CSABA SZABÓ

SANCTUARIES IN ROMAN DACIA

MATERIALITY AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 49

Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia

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Archaeopress Publishing Ltd
Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Summertown
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-78969-081-1
ISBN 978-1-78969-082-8 (e-Pdf)

The linguistic reivew of the book was financed by the Foundation of the Heritage of Transylvania of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

This work had been accepted as doctoral dissertation at the Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies of the University of Erfurt and the University of Pécs according to a Cotutelle agreement.

Cover design: Dénes Sátor

Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 49

Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

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Acknowledgements

After finishing my studies in Cluj/Kolozsvár the cultural centre of Transylvania, I moved in September 2012 to Pécs as a recipient of the Balassi Institute Doctoral Fellowship, to begin my Ph.D. studies at the Department of Archaeology, known as the only academic centre in Hungary focusing on Roman religious studies and Early Christianity. In the second half of 2013 I had the unforgettable opportunity and chance to use the prestigious libraries of the *Urbs*. I studied at the Accademia di Romania and in the libraries of the American Academy at Rome and the Deutsche Archaeologisches Institut. In the spring of 2014 I spent two intensive months with a DAAD Doctoral Scholarship at the Max Weber Kolleg in Erfurt, where I met the most inspiring academic environment that a scholar of Roman religion can imagine. Luckily enough, in the same year I was awarded a two-year Doctoral Scholarship financed by the Sanctuary Project of Prof. Greg Woolf. Two years in Erfurt offered me the chance to participate in numerous colloquiums, seminars, workshops and prestigious international conferences focusing on Roman religion, and gave me a comprehensive introduction to the latest currents of *Religionswissenschaft* in Germany and far beyond. It is a heritage and academic passport I will always carry with me. During my two years in Germany, I often used the amazing library of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum from Mainz, where I met again, wonderful scholars and friends.

I made a list of scholars in 2012 that I would like to contact during my Ph.D. studies. Not sure if I still have that list, but I remember the words of my first supervisor, who told me: You will meet far more people than you can imagine. He was right. During these four years of academic and personal endeavour I was lucky enough to work with the most respected scholars of Roman religious studies, Roman archaeology and religious studies. I owe my deepest gratitude to my three supervisors: Dr Ádám Nagyernyei Szabó, Prof. Jörg Rüpke and Prof. Greg Woolf, whose comments, suggestions and constructive ideas represent the strong pillars of this work. While Ádám Szabó gave useful practical advice, Jörg Rüpke was the methodological 'parent' and supervisor of the whole process, and Greg Woolf helped me immensely to argue more sharply, express my ideas freely and simply, and try to 'become a bit of an Anglo-Saxon!'. This will need some more work, for sure.

I owe special thanks to some remarkable scholars from the Max Weber Kolleg, especially Prof. Richard L. Gordon, who was an academic *etalon* for me already in 2008, when I began to research the cult of Mithras in Dacia. Many of the friends and colleagues I met in Erfurt – Georgia Petridou, Valentino Gasparini, Katharina Rieger, Maik Patzelt, Karin B. Neutel, Paul Michael Kurtz, Cristiana Facchini, Emiliano Urciuoli, Jan Bremmer, Markus Vinzent, Veit Rosenberger†, Kai Brodersen – helped my work greatly with their constructive ideas and suggestions.

The immense help I got from Dr Kristine Iara from the American Academy of Rome during my stay in the 'Eternal City' in 2013, and after, is hard to acknowledge sufficiently through simple words. In Rome my work was helped by the kindnesses of Silvia Orlandi, Maria Letizia Caldelli, Richard Neudecker, Mihai Bărbulescu and Raffaella Marchesini.

I owe special thanks also to my colleagues from the National Museum of Union from Alba Iulia, especially for Radu Ota and Gabriel Rustoiu, whose help was crucial in my fieldwork. My sincere gratitude goes to my colleagues and friends from the University of Pécs, especially Réka Nemény and Levente Nagy, who helped my chapter on early Christianity from Apulum. Friends and colleagues from Cluj helped me on numerous occasions during these four years. I am also indebted to my former mentor Sorin Nemeti, and Florin Fodorean, Ioan Piso, Radu Ardevan, Imola Boda, Rada Varga, Mátyás Bajusz and Alexandru Diaconescu. During my research stays in Mainz I received constant help from Dr Martin Schönfelder, to whom I extend my special thanks. The maps used in this work were offered by Alfred Schäfer from the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, to whom I am also most grateful.

Some of the chapters that follow were carefully read and corrected, thanks to the great generosity of Chris Mowat, Philippa Adrych, David Walsh, Erin Edwards and especially of Gerald Brisch from Archaeopress. I'm very thankful to David Davidson and the team from Archaeopress for their work and kindness. The cover of the book was created by my good friend Dénes Sátor, who is and will be an inspiration for me.

Finally, I owe my greatest gratitude to my friends and those special people I met in this period in Cluj, Alba Iulia, Pécs, Budapest, Rome, Mainz, and Erfurt. They helped and inspired me, and represent the finest example of the *embodied and lived experience* I intend to present in this work.

Abbreviations

ABRRD	Addenda for the Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia. Online: http://brrd2014.wixsite.com/brrd
AÉ	L'Année épigraphique
ANRW	Haase, W. - Temporini, H. (eds): Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt/Rise and Decline of the Roman World. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung, Berlin-New York, 1972
BBRD	Boda, I. - Szabó, C., Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2014
CCAR	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
CCID	Hörg, M. - Schwertheim, E., Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni , Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 106, Leiden, 1987
CIGD	Ruscu, L., Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum, Hungarian Polis Studies 10, Debrecen, 2003
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum
CIMRM	Vermaseren, M. J., Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae I-II, The Hague, 1956-1960
Clauss-Slaby	Epigraphik Dantebank Clauss-Slaby
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani
DMA	Digital Map of Apulum = Szabó 2016b
EDH	Epigraphic Database Heidelberg
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (founded by M. J. Vermaseren)
HA	Scriptores historiae Augustae
IDR	Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae I-III, București/Paris
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGUR	Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae I-IV
ILD	Petolescu, C. C., Inscripţii latine din Dacia. (Inscriptiones Latinae Dacicae), București 2005
ILS	Dessau, Hermann. Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae Berlin 1892-1916, 3 vols
IvP	Fränkel, M. (ed.),Altertümer von Pergamon (Band VIII, Band 2): Die Inschriften von Pergamon, Berlin, 1895
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Zürich, München, Düsseldorf, 1981-1999 and 2009
LSCG	Sokolowski, F., Lois sacrées de cités grecques, Paris, 1969
LTUR	Steinby, E. M. (ed.), Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (1993-2000)
lupa	http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch.php
MMM	Cumont, F. V., Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra: pub. avec une introduction critique, Bruxelles, 1894-1896
MNR	Museo Nazionale Romano, catalogues

MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia
OPEL	Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum / ediderunt Barnabas Lorincz et Franciscus Redo, Budapest-Wien, 1994-2002
PGM	Betz, H. D., The Greek Magical Papyri in translation, Chicago-London, 1986
PIR	Prosopographi Imperii Romani saec. I. II. Ill (2nd edn), Berlin 1933
RIB	The Roman inscriptions of Britain / by the late R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, Oxford, 1965-2009
RIC	The Roman Imperial Coinage
RIU	Barkóczi, L. - Mócsy, A., Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns, Amsterdam, 1972-1991
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, 1923-
ThesCRA	Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum 2004-2014
Tit. Aq.	Kovács, P. - Szabó, Á., Tituli Aquincenses I-III. Vol. 1. Tituli operum publicorum et honorarii et sacri / ediderunt Ádám Szabó ... [*et al.*] - vol. 2. Tituli sepulcrales et alii Budapestini reperti / adiuvante Bence Fehér ; ediderunt László Borhy ... [*et al.*] - vol. 3. Tituli instrumenti domestici / cura Bence Fehér, Budapest, 2009-2011
TIR	Meredith, D., Tabula Imperii Romani: Map of the Roman Empire, based on the International 1: 1,000,000 map of the world, Oxford, 1958
TLL	Thesaurus linguae Latinae, München, 1894

I. Introduction

Dasas and Dazurius, two Illyrian men from the Μανιοι tribe, lived close to the Pelješac peninsula, on the picturesque gulf of the Neretva (Narona) river – considered the coldest in the known world.[1] Their tribe lived near various Illyrian groups that specialised in the long-distance trade of wine and olive oils in the Adriatic, but also in mining. Barely speaking Latin, the first language of the Roman Empire, the small Illyrian group worshipped their local divinities, with specific Illyrian names, adopting Roman religious practices already in Dalmatia. They learned from their parents, friends, teachers, neighbours how to name a god, a spirit, which had superhuman powers. They also learned in Illyricum what kind of objects, scents, prayers, dances or chants these divine agents needed. They knew where these divine agents could be addressed most effectively. In other words, they learned the ''religious' lesson and gained a religious knowledge, which probably included several common aspects from each group and family from this part of the Empire; however every single individual built this religious knowledge up differently, as their own identity.

At a certain moment between AD 106 and 271, Dasas and Dazurius, together with numerous other people from Dalmatia, changed their environment radically: they moved to Dacia, the latest province of Rome, once known as the Kingdom of the Dacians.

What did they know about this part of the world before they moved there? Hard to say. Perhaps only some legends from soldiers and merchants about a foggy, wild and barbarian province, where the feared enemy of Rome, the Dacians, lived in marvelous richness. They certainly knew that the province became part of the Empire, conquered by Trajan in the summer of AD 106 and celebrated in Rome on coins and all over the Roman world. With such ethnographic knowledge about the former kingdom of the Dacians, they left their homeland and moved into the mountains of the Apuseni. A world without seaside, without olives, a much colder, foggy and woody area, rich in gold and various other mines.

The group of Dasas and Dazurius preserved their mother language and their unpolished Latin, chose a site on the Hăbad hill, where, together with other Illyrian groups, they built a small, rectangular building, where they continued to communicate with their gods in the manner, as they learned at home, on the bank of the Narona. Dasas and Dazurius worshiped Maelantonius, a divinity who is uniquely attested in the Roman Empire, on their poorly elaborated, rudimentary altar (**Fig.1**.).[2]

Maelanto/nio Dasas / e(t?) Dazurius / pro salutae(!) / Maniatium / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes)

Maelantonius – whatever he might represent in the divine world, was part of the religious memory and

Figure 1. Altar dedicated by Dasas and Dazurius in Alburnus Maior (source: AE 1990, 831=ILD 363, lupa 15241)

[1] For a complete bibliography of the Illyrian groups of Dacia, see: Wollmann 1996; Damian *et al.* 2003; Piso 2004a; Ardevan *et al.* 2007; Ciongradi 2009; Nemeti-Nemeti 2010; Ciongradi 2014. See also Chapter IV.

[2] AE 1990, 831=ILD 363=Ciongradi 2009, nr. 75.

indigenous identity of the two movers. The small, rectangular building was at least in the beginning, the centre of the world for these Illyrians: a place where they can speak their mother language, speak with their gods in their home manner, meet their friends and make new connections. On this hill, more than 30 altars were found, several of them attesting different groups from Dalmatia. The number and position of the altars within the sanctuary suggest a regular, but not an intense activity on the hill. We do not know if there were charismatic religious entrepreneurs, priests acting at this site, making new narratives or strategies of communicating with gods. However, through their altars, they maintained a successful communication with their home divinities. They sacralised a space.

Dasas and Dazurius, and all the other people coming to Roman Dacia temporarily for some weeks, or months, or for long years of service might have had special, individual religious knowledge and habits when they arrived here, but the province itself, with its people, climate, geography, economy, administrative and political specificity, changed forever these movers and their religion too. The settlement of the two Illyrians was known as *kastellum Ansium* and was part of the larger administrative unit of the *Aurariae Dacicae*, the golden district of the province. The area was dominated by the local elite of Ampelum, but the strong influence of Apulum and its legion was also present. They lived and interacted daily with people from all over the Roman Empire and, perhaps, with Dacians too. This special condition from Dacia, from these mountains and small settlements, the new social and economic roles they gained with intense networking, changed their religious communication too. These dynamics in communication with gods, the religion in the making, is memorised most visibly in the changes of the sacralised space, which became now not only a transporter of indigenous, group identities, but also an agent of social competition and group-networking. Maintaining such a special space was crucial for individuals, groups and settlements too. Some of these sacralised spaces remained small, almost invisible, used and visited by a single person, a family or a special group. Others however became large, monumentalised 'instantiations' in the architectural and natural landscape, gaining local or even provincial fame and visitors.

The sacralised space of Dasas and Dazurius, together with all the other hundreds of spaces where Romans communicated with divine agents, had a sudden end: its maintenance was dependent on human agency and the possibility of using special tools, in this case, a large number of altars, as votive offerings. After AD 271, or even a decade before, a large part of the population left the province, leaving the material presence of the Roman Empire without their human agency.

This case study of the Hăbad site represents the story of Dacia in a nutshell. It shows, how the former kingdom of the Dacians and the remaining, apparently rural population of the indigenous people, was suddenly cohabited by a large number of people from all over the Roman Empire. It illustrates also the economic and political motivations of the short- or long-term mobilities attested in the province and the major networks (familial and economic) bonding the population of Dacia between AD 106 and 271 with the rest of the Empire. The research history of this site was focusing till now on the publication of the excavation reports, cataloguing the altars and some of the small finds, establishing the ethnic and onomastic specificities of the human agency, and dealing with the epithets of gods and supposed syncretism of their religious communication. These focus points are common for almost every case study in Dacia.

What I intend to do in this book, is to go beyond Roman religion as part of the 'Romanisation of Dacia' and ask some new, sometimes radical, questions to highlight unasked dimensions of religion in Roman Dacia and in the archaeology of Roman religion in provincial contexts:[3] what were the strategies and local appropriations to create, maintain and fail a sacralised space in Roman Dacia? What made a space more effective and intense in communication with divine agents? How does an individual or group bring religion into play in his/her interaction with other people? And finally: How did these special spaces, and the religious communication in them, shape and change individual and group identities? Following a radically new methodology,[4] tested for the very first time in a case study from the Danubian provinces,[5] this book will focus on the role of space sacralisation in the 'Lived Ancient Religion' approach.

I.1. Space sacralisation and the Lived Ancient Religion approach

The case study presented above and the major questions I addressed, introduced some of the key theoretical notions operating within this book. Notions such as space sacralisation, religious appropriation, religious individualisation, group identities and strategies of maintaining religious communication are just a few of the major innovations of a new school in the study of Roman religion, called the Lived Ancient Religion (LAR) approach.

Hosted by the Max Weber Centre of Erfurt University between 2012 and 2017, the ERC Advanced Project

[3] Bloch 1944: 77 cited by Albrecht *et al.* 2018
[4] Rüpke 2012: 198 using the notion of ‚radical alternative'.
[5] On religion in the Danubian provinces, see: Zerbini 2015; Szabó 2018a; Szabó 2018b.

entitled *Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning 'cults' and 'polis religion'*, financed by the European Research Council and embedded in the research group on 'Religious individualisation in historical perspective'[6] aimed to question some of the major characteristics of Roman religious studies from the last few decades. The methodological background of the project was presented in numerous paradigmatic publications,[7] showing itself a dynamic evolution of notions and terminological clarifications.[8] Its methodological core lies in the critical approach on older assumptions that focused on polis religion, cults and religions essentialised as the ultimate religious agents, archaeology of religion reduced to an archaeology of belief systems, the marginality of the individual, as religious agent,[9] or the contrastual presentation of 'ancient Roman religion' and 'Oriental religions'.[10] The LAR approach criticised also the old assumption, that all inhabitants of ancient societies were 'religious' in the same way, depth or manner (*homo religiousus* fallacy).[11] Finally, the project united Christianity, Judaism, magic, and the so-called 'pagan' religions under the same research focus in a well-established geographic area, named as 'Mediterranean' religion.[12] Instead of these old assumptions, Roman religion is presented in the LAR approach as a 'religion in the making', focusing on the 'inherently dynamic quality of those cultural products that we identify as a religion in the course of historical analyses'.[13] The project introduced several notions from contemporary religious studies and anthropology. Lived religion itself derives from the contemporary American school of religious studies, although its original meaning changed in the last decade, describing now mostly everyday religious experiences.[14] LAR however does not try to focus exclusively on everyday religion. Instead, it tries to go beyond the dichotomy of subjectivity and communicative action. To do so, the project focused on individual religious appropriations, a notion from M. de Certeau defined here as 'the situational adaptation and deployment of existing practices and techniques, institutions, norms and media to suit contingent individual or group aims and needs'.[15] Religious competence plays another important role in this approach. Defined shortly as prioritising personal engagement, knowledge and skill,[16] facets of religious competence (religious agency, identity, communication)[17] were used to describe the experience and knowledge necessary for the success of religious action.[18] Mediality and the situational meaning are other aspects which can guide us to understand more deeply the religious actions of the Romans and, generally, ancient peoples. Analysing the tools of religious communication, the project shifted its focus from agency to so-called religious 'instantiation', defined as the focus on the form and content of religious agents, mostly on material agency, but also narrated religions, such as the embodiment, or the narrated body as religious instantiation.[19]

Temporality and spatiality played a secondary role in the LAR project, highlighted only in the last publications.[20] It created also a space taxonomy, focusing on primary, secondary, and shared spaces in religious communication (**Fig.2**.).[21] Instead of focusing on the false dichotomy of public and private, urban and rural, military and civilian, small and monumental, this space taxonomy analyses the visibility, accessibility and connectivity of these sacralised spaces with their human agency, but also with other similar spaces and the broader environment.[22] Sacralisation here is defined, therefore, as a spatial strategy of religious communication between humans and super-human divine agents.[23] As a result of sacralisation, 'special' spaces of various size, position, visibility, accessibility and connectivity can be created.[24]

Creating such places could have various beginnings in primary, secondary and shared spaces. In primary spaces, such as the body of a pilgrim, a house shrine, a portable altar or the micro-space of using miniature objects (gems, amulets),[25] the relationship of humans and divine agents could be much more personal, individualised. Individual religious appropriations are much higher in this category. One can find great lacunae in this present study when it comes to this category: our sources of primary sacralised spaces in Dacia are very poor. The LAR project itself produced few case studies from this category, using mostly

6 Fuchs-Rüpke 2015.
7 Rüpke 2012; Raja-Rüpke 2015b; Rüpke 2016; Rüpke 2018; Gasparini *et al.* 2018. See also: Szabó 2017.
8 In comparison with Rüpke 2012, see: Albrecht *et al.* 2018.
9 Rüpke 2012: 193.
10 Albrecht *et al.* 2018. See also: Versluys 2013; Alvar 2017.
11 Albrecht *et al.* 2018.
12 Rüpke 2018: 1-5.
13 Albrecht *et al.* 2018. For several other major questions, see: Rüpke 2018: 9.
14 Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 2.
15 Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 3. For an earlier definition, see: Rüpke 2012: 197.
16 Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 3.
17 On religious communication and its cultural and social aspects in provincial cases, see: Rüpke 2014: 104-108.
18 Rüpke 2018: 11.
19 Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 17.
20 Especially: Rüpke 2017; Rüpke 2018: 95-98, 196-200.
21 Based on the space taxonomy of D. Clarke. See: Raja-Rüpke 2015b: 5. See also: Smith 1987: 28; Smith 2004.
22 See also Szabó forthcoming.
23 For the rich bibliography on spatial aspects of religion, see: Cancik 1986. See also: Cancik 2008: 3-60; Coomans *et al.* 2012, especially their inspiring introduction on the evolution and role of sacralised spaces in secular or non-religious societies; Moser-Feldman 2014: 1-13; Laneri 2015. See also: Brockman 2011: XIII-XIV. For other models, see also: Smith 2004: 325; Knott 2011. See also: Biehl-Bertemes 2001: 20; Fontana 2013: 1-11; Shaw 2013: 1-11; Jaffe 2015: 4-8; Meier-Tillessen 2014; Raja-Rüpke 2015b; Laneri 2015; Leisten-Sonik 2015.
24 On the notion of 'special', see: Taves 2009; and for a critique of this: Knott 2010.
25 For the notion of micro-space, see: Raja-Rüpke 2015b: 5.

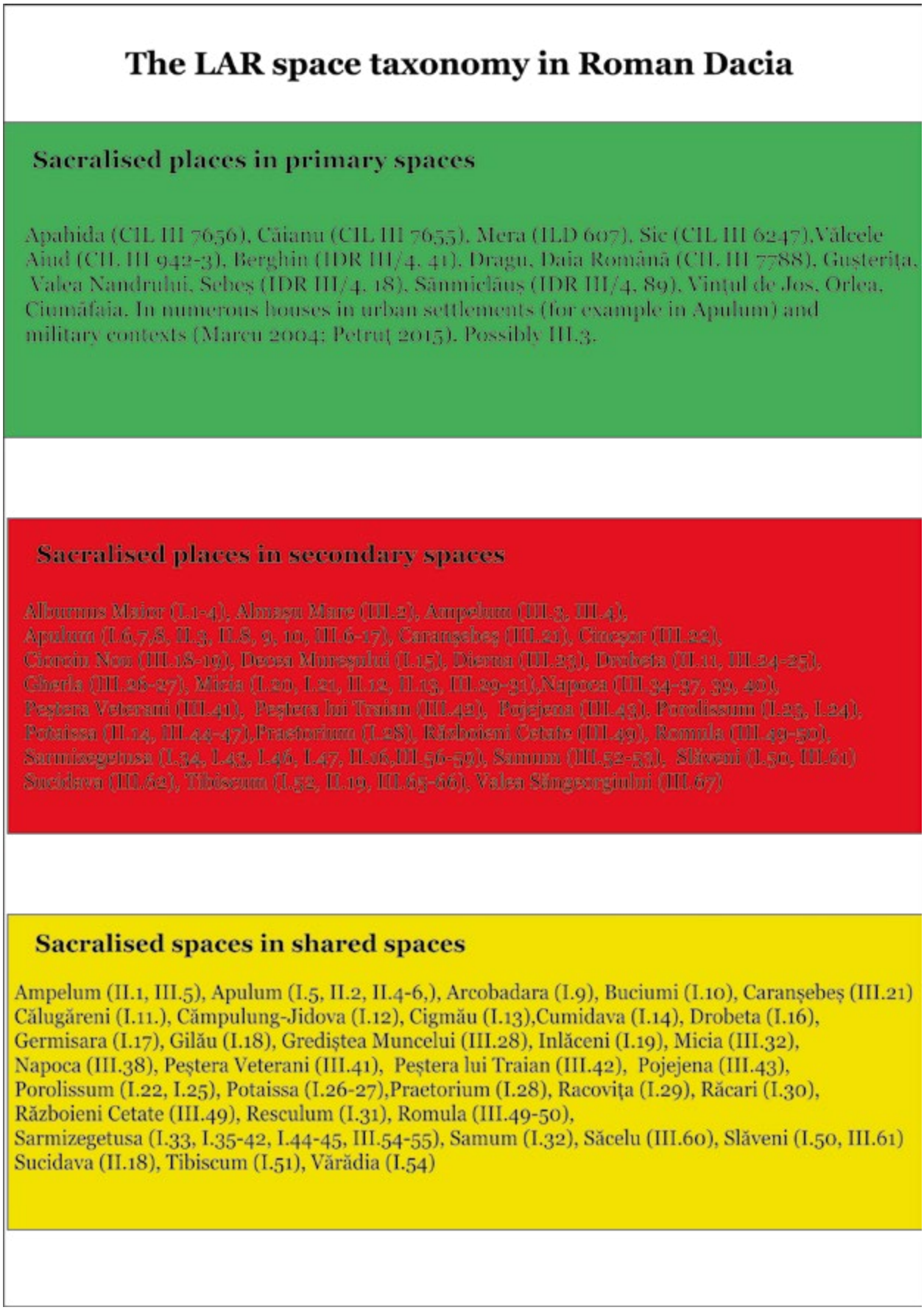

Figure 2. The LAR space taxonomy in Roman Dacia

literary sources,[26] magic,[27] or case studies with abundant sources of both literary and archaeological evidence.[28] In secondary and shared spaces, however, the factors are much more diverse and the number of tools used by the *homo faber*[29] in creating sacralised places are much higher. Instantiated religion can be attested much more easily in such case studies, as many of the examples presented here later will show. Religious communication in secondary and shared spaces means also social and political competition and the intensification of the activity of religious providers, entrepreneurs and other social actors.[30] LAR produced numerous case studies in this category, focusing on complex sanctuaries,[31] Palmyrian priests,[32] Isiac groups,[33] Bacchic associations,[34] and sacralised spaces from the Near East.[35]

Integrating the LAR taxonomy in the systemic model of past societies of G. Clark, and with the space archaeology of D. Clarke, can give us a much more accurate approach to Roman religion and its material agency too,[36] In this model (**Fig.3.**), sanctuaries (shared/public, secondary and primary spaces) are interpreted as semi-micro spaces, influenced by urban factors (citification)[37] and by larger systems, macro-spaces, such as provinces, customs-systems (*Publicum Portorium Illyrici*), large economic units and clusters (Black Sea area, Danubian provinces, Adriatic area, Silk Road, Amber Road), or the Roman Empire itself.[38]

This book presents carefully selected examples from all of these spaces, although this sharp distinction of spatial taxonomy is not always adaptable for our case studies, numerous examples showing overlapping and a constant interaction between them. Instead of choosing one particular aspect of the materiality of sacralised spaces, such as architecture[39] or the art-historical analysis of objects,[40] I will present the archaeological sources as tools and products in the process of sacralisation and religious communication in a cultural-historical framework.[41] In this approach, the rich variety of objects will lose some traditional labels such as 'provincial',[42] 'Christian',[43] 'votive' or 'cultic' artifacts, the focus of the analysis being on the use and occasional agency of them in space sacralisation and other forms of religious communication.

The materiality of Roman religion used and accumulated through religious experiences contributed to the maintenance of the sacralised spaces. In this process, inscriptions and figurative monuments, known also as instantiated religious agents – the most significant part of the corpus of this work – played an important role, connecting humans and gods beyond the limits of time and space. As the title of this book already suggests, this work will focus on the *materiality* of space sacralisation and its role in religious communication, sometimes memorised as *religious experiences* of the ancient people from Dacia.[44]

I.2. Rethinking sacralised spaces in Roman Dacia: a research history

The above-presented approach is tested on a province, which is often cited only as a footnoted case study in Western scholarship.[45] To understand the aims and sources of this work, a short, historiographic retrospection is necessary beforehand.

Roman sacralised spaces and their materiality were always present in the geographic and cultural landscape of the ex-territory of Dacia.[46] Although few of the sacralised spaces from Roman times were used

[26] Petridou 2016b.
[27] Gordon 2015a.
[28] Rome or the early followers of Jesus: Urciuoli 2013.
[29] J. Z. Smith transformed the ‚homo religiosus' of M.Eliade into a ‚homo faber', who is always busy using and constructing tools for religious communication: Smith 1987. See also: Bonnet 2013: 53.
[30] Gordon-Petridou-Rüpke 2017.
[31] Raja 2015.
[32] Raja 2017.
[33] Gasparini-Veymiers 2018.
[34] Gordon 2017a.
[35] Rieger 2016.
[36] Clark 1957; Clarke 1977: 9. See also: Bintliff 2014: 258-259.
[37] *https://www.uni-erfurt.de/max-weber-kolleg/forschungsgruppen-und-stellen/forschungsgruppen-am-max-weber-kolleg/the-city-in-the-history-of-religion/* (last accessed: 20.05.2018). See also Chapter II.1.
[38] Hingley 2012. See also: Pitts-Versluys 2014.
[39] As a model for this kind of discourse, see: Segal 2013, IX. He even uses a 'Vitruvian' and 'Non-Vitruvian' typology, although the analysis of the architectural features focuses on their role and function in rituals and processions too: Segal 2013: 103-104. See also: Szabó forthcoming.
[40] 'Stone tools and ceramic sequences were increasingly studied in themselves. This resulted in a kind of fetishism that archaeology is always prone to. Objects start by standing for prehistoric peoples, who are the intended subject of study, but the symbolic process is easily inverted, and peoples under terms such as ‚cultures' become viewed principally as labels for groups of artefacts, which are the immediate subjects of analysis. The focus is then on the relationship between the objects themselves, which in the 1960s became the centre of interest.' (Hicks 2010: 55). Almost none of the sanctuary-monographs focus on the ritual/agent-based approach, presenting the architectural and material features through the role-identity theory of objects. On this approach, see: Weiss 2012: 200, fn. 111, with further bibliography. See also: Weiss 2015.
[41] Some of the archaeological material used as tools in maintaining the sacralised space were used also before the existence of the place (everyday pottery, architectural elements, Bauornamentik for example), while others (specific cultic pottery, instrumenta sacra, magical gems, reliefs, etc.) were produced as a consequence of space sacralisation. Still, they are not only products of religious experience but also tools for maintaining sacralised spaces. See also: Taylor 1997: 187.
[42] Versluys 2014: 7.
[43] Rebillard 2015: 427.
[44] In my book I use the intensively discussed notion of 'religious experience' as the short- or long-term effect of religious communication on the individual or group. See also: Taves 2009.
[45] Dészpa 2012. See the research history below.
[46] Despite this, in his Foreword of the first – and until now the only synthesis on Roman temples of Dacia – Mihai Bărbulescu emphasised that the sanctuaries of Roman Dacia were never observed and remained unknown to the next generations: Pescaru-Alicu 2000: Foreword.

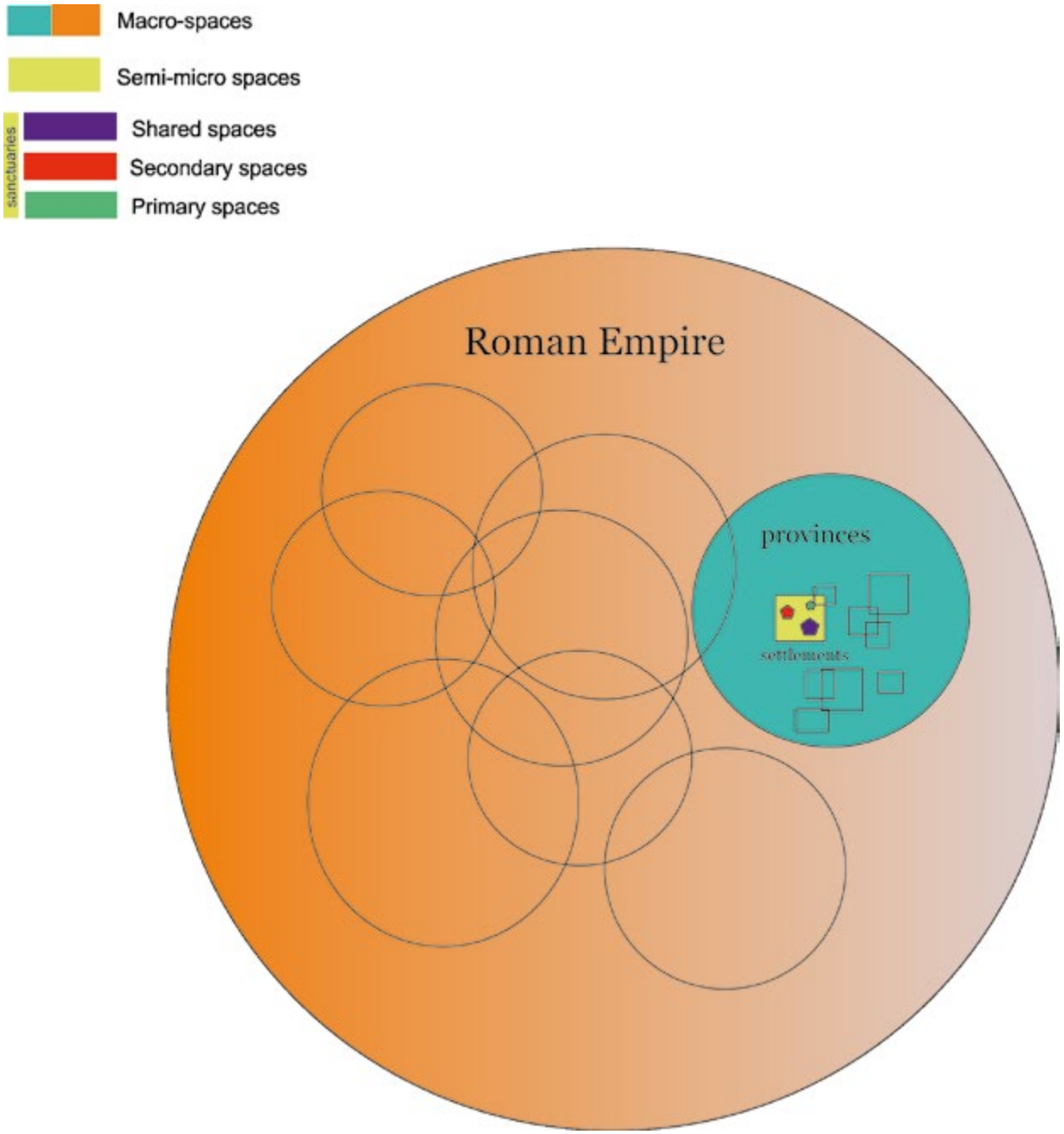

Figure 3. Roman Empire and it's spaces in D. Clarke's space theory

in any form by later societies, their presence is attested in the antiquarian tradition since the 15th century. As the mutilated Jupiter statue from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis shows,[47] the most prominent temples and sanctuaries of the province were visible in Early Medieval times too. In the 1690s, L. F. Marsigli was able to draw the outlines of the Ara Augusti and the provincial forum from Sarmizegetusa,[48] while, in 1715, G. Ariosti described standing Roman statues and possible temples of Apulum.[49] The first report about a discovery of a sanctuary comes from A. Bartalis[50] and Gy. Aranka,[51] from the end of the 18th century, while in the 19th century the number of discovered or identified Roman sacralised spaces increased significantly.[52] Except

[47] Szabó 2015f.

[48] Szabó 2004a: 83-119. In the text I use the short denomination of the Roman city (Sarmizegetusa). In Romanian literature there are numerous versions still in use (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa or Colonia Sarmizegetusa). In the case of the Roman finds from Sarmizegetusa Regia, the Dacian capital, I emphasise the difference.

[49] Szabó 2014b.

[50] Szabó 2013a.

[51] Aranka 1796, Szabó 2014a.

[52] See also: Boda 2014b; Szabó 2014b.

for the seminal work of Pál Király on the Mithraeum from Sarmizegetusa,[53] none of the publications tried to contextualise the finds and the sacralised places discovered.[54]

In the first half of the 20th century more than 30 sanctuaries were identified in urban and non-urban settlements, mostly in Tibiscum, Porolissum, Micia, Sarmizegetusa and Apulum. The archaeologically attested sites excavated between 1918 and 1989 are relatively well documented, although none of them were published in monograph form.[55] The epigraphic and statuary material discovered in this period, however, suggest that numerous sacralised places have now vanished in Napoca, and especially in Apulum, due to the severe urbanisation of these sites since the 13th and 14th centuries, and which accelerated in the Habsburg era.[56] Although this period produced numerous important studies and books on the religious life of the province, the spatial and 'lived' aspects of religion were not emphasised in these works. Roman religion in Dacia was understood and presented as spiritual interferences or specific case studies of religious syncretism.[57] Although the number of possibly identifiable sacralised spaces in Dacia is reflected by the dozens of urban settlements and hundreds of rural environments uncovered recently,[58] the Romanian literature focused almost exclusively on shared and secondary spaces (public temples and houses of small-group religionss), the sacralised spaces in the domestic and private spheres being almost totally neglected.[59] Roman archaeology in Romania had always two major focus points: forts (*Limesforschung*) and, rarely, urban archaeology. This is one of the main reasons why this present work cannot deal in details with funeral and domestic (household) religion within the perspective of the LAR approach.[60]

A milestone in the research is represented by the discovery and systematic excavation of the Liber Pater shrine from Apulum between 1989 and 2003, which revolutionised the archaeology of religion in Romania and introduced numerous new questions and aspects in the local academic discourse (I.6). This case study is the best application to date of new field methods (GIS, geophysical surveys, single context recording, archaeobotany and archaeozoology) and international collaboration. Unfortunately, as with many other important case studies from the province, this one remains unpublished.[61] Due to its exceptionally rich material evidence, this site has produced to date the most relevant studies on lived Roman religion from Dacia. Similarly, the excavations of the Dolichena from Porolissum and Mehadia (I.23, 28),[62] the shrine of Domnus and Domna from Sarmizegetusa (I.37) and the Mithraeum from Apulum (I.7) represent a development in the archaeology of Roman religion in Dacia.[63] Some relevant publications and catalogues appeared after 2000, although focusing mostly on architectural and topographic features of sanctuaries and temples of the province.[64]

[53] *Ad absurdum*, this short book is still the only synthesis of a systematically excavated Mithraeum from the provinces of Dacia: Király 1886, Szabó 2014e. The sanctuary cannot be identified today in the field: Boda 2014b.

[54] Most of the publications are short archaeological reports or even less, personal notes and eye-witnesses. Although in the second half of the 19th century there were already important studies and articles on Roman religion, and its material and spatial aspects, the local literature did not adopt the first tendencies of German *Religionswissenschaft*. On the historiography of the discipline, see: Phillips 2007; Rives 2010.

[55] Despite the fact, that some of the identified sanctuaries – such as the shrine of Jupiter Heliopolitanus or the temple of the Dii Mauri from Micia, the temple of Apollo from Tibiscum or the Asklepieion from Sarmizegetusa – were unique or rare discoveries of this kind, not only in the province but also for the whole Empire. A large part of the small finds and the ceramic material was just partially published or,as the case of the Bel-Liber Pater assembly house from Porolissum shows, never published. See Chapter III.1.

[56] Szabó 2014b.

[57] One of the most important one being the seminal work of M. Bărbulescu on ‚spiritual interferences' of Dacia. In this work the author intentionally changes the paradigm of research, opening a phenomenological discourse on Roman religion in Romania. This is the first work where some unresearched aspects of religion, such as workshops, economy, funerary practices, architecture and – most importantantly – ‚religious feelings' (sentimentul religios) are presented together. In his most intriguing chapter on so-called ‚religious feelings' (Bărbulescu 1984: 230-250), the author presents various, sometimes hardly compatible currents of history of religion and religious studies (Mircea Eliade, Paul Veyne, Cumontian ideas and, especially, the French school of history of religion), but he is the first in Romanian literature to introduce some new topics – although he does not name them clearly in every case – such as embodiment (Bărbulescu 1984: 237-238), superstition (231-233), theophoric names as agents of religious individuation (244-245), festivals (246-247), and prodigies (247-249). The Romanian book republished in 2003, but never translated in a foreign language, is still the best synthesis on Roman religion from Dacia: Szabó 2014d. See also: Nemeti 2012.

[58] On the landscape of the province and an incomplete list of Roman sites, see: Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005; Oltean 2007; Gudea 2008. See chapter IV.5.

[59] On religious life of rural and domestic environments, see: Bărbulescu 1993; Popa 1993; Gudea 2008. See also: Opreanu 2008.

[60] There are numerous cemeteries excavated in recent years in the conurbation of Apulum and Porolissum, but none of them were published systematically: Petruț *et al.* 2010; Bounegru 2011; Bounegru 2017. See also: Oltean 2007: 190-192. On funeral religion in Dacia, see also: Bărbulescu *et al.* 2003.

[61] A possible date of publication in 2018 or 2019 was mentioned by A. Diaconescu (verbal confirmation of the author).

[62] Gudea-Tamba 2001; Benea 2008. While the dolichenum from Porolissum was highly popularised and emphasised in numerous articles and foreign publications, the sanctuary from Mehadia remained until now almost unknown in the international literature (see the list from Schwarzer 2013): chapter IV.2. See also: Blömer 2014.

[63] Although the archaeology of religion is evolving rapidly due to the above-mentioned new discoveries and excavations, a large part of the literature still reflects old topics and currents, focusing exclusively on architecture, iconography and material typology.

[64] Most relevant, and to date the only comprehensive catalogue of ‚temples' in Roman Dacia, is the book by A. R. Pescaru and D. Alicu, later extended by some supplementary articles of D. Alicu. Their work introduced a typology based on ‚archaeologically attested, epigraphically attested and presumed or uncertain' temples. The book does not have a well-defined terminology for sacralised spaces and is focused mainly on architectural features, typology, chronological

Studying Roman religion of Dacia in Romania was for a long time but a single chapter of the 'cultural life' of the province.[65] It was presented as a consequence of the 'deep Romanisation'[66] and the 'massive presence of the Latin-speaking element' in the society,[67] proving the large-scale mobility exemplified in almost all of the major Romanian works, with the proverbial reference of Eutropius (VIII, 6.2): '*ex toto orbe Romano*'.[68] Traditional approaches present the materiality of Roman religion in secular old categories, dealing with ethnic and geographic pantheons,[69] emphasising the supremacy of 'Italic cults and divinities',[70] limiting their bibliographies to the old French literature[71] and giving a much higher focus on the institutionalised tools of religion, such as priesthood,[72] temple architecture,[73] and the 'Greco-Roman' cults.[74] Important studies, focusing on the 'Oriental' cults, emphasised the dichotomy with the traditional Roman religion.[75] Religion appeared as an already prepared, fixed norm and language, acculturated by the Romanised society of Dacia.[76] Due to the political situation, scholars from abroad up until 1990 used the materiality of Roman Dacia, almost exclusively, based on great corpora and works published before 1948.[77]

Recently, the rich material evidence of Roman religion from the territory of Dacia is under a new focus. The accelerated internationalisation of classical studies and Roman 'provincial archaeology', and the urge of interdisciplinarity, has created a vast bibliography, which tries to fill the gaps of historiography, creating new catalogues and introducing new trends and topics in the research.[78] The present work can be enrolled in this tendency too, testing the methodological framework of 'The Sanctuary Project' and the 'Lived Ancient Religion' approach on the materiality of Roman religion from Dacia.

I.3. The material: sources of the book

This research presents carefully selected case studies (around 30) from the 142 sacralised spaces attested or presumed from the territory of Roman Dacia (AD 106-271)[79] through their material evidence (**Fig.4.**).[80] The selection was guided especially by the methodology presented above, but also by some pragmatic factors, such as the accessibility (or inaccessibility) of the material, which in many cases is still not published or only partially available.[81] In some cases, the examples were selected because of their importance and the current disrepair in the Romanian archaeological heritage or academic discourse.[82] This book does not discuss in detail the sacralised spaces of

phases, and short presentations of the buildings. Their list dates from 2002 and has not been updated: Pescaru-Alicu 2000; Alicu 2002; Alicu 2004; Marcu 2009. Another important work regarding the temples and sanctuaries of Sarmizegetusa was published in German, without a relevant impact in Romanian or Western literature: Schäfer 2007. See also: Szabó 2014d.

65 Macrea 1969: 338-404 (on religion, 358-404). Art and literacy usually is presented just before religion. Including religion as one aspect of the cultural life of the province is still practised. See also: Gudea-Lobüscher 2006: 64-89 dedicates, however, an integrated chapter on cults; Ardevan-Zerbini 2007: 175-186; Bărbulescu 2010. On research history see: Szabó 2014d.

66 Macrea 1969: 385.

67 Petolescu 2010: 272. His short summary on Roman religion – published perhaps not accidentaly in the same year as the new edition of the great companion volume on the history of Romanians, where M. Bărbulescu wrote the synthesis on Roman religion – is a perfect example of the old, but still very popular discourse which dominates Romanian scholarship on Roman religion. See: Petolescu 2010: 264-272.

68 *‚because Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus'.* translated, with notes, by the Rev. John Selby Watson. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Convent Garden (1853). This quotation is constantly cited by every Romanian scholar as the foremost argument for large scale colonialisation in Dacia: Bîrliba 2011. It is worth to not however, that the sources of Eutropius are debated and not clarified yet: Bird 1993.

69 Petolescu 2010, 265 even affirms, that the best way to present the materiality of Roman religion is to *‚classify the cults after their ethnic and geographic origin*'. Ad absurdum, in the same year was published the article of Carbó-Garcia questioning Orientalism for the first time in Romanian literature: Carbó-Garcia 2010c.

70 Petolescu 2010, 265, footnote nr. 804. See also: Zerbini 2010; Zerbini 2015.

71 One can observe the supremacy of F. Cumont and R. Turcan. In some works, especially from the Cluj School of epigraphy and Roman provincial archaeology, the dominant presence of A. Domaszewski and Wissowa is more elocvent.

72 Ardevan 1998; Szabó 2007; Petolescu 2010, 266-267.

73 Pescaru-Alicu 2000.

74 Bărbulescu 1985; Bodor 1989.

75 Sanie 1989. See also: Carbó-Garcia 2010a for a slighly better, but still, ambiguous approach.

76 Few studies existed till recently, where art in Roman Dacia was analysed in details and focusing on local particularities, transformations and appropriations. Important to mention the review of Toynbee written by A. Bodor, the works of M. Gramatopol, C. Pop, M. T. Marinescu and recently, the works of A. Diaconescu, although the emphasis is still on the elaboration (technical skills, workshop networks) and iconographic typologisation instead of a social history of Roman art in Dacia. See: Stewart 2008.

77 Here one need to highlight the great influence and success of the small and almost unaccesable book of W. Jones from 1929, cited even today especially in American literature. See: Byros 2011. Due to the rich network of M. Vermaseren however, the materiality of Roman religion from Dacia is relatively well represented in the EPRO series. Especially C. Daicoviciu, E. Condurachi, M. Gramatopol, S. Sanie and A. Bodor had a large international network with French, German and English scholars which influenced the accesibility of the Romanian material by foreign scholars, but also, the exchange of new ideas and books from the West. The great publicity of the Apulum journal contributed also to some kind of internationalisation of the field already in the 1970's. See: Matei-Popescu 2007; Szabó 2014d.

78 On the recent state of research and the perspectives see: Nemeti-Marcu 2014; Szabó 2014d.

79 A catalogue of sanctuaries was published separately: Szabó forthcoming. See also Chapter VI.

80 For the transcription of the epigraphic material we use the Leiden Convention and the rules established by the BBAW CIL group. For the figurative monuments we use the standards established by the latest publication of the CSIR group.

81 For example, the Palmyrian sanctuary from Sarmizegetusa (Piso *et al.* 2011), the *aedes principiorum* of some recently excavated auxiliary forts (Pánczél 2015) or buildings identified recently as ‚urban sanctuaries' or ‚sacred spaces': Diaconescu *et al.* 2014. See Chapters II.8 and II.9.

82 The selection of Ampelum and some sites from Apulum, for example, was based on this criteria.

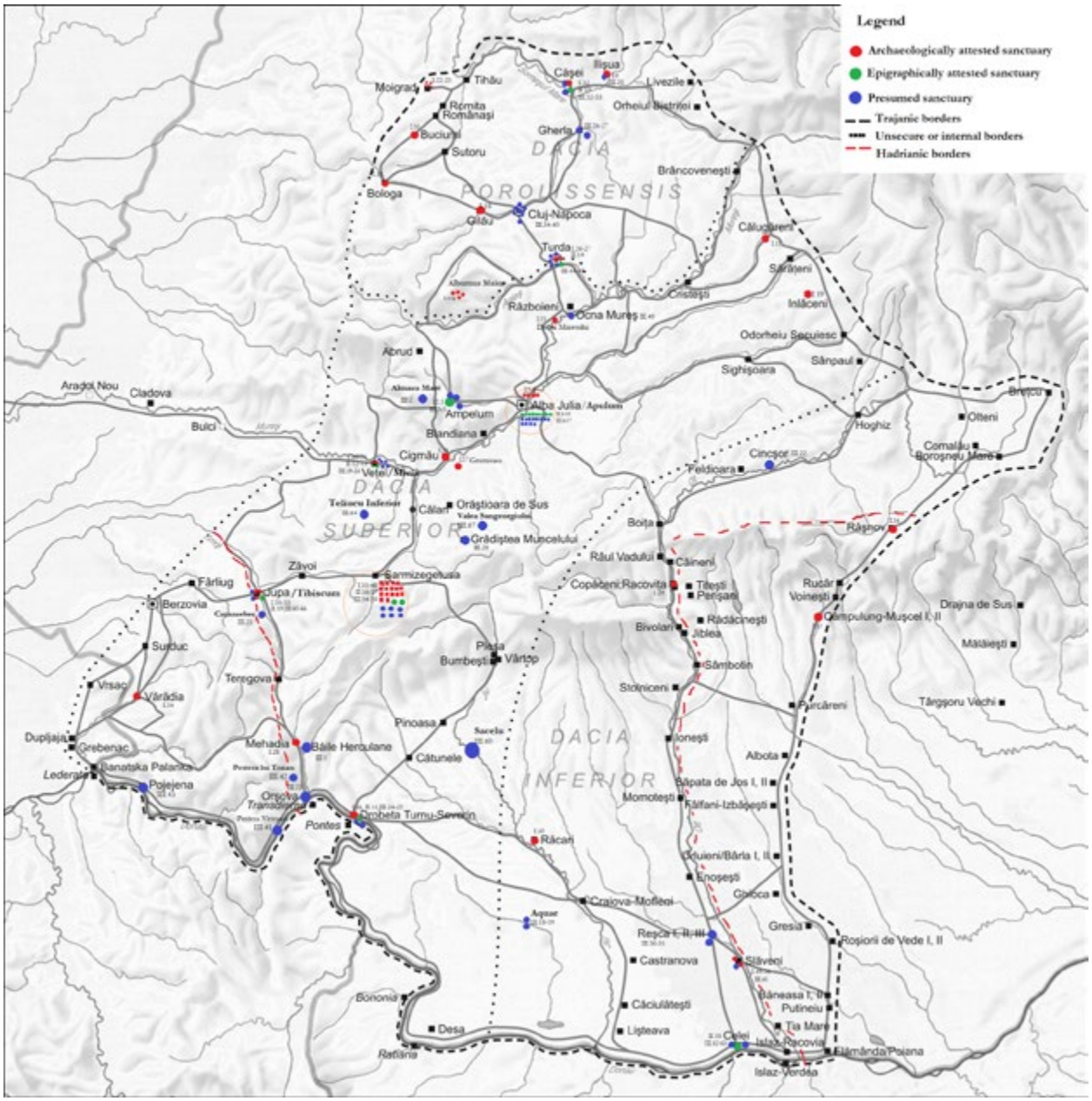

Figure 4. Map of Dacia with the archaeologically, epigraphically attested and presumed sanctuaries (map based on Schäfer 2007, 357, abb. 1. with the kind permission of the author)

Sarmizegetusa, which has had much more attention in recent years in Romanian and Western literature too. Most of the examples focus on the reinterpretation of already published material, but a significant number of artifacts and case studies presented here were discovered by the author and represent new sources for the materiality of Roman religion from Dacia.[83] A large part of the selected case studies are sacralised spaces revealed by systematic excavations, but some of the presented material in the corpus comes from older excavations, where the archaeological context is problematic or unsecure. In these cases, the interpretations need to be reduced on a particular aspect or segment of the methodological model, focusing on the worshipper, as religious agent. The two most significant groups of evidence for Roman religion in Dacia are the inscriptions and figurative monuments. In both cases this research aims to show the importance of these types of materials as the most common tools and products of the processes of space sacralisation and their maintenance.[84]

[83] Especially in Chapter II.9.

[84] Recent studies focus intensively on *instrumenta* inscriptions as sources of religious individuation and experience. On epigraphy and religion, see: Scheid 2012; Witschel 2014. On a new approach of altars as sources of religious experience, see: Busch-Schäfer 2014.

The main aim of this work is to present for the very first time the already known, as well as some unpublished material evidence of Roman religious communication as tools and products of space sacralisation and everyday, lived religious experiences. It will use for the first time a case study from the Danubian provinces, an area of the Roman Empire often ignored by the leading works on Roman religious studies.[85]

Sacralised spaces are not presented here as architecturally defined places known as sanctuaries or temples, but as examples of ritual density and accumulation of religious materiality, augmented by other spaces, such as city walls,[86] forts,[87] the countryside,[88] or modern, artificially created fictional/ideological spaces.[89] The study aims also to implement some terms already accepted by the Western literature, such as the discussion on ritual deposits (*favissae*),[90] or the Roman nature of the Mithras cult.[91] Other notions, such as the 'small-group' religions, 'embodiment', 'religious market' and 'religious entrepreneurs', need to be placed within Romanian literature.

This book intends to create a dialogue between various disciplines (mostly the archaeology of religion and religious studies) through cases studies from Dacia, where this approach has not yet been tested. In this sense, the work could also serve as an intriguing experiment for other case studies of the Roman Empire.

[85] See also: Alföldy 2004; Zerbini 2015; Szabó 2016c; Szabó 2016d; Szabó 2018a; Szabó 2018b. For my new project on Roman religious communication in the Danubian provinces see: *www.danubereligion.com*. Last accessed:15.09.2018.

[86] Chapter II.2.

[87] Chapter II.3.

[88] Chapter IV.

[89] Chapter II.10.

[90] See Chapter II.8.

[91] Still cited as 'the Persian cult' or 'the cult of Mithra' or even 'Mitra', many of the Romanian references still use the old-fashioned Cumontian terminology. On the Persianism of the Roman Mithras, see: Gordon 2017b.

II. Sacralising the space in urban context

II.1. Urbanism and religious communication

It is a contemporary histriographic tradition to interpret the Roman Empire as a network of 2000 cities,[1] although the consumer-city theory and the urban-rural dichotomy was long ago abandoned[2] and Roman cities are considered now as social, economic and cultural hubs, with intense networks with other types of settlements, and the natural environment too.[3] Their 'Romanness' and the nature of urbanisation processes are highly stratified in different local case studies, which created a great wave of new studies focusing on the local specificities of urbanisation.[4] Recent studies on villa landscapes, the *territorii* of the cities[5] highlighted not only the economical dependency of the urban and non-urban environments, but also the cultural interaction and differences between urban and non-urban settlements. Studying the processes and impact of Roman urbanisation in this perspective gives a new opportunity to interpret also the provincial case studies as cultural and economic hubs.[6]

Urbanism in Roman Dacia: general and local specificities

For a long time, studying Roman cities and urbanisation was a marginal topic in Romanian historiography, shortly presented as a consequence and additional phenomenon of the military presence.[7] Archaeology was also focusing on the Roman *Limes*, ignoring the urban settlements.[8] Since the seminal work of R. Ardevan on municipal institutions and their personnel and the excavations in Colonia Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, important studies on urbanisation were published, focusing on the topographic and architectural features of the cities9 or on the evolution of the settlements.[9] A particularity of Dacia in the older literature was the incontinuity of indigenous urban settlements of the Dacians.[10] This picture of a Roman Dacia with no surviving social and cultural structures from the Dacian kingdom persisted for a long time in the modern literature.[11] This has slightly changed over the last decade due to the greater number of rescue excavations in Roman urban environments and pre-Roman settlements too, argued also by new epigraphic sources.[12]

De iure, Roman urbanisation in Dacia begins in late AD 106 or early 107 with the foundation of Colonia Sarmizegetusa, 34 km south from the Dacian capital (68 km on foot). Although, it preserved its name, the first and only Roman *colonia deducta* of the province has nothing to do with the Dacian capital of Sarmizegetusa Regia,[13] which itself was changed already during the two wars of Trajan.[14] The first phase of the city is highly problematic and reflects the major theoretical discussion of Romanian scholarship, which argued that all of the urban settlements in the province had a military origin, formed in the vicinity of a legionary or auxiliary camp.[15] Even in the case of colonia Sarmizegetusa, some researchers presumed the existence of a camp of the IIII Flavia Felix Legion in the territory, where later the Forum Vetus was constructed after AD 118.[16] With the exception of two cases where the research was not able to prove the presence of a military fort, all the other urban settlements (see **table 1**.) were formed in the vicinity of a military camp (**fig.5**.).[17]

The major urbanisation processes in Dacia show some general, global aspects present in the majority of the provinces of the Danubian area and the entire Empire: the first legal shift of the settlements occurred during the reign of Hadrian – which in the case of Dacia – was strictly related to the first re-organisation of the three provinces. This process marked also the architectural landscape and accelerated the emergence of an urban society in the major settlements of the post-Hadrianic period.[18] The second important wave in the urbanisation of the province happened during the reign of Septimius Severus, as patronage activity of the emperor, who expressed his gratitude for the faithful legions and provinces in AD 194 in the

[1] Alföldy 2011: 122; Ligt-Houten-Willet 2015. See also: *https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/an-empire-of-2000-cities-urban-networks-and-economic-integration-in-the-roman-empire* (last accessed: 20.03.2018).

[2] Parkins 1997: 82-83 with all the previous bibliography on the notion. See also: Morley 2011.

[3] See also: *https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/moving-romans.-urbanisation-migration-and-labour-in-the-roman-principate* (last accessed: 20.03.2018).

[4] Ligt 2017; 2012.

[5] Viitanen 2010; Roymans-Derks 2011; Zarmakoupi 2014.

[6] For a contemporary methodology on urbanisation and citification, see: Abrahamson 2017. See also: Szabó 2017.

[7] On the dominance of military studies on Roman Dacia, see: Gudea 1997. See also: Hanscam 2017.

[8] Diaconescu 2004.

[9] Opreanu 2001. See also: Piso 2005c: 294-6.

[10] Nemeti 2014, with all the previous bibliography.

[11] Tóth 1986. See also: Oltean 2007: 60-118, and Chapters IV.1-2.

[12] Dana-Zăgreanu 2013. See also: Nemeti 2014.

[13] A modern denomination of the settlement. For the ancient Dacian capital, see: Peţan 2018.

[14] On the new LIDAR results and the new topography of Sarmizegetusa Regia, see: Oltean-Hanson 2017.

[15] Opreanu 2001. See also: *https://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Romania/Civitates/textengl.htm#Foundation* (last accessed: 21.03.2018).

[16] The theory of H. Daicoviciu was argued by G. Baestean and C. Opreanu. See: Opreanu 2017: 371, especially fn. 23.

[17] In the case of Napoca and Ampelum the forts were not identified, although it was presumed by I. Tóth (1986). See also Chapter IV.4.

[18] Ardevan 1998. See also Chapter II.6.

Table 1. Urban settlements and their chronology in Roman Dacia

Sarmizegetusa (106-271)	Municipium Aelium Napocensium (124-180)
Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (180-271)	Municipium Aurelium Apulensium (168?-180)
Colonia Nova Apulensis (235?-271)	Municipium Septimium Apulense (194-235?)
Colonia Aurelia Napocensis (180-271)	Municipium Septimium Potaissense
Colonia Septimia Drobeta (194-271)	Municipium Aelium Drobeta (124-194)
Colonia Romulense (194-271)	Municipium Septimium(?) Dierna (194?)
Colonia Malvense (?)	Municipium Septimium Ampelensium (194-271)
Colonia Potaissensis?	Municipium Aelium Romulensium (124-194)
	Municipium Septimium Porolissense (194-271)
	Municipium Septimium Tibiscensis (194?-271)

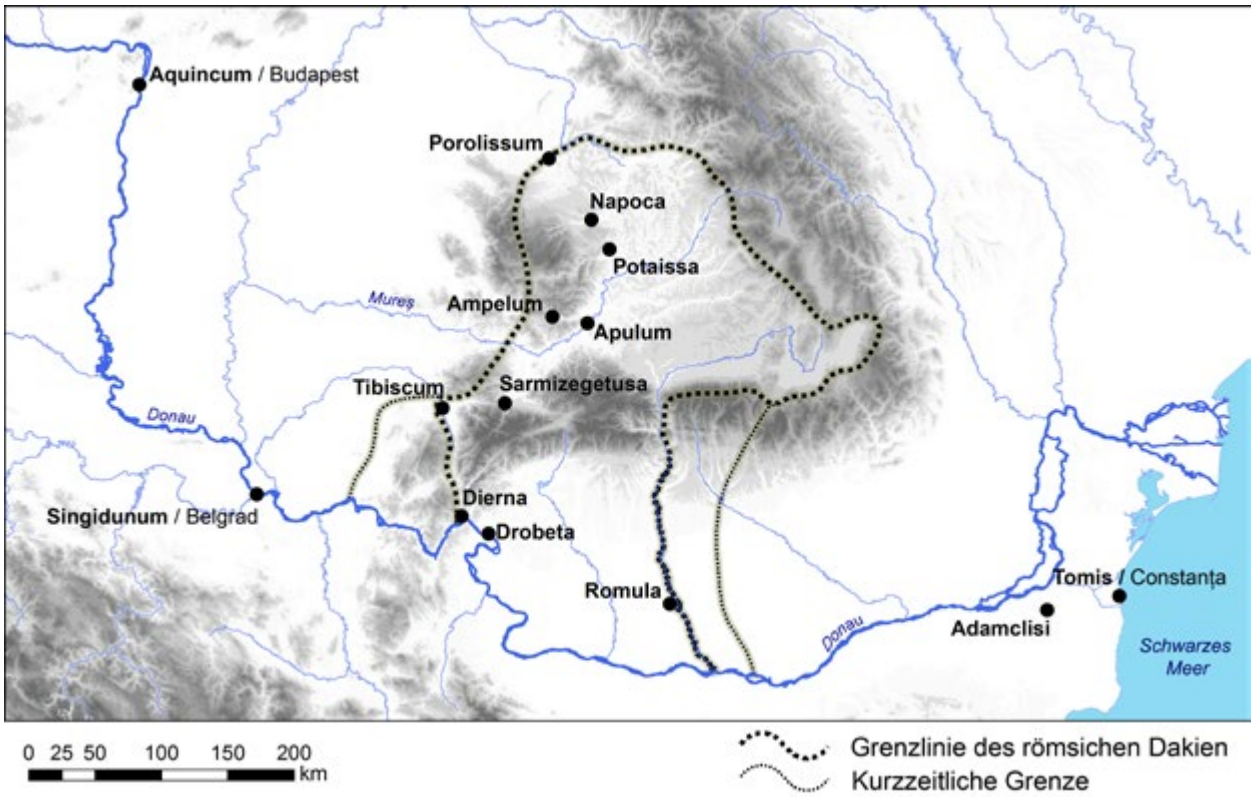

Figure 5. Map of Roman Dacia with the urban settlements (after Höpken *et al.* 2016).

Danubian provinces.[19] As everywhere in the Empire, after AD 230 the major urbanisation processes stopped, however in many cases in Roman Dacia – especially in the legionary settlements of Apulum and Potaissa – new building projects and public investments can be attested also in this late period. Cities of Roman Dacia were not particularly different from any other towns of the Empire: even the two largest (colonia Sarmizegetusa and the conurbation of Apulum) had less than 20,000 inhabitants, the others probably had only a few thousand.[20] The level of urbanisation was very similar to the other provinces of the Danubian area,[21] considering the short existence of the province, however the economic and cultural impact of the two largest cities was much more dominant, as in other cases of the region. Although the abandonment of the province during Aurelian's reign created a special situation in the case of Dacia, the post-Roman situation and de-urbanisation of the settlements were not much different from other provinces: the Roman cities were abandoned only by the local elite, the army and the administrative staff, but the urban infrastructure was

[19] Mráv 2012; 2013.

[20] For a demographic typology of the cities, see: Wilson 2011. See also the project of Damjan Donev: *https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/the-roman-urban-network-in-the-balkan-and-the-danube-provinces* (last accessed: 20.03.2018).

[21] Piso 2005c.

still in use in the 4th and 5th centuries, and even in the early Middle Ages.[22]

Urbanisation in Roman Dacia had also some local specific aspects. The formation of the cities – in legal and architectural and urban sense – were strictly related to the presence of the Roman army. It is important to highlight also the apparently less dominant presence of indigenous, Dacian settlement-structures, however their existence is already proved.[23] With the exception of Romula, all the other toponyms of the urban settlements of Roman Dacia have an indigenous, Dacian one, which suggest the existence of an indigenous settlement or population structure in the early Trajanic and Hadrianic eras of the province. New inscriptions revealed also that Dacian settlements and *civitates* existed in the early administration of the province, however there is no proof for an indigenous settlement for any of the Roman cities formed in the province. Another specific aspect of urbanisation in the province is the dominance of Apulum and Sarmizegetusa, the two biggest conurbations of Dacia. These two settlements together produced almost half of the inscriptions and stone monuments of the entire province, which represents an unusual proportion in comparison with other provinces of the Danubian area. The dominance of Apulum and Sarmizegetusa can be attested not only in the architectural and monumentalised landscape, but also in the economic and cultural life of the province: most of the small-groups religions attested are from these two cities, and the others in Tibiscum, Micia or Porolissum were in an intense familial or economic relationship with these. The evolution of the urban settlements of Dacia marked also the rural landscape: after the cities were formed – especially Sarmizegetusa and Apulum with their large estates and *territoria*[24] – we see an acceleration in the formation of villas and rural settlements, too, however this process cannot be separated from the establishment of the *Limes* and the military settlements. A large concentration of the urban settlements are related to the Western part of the province, which influenced also the formation of the rural landscape there, which seems less concentrated in the Eastern part, where the settlements were formed almost exclusively in the vicinity of the military camps.[25] A large concentration of rural settlements formed mostly as a consequence of urbanisation can be attested in the Upper Mureș valley within the *territorium* of Apulum, and in Dacia Inferior between the rivers Jiu and Olt.[26] The lack of the indigenous population from the urban societies can be considered also as a local specificity of the province.[27] Although Aurelian's withdrawal and the abandonment of the province created an unusual level of mobility and depopulation in the province, the de-urbanisation process was very similar to that of other provinces. A local particularity of the urban settlements of the territory of the province was the very late arrival of a second phase, or period, of urbanisation: while the Eastern provinces and Hispania had a second urbanism during the Byzantine and Arabic periods, while the Western provinces during the Frankish or German periods, the ruins of the cities of Dacia were integrated in a second urbanism only in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The city, as a religious agent

Institutionalised religion and urbanisation were for a long time treated strictly together, which was later the basis of the 'polis-religion' concept developed by Fustel de Coulanges and many others.[28] In this concept, urban infrastructure, economy and the social conditions created a credible possibility for monumentalised religious communication, space sacralisation, and monopolising religious communication by institutions (priesthoods, temples, sacred laws). This is particularly true for great cities of the Empire and the metropolis of Rome,[29] but also for smaller towns, such as those from Dacia. Urbanisation and religion however go much beyond the infrastructural and institutional interactions between religion and city. It has another aspect too – named recently as 'citification'[30] – which examines the agency role of the city (urban landscape) in religious communication in a much broader, complex dimension. The city, as religious agent influences directly the religious communication and its forms, especially by creating large, monumental sacralised spaces, architectural and social infrastructure for a much more intensified religious interaction, and a larger mass of human agency too. By the great numbers of human and material agencies within religious communication and space sacralisation, the city (the urban landscape) creates a large number of possible situations and interactions between these agents, transforming the entire space of the city into a religious agent, which has a direct influence and impact on the lived religion of the people, but also by their religious activities, human groups shape and form the cityscape.[31] Special legal aspects of the cities (*lex sacra*),[32] architectural monumentality of the public

[22] Gáll *et al.* 2017: 131-138.
[23] Nemeti 2014.
[24] Piso 1995c.
[25] See Gudea 2009b: 199.
[26] Gudea 2009: abb. 8B, made by A. Mees. See also: Tudor 1968. These two concentrations of settlements, however, could be a reflection of the recent state of research and not necessarily representing the real settlement landscape.
[27] See Chapter IV.2.
[28] Woolf 1997. For an historiographic overview of the study of Roman religion in the cities, see: Szabó 2014a.
[29] Bendlin 2013.
[30] *https://www.uni-erfurt.de/en/max-weber-kolleg/projects/research-groups-ath-the-max-weber-kolleg/the-city-in-the-history-of-religion/* (last accessed: 23.03.2018).
[31] Kaizer 2013.
[32] Rüpke 2006b.

sacralised spaces, the dominant presence of small-group religions (among them also Christian groups),[33] and the powerful economic competition, are just some of the major characteristics of the Roman cities which defined also the forms of religious communication. These factors defined not only the material agency of religion, but also the diversity of human agency as well.

The city as religious agent in Roman Dacia

As the **fig. 2**. shows, the large majority of the sacralised spaces in primary, secondary or public (shared) spaces were formed in an urban context. The above-mentioned social, economic and infrastructural conditions created an urban landscape in Colonia Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, but later also in other smaller urban settlements which were very open to religious communication. The variety of sacralised spaces in urban contexts, and their rich material evidence, made religion almost exclusively 'urban' in Roman Dacia. This local particularity, however, reflects more probably the current state of research than ancient realities. A large part of the public and secondary sacralised spaces were built in urban contexts, as a consequence of the rise of a local elite, which will create a strong network between these urban small-group religions.[34] In very few cases – only the two large cities – a local urban, communal identity can be attested: Sarmizegetusa gained the title of *Metropolis*, while Colonia Aurelia Apulensis the title of *Chrysopolis*.[35] The architectural landscape in the cities of Roman Dacia changed in the Hadrianic and Severan periods,[36] which had a direct impact on the religious communication: amphitheatres[37] or a possible theatre in Apulum, built in the vicinity of public sacralised spaces, were used also for festivals and larger public religious events, while the sponsoring activities of the local and provincial power elites supported the spread of small-group religions and their assembly houses.[38] In Colonia Sarmizegetusa and Aurelia Apulensis the sacralised spaces, special clusters and groups, organised and formed with the urban expansion of the settlement (the so-called *locus* Apulensis, *area sacra* in Sarmizegetusa).[39] Based on the archaeological evidence, the spatial-topographical aspects of Roman religion is the only aspect of urban religion attested in the province. The temporality of religious communication (*fasti*, *calendars*)[40] can be only presumed.

A local specificity of urbanisation as religious agent in Dacia was the dominant presence of small-group religions from Asia Minor and Syria, both attracted not by military but, particularly, the urban factor. Due to the specific cultural and historical contexts of the province, the indigenous population and Christian groups were not present – or not attestable – in the processes of urbanisation.[41] The urbanisation processes and space sacralisations formed after AD 106 were using already existing models, however the local geographical conditions and social constructions easily formed these models into situational case studies, where religious appropriation gained a great variety in urban contexts.[42]

In conclusion, we can affirm that urbanisation created very similar processes in Roman Dacia, although the short existence of the province and the cultural heterogeneity and variety of the society gave specific aspects to this phenomenon. The cities of Roman Dacia were well-connected cultural and religious hubs, with intense extra- and intra-provincial economic and military networks, which intensified space sacralisation and created a larger variety of religious agency. These factors however were not unusual at all on an Empire-scale analysis, where similar processes can be attested.

II.2. Walls and religious experience

The religious foundation of the Roman cities (*colonia deducta*) with *circumductio* is attested by literary, epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidence up until the 2nd century AD in the time of Hadrian.[43] Later it became a repetitive religious action and symbol of Pax Romana and Securitas.[44] The rich literary evidence shows a great lexical variety on how Romans marked and named the city wall, the territory of the city of the neighbouring area of the walls (*murus*, *pomerium*), however their archaeological determination and distinction is not obvious.[45] The literary evidence indicates the sacralisation of the city wall and the extra and even intra muros neighbourhood of the wall (*locus sanctus, loca publica*)[46]. The Roman city wall has a multiple ideological significance: it not only represented the defensive system of a city,[47] but was part of a more complex way of communicating Roman law, religion, imperialism and economy.[48] Being one of the most monumental architectural features of the landscape, it has also a great role in changing, creating and manipulating natural and artificial landscapes.[49]

[33] On grouping see: Lichtermann *et al.* 2017. See also Chapter II.8.
[34] See Chapters II.6, II.8 and II.9.
[35] AE 1914: 106 and AE 1989: 628.
[36] Diaconescu 2004.
[37] See Chapter II.5.
[38] See Chapter II.8.
[39] See also Chapter II.7.
[40] Baird 2014:160. See Chapter II.6.
[41] See Chapter II.10.
[42] Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 3.
[43] On the Etruscan rite of *circumductio*, see: Catalano 1978: 482-485; Ando 2007: 432-433;Van der Meer 2011: 82-104; Marcu-Cupcea 2011: 543-560. On pomerium, see also: Szabó 1938: 160-169; Grandazzi 1993: 493-545, Kovács 2010; Bendlin 2013: 463-464.
[44] Kovács 2010: 135.
[45] For a rich antology of literary sources on *murus*, *pomerium* and *finis*, see: Kovács 2010.
[46] Kovács 2010: 131; Szabó 2004a.
[47] Vegetius, *Epitomae*, IV.1.
[48] Tracy 2000: 1-18.
[49] Anderson 2013a: 75-76.

This multiple aspect of the city wall, as a part of a larger defensive system, possible node in a custom system,[50] and symbol of Roman law and municipal administration, makes it an important agent also in terms of religious communication.[51] It not only protects the inhabitants of the city, but also separates them from the 'Outside', creating a legal and cultural microcosm. Until the end of the first century AD the Roman walls separated traditional Roman sacralised spaces from the spaces of small-group religions, such as the Isiac or Bacchic groups.[52] This was a juridical and religious act. Later, the widespread adherence to these groups allowed the appearance of these cult places inside the city walls, however we find them usually in the periphery, as transformed houses or 'temple-terraces' built next to each other along an important commercial route near the external part of the wall. Similarly, based on Roman traditions, the cemeteries are always installed beyond the city wall.[53]

As some studies proved, the archaeological existence of the *pomerium*, as a reality in the Roman cities of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD is rarely attestable.[54] The situation is more problematic in those cases, such as Apulum, where the conurbation reaches the rank of colonia only after an 80-year socio-political process, and urbanisation and was not a *colonia deducta de iure*. There are a few examples where the line of the *pomerium* is clearly visible even today (Pompeii, Thamugadi).[55] It is important however to mention, that a '*pomerium*' in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD does not represent in every case a clear delimitation with walls and religious acts. The case of Augusta Raurica shows a clear difference between the settlements and their territory (*continentia*) itself, where walls do not play a very important role. The form, dimension and phases of the city walls and urban territories (*continentia*) show also a great variety in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, where local, geographic, economic and military aspects played a great role in shaping the topography of the city.[56] The urbanistic evolution and monumentalisation of a city could create situations, where even the Capitolium is outside the city wall and *pomerium* (Thamugadi).[57] These cases show that the *pomerium* was a very reflexive and relative legal and religious concept, not always marked physically by the walls, or sacralised by religious acts, such as the *sulcus primigenius*. In many cases, the multiple phases of city walls show the reusing of masonry – mostly funerary and decorative architectural elements – but also votive altars.[58]

This phenomenon can highlight another question, namely: what was the 'durability' of a tool used in space sacralisation, such as altars, funeral stelae, small finds? Was the wall as a physical reality sacred or was it just an element, a landscape landmark in a larger sacred topography? The strict legal status (*loca sancta*) and the ideological complexity of a Roman wall – military and civil – seem to suggest that the wall, or, more generally, borders, represented an important ideological value and element in space sacralisation and religious communication in a micro-scale, urban landscape. The attributes (*corona muralis*) of some urban tutelary divinities – especially that of Tyché – represents the city wall as an important element in their worship.[59] A similar connotation was recently proven in the case of Venus – Mefitis Fisica and the fortifications of Pompeii.[60] In some cases, so-called 'sacred areas' – in fact, the accumulated presence of sacralisation and religious communication – are protected with walls, which show a clear, ritual role of the physical masonry and wall. Positioning the sanctuaries, theatres and amphitheatres near the city wall is also a very common phenomenon in Roman urban contexts. In these cases, the wall certainly played an important role in some religious processions and practices. The importance of the city wall as the delimiting element of the sacralisation of a Roman city appears also in the Roman law and some religious acts, such as the famous Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus,[61] which also reflects the flexibility of the sacred nature of walls and cities; concepts which changed radically from Republican times onwards.

The city, as a sacred landscape and as an ideological entity, was a place of memory, local identity and the ultimate expression of 'Romanisation',[62] and as such needed to be delimited by visual signs, such as the routes, milestones, *sulcus primigenius*, ramparts, or the wall itself.

Walls of cities and *temenoi* in Roman times represent also a psychic symbol, a social event, or, to echo George Simmel, it not only separates, but also protects two legal and ideological worlds,[63] therefore walls represent a 'spaceless space', an anomaly in space sacralisation and religious communication.

Walls in Roman Dacia: some short remarks

Walls are particular architectural elements of urban settlements,[64] although larger rural villa estates had also

50 See also: Kovács 2010: 139, fn. 28; Szabó 2014c.
51 Weissenrieder 2016: 1-16.
52 Kovács 2010: 138.
53 Kovács 2010: 137.
54 Kovács 2010: 136-142.
55 Kovács 2010: 140.
56 Heising 2005: 174, abb. 2, 176, abb. 5.
57 Kovács 2010: 141.
58 Blagg 1983: 130-135.
59 Tahberer 2012; Raja 2012: 202-203. On the role of the city walls in the evocation, and about the cult, of the genii loci, see also: Ferri 2010.
60 Graaff 2014.
61 Perri 2014.
62 Smith 2015.
63 Weissenrieder 2016: 2.
64 Frere 1984. See also: AE 1935: 170; AE 1937: 246; AE 1948: 132; CIL II: 3861; CIL V: 3329.

well-established physical borders[65] There are numerous settlements in Roman Dacia, where possible walls of settlements or larger villa estates were identified, although the archaeology of Roman walls is one of the many research areas which has serious lacunae. From the urban settlements of Dacia, only the two largest cities, Colonia Sarmizegetusa and the conurbation of Apulum, had an archaeologically attested wall. In the other cases, the existence of city walls has just partially been researched[66]. Even less researched are the walls and borders of Roman villas.[67] What follows, then, is a presentation of some case studies form Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, where Roman walls had also an important aspect of agency in religious communication.

Colonia Sarmizegetusa

The territory and walls of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa were noted already in the 17th century on the first map drawn by L. G. Marsigli.[68] Since the 1930s, when the first excavations were made in the east and south-eastern parts of the wall, the delimitation of the city wall was accepted as a literary canon, although C. Daicoviciu did not document the stratigraphy of his excavations.[69] Very well documented was the archaeological investigation by D. Alicu and his team in the 1970s, and the new excavations after 1990, when the early Hadrianic chronology of the earthen foundation phase of the walls was established.[70] The city wall from the period of Hadrian represented the second phase of urbanism in Sarmizegetusa, followed by at least one later extension during the period of Septimius Severus. After the arguments of C. Opreanu, the stone phase of city walls in Roman Dacia are a *terminus post quem* for Commodus or even Septimius Severus.[71] The city walls of Colonia Sarmizegetusa in the 2nd century played the very clear role of separating the official, public religious spaces from the small-group religions and healing centres (**Fig.6.**). This was not only a physical, but an ideological border as well, separating the earthly world of religious entrepreneurs and also the transcendental world of gods. Inside the earthen wall of the city before the Severan age we found the Forum Vetus and the Domus Procuratoris, with few public, sacralised spaces, although their impact and visibility was very eloquent. *Extra muros*, we find three main concentrations of sacralised spaces in the 2nd century: in the south-west part of the wall, a mithraeum and a dolichenum were built. North of the wall, in front of the main gate of the city, there were two major areas which played an important role in space sacralisation and religious communication: the amphitheatre and its Nemesis sanctuary, and the sacred precinct of the Asklepieion. Interestingly, recent research presumed the *extra muros* placement of the Ara Augusti as well, between the amphitheatre and the walled area of the Asklepieion. The complex topography of this area, the vicinity of the amphitheatre, Ara Augusti and the healing complex, presumes intense religious communication in this space, where all these architectural entities interact. The city wall in this outdoor religious communication was also included, especially because the sacralised places from the northern area were connected with a road to the main gate of the city. The important role of amphitheatres in religious communication and space sacralisation is well known,[72] however in the case of Sarmizegetusa we can only presume that the vicinity of the Ara Augusti and the healing complex communicated with the spectacles or festivals relating to the amphitheatre. After the Severan period, the city walls lost their ideological role, since the second Syrian temple of the Palmyrians was built next to the Forum (I.46).

A particularity of Colonia Sarmizegetusa is the *temenos*-wall of the healing complex, the Aklepieion.[73] The wall was attested already in the first phase of the sanctuary complex, which suggests that the entire site was transformed consciously after the Marcommanic wars and built as a healing complex.[74] Here, too, the wall of the *temenos* served not only as a legal barrier, but created a much more visible landmark between the world of the healthy and unhealthy, sacred and profane worlds, serving as an agent in space sacralisation and promoting the success of the health complex. The temenos wall of the Asklepieion is the only architectural landmark of this kind attested archaeologically in Dacia.

Apulum

The conurbation of Apulum was developed on the large, civilian *territorium* of the first and only *colonia deducta* of the province, Sarmizegetusa:[75] its fast development stimulated by the presence of the XIII Gemina Legion.[76] The first wall, which marked out the landscape, and could have had a religious significance too, was the first phase of the fort's wall, identified only in recent excavations.[77] There are no direct proofs that the wall

[65] Gudea 2009a: 224. For garden walls and delimitations, see also: Bowe 2004: 28.
[66] For the city walls of Colonia Aurelia Napocensis, see: Diaconescu 2004: 118; Diaconescu 2012. For the wall of Romula, see: CIL III: 8031.
[67] Gudea 2009.
[68] Szabó 2004b; Boda 2014: 283-284.
[69] Opreanu 2006a: 86.
[70] Opreanu 2006a: 87. See also: Diaconescu 2004: 91.
[71] Opreanu 2006a: 89-90.
[72] See Chapter II.5.
[73] See Chapter II.7.
[74] Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 41.
[75] Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2000: 16-17 with previous bibliography. On the territorium, see also: Kovács 2013.
[76] About the problematic discussion on the presence of the I Adiutrix, see: Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2000: 18; Ota 2012.
[77] Moga 1998: 69-70; 1999: 17-18; Drâbărean-Breazu 2012: 170-172; Ota 2012: 27-30. See also: http://alba24.ro/foto-video-descoperire-senzationala-la-museikon-alba-iulia-o-parte-a-zidului-castrului-roman-de-la-apulum-canalizare-romana-si-austriaca-475875.html

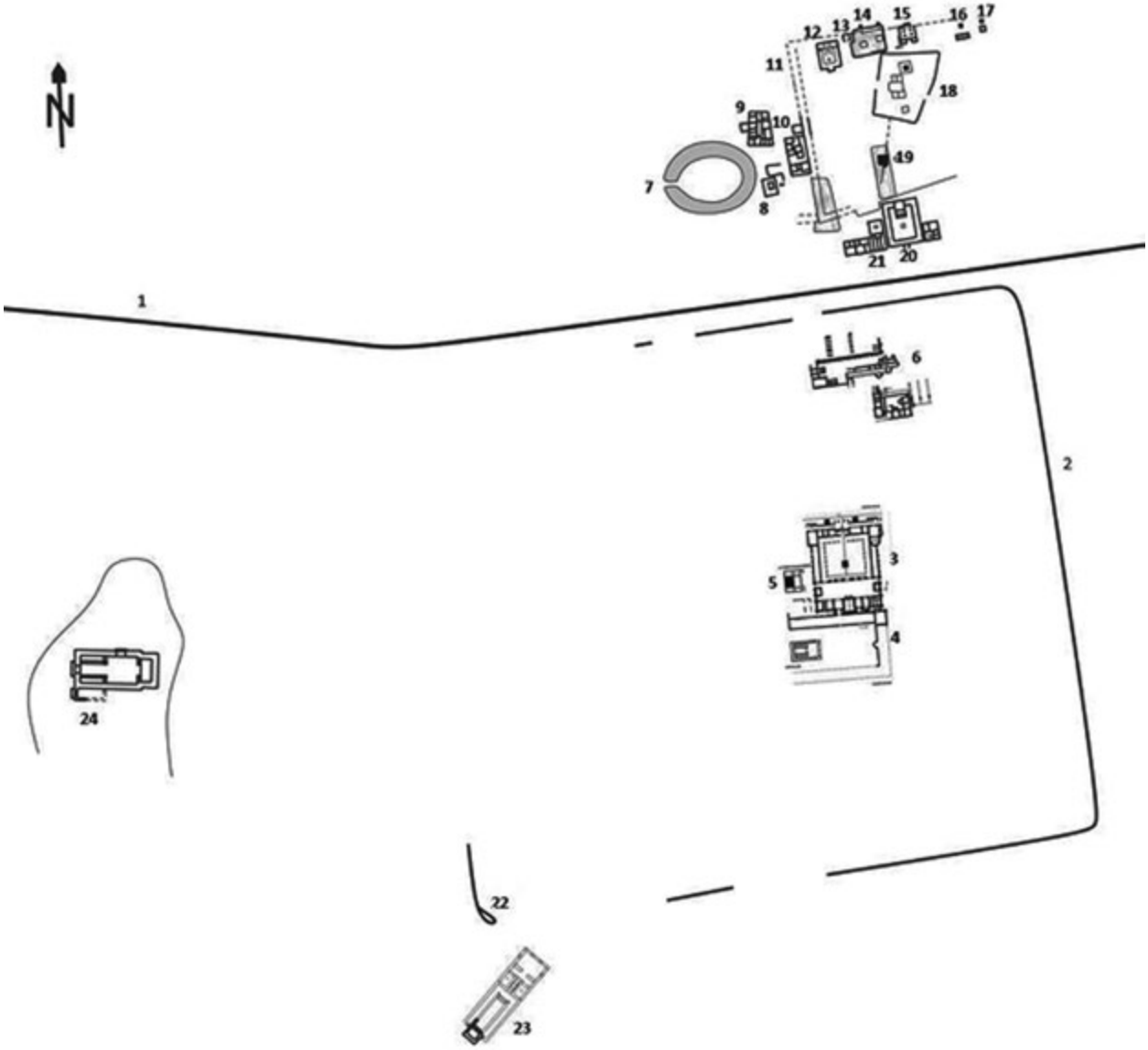

Figure 6. Urban plan of Colonia Sarmizegetusa (after Boda 2015a, 304, fig.1.)

of the fort had any role in religious processions, and the literary sources and archaeological analogies are also laconic in terms of the sacred nature of the military walls.[78] However, the position and important location of the fort on the second terrace of the Mureș river, its monumental visual effect,[79] and the position of the gates toward the road of sanctuaries in the canabae/ Municipium Septimium,[80] had an important sensory significance for the military camp and the walls – being one of the biggest architectural structures of the whole conurbation (**Fig.7**.). The cult of the Genius militarii (*genius centuriae*), the communal, military cults (*genius Legionis*)[81] and the numerous dedications found inside the territory of the fort, suggest that the fort, as a monumental architectural element, played a very significant role in the religious communication of the soldiers. As many of the buildings had their protecting genius, worshiped inside the fort,[82] the wall could also be considered as a *loca sancta*.

The second wall that emerged in the landscape was the defensive system of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensium (**fig.8**.). The identification of the city

(last accessed: 29.06.2016).

[78] Rüpke 1990: 169-172, 181-184.

[79] The wall was still clearly visible in medieval times, aș described by numerous visitors to the fortress. The auctors emphasise the monumentality and age of the walls. The medieval, and current, name of the city was probably related to the white walls of the fort: Anghel 1975; 1985.

[80] See Chapter II.10.

[81] See also Chapter: II.3.

[82] Heidenreich 2013: 177-178. On the cult of the *genius horrei*, see also: Piso-Benea 1999, Heidenreich 2013: 90; Boda-Timoc 2016.

Figure 7. Map of the legionary fort of the XIII Gemina in Apulum (based on *http://castrul-apulum.ro/)*

walls, their chronology and evolution has still not been clarified by the research, however it seems that the stone phase of the wall had multiple reconstructions.[83] At some points, altars were also reused for the fortifications.[84] The urban evolution of the city, its street and defensive system, show a north-south orientation, following the line of the Imperial route.[85] The city wall, as a massive stone monument, appears only in the Severan era, as part of the urban monumentalisation of the Danubian cities.[86] This reflects not only the general tendency of the Severan urbanism and politics, but also symbolises the maturity of the local, urban mentality and the regional-provincial importance of the city.

After some opinions, there was a third wall also in the conurbation, built between the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and the fort, marking the limits of the *canabae legionis* and the largest necropolis of the city.[87] The recent excavations on the Dealul Furcilor, and the numerous analogies of the territorial expansion and topographic aspects of the *canabae*, seem to prove that the Roman structure identified by A. Diaconescu as the southern part of the Municipium Septimium is not a city wall.[88]

Walls are among the most visible and extensive landmarks of architectural space and landscape. Their role as borders – legal, ideological, religious, or even medical – could serve as an important agent in space sacralisation.[89] The urban and rural settlements of Roman Dacia did not provide sufficient data on this specific aspect of the Roman walls, however the topography and spatial arrangement of sacralised spaces in urban contexts suggest that city walls and fort walls played an important role in the religious festivals and processions of public sanctuaries (**fig.9**.). Walls in urban contexts – at least in the early phases – created a spatial hierarchy between sanctuaries, both *intra* and *extra muros*, which would be dissolved in the Severan age by local religious appropriations.

[83] There were few systematic excavations focused on the defensive system of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensium – later Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The first excavation which attests the NE corner of the fortifications was carried out by Béla Cserni in the first decade of the 20th century. The excavations of Ioana-Bogdan Cătăniciu, Alexandru Diaconescu and Vasile Moga revealed, in some disputed excavations, some sectors of the S, E and N parts of the city wall, where they identified three phases of the conurbation and walls: Diaconescu-Piso 1993; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2000: 118-121; Moga *et al.* 2000: 141-203; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2002: 19-22; Diaconescu 2004.

[84] Piso-Moga-Drîmbărean 1999.

[85] Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2000: 22-23. She proved that the street system of the city was regulated only after the 3rd phase of the defensive wall, rebuilt in stone probably after the periods of Commodus and Septimius Severus. On the street system, see also: Blăjan-Theiss 2000: 217-260.

[86] Piso 2005c; Mráv 2012. See also: *Moga et al.* 2000: 141-168, figs. 6-8.

[87] Diaconescu-Piso 1993: 71-72; Diaconescu 2004: 116.

[88] Ota 2012. See also: Szabó 2016a: 140-145.

[89] Paasi 2014.

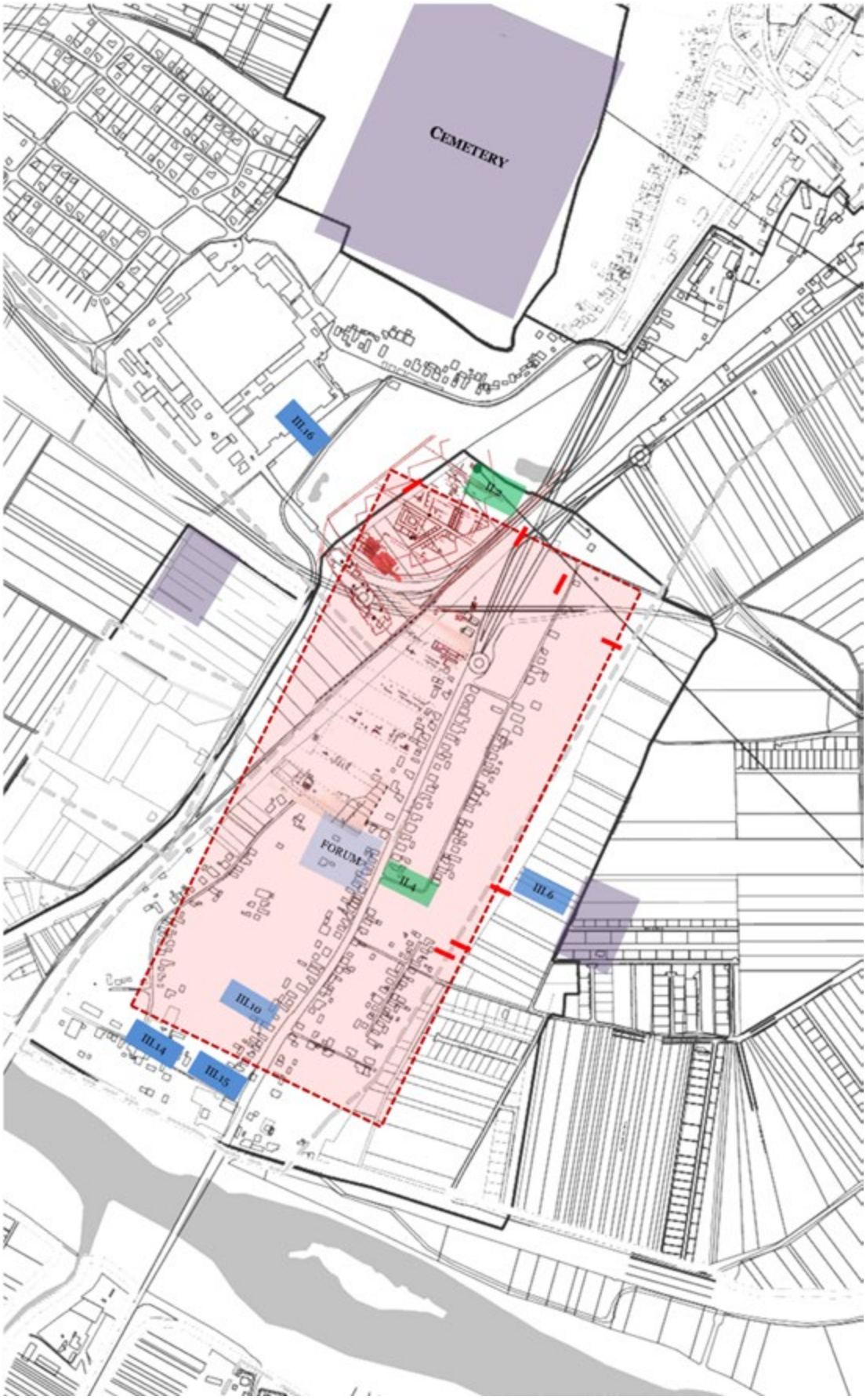

Figure 8. Topography of Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (with the contribution of L. Korodi-Vass)

Figure 9. Urban plans of cities with archaeologically identified walls (from left to right: Municipium Septimium Apulense, Romula, Napoca and Sarmizegetusa).

II.3. The Roman fort and its sacralised spaces

The presence of sacralised spaces inside of a military fort has always been a difficult and largely disputed topic in the historiography.[90] While some opinions neglect the presence of any kind of sacralised spaces outside that of the *aedes principiorum* and *augurarium* of the fort,[91] recent studies seem to prove the more flexible nature of this topic, whilst still keeping the difference between *religio castrensis* and *religio militum*.[92] The Roman fort was much more than just a complex, military space: women, merchants and a vibrant religious life were present inside it. This chapter will focus on space sacralisation attested inside the fort of the XIII Gemina Legion, and the religious communication of the officers in and outside of the fort.

The fort as a space of religious communication

After two centuries of systematic excavations at the 77 legionary forts currently known, the inner structures, architectural evolution and local variations of them are well attested.[93] Ancient sources on Roman military architecture never assessed much of the interior structure of the forts, and especially their religious meaning,[94] but from literary sources we can find numerous references to the religious communication carried on within legionary forts.[95] The origins of the

[90] Petrikovits 1975: 75-78; Rüpke 1990: 165-170; Stoll 1995: 40-61; Popescu 2004: 103-123; Marcu 2004: 76-104; Popescu 2009: 121-138; Heidenreich 2013: 100-105.

[91] Marcu 2004.

[92] Marcu 2004: 19-20.

[93] Fischer 2012: 259-260. See also: Hanel 2006: 397.

[94] Vegetius assessed only the geographic and tactical aspects of the forts. Hyginus mentioned only the presence of the *auguratorium* in the forts. *De mun. castr.* 11.: 'Aris intitutis in praetorii parte ima, auguratorium parte dextra praetorii ad viam principle apponimus, ut dux in eo augurium recte capere posit; parte laeva tribunal statuitur, ut augurio accepto insuper ascendat et exercitum felici auspicio adloquatur'.

[95] Val.Max.1,6,11: 'Maesti et taciti milites ad principia convenerunt, qui vetere instituto cum clamore alacri adcurrere debebant'. See also: Dig. 22,5,3,6; Iuv. 16,15-19; Rüpke 1990: 165.

fort, as an architectural landscape feature, is related to the development of Roman urban cityscapes: the *principia* and the *praetorium* of Roman fortresses evolved from the Republican forum buildings and had a similar structure to the plan of a Roman city.[96] The role and spatial arrangement of the *groma* also suggest a religious act, as the founding ritual of the fort.[97] Not only the walls and their vicinity of the fort represented *loca sancta*, protected by sacred law,[98] but also the space inside it. The orientation of the fort and their buildings, the urban-like structure of the internal road system (*cardo*, *decumanus*), the presence of the *lustratio exercitus* and the numerous *genii loci* suggest that the fort was a *templum,* a privileged area protected by sacral law, with performances and even festivals.[99] Domaszewski's idea about transforming the *ager peregrinus* into a *templum*, due to the walls of the fort, was argued with new evidence by Heidenreich, who affirms that the inscriptions mentioning the building of a fort (*castra ponere*) and the consecration of a place (*locum consecrare*) are related to the space sacralisation within the camp.[100]

The most problematic case is delimiting the spatial and legal differences between *religio castrensis*[101] and *religio militum*.[102] Felix Marcu – citing the *Digestae* 47.22.1. – affirms that 'military law only allowed the officers (*principales*) to benefit from the right to found collegia, probably starting with Hadrian's reign, most of them being known since the times of Septimius Severus.'[103] He also claims that common soldiers did not have the right to erect altars inside the fort, this practice being allowed only for officers.[104] This differentiation between the religious communication of the officers and common soldiers, and emphasising the spatial differentiation of the *religio castrensis* and *religio militum*, came from an old Domaszewskian interpretation, which has been followed for decades of historiography, whereby the Roman army appears as '*exercitus meus*' (Res Gestae 30) with a single, uniform, disciplined and legally defined religion – and not religions.[105] Recent studies focusing on the everyday life of the soldiers offer a different and much more flexible picture of the religious activity within the fort. Although a Roman soldier is strictly defined by law and regulations, and, due to the *sacramentum*, his religious communication is also determined in many aspects,[106] the strict differentiation *between religio castrensis* and *militum* must now be reconsidered. Similarly, the religious acts in the forum of a city, and the communal dedications of the soldiers, led and performed by their officer or official priest (*augur*, *haruspex legionis*), served as a self-representation of military identity and mentality.[107] Delivering the same 'message' as provided by the honorary statues and votive dedications of the *honestiores*' inscriptions on the civilian forum, the activities of the officers inside the fort transformed the military space into a site of religious engagement and performance. They probably even had a separate or slightly different *feriale*, religious calendar; however, the few analogies – especially the *Feriale Duranum* – stimulate further discussions.[108] The difference between *religio castrensis* and *religio militum* appears, according to Rüpke, as a contrast between controlled, communal religion and personal devotion, moral individuality.[109] He emphasizes the difference also by spatial differentiation: *intra* and *extra muros castrensis*,[110] arguing that inside the fort and on the *territorium legionis* there was a 'hierarchy' of divinities and a military law, which highly influenced the dynamics or moral individuality and lived religious communication.

Mapping more than 550 votive monuments inside the forts, Heidenreich's study show a totally different reality.[111] He lists at least 20 places inside the fort where votive monuments were found, dividing these places into four main groups: public, semi-public, private and intermediary/uncertain.[112] These places where inhabited by various divinities (at least 30 groups attested) and refer all groups of the army. His tripartite typology (places, gods, actors) is indeed a new approach in the historiography of Roman religion within their forts, but uses the same old discourse in its analysis of the details.[113] The more detailed case studies of some of

[96] Rüpke 1990: 169.
[97] Catalano 1978: 476.
[98] See Chapter II.2.
[99] Rüpke 1990: 170-171. See also: Kossmann 2008: 148-149.
[100] Heidenreich 2013: 224-226. See also in his catalogue: C 471, C483. One can ask, however, how general this phenomenon was in permanent and/or temporary forts.
[101] On the historiography of the concept, see: Rüpke 1990: 172, fn. 1, with further bibliography.
[102] Rüpke 1990: 184-198.
[103] Marcu 2004: 103.
[104] He does not cite any ancient sources for arguing his statement. The cited part of the Digest – based indeed, on a 3rd-century source of Marcianus *Institutiones* – affirms that the governors should monitor the activities of the *collegiae* and not allow the soldiers to found and cultivate cults within the territory of the fort's collegiate activity. The text does not mention that the soldiers were not allowed to erect altars in the territory of the fort: Liu 2009: 99. Marcu, even if he cites the work of Popescu, does not focus on the topography of the dedications and their worshippers.
[105] Stoll 2007: 451.
[106] About the *sacramentum*, see: Rüpke 1990: 74-91; Van Slyke 2005: 167-206.
[107] Stoll 2007: 461.
[108] Stoll 2007: 459-461, Rüpke 2011: 120.
[109] Rüpke 1990: 172. See also: Rüpke 2013a.
[110] Rüpke 1990: 181-183.
[111] Heidenreich 2013.
[112] For his arguments on this typology, see: Heidenreich 2013: 141-143. The major problem with his work is the topographic aspects of the finds: he mentions that only 12% of the referenced inscriptions came from the territory of the forts and 35% of the 550 inscriptions have a precise topographic location. This problem is a general phenomenon in the cases of urban archaeology or forts within a modern settlement: Heidenreich 2013: 143. He also forgets to mention the possibility of Late Roman *spolia* and secondary use of altars, as a very common phenomenon in forts: Kristensen 2013: 23-45.
[113] He does not mention the relationship between different spaces within the fort, their communication and relation with actors, objects, external buildings and spaces. Also missing from his analysis is the focus on movements, processions, festivals, calendar, and their religious purpose or meaning. Some basic notions, such as sacrifice,

the best researched legionary forts (Carnuntum, Novae) show a slightly different picture about the distribution and topography of the finds.[114]

In the case of Carnuntum, with the exception of 17 monuments found in the *valetudinarium*, *principia*, the so-called 'Building C', *carcer*/prison, KW 19, K20 O, and the so-called *cubiculum*, with a possible Liber Pater *scholae*,[115] the rest of the monuments found on the territory of the fort (more than 100) were not in situ.[116] The 17 finds with archaeological contexts show a great variety also in iconography, types of divinities, and status of the worshippers.[117] The extreme diversity of worshippers and divinities, even from a single context could suggest that they were not in situ finds.[118] The finds from the Principia show a much more homogenous aspect. The common feature of the other locations, is their exteriority within the spatial arrangement of the fort and the more personal devotion and nature of the dedications and divinities (Liber Pater, Tavianus). If they were found indeed, in situ, this could suggest a centrum-periphery distribution inside the fort, similar to the urban landscape. A counter argument for this could be the votive column dedicated to Deus Aeternus found in the fort of Novae, in the vicinity of the Principia – however the exact context of its discovery is also unclear.[119] The case study of the few votive inscriptions from the fort of Legio V Macedonica from Potaissa[120] shows that in the Late Roman period (second half of the 3rd century AD) the religious life of the fort changed.

The case of Apulum: the topography of the fort and its finds

The existence of a Roman fort in Alba Iulia (Beograd, civitas Albam, Gyulafehérvár, Weissburg, Karlsburg[121]) was never in question, even in medieval times. Even the name of the medieval city ('white fort') carries the memory of the Roman past and the walls of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae*.[122] Abandoned suddenly in AD 271, the Roman fort was temporarily inhabited also during early medieval times, between the 4th and 9th centuries.[123] Major modifications and the systematic looting of Roman sites, however, began after the Hungarian conquest and the formation of the Transylvanian voivodeship, when Gyulafehérvár became the capital of the region.[124] Most of the representative buildings of the new state formation were erected inside the Roman fort, used as a symbol of power and a protective monument. The very early period (before 1241) of the medieval fortification is almost unknown,[125] but we can presume that the visible and standing parts of some interior stone buildings, such as the *valetudinarium*, the *principia*, and the *praetorium* were severely damaged and looted already in this period. Some of them were also reused or transformed into medieval buildings in later times (9th-11th centuries), as recent excavations suggest.[126] In 1241, the city suffered a major attack by the Mongols, which also affected the fortress, probably also damaging the walls, which then needed to be reconstructed in some parts.

The next big modification came in the age of the Renaissance, when the territory of the Roman fort changed radically for two reasons:the massive architectural programmes of the Transylvanian *principes* (after 1541); and on account of the great curiosity in the Renaissance for antiquities.[127] Numerous inscriptions found probably within the territory of the Colonia, on the necropolis, and in the fort, were walled into the cathedral or transported to Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt).

From this second phase of the fortification we have the first preserved maps,[128] which can also help us in the reconstruction of the Roman fort and its approximate inner structure.[129]

sacred landscape, ritualisation of the space, and even the legal and religious definition of the fort. Although it is the most important and complete epigraphic collection of its kind, it cannot pass over the traditional positivist-epigraphist approach to Roman religion. This is also obvious in his massive bibliography, in which members of the *Religionswissenschaft* are presented very poorly.

114 On the topography of the stone monuments from the fort of Carnuntum, see: Kremer 2012: 346-349, abb. 27 and 28.

115 Kremer 2012: 128, kat. nr. 239, 240. Both of the altars were erected by a *primipilus*. On the condition of the finds, see: Groler 1901: 76.

116 Kremer 2012: 348. The *valetudinarium* was excavated in the beginning of the 20th century with numerous Late Antique finds: Kremer 2012: 350-351. See also: Heidenreich 2013: 60-66.

117 In the Principia, three objects have a context: a small Hercules statuette, a postament for the Genius Castrorum and Iupiter Optimus Maximus, and a monument without inscription (Kremer 2012: kat. nr. 46, 278, 684). In Building C, probably the *horreum*, there were three uninscribed altars (cat. nos 690, 691, 692). The most populated area was the so-called *carcer*, where six monuments were found in situ (or probably in situ). Two of them are without inscription (cat. nr. 615, 693). There were also two altars for Nemesis Augusta, one erected by a *clavicularius* and and the other by a *veteranus ex optione custodiarum* (cat. nos 377 and 379). Similarly, an altar dedicated to Mercurius by the *clavicularius* was also found there (cat. nr. 343). Three other altars (cat. nos 243, 270, 332) were found 'apparently in situ': Kremer 2012: 143. One of them is dedicated to the *Genius centuriae* by a *custos armorum*, another to Bona Valetudo by the *aedilii* of the city, and the third is for IOM Tavianus, erected by a *centurio*.

118 Kremer 2012: 359-360.

119 Brozilova-Mrozewicz 1989: 178-184. The second inscription was found in a Late Antique basilica – later Early Christian presbiterium – which can suggest a secondary position. See also: Kolendo *et al.* 1992: nr. 18.

120 Bărbulescu 1994; 2012.

121 Györffy 1983: 1116-1134.

122 For the literary and archaeological sources on the Roman fort from medieval times, see: Rusu 1994b; Szabó 2014b; Szabó 2016a, with further bibliography.

123 Kristó *et al.* 1994: 245-246.

124 Gáll 2013: 194-196.

125 On the recent excavations from the early phase of the medieval installations within the fort, see: Marcu-Istrate 2008; 2014.

126 Moga 1998: 28; Marcu-Istrate 2014.

127 Szabó 2013a: 51, fn. 35; Szabó 2014b: 54-55.

128 Szabó 2016b.

129 There were numerous initiatives for a comprehensive model of the *castra*, none of them used relevant analogies from other legionary forts: Drîmbărean-Breazu 2012: 169-177. See also: DMA.

The third and most severe intervention on the territory of the fort, occurred between 1711 and 1723, the period when the Vauban fortress was built. The Roman walls, the *vallum*, and a large part of the territory of the *canabae* were all severely damaged. During the Habsburg era (1686-1867) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1920), several buildings were built and also destroyed on the territory of the fort, marking the new urbanisation and urban landscape policy of that age.[130] The most impressive buildings visible today were also built in this period and in later years (1920–1923).[131]

Between 1897 and 2016, there have been numerous rescue excavations on the territory of the fort, although with few of these being properly documented. Some of the most important finds (*porta principalis dextra*, parts of the wall) were revealed and published by systematic excavations[132] at the end of the 20th century. The most recent excavations from 2006 and 2011-2014, as part of the monumental restoration of the Vauban fortress,[133] revealed a section of the *principia*, the *Via Principalis*, some parts of the *praetentura dextra*, and several walls and rooms belonging probably to the *retentura dextra*.[134]

As a result of the above-presented long history of looting and numerous changes in the urban landscape within the fort, there are very few votive inscriptions with a precise in situ or secondary Roman position.[135] In the three most relevant catalogues of the inscriptions and monuments found within the fort, there are great discrepancies between the number, and even the original location, of the monuments.[136] In the work of Vasile Moga there are also numerous monuments which were certainly not found in the territory of the fort.[137] Piso's catalogue is much more careful on the topographic aspects of the finds: he mentions only 11 inscriptions with a precise location.[138] Heidenreich's list is very valuable, as he collects for the first time all the votive inscriptions found in the territory of the fort, however he does not include the recently found inscriptions from the *principia* and the Nemesis spolia.[139]

As the topographic map of the fort shows (**Fig.7.**), the religious activity and dynamics of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae* is very similar to other legionary fortresses where topographic studies were made. Because most of the votive inscriptions found on the territory of the fort have a secondary position, it is impossible to establish the relationship between space(s) and occupants. The votive inscriptions were dedicated by the *legatus legionis*, *tribunus legionis*, *optio legionis*, *primus pilus legionis*, *eques legionis*, *centurio legionis*, *beneficiarius praefecti*, *duplicarius*, *cornicularius praefecti*, *libraries legati*, *evocatus*, *salariarius*, *secunda rudis* and the *veterani legionis XIII Geminae*.[140] Almost all military ranks are represented in the case of Apulum – if we accept the possibility that the secondary positioned inscriptions are indeed from the fort. There are two main areas in which the inscriptions are concentrated: the area of the *principia* and the *retentura dextra* of the fort.[141] We can also observe a concentric distribution of the finds, however a topographic and spatial hierarchy is impossible to establish in relation to the hierarchy of divinities.[142] It is quite possible that the numerous inscriptions erected by the *legati legionis XIII Geminae* were initially in the *aedes principiorum* or the *praetorium*, for which the position has not yet been clarified.[143] The 'pantheon' of the officers reflects a general tendency, dominated by the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus,[144]

[130] The famous Custozza park was formed also in this period on the territory of the *principia* and the *praetorium* of the fort.

[131] The current building of the museum (the 'Babilon', built between 1851-1853 for housing army officers and soldiers), the so-called 'Hall of Unification' (originally serving as the officers' casino, built between 1898-1900), and the Orthodox cathedral. See: Szabó 2016e.

[132] Moga 1999. On the history of the research within the fort, see: Moga 1997; Moga 1998: 25-35.

[133] Gudea 2014.

[134] On the Nemesis spolia: Szabó 2014c and Chapter II.5.

[135] See also: DMA.

[136] Moga 1998: 76-94; Piso 2001: pl. III.; Heidenreich 2013: 353-358.

[137] Moga (1998: 95) affirms that the statuary representations of two soldiers and a legatus (identified wrongly for a long time as Antoniunus Pius, Gordianus III or Pertinax) were found in the *castra* or on its territory. Recent studies proved that the identification of the statue with Pertinax is not correct: Diaconescu 2014a. The two other statues were found outside of Apulum, in a rural cemetery of a *villa rustica* or a *vicus* and became the decoration of the Teleki villa in the 19th century. (I am indebted to Teleki József for his verbal confirmation.)

[138] Piso 2001a: XIX, pl. III.

[139] Heidenreich 2013: cat. nos 403-429. Like Moga, he identifies almost every inscription dedicated by military personnel with the *castra* as a religious act. In those cases where we know the approximate location, he also tried to identify the ancient topography of the camp. As in the case of IDR III/5, 43 (Heidenreich 2013: C404) he identified the founding place ('Hotel de la Monnaie' – originally the storehouse of the Austrian troops) with the *scamnum tribunorum dextrum*. This area of the medieval fort was heavily modified during the Habsburg era, long before 1831, when the inscription was found. Although it is possible that the monument was indeed erected in the fort, it could have already been in a secondary, non-Roman position in 1831. Similarly, the three inscriptions (IDR III/5, 107, 139, 260) found in 1861 in secondary positions, the exterior of the Vauban port (Niedertor), probably stood in the Capitoline temple of the Colonia. IDR III/5, 235, a monumental statue base dedicated for Liber Pater by a *primus pilus* of the legion, could also have stood in the territory of the Colonia: *Libero Patri / sacrum pro / salute Imp(eratoris) / Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli) / Commodi / Antonini / Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriae) L(ucius) / Calvisius L(uci) f(ilius) / Velina Secun/dus Falerione / p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) d(onum) d(edit) / sub Vespron(io) [Can]/dido co(n)s/(sulari) dedic[ante] / [C]aerellio Sabi[n]o l[eg(ato)]*

[140] On the social groups and military ranks represented in the Roman forts, see: Heidenreich 2013: 189-208. Civilians, women and even slaves are attested in some particular cases (Heidenreich 2013: 204).

[141] As the analogies show, the *retentura dextra* was the location for the *officium*, *schola decurionum* and the cult of the *Genius centuriae*. For a possible interpretation of the Nemesis spolia from the fort, see Chapter II.5.

[142] See also: CIL III 6224.

[143] Heidenreich 2013: 191.

[144] It is not certain that the inscriptions related to the Capitoline triad came from the fort. Many of the analogies given by Heidenreich were found in secondary position, without details of the exact ancient topography: Heidenreich 2013: 162, cat. nr. C 81. A hierarchy of the divinities, however, surely existed in military contexts too:

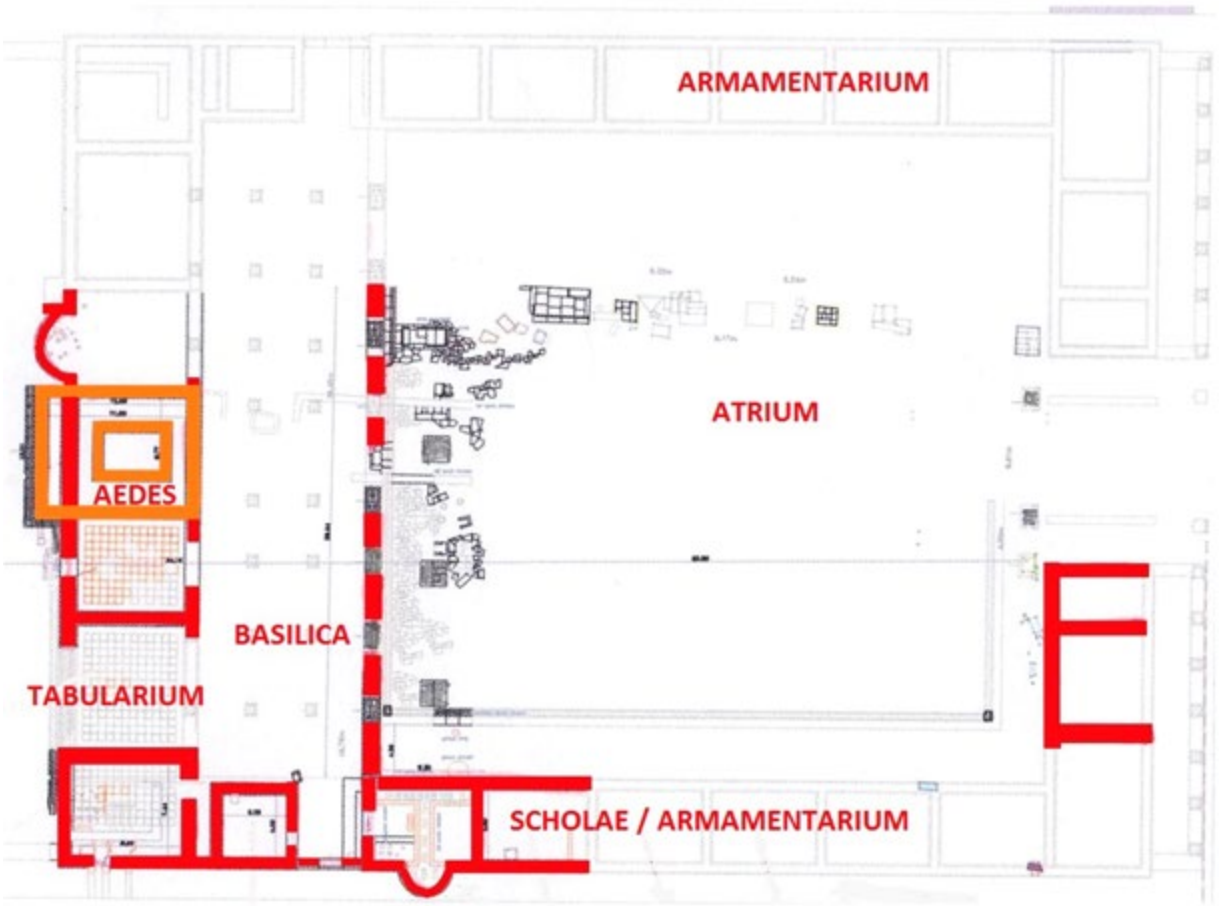

Figure 10. Plan of the aedes principiorum from Apulum (based on *http://castrul-apulum.ro/)*

the *Geni imperatoris*, *centuriae*, *praetorii*, *legionis* and *Aquila sancta*. Other divinities attested are related to military morale and Imperial strength and ideology, such as Victoria Augusta, Mars and Nemesis.[145] The secondary, or a more personal and local specificity is reflected by the dedications to the *Genius Trium Daciarum*, a divine personification of provincial power and Roman Imperialism.[146]

Due to the lack of excavations and the problematic aspect of the topography of the finds, it is impossible to make a 'hierarchy' of spaces or religious acts within the fort of Apulum. Heidenreich's study shows that, although there are special divinities and persons attested in particular places, their everyday lives and religious events within the fort surely diluted this spatial, divine and social hierarchy. Some figural representations and inscriptions (RIB 2139) show the presence of communal festivals and sacrifices, such as the *souvetaurilia*, which indicate numerous secondary personnel and a wide range of both military and non-military participants. The presence of the communal and small-group religious acts and various social patterns within the fort shows a much more flexible space than appears in the modern historiography.

The Principia as sacralised space in Apulum: some notes

The hypothetical localisation of the Principia was already made at the end of the 19th century, i.e. during the first systematic excavations on the territory of the fort and in the major works (**Fig.10.**). There is no written report on the major urban development and the possible archaeological finds in the area of the Principia (Custozza Park) and the surroundings.[147] The first inscription and rescue excavation which identified the Principia was carried out in 1952 during canal work near the current building of the '1 Decembrie

Heidenreich 2013: 184-186, cat. nr. C 555.

145 Heidenreich 2013: 173-175.

146 IDR III/5, 41*: Caelesti Augustae / et Aesculapio Au/gusto et Genio / Carthaginis et / Genio Daciarum / Olus(!) Terentius / Pudens Uttedi/ anus leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) / leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) leg(atus) / Augg(ustorum) pro praet(ore) / [p]rovinciae R(a)e/tiae.* IDR III/5, 184: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et ceteris diis / deabusque im/mortalibus et Da/ciae / pro salute domi/ni n(ostri) M(arci) Aur(elii) Antoni/ni Pii Felicis Aug(usti) n(ostri) / C(aius) Aur(elius) Sigillius trib(unus) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) Antonini/anae prid(ie) Non(as) April(es) / Laeto II et Cerialae co(n)s(ulibus)*

147 A detailed look at the local German and Hungarian press reports between 1850 and 1887 would be of value here.

Figure 11. Excavations in the aedes principiorum from Apulum in the autumn of 2011 (photo: author)

1918 University'.[148] The next important archaeological find was discovered in 2006, the year which marked the beginning of the radical – and in many senses, catastrophic – transformation of Custozza Park and the area of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae* (**Fig.11.**).[149] Although the new inscription suggested the presence of the *aedes principiorum* in the area, there were no further excavations or any attempt to protect the area.[150] Similarly, the excavations between 20 August and 22 September 2011 revealed numerous important inscriptions, among them a monumental honorary plaque dedicated to Caracalla and Iulia Domna, an altar for Serapis, a votive column dedicated to Jupiter, and an architrave representing the *signum* with the *aquila* (**Fig.12.**).[151] The excavation – opened in an area of at least 50 x 50 m – was the largest ever undertaken inside the territory of the *castra*, revealing numerous compartments (C1, C2, C3), walls, columns, and the hypocaust system of the *principia*.[152] One of the compartments is an apsidal room with hypocaust system, followed by an open-air forum, featuring large, rectangular stone slabs. The area could reveal important information about the water supply of the *principia* and, more generally, the fort itself, due to the complex canal system near the *aedes*. It is important to mention that in many cases (Theilenhofen, Künzig),[153] the Principia is surrounded by channels, which can suggest a much more elaborate interior with vegetation, which played an important role in the monumentalisation of the space and contributed to the 'sensescape' of the rituals performed there.

Another large section of the Principia and the central part of the fort (area S2p) appeared only a short report in the local press, without mentioning the

[148] IDR III/5, 299: *Dis Penatibus Lari/bus Militaribus Lari / Viali Neptuno Saluti / Fortunae Reduci / (A)esculapio Dianae / Apollini Herculi / Spei Fa(v) ori P(ublius) Catius / Sabinus trib(unus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*

[149] AE 2007, 1199: *L(ucius) Aninius L(uci) f(ilius) / Pap(iria) Firminus / Tridente equo / publ(ico) ex CCC(trecenario) / p(rimus) p(ilus) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / tetrastylum fecit / et aquilam / argenteam / posuit.* See: Moga-Piso-Drîmbărean 2008: 177. However the excavation was conducted by the local museum, and so there are no further details about the exact context and other finds. In *CCAR 2006* the excavation was not even mentioned.

[150] The inscription stood outside in the park, unsupported until 2011.

[151] The inscriptions are unpublished. News of the excavation and the following scandals appeared only in short press reports in Romanian and some international news stories: the present author visited the site of the excavation in late November 2011. Many of the finds – among them the most important inscriptions, stamped bricks, marble monuments, column fragments – were lying unprotected on the site. The company responsible for the protection and restoration of the archaeological heritage within the Vauban Fort (Grup Corint S.A.) signed the official contract with the city only on 17 July, 2013, two years after the excavations. Some of the finds are exhibited in the new Principia Museum, inaugurated in September 2014. See also: http://www.castrul-apulum.ro/ (last accessed: 10.05.2018).

[152] The excavation is not yet published and there were no official archaeological reports about the finds and the structures revealed. The responsible archaeologist for the excavation was Prof. dr. Nicolae Gudea.

[153] Fassbinder 2010: 97.

Figure 12. Figurative representation of an Aquila on an architrave from the principia (photo: author)

exact functionality and role of the compartments.[154] It is impossible to undertake a detailed analysis of the Apulum Principia without an official publication of the excavation, however the sporadic details of the official news conference cited above can give us some clues about the topography and spatial dynamics of the building.[155] The apsidal compartment identified near where the statue base was found[156] can be identified as the most devout place of sacralisation, the main sanctuary of the fort (named in the modern literature as *fanum, Fahnenheiligtum, aedes principiorum, aedes signorum*).[157] In the majority of legionary forts (Lambaesis, Niederbieber, Aquincum)[158] the *aedes signorum* is an apsidal building surrounded by numerous annexes (see also I.9-14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 26, 29-32, 49, 51, 54).[159] In some examples, such as Saalburg, Bu Njem, Carnuntum or Novae, the *aedes signorum* has a rectangular form, constructed in rare cases as a podium/temple.[160] A particular case is represented by the sanctuary from Potaissa, where the originally apsidal *aedes* was rebuilt in a monumentalised, rectangular form (I.26. **Fig.13**.). West of the *aedes signorum* in Apulum, the compartment with the hypocaust system seems to be similar to that of Novae and Künzig.[161] The functionality of the eastern sector (referred to as S2p at the conference press) has not been clarified.

The Eagle and its officers in peace and war: religion and military morale

There are numerous votive inscriptions dedicated by the *legati legionis XIII Geminae*.[162] Although their exact topography is not always clear, the analogies suggest that most of them were standing in the *aedes signorum,* the *praetorium* or the *valetudinarium*.[163]

[154] Fassbinder 2010: 97.

[155] In the press conference the archaeologists affirmed that they identified multiple phases of the building, especially from Hadrian and the time of Caracalla.

[156] Personal prospectus of Ioan Piso during our joint visit to Apulum, November 2010.

[157] Heidenreich 2013: 40, citing also the AÉ 1989, 581 where the *aedes signorum* is named as 'Capitolium', a tripartite sanctuary.

[158] Heidenreich 2013: 489, 494, 503-504. The functionality of these small chambers is not yet clarified in the majority of cases. The analogies show a great variety of forms, numbers and locations of the annexed compartments in the west and eastern part of the *aedes*. Some were identified as *scholae*: Hyginus, *Mun.* 20; Petrikovits 1975: 527. See also C 450 in Heidenreich 2013: 362.

[159] This form is dated from the second half of the 2nd century AD: Johnson-Baatz 1987: 152.

[160] Sarnowski 2012.

[161] Sarnowski 2012: 78, fig. 4, building *Bw*. See also: Johnson-Baatz 1987: 135.

[162] IDR III/5, 41, 77, 81, 82, 84, 107, 112, 139, 182, 185, 195, 213, 260, 294, 298, 322, 350, 353, 354, 365. See also: Moga 1998: 86-88. Most of the inscriptions are dedicated to military divinities, personifications (*genius imperatoris*, *genius legionis*, *genius praetori*, Fortuna Redux, the Capitoline triade, Jupiter Monitor, et Conservator, Victoria), or to Mithras, Nemesis, Nymphs, Serapis, Silvanus, Sol, and Sol Invictus. The majority of the inscriptions came from secondary positions, walled in the medieval fort or buildings, or discovered between 1715-1722, when the Vauban fort was built. It is possible that some of the inscriptions dedicated to Nemesis, Sol Invictus or the Capitoline triade were standing in sacralised spaces outside the *castra legionis*.

[163] Heidenreich 2013: 191.

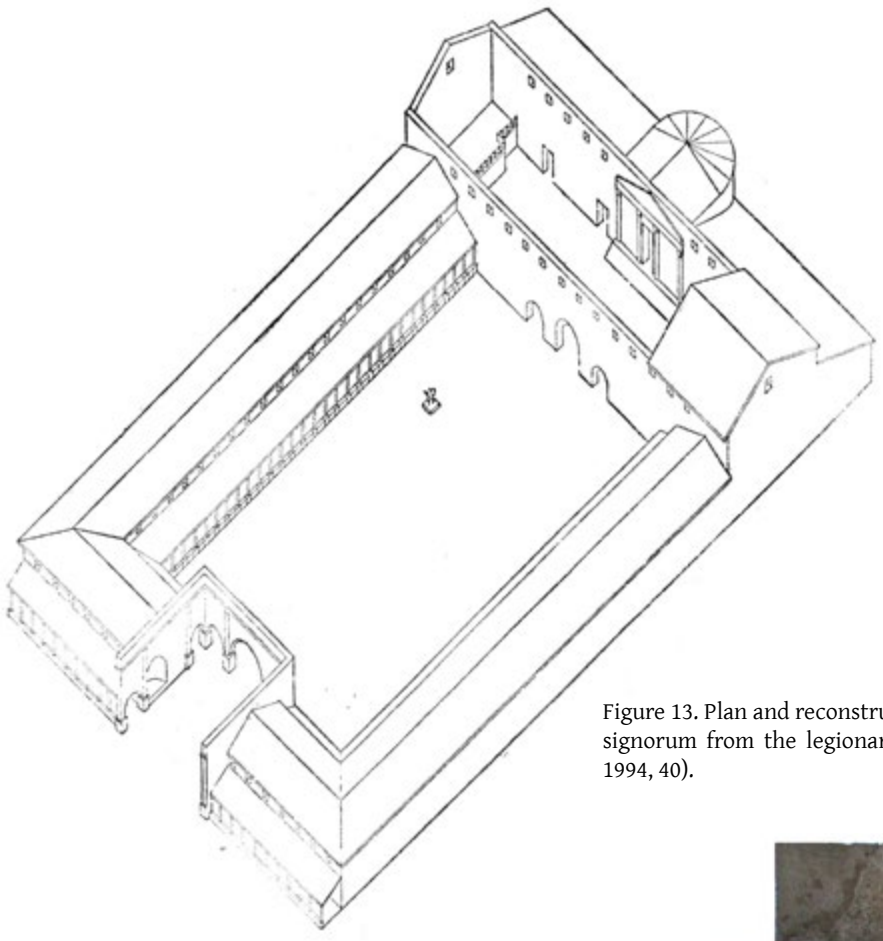

Figure 13. Plan and reconstruction of the Principia with the aedes signorum from the legionary fort of Potaissa (after Bărbulescu 1994, 40).

A more interesting case study is represented by the dedication of a *primus pilus*, Lucius Aninius Firminus (AE 2007, 1199. **Fig.14.**):

> *L(ucius) Aninius L(uci) f(ilius) / Pap(iria) Firminus / Tridente equo / publ(ico) ex CCC(trecenario) / p(rimus) p(ilus) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / tetrastylum fecit / et aquilam / argenteam / posuit*

The base is one of the biggest ever found in Apulum; with the statue or column on it, it was much higher than an average Roman soldier (165-175 cm).[164] The circumstances and the dating of the statue's erection is not clear,[165] however it is quite possible that the event took place in the Severan period when major reconstructions took place within the fort and in the civil settlements too.[166] Lucius Aninius Firminus,[167] son of Lucius from Tridentum,[168] was a Roman knight who served three centuriates (*centurio trecenarius*)[169] before

Figure 14. Statue base of L. Aninius Firminus from the fort (photo: author)

[164] On the typology of the statue bases, see: Stoll 1992: 205-207.

[165] Piso-Moga-Drîmbărean 2008: 183-184. The authors dated the inscription to the early 3rd century AD based on the *euergetes* activity of the *primipili* in the Severan era, and on the iconography of the altar, which has some analogies from Dacia: Piso-Moga-Drîmbărean 2008: 179, fn. 2.

[166] Opreanu 2006b.

[167] OPEL II, 142.

[168] See also: AÉ 1977, 273.

[169] Campbell 1996: 39. See also: AÉ 1899, 208; AÉ 1906, 133; AÉ 1950,

becoming a *primus pilus* in Apulum.[170] As such, Firminus' main aim was to attend with the *legatus legionis* the major festivals of the military calendar (especially the *rosaliae signorum*, *natalis signorum*, and *Dies natalis aquilae*)[171], and to protect and guard the most sacred objects (*imago*, *signum*, *aquila*) in the *aedes signorum*.

The exact date and circumstances of his act is not mentioned on the inscription. The text only mentions the dedication (*posuit*) of a silver eagle (*aquilam argenteam*) and the building (*fecit*) of a *tetrastylum*. This important event could have appeared after an ordinary reconstruction or restoration of the *aedes*,[172] severe damage to the fort during an insecure period, such as the so-called 'Marcomannic Wars', or the monumentalisation of the fort and the whole urban settlement during the age of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. In both cases, the *euergetes* activity of the *primus pilus*[173] represents an important ideological act, strengthening military morale and presenting a model for all of the soldiers and officers through his own example. Firminus' act could have happened on numerous special days of the religious calendar (for example on the *Dies natalis aquilae* or during the *Rosaliae signorum*).[174] If it had happened after military action or a political crisis then it would have had an even more important ideological impact on the daily life of the soldiers: it represented a new era in the life of the fort and the legion, an era of stability, durability, and the victory of the *Imperium Romanum*, the invincible Eagle of Rome. His act and donation represents a case of moral religious individuality, which predominates in the maintenance of this sacralised space.[175]

The eagle (*Aquila*) of the legion was honoured in the army,[176] and carried on the upper part of the *signum* by the *aquilifer*.[177] In some cases the *aedes principiorum* itself is referred to as *aedem aquilae*.[178] As Speidel has suggested, the increased honour awarded the eagle appears in the 3rd century, when the popularity of some small-group religions, such as IOM Dolichenus, Sabasios, Mithras increased and gained even Imperial protection.[179] Besides an official festival dedicated to the worship of the eagle (*Dies Natalis aquilae*), other ritualistic acts, such as the *excubatio ad signa*,[180] played an important role in the religious life of the officers, also enlarging the sacralisation of space and time for soldiers. Religion in the fort became part of a possible *cursus honorum*: the venerable officers' role in the religious acts was an integrated part of their military career, honour and personal *dignitas*. Worshiping the eagle as an object and cult-statue was one of the longest lasting forms of the cult of images in Roman times:[181] its decoration with garlands, flowers, carrying in processions, its movements within the fort and outside, all represented the religious legitimisation of the legion's existence, the divine protection and presence, as a supreme power of self-defence. The eagle as an agent of a *prodigium* appears in a rare inscription from Apulum, reporting the fight between the eagle and a snake, as an ancient literary *topos*, representing the struggle between Rome and her enemies, good and evil:[182]

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Aur(elius) Marinus / Bas(s) us et Aur(elius) / Castor Polyd/i circumstantes / viderunt numen / aquilae descidis(s)e / monte supra dracone(m) / res validavit / supstrinxit(!) aquila(m) / hi s(upra) s(cripti) aquila(m) de / periculo / liberaverunt / v(oto) l(ibentes) m(erito) p(osuerunt)*

Some epigraphic sources seem to differentiate the *signum* and the eagle (PSI XIII 1307, Col. II. 11, 17).[183] The eagle represented on the *signum* was a small and portable object, used in every official military march, festival, and in war.[184] If the inscription (*aquilam argenteam posuit*) refers to the *signum legionis*, it means that before Firminus' dedication, the legion lost its most important symbol or it had badly deteriorated. This could also be an argument for dating the event to after the Marcomannic Wars, or even after AD 194.[185] The small hole on the base (12 x 8 cm) suggests an upper addition of the object. Some representations of the *signum* can suggest that they were fixed on stone monuments, such as our example.[186] It seems hard

83; AÉ 1987, 970; AÉ 1998, 1132; AÉ 2007, 526; AÉ 2010, 272; CIL II 4461; CIL III 10380; CIL III 6224; CIL III 7534; CIL III 14187.4; CIL V 3914; CIL VI 3618; CIL VI 40556; CIL X 686; CIL X 5064; CIL XI 6057; ILTun 250,

170 Moga 1998: 88-89, Heidenreich 2013: 194-195. See also: Dobson 1978: 127.

171 CIL II 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 6183; RIB 327. See also: Nock 1952: 184; Campbell 1996: 39, Sorrosal 2013: 117-118.

172 There must be several phases of the *aedes principiorum* from Apulum too. As the analogy of Novae shows, the stone phase also had multiple reconstructions, which suggests a short durability of the building or an imporant symbol and act of piety: Sarnowski 1992.

173 Dobson 1978: 127.

174 Weinstock 1948: 38, Sorrosal 2013: 117.

175 Rüpke 2013.

176 CIL III 7591; AÉ 1935, 98. See: Dobson 1978: 155-160. The eagle as an animal and personification of Jupiter appears in numerous literary sources as a *prodigium* and divine messenger: TLL II, 369-372. See also: Maras 2016: 90.

177 Zehetner 2009: 132-148.

178 Stoll 1995: 47.

179 Mogontiacum, CIL XIII 6708=ILS 2294*: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [S] abasio / Conservatori / honori aquilae / leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) / [[[Alexandr]ianae]] / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Germanus / d(omo) Emon[a ---] / [------*. See: Speidel 1978: 62.

180 Stoll 1995: 40-52.

181 Bremmer 2013: 14-16.

182 IDR III/5, 156. On the fight of the eagle and snake, see: Durham 2013; Henig 2017: 28-29. See also Chapter IV.4.

183 Fink 1971: 197-200. The text is very badly preserved; Fink did not translate the text.

184 Töpfer 2011: 65-67, 79. An almost perfectly preserved aquila was discovered by metal detectorists near Pons Aluti, Dacia Inferior in early 2018.

185 See also: Heidenreich 2013: 50.

186 Zehetner 2009: 147, abb.5. However, the representation of the *signifer* from Apamea is a funerary monument, probably fixed on a funerary inscription.

to believe that the statue base held a monumental representation of a silver eagle.[187] If it really did support a statue then it could have represented various divinities (most probably Jupiter[188] or Mars), the emperor or the personification of *the Genius legionis*.[189] A new theory suggested a mobile statue or representation of the eagle, similar to some Egyptian analogies, although there is no archaeological proof for this.[190]

Because the text mentions a tetrastyle building, the monument could also be the base of a column.[191] Building a tetrastyle entrance in sanctuaries was a quite common act of euergetism, with numerous examples all over the Empire, predominantly in Rome,[192] however it is difficult to identify similar buildings in archaeological contexts. A possible *tetrastylum* was identified in Lambaesis, but numerous iconographic representations suggest the existence of this in military context and at the *aedes signorum*.[193] The case of the Apulum would be one of the few examples where epigraphy and archaeology can exemplify an architectural phenomenon. Due to the current state of the research, we have no further data about the architectural elements and structures identified during the excavation of the *aedes*.

The *aedes signorum* was a sacralised space with a rich variation of architectural elements (I.5.). The best-preserved analogies show the existence of podium, steps, colonnade (tetrastyle entrance), door, paved floor, plinth or pedestals, and the presence of the sacred symbols of the Legion.[194] As in most of the sacralised spaces, the interior played a much more important role than the exterior. The interior was the place of divine presence. The exterior was the symbol of wealth, peace, fortune, and the power of the legion and their officers. The monumentality of the *aedes* represented the stability of the Empire. The door and the entrance, as the passage between the two worlds, represent a very important element in this case too.

Another monument which serves as an important source for the strict relationship of military morale and religion in the fort was found in 1952 (**Fig. 15.**):[195]

Figure 15. Altar or statue base of P. Catius Sabinus from the fort of Apulum (photo: author)

Dis Penatibus Lari/bus Militaribus Lari / Viali Neptuno Saluti / Fortunae Reduci / (A)esculapio Dianae / Apollini Herculi / Spei Fa(v)ori P(ublius) Catius / Sabinus trib(unus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)

Identified as a statue base, the monument is a mid-sized, very rudimentarily elaborated monument, with an unusually large corona.[196] The statue is again missing and, as in the other case, it seems to be very hard to identify what it represented.[197]

The exact place of its discovery is not known, the first publisher only mentioned an approximate location,[198] but the site is very close to the recently found part of the Principia. In comparison with the other inscriptions found near the Principia, this is by far the most rudimentary monument, which can indicate that

[187] There are numerous statue bases attested in the Principia, however few of them have an exact topography: Sarnowski 1989: 108, fig. 3; Stoll 1992: 313-314; Heidenreich 2013: 40, 46.
[188] Jupiter statues could appear in numerous places in the fort, but most of them were found in the territory of the Principia: Stoll 1992: 186-187, 238-239.
[189] Stoll 1992: 613.
[190] Reddé 2011: 624-629.
[191] For analogy, see: IDR III/5, 210.
[192] CIL III 164, CIL II 2008; AÉ 1920, 95; AÉ 1947, 59; AÉ 2010, 1814; CIL VIII 7108; CIL VIII 7126; CIL VIII 19418; CIL XIV 2416. Most of the inscriptions came from rich, highly Romanised provinces, such as Numidia, Gallia and Rome itself.
[193] Reddé 2011: 624-625.
[194] Heidenreich 2013: 41. See his fn. 18.
[195] IDR III/5, 299.
[196] As the monument is installed now between two iron supports, it is impossible to analyse its superior part.
[197] There is no hierarchy of divinities mentioned on the inscription. If it was indeed a statue base it could represent the *Genius Legionis*, Victoria Augusta, the Salus of the Emperor, or Septimius Severus himself.
[198] Crișan 1954: 603.

it was unfinished or ordered urgently.[199] The dedicator is P. Catius Sabinus,[200] a well-known personality of the Severan age who will play a key role in the history of the Empire in the first two decades of the 3rd century AD. A faithful and loyal servant of Septimus Severus and the Severan dynasty,[201] P. Catius Sabinus was in his early career as *tribunus legionis XIII Geminae* when he arrived in Apulum around 197 AD. The exact occasion of his religious act is unknown, however the motivation is quite clear: expressing the loyalty of the army, the officers and himself towards the recently elected emperor after an extraordinary event, probably the successful return from a war (perhaps the Civil War from 193-197 AD or the Parthian War of 198-199 AD). The dedication of this monument could even have taken place as part of a military triumph, or for one of the major military festivals of the Feriale Militum.[202] In any case, it was a public event with the participation of all the officers, soldiers and civilians,[203] which emphasised the importance of Sabinus' dedication.

The text itself is extremely interesting. Crowded with rudimentary lines and letters in a small epigraphic field (*c.* 35 x 40 cm)[204] the text involves 12 divinities and personifications: Dii Penates, Lares militares, Lares viales, Neptunus, Salus, Fortuna Redux, Aesculapius, Diana, Apollo, Hercules, Spes, and Favor.[205] Enrolling numerous personifications and divinities together represents similar needs to the *sive deus dive dea* or *dis deabusque immortalibus* formulae, however keeping a traditional, even archaic, nature of worship.[206] This tendency represents a much elaborated and consciously built religious propaganda involving Sabinus, as part of his familial heritage and religious tradition.[207] The 12 divinities and the dedication itself has in this sense, two messages, as a public monument: immortalising the name and fame of the family of the *Catii* and serving the emperor and military morale, as a duty of a young senator in military position.[208] The senatorial power is elegantly combined with the religious duty of a loyal, military officer in time of crisis. The enumeration of the divinities – similar to a *carmen* or *vota publica*[209] – was not spontaneously chosen, but built up with special purpose for special events, such as the *vota annua pro salute Imperatoris* or *vota extraordinaria*. The inscription could be interpreted as a 'thanksgiving' prayer[210] or a ritual 'reaction' and reply to a *vota extraordinaria* in a military context. A personal thanksgiving of Sabinus himself and his soldiers who fought with him on the side of the emperor, keeping him and the Empire alive. The dual nature (individual and communal) of the prayer-inscription is reflected by the nature of the gods and personifications (Italic divinities, some of them, such as Neptunus, Hercules, Penates, appearing in other inscriptions of Sabinus and his family, combined with military divinities, such as Lares militares). However, this very consciously built enrollment of divinities is more than just an individual list or 'pantheon' with public aspects. It is a sacralised narrative and an immortalised, shorter version of a prayer. The divinity list represents the chronological time-line of a military mission, from leaving their home (Dis Penates), under the auspices and protection of the military divinities (Lares militares), travelling on dangerous roads (Lares Viales) and seas (Neptunus), then fighting for the health and maintenance of the Empire (Salus), they escape from the war with great fortune (Fortuna Redux). The association of Aesculapius-Diana-Apollo can suggest a local characterisation from Apulum, where the three divinities were attested in the same healing sanctuary-complex.[211] Their presence in the list represent an emphasised nature and importance of healing gods and divinities, probably invoked in the *vota extraordinaria* before they left the fort. During their mission they were protected and supported by Hercules, Spes and Favour. The hypothesis that this inscription was an immortalised version of a loudly presented, oral prayer is argued by Sabinus' own, personal tendency for poetic, narrative epigraphy. His two inscriptions from Rome and Ostia also contain a religious narrative, as a specific form of prayer.[212]

Although the exact place and circumstances of the dedication is unknown, the statue base with its small-sized statue was surely installed in the Principia, which means the implication and presence of the officers and soldiers too. The text also suggests a communal act in the name of the whole vexillation. Sabinus'

[199] Another argument could be that it was painted or decorated with organic materials, the rudimentary work of the lapidarius or the devoter had very limited finances – however a *tribunus laticlavius* – who later became a governor of Noricum – would hardly suffer from financial problems, especially when the statue base was erected in such a public and important place as the Principia.

[200] PIR^2 C 571; CIL III 5727; AÉ 2002, 1218. For his *cursus honorum*, see: Mennen 2011: 93.

[201] Várhelyi 2010: 93, 120.

[202] Sorrosal 2013: 48-56.

[203] A military triumph and festival was also a major economic event in the life of the conurbation, actively involving the commercial groups of the settlement and numerous other extra-*castram legionis* spaces, such as the amphitheatre, streets and sanctuaries.

[204] Probably the text was more visible in antiquity due to its colours. There are numerous cases from Apulum where the red of the inscriptions is preserved. See also: Ciobanu 2013.

[205] Long 1987: 233. It is important to mention, however, that the best analogies from Dacia enroll 13 divinities, which suggests that the number is more a personal choice and not necessarily a dogmatised one. Bărbulescu 2003: 193-196.

[206] The motif of 12 altars and 12 divinties appears numerous times in Roman mythology: Bărbulescu 2003: 25, fn. 9; Long 198: 232-233. In Lavinium there are 13 altars: Holloway 2014: 131.

[207] Originally a Plebeian family, the *gens Catia* reached the highest levels of Roman aristocracy mostly on military merits, legitimised by religious propaganda and genealogy: Mennen 2011: 50-55. Many of his offspring continued to dedicate altars to Italic divinities, especially Neptunus and Hercules in Rome and Ostia.

[208] Bărbulescu 2003: 195.

[209] Piso 2005b: 39-50.

[210] On the problem of Roman prayer, see: Patzelt 2018.

[211] See Chapter II.7.

[212] Várhelyi 2010: 98, 120.

monument is a very important and quite rare example of combining traditional (Italic) Roman-Senatorial religion with individual and opportunist tendencies in times of crisis.

Between moral individuality and lived experience: further case studies

The exact place of the Praetorium is unknown, but the epigraphic material and the internal evolution and urbanisation of the fort suggest that the most important and monumental buildings were situated in the central area of the fort, probably next to each other, as at Carnuntum.[213] The inscriptions associated with the Praetorium of Apulum[214] show a more personalised presence of the religious acts of the *legati legionis* and their household. Some notable examples can be emphasised; however, without knowing the exact context, we cannot talk at all about rituals and spatial arrangement in these cases.

The dedication of Olus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus[215] is worth mentioning because of its individual aspect (**Fig.16**.):[216]

> *Caelesti Augustae / et Aesculapio Au/gusto et Genio / Carthaginis et / Genio Daciarum / Olus(!) Terentius / Pudens Uttedi/anus leg(atus) Augg(ustorum) / leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) leg(atus) / Augg(ustorum) pro praet(ore) / [p]rovinciae R(a)e/tiae*

Originating probably from Carthage, with Punic origins, he became *legatus Augusti pro praetorae* of Raetia during the age of Septimius Severus[217] and, after 198, *legatus legionis XIII Geminae* in Apulum, where he lived for some years in the first decade of the 3rd century AD. The statue base[218] has no exact topography, probably Ariosti itself found it already in a secondary position. The more personal and individualised nature of the inscription could suggest that it was erected in the Praetorium of the fort.[219] He dedicated the monument – one of the largest found in the territory of the fort – to Caelestis Augusta, Aesculapius Augustus, Genius Carthaginis and Genius Daciarum. Under the name of Caelestis Augusta and Aesculapius Augustus he

Figure 16. Statue base or altar of Olus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus (photo: Ortolf Harl - lupa 6737)

venerated the Romanised versions of Caelestis Tanit and Eshmun. The epithet of Caelestis Augusta appears numerous times in Africa but also in other provinces, especially from the beginning of the 3rd century AD, attributed mostly to the personal favour of Septimius Severus.[220] Her association with Aesculapius-Eshmun is very common in Africa, reflecting also a partially mentioned, local triad, but can also suggest an apotropaic aspect of the divinity.[221] The presence of the Genius Carthaginis is a rarity, which emphasises the *origo* of the dedicant and his powerful local identity, as a Punic. If the monument was erected in the Praetorium, it was accessible and visible for a reduced and more intimate, personal group, namely the family and

213 The territorial distribution of the buildings on the map by Visconti shows clearly a significant, unbuilt area, which later became the Custozza Park. The territory of the area fits with that of the example from Carnuntum (*c.* 150 x 70 m). On the size and position of the *praetorium castra legionis*, see: Petrikovits 1975: 43-44.

214 Heidenreich 2013: 105-106.

215 For his career, see: PIR[1] T 65; Piso 1993a: 251-252.

216 IDR III/5, 41.

217 Farkas 2015.

218 Piso defines it as an 'altar or statue base', however, the form and size of the corona suggest that it was a pedestal. It is almost identical with CIL III 1063=IDR III/5, 184, also identified as a statue base.

219 The location of the Praetorium is not established, however Heidenreich attributed to this building numerous inscriptions: Heidenreich 2013: 105-106.

220 On the evolution and interpretation of Caelestis-Tanit, see: Cadotte 2007: 83-84.

221 Cadotte 2007: 92, 93, 99; Wittenberg 2014. See also: Tertullianus, *Apologetic*, 23.6. It could be also related to the general tendencies of popularity of salutiferous divinities in the time of Caracalla.

administrative staff of the *legatus*, many of them being probably also of Punic origin.[222] The inscription is, first of all, an act of personal and highly individualised piety of the *legatus* himself, as a private worshiper of his *dii patrii*.[223] Due to his official title and important role as military leader and official representative of Rome and Imperial power, he intentionally hurries to mention next to his indigenous gods also the Genius Daciarum, spirit and divine personification of the province where he served. The association of Caelestis-Aesculapius-Genius Daciarum represents practically the itinerary of his divine protection and 'career', from Africa to Dacia, and reflects also a general tendency for the popularity of *dii patrii* from North Africa in the time of Septimius Severus, as an act of faith and loyalty for the Imperial house.[224]

Another case shows the Imperial loyalty of Caius Aurelius Sigillius,[225] a *tribunus angusticlavius*, and a very important example for the influence of the emperors on religious, Imperial tendencies (**Fig.17**.)*:*[226]

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et ceteris diis / deabusque im/mortalibus et Da/ciae / pro salute domi/ni n(ostri) M(arci) Aur(elii) Antoni/ni Pii Felicis Aug(usti) n(ostri) / C(aius) Aur(elius) Sigillius trib(unus) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) Antonini/anae prid(ie) Non(as) April(es) / Laeto II et Cerialae co(n)s(ulibus)*

The exact placement of the monument is unknown, however, the few analogies of inscriptions dedicated by *tribunii angusticlavi* suggest the Praetorium or a small room within the Principia, as we find at Lambaesis.[227] If it were a statue base then it was higher than an average Roman soldier,[228] however the exact type of monument is hard to establish.[229] The statue bases found in the Principia of *castra legionis I Italicae* in Novae show a more

Figure 17. Altar or statue base of Caius Aurelius Sigillius (photo: Ortolf Harl - lupa 11522)

concentrated area, where possible religious activities were undertaken.[230]

The monument of Sigillius was erected on April 4th, AD 215, celebrating the birthday of Caracalla.[231] Although the emperor was born probably on April 4, AD 188, on a Dies Iovis, he preferred to celebrate his day on a Dies Lunae, changing his date of birth to AD 186.[232] This monument, however, keeps the memory of a very different event and circumstance. When Caracalla probably visited Dacia – and the *castra legionis XIII Geminae* in Apulum – in the second half of AD 213, he was already suffering from an unknown illness.[233]

[222] On the presence of the African groups and militaries in Dacia, see: Piso 1993b.

[223] The exact reason of the dedication – as in the majority of votive inscriptions – Is not mentioned or revealed by the text. The inscription has no closing formula. The dating of the inscription suggests a quite peaceful period, the association of Aesculapius-Caelestis-Genius Daciarum represents here more an act of official service, his 'divine' career, and protection from his home to the furthest lands. For an analogy of African divinities worshiped in Potaissa, see: Bărbulescu 2003: 203-204.

[224] On the religious tendencies and the official religious ideology of Septimius Severus, see: Dal Covolo-Rinaldi 1999: 187-272; Swain *et al.* 2007: 401-502; Ando 2012: 122-146; Mráv 2013: 205-241. On the religious life of the senators in this time, see: Várhelyi 2010: 143.

[225] OPEL IV, 80. See also: CIL XVI 131.

[226] IDR III/5, 184. See also: Heidenreich 2013: 192, fn. 30.

[227] Heidenreich 2013: 504.

[228] Roth (1999: 9-14) defines it between 162 and 172 cm; however recent archaeological studies show a much wider variety than this.

[229] The inscription is a votive one, but with no ending formula and erected for the health (*pro salute*) of the emperor. It is possible that the statue on the base was a full-size bronze or marble representation of Caracalla, or a marble statue of the divinity. A counter argument for the type is the actual size (instead of 180 cm, as appears in IDR and the later catalogues, it is only 108 cm) and the missing traces of any statue installation.

[230] Sarnowski 2003: 67.

[231] Kienast 1997: 162.

[232] On Caracalla's own astronomic interests and religious policy, see: Palmer 1978: 1119; Alföldy 1996: 9-36; Berrens 2004: 48-53; Mennen 2006: 262-267; Manders 2012: 234-235. See also: Królczyk 2011: 203.

[233] On his illness: Cassius Dio 77, 15, 5-7 and 78, 15, 3. The beginning of his illness was dated to AD 213: Chaniotis 2010: 118; Sommer 2010;

This phenomenon marked the religious policy of his reign after AD 213, favouring the cult of Apollo from Claros,[234] Apollo Grannus, Apollo Conservator, and the salutiferous Isiac divinities, such as Serapis – also venerated inside the Principia of Apulum.[235] Although in this period the oracles and megatheist tendency within the so-called 'second paganism' was already popular,[236] his illness and personality highly influenced the spread of these religious phenomena. The spread of the *dis deabusque et ceteribus* and *dis deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clarii Apollinis* inscriptions are related particularly to his illness and this religious phenomenon.[237]

If we accept that the emperor visited Dacia, and probably Apulum, in AD 213[238] then the dedication of Sigillius follows a very important event in the history of the city and the military community. Some of the loyal officers were enthusiastic at seeing, or at least hearing about, the close presence of the emperor,[239] who increased the budget of the army by 50%,[240] representing himself on coins in military armour[241] and appearing often with his highly popular mother, named as *mater castrorum*.[242] Described by the highly critical literary tradition as a small, sick, and fratricidal emperor, the popularity and judgment of Caracalla within the army is problematic to reconstruct.[243] In any case, an Imperial visit and the illness of Caracalla represents a major element in the life of the Roman army, as a community.[244] An ill emperor was not only an ill body, which needed the *Salus* and divine interaction for his own, personal health, but also an omen for the sound principles and order of the Empire.[245] Erecting an altar or statue for the health of the emperor was an act of loyalty, faith and propaganda. It reflected not only the personal knowledge, social status and financial possibilities of an officer, but represents a duty by him, as protector of the 'healthy' image of his emperor.[246] Sigillius' dedication is very similar to the monument erected by C. Egrilius Fuscianus beneficiarus of Subatianus Proculus from Numidia, Djemila (AÉ 1916, 29),[247] dated April 4, AD 210. Although the Numidian monument was dedicated to the emperor before his illness, the monumentality of the statue suggests his imposing role, in a space accessible probably by numerous other officers and also soldiers, serving as a messenger of Imperial propaganda and religious tendency.[248]

We do not know whether the monuments with the *et ceteris dis deabusque* formula were erected after an official, Imperial announcement,[249] or just as part of a regular *Feriale Militum*, where the *Dies Natalis Imperatoris* was one of the most important elements of the military calendar.[250] In any case, a *tribunus angusticlavius* surely must be attended by a high officer, or even the *legatus legionis*, at the sacrificial (*supplicatio* or more probably *immolatio*) and inauguration act of the altar or statue base, accompanied also by numerous soldiers and auxiliary personnel, as the frescoes of Dura Europos show. The formula also appears on numerous inscriptions in Dacia,[251] but it is also related to the reconstruction and probably the monumentalisation of the Asklepieion from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[252] The possible visit of the emperor to Dacia and Apulum could be related to the reconstruction and restoration of numerous other monuments and buildings of the conurbation, such as the walls of the fort or the Praetorium Consularis.[253]

Rowan 2012: 115-119; Hofender 2013: 101-111; Heinzmann 2014. On his visit in Dacia: Szabó 2003: 139-150; Opreanu 2016.

234 Birley 1974: 511-513; Nemeti 2012: 92-93.

235 Mráv 2000: 67-97; Deac-Varga 2014: 15. It is unclear if the three altars found in 1878 in the glacis of the Vauban fort came from the Praetorium Consularis or from the Principia. The recently found Serapis altars within the *castra legionis* could suggest that the IDR III/5 317-319 were found also in the Principia. In any case, it is clear evidence for the loyalty of the high-ranking officers from Apulum towards the Severan dynasty and their 'up-to-date' religious tendency, as attested in numerous places in the city, such as the Principia and the possible Serapaeum in the Praetorium Consularis. For the inscriptions and excavation from the Principia, see above. See also Chapter: II.6.

236 Chaniotis-Chiai 2007: 118-120; Mitchell-Nuffelen 2010; Chaniotis 2010: 112-140; Nemeti 2012: 74-87, 92; Lindner 2014: 21-36.

237 Nemeti 2012: 92-93 with all previous bibliography.

238 Besides the recently found honorary inscriptions dedicated to Caracalla and his mother in the Principia of Apulum, there are at least nine inscriptions dated between the period of AD 213 and 215 from Porolissum (AÉ 1944, 51; AÉ 1958, 230, 231= AÉ 2005, 1290; AÉ 1979, 491) Napoca (AÉ 1960, 226), Ampelum (AÉ 1959, 308=AÉ 2003, 1512), Arcob(ad)ara (CIL III 795, 796). With the exception of the votive inscriptions erected in urban context in Napoca, Ampelum and Apulum, the others came from military contexts and are honorary building plaques, remembering the restoration of the *castra* or some parts of it. Probably the same happened in the case of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae* in Apulum. The inscriptions found in 2011 in scandalous circumstances are not published. Some of them are on show to the public in the new museum of the Principia (since September 2014).

239 On the ideological importance of the physical presence of the emperors in the army: Hekster 2007: 96, fn. 19.

240 Campbell 1994: 23.

241 Manders 2012: 243.

242 Levick 2007: 93-94; Langford 2013: 23-24. On the title as an element of the military Imperial policy, see: Speidel 2012a: 127-152.

243 Phang 2008: 188, fns. 198 and 199, with further bibliography.

244 The notion itself is problematic. Imposed by I. Haynes and A. Goldsworthy, their work was later severely criticised: Campbell 2004.

245 Hekster 2007: 91, fn. 1. On body, power and illness as important factors in the religiosity of the elite, see: Várhelyi 2010: 78, citing Foucault and Perkins.

246 Speidel 2012b: 182-183.

247 *Marti Aug(usto) / sacr(um) / pro salute dd[d(ominorum)] / nnn(ostrorum) Augg[g](ustorum) / C(aius) Egrilius / Fuscianus / b(ene) f(iciarius) Subatiani / Proculi leg(ati) / Augg[g](ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) / co(n)s(ulis) desig(nati) / adiutor prin/cipis praetori / scribatu / Horati / Viatoris et Didi / Aprilis // Posita / pr(idie) Non(as) Apr(iles) / Faustino et / Rufino co(n)s(ulibus)*

248 Fuscianus' inscription is dedicated to Mars as a military divinity.

249 Nemeti 2012: 97.

250 Herz 2002: 82.

251 See also CIL III 1060=IDR III/5, 183: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ceterisque diis / deabusque immor/talibus / T(itus) Iul(ius) Gaianus d[e] c(urio) c(oloniae) / Sarmiz(egetusae) pro sal(ute) sua / suorumque / omnium posuit*

252 See Chapter II.7.

253 Moga 1998: 31.

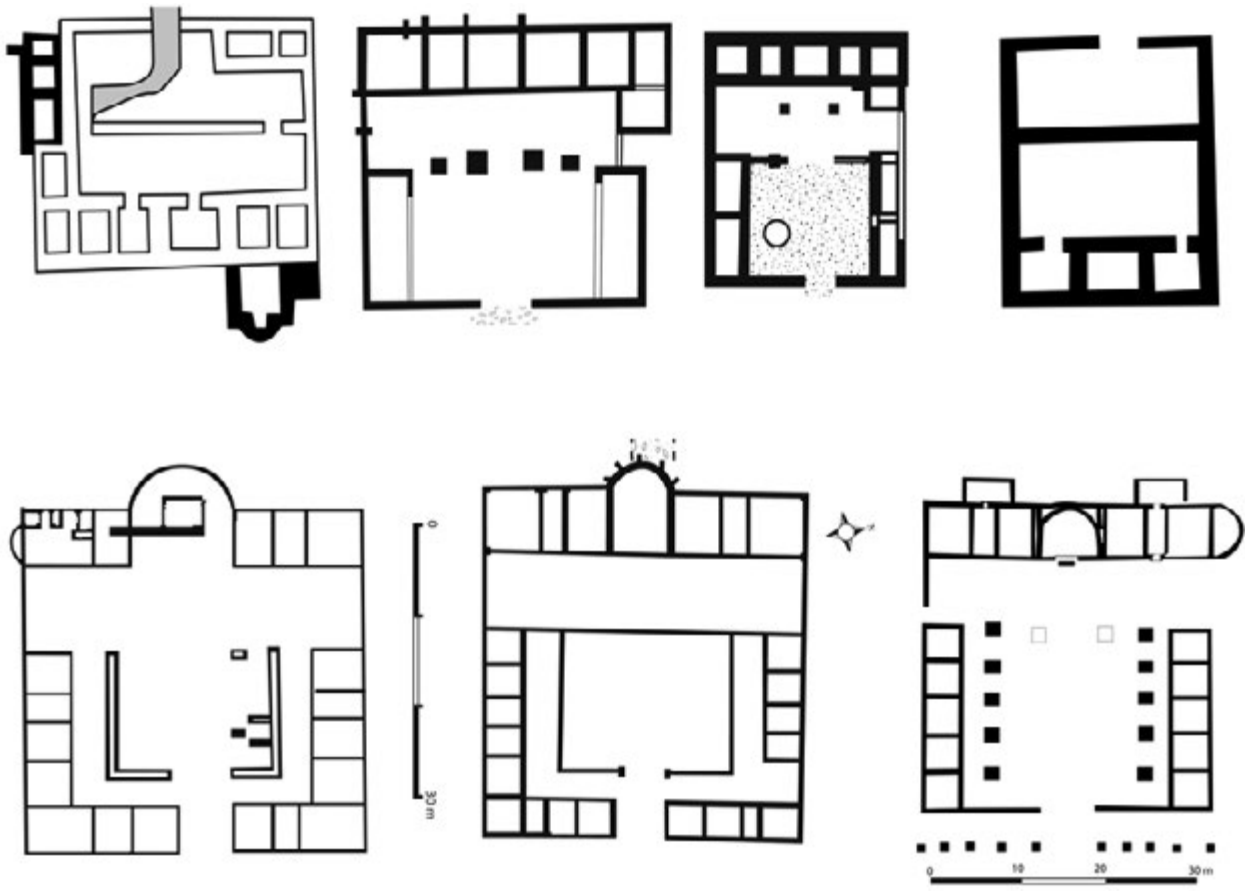

Figure18. Principia buildings from Dacia: aedes with apsidal and rectangular forms (based on Marcu 2009)

The two case studies from Apulum show the regular religious activities of two officers, who are probably following certain military 'feriale',[254] but interpreting the loyalty for the emperor and the regular Roman holidays in a unique way, transforming it into an individualised, personal act. Some of the events within the fort were determined by extreme or unusual events, such as the illness of the emperor, war, or special festivals, triumphs, or, possibly, by an Imperial visit.

For religious communications at the micro-level of officers' personal objects we need a more detailed analysis of the small finds (terracotta objects, small bronze statuettes, *aerulae*, precious stones and amulets) from the Praetorium and other, semi-domestic or private spaces.[255] From Apulum there is no evidence for the domestic religious communications of the high-ranking officers.[256]

The case study of Apulum in the context of the recent historiography shows that the notion of *religio castrensis* cannot be used from now on. The few cases where we can reconstruct the original topographic context of the finds show a much more dynamic presence of second-rank officers, such as the *primipili* or equestrian order. The most representative site, the *aedes signorum,* was a place of self-representation for the elite, having a similar function as the city forum: its monumentalisation during the Severan age represented the general urban policy of the dynasty, and the activities carried out in this highly sacralised place had an important impact in shaping and maintaining the religious piety of the soldiers (**fig.18**). The activities of the officers dominated the forts, creating a large variety of moral and representative religious individuality. Their role in this case was similar to the priests in civic society. They represented the link between divine and profane, serving also as role models for soldiers. Many of them, however, elegantly combined their public, communal role with their personal and individual taste and faith, transforming the religious act itself into a personalised devotion. Therefore, the Roman fort as space for religious communication was less different than other spaces of urban contexts. Modern historiographic notions, such as *religio militum* and *religio castrensis*

[254] It is generally agreed that the *Ferialum Duranum* is mostly a local case and each army or fort had its own religious traditions and calendars. See: Reeves 2005; Hekster-Zair 2008: 127ff. For another opinion: Lozano 2011: 153-155; Rüpke 2014: 143, 273.

[255] Stoll 1992: 101, fn. 731, with all the bibliography til then. Heidenreich misses this aspect from his book, focusing mostly on the stone monuments and inscriptions of the forts.

[256] The archaeological contexts of the finest bronze statuettes and gemstones from Dacia (generally, Romania) are unknown.

emphasised the difference and uniqueness of the fort, as a space for religious communication and the Roman army, as a specific social entity in space sacralisation. The detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence, and the large number of local religious appropriations within the Roman forts, shows a different account.

II.4. The omnipresent god: locating Jupiter

Since the seminal work of J. Rufus Fears *On Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology,*[257] there has been no better synthesis written on the topic.[258] Even the notion of 'the cult of Jupiter' became an anachronism. Today, the countless variations of *interpretatio antiqua* (*romana*, *greaca*, *celtica*, etc.)[259] expressed in epithets, iconography, and ritual forms appropriated countless Jupiters in Rome itself[260] and especially in the provinces.

The historiography focused on the origins of the cult of Jupiter Capitolinus as part of the Capitoline triad,[261] the variations and syncretism of Jupiter in the city of Rome and in the provinces,[262] the iconographic types and endless variations of Imperial and local typologies of the cult.[263] Fears stated in his long analysis that, 'the study of the cult of Jupiter in the imperial period [...] offers the most obviously fruitful path for future research into our topic... [Careful] collation of the mass of epigraphic material would do much to dispel the still current notion that the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the provinces was observed entirely by imperial officials and soldiers and that such observation was a manifestation of patriotic loyalty rather than a sign of true piety and devotion to the godhead.'[264] His statement was followed by the study by Barton[265] and later by numerous other works of similar length focusing on the particularities of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in various provinces and cities.[266] Most of the studies on the provincial aspects of the cult, however, repeated the results of Fears and other relevant studies on the Iovian cult,[267] presenting the epigraphic and iconographic evidence, the short descriptions of the temples,[268] and the social status of the worshippers and, usually, interpreting the cult strictly in relation with the Capitoline triad. Recently, some studies focus on the topography and spatial distribution of the finds in Rome[269] and some provincial cities.[270] This tendency in the research not only abandoned the concept of Jupiter, as the foremost example of religious syncretism and pluralism of the Roman Empire, and the most successful incorporation of 'Reichsreligion',[271] but (re)created numerous 'cults of Jupiter', sometimes with the method of 'sophisticated intellectualism'.[272] As Fears pointed out, Jupiter, as a universal god, became strictly associated with Imperial power, military virtue and the body and numen of the emperor himself.[273] Highlighting the three main aspects of the cult (military, Imperial ideology, emperor worship), Fears pointed out that the public and ideological aspect of the cult exposed by the Imperial and local authorities were shaded by the most significant part of the materiality: his private worship. Fears even exemplifies this with the case study of Dacia.[274] Using a highly anachronistic language, he stated, that 'religious feeling and patriotism are not mutually exclusive',[275] and this can be explained by the great number of *ex votos.*

It is not surprising in this context that Romanian research focused on the cult of Jupiter in a provincial or urban scale as the ultimate example and incarnation of the Imperial Cult.[276] Most of these studies focused on the social distribution of the worshippers,[277] on variations of the main iconographic types,[278] and on the temples dedicated to Jupiter.[279] For a long time,

[257] Fears 1981: 3-141.

[258] This can be explained by new trends in the historiography of Roman religious studies, which no longer focus on synthesis, but more on atomising religious experience: Philips 2007; Rives 2010; Szabó 2014d. It is important to mention that even the latest companions and syntheses on Roman religion chose the cults of Jupiter as the ultimate example of Roman religious communication: i.e. Rüpke 2014: 170.

[259] Nemeti 2005: 39-78, 219-221.

[260] LTUR.

[261] Fears 1981: 7-34.

[262] Fears 1981: 97-107; Nemeti 2005: 219-221.

[263] Fears 1981: 80-97; Fishwick 2004: 241-243.

[264] Fears 1981: 135.

[265] Barton 1982: 259-342.

[266] Hoys 1984: 83-185; Chaisemartin 2004; Ante 2005; Glavas 2011; Blanchard 2015.

[267] Mostly, the influential works of U. Bianchi (1950: 349-415) and R. Bartoccini (1941: 240-262).

[268] Few of the Jupiter Capitolinus temples were ever excavated properly: Paulovics 1940; Piso *et al.* 2012.

[269] Palombi 2013.

[270] Jerala 2011; Kremer 2012.

[271] On the transformation of the concept of religious pluralism, see: Woolf 2009: 23; Rüpke 2010: 749-752.

[272] On this notion, see: Gordon 2014.

[273] Fears 1981: 100.

[274] Fears 1981: 101, fns 494 and 495. Unfortunately, he uses as reference the old work of Jones (1929), which was for a long time the only reference for the Anglo-Saxon speaking scholars on the religious life of the province.

[275] Fears based his statement on another short statement of Nock from 1934, who affirms that 'the touchstone of piety in antiquity as...made in recognition of supposed deliverance in some invisible manner from sickness or other peril': Fears 1981: 103, fn. 504.

[276] Citing the seminal work of M. Bărbulescu on so called Graeco-Roman cults, S. Nemeti affirms: 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus is presented in the Trajanic province as the main and absolute divinity, who in the quality of the high god of the state and symbol of the imperial ideology, get numerous dedications, exterior manifestations of civic piety in concordance with the contractualist nature of the Roman religion' – Nemeti 2005: 223. See also: Bărbulescu 1985: 37; Bodor 1989: 1082-1091.

[277] Especially in military context: Popescu 2004; Ștefănescu 2005: 501-509; Nemeti 2005: 222.

[278] BRRD II: 153-167; Ota 2013: 63-79.

[279] Pescaru-Alicu 2000. The book identifies temples dedicated to Jupiter based only on the epigraphic evidence and discusses the topic very briefly, not even citing Barton's important work of 1982. In 2000, there were no temples of the Roman Jupiter attested archaeologically. D. Alicu already stated that there must have been numerous temples

the extremely high number of dedications to Jupiter in Dacia (almost 400 monuments)[280] was explained only in terms of civic piety, the loyalty of the soldiers and magistrates, and the identification of Jupiter with one of the so-called 'tutelary divinities' of the province.[281] Recently, the phenomenon has also been interpreted in terms of religious syncretism, where the popularity of Jupiter was explained with his flexible nature for *interpretatio romana.*[282]

Despite the numerous existent studies on the topic and the lack of new material, the case study of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Apulum still offers an intriguing source for analysing the lived Roman religion in an urban context. The fact that almost half of the materiality of the cult from the whole province is concentrated in a single conurbation, creates numerous questions about the nature of the cult and the reasons of his popularity in the context of similar, recently analysed cases of Poetovio, Carnuntum or Aquincum.[283] Similarly, the spatial variety and omnipresence of the divinity dissolve the old-fashioned view which tried to find exclusive 'Capitoline temples' for each of the great Jupiter statues and the concentration of Jupiter altars.[284]

Jupiters everywhere: the topography of the finds

Less, than 10% (20 monuments) of the epigraphic and statuary material dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or the Capitoline triad can be located with certainty on a map of ancient Apulum, and at least a further 35 with reasonable approximation.[285] Surprisingly, only one monument dedicated to Jupiter was discovered in an archaeologically attested sanctuary:[286] located in a Mithraeum (III.13.).[287] The 20 monuments with an attested topography were concentrated in three main locations: the palace of the governor (I.8.)[288], the *aedes principiorum*,[289] with an approximately limited (300 x 200 m) area in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, which can be interpreted as the area of the Forum, with a Jupiter temple or multiple other sanctuaries; this area needs more careful attention.

Figure 19. Statue of Jupiter from Apulum
(photo: Ortolf Harl - lupa 17354)

The tendency to concentrate many of the Jupiter-related finds within an imaginary sanctuary and find a centralised, public space for Jupiter worship existed already in the literature of the 19th century, especially in the seminal work of Gooss and Király.[290] Recreating the inventory of a temple without the proof of systematic excavations, based only on the approximate topography of the finds, was the usual practice and methodology of the discipline for a long time. This methodology recreated fictional temple interiors and rituals, even in some well-attested Roman environments, such as the case of Pompeii.[291] The existence of temples dedicated exclusively to Jupiter or the Capitoline triad was affirmed numerous times by Romanian historiography, although the analysis was based mostly on the epigraphic material[292] or

dedicated to Jupiter: Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 127-130, 149-150.

280 The most complete corpus is still the unpublished thesis of M. Bărbulescu (1985: 21-38). The Heidelberg Epigraphic Database contains around 370 inscriptions (figurative and non-figurative) from the province. Several other fragmentarily preserved monuments are known from all around the province. In the lack of a complete CSIR corpus for Dacia, the figurative, non-epigraphic representations of Jupiter have remained uncollected since 1985.

281 An idea promoted by A. Domaszewski and followed by numerous scholars even today: Piso 2010. See also: Fears 1981: 83-84.

282 Fears 1981: 104-105; Nemeti 2005: 223-224. On the problems regarding the notion of *interpretatio*, see: Bonnet 2013: 43.

283 Jerala 2011; Kremer 2012. The case study of Aquincum is being undertaken by Ádám Szabó. See also: Tit.Aq.I.

284 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 149-151.

285 See DMA. Szabó 2016b.

286 IDR III/5: 141: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Cl(audius) Nic(---) / b(eneficiarius) v(otum) s(olvit).*

287 IDR III/5: 135*: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Aur(elius) Ia[n]u/arius [b(ene) f(iciarius)?] / co(n)s(ularis) / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit).* See Chapter II.8.

288 For a detailed analysis of the palace as sacralised space, see Chapter II.6.

289 See Chapter II.3.

290 Gooss 1878; Király 1892.

291 On the critique of the methodology, see: Andringa 2012: 83-118. On false or imagined provincial *capitolia* see: Quinn-Wilson 2013.

292 IDR III/5: 153: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) pro salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septi/mi Severi Pertenacis Aug(usti) et Aurel(i) / Antonini Caesar(is) M(arcus) Iul(ius) Quirinus / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) ob honor(em) patro/nat(us) coll(egii) Pontobithynor(um) ianuas / et valuas ad introitum*

Figure 20-21. The dedications of the *Tapetii* from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (photo: Ortolf Harl - lupa 11504, 11505)

the existence of numerous Jupiter Tronans statues, interpreted as cult images (**Fig.19**.).[293] Unfortunately, none of the three inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter which mention the rebuilding of a temple have an exact provenience. Two of them in the 17th century were in a secondary position, while the latest, discovered in the first years of the 20th century on the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, was not documented properly.[294] It is important to mention, however, that the material, the *sculptatio*, and the paleography of the inscription, is almost identical to the later found inscription dedicated to Diana.[295]

A more detailed description of an exceptional discovery was made by Karl Gooss, history teacher and enthusiast of ancient history.[296] He mentioned the discovery of numerous altars and statue bases within a well-preserved building with monumental walls and ruins. Among the altars we find two carefully carved and rare examples with beautiful *volutae* and side-decorations (**Fig.20-21.**)[297]. These types of altars are rarely attested in Apulum or in the province.[298] Both were dedicated by family members of the Tapetius family (Aulus Tapetius Amethystus and Aulus Tapetius Epius), who must be closely related also to Aulus Tapetius Antoninus, known from a much earlier attested monument dedicated to Diana.[299] Piso suggested that the three monuments

templi fec(it). IDR III/5: 191: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Iunoni / Reginae / T(itus) Cl(audius) Anice/tus Aug(ustalis) / colon(iae) Sar(mizegetusae) / templum / vetustate / conlapsum / a solo restituit.* IDR III/5: 193: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Regin(ae) / pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur(eli) An/tonini Pii Aug(usti) et / Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris Aug(usti) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Mucianus mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) / horologiar(ium?) templum a solo ex voto / fecit Falcone et Claro cons(ulibus).*

293 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 127-130; Piso 2001: 128-129; Ota 2012; Ota 2013: 62-64.

294 Cserni 1904: 129-130.

295 IDR III/5: 52: *Deanae sacrum / T(itus) Fl(avius) Italicus prim(us) IIIIvir / mun(icipii) cum Statilia Lu/cia coniuge et Fl(avio) Sta/tiliano filio ex voto.* See: Szabó 2015e.

296 Gooss 1870: 62; Gooss 1873: 98-117. See also: Cserni 1901: 275. For a detailed analysis of the report by Gooss: Szabó 2015f.

297 IDR III/5: 167: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Aul(us) Tapetius / Amethystus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* IDR III/5: 168: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / A(ulus) Tapetius / Epius*.

298 See also IDR III/5: 80, 157. Mustața 2015: 321, fig. 8 and 9. It is possible that the similarity between the IDR III/5: 157 and the Tapetius altars just indicate the same workshop, not necessarily the same context or date. If they are related, then the area of the finds mentioned by Gooss must be in the western limits of the Colonia: Piso 2001: pl. III. nr. 11.

299 IDR III/5: 55: *Dianae / sacrum / pro salut(e) / A(uli) Tapeti(i) / Antonini / Tenax v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) m(erito).*

Figure 22. Dedication for Diana from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (photo: Ioan Piso, EDH)

came from the same site: a possible temple.[300] This could indicate that in the space where the three altars stood the worship of Diana and Jupiter was combined and practised. The exact location of this remarkable find, described in detail by Gooss, is hard to establish, although it is certain that it was intersected by the route of the modern railway, which presumes the north-west corner of the Municipium Aurelium (later Colonia Aurelia Apulensis) and the central area of the city too. Many of the statuary dedications to Jupiter were found also in this period, although with no precise topography.[301]

A more precisely documented discovery of a possible sanctuary was made in March, 1934 (II.4.). C. Daicoviciu mentions that a beautifully carved plaque dedicated to Diana sacrum by T. Flavius Italicus first IIIIvir of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensium (**Fig.22.**).[302] Another altar or statue base was dedicated by the same person to Jupiter,[303] as well as an altar dedicated to Deus Sol by L. Valerius Felix,[304] and a mid-sized statue of Jupiter tronans was found at 13 Gemenilor St in the garden of Gligor Sas.[305] The paleography and carving of the plaque is almost identical with the building inscription of Marcus Iulius Quirinus, patron of the *collegium Pontobithynorum* and *augustalis* of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (**Fig.23.**).[306] The territory where the four monuments were found (II.4.) corresponds with the recently identified Forum of the civil settlement,[307] which indicates the presence of a sanctuary too. The territory was already severely damaged in the 1930s when the discovery was made. Since than, the central area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis was completely destroyed and modified.[308]

It is important to note that there are similar cases of the Tapetius dedications in the garden of Gligor Sas, the monuments also being dedicated to Jupiter and Diana. The association of the two divinities – although they appear extremely rarely together on inscriptions or iconographic representations[309] – was highlighted already by Domaszewszki.[310] Based on the divinities on the arch of Beneventum, numerous scholars claimed that Diana was among the so-called tutelary divinities of the Trajanic province.[311] The presence of Ceres, Liber, and Diana with the Capitoline triad on the arch of Beneventum was interpreted by later authors as 'Trajan's courtship of both the upper and lower strata of society', Diana being member of a 'plebeian triad'.[312] This idea, interpreted as the official

300 Piso 2001a: 128-129.
301 Băluță 1980.
302 IDR III/5: 52.
303 IDR III/5: 144: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) Fl(avius) Itali/[cus] pri/mus IIIIvir / mun(icipii) Aur(eli) Ap(ulensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
304 IDR III/5, 351: *D(eo) S(oli) / L(ucius) Val(erius) Felix / v(otum) s(olvit)*.
305 Daicoviciu 1940: 305-306. The statue dissapeared already before 1980. See: Băluță 1980: 102, fn. 8.
306 IDR III/5: 153.
307 Ciobanu 2014: 515.
308 Szabó 2016a.
309 Bodor 1989: 1102. See also: Bărbulescu 1972.
310 Domaszewszki 1895: 52-56. The idea of tutelary gods of provinces is still to be found in the literature: Bennett 2003: 210. For a critique of this idea based on the numismatic evidence, see: Howgego *et al.* 2005: 170.
311 Fears 1981: 83-84.
312 Dorcey 1992: 97 citing E. Simon's slightly Marxist interpretation, although he already criticised this statement. See: Simon 1981.

Figure 23. Construction plaque of a sanctuary from Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (photo: Ioan Piso, EDH)

religious policy and introduced by Trajan to the new province, was criticized and abandoned recently.[313] Later, this association between the supreme god and Diana was understood as a local *interpretatio romana* of pre-Roman divinities, although our knowledge about Dacian religion is extremely poor.[314] The association of Diana with the imperial cult is also attested in the city,[315] which could be integrated also in this unusual, Diana-Jupiter cult.[316] While the historiography tried to homogenise the possibilities and answers as to why this fusion happened, one must ask the question: why is it not possible that the association of Diana (Augusta, Regina), as a highly syncretistic divinity and Moon goddess, replaced the role of Juno and reflected a local, individual tendency of the groups or even individuals from Apulum? A similar, very individualized 'pantheon' was attested recently in the cases of Ostia and Pompeii, where the worship of the most 'unusual' *synnaoi theoi* reflects the presence of local mythologies and urban religious narratives (see also I.27 and I.40).[317] The formation of provincial religious narratives expressed in epigraphy and iconography is a missing point of the research, which can be exemplified with such rare cases.[318]

Another important concentration of finds was attested in the end of the 1970s when the south-western part of the Vauban fort (north-western part of the Municipium Septimium Apulense) was severely modified by the new projects of communist urbanization.[319] Although C. Băluță claims that the five statuary representations of Jupiter from the territory of the Municipium Septimium came from the same area,[320] his own description of the finds suggests a much larger distribution of the finds (600 x 500 m) than a temple or sanctuary would assume. The only statue, with a much precise location, was found in 1976 with an altar dedicated by Gaius Sentius Bassus, *tubicenus* of the XIII Gemina Legion (**Fig.24**).[321] Although during the building of the Palace of Culture, monumental Roman walls and building ruins were identified, the context was not documented properly and the presence of a funerary monument suggests that it could be a Late Antique or later spolia.[322] A famous inscription dedicated to Jupiter and the council of the gods mentioning the construction of an aqueduct came also from this area of the city.[323] Zamosius (István Szamosközy) mentions that he saw the monument with two statues on it. A few metres from the location of the statue, two, large statue bases dedicated to Jupiter were found at 1-3 Lalelelor St in the autumn of 1983.[324] The

[313] Beaujeu's idea on the macro-history of religious ideology of the Empire (evolution of *Reichsreligion*) is highly criticized now: Ando 2007: 431; Rüpke 2012. On the 'religious policy' of Trajan, see: Bennett 1997: 102-104; Alvar 2010.

[314] Gostar 1965: 237-254, Nemeti 2013: 137-155. See also Chapter III.2.

[315] IDR III/5: 427.

[316] See also the case study of Sarmizegetusa: Boda 2015b. In Arrabona, on the inscription of the so-called Capitolinum temple Liber Pater and Diana is listed with the Capitoline triad: CIL III 11079. Barton 1982: 268.

[317] Andringa 2012. For a provincial variation of the Diana cult, see also: Green 2007: 73-76.

[318] See also the introductory chapter on methodology.

[319] Anghel 1994.

[320] Băluță 1980: 105.

[321] IDR III/5: 224: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [---] / G(aius) Sentius / Bassus tub(icen) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Băluță 1978: 169-174. On the dedications of musicians from the army: Vincent 2007: 34-39.

[322] Ota 2013.

[323] IDR III/5: 185: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et consessui deo/rum dearumque / pro salute imperii / Romani et virtute / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / sub M(arco) Statio / Prisco consule de/signato demonstr(antibus) / ipsis aquas aperien/das per L(ucium) Aurelium / Trophimum po/nente[m] signum Io/vis et aram p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit)*. See also: Ota-Băeștean 2010: 132.

[324] IDR III/5: 129: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) Arrani/us Epaphr/*

Figure 24. Monumental statue of the Capitoline Jupiter from the territory of the Municipium Septimium Apulense (photo: author)

paleography and decoration of the monuments suggest the same chronology and workshop.[325] The proximity of the finds suggests, indeed, that the area included an important sanctuary related to the newly emerged urban centre of the veterans in the Septimian age. The monumentality and quality of the finds suggest also an element of high competition between the two urban centres that coexisted after AD 197.

Most of the altars and statue bases dedicated by soldiers and the military to the supreme god have an uncertain topography, discovered much earlier than the 18th century, when the first excavations were mentioned, or, at least, the attested context.[326] Despite this, in some catalogues the monuments were cited as being located within the area of the fort.[327] This would mean that in less than 170 years a small territory with limited space dedicated for religious piety would be crowded with at least 50 altars, statue bases, and statuary monuments.[328] As the finds from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis show, it is more possible that the altars dedicated by soldiers for Jupiter stood not only in the fort, but in the households and sanctuaries of the Septimian settlement, where most of the statues were also found.

Jupiter and the memory of the place: two case studies

The omnipresence of tools in religious communication, and especially the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and his various forms, are well exemplified with the dedications for Jupiter Fulgurator (Fulminator) and the commemoration of the *fulgur conditum*. As the most common, but still extraordinary, embodiment of the supreme god, lightning strikes were considered the most outstanding signs of the *numen adest*, the presence of the god.[329] It could appear also as a bad omen, an indication, that the *pax deorum* had been ruptured.[330] Livy uses lightning strikes in his history as *topos* and *prodigium* in the most difficult moments of Roman history.[331] Although, Livy provides us with a detailed description of religious practices of the priesthood in terms of reactions to lightning strikes, the archaeological reality regarding the *fulgur conditum* phenomenon is very different.[332] In most cases, the areas where lightning struck were soon after transformed into sacralised spaces protected by law.[333] The religious rituals, which were related to the foundation of a *bidental*, are not well known, and they probably changed, not only over time but also regionally. In most cases the literary sources mention that even if lightning was a well-known *prodigium*, the sacralisation of the place where the event happened was made by the *augures* or other religious authorities.[334] The sacralisation of the place was not only a legal activity introduced by an official Roman magistrate (usually an augur or other priest), but confirmed by numerous other religious activities, such as sacrificing a two-year-old goat,[335] burying a statue or votive deposit,[336] or forming a special installation for keeping the memory of the *prodigium*.

In some well-attested archaeological contexts from Savaria or Emona, the place where the lightning striked (*bidental* or *puteal*) was conceptualized as a house-

oditus / et Arra/nius Ni/ger filiu/s posuerunt. IDR III/5: 175: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) Vibi/us Nic/ostra/tus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* See also: Ciugudean-Băluță 1989: 207-209.

325 Ciugudean-Băluță 1989: 209.

326 See Chapter II.3.

327 Moga 1998; Heidenreich 2013.

328 Bodor 1989: 1083.

329 Tóth 1994: 8. See also: Latte 1992: 81.

330 Orlin 2007: 60.

331 Davies 2007: 37-38; Forsythe 2012: 65.

332 Tóth 1994: 8. For a recently attested case study from Savaria, see: Tóth 2011: 90, nr 25. For Ostia: Meer-Stöger 2005.

333 Catalano 1978: 457-458, especially fns 49 and 50, with further bibliography.

334 Albanese 1969.

335 Paul. Fest. p.33, Diff. gramm. VII. 523, 24, Schol. Hor. ars. 471, Schol. Pers. 2, 26. See also: TTL II, 1973, 75.

336 CIL VI 30880. The case of the Hercules Mastai: Palagia 1990: 54.

shaped structure with strong iron installations.[337] Other, recently reinterpreted cases show that the formation of a *bidental* was highly influenced not only by local habits, but also by the spatial possibilities and urban space management of a city.[338] Although the number of inscriptions mentioning the *prodigium* (*fulgur conditum*) are very high all over the Empire,[339] few of them have an attested archaeological context.

In Dacia, there are only five inscriptions mentioning the cult of Jupiter Fulgurator.[340] Two of them, the dedication of Publius Aelius Maximianus from Potaissa (AE 1910, 132) and the inscription mentioning the *fulgur conditum* from Apulum, have a documented context. In both cases, the environment suggests an extra-urban context.[341] The dedication from Apulum (**Fig.25**.) does not preserve the name of the worshipper, but we can presume that, as in the case of Maximianus, a priest of Apulum marked the place where the *prodigium* happened:[342]

Iovi / Fulgera(tori) / h(ic) fulg(ur) cond(itum)

The *prodigium* of the lightning, as well as creating a new sacralised space, marked also the urban structure.[343] While most sacralised spaces were initiated by religious experiences, epiphanies, or narratives of individuals or groups, in this case religious law, tradition, and memory played a more relevant role in maintaining the spatial memory of the *prodigium*.[344] A particularly interesting example for the continuity of religious memory bridging ages and religious transformations is the case of an anecdote reported by István Téglás, who discovered the altar of Maximianus at Torda (Potaissa).[345] He mentioned that the altar was discovered in a field of crops by local peasants and they removed it, only for the original location to be immediately struck by lightning. The locals claimed also that there were frequent strikes in that particular area.

Figure 25. Altar dedicated in a bidental (photo: lupa 12241)

In the case of Apulum, the small altar mentioning the *fulgur conditum* was found in an *extra-muros* area of the Municipium Septimium Apulense, a few metres from the area where the possible city wall has been located by some scholars.[346] The context was already affected by later interaction and a *bidental* was not attested or documented, but the dedication is a unique example in the city, and for the whole province, for this kind of space sacralisation.

Another case study that exemplifies the memory of a place, and the flexibility and variability of the Jupiter cult, is the (now missing) altar or statue base of Lucius Antoninus Secun(?dus), augustalis Coloniae Aureliae Apulensis.[347]

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Conservat(ori) / L(ucius) Ant(onius) Secun(dus?) / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Ap(ulensis) / in his aedib(us) / natus cum / Celsina fil(ia) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

337 Tóth 2011: 90. See: *lupa* 8884 and 20188.
338 Andringa *et al.* 2010: 208.
339 The Clauss-Slaby Database had 71 entries (last accessed: 11.11.2015).
340 AE 1910: 132: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) F(ulguratori) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Ma/ximia/nus augu(r) / col(oniae) v(otum) s(olvit)*; IDR III/5: 216: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / divo ful[gu]/rali sacrum / Iuliano et Cris/pino co(n)s(ulibus) [---] / [------] / co(n)s(ularis);* IDR III/2: 249: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [F]u[lg]ur[a]tor[i] pro / salute sua et su/orum M(arcus) A[u] r(elius) De/coratus dec(urio) / col(oniae) Aeq(ui) flam(en) / aedil(is) et M(arcus) Aur(elius) [P]hili/ppi[a]nus de[c(urio)] col(oniae) / A[e]q(ui) quaes(tor) [---?] / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) / Perpetuo et / Corneliano / co(n)s(ulibus) VIII Idus / Iunias.* CIL III, 821: *Iovi Fulg(uratori) / pro salute / dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) [[[---]]] / [[[------]]] / [[[---]]] Augu/storum c(o)ho(rs) / prima Britta/n(n)ica |(milliaria) / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit).*
341 Téglás 1909: 161-162; Tóth 1994: 8; Szabó 2007: 33-34; Piso-Drîmbărean 1999: 109-111.
342 IDR III/5, 705.
343 As the case study of Ostia shows, the religious memory of the space marked the urban evolution and space management of the cities too: Stöger 2011.
344 On religious memory, see: Miano 2012: 89-110, Rüpke-Mastrocinque 2013: 135-137.
345 Téglás 1909: 161-162; Tóth 1994: 8.
346 See Chapter II.2.
347 IDR III/5: 211. See also: Agócs 2011: 112-113.

As a Roman citizen and magistrate, he dedicated a monument to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator, to commemorate his own birth, which happened in his *aedibus*. The short, but unique, narrative of the text presents a very individualised account of religious piety, one of the few cases in the long list of Jupiter dedications from Apulum. Lucius Antoninus Secun(?dus) felt it particularly important to mention that he was born in a sanctuary. This message – for the readers and visitors to that site where the inscription was erected – intensified the sacralisation of the place and created a memory of an event. It could be related to a complicated birth or health issues, while his survival was interpreted as a *prodigium*, a gift from the god, who preserved (*conservator*) him. His birth in a sanctuary must be considered indeed an extraordinary event, taking into consideration that most births took place at home, and, in some cases, giving birth to a child within the sacred walls of a sanctuary was even forbidden.[348]

Unfortunately, the inscription attested in a secondary position in the 16th century only by Opitz has an unknown provenience. Recently, it was suggested that the memorable birth of Secund(?us) happened in the Asklepieion of the conurbation.[349] The association of Jupiter Conservator and Asclepius, or other healing gods, are well attested in the Empire, especially in the time of Caracalla and during some politically unstable periods.[350] If his birth did, indeed, take place in the Asklepieion, we can presume that a separate building or room was available for childbirths, as at Epidauros.[351] From the four inscriptions dedicated to IOM Conservator, only one has an approximate findspot, being discovered within the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, which does not, however, serve as sufficient argument for this hypothesis.

The extraordinary numbers of altars, statue bases, statues and terracotta statuettes (more than 150 artifacts)[352] representing Jupiter and his various forms in Apulum have few analogies in similarly sized urban complexes across the Empire. Only some complex urban centres with four centuries of Roman presence, such as Aquincum, have a similar number of dedications to the Roman supreme god.[353] These are splendid examples for religious pluralism and the so-called 'exported' Roman religion[354] in an urban context, where spatial aspects and limits played an important role in establishing and maintaining sacralised spaces.

The omnipresent dedications for various kinds of Roman Jupiters represent in the opinion of this present author a quintessence of Roman religious pluralism and polytheism. While the religious market offered a great variety of divine agency for different situations, the majority of Romans still choose Jupiter as the ultimate answer for their communication with the divine. This happened not only in those places or situations where political or military hierarchy and social competition was much more important,[355] but also in contexts where old Roman tradition (narratives) or Roman law expected Jupiter to be chosen instead of other divinities with similar attributes. The case study of Jupiter dedications shows how a successful and flexible religious narrative can create various forms of religious communication which are accessible and easy to understand. Jupiter accumulated some features ideal for a great number of local religious appropriations, shaping not only the religious experiences and practices of the Roman people, but also urban, rural and military spaces as well. The case study of Apulum – together with the great number of individual appropriations in other Dacian sites – shows that the Roman Jupiter as outlined by Fears was actually much more diverse and spatially versatile.

II.5. Sanctuaries and spectacles

One of the major architectural landmarks of Roman urbanism were amphitheatres, theatres and circuses.[356] They were part of Imperial communication in all the provinces, expressed in marble and monumentality since the Antonine period.[357] It was not only the most visible form of the expansion and reproduction of Rome, but also a competitive and theatrical entertainment space for local elites.[358] These monumental architectural landmarks were the most visible and powerful elements in creating urban landscapes, expressing Roman Imperial power, wealth, stability and peace.[359] Beyond the economic and ideological agency of an amphitheatre and theatre, their important role in religious communication needs careful attention. This chapter will focus on those few case studies from Roman Dacia where amphitheatres played an important role in religious communication and, therefore, 'citification' of religion.

Amphitheatres as places of religious communication

As with the well-documented examples of theatres, in terms of acting as agents for religious communication,[360]

348 Paus. 2.27.1. See also: Dasen 2011.
349 Szabó 2004: 796; Agócs 2011: 113.
350 Manders 2012: 281-282.
351 Dillon 2002: 29-31.
352 Popa 1978: 153-154, nr 22-25; Anghel *et al.* 2011: 54-55.
353 Tit.Aq.I. nr 89-198. See also: Brelich 1938; Alföldy 1963.
354 Ando 2007.
355 Rüpke 2007a: 78.
356 On the abundant literature for these, see: Welch 2007; Dodge 2014. See also: Bomgardner 2000: 61-62.
357 Thomas 2007: 163.
358 Alicu-Opreanu 2000: 13-14; Bajusz 2011; Kyle 2015: 298-304.
359 Hufschmid 2009. See also: Bomgardner 2000: 95-104. On Roman peace: Woolf 1993.
360 On theatres as religious agents, see: Kleibl 2017; Hufschmid-Späth

recent studies have proved the importance of the spatial arrangement of amphitheatres, in the wider context of urban space, as places of religious performance.[361] Many amphitheatres are situated near a sanctuary or sacred area in the suburban area of the city, next to the city wall, or near the military camp. However, in most of the cases the positioning of such monumental buildings as theatres and amphitheatres was influenced also by topological factors.[362]

Among the most famous spectacle sites integrated within a sacred area were the *Spectacula* at the *Forum Romanum* and the *Phrygiarium* on the Vatican hill.[363] Numerous literary sources, and most notably Tertullianus, mention the important religious role of amphitheatres, referred to by him as '*omnium daemonum templum*'.[364] Archaeological evidence shows the intentional positioning of amphitheatres in the neighborhood of sanctuaries or so-called *area sacra*.[365] It is hard to reconstruct the processions and religious festivals performed in these amphitheatres, especially within Roman provincial contexts. *Pompa munerum*, triumphs, the ritual initiation of *epheboi* in Greek cities, and staging performances related to the cult of Isis are attested, however we do not know how widespread were these events.[366] These places played also a very important role in the Imperial Cult and the municipal life of cities. Amphitheatres were also places of magical events, mostly related to influencing races, gladiators, and other groups within the category of so-called 'sport-magic'.[367]

Sacella of Nemesis: analogies from Dacia and the Danubian provinces

More than 230 amphitheatres are known from the Roman Empire[368] but only 22 of them had a special annex known as the *sacellum*, dedicated to Nemesis and other divinities.[369] Pastor identifies two different types of these: the annex, strictly related to the architectural

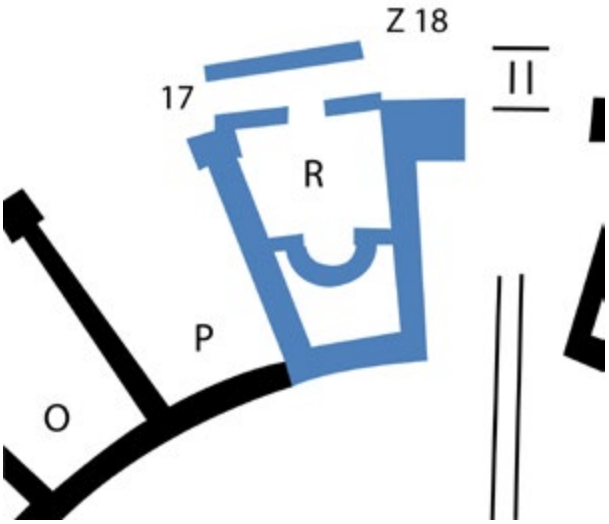

Figure 26. Plan of the Nemeseion from Porolissum (after Wittenberg 2014, 111, fig. 30.)

unity of the amphitheatre; and a separate building with special, cultic functionality and multiple rooms.[370] From Dacia there are two *sacella* identified by archaeological excavations (I.25, I.44.), three identified by epigraphic sources (II.6, II.15, II.18), and one presumed feature (III.33).[371] The presence of some votive inscriptions and statues of Nemesis in other Roman settlements, such as Napoca or Potaissa, could also indicate cult sites.[372]

The *sacellum* from Porolissum (I.25) was discovered and identified during systematic excavations from 1987–1988.[373] It was located in one of the *carcerae* of the amphitheatre, a typical placement for such cultic installations.[374] Numerous analogies – such as from Virunum or Deva – show similar positioning of the *sacellum*. The chapel represents the second phase of the amphitheatre and it reflects the financial support of the officers of Porolissum (Numerus Palmyrenorum).[375] Not only the dedication, but also the unusual positioning of the amphitheatre, show that religious communication within the building was undertaken mostly by the military (**Fig.26.**).[376] The small dimensions of the chapel suggest that the *sacellum* was built by a single individual, probably as a special devotional act. In the third phase the *sacellum* was enlarged with an additional *absis* and

2016; Nielsen 2016.

361 Hufschmid 2008: 13; Wittenberg 2014: 8-10.

362 Hufschmid 2008: 13; Dodge 2014: 555.

363 Welch 2007: 49-58. About the religious role of the circus and *stadion* in Roman times, see the case study of the 'Circus Maximus' and 'Phrygiarium' in Rome: Liverani 2008: 41-48.

364 Zaleski 2014; Wittenberg 2014: 8-10. On Tertullian, see: Corsaro 2003: 97; Ames 2007.

365 See the case study of Tarraco, Narbo, Lugdunum, Teurnia, Pompei and, most notably, Augusta Raurica: Hufschmid 2009.

366 On the iconography of processions in amphitheatres: Madigan 2013 (ceremonial sculptures): 53-54; Heidenreich 2013: 71-73; 158; Wittengerg 2014: 8-10. On the religious role of the theatre in Pompei see: Gasparini 2013; 2015. On the association of Nemesis-Isis, see: Betz 1986: 131, fn. 75.

367 An interesting group of finds represents the lead balls found in the Nemeseion of the civilian amphitheatre of Apulum: Torma 1881. For the magical aspect of Nemesis on *tabelle defixionis* from Trier and Iscia, see: Wittenberg 2014: 54.

368 Bomgardner 2000.

369 Epigrafia amfiteatralle 1-8. See also: Futrell 2010: 272; Wittenberg 2014: 75-95.

370 Pastor 2011. See also: Wittenberg 2014: 23-44. However, 22 *sacellae* were excavated, but the exact functionality and nature of the rituals performed inside these chambers are not really known. Almost all of the chambers have multiple construction-phases and multiple rooms, the functionality of which is unclear. Few of the *sacella* were excavated systematically and even in those cases the archaeological reports focus mainly on the epigraphic and (briefly) figural monuments. The small finds are usually neglected.

371 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 58-65, 130, 151.

372 Opreanu 2009.

373 Bajusz 2011.

374 Wittenberg 2014: 23-24.

375 AÉ 2003, 1468. See also: Bajusz 2011. On the activities of Palmyrean troops in Dacia, see: Piso-Ţentea 2011; Ţentea 2012.

376 Bajusz 2011.

wall. In contrast with Porolissum, the amphitheatres of Micia[377] and Drobeta[378] present no concrete indications of religious activity. All the sacralised places identified at Micia are in the southern part of the fort. The functionality of the buildings in the vicinity of the amphitheatre remains unclear, although for a long time they were considered as domestic units.[379]

The *Nemeseion* at Sarmizegetusa (I.44.) is an example of another type: a chapel built separately from the amphitheatre and serving a civilian group. In this case the building had a more dominant physical aspect, decorated with a *porticus* and reconstructed several times (at least five phases are attested).[380] The building integrates perfectly within the monumentality of the urban landscape, and the phases (especially phase 4.) fit the monumentalising tendency of the Severan age, as attested in numerous temples of the city.[381] The position of the amphitheatre and the *Nemeseion* in Sarmizegetusa is integrated within the sacral topography of the city: close to the great sacred area, the *Scholae Gladiatoris* and the main thoroughfare that leads to the Domus Procuratoris, the *Nemeseion* could have been associated not only with the spectacles and performances of the amphitheatre, but also served an important role in the religious processes of the capital of the province. The inscriptions, however, reflect the important role of the local, municipal elite and *collegium utriculariorum* in the evolution of the chapel (**Fig.27**.).[382] This *collegium* – not only in a local, but also in a provincial context – seems to have involved Nemesis as the protector of their group and activities.[383] The monumentality of the building is reflected also by the colossal bronze statue of Nemesis, preserved only fragmentarily.[384] It is important to mention that most of the figural representations of Nemesis from Sarmizegetusa have an unknown or disputed place of origin.[385] As in other Danubian analogies, the archaeological record of the Nemesis cult is concentrated around the amphitheatres and Imperial offices, such as the *Domus Procuratoris* or *Ara Augusti*.[386] The proximity of the Ara Augusti and the amphitheatre, and the high concentration of sacralised places to the east of the amphitheatre, suggest that this played an essential role not only in gladiatorial games, but also in the Imperial Cult, the yearly organised provincial councils, and, possibly, those processions related to the Area Sacra and the Great Temple (I.40).[387]

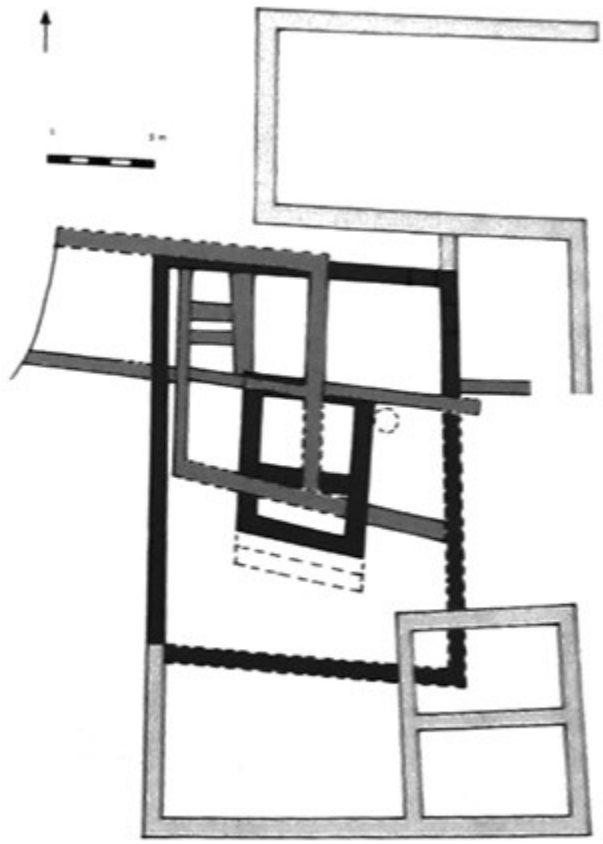

Figure 27. Plan of the Nemeseion from Colonia Sarmizegetusa (after Schäfer 2007, 381, abb.29.)

The examples of Carnuntum and Aquincum are also relevant to Apulum. Both conurbations had a legionary camp, and Aquincum also had a double urban status, as did Apulum. In Aquincum two amphitheatres have been identified, a general phenomenon in mixed, military/civilian settlements.[388] The *Nemeseion* of the civilian amphitheatre was attested archaeologically, however the rescue excavations from the 1960s could reveal only the foundations of the building.[389] The continuous looting of the amphitheatre from medieval times until the 19th century has destroyed the building,[390] but a significant number of inscriptions and artifacts related to cultic activities came to light.[391] The *fanum* is relatively small, but the architectural

377 Alicu-Opreanu 2000: 42-57.
378 Găzdac et al. 2015b: 19.
379 Alicu-Opreanu 2000: 43, fig. 12.
380 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 63-65.
381 Schäfer 2007: 103-106.
382 IDR III/1, 272:
383 Țeposu-Marinescu 1995: 192.
384 Diaconescu 2014a, vol. II: nr 20.
385 Alicu-Pop-Wolmann 1979.
386 For the sacred topography of the city, see: Boda 2015a.
387 Szabó 2001; 2004b.

388 For analogy see also: Borhy-Számadó 2005: 970-973; Borhy 2009. For the amphitheatres of Aquincum: Póczy 2003: 259-262. On the socio-political aspect of the cult of Nemesis in Aquincum, see also: Alföldy 1963: 51. See also: Zsidi 2011: 163.
389 Nagy 1971: 387. The building was probably in the garden of Wittmann János (at 490 Szőlő St) and looted already before the 19th century: Flóris 1871: 29. See also: Torma 1881: 62-67.
390 In the 1880s, when Károly Torma began systematic excavations of the building, most of the *carcerae* were thoroughly looted and damaged: Torma 1881: 25-26, figs 1-2.
391 Póczy 2003: 261-262. See also Tit. Aq. I: 267-283. Torma suggested that the numerous artefacts and inscriptions, and the differentiation of two inscriptions of the *templum* and *fanum* Nemesi, prove the presence also of a Nemesis sanctuary, and not only a *sacellum*, near the civilian amphitheatre.

elements, the rich epigraphic material, and the complexity of the building, all show that it fits perfectly the monumentalising tendency of the Antonine period in Aquincum.[392] The fanum of Nemesis-in this case was annexed to the amphitheatre, but not in one of the *carcerae*, as at Porolissum, nor as a separate building, as at Sarmizegetusa, but more similar to Italica, near the central entrance of the building. As at Sarmizegetusa, this structure was also predominantly frequented by civilians and the urban magistrates of the city. The *Nemeseion* of the military amphitheatre in Aquincum was also part of the main building constructed below the *pulvinar* (corridor-*sacellum*), but the archaeological material is much more ambivalent here.[393] As at Sarmizegetusa, the figural monuments of the divinity are poorly represented and few have precise contexts.[394]

In Carnuntum there are at least four sites where Nemesis artefacts were discovered. Archaeological excavations revealed three *sacellae* of the divinity: an external *sacellum* and a corridor-*sacellum* in the military amphitheatre,[395] and a corridor-*sacellum* at the civilian amphitheatre,[396] in a secondary position within the legionary camp, 'in the *carcer*' near the *valetudinarium*.[397] The *Nemeseion* external to the military amphitheatre is one of the largest and best-preserved *sacella* in the Empire. From the archive photographs and modern reconstructions of the internal structure and position of the finds, we are able also to reconstruct the ritual place and role of the images in this case. The heterogeneous nature of the finds shows also a very interesting 'pantheon' for this space: divinities related to gladiatorial games,military morale, and the Imperial Cult were all worshipped in the same shrine (Victoria, Hercules, Fortuna, Nemesis Augusta). In Carnuntum, importantly, the presence of the military marked the existence of these sanctuaries, with most of the worshippers coming from the Legion.[398]

The archaeological record from Apulum: topographic and iconographic aspects

If there were amphitheatre(s) and Nemesis sanctuaries in Apulum, then it is certain that they were the first buildings to be looted in early medieval times, representing the biggest source for construction material.[399] Numerous examples of existing amphitheatres still show that, between the 4th and 18th centuries, they were used first of all, as stone quarries or fortresses.[400] Only the late Renaissance and the scholarly curiosity of the Enlightenment saved the remaining buildings.[401]

Identifying the amphitheatre and its *sacellum* is purely hypothetical, and in the recent state of research, impossible. Apulum is one of the few, great urban centres of the Danubian provinces where the amphitheatre is missing today.[402] However, the existence of the military amphitheatre is seemed to be confirmed by the cartographic and archaeological evidence,[403] there is also no proof of the existence of an annexed or external Nemesis sacellum. An indirect reference could be that the first inscriptions mentioning Nemesis were found by János Megyericsei (Mezerzius) in the 16th century.[404] This early discovery might suggest that the amphitheatre, and a possible *sacellum*, were looted in early medieval times.[405] It is possible that one of the finest reliefs of the divinity was found also in this area.[406]

The worship of Nemesis in the *Asklepieion* is attested by a small statue found at the beginning of the 20th century, dedicated by the well-known *antistes* of the sacred area, Caius Iulius Valens,[407] and by Aurelius Marius *optio signiferorum legionis XIII Geminae*, who has been attested

[392] For the plan of the building, see: Torma 1881: II. tábla, nr. II.1-3.
[393] Wittenberg 2014: 50-52. See also: Tit. Aq. I. nrs 284-287.
[394] See also: Torma 1881: 13, Tábla.
[395] Wittenberg 2014: 78-9, cat. nrs 4-5, with all bibliography. See also: Kremer 2012: cat. nrs 14-15, 17, 25, 49, 51, 90, 100, 115, 147, 151, 152, 165, 218, 219, 236, 285, 338, 371-376, 381, 382, 383, 384, 534, 561, 636, 637, 709, 712, 720.
[396] Kremer 2012: 80, cat. Nr 6, with all the bibliography. See also: Kremer 2012: cat. nrs 161, 378, 385.
[397] Kremer 2012: 348, cat. nr 343, 377, 378.
[398] Pastor 2011.
[399] Szabó 2014b.
[400] The most famous example is , of course, the Amphiteathrum Flavium (Colosseum) in Rome. See also the examples from Sarmizegetusa: Alicu-Opreanu 2000.
[401] The restoration of the Colosseum and the amphitheatre of Pompeii was one of the first steps in European restoration of the archaeological heritage.
[402] An explanation for this could be the building technique. Many amphitheatres could be built on natural, circular formations: Moga 1983: 86.
[403] Moga 1983; Bondoc 2006; Szabó 2016a: 96-97. It is important to mention that the circular shaped formation on the map Visconti, identified by Vasile Moga in 1983 as the military amphitheatre, does not fit topographically with the one suggested by Béla Cserni in 1901: Cserni 1901: 269; Szabó 2016a: 96. Also, the possible presence of a Greek-style theatre attached to the northern wall of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis could explain the 'mystery' of the amphitheatre in Apulum. Another possibility is that there were no stone amphitheatres in Apulum, although this seems very unprobable in one of the richest urban settlements of the Danubian area. See also: https://www.academia.edu/16076350/The_amphitheatre_s_of_Apulum_an_unsolved_problem (last accessed: 2.07.2016).
[404] IDR III/5: 293: *Deae Nemesi / Aurel(ius) Marius / optio signif(erorum) / leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) / cum Severia / Secundina / coniuge / pro salute sua / et Marianae / Bonosae et / Mariniani liberti;* IDR III/5, 294: *Deae Neme/si sive For/tunae / Pistorius / Rugianus / v(ir) c(larissimus) legat(us) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / Gord(ianae)*. There are no topographic references in the works of Mezerzius, or other early antiquarian authors, regarding the amphitheatre or the Nemesis finds.
[405] Moga mentions that some of the medieval gravestones were made from reused Roman stones found near the possible amphitheatre: Moga 1983: 86-87.
[406] IDR III/5: 296: *Nemesi Exaudientis/simae Cl(audius) Marcellus Au(gustalis?)*. The statue was in the Battyanaeum already by the 18th century. The iconography and the epithet '*exaudientissima*' suggest also that it is related to the gladiatorial games.
[407] IDR III/5: 297: *[N]emesi Reginae / C(aius) Iul(ius) Valens harus(pex) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et ant(istes) huiusc(e) loci / somnio monitus l(ibens) p(osuit)*.

twice at this site.[408] Similarly, the cult of Nemesis was attested probably in a small *aedes* in the *Praetorium Consularis*.[409] Both of the dedications – in the *Asklepieion* and the governor's palace – have special closing formulae, showing that the dedications were made by order of a divine dream, possibly an incubational divination (*somnio monitus, ex visu*). A particularity of the *Askliepeion* from Apulum was its possible proximity to a theatre, as identified by a geophysical survey.[410] This structure could prove, also, that town-planning in Dacia was organised and influenced not only by its local economic and geographic specificities, but also by the origin of the local elite, in this case a significant community from Pergamun, Ephesus, and several other cities of Asia Minor.

A case study: Nemesis in the camp?

In the spring of 2011, three new inscriptions were discovered in a Roman building complex in front of Saint Michael's Catholic Cathedral during the renovation and restoration of the Vauban fortress.[411] The small, rectangular building was considered to be a Nemesis sanctuary by the archaeologists.[412] The same authors also interpreted the nearby subterranean chamber as a *mithraeum*.[413] Without details of the excavation it is not possible to affirm the chronology, functionality, or other aspects of the archaeological material found in this structure. However, it is important to mention that the building is situated *intra muros* in terms of the fort.[414]

As the study of the *aedes principiorum* shows,[415] there are numerous places and spaces where religious activities were attested in Roman forts, however, there are very few buildings inside a fort with specific, religious purposes, built intentionally as sanctuaries. Despite this, the current Romanian historiography, and local media, accept unanimously that the three votive inscriptions and the small chamber excavated near the Cathedral represent a *Nemeseion* in the legionary fort.[416] At the moment there is no Nemesis *sacellum* attested and systematically excavated within a Roman fort. The very sporadic cases where votive artefacts related to Nemesis were found show that they are related to the semi-private or private sphere, where the original functionality of the building was transformed.[417] The finds are associated mostly with private/domestic worship in one of the *carcere* or possible *scholae*.[418] The function of the worshippers (*evocatus*, a *salariarius* and a gladiator)[419] and the epithet of the divinity (Regina) are strictly related to the world of amphitheatres, which could support the hypothesis that the pieces represent Late Antique spolia and not a niche or a proper cult of Nemesis inside the fort. Without further details of the excavation, or the exact context of the discovery, a sustainable statement with regard to the functionality of the building in the *castra*, and the possible religious activities taking place there, cannot be presented.

Regarding the iconography of the divinity, the four figural representations show four different types of Nemesis. The first is the so-called 'Nemesis-Tyché/ Fortuna' type, which is considered to have been spread in Dacia by Greek-speaking groups.[420] Although such forms and iconographic languages could have been easily appropriated also by various other ethnic groups, the great numbers of individuals and groups from Asia Minor can argue for this hypothesis. This iconographic type is considered the most widespread in Dacia. In this case Nemesis appears with a long chiton and palla.[421] Of a similar type also is the recently found Nemesis statue, but in this case the divinity appears with a griffon and a palla.[422] The more accurate, and finer, elaboration of the statue suggests two different workshops, or even the possibility of it being an import (**Fig.28**).[423] Another type is the representation of Nemesis-Iustitia, with balance, palla and griffon.[424] There is also the small, anepigraphic relief of Nemesis[425] that shows similar iconographic aspects to the Nemesis-Iustitia type. To some it represents a syncretic type of Nemesis-Brigantia, similar to a Britannian analogy (RIB I 2091),[426] but without petrographic analysis it is hard to establish the provenience of these representations. However, the iconographic aspects suggest, in two instances, the possibility of imports too. Three of them are marble, one is limestone. The small cult reliefs (*ex votos*) indicate their coming from a sanctuary wall. The statues, both

[408] See c II.7.

[409] IDR III/5: 295: *Nemesi / deae Ter(entius) / Marc[i]an/[u]s b(ene) f(iciarius) tem/pl(u)m a novo / fecit ex / viso / v(otum) s(olvit)*.

[410] Haynes 2014. See also c II.7 and II.8.

[411] The exact findspot of the building being: 46° 4'4.60' North and 23°34'10.00' East. On these excavations: *http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-8496911-templu-dedicat-zeitei-nemesis-descoperit-interiorul-cetatii-din-alba-iulia.htm* (last accessed: 01.04.2014). See also: Szabó 2014c.

[412] Ciobanu-Bounegru 2012: 41-42; Ciobanu 2013: 135, fn. 8, 138.

[413] The only argument given by the researchers relates to the form, subterranean aspect, and the two *podium*-shaped structures of the building. Recent studies have shown that this is not an acceptable argument for the existence of a *mithraeum*: Szabó 2014c: 533, fn. 3, with all references and analogies.

[414] For the archaeological excavations of the *castra*, see: Moga 1998. For the excavations in the area of the discovery: Marcu-Istrate 2014. See also: DMA.

[415] Ce II.3.

[416] Ciobanu-Bounegru 2012; Ciobanu 2013; Benea 2013.

[417] Petrikovits 1975: 76, Heidenreich 2013: 158, cat. nrs C. 291, 293, and CIL III 3484.

[418] Petrikovits 1975: 186.

[419] For their strict relationship with the cult of Nemesis, see: Szabó 2014c. For the *salariarius*, as a donator of an amphitheatre, see: Tit. Aq. I. 267.

[420] Opreanu 2009: 724.

[421] See: Vollkommer 1992: 733-773.

[422] Ciobanu-Bounegru 2012: 43-44, cat. nr 20; AE 2012, 1240; Alexandrescu 2013: 234, cat. nr 70; Szabó 2014c: *M(arcus) Vibius Verinus evoc(atus) / Q(uintus) Vale(rius) Felicianus sala(riarius)*.

[423] Alexandrescu 2013; LIMC VI.2. 173a

[424] Type: LIMC VI. 2. 8a.

[425] Băluță 1976: 143 cat. nr 10; Nemeti 2005: 339, nr 96; lupa 19325.

[426] Nemeti 2001; Nemeti 2005: 142-143.

Figure 28. Statue of Nemesis (after Alexandrescu 2013)

small, indicate a small niche, where they were erected probably as cult statues. The largest statue base came from the territory of the legionary camp. Its dimensions also indicate that the small chamber where it was found was too small to consider it as the original location of the finds. The worshippers of Nemesis from Apulum belonged to all levels of military and civil society, showing as well a much more heterogeneous picture of the social aspects of the possible spectacles and festivals.[427]

By way of summary, the spectacles, festivals, as well as the important agency of amphitheatres in religious communication, are only sporadically evident in Roman Dacia. The taking place of gladiatorial games in Apulum and Sarmizegetusa, as well as in Micia and Porolissum, is also plausible.[428] The religious agency of amphitheatres in Dacia can be proved only for Porolissum and Sarmizegetusa, where sacralised spaces of Nemesis were identified in the vicinity of the amphitheatres. However the epigraphic and iconographic evidence from Apulum suggests that an amphitheatre (and even a theatre) existed there in close spatial communication with the sacred spaces of the urban landscape. Festivals organised and monopolised by the local and provincial elite[429] might include the use of amphitheatres (especially at Sarmizegetusa), however our sources from Dacia are extremely silent in terms of these loud and sensually intense experiences.[430]

II.6. Monopolising space: religious competition and the power elite

The most visible and long-lasting material evidence of Roman religion in an urban context was set up by a very small group of citizens. Their religious communication, social competition, and rivalry created a milieu to express easier their status, legitimizing their economic, political, or social position. This chapter intends to focus on the local aspects of moral, competitive and representative religious individuality of the main socio-political orders (*ordo decurionum*, *equestris*, *senatorius*) and various groups of priests and religious providers.

Religion and competition in Apulum: the urban elite

During the period of the Principate, the notion of elite was well defined by legal categories (*ordo*) and the financial census, although the latter was variable, changing within cities and provinces.[431] Modern concepts of elitism, however, create the possibility of seeing Roman society differently, by focusing on two major notions: competition and dominance.[432] These terms will be analyzed here as important factors in forming the religious behavior and identity of the socio-political and religious elites of Apulum.

Probably the most comprehensive socio-religious definition of what religious competition means, and how this can create or emphasise the importance of an elite, was proposed by Jay Newman.[433] Competition, of course, is not an 'agent' *par excellence* of religious 'elitism'; it exists also in non-religious and other social

427 Szabó 2014c.

428 Alicu-Opreanu 2000. See also: Moga 1981.

429 See c II.6.

430 On the 'sensecape' of similar, large public festivals and events, see: Betts 2017.

431 Alföldy 2011. For the most detailed analysis of the municipal society of Dacia, see: Ardevan 1998. See also: Bîrliba 2011.

432 For a modern definition of 'elites', see: Scott-Marshall 2009: 209-211. Definitions are replete with such notions as 'dominance', 'ruling', 'minority', 'group' or 'superior'. These terms automatically suggest a contrary group, too, and put forward the existence of a dynamic society with competence, conflicts and rivalry. The word 'elite' appears numerous times in the specific literature, i.e. 'elite lifestyle', 'economic interests of the elite', 'elite male identity', 'elite Roman households', 'elite mobility', 'Roman elite motivation', 'elite economic strategies', 'civic elite', the 'new elite', etc., etc. In many cases, however, these categories represent different social, political, economic and religious definitions and groups. See: McMullen 1990: 13-24; Gleason 1999: 67-84.

433 Newman 1989. He also emphasizes the important psychological and biological background of human competition, which can be identified also in religious competitions. He distinguishes the competition and conflict, affirming that the former can manifest itself more naturally, instinctively, than conflict, which always involve awareness: Newman 1989: 9.

contexts too. Competition becomes a necessity when we are talking about the maintenance and durability of an elite status – although, some of the socio-political categories were more secure than others. The visibility, durability and continuity of the elitism of some groups – such as the senatorial order or the urban elite (*ordo decurionum*), were all traits that could be transformed into marbles, bronzes, stone inscriptions and monuments, which not only monumentalised, but preserved their names, fame and social group, also within the common memory of the city.[434] Elite individuals were working not only to show their present elitism, but also maintain it for future generations – in most cases for their own children.

By the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD the Roman social pyramid already had numerous steps.[435] In the case of Apulum and Sarmizgetusa, as the two major urban centres of the province, the socio-political elite was formed of the *Augustales*, members of the *ordo decurionum*, members of the *ordo equestris*, and, on a temporary basis, the senatorial elite (*ordo senatorius*). The materiality of religious communication was established by these small groups in the settlements of Apulum too, who represent also the financial elite of the newly emerged consumer society of the province.[436]

The *Augustales*[437] are not considered as an integrated part of the urban elite in the traditional social pyramid of Roman society: the case study of the settlements of Apulum shows clearly that their presence and religious activity is one of the most important attested in the conurbation. Their social and economic status is hard to reconstruct from the epigraphic material,[438] however their dedications show a rich and very dynamic group, involved not only in the local economic life[439] but also across a larger, provincial, or even Imperial, network. Many of them came from Asia Minor, as the onomastics, economic activity, and dedications show.[440] Their visibility and religious activity is relatively limited to the interior of the houses of small-group religions and associations, or the *Asklepieion*.[441] A more detailed analysis of the surviving inscriptions, however, shows that some of them had rich connections far beyond the limits of the city. Their dedications in the *Asklepieion* and the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis show not only their extreme wealth,[442] but also their legitimised repute and fame within the urban environment (*ornamenta decurionis*). They manifest mostly as individuals, but one particular case reflects their communal or group identity.[443] It is hard to establish a more precise chronology for the Augustales from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, but the great numbers of them can suggest also a competitive and opportunist endeavor towards the highest position achievable in an urban society, as members (*decurionatus*) of the *ordo decurionum*.[444]

From the settlements of Apulum we know of around 66 *decuriones*, most of them (48) from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[445] Their large numbers represent a sufficient source for analysing their stratification and social rivalry, which possibly existed between the *ordo decurionum* of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and the Municipium Septimium Apulense.[446] The dominance of some particular families, i.e. the priests, already attested, is also evident in this group.[447] Their important role in the official religious life of the conurbation is shown not only by the Roman municipal laws,[448] but also by their rich evergetism and self-representation by communicating with inscriptions and monuments. The *ordo decurionum* was the most important religious elite within an urban context. They took part actively in the organization of public festivals, games, processions, and, by their evergetism, influenced also the way spaces were made sacred and the religious development of Apulum.[449] Most of their dedications originate from public spaces, where their visibility was emphasised.

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434 Gleason 1999: 68; Ma 2009.

435 Alföldy 2011: 118-149.

436 Egri 2007.

437 IDR III/5, 7, 13, 20, 58, 80, 127, 153, 191, 199, 203, 206, 211, 396, 397, 518, 525, 534, 582, 670, IDR III/3, 333, IDR III/2, 251, 330, AÉ 2004, 1201. See also: Duthoy 1978: 1254-1309; Petersen 2006: 56-59; Alföldy 2011: 175-178; Agócs 2011. If we consider that from the more than 500,000 Roman inscriptions discovered on the territory of the Roman Empire, only 3000 were erected by the Augustales, their visibility and role in a larger social context seems to be less important than it is. However, a closer analysis of these inscriptions shows their real influence and impact in local contexts: Shin 1988: 425. See also: Laird 2015 for the Italian case study.

438 Only in three cases is their *libertus* status obvious.

439 Many of them being *patronus* of different economic, ethnic or religious associations.

440 See c II.9.

441 IDR III/5: 20: *Auribus Aesc[u]/lapi et Hygiae / et Apollini et / Dianae C(ai) Iu/lii Dius Far/nax Irenicus / fratres Aug(ustales) / munic(ipii) Aur(eli) Ap(u)li / p(ro) s(alute) s(ua) p(osuerunt) Pr(a)es(ente) / II et Condi(ano) co(n)s(ulibus)*; IDR III/5: 199: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Mi/nervae et Aescu/lapio domino/ Septim(ius) Ascl(epius) Her/mes libertus / numinis Aes/culapi(i) habens / ornamenta dec(urionalia) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et Aug(ustalis) / col(oniae) eiusdem / v(oto) p(osuit)*. See c II.7.

442 The altar or statue base of Septimius Asclepius Hermes (IDR III/5, 199) is one of the largest found in the conurbation. Similarly, the monument erected by the three Augustales must have been a very fine and monumental marble object (IDR III/5, 20). From 24 attestations of architectural evergetism, five are related to the Augustales, which is a remarkable number: Szabó 2013b: 383.

443 IDR III/5, 20. See also: Fishwick 1992: 609.

444 A classic example of the opportunist freedman and Augustales is Trimalchio from the *Satyricon:* Shin 1988: 425-426; Petersen 2006: 58. Some historians are more sceptical about treating this as a realistic portrait. See: Laird 2015: 44 especially fn. 12.

445 The chronology of the magistrates is impossible to reconstruct in the conurbation, however the epigraphic material shows their existence ever since the pre-municipal state of the city: Ardevan 1998.

446 R. Ardevan affirms that a rivalry even existed between the magistrates of the *canabae* and the later Municipium Aurelium Apulensis.

447 For a more detailed analysis of the *Publii Aelii*, see c II.8.

448 Abbott-Johnson 1926: 288-298; Rüpke 1995: 241-245; Schäfer 2006: 199-200; Scheid 2007; Raggi 2011. For the recently (re)discovered municipal law of Troesmis, see: Eck 2015; Cîrjan 2015; 2016.

449 However, the *curatores kalendarii*, as a public function, is missing from Dacia and the Danubian provinces, although it is certain that the public religious events were organized by the *ordo decurionum* and

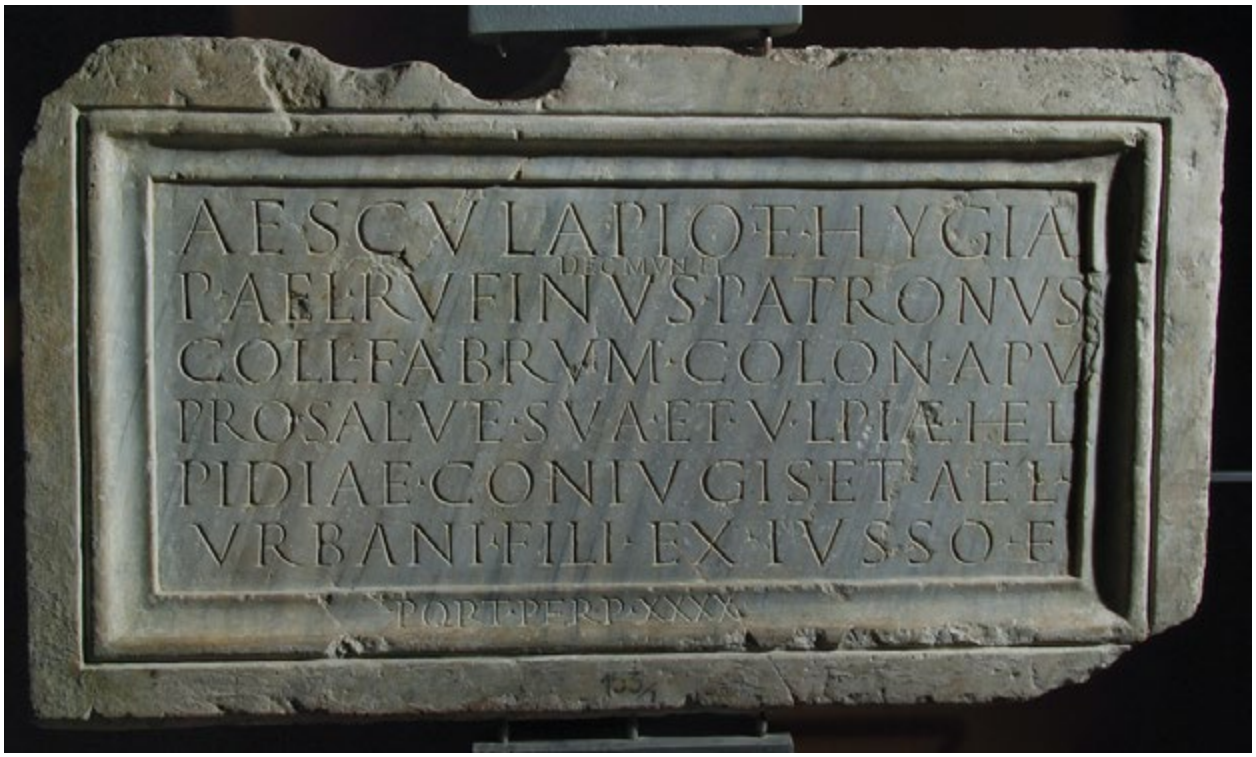

Figure 29. Marble plaque erected by Publius Aelius Rufinus in the Asklepieion (lupa 10943)

The constructions of the evergetes comprised not only the largest saced spaces, but also the most visited and well known in the conurbation, and even beyond. The competition and rivalry of some members of the local elite is expressed by the epigraphic material, which, especially in the case of the *Asklepieion*, is emphasised by the length (in *pedes*)[450] of some of the architectural elements, such as the *porticus*.[451] The size and position of the inscriptions on the entrance of the sanctuary was visible not only to all of the members of the *ordo decurionum*, but also to the ordinary visitor, which helped to perpetuate the name of the benefactor and to enhance the fame of his office.

The particular competition and rivalry of the local elite is revealed by three inscriptions, probably all of them being marble plaques installed in the entrance of the *Asklepieion*. The chronology of the three inscriptions is impossible to establish, however the size of the *porticus* can help us. The shortest (30 *pedes*, *c.* 888 cm) was erected by Publius Aelius Syrus and his family as an Augustalis of the Municipium Septimium Apulense.[452] Some years later, probably still in the age of Septimius Severus, Marcus Gallius Epictetus, Augustalis of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, enlarged the *porticus* by six more *pedes* (*c.* 1065 cm).[453] His inscription suggests an altar or statue base, however today it is missing, which precludes any detailed functional analysis. What is sure, however, is that we can attest competition between the two Augustales of two different urban centres: the old Colonia, with its traditional and already established families, and the newly established Municipium Septimium, where the Publii Aelii became the actors of urban competition and social self-representation. They existed also before AD 197, but the legal change of the status of the settlement opened new possibilities and opportunities for their social, political, and religious endeavours. The next marble plaque – the only one which still exists (**Fig. 29**) – was erected by another Publii Aelii, Publius Aelius Rufinus *decurio* of the Municipium Septimium, who enlarged the *porticus* by 40 *pedes* (1184 cm).[454] It is not certain whether Rufinus and Syrus were relatives, but it seems plausible that he had already reached a superior social level, as a

a very small group of influential individuals: Camia 2008: 233-245.

[450] One *pes* is *c.* 296 mm. See: Hosch 2010: 206.

[451] The *porticus Metelli* is cited as a prototype of this construction, however in provincial architecture it had numerous variations and meanings: Stamper 2014: 219. Agricola cited the *porticus* as 'quintessentially a Roman feature of urban design'. Anderson 2013b: 117. For the many variations of this construction type in Roman laic architecture, see: Zarmakoupi 2011: 50-62.

[452] IDR III/5,7: *Aesculapio et / Hygiae P(ublius) Ael(ius) Sy/rus Aug(ustalis) m(unicipii) Sep(timii) Apul(ensis) / et Vale(ria) Severa con/iux et Ael(ia) Syra fi/lia ex voto porti/cum per pedes XXX f(ecerunt).*

[453] IDR III/5, 13: *Aesculapio et Hygiae / M(arcus) Gallius Epictetus / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et Gall[i]a / Severina eius et Galli/us Surus et Gallius Se/verinus et Gallius / Severianus fili(i) pro / salute sua suorumq(ue) / somno monitus / por(ticum) fecit per p(edes) XXXVI.*

[454] IDR III/5: 6: *Aesculapio et Hygiae / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Rufinus dec(urio) mun(icipii) et patronus / coll(egii) fabrum colon(iae) Apul(ensis) / pro salute sua et Ulpiae Hel/pidiae coniugis et Ael(i) / Urbani fili ex iusso(!) f(ecit) / port(icum) per pedes XXXX.*

member of the local *ordo*. Some individuals, such as the Syrian Bassianus,[455] achieved his elite and privileged position from a very 'marginal' origin. Their privileged and honourable status is reflected also by some honorary monuments in the Forum of the Colonia.[456] The abundance of adjectives (*piisimo amico rarissimo*) on the inscription shows that building firm bonds with the local aristocracy was an essential element in local competition, even for the lower levels of society. The social network and its regional, spatial arrangement is emphasised also on the inscription dedicated by Tiberius Iulius Bubalus, who mentions that he came from the 11th *decuria* of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis.[457]

A classic example of elite ideology, and the self-representation of the *decuriones* and Iiviri, is the statue base of Publius Aelius Antipater and his family.[458] The monumental inscription (144 cm high)[459] was erected in one of the public places of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (possibly in the *Asklepieion* or the Forum).[460] It was dedicated to Jupiter Custos, Minerva, and all the divinities. Another inscription of the same person is dedicated to Jupiter Conservator, discovered in the same area.[461] If the inscriptions dedicated to these protecting powers are related to his illness, then these inscriptions are important sources for the existence of elite empathy and companionship in times of illness, a typical phenomenon for the high-Roman elite, as Várhelyi has pointed out.[462]

Similarly, a remarkable group of finds was identified in 1934 by V. Cucui and E. Zefleanu[463] in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[464] The findspots are surprisingly attested by the first publisher (within the garden of Sas Gligor at 13 Gemenilor St). The area corresponds with the recently identified possible Forum of the city,[465] where traces of urban monumentalisation are clearly visible. This area represents the southern part of the Municipium Aurelium Apulense and the central part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, in essence the very heart of the conurbation, possibly the central part of the Colonia. The recent archaeological excavations proved that this area comprised – after the Principia in the fort and the Praetorium Consularis – the most monumental architectural feature in the whole conurbation, with large statue bases, fine-art works, wide streets, columns, baths, and a Capitolium, or numerous sacred places (II.4.). The finds discovered in the same spot consisted of a fine, marble plaque dedicated to Diana Sacrum,[466] an altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus,[467] another to Deus Sol,[468] and a mid-sized representation of Jupiter.[469] It is quite possible that an altar mentioned in antiquarian sources dedicated to Bonus Puer by the same Titus Flavius Italicus was discovered in the same place.[470] The dedicator, Titus Flavius Italicus, was *primus IIIIvir* of the Municipium Aurelium Apulense, with well-established familial networks with Oescus and other cities of Moesiae and Dacia.[471] He appears on the marble plaque with his wife, Statilia Lucia, and their son, Flavius Statilianus. His private role and virtues as a good husband and father are associated again with the public role of 'father of the city', an ethic value displayed publicly in the most representative part of the city. The presence of a marble plaque suggests the reconstruction, or at least the existence, of a sanctuary or a building where Diana or multiple divinities were worshiped. The simultaneous presence of the finds and various divinities (Diana, IOM, Sol, and probably Bonus Puer) suggest a similar 'great temple' to the one found at Sarmizegetusa.[472] Interpreted by some scholars

[455] IDR III/5: 103: *Deo Soli / Hieribolo / Aur(elius) Bas/sinus dec(urio) / col(oniae) Aequens(is) / sacerd(os) nu/minum v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[456] IDR III/5: 446: *C(aio) Cervoni[o] / Pap(iria) Sabino q(uin)[q(uennali)] / col(oniae) Dac(icae) dec(urioni) mun[i]/[c]ipi(i) Apul(ensis) patron(o) / [c] ollegi(i) fabr(um) col(oniae) / [et m]unicipi(i) s(upra) s(criptorum) pa/[tro] no causarum / [piis?]simo am[ico] / rarissim[o] / Sex(tus) Sentinas Maxi/ mus anno primo / [f]acti municipi(i) / posuit // [ob] cuius / [sta]tuae dedi/ [cat]ionem Lu/[ci]a Iulia uxor / [C]ervoni(i) per / omnes balne/[as] populo pu/blice oleum / posuit / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*.

[457] IDR III/5: 147: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro salute im[p(erii?)] / et coll(egii) fabr[um] / Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Bubal[us] / ex dec(uria) XI / d(onum) d(edit)*. Ioan Piso dates the inscription to the period when the pre-municipal settlement in the territory of the Partos (vicus Apulensis) was part of the *territorium* of Sarmizegetusa. In this case the 11th *decuria* refers to the capital of the province, and not Apulum: Piso 2001a: 115.

[458] IDR III/5: 215: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Cust(odi) / Iunon(i) Miner/ vae ceteris/que dis deabus/que P(ublius) Ael(ius) Anti/pater IIvira(lis) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et An/tonia Iulia / eius et Aelii An/tipater Iulia/nus Genialis / deccc(uriones) col(oniae) eq(uo) p(ublico) e(t) Iulia / filii eor(um) pro salut(e) / sua suorumque*. See also: Szabó 2001.

[459] With its statue it then has the same height as an average Roman, which emphasised the importance and dominance of the statue in the space. The 'high visibility' of a statue and inscription was essential in the everyday life of the local elite: Borg-Witschel 2001: 47-120; Witschel 2014: 114-125.

[460] The inscription was found in the 1920s around the Partoș (Colonia Aurelia Apulensis), however the first publisher did not mention the exact place and context of the discovery: Cucuiu 1928: 24-25.

[461] IDR III/5: 210: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Cons(ervatori) / pro salute / P(ubli) Ael(i) Antipatri / sac(erdotis) arae Aug(usti) / sua suorumque / omniu(m) Onesimus // actor v(otum) s(olvit)*.

[462] Várhelyi 2010: 78-80.

[463] Cucuiu 1934: 20-25; Daicoviciu 1941: 305-306. See also: Szabó 2014b: 65.

[464] DMA. See also c II.4.

[465] Ciobanu 2014: 512-515.

[466] IDR III/5: 52.

[467] IDR III/5: 144.

[468] IDR III/5: 351.

[469] Daicoviciu 1941: 306-307, abb. nr 6. See also: Ota 2013: 65, fig. 47; Alexandrescu 2013: 195, cat. nr 1.

[470] IDR III/5: 303: *Bono Deo / Puero P(h)os/phoro / T(itus) Fl(avius) Italicus / primus IIII/vir m(unicipii) A(ureli) A(pulensis) / cum Stati/lia Lucia / coniuge et / suis ex voto*. None of the altars dedicated to Bonus Puer has an exact findspot. IDR III/5: 301: *Bono / Puero / Aur(elius) Ch/ restus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. It is one of the finest altars from Apulum, discovered in 1790 with Silvanus, Apollo, IOM Sacrum altars and a full-size 'alabaster' (in fact, marble) statue of a female representation: Aranka 1796: 147-149. It is quite possible that all these finds came from this area of the Municipium Aurelium Apulense.

[471] Ruscu 2011.

[472] Boda 2015b.

Figure 30. Inscription from the time of Volusianus in Colonia Aurelia Apulensis Chrysopolis (lupa 10937)

as *tutelae provinciarum*, worshipped in the provincial forum of the first urban centre of the province, the worship of these divinities could be related to the Imperial Cult and official, civic religion.[473] These *synnaoi theoi* are similar to that of P. Catius Sabinus,[474] reflecting local appropriations and special religious narratives, which are hard or impossible to reconstruct based on the archaeological evidence.[475]

The *ordo*, as the main driver for shaping and forming an urban identity, is reflected on one of the last inscriptions of the conurbation (**Fig.30**), dated to the time of the emperor Volusianus (AD 251-253):[476]

> *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) Vibio / Afinio Gallo Vel/ dumiano Volu/siano P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) pon/tif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / II patr[i pa]triae / co(n)s(uli) II proco(n)s(uli) / ordo col(oniae) Aur(eliae) Ap(ulensis) Chr/ysop(olis) numini eius / d(edicavit)*

The inscription is very important also because it is the only source for a new epithet of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, named here as 'Chrysopolis', City of Gold.[477] The new honorific title could refer to the proximity of Alburnus Maior and the important roads which intersected in Apulum and played a major role in the provincial and extra-provincial economy.[478] The statue base is also a special because it is one of the few Imperial statue bases of the conurbation.[479]

The analogies presented above reveal a large space, where the local elite could promote themselves: the city Forum, the *Asklepieion* and its area, and the vicinity of the fort. All of the places were open and popular spaces, which made these monuments and their dedicators highly visible to a large audience. As the interaction with the public and the visibility of the objects rise, the effect and benefits of these on the collective memory and on the persistence of the sanctuary increase. The interaction of the middle-class elite – the *decuriones* – with other socio-political groups seems to be very dynamic and manifested in numerous places. They were the accessible, the visible, elite, with a more dynamic interaction with merchants, peregrines, religious professionals from the *Asklepieion*, and societal groups other than the senatorial elite, which seems to manifest in the conurbation as the 'invisible' and inaccessible elite. They continuously invest in religious activity because their benefits serve not only personal, spiritual purposes, but maintain their elite position within the city.

Religion and the senatorial elite in Apulum

The importance of the senatorial elite in the religious life of an urban or provincial environment has already been analysed numerous times.[480] Hence, our interest needs to be focused on a different aspect of their religiosity, namely the visibility and impact of the senators and their religious acts within an urban group, emphasising their spatial and ideological impact, i.e. how often senators appeared in public; which places and spaces they made sacred; and what the immediate and long-term impacts of these events were. While some studies emphasise the traditional role theory within the *polis*, that is to say the religious perspective of the senatorial elite, based on the contrast between public and private,[481] other, more recent, studies have identified also their significant role in defining the interaction of the elite with the lower classes and their spatial dynamics within a smaller-scale society.[482]

The senators who served in Dacia for few years are less visible than the municipal elite, although their role

[473] The very existence of such an artificial pantheon created for the province of Dacia was identified first by Domaszewski and later embraced by I. Piso. The lack of similar analogies, however, suggests that the association of different divinities could be explained more with by presence of various local religious narratives and myths.
[474] See c II.3.
[475] For the formation of local myths, collective memory, and specific *synnaoi theoi*, see: Andringa 2012: 110-111.
[476] IDR III/5: 432. See also: Hügel 2003; Ardevan 2007.
[477] Popa-Aldea 1972: 211-220. See also: TLL vol. II. 425. For Colonia Iulia Augusta Parmensis Chrysopolis: Zucchelli 2005: 333-360.
[478] Fodorean 2005.
[479] The form, size and place of discovery also prove this: HØjte 2005. About the possible Forum of the city, see also: Ciobanu 2014: 512-515.
[480] Eck 1992: 151-160; Eck 1997; Alföldy 2001: 11-46; Popescu 2004; Scheid 2005: 271-282; Eck 2005: Várhelyi 2010. See also: Norena 2011.
[481] Scheid 2005: 274.
[482] On the senators and their doctors: Várhelyi 2010: 80.

was always emphasised as a public one *par excellence*.[483] Based on the epigraphic material (50 inscriptions)[484], they manifest mainly in three spaces: the *Principia* within the legionary fort, the *Praetorium Consularis*, and the Forum. In some exceptional cases they appear also in sanctuaries, about which more will be said below. Two of these places – probably the most frequented by the senators – are, however, less accessible to the wider public. The Principia and the governor's palace were places where only a limited number of people were allowed access. On some rare occasions, the Principia and its monumental forum were transformed into a place of ceremony and communal religious acts, where the *legatus legionis* was physically present and accessible for all the soldiers, practising religion together.[485] In a local context, we are talking about a very mobile and 'ephemeral' elite;[486] for the general public and ordinary individual it was a genuinely rare event and a spectacular moment, providing an opportunity to see a senator performing a religious ritual or appearing in a public space. Their physical presence and accessibility, as an official symbol of Imperial power, were rare occasions which needed to be emphasised by rituals, clothes, and probably even by specific soundscapes.[487]

In the Forum of the *colonia* – only recently claimed to have been identified **(II.4.)** – the senatorial elite was present in two different guises: as acting figures in sacralised spaces, such as the Capitolium of the *colonia*, or as honoured members of the group and the whole province. A significant example of the monumental, probably even colossal, statues that stood in the Forum is the one dedicated to Lucius Marius Perpetuus:[488]

> *L(ucio) Mario Per/petuo co(n)s(ulari) Dac(iarum) / III leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro / pr(aetore) provinciae / Moesiae Super(ioris) / curat(ori) rerum pu/blicar(um) Urbis item Tusculanor(um) prae/sidi prov(inciae) Arabiae / latic(lavio) leg(ionis) IIII Scyth(icae) praes(idi) / [i] ustiss(imo) M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Caius |(centurio) / [leg(ionis)] III Ital(icae) Antonini/anae*

The 150-cm-high statue base is one of the largest of its kind found in Apulum, and considered a mid-sized honorary base in an Imperial context, but among the most monumental known from Dacia.[489] The role of the Forum, as a space of religious performance, and as an important tool for the formation of the collective memory of a Roman city, was emphasised recently by numerous studies.[490] The presence of the honorary statues in public spaces was also important because of the limited visibility of the senators themselves.

The representative and moral religious individuality of the senatorial elite can be traced in the case of Apulum only through their votive dedications.[491] In numerous cases they chose to emphasise their Italic divinities in public spaces, or for Dacia, by an unusual epithet for the divinity. Jupiter Stator, Jupiter Monitor et Conservator[492], Minerva Supera,[493] Mercurius Hilarius, Saturnus Securus[494], Fortuna Redux[495] appears on relatively small inscriptions, dedicated probably as an act of a *vota extraordinaria*. The multiple dedications by a single person is also led by the senatorial elite, however, not in every case. The multiple dedications for the senatorial elite had a slightly different role, for example with the religious professionals and opportunists, or the members of the *ordo decurionum*. In their case, the accumulation of votive inscriptions and monuments in a space serves the official expression of Roman presence and political continuity, the faith and loyalty towards the Emperor and the traditional Roman values, divinities and rituals. It serves also a competitive attitude between successor senators in legitimising their supremacy in different religious spaces. Expressing their *cursus honorum*, in and outside of the province in this case, was essential, even on votive monuments.[496]

A particularly interesting case study is represented by the dedications of Caius Caerellius Sabinus, *legatus legionis XIII Geminae*, and his family.[497] The three altar

[483] Eck 2005: 1-2.

[484] Votive, honorary and funerary inscriptions. The new inscriptions from the Principia are unpublished. Numerous, fragmentary inscriptions could be associated with the senatorial order; Piso 2001, vol. II: 563, with the list of the *honestiores* from Apulum. See also: Piso 1993a.

[485] Dziurdzik 2015.

[486] Most of the senators stayed only one or two years in Apulum, however their stay – especially before the Marcommanic wars – was not limited only to Apulum, but they surely moved inside the province too, visiting the key military and religious centers – such as Sarmizegetusa, the Ara Augusti, the provincial council, Germisara, which was important to the indigenous population and therefore, the Roman elite need to show off and present their presence and power.

[487] On the public visibility of the senators, see: Eck 2005: 1-18.

[488] IDR III/5: 436. See also: Piso 1993a: 169-177.

[489] Ruck 2005: 121.

[490] Piso-Etienne-Diaconescu 2006.

[491] For a comparative analogy, see: Boda 2014a.

[492] The epithet *monitor* appears also very rarely across the whole Empire (see also CIL III 3228).

[493] Although the epithet '*supera*' appears in some cases associated with Fortuna (IDR III/5: 78, CIL XIII 11774) there are no analogies for any other dedications of Minerva from the Empire: Girard 1981: 217.

[494] The three altars dedicated to Minerva Supera, Mercurius Hilarius and Saturnus Securus by M. Herennius M. f. Faustus Ti. Iulius Clemens Tadius Flaccus were discovered at Limba and Straja (Alba county), around 14 km from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. Although I. Piso presumed that the two mid-sized altars came from Apulum, there is a possibility for great suburban villas of the senatorial elite in this area: Oltean 2007: 122, fig.5.2. On his career, see: Piso 1993a: 214-217; Rüpke 2005: 1030.

[495] The exact location of the altar is unknown, however the earliest attestation of it suggests the Principia, or the sacred area of the *canabae*/Municipium. The altar probably stood in the same building of the plaque, or altar mentioning the renovation of the temple of Sol Invictus. See also: Boda 2014a.

[496] IDR III/5: 195, 365; Eck 2005: 1-18. See also: Várhelyi 2010: 175.

[497] IDR III/5: 107: *Iunoni / Reginae Po/puloniae / deae patriae / C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus leg(atus) / Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / et Fufidia / Pollitta eius / voto*; IDR III/5: 139: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [C(aius) Caerellius] / [Sabinus leg(atus)] / [Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae)] / [et*

fragments were found in a secondary position in 1861 at the 'Niedertor' of the Vauban fortress.[498] Although Ioan Piso suggested that the three altars were standing in the Praetorium Consularis,[499] this cannot be sustained with certainty. What seems, however, more possible is their simultaneous dedication as a proof of an extraordinary event, or act of great importance. The altars are dedicated to IOM, Iuno Regina Populonia and Minerva (*Iovis consuliorum participi*). The epithets of the divinities show a particular, very individual choice of the Capitoline triad, whereby the senatorial family express their patriotic, local preferences, and going beyond their moral religious individuality.[500] The only altar of the three which remained almost integral shows that the three, free-standing altars were among the greatest in the conurbation with highly elaborated and carefully carved paleography and decoration.

The religious communication of the senatorial elite in Apulum, and generally in Roman Dacia, does not exhibit many particularities in comparison with other provinces. What it makes different, however, are the contextual situations, where the natural environment (such as the geography and climate of Dacia and the presence of the gold mines), and some particular political or historical events, such as the numerous attacks by the 'Barbarians' and dislocations of the army, resulted a different basis for the religious narrative, making their religious communication and the sacralisation of some particular places unique, and offering some case studies relating to short-term or situational appropriations beyond their representative and moral religious individuality.

Hidden religion: the Praetorium Consularis

The Praetorium Consularis – after the two legionary camps of Dacia – was the grandest architectural landmark of the Roman presence in the territory of the province (I.8**, Fig.31**). Although it was not revealed totally, during three major periods of systematic excavations (1888-2012) more than 14000 m^2 were excavated.[501] Even if the existence of the palace of the governor was suggested already in the 19th century, the building-complex was identified as the Praetorium Consularis only in the 1960s,[502] and confirmed by I. Piso and A. Diaconescu in 1993.[503] Since then, further systematic excavations have identified new parts of the complex, and the first preliminary monograph was published on the building and recently was also analyzed in a comparative study with other palaces and seats of provincial governors.[504] Due to the old excavation methodology used by Béla Cserni and the numerous misunderstandings of the later historiography, the exact functionality of the almost 300 identified rooms and compartments is very hard to establish.[505] Although the excavation was well documented, the details provided by Béla Cserni do not allow us to identify with certainty the functionality of the compartments. From the finds and the archaeological material it seems that Cserni revealed a domestic area of the *praetorium*, with the barracks and compartments for the soldiers (group A). A more representative, ceremonial area was revealed probably by the excavations carried out by Ion Berciu and Alexandru Popa.

The building complex seems to have begun at the end of the reign of Hadrian, after the major administrative modifications in the province,[506] however its first phase is very hard to identify.[507] The location of the praetorium is very important to highlight, because this could have already been an important reference for the spatial expression of the senatorial elite. It is situated in the area referred to today as the 'lower city' (*alsóváros*), limited on the west by the military fort on its plateau and to the east by the Ampoita.[508] The palace was practically, therefore, on a naturally created island within the conurbation, similar to the praetorium in Aquincum. Delimited by natural barriers, the palace was meant to be a special legal and architectural entity within the conurbation, with provincial, extra-urban importance. It was the symbol of the Roman presence, the ultimate expression of power, propaganda, and Imperialism. The location was not only a pragmatic one,[509] but carefully chosen as a space for the 'invisible' elite. The accessibility and visibility of the palace is little known, but it was certainly off-limits for large groups or crowds of ordinary people. Possibly, it was separated not only by natural borders but also by

Fufidia] / [Pollitta eius] / [voto]; IDR III/5: 260: *Minervae / Iovis consili/ orum partici/pi C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus leg(atus) / Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / et Fufidia / Pollitta eius / voto*. On his career, see: Piso 1993: 235-238. He appears also on IDR III/5: 354: *Soli Invicto / aedem restituit / C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) / leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae)* and IDR III/5: 235: *Libero Patri / sacrum pro / salute Imp(eratoris) / Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli) / Commodi / Antonini / Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriae) L(ucius) / Calvisius L(uci) f(ilius) / Velina Secun/dus Falerione / p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) d(onum) d(edit) / sub Vespron(io) [Can]/dido co(n)s/(sulari) dedic[ante] / [C]aerellio Sabi[n]o l[eg(ato)]*.

[498] IDR III/5: 107, however, was attested already by Ariosti in 1711.

[499] This hypothesis based only on the physical vicinity of the governor's palace: Piso 2001: 87.

[500] Scheid 2005: 274-276.

[501] For the historiographic summary, see: Szabó 2016a: 113-123.

[502] Berciu-Popa 1964: 304. See also: Schäfer 2014a: 268.

[503] Diaconescu-Piso 1993.

[504] Idem, 265-287. See also: Bolindet et al. 2011.

[505] Béla Cserni interpreted the building-complex as the 'great thermae' or simply as the 'excavation site', identifying mostly some small compartments of the 'bath' and some of the places where religious activities might have taken place: Schäfer 2014; Varga-Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 118-121. The first attempt to identify the functionality of some of the compartments was made by I. Piso and then Felix Schäfer: Piso 1993; Schäfer 2014a.

[506] Piso 1993b; Bolindet *et al.* 2011; Schäfer 2014a, 265.

[507] Schäfer 2014a: 272-275.

[508] Diaconescu-Piso 1993; Diaconescu 2004.

[509] Indeed, it is the largest unoccupied surface, lying in the valley of the river and quite close to the plateau of the fort, which could control and protect the palace from above.

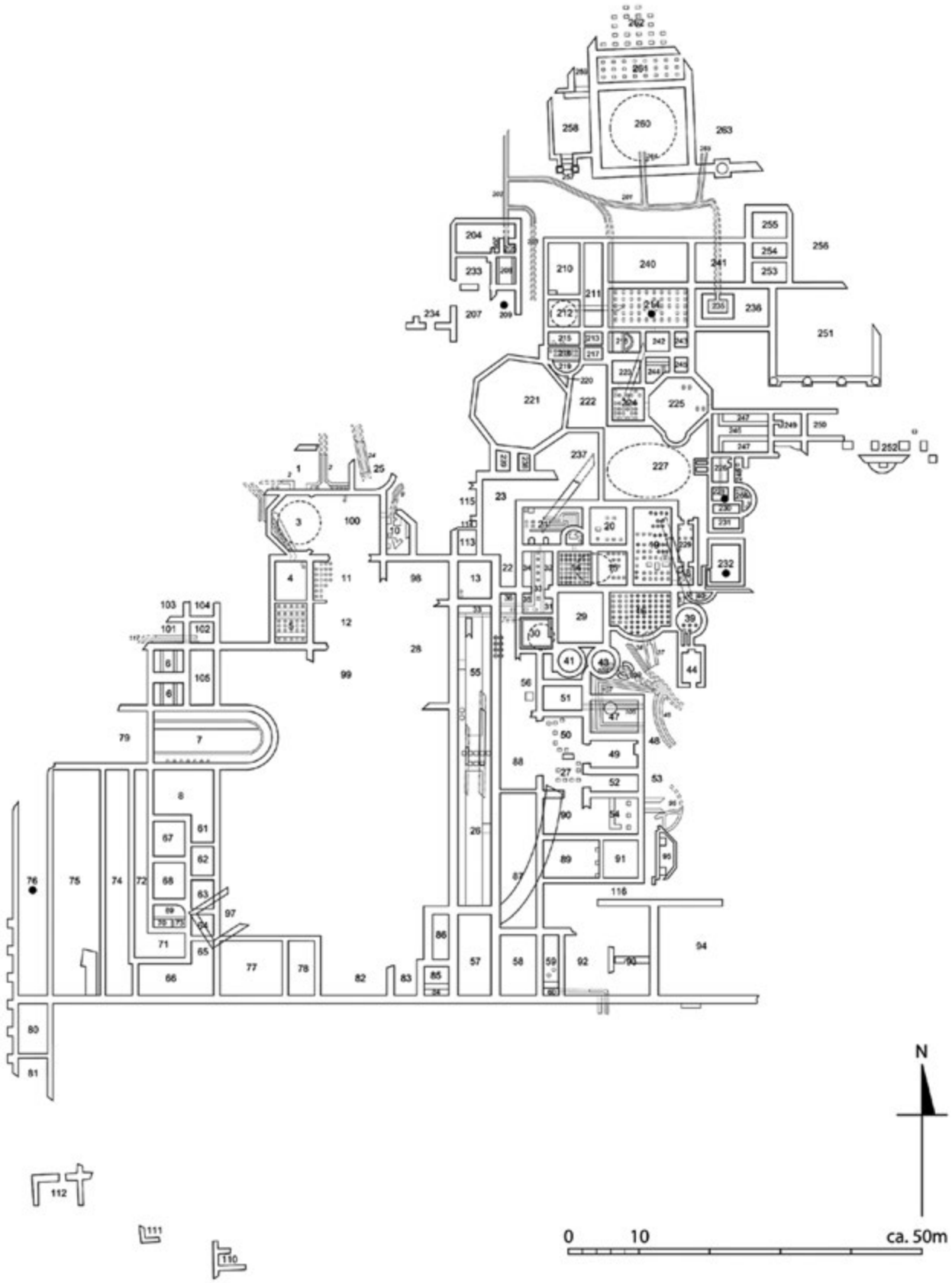

Figure 31. Plan of the Palace of Governors (*praetorium consularis*) from Apulum (after Schäfer 2014b, 273, abb. 281)

walls, or by a massive architectural structure[510] that had multiple functions beyond its obvious defensive role. Besides the governor and his family, more than 300 individuals made up the population of this 'hidden city', most of them comprising the two *numeri* (*equites* and *pedites singulares*).[511] The length of service of these groups within this building complex is unknown, but as the governor and his very close staff changed almost yearly, probably the turnover time for the whole population was very fast. This is important in terms of understanding the nature of the religious activities and sacralised spaces attested within this context. Their religious preferences within this space was strictly related to the milieu, as a 'hotspot' of Imperial power and cult. The dynamics of the religious activity within the *praetorium consularis* is suggested also by the chronology of the inscriptions: while a possible *Serapaeum* existed already after the Marcomannic Wars, the shrine of Epona was established only in the 3rd century AD.[512] These spaces were established by individual choices made by the *legati* or their staff. The Epona shrine (I.8.)[513] was probably part of the barracks and headquarters of the *equites singulares*, as Ioan Piso has suggested,[514] and it was frequented by a very small number of soldiers. The foundation of the shrine was probably an initiative of an individual who personally chose Epona as protecting divinity for himself and the *equites singulares*[515]. The four inscriptions dedicated to the Celtic divinity[516] are dated between AD 215 and 253, which suggests a short timespan for the sacralised space, but also indicates the durability and, indirectly, the successful religious investment of the founder. Worshipping Epona for more than one generation within an elite military milieu[517] represents the success of an individual religious choice.

In another small, rectangular room, or in front of an entrance,[518] there was an altar dedicated to Minerva Victrix around AD 196/197 by the *librarius* of the governor, Aelius Sabinus (**Fig.32**).[519] The functionality of the chamber is not known, but it was closely related to rooms 232, 246, 248 and 266 as part of complex E. These rooms were very small (usually 3x 5 m), and uncomfortably crowded, probably designed to serve a domestic milieu. The finds in the rooms suggest also that these were domestic spaces or small rooms for different social interactions. The association of Minerva with the *librarius* could suggest the presence also of a library nearby, however the epithet of the divinity and the Imperial dedication suggest a more general, historical or political background. A further monument dedicated to Minerva Augusta was found in another room in 1962.[520.]

Close to room 228 was a larger (*c.* 6 x 7 m), rectangular chamber (room 232),[521] where a mid-sized altar, or statue base, dedicated to Nemesis was erected by Terentius Marcianus, a *beneficiarius*.[522] The inscription mentions the rebuilding of a temple (*templum*). Unfortunately, the chamber where the altar was found was not documented properly, and thus further phases of the architecture cannot be established. It is possible that the inscription refers to another building. If it is related to a Nemesis shrine within the *praetorium*, then, again, it raises questions about the erection of such a building and how the occupiers managed to maintain its durability if it were only an individual religious preference. The inscription tells us also that Terentius Marcianus reconstructed the temple after a divination (*ex visu*) and direct contact with the divine. At Apulum, similar inscriptions have only been found in the *Asklepieion*, where *incubatio* and dream-healing were practised and monopolised.

Further objects related to religious communication were discovered within the area of the palace, most of them associated with the domestic religion or personal choices of the inhabitants. A relief of the 'Thracian Rider' was found in complex E, near the Nemesis altar,[523] and two silver plaques representing Fortuna and Mercurius were found near a small chamber in the residential area.[524] A bust of Diana, a head of Apollo Belvedere and a torso of Iuno were also found there.

[510] On Cserni's plan the southern part of the palace has a significant wall, however it is uncertain whether it represents the southern end of the palace.

[511] Cupcea 2012; 2014; 2015.

[512] Piso 1993b.

[513] In room 76. See: Schäfer 2014: 273, abb. 281.

[514] Piso 1995a: 205. See also: Cupcea 2012.

[515] An interesting analogy for a possible Epona shrine was discovered in Meonstoke in 2018. Similar, hexagonal buildings were found also in Roman villas from Hosszúhetény and Chiragan.

[516] IDR III/5: 68: *Eponae Aug(ustae) / pro salute / [[dd(ominorum) [nn(ostrorum)]]] / [[G[alli et V]o]]/[[lusi[an]i]] / [[Augg(ustorum)]] / Aur(elius) Marcus / v(ir) e(gregius) a(gens) v(ice) p(raesidis)*; IDR III/5: 69: [Eponae?] *Reginae / [---] sacrum / [---]on(ius) / [------*; IDR III/5: 70: *Epon(a)e Regin[ae] / sanc[tae] C(aius) [[[---]]] / [[S[---]]] leg(atus) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) co(n)s(ularis) / Dac(iarum) III [---] / [------] / [-] V[---] / [--]IENTI[---]*; IDR III/5: 71: *Epon(a)e sanct(a)e / pro salute / C(ai) Iuli(i) Septimi(i) / Castini leg(ati) Aug(usti) / pr(o) pr(aetore) III Daciar(um) / Libella superi(u)/mentarius eius [votum s]olvit.* On the divinity, see: Oaks 1984; Nemeti 2005.

[517] On the role of the *equites singulares* and the military elite related to the governor, see: Cupcea 2015: 50-51.

[518] Room 228; Schäfer 2014a: 273, abb. 281.

[519] IDR III/5: 266: *Minervae / Victrici pro / sal(ute) dominn(orum) / nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) / Imp(eratoris) Severi / et Antonini / Caesaris / Ael(ius) Sabinus / libr(arius) co(n)s(ularis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

[520] IDR III/5: 263: *Minervae / Aug(ustae) / exceptores / co(n)s(ularis) // [---]tinus / [---]ssianus / [---]ssianus / [--- F]lorus / [--- Sev?]erus / [--- Vale?] ns / [------].*

[521] Schäfer 2014a: 273, abb. 281.

[522] Clement 2000; Cupcea 2014.

[523] The exact location is not given by Cserni: Szabó 2016a, 113-123..

[524] Near room 10: Schäfer 2014a, 273, abb. 281.

Figure 32. Sacralised space within the palace of governor from Apulum with the altar dedicated to Minerva Victrix (photo after Szabó 2016a, fig.89)

Although the presence of a monumental bronze statue, representing probably a deified emperor or *genius* in the *praetorium*, could suggest the existence of a representative space where the Imperial cult was celebrated, the archaeological evidence shows only the presence of a very individualised, domestic religion, , its primary audience being a very small group of professionally linked people, who were eager to express their loyalty towards the emperor and the governor. The main mechanism which drove the spatial arrangement and evolution of religious experiences and activities within the palace involved loyalty, military morale, and, not least, personal faith and devotion, which shaped the sacred landscape of the palace. The presence of the governor himself provided the opportunity for maintaining a shrine or temple for more than one generation, as the Epona and Nemesis sanctuaries demonstrate.

The 'visible' senators: the accessibility of the socio-political elite

In some rare cases, the presence of the senatorial elite is attested also outside of the Principia, Praetorium Consularis, and Forum. Three spaces were attested where senators performed religious communication and marked their presence: the *aedes* of Sol Invictus, a *mithraeum*, and a possible *nymphaeum*.

The *aedes* of Sol Invictus (II.8.) is impossible to locate exactly today. It was one of the few Roman buildings the ruins of which were still visible in 1711, when the Vauban fortress began to be built and when a large part of the *extra-muros* area of the fort and a part of the *canabae* were severely damaged.[525] The *aedes* was first attested during the time of Commodus (AD 183-185), in the period of Caius Caerellius Sabinus *legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae*,[526] when it had already been rebuilt by the *legatus:*[527]

> *Soli Invicto / aedem restituit / C(aius) Caerellius / Sabinus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) / leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae)*

This evergetic act could have led to the official legitimization of the cult of Sol Invictus as part of the Imperial cult and an expression of loyalty to the emperor, who favoured the sun god in Rome.[528] Sabinus'

[525] This could mean also, that the building was also one of the biggest in the territory of the canabae or Municipium Septimium: Szabó 2014b, 60. See also: Ariosti 2010.
[526] Piso 1993a: 233-237.
[527] IDR III/5: 354.
[528] Clauss 2001: 150; Hekster 2002: 115-117.

dedication is the only one from a senator to mention the rebuilding of a sanctuary in the settlements of Apulum. It was probably part of the monumentalisation of the *canabae*, which, some years later, obtained the status of Municipium. However, this was probably not because of its urban aspects and endeavours, but for other military and political reasons.[529] We do not know the exact motivation of the *legatus* as to why he needed to rebuild the *aedes*. It could have been severely damaged after the Marcomannic Wars, or it might simply have been an act representing political, military and ideological stability, establishing faith and security (*securitas publica*), as also emphasised by the iconographic and Imperial propaganda of Rome on coins and in the urban and religious topographical changes in the capital.[530] Rebuilding a sacred place is an investment in many senses: involving not only the elite of the city, but also architects, workers, artists, masons, soldiers, and members of the general public, who passively participated in the religious performances of the senator. The investment is not only physical and financial, but also – and more enduringly – ideological. The senator's name is attested on five inscriptions in the conurbation, which makes him the most 'visible' and dynamic senator in the religious life of Apulum.[531] His presence and emphasised role must be related to the historical background of the period around AD 180, when the general propaganda of the Empire was based on establishing *securitas* and *pietas*.

Establishing this temple as the ultimate place of Imperial loyalty and 'civic' religion, his follower senators and *legati legionis* had an important role in the maintenance of this saced place. Two of them are attested probably within the same building, dedicating an altar or statue base for this divinity.[532] Quintus Caecilius Laetus (*c.* AD 194-197)[533] dedicates an inscription to Sol Invictus just ten years after his predecessor:[534]

> *Soli / Invicto / Q(uintus) Caecil(ius) / Laetus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*

Similarly, Quintus Marcius Victor Felix Maximillianus (*c.* AD 198-209)[535] and his family followed this tradition:[536]

> *Soli / Q(uintus) Marcius Vi/ctor Felix Ma/ximillianus leg(atus) / Augg(ustorum) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) et / Pullaiena Cael/iana c(larissima) f(emina) eius / et P(ublius) Marcius Vi/ctor Maximilli/anus c(larissimus) p(uer) filius / voto*

The presence of three senators and *legati legionis* within the same building means that this was an extremely important space in the religious life of the conurbation and the lives of the soldiers.

Another place where the senatorial elite is attested is the *mithraeum* at Oancea (III.13).[537] Marcus Valerius Maximianus (*c.* AD 180-182)[538] seems to have dedicated an altar to the Invincible God:[539]

> *[Soli?] Invicto / Mit(h)rae / M(arcus) Val(erius) Maxi/ mianus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) / v(otum) s(olvit)*

Although a *mithraeum* cannot be considered as a public place, it is a relevant example for where the senatorial elite could interact very personally and in religious intimacy with other individuals from the 'outside', or the non-political elite among the local society. In this case, however, their senatorial role probably lost its socio-political meaning and was not so strongly emphasised, a Mithraic group being based on a slightly different social mechanism.

An interesting dedication is that of Rufrius Sulpicianus (*c.* AD 212-215)[540] to the new, sacred Nymphs (Fig.):[541]

> *Pro salut(e) / domini / nostri sa/nctissimi / Antonini / Pii Augusti / Nymphis / novis sacrum / Rufrius Sulpicia(nus) / leg(atus) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) Ant(oninianae)*

The medium-sized and very elegantly carved altar or statue base is the only source to mention the cult of the Nymphs in the conurbation. The original placement of the monument is unknown,[542] but as Ioan Piso has suggested, it could be proof of the existence of a *nymphaeum* in the conurbation (also: I.17, I.45). The importance of water and its supply within the conurbation is underlined by numerous archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the hypocaust system, baths, aqueduct, and a fountain.[543] The epithet 'novum'

[529] For the participation of the Legion XIII Gemina in the wars of Septimius Severus and the loyalty of the city: Piso 2005b; Mráv 2012a.
[530] BMC 697, 701, Beaujeu 1955: 370; Hekster 2002: 116-117.
[531] IDR III/5: 107, 139, 260. See also: IDR III/3: 244.
[532] The exact locations of these monuments are unknown, however they were discovered in the same area during the building of the Vauban fortress.
[533] Piso 1993a: 248.
[534] IDR III/5: 353. Another inscription dedicated by him to Fortuna Redux was discovered in the same area of the city. IDR III/5: 77: *Fortunae / Reduci / Q(uintus) Caecilius / Laetus leg(atus) / Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII / gem(inae) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*. See also: IDR III/5: 82: *Genio / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / Q(uintus) Caecilius / Lae[t]us [leg(atus)] leg(ionis) eius[d]em / v(otum) [l(ibens)] s(olvit)*.
[535] Piso 1993a: 250.
[536] IDR III/5: 350.
[537] The provenience of the monument is unknown, however if the altar or statue base was walled into the medieval fort, it could came from the *extra muros* sacred area of the *canabae*. See c II.8.
[538] Várhelyi 2010: 33-37, 145-146.
[539] IDR III/5: 286. See also: Sicoe 2014: 164-165, cat. nr 51, with further bibliography.
[540] Piso 1993a: 252-253.
[541] IDR III/5: 298. See also: Beutler-Weber 2015: 65. nr 48.
[542] It was preserved in the wall of a medieval chapel and later transfered in the 18th century to Vienna. It is possible that it comes from the area of the Municipium.
[543] There is only one article which deals with the water distribution of the conurbation, however numerous aspects,such as the geographical and geological nature of the area, the medieval water

could refer to a new fountain, which for every Roman city was a vital and very important event.[544] By erecting an altar, or possibly transforming one into a public fountain or *nymphaeum*, Rufrius Sulpicianus possibly performed his religious act of dedication as part of a public ceremony. Monopolising the water supply by the authorities and connecting it with the cult of the Nymphs, was a senatorial duty, and thus his presence at a public event, in a public space, was inevitable.

The notion of elitism often appears in close relationship with the organisers and controllers of the religious life in a micro- or even macro-society. This section has presented the different levels and groups of the conurbation and the heterogeneous nature of what an elite might represent in a religious group. The case study of Apulum shows two dominant elite groups who monopolized certain aspects of Roman religious communication and the cultural memory of the city, as expressed by evergetes activities and epigraphy: the *ordo decurionum* and the senatorial elite. However, the two groups show a significant difference between them. While the *ordo decurionum* are strongly visible and accessible in the city, the visibility of the senators within the sacred landscape of the conurbation is much less visible. Members of the *ordo decurionum* are more heterogeneous by their various ethnic, financial and social status and origins. Their greater number created also a more competitive micro-society, where they needed to prove their legitimacy and supremacy. Religion and performance were used as tools for communication within their own small circle, but also with other levels of society. Their omnipresence made them a very visible and competitive society, the main motor and power of the public religion of the conurbation. Many of them were colonialists, first- or second-generational merchants, veterans or civilians, who used religion as a means of establishing their positions within the urban group and ecosystem.

In contrast with this, the senatorial elite was characterised with ephemeral features: limited space, limited time-frame, and limited accessibility and ways of religious interaction with a larger public. This 'exoticism' made them even more superior, which they deliberately emphasised. Their special dedications, local gods and cults were all proof of this. They were prepared for official residence in Apulum, representing the Imperial house, cult, and the main religious currents and propaganda of the times, balancing this with their own personal or familial choices, as part of senatorial ideology and self-expression. Their limited periods of occupancy and numbers, however, was balanced by their multiple dedications and probably erection of monuments in public spaces and religious performances.

The communication levels between the two groups are hard to reconstruct, but one can assume minimal interaction or competition between them, their objectives and motivations being totally different, however, in a longer perspective, both groups served the slow formation of a communal identity and local, urban ideology and religion.

Providing religion: priesthood beyond the titles

Priests formed another group that played an important role in monopolising sacralised spaces, developing into a local power elite in the own right..

In the last decade, international scholarship has created massive catalogues of sacerdotal officials,[545] based on traditional prosopographic research, and analysed numerous topics so far neglected.[546] The role of priests was emphasized in the context of controlling or monopolising religion, provincial or municipal laws,[547] economy,[548] individualisation and competence. The methodological approach that appeared in the recent studies gives a new view also on the provincial priesthood.[549]

Speaking about priests and official religion in the Roman provincial context is a much more complex phenomenon than has been presented to date in the Romanian historiography, focusing mostly on listing titles and those who held them.[550] Similarly to other provinces, or for the priesthood of Rome, systematic research of the priesthood was begun first by publishing a comprehensive catalogue of sacerdotal officials.[551]

From AD 106 to 160 in the *Pagus Apulensis* and in the *canabae*, Roman religious acts, such as the *inaugurationes* of sanctuaries, public ceremonies and festivals, had to be consulted, endorsed and publicly displayed by specialists, perhaps those from Sarmizegetusa. The *aedes principiorum* and the *Asklepieion* probably existed already in the period from AD 106-160, as the early inscriptions suggest.[552] This means that creating sacralised spaces and institutionalising religious activities also needed religious functionaries. This role

supply system, and the discovery of the aqueduct in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis during the 1860s, are described briefly by Béla Cserni: Ota-Băeștean 2010: 127-139. On the cult of the Nymphs, see: BRRD II: 373-377.

544 Owens 1991: 41-58.

545 Rüpke 2005.

546 Richardson-Santangelo 2011; Urso 2014; Gordon-Petridou-Rüpke 2017.

547 Ando-Rüpke 2006.

548 Horster 2007: 331-341.

549 For a methodological overview, see: Rüpke-Santangelo 2017. For recent provincial case studies, see: Raja 2017.

550 For the old historiography and bibliography, see: Szabó 2007: 250-270. See also: Rossignol 2010: 578-603.

551 Ardevan 1998; Szabó 2007.

552 IDR III/5: 5, 11, 65, 74, 202, 230, 232, 253, 263, 265, 314, 335, 366, 392, 402, 708, 694.

could have been undertaken by the first generations of *pontifices* and *sacerdotes* from Sarmizegetusa, or, more possibly, by the *magistri canabensium*, as the case study of Lucius Silius Maximus suggests.[553] As the *Lex Ursonensis* shows, the organisation and protection of the *lex sacra* was the role of the supreme magistrates of the city, namely the *duumviri* and the *ordo decurionum*.[554] The early votive inscriptions from the *canabae* and *Pagus Apulensis* show that the most popular places where religious activities occurred were in the *castra legionis* and the *canabae*, or probably the *Asklepieion*. In the early Antonine period the *praetorium consularis* also appears as a new element in the religious landscape. The increasing variety of religious spaces and professionals meant also a more urbanized aspect to the pre-municipal city, which became more and more independent from Sarmizegetusa.

The establishment of the *Municipium Aurelium Apulensis* could have been marked by an inaugural act as well. However, not being a *colonia deducta*, it is hypothetical whether Apulum ever had a *sulcus primigenus*.[555] Visibility and self-representation were very important aspects of the newly established magistrates, few of them having anything to do with religion or any special knowledge of the *lex sacra*.[556] The appearance[557] of the new, pontifical colleagues represented the stability and continuity of Rome in the province of Dacia, in a period marked by the Marcomannic Wars, which also directly impacted on Dacia.[558]

The new status of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensium suggests also the installation of new festival days to the already existing *Feriale urbanum* of the settlement, which was quite possibly similar to that of Colonia Sarmizegetusa and other cities of the Empire, the provincial priest having very limited authority on dates and the calendar, especially on *feriae*.[559] The few examples of provincial calendars (*Fasti Guidizzolenses*, *Feriale Duranum*, or the calendars from Asia Minor) show, however, a great variety of different time measurements (*hemerologia*),[560] public festivals (*dies festi*) and consecrated days (*feriae*) for divinities.[561] It is impossible to reconstruct the *Feriale Apulensis*, however we can presume that the local group celebrated the actual *dies natalis imperatoris*, the major Roman festivals, the foundation day of its own Capitoline temple and other important *tubilustriae*, the consecration day of divine emperors by the Sodales Augustali,[562] multiple festival days for the Capitoline triad and Venus (*Lex Ursonensis*, *chapt.70-71*) and the foundation day of the *Ara Augusti provinciae* from Colonia Sarmizegetusa (*dies natalalis templorum* – 23rd May).[563] Unique religious acts, such as military triumphs, inaugurating new sanctuaries, receiving new legal status or titles (Municipium Septimium Apulense, and the epithet of Chrysopolis),[564] sacrifices or an *adventus imperialis*,[565] served also as an opportunity for sacerdotal colleagues to emphasise visibility, appearance and action. The presence of some exactly dated inscriptions (13 December AD 135, 23 August AD 154, 23 May AD 205, 4 April AD 215, 12 September)[566] could indicate a 'personalised' *feriale* by the religious actors.

There are 30 persons attested from the conurbation of Apulum with various sacerdotal functions (*sacerdos Arae Augusti*, *flamen coloniae*, *flamen municipii*, *pontifex coloniae*, *antistes loci* and *sacerdos dei* – see t**able 2.**), most of them holding the position probably between AD 180 and 235.[567] Their ethnic or geographic origins in most cases are unknown, however three main areas can be excluded: Dalmatia-Pannonia, Gallia-Italia, and Syria-Asia Minor.[568] The most common titles are *flamen coloniae* and *pontifex coloniae*, probably introduced even under local municipal law in concordance with the *lex provinciae*.[569] In most cases the holder of a sacerdotal title

[553] IDR III/5: 74: *Fortunae / Aug(ustae) sacr(um) et Gen[i]/o canabensium / L(ucius) Silius Maximus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis) magistra(n)s / primus in can(abis) / d(onum) d(edit) / et Silia Ianuaria / et Silius Firminus*. For the *magistri canabaensium*, see: Ardevan 1998: 210; Bîrliba 2012: 147-155. On the *magistri montis*: Rossignol 2010: 588-589. See also: Tarpin 2003: 257-268.

[554] Raggi 2011, 338.

[555] See also c II.2.

[556] Raggi 2011: 337.

[557] There is no figural representation of priests or religious specialists from Dacia. For the attributes and vestments of the priests, see: Raja 2017.

[558] Ardevan-Zerbini 2007: 56-57. On the religious consequences of the Antonine Plague, see: Beaujeu 1955: 340; 365-366; Bruun 2007: 201-217; Chaniotis 2009: 14-15; Mitrofan 2014: 9-13; Tóth 2015.

[559] Raggi 2011: 337-338, see fns 33 and 34, with further bibliography. On *dies festi* and *feriae*: Rüpke 1995: 534-546; Rüpke 2006a: 39, Raggi 2011: 339.

[560] The presence and importance of time, as a concept, in Apulum and the role of nature, as sacred agent, are proved by the dedication of Marcus Ulpius Mucianus, who erected a *horologium* on the temple of Jupiter, financed by himself (IDR III/5: 193). The presence of a *horologium* in an urban context means an accelerated lifestyle, measuring not only the time but also indicating the importance of solar cults (AÉ 2006: 405). See also: CIL X, 8311, 1617, CIL XII 2522, 3100, CIL XIII 7800, 11978, CIL XIV, 3947.

[561] Samuel 1972: 171-188; Rüpke 1995: 160-165; Rüpke 2006: 39. On Feriale Duranum, see: Reeves 2005. On her critique: Rüpke 2011: 120.

[562] CF 11; 19. See also: IDR III/5: 420: *Sabina[e] / Augusta[e] / Hadr[iani] / Aug(usti) / le[gio XIII? g(emina)?] / [------*.

[563] IDR III/5: 164: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) Sentius / Anicetus / dec(urio) col(oniae) Sar(mizegetusae) / patron(us) coll(egii) fabr(um) / prim(us) / mun(icipii) Sept(imii) Apul(ensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Augg(ustis) nn(ostris) Imp(eratoribus) Ant(onino) II et [[[Geta]]] co(n)s(ulibus) / (ante diem) X K(alendas) Iun(ias) lun(a) XVIII die Iovis*; IDR III/2: 242: *[De]dicatum epulo Iovis / X K(alendas) Iun(ias) / [Av]iola et Severo co(n)s(ulibus)*. See also: Piso 2010: 269-278; Nemeti-Nemeti 2014.

[564] Aldea-Popa 1972: 209-220.

[565] Højte 2000: 221-235. The hypothesis of Hojte is hard to prove in the case of Apulum, where the differentiation of altars from statue bases is so problematic. The recent state of research suggests that only Caracalla and his mother visited Apulum personally, although there is no direct evidence for this either: Ardevan-Zerbini 2007: 61, Boteva 2010. See also: Opreanu 2016.

[566] Piso 2001a: 562.

[567] Szabó 2007: 182-193.

[568] Bîrliba 2011: 5-9.

[569] Rüpke 2006a: 42-43; Szabó 2007: 136-146.

Table 2. Priests and religious specialists in the settlements of Apulum

Name	Functions	Dedications and/or inscriptions	Places attested	Chronology
1. Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super	Antistes Decurio coloniae	IDR III/5: 62 IDR III/5: 241 IDR III/5: 242 IDR III/5: 349	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis/ Locus Apulensis	End of 2nd century
2. Caius Iulius Valens	clinicus loci sacerdos dei haruspex coloniae antistes loci	IDR III/5: 388 IDR III/5: 356 IDR III/5: 364 IDR III/5: 297 IDR III/5: 367 IDR III/5: 357	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis / Forum/Locus Apulensis	AD 222-235
3. Claudius Marcellus	antistes	IDR III/5: 296	Apulum, Locus Apulensis and probably Nemeseion	First half of 3rd century AD
4. Publius Aelius Publi filius Papiria tribu Strenuus	equo public augur coloniae Apulensium decurio coloniae Drobetensium patronus collegiorum fabrum, centonarium et nautarum conductor pascui salinarum et commerciorum IIvir coloniae Sarmizegetusae augur coloniae Sarmizegetusae sacerdos Arae Augusti	IDR III/5: 443; Szabó 2007: D 20b	Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa Drobeta Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd, beginning of 3rd century AD
5. Fabius Pulcher	decurio augur coloniae	IDR III/5: 527 IDR III/5: 363	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
6. Caius Nummius Certus	eques Romanus decurio coloniae augur coloniae patronus collegium fabrum et dendrophorum coloniae	IDR III/5: 599	probably Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
7. Tiberius Claudius Rufus	flamen coloniae	IDR III/5: 186	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
8. Aelius Valentinus	flamen coloniae	IDR III/3: 159	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, Micia	Beginning of 3rd century AD
9. Marcus Munatius Marci filius…	decurio coloniae decurio municipi flamen Iivir quinqennalis patronus causarum coloniae equaes Romanus	CIL III: 56	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis Municipium Septimium Apulense	Beginning of 3rd century AD
10. Titus Varenius Titi filius Papiria tribu Pudens	decurio coloniae flamen coloniarum equo publico praefectus cohortis equo publico a militis flamen coloniae quinqaennalis coloniae decurio municipi patronus municipi Porolissensis patronus collegiorum patronus causarum	IDR III/2: 129 IDR III/2: 128 IDR III/2: 130	Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa Municipium Septimium Apulense Municipium Aelium Porolissensium	After AD 197

11. Publius Aelius Iulianus	decurio coloniae equo publico quaestor eques Romanus flamen Iiviralis coloniae	IDR III/5: 215 IDR III/5: 259 IDR III/5: 441	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	After AD 180
12. Publius Aelius Antipater	decurio coloniae equo publico questor a militis Iivir flamen coloniae sacerdos Arae Augusti	IDR III/5: 215 IDR III/5: 259 IDR III/1: 65 IDR III/5: 439	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa	Between AD 180-220
13. Caius Iulius Metrobianus	IIvir coloniae (Sarmizegetusae et Apulense) sacerdos dei Aesculapi pontifex quinquennalis IIvir coloniae	IDR III/5: 325 IDR III/5: 100 IDR III/5: 1 IDR III/5: 316	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis/Locus Apulensis probably Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa	End of 2nd century AD
14. Publius Aelius Publi filius Papiria tribu Genialis	decurio coloniae equo publico quaestor pontifex coloniae patronus collegi centonarium Iiviralis coloniae	IDR III/5: 215 IDR III/5: 259 IDR III/5: 440 IDR III/5: 2	Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd, beginning of 3rd century AD
15. Publius (?) Aelius Aelianus	pontifex coloniae equo publico	IDR III/5: 123	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of2nd century AD
16. Publius Aelius?... us	pontifex coloniae equo publico	IDR III/5: 374 probably identical with the previous example	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
17. Titus Aelius Lupus	eques Romanus pontifex IIviralis coloniae	IDR III/5: 504	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
18. [---][---] Reginus	sacerdos	IDR III/5: 94	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. Probably in the Locus Apulensis	AD 178-180
19. Publius Aelius Publi filius Papiria tribu Silvanus	IIvir sacerdotalis coloniae equo Publico	IDR III/5: 483	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
20. Caius Nummius Verus	eques Romanus IIviralis coloniae sacerdos numini Aesculapi	IDR III/5: 2	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis/ Locus Apulensis	End of 2nd century AD
21. Antiochus	sacerdotes loci	IDR III/5: 223	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis/ Locus Apulensis or Dolichenum	First half of 3rd century AD
22. Aelius Valentinus	veteranus sacerdos Iovis Dolocheni	IDR III/5: 217	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis or Municipium Septimium Apulense	First half of 3rd century AD
23. Aelius Nisa	sacerdos Dei Hierhiboli	IDR III/5: 102	probably canabae legionis or Municipium Septimium Apulense	2nd century AD
24. Aurelius Bassinus	decurio coloniae sacerdos numinum	IDR III/5: 103	Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and probably canabae legionis or Municipium Septimium Apulense	Beginning of 3rd century AD
25. Tiberius Claudius Augustianus	equo publico augur municipi sacerdos Arae Augusti coronatus Daciarum III	IDR III/5: 394 IDR III/2: 79	Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa Municipium Septimium Apulense	Beginning of 3rd century AD

26. Tiberius Claudius Rufus	decurio coloniae flamen municipi	IDR III/5: 238	Municipium Septimium Apulense	Beginning of 3rd century AD
27. [.] Statorius [---] ianus	decurio flamen municipi	IDR III/5: 709	Municipium Septimium Apulense	Beginning of 3rd century AD
28. Publius Aelius Marius	flamen coloniae conductor pascui et salinarum	ILD 804 IDR III/3: 119 IDR III/1: 145 Dana-Zagreanu 2013 Egri-McCarty 2015	Domnesti Colonia Aurelia Apulensis Porolissum Micia Tibiscum	End of 2nd century AD
29. Marcus Aurelius Maximus	flamen municipi	IDR III/4: 63	Lopadea Noua probably Municipium Septimium Apulense	End of 2nd century AD
30. Flavius bar Hadadi	sacerdos Iovis Dolicheni ad legionem XIII Geminae	IDR III/5: 221	Municipium Septimium Apulense	Beginning of 3rd century AD (197-212)

is a Roman citizen, a member of the *ordo decurionum*,[570] with a high percentage being of the *ordo equestres*.[571] There is also a clear difference between the magistrates of the *canabae*, the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, and the Municipium Septimium Apulense: the social status and inter-provincial dynamism of the dedicants from the *canabae* and the Municipium is lower than those from the Colonia. It is hard to establish any kind of hierarchy between the functions and titles and the personal charisma (*dignitas*), as the defining element of religious authority is not 'measurable' through the epigraphic material.[572] However they used their positions and titles for creating a social and ideological *cursus honorum* in front of their fellow members and the local/provincial economic elite.[573] The local specificity of the priests in Apulum – and generally in Dacia – is their significant high status in society and among the *honestiores*, and the accumulation of municipal titles and duties in various urban contexts. One reason for this particularity was the speedy and *ad hoc* formation of the province, the accelerated implementation of Rome (its institution and ideology), and the massive colonisation which took place here in a very short time.[574] The holders of these titles were not only the urban elite of the conurbation of Apulum, but their presence is attested in other cities, such as Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Drobeta, Porolissum or Napoca. The answer to the question why these persons held so many titles – among them numerous sacerdotal functions – lies in the very nature of Dacia, in terms of the province and its identity, within a larger, 'globalised', Roman context.[575] Dacia appears as a 'land of opportunities' or, much more, as a land of 'opportunists'. The accumulation of titles, the over-representation of some notable families and groups in the administrative, economic and spiritual life of the province, all suggest an 'inflation' of magistrates, but also a high level competency.

One might also ask other questions: What did they do as priests? In which sense and in what place were they religious specialists or performers?

Roman priests, in the recent definition of the discipline, played a more important role in the harmony and concordance of Roman society overall, than in the lived religion of a society. Few of them had any specific knowledge which allowed him or her to perform as a religious functionary. The others had an important role in maintaining sacred public spaces, the Roman calendar, and legal conflicts and crises. A possible strategy for maintaining their position as a power elite was to ensure their charisma.[576] Their main activities included participating in the festivals of the *feriale Apulensis*, organising the *epulum Iovis* on 23rd May,[577] administrating the *Asklepieion* and being active at public sacrifices and vows, as a famous analogy from Salona shows (CIL III 1933).[578] Some extreme events, such as the illness of Caracalla, could also emphasise their public role and religious authority. The numerous votive inscriptions with the *et ceteris dis deabusque* formula suggest the short interval and strict chronology for the first two decades of the 3rd century AD associated with the possible visit of the emperor in Dacia and his illness at the time.[579] The monumentalisation of the *Asklepieion* and the state control of the Apollo cult during the reign

[570] Ardevan 1998: 210-218.
[571] On the great differences of census in the provinces, see: Alföldy 2002: 127. See also: Rossignol 2010: 883-584.
[572] On charisma and religious authority: Rüpke 1996: 243; Delgado 2003: 228-229; ThesCRA V, 120.
[573] Rossignol 2010: 587.
[574] On Romanisation: Ardevan 2013: 119-127. See also: Woolf 2014.
[575] Globalism, although sounding anacronistic, became part of the geopolitical and cultural studies in terms of the Roman Empire too: Geraghty 2007: 1036-1061; Hingley 2012: 99-113; Pitts-Versluys 2015.
[576] Gordon 2013b.
[577] There were surely more public feasts and sacral banquets in Apulum, where priests as magistrates financed and organised them. On the epigraphic evidence for the Danubian provinces, see: Mitthof 2014; Nemeti-Nemeti 2014.
[578] Rossignol 2010: 581.
[579] Nemeti 2012: 97; Opreanu 2016. See also: Chaniotis 2010.

of Caracalla was supervised by the local urban and military elite, as priests and holders of *auspicia*.

Their public visibility was, however, quite limited (probably few times a year, perhaps a month). Their authority – beyond the immeasurable personal charisma that many of these influential people may have had – was legitimised by the repetitive rites and their powers of 'owning' the calendar and religious time.[580] Mentioning the priestly title on the inscription did not mean necessarily also a sacerdotal act, but it was an act of moral religious individuality. The inscriptions were erected in various places, mostly in sanctuaries, such as the *Asklepieion*, *mithraea* from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and from the Municipium, or even on the Forum of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The preserved laws regarding the priestly functions are very vague concerning the relationship between priest and space: words, referring to space and places appear very rare and without strict restrictions for priests in the Lex Ursonensis (*Lex. Urs. 72*). The spatial context of their legal duties, such as the magisterial oath, the annually organised festivals and major sacrifices, however, were fixed in law.

Social networks between urban and provincial

Network studies are flourishing in the field of archaeology, epigraphy and even Roman religious studies, revolutionising the study of trading systems, maritime networks, material culture and the social landscape of the Roman Empire.[581] Recently, Romanian historiography has also given more careful attention to social networks and their economic impact.[582] In this context, analysing more carefully the social and economic network of the priests of Dacia seems to offer interesting details. As the table below shows, the magistrates with priestly duties were highly involved not only in the administration of the *lex sacra* in the conurbation, but also in the economic life of the province. There is no direct proof that the three *antistes Loci Apulensis* were personally related to each other, but the case of Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super shows that his activity was focused in the north-western part of the Colonia, where the Locus Apulensis and Liber Pater shrines were situated. Most of the priests hold titles in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, but as the case of Publius Aelius Marius and Streenus shows, they were also well known in the other city. This indicates that there was a very flexible legal and economic relationship between the two cities after AD 197 AD. Negotiations with titles and duties between cities seem to be an accepted and normal way of increasing their own *cursus honorum*. Three of the priests were patrons of different economic or religious colleges (*collegium nautarum*, *fabrum*, *centonarium*, *dendrophorum*) although their exact functions within the associations are hard to describe.[583]

Romanian historiography already observed the strict familial relationship of the *honestiores* in Apulum, but generally in Dacia too.[584] The 48 *decuriones* of Apulum held 17 family names, many of them came from the Publii Aelii, a family considered as the most influential group of the city and province.[585] The Roman *amicitia* and *familia*, as motors of social and economic networks in small-group religions, *collegia* and trade, are obvious in many urban cases. The examples of Publius Aelius Streenus, Publius Aelius Marius and Publius Aelius Antipater provide very clear illustrations of this.[586]

Publius Aelius Streenus and Publius Aelius Marius played active roles in the economic life of the province, both of them being *conductores pascui et salinarum*. Their familial relationships and rich *libertii-actores* networks connected Dacia with the main cities of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici*, namely Aquileia and Poetovio. Being patrons of the most important economic *collegia* of Apulum, they had an influence on the fluvial trade (*collegium nautarum*) but also on the customs system.[587] The priestly function of these individuals represented an important platform in their spectacular, but still regional, *cursus honorum*. Being involved intensively in the economic life of the province, they were not 'specialists' in divination. Their titles and duties as *flamen* or *augur* of Apulum, or even multiple cities within Dacia, served their aspiration for rank and status at the provincial, or even Imperial, level – phenomenon omnipresent in the Empire.[588] As recent studies have shown, priestly duties were not only signs of the *polis* religion and civic identity, but also of personal aspiration, building his *cursus honorum* as a successful member of the power elite.

Sacerdotes: beyond religious specialization

If the knowledge of a priest of Roman tradition[589] was strictly limited to some basic legal terminologies and rituals, going beyond even the modern terminology of what a priest should be,[590] the various *sacerdotes* of divinities in Apulum, such as Aesculapius, Liber Pater,

580 Rüpke 2013b: 12.
581 Collar 2013; Knappett 2013.
582 Nemeth 2007; Bîrliba 2011; Matei-Popescu 2012: 83-97.
583 On religious and economic *collegia*, see: Diosono 2007: 43-67. On the *centonarii*: Liu 2009. On the *collegia dendrophorum*, see: Haeperen 2012: 47-62.
584 Ardevan 1998: 212.
585 Egri 2007: 106. It is not clear whether all the Publii Aelii – among them Publius Aelius Gemellus, a *vir clarissimus*, came from the same family: Ardevan 1998: 213. See also c II.8.
586 Szabó 2001; 2014c; 2015b.
587 On the important role of the *statio* in the socio-economic network of the Empire, see: France-Clément 2014.
588 Haussler 2010: 422.
589 On the usage of this term, see: ThesCRA V: 118.
590 On Wach's terminology, see: Rüpke 1996.

Magna Mater, Dolichenus, Yarhibol, Isis and Mithras,[591] must have been specialists in their own religious groups. As far as we know, the indigenous religion of Dacians is missing completely from the Roman era, and their priesthood too.[592] The literature usually draws a strict distinction between Roman and 'Oriental', or non-Roman priests, however it uses the terminology of '*sacerdos*' incoherently, as the ancient literary sources do.[593] The main differences between these groups were not only their legal status but also their appearance (*insignia*),[594] and, above all, their religious knowledge. Although a *sacerdos dei* was not necessarily an important title for the *honestiores* of an urban group, the charisma gained before the group – especially as a *sacerdos dei Aesculapi* or *Dolicheni* – created an urban, or even provincial, reputation for the owner of his title. With the exception of Caius Iulius Metrobianus, who held the title of sacerdos dei Aesculapi before became a pontifex,[595] the rest of the *sacerdotes* never reached the repute and position of an official Roman priesthood and magistrate. Nevertheless, some of these need more careful attention beyond the already existent prosopographic analysis.

Read the liver to be famous – the case study of Caius Iulius Valens

Caius Iulius Valens was probably one of the most famous personalities of the conurbation in the middle of the 3rd century AD.[596] He is known from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis from at least six inscribed, votive monuments dated between AD 212 and 235.[597] His numerous dedications around the city show the impact of inscriptions as agents in maintaining sacralised spaces and the status of the power elite.[598] The story of Caius Iulius Valens is the best case study from Apulum – and probably from the whole province – for moral and competitive religious individuality.[599]

He served first as a *clinicus* in the *Asklepieion,*[600] where incubations were used.[601] Specialists in *incubatio* not only had elements of medical knowledge but also religious understanding.[602] However the soldiers of the Legion XIII Gemina would have had their own *medicus*,[603] while the civilian population probably had their own slightly different health and medical care.[604] The job of a *clinicus* was full of risk and responsibility, especially in a time of political instability, where even psychosomatic symptoms could aggravate the general healthcare system. The medical knowledge of a Roman *clinicus* made his religious 'charisma' more emphatic.[605] It is not surprising that a *clinicus* worked in a sacred area (*locus sancta*): the spatial organization of medical care was strictly related to sacralized spaces. In some passages the ancient medical literature even used the metaphor of the 'temple of body'.[606] The social status of these individuals was ambiguous. Although they were not part of the political or social elites[607] their intellectual (and economic) status was at the same level, mostly because of some famous doctors of some of the emperors, such as Antonius Musa,[608] the regionally known healers and others, known as religious entrepreneurs. Some of them became extremely successful, for example Publius Decimus Eros Merula (ILS 7812), the *clinicus* in Asisium, who became one the richest men in the settlement.[609] Their ambitions for higher status, however, were realised mainly in an ideological sense: although they could acquire Roman citizenship and economic success, in most of the cases they were never able to become members of the *honestiores*.[610]

As already observed, the role of a *clinicus* could be directly related to the *disciplina etrusca*, Caius Iulius Valens being probably an example of this.[611] He gained knowledge of the *disciplina etrusca* as a haruspex, probably at a very early age, and it is possible that he

[591] On inscriptions appear only the sacerdotes of Dolichenus, Yarhibol and Aesculapius, however we can presume that specialists must also have presided at the shrines of Liber Pater, Magna Mater, Isis, and a pater in the *mithraea* too. On the Mithraic groups and hierarchy in Apulum, see c II.8.

[592] See c III.2.

[593] On the terminology of sacerdotes, see: Cohee 2001; ThesCRA V: 123; Cerutti 2014: 259-299.

[594] ThesCRA V: 131; Haeperen 2014; Raja 2015a.

[595] Szabó 2007: 85-89.

[596] Haack 2006: 73-76; Szabó 2007: 91-94.

[597] The late dating is based by Ádám Szabó mostly on the legislation of Septimius Alexander regarding the *haruspices*: HA *Sev. Alex,* 44.4 and 27.6. See also: Birley 1993: 35-36; Haack 2003: 137-159. For a more detailed account, see Haack 2006: 76 (post AD 180). His Etruscan origin is not necessarily plausible as there are numerous cases where the *haruspex coloniae* come from other provinces: Haack 2003: 170. For a contra argument, see: Turfa 2006; Szabó 2007: 93-94.

[598] On the public role of written sources and epigraphy: Rizakis 2014: 77-84. On epigraphy and religion, see also: Scheid 2012.

[599] On the notions of competitive and moral individuality, see: Rüpke 2013a; 2013b.

[600] Szabó 2004a: 787-801, with further biboiography on Roman medicine in Apulum.

[601] About incubations, see c II.7.

[602] On the medical knowledge of a Roman *medicus* and *clinicus*, see: Baker 2004: 3-21.

[603] On medical specialists in the Roman army see: Cociș 1990-1993: 241-249; Aparaschivei 2012a: 99-118.

[604] There is no comprehensive work on the bio-archaeology of the populations of Dacia or on Apulum. For a summary of the recent studies: Killgrove 2014: 876-882; Diamandopoulos 2014: 2-5. A useful case study for Moesia Inferior, however mostly based on epigraphic evidence: Aparaschivei 2012b. Although the population of Apulum probably faced the same medical issues and health problems as the majority of urban centres in the Empire (Redfern-Gowland 2010: 15-43) a bio-archaeological survey of the skeletons would be of genuine importance here.

[605] Burkert 1998.

[606] Diomidis 2010: 69-76; Petridou 2014.

[607] Morwood 2003: 54-55.

[608] Prioreschi 1996: 128. Augustus' medical problems and the general attitude towards 'new medicine' surely helped to change the social and ideological status of doctors.

[609] Alföldy 2002: 114.

[610] Alföldy 2002: 115. To be elected to the *ordo equestres*, a clinicus should be first an Imperial slave: Dio 53.30.3; Alföldy 2002: 123.

[611] Szabó 2007: 93.

used it in parallel with his medical role in the *Asklepieion* as the local dream interpreter or as an oracular.[612] Divination via dreams appears often in Apulum,[613] and Caius Iulius Valens could well have served as a private haruspex before gaining his public (paid) position as *haruspex coloniae*.[614] His role as *sacerdos dei Aesculapi* is practically a next step in the same area of religious knowledge (*logos*),[615] based already on his reputation and charisma as a 'holy man' from his activity as *clinicus* and oracle. A similar case is found at Lambesis, where S. Iulius Felix is attested as a haruspex in the sanctuary of Aesculapius.[616]

He became officially the haruspex of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis after AD 222, probably when Septimius Alexander ordered a new status for the practitioners and religious professionals of the *disciplina etrusca*.[617] From the 121 known inscriptions dedicated by haruspici, 23 are dated to the 3rd century AD.[618]

As a *haruspex coloniae*, he appears probably on four inscriptions,[619] dedicating an *ex voto* for Mars (or Hercules) Invictus,[620] Venus Victrix, Nemesis and the Virtus Romanus.[621] Five of his known inscriptions are dedicated to the Salus of the Empire and the senatorial order, but also for the *ordo coloniae*[622]. At least two of them[623] – dedicated to Venus Victrix and Virtus Romanus – could be stood in the Forum of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis[624]. One today is severely damaged, but from the actual size we can reconstruct, that the altar – or statue base – was around 100 cm high. The limestone dedication wasn't the most monumental inscription of the Forum, nor the most beautifully carved, but it shows the will and intention of Caius Iulius Valens to protect the imperial values, to show his faith and loyalty towards the Roman State and especially to the local elite. In a period when the Roman Emperor and the Empire itself suffered a more ideological, and not necessarily an economic crisis,[625] and provinces were heavily subjected to pessimistic and anti-Imperial petitions,[626] Caius Iulius Valens played an importantrole in the city of Apulum. Like his emperor in Rome, he was a *sacerdos et curator urbis*,[627] the personification and fighter for the great Roman values and virtues. Haack has labelled *haruspici* as 'conservators of the imperial values'.[628] But their role was wider than this. As the case of his colleague (and perhaps relative) Caius Iulius Metrobianus has shown,[629] a *sacerdos dei Aesculapi*, as one of the most venerated religious functionaries in the city, could aspire the *ordo decurionum* – the first step to becoming part of the local elite. Valens obviously had this in mind when addressing the *ordo coloniae* in his inscriptions.

His next title was the *antistes loci*, probably also in the *Asklepieion*, where he already had a great urban and maybe even provincial reputation.[630] From this area of the city we know of at least one other title, the *sacerdos dei Aesculapi*, held by Caius Iulius Metrobianus and Caius Nummius Verus, and probably even by Caius Iulius Valens. The succession of the titles and the analogies suggest[631] that an *antistes* was more an administrative function, higher than that of other religious specialists, or, at least, with totally different roles and duties. The numerous dedications to Nemesis by the *antistites* from the Danubian provinces suggest that their sacred areas were in direct connection with an amphitheatre or theatre.[632] The evidence from the *Asklepieion* from Apulum, based on recent geophysical surveys from the north-west part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, also suggests this.[633]

It is not certain whether or not Caius Iulius Valens ever had the chance to enter the *ordo decurionum*. The inscriptions of Caius Iulius Metrobianus and Marcus

612 Haruspex as oracle in Ostia: ThesCRA V: 122.
613 See c II.7.
614 For the various roles and functions of private and public haruspici, see: ThesCRA V: 121-122.
615 On the *sacerdos dei Aesculapi*, see next chapter.
616 Haack 2006: 68, see fn. 6.
617 Haack 2003: 156-159. About his religious policy: Rowan 2012: 236-241. CIL III 1019, 14469; Schuol 2008: 927.
618 Haack 2006. Many of the cases are dated approximately. On the *haruspex coloniae*, see: Haack 2003: 541-463.
619 The identity of the person and the exact reading of the text of IDR III/5, 411 is uncertain: Szabó 2007: 93, Rossignol 2010: 589, fn. 102.
620 After Ádám Szabó, the IDR III/5, 356 and 357 was dedicated probably to the same divinity, Hercules Invictus: Szabó 2007: 91-93. After Radu Ardevan, it could be more to do with Mars Invictus, as an appeal for the wartime and political instability at this time. Ardevan 2013. Haack cites Cumont and Vermaseren, who considered this inscription a dedication to Sol Invictus Mithras: Haack 2006: 73 (see CIMRM 1998). Recent scholarship no longer supports this theory: Garcia 2010: 612, nr 9. Surprisingly, two other inscriptions of *haruspici* are dedicated to Mithras: Haack 2006, nrs 69 and 73, and also nr 9. Her argument on the military haruspici and the relationship of Mithras is not acceptable: Haack 2003: 170-171.
621 Haack 2006: 75, fn. 9.
622 IDR III/5: 356: *[--- in]/victo pro sa/lute imp(erii) p(opuli)q(ue) R(omani) / et ordinis col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) C(aius) Iul(ius) Va/lens har(uspex) col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) / et antises hu/iusque loci / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit)*; IDR III/5, 357: *[---]i Invicto / [pro salute] imperi(i) / [------]*; IDR III/5: 364: *[Veneri Vic]/[trici p]ro sal(ute) / imperi(i) et s(enatus) p(opuli) q(ue) R(omani) / et ordinis col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) C(aius) Iul(ius) Va/le(n) s haruspex / col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) et antis/tes huiusce / loci / [v(oto) l(ibens)] p(osuit)*; IDR III/5: 367: *Virtuti Ro/manae pr(o) sa[l(ute)] / imper(ii) et s(enatus) [p(opuli)q(ue) R(omani)] / et ord(inis) co[l(oniae) Apul(ensis)] / [C(aius)? Iul(ius)?] Vale[ns ---] / [---]T[---] / [------] / [------] / [------]*; IDR III/5: 388: *C I[---] / LV[---] / [--] p[r]o sal[ute] / [i?]m[perii? et? s(enatus)? p(opuli)q(ue)? R(omani)?] / e[t] or[dinis? col(oniae)?] / A[p]u[l]e[nsis] / C(aius) Iu[l(ius)] Valen[s] / CL[---]VSL / sacerso[s] / D[--]NS[---] / A[--]EI[--] A[--] / Quinta [--] / coniuge [-]l[-]C[-] / [e]t Caiis Iuli/is Val[ente] et / Pasinico / fili(i)s / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit).* See also: IDR III/5: 369: *Virtutibus.*
623 IDR III/5: 364, 367.
624 IDR III/5: 364 was found in the gardens of Pauer, probably in the Forum area: Szabó 2014b.
625 On the problem of the 'crisis' in the 3rd century see: Alföldy 1989, 53 – 102, Witschel 1999.
626 Hekster-Manders 2011, 153-162.
627 RIC IV.2. 297, HA *Sev.Alex*. 33.1. See also: Coarelli 1987, 431.
628 Haack 2003, 169-170. See also: Idem, 173-174.
629 Szabó 2007, 85-89.
630 Idem, 147-150.
631 Forcellini 1940, 270, TLL 2, 184-186.
632 See c II.5.
633 Szabó 2007: 94.

Aurelius Comatius Super show that the titles held by Valens could have been helpful in this ambition. One of the inscriptions (CF 75), with its new interpretation,[634] suggests that he finally received the appreciation and acceptance of the *ordo decurionum* and became a member of it. His extraordinary case is a good example of the individual use of general, religious tendencies in a small, accelerated urban society.

Religious specialists of small religious groups

There are 10 *sacerdotes* known from Apulum, representing almost one third of the known *sacerdotes* of the province, however the number of religious specialists in the conurbation could have been much higher.[635] Most of them were religious specialists of divinities of non-Roman origin,[636] and although their legal status was different than the traditional, magisterial priests, the religious knowledge they possessed, their authority in terms of the liturgy, activities and 'charisma' within a small religious group, constituted a similar, or even more relevant *dignitas* and 'holiness', to that of a *pontifex*. The religious specialists attested by direct and indirect epigraphic sources in Apulum are related to Aesculapius, IOM Dolichenus, Yarhibol, IOM Conservator,[637] Isis, Magna Mater and Mithras. The *sacerdotes* of Dolichenus and Yarhibol from Apulum will be looked at now, with the others being discussed in the following sections.[638]

It is well known, that some of the new cults use an exotic exterior as propaganda for enlarging their group. Persianism, Phrygianism and Syrian – Palmyrene elements were used intensively to create a more attractive aspect for the cults formed in a Roman context[639]. This 'otherness' manifested not only in the religious narrative of the cults, but also in some particular aspects, such as the status, identity and appearance of the *sacerdotes*. Most of them had particular vestment, attributes, special collegial organization and had a particular religious knowledge.

Figure 33. Construction plaque of a Dolichenum from Apulum (photo: Ioan Piso, EDH 038325)

Their 'otherness' is expressed also by iconography, body language or even by urban spatiality[640].

The cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus in Apulum is well attested, named many times as a regional center for the diffusion of this cult[641]. As the topography and dedicators of the finds suggest, there must be at least two sanctuaries – one in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis[642] (**fig. 33**) and on the road of the sanctuaries of the Municipium Septimium Apulense (**II.7.**)[643]. The adepts of this cult from Apulum came mostly from the *legio XIII Gemina*, which had numerous soldiers from Commagene and Syria, however the recent studies proved that the popularity of the cult superseded this military and ethnic aspect, especially in the 3rd century AD.[644] As the inscriptions of Aurelius Alexander and Aurelius Flavus *suri negotiatores* suggest, the sanctuary

634 Szabó 2007: 92. The inscription was found in 1842 walled into the Vauban fortress, but it surely came from the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, probably from the city's Forum. In the first publication, and in the CIL III 1116 edition, it is clear that there were three other lines on the inscription, which must be a monumental one.

635 Szabó 2007: 170. See c II.7.

636 For the 'Romanness' of divinities and the discussion on 'Oriental', see: Bonnet-Rüpke-Scarpi 2006; Stroumsa 2009: 91-105; Andringa-Haeperen 2009: 23-43; Versluys 2013: 235-260. On relgion and the *Constitutio Antoniniana*: Andringa 2007: 92; Varga 2012: 199-219; Rowan 2012: 126-129.

637 Szabó 2007: 116.

638 On Mithraists, see c II.8. On the Dolichenian groups from Porolissum and Mehadia: c III.2. The priests of Isis and Magna Mater are unknown, their hypothetical existence is based only on the possible sanctuaries. See also: Deac 2014.

639 On Persianism in Mithraism: Gordon 2017b. Similar phenomena are found also in the theology and appearence of neo-paganism and some new religious movement sects: Granholm 2014: 228.

640 On the specific iconography of the Syrian priests: Raja 2017. About the special appearance of the *gallii* and sacerdotes of Magna Mater: Erbelding 2013: 94-102; Haeperen 2014: 299-322. In many cases the priests of Magna Mater were buried separately in the urban cemeteries: Allason-Jones 2010: 434, fn 30.

641 See c III.4. Especially Collar 2011: 240. About the cult in Dacia: Nemeti 2005: 227-235, 352-353; Garcia 2010a: 185-188; Boda 2012a; Sanzi 2013: 162-165. See also: BRRD II.173-206.

642 IDR III/5: 217: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Doliche/no pro salute / Imperator(um?) / Ael(ius) Valentinus vet(eranus) / sacerdos / templ(um) impendio suo / restituit*.

643 IDR III/5: 221: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et Deae / Suriae Magna[e] / Caelesti pro salu/te perpetui imperi(i) / Romani et leg(ionis) XIII / gem(inae) <F>lavius Bar/hadadi s(acerdos) I(ovis) D(olicheni) ad / leg(ionem) s(upra) s(criptam) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit)*. The existence of a sanctuary in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis is based mostly on IDR III/5, 218, 219, 222 and 223, found in the territory of the Partoș. The exact location of IDR III III/5, 217, which surely marked a place of a temple, is not certain, in 1874 being already in a secondary position: Hirschfeld 1874: 381. IDR III/5, 222, found on 13 April 1840 in the area of the Colonia, was also a plaque, probably of great or mid-sized dimensions, decorating the wall of a sanctuary already existing in the period of Antoninus Pius: Collar 2011: 240, Facella 2013: 284. On the *dolichenum* from the Municipium, see c II.9.

644 Țentea 2004: 41-60, Nemeti 2005: 230-231. See also: Collar 2011: 217-246, especially her 'Proximal Point Analysis' map: Collar 2011: 234, fig. 3. On her fig. 4. Apulum appears as an important centre in the early phase of the cult.

– and probably the first groups – consisted mostly of Syrian merchants and civilians.[645]

A peculiarity of the Dolichenian cult in Apulum, and generally in Dacia, is their authentically Commagenian identity.[646] One of the dedications refers to the god as Deus Commagenus.[647] Preserving and expressing so strongly this very local, authentic identity also shows a communal identity, and not necessarily an individual one.

There are two or possibly three *sacerdotes* of Dolichenus attested in Apulum,[648] however more should have existed in the city. From the first sanctuary from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis comes the well-known inscription of Terentius,[649] where the formula '*ubi ferrum nascitur*' appears.[650] There are already five other similar inscriptions known from the Empire which mentions this formula.[651] As the recent studies proved, this could be clear evidence for the existence of a theogony and mythological narrative of the god, unrevealed until now, or know only partially.[652] The presence of such an inscription in Apulum sustains Collar's theory which suggested that Apulum was one of the earliest centres in the Danubian provinces of the cult.[653] The dedicator of the inscription – although his title is not preserved – was a faithful adept (or even a *sacerdos*) and possessor of a special religious knowledge and a well-known narrative, which gave him a special authority in the early phase of the Dolichenian group.

The first *sacerdos* attested is Flavius, son of Hadad.[654] His altar probably stood in the Dolichenum, built in the area of the road of the sanctuaries in the Municipium Septimium Apulense. He styles himself '*sacerdos Iovis Dolicheni ad legionem supra scriptam*', which suggests that the second Dolichenian group was entirely formed by veterans and soldiers of the Legion XIII Gemina, gaining *per se* official acceptance in the *religio castrensis*.[655] It is possible, as Katalin Angyal suggested, that the popularity of Dolichenus in the 3rd century changed the private *sacerdotes* into a military rank, or, at least, showed official acceptance by the army as a paid '*salariarius*'.[656] His dedication also suggests that the second Dolichenian group was also led by Syrians. His activity and appearance was associated with a special authority and knowledge, and even vestment, representing the extreme conservatism,or, more accurately, religious patriotism of the Syrians.[657] Keeping his traditional Syrian name and worshipping his *dii patrii*, he remains however a faithful follower and expresses his loyalty towards the Roman Empire and the official magistrates of Apulum (*pro salute perpetui Imperi Romani*). Their visibility is not as elevated as an official magistrate, but their role was more important inside the group, where their *auctoritas* and charisma maintained the durability of the cult.

Aelius Valentinus *veteranus* and *sacerdos* dedicates a plaque, mentioning the reconstruction of the *dolichenum*. Unfortunately, we do not know in which sanctuary he served, but his evergetic activity shows that public involvement in a small-group religion, as a religious specialist, was a very good opportunity for individual and social progress. Although there are few relevant sources from similar provincial cities,[658] the archaeology of the Dolichenian sanctuaries and their annexed buildings suggest the presence of a hierarchy also in these groups, where a *sacerdos* could play the role of a charismatic leader, one who was 'owner' of the sacred knowledge of the god '*ubi ferrum nascitur*'.

Another group featuring religious specialists was that of the *sacerdotes* of Yarhibol, a local god of Palmyra, who was worshipped in the provinces mostly as a solar divinity.[659] Two of them are attested, probably from the same sanctuary.[660] Aelius Nisa,[661] who probably came from Palmyra itself, erect a large limestone altar with a unique form and iconography. It is not sure if this was made in Apulum or ordered by Nisa from another workshop, but it emphasized the 'otherness' and religious patriotism of the Syrian group. Similarly,

645 IDR III/5: 218. About the *negotiatores*: Matei-Popescu 2012: 85-98.

646 See: Angyal-Balla 2000: 63-72. On the local cult of Dolichenus, see: Blömer 2012: 39-98; Blömer 2014: 148-150.

647 IDR III/5: 223: *------](?) / [Deo?] Co[mmag(eno)?] / [s]ac(rum) per An/ tiochu(m) sa/cerdos(!) / loci*.

648 Ádám Szabó identifies Antiochus, as *sacerdos loci*, a religious specialist from the Locus Apulensis: Szabó 2007: 116. It is not sure where the inscription was found ('Sárd Gasse' being a very long street outside of the historical centre of Gyulafehérvár). The reading of the inscription is also problematic, however it was always accepted as Dolichenian: Piso 2001: 174, with all the previous bibliography. Ádám Szabó identifies the inscription as a dedication for IOM Conservator, however he mentions that there are analogies for Dolichenus with the Conservator epithet too (CCID 385). On the apothropaic aspect of Dolichenus: Boda 2012b: 145-154 and c II.7.

649 IDR III/5: 222: *[I(ovi)? O(ptimo)? M(aximo)?] / Dolicheno [---] / numini et virtutibu[s ---] / nato ubi ferrum exor[itur Iunoni? Reginae? ---?] / naturae boni even[tus pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Ael(i) Hadri]/ani Antonini Au[g(usti) Pii ---] / Terentiu[s ---]*.

650 The inscription having dissapeared, the reading is based only on a drawing by Fodor and on the first CIL III 1128 edition. See: Piso 2001: 172-174.

651 Facella 2013: 284. See also: Petrovic 2015 and c IV.4.

652 Blömmer 2012: 49-50.

653 See also c IV.4 and III.2.

654 IDR III/5: 221. See also: Szabó 2007: 76; Dészpa 2017: 148.

655 Heidenreich 2013: 168.

656 Angyal 1972: 12.

657 For the priests of Dolichenus, with further bibliography, see: Blömer 2011: 74-78.

658 The internal hierarchy of the *dolichenum* from the Aventicum, Rome, is not necessarily a good analogy for the provinces: Child 2012: 211-230, Rüpke 2014a: 35-52.

659 On the cult of Yarhibol, see: Kaizer 2002: 143-147; Dirven-Kaizer 2013: 391-408. About the cult of Yarhibol and the Palmyrians in Dacia generally: Piso 2004b: 299-303; Nemeti 2005: 169-172; Schäfer 2008; Piso-Ţentea 2011: 111-121.

660 IDR III/5: 102: *Deo / [H?]erhibol(i) / Ael(ius) Nisa / sacerd(os) / posuit*; IDR III/5: 103: *Deo Soli / Hieribolo / Aur(elius) Bas/sinus dec(urio) / col(oniae) Aequens(is) / sacerd(os) nu/minum v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

661 Szabó 2007: 34-35.

Aurelius Bassus erected an altar or statue base, probably at the beginning of the 3rd century as a *sacerdos numinium* of Sol Invictus Yarhibol and further divinities.[662] His dedication reflects also that the Syrian sanctuary could host the worship of other Palmyrian divinities, as attested already in numerous places in Dacia.[663] He mentions on his inscription that he was a *decurio* of Aequum from Dalmatia.[664] This could have multiple meanings: it can suggest that he is just a traveller and does not live in Apulum, or, most probably, it was a sign of self-representation, showing himself as an opportunist, connecting municipal status with his ambitions as a local religious leader and specialist, similar to Caius Iulius Valens. In spatial terms, however, his activity was probably more limited than that of Valens. Like a Dolichenian *sacerdos*, the two Palmyrians surely had special attributes and vestments, making intentionally obvious their 'otherness' within the local group.[665] They probably even used their own Palmyrian calendar, as one of the inscriptions from Tibiscum suggests.[666] Within their own cultic group, Aelius Nisa and Aurelius Bassus must have been very respected and venerated figures.[667] Their group could have been formed after the arrival in Apulum of some soldiers of the *Numeri numeri Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*, probably at the time of the Marcommanic Wars.[668]

Dedicating an altar in a Dolichenian, and especially a Syrian sanctuary, however, limited their 'visibility' and possibility for such fame as a *sacerdotes dei Aesculapi* or a *haruspex coloniae* had. In any case, worshipping Yarhibol, god of springs and irrigator of the earth, far from Palmyra makes sense only as a display of religious patriotism, a reflection of a more personal and individual identity; however in some cases it seems also to have recreated an authentic landscape of a Palmyrian temple, with all the elements and attributes of the indigenous gods.[669]

Conclusions

This chapter has presented some case studies from various prominent groups, named here as the power elite of Apulum. Although their religious communication, visibility and accessibility were different in some details, all of them seem to use the same strategies in building up and maintaining their position as power elites within a local context. By marking the frequented sacralised spaces of the city with votive dedications, and their publicly shown *cursus honorum*, they created and ensured their position as elites not only in terms of space, but also through their social and familial network. While the senators comprised the 'invisible' elite of the city, the members of the *ordo decurionum* and the priests were well-known charismatic personalities within the city. The *sacerdotes* of small religious groups held an intermediary position in the sense of visibility and accessibility of their power, and, as such, being influential for a much smaller group of people. The elite in the model of space sacralisation presented here plays a very important role, as one of the key agents in maintaining and evolving local religious communication. Through their charisma and, in rare cases, religious knowledge, but more often through good networks and 'exotic' presence, the religious providers, as the local power elite, became also a motor for the economic and political life of the city.

II.7. The Asklepieion in Apulum: a regional centre for healing

Among the first attested and described epigraphic monuments of Alba Iulia from the 16th century, the most numerous are those related to the cult of Asclepius and Hygeia.[670] The exact provenience of these are unknown, but the epigraphic material reused in the medieval fort and Saint Michael's Cathedral suggests that they probably originated in close proximity to the Roman necropolis in the northern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (Fig.). This area, being one of the best-preserved parts of the Roman conurbation of Apulum,[671] seems to have been severely looted during the late antique and medieval periods.[672] The excavations in the northern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis also revealed the presence of intense Habsburg activity in the area.[673] In 1790, a fountain and a possible Diana shrine were revealed by the local authorities which are now considered to be the first attested archaeological excavations in the *Asklepieion*, although the localization and identification of the sanctuary was made only in the 20th century.[674] The cartographic history of Alba Iulia demonstrates that this area was not inhabited until the end of the 19th century, at which time it was severely damaged, due to the slow process of industrialisation and the building of the railway system.[675] The existence

662 Szabó 2007: 51.
663 Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 181-200.
664 Based on the Clauss-Slaby database, from the 89 inscriptions of the city, there is no attestation of any Syrian divinity in Aequum, but it is possible that he worshipped there also his homeland divinity. For the colonists from Colonia Claudia Aequum and their presence in Dacia, see: Ardevan 2005a: 125-133.
665 About the duties and possible activities of such priests, see: Kaizer 2002: 234-242, Kaizer 2008: 179-192.
666 IDR III/1: 167.
667 A hierarchy and group of *cultores* with their *sacerdos* was attested recently in Sarmizegetusa: Piso-Ţentea 2011: 111-121. See also: Boda 1012a; 2015b.
668 Ţentea 2012; Smith 2013: 166.
669 Nemeti 2005: 174. For the fountain and the worship of springs in the recently published Palmyrian temple of Sarmizegetusa, see: Piso-Ţentea 2011: 116, 121.
670 About the discovery of the first inscriptions from the Asklepieion, see: Szabó 2014b: 54-55.
671 On the current state of the Colonia and its Roman heritage, see: Ciută 2013; 2014; Szabó 2016e.
672 Szabó 2014b: 54.
673 Diaconescu *et al.* 1997.
674 Aranka 1796: 147-148; Szabó 2014b: 58.
675 Szabó 2016a: 99-113.

of an *Asklepieion* in Apulum was already known at this time, but without a topographic localisation.[676] Pál Király mentioned, that 'the most splendid temple in Apulum was surely dedicated to Asclepius and Hygeia, while the great number of inscriptions suggest that they were the protector gods of the city'.[677] Béla Cserni, the first urban archaeologist of Transylvania and the founder of the local museum, marked this area with a separate number (31) on his first map, indicating the topography of all the Roman finds of his time.[678] He mentioned, that 'in the garden of Meteșan Roman capitals, altar and statue fragments and inscribed stones were found in modern as well as older times too. Here was found also the Apollo relief of Lysias. South from here four years ago [in 1897], 3.5-m long unfinished columns were found'.[679] Unfortunately, he never recognized the significance of the area.

Another important step in the slow, but certain destruction of one of the biggest sanctuary-complexes of Dacia came in the 1970s with the construction of modern canals, the foundation of the Apulum Porcelain factory, and the building of the new access road and bridge.[680] This was the moment when I. Crișan identified and localised the sanctuary-complex, based on the unpublished 'excavations' and oral reports of the local authorities.[681] The discovery of the *Asklepieion* in Sarmizegetusa emphasised also the importance of the cult in the province. Crișan's localisation and hypothesis entered Romanian literature as fact.[682] The Apulum Project, which was the biggest and most comprehensive field survey on the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis since the activity of Béla Cserni, made a detailed geophysical map of the northern part of the settlement, which revealed a possible theatre and an *extra-muros* area with multiple rectangular buildings, also attested to by C. Băluță and I. H. Crișan in the 1970s.[683] The geophysical map and the final results of the Apulum Project have not been published.[684] In 2004, Ádám Szabó raised the possibility of the existence of a so-called *Locus Apulensis*, an *extra-muros* sacred area, with multiple sanctuaries and specific sacerdotal hierarchy, presenting for the first time the topographic references of the finds and ensuring the hypothesis of Crișan based on the localisation of the sanctuary.[685] Since then, no further archaeological investigations or excavations have been undertaken in the area. A few of the recent studies have focused on the epigraphic material and some general aspects of the cult.[686] Archaeological excavations and better geophysical surveys would be extremely useful and are urgently required to save the poor remains of the biggest sanctuary of the conurbation. In the absence of these, new perspectives in the research are extremely limited to the interdisciplinary analysis of the epigraphic and iconographic material, the reinterpretation of the landscape and natural environment and its role in the healing sanctuaries and urban topography, and the social and economic role of the *Asklepieion* on the 'religious market' within the framework of the local or provincial competition and collaboration of sanctuaries.

Creating sacred landscapes: transformation and manipulation of the natural environment

Although, the localization of the *Asklepieion* in Apulum must be considered hypothetical until it is confirmed by archaeological excavations, the close environment of the finds and the area of the researched territory is well known (II.2. See also **Fig.34**.). The area gives also a unique possibility within the topography of the Roman settlement to analyse and reconstruct the ancient geography and landscape, which served an important role in the sacralisation of the space.[687]

Reconstructing the ancient landscape, geographic reality and hydrologic conditions of the area is possible by the analysis of the cartographic sources and the geological studies focusing on the evolution of the terrain and the urbanisation processes, which have radically changed the area in the last seventeen centuries.[688] The area is part of the Alba Iulia-Turda basin, as a geographic micro-unit within the Transylvanian Basin. The main motor in shaping the geography of the area was the erosion of the Mureș and Ampoița rivers, which changed their courses numerous times in the last two millennia.[689] The maps of the first two military surveys from 1787 and 1869, and another from 1849, are essential for the understanding of the geographic and urban evolution of the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and its surroundings.[690] In the first map from 1787 we can observe two main roads leading from the Roman fort towards the south: one is the famous 'road of the sanctuaries',[691] the other is one following the backwaters of the Ampoița. Both of these two main roads have recently been identified as Roman: the first following the line of the Mureș from Alvinc toward the auxiliary fort of Cigmău as far as the

676 Mommsen 1873; CIL III/1, 183; Cserni 1901: 380. See also: Igna 1935.
677 Király 1892: 306.
678 Cserni 1901: 274-275; Szabó 2016a: 127.
679 Cserni 1901: 275.
680 Crișan 1971: 341-346; Moga 1979: 201-206.
681 Despite this, the area was not protected and the excavations in the area were not documented.
682 Pescaru-Alicu 2000; Alicu-Crișan 2003: 89-94.
683 Berciu-Băluță 1972: 165. See also: Schäfer *et al.* 2006.
684 Diaconescu *et al.* 1997.
685 Szabó 2004a: 787-801. See also: Szabó 2004b: 91-114;
686 Varga 2005: 5-8; Ota 2005: 197-204; Beu-Dachin 2010: 181-199.
687 Anghel 1994.
688 On the methodology and its limits, see: Fodorean *et al.* 2013: 37-55.
689 Hanciu *et al.* 2003: 13-27.
690 On the cartographic representations of Alba Iulia, see: Szabó 2016b.
691 See c II.10.

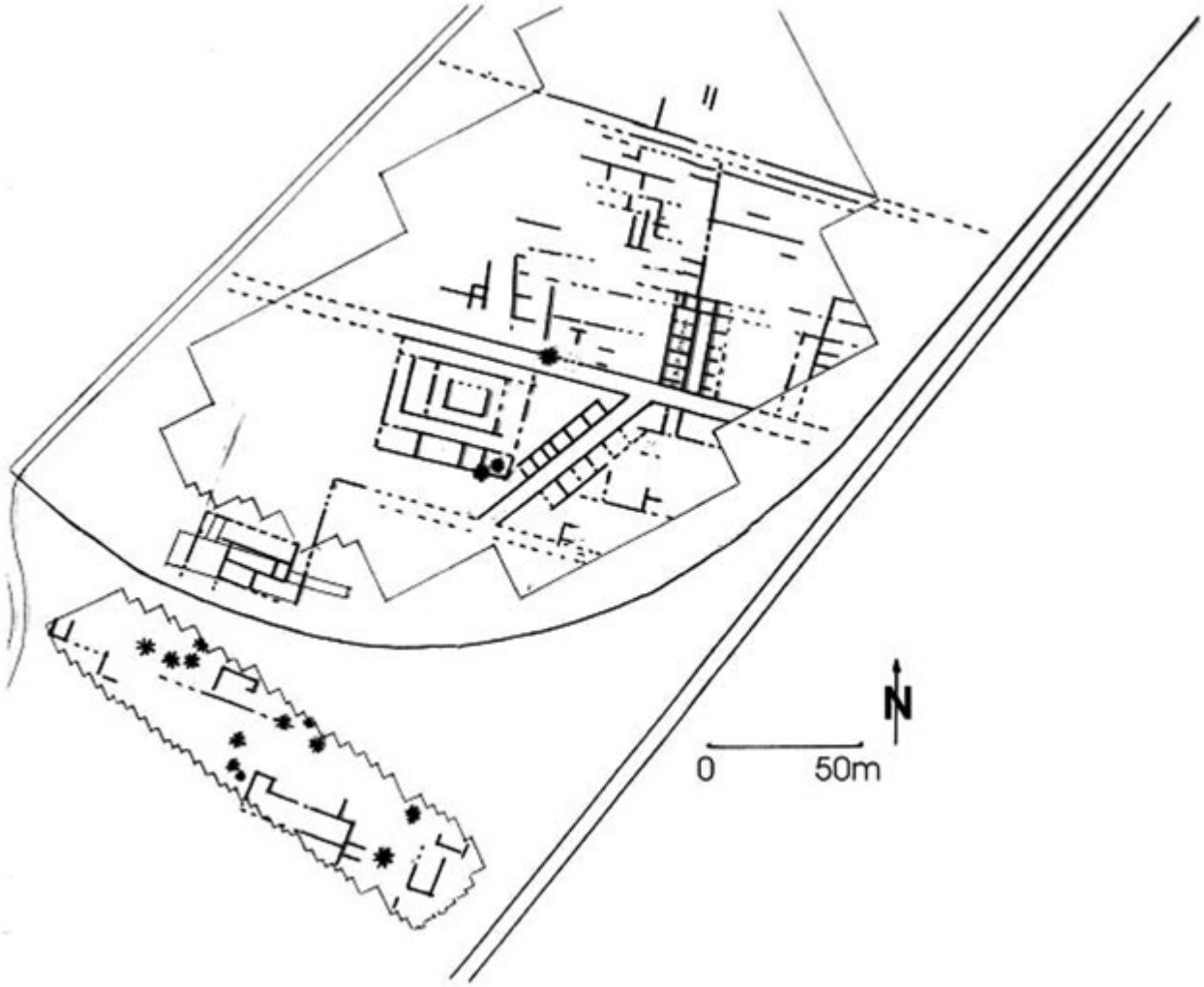

Figure 34. Geophysical survey results of the Asklepieion area from Apulum (Source: *http://foto.cimec.ro/cronica/2004/030/rsz_0.jpg*)

western border of the province,[692] while the second one, bypassing the Roman fort, followed a stream of the Mureș as far as the southern border of the province.[693] The two roads negotiated the so-called Galgenberg, or Kutyamál Hill (today known as Dealul Furcilor, 249 m in height), which dominated the valley and at the same height as the fort.[694] This mean approx. 30 – 40 m height from the average level of the valley. The map from 1787 shows that the eastern slope of the hill was already being used as a cemetery in this period.[695] This area (known later also as Majorszőlőstelep, Caleea Viilor) – the hill with the cemetery, the backwaters of the Ampoița and the Roman road – was the main artery between the fort, the palace of the governor and the first settlement of Apulum, the *pagus Apulensis*, which later in the period of Marcus Aurelius became a *municipium*. On the same map we can observe that when the road and the backwaters reach the curved south-eastern end of the Galgenberg, there is a bridge that helps the road continue its way to the Marosporto, known also as 'Saltz-Niederlag', between Váradgya and Limba.[696] It is important to note is that the backwater is missing from the 1869 map, but the bridge is still there, passing a small lake, probably remnants from the backwaters of the Ampoița.[697] The small lake near the bridge could be identical with the contemporary Tăușor lake (or 'small lake', known also as the 'bottomless lake'),[698] which even today a very changeable nature. Although it is just a hypothesis, it is possible that this bridge is the only architectural construction from the *colonia* to survive until modern times, mentioned by an epigraphic source, a monumental and severely water-eroded construction

[692] Fodorean *at al.* 2013: 41, fig. 1.

[693] On the map from 1787, it is not sure if this road was the main Imperial road which connected Sarmizegetusa with Porolissum, or a secondary road (Ampelum-Apulum, today's modern road 74), which actually linked up with the Via Traiana at Apulum.

[694] In the map from 1869 the fort shows at 249.66 m, while the Galgenberg is given as 245-249 m. Today's modern measurements show a maximum of 249 m.

[695] The modern cemetery is also here today.

[696] Szabó 2014b: 53.

[697] The bridge does not exist today.

[698] 'Feneketlen tó' in Hungarian, cited also numerous times by Béla Cserni (1901: 275).

Figure 35. Construction plaque of a Roman bridge near the Asklepieion of Apulum (lupa 11021)

plaque[699] found in the nearby lake (**Fig.35.**). This plaque was erected by Caius Iulius Frontonianus, *decurio* of the newly founded Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, veteran of the Legion V. Macedonica[700] and *beneficiarius* of the governor of the provinces:[701]

> *Apol[l]ini Dianae / et Leto(!) ceterisque / dis deab[us] q(ue) huiusq(ue) / loci salutar[ib]us ex / imperio numi[n] is C(aius) Iul(ius) / Frontonia[nu]s vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) e[x b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis)] / dec(urio) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) pr[o se et] / suis p(ecunia) s(ua) pontem / exstruxit*

The construction plaque has an unusual, oblong form, representing the three busts of Apollo, Leto and Diana in the upper part. The text states that he dedicated the monument to all the divinities of the 'healing place' (*dis deabusque huiusque loci salutaribus*) and to the *numen* of the Emperor.[702] From another, similarly expensive and monumental inscription dedicated by his whole family,[703] Frontonianus informs us that his eyes and eyesight were healed by Aesculapius and Hygeia. The inscriptions confirm that the bridge was the main gate and official entrance from the 'world of deaths', as represented by the Galgenberg Hill (Dealul Furcilor) into the territory of the *Asklepieion*, which was in the very vicinity of the northern city wall of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The bridge was destroyed probably at the end of the 19th century, as it does not appear on the maps of Cserni from 1901 and 1912. The size of the bridge must have been modest, similar to that from the Via Annia in the Ca'Tron estate[704] or Nimreh,[705] serving only to facilitate the Imperial road to pass the possibly very unstable backwater regions.

The area between the backwaters, the Imperial road, and the northern part of the city wall formed a triangle of at least 200 x 300 x 180 m, which was represented even in the map from 1869 as a marshy and swampy area, where the Ampoița and the Mureș often flooded. This area had a very limited view over its surroundings: from the north, the panorama was closed suddenly by the slope of the Galgenberg; in the south, by the city wall and main gate; in the west, a large swampy area dominated the view, closed by the slope of the Mamut and other hills, part of the Zlatna chain of the Occidental Carpathians. The best area for visibility in this area was to the east, where the sunrise was extremely clear and visible, the closest hills being at least 4.5 km away, after Limba (Lombfalva). The area – often flooded by the two rivers – was also a rich source for the fountains, one of them being mentioned by an inscription named as the 'fountain of Apollo'.[706] This was attested also by the antiquarian literature in 1790, when in the area several inscriptions were found in the vicinity of a fountain.[707] We can presume that in that period the area was much lusher and rich in flora and fauna,[708] creating a special

[699] The condition of the monument and the nature of its eroded status show that it was affected severely by the water.

[700] The Legion was mentioned on the inscription only with the 'pia' epithet, which makes it problematic to define its chronology.

[701] IDR III/5: 36. See also: Szabó 2004b: 91-92.

[702] Here the Emperor is in the second line, in a lower level of hierarchy in the divine world. However, his numen makes him already stand out as a semi-divine entity. In this case, Frontonianus expresses his faith towards the Imperial family, as a decurio and magistrate of the city. See also: Fenechiu 2008.

[703] IDR III/5: 21: *Aesculapio / et Hygiae ce/terisq(ue) diis dea/busq(ue) huiusq(ue) / loci salutarib(us) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Fronto/nianus vet(eranus) ex / b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) / redditis sibi lumi/nibus grat(ias) age(ns) ex / viso pro se et Carteia / Maxima coniug(e) et Iul(ia) / Frontina filia / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

[704] Busana-Kromer 2011: 88-95.

[705] Stoll 2000: 109-123.

[706] IDR III/5: 31: *Ex iussu dei / Apollinis fon/tem Aeterni Ulp(ius) / Proculinus / speculator / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) Gordia/nae a solo resti/ tuit.*

[707] Szabó 2014b: 58.

[708] The oldest, but still the best work on the flora of the settlement

area which became, for short periods in the year, a real island, surrounded by the hill, the river and the city.[709] The area, separated from the noise of the city, close to the quiet and peaceful hill of the cemetery and surrounded by water and abundant vegetation, created an ideal landscape and soundscape, odoriferous too, all mentioned by ancient authors as essential factors for healing and salubrious environments.[710] The landscape of Apulum, however, with its floods and changeable nature, was probably never really an ideal one for the maintenance of the sanctuary-complex, but the most important element – the water supply – was always reliable.[711]

This area was named by Ádám Szabó as the 'Locus Apulensis', a *locus sacer* with numerous sanctuaries dedicated to various healing divinities, among whom were Asclepius, Hygeia, Apollo Salutaris, IOM Conservator and Diana. Based on Szabó's hypothesis, the area was designated a legally well-defined entity by the local magistrates in the *locus publicus* and transformed into a *locus sacer*, a territory dedicated to celestial divinities organised by a special priesthood (*antistes*, *sacerdos*).[712] The poor archaeological sources, the uncertain provenience of the inscriptions, and the severely altered geography attested on the terrain cannot, however, be used as certain basis for the argument of this hypothesis. What is sure, however, is that most of the *Asklepieia* were complex architectural environments, formed by numerous buildings and a transformed and integrated natural environment, where fountains, rivers and even the visibility, panorama and accessibility of the urban landscape played an important role (see especially I.35.).[713] Identifying archaeologically a 'healing centre' of this complexity is, unfortunately, very problematic, as the detailed study undertaken by Patricia Baker has proved.[714] For a long time, it was considered axiomatic to accept the theory that each of the provincial *Asklepieia* were designed and built after the model of the great sanctuaries (and named even as 'mother sanctuaries') of Epidaurus and Pergamun.[715] The sanctuary at Epidaurus, described in detail by Pausanias,[716] was outside the city and consisted of a round building (*tholos*), the stele (*iamata*) with numerous dedications, the theatre, a 'couple of other sanctuaries', a few temples, a fountain, a stadium and a dwelling of some kind. He also stated, that 'the sacred grove of Asclepius is surrounded on all sides by boundary marks. No death or birth takes place within the enclosure'.[717] It is important to highlight an event that occurred probably in the Antonine period, when a certain Antoninus, a Roman senator 'made a bath for Asclepius and a sanctuary of the gods, they call Bountiful. He made also a temple to Health, Asclepius and Apollo, the last two surnamed Egyptian. He moreover restored the portico that was named the Portico of Cotys'.[718] The archaeological material (architectural, epigraphic sources and the small finds)[719] reveals a great variety and heterogeneity of the sanctuaries and numerous particularities, determined by the local geography, the local history of the city, and – as the case of Antoninus shows – by individual worshippers and donors. It is also important to refer to the particularities of the cult and the evolution of it in Rome and in later Roman contexts. Although it was introduced to Rome directly from Epidaurus,[720] later it became strictly associated with the health and well-being of the Emperor, gained a Roman *dies natalis* (1st of January), appeared together with Apollo and Salus, and became very popular also in domestic and military contexts, creating numerous sites and landscapes associated with its cult.[721] His first sanctuary in Rome, on the island of the Tiber, was already different in nature from the 'mother sanctuary' of Epidaurus.

The *extra-muros* natural environment and its specific elements – water, fountain, gardens, trees – are presented also in the literary sources and in archaeological contexts as a common feature for almost all healing sanctuaries. Although the *extra-muros* locations of these sanctuaries are interpreted in many ways,[722] an important aspect of their positions was recently highlighted.[723] Baker affirms that, besides the necessity of great public places and free spaces,[724] the water supply of the healing sanctuaries provoked also the transformation and integration of the natural, geographical environment into the *temenos* of healing sanctuaries. After a recently proposed typology of

was written by Béla Cserni, the pioneer of urban archaeology in Alba Iulia: Cserni 1879; Szabó 2016a.

[709] Even in the 1970s, before the construction of the works on the Mureș, which transformed radically the landscape and affected severely the eastern part of the city wall and the extra-muros area in the so-called 'Lăbuț' area, induations happened almost annually.

[710] Hp. *In the Surgery*, 2-3, Hyginus, *de Munitionibus*, 4. See also: Baker 2013: 112-113.

[711] Vitr. *De arch*.1.2.7.: *Naturalis autem decor sic erit si primum omnibus templis saluberrimae regiones aquarumque fontes in his locis idonei eligentur in quibus fana constituantur, deinde maxime Aesculapio, Saluti et eorum deorum, quorum plurimi medicinis aegri curari videntur. Cum enim ex pestilenti in salubrem locum corpora aegra translata fuerint et e fontibus salubribus aquarum usus subminis trabuntur, celerius convalescent. Ita efficietur uti ex natura loci maiores auctasque cum dignitate divinitas excipiat opinions*. See also: Festus, *De sign. verb*. 110.

[712] Szabó 2004b: 96.

[713] For the spatial aspects of the Asklepieion from Pergamun, see: Agelidis 2012: 99-111.

[714] Baker 2013: 115-120, 136-158.

[715] . Szabó 2007: 189.

[716] Paus. 2.27: 1-7.

[717] Paus. 2.27: 1. Trans. by W. H. S. Jones.

[718] Paus. 2.27: 6.

[719] The best collection of healing sanctuaries and their detailed presentation is still Riethmüller 2005. See also: De Miro *et al.* 2009.

[720] Renberg 2006: 87. See also his fn. 4.

[721] Winkler 1995. For the topography of the finds related to the cult of Asclepius in Rome, see: Renberg 2006: 92-93, fig. 1.

[722] Renberg 2006: 96, fn. 26, with an extensive bibliography on the topic.

[723] Baker 2013: 128-130.

[724] Idea suggested already by Ziolkowski (1992: 278).

sacred natural spaces,[725] the case of Apulum can be determined as a transformed and integrated natural environment, where the water, the fountain, the river, hills, and gardens were probably not worshipped on their own, as *de facto* sacred features of nature, but used as an auxiliary agent in a broader and more complex language of space arrangement, ancient hygiene and *habitus*.[726] After the definition of Israelowich,[727] this integrated natural environment was a key part of the so-called 'Graeco-Roman health-care system', as part of the semantic network of Kleinman's model.[728]

Choreography and commemoration: actions and events from the healing sanctuary of Apulum

It is generally accepted that actions, movements, physical activity and ritualised engagement of the body within a sanctuary (and outside) has a more powerful psychological and emotional effect than words and visual elements, such as inscriptions, buildings, reliefs or statues.[729] An accurate reconstruction of a religious procession, from the arrival of worshippers in the *Asklepieion* until they leave it, is almost impossible, even in such cases as Pergamun, which has been used even in the most recent studies as an incontestable analogy for recreating the emotional group[730] and religious embodiment of worshippers from all *Asklepieia* within the Roman Empire.[731] The *lex sacra* of the sanctuary (*IvP* III 161 A)[732] is indeed relevant for a certain time and moment in the religious activity of the sanctuary-complex, but it cannot serve as a model for all the healing complexes of the Empire. Kroll's article has highlighted the importance and psychological impact of the epigraphic evidence for future visitors to the temple.[733] The accumulation of inscriptions, statues and small finds in the healing sanctuaries are more often present and visible than in other sacred spaces.[734] This could mean that the visual effect of an *ex voto* and testimony of a 'healed' worshipper served the maintenance and very existence of these sanctuaries. In this context, the dedicator became part of a multi-dimensional, religious communication which also included chronological, spatial and social dimensions.[735] Every worshipper who added to the great number of inscriptions and various dedications within *Asklepieia* ensured the bridge between present and future, worshipper and god, worshipper and religious specialists, and influenced the inner space and landscape of the sanctuary.

Without systematic excavation and knowledge of the exact findspots for the inscriptions and statues, the spatial distribution and topography of the dedications to the healing divinities is hard to establish. In such a complex conurbation as Apulum, the health-care system and the cult of the healing divinities were very diverse and located at many sites, such as small domestic shrines, *tabernae*, or the *valetudinarium* in the fort,[736] where finds used for medical purposes have been found.[737] The worship of Isis and Serapis as healing divinities is also attested in the *praetorium consularis*.[738] Despite this, the status of the *Asklepieion* from Apulum must have been notable, as its impact can be seen beyond its sacred walls, witnessed across the city and even within the wider province of Dacia Superior.

From the possible activities attested in the sanctuary, based on the epigraphic material, we can include the following: a dedication made by a *sacerdos*, a Iivir; the three-fold reconstruction of the *porticus*, the construction of a bridge, a dedication to the fountain, the dedication of an anatomical votive, and healing during an incubation.[739]

From the 12 inscriptions mentioning the formula *ex iussu, ex iusso, ex viso, ex visu*,[740] four are related to the *Asklepieion* and the ritual of incubation.[741] Dreaming and sleeping was a well-known and widely applied method of healing, one of the most basic and widespread elements of the Graeco-Roman health-care system.[742] In this case, although the provinces of Dacia do not show any specific particularity, it is important to highlight that the accessibility of such places where incubation was possible were very limited in the province and monopolised by religious specialists in dream

[725] Szabó 2016c.
[726] On the influence of Bordieu's *habitus* on our modern space concepts, see: Baker 2013: 127.
[727] Israelowich 2012, 40-42.
[728] Kleinman 1980. See also: Seeman-Kleinman 2000: 230-242 on the concept of personal illness and the critics of Kleinman.
[729] Chaniotis 2013. See also: Norenzayan 2013: 10, who states that 'religious action speaks louder than words'. More recently: Butler-Purves 2014; Panagiotidou 2014.
[730] On the notion of emotional community, see: Chaniotis 2011: 269-290.
[731] The best case of this generalisation is the article by S. Kroll. Based on the epigraphic evidence from Epidaurus, Kroll affirms, that 'unpacking these steps will help us see how an inscription can perpetuate the effects of the overall ritual system involved in dream incubation at Epidauros' (2013: 39). Later he affirms that 'although the preliminary rituals remain unknown', he still tries to generalise the situation of Epidaurus as a model for all healing sanctuaries of the Empire, or, at least, reconstructing the religious activity of a worshipper within the temenos. This process is similar to what Richard Gordon called 'intellectualism' and the recreation of a basically unknown ancient lived experience (2014: 675-676).
[732] Kroll 2013: 39-40.
[733] Kroll 2013: 43, citing IG XIV 967a. See also: Witchel 2012.
[734] Diaconescu 2014: 59, cat. nr 31B, and IDR III/5: 9: *Deo Aescul(apio) et Hygiae Aur(elius) (A)etern(a)lis / v(otum) s(olvit)*.
[735] See also: Rüpke 2009a: 31-41.
[736] Baker 2013: 111-112.
[737] Branga 1974: 131-134.
[738] See c II.6.
[739] Although the existence of local and regional pilgrimages to healing sanctuaries and sites is attested in the province (see c III.3.), this cannot be proved in the case of Apulum with solid arguments.
[740] Piso 2001a: 571.
[741] Zugravu 2005: 101-122; Nemeti 2012: 43-53.
[742] Edelstein-Edelstein 1945: 414-442; Israelowich 2012: 72-73. For an impressive bibliography and the latest titles and corpora, see: Renberg 2015: 234, fn. 4.

Figure 36. Dedication plaque with anatomical representation from the Asklepieion of Apulum (lupa 10968)

interpretation (*interpres somniorum*, *coniector*).[743] This does not mean that other patients never dreamed or had divine epiphanies in oniric experiences: epigraphic and literary evidence shows that dream interpretation in antiquity was a very individualised and domesticated activity.[744] From the inscriptions we cannot reconstruct the medical or other issues which inspired the patients to visit the *Asklepieion*,[745] but we know that this experience was not only a psychological, emotional investment, but also a financial one: beside the costs of the incubation,[746] the worshippers invested also in the *ex votos* (altars, plaques or even statues), and in some cases the medical cure and work of the *clinicus*,[747] which is also attested in the *Asklepieion* of Apulum.[748]

From the activities which took place in the *Asklepieion*, two are related to the work of the *clinicus* and attest to the healing of worshippers. The first is a fragmentary, inscribed plaque (**Fig.36.**) with the representations of two palms, flats of the hand:[749]

(A)escula/peo / et (H)y/gi(a)e / Resti/tuta / [------

Although the plaque is broken exactly in the area of the wrist, based on certain analogies we can presume that it represented only the palms and not the whole arms.[750] Until recently these representations were interpreted as testimonies and embodied religious memories of a miraculous healing and the cultural homogeneity of the Mediterranean.[751] Hands were often associated with Roman prayer.[752] However, recent studies have shown that the palm could indicate a much more complex language of communication within the memory and sensescape of the *Asklepieion*.[753] Votive body parts and reliefs represent one of the most successful facets of religious communication and space sacralisation: by offering a relief representing his sick (or possibly broken) hands, the dedicant expresses his expiation for the punishment of the gods.[754]

Another case is that of the aforementioned Caius Iulius Frontonianus, whose eyes were healed in the sanctuary. None of these sources mentions a possible chirurgical intervention, but the presence of the *clinicus* in the *Asklepieion* could indicate such activities.[755] A particularity of the sanctuary is represented by the

[743] See c II.6. and the case study of Caius Iulius Valens. On the role and significance of specialists of incubation: Renberg 2015: 233-262.
[744] Renberg 2015: 235.
[745] Most of the cases when a rich patient visits an *Asklepieion* are related to medical or health issues, but they could also choose this kind of divination in relation to other personal problems: Dodson 2009: 34.
[746] We do not know the price (if it were such) in the case of any *Asklepieia* from the Danubian provinces, but from Pergamon some inscriptions show that the entrance was only 3 obols: Diomidis 2010: 222.
[747] TLL III, 1350.
[748] Baker 2004: 44-45; Szabó 2007: 91-93. See also the previous chapter on Caius Iulius Valens.
[749] IDR III/5, 17. For hands as anatomical votives and analogies from the Greek world, see: Hughes 2017: 37, 44, 123, and especially 166, with analogies from Lydia and Phrygia.
[750] Van Straten 1981: 100-151.
[751] Harris-Holmes 2008: 102-103; Stek 2009: 24.
[752] Hughes 2017: 11, on the historiography of this phenomenon.
[753] Michaelidis 2014; Gasparini 2016; Hughes 2017.
[754] Hughes 2017: 13, on the theory of Pazzini.
[755] On the role of the *clinicus*, see: Rosen 2012: 229, fn. 6. See also: Mart. 1.30.2. and TLL III, 1350.

cult of Diana, attested on three inscriptions, which could belong to the sanctuary-complex.[756] The cult of Diana in the *Asklepieia* is well attested and it was often interpreted with the protective role of Artemis/Diana in childbirth and pregnancy.[757] The presence of the inscriptions dedicated to the divinity could be related to the female visitors of the sanctuary, although – with the exception of the high presence of female dedicators for Diana in other *Asklepieia* – there is no direct proof for this hypothesis in the case of Apulum. A relief representing Aesculapius with his larger family (Epione, Hygeia and Telesphoros)[758] could indicate also the very intimate, embodied relationship with the worshippers and the sacralised space, where the sick connected more intensively the whole family to the sanctuary than at other such sites. The presence of a terracotta mould representing Aesculapius, Hygeia and Serapis[759] also indicates a variety of rituals and actions by the pilgrims described by the *lex sacra* of Pergamun, which cannot be reconstructed in our case.[760]

The importance and popularity of incubation, which was apparently one of the most successful 'exports' of the religious market of the Empire,[761] was also recognized by the local religious specialists and religious groups. A strategy for maintaining a sanctuary as a sacralised space and landscape was to create a collaboration and network between competitive sanctuaries and similar groups. An example of this is revealed by an inscription attested for the first time in the 16th century by Verantius:[762]

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) / ex praecepto / num(inis) Aesculapi(i) / somno monit(us) / Veturius Marci/an(us) ve(teranus) l(egionis) XIII g(eminae) p(ro) s(alute) s(ua) suor(um)q(ue)*

The text mentions that Veturius Marcianus, a veteran of the Legion XIII Gemina, erected the monument for Jupiter Dolichenus following the advice of Aesculapius, who appeared to him in a dream. Unfortunately, the inscription was discovered in a secondary position, but the text clearly shows a collaboration between the specialists of Aesculapius and Dolichenus. Veturius Marcianus was later sent to a *dolichenum* following a vision he had whilst incubating in the *Asklepieion*. The existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus in Apulum was attested epigraphically in the area of the so-called 'road of the sanctuaries' in the area of the *Municipium Septimium*. Why and how often such collaborations occurred between the two sanctuaries is unclear, but the numerous Apollo monuments within the *dolichena* in the provinces of Dacia and beyond suggest that Jupiter Dolichenus became at the end of the 2nd century AD a competitive partner of the healing divinities, entering the field of religious healing with a great success among the soldiers.[763]

Given that healing and health were one of the most quotidian problems of every Roman, especially in a military context, where health issues occurred frequently,[764] monopolising the health-care system and its religious aspects was almost impossible, even in such successful sanctuaries as an *Asklepieion*, where the illness of the patient transformed suddenly from a misfortune into a privileged identity.[765] Beside other sanctuaries, such as the *dolichenum*, numerous individuals and alternative options appeared on the religious market, which created an abundance of possibilities for the patient to choose, or even accumulate, a sort of religious 'health insurance'. A particular example of such private religious entrepreneurs or medics is revealed by the ophthalmological *sigillium* of T. Attius Divixtus:[766]

> *T(iti) Atti Divixti dia/libanu(m) ad imp(etum) ex ovo*
> *T(iti) At(t)i Divixti diami/sus ad veteres cic(atrices)*
> *T(iti) Atti D(i)vixt(i) nar/dinum ad impet(um) lip(pitudinis)*
> *T(iti) Atti Divixti dia/smyrnes post imp(etum) lip(pitudinis)*

The specialist who came from a Celtic region of the Empire tried to use his skills as ophtamologist in Apulum by selling four types of medical prescriptions. Although his activity cannot be located, it is possible, that the Palace of the Governors had a strict relationship with the *Asklepieion* or had its own medical specialists.

Individual options in the Roman health-care system of Apulum

The role of the individual in ancient medicine and the health-care system has recently become a very important part of historical discourse.[767] Although the individuation of the patient, as an agent in his or her own health-care, was already emphasised by Galen,[768] the role of religious individuation in the process of the health-care has only recently been highlighted.[769] When an individual recognised their sickness, they radically changed identity – from a soldier, merchant,

[756] IDR III/5, 20, 36, 49.
[757] Diomidis 2010: 229. The *lex sacra* from Pergamun does not allow the birth of children within the *temenos* of the sanctuary.
[758] IDR III/5, 9.
[759] Anghel *et al.* 2011: 94, cat. nr 138; Deac-Varga 2014: cat. nr 9, fig. 10.
[760] Diomidis 2010: 231.
[761] On the notion of a 'religious market' and its provincial connotations, see c I. 1-2 and V. See also: Petridou 2016a: 437-439.
[762] IDR III/5, 220. See also: Dészpa 2017.
[763] See c III.2.
[764] Aparaschivei 2012b: 99-118.
[765] Diomidis 2010: 235.
[766] IDR III/6, 431.
[767] Baker 2013: 20.
[768] Roby 2016.
[769] See also Petridou-Thumiger 2016.

magistrate, matron or wife, to that of a 'sick person', with the emotional content of this identity suddenly being more important than any other previous social status, cultural or religious one.[770] In this sense, the patients became a very strong community within the walls of an *Asklepieion*, bounded not only by a common religious interest, but also by a very strong, emotionally intensified physical, embodied identity.[771] Although the three main groups of patients (urban magistrates, soldiers, family members)[772] mentioned in most of the cases their social status on the inscriptions, their primary identity at the moment of the religious act was that of a patient. We can observe here also the complementary role of identities: while the identity of the patient, as a sick person and seeker for health and divination, is serving the maintenance of the religious communication and gives authenticity and future success for the divination, the civic titles emphasised on inscriptions bring an outdoor, social discourse within the walls of the *Asklepieia*, mixing the 'civic' religion with the very lived, individualised experience of the patients.

A particular case of religious individuation in the Roman health-care system of Apulum is represented by the three worshippers of Glykon, an example which needs a more careful analysis.

As Ara Norenzayan recently stated, almost all of the newly founded religious groups have the same fate of disappearing within the great religious market of history, which makes it problematic to categorize them as 'successful' or 'failed'.[773] Even if Alexander from Abonouteichos and the first worshippers of the cult of Glykon (the Sweet One[774]) were conscious of the risks and the problems of maintaining a new religious cult in the highly competitive religious market of the 2nd century AD, they still decided to found it: 'They readily understood that human life is ruled by two great tyrants, hope and fear, and that a man who could use both of these to advantage would speedily enrich himself. ... Thanks to these two tyrants, hope and fear, men continually visited the sanctuaries and sought to learn the future in advance, and to that end sacrificed hecatombs and dedicated ingots of gold.'[775] The cult was attested in a short interval of time in numerous places in southern and western areas around the Black Sea, in Moesia Inferior, Rome, and later in Apulum too.[776] Although the archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence is extremely limited,[777] the cult was constantly cited as a 'successful' one, which spread quickly across a large area of the Roman Empire. For a short period (just one or two generations) the cult was indeed very popular and used a consciously built and created strategy for maintaining the mother sanctuary and the theology of the cult, but the real presence and impact of the cult within the macro-scale religious market (Roman Empire) needs reconsideration.[778]

The cult of Glykon was attested in Tomis (today's Constanța, Romania) by a well-known and celebrated statue of the serpent god (Fig.).[779]The statue was found together with 23 other monuments, representing the largest statuary assemblage or votive deposit discovered in Romania.[780] The chronology of the finds and the circumstances of the deposition are very difficult to establish.[781] Recently the deposit was interpreted as a 'complete temple inventory'[782] from a sanctuary dedicated to a group of mystery cults and various divinities (*synnaoi theoi*) worshipped in the same place. However the stratigraphy suggests that this collection was assembled and buried in the 20th century.[783] The case of Tomis is important for us because the representation of Glykon from this collection shows a striking similarity with the poorly preserved fragment of the second-known statuary representation of the god, and it is also the closest analogy in geographical terms.[784]

The cult of Glykon in Apulum is attested on two inscriptions (**Fig.37.**):

[770] It is important to mention that literary or epigraphic sources do not help us identify traces for favouritism or nepotism within the *Asklepieia*. In this case, the civic and familial status could play a more important role than the identity of the patient as a sick person.

[771] Diomidis 2010: 233-234. About communities and groups as mentally constructed, short-term identities, see: Mol-Versluys 2015.

[772] We do not know if wives or siblings mentioned on inscriptions really took part in the incubation or religious processes of the patient, or whether their presence on inscriptions served another level of religious communication. On the possible role of friends and family members in the incubation, see: Petridou 2014: 296.

[773] On the 'Matthew effect': Norenzayan 2013: 13-14. The cult of Glykon was many times named as the most successful example of individual religious movements of Antiquity: Diomidis 2010: 45, especially fn. 77.

[774] On the origin of the name, see: Chaniotis 2002: 70, fn. 10.

[775] Lucian, Alexander, 8. See also: Chaniotis 2012: 205.

[776] On the distribution of the cult, see: Chaniotis 2002: 71, especially fn. 23.

[777] Chaniotis 2002: 68, fn. 5, with a complete bibliography.

[778] Chaniotis 2002: 72-73. See also: Diomidis 2010: 42-60.

[779] The statue became one of the most reproduced and celebrated Roman finds from Romania, reproduced even on a banknote. Lupa 21360. See also: Culcer 1967: 611-614; Tacheva 1983: 276-277; Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009: 30 (fig. 11), fn. 34. See also: Petridou 2017: 255-256.

[780] For the first edition, see: Canarache *et al.* 1963. For a more detailed analysis: Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009: 27-46.

[781] For a long time it was dated by art historians (as happens so often, based only on stylistic grounds and iconography) to the second half of the 2nd century AD (150-170): LIMC IV. s.v. Glykon, 280. The deposit was interpreted – again, as already a literary topos in Romanian historiography – as a collection from various sanctuaries and votive contexts hidden from Christian iconoclasts: Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009: 28.

[782] Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009: 34.

[783] See also: *http://dilemaveche.ro/sectiune/tilc-show/articol/nu-ma-exporta-frate* (last accessed: 15.07.2016).

[784] Schäfer 2004: 183.

Figure 37. Statue base dedicated to Glykon from Apulum (lupa 11284)

Glyconi / M(arcus) Ant(onius) / Onesas / iusso dei / l(ibens) p(osuit)[785]

Glyco(ni) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Theodo/tus ius/so dei p(osuit)[786]

Although one of them has been lost,[787] the dedications had an almost identical formula and were found in an approximate, secondary position within the fort.[788] Both of the dedicants – Marcus Aurelius Theodotus and Marcus Antonius Onesas – originated from a Greek-speaking area of the Empire, possibly from Asia Minor or Skythia.[789] The two Latin inscriptions from Apulum were cited even in the latest synthesis of the cult as a proof for the success of the religious group.[790] The presence of Theodotus and Onesas in Apulum was often explained by the temporary mobility of the groups from Asia Minor to Dacia,[791] and the strong military and economic bounds between the provinces of Dacia and Moesia Superior, where the cult seems to have been protected by the governor himself.[792] Another important aspect that could have helped the maintenance of this small-group religion involved the trade and commercial groups related to the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* and the dislocation of the army attested to between Dacia and Moesia Superior.[793] The two inscriptions prove also the practice of incubation and divination. Unfortunately, the secondary position of the two monuments does not help us identify the place where this activity occurred. As the votive deposit from Tomis shows, it could have belonged to a *synnaoi theoi* sanctuary dedicated to various divinities with initiation and mystery aspects. Their activity could be one of the very few cases when a short-term or temporarily reflexive and competitive individuality in religious communication could be attested in Dacia.[794]

The presence of Hekate, Artemis from Ephessos, and other divinities from Asia Minor in Apulum[795] could indicate a situation similar to that of Tomis. The practice of incubation by the worshippers of Glykon in Apulum began as a competitive or, more likely, as a complementary element in the religious market, where the individual options and variations on the same activity (incubation, dream consultation) were normal for a polytheistic society and followed the norms of ramifications of the Roman health-care system. The particular feature that made these two worshippers of Glykon different from others is their special identity, which was part of the cult: from the moment that an individual decided that he or she would choose Glykon instead of Asclepius, or other divinities with similar attributes, they assumed also a unique, religious identity, which was intentionally involved in the cult by its founder, to make it more competitive or 'different' from the other individual options.[796]

The omnipresence of the Roman health-care system in Apulum is attested by small finds and epigraphic documents, as well as by indirect architectural structures and antiquarian traditions. As in the majority of complex urban centres, health-care and religion had numerous forms and variations, which on the one hand created an opportunity for religious individuation for the patient – a new and stronger identity, which dominates a person during his or her

[785] IDR III/5: 85.
[786] IDR III/5: 86.
[787] IDR III/5: 86 was among the first four inscriptions attested from Apulum already in the 15th century.
[788] This topographic aspect, however, does not help us to identify their original topography, numerous inscriptions found in the territory of the fort could have come from the area of the Municipium Septimium, or even from the Colonia Aurelia.
[789] On the groups from Asia Minor and their religious communication in Apulum, see c II.9.
[790] Diomidis 2010: 69. The author was probably confused by the ancient and modern name of Apulum (Alba Iulia).
[791] Schäfer 2004: 183; Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 316.
[792] Lucian, Alexander, 34; Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 316.
[793] Dobó 1940; Aparashivei 2012b.
[794] Rüpke 2013.
[795] See c II.9.
[796] Chaniotis 2002.

sickness. On other hand, however, the great variations in options for healing divinities, activities and places, as attested in the conurbation, sharpened competition and forged collaboration between these groups and individuals.

The natural environment and its effect on the religious life of the early inhabitants of Apulum in the 2nd to 3rd centuries is still open to debate and in need of analysis in much more detail. Similarly, the northern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (the area of Lake Tăușor) needs to be examined by various non-destructive methods[797] so that the area is not affected. It would be the last chance to examine one of the largest healing centres of the province.

II.8. Lived religion in secondary spaces

The ancient mystery cults and their sacralised spaces were analysed for a long time as religious associations, with the research focusing especially on the organisation and internal hierarchy of these groups.[798] In recent years, these cults and their worshippers have been analysed as participants within the 'religious market'[799] and the research has changed the question: how in a highly competitive religious market were these small-group religions formed and maintained, and how did they interact with larger ideologies and groups? The new concept of 'small-group religions' has also created an alternative discourse for the recently contested notion of the 'oriental' and mystery cults.[800]

The concept of 'small-group religions' (small-group movements, elective cults, *Gruppenreligionen*)[801] was transported from the contemporary American discourse on religious groups,[802] and created a new aspect of the religious associations and mystery cults within the concept of religious pluralism of the Empire, emphasising the economic role and cultural identity of these groups. The notion of 'small groups' not only emphasises the number of worshippers,[803] but also includes a spatial interpretation of the assembly houses and sacralised spaces used by the worshippers.[804] This term includes also their economic and cultural impact within a micro- (urban or rural) or even macro-society (province). The notion also involves a new approach to the internal hierarchisation of the worshippers (group strategy). Small-group religion also provides a more accurate image for the study of so-called 'emotional communities'[805] and cultural (group) identity.[806] Similarly, religious individuation is easier to detect in such cases.[807] As stated in the Introduction to this present work, small-group religions and religious communication in secondary spaces were among the most effective and visible forms and strategies for religious communication in Dacia. Almost half of the sacralised spaces attested in this province belong to this type. A comprehensive analysis of religious grouping and identities on the level of the entire province goes beyond the limits of this book, therefore this chapter will highlight some of the relevant features of religious grouping, identities, and their impact on space sacralisation and urbanisation processes through the case studies of Apulum.

One of the most researched small religious groups from Apulum is represented by the Liber Pater shrine, which, due to its systematically excavated site, represents the best example for the case study of the small-group phenomenon.

Discovering Liber Pater in Apulum: a short overview

The topography of the votive corpus related to the Liber Pater cult – with the exception of the monuments discovered in the shrine – is unsure. Some of the earliest finds were discovered in secondary position, as reused stones in the medieval fort or other buildings in the vicinity.[808] From this secondary position, Ioan Piso presumed that these monuments originally came from the Municipium Septimium Apulense or the area of the

[797] The last comprehensive geophysical survey in the area was made in 2004. The results are still unpublished. Other important researches were carried on in 2013-1014 in the area of the so-called *Liber Pater* shrine. Although Romania is a leader in new LIDAR technologies and projects, the latest technologies have only been used at a few sites (Sarmizegetusa Regia, Porolissum). See also: http://www.rosa.ro/index.php/en/news-menu/stiri/752-romania-project-leader-in-building-europe-s-lidar (last accessed 14.05.2018).

[798] Bremmer 2014: 100.

[799] North 1992: 173-194; Nuffelen 2014. For a critique of the concept, see: Beck 2006b.

[800] Versluys 2013: 235-261. On religious grouping, see: Lichterman *et al.* 2017; Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 4.

[801] Rüpke 2007b: 113-126; Rebillard-Rüpke 2015: 6-7; Eidinow 2015: 58-59. None of the studies, however, define what the criteria of selection for such a category are: the number of the worshippers, the dimension of the space where religious activity took place, the timeframe of their existence, the economic impact of the group, etc. Created as an alternative for the problematic notion of 'oriental cults', the small-group religions usually refer to the Dolichenian, Mithraic and Bacchic sanctuaries and their attendants. For analogy, see: Schäfer 2008: 159-188. About the Dionysian associations as a model for other similar groups, see: Steinhauer 2014: 107.

[802] Wuthnow 1994: 344-350; Dougherty-Whitehead 2011. See also: Rebillard-Rüpke 2015: 6, fn. 17.

[803] This automatically creates a contrast with the 'large groups'. One needs to highlight, however, that the real size of a small-group religion can only rarely be reconstructed, when an album or participant list exists: Piso-Țentea 2011. To describe it as 'small', one would need to identify a 'bigger' group too, which in most of the cases is not possible in the Roman provincial context. As a counter example, see the case of the group from Torra Nova: Bremmer 2014: 103. It is important to mention, however, that the case of the Torra Nova seems to be a Roman creation, and, when compared to the recently known Roman associations, an exceptional one: Jaccottet 2003: 302-310, Bowden 2010: 128-129; Nielsen 2014: 217-218.

[804] Nielsen 2014; Nielsen 2015.

[805] Chaniotis 2012.

[806] On the notion of cultural identity, see below. On the integration of group identities in a wider, homogenous society: Roth 2007: 8-10.

[807] Rebillard-Rüpke 2015: 6.

[808] IDR III/5: 233; IDR III/5: 235; IDR III/5: 238; IDR III/5: 243.

canabae.[809] Later, all the finds discovered in the 19th century[810] were found in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[811] Considering the fact that the shrine was attested later in the north-west corner of the city, which was the richest in Roman finds since the beginning of the documented looting of Apulum,[812] it is possible that the area of the shrine was already severely looted by the 18th century or even before.[813] This does not necessarily mean that all the finds related to the cult of Liber Pater must have come from the north-west corner of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, but the vague topographic references by Thalson indicate this – at least for the epigraphic material discovered by him.

The rich material of the cult from Apulum was analysed in detail by some seminal works on so-called 'Graeco-Roman' cults,[814] although before the discovery of the shrine, most of the studies were focusing on iconographic aspects.[815] In some articles, the cult was mentioned as a remarkable example of the *interpretatio dacica*, a remnant of the indigenous religion,[816] although today this theory is not accepted.[817] Similarly, the old theory that saw in Liber Pater, as he is represented on the arch of Beneventum, a tutelary divinity of the province also seems questionable at least.[818]

In October 1989, after lengthy fieldwork focusing on the identification of the Roman walls and the topography of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis,[819] Alexandru Diaconescu and his team[820] identified the shrine of Liber Pater in the north-west corner of the city, presumably *intra muros* (I.6.).[821] The area had already been well researched by Béla Cserni, and also in the 20th century,[822] when numerous kilns and domestic houses were identified. Similarly, just 200 m north from the shrine of Liber Pater, outside of the city wall, artefacts from the *Asklepieion* of Apulum were found.[823] In 1989, the shrine (or assembly house) of Liber Pater from Apulum was one of the few Roman Dionysian assembly houses identified by archaeology (see also I.42 and II.19, III.34).[824] Similarly, Roman sites were also known from Carnuntum,[825] Virunum,[826] Djemila,[827] Milo,[828] Cosa[829] and Pompeii (Sant Abbondio),[830] although some of these differ significantly in architectural terms.[831] After a break of some years[832] the sanctuary was excavated between 1998 and 2003 by an international team, revealing a religious site using modern, interdisciplinary methods for the first time.[833] The numismatic[834] and epigraphic material found in the excavations on the area of the shrine was almost fully published;[835] the most relevant pieces of the statuary[836] and the ceramic material[837] were also published. Numerous interdisciplinary studies, focusing on the topography of the site,[838] the archaeobotanical,[839] archaeozoological,[840] and the petrographic aspects[841] of the finds have been made in the recent years. Particular attention was paid to the votive deposits and cult pits (structured depositions)[842] and the religious activity related to these.[843] A short list of the small finds was published recently,[844] but

[809] The popularity of divination among the soldiers is well attested in the conurbation, although it is unclear whether the cult of Liber Pater was also practised in a domestic context among the military: Jaccottet 2003: 184-185. See also: Schäfer 2008: 166; Kremer 2012: 346, 389-390.

[810] IDR III/5: 240 and especially IDR III/5: 241, 242. On the remarkable discovery, which was probably made on the same site as the shrine was later discovered, see: Szabó 2014b.

[811] See also: Ota 2010. In the case of these inscriptions, Piso has suggested that they are strictly related to the shrine of Liber Pater that was found later (2001: 189-191).

[812] Szabó 2016a: 128.

[813] On the Habsburg layers and the complex stratigraphy of the site, see: Diaconescu *et al.* 1997; Haynes 2005; Schäfer 2014b.

[814] Bodor 1961; Pop 1965; Bărbulescu 1985; Bodor 1989.

[815] The works of C. Pop are especially important in this period.

[816] Bodor 1961. See also: Gostar 1965.

[817] Nemeti 2013a.

[818] See c IV.2.

[819] On the results of the fieldwork, see: Diaconescu-Piso 1993; Diaconescu 2004.

[820] Diaconescu *et al.* 1997, 197, fn. 11. It is important also to mention the impact and contribution of C. Băluță, the foremost specialist in the topography of Apulum at that time.

[821] On a recent map, Găzdac draw the northern border of the city much closer to the sanctuary: Găzdac *et al.* 2015: 27, fig. 3.

[822] Szabó 2016a: 128.

[823] See c II.7.

[824] For well-documented, pre-Roman sanctuaries of Bacchus/Dionysos, see: Uz 1990: 51-62; Nielsen 2014: 49-55.

[825] Kremer 2012: 346.

[826] Jaccottet 2003: 184-188.

[827] Jaccottet 2003: 189-193.

[828] Jaccottet 2003: 175.

[829] Clinton 1977.

[830] De Albentis-Foglia 2009: 53.

[831] See also: Schäfer-Diaconescu 1997: 214; Slavova 2002: 137-149; Schäfer 2007b: 162; Diaconescu 2011.

[832] From the period of 1990-1992, see also: Băieșan 1992: 125-134; Bolindeț 1993: 123-141.

[833] The project emerged from a collaboration between three different archaeological schools: the Romanian, the English and the German archaeological approaches.On the importance of the project, see: Szabó 2014d. About the main ideas of the project, see: http://www.ncl.ac.uk/historical/research/project/2372 (last accessed: 17.04.2018). Numerous reports were published during the excavation: Diaconescu *et al.* 2001: 115-128; CCA 2002: 323; CCA 2005: 47-49; Haynes 2005: 38-45.

[834] Găzdac *et al.* 2009: 115-118.

[835] Haynes 2005: 44; Sicoe 2014: 149, nr 22.

[836] Diaconescu 2001: 161-174; Diaconescu 2014; Schäfer 2014a.

[837] Bolindeț 1993: 123-141; Egri 2005; Höpken 2004: 239-254; Höpken-Fiedler 2004: 510-516.

[838] The only available data on the geophysical survey of the site was made by Kris Lockyear: http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=3055 (last accessed: 17.11.2015). See also: Haynes 2014: 89.

[839] Ciută 2010: 185-199. She held numerous presentations on the gardens of Apulum too, although none of the papers have yet been published.

[840] Gudea 2001: 209-234.

[841] Schäfer-Diaconescu 1997: 216-218; Müller *et al.* 2011.

[842] On this idea, see: Woolf 2015: 468-469.

[843] Höpken-Fiedler 2002; Fiedler 2005; Haynes 2008: 128-133; Schäfer 2014b; Fiedler 2014: 189-203. The word *favissae*, which was used for a long time by some of the authors is avoided in the recent publications, due to the new terminological shift: Haynes 2008: 130-131; Haynes 2013; Scheid 2013; Haynes 2014: 90, citing the *Significatione Verborum (78.10/11): Favissae locum sle appellabant, in quo crat aqua inclusa circa templa. Sunt autem, qul putant, favlssas esse in Capitolino cellis cisternisque similes, ubi reponi erant sollta ca, quae in templo vetustate erant facta inntiila.*

[844] Haynes 2014.

despite the numerous studies and promises, the final monograph is still not published.[845] Surprisingly, the only short synthesis on the site and the religious dynamics of it was made by G. Byros in her doctoral thesis.[846] Without access to the final report and the complete material of the site, this chapter is limited to the analysis of some particularities, which focus on the small-group aspects and the cultural identity and networking of the Dionysian group from Apulum.

From sanctuary to dining room: redefining the space of small religious groups

Due to the exceptional finds and the well-preserved context, the site was cited numerous times in both Romanian and international scholarship. In both cases, however, a terminological confusion is apparent. In some Romanian publications the site appears as a 'sanctuary' (*sanctuar*), listed in the same category as temples (*templu*, *temple*).[847] In the German and English publications, the authors used the term *heiligtürmer* and *shrine*, clearly demarking the special nature of the site,[848]: in many cases the place was named simply as sanctuary.[849] The publication of three remarkable syntheses on the cult and its archaeological-epigraphic evidence,[850] the terminological shift in mystery and Oriental religions,[851] and the spatial emphasis in archaeological discourses on the *collegia* and assembly houses,[852] have radically changed our knowledge and overall view of the 'buildings of religious communities', now labelled as 'houses', assembly or banqueting rooms.[853] In the quest to identify the general characteristics and architectural features of these buildings, the discipline faced contrasting viewpoints: on the one hand, as now seems to be accepted, neither the secondary spaces of religious experience nor the shared spaces[854] can be determined by architectural, or even spatial notions,[855] but on the other hand, there is a tendency to generalise and create a unifying term for all the buildings of the 'small-group religions'.[856] This tendency even goes so far as identifying some architectural features, used as *par excellence* characteristics in the definitions of these building-types, stressing the contrast between public/ private and mystic/non-mystic: for example, the size of the room, installations (benches, *klinai*, *kline*-bands), cult installation and 'perhaps the decoration (e.g. mosaic)'.[857] This matrix creates a strict categorization of spaces, organising the limited examples in an artificial way. In some cases, these categories also defined whether a space was fit for mystery initiations or not, which again makes a problematic distinction of space, based only on the functionality of architectural elements and spatial phenomena. The variety of the ancient terms for the spaces where the small-group religions met (*speira*, *hieron*, *naos*, *bakcheion*, *megaron*, *topos*) clearly shows the heterogeneity of these spaces, which cannot be defined or even homogenised with architectural terms and notions.[858]

In the case of the building-complex from Apulum, the functionality of the rooms and the religious activities associated with this space need to be analysed not from a predetermined architectural/functional schema, but from the contextualisation of the objects. Although there are numerous different plans of the building-complex published since 1997,[859] a final version is still not available; for this reason at the moment we can use only the published sketches of the site (**Fig.38**.).

Limits of a lived ancient religious experience: the shrine of Liber Pater in Apulum

The project excavating the shrine of Liber Pater was intended from the very beginning to reveal not only the territory of the sanctuary itself, but to contextualise the building complex within a larger, spatial, economic and cultural unit.[860] Due to the geophysical measurements, topographic studies, fieldwork and aerial photography,[861] the broader area was identified as the north-west corner of the *intra*

[845] The monograph of the sanctuary may be published in 2018 or 2019. Verbal confirmation of A. Diaconescu (March 2018).

[846] Byros 2011: 153-163. Following the idea of I. Piso, Byros states that all the inscriptions of Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super as *antistes* are related to the shrine of Liber Pater: Byros 2011: 157-158. She identifies the worshippers of the site as a *thiasos*, comparing them with sites and examples from the Greek cities (especially Athens). In other references she uses analogies from *iobakkhoi*. In this currently unpublished work, the author focuses on the notions of religious 'integration' and 'identity' in the light of some case studies from Roman Dacia. Her work is the first attempt of this kind, introducing the so-called unorthodox definitions and currents of the English literature on provincial religion, in which Romanization appeared after the works of Millett and Woolf: Woolf 1998, Roth 2007. See also: Versluys 2014: 1-20, Woolf 2014: 45-50.

[847] Pescaru-Alicu 2000; Ota 2010; 2012. See also Introduction.

[848] Schäfer-Diaconescu 1997; Haynes 2005.

[849] The site is refered to as a 'sanctuary' in some later articles also: Diaconescu *et al.* 2001: 115, Schäfer 2014: 41; Haynes 2014: 88.

[850] Turcan 2003; Jaccottet 2003; Scarpi 2003. See also: Bremmer 2014: 101.

[851] Bonnet *et al.* 2006. See also: Jaccottet 2006: 219-230; Borgeaud 2013: 131-144.

[852] Nielsen 2006: 7-14; Nielsen 2014; Andringa 2015: 29-40; Nielsen 2015: 279-292.

[853] Nielsen 2015: 281. See also: Diaconescu 2011.

[854] See also the Introduction.

[855] Andringa 2015a: 29-31.

[856] Nielsen 2015: 281.

[857] Nielsen 2015. The terminological issues in the article are reflected by the next statement on the same page: 'as the status of these Dionysian *thiasoi* varied greatly, so did the rooms in which they met'. See also: Gasparini 2015.

[858] Steinhauer 2014.

[859] Schäfer-Diaconescu 1997: 199; Diaconescu *et al.* 2001: 124 and 126; Haynes 2005: 41; Schäfer 2014b: 48.

[860] To see the main objectives of the project: http://www.ncl.ac.uk/historical/research/project/2372 (last accessed: 18.11.2015). This was also a continuation of the work of A. Diaconescu's team, which focused on the identification of the city wall and the topography of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis at the end of the 1980s.

[861] On the change and evolution of the reconstruction of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, see: Szabó 2016a; Szabó 2016b.

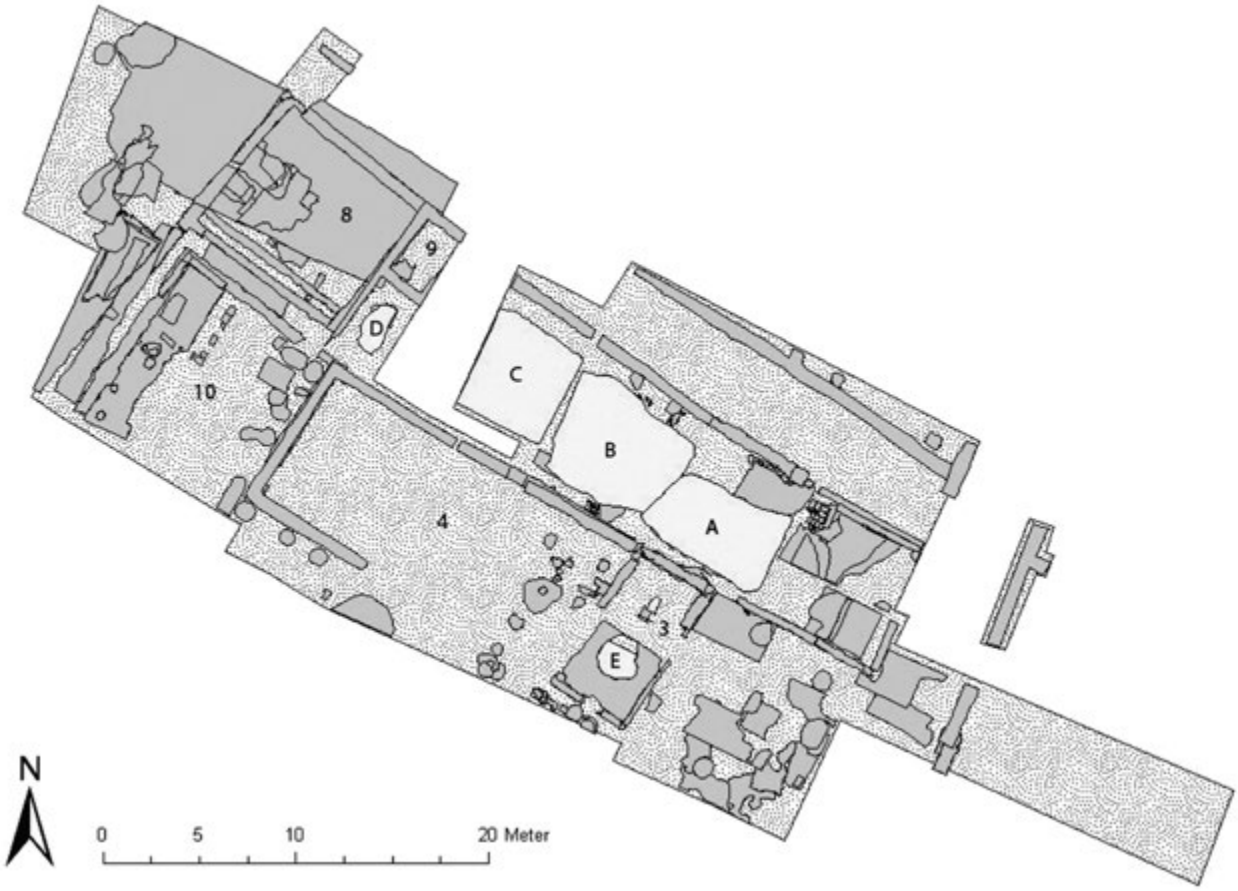

Figure 38. Preliminary plan of the Liber Pater sanctuary (after Schäfer 2014a, 49, pl.I.1.)

muros area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[862] The area was well known as 'the old city', or Apulum, even in the 18th century, most of the finds being discovered in this area limited by the brick factory (W), the Galgenberg (Kutyamál, Dealul Furcilor) (N), the railway leading to the porcelain factory (S), and the main highway (E 81). In this area Béla Cserni had already excavated numerous sites in the first decade of the 20th century, identifying domestic houses, kilns, and also the possible north wall of the city.[863] Undocumented excavations were carried on also in the 1920s and 1930s;[864] in the 1940s further kilns were identified.[865] The fieldwork and archaeological survey by A. Diaconescu's team also identified the possible *insulae* system of the city (Diaconescu S8)[866] and two segments of the second phase of the northern city wall (Diaconescu S4 and S7).[867] Based on the aerial photographs of I. Oltean and B. Hanson and the geophysical surveys of Stephen Bell and Kris Lockyear,[868] and combining all the finds attested in the area, a hypothetical reconstruction of the north-west corner of the *colonia* is possible.[869] This shows that the shrine was situated in a highly urbanised area, with small and extremely crowded, narrow streets (4-5 m),[870] on the very edge of the western border of the city, theoretically a few metres from the city wall[871] in *insulae* 3.1.[872] Although the chronology of the site is not yet clear,[873] it is important to mention that the municipal border of the city could be much further east than in the post-Commodus colonial wall, which could suggest that the site was originally an *extra-muros* area.[874] The first (timber) phase was dated as late-Antonine and related to the dismantling of the first defensive system of the Municipium Aurelium Apulense, where a large industrial or workshop area was established.[875] This area of the city was also partly domestic, where the presence of the houses suggests that the site of the shrine was also once part of domestic property, later

862 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 196.
863 Szabó 2016a: 123-129.
864 Cucui 1928; Zefleanu 1960. See also: Ciută 2013; 2014.
865 Berciu 1946.
866 For a longer discussion, see: Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2000.
867 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 196.
868 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 185, fns 31 and 32.
869 See DMA.
870 Based on the map published in Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 197, abb. 5.
871 The western edge of the city is not identified archaeologically.
872 Diaconecu *et al.* 1997: 197; Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 185.
873 The finds are dated mostly at the end of the 2nd, until the first half of the 3rd century AD: Schäfer *et al.* 2006; Schäfer 2014: 41, where the author mentions that the cultic activity stops in the first half of the 3rd century AD. See also: Găzdac *et al.* 2009: 115-118; Ciută 2010: 187; Haynes 2014: 89.
874 Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2000: 116-130; Diaconescu 2004: 107.
875 Diaconescu *et al.* 2005: 47; Ciută 2010: 186-187.

transformed for religious purposes, although this juridical shift is very problematic in urban contexts and temple/shrine foundations, as Andringa recently proved.[876] An often cited example for such private property is the Villa dei Mysteri[877] and the house of Pompeiia Agrippinilla from Torra Nova (IGUR 160), but not yet attested archaeologically.[878]

The area is just 300 m from the possible location of the *Asklepieion*[879] and a large construction, identified as a possible theatre, next to the northern edge of the colonial walls.[880] The previous excavations have shown that this area of the city was highly urbanised and populated, crowded with rich houses, decorated with mosaics and exceptional statuary and pottery material.[881] The visibility of the building complex must have been extremely limited: it was surrounded by other rooms and houses and narrow streets, which made large movements or processions impossible, at least in public spaces. Similar contexts were identified in Virunum and Djemila too.[882] The highly urbanised and monumentalised landscape, however, was consciously balanced and transformed by the presence of vineyards and gardens,[883] which – besides their pragmatic and agricultural advantages – also played an important role in the religious experience of the worshippers.[884] Nature and its elements (water, grapes, soil, crops) played a significant role in the cult, which also explains the presence of wells and gardens.[885] The connection with the theatre and the accessibility with the other public parts of the city is impossible to establish in the recent state of the research, although public festivals, purification rites and activities related to the first phase of the initiations must also have involved the space of the theatre.[886]

The 'soundscape' of the area must also have been a busy one: this corner of the city was identified as an industrial area,[887] with numerous kilns and workshops attested.[888] Although the exact date and times of the banquets and other religious experiences are hard to ascertain,[889] the activity of the industrial area must have been a disturbing at some special moments. It was recently suggested that the large number of dolls and toys found on the site might indicate that the site was visited – at least at certain times of the year – by children and young boys too, who would also have contributed to the vivid soundscape of the area.[890] Other aspects of the sensescape are hard to reconstruct, although some particular small finds, such as plaster and wall fragments, or the cake-*liba* terracottas played a significant role in the olfactic and visual sensescape of the site.[891]

Based on the latest plans published,[892] in the third or fourth phases[893] there are at least 12 rooms or compartments identified, in which religious practices were attested.[894] The most important unit was a rectangular building, which measures 23.5 x 8.5 m, divided into two rooms: a small *vestibulum* (5 x 8.5 m) with a large pit (2 x 1.5 m).[895] The *vestibulum* had a small entrance (3) which connected the building with the street of the *insulae* (5). The area has been damaged by modern disturbances.[896] Among the 361 vessels made by local workshops, and possibly identified as being for daily use, some particular finds need to be highlighted: in particular the money boxes and so-called 'cultic vessels'.[897] The first publisher affirms that some of the vessels can be considered cultic because 'they were integrated inside the cultic building'.[898] This argument arose partially based on a well-documented excavation and stratigraphy,[899] but also on the fact that the pottery material found within a *temenos* is automatically labelled as 'votive' or 'cultic' by the discipline. The typical cult vessels[900] identified in this pit were *turibulae* and the money boxes.[901] While the first type is considered by the archaeological literature as a 'votive' vessel *par excellence,* money boxes are considered rare, but not exceptional finds in sanctuaries.[902] From this area of the Colonia, Béla Cserni mentioned a money box discovered in 1867, however the context and the find

876 Andringa 2015b: 99-100. See also: Bowden 2010: 121.
877 Nielsen 2015: 283. As a contra argument, see: Veyne 2007; Bowden 2010: 130-131.
878 Bremmer 2014: 103.
879 See c II. 7.
880 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 196; Haynes 2014: 89. See also c II.5.
881 The exact topography of the finest mosaics from Apulum is unknown, however all came from the area of the Partos.
882 Jaccottet 2003: 184-190; Turcan 2003: plans 3, 6 and 7. For further analogies, see also: Schäfer 2007b: 176; Kremer 2012: 346.
883 Ciută 2010. For a similar reconstruction of ancient gardens in sacred or religious spaces, see: Pripon 2015: 767-775. On garden walls, see also: Bowe 2004.
884 Turcan 2003: 41-43; Jaccottet 2003: 81-88; Bremmer 2014: 109.
885 See also: Neudecker 2015.
886 Maischberger 2011: 242-247; Bremmer 2014: 90.
887 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 185. See also c II.10.
888 Höpken 2004: 239-254.
889 Bremmer 2014: 102-103.
890 Haynes 2014: 93, citing M. Egri's unpublished chapter on the pottery finds. See also: Egri 2005; Turcan 2003: figs 41, 58, 59.
891 An important case study – which could be useful also for the Dionysian groups – was established for the cult of Magna Mater recently: Pavolini 2015: 345-375.
892 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 197, abb.4, 1-2; Schäfer 2014: 48.
893 On the fourth phase, see: Haynes 2014: 89.
894 On the phases, see: Diaconescu *et al.* 1997: 199.
895 Fiedler 2005: 115. See also: Fiedler 2014. While the pit is mentioned in the early articles as a *favissae* (Fiedler 2005: 96), later the same author does not use this term for the cult pit (Fiedler 2014). A. Schäfer consistently uses the term for all the five pits identified on the site: Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 197, Schäfer 2014: 48.
896 The area was affected not only in the medieval and Habsburg periods, but also in the 1970s, when the canal was built together with the small railway towards the porcelain factory.
897 Fiedler 2005: 115-118.
898 Fiedler 2005: 118.
899 As yet unpublished. See also: Schäfer 2014b: 41.
900 Schäfer 2014b: 42.
901 Fiedler-Höpken 2007: 95-99. For further bibliography, see: Fiedler 2005: 101, fn. 13.
902 Höpken 2008: 55.

itself are contestable.[903]Their exact function is hard to establish, especially considering their miniature size. Their context suggests that they were deliberately destroyed,[904] but this still does not explain whether they were produced for a single, unrepeated event, or were broken after a period of use. Their small number (in contrast to the large amount of vessels used and/or destroyed at the site) suggests that the money boxes were related to a much rarer event, or represented a more personalised object for the worshippers. Their standard meaning (that of new year's gifts or personal money savings)[905] in this context can be contested, due to their small size. In the *thiasos*, founded by Amandos at Physcus, Caria, members of the association and the religious group needed to pay 14 *obolos*.[906] This analogy does not explain the role of money boxes, but highlights the economic aspects of the small-group religions – where similar objects could also play an important role. The size of the *vestibulum* also suggests that here we see not a singular, unrepeated action, but probably an accumulation or intensification of the sacred. The space had a very strict role and purpose in a ritual, which we cannot reconstruct clearly, but was obvious for all the worshippers, who in the short, half-century existence of the shrine probably used the space regularly. Regularity and repetitive action in such Dionysian buildings are relative terms and varied in each case: it could have been annually, or even numerous times a year.[907] The presence of possible wells in this unit can be related to the well-known purification ritual, often found in such buildings of Dionysian groups.[908] A similar role can be associated with the so-called *malluvium* vessels, found in cult pit A.[909] These objects are good examples of the complex processes in which ordinary and widespread (Roman) material tools used in the maintenance of sacralised spaces became special agents in religious communication. These vessels and ceramic finds labelled as 'cultic vessels' outside a sacralised space are simply tools and products of Roman society, presencing Rome in the provinces. In this special space, however, they gained religious agency.

The next room (1) was the largest identified, with possible deposits of marble statue fragments (**Fig.39a-c.**).[910] The statues representing Liber Pater and his acolytes seem to have been smashed deliberately.[911] This phenomenon is a common one in the Roman Empire; the ritual, occasion and motivation of such acts can, again, vary in each place.[912] The destruction of the statues was explained as the work of Christian intruders, however the topic seems to be a delicate and *topos*-like syndrome of Romanian historiography.[913] The western end of the large-sized compartment had numerous *ex-votos*, an L-shaped brick formation, and the footprint of a fireplace.[914] The function of the L-shaped brick formation has not yet been established, however it can be compared to numerous foundation pits of similar, small-group religion buildings, especially in Mithraic contexts.[915] It could also be part of the floor, which was identified in two other compartments (T and 8) as well.[916] This room is one of the best documented in the Danubian provinces: it comprises an almost complete inventory of a Roman shrine, comprising inscriptions,[917] lead votives,[918] statues,[919] reliefs and small finds with Dionysian representations.[920] In the recent publications this room was interpreted as a 'garden area'[921] which imitated the natural environment and some sequences from the narrative of the divinity, as a symbol of natural fecundity and wild nature.[922] The traces of fire use can suggest the presence of burning sacrifices.[923] The space – although it was limited with the vineyard and the flora included within the last phase of the building – was large enough to host a significant number (20-30) of people. The density of finds within this area probably changed not only after the abandonment of the building, but also during its use.[924] The performances, which can be assumed from the nature of the objects (banqueting/feasting, sacrificing and dedicating, deliberate destruction, creation of cultic pits, dancing, singing)[925] were highly concentrated in this particular area, interpreted as 'cult shrine' or 'main room (*Hauptraum)*'.[926] The regularity and repetitive nature of the events within this space is hard to reconstruct; nonetheless, the content of the cultic pits suggests a single, elaborate performance with

903 Szabó 2016a: 123-138.
904 Schäfer 2007: 170.
905 Höpken 2008: 55.
906 Jaccottet I. 2003: 139.
907 Gordon 2017a.
908 Turcan 2003, 11-12, Bremmer 2014, 83, 94.
909 Fiedler 2005: 108. See also: Siebert 1999: 226; Turcan 2003: figs 9 and 81.
910 Diaconescu 2001; Diaconescu *et al.* 2002: fig. 1; IDR III/5: 237; Lupa 19289. See also: Ciută 2010: 187; Alexandrescu *et al.* 2013: 245, cat. nr 85.
911 Schäfer 2015: 292.
912 Bremmer 2015: 139-158.
913 Diaconescu *et al.* 2005: 47; Ciută 2010: 188.
914 Diaconescu *et al.* 1997: 198-199; Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 186.
915 CIMRM 457, 833, 844, 1533. See also: Vermaseren 1956: 58. fig. 8; Planck 1989: 179, fig. 130; Shephard 1998: 83-86; Martens 2012: 262-264.
916 Haynes 2005: 41.
917 IDR III/5: 237: *Liber Pater / C(aius) Iu(lius) C(h)restu[s]*; IDR III/5: 236: *Deo Libero Pa/tri Aurel(ius) Rena/tus mil(es) leg(ionis) / XIII gem(inae) voto / libens posuit*; IDR III/5: 244: *Iulius /b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) / d(onum) d(edit) d(edicavitque)*.
918 IDR III/5: 371: *Coh(ors) [I] s(agittariorum) Tibisc[?ensium*. See also: CMRED II: 66-67; Țentea 2012: 55-60; Nemeti 2015.
919 Schäfer 2015.
920 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 186.
921 Haynes 2014: 90.
922 Turcan 2003: 8-9.
923 Turcan 2003: 12. The interpretation of this site is uncertain. The multiple phases of the site and the presumed violent activity on the site in post-Roman times can create similar patterns too.
924 Haynes 2014: 90.
925 Turcan 2003: 43-45. Dancing and singing, as well as prayers, are hardly evidence of rituals within the archaeology of the cult. See also: Patzelt 2018.
926 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 186.

Figure 39a-b-c: statues of Liber Pater from its sanctuary from Apulum (lupa 19339, 19340, 19341)

numerous participants,[927] probably repeated several times over the existence of the shrine.[928] The shrine was surrounded to the north and north-west with a courtyard, and possibly a garden.[929] The courtyard (7) was segmented with numerous rooms from the east (6) and west too (8-10), whose functions have not yet been published, although the size of them (no. 8, the largest, is 10 x 10 m) suggests a limited amount of movement. An inscription[930] discovered in the 19th century, which probably belonged to the same site, mentions the following archaeologically unidentified structures: *cryptoporticum*, *apparatorium*, and *exedra*.[931] The presence of cake (*liba)* and various archaeozoological finds on the site[932] prove the existence of a kitchen: many of the meals and goods used during the feast or sold as votive souvenirs were produced at the same site. A small oven (11) was identified in the courtyard, which again argues for the local production of the pottery used in various acts.[933] West and south of the shrine (T), numerous kilns were identified,[934] although their chronology and exact relation to the shrine itself have still not been established.[935] In any case, the shrine, decorated inside with the finest statues and imported *ex-votos*, and featuring marble inscriptions outside, was a significant marker in the religious landscape of the north-west corner of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. Unfortunately, from the recent publications few details are known about the elevation of the building and the wall decorations, which again played a certain role in creating sacralised landscapes and groups linked by shared emotional experience.[936]

The size of the building, the large quantity of the material produced and invested in the site and the location of the site within the urban landscape ensured the worshippers a significant visibility and publicity, although the existence of large, public performances cannot be proved. The vicinity of a possible theatre could indicate a certain relation with the Dionysian association, as numerous Roman (Dougga) and Hellenic analogies show.[937] It has been repeatedly suggested that

927 Haynes 2014: 90.
928 Schäfer 2014b: 43.
929 Cituă 2010: 188.
930 IDR III/5: 242: *Pro salute [sua? et suorum] / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Comat(ius) Super de[c(urio) antis(tes)] M(arcus) / Comat(ius) Exsuperatus Petr[o]nia / Celerina mater Herennia (H)euresis eius / filior(um) Superiani Exsuperanti/ani Superstitis Superes(!) cryptam / cum porticibus et apparatori/o et exedra pec(unia) sua fec(erunt) l(ibenter)*. See also: Szabó 2007: 52, cat. nr D 29c; Diaconescu 2011; Nemeti-Nemeti 2014.
931 For the notions see: Coarelli 1973: 9-21; Szabó 2004: 107; Diaconescu 2011; Nemeti-Nemeti 2014: 394-395.
932 Cituă 2010: 189.
933 Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 185.
934 Haynes 2005: 41; Schäfer *et al.* 2006: 185.
935 Diaconescu *et al.* 2002: 32-33; Ciută 2010: 187.
936 Chaniotis 2012; Steinhauer 2014: 131-132.
937 Turcan 2003: 143-144; Maischberger 2011: 242-247; Bowden 2010: 106-107; Bremmer 2014: 90. In the case of Dougga, however, the

the *Liberalia* (17th March) played an important role at the site,[938] although the attestation of the festival in a provincial context is extremely limited.[939] Similarly, the cult of Liber Pater was for a long time associated with the Capitoline Triad, mostly based on the analogy of Rome[940] and some examples from the Danubian provinces.[941] None of these examples are accepted now, with recent scholarship questioning even the existence of the so-called 'tutelary divinities' of the provinces. If there was a public festival performed by the association, it could be also one related to a hero-cult or other, local festivals transported from the southern provinces.[942]

The courtyard of the shrine was separated by a small corridor from another building complex (B6), where an altar was identified.[943] Initially interpreted as a *mithraeum*, the function of the building complex is now contested and has not yet been established.[944] Despite this, the very close vicinity of another building complex also determined the activities of the worshippers and their devotions outside the shrine.

The most sensational finds from the site consist of the cultic pits discovered in the courtyard. The importance of the pits is also shown by the very few analogies attested in the late-Republican and Imperial age of the Empire.[945] The rarity of the finds does not necessarily reflect the uniqueness of the acts performed at these sites,[946] but the documented examples show a wide range of different activities, highly individualised by local circumstances and preferences. The pits, named originally as *favissae*, were interpreted without any contestation as cultic, votive pits from the first publications[947]. An emphasis on the difference between a simple rubbish pit and a cultic context has become a recent topic in the archaeology of cult.[948] The first and largest pit (A) measures 6.5-6.8 m in length, 3.8-4.5 m in width, and is 1-1.5 m deep.[949] Although the contents of this particular pit were partially published in numerous articles,[950] the contextualisation of the pit as a religious space still needs to be done. It has been suggested that the pits within the walled courtyard-garden are older than the shrine and are related to its third phase.[951] The chronology of the pit can be established with certainty, based on the *terra sigillata*, fibulae and numismatic finds.[952] The materiality of the pit, tells us two events that happened over a relatively approximate time-frame:[953] after a certain religious act (festival, feasting, banqueting), which must have been performed in the shrine and annexed rooms, the worshippers prepared the pit, which was accessed with an earth-ramp. The bottom of the pit was carefully prepared and a large number of small vessels of average quality were left there. Among the numerous types of vessels used in a domestic and daily context,[954] a large quantity of the finds was represented by vessels, probably made only for single use. Money boxes, *turibulae*, snake-decorated vessels and the so-called CAM 306-type vessels were considered as productions designed for special, ritual roles.[955] The presence of the CAM 306 vessels and their importance was highlighted by Ian Haynes, who even affirmed that 'in future we may see CAM 306 as a strong indicator of cult as statues, inscriptions and architectural forms'.[956] The evolution of this vessel type is related to the Rhine area, although the strongest evidence has come from Britain and France. The function of these objects within a Dionysian association is hard to establish, but it is important to note the similarity of these forms with some iconographic representations of Dionysian scenes.[957] Haynes has suggested that the rarity and heterogeneity of this vessel type in various votive contexts indicates 'an interplay between cult communities' beyond provincial borders.[958] Although it could be hard to detect the traces of the movement of such a shape, form and the motivation, which 'made' such a humble form into an exclusive, cultic vessel, the methodological model of network studies already used in modern prosopography, military dislocations and dynamics of some special ceramic material (for example, *terra sigillata* or amphorae)[959] can be useful in this case too. The case study of the small, round relief from the Walbrook *mithraeum*, interpreted as a direct link with Dacia,[960] the close presence of Mithraic finds with Dionysian contexts in Apulum and Londinium can indicate a certain link or interplay between the two sites and their worshippers.[961]

sanctuary of Liber Pater was part of a much larger building complex dedicated to Concordia, Frugifera and Neptune too: Saint-Amans 2004: 287-298.

938 Haynes 2014: 90.

939 Holland 2013: 4057-4058.

940 CIL III 849. But: Almeida 1996: 153-154, in LTUR III.

941 Barton 1982: 268-269.

942 Buraselis 2012: 254.

943 Haynes 2005: 44; Haynes 2014: 90.

944 See also c II.9.

945 Schäfer 2014b: 44, citing the example of Gabii and Baudecet.

946 Most of the sanctuaries discovered in the 18th and 19th centuries lack proper documentation of the ceramic material.

947 Diaconescu *et al.* 1997; Fiedler 2005: 118.

948 Andringa 2015: 38; Méniel 2015: 161-163; Martens 2015: 171-179.

949 Schäfer 2014: 41.

950 Fiedler 2005: 97-110; Schäfer 2014b: 41-43.

951 Schäfer 2014b: 41-43..

952 Fiedler 2005: 108, fn. nr 27.

953 Schäfer 2014b: 41-42. The author does not mention what he means by 'relative short period'.

954 Fiedler 2005: 99. abb. 4.

955 Fiedler 2005: 105, fn. nr 16. See also: Haynes 2008 on the distribution of the CAM 306 vessels, as one of the rarest and most interesting of 'cult vessels'. Their origin, evolution and distribution through time and space, however, urges the same question as the movement of some iconographic types in statuary representations or cult reliefs.

956 Haynes 2008: 130.

957 Turcan 2003: figs 77, 79. As a curiosity, for a distant and probably too anachronistic analogy see: Miller 2011: 97-120.

958 Haynes 2008: 130.

959 Collar 2013; Rohde 2012.

960 Shepherd 1998.

961 This still does not prove that CAM 306 was used as a cult vessel in Apulum because of an external influence, and does not explain the

The extremely large number of special cult vessels found in the bottom of pit A suggests that, even if they were deposited during an unrepeated single event, they belonged probably to at least one or two generations of Dionysian association. The vessels were deliberately destroyed with stones and reused pottery.[962] This is another argument that shows the special purpose and singular use of these objects. Their destruction must have been a dramatic act, performed with a specific soundscape and, probably, oneiric effects too. The pit was open for a certain time in the middle of the courtyard. In this period it served as a landmark within the sacralised landscape, a memory of the acts performed in the shrine in the past. Its continuous use suggests that it represented a link and continuity between at least two, or even more, religious festivals or events. As a final act, the pit was closed and its surface was burnt. This process suggests a narrative or even circular event-horizon, which lived vividly in the memory of the worshippers, who intentionally practised these performances in the pit after certain festivals or acts in the shrine.

Three other pits were found in the same courtyard (B-D). The contents and also the rituals performed in these pits were slightly different from the first one, all of them, however, are related to the feasting and banqueting of the worshippers. Among the particular finds, mention should be made of the fragments of ritual masks and vases decorated with Dionysian faces, commissioned and produced especially for the Dionysian association.[963] In pit C a particular find was attested: a large number of egg shells deposited in a very organised position. The first publisher interpreted this as a sacrifice and associated it,with a certain degree of suspicion, with an Orphic myth of Dionysus.[964] The masks, face pots, and the possible sacrifice of egg shells, are related to certain performances, where pantomime and theatric acts played an important role in reconstructing a certain narrative and theology of the divinity, known by this particular religious group.[965]

One can ask the intriguing question: how far can we go with reconstructing the lived religious experience of ancient man, even in such a well-documented archaeological case study as the shrine of Liber Pater from Apulum?[966] To what extent can the space sacralisation model first presented in the Introduction be valid for this extremely important case study? Jan Bremmer, based on the corpora of Turcan and Jaccottet, suggested a hypothetic, 'idealised' answer for the very simple question: 'what did a Dionysian association actually do in a shrine?'[967] His model, of course, can also be used to reconstruct the religious performances and experiences in the case of the shrine from Apulum, albeit with a careful combination of the archaeological material. Scenarios such as the ritual purification, carrying sacred and special commissioned objects in a certain movement,[968] animal sacrifices and consumption,[969] certain kinds of dancing, singing and/or theatrical acts,[970] elements of a local or transported narrative of the god,[971] and the banqueting,[972] are all attested by the archaeological sources as well. But, beyond this, numerous other unique or locally attested events also took place in the shrine: digging the cultic pits, offering the specially commissioned vessels, deliberately destroying them, offering burning sacrifices, extending the building complex numerous times and dedicating the cult images.

The case study of the building complex of the Dionysian group from Colonia Aurelia Apulensis is also a good example for questioning the sharp distinction between the main groups of social spaces introduced as emic categories by recent scholarship. Although the shrine of Liber Pater easily enters into the 'category' of 'assembly houses', 'communal buildings', 'shrines' or 'sanctuaries' of small-group religions (named as secondary spaces), where feasting, intimacy, emotional group, festivals, votive dedications and productions, and probably prayers and performances, took place, still it also carries some features of the so-called shared and visual spaces, where monumentalisation, publicity, durability, authority and religious narrative played an important role.

More equal among equals: various identities within a religious group

The publishers of the sanctuary emphasised numerous times that the dedications and votive deposits belonged both to 'individuals' and 'communities'.[973] Considering the recent approaches of religious individuation and individualisation,[974] and the various rituals and performances which took place in a closed, emotionally bound and intentionally bordered, sacralised

functionality of the objects at the two different sites.

962 Schäfer 2014b: 41-42.

963 Fiedler 2005: 112, 117. See also: Ruscu 1992; Anghel *et al.* 2011.

964 Fiedler 2005: 113, citing Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 7.16.8. The author underlines that this is only a hypothesis, not attested in any other contexts. A simpler and more trivial interpretation could also be possible.

965 Bremmer 2014: 107.

966 Considered unanimously by Romanian and international scholarship as one of the best-documented cultic contexts for small religious groups from the era of the High Empire.

967 For the same question: a very careful, but too short, hypothesis: Bowden 2010. Bremmer 2014: 103: '[My] reconstruction hence offers only one scenario, which in addition is rather speculative, more than I expected working on these Mysteries.'

968 Bremmer 2014: 104.

969 Bremmer 2014: 105.

970 Bremmer 2014: 106.

971 With possible Orphic elements: Bremmer 2014: 106.

972 Bremmer 2014: 108.

973 Fiedler 2005: 120-121, Schäfer 2014b: 43-44.

974 Rüpke 2013; Rüpke 2015a; Gordon 2015a.

landscape, the differentiation between individual and communal acts in the case of 'small-group religions' was shaded by communal rituals, performances, and a strong, emotional effect which emphasised the bounds between individuals, creating a temporary and emotional community.[975] In this sense, even if there are some individual dedications in the cult pits, they were performed in a sacralised landscape, which already created a communal bond and an emotional group with the other worshippers.

A. F. Jaccottet affirmed in 2003 that the social composition, internal hierarchy, and the level of authority within Dionysian associations are so heterogeneous that a comparative study or a catalogue of the worshippers seems nonsensical.[976] Later, R. L. Gordon, based on the model of M. Weber and J. Wach on religious entrepreneurs and agents[977] identified among the founders and initiators of such associations a 'petty entrepreneur or administrator of the holy',[978] whose personality was emphasised by honorary inscriptions or even busts and statuary representations in some cases.[979] He identified the family as the main motor of the control, maintenance and continuous durability of the Dionysian associations,[980] a similar network to that which was attested already also within Mithraic contexts.[981] Similarly, following the religious market model, Gordon stressed that the founders and financers of these associations were using the Dionysian associations as a means of 'divine' protection and insurance for their financial and social status and enterprise.[982]

The association from Apulum fits perfectly into this model presented above.[983] The size of the group and the member list are impossible to establish because of the uncertain provenance of the epigraphic material.[984] From the few cases where the member list of Dionysian associations is known, the usual number of listed members[985] varies between 30 and 400 individuals.[986] Although the last one from Torra Nova seems to be an exceptional case, similar to the Mithraic banqueting from Tienen,[987] the majority of these associations and the numbers of contemporary worshippers varied between 20 and 40 members. In some cases an internal hierarchy can also be attested, which created an alternative and idealised or even illusory society for the members. In the case of the association from Apulum there is no member list preserved, although the existence of a hierarchy can be presumed by the presence of an *antistes* in this group.[988] There are 15 inscriptions dedicated to Liber Pater and two others found in the shrine and its vicinity.[989] Among the worshippers we find *beneficiarii*, *optio praetori*, *decurio coloniae*, *decurio canabensium et veteranus legionis XIII Geminae*, *decurio et flamen coloniae*, *miles legionis* and an entire *cohors*. As has already been observed numerous times, the dedications vary from simple individual *ex-votos* to the familial dedications of the urban and consular elite and a high presence of individual and communal dedications of the military.[990] The high percentage of local elite in the organisation of the association is a general phenomenon of the so-called small-group religions and is reflected also by this case study from Apulum. They combined religion and faith in their economic role to build a social network, which could increase or fix their status in the newly emerged consumption society of the province. The vicinity of the industrial area and the great number of worked bones and locally produced pottery can also be explained by this fact. The high presence of the military is not surprising due to the great influence of the legion on the economy and on daily life in the conurbation.[991] Their presence within the religious group was recently emphasised by I. Haynes in a reflection on the small finds,[992] which opened also new questions into the gender aspects of the materiality of sanctuaries and military groups.[993] The presence of the military among the civilians in the case of this site shows an interesting fusion of various social and even religious identities. While some of them proudly express their communal, mutual identity as soldiers of an auxiliary unit, others focus on their individual social and religious preferences. This can explain the presence of the *synnaoi theoi* phenomena also at this site, where the cult of Diana, Silvanus, the Danubian and Thracian rider were attested.[994] The association between these divinities and the organisation of sacralised space was marked not only by the ethnic or social origins of the individual, but also by a religious narrative, where

[975] Chaniotis 2012. Community and grouping as mental construction: Mol-Versluys 2015.
[976] Jaccottet 2003 : 10-13.
[977] On this notion, see also: Rüpke 1996: 242-243; Gordon 2013: 156-172.
[978] Gordon 2017a.
[979] IG XII, 8387. On religious entrepreneurs, see also: Gordon-Peetridou-Rüpke 2017.
[980] LSCG 49.
[981] Szabó 2015c: 407. See also: Beck 1996.
[982] He interpreted the Dionysian cemeteries in this same category: Gordon 2017a.
[983] Despite this fact, neither Jaccottet nor Gordon mentioned it as an analogy in their work.
[984] It is unclear whether all the epigraphic material belonged to the same association, or if the worship of Liber Pater in Apulum involved multiple spaces, as has already been suggested: Szabó 2004a: 107.
[985] This does not mean, however, that all the personnel were involved and acted within the territory of the shrines.
[986] CIL III 870 from Napoca, IGBulg 421, IGBulg 1517, or, again, the famous Torra Nova example: Gordon 2017.
[987] See c II.9.
[988] IDR III/5: 241, 242.
[989] Sicoe 2014: 147-148, cat. nr 22; Haynes 2005: 44; IDR III/5: 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 370, 371.
[990] Byros 2011; Haynes 2014: 90-92.
[991] Gordon 2009.
[992] Haynes 2014.
[993] On gender and the military, see: Allison 2013.
[994] IDR III/5: 62, 349, 370, 371.

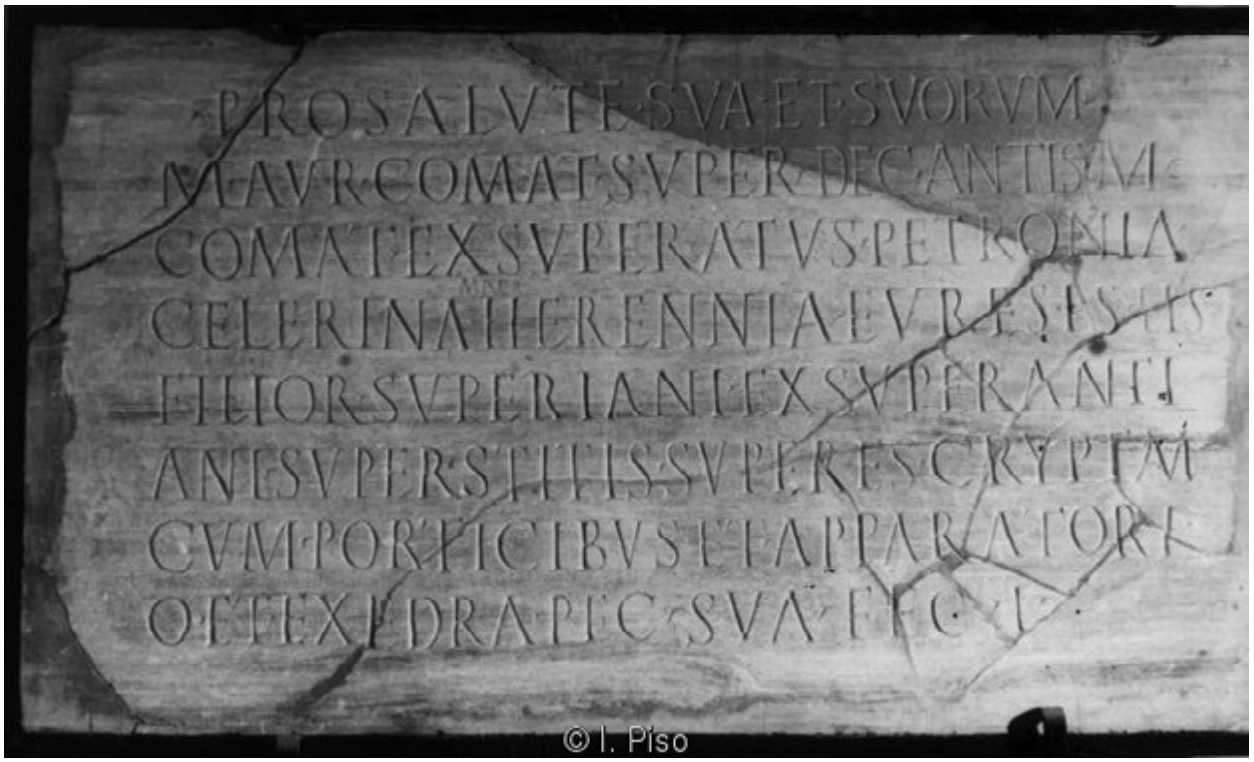

Figure 40. construction plaque of the Liber Pater sanctuary from Apulum (photo: Ioan Piso, EDH 38362).

these divinities were probably strictly connected (see also I.42).[995]

The religious 'entrepreneur' of this group can be identified from the rich epigraphic evidence as Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super.[996] His origin is unknown, although his name suggests an Italian, or, more possibly, a Pannonian (Eraviscan) provenience.[997] He arrived in Dacia at the end of the 2nd century AD as a *peregrinus*[998] and gained Roman citizenship probably after AD 212. He became a member of the *ordo decurionum* of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis after AD 212, which means that he already had a significant financial status in that period. A prominent member of the local consumer society and economic market, and an inhabitant of the industrial area of the city, Comatius Super probably founded the Dionysian association in the north-west corner of the city before he became a Roman citizen. His activity in the shrine is attested indirectly due to his monumental, and expensive, marble inscriptions, which are testimonies to his great interest in maintaining and expanding the building complex that served the association. He mentioned on a marble plaque (**fig. 40**.) that he and his large family[999] expanded and reconstructed the shrine of Liber Pater with an *apparatorium*, *exedra* and a *cryptoporticum*:[1000]

> *Pro salute [sua? et suorum] / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Comat(ius) Super de[c(urio) antis(tes)] M(arcus) / Comat(ius) Exsuperatus Petr[o]nia / Celerina mater Herennia (H)euresis eius / filior(um) Superiani Exsuperanti/ani Superstitis Superes(!) cryptam / cum porticibus et apparatori/o et exedra pec(unia) sua fec(erunt) l(ibenter)*

Unfortunately, we cannot associate this important reconstruction phase of the building complex with the later attested archaeological phases, but this shows the importance of some financially well-positioned individuals in the maintenance and durability of the sacralised landscape in an urban context. The case of Comatius Super shows also the Weberian process and steps of the 'mystagogue':[1001] founding the Dionysian

[995] See also: Tóth 2015, who associated Liber Pater and Silvanus as a specificity for one of the Pannonian groups.

[996] IDR III/5: 62: *Dianae /Mellificae / sacrum / Com(atius) Su/per*; IDR III/5: 241: *[Libero P]atri et Liberae // [---iu]s / [---]tus / [---]C(?)F / [---eq(uo)?] p(ublico) // M(arcus) Aur(elius) Co/mat(ius) Super / antistes*; IDR III/5: 242: *Pro salute [sua? et suorum] / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Comat(ius) Super de[c(urio) antis(tes)] M(arcus) / Comat(ius) Exsuperatus Petr[o]nia / Celerina mater Herennia (H)euresis eius / filior(um) Superiani Exsuperanti/ani Superstitis Superes(!) cryptam / cum porticibus et apparatori/o et exedra pec(unia) sua fec(erunt) l(ibenter)*; IDR III/5: 349: *Silvano Silves/tri et Dianae / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Comat(ius) / Super dec(urio) an[t]is/tes pro salute / sua et Comatior(um) / Superiani Supe/res Exsupera(n)/tiani Super/stitis filior(um) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Although none of the inscriptions dedicated by him were found in situ during the excavation of the shrine, the publishers unanimously accepted him as the *antistes* of the shrine: Piso 2001: 190.

[997] OPEL III. 69 (CIL V 769, 5867, CIL III 14358). See especially: RIU 1256.

[998] Szabó 2007: 53. See also: Varga 2014.

[999] The largest family mentioned on a single inscription from Apulum.

[1000] IDR III/5: 242.

[1001] Gordon 2013; . See also: Dericquebourg 2001: 149-158.

association, financing it with personal support and combining its very existence with individual economic interests and, finally, maintaining and ensuring its durability with familial and other types of networks. The epigraphic material of the sanctuary does not allow us to reconstruct a possible network and bonds between Comatius Super and the other members of the association. We do not know whether they were connected by economic or administrative social bonds. The recruitment of the members of the small-group religions must be based on very close and small-scale networks of an economic or familial nature. The variety of social statuses attested in this group (soldiers, auxiliary troops, magistrates, *liberti*) indicates an economic or other (*amitia*, *familia*) type of network, at least in the first phase of recruitment.[1002] Cultural and ethnic identity, as well, of course, as religious traditions, could also have played an important role in the formation of such groups.

Comatius Super mentions that he and his family – obviously emphasising and marking the sacralised landscape and the religious memory of the space by writing the full names of its members[1003] – financed the building of the kitchen and other rooms ' *pec(unia) sua fec(erunt) l(ibenter).*' The formula suggests that Comatius Super transformed his own private property (*loca privata*) into a building with a religious purpose for a smaller group, although not for a public religious activity, as the majority of the Roman temples were built by individuals.[1004]

The chronology of the site suggests that the building complex had at least four or five phases and multiple changes in its less than 50 to 60 years of existence, which suggests a dynamic life of the group. Comatius Super, known in the association as *antistes*,[1005] played a significant role in the maintenance of the sacralised space, at least in the first half of its existence (*c.* AD 197-217). From the sources we have, we do not know whether Comatius Super, as a religious entrepreneur, used any of the Weberian mystagogue's techniques to attract members and maintain religious capital (charisma, prophecy).[1006] What we know, however, is that he emphasised his importance and leading role within the group and the sacralised landscape too, marking it with the monuments of his own activity, and creating a strong memory of this individual and leader of the group. His case study gives an introduction to the role of representative and moral, if not even the reflexive religious individuality attested in small-group religions.

A comparison between the sacralised spaces of Liber Pater from the province (I.42, II.19, III.34, 44, 61) indicates, that each such space was established and maintained in a different kind of architectural environment. There is no precise typology for the buildings, serving as sacralised places for the Bacchic groups of Dacia. While some of them, such as in Sarmizegetusa, gained a monumental, Roman type of architectural feature and served as a shared/public space, others were much more modest and served as a secondary space for smaller groups.

Communal identity as mental constructions in small-group religions

In some of the publications, the ethnic identity and possible *origo* of the worshippers from the Liber Pater shrine has already been suggested.[1007] This was mainly made on the basis of their Greek dedications, the provenance of the marble statues, and the movement of some iconographic types and artistic workshops.[1008] Although we cannot accept these arguments as evidence for the provenance of some members and recreate an idealised 'Asia Minor' group within the Liber Pater shrine, the presence of the Danubian rider, Thracian rider, and the Greek inscriptions suggest a Thracian route[1009] with strong economic connections to Greece and Asia Minor. What is remarkable, however, is the large number of individual dedications for local divinities originating in Asia Minor, many of which were found in the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. As in the case of the 'road of sanctuaries' from the Municipium Septimium Apulense,[1010] the case study of these individuals and small groups raises the question of the curious interaction of religious and cultural identities in an urban context. Cultural identity in antiquity is a recently emphasised topic in research,[1011] creating numerous definitions for this concept. While focusing on stereotypes, contradictions and differences of ethnic groups, the modern notion of cultural identity has also created secondary bonds between small groups of various regions of the Roman Empire. The limits and the nature of the cultural identity of an individual or a small group is very hard to identify through the materiality of religion in a province. It has been claimed numerous times that some groups, such as Syrians, Palmyrenes, Phrygians, or other ethnic groups, preserved their cultural identity outside of their

1002 Remus 1996; Beck 1996; Verboven 2011; Verboven 2012.
1003 The title of the mother was, however, added later due to the spatial limits of the epigraphic camp.
1004 Andringa 2015: 99-100.
1005 He was also associated with the so called '*locus Apulensis*', or the building complex of the *Asklepieion* outside the city wall, however it seems more plausible that his activity was limited to the site of the Liber Pater shrine. See also: Szabó 2004a; 2007: 52-53.
1006 Dericquebourg 2001: 149-158; Gordon 2013.
1007 Schäfer 2004.
1008 Diaconescu 2001; Diaconescu 2014b: 78-101.
1009 The wine trade of the province was also strictly related to this area. See also c III.2.
1010 See below.
1011 Gruen 2011.

homeland,[1012] and although they were transformed to some degree in their new environments,[1013] it was their homogeneity rather than the opposite that more visibly shaped the urban and sacralised landscape of a Roman city.[1014]

Asia Minor was always treated as one cultural unit within the Roman Empire, despite the numerous small ethnic and political entities and groups which coexisted on the Anatolian peninsula, even after the Roman conquest.[1015] Their religiosity also appears as a single unit, even in the most recent studies,[1016] although the particularities and religious diversity of smaller units (ethnic groups, cities or individuals) has also begun to be highlighted.[1017] In the Romanian literature the situation is the same: the cults, religious or professional groups' associations from Asia Minor are treated uniformly in the same group, without any differentiation or focusing on some particular and individual aspects.[1018]

The presence of the small groups from Asia Minor in Dacia was explained with the over-cited Eutropius quotation, which creates an idealised cultural mixture in Roman Dacia, where people from '*ex toto orbe Romano*' gather and live together due to the 'colonisation' of the new Trajanic province.[1019] They were named 'immigrants' or 'newcomers' in the province of Dacia,[1020] their presence and dynamics being interpreted by the economic flow of the Empire[1021] or by individual choice. In both cases, small groups (probably the basic familial units of the local, traditional societies)[1022] decided to leave their stability, home towns and well-known 26milieux and move in a radically different geographic and cultural environment. This decision – provoked by economic or other, more individual, strategies – strengthened their cultural and religious identity, which became in this case an agent in negotiating personal and familial crises and cultural tensions.[1023] Their movement, however, is not clear in most cases. Although some mention their *origo*, they could also have been stationed for a while in the cities of the west coast of the Black Sea, in Thracia or in Moesia Inferior before they arrived in Dacia, as the case study of Glykon and the Thracian rider worshippers might suggest.[1024]

The presence of a larger group from Pontus and Bithynia is attested by a votive plaque dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by Marcus Iulius Quirinus, patron of *the collegium Pontobithynorum*:[1025]

> *[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) pro salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septi/mi Severi Pertenacis Aug(usti) et Aurel(i) / Antonini Caesar(is) M(arcus) Iul(ius) Quirinus / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) ob honor(em) patro/ nat(us) coll(egii) Pontobithynor(um) ianuas / et valuas ad introitum templi fec(it)*

We do not know much about the location of the monumental marble plaque and the rebuilt entrance of the temple, financed by Marcus Iulius Quirinus, only that the building was somewhere in the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (see also II.10).[1026] The *collegia* of the Bithynians could also have been located in this city, which flourished as an economic centre after AD 197, exactly the time this inscription was erected. The presence of the Bithynians in Apulum could be part of a larger movement and economic or possibly even military link with the provinces of Asia Minor in the early years of Septimius Severus' rule, where the Legion XIII Gemina played a significant role.[1027] The nature and role of their *collegium* is uncertain, but the ethnic indication in their title suggests cultic-economic features.[1028] The *collegium Pontobithynorum* is a good example of the secondary level of the newly emerged consumer society in the new province. After the political stability established in the province, and an elite involved in the local monopoly of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici*, small economic groups were also attracted.[1029] These groups represented an ethnic, cultural and economic enclave within a larger administrative and cultural unit (the Roman city, the province of Dacia). On the one hand they linked two provinces and created new economic routes between Pontus-Bithynia and Dacia serving the new province as properly 'integrated immigrants' or 'translocal merchants',[1030]; on the other hand, however, they kept their own culture and identity within the walls of their assembly houses, in terms of their votive monuments and funerary *stelae* too. The identity of a Bithynian group in Dacia is the quintessence of the success of the Roman Empire and the so-called 'Romanisation 2.0',[1031] and a perfect example of Sen's

[1012] Andrade 2013.
[1013] Butcher 2011: 460.
[1014] Wallace-Hadrill 2010: 415-427.
[1015] Butler-Rhys 1907.
[1016] Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 299.
[1017] Strobel 2009: 117-144; Tsetskhladze *et al.* 2012; Thonemann 2013; Roller 2014: 241-242.
[1018] Petolescu 1978: 213-218; Schäfer 2004: 179-190; Nemeti 2005: 245-255; Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 299-368.
[1019] Eutrop. VIII. 6,2.
[1020] Schäfer 2004: 179, Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 300.
[1021] Benea 2002: 99-111.
[1022] On the social units and their local particularities, see: Thonemann 2013: 124-142.
[1023] Schäfer 2004: 182-183. On mobility in Roman Empire: Verboven 2009: 335. See also: Klemencic 2007: 27-35.
[1024] See c II.7.
[1025] IDR III/5: 153. See also: Nemeti 2005: 246; Carbó-Garcia 2010; Agócs 2011; Bîrliba 2012: 40.
[1026] See also c II.6.
[1027] On their presence in Ampelum and Apulum, see: Bîrliba 2012: 41-42.
[1028] Verboven 2009: 335-348.
[1029] Egri 2007; Szabó 2015c.
[1030] Verboven 2009: 335.
[1031] Woolf 2014.

plural identity theory:[1032] speaking and writing in Greek, but learning Latin for their easier economic endeavours, they probably already followed a 'Roman' way of life before their residence in Dacia. In Apulum, however, they maintained their plural identities: being a Bithynian *and* a Roman in Dacia. The Bithynians are also attested in Apulum by two altars dedicated to Jupiter Cimistenus, a local god from Assarderessi, Bithynia.[1033] The three men, Primus, Primianus and Aurelius Iulianus are probably contemporaries and migrants into Dacia in the 2nd century AD.[1034] The topography of the finds suggests that the Bithynian group was present not only in the civilian, but also in the military settlement, in the area of the *canabae*, or, later, the Municipium Septimium Apulense. While the dedication of a certain Muron to Zeus Kimistenos in a peripheral auxiliary *vicus* (Bucium-Izbita) is in Greek (CIGD 8),[1035] the three migrants who settled in Apulum dedicated to the same divinity in Latin. This phenomenon proves the very individualised nature of the plural identity of a Bithynian. Madsen affirmed, that 'the inhabitants of Bithynian and Pontic cities are unlikely to have adopted Latin as their daily language, at least at any significant degree to practiced religion according to Roman traditions'.[1036] The case study of the Cimistenus worshippers in a different environment in the Diaspora proves that their identity significantly changed in a predominantly Latin environment, although this did not affect their religious beliefs and traditional, or even stubborn, mentality to protect and maintain their religious individuality and identity. It is possible that the Bithynian group had an assembly house or building complex similar to that of the Dionysian group, where they worshipped their *dii patrii*. The presence of the small statuette of Artemis Ephesia (**Fig.41**.) could belong also to this phenomenon, or could prove the religious pilgrimage from Dacia to Ephesus.[1037]

Figure 41. Bronze statuette of Artemis Ephesia form Apulum (photo: MNUAI, Szabó et al. 2016a).

Another ethnic group with a similar, plural identity is represented by the Galatians worshipping Jupiter Bussumarius in the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, probably in a small assembly house or apartment with an '*exedra cu arcu*' (II.10).[1038] Similar to this, numerous Celtic groups or individuals from Pannonia, Noricum, and even Britannia, were attested in Apulum and several other cities of Dacia.[1039] Unfortunately, their sacralised spaces or assembly houses are not attested archaeologically. In Apulum, except for the Epona shrine from the Praetorium Consularis (I.8),[1040] only a Fanum Dominae is known from epigraphic sources (II.9)[1041]. Most of the Celtic divinities attested in the province (Epona, Apollo Grannus, Campestres, Sucellus, Nantosuelta) are gods omnipresent in the provinces of the Roman Empire with universal attributes,[1042] however many of the votive monuments dedicated by Celtic (Pannonian, Norican, Gallic, Cisalpine)

[1032] Sen 2006; Madsen 2009: 5-6.

[1033] IDR III/5: 208: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Cimiste/[n]o pro sa/lute imperi po[s]u/it Aure/lius Iulianus*; IDR III/5, 209: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Cimisteno / Primus et / Primianus / ex v[ot]o pos(uerunt)*. See also: Nemeti 2005: 246; Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 309-310.

[1034] Varga 2014.

[1035] Nemeti 2005: 368, cat. nr 268.

[1036] Madsen 2009: 83-84.

[1037] Szabó *et al.* 2016a.

[1038] IDR III/5: 39: *D[eo B]ussumaro / Senti / us Ale / xand / ri / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; IDR III/5: 113: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) / Bussu/maro / Atpati/nius Rufi / v(otum) l(ibens) [s(olvit)] m(erito)*; IDR III/5: 206: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Bussumario / G(aius) Atil(ius) Eutyches Aug(ustalis) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) pro salute / sua suorumq(ue) omnium / exedram long(am) p(edes) XXX latam / p(edes) XXV cu[m ar]cu pec(unia) sua{e} f<e>cit*. According to some opinions, the altar of P. Aelius December dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Bussurigius (IDR III/5: 207) also stood in this assembly house of the Galatians: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Soli Bus/surigio P(ublius) Decem/ber (A)elius / v(oto) p(osuit)*. See also: Nemeti 2005: 249.

[1039] Nemeti 2005: 129-163.

[1040] See c II.3.

[1041] IDR III/5: 66: *Mestrius Martinus / pictor constituit / pro salute sua et / suorum / fanum Dominar(um)*

[1042] Nemeti 2005: 130.

individuals reflects a great variety of individualised religious communication, where not only the cultural element, as primary identity is dominant, but local religious appropriations as well.[1043]

A particular group identity can be identified among the African soldiers from Micia, attested in the sacralised space dedicated to the Dii patrii of the Mauritanian community (I.21).[1044] The large number of Azisos (Bonus Puer) monuments from Apulum could suggest a Syrio-Arabian ethnic group, with their space in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (III.17).[1045] Although the archaeological material from Apulum suggests the presence of a Thracian group also,[1046] their existence cannot be proved. The same is true for Isiac groups: the only evidence for the existence of a possible Iseum from Apulum was discovered in 1958 but without proper documentation (III.10).[1047] The significant number of Isis representations on ceramic moulds might support the plausibility of an Isiac group in the city, although their context of discovery is uncertain.[1048] A small marble statuette of Isis was found in the 1960s on the Bulevardul 1 Decembrie 1918,[1049] which might suggest the worship of Isis in numerous locations in the conurbation of Apulum, in primary and secondary places as well.

The visibility, exclusivity and accessibility of these spaces – although these are essential questions to understand the dynamics of such plural identities in an urban context – are black holes within the existing research: none of these finds came from an in situ context, with the majority being discovered before the 20th century. An interesting analogy of the *synnaoi theoi* and the common negotiation of sacralised spaces is offered by a site from Alburnus Maior, where numerous altars were found on the Carpen Hill, dedicated to Zeus Narenos, Zeus Sarnendenos, Zeus Sittakomikos and Jupiter Cernenus (I.2).[1050] The altars, dedicated by an unspecified group from Asia Minor (*κολλεγειον*), stood in the same place with another dedicated to the Genius of the *collegium kastellum Baridustarum*, a small religious group from the Illyrian Bariduum (see also: I.1-I.4). This example can suggest that small-group religions – even if they were radically different cultural and even linguistic entities[1051] – were sharing sites because of their extra-religious (economic or administrative) bonds. In some cases, however, the assembly houses (building complexes) and sanctuaries of these small-group religions were isolated from the urban *insulae* system, forming an 'exotic' enclave within the larger landscape of the city and its surroundings. In the Municipium Septimium a similar isolated area could belong to the Palmyrenes (III.9).[1052] In the case of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, a Galatian group represents this category, one which needs more careful attention.

The lost lamps of the eternal god: a curious case study

On 26th February 1936, in a place called 'Lăbuț' on the property of Ioan Popa, an important discovery was made (III.6): two columns, a monumental marble[1053] and a smaller limestone[1054] were discovered, together with 200 lamps and fragments of a Roman building. The discovery was documented few days later by V. Cucuiu, a history teacher and an amateur archaeologist, the only person in charge of saving the monuments after the death of B. Cserni.[1055] Although Cucuiu took some sketches, and probably even made drawings, the lamps – with the exception of those preserved in his own private collection[1056] – were sold on the black market of antiquities. None of these lamps are mentioned in the known catalogues.[1057] The location of the discovery is problematic,[1058] but it was identified recently as an *extra-muros* area in the eastern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The place was identified a long time ago in the literature as a 'sanctuary' of Deus Aeternus (III.6).[1059] The nature of this enigmatic divinity, however, was interpreted in numerous ways by scholars as 'Syrian', 'Oriental', 'syncretistic', or associated even with the Jewish god.[1060] S. Nemeti has already highlighted that this divinity needs to be interpreted within the framework of 'pagan monotheism' and the 'megatheist' tendencies of the 2nd and 3rd centuries

1043 Nemeti 2005: 129-160, 262-265.
1044 Nemeti 2005: 114-128.
1045 Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 192; Szabó 2015e.
1046 Nemeti 2005: 255-258; Szabó 2016f.
1047 IDR III/5: 104: *Isidi / myr(ionimae) sac(rum) / Ael(ia) Iusta / pro Ver(---) Fir//no filio / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* See also: Neigebaur 1851: 209-211, cat. nrs 81 and 136; Lupa 21973; Popa 1962: 147-150; Deac-Varga 2014: 14; Szabó 2015e.
1048 The mould representing Aesculapius and Hygeia with Serapis might come from the same context as the inscription of Aelia Iusta, or from the Asklepieion. On the relationship between theatre and Iseum, see also: Kleibl 2017.
1049 Deac-Varga 2014: fig. nr 7.
1050 Nemeti 2005, 249-250. See also: Nemeti 2008, 179-183.
1051 One of the dedicants from Alburnus Maior was a Persian, Arzakes.
1052 Diaconescu 2011.
1053 IDR III/5: 29: *Aeterno / sanctissi/mo pientis/simoque / C(aius) Iul(ius) Diocle/tianus eq(uo) p(ublico) / dec(urio) et augur / col(oniae) Sarmiz(egetusae) / dec(urio) col(oniae) Apul(ensium) / patronus / causarum / ex voto.*
1054 IDR III/5: 25: *Aeterno / C(aio) Bet(---) Gal/ato ex v/oto.*
1055 See also: Opriș 1981: 513.
1056 The existence of the Cucuiu collection we know only from later literature. It is possible that many of the objects found in the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis are still part of private family collections of his descendants: Opris 1981: 513.
1057 Băluță 2003. The majority of the non-epigraphic lamps from Apulum are still unpublished or uncategorised.
1058 Based on oral history and the knowledge of the local old inhabitants, I. Piso, together with M. Drambarean, tried to locate the place. Similarly, the author of these lines carried out fieldwork in the summer of 2015 at the site known today as Lăbuț. The location currently is a large, uninhabited area of at least 500 x 300 m.
1059 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 132-133, Piso 2001: 21: '*qui il faut considérer comme des offrandes déposées dans un sanctuaire*'. See also: Nemeti 2005: 285.
1060 For the historiography, see: Nemeti 2005: 279-284. See also: Carbó-Garcia 2010b: 192-193; Onofrei 2014: 225-226.

AD.[1061] The discourse of the religious market and the recent discussion of pagan monotheism correlate and create a possible matrix in which polytheism and religious interferences get a new definition. As G. H. Horsley has recently shown in his case study on pagan angels,[1062] Asia Minor, as a cultural unit of Jewish, Greek, Syrian and Roman influences, created, or at least offered, a unique religious market for individuals and small groups, where the supreme celestial god became not only an individualised cultural marker, but also an agent in small-scale economic competition. This is why the tendency of the accumulation of adjectives through epigraphy appears at the same time.[1063] In such a rapidly evolving urban society, with numerous small groups from all over the Empire, competition at various levels (economic, political, cultural, religious) created a discourse in which the name of the god – given by men – became an agent of religious entrepreneurs. This philosophy of the ordinary people can be interpreted as a quest for the same answer as the Neoplatonist Procus searched for in his *Commentary on the Cratylus*, dedicating a whole chapter to the nature of divine names.[1064] Similarly, the iconographic variations of Artemis from Ephessos in the different cities of Asia Minor shows the same tendency, reflected in this case not with words (epigraphy) but with images. This competition is attested in Apulum only on the level of individuals.[1065]

The Galatian, Caius Bet(...) Galato and Caius Iulius Diocletianus knew well the identity of the god worshipped by them as 'Aeternus' and 'Aeternus sanctissimus pientissimus'. We do not know whether the Galato from Galatia, or the highly positioned Diocletianus, as members of the local *ordo* and *decurio* and augur of two urban centres of Dacia, were worshiping the Jewish god, angels, the Roman Jupiter, or a particular Ba'al or Zeus from their homeland. What we do know, however, is that they dedicated these monuments in a city where other divinities, such as Jupiter *summus exuperantissimus*,[1066] Zeus Syrgastos from Tios, Bithynia, Jupiter Tavianus from Tavium, Galatia,[1067] Jupiter Dolichenus, Deus Sol Invictus Mithras, Sol Invictus, and Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Bussurigius were worshipped by similar, small-group religions from Asia Minor (see also I.2, III.39). Their choice reflects the polyvalent identity of the lived religious experience in antiquity. Most of them, such as the case of the Deus Aeternus sanctuary, are formed and maintained by small groups, but in some cases they could also be individual, unique choices, carried by single pilgrims or travellers.[1068]

Spatial aspects and cultural identities in small-group religions

Older literature often used notions such as 'foreign cults',[1069] 'oriental religions',[1070] and emphasised the 'otherness' and contrasting natures of certain religious practices and experiences compared to the so-called 'traditional' Roman religion.[1071] The materiality and religious experiences of the Roman Empire were divided into two radically different categories: Graeco-Roman and 'Oriental', emphasizing not only the religious differences, but creating an ethnic dichotomy between individuals and groups.[1072] Recently, this sharp division is no longer accepted and more studies are focusing on the complex phenomena of religious integration[1073] and short-term cultural identities and communal grouping, as the results of mental constructions.[1074] While the legal differences and their impact on the religious communication of some social groups need to be highlighted,[1075] here the focus will be on the question: how were various cultural identities preserved in a provincial, urban environment, and what particularities – religious, ethnic or other types – were stimulated in different contexts? To answer this, a particular case study is presented: the so called 'Road of Sanctuaries' within the Municipium Septimium Apulense (**Fig.42.**).

The finds consist of the two Mithraic sanctuaries and their material (I.7, III.13),[1076] four inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus and IOM,[1077] a monumental statue of Jupiter,[1078] two altars of Jupiter Cimistenus (III.8),[1079] an altar of IOM Dolichenus (II.7),[1080] a monument dedicated

[1061] Mitchell-Nuffelen 2010: 1-16; Chaniotis 2010: 112-140. The notion of 'megatheism' was already named as a neologist version of pagan monotheism in the same book: Nuffelen 2010: 20. See also: Gordon 2014.

[1062] Horsley 2016.

[1063] Nemeti 2005: 288-297; Chaniotis 2010: 113-114.

[1064] Van den Berg 2008: 161-170; Nemeti 2012: 17-19.

[1065] Szabó *et al.* 2016b.

[1066] IDR III/5: 231: *Iovi Summo Ex/superantissimo / divinarum hu/manarumque / rerum rectori / fatorumque ar/bi[tr]o [---]A / [---] et PRO/[---] LEG / [------*; See also: Nemeti 2005: 288-293.

[1067] IDR III/5: 228: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Taviano / et dis deabusque / pro salute et victori[a] / domini n(ostri) sanctissi[mi] / [T?]avianus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / sub pro(curator) auraria[r(um)] / v(otum) s(olvit) a(nimo) [l(ibenter)].*

[1068] See Szabó *et al.* 2016a. On pilgrimage, see also: Elsner 2017.

[1069] Orlin 2010.

[1070] Especially the great impact of Cumont and Toutain on scholarship: Phillips 2007. See also: Versluys 2013.

[1071] Scheid 2005b; Riemer-Riemer 2005. See also: Busch-Versluys 2015: 8.

[1072] Beard-North-Price 1998: 246-7; Alvar 2008; Carbó-Garcia 2010c; Tacoma 2016: 224, especially fns 98 and 99, with further bibliography.

[1073] Randazzo 2014: 32-35. See also: Andringa 2007: 84-86; Ando 2007.

[1074] Gruen 2011; Mol-Versluys 2015.

[1075] Ando 2014.

[1076] See also c II.9.

[1077] IDR III/5: 129: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) Arrani/us Epaphr/oditus / et Arra/nius Ni/ger filiu/s posuerunt*; IDR III/5: 175: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) Vibi/us Nic/ostra/tus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; IDR III/5: 321: *Silvan[o] / Anniu[s] / Vale[ns];* IDR III/5 335: *Ael(ius) Fron/tianus Sil/vano Do/mestico.*

[1078] Ota 2013: fig. 51; Diaconescu 2014a: 54-55, cat. nr 29; Lupa 19222.

[1079] IDR III/5 208: 209.

[1080] IDR III/5: 221. See also c II.6.

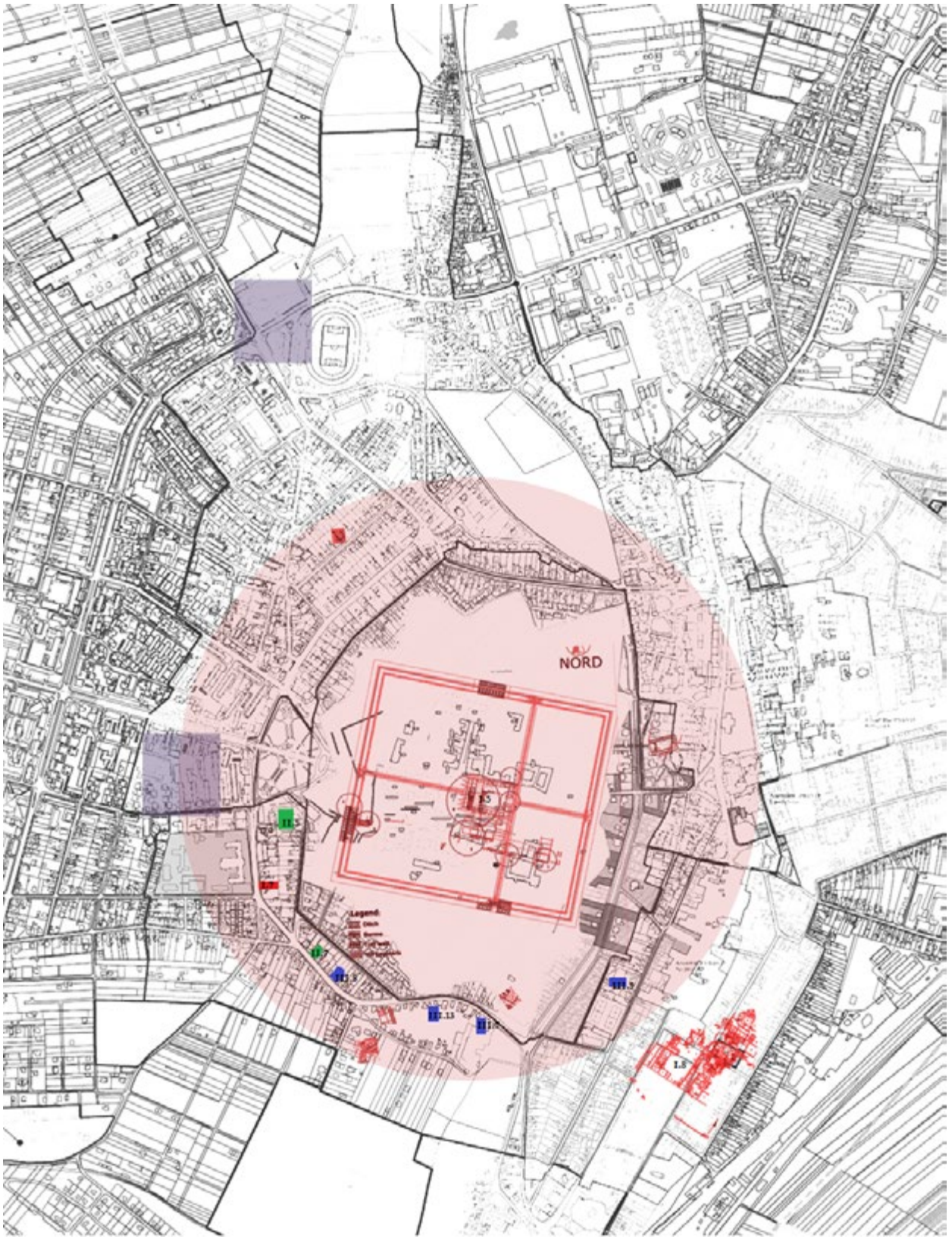

Figure 42. Map of the Municipium Septimium Apulense (photo: author)

to Jupiter Bussumarius,[1081] and one statuette of Isis[1082] and one of Yarhibol.[1083] What is common in these finds are their topographic proximity and chronology (late

[1081] IDR III/5: 39. It is unclear where the votive column was found: Ota 2012: 94, 111.

[1082] Deac-Varga 2014: fig. nr 7; Lupa 21973.

[1083] IDR III/5: 102. See also c II.6.

2nd – early 3rd century AD). The finds are concentrated between the Bulaverdul 1 Decemberie 1918 (previous Bulevardul Încoronârii), Strada Lalelelor 1-3, and Bulevardul Ferdinand I, within a quite rectangular area, following also the possible *insulae* and road system of the Municipium.[1084]

The recent excavations revealed here a very intensively populated and urbanised area of the city,[1085] where multiple phases of the *canabae* – later known as Municipium Septimium Apulense – were identified. With the exception of the *mithraeum III*, the exact contexts of the other finds are not known,[1086] but the analogies and the later excavations in this area suggest a densely populated, urban area with several traces of small-group religions and their sacralised sites. Most of the worshippers of the above-mentioned divinities came from various areas of Asia Minor (Bythinia, Galatia) or Syria (Palmyrian) and established their small religious groups in an area next to a road considered as a marker between the cemetery (Dealul Furcilor) and the canabae, later Municipium Septimium Apulense.

The great agglomeration of religious dedications in this particular area of the city has never been analysed together, although published individually numerous times.[1087] All the above-mentioned finds are crowded in a very dense and precisely separated area, at least 500-700 m south and south-west of the *castra legionis*, and north of the necropolis on the Dealul Furcilor. This means an *intra leugam* area, and suggests also that the legal status of these sanctuaries and their worshippers changed also after AD 197, when this part of the *canabae* acquired municipal status.[1088] Their physical proximity suggests not only the spatial evolution and direction of the settlement, but also gives an interesting insight into the so-called 'migrant areas' of Roman cities, where small-group religions seem to have had a much more intense concentration than in other parts of the city.[1089] In most cases – even in a cosmopolis such as Rome[1090] – these concentrations of small-group religions in a certain area of the city are not necessary related to a particular ethnic group, but a mixture of social, economic and more or less legal categories (especially freedmen) interacting.[1091] Beside some particularities, when these groups indeed express their special ethnic or cultural identity (such as their mother language, dress or *dii patrii*), a more interesting focus lies on the complementarities of these small religious groups within urban contexts.

Sacralisation and spatial dynamics of identities: some analogies

In the cold winter, between 17th December AD 159 and 16th January AD 160, Malchus and Ierheus, two young Palmyrene soldiers of the *numerous Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*, far from their warm homeland, buried their 25-year-old brother, Neses, son of Ierheus, in the necropolis of Tibiscum, where they served (**Fig. 43**.):[1092]

> *[D(is)] M(anibus) / N[e]ses Ierhei / [e(x)] n(umero) Pal(myrenorum) vixit / [a]n(nos) XXV Ma/[l]chus et Ier/ [heu]s f(ratri) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)*

The funerary stele has an average size and quite rudimentary elaboration, but represents very authentically the deceased person in his traditional, Syrian vestment. They buried their brother probably in a Palmyrene rite, using also their mother-language and traditional calendar to mark this sad event.[1093] About the same time, Lucian of Samosata writes his work *On the Syrian goddess*, emphasising a stereotypical Syrian identity, highlighting a 'cultural clash' between East and West.[1094] Their communal, ethnic identity in the diaspora is attested not only by special inscriptions, vestment, and the worship of their paternal gods, but also marked spatially.[1095] The topographic distribution of the Syrian sanctuaries shows an evolution from the periphery to the centre of Rome, reaching, in the 3rd century AD, even as far as the *intra muros* area,[1096] the Palatinus, and the Aventinus.

A similar case study we can observe also in colonia Sarmizegetusa, where two Syrian sanctuaries were identified (I.46, I.47).[1097] The first (I.47.), a temple of the Paternal Gods of the Palmyrian tribe of Bene Agrud,[1098] was situated *extra-muros*, west of the city wall on the Delineștilor hill, in the vicinity of the cemetery.[1099] The temple with a kitchen (*culina*) was rebuilt on his own land by P. Aelius Theimes around AD 160-170:[1100]

[1084] Blăjan-Theiss 2000, 257.
[1085] Gligor et al. 2006, 35-47; Ota 2012, 133-137.
[1086] Szabó 2014b, 66 with further bibliography.
[1087] For the most recent summary of the religious life of the Municipium: Ota 2012: 90-120.
[1088] Doneus *et al.* 2013: 172-192.
[1089] Tacoma 2016.
[1090] For the notion, see: Edwards-Woolf 2006.
[1091] Tacoma 2016: 224-227.

[1092] IDR III/1: 167. See also: Kaizer 2004: 565-569.On the geography and climate and its influence on the religious life of colonists and soldiers from Dacia, see c IV.1.
[1093] It is hard to establish if the four Palmyrian inscription from Tibiscum were written by the same hand. If the soldiers could not write, there must have been a Palmyrian lapidarius in charge of the numerus Palmyrenorum. The same conservative identity is preserved on two other Syrian inscriptions from Dacia, one of them still unpublished: IDR II: 117, 346.
[1094] On Syrian identity and stereotypes of small-group diaspora: Bohak 2000: 7-15; Isaac 2004: 324-351; Freis 2005: 131-146; Andrade 2013: 288-314; Smith 2013: 7-10, 160-173. For cultural stereotypes of Barbarians: Woolf 2011: 33-59.
[1095] Scheid 2005b: 225-240.
[1096] On the archaic walls of Rome: Cifani 1998: 359-389. On the symbolic and religious role of the walls, see c II.2.
[1097] Piso-Țentea 2011; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 77 and 84-90; Schäfer 2007: 85-93, 242-243; Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 921; Diaconescu 2011: 148-158; Boda 2015a: 297.
[1098] Nemeti 2005: 175-179.
[1099] GPS position: 45.510685, 22.781419.
[1100] IDR III/2, 18 = CIL III 7954. His career suggests also a direct link

Figure 43. Funerary monument of Neses, son of Ierheus from Palmyra buried in Tibiscum (photo: lupa 15016)

> *Dis Patriis / Malagbel et Bebellaha/mon et Benefal et Mana/vat P(ublius) Ael(ius) Theimes II viral(is) / col(oniae) templum fecit solo et / impendio suo pro se suisq(ue) / omnibus, ob pietate(m) ipsorum circa se, iussus ab ipsis, fecit / et culinam subiunxit.*

In the same area, an altar of Men was discovered, while south-east of the Syrian temple a Mithraeum was identified.[1101] This might suggest a similar spatial organisation of the smaller religious groups in Sarmizegetusa, as attested in the Municipium Septimium of Apulum.[1102] A particularity of the Palmyrian groups of Sarmizegetusa is their spatial 'expansion' or possible competition. While the monumental temple of the group from Bene Agrud was *extra-muros*, on a hill dominating the landscape from the private land of Theimes, the second Syrian temple identified recently was in the very heart of the city, in the vicinity of the Capitolium and the Forum (I.46. **Fig. 44.**). The sanctuary was dated to the period of Caracalla or Septimius Alexander, and it has a unique list of *cultores Malagbeli*[1103] carved in a monumental marble plaque exposed in the sanctuary (**Fig. 45.**).[1104] Unfortunately, it is hard to tell the relationship between the two Syrian sanctuaries from Sarmizegetusa. It seems obvious that while the first one rebuilt by Theimes was a private space, the second building was already on public ground, reflecting two different legal statuses.[1105] Both sanctuaries existed in the Severan age, which suggests an element of religious competition, or local social dynamics, which are hard to reconstruct from the available sources. The publishers of the recently identified sanctuary presumed also a local religious appropriation: the rare combination of Palmyrian divinities and their local variation in the Palmyrian groups from Dacia could indicate a religious change that had already been established in Dacia.[1106]

This linear ascension appears not only in the physical landscape, but also in the social one. The role and sacred status of walls, and the introduction of new cults were strictly controlled by magistrates in Rome, and later within provincial contexts too. In this sense, the spatial evolution from suburbs (periphery) into the centre was the result of urban acculturalisation and the social endeavours of the middle class, represented by venerable veterans, rich *peregrini*, and merchants in the local *cursus honorum*.[1107] The proximity and spatial marginality of these small-group religions are present also in numerous similar urban centres of the Danubian provinces: Carnuntum,[1108] Poetovio,[1109] Savaria,[1110] and Aquincum[1111] all show a concentration of assembly houses and sacralised sites on the borders of urban settlements, the proximity of the *dolichena* and *mithraea*, and, in some cases, Syrian and Jewish quarters have also been identified.[1112] These spatial arrangements

between the Palmyrian group from Tibiscum and Sarmizegetusa: Diaconescu 2011.

1101 IDR III/2: 267: *Meni / Cilvastian(o) / G(aius) Petr(onius) Iustus / corn(icularius) proc(uratoris) / ex voto.* See also: Jánó 1912: 50.
1102 Boda 2015b.
1103 On Malakbel (Malagbel), see: Nemeti 2005: 170ff.
1104 IDR III/2: 65, AE 2004, 1216, Piso-Ţentea 2011: 117-118, nrs 2-3.
1105 On the legal aspects of sacred spaces, see: Á Szabó 2017.
1106 Piso-Ţentea 2011: 121.
1107 Ando 2012: 111-112.
1108 Kremer 2012.
1109 Jerala 2011.
1110 Kiss 2011.
1111 Zsidi 2011.
1112 Agócs 2013.

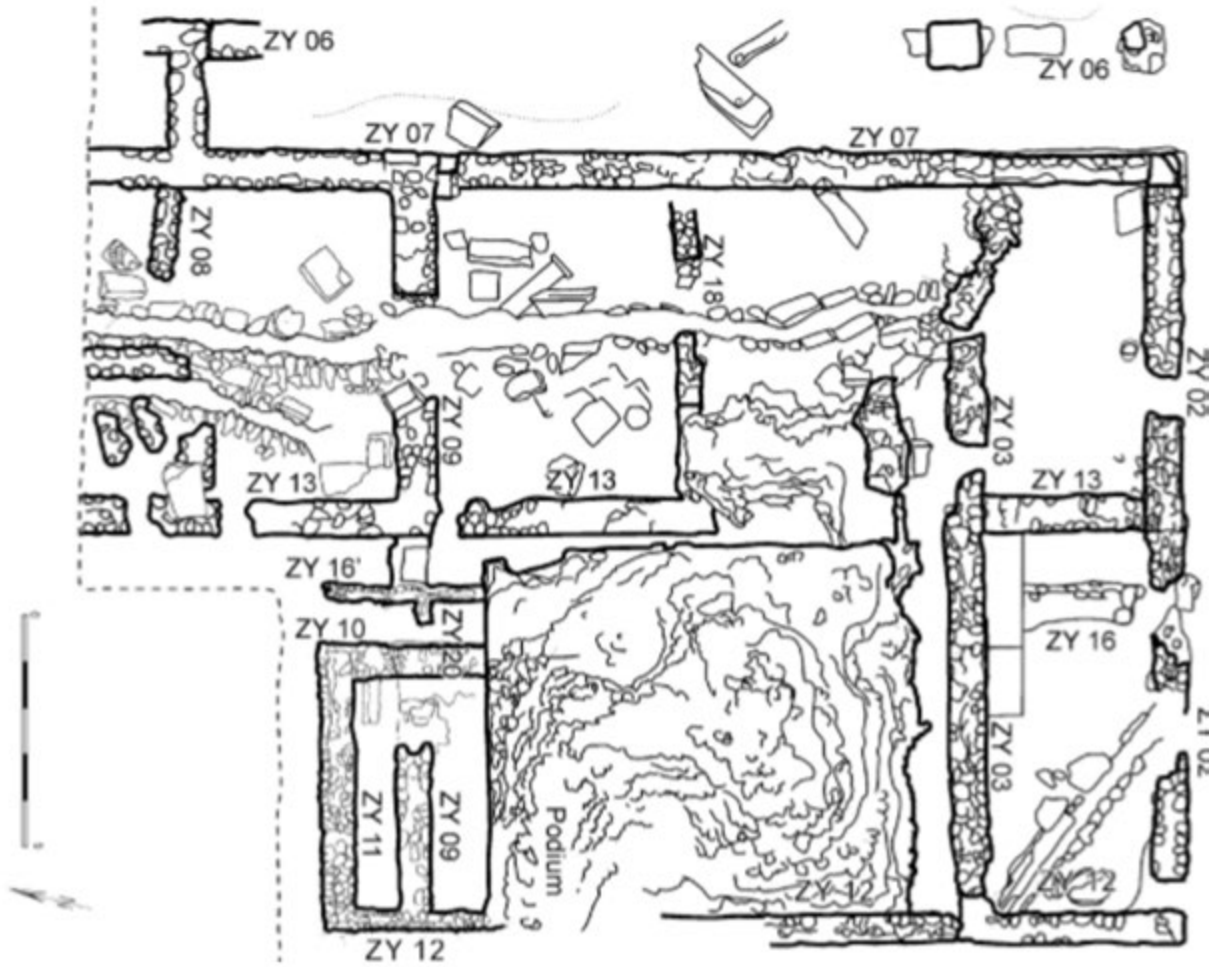

Figure 44. Plan of the Palmyrene sanctuary from Colonia Sarmizegetusa (after Piso-Țentea 2011, 114, fig.2.)

seem to exist also in the cemeteries, as the case study of Ampelum shows.[1113] In many cases, especially with the widely spread Mithraic groups, it is impossible to establish the certain spatial dynamics of these, even in such well-known case studies as Ostia and Rome.[1114] More intriguing is how these small groups – especially the Dolichenian and Mithraic – interact with each other.[1115] Not only in the case study of the Municipium Septimium Apulense, but also in numerous other instances within the Empire, *dolichena* and *mithraea* appear next to each other in very close proximity.[1116] The Dacia example shows that Dolichenian groups in urban settlements were strictly related and consisted of a well-established familial and economic network, with a different specialisation than those of the Mithraic groups. Similarly, they offer a complementary religious option for healing within military contexts.[1117] Not only do these economic mechanisms prove the complementary nature of these groups, but their very strict collaboration is attested also in the creation of local religious narratives and their iconographic manifestations.

Grouping is an essential social need in every human society.[1118] It has even a psychological, if not biological, background.[1119] The formation of small-group religions was one of the most successful, but short-term, strategies in ancient religious communication, maintaining not only their own sacralised spaces, but transporting and preserving cultural identities, resistant habits, traditions, and even languages. The case study of Apulum – but generally, that of Roman Dacia – shows how these small religious groups entered the province already formed, created the most numerous types of sacralised places in secondary locations, and in 150 years of the province, transformed the urban landscape and created a dense communication network between these individuals and groups, which contributed as well to the local variations of cultural and religious

[1113] See c IV.4.
[1114] White 2012.
[1115] For the unusual case study of Doliche, see: Gordon 2007b.
[1116] Tacoma 2016: 230-231.
[1117] See c II.7.
[1118] Steinhauer 2014, 164.
[1119] Rüpke 2018, 22.

Figure 45. Album of the cultores of Malagbel from the Syrian sanctuary from Colonia Sarmizegetusa (after Piso-Țentea 2011)

identities. A particularity of Dacia was its temporality: the province was formed and abandoned in a period when religious ideas and divine agency was already transformed from local to utopian.[1120]

II.9. Mithras in Apulum: between local and universal

The cult(s) of Mithras in Apulum – and generally in the Roman province of Dacia – became a fertile topic in academic discourse in the 18th century. In fact it has never stopped being so, but has rather increased till now, creating an extremely rich bibliography by Hungarian, Romanian and also foreign researchers.[1121] The rich material evidence of the cult, its iconographic specificity and artistic value, but also the early attestation of the cult in Transylvania, has increased the importance of the material in the foreign literature too.[1122] Despite the abundant literature on the topic, which has focused mainly on the iconographic and epigraphic aspects, few of them deal with the

[1120] Woolf 2012, 257-258; Rüpke 2018, 319-326.

[1121] There is no comprehensive study on the historiography of Mithraic studies, neither on an Imperial scale, nor focusing on the Dacian material. Some studies however have already reflected the different currents and main ideologies which defined the international research: Beck 1984; Beck 2004; Gordon 2009; Belayche-Mastrocinque 2013. On the historiography of the Mithraic Studies in Romania, see: Nemeti 2012; Sicoe 2014: 9-13; Nemeti-Marcu 2014; Szabó 2014d. See also: BRRD II 299-363 and ABRRD 'Mithras'.

[1122] The materiality of the cult was exemplified by the first authors of Mithraic studies mostly by the evidence of Rome, Ostia and Italia in the 16th-18th centuries, however later Dacia and the German provinces became more and more emphasised: Szabó 2013a.

archaeology of excavated sanctuaries,[1123] the socio-political background and the dynamics of the cult,[1124] or the local production and specific features of the relief workshops.[1125]

Due to the new archaeological discoveries, the cults of Mithras in Apulum have become more carefully analysed in the last few years,[1126] however numerous aspects of the cult still need to be emphasised. In this chapter the focus is mainly on those aspects of the cult that were not analysed in detail, or need more careful reconsideration. Some major topics of the current *Religionswissenschaft*, such as the economic background of the convivial groups (small-group religions/elective cults), the emotional content of the mystery cults, the interaction between various small-group religions, the founding, maintaining and failing procedures of the *mithraea*, and some local aspects of the materiality of the cult will comprise some of the main topics presented here.

Appropriation and religious bricolage *between local and universal*

This chapter does not intend to present the rich debate on the origins, creation/formation and spread of the Mithraic cult(s). For the interpretation of the material from Apulum, however, it is important to highlight some aspects of the recent state of research. The theory of diffusion from a centre (Rome, Ostia, Asia Minor, Poetovio) to the periphery was recently replaced by the more careful approach of 'lived ancient religion', where the focus is on the religious transformation and local appropriation.[1127] By integrating the concept of religious *bricolage*,[1128] it sees in the cult(s) of Mithras a combination of various religious narratives (especially Orphic, Thracian and Phrygian),[1129] exoticised with Persian elements[1130] and transmitted by familial/economic small groups and networks. While the universalism of the cult is legitimately emphasised by the few who argue for a central Mithras narrative,[1131] many more studies are focusing now on the various local aspects and appropriations.[1132]

In Dacia – and, probably, in the newly established conurbation of Apulum – the cult appeared after AD 106, when the province was conquered. The hypothetical association of Hermadio with the Poetovian Mithraic group and the direct link between the staff of the Publicum Portorium Illyrici from Aquleia-Poetovio with Dacia seems to prove[1133] that the first groups appeared in Dacia before the Marcomannic Wars, probably in Sarmizegetusa and its territory – which also included the *pagus Apulensis*, the civilian settlement *extra-leugam castrem legionis XIII Geminae*.[1134] Although F. Cumont and M. Vermaseren were more careful and cautious on the chronology of the inscriptions from Apulum, Ioan Piso tried to date some of the altars or statue bases based only on onomastics. He identified two inscriptions from the Hadrianic or Antonine period,[1135] which could suggest the existence of a Mithraic group already in the first part of the 2nd century AD also in the territory of the *canabae*, where the so-called Oancea *mithraeum* was established (III.13). Another inscription, dated by Ioan Piso to the 2nd century,[1136] was discovered in the so called '*mithraeum* of Károly Pap' (III.14.), probably on the *extra muros* territory of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis, which later became the *Colonia* Aurelia Apulensis.[1137] If we accept the chronology of these finds dated to the 2nd century AD, then we have two different groups in two different legal entities: one in the *canabae*, one in the *pagus Apulensis* or Municipium Aurelium Apulensis. Where they came from and how they interacted in this very early phase of the cult, it is impossible to say, although the epigraphic and iconographic evidence from the so-called *mithraeum* of Károly Pap and the Oancea Mithraeum suggest a direct link with the Mithraic groups from Sarmizegetusa.[1138] It is also possible that in the territory of the civilian settlement – even before it became a *Colonia* – there existed multiple Mithraic groups, as the '*mithraeum* of Fraciscus Kaftal' (III.15),[1139] which could be contemporary with the '*mithraeum* of Károly Pap', suggests.

At the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century we can attest a more dynamic activity and interaction

[1123] There is only one documented excavation of Mithraic sanctuaries before 2008. The biggest *mithraeum* of the province discovered in Sarmizegetusa was published in 1886: Király 1886; Another one was discovered in Pojejena, although later the settlement was identified as being from Moesia: Gudea-Bozu 1977-78. For the case study of Decea Muresului and Slăveni, see c IV.5.

[1124] Băluță 1994; Szabó 2015c.

[1125] Sicoe 2004; Sicoe 2014.

[1126] The first synthesis on the cult in Apulum is unpublished: Szabó 2012d. See also: Rustoiu *et al.* 2014; Rustoiu *et al.* 2015, Szabó 2012b; Szabó 2015c.

[1127] See the Introduction. See also: Dirven 2015. For a radically different account on the origins of the cult see: Mastrocinque 2017. For the review of Mastrocinque's book and a short history of contemporary Mithraic studies see: Szabó 2018d.

[1128] Saroglou 2006; McGuire 2008: 196.

[1129] Faraone 2013; Gordon 2015b; Georgiev 2016. See also: Tóth 2015 for a slightly different view.

[1130] Gordon 2016a.

[1131] Nagy 2012.

[1132] Dirven-McCarty 2014; Dirven 2015.

[1133] Szabó 2015c.

[1134] Ardevan 1998; Piso 1995c. See also: Gugl 2010: 413-420.

[1135] IDR III/5: 279: *[So]l(i) Mithrae / [P(ublius)?] Ael(ius) Gordianus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* and IDR III/5: 289: *Ael(ius) Mes/trius l(ibens) / pos(uit).* This chronology is accepted, with some slight caution, by J. R. C. Garcia too: Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 733. See also: Sicoe 2014: 123-124.

[1136] See also: Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 723; Sicoe 2014: 148.

[1137] IDR III/5: 272: *Invicto / Mythir/ae(!) Chr/estion / v(otum) s(olvit).* See also IDR III/5: 273: *Invicto / Mythrae(!) / Diosco/rus Marci / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, probably from the same context. Szabó *et al.* 2016b.

[1138] See below for the analysis of the groups and individuals from the two sanctuaries.

[1139] On the dating of the statue of Secundinus, see: Szabó 2013a.

of the groups of Apulum and other settlements of the province. The reorganisation of the customs system and the more intense relationships with the Pannonian provinces and Italy created a new situation, whereby the inner social structure of the Mithraic groups, and probably their own formation and dynamics, changed radically. The presence of some influential personalities, such as Marcus Valerius Maximianus (AD 180-182) or Publius Aelius Marius (end of the 2nd century, beginning of the 3rd century AD) suggest, that the Mithraic groups of Apulum already had a rich extra-urban and extra-provincial social network. In this period we see not only the presence of multiple groups in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and the Municipium Septimium Apulense, but a direct interaction – and possibly a competition – between the two settlements.

The last phase of the Mithraic groups must have ended very suddenly after the Aurelianic withdrawal of 270-271 AD. There is no evidence of the survival of the cult after this period in Dacia itself, which could indicate also the very 'Romanness' of the cult and the groups that formed and lived as a result of the economic dynamics and military presence in the province.

Creating, maintaining and ending a Mithraic sanctuary

Only one Mithraic sanctuary (*mithraeum*) has so far been discovered in the settlements of Apulum, however the rich archaeological material, the epigraphic evidence and the ancient literature strongly suggest the existence of multiple similar buildings. In the case of Mithraic cults, the role of the sanctuary and the building itself is more important than in the case of other cults, where space and spatiality was disaggregated on numerous components, due to the numerous processions and outdoor activities. In the case of Mithraism, however, space and interior *is* the cult itself: there are few cases or attestations of cult activity outside of a *mithraeum*, although the existence of a 'mobile', dynamic and even domestic Mithraism seems to be plausible.[1140] In any case, the materiality of this cult is more strictly related to a sanctuary than in the case of other Roman cults, where the building itself had a secondary role after religious acts, personal interaction and iconography.[1141] It is important to mention, however, that even if Mithraism did not exist without a building, a living group is not *dependent* on a building itself: a group can exist, transform or move into another, bigger, newer building if the case requires. Similar intra-urban dynamics are attested in Ostia, Virunum and Poetovio.[1142]

Identifying Mithraic groups without the building itself can only be based on hypothesis, and therefore must be treated with caution. The discovery of the material evidence and its context helps us a little in this sense. Although we cannot be certain that the group of Mithraic artefacts discovered in a single spot represents an in situ context, the urban evolution of Alba Iulia and the ex-Roman city show that even if the Roman context was already heavily affected in the early medieval period, the stone material was only moved in the case of monumental buildings and not in smaller houses. The recently excavated *mithraeum* itself shows that the altars were used in medieval times, while the figurative monuments could also have various fates.[1143]

Mithraic groups in Colonia Aurelia Apulensis

The first Mithraic groups[1144] must have been formed after the establishment of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae* and the formation of the first civilian settlement on the *pagus Apulensis*, part of the territorium of Sarmizegetusa in the Antonine period (AD 106-168). Identifying these groups is not possible, but the discovery of two great concentrations of Mithraic material dated to the 2nd century AD could suggest the existence of them both in the territory of the *canabae* and in the later Municipium Aurelium Apulensis. The first discovery was made in the 1780s by Franciscus Kaftal and published by Antal Bartalis in 1787, whose detailed report and analysis of the finds became the foundation stone and first publication in Mithraic studies in Dacia.[1145] The exact location is not known, however he mentions that Kaftal discovered the three monuments in the territory of the Marosportus (Partoș), which consists of the southern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, probably close to the ancient bank of the river Ampelum and Marisia. The position of Kaftal itself (*wegmaister*) suggests that this area was related to the river traffic and salt transport. This area of the Roman settlement is the lesser known even today,[1146] but in this area an altar dedicated to Isis was discovered, and probably the *mithraeum* of Károly Pap too (III.14). In the Antonine period this area was probably very sparsely populated and roughly

[1140] Gordon 2004; Latteur 2011. The presence of the domestic cult of Mithras in Dacia, however, is not yet researched. See also c IV.4 and IV.5.

[1141] Martin 2015: 23, citing Hinnells 1975, that Mithrasism 'was a cult more concerned with practice than with precept'.

[1142] Chalupa 2011; White 2012, Tóth 2015.

[1143] On the fate of the figurative monuments from the *mithraeum*, see below.

[1144] Although in some previous articles the present author frequently uses the notion of community to describe the network of small groups of Mithras (Szabó 2015c), based on an old historiographic tradition (Walters 1974: 15; Clauss 2001: 39; even Spickermann 2015: 233 uses this notion). The archaeology of 'lived religion' however criticises the idea of groupism and group building as old relics of a Christianity-based view of Roman paganism, which, in most cases, consists of modern historiographic recreations or sophisticated intellectualism: Gordon 2014. See also: Raja-Rüpke 2015b: 22. Instead of speaking about groups, as ideologically and religiously bonded networks, the LAR approach suggests Lahire's 'sociology at the level of the individual', although one needs to emphasise the shades and differences of these two extremes. On community, see also: Urciouli 2013: 557-583.

[1145] On the discovery and work of Bartalis, see: Szabó 2013a.

[1146] See DMA.

Figure 46. Statue of Mithras Tauroctonos from Apulum (Lupa 17291)

urbanised, without monumental architecture. The existence of the city wall itself is uncertain before the Marcomannic Wars, which makes it hard to define the interaction of these assembly houses – sacralised spaces – with other buildings within the urban context. The finds consist of a mid-sized panelled relief,[1147] a small statue base,[1148] and a full-standing representation of Mithras Tauroctonos (**Fig.46.**).[1149] It is possible that one of the statues representing Mithras Petrogenius or Cautes, discovered also at the end of the 18th century, came from the same spot.[1150] Four individuals are attested from this context. The first, Secundinus, who dedicated the *signum*,[1151] the main cult image of the sanctuary, probably lived in the Antonine period and played an important role in the formation of the sacralised space itself. Dedicating a *signum* as an individual always represents an exceptional religious act, which has a great impact on the group, creating or emphasising his charisma within it. It represents also his wealth and devotion, suggesting competence and creating a role model for others. Marking the space with a cult image also means that he contributed to the creation of an internal collective memory of the space, where the statue became not only an important element and relic of a specific, once-occurring religious act, the lived religion preserved, carved and marked within the space, but also serving the durability and continuity of the sacralised space. His social status is unknown, but the dedicatory form and the onomastic suggest[1152] that in outside society he was a modest person or even, a 'marginal' one, but inside the walls of the *mithraeum* he had the opportunity to manifest himself as a leading figure, who contributed to the forming and shaping of the group, maintaining its religious continuity and existence. The financial investment of the statue was probably considerable, illustrating the strong bond of Secundinus with the Mithraic group.

Three other members of this group are strictly related to each other, which shows another important aspect of these Mithraic groups. Marcus Aurelius Timotheus, Aurelius Maximus and their *libertus*, Euthyces,[1153] appear on two monuments probably dedicated at the same time and part of the same religious act or event. Both of the monuments are dedicated to Deus Sol Invictus Mithras[1154] by Euthyces, who was a *libertus* of the above mentioned two men. Mentioning their

[1147] CIL III 1109; CIMRM 1935-36; IDR III/5, 280; Sicoe 2014: 146-147, cat. nr 17; Lupa 17299: *D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / [pro sal(ute) et incolumi]tate M(arci) Aur(eli) Thimothei et Aur(eli) Maximi / [votum nuncupavit so]lvitq(ue) Euthices eorum lib(ertus).*

[1148] CIL III 1110; CIMRM 1937; IDR III/5, 281; Sicoe 2014: 147-148, cat. nr 20; Lupa 17290: *D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) // pro salute (et) inc/o{t}lumitate M(arci) Aure(li) / Timotei et Aur(eli) M/aximi votum nun/cupavit solvitque / Euthyces eorum lib(ertus) / retulit.*

[1149] CIL III 1123; CIMRM 1947-48; IDR III/5, 284; Szabó 2013a; Sicoe 2014: 144-145, cat. nr 16; Diaconescu 2014a: 45-46, cat. nr 20; Lupa 17291: *[S(oli)?] I(nvicto) M(ithrae) signum / [--- Sec]undinus ex voto pos(uit)*

[1150] CIMRM 1985, 1991, 2186, 2188. Some of these were in the same collection of the Batthyaneum at the end of the 18th century. Szabó 2016a: 160-164.

[1151] On the notion and the detailed analysis of the monument, see: Szabó 2013a: 48-49.

[1152] Săsăman 2013.

[1153] His name appears in two different ways from the same context: Euthices on IDR III/5, 280, and Euthyces on IDR III/5, 281. This could be a mistake of the *lapidarius* himself, the epigraphic camp of the relief being more crowded and a HI ligature is more comfortable than an HY. We cannot reconstruct the event, when or how these objects were placed in a sanctuary, of if they were erected during the same event, however the text, the paleography of the inscriptions, suggests that they were made in the same workshop.

[1154] A slightly different epithet of the divinity from Secundinus' *signum*, where the god is named 'Sol Invictus Mithras'. It is hard to identify here a chronological difference between these: Sicoe 2014: 36-37.

Figure 47a-b. Column and altar dedicated by Dioscorus in Apulum (photos: Szabó et al. 2016b, fig.1 and 3.)

patronus is a common phenomenon generally in the Roman epigraphic habit, which probably has nothing particularly to do with the Mithraic groups and their religious content, but which, however, emphasises the Roman aspects of the newly founded cult.[1155] A key question concerns the relationship between the social and economic bond of these persons with the Mithraic context. How did their outside bonds influence or create internal, Mithraic, ones? Recent studies emphasise that the Mithraic groups were founded and maintained mostly based on these kinds of *patronus-libertus* and *amicus*-familial relationships.[1156] The case study of the Virunum groups and Poetovio show this most significantly. It is not certain, however, if the *patronus* is always an active member of the religious group, or whether his name appears on the altars only because of transmitting the external competition and social dynamics into a religious, more intimate milieu. While in the case of public sanctuaries, visited by large groups, sometimes even outside the urban group, it was obviously important to emphasise the social role and function of the worshipper; in a *mithraeum* the target of this visual message was their co-worshippers in Mithraism. Transporting the external hierarchy within the group had multiple meanings: it not only kept the social competition alive in a religious milieu, but showed also that the cult of Mithras could offer the possibility for a hierarchical transformation of these rules and boundaries, accelerating the processes of competitive and representative religious individuality.[1157] We find similar *patronus-libertus* relationships in others cases too, where the outside and commercial relationship also marked the Mithraic bonds.[1158] In the case of this first group, we can observe other similarities as well: both Secundinus and Euthyces are *liberti*, newborn members of a free society. We find another similar case in the so-called '*mithraeum* of Károly Pap', where both of the members, Chrestion and Dioscorus (**Fig.47a-b.**)[1159] are *liberti* from the Greek-speaking part of the Empire,

[1155] See: CIMRM II, page 429; Sicoe 2014: 42.

[1156] Beck 1996: 177; Remus 1996: 164-168; Beck 2006: 175-194; Bîrliba 2006: Verboven 2011. See also: Rohde 2012; Szabó 2015c.

[1157] Gordon 2011; Rüpke 2013.

[1158] Szabó 2013; Szabó 2015c; Rustoiu *et al.* 2015.

[1159] CIL III 1112; CIMRM 1945; IDR III/5, 272; Sicoe 2014: 150, cat. nr 26; Lupa 20920; Mustața 2015; Szabó *et al.* 2016b and CIL III 1113; CIMRM 1943; IDR III/5, 273; Sicoe 2014: 148, cat. nr 21; Szabó *et al.* 2016b; Lupa 21720.

who were probably actively involved in the commercial life of the conurbation.[1160] The iconographic features of the mid-sized relief from the Kaftal *mithraeum* and the altars from the Pap *mithraeum* show also a direct link with Sarmizegetusa, which could suggest an Antonine, or at least an early phase of these groups.[1161] The fact that there were Greek-speaking worshippers in the territory of the *Colonia* also suggests that the small-group religions here were formed by merchants, who moved into the newly founded province with the hope of building a new life and creating also these small groups, where they could manifest themselves as a 'special elite' within an artificially created microcosmos.[1162] Their sanctuaries – as in the case of the early urbanised Municipium Aurelium Apulensis – were in the southern part of the city, far from the fort, and outside the central area of the city. Their existence, their soundscape and movements, were heard and known mainly by their neighbours – many of whom were probably already members of these groups.[1163]

Three other, small-sized monuments could also have come from the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The altar of Lucanus – a slave or libertus[1164] – was discovered in 1868 during the construction of the first railway in the modern city of Alba Iulia,[1165] which crossed and severely damaged the northern and central parts of the Roman city.[1166] The two reliefs have an uncertain provenance, but some of their features could suggest that Aurelius Stephanos and Euhemerus were also members of one of the Mithraic groups of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis/Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[1167] Both of them are of modest social status from the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, similar to the members of the Mithraic groups presented above. This could suggest that in the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis – at least in the 2nd century AD – the Mithraic groups had also a specific, ethnic or cultural level besides the familial or economic bonds.[1168] It is not possible to reconstruct the origin of these groups or their members: it is uncertain whether they arrived in Dacia as ready-formed groups, or whether the formation of these groups was influenced by some local individuals and specific tendencies and circumstances developed here. The economic connections attested in the northern part of the civil settlement, however, suggest that these groups had a rich social network outside of the province, which could pre-date their Dacian presence.[1169] The case of the *signum* dedicated by Secundinus also serves as an argument for the extra-provincial links of the first Mithraic groups from the civil settlement.

Two other finds show another unusual aspect of these groups. The statue base of Cautopates[1170] was dedicated by Cratus, a member of the *ordo Augustalium* from the *Colonia*, another Greek-speaking dedicant. Although he probably had a modest origin and social status, his wealth and ambition made him an important member of the local group.[1171] The statue is missing unfortunately, but the rarity of the statuary representation of the torchbearers in Dacia – and generally in the whole Empire – suggests that such a marble statue, representing Cautopates, was a great investment for a worshipper.[1172] A more interesting aspect of his dedication is the '*deo loci*' formula after the name of the torchbearer. Being discovered in the shrine of Liber Pater,[1173] it is not clear, whether the formula refers to Cautopates, Mithras or Liber Pater, as was suggested by the first publisher.[1174] This formula appears numerous times in Apulum, related to the sacred area of the healing gods and the *Asklepieion*.[1175] In a Mithraic context, naming the sanctuary or the place where his action (donation) happened as '*locus*' is quite rare, but not exceptional.[1176]. In addition, although the inscription does not mention the name of Mithras, the association of Cautopates with other divinities is hardly possible.[1177] What is more plausible

[1160] On Discorus and his function, see: Szabó *et al.* 2016b.
[1161] Szabó *et al.* 2016b.
[1162] On the small-group religions from Asia Minor, see c II.9.
[1163] On the topography of the *mithrea* in an urban context, see: White 2012. On the religious soundscape of the Roman cities, see: Betts 2011; 2017.
[1164] '[Est] d'origine sociale modeste': Piso 2001a: 213.
[1165] On the destructive effect of this, see: Szabó 2016a: 106-113.
[1166] CIL III 7779; CIMRM 1941; IDR III/5, 268; Sicoe 2014: 149-150, cat. nr 25; Lupa 17287: *Devo(?) M(ithrae?) / vota / ret(t)uli / Lucanus.*
[1167] CIL III 7782; CIMRM 2001-2; IDR III/5, 267; Sicoe 2014: 171, cat. nr 65: *Αὐρήλι(ο)ς Στέφανος θεῷ Μίθρᾳ / εὐχαριστήρι(ο)ν* and CIL III 1120; CIMRM 1975-6; IDR III/5, 274; Sicoe 2014: 159-160, cat. nr 41; Lupa 19290: *Deo invicto Mithr(a)e / Euhemerus ex voto / posuit.* Both of the dedicants are civilians from the Greek-speaking part of the Empire. The relief of Euhemerus was part of the first archaeological collection of Alba Iulia in the Batthyaneum, where most of the finds came from the Partos, the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.
[1168] See also: Sicoe 2014: 45 and 105.
[1169] Egri 2007: Szabó 2015c.
[1170] Szabó 2012b; Sicoe 2014: 147-148, cat. nr 22: *Cautopati /[et?] deo / loc(i) Cratus aug(ustalis) col(oniae).*
[1171] Numerous members of the *ordo Augustalis* are attested in Mithraic contexts in Dacia and other provinces too: Sicoe 2014: 42. See also: Agócs 2011.
[1172] On the statuary representations of the torchbearers, see: Szabó 2015b.
[1173] The monograph of the shrine and the excavation is not yet published. The exact context of the find is also not known, however the further excavations which revealed the vicinity of the shrine suggest that the area was severely affected already in medieval times and also by the constantly changing geography of the area. It is possible that both the statue base of Cautopates and the altar of Deus Invictus were not in situ or belonged originally to another building.
[1174] Sicoe 2014: 38-39. The only reading available accepts the '*et*' between the name of Cautopates and the formula only as a hypothesis. Before the official publication of the inscription and the picture, a more plausible explanation is not possible. Another possibility – however, unusual – could be that the '*loc*' refers to the name of the dedicant (Locus, Logeius, Loceius, Logeius), however the social status of Cratus does not affirm this.
[1175] See c II.7.
[1176] See CIMRM 255, 259, 269, 423, 1821. Some other examples listed by Vermaseren in his corpus – such as the CIMRM 1998 – are no longer considered Mithraic.
[1177] Although Mithras appears as a part of a wider pantheon on some inscriptions, and the phenomenon of the *synnaoi theoi* is attested in

is that the statue originally stood in a *mithraeum* somewhere in the vicinity of the Liber Pater shrine, or – as in many well-known and documented cases – spaces dedicated to Mithras were later transformed into Liber Pater shrines.[1178] The vicinity of these secondary spaces (small-group religion assembly houses), and the rich connection between these groups in the 3rd century, became a general phenomenon in the whole Empire, which makes it plausible that the flexibility and mobility between the two groups also existed in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. A particular analogy for the coexistence of these divinities – or at least the representation of them – was attested in the *suburbium* of Igabrum in Hispania, which underlines again the flexible nature of Mithraic narratives and local variations, often presented in the Cumontian historiography as 'doctrinal' and conservative.[1179] In the case of Igabrum, however, it is uncertain whether the presence of the well-preserved, beautifully carved statues represents a reminiscence of religious practices and groups too, or their role in the villa was simply decorative.[1180]. Nevertheless, in our case it is not possible to establish the level of this fusion and the functionality of these spaces based only on this inscription.

In the same context, in the vicinity of the Liber Pater shrine, in a corner of a building a mid-sized altar dedicated to Deus Invictus was found:[1181]

Deo Invi[c] / to pro salut[e] / boni comm[u] / nio nis(?) / [---]

The altar does not mention the name of the dedicator, a very unusual means of communication in a Mithraic context, associated more with statuary representations or reliefs. The altar mentions the name of Deus Invictus in the dative case (*Deo Invicto*), a common epithet of Mithras, Hercules or Sol Invictus. The second line mention the '*pro salute*' formula, which needs to be followed by a name or naming the group whose health is involved. In this case, however, the inscription is very problematic to interpret. In the third line only eight letters are clearly visible: *boni comu*.[1182] In the fourth line there are five letters clearly visible: *nio ni...* The surface of the altar is severely damaged[1183] and in some cases – as in the second line – it seems that it was superficially or rapidly made, or some words were added later. The formulation, *bonicomunio* or *pro bonicomunio* is similar to *pro bono comuni* which appears on two or three known inscriptions in Mithraic contexts (CIMRM 1017, 1783, 1787).[1184] A common feature with our altar is that all of them are dedicated to Deus Invictus[1185] with different secondary epithets, and none of them has a dedicator. The small altar from Bandorf is almost the same size as the one from Apulum and was found 'near the entrance of a square room' in 1872.[1186] The much bigger altar or statue base from Aquincum (CIMRM 1783=Tit.Aq. I. 186) was found in a secondary position. Its most recent publication claims that the Deus Sanctus Sol Invictus formulation must be related to the same syncretistic divinity attested in Dacia as Deus Genitor in two famous cases.[1187] In these two cases, the *pro bono comuni* (for the good of the group, on behalf of the common weal)[1188] formulation represents the hope that the association will flourish. It is a very rare, communal act by a religious group – possibly by a Mithraic group, although none of these finds came

sanctuaries of the divinity, in this case the '*deus locus*' needs to be Mithras. See also the analysis of the Oancea *mithraeum*. It is important to mention that a statue base dedicated to Cautopates was discovered in a *dolichenum* in Brigetio; however, the sanctuary was not excavated systematically, therefore the in situ context of the find is doubtful: CIMRM 1728. See also: CIMRM 639.

1178 The most well-known case is the Walbrook *mithraeum* in Londinium (CIMRM 822): Shepherd 1998. See also: Gordon 2000; Clauss 2001: 31.

1179 Klöckner 2010: 255-266.

1180 On the decorative and religious meaning of the statues as a form of communication, see: Stuart 2003. See also: McCarty 2015.

1181 The altar is not yet published officially. The only photograph available – with clearly readable text – was published in: Haynes 2005: 44. Although in the first publication and the archaeological reports it appears that the altar was found in situ, the later excavations in the vicinity proved that the archaeological contexts of the area are extremely difficult to interpret and were severely affected from medieval times till recent disturbances: Diaconescu *et al.* 2014. See also: Haynes 2005: 44; Szabó 2012b; Szabó 2015c. The identity of the divinity is not yet clarified. Garcia argues that the name 'Deus Invictus' is too general and present in solar cults to be associated only with Mithras: Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 1035-1036. The publishers of the inscription do not give any reasons why they associate the inscription with Mithras. Piso-Baluta 2001: 190. Indeed, there are many examples for Mithraic monuments where the dedication formula mentions only Deus Invictus, most notably three other examples from Apulum, unanimously accepted by the historiography as 'Mithraic' (CIMRM 1961 = Radu 1961: 103, nr 10; CIMRM 1963 and IDR III/5: 720). An argument for the Mithraic nature of these inscriptions would be the rarity of the Invictus formula on non-Mithraic inscriptions from Apulum (IDR III/5, 99, 100, 352-354), the context of the discovery of CIMRM 1963 (Christescu 1933: 623) and the text of the IDR III/5: 709, which mentions the temple of Mithras as '*invicti templum*'. Other examples: CIMRM 1025, 1239, 1277, 1279, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1675, 1677, 1739, 2311, 1218, 1341,1529, 1395, 2147, 2217. See: Vermaseren 1960: 422-3. It is quite possible that some of the inscriptions with the Deus Invictus formula are dedicated to Deus Invictus Serapis in the era of Caracalla: Mráv 2000: 67-97. For the Invictus formula problem, see: Hijmans 1996; Carbó-Garcia 2010b: 603.

1182 However, there is enough space for another letter too. The last 'U' is not clearly visible and could be a ligature between 'M' and 'N' too.

1183 There is enough space for a fifth line also; however, it seems that one was never carved or it was removed later.

1184 See also: Szabó 2012d: 131. In the case of the Bendorf inscription appears: pro bono comuni, similar to CIMRM 1783. CIMRM 1787 is very hard to read. Recently it was interpreted as the name of a *miles cohortis*: Tit. Aq. I. 74, nr 78.

1185 CIMRM 1017: Deus Invictus, CIMRM 1783: Deus Sanctus Sol Invictus, CIMRM 1787: Invictus Divus (*Invicto Diivo, sic!*).

1186 Vermaseren 1960: 50. The inscription could be a non-Mithraic one, however there is insufficient documentation for a detailed analysis of the context.

1187 IDR III/3, 306, IDR III/4, 30. See also: Nemeti 2012: 148-149 and Tit. Aq. I., 168. Due to the great popularity in Roman epigraphy of the formulation 'deus sanctus', often associated with numerous other divinities, it seems uncertain whether the analogy between 'Deus Genitor' and 'Deus Sanctus Sol Invictus' is plausible.

1188 The normal Republican expression was *bonum publicum* but the phrase *bonum commune* is found in poetry and was presumably found more suitable in relation to private groups and worshippers: Sal. *Cat.* 38.3.

from a systematically excavated *mithraeum*. In the case of the altar from the *Colonia* Aurelia Apulensis, the *boni* is grammatically wrong if the following word is *communionis* since it ought to be *bonae*. The original inscription might have read *Deo Invicto pro bonicomunio*, that is a mistaken formula based on the assumption that *pro bono comuni* consisted of just two words, one of which was *bonicommunium*. A later hand tried to correct this by making the phrase genitive instead of ablative, inserting the word '*salute*', the second '*m*' of *comun-* and the *ni(s)* after the damage in line four. The *pro salute bonicommunionis* is also grammatically incorrect, which could suggest that the altar was thrown out or never used with purpose.[1189] In any event, the altar was meant to be a means of celebrating a religious group and expressing their unity and faith.

Another interesting case was discovered in 1998 on the bank of the river Marisia (Mureș). Among several Roman stone monuments probably already reused in antiquity, a large altar or statue base dedicated to Deus Invictus Mithras was found (**Fig.48.**):[1190]

> *[D]eo Invicto / [Mi]t(h)rae sac(rum) / [-] Statorius / [---] anus dec(urio) / [et] flamen m/[uni]c(ipii) Sep(timi) Ap[ul(ensis)] / [In]vict(i) templum pr[o] / [sal]utem(!) sua suorum/[que p]ecunia mea feci*

The inscription was important not only because of its impressive size, but also because it mentions the reconstruction of a *mithraeum* – the first one of this kind in the conurbation.[1191] The original location of the monument is unknown, however it seems to be logical that even if it was urgently used as an architectural element in the wall of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, or other highly privileged urban installments, it would be more practical for it to have been transferred from the territory of the *Colonia* itself, and not from the Municipium Septimium Apulense. If we accept this, then the case of Statorius...anus is a good example of the rich interaction between the two conurbations and their Mithraic groups. The act of dedicating this impressively sized monument happened after AD 197, more probably in the 3rd century. The inscription mentions, that Statorius...anus rebuilt the sanctuary (*templum*) of the Invincible God as a *decurio* and *flamen* of the Municipium Septimium Apulense. A possible explanation why he serves as a magistrate in another legal entity, could be that in the actual year of the dedication, the positions in the *ordo decurionum* and

Figure 48. Statue base dedicated by Statorius mentioning the rebuilding of a mithraeum from Apulum (lupa 12244)

flaminatus were occupied in the *Colonia* or simply, if he were a citizen of the Municipium, he found his religious affinity in that particular Mithraic group in the *Colonia* more easily. His example is probably similar to that of Publius Aelius Marius from the Municipium Septimium Apulense, presented below.

The case of this monument raises also some questions of the interior, durable and changing processes within a sanctuary, opening new perspectives in the study of such 'ordinary' Roman material as altars or statue bases. The monument of Statorius...anus marked an important event in the life of a Mithraic group, one of the biggest individual contributions that a member could give for a small-group religion: rebuilding the sanctuary on his own.[1192] This remarkable event must be transformed into the memory of the group as a powerful landmark in

[1189] The author is most thankful to Prof. Richard Gordon for his suggestions.

[1190] AE 1998, 1079; IDR III/5, 709; Sicoe 2014: 165, cat. nr 53; Lupa 12244.

[1191] The world '*templum*' appears also on the inscription of Caius Nummius Amandus (IDR III/5, 283), however in this case it is not clear whether the word refers to the reconstruction of the building or another act related to the building itself: Szabó 2012d: 139: *Soli I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / C(aius) Nummius / Amandus / qui et / templum.*

[1192] For analogies of similar acts, see: Szabó 2013a: 48-49.

the internal geography of the *mithraeum*; the dedication of the stone monument itself was a more ephemeral ritual and action and could only be attested for a short time and to a limited audience, while the monument was for the long term and a bigger audience. Why and how, could such an important monument have become a simple architectural element, reused in the wall of the city? An explanation could be that the monument was actually never used for its original purpose: the last four lines are much smaller and almost unreadable. The name and title of the worshipper are overemphasised, while his exceptional and really important act of benefaction is almost invisible. If it were made for this purpose, then it seems obvious that his name and title were so important that even such an exceptional event was secondary. In any event, reused altars and the durability of the 'sacredness' of an object seem to be very relative in Roman provincial cases.[1193] This example shows also that even if the Mithraic groups meant to balance the social and financial gaps and boundaries of the external society and 'real' life with an artificial, spiritual hierarchy,[1194] the wealthy and ambitious members of the society also put themselves on display more easily here.

Because no *mithraea* have been systematically excavated on the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, the number of the sanctuaries and groups is impossible to establish. A possible way to estimate at least a number, would be to count the cult images and great, panelled or large reliefs, which could serve as central piece in a sanctuary. However, as the case of Dura Europos and the 'Kaftal-*mithraeum*' show, the cult image could be associated with another relief or consist of two reliefs. From the area of the *Colonia*, we know of the possible *mithraeum* of Franciscus Kaftal, Károly Pap and three other large reliefs that could have served as central cult images for different sanctuaries.[1195] This could mean at least five sanctuaries in the civil settlement. Their group, durability and the changing processes are impossible to reconstruct. After AD 271 their existence was also suddenly ended.

Mithraic groups in Municipium Septimium Apulense

Based on some iconographic features and the foreign status of some dedicants, it seems plausible that the first Mithraic groups were formed in the territory of the later-named Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. We do not know whether the appearance of the cult between the soldiers had anything to do with these civil groups, or whether their first contact with the cult was made already outside of the province, or formed in Apulum with the help of some prominent worshipers. What is certain, however, is a chronological difference between the groups from the *Colonia* and the Municipium and the simultaneous presence of civil and military groups in the newly formed city. Although the archaeological evidence allows us to analyse these groups mostly from their inner structure, from the example of the Municipium it is tempting to form at least an idea about the larger dynamics of the groups within the conurbation and the province itself.

In the Municipium there were two possible sanctuaries attested, only one of which has been excavated systematically. The great number of the monuments, however, suggests that further buildings could exist in the territory of the *canabae*, later Municipium Septimium Apulense. The only datable monument dedicated to Mithras from Apulum is the altar or statue base of Marcus Valerius Maximianus.[1196] The *legatus legionis* of the Legion XIII Gemina between AD 181/82 is a great example for the role of networks in local religious appropriation and representative religious individuality. The son of an important magistrate from Poetovio, he was initiated into Mithraism probably for the first time in his own home town, and, after that, we can attest a loyalty towards this group religion through his long journey from Poetovio to Germania, Apulum and Lambesis. Besides some dedications, which legitimise his *homo novus* status and fidelity to the imperial family, he is considered to be the first adept of Jupiter Depulsor in Africa, spreading this cult as well.[1197] His personally chosen favourite divinities became popular and persistent in those parts of the Empire where he was stationed for a short period of time. This suggests that the criticised theory of 'prophets' within small-group religions[1198] is still plausible, but one can replace this Judeo-Christian notion by the charismatic religious entrepreneur model of Weber.[1199] The case of Marcus Valerius Maximianus shows that the personal charisma, individual power and respect of a senator could help or serve as a catalyst in the diffusion and stability of a cult and even in formatting religious groups, as the case of the 'House of Laticlavii' in Aquincum also shows.[1200] The level of individual choice

[1193] For an analogy of reused altars as *spolia* and creating new sacred spaces, see: Haynes-Wilmott 2012.
[1194] Gordon 2011.
[1195] Szabó 2014f: 154.

[1196] CIL III 1122; IDR III/5, 286; Ariosti 2010: 319, nr 3; Sicoe 2014: 164-165, cat. nr 51: *[Soli?] Invicto / Mit(h)rae / M(arcus) Val(erius) Maxi/ mianus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) / v(otum) s(olvit)*. On his career, see: Pflaum 1960: 477; Alföldy 1974: 199-215; Piso 1993a: 225, nr 2; Szabó 2006: 94-95, nr P 69; Nemeth 2007: 161-163. See also: Várhelyi 2010: 33; Szabó 2012d: 139. For further senators dedicating to Mithras, see: CIMRM 139, 799, 800, 804, 1008, 1227, 1729.
[1197] Várhelyi 2010: 147-148.
[1198] On the idea and historiography of small-group religions, see: Tóth 1992: 153-160. He uses the word 'apostol', which obviously sounds anachronistic in this context. R. Gordon highly criticised this theory of the important role of the senatorial elite in the formation of Mithraic groups within the military groups, although he admitted that some cases, such as the group in the 'House of the Laticlavi' from Aquincum prove this: Gordon 2009. On the senators and Mithraism in Aquincum, see also: Alföldy 1963: 73-74.
[1199] Gordon 2010. See also: Rüpke 1996; Winkler 2010: 32.
[1200] Kocsis 1991; Gordon 2009: 407.

and innovation of senators in the spread of these cults is contested, and, due to the lack of sources, we cannot affirm whether their personal pantheon was indeed accepted by a later group or whether it should be interpreted as a general tendency of religious thought and diffusionism.[1201] An interesting issue – which is, however, hard to solve – is the role of senators in the interior hierarchy of the Mithraic groups. In any case, the example of Marcus Valerius Maximianus shows the opposite of what we observe in the religious life of the senatorial elite in the conurbation of Apulum:[1202] as a Mithras worshipper, he must be an active member of a group, interacting directly and very personally with soldiers or civilians, much 'lower' categories of society. His charisma, fame and power were transformed into a more personalised, intimate power of forming and shaping groups by direct interaction and conviviality, which made him probably the most 'visible' senator within the conurbation, the others being characterised by an unattainable and invisible attitude.[1203]

The Mithraeum of Oancea: the anatomy of group religion

Contesting the military aspects and the impact of the Roman army in the spread of the cult of Mithras,[1204] R. L. Gordon cites A. Diaconescu's statement: 'the importance of the military element in Dacia cannot be denied, but it must be not exaggerated'.[1205] This is a legitimate reply for the general tendencies in the Romanian historiography, emphasising even in the latest publications the military aspect of the Mithraic groups in Dacia and, in particular, in the area of the *canabae*, later the Municipium Septimium Apulense.[1206] The recent state of research showed the more heterogeneous nature of the groups from this settlement, proved especially by the particular case study of the so-called 'Oancea Mithraeum'.

The biggest archaeological discovery related to the cult of Mithras in Apulum,[1207] and the second biggest in the province after the discovery of the Sarmizegetusa Mithraeum (I.43), was found in 1930 on the property (*grundstück*, *jardin*) of Ioan (or Ștefan) Oancea[1208] on the plateau of the Vauban fortress on the B-dul Încoronării (today 1 Decembrie 1918 Street).[1209] The conditions of the discovery and the exact location are still uncertain, however, a later find of a fragmentary relief from the same place could indicate a possible topography for the sanctuary in the vicinity of the Roman necropolis.[1210] As with all of the discoveries in the 1920s and 1930s in Alba Iulia, this could also have happened as an accidental discovery during the developments carried out by the owner of the property.[1211] Luckily, the great amount of material forced the owner to approach Virgil Cucuiu, a history teacher in the 'Mihai Viteazul' High School, who represented the bridge between the age of Cserni and Berciu, and who saved numerous finds of Apulum discovered in this period by founding a school museum for archaeological artefacts.[1212] At the moment there is no evidence for the existence of an archaeological journal or photographic documents of the discovery.[1213] For a long time the finds were unanimously accepted as material evidence of a sanctuary, contested recently only by R. Gordon.[1214] It was published by V. Christescu and later by C. Daicoviciu; their report was simply copied by M. Vermaseren and the later historiography.[1215]

The reconstruction of this group and the inner activity, hierarchy and the lived religion of the sanctuary can only be reconstructed in part, based on the epigraphic and iconographic material; this is, however, only a hypothesis, which requires an acceptance that the monuments were indeed part of the same sanctuary. Besides some very basic data, such as the dimensions and structure of the building,[1216] a systematic excavation

[1201] Várhegyi 2010: 147-149.
[1202] See c II.6.
[1203] It is important to mention, however, that there are no literary or archaeological sources on the frequency of Mithraic gatherings, meeting or events. During his short stay in Apulum, Marcus Valerius Maximianus probably met his Mithraic brothers several times.
[1204] For another, albeit less critical and old fashioned view on the role of the Roman Army and Mithraism, see: Stoll 2007a: 440-441. For a newer approach on the role of the military in the spread of small-group religions: Collar 2011: 217-246.
[1205] Gordon 2009: 410, fn. 156. See also: Diaconescu 2004: 120.
[1206] Moga 1998; Popescu 2004; Pribac 2006; Ștefănescu 2006; 2009; Ota 2012.
[1207] In comparison with the other group of finds and possible sanctuaries, this is the only one that contains not only epigraphic, but iconographic material, which could suggest that the sanctuary was less damaged by later, medieval layers and interventions.
[1208] Christescu 1933: 624. Daicoviciu writes his name as S. Oancea: Daicoviciu 1941: 308.
[1209] The street-name is given only by C. Daicoviciu.
[1210] See also: Szabó 2015e. This area of the modern city was populated already in the Middle Ages, as the recent discoveries proved. Based on the first maps of the modern city from the 17th and 18th centuries we can observe the intensification of the urbanisation in the area of the *canabae*, however none of the existent houses in the street or this area dates before the 19th century, which suggests constant changes (abandoning and rebuilding). The major part of the military settlement south of the fort was destroyed during the formation of the Vauban fort. This part, which consisted of the suburbs of the military settlement and the suburban area between the elite necropolis and the *canabae*/Municipium, was well preserved until the beginning of the 20th century. See also: Berciu-Wolski 1971: 375.
[1211] After the death of Béla Cserni and the reorganisation of the museum by Ion Berciu there were no systematic excavations in the city: Szabó 2016a.
[1212] On his activity see: Andronescu *et al.* 1999; Szabó 2016e.
[1213] Further archive research is necessary to reveal the history and conditions of this extremely important discovery. The large amount of the discovered material suggests that it was a local 'sensation'.
[1214] Gordon 2009: 413, fn. 170. His argument is based only on the text of Daicoviciu, who mentions two statues – one of them interpreted as 'female', consisting part of the discovery. Later, Vermaseren published the finds and it turned out that the two statues are, in fact, statuary representations of the torchbearers: Szabó 2015b.
[1215] Christescu 1933: 620-625; Daicoviciu 1941: 299-336; CIMRM 1953-1967, IDR III/5, 141, 270, 271, 279, 282, 288, 289, 290; Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 131; Ota 2012: 106; Szabó 2012b: 64-65; Sicoe 2014: 21; Szabó 2015e. See also: Băluță 1974: 130-132.
[1216] The number of stone monuments found together (10-11 objects)

could have told us much more about the phases of the building, the different developments or architectural evolution of the space in comparison with the group and socio-structural changes.

The dating and the chronology of the finds would be essential to understand the formation, durability and evolution of the group, or groups, of the sanctuary. This was based mostly on the onomastic and iconographic specificities of the monuments, however every publisher chose different dates for some of the most crucial monuments.

Ioan Piso dates two of the monuments to the 2nd century AD, based only on the very common onomastics of the worshippers, [Publius?] Aelius Gordianus and Aelius Mestrius.[1217] He suggested also that the first came from Gordion (Galatia), Asia Minor, while the other man could be identical with a soldier attested on a list dated from the time of Antoninus Pius.[1218] If we accept this theory, then the sanctuary was founded in the area of the *canabae* (*intra leugam legionis XIII Geminae*) by soldiers, consisting probably the first military group simultaneously existing with some other groups from the *pagus* Apulensis/Municipium Aurelium Apulensis. Without a solid argument, however, we cannot exclude the possibility that the two Aelii were civilians, as were many of the first founders and promoters of the cult, even in a military context.[1219]

The names of these adepts suggest their different geographical origins, which creates the possibility for the local variation and formation of a specific cult and Mithraic narrative. Even if they encountered the cult and its narrative before they arrived in Apulum, the circumstances that created their group, and the local possibilities and influences (workshops, external relations, influential members), created an original, local version of 'Mithraism'. The name of Aelius Mestrius suggests either a Thracian or, more probably, an Italic origin.[1220] He dedicated a mid-sized statue base, probably with one of the statues found in the sanctuary representing the torchbearers.[1221] The monument does not mention the name of the divinity, which means that the statue (*signum*) itself had priority within the ancient concept of imagining the nature of the gods.[1222]

The Italic connections are numerous in this context too; not only the name of Aelius Mestrius, but also the iconography of Cautes with the *bucranium* and the origin of another worshipper, Titus Aurelius Marcus, from the Fabia tribe, lead to Italian connections.[1223] The two Aelii – although it is unclear whether they were related – donated two very important elements of the sanctuary: a column and a statue. These elements suggest that in this period the sanctuary was already monumentalised. Dedicating columns was very popular in Mithraic contexts and in small group religions too, although this tradition surely came from a more traditional religious milieu.[1224] It represents not only the wealth of the individual, but could also emphasise a competition between groups, by monumentalising a *mithraeum*. If Aelius Mestrius dedicated the statue of one of the torchbearers, his benefaction would have been one of the main religious landmarks in the so-called 'star talk' of the *mithraeum*, in which the torchbearers, usually, stand at the entrance of the *naos*, the main part of the sanctuary.[1225]

For outsiders the only visible, and also the only relevant aspect of a sanctuary was its size and condition.[1226] Even in the possible initiations of a sanctuary the exterior part of the building probably did not play an essential role;[1227] it was an important factor in the competition or co-existence of different, simultaneously formed groups. There could have been multiple reasons

is one of the biggest finds of this kind, which suggests that the sanctuary was of a significant size. The great number of the objects however could be an argument also for R. Gordon's theory on Late Roman *spolia.*

1217 IDR III/5: 279: *[So]l(i) Mithrae / [P(ublius)?] Ael(ius) Gordianus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* and IDR III/5: 289: *Ael(ius) Mes/trius l(ibens) / pos(uit).*

1218 IDR III/5: 450: *------] / [---] Viator / [---] Firmus / [Ae]l(ius) Priscus / [A]el(ius) Domiti(anus?) / [A]el(ius) Florus / [A]el(ius) Valens / [A]el(ius) Quintus / [---] Atressus / [---] Firmus / [---] Alexand(er) / [---] Germa(nus) / [---] Valens / [--- S]ecund[us?] / [--- M]acer / [--- Vi]alis / [--- M]axim(us) / [--- R]ufinus / [--- V]alenti(nus) / [--- Ca]pito / [--- Cre]scens / [--- Lon]ginus / [------ // ------] / Iul(ius) Messius / Iul(ius) Siro / Pom(ponius?) Valens / Att(ius) Maxim(us) / Ael(ius) Valens / Ael(ius) Quadrat(us) / Ael(ius) Iulianus / Ael(ius) Talanus / Lic(inius) Priscus / Att(ius) Longinus / Ael(ius) Iustus / Ael(ius) Valens / Ael(ius) Balbinus / Fla(vius) Niger / Iul(ius) Verus / Iul(ius) Bassian(us) / Ael(ius) Bassus / Ael(ius) Festus / Fla(vius) Flavos(!) / Cl(audius) Candidi(anus?) / Cae(lius) Sa[turn(inus)?] / Ael(ius) [---] / [------ // ------] / Ael(ius) [---] / Ulp(ius) Ve[rus?] / Ael(ius) Appiu[s] / Val(erius) Verus / Cus(pius?) Valens / Ael(ius) Mestri(us) / Ant(onius) Valens ex eq(uite) / Egn(atius) Libo / Mar(cius) Firmi(nus) / Fla(vius) Venust(us) / Val(erius) Succes(us) / Ael(ius) Agrip(p)a / Ael(ius) Quint(us) / Ael(ius) Firmus / Ael(ius) Crescens / Ael(ius) Capito / Ael(ius) Tertius / Ael(ius) Valens / Ael(ius) Propinc(us)(?) / [------* . See also: Sicoe 2014: 43-44.

1219 Gordon 2009.

1220 OPEL III, 79.

1221 The statue base is 72 cm high. The statues,in their original and full size, measured *c.* 75-90 cm. This size seems not to fit the statue base, however we cannot exclude the possibility either.

1222 Nemeti 2012: 44-46. See also: Richardson 1992: 369; Rüpke 2010: 186; Roth 2012: 77.

1223 Sicoe 2014: 45; Szabó 2015b. On the iconography see below.

1224 On votive columns in Mithraic contexts, see: Szabó *et al.* 2016b. On votive columns of Jupiter: Noelke 1981; Woolf 2001.

1225 Hinnells 1975; László *et al.* 2005; Beck 2006a. It is important to mention that although the interior of the sanctuaries was part of the wider 'standard' narrative of the cult, the archaeology of the sanctuaries shows a much greater variety, which suggests that local innovation and individuality (the charisma of the founder or leading *pater*) was more important than the 'original' concept: Gordon 2013b: 214-215.

1226 A very peculiar question, which is rarely discussed in the literature, is the visibility and relationship of the sanctuary and its material with the non-Mithraists (let us call them 'outsiders'). Most of the urban *mithraea* were surely closed to the public and accessible only to members. But moving a large relief or statue inside the sanctuary was surely visible to the neighbourhood and 'outsiders' too. The sanctuaries in the natural environment, however, were probably open and could have been accessed by 'outsiders' too.

1227 Beck 2004; Martin2014.

Figure 49. Mithraic relief from the so called mithraeum of Oancea (lupa 19324)

for positioning the sanctuary in the very vicinity of the elite cemetery of Apulum. Although numerous analogies from the Empire show this tendency (Trier, Künzig, Tienen, Brigetio, Nida-Heddernheim),[1228] and the possible existence of funerary Mithraic associations and colleagues has already been raised by F. Cumont[1229] and hypothetically accepted by others,[1230] a religious or philosophical reason for choosing this location cannot be proved with solid arguments.[1231] It seems more plausible that the position of the sanctuary corresponds to the general urban evolution of the *canabae*, with the line of the sanctuaries in this area marking the border between human and supernatural, the living and the dead.

Five other members are known from this group, all of them soldiers or veterans of the Legion XIII Gemina. As in the case of the two Aelii, we do not know whether these persons formed a contemporary group or visited the sanctuary at different times. Two of them, Marcus Ulpius Linus[1232] *imaginifer legionis* and Caius Iulius Marcianus *signifer legionis*,[1233] were important and valued members of the army. The first one dedicated a small, probably portable and very rare high-relief of the tauroctony, interpreted as a product of the so-called Sarmizegetusa workshop.[1234]

Another member, Claudius N(icias?),[1235] who dedicated an altar to IOM within the *mithraeum*[1236] was recently

[1228] Schmotz 2000: 111-143; Clauss 2001: 28; Martens 2004: 333-353; Hensen 2013: 47, fig. 36.
[1229] Cumont 1910: 171, see also: MMM II. nr 41.
[1230] Tóth 2006: 3-6.
[1231] See also: Rebillard 2009: 16.
[1232] Or Anulinus: Sicoe 2014: 151.
[1233] Zehetner 2009.
[1234] Sicoe 2014: 70. On the iconography, see below.
[1235] Read as 'Claudius Niger' by Vermaseren: CIMRM 1966.
[1236] IDR III/5: 141: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Cl(audius) Nic(---) / b(eneficiarius) v(otum) s(olvit)*. See: Popescu 2004: 40; Gordon 2009: 413,

interpreted as a *beneficiarius consularis*; however, the small size of the altar and the very rudimentary elaboration of the text does not necessarily support this reading.[1237]

The most active member of this group, not surprisingly, is a veteran of the Legion XIII Gemina, Titus Aurelius Marcus from the *Fabia tribus* (**Fig.49**.).[1238] Similar to Eutyches from the Kaftal *mithraeum*, this veteran also dedicated two important monuments for his group: the central cult relief, a mid-sized panelled relief, and a beautifully carved statue base or altar.[1239] Both of the monuments were made locally, although remarked earlier, the origins of the veteran and the numerous links to Italy also suggest external influences in forming the visual landscape and specific, sacred narrative of the *mithraeum*. Titus Aurelius Marcus played a key role in the formation (or reorganisation) of the group. Founded by the two Aelii, probably in the Antonine period, the sanctuary was surely reorganised and extended when the *canabae* became a Municipium and the so-called 'sacred area', or 'Tempelbezirk', near the cemetery became more emphasised during the Severan age.[1240] By dedicating the panelled relief, with the very complex and locally specific features of the so-called Mithraic narrative,[1241] Titus Aurelius Marcus created the ultimate focal point of the sanctuary, the guide for all contemporary and future members of the sanctuary. Dedicating an altar or statue base with a panelled relief is a very common phenomenon in Mithraic groups,[1242] which could mark a central event or ritual in their unknown 'liturgy' or religious *fasti*.[1243]

The physical proximity between the recently found *mithraeum* (*c.* 350 m) and possible sacralised spaces of other small-group religions makes this area more interesting. It is very common that numerous Mithraic sanctuaries were found very close to each other.[1244] This phenomenon also has numerous local explanations. In many cases, the smaller, old *mithraeum* is simply abandoned, as we can attest in Aquincum or Poetovio.[1245] In another case, we could argue that membership was formed based on domestic residence in *insulae*; each of the administrative areas could have had a Mithraic sanctuary.[1246] In the case of the *canabae*/Municipium Septimium Apulense we do not know the dynamics of the groups, but it seems that it was also based on familial or personal social networks and functions. In the case of the Oancea Mithraeum, the members are strictly related to the army, and the activities or necessities related to this.

A mid-sized statue base dedicated to Cautes was found in a secondary position in the area of the Vauban fort and dedicated by Gaius Herennius Hermes.[1247] The original position of this monument, and the recently found Cautes statue with a *bucranium* also from the fort area, is impossible to establish, but could indicate another *mithraeum* in the territory of the *canabae*/Municipium; it could also give strength to the hypothesis of the existence of a *mithraeum*, or at least the domestic worship of the divinity, in the vicinity of the *castra legionis*.[1248]

The Mithraeum: religious network and local appropriation[1249]

During the autumn of 2008 a *mithraeum* was discovered in a garden on 1 Decembrie 1918 Street (I.7, **Fig.50**.).[1250] The site was partially revealed by the archaeologist of the local museum in less than two weeks, as part of a rescue excavation.[1251] The systematic research of the sanctuary was begun in 2013 and finished in the summer of 2016. During three archaeological seasons, more than 90% of the sanctuary was revealed and excavated, which makes the *mithraeum* from Apulum

fn. 170. This phenomenon of *synnaoi theoi* is rare, but not exceptional in a Mithraic context. The Capitoline Triad appears even together on some inscriptions with Mithras: CIMRM 140, 329. The supreme god appears also as the symbol and *tutelae* of the main planet: CIMRM 480. See also: László *et al.* 2005; Beck 2006a: 104, 118, on the possible position of such an altar, marking the planetary constellation of the grade.

1237 Another *beneficiarius consularis* from Apulum appears on a small fragment of a Mithraic relief (CIMRM 1981), but the exact location of the find is unknown: Sicoe 2014: 161-162.

1238 AE 1934, 115; IDR III/5, 270; Sicoe 2014: 154, cat. nr 33: *Deo Invi/cto Mith(rae) / T(itus) Aur(elius) Fabia / Marcus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / d(ono?) d(edit?) d(edicavit?)* and AE 1934, 114; IDR III/5, 271; Sicoe 2014: 151-153, cat. nr 30; Lupa 19324: *D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) T(itus) Aur(elius) F(abia) Marcus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)*.

1239 The monument is severely damaged, however the corona is well preserved. It seems to be more of a statue base, or a base of a column, than an altar.

1240 See also c II.10.

1241 On the polemic of the Mithraic doctrine, see: Beck 2006a: 17-25; Nagy 2012: 36-57. See also: Dirven-McCarty 2014.

1242 The closest analogy is the case of Euthyces from the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis.

1243 On some epigraphically attested dates and events, see: Beck 2004, Martens 2004.

1244 For the analogies from Ostia, see: White 2012. For the proximity of the sanctuaries in Aquincum: Gordon 2009; Zsidi 2011. See also: Jerala 2011.

1245 Tóth 2005.

1246 Nagy 1971.

1247 CIL III 994; CIMRM 1977; IDR III/5, 42; Sicoe 2014: 166, cat. nr 55; Lupa 11133: *Cauti / G(aius) Heren/nius / (H)ermes / v(oto)*.

1248 Ciobanu-Bounegru 2012.

1249 I am thankful to Matthew McCarty, Mariana Egri, Aurel Rustoiu and Constantin Inel, the project leaders of the Mithraeum Project from Alba Iulia, for their permission to publish this preliminary analysis. This text is based exclusively on the already published, preliminary reports and archaelogical material, therefore this analysis is just an introductory note on the site and cannot replace a systematic analysis. The final report and the monograph of the site will be published by the project leaders: McCarty *et al.* forthcoming.

1250 For the 2008 excavation: press conference held in 2008: *http://citynews.ro/din-oras-10/arheologii-au-descoperit-un-loc-de-cult-dedicat-zeului-mithras-20042* (last accessed on 22.02.2014). Details of the discovery: Ota 2012: 46, 94-95.

1251 Egri *et. al.* 2018: 268, fn. 2.

Figure 50. The mithraeum discovered in 2008 in Apulum (photo after: Rustoiu et al. 2015, 260, fig. 1.)

the best preserved and first sanctuary excavated by modern methods in central-eastern Europe.[1252]

The building: between pragmatism and religion

The sanctuary is situated only few hundred meters from the possible location of the 'Oancea Mithraeum' in the 'Sakralbezirk' of the Municipium (**Fig.51.**). The building is situated some 200 m from the south-western corner of the Roman fort and around 300 m from the northern edges of the Dealul Furcilor necropolis.[1253] In this area of the modern city, numerous Roman finds were unearthed, mostly related to domestic households.[1254] Some parts of the road system of the Municipium Septimium were also attested.[1255] The chronology of the previous finds suggests that this part of the conurbation developed rapidly and gained a monumentalised aspect in the Severan age and shortly after.[1256] The vicinity of the sanctuary is unexcavated, however the first two years of systematic research revealed timber structures that predated the sanctuary, and also a stone building in the south-western corner.[1257] The functionality of these structures is hard to identify, although the larger environment suggests that the sanctuary was situated in a domestic area – a very general phenomenon in Roman urban contexts.[1258] The existence of a *temenos* around a *mithraeum*, although some recent examples seem to prove the existence of such, cannot be proved due to the severe medieval and later disturbances in the area.[1259] The case of Martigny also shows that the dynamism of activities carried out in the *temenos* of the sanctuary in the second half of the 3rd century

[1252] For the latest results on the archaeology of *mithraea* in the Danubian provinces, see: Szabó 2018c.
[1253] See c II.9.
[1254] Ota 2012; Szabó 2016a: 140-145.
[1255] See also: DMA.
[1256] Ota 2012.
[1257] Rustoiu *et al.* 2014, 17: 'The investigations led to the identification of a complex stratigraphy, consisting of several layers belonging to different chronological phases, which were dated according to the archaeological evidence. Besides the structure of the sanctuary, which has a NW-SE orientation, the excavations also uncovered a large refuse pit that predates the building and a part of a rectangular timber structure, both belonging to the Roman period, as well as a part of a medieval house. The recovered inventory consists of: altars, architectural elements, pottery, objects made of glass, iron, bronze, stone, coins and a large quantity of animal bones. Sets of palynological, archaeobotanical, archaeozoological, soil and radiocarbon samples were also collected.'
[1258] Zsidi 2011; Jerala 2011; Nielsen 2014.
[1259] For the temenos of the Martigny *mithraeum*, see: Cole-Wiblé 1999: 13. See also: Huld-Zetsche 2008: 7.

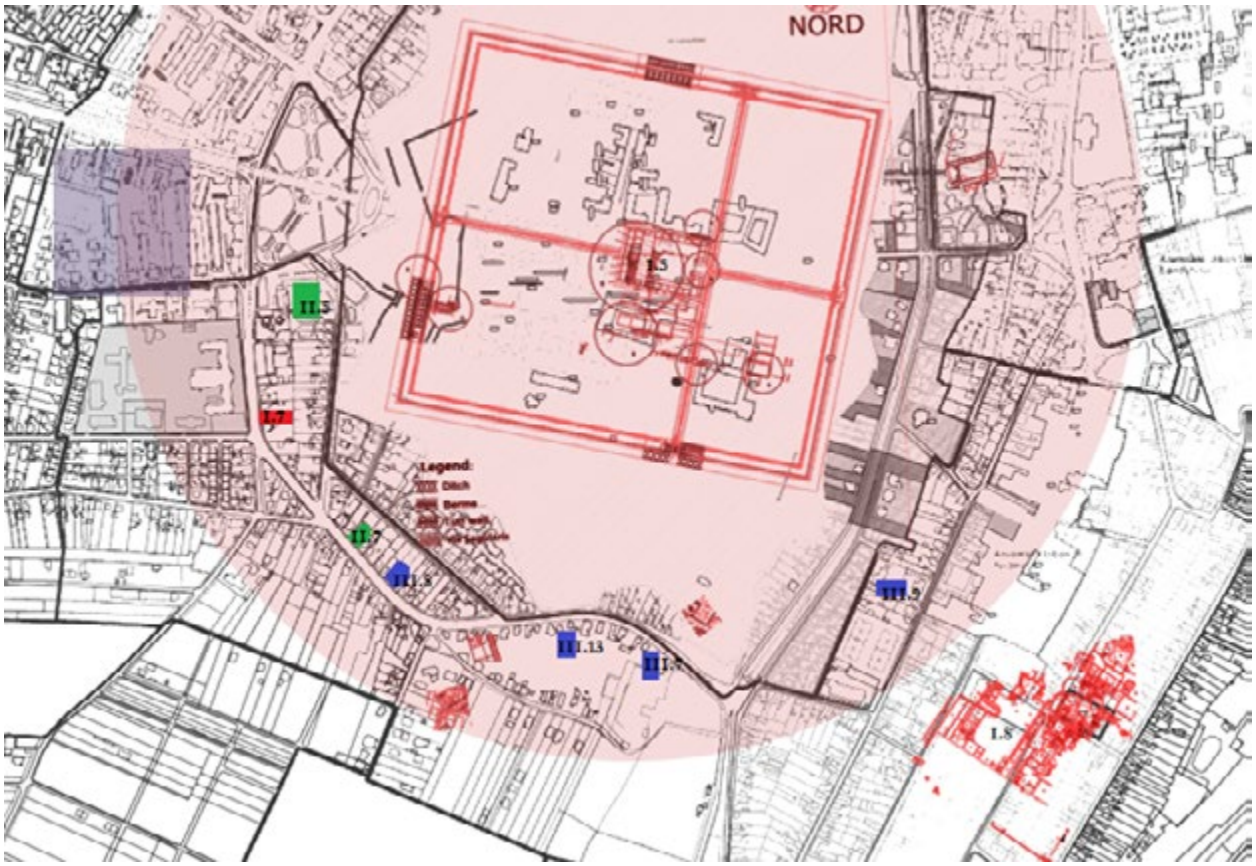

Figure 51: The 'road of the sanctuaries' on the southern part of the Municipium Septimium Apulense. The mithraeum is marked in red (I.7.). Photo: author.

AD is more intensive than in the antechamber.[1260] The legal status of the field on which the sanctuary was built is also unknown.[1261] If the founding group and the first phase of the building were formed already after AD 194[1262] the land would have been part of the Municipium Septimium Apulense, independent from the legislation of the army (*intra leugam legionis*). This aspect is also important because of the dimensions of the house; numerous urban laws (*Lex Ursonensis 14,76,91; Lex Tarentia 15, col. I. 7-14*) regulate the dimensions of civilian and *decurionian* houses within the territory of the '*pomerium*'.

Based on the dimensions of the building (17 x 9 m)[1263] the structure can be considered a larger *mithraeum*.[1264] Although the literature often cites the dimensions of a *mithraeum* as reflecting the size of the group,[1265] there are a few cases in which we can attest both the growth of the group and the building itself.[1266] The building has a rectangular form, following the general architectural features of a *mithraeum*,[1267] although recent studies proved the relativism and local variations of the highly schematised building-form.[1268] The orientation of the building is northwest-southeast, with the entrance on the south-east. This could be more a pragmatic choice and individual decision of the group or the architects, not necessarily following the religious background ('star talk'),[1269] which oriented the sanctuary especially from the inside, not the outside.[1270] In front of the building (south-east) some timber buildings were identified that predated the sanctuary itself. A large refuse pit, of non-rectangular form, with the rest of the ceramic, glass and osteological material also predating the antechamber of the sanctuary.[1271]

[1260] Cole-Wiblé 1999: 16-17.
[1261] There are cases where the *ordo decurionum* itself donates land for Mithraic groups: CIMRM 707; Clauss 2001: 42-43.
[1262] In the first report, the directors of the project mentioned that the finds date to the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century AD: Rustoiu *et al.* 2014: 17.
[1263] The excavation was extended in the second campaign with a surface measuring 17 x 5 m: Rustoiu *et al.* 2015: 20.
[1264] CIMRM 1074, CIMRM 1578, 1750. The size of the Symphorus *mithraeum* from Aquincum is almost identical (17 x 9 m): CIMRM 1767. Few of the sanctuaries found in the Danubian provinces are bigger: CIMRM 1682. On the problematic dimensions of the Sarmizegetusa *mithraeum*, see: Szabó 2014e.
[1265] Hensen 2009; Nielsen 2014.
[1266] For a case study, see the group from Virunum: Beck 2004; Chalupa 2008. For the groups from Poetovio, see: Tóth 2015.
[1267] Clauss 2001: 42-44; Beck 2006; Gordon 2013.
[1268] Nielsen 2014. See also: Labbaf-Khaniki 2012.
[1269] Beck 2006; Chalupa 2012.
[1270] Szabó 2012d: 134.
[1271] Rustoiu *et al.* 2014: 17: 'Besides the structure of the sanctuary, which has a NW-SE orientation, the excavations also uncovered a large refuse pit that predates the building and a part of a rectangular

Severe instability of the terrain was attested, which indicates both the spatial limits and paucity of options for the worshippers, and that the orientation of the building was the conscious, but more pragmatic, architectural choice of the builders.[1272] The sanctuary is also a good case study for the transformation of the natural environment, introducing stability and structural strength to unstable terrain. The Walbrook *Mithraeum* from Londinium serves as a similar case study; it was modified and transformed several times due to its unpropitious geological conditions.[1273]

Neither its exterior, nor the natural environment played a decisive role in the religious legitimacy and existence of a *mithraeum*. The building must have looked like an average house, without specific exterior features or landmarks, although it seems that it was not a domestic house transformed later into a *mithraeum*,[1274] but a building designed from the beginning of its very existence as a sacralised space, dedicated to religious communication. The fragments of architectural elements (column fragments in secondary position)[1275] could be used as *spolia* or for decorating the interior, but not visible to outsiders.

The sanctuary possibly stood in a crowded and urbanised area of the city, which indicates the rarity of green areas or other botanical, geological or faunal features. An interesting and a relatively unresearched aspect of a *mithraeum* as sacralised space is its 'soundscape'. In this instance, we can assume that the near vicinity of private houses and domestic buildings, and the main road which led to the cemetery connected the fort with the Dealul Furcilor, created a loud and uncomfortable soundscape for the group, who performed their activities mostly inside the sanctuary, although the possibility of outside activities cannot be dismissed.

Although timber structures were attested outside of the building, it is unclear whether the sanctuary had a pre-stone phase.[1276] The foundation was built with mid-sized pebbles and river stones, probably sourced locally in the southern part of the city, on the banks of the Marisia (Mures).[1277] The lower part of the building was formed by reused material, small limestone and sandstone fragments and large pebbles.[1278] There were few bricks found in situ as part of the elevation of the building. Similarly, the pediment of the interior (main court, *naos*) was attested only in a very small section. The roof of the building was built of ceramic tiles. The sanctuary has the following compartments: an antechamber with two rooms (probably a later modification, addition), two benches, a corridor between them and a podium, which led to the *naos* (3.4 x 2.2 m).[1279] The size of the antechamber suggests that a small group of worshippers (five or six) could have been in the space simultaneously, while in the main room at least 20 could have used the two benches at the same time. In the case of the best-preserved and recently excavated sanctuaries, the antechamber is interpreted as an *apparatorium*;[1280] however, it is important to highlight that the form, shape, position and dimensions of this space changes and varies in each particular case.[1281] A general feature, especially in the Germanic provinces, is the double-roomed *apparatorium*, as the examples at Heddernheim I-II and Balplatz show.[1282]

A very interesting case study, which could serve as a close analogy also in architectural, inter-cultural and geographical terms, is that of the *mithraeum* II of Marcus Antonius Victorinus at Aquincum (CIMRM 1750).[1283] It was built around AD 223-234 by Victorinus, who served as *aedilis* and *decurio* of the *Colonia*. The sanctuary was attached to the house of Victorinus and was in the vicinity of the Symphorus *mithraeum*;[1284] similar to our cases, the two groups were separated by only 200-300 m. This could mean, after the opinion of Tibor Nagy, that the two sanctuaries belonged to different *insulae*.[1285] A similar situation is attested in Nida-Heddernheim, where the *mithraeum* I and II belong to a different *insulae* than *mithraeum* III and IV.[1286] The antechamber of the Victorinus *mithraeum* has three compartments, two of them (A and B)[1287] relating similarly to each other, as in our example. In the antechamber two statue fragments were found, one dedicated to

timber structure, both belonging to the Roman period, as well as a part of a medieval house.'

1272 Rustoiu *et al.* 2017: 14: 'In the south-eastern corner were identified traces of a micro-landslide from the Roman times, which affected the southern side of the sanctuary. A depression reappeared in the late medieval times, being used as a refuse pit.' The geology of this part of the city needs to be more carefully examined. The instability and problems from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis are well attested, but there are few traces for soil analysis from this area of the city.

1273 Irbie-Massie 1999: 82.

1274 Nielsen 2014: 162-165.

1275 Rustoiu *et al.* 2014: 17: 'De altfel zidurile aferente colțului sanctuarului servesc drept 'contraforți' pentru această clădire construită din piatră de râu de dimensiuni mari, elemente arhitecturale și fragmente de monumente romane reciclate.'

1276 A large part of the stratigraphy was destroyed during the 2008 rescue excavation, but mostly earlier by medieval and later disturbances and transformations of the space. Rustoiu *et al.* 2014; 2015.

1277 Rustoiu *et al.* 2014: 17.

1278 Rustoiu *et al.* 2014: 17.

1279 Rustoiu *et al.* 2017: 14.

1280 Cole-Wiblé 1999: 14.

1281 Nielsen 2014: 152-170. Nielsen also introduces a regional differentiation on the architectural features of the Mithraic sanctuaries attested in the eastern and western provinces. See also: Shepherd 1998: 226.

1282 Clauss 2001: 42-44. Huld-Zetsche 2008: 150-151.

1283 Kuzsinszky 1889: 59ff. See also: Vermaseren 1960: 229-231; Zsidi 2011.

1284 On the new excavations in the Symphorus mithraeum, see: Zsidi 2014.

1285 Nagy 1943.

1286 Hensen 2013: 47.

1287 See fig. 453 in Vermaseren 1960: 230.

Mercurius.[1288] Kuzsinszky defined the function of this chamber as a place where the worship of Hermes was practised, however he ignored room C, which would have been a ritual bath or the actual antechamber.[1289] In this instance, the entrances (in room C first, then in room D) from the antechamber into the main room were attested, marked with a step and imitating also the depth (2 m from the street level) of the mythical *spelaeum*, which was also emphasised in this case by the western part of the sanctuary, which was attached to a small hill within the topography of the civil city.[1290] The main room (D) ended also in a podium, similar to our case. In Victorinus' *mithraeum*, it was here that the representation of Mithras Petrogenitus stood. On the plan of CIMRM 829 from Colchester, which was identified by R. Hull as a *mithraeum*,[1291] we find a larger annex to the possible antechamber, similar to our structure.

Traces of a possible mosaic floor was noted in the last campaign in the small compartment identified after the podium.[1292] The height of the building is unknown and further interior elements (arches, doors, possible architectural elements, columns, windows, furniture) were not attested.[1293] The dimensions of the main chamber are greater than those of the Victorinus *mithraeum*. The main room is divided into three parts, two benches and the corridor. The archaeological finds from here consisted of four altars (two of them in situ, the others reused probably by medieval interventions).[1294] The examples of Aquincum II, Poetovio III, or the recently found Güglingen II *mithraeum*, show a similar quantity of stone material, although it is surprising that no figural monuments were found. This could be explained by the post-Roman transformation of the building, which possibly reused or destroyed a vast majority of the abandoned Roman material.[1295] If we consider the existence of few figural monuments (panelled relief, ex-votos, statuary representations of the torchbearers or other aspects of Mithras), the inner space of the main room and the antechamber transforms into a crowded, uncomfortable and dark place, which limited the possibilities of inner movement and dynamics. These aspects, rarely reconstructed by experimental archaeology or modern, neo-pagan associations and cults,[1296] need to be more carefully analysed for a vivid reconstruction of lived religious experiences within a sanctuary.

For a long time modern scholars have interpreted all *mithraea* as representations of the microcosmos, serving only the small group, who attended the events or rituals. However, being part of a larger, urban landscape, separated by only a few metres from a domestic area, and some hundred metres or so from other, smaller religious groups, an urban *mithraeum* was obviously visible to, and observable by, outsiders as well. The transportation of altars into the building, the preparation of feasts and convivial occasions, were among the many events which could be observed by outsiders and must be interpreted within a much larger urban 'sensescape' and interaction. In some particular cases, such as at Tienen or Virunum, large convivial events were attested that were organised at a certain moment by the group.[1297] At these exclusive and very expensive events,[1298] not only the time when the event was organised but also the space was an unprecedented, extraordinary one: it was unrepeatable and unique, which made even the 'rubbish' generated by this ritual sacralised.[1299] In these cases the *mithraeum* itself, designed for a modest, introverted and secretive religious group, became suddenly a focal point and a religious landmark within the larger, urban context. This phenomenon slightly changes our view of the *mithraeum* and Mithraic groups, viewed by the traditional historiography as a secret, hidden and introverted society, always contrasting with the more eccentric and publicly active Isiac and Metroac groups.[1300]

The group and its individuals: power, hierarchy and religious communication in the mithraeum

From the inscriptions we know two men who were members of the Mithraic group at the same time. One,

[1288] László *et al.* 2005. See also: Göldner-Seitz 1990: 2-8; Planck 1989: 182; Seitz 1991: 28-29.
[1289] Clauss 2001: 45.
[1290] Kuzsinszky 1889: 65-66.
[1291] Vermaseren 1956: 288-289. This identification was later contested by Collingwood and interpreted as a water tank. See also: Crummy 1980: 243-283.
[1292] Rustoiu *et al.* 2017: 14: 'În interior au fost identificate câteva tesserae de marmură albă, care au aparţinut probabil unui mozaic monocrom, de asemenea distrus în perioada medievală, precum şi un fragment dintr-un relief de calcar.'
[1293] Most of the hypothetical reconstructions of the sanctuaries are based only on the Italian grotto-type sanctuaries: Clauss 2001: 46. It is certain that such a building was not higher than 3-4 m; the same as an average house or villa building in urban contexts. This suggests also that it cannot be considered as a significant or visible landmark in the urban and religious landscape.
[1294] Egri *et al.* 2018: 268.
[1295] As far as we know, none of the main panelled reliefs first entered in the collection of Count Batthyany came from the region of the Municipium. If there were any figurative monuments found by the first inhabitants of this area between the 8th and 13th centuries, those must have been destroyed or reused in various ways. We also need to take into consideration the possibility of mobile small reliefs and ex-votos. There are no traces of violent destruction or ritual deposits of stone monuments in the sanctuary, as were attested in some *mithraea*,which suggests that the last members of the group left the sanctuary peacefully.
[1296] Campos 2008.
[1297] Picottini 1994; Martens 2004a; Beck 2004.
[1298] In the case of the Tienen *mithraeum*, the feast and the convivial event needed a significant financial investment by the group. Similarly, erecting the large bronze tablet from Virunum was an exceptional event in the life of a Mithraic group, which needed to be emphasised in front of the whole urban settlement.
[1299] On the notion of sacred 'rubbish', see: Martens 2004a; 2012.
[1300] North 2013.

Publius Aelius Marus (or Marius),[1301] appears on the largest monument, while the other individual, Vitalis, appears on three inscriptions.[1302]

Publius Aelius Marus is one of the best-attested figures in Roman Dacia. At the moment we know five inscriptions where his name is found, although the identity of the person(s) was contested by some researchers.[1303]. His identity might be related to a small, particular group of magistrates, who monopolised the salt trade and economic flow in the province at the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century AD.[1304] Others associated the *conductores* with collecting the *vectigal* of Imperial properties.[1305]

An inscription erected by his *libertus*, Publius Aelius Euphorus, was discovered in Micia, an important commercial and customs centre of the province.[1306] His *libertus* is known from another inscription found in the same settlement, where he erected an altar in the newly reconstructed sanctuary of the Invincible God.[1307] The third inscription, possibly from Tibiscum,[1308] was erected by Hermadio, *libertus* of Turranius Dius,[1309] and dedicated to Mithras. Hermadio was considered by István Tóth as a 'prophet' of the cult in Dacia.[1310] The text does not mention the function of Publius Aelius Marus, therefore some scholars do not accept the identification of the two individuals from Micia and Tibiscum.[1311] The next inscription was discovered at Bilak (Domnești) in 1911, another important centre for salt mining.[1312] The text of the inscription has been interpreted many times and in various ways,[1313] but it is quite secure that the man, Aelius Marus *conductor salinarum et pascui et flamen coloniae*, is the same as the individual from Micia and Tibiscum. The first part of his title, *conductor salinarum et pascui*, is the same as appears on the inscription from Micia. Before the discovery of the new *mithraeum*, his *flamonium* was related either with Napoca[1314] or with Sarmizegetusa.[1315] His name was also attested on an inscription from Porolissum.[1316]

The great altar is dedicated to Mithras (*Mitrhae*)[1317] and for the health of Publius Aelius Marus, named as *flamen coloniae* in this instance:[1318]

Soli | Invicto | Mithrae | pro salut(e) | P(ublii) Ael(ii) Ma|ri
flam(inis) col(oniae) | Vitalis
ark(arius) | v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)

His career and the dating of the inscriptions are problematic, but they are dated to the second half or end of the 2nd century AD. From the inscriptions we can assume that his first title was the *flamen coloniae*,[1319] and later became *conductor pascui et salinarum*. His rich social network shows a strict hierarchy and career seniority, related mostly to the administrative system of the *Publicum Portorium Illiryci*.[1320] His *liberti*, Publius Aelius Euphorus, Marcus Turranius Dil(...), Aelius Atticus, and the recently attested Vitalis, represent the intermediate clerical level, according to the definition of P. Weaver.[1321] These were also helped by the lower levels of staff, such as Hermadio, Flavia Aelia Nice or Marcus Turranius Patroclus.

The key role of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* and its staff in the spread of Mithraism is well known along the Rome-Aquileia-Poetovio-Sarmizegetusa-Apulum route.[1322] From the epigraphic sources, the

[1301] The authors read it as Marus: Egri *et al.* 2018. With 12 analogies from all over the Empire (mostly from Celtic areas) it easily could be read as Marius (OPEL III, 59; Balla 2000: 138; Piso 2007: 182, fn. 13) and not as Marus: Benea 2007: 43; Szabó 2007: 31.

[1302] Egri *et al.* 2018: altar A, statue bases B and C.

[1303] Benea 2007.

[1304] Egri 2007; Benea 2013; Odochiciuc-Bîrliba 2014: 236; Szabó 2015c. There was an intention also to identify the Publii Aelii with a local, indigenous population, however this cannot be proved with solid arguments: Daicoviciu 1941.

[1305] Egri *et al.* 2018: 270, fn. 12, citing only the argument of Hirt (2010: 236) on special, mining *conductores*. For Imperial properties, see also: Dalla Rosa 2016: 305, fn. 1, with a complete bibliography on Imperial properties. See also the Patrimonium ERC Project.

[1306] IDR III/3: 119: *Silvano Do/mestico / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Euph[o]/rus pro / salute P(ubli) Ael(i) / Mari con/ductoris / pascui et sa/linar(um) <l>(ibens) v(otum) v(ovit)*. See also: Alicu 2004.

[1307] IDR III/3: 49: *Deo / Invicto / [P(ublius)] Ael(ius) Eupho/rus pro / salute sua / et suorum / templum a solo / fecit*. Garcia does not accept the Mithraic nature of this inscription (Carbó-Garcia 2010b: 601); however there are some analogies in Dacia, where Mithras appears as Deus Invictus: IDR III/5: 720: *Invi[cto] / Deo pro / salute C(ai) Iu[l(i)] / Rufini l[ibe]/rorumqu[e] / [eiu]s Spatalu[s] / [se]r(vus) actor / [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*; Haynes 2005: 44. See also: Vermaseren 1960: 422-423.

[1308] IDR III/1: 145: *S(oli) I(nvicto) N(umini) M(ithrae) / pro salute / P(ubli) Ael(i) Mari / Hermadio / act(or) Turran(i) / Dii v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. I. I. Russu cited Ackner, who affirmed that the inscription was found in the garden of a house at Caranșebeș.

[1309] Probably the same person as Marcus Turranius Dius from Tibiscum: IDR III/1: 141: *Libero Patri / pro salute Mar(ci) / Turrani Dii et / [F]l(aviae)(?) Aeliae Nices / M(arcus) Turran(ius) / Patroclus ex / voto*. The Turranius *gentilicium* appears on five other inscriptions in Dacia (CF 70; IDR III/2, 445=AÉ 2005, 1299; IDR III/2, 400; IDR III/2, 556; Bărbulescu 2012: 10). See also: Ardevan 2005: 200-201; Săsărman 2013: 201. According to Tóth István, Turranius Marcellinus from Apulum and this person from Tibiscum are strongly related and played an important role in the spread of the cult in Dacia and in Apulum: Tóth 1992: 153-160.

[1310] Tóth 2003; Boda-Timoc 2016.

[1311] Benea identifies the two men: Benea 2007: 43.

[1312] Christescu 1929: 50; Moga 2006: 54.

[1313] AÉ 1930: 10; AÉ 1967: 388; Ardevan 1992: 47-53; Balla 2000: 137; Piso 2007: 181; ILD 804; Szabó 2007: 30-31; Benea 2007: 43; 2013: 121. A possible new reading: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [et]/T(errae) M(atri) / [p]ro s[alut](e) Ael(i) /Mari fl(amen) col(oniae) /[co]nduc(toris) pas(cui) /[et] salina(rum) At/ticus ag(ens) eius? /v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[1314] Balla 2000: 139.

[1315] Szabó 2007: 31.

[1316] Dana-Zăgreanu 2013: 28-29.

[1317] On the regional spelling and epigraphic habit, see: Szabó *et al.* 2016b: 93, fn. 8.

[1318] Egri *et al.* 2018: 268-269.

[1319] It is not clear whether his *flaminatus* refers here to Colonia Sarmizegetusa (*colonia deducta* since AD 106) or Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (*colonia* since the period of Commodus). See: Egri *et al.* 2018: 270.

[1320] Dobó 1940.

[1321] Weaver 1972: 120.

[1322] Beskow 1980; Tóth 1977: 385-392; Steidl 2008; Zaccaria 2010; Szabó 2015c.

personnel (*vilicus*, *conscriptor*, *arcarius*) and their slaves, or freedmen connected with the *Portorium,* are now known from ten settlements in Dacia.[1323] The so-called second generation of Portorium staff – Quintus Sabinius Veranus, Titus Iulius Saturninus and Caius Antonius Rufus,[1324] are especially attested in the province. The presence of Titus Iulius Saturninus in Apulum proves the existence of a bureau of the Portorium and a direct link with Poetovio.[1325]

Knowing all this, the presence of Publius Aelius Marus in Apulum makes a direct link with the spread of the cult by the staff of the Portorium and the Poetovians.[1326] This strong link is also emphasised in this sanctuary by the unique epigraphic expression of Vitalis, dedicated to the Transitus Dei, attested for the first time in Dacia and present mostly in the Danubian provinces[1327]. It is not clear whether Publius Aelius Marus was indeed a member of any Mithraic groups, although his name appears in numerous settlements in Mithraic contexts. However, if he were indeed part of the group which used the sanctuary, it means that his example must be similar to that of Statorianus, who served as flamen in the Municipium Septimium, but was active in the *colonia*.[1328]

More interesting is the case of Vitalis, who is attested on three inscriptions, making him the most visible worshiper of Mithras in Dacia.[1329] He dedicates two statue bases, to Cautes and the Transitus Dei.[1330]

Statue base B:[1331]

Transi|to dei | sacr[u]m | Vitalis | g( ) s( ) v(otum) s(olvit)

Statue base C[1332]

Cauto|pati sacrum | Vitalis | [ar]k(arius) g( ) s( ) | [v(otum)] s(olvit)

On the large one, dedicated to Mithras and the health of Publius Aelius Marius, he appears as *arkarius*, a position in the central financial administration of the province, roughly the same grade as a *dispensator*, usually from the capital of the province, where the financial procurator was based. This could make a link with the Mithraic groups from Sarmizegetusa, proved by numerous iconographic features.[1333] Because of their responsibilities for handling important financial duties, these persons (*arcarii et dispensatores*) remained slaves after the usual age of manumission (30). The dedications suggest that Vitalis must have played a key role in founding or (and) maintaining the sanctuary. His social status, wealth and, probably, religious devotion to the cult served as a motor in the internal dynamics of the group, serving as a model for the others. With three significant epigraphic and stone monuments present in a relatively small space, he practically monopolised the area: the monuments were crowded in the central space, making it clear to everyone who entered the sanctuary that his name here is an important one.[1334] His dedication to the Transitus Dei could represent a moment from a Mithraic initiation, or just simply a specific sign of religious individuation,[1335] emphasising his relation with the Pannonian groups and local Mithraic narratives. The cases of Lucius Aelius Hylas (CIL III 968) and Ampliatus, *dispensator*,[1336] are good analogies for his activity. The former dedicated a large, single-registered marble relief, probably to one of the *mithraea* from Sarmizegetusa, which also mentioned the rebuilding of an apsidal sanctuary. The latter is known due to his *vicarius*, Protas, who dedicated an altar to Nabarze, an epithet known only from the capital of the province and very popular in Rome. Their presence shows that the slaves and freedmen of the provincial procurator and, later, the Portorium, were highly involved in the practice and probably, maintenance of the cult in Dacia.

Representing Mithras in Apulum: some considerations on iconography and production

The materiality of the cult of Mithras from Apulum has captivated international and local scholars from as long ago as the 19th century. The majority of the works focusing on this region deals with the iconographic and epigraphic specificities of the finds, analysing them in a broader, Imperial context, without considering local possibilities, identifying workshops, materials and the production/diffusion of the iconographic schemata and

[1323] Gudea 1996; Protase 2010: 207-208.

[1324] Q. Sabinius Veranus (AÉ 1986, 571, CIMRM 1491, 1533) served together with Titus Iulius Saturninus (IDR III/1, 35, CIL III 1568, IDR I/XXIV, AÉ 1934, 107, AÉ 1928, 153) and C. Antonius Rufus (CIL V 820, Dessau 4244-4245, CIL III 5122, AÉ 2001, 1576, CIL III 13283, CIL III 5117, CIL III 14354, CIL III 1568, CIL III 10605) before the Marcomannic Wars (Dobó 1940: 155; Laet 1949: 238, 386). Their slaves constituted an important Mithraic group of the I. *mithraeum* in Poetovio (CIMRM 1490, 1493, 1501, 1846): Zaccaria 2010: 68.

[1325] Dobó 1940: 168-169; Piso-Moga 1998: 105-108.

[1326] Egri *et al.* 2018: 272. See also: Szabó 2015b: 242.

[1327] Tóth 1977: 385-392; AÉ 2011: 966; Kiss 2011. On the interpretation of the Transitus Dei, see: László *et al.* 2005; Beck 2006a; Dirven 2015: 35-36.

[1328] IDR III/5: 709.

[1329] Sicoe 2014: 41-46.

[1330] The statues were not identified. While representations of Cautes and Cautopates are known from Apulum (Szabó 2015b) and other settlements, statues of the Transitus Dei are not known from Dacia. See also: Sicoe 2014: 78. For the iconographic programme of the Poetovio *mithraea*: Mîšić 2013.

[1331] Egri *et al.* 2018: 271.

[1332] Egri *et al.* 2018: 272.

[1333] Szabó 2015b; Szabó *et al.* 2016b. See also below on iconography.

[1334] We cannot reconstruct the evolution of the interior furniture and materiality of a *mithraeum*. It is possible that many other prominent members were present, but after their generation died, the material elements of the sanctuary were replaced, and the old altars were used as *spolia*.

[1335] Rüpke 2015b: 440, citing Musschenga (2001: 5) for the terminology.

[1336] Sicoe 2014: 76.

objects. In the last decade, however, new tendencies have appeared that focus in particular on the question of production and workshops, without dealing with some specific questions, which will now be highlighted here.[1337]

As has already been emphasised, the cult of Mithras possibly arrived in Dacia (and in Apulum) in the late Trajanic, early Hadrianic period, mostly with the help of civilian groups and economic routes. The trading and commercial routes, the attested social and military networks led to Pannonia Superior (especially Poetovio),[1338] Dalmatia and the Aquileia-Rome axis.[1339] Some connections are attested with Asia Minor from the early Antonine period; however, the sporadic evidence for Mithraism in this area of the Empire makes this connection less important in this period for the transmission of religious narratives and iconographic models.

It seems plausible that the iconographic models formed in Sarmizegetusa, where a workshop and central iconographic 'school' existed, influenced the religious narrative in numerous other settlements of the province.[1340] Identifying a workshop and standardised iconographic models that were transported and diffused within the province is a general tendency in the archaeological discourse, where the workshops or sculptors are identified by specific iconographic features.[1341] This tendency, however, ignores the possibility of non-canonical examples and the individual choice of the worshipper, or the financial, technical, and artistic limits and possibilities of the ateliers. From this very early period (Antonine era) civilian groups from the territory of the *pagus Apulensi*, later the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis, ordered (or brought) a full standing, statuary representation of Mithras Tauroctonos.[1342] The material of the statue seems to be an import, although the examination failed to identify the exact provenance of the marble type.[1343] The authors stated: 'stammt mit Sichercheit aus einem Mithraeum und wurde wahrscheinlich irgendwo in Griechenland hergestellt.'[1344] Ioan Piso's opinion is based only on the iconographic analysis of A. Diaconescu, who correctly identified the traces of a Hellenistic-Greek school on the statue. This, however, does not mean at all that the statue was made or came from Roman Greece, where evidence for Mithraism is extremely sporadic, especially in this period.[1345] The lack of evidence for the practice of the cult does not necessarily mean that a statue could not have been manufactured in a workshop from Greece, but it seems more plausible that it was made by a Greek sculptor located in Italy, as the analogies from Rome and Ostia prove.[1346] From the Kaftal *mithraeum* and the territory of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis/ Colonia Aurelia Apulensis we know of two large reliefs, with an approximate topography: one from the 'Kaftal' *Mithraeum*, and one from the northern part of the city. Two other large reliefs[1347] were found, possibly from the same area; however, their provenience cannot be proved. The panelled relief from the Kaftal *Mithraeum*[1348] has one, or possibly two, analogies from Apulum,[1349] but also from Sarmizegetusa.[1350] Based on some iconographic features, it was recently dated to the end of the Antonine period, which makes it plausible that it belongs to the very early group from the Kaftal *Mithraeum*. Although it was considered the work of a local atelier and not made in Sarmizegetusa, the iconographic features show similarities with the so-called Sarmizegetusa workshop. It was made of Bukova marble, which also makes it possible that it came directly from the capital, or at least, marks a direct commercial connection between the two groups. Similarly, the two altars found in the garden of Károly Pap,[1351] also in the area of the civilian town, have some particular iconographic features in the tympanum, which make direct connections to the iconography of the columns found in the *mithraeum* of the capital.[1352] The figurative representations of the altars also lead to Poetovian and Italic connections.[1353]

The other large relief from the civilian town was recently rediscovered (**Fig.52**).[1354] The iconographic features (Cautes *bucranophoros*, Sol with *radius*) in this case again show direct connections to the Sarmizegetusa workshop[1355] but also to the Italian groups.[1356] Here we can identify some elements that suggest that it was made locally in Apulum: the eyes

1337 Sicoe 2004; 2014.
1338 On the workshops and commercial relationships of Poetovio, see: Gojkovic 2011: 658-659, fn. 10, with further bibliography.
1339 Ardevan 1999; Bîrliba 2006: 35-39; Zerbini 2010.
1340 Sicoe 2004, 2014: 59-69; Boda 2015b.
1341 A model for a more complex methodology of identifying workshops and iconographic diffusion: Nagy 1971: 103-161.
1342 On the detailed analysis of the iconography see: Szabó 2013a.
1343 Diaconescu 2014: 152-153; Müller *et al.* 2011: 40.
1344 Müller *et al.* 2011: 57.
1345 Schörner 2003: 174. See also: CIMRM 2346-2353.
1346 It is important to mention that although this statuary representation indeed appears very early in Italy, it seems to last longer in provincial contexts. The possible link with the later Symphorus *mithraeum* from Aquincum and the so-called Kaftal *mithraeum* cannot be proved: Nagy 1971: 151.
1347 CIMRM 1973 = Sicoe 2014: 156-157, cat. nr 39 = Lupa 19256 and CIMRM 1938 = Sicoe 2014: 147, cat. nr 18 = Szabó 2014f = Szabó 2015a.
1348 CIL III 1109; CIMRM 1935-36; IDR III/5, 280; Sicoe 2014: 146-147, cat. nr 17; Lupa 17299.
1349 CIMRM 1972; Sicoe 2014: 157, cat. nr 40; Lupa 19314 and Sicoe 2014: 161, cat. nr 43; Lupa 21981.
1350 Sicoe 2014: 126.
1351 Szabó *et al.* 2016b.
1352 Szabó *et al.* 2016b.
1353 CIMRM 1085, 1087, 1496, 1498, 1504, 1528, 1584, 1591, 1593.
1354 CIMRM 1938 = Sicoe 2014: 147, cat. nr 18 = Szabó 2014f = Szabó 2015a.
1355 The presence of Cautes *bucranophoros*, the possible grotto-type representation of the single-register relief: Sicoe 2014: 73-74.
1356 On the iconography of Sol with *radius*, see: Szabó 2015a.

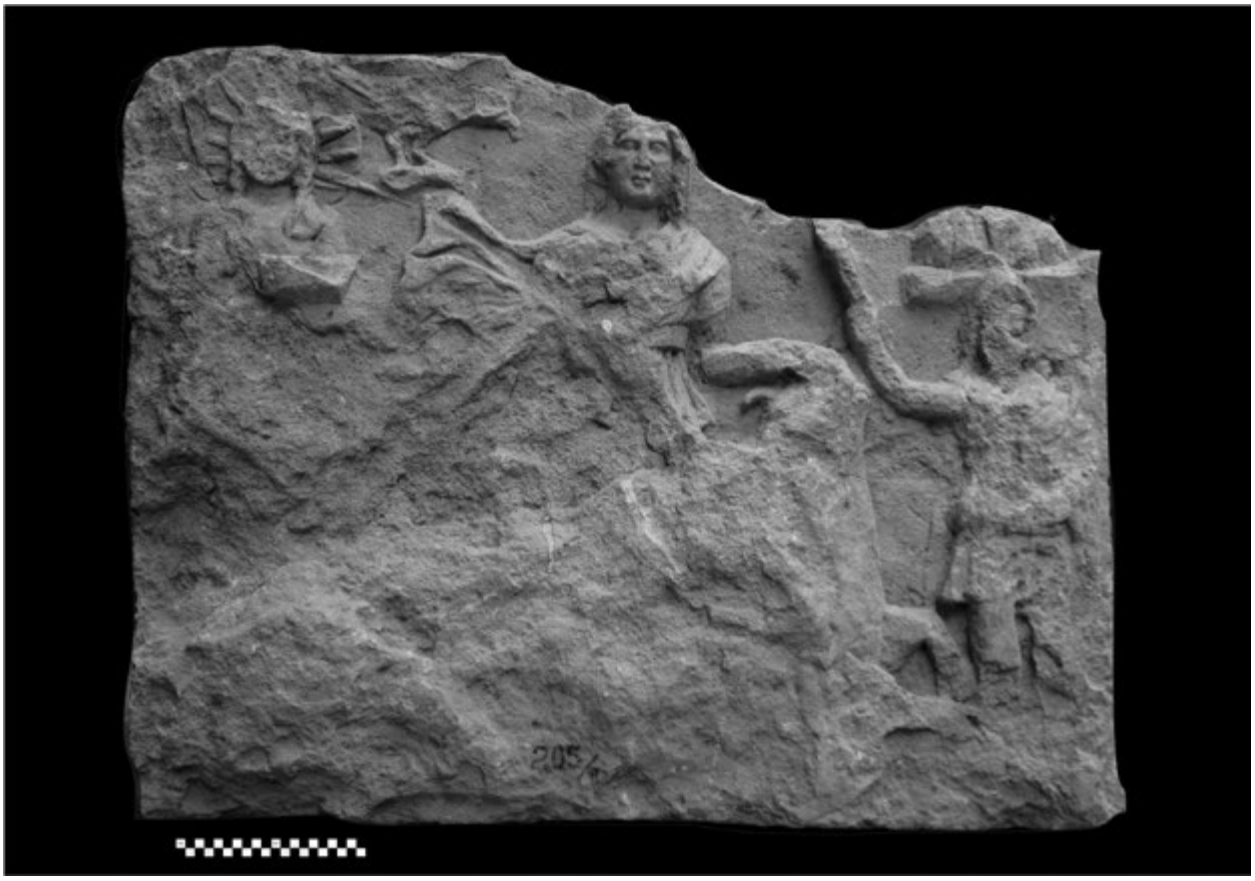

Figure 52. Large Mithras relief from Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (photo after: Szabó 2015a)

and eye-lids of Mithras were carved in a very particular way, which we can can find on some funerary, mostly female, statues.[1357]

The best example of the diffusion of an iconographic feature and the direct relationship and communication between Mithraic groups on the road of Rome-Aquileia-Poetovio-Sarmizegetusa and Apulum is the representation of Cautes with the *bucranium* (**Fig.53**).[1358] Attested in Rome and Bologna, this iconographic feature appears exclusively in Dacia and, most strangely, in Boppard in Germania Superior. This representation appears in the Sarmizegetusa, then on the single-register reliefs from the civilian settlement, and finally was also found in the area of the Municipium Septimium Apulense. The exceptional case of the Boppard statue could indicate a direction from Rome-Dacia-Germania Superior, although it could have appeared there in a separate way too, and not directly related to Dacia.

Figure 53. Cautes with a bucranium from Apulum (photo: author)

[1357] Prominent eye-lids and large, exotic eyes. See also the similarities with the representation of Mithras Petrogenitus probably found in the Kaftal *mithraeum*: CIMRM 2188; Sicoe 2014: 243, cat. nr 224; Diaconescu 2014a: 105-106, cat. nr 56; Lupa 17355.

[1358] Szabó 2015b.

The representations of Mithras Petrogenitus are worth also a closer analysis. None of them has an exact findspot, which makes it hard to identify their role and position within a sanctuary. Two of them[1359] show strong similarities, the rock being formed from oval-shaped stones and the snake being less prominent. It is important to highlight that these were entered in the first catalogue of the museum by Béla Cserni after the inventory number of the recently rediscovered relief.[1360] The two other representations have more individualised features. One of them is fragmented[1361] but shows a more robust, strong and monumentalised Mithras Petrogenitus. The rock is also more prominent, and takes the shape of a strong cliff. The snake is strongly emphasised. The other (**Fig.54**.),[1362] which possibly came from the Kaftal *mithraeum,* is considered the most beautiful representation of the divinity from the province.[1363] His face, eye-lids, curly hair with prominent tresses, and effeminate body makes the statue very expressive and powerful. The body of Mithras Petrogenitus is 75% visible from the rock, which again makes it exceptional among the other representations from Apulum. We find a similar analogy in Sarmizegetusa, however the facial expression and body features show clearly a different workshop.[1364] The marble analysis proves its extra-provincial provenience.[1365] The large number of Mithras Petrogenitus representations in Dacia, and particularly from the group in Apulum, suggests their individualised religious choice in marking and creating their own sacralised landscape within the theological framework or 'star talk' of a *mithraeum*.[1366]

The functionality of these objects can be interpreted in multiple ways. If we are looking at a Mithraic relief or statue from a spatial point of view, it always represents a strong religious and social landmark in the sacralised landscape. It is also a direct and, due to the spatial limits of the sanctuary, very intimate means of communication with the divinity and between the worshippers. From these points of views there is no difference between a small *ex-voto* and a highly expensive, central Kultbild (*signum*),[1367] which physically represents the presence of the divinity. Although the Mithras narrative and

Figure 54. Mithras Petrogenitus from Apulum (lupa 17355)

the religious experiences practised in the *mithraeum* suggest a diversification of religious communication and agency, the abundance of stone monuments and statues within the sanctuary seems to reflect a very 'Roman' or traditional religious communication, where statues and reliefs play an important role. What is more, the wide spread of small, portable altars, reliefs,

[1359] CIMRM 1949; Sicoe 2014: 147, cat. nr 19; Lupa 19257 and CIMRM 1994; Sicoe 2014: 164, cat. nr 49; Lupa 19313.
[1360] This does not indicate that they came from the same spot, but it is possible that they were found in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.
[1361] CIMRM 1991; Sicoe 2014: 163, cat. nr 48; Lupa 19312.
[1362] CIMRM 2188; Sicoe 2014: 243, cat. nr 224; Diaconescu 2014a: 105-106, cat. nr 56; Lupa 17355.
[1363] Diaconescu 2014. He remarks the similarities with the Hekate Triformis representation, which is also an important statue.
[1364] CIMRM 2184; Sicoe 2014: 243, cat. nr 223; Lupa 22046. See also: Sicoe 2014: 219, cat. nr 171.
[1365] Sicoe 2014: 243.
[1366] On the representations of Mithras Petrogenitus, see also: Neri 2000: 227-245.
[1367] On the problematic terminology of the statuary representations of gods, see: Bremmer 2013: 7-8; Estienne 2015: 379-387.

lead tablets, terracotta and bronze figurines[1368] shows the extension of this traditional agency outside of the sanctuaries.[1369] Their 'otherness' or exotic Persianism[1370] stressed also in the Cumontian doctrine and later historiography, unique, astronomical 'star talk' and iconography, in this context became less different and more traditionally 'Roman'. Religious communication and experiences of the Romans in Mithraic sanctuaries were more similar than exceptional in comparison with other Roman cults and religious groups.[1371]

In the Mithraic groups of Apulum we observe the simultaneous presence of products and artefacts made in an extra-provincial, Sarmizegetusan or local workshop.[1372] Similarly the iconographic features show a great variety of local religious appropriation.

Final remarks

The analysis of the material evidence of the religious life of the Mithraic groups from Apulum provides the possibility of the most detailed glimpse into the lived religion of a small group from an urban context. Focusing on local appropriations, this chapter emphasised the changes and local variations of the Mithraic narrative, and some general and specific patterns of religious communication in and outside the *mithraeum*, as sacralised space in an urban environment.

Although the archaeological evidence has not changed significantly in the last decades, the excavation of the new sanctuary and some of the recently found reliefs, statues and inscriptions have changed our view of these groups, and urged a more detailed analysis, going further and beyond the classical, descriptive and positivist archaeological/art-historical approach, which seems to persist in the literature.[1373] The Mithraic material from Apulum also served as a good example to highlight the dual nature (civilian and military) of the groups, where the civilian/Familia Caesaris factor played a more significant role than was thought until now. In analysing again the iconographic specificities, new extra- and intra-provincial connections were identified that highlighted the internal competition, and economic benefits of founding and maintaining a *mithraeum*. In many senses, the problem of chronology and the missing contexts of the material evidence makes this analysis less sharp and gives a picture of the Mithraic groups of Apulum as just one of many similar case studies around the Empire. These particular case studies, however, in this author's opinion prove that the creation and maintenance of a sanctuary by a small religious group had very different and local-specific dynamics in each city, influenced by local social, economic and even geographical factors. These local specificities, along with the network of worshippers, influenced the variability of the religious narrative, expressed in 'non-canonical' forms of iconography and religious communications.[1374]

The case study of Apulum is only a first step in the more detailed analysis of the cults of Mithras in Dacia that still needs to be done.[1375]

II.10. The missing church: questioning Christianity in Apulum[1376]

Among the numerous changes that occurred in the religious dynamics of the 1st to 3rd centuries AD was the rise of Christianity[1377]: first as one of the many small-group religions coming from the East, later as an odd textual community created historiographically in large urban centres, where citification played an important role.[1378] Studied for a long time by theologists and patrists,[1379] the history and various sources of early Christianity in the first four centuries (before AD 313) are viewed now as part of a very dynamic and competitive religious market, where religious entrepreneurs were free to create and offer new strategies of religious communication, shaped by the local/regional, but also global factors of the Empire.[1380] The diversity of the sources created a new view on early Christianity which needs to be discussed in the context of Roman Dacia.[1381] Before that, however, one needs to ask the challenging, but essential question: what is Christianity in the first three or four centuries AD?

David Frankfurter in his seminal work on early Christianity in Egypt asks similar questions: 'what are the proper data for Christianization? The amount of churches and monasteries built? The amount of people showing up at these places? Their assimilation of Christian names? A growing diversity of material

[1368] On the Mithraic small finds, miniature votives and gems, see: Gordon 2004; Kiernan 2009; Faraone 2013.
[1369] On religious agency, see: Rüpke 2015b: 437-450; 2018: 11-13.
[1370] Gordon 2017b.
[1371] The historiography stressed the special features and 'otherness' of the cult in a contrasting comparison. This tendency changed after the 1960s. See also: Gordon 2007.
[1372] There was a *lapidarium* workshop attested in Apulum. On a possible location, and the geological reality of the city, see c I.1.
[1373] A review of Sicoe's recent book: http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2014/2014-10-56.html (last accessed: 22.09.2016).
[1374] See also: Woolf 2017.
[1375] A CIMRM Supplementum for Dacia and a detailed analysis of the religious groups and individuals is still missing from the Romanian literature. A short revision of the complete Mithraic material of the province: Szabó 2018c.
[1376] I am very grateful to Réka Neményi (University of Pécs, Department of Archaeology) for her help in bibliographic references and analogies here.
[1377] On the notion of Jesus followers see also: Duff 2017.
[1378] Woolf 2012: 259-262; Rüpke 2018: 355-358.
[1379] On the historiography of the research, see: Clark 2008: 7-41; Gwynn 2010.
[1380] Rüpke 2009b: 182-193; Nuffelen 2014.
[1381] On territorial changes and variations and contextualising early Christianity, see: King 2008: 62-64; Rüpke 2009b: 182-183.

objects that imply some association with that religion?'[1382] The answers must be different not only geographically, but also, temporarily: Christianity and Christianisation must be different in the 2nd century AD in Alexandria and Transylvania in the 4th century. Still, these questions reflect the definition of Christianity: as every religion, Christianity created also specific facets of religious competences (identity, agency, forms of communication and individual choices).[1383] Without these, we cannot speak about Christianity as religion.

Christianities in Romanian historiography

The Romanian historiography on early Christianity, which has resulted in a tremendous bibliography,[1384] treated this topic as a crucial focal point of political and national ideologies, emphasising the existence of Christian communities from the 2nd century AD and their ethnic/cultural continuity with the medieval Orthodox church.[1385] The terms 'early Christianity', 'church', 'conversion', 'community' and 'continuity' are used without a theoretical framework and definition.[1386] The Romanian discourse on early Christianity developed multiple subdivisions and currents in the last century. From the very beginning of the 20th century there were three main currents: an academic discourse, a theological narrative and a pseudo-historical propaganda.[1387] Nowadays it is unanimously accepted that there are no literary sources which refer to the presence or existence of early Christian communities in Roman Dacia.[1388] Another axiomatic and universally accepted fact is that in the ex-territory of Dacia, the first permanent church and community archaeologically attested was established in the 10th-11th centuries AD in Transylvania.[1389] The materiality of Christianity between AD 271 and the 11th century is the goal of this chapter, dealing with the case study of Apulum. It aims to highlight the main issues of the historiographic discourse and to analyse in detail the above-mentioned notions in a contextual framework.

[1382] Frankfurter 2017: 4.
[1383] Rüpke 2018: 11-23.
[1384] On the bibliography, see: Boda-Szabó 2014: 141-157.
[1385] Popa 2016.
[1386] The 'best' example for the pertaining national discourse are the works of N. Gudea, who consciously tried to prove the existence of Christian communities in Dacia and the territory of the former province in his numerous books: Gudea-Ghiurco 1988; Gudea 2011; 2016.
[1387] For the academic narratives, see: Pârvan 1911; Russu 1958; Barnea 1977; Rusu 1991; Benea 1996; Ionescu 1998; Timotin 1998; Bărbulescu 2002; 2010: 261; Protase 2010: 699-712. From these, only the work of M. Rusu and A. Timotin tried to contextualise the historiographic narratives in a broader, political/ historical discourse. For the theological narratives: Velcu 1924; Plopșor 1934; Reli 1937; Stăniloae 1979; Popescu 1994; 2000. As the work of N. Gudea or V. Moga reflects, the academic works are often financed by the churches (Orthodox or Graeco-Catholic). For the pseudo-historical propaganda of the 1930s and the recent dacomanic narrative, see: Boia 1997; Alexe 2014; Popa 2016.
[1388] On the various currents, see: Popa 2016.
[1389] Marcu-Istrate 2014; Gáll *et al.* 2017.

Early Christianity before AD 313 in provincial contexts

The archaeological evidence for early Christianity in the first centuries is very sporadic, even in the Near East, Egypt and Rome itself.[1390] In the Danubian provinces[1391] and in Germania Superior the earliest sources are dated almost exclusively to the late 3rd/early 4th centuries.[1392] Similarly, in Britannia Christianity appears in post-Roman urban contexts only in the late 4th century.[1393] Although a lack of archaeological evidence does not prove directly the non-existence of Christian individuals or groups, it certainly proves that they did not manifest as a compact, visible group before AD 313. The lived religious life of the earliest Christian communities in the transitional period of the 3rd-4th centuries[1394] is hard to reconstruct, even in such vivid and rich cities as Karanis or Dura Europos.[1395]

Another key concept in the Romanian historiography is the notion of 'community' and 'ethnic-religious continuity'. Many of the conservative/academic discourses have emphasised the direct lineage between the first Christian communities from the province and Romanian orthodoxy or Christianity.[1396] This theory neglects two major problems: the very syncretistic nature of early Christian groups,[1397] and the historical changes, ethnic and cultural discontinuity of the populations of the Carpathian basin between AD 271 and 895.[1398] From this point of view, not only the notion of 'early Christian community' is wrong, but so is finding the material, ethnic or cultural continuity between two temporarily distant contexts.

A methodologically simple, but in the case of Apulum, the only objective way to analyse the archaeological reality is a critical and contextual revision of those objects, which have been claimed as early Christian by the Romanian literature.

A critical re-assessment of the so-called Early Christian artefacts from Apulum

As the largest conurbation of the province, and one of the most important commercial and military centres of

[1390] Van Kooten 2010; Reiner 2013; Adams 2013. Although there are literary and papyriological sources dated to the 2nd century AD, the majority of the archaeological material is from the late 4th century. See also: Gwynn 2010: 32-33; Frankfurter 2017.
[1391] Migotti 2010; Nagy 2014.
[1392] Ristow 2007: 295-296.
[1393] Gerrard 2013; Rogers 2013: 33-35.
[1394] On the notion of transition and the co-existence of Christian and 'pagan' communities, see: Jones 2014: 5-8, introducing the notion of 'Christians in the full sense' and those who were not: Jones 2014: 6.
[1395] On the early Christian sources from Karanis, see: Weiss 2015: 71-94. On Dura Europos, see: Dirven 2008: 43-57. On the problem of urbanity and the early Jesus followers: Robinson 2017.
[1396] Protase 2010.
[1397] Rebillard-Rüpke 2015; Frankfurter 2017.
[1398] On ethnicity and archaeology see: Curta 2014. See also: Gáll *et al.* 2017.

the Danubian provinces, the settlements of Apulum and their rich archaeological material already appeared in the 19th century as a plausible centre for the diffusion of Christianity in the Roman province of Dacia in the period from AD 106-271. In the work of Vasile Pîrvan, one of the first monographs to deal with possible early Christian artefacts in the province, the author identified some notable examples of epigraphic material as being 'Early Christian' or 'possibly Christian'. However it is no longer plausible to associate the cult of Deus Aeternus, Azisos, Bonus Puer or Theos Hypsistos with a possible Judeo-Christian community.[1399] In fact, none of the inscriptions from Apulum considered Christian by Pîrvan are now recognised as such.[1400]

A famous funerary monument was considered for a long time as a Crypto-Christian monument.[1401] It was erected for Tuticia Adrastilla,[1402] probably a Gallic woman, who died at the age of 19, two months and 20 days, by her minor daughter and official heir, Tuticia Victoria.[1403] Although now lost, the monument was drawn by Luigi Marsili at the end of the 17th century, a century after the first description and possible discovery of the sarcophagus. The iconography of the monument has provoked numerous discussions by art-historians.[1404] The first problem appears with the drawing itself: Marsili's drawings for the topography of Dacia and its settlements are extremely important, but in many cases not very accurate, or, if precise, they do not focus on iconographic details.[1405] Representations of winged figures (*genii*, *Eros*) with torches are very common in Roman funerary art.[1406] Eros-Cupid often appears as a *psychopompos*, guiding the soul of the dead in Graeco-Roman funerary art.[1407] The fisherman with three fishes has similar connotations: although it is hard to find an analogy for this representation, it is possible that it represents a Cupid in front of a boat.[1408] The representation of a dove with an olive branch is also a typical Roman funerary motif, often found in provincial art,[1409] but it does also appear very often in early Christian funerary art. Similarly, a reference to the months and days in the life of the deceased is unusual is this province, but that it does often appear in early Christian epigraphy is not a conclusive argument. On balance, the iconographic elements suggest that the monument was erected for a 'pagan' and not a Christian woman. In the absence of the monument and its archaeological context we cannot say more.

Another monument named as a Christian artifact in most of the Romanian literature is a mosaic (**Fig.55**.).[1410] Discovered at the end of the 18th century, the mosaic has an interesting historiography and modern reception. Moga cites only the works of Snogov and Berciu.[1411] Berciu knew F. X. Hene as the first publisher of the mosaic, cited later by G. Neugebaur and B. Cserni also.[1412] However all of the authors neglected the work of György Aranka in 1796, which, after the letter of Ignác Batthyány, is the second source that mentions the mosaic.[1413] Aranka mentions that the mosaic was discovered in 1783 in the area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis in a small chamber, protected by two bulls at the entrance.[1414] The mosaic was sent to Vienna,[1415] where it was severely damaged during the course of the next 50 years.[1416] Numerous other examples discovered in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis indicate the presence of a representative area between the Strada Gemenilor and the railway, which was the northern edge of the Municipium Aurelium Apulensis, and later formed the central area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis.[1417] Berciu dates the mosaic to the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries AD on the basis of some analogies from Aquincum.[1418] Moga affirms that, based on the iconographic elements, the mosaic was assembled at the end of the 3rd century AD.[1419] Without any other archaeological reference, the mosaic can only be vaguely dated based on the iconographic elements. As examples from Aquincum and Roman Crete show, the peak of Roman mosaic art in domestic contexts was the end of the 2nd century AD, decreasing radically by the

[1399] Mitchell 2012; Onofrei 2014.

[1400] There are numerous popularising articles, however, which cite the work of Pîrvan without any critical approach. See also: Moga 2007: 19-20. For the cognomen Chrestus, see: Slingerland 1989: 133-144, Fodor 2014: 72-84.

[1401] IDR III/5: 584: *Tuticiae Adrastillae / vixit ann(os) XVIII m(enses) II d(ies) XX / Tuticia Victoria fil(ia) / et heres matri / karissimae*. Piso 2001a: 442-443. Piso argues that the Christian nature of this monument must be viewed with caution.

[1402] OPEL II, 27.

[1403] Bîrliba 2004: 83; Varga 2012: 203-204

[1404] Although probably one of the most interesting representations, it does not appear in the works of Pîrvan and Moga.

[1405] Szabó 2004b: 84-85.

[1406] MNR 125891. See also: Koch-Wight 1988: 32-33; Elsner-Huskinson 2011: 160.

[1407] Anagnostou-Laoutides 2005: 92, fn. 285; Platt 2007: 89-99.

[1408] Huskinson 1996: 72; MNR 9167, 9183. The iconography is very similar to the representation of the fisherman from the votive reliefs dedicated to the Danubian riders: Nemeti 2015.

[1409] Lupa 3446; Nagy 2007: 88, nr 93.

[1410] Aranka 1796: 149-150; Berciu 1961: 174-175, Snogov 1996: 37-38; Moga 2007. There is no comprehensive work on the mosaics of Roman Dacia, however a local, contextual analysis would be important to identify workshops and extra-provincial links. The work of Berciu from 1961 is the best written to date, however he uses old literature before 1950. See also: Ciobanu 1994: 265-271.

[1411] Berciu 1961: 174-175; Snogov 1996: 37-38.

[1412] Berciu 1961: 174, fn. 1. Berciu mentioned that the mosaic was discovered in 1782.

[1413] Aranka 1796: 149-150.

[1414] It is possible that Aranka refers to the mosaic of a bull discovered in 1767 and published also by Hene.

[1415] Moga mentions that the mosaic was in the Vatican, which is not correct.

[1416] The first drawing of the mosaic by Count Batthyány shows a more complete mosaic than the publication of Hane.

[1417] Szabó 2015e: 136.

[1418] Berciu 1961: 175, fn. 3, citing Nagy 1925. See also: Ciobanu 1994: 271, who dates the find to the end of the Antonine period and the beginning of the Severan age.

[1419] Sagov dates the mosaic to the 4th/5th centuries AD but with no evidence: Sagov 1996: 37.

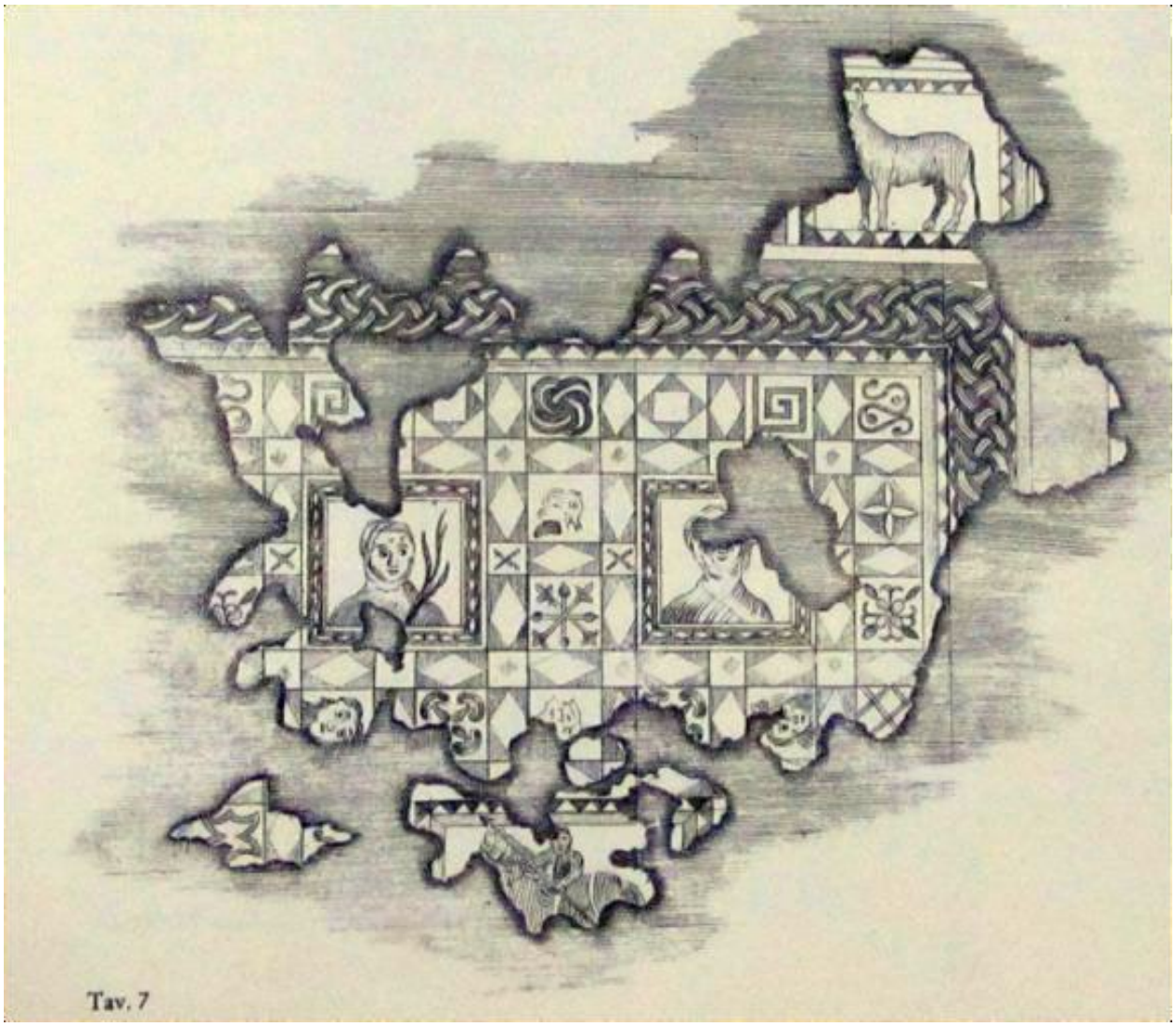

Figure 55. Mosaic from Apulum (after Snogov 1996: 37-38)

end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th centuries in the Danubian provinces.[1420]

A close iconographic analogy for the mosaic comes from ancient Derventio (Malton, Yorkshire), defined as a remarkable example of the so called Isurian-Petuarian group formed in the 4th century AD.[1421] It is quite problematic and anachronistic to identify a chronological framework for the Dacian mosaics based on the *officinae* (or groups) of Britannia.[1422] Although Ciobanu identified an Aquileian source with Greek workshops and itinerant craftsmen or pattern-books,[1423] it is quite possible that the craftsmen at Apulum also had close relations with British workshops, or at least pattern-books.[1424] The typology of floral and geometrical motifs from Britannia shows numerous similar features, especially the 4 x 4 grip repeat (complex II) Fishbourne types.[1425] Such extra-provincial influences occur frequently in mosaic art,[1426] although it may be misleading to try to date them merely on basis of the iconographic features and typology.[1427]

The most detailed iconographic analysis is that of I. Berciu, who identified the major structural parts and iconographic elements but was unable to identify the female figure. He is probably right when he affirms that the frequent representation of the bull on domestic mosaics, so popular in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, could be an *apotropaion*, a protecting spirit of the house.

1420 Sweetman 2013: 83-84.
1421 For a detailed analysis: Neil-Cosh 2002: 343-345.
1422 The chronological framework and the workshop in Britain have also been contested in recent years: Ling 1997: 264-266.
1423 Ciobanu 1994: 271. On the itinerary pattern-books and craftsmen, see: Ling 1998: 63.
1424 Ling 1998: 68.
1425 Tebby 1994: 276. For an analogy of the geometric composition of our mosaic, see: Tebby 1994: fig. 2.
1426 Johnston 1994: 304-305.
1427 Valeva 1995: 257.

In the central area a representation of a horseman with a spear[1428] is surrounded by the four personifications of the seasons – only two of them being partially preserved at the moment of discovery. Berciu fails to mention the central decorative figure, which represents two different and unified decussate crosses. One is decorated with floral motifs,[1429] the other probably with bulbs. Moga, based on the publication of Sagov, revives the possibility raised by count Batthyány in 1786 that the cross-motif is a sign of early Christianity in Apulum.[1430] Without any analogies from Dacia or other provinces, Moga identifies the motif as a Christian Cross based only on his 'personal opinion'. He suggests that, if the central symbol is Christian, the craftsman himself may have been a Christian. He fails to explain why a Christian symbol is combined with other 'pagan' motifs, or how this hypothetically syncretistic iconography serves a domestic space and what was the religious affinity of the family or owner who ordered it.[1431] A closer examination of the iconography shows that in the same register there are two other similar floral motifs represented in a cross-form. A more interesting detail is the two small portraits in the lower register which indicate also mythological scenes and not Christian symbolism.[1432]

Another group of artefacts considered as 'early Christian' are the so-called cross-marked vessels (**Fig.56.**).[1433] The term refers to small drinking cups made of *terra nigra*, dated by Moga to the 3rd century AD.[1434] None of the artefacts have a clearly recorded archaeological context or other significant datable discoveries from the same level. Four of the artefacts have the same incision (X mark)[1435] marked before the firing. The discussion on these symbols produced a tremendous Romanian and international bibliography, resulting in the general opinion that these are ownership marks (*Töpfermarken*) or personalised symbols without religious or votive connotations.[1436] To identify a mark as Christian would require more contextual evidence and obvious symbols – although that would not answer the question: who, or how many persons were involved in the *chaîne opératoire* of a vessel from its production until it was used by Christians? Two other artefacts were discovered in 2006 in the Parcul Unirii in a very confused archaeological context.[1437] Moga does not mention the texture of the ceramics, which makes it even more difficult to identify their chronology. He claims that the symbol interpreted as a *chrismon* was carved on the pottery after firing. The upper part of the symbol is missing and the drawing is very inaccurate. Even if it represents a *chrismon*, without an accurate contextual analysis it is impossible to identify the piece

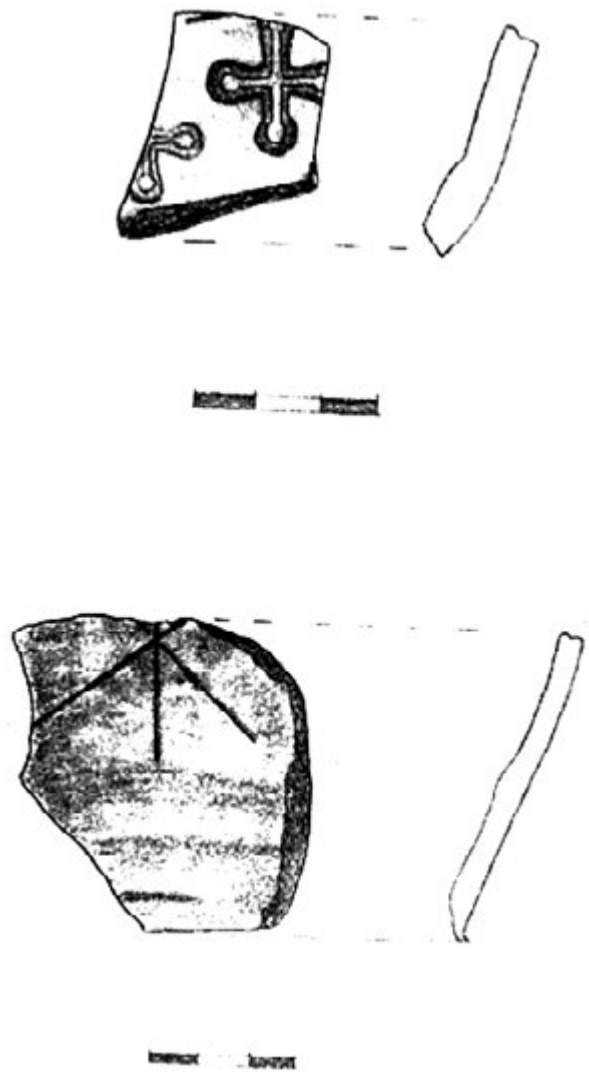

Figure 56. Cross-marked pottery fragments (after Moga 2007)

[1428] Ciobanu interprets it as a symbol of the circus or amphitheatre games, however the drawing rather suggests a soldier and not a gladiator: Ciobanu 1994: 267. The juxtaposition of 'Seasons' with hunting scene can perhaps be seen on a mosaic from Winterton: Nail-Cosh 2002: 345.

[1429] Berciu identified it as floral motif: Berciu 1961: 175, fn. 2.

[1430] Sagov 1996: 37; Moga 2007: 37.

[1431] In regard to mosaics, it is even harder to establish the 'Christian' context and connotation due to the possible existence of mobile and extra-provincial craftsmen and model-books.

[1432] See Roger Ling's personal review on the mosaic: 'I don't think the cross is Christian, merely a decorative motif. This is surely a standard pagan mosaic, and the busts (at least, the larger ones) are two of the four seasons – thus the resemblance to Malton (Winter carrying a dead branch).' From a letter dated 16 March 2015.

[1433] For a traditional, if not dogmatic interpretation of the 'X' marks, see: Gudea 2016.

[1434] On the pottery production of Apulum and their chronology, see: Bolindeț 2011: 100-105.

[1435] Using the terminology of Kütter (2007: 80-99).

[1436] Although Moga cites the article of N. Gudea, he simply does not accept this theory: Moga 2007: 38. On the topic see: Gudea 1994; Ristow 2007: 60. On the graffiti and owner marks, see: Weiß-König 2010.

[1437] Moga mentions that the two small fragments were found in a mixed context, where Roman layers were severely affected by later 'feudal' (sic!) layers also: Moga 2007: 39. The area is an *extra muros castram legionis* area, probably from the *canabae* or Municipium Septimium Apulense. The area was already severely looted and affected by major architectural projects from early medieval times and also during the Communist period.

as a 'Christian' artefact. We simply do not know who the owner was, or the craftsmen, or when it was used, and if those involved were related to the Christian faith.

Another interesting artefact long considered as a 'Gnostic' or Christian monument was found in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (Marospartos) at the end of the 19th century (**Fig.57.**).[1438] The gemstone probably represents a female person, her right hand pointing to her mouth and wearing a diadem or a headdress, standing on a snake or snake-formed pedestal. Till recently, the artefact was interpreted as a Gnostic piece, combining 'pagan' elements with a Christian identity. In fact the gemstone is an amulet representing an Isis schema, or Nemesis, protector of mysteries. Both iconographies appear quite often on gemstones and amulets.[1439] Although the amulet from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis is not a Christian artefact, it is an important indication of popular religiosity and magical practices, with only a few of these having even an approximate archaeological context.

These objects are dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, and thus are crucial to those who wish to establish continuity between Orthodox Christianity and the first Christian communities of Transylvania. The examples from Apulum simply make the very general point that, based only on the material evidence, there is not enough of it to prove the existence of Christianisation and Christianity as a religion in Roman Dacia.[1440]

The next group of artefacts is dated three centuries later, mostly from the 5th-7th centuries AD. The lack of archaeological contexts and ignorance of numerous aspects encourage the claims that there was an ethnic continuity from the 'Daco-Roman civilisation' to the 'early Romanian' or 'indigenous' population. Identifying the Romanian character of these 'Christian' objects is still common in the historiography.[1441]

Figure 57. Gemstone discovered in Apulum (after Nemeti 2013b, fig. 133a).

The Menas *ampulla* (**Fig.58.**) was discovered in the vicinity of Apulum as a sporadic find.[1442] It represents the well-known saint who died as a martyr in the time of Diocletian.[1443] The iconographic features are similar to the examples from Dierna and Carnuntum[1444] and the item can be classified as belonging to the period of Heraclius (6th-7th centuries AD).[1445] This type became very popular in the Danubian and Balkan region at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century due to the rich network of pilgrims and merchants of the Eastern Roman Empire.[1446] From the territory of the former province of Dacia, this type of artefact is known from two other settlements, Dierna and Porolissum, which are dated 6th-7th centuries AD.[1447] Such items usually contained holy water or served to create a more personalised, direct contact with the saints and their holy bodies.[1448]

[1438] *ΑΤΤΙΩ ΧΥΣ / HEIKA X.* CIGD nr 26 with all the bibliography. See also: Nemeti 2013b: fig. 133a-b.

[1439] Nagy 2013. See also: CBd-486, 1587.

[1440] Christianity as individual religious choice in Roman Dacia might exist, but the material evidence for this is absent too: Bărbulescu 2010: 261.

[1441] Protase 2010: 707-710, transmitting the official voice and dogma of the Romanian Academy and the conservative academic current, speaks directly about the controversial topic of the ethnicity of the so-called 'Christian' objects. He argues that Christian artefacts are totally missing from Barbaricum in the 4th-5th centuries AD, which, after his argument, explained by the 'Romanness' of the Christianity. Protase argues that the so-called 'free Dacians' appeared in the territory of the ex-province of Dacia and later became Christianised by missionaries from the southern territories still under the Empire. He affirms that none of the groups who migrated through the territory of Transylvania were Christians (Goths, Gepids, Huns, Avars) and the Christianity of the Visigoths was developed from a different root from Christianity of the indigenous population.. See also: Niculescu 2005: 99-125; Gáll 2007: 78-110.

[1442] Moga 2000; 2007: 44-45.

[1443] Kiss 1989: 9-10; DACL 11.1, 324-397.

[1444] Barnea 1995; Humer *et al.* 2014: 307, cat. nr 670.

[1445] Kiss 1989: 15-16.

[1446] Kádár 1995: 886-888; Curta 2011: 303-321. On the problem of ethnicity, materiality and Christianity in the period of migration, see: Prien 2012.

[1447] Barnea 1995: 61b-c.

[1448] Brown 1981: 86-129.

Figure 58. Menas ampulla from Apulum (after Moga 2000).

The presence of such objects in the territory of former Dacia can be explained in several ways. It could be interpreted as belonging to a pilgrimage of an individual, or even as a prestige gift or a commercial article, but none of these possible answers can prove, or disprove, the existence of a permanent Christian community and their 'ethnicity'.[1449] Given that all the so-called 'early Christian' artefacts are dated to the 5th-7th centuries and were uncovered as sporadic finds, they can only be interpreted in a wider historical context. In this period the Transylvanian Basin was under Gepidic, then, after 567-568 AD, Avaric rule.[1450] The historical and archaeological sources for other provinces in the Danubian and Balkan areas (Pannonia, Dalmatia) show an absence of Christian communities and significant Christian material in this period, which can support the hypothesis that these objects as status-symbols and gifts for the local elite.[1451] The wide dissemination of these *ampullae* could be related to the rich commercial networks between the Byzantine Empire and the former provinces of Rome, as is suggested by the hoards and numismatic finds.[1452] Artefacts from the East apparently followed two routes: from the west (Adriatic coast) or from the Black Sea area. The presence of these objects could therefore be linked to European pilgrimage routes or to diplomatic-economic relations between the centre

[1449] Curta 2011: 313.
[1450] Harhoiu *et al.* 2011: 45-50. See also: Gáll *et al.* 2017.
[1451] Heinrich-Tamáska 2012: 213-237; Migotti 2012: 185-212; Bratoz 2011: 211-248.
[1452] Curta-Gandila 2012: 45-111. See also: Bangert 2007.

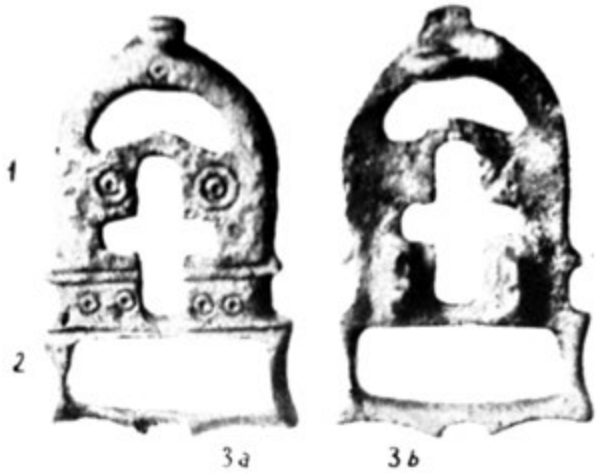

Figure 59. Sucidava belt-buckle from Apulum (after Moga 2007)

(Constantinople) and the peripheral powers (Gepidic Kingdom, Avar Khanate). Although it might serve as an agent in religious communication for a Christian individual, the Menas *ampulla* in the former territory of Apulum does not prove in itself the presence of permanent Christian communities or individuals, even if their presence in Gepidic and Avar societies seems apparent.[1453]

The Sucidava belt buckle (**Fig.59**.) was discovered in the south-west corner of the former Roman fort, from a layer marking a short period of occupation of the fort in the 6th-7th centuries.[1454] Sucidava-type belts are one of the most common artefacts to reach the Carpathian basin in the Byzantine era.[1455] The Byzantine belt buckles are dated to the second half of the 6th century, although they could indicate a Christian owner, the cross representations on these objects are not as conclusive as other Christian symbols, such as the bird shaped fibulae or plumb *bullae*. As in the previous case, this type of object does not suggest a permanent Christian community and cannot indicate the ethnicity of its owner(s).

From the territory of Apulum five oil lamps (four in ceramic and one in bronze) have been discovered which bear Christian symbolism, but only one of them has an approximate context, being discovered by Béla Cserni in the Praetorium Consularis (**Fig.60**.).[1456] They are dated to between the end of the 4th and second half

[1453] Russell 1994: 134-138; Gallina 1999: 94-106; Pohl 1988: 203-205; Harhoiu *et al.* 2011: 45-75.
[1454] Heitel 1986: 238-239; Madgearu 1998: 220, nr 1. See also: Horedt 1986: 46; Moga 2007: 52.
[1455] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002: 145-155; Jaric 2011. For analogies from the ex-province of Pannonia, see: Csallány 1961: taf. 13-14; Bóna-Nagy 2002: 61, 76; Nagy 2005: 100, 123, 133. For the territory of Transylvania, see: Madgearu 1998.
[1456] Cserni 1894: 31. See also: Gudea-Ghiurco 1988: 153-154, cat. nr Afc2, with all further bibliography.

of the 5th centuries AD (types Iványi XXII, Pohl I, Hayes 2),[1457] and probably are imports from Egypt or Africa *proconsularis*.[1458] The mobility of these objects is mostly related to the economic and diplomatic routes, like the Menas *ampullae*, therefore their role in a Christian religious communication without their human agents is mere speculation.

The case study of 'Christianisation' in Apulum is true for the entire territory of the former province of Dacia. Objects associated with groups and individuals who had a Christian identity and practised Christian religious communication in better documented contexts in the 4th-10th centuries AD are, indeed, present in Transylvania. However, their human agency, archaeological context – the story behind the object and its iconography – is completely missing.

Identifying communities, individuals, their assembly houses and the material evidence of Early Christianity is difficult, even in highly researched and rich areas such as Rome or the Near East. It is very probable that Christian individuals lived in Apulum or in Dacia for a short period. Even the formation of short-lived communities could be possible. Similarly, the influence of the monotheistic tendencies and ideas are clearly attested in Apulum and in the province. However, this does not prove the long-term durability of a Christian, mono-ethnic community, and cannot be used as arguments to create false ideological theories on ethnic and religious continuity.

Figure 60. Late antique lamp with cross-mark (MNUAI, photo: author)

[1457] Iványi 1935: 14; Hayes 1972: 311-312.
[1458] Hayes 1972: 310-315.

III. Sanctuaries and networks in military settlements: Porolissum and Praetorium

Given the fact that Roman provincial archaeology since the 19th century has focused largely on military settlements and their buildings, the materiality of Roman religion from military contexts – especially from the vicinity of the auxiliary forts – is well known.[1] This statement is true also for Roman Dacia, where the religious life of the military has received much more emphasis than the civilian urban or rural contexts.[2] However, most of the studies focused only on the publication of the prime material and the technical description of certain objects or sanctuaries related to military settlements. This chapter will concentrate on two locations on the edge of the province: Porolissum and Praetorium. While one of them (Porolissum) will become a municipium, it is therefore the best case study for an urban settlement, with a strong military background and dependence on an auxiliary fort, the other (Praetorium) is a case study from the many smaller military *vici* which never gained urban status.[3] Both cases are well excavated and have numerous particularities, but also common features that need to be analysed in the framework of lived ancient religion, focusing especially on the local variations of space sacralisation in Dolichenian contexts, but also on the rich religious and social (extra- and intra-provincial) networks of the groups.

III.1. The 'plateau of the sanctuaries' in Porolissum: an overview

Porolissum (Mojgrad, Sălaj county) is one of the most well-researched Roman sites in Romania.[4] Formed in the vicinity of a Dacian fortress and probable settlement,[5] the extremely favourable geographic and geostrategic position of the site urged the fast evolution of a large auxiliary fort and a complex military system on the Meses mountains,[6] followed by the formation of a *civitates* and later a *municipium* at the end of the 2nd century (**Fig.61a-b**).[7] The strategic role of the area and the specific geographic milieu made the fort an important military centre of Dacia Porolissensis, and the civil settlement became one of the most important urban centres of the province. The economic routes leading to Aquincum[8] and other centres of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* made Porolissum an important economic node as well.[9] Similarly, the presence of numerous auxiliary troops – especially the *cohors III Campestris civium Romanorum*[10] and the *Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium*[11] – played a crucial role in maintaining a network with Syria, and, probably, Doliche itself. The presence of the Syrians in Porolissum and the economic relationship between Dacia Porolissensis and the Oriental provinces are also visible in the religious life of the settlements and the imported material.[12]

Although the archaeological site of Porolissum was less affected by modern constructions and later urban development, it has been looted since the early medieval period[13] and most of the archaeological material discovered before 1977 has disappeared.[14] These two factors are decisive in the lack of the archaeological evidence regarding the religious life of the settlements of Porolissum, summarised briefly in a selection of articles, which have focused mostly on the ethno/ geographically structured pantheon, while referring little to the sacred topography and sanctuaries of the *vicus*.[15]

N. Gudea identified 42 divinities and divine personifications (not counting the existence of the Imperial cults) attested by different archaeological artefacts, but only eight of these are attested by inscriptions and just three had a sanctuary in the settlement (I.22-25).[16] However, quantifying divinities and establishing pantheons based on 'ethnic' or geographic origins has nothing to do with the religious experience of Romans from Porolissum.

[1] For the recent research on the Roman Limes in Dacia, see: www.limesromania.ro (last accessed: 18.04.2018).

[2] The bibliography on the religious life of the soldiers from Roman Dacia is extremely rich. The most recent works with an extensive bibliographies are: Popescu 2004; Ștefănescu 2009. See also: BRRD I. 274-280, I. 335-344.

[3] Among the many similar other case studies, the most well documented is Micia. See: Alicu 2004.

[4] For a general synthesis on the military and civilian settlements, see: Gudea 1989; Gudea 1997; Tamba 2008. See also: Piso 2001b: 221, fn. 1 with further bibliography.

[5] Gudea 1989: 30.

[6] Gudea 1997; Opreanu 2013: 177-190.

[7] Gudea-Tamba 2001: 12. For a more detailed analysis of the juridical evolution of the settlements, see: Piso 2001b: 235-237.

[8] Fodorean 2014.

[9] On the economic role and commercial networks of the settlements, see: Gudea 1989: 190-216; Gudea 1996: 75-138.

[10] Țentea-Matei-Popescu 2003: 278; 2006: 130.

[11] Țentea 2012: 73-74.

[12] On the commercial relations of Porolissum with the Oriental provinces, see: Gudea 1989: 190-194; Matei-Popescu 2012: 92.

[13] Gudea 1989: 31-33.

[14] Gudea 1989: 22-23.

[15] Gudea 1989: 217-222; Gudea 2003: 217-242; Gudea 2007: 7-29; Gudea-Tamba 2005: 471-484. See also: Boda-Szabó 2014: 162. A comprehensive work on the statuary representations and votive monuments of Dacia Porolissensis is in preparation: Zăgreanu 2015.

[16] Gudea 1989: 413-414, fig. 69 updated with the latest discoveries. On the Egyptian cults of Dacia Porolissensis, see: Deac 2012: 159-174; Deac 2014. On the figurative votive monuments: Zăgreanu 2015.

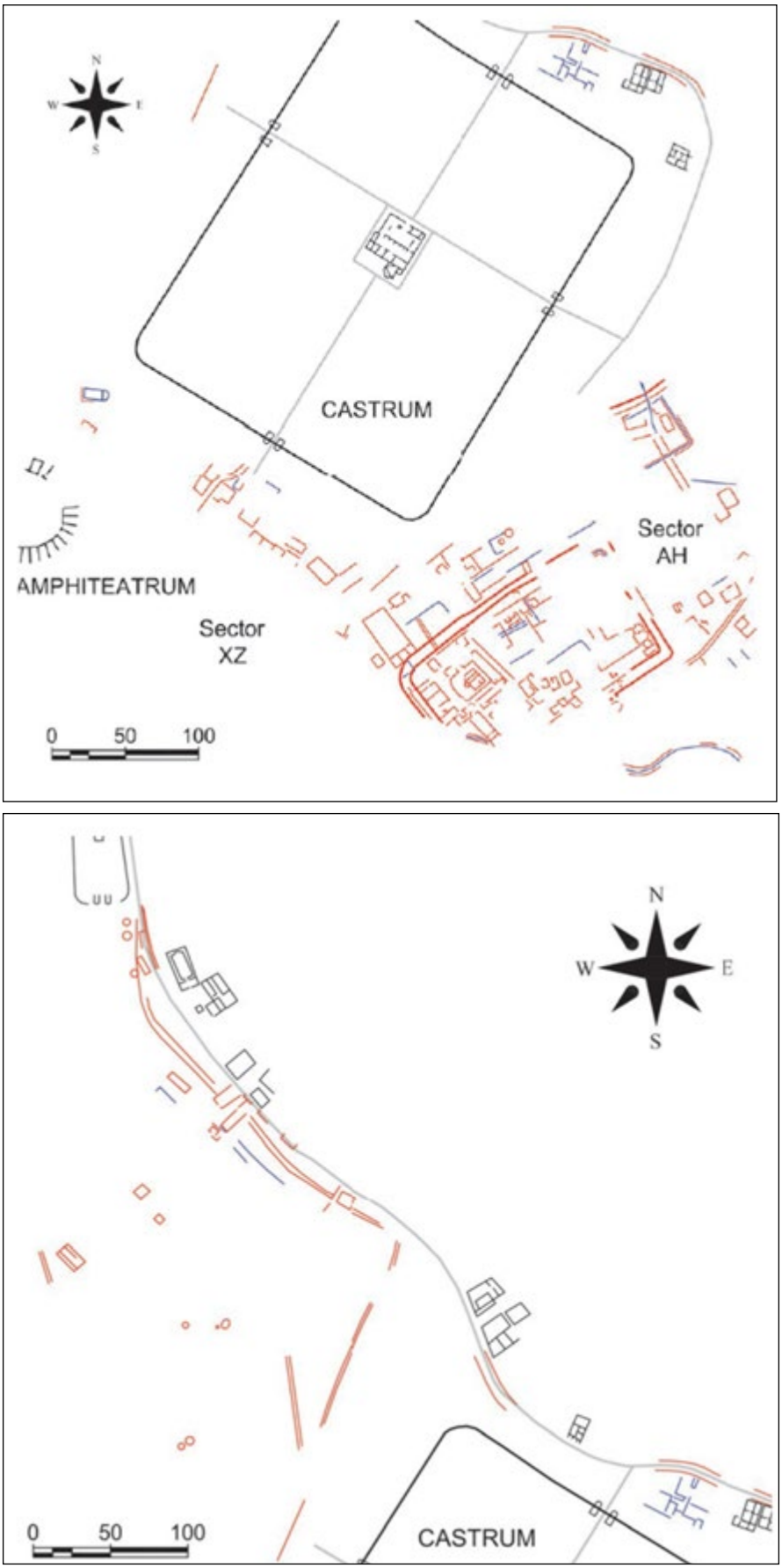

Figure 61a-b. The fort of Porolissum and its environment with the so called road of sanctuaries (after Opreanu et al. 2013, 104, fig. 20 and 24)

The numbers of gems are surprisingly high, which shows a religious particularity of the settlement in comparison with other, even greater, civilian or military settlements of the Dacian provinces.[17] The small finds, however, prove only the local choices in the domestic religious environment and tell us little about religious experience in public or shared spaces. The most researched building complex is the auxiliary fort and the votive monuments from its territory – especially those from the Principia – which can also be attested topographically.[18] The sanctuaries of the civil settlement, the later Municipium Septimium Porolissensium, are just partially researched, although recent excavations have possibly identified an *intra muros* sanctuary from the civil settlement.[19]

A particularly important and dense concentration of sanctuaries was identified on the north-east side of the fort, along the Imperial road that connects the Barbaricum with the province – or more regionally – the customs station and the Municipium. The area – known as the 'plateau of the sanctuaries' – was identified at the beginning of the 20th century, but the documentation and the archaeological material of the first excavations were never published.[20] Although the number of the buildings attested in front of the fort is significant,[21] only a few of them were identified by their functionality: the temple of Bel, named recently as the temple of the paternal god Bel of the Palmyrenian *numerus* from Porolissum[22] (**I.24**) (N1); a fountain, the so called 'taberna of Agrippa Vitalis' (LM1); and the Dolichenum (LM1-S). After the civilian *vicus* was transformed into a *municipium*, the legal status of this area also changed, but it is unclear whether the plateau of the sanctuaries remained an *intra* or *extra muros* area of the new urban settlement.[23] The epigraphic material indicates that the Dolichenum and the Bel temple were built by magistrates of the city who also played an important role in the religious practices of the military. The Bel temple is a great example of group identity, where the military grouping is also mixed with a special religious identity.[24] As highlighted in a previous chapter, the concentration of the small-group religions and their assembly houses in an *extra muros* area was a common aspect of a Roman city, especially before the late Severan age,[25] thus the presence of other sanctuaries along the road – similar to Stockstadt – is also plausible in a strictly military settlement.[26] The lack of the Mithraic material from Porolissum is a great enigma in terms of the settlement.[27] This may be due to looting in the medieval period or later, or the special religious environment and choices of the soldiers and civilians from this site, which could have been different from other similar sites in the province and across the Empire.[28]

The so-called 'plateau of the sanctuaries' has similar topographical and spatial aspects, as we can observe also in the case of the Praetorium, where numerous small- and medium-sized buildings were attested along the road in front of the auxiliary fort. The evolution of this area is closely related to the urbanisation progress of the settlement and reflects the intensification of the commercial relations and the local competition and self-expression of some social, or – as with the case of the Bel temple – possibly some ethnic groups.[29] Choosing this particular location within the economic landscape of the settlement, the religious groups intended to enter into the larger, Imperial circuit of ideas, money and religious knowledge, giving a perfect example for the recent concept of the 'religious market'.[30] A particular case in terms of locating the sacred in this spatial and economic milieu was played by the Dolichenian groups.

III.2. The Dolichena from Porolissum and Praetorium: a comparative study

The study of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus has recently become a popular topic within the study of Roman religion.[31] The case study of Dacia was also well researched, even from as early as the 19th century, creating a rich bibliography relating to certain social and religious aspects of the cult.[32] Until now, the

[17] This could be explained, however, by the much more severe looting of the two great urban settlements, Apulum and Sarmizegetusa too.

[18] Gudea 1997. Although since the 1980s the theoretical existence of a *mithraeum* within the fort appeared numerous times in the literature, the recent excavations carried out in building C3 proved that the hypothesis is not plausible: Mustață *et al.* 2014: 215-238.

[19] Opreanu-Lăzărescu 2016: 62-94.

[20] Gudea 1989.

[21] See Gudea-Tamba 2001: fig. 6. On the latest research and extension of the Municipium, see: Opreanu *et al.* 2013: 93.

[22] The last and most complete analysis of the temple was published by A. Diaconescu (2011: 135-192).

[23] Ádám Szabó claims that the sanctuary was *intra muros* of the new municipium, based on the map by Gudea-Tamba (2001: fig. 5). However, the authors did not limit the extension of the urban settlement: Szabó 2007: 62. On the recent geophisycal surveys and the possible fortifications of the settlement, see: Opreanu *et al.* 2013. For *intra muros* sacralised spaces in military settlements, see the case study of Nida-Heddernheim: Huld-Zetsche 1994: 24-25.

[24] Dészpa 2017: 149.

[25] See Chapter II.8.

[26] Hensen 2011.

[27] There are few military settlements of this size without a *mithraeum* in the whole Roman Empire, while in the provinces of Tres Daciae, Mithras is attested in all the large urban and military settlements. Although some of the excavated buildings of the plateau of the sanctuaries were suggested for sites of a possible *mithraeum*, there is no diagnostic evidence to prove this.

[28] See also: Gudea 1989: 220, fn. 27, citing J. Winkler about a missing terracotta object.

[29] Although A. Diaconescu named the temple of Bel as an 'ethnic assembly house' there is no decisive proof that the sanctuary was dedicated and used exclusively by Syrians: Diaconescu 2011. On the topic, see also: Childs 2012; Nielsen 2015.

[30] Nuffelen 2014: 10, especially fn. 9. For a contra-argument see: Beck 2006b.

[31] For a historiographic summary, see: Speidel 1978: 1-3; Bianchi 1997: 607-615; Blömer 2012: 39-98.

[32] For a full bibliography on the topic, see: Boda-Szabó 2014: 92-95. On the main synthesis on the local aspects of the cult, see: Nemeti 2005: 224-237; Carbó-Garcia 2010a; Sanzi 2013: 269-277.

historiography focused intensively on the origins of the cult,[33] the main motors of its geographic dynamics,[34] iconographic features,[35] social aspects,[36] priestly hierarchy, and religious individualisation,[37] as well as some particularities, i.e. the mythology and religious narratives of the cult, or the rituals and practices within the sanctuaries.[38] The religious networks, practices, and local dynamics of space sacralisation in the Dolichenian groups need to be emphasised. There are reasons for this: the almost total lack of literary sources and the small number of archaeologically identified sanctuaries (I.23, I.28, II.7, III.4, III.25, III.31, III.37, III.46, III.53, III. 57, III.63, III.65)[39] make it very difficult to reconstruct religious practices in these sanctuaries to the extent that we can in terms of the Mithraic groups, where the number of recently found sanctuaries is much higher.[40]

New studies focusing on the specific aspects of the architecture of Dolichenian sanctuaries,[41] and the recently revealed sanctuary of the cult from Doliche,[42] Vindolanda[43] and Balaklawa,[44] revealed not only new architectural features of the buildings, but opened the door for the detailed study of small finds as well. Schwarzer has shown that the architectural structure and specificities of the dolichenum[45] have their traces in the Hellenistic and pre-Roman (Mesopotamian) sanctuary types of Syrian religious assembly houses,[46] visible especially in the case of the Dura Europos Dolichenum, which follows the plan of the Aphlad sanctuary.[47] Besides the *temenos* and the banquet rooms, as additional architectural elements, the Dura sanctuary also had numerous small niches and rooms dedicated to different divinities, such as Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Jupiter Turmasgades, Zeus Helios Mithras and Yarhibol. This phenomenon is very common in many of the archaeologically attested sanctuaries, which suggests a very high presence of the *synnaoi theoi* in the Dolichenian cult.[48] A similar case study might be attested in Micia as well (I.20, III.31), where the cults of Jupiter Hierapolitanus, Turmasgades and Dolichenus were probably attested in the same sacralised space.[49] However, a comparative study of the archaeologically attested *dolichena* indicates a great variety of architectural, chronological, dimensional and structural features.[50] Although, the presence of the multiple annexes are attested almost everywhere, the podium and temenos are not present as often. This variation can be explained in some cases by geographic and natural conditions, as well as the size of the religious group,[51] but it could refer also to the flexibility and local variations amongst the religious activities and liturgies practised by the groups. The comparative analysis of the architectural features of the dolichena has demonstrated what we already know from the epigraphic and iconographic material: that Dolichenian groups, although perhaps more centralised than the Mithraic cult, due to the mother sanctuary from Doliche and a common religious background, changed and transformed numerous times. Although we cannot reconstruct the mythological background of the cult, the archaeological reality shows the flexible architectural and religious nature of the sanctuaries[52]. In the case of this cult – similar to the *Asklepieia* – the role of the mother sanctuary was crucial not only in the religious pilgrimage but also in the architectural features and practised rituals.[53]

Another specific aspect of the cult, which could influence the apparent heterogeneity of the sanctuaries, was the dominant presence of the Syrians and Commaganians in the priestly hierarchy and among the worshippers.[54] Anne Collar has already pointed out that the locative term of *deo paterno Commageno* often appears in Dacia, and thus 'highlights the different nature of the cult in Dacia'.[55] Collar suggested that the high percentage of these inscriptions in Dacia was due to the presence of the *ala I Commagenorum* and the *II Flavia Commagenorum*

[33] Cumont 1902: 280-281; Bianchi 1997: 591-597; Facella 2013: 284; Winter 2013: 267-268; 2017. See also Chapter IV.4.
[34] Collar 2013: 99-110.
[35] Nemeti 2005: 224; Winter 2013: 270-271.
[36] Speidel 1978; Hänsch 2012: 111-134.
[37] Fowlkes-Childs 2012: 211-230; Rüpke 2014: 35-53. For Dacia see also: Boda 2014b.
[38] Merlat 1960.
[39] Schwarzer 2013: 294-295. Less than 20 sanctuaries were identified archaeologically, but the direct and indirect (priestly) epigraphic evidence suggests that many more once existed. On his map the sanctuary from Mehadia does not appear. See also: Schwarzer 2012: 187-190.
[40] Kenner 2012; Szabó 2013.
[41] Frackowiak 2012; Schwarzer 2012: 143-210; Schwarzer 2013: 286-295; Nielsen 2014: 141-145.
[42] Blömer 2013. See also: Gordon 2007b.
[43] Birley-Birley 2012.
[44] Sarnowski -Savelja 1998: 321-341.
[45] Naming the sanctuary as a *dolichenum* is a 19th-century scholarly invention, similar to other, modern concepts. Epigraphic sources show a wide range of denominations for the building and its various annexes: Hörig-Schwertheim 1987: 405-6; Schwarzer 2012: 174-176.
[46] Schwarzer 2012: 146.
[47] Nielsen 2014: 144.
[48] There are more than 30 divinities attested in a Dolichenian context (archaeological, epigraphic or iconographic): Hörig-Schwertheim 1987: 405.
[49] Although the literature lists separately the excavated building of Jupiter Hierapolitanus, S. Nemeti argued, that the large number of dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus and Turmasgades might come from the same building: Nemeti 2005: 240-241.
[50] Schwarzer 2012: 190.
[51] One of the biggest sanctuaries, the *dolichenum* from the Aventine, Rome (22.6 x 12 m) had only 31 members: Schwarzer 2013: 290. See also: Rüpke 2014: 35-53.
[52] After the opinion of Schwarzer, the architectural features show the very 'heterogenous' and 'cannonical' nature of the sanctuaries, while his table shows that almost every *dolichenum* has different features and dimensions, and the number of annexed rooms and the orientation of the buildings change in almost every case: Schwarzer 2012, 176.
[53] Blömer 2013.
[54] Collar 2011.
[55] Collar 2011: 105-106. The author does not cite the articles by Bianchi or Nemeti. See also: Nemeti 2005: 230-231; Sanzi 2013: 272-273. On Dii Patrii: Nemeti 2005: 118-120.

in the province, along with the mobility of some soldiers of the *XIII Gemina legio* in the Eastern provinces, which has been attested to on a recently discovered inscription from Doliche.[56] The recent studies on military dislocations proved the early presence of these units in the province, which supports Collar's hypothesis on the founding role of these groups.[57]

As the epigraphic and iconographic variety shows, the Dolichenian groups were highly innovative and flexible when it came to changing their centralised religious backgrounds, which can be exemplified by the case studies of Porolissum (Moigrad) and Praetorium (Mehadia) from Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Inferior.

The Dolichenum from Porolissum

The presence of Dolichenus in Porolissum is possibly attested from the period of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161-169),[58] although, with the exception of the votive hand discovered in the *taberna* in 1993,[59] the rest of the monuments attributed to the Dolichenian cult known before 1996 are problematic in their identification.[60] The existence of two sanctuaries suggested by N. Gudea and D. Tamba, and accepted by Ádám Szabó, is by no means certain, while the epigraphic text known from the Dolichenum does not mention the rebuilding, but rather the construction of a sanctuary (**Fig.62.**).[61]

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D(olicheno)] / pro salute et [incolu]/mitate Imp(eratoris) C(aesaris) M(arci) [Ant(oni)] / Gordiani Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) / et coh(ortis) III Camp(estris) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Fla(v)/us IIIIvir m(unicipii) S(eptimi) P(orolissensis) M(arcus) Ant(onius) Maximu[s] / vet(eranus) et dec(urio) o[rnat]us ornam(entis) IIIIvir(alibus) / m(unicipii) s(upra) s(cripti) et Aure(lius) Fla(vus) dec(urio) m(unicipii) vegesi[m] a[r(ius)]! / sacerdotes dei et coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) [t]emp[l(um) cum] / tabernis (a)ere suo feceru[nt]*

Furthermore, the presence of Aurelius Gaianus as a worshipper of Dea Syria in the early Severan age does not prove the existence of a first *dolichenum* in the settlement.[62] The hypothesis cannot be dismissed, but neither can it be verified.[63] The only evidence that

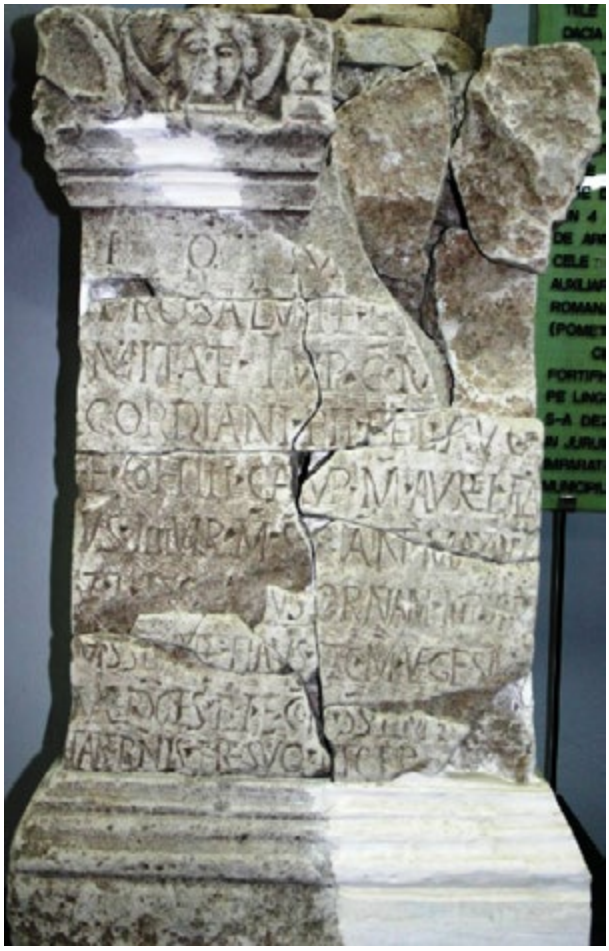

Figure 62. Construction inscription from the Dolichenum of Porolissum (after EDH 043639)

suggests the possible existence of an earlier *dolichenum* dating to before AD 235 is the priestly rank of Aurelius Sabinus, son of Theophilus, named as 'priest and wine merchant' on the inscription, who contributed, with Aurelius Primus Astius decurio of the Municipium Septimium Porolissensium, to the (re)building of a *dolichenum* in Augusta Traiana, Thracia.[64] However, the inscription is more relevant to the social network of the Dolichenian groups and the extra-provincial dynamics of the worshippers. Aurelius Sabinus, son of Theophilus Syrus, could have been of Syrian origin.[65] We do not know what his relationship with Aurelius Primus Astius was, the character who served as a *decurio* of the newly founded Municipium of Porolissum.[66] What we do know, however, is that their financial status was significant enough to (re)build a Dolichenian sanctuary in Thracia. Their presence, 700 km from Porolissum,[67] indicates

[56] Collar 2011: 106; Facella-Speidel 2011.
[57] Gudea-Tamba 2001: 55; Piso 2001b: 231-232; Ţentea-Matei-Popescu 2003: 278; 2006: 130; Eck 2014: 250.
[58] CIL III 7645. Torma 1879: 90, nr 16 mentions that it was discovered by Elekes Károly in Vármező. See also: Carbó-Garcia 2010a. The inscription, discovered in 1878 was for a long time in the collection of L Szikszai. In the CIL it appears as discovered in Vármező, Maros county, which makes its provenience from Porolissum uncertain.
[59] Gudea-Tamba 2001: 45, nr 8.
[60] Gudea-Tamba 2001: 43-46. See also: Nemeti 2005: 221-222.
[61] AE 2001, 1707. See also: Dészpa 2017: 148.
[62] Gudea 1989: 220.
[63] Gudea-Tamba 2001: 55-56, 62-63; Szabó 2007: 204-205. Based on the five known sacerdotes of the divinity, the author mentions that the cult of IOM Dolichenus was present in Porolissum from the beginning of its existence, however the earliest datable attestation to a priest of the cult comes from AD 212.
[64] CCID 50; Gudea-Tamba 2001: 43-44; Szabó 2007: 61-62, cat. nr D. 37.
[65] Szabó 2007: 61-62, cat. nr D. 37.
[66] His name suggests that they could be relatives.
[67] According to the ORBIS Stanford Geospatial Network Model a similar journey would take 23/24 days in spring time.

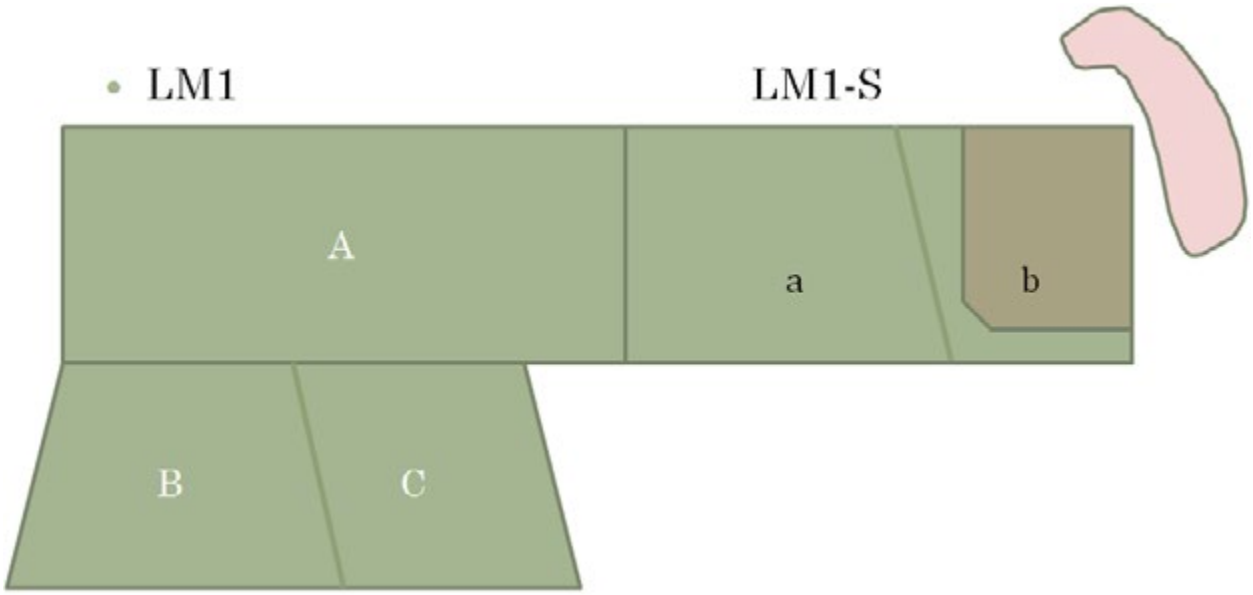

Figure 63. Plan of the dolichenum from Porolissum (photo: author, after Gudea-Tamba 2001)

also the main commercial route of the wine merchants of Dacia.[68] Wine from Thracia, Italia and, occasionally, Syria was one of the main imports of the Roman Empire in Dacia, as part of the so called 'consumer revolution' that appeared in the provinces as a result of the Roman presence and the emergence of a business class.[69] It is important to highlight that while the Mithraic groups in Dacia were organised and formed mostly by the army and the staff of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici*, the Dolichenian groups – much smaller in number – were mostly merchants (*negotiatores*) or members of the local urban *ordo*. The *negotiatores* and wine merchants are attested by two inscriptions from a Dolichenian context.[70] Although the Dolichenian groups have been characterised as being predominantly 'military', even in the latest studies,[71] the role of the merchants and civil groups in the case of Dacia must be highlighted too. Their presence could be related to the army and different dislocations, but their fortune, financial status and social networks – which helped directly the formation and maintenance of the sanctuaries and their groups – came predominantly from an economic and commercial background.

The sanctuary of IOM Dolichenus at Porolissum (I.23) is situated on the so-called 'plateau of the sanctuaries', a few metres from the Imperial road which connected the customs house with the auxiliary fort and the civil settlement (**Fig.63**.). The area was inhabited long before it became part of the Municipium Septimium Porolissensium, although the exact function of the buildings excavated in this area has not been established.[72] The sanctuary is believed to have been situated within the city walls of the settlement,[73] but the recent major studies and geophysical measurements show a different structure and evolution of urbanisation and the identification of a solid, stone wall is purely hypothetical.[74] A possible defensive structure was identified in the north-west part of the plateau, but it has not been confirmed whether it was part of the city wall or the defensive system of the fort.[75] The military functions of the three founders might suggest that they used their military network and relationship to negotiate a field site on military land, which had a different, and probably more profitable, legal status.[76] In any case, the area consisted of a very crowded, early urbanised and economically important artery of the settlement and beyond: the Imperial road which passed near the sanctuary was not only a local trade route, but also the main communication route between Dacia and Pannonia.[77] The presence of the customs house also emphasises the importance of this road and attracted small groups to settle or invest in this area. Although the functionality of the buildings has not been revealed, the shape, form and concentration of them suggest that they could only host small groups and events, as opposed to large gatherings.[78]

[68] Ardeț 2006; Egri-Inel 2006: 191-195; Benea 2009. On wine transport and consumption, see also: Erdkamp 2005: 128-133. For an interesting reenactment of the wine route: Danube Wine Route Project.
[69] On the so-called 'consumer revolution', see: Woolf 1998: 169-205; Verboven 2007: 305. For the so-called 'business class' of Dacia, see: Egri 2007: 103-111.
[70] CCID 50. See also: CIL III 7761.
[71] Collar 2013: 99-110.
[72] For an incomplete list of the buildings excavated on the plateau: Gudea-Tamba 2001: 12-13.
[73] Szabó 2007: 46.
[74] Opreanu *et al.* 2013, 104, figs 20 and 21. See also: Gudea-Tamba 2001: 21 and fig. 78.
[75] Gudea-Tamba 2001: 106, fig. 24.
[76] Dészpa 2017: 148-149.
[77] Fodorean 2014.
[78] The small scale of the participants or groups acting in these spaces

The sanctuary (LM1), considered as the second one in the settlement,[79] was discovered in 1939. The results and the material of the excavation vanished in the Second World War.[80] Between 1990 and 1993 the same building was again excavated and a part of the material could be saved.[81] The first phase of the building, which would be important to identify for a better understanding of the dynamics of space sacralisation in this context, cannot be determined, and the function of the small room (B) is unknown.[82] In the second phase, room A was rebuilt in stone and enlarged to provide a monumentalised space. The building had a *porticus* in this period. The smaller room (B) was also transformed and served, in the opinion of the excavators, as a kitchen.[83] The third room (C) was covered with a *hypocaustum* system.[84] The building complex LM1 was interpreted as a *taberna*, mentioned also on the inscription discovered in the sanctuary nearby (LM1-S). The authors based their interpretation only on the inscription itself, the archaeological material of the building or the architectural structure of it do not confirm this hypothesis. However, the broader context of the plateau does suggest that the annexed rooms may have served as a *taberna*. The word itself is problematic and was defined numerous times and ways.[85] When recently analysed in numerous urban and commercial contexts from Britannia, Ostia and Pompeii, the *taberna* were rarely found in close proximity to a sanctuary.[86] In a Dolichenian context, this could be explained by the great number of merchants and entrepreneurs within these small-group religions.[87] We do not know if the *taberna* served only the 'civilian' role of the worshippers, many of them being probably *negotiatores*, or whether it bore a much closer relation to the sanctuary itself, producing artefacts and objects for the religious activity.

The 'sanctuary' itself is a small- to medium-sized building (14.4 x 10.4 m)[88] that was revealed only partially.[89] In the first phase (probably after AD 235), the building consisted of one compartment, named by the authors as a 'hall' (*c.* 13.8 x 10.5 m). In such a building only a group of 10-15 persons could coexist comfortably, although we do not know if in this phase the building served as a sanctuary or not. In contrast, in the second phase (around AD 244) the material undoubtedly proves the presence of religious activity, but now the compartment was divided into two trapezoidal rooms, each smaller than 70 m^2 (8 x 8 m). Most of the Dolichenian finds (13 from 35) were found in room B of LM1-S.[90] The topography of the finds raised numerous questions about the functionality of the rooms and compartments. Gudea-Tamba suggested that room A from LM1-S was an assembly hall for the worshippers, while room B served as a house of the divinity, used as a 'container', or a deposit for all votive offerings. A notable amounts of objects were also found in the LM1 building and its rooms, which suggests that in the late 3rd century AD these rooms (LM1 A, B, C) were also used by the Dolichenian group. Similarly, a significant number of objects were found outside the building.[91] Beside the functional problems of the compartments, some further aspects need to be emphasised in the case of Porolissum: the iconographic specificities and the role of these objects in the maintaining of the sacralised space.

Unsurprisingly, the excavation carried out in the mid 1990s did not use a GIS system to precisely record the topographic references of the finds. On the map published by the authors the finds are practically indeterminable.[92] Based on their repertory, a modern adaptation of the topographic distribution of the finds indicates two major concentrations of finds: room B in LM1-S and the NE corner outside of the same compartment. This could indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to IOM Dolichenus only after the wall was built between room A and B. In room A only two important finds were attested: a small statuette representing Victoria, and an African-type brick.[93] A statuette of Apollo was found outside of room A. The presence of these objects could indicate that this room did not serve as a domestic space, but was part of the sanctuary.[94] As I. Piso already highlighted, the relatively small room B is extremely crowded

does not necessarily mean that these were exclusively closed or domestic, private spaces. Open-air activities and even public events could have been held there, as the temple of Baal and the large gardens in the area suggest.

79 See above for our opinion on the chronology and interpretation of the older finds.

80 Gudea-Tamba 2001: 19, with further bibliography. It is possible that a part of the material was transported to the National Museum of Budapest in 1940. Further investigation is necessary for the reconstruction of the events and fate of the material.

81 Gudea-Tamba 2001: 20-21. See also: Piso 2001b: 233-235.

82 Gudea-Tamba 2001: 20, room B.

83 Theory contested by I. Piso (2001b: 234).

84 With the exception of fragmentary traces of the mosaic pediment, room C had no further archaeological material (probably also due to the excavations from 1939). This is not enough to establish the functionality of the room, named by the publishers as a 'domestic place', and home of the owner.

85 Piso 2001b: 235.. See also: McMahon 2003; Bolzoni 2012: '[The] word tabera refers to a partially habitable room, located on the groud floor and open to the street, which serves as a small workshop and or for local sales'.

86 For analogies from Rome, see: Arnhold 2015: 297.

87 Sanzi 1997: 475-479; Sanzi 2013: 262, fn. 2.

88 See the comparison by Schwarzer (2012: 190).

89 Gudea-Tamba 2001: 22, 54.

90 Gudea-Tamba 2001: 23-24. See also: Piso 2001b: 234.

91 Piso 2001b: 234.

92 Gudea-Tamba 2001: fig. 12.

93 Gudea-Tamba 2001: 30, nrs 13, 42, 39.

94 It is important to highlight that while on some representations traditional Roman divinities appear as part of the Dolichenian iconographic program and possible narrative, the topography of the statuettes shows a clear division in space, similar to some *mithraea*, where statues or altars dedicated to Mercurius are found in the antechamber of the sanctuary. Although this division could be related to the liturgy or narrative of the cult, we do not have enough sources to proove this.

with objects and contained two hoards.[95] The great concentration of finds and the presence of monetary and statuary tezauration suggest[96] that the room was used regularly for repetitive religious acts. However, the number of the participants, the liturgy, movements and 'soundscape' of the place is hard to reconstruct. The size of the building – interspersed with numerous wooden, and later perhaps stone, pillars or columns – the missing *podia*, and the great number of objects may indicate that it was not an assembly hall, but a chapel or sacred niche, the house of the divinity, where just votive offerings were deposited and accumulated. The structural relationship between the different rooms and the known archaeological analogies indicate that the convivial events happened in another place. A particularly interesting object is the small bronze bell, which possibly played a role in the soundscape of the sanctuary.[97] A great number of votive offerings were found in the north-east corner of the building, outside room B.[98] The largest number of finds consisted of small marble statuettes, which probably acted as personal, individual gifts for the god.[99] Although the ritual deposition of statues and statuettes is a well-known phenomenon in Roman sanctuaries, and is further attested in Dacia, the occasion and religious purpose of these are very problematic to reconstruct.[100] The deposition of statuary in Dolichenian contexts is even rarer,[101] but this can be explained with the few, systematically researched sanctuaries. From the main sanctuary of Doliche, recent excavations attested the habit of tesauration and votive deposition of small *ex votos* as well.[102]

The iconographic specificities of the Dolichenian representations from Dacia show numerous particularities and local interpretations.[103] In the case of Porolissum, only two of the iconographic features can be considered local or individualised versions, while the rest are all well-known forms.[104] The great variety of iconographic programs attested in different Dolichenian contexts may suggest the importance of various representative religious individualities and local narratives.[105] The religious communication used in the process of space sacralisation in Porolissum was defined by numerous factors: the landscape, the vicinity of other small-group religions, the significant military presence, the economic roots of the worshippers, and, indirectly, by the mother sanctuary of Doliche as well.

Praetorium (Mehadia): some further remarks

The Roman settlement of Mehadia (*Mehádia*, *Miháld*)[106] was already well known in the 17th century, although its identification was only established in the second half of the 20th.[107] The identification of Mehadia with a certain *Praetorium* seems more plausible, the recent toponym of the settlement probably having an Hungarian origin from 'Mihál'd vár' and not a Roman one, deviated from *Ad Mediam*.[108] The archaeological investigations indicated numerous phases of occupation in the Roman auxiliary fort from AD 101 until the 4th century AD,[109] identifying numerous troops (*cohors I Brittonum Ulpia*, *cohors VIII Raetorum*, *garrisons from legio XIII Geminae*), among whom were the *cohors III Delmatarum*, who occupied the fort after AD 179, when the *vicus* was flourishing and the sanctuary was built.[110] Although the auxiliary troop was interpreted as an 'Illyrian' one, which influenced the iconography and the religious landscape of the settlement,[111] the ethnic composition of the garrisons and the *origo* of the soldiers in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD must have been very heterogeneous and diverse, most of them being recruited in the Germanic provinces, an already diverse area of the Empire.[112] Rather than stressing the ethnic origin of some groups, it is more important to highlight the intra- and extra-provincial dynamics of these troops and their soldiers, which created an intense exchange or religious knowledge and strategies between the settlements of Dacia and beyond, influencing and creating an always changing sacred landscape. The presence of the soldiers of the Legion XIII Gemina in Praetorium suggests a direct link with the conurbation of Apulum, where a dolichenum was epigraphically attested (II.7),

[95] Ardevan-Gudea 2001.
[96] McCarty 2015.
[97] For analogy, see: CCID 261 from Brigetio. The soundscape itself was influenced also by the rich and dynamic activity of the neighbourhood, the main Roman road, and even by the auxiliary fort itself.
[98] Gudea-Tamba 2001: cat. nrs 20-29, but see also nrs 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11.
[99] The iconographic and technical similarities of the objects suggest a single workshop that provided these monuments for the worshippers.
[100] It could be related to the foundation of the sanctuary, an important festival or special day within the liturgy of the divinity, or as an act of crisis.
[101] See also: McCarty 2015.
[102] Blömer 2012: 71-80; Blömer 2013.
[103] On iconography, see: Sorrenti 1997: 367-430; Nemeti 2005: 226-227. It is worth mentioning that numerous aspects of the Dolichenian iconography should be interpreted in a much broader context of its historical and cultural enviroment, analysing the much more detailed iconographic programs on the bronze triangles as a creation of a pre-Hellenistic (Anatolian) and late Hellenic, or even Roman communication form. Besides some basic iconographic features, such as the presence of divine hierarchization, syncretism and possible narrative, the astral symbols – interpreted as the celestial and military aspect of the divinity – must be analysed as 'star talk', similar to the Mithraic context. See also: Bellis 1997: 455-464.
[104] Bellis 1997: 58, cat. nrs 2 and 17.
[105] Andringa 2012.
[106] Pesty 1878.
[107] On the short history of the research and the identification of Mehadia with Praetorium, see: Benea 2008: 13-15.
[108] Pesty 1878. The Western literature still use the same Latin toponym (Ad Mediam) for Baile Herculane and Mehadia. See the search engine of the Clauss Slaby Epigraphic Database for examples.
[109] Benea 2008: 16-23.
[110] Benea 2008: 18.
[111] Benea 2008; Boda 2014b.
[112] On the population of the vicus, see: Benea 2008: 38-39, especially fn. 146.

closely related to the fort and the soldiers.[113] One of the inscriptions found in the sanctuary mentions the name of Aurelius Calpurnius Casio, a *decurio* of the *colonia* (Aurelia Apulensis or Sarmizegetusa) and a *sacerdos* of the place (*huiusque loci*).[114] This formula is well known from Apulum, attested especially in the *Asklepieion*.[115] His presence, although not a certain link with Apulum or Sarmizegetusa,[116] can suggest the intra-provincial dynamics of some Dolichenian worshipers, who played a key role in founding or maintaining sacralised spaces and groups.[117] Similar mobilities can be attested as well between the Dolichenian groups from Apulum and Ampelum.[118]

The sanctuary – named by the author as 'the most complex and problematic one from Roman Dacia'[119] – was discovered in the western part of the auxiliary fort, 40 m from the walls, near the main Roman road in front of the *porta principalis* (I.28).[120] The position of the building is almost identical to that at Porolissum, belonging to the vicinity of the fort and legally being under its administration. The environment of the sanctuary was only partially revealed, but the buildings discovered in the settlement suggest the beginning of urbanisation and some aspects of economic growth as well. The settlement, however, never became a *municipium*.[121]

The first phase of the building, identified as a timber one, was just partially revealed, without plan or reconstruction, and dated to the first part of the 2nd century AD.[122] The poor archaeological material cannot prove that in this period the timber building served as a sanctuary. In the second phase, a stone building was built in the place of the old one, marking also the fast urbanisation of this area, where the road was also replaced by domestic buildings. In this second phase, the stone building is described by archaeologists as an 'edifice with three naves', a *pronaos* and a *cella*.[123] This description suggests a typical 'Roman' temple[124] with close analogies in Tibiscum (I.52)[125] and Porolissum (I.23).[126] However, the distance between walls 'A' and 'B' is only 1.25 m, which is not necessarily enough for a nave. The structure of the building is also similar to the so-called *andra* type, where what archaeologists named as 'naves' could have served as a *klinai* or *kline*-bands (*podia*).[127] The *podia*-type building was identified only in the third phase, which lasted from the early Severan period until the second half of the 3rd century AD, although there is no direct proof that in the first phase the building consisted of a different type of architecture or was dedicated to Apollo, as the author later claims.[128] Her argument is based on the statue base and inscription of Aurelius Calpurnius Casio, which represents a trunk of a tree and the fragments of a standing male figure identified, probably correctly, as Apollo *kitharoedes*.[129] The statue base was found in fragments, having been later reused as construction material.[130] The presence of the monument in the sanctuary does not prove, as the author claims, that the building served in the first phase as a *fanum* for Apollo,[131] but highlights some important aspects within the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus that need to be analysed in detail.

The association of Apollo with Jupiter Dolichenus was observed long ago by scholars,[132] but the nature of this religious narrative has not been analysed in detail until recently.[133] The association of the two divinities appears for the first time in Rome, in the sanctuary of Dolichenus from the Aventine, known as 'civilian' or 'Syrian', the members being mostly civilians with Semitic names.[134] As J. Rüpke correctly highlighted, many of the Dolichenian dedications were set up by 'the order of the God' (*ex praecepto*, *ex iussu*),[135] which means a strong role of divine epiphany and implies a special language of communication with the divinity. The details of this ritual are unknown. We do not know how the Ba'al from Doliche 'spoke' to its worshippers and what kind of epiphanies existed. In some exceptional cases, such as at Apulum,[136] direct encounters with the divine, in the form of a *prodigium*, were enough for a votive dedication. More often we find the formula *ex iussu* and *ex visu* in Dolichenian contexts, which suggests

[113] See Chapter II.6 and II.8. See also: Dészpa 2017: 148-150.
[114] Benea 2008: 94, cat. nr 11.
[115] Chapter II.7.
[116] Some of the statuary representations indicate strong links with the workshops of Sarmizegetusa: Benea 2008: 94, cat. nr 12. There are other magistrates known from the Sarmizegetusa too: Benea 2008: 87.
[117] Although numerous studies have focused on the social status of the worshippers, few of them analysed the mechanism of the spread of the cult. Similar studies were made for the Mithraic groups: Beck 1996.
[118] See Chapter IV.4.
[119] Benea 2008: 116.
[120] On the details of the excavations between 2000 and 2003, see: Benea 2008: 41-42. On the road, see: Benea 2008: 36-37.
[121] On urbanisation, see: Cascio 2009; Morley 2011: 143-160.
[122] Benea 2008: 46.
[123] Benea 2008: 159, fig. 18.
[124] On the relativitiy of the notion and the problematic aspect of temple architectures, see: Andringa 2015.
[125] Benea 2008: 195, fig. 54.
[126] The temple of Bel in Porolissum has a similar structure: Schwarzer 2012: 206, fig. 27.
[127] Nielsen 2015: 281, although she does not mention the *dolichenum* as a banqueting type of building in her study. See also: Schwarzer 2013: 292-293.
[128] Benea 2008: 116-118.
[129] Boda-Szabó 2011; Boda 2012b.
[130] Benea 2008: 94. cat. nr 11. The author suggests also an intentional destruction of the monument, which, in our opinion, is not possible to prove given the conditions of the discovery. See also: Benea 2008: 200, fig. V.2.
[131] Benea 2008: 116. Even the term 'fanum' is anachronistic in this context: Andringa 2015.
[132] Merlat 1960: 208; Sanie 1989: 1184.
[133] For the first attempts, see: Szabó 2008; Boda 2012b: 145-153; Fowlkes-Childs 2012: 222.
[134] Fowlkes-Childs 2012: 219-222; Terpstra 2013: 161; Rüpke 2014: 35-50.
[135] Rüpke 2014: 38.
[136] See Chapter II.7.

that at one time Jupiter Dolichenus was associated with healing aspects.[137] This could have happened in Rome as well, especially in the Aventine group, known from its innovations and reforms introduced in the inner structure of the group and the iconography.[138] The association of Jupiter Dolichenus with the traditional healing divinities, such as Aesculapius and Apollo, is attested among iconography and epigraphic materials as well (CIL VI 408, CIL VI 413) from the Aventine sanctuary. This syncretism was interpreted recently from a medical point of view, arguing that the priests of Dolichenus were specialised in different fields than those from the *Asklepieia*.[139] This may be an explanation, but in all the inscriptions where Dolichenus appears with the healing divinities, such as Aesculapius or Apollo, this suggests more of a collaboration and equality between the divinities, rather than competition or dominance. In order to assure a better chance of 'survival' and to maintain their sanctuary the small religious groups within the same geographic or social landscape constructed a social network and a collaboration which, instead of debarring each other from the religious market, supported each other. It could be also a tendency of henoteism among the worshippers of Dolichenus, accumulating divine attributes and powers from other popular divinities of the period.[140] Using various strategies to maintain a sacralised space, these groups created a local-specific religious communication with their own religious narrative expressed through specific iconography and religious practices within the sanctuaries.

The conditions of the discovery of the statue-base raise numerous other questions too: when, why and how did the object cease to be 'sacred' in nature and become dispensable enough to be reused as basic construction material? At which point the cult image became a *signum*, a face or home of the divinity, is problematic to identify in an archaeological context. The often reuse of the *ex-votos* in provincial contexts could indicate that in many sanctuaries these reliefs and statues were accumulated, and their 'sacral' nature or role in a religious act was temporary, or related to a single, non-repetitive event.[141]

Another particularity of the Dolichenum from Mehadia is a relief[142] represented on a column, found in close proximity to the entrance, similar to some other Dolichenian sanctuaries (**Fig.64**.).[143] The relief shows a sanctuary with a fronton (*naiskos*, *aedicula*), with two pillars decorated with vegetal elements and schematic capitals formed of stylised acanthus leaves. The *tympanum* is decorated with two rows of *acanthus* leaves arranged around a *globus*. The rich, vegetal style and the two *acroteriae* delimitating the *tympanum* indicate a provincial style, elaborated in a modest manner, following Imperial and oriental conventions. In the centre of the relief the main scene can be seen: an eagle with stretched wings holding a bay-leaf crown in its beak. Under the eagle is a stag with circular antlers, imitating the shape of the Sun. The animal scene is placed on the left part of the scene. It is important to note the proportion of the animals: the stag is much larger than the eagle, whose position however signifies not only a symbiosis and a religious syncretism, but also a status of hegemony and power.

D. Benea gave the following explanation of this scene: the stag and the eagle are well-known artistic motifs in the oriental world, from where, through the Scythian pathway, they came in circulation in the northern and western areas of the Black Sea and from here onwards to the Balkan region. We know of manifestations in Getic and Thracian media, where the stag is associated with the eagle. In Benea's opinion, the stag was a terrestrial animal, dominant in woodland areas, and the eagle's significance should be viewed as a symbol of the cult of Jupiter and at the same time as a symbol of Imperial power, as suggested by the bay-leaf crown in the bird's beak.

Developing this, what is more plausible is that the two animals – the eagle with bay-leaf crown and the stag – are part of the religious language of the Dolichenian groups, although this iconography was recently presented as a much broader Anatolian scheme.[144] The edifice surrounding the two animals has a purely decorative purpose and indicates the presence of the object in the sacralised space. The vegetal elements and eastern motifs are schematic and typical of provincial art, with no specific Dolichenian character. The displayed element dominating the scene of the relief is the stag, schematic with circular antlers. In Dolichenian iconography the stag appears in three hypostases.

First of all, it appears as one of Iuno Regina's (Dolichena) zoomorphic symbols,[145] with the goddess usually standing on the back of the animal). The animal

[137] Szabó 2008.
[138] On the hyerarchic innovations, see: Rüpke 2014: 39-45. On some particular iconographic aspects of the sanctuary: Fowles-Childs 2012: 221-222.
[139] Szabó 2008.
[140] On monotheism and henotheism in antiquity, see: Gordon 2014: 665-676.
[141] Haynes 2012.
[142] The relief was republished with a detailed contextual and iconographic analysis: Boda-Szabó 2011: 273-282.
[143] Schwarzer 2012.
[144] Blömer 2014. See his fns 52 and 53. Blömer did not accept this iconography as an exclusively Dolichenian one, questining the Dolichenian nature of the sanctuary from Mehadia. After our opinion, in Dacia the large number of Dolichenian groups and monuments, and the presence of the Apollo statue in Dolichenian iconography, the close analogy to the case study of Porolissum and Tibiscum indicates without doubt the Dolichenian nature of the sanctuary.
[145] CCID 23, 43, 80, 89, 295, 364, 371, 405.

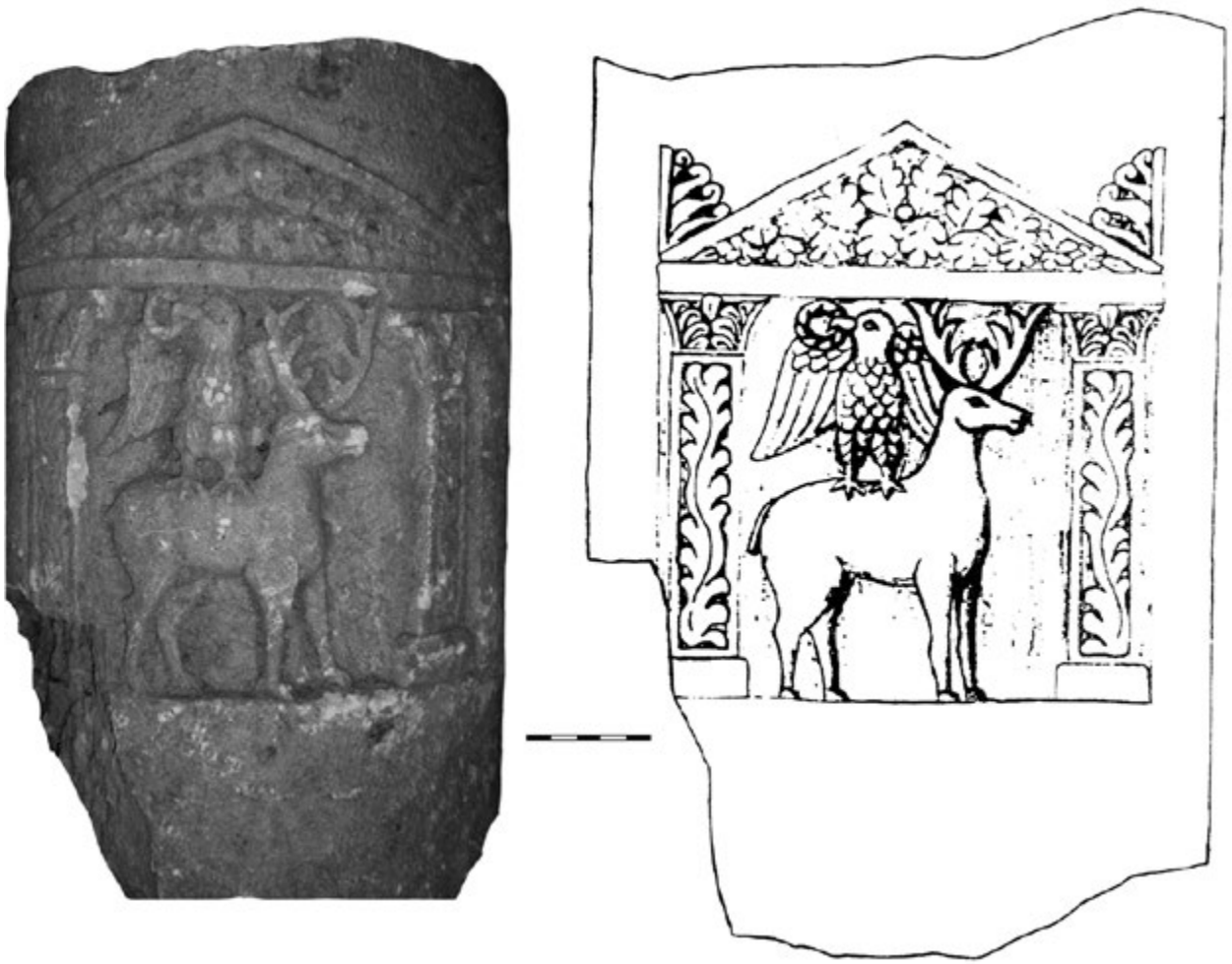

Figure 64. Column from the Dolichenum in Mehadia with a local iconography (after Boda-Szabó 2011)

appears always with the goddess, showing frontally with her companion, who stands on a bull, very rarely accompanied by an eagle, that stands at the foot of the bull. The *cervidae* associated to Iuno, quite rarely compared to other animals (donkey, ox, lion), is a deer, and not a stag (one exception being the relief from Villa Ludovisi in the sanctuary at Aventin). From Dacia we know a single representation of Iuno Dolichena – a votive plate from Porolissum, where Jupiter Dolichenus appears with his companion and acolytes (**Fig.65**.).[146] The piece has a broad blade. On the upper side of this, corresponding to the planetary images, there are seven round orifices, through which a bronze plate with inscriptions was probably fixed, or certain 'sacred' days were marked. Other analogies of this iconographic type we can find in the Dolichenian thesaurus of the sanctuary form Mauer an der Url, where the *paredra* of the god appears in the company of several gods or heroes[147] who were part of the Dolichenian myth (Apollo, Luna, Sol, Castores, Isis, Serapis).

The stag also appears in the iconography of the Dolichenian cult associated to a Syrian Ba'al, probably from Commagene: Jupiter Turmasgades. The god, considered an avatar of Jupiter Dolichenus,[148] is known only through a few inscriptions and representations, especially outside the area of origin, and is associated almost always with Dolichenian dedications. The god is shown in the form of an eagle, holding a bay-leaf crown in its beak, subduing a *cervidae*, or holding the head of an animal (horse, snake, cervidae). In Gilliam's opinion the animal under the eagle represents the omnipresent power of the heavenly god and his dominance over living nature. Figured examples of Turmasgades show a small *cervidae*, hard to identify, in a humble position, where the eagle appears more proportionate. The 'eagle standing on stag' iconography is hard to identify and differentiate, especially in provincial art, many analogies existing in which these hypostases (Jupiter or Turmasgades) appear. In the temple at Dura Europos, one of the two *naoi* is dedicated to Dolichenus, the other to Turmazgazdes. This archaeological

[146] Boda-Szabó 2011.
[147] Noll 1980: 44-49, figs 15-17; Speidel 1978: 25, fig. 11.
[148] Gilliam 1974: 309-314; Nemeti 2005: 235-238. See also: Eck 2010b: 185-188.

Figure 65. Relief representing Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena from Porolissum (photo by Dan Deac, Museum of Zalău)

discovery underlined the tight association of these two Commagenian cults.[149] A similar mixture of divine agents in a single, sacralised place can be attested in Micia, where a Commagene group worship probably Jupiter Hieropolitanus, Jupiter Dolichenus and Turmasgades in the same secondary space (I.20, III.31).[150]

The topographically closest analogy is a piece from Sarmizegetusa, kept at the museum of Lugoj. The sculpture depicts an eagle with wide unfolded wings, standing on the head of a *cervidae*. The head of the bird and part of the animal's head is missing. The base of the monument has a rectangular shape, and the back of the sculpture shows no sign of processing. In these two reliefs the triumph of the eagle over the *cervidae* is highly emphasised. It represents the act in which the Syrian god triumphs over his enemy, an ancient motif in oriental iconography and mythology. However the monument from Mehadia depicts another relationship between the two divinities. Through analysis of the visual language, we can observe a victory of the celestial god (eagle with bay-leaf crown), together with his companion (the stag being the associated animal). The size of the stag is noteworthy, as it is much bigger than the eagle, whose position shows a status of hegemony and power. In these conditions the relief at Mehadia is unique not only by its iconography but also due to the relationship between Jupiter Dolichenus and his companion. A different explanation of unusual proportionality is the erroneous interpretation of the craftsman, a general phenomenon in provincial art, which leads to the appearance of atypical iconographies that are hard to identify. The two animals can thus symbolically represent the attributes of two divinities from the Dolichenian cult circle (Jupiter Dolichenus–Iuno Regina), or of a single god associated to the Syrian cult of Jupiter Turmasgades.

The relief shows a unique and individualised visual message and communication form and could be a product of a reflexive religious individuality.[151] It represents a local and personalised interpretation of a well-known narrative, which changed due to numerous factors: the local possibilities of workshops, the financial limits of the group, and the innovative ideas of some worshippers. The iconographic variability of some so-called 'canonical' features in provincial art demonstrates the flexibility and local variations of religious narratives and myths related to these divinities, and also proves that narratives and cults, and, therefore, sanctuaries, could be maintained also through visual communication and language, not only by inscriptions or texts.[152]

This chapter did not set out to present a comprehensive study of all the sacralised spaces of the two settlements, or propose general claims on religious communication and its tools in all the military settlements of the province. The case study of the Dolichena from Porolissum and Praetorium shows that although the auxiliary troops, sometimes with special ethnic or regional (geographic) features, played an important role in founding and maintaining a sanctuary and a religious group, the role of the merchants played also a significant role in this process. The spatial analysis of the sanctuaries within the larger landscape of the settlements shows that they integrated the economic and political opportunities and local possibilities in the everyday life of the sanctuary, which helped to maintain a sanctuary in a highly competitive and even

[149] Eck 2010b: 236-237.
[150] Nemeti 2005: 242.
[151] On the notion of reflexive religious individuality, see: Rüpke 2013b; 2015b.
[152] Elsner 2015: 45.

dangerous environment. The architectural specificities and iconographic innovations attested in these cases show also the flexibility of a possible religious narrative of Dolichenus. The association of Apollo and Dolichenus in both sanctuaries shows a strong link between the Dolichenian groups from various provinces (Thracia, Moesia especially, but also Rome-Aventine) and their strategy to use religious *bricolage* and local specific narratives and iconography to maintain the sacralised space. The commercial links and the presence of Dolichenian priests in Thracia also indicate their dynamic extra-provincial contacts.[153]

Besides their ability to innovate and adapt, these groups – worshipping their paternal gods from Palmyra, Doliche or Turmasgade – were able to keep proudly their local and ethnic identities, as short term mental constructions of a community or, more probably, a group.[154]

[153] See also: Hadiji 2009.

[154] Mol-Versluys 2015; Dészpa 2017: 167. For a much more critical definition: Rebillard 2015 and Chapter II.8.

IV. sacralised spaces in the countryside

IV.1. Landscape of Dacia: between myth and reality

There might be many reasons for creating sacralised spaces in a province. This chapter will present those rare cases, when the life cycle of a sacralised space is mostly related and interdependent of the geographic environment and landscape, known also as the 'natural world' – a modern concept which does not even exist in Roman times.[1] The natural world and its elements – rivers, lakes, trees, gardens, mines, mountains, springs, cavities, passages, and so on – played the role of agents in religious communication and space sacralisation. They contributed to the intensification of religious communication simply by their presence. In less than two centuries the natural landscape of the former kingdom of Dacia was changed radically by the 'Roman machine',[2] which exploited hundreds of thousands of cubic metres of rock,[3] regulated the course of rivers (Marisia in Apulum) and contributed to the radical change in the flora too, by severe deforestation processes. Integrating these natural elements in religious communication was a particularly important feature of space sacralisation in Dacia.

By integrating these natural elements in religious communication, these spaces were also transformed and modified. This view on natural landscape and religion gives new perspectives on the so-called 'rural sanctuaries' or 'naturheiligtümer' as traditional categories of the research, where the natural elements, and even the natural world, as a whole (Urnatur)[4] is emphasised as being sacred. Categorising the natural elements in space sacralisation after their intensity of use will reflect the various types of sacralisations and investments (economic, labour, symbolic) to maintain a sanctuary. This typology offers a new approach which dissolves the old, romantic view of nature, as sacred, bucolic space in general and focuses more on the details and pragmatic aspects in creating and maintaining sacred spaces.

Besides the geographic environment and physical landscape (paleogeography of Dacia), which influenced the new inhabitants of the province, another factor needs to be considered also: the imaginary landscape(s) of Dacia, as seen by contemporary Roman society.

Tales about Dacia: the imaginary landscape of the province and its inhabitants

Even today, the general knowledge of the contemporary society on foreign countries, unvisited places are reconstructed on the basis of stereotypes and *topoi*[5] and the fear or emotional distance of the unknown places could transform a society into an emotional community.[6] Romans, even if some of them never left their home region, had an imaginary narrative and images about Rome, its provinces and their inhabitants.[7] The study of Roman imaginary and its religious impact is a new topic and worth expanding in terms of some particular case studies, such as Dacia.[8]

Since the Carthaginians and Gauls had been conquered many years previously, and, in a way, integrated in the Empire,[9] Imperial propaganda and discourse needed another enemy, an imaginary one 'far away', and this role was filled by the exotic and barbaric Dacians, as archenemy of Rome. The Dacians, although never *ante portam* in Rome, represented already in the age of Domitian the key obstacle to world power.[10] Their image of Dacians and their land, as created by Imperial political discourse and ideology, was an imaginary one and served as an important element in the political balance and legitimisation of Trajan's politics. This distorted image was, however, balanced by the numerous personal and more individualised accounts and experiences.

There must have been multiple imaginary Dacias before, but, especially, after the conquest of the kingdom of the Dacians. Romans, in particular the elite, but also the common people, could create their own imagined Dacia based on literary sources,[11] famous visual representations, such as the Column of Trajan and the stereotypical representations of the Dacians as the humiliated enemy of Rome,[12] reliefs and panels

[1] Scheid 2015: 305. See also: Hunt 2016.
[2] On the effect of the Roman Empire on the natural landscape, see: Woolf 2012: 48-62.
[3] The quantity of stone used in the construction of roads and the military forts or the urban buildings were never estimated for Roman Dacia. On stone quarries, see: Wollmann 1996; Bajusz-Konyelicska 2011.
[4] Scheid 2015: 310.
[5] Schneider 2005: 65-94.
[6] Chaniotis 2012. See also: Riemer-Riemer 2005; Scheid 2005b: 225-240; Heitz 2009: 17-27, 43-51; Mol-Versluys 2015.
[7] Dzino 2009: 43-55.
[8] Jenkyns 2013: 135.
[9] Woolf 1998: 26-27.
[10] Östenberg 2009: 277-278.
[11] There were at least 80 literary sources mentioning the geographic area of the Dacians long before Trajan's conquest, from Hesiod to Statius: Iliescu *et al.* 1964: 1-426. The circulation of these literary passages among the greater part of the society must be extremely limited. On literacy and higher education in the Early Principate, see: Harris 1989: 175ff.
[12] Pinkerneil 1983 lists 79 representations of the Dacians, as archetypal symbols of feared warriors and enemies of Rome. An updated version of Pinkerneil's list: Velcescu 2015. On the impact of these representations on the mentality of Romans and visitors to Trajan's forum, and his triumph after the conquest, see: Östenberg 2009: 29-30, 40, 221. See also: Bolindeț 2008: 333-356.

representing the personification of the province,[13] coins with *Dacia capta* inscriptions,[14] itineraries and maps,[15] and even personal journals and letters.[16] The imagined Dacia(s) and Dacians of the soldiers and merchants could be similarly based on coins, orally transmitted legends of the Trajanic wars,[17] personal accounts and memories of short or longer visits in the province. The presence of some Dacian soldiers spread throughout various provinces of the Empire after AD 100,[18] and some specific iconographic features represented by them on their funerary and votive monuments served also as basis for an imaginary Dacia. Most of these sources, such as the literary passages, the triumph of Trajan, the Forum and column of the Forum Traiani, or the statues of the captured Dacians, were visible and accessible to only a very limited number of people in Rome and a few cities of the Empire. Coins, oral reports, legends and personal encounters with Dacians, or merchants who visited the province, represented, however, the sources which influenced much larger groups. After AD 106, mobility in this area of the Empire grew significantly, and thousands of people would reside for short periods (one to two years) here, spreading later the 'imaginary view' of Dacia, in the next phases of their economic, military or political carriers.

All of these sources had some common features. Most of the literary sources mention some specific aspects of the physical landscape: high and cold mountains, and unfriendly climate (Vergilius, *Georgica*, III. 355-380, Seneca, *De providentia* IV.14), dense and foggy woods and forests (Florus, *Bell.Thrac.* 1.39.21.: *curio Dacia tenus venit, sed tenebras saltuum expavit*),[19] abundant water and lush pastures (Porphyrius, *De antro*), and the long and majestic Danube (Caesar *De bello*, 6.25.5-7, Diodorus of Sicily, *Βιβλιοθηκη*, IV.56.7).[20] Dacians, as the indigenous population and an essential element of this imaginary landscape, appear as brave, fearless and brutal people (*rigidi getae*),[21] conquered in two ruthless wars by Trajan (Horatius, *Carmina*, II.20.7-19). All of these elements are typical of the *fines* concept of the Romans.[22] The wildness and unfriendly nature, however, sometimes appear as a romantic and idealised feature of this remote corner of the Empire (Horatius, *Carmina*, III. 24.9-24).[23]

Geography of Dacia: some recent results

Older studies tried to recreate the physical landscape, flora and fauna of the province through some indirect or secondary sources, such as the figural representations of the forests, rivers and natural landscapes from the column of Trajan.[24] Others focused on the specificities of the local funeral or votive iconography, or medieval sources and descriptions of Transylvania.[25] More recently, new methods can help us to get a much more accurate picture about the Dacia beyond the myths.[26]

The real fauna, flora, climate and geography of the province can be reconstructed by modern, interdisciplinary methods. The recent results of aerial archaeology,[27] the fast evolution of *limes* studies in Romania,[28] and the new *centuratio* researches[29] and some archaeobotanical and osteological analysis[30] have all enriched our view on the limits and physical aspects of Dacia. There are also new local and international trends on paleogeographical and ecological researches, focusing especially on the geography of the Roman mines and the massive deforestation of the Roman Empire and its impact on economy, trade and even religion.[31] The recent studies of Rob Wanner opened a new way of interpreting the modification of the landscape by the construction of forts and cities.[32] New studies have proved also the massive deforestation of Dacia in the Roman period.[33] The 3D and virtual reconstructions of some landscapes of the province can help to sharpen our knowledge of ancient spatial network and space theory.

The three main geographical specificities of the province – forests, mines, and healing springs – marked not only the motivation of the conquerors, but also the religious communication and the processes of space sacralisation.[34] In many aspects, Dacia – like the Germanian, Moesian or Pannonian parts of the Empire – was just another 'woody' province, not very unusual for the army translocated there from these places. The creation of the province was a fast, artificial and a brutal mechanism which forced and attracted thousands of Romans '*ex toto orbe Romano*' – the army accompanied by merchants and other civilian groups – to move and get in direct, intimate connection with

13 Juhász 2015.
14 Östenberg 2009: 225.
15 Talbert-Brodersen 2004; Fodorean 2014.
16 Crişan-Timoc 2005.
17 Bruun 2003.
18 Dana 2006: 99-125; Dana-Matei-Popescu 2009: 209-256.
19 Nenninger 2001: 139.
20 Peţan 2012. On the Danube, as 'helper' of the Romans in the conquest, see: Östenberg 2009: 243-244.
21 Horace *Odes* III.24. See: Drace-Francis 2013: 19.
22 Nemeti 2011; Brody-Hoffmann 2014: 15-36; Mattingly 2014: 37-62.
23 See also: Krebs 2006; 2011.
24 Nenninger 2001: 139; Antonescu 2009.
25 Csukovits 2005.
26 Oltean 2007: 25-40.
27 Hanson-Oltean 2001; Oltean 2007.
28 Pánczél *et al.* 2011. See also: limesromania.ro (last accessed: 25.04.2018).
29 Cupcea-Marcu 2011.
30 Gudea 2009a.
31 Woolf 2012: 48-61.
32 Wanner 2012.
33 Oltean 2007: 31-33; Kaplan 2009.
34 On the economic and political reasons of the conquest, see: Oltean 2007: 53-59; Diaconescu 2008: 589-594; Piso 2008: 297-332; Găzdac 2010: 45-65; Wheeler 2010: 1185-1227.

Dacia, which was sung by the poets long ago as a wild, foggy woodland (Verg. *Georg*. 2.493-502).[35] The majority of the movers,[36] especially the first generation in the age of Trajan and the always changing, dynamic elite of the province, were confronted with a new, physical landscape. Its particularity could be served by its literary 'fame', which defined the first generation and the always dynamic elite, as an 'emotional community'. Fear, superstitions, homesickness were intensely present in such conditions[37] and played an important role in creating new sacralised spaces.

IV.2. Memory of the sacred: on the continuity of pre-Roman sacred spaces

In most of the Roman provinces conquered by Rome, sacralised spaces show a continuity in use in Roman times also, leaving the indigenous population and local groups to create and maintain their own Roman culture as they wanted.[38] Discussing 'continuity' of a sanctuary and sacralised space, however, needs some clarification.[39] Recent discourses emphasise the existence of long dureé interaction and continuous transformation of natural and cultural landscapes too, from prehistoric times until now, which dissolve the old problem of ethnic or cultural continuities.

One needs to distinguish the continuous existence (maintenance) of the site as sacralised space in two different political or administrative units, or epochs, and the continuity of use of spaces.[40] The first would mean only the maintenance of a topographic unit or the continuity of sacralisation itself, while the second presumes also the continuity of communities, the memory of the sacred, and the practice of similar rituals and divinities. As Ghey's study highlighted through the examples from Roman Gaul, even the first category, the continuous use of a place in two different epochs is problematic to prove through archaeological methods and data, especially through architectural features.[41] Each case, however, requires human agency to maintain the site as a sacralised one and keep alive a religious narrative, the memory of the sacred. In most cases the indigenous population played the most important role in the continuity of use of pre-Roman sacralised spaces.[42]

Before the Roman conquest, the territory of the later province was covered with sanctuaries and sacralised spaces, more than 50 of them being known so far from the pre-Roman period (**Fig.66.**).[43] Many of these sites, such as the sanctuaries from *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, the capital of the Dacian Kingdom had already existed for centuries, and were known also from Roman literary sources.[44] The main problem, however, is the lack of written sources,[45] with very little being known about the divinities and religious narratives of the Dacians, even before the conquest of the region.[46] Until now, archaeology could not prove any kind of religious activity (identical or even different from that attested in Dacian times) in the known Dacian cult sites after AD 106.[47] Not only was the cult site abandoned as an architectural entity, but, apparently, cultic activity also stopped at the 50 sites known before the conquest. Similarly, studies of the so-called '*interpretatio dacica*' through epigraphic sources failed to prove with certainty the continuity and survival of Dacian divinities in Roman society.[48]

While in other provinces the research on continuity is focusing on the limits and alternatives of religious and cultural appropriation and acculturation in a much more local and smaller units than a province,[49] the case of the Dacians seems to be even more complicated.[50] Defining Dacian 'ethnicity' or 'cultural identity' is already a problem: the variety of tribes named in literary sources and associated later with artificially constructed 'Geto-Dacian society' shows that in the age of Decebalus numerous different ethnic and even political, military groups existed in the region.[51] Their religiosity, material culture and 'identity' probably shows a great variety and differences, as similar case studies have proved for Gaul.[52]

35 Carbó-Garcia 2010a: 275-292.
36 Woolf 2016.
37 Adamson 2012.
38 King 2007: 17; Gleirscher 2015.
39 On the notion, see also: Busch-Versluys 2015: 7-19.
40 For an important contribution on this, see: Ghey 2007: 22-23.
41 Ghey 2007: 21-22.
42 Jackson 2007: 48.
43 Sîrbu 1993; 1994: 39-59; Sîrbu-Florea 1997: 39-41; Pescaru 2005; Sîrbu 2007: 183-211. The religiosity of the Dacians is still one of the most enigmatic topics of Romanian historiography. Due to the exhaustive literary evidence on the cult of Zalmoxis (see: Dana 2011) and the appropriation of Dacian identity in some modern political movements (Dana 2012; Alexe 2014; Popa 2016), the topic has great public appeal and represents a priority of the research. In contrast with this great interest, however, the archaeological evidence of religious life of Dacians (their mythology, narratives, material evidence of the sacred and their religious experience) is extremely controversial. Some of the buildings interpreted as sanctuaries were recently reanalysed: Opreanu 2015.
44 Mateescu 2012; Peţan 2015. See also: Sîrbu-Florea 1997: 39-41.
45 On the historiographic problem of Zalmolxis and related divinities, see: Dana 2011; 2012.
46 Spănu 2013: 13-22.
47 An interesting case study is the great circular sanctuary and solar disk of Sarmizegetusa Regia, on which possible traces of burning or fire remains were attested dated to Roman times. The nature of the activity that caused this anomaly is impossible to determine: Mateescu 2012. See also: Russu 1984: 265-266 (IDR III/3, 267-274); Iarovschavschi 1993: 27-32.
48 Florea 2013; Nemeti 2013a.
49 Haeussler 2007: 99 and especially Tóth 2015. On his book and on the regionality in Pannonian religion, see: Szabó 2018a.
50 Known as the 'Dacian paradox': Nemeti 2013a: 138. See also: Visy 2015.
51 Oltean 2007: 46.
52 Haeussler 2013: 36.

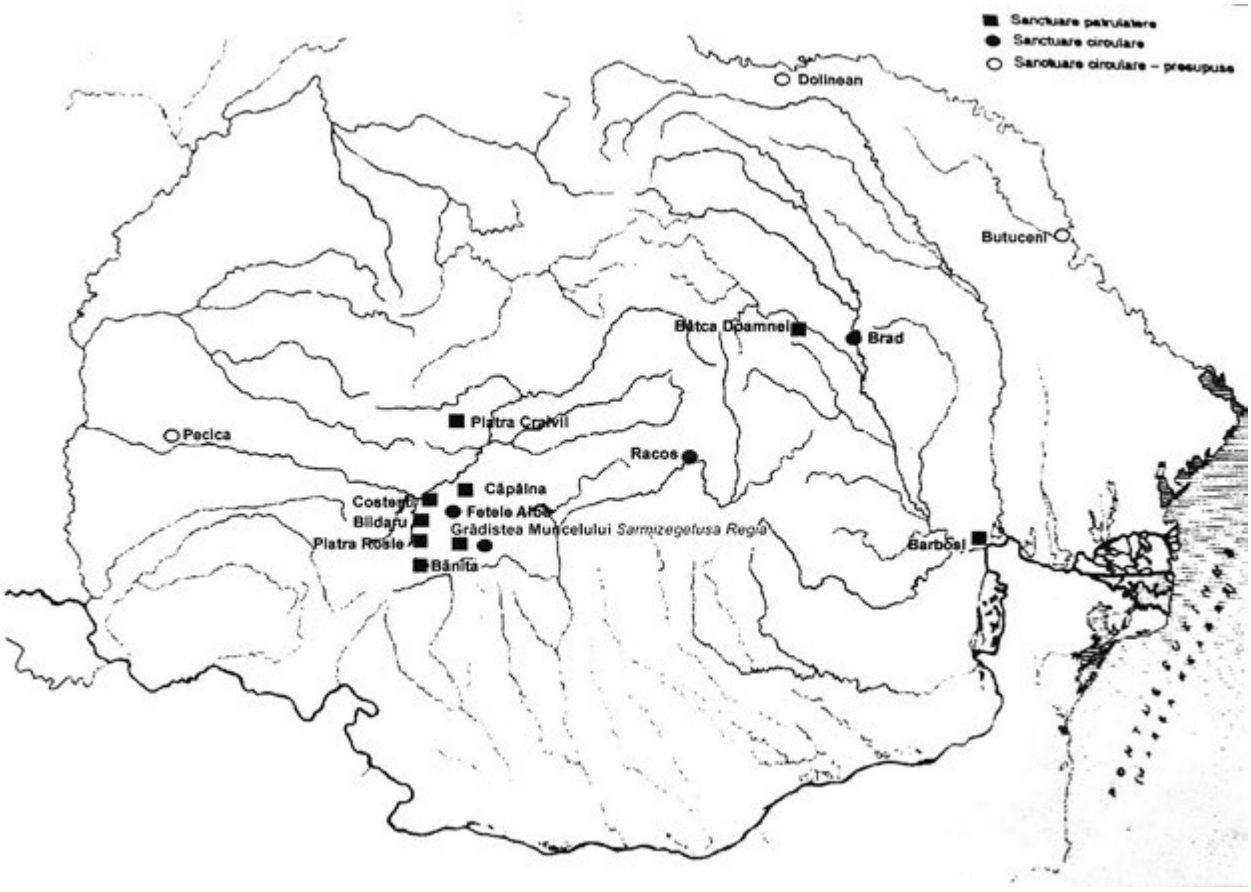

Figure 66. Map of the Dacian Kingdom with possible pre-Roman sacralised spaces (after Pescaru 2005)

Based on the sporadic literary sources regarding the conquest and the fate of the Dacians, various historiographic traditions (especially the Austro-Hungarian and German literature) emphasised the almost complete 'extermination' of the indigenous population – a theory which is no longer accepted.[53] Recently, the epigraphic and archaeological evidence seems to change slightly this aspect. The presence of Dacian pottery and material produced within the Roman settlements,[54] the growing number of epigraphic evidence on indigenous individuals,[55] and the possible existence of autonomous *vici* near the auxiliary forts,[56] seem to prove that in the rural environment the Dacians remained a distinct presence, if not a significant element of the society.[57] A detailed analysis and comparison with other similar societies, where the indigenous population is invisible in the onomastics, needs to be done by future research.[58]

To understand the 'Dacian paradox' and their total absence from the archaeological and epigraphic evidence in sacralised spaces, one needs to highlight some particular aspects of the Dacian religion before the conquest itself. The divinities and mythological figures appear mostly in the material evidence of the higher elite of the Dacian society, such as expensive helmets, *militaria*, fibulae, or silver vessels.[59] Similarly, a monumentalised and public architecture as sacralised space can be attested in very few cases,[60] which suggests that the biggest part of the society, even before the conquest, experienced Dacian religion in a much more private, domestic way with an ephemeral materiality and less visible agency.[61] This could be exemplified by the appropriation of the indigenous religion of the Americans facing the first generation of Christian (Spanish) conquest:[62] the materiality of their religious life consisted mostly of wooden houses,

[53] Alföldi 1940; Köpeczy 1986: 46-48. See also: Ruscu 2003; Nemeti 2013a: 145; Ibarra 2014: 167; Visy 2015.

[54] Bolindeț-Cociș 2006: 557; Bolindeț 2012: 248-249, for the extremely interesting case study of Soporu de Cămpie. See also: Glodariu 1983 (for Slimnic). For a more careful and critical opinion on the archaeological material regarding the Dacian presence in the Roman period: Rustoiu 2002: 139-141. See also: Gudea 2008: 79 for the case study of Stupini.

[55] Dana-Zăgreanu 2013: 145-159.

[56] Nemeti 2014: 79-100.

[57] Dana 2013: 177-201, Ibarra 2014. A more old fashioned and nationalistic view: Protase 2010.

[58] Wells 2015; Busch 2015.

[59] Sîrbu-Florea 1997; Spănu 2013; Florea *et al.* 2015.

[60] Sîrbu-Florea 1997: 39-41.

[61] It is also plausible that religion consisted only of large rituals, without monumentalisation in architecture.

[62] Owen 2011.

private practices and ephemeral objects, such as wooden totems, textiles, and clay figurines, while the new power marked the landscape consciously with monumentalised architectural forms. The attitude of the Dacians toward the 'Roman way' of religious experience seems to have been ignored by the remaining Dacians in the province.[63] The epigraphic habit and marking the landscape with inscribed stones or engraved stone monuments – a specificity for the high and middle classes of Roman society – doesn't exist before the conquest and needs a certain social and economic status.

Another important factor, which can explain the 'Dacian paradox', is the possible existence of human sacrifices among the Dacian warrior elite.[64] Both factors were totally incompatible with Roman society. Human sacrifices, although practised by Romans until mid Republican times as the ultimate solution in desperate times,[65] was later associated with the Carthagians and the Gauls, the traditional arch-enemies of Rome and used against them as a political discourse of 'otherness' and 'barbarism'.[66] Similarly, the incompatible nature of ancient Jewish monotheism with the Roman law and the Imperial cult often was criticised with the Canaanite tradition of human sacrifices.[67] The stereotypical nature of the warrior elite of the Dacians represented on Trajan's column and emphasised by the literary sources seems to contribute to a self-decapitation of their society: an important part of the elite died in the two wars, while numerous others could follow their king in death. Due to these factors and characteristics of the Dacian society, instead of 'competition or interaction between two cultures [...] that supplanted earlier Roman cultures just as much as it did the earlier cultures of indigenous peoples',[68] the case of Dacia seems to be an anomaly for the new definitions of Romanisation.[69] All these factors could have shaped the attitude of Romans towards the religions of the Dacians. It seems obvious, that something went differently than had happened in most of the provinces: there are no traces of Dacian elite in the Roman times, no indigenous divinities, no continuity of practice, or, at least, architectural use of most of the sanctuaries and sacralised spaces attested until now.

A case study which shows the conscious transformation of the indigenous natural world and religious milieu of the Dacians was found in the Sub Cununi and Piatra points of Grădiștea Muncelui (III.28). In the early 19th century, two important votive altars were discovered in the area, where a possible Roman fort was identified and dated after the first Dacian war:

> *A[p]ollin(i) / Aug(usto) L(ucius) Ae/m[i]l(ius) Car[us] / [leg(atus)] Aug(usti) / pr(o) pr(aetore) / [II]I Da[c(iarum)]*[70]
> *Victoriae / Aug(ustae) pro sa/lute Imp(eratoris) / Antonini / Aug(usti) M(arcus) Sta/tius Pris/cus legatus / eius pr(o) pr(aetore)*[71]

While Téglás presumed that the presence of the altars was related to iron production and saw a continuity in the use of the sacralised natural environment,[72] later studies presumed the existence of a memorial place (Tropaeum) for the victory over the Dacians here.[73] The two altars dedicated by two governors of the provinces, M. Statius Priscus and K. Aemilius Carus, were commemorating the victory of the Romans in the most sacred place of the Dacians. It is uncertain whether the place where the altars were erected was a sanctuary or a triumphal monument dedicated to Trajan, but the presence of Victoria Augusta and Apollo Augustus shows clearly the Imperial authority, which consciously transformed a symbolic place of Dacians into a sacred memory of the victory. The presence of two altars 50 and 70 years after Trajan's victory shows the successful maintenance of the sanctuary or memorial place in Grădiștea Muncelui, which transformed and consciously eliminated the indigenous presence and cultural memory of the Dacians. This was however only in a place which was essential for the Roman power elite already after the first war of Trajan in AD 102.[74] Similar acts of transformation and religious propaganda cannot be attested in rural or domestic environments.

IV.3. Transformation of the natural environment: Ad Mediam and Germisara

The importance of water in human history is a historiographic *topos* which does not need a lengthy discussion.[75] It was also an essential element that marked and shaped the nature of settlement evolution in Roman history, especially urbanism and the formation of economic routes and villas.[76] Water

[63] The monumentalised form of sanctuaries attested in pre-Roman times at a few centres of the Dacian tribes, such as Sarmizegetusa Regia, was much more a landmark of power of the ruling tribe, following an Hellenic architecture and technique. For the vast majority of the population these structures seem to be simply, odd and unusual, 'non-Dacian'.

[64] On possible human sacrifices in Dacian society, see: Babes 1988: 3-32. See also: Rabadjiev 2015: 450.

[65] Várhelyi 2007: 277-304; Berthelot 2007: 154, fn. 14; Várhelyi 2011. See also: Schultz 2010.

[66] Grottanelli 1999: 41-59; Berthelot 2007: 152. Reid 1912, citing Cicero, *Foteius*, 31, where the same *topos* is used against the Gaul elites. See also: Várhelyi 2011: 126, fn. 7.

[67] Várhelyi 2011: 154-156.

[68] Woolf 1997: 341. See also: Versluys 2014: 7-8.

[69] Woolf 2014.

[70] IDR III/3, 275. See also: Diaconescu 1997; Opreanu 2000; Oltean 2007: 54; Opreanu 2015.

[71] IDR III/3, 276; Opreanu 2015; Lupa 19484-1

[72] Téglás 1902: 146.

[73] Opreanu 2000: 162 citing the idea of M. Macrea and C. Daicoviciu. See also: Lăscoiu 2013: 373-379.

[74] Oltean-Hanson 2017.

[75] From the abundant literature on the topic, see: Tvedt-Coopey 2010; Bradley 2012: 37-70.

[76] Timoc 2006; Ota-Băiștean 2010; Kamash 2010; Fodorean 2012;

played also an important role in inner and extra-provincial commercial routes.[77] But most significantly, the 'waterscape' played a crucial role in the religious communication and leisure time of Roman people.[78]

The first generation of Romans who settled in the new province knew very well the geography and natural resources of the region. Their knowledge was not based on legends and tales from literary *topoi*, but due to the constant relationship of Rome with the Dacian Kingdom since the 1st century BC, the landscape of Transylvania seems to have been known by the first colonists.[79] This means that the natural resources, which later will form the basis of Roman consumer society that evolved rapidly in this region, were discovered by the first generation of colonists, probably with the close collaboration of the remaining indigenous population. One of these resources comprised the rural sources of thermal waters and springs.

Transylvania, as a geological unit, is a very mixed and heterogeneous area. Volcanic activity was present even in the last period of the Quarternary. The volcanic mountains of the south Apuseni formed large basins of andesitic layers which also contributed to the evolution of hydrothermal activity in the area.[80] There are at least three main Roman thermal baths in the southern part of Dacia Superior that were inhabited from Paleolithic onwards: Germisara (Geoagiu Băi, Algyógy), Ad Aque (Călan, Pusztakalán) and Ad Mediam (Băile Herculane, Herkulesfürdő).[81] Márton Roska mentions a possible Dacian fort on the nearby hill of Germisara, which indicates continuous habitation in this area.[82] Unfortunately, the prehistoric and Dacian phases of these settlements are very poorly researched and not yet established, but the large number of sporadic finds in all these three settlements seems to prove continuous habitation from Paleolithic to Roman times. Habitation continuity, however, does not necessarily prove the continuity of sacralised spaces and religious acts, as we will see in the following case studies. Using mineral baths could be also related to a cultural tradition which seems to be much more popular in Roman times than in prehistoric or medieval periods.[83]

Ad Mediam (Băile Herculane, Herkulesfürdő) apparently was abandoned after Roman rule until 1718, when the Banat region was reorganised and the Habsburg presence became more visible, not only in the urban landscape of Transylvania[84] but affecting also the natural environment and the main resources (mines, springs, forests). The thermal baths and the caves from Herkulesbad (Herkulesfürdő, than Băile Mehadia)[85] were discovered by Johann Andreas von Hamilton (1679-1738), governor of the Banat region.[86] His work and the transformation of the natural landscape was not properly documented and the Roman sites and ruins were severely modified and destroyed. The first publications documented numerous votive inscriptions and Hercules statues found in situ, but the structures, their exact contexts, and the topography of the Roman site and possible civilian settlement was not documented.[87] Hamilton found nine natural cavities, later transformed radically into large bath complexes that became one of the most popular bathing resorts of Europe. The number of cavities identified as baths by the Romans has increased significantly since then.[88]

The main sources regarding the topography of the ancient settlements come from the detailed description of F. Griselini and the military map of 1774 (**Fig.67**.).[89] From this we know the existence of a sanctuary of Hercules, protector of the thermal baths and cavities (III.1), a Roman bath, a possible amphitheatre or mausoleum,[90] and numerous small buildings attached to the natural caves and springs. An area of the natural cavities (nr 23 on the map of Griselini)[91] was preserved almost intact and the sacralisation of the space here was strictly related to the springs and hot water. The hot spring and its water represented an eternal source for the maintenance of the sacralised space. Religious communication through the dedication of altars and

Rogers 2013.

77 Timoc 2006.

78 Karst 2016.

79 There are hypotheses which presume that the Roman army did not have enough knowledge about the geography of Roman Dacia during its conquest: Nemeti 2011. The presence of indigenous toponyms in each, newly founded Roman settlement, the extremely fast (less than 3 years) spread of Roman infrastructure and the first (wooden) phase of the forts and settlements would be absolutely impossible in my opinion without the help of indigenous populations, or a solid knowledge of the detailed geography in the field. The use of *interprex decorum* by the Roman army, even in later times, could be further proof of a direct and constant communication with the indigenous populations that coexisted in Dacia – in one way or another – with the Roman colonists. See also: Deac 2013; Szabó 2014g.

80 Mutihac 1990. See also: Luca *et al.* 2005, 15, fn. 70; Tobolcea 2008.

81 On the prehistoric finds of Germisara, see: Luca *et al.* 2005: 72-73. See also: Roska 1942: 15. For a general overview of the three sites, see: Schäfer 2009; Fodorean 2012.

82 Fodorean 2012. Later, his hypothesis was proved by aerial photographs: Oltean 2007: 86.

83 Soutelo 2014, mostly with case studies from Spain. See also: Dvorjetski 2007: 83-116.

84 See the case study of Apulum in Chapter II.

85 See also: Russu 1977: 76.

86 We do not know how Hamilton found the cavities. It is hard to believe that such an important natural environment and the biggest Roman centre for health-care was completely forgotten in medieval times. Some of the sites attested by the few archaeological surveys certainly also have a medieval layer: see CIMEC cod RAN: 50932.21, 50932.23, 50932.05. Hamilton's work and the discovery of the Roman baths were documented by P. Caryophilus, who published the inscriptions found at the site but he did not describe in detail the statues and the exact context. See also: Benea-Lalescu 1998.

87 Florescu-Miclea 1979: 34-35.

88 Ardeț *et al.* 2016.

89 Griselini 1780. See also: Benea-Lalescu 1998.

90 The large (46 m in diameter) round building or structure was interpreted also as a *tholos*, as part of an *Asklepieion*: Benea-Lalescu 1998: 272-273. Without systematic excavations the hypothesis cannot be proven.

91 Benea-Lalescu 1998: 299.

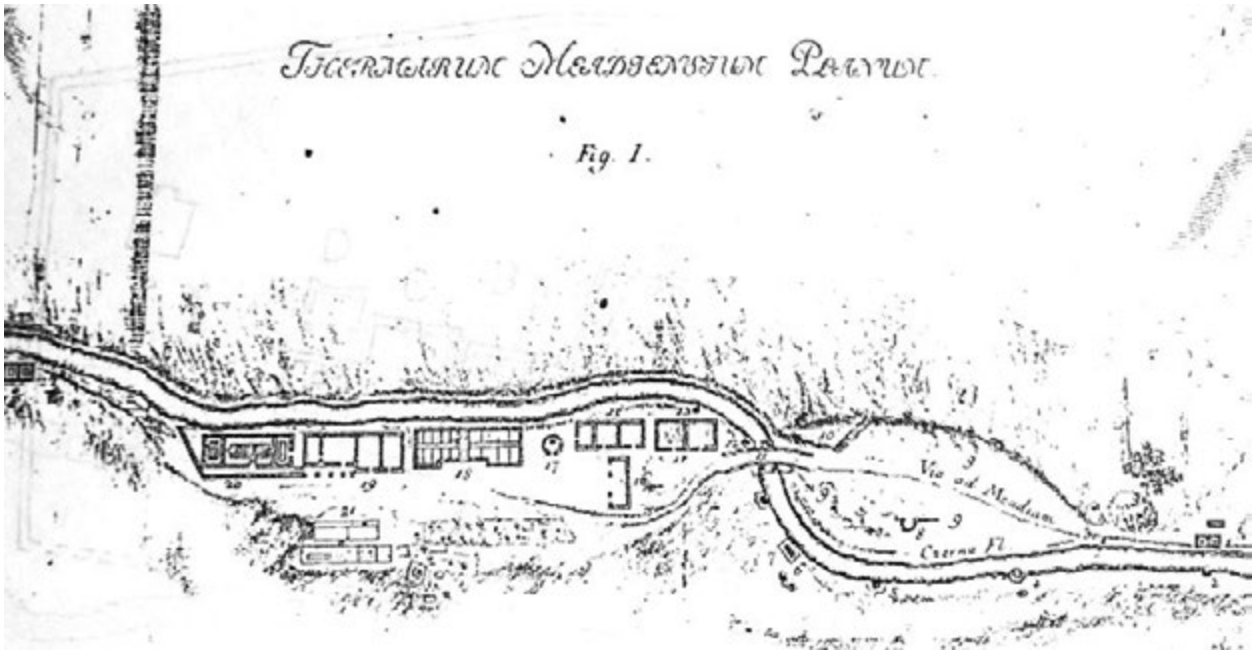

Figure 67. Map of Ad Mediam drawn by Griselini (after Benea-Lalescu 1998)

the 'classical' materiality of religion played a secondary and optional role here. Due to the lack of archaeological excavations, the evolution of the settlement is unknown but the available sources seem to show a great extension of the Roman bath-complex, which became far more than a regional centre of leisure and health-care. It is represented also on the Tabula Peutingeriana with a special vignette, which reflects the long-term maintenance and success of the site.[92] From the known sources only a sanctuary and numerous baths were identified, but the presence of bricks from the *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, *legio VII Claudia*, *legio XIII Gemina*, *cohors III Dalmatarum*, and the funerary monuments, proves that Ad Mediam had a settlement (*vicus*, *pagus*) as well. The presence of the *IIII Flavia Felix* and *VII Claudia* suggests that the transformation of the natural environment begun already in the early years of the province. The pre-Roman use of the site as sacralised space is still uncertain, the attested divinities and religious communication seem to follow only Roman traditions.

Although the success and long-term maintenance of the healing and leisure centre was ensured by the natural resources,[93] the presence of the Hercules sanctuary shows the variety of religious experiences. The sanctuary was identified in the 18th century from the seven statues discovered on the site (III.1). It is uncertain whether the building was part of a transformed or the manipulated natural environment of a spring, although the vicinity of numerous baths and caves suggest this.[94] Hercules, as a classical protector of Roman baths and springs,[95] appears as Hercules Sanctus, Invictus and Salutiferus. Besides Hercules, as protector of springs and baths, the cult of Asklepius, Hygeia, the Genius of the Place (*Genius Loci*), and the spirits and divine entities of waters (*Dii et Numini Aquarum*) were attested. The deposition of statues as votive offerings seems to be a rare practice in Roman Dacia, more often attested in the southern part of the region (near the Bucova marble mines) and in healing sanctuaries, such as the Asklepieion of Sarmizegetusa (I.35),[96] or as the case studies of the *dolichena* from Ad Mediam and Porolissum show.[97] As was recently suggested, statuary votive offerings reflect local habits, following complex ritual contexts and iconographic series devised to memorialise the religious experience, especially in healing sanctuaries.[98] At Ad Mediam, various forms of religious experiences can be attested. The statuary votive offerings are special, more local, manifestations of religious acts related to the healing process of the patients and visitors – many of them being from the political elites of Dacia. Their religious communication, however, shows their weaknesses and illnesses, contrasting to the social status they held outside the healing sanctuary. Similarly to the *Asclepieia*, the territory of such sacralised spaces transformed also

[92] Fodorean 2012.

[93] The site was visited by all social classes of the newly emerging consumer society of Dacia. The presence of the senatorial elite and the army ensured also the extra-provincial fame of the site.

[94] Benea-Lalescu 1998: 295.

[95] Bărbulescu 1978; Bărbulescu 1979; Fagan 2002: 121, 172. See also: Holst-Warhaft-Steenhuis 2010: 57-62. For the best analogy of the sanctuary, see: Moitrieux 1992.

[96] Schäfer 2007; Boda 2015b.

[97] See Chapter III.

[98] McCarty 2015: 366.

Figure 68. The modern site of Germisara (photo: Aurora Peţan)

the temporarily social identities, creating an emotional community (or group) between elite and non-elite.[99]

Most of the statues, as imported artifacts,[100] could suggest also an external influence on religious communication. The famous inscription dedicated to the spirits and divine powers of the water by the five delegates of Marcus Sedatius Severianus shows the important strategic position of Ad Mediam and the presence of religious pilgrimages here.[101] The miraculous healing of Iunia Cyrilla shows the fame of the baths of Ad Mediam as an important healing centre and salubrious environment.[102]

> *Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iuniae / Cyrillae quod a / longa infirmita/te virtute aqua/rum numinis sui / revocaverunt / T(itus) B(---) A(---) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

The dedication of her husband is a classical commemoration of an individual religious experience which served to maintain the sacralised space, but also played an important role in the economic background of the site, as a 'leisure' centre. Although it was not the only salubrious environment and healing bath of the province, Ad Mediam was able to preserve its fame, and its sanctuary of Hercules, until the abandonment of the province. The actual toponym of the city and the revival of the bathing complex in the 18th century was also based on the Roman ruins and the fame of the seven statues discovered in the cavities – an exceptional, but not unique case of revitalisation and continuity of ancient sacralised spaces in Transylvania.

Germisara,[103] as an important Roman bath-complex and salubrious environment, was well known during the Renaissance and after,[104] although the revitalisation of the baths begun only in 1986 (**Fig.68**.).[105] Due to the extensive works and research, the site is one of the best documented Roman bath-complexes in the Danubian provinces.[106] The archaeological surveys have not yet been able to prove the presence and use of the travertine cavities and springs in pre-Roman times, although the site is often cited as one of the few Roman settlements where Dacian cultic activity is present.[107] The presence of the Dacian fort on the Cigmău hill and the Dacian toponym of the settlement, however, could suggest the pre-Roman use of the site.[108]

[99] See also Chapter II.7.

[100] Benea-Lalescu 1998: 275.

[101] III 1562; IDR III/1, 56; Piso 1993, 61, n. 14; Lupa 13234: *Dis et Numinib(us) / Aquarum / Ulp(ius) Secundinus / Marius Valens / Pomponius Haemus / Iul(ius) Carus Val(erius) Valens / legati Romam ad / consulatum Seve/riani c(larissimi) v(iri) missi incolu/mes reversi ex voto / e(---) a(---).*

[102] IDR III/1, 55.

[103] As in many other cases, the toponym of the Roman settlement has a Dacian or Thracian origin: Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 66-69. Although the pre-Roman phases of the travertine cavities are uncertain, the presence of a Dacian fort in the nearby area of Cigmău seems to be plausible: Oltean 2007: 86.

[104] The Hungarian toponym Algyógy reflects the salubrious nature of the settlement.

[105] On the research history of the site, see: Russu 1984: 227-228. See also: Rusu-Pescaru 1993.

[106] On the geologic survey see: Olivier *et al.* 2008.

[107] Piso 2015.

[108] Oltean 2007: 111. See also: Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 66. A general

Figure 69. Gold plaques from Germisara (after Rusu 1994 and Ardevan-Cocis 2014)

As in every Roman settlement of Dacia, the transformation of a small part of the natural environment into a sacralised space began after the establishment of an auxiliary fort at Cigmău (Pogadie),[109] surrounded by an extended military *vicus*.[110] The presence of a Roman quarry and a necropolis was also attested, and 5 km north of the Roman fort a large travertine cavity was identified. In the very first phase, the cavity, with its hot lake inside, was probably used as a natural bath and an integrated sacralised space. More than 600 coins, a statue of Diana, and at least 11 gold plaques were found as votive offerings in the lake.[111] Among the first generation of worshippers we find a pilgrim named Decebalus, son of Lucius (**Fig.69.**):[112]

Nymf/is(!) Dece/balus Lu/ci posuit

One of the few Dacian names attested in Roman Dacia, Decebalus was son of a *libertus*, who had a Latin, Roman name. If Decebalus was indeed a Dacian, we can attest here an interesting process of acculturation: the first generation of Dacians seems to adopt the Roman customs and rules, and even onomastic, more strictly, while later generations were already more free to express their own cultural identity. The cultural and personal identity of Decabalus is indeed a unique case of individuation. He used his religious and ethnic identity in an already 'Romanised' space for religious communication. The habit of votive depositions and plaque offerings in lakes also arrived with the Romans, as part of the newly emerging consumer society, which universalised Celtic traditions as 'Roman products'.[113] It is not impossible, however, that the votive depositions of statues, coins, and the gold plaques in this particular case, were continuations of an already existent, pre-Roman (Dacian) way of religious communication, as the 14 gold coins from pre-Roman times suggest.[114] The names attested on the 11 votive plaques (Decebalus, Bitus, Baebius Ingenuus, Licinia Cale, Cornelia Marcellina) show a great variety of Thracian and Latin onomastics, which makes it difficult to identify the worshippers and practitioners of this particular and obviously unique way of religious communication in Germisara.[115] The toponym itself (Germisara) has a Thracian origin, while the names Bitus and Cale show again the presence of a Thracian linguistic link. This aspect needs more study, and might prove an interesting link between the pre-Roman tribes from north and south of the Danube.[116] If the owners of the golden plaques were indeed Dacians, then their religious practices seem to differ from the traditional Roman religious communication, which was attested especially on the bank of the lake, where large numbers of altars and statue bases were discovered, dedicated by governors, soldiers, *collegia*-leaders and magistrates of Apulum.

The transformation of the natural environment had multiple new elements: cult-shrines (Nymphaeum – I.17, **Fig.70.**), channels, and thermal stations were built in the area of the cavity, changing radically the environment and the life-circle of the water reservoir.

argument for the use of the cavities is the find of 14 gold coins in the central basin.

109 Luca *et al.* 2005: 46.

110 Hanson-Oltean 2001.

111 Alicu-Pescaru 2000: 67; Schäfer 2009; 2011; Ardevan-Cociș 2014. See also: ILD 319-329.

112 ILD 325; Pescaru-Pescaru 2007; Schäfer 2009.

113 Schäfer 2009; Schäfer 2011.

114 The use and deposition of these valuable coins, however, can be dated also much later. See also: King 2007.

115 Piso 2015: 51.

116 See also: Bouzek-Graninger 2015: 13; Dana 2015.

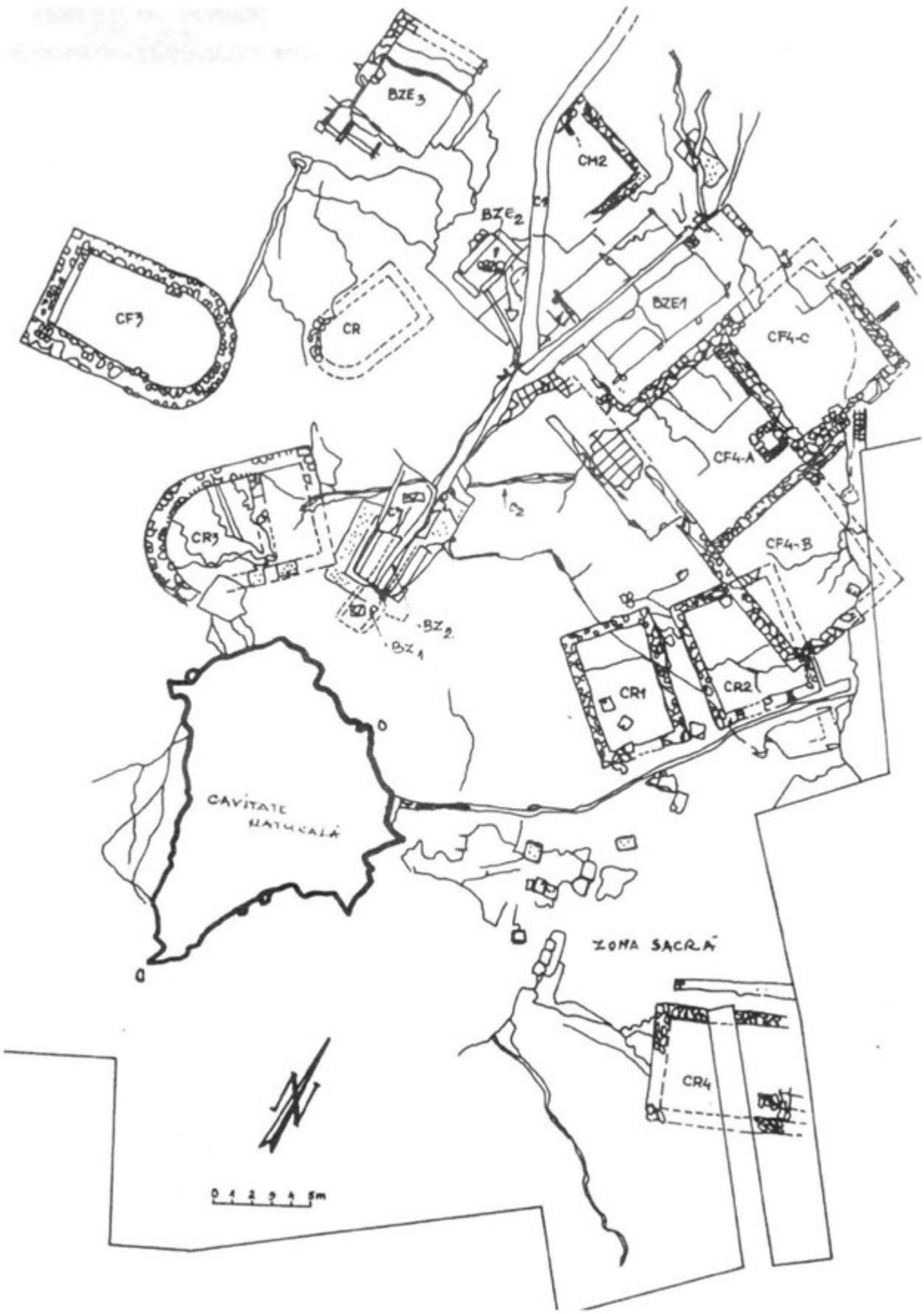

Figure 70. Topography of Roman Germisara and its sites (after Pescaru-Alicu 2000)

This radical change and highly monumentalised sacralisation could be explained by the popularity of the site among the governors of Dacia, the site being the closed bath-complex for Apulum. One of them, Marcus Statius Priscus, was attested at least three times in Germisara.[117] The presence of numerous representatives of *collegia* shows also that Germisara was, first of all, the baths used by the Roman elite.[118]

In contrast with Ad Mediam, where Hercules and Asclepius were the deities most often named in Latin inscriptions as recipients of cult, the attested divinities in Germisara reveal a different picture. The bath-complex was protected by powerful nymphs, named as Augusta, Sancta, and Salutifera by the inscriptions.[119] These feminine spirits were constantly identified in Romanian literature with pre-Roman, Dacian divinities, although there are no traces of similar votive offerings or any kinds of iconographic sources for the nymph-cult in Dacian religion.[120] Strategies for maintaining the sacralised space, and to express gratitude for their health and miraculous healing, the visitors of Germisara seem to have had a more varied religious communication than is found at Ad Mediam. Besides the 'traditional' acts of commemorating their visit and healing with altars and statues, here they deposited votive offerings inside the lake and erected altars, which eternalise possible prayers and songs:[121]

[Hanc ti]bi marmoreo caesam de monte d[icavi] / regina undarum Nympha decus nemoru[m] / [vo]to damnasti perfecto quem prece Bassus / moenitae propter moenia Germisarae

The hexametric inscription of Bassus, that was the first to be discovered at the site in 1495, mentions a single nymph, the queen of waters and gift of the forests, who listened to his prayers and healed him. The text differs from the other votive inscriptions, where the protecting divinity of the site appears in the plural.

A similar, but even more curious case is the monumental, bilingual inscription of C. Sentius Iustinus centurio of *legio V Macedonica* (**Fig.71a-b.**).[122]

The inscription is probably the greatest personalised epigraphic evidence of individual religious appropriation and space sacralisation within Roman Dacia. Structurally, and by contents, the text is hard to be classified as vow, oath, hymn or prayer, but its performative nature is intensively contoured.[123] C. Sentius Iustinus was a relatively modest pilgrim in Germisara. His monumental stele, however, was far the largest among the known altars and dedications of senators and other soldiers of the province. As the example of Publius Aelius Marcellinus shows (see below), the soldiers of the *numerus Brittonum* and the *numerus Singulariorum (Peditum) Britannicianorum* also visited the site.[124] This event could have happened once, as a special, extraordinary occasion in AD 186, as the case of Marcellinus shows, or as an annual, repetitive religious action, as the inscription of Iustinus from AD 183-185 proves. The presence of two *numerus* of soldiers from Britannia suggests also a specific cultural identity of these dedications.[125] Divinities worshipped in Roman Britain were known in Dacia from other sites too: cults of Brigantia or the Badonnes were also attested.[126]

Iustinus' text is a brilliant case of narrative religious communication.[127] Narration in religion was recently described as preparing, accompanying and reflecting communication with ancestors or gods having medial, communicative and locative dimensions.[128] In this case, too, a contextual knowledge (literary schemes, tropes) were used to describe the particular healing process and metamorphosis of Iustinus. The text he inscribed in two different languages reflects a rich geographical, literary and religious knowledge also, which may give a glimpse into the particular educational level of some of the soldiers who had travelled extensively within the Principate.[129] Iustinus knew – probably from early Augustan literature – that this area is known as the world of the Getic people.[130] His case reflects the ethnographic knowledge a solider could have about a province or a region known from sporadic literary and ethnographic topos.

His healing process is narrated here as performative health-care, but also self-care.[131] Many elements from this narration come not only from religious tropes and schemes, but from the highly personal, lived experience of Iustinus, as a soldier in Dacia or beyond. He speaks

[117] Rusu 1991.
[118] Fodorean 2012.
[119] Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 73.
[120] It is important to mention, however, the post-Roman association of nymphs and Diana with some folkloric figures from Romanian mythology (*ielele*): Ghinescu 1996; 1998; Nemeti 2006; 2010a. See also the etymology of the Portuguese *xana* and Spanish *diana* words.
[121] IDR III/3, 239; Nemeti 2010a.
[122] Piso 2015. The inscription was discovered during the excavations of 1986-87, but published only 30 years later. Due to the severe erosion, the barely visible text is extremely hard to read. I. Piso presented the inscription numerous times in conferences and workshops in Rome, Budapest and Cluj, provoking intense debates among the leading epigraphists of Europe. Unfortunately the exact context of the discovery was not documented. It is important to mention that from the 15th-17th centuries numerous forgeries were known from this area of Transylvania: Dragostin 2015.
[123] Dragostin 2015: 64. On the problematic notion of Roman prayers, see: Patzelt 2018.
[124] There are no further data about this unit from the province. It is uncertain whether this *numerus* is identical with the one known from Niederbieber, Germany: DuBois 2015: 262-263.
[125] See also: Henig 1984: 32, 115-116.
[126] McGrath 2015. See Chapter II.8.
[127] Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 7-9.
[128] Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 7.
[129] On the classical education from Dacia, see also: Ardevan 2013.
[130] Piso 2015: 57, especially fn. 58, with further literary references and examples. See also: IDR III/2, 400.
[131] Várhelyi 2013: 222-223.

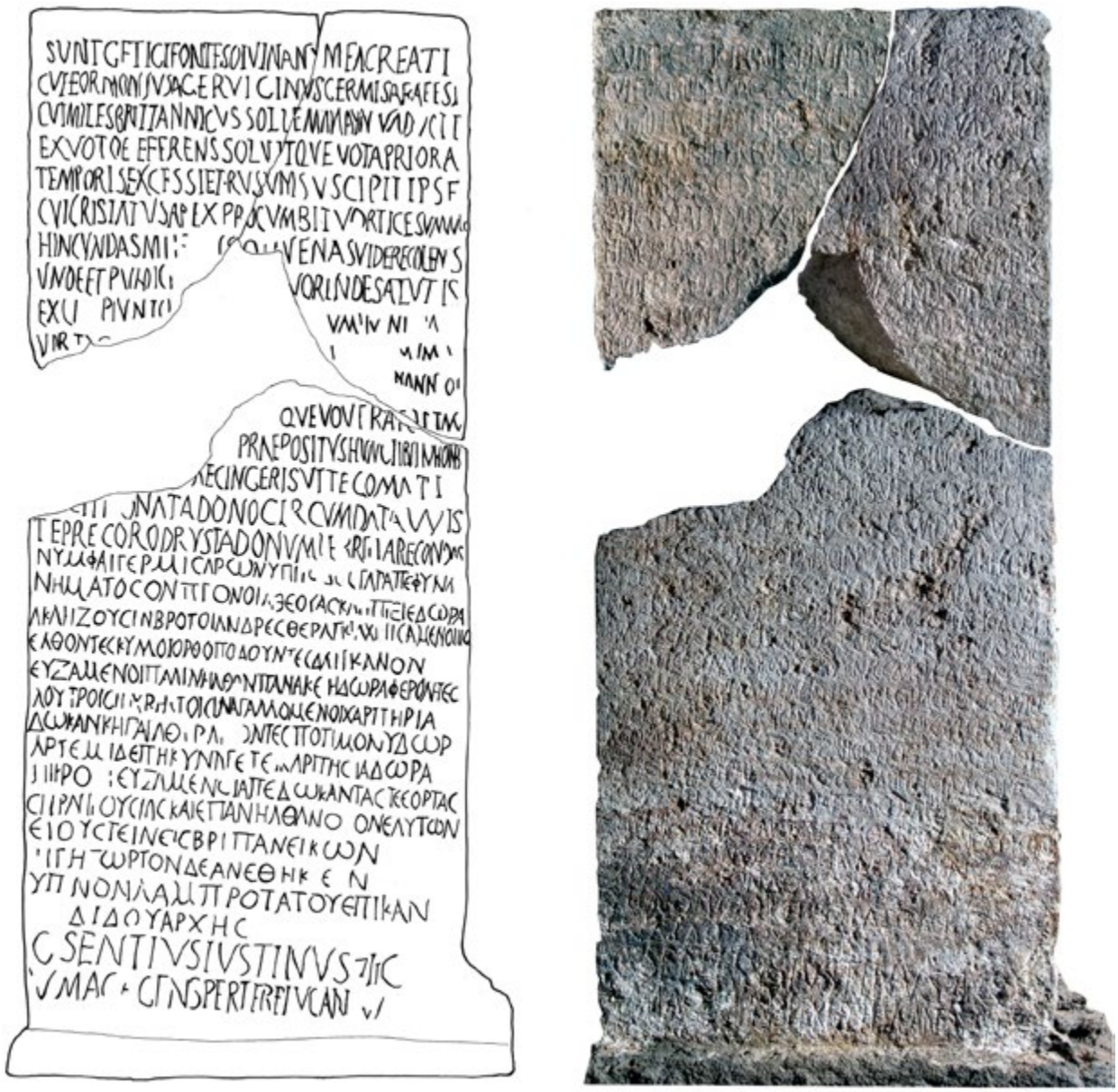

Figure 71a-b. Monumental inscription dedicated by C. Sentius Iustinus in Germisara (after Piso 2015)

about a repetitive, yearly festival, which renews the communication and embodied relationship with the nymphs. His literary metaphors combine adjectives describing the traditional military equipment of a centurio (*crista transversa*)[132] and the world of the divine (the sparkling vortex of the water). The metaphor of the wine and grape surrounded statue associates the nymphs with Bacchus.[133] It is very hard to understand why or how Iustinus associates grapes with the nymphs. An association with some regional myths of the childhood of Bacchus from the Greek-speaking world could be plausible, especially if we think that he might also know Greek, as the bilingual inscription suggests.[134] The most peculiar part of the inscription is the invocation of the divinity: Iustinus names one of the nymphs as Odrysta, an unknown name in the Roman Empire or classical mythology. Although one can easily make an association with the Thracian toponym of Odrysia, the word Odrysta in our case clearly refers to a divinity. Ioan Piso argued with uncertain linguistic analogies that this might be the first and only Dacian divinity named on a Roman inscription, however he cites also the arguments of Dan Dana, who was very cautious to support this theory.[135] In any case, if Iustinus is a soldier from Britannia, in this inscription he certainly appropriated local religious knowledge, addressing a local or regional divinity, a *genius loci*. After the name of the divinity was pronounced, the text continues in Greek. This might not be accidental: *verba*

[132] Durry 1928.
[133] Piso 2015: 60.
[134] On the nymphs as protectors of the child Bacchus, see: Dalby 2003: 43.
[135] Piso 2015: 60-61.

precandi (petition) was the most important part of the Roman prayer.[136] If this text were performed as part of a choir, or a song, the religious communication, with the linguistic change, entered a new level, marking the difference between the earthly (human) and divine worlds. The first, Latin, part of the text is about Iustinus and his comrades: the Roman army, the centurions, the Britons, who are evoking (*invocatio*) the divine world. After pronouncing the name of Odrysta – whoever she might be – the space of the narrated religion enters the divine world. The Greek text evokes the nymphs, who bringing dreams and sleep to the worshippers. Here the possibility of an *incubatio* is suggested, which is known from many healing sites of Dacia and beyond.[137] The healing divinity, however, is not Odrysta but Asklepios, who is mentioned in the next line (18) of the text. Artemis and Hypnos are also evoked as important agents in religious communication of a healing site. The inscription of Iustinus shows that the healing sanctuary of Germisara was not only a grotto with healing springs, but also an important site for *incubatio*, surrounded by a garden, probably with grapes and vines too. We do not know exactly if this text was indeed performed or chanted as a hymn or song, as I. Piso has suggested. What is certain, however, is that the monumental inscription memorised the intense religious experience of an individual, and a small group with a special military and cultural identity. By erecting the narrative stele, Iustinus emphasises his own activity, reducing the power of religious entrepreneurs or providers – if there were any in Germisara.[138] His dedication represents a unique testimony of a local religious experience and appropriation memorised through a monumental instantiated religious agent, a stele with a hymn.

Germisara was associated also with Diana, a divinity often worshipped as goddess of the forest.[139] The syncretism between a nymph and Diana shows one of the many particularities of the site, surrounded by dense forests too, which seems to have been used as an important agent in the sacralisation process of the site. The bath-complex, surrounded by the protecting, and even magical, power of the forest was a defensive fort of visitors and patients seeking for protection, security and health – a necessity often endangered by *latrones*, especially in the southern part of Dacia.[140]

The association of health and security is reflected in the dedication of Publius Aelius Marcellinus, *signifer et questor numeri Brittonum*, who was saved by the most sacred nymphs from a terrible and deadly threat in AD 186:[141]

> *Nymphis / sanctissimis / P(ublius) Aelius Marce/llinus signifer / et quaestor n(umeri) Brit(tonum) / mortis periculo li/ber(atus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Imp(eratore) Comm(odo) Aug(usto) / Felice V et Glabrione / II co(n)s(ulibus)*

The presence of long narratives and special formulae in inscriptions represent another local specificity of this place, almost uniquely in the province. This could belong, again, to the pre-Roman aspect of the place, where oral traditions and transmission of sacralisation processes survived through narrative inscriptions and prayers (*carmen latinae*). It served also as an important agent in maintaining the memory of the sacred, and a ritual tradition of prayer and special religious experiences.

A particularly interesting case of religious experience is commemorated on the altar of Marcus Aurelius Theodotus:[142]

> *Nymphi[s] sanctis / August(is) simul et / tibi sancta Deana / fontiq(ue) vestro / ret(t)ulit sua vo/ta libens salu/ti ter refirmatus / aquis Germis(arae?) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Theodo/tus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) / Comm(odo) [Fe]lice c(onsule) VI VIII Kal(endas) Com(modas)*

The worshipper is probably identical with the one attested in Apulum on the inscription dedicated to Glycon.[143] Theodotus seems to be the Aelius Aristeides of Dacia. He visited some of the main healing centres of the province to ensure his health, creating a sort of religious 'health insurance'. On his inscription from Germisara dedicated to the sacred nymphs (*Nymphis sanctis Augustis*), Diana (*sancta Deana*)[144] and their fountain, Theodotus mentions that he was reinvigorated three times by the waters of Germisara (*ter refirmatus Germisarae*). The meaning of this mysterious formula was interpreted as a ritual bath, where the magical number (3) and the repetitive action itself played an important role in establishing the religious health insurance of Theodotus, who seems to have had a serious illness around AD 190.[145] His inscriptions suggest also a series of acts and practices used at the site. We do not know whether this ritual,

136 Hickson 1993: 44.
137 See Chapter II.7 and Renberg 2017
138 Albrecht *et al.* 2018: 8.
139 In Germania, the cult of Diana Abnoba and Diana Mattiaca, indigenous divinities, were associated with the cult of the Black Forest and the hot springs from Badenweiler (CIL XIII 7565, AE 1966, 263): Campbell 2012: 363. Diana is also associated with water nymphs in classical Graeco-Roman mythology: see the triad of Diana-Virbius-Egeria.
140 The area is still one of the wildest, wooded areas of Europe. In Roman times, numerous funerary and votive monuments attests the attacks of the *latrones* and bandits in Dacia Inferior, and along the roads going deep into the forests: IDR II 134, IDR III/1, 71, IDR III/1, 118a. See also: Macrea 1969: 279-280; Grünewald 2004: 126.
141 IDR III/3, 243.
142 ILD 326.
143 See Chapter II.7.
144 On the name of the divinity and the linguistic aspects of the inscription, see: ILD 326, Beu-Dachin 2014.
145 Nemeti 2010a.

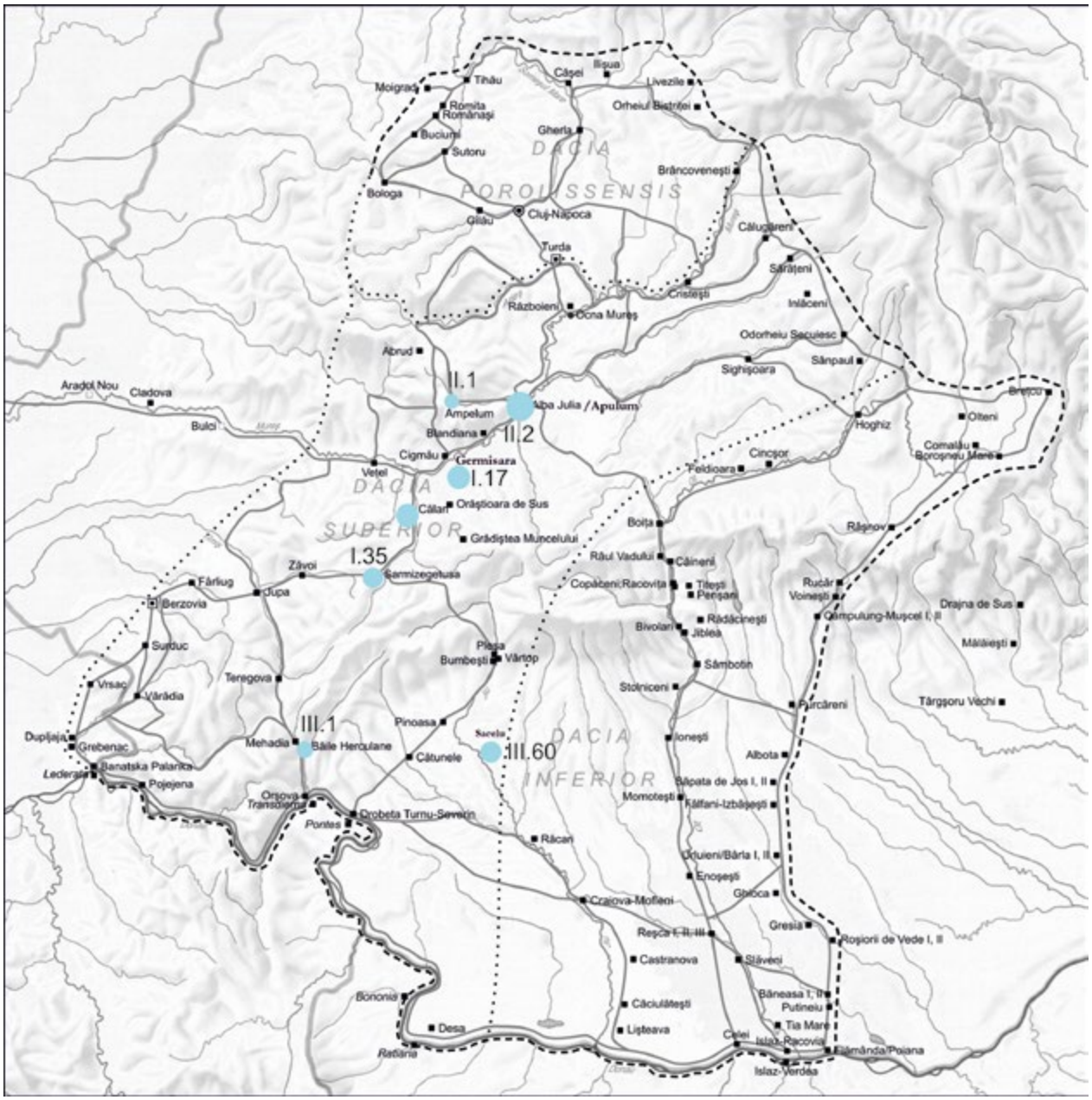

Figure 72. Healing sites and sacralised spaces in Roman Dacia (map based on Schäfer 2007, 357, abb. 1. with the kind permission of the author)

triple-bathing process was an individual option or was regulated and organised by a certain authority or religious entrepreneurs in Germisara.[146]

The case study of the healing bath-complexes from Dacia shows the various forms of religious experiences in natural environments, but also gives an intriguing insight as to how local, possibly pre-Roman, religious knowledge and tradition shaped the religious communication of Roman society (**Fig.72.**).

IV.4. Deep in religion: space sacralisation in the mining settlements of Ampelum and beyond

Before discussing *in extenso* the materiality of Roman religion at Ampelum, a short summary of the research history of this settlement needs to be presented, being one of the most significant examples of how the Roman heritage was slowly, but systematically destroyed and ignored over the last two centuries in this region of Europe.[147]

[146] There are no inscriptions mentioning the priests or antistes of the Nymphaeum.

[147] On the recent state of the local museum see: http://www.ziarulapulum.ro/cine-este-vinovat-pentru-situatia-muzeului-din-zlatna-0023410 (last accessed: 22.02.2016). From the numerous mining settlements, Alburnus Maior was always a more emphasised

Discovering and forgetting Ampelum: a brief history of research

In 1622, Martin Opitz (1597-1639),[148] as one of the numerous Germans invited to Transylvania by Gábor Bethlen,[149] visited Zlatna (*Zalatna*, *Goldenmarkt*, *Kleinschlatten*, *Auraria Minor*, *Ampelum*) and Nagyompoly (Valea Dosului). The small, Romanian settlement was already well known to Pierre Lescalopier in 1574,[150] and the Nuremberg merchants, as the main source of cinnabar and an important centre of mercury production a century before.[151] Opitz was so amazed by the marvellous valley region, the picturesque landscape of the Ampoi (Ompoly) river, and the Bădbuia mountains, that he wrote a poem entitled 'Zlatna oder von der ruhe des Gemüts' in 1623. He mentions that this area, and the city of Zlatna, were well known by the Romans, fortified with walls, today in ruins, and a real 'fortress of Apollo', a city of gold. The inscription described by Lescalopier was probably a votive plaque,[152] which could indicate that Opitz knew about the existence of a possible sanctuary of Apollo or Aesculapius in Zlatna.[153]

The existence and knowledge of the Roman mining system was so well known in medieval times, and also visible on the surface, that in 1717 Sámuel Köleséri (1662-1732) published a whole volume on the history of 'Daco-Roman mining' in the area of Zlatna (*Auraria Romano-Dacica*, *Hermannstadt*, *1717*).[154] This work is important for several reasons, as the author raised for the first time the theory that the mines were used already by the Dacians,[155] and mentioned numerous Roman ruins from Zalatna standing near the main road, later identified as a Roman road. An aqueduct was discovered in the 18th century, when the Habsburg mining system and large furnaces were installed in the region, destroying a large part of the Roman ruins still intact between Zlatna and Petresán.[156] The last remains were described by Ackner in 1856.[157] J. F. Neigebaur witnessed (30th April, 1847) the ruins of numerous Roman buildings between Zlatna and Pâtrînjeni.[158] Many of the votive inscriptions were discovered or described as being in secondary positions already in the first half of the 19th century by D. Thalson and Rheinbold.[159] Most of the monuments from the Dolichenum were already in Olenberg's house in the first half of the 19th century.[160]

The ruins of the civil settlement extended as a compact unit between the eastern edge of modern Zlatna and the village of Petresán (Pâtrînjeni),[161] observable even after the tragic consequences of Austrian urbanisation.[162] A large incineration cemetery (with 60 tumuli) were identified in 1878-1879 by Béla Lukács (1847-1901), founder of the local museum,[163] in the area of Botes (Boteș and Corabia).[164] The same researchers mentioned the ruins of a Roman auxiliary fort near the Roman gold mine, named later as 'Maria Loretto' (Bucium-Corabia).[165] In 1888, when Gábor Téglás (1848-1916) summarised for the first time the history of Ampelum, it was already clear that in the valley of the Ompoi-Ampoly river (Abrudbánya, Zalatna, Verespatak) there were numerous Roman civilian settlements, surrounded by multiple cemeteries and, possibly, by more than one auxiliary fort.[166] Based on his personal visit to the area, Gábor Téglás already identified numerous stone quarries and tried to establish the provenience of the used stone and marble material. He even estimated the size of the population (*c.* 2000 inhabitants) based on the extension of the settlement known in his time.[167] In 1889, less than 5 km west of Ampelum, in another Roman mining settlement (Almașu Mare), a statue of Jupiter and Iuno were discovered.

A spectacular find was attested in 1900 by the engineer Zsigmond Kurovszky during the extension of the carbon disulphide factory.[168] Among the building ruins and walls (which were 100 cm high on the surface) the workers identified numerous 'pits' with clay, stone rubble and plaster. In one of the pits bronze vessels

site due to the discovery of its wax-tablets and the recent excavations and political scandals.

148 Dăianu 1946.

149 On the revitalisation of the mining system in Transylvania by Bethlen, see: Mátyás-Rauch 2013: 199-215.

150 IDR III/3, 290.

151 The early medieval toponym 'Zlatna – Zalatna' suggests also that the extraction of gold and mercury continued in the 7th-9th centuries. It is not clear whether there was continuous extraction into the 17th century.

152 I. Russu identifies the inscription as a 'votive altar', based on the terminology of the French traveller ('pierre rompue'). The dedication and the cut of the inscription suggest more a construction plaque.

153 Although the reference to a 'fortress of Apollo' could be a metaphor and allusion also to Golden Apollo, the Sun God, and gold mining. For other early finds: IDR III/3, 307, 316, 317, 327, 366.

154 Köleséri 1717, republished by Pray György in 1780. On his life, see: Csiky 1985: 231-243.

155 Wollmann 1996: 29, fn. 1, Iarovslavschi 1997. On the history of pre-Roman use of the gold mines see: Ciugudean 2007: 257.

156 Téglás 1888: 299; Russu 1984: 281. See also the map of the First Military Survey: http://mapire.eu/hu/map/firstsurvey/ (last accessed: 20.02.2016).

157 Téglás 1888: 300-301.

158 Neugebaur 1851. Unfortunately, the functionality of these buildings remains unidentified.

159 IDR III/3, 294,

160 Ackner-Müller 1851: 558.

161 On the modern toponyms and archaeological locations of the area, see: Pătrășcanu 1967: 678.

162 Téglás 1888: 298-299.

163 Lukács 1879: 14-15, 355-359.

164 See also: Wollmann 1979: 192, fn. 3, and Ciugudean 2007: 264-265, for recent surveys in this area.

165 Ciugudean 2007: 19, citing also Köreséri 1717: 17. It is very possible that the fort described by Lukács is the same as the Abrud fort. See also: Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005: 34.

166 For the fort of Abrud (Alburnus Maior?): Moga-Mesaros 1980; Gudea 1997: 39. See also: Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005: 113, fig. D.5.

167 Téglás 1888: 300.

168 The modern and a more precise topography of the discovery is hard to establish today. For the most detailed description, see: Balla 1907: 52, fn. 3.

were found, together with an altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Fortuna Salutaris (III.3).[169]

In 1903, Márton Roska made a short survey of a spot where important votive inscriptions were found in 1898.[170] In the same year, Béla Cserni published two funerary monuments discovered in the village of Petresán (Pâtrînjeni), where the largest necropolis probably existed (IDR III/3, 337, 363).[171] At the same site numerous other funerary monuments were found in 1916 (IDR III/3, 341, 365). It is possible that this area was a small cemetery of the Bithynian community. A mid-sized statue of Jupiter Verospi was discovered before 1906 and later transported to the museum of Alba Iulia.[172]

The archaeological finds discovered between the two World Wars were collected by Sabin Olea in his significant archaeological collection.[173] Around 1930, C. Plăcintă discovered at the location known as 'Chilia', under Mt Jidovu, the ruins of a sanctuary and a construction plaque dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygeia (II.1). During the 20th century, the destruction of the Roman heritage of Ampelum continued at a terrible speed. In the summer of 1966, at the site called '*în luncă*',[174] three votive inscriptions were discovered in the ruins of Roman buildings.[175] On the same spot, in 1979 a votive column dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus was found, making plausible the existence of a Dolichenum near the bus station of the modern city.[176] In the 1970s a spectacular head of a monumental Jupiter Verospi was discovered, considered the finest and largest representation of the divinity from the province.[177] The first comprehensive synthesis on the settlement was published in 1977,[178] and a large part of the known epigraphic material in 1984.[179] The first, and to date the only synthesis on the religious life of the mining settlements was published by V. Wollmann.[180]

The last chance to document the limits of the Roman settlement and its cemeteries vanished in the period between 1985-1988, when the new furnaces and the extension of the factory were finished.[181] Among the few places documented by archaeological excavations, an important pottery workshop was identified,[182] where 'votive' figurines were also produced. The monuments from Zlatna were published systematically by Ioan T. Lipovan for more than two decades. Following his death, both the local museum and the materiality of the Roman heritage are now in imminent danger.[183]

Religion outside the mines: case studies of religious appropriation

One of the main reasons for the conquest of Dacia was on account of the legendary gold mines and rich natural resources of the Apuseni Mountains.[184] A large area of 6500 km^2, containing at least 30 gold and silver mines,[185] was integrated within the newly founded province right after AD 106 and formed a *territorium* (*Aurariae Dacicae*) with special legal status.[186] South of the gold mine territory, divided by the river Marisia (Mures, Maros) and supervised by the army stationed in Micia, was the *metalla* or *territoria metallorum* in the Metaliferi Mountains (**Fig.73**.).[187]

Ampelum, considered as an indigenous Dacian settlement, or, at least, the toponym,[188] was founded as a small mining settlement (*pagus*), after the main Roman road (56 km) between Apulum and Alburnus Maior was finished between AD 106 and 117 (**Fig.74**).[189] The road was supervised and protected by the three auxiliary forts of Ighiu, Ampelum and Abrud, the last being the only attested archaeologically within the Apuseni Mountains.[190] The colonisation of this area

[169] First published by Téglás 1902: 7-8; Balla 1907: 52-55. See also: Novák 1942;; Wollmann 1996: figs XII, XIII, XXIV 1.
[170] Wollmann 1979: 192, fn. 4.
[171] ATÉ 1903, 140.
[172] No topographic reference was mentioned. BKL 29, 2, 1906, 341; Wollmann 1979: 200. Dan Isac (Isac 1974: 70-71, fig. 1) cites wrongly the article of Daicoviciu 1940: 305-506, fig. 6; Băluță 1980: 102, fn. 10, claims that the statue is missing today. Wollmann-Lipovan 1982: 94, fn. 8, claims that Băluță wrongly identified the statue. Finally, Radu Ota identifies two statues which could possibly come from Ampelum, based on the material and the elaboration (Ota 2013: 69, 75, figs 56 and 57 – identical with Isac 1974: 71, figs 1-2, but Isac wrongly interprets both statues, confusing the statue of Jupiter from the Partos and from Ciucea). On the transportation of various material from Ampelum in various museums, see: Russu 1984: 283.
[173] Popa 1961: 269-272. There are more than 1766 archaeological objects, some of them from Apulum, but most from Ampelum and the surrounding area.
[174] On the toponym see: Pătrășcanu 1967: 692, nr 162.
[175] Popa *et al.* 1968: 407, Wollmann 1996: fig. XXIV.2.
[176] Wollmann-Lipovan 1982: 90.
[177] Wollmann-Lipovan 1982: 94-95.
[178] Noeske 1977: 271-416. See also: Hirt 2010: 126-130.
[179] IDR III/3, 280-381. Today the Clauss-Slaby Database contains 136 inscriptions. See also: ILD 331-356.
[180] Wollmann 1996: 199-221. See also: Nemeti 2004: 91-101, Ardevan *et al.* 2007: 67-72; Nemeti-Nemeti 2010: 109-133, mostly focusing on the Illyrian communities from Alburnus Maior.
[181] Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005: 34. The factory closed in 2003.
[182] Lipovan 1983: 301-327. See also: Bolindeț 2011: 110-111, with a complete bibliography.
[183] See also: http://www.ziarulapulum.ro/cine-este-vinovat-pentru-situatia-muzeului-din-zlatna-0023410 (last accessed: 18.07.2016).
[184] Oltean 2007: 53-59, Piso 2008: 297-332, Găzdac 2010: 45-65.
[185] Wollmann 1996: fig. LXXXIII; Hirt 2010: 75.
[186] The exact delimitation of this territory is not yet established: Hirt 2010: 74-75. On the legal status of the *territorium Aurariae Dacicae*, see: Wollmann 1996: 31-45, Hirt 2010: 126-127.
[187] Probably as part of the same administrative and legal unit: Hirt 2010: 76.
[188] Russu 1984: 280-281.
[189] Fodorean 2006: 252-254; Tentea 2009: 371. See also: ILD 349 on the presence of some vexillations of *legio IIII Flavia Felix*. See also: IDR III/3, 366.
[190] Moga *et al.* 1995: 110-111, dating the timber fort to the Trajanic period. See also: Gudea 1997: 12; Țentea 2009. Recently, in 2017, a small watch-tower was identified near Ampelum: *https://www.realitatea.net/misterul-ruinelor-romane-din-apuseni-descoperire-uriasa-in-cea-mai-bogata-zona-aurifera-a-romaniei_2080489.html*. Last accessed:

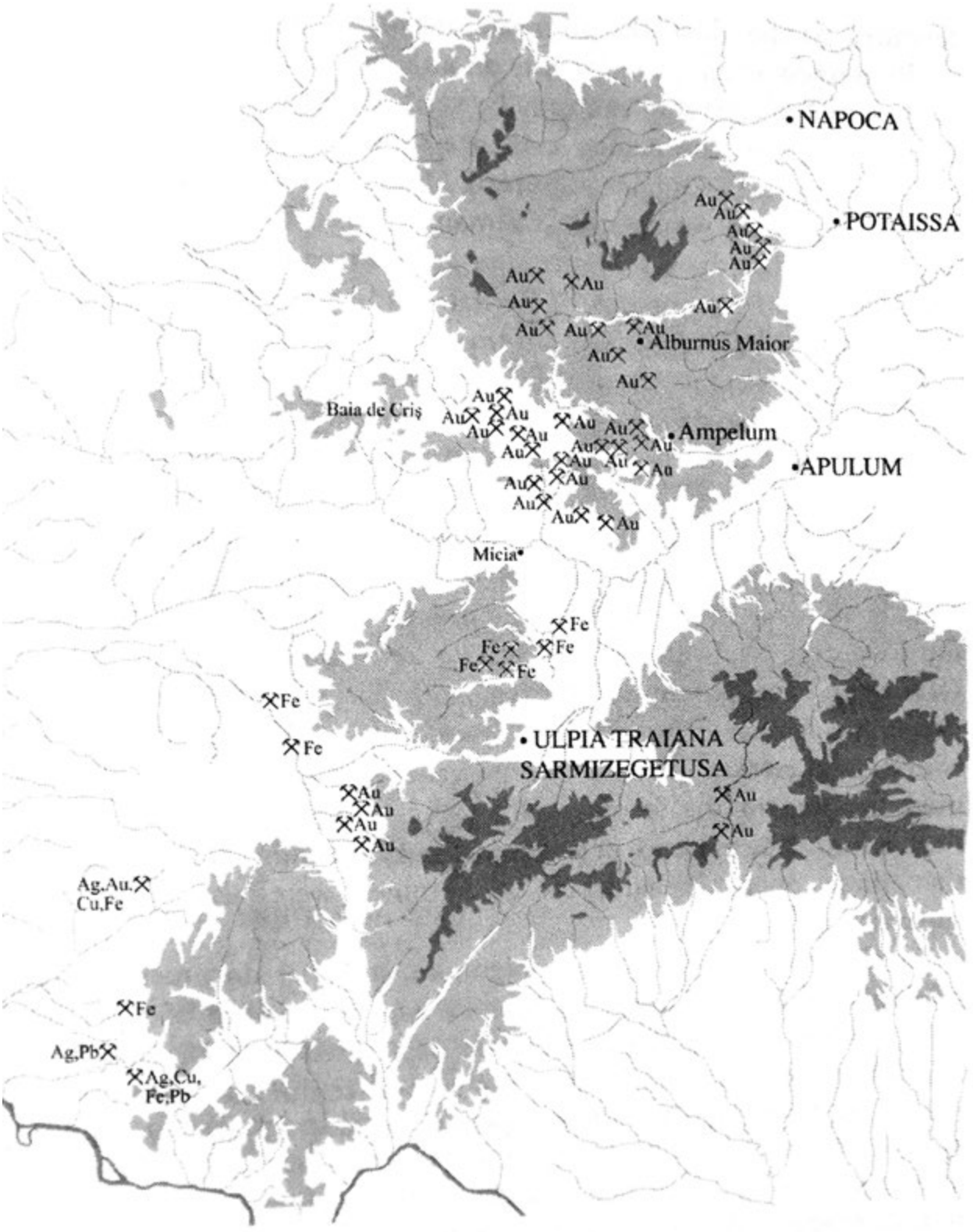

Figure 73. The gold and iron mines of Roman Dacia (after Hirt 2010)

was the best organised and supervised by the army and the emperor himself.[191] Mining specialists and communities from Dalmatia were settled in the area of the main, and already well-known, gold and silver mines, organised in *castellae* (*kastellae*), understood today as 'small mountain villages'.[192] These small villages, with a special administrative organisation,

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[191] Noeske 1977: 275-276; Paki 1995: 19-38; Ardevan 1998: 84.

[192] Nemeti 2014: 81, fn. 244.

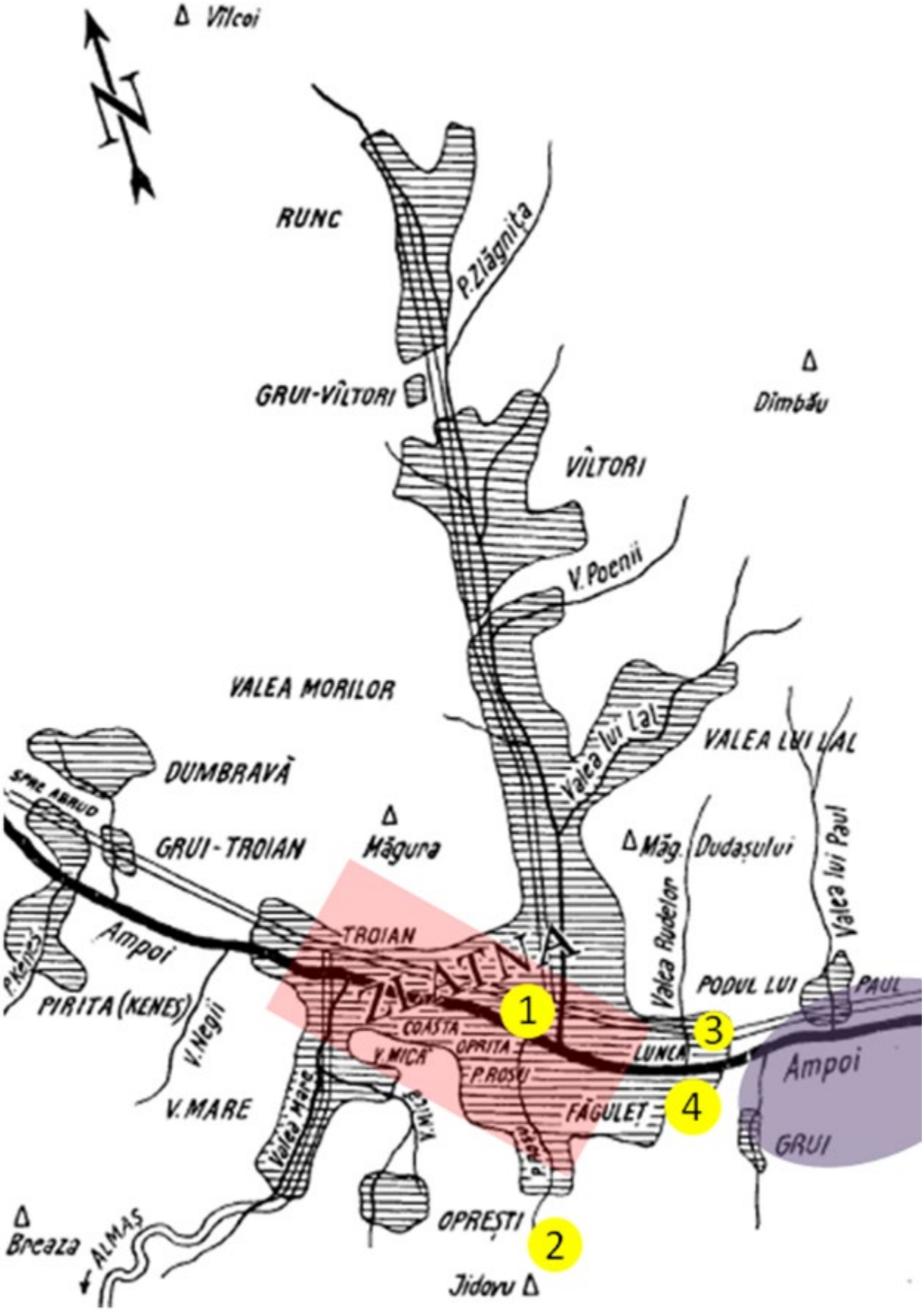

Figure 74. Topography of Roman Ampelum (after Pătrășcanu 1967): purple – cemetery; red – civilian settlement; nr. 1 – Jupiter temple/Capitolium; nr. 2 – Asclepeion; nr.3 – Fortuna Salutaris sanctuary; nr. 4 – dolichenum (map after Pătrășcanu 1967)

are known mostly from the area of Alburnus Maior,[193] but similar villages must have also existed in the area of Ampelum, where numerous Roman gold mines (Almașul Mare, Fața Băii, Haneș, Larga, Breaza) were identified, although not as districts of Ampelum itself.[194] The particularity of Ampelum lies in its geographical and strategically key position. Just 56 km from the most important legionary fort of the province, in an easily accessible valley of the Ampoi river and protected by three military settlements (Ighiu, Ampelum and Abrud), it was the gateway to the most concentrated area of gold mines. This position of the settlement was the main reason why it became the centre of the *procuratorores aurariarum*.[195] This special nature of the settlement resulted in municipal status for Ampelum in the Severan era, probably in AD 201.[196] At this stage the city had an *ordo* (*ordo Ampelensium*).[197] From the inscriptions known from the area we can distinguish several groups, as inhabitants of the settlement and agents in the religious experience. The most significant inscriptions are dedicated by the administrators of the mining district and the province, such as the procurators and their staff (*tabularii, adiuctor tabularius*, *vilici*, *commentarius*, *aurarius*, *dispensator*),[198] *beneficiarius consularis*,[199] decurions of the *Municipium Aurelium Apulensis*, later the *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, a financial procurator of Dacia Superior (*Apulensis*),[200] and even by the governors of the province, such as Marcus Statius Priscus[201] and Lucius Octavius Iulianus.[202][203] Another important group includes the priests (*sacerdotes*) and worshippers of Jupiter Dolichenus from the local Dolichenum.[204] A significant group of Syrians (possibly from Palmyra),[205] Dalmatians,[206] Bithynians[207] and North Africans,[208] related especially to the mines and the economic life of the settlement, are also represented. The last major group was formed by the soldiers from the vexillations of the *XIII Gemina*,[209] *IIII Flavia Felix*[210] legions, and from the *numerus Maurorum Hispanorum*.[211] The case study of Ampelum gives intriguing examples of sacralised spaces from each of the major types of spatial groups (shared, secondary, private), and shows the great variety of unusual agents involved with the maintenance of sacralised spaces.

The settlement itself was founded to exercise control in a political, cultural and geographic landscape:[212] changing the Dacian administration and presence in this region, the centre of the *procuratores aurariarum* personally represented the emperor himself. Ampelum was not founded to be a large city, its geographical position being the main obstacle for such perspectives. Its role was more an ideological one: representing the power, authority, and the so-called structuring principles of Roman Imperial culture (*auctoritas*, *res publica*, *fides*).[213] The first known procurator settled in Ampelum was M. Ulpius Hermias,[214] who was transferred directly from Rome right after the conquest of Trajan, to organise the new administrative district and build up a very complex bureaucracy as his staff. He died at the age of fifty-five and his body was even transferred back to Rome.[215] After the settlement gained its urbanised aspect, it became an exclusive and rich settlement, inhabited mostly by the staff of the procurator, consisting of very many members of the *familia Caesaris*, and later from the *ordo equestris* and his numerous contractors (*conductores*).[216] Many – especially from the cities of Dalmatia (Aequum, Splonum) – not only lived here for the short period of their administrative function, but also remained for the rest of their lives, as their funerary monuments prove.[217]

These functions and the organisation of the gold-mining district presumes numerous buildings with specific functionalities, such as the *tabularium aurariarum*, *stationes* for public safety,[218] and the – currently unidentified – headquarters (bureau) of the procurator.[219] The presence of the commercial elite of Dacia Superior (Apulensis) in Ampelum presumes also large urban houses and properties. Workshops, such as the great pottery production centre of Gaius Iulius Proclus, and the brick workshop of Marcus Opellius Adiutor, were also present in the urbanised landscape.[220] All these buildings played an important

193 Nemeti 2014: 82-83. For similar, nuclear settlement types directly related to the distribution of gold mines remaining today: Ciugudean 2007: 260, on the communal system of Bucium.
194 Wollmann 1996: fig. LXXXIII. See also: Hirt 2010: 165.
195 On the title, see: Wollmann 1996: 39-54; Hirt 2010: 202-250.
196 IDR III/3, 284, 311. Ardevan 1998: 83-84. See also: Noeske 1977: 277-283; Piso 2005c: 503.
197 IDR III/3, 282, 284.
198 For the subaltern officials, see: Hirt 2010. See also: ILD 347.
199 Clement 2000, 195-196, ILD 342.
200 IDR III/3, 316.
201 IDR III/3, 306.
202 IDR III/3, 284.
203 Piso 1993: 159-161.
204 IDR III/3, 291, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 299a, ILD 338.
205 IDR III/3, 292, 321, 365. See also: Hartmann-Raja 2016.
206 IDR III/3, 345, 350, 352, 363, 389, ILD 335. See also: Ardevan 2005: 125-133.
207 IDR III/3, 341, 342, 346.
208 IDR III/3, 345, Aurelius Sattara from a Punic region.
209 Moga 1972: 152.
210 ILD 349. See also: Hirt 2010: 76, 195.
211 Țentea 2009: 371-381, Bertolazzi 2015: 190-194.
212 'An imperial geography of power': Woolf 1997: 343.
213 Woolf 1997: 341.
214 IDR III/3, 366.
215 Russu 1984: 363; Hirt 2010: 127.
216 From all the various procurators' known mining districts, the one in Ampelum has the most well-documented bureaucracy. The subaltern officials and the personnel related to their everyday lives consisted of large numbers of people: Wollmann 1996: 54-60.
217 IDR III/3, 345, 362, 365, 366.
218 Tentea 2009: 376.
219 As one of the most important administrative functions of the province, the *procurator aurariarum* of Dacia must have had a similarly monumental building as the one found at Apulum for the governors (*praetorium consularis*), or for the financial procurators in *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*. This type of building, however, is hard to identify even in other provinces. See: Hirt 2010: 50, fn. 159.
220 Moga 1996: 9; Bolindeț 2011.

Figure 75. Jupiter Verospi head from Ampelum (after Diaconescu 2014)

role in 'building a Roman society', and expressing the presence and authority of Rome. In contrast with the small mining settlements of the countryside all over the Apuseni Mountains, where architecture, monumentality and public spaces were less important agents in sacralising the untamed landscape, Ampelum was an exception. Here authority and human agency are expressed through monumentalisation, which plays an equally important role in space sacralisation as the mines and other natural (geographic) elements.

The presence of a Capitoline temple in Ampelum was postulated already by I. T. Lipovan (III.5).[221] In the lack of architectural evidence, our sources are more hypothetical.[222] One of them is the head of a monumental (2.3/2.5 m high) marble statue of the Jupiter Verospi type (**Fig.75**.), found at 22 T. Vladimirescu St, which made up the central area of the settlement.[223] This exceptional piece was probably made in Asia Minor, or by artists from this region, as a copy of the 'Zeus from Otricoli', or the statue of Bryaxis from Alexandria.[224] This monumental statue, considered the largest of its kind in the province,[225] was so well known that it was copied in Apulum as well.[226] The presence of the cult of the Capitoline Triad is documented by the altar dedicated by the procurator Aelius Sostratus around AD 214.[227] The elaborately decorated statue base of the governor Marcus Statius Priscus must also have stood in a public space. Apulum, however, shows that the presence of the Jupiter Verospi statues and dedications for the Capitoline Triad do not necessarily prove the existence of a temple.[228] From Ampelum, although much smaller than Apulum, we know of at least two monumental statues of Jupiter[229] and numerous altars or statue bases dedicated to the supreme god.[230] What these sources can tell us is that money and power were used consciously as religious agents in some public spaces of Ampelum.

[221] Lipovan 1988: 61, although he gives incorrect sources for this in his fn. 11.
[222] On the problem of identifying a Capitoline temple, see Quinn-Wilson 2013 and Chapter II.4.
[223] Wollmann-Lipovan 1982: 94-95.
[224] Diaconescu 2014: 63-65.
[225] If the dimensions of the statue followed the canonical rules, this Jupiter Verospi is the largest ever discovered in Dacia. For a similar find from Colonia Sarmizegetusa, see also: Piso 2010.
[226] Diaconescu 2014: 58. See also: Chapter II.4.
[227] IDR III/3, 318: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iunoni Reginae / Minervae / pro salute et victoria / et incolumitate/ Marci Aureli Antonin[i] / Pii Felicis Augusti et / Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris eius et / castrorum senatus / et patriae / Aelius Sostratus proc(urator).*
[228] Chapter II.4.
[229] Băluță 1980: 102; Ota 2013: 69, 75, figs 56 and 57; Lupa 19244.
[230] IDR III/3, 306-319.

Evergetism was also part of the process of the maintenance of sacralised spaces and the power of the local economic elite. The remains of the *Asklepieion* near the River Ompoi, on the foothills of Mt Jidovu (II.1),[231] and built by Euthyces, a *libertus* of the emperor and *adiutor tabularii*, served as a public sacralised space, but also as an important agent in maintaining the Imperial geography of power in Ampelum. The very existence of the procuratorial staff and their prosperous economic status was strictly dependent on the power of the elements in the mines and the work and stability of the mining settlements. This is reflected also in their public religious communication. The presence of the *Asklepieion*, as a healing centre and place for dream interpretation,[232] the cult of Ceres Augusta,[233] Terra Mater,[234] and especially a possible sanctuary of Fortuna (III.3), as a boundary sanctuary,[235] are closely related to the natural environment and serve a key role in the maintenance of economic stability and prosperity. The cult of Fortuna is attested in various forms, using a large variety of objects to maintain the sanctuary. Publius Aelius Victorinus and his sons dedicated an altar to Fortuna Augusta,[236] and Aurelius Redux, as *praefectus* of the *numeri Maurorum Hispanorum*, celebrated the return of his unit dedicating an altar to Fortuna Redux and the Genius of the troop,[237] while Marcus Aurelius Verecundus *decurio* of the *Municipium Apulensium*, grateful to be healed, or for a fortunate change in his life, dedicated an altar to Fortuna Salutaris.[238] The functionality of the four bronze vessels found in a pit indicates a votive deposit, as a non-repetitive act, although it could also be an inventory of the sanctuary.[239] The sanctuary of Fortuna must be one of most important among the sacralised spaces of the region: marking the border of the civil settlement and protecting the good fortune and well-being of the procurator and his staff, as the sanctuary was not only a local, but a provincial centre of the cult.[240]

An important event seems to have happened in AD 201. The *ordo* of Ampelum dedicated a monumental honorific altar or statue base for the health of the Emperor Septimius Severus and the governor of the province, Lucius Octavius Iulianus.[241] In the same year – if not at the same time – on 25th July, AD 201, a religious college (*cultores Iovis*)[242] dedicated a votive column for Jupiter Optimus Maximus:[243]

> *------] / pro sal(ute) / dom(inorum) nn[[[n(ostrorum)]]] / L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi / et / M(arci) Aur(eli) Anto/ nini et / [[[P(ubli) Sep(timi) Getae]]] / Caes(aris) Augg[[[g(ustorum)]]] / cult(ores) Iovis // dedic(atum) / VIII K(alendas) Aug(ustas) / Muciano et / Fabiano / co(n) s(ulibus)*

Similar associations are known from the Empire, and even from *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*,[244] often related to the organisation of public and large festivals and meals, such as the *Epulum Iovis*, celebrated in Dacia on 23rd May.[245] AD 201 could have been the year when Ampelum became a *municipium*. This act – probably celebrated as a great public event – contributed to maintaining the mining district, and showed their success and key role in continuously providing gold for the whole Empire.[246] The sustained maintenance of public religious events, festivals and the sanctuary of Fortuna played an important role in this economic and political communication.

The economic elite of Apulum played an important role in the maintenance of sacralised spaces of Apulum.. The proximity of the two cities and their shared interests in religious and economic matters[247] attracted numerous personalities from Apulum to Ampelum. Most of these, such as the *beneficiarii*, were present in the

[231] See Russu 1984: 283-284. The position of the sanctuary indicates again the influence of the Asia Minor groups, who had important roles in establishing and maintaining the healing centres of the province. See Chapter II.7.

[232] IDR III/3, 312, 324.

[233] Dedicated by one Suriacus, a Syrian serving as *dispensator aurariarum*, the divinity could even be a syncretic form of a Syrian goddess (possibly Atargatis), although the epithet 'Augusta' and the dedication to the procurator, Aulus Senecius [-] Contianus (for a different reading of the procurator's name, see also: Wollmann 1996: 50; Hirt 2010: 150), suggests that the dedication was made for the Roman god of the Earth. See also: CIL VII 759; Benko 2004: 112-113.

[234] See also: Boda-Szabó 2014: 127; Szabó 2015c: 414.

[235] On the notion see: Stek 2009: 64-65.

[236] IDR III/3, 301: *Fortunae / Aug(ustae) / P(ubli) Aelii Victori/nus Victor Fab[i]/anus Victorinus / pater cum fili(i)s.*

[237] IDR III/3, 302; Lupa 11936: *Fortunae / Reduci et Ge/nio n(umeri) / Aur(elius) Redux / praef(ectus) n(umeri) M(---) H(---) / d(onum) l(ibens) p(osuit).*

[238] IDR III/3, 303: *D<ea>e Fortun(ae) / Salutari M(arcus) / Aur(elius) Verecun/dus d(ecurio) m(unicipii) Apul(ensis) / pro salute sua / et suorunque(!) / omnium v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit).*

[239] Novák 1942. Similar vessels are often represented on votive altars and used in sacrifices: Kilcher 2013: 214, abb. 10, 215. abb. 14.

[240] The divinity was worshiped not only in public, but perhaps also in private spaces, as the small bronze plaque discovered in 1988 suggests: Lipovan 1991: 75-77.

[241] IDR III/3, 284: *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)] / [divi Marci Anto]/nini Pii Ger(manici) S[ar]/mat(ici) fil(io) divi Co[m]/modi fratri d[ivi] / Antonini Pii n[ep(oti)] / divi Hadrian[i pro]/nep(oti) divi Traia[ni] / Part(hici) abnep(oti) div[i Ner]/vae adn[epoti] / [L(ucio) S]ept(imio) Severo [Pio] / Pert(inaci) Aug(usto) Ar[ab(ico) Adi]/ab(enico) Part(hico) max(imo) [pon]/tif(ici) max(imo) tri[b(unicia) pot(estate)] / VIII im[p(eratori) XI] co(n)[s(uli)] II / pro [consuli] / ordo [Ampelensium] / d(e)d(icante) L(ucio) [Oct(avio) Iuliano co(n)s(ulari)] / [Dac(iarum) III] / [MAC ---].* The city was visited from time to time by the governors of the province, so it is possible that during this public festival L. Octavianus Iulianus was also present.

[242] Ardevan 1998: 286-287.

[243] IDR III/3, 311; Ardevan 1998: 388; Ariosti 2010: 283, nr 30.

[244] AE 1934, 66; AE 1998, 286; CIL VIII 23326; CIL X 1216; CIL X 3764, etc. See also: ILD 249.

[245] Nemeti-Nemeti 2014: 393.

[246] Although not the only gold mines of the Empire, the resources of Mt Apuseni were far the most important.

[247] Apulum, in the second half of the 3rd century, was named 'Chrysopolis', City of Gold, as an expression of its wealth and great role played in the administration of the gold-mining district. It seems that the two cities used different workshops and quarries for the production of the material required by their religions, but a certain relationship between the two *ordo* and the Dolichenian and trade groups can be attested epigraphically and also through the material culture produced in Apulum and transported to Ampelum.

procuratorian centre for security reasons, i.e. keeping the mines and the settlement safe. The presence of the *decuriones* of Apulum, however, could have had multiple reasons. Some of them played probably an important role in the mining trade, as contractors or patrons. One particular man from the *decuriones*, however, is much more in evidence than anybody else in the history of Ampelum.

Marcus Antonius Saturninus[248] is known from six altars, three of them having double inscriptions on both sides – a very unusual way of religious communication.[249] On all of his inscriptions, Saturninus mentions his civic function as *decurio coloniae*. Due to the proximity of Apulum it was traditionally accepted that he served in Apulum as member of the *ordo decurionum*, or holding an *ornamenta decurionalia*, an honorary title, due to his financial and economic status.[250] Hi origins are unknown, but his dedication to Saturnus could indicate an African/Punic descent.[251] His altars dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygeia,[252] Jupiter Optimus Maximus,[253] Diana,[254] Saturnus (or Silvanus?), and Terra Mater[255] all show his personal 'pantheon' or preferences in the religious background of Ampelum.[256] They also show how the geographical environment influences the individual in local contexts. The worship of Terra Mater, Diana and Saturnus (or Silvanus) is related to the geographic position of Ampelum: as a dense area of forests, mountains and mines, the worship of divinities related to flora, fauna and the earth is understandable. The unusual way of religious communication through double inscriptions shows that Saturninus was very eager to mark the sacralised space with his memory. The double-inscribed stones could mark a second sacrifice and the desire of Saturninus to ensure the durability and visibility of his memory in the sacralised spaces of Ampelum. His double-inscribed altars – both in public or secondary spaces – were much more visible and his name was the most widespread within the sanctuaries of the city. Similar to Caius Iulius Valens, Saturninus tried to mark every corner of the city with altars, investing a significant amount of his fortune to show his power and importance. His religious communication and contribution to maintaining the sacralised spaces of Ampelum must indicate the political and economic competition among the local elite.

Some of the inscriptions dedicated by Syrians represent another instance of local competition and cultural appropriation.[257] The Syrians and Bithynians, arriving, most probably, after the Marcomannic Wars,[258] established their importance in local society and the socio-economic hierarchy as subalterns of the procurators (*dispensator aurariarum*, *aedituus*),[259]) who came from Dalmatia and Italy. The reason why we find so many Syrians in the mining administration of the Roman Empire is still not fully known,[260] but it could easily be related to their rich commercial network and economic skills, already acquired in their homeland.[261]This process of competition and appropriation was established and ensured also by religious agency in various secondary spaces by small-group religions.

Religious entrepreneurs from Commagene: Syrians in Ampelum

After the Marcomannic Wars,[262] and during the short political stability of Septimius Severus, the social structure of Ampelum changed. Several groups from Asia Minor, especially from Bithynia,[263] Commagene and Syria, arrived in the centre of the gold-mining district. At the end of the 2nd century AD it seems they replaced the Dalmatian and Italian subalterns of the *procurator aurariarum* as the most visible human agency

[248] OPEL IV, 51. The name is widespread in the Western provinces (especially Hispania and Belgica), but also in Italia and Dalmatia.

[249] Double dedications are attested in other cases within Dacia, but mostly in separate monuments: Rădean 2006; Szabó *et al.* 2016b.

[250] Russu 1984: 324. See also: Ardevan 1998: 175-176; Gil-Neila 2012: 109-171. A local dynasty of Antonii was also present in Sarmizegetusa: Ardevan 1998: 199.

[251] IDR III/3, 322a-b: *a) [Sat]u[r]no / M(arcus) An[t]o/nius Sa/turninus / dec(urio) col(oniae) b) [Sat]ur/no M(arcus) A[n]/to[n]ius / Saturni/nus dec(urio) / col(oniae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. The reading of the inscription is problematic. M. Bărbulescu and A. Cătinaș seem to prefer Silvanus, due to the popularity of this divinity in Ampelum, and the more possible association in a 'personal pantheon' with Diana and Terra Mater: Bărbulescu-Cătinaș 1979: 216-217. The same authors mention, however, that if the inscription is dedicated to the Roman Saturnus then it could well be related to agricultural matters, similar to Silvanus. Due to the presence of the n. Maurorum Hispanorum, African groups were present in Ampelum, mentioned also on inscriptions: IDR III/3, 345.

[252] IDR III/3, 286: *a) Aescula/pio et Hy/giae M(arcus) An/tonius / Saturni/nus dec(urio) col(oniae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) b) Aesc[ula]pi/o [et Hygiae] M(arcus) / Antonius / Saturninus / dec(urio) col(oniae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[253] IDR III/3, 308-9: *a) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) Anto/nius Sa/turni/nus dec(urio) / col(oniae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) / m(erito) b) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) Anto/nius Sa/turnin/us / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[254] IDR III/3, 293: *Dianae / M(arcus) Anto/nius [S]a/turninus / dec(urio) col(oniae) / [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[255] IDR III/3, 330-331: *a) Terrae / Matri M(arcus) / Antonius / Saturnin[us] / dec(urio) col(oniae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) b) Terrae / Matri M(arcus) / Antonius / Saturni/nus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[256] Bărbulescu 1984: 190ff.

[257] IDR III/3, 365: *D(is) M(anibus) / Syrillioni / aedituo / qui vix(it) a(nnos) LXXVIII / Liberalis Augg(ustorum) / lib(ertus) a com(mentariis) / et Ael(ia) Victoria / patri b(ene) m(erenti)*.

[258] Hirt 2010: 272-273. See also: Timoc 2005.

[259] Although the title can be related to temples or sanctuaries, it was strictly related to the *tabularium* already by Buday, the first publisher: Buday 1916: 75.

[260] Hirt 2010: 336, for the Syrian communities from Mons Claudius in Egypt. He claims that these communities were colonised intentionally by the emperor.

[261] See also Chapter III.2.

[262] It is not certain how much it affected the city, see: Timoc 2005; Țentea 2009; Hirt 2010: 272.

[263] IDR III/3, 341, 342, 346, probably 305, 432. See also Ardevan 1985: 67-70; ILD 332.

in space sacralisation.[264] Many of the newcomers could also have served as contractors.[265]

Syrians are attested on numerous inscriptions from Ampelum,[266] especially on funerary and votive monuments. The largest and most significant group is related to the Dolichenum of Ampelum (III.4).[267] Built by Marinus Marian(i filius) Bas(sus),[268] and situated probably on the edge of the civilian settlement, close to the cemetery of Petresán (Pâtrînjeni), the sanctuary must have had a glistening existence, as the great number of inscriptions – especially the votive columns, as a specific way of religious communication – suggests[269] Although the archaeological evidence of the sanctuary is not attested, from the eight inscriptions related to the Dolichenian community we can observe two major groups: the Syrians as the *sacerdotes* of the sanctuary; and the few worshippers,[270] probably not Syrians.[271] The six *sacerdotes* attested in Ampelum probably represent a compact group from Commagene, with possible familial links between each other.[272] The men – Marinus Marian(i filius) Bas(sus),[273] Aurelius Marinus,[274] and Aurelius Marinus Bassus, son of Polydus and brother of Aurelius Castor[275] – must be from the same family. Aurelius Marinus was *sacerdos* at the same time as Addebar of Semeius and Oceanus of Socrates. Their presence on the same inscription, and their dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus and the God from Commagene, raised numerous questions.[276] The presence of this divinity is well attested in Ampelum, reflecting the strong cultural identity of the *sacerdotes*. The presence of both names on the same inscription reflect on one hand, the intimate identity of the small, Commagenian group, while the Romanised 'Jupiter Dolichenus' serves only as a linguistic agent in religious communication, maintaining the durability of the sanctuary and attracting other, non-Syrian, adepts. The religious knowledge of the local Commagenian narrative by this group is reflected also by the dedication to the Castores.[277] From the epigraphic evidence, it seems plausible that the Commagenian group of Dolichenian priests tried to monopolise this cult with a large, provincial network: the presence of a certain Terentius,[278] Aurelius Flavus, Aurelius Alexander, the Syrian merchants,[279] Flavius, son of Barhadad, Polydus and his two sons, Aurelius Marinus Bassus and Aurelius Castor in Apulum, all show a familial network and a religious narrative that arrived directly from Commagene. Their rich network not only connected Ampelum and Apulum, but it served to maintain the newly founded sacralised places. While in Apulum they seem to be very successful in attracting soldiers, in Ampelum their effect is less visible. Founding a *dolichenum* in Ampelum and Apulum by the Commagenian group served two goals: it served the maintenance of their cultural identity, and also secured their economic network in a new land, full of promises and opportunities.

The presence of six *sacerdotes* of the Commagenian Ba'al suggest that their sanctuary was successfully maintained until the end of the Roman province. Even if they consisted a small group, acting in a secondary space, the small settlement probably contributed to a larger visibility of their activity than in Apulum. Particularly interesting is the tombstone of Flavius Maximus Surus, who died in Ampelum at the age of sixty-five:[280]

> *D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avius) Maximu[s] / Surus sace[r]/dos vix(it) ann(os) / XLV Casto[r] / et Foebus(!) pi(entissimi) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)*

His monument, discovered in 1986,[281] is the only known funerary evidence of a Dolichenian *sacerdos*. Two other men – Castor and Foebus – appear on the monument. Castor's name is typical for Dolichenian communities[282] and reflects a well-known religious narrative of the divinity among its worshippers, particularly in the Danubian provinces (Dacia, Moesia Inferior, Superior and Pannonia Superior), where it seems to be closely related to the cult of the so-called 'Danubian rider'.[283] The other name is a unique one in a Dolichenian context. As an epithet of Apollo, Foebus (the incorrect version of Phoebus)[284] could be an allusion to the syncretism of

264 See IDR III/3, 292.
265 Hirt 2010, 272-273.
266 IDR III/3, 292, 296, 298, 299, 321, 365; ILD 338.
267 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 154; Boda 2012: 108.
268 Szabó 2007: 96-97; Boda 2012: 108.
269 For the votive columns as an 'Oriental' way of religious communication in sanctuaries, see: Szabó *et al.* 2016b.
270 IDR III/3, 295: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolic(heno) Modes/tius(?) [------.* IDR III/3, 297: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) / pro salute / imp(erii) perpetui / M(arci) Antoni / Gordiani / Aug(usti) / Aur(elius) Gai(us?) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) // v(otum) p(osuit) m(erito).*
271 Garbó-Garcia 2010a: 854-860, cat. nrs 157-162; IDR III/3, 291, ILD 338. Russu interpreted the severely damaged IDR III/3, 333 as a Dolichenian one as well. See also: Boda 2012a: 108-110.
272 See also CCID 274 for familial relations.
273 IDR III/3, 298: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Comma/genorum [Ae]/ terno Ma/rinus Ma/rian(i?) Bas(sus?) / sacerdos I(ovis) / O(ptimi) M(aximi) D(olicheni) pro s(alute) s(ua) / suorumq(ue) o/mnium vot(um) / VH(?).*
274 IDR III/3, 299: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et / deo Com/ mageno(rum) / Aurel(ius) / Marinus / et Adde / Barseme/i et Ocea/nus So/ cratis sa/cerdotes / v(otum) l(ibentes) p(osuerunt).*
275 IDR III/5, 126. See Chapters II.6 and 8.
276 Blömer 2013; Sanzi 2013: 270-271.
277 IDR III/3, 291: *Casto/ribus Aug(ustis) / sacr(um).*
278 IDR III/5 222: *[I(ovi)? O(ptimo)? M(aximo)?] / Dolicheno [---] / numini et virtutibu[s ---] / nato ubi ferrum exor[itur Iunoni? Reginae? ---?] / naturae boni even[tus pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Ael(i) Hadri]/ani Antonini Au[g(usti) Pii ---] / Terentiu[s ---].*
279 IDR III/5, 218: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) / Aurelii / Alexan/ der et Fla/(v)us Suri / negotia/tores ex / voto l(ibentes) p(osuerunt).*
280 AE 1988, 959; ILD 338; Szabó 2007: 93, cat. nr D 63.
281 Lipovan 1988: 63, fig. 3.1. Although the funerary stele is fragmentarily preserved, the context of its discovery seems to be in situ. The discovery was not documented through a systematic excavation. The territory was destroyed completely during the extension of the industrial area.
282 CCID 54, 77, 263, 274.
283 Ibarra 2014; Nemeti 2015.
284 Phoebus is popular especially in Italia, Hispania and Dalmatia, but appears twice also in Dacia: OPEL III, 140. See also: Beu-Dachin 2014; Sicoe 2014: 248, cat. nr 233.

Apollo and Jupiter Dolichenus, attested only in Rome and Dacia.[285]

Besides the Dolichenian group(s), which seems to be the richest, there were other small-group religions acting in a secondary space. An inscription dedicated to Liber Pater and Libera by Romanus and Ayrelia Creste (sic!)[286] mentions two groups, the 'Hercliani' and 'Cervae', interpreted by Th. Mommsen as Bacchic groups (*collegiae*) of men and women:[287]

> *Libero P/atri et Li[b]/er(a)e Herc(u)lia[n]/is et cervabu[s] / Romanus Aug(usti) n(ostri) / et A<u>r(elia) C(h)reste vo[t(um)] // l(ibenter) posuerun[t]*

Although the reading of the inscription is problematic,[288] it could be a rare attestation of a special Bacchic organisation from an Hellenic area of the Empire.[289] This inscription seems to be another source for a religious appropriation between Hercules and Liber Pater, a combination which we often find in the assembly houses of small-group religions from Asia Minor.[290] This, essentially Thracian, association between Liber Pater-Libera and Hercules seems to become very popular in Philippi as well, where a *thiasos* of Menades worshipped Hercules with Liber Pater.[291] In Dacia this association between Liber Pater and Hercules was attested in Apulum, Ampelum and Micia too (see III.29), which could indicate a flourishing network between these religious groups.

Another group, which acted as a religious group in Ampelum, is the *numerus Maurorum Hispanorum*,[292] although their presence seems to be very limited and less visible.[293] The cult of Deus Aeternus and Isis is also attested, although from the few sources we have we do not know how these groups were organised.

Mithras for your home: a particular case study from the private sphere

In the 1980s, before the last remaining ruins of Ampelum were destroyed, an important pottery workshop was discovered. Among others, the atelier of Gaius Iulius Proc(lus,ulus)[294] was producing small terracotta representations of various divinities, such as Pan, Venus and Attis.[295] Besides these terracotta statuettes, which give a slight glimpse into the domestic religious practices of the Romans from Ampelum, a particular example needs to be examined *in extenso*.

Although he was one of the most popular divinities of the province, the cult of Mithras has no epigraphic or statuary evidence in Ampelum.[296]. There could be many reasons for this: the lack of a highly urbanised society; the proximity of Apulum, as the main centre of the cult in Dacia Superior; or the dominant aspect of Dolichenian group(s):. In the workshop seven fragments of glazed pottery reliefs were found.[297] All the fragments are incomplete and none of them provides a certain and decisive iconographic feature (the largest piece being 9 x 5.5 cm). The severely fragmented pieces of glazed pottery[298] represent parts of kneeling bulls (parts of the left and right legs, the pedestal and the forefront of the head). The first publisher identified these fragments as parts of small reliefs (approx. 20 x 25 cm) representing the Mithraic tauroctony. Identifying Mithras Tauroctonos from such extremely fragmentarily pieces is purely hypothetical and very insecure..[299] However, the increasing number of Mithraic small finds in terracotta and other various forms in the Empire, and the exclusive representation of a tauroctony in Dacia, could indicate indeed that the fragments from Ampelum were produced for Mithras worshippers.[300] The existence of such small *ex votos* raises the important question formulated by R. Gordon: what was the role of these small, barely visible and fragile objects in a cult, which was interpreted by others to the sacred geography of a mithraeum?[301] He identified six types of Mithraic tauroctony based on the size of the representation:[302] the fifth category (smaller than 30 x 32 cm) is barely present in the Western provinces (around 10 examples), being much more popular in the Danubio-Rhenian area (30 examples). Even less examples are known from the sixth category (smaller than 18 x 15 cm). The author rightly saw that, while the objects from the sixth category (named as miniature Mithraic small finds)[303] clearly represent a

[285] See Chapter III.2.
[286] Aurelia Chreste.
[287] IDR III/3, 319. See also: Ardevan 1998: 286-287.
[288] The third line could also include Herclianus, a cognomen attested also in Apulum (IDR III/5, 535).
[289] After another opinion, the two terms could refer to places in the surroundings of Ampelum, where statues or shrines of Hercules and Diana were worshipped (R. Gordon).
[290] Clinton 1977: 27.
[291] Jaccottet 2003: II, 60-61, nr 25, and 65-68, nr 29.
[292] IDR III/3, 302: *Fortunae / Reduci et Ge/nio n(umeri) / Aur(elius) Redux / praef(ectus) n(umeri) M(---) H(---) / d(onum) l(ibens) p(osuit).*
[293] On the presence of the African troops in provincial contexts and a certain culture clash related to the Moorish groups, see: *http://www.blackpresence.co.uk/black-romans/*. Last accessed: 25.08.2018.
[294] First published by Lipovan (1983-84: 301-317). See also: Popa-Moga-Ciobanu 1986; Lipovan 1992-94: 153-160; Moga 1996: 9-16.
[295] Anghel *et al.* 2011: 53, 59-60. See also: Bolindeț 2011.
[296] A similar situation can be attested in Porolissum. See chapter III.1.
[297] It is impossible to establish if the severely fragmented pieces were part of one or multiple reliefs, although the pieces show the right leg of a bull (Lipovan 1992-94: Pl.I.4 and II.1).
[298] On the production of glazed pottery in Dacia, see: Gudea 1990; Cvjeticanin 1997; Walton-Tite 2010.
[299] The iconography of the tauroctony is one of the most common elements in sacrifice representations, although in provincial art probably the tauroctony of Mithras is the most often reproduced on small and miniature pottery objects. See also for the analogies from Trier: Schwertheim 1974: nrs 199, 200, 202; Gordon 2004: 269.
[300] Gordon 2004; Zsidi 2014.
[301] Gordon 2004: 260.
[302] Gordon 2004: 261-262.
[303] Gems, small bronze, silver or gold statuettes, terracotta figurines, plaques. See also: Sicoe 2014: 245, cat. nr 227.

very intimate and private worship, the interpretation of the objects from the fifth category, where our pieces relate, are more problematic.

Private worship is very present among other mystery cults as well.[304] In the case of Mithras, however, very few examples are known where miniature or small votives were used in a domestic context. Despite this, it seems now accepted that the veneration of the divinity existed in some way(s) in houses too.[305] The examples given by R. Gordon are, in fact, from private houses transformed and used probably as a *mithraeum*.[306] The recently found terracotta statuette of Mithras from Aquincum was also found in a private house that was later transformed into a *mithraeum*.[307] These cases show an interesting boundary between secondary and private spaces. Small rooms or private houses could be transformed – even for a short period – for common gatherings of a few people, or even a family. The difference between private and secondary spaces is that, in the case of the first category, the functionality of the space never lost definitely its domestic values: rooms transformed for a few hours per week or year (?) into a sacralised space will be used most of the time as living rooms or domestic spaces. The activities carried out in these spaces, and the exact functionality of such small, fragile reliefs as those found in Ampelum, are not known. One can presume that in this 'semi-domestic' worship of Mithras, mysteries and a strong religious narrative played a less important role, while the main agent in maintaining the religious experience or sacralised space is the object and the schematised iconography of Mithras Tauroctonos.

The case study of Ampelum is an intriguing example of religious appropriation and complementarity between settlements (Ampelum/Apulum), small religious and cultural identities (Bithynians/Commagenians/ Dalmatians), and socio-economical groups (procurators/subalterns/contractors). It shows also the communication forms of a small, but very extrovert and ambitious economical elite, finding its place between the power of the elements and that of the emperor. The sacralised spaces and religious experiences attested here show not only a potted history of Dacia but also the small-scale religious pluralism in the Roman Empire.

Religion in mining settlements: further case studies

Ampelum is intentionally presented from the numerous mining settlements of the gold-mining district of Dacia to present the religious dynamics of communities and individuals, mostly because the archaeological heritage of this site was practically destroyed over the last three decades. Much better known is the materiality of Roman religion from Alburnus Maior, where more than 100 votive monuments and numerous sanctuaries were found, some of them in well-documented archaeological excavations (I.1-4).[308] In the case of Alburnus Maior, the Illyrian communities organised in specific, indigenous administrative units show an interesting and conservative religious appropriation, transported from Dalmatia and adopted to the geographic and climatic specificities of the mining district. In contrast with Ampelum, where a strong religious competition emerged, Alburnus Maior represents an analogy for traditional, religious communication, more strongly related to the natural environment and the ethnic origin of the communities.[309]

Another, intriguing case study is the seat of the *conductores ferrariarum Dacicarum* identified in Teliucu Inferior (III.64).[310] The site was identified by Gábor Téglás at the end of the 19th century, based on sporadic finds and local reports. He was able to identify also the tools of the miners, one of them being found among his iron tools in the cavity.[311] The decisive find, which proved the existence of a small Roman settlement and, possibly, a sacralised space in Teliucu Inferior was found in August 1904. The large building measured 18 x 25 m, and nearby a small construction of 2 x 2 m was also identified.[312] In this spot a large altar was found, dedicated by C. Gaurius Gaurianus *sacerdos coloniae Apulensis* and Flavius Sotericus, *Augustalis coloniae Sarmizegetusae*[313] to the *numen* of the Emperor Caracalla.[314] Both of them were *conductores ferrariarum* of Dacia (or at least in the area of Teliucu), serving the Imperial cult and maintaining Roman power in a highly important area of the province.[315] The settlement is barely known, but one can presume that as the centre of the iron mining district, the natural landscape was transformed by visual markers of the local economic elite.[316] Natural elements, such as the mines and hills,

304 Alvar 2008: 4-5, 51, Hemelrijk 2015: 184-189.
305 Latteur 2011.
306 Gordon mentions only the examples from Rome: Gordon 2004: 264. He claims that in these spaces the *podia*-type structure was not built, and the statuary monuments were actually saved from a proper *mithraeum*.
307 Zsidi 2014.
308 See also the Introduction.
309 On the religious life of Alburnus Maior, see: Piso 2004a; Nemeti 2004: 91-101; Ardevan *et al.* 2007: 67-72; Ciongradi 2009; Schäfer 2009; Ciobanu 2010; Nemeti-Nemeti 2010: 109-133; Ciongradi 2014. See also: Pundt 2012.
310 Although, one of the few sites of this kind in the Roman Empire, the site was never excavated properly.
311 Téglás 1902: 185-187.
312 The larger building was interpreted as an *officium*, while the small one as a sanctuary by the first publisher, later cited also by I. Russu (1984: 48-49). The repertory of the country, published much later, did not mention the discovery of the altar: Luca *et al.* 2005: 47-48.
313 IDR III/3, 37: *Numini / domini n(ostri) / M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonin(i) / Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) / C(aius) Gaur(ius) Gauri/anus sacerd(os) col(oniae) / Apul(ensis) et Fl(avius) Sotericus / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Sarm(izegetusae) cond(uctores) / ferrar(iarum).*
314 See also: Szabó 2007: 79-80.
315 Hirt 2010.
316 Among the later finds, a statue of a *togatus* was also recovered (Daicoviciu 1929). It could belong to the cemetery found near the *villa rustica* identified in the 1960s: Luca *et al.* 2005: 48.

played an important role in space sacralisation. The small construction could have served as a sanctuary, shrine in the natural environment, or as part of the *villa rustica* identified in the 20th century. Similar to Ampelum, the centre of the iron mining district is more about the agency of the power elite, a highly mobile and dynamic unit, which seems also to have had inter-provincial connections.[317]

It was once presumed that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was somehow related to iron and, generally, the mining of metals, especially due to the famous inscription from Apulum, which mentions the Ba'al of Doliche as having originated from the land where 'iron is born' (*ubi ferrum nascitur*).[318] The five currently known inscriptions that mention this formula have been interpreted numerous times since Cumont, but none of the arguments had strong enough grounds for the presumption that the Dolichenian diaspora was in strict relation with iron or metal mining.[319] It seems plausible today that the first groups formed around the mother sanctuary from Doliche were in relationship with the rich iron mines of Cappadocia, mentioned also by Pliny (N.H. 34.41).[320] The presence of Dolichenian groups in the vicinity of iron and other type of mines is very high: in Feldkirchen (Noricum) the iron mine was strictly related to the army and a Dolichenian community.[321] Dacia shows even more examples of this. The altar of Caius Valerius Ingenuus, a signifier of the Legion XIII Gemina,[322] dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus at Săncrai, near Aque, Călan (5 km to the west), was a long time ago considered as proof of the cult of this divinity being related to iron mining.[323] The great number of Dolichenian groups near mining settlements, and the five inscriptions mentioning the formula *ubi ferrum nascitur*, can prove the strict relationship of mines to the religious narrative of Dolichenus.[324]

Among the numerous mining settlements (gold, iron, stone, precious stones), it is worth mentioning also the communities that settled near stone quarries. At Bejan (Bezsán), 32 km north of Teliucu, a Roman stone quarry was identified.[325] Among the three mining tools identified by Gábor Téglás, a small altar was found *in situ* by modern stone-workers. It was erected by T. Aurelius Arimo, an *immunis* from an 'Arbeitsvexillation' of the Legion XIII Gemina from Apulum:[326]

> *Hercul(i) / et Silva/no vex/il(l)atio / l(egionis) XIII g(eminae) An(toninianae) / Aur(elio) Ari/mo v(otum) m(erito) p(osuit) // immuni / V(?) I*

The altar is dedicated to Hercules and Silvanus, divinities in strict relation with the natural environment of mines and stone quarries. Arimo[327] was serving in a *vexillatio* of the XIII Gemina, well known as the most important military asset of Dacia Superior, also in peace time, when its vexillations were used for building and construction projects all over the province, creating dynamic mobility among the soldiers.[328] Moved from a radically different climatic and natural environment, into the foggy and, in many cases, dangerous landscape of Dacia, Arimo used a Roman way of religious communication (altars, votive offerings for Roman divinities) to domesticate the natural landscape. Religious experience in this case created an emotional community among the soldiers, who were exposed daily to hard work, and even danger in the mines and quarries. Similar phenomena can be observed in another stone quarry at Petris (Uroiu), where three votive altars and a (today missing) rock inscription was found.[329] The altars are dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Silvanus and the Genius of the place, and prove also the presence and visits by urban magistrates to this area. It is hard to interpret, however, this context: the presence of C. Romanius Summus *decurio coloniae Sarmizegetusae* could be related to the *villa rustica* attested at Rapoltu Mare, and not directly to the stone quarries.[330] The inscription dedicated by Ulpius Valerius Saturninus to Silvanus Domesticus[331] was also interpreted as one relating to the presence of a stone quarry in the punctul Valea Părâului near Cristur.[332] Recently, these dedications in the vicinity of the stone quarries were interpreted as related to workshops and not necessarily to cult places.[333]

317 For the case study of Publius Frontinius Decoratus, see: Koch-Sichtermann 1982: 304 (Lupa 6483).

318 Petricovic 2015.

319 Warburton 1753: 36-37; Cumont 1902; Dörner 1965; Shepherd 1993: 387; Facella 2013.

320 Cooper-Decker 2012: 70-71.

321 Dolenz 1957; Speidel 1978: 45.

322 IDR III/3, 15: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolic(h)en(o) / pro sal(ute) Imp(eratorum) L(uci) / Sep(timi) Severi Pii Pert(inacis) / [et] M(arci) Aur(eli) Anto[nini] / Aug(usti) [[et P(ubli) Sep(timi) Getae]] / {S} G(aius!) Val(erius) Ingenu(u)s / sig(nifer) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / ex voto*. The case study known in the Romanian literature as the 'Dolichenian monument from Surducu Mare' is not from Dacia. The provenience of the statue is from Acumincum: written confirmation of G. Plattner from Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See also: Garcia 2010[a]: 893, cat. nr 195, with further bibliography.

323 Benea 2008: 21.

324 Fachella 2013.

325 Téglás 1889: 390-395.

326 IDR III/3, 39 = ILD 304.

327 I. Russu presumed that his name is Iranian-Persian in origin. It is plausible that he is related to the Mithraic cult too.

328 Timoc 2009. The stone extracted from Bejan was used especially in Micia.

329 IDR III/3, 209: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)/ C(aius) Roman/ius Summus/ de(curio) col(oniae) v(otum) s(olvit) m(merito);* IDR III/3, 210: *Silvano / Domestico / P(ublius) C(---) C(---);* IDR III/3, 211: *[Geni?]o l(oci) pro(?) / [salut?]e Imp(eratoris) / [---] leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) / [---]CVRV / [curan?]te Iul(io) Eu/[ange?]l(iano?) pr(aefecto)*; IDR III/3, 212 – not preserved.

330 Popa 2002: 117, Luca *et al.* 2005: 162. See also: Barbu 2014.

331 IDR III/3, 28: *Acuino (!) / Dom(estico) / [-] V(?) Saturn[inus] / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*.

332 Luca *et al.* 2005: 58. The provenience of the find is uncertain.

333 Oltean 2007: 189.

A particularly interesting example of space sacralisation in the vicinity of stone quarries was found around 1890 at Valea Săngeorgiului (Szentgyörgyválya, Hunedoara, Hunyad County). The discoverer, Gábor Téglás, reports that very close to the stone quarry, on the hill of Perelt-Bercsán (Bercean), he saw 'the sanctuaries of Jupiter and Mars'.[334] The site is still poorly researched (III.67) and it is only 5 km from Călan (ancient *pagus Aquensis)*,[335] one of the main Roman thermal stations of Dacia.[336] The area was densely populated in antiquity, due to the main Roman road leading to the capital of the province, the thermal stations, and the rich stone quarries (at least 11 identified so far).[337] All the quarries and the small mining settlements or villas established in this area were on the *territorium* of Colonia Sarmizegetusa, but the nature of these settlements, or finds, is impossible to establish without systematic excavations or non-destructive surveys.[338]

Three votive inscriptions were found in this spot.[339] One of the inscriptions is dedicated to Mars, by Lucius Crattius, *decurio* of Colonia Sarmizegetusa, with another by his relative, Crattius Paternus, probably to Jupiter Depulsor. The most interesting dedication comes from Marcus Aurelius Valentinus, who erected a large altar for Jupiter Optimus Maximus Appenninus. The cult of Appenninus is well known due to his sanctuary from the *mons Catria*, near Iguvium.[340] As a local, celestial god with Umbrian origins, his cult seems to be strictly related to the mountain and the roads. While at its mother sanctuary his cult had an oracular aspect,[341] in the provinces it became a focus of very intimate, personal devotion. His cult is known only from three inscriptions: one from Iguvium itself (CIL XI 5803); one from Skikda, Numidia (CIL VIII 7961); and the altar from our site. It is impossible to say whether Marcus Aurelius Valentinus was an Umbrian, or whether his devotion for Appenninus has a biographical or ethnic aspect.[342] It could be also a votive offering to the memory of a pilgrimage to the mother sanctuary.[343] The larger context of the finds, however, suggests another scenario, which, again, offers only a hypothesis. The dedications of the three *decuriones* of Sarmizegetusa for Mars, Jupiter Depulsor and Jupiter Appenninus seems to have the same connotation as the inscription from Numidia, where the dedication commemorates some terrible event related to the health of the emperor and the Empire. The inscription in this case is dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and probably commemorates a moment from the Marcomannic Wars. The three inscriptions evoking the gods of War and Saviour from the Bercean hill could be related also to this event, which clearly marked Sarmizegetusa and its surroundings.[344] The question is: why did they choose this particular hill and not a public space in the *colonia* to commemorate their survival and success of their emperor in the battle? The place, near the stone quarries, in the middle of the natural environment of Dacia, offered probably protection for the elite, who temporarily abandoned Sarmizegetusa during the Marcomannic Wars. In this case, the natural environment was sacralised not only with well-known aspects of religious communication, but also with very personal, individual agents, such as the cult of Appenninus and the background story of the three *decuriones*.

Religious appropriation and the important role of natural elements were attested also in the salt mines and *stationes* of the salt bureau.[345] Domnești (Bilak) shows the presence of a settlement formed only as a result of the salt mine there. Monopolised by a very restricted group of people, the salt trade in Dacia was also one of the main economic motors and exports.[346] While the cult of Terra Mater in Domnești[347] is closely related to the natural environment and the activity in the salt mine,[348] the altar of P. Caius Valerianus, *centurio* of the Legion X. Fretensis, dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus (CCID 138),[349] is more a reflection of a personal, probably indigenous, faith. Unfortunately, neither of these two finds has a documented context. Similar cases were attested at Sic and Sănpaul, where Roman salt mines existed.[350]

The religious experiences attested in the mining settlements suggest on one hand a very close and intimate interdependency of human and geographic agencies in the creation and maintenance of sacralised

334 Téglás 1902: 115.
335 Nemeti 2014.
336 Fodorean 2012.
337 Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005: 121.
338 The sporadic finds – funerary and votive inscriptions, bricks, tiles, building material – could belong to a villa, or a *statio*, a rural settlement formed near the workshops. The area, although one of the richest in archaeological material, was extremely poorly researched. See also: Luca *et al.* 2005; Oltean 2007: 196.
339 IDR III/3, 17: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Appennino / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Valenti/nus dec(urio) col(oniae) / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit) m(erito);* IDR III/3,18: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] / Io[vi? De?]p(ulsori?) / Grattius / [P]aternus / d(ecurio) c(oloniae) p(osuit);* IDR III/3,19: *Marti / Lucius / Grattius / d(ecurio) c(oloniae) p(osuit).*
340 Rinolfi 2006.
341 HA Vita Claudi 10.
342 Although the presence of Italic communities and individuals is highly attested in *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*, in this case it must be only an hypothesis. See also: IDR III/2, 211; Zerbini 2010; 2015.
343 Gil 2011: 208.
344 On the relationship of the cult of Jupiter Depulsor and the Marcommanic Wars, see: Várhelyi 2010: 146-147; Hilali 2010.
345 Benea 2013; Szabó 2014c; 2015c.
346 Găzdac 2010: 61.
347 ILD 804: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) ⌊et⌋/T(errae) M(atri) / [p]ro s⌈alut⌋ (e) Ael(i) /Mari fl(amen) col(oniae) /⌊co⌋nduc(toris) pas(cui) /⌊et⌋salina(rum) At/ticus ag(ens) eius? /v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* For the latest reading of the inscription, see: Szabó 2015c: 414, fn. 76.
348 The cult of Terra Mater,attested especially in Alburnus Maior, is also related to mining. In urban and rural contexts the divinity is present as a fertility cult.
349 Téglás 1888: 57. It was found in the garden of the Lutheran priest; there are no further topographical details: Popa 2002: 56-57.
350 Popa 2002: 137; Benea 2013.

spaces. On the other hand, however, the economic role and political impact and importance of these settlements, especially the centres of mining districts, reflect also the presence of the economic power elite, who transformed some elements of the natural environment for the purpose of religious and political communication.

IV.5. Religious appropriation in rural contexts: further case studies

Defining 'rural' for the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD is by no means easy. Even today, modern space theorists struggle to define what can be named 'rural'.[351] In modern scholarship, the study of Roman rural environments and religion usually appears in contrasts with 'urban' religion and as a synonym for 'non-urban'.[352] Tesse Stek's work on the relationship between the sanctuaries of the *vici* and *pagi* from central Italy – although it focus on an early phase of Roman colonisation – could serve as a model for provincial examples too, emphasising religious communication in agricultural centres and settlements.[353]

Most of the rural (agricultural) settlements attested in Roman Dacia are related to the newly emerged consumer society after AD 106. The non-urban settlements of Dacia have been listed numerous times,[354] based on various typologies.[355] Recently, around 300 settlements and farms are known from the period of AD 106-271.[356] The formation of these was influenced by numerous factors, such as the location of natural resources, the main communication routes (roads, rivers, valleys, passes), or by the attraction of large consumer agglomerations, such as auxiliary and legionary forts and the two great urban settlements – Colonia Sarmizegetusa and Apulum.[357]The formation of these settlements influenced also the religious lives of the inhabitants there.

The materiality of Roman religion in the countryside of Dacia – although representing a large and intriguing corpus of sources for lived ancient religion – was analysed to date in only a few, short articles.[358] The main methodology of these approaches focused on the quantitative aspects of the epigraphic evidence, and presented an artificial grouping of divinities and 'pantheons'.[359] They also tried to categorise the material in a typology of settlements (*villae*, *military vici*, *pagi*).[360] The case study by B. Dignas on the 'rural' settlements of Asia Minor proved that a contrastualist 'urban versus rural', 'central versus periphery' discourse does not show the diversity of religious communication attestable in rural contexts, where a human agency based approach (networks) could change the definition of what is central or peripheral.[361] In Roman Dacia, rural environment developed as a consequence of urbanization and not the way around as in the rest of the Danubian provinces[362]. This is a major difference in comparison with Pannonia and other provinces, where the rural environment was always where cultural interaction would take place, involving the indigenous population. The lack of this aspect gives a special nature to the Dacian rural environment, which is basically a large suburb or geographic continuation of the major urban and military settlements (more than a 100 military *vici*). Although the creation of sacralised spaces in the rural environment of Dacia was strictly related to the urban and newly formed consumer society, once formed and created, the rural sanctuaries or sacralised spaces could transform into central places, as B. Dignas showed. In this process of 'becoming rural' in Dacia, individuals played an important role that was much more attestable than in an urban context. Similarly, some elements of the natural environment, such as baths, hot springs, grottos, caves, or mines acted as agents in the creation of rural sacralised spaces.

Mithras in rural Dacia

The number of the settlements where Mithraic finds were attested varies in every major corpus published to date (see **Fig.76.**).[363] In some cases, such as in Decea Mureșului and Slăveni (I.15, I.50), sanctuaries were also attested archaeologically.[364] In other cases, such as Aque (III.19), Peștera Veterani (III.41), Peștera lui Traian

[351] Whitaker 1983; Cloke *et al.* 2006, on conceptualising rurality. Paul Cloke, based on Moseley, defines the 'rural dimension' with three main factors: '[A] pleasant environment which will attract the willing or unwilling unemployed, a spaced out geographical structure which leads to accessibility problems and costly public services and a distinctive local political ideology which favours the market, the volunteer and the self helper rather than public sector intervention': Cloke *et al.* 2006: 21.

[352] Dignas 2003: 78. See also: Mitchell 1993: 195-197; Mitchell 2014: 271-273.

[353] Stek 2009: 168-170; Stek 2015: 397-406. See also: Auffarth 2009.

[354] For Roman villae from Dacia, see: Buday 1916; Mitrofan 1998: 169-173; Popa 2002; Gudea 2008; 2009; Protase 2010.

[355] Gudea (2008: 21) defined 'rural' with agricultural activity and harvest. For a more extensive definition and settlement typology, see: Oltean 2007: 208.

[356] Oltean 2007: 211.

[357] Oltean 2007: 217.

[358] Pop 1998: 187-197; Bărbulescu 1998: 197-206; Gudea 2008: 47-51; Schäfer 2009: 103-132.

[359] For a critique on this, see also: Boda-Szabó 2014.

[360] Pop 1998.

[361] Dignas 2003: 89-90.

[362] Oltean 2007: 218.

[363] Vermaseren in CIMRM II lists 22 settlements. In the latest, G. Sicoe lists 28 settlements: Sicoe 2014: 283. In some cases, such as Ceanu Mic or Domnești, it is not sure if the single inscriptions or altars are indeed, Mithraic or not: Sicoe 2014: 144. See also: Szabó 2015c: 414, fn. 76. The inscription from Tibiscum is, again, confusing: it was discovered in Karánsebes, which could mean that it belongs to *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*, where the Turranii family was present: Ardevan 2005b: 197-202. See also: Szabó 2015c: 417, where Hermadio and the two inscriptions (CIL III 1548, 1549) are associated with Tibiscum, but it could also belong to Sarmizegetusa.

[364] In the case of the finds from Doștat, it is very possible that they come indeed from Sarmizegetusa: Sicoe 2014: 227-228.

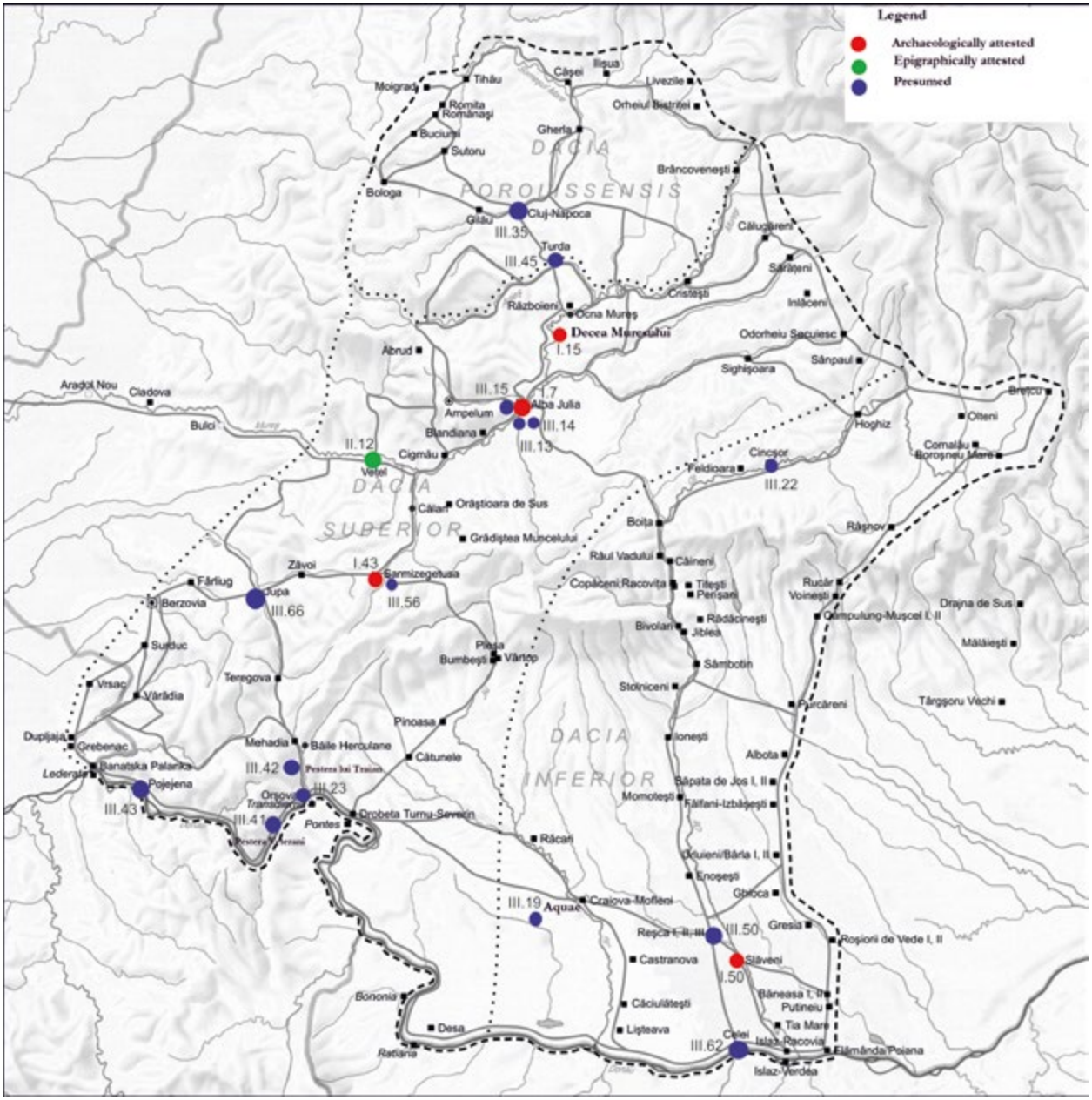

Figure 76. Mithraic sanctuaries in Roman Dacia (map based on Schäfer 2007, 357, abb. 1. with the kind permission of the author)

(III.42), Cincșor (III.22), Micia (II.12),[365] Romula (III.50), Sucidava (III.62), Dierna (III.23), Pojejena (III.43) and Vințu de Jos,[366] the existence of sanctuaries was based on the numbers of finds or older descriptions.[367] The other examples, such as Dragu,[368] Ozd,[369] Boian,[370] Săcădate,[371] Lopadea Nouă,[372] Oarda de Sus,[373] Bumbești,[374] Botoșești Paia[375] and Sfințești,[376] are represented with one single inscription or relief with uncertain or poorly documented provenience.[377] With the exception of the relief from Lopadea Nouă dedicated by Marcus Aurelius Maximus, flamen of the *Municipium Aurelium*

[365] Probably attested epigraphically: Sicoe 2014: 233, cat. nr 200.
[366] Sicoe 2014: 170-172.
[367] In the case of Alvinc (Vințu de Jos), however, it is very possible that the three monuments come from Alba Iulia (Apulum). The case of Romula is very poorly documented, which does not allow us to affirm with certainity the existence of a sanctuary. The great number of finds, however, supports this hypothesis.
[368] Szabó 2012a.
[369] Sicoe 2014: 166, cat. nr 56.
[370] Sicoe 2014: 167, cat. nr 57.
[371] Sicoe 2014: 167, cat. nr 58.
[372] Sicoe 2014: 169, cat. nr 62; Moga *et al.* 1995: 118. See also: Oltean 2007: 218, where the author marks Lopadea Nouă as a possible site for a *mithraeum*.
[373] Sicoe 2014: 169.
[374] Sicoe 2014: 245, cat. nr 228.
[375] Sicoe 2014: 245, cat. nr 229.
[376] Sicoe 2014: 250-251, cat. nr 239.
[377] In some cases, such as at Aque, numerous other Roman finds were identified. Other sites, such as Dragu, are badly documented, although there is a possibility that a villa or statio might also be indicated here: Szabó 2012a.

Apulensis, the dedicants of the others never mention their names.[378] In this case we can presume that he transported the relief, as a memory of a sacralised place (*mithraeum*) from Apulum, serving in the foundation of another sacralised space in his villa or private assembly house in Lopadea Nouă. The iconography and size of the *ex votos* suggest that these were produced in the two large cities of the province (Apulum, Sarmizegetusa), from where the cult spread in the *territoria* of the two cities.[379]

The presence of the cult in natural cavities was raised already by F. Cumont, who presented a report about a possible *spelaeum* from the area of Peștera lui Traian (cave of Traian – III.42).[380] A similar example was reported in the 1960s in the cave of Peștera Veterani,[381] where Roman artefacts in a pit were found along with an altar. The cave was certainly visited by the soldiers from Dierna, at least the stamped bricks found in the pit suggest this.[382] Although in the Roman Empire there are some examples of caves used as sacralised spaces by Mithraic groups,[383] the identification of such places is very problematic and requires certain features such as an inscription or relief.[384]

The three sanctuaries of Mithras attested in non-urban contexts (Pojejena, Decea Mureșului, Slăveni) are related to the presence of the military, although they are usually at a significant distance from the main auxiliary fort, close to Imperial roads.[385]

The sanctuary of Marosdécse (Decea Mureșului – I.15. **Fig.77**.) was discovered in about 1888/1889 under a hill, close to the main Roman road which connected the two legionary forts of Potaissa and Apulum with the eastern part of the province in the Mures valley. Just 6 km east of this site was the auxiliary fort of Războieni-Cetate.[386] Only the small *naos* (5.5 x 4.65 m) was preserved, but in the northern part of the sanctuary a larger wall suggests that the *mithraeum* had a larger, central nave as well.[387]

In the small room three monuments were found:[388] two epigraphic altars and a representation of Mithras Petrogenitus on an altar (or possibly, statue base). One of the altars was dedicated by a certain Surus, probably a Syrian. The presence of the sanctuary 6 km from the fort and the possible military *vicus* of Războieni, suggests that it was established on the private initiative of a small group or a single individual. The main road played an important role in communications between the central part of Dacia Superior and the *Limes Dacicus Orientalis*,[389] as a strategic and military artery, but also for the salt trade, which was one of the major activities of the province.[390] It is possible that numerous *stationes* and *mansiones* existed on these roads.[391] Even if there was no permanent settlement or human agency in Marosdécse, the great traffic along these vital Roman roads gave increased visibility to these road-side shrines and sanctuaries.[392] As with the *mithraeum* of Fertőrákos in Pannonia,[393] these isolated shrines could serve as temporary sacralised spaces. Their maintenance is dependent on their geographic position: integrated within the natural landscape (in a hill, slope or cave) and near the main Roman road, these sanctuaries served as places of short-term, individual religious experiences.

A particular case study for the integration of the natural elements within a sacralised space comes from Romula.[394] A possible sanctuary was reported in the 19th century, although the contemporary description is very inaccurate.[395] It seems that the *mithraeum* was near the river, close to the Roman auxiliary fort.[396] The sanctuary seems to have been used by the soldiers from the *Numerus Syrorum Sagittariorum*.[397] One of them, Antonius Zoilus *actarius praepositi,* dedicated an altar to the divinity. It is surprising that, as in the *mithreaum* of Decea Mureșului and the Dolichenum of Ampelum and Apulum, the Syrians played an important role in the maintenance of these assembly houses and small secondary spaces.[398] Among the Mithraic finds from Romula there is a particularly interesting representation of Mithras Petogenitus (**Fig.78**.). The fragmentary monument was *c.* 1 m high and was possibly decorated with bronze or metal objects (the torch and sword are missing from his hands). A small hole appears in the lap of the divinity, marking also

[378] See also Chapter II.9.
[379] On the *territoria* of Sarmizegetusa, see: Piso 1995c. The *territoria* of Apulum is difficult to define. See also: Oltean 2007: 218-219.
[380] The place was never published or examined since Cumont: Pintilie 2000: 236.
[381] Pintilie 2000, citing Boroneanț 1979: 180. The only proof, the barely legible inscription, is missing today.
[382] See also: Gudea 1997: 31.
[383] Clauss 2001: 44.
[384] Recently, in a cave in the area of Porolissum, some Roman activity was identified. The publishers claimed that this is proof of the use of the feature by Mithraic groups.
[385] Gudea 1997: 83-84. The administrative position of Pojejena is still unclear (Dacia or Moesia Inferior, or part of Dacia Ripensis): Gudea 1997: 15. Similarly, the possible sanctuaries of Mithras in Micia, Dierna, Sucidava, and Cincsor are related to the presence of the army in the auxiliary forts. In Săcădate, the presence of altar fragments dedicated to Mithras and IOM Dolichenus (from Commagene) was related also to the military: Țentea 2007: 213. See also: IDR III/4, 86, 87.
[386] Țentea 2007: 105-106.
[387] Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 80.
[388] Although the original drawing by Herepey shows at least five stone monuments: Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 79.
[389] Pánczél 2012.
[390] Benea 2013; Szabó 2015c.
[391] The smaller military constructions, such as watch-towers, are practically unknown in this region: Pánczél *et al.* 2011.
[392] On this notion, see the contemporary definition: Park 1994: 200-201.
[393] Tóth 1971.
[394] Vittinghoff 1969; Bărbulescu *et al.* 2005.
[395] Alicu-Pescaru 2000: 78-80.
[396] Tudor 1968: 354; Gudea 1997: 85.
[397] Bertolazzi 2015: 199-201.
[398] Bertolazzi 2015: 201, fn. 104.

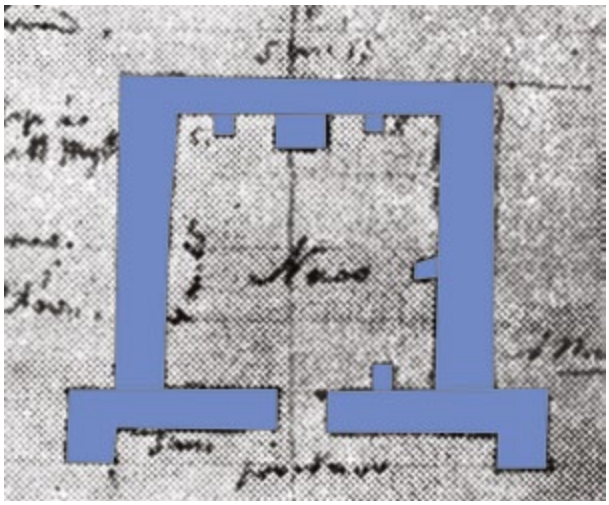

Figure 77. Plan of the mithraeum from Marosdécse/Decea Mureșului (after Takács 1987)

a space for libation or other installations (lamps, oils, honey?).[399] In the upper part of the petrogenitus representation[400] there is a small, perfectly carved, circular hole. It was interpreted as a hole for a fountain, from which the water could cascade.[401] This could be a possible explanation, especially in the context of the *mithraeum* of Romula, where a fountain was also mentioned in the short report of 1856.[402] The presence of fountains and water-reservoirs within a *mithraeum* is a very common phenomenon, and it was probably part of the religious narrative used in the sanctuary for various rituals of purification.[403] This could be related also to another episode of the Mithraic narrative, that of the Fons Perennis, the Eternal Spring, a symbol of creationism and the harmony of contrasts.[404] The hole on the rock could have served also for lamps and as an agency for the maintenance of the religious narrative and the emotional community created through rituals.[405] Similar finds were found at Inveresk, Britannia, where the radius on the head of Sol could serve for this trick with lights, providing a powerful agent for creating an emotional community.[406]

Production and religion in the countryside

Roman villas are considered today as an indication of consumption and part of a complex social and economic

Figure 78. Mithras Petrogenitus from Romula (after Sicoe 2014, cat. nr. 236)

language. The architectural features and their position in the landscape played an important role in the so-called 'villa theory'.[407] Although it is one of the most widespread physical signs of Roman consumer society, identifying a Roman villa has similar methodological problems in field archaeology as the so-called civil or military rural settlements.[408] The study of Roman villas in Dacia began at the end of the 19th century and produced important works already in that period.[409] Later researches produced short reports and various lists of villas and non-urban settlements.[410] Their

399 László *et al.* 2005: 189ff.
400 On the iconography and typology of Mithras Petrogenitus, see: Neri 2000: 227-245; Sicoe 2014: 47-51.
401 See the comments of Vermaseren in CIMRM 2170.
402 Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 81.
403 The spring appears also in Porphyry's description: Beck 2006a: 102. For the archaeological evidence, see: Clauss 2001: 72-74, Dirven 2015: 35.
404 László *et al.* 2005: 189-192.
405 For the role of lamps and other types of small finds in *mithrea*, see: Frackowiak 2013; Szabó 2014e; Klenner 2014.
406 Tomlin 2011: 443; Hunter 2013: 14-21; Bremmer 2014: 134; Hunter *et al.* 2016.
407 Roymans-Derks 2011: 7-9.
408 A case study and useful typology of villas and their identification in Italy: Viitanen 2010.
409 Buday 1913.
410 Mitrofan 1973; 1974; 1998; Popa 2002; Gudea 2008. See also: Oltean 2007: 4-5.

number – only in the *territorium* of the two largest Roman cities (Colonia Sarmizegetusa and Apulum) – is more than 270 and the finds increase yearly.[411] The identity of these 'rural' settlements are extremely difficult. Only a small number of these have been identified with certainty as villas, although Ioana Oltean presumed already in 2007 at least 111 in the most populated area of the province.[412] None of these have yet been published in detail. It is important to highlight that the current research has focused almost exclusively on the territory of Dacia Superior and Porolissensis (especially in the Mureș valley, and the *territoria* of Sarmizegetusa, Apulum and Napoca),[413] Dacia Inferior being neglected. It was argued also that in this province the number of villas is much smaller, and their role in the landscape and local economy is insignificant.[414] This could be explained by two factors: the lack of archaeological data and systematic excavations,[415] and the unfavourable climatic conditions for self-sufficient villas, far from urban centres and their infrastructures.[416]

Regarding the religious life of the villas, a few researchers have focused briefly on this, usually listing the finds.[417] Villas, as significant markers in the landscape, were physical and cultural projections and continuations of an urban elite communication, although, while *a domus urbana* was a place where the public and private spheres mingled, the villas in the countryside were expressing more clearly and faithfully the personal and private devotions of their owners.[418] None of the recently found Roman villas of Dacia can be included among the *latifundium-villas*, although some, such as those at Dalboșeț, Chinteni and Rapoltu Mare can be considered as mid-sized farms. Most of the villas are far from the city, where their owners served as magistrates and played key roles in the formation and maintenance of the urban sacred landscape and religious dynamics. It seems plausible that these villas served as retirement places for magistrates' final years, having opted to settle permanently in Dacia.[419] While a *domus urbana* played a key role in local economic competition and self-expression, these villas served almost exclusively personal, familial interests, although a possible mobility among the elite in the countryside must have existed. The size of the villas suggest that the small communities – usually the closest family members and a few slaves of the magistrate – served as self-sufficient economic entities and enterprises, which also indicates a very limited relationship and dependency on the large, urban centres of the area. The actual distance from urban centres and the close interdependency of the familial community created a spontaneous, emotional community, which – together with the natural world and all its hazards – shaped the religious experiences attested in the villas.

Only a few of the villas attested archaeologically in Dacia had a sanctuary or a sacralised space within, although a *lararium* is presumed in all of these private spheres. A fine bronze statuette representing a *Lar* was discovered in the Roman villa of Deva,[420] and an altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Peștișul Mare.[421]

A more interesting example was found in the villa of Ciumăfaia (Csumafája) in Cluj County, within the territory of Dacia Porolissensis. Found in a place called 'the Palace' (*palota*) by local people, the villa was identified in March 1911 from the six altars discovered on the site.[422] Later, in 1943, when the site was excavated, another, seventh, altar was found.[423] The provenience of the first six altars found in 1911 is unclear, but they could belong to the main building of the villa, identified later with multiple phases. Six of the altars are dedicated to Iuno Regina, Minerva, Apollo, Mercurius, Silvanus Domesticus and Dis Deabusque et Fortuna Conservatrix by Aelius Iulius, *veteran and ex centurione*. Identified by Buday as a solider of the cohors I Cilicium from Moesia Superior,[424] Aelius Iulius was probably related to Publius Aelius Maximus, *duumvir quinquennalis* and *decurio* of Napoca, who later became also *sacerdos* of the *Ara Augustorum* from Sarmizegetusa.[425] The villa was of medium size and was interpreted as a summer residence of the magistrate from Napoca.[426] Publius Aelius Maximus, as an active magistrate of Napoca, had a very dynamic life within the province and beyond, as his carrier shows. Although his origin is unknown, it is plausible that he embraced the cult of Hercules Magusanus in Germania (ILD 582). Much more interesting is the case of Aelius Iulius, whose name is preserved on six altars. His altars were interpreted as one of the most detailed 'personal pantheons' attested

411 Oltean 2007: 120.
412 Oltean 2007: 122. For a similar density, see the case study of the *territorium Savariense* from Pannonia: Gabler 1995. For Italy: Viitanen 2010.
413 The first excavations of Buday, the articles of Mitrofan and later, the projects of W. S. Hanson and I. Oltean, all focused on Dacia Superior and Porolissensis.
414 Oltean 2007: 122.
415 The only synthesis on this area of Dacia was published half a century ago: Tudor 1968.
416 Urbanisation in Dacia Inferior is less apparent than in Dacia Superior or even Porolissensis. Although the Great Romanian Plain is still Europe's biggest agronomic unit and an important economic source, the climatic and infrastructural conditions of the countryside (less developed road system, cold winters with much snow) created problems even in medieval as well as early modern times. For another opinion see: Protase 2010: 175-176.
417 Bărbulescu 1998; Pop 1998; Opreanu 2008.
418 Roymans-Derks 2011: 14-15.
419 Opreanu 2008.
420 Mărghitan-Pop 1971: 67-75.
421 IDR III/3, 29: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) F(lavius) Grat/us / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)*.
422 Buday 1911: 260.
423 Székely 1970: 177.
424 This hypothesis was not confirmed by the later research: Buday 1911: 262.
425 Szabó 2007: 31-33.
426 Opreanu 2008. See also: Mitrofan 1973.

in Dacia.[427] Although it is certainly attested that, as an individual choice and domestic, very personalised religion of the veteran, the six altars reflect more an accumulation of events. If the building complex served as a private *villa rustica*, it is curious to see such a great number of mid-sized stone altars in a private space, where their visibility was limited to visitors and the inhabitants of the villa. Their functionality was similar to other altars as votive offerings in sanctuaries.[428] The occasion and motivation of his dedications are not mentioned by the inscriptions. They commemorate the sacrifices for Minerva and Iuno[429] as part of the Capitoline Triad. The only 'speaking' inscription is that of Dis Deabusque and Fortuna Conservatrix, which probably recalls one of his successful journeys or military interventions.[430] This epithet is particularly apparent among the soldiers from Britannia, although it could be seen also as a personal choice of the soldier between Fortuna Redux and Conservatrix, as another dedication to Caelestis Augusta Redux et Conservatrix from Mauretania shows.[431] His act must be similar to what we find at Apulum in the dedication of Publius Catius Sabinus, but in a more private and personal sphere.[432] It would be particularly interesting to know where these altars were made and why it was worth it to Aelius Iulius to transport six altars to his villa instead of smaller offerings or statuettes. The temporal and economic investment in the sacralisation of the small room where these altars stood raises the question about local production and the dynamics of the features and material agents between settlements, especially in non-urban contexts.

Villas and important centres of production show a higher percentage of private worship and religious individuation in Dacia. In Micăsasa, the largest pottery production site of the province,[433] Demetrius Antonius erected a small and modest altar for Deus Saromandus, a Celtic-Germanic divinity, attested only in Dacia.[434] Similar to the cult of the Badones at Apulum,[435] this divinity was also a cultural marker and sacred nexus for defining the cultural identity of the individual.[436] The context of this find is unknown, but in any case, if it were standing in a public or private, less visible and accessible space, the odd divinity represented a unique cultural landmark in a space. Similar to this, at Șpring (Alba County) an altar was found in an unknown context.[437] It was erected by a *decurio* of Apulum and dedicated to Hercules and Obela.[438] The divinity is one of the rarest Celtiberian theonyms attested in the Empire,[439] and, as usually happens with Celtic divinities in Dacia, it appears as a *hapax*.[440]

In numerous cases, near or on the territory of possible Roman villas, were found singular or multiple dedications, such as at Apahida (CIL III 7656), Berghin (IDR III/4, 41-43), Benic (IDR III/4, 60-62), Crăciunel (IDR III/4, 256-258), Dezmir (CIL III 863), Gărbâu (CIL III 848), Peștișu Mic (IDR III/3, 30-32), Mera (ILD 606-607), Sălașu de Sus (IDR III/3, 2),[441] Sântămaria de Piatră (IDR III/3, 23-25), and Suceagu[442]. Unfortunately, most of these sites were never excavated or researched.

This chapter presented the most relevant case studies where some particular elements (mineral springs, mines (gold, iron, salt), stone quarries, and agricultural lands) of the natural world of Dacia were used for religious communication and space sacralisation by the newly emerged and rapidly evolving Roman society of Dacia. Even if the geography and the natural environment of Dacia were not radically different to most of the northern provinces, the literary *topoi* and fame of the province created an ideological background, which probably influenced the religious communication and appropriation of the first generation of colonists. The chapter questioned also the notion of cultural and ethnic continuity: in a much broader definition, landscape continuity is constant and the pre-Roman cultural landscape visibly influenced the Roman society of Dacia as well. The presence and impact of the indigenous (Dacian) groups in the province is still uncertain, but their influence (passive or active) seems to be clearer. In contrast with other provinces, rural religion in Dacia did not evolve on the basis of indigenous religious patterns, but it is a consequence of urbanisation and the military establishments. The case studies also show that religion in the countryside creates the opportunity for closer and more private communication between human and divine agencies. The presence of individualised and indigenous divinities in rural contexts proves the primary nature of the sacralised spaces. In a few cases, however, where the rich natural resources, such as gold, metal, stone, salt, and hot springs, were part of the process

427 Bărbulescu 1984.
428 On the flexible nature of altars in sacralisation and ritualisation processes see: Rüpke 2014: 19-27.
429 Probably an altar for Jupiter also existed, as Buday has already highlighted (1911: 264).
430 From the almost 50 inscriptions attesting the cult of Fortuna in Dacia, she appears on most of the inscriptions as Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta. On the protective gods of the roads, see: Panaite 2013. As an analogy for dedications of Fortuna and her cult, see: Champeaux 1982; Frakes 1988: 12-15; Stoll 2014.
431 CIL VIII 20743. See also: RIB 575, 968. See also: RIU II 385; CIL III 4558, 14359.
432 See Chapter II.3.
433 Bolindeț 2011.
434 Nemeti 2007; Opreanu 2010.
435 Szabó 2014h.
436 Elsner 2007: 251.
437 IDR III/4, 29. The site was never researched. Based on the sporadic Roman finds, it is considered a 'rural settlement': Popa 2002: 152.
438 On the inscription it appears as Obila.
439 See also: AE 1989, 550, AE 2010, 636. See also: Nemeti 2007, cat. nr 51; Haeussler 2008: 234; Stempel 2010.
440 Nemeti 2007; Szabó 2014h.
441 See also: Popa 2002: 126.
442 Popa 2002: 146.

of sacralisation, we can attest a monumentalised, more organised and competitive pattern of sacralised spaces, monopolised by religious entrepreneurs or Imperial authorities.

The importance of these sacralised spaces can be measured also in the constant popularity and contemporary use of the Roman baths and numerous other sacralised spaces presented in this chapter.

V. Beyond Lived Ancient Religion in Dacia

In their influential synthesis on Roman Dacia, Ian Haynes and William Hanson wrote, that 'for those who seek great themes in archaeology of empire', Dacia offers a good example for understanding the complex mechanisms of social and religious communication in the whole Roman Empire.[1] This may sound an exaggerated argument, but it has indeed a real basis in this particular case study. In the introduction, I presented the major innovations of the 'Lived Ancient Religion' (LAR) approach and asked some questions on the role of space sacralisation in Roman religious communication, its role and impact on individual and group identities, strategies for creating and maintaining successfully a sacralised space and the possibilities of religious appropriation through instantiated and narrated religion. In three chapters I tried to test these notions, answer the paradigmatic question of LAR through a case study from the periphery of the Empire, an area which rarely appears in the 'big books' of our discipline. The question and main aims were to see: if it is possible to answer the innovative questions of a radically new approach through the materiality of religion, and in which way was different Dacia from the other provinces or individual cases. Analysing around 30 sacralised sites and their rich archaeological material and dozens of individuals and groups co-existing in the same geographical, political, economic and cultural environment, this book tried to take a deeper look into Roman religious communication in urban, military, and other types of environments. The results might be disappointing for those who are waiting for the exceptional, unusual or revolutionary, however the case studies analysed in this book have shown certain limits to a theoretical approach and new perspectives in the quest to understand the religious communication of the ancients.

Facts and results: how 'lived' was Roman religion in Dacia?

As in many of the provinces, all we know about Roman religion from Dacia comes from its material evidence.[2] This makes a synthesis, as the one in this work too, very ephemeral, with the quantity of archaeological finds growing significantly every year thanks to the large number of rescue excavations taking place.[3] In less than 170 years, the Romans created, used and left behind a significant number of tools and products of religious communication in Dacia. From the 5925 inscriptions from the province,[4] 1482 qualify as votive (25%).[5] The number of figurative monuments (sculptures, reliefs, bronzes, gemstones) is now inestimable,[6] but in 1985 they numbered 2873 together with the inscriptions.[7] The large quantity of small finds (terracotta statues, vessels, lamps) and other products and goods (animals, vegetation, food, building materials, metals, textiles) used in sacralised spaces cannot even be estimated on a provincial scale, but it reflects well that the 140 sites featuring in this study represented also a significant agent in the large-scale economy of the province.[8] From the number of possible sacralised spaces of Dacia, 54 have been identified archaeologically up to now – a number which is very significant even on an Empire scale,[9] but only three of these have been published in monograph form.[10] This reflects also the availability of the material evidence and the recent state of research.

This work intended to present only a selection of materiality of the sacralised spaces from Dacia through the innovative approach of the LAR concept. Sanctuaries are not presented here in various architectural typologies, or any kind of chronological order,[11] but analysed as special, sacralised spaces where

[1] Haynes-Hanson 2004: 11.

[2] In contrast with Gaul, for example (Woolf 1998: 206-237), there are no direct literary sources speaking about Roman religion in Dacia during the Principate. The large number of literary passages mentioning this area before and after the Roman conquest focus exclusively on major political acts (conquer-abandonment), geography and ethnographic stereotypes. See: Iliescu *et al.* 1964; Ruscu 2003. See also Chapter IV.1.

[3] This ephemeral aspect and subjective nature of our sources on Roman religion from Dacia was already highlighted in the most relevant works on the topic: Bărbulescu 1984: 222; Nemeti 2012: 207-211.

[4] After the Clauss-Slaby Database. This number includes also the *instrumenta minora* (brick stamps, graffiti, *instrumenta* inscriptions). Interestingly, the EDH lists 3549 inscriptions. See also: http://romans1by1.com/rpeople (last accessed: 22.04.2018).

[5] After the advanced search of EDH (including also the prayers and *defixiones*). For comparison see: Spickermann 2003: 15.

[6] There is no CSIR volume for Dacia. A large number of catalogues were published focusing on the figurative monuments of local museums. Recently, an online corpus of stone monuments was created, but so far without the possibility for advanced search: http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch.php (last accessed: 4.08.2016).

[7] Petolescu 2010: 271, citing the unpublished thesis of M. Bărbulescu from 1985. This may not contain gems and various types of small finds used in religious communication.

[8] In the case of the best-researched sacralised space of Dacia, the Liber Pater shrine from Apulum, the large quantity of small finds are measured in quintals. On the economic nature of Roman religion in Apulum, see: Szabó 2013b. See also: Dignas 2003.

[9] For example, up until 2003 in Germania Superior, from the so-called 'intensive period of Romanisation' (AD 150-260) there are 323 estimated sacralised spaces, 71 epigraphically attested: Spickermann 2003: 279, 342-346.

[10] Király 1886; Gudea-Tamba 2001; Benea 2008. Another, the new *mithraeum* from Apulum, is anounced for publication in the future. Several important sanctuaries were published in detailed archaeological reports (such as the sanctuaries from Sarmizegetusa), while others produced a great number of articles, but not a synthesis (the Liber Pater shrine from Apulum). Recent discoveries from rescue excavations from urban contexts in Cluj-Napoca or Alba Iulia are also unpublished yet.

[11] See this method in Spickermann 2003 or Nielsen 2014.

religious communication was intense and successful. Space, as a key factor in religious communication, has been highlighted numerous times[12] but rarely with case studies from Roman archaeology.[13] In this work, the focus has been not only on the three main spaces used as analytical tools in terms of LAR(primary, secondary, shared-public),[14] but also as regards the spatial approach of D. Clarke, which introduced the micro-level of objects, semi-micro level of sites, and the macro-level of spatial relationships between sites.[15] While religious communication in primary, secondary and shared spaces emphasises especially the micro-level of objects and the semi-micro level of sites, my work has tried also to show how important were the macro-level spatial relationships in the province and beyond. Through this third dimension of space, religion became an integrated part of the Roman Empire as intra-cultural connectivity and network.[16] All of these spatial dimensions are, however, in overlapping and constant interaction.

The first part of my work presented three of the main macro-levels of spaces where sacralised sites were created and maintained in Dacia: the urban (Chapter II), military (Chaper III) and rural environments (Chapter IV). This categorisation may seems to follow a traditional approach, but in fact reflects the main specificity of Roman Dacia: the great impact of the two, mid-sized urban centres of the whole province (Sarmizegetusa and Apulum),[17] the large number of rural settlements and environments (villas) concentrated mostly within the *territoria* of these two centres,[18] and the great number of soldiers, representing at least 15% of the society, an argument why Dacia is still labelled as 'military'.[19]

From the first category, I deal exclusively with the case study of Apulum, offering for the first time a comprehensive view of Roman religion in this conurbation.[20] Due to the large amount of archaeological material and the impact of Apulum on the macro-scale network of Roman religious communication in Dacia,[21] the section dedicated to Apulum is significantly larger than the others. It presents not only the religious communication in the sanctuaries of Apulum (I.5-I.8, II.2-II.10, III.6-17) but also discusses the role of several other spaces as well, such as roads, hills, and the walls of the conurbation. This chapter introduced for the first time in the analysis of the material from Apulum specific approaches on movement, 'sensescape' and 'citification', as important agents in religious communication. The case studies from Apulum highlight the particularities of local appropriations in the process of space sacralisation and religious communication in an urban context.

Although not a *colonia deducta*, Apulum had no pre-Roman urban history, even if the natural landscape was severely modified and transformed by human agency since prehistory in this area. Dacians are not attested in the formation and maintenance of this urban centre, and their existence, or non-existence, cannot be proved or disproved. All the sacralised spaces attested were created and existed for a short period of 160-170 years between AD 106 and 271, although the durability of these through 3-4 generations cannot be proved in all cases. The durability of some sacralised places in shared spaces, such as the *aedes signorum* from the fort (Chapter II.3.) persists longer, because it is strictly attached to an essential Roman institution (the army) and also a very immobile, fixed place, the fort of the *legio XIII Gemina*, which was never completely abandoned in this period. The case studies of the once-called 'religio castrensis' could be, in fact, examples for moral individuality.[22] Similarly, the *Asklepieion* represents a case study (Chapters II.6 and II.7) where a small group of the local economic and political elite monopolised the 'religious health insurance' of the inhabitants by constantly extending the sanctuary-complex, which seems to have been maintained successfully until the abandonment of the province. Religious specialists and entrepreneurs often formed familial networks with the economic elite of Apulum. This elite group of probably a few tens of people dominated not only the trading networks of the city, but also had a significant impact on the economy of the entire province (Chapter II.6). Their intra-cultural connectivity was formed ('became')[23] already a few years after the legion settled in the valley of the Marisia, based on the infrastructural web of the Empire (road system, *Publicum Portorium Illyrici*).[24] Their study shows how urbanism and economy played an important role in maintaining successfully the sacralised spaces. This shows also the dependency of these sacralised spaces on the urban infrastructure.

[12] Knott 2011.
[13] Raja-Rüpke 2015b: chapters IV-VI, where space appears as a key concept.
[14] Based on Smith 2004.
[15] Clarke 1977.
[16] Busch-Versluys 2015: 9. See also: Woolf 2012: 117-122.
[17] The population of both are estimated to be arround 25-35000, which still places these settlements in the category of small- to mid-sized urban settlements of the Roman Empire: Wilson 2011.
[18] Gudea 2008; Găzdac 2010: 60.
[19] The total number of *exercitus Daciae* is estimated as 50-55,000 soldiers: Găzdac 2010: 54. The population related strictly to such an army is estimated to be the same proportion. The total number of the population of the province is impossible to establish, but it is estimated between 500,000 and 1 million.
[20] On research history of the religious life in Apulum, see: Szabó 2014b.
[21] With more than 700 votive inscriptions and hundreds of figurative monuments, the materiality of Roman religion from the conurbation of Apulum represents 30% of the stone sources of Roman religion from the province.
[22] Rüpke 2013b.
[23] Busch-Versluys 2015: 9.
[24] See Dobó 1940; Szabó 2015c. See also Chapter II.9.

Various types of mobilities can be attested in such urban centres:[25] while some of the human agency participating in religious communication (such as the senatorial elite) was temporary and almost invisible (Chapter II.6.), others stayed longer (soldiers, merchants) or even forever (small groups especially from Asia Minor, Syria, Pannonia, Dalmatia). In two main chapters (II.8 and II.9) I presented the dynamics of small-group religions in Apulum, focusing on the Mithraic networks and the Bacchic groups of the conurbation. The well-excavated sanctuary of *Liber Pater* – even if with only partially accessible material – offers an important case study for presenting religious appropriations and the role of religious instantiations in religious communication. These groups show not only a vivid connectivity with artistic workshops and merchants from Asia Minor and Greece, but also they illustrate how religious narratives are reinvented and reinterpreted locally. The large number of the Mithraic finds from Apulum and the exquisite quality of some art works from the Liber Pater sanctuary present a contrast with the sacralised spaces of rural environments, highlighting the important economic aspects of religious communication. Large urban environments mean higher quality and richer variability in the material agency used in sacralisation. In the same chapter I presented the problematic notion of 'otherness' and the fluidity of the so-called cultural identity of some groups, such as the Syrians from the province. They appear in Apulum, Sarmizegetusa, Porolissum and Tibiscum as resistant groups, who will adapt, however, to the local economic and political rules of the province.[26]. Finally, in Chapter II.10 the so-called Christian objects of Apulum and the imagined Christian community created by the cultural memory (mnemohistory) of Romanians are questioned and contested for the first time. Civic religion, institutions and centralised traditions (*lex sacra*) as agents for the maintenance of the sacralised spaces of Apulum are less emphasised, although I do not ignore them, especially in shared/public places.

The third chapter presented two military settlements (Porolissum and Praetorium), where the inhabitants consisted mostly of veterans and their families or the accompanying staff of the army. The case studies from secondary spaces (two *dolichena*) show again that sacralised spaces and the material of religious communication were dependent on the network of a small group of merchants and religious entrepreneurs with a high mobility in and outside the province. Similarly to the Mithraic groups from Apulum, the two *dolichena* present the impact of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* on religious appropriations and local religious narratives.

In the fourth chapter a large number of sacralised places were presented from various types of semi-micro level and macro-spaces from rural environments. One of the key particularities of the province and a syndrome of Romanian historiography, the question of the Dacians and the 'continuity' of their religion in Roman times are presented here in detail. Although recent studies and excavations seem to prove that an indigenous population was present in the rural environment, their interaction with the numerous groups of incomers and their level of 'becoming Roman' are impossible to attest. This chapter highlighted, however, some basic facts: there was no Dacian civilisation as such, but numerous groups and constantly changing and fluid cultures, even before the Roman conquest, which are well connected with other La-Tène cultures of Europe, and even the Roman Empire before Trajan.[27] The chapter also emphasised that speaking about ethnic or religious continuity is anachronistic. In a way, there was no continuity at all in the most 'Romanised' provinces either, but a constant cultural interaction and a history of changes. On other hand, there is always continuity in geographic environments, infrastructure and their constant transformation, where the remains of past cultures create local mnemohistories. In this way it is axiomatic that Dacian cultures had a visible and well-attested impact on the various groups who arrived in this area. In their process of becoming 'Roman', the Dacian past and infrastructure, their reinvented tradition and ethnographic 'fame' all played a certain role.

The fourth chapter presented also the sacralised sites of the province that formed in the vicinities of mineral baths, gold, iron, salt mines, and quarries. Natural elements (forests, water, mineral springs, mines) are interpreted in this chapter as agents in religious communication and space sacralisation. This concept follows an ecologic perspective which presents how natural elements became tools in creating and maintaining secondary or shared sacralised places. It also measures the impact of human agency on the natural environment in Roman times. The chapter offered for the first time a comprehensive overview of the religious communication attested in Ampelum. By presenting the interdependent connectivity of these smaller settlements with Apulum, as a regional centre of Dacia Superior, this chapter questioned also the notion of 'centre and periphery', as an old concept in studying the rural environments of the Roman Empire.

These case studies are local, but not unique, versions of religious grouping and their strategies to maintain a religious communication with divine agents in various spaces. The local specificity of these lies in their special group identities and local networks.

[25] Woolf 2016.
[26] Mol-Versluys 2015.
[27] Culture as a fluid system, see: Haeussler 2013.

Religion in primary spaces, or on the level of the individual, however, can be rarely understood from the available material of the province. This can be attested only in very few individual case studies, such as M. Aurelius Theodotus in Apulum and Germisara, C. Iulius Valens in the *Asklepieion* of Apulum, P. Aelius Marus, or some of the officers of the Legion XIII Gemina. Reliefs, altars, and large fragments of temple capitals cannot speak about the religious communication of an ancient individual. In this sense, testing the LAR approach on Dacia shows the limits of some aspects of this radically new view on Roman religion: as with most of the provinces of Rome, the history of Dacia has left only a very few individuals whose religious communication can be attested vividly. Religious providers, entrepreneurs or founders of sacralised spaces, or local strategies in religious communication, are nameless in Dacia. There are no Dacian 'versions' of G. Calpurnius Rufinus of Aquae Flaviae, founder of *mystaria*,[28] Aelius Aristides of Smyrna,[29] or Alexander from Abonouteichos, although the possible presence of such religious founders, innovators and charismatic leaders are suggested in some unusual iconographies, the changes in the architecture of sacralised sites, or the few epigraphic testimonies of religious practices. In this sense, 'provincial religion', unfortunately, remains a painfully valid notion.[30]

Although Romanian historiography emphasised the importance of religious syncretism in Dacia,[31] the case studies presented here proved that there were no, or only a very few, cases when religious syncretisms took place in Dacia between AD 106 and 271.[32] Most of these local syncretisms are hypothetic and not yet proved.[33] What are more striking, however, are the short-term, local appropriations. Apparently, no new religions were founded or established here and most of the tools used in religious communication were simple mass productions of the Roman presence or consumer society that arrived after AD 106. However, in some cases, such as the rare iconography of Cautes with bucranium, or the unusual religious narrative behind the relief from Mehadia, or the specific religious experiences attested in the rooms of the Liber Pater shrine and the case of some religious pilgrims from Dacia, indicate the presence of local religious appropriations and innovations.

There are some aspects which have not been analysed but could represent topics for further research, e.g. a provincial- or even Empire-scale comparison of the religious communication of the peregrines and the Roman citizens with full rights.[34] Although law and religion were not included within the major focal points of the LAR approach, in some case studies this could also provide interesting examples.[35] The changing legal status of sacralised spaces and their human actors in the mirror of lived religious experience represent a new topic for further research.[36]

The story of Dacia: culture, religion and memory

As an ultimate question one must ask: in what sense and why was this province so strangely unique, as is constantly cited, and what can we learn today from the story of Roman Dacia?

Romanisation as a notion is challenged and questioned nowadays.[37] Instead of this problematic concept, one should imagine the Roman Empire as a global network of intra-cultural connectivity,[38] which was the infrastructural basis for the transmission of various cultures, defined as 'systems of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms',[39] and religion as 'a spectrum of experiences, actions, and beliefs hinging on human communication with super-human or even transcendent agent'.[40] In this new definition of the Roman Empire and its culture, periphery, as a notion, also needs reconsideration.

Greg Woolf used a very vivid metaphor to describe the story of Rome claiming, that 'the empire grew like an ice cap, sending glaciers down in all directions. When those glaciers retreated, back to Byzantium rather than Rome, they left entirely new landscapes gouged out, and great moraines of boulders around which their new inhabitants had to accommodate themselves. Those peoples were no longer those that Rome had originally conquered: some were new arrivals, and almost all the rest had forgotten what it was like before the ice'.[41] Through this metaphor the specificity of Dacia can be easily exemplified. The future province before AD 106 was known through ethnographic stories and legends, an area not without history, but with numerous mnemohistories, was one of the last territories conquered by Rome.[42] It was a huge investment of Rome and its legions, one of the most expensive military projects of the Principate. To

[28] Alföldy 1997. See also: Gasparini forthcoming.
[29] Petridou 2016b.
[30] Especially: Rüpke 2014: 104-112. See also: Cancik-Rüpke 1997; Rüpke *et al.* 2007.
[31] Nemeti 2005.
[32] For a different idea of religious syncretism, see: Frankfurter 2017.
[33] The formation of the cults of the so-called 'Danubian Riders', often associated with Moesia Superior and Dacia, the dominant features of Liber Pater-Diana-Silvanus as indigenous cult, or the identification of indigenous gods in some rare epithets cannot be proved with certainity. See: Nemeti 2013a; Nemeti 2015.
[34] See also: Varga 2014.
[35] See also: Ando-Rüpke 2006.
[36] See: Szabó Á. 2017 and, especially, Noethlichs 2015.
[37] Rubel 2009; Versluys 2014; Woolf 2014. Although see Busch-Versluys 2015: 7.
[38] Busch-Versluys 2015: 9.
[39] Geertz 1973: 89.
[40] Rüpke 2012. See also: Rüpke 2018: 5-10.
[41] Woolf 2012: 289.
[42] See also: Scheuermann 2013.

show it as a success story, the conquest of Dacia for its mines, agricultural territories and human resources was celebrated for weeks in Rome, and monumentalised and eternalised in the Forum of Trajan and numerous other media. Dacia, after only one decade, was already another reality. It was represented on coins as a beautiful, conquered, woman holding grapes – a symbol of the rich viticulture, fertility and vineyards of the province.[43] For many it became a place of economic possibilities, a hope for a new life, a short, but important sequence in a *cursus honorum*. For others it became a nightmare of 25 years of service in the army, far from family and warm climates, or just another place where they needed to bear the weight of slavery. Nonetheless, all of them transformed and became other men and women, and other Romans, during their time in Dacia. The same happened with the Dacians too. Whenever they were living in rural or urban environments, integrated in the visible and consuming Roman society, or not, they were transformed in this short period. The level and intensity of cultural transformation was dependent on numerous factors, but language and religion reflects this variability in the most striking ways. The specificity of this province is that Empire-scale infrastructure and connectivity were already well established when it was conquered and led to a much more rapid transmission of religious traditions, which were appropriated in a much more diverse society than in other provinces – apparently, with the passive presence and cultural memory of the indigenous Dacians. It seems also that all the visible materiality of Roman religious communication was left by a few hundred people from three or four generations. The religious life of the other hundreds of thousands are gone without much in the way of material traces.

Dacia was the last province conquered by Rome, and the first to be fully abandoned.[44] This influenced the durability and maintenance of sacralised spaces radically. The province had also the largest and longest border with the *Barbaricum*, a real fortress surrounded by imagined cultures and enemies.[45] This aspect could also influence the local specificity of the religious communication, giving it a much more embodied aspect and a different 'sensescape' of religion than in other provinces. Being highly expensive to maintain in terms of the infrastructure of this area after AD 245-247, the maintenance of sacralised places, especially in shared/public spaces, was more and more directly influenced by the political and military history of this area. After a large part of the society simply left the province within a few years, the sacralised spaces lost their human agency. It was not transformation or a local history of religious changes but an institutionalised action, a brutal mechanism, that marked the end of these sacralised spaces and Roman religious communication in Dacia. In this sense, Woolf's claim is strongly represented by the example of Dacia: gods and religion were just passengers in the greater history of Dacia and the Empire.[46] I would add immediately that these were important and highly visible passengers, who created in a short period of around 150 years a huge amount of material evidence, which served also for later centuries as sources for cultural memory and reinvented traditions. This particularity still haunts the present history of this area, whereby the story of Dacia – which means its religion too – is remodelled, reinvented and constantly reconstructed, even in the reality of today.[47]

[43] Juhász 2015.

[44] See also the case of Mesopotamia, conquered and abandoned twice.

[45] See also: Opreanu 1998.

[46] Woolf 2012: 122.

[47] Assmann 1997: 9.

VI. Annexes: Sanctuaries of Roman Dacia

Cataloguing the complete materiality of Roman sanctuaries from Dacia is not possible for numerous reasons. First of all, there were no intact or, at least, well-preserved sanctuaries discovered, most of them being severely looted already by Late Antique and Early Medieval times. Secondly, even in the most well-preserved case studies from Pompeii or Herculaneum,[1] the materiality of a sanctuary shows only a short sequence and 'time capsule' from the long process between foundation and abandonment, named in this present work as maintenance in the process of space sacralisation. Detailed archaeological repertories on the materiality of Roman sanctuaries represent a collage of materials from various periods of its existence, which can give a glimpse on the chronology of this process of sacralisation and the dynamics that occurred within.[2] This catalogue is not intended to serve such aims, or to republish some of the material already known. Here a short list of sacralised spaces of Dacia is presented that are attested archaeologically, epigraphically or presumed from the known material evidence, completing and slightly modifying the seminal work of A. R. Pescaru and D. Alicu.[3] A detailed catalogue analysing the sacralised spaces of Dacia was published recently.[4] This list preserves the same numbers (I.1-III. 67) and in every case will cite the catalogue.

The work of A. R. Pescaru and D. Alicu listed 85 'temples'. Although, in their theoretical introduction they presented a very classical, Vitruvian concept of Roman temple architecture,[5] the examples from their catalogue includes also the assembly houses of small-group religions, such as the *mithraeum*, *dolichenum*, *serapeum*, *iseum*, etc.[6] The architectural heterogeneity and local variety of these examples show that such places cannot be classified strictly on the basis of some architectural features.[7] The following catalogue, adopting the methodology presented in the Introduction, will present not only the Roman temples but also a large variety of spaces where groups were participating in religious communication and experiences, named here as sacralised spaces. Due to the poor documentation of primary places identified in Dacia, this category has been omitted, listing here only the *secondary* and *shared (public) spaces* where religious communication occurred. The catalogue will present also the case studies from Pescaru-Alicu's work, with modifications and corrections, and will follow their three main categories, dividing the examples into *archaeologically attested (I.1-I.54)*, *epigraphically attested (II.1-II.19)*, and *presumed sanctuaries (III.1-III.67)*[8]. Instead of following the old and anachronistic categories associating spaces with 'Graeco-Roman' and 'Oriental' divinities, they are simply listed in alphabetical order of the settlements (Roman and contemporary names). Due to the incoherence between ancient and modern terminologies of sanctuaries and building types,[9] a minimalist terminology is adopted, keeping the ancient denomination (*templum*, *aedes*, *fanum*) in those cases where it was attested epigraphically, and referring to the other sites as 'sanctuary', following the definition presented in the Introduction. Also introduced in the catalogue are places of worship from the Roman forts of Dacia, although accepting that their identification as *aedes signorum*, in most cases, is based on the architectural canon and literary traditions and not always the materiality of religious experiences. In some cases the traditional approach is preserved, associating a place with the single divinity dominating the materiality of the sanctuary; although in a polytheistic society – and especially in terms of Dacia – sacralised spaces were usually dedicated to multiple divinities, 'hosted' by a tutelary one.

[1] Andringa 2015.
[2] For some recent and well-documented examples, see: Sostarits *et al.* 2013; Verlinde 2015.
[3] Pescaru-Alicu 2000; Alicu 2002. See also: Marcu 2004.
[4] Szabó forthcoming.
[5] Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 11-31. See also: Stamper 2005; Stamper 2014.
[6] Nielsen 2014.
[7] Andringa 2012; Raja-Rüpke 2015a. See also: Gasparini 2015.
[8] The number of presumed sanctuaries in secondary and shared (public) spaces were probably much higher. I have listed only the aedes signorum (principiorum) attested archaeologically, however the number of attested forts suggest a much bigger number. See: Gudea 1997; Marcu 2009.
[9] Scheid-Polignac 2010.

VI.1. Archaeologically attested sanctuaries of Roman Dacia

Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană, Verespatak)

Catalogue Number	Denomination	Bibliography	Further Notes
I.1	Sanctuary of the kastellum Ansium	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.1 See also: Wollmann 1985-6: 253-294; Damian *et al.* 2003: 147-190	Chapters I, IV
I.2 Sanctuary of the kastellum Baridustarum/ Galatians?	Sanctuary of the kastellum Baridustarum/Galatians?	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.2: Damian *et al.* 2003: 253-263; Ardevan 2004; Nemeti 2005: 249-252	Chapter IV
I.3	Sanctuary of the Genius of collegium sardeatum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.3; Damian *et al.* 2003: 285-333; Diaconescu 2011: 162-167	Chapter IV
I.4	Sanctuary of the Delmatae	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.4; Damian *et al.* 2003: 285-333; Diaconescu 2011: 162-167	Chapter IV

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg)

I.5	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.5	Chapter II.3
I.6	Liber Pater shrine	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.6	Chapters II.8, II.6:7:9
I.7	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.7	Chapter II.9
I.8	Praetorium Consularis	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.8; Bolindeț 2017; Schäfer 2014a, 265-287: 442-451; Bolindeț *et al.* 2011	Chapter II.6

Arcobadara (Arcobara?, Ilișua, Alsókosály)

I.9	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.9; Marcu 2009: 78-80	Chapter II.3

Buciumi (Vármező)

I.10	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.10; Marcu 2009: 38-40	Chapter II.3

Călugăreni (Mikháza)

I.11	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.11	Chapter II.3

Câmpulung-Jidova

I.12	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.12; Marcu 2009:197-198;	Chapter II.3

Cigmău (Csigmó)

I.13	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.13; Marcu 2009:122-126	Chapter II.3

Cumidava (Rășnov, Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau)

I.14	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.14; Marcu 2009: 218-220	Chapter II.3

***Decea Mureşului* (Marosdécse)**

I.15	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.15; Sicoe 2014: 168: cat. nrs 59-61	Chapters II.9 and IV.5

***Drobeta* (Drobeta Turnu-Severin, Szörénytornya, Szörényvár)**

I.16	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.16; Marcu 2009: 129-133	Chapter II.3

Germisara* (Geoagiu-Băi, Feredőgyógy, Algyógy, Gergesdorf)*10

I.17	Nymphaeum/Healing sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.17; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 65-74	Chapter II.7 and IV.3

***Gilău* (Gyalu, Julmarkt)**

I.18	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.18; Marcu 2009: 71-73	Chapter II.3

***Inlăceni* (Énlaka)**

I.19	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.19; Marcu 2009: 140-141	Chapter II.3

***Micia* (Veţel, Vecel)**

I.20	Sanctuary of the Commagenian group /Sanctuary of Jupiter Hierapolitanus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.20; Nemeti 2005: 242	Chapters II.8, IV.4
I.21	Templum Dii Patrii Maurorum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.21; Diaconescu 2011	Chapter II.8

Porolissum* (Moigrad, Mojgrád)*11

I.22	Aedes signorum /Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.22; Marcu 2009: 88-91	Chapters II.3, III.1
I.23	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.23; Gudea-Tamba 2001	Chapters III.2, II.6: 8, IV.4
I.24	Templum of Bel /Palmyrian assembly house	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.24; Diaconescu 2011	Chapters II.8, III.1
I.25	Nemeseion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.25; Bajusz 2011	Chapter II.5

***Potaissa* (Turda, Torda, Thorenburg)**

I.26	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.26; Bărbulescu 2012;	Chapter II.3
I.27	Sanctuary of Jupiter /Capitolium?	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.27; Bărbulescu-Cătinaș 1992	

[10] The attestation of a collegium Galatorum suggests (IDR III/3: 234), that, as in the case of Apulum and other settlements, some groups with a strong ethnic/cultural identity could have had their own assembly houses and dining halls in Germisara as well. See Chapter II.9 and II.10 also. A fragmentary inscription dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus could indicate also a Dolichenian group in the settlement: ILD 317.

[11] The existence of several other sacralised spaces in the civilian settlement and on the so-called terrace of the sanctuaries can be presumed based on the large extension of the Roman city. Based on the results of some recent excavations, archaeologists identified the possible Forum of the Municipium, which could indicate also the presence of further public, sacralised spaces. See also: Opreanu *et al.* 2013.

***Praetorium* (Mehadia, Mehádia, Miháld)**

I.28	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.28; Benea 2008	Chapters III.2, II.8

***Racoviţa* (Jud. Vâlcea, Copăceni, Praetorium?)**

I.29	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.29; Bărbulescu 2012	Chapter II.3

***Răcari* (Jud. Dolj, Răcari de Jos)**

I.30	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.30; Marcu 2009: 217-218	Chapter II.3

***Resculum* (Jud. Cluj, Bologa, Sebesvár)**

I.31	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.31; Marcu 2009: 28-29	Chapter II.3

***Samum* (Jud. Cluj, Ad Samum, Căşeiu, Alsókosály)**

I.32	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.32; Marcu 2009: 54-56	Chapter II.3

***Sarmizegetusa* (Jud. Hunedoara, Colonia Sarmizegetusa, Várhely)**

I.33	Sacralised spaces in the Forum Vetus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.33; Étienne/Diaconescu/Piso 2006: 143-152	Chapter II.6
I.34	Area sacra in Domus Procuratoris	Szabó 2018a: cat. nr I.34; Schäfer 2007: 245-272: 398-399: Kat. H XII	
I.35	Asklepieion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.35; Schäfer 2007: 64-69: 145-158: 374-376	Chapters II.2, II.7
I.36	Capitolium	Szabó forthcoming cat. nr I.36; Piso et al. 2012	
I.37	Sanctuary of Domnus et Domna	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.37; Szabó A. 2017; Fiedler/Höpken 2010	
I.38	Sanctuary EM 16	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.38; Schäfer 2007: 243-244	
I.39	Sanctuary EM 17	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.39; Schäfer 2007: 244	
I.40	Sanctuary EM 18 or the 'Great Temple'	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.40; Schäfer 2007: 156-159	
I.41	Sanctuary EM 24	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.41; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 104-109	
I.42	Liber Pater and Silvanus sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.42; Schäfer 2007: 175-190; Chapter II.8	
I.43	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.43; Szabó 2014c; Király 1886	Chapter II.9
I.44	Nemeseion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.44; Schäfer 2007: 163-173	Chapter II.5
I.45	Nymphaeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.45; Băeştean 2007; Diaconescu-Bota 2004	

I.46	Palmyrene sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.46; Piso-Țentea 2011	Chapter II.8
I.47	Templum of the Paternal Gods of the Palmyrian tribe of Bene Agrud	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.47; Diaconescu 2011; Schäfer 2007: 85-93;	Chapter II.8
I.48.	Sanctuary of Silvanus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.48; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 119-122	

***Slăveni* (Jud. Dolj)**

I.49	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.49; Marcu 2009: 229-230	
I.50	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.50; Petolescu 1976	Chapters II.9, IV.5

***Tibiscum* (Jud. Caraș-Severin, Jupa, Zsuppa/Iaz-Obreja, Obrézsa)**

I.51	Aedes signorum/Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.51; Marcu 2009: 162-165	
I.52	Schola or dining room /Palmyrene sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.52; Diaconescu 2011; Marcu 2009: 168-170	Chapter II.8
I.53	Fanum of Apollo	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.53; Boda-Timoc 2016	

***Vărădia* (Jud. Caraș Severin, Arcidava?)**

I.54	Aedes signorum /Principia	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr I.54; Marcu 2009: 172-173;	Chapter II.3

VI.2. Epigraphically attested sanctuaries of Roman Dacia

***Ampelum* (Jud. Alba, Zlatna, Zalatna)**

Catalogue Number	Denomination	Bibliography	Further Notes
II.1	Templum Aesculapi (Asklepieion)	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.1; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 123	Chapters II.7, IV.4

***Apulum* (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg)**

II.2	Asklepieion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.2; Crisan 1976: 35-46	Chapter II.7
II.3	Aedes of Fortuna	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.3; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 127	
II.4	Capitolium/Jupiter temple	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.4; Szabó 2015e	Chapters II.4, II.6
II.5	Capitolium/Jupiter temple	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.5	Chapter II.4
II.6	Nemeseion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.6; Szabó 2014c; Ciobanu et al. 2012: 41-50	Chapter II.5
II.7	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.7; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 135-136	Chapters II.6, II.8
II.8	Aedes of Sol Invictus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.8; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 139	Chapter II.6

II.9	Fanum Dominae	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.9; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 141	Chapter II.8
II.10	Exedra of IOM Bussumarius	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.10; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 142	Chapter II.8

***Drobeta* (Drobeta Turnu-Severin; Szörénytornya, Szörényvár)**

II.11	Magna Mater/Cybele sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.11; Ota-Szabó 2015	Chapter II.8

***Micia* (Vețel, Vecel)**

II.12	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.12; Sicoe 2014: 230-234: cat. nr 195-202	Chapter II.9
II.13	Iseum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.13; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 140	Chapter II.8

***Potaissa* (Turda, Torda, Thorenburg)**

II.14	Templum of Bonus Puer (Azisos)	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.14; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 134-135; ILD 482	

***Samum* (Jud. Cluj, Ad Samum, Căşeiu, Alsókosály)**

II.15	Nemeseion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.15; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 130-131	Chapter II.5

***Sarmizegetusa* (Jud. Hunedoara, Colonia Sarmizegetusa, Várhely)**

II.16	Iseum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.16; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 140	Chapter II.8
II.17	Templum of Caelestis	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.17; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 141	

***Sucidava* (Celei)**

II.18	Nemeseion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.18; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 131	Chapter II.5

***Tibiscum* (Jud. Caraș-Severin, Jupa, Zsuppa/Iaz-Obreja, Obrézsa)**

II.19	Templum of Liber Pater	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr II.19; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 220	Chapter II.8

VI.3. Presumed sanctuaries of Roman Dacia

***Ad Mediam* (Jud. Hunedoara, Herculane, Herkulesfürdő)**

III.1	Sanctuary of Hercules	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.1; Alicu 2002: 223-229	Chapter IV.5

***Almașu Mare* (Jud. Hunedoara, Nagyalmás)**

III.2	Sanctuary of Hercules	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.2; Téglás 1890	Chapter IV.5

Ampelum (Jud. Alba, Zlatna, Zalatna)

III.3	Sanctuary of Fortuna	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.3; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 146	Chapter IV.4
III.4	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.4; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 154	Chapters IV.4, II.8
III.5	Jupiter temple/Capitolium	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.5; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 149-150	Chapter IV.4

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg)

III.6	Deus Aeternus sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.6; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 132-134	Chapter II.8
III.7	Sabasius sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.7; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 138; Macrea 1961: 64-67	Chapter II.8
III.8	Sanctuary of IOM Cimistenus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.8; Berciu-Popa 1963	Chapter II.8
III.9	Sanctuary of Yarhibol	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.9; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 153	
III.10	Iseum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.10; Popa 1962: 147-150	Chapter II.8
III.11	Sanctuary of Magna Mater	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.11; Carbó-Garcia 2010: 301-303	Chapter II.8
III.12	Sanctuary of the Quadriviae	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.12	Chapters II.8, II.2
III.13	Mithraeum of Oancea	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.13; Christescu 1933: 620-625	Chapter II.9
III.14	Mithraeum of Károly Pap	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.14; Torma 1861-63: 134	Chapter II.9
III.15	Mithraeum of Franciscus Kaftal	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.15; Szabó 2015b	Chapter II.9
III.16	Sanctuary of Silvanus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.16; Bărbulescu 1993: 182	
III.17	Sanctuary of Bonus Puer (Azisos)	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.17; Carbó-Garcia 2010: 192: 806-812	

Cioroiu Nou (Malva?; Aquae? Cioroiași)

III.18	Sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.18; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 100-101	
III.19	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.19.	

Arcobadara (Arcobara?; Ilișua, Alsókosály)

III.20	Sanctuary?	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.20; Pescaru-Alicu 2000: 147-148	

Caransebeș (Karánsebes, Karansebesch)

III.21	Sanctuary/Capitolium?	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.21; Piso 1995	

Cincșor (Jud. Brașov, Kissink, Kleinschink)

III.22	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.22; Sicoe 2014: 172-174	Chapters II.9, IV.5

Dierna (Jud. Mehedinți, Orsova, Orșova)

III.23	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.23; Sicoe 2014: 240-241	Chapters II.9, IV.5

Drobeta (Drobeta Turnu-Severin; Szörénytornya, Szörényvár)

III.24	Sanctuary of Jupiter Zbelsurdos-Sabasios	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.24; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 156	Chapter II.8
III.25	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.25; Carbó-Garcia 2010: 872	

Gherla (Jud. Cluj, Szamosújvár, Neuschloss)

III.26	Sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.26; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 102	
III.27	Sanctuary of Magna Mater/Ceres	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.27; Ota/Szabó 2015	

Grădiștea Muncelui (Jud. Hunedoara, Gredistye)

III.28	Sanctuary of Victoria/Apollo or Imperial Tropaeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.28; Ota/ Szabó 2015; Oltean-Hanson 2017	

Micia (Vețel, Vecel)

III.29	Sanctuary of Hercules	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.29; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 148-149	
III.30	Sanctuary of Silvanus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.30; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 148-149	
III.31	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.31; Alicu 2004: 89	Perhaps identical to I.20
III.32	Ara Miciae	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.32; Alicu 2004: 89-94	
III.33	Nemeseion	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.33; Alicu 2004: 107-111	Chapter II.5

Napoca (Jud. Cluj, Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvár, Klausenburg)

III.34	Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.34; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 161	Chapter II.5
III.35	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.34; Opreanu 2009	
III.36	Sanctuary of Dea Syria Caelestis	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.36; Alicu 2002: 233-234	
III.37	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.37; Nemeti 2005: 355	
III.38	Sanctuary of Jupiter or Silvanus?	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.38; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 150-151	
III.39	Collegium of a group from Asia Minor/Priapus Pantheus sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.39; Diaconescu 2014: 66-67	
III.40 Sanctuary of Fortuna Augusta	Sanctuary of Fortuna Augusta	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.40; Benkő 1778: 228	

***Peștera Veterani* (Jud. Mehedinți, Peth, Peștera lui Maovaț)**

III.41	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.41; Pintilie 2000: 235-236	Chapter IV.5

***Peștera lui Traian* (Jud. Mehedinți, Valea Cernei)**

III.42	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.42; Pintilie 2000: 236	Chapter IV.5

***Pojejena* (Jud. Caraș-Severin, Alsópozsgás)**

III.43	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.43; Gudea/Bozu 1978	Chapter IV.5

***Porolissum* (Moigrad, Mojgrád)**

III.43a	Mithraeum	Gudea 1989: 220	Chapter III.1
III.43b	Sanctuary in the customs-centre	Piso-Opreanu-Deac 2016	

***Potaissa* (Turda, Torda, Thorenburg)**

III.44	Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.44; Bărbulescu 1994: 161	
III.45	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.45; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 156	
III.46	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.46; Bărbulescu 1994: 162-163	
III.47	Iseum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.47; Deac 2014	
III.48	Sanctuary of Saturnus	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.48; Nemeti 2005: 108-110: 337: cat. nr 81	

***Războieni-Cetate* (Jud. Alba, Székelyföldvár, Ocna Mureș)**

III.49	Sanctuary of Apollo?	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.49; Pescaru/Alicu 2000: 126	

***Romula* (Reșca, Dobrosloveni)**

III.50	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.50; Sicoe 2014: 246-250	Chapter IV.5
III.51	Sanctuary of Magna Mater	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.51; Szabó/Ota 2015: 236	

***Samum* (Ad Samum, Cășeiu, Alsókosály)**

III.52	Sanctuary of Ceres	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.52; Isac 2003: 176; Popescu 2004: 77	
III.53	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.53; Carbó-Garcia 2010: 185-188	

***Sarmizegetusa* (Jud. Hunedoara, Colonia Sarmizegetusa, Várhely)**

III.54	Ara Augusti	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.54; Fiedler/Höpken 2010	
III.55	Sanctuaries in the north-eastern area sacra	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.55; Fiedler/Höpken 2010: 334	
III.56	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.56; Alicu 2002: 221-222	
III.57	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.57	
III.58	Sanctuary of Hekate	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.58; Piso-Szabó 2018	
III.59	Sanctuary of Theos Hypsistos	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.59; Carbó-Garcia 2010: 905-908	

***Săcelu* (Jud. Gorj)**

III.60	Healing sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.60; IDR II, 182	Chapter IV.4

Slăveni

III.61	Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.61; Bondoc 2004: 68-72	

***Sucidava* (Jud. Olt, Celei)**

III.62	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.62; Sicoe 2014: 255-257	
III.63a	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.63; Carbó-Garcia 2010: 202	
III.63b	Sanctuary of Domnus et Domna	Szabó Á. 2017b: 102-103	

***Teliucu Inferior* (Jud. Hunedoara, Alsótelek)**

III.64	Sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.64	Chapter IV.4-5

***Tibiscum* (Jupa, Zsuppa/Iaz-Obreja, Obrézsa)**

III.65	Dolichenum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.65; Ardeț/Ardeț 2004: 86-90	
III.66	Mithraeum	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.66; Sicoe 2014: 243: cat. nr 203-204	

***Valea Sângeorgiului* (Szentgyörgyválya)**

III.67	Sanctuary	Szabó forthcoming: cat. nr III.67	Chapter IV.4-5

VII. Összefoglaló

A kötet az első szisztematikus összefoglalója a római Dacia (Kr.u. 106-271) szakralizált tereinek – közismertebb nevén, szentélyeinek – vallásgyakorlatáról. A szerző célja az volt, hogy a klasszika- és római provinciális régészet vallásgyakorlathoz köthető tárgyakra alkalmazott leíró és művészettörténeti hagyományokra alapuló módszerén túllépjen és új, innovatív megközelítésben elemezzen egy döntően régészeti forrásokkal rendelkező régiót a Római Birodalmon belül. A módszertani innovativitáson túl, ez a munka részletes betekintést nyújt Dacia szakralizált tereinek vallásrégészeti forrásaiba és elsőként közöl egy új, a legújabb szakirodalomra építő szentély-katalógust is. Az alábbi rövid összefoglalóban a kötet főbb fejezeteinek eredményeit és következtetéseit kívánom bemutatni.

Bevezető

A kötet bevezető részében egy verespataki kisvallási csoport esettanulmányán keresztül bemutatom a dolgozat elméleti téziseit és főbb hipotéziseit, valamint a módszertani alapjait a munkának. A kötet kiinduló célja és hipotézise egy kérdés volt: megismerhető-e és ha igen, milyen mértékig a Római Birodalom egy perifériku régiójának vallásgyakorlati sajátosságai döntően régészeti (szobrászati, epigráfiai) források alapján? A klasszika-régészeti és római provinciális régészeti hagyományok – különösen a kelet-közép európai régióban – a vallásgyakorlathoz köthető régészeti forrásanyagot elsősorban leíró, művészettörténeti vagy epigráfiai szempontok és módszerek alapján elemezték. A hagyományos szentélymonográfiák sajátossága, hogy a részletesen leirt stratigráfia (valójában: az épület történetének felvázolása) után a tárgyak katalógusában egyenként tárgyalják a szentélyből előkerült régészeti emlékeket, kanonikus és standardizált tárgyleírás és módszer alapján. Ezen hagyományos leletközlés fontosságát nem alábecsülve ugyan, de módszertanilag és kutatási hipotézisem továbbgondolva szerettem volna megvizsgálni: megismerhető-e egy többségében régészeti anyaggal (tehát irodalmi, papirológiai forrásokban hiányt szenvedő) rendelkező provincia vallásgyakorlata. A kérdés megválaszolására a rendelkezésemre álló kortárs megközelítések közül kellett választanom. Az emberi tevékenységeket és a vallásos élményt túlságosan általánosító, biológiai faktorokkal értelmezendő kognitívizmust elvetve, sokkal hasznosabbnak tűnt egy ókori társadalom vallásgyakorlatának értelmezésére a történelmi-kulturális módszer, amely a vallást egy olyan állandó változásban, formálódásban lévő dinamikus jelenségként, kommunikációként értelmezi, ahol az emberi és isteni (nem-emberi) világ közötti párbeszédet úgy a természeti (biológiai, pszichológiai, földrajzi – ha úgy tetszik, kognitív), mint kulturális és történelmi faktorok meghatározzák és állandóan alakítják.

A vallásnak ezen meghatározása(i) közül a legalkalmazhatóbb módszernek a Jörg Rüpke és csapata által kidolgozott Lived Ancient Religion (Élő Ókori Vallás) megközelítését találtam. Jörg Rüpke meghatározásában a római vallás egy élő kommunikáció, amelynek számos aspektusa, stratégiája és ágense van. Az emberi és nem-emberi (túlvilági, ‚isteni') világ ágensei közötti párbeszéd egyik sajátos eleme a tárgyak (vallásrégészeti források) használata. Különösen nagy szerep jut ezen tárgyaknak akkor, amikor egy helyet– legyen szó privát (domesztikus), másodlagos vagy köztéri térről – szakralizál, vagyis valláskommunikációja révén átminősít, különössé tesz. A Rüpke és csapata által meghatározott Élő Vallás tehát a valláskommunikáció sajátos helyzeteire – megtestesült vallásos élményekre, test és vallás kapcsolatára, hétköznapi vallásosságra, narráció és vallás kapcsolatára, textus, vizuális nyelv és materializmus kommunikációs stratégiatöltetére – fekteti a hangsúlyt. Módszertanukat továbbgondolva és annak hiányosságait kiküszöbölve, kötetemben a fő hangsúly a térszakralizációra esik. Térszakralizáció alatt azt a folyamatot értem, amely a valláskommunikáció egyik sajátos stratégiájaként, az ember azon igyekezetét jelenti, amely során a nem-emberi (túlvilági, ‚isteni') világgal történő sikeres és hosszú távú kommunikáció érdekében egy teret – domeszikus, másodlagos (átmeneti) vagy publikus szférát – tárgyi eszközök és sajátos vallásos aktusok (repetitív és non-repetitív rituálék) révén *szakralizál*, vagyis vallásossá tesz, az emberi-isteni kommunikáció terévé alakit. A térszakralizáció hosszú távú sikerességének titka, hogy hatásos narratívát, vizuális nyelvet, karizmatikus vallásos elitet (papság, vallásos szakértők) és gazdag tárgyi eszköztárat (vallásrégészeti források, vallásmaterializmus) igényel. A térszakralizáció tehát nemcsak az isteni és emberi világ közötti párbeszéd sajátságos része, de a tér kisajátítása, fel és újrahasználása és értelmezése révén már társadalmi csoportok közötti párbeszédet, nemegyszer versengést és jogi kérdéseket is feltételez. Rüpke Élő Vallás elméletét továbbgondolva, a térszakralizációt és a valláskommunikációt nem vallástörténeti absztrakcióként, hanem a Római Birodalom történetének és földrajzi egységének szerves részeként értelmezem munkámban. Ezt hangsúlyozva, a kötet a Rüpke féle térmátrixot (domesztikus-másodlagos-közterek) továbbgondolva, összevetette David Clarke térelméletét és John Bintliff vallásrégészeti koncepcióját, amely a valláskommunikációban nagy szerepet tulajdonit a mezo-terek (városnegyedek, szomszédságok, falvak,

városok) és makro-terek (provinciák, birodalmi régiók, vámnegyedek, birodalmak) hálózatának is.

A bevezető részletesen bemutatja a daciai szentélyek és vallásgyakorlat kutatástörténetét is. A mintegy 1000 szakirodalmi címet produkáló két évszázados kutatás mindeddig három szentélymonográfiát közölt és egy Adriana Pescaru és Dorin Alicu által 2000-ben publikált szentélykatalógust, amely elsősorban a köztéri szentélyeket elemzi főleg építészeti, klasszika-régészeti szempontok alapján. Az azóta eltelt közel két évtizedben számos jelentős régészeti felfedezésre került sor, amelyeket kötetem első ízben értelmez a fent bemutatott módszertan szerint, ugyanakkor elsőként közöl egy új, a Pescaru-Alicu munkájára alapuló, de azon jóval túlmutató szentélylistát is.

A kötet három fő mezo-térből meríti forrásait: a városi közeg vallásgyakorlatát elsősorban Apulum példáján mutatja be, a katonai települések világát Porolissum és Mehadia példáján keresztül, míg non-urbánus (vidéki) világot elsősorban Ampelum, Germisara, Ad Mediam és néhány kevésbé ismert példán keresztül illusztrálom.

Térszakralizáció városi közegben

A kötet legnagyobb fejezete (a teljes szöveg mintegy fele) a vallásgyakorlat városi megnyilvánulásaival foglalkozik nagyrészt Apulum, kisebb részt a többi városi példán keresztül. Az aránytalanul nagy fejezet és a városi térszakralizáció és vallásgyakorlat hangsúlyozása azért fontos, mert Dacia vallásrégészeti anyagának döntő többsége városi környezetből származik, elsősorban a két nagy urbánus agglomeráció, Apulum és Sarmizegetusa területéről. Apulum kettős városa a provincia legnagyobb urbánus települése, amely a XIII Gemina legio és később a szenátori rangú kormányzó székhelyének köszönhetően a provincia és egyben a dunai régió egyik fő katonai és gazdasági központja lett. Jelentőségét az adta, hogy stratégiailag fontos helyen volt: közel az aranybányákhoz, a délről északra tartó császári út közepén és a keletről nyugatra haladó só-kereskedelem egyik gócpontjában, a Maros partján. Ez a hármas stratégiai faktor rendkívül jelentős szerepet adott a városnak, amely bár kezdetben csak a legio körül kialakult canabae és az attól egy leugányi távolságra délre kialakult *pagus* volt Sarmizegetusa territoriumán, Marcus Aurelius idején már elnyerte a municipiumi rangot, majd Commodus idején a colonia státuszt is. A canabae területe Septimius Severus korában kapta meg a municipiumi rangot, így ekkor már kettős város terült el a Maros partján.

Apulum vallásgyakorlatának elemzését az urbánus faktor valláskommunikációban betöltött szerepével kezdtem. A II.1-es alfejezetben azt vizsgálom, milyen szerepet játszik egy városi környezet, a városok magisztrátusai, a városi kollektív memória és az építészeti sajátosságok, a monumentalitás és az urbánus hálózatok a valláskommunikáció intenzívebbé tételében és a térszakralizáció alakításában. Mennyivel és miért másabb egy római város és egy vidéki település vallásgyakorlata? A fejezet a ‚citification', azaz ‚városias vallás' fogalmával foglalkozik, amely tézis szerint a római vallásgyakorlat is hatott a város tereinek alakulására és a város általános sajátosságaira, de fordítva is, a város, mint társadalmi, gazdasági, mentális tér is nagyban alakította a vallásgyakorlat sajátosságait. Ez a kölcsönös ágens szerepe a városnak adja Apulum kettős városának a jelentőségét Dacia vallástörténetében.

A II.2-es alfejezet a városfalak és határok valláskommunikációs szerepéről értekezik. George Simmel ‚tértelen tér' elméletéből kiindulva, a városfalakat olyan sajátos, téren túli helyeknek értelmezem, amelyek összekötnek és elválasztanak, védnek és támadnak, szakralizáltak de ugyanakkor profán terek is. A városfalak vallásos szerepének leginkább azok sajátos jogi státusza ad legitimitást, de számos rituálé, így a sulcus primigenus, a városok etruszk rítusú alapítása és a pomerium vallásos fogalma is alátámasztja ezt. Túl a városfalak jogi helyzetén azonban, nagy szerep jut ezeknek az építészeti tereknek a nagy, köztéri vallásos rituálékban, processziókban. Erre úgy Apulum északi, mint Sarmizegetusa városfala is jó példa. Mindkét esetben az Asklepieion, a két regionális szerepre tört gyógyító központ kommunikált a városfallal, de Sarmizegetusa esetén jelentős szerepet töltött be a városfal a Nemeseion és az amfiteátrum és a város közötti kommunikációban is.

A II.3-as fejezet a városi terek katonai építészetével, a nagy táborok térszakralizációjával foglalkozik. Bár a fejezet nagyban illik a III. fejezet témájához is, azért itt került elemzésre, mert Apulum példája esetén a XIII Gemina legio tábora egy urbánus környezetbe épült be Septimius Severus kora után, amely a tábor monumentalitásában, építészeti sajátosságaiban is meglátszott. A fejezet azt a fő kérdést elemzi: van-e valóban különbség a latin irodalmi toposzokból átvett, szakirodalmi kánonba bekerült religio castrensis és religio militum, vagyis a katonai erődökön belül és a katonák által általában gyakorolt vallásgyakorlat között? Apulum legiotáborának nemrég felfedezett parancsnoki épületét és annak epigráfiai anyagát elemezve a fejezet azt a következtetést vonja le, hogy bár az oltárállításnak, az aedes principiorumban őrzött insigniáknak és császári portréknak és a nagy köztéri térszakralizációs folyamatoknak valóban lehetett egy erősebb, katonákra intenzívebben ható ereje a táboron belül, a castrumban tapasztalt vallásgyakorlati példák nem térnek el olyan mértékben a városi környezet más tereitől, hogy azt külön fogalommal illessük.

A II.4-es fejezet a Jupiter kultusz sokféleségével, flexibilis jellegével foglalkozik. Rámutat arra, hogy ellentétben a szakirodalmi hagyományokkal, Jupiter kultusza messze nem csak a capitoliumi triász köztéri kultuszaként jelenik meg egy római város valláskommunikációjában, hanem sokkal változatosabb, nemegyszer non-repetitív esetekben, így villámcsapások példájában is. A fejezet az Élő Vallás módszertan egyik sajátosságát, a helyi hasonulást (local appropriation) hangsúlyozza, amely egy-egy isteni ágenst sajátságos módon, az adott környezet adottságaihoz, egy-egy szituációhoz mérten alakit és szólít meg. Jupiter kultuszának színes megnyilvánulásai kiváló példái ennek a vallástudományi jelenségnek.

A következő fejezet (II.5.) a városi környezet egyik sajátos építészeti formájának, az amfiteátrumoknak és a Nemesis kultusz elemeinek (Nemeseion, gladiátor-játékok) vallásos jellegét elemzi. A források szűkössége miatt sajnos Dacia kevés új adattal szolgál. Érdekes példaként szolgál a jól ismert sarmizegetusai és porolissumi Nemeseion és a 2011-ben felfedezett apulumi anyag, amely valószínűleg egy Nemeseion része lehetett és spoliaként került később a római castrum területére. Az anyag jól példázza a Nemeseionhoz köthető személyek szociális hálóját, szoros kapcsolatát a katonasággal és ugyanakkor a gladiátorjátékok szervezésével is, amelyről Apulumban több forrás is tanúskodik.

A városias valláskommunikáció egyik sajátossága, hogy az emberi és nem-emberi világ közötti párbeszéd stratégiáit – így a térszakralizációt és annak anyagi kultúráját is – kisajátítja, monopolizálja egy helyi elit. A II.6-os fejezet az elit fogalmának változatos megnyilvánulásait járja körül. Részletesen taglalja a társadalmi-politikai és gazdasági elit (városi magisztratúra, városvezetők, lovagok és szenátorok) valláskommunikációs stratégiáit és azok szerepét a konkurencia és versengés kiépítésében és fenntartásában. A szenátori elit vallásgyakorlatának vizibilitása és invizibilitása egy eddig nem taglalt, új témaként jelenik meg. Az elit fogalma nem csak a gazdasági és politikai tőke valláskommunikációs formában történő átalakításában merül ki városi környezetben: a városi infrastruktúra sajátossága, hogy a valláskommunikáció és a szakralizált terek fenntartásában vallási specialisták, szakértők (papok, mágusok, vallásalapítók, próféták) csoportja alakul ki. Az apulumi papság különböző csoportjainak elemzésével a fejezet rámutat azokra a helyi stratégiákra, amellyel egy-egy kisvallási csoport papsága a szakralizált tereit létrehozta és sikeresen fenntartotta, nemegyszer monopolizálva a valláskommunikáció egy-egy aspektusát, így a gyógyítást vagy jóslást. Ehhez az alfejezethez szorosan kötődik a II.7-es alfejezet, amely az apulumi Asklepieion (locus Apulensis) esetét tárgyalja. A gyógyító regionális központtá lett szakralizált teret nemcsak a helyi elit és a vallásos szakértők (papság) dinamikájának tükrében elemzem, hanem nagy hangsúlyt teszek természet és szentély kapcsolatára is. A fejezet első ízben tárgyalja a daciai gyógyító szentélyek kontextusában az emberi testet, mint valláskommunikációs ágenst.

A II.8 és II.9-es alfejezetek az ún. kisvallási csoportok fogalmát járja körül. A két fejezet számos olyan, 20-50 fős vallási csoport térzakralizációs folyamatát és valláskommunikációs tevékenységét elemzi, amelyek Apulumban és Dacia főbb városaiban alakultak és egymással szoros kapcsolatot mutattak. Elsősorban bacchikus (Liber Pater) és mithraikus (Mithras) csoportok elemzésére fókuszál a fejezet. Nagy hangsúlyt fektettem a karizmatikus vallási vezetők térszakralizációban játszott szerepére, a repetitív és non-repetitív vallási aktusok kognitív hatására (vallásos bankettek, destruktív tevékenységek), az ún. másodlagos terek (secondary spaces) – vagyis a kisvallási csoportok szentélyeinek – jogi és társadalmi atmoszférájára és városon belüli topográfiájára is. A kisvallási csoportok narratíváinak és vizuális nyelvének elemzése elsősorban a Mithras kultusz daciai példáival mutatható ki, amelynek számos helyi sajátosságát és megnyilvánulását sikerült kimutatnom. A két fejezetben csak érintőlegesen, de tárgyalom a különböző vallási csoportok közötti kapcsolatot, személyi hálózatot és a Publicum Portorium Illyrici szerepét ezeknek a csoportoknak az elterjedésében és egymás közötti kapcsolatában.

A II.10-es alfejezet – egyrészt csatlakozva a két előzőhöz – egy másik, különleges kisvallási csoportot – vagy helyesebben, annak hiányát – elemzi. A vélt vagy valós keresztény elemek apulumi elemzésével ez az alfejezet elsősorban a romániai historiográfia terminológiai hibáit, a ‚keresztény tárgy' és ‚ókori egyház' fogalmát, a vallási kontinuitás jelenségét elemzi, kimutatva a daciai ókereszténység szinte teljes hiányát és a terminológiai anakronizmusokat, amelyek a romániai szakirodalomban meghonosodtak.

Térszakralizáció katonai településeken

A harmadik nagy fejezet két esettanulmányon – Porolissum és Mehadia példáján keresztül – egyrészt körüljárja a ‚katonai település' tág és problematikus fogalmát, másrészt a romániai kutatásban sokat hangoztatott ‚katonai vallások' és ‚katonai provincia' fogalmát próbálja árnyalni elsősorban a Dolichenus kultusz helyi példáin keresztül. A két szentély – amelynek azon kevés példákhoz tartozik, amelyeket monografikusan feldolgoztak – elsősorban ikonográfiai sajátosságaiban és a daciai Dolichenus papság hálózatának megértéséhez ad kiváló forrást. A fejezet igyekszik a Boda Imolával kidolgozott és nemzetközi visszhangot kapott elméletünket bizonyítani, miszerint

a mehadiai szentély Apollo-Dolichenus kapcsolata nem a szentély két különböző fázisáról és funkcionalitásáról, hanem a Dolichenus-kultusz univerzális jellegéről és gazdag személyes hálózatáról tanúskodik. A fejezet nagy hangsúlyt fektet a katonaság mobilitásának szerepére és a Dolichenus-csoportok extra-provinciális kapcsolatrendszerére is.

Vallás vidéken

A negyedik nagy fejezet a városi településeken kívüli (konvencionálisan vidékinek nevezett) szakralizált terek esettanulmányaival foglalkozik. A fejezet egyik alfejezete a bányásztelepülések sajátos valláskommunikációs stratégiáit és tereit elemzi, elsősorban Ampelum esettanulmányán keresztül, elsőként elemezve részletesen ennek a településnek a vallásrégészeti forrásait. Ampelum példája jól mutatja centrum és periféria, valamint a mezo-terek és a makro-terek (kistelepülések – provinciák, vámrégiók) közötti szoros kapcsolatot. A fejezet kitér a bányászközösségek vallásos életére, a természeti elemek (hegyek, sóbányák, folyók, tavak, barlangok) ágens szerepére a daciai térszakralizációs folyamatokban. Külön alfejezet elemzi Dacia etnográfiai sajátosságait, a provinciáról kialakult birodalmi képet és annak valláskommunikációra gyakorolt hatását is. Elsőként kerül ilyen kontextusban értelmezésre az őshonos lakosság vallásosságának problematikája is, valamint a vallásos kontinuitás kérdése. Részletesen elemzem Germisara és Ad Mediam esettanulmányát. Előbbi példája azért egyedülálló, mert feltételezhetően az egyetlen, már a dák királyág idején használt szakralizált tér volt, amelyet a római korban is használtak. A fejezet részletesen elemzi az ún. vidéki Mithras kultusz nyomait is.

Következtetések

A kötet három nagy fejezetben járja körül Dacia városi, katonai és vidéki régióinak (mezo-tereinek) térszakralizációs sajátosságait, először elemezve részletesen az elsősorban tárgyi anyagában fennmaradt valláskommunikációs stratégiák helyi nyomait. A kötet alaphipotézise és fő kérdése az volt, mennyire és milyen mértékben ismerhető meg egy döntően régészeti anyagában (tárgyi világában, materializmusában) fennmaradt ókori társadalom vallásgyakorlata és valláskommunikációs stratégiái. A kérdés megválaszolására a kötet az Élő Vallás (Lived Ancient Religion) módszertanát alkalmazta és annak térelméletét nagyban továbbgondolva, az első olyan munka lett, amely a dunai provinciák egyikét vette kísérleti analógiaként. A kötetben hozott példák megmutatták, hogy a hagyományos provinciális régészeti módszer leíró jellege nem tudja megválaszolni az emberi és nem-emberi (túlvilági, ‚isteni') ágensek közötti kommunikáció sajátosságait, nem elemzi részletesen ember és tárgy viszonyát, nem tesz kellő hangsúlyt tárgy és környezete, valamint a tér kognitív (sensescape – érzéktér) aspektusaira. A kötet elsőként alkalmazta ezeket a megközelítéseket olyan rendkívül elterjedt és önmagukban nem egyedülálló vagy rendkívüli tárgycsoportokra mint oltárok, kőszobrok, reliefek, bronzszobrok vagy provinciális építészeti terek. A kötet innovatív jellegét elsősorban az Élő Vallás módszer térelméletének továbbgondolása jelentette, amely a térszakralizáció fogalmát dolgozta ki. Kiinduló hipotézise a kötetnek az volt, hogy nincs olyan tér, amely önmagában vallásos, ‚szent' lenne. Szakrális térré, vallásos töltetűvé elsősorban az emberi és isteni világ közötti kommunikáció és az ez alatt használt stratégiák (tárgyak – materializmus, narratívák – szövegek, vizuális nyelvek – reliefek, imák, rituálék és más, az emberi érzékekre ható kognitív jelenségek) teszik. A kötet ugyanakkor számos fogalmi, terminológiai változást is eszközölt, amely elsősorban a romániai vagy általánosságban, közép-kelet európai provinciális római régészeti kutatásokban megrökönyödtek. Ide tartozik például Mithras kultuszának római jellegének hangsúlyozása, a ‚keresztény' vagy ‚vallásos' tárgy fogalmának újraértelmezése. A munka igyekszik hangsúlyozni, hogy ahogy egy tér, épülettípus-forma vagy természeti elem nem volt önmagánál fogva szakrális, úgy egy tárgyra sem aggaszthatjuk kontextusuk ismerete nélkül a ‚vallásos', ‚keresztény' vagy ‚mágikus' jelzőket. A kiinduló cél tehát az volt, hogy a vallásgyakorlat és valláskommunikáció mélyebb, élőbb, hétköznapibb és lokális jellegét elemezze az Élő Vallás módszertanán keresztül. A kötet példái jól mutatják, hogy ez egy periférikus provincia esetén majdnem lehetetlen olyan mélységekben és részletekben megismerni, mint azokban az esetekben, ahol irodalmi, papirológiai és ezernyi más forrástipus áll rendelkezésünkre. A valláskommunikáció tárgyi forrásai erősen limitálják lehetőségeinket és ez a kötet eredményein is meglátszik. A romániai régészet sajátos helyzete miatt sem lehetett részletesen elemezni a domesztikus (házi) vallás sajátosságait, mivel nagyon kevés jól dokumentált esettanulmány áll jelenleg rendelkezésünkre. De nem tértem ki a mágia helyi sajátosságaira sem, hisz azt nagyrészt kimerítette Németh György néhány ebben a témában irt tanulmánya már. Hasonlóan rosszul állunk a funerális vallás és a temetők valláskommunikációban betöltött szerepével is, igaz ez utóbbival a jövőben még érdemes lesz foglalkozni. A kötet elsőként közli Pescaru-Alicu közel két évtizede megjelent kötetének frissített, módosított szentélylistáját.

A kötet egy kis lépésként, elsődleges kísérleti terepként szolgált egy nagyobb projekthez, amelynek célja, hogy a dunai provinciák valláskommunikációját részletesen elemezze és elhelyezze ezt a makro-teret a római valláskutatás nemzetközi porondján, megtalálva a járható módszertani utat a hagyományos, közép-kelet európai provinciális régészet és a nyugati analitikus, elméleti iskola kettőssége között.

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