

ULPIA TRAIANA SARMIZEGETUSA AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
RESEARCH CARRIED OUT BETWEEN
1881 AND 1893*

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Abstract. *The aim of this article is to promote and capitalize on the contribution of the 19th century Transylvanian cultural elite, to the field of Roman archaeological heritage, namely: colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa Metropolis. The archaeological researches carried out between 1881 and 1893 were led by Gábor Téglás and Pál Király. Their work, which will be translated and reinterpreted in the present study, focused on five great Roman structures: the temple of the Palmyrene Gods, Mithras' sanctuary, the Roman bath, the Roman houses and the amphitheatre.*

Rezumat. *Scopul acestui articol este acela de a promova contribuția elitei culturale din Transilvania secolului al XIX-lea în domeniul arheologiei romane, mai precis săpăturile din colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa Metropolis. Cercetările arheologice desfășurate între 1881 și 1893 au fost conduse de Gábor Téglás și Pál Király. Lucrările lor, care vor fi traduse și reinterpretate în acest studiu, se concentrează asupra a cinci mari structuri de epocă romană: templul zeilor palmyrieni, sanctuarul lui Mithras, termele romane, casele romane și amfiteatrul.*

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The present study wishes to bring under the spotlight the archaeological research conducted in between 1881–1893 at Ulpia Traiana. This study, that had remarkable results thanks to a research grant in Budapest, is aimed at offering to those interested a large quantity of information (bibliographical and analytical), often not taken into consideration because of linguistic reasons.

The paper will present first of all the Historical and Archaeological Association of Hunedoara County (HTRT) and its most important members, such as Géza Kuun, president of the Association and Gábor Téglás and Pál Király, who were the first ones to officially conduct excavations at *Ulpia Traiana*. The study will further include information about the archaeological excavations they conducted for twelve years, the manner in which scientific activity was conducted in a new domain in Central and Eastern Europe, and will highlight the conceptions of intellectuals from Hunedoara County with regards to the protection and valorification of archaeological monuments. Also we analyse how they handled financial problems, and finally we will present the final period of the Association. We are dealing with men who spent their whole lives in the service of science, wise and passionate about their work, gathering daily—by means of donations, exchanges, archaeological excavations—artefacts that present the history of the county. These artefacts needed first of all a place where they could be deposited, where they could be studied and protected. But they were also to be presented to the public. In this context a separate chapter will present the “life” of the first museum from Deva, whose acting director appointed by the HTRT was Gábor Téglás.

At the end of this article we wish to present the reader a picture of the archaeological research at Ulpia Traiana, on how the monuments were capitalized upon. Those who are interested will also find information needed to salvage and protect those monuments that may yet be “rediscovered” by the present study and thus may be saved from destruction.

Regarding the excavation reports, they will not be translated mot-a-mot, but the reader will be offered all the needed information concerning the structure of the buildings that were excavated. Also we

have noticed that it is easier to follow the reports from the 19th century, if the initial texts are divided in small subchapters; this was unfortunately neglected by the Hungarian archaeologists when they first published them. The fact that these reports appear in this manner, in some cases, is not something to make us wonder: it was customary at that time for the author to present its excavation report in front of a larger audience², and thus more “irrelevant” information for the present day archaeologist was included. The second category includes those situations when the author publishes the results long after the excavations were concluded, leading to errors³, and thus making the task of present day archaeologists even more difficult.

After presenting the excavation reports, wish to present its conclusions following the analysis of the Roman buildings from Ulpia Traiana, buildings discovered at the end of the 19th century. This part, the analytical one concerning the gathered information, is in the subchapter “Some considerations about the excavation report”⁴.

² For example, the secretary of the Association, Róbert Kun presented at the general meetings of the Association the archaeological excavations from Ulpia Traiana, respectively their results. Because no report was written the information was lost. Such is the case of the temples—if they ever existed—of Malagbel II, III, Dis Pater and Proserpina, Bel Hamon, and last but not least of the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus.

³ The report concerning the temple of the Syrian gods was written in 1906, 25 years later after its discovery (1881) by Gábor Téglás, when he had already retired. After 25 years and with only some sketches in Budapest it was logical for him not to remember all the important details. This makes it much more difficult for current archaeologists. Many do not agree with Gábor Téglás’s interpretation that is why in time those who were interested in the subject formulated their own theories, leading to different plans depicting the orientation of the temple. What was its real position? After so many years it is hard to say, still we incline to believe the version of Alexandru Diaconescu. See: DIACONESCU 2011, 148–158.

⁴ I would like to thank Dr Rada Varga for her help.

1. About *Hunyadvármegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat*

By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, associations of history and archaeology were established in several counties. The aim of these associations was to manage the county's research in an orchestrated manner, therefore, they started organizing meetings, established museums and journals, but they also financed archaeological excavations. These kind of associations emerged, among other places, in Timișoara⁵, Hunedoara⁶, Alba-Iulia⁷, Cluj⁸, Oradea⁹, Sfântu Gheorghe¹⁰, and Baia Mare (for a short period of time)¹¹.

Before the creation of the Association we can notice the manner in which attempts were made to stop the treasure hunters from Hunedoara County, especially from Ulpia Traiana, respectively their evolution up until 1880.

We wish to point out from the start the activity of András Lugosi Fodor, the chief surgeon of Hunedoara County and one of the first archaeology enthusiasts, who was interested in saving and protecting historical monuments from Hunedoara County. In 1844 a conference was organized in Cluj and one of the participants was András Fodor. He presented the "archaeology" of Hunedoara County. Immediately after this Ferencz Szilágyi asked archaeologists from the County and from outside it to conduct researches because up until that moment the country's neighbours claimed that Transylvania was "*terra incognita*" and that "the ancient history of Serbia is better known than that of Transylvania"¹².

⁵ BODA, VARGA 2013, 397–412.

⁶ See in this paper.

⁷ *Alsó-Fehér-megyei Történelmi, Régészeti és Természettudományi Társulat (The Association of History and Archaeology and Sciences of the Lower Alba County)*.

⁸ *Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület (Transylvanian Museum Society)*.

⁹ *Biharmegyei Régészeti és Történelmi Egylet (The Association of History and Archaeology of Bihar)*.

¹⁰ *Székely Nemzeti Múzeum (Székely National Museum)*.

¹¹ *Nagybányai Múzeum-Egyesület (The Association of Baia Mare Museum)*.

¹² SZILÁGYI 1844, 76–78, 302–304.

Seeing the objects found by László Noptsa at Ulpia Traiana made András Lugosi Fodor exclaim that “if instead of rummaging and ransacking we would excavate carefully all the area we would find more mosaics and other important monuments that would change our history”. He wrote several letters to count József Kemény (the first dated 11th November 1844, Deva and the second dated 28th September 1845, Deva). In these letters Fodor expresses his intention to create an Archaeological Association tasked with researching and protecting the ancient monuments from Transylvania. In one of the letters addressed to the count (December 1846, Deva), he writes that he asked László Noptsa to be a member of the Association but that he answered: “I will not join any kind of association, I will be my own partner and starting next spring I will conduct excavations at Várhely (Sarmizegetusa — AN) for which I will pay myself”. In the letter the doctor emphasizes that this must be stopped at once¹³.

László Nopcsa (1794–1884) was Lord Lieutenant of Hunedoara County. He was very famous thanks to the name he had made for himself, being known as “Fatia Negra” (Rmn. “black face”); everyone was afraid of him. Imre Balogh, the notary of the Hațeg region wrote in the *Hazánk* newspaper (17.04.1897): “*I am speaking about those persons who were scared to death after only seeing Fatia Negra*”¹⁴.

Unfortunately, András Fodor’s initiative could not become reality due to several reasons. Luckily things did not stop here: in 1856 József Vass also desired the creation of an Association to gather “the treasures of ancient Hunedoara”¹⁵, but a positive answer was given only in 1876, 20 years later, by dr. Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete.¹⁶ In October 1879, in the newspaper *Hunyad*, under the title *Derítsük föl multunkat és mentsük meg emlékeit* (*Let us discover our past and serve the monuments*), he wrote about the creation of an Association tasked with researching and protecting ancient monuments from Hunedoara County. In the next lines we can

¹³ FERENCZI 1913, 18–59.

¹⁴ SCHREIBER 2011, 7–9.

¹⁵ VASS 1863.

¹⁶ SÓLYOM-FEKETE 1879.

read a few ideas from the article "... Our county was blessed with so many good things we barely notice them... monuments are now destroyed, everyone takes what he can, without shame and nobody is interested in science... let us get back on the right track. Let us start where we must — let us create as soon as possible an Association... its purpose being to excavate, protect and capitalize upon all historic monuments — I call all the men from Deva city, all intellectuals from the county, to participate at the general meeting with this purpose... May the love for this cause unite us!" (original in Hungarian, translated by the author). Here we also read the observation about the region of Hațeg, where ruins are destroyed by the inhabitants: "the Romanian boys clenching small coins in their hands upon seeing a stranger roaming the streets of Várhely, run quickly and surround the travellers, offering to sell them"¹⁷.

Finally, a third initiative led to the fulfilment of their wish: the Association from Hunedoara was established on 13 May 1880, by Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete, Géza Kuun, Gábor Téglás, Pál Király, etc¹⁸. The vote was secret and the result was read by György Pogány, Lord Lieutenant: first president was count Géza Kuun, and its vice president was Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete. Some of the members of that time were: Antal Szechen, Ferencz Pulszky, Károly Torma, Zsófia Torma, Sándor Szilágyi, József Hampel, Károly Szabó, Henrik Finály, Dezső Csánky, Sándor Márki, Lajos Szádeszky, Gábor Szinte, Sándor Tornyai, Imre Budai, László Tóth, Lajos Réthy, Oszkár Majland, Róbert Kun (secretary), and Endre Veress (secretary after the death of Róbert Kun on 12 April 1897). Thanks to Géza Kuun, this Association became known across Europe. It had its own museum (the office being in Deva), with Gábor Téglás as chairman. The museum experienced an increase in the number of artefacts mostly due to the research carried out by Károly Torma¹⁹, Zsófia Torma, and nonetheless by Gábor Téglás²⁰. Over the years, the absence of a permanent office

¹⁷ KUUN 1899, 119.

¹⁸ ARÁNYI 1880-1884.

¹⁹ About his life and work see: BODA 2013a, 75–106.

²⁰ About his life and work see: GÁLL 2003, 141–169; BODA 2013b, 377–392, GÁLL 2014, forthcoming.

building had been a constant issue but beginning with 1916 (the year of Gábor Téglás's death), Magna Curia started to serve this purpose.

The Illustrious Figures of the Era

The Association from Hunedoara had **Géza Kuun** (29 December 1838, Sibiu – 1905, Cluj-Napoca) as president. On 20th January 1867, he became a member of *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia* (*Hungarian Academy of Sciences*), on 17th May 1883 became an honorary member of this institution, and on 13 May 1904 its president²¹.

On 13th May 1880 he became the president of *Hunyadvármegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat* (*Historical and Archaeological Association of Hunedoara County – HTRT*), and the Association started to function increasingly better during his term. He maintained contact with various scholars from around Europe, and he was definitely one of the illustrious figures of the 19th century cultural elite. At some point he spoke about his activity in the Association: “we have all felt that knowing our country is one of our duties, that superiority in everything is the result of science. This feeling was a call towards taking action and it also strengthened us to struggle with the difficulties from the beginning”²².

The life of **Pál Király (König)** (1853–1929) is an enigma to this day. No researcher was able, until now, to reveal issues regarding the private life of Király. However, one thing is known for sure: in 1887 he changed his name from German to Hungarian, from König to Király. The pieces of information we have regarding his life originate in his works related to the archaeology and history of Dacia, but also in the references made by István Téglás. Apparently, Király was good friends with Gábor Téglás, and the two of them made scientific journeys together. Thanks to Pál Király we have access to information regarding Dacia, which is why he became a figure in the field of archaeology.

He was simultaneously a school principal, an editor of school textbooks, and an archaeologist. In 1877 he was teaching in Deva, and three years later, in 1880, together with Gábor Téglás, he helped establish

²¹ SZÁDECKY 1905, 402–431.

²² KUUN 1900, 1.

HTRT. Between 1882 and 1883 he examined the archaeological data from Mithras' sanctuary in Ulpia Traiana (one of his greatest works and scientific discoveries).

After his transfer to Fehértemplom (Biserica Albă, year 1891/2), the members of the Association said goodbye to him²³: „As librarian and archivist of the Association he managed to gather diligently, year after year, books, manuscripts letters, thus now HTRT has a remarkable library. His departure meant a great loss both for the Association and his own 'projects'... HTRT always appreciated his effort”(original in Hungarian, translated by the author).

Gábor Téglás was born on 30th March 1848 in Braşov, and died on 4th February 1916 in Budapest, but his tomb was never found. Beginning with 2003, the Hungarian school from Deva is named after him, and from 2008 a torso of him was placed in front of the school.

Gábor Téglás helped establish HTRT, but he was also a teacher, an archaeologist, director of the Association's museum for twenty-three years, and since 1888 a member of *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia* (*Hungarian Academy of Sciences*). Between 1871 and 1904, he was a teacher in Deva, and between 1883 and 1904 he became the school's principal. In 1904 he retired and later on moved to Budapest²⁴.

His colleagues say the following about his activity as an archaeologist: “his importance in the institution was of paramount importance, he sacrificed his whole life for science, for the society. When count Kuun Géza got sick and Sólyom-Fekete Ferencz stepped down there was a time when he alone carried the whole burden of the Association”²⁵. About his own career Téglás says the following: “for my own part I do everything possible to enrich the museum and detect valuable materials from the county. If I have not succeeded completely in satisfying everyone's wishes my work is my excuse, which in spite of my best

²³ BALLUN 1909, 55–56.

²⁴ ORTVAY 1916, 325–326; GÁLL 2003, 141–169; BODA 2013b, 377–392, GÁLL 2014, forthcoming.

²⁵ BALLUN 1909, 9.

intentions to fulfil them as correctly as possible also increasingly serves as an obstacle”²⁶.

2. The Archaeological Research Carried Out by HTRT in Ulpia Traiana

As soon as the Association for History and Archaeology was established, its vice-president, Doctor Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete, was informed that a land owner from Várhely (today Sarmizegetusa) has several fragmentary statues he wished to include in masonry. Also Lajos Réthy²⁷, announces he has also seen in Várhely two funerary lions and a statue representing a female character that can be bought for a low price. In this context, at the first county meeting on 11th June 1880, the Committee asks Sándor Tornya²⁸ to do everything possible to save as much as from the mosaics, respectively the objects found by the villagers²⁹.

In Várhely, the first systematic excavations were carried out by HTRT in 1881, and they continued with considerable effort until 1893 (for twelve years). After this stage, work went on slower, and was frequently stopped. Short reports on these excavations were published in the Association’s journal, *Hunyadvármegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* (*The Yearbook of Historical and Archaeological Association of Hunedoara County – HTRTÉ*)³⁰. HTRT offered the management of the site to Gábor Téglás and Pál Király, two Hungarian archaeologists who will mark the archaeological research of the Roman city³¹.

²⁶ KUUN 1899, 54.

²⁷ Lajos Réthy was a royal counselor on school matters and member of the Association.

²⁸ Sándor Tornya, member of the Director Committee, lives in Hunedoara, also owns land at Sarmizegetusa, known as “Grohotya Tornyaszka”.

²⁹ BODÓ 2012, 377.

³⁰ *Hunyadvármegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, 1882–1914*, Deva.

³¹ Here I would like to express my thanks towards Professor Dr emeritus Ioan Piso, for his advice concerning the archaeological excavations from Ulpia Traiana.

According to the report³² of the interim director of the museum, Gábor Téglás, the systematic research of the Roman town was possible thanks to the financial help of Ágoston Trefort, Minister of Cults and Public Teaching³³.

The start of the archaeological research took place in the temple of the Palmyrian Gods, in 1881, one year after the establishment of the Association, and until 1893 great discoveries were made, as for example the sanctuary of Mithras (summer of 1882).

In 1882, George Barițiu visited Ulpia Traiana, and in his report entitled *Report on the journey to the ruins of Sarmizegetusa and on the information gathered on-site in 1882* he pointed out that the poor state of conservation of the ruins was due to the carelessness of the locals³⁴.

In order to continue archaeological researches at Ulpia Traiana funds were asked from the Ministry of Cults and Education³⁵: between 1883 and 1885 there were provided 500 forints per annum and between 1886 and 1887, 300 forints per annum; this was usually announced in the spring of that year³⁶. However, in order to justify the money spent a report containing information about the excavations and an expense account are sent. According to the report written by the management of the Ulpia Traiana excavation site, the archaeological research from the summer of 1883 led to expenses of 619 forints and 49 crowns—the verification committee checked the correctitude of the sum³⁷. In all these years, archaeological excavations were conducted in the following sectors: in the summer of 1883, HTRT financed the excavations of the Roman public bath in Ulpia Traiana, situated southeast of the amphitheatre³⁸. In the same year, the excavations began in the private Roman houses, where some mosaics were found. These houses were situated approximately 10 m

³² TÉGLÁS 1884, 111–113.

³³ BODÓ 2012, 381.

³⁴ BARIȚIU 1883.

³⁵ KUUN 1886, 91–92.

³⁶ BODÓ 2013, 369.

³⁷ KUN 1886, 83.

³⁸ KUN 1886, 87–88.

north of the "fort", on the territory of the houses 186 and 187³⁹. During the excavations carried out in 1883, Gábor Téglás discovered several reliefs depicting underworld deities (Dis Pater and Proserpina, a few meters away from the patch of land owned by János Adameszk and György Radusa), in a structure which he later assumed to be a temple, situated eastwards the precinct of the city and the amphitheatre⁴⁰. From here and to the east, the temple of Malagbel was identified⁴¹. In the same year, the sanctuary of Bel Hammon was found: it was built within the wall of the „fort”, on the western side, on the road which led to the Greek-Catholic Church, in house number 109 (Juon Dioniez Zyercze)⁴². Here, besides the “*column with Ammon’s head*”, a golden ring was found, and south from this point in the same year, the sanctuary of Dolichenus⁴³, was discovered with his representative monuments. A year later, in 1884, the temple of Aesculapius and Hygeia was identified northeast of the amphitheatre.

At the amphitheatre, the excavations began in July 1890, and they were led by Téglás and Király. After Király’s transfer to Biserica Albă, HTRT entrusts the excavations to Szinte Gábor alongside Téglás⁴⁴. Struggling with financial difficulties, they managed first to reveal only its northern side. Another difficulty was due to its location, which was on a private property; however HTRT managed, in the end, to buy the land in order to reveal the amphitheatre to its extent. Between 1892 and 1893, on the occasion of the research carried out in the amphitheatre by Gábor

³⁹ KUN 1886, 87.

⁴⁰ KUN 1886, 86–87.

⁴¹ KUN 1886, 87. Téglás and Király discovered in the east side of the city, near the supposed temple of Dis Pater and Proserpina the base of a votive altar, IDR III/2, 265. Here it was believed to have existed a temple for Malagbel (KUUN, TORMA, TÉGLÁS 1902, 62), being conventionally named Malagbel II, by Constantin Daicoviciu (DAICOVICIU, 1924, 230).

⁴² KUN 1886, 87.

⁴³ In the south-western corner of the city.

⁴⁴ BALLUN 1909, 57.

Szinte and Gábor Téglás, a temple dedicated to the goddess Nemesis was identified⁴⁵.

Beginning with 1894 excavations became sporadic, and the archaeological surveys carried out in 1903–1907, 1911 and 1913 did not have spectacular results. This can be observed by reading the year-book of the Association (HTRTÉ), which focuses on presenting the beginning of archaeology in Hunedoara County, respectively on the life of some of its illustrious members. Between 1908 and 1909, while celebrating 25 years of existence of the Association, a study was written by Ernő Ballun, entitled *Adatok a Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat 25 éves történetéhez (Some information on the 25 years of The Association of History and Archaeology)*⁴⁶. Here we discover all “scientific endeavours” conducted by the Association, we notice the respect towards its members and even the admittance that, unfortunately, the research is dying: “Kuun Géza and Sólyom-Fekete Ferencz led the Association with exemplary understanding, with a great, powerful love for the cause and with respect for one another. When both of them got sick this shook the whole administration of HTRT and already one could see the first signs of the beginning of the end... Other partners were needed besides the two exemplary leaders... Téglás Gábor, Király Pál, Tornya Sándor”⁴⁷. The reason the Association stopped working at Várhely, was mainly due to financial), but also because in 1892 Pál Király moved to southern Banat, at Biserica Albă (he is appointed director of the museum), in 1897 Károly Torma died, respectively Gábor Szinte (1898) and Gábor Téglás (1904) leave the Association for various reasons. Also the number of members of

⁴⁵ SZINTE 1897, 35–37.

⁴⁶ BALLUN 1908, 18–40, 65–86, 97–129, BALLUN 1909, 5–29, 49–87, 113–148.

⁴⁷ BALLUN 1908, 20: “Kuun Géza és Sólyom-FeketeFerencz, ketten vezették a Társulatot példás egyetértéssel, lángolóügyszeretettel, egymás iránt való kölcsönös nagyrabecsüléssel. Annyira központját képezték ketten a társulat életének, hogy midőn a betegség megbénította működésüket, megingott az egész szervezet és már-már a felosztás jelei mutatkoztak... A két vezető mellett sok tevékeny tars közreműködésére volt még szükség... Téglás Gábor, Király Pál, Tornya Sándor...”.

HTRT dropped every year; we can read their names of the last pages of the yearbook, in the chapter *Hivatalos Értesítő* (*Official Communications*), subchapter *Társulati Névkönyv* (*A Journal of Onomastics*).

When analysing the scientific activity of the Association one can notice two periods in the 34 years of activity: the first period (1880–1892/3, twelve years) when it was mostly led by Géza Kuun (president), Ferencz Sólyom-Fekete (vice-president), Róbert Kun (secretary), Pál Kőnig (librarian), Zsigmond Reichenberg (treasurer), Lázár Petco (jurist), respectively by Gábor Téglás (director of the museum). By reading the excavation reports and the yearbook, we can conclude that despite financial problems it was a peak. Between 1894 and 1914 (the second period) excavations are sporadic, scientific studies are few in number. Now the Association was led mostly by Béla Fáy (president), Lajos Réthy (vicepresident), Samu Kolumbán (secretary), József Bottyán (deputy-secretary), Lajos Szöllősy (treasurer), Gyula Réthy (jurist), Oszkár Mailand (director of the museum) respectively by Ernő Ballun (librarian).

Ernő Ballun, while representing the Association, said in his speech from 1909 about the first period: “Just like enthusiasm that led to the creation of the Association of History of Archaeology, it also kept it alive. Depending on how it went up or down so too did the power of the Association”⁴⁸. Also we read their conception regarding the desire for this Institute to function as well as possible: “The future could not desire anything else from the Association except that the work already started should be continued with result at least similar to those obtained in its first years of existence”⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ BALLUN 1909, 145: “Valamint a lelkesedés szülte a Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulatot, úgy az is tartotta mindvégig fenn. A lelkesedés növekedése vagy csökkenése szerint emelkedett vagy hanyatlott a Társulat erő kifejtése is...”.

⁴⁹ BALLUN 1909, 148: “A jövőndő nem kívánhat egyebet a Társulattól, mint hogy az a megkezdett munkát legalább megközelítő eredményekkel folytassa...”.

2.1. The Temple of the Palmyrene Gods

The research in Ulpia Traiana began in 1881 with the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods (Pl. 1.)⁵⁰. Under the influence of the first researchers, Gábor Téglás and Pál Király, the sanctuary was called, at first “the temple of the Syrian Gods”: „A várhelyi syrus templom”⁵¹. The issue was later resumed by researchers Adriana Rusu-Pescaru and Dorin Alicu, who generated a comparative table of the data relating to the dimensions of the temple, and observing the differences between the works of previous authors, reinterpreted the temple’s direction⁵². The most recent interpretation was provided by Alexandru Diaconescu. The researcher offers a different interpretation as against previous articles; however it is noteworthy to mention that he does not contradict the excavation report⁵³.

The archaeological report was translated in full-length from Hungarian by Imola Boda and Katalin Sidó, and it was reinterpreted by Alexandru Diaconescu⁵⁴. Each excerpt was discussed together, and following these, the researcher made a reconstruction of the temple. Given the fact that the translation and interpretation of the Palmyrene temple were already made, it will not be examined in the present paper.

2.2. The Sanctuary of Mithras

The sanctuary of Mithras was discovered in the summer of 1882 (Pl. 2.)⁵⁵. The excavation continued until 14th August 1883, under the supervision of Gábor Téglás and Pál Király⁵⁶. The sum paid for archaeological research in 1882–1883 was 500 forints per annum and it came from the Ministry of Culture and Public Instruction according to document no. 387141 881 issued on 21st March 1882⁵⁷. Also, to help with publishing the Mithraic

⁵⁰ KUN 1886, 85–86.

⁵¹ TÉGLÁS 1906, 321–330.

⁵² RUSU-PESCARU, ALICU 2000, 84–90.

⁵³ DIACONESCU 2011, 148–158.

⁵⁴ DIACONESCU 2011, 148–158.

⁵⁵ KUN 1886, 85.

⁵⁶ KIRÁLY 1886; KIRÁLY 1894, 134–151.

⁵⁷ BALLUN 1909, 6; BODÓ 2012, 383.

monuments, 50 forints were donated by Emich Gusztáv⁵⁸; this was a monumental work done by Pál Király in 1886.

The results of the excavations were first reconsidered in Sarmizegetusa's guide⁵⁹, but here one can read only a short summary of the report. In 2000, only the sanctuary's roof was reinterpreted⁶⁰, having also a short summary. We have noticed that in the Romanian literature, one finds only a brief presentation of the sanctuary, which excludes details regarding the artefacts, and presents, in some cases, wrong dimensions. This is exactly why we have decided to review the full version of the Hungarian text.

The Report

The first observation made by archaeologists Gábor Téglás and Pál Király after seeing the sanctuary of Mithras was its poor state of preservation. They noticed that first of all the sanctuary had been destroyed in a fire. Its traces can be found on discovered artefacts, carbonized or partly burned and in the thick layer of ash noticeable in the first layer. However, modern destruction did not spare the monument, because the whole area was filled with new constructions⁶¹. When the Hungarian archaeologists arrived, the structure was in a very poor condition, due to the fact that in 1879, "excavations" were made by the owner of the land, who built his home, and raised his crops on the *mithraeum*. The building was in such a fragmentary state that its reconstruction was possible only based on analogies. According to Király Pál, the best analogies were provided by Mithras' sanctuaries from Heddernheim and Ostia. By making a comparison with the aforementioned sanctuaries, he obtained a length of 24.88 m and a width of 12.44 m. Adding also the *pronaos*, he obtained a length of 42.82 m. According to this data, the *mithraeum* from Ulpia Traiana is the largest in the Roman Empire. Located in a field on a slight slope, it was partially

⁵⁸ BODÓ 2013, 359.

⁵⁹ DAICOVICIU, ALICU 1984, 68–70.

⁶⁰ RUSU-PESCARU, ALICU 2000, 81–84.

⁶¹ KIRÁLY 1886, 3.

deepened in soil. It was oriented towards north-south and the entrance was on the northern side.

In the report and on the attached plans, the walls were marked with Roman figures, from I to V. The relics and their finding places were marked with Arabic figures, and with letters, in alphabetical order⁶².

The Walls' Dimensions:

- I. Length: 1.20 m; Depth: 1 m; Height: 0.30 m
- II. Length: 5.40 m; Depth: 1 m; Outer height: 1 m; Inner height: 0.70 m
- III. Length: 6.15 m; Depth: 1.50 m; Outer height: 1.06 m; Inner height: 0.76 m
- IV. Length: 3.30 m; Depth: 1 m; Outer height: 1.20 m; Inner height: 0.20 – 0.90 m
- V. Length: 0.10 – 0.40 m; Depth: 1 m; Height: 0.15 – 0.32 m

Cella:

From the walls of the temple, only a side of the *cella* was preserved. The *cella* was bordered by the walls II and IV, encompassing a quadrilateral territory, with an inner length of 3.80 m and having 4.20 m deep stairs. Overall, the territory of the inner *cella* had 15.96 m². The walls were 1 m thick, except for the wall behind the *cella*, which was 1.50 m thick. According to the supervisor of the excavation, the *cella* was about 1m deep in the soil.

The two stairs that lead from the *naos* to the *cella* were marked with the letters 'a' and 'b', and with the numbers 91–92. These two stairs were removed by the owner in 1897, and they were sold to the public notary of a nearby village. In 1882, the owner continued his "activity", and exposed the side which was marked with the letters 'v' and 'w', he basically removed all of the existing walls.

According to Pál Király, the central relief was stuck to the wall nr. III, and in front of the stairs, that were leading inside the sanctuary, there

⁶² I would like to mention the fact that in the original article, the sanctuary's structure is presented differently. I chose this method (divided in different sub-themes) so that the reader can have a more ample and coherent vision, in order to be able to draw his/her own conclusions.

was probably the huge altar for ritual, marked on the plan with the number 39.

The Central Nave, *Naos*:

With the statues of *Cautes* and *Cautopates*, marked with the numbers 13–15, the researcher defines one of the *naos* extremities, and with the “corner of the gate”, marked with the number 41, he defines the entrance to it. The fragmentary columns, marked with the numbers 25–33, give the opportunity to reconstruct the *naos*. Pál Király defines the sanctuary as having three naves, separated by two rows of columns. It is worth mentioning the fact that here were found most of the Mithraic reliefs, which were presented in the catalogue made by Pál Király.

Pronaos:

On outside of gate of the *naos*, on the spot marked with the numbers 34–38, several column fragments and altars were found which allowed the researcher to reconstruct a portico in front, completing the temple's *pronaos*. At the entrance, there probably was dedication *S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)*.

Decoration:

The *cella* was probably separated from the *naos* by a heavy curtain, common in the oriental cult ritual. The walls of the *cella* were painted, on a red background, with blue meandering lines and with geometrical figures, preserved up to 0.60 m height. The floor consisted of a layer of *cocciopesto* 0.05 m thick.

The Roof:

The discovery of a great number of brick vaults led the Hungarian researcher to believe that the nave had arches, probably three: one for the central nave and *cella*, and two smaller ones for the lateral naves, to the *pronaos* which was covered with a cross vault. Noticing the poor resistance of the preserved walls in sustaining the vaults, the author imagined some support walls between the *naos*' columns, having 0.60 m in height⁶³.

⁶³ According to RUSU-PESCARU, ALICU 2000, this kind of support walls between the interior columns are not familiar in Roman architecture, causing damage both to the construction's appearance and its functionality. This is why,

Some observations regarding the excavation report

The excavation report, written in the 19th century, mentions tens of fragments of reliefs, altars, statue bases, column capitals, rush lights, inscriptions (over 200 pieces), discovered in the sanctuary of Mithras⁶⁴. The archaeological materials discovered were deposited at the museum of the Association (with its headquarters at Deva). Dr Iulius Jang (1851–1910), professor at the German University in Prague made a study trip in Transylvania in August–September 1890. Upon seeing the spectacular discoveries from Ulpia Traiana he claims: “the person who wants to study the cult of Mithras must visit the Mithraic finds preserved at Deva”⁶⁵.

Because of this large quantity of artefacts Gábor Téglás and later on Constantin Daicoviciu thought there were several *mithraeae* in the city⁶⁶. For 150 years, nobody analysed the information gathered after 1883 from topographical and historical points of view (we do not refer here to the cult *per se*). In this study we would like to present some points of view that prove the possibility that there existed two sanctuaries for Mithras in the city.

Reading the Hungarian literature we have noticed that Pál Király, Gábor Téglás and István Téglás gave different information regarding the location of the sanctuary. According to topography, we already have information regarding the existence of at least two sanctuaries⁶⁷, one of them exactly near the *dolichenum*. An unspecified relation between

much closer to reality and easier to make would be an arch, built of successive arches of brick over the central nave.

⁶⁴ KIRÁLY 1886, 22–65, pl. IV–XXII; IDR III/2, 193, 274, 277, 278, 281, 282, 284, 285, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296, 297, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307.

⁶⁵ KUUN 1900, 3.

⁶⁶ DAICOVICIU 1924, 224–261.

⁶⁷ One of the *mithraeum* was located in Armion Áron’s yard. It is located south-west the “fort’s” wall, at about 100m towards Hobicza, right next to the stream. In Athanása Christián’s yard (house nr. 148) a marble column was found. His house was located to the east from where the stream entered into the “fort”. On its corner there was a Roman house, probably that of an important official and in it there was a sanctuary (*mithraeum?*).

Mithras and Dolichenus stands out more and more. Manfred Clauss, in his book *The Roman Cult of Mithras. The God and his Mysteries*⁶⁸, reminds the fact that near a *dolichenum* one can permanently find a *mithraeum* (situation identified in Roman Dacia as well) moreover, inscriptions and Mithraic reliefs are found in the dolichenian sanctuaries. The *mithraeum* and *dolichenum* from Ulpia Traiana are situated around Armion Áron's land.

By analysing the circumstances and context of discovery of these monuments and of the votive inscriptions dedicated to this Persian god we have noticed that in a large number of cases they were not discovered in an archaeological context⁶⁹. As mentioned above a systematic excavation could not be done because of modern destruction; in most cases the archaeological artefacts were simply found or gathered by Hungarian archaeologists. In IDR⁷⁰ we find information regarding the artefacts that got to be deposited in the museum of Deva through different means. Also, we find out about the buying or the donation of artefacts to the Association.

After identifying those monuments that ended up in the possession of the Association through "non-archaeological", means we have started examining them. Finally we have concluded that major objects were involved, objects that existed in Mithraic sanctuaries (*e.g.* the central relief, the representation of the taurochtony or of the birth of Mithras), which leads us once again to believe in the possibility that in the city indeed existed at least two sanctuaries for the god Mithras.

The hypothesis of the existence of two Mithraic sanctuaries in the area, as written above, is based on three arguments, all supported by bibliography. We have considered it necessary to argument this hypothesis by presenting an analogy from Dacia, thus we wish to inform the reader about the situation from *Apulum*, where we know until now at least two *mithraeae*. In order to advance the discussion we wish to mention the cities from the Roman Empire, whether large or small, where more

⁶⁸ CLAUSS 2000, 158.

⁶⁹ IDR III/2, 273, 275, 276, 279, 280, 283, 286, 287, 289, 295, 298, 299, 301.

⁷⁰ Inscriptiile Daciei Romane.

than one *mithraeum* was found archaeologically: Rome (min. 15), Ostia (min. 18), Poetovio (5?), Carnuntum (3), or Aquincum (5) etc⁷¹.

2.3. The Roman Bath

In the summer of 1883, HTRT financed the archaeological excavations of the public Roman bath in Ulpia Traiana (Pl. 3.), which is situated north of the city's precinct. The Association charged Téglás Gábor and Király Pál with the research⁷². In 1984 the subject is reopened by Hadrian Daicoviciu and Dorin Alicu, in Sarmizegetusa's guide, but it is not presented in full-length⁷³! The representation of the oven rooms is missing, as well as the mentioning of the dimensions and the conclusions.

The Report

The bath's substructure was preserved almost entirely; it was not touched by the treasure hunters. It had thirty rooms, divided in four different sections: one of them was for men, and the other one for women; separately there were a steam bath and a summer bath. The facade had 20 m in length, and the structure's overall length was 30 m (including also the wall thickness). The steam bath and the men's bath had a common entrance (a common vestibule), situated on the western side of the baths, where there probably stayed the person who distributed the tokens (on the plan: 1; 3.5 × 2.7 m).

In the report, and on the attached plan, the rooms are marked with Arabic figures, from 1 to 30, and the ovens that warmed the five rooms were classified in alphabetical order, from 'a' to 'd'. On the plan, we can distinguish the seven entrances that lead to the baths, the ovens, the rooms heated with *hypocaustum*, and the pipe which provided the water supply, all of which are represented with special symbols.

Men's Section:

On the left, there was the steam bath's cloak-room entrance (20), and on the right, there was the entrance to the narrow and the vestibule

⁷¹ SZABÓ 2012, 125–156; SZABÓ 2014, 54–60.

⁷² KIRÁLY 1891, 104–108; KIRÁLY 1894, 129–134; KUUN, TORMA, TÉGLÁS, 1902, 62–64.

⁷³ DAICOVICIU, ALICU 1984, 73–74.

(*apodyterium*), which was 16.2×2.7 m long (2). From this point on, could enter the cold pool room (*frigidarium*; 3) which was: 9.9×3.4 m. Two rows of marble stairs 0.3–0.3 m high, and 0.35–0.35 wide, ensured the access to the pool. The pool's depth was not great, offering the possibility to enjoy the water's coolness by sitting on its pool's floor. The pool's rectangular shape corresponded to that of the room, and its exterior was paved with a thick layer of pink cement, 0.8 m in length (a fine *opus signium* on which the marble plywood was placed).

From this point to the left, one could arrive in a warm bathroom, heated with a *hypocaust* system, called *tepidarium* (4), a room without pool and where the high temperature was intended to prepare people for the *caldarium*. It was a fairly big room of 11.6×3.5 m, designed for a great number of people. On the room's sides, near the walls, there were benches for rest and discussions.

From this point, one could pass into the room with a hot plunge bath, *caldarium* (5). In the apse (opposite to the room's entrance) was positioned the pool with cold water (*labrum*; 6). On the room's left side we find a niche of small dimensions: 2.2×1 m (7), and near it there was a room with high walls of 0.75 m (8). Here ends the bath; however this section was used only during winter.

The Summer Bath's Section:

During summer the entrance was made through a room situated on the baths' western side (9). This was a small room of 2.2×1.5 m, from where one could get to the cloak-room (10), which was 6.2×2.9 m in size. Next, one could get to the open air swimming pool (*natatio*: 11), which was fairly large: 8.2×6.2 m. It had a 1 m parapet, from where one could descend into the pool through three flights of marble stairs 0.31×0.31 m high and 0.35×0.35 m wide.

Through a narrow corridor (12) of 5×1 m, one could get to the *tepidarium* (4) and from this point to the *caldarium* (5).

Women's Section:

Women's bath section is similar to the men's, being, however, smaller in dimension. The entrance was made through the western side of the baths, into a small vestibule (12a) of 3.5×1.7 m, from where, to the

left, one could get to the cloak-room (13): 3.5×2.3 m. From this point on, through a door (1 m in length) one could get to the *frigidarium* (14). This one is very small, of only: 4.6×2.7 m; probably it had a small pool somewhere in the centre. This room was greatly affected by destructions. From here, one could get to the *tepidarium* (15), which had the same dimensions as the *frigidarium* and the *caldarium* (16). Here, in the apsis, one could find the *labrum* (17), and on the northern side of the room there was a small section (19) of 2.2×2 m, which probably was a room for massage and body anointment.

Dry Sweating Room Section (*laconicum*):

The entrance was made through the western side of the baths, sharing the same vestibule with men (1). From this point to the left, one could get to the cloak-room (20; 4.3×3.4), and next, on the right, to the *laconicum* (21) which was of: 7.5×7.3 m.

The Heating System:

The *hypocaust* system was found in the fifth room: in the men's *laconicum* (22), *tepidarium* (4), *caldarium* (5), and in the women's *tepidarium* (15) and *caldarium* (16). In the latter, the heat was coming from the same room or from a nearby room. Four ovens of this type were found, which were ordered alphabetically from 'a' to 'd'.

Oven 'a' was situated in room 22 and it heated the *laconicum* (21). Oven 'b' was situated in room 22 as well, but it heated men's *caldarium* (5).

From room 22, one could pass to room 23, where oven 'c' was situated, and which heated the men's *tepidarium* (4). Room 22 had a different entrance, on the northern side of the baths, and from this room one could enter directly only into room 23.

Oven 'd' was situated in room 24, having a separate entrance from the southern side of the baths. It heated simultaneously the women's *tepidarium* (15) and *caldarium* (16).

According to the Hungarian authors, the smoke resulting from the *praefurnia* was eliminated through the walls' rectangular orifices, extended through chimneys (25, 27, 28a). It is worth mentioning that these cannot be identified on the plan, but it is hard to believe that the walls were so well

preserved that the chimneys could be actually seen, as it is the case only in some places like Pompeii or Bostra.

The Water Supply:

The necessary water for the baths was provided, most likely, by the city's water network, coming from the base of Mount Retezat. The water was brought through a pipe (represented on the plan as a dashed line) which passed under the *apodyterium* and then it forked. It can be traced in the rooms with the *frigidarium*, the *natatio*, and in the two *caldaria*. The pipe's diameter was 0.1 m. Unfortunately, the precise route could not be reconstructed because its trace gets lost under the large pool's ruins, which collapsed exactly on this pipe system.

Regarding the interior, the *frigidarium*, the *natatio*, the *tepidarium*, the *caldarium*, and the *laconicum*, all had a cement floor, between 0.15 m and 0.3 m thick. The other rooms had brick floors of hexagonal shape, or of an L shape. The walls were covered with marble plates, many of them being discovered *in situ*. The less important rooms like those of the *praefurnium*, or of the small compartments, were only plastered.

Rooms 28–30 served as warehouses, or servants' room, who ensured the proper functioning of the baths. For example, room 30 was probably the administrator's room, and had a separate entrance.

Within the baths' perimeter, large fragments of colonnades were found, but also large fragments of tiles, which prove that the roof was made out of tiles.

Some observation concerning the excavation report

Apparently, the construction of the Roman bath from Ulpia Traiana was finished in 158 AD by *Cohors V Commagenorum*, with public funds, during the consulship of Tertullus and Sacerdos⁷⁴. Considering that the building was near the amphitheatre, recent theories suggest it was used by gladiators. However, if we keep in mind, the separate sector used by women—according to the interpretation of the authors of the

⁷⁴ Deduction based on the tile stamps of the type IDR III/2, 558 found as well in the amphitheatre, but later. At that time, the Hungarian authors were not able to draw any conclusion regarding who used it, and they simply named it "Közfürdő" (Hung. "public bath").

excavations—we can conclude that it could be used also by civilians and not necessarily just gladiators. Unfortunately the building is no longer present in the field today in order to conduct excavations focused on obtaining coherent and real information about the use of each room. Given the conditions we are stepping into the realm of speculations, like in the case of other buildings researched in the 19th century.

Still, we consider it necessary to mention that the dimensions of each room are not written down⁷⁵. With this in mind we believe that the plan put together by Téglás Gábor and Király Pál could be in some parts purely theoretical, although, truth be told, the edifice was well-preserved when the archaeologists arrived, as written in the initial archaeological report.

We wish now to present some examples concerning the *thermae* from Pannonia, thus giving some analogies regarding the functionality of the bath from Ulpia Traiana. A thermal complex was discovered at Aquincum: part of it was used by women and the other part by men, just like the case of Ilişua⁷⁶, entitled by the Hungarian researchers *A kettős fürdő*⁷⁷. Besides this one, six other baths were discovered through archaeological excavations⁷⁸ (four of them inside a *domus*)⁷⁹ and one on the road from Aquincum (Budapest) to Brigetio (Ószóny)⁸⁰.

In the following lines we wish to present some conclusions regarding the comparison of *thermae* in Dacia (Ulpia Traiana) and in Pannonia (Aquincum): at a first glance, it stands out that in both provinces

⁷⁵ The dimensions of the following rooms: 5, 6, 7, 8, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30.

⁷⁶ BODA 2013a, 75–104.

⁷⁷ PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 21–24.

⁷⁸ PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 12–21 (“A nagy közfürdő”); PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 24–26 (“A harmadik közfürdő”).

⁷⁹ PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 26–28 (“A nagy lakóház fürdője”); PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 29–31 (“A katonai tábor nagy fürdője”); PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 31–36 (“A helytartói palota fürdője”); PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 36–39 (“A Korvin Ottó utcai lakóház fürdője”).

⁸⁰ PÓCZY, HAJNÓCZY 1960, 39–42 (“A csúcshegyi villa fürdője”).

Vitruvius' theory concerning the building of Roman baths applies⁸¹. Studying the drawings enclosed, we can notice the complexity of the public bath from Ulpia Traiana while also observing some absences: places for the latrine, a gate, eventually a yard or a court, such as the case with the baths from Aquincum. It is very likely that these are the roles of the rooms that Gábor Téglás and Pál Király failed to define.

2.4. Roman Houses

In 1883 Téglás and Király carried out the excavations of the private Roman houses, financed by HTRT⁸². Until now, the subject has not been reopened. In Sarmizegetusa's guide we find only a description of the mosaics, decorating the Roman houses, but no mention was made of the original archaeological report, or of the plan of the building. This is exactly why we have decided to review the translation of the Hungarian text, in full-length, valuing therefore one of the greatest discoveries of the 19th century in Ulpia Traiana.

The Roman houses of the influential people were situated on the road side of the current national road. By accident, in the summer of 1823 two polychrome mosaics which formed the floor of two rooms, were found in Sarmizegetusa, but not in the vicinity of Nopcsa's house (as one can read in Sarmizegetusa's guide from 1984)⁸³, but exactly on Nopcsa's house location. One of the mosaics depicts Paris' judgement, and the other depicts Priamos in front of Achilles, begging him for Hector's body. These mosaics were preserved until 1830, when Colonel Don Miguel, accompanied by his troops, started taking them out. After this, the villagers started selling the three mosaics piece by piece. The first two mosaics were found during the construction of the tavern from Várhely, a structure built from Nopcsa Elekné's initiative (Nopcsa László's wife). These two mosaics were presented to the Association by Béla Téglás in

⁸¹ *Apodyterium-Frigidarium-Tepidarium-Caldarium-Laconicum...* and other annexes according to the local needs. Here are some examples regarding the correct reinterpretation of the *thermae* from Ilişua by the author of this article.

⁸² KIRÁLY 1891, 108–118; KIRÁLY 1894, 152–164.

⁸³ DAICOVICIU, ALICU, 1984, 66.

1898, when an assembly was organized in order to present the evolution of the research carried out between 1896 and 1898⁸⁴. Unfortunately, today the only sources of information we have regarding these important monuments of provincial art, are the drawings made at that time by Johann Michael Ackner. The third mosaic was found by Ackner in 1832, during an excavation, and it depicts Victoria with a golden wreath. Unfortunately, only in 1883 (after 60 years) systematic archaeological excavations were carried out in the area.

The Report:

The researchers excavated three Roman houses, marked with Roman figures, from I to III.

House I:

The following method was used for the presentation of this house: the rooms were marked with letters, in alphabetical order, from 'a' to 'g' (resulting seven rooms), and the entrances were marked with Arabic figures, from one to ten. Its substructure was precisely determined (Pl. 4).

The north-western gate's width was 4.75 m, which allowed two chariots to pass simultaneously. The wall thickness in front and on the side was 0.5 m, and in the back 0.75 m.

The entrance to the room 'a' could be made through doors 2, 3, and 4 (through door 4 one could directly enter and exit on the main road, there was no need to enter in the back yard). It was the largest room (it had the dimensions of: 6 × 10 m) and it was probably designed for servants or charioteers, it was actually a resting place.

Those with a high rank in society used room 'b' and 'c'. One could enter into the largest room (b; 4 × 10) also from the court through door 5, and one could also enter through door 6 into room 'c', which had also a separate door—number 7—from the road. From this point, door 8 (1.5 m long) was making the transition from room 'd', which was probably the kitchen. From this point, through door 10, one could exit into the interior court of the building. This door was situated opposite the entrance to the door 'f', which was undoubtedly the storehouse.

⁸⁴ SZENTGYÖRGYI 1899, 244–247.

The room situated next to it, 'e', was probably a guest room. In this room one could enter from the kitchen, through door number 9.

The most monumental part of the Roman house is the *atrium*, a large open central court, half covered, from which the enclosed rooms led off.

House II:

For the description of this house (Pl. 5.), the researchers reversed their methodology, meaning that, the rooms were marked with Arabic figures, and the doors with letters. Often, in the case of a larger building, the owner used the first rooms as storehouses or as guest rooms. This is the case of the structure in question, where we find several *tabernae*.

The largest room is room 1, which has its entrance to the east. From this room, through the door 'a' we enter into room 2 and from here through the door 'b' into room 3. These three rooms are isolated from one another. Probably they served as "guest rooms". Room 2 and 3 were, taken together, as big as room 1. The kitchen was probably room 2.

Two storehouses had the same dimension (4.5×4.5 m) and were situated next to these rooms. Room 3a opened to the east, and room 4 to the west. Taking into consideration the fact that no room was found near these storehouses, it is likely that those who used them lived somewhere else.

Further on we find more storehouses. Storehouse 5 is small in dimensions (4.25×2.5), and this is why, it is likely that the tenant was living in room 6, next to it. Its entrance was from the east.

Behind it, there was storehouse 7, which had its entrance from west. This one was larger (4×4.25 m), for the next room, number 8, which was used by the tenant (4.5×4.25 m).

Taberna 7 was separated from *taberna* 9, by an unusually thick wall. *Taberna* 9 was 4×3.25 m large, and the room next door (room 10; 5×4.5 m) was probably used by the tenant.

From this point we enter the house. The western door ('e') was 5 m long and 1.75 m wide and opened in a long corridor, from where one could get into the *atrium* (number 12). This is the largest part of the

structure: 6.25×6.5 m. In the middle there was a pool (number 13), 1.5 m long and wide.

From the *atrium*, the first room is the *tablinum* (number 14). This is the largest room, which was probably for welcoming the guests. From this point on could pass to the next room (number 15), which was probably a sleeping room, and through a door one could enter room number 16 which was the *oecus*, the place where the hostess took charge of the guests. From here one could exit directly into the *atrium*.

From the *atrium* one could enter the *triclinium* (room number 17), the dining room, and the small room on the corner (number 18), in which one could enter from the dining room. According to the first researchers, this was the storehouse or the child's room.

From the *atrium* one could enter room 18a (which probably had the same function as room 18), and room 19 was surely the kitchen. From the kitchen one could enter into a court (number 21), where two niches were found (1 m wide; numbers 22 and 23). From the court, door 'd' opens to the street. Through this door the tenants from the western side, servants, and family members, could enter to the landlord.

In conclusion, this structure had a small guest-house, composed of room number 1, 2 and 3. It had five *tabernae* (number 3a, 4, 5, 7, 9), and three rooms (numbers 6, 8, 10). Next, there was the actual house which had an *atrium* (12), a court (21) and nine rooms (numbers 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18a, 19, 22, 23). We can state that the owner of the building was for sure a rich man, being probably part of the town's *ordo*.

House III:

While the owners of the two previous houses were rich people, the owner of this house (Pl. 6.) lived in a small house, 11.5 m long and 4.5 m wide, near the bath. This building had only three rooms and the first one was rented (number 1). This can be observed on the plan as well, because it is separated from the other two rooms, having only a door, from the street. The other two were used by the owner, room number 3 being the bedroom.

Some observations concerning the excavation report

After reading part of the vast bibliography dedicated to the subject of Roman houses we have notice first of all that there are no two identical houses and secondly that we know very little on this subject for Roman Dacia. This is due to the fact that excavations were mostly done in the fortifications from the neighbouring area and only a few urban *villae* had been excavated. And areas that could have been properly investigated—such as the ancient cities of Apulum and Ulpia Traiana—were unfortunately destroyed by modern constructions.

Luckily we can get an idea about the Roman houses situated near military *vici*. Dragoş Blaga⁸⁵ researches this subject for his doctoral thesis. He analyses Vitruvius's work *De Architectura* and he superimposes the information over Dacian realities while at the same time bringing similar examples from the rest of the Empire, especially Pompeii⁸⁶.

We turn back to Ulpia Traiana and analyse houses I and II. We can notice that the authors of the excavations present the plan of the buildings but unfortunately it is not represented proportionally and not all the dimensions of the rooms are given⁸⁷. This makes it much more difficult for the present-day archaeologist trying to create a complete and correct image concerning the Roman houses from Dacia. In this context it is most likely that Gábor Téglás and Király Pál failed to excavate completely the building (probably because of financial matters, a constant problem as we have already stated) or we are faced with the same situation as in the case of the report concerning the excavation of the Syrian temple: the report was included by Pál Király in the monograph of Ulpia Traiana printed in 1891, 8 years after the excavations were finished. Probably the authors no longer had their complete notes and in time forgot the details.

Also we have tried to redefine the supposed child room from house no. II: From the *atrium* one could enter the *triclinium* (room number 17), the dining room, and the small room on the corner (number 18), in which one could enter from the dining room. According to the first

⁸⁵ PhD candidate at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, RO.

⁸⁶ BLAGA 2010, 49–60; BLAGA 2014, forthcoming.

⁸⁷ House no I, rooms: c, d, e, f. House no. II, rooms: 1, 2, 3, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

researchers this was the storehouse or the child's room. In our opinion it is hard to believe that the room in question was the child's room because it was so far from the parents' room, in the first place, and second because it has no exit to the atrium, only to the dining room. Therefore it is likely, being also situated on the corner of the house, for it to be a storehouse, or maybe the servants' room. Unfortunately, the main authors do not present the archaeological materials, therefore having only the excavation's plan and not being located on the field, we cannot give more precise information. A description concerning the parts of a *domus*, the way they were built, the functions of the chambers and the way they looked like can be found in the monograph written by Michelle George; she analyses homes from the North-Italic area⁸⁸.

We wish to end this subchapter by giving some analogies from the rest of the Empire. As mentioned above there are no two identical houses, they only resemble each other. Just like in the present day, the construction of a houses depended a lot on the climate, the sum of money to be spent, the land owned, the personal taste and last but not least the fashion. Mark Corney and Peter W. Cox offer a reconstruction of house III based on its plan⁸⁹. We find an analogy for the most imposing house from Ulpia Traiana—house no. II—in the work of René Ginouvès⁹⁰. We also find some analogies in the monograph of Michelle George⁹¹: in one of them we can see next to the *domus* the *via decumana*⁹². According to the report of the Hungarian archaeologists, one of the major roads passed in front of the houses⁹³. When focusing on the areas surrounding Dacia, in Pannonia, we can see that Klára Póczy⁹⁴ and Katalin Ottományi⁹⁵ present the planimetric drawings of the houses excavated in Pannonia.

⁸⁸ GEORGE 1977, 3–17.

⁸⁹ CORNEY, COX 2007, fig. 6, 13.

⁹⁰ GINOUVÈS 1997, Pl 87, no.4; Pl 88, no. 1.

⁹¹ GEORGE 1977, fig. 20, 30.

⁹² GEORGE 1977, fig. 4a.

⁹³ See also Aquincum: PÓCZY 1960, 26–28.

⁹⁴ PÓCZY 2004, 150.

⁹⁵ OTTOMÁNYI 2012, 14, 32.

Because of the climate of Dacia, the houses needed a heating system and the yards have a smaller surface as compared to those from Italy, for example. The organization of the open areas must be done carefully so that the heat needed during winter would not be lost through the walls; this must also be kept in mind in order to facilitate light entering the rooms from the back of the building.

By analysing the examples, an important conclusion can be drawn: in the houses from Aquincum, in a corner, there was also a bathroom for the inhabitants⁹⁶, while at Ulpia Traiana no such room was found inside the constructions, neither in the excavation report nor represented on the plans. We would also like to mention the fact that houses number I and II are part of the group of houses with an inside court. There are many things that could point out the fact that Téglás and Király failed to completely excavate the complex and that is why we believe that some rooms are represented simply based on theory.

2.5. The Amphitheatre

Over the years, researchers paid special attention to Ulpia's amphitheatre (Pl. 7.). The first excavations took place in 1890, 1892–1893 and were led by Gábor Téglás, Pál Király and Gábor Szinte⁹⁷. Even if the actual results were rather poor, the research *per se* had a great value mostly because following it, the amphitheatre was identified, the land which was private property was bought, and the excavation was interpreted.

The archaeological research was reopened between 1934 and 1936 by Constantin Daicoviciu. These results were briefly published. The only novel element was the exposure of the underground rooms and of the draining system which crossed the eastern gate⁹⁸. The final restoration of the monument, in its present state, was made in between 1965–1972. Brief archaeological samplings were made between 1981 and 1987. The result of the 1993 research was surprising for the archaeologists, in this last

⁹⁶ PÓCZY 1960, 26–42.

⁹⁷ KIRÁLY 1894, 109–129; SZINTE 1897, 35–38; KUUN, TORMA, TÉGLÁS 1902, 64–66.

⁹⁸ DAICOVICIU, ALICU 1984, 87–100.

campaign of archaeological research at Sarmizegetusa's amphitheatre, the wooden phase was identified⁹⁹.

The Association of History and Archaeology from Hunedoara County has set as a goal, from the beginning, to research the Roman ruins from Dacia, particularly from Ulpia Traiana. It always had a vivid interest in the amphitheatre, but it succeeded only in July and August 1890 to start archaeological excavations, which were led by Téglás and Király. Fighting financial difficulties, they succeeded to expose only its northern side. The second issue was that the amphitheatre was on a private property, and HTRT succeeded, eventually, to buy the property for excavating the whole amphitheatre¹⁰⁰.

Due to financial issues, in 1890 the excavation was suspended. Its reopening took place in 1892 (after two years) and Gábor Szinte joined the group. In 1893 the research carried out in the amphitheatre came to an end, information supported by a drawing made by the teacher Gábor Szinte, in 1893.

The main goal of this paper was to capitalize upon the archaeological research carried out before the First World War. This included the translation of the Hungarian literature. In the case of Ulpia Traiana's amphitheatre, the description of Pál Király¹⁰¹, and of Gábor Szinte¹⁰² was translated by Sándor Ardós and Ferenc Papp¹⁰³. Being an integral and correct translation we have decided not to reproduce the same information in the present paper.

3. The Museum of the Association

A constant goal of the Association was to obtain a permanent building for its museum, where they could deposit and present objects representing the history of Hunedoara County¹⁰⁴. Kun Róbert, secretary of the

⁹⁹ ALICU 1997, 80–84.

¹⁰⁰ KIRÁLY 1894, 109–129; KUUN, TORMA, TÉGLÁS 1902, 64–66.

¹⁰¹ KIRÁLY 1894, 122–129.

¹⁰² SZINTE 1897, 35–38

¹⁰³ ALICU 1997, 116–122.

¹⁰⁴ KUN 1882, 158.

Association, wrote in his general activities report from the first year that, in spite of their effort, the general public still could benefit from the archaeological objects owned by the Association: “Apparently there is no space in Deva where the inscriptions found in such large numbers in the county can be deposited, (...), the Committee wrote to the Ministry of Cults and Education asking to mark the rooms from the castle from Hunedoara that are proper for housing the inscribed stones owned presently by the Association and for those that will be owned in the future”¹⁰⁵. Finally, the committee rented a permanent area for the museum: the private house of Pogány Ádám from Deva, on Hunedoara street. On the 1st of August 1881 all the finds owned by the Association were moved in the above-mentioned house that will serve for a long period as Museum¹⁰⁶.

On the 4th of February 1885 the Committee decided to send a letter to the management of *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Hungarian National Museum)* from Budapest and ask them whether they have glass cases they no longer use and can donate for the museum of the Association. They had to appeal to the National Museum from Budapest because they received daily extraordinary artefacts that could no longer be deposited. On the 3rd of June 1885 the president of the Association announces that Ms Ádám Pogány is willing to close the access attic from the museum’s antechamber and thus the surface of the museum would increase with one room, for an extra 20 forints in rent money. This was immediately accepted by the committee¹⁰⁷. Until now no information was discovered about some answer from the *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum* which leads us to believe that they did not donate anything for the museum from Deva.

The number of artefacts in the museum increased considerably because of archaeological research, field research, donations and acquisition of pieces. On the 6th of July 1887 after noticing that the space for the museum is already too small and the new discoveries could not be properly deposited, the Committee decided to rent the other two rooms of

¹⁰⁵ BODÓ 2012, 382.

¹⁰⁶ KUN 1884, 85.

¹⁰⁷ BODÓ 2013, 361.

the building for 300 forints *per annum*. They had to do this because the Association was getting ready for the visit of the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor, Franz Josef, this took place on 18th September 1887. In this day, which was very important for the Association, the Emperor was awaited by Géza Kuun who thanked him for the honour. After, the greetings Franz Josef spent some time in the museum where he listened to Gábor Téglás who offered him information about the history of the county and he was very interested in the objects on display. At the request of the president of the Association the Emperor wrote his name in the Guest Book that was placed next to the Mithraic reliefs, respectively the finds from the temple. Also Franz Josef received as a gift the publications of the Association, Pál Király's book about the Mithraeum from Sarmizegetusa, respectively that of Gábor Téglás about the prehistory of the Transylvanian basin¹⁰⁸. Before leaving, the Emperor of Austria-Hungary said the following: "Thank you. You gentlemen have gathered a lot in a very short time"¹⁰⁹. To this those present answered "Éljen!" (Hung. "long may he live")¹¹⁰.

Only in 1916, after the death of Téglás Gábor, did Magna Curia become the official headquarters of the museum.

4. The 19th Century Archaeological Technique

While reading the sketches of the first archaeologists, we stumbled across some anecdotes, which reveal the importance of oral sources for the beginning of the archaeological research in Romania.

One of these anecdotes resulted while István Téglás was searching and measuring, in the summer of 1888, Trajan's road from Várhely (today: Sarmizegetusa) to Ostrov¹¹¹. Téglás met several villagers and started to discuss: "What do you know about this ancient road?", was one of the first questions. The answers were different, some said that it was built by

¹⁰⁸ KUN 1889, 143; BODÓ 2013, 374–375.

¹⁰⁹ "Köszönöm, önök roved idő alatt sokat gyűjtöttek".

¹¹⁰ BALLUN 1909, 24.

¹¹¹ BAJUSZ 2005, 454.

giants; some said it was built by Jews, or even by “the emperor Franz Josef”¹¹².

There is another similar story in the case of the amphitheatre. We notice that the Hungarian archaeologists wanted to involve the “public” in the archaeological research. Gábor Téglás went into the village to find out people’s opinions regarding their excavations. Looking at the amphitheatre from Ulpia Traiana, the villagers were able to say only that it was built by giants, sometime far away, when the earth was not yet inhabited by people. They invoked giants, fairies, the Satan, and even “Trajan and his ‘mother’ Maria Theresa”. As we can notice, they insert fantastical characters and they mix different characters¹¹³.

However, when making a deeper research, one can notice that once with Josef the II’s visit to Ulpia Traiana, in 1773, Hohenhausen presented him as the second Trajan. Sylvester Joseph von Hohenhausen, preoccupied by Roman archaeological issues, was deeply impressed by the multitude of relics, inscriptions and ruins, which confirmed the control of the Roman Empire in this part of Romania¹¹⁴. He was first of all a military man, but he was passionate about history. He worked on a book on Dacia’s relics from 24 June 1765 until 22 August 1767, while he was an officer in Transylvania. The book was published in Vienna, by the order and expense of Maria Theresa (1740–1780), in 1775 for the glorification of the first visit made by Joseph II (1765–1790) in the Great Principality of Transylvania, in 1773, while he was only co-ruler (1765–1780). Hohenhausen writes that two emperors visited Transylvania: Trajan and Joseph II. The author dedicated the volume to Maria Theresa, and he mentions that she is the one charged with the protection of the Roman monuments and relics from Sarmizegetusa and Transylvania, not only as an empress and the ruler of this province, which was the greatest acquisition, but also for being “Royal Mother” of the second Trajan,

¹¹² It comes as no surprise that the boy answered like this; as we know the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor did visit Hunedoara County in September 1887. For the boy this was his “conception of the past”.

¹¹³ KUUN, TORMA, TÉGLÁS 1902, 64–66.

¹¹⁴ HOHENHAUSEN 1775.

Joseph II¹¹⁵. Seeing things from this point of view, it is not surprising that when the Hungarian archaeologists arrived in the area, the simple men confused things. They overheard these stories from their families, fathers, grandparents and they became convinced that Trajan and his mother, Maria Theresa existed (they knew both existed, but after Hohenhausen's presentation the situation became unclear). Gábor Téglás, following this information, considered the people from Várhely unwitting; of course, he mentioned that he did not know about Hohenhausen's book from 1775.

Reading these stories, one could notice the first archaeologists' curiosity towards the villagers' opinions. Sometimes these amuse them, sometimes they are displeased by their attitude, but in most cases one can read gratitude towards them. Also we have noticed an important thing while reading these stories: behind every phrase said in the 19th century there is a grain of truth. A grain of truth probably unknown to the first researchers of Ulpia Traiana and that is why they looked amazed at the inhabitants of Várhely. Now it is our duty to research these words in order to rediscover the truth and thus contribute to the image of the Roman period in Transylvania as viewed in the 19th century. By analysing the phrases "Traian and his mother Maria Thereza", respectively the fact that a 20–25 year old man considered that Trajan's road was built by Franz Josef we can notice the conception of the ordinary people of the 19th century about the past, what it means to them and how back in time they can go.

Through the archaeological reports one can notice, the desire to reveal and protect all of the existing buildings! The researchers carried out their work with great attention and care. Of course, from the reports one cannot tell if they made sections, but they rendered faithfully in writing the extent excavations' report.

It is worth mentioning that in the excavations report they recorded very accurately the finding place of the artefacts, the building's

¹¹⁵ Before this message, the empress' decision to publish, on her expense, Hohenhausen's volume is comprehensible. Moreover, on page 10, Hohenhausen urged Maria Theresa to inspire her successor the same military and governing qualities once proved by Emperor Trajan.

dimensions, their own interpretation (always bringing analogies from the Empire). Besides the actual text, we always find in the annexes plans, drawings of the buildings, and in István Téglás's journal¹¹⁶ we find drawings of the artefacts. Thanks to him, we have a more precise chronology (months and days) of their activities and about the daily life of an archaeologist at the beginning of the 20th century¹¹⁷.

Reading these reports we have noticed that they do not give dimensions for all the rooms, especially in the case of private Roman houses. Also, besides Mithras' sanctuary, archaeological artefacts are not described, which makes it difficult to give a proper interpretation. Unfortunately, besides the amphitheatre the other buildings discussed cannot be identified in the field. Many of them were destroyed by villagers before the arrival of the Hungarian archaeologists: "Ecce, quid non fecerunt barbari, hoc destruxerunt christiani!"¹¹⁸.

The buildings found by the Hungarian archaeologists in between 1881–1893 can no longer be located in the field except for the amphitheatre; this is because archaeological research was continued in the following years (1934–1936, 1981–1987, 1993). The destructions did not take place in ancient times, no matter how strange this may sound. The plans and writings of medieval scholars, Austrian officers or academics indicate that a systematic dismantling of the researched monuments started only in the 20th century. In 1902, when Sarmizegetusa was visited by a group of 30 tourists from Bucharest the buildings were still standing¹¹⁹. Fortunately the reports written in the 19th century are thorough, both topographically and historically. Their safeguarding depends firstly on them being correctly registered. This involves analysing Hungarian documents, topographic measurements and

¹¹⁶ BAJUSZ 2005.

¹¹⁷ BAJUSZ 2006, 323–339.

¹¹⁸ LUGOSI-FODOR 1844, 347: A fact stated by a participant at a medicine conference in Cluj, on 20 September 1844, when András Lugosi Fodor presented Sarmizegetusa's ruins. After the conference, the attendees visited the ancient cities from Hunedoara county.

¹¹⁹ TÉGLÁS 1904, 447–453; LAZĂR 1982–1983, 45–54.

verifying gathered information with geophysical measurements with the ground-penetrating radar and with a system for measuring the electrical resistance of the soil.

We can notice some “salvaging” of the ancient monuments in the 19th century by the members of the Association: during the winter of 1884, Gábor Téglás along with Pál Király studied the coins owned by Ádám Buda. As well they wanted to buy them, to save them from disappearance. The members of the Association also succeeded in buying other artefacts such as eight marble reliefs and a statue of Diana made of Bucova marble. Also, on the 2nd of July 1884 the Committee asked the vice-committee to instruct the leaders of the villagers and the jurists, so that alongside the representatives of the Association, they should convince villagers to ask a fair price for “stones with inscriptions” and other archaeological objects they might have; also they should not ask great sums of money for objects of small value¹²⁰.

Until now we have managed to identify 11 persons who lived in Várhely during that time, respectively four houses were excavations were conducted: Christián Athanása (house no. 148), Elek Tornya, Sándor Tornya, János Janza, Alexa Arion, Áron Ármion, Petru Muntyán, Simeon Gircsik, Simion Ulpian, János Kurtján, Ádám Buda, respectively houses no. 85, 109, 186, 187. In the future they should be identified in the field and where possible, the information should be verified by geophysical means.

Further we wish to briefly present the prices in Transylvania for the time period that concerns this study. This will enable the reader to get an idea, by comparison, about the salaries paid and the finances of the Ulpia Traiana archaeological dig site¹²¹.

In the months July–August, considered the most important months for fieldwork, the average price for a workday, without food, was 0.70–0.90 florins/day. In Hunedoara, where day laborers were easy to find, a day of work without food cost 0.65 florins. The yearly income of a worker in the 1860s was about 90–160 florins, that of a teacher 120–150 florins. A

¹²⁰ BODÓ 2013, 362–363.

¹²¹ Here I would like to thank to Dr Vlad Popovici for his help in introducing the economy from the period 1850–1914 in the discussion.

clerk on the lowest position earned more than 180–200 florins/annum but his salary could go as high as 1000 florins¹²². The salaries of the employed at the Călan steelworks was—in crowns per day: 0.70–0.90 (1897), 1.50 (1898), 2.60 (1899), 2.40 (1900), 2.50 (1905–1907)¹²³. Slavici, who was the director of the *Tribuna* editorial board, received an yearly salary of 2000 florins, father Nicolae received 5 florins for each article, Pompiliu Pipoș, between 1894–1891, received 800 florins, Septimiu Albini 700 florins, and Ioan Brândă 360 florins per year¹²⁴.

The main goal of this paper was to capitalize on the value of the archaeological research carried out before World War I. This meant, first of all, the accurate translation of the Hungarian archaeological excavation reports, which was either completely or only partially done before.

After having said this, we can state that the Hungarian archaeologists, led by the HTRT, were the first ones to carry out a systematic excavation in Ulpia Traiana, marking in this way the beginning of Roman archaeology in the area.

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¹²² BALOG 2007, 212–217.

¹²³ NAGY 2011, annex 18.

¹²⁴ POPOVICI, RUȘEȚ 2010, 38–44.

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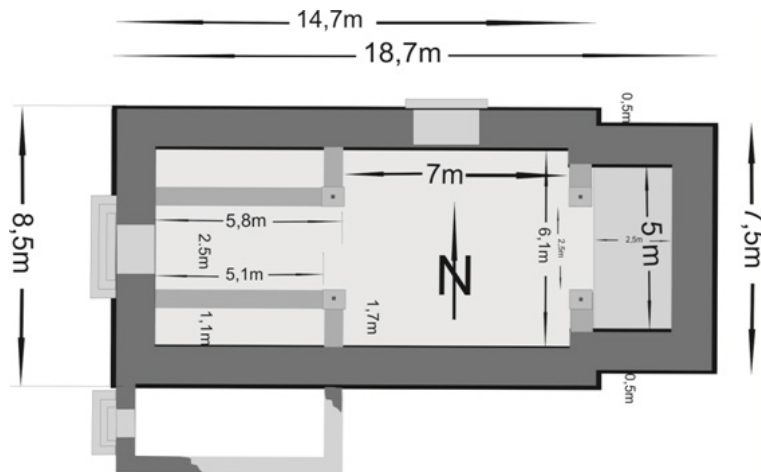


Plate 1. Plan of the temple of the Palmyrene Gods (after DIACONESCU 2011)

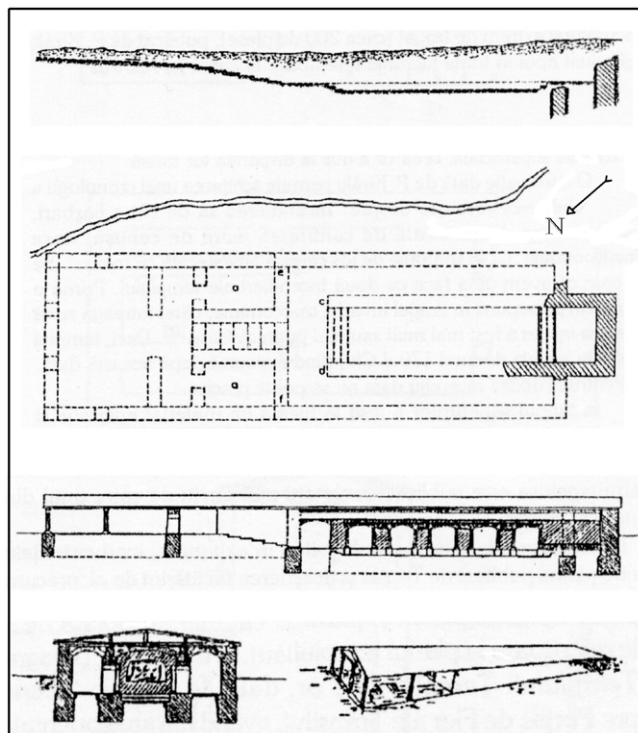


Plate 2. Plan of the sanctuary of Mithras (after CARBÓ GARCÍA 2010)

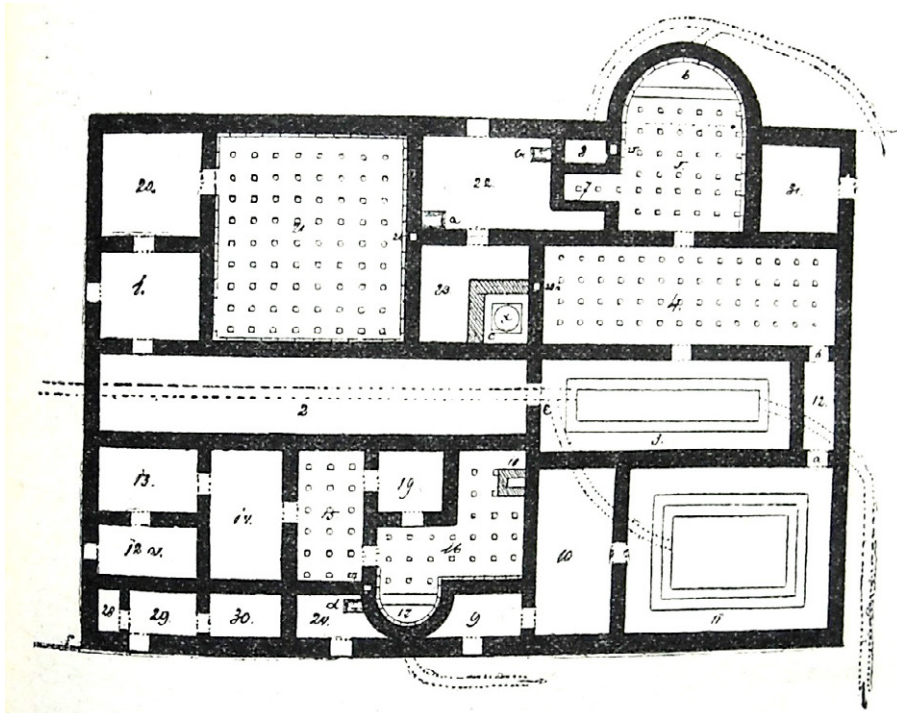


Plate 3. Plan of the roman bath (after KIRÁLY 1891)

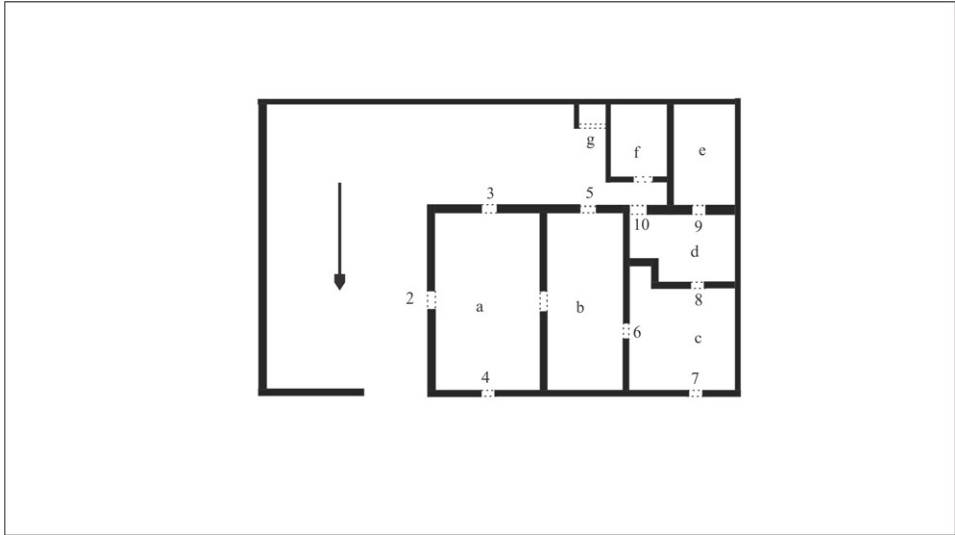


Plate 4. Plan of the roman house I (after KIRÁLY 1891)

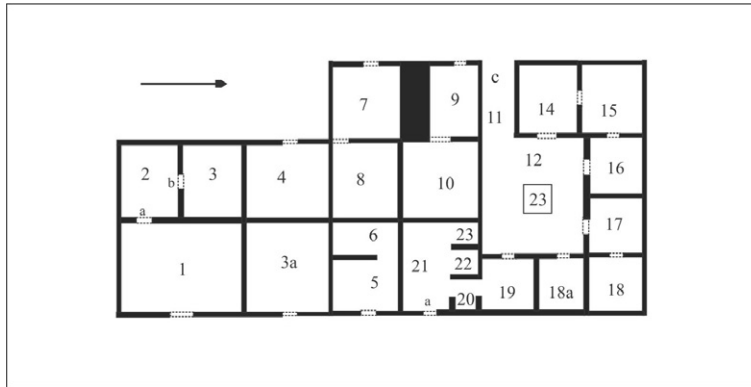


Plate 5. Plan of the roman house II (after KIRÁLY 1891)

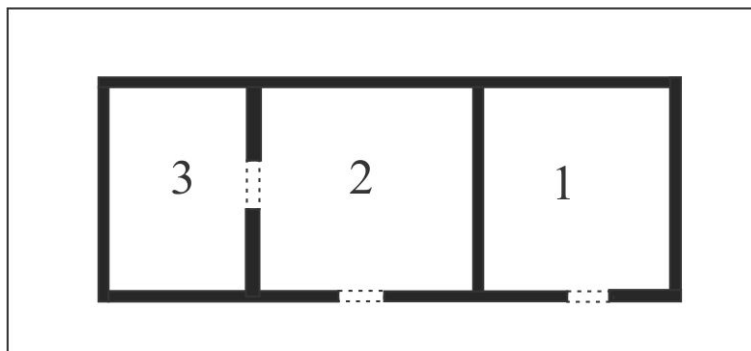


Plate 6. Plan of the roman house III (after KIRÁLY 1891)

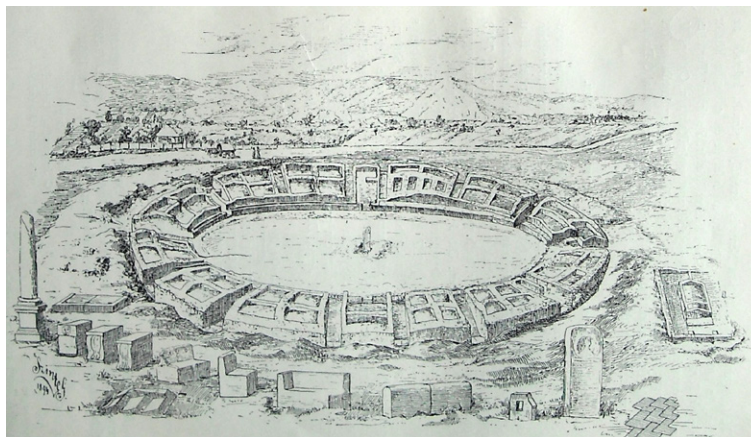


Plate 7. Plan of the amphitheatre (after SZINTE 1897)