remains an open subject, as the limits of the phases have not been clarified yet.

Our knowledge of the Wietenberg culture, together with its periodization and chronology, are related to the several stages of the archaeological research in Romania:

* National Museum of the Union, Alba-Iulia; liviugabrielbalan@yahoo.com.

** Museum of Anthropological Archaeology, Ann Arbor; cpquinn@umich.edu.

*** University of Arizona, Tucson; ghodgins@physics.arizona.edu.

1. The *early stage*. The first contributions related to the relative chronology of the culture were those of I. Nestor and K. Horedt. Although the specific materials of the culture were already known, I. Nestor was the first to use the term “Wietenberg” for a culture he believed started with the Reinecke Br. A to Br. D¹. In 1960, K. Horedt recognized 182 sites of this culture, outlining its area of distribution as well as a typology of ceramic forms and decorations. Wietenberg ceramics are primarily fine-ware vessels with rich decoration, mainly typical of the classical phase². During the early stage of research, scholars identified the meander and spiral motifs as characteristic of the Wietenberg pottery but did not discuss discrete evolution phases³.

2. The *Derșida stage*. The excavations at the Derșida settlement, which took place between 1963 and 1966, represented the breaking point with the past. Several studies⁴ together with the monographic volume of the excavations at Derșida⁵ set the foundation for the Wietenberg periodization, split into in four phases. The first three phases were established according to the stratigraphy at Derșida, where five levels were identified (first level = phase I; levels 2 and 3 = phase II; the last two levels = phase III). The fourth phase is characterized by a range of archaeological materials identified at other sites, typologically different from those at Derșida. Until 1994, the specialists, without exception, accepted this periodization⁶. The Wietenberg culture correlates with the Central European Br. A-D stages: generally, phase I = Br. A2, phase II = Br. B, phase III = Br. B-C; phase IV = Br. D⁷.

3. The *Boroffka stage*. Prior to 1994 when N. Boroffka⁸ published his monographic volume of the Wietenberg culture, few materials were together with their archaeological contexts. N. Boroffka published a considerable quantity of material forgotten in the storage areas of various Romanian institutions. It is worth mentioning that for the majority of these materials the archaeological context was unknown. According to the stratigraphy at Derșida and the statistic-combinatory analysis for the ceramic forms and ornaments from several sites, N. Boroffka established a new periodization of the culture: phase A, with sub-phases A1 (= Hänsel FD III – Reinecke Br. A2 – Mozsolics BII) and A2 (= FD III/SD I – Br. A2 late – B. II), phase B (=MD I-II/III, Br. B-C early – BIII-III/IV) phase C (= MD III/SD I – Br. C – BIV) and phase D (= SD I – Br. D early – BIV-V)⁹.

At the same time or immediately after 1994 new contributions were brought to the last phase of the culture¹⁰. M. Rotea suggested the name of “Bădeni III – Deva”¹¹, while F. Gogâltan coined the term “Gligorești” for a series of sites where late Wietenberg type of materials were discovered together with the Noua type ceramics¹².

4. *The recent stage*. For the past 20 years, researchers have continued to use the two existing periodization systems. Recently, new artefacts in secure stratigraphical positions and archaeological contexts have been published: Oarța de Sus¹³, Micești – Cigașe¹⁴, Șeușa¹⁵, Păuleni¹⁶, Sebeș – Între răstoace¹⁷,

¹ Nestor 1933, p. 92-94.

² Horedt 1960.

³ Berciu 1966, p. 193: the author proposed four phases based on comparisons to the Monteoru and the Otomani cultures, without argumentation.

⁴ Chidioșan 1968; Chidioșan 1970; Chidioșan 1974; Horedt 1967, p. 138-141.

⁵ Chidioșan 1980, p. 68-84.

⁶ Crișan 1970; Székely 1971; Soroceanu 1973; Soroceanu, Blăjan, Cerghei 1976, p. 61-65; Soroceanu 1984, p. 438; Lazarovici, Milea 1976; Morintz 1978, p. 115-120; Andrițoiu 1978, p. 251-254; Andrițoiu 1986-1987; Andrițoiu 1992, p. 49-54; Kacsó 1987, p. 69-75; Ciugudean 1990, p. 72-76; Gogâltan, Cociș, Paki 1992, p. 9-13; Gogâltan, Tamba 1992, p. 63-64; Rotea 1993, p. 30-32; Rotea 1994a; Rotea 1994b, p. 135-138.

⁷ Chidioșan 1980, p. 68-84; Andrițoiu 1992, p. 49-54.

⁸ Boroffka 1994.

⁹ Boroffka 1994, p. 285-290.

¹⁰ Rotea 1994a; Ciugudean 1997, p. 65-97; Ciugudean 1999.

¹¹ Rotea 1994a.

¹² Gogâltan, Aldea, Ursuțiu 2004, p. 73-74; Gogâltan, Popa 2016.

¹³ Kacsó 2013; Kacsó 2015, p. 428-433, fig. 188-209.

¹⁴ Bălan 2014.

¹⁵ Ciută 2009, p. 83-92.

¹⁶ Rotea 2000; Cavruc, Rotea 2000; Cavruc, Buzea 2002.

¹⁷ Fântâneau et alii 2013.

Stolna – *Podurile Domnești* and *Băștioara*¹⁸, Rotbav¹⁹, Măhăceni²⁰, Geoagiu de Sus²¹, Bratei²², Turia²³, Luduș²⁴, Lancrăm – *Glod*²⁵, Cluj-Napoca – *Str. Banat*²⁶, Șimleu Silvaniei²⁷, Stejeriș²⁸ and Aiud – *Groapa de gunoi*²⁹. Several new ¹⁴C dates were published from Early and Middle Bronze Age sites³⁰ during the past 20 years. According to the latest ¹⁴C dates, the Middle Bronze Age cultures from the Carpathian Basin were dated between the 20th and the 16th centuries BC³¹.

In conclusion, the researchers can choose between two periodization systems to date the sites and materials of the Wietenberg culture. These periodisations are not perfect fits with each other or the growing body of archaeological evidence. For example, it is difficult to synchronize the early phases – the Chidioșan I-II and Boroffka A1-A2. The archaeological research at the cemetery at Sebeș, through the great number of burials (61), the funerary rite, the typology of the pottery forms and ornamentation styles has led to a better knowledge of the early horizon of the Wietenberg culture³². Building on the insights provided by the study of this cemetery, the settlement at Derșida and other recently published sites (with published materials from both features or undisturbed levels), we distinguished three main phases in the evolution of the Wietenberg culture: *early*, *classical* and *late*³³.

THE EARLY WIETENBERG PHASE

Understanding the early Wietenberg phase requires unpacking the *Wietenberg I phase* ceramics at Derșida. Level 1, with Wietenberg I pottery, did not appear across the entire surface of the Derșida settlement. It included features such as pit-dwellings, sometimes with other pits inside, outside hearths, a crouched skeleton and a skull. The pottery is made from fine and coarse paste, with 15 typical forms (11 of which are fine), and 11 ornamentation types. A2 and I.e shape types were found in the first two levels of the settlement. In the upper levels, type A2 was manufactured only from coarse paste (type I.d). Other seven shape types from the first level (A1, B1, B2, B4, B7, E7 and I.a) occurred also in the next two levels at Derșida. Three of the forms originated in the first four levels (A3, G1 and I.b), and other three (C5, E6 and I.c) in all levels. Only one of the decoration types was common to the first two levels (type I.e). Four decoration types were specific to the first three levels (types 3i, 3j, 3bII and 3fI), other two were found in the first four (types 3k and 3l) and four types appeared in all Derșida levels (types 1c, 2a, 2b and 3e). In the first level a very small number of potsherds decorated with incisions made with a broom or comb was mentioned. But according to

¹⁸ Daróczi, Ursuțiu 2015.

¹⁹ Dietrich 2014a.

²⁰ Ciugudean 1997, p. 67-70, fig. 1-4; 5/1; Ciugudean 1999, p. 108-110, fig. 3-6; 7/1.

²¹ Ciugudean 1997, p. 70-73, fig. 5/2; 6-12; Ciugudean 1999, p. 110-116, fig. 7/2; 8-14.

²² Popa 2010, p. 156-159, pl. 45: the cemetery, published earlier by E. Zaharia (1999), is attributed to the Wietenberg culture.

²³ Székely 1995.

²⁴ Berecki 2016.

²⁵ Popa, Simina 2004, p. 17-31.

²⁶ Rotea, Wittenberger 1999.

²⁷ Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007.

²⁸ Dumitrașcu *et alii* 2014.

²⁹ Bălan, Burlacu-Timofte, Muntean 2016.

³⁰ Palincaș 1996; Popa, Boroffka 1996, p. 56, note 40; Gogăltan 1999, p. 62-67, 216-226; Kacsó 2004, p. 60; Görsdorf 2005, p. 68; Uhnér 2010, p. 347-352; Bolohan 2010, p. 237-240; Motzoi-Chicideanu, Șandor-Chicideanu, Constantinescu 2012, p. 52-53; Jaeger, Kulcsár 2013, p. 294-313; Popescu 2013, p. 184-188; Vasilescu 2013; Popescu, Băjenaru 2015, p. 36; Dietrich 2014b; Bălan, Quinn 2014; Bolohan, Gafincu, Stoleriu 2015, p. 136-140; Nicodemus, O'Shea 2015; Gogăltan 2015, p. 70-79; Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 148-153; Németh 2015, p. 186-187; Kiss *et alii* 2015.

³¹ Popescu, Băjenaru 2015, p. 36; Nicodemus, O'Shea 2015; Gogăltan 2015, p. 70-78.

³² Fântâneau *et alii* 2013; Bălan, Fântâneau, Anghel 2014.

³³ We preferred to use different terms, not to be confused with the previous periodizations (I-IV and A-D).

the author of the research, such fragments were found in the upper levels too. In the first level, there were no bronze objects, only bone and stone ones dated by the author to the Reinecke Br. A³⁴.

In 1994, N. Boroffka, taking into consideration the characteristics of the first three levels at Derșida, and following a statistic-combinatorial analysis, proposed the introduction of phases A1 and A2. Phase A1 comprised elements discovered in the first two levels, while phase A2 was similar to phase Chidioșan II, including the common elements of Derșida levels 2-4³⁵. In 2000, M. Rotea attributed the sites at Păuleni, Turia and Suatu to the first Wietenberg phase, as the ceramics had shapes and ornamentation similar to those encountered in the first two levels at Derșida³⁶. Later on, all the sites attributed by various researchers to phase Chidioșan I (Păuleni, Turia, Suatu, Lancrăm – *Glod*, Șeușa, Plopiș and Bădeni II) were attributed by C.I. Popa to phase II, as some of the elements existed also in level 2 at Derșida (mainly the spiral decoration and the lobate vessels). At the same time, the latter author expressed certain doubts regarding the existence of phase I³⁷.

In conclusion, level I at Derșida should be attributed to phase Wietenberg II³⁸, as defined by K. Horedt and N. Chidioșan, based on the following arguments: a) the small number of forms (15) and ornamentation types (11) compared to those specific to the next two levels (47 shapes and 28 ornaments); b) none of the ceramic types from level 1 are specific only to phase I; c) within the Wietenberg area, no published settlement or cemetery has been definitively attributed to this phase; at the same time, phases Boroffka A1 and A2, considered separately, were not identified in any of the sites (N. Boroffka assigned to phase A1 a series of sites with mixed materials, generally specific to phases II and III, using the term of *early elements* or *rather early elements*³⁹; there were situations when early elements were chosen, elements that in combination with others from the same place could have been assigned a later date: e.g. Lechința – *Livada intensivă* and *Poderei*, Ocna Sibiului – *Dealul Trestiei*, Porumbenii Mici, Sibișeni, Uioara de Jos, Unirea, Voivodeni); d) in contemporary cultures, ceramic materials specific to phase I were not seen as imports.

Consequently, phase Wietenberg II / A represents the *early horizon* of the culture. The first evidence of the characteristics of this phase are in levels 1-3 at Derșida, with 47 specific forms and 28 specific ornamentation types. To be noted that only five of the 47 forms have lobes while the spiral motif appears only on three main decoration types.

Based on the characteristics of the levels 1-3 at Derșida and the vessels from the cemetery at Sebeș – Între răstoace, the first of the two authors noticed common elements on several other sites, which represent the grounds of the early phase: Sebeș – *Podul Pripocului*⁴⁰, Suatu⁴¹, Păuleni⁴², Oarța de Sus – *Ghiule Botii*⁴³, Bădeni II⁴⁴, Boiu⁴⁵, Țelna – *Pe coastă*⁴⁶, Turia⁴⁷, Bratei⁴⁸, Cerișor⁴⁹, Sfântu Gheorghe – *Epreștet*⁵⁰, Stejeriș⁵¹,

³⁴ Chidioșan 1980, p. 27-66, 69-72, fig. 2-4.

³⁵ Boroffka 1994, p. 249.

³⁶ Rotea 2000, p. 29-31; Cavruc, Rotea 2000, p. 158.

³⁷ Popa 2010, p. 129-134, 136, 153-156.

³⁸ Boroffka 1994, p. 249: the first scholar who expressed the opinion that the level 1 at Derșida was not typical for a phase.

³⁹ Boroffka 1994, p. 252.

⁴⁰ Boroffka 1994, p. 72, pl. 117/1-7; Popa 2010, p. 151-152, pl. 42/3; 43-44.

⁴¹ Rotea 1994b.

⁴² Rotea 2000; Cavruc, Rotea 2000; Cavruc, Buzea 2002, p. 46-50; pl. X-XIX, XXVII-XXX, XXXII.

⁴³ Kacsó 1987, fig. 22-28; Kacsó 2013; Kacsó 2015, p. 428-433, fig. 188-209.

⁴⁴ Lazarovici, Milea 1976, pl. VI-X.

⁴⁵ Andrițoiu 1992, p. 50, pl. 20; 23/13-14; 27/9; 28/8; 29/2, 6, 9; 30/1-2; 31/1, 4, 9, 13, 15; 32/2, 13; pl. 35/4, 9, 20; Boroffka 1994, p. 24-25; pl. 13/8-10; 14/1-3.

⁴⁶ Andrițoiu 1992, p. 50, pl. 23/3-5; 24/4; 28/ 1, 10; 31/7; 32/4; 33/1; 35/8, 18, 21, 25, 31; Boroffka 1994, p. 83-84; pl. 135/6-10.

⁴⁷ Székely 1995.

⁴⁸ Popa 2010, p. 156-159, pl. 45.

⁴⁹ Roman, Diaconescu, Luca 2000, p. 9, 14-17, pl. XIX-XXVII.

⁵⁰ Boroffka 1994, p. 74; pl. 118; 119/1-2.

⁵¹ Dumitrașcu *et alii* 2014.

Romos⁵², Braşov – *Bartolomeu*⁵³, Lancrăm – *Glod*⁵⁴, Stolna – *Podurile Domneşti*⁵⁵ and *Băştioara*⁵⁶, Rotbav⁵⁷ and Şeuşa⁵⁸. Some of the items from the sites at Chintelnic⁵⁹, Cicău⁶⁰, Feldioara⁶¹ and Sighişoara – *Wietenberg*⁶² can be added to this phase. They provided mixed materials (early and classical) with similar characteristics to the ones in the early sites mentioned above although published without the discovery context.

The pottery forms are conservative throughout the Wietenberg culture, with very small changes from one phase to another, contrary to the variation of the ornamentation styles. Specific to this early phase are pots, bowls, mugs, cups, pyxides, incense burners and lids. Among the pots, the biconical shaped with flat base and rims slanting outwards have a high frequency (Pl. I/1-15). In many cases, this type has applied handles or knobs on the area of maximum diameter (Pl. I/1-4, 7, 9, 11, 13). Generally, the decoration develops in friezes on the upper part of the body and is represented by wide diagonal incisions and grooves (Pl. I/1, 3, 4, 6), hatched triangles (Pl. I/8-9, 11), the herringbone motif (Pl. I/2, 13), garland motif (Pl. I/7), incised cross-hatching motif (Pl. I/12) and simple and complex spirals (Pl. I/5, 9, 15). It is rare for these motifs to appear grouped in several friezes on the same vessel (Pl. I/2, 10-11). Sometimes, the rims were decorated on the exterior or the interior with small diagonal incisions, incised triangles or lines (Pl. I/3, 10, 15-17). Some pots have a plastic decoration of spiral endings, applied on small handles under the maximum diameter (Pl. I/2). A shape derived from this pot type is the tall pot with rounded body, decorated with the spiral motif (Pl. I/16-17). Another type of pot is tall and slender, with a large rim, seldom decorated with grooves, spiral or alveoli rows (Pl. I/21-22). In some cases, the pots have knobs applied on or under the maximum diameter (Pl. I/22). There are also pots which resemble the ones presented above, but with the neck inclined towards the interior (Pl. I/25-28). Bag-shaped pots were discovered at Lancrăm and Oarţa de Sus (Pl. I/23-24). A vessel that stands out is the slender pot with handles applied on the neck, seldom decorated (Pl. I/18-20). At the cemetery at Sebeş, a short type of pot decorated with the same motifs as the ones with the biconical body was found (Pl. I/29-32). A variant of the jar-pot was found in the settlement from Păuleni (Pl. II/10). The lobed bowl is different from the one of the classical period, having shorter lobes (Pl. II/12-15). Among the bowls, there are conical-shaped ones, tall or short (Pl. II/16-20), and the bowl from Sebeş with a strongly profiled shoulder and the rim inclined towards the exterior (Pl. II/11). The representative bowls have an S-shaped profile, sometimes with applied handles from the rim to the shoulder (Pl. III/1-7). Other bowls have straight or slightly inclined rims towards the interior, and in some cases small handles were applied under the rim (Pl. III/8-11). Some tall bowls have an S-shaped profile (Pl. II/1-9). Cups with a wide mouth and high handle, having a shape similar to the bowls, are present starting with this phase (Pl. III/12-18, 24). The mug with a high handle, sometimes with a spout, is specific for the early horizon (Pl. I/26-27). This type is not found in features dated to the classical phase at Sibişeni, Dumbrăviţa, Bistriţa, Aiton, Luduş, Cluj-Napoca, Porumbenii Mici, Voivodeni, Aiud – *Groapa de gunoi*, Şimleu Silvaniei etc. The decoration styles on this type of vessel are also archaic⁶³. Even though at Derşida the presence of cups with slender body, high handle and large mouth, was documented in levels 4-5, this form is generally found at the sites of the early phases (Pl. III/19-23, 25). At Oarţa de Jos a two-mouthed cup with a handle was found, with

⁵² Archaeological research by G. Bălan, S. Popa, D. Tentiş and M. Râza.

⁵³ Boroffka 1994, p. 26; pl. 15/7-8; 16/1-9.

⁵⁴ Popa, Simina 2004, p. 17-31, pl. 2-6, 17-18: pit no. 12, vessels from a possible necropolis and some materials in the archaeological layer.

⁵⁵ Daróczy, Ursuţiu 2015, p. 14-26: some of the features date to the early Wietenberg phase (e.g. CsPD 001, 004, 005, 009, 026, CxPD 001).

⁵⁶ Daróczy, Ursuţiu 2015, p. 233-234 (features Cx.B 003-009).

⁵⁷ Dietrich 2014a, p. 157-179 (levels 1 and 2).

⁵⁸ Ciută 2009, p. 83-92.

⁵⁹ Boroffka 1994, p. 29-30, pl. 26/7; 27/6-9; 28/9; 29/1, 3.

⁶⁰ Boroffka 1994, p. 30, pl. 37/7; 38/21; 40/9-10; 42/4-6; 43/8; 47/9; 49/10; 50/8; 51/2.

⁶¹ Boroffka 1994, p. 42, pl. 73/4; 74/1-6; 75/15; 76/4; 78/1, 13-14; 79/7, 9-10.

⁶² Boroffka 1994, p. 76-77, pl. 131/5, 11, 14-15; 132/8; 133/10; 134, 1-2, 4; Andriţoiu, Rustoiu 1997, fig. 23/4.

⁶³ Boroffka 1994, pl. 16/10; 17/2; 26/7; 27/6-9; 80/6; 86/16-17; 109/3; 111/9; 115/8; 117/9; 118/6-10; 119/1-2; 139/15.

the handle decorated with pinches all the way from the rim to the body (Pl. III/28). Pyxides with a biconical or spherical body, sometimes with small handles are attested at Sebeș, Turia and Deva – *Dâmbul Popii*⁶⁴ (Pl. III/29-30). The lids with a straight rim or an inclined rim towards the exterior, sometimes decorated with specific motifs, including the Wietenberg cross motif, appeared from this phase on (Pl. III/31-33). Incense burners were found at Oarța de Sus⁶⁵.

Unlike the vessel shapes, the techniques and decorative motifs on ceramics change from one phase to another. According to the stratigraphy at Derșida, techniques such as the simultaneous and successive stitches, impressions of triangles or the meander motif are not present in the first three levels of the settlement. In the early horizon, the spiral motif appears very rarely and many times is just a simplified shape made from recumbent S-es (Pl. I/9, 15; III/16). These motifs represent the model for the complex spirals covering most of the pot bodies of the classical phase. They appear rarely in the early phase at Sebeș – *Între răstoace*⁶⁶, Oarța de Sus, Lancrăm – *Glod*, Sfântu Gheorghe – *Epreștet*⁶⁷ and Șeușa (Pl. I/5, 16-17, 21). In the repertoire of the early ceramics, the technique of large incisions stands out (described frequently as the incised or grooved technique): ornaments in frieze made of triangles (Pl. I/8, 11, 31-32), diagonal lines (Pl. I/1-2, 31-32; 2/9), the herringbone (Pl. I/13, 31; III/15, 20-21, 24) and garland motifs (Pl. I/7). This technique is missing from the sites of the classical period. An interesting motif is the frieze made of diagonal grooves on the upper part of pots or cups (Pl. I/3-4, 6, 11, 29-30; II/8; III/1-3, 12-13, 19, 22-23, 30). On cups and mugs, this type of ornament often occurs in the next phase. The motif of the herringbone is an early element in the decoration repertoire of the culture. In a manner similar to the Sebeș – *Între răstoace* (Pl. I/31-32), this element only occurs on early sites: Romos (Pl. III/21), Păuleni⁶⁸, Șeușa⁶⁹, Oarța de Sus (Pl. III/20), Lancrăm – *Glod* (Pl. III/15), Țelna – *Pe coastă* (Pl. III/24), Bădeni⁷⁰ and Stolna – *Podurile Domnești*⁷¹. Hatched triangles made of incisions or flutes on the pots are specific to the early horizon: Șeușa⁷², Oarța de Sus (Pl. I/26), Sebeș – *Între răstoace* (Pl. I/8, 31-32), Turia (Pl. I/11) and Deva – *Cartierul Progresul* (Pl. I/20). This motif is present also on the pottery of the classical phase, but there it was made of fine incisions on the body or the rim of the vessels. A decoration taken from the previous cultures is the incised zigzag line found on the pots

⁶⁴ Boroffka 1994, pl. 70/1.

⁶⁵ Kacsó 1987, fig. 28; Kacsó 1998; Kacsó 2013, fig. 9.

⁶⁶ Fântâneau *et alii* 2013, fig. 7/7.

⁶⁷ Boroffka 1994, pl. 118/5.

⁶⁸ Rotea 2000, pl. VIII/2, 4.

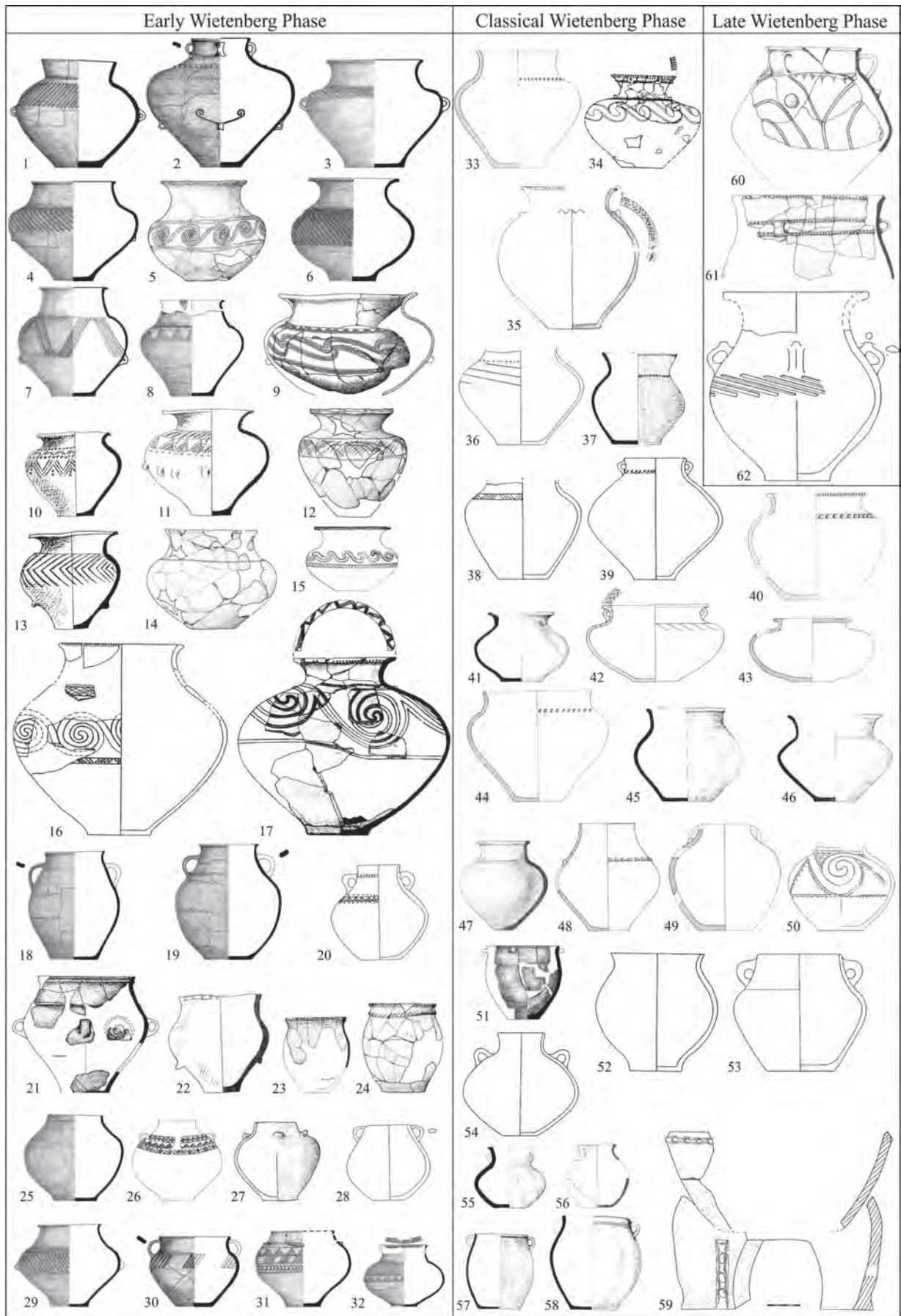
⁶⁹ Ciută 2009, pl. XLVI/8.

⁷⁰ Lazarovici, Milea 1976, pl. VII/1; XII/14.

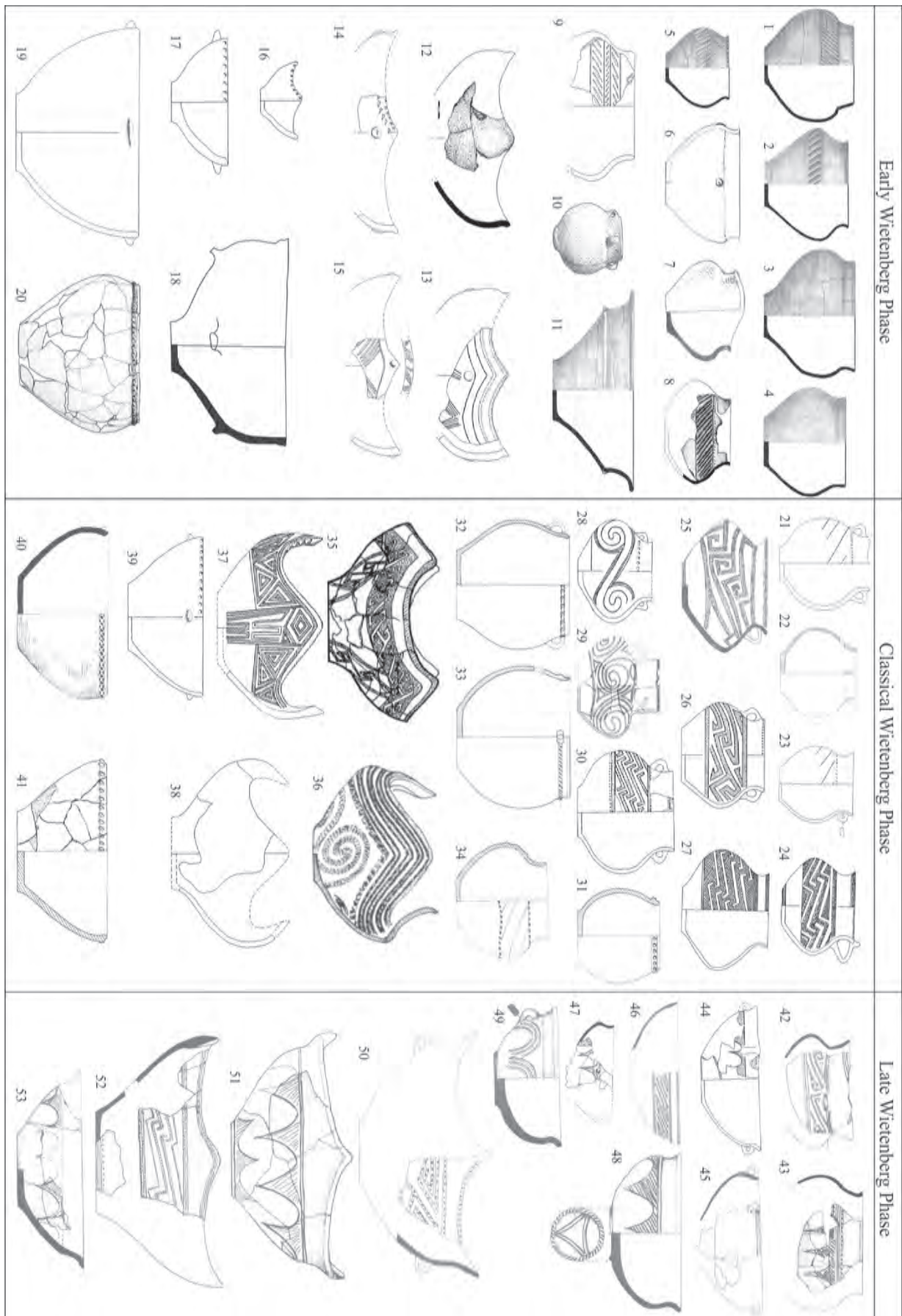
⁷¹ Daróczi, Ursuțiu 2015, pl. 109/1829; pl. 119.

⁷² Ciută 2009, pl. LII/7

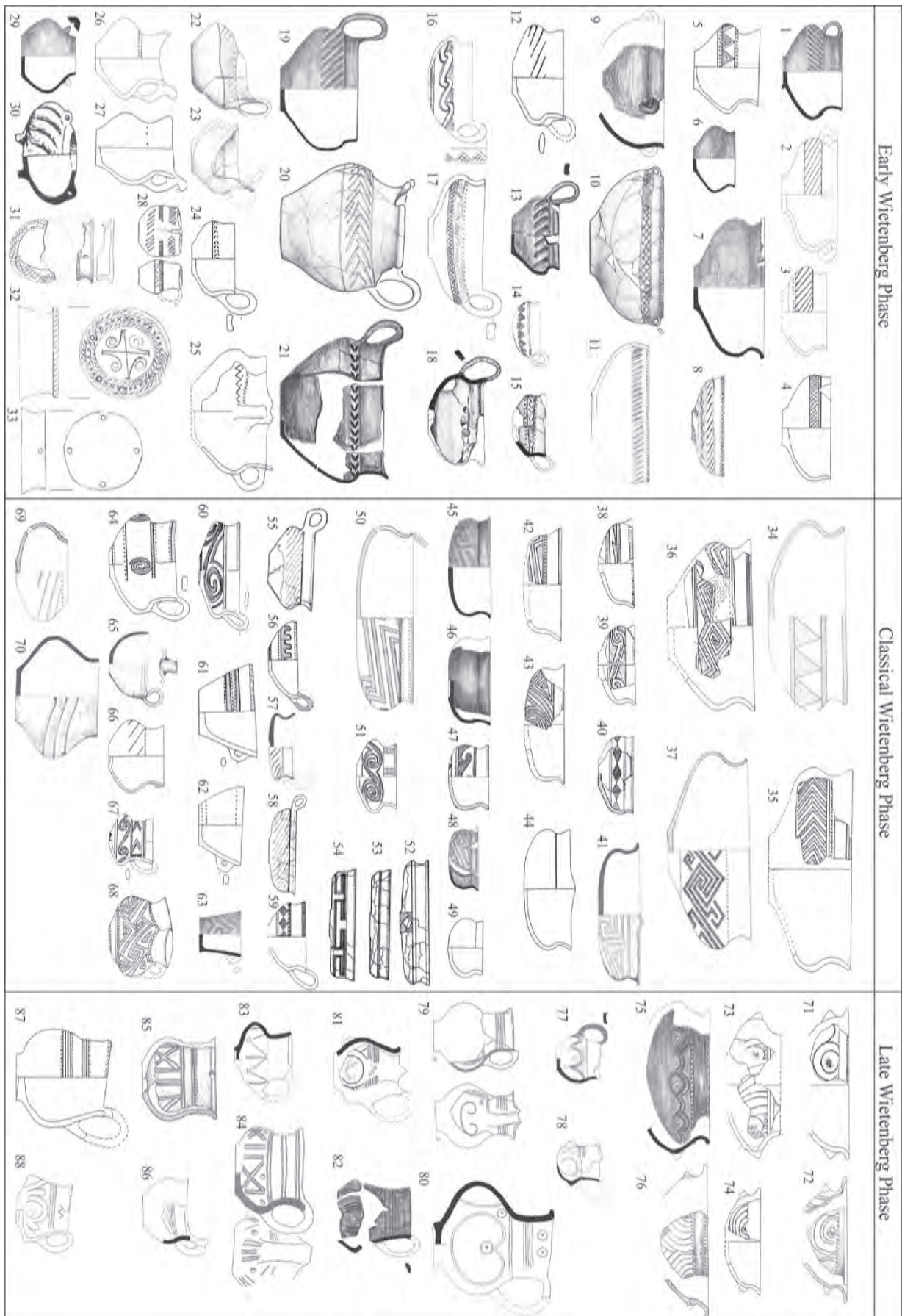
Pl. I. Wietenberg pottery: 1-4, 6-8, 18-19, 25, 29-32 Sebeș – *Între răstoace* (after C. Fântâneau *et alii* 2013, 1 - fig. 5/4; 2 - fig. 5/8; 3 - fig. 6/2; 4 - fig. 6/8; 6 - fig. 7/2; 7 - fig. 6/4; 18 - fig. 7/4; 30 - fig. 5/11); 5, 12, 14-15, 24, 26 Oarța de Sus – *Ghiile Botii* (after Kacsó 2015, 5 - fig. 204; 12 - fig. 205; 14 - fig. 197; 24 - fig. 199; Kacsó 2013, 15 - fig. 12/3; 26 - fig. 11); 9 Păuleni (after Rotea 2000, pl. V/1); 10-11, 13, 22 Turia (after Székely 1995, 10 - pl. X; 11 - pl. V/5; 13 - pl. XI/3; 22 - pl. VI/3); 16 Cluj-Napoca – *Gura Baciului* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 60/1); 17, 23 Lancrăm – *Glod* (after Popa, Simina 2004, 17 - pl. 17/2; 18 - pl. 3/1); 20, 28 Deva – *Cartier Progresul* (after Boroffka 1994, 20 - pl. 69/6; 28 - pl. 69/5); 21 Șeușa (after Ciută 2009, pl. XLVIII/6); 27 Bratei (after Popa 2010, pl. 45/13); 33, 35, 40, 42-44, 48-49 Bistrița (after Crișan 1970, 33 - fig. 10/3/B; 35 - fig. 8/3/B; 40 - fig. 11/4; 42 - fig. 8/1; 43 - fig. 9/4; 44 - fig. 9/3; 48 - fig. 10/1; 49 - fig. 8/2); 34 Cluj-Napoca – *Str. Banat* (after Rotea, Wittenberger 1999, fig. XIII/2); 36, 38-39, 50, 52-54 Sibiu (after Boroffka 1994, 36 - pl. 126/6; 38 - pl. 124/8; 39 - pl. 124/1; 50 - pl. 122/8; 52 - pl. 120/1; 53 - pl. 122/4; 54 - pl. 122/5); 37, 41, 45-46, 55, 57-58 Dumbrăvița (after Soroceanu, Retegan 1981, 37 - fig. 7/3; 41 - fig. 4/4; 45 - fig. 10/3; 46 - fig. 18/2; 55 - fig. 13/2; 57 - fig. 8/1; 58 - fig. 12/3); 47, 56 Aiton (after Soroceanu, Blăjan, Cerghi 1976, 47 - fig. 4/1; 56 - fig. 8/5); 51 Micești – *Cigașe* (after Bălan 2014, pl. 19/22); 59 Șimleu Silvaniei (after Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007, fig. 17/2), 60-61 Geoagiu de Sus (after Ciugudean 1997, 60 - fig. 6/1; 61 - fig. 6/2); 62 Băcăinți (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 3/1).



Pl. II. Wietenberg pottery: 1-5, 11 Sebeș – *Înne răstoace* (after Fântâneanu et alii 2013, 2 – fig. 6/3; 3 – fig. 7/5; 5 – fig. 5/1; 11 – fig. 6/11); 8 Lancrem – *Glod* (after Popa, Simina 2004, pl. 3/2); 13 Sebeș – *Podul Priocului* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 117/6); 6, 20 Oarța de Sus – *Ghiile Botii* (after Kacsó 2013, 6 – fig. 13/5; 2015, 20 – fig. 200); 9 Brașov – *Talea Răcădăului* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 18/7); 14-15 Brașov – *Barolomeu* (after Boroffka 1994, 14 – pl. 15/8; 15 – pl. 15/7); 10 Păuleni (after Rotea 2000, pl. V/3); 12 Șeușa (after Ciută 2009, pl. XLVIII/5); 19 Boiu (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 13/8); 7, 18 Turia (after Székely 1995, 7 – pl. V/6; 18 – pl. VIII/2); 16-17 Telnă (after Boroffka 1994, 16 – pl. 135/7; 17 – pl. 135/10); 24 Obreja (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 106/1); 22, 31-34, 36 Bistrița (after Crișan 1970, 22 – fig. 9/2/B; 31 – fig. 9/3/A; 32 – fig. 9/1/B; 33 – fig. 11/2; 34 – fig. 9/5; 36 – fig. 8/3/A); 29, 35 Cluj-Napoca – *Str. Banat* (after Rotea, Wittenberger 1999, 29 - pl. XIII/3; 35 – pl. VIII); 37 Sfântu Gheorghe – *Avasaltja* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 119/8); 38 Porumbenii Mici (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 112/10); 21, 23, 26-28, 30, 39 Sibiușeni (after Boroffka 1994, 21 – pl. 121/6; 23 – pl. 120/4; 26 – pl. 123/8; 27 – pl. 122/1; 28 – pl. 123/6; 30 – pl. 120/5; 39 – pl. 123/7); 40 Dumbrăvița (after Soroceanu, Retegan 1981, fig. 8/2); 25 Aiton (after Soroceanu, Blăjan, Cerghei 1976, fig. 7); 41 Șimleu Silvaniei (after Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007, fig. 15/2); 44 Ciceu-Corabia (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 55/10); 42, 45-46, 52 Geoagiu de Sus (after Ciugudean 1997, 42 – fig. 7/1; 45 – fig. 7/3; 46 – fig. 7/2; 52 – fig. 5/2); 43, 47-49, 51, 53 Măhăceii (after Ciugudean 1997, 43 – fig. 1/2; 47 – fig. 2/6; 48 – fig. 3/5; 49 – fig. 3/9; 51 – fig. 5/1; 53 – fig. 3/5); 50 Deva – *Cimitirul ceangăilor* (after Rotea 1994a, pl. V/1).



Pl. III. Wietenberg pottery: 1, 6-7, 19, 29 Sebeș – *Între răstioace* (after Fântâneanu *et alii* 2013, 1 – fig. 5/10; 6 – fig. 5/7; 19 – fig. 6/5; 29 – fig. 5/9); 4, 28 Oarța de Jos – *Vîlceana Rusului* (after Boroffka 1994, 4 – pl. 102/8; 28 – pl. 102/11); 8, 10-11, 14, 16-17, 20, 32-33 Oarța de Sus – *Ghiile Botii* (after Kacsó 2013, 8 – fig. 13/2; 11 – fig. 13/3; 14 – fig. 11/2; 16 – fig. 11/5; 17 – fig. 11/3; 32 – fig. 11/4; 33 – fig. 11/6; 2015, 10 – fig. 203; 20 – fig. 202); 3 Brașov – *Valea Răcădăului* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 18/2); 26 Brașov – *Bartolomeu/Schottergrube* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 17/2); 25 Brașov – *Zinne* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 19/11); 9, 13, 21 Romos: 22-23, 31 Păuleni (after Rotea 2000, 22 – pl. IV/5; 23 – pl. IV/2; 31 – pl. V/2); 2 Boiu (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 14/1); 30 Turia (after Székely 1995, pl. VII/3); 24 Teina (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 135/8); 5, 12, 27 Sfântu Gheorghe – *Epresterö* (after Boroffka 1994, 5 – pl. 118/2; 12 – pl. 118/3; 27 – pl. 118/10); 15, 18 Lancrăm – *Glod* (after Popa, Simina 2004, 15 – pl. 2/1; 18 – pl. 2/3); 35, 42 Chintelnic (after Boroffka 1994, 35 – pl. 32/12; 42 – pl. 32/1); 36 Livezile – *Răcișlog-Poderei* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 87/6); 34, 37, 50, 69 Bistrița (after Boroffka 1994, 62 – pl. 115/6; 37 – fig. 10/3/A; 50 – fig. 10/2/A; 69 – fig. 9/2/A); 59 Săcuieni (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 115/6); 62, 67-68 Saes (after Boroffka 1994, 62 – pl. 115/6; 67 – pl. 115/1; 68 – pl. 115/5); 40, 52-55, 58 Cluj-Napoca – *Str. Banat* (after Rotea, Wittenberger 1999, 40 – pl. V/3; 52 – pl. IV; 53 – pl. III/1; 54 – pl. III/2; 55 – pl. XII/2; 58 – pl. IX/3); 56 Deva – *Dealul cetății* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 69/3); 44, 49, 51, 66 Sibiu (after Boroffka 1994, 44 – pl. 126/6; 49 – pl. 123/2; 51 – pl. 123/5; 66 – pl. 121/11); 41, 57, 65, 70 Dumbrăvița (after Soroceanu, Retegan 1981, 41 – fig. 4/1; 57 – fig. 4/3; 65 – fig. 14/5; 70 – fig. 14/4); 38, 61, 64, 73-74 Ciceu-Corabia (after Boroffka 1994, 38 – pl. 55/9; 61 – pl. 55/6; 64 – pl. 59/6; 73 – pl. 56/3; 74 – pl. 56/2); 39, 43 Chintelnic (after Boroffka 1994, 39 – pl. 31/2; 43 – pl. 31/5); 45-46, 48, 63, 75, 82 Micești – *Cigase* (after Bălan 2014, 45 – pl. 12/9; 46 – pl. 12/2; 48 – pl. 20/3; 63 – pl. 13/4; 75 – pl. 24/1; 82 – pl. 27/1); 47 Șimleu Silvaniei (after Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007, fig. 9/2); 60 Obreja (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 106/3); 71 Viștea – *Kikuvverne* (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 145/6); 72 Cluj-Napoca – *Mănăștur* (after Rotea 1994a, pl. VI/5); 79-81, 83, 86 Deva – *Cimitirul ceangăilor* (after Rotea 1994a, 79 – pl. IV/1; 86 – pl. IV/4; Andrițoiu 1992, 80 – pl. 46/12; 81 – pl. 46/10; 83 – pl. 46/4); 84, 88 Bădeni (after Rotea 1994a, 84 – pl. I/6; after Boroffka 1994, pl. 4/3); 85 Deuș (after Rotea 1994a, pl. III/8); 77-78 Stolna – *Șesurile Rele* (after Daróczi, Ursuțiu 2015, 77 – pl. 242/5320; 78 – pl. 242/5369); 67 Craiva (after Boroffka 1994, pl. 66/8).



at Braşov – Zinne (Pl. III/25), Suatu⁷³, Păuleni⁷⁴, Şeuşa⁷⁵ and Rotbav⁷⁶. An early motif is the so-called Wietenberg cross motif, which decorates mainly the lids (Pl. III/32). The plastic decoration applied above or below the handle is representative for the early Wietenberg phase: Sebeş – Între răstoace (Pl. I/2), Bratei⁷⁷, Rotbav⁷⁸ and Oarţa de Sus⁷⁹.

Many of the shapes and ornaments on the pottery of the early phase have their origins in the cultures and cultural groups that existed at the end of the Early Bronze Age. The pot with the highest frequency (Pl. I/1-15) has analogies in the burial or group of burials at Movila, phase Monteoru Ic4⁸⁰, but also in the Odaia Turcului group⁸¹. A bowl type from Sebeş (Pl. III/3-4) has analogies at Năeni – Colarea, where it was discovered in burial 8, together with a cup of the Năeni-Schneckenberg type⁸². The slender mug with a tall handle (Pl. III/26-27) has analogies in Transylvania in the Early Bronze Age IIb at Gligoreşti⁸³ and Tărtăria⁸⁴, but also in the area of the Monteoru culture (phase Ic4, 3) at Cârломăneşti⁸⁵. The bowl discovered in burial M. 32 at Sebeş (Pl. II/11) has analogies in the Odaia Turcului group⁸⁶, the Nagyrév⁸⁷ and Kisapostag⁸⁸ cultures. Another pot type from Sebeş (Pl. I/1) resembles the Early Bronze Age pots with spherical bodies and handles applied on the maximum diameter of the vessels⁸⁹. The type of lid most frequently encountered in the Wietenberg culture (Pl. III/31, 33) is present in the Odaia Turcului group⁹⁰. The small lobed bowl from Ţelna (Pl. II/16) has analogies in the Odaia Turcului group⁹¹. The plastic decoration applied above or below the handle has its origins at the end of the Early Bronze Age⁹². The incised decoration rendering the zigzag motif is encountered at Odaia Turcului, in level 4⁹³, Bucureşti – Fundeni⁹⁴ and Sărata Monteoru⁹⁵. More V-s made from parallel incised lines (Pl. I/10; II/13; III/5, 14), with the V-tip pointing up, are present on the vessels at Gligoreşti, Pianu de Jos, Şibot, Tureni, Sfântu Gheorghe, Sărata Monteoru and Dalnic⁹⁶. The incised cross-hatching motif (Pl. I/12, 16; III/4, 10, 17, 28, 31) has origins in the late Early Bronze Age⁹⁷, and the triangles filled with dots are present in Ciomortan-Costişa⁹⁸ and Monteoru Ic4, 3 – Ic3⁹⁹. The pot with knobs on the inside found at Oarţa de Sus has analogies in the Mako, Nyírség, Nagyrév and Sanislău groups¹⁰⁰.

⁷³ Rotea 1994b, pl. III/3.

⁷⁴ Rotea 2000, pl. VIII/3.

⁷⁵ Ciută 2009, pl. XLVIII/2.

⁷⁶ Dietrich 2014a, pl. 105/1.

⁷⁷ Popa 2010, pl. 45/18.

⁷⁸ Dietrich 2014a, pl. 105/8.

⁷⁹ Kacsó 2004, pl. XXXI-XXXII.

⁸⁰ Băjenaru 2014, p. 86, 227, fig. 62/C/7.

⁸¹ Băjenaru 2003, fig. 2.

⁸² Băjenaru 2014, fig. 62/11.

⁸³ Popa 2010, pl. 3/1

⁸⁴ Popa 2010, pl. 3/2

⁸⁵ Zaharia 1990, fig. 21/3; Munteanu 2010, pl. 37/2.

⁸⁶ Băjenaru 2003, fig. 2; Băjenaru 2014, pl. 7/2-3 (Type I.B.7-8).

⁸⁷ Vicze 2011, pl. 11/13; 2/9; 3/16; 6/7, 11; 7/3, 6, 13; 8/1, 12, 14; 11/10.

⁸⁸ Vicze 2011, pl. 13/13; 14/2; 17/8; 18/13; 22/11; 23/2.

⁸⁹ Kalicz 1984, pl. XXVII/1, 3; Schreiber-Kalicz 1984, pl. XXXVIII/1; Popa 2010, pl. 6/10; Munteanu 2010, fig. 65/5-6; Vicze 2011, fig. 26, pl. 12/3; 13/11; 14/6; 15/8; 16/6; 18/4, 11, 14; 19/2, 6; 20/1.

⁹⁰ Băjenaru 2014, pl. 48/9.

⁹¹ Băjenaru 2014, pl. 50/4.

⁹² Schreiber-Kalicz 1984, pl. XXXV/19; XXXVI/3; XLII/1, 5, 11; Ciugudean 1996, pl. 58/3.

⁹³ Băjenaru 2014, pl. 47/8.

⁹⁴ Băjenaru 2014, pl. 50/8.

⁹⁵ Băjenaru 2014, pl. 53/11.

⁹⁶ Popa 2010, pl. 2/1-8.

⁹⁷ Ciugudean 1996, fig. 1/10; fig. 6/4, 6; 10/3; 16/1, 7; 43/14; Băjenaru 2014, fig. 21/5-6; 22/3; 23/9; 24/2.

⁹⁸ Munteanu 2010, fig. 50.

⁹⁹ Munteanu 2010, fig. 33; Băjenaru 2014, pl. 41/3; 43/B/24.

¹⁰⁰ Kacsó 2013, p. 115-117.

In conclusion, the repertoire of forms and decorations specific to this early Wietenberg phase has connections to some specific traditions of the groups and cultures from the end of the Early Bronze Age, suggesting contributions from different areas (Nagyrév, Nyírség, Sanislău, Gornea-Orleşti, Odaia Turcului). Timewise, the closest cultural manifestations/pottery styles are the Andrid / Otomani I type¹⁰¹ and the Ciomortan-Costişa type¹⁰², dated to 21st-20th centuries BC. Many ornamental motifs were adapted from these cultural groups during the early phase of Wietenberg culture. A great importance has the stratigraphy from Păuleni where the Ciomortan-Costişa level was directly overlapped by the early Wietenberg level¹⁰³. The funerary rite is different from most contemporary neighbouring groups and cultures (Mureş, Otomani, Monteoru, Tei and Costişa)¹⁰⁴. The deposition of cinerary urns is encountered at the end of the Early Bronze Age at the Nagyrév¹⁰⁵ and Nyírség¹⁰⁶ communities. The Nagyrév group is mostly responsible for shaping the Vatya culture¹⁰⁷, with a funerary rite similar to the Wietenberg one¹⁰⁸. The discussion about this aspect leads to the question whether the funerary rite got adopted from the Early Bronze Age communities or from the Vatya ones.

Metal finds and moulds are rare at Wietenberg sites. The few finds attributed to the early phase came from Derşida (a chisel from the 2nd level and a mould for casting socketed chisels found in the 3rd level¹⁰⁹), Oarţa de Sus (bronze, gold and silver artefacts and moulds for casting Apa and Ţufalău type objects, dated to the Bz. A2)¹¹⁰ and Păuleni (a heart-shaped pendant and a paddle-head pin)¹¹¹. The bronze pin with a disc head from Sebeş – *Podul Pripocului*¹¹² and the sword from Boiu¹¹³ were assigned to the Wietenberg II phase. Both the sickle and the spearhead from Sighişoara – *Wietenberg* were attributed to the early Wietenberg phase, but the context of the discovery is unknown. The settlement, disturbed by later Dacian occupation, was attributed to the early and classical phases¹¹⁴. The hoards from Deva and Sebeş, with bronze objects specific to the western area, are also attributed to the early Wietenberg phase¹¹⁵.

The relative chronology: There were ceramic exchanges between the Wietenberg communities and the neighbouring cultures starting in the early phase, contemporary with the Otomani II¹¹⁶, Mureş / Periam-Pecica Ib¹¹⁷, Hatvan II¹¹⁸ and Monteoru Ic2-1¹¹⁹. Reported to the chronological systems, the early phase correlates to the Reinecke Br. A2, Boná MB 2, Mozsolics B III, Gogâltan BM II stages.

The absolute chronology. The ¹⁴C dates for the Wietenberg culture are few, but compared to three years ago¹²⁰, the situation is much better. The following dates belong to sites attributed to the early phase (Pl. V):

¹⁰¹ Roman, Némethi 1990, p. 46-47; Némethi, Molnár 2001; Popa 2010, p. 134-138. The level with the Andrid/Otomani I type artifacts overlaps the Sanislău level and is directly beneath the Otomani II level at Carei – *Bobald*.

¹⁰² Căvruţ, Dumitroaia 2000; Căvruţ 2002; Munteanu 2010, p. 202-209; Popa 2010, p. 106-116, pl. 33.

¹⁰³ Rotea 2000, p. 30; Căvruţ, Rotea 2000, p. 157-158; Căvruţ 2002, p. 191.

¹⁰⁴ Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 330-369 (Mureş/Periam-Pecica); 369-432 (Monteoru); 432-441 (Costişa); 441-444 (Tei); 451-496 (Otomani); 527-546 (Wietenberg).

¹⁰⁵ Schreiber-Kalicz 1984, p. 155.

¹⁰⁶ Kalicz 1984, p. 111-112; Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011, p. 317-320.

¹⁰⁷ Boná 1975, p. 31-32; Kovács 1984, p. 220.

¹⁰⁸ Boná 1975, p. 32-44, 52, 59.

¹⁰⁹ Chidioşan 1980, p. 60.

¹¹⁰ Kacsó 1987, p. 70, fig. 22-23; Kacsó 2004, p. 60, pl. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

¹¹¹ Popa 2010, p. 146.

¹¹² Boroffka 1994, p. 286.

¹¹³ Boroffka 1994, p. 286.

¹¹⁴ Boroffka 1994, p. 286; Andriţoiu, Rustoiu 1997, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ Popa 2010, p. 138-153.

¹¹⁶ Chidioşan 1974, p. 157-159; Chidioşan 1980, p. 90-91; Boroffka 1994, p. 287.

¹¹⁷ Chidioşan 1980, p. 88; Soroceanu 1991, p. 119, pl. 49/15; Szabó 1999, p. 24-25, fig. 36/Gr. 102/5; fig. 52/Gr. 127/3.

¹¹⁸ Boroffka 1994, p. 286.

¹¹⁹ Florescu 1971; Chidioşan 1980, p. 85-86; Boroffka 1994, p. 286-287; Motzoi-Chicideanu 1995, p. 223; Popescu 2008; Puskás 2015, p. 105.

¹²⁰ Bălan, Quinn 2014.

- Oarța de Sus – *Ghiule Botii* – Bln-5626: 3507±37 BP, 1931-1701 cal BC (95.4%)¹²¹;
- Rotbav – Hd-28203: 3547±24 BP, 1954 - 1774 cal BC (95.4%)¹²²;
- Păuleni – the Costișa-Ciomortan level: 3620±16 BP, 2031-1925 cal BC (95%)¹²³; Wietenberg level: 3440 ± 25 BP, 1877-1683 cal BC (95.4%)¹²⁴;
- Sebeș – *Între răstoace* (Pl. IV) – AA-103611: 3445±41 BP, 1883-1660 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103613: 3517±41 BP, 1950-1700 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103614: 3533±41 BP, 2007-1746 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103615: 3555±41 BP, 2021-1746 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103616: 3562±42 BP, 2026-1771 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103617: 3425±41 BP, 1878-1629 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103618: 3520±41 BP, 1953-1701 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103619: 3495±40 BP, 1923-1695 cal BC (95.4%); AA-103620: 3501±40 BP, 1933-1697 cal BC (95.4%)¹²⁵.

Two ¹⁴C dates on seed samples found in the same pit (no. 22) at Oarța de Sus have been published. The Bln-5626 date is comparable to the ones at Rotbav, Păuleni and Sebeș and match the expectations. There are 12 radiocarbon dates covering the time period between 2026 and 1664 cal BC, but the timespan which can be considered 100% accurate for this phase is between 1830 and 1774 cal BC. Obviously, this phase lasts longer. These ¹⁴C data suggest a starting date in the 20th century BC and an ending in the first half of the 18th century BC, especially taking into account the dates for the classical phase (see below).

CLASSICAL WIETENBERG PHASE

The classical Wietenberg phase is similar to the Chidioșan III phase and the Boroffka B-C phases. According to the stratigraphy at Derșida, the last two levels have ornamental elements different from the first three ones: the meander motif, techniques such as successive and simultaneous stitches, double rows of stamped triangles and white lime encrustation. Many of the shapes from levels 2 and 3 were still in use. This horizon is confirmed by several discoveries: Sibișeni¹²⁶, Bistrița¹²⁷, Dumbrăvița¹²⁸, Aiton – *Ciolt*¹²⁹, Porumbenii Mici¹³⁰, Voivodeni¹³¹, Luduș¹³², Tureni¹³³, Micești – *Cigașe*¹³⁴, Bixad¹³⁵, Șimleu Silvaniei¹³⁶, Cluj-Napoca – *Str. Banat*¹³⁷, Stolna – *Podurile Domnești*¹³⁸, Rotbav (level 3)¹³⁹ and Aiud – *Groapa de gunoi*¹⁴⁰. A series of sites published by N. Boroffka¹⁴¹ should also be added: Aiton – *Locul lui Poțu*, Băgău, Bernadea, Bonț, Brașov – *Valea Răcădăului* and *Ziegelei Schmidt*, Cetea, Chintelnic, Cicău, Ciceu-Corabia,

¹²¹ Kacsó 2004, p. 60; Görsdorf 2005, p. 468; Kacsó 2015, p. 432; Gogâltan 2015, p. 75, fig. 25.

¹²² Dietrich 2014b, p. 60-61; Gogâltan 2015, p. 77.

¹²³ Gogâltan 2015, p. 76-77, fig. 30.

¹²⁴ Gogâltan 2015, p. 77, fig. 31.

¹²⁵ Samples analysed within the Bronze Age Transylvania Survey project; the project is a partnership between the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology (C. Quinn and J. O'Shea) and the National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia (H. Ciugudean). These samples were run on calcinated bones at the NSF-University of Arizona AMS laboratory with the assistance of G. Hodgins and were funded through an NSF DDIG Grant (BCS-1341329).

¹²⁶ Boroffka 1994, p. 75, pl. 120-126; Paul 1995.

¹²⁷ Crișan 1970.

¹²⁸ Soroceanu, Retegan 1981, p. 195-207.

¹²⁹ Soroceanu, Blăjan, Cerghi 1976.

¹³⁰ Székely 1984.

¹³¹ Petică 1981; Németh 2015.

¹³² Berecki 2016.

¹³³ Gogâltan 1989-1993.

¹³⁴ Bălan 2014, p. 27-35.

¹³⁵ Daróczi, Dobos 2009.

¹³⁶ Gogâltan, Tamba 1992; Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007.

¹³⁷ Rotea, Wittenberger 1999.

¹³⁸ Daróczi, Ursuțiu 2015, p. 14-26 (e.g. features CxPD 021, 032, 085, 109, 110, 116, 122A, 124, 129, 155A, 156, 161, 163, 168, 177).

¹³⁹ Dietrich 2014a, p. 180-187.

¹⁴⁰ Bălan, Burlacu-Timofte, Muntean 2016.

¹⁴¹ Boroffka 1994.

Cluj-Napoca – *Strada Maxim Gorki*, Comandău, Corpadea, Corvinești, Deva – *Dealul Cetății*, Dorolțu, Feldioara, Gârbău, Ilișua, Lechința – *Livada intensivă*, *Poderei* and *La izvorul popii*, Livezile – *Răcișlog-Poderei*, Lopadea Veche – *Râpa Albă*, Malnaș-Băi, Mediaș – *Baia de nisip*, Merești – *Almașer Höhle*, Meșcreac, Nicula, Noșlac – *Șumughi* and *Pe șes*, Nușeni, Ocna Sibiului – *Dealul Trestiei*, Obreja, Oiejdea, Ormeniș – *Cânepi*, *Pe ogoarea* and *Gruicul cu mazăre*, Ocnita, Petreștii de Sus, Poiana Aiudului – *Între pietri*, Rîmeț – *La curmătură* and *La cruce*, Porumbenii Mici, Rotbav – *Unghiul gardului*, Șaeș, Săndulești – *Cheile Turzii/Portlik Höhle*, Sfântu Gheorghe – *Avasalja*, Șieu Măgheruș – *Cetate* and *Între hotare*, Tilișca, Uioara de Jos – *Valea Orăzleci* – *Gruu*, Unirea, Vremeș, Viștea – *Farkasberek* and *Kikutverme*. Most of the published Sighișoara – *Wietenberg* material dates to the classical phase¹⁴². Some of those sites were also occupied during the previous phase, as indicated by the published materials. Those sites were identified based on the presence of new ornamental elements, unique in Transylvania and the surrounding area. At Derșida, the last two levels contained 44 ceramic shapes and 33 ornamental types. The new ornamental elements represent a *terminus post quem* in dating the materials of the Wietenberg culture. This opinion contradicts the periodization of N. Boroffka, who included some of the new elements in phase B, together with the ones discovered in level 3¹⁴³.

The pottery assigned to the classical phase is generally similar to the descriptions of N. Chidioșan¹⁴⁴, K. Horedt¹⁴⁵, I. Andrițoiu (phase III) and N. Boroffka (phases B and C)¹⁴⁶. Several aspects should be highlighted. In the cemeteries of the classical phase, pots with shapes similar to the ones of the early phase were discovered, but many of them were decorated with simple rows on the neck (Pl. I/33, 39, 40, 44, 46). In a few cases, an oblique fluted ornamentation was present (Pl. I/36, 42). Sometimes only the rim was decorated (Pl. I/35). The knobs and the handles placed on or under the maximum diameter of the vessel were not present. Bowls with four lobes strongly inclined towards the interior appeared during this period. In most cases, those bowls have a rich decoration (Pl. II/35-37), although simpler variants were also found (Pl. III/38). Bowls and cups with very rich decorations in the new techniques emerged in this phase (Pl. II/24-27, 30, 35, 37; III/34-43, 45, 47-48, 50, 56, 61, 63, 68), but techniques from the previous phase were still in use: the incised cross-hatching decoration or the oblique grooves (Pl. I/36, 42, 21, 23, 34, 55, 57-58, 66, 69-70), sometimes combined on the same vessel, with the new elements. A varied number of spirals was created in this phase (Pl. I/34, 50; II/28-29, 36, 39, 43, 51, 60, 64, 67). It is also the time when the portable cooking vessel was created: Șimleu Silvaniei (Pl. I/59)¹⁴⁷, Ciceu-Corabia¹⁴⁸, Dorolțu¹⁴⁹, Obreja¹⁵⁰, Voivodeni¹⁵¹ and Viștea – *Kikutverme*¹⁵².

Contrary to N. Boroffka¹⁵³, we consider the cemeteries at Sibișeni and Bistrița to date only to the classical phase. None of the specific elements from the previous horizon were present on the vessels from those cemeteries. Undecorated vessels and the cups decorated with diagonal grooves already brought into discussion were specific to this horizon and do not have earlier elements (see the pottery from the sites at Luduș, Micești – *Cigașe*, Voivodeni, Cluj Napoca – *Str. Banat*, Șimleu Silvaniei). Together with the two cemeteries mentioned above, specific for this phase were also the cemeteries at Dumbrăvița, Aiton and Luduș.

Metal artifacts were rare at the sites of the classical period. Few bronze objects and moulds associated with specific pottery were discovered in secure contexts at Aiud – *Groapa de gunoi* (a flat axe, a pin, two

¹⁴² Andrițoiu, Rustoiu 1997, p. 15-43.

¹⁴³ Boroffka 1994, p. 250.

¹⁴⁴ Chidioșan 1980, p. 77-81, fig. 3-4.

¹⁴⁵ Horedt 1967, p. 138.

¹⁴⁶ Boroffka 1994, p. 250.

¹⁴⁷ Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007, fig. 17/2.

¹⁴⁸ Boroffka 1994, pl. 53/1-2.

¹⁴⁹ Boroffka 1994, pl. 70/9.

¹⁵⁰ Boroffka 1994, pl. 105/10.

¹⁵¹ Németh 2015, pl. 8/8.

¹⁵² Boroffka 1994, pl. 144/12.

¹⁵³ Boroffka 1994, p. 251, fig. 26.

fragments of a knife handle, stone and ceramic moulds)¹⁵⁴ and Luduş (two pendants – one of them moonshaped –, and a pin)¹⁵⁵. At Râmeţ – *La cruce*, ceramic specific to the classical phase was mentioned, as well as a flat axe, similar to the one at Aiud, but associated with two socketed axes specific to the Br. D¹⁵⁶. More metal finds were published from Sighişoara – *Wietenberg*, where the greatest amount of material was specific to this phase, but the archaeological context was unknown. Many of them were attributed to the early horizon (dated to the Br. A2-B)¹⁵⁷, but I believe some of them belong to the classical phase. Among them is a flat axe similar to those at Aiud and Râmeţ.

The relative chronology. During this phase the contacts with the eastern part of the Carpathians diminished. On the other hand, the first exchanges between the Wietenberg and the Tei (phase III) communities began during this stage. The classical Wietenberg phase is contemporary to the Monteoru Ia-IIa¹⁵⁸. A lot of material specific to the classical phase was discovered at Otomani III and IIIA settlements¹⁵⁹ and at Derşida, in levels 4 and 5, Otomani III pottery was found¹⁶⁰. There are also some opinions that consider the classical Wietenberg contemporary with the early Noua phase¹⁶¹. This phase correlates with the Reinecke Br. A2-B1, Boná MB 3, Mozsolics B III and Gogâltan BM II-III.

The absolute chronology. Most of the ¹⁴C dates for the classical phase were recently published (Pl. V):

- Sighişoara – *Cartierul viilor* – Bln-4622: 3330±51 BP, 1742-1501 cal BC (95.4%)¹⁶²;
- Alba Iulia – *Recea* – Hd-29515: 3448±21 BP, 1876-1689 cal BC (95.4%)¹⁶³;
- Sibişeni – *Deasupra satului* – AA-103610: 3454±46 BP, 1891-1645 cal BC (95.4%)¹⁶⁴;
- Geoagiu de Sus – *Viile satului* – OS-107666: 3370±45 BP, 1767-1530 cal BC (95.4%); OS-107554: 3470±25, 1882-1697 BC (95.4%)¹⁶⁵;
- Voivodeni – *La şcoală* – DeA-2002.1.1: 3337±38 BP, 1736-1521 cal BC (95.4%); DeA-2003.1.1: 3412±42 BP, 1877-1619 cal BC (95.4%); DeA-2004.1.1: 3407±38 BP, 1874-1617 cal BC (95.4%)¹⁶⁶;
- Luduş – RoAMS-16-03 (Cx. 5): 3346±73 BP, 1876-1452 cal BC (95.4%); RoAMS-16-05 (stepping level): 3147±66, 1607-1232 cal BC (95.4%); RoAMS-16-07 (Cx. 22): 3422±36 BP, 1876-1629 cal BC (95.4%); RoAMS-16-08 (Cx. 22): 3345±78 BP, 1876-1451 cal BC (95.4%)¹⁶⁷.

The date RoAMS-16-07 from Luduş (feature Cx. 22) fits with the dates obtained from other sites attributed to the classical phase. Unfortunately, the other dates cover large time intervals due to the large error ranges. They do not exclude the result obtained for RoAMS-16-07. The two dates from the third level at Rotbav (classical Wietenberg) are similar to those of the fourth level (attributed to the Noua culture), and later than might be expected (Pl. V)¹⁶⁸. Most probably, the changes from the early to the classical phase took place starting with the middle of the 18th century BC. This phase lasted until the first half of the 16th century BC.

¹⁵⁴ Bălan *et alii* 2016, pl. 26/3-7.

¹⁵⁵ Rezi 2016.

¹⁵⁶ Boroffka 1994, p. 69, 287.

¹⁵⁷ Andriţoiu, Rustoiu 1997, p. 31-33.

¹⁵⁸ Boroffka 1994, p. 288; Dietrich 2014a, p. 279; Puskás 2015, p. 105.

¹⁵⁹ Chidioşan 1970, p. 289-290; Chidioşan 1974, p. 154-161; Chidioşan 1980, p. 88-89, 92; Emödi 2002; Némethi, Molnár 2007, pl. 65/2.

¹⁶⁰ Chidioşan 1970, p. 290.

¹⁶¹ Boroffka 1994, p. 288.

¹⁶² Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 149; Popa, Boroffka 1996, p. 56, n. 40: the initial date proposed was 1685-1524 cal BC.

¹⁶³ Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 151.

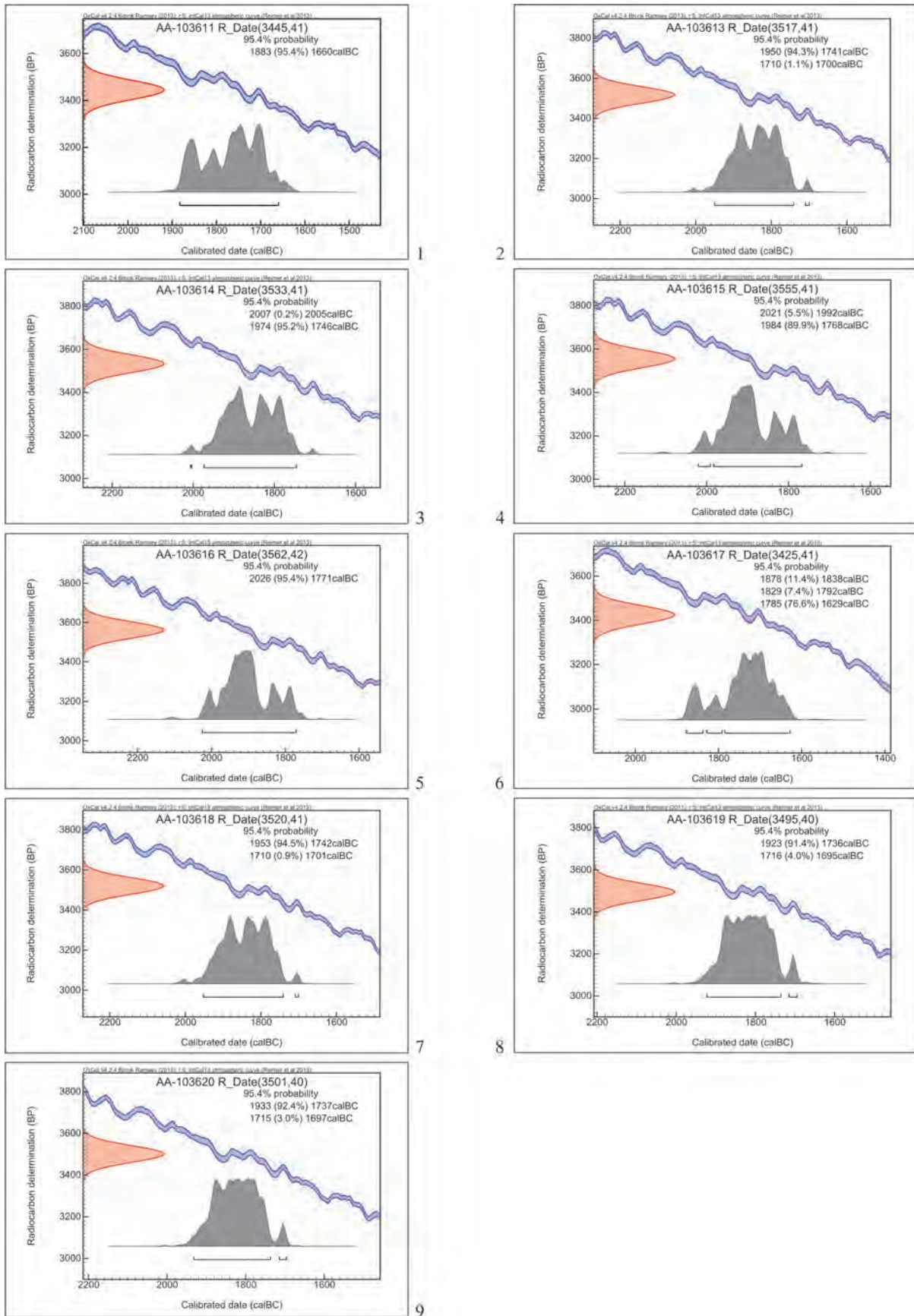
¹⁶⁴ Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 151.

¹⁶⁵ Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 151, fig. 3: the third date from the same pit might be interpreted as a consequence of the *old wood effect*: 3260±25, 1614-1460 cal BC.

¹⁶⁶ Németh 2015, p. 186-187.

¹⁶⁷ Berecki 2016, p. 134-142, fig. 33.

¹⁶⁸ Dietrich 2014b, fig. 3.



Pl. IV. ¹⁴C dates at Sebeș – Între răstoace.

Pl. V. Wietenberg culture ¹⁴C dates: 10. Kacsó 2004, p. 60; Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 119-120; Kacsó 2015, p. 432; Gogâltan 2015, p. 75, fig. 24; Berecki 2016, table 26; 11. Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 120; Kacsó 2015, p. 432; Gogâltan 2015, p. 75, fig. 25; Berecki 2016, table 26; 12. Dietrich 2014a, p. 171; Dietrich 2014b, p. 60-61, fig. 3-4; Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 120; Gogâltan 2015, p. 77, fig. 32; Berecki 2016, table 26; 13. Gogâltan 2015, p. 77, fig. 31; Berecki 2016, table 26; 14. Dietrich 2014a, p. 182; Dietrich 2014b, p. 61, fig. 3-4; Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 120; Gogâltan 2015, p. 77, fig. 32; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 196; Berecki 2016, table 26; 15. Dietrich 2014a, p. 182; Dietrich 2014b, p. 61, fig. 3-4; Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 120; Gogâltan 2015, p. 77, fig. 32; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 196; Berecki 2016, table 26; 16. Popa, Boroffka 1996, p. 56, n. 40; Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 120; Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 149, fig. 4; Gogâltan 2015, p. 75, fig. 26; Berecki 2016, table 26 (3380±51 BP); 17. Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 149, fig. 3-4, table 1; Berecki 2016, table 26; 18. Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 150-151, fig. 3-4, table 1; Berecki 2016, table 26; 19. Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 151, fig. 3-4, table 1; Berecki 2016, table 26; 20. Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 151, fig. 3-4, table 1; Berecki 2016, table 26; 21. Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 151, fig. 3-4, table 1; Berecki 2016, table 26; 22. Németh 2015, p. 186-187, fig. 4; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 197; Berecki 2016, table 26; 23. Németh 2015, p. 186-187, fig. 5; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 197; Berecki 2016, table 26; 24. Németh 2015, p. 186-187, fig. 6; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 197; Berecki 2016, table 26; 25. Berecki 2016, fig. 33, table 27; 26. Berecki 2016, fig. 33, table 27; 27. Berecki 2016, fig. 33, table 27; 28. Berecki 2016, fig. 33, table 27; 29. Berecki 2016, fig. 33, table 27; 30. Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 119, fig. 1-2; Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 153; Gogâltan 2015, p. 75, n. 47; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 197; Berecki 2016, table 26; 31. Bălan, Quinn 2014, p. 119, fig. 1-2; Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 153; Gogâltan 2015, p. 75, n. 47; Németh 2015, p. 187; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 197; Berecki 2016, table 26; 32. Gogâltan 2015, p. 76, fig. 29; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 198, fig. 15; Berecki 2016, table 26; 33. Gogâltan 2015, p. 76, fig. 27; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 198, fig. 16; Berecki 2016, table 26; 34. Gogâltan 2015, p. 76, fig. 27; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 198, fig. 16; Berecki 2016, table 26.

	Laboratory code	Site	Phase	Context	Sample	BP	cal BC (95.4%)	Software
1	AA-103611	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.2	cremated human bone	3445±41	1883-1660	Oxcal v4.2.4
2	AA-103613	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.1.7	cremated human bone	3517±41	1950-1700	Oxcal v4.2.4
3	AA-103614	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.2.5	cremated human bone	3533±41	2007-1746	Oxcal v4.2.4
4	AA-103615	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.3.2	cremated human bone	3555±41	2021-1746	Oxcal v4.2.4
5	AA-103616	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.3.4	cremated human bone	3562±42	2026-1771	Oxcal v4.2.4
6	AA-103617	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.3.6	cremated human bone	3425±41	1878-1629	Oxcal v4.2.4
7	AA-103618	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.4.3	cremated human bone	3520±41	1953-1701	Oxcal v4.2.4
8	AA-103619	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.4.4	cremated human bone	3495±40	1923-1695	Oxcal v4.2.4
9	AA-103620	Sebeș – <i>Între râstoace</i>	Early Wietenberg	burial M.4.5	cremated human bone	3501±40	1933-1697	Oxcal v4.2.4
10	Ly-9190	Oarta de Sus – <i>Ghile Botii</i>	Early Wietenberg	pit no. 22	burnt seed	3265±30	1619-1458	Oxcal v4.2.4
11	Bln-5626	Oarta de Sus – <i>Ghile Botii</i>	Early Wietenberg	pit no. 22	burnt seed	3507±37	1931-1701	Oxcal v4.2.4
12	Hd-28203	Rotbav – <i>La părașu</i>	Early Wietenberg	level - Rt. 2	animal bone	3547±24	1954-1774	Oxcal v4.2.3
13		Păuleni	Early Wietenberg	level 2	wood	3440±25	1877-1683	Oxcal v4.2.3
14	Hd-27967	Rotbav – <i>La părașu</i>	Classical Wietenberg	level - Rt. 3	animal bone	3195±19	1501-1430	Oxcal v4.2.3
15	Hd-27989	Rotbav – <i>La părașu</i>	Classical Wietenberg	level - Rt. 3	animal bone	3174±16	1497-1416	Oxcal v4.2.3
16	Bln-4622	Sighisoara – <i>Cartierul vitor Noua</i>	Classical Wietenberg and Noua	feature	charcoal	3330±51	1742-1501	Oxcal v4.2.4
17	Hd-29515	Alba Iulia – <i>Recea</i>	Classical Wietenberg		animal bone	3448±21	1876-1689	Oxcal v4.2.4
18	AA-103610	Sibișeni	Classical Wietenberg	burial	calcined human bone	3454±46	1891-1645	Oxcal v4.2.4
19	OS-107666	Geoagiu de Sus – <i>Trile sanului</i>	Classical/Late Wietenberg	pit	charcoal	3370±45	1767-1530	Oxcal v4.2.4
20	OS-107554	Geoagiu de Sus – <i>Trile sanului</i>	Classical/Late Wietenberg	pit	charcoal	3470±25	1882-1697	Oxcal v4.2.4
21	OS-107555	Geoagiu de Sus – <i>Trile sanului</i>	Classical/Late Wietenberg	pit	charcoal	3260±25	1614-1460	Oxcal v4.2.4
22	DeA-2002.1.1	Voivodeni – <i>La școală</i>	Classical Wietenberg	skeleton 1	human bone	3337±38	1736-1521	Calib 6.1.1
23	DeA-2003.1.1	Voivodeni – <i>La școală</i>	Classical Wietenberg	skeleton 5	human bone	3412±42	1877-1619	Calib 6.1.1
24	DeA-2004.1.1	Voivodeni – <i>La școală</i>	Classical Wietenberg	skeleton 4	human bone	3407±38	1874-1617	Calib 6.1.1
25	RoAMS-16-03	Luduș – <i>Fabrica de zahăr</i>	Classical Wietenberg	pit Cx.5	animal bone	3346±73	1876-1452	Oxcal v4.2.4
26	RoAMS-16-05	Luduș – <i>Fabrica de zahăr</i>	Classical Wietenberg	stepping level	animal bone	3147±66	1607-1232	Oxcal v4.2.4
27	RoAMS-16-07	Luduș – <i>Fabrica de zahăr</i>	Classical Wietenberg	feature Cx.22	animal bone	3422±36	1876-1629	Oxcal v4.2.4
28	RoAMS-16-08	Luduș – <i>Fabrica de zahăr</i>	Classical Wietenberg	feature Cx.22	animal bone	3345±78	1876-1451	Oxcal v4.2.4
29	RoAMS-16-04	Luduș – <i>Fabrica de zahăr</i>	Late Wietenberg?	feature Cx. 6	animal bone	3186±73	1626-1277	Oxcal v4.2.4
30	OS-108811	Micești – <i>Cigăse</i>	Late Wietenberg?	pit C.11/2012	human bone	3460±25	1745-1627	Oxcal v4.2.3
31	OS-108311	Micești – <i>Cigăse</i>	Late Wietenberg?	pit C.7/2009	human bone	3390±25	1880-1693	Oxcal v4.2.3
32	DeA-5021	Gligorești – <i>Holome</i>	Gligorești	level	animal bone	3296±38	1682-1498	Oxcal v4.2.4
33	DeA-5096	Vlaha – <i>Pad</i>	Late Wietenberg	feature		3249±30	1612-1451	Oxcal v4.2.4
34	DeA-5152	Vlaha – <i>Pad</i>	Late Wietenberg	feature		3236±41	1612-1433	Oxcal v4.2.4

THE LATE WIETENBERG PHASE

This phase is characterized by a series of vessels different from the ones discovered at Derșida. Both previously proposed periodisations of this phase are similar (the Chidioșan IV / Boroffka D phases)¹⁶⁹. Noteworthy is the opinion of M. Rotea from 1994, who considered that what was previously considered as an Otomani intrusion in the Wietenberg area was in fact the contents of a different phase. He proposed the name of Bădeni III – Deva for this horizon characterised by late Wietenberg and Otomani pottery¹⁷⁰. Later, H. Ciugudean proposed the use of Wietenberg IV for this type of materials¹⁷¹. Elements that have their origins in the pottery of the classical Wietenberg are easy to notice: lobed (Pl. II/50-52) and simple bowls (Pl. II/53), cups, the presence of the broken spiral (Pl. II/50), the wavy ornamentation, the meander and (Pl. II/42, 46, 52) the spiral motif, the successive stitches in the wide-flutes technique (Pl. II/42, 46, 50, 52) represent a different variant of the successive stitches from the previous phase. Together with those elements appeared forms and ornaments encountered in the Mureș, Suciul de Sus and Otomani cultures: cups with high handles (Pl. III/78-83), bowls (Pl. II/43-44, 48-49; III/71-76), pots (Pl. I/60), successive arcades rendering the garland motif made of grooves (Pl. II/29; III/75) and hatched incisions (Pl. II/43-44, 48, 51, 53), prominences pushed out from the interior which are present on cups and bowls (Pl. III/71-76, 78, 81, 88), in many cases accompanied by grooved arcades (Pl. III/71-76, 81-82), diagonal and vertical, simple or grouped lines (Pl. III/83-85)¹⁷². These may not represent imports, but they are part of the repertoire of the final phase of the Wietenberg culture. The discoveries specific to this phase are concentrated to the western half of the area attested in the previous phase. The eastern-most point of such discoveries is Merești¹⁷³. The other discoveries in South-Eastern Transylvania attributed by N. Boroffka to phase D lack the late Wietenberg elements¹⁷⁴. The sites specific to the late phase are Măhăceni¹⁷⁵, Geoagiu de Sus¹⁷⁶, Micești – Cigașe¹⁷⁷, Deuș¹⁷⁸, Cluj Napoca – Becaș¹⁷⁹ and Mănăștur¹⁸⁰, Bădeni III¹⁸¹, Deva – Cimitirul ceangăilor¹⁸², Stolna – Șesurile Rele¹⁸³, Florești – Polus¹⁸⁴, Cicău¹⁸⁵, Ciceu-Corabia¹⁸⁶, Merești, Gârbău¹⁸⁷, Craiva¹⁸⁸, Nicula¹⁸⁹, Viștea – Kisrét¹⁹⁰, Kikutverme¹⁹¹ and Farkasberek¹⁹². The metal finds previously attributed to this phase were not found in features directly related with the late Wietenberg pottery¹⁹³.

¹⁶⁹ Chidioșan 1980, p. 81-84; Boroffka 1994, p. 251, 287-288.

¹⁷⁰ Rotea 1994a.

¹⁷¹ Ciugudean 1997, p. 65-97; Ciugudean 1999.

¹⁷² Rotea 1994a; Ciugudean 1997, p. 65-97; Ciugudean 1999.

¹⁷³ Boroffka 1994, map 54, p. 56, pl. 91/5-14.

¹⁷⁴ Boroffka 1994, map 54: Baraolt (no. 46, pl. 8/2-6, 8), Brașov (no. 81-88, pl. 15/7-8; 16-19; 20/1, 3, 6), Odorheiul Secuiesc (no. 308); Sfântu Gheorghe (no. 381-388, pl. 118; 119/1-2, 8).

¹⁷⁵ Ciugudean 1997, p. 67-70, fig. 1-5; 5/1; Ciugudean 1999, p. 108-110, fig. 3-6; 7/1.

¹⁷⁶ Ciugudean 1997, p. 70-73, fig. 5/2; 6-12; Ciugudean 1999, p. 110-116, fig. 7/2; 8-14.

¹⁷⁷ Bălan 2014, p. 27-29, 35-39, 47-49.

¹⁷⁸ Rotea 1994a, pl. III.

¹⁷⁹ Rotea 1994a, pl. II.

¹⁸⁰ Rotea 1994a, pl. VI.

¹⁸¹ Rotea 1994a, pl. I.

¹⁸² Andrițoiu 1992, p. 56, pl. 34; 46/1, 4, 8, 10, 12; 47/1; Rotea 1994a, pl. IV-V.

¹⁸³ Daróczi, Ursuțiu 2015, p. 269-296.

¹⁸⁴ Rotea *et alii* 2006-2007, p. 51-54, pl. XVIII-XIX; Rotea *et alii* 2008, p. 162-164, pl. V; Alicu 2008, p. 6.

¹⁸⁵ Boroffka 1994, p. 30, pl. 51/9-11; 52/1-9.

¹⁸⁶ Boroffka 1994, p. 30, pl. 54/1, 10; 55/1, 10; 56/2-3, 8.

¹⁸⁷ Boroffka 1994, p. 46, pl. 82/5, 10-12.

¹⁸⁸ Boroffka 1994, p. 34, pl. 66/5-8.

¹⁸⁹ Boroffka 1994, p. 59, pl. 99/2, 6-8.

¹⁹⁰ Boroffka 1994, p. 91, pl. 142/5-6, 9-10.

¹⁹¹ Boroffka 1994, p. 91, pl. 144/11; 145/2-6, 12.

¹⁹² Boroffka 1994, p. 91, pl. 143/1-3, 7-9, 11.

¹⁹³ Bălan 2014, p. 47-48.

The relative chronology. From a chronological point of view, phase IV/D was included initially to the Br. D¹⁹⁴, later attributed to the Late Bronze Age I (Reinecke Br. B2-C)¹⁹⁵. New elements of the late Wietenberg pottery suggest its contemporaneity with the Cehăluț-Hajdúbagos¹⁹⁶ and the late Mureș groups¹⁹⁷. Potsherds belonging to the Suci de Sus II were mentioned in the settlement at Deuș¹⁹⁸. For a short period of time, the late Wietenberg phase developed in parallel with the Noua manifestations from Transylvania, already visible in the eastern part of the intra-Carpathian area¹⁹⁹. In terms of chronological systems, phase IV/D correlates to the Reinecke Br. B2-C, Boná SB 1, Mozsolics B IV and Gogâltan BT I phases.

The absolute chronology. The Micești – Cigașe ¹⁴C dates on human bone samples collected from features belonging to the late Wietenberg phase are too early for our expectations (Pl. V)²⁰⁰. This might be the consequence of an *aquatic reservoir effect*²⁰¹, but other interpretations can be accepted²⁰². Three ¹⁴C dates were recently published for two Late Bronze Age I sites (Pl. V):

- Gligorești (late Wietenberg and Noua pottery, the Gligorești group) – DeA-5021: 3298±38 BP, 1682-1498 cal BC (95.4%)²⁰³;

- Vlaha (late Wietenberg pottery) – DeA-5096: 3249±30 BP, 1612-1451 cal BC; DeA-5152: 3236±41 BP, 1612-1433 cal BC²⁰⁴.

Another ¹⁴C date was published from the settlement at Luduș – *Fabrica de zahăr* and dated to the Wietenberg IV (Pl. V), but in the feature Cx. 6, together with the bone sample for dating, there was no typical element for classical or late phase²⁰⁵. The late Wietenberg stage follows the classical phase (see the ¹⁴C dates above) and was replaced by the Noua culture, dated between 1500 and 1200 BC²⁰⁶. According to Noua and late Wietenberg ¹⁴C dates, the final phase of Wietenberg culture took place between the 16th century and the first half of the 15th century BC²⁰⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

According to the current state of the research, the Wietenberg culture has three different phases (*early*, *classical* and *late*) identifiable through the changes in the shapes and decoration of pottery. This culture covered the intra-Carpathian area between the 20th and 15th centuries BC. Based on the pottery characteristics of the early phase, the new culture, specific to Middle Bronze Age, had its origins in the local groups of the late Early Bronze Age. The stratigraphy at Derșida was confirmed by both earlier and more recent excavated sites; the exception is the first level, erroneously attributed to a different phase. During the last phase, a concentration of the Wietenberg discoveries in the Western Transylvania, on the middle Mureș, Someșul Cald and Someșul Rece rivers can be noted, perhaps as a consequence of the emergence of the Noua culture.

¹⁹⁴ Chidioșan 1980, p. 83; Andrițoiu 1992, p. 54, pl. 76; Boroffka 1994, p. 288.

¹⁹⁵ Rotea 1994a, p. 54; Gogâltan 2001, p. 196-197.

¹⁹⁶ Kovács 1970; Rotea 1994a, p. 46, 55; Kacsó 1997; Némethi 2009.

¹⁹⁷ Ciugudean 1997, p. 79.

¹⁹⁸ Rotea 1994a, p. 46, 55.

¹⁹⁹ Rotea 1994a, p. 55; Ciugudean 1997, p. 79-80; Ciugudean 1999, p. 129-130; Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 153-155.

²⁰⁰ Bălan, Quinn 2014.

²⁰¹ Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 153: "This reservoir effect could be present due to very plausible inclusion of aquatic resources from the River Mureș (and most probably Ampoi too) in the diets of the Bronze Age inhabitants".

²⁰² An erroneous datation to late Wietenberg phase for C. 11 (cups with similar decoration are known from the Otomani III phase); a ritual related to the pit and the skeleton placed at the bottom (C. 7): the ¹⁴C date was obtained from a human bone; it is possible that some time has passed between the deposition of the skeleton and the filling of the pit (with late Wietenberg ceramics); it is also possible the sample correctly dates the burial and ceramic earlier than expected; these hypotheses need to be verified by new ¹⁴C dates of the pit infill.

²⁰³ Gogâltan 2015, p. 76, fig. 29; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 198, fig. 15.

²⁰⁴ Gogâltan 2015, p. 76, fig. 27-28; Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 198, fig. 16.

²⁰⁵ Berecki 2016, p. 137-138, pl. 19-20.

²⁰⁶ Bălan, Quinn 2014, fig. 3; Ciugudean, Quinn 2015, p. 153-155; Berecki 2016, p. 134-142.

²⁰⁷ Gogâltan, Popa 2016, p. 197: Gligorești group and Noua I culture start around 1500 BC.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alicu 2008 – D. Alicu (ed.), *Polus. Istorie pierdută - istorie regăsită, catalog de expoziție*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.
- Andrițoiu 1978 – I. Andrițoiu, *Cimitirul de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Deva*, SCIVA 29, 1978, 2, p. 241-256.
- Andrițoiu 1986-1987 – I. Andrițoiu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii Wietenberg în sud-vestul Transilvaniei (I)*, Sargetia 20, 1986-1987, p. 45-63.
- Andrițoiu 1992 – I. Andrițoiu, *Civilizația tracilor din sud-vestul Transilvaniei în epoca bronzului*, Bibliotheca Thracologica 2, București, 1992.
- Andrițoiu, Rustoiu 1997 – I. Andrițoiu, A. Rustoiu, *Sighișoara-Wietenberg. Descoperirile preistorice și așezarea dacică*, Bibliotheca Thracologica 23, București, 1997.
- Băjenaru 2003 – R. Băjenaru, *Die Siedlung von Odaia Turcului und die südlichen Beziehungen der norddonauländischen Frühbronzezeit*, PZ 78, 2003, p. 140-155.
- Băjenaru 2014 – R. Băjenaru, *Sfârșitul bronzului timpuriu în regiunea dintre Carpați și Dunăre*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.
- Bălan 2014 – G. Bălan, *Așezarea Wietenberg de la Micești*, Terra Sebus 6, 2014, p. 25-86.
- Bălan, Burlacu-Timofte, Muntean 2016 – G. Bălan, R. Burlacu-Timofte, T. Muntean, *Așezarea din epoca bronzului de la Aiud – Groapa de gunoi. Considerații preliminare*, Apulum 53, 2016, p. 45-82.
- Bălan, Fântâneau, Anghel 2014 – G. Bălan, C. Fântâneau, D. Anghel, *Necropola din epoca bronzului de la Sebeș. Catalog de expoziție*, Alba Iulia, 2014.
- Bălan, Quinn 2014 – G. Bălan, C. Quinn, *Radiocarbon Data of Funerary Discoveries from Middle Bronze Age Settlement at Micești-Cigaș (Alba County, Romania)*, in M. Gligor (ed.) *Archaeoethanatology: an Interdisciplinary Approach on Death from Prehistory to the Middle Ages*, AnUA-SH 18/II, Alba Iulia, 2014, p. 119-126.
- Berciu 1966 – D. Berciu, *Zorile istoriei în Carpați și la Dunăre*, București, 1966.
- Berecki 2016 – S. Berecki, *The Bronze Age Site from Luduș*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
- Bolohan 2010 – N. Bolohan, "All in One". *Issues of Methodology, Paradigms and Radiocarbon Datings Concerning the Outer Eastern Carpathian Area*, in N. Bolohan, F. Mățău, F.A. Tencariu (eds.), *Signa Praehistorica. Studia in honorem magistri Attila Laszlo septuagesimo anno*, Iași, 2010, p. 229-244.
- Bolohan, Gafincu, Stoleriu 2015 – N. Bolohan, A. Gafincu, I. Stoleriu, *Middle Bronze Age chronology east of the Carpathian area. A Bayesian model*, in R.M. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 2-4 October 2014*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica 8, Târgu Mureș, 2015, p. 131-146.
- Bóna 1975 – I. Bóna, *Die Mittlere Bronzezeit Ungarns und ihre südöstlichen Beziehungen*, ArchHung S.N. 49, Budapest, 1975.
- Boroffka 1994 – N.G.O. Boroffka, *Die Wietenberg-Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Bronzezeit in Südosteuropa*, UPA 19, Bonn, 1994.
- Cavruc 2002 – V. Cavruc, *Noi considerații privind grupul Ciomortan*, Angustia 7, 2002, p. 89-98.
- Cavruc, Buzea 2002 – V. Cavruc, D. Buzea, *Noi cercetări privind epoca bronzului în așezarea Păuleni (Ciomortan). Campaniile din anii 2001-2002. Raport preliminar*, Angustia 7, 2002, p. 41-88.
- Cavruc, Dumitroaia 2000 – V. Cavruc, G. Dumitroaia, *Descoperirile aparținând aspectului cultural Ciomortan de la Păuleni (campaniile 1999-2000)*, Angustia 5, 2000, p. 131-154.
- Cavruc, Rotea 2000 – V. Cavruc, M. Rotea, *Locuirea Wietenberg de la Păuleni (campaniile 1999-2000)*, Angustia 5, 2000, p. 155-171.
- Chidioșan 1968 – N. Chidioșan, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Wietenbergkultur im Lichte der neuen Funde von Derșida*, Dacia N.S. 12, 1968, p. 155-175.
- Chidioșan 1970 – N. Chidioșan, *La périodisation interne de la civilisation Wietenberg sur le fondement des fouilles de Derșida*, in *Actes du VIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, Praga (1966)*, Praga, 1970, p. 622-624.
- Chidioșan 1974 – N. Chidioșan, *Sincronismele apusene ale culturii Wietenberg stabilite pe baza importurilor ceramice*, Crisia 4, 1974, p. 153-170.
- Chidioșan 1980 – N. Chidioșan, *Contribuții la istoria tracilor din nord-vestul României. Așezarea Wietenberg de la Derșida*, Oradea, 1980.
- Ciugudean 1990 – H. Ciugudean, *Noi descoperiri funerare aparținând culturii Wietenberg*, Apulum 26, 1990, p. 69-77.
- Ciugudean 1996 – H. Ciugudean, *Epoca timpurie a bronzului în centrul și sud-vestul Transilvaniei*, București, 1996.
- Ciugudean 1997 – H. Ciugudean, *Cercetări privind epoca bronzului și prima vârstă a fierului în Transilvania*, Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis 7, Alba Iulia, 1997.

- Ciugudean 1999 – H. Ciugudean, *Betrachtungen zum Ende der Wietenberg-Kultur*, in N. Boroffka, T. Soroceanu (eds.), *Transsilvanica. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte des südöstlichen Mitteleuropa. Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt*, Internationale Archäologie. Studia honoraria 7, Rahden/Westf., 1999, p. 107-131.
- Ciugudean, Quinn 2015 – H. Ciugudean, C. Quinn, *The End of the Wietenberg Culture in the Light of New ¹⁴C Dates and its Chronological Relations towards the Noua Culture*, in R.M. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 2-4 October 2014*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica 8, Târgu Mureș, 2015, p. 147-178.
- Ciută 2009 – M.-M. Ciută, *Cercetări arheologice la Șeșuș – La cărarea morii. I. Locuirile preistorice*, Alba Iulia, 2009.
- Crișan 1970 – I.H. Crișan, *Necropola de incinerare aparținând culturii Wietenberg-Sighișoara, de la Bistrița*, MCA 9, 1970, p. 137-160.
- Daróczi, Dobos 2009 – T.-T. Daróczi, Z. Dobos, *Bronze Age Bixad – “Vápavára”. A functional typology of the pottery and a study of the archaeological landscape of south-east Transylvania*, ActaTS 8, 2009, p. 57-92.
- Daróczi, Ursuțiu 2015 – T.-T. Daróczi, A. Ursuțiu, *Worship, Habitation, Refuge. Bronze and Iron Age Sites of the Lower Feneș Valley*, PAT 8, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
- Dietrich 2014a – L. Dietrich, *Die mittlere und späte Bronzezeit und die ältere Eisenzeit aus Südossteienbürgens aufgrund der Siedlung von Rotbav*, UPA 248, Bonn, 2014.
- Dietrich 2014b – L. Dietrich, *Datele radiocarbon din așezarea aparținând epocii bronzului de la Rotbav (jud. Brașov, România)*, SCIVA 65, 2014, 1-2, p. 59-70.
- Dumitrașcu et alii 2014 – E. Dumitrașcu, S. Cleșiu, F. Munteanu, R. Petcu, *Cercetări arheologice preventive în așezarea din epoca bronzului de la Stejeriș I (jud. Cluj)*, CA 21, 2014, p. 119-149.
- Emödi 2002 – I. Emödi, *O așezare din epoca bronzului de la Palota Vêche*, EphemNap 12, 2002, p. 5-35.
- Fântâneanu et alii 2013 – C. Fântâneanu, G. Bălan, S. Popa, D. Tentiș, *The Bronze Age necropolis at Sebeș-Între Răstoace. Preliminary considerations*, in V. Sîrbu, R. Ștefănescu (eds.), *The Thracians and their Neighbors in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Thracology (Târgoviște, 10th-14th September 2013). Necropolises, Cult places, Religion, Mythology*, vol. II, Brașov, 2013, p. 173-191.
- Florescu 1971 – M. Florescu, *Elemente Wietenberg descoperite în complexele de locuire aparținând fazelor timpurii ale culturii Monteoru din Moldova*, Danubius 5, 1971, p. 37-73.
- Gogâltan 1989-1993 – F. Gogâltan, *Săpături de salvare la Tureni – Carieră, județul Cluj (1985-1986)*, ActaMN 26-30, 1989-1993, I/2, p. 365-387.
- Gogâltan 1999 – F. Gogâltan, *Bronzul timpuriu și mijlociu în Banatul românesc și pe cursul inferior al Mureșului. Cronologia și descoperirile de metal*, Timișoara, 1999.
- Gogâltan 2001 – F. Gogâltan, *The Settlement of Cășeu and some problems concerning the Late Bronze Age in the Center and Northern Transylvania*, in C. Kacsó (ed.), *Der Nordkarpatische Raum in der Bronzezeit, Symposium Baia Mare 7.-10. Oktober 1998*, Bibliotheca Marmatia 1, Baia Mare, 2001, p. 191-214.
- Gogâltan 2015 – F. Gogâltan, *The Early and Middle Bronze Age Chronology on the Eastern Frontier of the Carpathian Basin. Revisited after 15 Years*, in R.M. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 2-4 October 2014*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica 8, Târgu Mureș, 2015, p. 53-95.
- Gogâltan, Aldea, Ursuțiu 2004 – F. Gogâltan, A.I. Aldea, A. Ursuțiu, *Raport preliminar asupra investigațiilor arheologice de la Gligorești – Holoame, com. Luna, jud. Cluj (1994-1996)*, Apulum 41, 2004, p. 61-101.
- Gogâltan, Popa 2016 – F. Gogâltan, C.I. Popa, *Gligorești “Holoame” (Kreis Cluj), eine spätbronzezeitliche Siedlung aus Mittelsiebenbürgen*, in A. Zanoci, E. Kaiser, M. Kashuba, E. Izbitser, M. Băt, *Mensch, Kultur und Gesellschaft von der Kupferzeit bis zur Frühen Eisenzeit im Nördlichen Eurasien. Beiträge zu Ehren zum 60. Geburtstag von Eugen Sava*, Tyragetia International 1, Chișinău, 2016, p. 181-202.
- Gogâltan, Tamba 1992 – F. Gogâltan, D. Tamba, *Materiale arheologice aparținând culturii Wietenberg descoperite la Șimleu Silvaniei*, ActaMP 16, 1992, p. 61-78.
- Gogâltan, Cociș, Paki 1992 – F. Gogâltan, S. Cociș, A. Paki, *Săpături de salvare la Cluj-Becaș-1989*, EphemNap 2, 1992, p. 7-17.
- Görsdorf 2005 – J. Görsdorf, *Datierungsergebnisse des Berliner ¹⁴C-Labors*, EurAnt 11, 2005, p. 463-469.
- Horedt 1960 – K. Horedt, *Die Wietenbergkultur*, Dacia N.S. 4, 1960, p. 107-137.
- Horedt 1967 – K. Horedt, *Problemele ceramicii din perioada Bronzului evoluat în Transilvania*, StudComBrukenthal 13, 1967, p. 137-156.
- Jaeger, Kulcsár 2013 – M. Jaeger, G. Kulcsár, *Kakucs-Balla-domb a case study in the absolute and relative chronology of the Váta culture*, ActaArchHung 64, 2013, p. 289-320.
- Kacsó 1987 – C. Kacsó, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Verbreitungsgebietes und der Chronologie der Suciú de Sus-Kultur*, Dacia N.S. 31, 1987, p. 51-75.

- Kacsó 1997 – C. Kacsó, *Faza finală a culturii Otomani și evoluția culturală ulterioară acesteia în nord-vestul României*, StudComSatuMare 14, 1997, p. 85-110.
- Kacsó 1998 – C. Kacsó, *Eine Sonderform der Wietenberg-Keramik: die geschlitzte Tonröhre*, in H. Ciugudean, F. Gogâltan (eds.), *The Early and Middle Bronze Age in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Symposium in Alba Iulia, 24-28 September 1997*, Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis 8, Alba Iulia, 1998, p. 255-266.
- Kacsó 2004 – C. Kacsó, *Mărturii arheologice*, Baia Mare, 2004.
- Kacsó 2013 – C. Kacsó, *Contribuții la cunoașterea ceramicii epocii bronzului de la Oarța de Sus-Ghiile Botii (I)*, Terra Sebus 5, 2013, p. 111-139.
- Kacsó 2015 – C. Kacsó, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Maramureș*, Baia Mare, 2015.
- Kalicz 1984 – N. Kalicz, *Die Nyírség-Kultur*, in N. Tasić (ed.), *Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit das Karpatenbeckens und Nordbalkans*, Belgrad, 1984, p. 109-123.
- Kiss et alii 2015 – V. Kiss, S. Fábrián, T. Hajdu, K. Köhler, G. Kulcsár, I. Major, G. Szabó, *Contributions to the Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Western Hungary Based on Radiocarbon Dating of Human Bones*, in R.M. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 2-4 October 2014*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica 8, Târgu Mureș, 2015, p. 23-36.
- Kovács 1970 – T. Kovács, *A hajdubagosi bronzkori temető / Bronze Age cemetery at Hajdubagos*, FolArch 21, 1970, p. 27-47.
- Kovács 1984 – T. Kovács, *Vatya-Kultur*, in N. Tasić (ed.), *Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit das Karpatenbeckens und Nordbalkans*, Belgrad, 1984, p. 217-233.
- Lazarovici, Milea 1976 – G. Lazarovici, Z. Milea, *Săpături arheologice la Bădeni*, ActaMN 13, 1976, p. 7-35.
- Morintz 1978 – S. Morintz, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria tracilor timpurii. I. Epoca bronzului în spațiul carpato-balcanic*, București, 1978.
- Motzoi-Chicideanu 1995 – I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, *Fremdgüter im Monteoru-Kulturraum*, in B. Hänsel (ed.), *Handel, Tausch und Verkehr im bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa*, PAS 11, 1995, p. 219-241.
- Motzoi-Chicideanu 2011 – I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, *Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*, București, 2011.
- Motzoi-Chicideanu, Șandor-Chicideanu, Constantinescu 2012 – I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, M. Șandor-Chicideanu, M.I. Constantinescu, *Observații preliminare privind cercetările efectuate în anii 2008-2009, 2011-2012 la cimitirul din epoca bronzului de la Cârломănești*, Mousaios 17, 2012, p. 47-63.
- Munteanu 2010 – R. Munteanu, *Începutul bronzului mijlociu în depresiunile marginale ale Carpaților Orientali*, Piatra Neamț, 2010.
- Németh 2015 – R. Németh, *The Middle Bronze Age “Mass Grave” from Voivodeni – La Școală. A Chronological Approach*, in R.M. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 2-4 October 2014*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica 8, Târgu Mureș, 2015, p. 179-199.
- Németi 2009 – J. Németi, *The Hajdúbágos / Pișcolt-Cehăluț group*, in S. Berecki, R.E. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age communities in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș (24-26 October 2008)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 203-221.
- Németi, Molnár 2001 – I. Németi, Z. Molnár, *Data about the beginning of the tell settlements from the N-V part of Romania*, in C. Cosma, D. Tamba, A. Rustoiu (eds.), *Studia Archaeologica et Historica Nicolae Gudea dicata. Omagiu profesorului Nicolae Gudea la 60 de ani*, Zalău, 2001, p. 67-93.
- Németi, Molnár 2007 – I. Németi, Z. Molnár, *A tell-telepek fejlődése es vege a Nagykarolyi siksagon es az Er volgyeben*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.
- Nestor 1933 – I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien*, BerRGK 22, 1932 (1933), p. 11-181.
- Nicodemus, O’Shea 2015 – A. Nicodemus, J.M. O’Shea, *From relative to absolute: the radiometric dating of Mureș culture ceramics at Pecica – Șanțul Mare*, in S. Forțiu, A. Stavilă (eds.), *Arheovest III. In memoriam Florin Medeleț (1943-2005)*, Szeged, 2015, p. 691-699.
- Palincaș 1996 – N. Palincaș, *Valorificarea arheologică a probelor ¹⁴C din fortificația aparținând Bronzului târziu de la Popești (jud. Giurgiu)*, SCIVA 47, 1996, 3, p. 239-288.
- Paul 1995 – I. Paul, *Die Wietenberg-Nekropole und- Siedlung von Sibișeni (Kreis Alba)*, in I. Paul, *Vorgeschichtliche Untersuchungen in Siebenbürgen*, Alba Iulia, 1995, p. 164-197.
- Petică 1981 – M. Petică, *Descoperiri Wietenberg de la Voivodeni (jud. Mureș)*, ActaMP 5, 1981, p. 131-135.
- Popa 2010 – C.I. Popa, *Modificări culturale la finalul Bronzului Timpuriu și începutul Bronzului Mijlociu în Transilvania*, in C.I. Popa, R. Totoianu, *Aspecte ale epocii bronzului în Transilvania (între vechile și noile cercetări)*, Bibliotheca Musei Sabesiensis 1, Sebeș, 2010, p. 11-170.

- Popa, Boroffka 1996 – D. Popa, N. Boroffka, *Considerații privind cultura Noua. Așezarea de la Țichindeal, jud. Sibiu*, SCIVA 47, 1996, 1, p. 51-61.
- Popa, Simina 2004 – C.I. Popa, N.-M. Simina, *Cercetări arheologice la Lancrăm - "Glod"*, Alba Iulia, 2004.
- Popescu 2008 – A. Popescu, *Piese de tip Wietenberg de la Costișa (jud. Neamț)*, Carpica 37, 2008, p. 194-201.
- Popescu 2013 – A.-D. Popescu, *Contextele, cronologia și analogiile unor piese de os decorate din Moldova*, Danubius 31, Supliment, 2013, p. 179-202.
- Popescu, Băjenaru 2015 – A.-D. Popescu, R. Băjenaru, *From the Middle Danube to Anatolia: Contacts During the Second Millennium BC. A Case Study*, in P.M. Militello, H. Öniz (eds.) *Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterrean Archaeology, held at the University of Catania, 3-5 March 2011*, vol. I, BARIntSer 2695, Oxford, 2015, p. 179-202.
- Puskás 2015 – J. Puskás, *Contact Zone: Middle Bronze Age Cultural Connections in the Valley of the Black River (Covasna County, Romania)*, in R.M. Németh, B. Rezi (eds.), *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 2-4 October 2014*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Seria Archaeologica 8, Târgu Mureș, 2015, p. 97-129.
- Rezi 2016 – B. Rezi, *Metal Objects*, in S. Berecki, *The Bronze Age Site from Luduș*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016, p. 122-127.
- Roman, Diaconescu, Luca 2000 – C.C. Roman, D. Diaconescu, S.A. Luca, *Săpături arheologice în peștera nr. 1 (Peștera Mare) de la Cerișor (com. Lelese, jud. Hunedoara)*, Corviniana 6, 2000, p. 7-59.
- Roman, Némethi 1990 – P. Roman, I. Némethi, *Date preliminare asupra cercetărilor arheologice de la Carei – "Bobald"*, Thraco-Dacica 11, 1990, p. 39-47.
- Rotea 1993 – M. Rotea, *Așezările culturii Wietenberg*, EphemNap 3, 1993, p. 25-41.
- Rotea 1994a – M. Rotea, *Penetrația culturii Otomani în Transilvania. Între himeră și realitate*, Apulum 31, 1994, p. 39-57.
- Rotea 1994b – M. Rotea, *Contribuția cercetărilor de la Suatu – Fâneața de jos (1991-1993) la cunoașterea etapelor timpurii ale evoluției culturii Wietenberg*, ActaMN 31/1, 1994, p. 131-150.
- Rotea 2000 – M. Rotea, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Phase I der Kultur Wietenberg. Die Bewohnung von Păuleni (Ciomortan)*, Kreis Harghita, ActaMN 37/1, 2000, p. 21-41.
- Rotea, Tecar, Tamba 2007 – M. Rotea, M. Tecar, D. Tamba, *Complexul ritual de la Șimleul-Silvaniei aparținând culturii Wietenberg*, RevBistr 21/1, 2007, p. 63-92.
- Rotea, Wittenberger 1999 – M. Rotea, M. Wittenberger, *The Ritual Complex of the Wietenberg culture, Cluj-Napoca (Transylvania)*, ActaMN 36/1, 1999, p. 7-28.
- Rotea et alii 2006-2007 – M. Rotea, M. Tecar, S. Nagy, P. Pupeză, T. Tecar, L. Săsăran, *Florești-Polus Center. Preliminary observations*, ActaMN 43-44/1, 2006-2007 (2008), p. 47-88.
- Rotea et alii 2008 – M. Rotea, M. Tecar, S. Nagy, L. Săsăran, T. Tecar, *Florești- Polus Center. Arheologie și termoluminescență*, in C. Cosma, S. Varvara, M. Gligor, *Vârste absolute prin metode nucleare de datare*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 160-180.
- Schreiber-Kalicz 1984 – R. Schreiber-Kalicz, *Komplex der Nagyrév-Kultur*, in N. Tasić (ed.), *Kulturen der Frühbronzezeit das Karpatenbeckens und Nordbalkans*, Belgrad, 1984, p.133-190.
- Soroceanu 1973 – T. Soroceanu, *Descoperirile din epoca bronzului de la Obreja (jud. Alba)*, ActaMN 10, 1973, p. 493-515.
- Soroceanu 1984 – T. Soroceanu, *Materialen zur Bronze- und Hallstattzeit Siebenbürgens (II)*, ActaMN 21, 1984, p. 433-458.
- Soroceanu 1991 – T. Soroceanu, *Studien zur Mureș-Kultur*, Internationale Archäologie 7, Buch am Erlbach, 1991.
- Soroceanu, Blăjan, Cerghi 1976 – T. Soroceanu, M. Blăjan, T. Cerghi, *Cimitirul de incinerare de la Aiton*, FI 4, 1976, p. 57-81.
- Soroceanu, Retegan 1981 – T. Soroceanu, A. Retegan, *Neue spätbronzezeitliche Funde im Norden Rumäniens*, Dacia N.S. 25, 1981, p. 195-229.
- Szabó 1999 – J.J. Szabó, *Früh- und mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfelder von Battonya*, Budapest, 1999.
- Székely 1971 – Z. Székely, *Contributions à la connaissance du développement de la civilisation Wietenberg*, Dacia N.S. 15, 1971, p. 307-317.
- Székely 1984 – Z. Székely, *Cercetări arheologice la Porumbenii Mici (județul Harghita). Partea I. Așezarea de cultură Wietenberg*, Aluta 16, 1984, p. 15-28.
- Székely 1995 – Zs. Székely, *Necropola de incinerare în urne de la Turia, județul Covasna*, in CANTI, București, 1995, p. 127-146.
- Uhnér 2010 – C. Uhnér, *Makt och samhälle. Politisk ekonomi under bronsåldern i Karpaterbäckenet*, Gotarc. Series B. Gothenburg Archaeological Theses 54, Göteborg, 2010.

- Vasilescu 2013 – T. Vasilescu, *O dată ¹⁴C de la Năieni – Zănoaga, Cetatea 1*, SP 10, 2013, p. 171-187.
- Vicze 2011 – M. Vicze, *Bronze Age Cemetery at Dunaujvaros–Duna-Dúlő*, Budapest, 2011.
- Zaharia 1990 – E. Zaharia, *La culture de Monteoru. Sa deuxième étape de développement à la lumière des fouilles de Sărata Monteoru (dép. de Buzău)*, Dacia N.S. 34, 1990, p. 23-51.
- Zaharia 1999 – E. Zaharia, *Brandgräber der Übergangsperiode zur Bronzezeit aus Bratei (jud. Sibiu)*, in N. Boroffka, T. Soroceanu (eds.), *Transsilvanica. Archäologische untersuchungen zur Älteren Geschichte des Südöstliches Mitteleuropa. Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt*, Rahden/Westf., 1999, p. 53-58.

TEKIRDAĞ UND TROJA. ZUR VERBREITUNGSGRENZE SÜDOSTEUROPÄISCHER TÜLLENBEILE IN DER TÜRKEI

OLIVER DIETRICH*

Keywords: Bronze Age, socketed axe, Turkey, Troy, southeastern Europe

Abstract: The distribution limit of socketed axes of southeastern European types lies to the north of the Rhodopes. The present contribution discusses the scarce finds of such implements south of this delimitation line, in Turkey.

Cuvinte-cheie: Epoca Bronzului, celt, Turcia, Troia, Europa de Sud-Est

Rezumat: Munții Rodopi constituie în mod evident limita de sud a nucleului ariei de răspândire a celurilor de tip est și sud-est european. Studiul de față prezintă câteva piese rare de acest tip, descoperite la sud de acest areal, pe teritoriul actual al Turciei, a căror apariție este limitată la o perioadă scurtă de timp.

Tüllenbeile stellen in der Spätbronzezeit Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas eine der häufigsten und charakteristischsten Fundgattungen dar. Ihr zahlenmäßig umfangreiches Auftreten bzw. die hohe Überlieferungsfrequenz ist insbesondere an die ausgeprägte Hortungssitte in dieser Region gebunden¹. Nach Süden hin verläuft in Nordbulgarien die Grenze dieser Sitte und damit auch einer höheren Frequenz an bekannten Tüllenbeilen. Vereinzelt Funde südlich des Balkangebirges markieren die Peripherie der Tüllenbeilüberlieferung. Die südlichsten Funde in Griechenland und der Türkei hat B. Wanzek zusammengestellt². Finden sich unter den griechischen Funden eher Stücke, die nicht mehr den weiter nördlich geläufigen Formen entsprechen, so sind einige Funde³ vom heutigen Staatsgebiet der Türkei noch gut mit weiter nördlich verbreiteten Formenkreisen vergleichbar.

Wanzeks Auflistung sind zwar keine neuen Entdeckungen hinzuzufügen, doch lässt eine bessere Kenntnis des südosteuropäischen Formenspektrums nun eine genauere Einordnung und Interpretation der peripheren Funde zu. Auch können einige kleinere Korrekturen und Ergänzungen angebracht werden. Es handelt sich um die folgenden drei Fundstücke:

1. „Troas“. Genauer Fundort unklar. Das Stück wurde erstmals von K. Bittel vorgelegt⁴. Maße unklar, Verbleib unklar (Abb. 1A).

2. Tekirdağ, Provinz Tekirdağ⁵. Hortfund. Tüllenmündung leicht schräg gegossen, Schneide beschädigt. L. 13,0 cm, Tt. 7,3 cm, Sb. 5,5 cm. Archäologisches Museum Istanbul (84-85)⁶ (Abb. 1B).

* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Berlin; oliver.dietrich@dainst.de.

¹ Dietrich 2015.

² Wanzek 1989, S. 20, Taf. 2-3.

³ Eher nicht nach Südosteuropa verweisen die Formen der Tüllenbeile aus dem Hort von Sazakkale, Prov. Artvin (Bittel 1933, S. 152, Abb. 5; Bittel 1934, bes. S. 358-359, Abb. 7) und Alişar Höyük, Prov. Yozgat (von der Osten 1937, S. 253, Abb. 286/d2452, d2033, d2074). Ihnen wäre als Besonderheiten im lokalen Fundmilieu eine eigene Untersuchung zu widmen.

⁴ Bittel 1940, S. 580-581, Abb. 10.

⁵ Für dieses Tüllenbeil wird von Wanzek (1989, S. 20, Nr. 9) Sterne Dergisi als Fundort angegeben. „Sterne Derisi“ ist nach Harmankaya (1995, S. 219-220) eine lokale Bezeichnung für einen Wasserlauf, an dessen Nebengewässer der Hortfundort liegt. Der Fundort liegt in 54 km Distanz zum Stadtzentrum von Tekirdağ beim Dorf Şarköy. Um weiterer Verwirrung vorzubeugen, wird hier die bereits eingeführte Bezeichnung „Hort von Tekirdağ“ verwendet. Die Identifizierung des von Wanzek vorgelegten Beils mit dem Stück aus diesem Hort ist sicher, frühere auf Wanzeks Publikation bezogene Angaben (z.B. Dietrich 2012) sind entsprechend zu korrigieren.

⁶ Harmankaya 1995, S. 227-228, Taf. 6C.

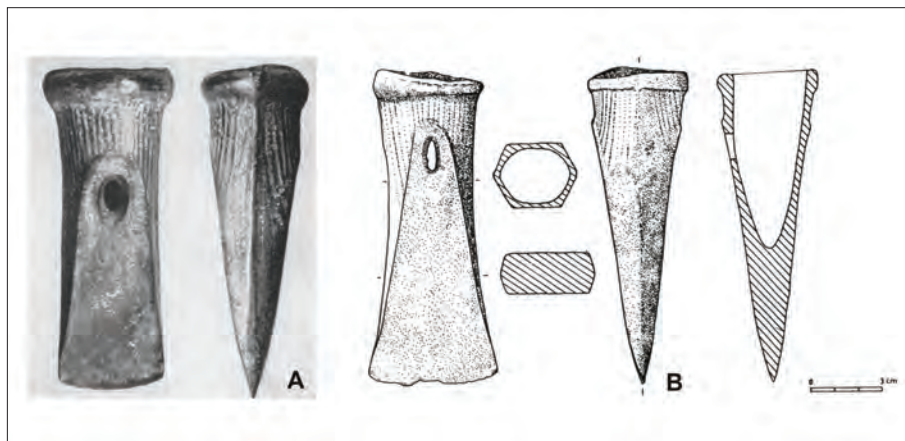


Abb. 1. Tüllenbeile aus der „Troas“ (nach Bittel 1940, Abb. 10) und aus dem Hort von Tekirdağ (nach Harmankaya 1995, Taf. 6C).

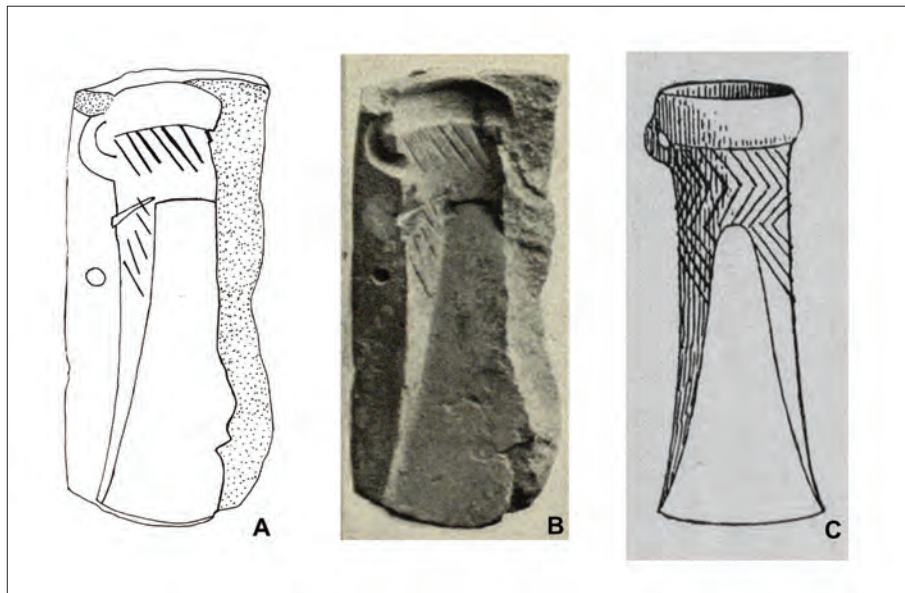


Abb. 2. Giessformenhälfte aus Troja. A Umzeichnung der erhaltenen Fotografie (B), C Rekonstruktion durch Götze (B-C nach Götze 1902, Abb. 405, Beilage 46, Nr. IX).

3. Troja, Prov. Çanakkale. Schicht VII. Giessform für Tüllenbeile, grünes Gestein, fragmentarisch. Ehemals Schliemann-Sammlung (Sch 6769), verschollen (Abb. 2)⁷.

„TROAS“ UND TEKIRDAĞ

Die beiden Tüllenbeile aus der Troas und aus dem Hortfund von Tekirdağ sind nahezu formgleich. Es handelt sich um ösenlose Beile mit glockenförmig abgesetzter Breitseite, mandelförmiger Durchlochung und Vertikalrippen unterhalb der Mündung. Sie gehören zu einer in Südosteuropa gut belegten Typgruppe, die

⁷ Götze 1902, S. 405, Abb. 405, Beilage 46, Nr. IX; Schmidt 1902, S. 267, Nr. 6769; Nessel 2014, S. 231-232, Taf. 4c.

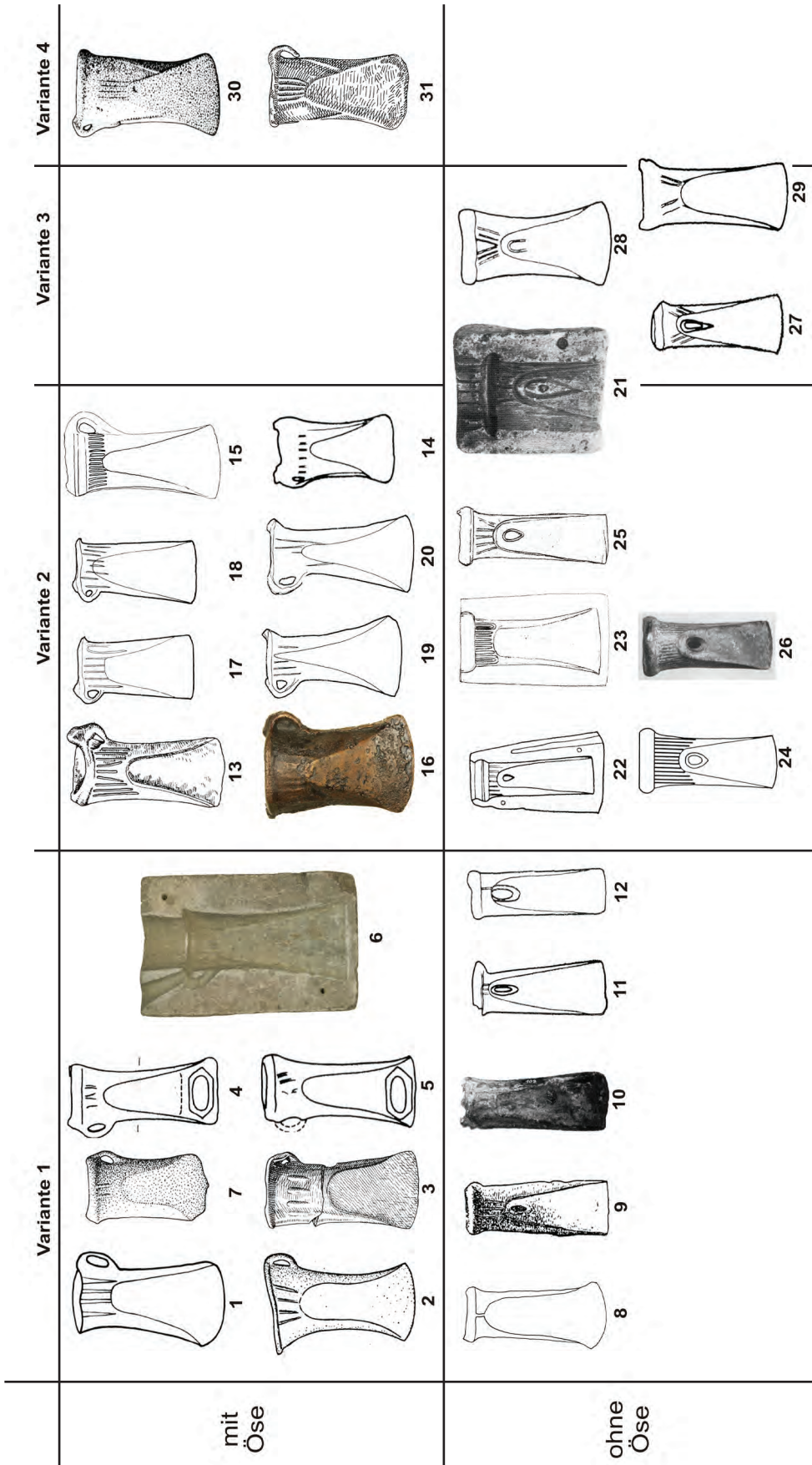


Abb. 3. Variantengliederung der Tüllenbeile mit glockenförmig abgesetzter Breitseite und Vertikalrippen unterhalb des Tüllenrands: 1. Boljetin (nach Srejić 1960, Abb. 31/d); 2. Črmošnjice (nach Müller-Karpe 1959, Taf. 132A3); 3 Izvoarele (nach Šerbănescu, Trohani 1975, Abb. 3/6); 4-5. Majačka (nach Dergačev 2010, Taf. 9/22, 23); 6. Medias; 7. Negrești (nach Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978, Taf. 63A/4); 8. Buzovgrad (Zeichnung B. Hänsel); 9. Constanța-Palas (nach Irimia 1968, Abb. 4), 10. Gorsko Kosovo (Foto B. Hänsel); 11. „Okr. Šumen“ (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 34/11); 12. Pčela (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 32/10); 13. Aiud (nach Rusu 1981, Abb. 4/8); 14. Lesura (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 39/2); 15. Magura-Höhle bei Rabiša (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 39/3); 16. Ostrovl Mare; 17-20. Urovica (nach Srejić 1975, Taf. LXXXI/1, 2, 12, 14); 21. Pobit Kamak (nach Hänsel 1976, Taf. 1/8); 22. Skalice (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 34/14); 23. Sokol (Zeichnung B. Hänsel); 24. Tekirdağ (nach Wanzek 1989, Taf. 3/6); 25. Stražica (Zeichnung B. Hänsel); 26. Troas (nach Bittel 1940, Abb. 10); 27. Buzorovo (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 34/12); 28. Lesura (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 31/12); 29. Vărbica I (nach Černych 1978, Taf. 30/19); 30. Österreich (nach Mayer 1977, Taf. 71/986); 31. Šendreni (nach Dragomir 1979, Abb. 3/2).

sich in mehrere Varianten gliedern lässt. Der betreffende Beiltyp ist erstmals von Wanzek⁸ im Rahmen der Einordnung einer Giessform aus Mediaș, Rumänien⁹ konturiert worden. Das Kriterium zur Variantengliederung ist bei Wanzek die Anordnung der Rippen unterhalb der Mündung. Auf Grundlage seiner Überlegungen und einer wesentlich gewachsenen Materialbasis lassen sich nun die folgenden vier Varianten unterscheiden (Abb. 3, die Nummerierung korrespondiert mit den folgenden Listen):

Variante 1: Die Rippen liegen über dem Abschluss der glockenförmigen Facette und überschreiten die Breite der Facette nicht. Es liegen Funde mit und ohne Öse vor.

a. mit Öse: **1.** Boljetin, okr. Bor, Serbien, Einzelfund¹⁰. **2.** Črmošnjice, obč. Jugovzhodna Slovenija, Slowenien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Bz D¹¹. **3.** Izvoarele, com. Hotarele, jud. Giurgiu, Rumänien, ein Tüllenbeil, möglicherweise innerhalb einer Siedlung der Tei-Kultur gefunden (Stufe IV)¹². **4-5.** Majačka, obl. Cherson, Ukraine, Hortfund, zwei Tüllenbeile, Ha A1¹³. **6.** Mediaș, jud. Alba, Rumänien, Siedlung, wohl Giessformenhort, eine Giessformenhälfte, wohl Bz D (Dietrich 2012, Taf. 1/1 mit älterer Literatur). **7.** Negrești, jud. Vaslui, „Brigada“, Rumänien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Bz D¹⁴.

b. ohne Öse:

8. Buzovgrad, obl. Stara Zagora, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Gura-Râșești (Bz D)¹⁵. **9.** Constanța-Palas, jud. Constanța, Rumänien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Gura Dobrogei (Bz D)¹⁶. **10.** Gorsko Kosovo, obl. Sevlievo, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Lesura-Vărbica (Ha A1)¹⁷. **11.** „Okr. Šumen“, Bulgarien, Einzelfund¹⁸. **12.** Pčela, obl. Jambol, Bulgarien, Einzelfund¹⁹.

Variante 2: Die Rippen erstecken sich über die Gesamtbreite der Beilmündung oberhalb der Facette. Es liegen Funde mit und ohne Öse vor.

a. mit Öse: **13.** Aiud, jud. Alba, Rumänien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Cincu-Suseni (Ha A1)²⁰. **14.** Lesura, obl. Vratsa, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Lesura-Vărbica (Ha A1)²¹. **15.** Magura-Höhle bei Rabiša, obl. Vidin, Bulgarien, ein Tüllenbeil²². **16.** Ostrovul Mare, com. Gogoșu, jud. Mehedinți, „Bivolării“, Rumänien, ein Tüllenbeil, möglicherweise aus einem Gräberfeld der Gârla Mare Kultur²³. **17-20.** Urovica, okr. Bor, Serbien, Hortfund, vier Tüllenbeile, Ha A2-B1²⁴.

⁸ Wanzek 1989, S. 104-105, 159-160.

⁹ Dietrich 2012.

¹⁰ Srejović 1960, S. 63, Abb. 31d; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 2.

¹¹ Müller-Karpe 1959, S. 108, Taf. 132A/3; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 9; Čerče, Šinkovec 1995, S. 149-159, bes. 150, Taf. 51/3, 148/5.

¹² Șerbănescu, Trohani 1975, Abb. 3/6.

¹³ Dergačev 2010, S. 155, Nr. 22-23, Taf. 9/22, 23.

¹⁴ Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978, Taf. 63A/4; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 14.

¹⁵ Hänsel 1976, S. 31, Nr. 13; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 7.

¹⁶ Irimia 1968, S. 91, Nr. 1, Abb. 4; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 3.

¹⁷ Foto Hänsel; Hänsel 1976, S. 38, Nr. 7. Das Beil ist dem von Hänsel definierten Sokol-Typ ähnlich, könnte also noch nach Bz D datieren: cf. Hänsel 1976, S. 38, Abb. 1/3

¹⁸ Černych 1978, Taf. 34/11; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 1.

¹⁹ Černych 1978, Taf. 32/10; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 6.

²⁰ Rusu 1981, Abb. 4/8; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 10, Taf. 11, 47.

²¹ Černych 1978, Taf. 39/2; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 5.

²² Černych 1978, Taf. 39/3; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 6.

²³ Berciu 1953, S. 623, Taf. XXXV/6 (Grabfund); Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 8 (unter „jud. Mehedinți“).

²⁴ Srejović 1975, Taf. LXXXI/1, 2, 12, 14; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 1.

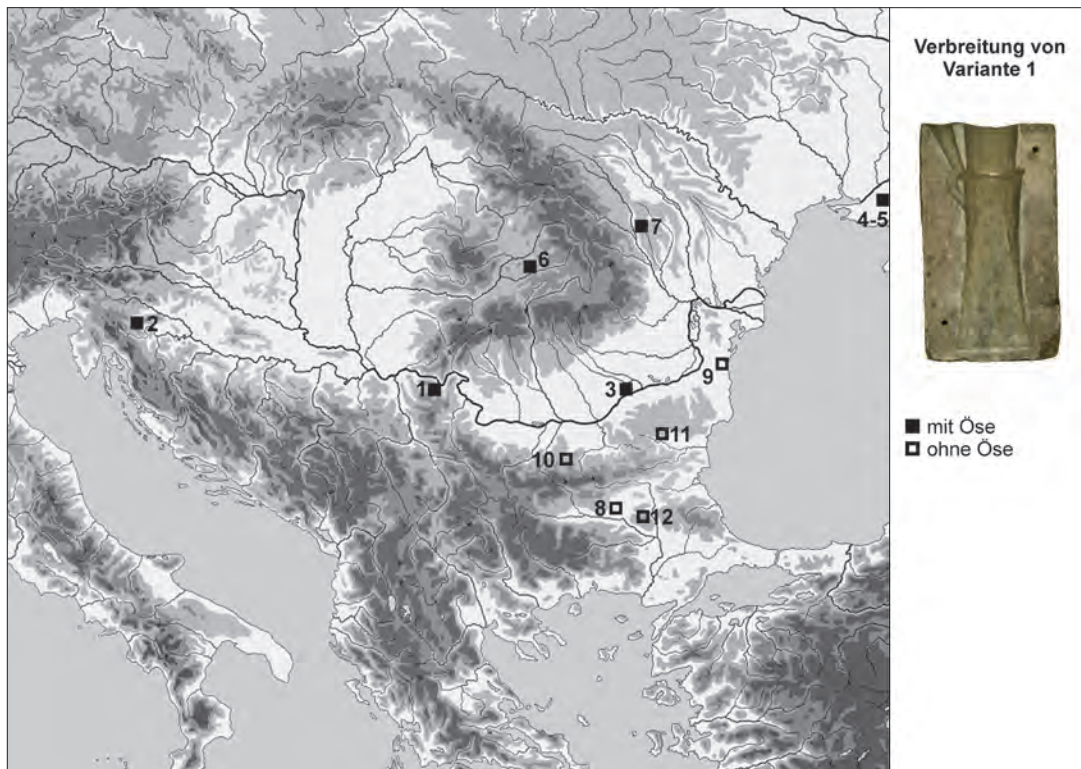


Abb. 4. Verbreitung von Variante 1 der Tüllenbeile mit glockenförmig abgesetzter Breitseite und Vertikalrippen unterhalb des Tüllenrands.

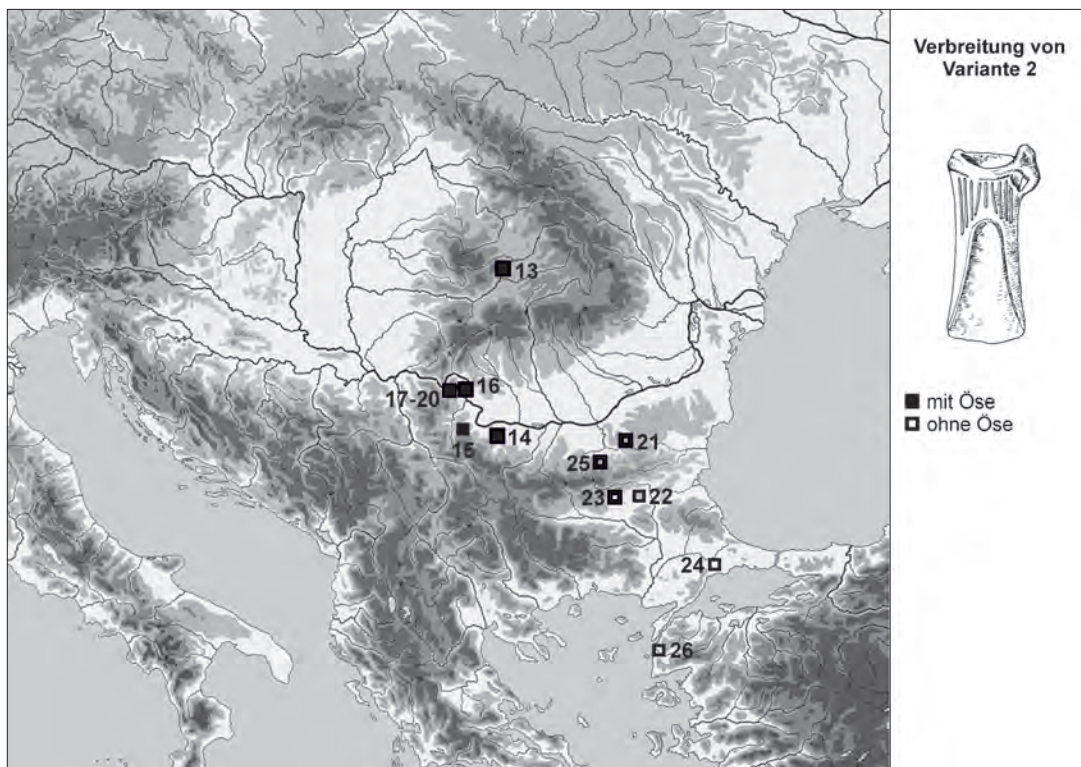


Abb. 5. Verbreitung von Variante 2 der Tüllenbeile mit glockenförmig abgesetzter Breitseite und Vertikalrippen unterhalb des Tüllenrands.

b. ohne Öse²⁵: **21.** Pobit Kamāk, obl. Razgrad, Bulgarien, Giessformenhort, eine Giessformenhälfte, Horizont Lesura-Vărbica²⁶. **22.** Skalica, obl. Jambol, Bulgarien, Einzelfund, eine Giessformenhälfte²⁷. **23.** Sokol, obl. Silistra, Bulgarien, Giessformenhort: eine Giessform, Ha A-B²⁸. **24. Tekirdağ, Prov. Tekirdağ, Türkei, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil**²⁹. **25.** Stražica, obl. Veliko Tărnovo, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Sâmbăta I-Mlada Gvardia, die Beile wohl früher: Stufe Lesura-Vărbica³⁰. **26. Troas, Türkei, Einzelfund.**

Variante 3³¹: Über der glockenförmig abgesetzten Breitseite stehen sich zwei Gruppen von Rippen spiegelsymmetrisch gegenüber. Es liegen nur Beile ohne Öse vor: **27.** Buzorovo, obl. Tolbuchin, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Gura-Râșești³². **28.** Lesura, obl. Vratsa, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Lesura-Vărbica³³. **29.** Vărbica I, obl. Pleven, Bulgarien, Hortfund, ein Tüllenbeil, Horizont Lesura-Vărbica³⁴.

Variante 4: Zusätzlich zu der glockenförmigen Facette sind die Breitseiten wie bei den Beilen vom „Siebenbürgischen Typ“ gestaltet. Es sind nur Beile mit Ösen vorhanden: **30.** Österreich, Fundort unklar, ein Tüllenbeil³⁵. **31.** Șendreni, jud. Galați, Rumänien, Fundort unsicher, ein Tüllenbeil (vom Museum Galați angekauft von einem Sammler, der bei Șendreni lebte)³⁶.

Der Beiltyp insgesamt, mit allen Varianten, ist für den unteren Donauraum (insbesondere um das Eiserne Tor herum) und die Balkangebirgsregion charakteristisch. Sowohl für Variante 1, die ganz überwiegend aus Bz D-zeitlichen Kontexten stammt, als auch für Variante 2, die tendenziell später datiert (s.u.), ist eine deutliche chorologische Trennung von Beilen mit Öse (nördlich der Donau) und ohne Öse (südlich der Donau) festzustellen (Abb. 4-5). Letztere weisen auch häufig eine mandelförmige Durchlochung der Breitseiten auf.

Die Fundverbreitung der Beile dieses Typs ist durch die überwiegende Überlieferung in Horten sicher auch durch die Verbreitung und Intensität der Hortungssitte bedingt. Allerdings legen die recht zahlreichen Giessformenfunde (Nr. 20-22) für Beile der Variante 2(b) eine Produktion im Balkanraum nahe (Abb. 5). Eine weitere Giessformenhälfte, für Beile der Variante 1, liegt mit Mediaș unmittelbar bei dem nördlichsten Fund eines Fertigprodukts von Variante 2 aus dem „Brucherzhort“ von Aiud. Nicht nur besteht eine große Fundlücke zwischen diesen beiden Funden und der Hauptverbreitung der Varianten (Abb. 4), auch zeigt die Giessform klar südliche Einflüsse, wie auch eine zweite, mit ihr gemeinsam gefundene. Den möglichen Implikationen dieses Befunds ist an anderer Stelle ausführlich nachgegangen worden³⁷.

Die Beile aus Tekirdağ und der Troas gehören zur ösenlosen Variante 2b, die in Horten der Stufe Ha A (in mitteleuropäischer Terminologie) überliefert ist, während einige Kontexte noch jünger sein könnten. Das Fehlen einer Öse korreliert mit ihren südlichen Fundorten und legt einen Bezug zu den Funden in der Balkangebirgsregion nahe.

²⁵ Diese Beilform entspricht Variante K4 bei Černych 1978, S. 187.

²⁶ Hänsel 1976, S. 39, Taf. 1/8.

²⁷ Černych 1978, Taf. 34/14, Wanzek 1989, S. 195, Nr. 11.

²⁸ Černych 1978, Taf. 30/17 (ungenaue Zeichnung); Wanzek 1989, S. 195-196, Nr. 12, Taf. 46/5.

²⁹ Zur Datierung des Hortes siehe unten.

³⁰ Hänsel 1976, S. 42, Nr. 7; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 8.

³¹ Diese Beilform entspricht Variante K22 bei Černych 1978, S. 189.

³² Hänsel 1976, S. 31, Nr. 16; Černych 1978, Taf. 34/12; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 2.

³³ Hänsel 1976, S. 38, Nr. 2; Černych 1978, Taf. 31/12; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 9.

³⁴ Hänsel 1976, S. 38, Nr. 5; Černych 1978, Taf. 30/19; Wanzek 1989, S. 129, Nr. 10.

³⁵ Mayer 1977, S. 186, Nr. 986, Taf. 71/986; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 13.

³⁶ Dragomir 1979, S. 597, Abb. 3/2; Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 3.

³⁷ Dietrich 2012.

TROJA

Die Herkunft der Giessformenhälfte aus Troja wird nur allgemein mit Schicht VII angegeben. Die Grundform des darin zu giessenden Beils ist eng verwandt mit den oben beschriebenen, wobei die Öse, wie ausgeführt und nicht nur auf diesen speziellen Beiltyp beschränkt³⁸, eher ein nördlich der Donau anzutreffendes Element darstellt. Verzäpfungslöcher, von denen auf der fragmentarischen Giessform eines erhalten ist, hat Wanzek als charakteristische Merkmale des Gebiets um das Eiserne Tor und Zentralbulgariens herausgestellt³⁹. Die Giessform war bei der Auffindung nur fragmentarisch erhalten und ist lediglich in Form einer Fotografie sowie einer Rekonstruktionszeichnung von A. Götze überliefert (Abb. 2B-C)⁴⁰. Folgt man der Rekonstruktion, die ein flächiges Zickzackmuster nahelegt, das in etwa die obere Beilhälfte einnimmt, so wäre momentan keine exakte Analogie bekannt. Eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit weisen lediglich die Verzierung eines Tüllenbeils aus dem siebenbürgischen Hortfund von Şoarş (Ha B1)⁴¹ und – noch entfernter – eines Tüllenhammers, der vermutlich aus dem Hort von Şpálnaca II (Ha A1) stammt, auf⁴².

Wie auch B. Nessel kürzlich feststellte, ist Götzes Rekonstruktion allerdings mit Vorsicht zu betrachten⁴³. Die erhaltene Fotografie legt – trotz erheblicher perspektivischer Verzerrung und teils starken Schlagschatten – eine deutlich ungeordnetere Rippenzier nahe. In Abb. 2A ist eine Umzeichnung der in der Fotografie erkennbaren Charakteristika des Stücks wiedergegeben. Es deutet sich hier eine Verzierung mit schräg gestellten, grob parallelen Rippen unterhalb der Mündung an, die von weiteren, einzelnen, nur grob gleichmäßig gesetzten Rippen neben der glockenförmig abgesetzten Breitseite ergänzt werden. Folgt man dieser, allerdings aufgrund der Abbildungsqualität nur hypothetischen Umzeichnung, so würde das in der Formhälfte zu giessende Tüllenbeil den Beilen der Variante 2a (mit Öse) nahe stehen. Eine gewisse Nähe bestünde auch zu den von E.N. Černych als Typ K-48 bezeichneten Beilen, die sich durch eine parallele Vertikalrippenzier auf dem gesamten Körper außerhalb des glockenförmig abgesetzten Bereichs auszeichnen⁴⁴. Eine sichere Entscheidung ist aufgrund des Dokumentationsstands der Giessformenhälfte jedoch nicht zu treffen. Unabhängig von der genauen Typzuordnung verweisen das Vorhandensein einer Öse, das Verzäpfungsloch und die Gesamtform des Beils auf den (nördlichen) Balkan- und unteren Donauroaum⁴⁵.

DIE VERBREITUNGSGRENZE SÜDOSTEUROPÄISCHER TÜLLENBEILE IN RAUM UND ZEIT

Die Kernverbreitung südosteuropäischer Tüllenbeilformen endet weitgehend nördlich der Rhodopen⁴⁶. Die zwei typgleichen Funde aus Türkisch-Thrakien und der Troas sowie die Giessform für typologisch zumindest nahestehende Beile aus Troja lassen trotz geringer Fundfrequenz die Aussage zu, dass der südosteuropäische Tüllenbeilkreis zeitweise bis ins nordwestliche Kleinasien ausstrahlte.

Die Beile mit hängender Rippenzier der Variante 2 datieren zwischen Bz D und Ha B, mit einer Tendenz zu Ha A-zeitlichen Kontexten vor allem auch für die Variante 2b⁴⁷. Hierbei wäre zu bedenken, dass

³⁸ Vergl. z.B. Dergačev 2010.

³⁹ Wanzek 1989, Taf. 7.

⁴⁰ Götze 1902, Abb. 405.

⁴¹ Zuletzt Ciugudean, Luca, Georgescu 2008, S. 31, Nr. 8, 33, Taf. VIII/2.

⁴² Dietrich, Dietrich 2013, S. 198, Nr. 6. Taf. 2/6 mit Literatur.

⁴³ Nessel 2014, S. 231.

⁴⁴ Černych 1978, S. 200, Taf. 39/4-7. Wanzek fasste diese Beile als weitere Variante der oben beschriebenen Typfamilie auf, was einige Berechtigung hat. Es handelt sich um die folgenden Stücke: Altir: Černych 1978, Taf. 39/4 Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 7; Obl. Orjachovo: Černych 1978, Taf. 39/5, Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 11; Bulgarien: Černych 1978, Taf. 39/6-7, Wanzek 1989, S. 104, Nr. 12.

⁴⁵ Vergl. allgemein zur Verbreitung und Typengliederung von Beilen mit glockenförmig abgesetzter Breitseite Dergačev 2010.

⁴⁶ Černych 1978, Abb. 97, 98, 101; Dergačev 2010, Karten 1-6.

⁴⁷ Wobei hier, wie oben angemerkt, das regelhafte Vorkommen älterer Funde in jüngeren Horten mit in Betracht gezogen werden muss.

Horte dieser Zeitstufe häufig Altstücke enthalten bzw. über lange Zeiträume entstandene Ensembles darstellen. S. Hansen hat für den Hort von Tekirdağ überzeugend für eine Datierung in das späte 14. oder frühe 13. Jh. v. Chr. argumentiert⁴⁸. Dies würde der Stufe Bz D entsprechen, für deren Beginn seit einigen Jahren eine Datierung in das 14. Jh. diskutiert wird⁴⁹, die sich zunehmend durchzusetzen und zu bestätigen scheint⁵⁰.

Die Herkunft der Giessform aus Troja wird allgemein mit Schicht VII angegeben. Entsprechend der heute feineren Untergliederung dieser Schicht⁵¹ ist diese Angabe wenig aussagekräftig. Südosteuropäische Tüllenbeile würde man natürlich am ehesten in Schicht VIIb.1 („Barbarian Ware“) oder VIIb.2 („Buckelkeramik“) erwarten, eine solche Zuordnung müsste aber reine Spekulation bleiben.

Recht klar ist hingegen, dass die Tüllenbeile Teil des anhand mehrerer Materialgruppen (z.B. der „Szepteräxte“ mit eingerollter Schneide) zu belegenden zeitweisen Ausgreifens südosteuropäischer Formen nach Süden sind⁵². Die Anwesenheit von Fertigprodukten könnte durch eine Vielzahl möglicher Kontaktszenarien erklärt werden, die Herstellung einer eigentlich fremden Geräteform, aber auch der für eine andere Region charakteristische soziale Umgang mit ihr (Hortung) sprächen allerdings eher für die unmittelbare Anwesenheit Fremder in der Region.

LITERATUR

- Berciu 1953 – D. Berciu, *Catalogul muzeului arheologic din Turnu-Severin*, MCA 1, 1953, S. 589-691.
- Bittel 1933 – K. Bittel, *Artvinde bulunan tunçtan mamul asari atika*, Türk Tarih Arkolgya ve Etnografya Dergisi 1, 1933, S. 150-156.
- Bittel 1934 – K. Bittel, *Neue Funde vorklassischer Zeit aus Kleinasien*, AA 49, 1934, S. 349-363.
- Bittel 1940 – K. Bittel, *Archäologische Funde aus der Türkei im Jahre 1939*, AA 55, 1940, S. 554-596.
- Čerče, Šinkovec 1995 – P. Čerče, I. Šinkovec, *Catalogue of Hoards of the Urnfield Culture*, in B. Teržan (Hrsg.), *Hoards and Individual Metal Finds from the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages in Slovenia*, Ljubljana, 1995, S. 129-232.
- Černych 1978 – E. N. Černych, *Gornoe delo i metallurgija v drevnejšej Bolgarii*, Sofia, 1978.
- Ciugudean, Luca, Georgescu 2008 – H. Ciugudean, S.A. Luca, A. Georgescu, *Depozite de bronzuri preistorice din colecția Brukenthal I*, Sibiu, 2008.
- Della Casa, Fischer 1997 – Ph. Della Casa, C. Fischer, *Neftenbach (CH), Velika Gruda (YU), Kastanas (GR) und Trindhøj (DK) – Argumente für einen Beginn der Spätbronzezeit (Reinecke Bz D) im 14. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, PZ 72, 1997, S. 195–233.
- Dergačev 2010 – V. Dergačev, *Topory-kel'ty pozdnej bronzy karpato-podunav'ja*, Chișinău, 2010.
- Dietrich 2009 – O. Dietrich, *Ein kleiner Bronzedepotfund aus der Siedlung von Rotbav, „La Pârâuț“ sowie einige Gedanken zum Auftreten zyprischer Schleifennadeln in der Noua-Kultur*, in L. Dietrich, O. Dietrich, B. Heeb, A. Szentmiklosi (Hrsg.), *In Honorem Tudor Soroceanu*, AnB S.N. 17, 2009, S. 97-107.
- Dietrich 2012 – O. Dietrich, *Travelling or not? Tracing Individual Mobility Patterns of Late Bronze Age Metalworkers in the Carpathian Basin*, in L. Marta (Hrsg.), *The Gáva Culture in the Tisa Plain and Transylvania*, StComSatuMare 28/I, 2012, S. 211-229.
- Dietrich 2015 – O. Dietrich, *The earliest socketed axes in southeastern Europe. Tracking the spread of a Bronze Age technological innovation*, in P. Suchowska-Ducke, S. Scott Reiter, H. Vandkilde (Hrsg.), *Forging Identities. The Mobility of Culture in Bronze Age Europe*, Vol. 2, BARIntSer 2772, Oxford, 2015, S. 39-46.
- Dietrich, Dietrich 2013 – O. Dietrich, L. Dietrich, *Tüllenhämmer als funktionale Bestandteile von Depotfunden des Karpatenbeckens. Das Beispiel Șpălnaca II*, in B. Rezi, R. E. Németh, S. Berecki (Hrsg.), *Bronze Age Crafts and Craftsmen in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș 5–7 October 2012*, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, S. 191-206.
- Dragomir 1979 – T. Dragomir, *Noi descoperiri arheologice de obiecte de aramă și de bronz în regiunea de sud a Moldovei*, SCIVA 30, 1979, 4, S. 591-601.

⁴⁸ Hansen 2005, S. 90-93. Die von Harmankaya (1995) hat für den Hort vorgeschlagene Datierung in das 12.-11. Jh. (mit einer Tendenz zur jüngeren Datierung) ist, auch angesichts der südosteuropäischen Elemente, zu jung.

⁴⁹ Della Cassa, Fischer 1997.

⁵⁰ Zusammenfassend László 2006.

⁵¹ Zusammenfassend Koppenhöfer 1997.

⁵² Hansen 2005, S. 93-94, Abb. 2. Vergleiche auch Dietrich 2009 zu einer möglichen Rückwirkung dieser Kontakte, dem Auftreten zyprischer Schleifennadeln im Noua-Coslogeni-Komplex.

- Götze 1902 – A. Götze, *Die Kleingeräte aus Metall, Stein, Knochen, Thon und ähnlichen Stoffen*, in W. Dörpfeld (Hrsg.), *Troja und Ilion. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870-1894*, Athen, 1902, S. 320-423.
- Hänsel 1976 – B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976.
- Hansen 2005 – S. Hansen, *Neue Forschungen zur Metallurgie der Bronzezeit in Südosteuropa*, in Ü. Yalcin (Hrsg.), *Anatolian Metal III*, Der Anschnitt 18, Bochum, 2005, S. 89-103.
- Harmankaya 1995 – N. Savaş Harmankaya, *Kozman Deresi Mevkii (Şarköy, Tekirdağ) Maden Buluntuları*, in *Readings in Prehistory. Studies presented to Halet Çambel*, Istanbul, 1995, S. 217-254.
- Irimia 1968 – M. Irimia, *Un depozit de bronzuri la Constanța*, Pontice 1, 1968, S. 89-105.
- Koppenhöfer 1997 – D. Koppenhöfer, *Troia VII - Versuch einer Zusammenschau einschließlich der Ergebnisse des Jahres 1995*, Studia Troica 7, 1997, S. 295-353
- László 2006 – A. László, *Über die Beziehungen, die kulturelle und chronologische Lage der Bronzefunde vom Typ Ópályi-Uriu-Drajna de Jos-Lozova-Pobit Kamák*, in J. Kobal' (Hrsg.), *Bronzezeitliche Depotfunde-Problem der Interpretation*, Ushhorod, 2006, S. 124-142.
- Mayer 1977 – E.F. Mayer, *Die Äxte und Beile in Österreich*, PBF IX/9, München, 1977.
- Müller-Karpe 1959 – H. Müller-Karpe, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Karpaten*, Berlin, 1959.
- Nessel 2014 – B. Nessel, *Werkzeuge zur Produktion von Metallobjekten und weitere Geräte aus der Trojanischen Sammlung in Berlin*, in M. Wemhoff, D. Heliel, A. Hänsel (Hrsg.) *Heinrich Schliemanns Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer*, Bd. 2: *Untersuchungen zu den Schatzfunden, den Silber- und Bronzeartefakten, der Gusstechnik, den Gefäßmarken und den Bleigewichten*, Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte N.F. 18, Berlin, 2014, S. 205-257.
- von der Osten 1937 – H.H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük seasons of 1930-32*, Chicago, 1937.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978 – M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Die Sicheln in Rumänien mit Corpus der jung- und spätbronzezeitlichen Horte Rumäniens*, PBF XVIII/1, München, 1978.
- Rusu 1981 – M. Rusu, *Bemerkungen zu den großen Werkstätten- und Gießereifunden aus Siebenbürgen*, in H. Lorenz (Hrsg.), *Studien zur Bronzezeit. Festschrift für Albert von Brunn*, Mainz, 1981, S. 375-402.
- Schmidt 1902 – H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin, 1902.
- Șerbănescu, Trohani 1975 – D. Șerbănescu, G. Trohani, *Obiecte din cupru și bronz descoperite în județul Ilfov*, SCIVA 26, 1975, 4, S. 529-539.
- Srejović 1960 – V. Srejović, *Tri praistoriske ostave iz istočne Srbije*, Starinar N.S. 11, 1960, S. 47-63.
- Srejović 1975 – D. Srejović, *Ostava ve Urovića*, in M. Garašanin (Hrsg.), *Praistorijske ostave u Srbiji i Voivodini*, Belgrad, 1975, S. 96-100, Pl. LXXXI-LXXXII.
- Wanzek 1989 – B. Wanzek, *Die Gußmodel für Tüllenbeile im südöstlichen Europa*, Bonn, 1989.

THUCYDIDES MYTHISTORICUS*

ZOE PETRE**

Keywords: Historiography, Thucydides, tragedy, myth

Abstract: In 1907 F.M. Cornford published *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, about the dramatic construction of Thucydides' *History*. One of the most tragic features of Thucydides' *History* which we may add to Cornford's arguments originates in the fact that the historian and his public, as well as the dramatic poet and his audience, are aware of the end of the narrative. Because they master the whole story, they can hint at a future tragically opaque for those who live the events in their succession, but well-known for their audience. In recent times, the relativism of Hayden White's school has rediscovered Cornford's book.

Cuvinte-cheie: Istoriografie, Tucidide, tragedie, mit

Rezumat: În 1907, F. M. Cornford publica volumul intitulat *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, în care demonstrează că Tucidide își construia episoadele *Istoriei războiului peloponesiac* ca pe tot atâtea mici tragedii. Una din caracteristicile cele mai pregnante care susțin interpretarea lui Cornford este aceea că, asemenea unui autor de tragedii, Tucidide știe cum se va sfârși istoria pe care o narează și face diferite aluzii la acest final – opac pentru cei care trăiesc evenimentele, dar clar pentru istoric, ca și, în cazul mitului, pentru poetul tragic. În ultimele decenii, tezele lui Cornford au fost reluate de istoricii relativiști din școala lui Hayden White.

In 1907, one of the most brilliant and promising Cambridge scholars, Francis Macdonald Cornford, published a book which could have started a Copernican revolution in the field of historiography, ancient and modern alike: *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. Could, but did not, because, hailed as delightful more than convincing, the book ended soon half-forgotten.

Born in 1874¹, Cornford studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became lecturer in 1902, and Laurence professor of Ancient Philosophy in 1931. Cornford's books and life were deeply influenced by Jane Harrison (1850-1928) of Newnham College, who was an outstanding scholar among the first generation of women admitted to English university world. Cornford had attended her lectures in 1898 and they soon became close friends, probably even more. He dedicated his *Thucydides* to her. Together with Gilbert Murray, they formed a trio, joined more loosely by Arthur Bernard Cook, the future author of the great Zeus monograph², and James George Frazer, the famous author of the *Golden Bough*³.

* I wrote this version of my contribution concerning the impact of the Attic theatre upon Thucydides and his work in affectionate memory of Alexandru Vulpe, one of the rare archaeologists interested in a deep analysis of the written sources. A Romanian version appeared in the volume *In Fiction We Trust*, edited by C. Partenie and A. Bulai, Iași, 2016, p. 45-58.

** University of Bucharest; zoe.petre@gmail.com.

¹ For Cornford's biography and circle, I follow mostly the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography on-line*, s.v. F.M. Cornford (R. Hackforth), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=32571&back>, accessed March and October, 2014.

² Cook 1914-1925.

³ Frazer 1890-1915.

Members of this group, classicists all, looked to the dawn of anthropology and to the Near East studies for identifying influences that marked the Greek culture and religion. In an attempt to get to grips with oriental languages, Cornford, Harrison, Cook, and Frazer were being given Hebrew lessons by Robert Hatch Kennett, the Regius professor in Cambridge. Cornford and Harrison were also learning cuneiforms: a friend recorded how she was presented once with a Plasticine tablet on which Cornford had cut a cuneiform text, translated by Harrison; the inscription celebrated the exploits of her poodle⁴.

The Cambridge Ritualists, as they are known, were active from *ca.* 1900 to 1915, working on the origins of Greek religion and drama. Jane Harrison wrote her famous *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, in part to correct the purely literary approach to Greek mythology and religion that was current in Britain. Her broad conception of their common subject, her sense of mission, and her passionate nature placed her in the centre of the group. Strongly attracted to innovative methods and ideas, she embraced not only anthropology but also Freud's psychology and Durkheim's sociology.

Out of this shared thinking emerged Harrison's *Prolegomena* and *Themis*⁵, Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic, Excursus on the Ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy*, and *Four Stages of Greek Religion*⁶, as well as – besides his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*⁷ – Francis Cornford's *Greek Religious Thought, The Origin of Attic Comedy*⁸, and his masterly *Principium Sapientiae* published posthumously⁹.

Harrison and her friends were interested, above all, by the reminiscent primitive ideas present in the works of the poets, historians, and philosophers of the classical age of Greece. That is why they investigated, again and again, the ritual forms they believed to be the origin of these literary creations. Among their core ideas, the notion of rites (*dromena*, "things which were done") performed collectively by a social group, which thereby created and projected their god was crucial. The spring *dromenon*, for instance, conceived dramatically as a conflict between living beings, was represented either as a death-and-rebirth god or as a contest in which one divine being defeated another and emerged victoriously. In Athens, a unique union took place between this ritual and the epic legends, resulting in the creation of Greek tragedy, but the ritual itself lives on in Europe in the springtime mummer plays and carnival festivals.

An excerpt from a lecture on *Hamlet and Orestes* delivered in 1914 by Gilbert Murray will perhaps convey something of the Ritualistic style: *The things that thrill and amaze us in Hamlet or the Agamemnon are not any historical particulars about medieval Elsinore or pre-historic Mycenae, but things belonging to the old stories and the old magic rites, which stirred and thrilled our forefathers five and six thousand years ago, set them dancing all night in the hills, tearing beasts and men in pieces, and giving up their own bodies to a ghastly death, in hope thereby to keep the green world from dying and to be the saviours of their own people*¹⁰.

Thucydides was, for a while, the very centre of interest of all three musketeers, possibly awakened, as usual, by Jane Harrison, who published in 1906 an innovative work, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides*, which reviewed Thucydides' account of the origins of Athens in the light of contemporary archaeological findings¹¹.

Cornford followed her the next year with his *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, about Thucydides and tragedy, while Murray published in 1919 a contribution confronting Thucydides and the Attic comedy, *Aristophanes and the war party: a study in the contemporary criticism of the Peloponnesian war*¹².

The most disturbing book among these three was that of Cornford. He was quick to note about it himself: the epithet *mythistoricus* may seem to carry a shade of challenge, or even of paradox. His point was not that Thucydides is unreliable. On the contrary, the historian is 'trustworthy'. However, he is also 'a great

⁴ Stewart 1959; see also Beard 2000.

⁵ Harrison 1903; Harrison 1912.

⁶ Murray 1911; Murray 1912; Murray 1913.

⁷ Cornford 1907.

⁸ Cornford 1914a; Cornford 1914b.

⁹ Cornford 1952.

¹⁰ Murray 1914.

¹¹ Harrison 1906.

¹² Murray 1919.

artist'¹³. *Mythistory* is history cast in a mould of conception, whether artistic or philosophic, which, long before the work was even contemplated, was already inwrought into the very structure of the author's mind¹⁴. Cornford coined even a new term, *infiguration*, for the moulding of facts into myth¹⁵.

A good example of infiguration could be Herodotus' description of the battle of Salamis when compared to Aeschylus' *Persians*, which set a model for the historian. Cornford stresses the distinction between infiguration and invention, which is a way by which a writer joins the dots, so to say, and invents lost connexions and information. Thucydides warns us against invention. But – adds Cornford – *there was one thing against which he does not warn us, precisely because it was the framework of his own thought, not one among the objects of reflection, a scheme contributed ... by the mind itself to whatever was presented from outside*¹⁶.

Thucydides would never have accepted for his own work the name of *Mythistory*. He was the first writer ever to ban far away from the writing of history what he called *to muthodes*, “the romance” – with a depreciative nuance hard to translate; Marcel Detienne succeeded in French, with *le mytheux*¹⁷. For centuries, the epic poetry was considered a historical truth. The historian rejected its veracity and criticised his predecessors openly.

Traditionally, the most important poetic creations – this is a pleonasm, for *poietes* means creator in Greek – were composed for, and performed on ceremonial occasions¹⁸. They had an intrinsic ceremonial character and never lost their original link with religious festivals. Any victory, for instance, either in a competition – as well as in a war – was linked to the blessings of a god. Even the convivial setting that is so rich in lyrics was not only entertainment but also a festival of Dionysus. We identify it now as the omnipresent Song-culture, in which all the citizen were expected to share, to participate, to perform. It was, primarily, an oral and ritual performance, even when its products were eventually written down and so they could reach us today.

Once upon a time, the gods mingled with mortals and gave birth to noble heroes. The aristocratic families traced their lineage back to these heroes, and through them to the gods. The “collective personality” of a city, its identity, friendly ties and mythical kinships, were established by the repetition of tales about the heroic deeds of its founder(s) on ceremonial occasions. The preservation of these traditions was assigned to the memory specialists, the poets. The poets were entrusted with the handing down of “the truth” to posterity; however, this truth could always be reshaped. Poets could always innovate and invent new versions of the past.

The poets' task was to sing of “things that are and that shall be and that were in the past” (Hesiod, *Th.* 38, cf. 32). The epic songs about the Argive expedition against Thebes, or about the Trojan War, as well as the Hesiodic Catalogue, where the genealogies of the gods were followed by the unions of gods and mortals and the births of heroes, were a kind of oral, poetic ancient history. Many poets told their cities' “ancient history”. In the 5th century BC, Panyassis of Halicarnassus, Herodotus' uncle, composed a long poem, *Ionika*, about the foundation of Ionic colonies in the heroic age. Even before, in the 7th century BC, Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia* contained a sketch of the Heraclids returning to the Peloponnesus. Mimnermus' *Smyrneis*, or Semonides' *Early History of the Samians*, are also historical elegies, as are Xenophanes' *Foundation of Colophon* and *Migration of Colophonians to Elea*.

Even the black-figured Attic ware of the 7th-6th centuries BC, or the red-figure vases of the next one, tell mostly stories of the past; the scenes depicted on the vases were not simple *scènes de genre* but functioned as a kind of script for storytelling. Of course, the illustrated vase may also stand by itself, as an ornament of the house or a precious funerary offering, but its ties with the Song-culture of the 8th-5th centuries BC are essential, and we may say that the painted ceramic is part and parcel of this Song-culture.

After the middle of the 5th century BC, however, prose started to compete with poetry for the handing down of tradition. Prose narrated not only the “genealogies of heroes and men” but also the “foundations of cities in ancient times”. Attempts were made to write continuous “histories” of different

¹³ Cornford 1907, VII.

¹⁴ Cornford 1907, XI.

¹⁵ Cornford 1907, XI, p. 133-135.

¹⁶ Cornford 1907, IX, p. 132.

¹⁷ Detienne 1981.

¹⁸ Momigliano 1983.

communities, from their origins down to the present. Herodotus was the first author to consecrate a substantial writing in prose not only to a sequence of events, but to the solution of a historical problem: what was the cause of a war between the Persians and the Greeks, and, even more so, why did it end with the Greeks' victory? To answer these questions, which are essentially "modern" in the 5th century, he told, however, innumerable tales with a charm vivid until today and evoked, in the wake of the epic poets, the high and glorious deeds of the heroes, *klea andron*.

These were the predecessors that Thucydides rejected as unworthy competitors. Educated in classical Athens as an auditor of the sophists, of the great forensic and Hippocratic orators, not less than of the Attic drama, when he decided "to write the war of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, *xunegrapse ton polemon*" (Th. 1.1.1), he started by criticizing any inspiration from the Ionian Epos. To distance himself from Herodotus, he refused even the word *historie*, "research, inquest", used by his predecessor, preferring *xungraphie* instead. *Xungraphie* expresses the materiality of writing: before meaning "to record", it denotes the precise act of drawing the letters on a surface. It points, on the other hand, to an operation of transposing from oral to written. It is a term both reminiscent of an intellectual tradition and related to the contemporary debates. The link with other areas where writing is called *sungraphie* in contemporary texts – for instance, the language of architecture, treaties, and legislation – suggests that Thucydides' choice was meant to stress the written character of his work, as opposed to the orality of the epic poems. On the other hand, he highlighted its close ties with the technical project – like the architect's project, as well as with the written documents of the polis. Above all, *sungraphie* must be confronted with the original, and corrected when necessary. As Momigliano wrote once, you cannot contradict a song¹⁹: a *sungraphie* can be, and frequently is, contradicted.

Thucydides lived and wrote at the very edge of a new intellectual world, which was in many ways different from the traditional poetic culture of the previous centuries. It does not mean that Cornford was wrong, as seem to think some of my colleagues even today. On the contrary, as Cornford convincingly found out, Thucydides' work contains a flat refusal of the Song-culture, as it represents the main competitor against the epic tradition. In his view, whatever the history was to be, it was not to be like Herodotus', and it was to draw no inspiration from the tradition of Ionian Epos. But historical prose needed, however, a referee, so Thucydides turned to drama, the only other developed form of literature then existing which could furnish a hint for the new type to be created²⁰.

Cornford's most convincing example of this "ineradicable and unperceived" pattern which imposes upon Thucydides' writing a dramatic cast may be that of the fate of the Spartan regent Pausanias, as described in his first book (Th. 1.132-133). Pausanias boasts of his power; the very day after the victory against the Great King, he plans to marry his daughter; he transgresses all Spartan rules and behaves like a Persian king himself. He keeps his fellow-citizens at a distance, becomes difficult to access, and displays an irascible temper. Any dramatic poet would qualify such behaviour as *hubris*.

Pausanias is recalled at Sparta, where the ephors are worried by his behaviour, but the evidence against him is insufficient. In the most tragic way, he then provides himself the proof, by writing a letter to the Persian king to whom he explains his designs, and ends his epistle by asking the execution of the bearer. The messenger becomes suspicious, opens the letter, and shows it to the authorities at Sparta. The ephors hide behind a partition and overhear the conversation between Pausanias and the messenger in a full and damning avowal of the suspect's plans. The ephors try to apprehend him, but Pausanias seeks asylum in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, where the angry Spartan mob kills him with stones thrown through the ceiling.

This is not the sort of thing that Thucydides objects to as "mythical", writes Cornford; it is not fabulous, not the embroidery of a mere poetical invention; and so he reports it all in perfect good faith. What does not strike him, and what does strike us, is that the story is a drama, framed on familiar lines, and ready to be transferred to the stage without the alteration of a detail²¹.

What is "mythistory" in Thucydides' history, then, is, in Cornford's opinion, this dramatic construction which reads the facts as a tragedy. "The passions are internal tempters from God; and temptation (*Peitho*) also

¹⁹ Momigliano 1981, p. 21.

²⁰ Cornford 1907, p. 136-137.

²¹ Cornford 1907, p. 153.

comes externally as incarnate in another person, e. g. Clytemnestra. Examples of this conception from History: Miltiades at Paros, Pausanias at Plataea. Elpis, one of these dangerous, tempting passions, is thought of as incarnate in Cleon, who acts as Peitho, or Apatē, to Athens, when she has been intoxicated by Fortune at Pylos”²².

Cornford was right. Thucydides writes as a tragic poet in many ways – those highlighted by Cornford, but also some crucial others. At the beginning of the 20th century, when he wrote his book, the general understanding of the ancient drama was not what it became in the last decades; the tragic plot as it is deciphered now by the contemporary scholars is even more akin to Thucydides’ manner of writing history.

One of the primary affinities between tragedy and Thucydides’ history has its origin in the fact that both the authors in the two genres and their audience are aware of the end of their story. Usually, before finishing to write, the contemporary author may not know step by step where his or her hero is going. Anyhow, the reader does not know it – at last when he or she does not go to the last page in a hurry. The myths, on the contrary, are known in advance, at least in their main lines, which is why the tragic poet has a complete knowledge of the end of the story since the first word of his drama. That is why he seems to view the plot from very high above, with a superior and comprehensive vision, in sharp contrast with the narrow and misleading perspective of the *dramatis personae* who are not seers as Tiresias or Calchas. Not only the poet, but – at least in general terms – his audience can follow him in the game of pre- and post-diction. This knowledge of the future bestows upon both author and audience a kind of prophetic omniscience, tragically lacking in the case of the protagonist.

Let’s consider the *Funeral Oration* attributed to Pericles (Th. 2.34-46). Majestic and luminous, this passage is immediately followed by the grim description of the plague. Paul Demont rightly connects the Thucydidean *loimos* with the tragic theme of a “plague” as a counterpart of human *hubris*²³ (Th. 2.48-54). The Melian dialogue (Th. 5.85-111), a monument to the scornful and cynical imperialism of the Athenians, is immediately followed by the catastrophic Sicilian expedition (Th. 6.1), and so on. I know only too well that my observation stirs up the enduring debate about the chronology of the composition of Thucydides’ work, which I am ready to confront, but not here, and not today. As Kurt Raaflaub argued in a recent paper, Thucydides’ account presupposes knowledge of the outcome of the war. This knowledge is a shaping factor of the description and the main reason for the past to be useful and significant for future audiences²⁴.

In the epic world, this kind of omniscience is the distinctive attribute of the Muses, who are the only masters of total recall, as Gregory Nagy has named this marvellous quality of the epic song²⁵. If they so please, the muses may endow the poet with the capacity of recalling the past in every detail. In contrast, in the tragic theatre, the author himself takes the role of Mnemosyne and her offspring implicitly, because he knows how the story will end, and may build his drama as an inexorable advancement to the tragic *finale*.

Therefore, one of the most powerful tools for stressing the dramatic character of the plot is the staging of recurrent and fragmentary revelations, of words and deeds which incidentally predict the future in ways the protagonist does not and cannot understand. Invariably, these words hide a grim and dangerous, often fatal ending for the very person who utters them but are transparent and fearful only for the audience. A classic is the episode from *Oedipus Rex* in which Oedipus vows to punish with his own hand the murderer of Laius (S. OT, 132-146). Sophocles knows, and the audience knows too, that the King has just doomed himself, but Oedipus does not know it and goes on as if he were innocent and happy²⁶.

The Greek historian is also aware of the end of his narrative. Thucydides’ work presupposes in fact both a writer and a reader who know the end of the story, and who can understand any enigmatic allusion to the disasters to follow. Because the historian masters the whole of the narrative, he can hint – as Thucydides does so often – at a tragically opaque future for those who live the events in their day by day succession. He shares this enigmatic knowledge, the logic of post-diction, with his readers, who are his

²² Cornford 1907, p. 153-173.

²³ Demont 2013, p. 73-74.

²⁴ Raaflaub 2013.

²⁵ Nagy 2013.

²⁶ Vernant 1970.

accomplices against the *dramatis personae* of the past, be it factual or mythical; this complicity permeates the tragedies as well as the *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

*

* *

Although highly original and stimulating, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* was, even since its publication, the least successful of Cornford's books. An anonymous review in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* noted that "Mr. Cornford has written a most brilliant essay, but cannot be said to have penetrated below the surface of his subject"²⁷. An extensive review article in the *Classical Quarterly* concluded that "Cornford had invested the conclusions of a rationalist with all the charm of a mythistorian", which was supposed to be a token of dubious scholarship²⁸.

A well-known paper published in the seventies by Colin Macleod, *Thucydides and tragedy*²⁹, does not cite Cornford's book at all. The author identifies quite a lot of Thucydidean parallels with tragedy, only to flatly denying them at the very end of his paper. Here we can learn that the tragic poets, as well as the great historian, were under the spell of Homer, a fact that for him is the *alethestate prophasis*, to speak like Thucydides himself, the truest explanation for their shared tragic sensitivity. Hanson's Thucydides emphasises war as tragedy, but, although this view recalls Francis Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus* on the connections between Thucydides' history and Athenian tragedy, Cornford is not cited³⁰.

Even when Cornford's Thucydides is remembered, which is rather an exception, it is more a lip service than a real debate about his ideas. One of the rare exceptions in the 60's that I know about is Pierre Vidal-Naquet's section about the Peloponnesian War, published in the daring and innovative *Encyclopedia Universalis* under the title *La guerre tragique*, "The tragic war", with an explicit praise of Cornford's *Mythistoricus*. Another one is an excellent paper, *Thucydides Tragedian*, published in 1978 by Kieran Egan, in a book about the philosophy of history³¹.

I do not think we should be too surprised by the cold reception of Cornford's arguments. Thucydides' harsh rejection of the work of his predecessors created the illusion of a "scientific" manner of writing history. Thucydides was the first historian who started the war against the intrusion of myth in the writing of history. In contrast with the poets and logographers who entertained their audiences, his text was a *ktema eis aei*, a blueprint, a template for future governance. For long centuries – in fact, from the very moment of his death – Thucydides was proclaimed to be THE historian, the only one, the paradigm and inspiration for all his followers who seek a perfect objective method and style in writing history. So how could we admit that our paradigmatic ancestor, the best of the historians ever, had been a "Mythistorian"? How to conceive that he was not engaged – as we hope to be – in the scientific enterprise of deriving universal laws from his study of particulars, but was involved instead in the poetic enterprise of selecting and moulding particulars to body forth *a priori* truths? The confusion between his mistrust of myth and the rigid academic methodology of the age of Wilamowitz, Ranke, and Mommsen was happily deconstructed by Nicole Loraux in a paper with the ironic title *Thucydide n'est pas un collègue*³². Her conclusion was not unanimously hailed, far from it.

An important shift came for Cornford's book with the publication, in 1973, of Hayden White's seminal work, *Metahistory* – a word coined by Northrop Frye but largely used by and after White. In his book, White does not cite Cornford, but he cites Thucydides instead, mostly when discussing Hegel and his philosophy of history. His followers, however, will rediscover at last *Mythistoricus* as an illustrious precedent. Quoted, if still seldom read, Cornford's book won, at last, some of the notoriety that its brilliance deserves.

For Thucydides, as well as for his followers, the general idea is that what distinguishes "historical" from "fictional" stories is only their content, not their form: the content of historical stories are real events, events that happened in real life, rather than imaginary events invented by the narrator. Fictional stories are

²⁷ *** 1907.

²⁸ Postgate 1907, p. 318.

²⁹ Macleod 1983.

³⁰ Hanson 2005.

³¹ Egan 1978, p. 63-92. I thank most warmly professor Egan for the kind generosity and promptitude with which he answered my plea and sent me a copy of his paper.

³² Loraux 1980.

demoted to the realm of fiction, while historian's stories are sanctioned by the very institution of history. And, because the stories produced in this way are "history", and because their consecrated form leaves no room for either doubt or alternative readings, they cannot be anything but "true". The story told in the narrative may be only a *mimesis* of the story lived in some region of history, but, as long as it is an accurate imitation, it is to be considered a truthful account thereof.

In the traditional view, insofar as it resembles the events of which it is a representation, the simulacrum can be taken as a veridical account. In an essay of 1967 on "The Discourse of History", Roland Barthes, a forerunner of White's ideas, went against this *communis opinio* about the writing of history as naturally and innocuously narrative. Barthes refused to admit that the form of the historical discourse, the narrative, adds nothing to its content; on the contrary, in his view, history is not a faithful representation of the past, but rather a simulacrum of the structure and processes of the reality³³. In the "Introduction" to *Metahistory*, White went even farther, declaring that his aim was not only to critique the reigning Rankean paradigm of "history", but to free contemporary historians, and historiography altogether, from the "burden of history", for the sake of a morally responsible future. For that, he intended to treat the historical work as what it most manifestly is – a literary artefact, a verbal structure in the form of a prose narrative, which purports to be a model, or an icon, of past structures and processes, in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them³⁴.

White confronted the historians with a radical subversion of their own profession, reduced, as it were, to a subspecies of storytelling. Of course, it is not without a price that the historian tells the past. But does s/he do only that? The most important problem raised by the critics of White is, of course, that of the relation between historical writing and the events and structures of the past. Arnaldo Momigliano, for instance, accused White, not without reason, of having "eliminated the search for truth as the main task of the historian, abandoning the reality principle for the pleasure principle"³⁵. Paul Ricoeur, who noted "the importance of White's pioneering work" and defended him from many criticisms, also voiced doubts "regarding the capacity of this rhetorical theory to draw a clear line between historical and fictional narrative"³⁶. Roger Chartier also criticised White for the absence of references to the "operations proper to the discipline", such as the production of hypotheses and the verifying of results³⁷.

White's over-schematization, in particular the associations that he postulates between four historians, four philosophers, four plots, four tropes, four explanations and four ideologies as if we lived in a world of Pythagorean tetrads, were quickly sanctioned by his critics. However, this is only a matter of stylistics. The main problem is that, from White's perspective, the kind of understanding provided by the historian "is no different from that provided by the writer of fiction". Such an identification ignores that historiography is "an evolving system of argument, exchange, criticism and self-criticism" rather than "a collection of colliding, uncommunicating, and incommensurable world-views"³⁸.

Finally, in a prestigious conference on representations of the Holocaust, White himself had to admit that competing narratives can be compared and criticised starting from their "fidelity to the factual record"³⁹. We probably should accept that Thucydides' *History* cannot be at the same time both the brilliant narrative of the Peloponnesian War AND the factual record of the years 431-404 BC in Greece. Here do I rest my case.

³³ Barthes 1967; see also Barthes 1968.

³⁴ White 1973, p. 124; see also White 1992, p. 37-53.

³⁵ Momigliano 1981.

³⁶ Ricoeur 2004, p. 253.

³⁷ Chartier 1993, p. 133-142.

³⁸ Gossman 1989; Burke 2013.

³⁹ White 1992.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- *** 1907 – ***, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* by F.M. Cornford (anonymous review), *JHS* 27, 1907, p. 307.
- Barthes 1967 – R. Barthes, *Le discours de l'histoire*, *Social Science Information* 6, 1967, 4, p. 63-75.
- Barthes 1968 – R. Barthes, *L'écriture de l'événement*, *Communications* 12, 1968, 1, p. 108-112.
- Beard 2000 – M. Beard, *The Invention of Jane Harrison*, Oxford, 2000.
- Burke 2013 – P. Burke, *Metahistory: before and after. Rethinking History*, *The Journal of Theory and Practice* 17, 2013, 4, p. 437-447.
- Chartier, 1993 – R. Chartier, *Figures rhétoriques et représentations historiques. Quatre questions à Hayden White*, *Storia della Storiografia* 24, 1993, p. 133-142.
- Cook 1914-1925 – A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, I-II, Cambridge, 1914-1925.
- Cornford 1907 – F.M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, Cambridge, 1907.
- Cornford 1914a – F.M. Cornford, *Greek Religious Thought*, Cambridge, 1914.
- Cornford 1914b – F.M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, Cambridge, 1914.
- Cornford 1952 – F.M. Cornford, *Principium sapientiae*, Cambridge, 1951.
- Detienne 1981 – M. Detienne, *L'Invention de la Mythologie*, Paris, 1981.
- Demont 2013 – P. Demont, *The Causes of the Athenian Plague and Thucydides*, in A. Tsakmakis, M. Tamiolaki (eds.), *Thucydides Between History and Literature*, Berlin – Boston, 2013, p.73-90.
- Egan 1978 – K. Egan, *Thucydides, tragedian*, in K. Egan, *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, Madison, 1978, p. 63-92.
- Frazer 1890-1915 – J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (retitled *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* in its second edition), Cambridge, 1890, 1915².
- Gossman 1989 – L. Gossman, *Towards a Rational Historiography*, *TPAPhS* 79, 1989, 3, p. 1-68.
- Hanson 2005 – V.D. Hanson, *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War*, New York, 2005.
- Harrison 1903 – J.E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903.
- Harrison 1906 – J.E. Harrison, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides*, Cambridge, 1906.
- Harrison 1912 – J. E. Harrison, *Themis. A study of the social origins of Greek religion*, Cambridge, 1912.
- Loraux 1980 – N. Loraux, *Thucydide n'est pas un collègue*, *QS* 12, 1980, p. 55-81.
- Macleod 1983 – C. Macleod, *Thucydides and tragedy*, in C. Macleod, *Collected Essays*, London, 1983, p. 140-158.
- Momigliano 1981 – A. Momigliano, *The Rhetoric of History and the History of Rhetoric: On Hayden White's Tropes*, *Comparative Criticism* 3, 1981, p. 259-268.
- Momigliano 1983 – A. Momigliano, *L'historiographie grecque*, in A. Momigliano, *Problèmes d'historiographie ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1983.
- Murray 1911 – G. Murray, *The rise of the Greek epic: being a course of lectures delivered at Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1911.
- Murray 1912 – G. Murray, *Excursus on the ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy*, Cambridge, 1912.
- Murray 1913 – G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1913.
- Murray 1914 – G. Murray, *Hamlet and Orestes: A Study in Traditional Types, Annual Shakespeare Lecture*, New York, 1914.
- Murray 1919 – G. Murray, *Aristophanes and the war party: a study in the contemporary criticism of the Peloponnesian war*, London, 1919.
- Nagy 2013 – G. Nagy, *The Greek Hero*, Harvard, 2013.
- Postgate 1907 – J.P. Postgate, *Thucydides the Mythistorian*, *CIQ* 1, 1907, 4, p. 308-318.
- Raaflaub 2013 – K.A. Raaflaub, *Ktēma es aiei: Thucydides' Concept of "Learning through History" and Its Realization in His Work*, in A. Tsakmakis, M. Tamiolaki (eds.), *Thucydides Between History and Literature*, Berlin – Boston, 2013, p. 3-22.
- Ricoeur 2004 – P. Ricoeur, *Memory, history, forgetting*, Chicago, 2004.
- Stewart 1959 – J. Stewart, *Jane Ellen Harrison: a portrait from letters*, London, 1959.
- Vernant 1970 – J.-P. Vernant, *Ambiguïté et renversement. Sur la structure énigmatique d'Oedipe-Roi*, in J. Pouillon, P. Maranda (eds.), *Échanges et communications: Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son 60ème anniversaire*, Hague, 1970.
- White 1973 – H. White, *Metahistory: The historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*, Baltimore, 1973.
- White 1992 – H. White, *Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth*, in S. Friedlander (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*, Harvard, 1992, p. 37-53.

LA POLITIQUE, UNE INVENTION HUMAINE OU DIVINE ? LA PENSÉE DE PROTAGORAS ET LE REGARD PLATONICIEN

JULIAN GALLEGO*

Keywords: Politics, *technai*, sophistic, myth, Protagoras, Plato, Athens, democracy

Abstract: The article analyses the problem of the development of politics according to the way in which this issue is presented in the myth of Plato's *Protagoras*. The perspective on the gods in this dialogue is compared with that provided by the *Sisyphus* fragment attributed to Critias, to consider the role of gods and humans in the deployment of *technai* and the art of politics. In addition, it is studied the persuasiveness linked to the use of myth both in Platonic discursive strategies and in the educational practices of the sophists. Finally, the possible Protagorean contents in this dialogue and their links with the conditions of the Athenian democracy during the fifth century B.C. are also considered.

Cuvinte-cheie: Politică, *technai*, sofistică, mit, Protagoras, Platon, Atena, democrație

Rezumat: Articolul analizează problema evoluției politicii așa cum ea este prezentată în mitul lui *Protagoras* al lui Platon. Perspectiva asupra zeilor zugrăvită în acest dialog este comparată cu un fragment din *Sisif*, operă atribuită lui Critias, cu scopul de a discuta rolul zeilor și al oamenilor în dezvoltarea *technai* și a artei politice. Este examinată, pe de altă parte, forța persuasivă a mitului în strategiile discursive ale lui Platon, precum și în învățăturile sofistilor. Nu în ultimul rând, sunt avute în vedere posibilele semnificații protagoreice ale dialogului și legăturile acestora cu regulile democrației ateniene în secolul al V-lea a.Chr.

Les savants ont pour la plupart admis le lien étroit entre l'essor de la sophistique et le déploiement de la politique. En effet, il est bien établi que l'horizon de problèmes délimités par la sophistique fut largement traversé par des réflexions portant essentiellement sur le domaine des comportements sociaux des hommes dans le cadre de l'évolution de la *polis*, notamment l'Athènes du V^e siècle av. J.-C. Il s'agit précisément de l'un des aspects fondamentaux de la pensée de Protagoras maintes fois souligné par les chercheurs : les idées du sophiste d'Abdère ne sauraient être bien comprises qu'en relation étroite avec la mise en place de la politique, et surtout de la démocratie¹.

Le premier point à éclaircir concerne la désignation « la sophistique » que l'on utilise ici. En parlant de la sophistique comme d'un ensemble, nous n'ignorons pas les difficultés impliquées dans l'idée de considérer les sophistes comme une école, un mouvement ou un courant philosophique. Pour Barbara Cassin², l'unité des sophistes serait due à sa construction en tant qu'« artefact platonicien », une espèce de frontière délimitant le champ philosophique, tout en excluant ce qui n'appartient pas à ce domaine. C'est pourquoi la pensée

* Université du Buenos Aires-CONICET; julianalejandrogallego@hotmail.com.

¹ De nombreux travaux analysent les rapports entre les sophistes et Athènes, notamment Protagoras : Corbato 1958 ; Plácido 1972 ; Plácido 1973 ; Plácido 1984 ; Adkins 1973 ; Capizzi 1986 ; Capizzi 1990, p. 111-196 ; Müller 1986 ; Romilly 1988 ; Rieu 1991 ; Tordesillas 1992 ; Demetriou 1995 ; O'Sullivan 1995 ; Wallace 1998 ; Ostwald 2005 ; Balot 2006, p. 74-79 ; Barney 2006 ; Vignali 2006, p. 21-32 ; Demont 2013. Robinson 2007 estime que la pensée sophistique est liée à la démocratie non seulement d'Athènes mais aussi d'autres cités grecques. Mais, dans le cas de Protagoras, le fait de devoir recourir aux textes platoniciens pour en connaître sa pensée permet d'affirmer que la démocratie évoquée est celle d'Athènes.

² Cassin 1995, p. 24-25.

sophistique serait une apparence de philosophie, ou une philosophie des apparences. La difficulté ne disparaît pas, même si l'on tente de sauver le geste sophistique, ou d'estimer positivement son statut philosophique. En adoptant cette perspective, les savants inscrits dans ces courants, bien qu'ils aient développé une critique exhaustive de l'idéalisme platonicien, tout en considérant la sophistique comme une pensée de plein droit, n'ont pas toujours été en mesure d'éviter le platonisme incrusté dans les images du sophiste et de la sophistique³. Il est probable que nous ne puissions pas non plus éluder totalement cette difficulté ; de toute façon, nous essayerons ici de dégager cet obstacle en réfléchissant sur le *Protagoras* de Platon⁴.

Ces conditions de lecture des idées sophistiques constituent donc le point de départ de cette réflexion sur le rôle des dieux et des hommes en ce qui concerne l'acquisition des techniques et surtout de la politique dans le mythe du *Protagoras*. Avant de poursuivre, il faut noter que le mythe supporte trois niveaux de lecture simultanés et différents : d'abord, l'option d'utiliser un mythe comme un choix possible de Protagoras lui-même, mais dans une situation dialogique ourdie par Platon ; deuxièmement, la fonction du mythe dans la pensée platonicienne ; enfin, le possible contenu protagoréen sous-jacent dans le mythe, et tout le dialogue platonicien.

INVENTION HUMAINE, INVENTION DIVINE

L'un des sujets les plus significatifs du mythe dans le *Protagoras* (320c-322d) de Platon est ce que nous appellerons ici « l'invention de la politique », processus ayant lieu exclusivement sur un plan transcendant et surhumain. Le mythe présente trois stades de développement bien différenciés dans l'histoire de l'humanité⁵. La première étape, la période cosmologique, évoque la naissance des espèces : la distribution d'Épiméthée implique un état naturel où les hommes se trouvent encore dans une situation de faiblesse par rapport aux autres animaux (320c-321c). Vient ensuite la deuxième étape, la plus primitive de l'évolution de la société, où l'on établit que les *technai* sont un point vital pour distinguer les êtres humains des autres êtres vivants : à partir de l'intervention de Prométhée, les hommes possèdent et pratiquent les différentes techniques particulières grâce auxquelles ils obtiennent les choses nécessaires à la vie ; ils développent aussi le langage mais demeurent incapables de se rassembler et de vivre en société, car il leur manque la politique (321c-322b). La dernière étape, lorsque Zeus envoie son don via le dieu émissaire Hermès, évoque la naissance de l'art politique qui suppose le partage d'*aidos* et de *dikè* entre tous les hommes pour rendre possible la *polis*, selon des relations collectives de solidarité et d'interdépendance entre eux et à l'inverse de la maîtrise individuelle des différentes *technai* particulières (322c-d). C'est donc l'avènement de l'art politique qui permet de rassembler les multiples groupes humains dispersés : il s'agit d'une invention organisant la société dans la *polis*⁶.

Dans le *Protagoras* la capacité créatrice appartient par conséquent aux dieux, non aux hommes, qui ne peuvent fabriquer des choses et organiser la société que lorsqu'ils acquièrent toutes les techniques transmises par les dieux. Voici la conséquence : « Depuis que l'homme a eu participation dans le domaine divin en raison de son lien de parenté avec la divinité, d'abord, il a été le seul animal à croire aux dieux, et a essayé de construire des autels et des statues des dieux. Ensuite rapidement, il a articulé sciemment la voix et les noms et a inventé les maisons, les vêtements, les chaussures, les couvertures et la nourriture de la terre » (322a). En revanche, les idées développées par les sophistes semblent avoir mis l'accent sur la capacité humaine de conquérir le savoir technique, un thème cristallisant dans la culture athénienne dès le milieu du V^e siècle autour de la notion du « premier inventeur » (πρῶτος εὐρετής) et de sa nature entièrement humaine.

³ Cf. Kerferd 1986 ; voir aussi Natali 1986 ; Poulakos 1996.

⁴ J'ai utilisé l'édition de Burnet 1903 ; j'ai aussi consulté la traduction de Trédé, Demont 1993.

⁵ Cf. Kerferd 1953 ; Brisson 1975, p. 10-28 ; Plácido 1984, p. 163-166.

⁶ Selon certains savants, cela implique une sorte de pacte social ou de contrat social ; sur ce problème et la pensée sophistique : Guthrie 1971, p. 135-147 ; Kerferd 1981, p. 139-162. En ce qui concerne le mythe de Protagoras, Dupréel 1948, p. 30-35, a établi un lien entre cette question et la thèse du conventionnalisme sociologique à l'égard du thème de l'*anthropos metron* ; voir récemment trois ouvrages qui ont également analysé le mythe et l'argumentation du dialogue platonicien : Kahn 1981 ; Gilli 1988, p. 85-115 ; Narcy 1990, p. 41-45.

Afin de se faire une idée sur l'état de cette question au V^e siècle, rappelons, à titre d'indication, le point de vue qu'Eschyle présente sur cette question dans le *Prométhée enchaîné* (436-506), où il dit que les mortels ont reçu toutes les techniques grâce à Prométhée : inventions, procédures, arts, ressources. Dans l'*Antigone* (331-366), Sophocle souligne également ce point en disant qu'il n'y a rien de plus étonnant que l'homme, qui a une expertise technique et une aptitude supérieures à celles que l'on peut imaginer ; il a lui-même découvert la parole et la pensée, grâce auxquelles la cité et la conduite politique sont développées⁷.

En contraste avec la perspective du *Protagoras* doit être citée l'idée, pleinement sophistique à mon avis, formulée dans le *Sisyphé* attribué à Critias⁸, permettant la réflexion sur l'invention humaine des techniques, de la politique et même des dieux : il fut un temps sans ordre dans la vie humaine ; puis les hommes ont instauré des lois punitives et la justice comme souverain impartial. Toutefois, des délits continuaient à être commis furtivement, conduisant un homme sage à inventer les dieux et à persuader les hommes de croire en eux et de craindre que les dieux agissent comme les gardiens contre des actes criminels des méchants. Ainsi, en cachant la vérité avec un faux argument, il éteignit l'illégalité existante.

En dépit de la similitude, une différence bien claire est ébauchée. Dans le *Sisyphé*, les dieux sont une invention humaine, assumant tout à fait la doctrine autour de l'humanité du premier inventeur⁹. Dans le *Protagoras* (320c-322d), les hommes s'apparentent aux dieux et, suite à l'action d'Épiméthée, la capacité inventive humaine ne se développe qu'à partir du don que réalise Prométhée du feu et du savoir technique, volé par lui à Héphaïstos et à Athéna ; l'art et l'organisation politiques étaient le don de Zeus, par son émissaire Hermès¹⁰. Le mythe assume comme un fait acquis l'existence des dieux, et l'invention de l'humanité en tant qu'espèce singulière parmi les êtres vivants s'avère le fruit de la volonté et de la décision des dieux.

C'est ici précisément que la narration platonicienne s'écarte du thème du *prôtos heuretès* et de sa qualité humaine. Dans le dialogue platonicien, cela semble être le produit d'un choix pédagogique : Socrate demande à Protagoras qu'il démontre bien clairement si la vertu est enseignable ; le sophiste s'interroge sur la manière de l'expliquer, à savoir si en racontant tout simplement un mythe ou à travers un raisonnement détaillé (320c : *μῦθον λέγων ἐπιδείξω ἢ λόγῳ διεξιέλθῳ*) ; Protagoras choisit finalement ce qu'il croit le plus avenant pour l'audience : raconter un mythe¹¹.

Ainsi une opposition est-elle ébauchée entre raconter un mythe et construire un raisonnement. Liée au problème général des rapports entre mythe et raison¹², cette distinction se présente désormais dans le domaine du *logos* ; il ne s'agit pas d'une exclusion du mythe mais d'une opposition et en même temps d'une complémentarité entre *muthos* et *logos*, et c'est ainsi que semble le dire Platon¹³. L'option pour le mythe montre que cela se trouve dans le champ de la raison, d'où la décision d'introduire un récit mythique selon les exigences. Mais quelles sont-elles ? Le fait d'enseigner en utilisant la persuasion est l'un des moyens utilisés par les sophistes pour transmettre leurs leçons à leurs disciples ; « être plus agréable » (*χαριέστερον εἶναι*) est l'expression que Platon fait dire à Protagoras, indiquant clairement à mon avis le rôle assigné par

⁷ Voir aussi Isocrate, XV, *Sur l'échange*, 24. Sur le thème du *prôtos heuretès*, cf. Kleingünther 1933.

⁸ Sexte Empirique, *Contre les mathématiciens*, IX, 54 = DK 88 B 25. (J'ai utilisé l'édition de Diels, Kranz 1966 ; j'ai aussi consulté la traduction de Brisson, publiée dans Pradeau 2009.) Cf. Romilly 1988, p. 152-156 ; Caire 2002 ; Whitmarsh 2014.

⁹ Cf. Eschyle, *Suppliantes*, 449-452, 480-499 : par recommandation de Pelasgos, Danaos invoque les dieux en plaçant des offrandes sur les autels. Cet appel aux dieux joue un rôle à la fois utilitaire et politique, sans pour autant signifier que les dieux sont une invention humaine selon Eschyle. Il est toutefois intéressant de remarquer le parallélisme entre les deux situations : dans le domaine politique, les lois et les pratiques institutionnelles ne garantissent pas un consensus immédiat. La présence des dieux peut donc s'avérer un outil coercitif pour atteindre les buts recherchés : dans les *Suppliantes*, la persuasion dans l'assemblée ; dans le *Sisyphé*, l'obéissance aux lois.

¹⁰ Cf. Solana Dueso 2000, p. 95-109.

¹¹ Cf. Wolz 1963 ; Weiss 2006, p. 134-140. Voir aussi Platon, *Phédon*, 61b. Sur l'opposition entre récit mythique et discours vérifiable et l'utilité du mythe pour Platon, Brisson 1994, p. 114-151.

¹² Il s'agit d'un problème fort connu et débattu ; sur ce point voir le livre édité par Buxton 1999, et notamment son « Introduction », et l'article apporté par Most 1999.

¹³ Sur ces points dans l'œuvre de Platon, voir les remarques de Murray 1999 ; Morgan 2000, p. 242-289.

les sophistes au langage pour communiquer leurs savoirs¹⁴. Il faut mentionner ici l'agnosticisme de Protagoras, car, selon son affirmation, on ne peut rien dire sur les dieux, ni qui ils sont, ni quelle est leur nature, ni même s'ils existent¹⁵. Or, si Protagoras a véritablement recouru au mythe raconté par Platon, son rôle serait essentiellement pédagogique et persuasif, voué à enseigner et convaincre ses auditeurs quant à ce qu'il enseignait comme doctrine. L'usage de la persuasion pour enseigner est donc un point significatif de la méthode sophistique, et opter pour le mythe à cette fin persuasive aurait été sans doute un choix possible de Protagoras lui-même¹⁶.

Or même si le recours au mythe comme moyen de persuasion est bien adapté aux stratégies des sophistes, on ne saurait oublier qu'il s'agit d'une situation dialogique ourdie par Platon. En effet, il nous paraît également clair que cet aspect persuasif est aussi un choix platonicien en fonction de l'organisation discursive du dialogue et de l'échange de vues entre les interlocuteurs. En outre, si l'auteur du *Sisyphé* a pu soutenir que les dieux sont une invention humaine pour assurer le bon fonctionnement des lois et de la justice, il n'est pas improbable que, au cas où il aurait accédé à un témoignage direct de la pensée de Protagoras, la création de la politique serait indéniablement apparue liée à l'inventivité des hommes, non à celle des dieux, en soulignant comme d'autres sophistes la qualité humaine du *prôtos heuretès*¹⁷.

LA SACRALISATION DE LA POLITIQUE

L'ensemble des problèmes abordés jusqu'ici nous conduit encore et encore à la question des formes et des contenus du mythe de Protagoras, de façon à pouvoir élucider si ces formes et contenus font partie d'une pensée proprement protagoréenne, ou de la pensée de Platon donnant sa version des idées développées par le sophiste lui-même, ou d'une sorte de mélange entre l'une et l'autre pensée, ou d'une pensée intégralement platonicienne, sans aucun renvoi aux véritables doctrines formulées par Protagoras. Par exemple, Jonathan Lavery a récemment plaidé pour l'unité de l'œuvre du *Protagoras* à cet égard, en critiquant les coupures qui dénaturent le dialogue platonicien¹⁸. Tout en reconnaissant qu'il s'agit d'un point important, il nous semble, tel que nous le verrons, qu'il y a dans ce dialogue des opinions protagoréennes qui ne sauraient être étudiées en suivant aveuglément la perspective de Lavery.

D'abord, on doit signaler qu'un discours de cette nature nous conduit à une question essentielle : la fonction du mythe dans l'œuvre de Platon. Selon nous, pour lui, le mythe devrait permettre de fermer un problème qui ne peut être décidément élaboré, car il s'agirait d'une vérité profonde et d'accès difficile à l'intelligence des humains ordinaires¹⁹. En ce qui concerne le *Protagoras* en particulier, nous estimons que le mythe occupe, à l'intérieur de l'*épistémè* platonicienne, la position de ce qui est en excès à l'égard des possibilités humaines de création, de réflexion et de savoir-faire. Autrement dit, c'est l'origine humaine de

¹⁴ Gagarin 2001 remet en cause cette appréciation, indiquant que l'art persuasif n'a pas été l'aspect principal de la doctrine enseignée par les sophistes ; tout en acceptant son argumentation, selon laquelle la persuasion n'a pas été le seul axe de la conception sophistique du *logos*, je ne saurais suivre Gagarin lorsqu'il estime que la persuasion fut une question purement secondaire pour les sophistes.

¹⁵ Platon, *Théétète*, 162d-e ; Diogène Laërce, IX, 51 = DK 80 B 4 ; cf. Farrar 1988, p. 50-53 ; Romilly 1988, p. 146-152 ; Plácido 1988 ; Drozdek 2005.

¹⁶ Cf. Platon, *Protagoras*, 318e-319a, et *Théétète*, 167c-d, où l'efficacité du sophiste est indiquée à propos de la direction de la cité et de l'éducation de ses élèves pour faire apparaître quelque chose comme étant juste et bon pour une cité. Demont 2013, p. 115, parle de deux niveaux : « Le premier niveau correspond à un aspect essentiel de la définition de la *technè* au cinquième siècle : est un art ce qui est susceptible d'être enseigné ; le second niveau met plus précisément en jeu l'efficacité revendiquée par Protagoras dans la maison et dans la cité ». Voir Cassin 1995, p. 215-225, sur l'inscription du mythe protagoréen dans les stratégies sophistiques sur le *logos*.

¹⁷ Beresford 2013 fournit une explication semblable à celle que nous présentons ici ; sans exclure le fait que l'utilisation de personnages mythiques fait partie de la stratégie narrative de Protagoras lui-même.

¹⁸ Lavery 2007.

¹⁹ Voir Brisson 1994 ; Morgan 2000 ; cf. Vidal-Naquet 2005, p. 361-380 ; Clay 2007.

la société organisée dans la *polis* avec la capacité d'inclure l'hétérogénéité de tous les hommes, c'est-à-dire l'invention de la politique, ce qui pour Platon est en excès²⁰.

Deuxièmement, il faut dire que le mythe du *Protagoras* fait partie d'un développement discursif qui tente d'éclaircir pourquoi la vertu politique est enseignable, non seulement en affirmant qu'elle l'est grâce à une décision de Zeus, selon laquelle la *politikè aretè* est acquise et partagée par tous les hommes mais aussi en racontant le processus aboutissant à cette situation en trois étapes : d'abord, le partage d'Epiméthée ; puis, le vol de Prométhée ; enfin, la pitié de Zeus. Ainsi arrive-t-on à ce moment que nous appelons l'invention de la politique ; mais cette conquête ne se produit que comme un dessein divin ; à chaque instant, les hommes sont des objets passifs des entreprises divines. Ce qui, dans le *Sisyphé*, est l'œuvre des hommes, alors qu'ils développent eux-mêmes la politique et qu'un homme sage crée les dieux, est au contraire l'œuvre des dieux pour Platon. Ce dernier s'écarte ainsi de l'idée de la politique en tant que produit développé intégralement par les humains, dans la mesure où il refuse d'accepter l'existence d'une capacité créatrice humaine autonome car cela ferait tomber la politique dans le domaine de la *doxa*, sans qu'elle puisse par conséquent être réglée selon la rigueur de l'*épistémè* philosophique.

En effet, tout indique que le mythe assume un rôle très précis dans les dialogues consacrés à la cité, ce qui doit être placé dans le contexte plus général de la fonction du mythe dans la pensée de Platon. Cette fonction convient toujours aux objectifs du philosophe, puisqu'elle rend une vérité profonde accessible aux personnes ordinaires, même à celles qui en sont au stade de la sauvagerie de la raison, comme l'a bien montré Luc Brisson : « Car le mythe, dont la communication procure du plaisir, s'adresse aux enfants et au plus grand nombre des adultes chez qui la raison n'a pas encore atteint ou n'attendra jamais la stade ultime de son développement... À la limite, le mythe est ce discours qui seul peut permettre une intervention efficace sur ce qu'il y a de sauvage en l'homme... »²¹.

En analysant le *Politique* (274c) et le *Ménexène* (238b), Pierre Vidal-Naquet a souligné que dans ces dialogues, Platon opère un choix entre deux possibilités : soit l'invention humaine, soit l'invention divine des arts et des techniques (y compris, bien sûr, l'art politique), tout en favorisant toujours la version la plus opposée à l'humanisme²². Autour du *Protagoras*, André Motte a développé une argumentation, à mon avis, en rapport direct avec ce que Vidal-Naquet a souligné à l'égard du *Politique* et du *Ménexène*, c'est-à-dire que dans le *Protagoras* et d'autres dialogues où la cité est concernée, Platon utilise le mythe au service d'une vaste entreprise de sacralisation du politique²³.

Cependant, Alfredo Ferrarin a soutenu que le mythe de Protagoras ne convoque pas de forces surhumaines, comme c'est le cas dans la plupart des mythes d'origine présents dans les dialogues platoniciens²⁴. Mais c'est un point saillant que dans le mythe du *Protagoras* aucun homme n'est impliqué dans le processus d'invention des techniques et de l'art politique entendu comme la façon d'organiser la société humaine. En effet, à chaque étape, les dieux sont toujours ceux qui accomplissent toutes les actions pour fournir les ressources nécessaires à l'humanité et pour l'organiser politiquement en tant que société.

Ce point doit être pris en compte dans le même sens que d'autres mythes d'origine utilisés par Platon dans ses dialogues aux fins de rendre accessible la vérité profonde située au-delà de l'intellection humaine ordinaire, renvoyant pour ce faire à une puissance supérieure qui n'est accessible qu'au philosophe pourvu d'aptitudes appropriées pour accéder à l'essence véritable du phénomène, se débarrassant ainsi des apparences déformées du monde des ombres. Il y a donc une utilisation proprement platonicienne du mythe

²⁰ Cet aspect de la doctrine sophistique implique une reconstruction à partir de nouveaux critères, après avoir fait table rase des valeurs existantes. En effet, le problème de l'hétérogénéité est un point positif de la pensée sophistique, qui essaye d'établir de nouveaux critères pour concevoir la société sans recourir aux idées traditionnelles. Cf. Romilly 1988, p. 221-254 ; Bevort 2007. Voir également Untersteiner 1949, p. 79-85, avec la critique de Plácido 1973, p. 35 n. 41, qui estime qu'Untersteiner altère les faits en appliquant la théorie du *logos* faible et du *logos* fort à l'évolution des *technai* ; en vérité, dit Plácido, l'argument le plus fort est un instrument entièrement associé à l'art politique.

²¹ Brisson 1994, p. 93-105 (citation p. 93).

²² Vidal-Naquet 2005, p. 374, n. 52.

²³ Motte 1990.

²⁴ Ferrarin 2000, p. 304 ; cf. Edwards 1992.

par rapport à la compréhension des affaires de la cité, qui déshumanise l'invention de la politique tout en sacralisant le domaine politique.

Dans ce dessein, pourquoi Platon recourt-il de la sorte aux mythes dits politiques ? En ce qui concerne le *Protagoras*, ses contenus impliquent que les hommes peuvent exercer individuellement différentes techniques et pratiquer collectivement l'art politique, sans pour autant pouvoir les inventer, y compris l'art politique. La création de domaines pour le développement des capacités humaines est l'œuvre de forces supérieures à celles des hommes ordinaires, ce mythe supposant qu'il s'agit de dieux. En définitive, chaque technique (y compris la politique) implique des savoirs spécifiques qui trouvent leur fondement même au-delà des hommes spécialisés. En effet, à en suivre Balaban, « the basic problem of Plato's philosophy is his attempt to reduce every variety of activity to expertise »²⁵.

Selon la vision platonicienne, telle qu'on peut la déduire de l'argumentation de Socrate avant le mythe et de celle de Protagoras, d'après le même (*Protagoras* 319b-e ; 323a-c), la politique devrait être un art spécialisé exclusivement exercé par des individus ayant reçu l'enseignement et l'entraînement nécessaires à ce savoir spécifique. En conséquence, la dénégation de l'invention de la politique de la part des hommes est à la fois la dénégation du fait que quiconque, sans distinction ni qualification, peut l'inventer et la pratiquer. Dans la vision platonicienne, la politique devrait même être une affaire scientifique des hommes supérieurs, des meilleurs, c'est-à-dire une aristocratie, voire un royaume²⁶.

Ce qui pour Platon est troublant dans la vision de Protagoras, c'est précisément toute la question du relativisme qui fait intrinsèquement partie de sa compréhension du monde et de la société, c'est-à-dire le manque de fondement. À propos de la perspective de Platon, Motte l'a clairement indiqué : « [elle] est essentiellement liée à la conviction que le politique ne peut être à lui-même son propre fondement et que seule une réalité transcendante, dont l'expression du sacré est propre à suggérer la présence, doit être au principe de toute communauté humaine véritable »²⁷.

Pour Platon, le déplacement de l'aptitude inventive des humains aux dieux est ainsi une façon d'affirmer que seuls quelques hommes possèdent la véritable capacité de maîtriser les domaines spécialisés pour exercer les différents arts, et surtout la politique. Mais cela ne signifie pas que Platon peut atteindre son désir²⁸.

LA POLITISATION DE L'HUMANITÉ

S'il est accepté que le mythe est une élaboration de Platon, qui peut être compatible avec un choix effectué par Protagoras lui-même de développer à la fois un mythe et une argumentation pour persuader ses auditeurs du fait que la vertu est transmissible, il coexiste alors, comme nous l'avons déjà anticipé, au moins deux aspects dans le dialogue : d'une part, le point que nous venons de voir, la clôture platonicienne à travers le mythe de la question de la capacité créatrice autonome des hommes, accordant le rôle principal aux dieux ; d'autre part, l'existence dans le dialogue platonicien de matières proprement protagoréennes assurant la crédibilité du Protagoras mis en scène par Platon. À l'égard du rapport entre la version platonicienne sur Protagoras et les contenus développés par le sophiste lui-même et repris par Platon, Cynthia Farrar a proposé la formule « Plataragos » dans la mesure où le vrai Protagoras est à peine visible dans le texte platonicien à la suite de la manipulation de Platon, et la pensée du sophiste ne peut être appréciée que d'une façon dissimulée ; mais en même temps Farrar croit qu'il y a peut-être des idées véritablement protagoréennes dans le discours qui lui est attribué dans le *Protagoras*²⁹.

Bien que le mythe soit inséré dans les attaques platoniciennes contre l'idée selon laquelle tous les hommes ont la capacité de participer à la politique, la démocratie en étant la référence, cela n'annule pas la possibilité de lire quelques contenus du sophiste d'Abdère, dont l'un développe précisément l'idée de la

²⁵ Balaban 1987, p. 382.

²⁶ Cf. Brisson 1975, p. 36-37.

²⁷ Motte 1990, p. 220. Cf. Zilioli 2007, p. 113-140 ; Zilioli 2013 ; voir aussi Romilly 1988, p. 285-300 ; Giorgini 2010.

²⁸ Cf. Rancière 1995, p. 36.

²⁹ Farrar 1988, p. 53-54, 71-80. Cf. Maguire 1977. Selon Morgan 2000, p. 132-154, et Beresford 2013 le mythe exprime fondamentalement la perspective de Protagoras.

politique comme champ dominant de l'action ouvert par définition à tous les humains. En effet, la tendance majoritaire parmi les savants est d'envisager le mythe et l'argumentation comme des sources pertinentes pour lire quelques contenus protagoréens et pour connaître ainsi certains aspects de la pensée du sophiste³⁰.

Comme nous l'avons déjà vu, le dernier âge du mythe raconte la naissance de la participation collective des hommes à l'art politique, contrairement à la domination individuelle des diverses *technai* (*Protagoras* 322c-d)³¹. Nous sommes donc dans le domaine de l'art et de la vertu politiques que Zeus a donnés à tous les humains³². À l'évidence, cette « totalisation », selon laquelle l'ensemble des hommes rassemblés dans la *polis* devient en même temps un ensemble d'êtres compétents pour exercer et décider de la politique, n'est pas autre chose qu'une façon de faire place à la démocratie dans le développement du récit mythique protagoréen³³. Pour le dire avec les mots de Domingo Plácido : « Ce qui symbolise, donc, le don de Zeus, ce sont les conditions historiques générales propices au développement de la politique et qui existent précisément dans la *polis* démocratique. Bien entendu, la concession d'*aidos* et de *dikè* ne vient pas de Zeus. Celui-ci est seulement un symbole commun à d'autres représentations de la démocratie athénienne »³⁴.

De cette façon, si la perspective imprimée par Platon à la construction du mythe implique, comme nous l'avons interprété, une clôture de la possibilité que l'art politique ait été inventé par les hommes et une dénégation du fait que l'aptitude à la connaissance et à l'exercice de la politique soit présente dans la totalité des humains, en revanche, les contenus véritablement protagoréens que Platon semble avoir repris font de Zeus le donateur de l'*aidos* et de la *dikè* à tous les hommes sans exclusion. En plaçant l'invention de la politique dans l'étape ouverte par le don de Zeus, Platon reste ainsi lié à la pensée de Protagoras³⁵. Cela est ratifié par la réflexion immédiate de Protagoras après avoir raconté le mythe : les Athéniens acceptent que tous puissent participer aux débats concernés par la vertu politique (*Protagoras* 322e-323a). Du point de vue du sophiste, le don de Zeus serait une sublimation mythique de ce principe entièrement démocratique, cette part du récit affirmant la même idée que Protagoras soutient sur l'acceptation de tous les citoyens à l'assemblée : dans le cas contraire, il n'y aurait pas de cités (322d : οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πόλεις ; 323a : ἢ μὴ εἶναι πόλεις).

Ainsi, le *Protagoras* formulerait une sorte d'histoire des origines de l'humanité aboutissant à l'avènement de la *polis*, lequel favorise l'existence de la société, en y conjuguant les polémiques autour de l'immanence du politique dans le contexte d'une situation qui ne peut être que celle de la démocratie. Telle est l'explication que Luc Brisson a proposée à ce sujet : « La cité que décrit Protagoras ne peut être que démocratique, puisque tous ses citoyens sont investis de ces deux vertus, l'*aidos* et la *dikè*, qui leur permettent, d'entrée de jeu, de pratiquer l'art politique ; c'est-à-dire, de façon plus précise, que tous peuvent exprimer leur avis sur la place publique, lors de discussions ayant trait à la marche de la cité »³⁶.

Même si les contenus du mythe semblent se référer à un passé lointain, quand l'organisation politique de la société commençait à peine, ils ne peuvent être compris qu'à partir des liens immanents avec les idées politiques de l'Athènes de la seconde moitié du V^e siècle.

³⁰ Sur les interprétations les plus importantes pour et contre l'idée que le mythe est une expression significative de la pensée du sophiste, voir Guthrie 1971, p. 63-64 et n. 1 ; Plácido 1973, p. 36-37 ; Plácido 1984, p. 174, n. 11 ; également Brisson 1975 ; Motte 1990, p. 220 et n. 2. Récemment, Manuwald 2013 a posé ouvertement la question du caractère fictif ou testimonial du mythe dans le *Protagoras*, en répondant que le cœur du mythe trouve son origine dans Protagoras lui-même. Cf. Capizzi 1970 ; Lami 1975 ; McCoy 1998, p. 22-29.

³¹ Sur les origines de la politique et l'évolution historique selon le mythe de Protagoras, voir surtout Lasserre 1976 ; Plácido 1984, p. 163-166 ; McNeal 1986 ; Zilioli 2007, p. 93-98.

³² Cf. Adkins 1973 ; Zaslavsky 1982 ; Gilli 1988, p. 143-181 ; Zilioli 2007, p. 98-102.

³³ Cf. Caserta 2009 qui donne un aperçu historique général des implications de l'essor de la démocratie ainsi que du fondement des rapports inhérents au corps politique organisé dans la *polis*.

³⁴ Plácido 1984, p. 166.

³⁵ Vidal-Naquet 2005, p. 375 et n. 55, estime que Platon reste lié à Protagoras : dans le *Politique*, la philosophie, la science et la cité sont placées à côté du cycle de Zeus ; tandis que, pour Platon, la science peut théoriquement être séparée de l'institution civique, les hommes la pratiquant à peine pendant l'âge d'or. Vidal-Naquet cite Goldschmidt 1949, p. 142, qui indique que, pour Platon, la cité ne semble pas avoir d'utilité dans l'au-delà.

³⁶ Brisson 1975, p. 33.

PROTAGORAS ET LA DÉMOCRATIE

La construction du mythe du *Protagoras* fait partie des stratégies habituelles de Platon concernant le rôle assigné au mythe pour transmettre un message de manière plus efficace. À l'instar d'autres dialogues où sont exposées des questions liées à la politique, dans ce cas particulier, l'instauration et l'organisation d'un champ proprement politique, comme façon d'organiser la société, sont radicalement séparées de la créativité et de la capacité techniques des êtres humains. En effet, dans le *Protagoras*, l'ensemble du processus est raconté comme une histoire où les dieux sont les seuls inventeurs des techniques humaines, y compris de l'art politique.

Mais cette perspective ne semble pas avoir été celle de la sophistique, eu égard au point de vue radicalement opposé dans le *Sisyphé* attribué à Critias : c'est l'homme (un sage) qui a inventé les dieux pour favoriser l'efficacité des lois et de la justice parmi les êtres humains. Par ailleurs, la capacité du mythe de communiquer peut être rattachée à l'objectif des sophistes de persuader un auditoire en vue de transmettre leurs enseignements, et non seulement à l'usage platonicien. À quoi il faut ajouter que la construction platonicienne de la pensée du sophiste doit faire appel à des éléments de la doctrine protagoréenne pour accorder de la crédibilité à une telle construction. De nombreux savants ont ainsi interprété ce point, en acceptant l'existence de contenus protagoréens dans le dialogue de Platon. Dans ce contexte, le problème que nous avons appelé « l'invention de la politique », caractérisée par une répartition de l'*aidos* et de la *dikè* entre tous les hommes, ne peut se référer qu'aux conditions de la démocratie, la sophistique assumant pleinement les effets causés par le développement de cette politique au cours du V^e siècle av. J.-C., en particulier à Athènes où la présence personnelle et la doctrine de Protagoras semblent avoir laissé une empreinte forte et incontournable dans le débats sur la démocratie.

Pour Platon, la nature perturbatrice de la politique conçue comme un attribut du peuple ne semble être appréhendée qu'en reculant devant son rôle en tant que sujet de l'avènement de la démocratie, c'est-à-dire par une mystification effectuée à travers l'utilisation du mythe. La façon de le faire est de le mettre dans la bouche du sophiste qui avait plus clairement réfléchi sur les effets de la démocratie ; pour Protagoras le mythe aurait pu jouer une fonction persuasive, sans pour autant être utilisé pour sacraliser l'invention de la politique démocratique que la pensée sophistique expliquait comme le produit d'une action pleinement humaine. La politique étant l'activité humaine distinctive, Protagoras considère non seulement que la vertu politique est enseignable, mais aussi qu'elle s'appuie sur une fiction – un lien social imaginaire, pourrait-on dire – qui permet l'existence de la *polis* : il ne faut pas être essentiellement juste, mais agir comme si l'on était juste selon les règles en vigueur. Le respect de la justice est, en fait, l'accord que tous les participants de la vertu politique prêtent tacitement, dans la mesure où ils sont inclus dans la convention politique à partir de laquelle la *polis* s'organise, en acceptant ainsi que tous les hommes sont capables de faire preuve de respect et de justice (*Protagoras*, 327d). Mais ces conditions égalitaires ne permettent pas de hiérarchiser ni de rendre visible ce qui pour Platon serait la vérité de cette situation établie par la démocratie : pas tout le monde sait, à la limite, respecter la justice et être juste ; c'est plutôt le contraire qui se passe : bien peu sont ceux qui le savent. Mais, dans la démocratie, tout se passe comme si tous les hommes possédaient le savoir-faire politique et étaient capables d'observer la justice, et donc chacun peut faire tout ce qu'il veut (*République*, 557a-558c), sans que personne ne puisse le réprimander sur la base d'une puissance supérieure légitime. C'était l'anarchie de la démocratie qui a beaucoup perturbé Platon, dont le commencement au sens fort, l'événement démocratique, était également un nœud problématique pour le regard philosophique platonicien. Voilà pourquoi il a procédé à sacraliser l'invention de la politique, en rendant aux dieux le pouvoir légitime supérieur.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Adkins 1973 – A. Adkins, *Ἀρετή, τέχνη, democracy and sophists: Protagoras 316b-328d*, JHS 93, 1973, p. 3-12.
 Balaban 1987 – O. Balaban, *The myth of Protagoras and Plato's theory of measurement*, HPQ 4, 1987, p. 371-384.
 Balot 2006 – R.K. Balot, *Greek political thought*, Malden, 2006.
 Barney 2006 – R. Barney, *The sophistic movement*, dans M.L. Gill, P. Pellegrin (éds), *A companion to ancient philosophy*, Malden, 2006, p. 77-97.

- Beresford 2013 – A. Beresford, *Fangs, feathers, and fairness: Protagoras on the origins of right and wrong*, dans J.M. van Ophuijsen, M. van Raalte, P. Stork (éds), *Protagoras of Abdera. The man, his measure*, Leiden, 2013, p. 139-162.
- Bevort 2007 – A. Bevort, *Le paradigme de Protagoras*, Socio-logos [En ligne] 2, 2007, URL : <http://socio-logos.revues.org/110>.
- Brisson 1975 – L. Brisson, *Le mythe de Protagoras : essai d'analyse structurale*, Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica 20, 1975, p. 7-37.
- Brisson 1994 – L. Brisson, *Platon, les mots et les mythes. Comment et pourquoi Platon nomma le mythe ?²*, Paris, 1994.
- Burnet 1903 – J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, t. III, Oxford, 1903.
- Buxton 1999 – R. Buxton (éd.), *From myth to reason? Studies in the development of Greek thought*, Oxford, 1999.
- Caire 2002 – E. Caire, *L'homme qui inventa la divinité. Le Sisyphe de Critias*, dans G. Dorival, D. Pralon (éds), *Nier les dieux, nier Dieu*, Aix-en Provence, 2002, p. 37-49.
- Capizzi 1970 – A. Capizzi, *Il « mito di Protagora » e la polemica sulla democrazia*, La Cultura 8, 1970, p. 552-571.
- Capizzi 1986 – A. Capizzi, *La confluence des sophistes à Athènes après la mort de Périclès et ses connexions avec les transformations de la société attique*, dans B. Cassin (éd.), *Positions de la sophistique*, Paris, 1986, p. 167-177.
- Capizzi 1990 – A. Capizzi, *I sofisti ad Atene. L'uscita retorica dal dilemma tragico*, Bari, 1990.
- Caserta 2009 – C. Caserta, *Corpo politico. Corpo, Dike, comunicazione fra Agamennone e Pericle*, Bologna, 2009.
- Cassin 1995 – B. Cassin, *L'effet sophistique*, Paris, 1995.
- Clay 2007 – D. Clay, *Plato philomythos*, dans R. Woodard (éd.), *The Cambridge companion to Greek mythology*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 210-236.
- Corbato 1958 – C. Corbato, *Sofisti e politica ad Atene durante la guerra del Peloponneso*, Trieste, 1958.
- Demetriou 1995 – K. Demetriou, *The Sophists, Democracy, and Modern Interpretation*, Polis 14, 1995, p. 1-29.
- Demont 2013 – P. Demont, *L'efficacité en politique selon le Protagoras de Platon*, dans J.M. van Ophuijsen, M. van Raalte, P. Stork (éds), *Protagoras of Abdera. The man, his measure*, Leiden, 2013, p. 113-138.
- Diels, Kranz, 1966 – H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker⁶*, t. II, Berlin, 1966.
- Drozdek 2005 – A. Drozdek, *Protagoras and instrumentality of religion*, AntCl 74, 2005, p. 41-50.
- Dupréel 1948 – E. Dupréel, *Les sophistes. Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, Hippias*, Neuchâtel, 1948.
- Edwards 1992 – M. Edwards, *Protagorean and Socratic myth*, Symbolae Osloenses 67, 1992, p. 89-102.
- Farrar 1988 – C. Farrar, *The origins of democratic thinking. The invention of politics in classical Athens*, Cambridge, 1988.
- Ferrarin 2000 – A. Ferrarin, *Homo faber, homo sapiens, or homo politicus? Protagoras and the myth of Prometheus*, Review of Metaphysics 54, 2000, p. 289-319.
- Gagarin 2001 – M. Gagarin, *Did the sophists aim to persuade?*, Rhetorica 19, 2001, p. 275-291.
- Gilli 1988 – G.A. Gilli, *Origini dell'eguaglianza. Ricerche sociologiche sull'antica Grecia*, Torino, 1988.
- Giorgini 2010 – G. Giorgini, *Does democracy necessarily rest on relativism? The origins of the debate : Protagoras and Plato*, Rivista Elettronica della Società Italiana di Filosofia Politica, 2010, URL: <http://eprints.sifp.it:80/262/>.
- Goldschmidt 1949 – V. Goldschmidt, *La religion de Platon*, Paris, 1949.
- Guthrie 1971 – W.K.C. Guthrie, *The sophists*, Cambridge, 1971.
- Kahn 1981 – Ch. Kahn, *The origins of social contract theory*, dans G. Kerferd (éd.), *The sophists and their legacy*, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 92-108.
- Kerferd 1953 – G. Kerferd, *Protagoras' doctrine of justice and virtue in the Protagoras of Plato*, JHS 73, 1953, p. 42-45.
- Kerferd 1981 – G. Kerferd, *The sophistic movement*, Cambridge, 1981.
- Kerferd 1986 – G. Kerferd, *Le sophiste vu par Platon : un philosophe imparfait*, dans B. Cassin (éd.), *Positions de la sophistique*, Paris, 1986, p. 13-25.
- Kleingünther 1933 – A. Kleingünther, *Πρωτοῦ εὐρητή. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, Leipzig, 1933.
- Lami 1975 – A. Lami, *Il mito del Protagora e il primato della politica*, Critica Storica 12, 1975, p. 1-45.
- Lasserre 1976 – F. Lasserre, *Hérodote et Protagoras : le débat sur les constitutions*, MusHelv 33, 1976, p. 65-84.
- Lavery 2007 – J. Lavery, *Plato's Protagoras and the frontier of genre research: a reconnaissance report from the field*, Poetics Today 28, 2007, p. 191-246.
- Maguire 1977 – J. Maguire, *Protagoras ... or Plato? II. The Protagoras*, Phronesis 22, 1977, p. 103-122.
- Manuwald 2013 – B. Manuwald, *Protagoras' myth in Plato's Protagoras: fiction or testimony?*, dans J.M. van Ophuijsen, M. van Raalte, P. Stork (éds), *Protagoras of Abdera. The man, his measure*, Leiden, 2013, p. 163-177.
- McCoy 1998 – M. McCoy, *Protagoras on human nature, wisdom and the good: the great speech and the hedonism of Plato's Protagoras*, Ancient Philosophy 18, 1998, p. 21-39.
- McNeal 1986 – R. McNeal, *Protagoras the historian*, History and Theory 25, 1986, p. 299-318.

- Morgan 2000 – K. Morgan, *Myth and philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato*, Cambridge, 2000.
- Most 1999 – G. Most, *From logos to mythos*, dans R. Buxton (éd.), *From myth to reason? Studies in the development of Greek thought*, Oxford, 1999, p. 25-47.
- Motte 1990 – A. Motte, *Un mythe fondateur de la démocratie (Platon, Protagoras, 319c-322d)*, dans F. Jouan, A. Motte (éds), *Mythe et politique. Actes du Colloque de Liège*, Paris, 1990, p. 219-229.
- Müller 1986 – R. Müller, *Sophistique et démocratie*, dans B. Cassin (éd.), *Positions de la sophistique*, Paris, 1986, p. 179-193.
- Murray 1999 – P. Murray, *What is a muthos for Plato?*, dans R. Buxton (éd.), *From myth to reason? Studies in the development of Greek thought*, Oxford, 1999, p. 251-262.
- Narcy 1990 – M. Narcy, *Le contrat social : d'un mythe moderne à l'ancienne sophistique*, Philosophie 28, 1990, p. 32-56.
- Natali 1986 – C. Natali, *Aristote et les méthodes d'enseignement de Gorgias* (Réf. Soph. 34, 183 b-184 a 8), dans B. Cassin (éd.), *Positions de la sophistique*, Paris, 1986, p. 105-116.
- O'Sullivan 1995 – N. O'Sullivan, *Pericles and Protagoras*, Greece & Rome 42, 1995, p. 15-23.
- Ostwald 2005 – M. Ostwald, *The sophists and Athenian politics*, dans U. Bultrighini (éd.), *Democrazia e antidemocrazia nel mondo greco*, Alessandria, 2005, p. 35-51.
- Plácido 1972 – D. Plácido, *Protágoras y Pericles*, HispAnt 2, 1972, p. 7-19.
- Plácido 1973 – D. Plácido, *El pensamiento de Protágoras y la Atenas de Pericles*, HispAnt 3, 1973, p. 29-68.
- Plácido 1984 – D. Plácido, *Protagoras et la société athénienne : le mythe de Prométhée*, DHA 10, 1984, p. 161-178.
- Plácido 1988 – D. Plácido, *La condena de Protágoras en la historia de Atenas*, Gerión 6, 1988, p. 21-37.
- Poulakos 1996 – J. Poulakos, *Extending and correcting the rhetorical tradition : Aristotle's perception of the sophists*, dans Ch. Johnstone (éd.), *Theory, text, context. Issues in Greek rhetoric and oratory*, Albany, 1996, p. 45-63.
- Pradeau 2009 – J.-F. Pradeau, *Les sophistes. Écrits complets*, t. I, Paris, 2009.
- Rancière 1995 – J. Rancière, *La mésentente. Politique et philosophie*, Paris, 1995.
- Rieu 1991 – A. Rieu, *Le moment sophistique : Protagoras et Gorgias*, dans P. Schmitter (éd.), *Geschichte des Sprachtheorie : 2. Sprachtheorien der abendländischen Antike*, Tübingen, 1991, p. 119-139.
- Robinson 2007 – E. Robinson, *The sophists and democracy beyond Athens*, Rhetorica 25, 2007, p. 109-122.
- Romilly 1988 – J. de Romilly, *Les grands sophistes dans l'Athènes de Périclès*, Paris, 1988.
- Solana Dueso 2000 – J. Solana Dueso, *El camino del ágora. Filosofía política de Protágoras de Abdera*, Zaragoza, 2000.
- Tordesillas 1992 – A. Tordesillas, *Démocratie et sophistique : une philosophie politique du langage*, dans F. Moutsopoulos (éd.), *2500 chronia demokratia*, Athina, 1992, p. 66-76.
- Trédé, Demont, 1993 – M. Trédé, P. Demont, *Platon. Protagoras*, Paris, 1993.
- Untersteiner 1949 – M. Untersteiner, *I sofisti*, Torino, 1949.
- Vidal-Naquet 2005 – P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le mythe platonicien du Politique, les ambiguïtés de l'âge d'or et de l'histoire*, dans P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir. Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec*³, Paris, 2005, p. 361-380.
- Vignali 2006 – D. Vignali, *I sofisti. Retori, filosofi ed educatori*, Roma, 2006.
- Wallace 1998 – R. Wallace, *The sophists in Athens*, dans D. Boedeker, K.A. Raaflaub (éds), *Democracy, empire, and the arts in fifth-century Athens*, Cambridge (MA), 1998, p. 203-222.
- Weiss 2006 – R. Weiss, *The strategic use of myth in the Protagoras and Meno*, Interpretation 33, 2006, p. 133-152.
- Whitmarsh 2014 – T. Whitmarsh, *Atheistic aesthetics: the Sisyphus fragment, poetics and the creativity of drama*, PCPhS 60, 2014, p. 109-126.
- Wolz 1963 – H. Wolz, *The Protagoras myth and the philosopher-kings*, Review of Metaphysics 17, 1963, p. 214-234.
- Zaslavsky 1982 – R. Zaslavsky, *The Platonic godfather: a note on the Protagoras myth*, Journal of Value Inquiry 16, 1982, p. 79-82.
- Zilioli 2007 – U. Zilioli, *Protagoras and the challenge of relativism. Plato's subtlest enemy*, Aldershot, 2007.
- Zilioli 2013 – U. Zilioli, *Protagoras through Plato and Aristotle*, dans J. van Ophuijsen, M. van Raalte, P. Stork (éds), *Protagoras of Abdera. The man, his measure*, Leiden, 2013, p. 233-258.

ASPECTS DE LA DIFFUSION DES MONNAIES D'ARGENT ISTRIENNES AU NORD DU DANUBE À LA LUMIÈRE DU TRÉSOR DÉCOUVERT À IVANCEA *

AUREL VÎLCU**, EUGEN NICOLAE***

Keywords: Ivancea, coin hoard, silver coins, Istros, chronology

Abstract: The authors publish a coin hoard discovered under unknown circumstances at Ivancea, the Republic of Moldova. The hoard consisted of nine Greek silver coins minted by Istros, all damaged by a powerful fire and out of which only seven were recovered. All Istrian silver coins are included in the fourth group of issues. Recently, both a new classification comprising eight subgroups and a new chronology have been proposed for the fourth group of issues. Based on the coin hoards discovered at the Lower Danube, the authors discuss the chronology of the Istrian silver coins. The analysis of the Istrian drachms discovered in Getae territory indicates that the Ivancea hoard was probably hidden around 280 BC. The hoard may have originated in the remains of settlements dating to the 4th-3rd centuries BC identified on several locations in the area of Ivancea.

Cuvinte-cheie: Ivancea, tezaur monetar, monede de argint, Istros, cronologie

Rezumat: Autorii publică un tezaur monetar descoperit în condiții necunoscute la Ivancea, Republica Moldova. Tezaurul cuprinde nouă monede grecești de argint bătute de Istros afectate de un puternic incendiu, dintre care au fost recuperate șapte. Toate monedele de argint histriene sunt încadrate în grupa a patra de emisiuni. Recent, pentru grupa a patra de emisiuni au fost propuse o nouă clasificare în opt subgrupe și o nouă cronologie. Pe baza tezaurelor descoperite la Dunărea de Jos, autorii discută cronologia monedelor histriene de argint. Analiza descoperirilor de drahme histriene în teritoriul getic arată că tezaurul de la Ivancea a fost ascuns, probabil, la circa 280 a.Chr. În zona satului Ivancea au fost identificate, în mai multe puncte, vestigii ale unor așezări din secolele IV-III a.Chr., din care ar putea proveni acest tezaur monetar.

D'un trésor de neuf monnaies d'argent trouvé par hasard à Ivancea, district d'Orhei, République de Moldavie, on a récupéré sept exemplaires¹. Au moment de la découverte, toutes les pièces du trésor étaient soudées ensemble, visiblement affectées par un incendie. Après leur séparation, on a constaté que toutes les pièces ont été frappées par la cité grecque d'Istros à l'époque de l'autonomie. Les recherches effectuées dans

* Cette étude a été réalisée par le programme *Parteneriate in domeniul prioritare – PN II*, déroulé avec l'appui de *MEN-UEFISCDI*, projet no. 339/2014.

** Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest ; aurelvilcu@yahoo.com.

*** Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest ; eugenicolae@yahoo.com.

¹ Les monnaies ont été signalées comme appartenant à un trésor trouvé à Durlăști (Chișinău) par M. Ciocanu, *Un tezaur de monede și podoabe antice descoperit în împrejurimile Durlăștilor*, communication au Symposium de Numismatique, Chișinău, 30 novembre-2 décembre 2006 (*Programul și rezumatele comunicărilor*, p. 6). Ultérieurement, M. Ciocanu a obtenu les données sur le vrai lieu d'invention (Ivancea, sans précisions) et sur la composition du trésor. Nous lui remercions pour la permission de publier la partie récupérée.

le temps ont divisé les pièces d'argent istriennes en quatre groupes, dont la chronologie est encore discutée². Toutes les sept pièces que nous allons présenter appartiennent au quatrième groupe, le plus récent, de monnaies istriennes en argent appelées conventionnellement drachmes.

CATALOGUE

Istros

Drachme

Groupe IV

Av. Deux têtes de jeunes hommes, celle de gauche en position inverse.

Rv. ΙΣΤΡΙΑ. Aigle sur dauphin à gauche.

Sigle Θ dans le champ gauche, K sous le dauphin (Pick 1898, 434)

Dima 2014a, p. 24, tableau I, sous-groupe III, années env. 340/330-env. 313 av. J.-C.

1. AR ← 5,39 g ; 19 × 17 mm.

Δ sous le dauphin (Pick 1898, 421)

Dima 2014a, p. 25, tableau II, sous-groupe IV, années env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C.

2. AR ← 5,48 g ; 17 mm.

Α sous le dauphin (Pick 1898, 417)

Dima 2014a, p. 26, tableau II, sous-groupe IV, années env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C.

3. AR ↑ 5,75 g ; 17 mm.

Av. Deux têtes de jeunes hommes, celle de droite en position inverse.

Rv. Comme plus haut.

Α ? sous le dauphin (Pick 1898, 417)

Dima 2014a, p. 25, tableau II, sous-groupe IV, années env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C.

4. AR ↑ 3,80 g ; 17 × 16 mm.

Av. Deux têtes de jeunes hommes, celle de gauche en position inverse.

Rv. Comme plus haut.

Β sous le dauphin (Pick 1898, 419)

Dima 2014a, p. 26, tableau III, sous-groupe V, années env. 280-env. 256/255 av. J.-C.

5. AR ↗ 5,68 g ; 17 × 16 mm.

Av. Deux têtes de jeunes hommes, celle de droite en position inverse.

Rv. Comme plus haut.

ΦΥ sous le dauphin (Pick 1898, 425)

Dima 2014a, p. 26, tableau III, sous-groupe VI, années env. 280-env. 256/255 av. J.-C.

6. AR → 5,72 g ; 17 mm.

Av. Deux têtes de jeunes hommes, celle de gauche en position inverse.

Rv. Comme plus haut.

Sigle illisible sous le dauphin

7. AR → 5,80 g ; 18 × 16 mm.

² Sur les monnaies d'argent frappées à Istros pendant la période de l'autonomie voir Poenaru Bordea 1997 ; Poenaru Bordea 2001 ; Rențea, Poenaru Bordea 2003 ; Talmățchi 2011, avec la bibliographie.



Pl. I. Monnaies du trésor découvert à Ivancea.

Récemment, une étude approfondie des coins des monnaies istriennes d'argent a permis de distribuer les drachmes du dernier groupe dans huit sous-groupes, dont l'ordre chronologique a été établi par l'examen des découvertes³. Selon l'auteur, les plus anciennes drachmes du groupe IV auraient été frappées depuis l'intervalle env. 340-330 av. J.-C. et les plus récentes auraient été mises en circulation autour de l'an 240 av. J.-C.⁴

La fusion partielle des monnaies du trésor découvert à Ivancea a empêché dans quelques cas leur classement par coins et la lecture des sigles. En même temps, l'état de conservation des pièces ne permet pas d'observations concernant l'éventuelle usure due à la circulation. Des sept pièces récupérées, pour six seulement on a réussi la lecture des sigles et leur intégration dans le schéma proposé récemment⁵. La drachme la plus ancienne, avec Θ dans le champ droit et K sous le dauphin, fait partie du sous-groupe III, daté dans l'intervalle env. 340/330-env. 313 av. J.-C.⁶. Les drachmes suivantes, avec Δ sous le dauphin et le sigle \bar{A} sous le dauphin, font partie du sous-groupe IV, datant de la période env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C.⁷. Au même sous-groupe pourrait appartenir une autre drachme, qui semble avoir sur le revers le sigle \bar{A} sous le dauphin. Une pièce avec \bar{A} sous le dauphin appartient au sous-groupe V, situé dans la période env. 280-env. 256/255 av. J.-C.⁸ Dans la même période se situe une drachme avec ΦY sous le dauphin, appartenant au sous-groupe VI. Pour un exemplaire on n'a pas pu lire le sigle, mais il fait certainement partie du groupe IV de drachmes frappées à Istros. Selon la chronologie proposée récemment, le trésor d'Ivancea semble être clos au niveau du sixième sous-groupe. Parmi les trésors de drachmes istriennes trouvés au nord du Danube, il est difficile de déterminer ceux qui pourraient être contemporains avec celui-ci. La structure de trésor découvert à Doroțcaia indique une date terminale plus reculée, située au niveau du sous-groupe III⁹. Autres trésors découverts à

³ Dima 2014a ; Dima 2014b.

⁴ Dima 2014a, p. 5-26, avec les tableaux I-IV.

⁵ Dima 2014a.

⁶ Dima 2014a, p. 24-25, tableau I.

⁷ Dima 2014a, p. 25, tableau II.

⁸ Dima 2014a, p. 26, tableau III.

⁹ Dima 2014a, p. 44-45 ; Zaginailo, Nudelman 1971.

Scărișoara¹⁰, Borănești¹¹, Stolniceni, district de Hâncești, République de Moldova¹² et Roxolani (Ukraine)¹³, clos au niveau des sous-groupes VI, VII ou VIII, mais qui ont pour dénominateur commun la présence des tétradrachmes de Philippe II et des imitations de ceux-ci, semblent s'achever à un autre moment par rapport au petit dépôt trouvé à Ivancea. Dans la même situation se trouve aussi le trésor de Căbești, composé de drachmes istriennes et se terminant au niveau du sous-groupe VIII¹⁴. On peut constater que dans le trésor de Scărișoara, le lot de drachmes istriennes s'achève au niveau du sous-groupe VI, comme dans celui d'Ivancea. Il faut rappeler cependant que le trésor de Scărișoara a été récupéré partiellement et donc on ne peut pas exclure qu'il soit contemporain de celui de Borănești, même si l'on supposait que le premier aurait été enterré en 300 av. J.-C. ou dans la première décennie du III^e siècle av. J.-C.¹⁵, et l'autre vers 270 ou 265 av. J.-C.¹⁶ On constate une situation différente dans le cas des découvertes de drachmes istriennes au sud du Danube. Les trésors contiennent exclusivement des drachmes istriennes ou incluent aussi d'autres monnaies, comme celui découvert à Todorovo, qui contient en outre des statères d'or. On peut remarquer que dans la région située entre le Danube et les Balkans (y compris en Dobroudja) les drachmes istriennes ne sont pas associées avec les tétradrachmes de type Philippe II, suggérant des moments différents d'enfouissement, mais aussi un placement différent des centres de pouvoir, tant géographiquement que du point de vue des relations avec le monde hellénistique¹⁷. Trouvé au sud des Monts Balkans, vers la Macédoine antique, près de Pazardžik, le trésor de Pamidovo constitue une exception par l'éloignement d'Istros, mais aussi par sa composition : monnaies d'argent frappées par Parion et la Chersonèse de Thrace associées aux drachmes d'Istros des groupes III et IV (sous-groupe I) et aux tétradrachmes de type Philippe II¹⁸. Enfoui vers 315 av. J.-C.¹⁹, le trésor de Pamidovo montre que les drachmes istriennes du sous-groupe I du groupe IV étaient déjà en circulation avant cette date. En ce qui concerne la composition et la structure des drachmes istriennes par sous-groupes, le trésor d'Ivancea semble être plus proche des trésors trouvés au sud du Danube qui s'achèvent au niveau des sous-groupes V et VI²⁰, comme ceux de Dobrogled²¹, Bălgarka²², Floriile²³ et Dobrogea II²⁴. On a présumé initialement, avec quelques réserves, que le trésor de Dobrogled, qui contient des drachmes des sous-groupes I-V, dont la plupart appartiennent au sous-groupe V, s'achève pendant le deuxième quart du III^e siècle av. J.-C.²⁵ Cette datation a été nuancée ultérieurement, car, selon le schéma proposé par l'auteur, les pièces du sous-groupe V dateraient de l'intervalle env. 280-env. 256/255 av. J.-C.²⁶ Bien qu'il est difficile à établir une chronologie plus étroite des sous-groupes à ce stade de la recherche, il y a, cependant, certains indices qui suggèrent que les pièces du sous-groupe V ont été frappées au commencement de l'intervalle proposé ou peut-être même plus tôt. Un argument à cet égard est le trésor de Todorovo (Bulgarie), localité située à environ 15 km à l'est du centre de pouvoir de Sborjanovo²⁷. Le trésor comprend sept statères de type Alexandre le

¹⁰ Le trésor s'achève au niveau du sous-groupe VI, Dima 2014a, p. 69 ; Preda 1966 ; Preda 1968.

¹¹ Rența, Poenaru Bordea 2003 ; Dima 2014a, p. 70-71.

¹² Dima 2014a, p. 88-89 ; Levinschi 1997.

¹³ Karyškovskij 1961 ; Dima 2014a, p. 87.

¹⁴ Dima 2014a, p. 86 ; Chițescu 1968 ; Mitrea 1965 ; Mitrea 1983.

¹⁵ Rența, Poenaru Bordea 2003, p. 23.

¹⁶ Rența, Poenaru Bordea 2003, p. 24.

¹⁷ On a pris en considération uniquement les trésors publiés avec détails. Pour les trésors douteux en ce qui concerne le lieu de la découverte ou la composition, voir Dima 2014a, p. 94-95.

¹⁸ Dimitrov 1998.

¹⁹ Dimitrov 1998, p. 218.

²⁰ Au stade actuel de la recherche, on ne peut pas déterminer si les pièces du sous-groupe V précèdent vraiment celles du sous-groupe VI, Dima 2014a, p. 10.

²¹ Dima 2014a, p. 57-62.

²² Dima 2014a, p. 63.

²³ Dima 2014a, p. 64-66.

²⁴ Dima 2014a, p. 67-68.

²⁵ Dima 2011.

²⁶ Dima 2014a, p. 26, tableau III.

²⁷ Sur les recherches à Sborjanovo voir Stoyanov 2003 avec la bibliographie.

Grand, un de type Philippe III et 50 drachmes istriennes²⁸. Les statères de type Alexandre le Grand, anthumes et posthumes, ont été attribués aux ateliers suivants selon l'ouvrage de M.J. Price : Amphipolis (Price 1991, 180, env. 330-320 av. J.-C.), « Colophon » (Price 1794, mais drachme en argent, env. 319-310 av. J.-C.), Milet (Price 1991, 2078, env. 325-323 av. J.-C.), Sardes (Price 1991, 2588, env. 323-319 av. J.-C.), Side (Price 1991, 2966, env. 323-317 av. J.-C.), Sidon (Price 1991, 3516, années 309-308 av. J.-C.) et un atelier indéterminé de Grèce ou de Macédoine (Price 1991, 832, env. 310-275 av. J.-C.)²⁹. L'attribution incertaine du dernier statère mentionné met en question le moment de la clôture du trésor et offre un argument pour la datation d'un ensemble de drachmes istriennes (sous-groupe IV) dans la période env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C.³⁰. On a observé récemment que le statère à attribution incertaine de type Price 1991, 832, du trésor de Todorovo, a le coin d'avvers commun et le revers stylistiquement similaire avec les statères de type Price 1991, 3128b, frappés à Salamine de Chypre, datés dans l'intervalle env. 332-env. 323 av. J.-C.³¹ Les statères de type Price 1991, 832 et de type Price 1991, 3128b ont été attribués à l'atelier d'Amphipolis, qui les aurait mis en circulation dans l'intervalle env. 315/310-300 av. J.-C.³² Dans ce cas, la date de clôture du lot de pièces d'or et probablement celle du trésor de Todorovo est indiquée par le statère de type Price 1991, 832 et celui de type Price 1991, 3516, frappé à Sidon dans la période 309-308 av. J.-C. L'apparition dans la zone du Danube du groupe de statères d'or du trésor de Todorovo a été attribuée à l'appui financier d'Antigonos pour soutenir l'opposition des cités ouest-pontiques à Lysimaque dans la dernière décennie du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.³³. La présence des drachmes d'argent en compagnie des statères d'or dans le trésor découvert à Todorovo indique les relations d'Istros avec le centre de pouvoir de Sborjanovo, et le dépôt peut être interprété comme un paiement en échange de la protection. Les précisions sur le contexte dans lequel a été constitué le trésor de Todorovo apportent de nouveaux arguments concernant la chronologie des drachmes istriennes. Selon la chronologie proposée récemment³⁴, les drachmes du trésor découvert à Todorovo appartiennent aux sous-groupes I-III, datés dans l'intervalle env. 340/330-env. 313 av. J.-C., et au sous-groupe IV, env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C. L'ensemble des statères d'or qui fournit de précieux indices concernant le moment de clôture du trésor Todorovo suggère, cependant, que les drachmes du sous-groupe IV ont été frappées le plus probablement dans le contexte de la participation d'Istros à la révolte des cités ouest-pontiques contre Lysimaque, éclatée en 313 et continuée dans la dernière décennie du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.³⁵. Aussi, en tenant compte du fait que le lieu de la découverte est situé à proximité du centre de pouvoir de Sborjanovo, l'enfouissement du trésor de Todorovo pourrait être lié à l'un des deux événements majeurs qui ont marqué l'histoire de la région : la révolte des cités ouest-pontiques, en alliance avec les Thraces, les Scythes et Antigonos Monophthalmos, contre Lysimaque (Diodore, XIX.73)³⁶ ou les campagnes de Lysimaque et son fils contre Dromichaitès de la première décennie du III^e siècle av. J.-C. Dans ces conditions, l'intervalle de la datation des drachmes du sous-groupe IV du trésor de Todorovo, env. 313-env. 280 av. J.-C., peut être réduit à la période de 313 et jusqu'au plus tard en 292 av. J.-C. Une datation plus serrée des drachmes du sous-groupe IV indique un point de départ pour le raffinement de la chronologie des sous-groupes V et VI, qui pourraient se situer à une époque plus reculée que celle proposée. À ce stade de la recherche il est impossible d'établir la chronologie absolue des sous-groupes mentionnés. L'analyse du matériel numismatique indique toutefois qu'on doit abandonner définitivement

²⁸ Dima 2014a, p. 52-56.

²⁹ Dima 2014a, p. 52-56. Dans une première publication sommaire du trésor de Todorovo, on a présumé, sans arguments, que le statère de type Price 1991, 832 pourrait être daté en env. 315-310 et que le moment de l'enfouissement se situerait dans l'intervalle 305-300 av. J.-C. (Dimitrov 1998, p. 218-219).

³⁰ Dima 2014a, p. 25, tableau II.

³¹ Vilcu 2015, p. 199.

³² Troxell 1998, p. 67-69.

³³ Une discussion sur le soutien d'Antigonos de l'insurrection des cités ouest-pontiques contre Lysimaque chez Vilcu 2015.

³⁴ Dima 2014a, p. 24-26.

³⁵ L'évolution du conflit entre les cités ouest-pontiques et Lysimaque à l'aide des sources écrites et numismatiques chez Vilcu 2014, p. 99 ; Vilcu 2015.

³⁶ Vilcu 2014, p. 99.

l'ancienne théorie selon laquelle la production des drachmes istriennes avait cessé en 313 av. J.-C. La continuation de leur frappe au III^e siècle av. J.-C. est confirmée par l'examen des découvertes monétaires³⁷.

Toutes les données dont nous disposons suggèrent que le trésor de Todorovo est antérieur à celui d'Ivancaea. La composition et la répartition des drachmes par sous-groupes montrent que les trésors d'Ivancaea et de Dobrogled pourraient être clos au même moment. L'état de conservation des monnaies trouvées à Ivancaea indique qu'elles ont été affectées par un puissant incendie. Le fait qu'elles n'ont pas été récupérées par leur propriétaire suggère la disparition de celui-ci au cours des événements qui ont causé l'incendie. Il est difficile de préciser la période au cours de laquelle furent perdues les monnaies istriennes d'Ivancaea. Le trésor se termine par une drachme du sous-groupe V avec $\overline{\Lambda}$ sous le dauphin et une du sous-groupe VI, avec ΦY . Les deux sous-groupes ont été datés dernièrement dans l'intervalle env. 280-env. 256/255 av. J.-C.³⁸ Si la datation des sous-groupes V et VI sera confirmée, l'incendie qui a affecté les monnaies istriennes d'Ivancaea a eu lieu dans l'intervalle sus-indiqué. Mais les observations faites sur la chronologie des drachmes appartenant au trésor de Todorovo suggèrent une datation plus reculée pour les émissions des sous-groupes V et VI. Dans ces circonstances, l'incendie qui a dégradé les pièces du trésor d'Ivancaea daterait d'env. 280 av. J.-C. et pourrait être lié aux événements causés par l'avancement des Celtes en Europe du sud-est. L'hypothèse doit être considérée avec prudence jusqu'à la confirmation de la chronologie proposée récemment pour les drachmes istriennes tardives du groupe IV.

En ce qui concerne le lieu de la découverte, nous rappelons qu'à Ivancaea et ses environs on a identifié des traces d'habitation des IV^e-III^e siècles en plusieurs points³⁹, d'où pourrait provenir le dépôt monétaire. On considère que les agglomérations d'Ivancaea faisaient partie du groupe d'agglomérations (dont certaines étaient fortifiées) appartenant à la zone d'influence de la fortification de Butuceni⁴⁰. Dans ces conditions, le trésor monétaire contribue à mieux définir le niveau du développement de ce groupe d'agglomérations au début du III^e siècle av. J.-C. et à saisir un moment difficile dans leur existence. Le renoncement à l'ancienne chronologie des émissions d'argent d'Istros, même si les propositions récentes sont encore en discussion, détermine à reconsidérer le témoignage des trouvailles de cette catégorie en ce qui concerne la disparition des établissements gétiques de Bessarabie. En tout cas, on ne peut plus les invoquer à l'appui de la cessation de l'existence des établissements gétiques dans la deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.⁴¹ Il faut mentionner que dans quelques points avec des vestiges gétiques d'Ivancaea, ont été signalés aussi des matériaux de l'habitation qui succéda, de type Poienesti-Lucașeuca⁴².

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Arnăuț 2003 – T. Arnăuț, *Vestigii ale sec. VII-III a.Chr. în spațiul de la răsărit de Carpați*, Chișinău, 2003.
- Bârnea, Cebotarenko 1964 – P.P. Bârnea, G.F. Cebotarenko, *Materialy k arheologičeskoj karte Moldavii (itogi razvedočnyh rabot 1959 g.)*, dans *Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii i etnografii Moldavskoj SSR*, Chișinău, 1964.
- Chițescu 1968 – M. Chițescu, *Cercetări pe teren privind două descoperiri monetare (Căbești, jud. Bacău: drachme histriene și Luica, jud. Ilfov: tetradrahme thasiene)*, SCN 4, 1968, p. 446-449.
- Dima 2011 – M. Dima, *A Hoard of Silver Coins of Istros found at Dobrogled (Varna region)*, dans I. Lazarenko (éd.), *Terra antiqua balcanica at mediteranea. Miscellanea in honour of Alexander Minchev International conference Varna, February 23th, 2007*, ActaMV VIII-2, Varna, 2011, p. 47-60.
- Dima 2014a – M. Dima, *The Silver Coinage of Istros during the Hellenistic period*, Wetteren, 2014.
- Dima 2014b – M. Dima, *Monedele de argint ale cetății Istros în epoca elenistică*, SCN N.S. 4 (16), 2014, p. 7-72.

³⁷ Dima 2014a, p. 3-23.

³⁸ Dima 2014a, p. 26, tableau III.

³⁹ Arnăuț 2003, p. 228-229, nr. 255, a.-h., avec la bibliographie : huit établissements. Dans le même ouvrage, p. 177, l'auteur affirme qu'il y a plus de points (10), sans autres précisions.

⁴⁰ Arnăuț 2003, p. 177.

⁴¹ Levinschi 2004 ; voir aussi Levinschi 2010 et une critique de l'idée de l'extinction des Gètes de la région dans la deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. chez Telnov, Sinika 2012, p. 80-81.

⁴² Bârnea, Cebotarenko 1964, p. 278.

- Dimitrov 1998 – K. Dimitrov, *CH IV 28 et la chronologie des monnaies d'argent d'Histria au 4^e siècle av. J.-C.*, dans U. Peter (éd.) *Stephanos nomismatikos. Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1998, p. 215-219.
- Karyškovskij 1961 – P.O. Karyškovskij, *Zametki po numizmatike antičnogo Pričernomor'ja*, VDI 4, 1961, p. 109-112.
- Levinschi 1997 – A. Levinschi, *Un tezaur monetar de la Stolniceni (considerații preliminare)*, Tyragetia 4-5, 1997, p. 319-324.
- Levinschi 2004 – Al. Levinschi, *Circuitul monetar la geții din silvostepa Moldovei*, Tyragetia 13, 2004, p. 30-34.
- Levinschi 2010 – A.N. Levinschi, *Istorija getov v lesostepi Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy (konec VI – vtoraja polovina IV vv. do n.e.)*, Stratum plus, 2010, 3, p. 15-127.
- Mitrea 1965 – B. Mitrea, *Descoperirile monetare și legăturile de schimb ale Histriei cu populațiile locale în sec. V-IV î.e.n.*, StCl 7, 1965, p. 143-167.
- Mitrea 1983 – B. Mitrea, *La monnaie de la ville d'Histria chez les Géo-daces est-carpatiques*, NAC 12, 1983, p. 119-133.
- Pick 1898 – B. Pick, *Din antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, I, 1, Berlin, 1898.
- Poenaru Bordea 1997 – Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Emisiunile monetare ale atelierelor grecești de pe litoralul românesc al Mării Negre (sec. VI î.Hr.-III). Un stadiu al problemei*, dans *130 de ani de la crearea sistemului monetar românesc modern*, Bucurest, 1997, p. 56-70.
- Poenaru Bordea 2001 – Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Atelierul monetar al cetății Istros în perioada autonomiei*, dans *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima Unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Viteazul, Chișinău, 28-30 mai 2000, Comunicări, studii și note*, Bucurest, 2001, p. 9-34.
- Preda 1966 – C. Preda, *Aspects de la circulation des drachmes d'Histria dans la Plaine Gétique et la datation des premières imitations de type Philippe II (Trésor de Scărișoara, district d'Oltenița)*, Dacia N.S. 10, 1966, p. 221-235.
- Preda 1968 – C. Preda, *Încă două drahme histriene și o „imitație” tip Filip al II-lea din tezaurul de la Scărișoara*, SCN 4, 1968, p. 441-442.
- Price 1991 – M.J. Price, *The coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus. A British Museum Catalogue*, I-II, Londres-Zürich, 1991
- Rențea, Poenaru Bordea 2003 – E. Rențea, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Un important tezaur de monede de argint istriene și tetradrahme postume Filip II, originale și imitații fidele*, dans *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a 125 de ani de la Proclamarea Independenței României, Chișinău, 24-26 septembrie 2002, Comunicări, studii și note*, Bucurest, 2003, p. 9-32.
- Stoyanov 2003 – T. Stoyanov, *The Getic Capital at Sboryanovo: new excavation issues & research developments*, Thracia 15, 2003, p. 413-423.
- Talmațchi 2011 – G. Talmațchi, *Monetăriile orașelor vest-pontice Histria, Callatis și Tomis în epoca autonomă*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
- Telnov, Sinika 2012 – N. Telnov, V. Sinika, *Frakijskie vljanija material'nuju kulturu i pogrebal'nyj obrjad skifov III-II vv. do n.e. levoberež'e nižnego Dnestra*, Revista Arheologică 8, 2012, 1-2, p. 69-83.
- Troxell 1998 – H.A. Troxell, *Ants and Eagles: Some Late Alexander Staters from Amphipolis*, dans A. Burnett, U. Wartenberg, R. Witschonke (éd.), *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh*, Londres, 1998, p. 67-70.
- Vîlcu 2014 – A. Vîlcu, *Istros et les Séleucides au III^e siècle av. J.-C. à la lumière des sources numismatiques*, MCA N.S. 10, 2014, p. 93-104.
- Vîlcu 2015 – A. Vîlcu, *La diffusion de l'or monnayé au nord du Danube à la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. et les guerres des diadoques*, Peuce 13, 2015, p. 193-208.
- Zaginailo, Nudelman 1971 – A.G. Zaginailo, A.A. Nudelman, *Dorockii klad drevnegrečeskikh serebrjanyh monet IV veka do n.e.*, MASP 7, 1971, p. 122-137.

DAS PERIRRHANTERION AUS DEM TEMPEL M VON HISTRIA

IULIAN BÎRZESCU*

Keywords: *perirrhantion*, Ionian sanctuary, Histria, pottery, Archaic period

Abstract: The paper presents a Late Archaic *perirrhantion*, found in the Sacred area from Histria. Numerous fragments are preserved, both from the basin and from the support. *Perirrhantia* are not a novelty for the Histrian sanctuary, several exemplars of stone being discovered until now. This is the first clay vessel. It has most probably a Nord Ionian origin. The fragments have been found in the interior and the exterior of a small temple uncovered in the last years in the South-eastern corner of the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the archaeological context shows that the vase was most probably displayed inside the temple.

Cuvinte-cheie: *perirrhantion*, sanctuare ioniene, Histria, ceramică, epoca arhaică

Rezumat: În paginile următoare este luat în discuție un *perirrhantion* din ceramică descoperit în Zona sacră de la Histria și datat la sfârșitul perioadei arhaice. Din vasul de cult se păstrează mai multe fragmente, atât din bazin cât și din suport. *Perirrhantia* nu sunt o noutate în sanctuarul histrian, până acum fiind descoperite aici câteva exemplare din piatră. Acesta este însă primul exemplar din ceramică, având cel mai probabil o origine nord ioniană. Fragmentele din vas au fost descoperite în interiorul și exteriorul unui mic templu dezvelit în ultimii ani în colțul de sud-est al sanctuarului. Contextul arheologic indică mai degrabă faptul că acest *perirrhantion* era păstrat în interiorul templului și nu în afara acestuia.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden mehrere Fragmente eines Keramikgefäßes mit Relief betrachtet, die in den Jahren 2007 und 2008 in der Tempelzone von Histria gefunden wurden (Abb. 1)¹. Erhalten sind insgesamt 11 Fragmente (Abb. 2), die nach den entsprechenden Anpassungen auf 7 reduziert wurden, davon stammen 4 vom Becken und 3 vom Untersatz. Das größte Fragment misst 16,5 cm, das höchste 13,2 cm. Die Form des Gefäßes ist anhand der erhaltenen Fragmente nicht schwer zu bestimmen. Es lässt durch das Profil zweifellos erkennen, dass es sich hier um ein Perirrhantion bzw. Louterion handelt, dessen Becken und Untersatz aus dem gleichen Material und in der gleichen Werkstatt hergestellt worden ist.

Befund Nr.: His 2007 T 4 und His 2008 T 24. Aus den Flächen B8/2007, Brandschicht des Tempels M, und C8/2008; Aufbewahrung: Histria, Grabungsdepot.

11 Fragmente eines Gefäßes, die nach dem Kleben der entsprechenden Anpassungen auf 7 reduziert wurden; davon stammen 4 Fragmente vom Becken und 3 vom Untersatz. Die Fragmente des Beckens: 1) Fragment vom Rand mit Eierstab: H = 9,8 cm; L = 4,5 cm; hell rötlich braun, 5 YR 6/3; 2) Fragment vom Rand mit Eierstab: H = 6,6 cm; L = 3,11 cm; hell grau, 10 YR 7/2; 3) Fragment vom Becken: H = 8,1 cm; L = 11,5 cm; rötlich; 4) Fragment vom Becken: H = 8,4 cm; L = 5,8 cm; grau; 5) Fragment vom oberen Teil des Untersatzes: H = 13,2 cm; L = 6 cm; hell grau, 10 YR 7/1; 6) Fragment vom mittleren Teil des Untersatzes: H = 11,3 cm; L = 16,5 cm; gleiche Farbe wie bei Fragment Nr. 5; 7) Fragment vom unteren Teil des Untersatzes: H = 3,6 cm; L = 5,3 cm; gleiche Farbe wie bei Fragment Nr. 5.

Aus der zeichnerischen Rekonstruktion des Gefäßes ergeben sich folgende Abmessungen: gesamte Höhe von Becken und Untersatz = ~ 46 cm; Durchmesser Rand außen = 57,6 cm; Durchmesser Rand innen = 50,8 cm; Höhe des Beckens = 13,8 cm; Durchmesser Fuß- unten = 31 cm, oben = 29 cm; Randstärke = 3,6 cm; Wandstärke = 2,2 cm.

* "Vasile Pârvan" Archäologisches Institut der Rumänischen Akademie, Bukarest; iulian2@gmail.com.

¹ Zu den neuen Ausgrabungen in Histria und dem Tempel M, s. Avram *et alii* 2010-2011, S. 59-61; Avram, Bîrzescu 2012, S. 299-300.

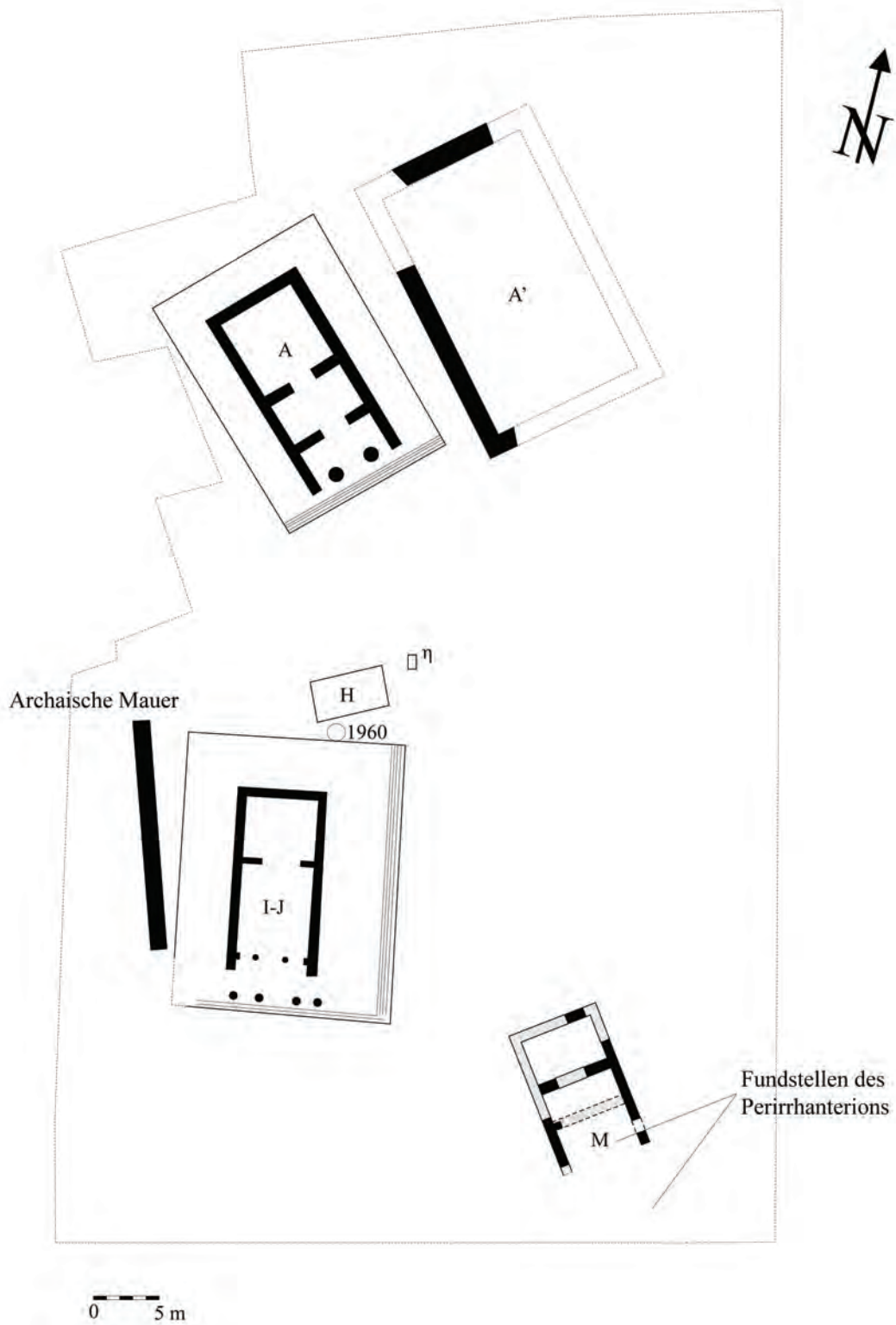


Abb. 1. Die Tempelzone von Histria am Ende der archaischen Zeit (bearbeitet vom Verfasser).



Abb. 2. Die erhaltenen Fragmente des Perirrhanterions (Photo: Verfasser).



Abb. 3. Makroaufnahme eines Fragmentes (Photo: Verfasser).

Dekorbeschreibung: Kymatia auf vier Registern. Das Becken zeigt ein ionisches Kymation mit Eiern und Pfeilspitzen zwischen zwei Perlstäben; Höhe = 3 cm.

Oberflächenzustand: gut erhalten, sekundärer Brand. Innen- und Außenseitenbehandlung: geglättet. Härte: sehr hart. Aussehen des Bruches: körnig. Magerungsmenge: stark. Magerungsbestandteile: Gesteinsgruß, von 2 bis 12 mm Stärke; Kalkstein unter 2 mm; wenig Glimmer und Quarzeinschlüsse. Die Bestandteile sind eckig und opak.

Die Oberfläche trägt überall einen dünnen hellen Überzug, dennoch variiert die Farbe zwischen den Fragmenten erheblich. Dies wird vor allem auf den Brand zurück zu führen sein, der den Kultbau M in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. zerstört hat. Ursprünglich wird das Becken des Gefäßes rötlich ausgesehen haben, was zwei Fragmente noch anzeigen. Die weiteren erhaltenen Fragmente haben eine graue Farbe, die durch den Tempelbrand verursacht wurde. Zwei Fragmente vom Becken und alle Fragmente vom Untersatz weisen Farben von hellgrau bis grau auf, sowohl an der Oberfläche als auch im Bruch. Rußspuren sind auf dem Rand eines der rötlichen Fragmente erhalten.

Der Ton enthält zahlreiche Einschlüsse, besonders zu erwähnen sind Keramik- und Gesteinsbestandteile, einige davon bis zu 1,2 cm groß (Abb. 3). Zu den weiteren Einschlüssen zählen eckige Quarze und kleine Kalksplitter, alle unter 2 mm. Außerdem kommt, wenn auch selten, silberner Glimmer vor. Im Bruch ist der Ton hart und kaum mit dem Fingernagel anzuritzen; die Textur der Tonzusammensetzung ist regelmäßig.

Die Oberfläche, sowohl des Inneren als auch des Äußeren, ist gut erhalten. Das Becken ist auf der inneren Seite geglättet. Insgesamt handelt es sich um ein Gefäß von hoher Qualität, das zudem aufgrund der wenigen Verwendungsspuren nicht lange in Gebrauch gewesen sein dürfte. Im Vergleich zu anderen Perirrhanterien aus Histria weist es keine Spuren von Reparatur auf.

Das Gefäß ist nicht vollständig erhalten, die Fragmente sind im Inneren und südlich des Gebäudes in verschiedenen Befunden ans Licht gekommen. Glücklicherweise wurden Fragmente sowohl vom Becken als auch vom Untersatz gefunden, die eine gewisse Rekonstruktion zulassen². Leider fehlen der Boden des Beckens und der mittlere Bereich des Untersatzes (Abb. 4). Aus dem Rekonstruktionsversuch ergeben sich eine Gesamthöhe von 46 cm und ein Durchmesser des Beckens am äußeren Rand von 57,6 cm. Der Durchmesser des Fußes beträgt 31 cm, die Höhe des Untersatzes etwa 34 cm.

² Die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion verdanke ich Herrn Argeş Epure, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan“, Bukarest.

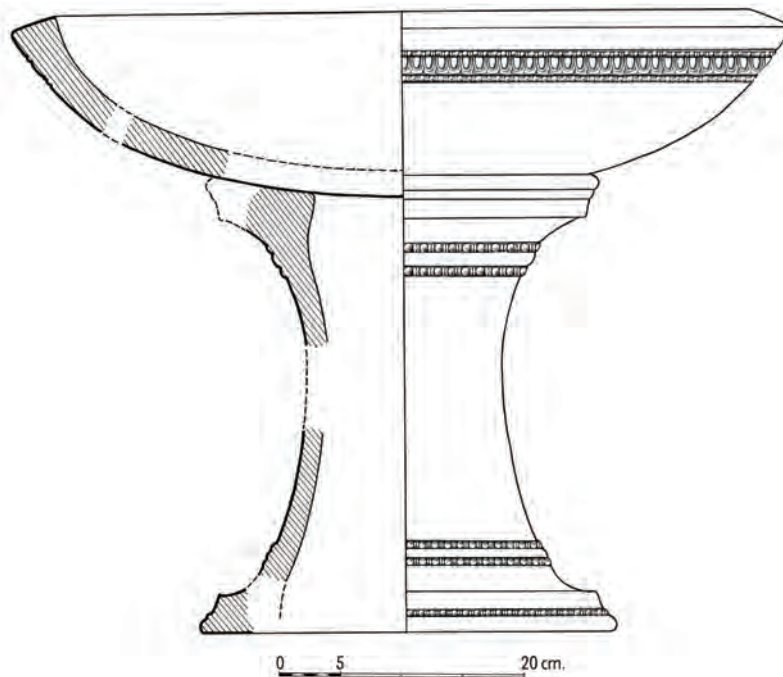


Abb. 4. Zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Gefäßes (Zeichnung: Argeş Epure).

Solche Gefäße sind in der Literatur als *Louteria* oder *Perirrhanteria* bekannt, entscheidend für die Bezeichnung ist ihr Kontext³. Auch *Perirrhanteria* aus Stein wurden in der Tempelzone von Histria gefunden und waren Thema einer 1980 veröffentlichten Studie von Konrad Zimmermann und Petre Alexandrescu⁴. Darin wurde insbesondere ein spätarchaisches Exemplar besprochen, das 1972 östlich vom Aphrodite-Tempel gefunden wurde und eine einfache Weihinschrift im Dativ an Aphrodite trägt. Seitdem kamen weitere spärliche Fragmente ans Licht, wie ein marmornes Exemplar, das 2014 westlich vom Tempel A in einem Zusammenhang aus klassischer Zeit gefunden wurde. Mit einer möglichen Ausnahme⁵, das im Naos vom Tempel A gefunden wurde, stellen alle Beispiele aus Histria Importe, höchstwahrscheinlich aus der Ägäis, dar. Bisher fehlten die *Perirrhanteria* aus Keramik, so dass das hier besprochene Stück die Vielfalt der Kultgefäße im Heiligtum bereichert. Nicht nur durch sein Material unterscheidet sich das neue Exemplar von den früheren Funden, sondern auch durch seine Form, u.a. ist das Becken tiefer, und seinen Dekor, in diesem Fall eine Reliefverzierung des Beckens und des Untersatzes.

DATIERUNG UND HERKUNFT

Die Datierung des *Perirrhanterion* aus Histria beruht einerseits auf seinem Fundzusammenhang, andererseits auf Form und Dekor. Der Fundkontext bietet als *Terminus ante quem* das zweite Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. Zum Dekor gibt es gute Vergleichsbeispiele aus Chios, die von Eva Simantoni-Bournias detailliert

³ Eine ausführliche Diskussion zur Gattung liefert Heidrun Pimpl in ihrer Heidelberger Dissertation, Pimpl 1997. Weitere allgemeine Anmerkungen zur Verwendung und Terminologie, s. bei Kerschner 1996. Während *Louteria* insbesondere in Häusern ihre Verwendungen fanden, sind die *Perirrhanteria* ausschließlich im Kult gebraucht worden. Seltener sind weitere Bezeichnungen für diese Kultgefäße wie *Aporrhanterion* oder *Hagisterion*, s. auch Deonna 1938, S. 73. Literarische und epigraphische Quellen wurden in RE (Ziehen 1937) und *ThesCRA V* (Hölscher, Schörner 2005; Krauskopf 2005) gesammelt.

⁴ Zimmermann, Alexandrescu 1980, S. 276, Kat. 4, Abb. 4/3; Alexandrescu *et alii* 2005, S. 77-78.

⁵ Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um das Fragment eines Gefäßes? aus lokalem Sandstein, das vermutlich eine spätarchaische Weihung an Apollon trägt, Birzescu 2007, S. 135-137. Die Funktion dieses "Steinsplitters" (D.M. Pippidi) wurde bisher nicht ausführlich behandelt, ISM I 103.

behandelt wurden. Der Eierstab bei dem Exemplar von Histria zeigt schmale Eier, wie bei einigen spätarchaischen Beispielen von der Insel⁶.

Zur Form gibt es keine vollständigen Beispiele, die dem histrianischen Fund nah kommen. Das Becken findet überhaupt im ionischen Milieu kaum Parallelen, aber gute Vergleichsbeispiele unter den marmornen Exemplaren aus der Akropolis⁷, sowie bei einigen Louteria aus Ton aus der Agora von Athen⁸. Die Gefäße aus Chios und Klazomenai sind in Ionien am besten untersucht und zeigen einige Ähnlichkeiten mit den Fragmenten von Histria, insbesondere im Dekor und der Form des Untersatzes, dennoch bleibt der Rand bzw. das Becken hier ohne Parallele⁹.

Was die Perirrhantaria aus Keramik neben ihrer Form kennzeichnet, ist der bemalte oder der plastische Dekor, sowohl auf dem Becken, als auch auf dem Untersatz. Im Fall von Histria besteht die Verzierung aus vier Registern mit einfachen Relieffriesen. Diese sind aber schön und ordentlich auf dem Becken und Untersatz gesetzt. Etwas komplexer ist das ionische Kymation auf dem Becken. Marmorne Perirrhantaria aus Samos zeigen Becken mit ähnlichen Kymatia¹⁰. Der Untersatz zeigt dagegen eine vielfältigere Profilierung, auch wenn die Friese auf das Motiv des Perlstabs reduziert sind. In zwei Fällen sind sie durch einen einfachen Wulst getrennt. Die Reliefverzierung und die Anordnung der Kymatia auf Becken und Untersatz stützen eher die Annahme einer nordionischen Herkunft des Gefäßes. In Smyrna und Klazomenai zeigen die Untersätze mehrere Register mit Perlstäben oder plastischer Verzierung¹¹.

Spätarchaische Perirrhantaria aus Keramik sind im Schwarzmeergebiet in Pantikapaion¹² und Olbia¹³ bekannt. Produktionszentren von solchen Gefäßen sind in diesem Gebiet nicht bekannt. Aus dem ägäischen Raum sind weitere Werkstätten nachgewiesen, die zur Kenntnis dieser Gattung viel beigetragen haben. Vor allem zu erwähnen sind die korinthischen und thasischen¹⁴ Becken und Louterien, die Anlaß zu zahlreichen Studien gegeben haben. Besonders beliebt waren die korinthischen Becken, die weit über Griechenland hinaus verbreitet waren¹⁵. Die meisten Vergleichsbeispiele für das Gefäß von Histria sind dennoch in Ionien zu finden. Hier wurde diese Gattung nicht in allen Städten gleich untersucht. Ausführliche Studien liegen nur für Chios, Klazomenai und Smyrna vor, eine Produktion ist für weitere

⁶ Simantoni-Bournias 1992, S. 185, Abb. 9.

⁷ Raubitschek 1949, S. 371.

⁸ Sparkes, Talcott 1970, S. 367, Kat. 1866.

⁹ Zu Chios Simantoni-Bournias 1990, Taf. 24 d; Simantoni-Bournias 1992, S. 185, Abb. 9. Die Form des Randes und das Fehlen der Kalksteineinschlüsse in der Tonzusammensetzung spricht eher gegen eine Zuordnung an die Werkstätte von Chios. Die Insel als Herkunftsort ist wahrscheinlich für ein großes Perirrhantaria aus dem westlichen Heiligtum in Olbia, s. Rusjaeva 2006, S. 335, Abb. 54/1.

¹⁰ Buschor 1957, S. 11, 13, Abb. 8, Beil. 9/2; Pimpl 1997, S. 239-240, Abb. 16, 4, 6, Kat. 382, 390. Solche Kymatia kommen nicht nur auf den ionischen Becken vor, sondern auch in anderen Zentren, wie Korinth, s. Weinberg 1954, S. 130, Abb. 2, insbesondere Abb. 2 c, das einen ähnlichen Rand wie das Perirrhantaria aus Histria aufweist.

¹¹ Ein spätklassischer Untersatz aus Klazomenai zeigt sechs Register, s. Cevizoğlu 2007, S. 244; Cevizoğlu 2008, S. 304, Abb. 11.

¹² Kerschner 1996, Abb. 19, 5. Eine Tonwanne mit Kymatia und figürlicher Dekoration, s. Tolstikov 2002, S. 45, Abb. 11b.

¹³ Rusjaeva 2006, S. 335, Abb. 54/1.

¹⁴ Blondé 1985, S. 342-343.

¹⁵ Am besten ist Korinth als Herstellungszentrum der Perirrhantaria und Louteria aus Ton in archaischer und klassischer Zeit bekannt. Exporte aus Korinth sind vor allem in Süditalien und Sizilien gefunden worden, s. Iozzo 1987. Nicht selten kamen sie auch in ionischen Heiligtümern vor, wie einige Beispiele aus Naukratis zeigen, s. Flinders Petrie 1888, Taf. IV/5, sowie in weiteren Befunden aus Thasos und Tiritake im nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet. Für Thasos, s. Blondé 1985, S. 342, Abb. 61, für Tiritake, s. Gajdukevici 1952, S. 79-81, Abb. 99. Die Form der korinthischen Gefäße wurde insbesondere aufgrund der Funde aus Korinth, Ägina und Süditalien ausführlich untersucht. Ohne Ausnahme unterscheiden sie sich vom Gefäß in Histria. Die Exemplare aus Korinth haben die Becken mit Knick- oder ausgestellttem Rand.

ionische Städte zu vermuten¹⁶. In Ionien gibt es Exemplare aus Ton mit figürlichen Reliefs neben den Gefäßen mit einfachen Kymatia, wie in Histria¹⁷.

FUNDSITUATION UND WEIHUNG

Neun Fragmente des Gefäßes wurden in der Brandschicht des Tempels M gefunden. Diese Schicht befindet sich innerhalb des Tempels und enthält vor allem Weihungen, wie weibliche Protome, Elfenbein und Gold, die höchstwahrscheinlich im Tempel aufbewahrt wurden. Ein Fragment des Beckens und ein weiteres des Untersatzes war in einer Schicht südlich des kleinen Tempels enthalten. Zusammen mit den zwei weiteren Fragmenten wurden hier bemalte Dachterrakotten des Tempels sowie u.a. keramische Fragmente von Schwarzfirniskeramik, Transportamphoren aus Chios und Mende und eine spätarchaische Inschrift gefunden. Diese lagen nach der Brandzerstörung des Tempels wie ausgebreitet auf einer Fläche. Die Keramik ist im zweiten Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. zu datieren. Die beiden Befunde lassen auf das zweite Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. als *Terminus ante quem* für die Herstellung des Perirrhanterions schließen.

Die Brandschicht innerhalb des Tempels weist außerdem darauf hin, dass das Gefäß innerhalb des Kultbaues aufbewahrt war. Es ist sogar zu vermuten, dass dieses Perirrhanterion im Tempel aufgestellt war und nicht vor dem Heiligtum oder vor dem Tempel, wie bei den meisten erörterten Kontexten¹⁸. Im Schwarzmeergebiet gibt es z.B. ein Marmorgefäß aus Dionysopolis, das in der Mitte des Tempels der Göttin Meter, neben einem Altar, *in situ* gefunden wurde¹⁹. Nicht auszuschließen ist, dass das Perirrhanterion im Tempel aufbewahrt und gelegentlich bei Festen vor dem Tempel aufgestellt wurde. In Dionysopolis stand das Gefäß neben dem Altar, eine Situation, die häufig vorkommt²⁰. Im Fall von Histria ist aber ein Altar innerhalb des Kultbaues M kaum vorstellbar. Im Vergleich zum späteren Beispiel in Dionysopolis ist das Gefäß aus Histria kleiner und es ist anzunehmen, dass es neben dem aus Ton erhaltenem Untersatz zusätzlich auf einem Sockel aufgestellt war. Ein solcher zusätzlicher Sockel ist z.B. in Milet im Athenaheiligtum belegt²¹.

Zusammenfassend ergibt sich aus dem Geschilderten, dass im Heiligtum von Histria neben Perirrhanteria aus Stein auch Exemplare aus Keramik verwendet wurden. Es ist anzunehmen, dass das neu bekannt gewordene Gefäß aus der Tempelzone in Ionien hergestellt wurde. Der archäologische Zusammenhang und weitere Fundstellen im Schwarzmeerraum unterstützen die Annahme, dass das Kultgefäß wahrscheinlich im Inneren des Tempels M aufbewahrt und aufgestellt war.

LITERATUR

- Alexandrescu *et alii* 2005 – P. Alexandrescu *et alii*, *Histria VII. La zone sacrée d'époque grecque*, Bucarest – Paris, 2005.
 Avram *et alii* 2011 – A. Avram, I. Bîrzescu, M. Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, K. Zimmermann, *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in der Tempelzone von Histria, 1990-2009*, in A. Avram, I. Bîrzescu (Hrsg.), *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne à la mémoire de Petre Alexandrescu*, *Il Mar Nero* 8, 2010-2011 (2013), Rom – Paris, S. 39-101.
 Avram, Bîrzescu 2012 – A. Avram, I. Bîrzescu, *Fouilles récentes dans la Zone Sacrée d'Istros*, in P. Burgunder (Hrsg.), *Études pontiques. Histoire, historiographie et sites archéologiques du bassin de la mer Noire*, *Études de lettres* 290 /1-2, Lausanne, 2012, S. 279-310.
 Bîrzescu 2007 – I. Bîrzescu, *Zu den ältesten Steininschriften aus Istros*, *Dacia N.S.* 51, 2007, S. 133-137.
 Blondé 1985 – F. Blondé, *Un remblai thasien du IVe siècle avant notre ère*, *BCH* 109, 1985, S. 281-344.
 Buschor 1957 – E. Buschor, *Altsamischer Bauschmuck*, *AM* 72, 1957, S. 1-34.

¹⁶ Ein Überblick bietet Cevizoglu 2008.

¹⁷ Wie im Fall eines Exemplars aus Milet, Voigtländer 1982, S. 110, 171, Kat. 434, Abb. 62.

¹⁸ Zur Aufstellung der Perirrhanteria am Eingang der Heiligtümer, s. Pimpl 1997, S. 49-58, vor Tempeln und in weiteren Zusammenhängen, vgl. Pimpl 1997, S. 59-87; s. auch Ohlerich 2011, S. 101-102.

¹⁹ Lazarenko *et alii* 2013, S. 32, Abb. 26 und S. 91.

²⁰ Pimpl 1997, S. 61-64.

²¹ Held 2000, Kat. S8, S. 111, Abb. 60.

- Cevizoğlu 2007 – H. Cevizoğlu, *Basins and High Stands of the Classical Period at Klazomenai: A Preliminary Report*, *IstMitt* 57, 2007, S. 235-249.
- Cevizoğlu 2008 – H. Cevizoğlu, *Ionia'da Arınma Gereçleri: Louterion, Perirrhanterion, Asamynthos / Pyelos*, in I. Delemen, S. Çokay-Kepçe, A. Özdizbay, O. Turak, *Euergetes. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, Antalya, 2008, S. 283-308.
- Deonna 1938 – W. Deonna, *Délos XVIII. Le mobilier délien*, Paris, 1938.
- Flinders Petrie 1888 – W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis I. 1884-5*, London, 1888.
- Gajdukevici 1952 – V.F. Gajdukevici, *Археология и история Боспора*, *MIA* 25, 1952.
- Held 2000 – W. Held, *Das Heiligtum der Athena in Milet*, *Milesische Forschungen* 2, Mainz, 2000.
- Hölscher, Schörner 2005 – T. Hölscher, G. Schörner, s.v. *Becken: labrum, perirrhanterion und pelluvium*, in *ThesCRA* V, 2005, S. 184-187.
- Iozzo 1987 – M. Iozzo, *Corinthian Basins on High Stands*, *Hesperia* 56, 1987, 4, S. 355-416.
- Kerschner 1996 – M. Kerschner, *Perirrhanterien und Becken*, in H. Walter, E. Walter Karydi (Hrsg.), *Alt-Ägina* II.4, Mainz/Rhein, 1996.
- Krauskopf 2005 – I. Krauskopf, s.v. *Perirrhanterion/Louterion*, in *ThesCRA* V, 2005, S. 178-183.
- Lazarenko et alii 2013 – I. Lazarenko, E. Mircheva, R. Encheva, D. Stoyanova, N. Sharankov, *The Temple of the Pontic Mother of Gods in Dionysopolis*, Varna, 2013.
- Ohlerich 2011 – I. Ohlerich, *Kultorte und Heiligtümer auf dem Gebiet des Bosporanischen Reiches*, Diss. Rostock, 2011 (http://rosdok.uni-rostock.de/file/rosdok_disshab_0000000605/rosdok_derivate_0000004558/Dissertation_Ohlerich_2011.pdf).
- Pimpl 1997 – H. Pimpl, *Perirrhanteria und Louteria. Entwicklung und Verwendung großer Marmor- und Kalksteinbecken auf figürlichem und säulenartigem Untersatz in Griechenland*, Berlin, 1997.
- Raubitschek 1949 – A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge – Massachusetts, 1949.
- Rusjaeva 2006 – A.S. Rusjaeva, *Древнейший теменос Ольвии Понтийской*, Simferopol, 2006.
- Simantoni-Bournias 1990 – E. Simantoni-Bournias, *Chian Relief Pottery and Its Relationship to Chian and East Greek Architectural Terracottas*, *Hesperia* 59, 1990, 1, S. 193-200.
- Simantoni-Bournias 1992 – E. Simantoni-Bournias, *Tessons à reliefs au Musée de Chios*, *BCH Suppl.* 23, 1992, S. 176-186.
- Sparkes, Talcott 1970 – B.A. Sparkes, L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton, 1970.
- Tolstikov 2002 – V.P. Tolstikov, *Pantikapaion. Ein archäologisches Porträt der Hauptstadt des Kimmerischen Bosporus*, in J. Fornasier, B. Böttger (Hrsg.), *Das Bosporanische Reich. Nordosten des Schwarzen Meeres in der Antike*, Mainz, 2002, S. 39-58.
- Voigtländer 1982 – W. Voigtländer, *Funde aus der Insula westlich des Bouleuterion in Milet*, *IstMitt* 32, 1982, S. 30-173.
- Weinberg 1954 – S.S. Weinberg, *Corinthian Relief Ware: Pre-Hellenistic Period*, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, 2, S. 109-137.
- Ziehen 1937 – L. Ziehen, s.v. *Περிரραντήρια*, *RE* 37, 1937, c. 856-857.
- Zimmermann, Alexandrescu 1980 – K. Zimmermann, P. Alexandrescu, *Steingeräte griechischer Zeit aus Histria*, *Dacia* N.S. 24, 1980, S. 267-282.

THE SONS OF ISTROS AND THE CLASSICAL SILVER COINS OF HISTRIA

FLORINA PANAIT BÎRZESCU*

Keywords: Histria, silver coins, Classical period, iconography, foundation myths

Abstract: The image of the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins of the Classical period has been the subject of numerous studies, the aim of which has primarily been to find the identity of the personages illustrated. Various hypotheses have been proposed regarding the identity of these two heads: wind deities, river streams, the two mouths of the river Istros, the Dioskouroi, Helios, or Apollo-Helios. The present article resumes this discussion within the context of the numismatic iconography of the Milesian *apoikiai* from the Black Sea area, and bringing new literary and iconographic data proposes another hypothesis, namely the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins are associated with the heroes of a local foundation myth.

Cuvinte-cheie: Histria, monede de argint, epoca clasică, iconografie, mituri de fondare

Rezumat: Imaginea celor două capete de tineri de pe emisiunile monetare histriene din argint de epocă clasică a făcut obiectul a numeroase studii, al căror scop a fost în principal aflarea identității personajelor reprezentate. Ipotezele de identificare au fost dintre cele mai diverse: divinități vânturi, curenți, două guri ale râului Istros, Dioskouroi, Helios sau Apollo-Helios. Articolul reia discuția asupra acestui subiect în contextul iconografiei numismatice a coloniilor grecești din zona Mării Negre, și aducând noi date iconografice și literare propune o nouă ipoteză de identificare, respectiv eroii unui mit local de fondare.

The image of the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins of the Classical period has been the subject of numerous studies, the aim of which has primarily been to find the identity of the personages illustrated. Across over 100 years of study of the iconography of these Histrian silver coins, scholars have underlined the uniqueness of this coin type: two youthful heads, one of which is upside-down (Fig. 1). Various hypotheses have been proposed regarding the identity of the owners of these two heads: wind deities, river streams, the two mouths of the river Istros, the Dioskouroi, Helios, or Apollo-Helios. In an article published more than ten years ago, which summarized the discussion and reviewed all the identifications that had been proposed, I pointed out that none of these hypotheses stood up to scrutiny¹. The lack of clear analogies for the iconography of these two young heads left the question of their identity unresolved. The present article resumes this discussion, bringing into play new literary and iconographic data and considering the Histrian coins within the context of the numismatic iconography of the Milesian *apoikiai* from the Black Sea area.

The first coin issues appeared in the Greek world at a time when Greek communities were defining their own identity, and coinage was one form of the expression of this identity². Consequently, a large number of representations on these first issues are related to foundation myths. Given this pattern, perhaps the two young heads on the Histrian silver coins should be associated with the heroes of a local history.

* “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest; florina12@gmail.com.

¹ Panait Bîrzescu 2003-2005 with bibliography. After laying out the arguments and counter-arguments for each hypothesis, I accepted, at least until further evidence emerged, one of the most likely identifications: Apollo, the main Histrian deity.

² Dougherty 1993, p. 86: “...in its initial stages, Greek coinage was not primarily a commercial tool, but rather, like poetry, a medium for forging and commemorating a city’s civic identity”.

THE TWO YOUTHS ON THE HISTRIAN SILVER COINS: HEROES OF A LOCAL LEGEND?

The reduced decorative field available on coins usually results in the abbreviation of personages represented to the simple image of a head; it is rarer that the whole figure is depicted. When we are dealing with the well-known Gorgon head, or with heads accompanied by attributes characteristic to a deity, the identity of the subject is not hard to determine. The same cannot be said, however, about depictions of the heads of local heroes or heroines. In these cases, only the appearance of the myth in literary sources, or, exceptionally, an explanatory coin legend, can confirm the identity of the personage illustrated. Unfortunately, the Histrian coins do not bear a legend that identifies the heads, and no literary sources preserve a local mythology that might offer an identification. Nevertheless, I argue here that a local myth is the most likely explanation for this iconography.

The closest and most striking analogy for the motif of the Histrian heads is panel 25 from the interior frieze of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum. The frieze illustrates the story of Telephos³, the mythical founder of Pergamum. Panel no. 25 presents an episode from the battle between Greeks and Mysians on the Kaikos river bank.

Two warriors are shown in a battle scene, at the moment of their fall (Fig. 2). Both of them wear short tunics and leather cuirasses. One of them is holding a shield; behind him, a figure approaching from the right holds a Scythian bow. The other warrior is rendered upside-down, falling over a horse. From the left side, a fourth figure, wearing a long mantle, places his foot on the horse's thigh. Both of the approaching figures seem to intend to deliver a death-blow to the fallen heroes and to strip their armour⁴.

In her study of the Telephos relief, Huberta Heres⁵ remarked on the fact that the work uses a number of old-fashioned iconographic motifs, among which she includes the scene of the two fallen heroes. This combines motifs frequently found in Archaic art, such as the stripping of the armour of the defeated and the recovery of the hero's corpse by his fellows. What is relevant for our discussion is the position of the two fallen figures: their bodies mark two oblique lines in the composition, and their heads two opposed planes, one of which is turned upside-down. This arrangement is characteristic for the rendering of two fallen heroes. The scene of the falling warriors on panel no. 25 of the Telephos frieze quotes a motif previously used in the Sperlonga-type statuary group depicting Scylla⁶, where two companions of Odysseus are shown falling from the ship and being grabbed by Scylla's dogs. Since the original Scylla group is likely to have been sculpted at Rhodes slightly earlier than the Telephos frieze at Pergamon⁷, it is noteworthy that these two works of the second quarter of the 2nd century BC share the motif of two Homeric heroes, one of whom is upside-down, caught at the moment of their fall (in the former case from a ship, in the latter from a chariot).

The origins of the motif of two heads, one of which is inverted, are to be sought in Late Archaic and Classical painted pottery. The motif occurs on an Apulian red-figure *situla* (Naples Mus.) of the Lycurgus Painter (c. 350 BC)⁸, which pictures the scene of the death of the Thracian king Rhesus at the hands of Diomedes and the theft of his horses by Odysseus. The iconography of the Rhesus episode is known through three Apulian vases⁹, including this *situla*, all dated towards the middle of the 4th century BC, and a Chalcidian amphora¹⁰ dated to 550-540 BC. The Apulian vases have the same composition in two registers: an upper one with the scene of the sleeping/dead Thracians, and a lower one depicting the theft of the horses. They also have in common a composition in which Odysseus holds the bridle of two white horses. The representation of the dead Thracians, however, varies in its arrangement from vase to vase.

³ On the myth of Telephos, see Heres 1997; Stewart 1997.

⁴ Heres, Strauss 1994, p. 857-862, cat. 1; Schraudolph 1996, 66, cat. 8, panel 25; Heres 1997, p. 100.

⁵ Heres 1997, p. 100, 105, fig. 26. Heres remarked on the way the motif of the fallen heroes on panel 25 echoes a scene of sleeping/dead Thracians on a red-figured *situla* of the Lycurgus Painter in Naples.

⁶ Andreae 1998, p. 174-179; Andreae 2001, p. 121-131, pl. 98-102. The motif of the falling heroes is one of the numerous stylistic and thematic influences that the statuary group of Scylla had on the sculpture of the altar of Pergamum: see Andreae 2001, p. 142, pl. 99, 101, fig. 108-111.

⁷ On the Rhodian original of the statuary group of Scylla and its dating (180-165 BC) before the altar of Pergamum (165-156 BC), see Andreae 1998, p. 157-166, 167-179; Andreae 2001, p. 121-131, 136-146.

⁸ True 1997, cat. 6: red-figure Apulian *situla*, Lycurgus Painter, c. 350 BC, Naples Museum.

⁹ True 1997, cat. 3, 4: red-figure Apulian volute craters, c. 350 BC, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

¹⁰ True 1997, cat. 2: black-figure Chalcidian amphora, c. 550-540 BC, Malibu, Getty Museum.



Fig. 1. Histrian silver coins, 5th century BC (Numismatic Collection, “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest; Photo: Theodor Isvoranu).



Fig. 2. Panel no. 25, Telephos frieze, Pergamum altar (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Photo: Johannes Laurentius).

The Archaic Chalcidian amphora provides a forerunner of the two-heads motif on the *situla* in Naples. This amphora, dated toward the middle of the 6th century BC, bears a representation of the same scene, and echoes the motif in the position of the heads of the sleeping Thracians who lie in opposite directions in the lower field of the register on each side of the amphora. The composition of the scene in which Diomedes kills Rhesus is repeated on the second side of the amphora to illustrate Odysseus killing another Thracian. All twelve companions of Rhesus mentioned in Iliad are shown, and their arms and shields hanging in the trees decorate the picture background.

The detail that enables us to consider the iconography of the Histrian coins as an abbreviation of this scene is the different rendering of the hair of the two youths on a series of earlier coin issues (group I)¹¹: one has tight curls (still represented in an archaizing beaded style), the other waving, scattered locks that can be nothing other than the hanging hair of the overturned hero. On panel 25 of the Telephos frieze, the same difference in the rendering of the hair of the two heroes is visible. On the coin issues of the group II, the 'hanging locks' are adopted for both heads (Fig. 1b)¹², while on the later issues, of the group III-IV, these evolved into simple curly locks¹³.

The central figures of panel 25 have been identified as Heloros and Aktaios, the sons of river Istros¹⁴. The two participated as allies of the Mysians against the Achaeans in the battle on the Kaikos river banks. The battle in Mysia is narrated at length in the *Heroikos* of Philostratus¹⁵, who probably had the same source of inspiration as the artists of the Pergamene frieze. This battle is an episode in the Trojan cycle that took place during the first landing of the Achaeans on the coast of Asia Minor. Two passages in the *Heroikos* mention these two heroes: 23.11-13¹⁶ and 23.21-22¹⁷. From the first passage, we find out that the two sons of Istros were the leaders of the main allies of the Mysians, the Scythians, and that their fame surpassed that of the Mysian heroes Telephos and Haimos. The second passage describes the fight between Istros' sons and Ajax, the son of Telamon. Clanging his shield loudly, Ajax spooked their horses, which then overturned the chariot and threw the two heroes to the ground.

The *Heroikos* of Flavius Philostratus, written in the second half of the 3rd century AD, belongs to the 'Second Sophistic'. It presents a critical view of the Homeric poems, correcting and emending them especially in matters of myth and ritual, on the basis of a local mythology, most probably North-Aegean¹⁸. One tradition contradicted in *Heroikos* is the episode of Achaeans' landing in Mysia, which in the official Homeric version was the result of an error due to inexact knowledge of Troy's location. For Philostratus, however, the landing and the battle of the Kaikos river was far from accidental. On the contrary, it was as important as the battle of Troy, an opinion that most probably reflects a local tradition¹⁹.

¹¹ Canarache 1968, pl. 4.2; SNG BM Black Sea, cat. 225.

¹² Canarache 1968, pl. 5; Preda 1998, p. 49, pl. II.3-4; Poenaru Bordea 2002, p. 14, pl. I.11.

¹³ Canarache 1968, pl. 7-36; SNG BM Black Sea, cat. 237-257; Preda 1998, p. 50, pl. II.5-6.

¹⁴ Schraudolph 1996, 66, cat. 8; Heres 1997; Stewart 1997; Andreae 2001, p. 142.

¹⁵ Philostr. *Her.* 23.2-30.

¹⁶ Philostr. *Her.* 23. 11-13: "When he ordered him to report by word of mouth (for the alphabet had not yet been invented) how many Achaean ships he had seen at Aulis, the whole interior of the country formed an alliance, and the Mysian and Scythian peoples came in waves over the plain. Protesilaos says that this was the greatest contest for them, greater than both those at Troy itself and any subsequent battles between Hellenes and barbarians. The alliance of Têlephos was highly esteemed by both the multitude and the warriors. Just as the Achaeans celebrated in song the Aiakidai and heroes as renowned as Diomedes and Patroklos, so the Mysians sang the names of Têlephos and Haimos, son of Ares. But the most renowned names were Heloros and Aktaios, sons of the river god Istros in Scythia" (trans. Maclean, Aitken).

¹⁷ Philostr. *Her.* 23.21-22: "The greater Ajax considered those killing the crowds "harvesters" since they were mowing down nothing remarkable, but those who prevailed over the bravest he called "wood-cutters" and considered himself more worthy of this sort of battle. Accordingly, he moved quickly against the sons of the river, since they did not share his heritage and were fighting from a four-horse chariot, as Hektor also fought. Walking haughtily amid the confusion of battle, Ajax clanged his shield loudly in order to spook the horses, and the horses immediately panicked and rose up on their hind legs, at which point the Scythians, distrusting their chariot, leapt from it, since it was now in disarray, and fell upon Ajax; although both Heloros and Aktaios fought in a manner worthy of fame, they died" (trans. Maclean, Aitken).

¹⁸ Philostr. *Her.*, according to J.K. Berenson Maclean and E. Bradshaw Aitken, p. XLIX-L.

¹⁹ Philostr. *Her.*, according to J.K. Berenson Maclean and E. Bradshaw Aitken, p. LX-LXXVI, especially p. LXVI.

Philostratus' use of the term 'Scythians' points to a source later than the moment when the Homeric poems were fixed in writing, probably no earlier than the 5th century BC. In the *Iliad*, the area to the north of the Propontis is represented only by Rhesus' Thracians, and, according to Bernard Fenik²⁰, the Rhesus episode itself may be a later interpolation corresponding to a North-Aegean tradition.

What, then, can explain a Scythian presence in Philostratus' account of the Trojan War? Before clarifying this question, it is necessary to remember that the epic poems use concepts and perceptions that have little to do with historical reality, but are dictated instead by the dramatic requirements of the poems. Moreover, in the *Iliad* the Milesians are called *barbarophonoi* Karians, a designation that corresponds neither to the historical reality of the time of the Trojan War, nor to that of Homer's own time, but, according to Christiane Sourvinou Inwood²¹, is instead a poetic construct intended to emphasize the non-Greek character of the Trojans' allies.

The Scythians in the *Heroikos* are part of the same category of poetic constructs; here, they reinforce the non-Greek character of the Mysians' allies. The mythical alliance between Scythians and Mysians reflects an interpretation of the relation between Mysia and the area around the Istros delta. This relation, which has its roots in the historical tradition of the Milesian colonisation of the Black Sea area, is anchored in mythical times through the participation of Istros' sons in the Trojan War. The image of the heads of the two youths, one of which is inverted, on the Histrian silver coins therefore points most probably to a local tradition about the city's foundation that eludes us. The fact that both heroes, although they are described as leaders of the Scythians, have Greek names is particularly noteworthy. This suggests they represent the Greeks from Danube's mouth, rather than the nomadic *hippomolgoi*.

It would not be the only Milesian contribution to Pan-Hellenic mythology. The best known is the episode in which Thetis brings the body of the dead Achilles to the White Island (Leuke), a story narrated in *Aethiopsis*. Although the attribution of the poem to Arctinos of Miletus is controversial²², it is widely accepted that the story of Achilles arriving in the Black Sea must have been introduced by the Greeks who were the most active on the Black Sea littoral at the time²³. An echo of the fight between Ajax and the sons of Istros River might be preserved in a reference to Ajax's presence on White Island²⁴ (Leuke, an island located near the west coast of the Black Sea, not far from the Istros delta). Whether Ajax was also the object of cult on the island is difficult to determine, since the literary sources do not mention a cult statue other than those of Achilles and Helen. It is worth mentioning that, in the epic cycle, Achilles, too, fought a series of heroes of noble descent, also sons of rivers themselves²⁵. The confrontations between the two Achaeans and these local heroes are examples of the *Greek vs. non-Greek* paradigm that characterises many episodes in the Greeks' mythical history²⁶.

Carina Weiss²⁷ has emphasised the complex role of water sources, personified as deities, heroes and nymphs, in local myths, using as the base of her discussion the rich numismatic iconography of the colonies from Sicily and South Italy. Weiss has identified motifs common to several colonies, in which the hero or heroine, usually the son or daughter of a river deity, is, as *oikist*, the ancestor of the local aristocracy; a passive witness to the city's foundation; and *kourotrophos* for the land and its inhabitants. But the most

²⁰ Fenik 1964, especially p. 13; cf. Forsdyke 1957, p. 159; Burgess 2001, p. 43.

²¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 40-41, 268.

²² Burgess 2001, p. 162-165; about a Mytilenian – Milesian epic tradition of *Aethiopsis*, see Nagy 1990, p. 66-69. On the notion of the non-Greek Scythian that has its origin in the experience of the colony (who came in contact with foreign populations) and was incorporated in the mythological tradition of the mother-city, Miletus, see Nagy 1990, p. 70-71, n. 96. Nagy agrees with Ferrari Pinney's thesis (1983) that the iconographic theme of Scythian archers on late Archaic Attic pottery reflects a local epic tradition associated with the Milesian colonization.

²³ Hommel 1980, p. 12; Ferrari Pinney 1983, p. 139; Bravo 2000, p. 258; Ivantchik 2005, p. 76; Bujskich 2006, p. 149. Jonathan Burgess admits that although the Milesians played a major role in the development of the cult, they cannot be considered solely responsible for the introduction of the worship of Achilles in the Black Sea: cf. Burgess 2001, p. 162-165.

²⁴ Paus. 3.19.11.

²⁵ Weiss 1984, p. 44.

²⁶ For several examples, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 315-320.

²⁷ Weiss 1984, p. 21-49, on the foundation myths and the monetary iconography of the Italiote colonies, where the representations of nymphs and river deities predominate. Larson 2001, p. 211-225, explains this predominance by the necessity to establish claims over the land and its water sources. On the importance of the rivers in marking frontiers and in positioning sanctuaries, see de Polignac 1995, p. 104, n. 35.

significant role of the local hero's origin-story is to legitimate the settlers' claim over the newly-occupied land, the newcomers' so-called 'rooting in the land'. The image of the local deity on the coins is, according to Weiss²⁸, an expression of the colony's growing consciousness of a new identity that clearly differentiates it from its mother-city.

In the case of Heloros and Aktaios, this legitimacy is double: their descent from the river Istros is a 'statement of autochthony'²⁹, and their place in the 'generation of heroes' provides the new city at the mouths of the Danube with a mythical past that precedes its historical foundation³⁰. As a result, the local myth creates an identity that affirms both the connection of the colonists with their newly-claimed land and their Pan-Hellenic identity. This phenomenon is likely to have taken place, according to Irad Malkin's model³¹, several generations after the foundation of the colony, most probably in the 5th century BC.

THE MYTHICAL TRADITION OF HISTRIAN FOUNDATION IN THE MILESIAN AND PONTIC CONTEXT

Although the only evidence for the interpretation of the coin device as a representation of local heroes associated with a lost mythical tradition for Histria's foundation consists of an iconographical motif used on the Pergamenian relief and the textual reference in the *Heroikos*, an analysis of the data in light of other Milesian and Pontic foundation myths does allow us to establish a model this hypothetical tradition could have followed.

In her study of the myth of Hylas, which served as the foundation myth for Kios, a Milesian colony in the Propontis, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood³² used several other Milesian myths for comparison. Her study emphasised certain patterns in the structure of the various foundation stories, in which common motifs are reformulated and manipulated in order to convey the Greek community's version of its own history and its relation to the territory it claimed and the local peoples who previously occupied that territory – a version that does not always correspond to historical reality. The aim of this story was to fill the gap between the 'beginning of the world' and the foundation of the colony. Hence, in the colonial tradition, the local non-Greek population played an important role. Usually this population is represented by a non-Greek hero or heroine, whose death at the hands of a Greek hero reflects an initial phase of hostile interactions between colonists and the local population. According to Sourvinou-Inwood, the death is a *sine qua non* condition for the founding hero. The city is founded as a consequence of the hero's death, and in turn the city receives the hero as a guardian (*polissouchos*)³³. In the case of Heloros and Aktaios, both the image and the text underline the moment of their heroic death; therefore, considering their lineage, in Sourvinou-Inwood's formulation, they would represent the relation between the colonists at Histria and the local population.

The closest analogy for the story of Istros' sons seems to be the pattern on which the myth of Rhesus³⁴ has been structured. In Greek mythopoeia, Rhesus represented another population the Milesians met on the Western coast of the Black Sea: the Thracians. He makes his appearance in the tenth book of the *Iliad* as a king of the Thracians who has arrived at Troy to support the Trojans in the tenth year of the war. The episode was dramatized in the play *Rhesus*, attributed to Euripides. The delay in the arrival of the Thracian allies is explained by the long war these had previously been waging against the Scythians. Rhesus and his Thracians do not play an important role in the course of the war, however, because they are killed in their sleep on their very first night at Troy, during a nocturnal raid undertaken by Diomedes and Odysseus.

²⁸ Weiss 1984, p. 46.

²⁹ Dowden 1992, p. 54: „To be the son of a river is a statement of autochthony, of belonging to the land from the beginning and therefore having full rights to the land”. On the claiming of the land through the appropriation of the past, see also de Polignac 1995, p. 140-145.

³⁰ On the mythical construction of history, see Graf 1993, p. 121-141; also, de Polignac 1995, p. 143-147.

³¹ According to Irad Malkin, in the 5th century Italiote cities shifted the focus from the historical founder to the mythical hero, cf. Malkin 1994, p. 133-139; Malkin 2006, p. 64-65; see also de Polignac 1995, p. 147.

³² Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 268-309.

³³ In the logic of the foundation myth the death of the hero was followed by the consultation of an oracle, and by the foundation of a city that would keep the memory of the hero alive, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 264, 323.

³⁴ Sittig 1914; True 1997, p. 1044-1045 with the bibliography.

In the *Rhesus*, Athena explains that they must kill Rhesus and his men, for if the Thracians fight the next day, the Achaeans will lose the war.

Rhesus, son of Eioneus, the eponym of a Thracian tribe at Homer, becomes in Euripides' drama the son of the Strymon River and a Muse. In the final lines of the *Rhesus*, the Muse establishes, as Thetis did, a posthumous destiny for her son, announcing his immortality³⁵ and reign over Mount Pangaion in Thrace. In Philostratus' *Heroikos*, Rhesus dwells not in Pangaion, but in Rhodops, variations that can be explained by the vast extent of Thrace and the limited knowledge of its geography among Greek authors. Another literary source concerning Rhesus and the nymph Argathone, narrated by Parthenius of Nicaea, has been commented on at length by Jane Lightfoot³⁶, who suggested that Rhesus' inclusion in the Homeric poems had the role of connecting the two regions of Thrace and Bithynia.

A fifth and final literary source is a quotation from Polyaeus' *Strategia* (6.53), which tells the story of the Athenian leader Hagnon, who, after consulting the Delphic oracle, ordered that Rhesus' bones be brought from Troy and buried on the Strymon river bank, at the site of the future Amphipolis. The myth of Rhesus, which until this point seems only to have served to connect Thrace and Bithynia, is thus further developed as a foundation myth for Amphipolis³⁷. In the context of several failed Greek attempts to colonise the North-Aegean coast³⁸, the story of the return of Rhesus' bones to his native soil is an example of the appropriation of a local hero by colonists: in this way, Rhesus is reinterpreted as a guardian of the Greek city in a hostile Thracian environment³⁹.

The common elements between Heloros and Aktaios on one side, and Rhesus on the other, are: 1) their lineage from a river deity (Istros and Strymon), 2) their participation in the Trojan War as leaders of non-Greek allies of the Trojans (Scythians and Thracians), and 3) their death at the hand of an Achaean hero (Ajax and Diomedes). It is difficult to say whether the hypothetical local story that included the sons of Istros also echoed an initially hostile relation between the Greek colonists and the local population. The relation between Milesians and Scythians is an ambivalent one, to judge from both historical and mythical stories. It suffices to remember Herodotus' accounts of Anacharsis and Skyles⁴⁰, both Hellenised Scythians and as a consequence victims of their fellows' wrath.

Further analogies for Histria are given by Olbia and Sinope, on the one hand because they are the three earliest Milesian colonies in the Black Sea region, and on the other hand because their coins have, probably not coincidentally, the same reverse type: the eagle on a dolphin. This iconographic consistency hints at the existence of a common mythological tradition that provided the main source of inspiration for at least the first monetary issues. If the reverse showed what the first Milesian colonists from the Black Sea area had in common (the eagle surmounting a dolphin), however, the obverse was reserved for their local, particular traits.

For Olbia and Sinope, literary accounts of local lore are less lacunar and have the advantage of being easier to distinguish with respect to the origin of their traditions. Thus, the passage from Pseudo-Skymnos' *Periploos* that contains the recital of Sinope's foundation myths uses a version that seems to be earlier than the foundation itself. In his analysis of the passage, Askold Ivantchik⁴¹ has noted various traditions of different origins: 1) the story of the amazon Sinope⁴², has an erudite literary origin; 2) the story of the Argonauts Autolykos and the Thessalian brothers, Deilon and Phlogios, which belongs to the local patriotic mythopoeia; and finally 3) the story of the Milesians Habron, Koos and Kretines, which reflects successive

³⁵ Eur. *Rh.* v. 963-973; a similar lamentation is narrated by Parthenius from Nicaea, see Lightfoot 1999, p. 553.

³⁶ Lightfoot 1999, p. 553.

³⁷ *Rhesus* has been considered a dramatization that use to commemorate the foundation of Amphipolis, e.g. Leaf 1915.

³⁸ Thuc. 4.102: about a Milesian attempt, followed by that of a coalition lead by Athenians; the colony was founded only in 437, after Hagnon's campaign.

³⁹ Malkin 1994, p. 137: „... Rhesos, although not an eponymous hero, served as an additional heroic cult figure. In mythological terms, he was brought into the Athenian orbit; he had an immediate connection with the soil; he could serve as the focus of local identity (...); finally, he could encourage the settlers facing the challenge of hostile natives”.

⁴⁰ Hdt 4.76, 78-80. About a Scythian protectorate over the Greek cities during Skyles reign, see Vinogradov, Kryzickij 1995, p. 132. For the Northern Black Sea coast see the foundation mythos of Panticapaeum, related by Stephanos from Byzantium; the city was founded by the son of Aietes, who received the land from the Scythian king, Agaetos; cf. Ivantchik 2005, p. 98.

⁴¹ Ivantchik 1997, p. 33-45.

⁴² For the much older story of the nymph Sinope, kidnapped by Apollo and brought to the site of the future colony see Braund 2010, p. 17-22.

waves of colonists chronologically linked to the Cimmerians' invasion of Asia Minor, and was initially an oral tradition that was later recorded in writing.

What should be added to Ivantchik's observations is the fact that all three stories are complementary and should be read in the chronological order in which they were written, as the Hellenistic compiler intended precisely to create a narrative of the 'proto- and prehistory' of the Milesian colony. The story of the nymph Sinope abducted by Apollo, whose son, Syros, was the ancestor of the local population (*syroi/leukosyroi*), corresponds to 'proto-history', the time before the coming of the Greeks. Thus, through the descent of the local population from Apollo, the main deity of the colonists, a mythic kinship between the two groups was created. The aim of this story was on the one hand to describe the landscape prior to the moment of colonisation, and on the other hand to assure the ascendance of the colonists (represented by Apollo, the masculine archetype of the coloniser) over the natives (represented by the nymph, the feminine embodiment of autochthony), the abduction acting in mythological terms as an equivalent for marriage⁴³.

The second of the Sinopean foundation myths then anchors the mythical past of the city in a Pan-Hellenic past through the Argonauts. Their act of foundation plays the role of a 'sown seed', a mythical attempt to settle on the new land, which will justify the future historical foundation, after a pattern revealed by the myth of Cyrene's foundation⁴⁴. Only with Habron, Koos and Kretines is the establishment of the Milesians at the mouth of the Halys finally secured, marking the beginning of the city's history.

In contrast to Sinope, Olbia lacks a full set of foundation myths. Nevertheless, Herodotus' account is no less relevant. He relates two versions, attributed to the natives (*skolotai*) and to the Olbians, respectively, about the origin of the Scythians (Hdt 4.5-10). According to the first version, Targitaos, the son of Zeus and a daughter of Borysthenes, was the ancestor of the three Skolotian tribes. According to the Greek version, by contrast, the ancestor of the Scythians is Heracles, who arrived in Scythia leading Geryones' herds, which disappear while he was sleeping; searching for them, he arrived in Hylaia, where in a cave he encountered a creature half woman, half snake. From his tryst with this being were born the ancestors of the three Scythian tribes: Agathyrsos, Gelonos and Scythes. Of the three, only the last acquired the right to remain in his homeland after passing the test of drawing the bow left as an inheritance by his father.

The two versions are so similar, and their motifs so interchangeable (e.g. the nymph in the Skolotian version is clearly analogous to the monstrous creature in the Greek one⁴⁵), that it is hard to determine who influenced whom in the creation of these legends. It is noteworthy that they are constructed according to the same pattern, and that both correspond to the first story from the Sinopean narrative. Here, however, the place of Apollo has been taken by Heracles, the other champion of the Greek colonisation, who appears in a large number of foundation myths⁴⁶.

In the case of Olbia, the account of Herodotus, who must have had first-hand information, is supported by concrete epigraphic evidence. A graffito discovered at Olbia and dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC, which preserves part of a letter written by a priest, confirms the existence of a sanctuary of Cybele in a region called Hylaia⁴⁷. There, near the altar of the Mother of the Gods, were also the altars of Heracles and Borysthenes. Hence, the nymph from Hylaia, who in the myth is the mother of the Scythians, in cultic reality was no other than the Great Mother of the Gods.

The iconography of the first monetary issues of Olbia reveals the popularity of this myth: several series have on the obverse the heads of Borysthenes, Heracles, and a female deity, while on their reverse they bear an image of the arms of Heracles (quiver, bow and axe)⁴⁸. Other series show a kneeling figure stringing a bow, which, because he wears a lion skin, has been interpreted as Heracles. However, on several 3rd century

⁴³ Dougherty 1993, p. 61-76, esp. p. 69; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 112-115.

⁴⁴ Malkin 1994, p. 174-218; see also Calame 2003, p. 35-113; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 317-318.

⁴⁵ On their representation in the Scythian art, see Parzinger 2004, p. 98.

⁴⁶ Farnell 1921, p. 140. Noteworthy is the correspondence between the names of the places and of the protagonists of the Olbian and Kian myths. Both of them involve Heracles and a local nymph; regarding the names, the hero Hyllas from the Kian myth corresponds to the Olbian Hylaia, both of them evoking a land with lakes and luxuriant vegetation. In the myth of Hyllas the landscape is explicitly described. Both myths seem to be derived from a shared Milesian background; they use common motifs, but arrange them after different mythological schemata: the Olbian story prefers the genealogical scheme that establishes the land of the future city, the Kian myth the scheme of the 'failed' *ephebe*, whose ritual commemoration leads to the foundation of the city. See Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, p. 375-377.

⁴⁷ Rusjaeva, Vinogradov 1991; Dubois 1996, p. 55-62, cat. 24, who dates the graffito much later, c. 400 BC.

⁴⁸ SNG BM Black Sea, cat. 390-393, 402-413, 428-549, 575-585; SNG Stancomb, cat. 359-417; Vinogradov, Kryzickij 1995, p. 114, 119.

BC coin issues that have on the obverse the head of a female figure with a mural crown, the kneeling figure shooting an arrow seems to be rather the young Scythes, the forefather of the Scythians. The female figure has been identified as Demeter, most probably because of the presence of wavy locks that characterise a frequently-recurring image on the Olbian coins: a female figure with loose hair and necklace, rendered both frontally and from profile. In the profile version, her forehead is crowned by two ears of wheat. Yet the wavy locks and unveiled head fit better with the iconography of Kore than that of Demeter. On the other hand, the ears of wheat do not occur on the earlier coin issues, and seem to be a later development. I would argue that the female figure on the Olbian coins is none other than the nymph of Hylaia, who later came to be assimilated to Kore/Persephone. A similar process took place in the iconography of some local nymphs on the coins of Sicily: Syracuse, Henna, Selinus and Egesta. Maria Caltabiano⁴⁹ has convincingly demonstrated how the iconography of these local nymphs gradually took the shape of Demeter/Kore, in response to historical changes in the political needs of these cities. The common *kourotrophos/karpotrophos* qualities of both nymph and Kore, as well as their shared chthonic character, facilitated their assimilation.

To sum up, the iconography of the first coin issues of the two Milesian colonies, Sinope and Olbia, represents local nymphs (Sinope and the nymph of Hylaia). Mythopoetically, these define the sacred landscape and the local 'proto-history'. The two youths on the Histrian silver coins belong to the same category of representations. The Histrian heroes' story, however, was shaped in a different mould: that of the mythos of Rhesus. Their participation in the Trojan War shows on the one hand the mythical pedigree of the Greek foundation at the Danube delta, and on the other hand its kinship to Ionia. The main role of Heloros and Aktaios was to connect the Danube area to a Pan-Hellenic identity. It is unlikely that the two heroes were the object of actual cult at Histria. Mythical heroes and heroines who appear late in foundation myths (e.g. Sinope, Rhesus) tend to be literary constructs, and as such they do not typically inspire religious veneration. However, it is possible that an artistic representation of their combat with Ajax was present in some medium in the city, and this may have served as inspiration for the coin type. The fame of the myth and the visual echo of a well-known artwork would thus have made the coin iconography easy for a Histrian to interpret.

Acknowledgements

For observations and suggestions, I am grateful to Adam Rabinowitz (University of Texas, Austin) and Adrian Robu (Institute of South East European Studies, Bucharest). For providing the illustration I am indebted to Theodor Isvoranu (Numismatic Cabinet, Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest), and to Ines Bialas (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andreae 1998 – B. Andreae, *Schönheit des Realismus. Auftraggeber, Schöpfer, Betrachter hellenistischer Plastik*, Mainz/Rhein, 1998.
- Andreae 2001 – B. Andreae, *Skulptur des Hellenismus*, München, 2001.
- Braund 2010 – D. Braund, *Myth and Ritual at Sinope: From Diogenes the Cynic to Sanape the Amazon*, ACSS 16, 2010, 1, p. 11-23.
- Bravo 2000 – B. Bravo, *Luoghi di culto nella chora di Olbia Pontica*, in *Problemi della chora coloniale dall'Occidente al Mar Nero, Atti del quarantesimo Convegno sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 29 settembre – 3 ottobre 2000*, Taranto, 2001, p. 221-266.
- Bujkisch 2006 – S.B. Bujkisch, *Kap Bejkuš – Kap des Achilleus: eine Kultstätte des göttlichen Heros im Mündungsgebiet des Bug*, in J. Hupe (ed.), *Der Achilleus-Kult im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum vom Beginn der griechischen Kolonisation bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, Rahden/Westf., 2006, p.111-153.
- Burgess 2001 – J.S. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*, Baltimore – London, 2001.
- Calame 2003 – C. Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece. The Symbolic Creation of a Colony*, Princeton, 2003.
- Caltabiano 2008 – M.C. Caltabiano, *Il ruolo di Demetra nel documento monetale greco*, in C.A. di Stefano (ed.), *Demetra. La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale Enna, 1-4 luglio 2004*, Pisa – Roma, 2008, p. 123-131.
- Canarache 1968 – V. Canarache, *Sistemul ponderal și tipologia drahmelor histriene de argint*, Pontice 1, 1968, p. 107-192.

⁴⁹ Caltabiano 2008, p. 124, 129.

- Dougherty 1993 – C. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization. From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1993.
- Dowden 1992 – K. Dowden, *The Uses of Greek Mythology*, London, 1992.
- Dubois 1996 – L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*, Genève, 1996.
- Farnell 1921 – L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921.
- Fenik 1964 – B. Fenik, *„Iliad X’ and ,the Rhesus’: The Myth*, Bruxelles, 1964.
- Ferrari Pinney 1983 – G. Ferrari Pinney, *Achilles Lord of Scythia*, in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison, 1983, p. 127-146.
- Forsdyke 1957 – J. Forsdyke, *Greece before Homer. Ancient Chronology and Mythology*, New York, 1957.
- Graf 1993 – F. Graf, *Greek Mythology. An Introduction*, Baltimore, 1993.
- Heres 1997 – H. Heres, *The Myth of Telephos in Pergamon*, in R. Dreyfus, E. Schraudolph (eds.), *Pergamon. The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, vol. 2, New York, 1997, p. 83-108.
- Heres, Strauss 1994 – H. Heres, M. Strauss, s.v. *Telephos*, in LIMC VII.1-2, Zürich – München, 1994, p. 856-870.
- Hommel 1980 – H. Hommel, *Der Got Achilleus*, Heidelberg, 1980.
- Ivantchik 1997 – A. Ivantchik, *Les légendes de fondation de Sinope du Pont*, REA 99, 1-2, 1997, p. 33-45.
- Ivantchik 2005 – A. Ivantchik, *Am Vorabend der Kolonisation. Das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet und die Steppennomaden des 8. – 7. Jhs. v. Chr. in der klassischen Literaturtradition: Mündliche Überlieferung, Literatur und Geschichte*, Berlin – Moskau, 2005.
- Larson 2001 – J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs. Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford, 2001.
- Leaf 1915 – W. Leaf, *Rhesos of Thrace*, JHS 35, 1915, p. 1-11.
- Lightfoot 1999 – J.L. Lightfoot (ed.), *Parthenius of Nicaea: the poetical fragments and the Έρωτικά παθήματα*, Oxford, 1999.
- Malkin 1994 – I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, Cambridge, 1994.
- Malkin 2006 – I. Malkin, *Networks and the Emergence of Greek Identity*, Mediterranean Historical Review, 18, 2006, 2, p. 56-74.
- Nagy 1990 – G. Nagy, *Pindar’s Homer. The Lyric Possession of the Epic Past*, Baltimore, 1990.
- Panait Bîrzescu 2003-2005 – F. Panait Bîrzescu, *Cele mai timpurii monede histriene de argint. Considerații stilistice și iconografice*, SCIVA 54-56, 2003-2006, p. 211-219.
- Parzinger 2004 – H. Parzinger, *Die Skythen*, München, 2004.
- Poenaru Bordea 2002 – G. Poenaru Bordea, *Atelierul monetar al cetății Istros în perioada autonomiei*, in *Simpozion de Numismatică organizat în memoria martirilor căzuți la Valea Albă, la împlinirea a 525 de ani (1476-2001), Chișinău, 13-15 mai 2001, Comunicări, studii și note*, București, 2002, p. 9-33.
- de Polignac 1995 – F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, Chicago – London, 1995.
- Preda 1998 – C. Preda, *Istoria monedei în Dacia preromană*, București, 1998.
- Rusjaeva, Vinogradov 1991 – A.S. Rusjaeva, J.G. Vinogradov, *Der ‚Brief des Priesters’ aus Hylaia*, in R. Rolle, M. Müller-Wille, K. Schietzel (eds), *Gold der Steppe. Archäologie der Ukraine*, Schleswig, 1991, p. 201-202.
- Schraudolph 1996 – E. Schraudolph, *Catalogue. Sculpture and architectural fragments (cat. nos. 1-35)*, in R. Dreyfus, E. Schraudolph (eds.), *Pergamon. The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, 1, New York, 1996, p. 53-103.
- Sittig 1914 – E. Sittig, s.v. *Rhesos*, in RE I, A1, 1914, col. 625-630.
- Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 – Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others. Myth, Ritual, Ethnicity*, Stockholm, 2005.
- Stewart 1997 – A. Stewart, *Telephos/Telepinu and Dionysos: a distant light on an ancient myth*, in R. Dreyfus, E. Schraudolph (eds.), *Pergamon. The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, vol. 2, New York, 1997, p. 109-119.
- True 1997 – M. True, s.v. *Rhesos*, in LIMC VIII.1-2, Suppl., Zürich – Düsseldorf, 1997, p. 1044-1047.
- Vinogradov, Kryžickij 1995 – J.G. Vinogradov, S.D. Kryžickij, *Olbia. Eine altgriechische Stadt im nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum*, Leiden, 1995.
- Weiss 1984 – C. Weiss, *Griechische Flussgottheiten in vorhellenistischer Zeit. Ikonographie und Bedeutung*, Würzburg, 1984.

Sources

- Eur. *Rh.* – Euripides, *Rhesus*, A. S. Way (trans.), The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1925.
- Hdt. – Herodotus, A.D. Godley (trans.), The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1921.
- Paus. – Pausanias, *Description of Greece. III-IV*, W.H.S. Jones, H.A. Ormerod (trans.), The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1926.
- Philostr. *Her.* – Flavius Philostratus, *Heroikos*, J.K. Berenson Maclean, E. Bradshaw Aitken (trans.), Atlanta, 2001.
- Thuc. – Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, vol. 2, C. F. Smith (trans.), The Loeb classical library, London, 1957.

PSEUDO-AUTONOMOUS COINS MINTED AT CALLATIS

STELUȚA MARIN*, VIRGIL IONIȚĂ**

Keywords: Callatis, Herakles, bronze, pseudo-autonomous, wheatears, club, Traian, countermark, Nero, overstriking

Abstract: The Callatis mint issued numerous pseudo-autonomous coins featuring the head of Herakles on the obverse and the attributes of the city and the hero on the reverse. The authors present 47 coins, 40 belonging to the V. Ioniță collection and the remaining seven to the Dr. George Severeanu collection, preserved in the Bucharest Municipality Museum. The other 50 coins are described in the literature or on internet, on the websites of auction houses. The first coin in the catalogue, classified as group I, is the earliest, similar with the bronze coins from Callatis in the first half of the 1st century BC. The following groups (II-XIV) are composed up of coins struck with a stencil-image of a bearded Herakles, wearing the laurel wreath and looking towards the right on the obverse. On the reverse, two types of representations appear: the first is a club and three wheat ears, the other a club together with a bow in case. A closer look reveals the first type is larger in size and probably is a multiple (the equivalent of 2 assarion). The coins featuring a club with a bow in case, being smaller, can be considered units (one assarion). Groups II-IX are dated during the period between Vespasian and Nerva inclusively. The X-series is dated to the reign of Trajan based on funeral inventory from Mangalia, Constanța County. Groups XI-XII would be dated during the reign of Hadrian. Groups XIII-XIV can be attributed to the time of Antoninus Pius, circulating in parallel with the first group of pseudo-autonomous coins of KTICTHC type.

Cuvinte-cheie: Callatis, Herakles, bronz, pseudo-autonom, spice de grâu, măciucă, Traian, contramarcă, Nero, surfrapare

Rezumat: Atelierul monetar din Callatis a bătut numeroase emisiuni pseudo-autonome cu capul lui Herakles pe avers și atributele cetății și ale eroului pe revers. Autorii editează un număr de 47 de piese: 40 exemplare din colecția V. Ioniță; șapte exemplare din colecția Dr. George Severeanu; 50 piese au fost editate în literatura de specialitate sau pe site-urile on-line ale caselor de licitație. Prima monedă din catalog, inseriată în grupa I, este cea mai timpurie, fiind datată în prima jumătate a sec. I a.Chr. Grupele următoare (II-XIV) sunt imprimate pe avers cu o imagine-șablon a capului lui Herakles bărbos, laureat, spre dreapta. Pe reversul lor, sunt redată două tipuri de reprezentări: prima cu o măciucă și trei spice de grâu, cea de-a doua cu o măciucă și o tolbă de săgeți cu arc. Monedele cu prima reprezentare au dimensiuni mai mari decât celelalte și de aceea sunt socotite multipli (echivalentul a 2 assaria). Piesele imprimate cu o măciucă și o tolbă pe revers sunt mai mici și de aceea pot fi considerate unități (un assarion). Grupele II-IX sunt situate în perioada dintre Vespasian și Nerva inclusiv. Cea de-a X-a serie este datată începând cu domnia lui Traian pe baza inventarului funerar de la Mangalia, jud. Constanța. Grupele XI-XII ar fi localizate în perioada domniei lui Hadrian. Grupele XIII-XIV pot fi încadrate în vremea lui Antoninus Pius, circulând în paralel cu prima grupă de monede pseudo-autonome de tip KTICTHC.

The Callatis mint issued numerous pseudo-autonomous coins featuring the head of Herakles on the obverse and the attributes of the city and the hero on the reverse. In most instances these have been rather confusingly edited in the literature as either autonomous or pseudo-autonomous coinage, without any clear dating.

While not claiming to offer an exhaustive analysis of the material, this paper presents 47 coins, 40 belonging to the V. Ioniță collection and the remaining seven to the Dr. George Severeanu collection,

* The Municipal Museum of Bucharest; stelutamarinn@yahoo.com.

** Romanian Numismatic Society; secretariatsnr@gmail.com.

preserved in the Bucharest Municipality Museum. The other 50 coins are described in the literature or on internet, on the websites of auction houses. They were published here in order to support the argument of the homogeneity and coherence of these types of issues.

The first coin in the catalogue, classified as group I is stylistically different from the rest of the sample, which appears as a homogeneous structure. The coin seems to predate the rest, being similar in ways with bronze coins from Callatis in the first half of the 1st century BC. The following groups are made up of coins struck with a stencil-image of a bearded Herakles, wearing the laurel wreath and looking towards the right on the obverse. On the reverse, two types of representations appear: the first is a club and three wheat ears, the other a club together with a bow in case. A closer look reveals that the first type is larger in size and it is, probably, a multiple. The coins featuring a club with a bow in case, being smaller, can be considered units. In creating the catalogue an attempt has been made to classify the coins based on stylistic similarities, allowing the creation of more or less dated groups (units and multiples).

GROUP I

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛΑΤΙ / ΑΝΩΝ, in the center, between a club in the upper right and a wheat ear in the lower left. Border of dots.

AE ← 3.31 g; 17.2 × 17.9 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 1.

The coin is so far unique in the literature. It has similar features with a very rare 1st century BC emission. The latter featured a beardless head without the laurel wreath on the obverse, identified as Augustus, while on the reverse a bow in case with a club is represented. For this reason the coin has been dated shortly after Publius Vinicius' mission in the Western Pontus region (years 3-2 BC), after his negotiations with the eponymous Ariston I regarding the city's status¹. This coin is followed by another one showing the laurelled head of the first Roman emperor, from the early 1st century AD. However, a difference between the attributes on the reverse of the coins described above and our own is observable. A club and a wheat ear appear on ours, which can be found on two one-sided specimens, dated after the reign of Augustus. Based on these analogies, we suggest dating the first piece of our catalogue during the first half of the 1st century AD.

GROUP II

MULTIPLE

Callatis coin, Nero overstruck with a pseudo-autonomous emission.

Obv. Old type: Ⓞ [NERO C]AESAR AVG IM[P], starting in the lower right, reading from the exterior. Emperor's head, to the right. Border of dots.

New type: Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. Old type: Κ[Α]Λ / ΛΑΤ[ΙΑ] / [ΝΩΝ] inside a wheat ear wreath, with a ● shaped ornament above. Border of dots.

New type: Κ[ΑΛ] / ΛΑΤΙ above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↓ 6.28 g; 22 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 2.

UNIT

Obv. Bust of Herakles, bearded, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛ, below. A club on the left, five rays star and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

¹ Gramaticu, Ioniță 2007, p. 43-45, pl. 6.

Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 322, 12th March 2014, no. 86: AE ⚡ 2.87 g; 15 mm. Pl. I, 3.
Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung. Auction 176, 10th March 2009, no. 1512: AE 2.41 g. Pl. I, 4.

For the second group, a Callatian bronze piece from Nero was chosen, which was overstruck with representations typical of pseudo-autonomous coins: Herakles/club and wheat ears.

On the obverse, the head of Nero is visible to the right together with the partially visible obverse legend, while on the reverse, traces of the wheat ear bundle are visible, especially in the upper part around the ● shaped ornament. The city's legend can be seen here in both its imperial and pseudo-imperial form (KAAΛATI). The coin weighs 6.28 g and shows little wear considering the average coin weight during this emperor's reign is 6.59 g. Its weight and representations make it likely it is a multiple. At the moment, the exact date of the overstriking is unknown, but it is likely to have taken place at a later date, during the reign of Vespasian.

Regarding units, we can try attributing two coins found on the on-line market to the period following Nero. These have similar characteristics with the overstruck face. The presence of a five-rayed star on the reverse, while novel, is not unique. Both their weights of 2.64 g as well as the struck images indicate it was a main unit. Stylistically, it should be placed after the middle of the 1st century AD.

GROUP III

MULTIPLE

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA / ATI above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE ⚡ 4.86 g; 18.4 × 19.4 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 5.

Other pieces:

Sutzu 1913, p. 363, no. 11: AE 6.15 g; 20 mm. The coin was introduced here by virtue of the legend found on the reverse, because it had no pictures. We must keep in mind that in the absence of a photo it might belong to the other groups, which have similar legends and descriptions.

Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH. Auction 30, 28th May 2009, no. 90, from the Roland Müller collection, St. Gallen (formerly from the D. Klein collection): AE 5.14 g; 19 mm. Pl. I, 6.

Wildwinds, 7th September 2005: AE without technical specifications. Pl. I, 7.

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA, below. A club on the left, a prominent dot ornament and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

AE ⚡ 2.14 g; 12.8 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 8.

AE ⚡ 1.80 g; 12.8 × 13.3 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 9.

AE ⚡ 1.80 g; 13.6 × 14.9 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 10.

AE ⚡ 1.56 g; 13.3 × 14.4 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 11.

AE ⚡ 1.51 g; 12.1 × 13.1 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. I, 12.

In the absence of any chronological clues we grouped this type of coins based exclusively on stylistic criteria. This is why we have continued with a group that has similar characteristics to the image on the overstruck obverse belonging to Nero's coin. Because of the poor preservation of the coin from our catalogue, two items from the antique market have been added. Overall, as multiples, they have an average weight of 5.00 g.

The above can be completed by a series of units presenting a continuation of the style involving the prominent dot instead of the five-ray star between the club and quiver, averaging a weight of 1.76 g.

GROUP IV

MULTIPLE

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA / ΛATI above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↑ 5.87 g; 20.8 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. II, 13.

AE ↑ 5.28 g; 21 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. II, 14.

Other pieces:

SNG Stancomb, no. 861: AE ↑ 4.91 g; see Pick 1898, 277.

Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung. Auction 122, 10th March 2003, no. 1138: AE 6.17 g. Pl. II, 15.

Vcoins – Forum Ancient Coins, 16th February 2008, no. 2457: AE ↑ 6.05 g; 21 mm. Pl. II, 16.

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAAAA / TI below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

SNG Stancomb, no. 862: AE ↑ 4.12 g; 17 mm. Pl. II, 17.

Group IV contains the coins (multiples) similar to those of the preceding series but a lot heavier, weighting around 5.73 g. In regard to units, a single specimen is known in the W. Stancomb collection, with a weight of 4.12 g. It closely resembles the features of the head of Herakles found on the multiples.

GROUP V

MULTIPLE

A1 – R1

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. On the right side, the letter **K**. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA / ΛATIA above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

Pick 1898, 277/1; pl. II, 6.

AE ↗ 4.02 g; 17.4 × 19 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. II, 18.

AE ↗ 2.82 g; 16.6 × 17.2 mm; inv. MMB 1431. Pl. II, 19.

AE ↗ 2.48 g; 16.4 × 18.4 mm; the letter **K** slightly visible; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. II, 20.

Other coins:

Pick 1898, 277/1; pl. II, 6 – describes a coin from the Dr. Weber collection², which had been recorded earlier in Billoin 1886, no. 279: AE ↑ 3.47 g; 17 mm. G.F. Hill mentions in 1922 that the coin ultimately was purchased by the British Museum³, being reedited in SNG BM Black Sea, no. 216 (AE 3.44 g).

Moisil 1912, p. 248, no. 45: AE 3.88 g; 17 mm; very well preserved, see Pick 1898, 277.

Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 277b, no illustration, mentions a piece from the L. Ruzicka collection: AE 3.25 g; 16 mm. We have classified the coin in this group because of its low weight and the presence of the letter **K** on the obverse. It is however possible that the coin belongs to group X because of the reverse, which is described as being struck with the legend KAAA /... above, with three wheat ears and a club below.

Vcoins – Ancient Caesar. Classical Numismatics, 23th December 2010, no. 40277: AE 3.79 g; 17 mm. Pl. II, 21.

Vcoins – Nemesis Ancients and Antiquities, 23th May 2013, no. 9387: AE 3.60 g; 19 mm. Pl. II, 22.

E-bay, 17th May 2009, no. 220413077000: AE 3.30 g; 17 mm. Pl. II, 23.

² The piece was presented in Forrer 1924, p. 168, no. 2633, pl. 101 as well.

³ Hill 1922, p. 154.

Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH. Auction 16, 19th May 2005, no. 189, from the J.-P. Righetti coll., Teil V, no. 189: AE 2.78 g; 17 mm, dated rather late by the authors, in the 3rd century AD. Pl. II, 24.

Vcoins – Wayne C. Phillips. Rare Coins, 14th January 2011, no. 31128: AE 2.78 g; 16 mm. Pl. II, 25.

A2 – R1

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. On the right side, the letter **K**. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA / ΛATIA above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE 3.50 g; 17 mm; E-bay, 6th June 2009, no. 220427044810. Pl. II, 26.

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. On the right side, the letter **K**. Border of dots.

Rev. KAAA / TI below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↑ 1.84 g; 14.2 × 15.1 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. II, 27.

Other pieces:

Sutzu 1907, p. 5, no. 5: AE 1.45 g; 14 mm. The piece was eventually presented in Moisil 1912, p. 248, no. 44, as well as in Sutzu 1913, p. 363, no. 10.

Following this list we should mention a different group, characterized by the striking of the letter **K** on the obverse, on the right. This group is represented by an important number of specimens as well as the small weight of the multiples, averaging 3.29 g. The units have the letter **K** on the obverse and a light average weight of 1.64 g share the same style with the multiples. The challenging nature of dating these items can be seen in the literature. If M.J. Price dates them between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC⁴, the editors of the Righetti coll. piece date it to the 3rd century AD.⁵

GROUP VI

MULTIPLE

A1 – R1

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA / ΛATIA above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↑ 3.89 g; 19.3 mm; but KAA / [ΛATI]A; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. III, 28.

AE ↑ 3.65 g; 18.3 × 19.4 mm; but [KAA / ΛATIA]; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. III, 29.

Other pieces:

Vcoins – Forum Ancient Coins, 21st May 2013, no. BB49040: AE 4.871 g; 19.5 mm. The coin seems to have the same die as the others in this group, but poor preservation make it impossible to be certain. Pl. III, 30.

A1 – R2

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAAA / TIA above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

Talmațchi 2011 illustrates on one of the covers of this book such a coin, with a different reverse than the one presented here. Pl. III, 31.

⁴ SNG BM Black Sea, no. 216.

⁵ Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH. Auction 16, 19th May 2005, J.-P. Righetti collection, part V, no. 189.

UNIT**A1 – R1**

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KΑΛΛΑ / TI below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↓ 3.26 g; 13.2 × 14.2 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. III, 32.

AE ↓ 2.61 g; 15.1 × 17 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. III, 33.

Other pieces:

Okazii.ro, 23rd January 2011, no. 52044945 / 56083382: AE 3.40 g; 16 mm. Pl. III, 34.

E-bay – Ancient Caesar. Classical Numismatics, 25th October 2009, no. 200396839851: AE 3.29 g; 16 mm. Pl. III, 35.

SNG Stancomb, no. 863: AE ↑ 2.27 g; 16 mm.

A2 – R2

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KΑΛΛΑ / TIA (?) below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 276b, pl. 27: AE 2.60 g; 17 mm, from the author's collection, with the KΑΛΛΑ / TIA legend on the reverse below, with the last letter undistinguishable. Pl. III, 36.

Group VI with two dies for the reverse, no longer strikes the letter **K** on the obverse, but retains the same style of representation. The average weight of the multiples is higher, reaching 4.13 g. The units belonging to the group share the same type of representation. Their average weight is 2.90 g.

GROUP VII**MULTIPLE**

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KΑΛ / ΛATI above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

E-bay – Ancient Empire, 31st October 2008, no. 360111545949: AE 4.44 g; 21 mm. Pl. III, 37.

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KΑΛ[...] below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 276c, pl. 27, publishes a piece from his collection: AE 1.36 g; 13 × 14 mm. Pl. III, 38.

We have included in group VII a coin singular in the literature and the antiques market (as a multiple), which by its characteristics marks the transition to the next group. The unit edited by L. Ruzicka, weighing just 1.36 g, could have been minted by Callatis during this period.

GROUP VIII**MULTIPLE****A1 – R1**

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KΑΛ/ΛATI, above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

Pick 1898, 277/2 (without the letter **K** on the obverse).

AE 5.05 g; 23 mm. Pecunem. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction 42, 3rd April 2016, Lot number: 64. Pl. III, 39.

A2 – R2

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAA/ΛATI, above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

Pick 1898, 277/2 (without the letter **K** on the obverse).

AE ↑ 4.58 g; 20 × 21 mm; from the V. Canarache coll.; inv. MINAC 525/88753. Pl. III, 40.

Other pieces:

Pick 1898, 277/2 – mentions a coin which belonged to the Michael A. Wiczay collection⁶ and which would ultimately end up in the museum in Vienna: AE ⚮ 3.65 g; 19.2 mm; inv. GR 7808⁷. This was first edited by Eckel 1792-1798, no. 52 and later presented in several catalogues: Sestini 1818, p. 43, no. 10; Sestini 1830, p. 22, no. 6; Mionnet 1822, p. 54, no. 5 and Arneth 1852, p. 888, no. 3b. Regarding this piece, Pick remarked that the identification of the letter **K** on the obverse is uncertain, as well as the letter **A** on the reverse and the wheat ears which are not clearly distinguishable. Pl. III, 41.

Munteanu, Ocheșeanu 1975, p. 195, no. 33, briefly records a coin discovered at Pecineaga, Constanța County: AE ↑ 4.41 g; 19 mm; a little worn; inv. MINAC 1104; see Pick 1898, 277/2. By virtue of the author's reference of this catalogue, we have included this coin here. However we cannot exclude that it belongs to the other groups with similar descriptions: without the letter **K** on the obverse and the letter **A** at the end of the reverse legend (KAA/ΛATI).

Vcoins – Forum Ancient Coins, 21st May 2013, no. GB54192: AE ↑ 5.065 g; 20.2 mm. Pl. III, 42.

Wildwinds– Barry & Darling. Ancient Coins, 4th June 2002, illustrates a coin: AE 4.19 g; 17 mm. Pl. III, 43.

Vcoins – Guy Clark. Ancient Coins, 18th March 2011, no. GB406: AE 18 mm. Pl. III, 44.

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAAA below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

Vcoins – Dave and Jenny's Ancient Worlds, 12th May 2013, no. 421: AE 16 mm. Pl. III, 45.

In group VIII we have multiples struck with two obverse dies, the first one much better executed. The second dies are represented by a piece which Pick references in his work (Pick 1898, 277/2) together with a coin from the V. Canarache collection, preserved in the National History and Archaeology Museum in Constanța. Another coin which might belong to this group was discovered at Pecineaga, Constanța County⁸, while three more come from internet auctions. With an average weight of 4.37 g, group VIII fits in the weight standards of this emission of multiples. The unit included in this group here is, so far, unique in the antiques market.

GROUP IX**MULTIPLE**

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots. In the center, a rectangular countermark, 5 × 8 mm, with the letters **TPA**.

Rev. KA[Λ/ΛATI] above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE 5.93 g; 21 mm. E-bay (30th July 2015), no. 400907498779. Pl. IV, 46.

In group IX we placed only one piece, a particular one, which we have noticed online. Its reverse seems to make the transition from earlier issues, with the legend present above and the club in case on the

⁶ Wiczay 1814, p. 78, no. 2118; pl. VII, 151.

⁷ We wish to thank our colleague, Klaus Vondroveč, curator of the ancient coins collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, who kindly provided us with this information.

⁸ Munteanu, Ocheșeanu 1975, p. 195, no. 33.

left. The hero's features on the obverse are stylistically different preceding the image's subsequent changes. The presence of the rectangular countermark with the letters TPA contributed decisively in placing it in this group. The countermark was struck at Tomis during the reign of Trajan⁹ thus offering a *post quem* date to this issue.

GROUP X

MULTIPLE

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛΑ below. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↑ 4.39 g; 19.6 × 20.7 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 47.

AE ↑ 2.97 g; 19.7 mm; inv. MMB 1479. The coin is part of a tomb discovered in Mangalia¹⁰. Pl. IV, 48.

Other pieces:

Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 277a, pl. 27, mentions two coins, one belonging to the National Museum of Antiquities from Bucharest which he illustrates: AE 6.58 g; 23 mm and a second one from his own collection: AE 4.68 g; 23 mm.

Munteanu, Ocheșeanu 1975, p. 194, no. 34, records a coin found at Pecineaga, Constanța County: AE ↓ 5.66 g; 21 mm; inv. 578. This has been included here by virtue of the Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 277a being referenced by the authors.

Numismatik Lanz München. Auction 102, 28th May 2001, no. 91: AE 6.09 g. This piece seems to have been illustrated by Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger. Auctions 407/408, 7th November 2012, no. 294, in a six coins sample, next to a bronze coin with the Istros wheel. Unfortunately, technical data is missing. Pl. IV, 49.

La galerie numismatique, p. 53, no. 222: AE 6.18 g; 17 mm, dated by the authors at the end of the 1st century AD. - beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Vcoins – Gerhard Rohde, 24th December 2008: AE 4.53 g; 21 mm. Pl. IV, 50.

UNIT

A1 – R1

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛΑ below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

Pick 1898, 276; pl. II, 5.

AE ⚡ 3.88 g; 17 × 18.1 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 51.

AE ⚡ 3.47 g; 17.7 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 52.

AE ⚡ 2.98 g; 16.9 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 53.

Other pieces:

Pick 1898, 276 – mentions two coins, one from Copenhagen which he illustrates in his catalogue and the other piece from Moscow. The Copenhagen piece would be re-published in SNG Copenhagen 2, no. 180: AE ⚡ 3.28 g; 18 mm.

Karyškovskij 1965, p. 58, pl. 3, 3, signals the discovery of a coin belonging to this type in 1947 in Olbia: AE 3.56 g. The author dates it around the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Talmațchi 2003-2005, p. 20, mentions two coins with this die, which were found here:

- no. 18: AE ⚡ 3.76 g; 16.5 mm; inv. 69929.

- no. 19: AE ↑ 3.28 g; 15.5 mm; inv. 69930.

⁹ S. Gramaticu, V. Ioniță, *Monede grecești contramarcate cu TPA și AAPI (Greek coins countermarked with TPA and AAPI)*, communication held at the XXV National Symposium of Numismatics, organized by the Romanian Numismatic Society in Alexandria, May 29-31, 2008.

¹⁰ Severeanu 1929; Oța, Gramaticu 2003, p. 66, no. 1, pl. I.

Internet – Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 345, 25th February 2015, lot number 135: AE ↑ 3.23 g; 16.5 mm. It was mentioned in Freeman & Sear 5, 14th May 1999, lot 84. Pl. IV, 54.

A1 – R2

Obv. See above.

Rev. See above, but stylistically different.

AE ↑ 3.17 g; 16 × 17.3 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 55.

Other unidentified coins:

Moisil 1912, p. 248, no. 43: AE 18 mm; badly preserved, see Pick 1898, 276.

Gramatopol 1967, p. 7, no. 18: AE 2.74 g; 16 mm; inv. I/53/18, same reference.

Group X is distinguished by a large number of specimens and a high degree of expressivity of Herakles' features on the obverse. In regards to multiples, the two pieces found at Pecineaga and Mangalia, Constanța County stand out. The coin from Mangalia came from a funerary offering belonging to a tomb discovered in 1927, which would be edited for the first time by Dr. G. Severeanu¹¹. The 2.97 g weight reveals its long circulation before it became part of the funerary deposit, which is why we have considered it the oldest coin in the offering. In the case of the Pecineaga discovery, only the coin type was briefly mentioned¹², with no reference to the funerary context. The weight of the multiples is 5.13 g.

The units of this group, with two dies for the reverse, follow closely the style of the multiples. Two pieces are mentioned in the literature, found at Adâncata - *Floriile*, Aliman commune, Constanța County¹³ and further north, at Olbia¹⁴. Average weight of group IX is 3.40 g.

GROUP XI

MULTIPLE

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. On the left, behind the head, the horizontally mirrored letter χ . Border of dots.

Rev. KAA / ΛATI above. A club on the left and three bound wheat ears on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↗ 4.95 g; 19.6 × 20.5 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 56.

Other pieces:

Preda 1998, pl. III, 12, considered by the author an autonomous emission. Pl. IV, 57.

Talmațchi 2011, pl. XLV, no. 20, illustrates a piece of this type from the Constanța museum.

Group XI is represented by one coin, to which we can add two more from the literature. In terms of weight, it follows the standards of the other emissions. No units associated with the multiples group have been found yet.

GROUP XII

MULTIPLE

A1 – R1

Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. KAAA / ATIA above. Three wheat ears on the left and a club on the right. Border of dots.

¹¹ Severeanu 1929.

¹² Munteanu, Ocheșeanu 1975, p. 194, no. 34.

¹³ Talmațchi 2003-2005, p. 20, no. 18-19.

¹⁴ Karyškovskij 1965, p. 58, pl. 3, 3.

AE ← 5.89 g; 19.6 × 20 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 58.
 AE → 5.56 g; 21.7 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 59.
 AE ↓ 5.48 g; 20.4 × 21.3 mm; inv. MMB 1519. Pl. IV, 60.
 AE → 4.06 g; 20.3 × 21.3 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. IV, 61.
 AE → 3.09 g; 18 × 19.4 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. V, 62.

Other pieces:

Gramatopol 1967, p. 7, no. 19: AE 3.97 g; 20 mm; inv. I/60/2, referencing Pick 1898, 277, with the description indicating it is this type.

Donoiu 1997, p. 77, no. 122, illustrates such a coin but without technical data.

Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Basel. Auktion 29. 12th and 13th June 2003, p. 18, no. 151, pl. 7: AE 4.93 g; it would be republished in Classical Numismatic Group. Electronic Auction 215, 29th July 2009, no. 31: AE → 4.93 g; 21 mm. The coin belongs to the J.P. Righetti collection, II, 8460. Pl. V, 63.

Vcoins - WCNC online coin dealer (7th September 2005): AE 6.40 g; 20.39 mm. Pl. V, 64.

A1 – R2

Obv. See above.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛ / ATIA above. See above, but stylistically different, with the three wheat ears from the left side bundled on the bottom part.

AE ↓ 5.58 g; 21.4 × 22.7 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. V, 65.

AE ↑ 5.01 g; 21 mm; inv. MMB 1480. The piece belongs to a tomb inventory found in Mangalia¹⁵. Pl. V, 66.

AE ↑ 4.85 g; 18.6 × 20.3 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. V, 67.

AE ↑ 4.50 g; 19.5 × 20.9 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. V, 68.

AE ↑ 4.41 g; 19 × 20 mm; inv. MMB 1522. With a very faded reverse, the coin was included here by virtue of the axis, but there is the possibility that it belongs to the first reverse die. Pl. V, 69.

Other pieces:

Sutzu 1907, p. 4-5, no. 3-4, describes and illustrates two coins with the common pattern: AE 5.30 g; 21 mm and AE 3.90 g; 18 mm.

Moisil 1912, p. 248, no. 46-47, reiterates the items described above, referencing the previous publication, together with two new pieces probably of the same type (they are not illustrated): AE 7.00 g; 23 mm and AE 4.14 g; 20 mm.

Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 277c, pl. 27, illustrates a coin from his collection: AE 4.84 g; 22 mm.

Pippidi, Berciu 1965, pl. III, no. 13, pl. VI/16 (Rev.), illustrates a piece of this type: AE 21 × 23 mm.

Vcoins – Forum Ancient Coins, 21st May 2013, no. GB48243: AE ↑ 5.135 g; 21.2 mm. Pl. V, 70.

Vcoins – Shick Coins. Ancient coins and Antiquities, 5th December 2016, no. vb1532: AE 18 mm. Pl. V, 71.

A1 – R3

Obv. See above.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛ / ATIA above. Three wheat ears on the left and a club on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↓ 4.00 g; 18.8 × 20 mm; col. V. Ioniță. Pl. V, 72.

Other pieces:

Vcoins – Time Machine. Ancient Coins Greek / Celtic, 14th April 2000, no. 36: AE 20 mm. Pl. V, 73.

A1 – R4

Obv. See above.

¹⁵ Severeanu 1929; Oța, Gramaticu 2003, p. 67, no. 2, pl. I.

Rev. ΚΑΛ / ΛΑΤΙΑ above. See above, but different stylistically, with the three wheat years bundled towards the bottom part.

Vcoins – Ancient Imports, 16th February 2007, no. 10122TN: AE 6.00 g; 19.97 mm. Pl. V, 74.

UNIT

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛΑ below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↓ 2.71 g; 16.7 mm; but [KA]ΛΛΑ; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. V, 75.

AE ↓ 2.57 g; 15.4 mm; but [K]ΑΛΛΑ; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. V, 76.

Group XII is the largest of the pseudo-autonomous emissions. The multiples have been struck with a die on the obverse and four patterns for the reverse, different due to the changing positions of the attributes. Their average weight is 5.00 g. Particularly interesting is the fact that a piece from this emission comes from the funerary inventory discovered at Mangalia¹⁶. Regarding the units, we've included two coins, stylistically related to the multiples and weighting an average 2.64 g.

GROUP XIII

MULTIPLE

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛ / ΛΑΤΙΑ. Three wheat ears on the left and a club on the right. Border of dots.

Hill 1922, p. 153, no. 9; SNG BM Black Sea, no. 215.

AE ↗ 3.87 g; 19 mm. Pl. VI, 77.

Other pieces:

Sutzu 1915, p. 159, no. 2, fig. 5: AE 19 mm. Pl. VI, 78.

Classical Numismatic Group. Electronic Auction 310, 4th September 2013, no. 20: AE ↗ 3.94 g; 18 mm. Pl. VI, 79.

UNIT

A1 – R1

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛΛΑ below. A club on the left and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

AE ↘ 3.45 g; 15.8 × 17.3 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 80.

AE ↘ 3.35 g; 17.1 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 81.

AE ↓ 3.09 g; 16.3 × 17 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 82.

AE ↓ 2.80 g; 16.7 × 17.7 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 83.

Other pieces:

Ocheșeanu, Dicu 1981-1982, p. 443, no. 12, pl. I, edits a coin found at Mangalia, Constanța County, during excavations for the construction of apartment buildings next to the railway station in 1962: AE ↓ 2.25 g; 16.5 mm.

Auktionshaus H.D. Rauch GmbH, Vienna. Numismata Auction 2011, 15th April 2011, no. 117: AE 2.70 g. Pl. VI, 84.

Vcoins – Gerhard Rohde. Ancient Coins, 29th June 2009, no. 8734: AE 3.19 g; 18.1 mm. Pl. VI, 85.

Wildwinds – 5th December 2016, the piece was added in July 2013 with the permission of Roland Müller: AE 3.33 g; 16 mm. Pl. VI, 86.

¹⁶ Severeanu 1929; Oța, Gramaticu 2003, p. 67, no. 2, pl. I.

CoinArchives.com - Roma Numismatics Ltd. E-Sale 31. Auction date: 26th November 2016, Lot number 96: AE ⚡ 2.30 g; 17 mm. Pl. VI, 87.

A2 – R1

Obv. See above, but stylistically different.

Rev. See above.

MA-Shops – Davila. La galerie numismatique Sarl, 23rd May 2013, no. SKU 8396: AE 2.65 g; 16 mm. Pl. VI, 88.

In group XIII we have included a coin (as a multiple) from the British Museum collection. Weighing 3.87 g its obverse differs stylistically slightly from the group, indicating a new emission. It was published in 1922 by G.F. Hill where it was erroneously described as having two barley ears between a quiver and a club¹⁷. Later, the coin was published by M.J. Price in a new catalogue, where it is correctly described and illustrated¹⁸. A second piece was edited by M.C. Sutz in his collection¹⁹. His description does not indicate any resemblance to the British Museum coin. On the contrary, the author suggests that on the lower part, under the attributes, a five-ray star was embossed. No star is visible on the British Museum coin, but similarities between the reverses of the two coins can be seen, which might have been struck with the same die. One argument for the succession of this emission, after group XII, is the obvious resemblance with the reverse number 4 of the previous series.

We have associated a much larger group of units to the group, amongst which is a piece discovered in Mangalia during construction works²⁰. The last coin, with another obverse die, seems to be a failed variant, an imitation of the original obverse²¹. Average weight is 2.93 g.

GROUP XIV

MULTIPLES – Group I pseudo-autonomous coins of the KTICTHC²² type.

The coins associated with this group of units, the KTICTHC type, have been described in detail in another study. They were struck with two obverse dies and six reverse dies thus revealing one of the most abundant pseudo-autonomous Callatian issues. The average weight of 5.13 g falls within the weight standards of previous emissions.

UNIT

A1 – R1

Obv. Head of Herakles, bearded, laureate, to the right. Border of dots.

Rev. ΚΑΛΑ (sic) below. A club on the left, a cluster of grapes and a bow in case on the right. Border of dots.

Pick 1898, 275; pl. II, 4.

AE ⚡ 1.93 g; 15 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 89.

AE ⚡ 1.64 g; 14.3 mm; inv. MMB 1418. Pl. VI, 90.

AE ⚡ 1.54 g; 13.7 mm; inv. MMB 1495. Pl. VI, 91.

Other pieces:

Pick 1898, 275 – mentions a single coin from Moscow: AE 15 mm.

¹⁷ Hill 1922, p. 153, no. 9: AE 3.85 g.

¹⁸ SNG BM Black Sea, no. 215: AE 3.87 g.

¹⁹ Sutz 1915, p. 159, nr. 2, fig. 5.

²⁰ Ocheșeanu, Dicu 1981-1982, p. 443, no. 12, pl. I.

²¹ MA-Shops – Davila. La galerie numismatique Sarl, 23rd May 2013, no. SKU 8396.

²² Gramaticu, Ioniță 1998-2003, p. 47-50.

Mušmov 1912, p. 23, no. 226, pl. II, 20, edits a piece from the Sofia museum's collection. The photo shows it to have the same pattern on the obverse and reverse as the coin illustrated by Pick 1898, 275.

Vcoins – Ancient Caesar Classical Numismatics, 23rd December 2010, no. 40468: AE 1.83 g; 14 mm. Pl. VI, 92.

Vcoins – David Connors. Ancient worlds, 7th January 2004, no. rq16: AE 15 mm. Pl. VI, 93.

A1 – R2

Obv. See above.

Rev. ΚΑΛΑ (sic) below. See above, but stylistically different.

AE ↓ 2.12 g; 13.3 × 14 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 94.

AE ↓ 1.69 g; 14.4 mm; V. Ioniță coll. Pl. VI, 95.

Other pieces:

Vcoins – Ancient Caesar Classical Numismatics, 23rd December 2010, no. 40442: AE 1.85 g; 13 mm. Pl. VI, 96.

Vcoins – Ancient Caesar Classical Numismatics, 18th March 2011, no. 40561: AE 1.60 g; 14 mm. Pl. VI, 97.

Other unidentified coins, with reverse dies R1-R2:

Moisil 1912, p. 248, no. 42: AE 15 mm, poorly preserved.

Ruzicka 1913, p. 301, no. 275a, edits a coin with the following specifications: AE 1.95 g; 14 mm.

The author mentions it again in a new study with the observation that the coin data has been corrected: AE 2.10 g; 14 mm²³.

Group XIV only includes one group of units, different from all the others by the presence on the reverse of a cluster of grapes between the traditional attributes: the club and the bow in case, together with the misspelled abbreviation of the city's name (ΚΑΛΛΑ) with a single lambda. A stylistic resemblance of the Herakles image on the obverse of these pieces with the hero's image from the coins belonging to the first KTICTHC group is noticeable. Because of this the theory may be put forward that these units were circulating simultaneously with the first KTICTHC type coins.

A close connection between the two types of coin, struck with two types of representation, can be seen in the catalogue. This suggests they were issued according to a denomination system. This fact has been noted at the city of Tomis as well by K. Regling himself in his introduction referring to the city²⁴, as well as in considerations on the mints of Moesia Inferior²⁵. Earlier, P. Gardner noted the presence of denomination numbers on the reverse of coins around the Black Sea, proposing the hypothesis of a currency alliance between certain cities²⁶. Particularly interesting is the fact that this functions in more mints than the five which would belong to cities that were part of this alliance: Odessos, Istros, Callatis, Tomis and Dionysopolis.

Looking at denomination numbers, it appears that the main unit is a small bronze coin, varying in time between 1.8-3.5 g in weight and 13-17 mm in size. It has been identified by B. Pick as the assarion (το'ασσάριον)²⁷, frequently confused in the literature for the Roman as²⁸.

After the Papiria law in 89 BC., the as coin, which represented the main bronze unit in imperial currency, was the equivalent of half an ounce (half-ounce as), meaning 13.64 g²⁹. Its sub-units were:

²³ Ruzicka 1917, p. 90, no. 275a.

²⁴ Pick, Regling 1910, p. 622-625.

²⁵ Pick 1898, p. 74-78.

²⁶ Gardner 1876.

²⁷ Pick 1898, p. 75.

²⁸ Gardner 1876, p. 311-312; RPC I, p. 370; Howgego 1985, p. 54.

²⁹ Blanchet 1896, p. 9-11; Gnechi 1900, p. 104, exposes the reforms of the Roman as throughout time; BMC, I, p. xliv-lvii.

Table 1. Weight distribution of coins from groups I-XIV.

Group No.	MULTIPLE / 2 assaria		UNIT / assarion			DATING	
	Number of pieces	Average weight ¹	Number of pieces	Average weight			
I			1	3.31 g	3.31 g	First half of 1 st century AD.	
II	1	6.28 g	1	2.41 g 2.87 g	2.64 g	Vespasian - Nerva	
III	3	5.14 g 4.86 g	5	2.14 g 1.80 g 1.80 g 1.56 g 1.51 g	1.76 g		
IV	6	6.17 g 6.15 g 6.05 g 5.87 g 5.28 g 4.91 g	1	4.12 g	4.12 g		
V	11	4.02 g 3.88 g 3.79 g 3.60 g 3.50 g 3.30 g 3.25 g 2.82 g 2.78 g 2.78 g 2.48 g	2	1.84 g 1.45 g	1.64 g		
VI	3	4.871 g 3.89 g 3.65 g	6	3.40 g 3.29 g 3.26 g 2.61 g 2.60 g 2.27 g	2.90 g		
VII	1	4.44 g	1	1.36 g	1.36 g		
VIII	5	5.065 g 5.05 g 4.58 g 4.19 g 3.65 g	1	–	–		
IX	1	5.93 g	–	–	–		
X	8	6.58 g 6.18 g 6.09 g 5.66 g 4.68 g 4.53 g 4.39 g 2.97 g	9	3.88 g 3.76 g 3.56 g 3.47 g 3.28 g 3.28 g 3.23 g 3.17 g 2.98 g	3.40 g		Trajan
XI	1	4.95 g	–	–	–		Hadrian
XII	23	7.00 g 6.40 g 6.00 g 5.89 g 5.58 g 5.56 g 5.48 g 5.29 g 5.135 g	2	2.71 g 2.57 g	2.64 g		

¹ Average weight was calculated for the coins which had their weight specified.

Group No.	MULTIPLE / 2 assaria			UNIT / assarion			DATING
	Number of pieces		Average weight ¹	Number of pieces		Average weight	
		5.01 g 4.93 g 4.85 g 4.84 g 4.50 g 4.41 g 4.14 g 4.06 g 4.00 g 3.92 g 3.09 g					Hadrian
XIII	2	3.87 g	3.87 g	10	3.45 g 3.35 g 3.33 g 3.19 g 3.09 g 2.80 g 2.70 g 2.65 g 2.30 g 2.25 g	2.91 g	Antoninus Pius
XIV		Group I KTICTHC	5,13 g	14	2.12 g 2.10 g 1.95 g 1.93 g 1.85 g 1.83 g 1.69 g 1.64 g 1.60 g 1.54 g	1.82 g	

- semis = 1/4 ounce = 6.82 g
- triens = 1/6 ounce = 4.54 g
- quadrans = 1/8 ounce = 3.41 g
- sestans = 1/12 ounce = 2.27 g

As we can see above, there can be no equivalence between the Roman as of 13.64 g and the Greek assarion with a variable weight of ± 3 g³⁰. If we were to find the Roman equivalent for the Greek unit for bronze, the most likely candidate would be the Roman quadrans (1/8 ounce), meaning 3.41 g.

In regard to Greek currency based on the bronze assarion, the following bronze multiples are known:

- Coins with the letter B = 2 assaria, with size = 18-21 mm.
- Coins with the letter Γ = 3 assaria, with size = 22-23 mm.
- Coins with the letter Δ = 4 assaria, with size = 23-25 mm.
- Coins with the letter E = 5 assaria, with size = 25-28 mm.

The weight and size of these coins is fairly flexible, increasing and decreasing depending on the economic conditions of the age. We must consider that an attempt to establish the weight limits of denominations is extremely difficult. They are relative, directly influenced by the workshop's interest to maintain the standard's accuracy. The average weight of a significant number of issues from the same emission would be much more relevant. During the 1st and 2nd century AD we notice a greater care in keeping

³⁰ Spoerri Butcher 2009, points out the difficulties of identifying the Greek nominal system and finding its Roman equivalent.

to the standard-weight³¹. Later, the great weight variations within the same emissions³², struck with a pair of obverse and reverse dies, suggest that they were made *al marco*: a certain number of coins were minted from a certain quantity of metal without attention to the weight of each flan.

The stereotypical nature of the images with which the coins in the present catalogue were struck with indicates they were used in Callatis even before the use of denomination numbers, a practice which begins with the reign of Marcus Aurelius. At the beginning of the 1st century AD, during the reign of Augustus, the Callatis mint was striking two types of bronze coins, an early one with the bare head of the emperor and a later one representing him with the laurel wreath. Both types are the same denomination, identical to the assarion, weighting between 2.17 and 2.99 g and with the size of 17 mm and 14 × 16 mm respectively³³.

There are no further Greek coins from Callatis featuring the imperial portrait until the time of Nero. During his reign the mint struck coins with Greek and Latin legends, of a higher denomination, with a bronze piece of around 21-24 mm and weights between 5.24 and 8.68 g³⁴, which can be seen as coins representing 2 assaria. The weight variation of the coins issued using the same die reveals certain carelessness in keeping with the standard.

With the exception of a coin from Vespasian hesitantly attributed to the Heraklean city based on the letters KA on the reverse³⁵, no emissions with the imperial effigy are known from Callatis until the time of Antoninus Pius. Starting with his reign, the mint would issue coins with the emperor's portrait constantly until the middle of the 3rd century AD. A gradual and constant decrease of the 2 assaria coin weights is revealed by the analysis of the Vespasian's 4.96 g coin, as well as the emissions, with several dies, during the first Antonine emperor³⁶. This process of decrease maintains until the end of the mint activity.

Parallel to imperial emissions, the city's authorities issued pseudo-autonomous coins with a regularity still unknown to us, which can however be inferred from the multitude of dies. In an article on the Herakles KTICTHC pseudo-autonomous coins³⁷, which began with the reign of Antoninus Pius, the sporadic striking of coins featuring the letter B, denoting 2 assaria, can be seen. From this, one can deduce that the pseudo-autonomous coins were struck according to the same nominal system, parallel with the imperial portrait emissions. The latter were struck with denomination numbers (B, Γ, Δ, E) beginning with the reign of Marcus Aurelius and continuing sporadically until the time of Septimius Sever. After this, the denomination number appears on all imperial emissions until the mint goes out of use.

In regard to the pseudo-autonomous emissions, the Callatian mint used standard images indicating the denomination for the obverse, even in the absence of the letter on the reverse. Thus, the 3 assaria pieces were struck exclusively with the head of Demeter on the obverse. These are sometimes struck on the reverse, especially during the 3rd century AD, with the letter Γ. On the obverse of the 2 assaria coins the head of Herakles, the city's mythical hero is represented. The one unit (1 assarion) coins are stylistically the most varied, featuring images of Herakles, as seen in the present catalogue, and especially of Athena. A singular case is a piece featuring the head of Ares (Pick 1898, 269), known from several specimens, while an exception in repetition of images is represented by a coin featuring the head of Demeter and Eros riding a lion on the reverse (Pick 1898, 288).

Following these observations, the units in our catalogue can be considered one assarion pieces, with the multiples representing two assaria coins. Finally, we must highlight the fact that the two assaria multiples have an uneven weight evolution, the lowest level being recorded in group V with an average of 3.29 g (11 pieces) while the highest is of 6.28 g in group II (1 piece). In the case of the one assarion coins, the

³¹ At Odessos, during the reign of Trajan, bronze coins were issued, with the emperor's image on the obverse and a representation of the Great God on the reverse, which fall within the limits of an assarion, ± 3 g, according to Regling 1910, 2232, pl. IV, 23, but also on the internet, on the site acsearch.info.

³² Dima 2005, p. 35.

³³ Gramaticu, Ioniță 2007, p. 42-45.

³⁴ S. Gramaticu, V. Ioniță, *Atelierul monetar de la Callatis în vremea lui Nero*, mss.

³⁵ RPC II, p. 342, no. 2810 (*incerti*).

³⁶ Gramaticu, Ioniță 2003. The coins of Antoninus Pius, more or less worn, weight between 2.80 and 6.09 g (mean 4.56 g).

³⁷ Gramaticu, Ioniță 1998-2003, p. 47-73.



Pl. I. Pseudo-autonomous coins of Herakles type issued at Callatis: group I (no. 1); group II (nos. 2-4); group III (nos. 5-12).

Group IV



Group V



Pl. II. Pseudo-autonomous coins of Herakles type issued at Callatis: group IV (nos. 13-17); group V (nos. 18-27).



Pl. III. Pseudo-autonomous coins of Herakles type issued at Callatis: group VI (nos. 28-36); group VII (nos. 37-38); group VIII (nos. 39-45).



Pl. IV. Pseudo-autonomous coins of Herakles type issued at Callatis: group IX (no. 46), group X (nos. 47-55); group XI (nos. 56-57); group XII (nos. 58-61).

Group XII



Pl. V. Pseudo-autonomous coins of Herakles type issued at Callatis: group XII (nos. 62-76).



Pl. VI. Pseudo-autonomous coins of Herakles type issued at Callatis: group XIII (nos. 77-88); group XIV (nos. 89-97).

smallest coin is the one from group VII, with 1.36 g, while the biggest one is from group IV, with 4.12 g. The value of the units can be subjective because they are each given by one piece.

Dating the pseudo-autonomous coins is difficult without information on the context of their discovery, and remains open to debate. The Herakles head coins from this catalogue have often been mentioned in the literature as autonomous emissions, without any supporting argument. The overstriking of the Nero piece with the typical image for this denomination, from group II, points them out as pseudo-autonomous emissions beyond any doubt. The fact that a coin with the emperor's effigy was overstruck is unique in Callatis as no other specimens of this type have been noted until now. This event could be the result of a *damnatio memoriae* operation during the time of Vespasian³⁸. A different motive could be economic, as Nero's coins have circulated later under this form, overstruck or countermarked, as we can see in specimens from Thessalonica³⁹. L. Ruzicka describes two coins belonging to this city, issued under Nero, which show clear signs of erasing the emperor's name, as well as a countermark with the abbreviated name of his successor, Domitian. The group I coin was dated during the first half of the 1st century AD. based on similarities with coins from the time of Augustus. The following groups (III-IX) were catalogued mainly on style criteria and can be placed in the Vespasian-Nerva interval, including their reigns. The countermarked coin from group IX, with the TPA abbreviation, seems to have been issued in the period preceding the rule of Trajan when the respective puncheon was applied.

The dating of group X at the beginning of Trajan's reign is suggested by the presence of a multiple (a 2 assaria piece) from this series in the funerary inventory discovered in Mangalia, Constanța County⁴⁰. This inventory includes glass objects, ceramics and bronze, as well as five pseudo-autonomous coins from Callatis, three of which are of the KTICTHC type. Our study reveals that the first two pieces are anterior to Antoninus Pius, one coin can be dated during his reign and the last two were issued a little later, during Marcus Aurelius. The group IX coin found in the funerary deposit is much worn and should be considered the oldest coin of the offering. On the other hand, P.O. Karyškovskij presents a coin sample discovered in Roman Olbia in which a unit (assarion) from this group is found, which the author dates at the beginning of the 2nd century AD⁴¹. Similarly, a piece described by *La galerie numismatique* is dated by the authors around the end of the 1st century AD or beginning of the 2nd century AD⁴². Based on these clues, we might assume that group X belongs to the reign of Trajan.

After group XI which for now is only represented by multiples (2 assaria) comes group XII, the largest one. The two are stylistically similar. The presence of a multiple from group XII in the funerary deposit discovered in Mangalia in 1927 allows us to date this series during the time of Hadrian.

In terms of representation, group XIII seems to be situated at the beginning of Antoninus Pius' reign, following which, during the second half of his reign, the Callatis mint starts the production of type KTICTHC pseudo-autonomous coins. Its absence from the funerary offering at Mangalia can be explained only by the rarity of this emission known only by two multiples.

Group XIV, the final one, is represented exclusively by units (assarion) which stylistically fit in the second half of Antoninus Pius' reign. They were in circulation parallel with the first group of type KTICTHC pseudo-autonomous coins, being considered 2 assaria multiples.

Dating these items represents a challenge, as no information on the archaeological context in which they were discovered exists. The difficulty is compounded by the brief information found in the literature, publishing the coins without illustrations as well as the representation of the standard attributes of the hero and the city on the coins themselves. Such a case is the emission recorded by Pick 1898, 278 (pl. II. 7)⁴³, which can only be dated within a very wide range, 1st to 3rd century AD. Similarly, L. Ruzicka describes a coin with the typical image of an assarion (club and bow in case), but unusually heavy for its type: AE 6.10 g;

³⁸ Howgego 1985, p. 13.

³⁹ Ruzicka 1924.

⁴⁰ Severeanu 1929; Oța, Gramaticu 2003, p. 66, no. 1, pl. I.

⁴¹ Karyškovskij 1965, p. 58, pl. 3, 3.

⁴² *La galerie numismatique*, p. 53, no. 222.

⁴³ The same coin was also described by Mušmov 1912, p. 24, no. 233, pl. V, 1.

19 mm⁴⁴. Mentioning the figure of Herakles on the obverse with a club on his shoulder and the ΚΑΛΛΑ/TIA legend above on the reverse classifies the coin as a new emission, difficult to identify without an illustration. At Mangalia, between 1974 and 1976, a funerary offering made up of two coins was discovered. The author describes them as being Pick 1898, 276 general type, dated during the Antonine age⁴⁵. Their faulty presentation, with no details or photographs but only technical data does not allow their precise inclusion in the pseudo-autonomous type series.

Considering that new types of dies with these representations continue to appear on the antiques market, researching these emissions is just in its early stages.

Abbreviations

E-bay - internet page: <http://www.ebay.com/>

J.-P. Righetti coll - J.-P. Righetti private collection

MA-Shops - MA-Shops. Coin, Banknote and Medal Collectors's Online Mall (internet page: <https://www.ma-shops.de/>)

MMB - Bucharest Municipality Museum.

MINAC - Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța

Okazii.ro - Cel mai mare site de comerț online din România (internet page: <https://www.okazii.ro/>)

V. Canarache coll. - Vasile Canarache private collection

Vcoins - The online coin show (internet page: <https://www.vcoins.com/>)

V. Ioniță coll. - Virgil Ioniță private collection.

Wildwinds - Ancient Coins: Roman, Greek, Byzantine and Celtic (internet page: <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/>).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arneth 1852 – J. Arneth, *Beantworten der Schreiben d. k. k. Vice-Consuls in Varna, Hrn. Tedeschi, und des Herrn Baron d'Ailly*, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe, Band 9, 1852, p. 880-924.

Bârlădeanu-Zavatin 1977 – E. Bârlădeanu-Zavatin, *În legătură cu o necropolă de epocă romană timpurie la Callatis*, Pontica 10, 1977, p. 127-152.

Billoin 1886 – Collection Billoin. Médailles grecques autonomes, Paris, 22 mars 1886.

Blanchet 1896 – A. Blanchet, *Les monnaies romaines*, Paris, 1896.

Dima 2005 – M. Dima, *Un nou tezaur de la mijlocul sec. III p. Chr. descoperit în Dobrogea*, in *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat centenarului Societății Numismatice Române (1903-2003)*, Chișinău, 26-28 noiembrie 2003, București, 2005, p. 35-50.

Donoiu 1997 – I. Donoiu, *Lumea antică pe monede*, București, 1997.

Eckhel 1792-1798 – J. H. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Vindobonae (Viena), 1792-1798.

Forrer 1924 – L. Forrer, *The Weber Collection, II. Greek Coins. Macedon, Thrace, Thessaly, North Western, Central and Southern Greece*, London, 1924.

Gardner 1876 – P. Gardner, *A Monetary League on the Euxine Sea*, NC, 1876, p. 307-314.

Gnecchi 1900 – F. Gnecchi, *Monete romane*, Milano, 1900.

Gramaticu, Ioniță 1998-2003 – S. Gramaticu, V. Ioniță, *Monede pseudo-autonome callatiene de tip KTICTHC*, BSNR 92-97, 1998-2003, 146-151, p. 47-73.

Gramaticu, Ioniță 2003 – S. Gramaticu, V. Ioniță, *Emisiunile monetare callatiene cu efigia lui Antoninus Pius*, in *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a 125 de ani de la proclamarea independenței României*, Chișinău, 24-26 septembrie 2002, București, 2003, p. 59-64.

Gramaticu, Ioniță 2007 – S. Gramaticu, V. Ioniță, *Monnaies de bronze inédites de Callatis du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et du I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.*, NC, 2007, p. 33-45.

⁴⁴ Ruzicka 1913, p. 301, no. 276a.

⁴⁵ Bârlădeanu - Zavatin 1977, p. 132, M 4, no. 1-2 (AE $\overrightarrow{\text{A}}$ 5,65 g; 21 mm; AE $\overrightarrow{\text{A}}$ 4,40 g; 20 mm).

- Gramatopol 1967 – O. Iliescu, E. Isăcescu, M. Gramatopol, C. Popescu, *Creșterea Colecțiilor. Caiet selectiv de informare. Biblioteca Academiei Române, nr. 19, ianuarie – martie 1967*, București, 1967.
- Howgego 1985 – C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire*, London, 1985.
- Hill 1922 – G. F. Hill, *Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1921*, NC, 1922, p. 151-163.
- Karyškovskij 1965 – P. O. Karyškovskij, *Находки монет римской империи в Ольвии*, Numizmatika i Sfragistika (Kiev) 2, 1965, p. 50-75.
- La galerie numismatique – La galerie numismatique Bogdan Stambuliu, Vente aux enchères IV*, 28 novembre 2004, Geneve.
- Mionnet 1822 – T.E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation, Supplément 2*, Paris, 1822.
- Moisil 1912 – C. Moisil, *Creșterea Colecțiilor. Caiet selectiv de informare. Biblioteca Academiei Române, nr. 21, octombrie – decembrie 1912*, București, 1912, p. 235-336.
- Munteanu, Ocheșeanu 1975 – M. Munteanu, R. Ocheșeanu, *Descoperiri monetare în satele din Dobrogea romană (sec. I – III e.n.)*, Pontica 8, 1975, p. 175-213.
- Mušmov 1912 – N.A. Mušmov, *Античные монеты Балканская полуостров*, Sofia, 1912.
- Ocheșeanu, Dicu 1981-1982 – R. Ocheșeanu, P.I. Dicu, *Monede antice și bizantine din Dobrogea*, BSNR 75-76, 1981-1982, 129-130, p. 441-455.
- Oța, Gramaticu 2003 – L. Oța, S. Gramaticu, *Inventarul mormântului descoperit la Mangalia în 1927 și datarea monedelor callatiene pseudo-autonome*, in *Simpozion de Numismatică dedicat împlinirii a 125 de ani de la proclamarea independenței României, Chișinău, 24-26 septembrie 2002*, București, 2003, p. 65-90.
- Pick 1898 – B. Pick, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, I, 1*, Berlin, 1898.
- Pick, Regling 1910 – B. Pick, K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, I, 2*, Berlin, 1910.
- Pippidi, Berciu 1965 – D.M. Pippidi, D. Berciu, *Din istoria Dobrogei, I. Geți și greci la Dunărea de Jos din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă la cucerirea romană*, București, 1965.
- Preda 1998 – C. Preda, *Istoria monedei în Dacia preromană*, București, 1998.
- Ruzicka 1913 – L. Ruzicka, *Unedierte Münzen von Kallatis aus meiner Sammlung*, ZfN 30, 1913, 1-2, p. 293-304.
- Ruzicka 1917 – L. Ruzicka, *Inedita aus Moesia Inferior*, NZ 50, 1917, p. 73-173, pl. 27-30.
- Ruzicka 1924 – L. Ruzicka, *Doppelte Erosion auf einer Münze des Nero von Thessalonike*, ZfN 34, 1924, p. 354-355.
- Sestini 1818 – D. Sestini, *Lettere e dissertazione numismatiche*, vol. 4, Firenze, 1818.
- Sestini 1830 – D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del Museo Hedervariano*, Firenze, 1830.
- Severeanu 1929 – G. Severeanu, *Un mobilier funéraire trouvé à Kallatis et datant du second siècle après J.-C.*, BSNR 23, 1929, 69-72, p. 1-10.
- Spoerri Butcher 2009 – M. Spoerri Butcher, *Dénominations et systèmes monétaires en Asie Mineure à l'époque romaine: à propos de „Greek imperial denominations” et des colonies romaines*, SchwNumRu 88, 2009, p. 217-224.
- Sutzu 1907 – M. C. Sutzu, *Monete din colecțiunea noastră inedite sau puțin cunoscute, emise în urbele antice din Dobrogea*, BSNR 4, 1907, 13, p. 3-8.
- Sutzu 1913 – M. C. Sutzu, *Monete inedite din orașele noastre pontice (Tomis, Kallatis, Istros)*, AARMSI 35, 1913, p. 361-385.
- Sutzu 1915 – M. C. Sutzu, *Ponduri și monete inedite din orașele noastre pontice*, BSNR 12, 1915, 26, p. 157-171.
- Talmațchi 2003-2005 – G. Talmațchi, *Monede autonome grecești și macedonene descoperite în așezarea greco-autohtonă de la Adâncata – Floriile (com. Aliman.jud. Constanța)*, CN 9-11, 2003-2005, p. 19-24.
- Talmațchi 2011 – G. Talmațchi, *Monetăriile orașelor vest-pontice Histria, Callatis și Tomis în epocă autonomă*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
- Wiczay 1814 – M. Wiczay, *Musei Hedervarii in Hungaria. Numos antiquos graecos et latinos*, Vindobonae (Viena), 1814.

UN FRAGMENT DE CADRAN SOLAIRE D'ÉPOQUE IMPÉRIALE DÉCOUVERT À TOMIS

ALEXANDRU AVRAM*, OCTAVIAN MITROI**

Keywords: sundial, *analemma*, Tomis, Roman period, Istros, Cumpăna

Abstract: The authors publish a fragmentary sundial discovered through rescue excavations in Constanța (Tomis). On the *analemma* the abbreviated Greek names of five months of the Julian calendar are preserved. More other sundials are known in the same region: Istros/Histria, Tomis, Cumpăna (in the territory of Tomis), as well as a not identified locality in Dobruđja.

Cuvinte-cheie: cadran solar, *analemma*, Tomis, epoca romană, Istros, Cumpăna

Rezumat: Autorii publică un cadran solar fragmentar descoperit cu ocazia săpăturilor de salvare de la Constanța (Tomis). Pe *analemma* sunt păstrate numele grecești abreviate a cinci luni din calendarul iulian. Mai multe alte cadrane solare sunt cunoscute în aceeași regiune: Istros/Histria, Tomis, Cumpăna (teritoriul tomitan), precum și o localitate neidentificată din Dobrogea.

Les travaux éditaires en vue de la modernisation du réseau de canalisation du municipe de Constanța menés sur la place Ovidiu, juste en face du Musée d'histoire nationale et d'archéologie de Constanța (MINAC), entre décembre 2012 et juillet 2013, ont constamment bénéficié d'une surveillance archéologique qualifiée¹. C'est à cette occasion qu'en juillet 2013 fut creusée, entre le socle de la statue d'Ovide et le trottoir situé du côté NE, une tranchée profonde de 2,20 m et large de *ca.* 1,00 m en vue de l'enterrement d'une conduite de canalisation. À une profondeur de 0,60 m, dans une couche de terre de couleur brun-gris, apparemment antique mais violemment bouleversée par des interventions modernes, fut trouvé un fragment d'un cadran solaire (Fig. 1). Il n'y a donc pas de vrai contexte archéologique qui puisse aider à dater cette trouvaille.

L'objet que nous présentons (Figs. 2-3)² fut déposé sur-le-champ dans les réserves du MINAC, où il figure maintenant sous le numéro d'inventaire 49 099. Il s'agit d'un fragment de la lèvre d'un objet en forme de coupe de marbre blanc parcouru de nervures violacées (Fig. 3). Si l'objet à toutes les chances d'avoir été

* Université du Maine, Faculté des Lettres, Langues et Sciences humaines / Institut d'archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest ; alexandru.avram@univ-lemans.fr.

** Musée d'histoire nationale et d'archéologie de Constanța ; ofidron@yahoo.com.

¹ La surveillance de ces travaux fut assumée par notre collègue Traian Cliante, chargé de recherches au MINAC. L'un des participants les plus actifs (2012-2014) fut Octavian Mitroi (MINAC), auquel on doit entre autres toutes les données techniques, de même que les dessins de l'objet qui retiennent ici notre attention (Figs. 1 et 3a-c). Les deux auteurs expriment leur reconnaissance envers M. Traian Cliante, qui leur a libéralement accordé la permission de publier cette trouvaille issue des recherches menées sous sa direction. Nous remercions également Madame Oltița Țiței (MINAC), auteur des photos (fig. 2a-c).

² Nous remercions vivement Madame Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille 3) d'avoir mis à notre disposition une bonne partie de la bibliographie du sujet, et notamment ses travaux fondamentaux dans le domaine de la gnomonique, et de nous avoir fait part de ses observations extrêmement bienvenues après une relecture attentive de notre manuscrit.

produit sur place, le marbre est de provenance sûrement non locale, peut-être de Proconnèse. Notre objet aura, bien entendu, comporté un support, éventuellement un bucrane ou finissant en griffes de lion, mais on en ignore la position et, par conséquent, l'inclinaison qu'aurait prise la face concave. L'extérieur est richement mouluré (Figs. 2b et 3a-b). À la partie supérieure, sous la lèvre, il y a une frise en relief constituée d'une succession de sarments en spirale, dont on conserve, de manière complète ou fragmentaire, cinq éléments (Figs. 2b et 3b). Sous cette frise, du haut vers le bas, on enregistre une doucine, une baguette oblongue, un tore, un talon en saillie et, enfin, une légère concavité endommagée à sa partie inférieure (Fig. 3a).

Dimensions conservées (en mètres) : hauteur = 0,195 m ; largeur = 0,385 m ; épaisseur = de 0,050 (en bas) à 0,073 m (au niveau de la lèvre). À partir de la courbure que présente la lèvre, l'on est en droit de restituer un diamètre extérieur de 0,786 m et un diamètre intérieur de 0,640 m. Sur la surface plate de la lèvre sont visibles les traces d'une intervention due à un essai de réparation : l'on a pratiqué, en effet, une mortaise de forme circulaire pour faire couler le plomb et une rainure peu profonde destinée à recevoir un crampon en fer (Fig. 2a). Il est, d'autre part, hors de doute que ce fragment a été réutilisé comme matériau de construction à une époque non déterminée, puisqu'au moment de sa découverte, il présentait, notamment sur sa partie intérieure, des traces visibles de mortier contenant des coquilles broyées (Fig. 1).

La face intérieure concave (Figs. 2c et 3c) dévoile clairement la destination de l'objet auquel nous avons affaire : il s'agit de l'*analemma* d'un cadran solaire hémisphérique. On en conserve deux courbes horaires incisées, parallèles à la circonférence de la lèvre, traversées obliquement de cinq lignes à peu près parallèles. C'est ainsi que résulte un « damier » composé de parallélogrammes. Les cinq parallélogrammes situés entre la lèvre et la plus haute des lignes horaires, dont le premier, celui à droite, n'est conservé qu'en partie, comportent des notations en lettres grecques incisées (hauteur : 0,07-0,017 m) et l'on peut aisément en déduire qu'il s'agit d'abréviations de noms de mois latins, disposées du haut vers le bas, chaque fois à proximité de l'angle décrit par la ligne horaire supérieure et la ligne « mensuelle ». La succession actuellement visible révèle les mois suivants :

vac. Ἰού(νιος) <M>ά(ῖος) Ἀπρ(ίλιος) Μάρ(τιος) Φεβ(ρουάριος) - - -

La négligence de l'artisan fit que la lettre initiale du mot Μά(ῖος) fût incomplètement gravée : on y lirait ΛΙΑ, car la haste intérieure droite de la lettre M fut omise. Cette imperfection aura peut-être été compensée par la peinture (rouge/noire) qui recouvrait dans la plupart des cas les lettres gravées.

L'on restituera à droite sans crainte de tomber dans l'erreur le nom du mois [Ἰαν(ουάριος)]. En revanche, à gauche, l'on a affaire, entre la ligne correspondant au mois de juin et la cassure, à un espace vide (dépourvu de lignes horaires ou mensuelles), ce qui nous invite à imaginer que seuls les six premiers mois figuraient dans cette partie de l'*analemma*, distribués de droite à gauche, alors que le faisceau des six autres se situait du côté diamétralement opposé de la circonférence. Nous trouvons des analogies pour une telle disposition des mois sur quatre horloges circulaires portatives :

- horloge en laiton, en provenance peut-être de Bulgarie (II^e/III^e siècles ap. J.-C.), sur laquelle la surface du cercle est divisée en quatre parties « et ensuite dans chacune, à l'opposé sont tracés les deux secteurs correspondant aux mois de l'année en grec appartenant au calendrier julien »³ ;
- horloge en bronze d'Aphrodisias (VI^e siècle ap. J.-C.)⁴ ;
- horloge en bronze de provenance inconnue, actuellement au *British Museum*, inv. 6889-1-M (IV^e-VII^e siècles ap. J.-C.)⁵ ;
- horloge en bronze de provenance inconnue, conservée au *Science Museum* de Londres, inv. 1983-1393 (V^e-VI^e siècles ap. J.-C.)⁶.

³ Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2012a, avec notamment fig. 1a-b (citation, p. 560). Cf. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Savoie 2016, avec fig. 1a-b.

⁴ de Solla Price 1969 ; Buchner 1971, p. 473, fig. 5 ; Field, Wright 1985, p. 106, fig. 9.

⁵ Ackermann 2003. Édition améliorée dans Bevan, Lehoux, Talbert 2013, avec notamment fig. 8 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 399, n° A-502.

⁶ Field, Wright 1985 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 399, n° A-503.

Il y aurait donc eu, sur notre cadran aussi, les deux secteurs diamétralement opposés regroupant respectivement les mois entre le solstice d'hiver et celui d'été et les mois entre le solstice d'été et celui d'hiver.

L'état fragmentaire de notre cadran s'oppose nettement à toute étude gnomonique. Il ne reste qu'à supposer que sa forme était hémisphérique et qu'au centre de l'hémisphère se trouvait une tige métallique verticale (σκιοθήρης, *indagator umbrae*) : notre cadran appartiendrait par conséquent au type le plus largement répandu parmi ces instruments, *scaphe* (σκάφη) ou *hemisphaerium*⁷. Il est sûr que la concavité n'était pas creusée dans un bloc parallélépipédique, car la partie extérieure, moulurée et pourvue d'une frise, devait rester manifestement visible. Il convient, en revanche, de supposer qu'il y avait quelque part, dans la partie actuellement disparue, un socle assurant à l'*analemma* une certaine inclinaison. Une autre possibilité à envisager serait d'imaginer un cadran mettant à profit non pas l'ombre distribuée par le gnomon, mais le faisceau de lumière pénétrant par un trou pratiqué au milieu de l'hémisphère. Dans ce cas, l'analogie la plus proche serait le splendide cadran du Louvre, en provenance de Carthage (inv. MA 5074 = MNE 1178), lequel se présente comme un scyphos de marbre richement orné sur ses faces extérieures d'un décor végétal en relief (un objet imitant les vases métalliques de l'époque, I^{er}-II^e siècles ap. J.-C.)⁸. Le décor orné sur la face extérieure de notre cadran, bien que manifestement de moindre qualité, en constituerait un argument. Il faut pourtant constater que l'horloge du Louvre présente un *analemma* en « araignée » (ἀράχνη, *arachne*, selon Vitruve, *De arch.* IX 8, 1⁹), alors que notre cadran, vu l'espace vide, c'est-à-dire non parcouru par



Fig. 1. Cadran solaire *in situ*, juillet 2013. Photo O. Mitroi.

⁷ Voir, en général, Gibbs 1976. À compléter maintenant par la banque de données en train d'être élaborée dans le cadre du projet de Berlin (*Excellence Cluster Topoi*), *Ancient Sundials* (www.topoi.org/project/d-5-6/). Voir aussi Rohr 1986 ; Schaldach 2001 ; Savoie 2003 ; Savoie 2007a ; Savoie 2014 ; Bonnin 2015.

⁸ Pasquier 2000a ; Pasquier 2000b ; Savoie, Lehoucq 2001.

⁹ Cette invention est attribuée par Vitruve soit à Eudoxe de Cnide (première moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.), soit à un certain Apollonios de Pergè (seconde moitié du III^e siècle av. J.-C.). « La seconde option proposée par Vitruve, Apollonios, est plus vraisemblable. Elle situe l'inventeur à l'époque alexandrine comme tous les autres personnages présentés, à l'exception d'Eudoxe » (Bonnin 2015, p. 119).



Fig. 2. Cadran solaire. a) Vue du haut, b) Face extérieure, c) *Analemma*. © MINAC. Photos Oltița Țiței.

des graduations, dont il a été question plus haut, semble s'avérer techniquement incompatible avec l'hypothèse d'un « spot » de lumière passant par un orifice supposé. Il vaut donc peut-être mieux s'en tenir à l'hypothèse d'un cadran à gnomon.

Les inscriptions, même si modestes en soi, présentent un intérêt particulier. À en juger d'après la forme des lettres, l'horloge serait à dater du II^e siècle ap. J.-C. Les noms des mois sont ceux du calendrier julien, établi jadis par César et légèrement remanié sous Auguste, lequel y introduisit vers 9/8 av. J.-C. le mois d'Auguste (août). Ils sont notés en grec, ce qui répond aux besoins d'une population hellénophone, comme celle de Tomis : l'on a donc affaire, selon toute vraisemblance, à un produit local. Si les données astronomiques étaient exactes, l'inclinaison du cadran aurait dû être autour de 44°, la latitude de Tomis étant de 44°10'.

Nous connaissons au moins six autres exemples de cadrans où les noms des mois latins sont transcrits de manière plus ou moins abrégée en grec. Ils sont tous des cadrans portatifs en métal¹⁰ et proviennent de milieux hellénophones, comme dans notre cas. Hormis les exemples précités de la région des Balkans (Ἰανουάριος), Φεβρουάριος), Μάρτιος), Ἀπρ(ίλιος), Μά(ϊος), Ἰο[ύ(νιος)], Ἰού(λιος), Αὐγ(ουστος), Σεπ(τέμβριος), Ὀκτ(ώβριος), Νοέ(μβριος), Δεκ(έμβριος)), d'Aphrodisias (Ἰανουάριος), Φεβρουάριος), Μάρτιος), Ἀπρ(ίλιος), Μά(ϊος), Ἰ(ούνιος), Ἰ(ούλιος), Αὐ(γουστος), Σεπ(τέμβριος), Ὀκτ(ώβριος), Νο(έμβριος), Δ(εκέμβριος)), et des cadrans de provenances inconnues du Musée Britannique (Ἰανουάριος), Φεβρουάριος), Μάρτιος), Ἀπρ(ίλιος), Μά(ϊος), Ἰο(ύνιος), Ἰο(ύλιος), Αὐγ(ουστος), Σεπ(τέμβριος),

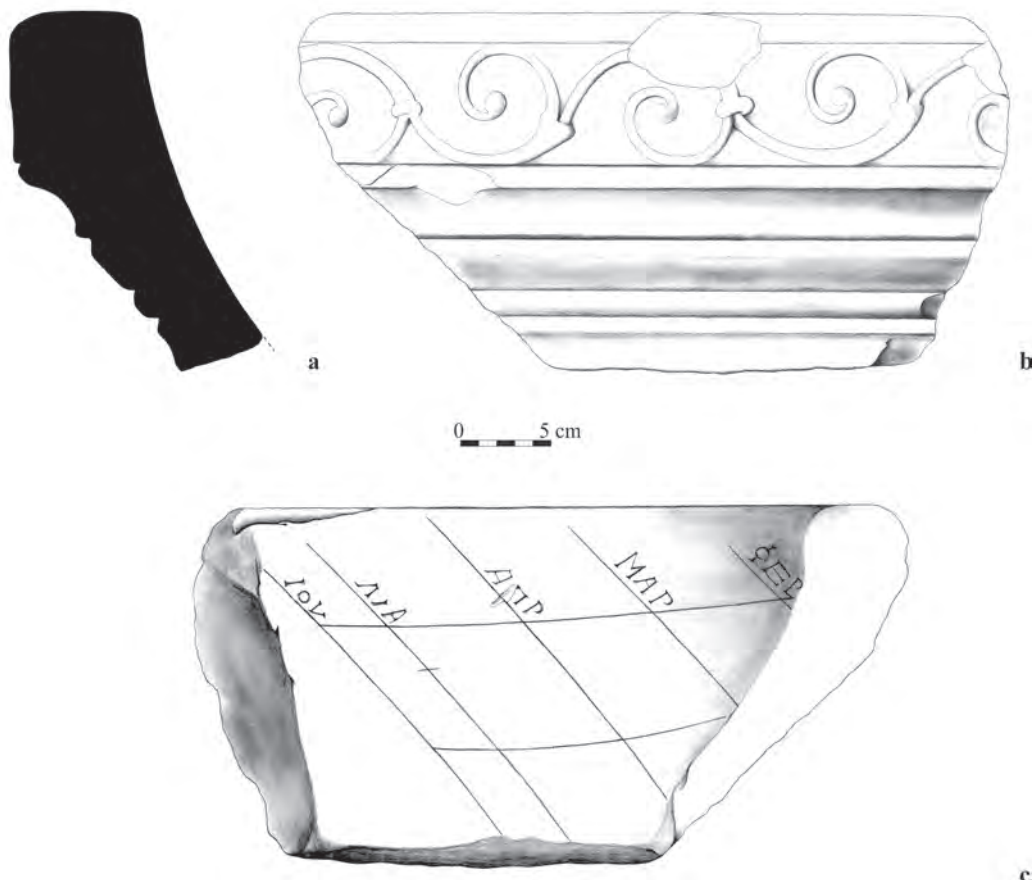


Fig. 3. Cadran solaire. a) Section, b) Face extérieure, c) *Analemma*. Dessins O. Mitroï.

¹⁰ Voir, en général, sur les cadrans solaires portatifs, sur métal ou sur os, en forme de disque ou de cylindre, Buchner 1971 ; Buchner 1976 ; Schaldach 2001, p. 46 (typologie) ; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Binet, Thuet 2008 ; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2012b (voir surtout le tableau typologique, p. 99, et la liste des exemplaires actuellement connus, avec les données techniques minimales, p. 101) ; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Binet 2015 (tableau typologique, p. 157).

Ἰανουάριος), Φεβρουάριος), Μάρτιος), Ἀπρίλιος), Μαΐος), Ἰούνιος), Ἰούλιος), Ἄγουστος) [sic], Σεπτέμβριος), Ὀκτώβριος), Νοέμβριος), Δεκέμβριος)¹¹, on peut renvoyer à une horloge de Philippi, sans doute de la seconde moitié du III^e ou de la première moitié du IV^e siècle ap. J.-C. (Ἰανουάριος), Φεβρουάριος) [sic], Μάρτιος, Ἀπρίλιος, Μαΐος, Ἰούνιος), Ἰούλιος), Ἄγουστος), Σεπτέμβριος), Ὀκτώβριος), Νοέμβριος), Δεκέμβριος)¹², de même qu'à un disque de Samos (IG XII 6.2 973, IV^e-VI^e siècles ap. J.-C.)¹³, où, à deux exceptions près (une fois Σεπτέμβριος) et une fois Ὀκτώβριος), les mois ne figurent qu'avec leurs initiales¹⁴.

Tomis utilisait le calendrier hérité de sa métropole, Milet¹⁵. Un seul mois nous était connu jusqu'il y a peu de temps encore, [Ἀπατου]ρεών ou [Ταυ]ρεών, selon que l'on privilégie l'une ou l'autre de ces deux restitutions possibles (ISM II 1 = Sokolowski 1969, n^o. 87)¹⁶. Plus récemment, une nouvelle inscription révéla aussi le mois Μεταγειτνιών¹⁷. Nos renseignements sur l'époque impériale demeurent pourtant nuls à ce propos, puisque les deux inscriptions précitées datent respectivement du III^e siècle av. J.-C. ([Ἀπατου]ρεών ou [Ταυ]ρεών) et des environs de notre ère (Μεταγειτνιών). Néanmoins, il est, à notre avis, raisonnable de supposer que le calendrier traditionnel fut conservé même à l'époque impériale, en dépit de l'information fournie par notre horloge. En fait, dans ce genre de produits, l'on utilisait des modèles, et il est tout à fait normal que les noms des mois soient rendus en latin. De surcroît, ces cadrans étaient entre autres des objets de prestige, symboles du pouvoir romain dans le sens où ils étaient utilisés pour montrer que l'on était « à l'heure de Rome » et que le centre du pouvoir avait la maîtrise sur le temps et l'espace. Tout cela ne peut fournir aucun contre-argument digne d'être opposé à l'hypothèse que, dans le régime des fêtes, pour la datation des documents officiels ou privés, etc., l'on continuait à utiliser le calendrier milésien.

Notre cadran solaire porte à cinq le nombre d'objets de ce genre que l'on connaît en Dobroudja. Le plus ancien en date est le cadran d'Istros (époque hellénistique), qui présente aussi des notations exprimées en lettres, dont la signification exacte nous échappe, il est vrai, et qui aura été utilisé aussi comme calendrier¹⁸. Le deuxième, anépigraphe, provient d'un site rural du territoire de Tomis, Cumpăna (ca. 12 km au SO de Constanța)¹⁹. Le cadran – *hemisphaerium* comportant deux courbes transversales, correspondant

¹¹ Voir notes 3-6.

¹² Gounaris 1978 (SEG 30, 585) ; Gounaris 1980 ; Pilhofer 2000, n^o 326. Cf. SEG 55, 708 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 396, n^o A-394.

¹³ Ed. pr. Tölle 1969. Cf. Buchner 1971, p. 459 et 476-481, avec fig. 4, et plus récemment, Schaldach, Feustel 2012 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 396, n^o A-400.

¹⁴ Deux autres horloges portatives à noms de mois (abrégés) écrits en lettres grecques sont à ajouter : celle de Bithynie (134 ap. J.-C.), actuellement dans une collection privée, avec des mois du calendrier bithynien (Buchner 1976, p. 330-336, avec pl. 54.1-2 et 55.1-2), et celle (perdue ?) de Memphis (IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.), avec des mois du calendrier copte (Buchner 1971, p. 474-476, avec fig. 7-9 ; cf. Field, Wright 1985, p. 107 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 399, n^o A-493).

¹⁵ Samuel 1972, p. 114-118 ; Gębura 1996, p. 71 ; Trümpy 1997, p. 89-93.

¹⁶ Cf. Ehrhardt 1988, p. 118 et 410, n. 227.

¹⁷ Avram 2014, p. 167-170, n^o 2, avec commentaire et liste des attestations de ce mois dans le monde milésien.

¹⁸ Musée national d'histoire de la Roumanie (MNIR), inv. 18 757 (jadis au Musée national des antiquités – Institut d'archéologie de Bucarest, inv. L 2023). Voir Ionescu-Cârligel 1969, p. 199 et 206, avec fig. 1-2 ; Ionescu-Cârligel 1970, p. 121-125, avec fig. 2 ; Gibbs 1976, p. 158, n^o 1044 ; Feraru 2008, p. 74-76 ; Băltăc *et alii* 2015, p. 265, n^o 288 (avec photos). Récemment, avec une étude gnomonique détaillée et avec un essai d'interprétation, Jones 2014, p. 181-187, avec fig. 4-5 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 401, n^o A-581. En suivant une suggestion concernant la forme des lettres fournie par E. Popescu, C. Ionescu-Cârligel datait l'objet de la fin du IV^e ou du début du III^e siècle av. J.-C., néanmoins, « we do not have a very satisfactory basis for paleographic dating. The most I would say is that the form of the sigma, with its horizontal hastae diverging towards the right rather than parallel, indicates a Hellenistic date, but I see nothing that would rule out a date as late as the first century B.C. » (Jones 2014, p. 181). Pour sa part, J. Bonnin (2015) oscille entre le III^e (p. 70, n. 1) et le II^e siècle av. J.-C. (p. 303). Selon nous, cet objet est sûrement d'époque hellénistique, sauf qu'il est impossible de réclamer une fourchette chronologique plus restreinte dans le cadre de cet intervalle. Une bonne analogie est fournie par un cadran de Chios : Schaldach 2011 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 401, n^o A-586.

¹⁹ Voir, sur ce site antique, Bărbulescu 2001, p. 58, avec des références. Pour le territoire de Tomis, voir Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2015-2016 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2016.



Fig. 4. Cadran solaire trouvé à Constanța (avant 1970). MNIR, inv. 48 813.

© MNIR. Photos George Nica (aimablement mises à notre disposition par la direction du MNIR et Adela Bâltac).

respectivement à l'équinoxe et au solstice, traversées de onze lignes horaires – est soutenu par un bucrane, dont le style suggère une date du II^e siècle ap. J.-C.²⁰, et présente une inclinaison de $44^{\circ}07'$, ce qui s'éloigne légèrement de la latitude de Tomis ($44^{\circ}10'$)²¹. Les horloges à bucrane sont peut-être les plus fréquents parmi les objets de ce genre : l'analogie géographiquement la plus proche nous semble être un cadran découvert à Kytaiion (royaume du Bosphore), une pièce d'importation datée du II^e siècle ap. J.-C. (*analemma* presque identique, bucrane de style plus soigné qu'à Cumpăna)²². Un troisième cadran, inachevé, provient d'une trouvaille des années soixante du siècle dernier de Tomis (Fig. 4)²³. Enfin pourrait-on ajouter un quatrième exemplaire, dont la provenance est incertaine (sans doute toujours Dobroudja) : un *hemisphaerium* anépigraphé très proche de celui de l'exemplaire de Cumpăna, soutenu cette fois, selon toute vraisemblance, par la tête d'un Atlas (peut-être III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)²⁴.

L'on aurait donc deux exemplaires sur cinq de Tomis, le nôtre et celui du Musée national d'histoire de la Roumanie, sans préjudice de celui de Cumpăna, lequel pourrait être attribué à la ville même plutôt qu'à ce site de son territoire.

²⁰ MINAC, inv. 1657 (calcaire). Voir Comănescu 1963 ; Comănescu 1970 ; Ionescu-Cârligel 1969, p. 199-201, avec fig. 3 ; Ionescu-Cârligel 1970, p. 125-127, avec fig. 3 ; Gibbs 1976, p. 371, n° 6002G ; Feraru 2008, p. 76-77 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 398, n° A-474.

²¹ Pour Ionescu-Cârligel 1970, p. 127, cela prouverait que l'horloge était utilisée à Cumpăna, lieu de sa découverte, et non dans la ville de Tomis. Cet argument ne nous paraît pas décisif, autant les cadrans de l'époque présentent des écarts, parfois même plus graves, par rapport à la situation du terrain. Pour les questions autour de l'exactitude – ou plutôt de l'inexactitude – des cadrans solaires, voir entre autres Veuve 1982 ; Savoie 2007b ; Wright 2000 ; Hoëtvan Cauwenberghe, Savoie 2016, p. 176-184.

²² Šestakov 2005, p. 363-365, n° 2 et fig. 2-3.

²³ Cf. Ionescu-Cârligel 1969, p. 203 (brève mention). Entré dans les collections du MINAC (inv. 6871), il fut prêté au MNIR (inv. 48 813). Voir maintenant Bâltac *et alii* 2015, p. 266, n° 289 (avec photos). Voir aussi Gibbs 1976, p. 179, n° 1065 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 398, n° A-473. Il n'y aurait qu'un seul autre exemple de cadran inachevé : celui de Délos (Gibbs 1976, p. 179, n° 1064 ; Bonnin 2015, p. 399, n° A-530 ; cf. p. 171 et fig. 59).

²⁴ Musée national des antiquités – Institut d'archéologie de Bucarest, inv. L 990. Descriptions et photos dans Ionescu-Cârligel 1969, p. 202-203, avec fig. 4 ; Ionescu-Cârligel 1970, p. 131-133, avec fig. 7 ; Gibbs 1976, p. 161, n° 1048G ; Bonnin 2015, p. 398, n° A-470 (avec analogies, p. 150, pour un tel type de support).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Ackermann 2003 – S. Ackermann, *Light on Byzantium: A Universal Sundial in the British Museum*, dans C. Entwistle (éd.), *Through a Glass Brightly. Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton*, Oxford, 2003, p. 16-21.
- Avram 2014 – A. Avram, *Die 'Freiheit' von Tomis in der Kaiserzeit*, dans C. Schuler, V. Cojocaru (éds.), *Die Außenbeziehungen pontischer und kleinasiatischer Städte in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit, Akten einer deutsch-rumänischen Tagung in Constanța, 20.-24. September 2010*, Stuttgart, 2014, p. 161-172.
- Bărbulescu 2001 – M. Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală în Dobrogea romană (sec. I-III p. Chr.)*, Bibliotheca Tomitana III, Constanța, 2001.
- Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013 – M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Teritoriul Tomisului în epoca romană timpurie în lumina documentelor epigrafice. I*, dans F. Panait Bîrzescu, I. Bîrzescu, F. Matei-Popescu, A. Robu (éds.), *Poleis în Marea Neagră. Relații interpontice și producții locale*, Pontica et Mediterranea I, Bucarest, 2013, p. 174-202.
- Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2015-2016 – M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Localités rurales du territoire de Tomis aux noms antiques inconnus : quelques observations sur l'onomastique*, Pontica 48-49, 2015-2016, p. 415-427.
- Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2016 – M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Observations sur la population dans le territoire de Tomis à l'époque romaine (I^{er}-III^e s. ap. J.-C.)*, AncWestEast 15, 2016, p. 195-212.
- Băltâc et alii 2015 – A. Băltâc, C. Știrbulescu, A. Ștefan, V. Apostol, *Catalogul colecției lapidarium*, vol. I. *Piese greco-romane*, Bucarest, 2015.
- Bevan, Lehoux, Talbert 2013 – G. Bevan, D. Lehoux, R. Talbert, *Reflectance Transformation Imaging of a 'Byzantine' Portable Sundial*, ZPE 187, 2013, p. 221-229.
- Bonnin 2015 – J. Bonnin, *La mesure du temps dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 2015.
- Buchner 1971 – E. Buchner, *Antike Reiseuhren*, Chiron 1, 1971, p. 457-482.
- Buchner 1976 – E. Buchner, *Römische Medaillons als Sonnenuhren*, Chiron 6, 1976, p. 329-348.
- Comănescu 1963 – S. Comănescu, *Déchiffrement et interprétation du cadran solaire de Cumpăna (Dobroudja)*, dans *Acta Antiqua Philippopolitana, Studia Archaeologica*, Sofia, 1963, p. 181-184.
- Comănescu 1970 – S. Comănescu, *Contribution à l'étude des cadrans solaires antiques découverts en Roumanie*, dans J. Filip (éd.), *Actes du VII^e Congrès international des sciences préhistoriques et protohistoriques, Prague 21-27 août 1966*, vol. I, Prague, 1970, p. 47-50.
- Ehrhardt 1988 – N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien. Vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*, Francfort – Berne – New York – Paris, deuxième édition, 1988.
- Feraru 2008 – R. Feraru, *Nouvelles contributions à l'étude des cadrans solaires découverts dans les cités grecques de Dobroudja*, DHA 34, 2008, 2, p. 65-80.
- Field, Wright 1985 – J.V. Field, M.T. Wright, *Gears from the Byzantines: A Portable Sundial with Calendrical Gearing*, *Annals of Science* 42, 1985, p. 87-138.
- Gębura 1996 – K. Gębura, *Menologia Graeca. Studium nazw miesięcy greckich*, Siedlce, 1996.
- Gibbs 1976 – S.L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials*, Yale Studies in the History of Science and Medicine 11, New Haven, 1976.
- Gounaris 1978 – G. Gounaris, *Χάλκινο φορητό ηλιακό ωρολόγιο από τους Φιλίππους*, *AEphem*, 1978, p. 181-191.
- Gounaris 1980 – G. Gounaris, *Anneau astronomique solaire portative (sic) antique, découvert à Philippes*, *Annali dell'Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza di Firenze* 5, 1980, 2, p. 3-18.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2012a – C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, *Cadrans solaires portatifs antiques : un exemplaire inédit provenant des Balkans*, *ArchKorrBl* 42, 2012, p. 555-571.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2012b – C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, *Le disque de Berteaucourt-les-Dames (cité des Ambiens) et les listes gravées sur cadrans solaires portatifs pour voyageurs dans le monde romain*, *Revue du Nord* 398, 2012, p. 97-114.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Binet 2015 – C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, É. Binet, *Cadrans solaires antiques de hauteur : nouveautés relatives aux modèles portatifs*, dans M. Scholz, M. Horster (éds.), *Lesen und Schreiben in den römischen Provinzen. Schriftliche Kommunikation im Alltagsleben, Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums von DUCTUS – Association internationale pour l'étude des inscriptions mineures, RGZM Mainz, 15.-17. Juni 2011*, RGZM – Tagungen 26, Mayence, 2015, p. 149-164.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Binet, Thuet 2008 – C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, É. Binet, A. Thuet, *Cadran solaire sur os à Amiens (Samarobriva)*, *CCGG* 19, 2008, p. 111-127.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Savoie 2016 – C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, D. Savoie, *Cadrans solaires portatifs antiques : Le cadran des Balkans et les cadrans dits « universels », analyse historique et mathématique*, *CRAI* 160, 2016, 1, p. 170-185.

- Ionescu-Cârligel 1969 – C. Ionescu-Cârligel, *Cadrane solare grecești și romane în Dobrogea*, Pontice 2, 1969, p. 199-208.
- Ionescu-Cârligel 1970 – C. Ionescu-Cârligel, *Contribution à l'étude des cadrans solaires antiques*, Dacia N.S. 14, 1970, p. 119-137.
- Jones 2014 – A. Jones, *Some Greek Sundial Meridians*, dans N. Sidoli, G. Van Brummelen (éds.), *From Alexandria, through Baghdad. Surveys and Studies in the Ancient Greek and Medieval Islamic Sciences in Honor of J. L. Berggren*, Berlin – Heidelberg – New York – Dordrecht – Londres, 2014, p. 175-188.
- Pasquier 2000a – A. Pasquier, *Du soleil dans une coupe : une nouvelle horloge romaine au Musée du Louvre*, CRAI 144, 2000, 2, p. 643-656.
- Pasquier 2000b – A. Pasquier, *Un cadran solaire d'exception pour le département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines*, Revue du Louvre 50, 2000, 3, p. 13-15.
- Pilhofer 2000 – P. Pilhofer, *Philippi II. Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, Tübingen, 2000.
- Rohr 1986 – R. Rohr, *Les cadrans solaires : histoire, théorie, pratique, traité de gnomonique*, Strasbourg, 1986.
- Samuel 1972 – A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I.7, Munich, 1972.
- Savoie 2003 – D. Savoie, *Les cadrans solaires*, Paris 2003.
- Savoie 2007a – D. Savoie, *La gnomonique*, Paris, deuxième édition, 2007.
- Savoie 2007b – D. Savoie, *Le cadran solaire grec d'Aï Khanoum. La question de l'exactitude des cadrans antiques*, CRAI 151, 2007, 2, p. 1161-1190.
- Savoie 2014 – D. Savoie, *Recherches sur les cadrans solaires*, De diversis artibus, Collection de travaux de l'Académie internationale d'histoire des sciences 96 (N.S. 59), Turnhout, 2014.
- Savoie, Lehoucq 2001 – D. Savoie, R. Lehoucq, *Étude gnomonique d'un cadran solaire découvert à Carthage*, Revue d'Archéométrie 25, 2001, 1, p. 25-34.
- Schaldach 2001 – K. Schaldach, *Römische Sonnenuhren. Eine Einführung in die antike Gnomonik*, Francfort, troisième édition, 2001.
- Schaldach 2011 – K. Schaldach, *Eine seltene Form antiker Sonnenuhren: der Meridian von Chios*, ArchKorrBl 41, 2011, p. 73-83.
- Schaldach, Feustel 2012 – K. Schaldach, O. Feustel, *Eine tragbare Sonnenuhr aus der Spätantike*, Chronométriphilia 72, 2012, p. 71-82.
- Šestakov 2005 – S.A. Šestakov, *Solnečnye časy iz kerčenskogo muzeja*, Bosporskie issledovanija 9, 2005, p. 360-373.
- Sokolowski 1969 – F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants 18, Paris, 1969.
- de Solla Price 1969 – D.J. de Solla Price, *Portable Sundials in Antiquity, including an Account of a New Example from Aphrodisias*, Centaurus 14, 1969, p. 242-266.
- Tölle 1969 – R. Tölle, *Eine spätantike Reiseuhr*, AA, 1969, p. 309-317.
- Trümper 1997 – C. Trümper, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, Reihe 2, N.F. 98, Heidelberg, 1997.
- Veuve 1982 – S. Veuve, *Cadrans solaires gréco-bactriens à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)*, BCH 106, 1982, p. 23-51.
- Wright 2000 – M.T. Wright, *Greek and Roman Portable Sundials. An Ancient Essay in Approximation*, Archive for History of Exact Sciences 55, 2000, p. 177-187.

LE MOBILIER ET LA VAISSELLE REPRÉSENTÉS SUR LES MONUMENTS FUNÉRAIRES DE DACIE

MIHAI BĂRBULESCU*

Keywords: *Dacia Porolissensis*, Roman provincial art, funerary monument, funerary banquet

Abstract: Amongst roman funerary monuments from northern Dacia (*Dacia Porolissensis*) the ones alluding to the funerary banquet are most popular (*stelae* and *aediculae*). In funerary art besides a fantastic imaginary (hippocampus, triton, gryphon, etc.) we also have a natural imaginary – which is unknown directly to the inhabitant from Dacia (lions, dolphins, palm trees, etc.). In the scenes with the funerary banquet, the participants - living or dead - are surrounded by real furniture. The Dacian funerary reliefs depict banquets with a rectangular *kliné*, with a small table in the front.

The main furniture forms as it often appears on tombstones depicting funerary banquets were couches (*kliné*), chairs (*kathedra*) with and without arms, and tables (*mensa*). The bed (*kliné*) with and without mattress, have carved legs and, sometimes, curved backrest. *Kathedra* is straight or curved backrest. The tables have round tops and three curved legs with the shape of animal forms, connected by bars (*mensa tripes*), or – rarely – rectangular with only one central leg. Cups (*poculum*), plates (*lanx*), a bird, a fish, *pannis quadratus* etc. are placed on the table. Next to the table or under the table are pitchers (*urceus*), *panarium*, *patera*. Those attending the banquet have cups, *rhyton*, a bunch of grapes; servants bring pitchers, *patera* and serviettes (*mappa*).

Furniture and objects are represented, usually, realistic. We can also mention for example that some pitchers and *patera* were made out of bronze, or *kathedra* and *panarium* were often of wickerwork.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Dacia Porolissensis*, artă provincială, monument funerar, reprezentarea banchetului

Rezumat: Monumentele funerare analizate provin din partea nordică a provinciei romane Dacia (*Dacia Porolissensis*). În zonă, scena banchetului funerar este frecvent reprezentată pe stele și pe edicule. În arta funerară, pe lângă un imaginar fantastic (hipocampi, tritoni, grifoni etc.) apare imaginarii natural – dar necunoscut locuitorului Daciei în mod direct (leul, delfinul, palmierul etc). În scenele banchetului funerar, participanții – vii și morți – sunt înconjurați de mobilier real. Sunt reprezentate banchetele cu *kliné*, unde participanții benchetuesc pe un pat rectangular, în fața căruia se află o masă-trepied.

Patul are picioarele sculptate și, uneori, spătarul curbat. Uneori este reprezentată și sofa. *Kathedra* are spătarul drept ori curbat. Masa este, de obicei, o *mensa tripes* cu platoul rotund și picioare curbate. Monopodia cu platou rectangular sunt mai rare. Pe masă apar cupe (*poculum*), platouri (*lanx*), o pasăre, pește, *panis quadratus*. Alături, sau sub masă, sunt reprezentate ulcioare (*urceus*), *panarium*, *patera*. Participanții la banchet țin în mâini cupe, ciorchine de strugure, *rhyton* etc. Servitorii poartă ulcioare, *patera* și șervete (*mappa*).

Mobilierul și obiectele sunt reprezentate, de regulă, realist. Se poate, de exemplu, observa, că unele ulcioare ori *patera* erau din bronz, iar *kathedra*, ca și *panarium*, erau uneori împletite din nuiele.

Alexandru Vulpe, connu surtout pour ses contributions essentielles dans la préhistoire de la Roumanie, était aussi intéressé par le monde de l'Antiquité Classique. Il ne me semble pas donc inapproprié de rendre hommage à l'homme, au savant et à l'ami avec quelques mots sur les monuments de la Dacie romaine.

Les monuments funéraires que nous venons ici d'analyser proviennent tous de la partie Nord de la Dacie (Fig. 1). C'est la région où est bien répandue la représentation du banquet sur les édifices et sur les stèles funéraires¹. Généralement, on rencontre dans l'art funéraire, à part l'imaginaire fantastique (Hippocampes,

* Universitățile « Babeș-Bolyai », Cluj-Napoca; mihaibarbulescu47@gmail.com.

¹ Bodor 1960, p. 43-49 ; Bianchi 1974 ; Bianchi 1985 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 233-246 ; Pișlaru, Bărbulescu, 2003 ; Cătișă 2011.

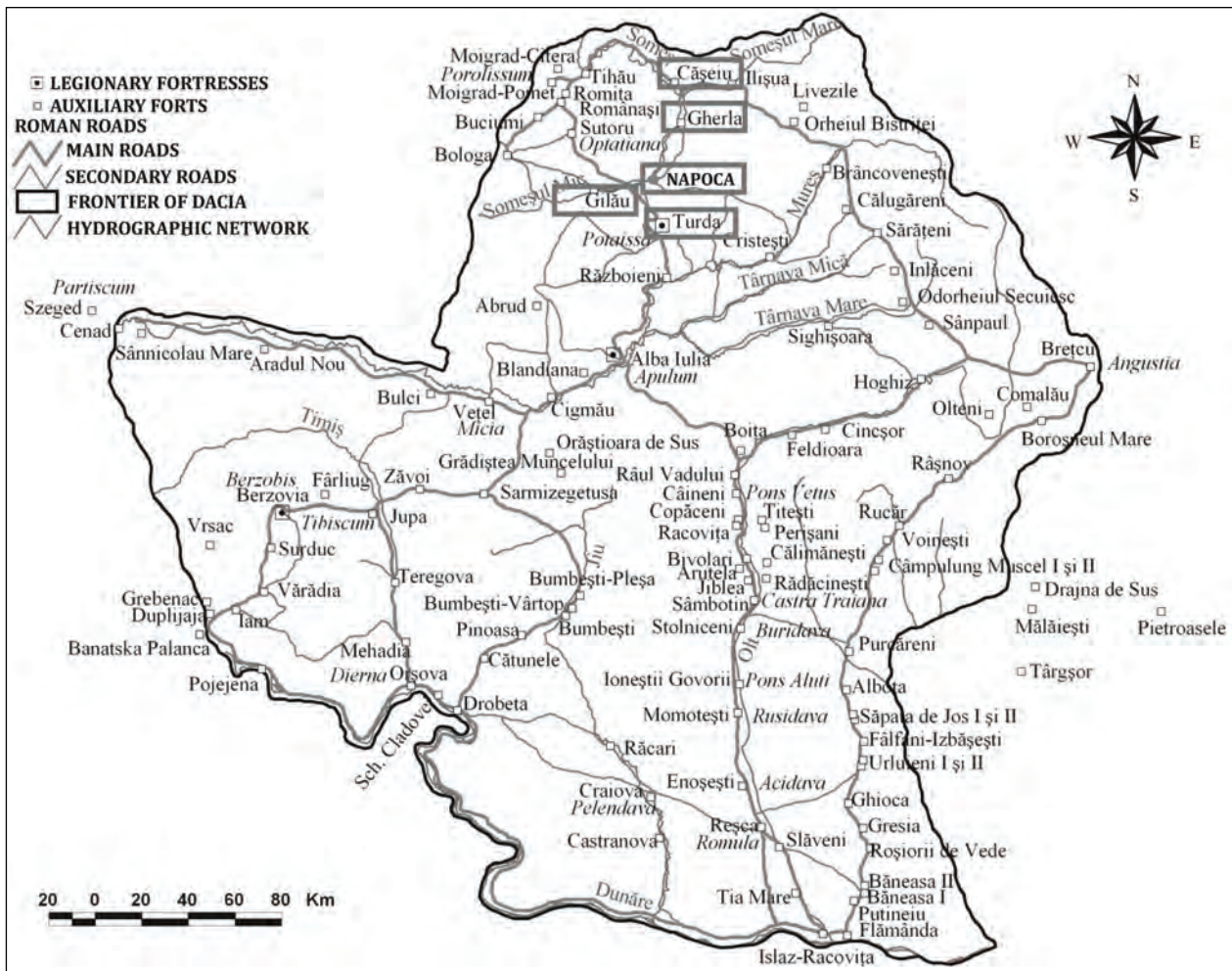


Fig. 1. La carte de la Dacie romaine [l'auteur d'après Bărbulescu 2005, *passim*].

Tritons, griffons etc.), un imaginaire naturel - mais presque jamais vu en réalité par la majorité de la population de Dacie (tel les lions, les dauphins, le palmier², le pin avec ses cônes etc.). En dépit de cela, les commanditaires acceptent de les faire figurer parce qu'ils savaient qu'il fallait les mettre sur le monument funéraire. Enfin, c'est le quotidien : dans le banquet funéraire sur les monuments qui seront présentés ici, les morts et les vivants ne sont entourés que de mobilier réel.

Il s'agit de banquets à *kliné*, où les convives banquettent sur un lit rectangulaire devant lequel est disposée une table-trépiéd. Est-ce qu'il s'agit d'un banquet dans les Elysées, où le défunt goûterait éternellement les plaisirs de la table, ou une représentation d'un événement réel, d'un banquet collectif des vivants, qu'il soit funéraire ou non ?

La réponse n'est pas facile³. Le mort et les vivants semblent partager les aliments. Le personnage allongé est supposé être le défunt, mais il est représenté en tant que vivant. La femme du défunt est assise sur la *kathedra*, mais parfois cette femme est la défunte elle-même. L'identification des autres personnages, réduits au buste, est encore plus difficile : sont-ils des convives du banquet, ou bien des autres défunts ? Ces bustes sont presque la multiplication de la même figure. Peut-être que cette multiplication est due à la nécessité de mettre en scène plusieurs personnages, tandis que le modèle original du banquet d'héroïsation ne comprenait que deux : le défunt et sa femme. Les participants au banquet, hommes et femmes, sont

² Tout récemment un palmier est devenu visible sur un monument funéraire de *Potaissa*, partiellement muré auparavant (Bărbulescu 2016, p. 285, fig. 433).

³ Huet 2004.

quelquefois presque identiques, comme s'ils étaient des jumeaux. Mais le défunt lui-même est réduit à un buste assis sur la *kliné*. Tous ces bustes sont isocéphaliques avec les personnages principaux⁴. Le mort (les morts) et les vivants ne se différencient ni par les vêtements, ni par les gestes.

Pour Paul Veyne les reliefs de banquet funéraire sont le signe d'affirmation d'une classe moyenne et n'ont « rien à voir avec l'au-delà ni avec les Parentalia »⁵. Pour Valérie Huet « l'image est bien polysémique puisqu'elle peut renvoyer d'une part au faste des banquets qui peuvent être privés comme publics, d'autre part à un banquet idéal et éternel auquel goûterait le défunt représenté en tant que vivant. L'image... pouvait à la fois exprimer un encouragement à banqueter de son vivant et inciter la famille à ne pas négliger ses devoirs envers le mort »⁶.

Quoi qu'il en soit, nos monuments reproduisent le mobilier réel.

Pour commencer, nous passons en revue rapidement ces monuments.

Căsei (1). La stèle de Iulius Crescens (Fig. 2)⁷. Le défunt sur la *kliné*, à demi couché vers la gauche, avec un gobelet dans sa main gauche. La *kliné* a les pieds ouvragés en forme de balustres et le chevet à enrroulements. La femme assise dans la *kathedra*, avec un gobelet dans sa main droite. La *kathedra* est simple, avec le dossier courbé. Les gobelets paraissent avoir une forme creuse, ils sont plutôt des coupes rondes, des calices sans pieds. Les deux portent une couronne végétale. Devant, la *mensa tripes*, avec des pieds zoomorphes. Tandis que les pieds sont très soigneusement sculptés (on distingue aisément les pattes de lion), le plateau est représenté verticalement. On va revenir plus loin sur cette inadvertance.

Potaissa (2). D'un édicule funéraire de *Potaissa*⁸ ont été conservées la paroi centrale et la paroi gauche. Le banquet est représenté sur la paroi centrale (Fig. 3). A droite, sur la *kliné*, à dossier courbé et le pied sculpté, le défunt tient dans sa main gauche un calice avec pied. A gauche, une femme sur la *kathedra* avec un petit oiseau dans la main. La *kathedra* reproduite de manière très réaliste, une chaise en osier. Entre les deux acteurs principaux, sont placés deux bustes de femmes, avec un oiseau et une pomme. Les trois femmes ont les visages très semblables : les mêmes cous cylindriques, les mêmes yeux, les lèvres pleines. La coiffure, les boucles d'oreille, les vêtements sont tout-à-fait semblables. La *mensa tripes* a des pieds délicats, courbés. Sur le plateau sont déposés, de gauche à droite, une coupe à pied court, un petit pain (en forme d'anneau ?), un plateau (*lanx*) avec un oiseau. Le pain et l'oiseau sont représentés verticalement. Sont présentes la frontalité et l'isocéphalie. Le sculpteur a créé les bustes en bas-relief, tandis que pour le pied du lit et pour la table il s'est contenté avec un relief plat.

La composition est équilibrée : le dossier du lit fait pendant avec le dossier de la *kathedra*.

La paroi gauche de l'édicule (Fig. 4) présente le buste d'une femme, une jumelle, dirait-on, des femmes de la paroi centrale et un *camillus* avec une cruche et une serviette.

Potaissa (3). Une stèle ou une paroi centrale d'édicule de *Potaissa*⁹ (Fig. 5). À droite, une femme sur la *kathedra*, probablement la défunte, avec un sort de rhyton dans la main. La *kathedra* est simple, avec le dossier courbé. Le lit, avec un gros matelas, a les pieds en forme de balustre. On voit les bustes de quatre hommes, à gauche l'un plus jeune, les autres trois avec les visages très semblables. Les habits, les gestes, les petits gobelets coniques sont les mêmes. C'est un portrait multiplié. Les trois pieds de table sont reliés par trois branches placées en dessous du plateau. Sur le plateau, de section trapézoïdale, se trouvent quatre objets, parmi lesquels un gobelet semblable à ceux tenus par les hommes et un pain en forme d'anneau (?). L'artisan a réussi à créer de la profondeur dans la scène : les pieds de la table descendent plus bas que le pied du lit,

⁴ Bărbulescu 2016, p. 109-112.

⁵ Veyne 2000, p. 1180.

⁶ Huet 2013, p. 46.

⁷ *Römer in Rumänien*, p. 135, D 59 ; Bianchi 1974, p. 163 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 127, no. 101.

⁸ *Römer in Rumänien*, p. 253, G 130 = *Civiltà Romana in Romania*, p. 245, G 92 (L. Țeposu-David) ; *Römer in Rumänien*, p. 255, G 136 = *Civiltà Romana in Romania*, p. 246, G 97 (H. Daicoviciu) ; Mitrofan, Țeposu 1970, p. 531-536, fig. 1-2 ; Bianchi 1974, p. 171-173, fig. 1-2 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 48-49, p. 212, AÉ 62 ; Bărbulescu 1994, p. 158, pl. XI/4 ; Pîslaru, Bărbulescu 2003, p. 40, fig. 11 ; Bărbulescu 2009, p. 154, fig. 11 ; Bărbulescu 2016, p. 79-81, fig. 67-68.

⁹ Münsterberg, Oehler 1902, c. 103-105, fig. 21 ; Mitrofan, Țeposu 1970, p. 533-534, fig. 3 ; Bărbulescu 1994, p. 158, pl. XI/5 ; Bărbulescu 2009, p. 154, fig. 10 ; Bărbulescu 2016, p. 285, fig. 433.

pour montrer que la table se trouve au premier plan. Dans un plan encore plus proche il a mis un *panarium* flanqué par deux cruches (en bronze, sans doute, d'après leurs anses très élaborées).

Tout comme dans le monument précédent, les personnages sont en bas-relief, tandis que la si ge, la *mensa tripes*, le pied du lit sont en relief plat. Les vases de bronze et le *panarium* sont en m pl t, l'artisan a creus  la pierre seulement p rim tral.

Une autre st le de **Potaissa (4)** (Fig. 6)¹⁰ pr sente la famille au banquet, dont le d funt en buste sur une *klin * avec l'accoudoir incurv . Il tient dans sa main gauche un gobelet rond, avec pied. La femme  tait assise sur le si ge haut, avec le dossier courb . Entre ses parents, un enfant avec une grappe de raisin.

On a suppos  que tous ces trois monuments soient sortis d'un seul atelier, ou m me d'un seul artisan¹¹,  ventuellement d'un artisan venu de Rh tie qui, comme l -bas, faisait les oreilles rondes, les cous et les doigts longs¹², semblable au monument de Martialis de Augusta Vindelicorum¹³. Des autres  l ments, plus significatifs encore, sont la stylisation des mains, r duites aux puces et aux index, et la fa on de tenir le gobelet, combinaison d'affectation et d'anormal¹⁴ (Fig. 7 et 8).

La st le de Valeria Dula, de **Potaissa (5)** (Fig. 9 et 10)¹⁵. Elle doit  tre la femme assise   gauche, sur la *kathedra*. Il n'est pas clair que le si ge  tait en osier ; le dossier est courb . Sur la *klin *   demi couch  vers la gauche, un homme (Volusius Titianus, le mari de Valeria, mais l' p taph  ne l'indique pas comme d c d ). La *klin * a les pieds hauts, en balustres et l'accoudoir incurv  ; au-dessus, un gros matelas avec rayures, un peu plus rares que les rayures du v tement. L'homme tient un objet pas identifiable ; l'enfant tient une coupe (?). La *mensa tripes*   les pieds reli s par trois branches. Le plateau est repr sent  de mani re verticale. La sc ne n'a pas de profondeur. Bien que le plateau couvre un peu le lit, les pieds de la table et les pieds du lit se trouvent dans le m me plan. On dirait que la table est plac e au-dessous du lit.

La st le de Crescens Maximi et de son fils Iulius, de **Potaissa (6)** (Fig. 11 et 12)¹⁶. Le d funt est   droite, allong  sur la *klin *. On voit un pied en balustre du lit et l'accoudoir incurv . Dans sa main gauche l'homme tient une coupe.   gauche, sa femme, assise sur une *kathedra*   dossier simple, avec le petit Iulius dans ses bras. La sc ne comprend aussi une servante et deux participants au banquet, qui tiennent dans les mains des objets pas identifiables. La *mensa tripes* a des pieds courb s et reli s par des branches. Sur la table sont d pos s un plateau (*lanx*), un petit pain (en forme d'anneau ?) et, probablement, une coupe   pied court. Le plateau et le pain sont repr sent s verticalement. Au-dessous de la table on peut reconnaître le *panarium*, une cruche et une pat re. Celle-ci est anormalement repr sent e verticalement. Il n'y a pas de profondeur : le plateau de la table couvre le lit, mais les pieds de la table et du lit et les objets figurent dans le m me plan.

Une autre st le de **Potaissa (7)** (Fig. 13 et 14)¹⁷ a  t   rig e par le v t ran d'origine palmyr nienne, Aelius Bolhas Bannaei, et sa femme, pour la fille Aelia Tiiadmes, d c d e   huit ans, pour l'affranchi Surillio, d c d    25 ans et pour Rufina, d c d e   20 ans. Au banquet sont repr sent s quatre convives : la fille Aelia Tiiadmes est, peut- tre, la deuxi me   gauche ; le suivant est Surillio, avec une coupe dans la gauche. Sur la *kathedra*,   droite, est assis un personnage avec le visage mal conserv , le buste en demi-profile et les pieds en profile. Son menton assez allong  pourrait sugg rer une barbe, mais les femmes sont repr sent es d'habitude sur la *kathedra*. Par quelques rayures sch matiques l'artisan a voulu repr senter l'osier. Sur la *mensa tripes* on voit des gobelets et un pain (?).

¹⁰ Florescu 1930, p. 87, fig. 14 ; Bodor 1960, p. 44, fig. 1 ; Mitrofan,  eposu 1970, p. 533-534, fig. 4 ; Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 16, nr. 35, fig. 47 ;  eposu Marinescu 1982, p. 218-219, nr. 92 ; B rbulescu 2016, p. 81-82, fig. 69.

¹¹ Mitrofan,  eposu 1970, p. 533 ; Bianchi 1974, p. 173.

¹² Mitrofan,  eposu 1970, p. 533.

¹³ Ferri 1933, p. 38-39, fig. 3-4 ; Mitrofan,  eposu 1970, p. 533 ; Bianchi 1974, p. 172-173, n. 41.

¹⁴ B rbulescu 2016, p. 235.

¹⁵ T gl s 1915, p. 45, fig. 6 ; Russu 1941-1943, p. 212, nr. 24 ; Jude, Pop 1972, p. 7-8, nr. 2, pl. II ; B rbulescu 2016, p. 83-84, fig. 71-72.

¹⁶ P slaru, B rbulescu 2003, p. 40, fig. 9 ; C tina  2011, sp cialement pl. I ; B rbulescu 2016, p. 84, fig. 73-74.

¹⁷ Russu 1969, p. 173 ;  eposu Marinescu 1982, p. 130, S 115 ; Bianchi 1985, p. 274, nr. 11 ; P slaru, B rbulescu 2003, p. 40, fig. 8 ; Gorea 2013 ; B rbulescu 2016, p. 85-86, fig. 75-76.

Fig. 2. La stèle de Iulius Crescens de Cășei
(photo Musée National d'Histoire, Bucarest).



Fig. 3. La paroi centrale d'un édicule funéraire de *Potaissa*
(photo l'auteur).



Fig. 4. La paroi gauche d'un édicule funéraire de *Potaissa* (photo l'auteur).



Fig. 5. Une stèle ou une paroi centrale d'édicule de *Potaissa* (photo l'auteur).

Fig. 6. Une stèle de *Potaissa*
(photo Musée National d'Histoire
de la Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca).



Fig. 7. La paroi centrale d'un édicule funéraire
de *Potaissa* (Détail de la Fig. 3).



Fig. 8. Une stèle de *Potaissa*
(Détail de la Fig. 6).



Fig. 9. La stèle de Valeria Dula de *Potaissa* (photo l'auteur).



Fig. 10. La stèle de Valeria Dula de *Potaissa* (Détail de la Fig. 9).

Fig. 11. La stèle de Crescens Maximi de *Potaissa*
(photo l'auteur).



Fig. 12. La stèle de Crescens
Maximi de *Potaissa*
(Détail de la Fig. 11).



Fig. 13. La stèle de la famille palmyrénienne de *Potaissa* (photo Roxana Mihaly)



Fig. 14. La stèle de la famille palmyrénienne de *Potaissa* (Détail de la Fig. 13).

Fig. 15. Une stèle de Gilău
(photo Musée National d'Histoire
de la Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca).



Fig. 16. Une stèle de Gilău
(Détail de la Fig. 15).





Fig. 17. Une stèle funéraire de Gilău
(photo Musée National d'Histoire
de la Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca).

Fig. 18. Une stèle funéraire de
Gilău (Détail de la Fig. 17).



Fig. 19. Le monument funéraire de Gherla
(photo Musée National d'Histoire
de la Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca).



Fig. 20. Le monument funéraire de Gherla
(Détail de la Fig. 19).





Fig. 21. Une stèle de *Potaissa* (photo l'auteur).



Fig. 22. Une paroi d'édicule de *Napoca* (photo Musée National d'Histoire de la Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca).

Dans le registre supérieur d'une stèle de **Gilău (8)** (Fig. 15 et 16)¹⁸ apparaissent deux femmes assises sur des *kathedra* simples, flanquant deux bustes des hommes. Au lieu d'une *mensa tripes*, cette fois-ci on a imaginé un *monopodium*¹⁹. Son plateau rectangulaire, plein d'aliments et des objets, est représenté verticalement.

Le schéma avec deux femmes sur les *kathedra* aux extrémités du relief s'avère être typique pour les artisans de **Gilău (9)**. Sur une autre stèle (Fig. 17 et 18)²⁰, les *kathedra* sont simples, l'une de femmes tient un gobelet conique. La table a trois pieds reliés par des branches. La scène comprend aussi un *camillus* réduit au buste, avec une cruche.

Le monument de **Gherla (10)** (Fig. 19 et 20)²¹ représente le défunt sur la *kliné*, avec un gobelet dans sa main gauche. La *kliné* a le pied en forme de balustre et l'accoudoir incurvé. La *mensa tripes* avec des pieds courbés, soutient plusieurs objets, parmi lesquels un gobelet tronconique.

D'une sculpture modeste de **Potaissa (11)** (Fig. 21)²² est restée la partie gauche : une femme sur le siège en osier, avec le dossier courbé. L'un de convives tient une coupe. Sur le plateau de la table l'artisan a représenté verticalement un *lanx* avec un poisson et deux petits pains (*panis quadratus*).

Sur une paroi d'édicule de **Napoca (12)** (Fig. 22)²³, les deux servants flanquent le *panarium* en osier, avec beaucoup de détail. Le *camillus* a la cruche dans sa main droite et la *mappa* sur l'épaule gauche. La *camilla* tient une coupe à pied dans sa main droite et une patère dans sa main gauche.

On constate donc que dans la scène du banquet apparaissent des lits (*kliné*) avec des matelas, des tables (*mensa*) et des sièges (*kathedra*).

Les sofas de banquet sont dotés d'un accoudoir incurvé et les pieds sont toujours décorés en balustre (*Potaissa* : Fig. 3, 5, 6, 10, 12 ; Cășei : Fig. 2 ; Gherla : Fig. 20). La table est, d'habitude, une *mensa tripes* à plateau circulaire (Cășei : Fig. 2 ; *Potaissa* : Fig. 3, 5, 10, 12, 14 ; Gilău : Fig. 18 ; Gherla : Fig. 20), les *monopodia* à plateau rectangulaire sont plus rares (Gilău : Fig. 16). Les trois pieds de tables sont reliés par trois branches placées en dessous du plateau. Les sièges à dossier (*kathedra*) sont représentés d'une manière très simple (Gilău : Fig. 18), mais parfois avec le dossier courbé (Cășei : Fig. 2 ; *Potaissa* : Fig. 5, 10, 21) et aussi avec beaucoup de détail (l'osier) (*Potaissa* : Fig. 3, 14). Certes, on peut se demander si tous ces meubles reproduisent les meubles réels. À *Apulum* on a découvert un *monopodium* en marbre²⁴ et de Sarmizegetusa proviennent des éléments en bronze en forme de balustre, probablement des pieds de lit.

On a remarqué plusieurs fois la bizarrerie de la représentation du plateau de la table, comme s'il était mis verticalement (Cășei : Fig. 2 ; *Potaissa* : Fig. 10 ; Gilău : Fig. 16), ou la même anomalie avec les assiettes représentées verticalement sur le plateau (*Potaissa* : Fig. 3, 12, 21 ; Gilău : Fig. 16). À notre avis, ce n'est pas une maladresse : il était nécessaire qu'on distingue aisément les objets (*lanx* à poisson, à oiseau, les pains, les gobelets etc.) même au risque de violation des règles de la représentation. Si tous ces objets avaient une signification symbolique, il n'est pas moins vrai qu'ils reproduisent des objets réels.

Les récipients qui paraissent sur les monuments²⁵ énumérés sont les gobelets (*poculum*) (*Potaissa* : Fig. 3, 5, 6 ; Cășei : Fig. 2 ; Gilău : Fig. 16, 18 ; Gherla : Fig. 20 ; *Napoca* : Fig. 22), les cruches (*urceus*), les plateaux (*lanx*), les patères (*patera*). Archéologiquement, les coupes tronconiques sont mieux représentées que les gobelets à pieds. La représentation de la vaisselle est parfois très réaliste. On peut donc distinguer les cruches en argile (*Potaissa* : Fig. 4, 12 ; Gilău : Fig. 18 ; *Napoca* : Fig. 22) de ceux en bronze (*Potaissa* : Fig. 5). Les patères (*Potaissa* : Fig. 12 ; *Napoca* : Fig. 22) en argile ou en bronze, à ombilic central, avec le manche arrondi, ou en protomé animal, sont bien connues. On a trouvé à *Potaissa* même des *lanx* avec les

¹⁸ Florescu 1930, p. 88, no. 18, fig. 15 ; Isac, Diaconescu 1980, p. 121, no. 5, fig. 5 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 128, no. 109.

¹⁹ <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=12393> [20.01.2017] : *mensa tripes* (*sic* !).

²⁰ Florescu 1930, p. 86, no. 14 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 128, no. 108.

²¹ Ornstein 1903, p. 117, no. 3 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 117, no. 61.

²² Milea, Feneșan 1966, p. 267-268, fig. 1 ; Jude, Pop 1972, p. 8, nr. 3, pl. III/1 ; Bianchi 1974, p. 181 ; Bărbulescu 1982, p. 55-74 ; Bărbulescu 2016, p. 101, fig. 96-97.

²³ *Römer in Rumänien*, p. 254, G 135 ; Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 22, no. 60, fig. 75 ; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 205, no. 31.

²⁴ Bolindeț 1992.

²⁵ Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 38-40 ; Gudea 1978, p. 136, 144-145 ; Rusu Bolindeț 1994.

anses décorées, comme chez les banquets de nos monuments (*Potaissa* : Fig. 3). Évidemment, les corbeilles en osier (*Napoca* : Fig. 22) ne résistent pas au temps.

Enfin, on doit observer que les *kantharoi* grecs, avec des anses très élaborées, apparaissent en Dacie sur des monuments votifs et même sépulcraux, mais, inconnus archéologiquement, ils font défaut dans les scènes du banquet. Donc, si la représentation du mobilier est plutôt réaliste en Dacie, cela ne veut pas dire que la situation est la même partout. Peter Noelke a mis en évidence le fait que dans la zone rhénane, la vaisselle représentée sur les scènes de banquet ne trouve pas son correspondant archéologique²⁶.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Bărbulescu 1982 – M. Bărbulescu, *Vechi urme creștine*, dans *Monumente istorice și de artă religioasă din Arhiepiscopia Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului*, Cluj-Napoca, 1982.
- Bărbulescu 1994 – M. Bărbulescu, *Potaissa. Studiu monografic*, Turda, 1994.
- Bărbulescu 2005 – M. Bărbulescu (éd.), *Atlas-dicționar al Daciei Romane*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005.
- Bărbulescu 2009 – M. Bărbulescu, *Signum originis. Religie, artă și societate în Dacia romană*, București, 2009.
- Bărbulescu 2016 – M. Bărbulescu, *Potaissa. L'arte romana in una città della Dacia*, Roma, 2016.
- Bianchi 1974 – L. Bianchi, *Rilievi funerari con banchetto della Dacia romana*, *Apulum* 12, 1974, p. 159-181.
- Bianchi 1985 – L. Bianchi, *Le stele funerarie della Dacia. Un'espressione di arte romana periferica*, Roma, 1985.
- Bodor 1960 – A. Bodor, *Un nou monument funerar de la Gilău înfățișând banchetul funebru*, dans *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, București, 1960, p. 41-54.
- Bolindeț 1992 – V. Bolindeț, *Despre o masă romană de la Apulum*, *EphemNap* 2, 1992, p. 147-150.
- Cătinaș 2011 – A. Cătinaș, *Représentations de la scène du festin funéraire sur les monuments de Potaissa*, dans I. Piso, V. Rusu-Bolindeț, R. Varga, S. Mustăță, E. Beu-Dachin, L. Ruscu (éds.), *Scripta Classica. Radu Ardevan sexagenario dedicata*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, p. 89- 92.
- Civiltà Romana in Romania – Civiltà Romana in Romania*, Roma, *Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Via Nazionale, febbraio-aprile 1970*, catalogue de l'exposition, Roma, 1970.
- Ferri 1933 – S. Ferri, *Arte romana sul Dabubio*, Milano, 1933.
- Floca, Wolski 1973 – O. Floca, W. Wolski, *Aedicula funerară în Dacia romană*, *BMI* 42, 1973, 3, p. 4-50.
- Florescu 1930 – G. Florescu, *I monumenti funerari romani della „Dacia Superior”*, *EphemDac* 4, 1930, p. 72-148.
- Gorea 2013 – M. Gorea, *Stèle funéraire à banquet d'un Palmyrénien vétéran à Potaissa (Dacia superior)*, *Semitica et Classica* 6, 2013, p. 291-296.
- Gudea 1978 – N. Gudea, *Contribuții la istoria economică a Daciei romane. Producția de ceramică*, *Apulum* 16, 1978, p. 135-146.
- Huet 2004 – V. Huet, s.v. *III. Le banquet dans le contexte funéraire*, dans *ThesCRA I*, Los Angeles, 2004, p. 288-297.
- Huet 2013 – V. Huet, *Des banquets sur les reliefs funéraires romains : publics ou privés ?*, dans A. Dardenay, E. Rosso (éds.), *Dialogues entre sphère publique et sphère privée dans l'espace de la cité romaine. Vecteurs, acteurs, significations*, *Ausonius Scripta Antiqua* 56, Bordeaux, 2013, p. 35-54.
- Isac, Diaconescu 1980 – D. Isac, A. Diaconescu, *Aspecte ale artei provinciale romane la Gilău*, *ActaMN* 17, 1980, p. 110-138.
- Jude, Pop 1972 – M. Jude, C. Pop, *Monumente sculpturale romane în Muzeul de Istorie Turda*, Cluj, 1972.
- Milea, Feneșan 1966 – Z. Milea, V. Feneșan, *Monument sculptural de la Potaissa reprezentând un banchet funebru*, *RevMuz* 3, 1966, 3, p. 267-268.
- Mitrofan, Țeposu 1970 – I. Mitrofan, L. Țeposu, *O aedicula funerară de la Potaissa*, *ActaMN* 7, 1970, p. 531-536.
- Münsterberg, Oehler 1902 – R. Münsterberg, J. Oehler, *Antike Denkmäler in Siebenbürgen*, *JÖAI* 5, 1902, Beiblatt, c. 93-136.
- Noelke 1998 – P. Noelke, *Grabreliefs mit Mahldarstellungen in des germanisch-gallischen Provinzen – soziale und religiöse Aspekte*, dans P. Fasold (éd.), *Bestattungssitte und kulturelle Identität. Grabanlagen und Grabbeigaben den frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in Italien und den Nordwest-Provinzen*, Köln, 1998, p. 409-411.
- Ornstein 1903 – J. Ornstein, *Die Ausgrabungen bei Szamosujvár*, *JÖAI* 6, 1903, p. 109-120.
- Pislaru, Bărbulescu 2003 – M. Pislaru, M. Bărbulescu, *Ritualuri la înmormântare*, dans M. Bărbulescu (éd.), *Funeraria Dacoromana. Arheologia funerară a Daciei Romane*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 32-43.

²⁶ Noelke 1998.

- Römer in Rumänien – Römer in Rumänien*, Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj. Kunsthalle Köln 12. Februar bis 18 Mai 1969, catalogue de l'exposition, Köln, 1969.
- Rusu Bolindeț 1994 – V. Rusu Bolindeț, *Reprezentări de vase ceramice pe monumentele sculpturale din Dacia romană*, EphemNap 4, 1994, p. 113-148.
- Russu 1941-1943 – I.I. Russu, *Onomasticon Daciae*, AISC 4, 1941-1943, p. 207-222.
- Russu 1969 – I.I. Russu, *Elementele syriene în Dacia carpatică și rolul lor în „colonizarea” și romanizarea provinciei*, ActaMN 6, 1969, p. 167-185.
- Téglás 1915 – Téglás, I., *Potaissai feliratok és domborművek*, ArchÉrt 35, 1915, p. 44-49.
- Țeposu Marinescu 1982 – L. Țeposu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*, BARIntSer 128, Oxford, 1982.
- Veyne 2000 – P. Veyne, *La 'plèbe moyenne' sous le Haut-Empire romain*, AnnalesHSS 55, 2000, 6, p. 1169-1199.

ROMAN ROADS IDENTIFIED ON AERIAL AND SATELLITE IMAGES WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE CITY OF TROPAEUM TRAIANI (MOESIA INFERIOR)*

ADRIANA PANAITE**, CARMEN MIU (BEM)***

Keywords: Tropaeum Traiani, territory, road, aerial photography, satellite images, settlement

Abstract: Through the corroborated study and interpretation of archaeological sources, aerial photographs and satellite images we made a distribution map of various archaeological structures on the territory of Tropaeum Traiani. This allowed us to analyse the spatial distribution of the Roman roads.

Within the administrative territory that belonged to the ancient city of Tropaeum Traiani traces of Roman roads were identified, some of them attested by milestones. Their routes can be reconstituted by studying aerial photographs and satellite images which represent the main source since few traces have been preserved on the ground. By corroborating information from the field, attesting rural settlements, *villae rusticae*, aqueducts, fortifications, funerary barrows and quarries, with those obtained by mapping archaeological traces visible on image sources, we were able to get a clearer picture of the organization of the territory of the city during the Roman times.

We used GIS (ArcMap 9.3) to obtain a digital terrain model using spatial layers containing spot heights, hydrographical network and hill shades. All the imagery collected was used as a base layer for the interpretation of the archaeological information. Our results show that the network of roads and settlements is far denser than previously identified by means of systematic archaeological research or field investigation. This type of analysis allows not only the reconstruction of ancient landscape, but also provides a solid basis for identifying specific characteristics and evolution of this area during the Roman period.

Cuvinte-cheie: Tropaeum Traiani, teritoriu, drum, fotografie aeriană, imagine satelitară, aşezare

Rezumat: Prin studiul coroborat și interpretarea informațiilor provenite din surse arheologice, fotografiile aeriene și imaginile satelitare s-a realizat o hartă a diferitelor structuri arheologice din teritoriul orașului Tropaeum Traiani. Pe baza lor s-a putut analiza distribuția spațială a drumurilor romane, ale căror urme pe teren sunt sporadice, prezența lor fiind documentată doar în unele cazuri prin descoperirea unor stâlpi miliari. Traseul drumurilor poate fi reconstituit prin studierea fotografiilor aeriene și a imaginilor satelitare. Acestea reprezintă principala sursă, deoarece, în prezent, urme ale drumurilor romane nu se mai păstrează. Coroborând informațiile care atestă aşezări rurale, *villae rusticae*, apeeducte, fortificații, movile funerare și cariere, cu cele obținute prin cartografierea urmelor arheologice vizibile pe fotografiile, s-a putut obține o imagine mai clară a rețelei de drumuri și implicit a organizării teritoriului orașului în vremea stăpânirii romane.

Pentru realizarea unui model digital al terenului s-a folosit GIS (ArcMap 9.3), care are la bază contururile reliefului din zonă și altitudinile acestuia, precum și informațiile privind rețeaua hidrografică. Fotografiile avute la dispoziție au reprezentat suportul principal pentru interpretarea informațiilor arheologice. Rezultatele cercetării arată că rețeaua de drumuri și aşezări este mult mai densă decât se credea anterior, în mod aproape exclusiv pe baza investigațiilor de teren. Acest tip de analiză permite nu numai reconstruirea peisajului antic, ci oferă, de asemenea, o bază solidă pentru identificarea caracteristicilor și evoluția acestei zone în perioada romană.

* Special thanks to Rog Palmer (Director Air Photo Services, Cambridge).

** "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest; panaite_adriana92@yahoo.com.

*** "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest; carmenbem@gmail.com.

The use of aerial photographs has been a constant of archaeological research conducted in western countries for several decades¹. The satellite images began to be used in archaeology in the Near East – the Corona photographs, while the “western countries” still consider that the resolution of these images is too poor for the use at home. Numerous projects aim to photograph and map archaeological sites and landscapes, providing information not only for the study of the past, but also a solid basis in creating and implementing policies for the protection, conservation, restoration, enhancement and management of the cultural heritage.

In Romania, the study of aerial photographs for archaeological purposes has been infrequent. The efforts to create organizational structures not only for training archaeologists in this speciality, but also to prepare a programme of systematic aerial investigations throughout the country were both doomed to failure².

The first aerial photographs were used to examine the walls from Dobrudja³ and the fortification of the Greek city of Histria⁴. The most important studies were conducted much later by A.S. Ștefan⁵ and I. Bogdan Cătănicu⁶ (who both studied the interpretation of aerial photographs with Dinu Adameșteanu), to which are added those of Cristina Crăciun⁷.

Ștefan and Cătănicu used the photographs available at that time, which had been taken for general cartographic and mapping purposes⁸, but their research allowed the main topographical details to be exactly located on a general plan of the investigated areas. This research was the basis for further studies, as well as for establishing archaeological protected areas. Results of those studies included the determination of road routes⁹, some of them flanked by tumuli (burial mounds), that converged towards analysed fortifications.

A large project based on the use of aerial photographs was conducted by CIMEC in 2004-2007, following the invitation to participate in the European project “European Landscapes: Past, present, future”¹⁰. As a result, the number of the archaeological sites registered in RAN (National List of Archaeological Sites) considerably increased, each of them accompanied by general information, archaeological reports, and their location on the map of Romania. All this data, which in 2009 included more than 13,000 archaeological sites, makes up a database that can be accessed online at <http://ran.cimec.ro>¹¹.

The most recent research was undertaken by I. Oltean in collaboration with W.S. Hanson, with the purpose to reconstruct the ancient landscape in southern Dobrudja¹². They also provide a new interpretation of the three earthen walls crossing Dobrudja from Cernavodă to Constanța¹³.

The analysis of the distribution of the Roman roads in Dobrudja was based on resources such as aerial photographs taken over a period of several years by different air operators. The most useful sources have proven to be the declassified satellite images supplied by USGS¹⁴ as well as the aerial photographs from 1960. The advantage provided by these earlier sources is that they pre-date the modern alteration of the landscape which aided the correlation of aerial images with cartographic sources from the end of the 19th century. The resulting data was analysed to identify routes of communication in the Tropaeum Traiani territory. A problem, common with aerial sources, is attributing an accurate date to features identified. This was complicated in the Tropaeum Traiani territory because there had been attested the reuse of the Roman routes in medieval and modern times.

¹ E.g. Wilson 2000; Musson, Palmer, Campana 2005; Cowley, Standring, Abicht 2010; Hanson, Oltean 2013; Palmer 2013.

² Palmer, Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Bem 2009, p. 66-68.

³ Schuchardt 1918.

⁴ Ștefan 1974, p. 39-40.

⁵ Ștefan 1971; Ștefan 1973; Ștefan 1974; Ștefan 1975; Ștefan 1976; Ștefan 1977a; Ștefan 1977b; Ștefan 1977c; Ștefan 1983; Ștefan 1984.

⁶ Bogdan Cătănicu 1981; Bogdan Cătănicu 1984; Bogdan Cătănicu 1996; Bogdan Cătănicu 2006.

⁷ Crăciun 2006; Crăciun 2008; Crăciun 2009; Crăciun, Bănoiu 2008.

⁸ The photographs were taken by the Institute of Geodesy, Cartography, Photogrammetry and Territorial Planning. Copies of some of them are now in the archive of the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology and were used in this study.

⁹ Ștefan makes detailed analyses of roads for the fortifications at Histria, Noviodunum, Troesmis and Halmyris, see above note 4.

¹⁰ Palmer, Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Bem 2009, p. 66-88.

¹¹ The site is available and currently updated.

¹² Oltean 2013; Oltean, Hanson 2013.

¹³ Hanson, Oltean 2012.

¹⁴ USGS 2016.

Consequently, parts of the Roman routes were overlapped by current roads. By linking the new traces of roads to the organizational territorial elements specific to the Roman Empire it may be possible to determine a more reliable chronological classification of these access roads as we shall try to argue in the following paragraphs.

A useful source for our endeavour were the CIR images available on the geoportal of the Military Topographic Directorate. The CIR image (CIR – colour infrared) is a “fake colours” image (digital or film), which reflects the electromagnetic waves of an object. It should not be mistaken for infrared photography¹⁵.

Another method is thermal sensitivity which registers the temperature differences at soil surface. The thermal images do not reproduce the land elevations and the vegetal traces, but detect the thermal differences determined by the archaeological structures within the soil, which are often invisible. It is a technique that reveals what the human eye cannot perceive¹⁶.

The fortification of Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi, Constanța County) was not among those investigated by A.S. Ștefan based on the aerial photographs¹⁷. Using an aerial photography taken in 1969, I. Bogdan Cătănciu assumed that the Early Roman city wall had a regular quadrilateral surface, with the dimensions of 250 × 150 m, covering only the north-eastern part of the Late Roman city, surrounded by a defensive wall built at the beginning of the fourth century AD¹⁸. With the exception of the trial trenches practiced near the Eastern Gate, where the Early Roman city wall was identified on a relatively small area, other trenches inside the city, along the presumed route of the early enclosure, did not confirm this hypothesis¹⁹.

In an article from 2006, occasioned by the publication of a milestone fragment, a first attempt was made to reconstruct the routes of the main Roman roads within the city territory based on existing archaeological information²⁰. In the present article, those data will be analysed and interpreted together with the evidence provided by the aerial and satellite photographs of the area.

At the end of the 19th century, when the archaeological excavations were initiated, ruins of buildings, which today are no longer preserved, were still visible in the immediate vicinity of the city. Moreover, traces of roads – described as paved – emerging out of the city into the territory and triumphal monument (Fig. 1) could be seen²¹, as well as rustic villas, including the one attested by an inscription²², a place of worship²³, and a bath, identified about 100 m southwest of the city walls²⁴.

Most of the settlements within the city territory²⁵ were identified through surface surveys: Urluia²⁶; Băneasa²⁷; Abrud²⁸; Fântâna Mare²⁹; Zorile³⁰; Negureni³¹; Dobromiru³²; Lespezi³³; Pietreni³⁴; Conacu³⁵;

¹⁵ Verhoeven 2012.

¹⁶ Wilson 2000, p. 36.

¹⁷ The author published an article about the aqueducts from the territory of Tropaeum Traiani (Ștefan 1972).

¹⁸ Barnea *et alii* 1979, p. 53; Bogdan Cătănciu 1992, p. 193-198.

¹⁹ Information from professor Alexandru Barnea, author of the excavations. See, recently, Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, Apostol 2016.

²⁰ Panaite 2006.

²¹ Rădulescu 1972, p. 194-196; Panaite, Alexandrescu 2009, especially Annex 2, p. 447-449.

²² CIL III 12463; Suceveanu 1977, p. 188 footnote 347.

²³ Barnea 1969, no. 2.

²⁴ Barnea 1989, p. 295-296.

²⁵ The newest hypothesis regarding the limits of the Tropaeum Traiani territory southwards and westwards (different from Panaite 2006) belongs to A. Bâltâc (Bâltâc 2011, p. 109), whose opinion is that the status of *municipium* granted to the city from the very beginning implies a big territory. In addition, there is no other important centre in the area whose territory could limit the one Tropaeum Traiani was awarded. In the opinion of the authors of this study, the estimated area would be about 3500 km².

²⁶ Tocilescu 1894, p. 113, no. 59.

²⁷ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 124, footnote 985.

²⁸ Barnea 1996, p. 421, no. 1; Barnea 1998, p. 292.

²⁹ Covacef 1973; Bărbulescu 2001, p. 122, footnote 966.

³⁰ Munteanu, Ocheșanu 1975, p. 203; Bărbulescu 2001, p. 123, footnote 972.

³¹ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 123, footnote 978.

³² Bărbulescu 2001, p. 123, footnote 981.

³³ Munteanu, Ocheșanu 1975, p. 188, no. 24; TIR L 35, p. 77 (Valea Rea).

³⁴ Papasima 1987.

³⁵ CIL III 7530.

Independența³⁶; Floriile³⁷; Cetatea – *La Cișmea*³⁸; Petroșani³⁹; Viile⁴⁰; Cobadin⁴¹; Ispanaru – *Valea Pollucci*⁴²; Adâncata⁴³ (Fig. 2).

According to the epigraphic information, the existence of *villa rustica* features types was assumed, as is the case in Negureni⁴⁴, Pietreni⁴⁵ and Pădureni⁴⁶. In the absence of new field surveys, it is difficult to determine the type of the site for the cases recorded in RAN or in the earlier literature either as (rural) settlements or as sites that cannot be narrowly defined.

A particular group is represented by the settlements along the Danube, an area crossed by the *limes* road⁴⁷.

Based on the military diploma discovered at Oltina, cohorts II Gallorum⁴⁸ was stationed there until its departure to Dacia, after AD 112⁴⁹. Information about Altinum (Oltina) appears only in the 4th century sources⁵⁰, but a widely dispersed inhabited area was observed at 2.5 km SE of Oltina and 1.5-2 km NE of the village Răzoarele. There, on both sides of Beilicului valley, two Roman settlements were identified, each on a promontory. One of them was large and the other one inhabited only sporadically. Two alignments of tumuli were also observed between Oltina and Răzoarele⁵¹.

In the territory of Rasova, two fortresses have been attested, one overlooking the Caramancea valley and another one west of the village⁵². From the available information, resulting from the analysis of the written sources, and chance discoveries (systematical research has not been undertaken), the fortress next to the village is dated to the Early Roman period, while the other one seems to have been constructed during Late Roman times. On the other hand, it is very likely that a vexillation, from units belonging to the legions V Macedonica, XI Claudia and I Italica, was quartered on the place until AD 167⁵³. Inscriptions and coins were discovered, that date from the time of Trajan and provide important evidence for the early organization of the *limes* along the entire length of the Danube and in the interior of the province⁵⁴. During the Early Roman time, Rasova was the final destination of the shortest road linking Tropaeum Traiani with the Danube, which may explain the influence the *municipium* might have had in this area⁵⁵. An additional argument could be the discovery of the inscription mentioning Aelius Castus, duumvir of the *municipium* Tropaeum Traiani. This epigraphic document generated a series of discussions about the juridical status of the city founded by

³⁶ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 122.

³⁷ CIL III 7481; TIR L 35, 42; Suceveanu 1998, p. 153-154.

³⁸ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 125, footnote 994; Oltean, Hanson 2013, p. 326.

³⁹ Pârvan 1912, p. 579, footnote 5; TIR L 35, p. 57.

⁴⁰ TIR L 35, p. 26 (s.v. Beilic); Irimia 1991, p. 117, footnote 50; surface research T. Cliante – 1982 and C. Chera, O. Bounegru – 1989 mentioned by Bărbulescu 2001, p.126, footnote 1007.

⁴¹ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 57, 60.

⁴² Olariu, Ionescu, Gămureac 2013.

⁴³ Irimia 2004-2005; Irimia 2007.

⁴⁴ CIL III 7842.

⁴⁵ CIL III 7483.

⁴⁶ CIL III12466; TIR L 35, p. 57.

⁴⁷ For the *limes* road and generally for the Roman roads in Moesia Inferior see Madzharov 2009; Panaite 2011; Panaite 2012a; Panaite 2015; see also recently Fodorean 2014.

⁴⁸ Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 208-209.

⁴⁹ CIL XVI 44; Aricescu 1977, p. 66, 89 assumed that this military unit stationed in Sacidava until AD 112, when it was moved to Dacia (CIL XVI 50, CIL XVI 58); this hypothesis cannot be sustained any longer because we know, based on the milestone discovered there, that cohorts IV Gallorum remained in Sacidava; for this unit see also Matei Popescu 2001-2002, p. 208-210; Matei Popescu 2010, p. 210-212.

⁵⁰ *Milites nauclarii Altinenses* – ND Or XL, 28 (= Fontes II, p. 210-211); Procopius, *De aed.*, IV, 11, 20 (= Fontes II, p. 471-475); TIR L 35, p. 22; IGLR, p. 195; Zahariade 1988, p. 119; Irimia 1968.

⁵¹ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 127, footnote 1013 (field research – C. Chera and O. Bounegru – in 1989 – settlement, tumuli; coins issued in Tomis – G. Custurea).

⁵² TIR L 35, p. 60, 42.

⁵³ Irimia 1985, p. 144, 154; Doruțiu-Boilă 1990, p. 261, footnote 16.

⁵⁴ Rădulescu, Bărbulescu 1981, no. 2; Bărbulescu 2001, p. 117, footnote 902.

⁵⁵ Inscriptions discovered at Rasova: Aricescu *et alii* 1964, p. 107, 109 no. 5; Aricescu 1974, p. 259 and in Sacidava: Scorpan 1988, p. 214, no. 1, fig. 24.

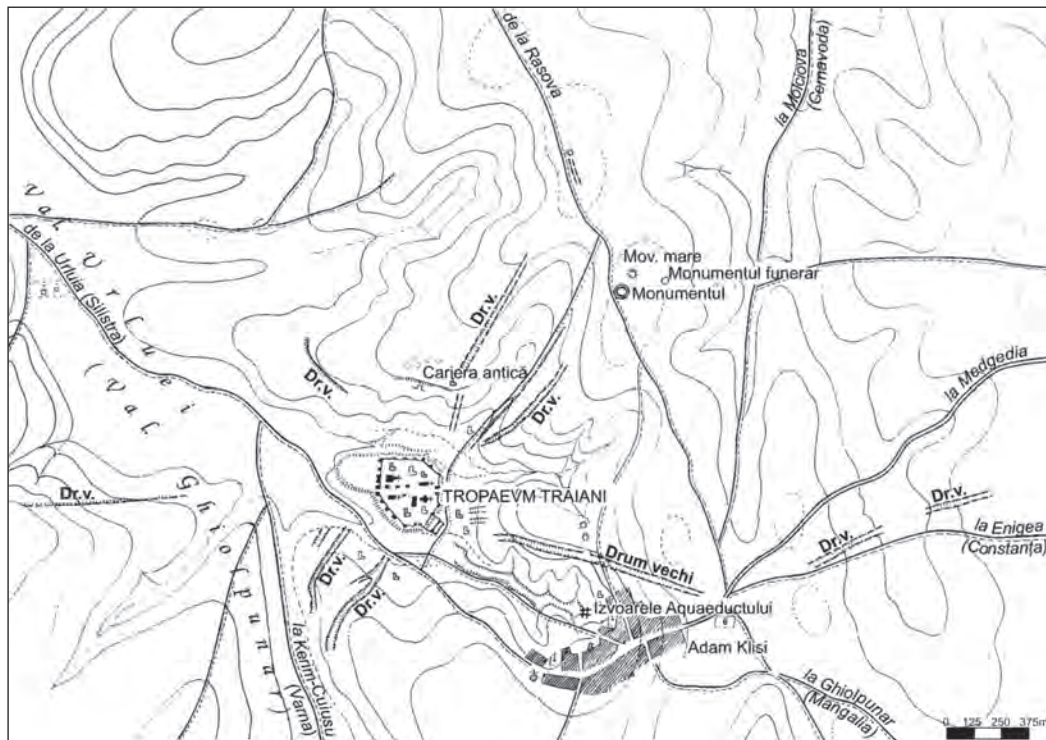


Fig. 1. Map of Tropaeum Traiani from the end of the 19th century, by Pamfil Polonic.

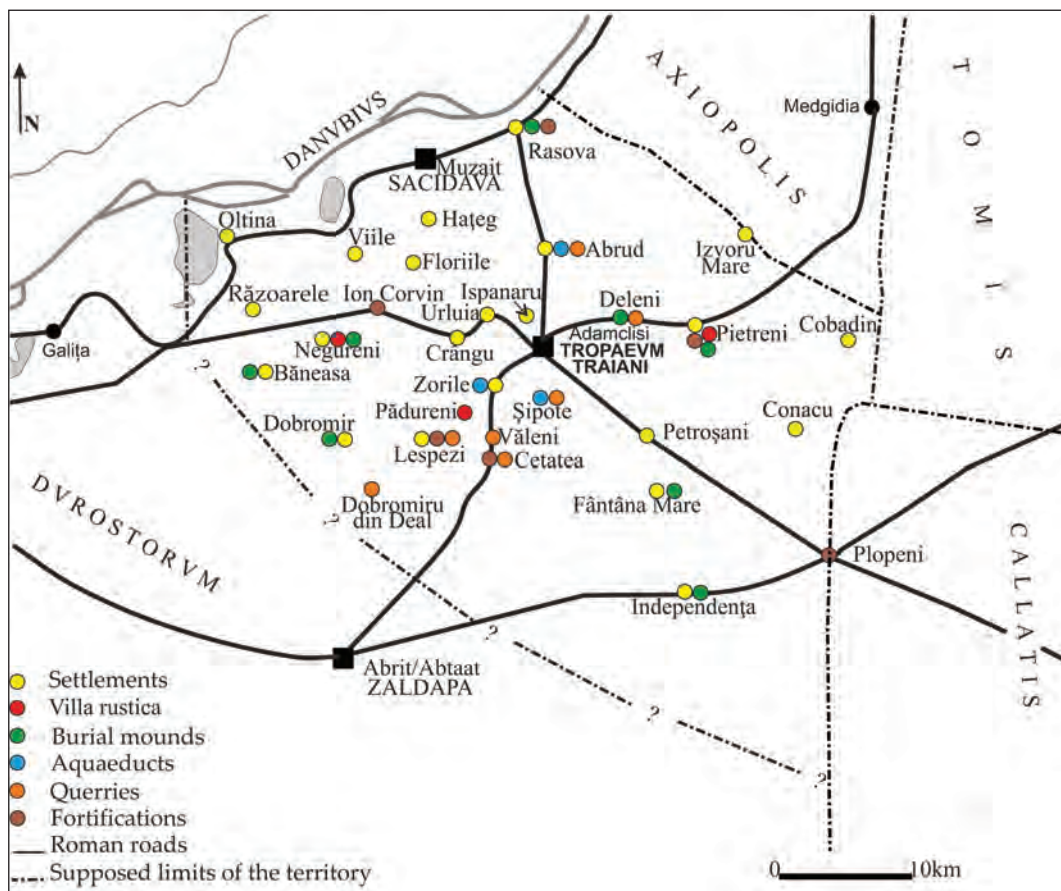


Fig. 2. The territory of Tropaeum Traiani (Adriana Panaite, Iuliana Barnea).

Trajan⁵⁶. The Late Roman fortress, located 2.5 km east of the village, overlooking the Caramancea valley⁵⁷, could have been the place where Flaviana was located, a fortification where *militēs nauclarii* were quartered⁵⁸, which implies the existence of a station of the Moesian fleet. At about 3 km southwest of Rasova, at the place called “Pescărie”, a *horreum* from the Early Roman period was investigated⁵⁹, together with an Early Roman settlement and a kiln⁶⁰ for building materials. At the same location, a segment of the *limes* road is preserved⁶¹. Other settlements have been identified in the area, including the one from Malul Roșu (2.5 km from the village)⁶². Some tumuli were also reported⁶³. Most probably, a port was also there, not only for military needs, but also for trade with the inner part of the province, maybe along the inland creeks that probably were navigable in antiquity⁶⁴.

On the basis of a milestone found at Rasova⁶⁵, Sacidava was located at Muzait-Dunăreni, on the Danube (Fig. 3/a). A Roman camp was located about 5 km northeast of the village, on the Danube, near the Getic fortress⁶⁶ (Fig. 3/b, c). This milestone is the oldest milestone on the *limes* road from Moesia Inferior. Dated to the time of Trajan, in AD 103, it is very important, not only in terms of construction and organization of the *limes*, but also for the chronology of the governors of the province⁶⁷. By the mid-3rd century, cohorts IV Gallorum⁶⁸ and cohorts I Cilicum were quartered at Sacidava⁶⁹.

In the territory that depended administratively on the Roman city of Tropaeum Traiani there are mentioned in the literature, but unfortunately never verified through field surveys or excavations, some information about several fortresses: Cetatea⁷⁰, Ion Corvin⁷¹, Cobadin⁷², Lespezi⁷³, Plopeni⁷⁴.

The buildings inside the city, the city wall and especially the three monuments in the immediate vicinity (on the highest plateau from the southern Dobruja, near Adamclisi, Constanța County, there is a

⁵⁶ A hypothesis suggests that the city would have held the status of *ius Latium* before becoming a *municipium*. See Cîrjan 2004; Cîrjan 2010a, p. 84-86; Cîrjan 2010b. For the possibility of applying *ius Latium* in Lower Moesia see also Aparaschivei 2010a, p. 227-236; Aparaschivei 2010b.

⁵⁷ TIR L 35, p. 60, 42; Florescu 1986, p. 173.

⁵⁸ ND Or., XXXIX, 20 (= Fontes II, p. 208-209); Aricescu 1970, p. 302; IGLR, p. 200-203; Zahariade 1988, p. 121-122; Matei 1991, p. 150.

⁵⁹ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 116, footnote 898.

⁶⁰ Irimia 1981.

⁶¹ The results of the archaeological research were not published. Part of it was presented by Traian Cliante at the National Archaeological Reports Session in Alba Iulia in 1984, according to Bărbulescu 2001, p. 116, footnote 898. Subsequently, related information and plans of the excavation have been made available to researchers who had used them in their works. Thus, M. Zahariade (Zahariade 1996, p. 225) presents a plan of the excavation and describes the road segment discovered by T. Cliante.

⁶² Irimia 1974; Irimia 1981.

⁶³ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 119, footnote 903.

⁶⁴ The settlement is registered as station of the Roman fleet in ND Or XXXIX, 20 (= Fontes II, p. 208-209); Suceveanu 1977, p. 143.

⁶⁵ Rădulescu 1969.

⁶⁶ Florescu 1986, p. 172; Matei 1991, p. 149; Munteanu, Oprea 2007, p. 513; TIR L 35, p. 63.

⁶⁷ Rădulescu, Bărbulescu 1981.

⁶⁸ Matei-Popescu 2001-2002, p. 208-210.

⁶⁹ Matei-Popescu 2001-2002, p. 199-202.

⁷⁰ Civitas Ausdecensium CIL III, 14437², is considered a *civitas stipendiaria*. Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 202-203 (with previous bibliography); Rada *et alii*, 1988, p. 203: earth fortification with wall and trench; Oltean, Hanson 2013, p. 326.

⁷¹ Reported in the 19th century but never researched, TIR L 35, p. 47. Based on the analysis of aerial photographs of the area, C. Crăciun supposed the existence of an Early Roman fort, linked to other camps that could be found near the central road (see Crăciun 2008, p. 363-365).

⁷² Crăciun 2008, p. 363: On the satellite images, a rectangular structure with a double enclosure, almost square shaped, could be seen east-northeast of the village. Typologically, the fortification could be included either in the category of an Iron Age site – burial structure with palisade or in the category of Roman forts.

⁷³ A rectangular fortification, dimensions 120 × 75 m, with double system of walls and ditches: Rada *et alii*, 1988, p. 203; Crăciun 2008, p. 363.

⁷⁴ Vulpe 1938, p. 336; Bărbulescu-Munteanu, Rădulescu 1980, p. 146, 148.

unique complex formed of three monuments: a funerary altar, a tumulus and a triumphal monument⁷⁵) were made of stone brought from the quarries⁷⁶ situated on the surrounding hills and from several others within its territory: Abrud⁷⁷, Şipote⁷⁸, Dobromiru din Deal⁷⁹, Deleni⁸⁰, Lespezi⁸¹, Văleni and Cetatea. The availability of limestone was widespread and, therefore, the quarries seem to have been located near the major city, an important centre of demand. In most cases, they are clearly connected to the transportation network. The analysis of the chemical composition of the limestone used in the city shows a local provenience: Zorile, Lespezi, and Deleni⁸². The local stone is limestone, of several types⁸³. The type used in the construction of the altar and tumulus came from the quarries in Văleni and Cetatea, while the quarry in Deleni was exploited for the construction of the triumphal monument⁸⁴. Before the construction of the triumphal monument, the stone from the area Văleni-Lespezi was usually used. Once the works on the triumphal monument had been started, the quarry from the Ienige - Deleni valley was opened as its limestone was of better quality. Moreover, it was closer to the city (only 5 km compared to 12 km from Văleni) and the journey was made on a relatively flat surface, unlike the previously used quarry, located in a hilly area.

Although known for some time, the cemeteries from Tropaeum Traiani have not yet been fully published. The most important and large one was in use between the 2nd and 6th centuries and extended on the hills north of the city. There was also the cemeterial basilica⁸⁵. Clearly, a road linking the city to the cemetery was on the north hill of the city. Another funerary area was recently identified at Valea Mare, west of the city⁸⁶. Their position may also give clues about the access routes near the city.

With few exceptions, represented by small segments, none of the roads has been identified in the field. Some of them were still visible and were seen by Pamfil Polonic in the late 19th century, when excavations in the city began⁸⁷. On the map drawn by him and kept at the Library of the Romanian Academy, the Manuscripts Section (Fig. 1) some roads running out from the city to the north and to the triumphal monument, to west and east can be observed. The same roads are visible also on the aerial photographs taken in the 1960 and kept in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest (Fig. 4/a, b and 5). Those represented with continuous yellow line are certain roads while those with interrupted line are supposed roads.

Short segments of access roads to the city were identified in the vicinity of the eastern gate. Two roads were observed within a short distance of each other. The southern one, about 3 m wide and presumably paved with large stones, led to the triumphal monument, alongside an Early Roman necropolis on a hill, southeast of the city. The second road, identified approximately 20 m south of the archaeological base⁸⁸, is also of 3 m wide and paved only with gravel. The authors of the research suggest it dated from the beginning of the Late Roman period, but only as a hypothesis, because there are no safe dating elements. Identifying the routes of

⁷⁵ Among the three of them, only the dating of the triumphal monument does not raise any questions. According to the dedicatory inscription it was inaugurated in AD 109. The Triumphal Monument is considered to be built in honour of the Romans' victory over Decebalus during confrontations in the First Dacian War; but still, there are different opinions according to which it was constructed after the final victory over the Dacians and their allies and the transformation of Dacia into a Roman province. In the immediate vicinity, there are the ruins of Tropaeum Traiani, a city, also founded by Trajan, developed and directly related to these monuments.

⁷⁶ For the quarries in Dobrogea, see Rădulescu 1972 and Covacef 2002, p. 271-295.

⁷⁷ Murnu 1914, p. 421; TIR L 35, p. 21.

⁷⁸ Barnea *et alii* 1979, p. 23.

⁷⁹ Rădulescu 1972, p. 195.

⁸⁰ Rădulescu 1972, p. 194.

⁸¹ Sâmpetru 1984, p. 176-177.

⁸² Covacef 2002, p. 288-289.

⁸³ Covacef 2002, p. 287-289.

⁸⁴ Sâmpetru 1984, p. 171, 177, 182. Analysis of the limestone used for building the monument were made by geologist Mircea Chiriac (see Bobu Florescu 1959, p. 128-135).

⁸⁵ Achim 2015, p. 291-292 (table 10.1, no. 1).

⁸⁶ Oța 2013, p. 287-288 (with previous bibliography). All graves mentioned in Oța 2013, p. 36, 60, 99, 117, 118, 137, 166, 169, 173, 186.

⁸⁷ Panaite, Alexandrescu 2009, especially Annex 2, p. 447-449.

⁸⁸ The archaeological base is about 100 m E of the Eastern Gate of the city.

roads on the hills east of the city is difficult because of the heavy erosion of the loess, caused by the water, which ultimately has destroyed much of the evidence. However, clues for these routes can be obtained from the study of the aerial photographs and satellite images. The road from north-northwest can be seen on the hill that dominates the city to the north. Coming from northwest, it meets the northwestern corner of the fortress, and then continues to the western gate. Isolated graves of the Early Roman times have been found in this area. On aerial photographs taken in 1969, possible routes for the road to Tomis were identified, but they have not been verified in the field yet⁸⁹. The currently preserved access road to the city cannot be definitely dated despite its previous excavation. It is considered to have been built at the same time as the city wall, during the time of the emperors Licinius and Constantine⁹⁰.

Other road segments have been identified in surrounding areas of Petroșani⁹¹, Văleni⁹² and Rasova⁹³.

Only two milestones are known from the territory administered by the city, one from the earlier excavations⁹⁴ and the second one from Crângu. Both are dated back to the period of the Tetrarchy⁹⁵.

Archaeological information presented above provides valuable clues which help us understand the organization of the road network on the territory of Tropaeum Traiani.

Returning to the road sections marked on Pamfil Polonic's plans as "dr. v" (old road), some of these sections could be identified in the older satellite images or in the more recent ones supplied by Google Earth, as well as in the declassified ones purchased from USGS⁹⁶. The declassified satellite images have the advantage of being able to deliver more information, as the Dobrudja territory was not then affected by the irrigation system designed in the communist period, when the emphasis was on extending the cultivated surfaces, or by the development of the human settlements.

If we try to measure on the satellite image provided by Google Earth (2013) the width of the road leaving the monument towards north, we can observe that it reaches approximately 11 m, which can determine its classification as a main access road – *via*⁹⁷.

The main roads crossing the territory of the city were the *limes* road (if we accept the hypothesis that extends its territory to the Danube), the central road, and the road Durostorum – Callatis / Tomis.

The central road⁹⁸ passed from south to north through: Cetatea, Zorile, Tropaeum Traiani, Deleni and Pietreni. It is unlikely that this road passed through the city itself but probably was connected to it by a secondary access route⁹⁹. Part of its route – to the triumphal monument and from there further north to Abrud – can be followed on aerial photographs (Fig. 4/c) and satellite images from Google Earth, Bing or ESRI. From here, it is likely that the road splits into two branches, one going towards Rasova and another towards northeast, to Ivrinezu Mic; they can be followed on the same images. Parallel to the latter, it has been identified a stretch of road that goes from Pietreni to Peștera.

The connection between the Danube and Black Sea was assured by two important *semitae*. The first one starts in Rasova¹⁰⁰ and by Abrud, Tropaeum Traiani, and Petroșani¹⁰¹ reaches Plopeni¹⁰², where it splits

⁸⁹ Barnea *et alii* 1979, p. 47-48.

⁹⁰ Barnea *et alii* 1979, p. 55.

⁹¹ TIR L 35, p. 57.

⁹² RAN, s.v. Văleni, jud. Constanța (<http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/ARH/RAR-Index/sel.asp>)

⁹³ See above, note 57.

⁹⁴ Panaite 2006.

⁹⁵ Panaite, Alexandrescu 2009, p. 429-432.

⁹⁶ USGS 2016.

⁹⁷ Panaite 2006, p. 65.

⁹⁸ The so-called central road is crossing Dobrudja from south to north, from Marcianopolis to Noviodunum and it is not represented either on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, or in *Itinerarium Antonini*. Its line was reconstructed based on the archaeological and epigraphical information (see, for example, Panaite 2012b).

⁹⁹ Panaite 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Milestone from the time of Decius, dated AD 249-251, Rădulescu 1969.

¹⁰¹ Remains of the Roman road, TIR L 35, p. 57.

¹⁰² Milestone dated in AD 200, Bărbulescu-Munteanu, Rădulescu 1980, no. 3.

**a****b****c**

Fig. 3. Sacidava area - aerial oblique view 28th of May 2011
(1. Fortress, 2. Dacian settlement – *dava*, 3. Roman castrum).

into two branches; one through Arsa, which arrives at Callatis (Mangalia), while a second one is heading for Tomis. The second road comes from Durostorum to Tropaeum Traiani, through Negureni, Ion Corvin and Urluia.

It is generally accepted that a single image cannot provide complete information. However, the Digital Globe satellite image taken on 17th of August 2013 (Fig. 9), which we converted into a negative (Fig. 9/a), allows an easy identification of parts of roads within the city territory. These are oriented towards northwest, north and northeast, respectively towards Rasova, Abrud and Peștera.

At Plopeni, through the analysis of the satellite and CIR images, besides the road sections identified by I. Oltean¹⁰³, we have enhanced the map of the communication routes in the area with other road portions that can be seen both in the western area of the village, as well as in the north-northeastern part.

The village at Urluia and the fortification at Ion Corvin were on the road going west to Durostorum. Very close to the city, on the road to Zaldapa, there is the settlement from Zorile.

The territory of the city is dominated by a series of burial mounds. Their existence is proof of an intense and constant human presence in the area. Beyond the situations indicating settlements or a fortification, alignments of burial mounds are extremely useful in the reconstruction of Roman roads or lines of prehistoric travel routes. For the present effort to reconstruct the Roman road network, mapping the traces of the roads and of the tumuli according to data from aerial photographs and satellite images provided a dense network of local roads which, until now, was only presumed. Studies of this type allow not only the development of surveys over extensive areas, but also offer the opportunity to make observations about changes to the landscape over longer periods of time.

Tumuli have been reported at Pietreni, Fântâna Mare, Băneasa, Independența, Deleni, Negureni and Dobromiru¹⁰⁴. Even if only some of them were from Roman times their presence is important to reconstruct the ancient landscape. Recent studies based on the use of older and newer aerial photographs supplemented by the interpretation of satellite imagery provided new data referring to the anthropogenic changes that shaped the landscape¹⁰⁵. One of these studies is focused on burial mounds from the southern Dobrudja and proposes for the first time an analysis thereof, developed on two levels; on the one hand, it makes the quantification of the tumuli, and on the other hand, it tries to get data on the emergence and the distribution of the settlements and their relationship with the funerary areas¹⁰⁶. Most burial mounds are flattened, their existence being demonstrated only based on landmarks spotted on aerial photographs and satellite images¹⁰⁷. Groups of burial mounds are an indicator for the existence of settlements and fortifications. Such situations were observed in the immediate vicinity of the fortifications from Cobadin and Pietreni. They are also an indication of large settlements not yet identified, as is the case in Izvoru Mare, Fântâna Mare and Independența (Fig. 6). At the same time, they are positioned along the roads or could indicate the route of those no longer preserved (Fig. 8). On Corona satellite image in Fig. 10 some road segments and tumuli can also be seen, in the area of the Viile village.

In other cases, the scarce information about some settlements offered exclusively by epigraphic sources, was confirmed by the study of aerial photographs and, as a consequence, the settlements in Negureni, Conacu and Băneasa are now better localized¹⁰⁸.

An example of road-mapping between Pietreni and Izvorul Mare area is shown in Fig. 6 where the road segments were identified on the satellite images provided by Google Earth (from different time frames) and then processed in ArcMap by adding other road segments identified on the orthophotoplan from 2005.

It can be seen that the new road sections are either continuing or completing the old ones, or are entirely new – not being visible in the satellite images. (No. 1 in Fig. 6).

¹⁰³ Oltean 2013, p. 210, Fig. 4a, 4c, with the observation that the village east of Plopeni, where the road was identified, is Casicea and not Casimcea, as it was erroneously listed on the map.

¹⁰⁴ Bărbulescu 2001, p. 119-126.

¹⁰⁵ Oltean 2013.

¹⁰⁶ Oltean 2013.

¹⁰⁷ Oltean 2013, p. 210, 214.

¹⁰⁸ Oltean, Hanson 2013.

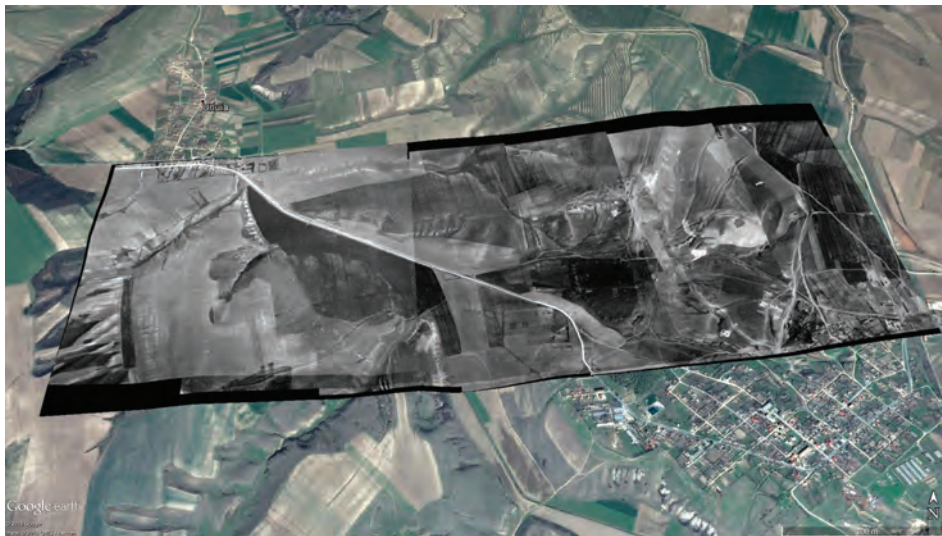
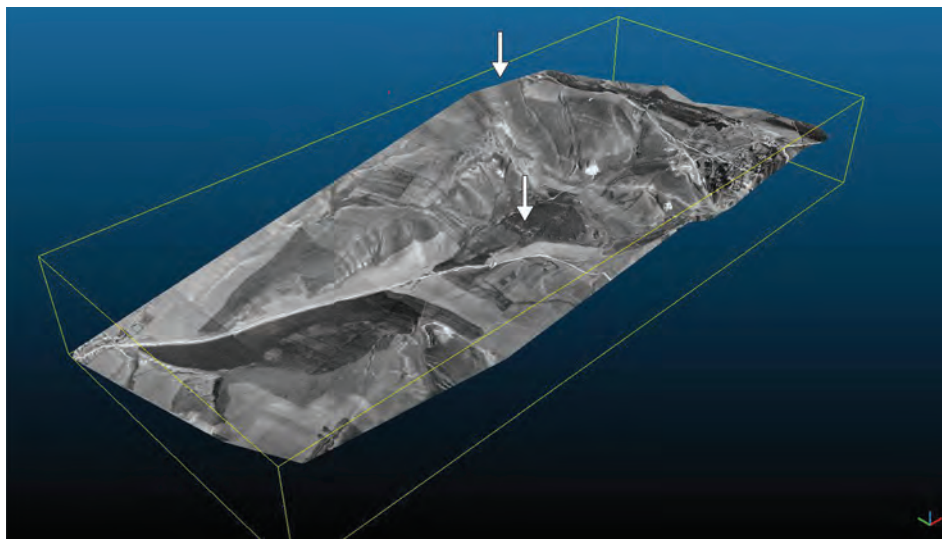
**a****b****c**

Fig. 4. a: Vertical photography taken in 1960 (IAB Archives) georeferenced and positioned on satellite images provided by Google Earth; b: 3D Model of Tropaeum Traiani area; c: Oblique photography taken on 27th of March 2011 (ArcLand Project, INP-CIMEC Archives) 1 - Road from the Triumphal Monument to Abrud, Pietreni.

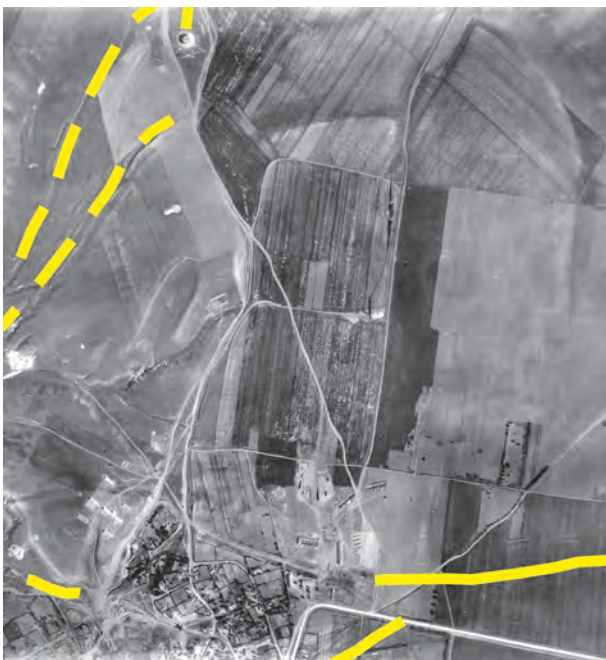
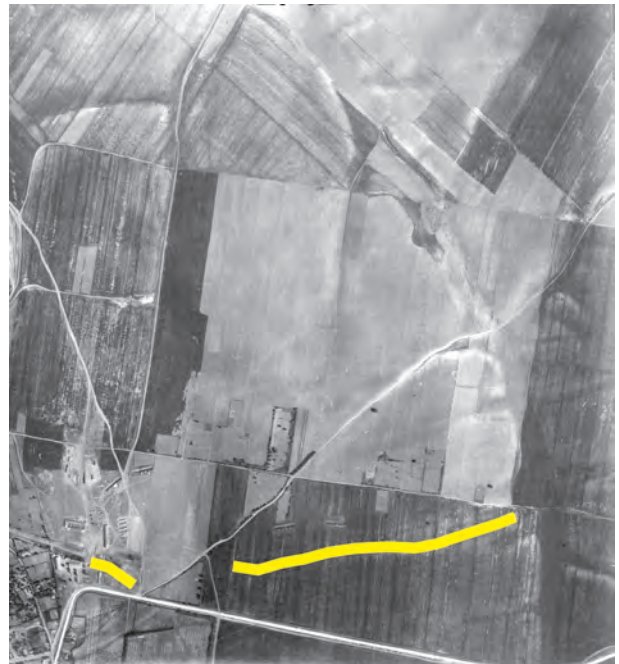
**A****B****C****D**

Fig. 5. Roman roads (near the Tropaeum Traiani fortress) on aerial photos from IAB Archives (Vertical photographs taken in 1960).

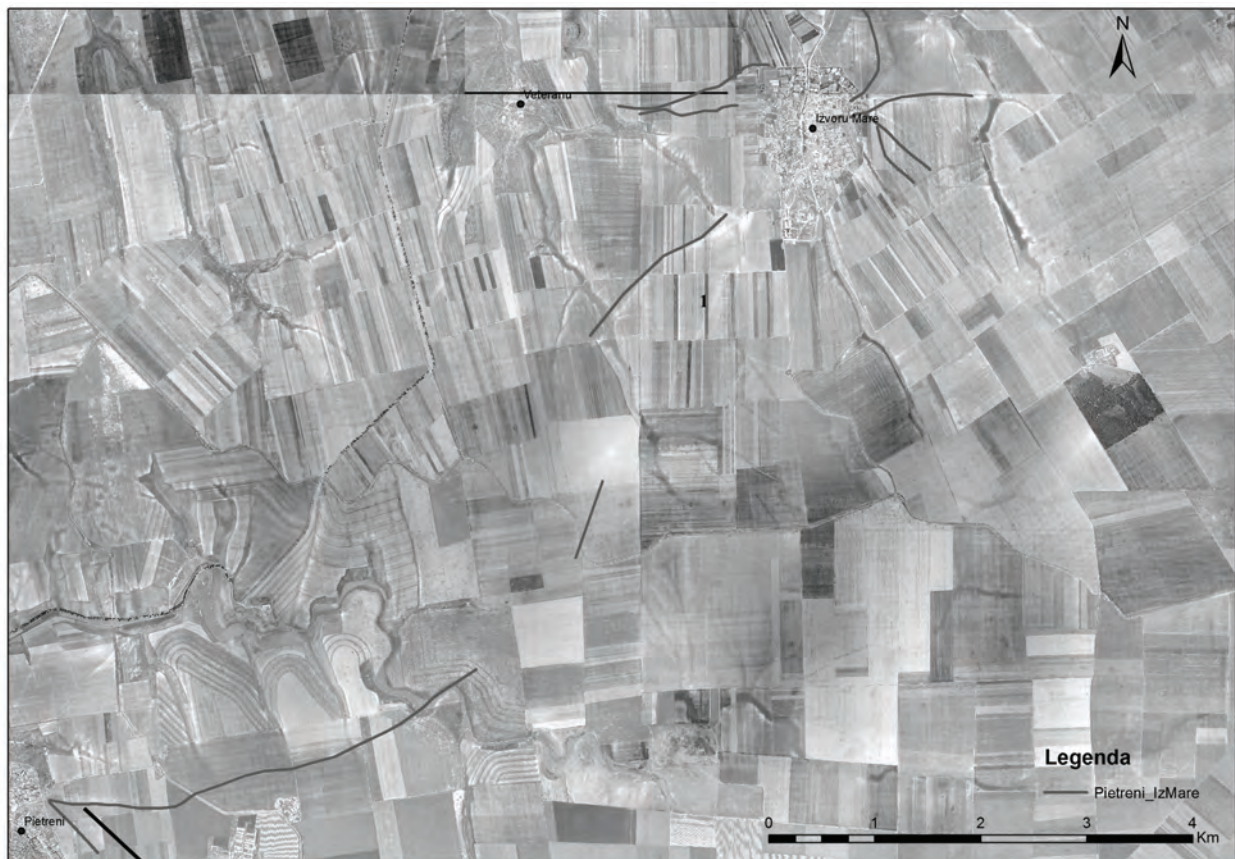


Fig. 6. Examples of some ancient roads identified in Tropaeum Traiani territory (Izvoru Mare, Pietreni).

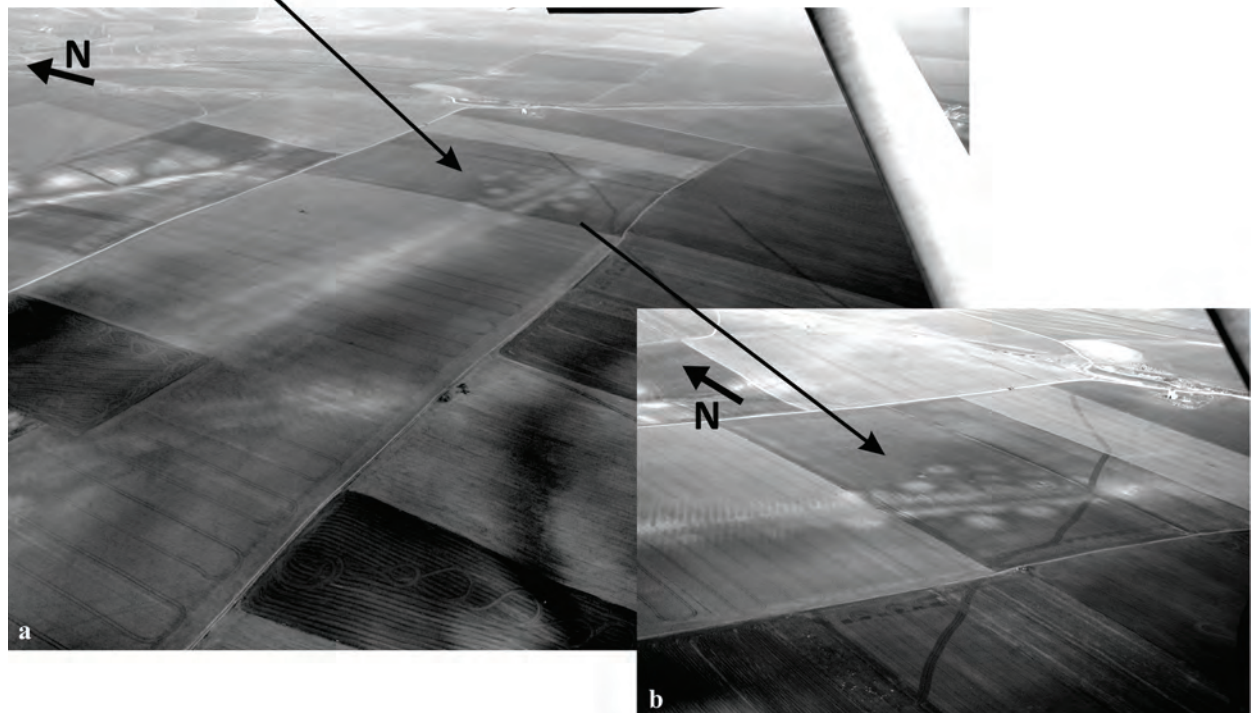


Fig. 7. a: Pietreni - roads and burial mounds; b: detail image with the road and burial mounds. Aerial oblique view 27th of March 2011 (ArcLand Project, I.N.P.-CIMEC Archives).

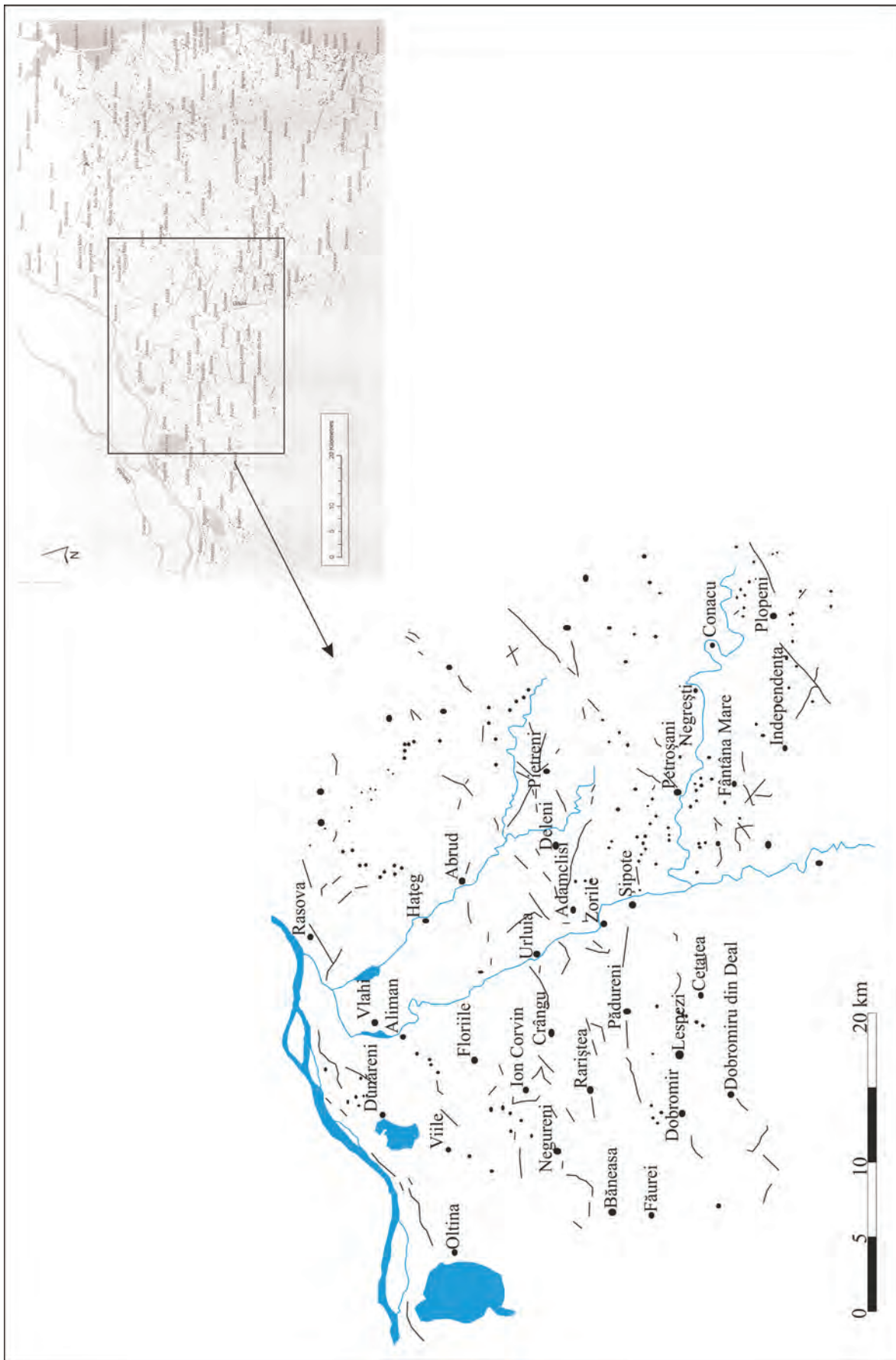
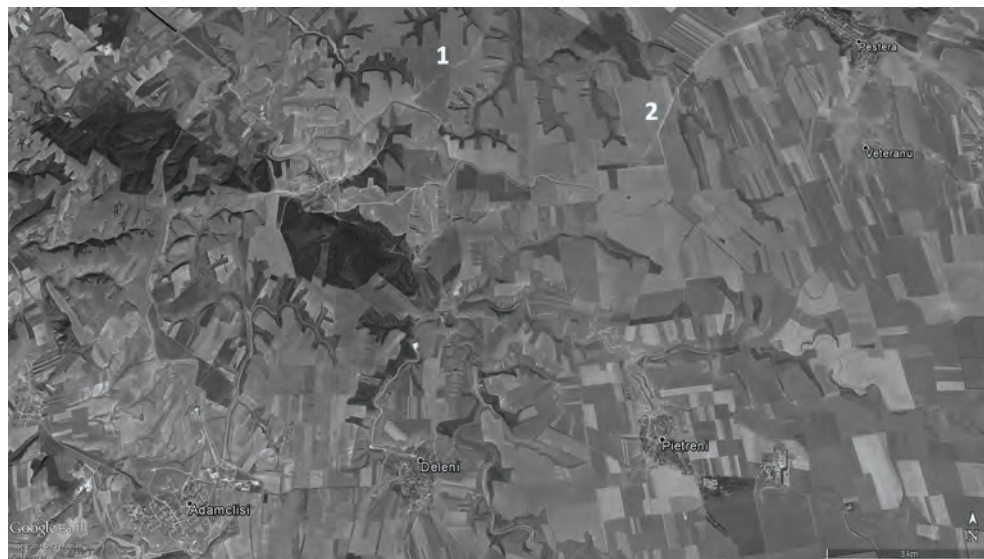
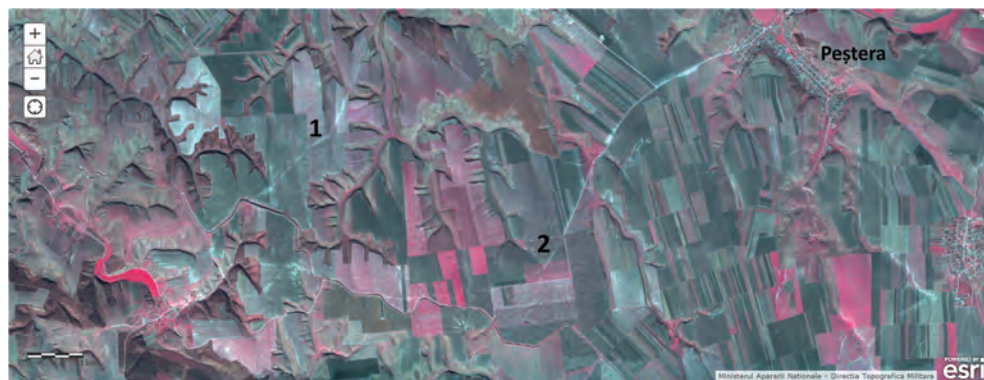


Fig. 8. Roads and burial mounds in the territory of Tropaeum Traiani (after Oltean 2013).



a



b



c

Fig. 9. Possible Roman roads in Tropaeum Traiani territory. View from different sources: a: Digital Globe satellite image provided by Google Earth (17 August 2013); b: CIR image (2010); c: CORONA satellite image (September 1966) provided by USGS EROS Centre.

In March 2011, under unfavourable weather conditions, a series of aerial photographs were taken in Pietreni area¹⁰⁹. A section of an ancient road was thus discovered, west of Pietreni, flanked by rows of flattened tumuli¹¹⁰ (Fig. 7/a, b).

Some soil marks – parallel lines – visible in the area in Fig. 7/a and b, may suggest a system of land division that, in our opinion, is in no way related to the present one.

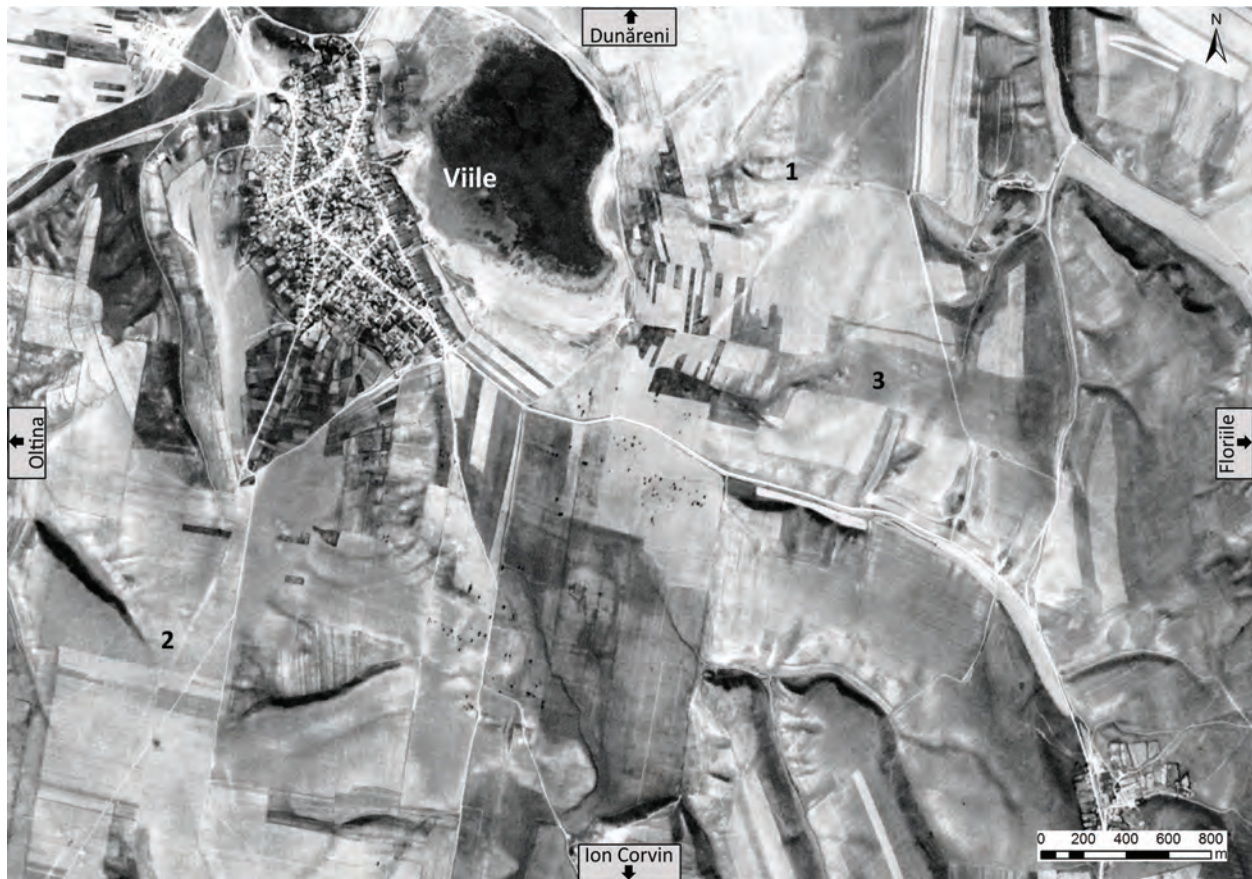


Fig. 10. 1, 2, 3 – Possible traces of Roman roads near Viile village, Ion Corvin. CORONA satellite image (1966) provided by USGS EROS Center.

CONCLUSIONS

The attempt to use the imagistic resources consisting in aerial photographs, satellite images and historical maps in order to identify and map the road network completes the information obtained through conventional archaeological fieldwork. The sources used add new insights to the archaeological discoveries and offer important information regarding the organization of the territory of Tropaeum Traiani in the Roman period.

Aerial archaeological research gives the researchers the possibility to communicate with the landscape. Flying over the earth you have the possibility to recognise the good places for establishing a settlement or heights suitable for fortifications.

The research requires not only archaeological, but also geographical, geomorphological and hydrographical knowledge. All this knowledge is able to bring new results for archaeology¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ The photographs were made by C. Bem.

¹¹⁰ This is due to the intensive agriculture in the area.

¹¹¹ Czajlik, Berecki, Rupnik 2014, p. 461.

At the moment, the petrographic diversity of the area, the variety of slopes and climatic conditions determines the manifestation of intense runoff processes, torrents, washing off the surface of steeper slopes, compaction and suffusions on loess, which causes degradation of landslides¹¹².

Considering the fragmented nature of the Dobrudja terrain, the setup of the road sections was probably carried in relation with the land topography, using the lighter slopes and the river valleys in order to find routes that were convenient both in terms of distance and of accessibility.

The city of Tropaeum Traiani was founded and developed in connection with the three monuments from the immediate vicinity. Their construction represented the solid footprint of the Roman Empire in this part of the world. The emergence of this settlement was influenced, in our opinion, by factors related more to ideology than to pragmatism. The connection between the two points (the Roman city and the monuments) is assured by a road, still visible in the late nineteenth century, at the beginning of the systematic excavations. Certainly, processions in the memory of the soldiers who died in the battles fought in the area¹¹³ would have been kept along the road to the triumphal monument.

Municipium from the very beginning, the city administrated a large territory where Roman settlements, inhabited by colonists and veterans, were identified and partially investigated. The main factor influencing the location of the settlements is the local road network. Next to the main roads, there is a dense network of local roads, connecting villages and villas with the city of Tropaeum Traiani.

Its organisation is part of the political efforts of the Roman authorities in order to organize the area after conquering Dacia. It has a civilian character and represents the model of organizing the hinterland of the province already experienced by the Romans in other parts of the empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achim 2015 – I. Achim, *Churches and graves in the early Byzantine period in Scythia Minor and Moesia Secunda: the development of a christian topography at the periphery of the Roman Empire*, in J.R. Brand, M. Prusac, H. Roland (eds.), *Death and Changing rituals. Function and meaning in ancient funerary practices*, Studies in Funerary Archaeology 7, Oxford – Philadelphia, 2015, p. 287-434.
- Aparaschivei 2010a – D. Aparaschivei, *Orașele romane de la Dunărea Inferioară*, Iași, 2010.
- Aparaschivei 2010b – D. Aparaschivei, *Quelques réflexions concernant l'applicabilité du droit latin dans les cités de la province Mésie inférieure*, in M.V. Angelescu, I. Achim, A. Băltăc, V. Rusu-Bolindeț, V. Bottez (eds.), *Antiquitas Istropontica. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 131-138.
- Aricescu 1970 – A. Aricescu, *Quelques précisions sur la carte de la Scythia Minor*, Dacia N.S. 14, 1970, p. 297-310.
- Aricescu 1974 – A. Aricescu, *Două inscripții din vecinătatea Sacidavei*, Pontica 7, 1974, p. 259-274.
- Aricescu 1977 – A. Aricescu, *Armata în Dobrogea romană*, București, 1977.
- Aricescu et alii 1964 - A. Aricescu, V. Barbu, N. Gostar, Gh. Poenaru Bordea, A. Rădulescu, *Noi monumente epigrafice din Scythia Minor*, Constanța, 1964.
- Barnea 1969 – A. Barnea, *Trei altare inedite de la Tropaeum Traiani*, SCIVA 20, 1969, 4, p. 595-609.
- Barnea 1989 – A. Barnea, *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice efectuate în anii 1981-1988 de Institutul de Arheologie din București*, SCIVA 40, 1989, 3, p. 295-315.
- Barnea 1996 – A. Barnea, *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice efectuate în 1995 de Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan" din București*, SCIVA 47, 1996, 4, p. 421-429.
- Barnea 1998 – A. Barnea, *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice efectuate în 1997 de Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Parvan" din București*, SCIVA 49, 1998, 3-4, p. 291-301.
- Barnea et alii 1979 – I. Barnea (ed.), A. Barnea, I. Bogdan Cătănicu, M. Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, Gh. Papuc, *Tropaeum Traiani. I. Cetatea*, București, 1979.
- Bărbulescu 2001 – M. Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală în Moesia Inferior (sec. I-III p. Chr)*, Constanța, 2001.
- Bărbulescu-Munteanu, Rădulescu 1980 – M. Bărbulescu-Munteanu, A. Rădulescu, *Stâlpi miliari inediți din Scythia Minor*, Pontica 13, 1980, p. 140-156.

¹¹² M.I. Sandulache, http://www.unibuc.ro/prof/sandulache_m_i/Podisul_Dobrogei.php

¹¹³ A reference to this monument is very likely to appear in Cassius Dio 68, 8, 2 (= Fontes I, p. 687): In honour of the soldiers who had died in the battle, he ordered an altar to be erected and funeral rites to be performed annually.

- Bâltâc 2011 – A. Bâltâc, *Lumea rurală în provinciile Moesia Inferior și Thracia (secolele I-III p. Chr)*, București, 2011.
- Bobu Florescu 1959 – F. Bobu Florescu, *Monumentul de la Adamklissi Tropaeum Traiani* (ediția a II-a revăzută și adăugită), București, 1959.
- Bogdan Cătănicu 1981 – I. Bogdan Cătănicu, *Evolution of the system of defence works in Roman Dacia*, BARIntSer 116, Oxford, 1981.
- Bogdan Cătănicu 1984 – I. Bogdan Cătănicu, *Considerații privind zona arheologică Troesmis*, RMM-MIA, 2, 1984, p. 45-50.
- Bogdan Cătănicu 1992 – I. Bogdan Cătănicu, *Poarta de est la Tropaeum Traiani*, EphemNap 2, 1992, p. 193-205.
- Bogdan Cătănicu 1996 – I. Bogdan Cătănicu, *I valli di Traiano nella Dobrugea. Considerazioni sulle fotografie aeree*, in M. Porumb (ed.), *Omaggio a Dinu Adameșteanu*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 201-207.
- Bogdan Cătănicu 2006 – I. Bogdan Cătănicu, *Cercetări aerofotografice pe valurile din Dobrogea. Aspecte demografice*, in M. Mănușu Adameșteanu (ed.), *Orgame/Argamum Supplementa 1. À la recherche d'une colonie. Actes du Colloque International 40 ans de recherche archéologique à Orgamè /Argamum*, Bucarest – Tulcea – Jurilovca, 3-5 octombrie 2005, Bucarest, 2006, p. 407-427.
- Cîrjan 2004 – R. Cîrjan, *Tropaeum Traiani: un municipe de droit latin en Mésie Inférieure*, EphemDac 12, 2004, p. 51-59.
- Cîrjan 2010a – R. Cîrjan, *Statute citadine privilegiate în provinciile dunărene ale Imperiului Roman (sec. I-III p. Chr)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.
- Cîrjan 2010b – R. Cîrjan, *Droit romain et droit latin dans les cités danubiennes de l'Empire Romain (I^{er} – III^e siècles): remarques méthodologiques*, in M.V. Angelescu, I. Achim, A. Bâltâc, V. Rusu-Bolindeț, V. Bottez (eds.), *Antiquitas Istro-Pontica. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 121-130.
- Covacef 1973 – Z. Covacef, *Le caractère chthonien du culte de Dionysos. Stèle funéraire dionysiaque*, Pontica 6, 1973, p. 111-116.
- Covacef 2002 – Z. Covacef, *Arta sculpturală în Dobrogea romană secolele I-III*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002.
- Cowley, Standring, Abicht 2010 – D.C. Cowley, R.A. Standring, M.J. Abicht (eds.), *Landscapes through the lens. Aerial photographs and historic environment*, Oxford, 2010.
- Crăciun 2006 – C. Crăciun, *Drumuri antice pe limesul Dunării de Jos - Segmentul Durostorum-Capidava*, paper presented at the 6th Annual Symposium ARA (Architecture. Restauration. Archaeology), Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, 21-23 Aprilie 2006.
- Crăciun 2008 – C. Crăciun, *Structuri antice descoperite prin fotointerpretarea imaginilor aeriene*, Pontica 41, 2008, p. 357-392.
- Crăciun 2009 – C. Crăciun, *Drumurile antice din zona Troesmis și importanța drumului Troesmis - Enisala în sistemul rețelei de drumuri din nordul Dobrogei*, paper presented at the 9th Annual Symposium ARA (Architecture. Restauration. Archaeology), Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, 23-25 Aprilie 2009 (abstract available: <http://www.simpara.ro/DRUMURILE-ANTICE-DIN-ZONA-TROESMIS-141.htm>).
- Crăciun, Bănoiu 2008 – C. Crăciun, D. Bănoiu, *Recuperarea informației topografice privind necropola de incinerare de la Hârșova (aplicație GIS)*, paper presented at the 9th Annual Symposium ARA (Architecture. Restauration. Archaeology), Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest, 17-19 Aprilie 2008.
- Czajlik, Berecki, Rupnik 2014 – Z. Czajlik, S. Berecki, L. Rupnik, *Aerial Geoarchaeological Survey in the Valleys of the Mureș and Arieș Rivers (2009-2013)*, DissArch 3/2, 2014, Budapest, p. 459-483.
- Doruțiu-Boilă 1990 – E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Despre cărămizile cu ștampilă ale legiunilor V Macedonica și XI Claudia la Dunărea de Jos și pe litoralul nordic al Mării Negre*, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3-4, p. 251-271.
- Florescu 1986 – R. Florescu, *Limesul dunărean bizantin în vremea dinastiilor isauriană și macedoneană*, Pontica 19, 1986, p. 171-179.
- Fodorean 2014 – F. Fodorean, *Pannonia, Dacia și Moesia în izvoarele geografice antice*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.
- Hanson, Oltean 2012 – W.S. Hanson, I. Oltean, *The 'valu lui Traian': a roman frontier rehabilitated*, JRA 25, 2012, 1, p. 297-319.
- Irimia 1968 – M. Irimia, *Cuptoarele romano-bizantine de ars ceramică de la Oltina (Jud. Constanța)*, Pontica 1, 1968, p. 379-408.
- Irimia 1974 – M. Irimia, *Cercetările arheologice de la Rasova-Malul Roșu. Raport preliminar*, Pontica 7, 1974, p. 175-131.
- Irimia 1981 – M. Irimia, *Descoperiri arheologice recente la Rasova (jud. Constanța)*, Pontica 14, 1981, p. 239-247.
- Irimia 1985 – M. Irimia, *În legătură cu unele tegule ștampilate descoperite la Izvoarele (jud. Constanța)*, Pontica 18, 1985, p. 141-156.

- Irimia 1991 – M. Irimia, *Noi mărturii arheologice privind a doua epocă a fierului în Dobrogea*, Pontica 24, 1991, p. 97-123.
- Irimia 2004-2005 – M. Irimia, *Descoperiri getice în zona Adâncata (com. Aliman, jud. Constanța)*, Pontica 37-38, 2004-2005, p. 319-384.
- Irimia 2007 – M. Irimia, *Considerații privind așezările getice din Dobrogea și problema existenței unor emporia în zona Dunării inferioare*, Pontica 40, 2007, p. 137-225.
- Madzharov 2009 – M. Madzharov, *Roman roads in Bulgaria. Contribution to the development of Roman road system in the provinces of Moesia and Thrace*, Veliko Tarnovo, 2009.
- Matei 1991 – C. Matei, *Considerații privind raportul dintre Classis Flavia Moesica și fortificațiile limesului roman de la Dunărea de Jos (sec. I-VI)*, Pontica 24, 1991, p. 143-159.
- Matei-Popescu 2001-2002 – F. Matei-Popescu, *Trupele auxiliare ale armatei romane din Moesia Inferior*, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 173-245.
- Matei-Popescu 2010 – F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Bucharest, 2010.
- Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, Apostol 2016 – M. Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, V. Apostol, *La fortification romaine de Tropaeum Traiani*, Caiete ARA 7, 2016, p. 33-94.
- Munteanu, Ocheșanu 1975 – M. Munteanu, R. Ocheșanu, *Descoperiri monetare în satele Dobrogei romane (sec. I-III e.n.)*, Pontica 8, 1975, p. 175-215.
- Munteanu, Oprea 2007 – I. Munteanu, V. Oprea, *Periegheze pe malul dobrogean al Dunării*, Pontica 40, 2007, p. 509-514.
- Murnu 1914 – G. Murnu, *De la cetatea Tropaeum-Adamclissi: basilica-cisternă. Studiu arheologic*, AARMSI II/36 (1913-1914), 1914, p. 421-440.
- Musson, Palmer, Campana 2005 – C. Musson, R. Palmer, S. Campana (eds.), *In volo nel passato. Aerofotografia e cartografia archeologica*, Siena, 2005.
- Olariu, Ionescu, Gămureac 2013 – C. Olariu, M.S. Ionescu, Ș.E. Gămureac, *The Archaeological Excavation and Field Survey of Ispanaru and the Surrounding Area (Constanța County)*, Pontica 46, 2013, p. 225-239.
- Oltean 2013 – I. Oltean, *Burial mounds and settlement patterns: a quantitative approach to their identification from the air and interpretation*, Antiquity 87, 2013, p. 202-219.
- Oltean, Hanson 2013 – I. Oltean, W.S. Hanson, *Integrating aerial satellite imagery: discovering Roman imperial landscapes in Southern Dobrudja (Romania)*, in W.S. Hanson, I. Oltean (eds.), *Archaeology from historical aerial and satellite archives*, New York, 2013, p. 315-336.
- Oța 2013 – L. Oța, *Lumea funerară în Moesia Inferior (sec. I-III p. Chr)*, Brăila, 2013.
- Palmer 2013 – R. Palmer, *Reading aerial images*, in R.S. Opitz, D.C. Cowley (eds.), *Interpreting archaeological topography. Airborne laser scanning, 3D data and ground observation*, Oxford, 2013, p. 76-88.
- Palmer, Oberländer-Târnoveanu, Bem 2009 – R. Palmer, I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, C. Bem, *Arheologie aeriană în Europa și în România*, București, 2009.
- Panaite 2006 – A. Panaite, *Drumuri romane din teritoriul orașului Tropaeum Traiani*, SCIVA 57, 2006, 1-4, p. 57-70.
- Panaite 2011 – A. Panaite, *Drumurile romane în Moesia Inferior*, unpublished PhD thesis, Bucharest University, Faculty of History, 2011.
- Panaite 2012a – A. Panaite, *Roman roads in Lower Moesia*, Novensia 23, 2012, p. 131-143.
- Panaite 2012b – A. Panaite, *Written and archaeological sources for the reconstruction of Roman road network in the province of Lower Moesia*, Caiete ARA 3, 2012, p. 67-80.
- Panaite 2015 – A. Panaite, *Roman roads in Moesia Inferior*, in L. Vagalinski, N. Sharankov (eds.) *Limes XXII. Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012* (= IzvestijaSofia 42), Sofia, 2015, p. 593-600.
- Panaite, Alexandrescu 2009 - A. Panaite, C.G. Alexandrescu, *A „rediscovered” inscription from Dobrudja. Roads and milestones in Scythia (3rd-4th centuries AD)*, Pontica 42, 2009, p. 429-455.
- Papasima 1987 – T. Papasima, *Mormânt roman descoperit la I.A.S. Pietreni (com. Deleni, jud. Constanța)*, Pontica 20, 1987, p. 345-352.
- Pârvan 1912 – V. Pârvan, *Cetatea Ulmetum (I). Descoperirile primei campanii de săpături din vara anului 1911*, AARMSI II/34, 1912, p. 497-607.
- Rada et alii 1988 – M. Rada, N. Cochină, Gh. Corodel, M. Iuga, *Așezări antice dobrogene identificate cu ajutorul fotografiilor aeriene*, Thraco-Dacica 9, 1988, p. 197-205.
- Rădulescu 1969 – A. Rădulescu, *Un miliar de la Decius la Rasova*, RevMuz 4, 1969, 6, p. 349-354.
- Rădulescu 1972 – A. Rădulescu, *Aspecte privind exploatarea pietrei în Dobrogea romană*, Pontica 5, 1972, p. 177-205.
- Rădulescu, Bărbulescu 1981 – A. Rădulescu, M. Bărbulescu, *De nouveau sur les légats de Trajan en Mésie Inférieure entre 103 et 108 de n.é.*, Dacia N.S. 25, 1981, p. 353-358.

- Sandulache – M.I. Sandulache, *Podișul Dobrogei*, http://www.unibuc.ro/prof/sandulache_m_i/Podisul_Dobrogei.php
- Sâmpetru 1984 – M. Sâmpetru, *Tropaeum Traiani II. Monumentele romane*, București, 1984.
- Schuchardt 1918 – C. Schuchardt, *Die sogenannten Trajanswälle in der Dobrudscha*, Berlin, 1918.
- Scorpan 1988 – C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae*, BARIntSer 88, Oxford, 1988.
- Suceveanu 1977 – A. Suceveanu, *Viața economică în Dobrogea romană (sec. I-III e.n.)*, București, 1977.
- Suceveanu 1998 – A. Suceveanu, *Fantânele. Contribuții la studiul vieții rurale în Dobrogea Romană*, București, 1998.
- Tocilescu 1894 – G. Tocilescu, *Neue Inschriften aus Rumänien*, AEM 17, 1894, p. 81-113.
- Ștefan 1971 – A.S. Ștefan, *Troesmis, considerații topografice*, BMI 40, 1971, 4, p. 43-52.
- Ștefan 1972 – A.S. Ștefan, *Apeductele cetății Tropaeum Traiani*, BMI 41, 1972, 3, p. 43-53.
- Ștefan 1973 – A.S. Ștefan, *Noviodunum. Studiu de foto-interpretare arheologică*, BMI 1, 1973, p. 3-14.
- Ștefan 1974 – A.S. Ștefan, *Cercetări aerofotografice privind topografia urbană a Histriei. I, Epoca romană (sec. I-III e.n.)*, RMM-MIA 43, 1974, 2, p. 39-51.
- Ștefan 1975 – A.S. Ștefan, *Cercetări aerofotografice privind topografia urbană a Histriei. II, Epoca romană târzie (sec. III-IV e.n.)*, RMM-MIA 44, 1975, 2, p. 51-62.
- Ștefan 1976 – A.S. Ștefan, *Cercetări aerofotografice privind topografia urbană a Histriei. III, Epoca romană târzie (sec. IV-VII e.n.)*, RMM-MIA 45, 1976, 1, p. 43-51.
- Ștefan 1977a – A.S. Ștefan, *Cetatea romană de la Slava Rusă (Libida?): cercetările aerofotografice și apărarea patrimoniului arheologic*, RMM-MIA 46, 1977, 1, p. 3-22.
- Ștefan 1977b – A.S. Ștefan, *Cetățile romane de la Enisala: studiu aerofotografic*, RMM-MIA 46, 1977, 2, p. 15-25.
- Ștefan 1977c – A.S. Ștefan, *Nouvelles recherches de photo-interprétation archéologique concernant la défense de la Scythie Mineure*, in *Akten des XI. internationalen Limeskongresses, Székesfehérvár, 1976*, Budapest, 1978, p. 451-465.
- Ștefan 1983 – A.S. Ștefan, *Cercetări aerofotografice în anii 1978-1980*, MCA 15 (A XV-a Sesiune Anuală de Rapoarte, Brașov, 1981), 1983, p. 178-192.
- Ștefan 1984 – A.S. Ștefan, *Cetatea romană de la Murighiol: studiu aerofotografic*, Peuce 9, 1984, p. 297-310.
- USGS 2016 – *USGS Science for a Changing World*, <http://earthexplorer.usgs.gov/> (Retrieved: November 2016).
- Verhoeven 2012 – G.J. Verhoeven, *Near-Infrared Aerial Crop Mark Archaeology: From its Historical Use to Current Digital Implementations*, JAMT 19, 2012, p. 132-160.
- Vulpe 1938 – R. Vulpe, *Histoire ancienne de la Dobroudja*, Bucarest, 1938.
- Wilson 2000 – D.R. Wilson, *Air Photo Interpretation for Archaeologists*, Gloucestershire, 2000.
- Zahariade 1988 – M. Zahariade, *Moesia Secunda, Scythia și Notitia Dignitatum*, București, 1988.
- Zahariade 1996 – M. Zahariade, *Roman Frontier in Scythia Minor (1980-1994)*, in P. Petrović (ed.), *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade, 1996.

LE TÉMOIGNAGE ÉPIGRAPHIQUE DES *VILLAE* EN MÉSIE INFÉRIEURE : REMARQUES SUR LES PROPRIÉTAIRES ET SUR LE PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATIF

LUCREȚIU MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA*

Keywords: *villae*, Moesia Inferior, owners, *vilicus*, *actor*

Abstract: The author takes into discussion the epigraphic record of *villae* in Moesia Inferior, in order to analyse from an onomastic and prosopographic point of view not only the owners, but also the other people (especially the administrative staff) mentioned alongside them in the texts. Thus, it is possible to reconstruct, even partially, the circumstances of their presence and of their family milieu.

Cuvinte-cheie: *villae*, Moesia Inferior, proprietari, *vilicus*, *actor*

Rezumat: Autorul aduce în discuție evidența epigrafică a *villae*-lor în provincia Moesia Inferior, pentru a supune analizei onomastice și prosopografice nu numai proprietarii acestora, dar și persoanele (în special cele care compun personalul administrativ) menționate în texte alături de ei. Astfel, se pot reconstitui, chiar dacă doar parțial, circumstanțele prezenței lor și mediul familial din care provin.

I. INTRODUCTION

Les *villae* en Mésie Inférieure (Fig. 1) ont constitué depuis longtemps sujet de recherche, concrétisé par la publication d'ouvrages (individuels ou collectifs), d'articles ou de chapitres des livres¹. Les *villae* de cette province ont été assez bien recherchées du point de vue archéologique, en se remarquant les ouvrages de V. H. Baumann (surtout dans le territoire de Noviodunum)², complétés par ceux de V. Dinchev³ et, récemment, par celui de G. Nuțu, S. Stanc et D. Paraschiv⁴. Les auteurs ont la *communis opinio* que ce type de structure a été, selon l'information épigraphique et archéologique, de type romain, avec une population « en majorité romanisée »⁵. Du point de vue terminologique, il est toujours difficile d'expliciter le terme « romanisé ». On est d'accord pourtant que celui-ci est applicable au moins dans le sens de l'*epigraphic habit*. Mais qui étaient les propriétaires des *villae* ? Est-ce qu'on peut parler, sauf les structures édilitaires romaines, d'une population romaine ou romanisée ? Les recherches approfondies des dernières années ont montré que dans les cités grecques de la province, les territoires ruraux ont été colonisés avec des citoyens Romains, des

* Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » du Iași ; blucetiu@yahoo.com. Cet article a été réalisé dans le cadre du projet CNCS IDEI 217/2011. Je remercie le Conseil National pour la Recherche Scientifique de Roumanie (CNCS) pour son support financier.

¹ Voir surtout Bérard 1993 ; d'Encarnaçao 1993 ; Ardevan 1998 ; Mitrofan 1998 ; Dyson 2003 ; Van Andringa 2003 ; Aounallah 2008 ; Kovács 2013 ; pour la Mésie Inférieure, voir Suceveanu 1998 ; Bărbulescu 1998 ; Bărbulescu 2001 ; Baumann 1998 ; Bounegru 2011 ; Băltăc 2011, p. 138-140, 149-151 ; Ruscu 2014, p. 475.

² Baumann 1983 ; Baumann 2003a ; Baumann 2003b ; Baumann 2004 ; Baumann 2007.

³ Dinchev 1997 ; Dintchev 1998.

⁴ Nuțu, Stanc, Paraschiv 2014, p. 21-43. Les auteurs attirent l'attention sur le danger de considérer des *villae* plus larges comme des *vici* (p. 22).

⁵ Voir Bounegru 2011, p. 242 ; Băltăc 2011, p. 216. Voir aussi l'analyse du dossier épigraphique (Băltăc 2011, p. 138-140, 149-151) et archéologique (Băltăc 2011, p. 166-167).



Fig. 1. Carte de la Mésie Inférieure.

vétérans et, dans certains cas, des populations thraces (*Bessi* et *Laii*) qui rédigeaient les inscriptions en Latin⁶. Mais, au-delà de ces structures administratives qui sont organisées selon le modèle romain, il y a les propriétés rurales privées, qui n'appartiennent pas forcément aux habitants les plus aisés du village, mais qui entraînaient une population rurale diverse, avec des tâches du travail brut et d'administration. La même chose est valable pour les territoires villageois des cités romaines.

Ma démarche consiste en reprenant le dossier épigraphique des *villae* en Mésie Inférieure afin d'analyser du point de vue onomastique et prosopographique non seulement les propriétaires, mais aussi ceux qui sont mentionnés à côté d'eux dans les textes. Ainsi, on peut reconstituer, même partiellement, les circonstances de leur présence, le milieu familial et d'expliquer, dans la mesure du possible, la manière romaine de construire les édifices de ces structures rurales. Certes, l'évidence épigraphique ne coïncide pas avec les trouvailles archéologiques⁷, mais elle peut l'expliquer.

II. LE DOSSIER ÉPIGRAPHIQUE

L'évidence des inscriptions n'est pas très riche pour les *villae* de la Mésie Inférieure ; pourtant, on identifie 28 telles structures sur un total de 32 inscriptions (une inscription dans le territoire rural d'Istros est un doublet, dans autres quatre textes il s'agit du même personnage⁸). Ces propriétés ont été identifiées soit selon le témoignage direct (l'attestation de la *villa*, du domaine ou les bornes qui délimitaient une propriété rurale privée), ou bien selon des mentions indirectes (l'attestation des responsables de l'administration d'une *villa* – *vilici* ou *actores* – ou les lieux de découverte en liaison avec les personnages rappelés par les textes). Il faut aussi préciser que le nombre des propriétaires étaient certainement plus grand, voir les nombreux vétérans présents par exemple à Tomi⁹. Mais j'ai préféré de discuter seulement les exemples qui, directement

⁶ Avram 2007 ; Bounegru 2011 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012a.

⁷ Sur le répertoire archéologique, voir Băltăc 2011, p. 407-422, avec la bibliographie.

⁸ ISM I, 359-360 (le doublet) ; ISM I, 374-377 (le même personnage).

⁹ Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 175.

ou indirectement, font preuve d'une manière sûre sur l'existence des *villae*. Ainsi, on peut compléter le catalogue des *villae* en Mésie Inférieure (d'ailleurs, attentivement réalisé par A. Bâltâc¹⁰).

D'abord, il y a les cités grecques du littoral ouest-pontique qui sont très bien représentées en ce qui concerne les attestations des *villae*. Dans le territoire d'Istros, par exemple, une inscription, datée le 19 septembre 157, atteste un archonte et *aedilicius* du territoire qui fait ériger durant sa vie (lorsqu'il avait 76 ans !) un monument funéraire pour lui-même et pour sa femme, morte à 50 ans¹¹. L. Pompeius Valens est originaire d'Ancyre, comme il en témoigne. J'ai parlé dans plusieurs études sur les origines militaires des gens d'Ancyre en Mésie Inférieure, en montrant qu'ils ont été recrutés dans les légions *I Italica* et *V Macedonica* pendant les guerres parthiques de Trajan ou pendant la guerre d'Hadrien en Judée¹². Si notre Pomponius Valens a 76 ans en 157 et si on suppose qu'il est un vétéran, sa période de recrutement a dû avoir lieu en 101-102 ou peu avant (l'âge de recrutement était en général 18-20 ans), lors de la première guerre dacique, où l'armée de Mésie Inférieure a été impliquée. Même si les sources sont pauvres en informations, je pense pourtant que L. Pompeius Valens a été un vétéran d'Ancyre, recruté probablement dans une des légions de Mésie Inférieure, qui s'est établi dans la province après sa libération. Encore deux inscriptions (en doublet) font preuve d'une délimitation entre la propriété de Messia Pudentilla et de celle appartenant aux *vicani Buteridavensis*¹³. On ne connaît pas la situation familiale de la femme, mais elle doit faire partie d'une famille non seulement aisée, mais aussi influente. La délimitation est achevée par l'ordre du gouverneur Ovinus Tertullus, par le soin du préfet de la flotte, ce qui suppose une situation du conflit territorial. F. Matei-Popescu est d'avis qu'une partie des *vicani* travaillaient en système d'affermage une partie des terres de Messia Pudentilla¹⁴. C'est pour le moment la seule explication qu'on peut accepter, en l'absence d'autres informations fournies par les sources. De toute façon, il est probable que Messia Pudentilla ait appartenu à une famille de notables locaux. Un Messius Valens est attesté dans la liste des soldats libérés à Troesmis par Hadrien¹⁵, mais il est impossible d'établir une liaison familiale entre Messia Pudentilla et le vétéran.

Une autre inscription du territoire d'Istros est celle de T. Manius Bassianus, *buleuta* de la cité, dont la tombe a été érigée dans le *vicus Quintionis*, où il avait certainement une propriété¹⁶. La pierre funéraire a été faite par sa femme, son fils et son petit-fils. F. Matei-Popescu observe justement que, même s'il s'agit d'un citoyen romain, il ne provenait pas de l'ancienne aristocratie d'Istros. Il développe son hypothèse en supposant qu'il a reçu des terres dans la *regio Histriae*, ayant exercé magistratures dans la cité; on a lui également octroyé le statut de citoyen de la ville grecque, qui lui donnait le droit d'acheter des terres dans le territoire d'Istros¹⁷. Je pense que le scénario est possible. Manius Bassianus est une personne qui avait récemment acquis le droit de cité, car son gentilice est originaire d'un prénom. Il est probablement un latinophone dont l'origine reste inconnue, mais qui, de toute façon, a une certaine aisance, qui lui permet s'acheter une propriété dans le territoire rural d'Istros.

Une preuve indirecte de l'existence d'une *villa* à Ulmetum est fournie par une inscription votive, érigée pour le salut de L. Valerius Victorinus et de sa femme et de ses fils par l'*actor* L. Valerius Nilus, leur affranchi¹⁸. J'ai mis Ulmetum dans le territoire d'Istros, même s'il y a encore la discussion sur l'appartenance du *vicus Ulmetum* au territoire de Capidava. Je ne reprendrai pas en détail la discussion, mais je suis enclin vers l'hypothèse que le village a appartenu au territoire d'Istros, par plusieurs raisons (organisation pareille avec *vicus Quintionis* du territoire d'Istros, la possible existence d'un autre *vicus* à Capidava etc.)¹⁹.

¹⁰ Bâltâc 2011, p. 231-268.

¹¹ ISM I, 373 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 254 ; Matei-Popescu 2013, p. 219.

¹² Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Piftor 2005 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012b, 172 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 41-45 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015a, p. 82.

¹³ ISM I, 359-360 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 250-251.

¹⁴ Matei-Popescu 2013, p. 222.

¹⁵ ISM V, 137.

¹⁶ ISM I, 339.

¹⁷ Matei-Popescu 2014, p. 224.

¹⁸ ISM V, 72 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 241.

¹⁹ Voir plus récemment Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015b, p. 151, avec toute la discussion.

Dans le territoire de Tomi, il y a les seuls textes attestant indirectement des *villae* qui sont rédigés en grec. Castresios, *πραγματευτής* du primipilaire Iulius Fronto, fait ériger un monument funéraire pour lui-même et pour sa femme Euphrosyne, qui a vécu 25 ans²⁰. Sa fonction (l'équivalent grec du latin *actor*) me fait penser plutôt qu'à un esclave (statut qui est le même pour sa femme), et non d'affranchi, comme le pensent A. Bâltâc, M. Bărbulescu et L. Buzoianu²¹. Le fait qu'il rédige le texte en grec est dû à son origine hellénophone : il n'est pas exclu qu'il soit originaire d'une des cités ouest-pontiques. En tout cas, le propriétaire est certainement latinophone ; son statut d'ancien primipile fait preuve d'une aisance qui lui a permis de détenir une telle propriété.

Une autre inscription rédigée en grec est représentée par l'épithaphe de Rufus, fils de Priscus, prêtre de Jupiter Dolichenus, érigée par son collègue de sacerdoce Iulianus, fils d'Alexandros²². M. Bărbulescu et L. Buzoianu considèrent, à juste titre, que l'expression *ἐν ἰδίῳ τόπῳ μνήμης χάριν* signifie l'existence d'une propriété funéraire située dans un milieu rural, plutôt à côté d'une *villa*²³. Même si les deux prêtres étaient d'origine pérégrine, leur aisance n'est pas mise en question.

Il faut aussi rappeler la série des quatre vœux pour Mithra, accomplis par Flavius Horimos, intendant et affranchi d'un certain Flavius Macedo, dans une grotte située non loin de Târgușor (dép. de Constanța)²⁴. Je suis tenté de dater les inscriptions de la première moitié du III^e siècle, non entre le III^e et le IV^e siècles, comme le pense D.M. Pippidi²⁵. Au-delà des vœux proprement-dits, la charge d'Horimos nous fait penser à une propriété rurale appartenant à Flavius Macedo.

Continuant avec les textes en grec, il faut rappeler le sarcophage d'Annius Super, fils d'un *ex signifero* (voir l'âge du défunt – 26 ans) de la *legio XIII Gemina*²⁶. Comme l'on verra dans les textes suivants, les diverses tâches des militaires de la légion stationnée en Dacie ont déterminé leur mobilité en Mésie Inférieure, où ils ont fini leur carrière et où ils se sont achetés des propriétés rurales. Cette inscription a été trouvée à Agigea, non loin de Constanța.

C. Antonius Fronto, vétéran de la XIII^e légion Gemina, ancien bénéficiaire consulaire, fait ériger pour soi-même *lucum et sepulchrum*²⁷. Le *lucus* était aménagé certainement sur une propriété. L'inscription est bilingue ; le nom du vétéran est latin, mais la rédaction du texte également en grec peut être expliquée. Nous ignorons où a-t-il exercé son service de *beneficiarius*, mais sûrement il a été détaché de l'armée de la Dacie Apulensis, où sa légion servait, en Mésie Inférieure²⁸. Là, il a fini son service ; son aisance en tant qu'ancien bénéficiaire lui a permis d'avoir une propriété où il a aménagé un *lucus*. Pourquoi pourtant un soldat de la *legio XIII Gemina* et non des trois légions stationnées en Mésie Inférieure ? R.L. Dise a montré que la mobilité des bénéficiaires a été remarquable, surtout à partir de l'époque de Trajan. Il est mort donc près de Tomi. Il est difficile d'apprendre son origine. Un certain L. Antonius Modestus, provenant de la petite cité Industria (en Italie), vétéran de la même légion, est commémoré à Poetovio²⁹. D'autres Antonii de cette unité militaire, ainsi que les Antonii de Mésie Inférieure ne mentionnent pas leur lieu de naissance, mais une origine des provinces hellénophones ne peut pas être exclue ? L'épithaphe d'Antonius Fronto a été rédigée en latin et en grec puisqu'il avait son origine dans un milieu hellénophone ou parce qu'il s'est établi dans une région de langue grecque ? Vu que son inscription funéraire est bilingue, je pense que la deuxième raison (le milieu hellénophone) peut constituer la réponse.

²⁰ ISM II, 289 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 264-265 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 185.

²¹ Bâltâc 2011, table I.13 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 185.

²² ISM II, 292, Bâltâc 2011, p. 265 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 187.

²³ Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 187.

²⁴ ISM I, 374-377 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 188.

²⁵ ISM I, 374-377, *sub numero* ; voir aussi Pippidi 1969, p. 284-310.

²⁶ ISM II, 363 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 186.

²⁷ ISM II, 190 ; IDRE II, 344 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 186.

²⁸ Dise jr. 1997a ; Dise jr. 1997b.

²⁹ CIL III 10877 ; RIS 402.

La tombe d'Aemilius [---], *librarius* d'une légion (probablement de la V^e Macedonica) trouvée à Cumpăna est un témoignage indirect d'une propriété rurale sur laquelle a été érigée l'épithaphe³⁰. Toujours à Cumpăna, deux pierres tombales, une d'un vétéran anonyme (commémoré par sa femme et probablement par son esclave Dionysius)³¹, l'autre de Q. Baebius Proculus, ancien militaire (de nouveau !) de la XIII^e légion Gemina, font preuve indirecte de l'existence des propriétés, où les épithaphes ont été érigées³². Trois Baebii, qui ont servi dans la même légion, sont commémorés à Iulia Concordia (*regio X*) vers la fin du I^{er} siècle, lorsque la légion stationnait à Poetovio³³. Ces Baebii étaient probablement originaires de Iulia Concordia. D'ailleurs, les Baebii sont nombreux dans la *regio X*³⁴. En Mésie Inférieure, il y a plusieurs Baebii. D'un côté, c'est Baebius Severus, mentionné dans l'inscription monumentale de Troesmis qui représente la liste des soldats libérés en 134³⁵. J'ai exprimé l'opinion qu'une origine italienne de Severus est possible³⁶. Un autre Baebius est originaire de Nicopolis (ad Istrum ? ad Nestum ?)³⁷. Pourtant, l'analyse de l'origine de Baebii militaires en Mésie Inférieure semble être majoritairement italienne. Revenons à Q. Baebius Proculus. Selon l'écriture, le texte me semble dater d'environ la moitié du II^e siècle ou peu après. Proculus est probablement né à la fin du I^{er} siècle ou au début du II^e (il a vécu 60 ans). Il a été recruté, semble-t-il, pendant le règne de Trajan, moment où on recrutait encore d'Italie. C'est pourquoi je pense que notre Baebius Proculus a une origine italienne.

Un autre cas qui constitue une preuve indirecte de l'existence d'une propriété est celui d'un soldat anonyme dont la tombe a été trouvée à Analdochioi, à proximité de Constanța³⁸, ainsi que pour un certain Catonius, dont les affranchis font rédiger sa pierre funéraire à Murfatlar³⁹. F. Matei-Popescu a mis en liaison ce Catonius avec Sex. Catonius Termin[nalis], militaire ou vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica⁴⁰. Il ne faut pas oublier, non plus, Catonius Secundus, militaire mentionné dans la liste des soldats de la même légion libérés sous Hadrien en 134 à Troesmis⁴¹.

Enfin, un autre propriétaire de terres rurales est M. Ulpius Longinus, vétéran, ancien décurion en armée et *buleuta* à Tomi, qui fait ériger un monument funéraire pour lui-même et pour sa femme, *in praedio suo*⁴². Sa femme a reçu la citoyenneté en même temps que lui ou elle a été son affranchie, lorsqu'il était encore militaire. Après la fin de son service militaire, il est devenu décurion et propriétaire rural à proximité de Tomi.

Les cités romaines situées au long du Danube et dans l'intérieur de la province fournissent d'autres attestations des *villae*. Ainsi, Flavius Romanus, décurion du territoire d'Aegyssus, est décédé *ad villam suam*, lorsqu'il habitait le *vicus URBI*[---]⁴³. L'inscription a été érigée par l'ordre d'un certain Im[---], qui remplissait la charge de *sesquiplicarius*. Cela prouve les liaisons de Flavius Romanus avec le milieu militaire, mais son âge de décès (40 ans) ne montre pas qu'il était vétéran. La seule explication plausible pour qu'on accepte un statut d'ancien militaire chez Flavius Romanus est l'approximation de son âge de décès, les âges arrondis constituant un phénomène fréquent à l'époque. Le militaire qui fait élever le monument funéraire est certainement quelqu'un des proches de Romanus ; il est possible que, même si assez aisé, il soit décédé sans héritiers. Le *vicus URBI* est attesté dans un autre texte dans un vœu envers Jupiter,

³⁰ ISM II, 184. Le dédicant est son père, comme le pensent Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 186 et non son fils, comme le croit I. Stoian (ISM II, 184, *sub numero*).

³¹ ISM II, 264 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 186.

³² ISM II, 296 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 186.

³³ CIL V 1882.

³⁴ Il faut regarder seulement dans le CIL V les inscriptions rappelant des Baebii.

³⁵ ISM V, 137.

³⁶ Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 66-67.

³⁷ ILB 147.

³⁸ ISM II, 214 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 186.

³⁹ ISM II, 297 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 185.

⁴⁰ ISM II, 466 ; Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 74, note 493. Voir aussi Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 185.

⁴¹ ISM V, 137.

⁴² ISM II, 180 ; Băltăc 2011, p. 265 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 187.

⁴³ Baumann 1984, p. 223 ; Băltăc 2011, p. 236.

rempli par deux citoyens romains, probablement les *magistri vici*⁴⁴. Il s'agit donc d'un village organisé selon le droit romain, où il y avait des propriétés. E. Popescu pense que le monument a été trouvé à Medgidia, selon une notice effectuée sur le dessin de l'inscription par l'ingénieur D. Pecurariu, mais Tocilescu écrit partout que l'inscription a été trouvée près de Tulcea⁴⁵.

Une autre cité où sont mentionnées des propriétés rurales est Capidava. Deux inscriptions attestent, à mon avis, la même *villa*. Un texte rappelle Cocceius Vitales et Cocceia Iulia dans une épitaphe érigée par leurs fils, Cocceius Clemens et Cocceius Helius⁴⁶. L'autre texte représente la pierre funéraire de Cocceius (H)elius et de sa femme, Titia Matrina : Cocceius (H)elius fait élever le monument de son vivant, Titia Matrina est décédée *ad villam suam* à 30 ans⁴⁷. Même si le nom est rédigé *Elius* sur la pierre, l'élision de *H* et l'appartenance à la même gens me font penser qu'il s'agit d'un des fils du couple mentionné antérieurement, Cocceius Helius, qui a épousé Titia Matrina. Il ne faut pourtant exclure l'hypothèse qu'il y avait plusieurs *villae* appartenant à cette famille. Les Cocceii sont souvent attestés à Capidava. Un des Cocceii, M. Cocceius Vitlus est vétéran de la *cohors I Ubiorum*⁴⁸. Est-ce Vitales est apparenté avec Vitlus ? Probablement oui, vu les occurrences de cette gens à Capidava. Il est donc possible que ces Cocceii sont descendants des vétérans. Ainsi s'explique leur aisance et leur capacité d'avoir des *villae* en propriété.

Toujours à Capidava, une borne mentionne les limites de la propriété rurale de Tib. Claudius Firminus⁴⁹. Les Tiberii Claudii sont nombreux en Mésie Inférieure. Il y a d'abord les militaires originaires de Syrie : un Tib. Claudius Ulpianus, centurion dans sept légions, est attesté à Troesmis⁵⁰, ainsi que T. Claudius Priscus, né à Hemesa⁵¹. Leur recrutement a été réalisé soit sous Trajan (la guerre contre les Parthes), ou bien sous Hadrien (la guerre contre Bar-Kochba). D'autres Tiberii Claudii sont également des militaires ou des vétérans : Ti. Claudius Zenodotos, *signifer* de la I^{ère} légion Italica⁵², Ti. Claudius Niger, originaire de Nicopolis, vétéran de la même légion⁵³, Tib. Claudius Vitales, vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica et *sacerdos provinciae*⁵⁴, Ti. Claudius Celsus, primipile de la même unité militaire⁵⁵, Ti. Claudius Ulpianus, tribun de la *cohors I Cilicum*⁵⁶, Ti. Claudius Saturninus, ancien duplicaire de l'*ala Asturum*⁵⁷, Tib. Claudius Victor, ancien militaire de l'*ala II Aravacorum*⁵⁸. Les textes mentionnent aussi des Tiberii Claudii appartenant à la vie civile, comme Ti. Claudius Germanus à Tropaeum Traiani⁵⁹, Ti. Claudius Mucasius à Tomi⁶⁰, Tib. Claudius Secundus et Tib. Valerius Valens à Iatrus⁶¹, Ti. Claudius Valens à Noviodunum⁶², Ti. Claudius Vettius à Ibida⁶³. On peut également supposer que les civiles soient, au moins quelques-uns d'entre eux, des descendants des vétérans. Quant à notre Tib. Claudius Firminus, vu que son domaine se trouvait à Capidava, peut être soupçonné, à son tour, d'avoir été impliqué dans la vie militaire ou au moins d'être apparenté aux militaires ou aux vétérans qui ont fait leur service en Mésie Inférieure. Il était en tout cas un citoyen romain assez aisé, qui possédait un domaine rural près de Capidava.

⁴⁴ CIL III 14441 ; ISM IV, 242 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 236.

⁴⁵ ISM IV, 242).

⁴⁶ ISM V, 30 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 240.

⁴⁷ ISM V, 29 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 240.

⁴⁸ ISM V, 24. Pour les Cocceii, voir aussi une brève discussion chez Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 64.

⁴⁹ ISM V, 59 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 241.

⁵⁰ ISM V, 179 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46.

⁵¹ ISM V, 178 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 45-46.

⁵² AÉ 1985, 762 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46

⁵³ CIL III 6144 ; ILB 376 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46.

⁵⁴ ISM V, 194 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46.

⁵⁵ ISM V, 140 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46.

⁵⁶ AÉ 2001, 120.

⁵⁷ AÉ 1988, 998 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46.

⁵⁸ CIL III 12359 ; ILB 120 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 46.

⁵⁹ CIL III 7484 ; ISM IV, 13 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 47.

⁶⁰ ISM II, 128 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 47 ; Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013, p. 187.

⁶¹ ILB 341 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 47.

⁶² ISM V, 268 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 47.

⁶³ ISM V, 224 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011, p. 103-104 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 47.

De Tropaeum Traiani est originaire un autel voué au Héros invincible par Iaehetav, le *vilicus* du sénateur L. Aelius Marcianus⁶⁴. La *villa* appartient donc à un membre du Sénat romain : est-ce qu'il est originaire de cette province ou il a eu des tâches administratives en Mésie Inférieure ? Pour l'instant, il est impossible de répondre à cette question. Son intendant est un esclave et, selon son nom, possède une origine sémitique.

À Abrittus, une inscription grecque atteste Christos, le *παραγματευτής* de M. Antonius Theodoros⁶⁵. Le propriétaire et son esclave-intendant étaient tous les deux hellénophones, mais le maître possédait le droit de cité. Les recherches archéologiques ont mis en évidence un établissement pré-romain où il y avait une cohabitation entre Grecs et indigènes⁶⁶, mais la présence des troupes romaines⁶⁷ a contribué d'une manière décisive au développement d'une *civitas* habitée par une population latinophone.

À Novae, un texte mentionne Aurelius Stianus, *actor*, qui voue un autel pour Deus Aeternus, après avoir été sauvé d'un danger sur la mer. L'inscription a été trouvée à Novae, mais Stianus a été identifié avec un personnage portant le même nom originaire du *vicus* Zinesdina Maior, du territoire de Nicopolis ad Istrum⁶⁸. En effet, M. Aurelius Stianus, aussi dit Apta, fils d'Atstusia, est attesté dans un diplôme militaire de 225, enrôlé dans la flotte impériale de Ravenne en 197⁶⁹. Son nom et son patronyme étaient daces⁷⁰. C'est pourquoi il mentionne dans l'inscription de Novae le danger sur la mer. Après la fin de son service, il est revenu sur un domaine rural, peut-être dans le territoire de Novae, où il a exercé la profession d'*actor*. Il était citoyen romain et son ancien nom de pérégrin n'est plus mentionné. Le nom de pérégrin dans le diplôme militaire a été ajouté puisque, lorsque le marin rentrait chez lui, il était d'abord connu sous son ancien nom et pas du tout sous le nom de citoyen⁷¹. En tout cas, Stianus a préféré travailler dans le domaine rural.

Du territoire de Nicopolis ad Istrum (le village moderne de Kramolin), un texte mentionne Herculanus, *actor* de Flavius Gemellus⁷². Herculanus était certainement l'esclave de Gemellus ; malheureusement, on ne connaît rien de plus sur son maître. On sait qu'il est citoyen romain et il est assez aisé, ayant une propriété à la campagne.

Du territoire d'Oescus on dispose de deux textes : l'un atteste Narcissus, esclave et *actor* de M. Titius Maximus, *dumviral* et *quinquennalis* de la colonie, *flamen perpetuus* et *praefectus saltus*⁷³, l'autre rappelle Viator, esclave de L. Gavius Maximus, qui voue un autel pour Mithra⁷⁴. Le premier propriétaire fait partie de l'élite municipale, possédant sans doute une fortune considérable. Sa famille avait acquis le droit de cité sous Trajan, le fondateur de la colonie ; Titius Maximus est inscrit dans la tribu Papiria, la tribu de Trajan. Le même personnage fait ériger un autel pour Mithra⁷⁵. Il y a plusieurs Titii attestés dans les inscriptions de Mésie Inférieure : C. Titius Similis, probablement procureur sous Sévères, mentionné à Novae⁷⁶, un certain Titius à Tomi, mort à 45 ans⁷⁷, Titius Crispus, corniculaire du gouverneur Marcus Turbo, toujours à Tomi (environ 155)⁷⁸, Titius Marcianus à Sacidava⁷⁹. Il est difficile d'établir un lien de parenté entre tous ces personnages. Sur le deuxième propriétaire, L. Gavius Maximus, on ne connaît rien sauf les informations du texte. Il semble pourtant qu'il avait une certaine aisance, vu sa propriété rurale et son esclave.

⁶⁴ ISM IV, 34, Bâltâc 2011, p. 267.

⁶⁵ IGB V, 5271 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 235.

⁶⁶ Ivanov 1980, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 220.

⁶⁸ Tomas, Sarnowski 2006.

⁶⁹ RMD IV, 311. Vois aussi, Roxan, Stylow 1999 ; Weiß 2000, p. 279 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Răileanu 2014, p. 15.

⁷⁰ Pour Atstusia, voir Dana 2011, p. 77.

⁷¹ Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Răileanu 2014, p. 203.

⁷² ILB 403 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 260.

⁷³ ILB 16 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 262.

⁷⁴ ILB 33 ; Bâltâc 2011, p. 263.

⁷⁵ CIL III 6127 (=7426) ; ILB 29.

⁷⁶ IGLN 63.

⁷⁷ ISM II, 349.

⁷⁸ ISM II 56.

⁷⁹ ISM IV, 178.

Dans le territoire de la *civitas Dianensium-Storgosia*, un texte rappelle le *vilicus* Primus, dont la femme Aurelia Victorina, fait ériger un autel pour Apollon et pour Diane⁸⁰. Primus semble être un esclave ; sa relation avec une citoyenne n'est pas surprenante, car il y a encore de tels cas⁸¹, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit d'un intendant qui est assez aisé. Il est possible qu'Aurelia Victoria soit une affranchie ou une ancienne pérégrine ; selon son nom, je suis enclin de dater le texte vers la fin du II^e siècle ou du premier quart du III^e.

Enfin, les derniers textes proviennent de Montana. Une inscription trouvée dans le territoire rural (près de Kravoder) atteste le vétérane Valerius Rufus, qui a fait ériger le tombeau pour soi-même et pour sa femme Aurelia Zuraturme *insuper solum suum*⁸². Valerius Rufus est originaire du *vicus Vorovum Minor*, situé probablement dans la proximité de la cité. Le nom de la femme est thrace⁸³ et probablement elle provenait du village rappelé dans le texte. Il n'est pas exclu que Valerius Rufus a été un pérégrin qui a servi dans une unité auxiliaire, ayant le droit de cité à la fin de son service. Par raison du surnom de la femme et du gentile *Aurelia*, je suis enclin de dater le texte après 212. En tout cas, l'ancien soldat a eu une propriété dans le territoire de Montana.

Le deuxième texte mentionne Sergilianus, un *vilicus* qui voue un autel pour Diana Lucifera⁸⁴. On ne connaît pas le propriétaire de la *villa*. En tout cas, les vœux pour Diane sont fréquents dans le milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure⁸⁵ et surtout à Montana et dans ses environs⁸⁶.

III. LA LANGUE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET LES DÉDICANTS

Au-delà de l'organisation des structures villageoises selon le modèle romain, regardons la vie rurale dans le cadre des *villae*. D'après les informations fournies par les sources épigraphiques, nous disposons de 32 textes. Huit textes sont rédigés en grec et un est bilingue. Sept inscriptions grecques et le texte bilingue proviennent du territoire de Tomi ; de ces sept inscriptions, quatre textes forment la série de vœux de Flavius Horimos pour Mithra⁸⁷. Mais qui sont les dédicants dans les inscriptions grecques ? On a vu déjà Flavius Horimos, affranchi et intendant de Flavius Macedo. Il était sans doute un hellénophone, et c'est pourquoi il a fait ériger ses vœux en grec. Un autre dédicant est Castresios, *πραγματευτής* (*actor*) du primipilaire Iulius Fronto⁸⁸. Il faut énumérer aussi Iulianos, fils d'Alexandros, prêtre de Dolichenus⁸⁹ et l'anonyme ancien *signifer* de la XIII^e légion Gemina⁹⁰. Iulianos, même s'il porte un nom romain, est le fils d'un grec et il n'a pas la citoyenneté. Le texte du vétérane et l'inscription bilingue de C. Antonius Fronto (lui aussi vétérane de la même légion)⁹¹ sont en fait les seuls textes rédigés en grec par des personnes qu'on suppose de parler le latin comme leur première langue. Cela est explicable par leur présence dans un milieu fort hellénophone, ayant vécu dans ce milieu aussi après la fin de leur service. Enfin le huitième texte grec provient du territoire d'Abrittus, où il y avait une co-habitation des latinophones avec les hellénophones et les indigènes, mais il faut souligner qu'il s'agit d'un vœu de Christos, *πραγματευτής* d'un citoyen romain, M. Antonius Theodorus⁹². Maître et esclave étaient hellénophones, mais ici c'est l'esclave qui fait ériger l'inscription. Autrement dit, à l'exception des deux vétérans de la *legio XIII Gemina* établis à Tomi, les personnes qui s'occupent de la rédaction des inscriptions sont les esclaves et les affranchis des propriétaires et ils le font dans leur langue d'origine.

⁸⁰ ILB 233 ; Bâltac 2011, p. 242.

⁸¹ CIL VI 1930, 2365, 2374, 5062, 9110 ; AÉ 1912, 191 ; AÉ 1975, 64 ; AÉ 1988, 153 etc.

⁸² AÉ 1969-1970, 568 ; Bâltac 2011, p. 258 (elle lit Aurelia, fille de Zuraturmenus, mais *Zuraturmeni* semble être une forme de datif de *Zuraturme*).

⁸³ Dana 2008, p. 100.

⁸⁴ AÉ 1987, 874 ; Bâltac 2011, p. 258-259.

⁸⁵ CIL III 12372, 12386, 13722 ; ILB 193, 197, 207 ; ISM V, 246-247 etc.

⁸⁶ CIL III 7445, 7447, 12370-12371 ; AÉ 1985, 747 ; 1987, 868, 875, 882 etc.

⁸⁷ ISM I, 374-378.

⁸⁸ ISM II, 289.

⁸⁹ ISM II, 292.

⁹⁰ ISM II, 363.

⁹¹ ISM II, 190.

⁹² IGB V, 5271.

Les autres textes sont rédigés en latin. Qui sont les personnages qui font ériger les monuments ? L. Pompeius Valens est originaire d'Ancyre, vétéran établi à Istros⁹³ ; probablement hellénophone (car il remplit les fonctions d'archonte et d'*aedilicius* dans la cité), mais aussi latinophone, il est sans doute un des « Romains » d'Asie Mineure qui sont arrivées en Mésie Inférieure⁹⁴. Messia Pudentilla est sans doute une propriétaire assez aisée et j'ai avancé l'hypothèse qu'elle fait partie d'une famille des notables locaux⁹⁵. Manius Bassianus fait partie des notables locaux à Istros, mais il est un citoyen romain probablement bilingue⁹⁶. Sa femme, son fils et son petit-fils portent des noms latins. Je suppose qu'il a été un latinophone établi à Istros. Valerius Victorinus est aussi un citoyen romain ; sa femme porte un surnom grec (Nicandra), mais ses ancêtres ont acquis la citoyenneté sous Trajan ; quant à ses fils, deux ont des surnoms latins (Victorinus et Turbo) et un autre grec, Soter⁹⁷. Les surnoms grecs peuvent être mis en liaison avec la divinité pour laquelle l'inscription est vouée et dont le nom n'est pas conservé. La propriété de Victorinus est, semble-t-il, bien organisée, un de ses *actores*, l'affranchi Valerius Nilus, étant le dédicant du texte. Même si son surnom peut suggérer une origine égyptienne, il était depuis longtemps au service de Victorinus et il était sans doute latinophone.

Même si Tomi était une cité grecque, il y a pourtant des textes latins mentionnant d'une manière directe ou indirecte l'existence des *villae*. M. Ulpius Longinus est un vétéran, ancien décurion, établi à Tomi où il pénètre dans l'élite locale⁹⁸. Sa femme est soit son affranchie, ou bien elle a reçu la citoyenneté en même temps avec son mari. C. Antonius Fronto est vétéran ; son inscription est bilingue et je l'ai discuté ci-dessus⁹⁹. L'épithaphe d'Aemilius, *librarius* de la *legio V Macedonica*, a été érigée probablement par son père¹⁰⁰. Il n'est pas exclu que son père ait suivi, lui-aussi, une carrière militaire, car parmi les Aemilii de Mésie Inférieure, il y a de nombreux soldats ou vétérans. Deux Aemilii apparaissent dans l'inscription monumentale de Troesmis de 134, en tant que militaires ayant fini leur service dans la V^e légion Macedonica¹⁰¹. Peut-être ils faisaient partie de la même branche de la famille, sinon ils étaient apparentés. C. Aemilius Donatus, *centurio* de la XI^e légion Claudia, voue un autel à Diane à Montana¹⁰². Un M. Aemilius Optatus est mentionné dans une liste des vétérans (probablement de la flotte) à Noviodunum¹⁰³. Même si le premier éditeur du texte croit qu'il s'agit d'un autel voué à une divinité¹⁰⁴, la liste des noms et la particule *veteran(us)* nous font penser à la variante exposée ci-dessus. Un autre Aemilius, L. Aemilius Severus, centurion de la XIII^e légion Gemina, est commémoré par sa femme et par ses fils à Tropaeum Traiani¹⁰⁵. Enfin, des Aemilii sont attestés encore à Ulmetum¹⁰⁶, à Nedan¹⁰⁷, à Lazen¹⁰⁸, à Novae¹⁰⁹ et à Pavlikeni¹¹⁰. Le gentilice a été adopté même par les Thraces, un certain Aemilius B[---]rozis étant commémoré à Gauren¹¹¹. Même si Aemilius est un nom rencontré surtout en Italie¹¹², il a été porté par des gens qui n'ont

⁹³ ISM I, 373.

⁹⁴ Curcă, Zugravu 2005 : ils ont montré que les « Orientaux » du nord de la province étaient des Romains ou des Grecs, seulement leur *origo* étant d'Orient.

⁹⁵ ISM I, 359, 360.

⁹⁶ ISM I, 339.

⁹⁷ ISM V, 72.

⁹⁸ ISM II, 180.

⁹⁹ ISM II, 190.

¹⁰⁰ ISM II, 184.

¹⁰¹ ISM V, 137.

¹⁰² AÉ 1987, 871 ; Mitthof 2010, p. 232.

¹⁰³ ISM V, 270.

¹⁰⁴ Barnea 1975, p. 257-258.

¹⁰⁵ CIL III 14214-8.

¹⁰⁶ ISM V, 81.

¹⁰⁷ ILB 435.

¹⁰⁸ ILB 438.

¹⁰⁹ IGLN 137.

¹¹⁰ ILB 426.

¹¹¹ ILB 127.

¹¹² CIL I 2670, 2788, 2814 ; CIL IV 3456, 3775, 3790 ; CIL V, 106, 530, 864 ; CIL IX 5560, 5564, 6073 et encore beaucoup d'autres exemples.

pas leur *origo* dans cette zone (voir le cas très clair de Gauren). J'étais enclin que, pour les militaires, les racines étaient plutôt d'Italie¹¹³, mais, à une certaine époque, il était difficile de se prononcer pour l'origine d'un certain personnage. Pourtant, Aemilius le père qui est mentionné dans le territoire de Tomi a probablement suivi une carrière militaire et s'est établi chez sa propriété rurale.

Les vétérans mentionnés dans le milieu rural de Tomi (d'où on suppose qu'ils avaient des propriétés) sont également représentés par un anonyme¹¹⁴ et par Q. Baebius Proculus¹¹⁵, ancien soldat de la XIII^e légion Gemina. J'ai remarqué que les *veterani* de cette légion sont présents dans le territoire rural, comme Q. Antonius Fronto, évoqué lorsque j'ai parlé du texte bilingue¹¹⁶, et le père d'Annius Super¹¹⁷. À remarquer qu'à Tomi est mentionné un bénéficiaire de cette légion¹¹⁸, ce qui montre que la présence des militaires de la *legio XIII Gemina* était assez habituelle dans la cité, où ils remplissaient des charges diverses. Un autre anonyme est un soldat dont l'unité où il a servi reste inconnue¹¹⁹.

Enfin, un dernier texte latin de Tomi est celui érigée par Catonius, aidé par son affranchi, pour son patron. On a discuté l'hypothèse qu'il soit lié à la famille d'un militaire ou vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica¹²⁰. Le surnom de ce Catonius est inconnu, mais il s'exprime en latin, comme probablement son patron.

Les autres *villae* sont directement ou indirectement attestées dans les cités situées au long du Danube ou à l'intérieur de la province. On ignore l'*origo* de Flavius Romanus, *decurio territorii Aegyensis*¹²¹, mais il est certainement un citoyen Romain latinophone. Quant aux Cocceii de Capidava, on peut les mettre en liaison avec des militaires portant le même gentilice¹²². Tib. Claudius Firminus, un autre propriétaire de Capidava, est aussi un citoyen Romain latinophone, mais une descendance des militaires n'est pas exclue¹²³.

À Tropaeum Traiani, le propriétaire est un sénateur romain, P. Aelius Marcianus, qui devait avoir de grandes possessions¹²⁴. Son esclave *actor*, même s'il a, selon son nom, une origine sémitique, fait rédiger l'inscription en latin.

J'ai présenté l'origine de l'*actor* M. Aurelius Stianus¹²⁵ ; il était un Thrace mais, après avoir effectué plusieurs années dans la flotte impériale de Ravenne et avoir acquis la citoyenneté romaine, il parlait et s'exprimait en latin. Le propriétaire était sans doute un citoyen romain latinophone.

Dans le territoire de Nicopolis ad Istrum, une cité où le grec était intensément utilisé, on retrouve le propriétaire Flavius Gemellus dont l'esclave *actor* Herculanus semble aussi latinophone¹²⁶. On ignore l'origine de Flavius Gemellus, mais il est sûr qu'il est un citoyen qui détenait des propriétés dans cette région.

Un autre *actor*, Narcissus, est présent dans le territoire d'Oescus : il est l'esclave de M. Titius Maximus, magistrat de la colonie, *flamen perpetuus* et *praefectus saltus*¹²⁷. Par conséquent, il s'agit d'un personnage qui, par les charges remplies, devait posséder une fortune importante et sans doute des propriétés rurales. Même si l'esclave porte un nom grec, il rédige le texte en latin, la langue de son maître et langue qu'on utilise surtout dans la cité et dans le territoire d'Oescus. L'autre texte a été trouvé dans le territoire d'Oescus et atteste également un esclave d'un certain L. Gavius Maximus, qui utilise aussi le latin comme langue de l'inscription¹²⁸.

¹¹³ Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 62.

¹¹⁴ ISM II, 264.

¹¹⁵ ISM II, 296.

¹¹⁶ ISM II, 190.

¹¹⁷ ISM II, 363.

¹¹⁸ ISM II, 221.

¹¹⁹ ISM II, 214.

¹²⁰ ISM II, 297.

¹²¹ Baumann 1984, p. 223.

¹²² ISM V, 29, 30.

¹²³ ISM V, 59.

¹²⁴ ISM IV, 34.

¹²⁵ IGLN 8 ; RMD IV, 311.

¹²⁶ ILB 403.

¹²⁷ ILB 16 ; Bâltac 2011, p. 262.

¹²⁸ ILB 33 ; Bâltac 2011, p. 263.

Le latin est aussi la langue de rédaction des textes de *civitas Dianensium* (un vœu consacré par la femme d'un *vilicus*¹²⁹) et dans le territoire de Montana¹³⁰. De cette dernière région, un des dédicants est un vétérán, qui a épousé une pérégrine indigène qui a eu sa citoyenneté après 212, et l'autre un esclave intendant d'une propriété. J'ai déjà affirmé qu'il est possible que le vétérán soit aussi un indigène qui a fait son service et qui est rentré chez lui (le *vicus* porte un nom thrace).

Qui sont, par conséquent, les personnes mentionnées dans les documents épigraphiques attestant des *villae* ou des propriétés rurales ? Le tableau suivant présente les propriétaires, leurs familles et le personnel d'origine servile des *villae*.

Nom	Statut juridique et/ou social	Cité ou territoire	Source(s)
Messia Pudentilla	citoyenne, propriétaire	Istros	ISM I, 359, 369
L. Pomponius Valens	notable local, propriétaire, probablement vétérán	Istros	ISM I, 373
Mansueta	probablement citoyenne, femme de L. Pomponius Valens	Istros	ISM I, 373
Donatus	probablement citoyen, fils de L. Pomponius Valens	Istros	ISM I, 373
Manius Bassianus	notable local, propriétaire	Istros	ISM I, 339
Scapulia Gemella	citoyenne, femme de Manius Bassianus	Istros	ISM I, 339
Vitalianus Bassianus	citoyen, fils de Manius Bassianus	Istros	ISM I, 339
Manius Vitales	citoyen, petit-fils de Manius Bassianus	Istros	ISM I, 339
Valerius Victorinus	citoyen, propriétaire	Ulmetum (Istros)	ISM V, 72
Ulpia Nicandra	citoyenne, femme de Valerius Victorinus	Ulmetum (Istros)	ISM V, 72
Valerius Nilus	affranchi, <i>actor</i>	Ulmetum (Istros)	ISM V, 72
Iulius Fronto	primipilaire, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 289
Castresios	esclave, <i>πραγματευτής (actor)</i>	Tomi	ISM II, 289
M. Ulpius Longinus	notable local, vétérán, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 180
Ulpia Aquilina	affranchie ou citoyenne, femme de M. Ulpius Longinus	Tomi	ISM II, 180
Rufus, fils de Priscus	pérégrin, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 180
Iulianus, fils d'Ale-xandros	pérégrin, prêtre de Dolichenus	Tomi	ISM II, 180
C. Antonius Fronto	vétéran, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 190
Anonyme	ancien <i>signifer</i> , vétérán, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 363
Annius Super	citoyen, fils du précédent	Tomi	ISM II, 363
Aemilius [---]	<i>librarius legati legionis</i>	Tomi	ISM II, 184
Aemilius [---]	citoyen, père du précédent, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 184
Anonyme	vétéran, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 264
Aurelia [---]	citoyenne, femme du précédent	Tomi	ISM II, 264
Dion[ysius ?]	probablement esclave des précédents	Tomi	ISM II, 264
Q. Baebius Proculus	vétéran, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 296
Geminia Valentina	citoyenne, femme du précédent	Tomi	ISM II, 296
Anonyme	soldat, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 214

¹²⁹ ILB 233 ; Báltác 2011, p. 242.

¹³⁰ AÉ 1969-1970, 568 ; Báltác 2011, p. 258 ; AÉ 1987, 874 ; Báltác 2011, p. 258-259.

Nom	Statut juridique et/ou social	Cité ou territoire	Source(s)
Longina	probablement citoyenne, femme du précédent	Tomi	ISM II, 214
Catonius [---]	citoyen, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM II, 296
Catonius [---]	affranchi du précédent	Tomi	ISM II, 296
Catonius Epaphroditus	affranchi de l'affranchi Catonius [---]	Tomi	ISM II, 296
Flavius Macedo	citoyen, propriétaire	Tomi	ISM I, 374-377 ¹³¹
Flavius Horimos	affranchi du précédent, οἰκονόμος (<i>vilicus</i>)	Tomi	ISM I, 374-377
Flavius Romanus	notable local, propriétaire	Aegyssus	Baumann 1984, p. 223
Atilianus	citoyen, <i>sequiplicarius</i> , ami du précédent	Aegyssus	Baumann 1984, p. 223
Cocceius (H)elius	citoyen, propriétaire	Capidava	ISM V, 29, 30
Titia Matrina	citoyenne, femme du précédent	Capidava	ISM V, 29
Cocceius Vitales	citoyen, père de Cocceius (H)elius, propriétaire	Capidava	ISM V, 30
Cocceia Iulia	citoyenne, femme du précédent	Capidava	ISM V, 30
Cocceius Clemens	citoyen, fils de Cocceius Vitales	Capidava	ISM V, 30
Tib. Claudius Firminus	citoyen, propriétaire	Capidava	ISM V, 59
P. Aelius Marcianus	sénateur, propriétaire	Tropaeum Traiani	ISM IV, 34
Iaehetav	esclave, <i>vilicus</i>	Tropaeum Traiani	ISM IV, 34
Aurelius Statianus	<i>actor</i>	Novae	IGLN 8
Flavius Gemellus	citoyen, propriétaire	Nicopolis ad Istrum	ILB 403
Herculanus	esclave, <i>actor</i>	Nicopolis ad Istrum	ILB 403
M. Titius Maximus	notable local, propriétaire	Oescus	ILB 16
Narcissus	esclave, <i>actor</i>	Oescus	ILB 16
L. Gavius Maximus	citoyen, propriétaire	Oescus	ILB 33
Viator	esclave	Oescus	ILB 33
Primus	esclave, <i>vilicus</i>	<i>civitas Dianensium</i>	ILB 233
Aurelia Victorina	citoyenne, femme de Primus	<i>civitas Dianensium</i>	ILB 233
Valerius Rufus	vétéran, propriétaire	Montana	Montana II, 110
Aurelia Zuraturme	citoyenne, femme de Valerius Rufus	Montana	Montana II, 110
Sergilianus	esclave, <i>vilicus</i>	Montana	Montana II, 32

Les textes mentionnent 24 propriétaires, quatre affranchis (dont un est l'ancien esclave d'un affranchi), huit esclaves et un citoyen (ancien pérégrin) impliqués dans les activités des propriétés rurales. Treize propriétaires sont attestés avec leurs familles (enfants, épouses, petit-fils), tandis qu'un esclave est rappelé avec sa partenaire. Parmi les affranchis, un est *actor* (Valerius Nilus), un est οἰκονόμος (*vilicus*) (Flavius Horimos) et les autres deux n'ont pas leurs charges bien précisées, mais ils remplissent des tâches dans l'exploitation rurale du domaine de leur ex-maître. Trois esclaves sont *actores* et trois *vilici*, deux d'entre eux (Dionysius et Viator) n'ayant pas précisé leur charge, mais il est sûr qu'ils ont détenu des responsabilités sur les domaines ruraux de leurs *domini*. Il faut aussi rappeler Aurelius Statianus, ancien pérégrin qui, après

¹³¹ Même si les inscriptions ISM I, 374-377 sont considérées comme appartenant au territoire d'Istros, je suis enclin de partager l'opinion de Bărbulescu et de Buzoianu (2013, p. 188 ; 2016, p. 204), selon laquelle les textes de Târgușor se trouvaient dans le territoire tomitain.

son service dans la flotte et après avoir acquis la citoyenneté, devient *actor* sur un des domaines ruraux à proximité de Novae.

En ce qui concerne les propriétaires, sauf une exception (un prêtre de Dolichenus), tous sont citoyens, avec des statuts divers, mais sans doute tous riches ou aisés. Dans le territoire de Tropaeum Traiani, les sources attestent même un membre du Sénat qui y possède des propriétés (P. Aelius Marcianus). Il faut aussi mentionner les notables locaux, comme L. Pomponius Valens, Manius Bassianus, M. Ulpius Longinus, Flavius Romanus et M. Titius Maximus. D'autres sont militaires actifs ou vétérans (Iulius Fronto, C. Antonius Fronto, Q. Baebius Proculus, Valerius Rufus et trois anonymes). Il n'est pas exclu que L. Pomponius Valens a été militaire, aussi bien que Flavius Romanus. D'autres propriétaires sont des citoyens romains, portant des noms latins, mais il est difficile d'établir leur origine. De toute façon, ils parlent latin et ils font partie d'une élite économique locale.

On remarque ainsi que les textes épigraphiques font preuve de l'existence des propriétaires romains (au moins, de point de vue de la citoyenneté et de la langue) et d'une organisation typiquement romaine des *villae* (avec des *actores*, des *vilici*, des esclaves et des affranchis attachés aux propriétés rurales). Je ne reprendrai maintenant la riche documentation sur les *actores* et sur les *vilici* (parfois synonyme en ce qui concerne les tâches administratives)¹³², mais ils s'occupaient des affaires privées du maître et, dans ce cas particulier, pour les domaines ruraux. Pour ce domaine, les textes juridiques témoignent que les *actores* supervisent le travail des colons et après que les esclaves les remplacent, ceux-ci sont dirigés par un *vilicus*¹³³. J.-J. Aubert observe que, même si les *vilici* sont utilisés en général dans les mêmes domaines que les *actores*, ils ont plus de devoirs à accomplir¹³⁴. Dans notre cas, les *actores* sont les agents administratifs de leurs maîtres ou patrons, tandis que les *vilici* sont les intendants du domaine rural. Les *vilici* sont, en général, des esclaves, et ceux de Mésie Inférieure n'en font pas exception¹³⁵.

On remarque ainsi une organisation romaine des *villae*, explicable par la « romanité » des propriétaires (tous, à une exception des citoyens romains).

IV. CONCLUSIONS

L'organisation des *villae* en Mésie Inférieure confirme, au moins d'un certain point de vue, l'organisation typiquement romaine des villages, même dans les territoires des cités hellénophones. Les propriétés rurales sont détenues, comme l'on a remarqué, par des citoyens romains latinophones. S'il s'agit des inscriptions rédigées en grec, c'est parce que dans la plupart des cas, les dédicants sont des esclaves ou des affranchis originaires d'un milieu hellénophone. Les deux cas où les dédicants sont supposés comme latinophones (militaires actifs ou vétérans et portant des noms latins) et les textes sont rédigés en grec s'explique par le milieu fort hellénophone dans lequel les inscriptions ont été érigées. Les propriétaires sont des personnes riches ou aisées : un sénateur, des notables locaux, des militaires actifs ou des vétérans. Les domaines sont administrés par des gens d'origine servile (esclaves et affranchis), dont les agents privés et les intendants sont mentionnés dans les textes. C'est, en fait, une administration qui se retrouve partout dans les propriétés rurales du monde romain.

¹³² Voir surtout Carlsen 1991 ; Carlsen 1995 ; Aubert 1993 ; Aubert 1994 ; Chiusi 1991, p. 172 ; Rosafio 1994.

¹³³ *Dig.* 20, 1, 32 ; *Dig.* 33, 7, 20, 3.

¹³⁴ Aubert 1994, p. 134.

¹³⁵ Même leur nom l'indique : ils ne sont pas des affranchis, comme le suppose Bâltac (2011, Tabel I.13).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Aounallah 2008 – S. Aounallah *Pagus, castellum et civitas : études d'épigraphie et d'histoire sur le village et la cité en Afrique romaine*, Bordeaux, 2008.
- Ardevan 1998 – R. Ardevan, *Civitas et vicus dans la Dacie romaine*, dans V.H. Baumann (éd.), *La politique éditiltaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romain, II^e-IV^e siècles après J.-C.*, Actes du III^e Colloque roumano-suisse « La vie rurale dans les provinces romaines : vici et villae », Tulcea, 8-15 octobre 1995, Tulcea, 1998, p. 45-56.
- Aubert 1993 – J.-J. Aubert, *Workshop managers*, dans W.V. Harris (éd.), *The inscribed economy*, Ann Arbor, 1993, p. 171-181.
- Aubert 1994 – J.-J. Aubert, *Business managers in ancient Rome. A social and economic study of institores*, Leiden, 1994.
- Avram 2007 – A. Avram, *Les cives Romani consistentes en Scythie Mineure : état de la question*, dans R. Compatangelo-Soussignan, C.-G. Schwentzel (éds.), *Étrangers dans la cité romaine. „Habiter une autre patrie” : des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire*, Rennes, 2007, p. 91-109.
- Băltăc 2011 – A. Băltăc, *Lumea rurală în provinciile Moesia Inferior și Thracia (sec. I-III p. Chr.)*, București, 2011.
- Bărbulescu 1998 – M. Bărbulescu, *Les villages attestés par les sources épigraphiques dans la Dobroudja romaine*, dans V.H. Baumann (éd.), *La politique éditiltaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romain, II^e-IV^e siècles après J.-C.*, Actes du III^e Colloque roumano-suisse « La vie rurale dans les provinces romaines : vici et villae », Tulcea, 8-15 octobre 1995, Tulcea, 1998, p. 229-242.
- Bărbulescu 2001 – M. Bărbulescu, *Viața rurală în Dobrogea romană (sec. I-III p. Chr.)*, Constanța, 2001.
- Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2013 – M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Teritoriul Tomisului în epoca romană timpurie în lumina documentelor epigrafice. I*, dans F. Panait Bîrzescu, I. Bîrzescu, F. Matei-Popescu, A. Robu (éds.), *Poleis în Marea Neagră. Relații interpontice și producții locale*, București, 2013, p. 174-202.
- Bărbulescu, Buzoianu 2016 – M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Observations sur la population dans le territoire de Tomis à l'époque romaine (I^{er}-III^e siècles ap. J.-C.)*, *AncWestEast* 15, 2016, p. 195-212.
- Barnea 1975 – A. Barnea, *Contributions épigraphiques à l'histoire de la ville de Noviodunum*, *Dacia N.S.* 19, 1975, p. 255-262.
- Baumann 1983 – V.H. Baumann, *Ferma romană din Dobrogea*, Tulcea, 1983.
- Baumann 1984 – V.H. Baumann, *Piese epigrafice și sculpturale în colecția Muzeului de istorie și arheologie din Tulcea*, *Peuce* 9, 1984, p. 207-232.
- Baumann 1998 – V.H. Baumann, *Fermiers et autochtones dans la Dobroudja romaine*, dans V.H. Baumann (éd.), *La politique éditiltaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romain, II^e-IV^e siècles après J.-C.*, Actes du III^e Colloque roumano-suisse « La vie rurale dans les provinces romaines : vici et villae », Tulcea, 8-15 octobre 1995, Tulcea, 1998, p. 243-259.
- Baumann 2003a- V.H. Baumann, *Noi săpături de salvare în așezarea rurală de la Telița-Amza, jud. Tulcea*, *Peuce S.N.* 1, 2003, p. 155-232.
- Baumann 2003b – V.H. Baumann *Vestigii paleocreștine descoperite în mediul rural autohton de pe valea Teliței, județul Tulcea*, dans C.C. Petolescu, T. Teoteoi, A. Gabor (éds.), *Studia Historica et Theologica. Omagiu profesorului Emilian Popescu*, Iași, 2003, p. 169-183.
- Baumann 2004 – V.H. Baumann, *Tipuri de locuință îngropată descoperite în așezarea autohtonă de epocă romană de la Telița-Valea Amzei*, dans I. Niculiță, A. Zancoci, M. Băț (éds.), *Thracians and Circumponitic world. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Thracology, Chișinău-Vadul-lui-Vodă, 6-11 Sept. 2004*, Chișinău, 2004, p. 107-115.
- Baumann 2007 – V.H. Baumann, *Edificiile publice din așezarea rurală romană de la Telița-Amza, jud. Tulcea*, *Peuce S.N.* 5, 2007, p. 187-204.
- Bérard, F. 1993 – F. Bérard, *Vikani, Kanabenses, Consistentes : Remarques sur l'organisation des agglomérations militaires romaines*, dans A. Calbi, A. Donati, G. Poma (éds.), *L'epigrafia del villaggio*, Faenza, 1993, p. 61-90.
- Bounegru 2011 – O. Bounegru, *Aspecte ale romanizării în mediul rural din Scythia Minor*, dans A. Rubel (éd.), *Romanizarea. Impunere și adeviune în Imperiul Roman*, Iași, 2011, p. 233-242.
- Carlsen 1991 – J. Carlsen, *Estate management in Roman North Africa. Transformation or continuity?*, dans A. Mastino (éd.), *L'Africa romana: atti dell' VIII convegno di studio, Cagliari, 14-16 dicembre 1990*, Sassari, 1991, p. 625-637.
- Carlsen 1995 – J. Carlsen, *Vilici and Roman estate management until 284 AD*, Rome, 1995.
- Chiusi 1991 – T. Chiusi, *Landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeit und actio institoria*, *ZSav* 108, 1991, p. 155-186.

- Curcă, Zugravu 2005 – R. Curcă, N. Zugravu, „Orientaux” dans la Dobroudja romaine. Une approche onomastique, dans V. Cojocaru (éd.), *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea Area from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest*, Iași, 2005, p. 313-329.
- Dana 2008 – D. Dana, *Du mauvais usage de l’onomastique : à propos d’un livre récent sur les noms dans les inscriptions latines de Bulgarie*, *Classica et Christiana* 3, 2008, p. 83-108.
- Dana 2011 – D. Dana, *L’impact de l’onomastique latine sur les onomastiques indigènes dans l’espace thrace*, dans M. Dondin-Payre (éd.), *Les noms des personnes dans l’Empire romain. Transformation, adaptation, évolution*, Bordeaux, 2011, p. 37-87.
- Dinchev 1997 – V. Dinchev, *Rimskite vili v dnešnata bălgarska teritorija*, Sofia, 1997.
- Dintchev 1998 – V. Dintchev, *On the Ethno-cultural Features of the Village Population on the Present Bulgarian territory in the 4th Century AD*, *ArchBulg* 2, 1998, p. 64-87.
- Dise jr. 1997a – R.L. Dise jr., *Trajan, the Antonines, and the governor’s staff*, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 273-283.
- Dise jr. 1997b – R.L. Dise jr., *Variation in the Roman administrative practice: the assignments of beneficiarii consulares*, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 284-289.
- Dyson 2003 – S.L. Dyson, *The Roman countryside*, London, 2003.
- d’Encarnação 1993 – J. d’Encarnação, *L’épigraphie du village de l’extrême Occident d’Hispania*, dans A. Calbi, A. Donati, G. Poma (éds.), *L’epigrafia del villaggio*, Faenza, 1993, p. 237-259.
- Ivanov 1980 – R. Ivanov, *Abritus – a Roman castle and early byzantine town in Moesia Inferior* (en bulgare avec résumé en anglais), Sofia, 1980.
- Kovács 2013 – P. Kovács, *Territoria, pagi and vici in Pannonia*, dans W. Eck, B. Fehér, P. Kovács (éds.), *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy*, Bonn, 2013, p. 131-154.
- Matei-Popescu 2010 – F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman army in Moesia Inferior*, Bucarest, 2010.
- Matei-Popescu 2013 – F. Matei-Popescu, *Statutul juridic și teritoriul Histriei în epoca romană*, dans F. Panait Bîrzescu, I. Bîrzescu, F. Matei-Popescu, A. Robu (éds.), *Poleis în Marea Neagră. Relații interpontice și producții locale*, Bucarest, 2013, p. 203-233.
- Matei-Popescu 2014 – F. Matei-Popescu, *The Horothesia of Dionysopolis and the integration of the Western Pontic Greek cities in the Roman Empire*, dans V. Cojocaru, M. Dana, A. Coşkun (éds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic world during the Hellenistic and the Roman period*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, p. 457-472.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *La cité romaine du Haut-Empire d’Ibida (Mésie Inférieure). Considérations historiques selon le dossier épigraphique*, *SAA* 17, p. 83-143.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012a – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Les „Romains” dans la cité d’Istros sous le Haut-Empire*, *Dacia* N.S. 56, 2012, p. 91-98.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012b – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Epigraphik, Mobilität und die Politik der Rekrutierung in der römischen Armee. Der Fall der Soldaten und Veteranen in Moesia Inferior*, dans R. Rollinger, G. Schwinghammer, B. Truschnegg, K. Schnegg (éds.), *Altertum und Gegenwart. 125 Jahre Alte Geschichte in Innsbruck: Vorträge der Ringvorlesung Innsbruck 2010*, Innsbruck 2012, p. 159-185.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015a – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Notes prosopographiques sur la colonisation dans le milieu militaire et civil de Novae*, dans L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba (éd.), *Colonisation and Romanization in Moesia inferior. Premises of a contrastive approach*, *Kaiserslautern-Mehlingen* 2015, p. 77-92.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015b – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Colonisation in the Vicus Ulmetum during Early Roman Empire*, dans L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba (éd.), *Colonisation and Romanization in Moesia inferior. Premises of a contrastive approach*, *Kaiserslautern-Mehlingen* 2015, p. 143-155.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Piftor 2005 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V. Piftor, *Les familles d’Ancyre à Troesmis*, dans V. Cojocaru (éd.), *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea Area from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest*, Iași, 2005, p. 331-337.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Iulia Dumitrache, *La colonisation dans le milieu militaire et le milieu civil de Troesmis*, Iași, 2012.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Răileanu 2014 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V.-M. Răileanu, *Les territoires ruraux comme sources de recrutement pour la flotte. Le cas de Nicopolis ad Istrum (Mésie inférieure) et une nouvelle hypothèse à propos de la politique de recrutement sous Septime Sévère*, *DHA* 40/2, 2014, p. 193-2005.
- Mitthof 2010 – F. Mitthof, *5. AE 1987, 871: basis, Akk. basidem*, dans *Adnotationes epigraphicae I*, *Tyche* 25, 2010, p. 232.
- Mitrofan 1998 – I. Mitrofan, *Les villae rusticae dans la Dacie romaine*, dans V.H. Baumann (éd.), *La politique éditiltaire dans les provinces de l’Empire romain, II^e-IV^e siècles après J.-C.*, *Actes du III^e Colloque roumano-suisse « La vie rurale dans les provinces romaines : vici et villae »*, Tulcea, 8-15 octobre 1995, Tulcea, 1998, p. 169-172.

- Nuțu, Stanc, Paraschiv 2014 – G. Nuțu, S. Stanc, D. Paraschiv, *Niculitel. A Roman Rural Sttlement in North-East Moesia Inferior*, Kaiserslautern-Mehlingen.
- Pippidi 1969 – D. M. Pippidi, *Studii de istorie a religiilor antice. Texte și interpretări*, București, 1969.
- Rosafio 1994 – P. Rosafio, *Slaves and coloni in the villa system*, dans J. Carlsen, P. Ørsted, J. E. Skydsgaard (éds.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*, Rome, 1994, p. 145-158.
- Roxan, Stylow 1999 – M. Roxan, A.U. Stylow, *Ein neues Flottendiplom vom 18. Dezember 225 und RMD III 194=CIL II/2, 127a*, *Chiron* 29, 1999, p. 183-192.
- Ruscu 2014 – L. Ruscu, *Becoming Roman? Shifting identities in the Western Pontic Greek cities*, dans V. Cojocaru, M. Dana, A. Coşkun (éds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic world during the Hellenistic and the Roman period*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, p. 473-488.
- Suceveanu 1998 – A. Suceveanu, *À propos d'une nouvelle contribution concernant l'organisation villageoise dans l'Empire romain*, dans V.H. Baumann (éd.), *La politique édilitaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romain, II^e-IV^e siècles après J.-C., Actes du III^e Colloque roumano-suisse « La vie rurale dans les provinces romaines : vici et villae »*, Tulcea, 8-15 octobre 1995, Tulcea, 1998, p. 11-23.
- Tomas, Sarnowski 2006 – A. Tomas, T. Sarnowski, *M. Aurelius Statianus from Lower Moesia. A note on his origin, status and business*, dans L.F. Vagalinski (éd.), *The Lower Danube in Antiquity. Acta of International Archaeological Conference 6-7 oct. 2005, Tutrakan*, Sofia 2006, p. 5-8.
- Van Andringa 2003 – W. Van Andringa, *Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'Empire romain : le cas des cives Romani consistentes*, dans N. Belayche, S.C. Mimouni (éds.), *Les communautés religieuses dans le monde gréco-romain. Essais de définition*, Turnhout, 2003, p. 49-60.
- Weiß 2000 – P. Weiß, *Zu Vicusangaben und qui-et-Namen auf Flottendiplomen des 3. Jh.*, *ZPE* 130, 2000, p. 279-285.

THE MĂLĂIEȘTII DE JOS (PRAHOVA COUNTY) SILVER CRAFTSMAN'S HOARD FROM THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY AD

DANIEL SPÂNU*, MIHAI DIMA**, ALIN FRÎNCULEASA***

Keywords: craftsmans' hoard, Roman bronze jug (Tassinari, Oriental type), Almgren 157 fibula, denarii, antoniniani, Černjachov culture, South Romania

Abstract: The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard was found by chance on April 14th 2015 in the back garden of Grigore Ion Vasile's house (No. 31 *Bisericii* Street, Mălăieștii de Jos village, Dumbrăvești Commune, Prahova County, Romania). No ancient cultural layer has been found at the place of discovery. It may be stated that the hoard was not buried in a funerary context or in an ancient dwelling site. The hoard consists of 74 coins, an Almgren 157 fibula, five bracelets, a pendant and two silver ingots on silver, all buried in a Roman bronze jug (Tassinari, Oriental type / type II). The earliest coins were minted in AD 69-70 and the most recent ones, in AD 256-257. The structure of the inventory resembles the one of hoards with coins, finite and semi-finite silverwork items which have been interpreted as silver craftsmans' hoards. The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard reveals itself to us as a significant cultural landmark for the crossroads of the Principate in its nadir phase with the earliest migrations' world taking wing in the Lower Danube region in the last decades of the 3rd century.

Cuvinte-cheie: tezaur de orfevru, cană romană din bronz (Tassinari, tipul oriental), fibula Almgren 157, denari, antoninieni, Cultura Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov, sudul României

Rezumat: Tezaurul de orfevru de la sfârșitul secolului al III-lea de la Mălăieștii de Jos (jud. Prahova)

Tezaurul de la Mălăieștii de Jos a fost descoperit întâmplător în data de 14 aprilie 2015 în grădina din spatele casei lui Grigore Ion Vasile (Strada Bisericii, nr. 31, sat Mălăieștii de Jos, comuna Dumbrăvești, jud. Prahova, România). La locul descoperirii nu s-a identificat un strat de cultură antic. Se poate considera că tezaurul nu a fost îngropat într-un context funerar sau de locuire. Tezaurul conține 74 de monede, o fibulă de tip Almgren 157, cinci brățări, un pandantiv și două lingouri din argint, toate îngropate într-o cană romană din bronz (tipul „oriental”/tipul II după Tassinari). Cele mai timpurii monede au fost emise în anii 69-70 p. Chr., iar cele mai recente în anii 256-257 p. Chr. Structura inventarului se aseamănă celei a tezaurilor cu monede și obiecte finite sau semifinite care au fost interpretate ca tezaure de meșter. Tezaurul de la Mălăieștii de Jos ni se dezvăluie ca un reper cultural semnificativ al răspântiei dintre epoca Principatului aflat la crepuscul și lumea migrațiilor timpurii care se infiripa la Dunărea Inferioară în ultimele decade ale secolului al III-lea.

FINDING, RETRIEVING AND ESTABLISHING THE CONTEXT OF THE HOARD

One day after the end of the 2015 Easter Tide, more precisely on April 14th, Grigore Ion Vasile wanted to fit the garden at the back of his house, situated at No. 31 *Bisericii* Street, Mălăieștii de Jos (within the jurisdiction of the Dumbrăvești Commune, Prahova County), with a ditch for draining the water from a fountain. He discovered, on this occasion, a bronze jug, some coins and a number of further objects made of silver (Pl. I-VII). His property lies 180 m north-west of the village church, on the western terrace of the

* “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest; hazdrik@yahoo.com.

** National Bank of Romania, Bucharest; Mihai.Dima@bnro.ro.

*** Prahova County Museum of History and Archaeology, Ploiești; alinfranculeasa@yahoo.com.



Fig. 1. The surrounding area of the Mălăieștii de Jos village. 1: the hoard; 2: Roman fort active only at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. (D.S.)

Vărbilău River (about 700 m west of the riverbed) and 290 m east of the local country road DJ 102 (Fig. 1). The geographical coordinates of the findspot are 45.10178° N, 25.99695° E.

The news about finding this hoard was imparted by Florin Vasile (Grigore Vasile's son) to Irinel Mazilu, one of the former's employees, who had also been employed as a journeyman on an archaeological site earlier, when the Eneolithic site Mălăieștii de Jos "Mornel" was being researched. The following day (on April 15th), Irinel Mazilu contacted the Ploiești County Museum (Muzeul de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova, acronym: MJIAP) by phone to announce the discovery, and he led the archaeologists Alin Frînculeasa and Claudiu Robe to the above-mentioned address. The prompt announcement of the specialists, and their equally prompt intervention, coupled with Grigore I. Vasile's idea of negotiating a high compensation sum for giving the hoard away are the factors which prevented the dispersion of the hoard.

Meanwhile, the finds were unearthed and deposited in two cardboard wrappers by the author of the finding. The two archaeologists ascertained the precarious conservation state of the jug and the greenish copper and bronze oxide deposits on the silver coins and ornaments. Initially, there were inventoried 67 coins, two ingots, one fibula, five bracelets – bent before the discovery – and some tin fragments of a pendant. Some of the coins were still stuck to each other with copper oxides, only one of the coins having been roughly cleaned by Florin Vasile, who was curious. The retrieved finds were subsequently transported to the Ploiești County Museum. The finds were subjected to various cleaning and curing procedures and it became possible to precisely determine the total number of the coins in the hoard: 74.

After drawing up the preliminary inventory of the material, the two museographers verified the site of the finds and discovered, at the surface, the fibula pin which had come loose, away from the rest of the finds. The drainage ditch, with an east-west orientation and about 0.40 m in width by 0.60 m in depth, had been

dug 1 m north of the house, parallel to it. The hoard inventory was discovered in the ditch very near to the north-western corner of the house, 0.30/0.40 m in depth, lying in a mass of yellow clay soil. The ditch walls still bore greenish traces of bronze oxides in the area which had yielded the body of the jug.

As testified by Grigore I. Vasile, the neck of the jug had been found about 1 m east of its body, which lay bottom up over the coins and ornaments. Initially, the author intended to give away the jug fragments to metal refuse collectors, but, on noticing the coins, the villager changed his mind and saw it fit to retain all the objects found. An aluminium coin, worth 25 *bani*, minted in 1980, also covered in copper oxides by contamination with the bronze jug, was unearthed and retrieved with the hoard. Grigore I. Vasile also extracted seven irregular gritstone boulders (five of them measuring 15-20 cm, and two 10 cm, in length). We wonder whether or not the boulders served for preparing the hoard depositing site.

In order to gather further contextual information, Alin Frînculeasa undertook the digging of a trial trench on the site of the finding on May 13th, 2015 (after obtaining an archaeological diagnosis permit with the current number 82/30.04.2015, issued by the Ministry of Culture via the General Judicial and Heritage Directorate Department). Meanwhile the water drainage ditch had been filled in. Given the presence of trees, a vineyard and the outhouses at the back of Grigore I. Vasile's lodging, the trial trench was restricted in size: 2/0.70 m¹. It ran from the north to the south, perpendicular to the drainage ditch filling line, at a distance of 1.30 m north of the house and right where the body of the jug and the silver finds had lain (more precisely, 0.30 m away from their location).

A layer of black soil rich in anthropic material and recently buried stuff (made of plastic or metal) was identified underneath the living floor, up to 0.35 m in depth. Two atypical, rough, corroded shards, one of them being blackish and appearing to have been turned on the potter's wheel, were also discovered in this layer. The black layer directly underlies the archaeologically sterile soil, clayey and yellowish. Not far away from the trial trench, to the north-east, there were found two further ceramic fragments turned on a rapid potter's wheel, made of some fine ash-coloured paste, but typologically inexpressive. The fine ash-coloured paste and the use of the rapid potter's wheel are characteristics of the Wallachian pottery production for both the La Tène period and the Roman and post-Roman ones. The synchronization of the pottery fragments with the hoard remains uncertain.

Here are the conclusions which can be advanced in accordance with the testimony of the excavations' author and the observations he made on April 15th and May 13th. The hoard was buried at relatively small depth (maximum 40 cm deep). The area which contained it remained uninhabited until the nineteenth century, when the Mălăieștii de Jos village was laid out². The gardening operations on Grigore I. Vasile's property disturbed the local soil and caused the overturning and considerable deterioration of the jug. At the time when it was found, the bronze jug was no longer in its primary position. It was impossible to identify traces of the pit filling. No hypothesis can be advanced regarding the way the gritstone boulders served for laying out the deposit. The four pottery fragments found in the vicinity of the hoard might be indicative of an archaeological site nearby, but no ancient cultural layer has been found at the investigated location. It may be stated that the hoard was not buried in a funerary context or in an ancient dwelling site.

The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard is not uncommon in the micro-region of its origin. It was at Coțofenești (in the Poiana Virbilău Commune, Prahova County) that the golden "helmet" (probably a funerary mask) of the 4th century BC was found in 1922³, and at Coada Malului (in the Măgurele Commune, Prahova County), that a hoard with ornamental items dating back to the 1st century BC was found in 1932⁴. These two spectacular pre-Roman vestiges were discovered less than 5 km from Mălăieștii de Jos (Fig. 1). It is very likely that the density of ceremonial finds in this region should be connected either to the interest in local resources (especially salt) shown by elites at various times, or to the strategic importance of a microzone situated in the area between the Piedmontan Plains of Ploiești and the Sub-Carpathian Hills of Wallachia.

¹ The corners of the trial trench had the following Stereo 70 coordinates: (1) x: 400713.383/ y: 578568.936; (2) x: 400709.950/ y: 578565.918; (3) x: 400713.364/ y: 578567.406; (4) x: 400711.185/ y: 578565.903.

² Apostol 2004, p. 279.

³ Berciu 1969, p. 77-82, fig. 55-61.

⁴ Spânu 2012b, p. 144 (for the dating), 221, no. 31 (with older literature), pls. 30-31.

THE COINS

The 74 coins retrieved from the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard (Pl. I-IV) span over a very wide chronological interval covering the reigns of the Emperors from Vespasian to Valerian I (Fig. 2). The earliest pieces were minted in AD 69-70, and the most recent ones in AD 256-257. The structure of the coins lot is as follows: Vespasian - 9 pieces (Domitian 2), Titus - 1 (Domitian), Trajan - 13, Hadrian - 14 (Sabina 1), Antoninus Pius - 19 (Faustina I - 1, Diva Faustina - 4, Marcus Aurelius - 3), Marcus Aurelius - 5 (Faustina II - 1), Commodus - 4 (Crispina - 2), Septimius Severus - 2 (Caracalla - 1), Caracalla - 1, Maximin I - 1, Philip the Arab - 2, Trajan Decius - 1, Valerian I - 2.

The coins minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius represent the highest percentage (25.67%), followed by the ones minted by Hadrian (18.91%) and Trajan (17.56%). Concerning the denominations, the hoard includes 69 denarii (93.24%), coined between the reigns of Vespasian and Maximin I, and five antoniniani coined at the time of Philip the Arab, Trajan Decius and Valerian I (6.75%).

Almost all of the coins were minted in Rome. The hoard also contains three pieces which come from other mints: one denarius coined during the reign of Vespasian for Domitian Caesar in an unspecified Asia Minor mint (No. 9); one antoninianus dating from the reign of Philip the Arab and coined in Antiochia (No. 71); the most recent coin in the hoard, an antoninianus with the effigy of Valerian I, was minted in Mediolanum (No. 74).

Most of the coins represent common issues, but there are also some rare specimens: the denarius coined for Domitian Caesar in Asia Minor (No. 9); one denarius from Hadrian's reign, which is a variant of the main type (No. 32); and one anthumous denarius struck by Antoninus Pius for Faustina Senior (No. 49). Though the posthumous coins of this Empress are quite common, the anthumous ones are real rarities.

The coins differ from the point of view of their wear: the Flavian coins are worn out in a normal or excessive degree. The ones dated to the second half of the second century are less worn than the early pieces, and the ones from the third century seem to have been in circulation for a brief period of time.

The coins in the hoard are generally well preserved. Only some have missing fragments, and three of them were pierced for being set in a pendant. This is the case of two denarii dating back to the time of Antoninus Pius (Nos. 47-48) and one, to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (No. 58). Almost all the antoniniani bear traces of corrosion since the common metal in their composition has been affected by the hoard depositing conditions.

The Mălăieștii de Jos hoard has an unusual structure, being dominated by old issues, from the 1st-2nd centuries, while normally only a few specimens from this period would be likely to be present in a hoard put together in the second half of the 3rd century. Apparently, there were selected coins with a high silver content and long out of circulation, treasured by people, and sought for in order to be recycled by the imperial authorities as well.

The year 238 represents an important landmark for the evolution of the Roman Imperial Coinage. During the short associated reign of Pupienus and Balbinus, the minting of the antoninianus, nominally created by Caracalla in 215, but abandoned by Elagabal some years later, was resumed. Once Gordian III took the throne, the antoninianus was reinstated and became the main denomination for silver up to Aurelian's reform. Though it was only rarely minted, the denarius was still dominantly in circulation, especially if from the Severi (Elagabalus, Severus Alexander)⁵. This situation was to remain unchanged until the reign of Trajan Decius, when denarii are to be found more and more seldom in hoards⁶.

In the Danubian provinces of the Empire, the majority of hoards, whose latest coins belong to the reigns of Trebonianus Gallus or Valerian I, have their earliest items dating back to the time of Septimius Severus / Caracalla and evince strongly increasing standard ratios of coins/year for the reigns of Gordian III and Philip the Arab⁷. Hoards with their most recent coins traceable to the second half of the 3rd century are very rare in the extra-Carpathian area. In Wallachia, before finding the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard, there had

⁵ Callu 1969, p. 251-253.

⁶ Callu 1969, p. 255.

⁷ Găzdac 2010, p. 82.

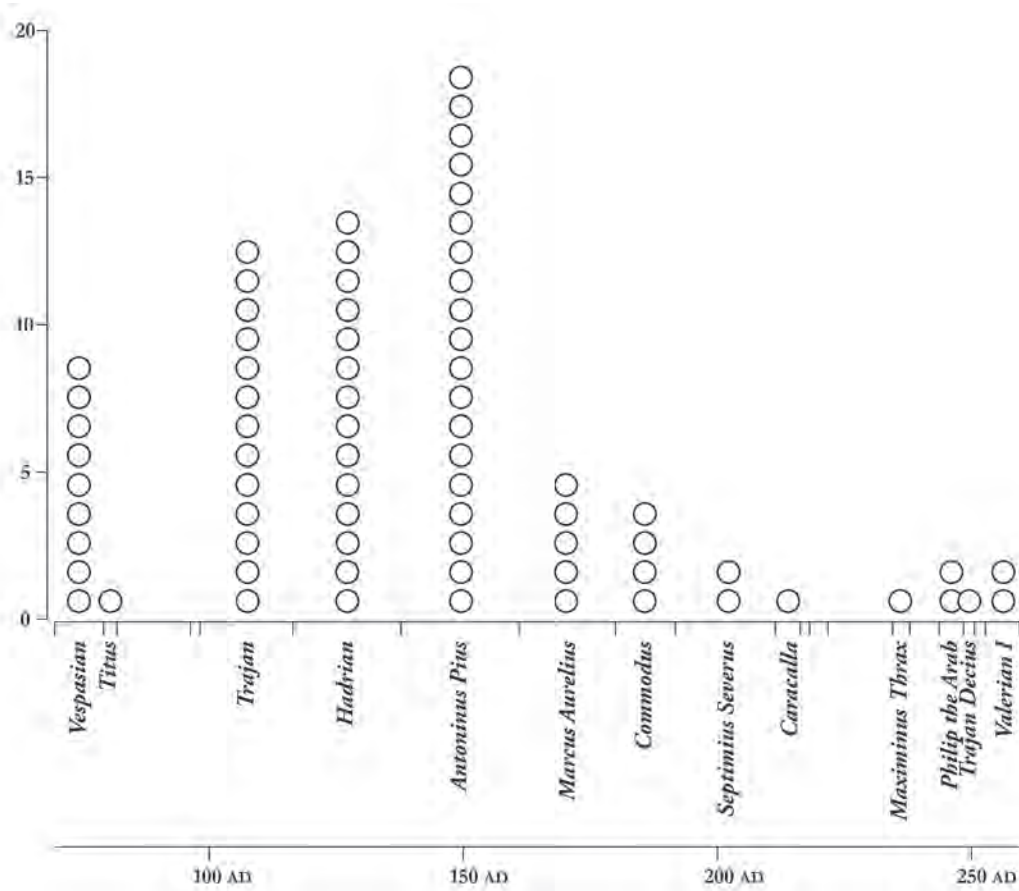


Fig. 2. The structure of the batch of coins from the Mălăiești de Jos hoard. (M.D. and D.S.)

been known only one monetary deposit from this period; it had been found in 1912 at Dărăști, Co. Ilfov, and consisted of antoniniani minted in the Valerian I - Aurelian period⁸. Moreover, this is the only hoard found on the territory spanning between the Olt, Danube and Carpathians and, in time, covering almost one century (238/244 - 337/340). Whereas the hoards ending with coins of Gordian III (at Săpata de Jos I, Sîmburești, Pitești)⁹ were grouped and lay to the west in Wallachia, in the area of the so-called transalutanic *limes*, the more recent hoards (at Maia, Gura Ialomiței II, Săpata de Jos III)¹⁰ are spread over a wide area and do not allow making any connections among them or between any of them and the hoard presented here. It may even be stated that the Mălăiești de Jos hoard is isolated in time and space by comparison to the silver coin hoards from the 3rd and 4th century found in Wallachia.

The same holds true for the Moldavian territory, where the hoards put together after the reign of Severus Alexander are rare¹¹. Only the Focșani hoard, Co. Vrancea, dates back to the second half of the 3rd century¹². One of its pieces (*i.e.* 1.51%) dates back to the Antonines' period, 6 pieces (*i.e.* 9.09%), to the period of the Severan dynasty & Maximin I, and the remaining 59 pieces (*i.e.* 89.39%) belonging to the

⁸ Only two pieces coined by Gallienus and Claudius II have been retrieved. Mitrea 1971, p. 407, no. 65; Petolescu 1972, p. 192, No. 1; Mitrea 1980, p. 375, No. 99; Tudorică 2007, p. 145-147; Depeyrot, Moisil 2008, p. 257-258.

⁹ Mitrea 1968, p. 203; Chițescu, Popescu 1975, p. 223; Mitrea, Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1986-1991, p. 78, table 4; Dima 2012, p. 133-140.

¹⁰ Dima 1998-2003, p. 383-386; Mititelu 1957, p. 136 and 146-147; Mitrea 1960, p. 591, no. 15.

¹¹ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980, p. 106.

¹² Mitrea, Constantinescu 1978, p. 185-186; Munteanu, Boțan, Apostu 2015, p. 176-181.

Gordian III - Trebonianus Gallus period. The retrieved lot amounts to 6 denarii and 60 antoniniani (Elagabalus: 1 piece, Gordian III - Trebonianus Gallus: 59 pieces).

Another hoard with a similar structure was uncovered at Vasylivka, r. Bolgrad, reg. Odessa, Ukraine. Fifteen silver pieces (2 denarii, 13 antoniniani) from this hoard are known, as follows: Severus Alexander - 2, Gordian III - 4, Philip the Arab - 2, Otacilia Severa - 1, Philip II-1, Trajan Decius - 3, Trebonianus Gallus - 2¹³. Given their structure, characterised by the association of a restricted number of denarii with more antoniniani, the hoards of Focșani and Vasylivka are fundamentally different from the monetary lot found at Mălăieștii de Jos.

Whereas in Moldavia and Wallachia there have been found numerous hoards dated as late as the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century¹⁴, only scarce hoards are traceable back to ulterior periods. The late Roman hoards from Moldavia west of the Prut River are little known or unusual as structure¹⁵. On the Republic of Moldova's territory, however, there have been found several hoards consisting of silver coins dated to the middle of the 4th century¹⁶. Even if the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard has been recovered in its entirety, it is much more difficult to be dated than many other finds.

The profound crisis which raged in the Roman state once the Military Anarchy set in (AD 235) also affected silver coins, which gradually lost their precious metal content almost entirely. The climax of the monetary depression was recorded during the reign of Claudius II (268-270), when the antoninianus often weighed less than 3 grams, and its standard purity decreased, reaching as little as 19‰ Ag. Knowing how the Roman coin stood, being devoid of credit after the extremely low standard of its purity, Aurelian decided to rehabilitate it. The reform of April-May 274 put an end to the depreciation of the currency and to the blatant fraudulence which had disturbed the Roman monetary system in the middle of the 3rd century; the main denomination remained the billon antoninianus¹⁷, but minted in accordance with a theoretical weight standard of 3.89 g and with a of purity of about 50‰ Ag. The reformed antoninianus, also known as the aurelianian, was preserved, according with the standard of Aurelian, until Diocletian's reform¹⁸. The latter's attempt to introduce again a new silver denomination (the *argenteus*), coined in accordance with the standard of the Neronian denarius, failed¹⁹. Only in the third quarter of the 4th century did the imperial mints strike silver coins in large quantities again.

After 260, and for a whole century, silver coins represented a rarity in the Lower Danube area. This is why someone interested in accumulating silver coins was forced to seek for older ones. Given that 65 pieces (87.83%) of the 74 total were coined before the year 193, it can be considered that the core of the hoard was put together at the end of the 2nd century or at the beginning of the 3rd century. The small number of coins minted subsequently were added to the initial nucleus of the hoard in as yet unascertained conditions.

It would have been conceivable that denarii from the Severan period and/or antoniniani minted after 238 should predominate in a hoard having the latest coins from Valerian I, put together in the Empire (south of the Danube, even in Dacia). Surprisingly, in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard, the Severan denarii (including the one of Maximin I), which were otherwise extremely common, are represented by only four pieces (5.40%), and the antoniniani of Gordian III, which were equally common, are entirely missing.

Most likely, the majority of the coins in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard derive from a batch of coins formed in the Empire at the turn of the 2nd to the 3rd century and subsequently imported in the *Barbaricum*. The presence in the hoard of the coins made of silver with an enhanced quality and the dating of the hoard back to a time when such coins had already been long out of circulation pleads in favour of attributing the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard to an itinerant craftsman who benefited from the raw material made available to him by a silent partner.

¹³ Popa, Ciobanu 2003, p. 105-106.

¹⁴ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980, *passim*.

¹⁵ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980, p. 207.

¹⁶ Isvoranu 2015, p. 67.

¹⁷ Aurelian coined *aurei*, *sestertii* and *dupondi*, but all these coins were very rare and played no important role in the economic life of the Empire.

¹⁸ Depeyrot 2006, p. 154.

¹⁹ RIC VI, 94; Vagi 1999, p. 421.

THE BRONZE JUG: TAXONOMY, MORPHOLOGY, ANALOGIES



Fig. 3. Mapping of jug-types with human foot handle decoration. The shaded areas: territorial losses of Roman Empire in the second half of the 3rd century AD. For the numbers on the map see Appendix 1. (D.S.)

The jug (Pl. V) was fashioned from a turned bronze sheet, as indicated by the concentric circles visible on its bottom fragment found. The handle, also made of bronze, was cast and subsequently fixed. The body of the jug proper was seriously damaged, broken, bent in, deformed, and corroded: only the belly, part of its neck, two tiny fragments of the lip, and the bottom have been retrieved. Initially, the jug had a double tapering, streamlined belly, and a tall, slender neck. The upper part of the neck flared considerably but the lip was slightly turned in. The lip inclination is indicated by the form of the handle plate. We cannot tell if the lip of the jug had a spout or not. The handle consists of a horizontal upper plate (Germ.: *Daumenplatte*) that continues with a vertical stem having a circular crosssection; it runs down and terminates in a decorative human foot lower plate (Fr.: *attache*). On top of the horizontal upper plate, a vegetal motif (a water-plant leaf) protrudes very visibly, being flanked by indentations. Right over its lower plate, the stem of the handle has an excrescence resembling a spur. The traces of welding the human foot lower plate to the jug are observable on the wall 0.5 cm over the streamline.

The form of the handle allows assimilating the Mălăieștii de Jos jug to a species of Roman bronze vessels spread in the whole Empire (Fig. 3, Appendix 1)²⁰. Such handles terminating in a human foot (or as the two adjoining feet), were fixed either on fusiform or on pyriform jugs (the Tassinari “Western type”/ type I, or the Tassinari “Oriental type”/ type II, respectively). One such handle with decorative foot-shaped lower plates also appears, however, on a jug from *Brigetio*²¹ that has a double tapering belly and a high neck, being

²⁰ Radnóti 1938; Tassinari 1973; Szabó 1981; Szabó 1982-1983; Ruprechtsberger 1985; Nenova-Merdjanova 1998. Jugs similar to the one of Mălăieștii de Jos appear with differing designations: „Krüge mit fußförmigem Henkelattaschen”, „cruches/pots à anse ornée d’un pied humain”, „emberi lábfejvel díszített fülű bronzkorsók”.

²¹ Szabó 1981, p. 60, fig. 9; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91, 93, pl. XIV.

decorated with horizontal flutes. Irrespective of their forms, all these jugs were fashioned by the turning technique, with the bottom separately fashioned and fixed by welding²². The morphological and ornamental variety of the handles is determined by several variables: (a) the bigger or smaller scale of the laterals; (b) a water-plant leaf may or may not be present on the plate; (c) the vertical stem of the handle may have finished faces, may be cylindrical, or with ribs, or plastically fashioned; (d) the handle lower end may be in the form of the right or the left foot, or it may be in the shape of the two feet side by side; in their turn, the feet may be bare, or (rarely) shod. It is not possible to detect a strict correspondence between the different variants of the handles and the two jug shapes. Equally, it cannot be known whether or not the fusiform or pyriform jugs repaired by fixing handles with cordiform, vegetal or sylen-masque motifs attached to them had originally been decorated with foot-shaped handles²³. The hypothesis that the vegetal decoration on the plate of the handle might be specific of the pyriform (“Oriental”) jugs is disproved by the handles of a number of fusiform (“Western”) items found at Mainz, Nijmegen, Heerlen, Igar and Epagnette (see Appendix 1). The assimilation to the group of jugs decorated with a human-foot of some finds devoid of handles (found at Orheiul Bistriței and Cristești)²⁴, or of one handle from Hungary with its attached decoration broken and lost, is problematic²⁵. The Mălăieștii de Jos jug belongs to the pyriform type (the Tassinari “Oriental” type or type II), and the handle belongs to the bare right foot variant (variant 1a).

Irrespective of their formal and ornamental variations, jugs with handles decorated with a human foot were produced by common technologies (the finishing of the recipients by turning, casting the handles in multi-valve masters) in specialized toreutics workshops. The geographical relevance of the typology proposed by S. Tassinari (“Western” fusiform jugs and “Oriental” pyriform ones)²⁶ retains its relative validity in spite of the more recent fusiform items found in Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia and of others, pyriform, found in Spain, Britain, and Italy probably²⁷ (Fig. 3, Appendix 1). The location of the workshops had better be ascribed, in all likelihood, to the provincial urban centres in the areas where the finds had maximum density²⁸. It is conceivable that jugs were also produced in the Oriental space, too, given the finding, at Tartus (in Syria), of the only currently known multi-part casting molds for handles decorated with a human foot²⁹.

In the current research stage, the production of these jugs seems to have been destined especially for the provincial elites residing in urban centres on the Rhine and in the Mid-Danubian area. The fact that some such jugs were found in the vicinity of Roman castra (at *Brigetio* and Orheiu Bistriței) might be an indication that their main beneficiaries were soldiers in the auxiliary units³⁰. Other jugs originate with funerary contexts or possible votive deposits³¹, but, more often than not, the archaeological information is not sufficient for elucidating the character of the finds. Except for the finds from Bițgum and Muncelu de Sus (Appendix 1, Nos. 26 and 63), jugs with human foot decorated handle have not been found in the *Barbaricum* so far (Fig. 3)³². In the current stage of our research, the find at Mălăieștii de Jos appears to us as the first pyriform jug (assimilated to the Tassinari type II or “Oriental type”) discovered in a context that definitely lies outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

²² Tassinari 1973, p. 136.

²³ Examples at Mosonmagyarórvár, Hungary (Szabó 1981, p. 52-53, no. 1, figs. 1-2; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 86-87, no. 1, pl. I-III) and Straldža, Bulgaria (this find was erroneously assimilated by Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. VI to the “Oriental” type II; cf. Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 68, note 3; Dimitrov 1932-1933, p. 378, fig. 137).

²⁴ Petculescu, Băltăc, Bălan 2004, no. 198-199; Gaiu 2005, p. 217, no. 1, fig. 2/2; Ștefănescu-Onițiu 2008, p. 218, pl. VI/1, 3.

²⁵ Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 9, p. 58, figs. 7/3, 8/3; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 90, no. 9, pl. XI

²⁶ Tassinari 1973, p. 135-137.

²⁷ Pozo Rodríguez 2001, p. 176-177, pl. 3/5; Roig 2003, p. 88-90, cat. no. 1.3, 89; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 69, note 35; Crummy 2006, p. 5, fig. 2.

²⁸ Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 65; Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70.

²⁹ Tassinari 1973, p. 139-140, pls. XII/2, XIII/1-2.

³⁰ Barkóczy 1968, p. 76, Fig. 1; Gaiu 2005, p. 215, fig. 1 and others.

³¹ Crummy 2006.

³² Cf. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 55. Despite the lack of arguments, Popa 2015, p. 135, fig. 102.1 assumed that the Muncelu de Sus jug belongs to the fusiform (“western”) type.

The nearest analogies for the Mălăieștii de Jos handle are to be found in Lower Pannonia, at Dunaújváros/*Intercisa*, Igar, Pécs/*Sopianae* and Szöny/*Brigetio* (Appendix I, Nos. 24, 41, 44, 46-48). With these analogies, the origin of the Mălăieștii de Jos jug could conceivably be ascribed to a specialised workshop from the Mid-Danubian region³³. The extreme simplification of the anatomical details of the human foot, which is considered specific of the small provincial workshops of Pannonia³⁴.

For all the great number of finds, the jugs with handles decorated with a human foot have rarely been documented in contexts dated satisfactorily enough: a gold “knee” fibula³⁵ and three denarii coined by Trajan, found in a grave at Ljulín; coins minted by Hadrian, found in the Epagnette hoard; one imported Eggers 9, one Illyrian lance-shaped fibula, and one fibula of the Okorág type in a grave at Ustikolina³⁶. The later denarii from the Muncelu de Sus hoard were issued in the second half of the 2nd century AD³⁷. So far it has only been possible to conjecture that jugs decorated with a human foot were used in the second half of the 3rd century³⁸ – by reference to one such jug found *in the vicinity* (!) of a Szöny/*Brigetio* grave, which could be dated owing to the presence of an antoninian minted by Probus³⁹. Consequently, the hoard at Mălăieștii de Jos, with its last coins minted by Valerianus I, represents the latest thoroughly dated context to yield a jug decorated with a human foot. This seems to confirm, therefore, the use of this type of jugs until the second half of the 3rd century.

The finding of the jug in an area beyond the *limes* and its really late dating may, however, be due to the action of factors completely unrelated to the provincial milieu that the jug had been fashioned for. By the time the hoarding process of coins ended, the Mălăieștii de Jos jug, it appears most likely, had already been in a position to represent a rare antiquity in the Empire. To make this conjecture, we may invoke the absence of jugs with handles decorated with a human foot from the series of Neupotz, Hagenbach and other deposits which have been interpreted as booty (Germ. *Beutehorte*) taken by the Germanic tribes from the various Gallic provinces after the middle of the 3rd century⁴⁰. Most probably produced in an urban centre in Pannonia, the bronze jug is not, however, the only element liable to grant supra-regional relevance to the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard.

THE ALMGREN 157 FIBULA

The Mălăieștii de Jos fibula consists of three separately fashioned elements (Pl. VI/no. 76): (a) the pin and the spring made of silver wire; (b) the bow with an octagonal cross section and a flattened foot made of silver; and (c) the iron axis of the spring which has got lost. Traces of iron oxides are still visible inside the spring. In its initial state, the spring chord was placed underneath the bow. The foot consists of a slender isosceles trapezoid-shaped plate with lateral faceting sides. In its upper part, the foot is decorated with two small lateral concavities and two horizontal incisions. The extremity of the foot is twisted around the bow in five turns. The form of the foot and the way the chord goes under the bow correspond to the Almgren 157 type fibulae⁴¹. The uninterrupted transition from the bow to the foot, together with the way the spring axis is fixed to the bow through a bent band are characteristics of the “Sarmatic” type of tendril fibulae (Germ.: *Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuss*), as presented in G. Diaconu's classification⁴².

³³ Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 71-72 rejects the hypothesis advanced by Radnóti 1957, p. 205 which granted Balkan origins to the jugs from Moesia and Thracia; the jugs found here might come either from Pannonia or from some Oriental region.

³⁴ Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70.

³⁵ Getov, Popov 1972, p. 47, fig. 10; Jobst 1975, p. 66-67 date such fibulae to the 2nd century AD; the latest variants were also used at the beginning of the 3rd century; cf. Isac, Cociș 1995, p. 119-120, nos. 4-5; Cociș 2004, p. 88-105 (type 19).

³⁶ Jobst 1975, p. 28.

³⁷ Sanie 1981, p. 179; Ungureanu 2001, p. 10-19.

³⁸ Radnóti 1938, p. 167, Tassinari 1973, p. 137-139; Szabó 1981, p. 59; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91.

³⁹ Barkóczy 1968, p. 90-91, 94, pl. X/1-2 (grave 10/1959).

⁴⁰ Cf. Stadler 2006, especially Bernhardt, Petrovsky 2006.

⁴¹ Almgren 1923, pl. VII/157 (group VI).

⁴² Diaconu 1971, p. 249-251; cf. Ambroz 1966, type 9/20; Bichir 1973, p. 104: *variant 12a*.

Most authors accept the general dating of the Almgren 157 fibulae found in Lower Danube contexts to phase C2 (260/275 – 310/320)⁴³. This dating is also confirmed by the most recent coins (253-260) of the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard. While the dating of the Almgren 157 fibulae from the Lower Danube is thus safely established, their cultural attribution is a more delicate issue.

For the time being, in provincial Dacia⁴⁴, or in the graves of the Poieniști-Vârțișcoiu group⁴⁵, there have been found no analogies of this particular variant of fibulae with the foot turned underneath; some such items have been found, however, in the extra-Carpathian area, being attributed either to the Chilia-Militari group⁴⁶, or the Sarmatic Lower Danube group⁴⁷, or, again, to the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture⁴⁸. There are further finds connected to contexts whose attribution to these cultural groups is problematic⁴⁹. Unfortunately, we do not have a relative chronological diagram presenting, with sufficiently firm arguments, the cultural transformations in the 3rd and 4th centuries in Romania⁵⁰. For advancing a judicious cultural attribution of the variant illustrated by the Mălăieștii de Jos fibula, the 147 grave from Târgșoru Vechi and the 1163 dwelling found on the “Măgura” hill at Poieniști impose themselves in particular to our attention.

Târgșoru Vechi, grave 147. Though it was made of bonze, the fibula from grave 147, Târgșoru Vechi (Fig. 4/1)⁵¹ has some common features with the one in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard: the spring axis fixed to the bow by a bent band, the sinuous transition between the bow and the foot, the slender trapezoid-shaped foot plate. The same cremation grave contained a coin minted by Septimius Severus (193-211), some weaponry items, and vessels, among which a ceramic replica of a glass cup with oval facets (Eggers 216)⁵². Similar associations, from the Przeworsk culture, specifically indicate an interval ranging from the end of phase C1b to the beginning of phase C3⁵³.

Among the archaeological discoveries from Târgșoru Vechi, grave 147 has a particular cultural significance. The body in the grave 147 was cremated, which is not the custom in the “Sarmatian” burials from Târgșoru Vechi and elsewhere. Meanwhile, the depositions of weapons in the same grave (actually just two elements of a shield)⁵⁴ contrasts with the typical Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov rituals (characterized by the absence of weapons). However, its Przeworsk analogies allow us to perceive the grave 147 as one of the earliest “Germanic” cultural intrusions in the Roman period Wallachia. In other words, without being a typical

⁴³ Rosetti 1934, p. 207, fig. 1/2ab (in association with a Decius coin at București “Tei”); Ioniță 1992, p. 77 and 82 (presupposing the dating back to phases C2 and C3a); Niculescu 1993, p. 204, n. 20 (restricts the dating to phase C2); Simonenko 2008, p. 29 (dates back the fibulae found at Novosel'skoe to the second half of the 3rd century).

⁴⁴ Cf. Cociș 2004, p. 142-145 (type 37a), 382-396, pl. 128-142.

⁴⁵ The hypothesis that the fibulae found in the layers at Poieniști (Vulpe 1953, p. 461-462, figs. 362/3 and 364/1, 3) came from dilapidated graves (Bichir 1973, p. 104) has not been confirmed by subsequent research.

⁴⁶ For the fibula found in grave 28 at Chilia (Morintz 1961, p. 445, fig. 5/2), Niculescu 2003, p. 186, note 36, proposes dating it back to a period following the desertion of the transalutan *limes*, which was placed by Bogdan Cătănciu 1997, p. 108-111 later than the mid 3rd century.

⁴⁷ Simonenko 2008, p. 84-85, cat. nos. 156 and 158, pls. 157/11 and 161/2. The fibula found in the “late” Sarmatic grave 411 at Târgșoru Vechi, which was only mentioned by Niculescu 2003, p. 186, has not been technically described and illustrated.

⁴⁸ Ioniță 1992, p. 87, fig. 5/9; cf. Diaconu 1965, p. 35.

⁴⁹ The fibulae found at Mătăsaru (Bichir 1980, figs. 4/4, 6, 8, 10) belong to a level (“III2”) whose chronological and cultural attributions have not been satisfactorily researched; most likely, this late phase of the settlement could be integrated to the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture. It is possible to formulate similar hypotheses for the fibulae in the dwelling contexts of București “Militari”/“Câmpu Boja” (Zirra, Cazimir 1963, p. 57, fig. 7/1; Zgîbea 1963, p. 373-376, nos. 1-8, pl. 1/1-8; Negru 2000, p. 123-127), București “Străulești” (*I Daci*, p. 98, 148, no. 409), București “Tei” (Rosetti 1934, p. 207, fig. 1/2ab), Mândrișca (Bichir 1973, p. 104, pl. 169/7) or Poieniști (Vulpe 1953, p. 461-462).

⁵⁰ Cf. Harhoiu 2014, p. 167, n. 141.

⁵¹ Diaconu 1965, p. 34, 170, pl. XX/4, 312, pl. CLXIII/1.

⁵² Diaconu 1965, p. 32, 170, pl. XX/4. The same association of an Almgren 157 fibula with a ceramic replica of Eggers 216 cups appears at București “Militari”, dwelling 7 (Zirra, Cazimir 1963, p. 52, 57-59, figs. 7/1-2, 9/9).

⁵³ Godłowski 1970, p. 23-24; Godłowski 1992, p. 74; cf. Diaconu 1965, p. 31, note 69, 37; Niculescu 1993, p. 204, note 20.

⁵⁴ Diaconu 1965, p. 32, pl. XXI/1-2.

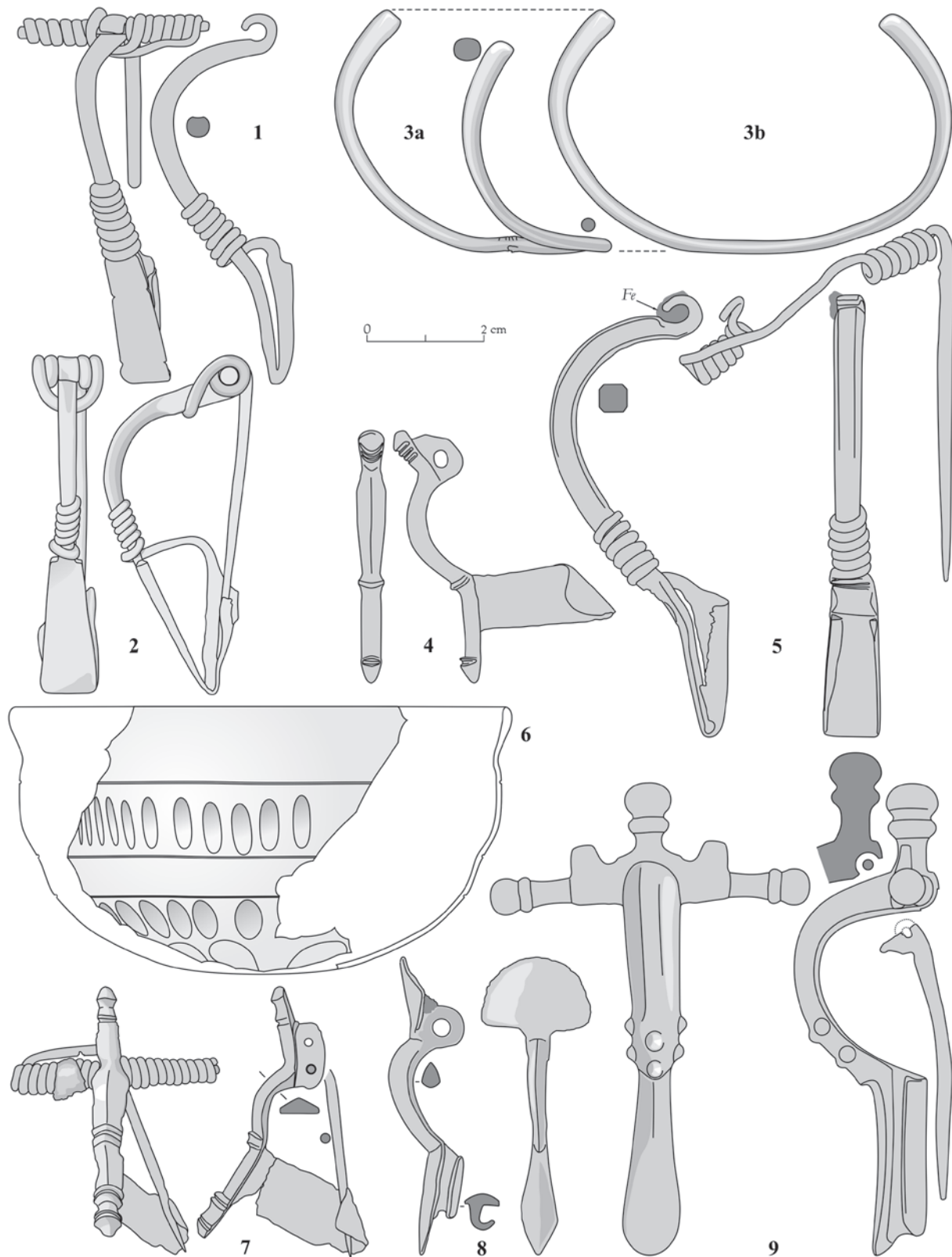


Fig. 4. Fibulae, bracelets and glass items mentioned in the text: 1: Târgșoru Vechi, grave 147 (bronze); 2: București "Militari", feature no. 7 (dwelling) (silver); 3-5: Poienești, feature no. 1163 (dwelling) (3: silver; 4-5: bronze); 6: Poienești, feature 1234 (dwelling) (glass); 7: Poienești, feature 1319 (pit); 8: Poienești, settlement level (bronze); 9: Poienești, feature 1827 (bronze). 1: after Diaconu 1965, p. 170, pl. XX/4; 2: after Zirra, Cazimir 1963, fig. 7/1; 3-9: after original. (D.S.)

Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov burial, grave 147 announce the beginning of those cultural phenomena which lead to the crystallisation of Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov culture in the Lower Danube region.

The fibula of grave 147 and the glass cups of the Eggers 216 and Werbkowice-Kotorow types found in graves 67 and 298 prompted G. A. Niculescu to ascribe the earliest Târgșoru Vechi cremation burials to phase C2⁵⁵. Niculescu's specifications have considerable value: the most representative monument of the Wallachian Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture⁵⁶ was already known in the last third of the 3rd century and in phase C2 of the imperial epoch (260/275 – 300/310), respectively⁵⁷. Through its most recent coin and the analogy indicated by the Almgren 157 fibula, the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard can be synchronized with the beginnings of the Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov necropolis from Târgșoru Vechi. At the same time, the small hoard found only about 30 km from Târgșoru Vechi, can be integrated to the new culturally expressive milieu reflected by the great necropolis of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov type.

Poieniști – dwelling 1163. One bronze fibula with a fully similar morphology and decoration to the one from Mălăieștii de Jos was included in the inventory of dwelling 1163 unearthed on the “Măgura” hill at Poieniști (Co. Vaslui)⁵⁸ (Fig. 4/5). The bow's cross section is octagonal, the plate of the foot has the contour of a slender trapezoid with lateral finishing and lateral concavities on top. The same dwelling yielded, among others, a fibula with large catch plate (Fig. 4/4), the remains of a glass cup (whose form cannot be retraced), and a silver bracelet with thickened ends (Fig. 4/3a-b), highly resembling bracelets Nos. 79 and 80 from Mălăieștii de Jos. The relative synchronism of the dwelling and the hoard is, consequently, as plausible as can be. The presence, in dwelling 1163, of a fibula with large catch plate is significant since this type, specific of phases C1 and C2, has not survived beyond the beginning of the 4th century⁵⁹. In fact, one variant of the fibulae with large catch plate (the so-called “monstrous” fibulae) has been connected only to “the first manifestations of an established Sântana de Mureș (- Černjachov) culture”⁶⁰.

Dwelling 1163, grave 1234 with an Eggers 216 glass (Fig. 4/6), dwelling 356 with a coin minted by Gordianus III (238-244)⁶¹, graves 1319 and 669 with fibulae with large catch plate (Fig. 4/7), together with some other contexts represent a first dwelling phase on the “Măgura” hill at Poieniști and are responsible for overlying, and partially disturbing, some Poieniști-Vârțișcoiu burials⁶². Over the vestiges of this dwelling phase has been unearthed a settlement with materials specific to the 4th century, including a fibula with a semidiscoidal head-plate, a fibula with onion-shaped knobs⁶³ (Fig. 4/8-9), coins minted by Constantius⁶⁴, etc. According to M. Babeș, contexts such as 356, 1163 and 1234, and others beside them, constitute a “Carpic” settlement, ulterior to the “Carpic” necropolis, but distinct from, and anterior to, the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov settlement⁶⁵. This ethno-cultural determination has been argued by invoking the “Carpic” character of an as yet unclassified kind of pottery⁶⁶. The erection of dwellings over an earlier funerary zone illustrates, however, a discontinuity in the tradition and a hiatus in the local collective memory. Such discontinuity could appear precisely in the context of the cultural transformations of the mid 3rd century, which preceded the

⁵⁵ Niculescu 1993, p. 220.

⁵⁶ The big number of graves, over 480, found at Târgșoru Vechi (half of which have been published: Diaconu 1965; subsequently mentioned by Niculescu 1993 and 2003) configure the greatest Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov necropolis in South Romania.

⁵⁷ Niculescu 1993, p. 220; *cf.* Bóna 1990, p. 64-65; Bierbrauer 1994, p. 123. It is necessary to discard the former opinions, put forward by Mitrea, Preda 1966, p. 148; Diaconu 1983, p. 242; Bichir 1984, p. 94 and others, about a later extension of the Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov culture in South Romania.

⁵⁸ Unpublished research by M. Babeș (1990); the materials are being turned to account at the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest. For research on the Poieniști site: Vulpe 1953 and Babeș 2000.

⁵⁹ Teegen 1999, p. 139 and 158-160.

⁶⁰ Ioniță 1982, p. 93; for the type see Werner 1988, p. 247-256; recent finds: Palade 2004, p. 58-59, 318-319, fig. 32.

⁶¹ Niculescu 1993, p. 207; Babeș *et alii* 1980, p. 39.

⁶² Babeș 2000, p. 340. For the necropolis: Spânu 2012a, p. 176-180.

⁶³ For dating the two types: Horedt 1982, p. 127-129 and 131-132; Harhoiu 1998, p. 97 and 105.

⁶⁴ Vulpe 1953, p. 505.

⁶⁵ Babeș 2000, p. 340; for the 4th century settlement: Petrescu 2002, p. 213, no. 668.a.

⁶⁶ Babeș *et alii* 1980, p. 39; Babeș 2000, p. 340; *cf.* Vulpe 1953, p. 497-498, 502-504. Other authors (*e.g.* Bóna 1990, p. 65) emphasize the affinities of “Carpic” pottery with the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov one.

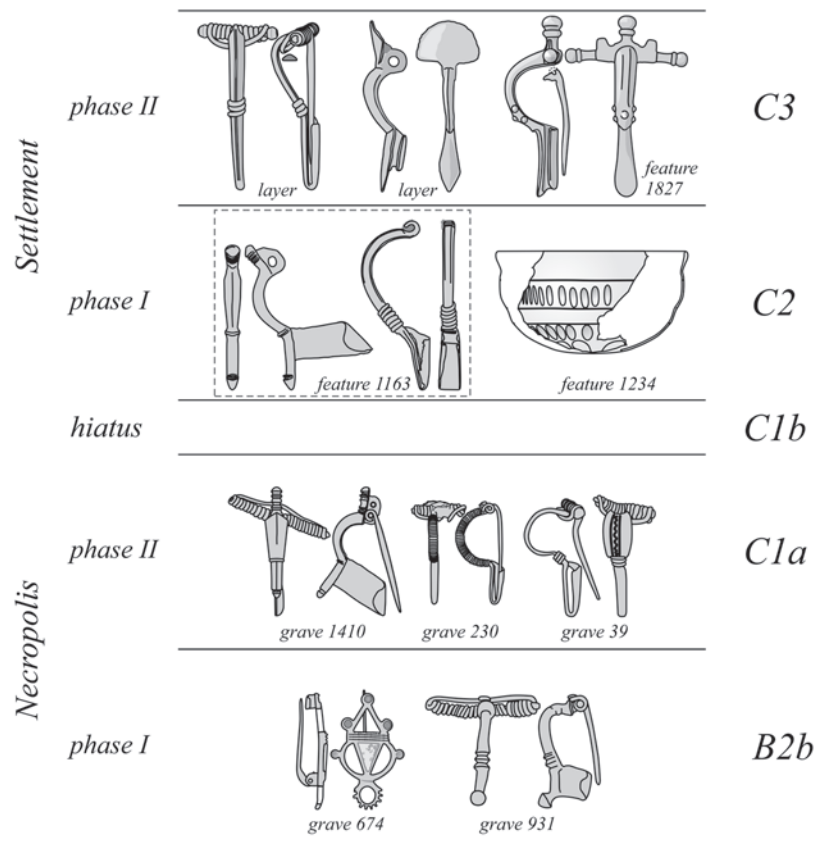


Fig. 5. Poienești (Vaslui county), “Măgură” site: stratigraphic scheme and chronological Roman period indicators (different scales). (D.S.)

crystallization of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture⁶⁷. In other words, the earliest contexts of the “Măgură” settlement could plausibly be synchronized with the beginnings of this culture.

In respect to the relative Central Europe chronology, the succession of the imperial monuments at Poienești could be rendered synthetically as follows (Fig. 5): the Poienești-Vârțișcoiu necropolis (phases B2b and C1a)⁶⁸ was followed by a hiatus corresponding to phase C1b (220/230 – 260/275), when the funerary tradition of this location may well have been forgotten. On its abandoned site there started a settlement whose early phase (“Carpic” or not) can be synchronized to phase C2 of the imperial epoch (260/275 – 300/310). The subsequent dwelling formation contains dating elements specific to the 4th century and to phase C3, respectively. Most probably, the rather scarce graves of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov type unearthed at Poienești “Dealul Teilor” correspond to the settlement on the “Măgură” of this late period⁶⁹.

The relative chronology sketched here is relevant for bringing to the fore the special importance of the Poienești site for understanding the transition from the Poienești-Vârțișcoiu culture to the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov one. In the light of this relative chronology, and taking into account the chronology of the Târgșoru Vechi necropolis, the Almgren 157 fibulae found in the extra-Carpathian area could be perceived as indicators of that particular phase in the crystallization of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture, when the new features co-exist with elements of preceding cultural traditions⁷⁰. The plausibility of correlating the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard with the beginnings of the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture in the extra-Carpathian regions is also supported by the analogies of the bracelets and pendant.

⁶⁷ Bierbrauer 1992, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Spănu 2012a, p. 176-178.

⁶⁹ Mirițoiu, Popa 2015, p. 124-127.

⁷⁰ Bierbrauer 1999, p. 231; Niculescu 2003, p. 198; Harhoiu 2014, p. 166.

THE MASSIVE BRACELETS WITH TRUMPET-SHAPED ENDS – ONE OF THE SUPRA-REGIONAL RANK INSIGNIA

The five bracelets have all widening loose ends. They are similar, but not identical. The finishing of the surfaces differs from one item to the next, namely in respect to the form, circular or octagonal, the bar thickness, and the weight.

Bracelets of this kind, made of precious metals and having trumpet-shaped widening ends, were produced in various cultural contexts⁷¹, but they are missing from the pre-Roman or provincial “Balkan and Danubian” repertoires of precious metal adornments⁷². Gold bracelets, plain, or with special finishing, have been recorded, however, in Sarmatian ceremonial funerary inventories of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD found at Cvetna and Porogi kurgan 1⁷³. It is, however, barely arguable that there existed an uninterrupted tradition of craftsmanship and symbolic significance up to the beginning of the migrations age⁷⁴. But, in the 3rd century, there appear bracelets with (trumpet-shaped) thickened ends in masculine ceremonial funerary contexts from Central Europe (Sackrau III, Ostrovany II, Cejkov/Czéke), or in hoards found in the Baltic or Scandinavian areas⁷⁵. The small hoard of Černivci/Cernăuți from the second half of the 3rd century⁷⁶ might well represent a link between the Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov cultural milieu and the ceremonial finds of Central Europe. A possible contact with the Mid-Danubian region is also suggested, however, by the nearest analogies to the Mălăieștii de Jos jug (*cf. supra*). And it is quite plausible, in the tumultuous context of the 3rd century, for certain symbols that had become entrenched in *Germania Libera* to have been assimilated in the Lower Danube region, too.

The Romans’ growing interest in *Barbaricum* power insignia is illustrated more than convincingly by the gold bracelet with trumpet-shaped endings found at Vatin (Serbia); it was stamped with the imperial designation “D(ominus) N(oster) Constanti(us/nus?)”, while at the same time being inscribed with the bored name of a barbarian sovereign⁷⁷. The massive gold bracelets with trumpet-shaped endings found in the hoards of Lengrich (Ostfriesland) or Măcin/“Suluc” (Tulcea county) are also dated back to the 4th century⁷⁸, the latter being found on the territory of the Empire. This form was to acquire special importance in the precious metal decorations found in ceremonial graves of the 5th century (at Apahida I, Blucina, Tournai, etc.) and it stood out as one of the major symbols of political and military power adopted by the Germanic leaders (*principes, reges*)⁷⁹.

The five bracelets from Mălăieștii de Jos might represent the silver variant of a high rank indicative type, otherwise predominantly rendered by gold in 3rd century Central Europe. It is most likely that the craftsman and his partner were familiar with the symbolic repertoire specific to the Sackrau III – Ostrovany II group. In this interpretation, the Mălăieștii de Jos bracelets might well illustrate the earliest rank insignia of the migration age found as yet in the Lower Danube basin.

The particular significance of the Mălăieștii de Jos bracelets would not be satisfactorily clarified, however, if the traces of these old items’ battering were overlooked. The five ornamental items have not been fragmented, they bear no traces of impingement, yet all of them were unbent (to increase their span). The ancient straining produced deep cracks in items cat. nos. 80 and 83. As for the bracelet cat. nos. 80, its functionality has been irretrievably impaired: any attempt to bring the bracelet to its initial shape would cause its fragmentation. It is, consequently, worth asking if the bracelets were strained *only* for being introduced through the neck of the bronze jug. The five jewellery items might have been destined for

⁷¹ E.g. Maran 2000, p. 187, 193, fig. 1/7-10 (the Eneolithic hoard found at Alepotrypa); Hill *et alii* 2004 (the pre-Roman hoard found at Winchester, Hampshire, UK) and others.

⁷² Spânu 2012b, p. 57-60; Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, p. 57-69, 96-98; Popović 1996a, p. 146-148; Popović 1996b; Popilian 1998; Popović 2010a; Popović 2010b; Spânu 2016.

⁷³ Simonenko 2008, p. 14-15 and 31-32 (for the dating), p. 69, cat. no. 87, pl. 81/1; p. 79, cat. no. 118, pl. 132/14.

⁷⁴ Lund-Hansen 1998, p. 348-349; Prohászka 2006, p. 68.

⁷⁵ Werner 1980, p. 4-22, fig. 2; Prohászka 2006, p. 69, fig. 60; Quast 2013, p. 175-176, fig. 5.

⁷⁶ Quast 2013, p. 171-173, fig. 2.

⁷⁷ Quast 2013, p. 182-182, fig. 10.

⁷⁸ Hachmann 1978, p. 72, fig. 64; Oanță Marghita 2013, p. 444-446, no. 104.4.

⁷⁹ Harhoiu 1998, p. 84-85; Schmauder 2002, p. 89-100; Prohászka 2006, p. 68-69.

recycling (indicated by the German term *Hacksilber*)⁸⁰, and it is not at all an ungrounded hypothesis that they were handled by a silver craftsman.

THE PERFORATED DENARII PENDANT

In the current state of research, the riveting of three coins to form a single pendant is something unique. The mere perforation of coins appears relatively seldom in pre-Roman or provincial finds. It may be conjectured, however, that the examples of this kind (the case of the Vârtopești find, for instance)⁸¹, restricted in number, were perforated after they were found. The perforation of Roman coins followed by their riveting to a tin-sheet link or loop to fashion medallions is frequent, however, in Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov culture finds, for example in the medallion from grave 125 at Bogdănești-Fălciu, consisting of a *siliqua* coin minted by Constantius II (or being perhaps a barbarian replica?); another case is the denarius attached to a bronze loop found in grave 177 at Dăniceni⁸². The climax of the medallions with Roman emperors' effigies occurred later in richly ceremonial inventories corresponding to the early migrations age, for example the medallions found at Șimleul Silvaniei⁸³. The Mălăieștii de Jos pendant most likely represents one of the earliest manifestations of this preference, manifested in the *Barbaricum* zone, for integrating effigies of Roman emperors in official attire.

The joining of three coins into a single pendant might well illustrate one of the variants that predated the entrenched use of medallions with a *single* imperial effigy as ornaments. At the same time, the absence of interest in the imperial image is made palpable by the fact that Antoninus Pius's face is covered with the tablet riveted on the cat. no. 47 denarius. The poor skills of the craftsman are also indicated by the supplementary perforation of the cat. no. 48 denarius – a possible error, technically unjustified. These details might also be indicative of rather ineffective communication between the silent partner and the silver craftsman.

THE INGOTS

By contrast to the Roman silver ingots⁸⁴, the two bars included in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard bear no traces of stamped or punched inscriptions. For this reason, the production of the two bars in any official Roman workshop should be dismissed. Recorded as extremely rare items outside the Roman space, silver bars do appear in *Germania Libera* in the 3rd century AD, but they have not been attested so far in south-east European regions⁸⁵.

It is fair to presuppose the connection of the two bars to Roman weight and size standards. The weight of the cat. no. 77 bar (52 g) is close to that of a silver bar from the lot found at Xanten (54.67 g) and dated back to the 1st century AD⁸⁶, but it differs from the weight of an ingot-bar, also made of silver (39.1 g – *ca.* 1/8 of a Roman pound) dated back to the 2nd century and preserved in the regional museum of Hanover. What is striking, nevertheless, is the similar length of the Hanoverian bars and of the cat. no. 77 from Mălăieștii de Jos (8.8 cm as against 8.9 cm); these sizes approximately correspond to the $4\frac{3}{4}$ *digiti* value⁸⁷. The weight of the cat. no. 78 (74.66 g) bar is pretty close to that of the “London” and “Degussa” ingots (72.2 g, and 71.2 g, respectively) – which have been actually suspected of being fake modern copies⁸⁸.

⁸⁰ Munksgaard 1955; Stupperich 2006, p. 210-212.

⁸¹ Dumitrescu, Rădulescu 2013, p. 476, no. 113.57 and p. 478, no. 113.69.

⁸² Ioniță, Mămălăucă, Vornic 2009, p. 145, no. 218; Mămălăucă, Popușoi 2013, p. 566, no. 152; Ioniță, Mămălăucă, Vornic 2009, p. 11, no. 35; *cf.* Dima 2015, p. 41.

⁸³ Harhoiu 1993; Harhoiu 1998, p. 73-81.

⁸⁴ Baratte 1978; Curta 1990; Wiegels 2003; Wiegels 2015.

⁸⁵ Drescher 1976, p. 61.

⁸⁶ Zedelius 1989 lipseste de la bibliografie, p. 3-5.

⁸⁷ Cosack 1971, p. 124, pl. 1; Drescher 1976, p. 61.

⁸⁸ Wiegels 2015, p. 44.

The trapezoid cross-section of the Mălăieștii de Jos bars is due to casting each precious metal batch into open single valve matrices (ingot-moulds). The walls of these moulds were oblique to facilitate the ingot's extraction after the metal cooled down. By comparison to the "Hanoverian" bar or to the bars found at Snettisham⁸⁹, which were hammered into their square cross-section shape, the ones at Mălăieștii de Jos were processed no further after being cast. These two bars may be considered only half way silverwork products. The excess of zinc in the bars' material resembles the one determined for the fibula, but it is absent from the coins' alloy⁹⁰. It is, consequently, worth taking into account the hypothesis that the fibula and the two bars were produced from a common alloy produced by recycling some coins and adding zinc. The Mălăieștii de Jos ingots might illustrate the first stage in transforming the raw material into ornaments.

REMARKS ON THE WEIGHTS OF THE SILVER ITEMS

The jewellery artefacts in the hoard do not have comparable weights: their weight measurements have values differing significantly, in a constant manner (Fig. 6). The lightest item in the hoard is the fibula: 8.93 g. One question to ask is whether or not the two bars were destined for making massive bracelets. It may not be a matter of chance that the weights of the three bracelets are very close: they differ by less than 1 g (!) from the multiples of the fibula weight: $2 \times 8.93 \text{ g} = 17.86 \text{ g}$ (only 0.06 g more than cat. no. 80's weight: 17.80 g); $3 \times 8.93 \text{ g} = 26.79 \text{ g}$ (0.56 g less than cat. no. 82's weight: 27.35 g); $4 \times 8.93 \text{ g} = 35.72 \text{ g}$ (only 0.01 g more than cat. no. 81's weight: 35.71 g). Judging by the relative precision of weight assessments in Antiquity, all these differences are insignificant.

The values of the bracelet weights offer further coincidences: the weight of the bracelet with the cat. no. 79 (22.75 g) is very close to the average weights of the bracelets with the cat. nos. 80 and 82 ($45.15/2 = 22.57 \text{ g}$), and the weight of the most massive bracelet (the one with the cat. no. 83: 67.59 g) is very close to the sum of the "lightest" bracelets' weights (the ones with the Inv. Nos. 79, 80 and 82: 67.90 g). It is, consequently, possible to note a particular relationship in the weights of all the bracelets in the hoard, regardless of their coinciding, or failing to coincide, with the multiples of the fibula weight. The weights of the jewellery artefacts in the hoard appeared, therefore, as being related to each other, and the silver craftsman seems to have resorted to particular rules for measuring the raw material content. Either the weight of the fibula represented a reference module for the bracelets' weights, or the fibula itself represented the multiple of a weight standard used for reference when crafting all the other items. A question worth asking is whether this crafting rule was referred to the Roman weight system. Randomly or not, the bracelet with the cat. no. 82 weighs approximately as much as one Roman ounce (27-27.5 g), and the ingot with the cat. no. 77 weighs a little less than twice as much as one ounce, namely one *sextans*.

The band which used to fix the three coins of the pendant has not been preserved unimpaired. There are very tiny bits broken off the margins; some of them have stuck to the rivets in the denarius, others have got lost. Most probably, the initial weight of the band (its current weight being 2.56 g) ranged between the limits of the variation in weight of the intact denarii in the hoard (minimum: 2.06 g – cat. no. 40 and maximum: 3.59 g – cat. no. 60). Consequently, the initial weight of the pendant (12.06 g at present) might have been the equivalent of four denarii. The pendant, nevertheless, indicates the explicit intentionality of converting the coins into jewellery artefacts – and, implicitly, points to the possible link of the weights reported for the two categories of objects. It is not impossible for the imperial denarius to have served as the weight standard for the items in the hoard. Similarly, it may well not be something accidental that the weight of the fibula (8.93 g) is close to three times the average of all the coins preserved in their entirety: $2.87 \text{ g} \times 3 = 8.61 \text{ g}$ (a 0.32 g difference). At the same time, the heavier items in the hoard (*i.e.* the ingots and bracelet with the cat. no. 83) have weights comparable to the multiples and the proper fractions with the denominator 3 of the fibula weight (Fig. 6).

⁸⁹ Cosack 1971, p. 124; Potter 1986, p. 137-138; Johns 1997.

⁹⁰ See fig. 2 in Krause and Pernicka's contribution to the current volume.

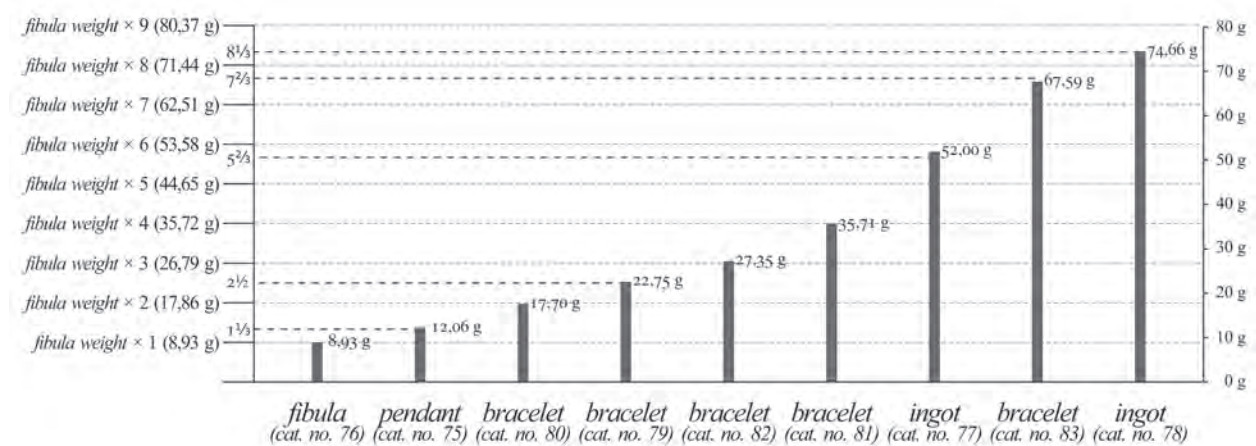


Fig. 6. Correspondence between multiples of weight of the fibula and the weights of other silver jewels form the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard. (D.S.)

The relations encountered among the weight values of the objects in the archaeological finds at Mălăieștii de Jos constitute solid arguments in favour of identifying them as a hoard deposited by a silver craftsman. Concomitantly, the possible use of the denarius as the weight module supports the hypothesis that the jewellery artefacts and ingots were crafted by recycling Roman coins. As was to be expected, the XRF tests did not provide sufficient proof in support of this hypothesis. Yet neither did they disprove it, on the other hand. The technological difficulties in processing argentiferous ore⁹¹, however, and the absence of such seams in the extra-Carpathian regions make the recycling of Roman coins the main method for acquiring the raw material needed in crafting *Barbaricum* jewellery artefacts⁹².

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HOARD STRUCTURE

The Mălăieștii de Jos stands out through its singularity. The structure of its coin lot (an association of 69 denarii and only 5 antoniniani) is outstanding for Wallachia in the second half of the 3rd century. This find adds up to the restricted number of hoards with jewellery artefacts unearthed in the area of the Sântana de Mureș - Černeachov culture, being the only one, so far, to contain silver ingots, too.

The hoard is indicative of a cultural context characterised by relatively standardized funerary rites, but also by precarious votive manifestations⁹³. The hoards found at Borsec, Valea Strâmbă and the vicinity of Sibiu belong to the second half of the 4th century⁹⁴. The only find which is relatively synchronous with the one at Mălăieștii de Jos is the Černivci (Cernăuți) hoard⁹⁵. All these hoards contain, either partially or exclusively, gold objects and they differ, therefore, fundamentally from the inventory found at Mălăieștii de Jos, which consists of silver pieces only.

The hoards mentioned are part of a cultural context with no majestic princely tombs, since, by comparison to the rest of the community, it had not yet singled out the leaders for being honoured by receiving a special funerary treatment. Under the circumstances, the recourse, albeit only in isolated cases, to votive depositions of power insignia may become perfectly justified⁹⁶. Even though such an interpretation would be plausible enough for the Černivci (Cernăuți) hoard, the structure of the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard brings to light a different expressive content.

⁹¹ Tylecote 1962, p. 82; Forbes 1971, p. 180-181, 239; Pernicka 1987, p. 640-642.

⁹² Werner 1961, p. 314; Bradley 1988; Hedeager 1992, p. 51; Blackburn 2007, p. 67.

⁹³ Petrescu 2002, p. 23.

⁹⁴ Horedt 1982, p. 160-162.

⁹⁵ Quast 2013, p. 173, fig. 2.

⁹⁶ Quast 2013, p. 175.

Apparently, the association of adornments might indicate a set of clothing accessories. What pleads against this semblance is the high number of bracelets, their different weights, and the presence of ingots. Judging by their weights, the bracelets in the hoard do not form pairs. Consequently, the Mălăieștii de Jos inventory does not reflect an association of individual power insignia, but a collection of objects not yet distributed to potential partners. Yet another thing worth noting is the relatively balanced quantitative relationship of the ornaments (192.19 g) and the coins (202.77 g). Since it consists exclusively of silver items, the hoard inventory does not, however, constitute a *mixtum compositum*, its interpretation as a prey or a random accumulation of precious objects being rejectable as erroneous. The structure of the inventory resembles the one of hoards with coins, finite and semi-finite silverwork items which have been interpreted and termed in the literature as silver craftsmans' hoards⁹⁷.

The items in the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard illustrate distinct technical modalities of converting coins into jewellery artefacts. The setting aside and selection of coins so as to take into consideration the silver quality are reflected through the uneven distribution of the numerous denarii with a high silver content, which date back to the period preceding the reign of Caracalla, and the small number of antoniniani made of debased silver, which belong to the period of the Empire's crisis⁹⁸. In its turn, the battering of the bracelets may be interpreted as one stage preceding their recycling. One other crafting option was to convert coins mechanically into a pendant by perforation and riveting. The melting of the raw material is indicated by the specific morphology of the ingots. Lastly, the fibula represents a finite item crafted, however, from an alloy similar to the one of the bars, the fibula and the bracelet cat. no. 82⁹⁹. All the silver crafting modalities and stages illustrated by the inventory from Mălăieștii de Jos could have been in the power of an itinerant silver craftsman.

The structure of the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard reflects two distinct stages in its formation. The core of the batch of coins in the hoard was constituted in a Roman world that predated Septimius Severus's reforms at the end of the 2nd century¹⁰⁰. It was most probably to this first stage that the addition of the jug to the monetary lot should be attributed. There can be noted a relative synchronization of the jug's analogies and the primary core of the coin lot (Fig. 2). Most of the Mălăieștii de Jos denarii and most of the jugs with human foot decorations are dated back to the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 3rd century. This means that, practically, the majority of the denarii and the cup represent early hoard deposits. The first stage in constituting the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard corresponds to the period of stability of the Roman rule north of the Danube; at the time, acculturation groups, for example the Poienești-Vârțișcoiu, Chilia-Militari¹⁰¹ were constituted in the vicinity of the Dacian province to emulate the values of Roman provincial culture. The antoniniani and jewellery artefacts form the later elements of the inventory. The end of the coin hoarding process and of the period when the adornments were created belong to a time when, in the extra-Carpathian regions and on the ruins of the former Dacian province, the dawn of the Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov culture became manifest.

Two hypotheses can be advanced regarding the way the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard was constituted.

(1) The initial core of the hoard might have imported in the *Barbaricum* zone at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd century, and the antoniniani and adornments were added at a later date. The implication of this hypothesis is, however, that it was possible to hand down the initial coin lot not only from one generation to the next, but also from one cultural context to the other. The initial coin lot could have represented a stipend to the local elites of Wallachia at the end of the 2nd/the beginning of the 3rd centuries and it was not buried during the profound transformations of the extra-Carpathian cultural mosaic inherent in the withdrawal from Roman Dacia. Most probably, the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard could, consequently, illustrate the contact between the descendants of the elites who received the stipend and the first Sântana de Mureș - Černjachov communities of Wallachia¹⁰².

⁹⁷ Cosack 1971; Potter 1986; Johns 1997.

⁹⁸ See fig. 1 in Krause and Pernicka's contribution to the current volume.

⁹⁹ See fig. 2 in Krause and Pernicka's contribution to the current volume.

¹⁰⁰ Bursche 1996, p. 123-125; Dima 2015, p. 42.

¹⁰¹ Spânu 2012a, p. 163, fig. 1.

¹⁰² Cf. Dima 2015, p. 41.

(2) In its entirety, the coin lot could have been formed in the Empire and it could penetrate in the *Barbaricum* zone in the second half of the 3rd century¹⁰³. The uniqueness of the hoard pleads, however, in favour of the incidental penetration of the coin lot in the *Barbaricum* zone. In this respect, we can invoke the exceptional presence in areas outside the Roman Empire of the bronze jugs with human foot decorated handle.

Irrespective of the mechanisms responsible for constituting the hoard, the coins were, eventually, at the disposal of the ornaments' author. His origin and identity remain enveloped in the mystery of the past: was he a Roman silver craftsman sent out into the *Barbaricum* zone on some kind of mission? Was he a hostage brought over from the Empire¹⁰⁴? Or else, was he a barbarian artisan? We have no arguments to support the coincidence of the pannonian origin of the jug and the origin of the Mălăieștii de Jos craftsman. At any rate, the work entrusted to the anonymous silver craftsman reveals itself to us as a "barbarian" one. Testimonies to this are to be found in the morphology of the ornaments, which is uncharacteristic for the Empire, but specific to the cultural milieu north of the *limes*. Probably, the hoard was constituted by a silver craftsman in the service of a Wallachian power centre whose milieu was familiar with the power symbols in the Central European region of the 3rd century. Being composed of a bronze jug and of coins brought over from the Empire, side by side with ornaments that reflected the preferences of the *Barbaricum* elites, the hoard reveals itself to us as a significant cultural landmark for the crossroads of the Principate in its nadir phase with the earliest migrations' world taking wing in the Lower Danube region in the last decades of the 3rd century.

CATALOG

THE COINS (PL. I-IV)

Vespasian

1. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.96 g; 17.1 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72696; RIC, II, p. 16, no. 10, Rome, AD 69-71; BMC, II, p. 4, no. 26, Rome, AD 69-70.
2. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.78 g; 16.4 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72697; RIC, II, p. 16, no. 15, Rome, AD 69-71; BMC, II, p. 6, no. 35, Rome, AD 69-70.
3. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.20 g; 17 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72698; RIC, II, p. 18, no. 30, Rome, AD 70-72; BMC, II, p. 9, no. 50, Rome, AD 70-71.
4. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.94 g; 15.7 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72699; RIC, II, p. 18, no. 30, Rome, AD 70-72; BMC, II, p. 9, no. 50, Rome, AD 70-71.
5. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.43 g; 17.2 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72700; RIC, II, p. 21, no. 65, Rome, AD 73; BMC, II, p. 19, no. 98, Rome, AD 73.
6. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.83 g; 17.7 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72701; RIC, II, p. 27, no. 110, Rome, AD 77-78; BMC, II, p. 39, no. 216, Rome, AD 77-78.
7. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.82 g; 19.1 × 20.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72702; RIC, II, p. 28, no. 124a, Rome, AD 75-79; BMC, II, p. 49, no. 276, Rome, AD 75-79.

Vespasian: Domitian Caesar

8. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.78 g; 17.4 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72703; RIC, II, p. 42, no. 239, Rome, AD 77-78 (COS V) or p. 43, no. 243, Rome, AD 79 (COS VI); BMC, II, p. 47, no. 265, Rome, AD 79 (COS VI).
9. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.95 g; 16.6 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-73704; RIC, II, -; BMC, II, - . RPC, II, p. 220, no. 1468, uncertain mint of Asia Minor, AD 76.

Titus: Domitian Caesar

10. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.84 g; 17 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72705; RIC, II, p. 121, no. 42, Rome, AD 80; BMC, II, p. 237, no. 83, Rome, AD 80.

¹⁰³ Cf. Găzdac 2008, p. 269.

¹⁰⁴ The second half of the 3rd century hostages included the Bithynian parents of Wulfila, who was to become later the Arian bishop and translator of the Bible into Gothic (Wolfram 1979, p. 53). We shall never be in a position to specify whether or not the agents who constituted the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard shared a similar destiny.

Trajan

11. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.89 g; 18 × 19.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72706; RIC, II, p. 245, no. 11, Rome, AD 98-99; BMC, III, p. 32, no. 9, Rome, AD 98-99.
12. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.04 g; 17.3 × 18.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72707; RIC, II, p. 258, no. 218, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 57, no. 179, Rome, AD 103-111.
13. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.41 g; 16.8 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72708; RIC, II, p. 252, no. 118, Rome, AD 103-111 (cf. Addenda, p. XIV); BMC, III, p. 71, no. 281, Rome, AD 103-111.
14. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.97 g; 17.1 × 18.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72709; RIC, II, p. 252, no. 119, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 72, no. 288, Rome, AD 103-111.
15. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.64 g; 17.9 × 19.5 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72710; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 127, Rome, AD 103-111, but bust of Trajan, laureate, draped, right; BMC, III, p. 75, no. 319, Rome, AD 103-111.
16. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.96 g; 17.9 × 18.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72711; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 130, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 75, no. 322, Rome, AD 103-111.
17. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.97 g; 17.3 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72712; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 128, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 76, no. 328, Rome, AD 103-111.
18. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.72 g; 16.2 × 18.3 mm; lack fragment; MJIAP inv. 34-72713; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 128, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 76, no. 328, Rome, AD 103-111.
19. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.77 g; 17.3 × 19.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72714; RIC, II, p. 253, no. 129, Rome, AD 103-111; BMC, III, p. 76, no. 337, Rome, AD 103-111.
20. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.25 g; 16 × 19.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72715; RIC, II, p. 268, no. 347, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 110, no. 549, Rome, AD 112-117.
21. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.66 g; 17.1 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72716; RIC, II, p. 269, no. 355, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 111, no. 559, Rome, AD 112-117.
22. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.00 g; 16.9 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72717; RIC, II, p. 267, no. 318, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 113, no. 578, Rome, AD 112-117.
23. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.03 g; 17.2 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72718; RIC, II, p. 268, no. 332, Rome, AD 114-117; BMC, III, p. 122, no. 626, Rome, AD 112-117.

Hadrian

24. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.93 g; 18 × 19.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72719; RIC, II, p. 345, no. 47, Rome, AD 118; BMC, III, p. 250, no. 88, Rome, AD 118.
25. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.05 g; 16.7 × 17.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72720; RIC, II, p. 345, no. 39b, Rome, AD 118 (COS II) or p. 354, no. 118, AD 119-122 (COS III); BMC, III, p. 247, no. 61, Rome, AD 118 (COS II) or p. 271, no. 260, AD 119-122 (COS III).
26. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.71 g; 16.3 × 18.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72721; RIC, II, p. 350, no. 80, Rome, AD 119-122; BMC, III, p. 260, no. 152, Rome, AD 119-122.
27. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.77 g; 17.9 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72722; RIC, II, p. 350, no. 86, Rome, AD 119-122. BMC, III, p. 262, no. 170, Rome, AD 119-122.
28. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.61 g; 17.4 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72723; RIC, II, p. 350, no. 86, Rome, AD 119-122. BMC, III, p. 262, no. 170, Rome, AD 119-122.
29. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.16 g; 18.3 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72724; RIC, II, p. 357, no. 141, Rome, AD 119-122; BMC, III, p. 280, no. 325, Rome, AD 119-122.
30. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.42 g; 17 × 18.3 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72725; RIC, II, p. 359, no. 154, Rome, AD 125-128, rev. Minerva holding spear pointing downwards; BMC, III, p. 284, no. 344 (note), Rome, AD 125-128.
31. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.63 g; 18.3 × 19 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72726; RIC, II, p. 362, no. 200, Rome, AD 125-128; BMC, III, p. 296, no. 457, Rome, AD 125-128.
32. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.69 g; 17.5 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72727; RIC, II, p. 362, no. 202, Rome, AD 125-128; BMC, III, p. 296, no. 463, Rome, AD 125-128.
33. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.87 g; 17.6 × 18.5 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72728; RIC, II, p. 380, no. 345, Rome, undated (cf. p. 317, AD 128-132 or posthumous issue), obv. head of Hadrian, laureate, right; BMC, III, p. 301, no. 497, Rome, AD 128-132.
34. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.15 g; 16.7 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72729; RIC, II, p. 367, no. 230, Rome, AD 134-138; BMC, III, p. 317, no. 595, Rome, AD 134-138.
35. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.16 g; 16.7 × 18.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72730; RIC, II, p. 368, no. 241A, Rome, AD 134-138; BMC, III, p. 320, no. 629, Rome, AD 134-138.
36. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.31 g; 15.8 × 17.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72731; RIC, II, p. 372, no. 282, Rome, AD 134-138. BMC, III, p. 335, no. 762, Rome, AD 134-138.

Hadrian: Sabina

37. Denarius; AR ⚔ 3.07 g; 16.2 × 17.5 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72732; RIC, II, p. 386, no. 395a, Rome, undated; BMC, III, p. 359, no. 940, Rome, undated.

Antoninus Pius

38. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.42 g; 16.2 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72733; RIC, III, p. 39, no. 111a, Rome, AD 143-144 (?); BMC, IV, p. 70, no. 495, Rome, AD 143-144 (?).
39. Denarius; AR ⚔ 2.93 g; 16.5 × 17.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72734; RIC, III, p. 39, no. 111c, Rome, AD 143-144 (?). BMC, IV, p. 70, no. 498, Rome, AD 143-144 (?).
40. Denarius; AR ⚔ 2.06 g; 17.1 × 17.8 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72735; RIC, III, p. 42, no. 127, Rome, AD 145-161; BMC, IV, p. 75, no. 512, Rome, AD 145-161.
41. Denarius; AR ⚔ 2.89 g; 17.1 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72736; RIC, III, -, cf. p. 46, Rome, AD 147-148; BMC, IV, p. 90, note *, Rome, AD 147-148.
42. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.41 g; 17.4 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72737; RIC, III, p. 48, no. 177, Rome, AD 148-149; BMC, IV, p. 94, no. 654, Rome, AD 148-149.
43. Denarius; AR ⚔ 3.22 g; 17 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72738; RIC, III, p. 48, no. 179, Rome, AD 148-149; BMC, IV, p. 96, no. 668, Rome, AD 148-149.
44. Denarius; AR ↘ 3.29 g; 18.3 × 18.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72739; RIC, III, p. 48, no. 181, Rome, AD 148-149; BMC, IV, p. 96, no. 670, Rome, AD 148-149.
45. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.19 g; 17 × 17.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72740; RIC, III, p. 49, no. 188, Rome, AD 149-150; BMC, IV, p. 102, no. 712, Rome, AD 149-150.
46. Denarius; AR ⚔ 2.90 g; 17.1 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72741; RIC, III, p. 52, no. 216^a (a), Rome, AD 151-152; BMC, IV, p. 108, no. 746, Rome, AD 151-152.
47. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.01 g; 16.3 × 17.8 mm; cut, fixed to a pendant; MJIAP inv. 34-72764; RIC, III, p. 53, no. 219, Rome, AD 152-153; BMC, IV, p. 114, no. 782, Rome, AD 152-153.
48. Denarius; AR ⚔ 3.31 g; 15.8 × 17.7 mm; fixed to a pendant; MJIAP inv. 34-72765; RIC, III, p. 61, no. 293(a) or p. 62, no. 294^b(a), Rome, AD 158-159. BMC, IV, p. 141, no. 951 or p. 142, no. 956, Rome, AD 158-159.

Antoninus Pius: Faustina I

49. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.10 g; 16.8 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72742; RIC, III, p. 68, no. 338, Rome, AD 139-141; BMC, IV, p. 23, no. 137, Rome, AD 139-140.

Antoninus Pius: Diva Faustina

50. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.85 g; 16.9 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72743; RIC, III, p. 73, no. 387, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 45, no. 305, Rome, AD 141 or immediately after.
51. Denarius; AR ⚔ 2.93 g; 16.2 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72744; RIC, III, p. 69, no. 343, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 52, no. 339, Rome, after AD 141.
52. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.59 g; 17.7 × 18.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72745; RIC, III, p. 70, no. 353, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 53, no. 343, Rome, after AD 141.
53. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.15 g; 16.6 × 17.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72746; RIC, III, p. 72, no. 374, Rome, after AD 141. BMC, IV, p. 63, no. 452, Rome, after AD 141.

Antoninus Pius: Marcus Aurelius

54. Denarius; AR ⚔ 3.10 g; 16.8 × 17.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72747; RIC, III, p. 82, no. 440(a), Rome, AD 147-148. BMC, IV, p. 93, no. 644, Rome, AD 147-148.
55. Denarius; AR ↑ 3.04 g; 15.6 × 16.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72748; RIC, III, p. 89, no. 475(a) note, Rome, AD 157-158. BMC, IV, p. 136, no. 919, Rome, AD 157-158.
56. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.82 g; 15.3 × 17 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72749; RIC, III, p. 89, no. 475(a) note, Rome, AD 157-158. BMC, IV, p. 136, no. 919, Rome, AD 157-158.

Marcus Aurelius

57. Denarius; AR ↑ 3.31 g; 16.6 × 17.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72750; RIC, III, p. 214, no. 5, Rome, AD 161, obv. head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right; BMC, IV, p. 386, no. 3, Rome, AD 161, obv. bust of Marcus Aurelius, draped and cuirassed, right.
58. Denarius; AR ↑ 3.14 g; 16.9 × 17.9 mm; fixed to a pendant; MJIAP inv. 34-72766; RIC, III, p. 218, no. 64, Rome, AD 162-163, obv. head of Marcus Aurelius, right; BMC, IV, p. 413, no. 215, Rome, AD 162-163.

59. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.86 g; 17.2 × 19.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72751; RIC, III, p. 229, no. 211, Rome, AD 169-170; BMC, IV, p. 457, no. 509, Rome, AD 169-170.
 60. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.59 g; 17.6 × 19.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72752; RIC, III, p. 237, no. 305, Rome, AD 174; BMC, IV, p. 471, no. 605, Rome, AD 173-174.

Marcus Aurelius: Faustina II

61. Denarius; AR ↑ 2.80 g; 17.5 × 18.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34- 34- 72753; RIC, III, p. 269, no. 677, Rome, undated; BMC, IV, p. 398, no. 91, Rome, AD 161-176.

Commodus

62. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.54 g; 17.1 × 18 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72754; RIC, III, p. 367, no. 7, Rome, AD 180; BMC, IV, p. 690, no. 8, Rome, AD 180.
 63. Denarius; AR ↘ 2.35 g; 16.6 × 17.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72755; RIC, III, p. 391, no. 224, Rome, AD 190-191; BMC, IV, p. 745, no. 305, Rome, AD 190-191.

Commodus: Crispina

64. Denarius; AR ↑ 2.89 g; 17.9 × 18.7 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72756; RIC, III, p. 399, no. 279, Rome, undated. BMC, IV, p. 693, no. 29, Rome, AD 180-183 (or later?).
 65. Denarius; AR ⚡ 2.19 g; 16.5 × 18.9 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72757; RIC, III, p. 399, no. 281, Rome, undated. BMC, IV, p. 694, no. 31, Rome, AD 180-183 (or later?).

Septimius Severus

66. Denarius; AR ↓ 2.33 g; 15.2 × 16.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72758; RIC, IV/1, p. 104, no. 112(a), Rome, AD 197-198; BMC, V, p. 60, no. 248, Rome, AD 197-198.

Septimius Severus: Caracalla

67. Denarius; AR ↓ 3.12 g; 17.1 × 18.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72759; RIC, IV/1, p. 215, no. 25(a), Rome, AD 198; BMC, V, p. 172, no. 109, Rome, AD 198.

Caracalla

68. Denarius; AR ⚡ 3.06 g; 18 × 19.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72760; RIC, IV/1, p. 258, no. 302, Rome, AD 213-217; BMC, V, p. 444, no. 70, Rome, AD 213-217.

Maximinus Thrax

69. Denarius; AR ↑ 2.38 g; 19.6 × 21.1 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72761; RIC, IV/2, p. 141, no. 19, Rome, AD 236-238; BMC, VI, p. 234, no. 144, Rome, AD 236-237.

Philip the Arab

70. Antoninianus; AR ↓ 4.03 g; 20.6 × 22.4 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72762; RIC, IV/3, p. 68, no. 3, Rome, AD 246.
 71. Antoninianus; AR ↓ 2.32 g; 20 × 21.3 mm; missing fragment; MJIAP inv. 34-72763; RIC, IV/3, p. 78, no. 84A, Antioch, undated.

Trajan Decius

72. Antoninianus; AR ↗ 3.01 g; 20 × 21.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72764; RIC, IV/3, p. 121, no. 11b, Rome, AD 249-251.

Valerian I

73. Antoninianus; AR ↑ 1.26 g; 18.8 × 20.2 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72765; RIC, V/1, p. 48, no. 127, Rome, AD 256-257.
 74. Antoninianus; AR ⚡ 2.47 g; 20.8 × 22.6 mm; MJIAP inv. 34-72766; RIC, V/1, p. 58, no. 271, Mediolanum, AD 257.

SILVER AND BRONZE ARTEFACTS

75. Pendant made of silver folded sheet with three coins fixed by rivets (Nos. 47, 48 and 58); total weight: 12.06 g (only the sheet: 2.56 g); length of the sheet (unbended): 5.4 cm; width in the bending area: 0.95 cm; original probable length of the pendant (with attached coins): 4 cm; original probable width (with attached coins): 4.2 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72767. Pl. VI/no. 75.

76. Fibula; length: 6.1 cm; thickness of the bow: 0.35/0.33 cm; maximum width of the foot: 0.7 cm; length of the pin: 5.4 cm; total weight: 8.93 g; MJIAP inv. 34-72768. Pl. VI/no. 76.
77. Silver ingot; weight: 52 g; length: 8.9 cm; maximum thickness: 1.2 cm; trapezoid section; MJIAP inv. 34-72775. Pl. VI/no. 77.
78. Silver ingot; weight: 74.66 g; length: 9 cm; maximum thickness: 1.8 cm; oval section; MJIAP inv. 34-72774. Pl. VI/no. 78.
79. Bracelet; weight: 22.75 g; the full length of the rod: 18.3 cm; extremities width: 0.5 cm; width of the rod: 0.2 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72770. Pl. VI/no. 79.
80. Bracelet; weight: 17.80 g; the full length of the rod: 19.8 cm; extremities width: 0.5/0.6 cm; width of the rod: 0.3 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-727669. Pl. VII/no. 80.
81. Bracelet; weight: 35.71 g; the full length of the rod: 19.2 cm; extremities width: 0.7 cm; width of the rod: 0.3 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72771. Pl. VII/no. 81.
82. Bracelet; weight: 27.35 g; the full length of the rod: 17.5 cm; extremities width: 0.8 cm; width of the rod: 0.45 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72772. Pl. VII/no. 82.
83. Bracelet; weight: 67.59 g; the full length of the rod: 18.2 cm; extremities width: 1.1 cm; width of the rod: 0.6 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72773. Pl. VII/no. 83.
84. Bronze jug; weight of the preserved fragments (including handle): 467 g; handle weight: 139 g; bottom diameter: 8.4 cm; maximum diameter of the body: 13.8 cm; reconstituted height: *ca.* 25 cm; lip diameter (reconstructed): *ca.* 9 cm; MJIAP inv. 34-72776. Pl. V.

APPENDIX 1. LIST OF JUGS WITH HUMAN FOOT DECORATED HANDLE¹⁰⁵

TASSINARI "WESTERN TYPE"/ TYPE I JUGS

Austria

1. Windischgarsten. Lit.: Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 61-63, fig. 1, pl. I/1-3.

Belgium

2. Jupille. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 5
 3. Tongeren. Lit.: Vanvinkenroye 1984, p. 215.
 4. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 9

Bosnia-Herzegovina

5. Ustikolina. Lit.: Paškvalin 1962, p. 141-151, pl. I/1-1a; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 30.

Bulgaria

6. Assenovtsi. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70, 73, fig. 9.
 7. Sadina. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70, 73, fig. 10-11.

France

8. Ain. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 2
 9. Beauregard-Jassens. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 1; Tassinari 1975, p. 68-69, no. 179, pl. XXXIV/179.
 10. Epagnette. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 19.
 11. Grand. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 7.
 12. Langres/Chaumont. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 17.
 13. Varois. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 8
 14. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 3
 15. Unknown place. Lit.: Boucher 1971, no. 276; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 12.
 16. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 20

Germany

17. Bad Cannstadt. Lit.: Tassinari p. 1973, 136-137, no. 22a; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 22.
 18. Bad Cannstadt. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 22b.
 19. Frankfurt-Heddernheim. Lit.: Tassinari 1975, p. 69; Deppert 1977, p. 12, 22; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 26.

¹⁰⁵ For the updating of this list, we would like to express our gratitude to Dr. Emma Durham (Reading), Prof. Dr. Lyudmil Vagalinski (Sofia), Daniel Călin Anton (München), Dr. José María Lagunas (Madrid), Dr. Josep Anton Remolà Vallverdú (Tarragona). We had not the possibility of consulting the work of Volsek 2003 in order to verify if the deposit discovered near the *villa rustica* of Kerpen-Blatzheim contains a jug with human foot decorated handle (*cf.* Heimberg 2006, p. 51, fig. 39 – unclear illustration).

20. Mainz. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 14.
 21. Ober Olm. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 23
 22. Unknown place. Lit.: Menzel 1966, p. 100, no. 248, pl. 73; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 4.

Hungary

23. Budapest. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 52-53, no. 2, fig. 3-4; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 87-88, no. 2, pl. IV.
 24. Budapest. Lit.: Nagy 1945, p. 525; Szabó 1981, p. 58-59, pl. 10. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 27.
 25. Igar. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 13; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. 13; pl. XIII; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 64, fig. 6.

Netherlands

26. Bitgum. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 6.
 27. Heerlen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 16.
 28. Millingen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 11.
 29. Nijmegen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 15.
 30. Nijmegen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 25.
 31. „Waal”. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 10.
 32. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 21.

United Kingdom

33. Corbridge. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 24.
 34. Hauxton. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. 18.

TASSINARI “ORIENTAL TYPE”/ TYPE II JUGS

Bulgaria

36. Ljulin. Lit.: Getov, Popov 1972, p. 44-45, fig. 6; Raev 1977, p. 621-622, 638, no. 45a, pl. 19/1; Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 69-70, fig. 1-4.
 36. Slokoštiča. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70.
 37. Unknown place. Lit.: Nenova-Merdjanova 1998, p. 70-71, fig. 5-8.
 38. Unknown place. Lit.: Radnóti 1957, p. 205, n. 325; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XIV.

France

39. Efig. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. I; Schnitzler 2011, p. 25, fig. 4a.

Germany

40. Wehringen. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. II; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. II.

Hungary

41. Dunaujváros/Dunapentele/ Intercisa. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. IX; Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 6, pl. 8/1. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 89, no. 6, pl. VIII.
 42. Nagytétény. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. IV.
 43. Pápasalomon (Veszprem). Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XI; Szabó 1981, p. 54, no. 4, 56-57, fig. 5/2 și 6; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 88-89, no. 4, pl. VI.
 44. Pécs/*Sopiana*. Lit.: Nagy 1945, p. 529, fig. 5; Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. VIII; Fülep 1977, p. 50, pl. 46; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 96, no. VIII.
 45. Szőny/*Brigetio*. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. III.
 46. Szőny/*Brigetio*. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. VII; Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 7, pl. 7/1 și 7/7; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 89, no. 7, pl. IX.
 47. Szőny/*Brigetio*. Lit.: Barkóczy 1968, p. 90-91, 94, pl. X/1-2; Szabó 1981, p. 59, pl. 9/1-2; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91, pl. XIV.
 48. Szőny/*Brigetio*. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 57-58, no. 8, pl. 7/2, 7/6; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 90, no. 8, pl. X, 96, no. XVII.
 49. Unknown place (“Somogy”). Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. X; Szabó 1981, p. 54, no. 3, fig. 5/1, 3-4; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 88, no. 3, pl. V.
 50. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XII.

Italy

51. Unknown place. Lit.: Fiumi 1977, fig. 137/right; Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 69, n. 35.

Romania

52. Mălăieștii de Jos. Lit.: the present publication.

Spain

53. Garcíez-Jimena (Jaén). Lit.: Pozo Rodríguez 2001, p. 176-177, pl. 3/5.

54. Tarragona. Lit.: Hernández, Arco 1894, p. 183-194; *Los Bronces*, p. 289, no. 238; Roig 2003, p. 88-90, cat. 1.3.

Syria

55. Zawieh. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. XIII.
56. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-137, no. V.

United Kingdom

57. Heybridge (Essex). Lit.: Fulford, Clark 2011, p. 114-116; Crummy 2006, p. 5, fig. 2.

HANDLES DECORATED WITH HUMAN FOOT (JUG MISSING/DESTROYED, UNCERTAIN TYPE)

Austria

58. Enns/*Lauriacum*. Lit.: Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 66, fig. 5; Sedlmayer 1999, p. 202, fig. 6/2.
59. Linz. Lit.: Ruprechtsberger 1985, p. 66, fig. 4; Sedlmayer 1999, p. 202, fig. 6/1.

Germany

60. Unknown place. Lit.: Tassinari 1973, p. 136-138, a, pl. XI/4.

Hungary

61. Dunaújváros/Dunapentele/*Intercisa*. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 57, no. 10, pl. 8/4. Szabó 1982-1983, p. 91, no. 10, pl. XII.
62. Unknown place. Lit.: Szabó 1981, p. 54, no. 5, 58, pl. 7/5; pl. 8/2; Szabó 1982-1983, p. 89, no. 5, pl. VII.

Romania

63. Muncelu de Sus. Lit.: Sanie, Sanie, Cojocaru 1980; Sanie 1981, p. 178-179, no. 22; Ungureanu 2001, p. 20, fig. 1-4; Popa 2015, p. 135.

United Kingdom

64. Silchester. Lit.: Crummy 2006, p. 4, fig. 1; Fulford, Clark 2011, p. 114-116, no. 65, figs. 37, 60.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Almgren 1923 – O. Almgren, *Studien über nordeuropäische Fibelformen der erste nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte mit Berücksichtigung der provinzialrömischen und sudrussischen Formen*, Leipzig, 1923.
Ambroz 1966 – A.K. Ambroz, *Fibuly juga evropejskoj časti SSSR II. v. do n. e. – I v. n. e.*, ArheologijaSSSR, D1-30, Moskva, 1966.
Apostol 2004 – M. Apostol, *Dicționar istoric al județului Prahova*, Ploiești, 2004.
Babeș 2000 – M. Babeș, *Poenеști*, in EAIVR, III, București, 2000, p. 337-340.
Babeș et alii 1980 – M. Babeș, N. Mirițoiu, M. Istrate, G. Coman, *Raport preliminar privind reluarea săpăturilor de la Poenеști – 1979*, ActaMM 2, 1980, p. 35-44.
Baratte 1978 – F. Baratte, *Lingots d'or et d'argent en rapport avec l'atelier de Sirmium*, in N. Duval, V. Popović (eds.), *Sirmium VIII. Études de numismatique danubienne. Trésors, lingots, imitations de fouille, IV^e au XII^e siècle*, Collection de l'école française de Rome, Rome – Belgrade, 1978, p. 101-109.
Barkóczy 1968 – L. Barkóczy, *Négy későrómai sír Brigetioból*, Komárom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 1, 1968, p. 75-105.
Berciu 1969 – D. Berciu, *Arta traco-getică*, București, 1969.
Bernhardt, Petrovsky 2006 – H. Bernhardt, R. Petrovsky, *Die Beutehorte aus dem Rhein. Eine Schlussbetrachtung*, in J. Stadler (ed.), *Geraubt und im Rhein versunken. Der Barbarenschatz*, Augsburg, 2006, p. 202-207.
Bichir 1973 – G. Bichir, *Cultura carpică*, București, 1973.
Bichir 1980 – G. Bichir, *Chronologie et datation de la Civilisation Militari-Chilia*, Dacia N.S. 24, 1980, p. 157-180.
Bichir 1984 – G. Bichir, *Geto-dacii din Muntenia în epocă romană*, București, 1984.
Bierbrauer 1992 – V. Bierbrauer, *Die Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: Siedelgebiete und Wanderbewegungen aufgrund archäologischer Quellen*, in E. Straume, E. Skar (eds.), *Peregrinatio Gothica III*, Oslo, 1992, p. 9-45.
Bierbrauer 1994 – V. Bierbrauer, *Archäologie und Geschichte den Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bilanz*, FrühMitAltSt 28, 1994, p. 51-71.
Bierbrauer 1999 – V. Bierbrauer, *Die ethnische Interpretation der Sîntana de Mures-Černjachov-Kultur*, in *Die Sîntana de Mures-Černjachov-Kultur. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Kaputh von 20. bis 24. Oktober 1995*, Bonn, 1999, p. 211-238.
Blackburn 2007 – M. Blackburn, *Gold in England during the "Age of Silver" (Eighth-Eleventh Centuries)*, in J. Graham-Campbell, G. Williams (eds.), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, Walnut Creek, 2007, p. 55-98.

- Bóna 1990 – I. Bóna, *Völkerwanderung und Frühmittelalter (271-895)*, in B. Köpeczi (ed.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Budapest, 1990, p. 62-106.
- Boucher 1971 – S. Boucher, *Vienne. Bronzes antiques*, Inventaire des collection publiques 17, Paris, 1971.
- Bogdan Cătănciu 1997 – I. Bogdan Cătănciu, *Muntenia în sistemul defensiv al Imperiului Roman, sec. I-III p. Chr.*, Alexandria, 1997.
- Bradley 1988 – R. Bradley, *Hoarding, Recycling and the Consumption of Prehistoric Metalwork: Technological Change in Western Europe*, *World Archaeology* 20, 1988, 2, p. 249-260.
- Bursche 1996 – A. Bursche, *Spätromische Münzfunde aus Mitteleuropa. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Rom und den Barbaricum im 3. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.*, in M.-R. Alföldy (ed.), *Later Roman-Barbarian Contacts in Central Europe. Numismatic Evidence*, Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 11, Berlin, 1996.
- Callu 1969 – J.-P. Callu, *La Politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 54, Paris, 1969.
- Chițescu, Popescu 1975 – M. Chițescu, E. Popescu, *Tezaurul monetar imperial de la Sîmburești (jud. Olt)*, SCN 6, 1975, p. 223-228.
- Cociș 2004 – S. Cociș, *Fibulele din Dacia romană / Brooches from Roman Dacia*, Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis 3, Cluj-Napoca, 2004.
- Cosack 1971 – E. Cosack, *Ein Gießerfund der Älteren römischen Kaiserzeit*, *Die Kunde* 22, 1971, p. 124-128.
- Crummy 2006 – N. Crummy, *A Jug Handle from Silchester*, *Lucerna* 32, 2006, p. 4-6.
- Curta 1990 – F. Curta, *Zu den chronologischen Problem de römischen Goldbarrenschätze aus Crasna (Kr. Covasna) und Feldioara (Kr. Brașov)*, *Dacia N.S.* 34, 1990, p. 269-284.
- Depeyrot 2006 – G. Depeyrot, *La monnaie romaine, 211 av. J.-C.-476 apr. J.-C.*, Paris, 2006.
- Depeyrot, Moisil 2008 – G. Depeyrot, D. Moisil, *Les trésors de deniers et d'antoniniens de Gordien III à Aurélien en Roumanie*, Collection Moneta 78, Wetteren, 2008.
- Deppert 1977 – K. Deppert, *Römisches Bronzegeschirr im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte zu Frankfurt am Main*, Bildhefte des Frankfurter Museums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 8, Frankfurt, 1977.
- Diaconu 1965 – Gh. Diaconu, *Tirgșor. Necropola din secolele III-IV e.n.*, București, 1965.
- Diaconu 1971 – Gh. Diaconu, *Über die Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuss in Dazien*, *Dacia N.S.* 15, 1971, p. 239-267.
- Diaconu 1983 – Gh. Diaconu, *Despre datarea culturii Sîntana-Cerneahov*, *SCIIVA* 34, 1983, 3, p. 235-242.
- Dima 1998-2003 – M. Dima, *Tezaurul de la Maia, jud. Ialomița*, BSNR 92-97, 1998-2003, 146-151, p. 383-386.
- Dima 2012 – M. Dima, *Aurei din timpul domniei lui Gordian al III-lea descoperiți pe limesul transalutan*, SCN S.N. 3 (15), 2012, p. 133-140.
- Dima 2015 – M. Dima, *Monedele Imperiului Roman timpuriu*, in A. Boldureanu, E. Nicolae (eds.), *Monedele în Republica Moldova*, Chișinău, 2015, p. 32-57.
- Dimitrov 1932-1933 – D.P. Dimitrov, *Mogilna grobna nahodka ot c. Straldža, Jambolsko*, *IzvestijaSofia* 7, 1932-1933, p. 368-393.
- Drescher 1976 – H. Drescher, s.v. *Barren*, in RGA, II, 1976, p. 60-70.
- Dumitrescu, Rădulescu 2013 – R.G. Dumitrescu, T. Rădulescu, *Tezaurul de la Vârtop, jud. Dolj*, in R. Oanță-Marghitu (ed.), *Aurul și argintul antic al României*, București, 2013, p. 464-478.
- Fiumi 1977 – E. Fiumi, *Das etruskische Museum und die Monumente der Antike*, Pisa, 1977.
- Forbes 1971 – R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Vol. 8, Leiden, 1971².
- Fülep 1977 – F. Fülep, *Roman cemeteries on the territory of Pécs (Sopianae)*, Budapest, 1977.
- Fulford, Clark 2011 – M. Fulford, A. Clark, *Silchester: City in Transition*, Britannia Monograph Series 25, London, 2011.
- Gaiu 2005 – C. Gaiu, *Un depozit de antichități romane de la Orheiu Bistriței*, *Marmația* 8, 2005, 1, p. 215-225.
- Găzdac 2008 – C. Găzdac, *Aspects of Coin Circulation in Roman Dacia*, in A. Bursche, R. Ciolek, R. Wolters (eds.), *Roman Coins outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Contexts and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop, Radziwiłł Palace, Nieborów (Poland), 3-6 september 2005*, Warsaw, 2008, p. 269-294.
- Găzdac 2010 – C. Găzdac, *Monetary Circulation in Dacia and the Provinces from the Middle and Lower Danube from Trajan to Constantine I (AD 106-337)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010².
- Getov, Popov 1972 – L. Getov, J. Popov, *Grobni nahodki ot Jambolsko*, *ArhSofia* 14, 1972, 3, p. 42-52.
- Godłowski 1970 – K. Godłowski, *The Chronology of the Late Roman and Early Migration Periods in Central Europe*, Kraków, 1970.
- Godłowski 1992 – K. Godłowski, *Die Przeworsk-Kultur*, in G. Neumann, H. Seemann (eds.), *Beiträge zum Verständnis des Tacitus II. Bericht über die Kolloquien der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Nord- und Mitteleuropas im Jahre 1986 und 1987*, Göttingen, 1992, p. 10-90.
- Hachmann 1978 – R. Hachmann, *Die Germanen*, München, 1978.

- Harhoiu 1993 – R. Harhoiu, *Die Medallione aus dem Schatzfund von Șimleul Silvaniei*, Dacia N.S. 37, 1993, p. 221-236.
- Harhoiu 1998 – R. Harhoiu, *Die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien*, Bukarest, 1998.
- Harhoiu 2014 – R. Harhoiu, *Ein Gräberfeld des 4. Jahrhunderts in Schässburg - Weinberg (Dealul Viilor), Fundstelle „Gräberfeld“ (Graberfeld 2)*, in S. Cociș (ed.), *Archäologische Beiträge. Gedenkschrift zum hundersten Geburtstag von Kurt Horedt*, Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 153-206.
- Hedeager 1992 – L. Hedeager, *Iron-Age Societies. From Tribe to State in Northern Europe. 500 BC to AD 700*, Oxford – Cambridge, 1992.
- Heimberg 2006 – U. Heimberg, *Germaneneinfälle des 3. Jahrhunderts in Niedergermanien*, in J. Stadler (ed.), *Geraubt und im Rhein versunken. Der Barbarenschatz*, Augsburg, 2006, p. 44-51.
- Hernández, Arco 1894 – B. Hernández y Sanahuja, A. del Arco y Molinero, *Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico de Tarragona*, Tarragona, 1894.
- Hill et alii 2004 – J.D. Hill, A.J. Spence, S. La Niece, S. Worrell, *The Winchester Hoard: A Find of Unique Iron Age Gold Jewellery from Southern England*, *The Antiquaries Journal* 84, 2004, p. 1-22.
- Horedt 1982 – K. Horedt, *Siebenburgen in spätromischer Zeit*, Bukarest, 1982.
- I Daci – ****, *I Daci. Mostra della civiltà daco-getica in epoca classica* (exhibition catalog), Roma, 1979.
- Ioniță 1982 – I. Ioniță, *Din istoria și civilizația dacilor liberi. Dacii în spațiul est-carpatic în secolele II-IV e.n.*, Iași, 1982.
- Ioniță 1992 – I. Ioniță, *Die Fibeln mit umgeschlagenem Fuss in der Sântana de Mureș-Černjachow Kultur*, in E. Straume, E. Skar (eds.), *Peregrinatio Gothica III*, Oslo, 1992, p. 77-102.
- Ioniță, Mamalaucă, Vornic 2009 – I. Ioniță, M. Mamalaucă, V. Vornic, *Antichitatea târzie în bazinul Prutului*, Bârlad, 2009.
- Isac, Cociș 1995 – D. Isac, S. Cociș, *Fibule din castrele romane de la Gilău și Cășeu. O analiză în context stratigrafic*, *EphemNap* 5, 1995, p. 103-138.
- Isvoranu 2015 – T. Isvoranu, *Monedele Imperiului Roman târziu (294-498 p. Chr.)*, in A. Boldureanu, E. Nicolae (eds.), *Moneda în Republica Moldova*, Chișinău, 2015, p. 58-71.
- Johns 1997 – C. Johns, *The Snetisham Jeweller's Hoard*, London, 1997.
- Jobst 1975 – K. Jobst, *Die römischen Fibeln aus Lauriacum*, Linz, 1975.
- Los Bronces – ****, *Los Bronces romanos de España* (exhibition catalog), Madrid, 1990.
- Lund-Hansen 1998 – U. Lund-Hansen, s.v. *Goldring*, in RGA, XII, 1998, p. 345-361.
- Maran 2000 – J. Maran, *Das ägäische Chalkolithikum und das erste Silber in Europa*, in C. Ișik (ed.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens und des ägäischen Bereiches. Festschrift für Baki Ögün zum 75. Geburtstag*, Asia Minor Studien 39, Bonn, 2000, p. 179-193.
- Menzel 1966 – H. Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland, Band II - Trier*, München, 1966.
- Mirițoiu, Popa 2015 – N. Mirițoiu, A. Popa, *Particularități ale ritului funerar din necropola Sântana de Mureș – Černjachov de la Poieniști – Dealul Teilor*, *ActaMT* 11, 2015, p. 121-146.
- Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1980 – V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *La Monnaie romaine chez les Daces orientaux*, Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Monographies 23, București, 1980.
- Mititelu 1957 – I. Mititelu, *Două tezaure de monede imperiale romane găsite la Gura Ialomiței*, *SCN* 1, 1957, p. 133-148.
- Mitrea 1960 – B. Mitrea, *Découvertes récentes de monnaies anciennes sur le territoire de la République Populaire Roumanie*, Dacia N.S. 4, 1960, p. 587-592.
- Mitrea 1968 – B. Mitrea, *Cu privire la tezaurul monetar roman de la Săpata de Jos și prăbușirea limesului transalutan*, *SCN* 4, 1968, 197-205.
- Mitrea 1971 – B. Mitrea, *Découvertes récentes et plus anciennes de monnaies antiques et byzantines en Roumanie*, Dacia N.S. 15, 1971, p. 395-413.
- Mitrea 1980 – B. Mitrea, *Découvertes monétaires en Roumanie - 1980 (XXIV)*, Dacia N.S. 25, 1981, p. 381-390.
- Mitrea, Constantinescu 1978 – B. Mitrea, Gh. Constantinescu, *Notă despre un tezaur de monede romane imperiale din secolul al III-lea descoperit în Moldova de Jos*, *Carpica* 10, 1978, p. 185-192.
- Mitrea, Preda 1966 – B. Mitrea, C. Preda, *Necropolele din secolul al IV-lea din Muntenia*, București, 1966.
- Mitrea, Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1986-1991 – I. Mitrea, V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Din nou despre tezaurul de la Sîmburești (jud. Olt)*, *BSNR* 80-85, 1986-1991 (1992), 134-139, p. 75-87.
- Morintz 1961 – S. Morintz, *Săpăturile de la Chilia*, *MCA* 7, 1961, p. 441-448.
- Munksgaard 1955 – E. Munksgaard, *Late-Antique Scrap Silver Found in Denmark. The Hardenberg, Høstentorp and Simmersted Hoards*, *ActaArchCop* 26, 1955, p. 31-67.
- Munteanu, Boțan, Apostu 2015 – L. Munteanu, S.-P. Boțan, A.-E. Apostu, *Some Roman coin finds from Southern Moldavia*, *SAA* 21, 2015, 1, p. 37-68.

- Nagy 1945 – T. Nagy, *A gellérthegyi bronzkorsó*, Budapest Régiségei 14, 1945, p. 525-533.
- Negru 2000 – M. Negru, *Așezarea din secolul al III-lea p. Chr.*, in M. Negru, C.F. Schuster, D. Moise, *Militari - Câmpul Boja. Un sit arheologic pe teritoriul Bucureștilor*, București, 2000, p. 57-152.
- Nenova-Merdjanova 1998 – R. Nenova-Merdjanova, *The bronze jugs decorated with a human foot from the Roman provinces Moesia and Thracia*, ArchBulg 2, 1998, 3, p. 68-76.
- Niculescu 1993 – Gh.A. Niculescu, *The cremation graves from the cemetery of Tîrgșor (third-fourth centuries AD)*, Dacia N.S. 37, 1993, p. 197-220.
- Niculescu 2003 – Gh.A. Niculescu, *Die sarmatische Kultur im Zusammenhang der kaiserzeitlichen archäologischen Funde aus Muntenien – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Funde von Tîrgșor*, in C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Kontakt - Kooperation - Konflikt: Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgesichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998*, Wachholtz, 2003, p. 177-203.
- Oanță Marghitu 2013 – R. Oanță Marghitu (ed.), *Aurul și argintul antic al României*, București, 2013.
- Palade 2004 – V. Palade, *Așezarea și necropola de la Bârlad – Valea Seacă (sfârșitul sec. al III-lea - a doua jumătate a secolului al V-lea)*, București, 2004.
- Paškvalin 1962 – V. Paškvalin, *Antičko bronzano posuđe i nakit i Ustikoline*, Glasnik Sarajeva 17, 1962, p. 141-151.
- Pernicka 1987 – E. Pernicka, *Erzlagerstätten in der Ägäis und ihre Ausbeutung im Altertum: Geochemische Untersuchungen zur Herkunftsbestimmung archäologischer Metallobjekte*, JRGZM 34, 1987, p. 607-714.
- Petculescu, Băltăc, Bălan 2004 – L. Petculescu, A. Băltăc, G. Bălan (eds.), *Antiques Bronzes in Romania, Exhibition Catalogue*, București, 2003.
- Petolescu 1972 – C.C. Petolescu, *Probleme ale circulației monetare romane în Muntenia în secolele II-III e.n.*, Apulum 10, 1972, p. 191-207.
- Petrescu 2002 – F. Petrescu, *Repertoriul monumentelor arheologice de tip Sântana de Mureș-Cerneahov de pe teritoriul României*, București, 2002.
- Popa 2015 – A. Popa, *Untersuchungen zu den römisch-barbarischen Kontakten östlich der römischen Provinz Dacia*, Antiquitas. Reihe 3, Band 47, Bonn, 2015.
- Popa, Ciobanu 2003 – A. Popa, L. Ciobanu, *Moneda romană în Basarabia*, Chișinău, 2003.
- Popilian 1998 – G. Popilian, *Câteva considerații cu privire la tezaurul de la Vârtopeștii Dolj*, AO 13, 1998, p. 43-70.
- Popović 1996a – I. Popović, *Les bijoux romains du Musée National de Beograd*, Belgrade, 1996.
- Popović 1996b – I. Popović, *Certain Traits of the Roman Silver Jewellery Manufacture in the Central Balkans*, Starinar 47, 1996, p. 139-154.
- Popović 2010a – I. Popović, *Gold and Silver Jewelry from Central Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Histria Antiqua 19, 2010, p. 55-64.
- Popović 2010b – I. Popović, *Silver Jewelry of Autochthonous Style from South and South-East Parts of the Roman Province Dalmatia*, Starinar 60, 2010, p. 95-110.
- Potter 1986 – T. Potter, *A Roman Jeweller's Hoard from Snettisham*, Antiquity 60, 1986, 229, p. 137-139, pl. XII-XIII.
- Pozo Rodríguez 2001 – S.F. Pozo Rodríguez, *Un nuevo documento para el Corpus de la vajilla metálica de la Baetica: jarro bronceño romano de boca tri-lobulada procedente de la comarca de Priego (Córdoba)*, Antiquitas 13, 2001, p. 175-181.
- Prohászka 2006 – P. Prohászka, *Das vandalische Königsgrab von Ostrópataka (Ostrovany, Sk)*, Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae 3, Budapest, 2006.
- Quast 2013 – D. Quast, *Ein kleinen Goldhort der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit aus Černivci (ehem. Czernowitz/Cernăuți) in der westlichen Ukraine nebst einigen Anmerkungen zu goldenen Kolbenarmringen*, in M. Hardt, O. Heinrich-Tamáška (eds.), *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum, Tengelic 16. – 19.11.2011*, Weinstadt, 2013, p. 171-186.
- Radnóti 1938 – A. Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien*, DissPann II/6, Budapest, 1938.
- Radnóti 1957 – A. Radnóti, *Gebrauchgegenstände und Gegenstände aus Bronze*, in *Intercisa II (Dunapentele) Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit*, ArchHung 36, Budapest, 1957, p. 225-240.
- Raev 1977 – B.A. Raev, *Die bronzegefäße der römischen Kaiserzeit in Thrakien und Moesien*, BerRGK 58, 1977, p. 607-643.
- Roig 2003 – J.F. Roig, *Els vasos de bronze del pou Cartanyà. Un aixovar sacre de l'antiga Tarraco*, Revista d'arqueologia de Ponent 13, 2003 (2004), p. 83-124.
- Rosetti 1934 – D.V. Rosetti, *Siedlungen der Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit bei Bukarest*, Germania 18, 1934, p. 206-213.

- Ruseva-Slokoska 1991 – L. Ruseva-Slokoska, *Roman Jewelry. A collection of the National Archaeological Museum – Sofia*, London, 1991.
- Ruprechtsberger 1985 – E.M. Ruprechtsberger, *Eine Bronzekanne aus Windischgarsten*, Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines Gesellschaft für Landeskunde 130, 1985, p. 61-70.
- Sanie 1981 – S. Sanie, *Civilizația romană la est de Carpați și romanitatea pe teritoriul Moldovei. Secolele II î.e.n. – III e.n.*, Iași, 1981.
- Sanie, Sanie, Cojocaru 1980 – Ș. Sanie, S. Sanie, M. Cojocaru, *Tezaurul de la Muncelul de Sud și unele probleme ale circulației monetare romane în Moldova*, CercIst 11, 1980, p. 249-268.
- Schmauder 2002 – M. Schmauder, *Oberschichtgräber und Verwahrfunde in Südosteuropa im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert. Zum Verhältnis zwischen dem spätantiken Reich und der barbarischen Oberschicht aufgrund der archäologischen Quellen*, Archaeologia Romanica 3, Bukarest, 2002.
- Schnitzler 2011 – B. Schnitzler, *Aux origines de la vigne et du vin dans les vallées du Rhin et de la Moselle de l'époque celtique à la fin de la période romaine*, Révue d'Alsace 137, 2011, p. 13-32.
- Sedlmayer 1999 – H. Sedlmayer, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße in Noricum*, Monographies Instrumentum 10, Montagnac, 1999.
- Simonenko 2008 – A.V. Simonenko, *Römische Importe in sarmatischen Denkmälern des nordlichen Schwarzmeergebietes*, in A. Simonenko, I. Marčenko, N.J. Limberis, *Römische Importe in sarmatischen und maiotischen Gräbern zwischen Unteren Donau und Koban*, Archäologie in Eurasien 25, Mainz, 2008, p. 3-264.
- Spânu 2012a – D. Spânu, *Zur Transformation der Bestattungssitten östlich der Karpaten im Kontext der römischen Eroberung Dakiens*, PZ 87, 2012, p. 161-188.
- Spânu 2012b – D. Spânu, *Tezaurile dacice. Creația în metale prețioase din Dacia preromană*, București, 2012.
- Spânu 2016 – D. Spânu, *Pe urmele tezaurului de epocă romană de la Ațel. Scurtă contribuție la studiul fibulelor-ancoră din Dacia romană*, SCIVA 66, 2016, 3-4, p. 235-263.
- Stadler 2006 – J. Stadler (ed.), *Geraubt und im Rhein versunken. Der Barbarenschatz*, Augsburg, 2006.
- Stupperich 2006 – R. Stupperich, *Zerhacktes Silber – Beuteteilung unter den Germanen*, in J. Stadler (ed.), *Geraubt und im Rhein versunken. Der Barbarenschatz*, Augsburg, 2006, p. 210-212.
- Szabó 1981 – K. Szabó, *Emberi lábfejjel díszített fülű bronzkorsók pannoniából*, ArchÉrt 108, 1981, p. 52-64.
- Szabó 1982-1983 – K. Szabó, *Pots à anse en bronze ornée d'un pied humain, provenant de Pannonie*, Antiquités Nationales 14-15, 1982-1983 (1985), p. 86-96.
- Ștefănescu-Onițiu 2008 – A. Ștefănescu-Onițiu, *Vasele de bronz din Dacia romană. Între import și producție locală*, in D. Benea (ed.), *Studii privind istoria economică a Daciei Romane (II)*, BHAUT 9, Timișoara, 2008, p. 214-228.
- Tassinari 1973 – S. Tassinari, *Étude de vaisselle de bronze romaine et gallo-romaine : les pots avec une anse dont l'attache inférieure figure un pied humain*, in P.M. Duval (ed.), *Recherches d'archéologie celtique et gallo-romaine*, Hautes Études du monde gréco-romain 5, Paris – Genève, 1973, p. 127-140.
- Tassinari 1975 – S. Tassinari, *La vaisselle de bronze romaine et provinciale au Musée des Antiquités Nationales*, Paris, 1975.
- Teegen 1999 – W.-R. Teegen, *Studien zu dem kaiserzeitlichen Quellopferrfund von Bad Pyrmont*, Ergänzungsbände zum RGA 20, Berlin – New York, 1999.
- Tudorică 2007 – M. Tudorică, *Notă asupra tezaurului de la Dărăști-Ilfov, jud. Ilfov*, in *Simpozion de Numismatică organizat cu ocazia comemorării Sfântului Ștefan cel Mare, domn al Moldovei (1504-2004), Chișinău, 29 septembrie – 2 octombrie 2004, Comunicări, studii și note*, București, 2007, p. 145-148.
- Tylecote 1962 – R.F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology: a Prehistory of Metallurgy in the British Isles*, London, 1962.
- Ungureanu 2001 – C. Ungureanu, *Muncelul de Sus*, in V.M. Butnariu (ed.), *Monnaies et parures du Musée d'Histoire de la Moldavie de Iași*, CNM II/3, Iași, 2001, p. 10-20.
- Vagi 1999 – D.L. Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire c. 82 B.C. - AD 480, I*, History, Chicago – London, 1999.
- Vanvinkenroye 1984 – W. Vanvinkenroye, *De romeinse zuidwest-begraafplaats van Tongeren*, Tongeren, 1984.
- Volsek 2003 – J. Volsek, *Zwei spätantike Hortfunde von Vettweiß-Froitzheim und Kerpen-Blatzheim* (Magisterhausarbeit), Bonn, 2003.
- Vulpe 1953 – R. Vulpe, *Săpăturile de la Poienești din 1949*, MCA 1, 1953, p. 214-506.
- Werner 1961 – J. Werner, *Fernhandel und Naturalwirtschaft im östlichen Merowingereich nach archäologischen und numismatischen Zeugnissen*, BerRGK 42, 1961 (1962), p. 307-346.
- Werner 1980 – J. Werner, *Der goldene Armring des Frankenkönigs Childerich und die germanischen Handgelenkringe der jüngeren Kaiserzeit*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 14, 1980, p. 1-49.

- Werner 1988 – J. Werner, *Dancený und Brangstrup. Untersuchungen zur Cernjachov-Kultur zwischen Sereth und Dneestr und zu den ‚Reichtumszentren‘ auf Fünen*, BJB 188, 1988, p. 241-286.
- Wiegels 2003 – R. Wiegels, *Silberbarren der römischen Kaiserzeit. Katalog und Versuch einer Deutung*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Ersten Jahrtausend 7, Rahden/Westf., 2003.
- Wiegels 2015 – R. Wiegels, *Zwei gestempelte Silberbarren und ein spätantiker Goldbarren aus Crasna*, Frankfurter elektronische Rundschau zur Altertumskunde 27, 2015, p. 43-49.
- Wolfram 1979 – H. Wolfram, *Geschichte der Goten: von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*, München, 1979.
- Zedelius 1989 – V. Zedelius, *Der Hildesheimer Silberschatz. Herkunft und Bestimmungsort*, Alt-Hildesheim 60, 1989, p. 3-10.
- Zgîbea 1963 – M. Zgîbea, *Fibulele din sec. III și VI e.n. descoperite în săpăturile arheologice de la Militari*, CAB 1, 1963, p. 373-380.
- Zirra, Cazimir 1963 – V. Zirra, G. Cazimir, *Unele rezultate ale săpăturilor arheologice de pe Câmpul lui Boja din cartierul Militari*, CAB 1, 1963, p. 49-71.



Pl. I. Roman coins from Mălăiești de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



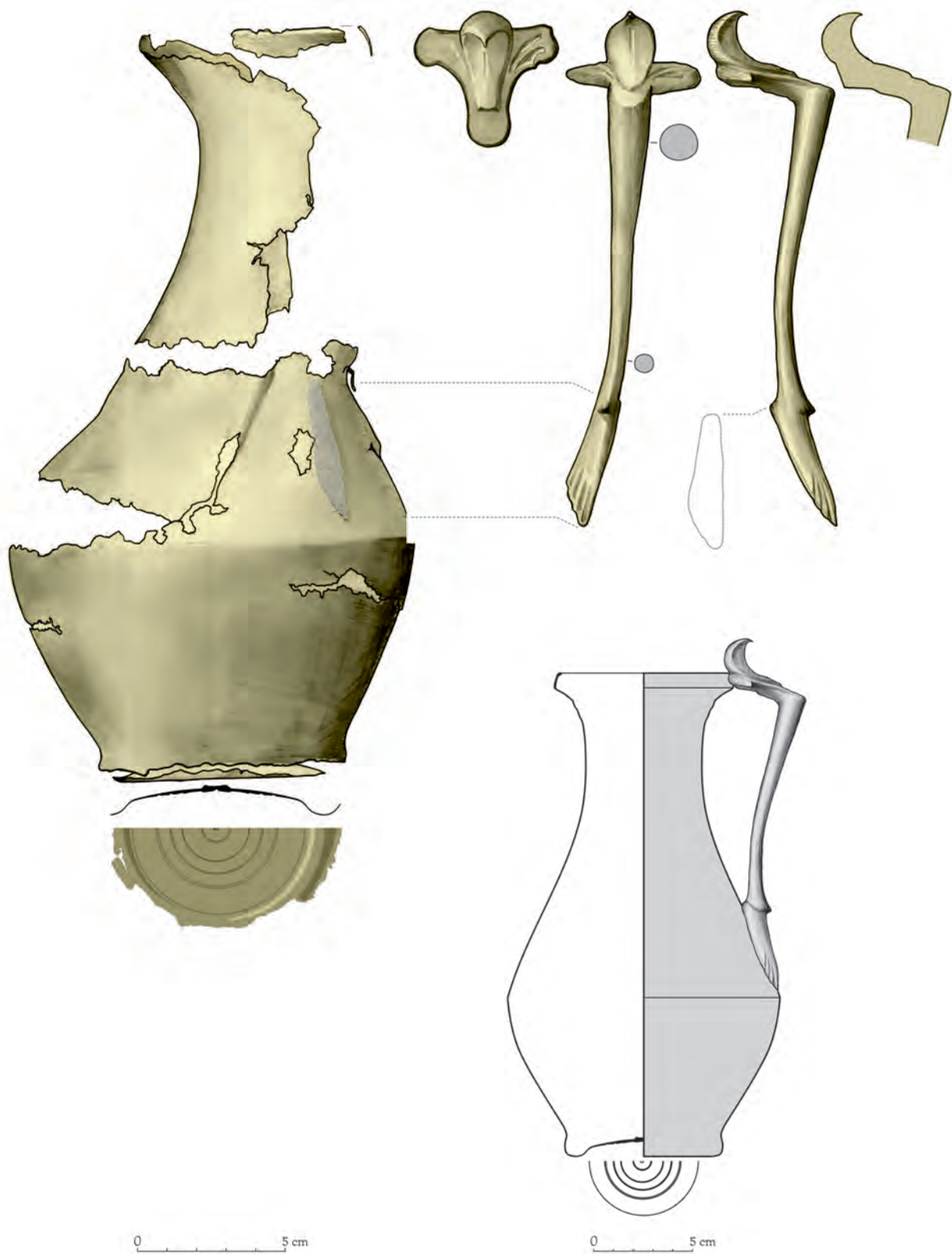
Pl. II. Roman coins from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



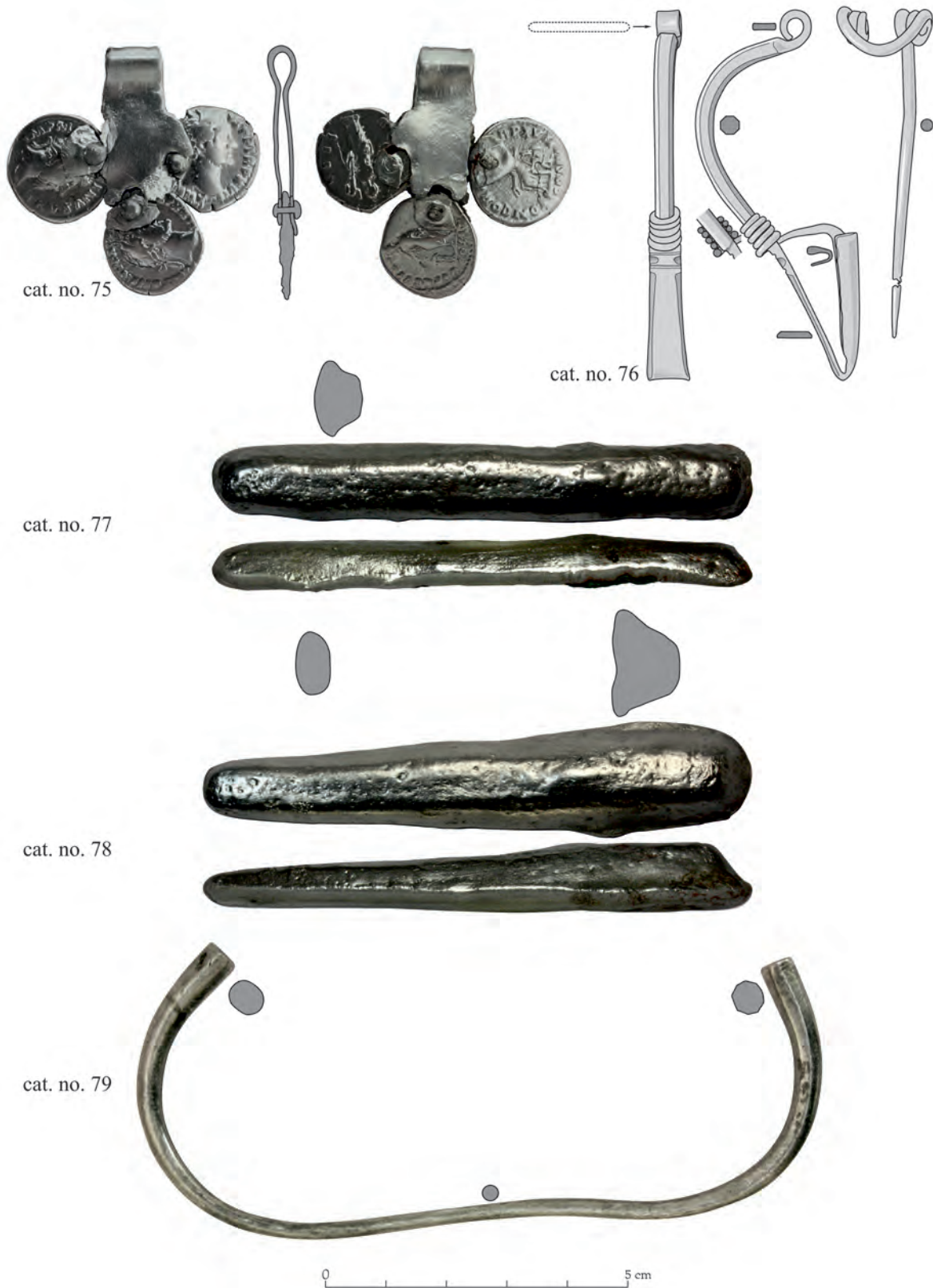
Pl. III. Roman coins from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



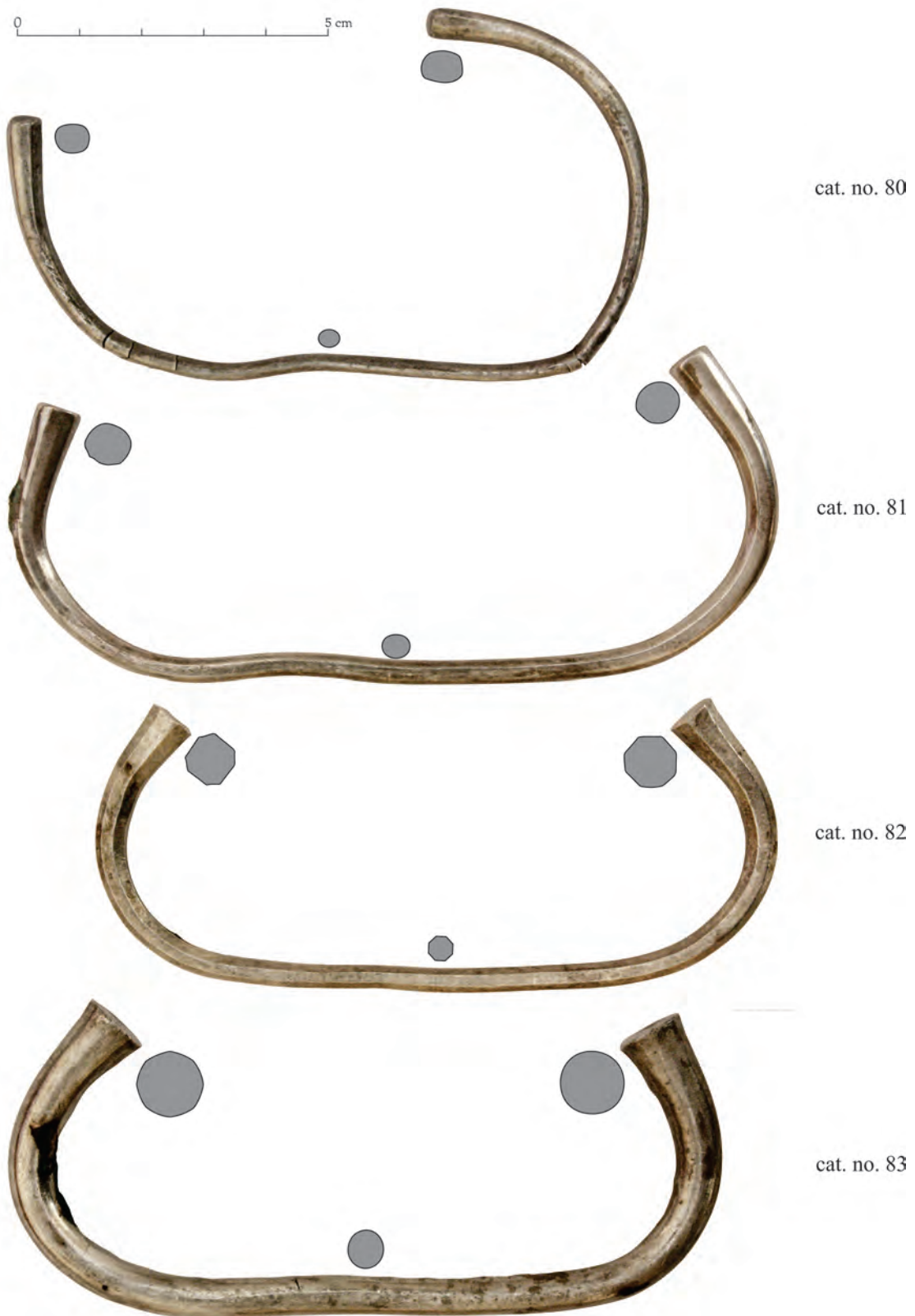
Pl. IV. Roman coins from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard; scale 1/1.



Pl. V. The bronze jug (cat. no. 84) in its actual state (up) and graphical reconstruction of its initial shape (down).



Pl. VI. Pendant, fibula, ingots and bracelet from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard.



Pl. VII. Bracelets from Mălăieștii de Jos hoard.

CHEMICAL ANALYSES ON ROMAN COINS AND SILVER OBJECTS FROM THE MĂLĂIEȘTII DE JOS HOARD, ROMANIA

STEFFEN KRAUS*, ERNST PERNICKA**

Keywords: XRF-analyses, silver, tin, zinc, copper

Abstract: The results of the analyses on the silver coins confirm the existing knowledge about the compositional changes of coinage during the first three centuries AD. Especially with the beginning of the second half of the 3rd century, more copper was added to the silver coinage. The tin contents in the coins of Philippus Arabs, Traianus Decius and Valerianus I show that the addition of copper was in form of tin bronze. The silver of the jewellery and the ingots was alloyed with zinc. The reasons of this addition are not clear. Also still unclear is the provenance of the silver. Lead isotope analysis is not suitable in this case, because the lead isotope signatures of the objects are by necessity a mixture of the lead in the silver and in the copper. Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that some metal was remelted and mixed which would erase any information on provenance.

Cuvinte-cheie: analize XRF (fluorescență de raze X), argint, staniu, zinc, cupru

Rezumat. Rezultatele analizelor efectuate asupra monedelor din argint confirmă cunoștințele deja existente despre schimbările compoziționale ale monetăriei romane din primele trei secole p. Chr. Un adaos semnificativ de cupru este caracteristic pentru monetăria romană de după începutul celei de a doua jumătăți a secolului al III-lea p. Chr. În monedele emise de Filip Arabul, Traian Decius și Valerianus I se poate recunoaște adăugarea în aliaj a unui bronz compus din cupru și staniu. Argintul din podoabe și din lingouri prezintă un adaos semnificativ de zinc. Motivele acestui adaos nu pot fi precizate. Tot neclară rămâne și originea metalului prețios. Analiza izotopilor de plumb nu este indicată în acest caz. Prin reciclare și prin aliajul mai multor metale, orice informație despre proveniența materiei prime este compromisă.

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of the chemical analyses on various silver objects from the hoard of Mălăieștii de Jos, Romania, which is currently preserved in the Museum of Ploiești. In total, 15 Roman coins, five bracelets, two ingots and one fibula were analysed as well as the bronze vessel, in which the hoard was found (see Table 1, where the sample numbers correspond to the catalogue numbers in the previous contribution of Spânu, Dima and Frînculeasa from the current volume). The aim of the study was to prove whether the silver objects (ingots and jewellery) and the coins are related based on their chemical composition. The question is whether the gold and silver smiths used only remelted Roman coins for the production of silver objects or used silver produced from local mines (*e.g.* Transylvania).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The chemical compositions of the objects were determined on drilled samples using an energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometer (ED-XRF) type ARL Quant'X from Thermo Scientific at the

* Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main; r.krause@em.uni-frankfurt.de.

** Curt-Engelhorn-Zentrum Archäometrie GmbH, Mannheim; ernst.pernicka@cez-archaeometrie.de.

Lab no.	Sample no.	Object	Method of Analysis
MA-153873	Mal 2	Coin, Vespasian	ED-XRF
MA-153874	Mal 12	Coin, Trajan	ED-XRF
MA-153875	Mal 24	Coin, Hadrian	ED-XRF
MA-153876	Mal 37	Coin, Hadrian: Sabina	ED-XRF
MA-153877	Mal 40	Coin, Antonius Pius	ED-XRF
MA-153878	Mal 49	Coin, Antonius Pius Faustina I	ED-XRF
MA-153879	Mal 51	Coin, Antonius Pius: Diva Faustina	ED-XRF
MA-153880	Mal 54	Coin, Antonius Pius: Marc Aurel	ED-XRF
MA-153881	Mal 59	Coin, Marc Aurel	ED-XRF
MA-153882	Mal 61	Coin, Marc Aurel: Faustina II	ED-XRF
MA-153884	Mal 65	Coin, Commodus: Crispina	ED-XRF
MA-153885	Mal 67	Coin, Septimius Severus: Caracalla	ED-XRF
MA-153886	Mal 71	Coin, Philippus Arabs	ED-XRF
MA-153887	Mal 72	Coin, Traianus Decius	ED-XRF
MA-153888	Mal 73	Coin, Valerianus I	ED-XRF
MA-153891	Mal 76a	Fibula, body	ED-XRF
MA-153892	Mal 76b	Fibula, pin	ED-XRF
MA-153893	Mal 77	Ingot	ED-XRF
MA-153894	Mal 78	Ingot	ED-XRF
MA-153895	Mal 79	Bracelet	ED-XRF
MA-153896	Mal 80	Bracelet	ED-XRF
MA-153897	Mal 81	Bracelet	ED-XRF
MA-153898	Mal 82	Bracelet	ED-XRF
MA-153899	Mal 83	Bracelet	ED-XRF
MA-153901	Mal 84a	Vessel, corpus	ED-XRF
MA-153902	Mal 84b	Vessel, handle	ED-XRF

Table 1. Analysed objects and methods applied.

Curt-Engelhorn-Centre for Archaeometry GmbH, Mannheim, Germany. This device uses a rhodium X-ray tube to excite the elements of the material. As a consequence, the excited atoms in the irradiated material emit electromagnetic radiation in the range of X-rays. This secondary X-ray fluorescence radiation (XRF) is highly specific for the elements present and is therefore used for element identification. By measuring samples with known compositions (reference materials) determination of elemental concentrations is possible. The analyses were performed with an energy-dispersive device after a slightly modified procedure described by Lutz and Pernicka¹.

RESULTS

The composition of the coins and silver objects

The results of the chemical analyses of the coins and silver objects are summarized in Table 2. All investigated samples contain the common alloy components copper (Cu), lead (Pb) and gold (Au). The jewellery and the ingots as well as some coins also contain zinc (Zn), tin (Sn) and bismuth (Bi). For all investigated objects copper is the major alloying element. While most coins contain content from 8 to 24% copper, the three latest coins contain more than 30% (Fig. 1). The copper contents of the jewellery objects and the two ingots range between 31 and 56% except for one bracelet (sample Mal 81) which contains “only” 12.8% copper. The lead content varies from 0.5 to 3.5% in all analysed objects indicating cupelled

¹ Lutz, Pernicka 1996.

Lab no.	Sample no.	Ag	Ni	Cu	Zn	Cd	Sn	Sb	Au	Hg	Pb	Bi
MA-153873	Mal 2	91	n.d.	8.2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.47	n.d.	0.46	0.05
MA-153874	Mal 12	81	n.d.	18.4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.06	n.d.	0.66	0.03
MA-153875	Mal 24	88	n.d.	10.9	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.31	n.d.	1.03	0.09
MA-153876	Mal 37	84	n.d.	13.7	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.08	n.d.	1.39	0.40
MA-153877	Mal 40	86	n.d.	11.8	0.44	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.15	n.d.	0.94	0.18
MA-153878	Mal 49	88	n.d.	10.5	0.45	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.07	n.d.	0.57	0.09
MA-153879	Mal 51	87	n.d.	10.5	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.06	0.19	n.d.	1.95	0.24
MA-153880	Mal 54	79	0.02	18.6	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.04	0.27	n.d.	1.42	0.36
MA-153881	Mal 59	76	0.08	19.5	1.00	n.d.	n.d.	0.22	0.83	n.d.	2.03	n.d.
MA-153883	Mal 62	81	n.d.	16.2	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.06	0.18	n.d.	2.05	0.50
MA-153884	Mal 65	88	n.d.	9.9	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.09	0.66	n.d.	0.74	0.19
MA-153885	Mal 67	50	0.01	48	0.18	n.d.	0.15	0.07	0.57	n.d.	0.71	0.11
MA-153886	Mal 71	63	n.d.	33	1.28	n.d.	1.26	n.d.	0.21	n.d.	1.46	n.d.
MA-153887	Mal 72	70	n.d.	24	0.27	n.d.	1.67	0.08	0.51	n.d.	3.68	0.11
MA-153888	Mal 73	40	n.d.	54	n.d.	n.d.	4.5	0.03	0.27	n.d.	1.56	n.d.
MA-153891	Mal 76a	48	0.08	44	4.93	n.d.	0.19	0.03	1.10	n.d.	1.29	0.06
MA-153892	Mal 76b	35	0.05	56	6.60	n.d.	0.54	0.05	0.48	n.d.	1.09	0.04
MA-153893	Mal 77	51	0.03	40	7.32	n.d.	0.23	0.03	0.47	n.d.	0.67	0.04
MA-153894	Mal 78	54	n.d.	39	5.61	n.d.	0.22	0.02	0.68	n.d.	0.75	0.05
MA-153895	Mal 79	61	0.01	33	3.19	n.d.	0.64	0.02	0.39	n.d.	1.33	0.10
MA-153896	Mal 80	64	n.d.	33	0.94	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.44	n.d.	0.70	0.17
MA-153897	Mal 81	85	n.d.	12.8	0.89	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.71	n.d.	0.76	0.17
MA-153898	Mal 82	47	n.d.	47	4.53	n.d.	0.33	0.02	0.58	n.d.	0.91	0.09
MA-153899	Mal 83	63	n.d.	31	2.32	n.d.	0.62	0.03	0.67	n.d.	2.65	0.13

Table 2. Chemical composition of the analysed coins and silver objects, measured with ED-XRF. All values are given in mass percent. Elements with “n.d.” were below detection limits.

silver. It is noteworthy that only the later coins contain up to 4.5% tin while the earlier coins do not contain tin. The tin content of the jewellery and ingots averages around 0.4%. Zinc frequently occurs in jewellery and ingots up to 7.3%.

According to the silver/copper ratios of the coins (Fig. 1) a significant deterioration in the quality of the coinage can be observed, which is in accordance with published knowledge about the decrease of the

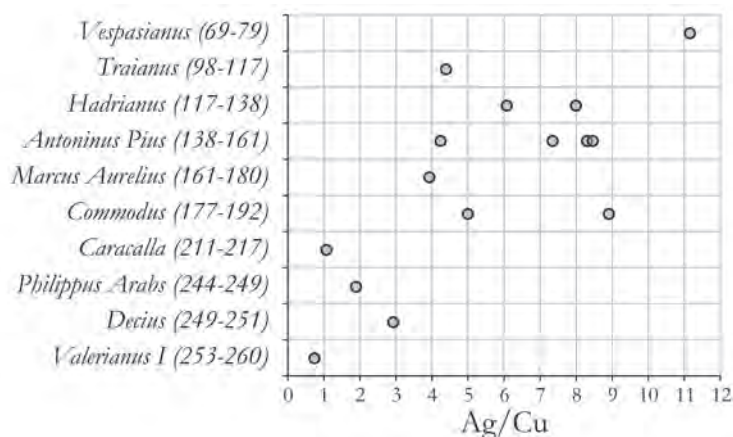


Fig. 1. Silver/copper ratios in the analysed coins compared with the respective Roman emperor (with their years of reign)

silver content over time in Roman coinage². The high concentrations of tin in the later coins suggest an addition of tin bronze which may have been deliberate, because the resulting alloy is described as more ductile and resistant to tarnishing³.

The bivariate diagram of copper vs. zinc shows that zinc always occurs in jewellery and ingots in combination with a relatively high copper content (Fig. 2), which in turn allows inferences about the manufacturing technique. Following the corresponding phase diagram copper lowers the smelting point of silver⁴. Additions of up to 10% copper lead to alloys that can be deformed in the hot state without affecting the silvery colour of the metal. However, the investigated silver objects contain more copper which, on the one hand, lowers the melting point of the silver but, on the other hand, results in a yellowish colour.

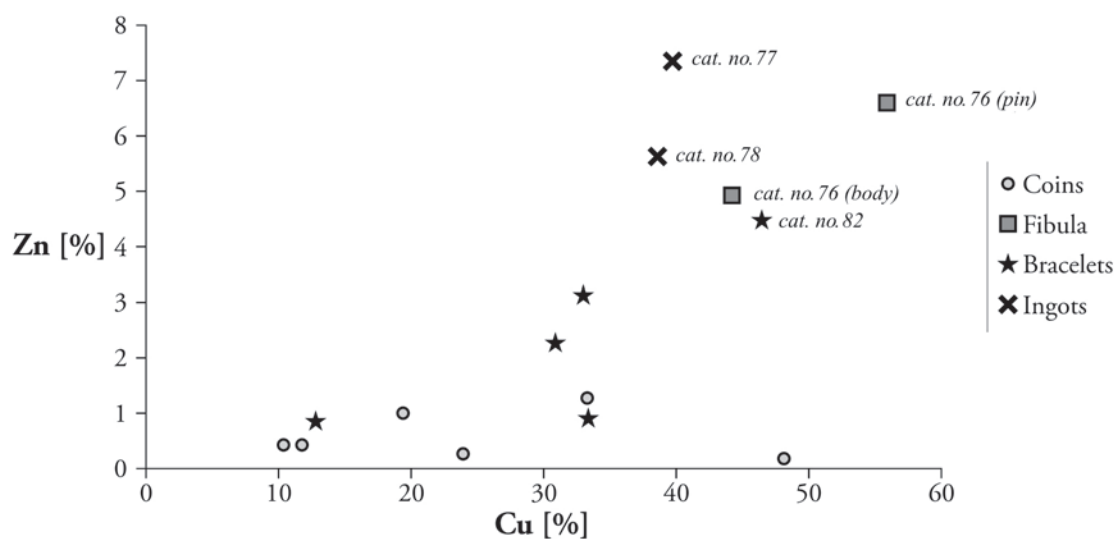


Fig. 2. Bivariate diagram of copper vs. zinc. Most jewellery objects as well as the ingots show significant higher concentrations of copper and zinc than the analysed coins.

The addition of zinc counteracts this colouring effect and additionally improves the properties of the melt⁵. It further lowers the melting point and acts as deoxidant preventing the formation of copper oxide during casting, which makes the alloy brittle. Such alloys are described as resistant to tarnishing and pliable. According to the zinc/copper ratios of the analysed silver objects their chemical composition suggests that brass was added to produce the alloy. It is, however, impossible to decide on the basis of the available data whether the silver used derives from remelted silver coins or was freshly produced.

The composition of the bronze vessel

The results of the chemical analyses of the bronze vessel using ED-XRF are given in Table 3. The corpus of the vessel contains 7% tin, which corresponds to the composition of a low tin bronze. Such tin bronzes are softer and more ductile than the optimal composition of tin bronzes with 10 to 15% of tin. In contrast, the handle was made of a leaded bronze, which suggests that the handle was separately cast.

² E.g. Klockenkämper, Hasler 1978, p. 350.

³ Brepohl 1992, p. 53.

⁴ Tafel, Wagenmann 1951, p. 85, fig. 55.

⁵ Brepohl 1992, p. 54; Moesta, Franke 1995, p. 154.

Labor-Nr.	Original-Nr.	Cu	Mn	Fe	Co	Ni	Zn	As	Se	Ag
MA-153901	Mal 84a	92	< 0.01	0.15	0.02	0.06	< 0.1	0.10	0.01	0.055
MA-153902	Mal 84b	71	< 0.01	0.48	0.01	0.02	0.3	< 0.01	< 0.01	0.036
Labor-Nr.	Original-Nr.	Cd	Sn	Sb	Te	Pb	Bi			
MA-153901	Mal 84a	< 0.005	7.0	0.156	< 0.005	0.33	< 0.01			
MA-153902	Mal 84b	< 0.005	5.0	0.096	< 0.005	22.6	< 0.01			

Table 3. Quantitative composition of the bronze vessel and the handle determined by ED-XRF. All values are given in mass percent. Values preceded by “<” are below detection limits.

CONCLUSION

The results of the analyses on the silver coins confirm the existing knowledge about the compositional changes of coinage during the first three centuries AD. Especially with the beginning of the second half of the 2nd century, more copper was added to the silver coinage. The tin contents in the coins of Philippus Arabs, Traianus Decius and Valerianus I show that the addition of copper was in form of tin bronze. The silver of the jewellery and the ingots was alloyed with brass, maybe because the zinc ensures the silvery colour of the metal. The question whether the used silver comes from remelted silver coins or was freshly produced could not be answered. Still unclear is also the provenance of the silver. Lead isotope analysis is not suitable in this case, because the lead isotope signatures of the objects are by necessity a mixture of the lead in the silver and in the copper. Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that some metal was remelted and mixed which would erase any information on provenance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brepohl 1992 – E. Brepohl, *Theorie und Praxis des Goldschmieds*, 12. Auflage, Leipzig – Köln, 1992.
- Klockenkämper, Hasler 1978 – R. Klockenkämper, K. Hasler, *Zur Leistungsfähigkeit der energiedispersiven Röntgenspektroanalyse: Multielementanalyse von römischen Silbermünzen*, *Fresenius Zeitschrift für Analytische Chemie* 289, 1978, p. 346-352.
- Lutz, Pernicka 1996 – J. Lutz, E. Pernicka, *Energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence analysis of ancient copper alloys. Empirical values for precision and accuracy*, *Archaeometry* 38, 1996, 2, p. 313-323.
- Moesta, Franke 1995 – H. Moesta, P.R. Franke, *Antike Metallurgie und Münzprägung: Ein Beitrag zur Technikgeschichte*, Basel – Boston – Berlin, 1995.
- Tafel, Wagenmann 1951 – V. Tafel, K. Wagenmann, *Lehrbuch der Metallhüttenkunde*, Band I: *Gold, Silber, Platinmetalle, Kupfer, Quecksilber, Wismut*, Leipzig, 1951.

CUI BONO? THOUGHTS ABOUT A “RECONSIDERATION” OF THE TĂRTĂRIA TABLETS

ATTILA LÁSZLÓ*

Keywords: Nicolae Vlassa, Vladimir Miložčić, Tărtăria, pictographic clay tablets, forgery accusation, Neolithic, Vinča-Turdaş/Tordos culture

Abstract: This paper discusses the article published by the assyriologist Erika Qasim in vol. 58 (2013) of the prestigious journal of ancient studies *Das Altertum* in Berlin. In her article, the author accuses the Romanian archaeologist Nicolae Vlassa (1934-1984) that, more than fifty years before, in complicity with Professor Vladimir Miložčić (1918-1978) from the Heidelberg University, had falsified the pictographic clay tablets discovered in 1961 at Tărtăria (Transylvania) and published in 1963 in the journal of archaeology and ancient history *Dacia* in Bucharest. In spite of the complexity of the issue and the seriousness of the assertions, the superficial documentation of the article is surprising. Its author treats a very delicate matter lightly, without consulting the literature compiled over decades and, consequently, without knowing the state of the research and of the discussions on the controversial issue of the Tărtăria tablets. The serious charges of falsification are not supported by any factual argument, and all the less so by a possibly direct (re)examination of the tablets. The insinuations are built on mere bookish speculations, devised at the writing table, and – we may regretfully add – are inspired by a bad faith which is difficult to understand. By overview of discussions and of results of the researches, as well as of some laboratory investigations carried out in the last half century on the Tărtăria tablets, it results that (despite some uncertainties related to the conditions of discovery due to the lacunar documentation of the excavation and to the incomplete publication of the discoveries) the anciency of the tablets, their prehistoric character, their belonging to the category of artefacts related to the system of signs and symbols of the Neolithic Vinča-Turdaş/Tordos culture cannot be disputed. In this respect, apart from the older, macroscopic observations, the newer, microscopic investigations of the surface of the tablets are decisive. These attest, among others, to the existence of traces of soil inside the outlines of several signs incised on the tablets, which is an indisputable proof of the fact that the tablets had lain underground for a long time before their discovery.

Cuvinte-cheie: Nicolae Vlassa, Vladimir Miložčić, Tărtăria, tăblițe de lut pictografice, acuzație de falsificare, neolitic, cultura Vinča-Turdaş

Rezumat: Prezenta lucrare discută articolul publicat de asirologul Erika Qasim în vol. 58 (2013) al revistei *Das Altertum* din Berlin. În articolul său, autoarea îl acuză pe arheologul român Nicolae Vlassa (1934-1984) că, în urmă cu mai bine de cincizeci de ani, în complicitate cu profesorul Vladimir Miložčić (1918-1978) de la Universitatea din Heidelberg, ar fi falsificat tăblițele de lut cu semne pictografice descoperite în 1961 la Tărtăria (Transilvania) și publicate în 1963 în revista *Dacia* de la București. Față de complexitatea problemei și gravitatea afirmațiilor, surprinde documentația superficială a articolului, al cărui autoare abordează cu ușurință o problemă foarte delicată, fără a consulta literatura de specialitate acumulată în cursul deceniilor și, în consecință, fără a cunoaște stadiul cercetărilor și discuțiilor cu privire la problematica controversată a tăblițelor de la Tărtăria. Gravele acuzații de falsificare nu sunt susținute de nici un argument factual și cu atât mai puțin de o eventuală (re)examinare directă a tăblițelor. Insinuirile sunt construite pe simple speculații livești, născocite la birou, și – adăugăm cu regret – sunt inspirate de o rea credință greu de înțeles. Rezultă din parcurgerea discuțiilor și a rezultatelor cercetărilor, inclusiv din investigațiile de laborator, efectuate în ultima jumătate de veac asupra tăblițelor de la Tărtăria că (în ciuda unor incertitudini privind condițiile de descoperire, datorate documentației lacunare a săpăturii și a publicării incomplete a descoperirilor) vechimea tăblițelor, caracterul lor preistoric, apartenența lor la categoria artefactelor legate de sistemul de semne și simboluri

* Professor emeritus, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași; arch_atticus@yahoo.com.

al culturii Vinča-Turdaş nu poate fi contestat. Pe lângă observațiile mai vechi, macroscopice, sunt hotărâtoare, în acest sens, investigațiile mai noi, microscopice, care atestă, printre altele, existența urmelor de pământ în interiorul conturului unor semne incizate de pe tăblițe, dovadă incontestabilă a zacerii îndelungate în pământ a tăblițelor înainte de descoperirea lor.

Half a century after the publication of the pictographic clay tablets, discovered by Nicolae Vlassa at Tărtăria in 1961¹, when the once heated controversies about them seemed to have been forgotten already, the Assyriologist Erika Qasim suggests a “reconsideration” (Neubewertung) of these archaeological findings, without disclosing what or who determined her to reopen the debates on this topic². In the introductory part of her study, E. Qasim makes a short presentation of the history of the archaeological research at Tărtăria: the location of the site, Professor Kurt Horedt’s older researches (1942-1943) and the results of Nicolae Vlassa’s archaeological excavations of 1961, which revealed, among other things, the much debated tablets. Some inaccuracies that we detected in this introduction made us believe that the author drafted her paper after a hasty documentation. For instance, we draw the attention to the fact that the complete name of the recognized archaeologist and former professor at the University of Cluj, K. Horedt, is Otto Kurt (and not Carl von) Horedt; at Tărtăria, he excavated trenches A-F (and not only C-F) in 1942-1943, whereas Vlassa excavated trenches G-H (and not only G) in 1961; layer I, Turdaş (-Vinča), containing the “ritual pit” with the tablets was not overlapped by a Proto-Tisza (“Proto-Theiss”) cultural layer, but by a layer which Vlassa called Turdaş-Petreşti, taking into consideration the occurrence there of the first elements of the painted pottery belonging to the Petreşti culture, also called the Central Transylvanian or Western Romanian painted pottery (mittelsiebenbürgische/westrumänische bemalte Keramik); according to the author’s knowledge at the time, that layer also included “imported” items of the Bükk, Boian and Cucuteni A2 cultures³. As concerns the tablets, it is argued that, according to Vlassa 1963, they were discovered in a pit of the Vinča culture (phase A or B1), together with human bones and different small objects (Kleinfunde), and dated to *circa* 2600 BC, based on the parallels drawn between the Tărtăria tablets and the clay tablets of the Early Dynastic I period in Mesopotamia. In fact, considering the generally accepted dating of the Uruk-Warka IV and Djemdet Nasr periods, as well as the time required for the circulation of such objects, Vlassa suggested a dating ranging between 2900 and 2700 BC. The date 2600 is suggested only as the possible date for the *end* of the Tărtăria layer I, if we were to choose a lower chronology of the Mesopotamian periods mentioned above⁴. Through this data manipulation, E. Qasim probably wished to highlight, somehow forcibly, the low chronology envisaged by Vlassa. E. Qasim then mentions that, two years later, in 1965, the renowned archaeologist Vladimir Milojević relied on Vlassa’s photographs and drawings and enlarged on the importance of the Tărtăria tablets for the South-Eastern European Neolithic, as they proved the assumption related to the short chronology of the Balkan Neolithic, assumption which the Heidelberg professor unfailingly supported⁵. In the next sentence, it is stated that the two publications, that is Vlassa’s and Milojević’s papers, did not raise any special interest (“...erregten kein Aufsehen”) and, to the best of E. Qasim’s knowledge, it was only two years later that Sinclair Hood noticed that the shape of the tablets did not exactly fully match the shape of the Djemdet Nasr tablets⁶. It is inexplicable why E. Qasim fails to mention the fact that the same issue of the journal *Germania* that published Professor Milojević’s paper also contained a study by the prestigious Assyriologist Adam Falkenstein, where the author re-examined Vlassa’s conclusions, compared the signs on

¹ Vlassa 1963.

² Qasim 2013.

³ See Vlassa 1963, p. 486 and fig. 1: Tărtăria. The plan of the site and of the excavations. The term *Proto-Theiss* is used by Milojević 1965, p. 263-264 to signal the fact that layer I from Tărtăria preceded the period of the Tisza culture. Kurt Horedt’s basic biographical data are found in Filip 1966, p. 502; Filip 1998, p. 145, s.v. In more detail, see Harhoiu 1992; Soroceanu 1999; 2014.

⁴ Cf. Vlassa 1963, p. 492, 494. It is worth mentioning that, following the analysis of the dating possibilities, A. Falkenstein 1965, p. 273 suggested the very near time frame 2850-2750 BC to date Uruk IIIb; based on this dating, V. Milojević 1965, p. 267-268 appreciated that the Vinča A phase and the contemporary cultures, the Tărtăria tablets, respectively, could not date prior to 2800±50 BC.

⁵ Milojević 1965.

⁶ Hood 1967.

the Tărtăria tablets with the early Mesopotamian writing signs and made a series of remarks worthy of a specialist in the field⁷. E. Qasim includes *pro forma* this paper in the references accompanying her research, yet she completely ignores it in the body of the paper, where she does not mention it even once (yet tacitly and fully exploits it!). The fact is doubly odd as Milošević himself quoted from and used in his paper Falkenstein’s main conclusions (and notes that “...Auf unsere Bitte hat A. Falkenstein diesen Vergleich Vlassas überprüft und in dem anschließenden Bericht seine Beobachtungen niedergelegt”)⁸. Unfortunately, E. Qasim also ignores the tens or even hundreds of contributions (studies, papers, monographs) published after 1963 on the issue of the Tărtăria tablets (chronology, cultural belonging, nature of the signs, problems of the connections with the Near East, etc.) and states that these findings supposedly aroused interest in international scientific research only after the fall of the Iron Curtain (meaning, after 1989)⁹. In this respect, E. Qasim refers to the exhibitions on the topic of the history of writing held in Würzburg (2002) and in Graz (2003), and to the substantial catalogues published on these occasions¹⁰. In these exhibitions, notices Qasim, the tablets were displayed next to spindle-whorls, loom weights and ceramic shards, bearing small incised motifs, often resembling writing signs (it is inherent that most of these objects belong to the Vinča-Turdaş/Tordos culture). Greatly simplifying a complex matter, with a “history” of about one and a half century long, during which very different opinions have been expressed concerning the pottery signs and symbols of the Tordos/Turdaş-Vinča culture,¹¹ E. Qasim finally argues, in short, that the sign system of the Vinča culture as a whole was “elevated” by the Sumerian nature of the Tărtăria signs and thus, the birth of the Danube Script concept was rendered possible (“Durch den sumerischen Charakter der Tărtăria-Zeichen *schin* das System der Vinča-Zeichen insgesamt geadelt. Der Terminus “Donauschrift” konnte entstehen”)¹². She then continues by emphasizing some results of Gheorghe Lazarovici’s and Marco Merlini’s investigations, who tackled again the topic of the tablets following the two above mentioned exhibitions. She states that, just like Vlassa before them, they only photographed the front (the inscribed side) of the tablets. If she had read other papers published by Lazarovici and Merlini on the same topic after 2005, she would have seen other photographs too¹³. Also, they supposedly established that the tablets were cleaned using a hydrochloric acid solution and, for preservation purposes, they were treated using nitro varnish and then re-fired. The truth is that, although with a certain delay, Vlassa himself admitted that both the tablets and the idols, which had been covered by a calcareous crust, were immersed in a hydrochloric acid bath, and it was only after this treatment that the signs incised on the tablets became visible, subsequently undergoing an air-free impregnation process of the tablets in an autoclave, using a reversible impregnating agent, for preservation purposes¹⁴. Contrary to Mrs. Qasim’s claims, who reiterated an old, yet unfounded accusation against Vlassa, the tablets were *not* re-fired, but placed *in a drying chamber at a low temperature*, as also stated in the paper which E. Qasim quoted but read superficially¹⁵. E. Qasim also claims that the bones found together with the tablets (without specifying

⁷ Falkenstein 1965.

⁸ See Milošević 1965, p. 264-267.

⁹ It is not our intention to review, in this paper, the vast literature written on the Tărtăria tablets; however, we will cite below some of the most important papers from the viewpoint of this discussion. The complete bibliography before 1990 can be found in Makkay 1990, p. 124-160 (References) and 161-175 (Literature). The literature from the last quarter of a century was cited in Lazarovici, Merlini 2005; Lazarovici, Merlini 2008; Merlini 2009; Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011; and by the authors of the following collective volumes: Marler 2008; Marler 2009; Marler 2014.

¹⁰ See Sinn 2002; Seipel 2003.

¹¹ The first considerations regarding the symbols and signs on the ceramic objects from the Tordos/Turdaş and their Aegean-Oriental analogies were formulated by the amateur archaeologist Zs. Torma beginning in 1879 (summarized in 1894), followed by the studies of specialists such as A. Voss (1895), P. Reinecke (1899), H. Schmidt (1903), M. Roska (1941), etc. After publishing the new discoveries from Vinča, Banjica, etc., a genuine system of signs of the Turdaş-Vinča culture was determined (see Makkay 1969; Winn 1981). The multiplication of the discoveries of this kind also in other Southeastern European Neolithic cultural environments led to the emergence of views about the Old European Writing, Danube Script, etc.; see details in Makkay 1990; Haarmann 2008a; Haarmann 2008b; Merlini 2009, *passim*.

¹² See Qasim 2013, p. 308 and footnote 6 referring to Lazarovici, Merlini 2005, which leaves the impression that these authors supposedly “invented” the idea of a prehistoric script in the Danube area.

¹³ See, for instance, Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011, p. 162-163 and fig. VII.C.3: tablet 1, face and reverse.

¹⁴ Vlassa 1972, p. 371.

¹⁵ See Lazarovici, Merlini 2005, p. 211-212.

what kind of bones they were) were radiocarbon dated to 5469-5077 Cal BC (with 95.3% probability). But, the quoted source of information (referred to in footnote 11) talks about the date 5370-5140 Cal BC (1 σ probability) for the human skeleton bones found in the ritual pit and the date 5280-5060 Cal BC (1 σ) for the animal bones found in the pit house nearby¹⁶. Anyhow, in E. Qasim's opinion, that was the moment after which the Tărtăria settlement site and findings were no longer dated using the clay tablets (meaning, if we understood it correctly, at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, by chronological synchronization with Mesopotamia), but by the radiocarbon dating of the bones: it was established that the site and objects (Fundort und Kleinfunde) belonged to the Vinča A or B1 phase and were dated to the end of the 6th millennium BC. E. Qasim overlooks the fact that the supporters of the high chronology objected from the very beginning against the dating of the findings in the Tărtăria layer I based on the presumed Mesopotamian connections of the tablets and they chose their dating depending on the existing ¹⁴C age determinations related to the various sites of the Vinča culture period¹⁷. So, the new data mentioned above, obtained for the Tărtăria findings, only confirmed the high chronology data estimated previously on the basis of the ¹⁴C measurements.

If we accept these early data, any insistence on the presumed direct Mesopotamian connections of any kind with the Tărtăria clay tablets (and the Vinča-Turdaş finds, in general) loses its meaning and any debate actually becomes purposeless. Disregarding this evidence, E. Qasim forcedly (and *post festa*, we may add) reopened the debate on the time gap between “the spindle whorls and loom weights of the Vinča culture from the 6th millennium BC and the Sumerian signs on the clay tablets of the 3rd millennium BC” and argues that it is still unclear what connections one could establish between Vinča/Tărtăria and Djemdet Nasr/Fara-Şuruppak. Mrs. Qasim disregards the fact that, despite some reserves expressed over time, we may safely state today that the relative and absolute chronological position of the Tărtăria tablets has been satisfactorily clarified by establishing the archaeological background (*i.e.* the Vinča-Turdaş culture) to which they belong. Thus, E. Qasim's question becomes purely rhetorical and is a see-through pretext for building a case of indictment containing serious accusations against Nicolae Vlăssă and Vladimir Milojević alike. As, in anticipation of what will be discussed hereunder, in her paper, Mrs. E. Qasim aims solely at *accusing Nicolae Vlăssă of forging the Tărtăria clay tablets, having Vladimir Milojević as accomplice* (!), in order to provide proof that would have supported the Heidelberg professor's assumptions of a low chronology of the South-Eastern European Neolithic.

It is well known by the specialists in this matter (yet apparently ignored by E. Qasim) that there were suspicions related to the circumstances of the discovery, origin and chronology of the tablets from the very beginning, yet it is just as true that several archaeologists strived in the last half century to clarify (although not always in Tacitus' spirit, “sine ira et studio”, nevertheless in good faith), with arguments and in the interest of the academic research, the “enigma” of the Tărtăria tablets¹⁸. We find it very odd that now,

¹⁶ See Lazarovici, Merlini 2005, p. 208. In Lazarovici, Merlini 2008 (not quoted by E. Qasim), fig. 5, we find the following dates for the human bones: 5370-5140 cal BC (68.2%), 5470-5060 cal BC (95.4%), 5480-5030 (99.7%).

¹⁷ See Quitta 1967. Vlăssă himself was aware of the fact that the dating resulting from the oriental analogies of the tablets were too low compared with the existing ¹⁴C age determinations (e.g. the conventional/uncalibrated data 4010±85, proposed for the end of the Vinča A phase), see Vlăssă 1963, p. 494 and note 18, with the reference to Quitta 1960, p. 164 and chronologic table, p. 184.

¹⁸ See above, note 9. In the last decade, in particular Gh. Lazarovici and M. Merlini deserve our acknowledgement for clarifying many of the controversial issues related to the recovery circumstances and interpretation of the tablets, including carrying out expertise and laboratory analyses (see Lazarovici, Merlini 2005; Lazarovici, Merlini 2008; Merlini 2009; Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011). Unfortunately, beyond the repeated references to the results of these analyses, neither the *analysis report* resulting from the petrographic investigations on the raw material of the tablets, nor the *report* regarding the anthropological and paleopathological expertise carried out on the human remains discovered by Vlăssă in the “ritual pit”, have been published thus far. We refrain from commenting upon the amazing story created on Milady Tărtăria, “reborn” from disparate human bones discovered by Vlăssă in the “ritual pit”, which became her sacred grave, as the humble pit house nearby was advanced as the former residence of this Lady, priestess or sorcerer. The papers cited also make reference to various excavation documents and other unpublished documentary materials, kept in the Vlăssă archive, including his PhD thesis. It is not the disparate, “step by step” mention of these documents that would be fair and worthy of the memory of the too early departed archaeologist, but the full publication, in a volume, of Vlăssă's scientific heritage. In our turn, we also tried to contribute to clarifying some controversial issues related to the Tărtăria excavations from 1961, also motivated by the fact that, as a student, I participated in these excavations alongside Vlăssă; see László 2009; László 2011. Most of the conclusions drawn then are still valid today.

50 years later, it is possible to publish in a prestigious journal extremely serious accusations (and, let us add, in the absence of convincing evidence) against two archaeologists who are no longer alive and cannot defend themselves in this unfair debate.

First, E. Qasim notes that Vlassa found it important to point out the correspondence with different Mesopotamian finds and that he reached the conclusion that the best analogies for the signs on the Tărtăria tablets were to be found among the signs on the archaic tablets of the Uruk IVa and Djemdet Nasr period. In order to support those analogies, Vlassa quoted examples from the Assyriology literature¹⁹. Thus, in addition to the “standard” work in the field²⁰, he also referred to other six works, some of which were not strictly specialized, but belonged to the category of literature designed for the wider audiences. This does not escape E. Qasim’s vigilance who also notes that Vlassa did not quote in detail Falkenstein’s book, but used for comparison purposes, together with the photographs and drawings of his own pieces, reproductions of the tablets dated to the Uruk Age, according to A.I. Tjumenev and S.N. Kramer²¹. She then argues that nine of the approximately twenty signs on the Tărtăria tablets have direct correspondence only in the drawings appearing on the tablets reproduced in such a piece of “secondary literature” (*i.e.* by Tjumenev), which, E. Qasim claims, could be in itself a signal to the possible forgery of the Tărtăria tablets: “Von ca. zwanzig in den Tărtăria Tafelchen zu isolierenden Zeichen finden neun direkte Entsprechungen in den Umzeichnungen jener Tjumenevschen Tontafeln (Abb. 3 und Tab. 1). Damit geriet eine mögliche Fälschung der Tărtăria-Tafelchen ins Visier”²². In what these remarks are concerned, it is worth mentioning that indeed Vlassa did not find in the Romanian libraries of the 1960’s specialized Assyriology literature, since there were no Romanian specialists in this discipline then²³. As a good expert in the field noted, Vlassa quoted, but probably did not use Falkenstein’s fundamental work (1936). Thus, contrary to the malicious remark of E. Qasim, one may consider it a true performance that, relying solely on comparisons with the Assyriology literature for the wider audiences, Vlassa succeeded to find parallels for the signs on the Tărtăria tablets²⁴.

As regards the proper theme of her paper, E. Qasim discusses the similarities and differences between the technique, shape, size and partition of the surface of the tablets from Tărtăria and Mesopotamia, and continues with the analysis and comparison of the signs identified on the Tărtăria tablets. It should be noted once again that E. Qasim ignores the contributions of those who dwelt on this issue in the past, and especially the study of A. Falkenstein, the first Assyriologist who thoroughly checked Vlassa’s conclusions and who comparatively examined, one by one, the signs from the Tărtăria tablets and their early Mesopotamian parallels. He established the existence of certain similarities in terms of the form of the tablets, the division of the surface in columns and partitions (Fächer), in which the signs were then inscribed. He noticed that, from the 20 (or 24, with variants) signs on the second and third Tărtăria tablets, precise analogies were drawn for five, and similar forms were found for six among the archaic texts from Uruk (in German, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, abbreviated: ATU)²⁵. All the 11 correspondences belong to the Uruk IIIb period (Jemdet Nasr), which can be dated to the time frame between 2800 and 2750 BC, also representing the chronological reference for dating the Tărtăria tablets. In Falkenstein’s opinion, the correlations established between the Tărtăria clay tablets and the Sumerian ones indicate an impulse (Anregung) from Mesopotamia. At the same time, he stressed the fact that, unlike the Mesopotamian written clay tablets, the Tărtăria tablets were made from coarse material, were perforated (in order to be suspended?) and fired, the signs were incised (not impressed), the signs for numbers (characteristic to the Mesopotamian tablets, having an economic character) were (partially?) missing, etc. We should also evoke another fact ignored by E. Qasim, namely, that after 1965, the starting point of the debates on the possible links of the Tărtăria tablets with the Mesopotamian writing was Adam Falkenstein’s analysis, carried out from the perspective of a renowned Assyriologist, and not the general discoveries of the young prehistorian Nicolae Vlassa. As Emilia Masson underlined,

¹⁹ Vlassa 1963, p. 492, footnotes 13-14.

²⁰ Falkenstein 1936.

²¹ Vlassa 1963, fig. 9-10: archaic tablets at Uruk-Warka IV and Djemdet Nasr, after Tjumenev 1956 and Kramer 1962.

²² Qasim 2013, p. 309.

²³ See also Masson 1984, p. 116.

²⁴ Makkay 1990, p. 28.

²⁵ Falkenstein 1965, p. 271-272, Abb. 1.

A. Falkenstein's fundamental study also represented a "bailment" for the Tărtăria tablets, and an impulse for a series of other articles (we quote: "...l'étude fondamentale du grand sumérologue A. Falkenstein, parue dès 1965 [...] a apporté une certaine caution à ces documents et donné l'impulsion à une série d'articles"; "...A. Falkenstein qui donne une analyse fondamentale aussi bien des aspects matériels que paléographiques de ces documents, avec un examen détaillé de chaque signe séparément...")²⁶. It is no less true that the tablets could be studied *directly* by the specialists only in exceptional cases. Thus, most researchers were required to make do in their considerations with the photos and drawings published by Vlassa. Even Milojević and Falkenstein used, as reference material, the illustration published by Vlassa. E. Masson (one of the few researchers who had the possibility to study the original tablets in Cluj²⁷) did not fail to mention that it was regrettable that Falkenstein had not seen the tablets, but used Vlassa's not entirely accurate copies and, as such, the information he had provided was second-hand²⁸.

We do not have any clues pointing to the fact that E. Qasim studied the Tărtăria tablets directly and made new personal observations, justifying her opinion on the forgery of these objects. The same as Milojević, Falkenstein and many other specialists, E. Qasim also used the illustration published by Vlassa as the starting point in her approach²⁹. However, unlike Falkenstein's methodical study, E. Qasim did not proceed to an orderly analysis of the Tărtăria tablets, which would have entailed studying the material of the tablets and the "writing" technique, presenting/determining the signs, inventorying them, discussing the recorded signs and signalling (if need be) the Mesopotamian analogies. In her attempt to demonstrate the falsity of the tablets, E. Qasim proceeded exactly the other way around: she selected those signs from the available comparative material presented by Vlassa which also appeared on the Tărtăria tablets. By applying an intricate logic, she thus attempted to demonstrate that the signs represented on the Tărtăria tablets were rendered (= were copied!) following the model of some Mesopotamian signs which were reproduced as an illustration in the popularizing works which were at the disposal of the Transylvanian archaeologist. To support her assertions, alongside the drawings of the second and third Tărtăria tablets, E. Qasim also reproduced in the illustration of her article the comparative material used by Vlassa, marking with her hand (*Freihandzeichnen*), through the same numbers, those signs that were present both in the Mesopotamian comparative material, and on the Tărtăria tablets³⁰. Those signs were also introduced in a table which indicated, in a separate column, the analogies from the Archaic Texts from Uruk³¹. In Qasim's opinion, five signs (nos. 10, 6, 8, 7, 5, according to her own numbering) had direct correspondences in the Tjumenev 1 tablet; the signs 3a and 11a were derived from signs no. 3 and no. 11 (through their intentional truncation) on the same tablet. Sign no. 4 was the imitation of a damaged sign from the Tjumenev 1 tablet. Sign no. 6 also appears on the Tjumenev 2 tablet, from where sign no. 17 was taken. A variant of sign no. 17, as well as signs 3a and 18, can also be found on the Blau tablet. To sum up, it results that there is a direct correspondence between 11 signs from the Tjumenev transcriptions (*Umzeichnungen*), taken over by Vlassa, the Blau tablets, and the two Tărtăria tablets. E. Qasim also states that in the case of the Tărtăria tablets the position (straight or rotated at 90°) of the signs from the model-tablets is disregarded, and the signs are combined arbitrarily. At this point of the discussion, E. Qasim does not hesitate to reiterate her accusations: in her opinion, the high number of

²⁶ Masson 1984, p. 112, note 60; p. 117, note 76.

²⁷ See Masson 1984, p. 102, 116.

²⁸ Masson 1984, p. 112, note 60. On the other hand, according to another piece of information, till 1971, the Tărtăria tablets were examined directly by two Assyriologists, *i.e.* A. Falkenstein and S.N. Kramer, but the latter did not publish his observations; see Makkay 1990, p. 29 and note 3 (p. 129-130), where the author refers to a verbal piece of information received from N. Vlassa, without offering more precise data. It would be interesting, for the history of the research, to clarify whether or not Falkenstein ever had direct access to study the tablets.

²⁹ Qasim 2013, Abb. 1.

³⁰ See Qasim 2013, Abb. 2-3-4: the drawing of two Mesopotamian tablets, taken from Tjumenev 1956, and the image of a so-called Blau tablet. We make a point also of the fact that E. Qasim is not consistent in numbering the Tărtăria tablets, sometimes using Vlassa's numbering, other times E. Masson's, thus creating confusion.

³¹ Qasim 2013, p. 212-213, Tab.1. We remind the fact that the correspondences between the signs from the Tărtăria tablets and the signs of the archaic texts from Uruk (ATU) were established by Falkenstein in 1965, but the results of the famous Assyriologist were not mentioned by E. Qasim!

correspondences between the analogies cited from the secondary literature and the signs from the Tărtăria tablets show that we are facing a forgery: “Die Anzahl der Übereinstimmungen zwischen den transskribierten Referenzobjekten aus der Sekundärliteratur und der Tărtăria-Täfelchen lässt so weit auf eine Fälschung schliessen”.³² Among the differences between the signs on the Tărtăria tablets and the ones on the Mesopotamian tablets E. Qasim notices the fact (already remarked by Falkenstein in 1965) that the signs for numbers, which are constantly present on the compartmentalized Mesopotamian tablets (which contain economic texts), cannot be identified on the Tărtăria tablets. However, Qasim finds that the sign in the form of the letter D, followed by two small circles (marked with no. 7 on the Tiumenev 1 tablet and on the second Tărtăria tablet) can be identified with the conventional sign used in the Assyriology literature for the graphic transcription of the signs impressed on the clay tablets, corresponding to the numbers 1 and 10. In order to perfect her “indictment”, E. Qasim appreciates that those two signs (in fact: two simple motifs, a semicircle or half-moon and circle), which do not have correspondences in the real Mesopotamian signs, were imitations of the conventional transcriptions of certain signs copied from the secondary Assyriology literature, constituting another “proof” of the falsity of the tablets published by Vlassa (“Übereinstimmungen mit und Abweichungen von den Zeichen des sumerischen Schriftzeicheninventars erklären sich aus den Umschriftveröffentlichungen der in den 60^{er} Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts verfügbaren Sekundärliteratur. Der Befund deutet auch diesmal auf eine Fälschung hin”)³³. No comment!

In the closing part of her article, E. Qasim states that Vlassa would have postulated the “migration” (Wanderung) of some Sumerian model-tablets to Transylvania and, as such, the signs started to be used there too, and the Tărtăria tablets would have been dated around 2600 BC. In actual fact, Vlassa spoke, prudently, only as a *working hypothesis*, about the *circulation of the objects or influences* from Mesopotamia, and dated the tablets to *circa* 2900–2700 BC (see above). After asking the rhetorical question *Cui bono?* E. Qasim states, without proof or embarrassment, that there are several things that indicate the collaboration of the young archaeologist Nicolae Vlassa and the older scientist Vladimir Milojević (it goes without saying, in falsifying the tablets), in order to confirm the Heidelberg professor’s conception regarding the late neolithisation of the Balkans, a phenomenon that would have taken place around 3000 BC only: “Manches spricht für eine Zusammenarbeit des 27jährigen N. Vlassa und des älteren V. Milojević, dessen These von der späten, erst um 3000 v. Chr. erfolgten bäuerlichen Besiedlung des Balkans so bestätigt werden konnte”³⁴.

Even in the light of what has been discussed above, we believe that, for any unbiased reader, Qasim’s accusations are as serious as they are unfounded and irresponsible; they have no basis apart from the unwarranted speculations regarding the copying of the signs from the “secondary literature”.

The accusations at Vlassa’s address, whose publications were received from the very beginning with some reservations by some of the specialists, are not as surprising as those malicious suspicions harboured in relation to V. Milojević’s complicity to the alleged falsification of the Tărtăria tablets. Milojević made it clear, in the introduction of his paper, that he became aware of the discoveries from Tărtăria (the same as Falkenstein, for that matter) from Vlassa’s preliminary report, published in the *Dacia* journal³⁵. Those from Milojević’s entourage at Heidelberg, who are still alive, could confirm it. In any case, E. Qasim does not bring any argument to support her conspiracy theory.

In this regard, we only stress the fact that not only some complicity between the two archaeologists was not possible, but quite the contrary, Vlassa held a certain resentment against Milojević (and Falkenstein), which he maintained until the end of his life. In 1981, he confessed to a colleague that certain circles intentionally delayed the English publication in the *Dacia* journal of his article on the Tărtăria discoveries, with the intention to give the credit related to highlighting the importance of these discoveries in front of the international scientific world to Falkenstein and Milojević, through their studies published in *Germania*. This displeasure is allegedly the reason Vlassa did not publish the full results on the 1961 Tărtăria excavations and did not continue his research at this archaeological site³⁶.

³² Qasim 2013, p. 316.

³³ Qasim 2013, p. 315.

³⁴ Qasim 2013, p. 316.

³⁵ See Milojević 1965, p. 261.

³⁶ Makkay 1990, p. 15; see also Vlassa, 1972, p. 368, note 5.

It is interesting that, while making accusations at Miložčić's address, E. Qasim avoids any allusion to Falkenstein's role, the one who checked Vlassa's initial conclusions, and confirmed the Mesopotamian character of some of the signs on the Tărtăria tablets, and admitting the existence of Djemdet Nasr influences on the Transylvanian Neolithic, thus supporting Vladimir Miložčić's view. Falkenstein's professional authority represented a guarantee for many specialists in the interpretation of the tablets, his study being the starting point for new discussions. The tablets were recorded as far back as 1965 in the Bibliography of cuneiform script (*Keilschriftbibliographie*, published in *Orientalia*, periodical of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome)³⁷ and a long series of studies concerning these discoveries began to be published³⁸. Some specialists followed the path opened by Falkenstein, appropriating the idea of the Mesopotamian influences and the chronological value of the tablets, in the sense of supporting the later dating of the Southeast European Neolithic³⁹. J. Harmatta and others even attempted to "translate" the text of the tablets⁴⁰. J. Makkay gathered the whole information that had been accumulated starting with Zsófia Torma's activity (second half of the 19th century), defining the *system of signs* of the Vinča-Turdaş culture ("the Tordos group of signs"), which appeared, in his view, under the influence of the early Mesopotamian writing, and then wrote a monograph on the issues of the Tărtăria tablets⁴¹.

Other specialists did not exclude the Mesopotamian influences. However, given the long chronology of the European prehistory (based on the ¹⁴C measurements), they believed that the tablets and the dating resulting from the connections with the Sumerian texts (beginning of the 3rd millennium BC), would be linked to a later period (especially the Coţofeni Chalcolithic habitation level) of the Tărtăria site⁴².

Another significant group of researchers did not doubt the belonging of the tablets to the Vinča-Turdaş culture, but rejected their alleged Mesopotamian connections, considering that the similarities between the Sumerian pictograms and the signs on the Tărtăria tablets (and on other objects from the Vinča-Turdaş period) were too general and could not prove the existence of a chronological contact. Hans Quitta was very clear in this respect, from the very beginning: "Dabei liegen unsere Zweifel weniger auf der Zeitstellung der Tărtăriafunde, die durch die Vinča-Idole und Verwandte Symbolritzungen auf der Keramik anderer Vinča-Siedlungen (und auch der Linearbandkeramik!) hinreichend gesichert erscheint, als vielmehr auf dem Versuch, diese Zeichen auf Einflüsse der frühsumerischen Schrift zurückzuführen [...] Die von A. Falkenstein festgestellten Parallelen zu den djemdet-nasrzeitlichen Texten aus Uruk Schicht IIIb betreffen [...] nur sehr allgemeine Übereinstimmungen, die einen zeitlichen Kontakt mit den älteren Vinča-Kultur keinesfalls schlüssig beweisen"⁴³. D. Berciu, after some hesitation, also rejected the idea of the influences of the Mesopotamian writing, and argued that the signs on the Tărtăria tablets were abstract signs⁴⁴. Neither did C. Renfrew recognize the validity of the comparison between the Sumerian signs and those on the Tărtăria tablets, thus the Eastern origin of the Vinča writing, respectively: "To me, the comparisons made between the signs on the Tărtăria tablets and those of the proto-literate Sumer carry very little weight"⁴⁵. S.M.M. Winn, same as Makkay, spoke of a *sign system* of the Vinča (-Turdaş) culture, similar to a "pre-writing" phenomenon in Southeast Europe but, unlike the Hungarian archaeologist, he believed that it occurred independently, without any Mesopotamian influence⁴⁶. Emilia Masson also remarked the fact that the signs on the Tărtăria tablets had often been commented upon based on their similarities with the archaic Sumerian signs, disregarding the fact that most of them had common features, widespread in time and space, characteristic to the "proto-literate" periods : "[les signes] sont toujours commentées en fonction d'une

³⁷ See *Orientalia* 34, 1965, p. 134; *Orientalia* 35, 1966, p. 90, quoted *apud* Makkay 1990, p. 29 (text) and 129 (note 1).

³⁸ See above, note 9. In what follows, we will cite only a few examples.

³⁹ Gelb 1967; Hood 1967; Makkay 1967; Makkay 1968.

⁴⁰ Harmatta 1966.

⁴¹ Makkay 1969; Makkay 1990.

⁴² Thomas 1967, p. 37; Höckmann 1968, p. 65-66; Neustupný 1968; Dumitrescu 1972; Whipp 1973; Zanotti 1983, p. 211-212; Dumitrescu, Bolomey, Mogoşanu 1983, p. 88-89.

⁴³ Quitta 1967, p. 120.

⁴⁴ Berciu 1967, p. 49 and 161-162: Postscriptum.

⁴⁵ Renfrew 1973, p. 204.

⁴⁶ Winn 1981.

resemblance avec des caractères archaïques sumériens, sans tenir compte du fait que la plupart d’entre eux présentent des tracés ordinaires qui constituent, comme on l’a observé, le lot commun d’un bon nombre de répertoires...”⁴⁷. She observed with regret that Falkenstein’s study was not based on a broader comparative material, but started *a priori* from the idea that the Tărtăria tablets were the result of Sumerian impulses and thus he neglected many of the discrepancies occurring even among his own comparisons: “On regrettera surtout que l’étude fondamentale de Falkenstein [...] n’ait pas été fondée sur un registre plus large : partant a priori de l’idée que les tablettes de Tărtăria résultent d’une « impulsion » sumérienne, il semble négliger les nombreuses divergences qui apparaissent pourtant à travers ses propres comparaisons”⁴⁸.

It seems that one of the main causes behind the differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of the signs on the Tărtăria tablets (a kind of “original sin”), was *an incorrect identification of the shape for a number of signs*⁴⁹. The various analyses, wax imprints, macro-photographies and microscopic studies recently carried out highlighted the fact that it was very difficult to establish the exact form of the signs. The coarse clay composition the tables were made from, as well as the “writing” instrument which was not fine enough, did not allow for the drawing of precise lines. To this adds the clumsiness of the “scribe” who also made involuntary scribbles, and “unfortunately, a number of those scribbles had been recognized as true signs of literacy by some scholars”⁵⁰. Following the treatment with hydrochloric acid, the surface of the tablets was altered; some signs were deformed, cracks appeared here and there, which were interpreted as incisions, and thus some authors “discovered” signs that did not actually exist. Most researchers could not study the tablets directly and, consequently, used the low quality photos and the not entirely accurate drawings published by Vlassa. To all these, the observer’s subjectivity, one’s tendency to see only what one expects to see, is also added; for example: “...scholars who have in mind the script choice connected with the Sumerian pictograms are inclined to point to the similarity in shape with those early signs of literacy”⁵¹.

The lack of precision of the copies published by Vlassa, serving then as a work tool for those who later dealt with the tablets (including E. Qasim) was also remarked upon by E. Masson, who had the possibility to personally study those items: “Un examen minutieux de ces inscriptions m’a permis de constater que les copies publiées dans *Dacia*, lesquelles ont servi d’instrument de travail aux spécialistes qui les ont étudiées depuis, manquent de précision et même ne reproduisent pas complètement le dessin de certains signes (voir analyse paléographique)”⁵². It was also Masson who summarised the suspicions formulated over time on the discovery circumstances and the authenticity of the tablets (*i.e.* were they indeed discovered in Tărtăria, or somewhere else, close by; did they come from Turdaş or even from the Zsófia Torma collection; were they fakes of the 19th century or more recent ones, surreptitiously introduced in the excavation, etc.), suspicions which were the consequence of the poor documentation of the excavations and the incomplete publication of the discoveries. In her opinion, even though the location, date and conditions of the discovery of the tablets remain uncertain until further clarifications, the careful examination of the tablets, the existence of the wear traces on their surface, for example, *attest to the fact that they were not fakes*: “...on observe notamment sur les tablettes 1 et 2 des traces d’usure, des parties de signes un peu effacées ou des fissures fréquentes autour des gravures. De tels phénomènes témoignent en faveur de l’ancienneté ; s’il s’agissait de faux, leur fabrication serait à attribuer à un grand expert dans la matière, en même temps fin connaisseur des écritures archaïques qu’à ma connaissance la Roumanie ne possède pas”⁵³.

Another fact can be added to these observations: in the case of a fake, the forger would have striven to produce an object as faithfully similar as possible to the Mesopotamian model which he wanted to imitate, would have taken care to choose quality raw material, and to respect the format of the tablets (which should not have been perforated and fired), to apply the corresponding writing techniques (by impression), and to

⁴⁷ Masson 1984, p. 122.

⁴⁸ Masson 1984, p. 122, note 95.

⁴⁹ Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011, p. 239.

⁵⁰ Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011, p. 240.

⁵¹ Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011, p. 239-244; by comparing Fig. IX.1-3, the differences between the drawings of the tablets published by Vlassa, Winn and Masson can be noticed.

⁵² Masson 1984, p. 116.

⁵³ See Masson 1984, p. 114-117.

reproduce some of the most characteristic signs. He would also have taken care to ensure the proper excavation documentation in order to prevent later suspicions regarding the circumstances of the discovery. Beyond these logical arguments, *the factual observations attesting to the authenticity (ancient character) of the tablets*, some of which have already been mentioned above, are decisive. It should also be noted that the existence of a calcareous coating on the surface of the tablets, which had to be removed in order to make the signs visible, was an actual proof of the fact that the objects had lain underground for a sufficiently long period of time to be able to form the lime accumulation. Given that it was established (see above) that the tablets had not been re-fired by Vlassa (but they had been fired in ancient times), it would also be possible to carry out a TL (Thermoluminescence) test in order to establish their age. Recent laboratory investigations showed that the paste from which the Tărtăria tablets were modelled also contained organic materials⁵⁴. This way, it would be possible to carry out ¹⁴C measurements, using the AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry) technique, and the dating thus obtained for the Tărtăria tablets could be compared with the already existing radiocarbon dating of the human and animal bones collected from the ritual pit and from the pit house, belonging to layer I from Tărtăria. The microscopic investigations also highlighted the existence of some fingerprints on the surface of the tablets⁵⁵; by studying them, we could find out information on the person who actually created the tablets (*e.g.* gender, age).

Until such analyses are carried out, the observation resulting from the recent microscopic investigations on the surface of the tablets, according to which, in the grooved outline of some of the signs on the tablets, traces of soil have been found, remains decisive: “The close examination of the tablets indicates remains of soil inside the contour of several signs [...] The humus mixed with rocks and minerals can only come from the ritual pit-grave. This is another factual element in favour of the statement concerning the authenticity of the inscribed artefacts. The presence of the encapsulated soil *excludes the accusations that they are a modern fake not identified by N. Vlassa, or just a “game” of the discoverer*”⁵⁶ (my underlining, A. L.).

We hope that the lack of any basis of E. Qasim’s irresponsible accusations addressed at two renowned archaeologists, no longer among us, namely Nicolae Vlassa and Vladimir Milojević, who, in complicity, would have allegedly falsified the much discussed clay tablets from Tărtăria, has become obvious for any reader who perused our paper in good faith. Apart from the scientific impact of the issue, the moral side of such an approach, disgraceful for a researcher, is also difficult to overlook. We can also ask the question: *Cui bono?*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berciu 1967 – D. Berciu, *Romania before Burebista*, London, 1967.
 Dumitrescu 1972 – V. Dumitrescu, *Turdaş - Mesopotamia*, SCIV 23, 1972, 1, p. 93-109.
 Dumitrescu, Bolomey, Mogoşanu 1983 – V. Dumitrescu, A. Bolomey, F. Mogoşanu, *Esquisse d’une préhistoire de la Roumanie*, Bucarest, 1983.
 Falkenstein 1936 – A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka*, Bd. II, Leipzig, 1936.
 Falkenstein 1965 – A. Falkenstein, *Zu den Tontafeln aus Tărtăria*, Germania 43, 1965, p. 269-273.
 Filip 1966; 1998 – J. Filip (ed.), *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*, Prag, 1, 1966; 3, 1998.
 Gelb 1967 – I.J. Gelb, *Comment upon C. Renfrew’s note*, Nestor 112, April 1967, p. 488.
 Haarmann 2008a – H. Haarmann, *A comparative view of the Danube Script and other Ancient Writing Systems*, in J. Marler (ed.), *The Danube Script: Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe. Exhibition Catalogue*, National Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu - Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol (USA), 2008, p. 11-22.
 Haarmann 2008b – H. Haarmann, *The Danube Script and its Legacy: Literacy as a cultural Identifier in the Balcanic - Aegean Convergence Zone*, in J. Marler (ed.), *The Danube Script: Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe. Exhibition Catalogue*, National Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu - Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol (USA), 2008, p. 61-76.
 Harhoiu 1992 – R. Harhoiu, *Otto Kurt Horedt*, Dacia N.S. 36, 1992, p. 5-11.

⁵⁴ Lazarovici, Merlini 2005, p. 211, fig. 20.

⁵⁵ Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011, p. 240.

⁵⁶ Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011, p. 244.

- Harmatta 1966 – J. Harmatta, *Neolitikori írásbeliség Közép-Európában?* [Neolithic writing in Central Europe?], *Antik Tanulmányok* 13, 1966, 2, p. 235-236.
- Hood 1967 – M.S.F. Hood, *The Tartaria Tablets*, *Antiquity* 41, 1967, 162, p. 99-114.
- Höckmann 1968 – O. Höckmann, *Die menschengestaltige Figurplastik der südosteuropäischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit*, I-II, Hildesheim, 1968.
- Kramer 1962 – S.N. Kramer, *Istoria începe la Sumer*, București, 1962 [= *History begins at Sumer*, London-New York 1959].
- László 2009 – A. László, *Some aspects of the Tărtăria issue*, in J. Marler (ed.), *Proceedings “Signs and symbols from Danube Neolithic and Eneolithic”*, *International Symposium The Danube Script: Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal 35, Sibiu, 2009, p. 57-66.
- László 2011 – A. László, *Tartariáról, majd’ötven év után – On Tărtăria, fifty years later*, in Sz. Horváth, M. Kiss, M.H. Rauert (eds.), *„...eleitől fogva”. Régész—tanár—ember: A 75 éves Makkay János köszöntése* [Papers presented to János Makkay on his 75th birthday], Pécs, 2011, p. 247-264.
- Lazarovici, Merlini 2005 – Gh. Lazarovici, M. Merlini, *New archaeological data referring to Tărtăria tablets*, *Documenta Praehistorica* 32, 2005, p. 205-219.
- Lazarovici, Merlini 2008 – Gh. Lazarovici, M. Merlini, *New informations and the role of the Tărtăria discoveries*, in J. Marler (ed.), *The Danube Script: Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe. Exhibition Catalogue*, National Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu - Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol (USA), 2008, p. 39-51.
- Lazarovici, Lazarovici, Merlini 2011 – Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, M. Merlini, *Tărtăria and the sacred tablets*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
- Makkay 1967 – J. Makkay, *Die in Tărtăria gefundenen piktographischen Tafeln und die Jüngere Steinzeit Südosteuropas*, *MFMÉ* 1966-1967, p. 21-24.
- Makkay 1968 – J. Makkay, *The Tărtăria tablets*, *Orientalia* 37, 1968, 3, p. 272-289.
- Makkay 1969 – J. Makkay, *The Late Neolithic Tordos group of signs*, *Alba Regia* 10, 1969, p. 9-49.
- Makkay 1990 – J. Makkay, *A tartariai leletek* [The Tărtăria findings], Budapest, 1990.
- Marler 2008 – J. Marler (ed.), *The Danube Script: Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe. Exhibition Catalogue*, National Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu - Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol (USA), 2008.
- Marler 2009 – J. Marler (ed.), *Proceedings “Signs and symbols from Danube Neolithic and Eneolithic”*, *International Symposium The Danube Script: Neo-Eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal 35, Sibiu, 2009.
- Marler 2014 – J. Marler (ed.), *Fifty Years of Tărtăria Excavations. Papers presented at the International Symposium “50 Years of Tărtăria Excavations”*, Coronini-Pescari, Romania, 1-5 September 2011, Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol (USA), Suceava, 2014.
- Merlini 2009 – M. Merlini, *An Inquiry into the Danubian Script*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal 33, Sibiu, 2009.
- Masson 1984 – E. Masson, *L’écriture dans les civilisations danubiennes néolithique*, *Kadmos* 32, 1984, 2, p. 89-123.
- Milojčić 1965 – V. Milojčić, *Die Tontafeln von Tărtăria und die absolute Chronologie des mitteleuropäischen Neolithikums*, *Germania* 43, 1965, p. 261-268.
- Neustupný 1968 – E. Neustupný, *The Tărtăria tablets: a chronological issue*, *Antiquity* 42, 1968, 165, p. 32-35.
- Qasim 2013 – E. Qasim, *Die Tărtăria-Täfelchen – eine Neubewertung*, *Das Altertum* 58, 2013, p. 307-318.
- Quitta 1960 – H. Quitta, *Zur Frage der ältesten Bandkeramik in Mitteleuropa*, *PZ* 38, 1960, p. 1-38, 153-188.
- Quitta 1967 – H. Quitta, *Radiocarbonaten und die Chronologie des mittel- und südosteuropäischen Neolithikums*, *Ausgrabungen und Funde* 12, 1967, 3, p. 115-125.
- Reinecke 1899 – P. Reinecke, *Tordos és Trója* [Tordos and Troy], *ArchÉrt* 33, 1899, p. 115-123.
- Renfrew 1973 – C. Renfrew, *Before Civilisation. The radiocarbon revolution and prehistoric Europe*, London-New York, 1973.
- Roska 1941 – M. Roska, *A Torma Zsófia-gyűjtemény az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárában – Die Sammlung Zsófia von Torma in der Numismatisch-Archaeologischen Abteilung des Siebenbürgischen Nationalmuseums*, Kolozsvár [Cluj], 1941.
- Schmidt 1903 – H. Schmidt, *Tordos*, *ZfE* 35, 1903, 438-469.
- Seipel 2003 – W. Seipel (ed.), *Der Turmbau zu Babel. Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift* (see especially Band IIIA: Schrift), Graz, 2003.
- Sinn 2002 – U. Sinn (ed.), *Schrift, Sprache, Bild und Klang. Entwicklungsstufen der Schrift von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit*, Nachrichten aus dem Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Reihe A, Antikensammlung 4, Würzburg, 2002.

- Soroceanu 1999 – T. Soroceanu, *Kurt Horedt. Eine Persönlichkeit in bewegten Zeiten*, in N. Boroffka, T. Soroceanu (eds.), *Transsilvanica. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte des südöstlichen Mitteleuropa. Gedenkschrift für Kurt Horedt*, Rahden/Westf., 1999, p. 11-17.
- Soroceanu 2014 – T. Soroceanu, *Kurt Horedt. La centenarul nașterii – Kurt Horedt. Zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum seiner Geburt*, in S. Cociș (ed.), *Archäologische Beiträge. Gedenkschrift zum hundersten Geburtstag von Kurt Horedt*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 9-15.
- Thomas 1967 – H.L. Thomas, *Near Eastern, Mediterranean and European chronology*, SMA 17, 1-2, Lund, 1967.
- Tjumenev 1956 – A.I. Tjumenev, *Gosudarstvennoe hozjajstvo drevnego Šumera*, Moskva – Leningrad, 1956.
- Torma 1894 – Zs. (S. von) Torma, *Ethnographische Analogien. Ein Beitrag zur Gestaltungs- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Religionen*, Jena, 1894.
- Vlassa 1963 – N. Vlassa, *Chronology of the Neolithic in Transylvania, in the light of the Tărtăria settlement's stratigraphy*, Dacia N.S. 7, 1963, p. 485-494.
- Vlassa 1972 – N. Vlassa, *Zona balcano-asiatică și Transilvania. Răspuns unei note polemice* [The Balkan-Asian area and Transylvania – reply to a polemical note], ActaMN 9, 1972, p. 367-373.
- Voss 1895 – A. Voss, *Siebenbürgische und bosnische Funde (Tordosch und Butmir)*, Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Berlin, 1895, p. 125-135.
- Winn 1981 – S.M.M. Winn, *Pre-writing in Southeastern Europe: the sign system of the Vinča culture*, Calgary, 1981.
- Whipp 1973 – D. Whipp, *The Tartaria tablets*, Antiquity 47, 1973, 186, p. 147-149.
- Zanotti 1983 – D.G. Zanotti, *The position of the Tărtăria tablets within the Southeast European Copper Age*, AJA 87, 1983, p. 209-213.

A NOTE ON THE ARAMAIC TEXT OF THE BILINGUAL GURAS INSCRIPTION (PAT 0251 = CIL III 3.7999 = CIS 3906)

JEREMY M. HUTTON*, NATHANIEL E. GREENE**

Keywords: Tibiscum, Palmyrene Aramaic, Latin-Aramaic bilingual

Abstract: Aramaic-speaking soldiers from Palmyra who were serving in the imperial army left their mark at multiple sites in Roman-era Dacia in the form of Latin (and sometimes Latin-Aramaic) inscriptions. This article analyzes the Aramaic portion of one such bilingual text. Our photographic analysis of the text corrects a faulty reading that has gone undiagnosed for over one hundred thirty years. In correcting this reading, we have simultaneously offered a correction to the lexicographic data in use by Aramaists: the Aramaic *hptyw* is a loanword from the Latin *optio*, and demonstrates a closer phonological correspondence to its source lexeme than it has been previously recognized.

Cuvinte-cheie: Tibiscum, aramaică palmireniană Aramaic, text bilingv Latin-Aramaic

Rezumat: Soldații vorbitori de aramaică din Palmyra, care serveau în armata imperială, au lăsat urme în numeroase situri din Dacia romană, sub formă de inscripții latine și uneori bilingve, latino-aramaice. Acest articol analizează fragmentul în aramaică al unei astfel de inscripții bilingve. Interpretarea fotografică a textului corectează o citire eronată, care a circulat ca atare mai bine de 130 de ani. Odată cu noua lectură este furnizată și o corectare a datelor lexicografice folosite de către specialiștii în aramaică. Termenul aramaic *hptyw* este un cuvânt împrumutat din latinescul *optio* și demonstrează o corespondență fonologică mai apropiată față de lexemul sursă, validat de lectura anterioară.

ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS IN DACIA

Aramaic-speaking soldiers from Palmyra who were serving in the imperial army left their mark at multiple sites in Roman-era Dacia. For the most part, their memorials and dedications were inscribed in Latin, as demonstrated by plentiful epigraphic discoveries at both Tibiscum and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa in central Dacia¹, but in some cases, these Latin epigraphs were accompanied by Palmyrene Aramaic co-texts. The Aramaic texts are frequently difficult to read, requiring treatment by specialists in Semitic epigraphy. The last comprehensive treatment of the Aramaic texts discovered in western Romania was performed by Silviu Sanie in the early 1980's; subsequently, the inscriptions have been marginalized in the consciousness of Semitists. In part, this marginalization stems from a general lack of interest in Palmyrene Aramaic on the part of Northwest Semitic epigraphers. (An encouraging, although aging, counter-point to this generalization is Delbert R. Hillers and Eleonora Cussini's *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* [PAT], published in 1996²). In combination

* Associate Professor of Classical Hebrew Language and Biblical Literature, University of Wisconsin–Madison (Madison, WI, USA), Dept. of Classical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies; Research Fellow, University of the Free State (Bloemfontein, South Africa), Dept. of Hebrew; jmhutton@wisc.edu.

** Ph.D. candidate, University of Wisconsin–Madison (Madison, WI, USA), Dept. of Classical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies; negreene@wisc.edu

¹ For Sarmizegetusa, see, e.g., Piso, Țentea 2011; and for Tibiscum and its environs, see Moga, Russu 1974, nos. 8, 9, 10, 23, 26, 29, 34, 44.

² Hillers, Cussini 1996.

with the apparent assumption on the part of Classicists that the Aramaic texts have all been read correctly and therefore do not require additional treatment, Semitists' lack of interest has led to impasses in the study of the problems posed by bilingualism and translation in antiquity. The last major text to take up that issue with respect to the Latin-Palmyrene texts of Dacia, J.N. Adams's *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*³, was forced to work with the received readings of the Aramaic contained in PAT. In general, the received readings of the Palmyrene texts – and this is equally the case for those discovered in Dacia – suffer from inadequate photographic preservation and distribution. In many cases, the readings of Palmyrene texts can be improved through access to higher quality photographs and digital images. Recent advances in photographic technology and techniques enable us to confirm or improve upon older readings of texts, and the civil war in Syria (2011 – present) has occasioned a new burst of interest in Palmyrene Aramaic among dedicated Semitists. As part of their interest in Palmyrene Aramaic scribal habits as a whole, the members of the Wisconsin Palmyrene Aramaic Inscription Project have relaunched the investigation into ancient translations involving Northwest Semitic languages⁴. The present paper comprises a component of that larger project.

Four Latin-Aramaic bilingual texts have been discovered at Tibiscum, a Roman-era site near modern Jupa, just north of Caransebeș, Romania⁵. Of the four bilinguals discovered at the site, two are preserved intact or nearly intact on large stelae; in this category are the Guras inscription⁶ and the Neses inscription⁷. The other two bilingual inscriptions appear in fragmentary contexts, although both were probably also much larger stelae originally. The first contains portions of four lines of Latin and of one Aramaic line⁸; the latter contains only a fragmentary Aramaic line beneath a Latin letter *M*⁹. A fifth inscription, also discovered at Tibiscum and presently stored at the Caransebeș Museum, contains two partial lines of Aramaic¹⁰. Sanie suggested that this Palmyrene inscription may have originated as part of a bilingual inscription, even though no portion of the Latin text has been preserved on this fragment¹¹. At least three other monolingual Aramaic inscriptions have been discovered within the borders of present-day Romania. Two possibly Semitic inscriptions have been discovered in Romania, both in other areas of Dacia: From Drobeta, on the southern border of Dacia with Upper Moesia, comes a ceramic object inscribed before firing with an as yet indecipherable inscription¹². The object was missing as of the publication of IDR. The second inscription, this one more securely Aramaic, appears on the base or socket of a clay figurine discovered in Romula, in

³ Adams 2003; see also, however, Mullen, James 2012; and, for reflections on bilingualism in Palmyrene culture more broadly, Davis, Stuckenbruck 1992; Gzella 2005; and Yon 2008.

⁴ Bonesho 2013; Bonesho 2015; Hutton, Bonesho 2015; Hutton, Greene forthcoming.

⁵ Tibiscum is currently under excavation by a combined team from the Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara and the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw. The dig is under the direction of Dr. Adrian Ardeț of the Caransebeș Museum.

⁶ PAT 0251 = CIL III 3.7999 = CIS 3906 = HNE, 482 d. γ4 = IDR III/1, p. 178-180 no. 154. *Editio princeps*: Torma 1882, p. 120-122, no. 72; see also Nöldeke 1890; Moga, Russu 1974, p. 59-60, no. 30; Sanie 1981, p. 360; Adams 2003, p. 255-256, no. 7; Kaizer 2004, p. 565.

⁷ PAT 0994 = IDR III/1 167. *Editio princeps*: Sanie 1970a; see also Moga, Russu 1974, p. 70-73, no. 37; Sanie 1981, p. 360; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 134, no. 132; Reuter 1999, p. 533, no. 156; Sanie 1970b, p. 240; Adams 2003, p. 258, no. 11; Kaizer 2004, p. 565-566.

⁸ IDR III/1 170; see also Moga, Russu 1974, p. 80-82, no. 43; Sanie 1981, p. 360, photographs in fig. 1/3, and 2, respectively (Sanie has inadvertently mislabeled IDR III/1 170 in the caption); Kaizer 2004, p. 566; Yon 2013, p. 341, no. 17.

⁹ IDR III/1 178; Moga, Russu 1974, p. 82-83, no. 45; Kaizer 2004, p. 566-567; Yon 2013, p. 341, no. 18.

¹⁰ IDR III/1 155. *Editio princeps*: Sanie 1981, especially p. 360; photograph and copy in fig. 1/5a, 5b.

¹¹ For other Latin-Aramaic bilinguals from areas outside Dacia, see, e.g., PAT 0246 (= RIB 1065); PAT 0248 (= CIL VI 1.710); PAT 0250 (= CIL VI 3.19134); PAT 0253 (= CIL VIII 1.2515); PAT 0255 (= CIL VIII 1.3917; VIII 2. Add. ad n. 3917; and VIII Suppl., 2.18202); PAT 0308 (= IGLS XVII.1:208); PAT 0591 (= IGLS XVII.1:536); PAT 0990; PAT 1350 (= IGLS XVII.1:39); PAT 1413 (= IGLS XVII.1:197); PAT 2824; PAT 2801 (= IGLS XVII.1:535); IGLS XVII.1:304; IGLS XVII.1:400.

¹² IDR II 117; see also Tocilescu 1900, p. 185-186, no. 1, fig. 94. Tocilescu suggested, however, that the inscription was not actually a representation of the Aramaic language, but was rather the doodling of an illiterate Palmyrene soldier who was imitating the writing of his homeland.

the south-eastern region of Dacia, and dedicated to Atargatis¹³. The object was formerly held in the collection of Dr. Ștefan Niculescu (in Bucharest), but it too was missing at time of the publication of IDR. Finally, a Palmyrene Aramaic inscription (PAT 0252) was found in Constanța, on the Black Sea, in secondary context in a Christian burial¹⁴. This monolingual funerary inscription, composed in a non-traditional format for Palmyrene memorials, consists of ten lines of Aramaic, and is not well understood.

A NEW READING OF PAT 0251 = IDR III/1 154

In order to gather photographs and collate readings in support of a project on Latin-Aramaic translation techniques in antiquity, the authors visited the Muzeul Banatului (Banat Museum) in Timișoara, Romania, on June 10, 2016. We had the goal of performing Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) on the four Latin-Palmyrene Aramaic inscriptions in the museum's collection. After a brief meeting with the museum's director, Dr. Claudiu Ilaș, and with two staff members, Dr. Călin Timoc, and Dr. Flutur Alexandru (Muzeographs, Archaeology Department), we were escorted to the old Huniade Castle, where the museum's lapidarium is found. There we imaged three of the four items in the museum's possession (IDR III/1 154 [Guras]; 167 [Nesus]; and 170). The fourth, IDR III/1 178, was unavailable for inspection at the time and our schedule did not allow us to remain in Timișoara until it could be retrieved). Our process of documentation turned up new readings of both IDR III/1 154 [= PAT 0251; Guras] and IDR III/1 167 [= PAT 0994; Nesus]. We have published our observations on the latter epigraph – both the new reading and preliminary remarks on the ramifications for the study of ancient Latin-Palmyrene translation technique – in a separate article¹⁵. In the present paper, we offer a new reading of the former.

The Guras inscription (Fig. 1), discovered at Caransebeș (possibly meaning the nearby Roman site of Tibiscum) sometime before 1882, was originally published by Carl Torma¹⁶. The basic text offered here follows the transcription in PAT (following CIS's filling of the lacunae presented by Torma). A few emendations have been made on the basis of philological considerations drawn from other scholars. We offer our translation alongside the text¹⁷.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>D(is) M(anibus) M(emoriae)</i> | 1. To the departed spirits of memory: ¹⁸ |
| 2. <i>FL(avius) . GURAS . IIDDEI . (filius)</i> | 2. Flavius ¹⁹ Guras, (son of) Ieddei, |
| 3. <i>[OP]TIO . EX N(umero) PALMUR(enorum) .</i> | 3. [Op]tio of the contingent of Palmyrenes. ²⁰ |
| 4. <i>[VI]XIT . ANN(os) . XXXXII . MIL(itavit)</i> | 4. He [li]ved 42 years, was a soldier |
| 5. <i>[AN]N(os) XXI . AEL(ius) . HABIBIS</i> | 5. 21 years. Aelius Habibi, ²¹ |
| 6. <i>[PON]TIF(ex) ET H(eres) B(ene) . M(erito) . P(osuit)</i> | 6. a priest and (his) heir, established (this monument,
he [<i>i.e.</i> , Guras] being) well-deserving). |

¹³ IDR II 346; see also Sanie 1966; Berciu, Petolescu 1976, p. 35, no. 19.

¹⁴ PAT 0252 = CIS 3907; see also Lidzbarski 1915, p. 29-31, pl. 4; RES 1038. According to Hillers and Cussini (PAT 0252), the piece is in the "Public Museum" in Bucharest. Hutton attempted to isolate the stele's current location in April-June of 2016, with several emails sent to the staff of the National Art Museum (MNAR), the National History Museum (MNIR), the Archaeological Institute "Vasile Pârvan", and the University of Bucharest's Museum, as well as to the Museum of National History in Constanța. He could not, however, track down the inscription's present location.

¹⁵ Hutton, Greene forthcoming.

¹⁶ Torma 1882, p. 120-122, no. 72, with a comment by Th. Nöldeke.

¹⁷ We are indebted to C.E. Bonesho, who provided assistance in translating the Latin text.

¹⁸ For *DMM* as an abbreviation of *Dis Manibus Memoriae*, see Sandys 1969, p. 55-56 and Gordon 1983, p. 62.

¹⁹ Kaizer 2004, p. 565, following *IDR*, reads the first word as *AEL(ius)*, Guras's praenomen.

²⁰ The *numerus Palmyrenorum* or the dedicatee's identity as a Palmyrene is mentioned in several monolingual Latin inscriptions from Dacia; see Moga, Russu 1974, nos. 8, 9, 10, 23, 26, 29, 34, 44.

²¹ In PAT 0251, Clermont-Ganneau 1898, p. 386, suggested that *HABABI* could be compared to the Nabatean name *ḥbybw*; accordingly, its form in this text is genitive, and this case ending was copied by the author of the Latin text, despite the fact that the name should appear in the nominative in that text. However, Nöldeke 1890, argues for *HABIBI* on the basis of a parallel in Euting 1885, p. 678, no. 40.

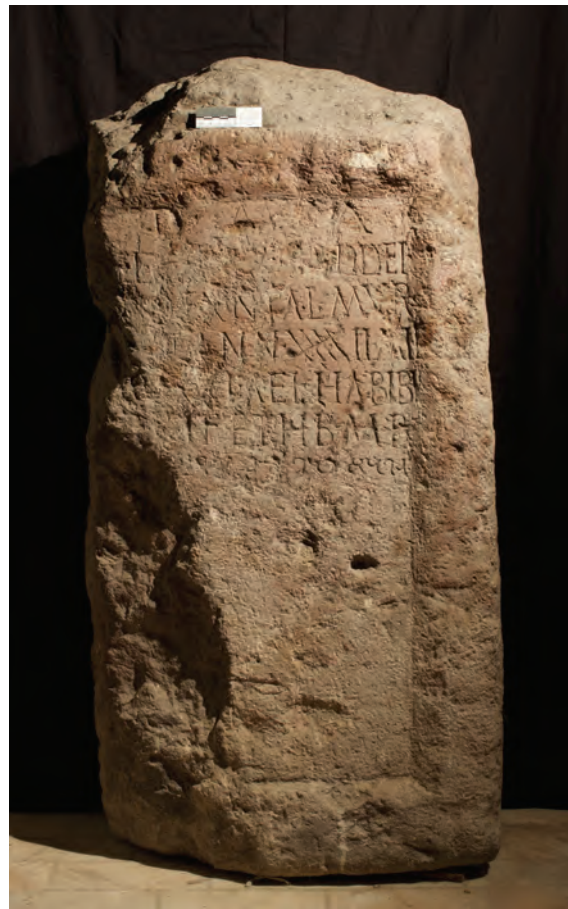


Fig. 1. Full view of PAT 0251 (Photo © N.E. Greene and J.M. Hutton)

Despite some minor variant readings of the Latin among Classicists, the style of the epigraph is familiar. It is a typical Roman funerary inscription, exhibiting the ‘essential’ structure of funerary inscriptions, as outlined by Jean-Marie Lassère: (a) consecration to the Manes; (b) the name of the deceased; (c) the age of the deceased (see below); (d) the dedicants of the memorial; and (e) final formulae²². We note also that two additional elements – the deceased’s rank in his unit and the time he served as a soldier – are included in this inscription. Beyond these brief observations on the Latin text, we leave further discussion to Classicists.

The Aramaic text is much shorter, comprising only one line. Torma originally read this line as:

1. *gwr' ydy hptyn*

1. Gurā' (son of) Yadday, Optio.

Torma asked for comments from the preeminent Semitic philologist of the time, Theodor Nöldeke. Nöldeke’s communication is quoted by Torma as suggesting a rereading of the first letter: *hptyn* may be *'ptyn*, he argued²³. But Nöldeke had been working with Torma’s autograph, and he eventually retracted this supposition, conceding the veracity of Torma’s reading²⁴. Nöldeke further suggested that the last word of the inscription might, in fact, be read *hptywn*, but it is unclear to us exactly what Nöldeke was reading. In his initial assessment of the inscription, Nöldeke suggested that the line may originally have continued beyond the third word²⁵, but he did not make suggestions as to the possible reading (but see below).

²² Lassère 2005.

²³ Torma 1882, p. 121.

²⁴ Nöldeke 1890, p. 180.

²⁵ Torma 1882, p. 121.

Since that initial round of dispute concerning the first letter of the third word, the transcription of the Aramaic inscription has gone unchallenged. The autograph in circulation since 1890 (made by von Domaszewski for the CIL entry, copied by Julius Euting, and published in large format by Theodor Nöldeke; Fig. 2) depicts a relatively certain text, posing very few philological problems. The final word is perhaps the most difficult, since the aspirant *h* is unexpected, given the apparent lack of a Latin onset phoneme. In their glossary at the end of PAT, Hillers and Cussini cite literature offering parallels for the addition of *h* at the beginning of the loanword in Aramaic²⁶. Although the phenomena cited in these two sources require further investigation and explanation, at least the case of Nabatean *hgrps* (< Gk. Ἀγρίππας), cited by Rosenthal, is parallel.

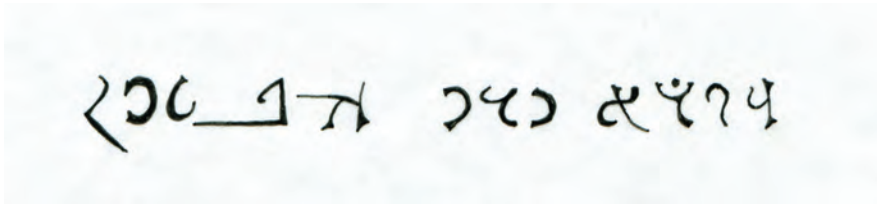


Fig. 2. C. Torma's autograph of PAT 0251, Aramaic (Drawing by J.M. Hutton after Nöldeke 1890).

Similarly unexpected is the final *nun* in *hptyn*. Derivation from the Latin word *optio* cannot explain the presence of the final nasal stop. Some interpreters have assumed a derivation through Greek (Lat. *optio* > Gk. ὀπίων > Aram. *hptyn*²⁷). At the same time, no Semitists (Hillers and Cussini included) have challenged the propriety of the final *nun*, likely because Aramaic preserves a productive suffixed morpheme *-ān*, originating in Proto-Semitic, that served to identify certain classes of nouns²⁸. Other reasons for the addition of *nun* on the loanword might also be adduced, so this reading was never interrogated.

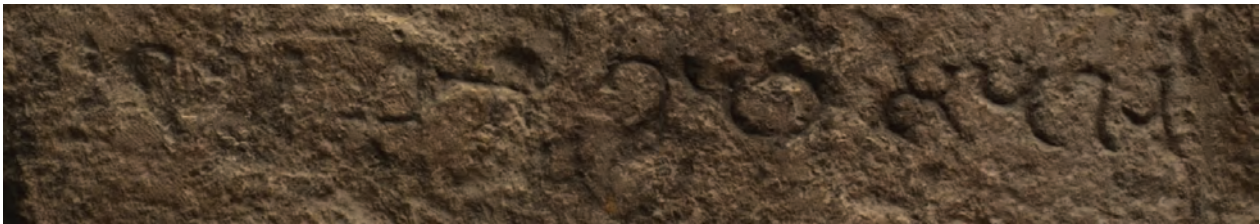


Fig. 3. Detail of PAT 0251: Aramaic line (Photo © N.E. Greene and J.M. Hutton).

The authors did not set out to challenge the reading *hptyn* when we photographed the inscription. Our inspection and imaging of the epigraph (Fig. 3), however, requires that we correct the published and received reading of the inscription. We provide our own autograph in Figure 4. The letter following *yod* is not *nun*, as Torma published it and as Euting drew it, but rather *waw*. The area at the left end of the inscription is badly abraded, making many of the characters difficult to discern under static images. Yet, using the dynamic nature of the lighting source in our RTI images (see detail in Fig. 5)²⁹ allows us to see the plainly visible curved, shepherd's-crook-shaped head of *waw*. The head continues through and to the left of a chip in the rock that Euting had apparently interpreted as the northeast–southwest slanting head of the final *nun*. Moreover, although Euting's autograph represents the down-stroke of the final *nun* as slanting northwest – southeast, this scrape is far too wide to be an intentionally carved stroke. Instead, we see the tail end of a nearly vertical shaft emerging below the scrape. This morphology conforms to expectations for formal, monumental exemplars

²⁶ Hillers, Cussini 1996, p. 360a-b, citing Rosenthal 1936, p. 36 (a Nabatean parallel) and Bertinelli Angeli 1970, p. 59 and n. 2 (citing Nabatean spellings of Greek terms beginning with rough breathing).

²⁷ Rosenthal 1936, p. 91; Hoftijzer, Jongeling 1995, vol. I, p. 291.

²⁸ Rosenthal 1936, p. 74; Cantineau 1935, p. 112-114.

²⁹ For a basic overview of RTI, including its operating methods and the benefits of utilizing the method, see Greene, Parker 2015.

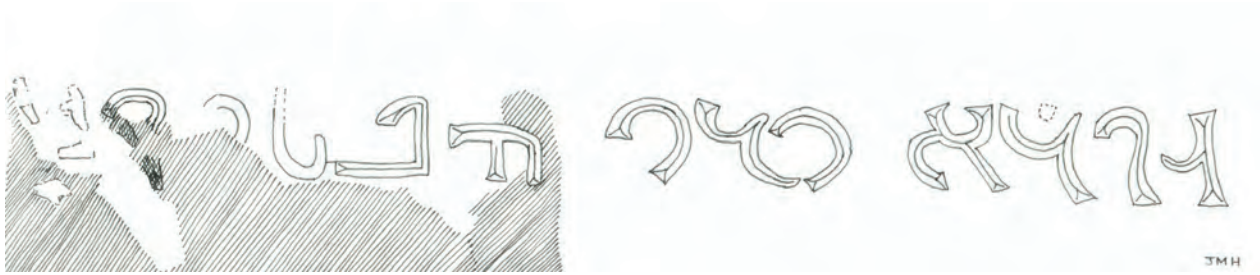


Fig. 4. Autograph of PAT 0251 (© J.M. Hutton).

of *waw*. Curiously, however, we might be able to make out a small, initial or medial *nun*-shaped chisel-mark to the left of the extant epigraph. It is possible that this mark was intended to be a grapheme; if so, the inscription likely continued beyond the break into the lacuna. But the mark does not appear to be as deeply or formally incised as the preceding, more secure letters. In any event, if Nöldeke did in fact originally read the epigraph's final series of graphemes correctly as *-ywn*, he was not reading the same *nun* as is represented boldly and clearly in Euting's autograph.

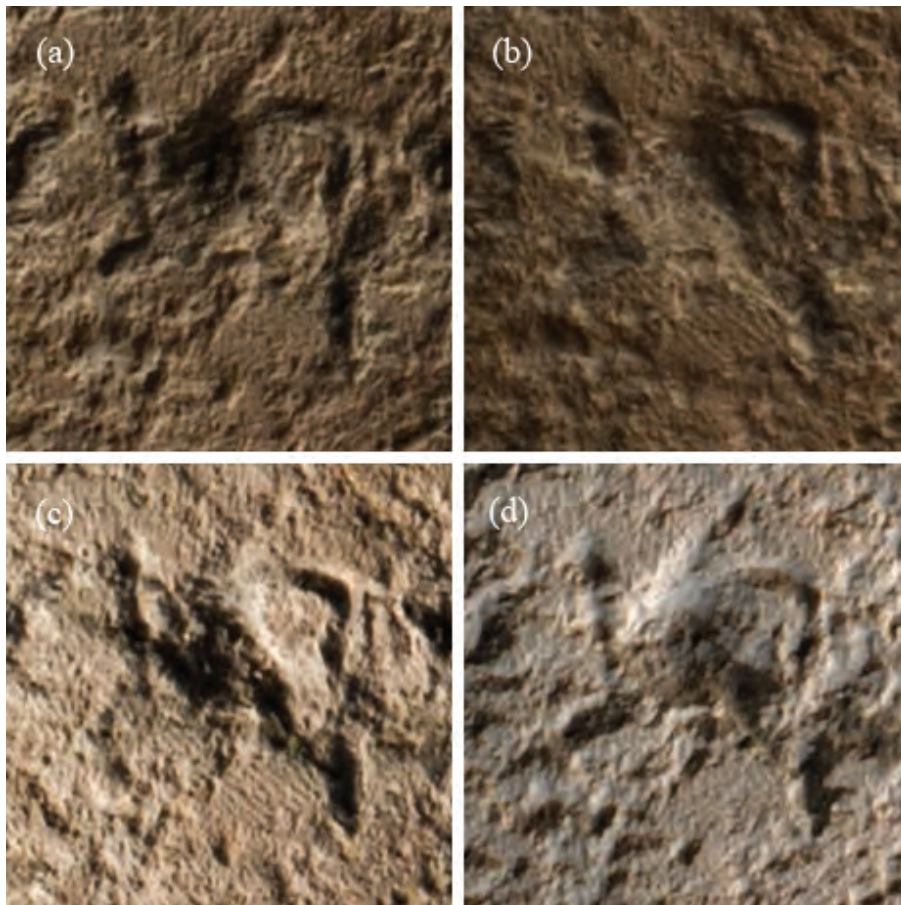


Fig. 5. Details of PAT 0251: final letter, with light from (a) northwest; (b) northeast; (c) southwest; (d) southeast (Photo © N.E. Greene and J.M. Hutton).

This revised reading of the epigraph's final letters thus demands a correction of published transcriptions, even though the translation remains the same. The proper reading of the Aramaic portion of PAT 0251 is:

1. *gwr' ydy hptyw n?*[]

1. Gurā' (son of) Yadday, Optio.

Accordingly, this lexeme's orthography, *hptyw*, exhibits a high palatal glide (marked by *y*) and a final rounded, *o*-class vowel (marked by *w*). Phonologically, this is a nearly one-to-one replication of the underlying Latin form's phonology: Lat. *optio* → Aram. /hop.ʔ(i).yō/.

CONCLUSION

This revised reading of PAT 0251's Aramaic portion contributes in two small, but meaningful ways to the study of Palmyrene Aramaic epigraphy. First, it corrects a faulty reading that has gone undiagnosed for over one hundred thirty years. Second, in correcting this reading, we have simultaneously offered a correction to the lexicographic data in use by Aramaists: this loanword from the Latin *optio*, which is, as far as we are able to discern, *hapax* in the corpus of Northwest Semitic inscriptions³⁰, was imported into Aramaic directly from Latin in a form that was phonologically similar to its source lexeme's phonology. The loanword was not incorporated through Greek (*cf.* Gk. ὀπίων), nor did it include the addition of any Aramaizing morphemes (such as the productive suffix *-ān*).

Acknowledgements

The authors gratefully acknowledge the research support generously granted by several agencies: The Wisconsin Alumni Research Fund, administered by the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Office of the Vice Chancellor of Research and Graduate Education, supported the purchase of some photographic equipment (grant #MSN165105). A grant from the Middle Eastern Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin–Madison was used to purchase additional photographic equipment, and funding from the UW Center for Jewish Studies and the West Semitic Research Project supported Greene's photographic training. Travel to Romania for study of the inscription was made possible by the support of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Vilas Associates Fellowship, administered to Hutton during the academic years 2015–2017 (grants #MSN188670 and #MSN199119). We also wish to acknowledge the help of the staff of the Muzeul Banatului in Timișoara, Romania, especially Dr. Claudiu Ilaș (Director), Dr. Călin Timoc and Dr. Flutur Alexandru (Muzeographs, Archaeology Department). They are not to be held accountable for any infelicities in our analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams 2003 – J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge, 2003.
- Berciu, Petolescu 1976 – I. Berciu, C.C. Petolescu, *Les cultes orientaux dans la Dacie méridionale*, Leiden, 1976.
- Bertinelli Angeli 1970 – M.G. Bertinelli Angeli, *Nomenclatura pubblica e sacra di Roma nelle epigrafi semitiche*, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia Antica e Scienze Ausiliarie dell'Università di Genova 7, Genoa, 1970.
- Bonesho 2013 – C.E. Bonesho, *The Altar to Sol: No Longer to Malakbel, a New Translation of the Palmyrene Inscription of PAT 0248*, unpublished paper, SBL National Meeting, Aramaic Studies Section, Nov. 24, 2013.
- Bonesho 2015 – C.E. Bonesho, *The Whole Theatre: An Analysis of the Latin (IRT 321) and Neo-Punic (IPT 24a) Inscriptions of the Theatre at Lepcis Magna*, unpublished paper, SBL National Meeting, Philology in Hebrew Studies Section, Nov. 21, 2015.
- Cantineau 1935 – J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, Cairo, 1935.
- Clermont-Ganneau 1898 – C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Sur quelques noms propres palmyréniens et nabatéens*, Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale 2, Paris, 1898, p. 381-387.
- Davis, Stuckenbruck 1992 – M.T. Davis, L.T. Stuckenbruck, *Notes on Translation Phenomena in the Palmyrene Bilinguals*, in Z.J. Kapera (ed.), *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik*, Krakow, 1992, p. 265-283.
- Euting 1885 – J. Euting, *Epigraphische Miscellen*, Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 35, Berlin, 1885, p. 669-688, pl. VI-XII.
- Gordon 1983 – A.E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1983.

³⁰ To arrive at this conclusion, we have consulted Hillers, Cussini 1996, p. 360a-b (s.v. *hptyn*); Hoftijzer, Jongeling 1995, vol. I, p. 291; and the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (online: <http://call1.cn.huc.edu/>).

- Greene, Parker 2015 – N.E. Greene, H.D.D. Parker, *Field of View: Northwest Semitic Palaeography and Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI)*, in J.M. Hutton, A.D. Rubin (eds.), *Epigraphy, Philology, and the Hebrew Bible: Methodological Perspectives on Philological and Comparative Study of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Jo Ann Hackett*, Ancient Near East Monographs 12, Atlanta, 2015, p. 209-235.
- Gzella 2005 – H. Gzella, *Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt: Kulturelle Begegnung im Spiegel des Sprachkontaktes*, Klio 87, 2005, p. 445-458.
- Hillers, Cussini 1996 – D.R. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, Baltimore, 1996.
- Hoftijzer, Jongeling 1995 – J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-west Semitic Inscriptions*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 21, Leiden, 1995.
- Hutton, Bonesho 2015 – J.M. Hutton, C.E. Bonesho, *Interpreting Translation Techniques and Material Presentation in Bilingual Texts: Initial Methodological Reflections*, in J.M. Hutton, A.D. Rubin (eds.), *Epigraphy, Philology, and the Hebrew Bible: Methodological Perspectives on Philological and Comparative Study of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Jo Ann Hackett*, Ancient Near East Monographs 12, Atlanta, 2015, p. 253-292.
- Hutton, Greene forthcoming – J.M. Hutton, N.E. Greene, *A New Reading of the Latin–Aramaic Neses Bilingual (PAT 0994), Aramaic Line 2*, forthcoming.
- Kaizer 2004 – T. Kaizer, *Latin-Palmyrenean Inscriptions in the Museum of Banat at Timișoara*, in L. Ruscu, C. Ciongrad, R. Ardevan, C. Roman, C. Găzdac (eds.), *Orbis Antiquus: Studia in Honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis 21, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 565-569.
- Lassère 2005 – J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine*, Paris, 2005, p. 234-242.
- Lidzbarski 1915 – M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. III, Giessen, 1915.
- Moga, Russu 1974 – M. Moga, I.I. Russu, *Lapidarul Muzeului Banatului: Monumente Epigrafice Romane*, Timișoara, 1974.
- Mullen, James 2012 – A. Mullen, P. James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge, 2012.
- Nöldeke 1890 – Th. Nöldeke, *Zu der lateinisch-palmyrenischen Inschrift von Karánsebes*, AEM 13, 1890, p. 180.
- Piso, Țentea 2011 – I. Piso, O. Țentea, *Un nouveau temple palmyrénien à Sarmizegetusa*, Dacia N.S. 55, 2011, p. 111-121.
- Reuter 1999 – M. Reuter, *Studien zu den numeri des römischen Heeres in der Mittleren Kaiserzeit*, BerRGK 80, 1999.
- Rosenthal 1936 – F. Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften und ihre Stellung innerhalb des Aramäischen*, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 41, Leipzig, 1936.
- Sandys 1969 – J.E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., Groningen, 1969.
- Sanie 1966 – S. Sanie, *O inscripție siriacă la Romula*, ArhMold 4, 1966, p. 355-359.
- Sanie 1970a – S. Sanie, *Inscriptio bilinguis tibiscensis. A. Pars palmyrene*, Dacia N.S. 14, 1970, p. 405-409.
- Sanie 1970b – Silviu Sanie, *L'onomastique orientale de la Dacie romaine*, Dacia N.S. 14, 1970, p. 233-241.
- Sanie 1981 – S. Sanie, *Un nouveau fragment d'inscription palmyrénienne de Tibiscum et quelques considérations sur les épigraphes palmyrénienes de Dacie*, Dacia N.S. 25, 1981, p. 359-362.
- Țeposu Marinescu 1982 – L. Țeposu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*, BARIntSer 128, Oxford, 1982.
- Tocilescu 1900 – G.G. Tocilescu, *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie: Communications faites à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de Paris, 1892-1899*, Bucharest, 1900.
- Torma 1882 – C. Torma, *Inschriften aus Dacia, Moesia superior und Pannonia inferior*, AEM 6, 1882, p. 97-135.
- Yon 2008 – J.-B. Yon, *Bilinguisme et trilinguisme à Palmyre*, in F. Biville, J.-C. Decourt, G. Rougemont (eds.), *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie. Actes du colloque, Lyon, 17-19 mai 2004*, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen: série épigraphique 37, Lyon, 2008, p. 195-211.
- Yon 2013 – J.-B. Yon, *L'épigraphie palmyrénienne depuis PAT, 1996-2011*, Studia Palmyreńskie 12, 2013, p. 333-379.

UNE CONTRIBUTION À PIR², P 926 : C. PRASTINA MESSALINVS

CONSTANTIN C. PETOLESCU*, MIHAI POPESCU**

Keywords: *Oescus, Sucidava, Moesia Inferior*, C. Prastina Messalinus, «traveller stone»

Abstract: An inscription discovered at *Sucidava* (in *Dacia Inferior*; *AE*, 1959, 323), in reality a « traveller stone » (coming, without doubt, from *Oescus*, south of the Danube), revised by the authors, it is attributed to C. Prastina Messalinus, governor of *Moesia Inferior* in AD 149.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Oescus, Sucidava, Moesia Inferior*, C. Prastina Messalinus, „piatră călătoare”

Rezumat: O inscripție descoperită la *Sucidava* (*AE*, 1959, 323), provenind în realitate de peste Dunăre, de la *Oescus* (prin urmare, o „piatră călătoare”), este atribuită de editori lui C. Prastina Messalinus, atestat prin acest document epigrafic ca guvernator al provinciei *Moesia Inferior* în anul 149 p.Chr.

L'objet de cette note est l'inscription conservée sur un fragment de colonne en calcaire découvert en 1977, lors des fouilles archéologiques effectuées dans le cité romano-byzantine de *Sucidava* (Fig. 1) ; il provient du parement effondré à l'extérieur de la tour B¹. Les dimensions du fragment conservé dans le dépôt du Musée de la ville de Corabia, sans numéro d'inventaire, sont de 14 × 45 × 20 cm. Les lettres gravées avec soin sont hautes de 4 cm. On note plusieurs ligatures : *NT* et *NI* à la ligne 1, *IF* et *IB* à la ligne 2, *AV* à la ligne 4. Les chiffres sont surlignés.

D. Tudor, le premier éditeur, propose la lecture suivante² :

*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(ito) Ael(io) H]adr(iano) Antonino
Pio pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia)
pot(estate) XII imp(eratori) II co(n)s(uli) IIII
p(atr) p(atr)iae et Aur(elio) Vero Caes(ari)
5 co(n)s(uli) II. Col(on)ia Ulp(ia) O[escus]
ob [- - -]*

D. Tudor considérait qu'il s'agissait d'une inscription honorifique dédiée à l'empereur Antonin le Pieux et à son prince, Aurelius Vêrus César, le futur empereur Marc Aurèle, par la *Colonia Ulpia Oescus*. Cette pierre fut donc transportée à l'époque de Constantin ou de Justinien depuis *Oescus* à *Sucidava*, au nord du Danube, où elle fut réutilisée comme matériau de construction dans la fortification tardive.

La mention de la XII^e puissance tribunicienne de l'empereur Antonin le Pieux permet de dater l'inscription de manière décisive dans l'intervalle 10 décembre 148 – 9 décembre 149³, sachant qu'il devint grand pontife en 138, puis père de la patrie en 139, qu'il fut acclamé comme *imperator* pour la deuxième fois en 142 et qu'il obtint son quatrième consulat en 145.

* Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest ; ccpetolescu@yahoo.fr.

** CNRS-UMR 8210 ANHIMA, Villejuif ; mpopescu@msh-paris.fr.

¹ Pour le plan général de la fortification tardive de *Sucidava*, voir Tudor 1965, p. 80, fig. 16.

² Tudor 1979, p. 307-309, n° 7, fig. 5 (photo) ; repris dans Petolescu 1981, n° 37 et Petolescu 2010, p. 105.

³ Cagnat 1914, p. 198 ; Kienast 2011, p. 134-135.

Dans le cadre du projet de publication d'une deuxième édition des *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine II*, le 10 octobre 2016, nous avons pu revoir cette pierre dans le dépôt du nouveau musée du site de Sucidava (Musée d'archéologie et ethnographie de Corabia), et nous avons constaté que l'inscription contient une sixième ligne, très fragmentaire, mais lisible. Des deux premières lettres sont conservées les boucles supérieures, puis la partie supérieure de la lettre A (?), ensuite la partie supérieure du S, suivie d'un T dont la haste se prolonge au-dessus de la barre horizontale formant la ligature TI, et, enfin, les lettres N, M et E, cette dernière distinguée très nettement (Fig. 1/b-c). Cette succession de lettres suggère le nom de *Prastina Messalinus*, le légat d'Auguste propréteur de la Mésie Inférieure, déjà connu dans une autre inscription provenant de Sucidava.

Il s'agit d'un autre fragment de colonne trouvé de manière fortuite en 1956 (Fig. 2). Son premier éditeur donne les dimensions du fragment de 33 × 18 × 9 cm, celles des lettres hautes de 4,5 cm, et remarque les ligatures TI, AM à la ligne 2 et AV à la ligne 3. Le texte de l'inscription a été publié comme suit⁴ :

[- - - C.] Ulp(ius) [Pacatus]
 [P]rastina Mess[alinus]
 [leg(atum)] Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)]

D. Tudor montrait que l'inscription provenait de la rive droite du Danube, d'*Oescus*, et que la pierre fut transportée sur la rive gauche du fleuve, à *Sucidava* où elle fut remployée comme matériau de construction dans la cité romano-byzantine. Le premier éditeur, suivant A. Stein, identifiait le personnage au gouverneur de la Mésie Inférieure des années 155-156⁵ ; par ailleurs, à la ligne 1, D. Tudor révélait un nouveau gentilice du gouverneur, *Ulp(ius)*⁶.

En fait, la comparaison des deux textes indique que la lecture de la première ligne de l'inscription découverte en 1956 est également [col(onia)] Ulp(ia) [Oescus]. Par ailleurs, lors de l'observation attentive de la ligne 6 de l'inscription découverte en 1977, nous avons constaté les mêmes ligatures présentes à la ligne 3 de l'inscription trouvée en 1956⁷ : T+I dans le *nomen Prastina* et A+M (la dernière lettre du *nomen* et la première lettre du *cognomen* ?). Il est cependant plus probable que cette dernière ligature appartienne au *nomen* qui doit être compris à l'accusatif et que, même si le M n'est pas dupliqué, il doive être compris également comme l'initiale du *cognomen* qui suit : [per C(aium) P]rastina(m) Mess[alinum] / [leg(atum)] Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] - - -]⁸.

Parmi d'autres exemples, on retrouve une construction grammaticale semblable dans une inscription de Numidié, datée en 145 (les noms des empereurs, *consules ordinarii* de l'année, à l'ablatif ; le nom du gouverneur à l'accusatif ; le nom de la troupe qui agit, au nominatif) : *Imp(eratore) Caes(are) T(ito) Aelio / Hadriano Antonino / Aug(usto) Pio p(atre) p(atriciae) IIII et M(arco) / Aurelio Caesare II / co(n)s(ulibus) per Prastina(m) / Messalinum leg(atum) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) vexil(latio) / leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) via(m) feci(t)*⁹. Deux autres inscriptions qui font référence à la construction des routes – l'une gravée sur un

⁴ Tudor 1960, p. 523 (dessin) ; Tudor 1958, Supplementum Epigraphicum 161 ; Tudor 1968, Supplementum Epigraphicum 215 ; AÉ 1959, 323 ; IDR II, 210 ; ILB, 14.

⁵ Stein 1940, p. 71.

⁶ Le nom C. *Ulp(ius) Pacatus Prastina Messalinus* est accepté par Doruțiu-Boilă 1968, p. 397-400, fig. 4-5 (photo ; reconstitution graphique) : [curant]e Vlp [Pacato] / [P]rastin Mess[alino] ; en revanche, à la p. 400, elle identifiait le monument à une borne milliaire, et évoquait la possibilité de compléter [col]. Vlp .[Oescus] à la première ligne. On retrouve le nom de ce gouverneur, sous cette forme avec la mention du gentilice *Ulp(ius)*, dans la liste des gouverneurs de la Mésie Inférieure donnée par : Doruțiu-Boilă 1976, p. 400 ; Ștefan 2000, p. 91 ; Alföldy 1977, p. 152 ; Thomasson 1984, col. 134, n° 84. Voir cependant Thomasson 2009, p. 50 (20:084) : C. *Prastina Messalinus*.

⁷ Voir *supra*, note 4.

⁸ Le fragment IDR II, 210 doit être lu ainsi : - - - / [col(onia)] Ulp(ia) [Oescus] / [per C(aium) P]rastina(m) Mess[alinum] / [leg(atum)] Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] / - - - ; les formules et la mise en forme de ce texte sont similaires à celles de l'inscription Petolescu 2010, p. 105.

⁹ Antonin le Pieux et M. Aurelius Caesar étaient *consules ordinarii* en 145 (voir Degraffi 1952, p. 41 ; Alföldy 1977, p. 149).



Fig. 1. Inscription de *Sucidava* (en Dacie Inférieure) dédiée à l'empereur Antonin le Pieux (photos de M. Popescu).



Fig. 2. Inscription de *Sucidava* (en Dacie Inférieure) = IDR II, 210 (photo d'après IDR).

obélisque trouvé à proximité d'*Heliopolis* (Syria) sous Caracalla¹⁰, l'autre sur un *miliarium* près d'*Ancyra* (Galatia) sous Élagabal¹¹ – présentent les noms des empereurs au datif, les noms des villes au nominatif, et celui des gouverneurs à l'accusatif (précédés de la préposition *per*).

Par ailleurs, les détails concernant la gravure des deux textes (et plus particulièrement les ligatures de la ligne 2) montrent que les deux monuments furent réalisés dans le même atelier lapidaire d'*Oescus*.

Dans la nouvelle édition de la *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, le gouverneur apparaît sous le nom *C. Prastina Messalinus*¹². Les *Fasti Ostienses* le mentionnent en tant que *consul ordinarius* en 147 aux côtés de *L. Annius Largus*¹³. Cette magistrature l'a propulsé à la tête de la Mésie Inférieure, province qui accueillait trois légions. Il y est attesté par trois inscriptions, les deux pierres errantes de *Sucidava*, datées en 149, et une troisième, non datée, de *Tomis*¹⁴.

Cependant, la nature des deux monuments demeure difficile à établir. Selon E. Doruțiu-Boilă, l'inscription publiée en 1960 par D. Tudor serait un *miliarium*¹⁵ ; vraiment, si on tient compte également de

¹⁰ CIL III, 202 (« lapis forma obelisci q. d. Dabbus (= accus) humi iacens ad radices Libani in itinere a laco el Yammane sive Laimontis ad Heliopolim » etc.) (= IGLS VI, 2918) : [Imp(eratori) Ca]es[a]ri divi / [L(uci) Sep]t[im]i S[e]v[er]i Pi[i] Pert(inacis) / [Aug(usti) A]rabici Adiabenici Par/[thici] max(imi) Brit(annici) [ma]x(imi) [fil(io)] divi Mar/ci Antonini Pii [Ge]rmanici Sar/[mati]ci nepoti divi Antonini Pii / pronepoti divi Hadriani ab[n]epo[t(i)] / divi [T]r[ai]ani Parthici [et] / [divi Nerv]ae [adne]po[ti] / M(arco) [A]u[re]lio Antonino Pio Aug(usto) / Part[h(ico) max(imo) p]at[ri] pat[r(iae) Brit(annico)] max(imo) / [p]on[tific(i)] maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI / co(n)s(uli) [III] p[r]oco(n)s(uli) vias et miliari[a] / per D(ecimum) Pium Cassium leg(atum) Aug(usti) / p[r(o)] p[r(aetore)] praesidem provinciae / Syriae Phoenices Colonia Iulia Aug(usta) / Felix Hel(iopolis) [r]en[o]v[er]avit.

¹¹ CIL III, 6058 (= 6900 ; ILS, 467 ; AÉ 2001, 1915) : B(ona) F(ortuna) / [Imp(eratori)] Caes(ari) divi Antonin[i] / [f]ilio divi Severi nepoti / [M(arco) Aure]l(io) Antonino Pio Fel(ici) / [Au]g(usto) trib(unicia) potest(ate) co(n)s(uli) / [p]r(oc)on(s)ul(i) p(atr)ia(e) domino / [in]dulgentissimo dica[ti]ssima numini eius / [met]ropolis Ancyranorum / [per] L(ucium) Egnatium Victorem / Lollianum leg(atum) eius / pr(o) pr(aetore) / m(ilia) p(assuum) / III.

¹² PIR², P 926.

¹³ Degrassi 1952, p. 42 ; Alföldy 1977, p. 152 ; Vidman 1982, p. 51, avec le commentaire à la p. 127, n° 7. Pour les inscriptions qui ont conservé la date consulaire, voir AÉ 1973, 319 a = AÉ 1994, 935 (du 9 avril 147) ; AÉ 1960, 96 (du 18 juillet 147) ; CIL XIV, 348 (du 31 octobre 147) ; CIL III, 4280 = 10966 = RIU III, 673 (au plus tard du 1^{er} décembre 147).

¹⁴ CIL III, 7529 = ISM II, 124 : Genio / loci, / C. Prastina / Messalinu[s], / leg(at)us Aug(usti) pr(o) / [pr(aetore)].

¹⁵ Voir l'opinion d'E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *supra*, note 6.

la forme ronde des deux monuments étudiés, il s'agit plutôt de bornes milliaires que des dédicaces. Ainsi, le début du texte publié en 1979 doit recevoir l'ascendance impériale (lignes 1-3) ; suivent les noms de l'empereur et de son César à l'ablatif (plutôt que datif ; voir *supra* l'inscription de Numidie), puis le nom du gouverneur à l'accusatif. Au final, on peut retrouver l'indication [*m(illia) p(assuum) - - -*]. Ainsi, la lecture de l'inscription trouvée en 1977 serait la suivante ;

[*Imp(eratore) Caes(are) divi Hadr(iani) f(ilio)*]
 [*divi Traiani Parth(ici) nep(ote)*]
 [*divi Nervae pronep(ote)*]
 [*T(ito) Ael(io) H]adr(iano) Antonino*
 5 [*Aug(usto) P]io pontif(ice) max(imo) trib(unicia)*
pot(estate) XII imp(eratore) II co(n)s(ule) IIII
p(atre) p(atriciae) et Aur(elio) Vero Caes(are)
co(n)s(ule) II. Col(onia) Ulp(ia) O[escus],
 [*per C(aium)] Prasti[na(m)] Mes[salinum]*
 10 [*leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae)*]
 [*Moesiae Inferioris*]
 [*m(illia) p(assuum) - - -*]

Fuficius Cornutus¹⁶ fut le successeur de C. Prastina Messalinus en Mésie Inférieure, comme il le fut pour la charge consulaire. B.E. Thomasson place les légations provinciales des deux consulaires entre 147 et 155¹⁷. Grâce aux deux inscriptions de *Sucidava*, il est acquis que Prastina Messalinus était déjà le gouverneur de la Mésie Inférieure en 149 ; l'ancien *consul ordinarius* de 147 a précédé dans cette charge celui qui lui succéda aussi en tant que consul, Fuficius Cornutus, le *consul suffectus* de 147¹⁸. Le gouvernement provincial de chacun d'entre eux a dû durer environ quatre années, situation qui infirme l'assertion du biographe d'Antonin le Pieux, selon laquelle ce dernier „fut d'une telle constance qu'il maintint de bons gouverneurs dans les provinces pendant sept et même neuf ans” (*Histoire Auguste, Vita Pii V, 3 : fuit ea constantia, ut septenis et novenis annis in provinciis bonos praesides detineret*)¹⁹.

Environ un siècle plus tard, apparaît sur une inscription de *Sacidava* (Dobroudja, Mésie Inférieure), un homonyme, gouverneur de la même province²⁰ : *Marco [Iul(io)] / Philip[po] / nobillis[simo] / Caesar[i, fil(io)] / Imp(eratoris) Mar(c)i [Iul(ii)] / Philippi In[vic]/ti Aug(usti), c[oh(ors) I] / Cilicum d[edi]/cante Pr[as]/tina Me[ssa]/lino co[n](s)ul(ari)*²¹. Jusqu'à la découverte de ce texte, ce gouverneur était connu seulement par les monnaies frappées par la cité de Marcianopolis en Mésie Inférieure²².

¹⁶ La légation de Fuficius Cornutus en Mésie Inférieure est attestée par une inscription provenant de Tomis (SEG 24, 1060 = ISM II, 55) et par deux autres de Troesmis (CIL III, 6175 = ISM V, 134 ; AÉ 1957, 266 = ISM V, 155) datées de l'époque de l'empereur Antonin le Pieux et d'Aurelius Vérus César, voir Thomasson 1984, col. 134, n° 85.

¹⁷ Fuficius Cornutus avait été *consul suffectus* en 147, avec A. Claudius Charax (Alföldy 1977, p. 152), succédant à C. Prastina Messalinus, *consul ordinarius*, voir aussi *supra* note 9. Par ailleurs, en 155, T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcus Turbo est attesté comme gouverneur de la Mésie Inférieure, voir Thomasson 1984, col. 134, n° 86 ; Thomasson 2009, p. 55 (20:086).

¹⁸ E. Doruțiu-Boilă a bien établi la légation de Fuficius Cornutus en Mésie Inférieure, entre 151-154, voir le commentaire et la datation des inscriptions ISM V, 134 et 155 et *supra*, note 12.

¹⁹ Voir *Histoire Auguste, Vita Pii V, 3*, p. 80.

²⁰ Scorpan 1980, p. 204-205, n° 3, fig. 5-6 (dessin ; photo) ; Scorpan 1981, p. 101, n° 3 (dessin) ; AÉ 1981, 743 ; ISM V, 170. Selon toutes ces publications, le prénom du gouverneur est *C(aius)*, mais la photographie publiée récemment dans ISM IV, 170, contredit cette lecture car le prénom n'est pas gravé.

²¹ PIR², P 928, réfute une quelconque connexion entre ce personnage de la moitié du III^e siècle et les trois inscriptions de *Sucidava* et de Tomis, voir *supra* nota 10. Voir aussi Thomasson 2009, p. 55 (20:138).

²² PIR², P 928.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Alföldy 1977 – G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Antiquitas, Reihe 1. Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte 27, Bonn, 1977.
- Cagnat 1914 – R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*⁴, Paris, 1914.
- Degrassi 1952 – A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano*, Rome, 1952.
- Doruțiu-Boilă 1968 – E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Über einige Statthalter von Moesia Inferior*, Dacia N.S. 12, 1968, p. 395-408.
- Doruțiu-Boilă 1968 – E. Doruțiu-Boilă s.v. *Moesia*, dans DIVR, p. 397-401.
- Kienast 2011 – D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*², Darmstadt, 2011.
- Petolescu 1981 – C.C. Petolescu, *Cronica epigrafică a României I, 1975-1980*, SCIVA 32, 1981, 4, p. 593-613.
- Petolescu 2010 – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, București, 2010.
- Scorpan 1980 – C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube*, BARIntSer 88, Oxford, 1980.
- Scorpan 1981 - C. Scorpan, *Cohors I Cilicium at Sacidava and Scythia Minor*, JRS 71, 1981, p. 98-102.
- Ștefan 2000 - A. Ștefan s.v. *Moesia* dans EAIVR III, p. 87-91.
- Stein 1940 – A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, Budapest, 1940.
- Thomasson 1984 – B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum*, I, Göteborg, 1984.
- Thomasson 2009 – B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, vol. I *ex parte retractatum*, Rome, 2009.
- Tudor 1958 – D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană*², București, 1958.
- Tudor 1960 – D. Tudor, *Nota su C. Ulp. Pacatus Prastina Messallinus governatore della Mesia Inferiore*, Dacia N.S. 4, 1960, p. 523-524.
- Tudor 1965 – D. Tudor, *Sucidava. Une cité daco-romaine et byzantine en Dacie*, Collection Latomus LXXX, Bruxelles, 1965.
- Tudor 1968 – D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană*³, București, 1968.
- Tudor 1979 – D. Tudor, *Comunicări epigrafice (VIII)*, SCIVA 30, 1979, 2, p. 303-310.
- Vidman 1982 – L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*, Prague, 1982.

Sources

Histoire Auguste, Vita Pii V, 3 – Histoire Auguste. Tome I, 1^{re} partie. *Introduction générale. Vies d'Hadrien, Aelius et Antonin*, Texte établi et traduit par J.-P. Callu, A. Gaden, O. Desbordes, Collection des Universités de France publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris, 1992.

ON FLORIN CURTA'S ATTACK

GHEORGHE ALEXANDRU NICULESCU*

Keywords: archaeology, ethnic phenomena, methodological nationalism, dogmatism, ideology, epistemic vices

Abstract: Comments on Florin Curta's arrogant and defamatory article, which, instead of a fair examination of what I wrote about how culture-historical archaeologists understand social science research on ethnic phenomena, uses mockery, insults, data manipulation and statements presented without arguments or with ridiculous ones, in order to prove that he has nothing to do with to culture-historical archaeology and that the persistence of nationalist representations in his thinking about ethnic phenomena is just an outcome of my malicious interpretation.

Cuvinte-cheie: arheologie, fenomene etnice, naționalism metodologic, dogmatism, ideologie, vicii epistemice

Rezumat: Comentarii la articolul arogant și defăimător al lui Florin Curta, în care, în loc să examineze onest ce am scris despre felul în care arheologii cultural istorici înțeleg cercetarea din științele sociale cu privire la fenomenele etnice, folosește bătaia de joc, insultele, manipularea informației și afirmații prezentate fără argumente sau cu argumente ridicole pentru a dovedi că nu are nici o legătură cu arheologia cultural istorică și că persistența reprezentărilor naționaliste în felul în care conține fenomenele etnice este doar un rezultat al interpretării mele rău-voitoare.

In an article about the archaeological research on ethnic phenomena¹, I tried to show, taking Florin Curta and Sebastian Brather as examples, that archaeologists educated as I was², in a culture-historical research tradition, tend to preserve key elements from nationalist representations of society, even when they reject nationalism and try to replace its representations with knowledge taken from the social sciences. Unwilling to discuss my views, Curta dismisses them and expects other people³ to do that, in a paper published in two versions, one in English and the other one in Romanian⁴. A radical refutation of my claims, supported by

* "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy, Bucharest; alec_niculescu@yahoo.com.

¹ Niculescu 2011.

² Curta has noticed that: "In a sudden confession, he admits being 'also educated as a culture-historical archaeologist'" (2014a, p. 300), but he does not see the connection with my main argument, because for him the only imaginable reason to criticize culture-historical archaeology is to present yourself as superior to it, as he does. That is why what I said appears to him "sudden". It is not part of a scientific argument, it is an accidental and laughable admission of weakness.

³ He mentions two colleagues who have found some value in my article (Curta 2014a, p. 300, n. 9). This is a warning for those archaeologists who dare to refer to views unapproved by him.

⁴ Curta 2014a and 2014b. The version in Romanian is an obvious attempt to impose his views on readers who do not know English and therefore cannot check whether Curta has properly understood and presented what I wrote. My article from 2011 was published in English and it refers only to what Curta wrote in English. There are differences between the two versions of the attack. Mockery is more frequent here, starting with the title, which replaces the quotation from the English version – the quotation is not accurate, "an" is added by Curta (see Niculescu 2011, p. 6); probably an "a" would be appropriate – with a mocking interpretation of it. Other examples: "describing the water" (2014a, p. 300, n. 11) becomes "ne descrie cu savantlâc apa" ("savantlâc" designates in Romanian false scientific pretenses) (2014b, p. 911, n. 11); "says that he knows" (2014a, p. 300) becomes, in 2014b, p. 910, "ne mărturisește cu o sinceritate înduioșătoare (confesses with heart-breaking sincerity). In several instances, my claims are evaluated differently: an article published in 2005 is qualified as "a thorough critique of nationalism" in the English version (2014a, p. 300, n. 11), and as "a very acid critique of nationalism" (o foarte acidă critică a naționalismului) in the Romanian one (Curta 2014b, p. 911, n. 11; "[t]o be fair, Niculescu hints at precisely this matter..." (2014a, p. 302, n. 20) becomes "Niculescu se apropie întrucâtva de această idee" (Niculescu comes somewhat close to this idea) (2014b, p. 914, n. 20).

arguments, would be certainly useful, but the scientific content is for Curta just a pretext for constructing a defamatory attack. He pays little attention to what I wrote⁵ and uses his credibility, abusive rhetoric, derogatory remarks and many red herrings with the aim of convincing the readers⁶. He assembles words from my text into whatever he needs to prove that it contains a personal attack against him and that it is made of “dishonest citation practices”, “efforts to create a straw man” and “smearing tactics”, that my arguments are worthless, because they are coming from someone who has “weak credentials”⁷, is intellectually deficient⁸, has “a distorted understanding of what culture history actually is” and “wrong assumptions about such fundamental concepts as ethnicity or (material culture) style”⁹.

Curta is strongly displeased with the idea that nationalist representations are still active in his interpretations. He claims that this is not possible, simply because he was not educated as a cultural-historical archaeologist, and that I deliberately misrepresented the truth: “Niculescu chooses to ignore the fact that my archaeological education is from the United States, not Romania... there is actually no basis for his claim that I was ‘educated as a culture-historical archaeologist who explores the social sciences’”¹⁰.

I know that Curta has a Ph.D. in history from Western Michigan University, not in archaeology (archaeology is not usually taught in US history departments). I did not know that he took a course on archaeological theory, but one course with an American archaeologist does not provide one with an archaeological education. In what I read from Florin Curta’s writings there is nothing that could indicate an US training: the interest for the social sciences was present in the history department of the Bucharest University, most significantly in the teaching of an archaeologist: Ligia Bârzu¹¹. Knowledge about the debate on styles from the 1980s was also present: while participating at an excavation in Norway, in 1990, I was able to spend time in the excellent little library of the Bergen Historisk Museum and I copied literature on the archaeological interpretation of ethnic phenomena. Coming back to Romania I have presented those views on style to my colleagues (Florin Curta and I worked in the same office) and offered the literature brought from Norway to anyone interested. Even Bruce Trigger’s well known *History of Archaeological Theory*, mentioned by Curta, as an important part of his US archaeological education, was present: in 1992 I brought several copies of that book from the United States. Seriation and cluster analysis were also known.

Curta claims that in Romania he “was trained as a Classicist, not as an archaeologist”, and supports this by invoking the theme of his B.A. thesis and two articles derived from it, published in 1995 and 1997. The reader is led to imagine that a Romanian classicist continued his education in the United States, where he developed an interest for archaeology. This is not true. He was trained as a historian, in the History department of the Bucharest University, where he was taught archaeology (all university archaeology teaching was done at that time in history departments), not in the Classics department. Trusting his CV, he even taught archaeology in the History-Philosophy Department of the Bucharest University in 1989. This might not be a strong argument because having no education in a discipline does not prevent Curta from teaching it: he mentions in his CV that he also taught sociology at the Bucharest Romanian-American University, in 1993¹².

⁵ See Curta 2014a, p. 300: “I will also not discuss his views of Bierbrauer or Brather. Instead, I shall focus on getting the record straight and pointing to key problems in his deeply flawed argument”. My views are not on persons. I am only discussing some of their writings.

⁶ Curta even resorts to slander when he describes me as someone who hides what he thinks in order to get advantages from those who have different opinions (2014a, p. 303, n. 22).

⁷ Curta 2014a, p. 299: “weak credentials for assuming any critical position in terms of the ‘production’ of archaeological literature in the culture-historical mode.” I’m not sure about what kind of credentials Curta has in mind here, but he provides (ibidem, p. 301) the reader with what seems to him relevant information, that I took my Ph.D. from the University of Bucharest, at the age of 46 (tacitly compared to his Ph.D. earned at 33, from an American university).

⁸ See, e.g., Curta 2014a, p. 299, n. 1: “‘knowledge’ appears as truly ‘foreign’ to the author”.

⁹ Curta 2014a, p. 299.

¹⁰ Curta 2014a, p. 301.

¹¹ In his preface to Curta 2009a, Victor Spinei mentions that Curta had several favorite professors, his main attachment being to Ligia Bârzu (p. v).

¹² F. Curta, *Curriculum vitae*, <http://users.clas.ufl.edu/fcurta/florin/cv.pdf> (accessed on February 27, 2015).

He was indeed interested in ancient history, but developed his archaeological knowledge by participating to several excavations, from 1990 to 1993 as a member of the Institute of Archaeology, where he started his work on the archaeology of the "Slavs" under the supervision of Radu Harhoiu¹³. Curta used that knowledge in eight archaeological articles conceived before his emigration to the USA¹⁴. The idea that he had a culture-historical archaeological education in Romania, qualified now as "bizarre" and "with no basis", was certainly not so a few years ago, when Victor Spinei wrote an introduction to a volume containing some of Curta's writings. Here Curta's interest for archaeology is presented as starting in 1982, with the participation to an excavation at Vadu under the guidance of Sergiu Iosipescu, and continuing with other participations to excavations at Histria (1986-1987), Tîrgşorul Vechi (1987-1989) and Sighişoara (1987-1993). Spinei points out that Curta's archaeological education was guided by Radu Harhoiu, his "colleague and mentor"¹⁵. In the acknowledgements section of his Ph.D. dissertation from 1998, Curta gives more details: "My deepest academic debt is to Radu Harhoiu from the Archaeological Institute in Bucharest, **who guided my training as an archaeologist and encouraged me to think historically about artifacts**. It is he who gave me the idea of studying the Slavs in the context of the sixth-century Barbaricum..." (emphasis added)¹⁶.

All this is forgotten in Curta's attack. He even qualifies his professors at the University of Bucharest as "Niculescu's" professors, forgets the debt of gratitude towards those who helped him become an archaeologist, and opposes to them Allan Zagarell, who appears now as having "the greatest influence" on Curta's "mode of thinking"¹⁷. No US archaeological education is mentioned in the preface to Curta's book from 2001: "This book is in fact a combined product of archaeological experience, mostly gained during field work in Romania, Moldova, Hungary, and Germany, and work with written sources, particularly with those in Greek. ... I have conducted exhaustive research on most of the topics surveyed in those chapters which deal with the archaeological evidence. **Field work in Sighişoara (1985) and Tîrgşor (1986–8) greatly contributed to the stance taken in this book** (emphasis added)"¹⁸.

It is unlikely that Curta actually believes what he writes about his education, especially since his CV and Spinei's introduction can refresh his memory and it is astonishing that he invokes two publications and the theme of his M.A. in favor of his thesis and ignores eight publications and the theme of his Ph.D. dissertation, which do not support it. The way in which he argues in order to create the impression that he is an US educated archaeologist, who has nothing to do with culture-historical archaeology, makes me understand why my advice on not having our data behave according to our plans is dismissed by Florin Curta as "vague and emotional"

¹³ In Romania, he was an apprentice at the excavations he mentions (no other field experience is mentioned in his CV, except one in Constance, to which he participated, very probably, also as an apprentice or as a visitor). He was supposed to do what he was told and to learn. Following the custom active at that time, he was not entrusted with research responsibilities (he is not even mentioned among the authors of the excavation reports). These excavations and the considerable amount of time spent by senior colleagues from the Bucharest Institute of Archaeology on teaching him, especially by Radu Harhoiu, were his archaeological post-graduate education in Romania. See Curta 2014a, p. 301, n. 16: "My education at the University of Bucharest is irrelevant in this respect, since I was trained as a Classicist, not as an archaeologist. ... Following my B.A. from the University of Bucharest (1988), I have not received any other form of post-graduate education in Romania".

¹⁴ Curta 1990 and 1992 were published in *Dacia N.S.*, the main archaeological journal in Romania at that time; the other six: Curta 1988; Curta 1994a; Curta 1994b; Curta 1994c; Curta, Dupoi 1994-1995 and Canache, Curta 1994.

¹⁵ Spinei, in Curta 2009, p. vi. Some details from this preface, for instance that Curta participated to an excavation under my supervision and that of Monica Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, indicate that Spinei has used information coming from Curta.

¹⁶ Curta 1998, p. ii

¹⁷ Curta 2014a, p. 301. In order to indicate that his research belongs to a superior way of doing archaeology, he presents his education as post-processualist. If we think that social theory and sensitivity to the ways in which archaeologists are prone to ascribe to the distant past ways of thinking belonging to the recent one are important, post-processual archaeology is certainly better than culture historical archaeology. But that does not make any post-processual research product better than a culture-historical one. For instance, the contributions to archaeological knowledge made by Max Martin, with his catalogue and analysis of the Kaiseraugst necropolis (1976 and 1991) are much more important than many sterile post-processual theoretical musings, just as the theoretical work produced by Ian Hodder or John C. Barrett is much more important for archaeology than many worthless descriptive publications of culture-historical archaeologists.

¹⁸ Curta 2001, p. 2.

and gratulated with three exclamation marks¹⁹. His construction of the argument is made by choosing what can be presented as supporting it and by deliberately omitting what does not, something a lawyer or a tabloid journalist would do, not a scientist²⁰. Getting away with what can be presented as true is the goal, probably with a wish to see how far he can go, not the truth.

Curta's effort to falsify his biography is pointless. I did not infer his views from his education. I have examined some of his writings, which clearly indicate a culture-historical perspective and the influence of nationalism. One can safely assume they come from his education, no matter where that took place. One's beginnings in professional knowledge are important, but the extent to which they impose a set of outlooks for a long time is variable, especially under conditions which do not favor their survival. Then, of course, nationalist representations of the social were not cultivated only among archaeologists: the whole educational system was permeated by them. And not only in Romania. They are frequent now in the US, even among social scientists who study ethnic phenomena²¹. The resistance to them does not come from the immunity tacitly claimed by Curta. It can be a product of examining how what we know has come to our minds. Without such efforts, our ability to take research outside the frame that has been for so long imposed on us is limited.

For any archaeologist who has read culture history, processual and post-processual archaeology is obvious that Curta belongs to the first. This is indicated by central research practices which were frequent in his Romanian work environment and continue to be frequent in Curta's work: *e.g.*, analysis of drawings instead of artifacts (Curta has never seen most of the artifacts he is talking about) and hence a focus on shapes and decoration and little interest for materials, technology and formation processes, the use of typological classifications and mapping for ethnic identification²².

A serious investigation of ethnic phenomena starts by distancing itself from nationalist views. Just an example, from Fredrik Barth:

“Practically all anthropological reasoning rests on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous: that there are aggregates of people who essentially share a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others. Since culture is nothing but a way to describe human behaviour, it would follow that there are discrete groups of people, *i.e.* ethnic units, to correspond to each culture” (emphasis added)²³.

Curta can certainly claim that he knows that. Here are “his” words:

“Before Barth, Western anthropologists had limited their investigation to processes taking place within groups, rather than between groups. All anthropological reasoning has been based on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous and that there were aggregates of people who essentially shared a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all others” (emphasis added)²⁴. Curta has appropriated Barth's words, but their meaning does not come to his mind when he is wondering what a nationalist representation of society might be²⁵.

¹⁹ Niculescu 2011, p. 15. Curta 2014a, p. 301.

²⁰ Interesting enough, Curta himself has harsh words for those who deliberately ignore evidence: when he suspects that an archaeologist “passes over in silence those facts which directly contradict her arguments” the verdict is clear: “she is simply dishonest” (Curta 2009b, p. 10).

²¹ See Wimmer 2014, p. 838, on the “straightforward Herderian essentialism [which] dominates much of ethnic studies in the USA (with very notable exceptions)”.

²² Despite the decades he has spent on inferring types of people from types of artifacts, as many culture-historical archaeologists do, Curta dismisses my interpretation that this has to do with a groupist social ontology and claims that the reason for using typology is “a stringent need of chronological control”. More about Curta's understanding of typology, here, *infra*. On mapping, see Curta 2001, p. 200-203, where he comments on the distribution of several types of brooches and concludes: “[t]he distribution of all these types speaks for itself.” No distribution map speaks for itself.

²³ Barth 1969, p. 9.

²⁴ Curta 2001, p. 18. Footnote 39, situated before the “paraphrased” text, sends the reader to Barth's “influential book” from 1969, not to the introduction, from which the emphasized words are taken. The next footnote, n. 40, placed at considerable distance from it, sends the reader to Barth 1994, p. 12, but the text is taken from Barth 1969, p. 9. The reader is not offered that information and is led to believe that the assessment belongs to Curta, who evaluates the state of the research before the work of F. Barth.

²⁵ See Curta 2014a, p. 302: “...Niculescu... never explains what exactly is a nationalist representation of any society”.

In my 2011 article I did not offer a definition for “nationalist representation of society”. The contexts in which I used this notion made it clear enough²⁶ and I thought that those interested in the archaeological interpretation of ethnic phenomena would not need one. It is what sociologists call “methodological nationalism”²⁷ and it designates beliefs about the relations between human beings imagined by nationalist ideologies and absorbed by common knowledge and scientific disciplines. Its main ingredient is the idea that the world is made of distinct groups, similar to modern nations, endowed with durable characteristics, which make them the main actors of history and politics, and should be studied as such.

In the article that has enraged Curta I argued that, despite his efforts to distance himself from nationalism, this representation is still present in some of his interpretations, namely in the view of ethnicity as a common mode of action, in that of style equated with the signaling of the distinctiveness of an ethnic entity and in the assumption that ethnicity was during Late Antiquity what it is today. All this amounts to the preservation of what is crucial in nationalist representations and was rejected by F. Barth and U. Beck: a world made now and in the distant past of groups of the same kind. And this representation makes for Curta valid definitions like that of Max Weber, on which I will have more to say. My views on these matters are not rejected by Curta as based on misrepresentations of his writings, so he tacitly agrees that I properly understood what he meant. They are dismissed, with no arguments worthy of a scientific paper, as indicating my ignorance.

For Curta, as for many historians and archaeologists from Eastern Europe, nationalism means mainly defending and promoting views that exalt their own nation and diminish others. Therefore, he defends his writings as being irrelevant for current nationalist interests²⁸. My claim was that both he and S. Brather make the past relevant to the ethnic present not by supporting particular nationalist political claims, but by imagining ethnicity as a uniform reality, extending from the past to the present, although what it does is to extend the nationalist present in an imagined ethnic past²⁹. This view is emphatically sustained even in Curta's recent attack, when he equates my reservations towards his idea that ethnicity was in distant past, as today, “a phenomenon of everyday life”³⁰, with the radical rejection of ethnicity as a phenomenon of Late Antiquity.

²⁶ See Niculescu 2011, p. 10, where such representations refer to ethnic phenomena as “continuously mobilized groups”, or p. 15, where the idea “of a world divided, in the present as in the past, into bounded ethnic entities” is presented as “central in the nationalist representation of social reality”.

²⁷ See the definition of methodological nationalism offered by Ulrich Beck (2007, p. 287): “Systematically, methodological nationalism takes the following ideal premises for granted: it equates society with nation-state societies, and sees states and their governments as the cornerstones of a social sciences analysis”. See also Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002, p. 217: “Methodological nationalism is understood as the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world”. See also p. 222, where a reference to one of my papers is used to point out that methodological nationalism continues to be dominant in historiography, art history and archaeology, as practiced by many Eastern European researchers.

²⁸ It seems unlikely that Curta is so politically naïve that he does not understand the implications of knowing “who were those enigmatic Slavs” (Curta 2001, p. 2). He comments: “Be as it may, one is left wondering how is that relevant for the ethnic present?” and claims that the conclusions of his work are against current ethnic concerns (2014a, p. 302). However, they replace origins exalting long ancestry and autonomy, with a “truth” that makes them subaltern. This is devaluation, one of the tactical devices used in nationalist symbolic conflicts, described by Simon Harrison (1995, p. 256-258), and, as such, it is relevant for the present.

²⁹ Niculescu 2011, p. 15. A similar view can be found in an article written by an anthropologist: “[c]lassifying the most diverse historical forms of social identity as ‘ethnic’ creates the scientifically questionable but politically useful impression that all ethnicities are basically the same and that ethnic identity is a natural trait of persons and social groups. If, following Smith (1991, p. 52), we use the term *ethnies* to refer equally to Old Testament Canaanites, early medieval Normans and modern-day Basques and Sikhs, it is no great feat to claim ‘a greater continuity between pre-modern *ethnies* and ethnocentrism and more modern nations and nationalism than modernists of all kinds have been prepared to concede’. This is not an argument which bears up to historical scrutiny. Rather, it is a nominalist operation intended to provide scholarly legitimation for ethno-nationalist ideologies” (Lentz 1995, p. 305). After rightly seeing in A.D. Smith's understanding of *ethnie* “a tendency to reify ethnic groups and to treat ethnicity as an ‘it’, a ‘thing’ out there to be objectively measured and studied”, Curta uses *ethnie* as “a way to avoid confusion between the ethnic group and the phenomenon it supposedly instantiates (ethnicity)” (2001, p. 23), without noticing that “instantiation” used in this way is reification.

³⁰ Curta 2014a, p. 305. See *infra*.

The overtly political nationalism contained in archaeological writings relies on methodological nationalism, but there are archaeologists who still believe in the existence of ethnic archaeological cultures and resist nationalist interpretations of the past because the archaeological record, as they understand it, does not support them. One can even dedicate a very important and valuable body of work against the nationalist use of the past and still have a nationalist representation of society. Herminio Martins, who appears to have invented the notion of methodological nationalism, remarks that “macro-sociological work has largely submitted to national pre-definitions of social realities: a kind of methodological nationalism – **which does not necessarily go together with political nationalism on the part of the researcher** – imposes itself in practice with national community as the terminal unit and boundary condition for the demarcation of problems and phenomena for social science” (emphasis added)³¹.

Avoiding a direct confrontation with most of my claims, Curta focuses on proving dishonesty and ignorance, a common tactic for those who want to avoid a scientific discussion. I will discuss only some of his arguments, selected according to the importance he gave to them. I have ignored statements that are formal games on what I wrote or just silly³².

Curta invokes “dishonest citation practices”³³, starting with the accusation that I selected the information supporting my claims. I paid attention to arguments in his writings that could prove my interpretations wrong, but I did not read everything Curta has written. My purpose was to illustrate a common problem, shared even by culture-historical archaeologists who use the social sciences, not to offer a comprehensive study of Curta’s work.

Then he claims that I have invented things he never wrote: “if one goes to the page indicated, one immediately notes that there is no mention of ethnicity being a recent phenomenon. Those words are not mine; they have only been attributed to me by Niculescu”³⁴. Here is what one can read by going to that page:

“Others argue that ethnicity is **a relatively recent phenomenon**, resulting from dramatic historical experiences, notably escape from or resistance to slavery,” (emphasis added)³⁵.

Curta also claims that I have wrongly attributed to him the characterization of Fredrik Barth’s work as a “subjective approach to ethnicity” and that what he wrote -- “[t]o be sure, the subjective approach to ethnicity, which is so often and almost exclusively attributed to Barth, long precedes him” is something completely different. It is not. Here is another statement, on the same page: “Barth shed a new light on subjective criteria (ethnic boundaries)...”³⁶.

Another accusation of misrepresentation concerns my claim that Curta believes F. Barth favored a “we vs. them” perspective³⁷. He says that in his book he attributed this not to Barth, but to his followers. That is true. I assumed that Barth’s followers very simply followed his opinions. Curta did not mention them and did not indicate that they were dissenters. How was I to know? That this is another instance in which Curta plays

³¹ Martins 1974, p. 276.

³² *E.g.*, Curta 2014a, p. 302, claims that I do not understand that “the Slavs are not a desirable ingredient of the Romanian ethnogenesis, and definitely not an element of the past that could be effectively used by Romanian nationalists”. This is something in Romania even high-school pupils understand. Or: “[m]ine is not a text-aided approach. Nor do I think of historical sources as additional or some kind of crutches helping the archaeologist make sense of the archaeological record” (2014a, p. 306). Curta does not know what he is doing. The simple existence of ethnic units is taken from the written sources. Without them he would have no knowledge about “who were” those Slavs. On this, see Halsall 2011, p. 18: “Indeed assigning any ethnic name to archaeological evidence is quite impossible on archaeological grounds alone. No specific ethnic identity of any sort can ever simply emerge from the archaeological record on its own, whether that record be studied through artefact design, or from distribution maps or charts of percentage frequencies...Such an interpretation can only – ever – arise through the application to the archaeological data of a series of assumptions derived from written sources”.

³³ Curta 2014a, p. 299.

³⁴ Curta 2014a, p. 303.

³⁵ Curta 2001, p. 15. I did not write that Curta believes ethnicity to be a recent phenomenon, only that he mentioned this as an opinion: “After mentioning the opinion that ethnicity is a relatively recent phenomenon...” (Niculescu 2011, p. 10).

³⁶ Niculescu 2011, p. 10; Curta 2001, p. 18.

³⁷ Curta 2014a, p. 303-304. See Niculescu 2011, p. 10 and Curta 2001, p. 18.

on the appearances against the truth is proved by what he wrote in a book review "Barth and his students built on concepts of the self and social role behavior typified by the 'we vs. them perspective'"³⁸.

Curta also indicates that my remark on the absence of the required quotations marks for a phrase he borrowed from Siân Jones is inappropriate. He has the audacity of presenting his use of her words as a paraphrase³⁹.

This is the "paraphrase":

"This seems to come very close to Bentley's point that **the cultural practices and representations which become objectified as symbols of ethnicity are derived from, and resonate with, the habitual practices and experiences of the agents involved, as well as reflect the instrumental contingencies of a particular situation**" (emphasis added).

And this is Siân Jones' text:

"**The cultural practices and representations that become objectified as symbols of ethnicity are derived from, and resonate with, the habitual practices and experiences of the people involved, as well as reflecting the instrumental contingencies** and meaningful cultural idioms **of a particular situation**" (emphases added)⁴⁰.

In the footnote following the paragraph which includes the text quoted above, the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of Siân Jones is mentioned, after a reference to a work by Ian Hodder. But without quotation marks the reader cannot know what was taken from her dissertation and how. The rules about this are straightforward. This is how they are presented on the site of well-known academic publisher: "Authors are reminded that, where they draw upon material from another source, they must EITHER put that material in the form of a quote, OR write it entirely in their own words (*i.e.* there is no 'middle way')"⁴¹.

The "paraphrase" from S. Jones is immediately followed by another one from Ian Hodder:

"Thus, **the ethnic differences are constituted in the mundane as well as in the decorative, for the 'tribal' distinctions and negative reciprocity become acceptable and are 'naturalized' by their continual repetition in both public and private**"⁴².

This is Ian Hodder's text:

"**The ethnic differences are constituted in the mundane as well as in the decorative. The tribal distinctions and negative reciprocity become acceptable and are 'naturalised' by their continual repetition in both public and private**"⁴³.

The aforementioned footnote 68 starts with a reference to Hodder, but, again, the reader is not informed that Hodder's text was copied almost *ad litteram*. With time, the paragraph made of phrases written by S. Jones and I. Hodder has become so dear to Curta that it has become his knowledge. In a review and two articles he uses it, with small variations, without indicating the sources:

"But the evidence suggests precisely the opposite. **Cultural practices and representations that become objectified as symbols of group identity are derived from, and resonate with, the habitual practices and experiences of the agents involved, but they also reflect the instrumental contingencies of a particular situation. Ethnic differences are constituted simultaneously in the mundane as well as in the decorative, and become "naturalized" by continual repetition in both public and private**"⁴⁴.

When I first encountered the "paraphrase" from S. Jones, I did not see it as more than an accident, eventually to be mentioned in a footnote. I do not know how frequently Curta uses such "paraphrases", but they suggest the special relation with other traditions of research than his own, also indicated by his mocking of the difficulties encountered by me during my journey through the foreign knowledge produced by social scientists. Endowed with the miraculous gift of instant comprehension, Curta imagines that by reading and by

³⁸ Curta 2006, p. 92.

³⁹ Curta 2014a, p. 304, n. 31. See Niculescu 2011, p. 11, n. 56, on Curta 2001, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Jones 1997, p. 90

⁴¹ <http://www.elsevier.com/journals/research-policy/0048-7333/guide-for-authors> (accessed on April 12, 2015).

⁴² Curta 2001, p. 30.

⁴³ Hodder 1982, p. 55-56.

⁴⁴ Curta 2006, p. 92; the text is almost identically reproduced in Curta 2007, p. 180 (here the two parts coming from Jones and Hodder are separated) and Curta 2011, p. 539 (in footnote 26, placed before the "paraphrase", Curta sends the reader to p. 187 and 205 of Hodder's book, but not to p. 55-56, where the text he copied can be found).

appropriating ideas he cannot express with his own words, let alone produce, he has direct access to current research in other traditions of research and that there is no difference between identical words uttered by different persons, in different contexts⁴⁵. That this is an illusion is shown by the evolution of I. Hodder, who has repeatedly changed his views in order to get closer to the advance of current research or to produce it. Confronted with my statement that the idea of material culture as text Curta still presents as current post-processual thinking was abandoned by Hodder, he is blocked in the sterile rage of the clueless and, instead of calmly examining the facts (I have provided a citation from one of Hodder's writings, in which he declares that "[r]eading text is not an appropriate analogy for reading material culture")⁴⁶, he explains my position by claiming that I hate post-processual archaeology (sic!)⁴⁷. Knowledge is as good as its conditions of production and printed words do not include the reality that has produced them. That is why their meaning is different. What for Curta is eternal truth, for a post-processualist is a tentative formulation, to be replaced with something better. But the main difference is that while a post-processualist knows the reasons for embracing and discarding such a notion, for Curta the choice of a representation is a matter of personal excellence, and therefore a good choice can never become a bad one, because someone highly intelligent cannot become stupid. Illusions of instant comprehension are a serious problem in the relations between disciplines and traditions of research. They are based on mistaken codes⁴⁸ and plague numerous interdisciplinary projects in which researchers are imagined by bureaucrats as Curta imagines himself and therefore no recognition is given to the fact that understanding of a different scientific world takes a lot of time⁴⁹.

The only coherence detectable in Curta's theoretical writings about ethnic phenomena is given by the underlying methodological nationalism. Otherwise the texts taken from different social scientists, archaeologists or not, who have different and sometimes contrasting views, and assembled by Curta, are incompatible. The reliance on borrowings and the incapacity to produce good original thinking explains the gap between the "paraphrased" quality of Curta's theoretical writings and the intellectual poverty of his attack, for which Curta had to produce his own arguments, usually nothing more than dogmatic statements dressed in mockery.

Instead of discussing arguments I have offered about the persistence of a groupist social ontology in his work⁵⁰, Curta wants to prove my "distorted understanding of what culture history actually is". The line of thought is that only someone who does not understand culture-historical archaeology could place him in this tradition of research. I did not attempt to prove his belonging to culture historical archaeology, simply because that is obvious, just as obvious as the fact that there are differences between him and other archaeologists belonging to the same tradition.

Curta claims that he has nothing to do with culture-historical archaeology, because he has never defended the use of "archaeological culture" notion⁵¹. He does not pay attention to what I wrote: "Emblemic style **replaces** for F. Curta archaeological culture as a tool for archaeological ethnic identification (emphasis added)"⁵².

Then, Curta claims that I ignore the problem of agency, which he considers important for what I wanted to say. He states that culture-historical archaeology uses a normative view of culture, "*i.e.*, [that] people

⁴⁵ On similar illusions, see the remarks of Thomas Kuhn (1996, p. 204): "...he finds himself fully persuaded of the new view but nevertheless unable to internalize it and be at home in the world it helps to shape. ...He may use the new theory nonetheless, but he will do so as a foreigner in a foreign environment, **an alternative available to him only because there are natives already there. His work is parasitic on theirs, for he lacks the constellation of mental sets which future members of the community will acquire through education**" (emphasis added).

⁴⁶ Niculescu 2011, p. 15 and Hodder, Hutson 2003, p. 204. For a presentation of the "material culture as text" position, see Preucel 2006, p. 138-142.

⁴⁷ Curta 2014a, p. 301, n. 17.

⁴⁸ Bourdieu 1968, p. 590.

⁴⁹ On the misrecognition of the amount of time needed in interdisciplinary projects, see Gosselain 2011.

⁵⁰ I am not sure he understands properly what the notion means. In the Romanian version of the attack, he translates it with "ontologie socială de grup" (2014b, p. 909), an appropriate translation for "group social ontology", not for "groupist social ontology", which should be translated in Romanian with "ontologie socială bazată pe existența grupurilor".

⁵¹ Curta 2014a, p. 301, n. 19. In Romania, more often than not, culture-historical archaeologists do not rely on complex wholes of interrelated artifacts for their ethnic identifications, but on few "expressive artifacts", just as Curta does.

⁵² Niculescu 2011, p. 12.

'behave' in certain culturally characteristic ways without necessarily being aware of what they are doing"⁵³ and opposes to it agency. It seems to me that normativity refers to behavior being guided by norms⁵⁴, whether the agents are aware of what they are doing or not, and that human agency is, to a significant extent, normatively constituted⁵⁵. Culture-historical archaeologists assume that behind the typological regularities they study there are ancient norms, and Curta does the same, when he uses the notion of emblematic style, which implies the existence of rules linking styles to ethnic entities⁵⁶. The restriction of agency to intentional action is unusual for a post-processual archaeologist – Curta claims to have a post-processual education and training⁵⁷ –, especially now, when many of them are supporting ideas of material agency, which by definition is not intentional and excludes awareness⁵⁸. Among the social scientists, some have serious reservations against the utility of the notion of agency and more include habitual action in it⁵⁹. Without any references in Curta's writings (again, I have not read all of them), the sources can only be guessed. Possibly the source is neoliberal thinking, in which humans are imagined as actors who make rational choices with the aim of improving their chances of success and are free from structural constraints, reflexively managing their selves as if they were businesses⁶⁰.

Embracing some theory of agency and leaving everything else in place does not take one out of culture-historical archaeology. Curta's agency enables ancient actors to do exactly what culture-historical archaeologists imagined they did (of course, now they are fully aware of they are doing): they use the types of artifacts determined by archaeologists – their agency does not allow them to choose anything else – in order to show their identity, and archaeologists continue to do what they were doing before: they identify them using those types. The only benefit seems to be that by using "agency" Curta is able to show that he knows more to those who don't⁶¹.

For Curta, someone who embraces his notion of agency cannot be a culture-historical archaeologist, because this tradition does not use it. The definition of culture I had to learn in 1975, as a first-year student in the history department of the Bucharest University, was that it is "the extra-somatic means of adaptation", *i.e.* Lewis R. Binford's well-known definition adopted from Leslie White⁶². That did not make any of the archaeologists working in Romania processual, not even the professor who taught us the definition. A tradition of research can use a variety of borrowed ideas, usually under the pressure of their prestige, as legitimating devices, which do not change the research procedures and their outcomes. These are the core of the paradigm and the theory empowering them is largely tacit. The adoption of some foreign ideas does not necessarily change what archaeologists do and how they do it⁶³.

⁵³ Curta 2014a, p. 302. He indicates in n. 20 that he knows I reject cultural determinism ("[t]o be fair, Niculescu hints at precisely this matter when writing that Bierbrauer's view...". For a different assessment of my position, see the version in Romanian (here, *supra*, n. 4).

⁵⁴ See, *e.g.*, Hodder, Hutson 2003, p. 9, where normative refers to the existence of shared beliefs and rules of behavior.

⁵⁵ Korsgaard 2014.

⁵⁶ See, again, Hodder, Hutson 2003, p. 31, on processual archaeology: "the systemic covering law approach is itself normative, in the sense that the beliefs and rituals, the meaning of style, are all rules shared by members of social communities" and p. 207: "...most current archaeological theory, of whatever hue, retains a normative component, in that explanation assumes ideas held in common and rules of behavior".

⁵⁷ Curta 2014a, p. 301.

⁵⁸ For this understanding of agency, which is crucial for current archaeological theory, see, *e.g.*, Hodder 2012, p. 68: "Things do have a primary agency, not because they have intentionality but because they are vibrant and have lives and interactions of their own".

⁵⁹ Bourdieu does not use it, because his whole work was an attempt to go beyond the opposition of structure and agency, which is also that between determination and conscious action. See also Loyal, Barnes 2001 (especially p. 507-508), for whom the concept of agency is useless for sociological theory because no evidence can separate the chosen from the determined. For an inclusion of the habitual, using Bourdieu's notion of the "intentionless intentional" (p. 980) in a mainstream sociological understanding of agency, see Emirbayer, Mische 1998.

⁶⁰ Gershon 2011, p. 537 and 539. See also Patterson 2005, especially p. 376-377.

⁶¹ Curta also scolds S. Brather for not using the notion and for not mentioning "the now abundant literature on agency and performativity in archaeology" (Curta 2013, p. 168), but he does not offer any references.

⁶² Binford 1962, p. 218. *Cf.* White 1959, p. 8.

⁶³ On the unequal contest between recent social theory and the conceptual apparatus embedded in archaeology, which includes types, see Johnson 2006, p. 123-124.

Against my claim that, as a group making methodology, typology has something to do with nationalism, Curta states that typology is important for culture-historical archaeologists mainly because they need chronological control⁶⁴. It is hard to believe that Curta does not remember those many instances in which, like other culture-historical archaeologists, he used archaeological types to “identify” ancient peoples. He does here what he has done with his education: he presents only arguments that support his thesis and ignores the rest. The link with nationalism seems to me obvious: just as the political ideology creates groups around human types (see Curta’s “prototypic manner” of identification, ascribed by him to ethnic groups, a way of thinking he continues to support in his attack), archaeological typologies make groups around artifact types, with two similar related consequences: the severe reduction of internal variability and the neglect of other traits than those used for making the groups⁶⁵.

Curta then states that, “[a]s a method, typology is not ‘contaminated’ by culture history. Only its use (which is dictated by theoretical choices) could be incriminated as ‘culture-historical’. In and for itself, typology is neutral”⁶⁶. According to him the same typology can receive a culture-historical interpretation or a post-processual one, and so, whatever the results of analysis are, they cannot influence an archaeologist’s view of the past he wants to recover, because that view is not produced by archaeologists, it is adopted before the analysis is made and its adoption has nothing to do with archaeological analytical procedures. In other words, social theory becomes an ideology, not a tool which needs appropriate methodological choices. The informed archaeologist is supposed to know, before doing anything with the archaeological record, what view of the world is currently accepted as valid and his research has to confirm it⁶⁷. That view is presented in the conclusions, even if it is incompatible with the methods used for the analysis of the archaeological record, as it happens with Curta’s emblematic style, which, imagined as a result of the deliberate choices of the actors, should make him abandon objectivistic and empiricist typologies.

As a way of looking at the world of objects and people typology is not neutral, it shapes the world according to what it can do, just as in the well-known saying that someone who has a hammer will tend to see only nails around him. That is why sociologists have repeatedly warned about the limitations imposed by the constitution of traditions of research around one or several methods⁶⁸. One of the most instructive facts about typological thinking is the importance attached by biologists to its repudiation: “For the typologist, the type (eidos) is real and the variation an illusion, while for the populationist the type (average) is an abstraction and only the variation is real. No two ways of looking at nature could be more different”⁶⁹.

As he tries to demonstrate that he has no connections with culture historical archaeology, Curta makes them clearly visible. His insistence on the neutrality of typologies, with the consequence that theoretical choices, good or bad, manifest themselves only in their interpretation and do not participate in the construction of the methodology, is what processual archaeologists have repeatedly rejected, as culture-historical archaeology, during the 1960s: the idea that “archaeology can be conducted as an autonomous (technical) fact-gathering and systematizing enterprise that is neutral with respect to (and that can be expected to support) the diverse

⁶⁴ Curta 2014a, p. 302.

⁶⁵ Curta 2001, p. 21 and Curta 2014a, p. 305. See Barth 1995, on nationalism operating by impoverishment. See also Barth’s introduction to the 1969 volume, where the general viewpoint of the essays published in it is described as the exploration of the processes “involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups”, rather than “than working through a typology of forms of ethnic groups and relations” (p. 10). For the limitations of archaeological typology see, e.g., Bisson 2000, Van Oyen 2015 and Boozer 2015.

⁶⁶ Curta 2014a, p. 302.

⁶⁷ See Bauman 1992, p. 686, on the knowledge cultivated by nationalist intellectuals: “The truth they preach must rely on something stronger than mere power of argument; it must be guaranteed before the argument has started, and independently of the course the future argument may take - that is, by forces reason can only discover and acknowledge, not conjure up or modify”.

⁶⁸ On this, see, e.g., Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992, p. 225-226. For a whole chapter on the alleged neutrality of methods, see Bourdieu, Chamboredon, Passeron 1991, p. 40-48.

⁶⁹ Mayr 2006 [1959], p. 327. For the transition in biology, in the wake of World War II, from typological thought to clinal differences, see Abu El-Haj 2007, p. 286. On the giving up of typology as tool for group making in physical anthropology, “was von den Nachbardisziplinen gelegentlich noch nicht ausreichend zur Kenntnis genommen wird”, see Brather 2008, p. 449.

explanatory objectives of archaeologists qua anthropologists and historians”⁷⁰ and the practice of making interpretations as *post hoc* conclusions, fitted to the results of the analysis because, as L.R. Binford thought, such interpretations can be evaluated, as Raymond Thompson suggested, only “by evaluating the competence of the person who is proposing the reconstruction [, which] is scarcely sound scientific procedure”⁷¹. Thus, Curta’s insistence on credibility and his interest in displaying theoretical excellence opposed to the ignorance of others seems to be more than a personal disposition. He wants to show in this way that his interpretations are right and should be accepted, because he cannot do this through the analysis of the archaeological record.

In an attempt to show how ignorant I am and to warn about the dangers to which are exposed those who do not know about Max Weber as much as he does, Curta gives a lot of attention to my rejection of his statement that “very few would now disagree with Max Weber that ethnic groups are ‘human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists’”⁷².

I commented on this in a footnote, where I tried to show that it is not largely accepted, as Curta continues to claim. For that purpose, I quoted from an article by Michael Banton, where Weber’s review of ethnic communities is described as “antiquated”⁷³.

Here is what Curta writes about this:

“In reality, Banton’s article is specifically about an untitled draft found among Weber’s posthumous papers, which was later published under the title ‘Ethnic Communities’. At the beginning of his article, Banton explicitly writes that his critique of that manuscript of Weber ‘does not extend to any passages in Weber’s other works which bear on questions of ethnic community’. That Niculescu ignored this particular caveat is not an accident: Banton’s quote, so hastily brought as ammunition against my statement, does not have any bearing on the passage I have taken from the English translation of Weber’s *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*”⁷⁴.

Curta does not know what he is talking about. He believes the “untitled draft” and the chapter on ‘Ethnic Groups’, where he has found the definition, are two unrelated writings. They are not just related, the chapter on ‘Ethnic Groups’ is a translation of the “untitled draft”, as it was published by the editors of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, and this information is available in Banton’s article, at page 20, just below the limiting statement Curta is using against me⁷⁵. Indeed, Banton’s critique does not apply to everything Weber has written about ethnic communities, only to the chapter from which comes what Curta has taken.

I did not write about why the definition is not useful, but Curta knows why. Because I have misunderstood it, a misunderstanding that should at least – I wonder what would be at most – make me lose my “reputation as a serious scholar”⁷⁶. I quoted in full Weber’s definition from the translation quoted by Curta and then, instead of writing again about the “subjective belief” contained in it, I used only “belief”. This is a ridiculous argument. Using only “belief” does not mean that I did not understand what Weber said in the definition. I omitted “subjective” because it was not necessary to state my point, which was to reject Curta’s claim that the definition

⁷⁰ Wylie 2002, p. 57 and p. 59 with n. 7, where she discusses the opinions expressed by J. Hill and R. Evans (1972) on the uselessness of all-purpose typologies and against the idea that archaeological data, conceived as “basic data”, with “inherent or primary meanings to be discovered”, can be analyzed before making interpretations.

⁷¹ Binford 1968, p. 270.

⁷² Curta 2011, p. 537; cf. Weber 1968, p. 389.

⁷³ Niculescu 2011, p. 7, n. 30; cf. Banton 2007, p. 19-20.

⁷⁴ Curta 2014a, p. 304.

⁷⁵ “Among the papers found after Weber’s death in 1920 was an untitled draft that has since been published in the Max Weber *Gesamtausgabe* and given the title *Ethnische Gemeinschaften* (Weber 2001, p. 168-190). In English, this is better translated as ‘Ethnic relations of communities’ (an expression Weber used elsewhere) than as ‘Ethnic Groups’, the title it was given by Roth and Wittich” [the editors of the translation used by Curta] (Banton 2007, p. 20). See also p. 23: “In *Economy and Society* (Weber 1968, p. 385-398) the text was divided into four sections...”. In the following pages Banton analyzes the text, section by section, and discusses the definition quoted by Curta (Banton 2007, p. 26).

⁷⁶ Curta 2014a, p. 304-305.

is currently widely accepted as valid, not an analysis of the definition, and probably because “subjective” seems redundant (I do not know what an “objective” belief might be).

I did not present the reasons for my reservation against Weber’s definition. I will do that now. Beyond being uneasy with Curta’s view that current research has brought nothing to significantly alter the views expressed in Weber’s definition, the mention of “similarities of physical type” seemed to indicate that Weber saw race as a fact⁷⁷, something certainly absent from most recent sociological literature. I was also unable to figure out what those similarities might be in most cases of ethnic difference. At that time, I did not know that the translation used by Curta, which takes Weber’s “Ähnlichkeiten des äußeren Habitus” to mean “similarities of physical type”, is an unfortunate one⁷⁸.

Curta did not adequately present Weber’s thoughts on ethnicity by using that definition. More important is what Weber has written immediately after it:

“Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group (*Gemeinschaft*) with concrete social action, like the latter. In our sense, ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. On the other hand, it is primarily the political community (*Gemeinschaft*), no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity (*ethnische Gemeinsamkeitsglaube*)”⁷⁹.

Weber also thought that the term “ethnic” will be abandoned, because “it is unsuitable for a really rigorous analysis” and that “[t]he concept of the ‘ethnic’ group, dissolves if we define our terms exactly”⁸⁰. I take these statements to be a step away from methodological nationalism and much closer to the current state of the research than the definition quoted by Curta⁸¹.

⁷⁷ Weber’s mention of “objective blood relationship (*Blutgemeinschaft*)” (Weber 1968, p. 389; Weber 1922, p. 219) could also be interpreted in this sense. Of course, I am aware that Weber did not think race generates ethnic realities, which are in his view articulated by subjective belief.

⁷⁸ At the beginning of the chapter on ‘Ethnic Groups’, Weber indicates he is not thinking only about inherited, physical traits: “diese Art von ‘Abstoßung’... knüpft sie auch und vor allem keineswegs nur an ererbte, sondern ganz ebenso an andere auffällige Unterschiede des äußeren Habitus an (Weber 1922, p. 216). See also Raum 1995, p. 77-78: “a completely incorrect and especially irritating translation of a word can be discussed that results in an inexcusable distortion of what Weber was trying to say. The term ‘Habitus’ means ‘bearing’ or ‘deportment’ or ‘outward appearance’ in German, but not ‘physical type’ as the translation reads. Moreover, it should be emphasized that Max Weber expressly speaks of ‘äußere(r) Habitus’, not just of ‘Habitus’.... Anybody relying only on the translation quoted or even on the one contained in the English version of ‘Economy of Society’ by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Weber 1978 [this a reprint of the 1968 edition, my comment]: 389), but unacquainted with the German original might all too easily be tempted to stigmatize Max Weber as a racist”. Among those who believe that Weber’s definition was badly translated in Weber 1968, p. 389: Scaff 2014, p. 128: “the standard translation mistakenly refers to ‘physical type’” and Jenkins 2008, p. 10.

⁷⁹ Weber 1968, p. 389.

⁸⁰ Weber 1968, p. 395. Cf. Weber 1922, p. 224: “Dabei würde der Sammelbegriff „ethnisch“ sicherlich ganz über Bord geworfen werden. Denn er ist ein für jede wirklich exakte Untersuchung ganz unbrauchbarer Sammelname... Der bei exakter Begriffsbildung sich verflüchtigende Begriff der „ethnischen“ Gemeinschaft... entspricht nun in dieser Hinsicht bis zu einem gewissen Grade einem der mit pathetischen Empfindungen für uns am meisten beschwerten Begriffe: demjenigen der „N a t i o n“, sobald wir ihn soziologisch zu fassen suchen.”

⁸¹ However, it seems that Weber was not always able to escape racist thinking (he writes about objective race kinship – Weber 1922, p. 217) and nationalism. He lived at a time when these were common in the sociological imagination. See, e.g., Ulrich Beck, for whom Weber was worse than a methodological nationalist (2007, p. 286): “the political inspiration for his sociology was nationalistic”. See also Joe Feagin: “like other social scientists of his era, he held to the tenets of blatant biological racism, a view that infected his historical and geopolitical arguments, yet one that almost never gets critically discussed in the social science textbooks and empirical analyses that to this day use his important concepts. Weber wrote unreflectively of the “hereditary hysteria” of Asian Indians, of Africans as genetically incapable of factory work, and of the Chinese as slow in intelligence and docile, with these latter traits viewed as shaped by biology” (2009, p. 6). The strongest statement about this I found in an article by Andrew Zimmerman: “Max Weber was an imperialist, a racist, and a Social Darwinistic nationalist, and these political positions fundamentally shaped his social scientific work.” (2006, p. 53). *Contra*: Kalberg 2005, p. 293, who thinks that for Weber “the concept ‘race’ possesses ‘a completely mystical character’ and implies ‘subjective evaluations’” and that “‘innate and inherited qualities’ fail to explain a ‘single fact relevant for sociology’”. See also Raum 1995, p. 77-78.

Unfortunately, instead of taking my remarks as an incentive to look again at what Weber wrote about ethnic phenomena, eventually to discover that the first who would not agree with the translated definition would be Weber himself, Curta is more interested in presenting his knowledge of Max Weber's works as excellent and in associating with the great scholar, while misunderstanding his contribution and using as an argument a manuscript which exists only in Curta's imagination, as a consequence of a hasty reading.

With his statement that I have "wrong assumptions about such fundamental concepts as ethnicity or (material culture) style"⁸², Curta steps outside scientific practice into the world of authoritarian politics. Science is a world of "organized skepticism"⁸³, not one inhabited by uncontested truths and by people authorized to punish those who think differently. Scientific concepts are not true, they are only more or less useful for getting closer to realities that are external to them. Researchers employ Curta's "fundamental concepts" as they please, they can make jokes about them or discard them as useless, if not dangerous. Whatever meanings one attaches to ethnicity and style, new ones or chosen from the hundreds one can find in scientific literature, what matters is not what you choose, but the arguments that convinced you to make the choice. In Curta's article, just as it happens in authoritarian politics, what matters is what you choose, it has to be the right choice, guided by a capacity to see what is authoritative. Whatever common people might think is irrelevant, because what is right is not decided by their arguments.

Curta objects to my statement that ethnicity was not a phenomenon of everyday life during Late Antiquity and offers another instance of careless reading by accusing me of not offering arguments while quoting them: "He strongly believes, for reasons known only to him, that 'ethnicity as <a phenomenon of everyday life>' is what we live in our world of massive transmission of ways of thinking and of acting through the mass media and state supported educational systems, not of Late Antiquity"⁸⁴. Obviously, the lack of modern mass media and educational systems are here the arguments. Then he distorts my views, ascribing to me "the idea that there was no ethnicity in Late Antiquity", thus equating ethnicity with ethnicity as phenomenon of everyday life. He offers only a ridiculous argument for defending his views: the presumed raised eyebrows of Michel Maas, Patrick Geary and Walter Pohl (Curta does not support this with references) and an insult (my opinion is presented as "regurgitated").

Let's imagine for a moment that Curta is right and that what I think about ethnicity is indeed something that the scholars he mentions would reject. I could only be happy about that. I do not construct my arguments with the purpose of agreeing with what great scholars have already said. Curta's attitude, which subordinates research to authority, explains why so many Eastern European scholars, for such a long time, have been only rarely able to create more than decent stances of conformity. What strikes an Eastern European in an American University is the number of students engaged in ways of thinking openly disapproved by their professors and the encouragement they get from the same professors.

Unfortunately, my views on ethnicity are anything but discordant. I do not think that any of the scholars mentioned by Curta would reject the existence of significant differences between current ethnic phenomena and the ancient ones, starting with the differences in the communication means. See, for instance, W. Pohl on their importance:

"Ethnic identities in a world as complex as Late Antiquity only existed through efforts to make them meaningful. Face-to-face groups, local and regional communities could share a sense of belonging without much effort; they only needed to distinguish between 'us' and 'them'. Goths or Franks lived in a world where this was not enough. They were gentes among many others, distributed over wide areas; to give them a sense of community required more sophisticated forms of communication. This is an idea that I have repeatedly proposed, ..."⁸⁵.

And P. Geary on the idea of a universal definition of ethnicity:

"Within this extended definition of ethnic group, I would point out a number of assumptions critical for the contemporary study of ethnicity, but that present serious problems for historians when they attempt to make sense of the distant past and probably for anthropologists who attempt to make sense of the distant present. First is the assumption that this definition is universal. This may seem a self-evident assumption, but frankly

⁸² Curta 2014a, p. 299.

⁸³ Merton 1973 [1942], p. 277-278.

⁸⁴ Curta 2014a, p. 305.

⁸⁵ Pohl 2002, p. 238; see also Pohl 1999, p. 75.

it demands demonstration. If we assume that *ethnies* exist and have always existed in the terms that Smith defines them, then we will inevitably look for evidence of them and, as we all know, if one looks hard enough for something one will find it, even if it is not there”⁸⁶. The last phrase resumes very well what Curta is doing with his interpretations.

Another instance supposed to show my ignorance is the assertion that in Curta’s work “style...is just a new name for what culture-historical archaeologists usually do”. He disdainfully remarks: “Even more embarrassing is his equation of style with culture history”⁸⁷.

In his view, “in order for style to work, it needs to be deliberate”, it is an intentional form of communication, and that makes his position radically different from that of culture-historical archaeologists. Curta does not address the arguments presented in my article⁸⁸. Not even those which link styles with nationalism. He provides no arguments supporting his views on agency and style, not even a reference to literature that might contain such arguments. Just a mention of Polly Wiessner, who is presented as believing that style is a matter of choice, and thus cannot be imagined to “work “behind the backs” of producers and consumers”⁸⁹, although she accepts the existence of style that is not a matter of choice⁹⁰. But he takes time to reject my reference to an article of Andrew Gillett, in which I saw “an understanding of what F. Curta does with his concept of style as a return to culture-historical archaeology”⁹¹, and claims that “[t]here is no mention of culture-historical archaeology, and Gillett’s remark is positive, not critical”⁹².

My interpretation is supported by what Gillett wrote: “Twentieth-century ‘**culture history**’ approaches, concerned with ascribing different **styles of material items to particular ethnic groups** and so tracking the historical movement of those groups through **the distribution patterns of styles, have received serious criticism**. ... For critique of the ‘culture history’ ethnic ascription approach: B. Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and The Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); cf. **the reassertion of the association of style and ethnicity** in F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs* (emphases added)”⁹³.

In my remarks on how Curta uses style, I was not comparing his worldview with those of other culture-history archaeologists. I was just noticing that, Curta does exactly what culture-historical archaeologists do: selects some types, proclaims them ethnically relevant and so he becomes able to “identify” peoples from the past. I do not see what substantive change for research is brought by Curta’s emblematic style. Without using this notion, culture-historical archaeologists relied on brooches to identify Gepids or Longobards, believing that they were in some way determined to wear them, now Curta relies on brooches to identify Gepids or Longobards, claiming that they were deliberately choosing the types invented by archaeologists. In the end, we have the same thing: ethnic identities are indicated by the brooches. Culture-historical archaeologists care more about their methodology of type mapping and about the results than about what kind of social action can be imagined. Curta himself supports the lack of importance of theoretical constructs when, after commenting on the distribution of several types of brooches, he concludes: “[t]he distribution of all these types speaks for itself”⁹⁴. The main difference the use of emblematic style does is to separate Curta from other archaeologists who do not use it. It allows him to continue doing typology and mapping while claiming that he is doing something completely different. It also deserves attention that archaeologists using the old archaeological culture concept have much

⁸⁶ Geary 2015, p. 11.

⁸⁷ Niculescu 2011, p. 14 and Curta 2014a, p. 305.

⁸⁸ Niculescu 2011, p. 16-18.

⁸⁹ Curta 2014a, p. 306.

⁹⁰ See Wiessner 1983, p. 257, on emblematic style: it “transmits a clear message to a defined target population (Wobst 1977) about **conscious** affiliation or identity” and on assertive style (p. 258): “may be employed either consciously or **unconsciously**” (emphases added). See also Wiessner 1990, p. 107, on passive style: “Sackett’s argument for a passive style also has some validity. Everything has to be done in some way and not every action is executed or interpreted with great significance attached to it. Many ways of doing are acquired gradually by enculturation are not subject to regular stylistic and social comparison and thus play a background role in communication. In everyday life many ways of doing are ignored and only when somebody departs from standard procedure are questions of what, why, and who raised”.

⁹¹ Niculescu 2011, p. 14, n. 76.

⁹² Curta 2014a, p. 305, n. 43.

⁹³ Gillett 2006, p. 253, n. 3.

⁹⁴ Curta 2001, p. 203, already quoted by me in 2011, p. 13.

work to do, because they have to assemble a complex whole out of the remains from the past, while Curta has only do declare that one type of artifact is emblematic – there are no ways to prove that – and the analysis is done. The use of the archaeological culture concept is scientific because it can fail, because it may lead in particular studies to the conclusion that no ethnic entities are detectable, because nothing resembling an archaeological culture can be seen in the archaeological record, a situation which can also be explained by the inadequacy of concept itself. No failure is possible with Curta's emblematic style. All you need is two similar artifacts.

Curta's emphatic assertion "in order for style to work, it needs to be deliberate", put in a context suggesting that everybody who knows about style agrees with it, is supported only by mentioning Polly Wiessner, without any reference. I do not think that deliberate action is more effective than genuine style, despite the great number of crooks successful at appearing to be what they claim. Pierre Bourdieu seems to be closer to social reality with his remark on people who manipulate on television: "[t]hey manipulate even more effectively the more they are themselves manipulated and the more they are unconscious of this"⁹⁵. Many people know that impersonating someone is possible and look for clues in the realm of what is difficult to fake, of what is not deliberate.

Curta's article is a good example. He wants to present himself as a distinguished, elegant (as indicated by the pompous platitudes with which the article begins), supremely knowledgeable scholar, an excellent polemist, with a fine sense of humor, who wants "to set the record straight". That is quite deliberate and also effective, at least with the two journals that have published the paper. But his true style, passively exposed, is breaking through the appearances and shows what Curta does not want the readers to see: arrogance, ruthless manipulation, bad taste and empty claims. This is not deliberate, but he cannot help displaying what is contrary to what he wants, partly because it is habitual and therefore enjoyable, partly because there are no arguments to support his claims.

Finally, Curta decides to say something about one of the main problems discussed in my article, in order to show how inconsistent are my views and to end his article with one more insult (in the Romanian version):

"...his suggestion that archaeologists adopt the point of view of the social scientists, who presumably see the whole humanity with different eyes, seems like an invitation to disregard the questions he himself raises about 'the relevance of the social sciences for the past' or 'the problems concepts designed for the understanding of contemporary phenomena and certainly influenced by them, like ethnicity, might create when used for Late Antiquity'. One cannot eat the cake and have it too"⁹⁶.

Curta is unable to figure out how can one use the social sciences and worry about the consequences of their use. Actually, the more you know about the social sciences, the more you learn about those consequences, mostly from social scientists and philosophers. The situation confronting archaeologists when using social sciences is not different from a myriad of other situations when something useful can also produce unwanted or even harmful effects. We all use fire or electric power, although fire can produce burns and improper use of electric power can be lethal. Curta would make people choose: if it is dangerous, do not use it, if you use it, it is not dangerous. He invents a false alternative between the use of the social sciences and the acknowledgement of their problematic relevance for the past, chooses the use and dismisses the problems. We cannot simply ignore that social science knowledge is built by research on the recent past, because some of that knowledge might be irrelevant for the distant one.

Throughout his article, Curta displays an arrogant and dogmatic understanding of knowledge that is unusual for a scholar. What he knows appears to be the only thing worth knowing. Other views, especially when directly opposed to his, are crimes perpetrated by the dishonest and the ignorant. Knowledge is for him what it is for some prestigious colleagues from Romania: a source of legitimate authority and disdain for the ignorant, who should know their place and refrain from criticizing their superiors if they do not want to be crushed. The main tool used by such splendid human beings is verbal violence, meant to humiliate the inferior, reduce them to silence, and confirm their dominant position, which can be preserved only when unopposed. The truth they have, unlike scientific truth and closely related to political truth, is undebatable. It is not something achieved during a process, it is an entitlement, something they own by right of intellectual

⁹⁵ Bourdieu 1998, p. 17

⁹⁶ Curta 2014a, p. 306.

superiority. It is personal, an unavoidable consequence of who they are, not a result of collective endeavors. That is why any uncompliant discussion becomes a personal attack that has to be countered with a more efficient personal attack. When such encounters take place in hierarchically structured environments, those who are entitled to knowledge have the right (one might say even the duty) to insult the unworthy and the inferiors who have to expect punishment when they are disobedient.

Arrogance, “an attitude of superiority manifested in an overbearing manner or in presumptuous claims or assumptions”⁹⁷, described by philosophers as an epistemic vice, is usually avoided by researchers because it restricts the field of vision to what the arrogant person knows and makes invisible not only colleagues, whose work, which might be helpful, is made useless by dismissal, but also research issues.

What Curta sees in what I wrote about my contact with the social sciences illustrates how arrogance reduces the capacity to understand. He cannot imagine other attitudes towards scientific knowledge than his and sees in my arguments a claim for leadership and domination, a ridiculous one when compared with his legitimate claim⁹⁸. For him, presenting personal difficulties in understanding what social scientists write, beyond being stupid, because it generates lack of confidence, can have only one meaning that makes sense: it is a claim to superior understanding supported by a description of a difficult road to it. In the paragraph in question, I tried to argue for the utility of reflexivity, wondering why Curta and Brather “are not in the least surprised by the different styles of thinking they have encountered and show no sign of the slow and vacillating progress one could expect from someone educated as a culture-historical archaeologist who explores the social sciences”⁹⁹. I used my own experience, which I described as a “tortuous and hesitating journey through foreign knowledge”, because it suggests that an examination of how we understand the social sciences might be useful by making us more sensitive to the origins and implications of what we think. This kind of reflexivity¹⁰⁰ is the opposite of what Curta does, who falsifies his intellectual biography in order to claim better sources for his knowledge and is not willing to disclose anything about what makes him able to evaluate social science research.

For a closer look at Curta’s hermeneutic abilities, here is his interpretation of what I wrote:

“In the course of that journey, Niculescu was apparently ‘blinded’ by what he believed he knew, but only partially. Like Saul on the road to Damascus, he eventually recovered his sight, only to be puzzled by ‘lasting misunderstandings’ surrounding him, while benefiting ‘from being recognized as an archaeologist’ by his colleagues. He appears to have arrived at conclusions ‘of such importance that you try to convince them to abandon what they were accustomed to believe’. Leaving aside for the moment the paramount concern with obtaining recognition (and, one presumes, validation) from his peers, the confession in the middle of his article shows Niculescu to be a man with a mission... He has after all concluded his little confession with the idea that “the description of such journeys [as his] might help us put into perspective what we know and what we have to do in order to achieve our scientific goals. The message is clear: Niculescu has gone alone on this difficult journey of recuperating good archaeology from the claws of culture history, but he is willing to share with all of us the boon of his conversion”¹⁰¹.

And this is what I wrote:

“Reflexivity does not come naturally and, because I was also educated as a culture-historical archaeologist, I know how difficult it is to engage in describing what has been for me a tortuous and hesitating journey through foreign knowledge, partially blinded by what I believed I knew, puzzled by lasting misunderstandings and, benefiting from being recognized as an archaeologist by your colleagues, to arrive at conclusions of such importance that you try to convince them to abandon what they were accustomed to

⁹⁷ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arrogance> (accessed on June 22, 2012).

⁹⁸ “One would simply love to see where a man with a mission like Niculescu would lead all those roaming through the uncharted territories of culture history, and what is his plan for a brighter future of the discipline.... However, when one seeks some guidance from the man with a mission, one is quickly disappointed. All that Niculescu has to offer is some vague and emotional advice” (Curta 2014a, 300-301).

⁹⁹ Niculescu 2011, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ For reflexivity as a tool for improving research, see Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992 and Pels 2000; *contra*: Lynch 2000.

¹⁰¹ Curta 2014a, p. 300-301.

believe. However difficult to transform in a routine scientific practice, the description of such journeys might help us put into perspective what we know and what we have to do in order to achieve our scientific goals"¹⁰².

Curta completely misrepresents this passage. There is nothing in it about the glorious outcome of an exceptional journey, the "lasting misunderstandings" belong to me, not to other archaeologists and it is quite clear that the description of common difficulties, not the proclamation of superior understanding, is in my view useful for archaeology. I wrote about reflexivity and about how difficult it is to convince of its utility or of that of other ideas coming from the social sciences colleagues like Curta, who, accustomed with authoritative claims of knowledge and confronted with reflexive accounts which record misunderstandings and errors, would be inclined to dismiss them. Curta does not mention reflexivity¹⁰³, although it was important in the article he discusses, particularly in the paragraph quoted above, but describes repeatedly what I wrote as a confession (even as a "little confession", in order to emphasize how ridiculous it is) and this shows that my worries about how reflexivity would be perceived were justified. The "conclusions of such importance..." do not describe what I know, just what archaeologists who use social sciences usually present to their colleagues: *e.g.*, perspectives on ethnic phenomena, agency, style and so on. These are not details that could be easily integrated in what archaeologists who do not use them believe about social reality. Therefore, the resistance to be expected is greater than it would be in the case of some minor additions to things already known. "Being recognized as an archaeologist" is a reference to a discussion at my institute, during which a senior colleague expressed his opinion that whatever comes from non-archaeologists is irrelevant for us. Obviously, there is no claim for recognition here. With this discussion about reflexivity, I wanted something opposite to the intention of presenting myself as knowledgeable, ascribed to me by Curta. The collective examination of what and of how we think as archaeologists about the social sciences seems to me a better interdisciplinary practice than the current one, the authoritative presentation of knowledge from the social sciences, tacitly assumed to be perfectly understood by exceptional individuals like him.

Curta is far away from the current reality of the scientific world, made of competing claims and increasingly inclined towards epistemic pluralism¹⁰⁴, and close to the world of bad schoolteachers who have no control on the knowledge they are presenting, but believe that knowledge is what they think they know and have the institutional authority necessary to impose it as true. Scientific opinions opposed to what he believes are embarrassing mistakes. Not once is he able to recognize that some of them might simply be different from what he thinks, that constructing arguments against them might be more useful than dogmatic dismissal.

What I have seen at the University of Arizona in 1991-1992 is very different from Curta's world of knowledge. Arrogant claims of truth were completely missing and many prestigious professors declared their ignorance and were willing to learn from anyone who might have something to say. Such claims are frequent in Romania, where the main problem is too often, unfortunately, who has the right to speak and truth is imagined as a property of the authorized. Curta's unusual display of arrogance and dogmatism confirms his scientific education in Romania, where such attitudes are tolerated and even believed to be adequate, in part because they were encouraged by an undemocratic political environment. That is why two journals from Romania, probably impressed with Curta's international reputation and taking his derogatory remarks as the privilege of a great scholar, have published his *ad hominem* attack, something no US scientific journal would. The difference between the two academic environments is one of the reasons for which Curta published a version in Romanian: he wanted access to those who really can appreciate the arrogant display of his greatness, people he rarely finds in the United States. Usually, those who study epistemic arrogance detect it in the colonializing centres, but my experience tells me that it is more frequent at the periphery, where it can be described as "parochial self-absorption"¹⁰⁵.

Ignoring my arguments or opposing to them dogmatic statements, Curta concentrates on asserting his credibility and destroying mine by mockery and insults, something that brings nothing to scientific debate. That

¹⁰² Niculescu 2011, p. 6.

¹⁰³ Reflexivity is embraced especially by post-processualists (see, *e.g.*, Berggren 2001 and Hodder 2005), but I doubt Curta knows what it means, despite his claimed post-processualist education and training. Otherwise, he would have engaged in a discussion of this epistemic principle.

¹⁰⁴ See, *e.g.*, Harrison-Buck 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Nagel 1986, p. 222.

is why scientific journals do not tolerate mockery and defamation: they are simply useless noise which obscures the value of the arguments¹⁰⁶. Reliance on personal credibility makes sense in circumstances when what someone knows cannot be directly evaluated by competent people. So CV's, lists of publications and various forms of scientific recognition are used as a proxy for quality. For instance in interdisciplinary evaluation teams. But direct evaluations focused on what one knows, not on what who one is, are preferred in scientific practice. This is one of the reasons why so many scientific journals conceal the identities of the author and of the reviewer in their evaluation of the papers submitted for publication. They make criteria such as the reputation, intelligence, and publication record of the author unusable. In the words of Heike Langenberg, chief editor of Nature Geoscience, this procedure "just takes away anything but the science in the paper"¹⁰⁷.

The frequent reliance on personal credibility in peripheral traditions of research, like that in which Curta was educated, is overdetermined. It is a consequence of subordination to politics (this is where the most important signs of scientific recognition come from) and one of subordination to the knowledge created in the scientific cores, knowledge which is credible just for that reason. And so, claiming to be close, understanding, educated in one such core or a member of it is a valuable device in establishing credibility. Arguments like "as the great (German, American and so on) professor said..." are frequent – that is why Curta's argument consisting in the raised eyebrows of Michael Maas, Walter Pohl and Patrick Geary did not appear ridiculous to the Romanian editors of his attack – and the idea that any statement should be judged on its merits is much less frequent than in Western academic life. This encourages arrogance and dogmatism and also appropriative attitudes toward knowledge. The value of scientific statements is not determined by how well it has resisted critical examination, but by assessing the value of its author.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, relying on this local understanding of scientific value, Curta expects the readers to believe what he writes about agency and style – which are crucial for his claim that only an ignorant can link him to culture-history archaeology, because for him agency and style are deliberate – although he is not the source of the thinking about them. His interpretation is validated by belief in his knowledge and that is one of the main reasons of the attack against me: he does not want anyone to examine how accurately he presents what he has read.

To sum up, Curta misrepresents the article he is supposed to discuss: it is about **what** reduces the receptivity of culture historical archaeologists to knowledge produced by the social sciences and about nationalist representations of society, not about **who** is a culture historical archaeologist and a nationalist. Instead of examining the arguments supporting my conclusions, a common practice among scholars, he picks from what I wrote whatever he thinks can be used against me, manipulates what I wrote and presents his views as authoritative, practices common among politicians. My article was not a personal attack, there are no personal remarks in it, no defamation attempt, no mockery, no malicious comments meant to reduce Curta's credibility, just arguments based on what he wrote. There are no willing or accidental misrepresentations of his ideas in order to maliciously link him to culture historical archaeology and to present his thinking on ethnic phenomena as influenced by methodological nationalism. He reasserts some of them – typology is neutral, ethnicity is ubiquitous – in his attack and shows how bad is his understanding of current work on ethnic phenomena by insisting on the validity of Max Weber's definition of ethnic groups.

My views on culture history archaeology, ethnicity and style are not "distorted" or based on "wrong assumptions". They are just different from his, supported by arguments and, of course, debatable. Curta's article is focused on defamation and has no scientific value, only a self-assertive one. There is nothing to be learned from it except that Curta is right, that he is not a culture history archaeologist and certainly not a nationalist. He offers mostly dogmatic statements, no arguments worthy of attention and no discussion and references for the concepts taken from the social sciences whose importance he emphatically claims.

¹⁰⁶ See International Committee of Medical Journal Editors: "editors must make an effort to screen out discourteous, inaccurate, or libelous statements, and should not allow *ad hominem* arguments intended to discredit opinions or findings" (<http://www.neurology.org/site/misc/auth2.xhtml>; accessed on May 10, 2016).

¹⁰⁷ *Apud* Palus 2015. See also Elsevier's peer review guidelines: "[a]rticles written by prestigious or renowned authors are considered on the basis of the content of their papers, rather than their reputation." <http://www.elsevier.com/reviewers/what-is-peer-review>" (accessed on June 23, 2015). See also Merton's first institutional imperative: "The acceptance or rejection of claims entering the lists of science is not to depend on the personal or social attributes of their protagonist...personal qualities are as such irrelevant" (1973 [1942], p. 270).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu El-Haj 2007 – N. Abu El-Haj, *The Genetic Reinscription of Race*, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36, 2007, p. 283-300.
- Banton 2007 – M. Banton, *Max Weber on 'Ethnic Communities': a Critique*, *Nations and Nationalism* 13, 2007, p. 19-35.
- Barth 1969 – F. Barth, *Introduction*, in F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*, Bergen, 1969, p. 9-38.
- Barth 1994 – F. Barth, *Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity*, in H. Vermeulen and C. Govers (eds.), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'*, Amsterdam, 1994, p. 11-32.
- Barth 1995 – F. Barth, *Ethnicity and the Concept of Culture*. Available at <http://data.fas.harvard.edu/cfia/pnscs/DOCS/s95barth.htm> (accessed on April 18, 2001).
- Bauman 1992 – Z. Bauman, *Soil, Blood and Identity*, *Sociological Review* 40, 1992, p. 675-701.
- Beck 2007 – U. Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Condition: Why Methodological Nationalism Fails*, *Theory, Culture and Society* 24, 2007, p. 286-290.
- Berggren 2001 – A. Berggren, *Swedish Archaeology in Perspective and the Possibility of Reflexivity*, *CSA* 9, 2001, p. 9-23.
- Binford 1962 – L.R. Binford, *Archaeology as Anthropology*, *American Antiquity* 28, 1962, p. 217-225.
- Binford 1968 – L.R. Binford, *Some Comments on Historical versus Processual Archeology*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 24, 1968, p. 267-275.
- Bisson 2000 – M.S. Bisson, *Nineteenth Century Tools for Twenty-First Century Archaeology? Why the Middle Paleolithic Typology of François Bordes Must Be Replaced*, *JAMT* 7, 2000, p. 1-48.
- Boozer 2015 – A.L. Boozer, *The Tyranny of Typologies: Evidential Reasoning in Romano-Egyptian Domestic Archaeology*, in R. Chapman, A. Wylie (eds.), *Material Evidence. Learning from Archaeological Practice*, London, 2015, p. 92-109.
- Bourdieu 1968 – P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception*, *ISSJ* 22, 1968, p. 589-612.
- Bourdieu 1998 – P. Bourdieu, *On Television*, translated from French by P. Parkhurst Ferguson, New York, 1998.
- Bourdieu, Chamboredon, Passeron 1991 – P. Bourdieu, J.-C. Chamboredon, J.-C. Passeron, *The Craft of Sociology: Epistemological Primaries*, translated by R. Nice, Berlin, 1991.
- Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992 – P. Bourdieu, L. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Cambridge, 1992.
- Brather 2008 – S. Brather, *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Zusammenfassung*, in S. Brather (ed.), *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*, Berlin, 2008, p. 425-465.
- Canache, Curta 1994 – A. Canache, F. Curta, *Depozite de unelte și arme medievale timpurii de pe teritoriul României*, *Musaioi* 4, 1994, p. 179-221.
- Curta 1988 – F. Curta, *Programul iconografic al paterei din tezaurul de la Pietroasa*, *Buletinul Științific Studentesc* 3, 1988, p. 38-46.
- Curta 1990 – F. Curta, *Zu den chronologischen Problemen der römischen Goldbarrenschätze aus Crasna (Kr. Covasna) und Feldioara (Kr. Brașov)*, *Dacia N.S.* 34, 1990, p. 269-284.
- Curta 1992 – F. Curta, *Die Fibeln der Sammlung V. Culică*, *Dacia N.S.* 36, 1992, p. 37-97.
- Curta 1994a – F. Curta, *On the Dating of the 'Vețel-Coșoveni' Group of Curved Fibulae*, *EphemNap* 4, 1994, p. 233-265.
- Curta 1994b – F. Curta, *The Changing Image of the Early Slavs in the Romanian Historiography and Archaeological Literature. A Critical Survey*, *Südost-Forschungen* 53, 1994, p. 235-276.
- Curta 1994c – F. Curta, *Asupra problemelor de cronologie a tezaurilor de lingouri de la Crasna (jud. Covasna) și Feldioara (jud. Brașov)*, *Musaioi* 4, 1994, p. 133-148.
- Curta 1998 – F. Curta, *Making an Early Medieval Ethnie: The Case of the Early Slavs (sixth to seventh century A.D.)*. Ph.D. Diss. Western Michigan University, Ann Arbor, 1998.
- Curta 20001 - F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, ca. 500-700*, Cambridge, 2001.
- Curta 2006 – F. Curta, review of *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen*, by Sebastian Brather (Berlin/New York, 2004), *ArchBulg* 10, 2006, p. 91-94.
- Curta 2007 – F. Curta, *Some Remarks on Ethnicity in Medieval Archaeology*, *Early Medieval Europe* 15, 2007, p. 159-182.
- Curta 2009a – F. Curta, *Text, Context, History, and Archaeology. Studies in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Bucharest – Brăila, 2009.
- Curta 2009b – F. Curta, *The Early Slavs in Bohemia and Moravia: A Response to My Critics*, *ArchRozhledy* 61, 2009, p. 1-30.
- Curta 2011 – F. Curta, *Medieval Archaeology and Ethnicity: Where Are We?*, *History Compass* 9, 2011, p. 537-548.
- Curta 2013 – F. Curta, *The Elephant in the Room. A Reply to Sebastian Brather*, *EphemNap* 33, 2013, p. 163-174.

- Curta 2014a – F. Curta, “A Hesitating Journey through Foreign Knowledge”: Niculescu, the Ostrich, and Culture History”, *ArhMold* 37, 2014, p. 299-306.
- Curta 2014b – *Un hașialâc șovăielnic prin tărâmul unor cunoștințe străine: d-l Niculescu, struțul și arheologia cultural istorică*, *Istros* 20, 2014, p. 907-925.
- Curta, Dupoi 1994-1995 – F. Curta, V. Dupoi, *Über die Bügelfibel aus Pietroasele und ihre Verwandten*, *Dacia N.S.* 38-39, 1994-1995, p. 217-238.
- Emirbayer, Mische – M. Emirbayer, A. Mische, *What is Agency?*, *AJS* 103, 1998, p. 962-1023.
- Feagin 2009 – J.R. Feagin, *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*, London, 2009.
- Geary 2015 – P. Geary, *Power and Ethnicity, History and Anthropology*, *History and Anthropology* 26, 2015, p. 8-17.
- Gershon 2011 – I. Gershon, *Neoliberal Agency*, *Current Anthropology* 52, 2011, p. 537-555.
- Gillett 2006 – A. Gillett, *Ethnogenesis: A Contested Model of Early Medieval Europe*, *History Compass* 4, 2006, p. 241-260.
- Gosselain 2011 – O. Gosselain, *Slow Science - La désexcellence*, *Uzance* 1, 2011, p. 128-140.
- Halsall 2011 – G. Halsall, *Ethnicity and Early Medieval Cemeteries*, *Arqueologia y territorio medieval* 18, 2011, p. 15-27.
- Harrison 1995 – S. Harrison, *Four Types of Symbolic Conflict*, *JRAI (N.S.)* 1, 1995, p. 255-272.
- Harrison-Buck 2014 – E. Harrison-Buck, *Anthropological Archaeology in 2013: The Search for Truth(s)*, *American Anthropologist* 116, 2014, p. 338-351.
- Hodder 1982 – I. Hodder, *Symbols in Action*, Cambridge, 1982.
- Hodder 2005 – I. Hodder, *Reflexive Methods*, in H.D.G. Maschner and C. Chippindale (eds.), *Handbook of Archaeological Methods*, Lanham, 2005, p. 643-672.
- Hodder 2012 – I. Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things*, Malden, 2012.
- Hodder, Hutson 2003 – I. Hodder, S. Hutson, *Reading the Past : Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, third edition, Cambridge, 2003.
- Jenkins 2008 – R. Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, second edition, Los Angeles, 2008.
- Jones 1997 – S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity : Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London, 1997.
- Johnson 2006 – M.H. Johnson, *On the Nature of Theoretical Archaeology and Archaeological Theory*, *Archaeological Dialogues* 13, 2006, p. 117-132.
- Kalberg 2005 – S. Kalberg, *On “Race” Membership, Common Ethnicity, the “Ethnic Group”, and Heredity*, in S. Kalberg (ed.), *Max Weber: Readings and Commentary on Modernity*, Malden, 2005.
- Korsgaard 2014 – C. Korsgaard, *The Normative Constitution of Agency*, in M. Vargas, G. Yaffe (eds.), *Rational and Social Agency: The Philosophy of Michael Bratman*, Oxford, 2014, p. 190-214.
- Kuhn 1996 – T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, third edition, Chicago, 1996.
- Lentz 1995 – C. Lentz, *Tribalism’ and Ethnicity in Africa. A Review of Four Decades of Anglophone Research*, *Cahiers des Sciences Humaines* 31, 1995, p. 303-328.
- Loyal, Barnes 2001 – S. Loyal, B. Barnes, “Agency” as a Red Herring in Social Theory, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 31, 2001, p. 507-524.
- Lynch 2000 – M. Lynch, *Against Reflexivity as an Academic Virtue and Source of Privileged Knowledge*, *Theory, Culture and Society* 17, 2000, p. 26-54.
- Martin 1976 – M. Martin, *Das spätrömisch-frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Kaiseraugst, Kanton Aargau, Teil B, Kataloge und Tafeln*, Derendingen, 1976.
- Martin 1991 – M. Martin, *Das spätrömisch-frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Kaiseraugst, Kanton Aargau, Derendingen – Solothurn*, 1991.
- Martins 1974 – H. Martins, *Time and Theory in Sociology*, in J. Rex (ed.), *Approaches to Sociology*, London, 1974, p. 246-294.
- Mayr 2006 [1959] – E. Mayr, *Typological versus Population Thinking*, in E. Sober (ed.), *Conceptual Issues in Evolutionary Biology*, third edition, Cambridge Mass., 2006, p. 325-328.
- Merton 1973 [1942] – R.K. Merton, *The Normative Structure of Science*, in R.K. Merton, *The Sociology of Science. Theoretical and Empirical Investigations* (edited and with an introduction by N.W. Storer), Chicago, 1973, p. 267-278.
- Nagel 1986 – T. Nagel, *The View from Nowhere*, Oxford, 1986.
- Niculescu 2011 – G.A. Niculescu, *Culture-Historical Archaeology and the Production of Knowledge on Ethnic Phenomena*, *Dacia N.S.* 55, 2011, p. 5-24.
- Palus 2015 – S. Palus, *Is Double-Blind Review Better?*, *APS News* 24, 2015, 7, p. 4, 6.
- Patterson 2005 – T.C. Patterson, *The Turn to Agency: Neoliberalism, Individuality, and Subjectivity in Late-Twentieth-Century Anglophone Archaeology*, *Rethinking Marxism* 17, 2005, p. 373-384.
- Pels 2000 – D. Pels, *Reflexivity: One Step Up*, *Theory, Culture and Society* 17, 2000, p. 1-15.
- Pohl 1999 – W. Pohl, *Ethnizität des Frühmittelalters als interdisziplinäres Problem*, *Das Mittelalter* 4, 1999, p. 69-75.

- Pohl 2002 – W. Pohl, *Ethnicity, Theory and Tradition: a Response*, in Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity - Critical Approaches to Ethnogenesis Theory*, Turnhout, 2002, p. 221-240.
- Preucel 2006 – R. Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, Malden, 2006.
- Raum 1995 – J.W. Raum, *Reflections on M. Weber's Thoughts Concerning Ethnic Groups*, ZfE 120, 1995, p. 73-87.
- Scaff 2014 – L. Scaff, *Weber and the Weberians*, Basingstoke, 2014.
- Smith 1991 – A.D. Smith, *National Identity*, London, 1991
- Van Oyen 2015 – A. Van Oyen, *Actor-Network Theory's Take on Archaeological Types: Becoming, Material Agency and Historical Explanation*, CAJ 25, 2015, p. 63-78.
- Weber 1922 – M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen, 1922.
- Weber 1968 – M. Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (edited by G. Roth and C. Wittich, translated by E. Fischoff *et alii*), Berkeley, 1968.
- Weber 2001 – M. Weber, *Gesamtausgabe I/22, I. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Die Wirtschaft und die gesellschaftlichen Ordnungen und Mächte. Gemeinschaften. Nachlaß*, (edited by W.J. Mommsen, in cooperation with M. Meyer), Tübingen, 2001.
- White 1959 – L. White, *The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome*, New York, 1959.
- Wimmer 2014 – A. Wimmer, *Symposium Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks by Andreas Wimmer (O.U.P. 2013). Ethnic Boundary Making as Strategic Action: reply to my Critics*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, 2014, p. 834-842.
- Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002 – A. Wimmer, N. Glick Schiller, *Methodological Nationalism and the Study of Migration*, *EJS* 43, 2002, p. 217-240.
- Wiessner 1983 – P. Wiessner, *Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points*, *American Antiquity* 48, 1983, p. 253-276.
- Wiessner 1990 – P. Wiessner, *Is There a Unity to Style?*, in M.W. Conkey, Chr.A. Hastorf (eds.), *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 105-112.
- Wobst 1977 – M. Wobst, *Stylistic Behaviour and Information Exchange*, in C.E. Cleland (ed.), *Papers for the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, Ann Arbor, 1977, p. 317-342.
- Wylie 2002 – A. Wylie, *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology*, Berkeley, 2002
- Zimmerman 2006 – A. Zimmerman, *Decolonizing Weber*, *Postcolonial Studies* 9, 2006, p. 53-79.

NUMISMATICS AND OTHER SCIENCES

VIRGIL MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA*

Keywords: numismatics, different sciences

Abstract: Numismatics is closely connected with different sciences (general history, archaeology, linguistic, epigraphy, history of religions, history of art, history of architecture etc., as well as mathematics, statistics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, geology, mineralogy, geography and so on). As a consequence, the numismatic proves to depend on many other sciences, but at the same time it stimulates the research of other numerous fields through the results it aims.

Cuvinte-cheie: numismatica, diferite științe

Rezumat: Numismatica are legături strânse cu diferite științe (istoria generală, arheologia, lingvistica, epigrafia, istoria religiilor, arta, arhitectura etc., ca și matematica, statistica, fizica, chimia, mecanica, geologia, mineralogia, geografia ș.a.m.d. În consecință, numismatica depinde de multe alte științe și, în același timp, stimulează cercetările din multe alte domenii prin rezultatele urmărite.

The relationships between numismatics and other sciences, of any nature they might be, are hard to define. Firstly, it must be noted that these links are mutual, meaning that not only numismatics is affected by such relationships, since it is apparent that in other sciences too there is an obvious sway exerted onto them by the discipline dealing with money.

It is difficult to list all the disciplines that come into direct or indirect contact with numismatics, and this not only due to their multitude, and also to the continued attraction of new ones in the respective process, but particularly on account of the disappearance of the rigid borders between the sciences defined along traditional lines, on the backdrop of an increasingly vigorous crystallisation of transitional ones. For this reason, I will try to highlight foremost the relations between numismatics and other natural sciences, namely mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology-geography, etc., since the relations of the former with other social sciences have already been examined (for instance with **linguistics, epigraphy, history of religion, history of art, history of architecture**, etc.)¹.

It would be interesting and instructive to examine the moment when the first attempts to solve the problems of numismatics by resorting to **mathematics** took place. It would seem that such attempts were of an empirical nature and developed gradually, while numismatics acquired its own status as a science. Currently, mathematical computations in the field of statistics, of which the most employed being that of probabilities, have become commonplace in the specialized research, such as in studies on the structure of treasures, the volume of the issues, the rates of loss or wear, etc. In fact, at this moment, by using techniques and programs of electronic computation, mathematics predominates in all investigations of the quantitative type. And numismatics represents a field that is ideally suited to this type of research, since the coins, from the onset, are the result of a serial production. At the same time, the study through mathematical methods of the various numismatic aspects has lead, as evident from the research carried out so far, to innovation also in the sphere of mathematics, by adapting certain methods or creating new calculation tools, demanded by the concrete requirements of research².

* Institute of Archaeology, Iași; vmbinst@yahoo.com.

¹ Dahmen 2009, p. 200-208; Zäch 2009, p. 710-713.

² Allen 1958, p. 2612-2620; Metcalf 1958, p. 187-196; Brunetti 1963; Brunetti 1965, p. 53-61; Carter 1981, p. 204-213; Depuyrot 1981, p. 399-405; Carcassonne 1987; Esty 1997, p. 817-823; AIIN 44, 1997 (*Metodi statistici e analisi quantitative della produzione di monete nel mondo antico. Tendenze e prospettive della ricerca*).

Physical and chemical sciences are used on a wide scale for establishing the production techniques of the minted metal and the dies, but also of the coins themselves. By means of non-destructive (nuclear or spectrographic) methods, which as of late have increasingly replaced the quantitative and qualitative chemical analyses, it was possible to establish the composition of the various alloys employed in the minting process, both for coins and the tools used for this purpose (foremost the dies)³. For interpreting the results obtained from such analyses, **siderurgy, metallurgy, metallography** and **mechanics** were called into play. Their use made it possible to understand to a large extent the manipulations and depreciations, and facilitated the separation of the items made by casting from those made by striking, as well as the various accidents, such as the marginal fissures and friability; at the same time, only by understanding the laws of mechanics it was possible to understand the differentiated wear and tear of the two dies used. In point of fact, even the number and qualification of the personnel involved in the coin production process were and are conditioned by the materials, tools and techniques used, so that, by knowing them, rather large advancements were made also with respect to solving the issues related to the organization, as well as of the minting costs.

On this occasion, I underline the fact that many of the techniques used in the minting activity had been known way before the first coins appeared, which in fact wouldn't have been possible without such accomplishments. For instance, we recall that soldering/forge welding or cementing were mastered as early as the 3rd millennium BC⁴.

Immediately after the first coins were produced, it became obvious to the ancient craftsmen that the round shape is the most suitable for such objects. This realization corresponds to the demands of the laws of physics, since the circulation wear of rectangular pieces, for instance, would have been swift and accordingly uneconomical; nor would a spherical shape have been more advantageous, since it would have lacked the planes necessary for imprinting the marks of authority and identification. Other shapes taken by coins throughout history (scyphate, bracteates, etc.) are similarly explained by these laws⁵.

Of a great interest to numismatics is another branch of physics, **metrology**. In its turn, it tends to become an autonomous discipline, covering in its scope the units of measurement and the methods for physical measurement, accompanied by all the necessary implements (scales, weights, etalons/standards, etc.). The monetary systems, denominations, reforms, depreciations and appreciations, etc. can all be better known by examining the ponderal structures. The sources are numerous and diverse. Even though written mentions take lead, the discovery and investigation of paranumismatic objects (weights, weighting implements and devices, etc.) have often contributed essentially to understanding the ponderal systems used for producing the coins. Nevertheless, for meeting the set goal, they too were considered insufficient, which led to innovations and laborious and complex methodological experimentations. Thus, by weighting a large number of items and through complicated mathematical calculations – in which random factors were taken into account – it was possible to establish the average weights of some issues and, accordingly, their belonging to a certain weight system. Any deviation from the results obtained in this way signal interventions and, therefore, changes occurring in the evolution of the monetary systems in time⁶.

But for knowing as fully as possible the characteristics of a coin and of its production process, similarly important are also the data provided by the geological-geographical sciences, particularly by

³ Another good example is the issue of how brass was produced, from which some coins were made during Antiquity. It is rather doubtful that it was possible during that time to obtain the zinc necessary for producing brass. More likely is that another technique was used, more accessible and well known even in earlier times, in which copper was melted alongside calamine ore (*cf.* Forbes 1964, p. 264-265 and 275; Caley 1964; Moesta, Franke 1995, p. 30-36, 49-56 and 148-155). Also see: Allin, Wallace 1954, p. 35-67; Hall 1959, p. 22-34; Craig 1963, p. 1085-1086; Yao, Stross 1965, p. 154-156; Wyttenbach, Hermann 1966, p. 139-147; Hackens 1968, p. 9-14; Hall, Metcalf 1972; McKerrel, Stevenson 1972; Barrandon, Guerra 1997, p. 825-827; Blet-Lemarquand, Ponting 1997, p. 714-719 (analyses XRF, PIXE, FNA, PAA, LA-ICP-MS); Blet-Lemarquand, Nieto-Pelletier 2015, p. 743-750 (analyses SEM-EDX, PIXE, XRF).

⁴ Cooper 1988; Moesta, Franke 1995, p. 37-43, 77-91; Archibald, Cowell 1993.

⁵ Naster 1975b, p. 17-21; Schmutz, Jäggy 1997; Dahmen 2009, p. 200-208.

⁶ Hultsch 1882; Sutz 1909, p. 353-403; Dieudonné 1925; West 1941; Caley 1965; Schilbach 1970; Lafaurie 1970, p. 491-493; Stoicescu 1971; Carcassonne *et alii* 1974, p. 616-621; Naster 1975a, p. 65-74; Withers, Withers 1993; Martin, Campagnolo 1994; Parise 1997, p. 5-9.

mineralogy. Investigations of this type, which, in their turn, entail other disciplines, have managed to solve – albeit sometimes surprisingly – many of the puzzles of the science about coins. From among them I mention the sources of raw materials, and the technical procedures employed for producing the numismatic and paranumismatic objects⁷.

It is known that gold of Asia Minor provenance is characterized, among others, by the presence of platinum, an element absent in European gold. This is why the identification of gold with traces of platinum in Alexander the Great's staters or in the coins of the Celtic Boii point to a Persian treasure as the initial origin of the precious metal. Or, since the silver from the Potosi mines (Bolivia) contained indium, it was possible to identify this metal in the alloy of the French coins, starting with 1575. A complex assemblage of explanations and consequences (economic, political, military) took shape after this identification: the South-American source of this silver, its procurement often by violent means (wars, piracy, raiding), the increase in the volume of western issues and of the prices⁸, etc.

At this point of the exposition I have to give utterance to a truism expressed indirectly from the first lines of this paper: the knowledge produced with the help of a science begets other types of understanding, specific to other disciplines. Thus, for instance, the case of the South-American silver from 16th century European coins, or the explanation of the alloying procedures, have had serious consequences at the level of perceiving economical phenomena. Of these, I succinctly list the monetary policies, scale of the issues, issuing frequency, monetary circulation, economic crises, financial systems (imposts, taxes, budgets), banking activity (credit, interest rates, etc.), trade, emergence and evolution of markets and of cities (ancient and medieval)⁹, etc.

Methods and techniques of the **economic science** are frequently used in this kind of research. Nonetheless, the examination of the problems of ancient or medieval economy and, implicitly, of the financial-monetary aspects has occasioned a lively and long discussion about how this research should be carried out. In this regard I must mention the dispute between “modernists” and “primitivists” or, more correctly, as I would call them, “archaisers”. Ancient economy is a stage of the history of economy and it should be treated accordingly¹⁰. The use of modern concepts for discerning and explaining economic phenomena from a certain historical stage can be risky but it can nevertheless help us observe their evolution and, more particularly, to understand present-day economy¹¹. A series of economic manifestations of Antiquity are considered by the “primitivists” as being archaic and rudimentary¹². But, at the same time, it cannot be denied that we can identify as early as that moment the first elements of certain knowledge of a financial specificity that lay at the basis of modern economic science¹³.

The last decades also witnessed the appearance of a new discipline — **computer science** — that from the start has been extensively used in numismatics; currently, it is hard to envision a numismatic study that does not contain graphical representations produced by computer software¹⁴.

It can definitely be stated that other relations of numismatics with other fields of knowledge have been left unrevealed. However, I will not dwell on this topic at the moment, but only hope to return to it on some other occasion.

⁷ Kaletsch 1958, p. 1-47; Hartmann 1976, p. 102-134; Hartman 1985, p. 660-674; Morrisson 1992, p. 116-117; Moesta, Franke 1995, p. 11-14, 53-55.

⁸ Spooner 1956; Austin, Vidal-Naquet 1972; Claude 1985, p. 107-115; Hendy 1985; Hackens 1987, p. 152-168; Depuyrot 1987, p. 707-729; Depuyrot 1988, p. 235-247; Depuyrot 1991; North 1989; Miskimin 1989; Duncan-Jones 1990; Lowick 1990; Contamine *et alii* 1993; Mossman 1992; Day 1994; Grindler-Hansen 1997; Noonan 1997.

⁹ Harris 1993, p. 25.

¹⁰ “Le problème des longues séries et celui de leur homogénéité remet donc à l'ordre du jour la question de la comparabilité dans le temps” (*cf.* Kula 1960, p. 306; also see Finley 1975, p. 23 and 29).

¹¹ It seems that the Romans knew quite well the quantitative theory of money, at least with respect to its effect on the short time frame (*cf.* Pousard 1959, p. 106-121 and 224; Pekáry 1994, p. 281-286; Beyer 1995, p. 104; Burnett 1988, p. 108-109).

¹² Roman economy witnessed great stability for a long period of time particularly because of the bimetal monetary system and of the state monetary policy. This shows that the Romans had knowledge of the quantity of money theory and acted according to its provisions (*cf.* Beyer 1995, p. 34-76).

¹³ Beyer 1995, p. 261.

¹⁴ Jonsson 1997, p. 813-815; Esty 1997, p. 817-823; Wigg-Wolf 20009, p. 720-726; Verspagen 2015, p. 757-760; Pett 2015, p. 761-773 (the term **coin-computer**: 97,100,000 and the term **numismatics**: 8,530,000).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen 1958 – H.D. Allen, *Mathematics and Money*, The Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine 24, 1958, 12, p. 2612-2620.
- Allin, Wallace 1954 – E.J. Allin, W.P. Wallace, *Impurities in Euboean Monetary Silver*, ANSMN 6, 1954, p. 35-67.
- Archibald, Cowell 1993 – M.M. Archibald, M.R. Cowell (eds.), *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 3 vol., Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication 24, London, 1993.
- Austin, Vidal-Naquet 1972 – M. Austin, P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1972.
- Barrandon, Guerra 1997 – J.-N. Barrandon, M.F. Guerra, *Méthodes d'analyses appliquées à la Numismatique*, in C. Morrison, B. Kluge (eds.), *International Numismatic Commission. A Survey of numismatic research, 1990-1995*, Berlin, International Association of Professional Numismatists, 1997, p. 825-830.
- Beyer 1995 – F. Beyer, *Geldpolitik in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Von der Währungsreform des Augustus bis Septimius Severus*, Wiesbaden, 1995.
- Blet-Lemarquand, Ponting 1997 – M. Blet-Lemarquand, M.J. Ponting, *Scientific and Technical Applications*, in C. Morrison, B. Kluge, A. Burnett, L. Ilisch, W. Steguweit (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 13, Berlin, 1997, p. 714-719.
- Blet-Lemarquand, Nieto-Pelletier 2015 – M. Blet-Lemarquand, S. Nieto-Pelletier, *Analyses élémentaires, métallographiques et isotopiques*, in C. Arnold-Biucchi, M. Caccamo Caltabiano (eds.), *Survey of Numismatic Research 2008-2013*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 16, Taormina, 2015, p. 743-750.
- Brunetti 1963 – L. Brunetti, *Aspetti statistici della metanumismatica*, Roma, 1963.
- Brunetti 1965 – L. Brunetti, *Die Hochwahrscheinlichkeit bei statistischen Problemen der Numismatik*, JNG 15, 1965, p. 53-61.
- Burnett 1998 – A. Burnett, *La numismatique romaine*, Paris, 1988.
- Caley 1964 – E.R. Caley, *Orichalcum and Related Ancient Alloys. Origin, Composition and Manufacture with Special Reference to the Coinage of the Roman Empire*, NNM 151, New York, 1964.
- Caley 1965 – E.R. Caley, *Metrological Tables*, New York, 1965.
- Carcassonne 1987 – Ch. Carcassonne, *Méthodes statistiques en numismatique*, Séminaire de numismatique Marcel Hoc, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987.
- Carcassonne et alii – Ch. Carcassonne, F. Dumas, H. Huvelin, *Recherche du poids légal à partir des poids réels, I (Monnaies médiévales) – II (Solidi du Bas Empire)*, BSFN 29, 1974, 7, p. 616-621.
- Carter 1981 – G.F. Carter, *Comparison of Methods for Calculating the Total Number of Dies from Die-Link Statistics*, in Ch. Carcassonne, T. Hackens (eds.), *Statistique et Numismatique/ Statistics and Numismatics, Table ronde organisée par le Centre de Mathématique sociale de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris et le Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, Paris, 17-19 sept. 1979*, Pact 5, Strasbourg, 1981, p. 204-213.
- Claude 1985 – D. Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters*, in *Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas im Jahre 1980*, Göttingen, 1985, p. 107-115.
- Contamine et alii 1993 – P. Contamine, M. Bompaire, S. Lebecq, J.-L. Sarrazin, *L'économie médiévale*, Paris, 1993.
- Cooper 1998 – D.R. Cooper, *The Art and Craft of Coinmaking: A History of Minting Technology*, London, 1988.
- Craig 1963 – A.K. Craig, *Neutrons and Numismatics*, The Numismatist 76, 1963, 8, p. 1085-1086.
- Dahmen 2009 – K. Dahmen, *Art and Iconography*, in M. Amandry, D. Bateson (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007*, International Association of Professional Numismatist, Special Publication 15, Glasgow, 2009, p. 200-208.
- Day 1994 – J. Day, *Monnaies et marchés au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1994.
- Depeyrot 1981 – G. Depeyrot, *L'informatique et les volumes d'émission: les programmes Numis 1976*, in Ch. Carcassonne, T. Hackens (eds.), *Statistique et Numismatique/ Statistics and Numismatics, Table ronde organisée par le Centre de Mathématique sociale de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris et le Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, Paris, 17-19 sept. 1979*, Pact 5, p. 399-405.
- Depeyrot 1987 – G. Depeyrot, *Numéraire et prix: le rôle des métaux*, in G. Depeyrot, T. Hackens, G. Moucharte (eds.), *Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l'Antiquité à nos jours. Actes du colloque international organisé à Paris du 10 au 12 janvier 1986, par la Monnaie de Paris, le CNRS et le Séminaire de numismatique de l'Université de Louvain*, Numismatica Lovaniensia 7, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987, p. 707-729.
- Depeyrot 1988 – G. Depeyrot, *Crise économique, formation des prix, et politique monétaire au troisième siècle après J.-C.*, Histoire et Mesure 3, 1988, 2, p. 235-247.
- Depeyrot 1991 – G. Depeyrot, *Crises et Inflation entre Antiquité et Moyen-Âge*, Paris, 1991.
- Dieudonné 1925 – A. Dieudonné, *Manuel des poids monétaires*, Paris, 1925.

- Duncan-Jones 1990 – R.P. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge, 1990.
- Esty 1997 – W.W. Esty, *Statistics in Numismatics*, in C. Morrison, B. Kluge, A. Burnett, L. Ilisch, W. Steguweit (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 13, Berlin, 1997, p. 817-823.
- Finley 1975 – M.I. Finley, *L'Économie Antique*, Paris, 1975, p. 23 and 29.
- Forbes 1964 – R.J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, part 1. *Early Metallurgy, the Smith and his Tools, Gold, Silver and Lead, Zinc and Brass*, Studies in Ancient Technology 8, Leiden, 1964.
- Grinder-Hansen 1997 – K. Grinder-Hansen, *The money-based economy and coin circulation in Denmark 1241–ca. 1310*, in *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongreß/ XIIth International Numismatic Congress/ XIIème Congrès International de Numismatique. Vortragszusammenfassungen/Abstract of Papers/ Résumés des Communications*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Berlin 1997, p. 142-143.
- Hackens 1968 – T. Hackens, *L'analyse de laboratoire appliquée aux métaux anciens*, Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art Louvain 1, 1968, p. 9-14.
- Hackens 1987 – T. Hackens, *L'apport de la numismatique à l'histoire économique*, in T. Hackens, P. Marchetti, *Histoire économique de l'Antiquité. Bilans et contributions de savants Belges présentés dans une réunion interuniversitaire à Anvers/Anwerpen*, Universitaire Fakulteiten Sint – Ignatius, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987, p. 152-168.
- Hall 1959 – E.T. Hall, *Some Uses of Physics in Archaeology*, *Archaeometry* 2, 1959, p. 22-34.
- Hall, Metcalf 1972 – E.T. Hall, D.M. Metcalf (eds.), *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 8, London, 1972.
- Harris 1993 – W.V. Harris, *Between archaic and modern: some current problems in the history of the Roman economy*, in W.V. Harris (ed.), *The inscribed economy. Production and distribution in the Roman empire in the light of "instrumentum domesticum"*, *The proceedings of a conference held in the American Academy in Rome on 10–11 January, 1992*, Ann Arbor, 1993.
- Hartmann 1976 – A. Hartmann, *Ergebnisse spektralanalytischer Untersuchungen an keltischen Goldmünzen aus Hessen und Süddeutschland*, *Germania* 54, 1976, p. 102-134.
- Hartmann 1985 – A. Hartmann, *Über Materialanalysen an Goldmünzen der keltischen Bojer*, *JRGZM* 32, 1985, p. 660-674.
- Hendy 1985 – M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300 – 1450*, Cambridge, 1985.
- Hultsch 1882 – F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, Berlin, 1882.
- Jonsson 1997 – K. Jonsson, *Computer Applications*, in C. Morrison, B. Kluge, A. Burnett, L. Ilisch, W. Steguweit (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 13, Berlin, 1997, p. 813-815.
- Kaletsch 1958 – H. Kaletsch, *Zur lydischen Chronologie*, *Historia* 7, 1958, p. 1-47.
- Kula 1960 – W. Kula, *Histoire et économie*, *AnnalesESC* 15, 1960, 2, p. 306.
- Lafaurie 1970 – J. Lafaurie, *Contribution à l'étude du poids réel des monnaies*, *BSFN* 25, 1970, p. 491-493.
- Lowick 1990 – N. Lowick, *Islamic Coins and Trade in the Medieval World*, *Variorum collected studies* 318, Aldershot, 1990.
- Martin, Campagnolo 1994 – C. Martin, M. Campagnolo, *Catalogue des balances de changeurs, des dénéreaux et des poids, 1 (La France et l'Italie)*, *Cahiers romands de numismatique* 2, Lausanne, 1994.
- McKerrel, Stevenson 1972 – H. McKerrel, R.B.K. Stevenson, *Some Analysis of Anglo-Saxon and Associated Oriental Silver Coinage. Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 8, London, 1972.
- Metcalf 1958 – M. Metcalf, *Statistische Analyse bei der Auswertung von Münzfundmaterialien*, *JNG* 9, 1958, p. 187-196.
- Miskimin 1989 – H.A. Miskimin, *Cash, credit and crisis in Europe: 1300–1600*, *Collected Studies Series* 289, London, 1989.
- Moesta, Franke 1995 – H. Moesta, P.R. Franke, *Antike Metallurgie. Ein Beitrag zur Technikgeschichte*, Basel – Boston – Berlin, 1995.
- Morrisson 1992 – C. Morrisson, *La numismatique*, Paris, 1992, p. 116-117.
- Mossman 1992 – P.L. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation: A Numismatic, Economic, and Historical Correlation*, *ANSNS* 20, New York, 1992.
- Naster 1975a – P. Naster, *La méthode en métrologie numismatique*, in J.M. Dentzer, Ph. Gauthier, T. Hackens (eds.), *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes. Actes du colloque organisé à Nancy du 27 septembre au 2 octobre 1971 par l'Université de Nancy II et l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, Nancy – Louvain, 1975, p. 65-74.
- Naster 1975b – P. Naster, *Le carré creux en numismatique grecque*, in J.M. Dentzer, Ph. Gauthier, T. Hackens (eds.),

- Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes. Actes du colloque organisé à Nancy du 27 septembre au 2 octobre 1971 par l'Université de Nancy II et l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, Nancy – Louvain, 1975, p. 17-21.
- Noonan 1997 – T. S. Noonan, *Dirham imports and the growth of towns in early medieval European Russia*, in *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongreß/XIIth International Numismatic Congress/XIIème Congrès International de Numismatique. Vortragszusammenfassungen/Abstract of Papers/Résumés des Communications*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Berlin 1997, p. 201.
- North 1989 – M. North (ed.), *Geldumlauf, Währungssysteme und Zahlungsverkehr in Nordwesteuropa 1300-1800. Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte der späten Hansezeit*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte N.F. 35, Köln, Wien, 1989.
- Parise 1997 – N.F. Parise, *Metallic currency and weights units in the Mediterranean before coinage*, in C. Morrison, B. Kluge, A. Burnett, L. Ilisch, W. Steguweit (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 13, Berlin, 1997, p. 5-9.
- Pekáry 1994 – T. Pekáry, *Geldtheorie in Rom?*, in T. Pekáry, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, Pharos. Studien zur griechisch – römischen Antike, Band IV, St. Katharinen, 1994, p. 281-286.
- Pett 2015 – D.E.J. Pett, *Numismatics, computers and the internet*, in C. Arnold-Biucchi, M. Caccamo Caltabiano (eds.), *Survey of Numismatic Research 2008-2013*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 16, Taormina, 2015, p. 761-773.
- Pousard 1959 – C. Pousard, *La théorie quantitative de la monnaie*, *Annales ESC* 14, 1959, 1, p. 106-121 and 224.
- Schilbach 1970 – E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII/4, München, 1970.
- Schmutz, Jäggy 1997 – D. Schmutz, C. Jäggy, *Neue Erkenntnisse zur Brakteatenherstellung: Experimenteller Nachvollzug prägetechnischer Merkmale*, in *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongreß/ XIIth International Numismatic Congress/ XIIème Congrès International de Numismatique. Vortragszusammenfassungen/Abstract of Papers/Résumés des Communications*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Berlin 1997, p. 157-158.
- Spooner 1956 – F.C. Spooner, *L'économie mondiale et les frappes monétaires en France, 1493-1680*, Paris, 1956.
- Stoicescu 1971 – N. Stoicescu, *Cum măsurau strămoşii. Metrologia medievală pe teritoriul României*, Bucureşti, 1971.
- Sutzu 1909 – M.C. Sutzu, *Originele asi-ro-chaldeene ale greutăţilor romane*, *AARMSI*, s. II, 31, 1909, 5, p. 353-403.
- Verspagen 2015 – T. Verspagen, *Numismatic literature and the internet*, in C. Arnold-Biucchi, M. Caccamo Caltabiano (eds.), *Survey of Numismatic Research 2008-2013*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 16, Taormina, 2015, p. 757-760.
- Yao, Stross 1965 – T.C. Yao, F.H. Stross, *The Use of Analysis by X – Ray Fluorescence in the Study of Coins*, *AJA* 69, 1965, 2, p. 154-156.
- Zäch 2009 – B. Zäch, *Allgemeine Numismatik*, in M. Amandry, D. Bateson (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 15, Glasgow, 2009, p. 710-713.
- West 1941 – L.C. West, *Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire*, *NNM* 94, New York, 1941.
- Wigg-Wolf 2009 – D. Wigg-Wolf, *Numismatics, Computers and Internet*, in M. Amandry, D. Bateson (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007*, International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 15, Glasgow, 2009, p. 720-726.
- Withers, Withers 1993 – P. Withers, B.R. Withers, *British Coin Weights: A Corpus of Coin-Weights Made in England, Scotland and Ireland for Use in Britain*, Llanfyllin, 1993.
- Wytenbach, Hermann 1966 – A. Wytenbach, A. Hermann, *The Quantitative Nondestructive Analysis of Silver Coins by Neutron Activation*, *Archaeometry* 9, 1966, p. 139-147.

C O M P T E S R E N D U S

Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure, volume IV, *Tropaeum - Durostorum - Axiopolis*, recueillies, traduites et accompagnées de commentaires et d'index par Emilian Popescu, Editura Academiei Române, București - Editura Basilica, București - Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 2015, 412 pages, 17 planches avec photos des inscriptions.

Le quatrième volume de la série des *Inscriptions de la Scythie Mineure* contient les textes épigraphiques de *Tropaeum Traiani* et de son territoire, de *Durostorum* et de son territoire, de *Sucidava*, *Sacidava*, *Axiopolis*, en grand, la partie méridionale et de sud-est de la Dobroudja romaine, sans les territoires des cités grecques du littoral ouest-pontique. Le corpus représente l'achèvement d'un effort intellectuel immense du professeur Emilian Popescu, accompli par la présentation complète de 246 inscriptions.

Le volume débute avec les commentaires des diplômes militaires trouvés à Brestovene (45 km sud-ouest de *Durostorum*), *Durostorum*, *Altinum* et à *Tropaeum Traiani*. Tous ces diplômes ont été publiés, mais l'éditeur reprend les textes pour les commenter, surtout pour présenter les unités auxiliaires stationnées en Mésie Inférieure (deux d'entre eux, car le diplôme de Brestovene atteste les troupes d'une autre province et celui de *Durostorum* et trop fragmentaire pour en savoir davantage). La *constitutio* de Brestovene constitue un des plus anciens diplômes militaires, datant du 18 juin 54. Il a été accordé pour l'armée de Syrie. Le bénéficiaire est un *equus* de l'*ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*, un Thrace d'origine, qui rentrait chez lui, comme il y a encore d'autres textes de la province de Mésie¹. Il faut aussi observer que le diplôme d'*Altinum* représente une des copies de la constitution du 14 août 99 accordée par Trajan à l'armée de la Mésie Inférieure².

La deuxième partie du corpus est constituée par les autres types d'inscriptions. Sauf les inscriptions les plus importantes, comme celle de *Tropaeum Traiani* concernant la victoire de Trajan ou la commémoration des soldats décédés sur le camp de bataille, le corpus suit l'ordre logique d'une telle entreprise, en comprenant les inscriptions monumentales, les inscriptions honorifiques, les inscriptions votives, les textes funéraires, les inscriptions sur les *instrumenta*. Cette partie commence ainsi avec les textes de *Tropaeum Traiani*, après une brève présentation géographique et historique de la cité, du monument triomphal et du monument funéraire érigé pour les soldats tombés dans la bataille contre les Daces. En effet, le

Tropaeum représente un exemplaire unique de l'art triomphal provincial romain, constituant le sujet de plusieurs ouvrages : ces ouvrages l'ont traité non seulement du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art, mais ont également fourni un regard diachronique, par la mise en contexte historique à la Colonne trajane. Il ne faut pas oublier, néanmoins, que le monument et la ville romaine ont eu leur émergence après la bataille qu'eut lieu non loin de l'actuel village Adamclisi, dans le cadre de la première guerre daco-romaine (102). Il s'agit d'un combat assez sanglant (d'après le nombre élevé des morts du côté romain), suite de la diversion du roi dace Décébale d'attaquer les Romains en Mésie Inférieure, afin d'affaiblir leurs forces sur le front de Dacie. D'ailleurs, la première inscription d'Adamclisi présentée dans le corpus est celle placée sur le Trophée érigé par Trajan par suite de la victoire contre les Daces. L'inscription est déjà célèbre, mais elle est importante parce qu'elle date l'emplacement du Trophée en 108-109 (plutôt en 109) et parce qu'elle date aussi le monument funéraire érigé pour les soldats tombés (époque de Trajan, non de Domitien³ et non du IV^e s. ap. J.-C.⁴). De toute façon, le Trophée a été érigé après le monument funéraire des soldats décédés dans le combat : la théorie présentée par E. Popescu dans le commentaire de cette inscription nous semble correcte.

Une autre inscription fameuse est celle commémorant les militaires tombés dans le combat près d'Adamclisi (*in honorem et memoriam fortissimorum virorum qui pugnantes pro republica more occubuerunt bello Dacico*) (no. 8). Il s'agit d'un *praefectus*, originaire de Pompeï, des prétoriens (fragments 4-6), des légionnaires (fragments 3, 5-11) et des militaires des unités auxiliaires (le reste). Le préfet mentionné juste au début du texte est plutôt un *praefectus cohortis*. La présence des prétoriens ne peut pas être niée, comme correctement le suppose l'éditeur, en suivant la plupart des auteurs qui se sont occupés avec ce texte. Plusieurs légionnaires ont mentionné leur origine et E. Popescu constate que la majorité proviennent des provinces occidentales de l'Empire (des Gaules, de Germanie Inférieure, de l'Italie) ou des provinces du

¹ Voir aussi RMD III, 136 ; Chiriac, Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Matei 2004 ; Petolescu, Popescu 2007.

² CIL XVI 44.

³ Voir le commentaire de la page 53.

⁴ Cichorius 1904, p. 19-42 ; Ferri 1932, p. 372. Voir la critique justifiée d'E. Popescu ISM IV, 5, *sub numero*, p. 61.

Moyen Danube (Norique et Pannonie). Il est pourtant intéressant à remarquer que onze légionnaires proviennent de Cologne (en Germanie Inférieure). Malheureusement, on ne connaît pas le nom des légions où avaient servi les soldats. Vu que les légions *I Italica*, *V Macedonica* et *XI Claudia* stationnaient sur le territoire de la Mésie Inférieure, on peut supposer qu'une partie des militaires évoqués dans l'inscription avaient servi dans ces troupes. Des militaires originaires de l'Italie et de Norique on rencontre surtout dans la *legio I Italica* à la fin du I^{er} s. ou au début du II^{es}. On ne peut pas risquer attribuant aux autres personnages attestés dans le monument funéraire de *Tropaeum Traiani* une appartenance certaine à une légion.

Parmi les soldats qui avaient servi dans les unités auxiliaires sont toujours des originaires des provinces gauloises et germaniques (dont 5 de Cologne). Je partage l'avis d'E. Popescu qu'il est risquant d'avancer une théorie sur les cohortes participantes au combat, sauf dans les cas où il y a la spécification de l'unité. Pourquoi ne pas avancer l'hypothèse de la présence de la *cohors I Ubiorum* (dont les soldats étaient originaires du Bas-Rhin et dont le vétéran Cocceius Vitlus est attesté à *Capidava*) ? Il ne faut pas aussi oublier les soldats portant des noms Thraces (Bithus, Seuthes, Dassius), appartenant probablement à la *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*, présente en Mésie Inférieure et en Dacie⁶.

E. Popescu reprend la discussion concernant la datation du monument. Son avis est fondé surtout sur des arguments d'ordre logique et historique ; il est difficile de soutenir pourtant une hypothèse de la construction du monument sous Domitien. Le monument est à côté du Trophée et il commémore les soldats tombés dans un combat victorieux. Une datation juste après la guerre dacique me semble, par conséquent, plausible.

Les inscriptions nos. 9 et 11 mettent en question l'existence du municiple et le problème de sa fondation. La première, datée en 116, retient la formule *Traianenses Tropaeenses*, la deuxième, datée en 181, mentionne un [*municipium*] ?] *Traiani Tropaei*. Je ne reprendrai pas la discussion sur le municiple et sur la cité, car elle est bien exposée dans le commentaire des textes. On peut admettre, pour le no. 11, que la lettre qui manque soit un *m*, la seule restitution possible entre les mots *G(enio)* et *Traiani Tropaei*. Quant au problème concernant la période lorsque la cité a reçu le statut de *municipium*, je partage l'opinion de l'éditeur conformément à laquelle l'expression *Traianenses Tropaeenses* désignerait les habitants d'une cité ayant un statut de *vicus* ou de *civitas*, comme chez les *cives Montanenses*⁷. Dans la même direction, il faut aussi remarquer que, en s'agissant d'une inscription officielle,

la titulature du municiple aurait été inscrite d'une manière complète. En partant de l'observation de C.C. Petolescu, selon laquelle le *municipium* était dirigé par des *duumviri* (voir aussi les inscriptions 12, 13, 19, 61, 62), comme dans le cas des municipes fondés par Hadrien, il sera plus prudent de se montrer dans la faveur d'une fondation du municiple *Traiani Tropaeum* sous Hadrien.

L'inscription no. 12 est liée par E. Popescu à la guerre contre les Carpes portée en 238 et aux mesures prises par Gordien III afin de réparer les destructions et de redresser l'économie de la province. En effet, dans le temps des empereurs-soldats, le règne de Gordien III a bénéficié du plus grand nombre d'inscriptions (22), deux textes mentionnant des réparations⁸. Une autre restauration importante du temps de Gordien est d'Istros (un *macellum*, mais le texte justifie qu'il était délabré de vétusté)⁹. Les trois bornes miliaires faites sous Gordien, corroborées avec le sept datant du temps de Maximin, a déterminé J. Bartels à penser que Gordien a suivi un programme de restauration des voies commencé sous son prédécesseur, dû à l'invasion des Carpes¹⁰. Pour les mêmes raisons me semble la dénomination *splendidissima municipium* (*sic* !) de l'inscription no. 13 ; la cité a été refaite après une période de turbulences. D'un programme pareil de restauration fait allusion une inscription d'époque tardive (no.16), datant entre le 18 octobre 315 et le 26 juillet 317, qui célèbre une victoire de Constantin et de Licinius contre les Barbares (probablement les Goths).

Des inscriptions votives de *Tropaeum Traiani* on discutera seulement quelques-unes. Le vœu pour Zeus Ombrinos (no. 18) provient sans doute du milieu rural, le dédicant étant un *magister vici*, tout comme chez le no. 44 (un personnage d'origine thrace). Il faut remarquer également des personnages importants parmi les dédicants (comme le tribun de la *legio XI Claudia* M. Stabius Colonus, originaire de Luca, *Regio VII*, inscription no. 21, le sénateur L. Aelius Marcianus, no. 34, le décurion L. Memmius Vale(n)s, no. 38 ou les personnages du no. 40). En ce qui concerne le texte no. 42, on peut bien admettre que les soldats de la V^e légion *Macedonica* et de la I^{ère} légion *Italica* étaient détachés à *Tropaeum Traiani* suite à l'invasion des Costoboces, mais dans ce cas, l'inscription ne date pas de la première moitié du II^e siècle. Une dédicace pour Neptune (no. 26) est mise en liaison à l'invasion des Costoboces en 170, car il y avait détachées à *Tropaeum Traiani* plusieurs vexillations de légions (*I Italica*, *V Macedonica*). En tout cas, je vois une correspondance entre l'inscription no. 26 et le texte no. 25, le dernier représentant certainement une dédicace d'époque tardive (IV^e siècle). Au no. 35, le fait que le

⁵ IGLN 13, 79, 85. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015a, p. 78, 80.

⁶ CIL XVI 50 ; Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 193-195.

⁷ Voir aussi Popescu 1964, p. 186-187 ; Popescu 2013 ; Matei-Popescu (2014, p. 207-210) est enclin pour une fondation

sous Trajan, mais il n'exclut pas une fondation

⁸ ISM V, 98a ; Bartels 2014. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015b, p. 201.

⁹ ISM I, 168.

¹⁰ Bartels 2014, p. 234-237.

dédicant voue l'autel pour l'Héros cavalier ne signifie pas forcément qu'il s'agit d'un Thrace romanisé. Au IV^e siècle, les habitants rendent grâce à plusieurs divinités pour avoir trouvé des nouvelles sources d'eau (nos. 24-25).

Les inscriptions funéraires fournissent également des informations intéressantes. Il faut remarquer la présence d'une Bithynienne dans le territoire rural de *Tropaeum Traiani* (no. 46). L'inscription date le plus tard du début du III^e siècle, comme le dit l'éditeur, mais pas avant 212. Le texte fait preuve encore une fois d'une présence importante des Bithyniens en Mésie Inférieure¹¹. C. Artorius Saturninus (no. 47) semble avoir fait son service, en effet, dans la *cohors I Lusitanorum* de Mésie Supérieure, stationnée, à un moment donné, à *Siscia*, le lieu d'origine d'Artorius¹². Ainsi, son épitaphe représente une des plus anciennes inscriptions de *Tropaeum Traiani*, vu la participation de la cohorte aux guerres daciennes et l'âge relativement jeune du vétérinaire décédé (45 ans). Deux textes importants sont ceux de nos. 49 et 50, qui renseignent sur la mort du *duumvir* L. Fufidius Lucianus et du pérégrin Daizis Comozoi, tués par les Costoboces. L'inscription mentionne directement, sans allusion, le conflit qui a suivi à l'invasion des Costoboces environ 170. Cette invasion a provoqué plusieurs destructions en Mésie Inférieure ; les textes en font allusion, comme ceux de Callatis¹³. Les sources littéraires présentent seulement des informations indirectes par rapport à cet événement. Dio Cassius raconte que les Vandales Asdinges ont essayé d'occuper le territoire des Costoboces et ont demandé à l'empereur des terrains pour leur action militaire contre les ennemis de Rome¹⁴. *Historia Augusta* mentionne les Costoboces parmi les tribus barbares avec lesquelles Marc Aurèle s'est confronté¹⁵. Chez le rhéteur Aelius Aristides¹⁶ et chez Pausanias¹⁷ il y a des mentions qui confirment que, sous le règne de Marc Aurèle, la Thrace, la Macédoine et l'Achaïe ont été pillées par les Barbares : il s'agissait des Costoboces, qui ont attaqué également ces provinces. Au no. 51, l'attention est attirée par les gentilices différents du père et des enfants (le père s'appelle Iulius Vitalis et les enfants Claudia Bonita, Claudius Arbusculus, Iulius Iucundus et Claudia Placida. Il est probable que Iulius Vitalis ait été un pérégrin qui a épousé une citoyenne nommée Claudia : ainsi s'expliquent les noms de Claudia Bonita. Claudius Arbusculus et Claudia Placida. Puis, Vitalis a acquis le droit de cité (E. Popescu suggère qu'il

était vétérinaire, mais je pense qu'il aurait mentionné son statut) et Iulius Iucundus est né après cet événement. C. Iulius Valens, centurion de la V^e légion Macedonica, originaire d'*Amasia* (no. 55), fait probablement partie de ces soldats recrutés d'Asie Mineure à l'occasion des guerres parthiques de Trajan¹⁸. J'ai aussi une observation au no. 56. Sozusa est probablement fille, et non femme d'Hermogenes, en vertu de la coutume épigraphique pour transcrire un nom pérégrin. Les noms *Iulia Glyconis*, dans ce cas, doivent être traduits par *Iulia, fille de Glyconis*, comme d'ailleurs ont été traduits les noms de son frère (*Pylades, fils de Glyconis*, à l'exception que le génitif a été formé dans le texte *Glyconidis*). Je pense qu'il s'agit du même père pour ces deux frères, un pérégrin nommé Glyconis. Le fait que la fille porte un nom typique de gentilité comme nom de pérégrine n'est pas un cas unique dans le monde romain. En ce cas, Pompeia Privata est apparentée aux membres de la famille, mais on ignore comment. Il faut aussi remarquer la population thrace présente à *Tropaeum Traiani* (Herculanus, fils de Scoris – no. 58, Scoris, fils de Mucapor – no. 59, Zudecitolp – no. 66 etc.), mais aussi la tendance de « romaniser » les noms des descendants. Ainsi, Herculanus est le fils d'un certain Scoris, tandis que le fils d'Herculanus s'appelle Victor (no. 58). Il faut aussi signaler les Daces, comme dans le cas de Crescens, fils de Rigozis (no. 70 ; voir aussi le même nom à *Durostorum*, no. 180). Pour l'inscription no. 82, je ne reprendrai pas la discussion, mais l'opinion de l'éditeur sur la politique de l'Empire concernant les communautés de Thraces et de Daces en Mésie Inférieure, ainsi que la mise en liaison aux événements de 170 me semblent correctes.

La partie suivante du corpus concerne *Durostorum*, où il y avait le camp de la XI^e légion Claudia. Les inscriptions font preuve des *canabae* de la légion (no. 91) et du *municipium Aurelium* (no. 94), le rang étant accordé par l'empereur Marc Aurèle. Il s'agit toujours d'un *municipium* qui avait en tête des *duumviri* (voir nos. 94, 95, 173) E. Popescu considère que ce sont les *canabae* qui ont reçu ce rang. En ce qui concerne le texte no. 94, une lecture plus récente d'I. Piso montre qu'attribuer à Caracalla la fondation du *municipium* serait une erreur¹⁹. Plus important encore, I. Piso pense que le *vicus* situé à environ 2 km est du camp a été celui qui est devenu *municipium Aurelium*, et non les *canabae*²⁰. En faisant appel aux exemples

¹¹ Voir Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012 ; Avram 2013.

¹² Voir aussi Conrad 2004, p. 197 ; Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 222.

¹³ ISM III, 97-100.

¹⁴ Dio Cassius 71, 12.

¹⁵ HA, Marcus 22,1.

¹⁶ Aelius Aristides, *Or. 22, Eleusinos*. Voir aussi Robertson Brown 2011, p. 80-82.

¹⁷ Pausanias 10, 34,5.

¹⁸ Voir Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012, p. 37.

¹⁹ Piso 2014, p. 492. En ce qui concerne la discussion de considérer la fondation du *municipium* sous Caracalla, voir Doruțiu-Boilă 1978 ; Aparaschivei 2010, p. 101 ; Tatscheva 2005, p. 216. Pour la fondation sous Marc Aurèle, voir Pârvan 1924, p. 318 ; Bujor 1960, p. 146 ; Vulpe 1976, p. 290 ; Gerov 1977, p. 301. Voir aussi Mușețeanu 1990, p. 293 ; Donevski 1991 ; Ivanov 1997, p. 601.

²⁰ Piso 2014, p. 493.

rencontrés dans les provinces danubiennes (Pannonie, Mésie Supérieure), I. Piso constate que le siège du gouverneur se trouvait dans une cité où le camp de légion était placé dans une position centrale par rapport aux autres camps de légion de la province et il suggère que le siège du *legatus Augusti* serait à *Durostorum*, en identifiant le prétoire avec un édifice fouillé partiellement par P. Donevski²¹. Mon avis est que la théorie d'I. Piso, fondée sur des arguments logiques, doit encore attendre afin d'être mieux vérifiée. Les inscriptions des gouverneurs ne sont pas nombreuses, d'autant plus que deux d'entre elles (nos. 96 et 97 de ce corpus) se prêtent encore à une datation plus tardive, bien que la datation sous Gallien (en vertu de la mention des *praesides*) n'ait pas exclue. Puis, comme même I. Piso l'espère, les recherches archéologiques seront continuées et les résultants vont éclaircir ce problème.

Parmi les inscriptions qui constituent le corpus de *Durostorum*, je m'arrêterai seulement à quelques-unes. J'ai déjà évoqué l'inscription no. 91, où le texte atteste les *canabae Aeliae*. L'éditeur suggère leur fondation sous Hadrien, qui a visité deux fois la province, mais il n'exclut pas une fondation sous Antonin. Le texte témoigne de la consécration d'un temple et d'une statue de Jupiter le très bon et très grand par les citoyens Romains résidant dans les *canabae* sous Antonin, donc je pense que la seconde hypothèse doit être considérée plus probable que la première (voir aussi les considérations du no. 93, qui mentionne les *vici Gavidina et Arnumtus superior*, décidément différentes des *canabae*)²². Il faut aussi remarquer un personnage d'origine thrace (Aurelius Dizzo) comme *praeses* de la province au no. 97. L'octroi du droit de cité à la population thrace a commencé encore plutôt, comme le démontre le texte suivant (no. 98), qui atteste un certain Aelius Seucus, prêtre de Jupiter Dolichenus. Il n'est pas exclu que l'inscription no. 106, rédigée en grec, mais par un personnage ayant des noms latins (Iulius Firmus, fils de Cornutus) ait été trouvée dans le milieu rural (le lieu de découverte n'est pas mentionné, mais dans *IGB* on affirme que ce fait est probable). Firmus était probablement le fils d'un pèlerin, vivant dans un milieu thrace, ou le grec était plus utilisé dans les inscriptions. La même chose peut-on dire sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'inscription no. 131. Parmi les textes funéraires, remarquons le no. 115, qui atteste un ancien primipile de la légion originaire de *Sarmizegetusa* et le no. 116, où trois enfants du soldat Valerius Marcus portent des noms Daces (Decibalus, Seiciper et Mamutzis). L'éditeur pense que la mère avait probablement une origine dace, mais la même chose on peut dire aussi sur le père. Le texte no. 128 atteste un personnage qui remplit la

charge de *vilicus* du vectigal de l'Ilyricum, probablement un esclave, actif dans la *statio Durostori* : on dispose ainsi de la confirmation du point de vue épigraphique d'un bureau de douane à *Durostorum*, ce qui n'est pas surprenant, voir la présence militaire et la position géographique de la cité. Il faut aussi retenir le texte sur le sarcophage d'Ancône, qui abrite les restes du martyr Dasius (no. 152). Au no. 154, l'attention est attirée par la présence d'un primipile de la légion, originaire d'Ostie, au temps de Sévère Alexandre, ce qui prouve que les recrutements parmi les Italiens pour les légions des provinces ont continué même vers la fin du II^e siècle.

La forteresse de *Sucidava* (Izvoarele, dép. de Constanța), a conservé des tuiles estampillées qui portent les noms de la V^e légion Macedonica (no. 159) ou *cohors II Chalcidenorum* (nos. 160-161). Des détachements de la légion ont été probablement envoyés pour contrôler la zone. Le camp de *Sacidava* (Musait, dép. de Constanța) nous fournit des témoignages du stationnement des *cohortes III Gallorum*²³, *I Cilicum*²⁴. Au no. 176, il faut signaler une petite non-concordance (due à la redaction) entre le texte en latin et la traduction (le personnage a comme surnom Colonus et dans la traduction apparaît Respectus). Il semble, en effet, d'après les noms et le statut de ceux qui érigent des inscriptions (*tria nomina*, citoyens) que dans la localité rurale de *Sacidava* (un *vicus* probablement) se sont établis plusieurs vétérans et leurs familles (même si les textes ne l'affirment pas explicitement). Il y a pourtant des inscriptions dont les textes attestent certainement des anciens militaires, comme chez les nos. 179, 180, 186, 188, 189, 191, 193. Le texte no. 179, attestant un *burgarius*, mène à la conclusion que la forteresse était désignée par le terme de *burgus*. L'ancien prétorien mentionné dans l'inscription no. 188 a épousé une femme indigène (Aurelia Sispiris). Les deux ont acquis leur droit de cité en 212 et, malgré son surnom de Marcus, le vétéran peut être un Thrace qui a changé de nom après avoir été libéré (voir le cas *qui et* en Mésie Inférieure dans la première moitié du III^e siècle²⁵). Un autre vétéran d'origine dace est celui du no. 189, Diurdanus, fils de Decebalus, dont le fils porte un nom romain (Priscus). Pour le no. 192, *coniux una* peut être traduit comme *seule épouse*. Le texte no. 194 témoigne d'une *statio Saltensis*, identifiée dans la région de *Durostorum*.

Le corpus continue avec la présentation des textes épigraphiques d'*Axiopolis* (Cernavodă, dép. de Constanța). Le statut de port de cette cité et le transport de marchandises vers *Tomis* et en sens inverse a déterminé un certain développement économique, illustré par les inscriptions y trouvées. Le fait que la ville était un point important aussi

²¹ Piso 2014, p. 494-497 ; voir aussi Donevski 1990, p. 939 ; Donevski 2009, p. 119 ; Donevski 2015.

²² Voir aussi Boyanov 2010.

²³ Voir aussi Petolescu, Popescu 2004 ; Matei-Popescu 2010,

p. 210-212.

²⁴ Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 201-205.

²⁵ Voir Weiß 2000, p. 279-280 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliiba, Răileanu 2014.

pour le commerce routier est prouvé par la borne miliare du no. 216 (du temps de Septime Sévère). Une inscription importante est celle rédigée par les marchands civils qui circulaient sur les Danube (*nautae universi Danuvi*) en l'honneur de Iulia Domna (no. 217). Le texte no. 224 nous renseigne sur la présence à *Axiopolis* d'un bénéficiaire du légat de la XI^e légion Claudia, ce qui prouve encore une fois que la cité était un point stratégique important : l'existence d'une *statio* des *beneficiarii* n'est pas exclue. En ce qui concerne les personnages attestés dans l'épithaphe du no. 225, soit Iulius Hermes et Iulia Rhodope ont été des pérégrins et ont obtenu la citoyenneté en même temps, ou bien (ce qui est plus probable), ils étaient co-affranchis. En tout cas, leurs enfants sont nés citoyens. Parmi les inscriptions chrétiennes, il faut mentionner celle commémorant les martyres Cyrille, Cindéas et Dasius, qui ont souffert leur supplice à *Axiopolis*, sous Dioclétien (no. 240), ainsi que l'épithaphe d'Anthusa, fille du *comes* Gibastes (no. 241). La deuxième hypothèse évoquée par E. Popescu - celle que Gibastes a été un commandant des troupes de fédérés (voir aussi son nom germanique) - semble plus probable. En ce qui concerne l'inscription no. 242, l'éditeur croit que le lieu de trouvaille a été Medgidia, en rappelant une notice de l'ingénieur D. Pecurariu sur le dessin de l'inscription. Pourtant, G. Tocilescu écrit que lieu de découverte est près de Tulcea. Le texte mentionne un *vicus URBI[---]* est deux *magistri*. Pourtant, le même village a été mentionné dans une autre inscription trouvé à Tulcea. Ainsi, Flavius Romanus, décurion du territoire d'*Aegyssus*, est décédé *ad villam suam*, lorsqu'il habitait le *vicus URBI[---]*²⁶. L'inscription a été érigée par l'ordre d'un certain *Im[---]*, qui remplissait la charge de *sesquiplicarius*. Je crois que Tocilescu n'a pas commis d'erreur et que l'inscription a été vraiment trouvée à côté de Tulcea.

Les *Indices*, les concordances bibliographiques, les planches et les photos complètent ce bel ouvrage. Pourtant, je suis obligé d'ajouter d'autres inscriptions à ce corpus, textes qui par diverses raisons (et je n'ai pas l'intention de blâmer l'éditeur, car une telle initiative signifie de gros efforts et il y a toujours des choses qui nous échappent) ont été omises. Un texte provenant du territoire de *Durostorum* évoque un certain Valerius Valens, habitant le *vicus Siamaus*²⁷. Il faut aussi mentionner deux diplômes militaires datant du temps d'Antonin, tous les deux pour l'armée de Mésie Inférieure. Le premier, date du 7 avril 145²⁸ et le deuxième entre 143-145²⁹. Je suis convaincu que les textes seront ajoutés dans un supplément qui va paraître bientôt.

En conclusion, nous disposons maintenant d'un instrument de travail extrêmement utile, car les inscriptions

fournissent des informations très importantes sur l'histoire politique et militaire de la Mésie Inférieure, sur les indigènes, sur les cultes traditionnels romains et sur les cultes locaux, sur le territoire rural des cités et, *last but not least*, sur l'histoire de l'Empire romain surtout aux II^e et III^e siècles.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Aparaschivei 2010 – D. Aparaschivei, *Orașele romane de la Dunărea inferioară (sec. I-III p. C.)*, Iași, 2010.
- Avram 2013 – A. Avram, *Les Bithyniens en Thrace, en Mésie inférieure et dans le Pont Nord à l'époque impériale*, dans H. Bru, G. Labarre (éds.), *L'Anatolie des peuples, des cités et des cultures (II^e millénaire av. J.-C. – V^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Besançon, 2013, p. 111-132.
- Băltăc 2011 – A. Băltăc, *Lumea rurală în provinciile Moesia Inferior și Thracia (secolele I-III p. Chr.)*, București, 2011.
- Bartels 2014 – J. Bartels, *Meilensteine und Barbaren. Die Straßenbaupolitik auf dem Balkan unter Maximinus Thrax und Gordian III*, dans A. Kolb (éd.), *Infrastruktur und Herrschaftsorganisation im Imperium Romanum. Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis III. Akten der Tagung in Zürich 19-20.10.2012*, Berlin, 2014, p. 222-245.
- Baumann 1984 – V.H. Baumann, *Piese sculpturale și epigrafice din colecția Muzeului de Istorie și Arheologie din Tulcea*, Peuce 9, 1984, p. 207-232.
- Boyanov 2010 – I. Boyanov, *Municipium Aurelium Durostorum or vicus Gavidina*, ArchBulg 14, 2010, p. 53-59.
- Bujor 1960 – E. Bujor, *Cu privire la unele monumente de la Durostorum*, SCIV 11, 1960, 1, p. 141-152.
- Chiriac, Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Matei 2004 – C. Chiriac, L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, I. Matei, *Ein neues Militärdiplom aus Moesien*, ZPE 150, 2004, p. 265-269
- Cichorius 1904 – C. Cichorius, *Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrudscha. Ein Erklärungsversuch*, Berlin, 1904.
- Conrad 2004 – S. Conrad, *Die Grabstelen aus Moesia Inferior*, Leipzig, 2004.
- Donevski 1990 – P. Donevski, *Lager und canabae der Legio XI Claudia*, dans H. Vettters, M. Kandler (éds.), *Akten des 14. internationalen Limeskongresses in Carnuntum 1986*, Vienne, 1990, p. 931-939.
- Donevski 1991 – P. Donevski, *Durostorum. Municipium Aurelium und Lager der XI Legio Claudia*, dans V.A. Maxfield, M.J. Dobson (éds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Canterbury 1989*, Exeter 1991, p. 277-280.
- Donevski 2009 – P. Donevski, *Archaeological Investigations in Silistra (Durostorum)*, BMJT 1, 2009, p. 105-130.
- Donevski 2015 – P. Donevski, *A Comparison between Novae and Durostorum in Lower Moesia: Topography, Defensive System and Legal Status*, dans L. Vagalinski, N. Sharankov (éds.), *Limes XXII. Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012*, Sofia, 2015, p. 163-168.

²⁶ Baumann 1984, p. 223 ; Băltăc 2011, p. 236.

²⁷ CIL III 14413.

²⁸ RMD II, 165; V, 399. Voir aussi Weiß 2001 ; Weiß 2008,

p. 314-316.

²⁹ RMD V, 400; AÉ 2002, 1749.

- Doruțiu-Boilă 1978 – E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Über den Zeitpunkt der Verleihung des Munizipalrechts in Scythia minor*, Dacia N.S. 22, p. 245-247.
- Ferri 1932 – S. Ferri, *Arta romana sul Danubio*, Milano, 1932.
- Galsterer-Kröll 1972 – B. Galsterer-Kröll, *Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperiums Romanum*. Epigraphische Studien 9, Bonn, 1972, p. 44-145.
- Gerov 1977 – B. Gerov, *Zum Problem der Entstehung der römischen Städte am unteren Donaulimes*, Klio 59, 1977, p. 299-309.
- Ivanov 1997 – R. Ivanov, *Das römische Verteidigungssystem an der unteren Donau zwischen Dardicium und Durostorum (Bulgarien) von Augustus bis Maurikios*, BerRGK 78, 1997, p. 466-640.
- Matei-Popescu 2010 – F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Bucarest, 2010.
- Matei-Popescu 2014 – F. Matei-Popescu, *Tropaeum Traiani*, dans I. Piso, R. Varga (éds.), *Trajan und seine Städte*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 205-223.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Les Pontobithyniens à Troesmis*, dans D. Boteva-Boyanova, L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru (éds.), *Pax Romana. Kulturaustausch und wirtschaftliche Beziehungen in den Donauprovinzen des römischen Reichs*, Kaiserslautern 2012, p. 125-132.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015a – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Notes prosopographiques sur la colonisation dans le milieu militaire et civil de Novae*, dans L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba (éd.), *Colonisation and Romanization in Moesia Inferior. Premises of a Contrastive Approach*, Kaiserslautern – Mehlingen, 2015, p. 77-92.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015b – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *The Economic Crisis in the Roman Province of Moesia Inferior (235-284 AD): The Record of Epigraphic Sources*, dans L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba (éd.), *Colonisation and Romanization in Moesia Inferior. Premises of a Contrastive Approach*, Kaiserslautern – Mehlingen, 2015, p. 199-207.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dumitrache 2012 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, I. Dumitrache, *La colonisation dans le milieu militaire et le milieu civil de Troesmis*, Iași, 2012.
- Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Răileanu 2014 – L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V.-M. Răileanu, *Les territoires ruraux comme source de recrutement pour la flotte. Le cas de Nicopolis ad Istrum et une nouvelle hypothèse à propos de la politique de recrutement sous Septime Sévère*, DHA 40, 2014, 2, p. 194-205.
- Mușețeanu 1990 – C. Mușețeanu, *Contribuții privind topografia Durostorumului*, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3-4, p. 293-299.
- Pârvan 1924 – V. Pârvan, *Municipium Aurelium Durostorum*, Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione classica 2, 1924, p. 307-340.
- Petolescu, Popescu 2004 – C.C. Petolescu, A.-T. Popescu, *Ein neues Militärdiplom für die Provinz Moesia inferior*, ZPE 148, 2004, p. 269-276.
- Petolescu, Popescu 2007 – C.C. Petolescu, A.-T. Popescu, *Trois fragments de diplômes militaires de Dobroudja*, Dacia N.S. 51, 2007, p. 147-149.
- Piso 2014 – I. Piso, *Le siège du gouverneur de Mésie inférieure*, dans V. Cojocaru, A. Coșkun, M. Dana (éds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 489-504.
- Popescu 1964 – E. Popescu, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Tropaeum Traiani*, StCl 6, 1964, p. 185-203.
- Popescu 2013 – E. Popescu, *Municipium Tropaeum*, Dacia N.S. 57, 2013, p. 127-144.
- Robertson Brown 2011 – A. Robertson Brown, *Banditry or Catastrophe? History, Archaeology and Barbarian Raids in Roman Greece*, dans R.W. Mathisen, D. Shanzer (éds.), *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World. Cultural Interaction and the Creation of Identity in Late Antiquity*, Ashgate, 2011, p. 79-96.
- Tatscheva 2005 – M. Tatscheva, *Die Munizipalisierung in den Provinzen Moesia Superior und Moesia Inferior (Mitte des 2. – Mitte des 3. Jhs.)*, dans M. Mirković (éd.), *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau. Akten der regionalen Konferenz (Beograd 16-19 Oktober 2003)*, Belgrade, 2005, p. 211-217.
- Vulpe, R. 1976 – R. Vulpe, *Studia thracologica*, Bucarest, 1976.
- Weiß 2000 – P. Weiß, *Zu Vicusangaben und qui-et-Namen auf Flottendiplomen aus 3. Jh.*, ZPE 130, 2000, p. 279-285.
- Weiß 2001 – P. Weiß, *Das Konsuln paar vom 7. April 145 n. Chr. Noch einmal zu den Auxilien von Moesia Inferior und Thracia unter Antoninus Pius*, ZPE 134, 2001, p. 261-266.
- Weiß 2008 – P. Weiß, *Militärdiplome für Moesia (Moesia, Moesia superior, Moesia inferior)*, Chiron 28, 2008, p. 267-316.

Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba
 Universitățile « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » din Iași,
 blucretiu@yahoo.com

I N M E M O R I A M

ION-ȘERBAN MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU (9. DEZEMBER 1943 - 8. OKTOBER 2016)

Ein guter Freund, herausragender Archäologe, engagierter Lehrer, einer der besten Fachleute für die Bronzezeit Südosteuropas, ein komplexer und durchaus kontroverser Mensch, ist kürzlich von uns gegangen.

Geboren wurde Ion-Șerban Motzoi-Chicideanu in Bukarest, in den Jahren des 2. Weltkrieges, einer Zeit die ihn bis zuletzt mit prägte. Nach dem Tod seines Vaters, Ionel Radu Motzoi, im Sommer 1944 und der Einsetzung einer kommunistischen Regierung wurden die weitläufigen Besitzungen der Familie Motzoi 1948 enteignet und 1949 wurde die gesamte Familie zu „Feinden des Regimes“ erklärt. Seine Mutter, Nadia Motzoi, heiratete in zweiter Ehe den Tenor Viorel Chicideanu, der auch Ion-Șerban an Sohnes statt adoptierte. Dennoch blieb der „Makel“ ehemaligen Großgrundbesitzes („Klassenfeinde“) über die gesamte Zeit kommunistischer Herrschaft in



Rumänien an der Familie haften, was teilweise die unterschiedlichen Schreibweisen seines Familiennamens in der Fachliteratur erklärt, da er seine Herkunft nicht immer offen angeben konnte (Chicideanu, Chicideanu-Șandor, Motzoi-Chicideanu). Ion besuchte von 1958 bis 1962 in Bukarest das Gymnasium „Dr. Petru Groza“ und durfte, nach einer Phase von 5 Jahren, in der er als „Werkstätiger“ seine „Nähe zur Arbeiterschaft“ beweisen mußte, von 1967 bis 1972 bei Prof. Ion Nestor Geschichte studieren, mit der Spezialisierung auf Urgeschichte. Die Universität schloß er mit einem Diplom über das Neolithikum ab, was damals für eine Anstellung am Kreismuseum Dîmbovița in Tîrgoviște (1972-1975, Muzeul Județean Dâmbovița, Tîrgoviște) genügte; danach war er bei der Direktion der Denkmalpflege (1975-1978, Direcția Patrimoniului Cultural Național, București), am Nationalmuseum (1978-1979, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României, București) tätig, und schließlich, von 1979 bis zu seiner Pensionierung 2008, am Archäologischen Institut der Rumänischen Akademie (Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan“, București). Einerseits wegen der Vergangenheit als „Großgrundbesitzer“ („chiabur“, bzw. dem „burghezo-moșieresc“ Regime zugehörig), andererseits auch wegen der allgemeinen Beschränkungen von Dissertationen über archäologische Themen (insbesondere in den späteren Jahren der kommunistischen Herrschaft wurde nur noch „Zeitgenössische Geschichte“ zugelassen) konnte er erst nach der politischen Wende im Winter 1989/1990 eine Doktorarbeit in Angriff nehmen. Nach der erfolgreichen Verteidigung 2006 war eine Drucklegung erst 2011 möglich (*Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*). Das Buch wurde in Anerkennung des wissenschaftlichen Wertes mit dem „Premiul Vasile Pârvan“ der Rumänischen Akademie der Wissenschaften ausgezeichnet. Am Archäologischen Institut galt Ion Chicideanu als Spezialist für die Bronze- und Früheisenzeit, wobei er seine frühen Erfahrungen, Freunde und Kollegen von der Archäologie des Mittelalters, sowie anderer Zeitperioden, nie vernachlässigte.

DACIA N.S., tome LX, Bucarest, 2016, p. 341-348

Auslandsreisen hatte er vor 1989 nur nach Ungarn und in die Tschechoslowakei unternehmen können. Ab 1990 war er dann in Jugoslawien, nochmals in Ungarn und in der Slowakei, sowie in Deutschland dienstlich unterwegs und stets gern gesehener Gast bei Tagungen und Diskussionsrunden. Auch privat konnte er endlich Europa bereisen und einerseits Freunde besuchen, andererseits auch die archäologischen und kulturellen Denkmäler endlich selbst sehen, von denen er schon lange aus Berichten wusste. Auch einen sehr alten Traum, die wichtigen Bezugspunkte der südosteuropäischen Bronzezeit - Knossos und Mykene - selbst zu sehen, konnte er sich noch kurz vor seinem Tod erfüllen.

Zahlreiche Ausgrabungen und Geländeforschungen sind mit ihm verbunden, sei es, dass er unter der Leitung Anderer daran teilnahm oder sie selbst geleitet hat. Gelernt hat er praktisch auf Grabungen, vor allem von Ion Nestor und Radu Popa, die praktisch alle Perioden von der Kupferzeit (z.B. Brătești, Bungetu) bis in das hohe Mittelalter hinein (z.B. Bradu, Gurasada, Târgoviște) abdeckten, wobei hier nur einige Erwähnung finden können. Seine große Liebe galt jedoch der Bronze- und Früheisenzeit, für deren Erforschung er zahlreiche Grabungen leitete, darunter, um nur die wichtigsten zu nennen, jene am Bistreț-See (Cârna/Cîrna, Plosca - wesentliche neue Erkenntnisse zu den Bestattungen der Gârla Mare-Kultur), bei Bungetu (Definition einer Frühphase der Tei-Kultur), Cârломănești, Năeni-Zănoaga, Sărata Monteoru (Definition einer Frühphase der Monteoru-Kultur, Klärung von Periodisierung und Chronologie der Monteoru-Kultur) oder Văleni-Dâmbovița (Definition eines frühbronzezeitlichen Grabhügelphänomens).

Dabei ist für den Kenner der südosteuropäischen Bronzezeit auch schon erkennbar, dass sich ein besonderes Interesse für die Bestattungssitten, nicht nur an sich, sondern vor Allem als Spiegel sozialer Organisation und von Glaubensvorstellungen, abzeichnet, das in seiner 2011 erschienenen zweibändigen Dissertation (*Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*) kulminierte. Dieses Werk setzt methodisch, insbesondere durch die Anwendung von räumlichen Analysemethoden innerhalb von Gräberfeldern, neue Maßstäbe. Seine Anwendung von hydrographisch begründeten geographischen Gebieten sprengt das engere Denken in modernen politischen Grenzen und dürfte einem urgeschichtlichen Landschaftsverständnis näher kommen. Darüber hinaus werden darin überkommene und unkritisch verwendete Begriffe archäologischer „Kulturen“ für Südosteuropa kritisch hinterfragt und zurecht gerückt.

Ein weiterer Aspekt, der insbesondere die Bronzezeit charakterisiert, sind die Hort- und Schatzfunde von Metallgegenständen. Auch sie werden in der neueren Diskussion vorwiegend als spirituell motivierte Deponierungen angesehen, so dass auch darin zu einem gewissen Grad die Gedankenwelt des urgeschichtlichen Menschen fassbar wird. Ion hat auch hier neue Funde publiziert (z.B. Ocnîța, Străoști, Bogdan Vodă) und nutzte die neue Freiheit und Möglichkeiten nach 1989 für die Organisation des internationalen Kolloquiums *Obiceiuri de depunere în pre- și protoistorie* 1991 in Bukarest, bei dem dieses menschliche Phänomen diachron vom Paläolithikum bis in das frühe Mittelalter diskutiert wurde. Darüber hinaus hat er, durch die erstmalige Anwendung von Methoden aus anderen Bereichen, die Klassifizierung und Darstellung von Horttypen durch die „Ausrichtung/Orientierung“ nach Kategorien¹ auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt und zu neuen Erkenntnismöglichkeiten beigetragen.

Seine Offenheit gegenüber neuen Methoden in der Forschung, seine rigorose Genauigkeit in der Dokumentation archäologischer Befunde und Materialien, und seine umfassenden Kenntnisse, aber auch seine kritische Hinterfragung überkommener und scheinbar gefestigter Meinungen brachten ihm einerseits großen Respekt in der Fachgemeinschaft, andererseits aber auch Anfeindungen von Seiten dogmatischer und weniger professioneller „Kollegen“. Bei der ersten Gelegenheit (1989) politisch aktiv, ist er jener, damals unter diesem Gesichtspunkt eher wenig Bekannte, bärtige Mann, der auf dem Balkon des ehemaligen Zentralkomitees der Rumänischen Kommunistischen Partei das Ende der Ceaușescu-Herrschaft verkündete². Obwohl er sich der sogenannten Revolutionsbewegung abwandte nachdem seiner Meinung nach deutlich wurde, dass es sich eher um einen Putsch handelte, hielt ihn bis zuletzt nichts davon ab, sich auch in

¹ I. Motzoi-Chicideanu, G. Iuga, Der Bronzefund von Bogdan Vodă, Kr. Maramureș, in T. Soroceanu (Hrsg.), *Bronzefunde aus Rumänien. Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa* 10, Berlin, 1995, S. 157-158, 168 Abb. 10.

² Siehe auch den Nachruf von R. Harhoiu, Ion Motzoi-Chicideanu (1943–2016), *SCIIVA* 67, 3-4, 2016, S. 387-395.

öffentliche Debatten zu Politik und Geschichtsverständnis einzumischen und dabei auch Meinungen sachlich zu vertreten, die der allgemeinen Stimmung zuwider liefen³.

Wenngleich Ion-Șerban Motzoi-Chicideanu „offiziell“ nur wenige Kurse an der Bukarester Universität hielt, so waren bei fast allen Grabungen Studenten dabei, oftmals viele. In der praktischen Anwendung, aber auch bei den Diskussionen rings um die Mahlzeiten und Feierstunden, gab Ion sein Wissen und die streng wissenschaftliche Arbeitsweise an die nachfolgenden Generationen in viel breiterem Umfang weiter als irgend einer seiner Kollegen. Ausgebaut wurde dies oftmals beim geselligen Beisammensein irgendwo in der Stadt oder bei ihm und seiner Frau Monica zuhause, wo schnell auf die beachtliche Bibliothek verwiesen werden konnte und auf die auch die Studenten zugreifen durften. Obwohl er als sehr harter und unnachgiebiger Lehrer galt, führte dies nicht dazu, dass er gemieden wurde - ganz im Gegenteil wurde er respektiert und die Teilnahme an seinen Grabungen war ausserordentlich begehrt. Den Treffen mit ihm wurde mit Spannung und größtem Interesse entgegen gesehen. Seine Freundschaft schloß kontroverse und hitzige Fachdiskussionen keineswegs aus. Viele der Studenten, auch wenn sie nicht immer bei der Archäologie geblieben sind, hielten den menschlichen Kontakt und auch untereinander entstanden Freundschaften, die sein Fehlen sicher überdauern werden.

Hinter dem wissenschaftlich arbeitenden Kollegen und Lehrer stand aber auch der Mensch Ion. Durch seine persönliche, nicht immer einfache, Geschichte reich an Erfahrung (ausgedrückt in seinem Spruch „sunt om bătrân“ – was sich nicht auf das Alter bezog!), war er ein hochbegabter Erzähler, der seinen Zuhörern (fast) alles glaubhaft machen konnte, auch wenn es manchmal frei erfunden oder reich ausgeschmückt war. Dabei ging es keineswegs nur um Archäologie – seine überaus reiche Kenntnis des Lebens, aber auch seine klassische kulturelle Bildung, seine intime Kenntnis des „alten“ Bukarest, ermöglichten ebenso intelligente und charmante Gespräche über allgemeine Geschichte, Literatur und praktisch alle Lebensaspekte Rumäniens. Von seinen Kontrahenten als Trinker und Schläger verunglimpft, war er sicherlich kein Kind von Traurigkeit. Ganz im Gegenteil liebte er das Leben, trotz mancher Tiefschläge, und genoss es in vollen Zügen und voller Humor, oft unkonventionell und manchmal geradezu dionysisch übertreibend, am liebsten im Zentrum eines größeren Kreises. Ich selbst lernte ihn bei einer Reise durch Rumänien im Rahmen meines Dissertationsvorhabens 1983 kennen und bin ihm seither verbunden geblieben. Die zahlreichen gemeinsamen Erlebnisse, manche davon inzwischen schon in die „archäologische Mythologie“ Rumäniens eingegangen⁴, sollen hier nicht wiederholt werden - sie bleiben in unserem Gedächtnis und den Erzählungen lebendig.

Der Kreis, der mit der Enteignung der Familie in seiner Kindheit begonnen hatte, schloß sich ab 2007, als er die Rückgabe von Wald und Boden erreichte. Trotz fortgeschrittenen Alters, arbeitete er sich in die Forstwirtschaft ein und pflegte „seinen“ Wald intensiv und wirtschaftlich erfolgreich. Ein Aspekt den er nicht mehr zuende verfolgen konnte war sein Stolz nun nicht nur wieder Großgrundbesitzer zu sein, sondern, daß in seinem Wald auch mehrere urgeschichtliche Siedlungen und Gräberfelder lagen, die ihm nun gehörten und die zu untersuchen wären – die Archäologie interessierte und faszinierte ihn bis zuletzt.

³ Siehe z.B. die kontroverse Diskussion: 19. Juni 2012 - *Die Daker verbanden sich mit den Kelten, nicht den Geten* (EXCLUSIV „Dacii se înrudeau cu celții, nu cu geții!“). Un arheolog cunoscut prezintă o teorie uimitoare: http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/exclusiv-dacii-inrudeau-celtii-nu-getii-arheolog-cunoscut-prezinta-teorie-uimitoare-1_50aede6a7c42d5a663a15d87/index.html); 9. Juli 2012: *Wurden die Rumänen durch die Slawen zu Christen?* (Au fost românii făcuți creștini de către slavi? http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/au-fost-romanii-facuti-crestini-slavis-1_50ae96d47c42d5a6639e386e/index.html); 10. Juli 2012: *Die Zeitung Adevarul [Wahrheit] propagiert die ANTIRUMÄNISCHE THEORIE von Roesler über den Ursprung und die Christianisierung der Rumänen* („Adevărul“ promovează TEORIA ANTIROMÂNEASCĂ a lui Roesler cu privire la originea și creștinarea românilor“: <http://www.cuvantul-ortodox.ro/recomandari/2012/07/10/adevarul-teoria-lui-roesler-originea-crestinarea-romanilor/>). Alle Internet-Seiten zuletzt aufgerufen Dezember 2016.

⁴ In dem oben erwähnten Zeitungsinterview mit dem *Adevărul* vom 19. Juni 2012 erinnerte Ion an eine Begebenheit unserer ersten gemeinsamen Zeit 1983, als wir, er mit damals genehmigungspflichtigem Bart, Ich ebenfalls mit Bart und zudem langhaarig, in einem Bukarester Lokal angesprochen wurden: *Aha, Archäologen - Ihr seht eher wie Dakische Priester aus!*

Ein keineswegs einfacher, in jeder Hinsicht aber besonderer Mensch, Kollege und Freund ist von uns gegangen. Diejenigen, die ihn kannten werden ihn persönlich vermissen - für die Archäologie Südosteuropas ist er ein unersetzlicher Verlust. Möge er in Frieden ruhen.

Nikolaus Boroffka*

SCHRIFTENVERZEICHNIS

Bücher

1. *Obiceiuri funerare în epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*, Editura Academiei Române, București 2011, Bd. I - 900 S., Bd. II - 479 Taf.

Mitarbeiter

2. 43 Stichworte in C. Preda (Hrsg.), *Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României*, Bd. I-III, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1994, 1996, 2000.

Studien und Artikel

3. *Două topoare de aramă descoperite la Brătești (jud. Dâmbovița)*, SCIV 24, 1973, 3, S. 521-525.
4. *Un mormânt de la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea, descoperit în incinta Curții Domnești din Tîrgoviște*, *Chronica Valachica* 5, 1973, S. 81-84 (in Zusammenarbeit).
5. *O nouă descoperire Coțofeni în Muntenia*, *Documenta Valachica* 6, 1974 (1975), S. 63-67.
6. *Cercetări și rezultate la Mănăstirea Bradu*, *BulBOR* 9-12, 1976, S. 1-13 (in Zusammenarbeit).
7. *Date noi privind începutul culturii Tei (Săpăturile de la Brătești-Bungetu)*, SCIVA 28, 1977, 2, S. 225-238.
8. *Săpăturile arheologice de la Brătești de Sus, județul Dâmbovița*, *Valachica* 9, 1977, S. 119-151 (in Zusammenarbeit).
9. *Un cuptor de ars oale descoperit la Tîrgoviște*, *Valachica* 9, 1977, S. 513-519.
10. *O așezare din sec. XIV-XV la Bradu, jud. Buzău*, *CA* 3, 1979, S. 421-438.
11. *Depozitul de bronzuri de la Ocnița (jud. Dâmbovița)*, SCIVA 30, 1979, 4, S. 607-611.
12. *Unele probleme privind începutul culturii Tei*, *Thraco-Dacia* 3, 1982, S. 102-106.
13. *Mănăstirea Bradu. Scurt istoric și cercetări arheologice*, in A. Plămădeală (Hrsg.), *Spiritualitate și istorie la Întorsura Carpaților*, Buzău, 1983, S. 168-205 (in Zusammenarbeit).
14. *Zur Typologie und Verbreitung der Schalenknaufschwerter*, *Dacia N.S.* 27, 1983, S. 11-17.
15. *Observații asupra necropolei de la Pietroasa Mică*, *SympThrac* 1, Craiova, 1983, S. 14-15.
16. *Unele probleme privind sfârșitul epocii bronzului în sudul Olteniei*, *SympThrac* 2, Drobeta - Turnu Severin, 1984, S. 12-13.
17. *Informații noi și câteva considerații istorice privind biserica românească din Gurasada - jud. Hunedoara*, SCIVA 35, 1984, 1, S. 54-67 (in Zusammenarbeit).
18. *Observații asupra necropolei hallstattiene de la Stoicani*, SCIVA 35, 1984, 4, S. 331-344 (in Zusammenarbeit).
19. *Die frühthrakische Kultur. Zur Bronzezeit in Südwest Rumänien*, *Dacia N.S.* 30, 1986, S. 7-47.
20. *Observații privind practicile funerare din epoca bronzului pe teritoriul României*, *SympThrac* 5, Miercurea Ciuc, 1987, S. 46-47.
21. *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Bistreț*, in *Științele Sociale și Politice din România* 3-4, 1988, S. 53-60 (in Zusammenarbeit).
22. *Din nou despre spadele cu mâner în formă de cupă*, SCIVA 39, 1988, 2, S. 159-168.
23. *Dezbaterea: Cercetări de sociologie a necropolelor și de ideologie funerară*, SCIVA 39, 1988, 4, S. 413-414.
24. *Zu den Grabsitten der Periam-Pecica-Kultur*, *Dacia N.S.* 33, 1989, S. 5-38 (in Zusammenarbeit).
25. *Contributions to the study of the Gârla Mare anthropomorphic statuettes*, *Dacia N.S.* 34, 1990, S. 53-75 (in Zusammenarbeit).

* Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin; nikolaus.boroffka@dainst.de.

26. *O descoperire de la începutul primei epoci a fierului la Cârna*, SCIVA 43, 1992, 1, S. 49-54.
27. *Cuvânt introductiv la Colocviul „Obiceiuri de depunere în pre- și protoistorie”*, SCIVA 43, 1992, 4, S. 335-339.
28. *Observații asupra depozitului de bronzuri de la Străoști, Prahova*, SCIVA 44, 1993, 1, S. 33-39 (in Zusammenarbeit).
29. *Observații asupra unor materiale ceramice inedite de la Dubovac aflate în colecțiile Muzeului Banatului*, AnB S.N. 2, 1993, S. 151-169 (in Zusammenarbeit).
30. *Der Bronzefund von Bogdan Vodă, Kr. Maramureș*, in T. Soroceanu (Hrsg.), *Bronzefunde aus Rumänien*, PAS 10, Berlin, 1995, S. 141-168 (in Zusammenarbeit).
31. *Der Bronzefund von Străoști, Kr. Prahova*, in T. Soroceanu (Hrsg.), *Bronzefunde aus Rumänien*, PAS 10, Berlin, 1995, S. 261-278 (in Zusammenarbeit).
32. *Fremdgüter im Monteoru-Kulturräum*, in B. Hänsel (Hrsg.), *Handel, Tausch und Verkehr im bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Südosteuropa*, PAS 11, München-Berlin, 1995, S. 219-242.
33. *Cultura Cruceni-Belegiș*, in C. Stoica, M. Rotea, N. Boroffka (Hrsg.), *Comori ale epocii bronzului din România*, București 1995, S. 167-170.
34. *Cultura Gârla Mare*, in C. Stoica, M. Rotea, N. Boroffka (Hrsg.), *Comori ale epocii bronzului din România*, București 1995, S. 171-173.
35. *Cultura Periam-Pecica*, in C. Stoica, M. Rotea, N. Boroffka (Hrsg.), *Comori ale epocii bronzului din România*, București 1995, S. 226-233.
36. *Ein bronzezeitliches Grab aus Năeni-Zănoaga*, Dacia N.S. 38-39, 1994-1995, S. 19-40 (in Zusammenarbeit).
37. *Cercetările arheologice de la Năeni-Zănoaga (jud. Buzău). Campaniile 1982-1986, 1988-1993 și 1996*, MCA S.N. 1, 1999 (2001), S. 59-97 (in Zusammenarbeit).
38. *The medieval monument from Gurasada*, EA-online, March 31, 2001 / [www.archaeology.ro / imc_gurasada.eng.htm](http://www.archaeology.ro/imc_gurasada.eng.htm).
39. *Un mormânt în cistă din piatră descoperit la Văleni-Dâmbovița*, SCIVA 51, 2000 (2002), 1-2, S. 3-70 (in Zusammenarbeit).
40. *Ein neuer Fund vom Beginn der Hallstattzeit aus der Kleinen Walachei*, Dacia N.S. 43-45, 1999-2001 (2003), S. 197-229.
41. *Cu privire la istoricul cercetărilor comportamentului funerar din epoca bronzului la Dunărea Mijlocie și Inferioară*, SAI 67, 2002, S. 5-28.
42. *Un mormânt din epoca bronzului descoperit la Cârломănești (jud. Buzău)*, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, S. 5-41 (in Zusammenarbeit).
43. *Câteva remarci asupra studiului descoperirilor mortuare*, in D. Marcu-Istrate (Hrsg.), *In memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizației românești în context european*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, S. 65-76.
44. *Câteva observații asupra culturii Monteoru*, Mousaios 8, 2003, S. 37-59.
45. *Observations concerning the Bronze Age cult-object from Sărata Monteoru - Poiana Scorușului*, in C. Kacsó (Hrsg.), *Bronzezeitliche Kulturerscheinungen im karpatischen Raum. Die Beziehungen zu den benachbarten Gebieten*, Baia Mare, 2003, S. 361-378.
46. *Bronze age funeral discoveries in Pietricica (Prahova county)*, EA-online, March 2003 / [www.archaeology.ro / imc_pietricica_eng.htm](http://www.archaeology.ro/imc_pietricica_eng.htm).
47. *Observații asupra cimitirului din epoca bronzului de la Pietroasa Mică*, Mousaios 9, 2004, S. 57-100.
48. *Cu privire la descoperirile funerare ale grupei Verbicioara*, Oltenia 15, 2004, S. 3-12.
49. *Cu privire la comportamentul funerar al culturii Sabatinovka*, Mousaios 10, 2005, S. 55-66.
50. *Înmormântările culturii Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare*. EA-online March 2009 / www.archaeology.ro/imc_gm.pdf.
51. *Câteva considerații privind înmormântările culturii Tei*, EA-online November 2009 / www.archaeology.ro/imc_te.pdf.
52. *Cimitirul din epoca bronzului de la Cârломănești - La Arman. Campaniile 2003-2007*, MCA S.N. 6, 2010, S. 21-70 (in Zusammenarbeit).
53. *O brățară din bronz descoperită la Plosca (jud. Dolj)*, AnB S.N. 20, 2012, S. 17-22 (in Zusammenarbeit).
54. *Observații preliminare privind cercetările efectuate în anii 2008-2009, 2011-2012 la cimitirul din epoca bronzului de la Cârломănești*, Mousaios 17, 2012, S. 47-63 (in Zusammenarbeit).
55. *O piesă de harnașament din epoca bronzului descoperită la Cârломănești-Cetățuia*, Mousaios 17, 2012, S. 65-95 (in Zusammenarbeit).
56. *Câteva date noi privind cronologia culturii Monteoru*, Mousaios 20, 2015, S. 9-52 (in Zusammenarbeit).
57. *Despre înmormântările Culturii Amforelor Sferice pe teritoriul României*, http://www.archaeology.ro/Pdf/revista_EA/revista_EA_04.pdf

Grabungsberichte

58. *Săpăturile arheologice de la Biserica Țîrgului (Țîrgoviște) - 1972. Raport preliminar*, Scripta Valachica 4, 1973, S. 169-177.
59. *Cercetări arheologice de teren*, Scripta Valachica 4, 1973, S. 390-391.
60. *Săpătura de salvare de la Bungetu de Sus (Brătești, comuna Văcărești)*, Chronica Valachica 5, 1973, S. 27-41.
61. *Biserica Țîrgului (Țîrgoviște). Raport preliminar asupra celei de a doua campanii de săpături arheologice*, Chronica Valachica 5, 1973, S. 75-79.
62. *Cercetări arheologice*, Documenta Valachica 6, 1974, p. 305-308 (in Zusammenarbeit).
63. *Raport asupra cercetărilor arheologice din anul 1978 ale M.I.R.S.R. în cadrul șantierului național Turnu-Măgurele*, MCA 13 (A XIII-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte, Oradea, 1979), 1979, S. 411-412 (in Zusammenarbeit).
64. *Șantierul arheologic Sarmizegetusa - jud. Hunedoara (Epoca postromană). Raport privind rezultatele cercetărilor campaniei 1978*, MCA 13 (a XIII-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte, Oradea, 1979), 1979, S. 315-318 (in Zusammenarbeit).
65. *Săpăturile arheologice de la Costeștii din Vale, jud. Dâmbovița*, MCA 14 (a XIV-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte, Tulcea, 1980), 1980, S. 127-128.
66. *Săpăturile arheologice de la Călugăreni (jud. Gorj)*, MCA 15 (a XV-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte, Brașov 1981), 1983, S. 103-107 (in Zusammenarbeit).
67. *Săpăturile arheologice de la Grojdibodu (jud. Olt)*, MCA 15 (a XV-a Sesiune anuală de rapoarte, Brașov 1981), București, 1983, S. 98-102.
68. *Noi descoperiri arheologice la Bistreț, Cîntarea României 5.10 (37.10)*, 1984, S. 44-45.
69. *Săpăturile arheologice de la Năeni, județul Buzău (Raport preliminar asupra campaniei din anul 1982)*, Mousaios 4, 1994, 1, S. 31-36.
70. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal”. Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului*, in CCA, campania 1999, Deva, 2000, S. 76-77 (in Zusammenarbeit).
71. *Năeni, com. Năeni, jud. Buzău, „Zănoaga”*, in CCA, campania 2000, Suceava, 2001, S. 157-159 (in Zusammenarbeit).
72. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal”*, in CCA, campania 2000, Suceava, 2001, S. 186-189 (in Zusammenarbeit).
73. *Văleni – Dâmbovița, com. Văleni – Dâmbovița, jud. Dâmbovița, „Capul Plaiului”*, in CCA, campania 2000, Suceava, 2001, S. 264-266 (in Zusammenarbeit).
74. *Năeni, com. Năeni, jud. Buzău, „Zănoaga”, „Șipot”*, in CCA, campania 2001, Buziaș, 2002, S. 213-216 (in Zusammenarbeit).
75. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal”, „Ferma 2”*, in CCA, campania 2001, Buziaș, 2002, S. 240-242 (in Zusammenarbeit).
76. *Năeni, com. Năeni, jud. Buzău, „Zănoaga”*, in CCA, campania 2002, Covasna, 2003, S. 208-211 (in Zusammenarbeit).
77. *Pietricica, com. Lapoș, jud. Prahova, „La mesteceni”, „Fântâna Hoșilor”*, in CCA, campania 2002, Covasna, 2003, S. 231-232.
78. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal I”, „Cabana de metal 2”*, in CCA, campania 2002, Covasna, 2003, S. 241-243.
79. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „Arman”*, in CCA, campania 2003, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, S. 77-81.
80. *Năeni, com. Năeni, jud. Buzău, „Zănoaga”*, in CCA, campania 2003, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, S. 214-217 (in Zusammenarbeit).
81. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal”*, in CCA, campania 2003, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, S. 237-241 (in Zusammenarbeit).
82. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „La Arman”*, in CCA, campania 2004, Mangalia, 2005, S. 109-111 (in Zusammenarbeit).
83. *Năeni, com. Năeni, jud. Buzău, „Zănoaga”*, in CCA, campania 2004, Mangalia, 2005, S. 244-245 (in Zusammenarbeit).
84. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal”*, in CCA, campania 2004, Mangalia, 2005, S. 279-281 (in Zusammenarbeit).
85. *Cimitirul din epoca bronzului de la Cârlomănești - La Arman (Campania 2003)*, Mousaios 9, 2004, S. 15-38 (in Zusammenarbeit).
86. *Cercetările arheologice de la Cârlomănești - La Arman, (Campania 2004)*, Mousaios 10, 2005, S. 31-43 (in Zusammenarbeit).
87. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „La Arman”*, in CCA, campania 2005, Constanța, 2006, S. 126-128 (in Zusammenarbeit).

88. *Plosca, com. Bistreț, jud. Dolj, „Cabana de metal”*, in CCA, campania 2005, Constanța, 2006, S. 274–275 (in Zusammenarbeit).
89. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „Cetățuia”*, in CCA, campania 2006, Tulcea, 2007, S. 117-121 (in Zusammenarbeit).
90. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „La Arman”*, in CCA, campania 2006, Tulcea, 2007, S. 121-122 (in Zusammenarbeit).
91. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „Cetățuia”*, in CCA, campania 2007, Iași, 2008, S. 94-97 (in Zusammenarbeit).
92. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „La Arman”*, in CCA, campania 2007, Iași, 2008, S. 97-99.
93. *Cârlomănești, com. Vernești, jud. Buzău, „La Cocoșoica”*, in CCA, campania 2011, Târgu Mureș, 2012, S. 40-42 (in Zusammenarbeit).
94. *Șantierul arheologic Cârlomănești - Arman. Campania 2014*, Mousaios 20, 2015, p. 173-189 (in Zusammenarbeit).

Rezensionen und Besprechungen

95. Rezension: Dumitru Protase, *Riturile funerare la daci și daco-romani*, București, 1971, in AnUBucurești 18, 1972, S. 161-163.
96. Rezension: Gian Luigi Carancini, *Die Nadeln in Italien*, PBF XIII/2, München 1975, in Dacia N.S. 24, 1980, S. 382-383.
97. Rezension: *Régészeti kutatások az MO autópálya nyomvonalán*, BTM Műhely 5, Budapest, 1992, partea I, 291 p., 166 fig., partea a II-a, 190 p., 107 fig., in SCIVA 46, 1995, 1, S. 80-83 (in Zusammenarbeit).
98. Besprechung: Sofija S. Berezanskaja, Viktor I. Kločko, *Das Gräberfeld von Hordeevka*, Archäologie in Eurasien 5, Rahden/Westfalen, 1998, VII+88 p., 1 tabel, 9 fig. în text, 83 planșe în afara textului in SCIVA 50, 1999, 1-2, S. 98-99.
99. Rezension: Martin Bartelheim, *Studien zur böhmischen Aunjetitzer Kultur - Chronologische und chorologische Untersuchungen*, UPA 46, Bonn 1998, Partea I (text): 328 p., 11 fig., 17 grafice, 23 diagrame; Partea a II-a (ilustrație): 48 planșe, 177 hărți, 6 tabele, in SCIVA 50, 1999, 1-2, S. 99-100.
100. Besprechung: Horia Ciugudean, *Cercetări privind epoca bronzului și prima epocă a fierului în Transilvania*, Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis 7, Alba Iulia, 1997, 230 p., 87 fig., plus 4 fig. și 6 tabele în text, In SCIVA 50, 1999, 1-2, S. 103-104.
101. Rezension: Ladislav Olexa, *Nižná Myšl'a Osada a pohrebisko z doby bronzovej*, Archaeologické pamätníky Slovenska, zv. 7, Košice, 2003, 135 p., 70 fig. în text, 24 pl. color, in SCIVA 54-56, 2003-2005, S. 464-467.
102. Rezension: Svend Hansen, Andreas Hauptmann, Ingo Motzenbäcker, Ernst Pernicka (Hrsg.), *Von Majkop bis Trialeti. Gewinnung und Verbreitung von Metallen und Obsidian in Kaukasien im 4.-2.Jt. v. Chr.*, Kolloquium zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bd. 13, Bonn, 2010, 323 p. cu ilustrații în text, in MCA S.N. 8, 2012, S. 214-216.
103. Rezension: Cristian Schuster, Alexandru Morintz, Raluca Kogălniceanu, Cristian Ștefan, Alexandra Comșa, Georgeta El-Susi, Monica Constantin, Cătălin Constantin, Georgiana Mureșan, *Cercetările arheologice de pe tronsonul Constanța-Medgidia al Autostrăzii A2. Tumulul nr. 3*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2011, in MCA S.N. 8, 2012, S. 216-220.
104. Rezension: Radu Băjenaru, *Identități culturale, structuri de putere și conflict militar în nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în mileniiile IV–III a. Chr.*, Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române, București, 2013, 295 p., inclusiv 4 hărți, ISBN 978-973-167-118-5. in Peuce S.N. 12, 2014, S. 353-356.
105. Rezension: Nils Müller-Scheeßel (Hrsg.), *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe...?*, Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012, Editura Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn, 2013, 518 pagini, 239 figuri și 34 tabele în text. ISBN 978-3-7749-3862-2, in Peuce S.N. 12, 2014, S. 366-376.
106. Rezension: Priscilla Keswani, *Mortuary ritual and society in Bronze Age Cyprus*, Seria Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology, Editura Equinox, London, 2004, 257 pag., 18 fig., 38 tabele, toate în text. ISBN 1-904-768 03-2 in Peuce S.N. 12, 2014, S. 377-382.

Nachrufe

107. *Radu Popa (Necrolog)*, SCIVA 44, 1992, 3, S. 227-230.

108. *In memoriam Radu Popa*, in D. Marcu-Istrate (Hrsg.), *In memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizației românești în context european*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, S. 17-22.

Internet-Beiträge

109. *Despre înmormântările Culturii Amforelor Sferice pe teritoriul României*, https://www.academia.edu/5838921/Despre_%C3%AEnmorm%C3%A2nt_rile_Culturii_Amforelor_Sferice_pe_teritoriul_Rom%C3%A2niei.

Zahlreiche Beiträge auf: http://www.archaeology.ro/pagini/revista_EA.html

ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen – Berlin
AAIN – Annali dell’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Roma
AARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București
Academica – Academica. Revistă editată de Academia Română, București
ACSS – Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Bordeaux – Moscow
ActaArchCop – Acta Archaeologica, Copenhagen
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaMM – Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
ActaMV – Acta Musei Varnaensis, Varna
ActaMT – Acta Musei Tutovens, Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
ActaPraehArch – Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica, Berlin
ActaTS – Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European, Sibiu
AÉ – L’Année Épigraphique, Paris
AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
AJS – The American Journal of Sociology, Chicago
Alba Regia – Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani regis, Székesfehérvár
Aluta – Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
Alt-Hildesheim – Alt-Hildesheim. Jahrbuch für Stadt und Stift Hildesheim, Hildesheim
AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
American Anthropologist – American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association, ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1548-1433](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1433))
American Antiquity – American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology, Washington
Anatolia Antiqua – Anatolia Antiqua, Istanbul
AnB – Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
Ancient Philosophy – Ancient Philosophy, Duquesne University, Pittsburg
AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
AnnalesESC – Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations, Paris
AnnalesHSS – Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris
Annals of Science – Annals of Science, Taylor and Francis Online (<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tasc20>)
ANSNS – American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Studies, New York
AnUA-SH – Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia
AnUBucurești – Analele Universității București, București
Angustia – Angustia. Arheologie, Etnografie, Sfântu Gheorghe
ANSMN – American Numismatic Society; Museum Notes, New York
AntCl – L’antiquité Classique, Revue interuniversitaire d’études classiques
Antik Tanulmányok – Antik Tanulmányok. Studia Antiqua, Eötvös József Collegium, Budapest
Antiquitas – Antiquitas, Museo Historico Municipal de Priego, Cordoba
Antiquités Nationales – Antiquités Nationales, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye
Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham
AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
APS News – The American Physical Society News
Apulum – Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Archaeological Dialogues – Archaeological Dialogues, Cambridge

- Archaeometry – Archaeometry, The Society for Archaeological Science, Gesellschaft für Naturwissenschaftliche, Associazione Italiana di Archeometria, University of Oxford, Wiley
- ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
- ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest
- ArchHung – Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
- ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
- ArchRozhledy – Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
- ArheologijaSSSR – Arheologija Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik, Moskova
- ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija i Muzej, Sofia
- Arqueologia y Territorio Medieval – Arqueologia y Territorio Medieval, Universidad de Jaén, Jaén
- Ausgrabungen und Funde – Ausgrabungen und Funde, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Sektion für Vor- und Frühgeschichte; Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie
- BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
- BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes – Paris
- BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara
- Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis – Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei al Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae. Monographies – Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae. Monographies, Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Secția Științe Istorice, București
- Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis – Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei al Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca
- BJb – Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Bonn
- BMC, I – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, I, Augustus to Vittelius*, London, 1923.
- BMC, II – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, II, Vespasian to Domitian*, London, 1930.
- BMC, III – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, III, Nerva to Hadrian*, London, 1936
- BMC, IV – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, IV, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London, 1940.
- BMC, V – H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, V, Pertinax to Elagabalus*, London, 1950.
- BMC, VI – R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, VI, Severus Alexander to Balbinus and Pupienus*, London, 1962.
- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BMJT – Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman, Alexandria
- BMTAGiurgiu – Buletinul Muzeului „Teohari Antonescu”, Giurgiu
- Bosporskie issledovanija – Bosporskie Issledovanija (Études bosporaines), Académie nationale ukrainienne des sciences, Simferopol
- BSFN – Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique, Paris
- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BTM Mühely – BTM Mühely, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- Budapest Régiségei – Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- BulBOR – Buletinul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București
- Buridava – Buridava. Muzeul Județean Vâlcea, Râmnicu Vâlcea
- CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- Caiete ARA – Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie. Asociația ARA, București
- Cahiers des Sciences Humaines – Cahiers des Sciences Humaines, O.R.S.T.O.M. (Agency: France)

- CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal
 CANT – Cercetări arheologice în aria nord-tracă, București (I – 1995, II – 1997, III - 1999)
 Carpica – Carpica, Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Julian Antonescu” Bacău, Bacău
 CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
 CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul “Dunării de Jos”, Călărași
 CCGG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
 Centaurus – Centaurus, European Society for the History of Science, John Wiley & Sons Ltd
 CercIst – Cercetări Istorice, Iași
 Chiron – Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
 Chronica Valachica – Chronica Valachica. Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
 Chronométriphilia – Chronométriphilia, La Chaux-de-Fonds
 CICSA – Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, Universitatea București, București
 CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1862-.
 CIS – *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881-.
 Classica et Christiana – Classica et Christiana, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine al Facultății de Istorie a Universității „Al.I. Cuza”, Iași
 CIQ – The Classical Quaterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge
 CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
 CNM – Corpus Nummorum Moldaviae
 Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. Série Épigraphique – Collection de la Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. Série Épigraphique, Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, Fédération de recherche sur les sociétés anciennes, Université Lumière Lyon 2 - CNRS
 Communications – Communications. EHESS/CNRS-Centre Edgar Morin, Paris
 Comparative Criticism – Comparative Criticism, Cambridge University Press
 Corviniana – Corviniana. Acta Musei Corviniensis, Hunedoara
 CRAI – Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris
 Crisia – Crisia. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
 Critica Storica – Critica Storica, Associazione degli storici europei, Firenze
 CSA – Current Swedish Archaeology, Swedish Archaeological Society
 Current Anthropology – Current Anthropology. University of California, Merced
 Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d’archéologie « V. Pârvan », București
 Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați, Galați
 Das Altertum – Das Altertum, Berlin – Amsterdam – Oldenburg
 Das Mittelalter – Das Mittelalter, UTB GmbH, Stuttgart
 Der Anschnitt – Der Anschnitt, Vereinigung der Freunde von Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau, Bochum
 DHA – Dialogues d’Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
 Die Kunde – Die Kunde. Zeitschrift für niedersächsische Archäologie, Hannover
 DissArch – Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
 DissPann – Disertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenientes, Budapest
 DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, București, 1976.
 Documenta Praehistorica – Documenta Praehistorica, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology
 Documenta Valachica – Documenta Valachica. Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii, Târgoviște
 Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porțile de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
 EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), București, 1994
 EJS – European Journal of Sociology
 Epigraphische Studien – Epigraphische Studien, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Köln
 EphemDAC – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma
 EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
 Ethnic and Racial Studies – Ethnic and Racial Studies, London : Routledge & Kegan Paul

- EurAnt – Eurasia Antiqua. Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- FI – File de Istorie. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
- Fontes I – V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu, Gh. Ștefan (ed.), Izvoare privind Istoria României, vol. I, București, 1964.
- Fontes II – H. Mihăescu, Gh. Ștefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V. C. Popescu (ed.), Izvoare privind Istoria României, vol. I, București, 1970.
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Gerión – Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemlinskog Muzeja u Sarajevu, Sarajevo
- Greece & Rome – Greece & Rome, Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
- HispAnt – Hispania Antiqua. Revista de Historia Antigua (digital journal: <https://revistas.uva.es/index.php/hispaanti>)
- Hesperia – Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- History and Anthropology – History and Anthropology, Taylor & Francis (Routledge)
- History and Theory – History and Theory. Studies in the Philosophy of History, Middletown
- History Compass – History Compass, Wiley-Blackwell
- Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua, Institut društvenih znanosti IVO PILAR, Zagreb
- HNE – M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898.
- HPQ – History of Philosophy Quarterly, University of Illinois Press
- IDR II – G. Florescu, C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. II: *Oltenia și Muntenia*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDR III/1 – I.I. Russu, N. Gudea, V. Wollmann, M. Dușanic, *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane*, vol. III/1: *Dacia Superior. Zona de sud-vest*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 1977.
- IDRE – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000.
- IG XII 6.2 – K. Hallof, A.P. Matthaiou, *Inscriptiones Graecae XII 6. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque. Pars 2. Inscriptiones Sami insulae. Dedications. Tituli sepulcrales. Tituli Christiani, Byzantini, Iudaei. Varia. Tituli graphio incisi. Incerta. Tituli alieni. Inscriptiones Corassiarum. Inscriptiones Icariae insulae*, Berlin – New York, 2003.
- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IGLN – V. Božilova, J. Kolendo (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure)*, Ausonius, Bordeaux, 1997.
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latinești descoperite pe teritoriul României*, București, 1976.
- IGLS VI – J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie. VI. Baalbek et Beqa'*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 78, Paris, 1967.
- IGLS XVII.1 – J.-B. Yon, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. XVII/1. Palmyre* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 195; Beirut, 2012.
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989.
- Il Mar Nero – Il mar nero: annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916).
- ISSJ – International Social Science Journal
- Interpretation – Interpretation. A Journal of Political Philosophy, Waco
- ISM I – D.M. Pippidi, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, vol. I. *Histria și împrejurimile*, București, 1983.
- ISM II – I. Stoian, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine*, vol. II. *Tomis și teritoriul său*, Bucarest, 1987.
- ISM III – A. Avram, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure*, vol. III. *Callatis et son territoire*, Bucharest–Paris, 1999.
- ISM IV – E. Popescu, *Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure*, vol. IV. *Tropaeum – Durostorum – Axiopolis*, Bucharest–Paris, 2015.

- ISM V – E. Doruțiu Boilă, *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, vol. V. *Capidava – Troesmis – Noviodunum*, București, 1980.
- IstMitt – Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Istanbul
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija Arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
- JAMT – Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, Springer
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JIES – Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington
- JFA – Journal of Field Archaeology, Boston University, Taylor & Francis
- JMC – Journal of Material Culture, SAGE Publications Ltd.
- JNG – Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Bayerische Numismatische Gesellschaft, München
- JÖAI – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
- Journal of Value Inquiry – The Journal of Value Inquiry, Springer
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island
- JRAI – Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- JRAI (N.S.) – The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- JRAI-GBI – Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Kadmos – Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik, Berlin
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- La Cultura – La Cultura. Rivista de Filosofia, Letteratura e Storia
- LIMC – Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zürich, 1981-1999
- Lucerna – Lucerna. The Roman Finds Group Newsletter, Stevenage, UK
- Marmația – Marmația, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Baia Mare, Baia Mare
- MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa
- MCA – Materiale și cercetări arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț, Piatra-Neamț
- MFME – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
- MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva – Sk. Petersburg
- MitteilungenBerlin – Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Berlin
- Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft – Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
- MN – Muzeul Național, București
- MonographRGZM – Monographies des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- Montana II – V. Velkov, G. Aleksandrov, *Epigrafski pametnitsi ot Montana i raiona*, Montana, 1994.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău, Bacău
- MSȘIA – Academia Română. Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice și Arheologie, București
- MusHelv – Museum Helveticum: schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft = Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique = Rivista svizzera di filologia classica, Schwabe-Verlag
- NAC – Numismatica et Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi, Lugano
- Nestor – Nestor, University of Cincinnati, Department of Classics, Cincinnati
- NC – Numismatic Chronicle, London
- NNM – Numismatic Notes and Monographs, New York
- Novensia – Novensia, Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- NZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Wien
- Oltenia – Oltenia. Studii și comunicări, Craiova
- Orientalia – Orientalia, Pontificio Istituto biblico, Roma
- Pact – Pact. Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical, Biological & Mathematical Techniques Applied to Archaeology, Strasbourg
- PAS – Praehistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin

- PAT – Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum
 PAT – D.R. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, Baltimore, 1996.
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M, Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- PCPhS – Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Cambridge
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și Note de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și Cercetări de Istorie și Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea
- Philosophie – Philosophie, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris
- Phronesis – Phronesis. A Journal for Ancient Philosophy, Leiden
- PIR² – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin–Leipzig
- PNAS – Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Washington DC
- Poetics Today – Poetics Today, Duke University, Columbus, USA
- Polis – Polis. The Journal for Ancient Greek Political Thought, Exeter
- Pontica / Pontice – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- PPS – Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Freie Universität, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- RAN – Repertoriul Arheologic Național (<http://ran.cimec.ro/>)
- RE – *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Stuttgart, 1893-
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- RES – *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris, 1900-1968.
- RÉSEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- Review of Metaphysics – The Review of Metaphysics. A Philosophical Quarterly, Washington DC
- Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Centrul de Arheologie, Chișinău
- Revista d'arqueologia de Ponent – Revista d'arqueologia de Ponent, Unitat d'Arqueologia, Prehistòria i Història Antiga del Departament d'Història de la Universitat de Lleida, Lleida
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- Révue d'Alsace – Révue d'Alsace, Fédération des Sociétés d'Histoire et d'Archéologie d'Alsace, Colmar
- Revue d'Archéométrie - ArchéoSciences, revue d'Archéométrie, Presses universitaires de Rennes
- Revue du Louvre – La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France, Conseil des musées nationaux (France), Paris
- Revue du Nord – Revue du Nord. Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France, Université de Lille, Villeneuve D'Asco
- RGA – *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin
- RGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Bonn
- Rhetorica – Rhetorica. A Journal of the History of Rhetoric, Berkley
- RI – Revista Istorică. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIC, II – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, II, Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, 1926.
- RIC, III – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, III, Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London, 1930.
- RIC, IV/1 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Shutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/1, Pertinax to Geta*, London, 1936.
- RIC, IV/2 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/2, Macrinus to Papienus*, London, 1938.

- RIC, IV/3 – H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Shutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, IV/3, Gordian III-Uranus Antoninus*, London, 1949.
- RIC, V/1 – P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, V/1*, London, 1927.
- RIS – E. Weber (ed.), *Die römischen Inschriften der Steiermark*, Graz, 1969.
- RIU III – L. Barkóczi, S. Soproni, *Die römische Inschriften Ungarns, 3. Liefereng: Brigetio (Fortsetzung) und die Limesstrecke am Donauknie*, Budapest–Bonn, 1981.
- RMD – *Roman Military Diplomas*, London, I (M.M. Roxan, 1978), II (M.M. Roxan, 1985), III (M.M. Roxan, 1993), IV (M.M. Roxan, P.A. Holder, 2003), V (P.A. Holder, 2006)
- RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente istorice și de artă, București
- RPC I – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage, I. From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*, London – Paris, 1992.
- RPC II – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage, II. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)*, London – Paris, 1999.
- SAA – *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*. Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași
- SAI – *Studii și Articole de Istorie*, București
- Sargetia – *Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane*, Deva
- SchwNumRu – *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, Bern
- Science – *Science*, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington DC
- SCIV(A) – *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scripta Valachica – *Scripta Valachica, Studii și materiale de istorie și istorie a culturii*, Târgoviște
- SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979-1980, Amsterdam 1979-2005, Boston 2006-
- Semitica et Classica – *Semitica et Classica. Revue internationale d'études orientales et méditerranéennes. International Journal of Oriental and Mediterranean Studies*, Paris – Turnhout
- SlovArch – *Slovenská Archeológia*, Nitra
- SMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Series*
- SNG Copenhagen 2 – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, Volume 2. Macedonia and Thrace*, reprint of original edition, New Jersey, 1981.
- SNG BM Black Sea – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume IX, British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea*, London, 1993.
- SNG Stancomb – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume XI, The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea Region*, Oxford, 2000.
- Southwestern Journal of Anthropology – *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, University of Chicago, Chicago
- SP – *Studii de Preistorie*, București
- Starinar – *Starinar, Arheologskog Instituta*, Belgrade
- StCl – *Studii Clasice*, București
- StComPitești – *Studii și Comunicări*, Pitești
- StComBrukenthal – *Studii și Comunicări*, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
- StComSatuMare – *Studii și Comunicări*. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- Stratum plus – *Stratum, Vysshaya Antropologicheskaya Shkola*, Chișinău
- Studia Palmyreńskie – *Studia Palmyreńskie*, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Warsaw
- Studia Troica – *Studia Troica*, Universität Tübingen, University of Cincinnati, Mainz am Rhein
- Südost-Forschungen – *Südost-Institut München, Deutsches Auslandswissenschaftliches Institut (Berlin, Germany)*, Leipzig
- Symbolae Osloenses – *Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies*, Oslo
- SympThrac 1 – *Symposia Thracologica, I*, Institutul de Tracologie, Craiova, 1983
- SympThrac 2 – *Symposia Thracologica, II*, Institutul de Tracologie, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, 1984
- SympThrac 5 – *Symposia Thracologica, V*, Institutul de Tracologie, Miercurea Ciuc, 1987

- SympThrac 7 – Symposia Thracologica, VII, Institutul de Tracologie, Tulcea, 1989
- Terra Sebus – Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis, Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeş
- The Antiquaries Journal – The Antiquaries Journal, Society of Antiquaries of London
- Theory, Culture and Society – Theory, Culture and Society, Universitz of London, London
- ThesCRA* – *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum: I-II (2004), III-V (2005), VI (2011), VII-VIII (2012), Index (2014)
- The Numismatist – The Numismatist, The American Numismatic association
- Thracia – Thracia, Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, Institut po trakologia, Serdica
- Thracia Pontica 4 – M. Lazarov *et alii* (eds.), *Thracia Pontica. Quatrieme Symposium International, Sozopol 6-12 Octobre 1988*, Sofia, 1991.
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucureşti
- TIR – Tabula Imperii Romani, Romula-Durostorum-Tomis, Bucarest, 1969.
- TPAPhS – Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- TÜBA-AR – Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi
- Tyche – Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Wien
- Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
- Tyragetia International – Tyragetia International, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
- Valachica – Studii şi cercetări de istorie şi istoria culturii, Târgovişte
- VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
- World Archaeology – World Archaeology, Taylor & Francis
- ZfE – Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin
- ZfN – Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
- ZSav – Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung, Wien

