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REVIEWS

ARTICLES

Les importations grecques dans le territoire de Kosovo

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Abstract. *The authors analyse all the archaeological finds coming from ancient Greece on the territory of Kosovo, also presenting an overview on the commercial exchanges between the actual territory of Kosovo and Greece, with a particular interest on trade routes. The social differentiation in Dardania at the beginning of the Iron Age made possible the aristocracy's interest for the luxury products from Greece. The commercial exchanges existed from the Bronze Age. The study also focuses on the influence of Greek products on the local production in Dardania.*

Résumé. *Les auteurs analysent toutes les découvertes archéologiques sur le territoire du Kosovo qui proviennent de Grèce. Sur la base des découvertes archéologiques d'objets importées de Grèce connus jusqu'à présent, ils dressent un aperçu des échanges commerciaux entre le territoire actuel du Kosovo et la Grèce, en discutant également sur les routes utilisées pour l'importation de ces marchandises entre ces pays. La différenciation sociale qui émerge en Dardanie au début de l'âge de fer a créé la possibilité pour les aristocrates de s'intéresser aux objets de luxe produits en Grèce. Par conséquent, dans ce territoire, on trouve un nombre considérable d'objets apportés de Grèce, ce qui implique également des bonnes relations commerciales entre les deux pays. Considérant que le territoire actuel du Kosovo était la partie principale de la Dardanie et que la Dardanie avait un bon emplacement stratégique au carrefour des routes commerciales, ces contacts ont été établis depuis l'âge du bronze. Dans notre article sera initialement présentée une périodisation des contacts entre la population grecque et dardanienne, en commençant par l'importation des premiers objets jusqu'à l'invasion romaine de la Dardanie. En outre, il sera spécialement traité l'influence grecque sur les produits traditionnels de la Dardanie, où l'imitation des formes et des motifs grecs était très présente chez les artisans Dardaniens.*

Rezumat. *Autorii prezintă toate descoperirile arheologice provenite din Grecia antică pe actualul teritoriu al Kosovo. Ei oferă și o imagine de ansamblu asupra schimburilor comerciale, subliniind mai ales căile comerciale mai importante. Diferențierea socială din Dardania la începutul epocii fierului a marcat și creșterea interesului aristocrației pentru produsele de lux din Grecia. Schimburi existau însă încă din epoca bronzului. Studiul se concentrează și pe influența pe care grecii au exercitat-o asupra meșterilor locali.*

Keywords: Kosovo, Greek imports, Dardania, Bronze Age, Iron Age.

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Introduction

L'actuel Kosovo correspond à une grande partie de la Dardanie antique, qui constituait une aire assez fréquentée par les Grecs, surtout à cause de la présence du site de l'exploitation de l'argent de Damastion. Ainsi, la pénétration de la culture grecque a pu se faire en suivant les routes empruntées par les marchands et les artisans le long des vallées du Drini i Zi, du Lepence et du Vardar, du côté du versant égéen, et le long de la vallée du Drini i Bardhë du côté Adriatique (Figure 1). Depuis la Dardanie, des produits grecs et des éléments de la culture grecque se sont diffusés dans le reste de la péninsule des Balkans. Toutefois, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, malgré la position géographique favorable du Kosovo, les produits grecs retrouvés sur son territoire sont peu abondants. La raison essentielle en est la rareté des recherches archéologiques et la faible publication du matériel récupéré. Il faut rappeler aussi qu'aucune colonie grecque n'est venue s'installer dans ce territoire, et que la présence grecque, si elle peut être établie, est attestée notamment par des *emporia*.

A partir des données disponibles, on a enregistré cependant un nombre non négligeable d'importations grecques qui ont commencé dès l'âge de bronze. Les sites de cette période ne sont pas fouillés intégralement, mais à Gllareva, localité qui a été découverte par hasard lors de la construction de la route Prishtinë-Peja, on a trouvé des épées de fabrication égéenne. Les mêmes épées ont été trouvées aussi à Tetovë en Macédoine et également en Albanie[3]. La présence de ces épées est une preuve qu'à cette époque les contacts étaient déjà établis, mais il faut attendre les prochaines fouilles pour augmenter la richesse de la documentation et quantifier valablement le volume de ces échanges. Il reste aussi à trouver de la céramique mycénienne toujours absente.

Sur le site de Novoborda, E. Ceskov pense qu'il a existé un *emporion* grec dont les occupants exploitaient les mines. Du matériel abondant a été retrouvé par les villageois lors des travaux agricoles et l'auteur, qui a pu voir une partie de ce matériel, a constaté qu'il y avait des tessons grecs d'époque hellénistique[4].

Cette période hellénistique n'est pas beaucoup représentée sur le territoire du Kosovo, non pas par manque de contacts avec le monde grec mais toujours à cause de l'absence de prospections systématiques et de fouilles régulières. Les témoignages antiques manquent. Dans le territoire de Skopje et à Kërshevic près de Vranjë[5], on a trouvé des récipients et des fragments de céramique grecque. Il est probable que la plupart du matériel hellénistique retrouvé au Kosovo provienne des colonies de la côte Adriatique, particulièrement d'Apollonia et Dyrrhachium.

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[3] A noter que l'ancien territoire de la Dardanie occupe également une partie de l'actuelle République de Macédoine, une partie de l'Albanie et une partie de la Serbie du sud.

[4] ČEŠKOV 1973, 17.

[5] POPOVIĆ 2005, 165, plate I.

Les principales voies de communication

La répartition des sites d'où proviennent les importations grecques montre que la principale route commerciale suivait la vallée du Vardar. C'est le cas de la céramique attique retrouvée dans la région de Skopje, dans le village de Donje Nerezi[6]. La vallée de la Morava a été aussi une des principales routes, comme le prouve la céramique attique trouvée à Velika Humska Cuka près de Nish[7], et les trouvailles de Rahovica pres de Presheva. Ces trouvailles sont d'autant plus importantes qu'elles se situent entre les deux vallées du Vardar et de la Morava[8].

La vallée de l'Iber a aussi été utilisée comme route. Le meilleur indice sont les trouvailles de Banja e Joshanicës, dans le territoire situé au-dessus du Pont de Gjori. Il y a aussi le cas de Gradina, où tout le matériel est illyrien, mais à l'intérieur d'un mur on a trouvé deux fragments de céramique grecque.

La vallée du Drini i Bardhë assurait la liaison avec les colonies de la côte d'adriatique. Sur le territoire du Kosovo, on a trouvé une quantité importante de matériel provenant d'Apollonia et Dyrrhachium, comme à Shiroka de Suhareka[9], à Hisar,[10] dans la nécropole de Romaja[11]. A partir du Kosovo les produits pénétraient aussi dans le centre des Balkans : cela est manifeste dans les localités de Novi Pazar, Atenice et de Glasinac.

Les contacts grecs sur le territoire du Kosovo n'étaient pas dus seulement à de simples échanges commerciaux dépendant des voies de transit ; d'après l'archéologue Emil Ceskov, ils étaient liés à l'exploitation directe des mines d'or et d'argent. Du matériel de la période hellénistique a été retrouvé dans les vestiges des mines près de Novo Brdo, correspondant au site de Damastion, mais pour confirmer cette hypothèse les preuves manquent encore, car l'archéologie des mines du Kosovo est encore au début[12].

Périodisation des contacts entre Grecs et Dardaniens

Les premiers contacts entre les Grecs et les Dardaniens remontent à l'âge du bronze. Ils sont attestés par l'épée de type égéen trouvée à Gllarevë de Klina (Figure 2)[13] . Les épées sont du type C 1 selon la classification de Sandars, et se datent à la fin de l'âge de bronze, au XIIIe

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[6] VUCKOVIC, TODOROVIC 1961, 123.

[7] GARAŠANIN, GARAŠANIN 1951, 109.

[8] VUCKOVIC-TODOROVIC 1961, 123.

[9] DASIĆ 1975, 249–254.

[10] TODOROVIC 1963, 47–48.

[11] DJURIC *et al.*, 1975.

[12] ČEŠKOV 1973, 17.

[13] DJURIC 1984, cat. fig. 19.

Figure 1. Carte de l'ancienne Dardanieavec frontière du Kosovo

Figure 2. Les sites archéologiques de Dardanie avec des produits grecs

Figure 3. Epée de Gllareva

Figure 4. Epée de Romaja

siècle av. J.-C.[14]. La céramique de cette période n'a pas encore été retrouvée, mais selon K. Kilian on peut trouver de la céramique mycénienne dans le territoire de Pélagonie (baigné par les rivières Prespa et Bitolj) et de Péonie jusqu'à Demir Kapija[15]. Il n'est donc pas exclu de trouver un jour de la céramique mycénienne sur le territoire du Kosovo.

A partir de la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle av. J-C. le matériel grec est beaucoup plus présent en Kosovo, mais aussi à l'intérieur des Balkans. Les liens ont été créés dès le VIIe siècle av. J.-C. par le biais de la Chalcidique[16]. La plus ancienne importation de céramique est attestée par deux fragments d'amphore de la région de Ionie, précisément de Chios, trouvées une à Hisar et l'autre à Cernicë et sont datables de la fin du VIIe et du début du VIe siècle av. J.-C.[17]. Enfin tout récemment en 2006, des fouilles archéologique à Vlashnje près de Prizren, ont mis au jour du matériel importé de la Grèce, parmi lequel on trouve un fragment de céramique à pâte jaune et à vernis noir, peut être datable du VIIe siècle av. J.-C,[18].

Pendant le VIe et le Ve siècle av. J.-C., on observe une augmentation des importations. A cette époque elles proviennent principalement d'Athènes, bien qu'il existe une importation ionienne contemporaine mais à petite échelle. Les importations de cette époque sont les épées en croix de type *xyphos* trouvées à Romajë dans les tombeaux 5 et 9 (Figure 3)[19]. Des objets semblables ont été trouvés à Shirokë[20], et dans des nécropoles de Novi Pazar et de Atenice. De cette période datent aussi les importations des tombeaux de Banja e Pejës, où ont été trouvés principalement des vases importés d'Athènes datables au VIe siècle av. J.-C. Six vases sont d'importation grecque : une *olpè*, deux coupes-*skyphos*, une coupe, une *kotylè* et un *skyphos* (Figure 4).

Ces vases, malgré leur mauvais état de conservation, sont bien identifiables et présentent des parallèles avec d'autres trouvailles provenant des tombes princières des territoires du centre des Balkans, et particulièrement avec les vases de Novi Pazar[21]. On y a retrouvé une *olpè* identique, où est représenté Dionysos avec deux satires[22], à rapprocher aussi de l'*olpè* du Musée Capitolin à Rome[23].

L'alignement des bandes ornementales sur les trois vases est pareille et présente la combinaison des mêmes motifs, mais dans de positions différentes. La feuille de lierre qu'on voit sur le col de l'*olpè* de Banja e Pejës et celle du Musée de Sarajevo, ont une forme

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[14] SANDARS 1963, 46.

[15] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 189.

[16] SHUKRIU 2004, 53.

[17] *Ibidem*, 56.

[18] Fouilles S. Gashi.

[19] DJURIC, GLISIC, TODOROVIC 1975, pl. IV, pl. VIII 18.

[20] DASIC 1975, pl. VI,1.

[21] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 189.

[22] SHUKRIU 1996, 56; MANO-ZISI & POPOVIĆ 1969, 13 T.I a,b.

[23] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 189. CVA Museo Capitolini, fasc 1,III H, tav. 32 1–2, 14–15.

caractéristique de la fin du VIe et début du Ve siècle av. J.-C. De ces trois vases, le plus ancien est l'*olpè* du Musée de Sarajevo, de la fin du VIe siècle av. J.-C. ; celle du Musée Capitolin à Rome est datée vers 500 av. J.-V., et celle de Banja e Pejës est datée dans les premières années du Ve siècle av. J.-C.

Les deux *coupes-skyphoi* à figures noires continuent la tradition des peintures miniatures du groupe « Droop-cups »[24]. Sur le premier *skyphos* bien que la surface soit endommagée, on remarque deux figures d'hommes barbus qui courent, tandis qu'en bas et en haut, autour des palmettes, on peut voir de grosses taches rondes. Cette représentation plutôt schématique de branches avec des fruits est caractéristique des vases à figures noires du dernier quart du VIe siècle av. J.-C. Le parallèle le plus proche est le *skyphos* de Novi Pazar avec la figure d'un chien en train de courir[25]. La forme du vase, le système de décoration à bande, le type de la palmette avec des branchettes à lignes concentriques avec des grosses taches au fond, correspondent exactement au vase de Banjë e Pejes. Pour les coureurs et la forme en palmettes on trouve un schéma identique sur le *skyphos* du Musée du Stuttgart[26]. Sur la base de ces analogies, les skyphoi de Banjë e Pejës peuvent se dater à la fin du VIe siècle av. J.-C.

L'argile de la *kotylè* laisse supposer une production corinthienne, peut-être de la fin du VIe siècle av. J.-C. Plus qu'une importation directe, il est plus probable que les colonies grecques de l'Adriatique ont servi d'intermédiaire[27]. Un vase du même type est aussi conservé au musée de Sarajevo et daté des années 550–500 av. J.-C.[28]. Des vases identiques ont été trouvés sur le territoire de l'Albanie, dans la nécropole de Cinamak, dans celle de Dyrrhachion, et sont datés des VIe–Ve siècles av. J.-C.[29]. Il n'est pas impossible que la *kotylè* de Banjë e Pejës provienne d'un atelier local de cette colonie[30].

La *kylix*, retrouvée dans un état très fragmentaire n'a pas gardé les traces de son décor, ce qui rend difficile la recherche d'analogies. Sa forme est la même que celle du musée de Sarajevo[31], datée de la deuxième moitié du Ve siècle av. J.-C.. Des vases similaires ont été trouvés à Sindos et sont datés dans les années 525–510 av. J.-C.[32].

Le *Skyphos*, semble être une importation corinthienne. L'argile est gris clair et peint avec du vernis gris sombre. Il est daté du IVe s. av. J.-C. On peut trouver des vases semblables dans

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[24] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 192.

[25] MANO-ZISI & POPOVIĆ 1969, 13–14 tab. II.

[26] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 192.

[27] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 193.

[28] CVA 1975, pl. 17, 3.

[29] SHUKRIU 1996, 57; JUBANI 1983, 104–105, tab. XI 143; HIDRI 1983, pl. II, 1.

[30] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1998, 235.

[31] CVA 1975, fascicules 4, pl. 19, 186.

[32] SHUKRIU 1996, 57; TIBERIOS 1985, 104–105, photo 300.

la nécropole de Dyrrhachium[33]. Il est probable que ce vase provienne d'un atelier local de cette colonie.

Les vases de Banjë e Pejës sont assez proches de ceux de Novi Pazar. Il s'agit d'importations attiques ou corinthiennes[34]. Alors que la céramique de Novi Pazar se date de la fin du VIe siècle et du début du Ve siècle av. J.-C.[35], celle de Banjë e Pejës est datée des premières décennies du Ve siècle av. J.-C.[36].

À ce groupe appartiennent le fragment du fond d'un récipient de couleur ocre, avec décor à f. n., et le fond d'un *skyphos*, retrouvés tous les deux à Gadime e Epërme, ainsi que les exemplaires de Hisar. Dans les maisons de Shirokë, Hisar près de Suharekë, Gadime e Epërme ont été trouvés quelques fragments de céramique décorée à bandes, comme la céramique importée de Ionie, mais vraisemblablement produite à Corinthe ou dans ses colonies[37].

Le Ve siècle est représenté par les vases à vernis noir comme le récipient â pate jaune et à vernis noir de Hisar de Suharekë[38]. Il existe aussi un type de céramique d'une grande importance sur le territoire du Kosovo, le groupe dit de Saint Valentin. Des fragments de *cantharoi* appartenant à ce groupe ont été retrouvés à Gadime e Epërme et à Cërnicë (Figure 5)[39].

Figure 5. Les vases attiques de Banja e Pejës

[33] HIDRI 1983, pl. 1 tombe 12, pl. V, 2-tombe 24, pl. IX, 1.

[34] MANO-ZISI & POPOVIĆ 1969; PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 194.

[35] MANO-ZISI & POPOVIĆ 1969, 121.

[36] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1991, 194.

[37] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1985, 40.

[38] SHUKRIU 2004, 58, T.L.1.

[39] SHUKRIU 2004, 58.

Dès le début du Ve siècle av. J.-C. les importations grecques diminuent, ce qu'il faut semble-t-il mettre en liaison avec la crise que connaît alors le monde grec[40] ; cela a pour conséquence l'augmentation de la production locale : les artisans se mettent à imiter les formes des vases grecs. Il faut toutefois noter que sur le territoire du Kosovo on ne trouve pas de céramique à figures rouges à part les deux fragments de Kulin e Vogel à Teneshdolli[41]. Ceci est d'autant plus surprenant que sur le territoire de Skopje aussi bien qu'à Kërshevicë de Vranje (qui fait partie de la Dardanie), ces objets sont présents en grand nombre.

L'absence de ce type de céramique peut s'expliquer par le faible nombre de fouilles archéologiques. Il n'est donc pas impossible qu'à l'avenir les recherches nous livrent du matériel de ce type.

Nous disposons enfin des données de l'archéologue E. Ceskov, qui indique que dans localité de Zllatnogumno près de Novo Berda ont été trouvés des objets d'époque hellénistique. D'après ses descriptions, il y aurait eu des terres cuites de Cybèle, des fragments de céramique à vernis brunâtre et rehauts blancs, des *skyphoi* à vernis noir ; le musée abrite également une poignée métallique avec une treille en relief, et une applique en forme de Gorgone[42].

Les informations concernant ces objets ne sont pas significatifs, puisqu'on ignore aujourd'hui d'où ils viennent et ce qu'ils sont devenus. Ces informations de Ceskov sont l'unique preuve de l'existence de ce matériel, qui atteste que le territoire du Kosovo a continué à avoir des contacts avec le monde grec pendant la période hellénistique.

Les trouvailles de cette période restent cependant peu nombreuses. On peut signaler des *unguentaria* du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. trouvés dans le village Zotaj près de Ferizaj[43]. A cette période appartiennent aussi les vases de type mégarien trouvés dans la nécropole de Romaja (Figure 6). Ces vases sont considérés comme des importations des colonies grecques de la côte adriatique qui confirment l'importance de ces implantations, tout au long de la période, comme centres de redistribution des produits vers l'intérieur des terres[44].

Influences grecques et traditions illyriennes

L'Influence grecque dans la culture matérielle dardanienne n'est pas négligeable. Elle est remarquable surtout dans la fabrication des armes, ses bijoux et de la céramique. Cette influence est réalisée par l'arrivée des produits grecs qui suivaient les vallées fluviales : la vallée du Vardar, du Drini et de la région d'Ochrid et Pollogu (Figure 1)[45].

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[40] SHUKRIU 2004, 50; PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1982, 94.

[41] MEHMETAJ 1983, 51–54.

[42] ČEŠKOV 1969 17.

[43] SHUKRIU 2004, 59.

[44] DJURIC, GLISIC, TODOROVIC 1975.

[45] SHUKRIU 1996, 97.

Les artisans dardaniens ont très vite adopté la façon de travailler des Grecs, ainsi que les formes utilisées par ces derniers. La grande richesse des ressources du sous-sol, surtout de l'argent et de l'or, avait rendu possible la création d'ateliers. La production des bijoux et objets de luxe et la diversité des types de récipients témoignent de la tradition des artisans dardaniens qui a atteint son sommet à l'époque hellénistique. Selon le témoignage de Pline « *... même les hommes qui venaient de Dardanie, qu'on appelait les Dardaniens portaient des bracelets d'or* » (Pline, XXXIII, 3,1). Partant de cette information confirmée par les objets de luxe retrouvés dans les nécropoles dardaniennes, on peut conclure que depuis le VIᵉ siècle av. J.-C. la Dardanie disposait d'une classe d'artisans, qui à côté de la production céramique d'usage local, produisait aussi d'autres objets à qui constituaient l'objet du commerce extérieur[46].

L'influence dans la céramique

Attestées dès l'époque mycénienne et sub-mycénienne, les formes préférées pour l'imitation étaient les *skyphoi*, canthares et cotyles. Le premier groupe comprend les *skyphoi* et canthares, qui sont des imitations de vases grecs d'époque submycénienne, protogéométrique et géométrique, dont le plus ancien spécimen a été découvert à Bërnica e Poshtme (tombe 1/8). Réalisé en argile noirâtre et mal épurée, le vase présente une surface bien lissée (Figure 7). Il est profond, avec un pied bas annulaire. On le date de la fin de l'âge du bronze (Helladique récent III C, submycénien). Il est à rapprocher des *skyphoi* de Visoi en Pellagonie[47].

Pour ces types de *skyphos*, Srejovic a fait des parallèles avec Troie VII a et VIII b, en établissant ainsi l'origine grecque du récipient[48]. Toutefois, quelques particularités le distinguent des *skyphoi* submycéniens. Par exemple le rétrécissement du bas du ventre, la ligne plus accentuée des épaules et la position des anses peuvent être mis en relation avec les formes de la céramique proto-géométrique et géométrique. Le parallèle le plus proche est celui du *skyphos* de Bitsa en Epire[49].

Le deuxième groupe comprend les cotyles, d'origine corinthienne, datant de la fin du VIIᵉ et du VIᵉ siècle av. J.-C., et qui ont été transportées dans le Kosovo par l'intermédiaire des cités coloniales de la côte adriatique. L'influence est perceptible aussi avec des coupes munies d'une poignée verticale percée, imitant des formes métalliques. Tous les exemplaires ont été retrouvés dans des habitats de l'âge du fer comme Bellaqevc, Hisar, Shirokë. L'unique récipient qui est bien conservé est celui provenant de Bellaqevc (Figure 8).[50]

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[46] SHUKRIU 1996, 106; JUBANI 1978, 160.

[47] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1985, 26.

[48] SREJOVIĆ 1960, 119.

[49] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1986, 27.

[50] GJURIC 1970, 288 T.V, 1.

Figure 6. Fragment du *cantharos* de Gadimja

Figure 7. Vase de type mégarien du Romaja

Figure 8. Vase du Bernica e Poshtme

Le récipient n'est pas profond et son fond est plat ; les épaules sont courbes et un support y est fixé comme sur les cratères de bronze et les *dinoi* de la pleine période archaïque (VIIᵉ–VIᵉ av. J.-C.). Un vase identique est conservé au British Museum : il a été découvert dans la nécropole de Kamiros à Rhodes et n'est pas plus récent que la fin du VIIᵉ siècle av. J.-C.[51].

Des vases du même type proviennent également de la nécropole de Dyrrhachion[52]. Ils sont très proches du modèle de Bellaqevc, ce qui est un bon argument pour soutenir l'hypothèse que ces vases retrouvés en territoire kosovar sont importés de la colonie corinthienne.

Le vase d'Hisar a la même forme, mais il est moins bien conservé. Il est moins profond que le spécimen de Bellaqevc, et l'anse du récipient est plus simple, sans côtes modelées sur la surface horizontale. Le marli est orné de deux rangées de petits globes. Sur la base des critères stylistiques, il peut être daté du début du VIᵉ siècle av. J.-C.[53].

On trouve une autre forme imitant des modèles grecs sur le site de Romaja, Cernica (Figure 9), Hisar, Vlashnje. Le vase a un bec et un fond plat avec un profil accentué. Il s'apparente à un *skyphos* ; un exemplaire identique a été découvert dans le tumulus de Keneta en Albanie[54]. Daté du VIᵉ–Vᵉ siècle il se rapproche des récipients du type "Coupes aux oiseaux" de Béotie. Un grand nombre de récipients semblables ont été découverts à Dyrrhachion. On peut supposer que le récipient de Romaja est une imitation des productions de cette

Figure 9. Skyphos de Cernica

[51] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1985, 33.

[52] HIDRI 1983, t. XII 2 tombe 9.

[53] PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1985, 34.

[54] JUBANI 1983, 119–120 tab. XI, 140.

colonie. C'est au Ve siècle av. J.-C. que les imitations locales sont les plus répandues. Ceci est dû sans doute au fait que les importations à cette époque étaient moins importantes[55].

Lorsque les importations diminuent, les artisans dardaniens, pour répondre à la demande des élites amateurs de produits de luxe, ont imité les formes des vases grecs. Ceci est un indicateur qui prouve qu'en Dardanie existait une catégorie sociale de potiers. Beaucoup de récipients produits sur place avaient les mêmes formes que ceux produits en Grèce. La seule différence était la couleur de l'argile.

Les formes préférées et imitées étaient surtout les skyphoi attiques qui représentent aussi la catégorie la plus importée (Figure 10)[56].

Un troisième groupe est constitué par les amphores. On distingue deux groupes : les amphores de table et les amphores de transport. Ce type de vase était toutefois moins importé que les s*kyphoi.*

Conclusions

L'absence de fouilles archéologiques programmées et de publications systématiques du matériel retrouvé rend difficile toute étude des rapports entre les Dardaniens et les Grecs, les sources écrites étant par ailleurs très rares.

Cependant, les objets trouvés sur le site de Gllarevë témoignent de ces rapports dès la fin de l'âge du Bronze. Si Gllareva est le seul endroit où ont été découverts des objets d'importation égéenne remontant à l'époque mycénienne, cela ne signifie pas que ce type d'objets est introuvable ailleurs sur le territoire du Kosovo, puisque les sites de l'âge du bronze ont été très peu fouillés et étudiés. Sauf les objets de Gllareva, il n'y a pas de témoignages d'importations grecques jusqu'au VIIe siècle av. J.-C., lorsque l'épée de Shiroka et les armes de Romaja y sont attestés. La présence d'armes importées pourrait indiquer la possibilité de la présence de mercenaires dardaniens dans les armées grecques.

L'importation de la céramique ne semble pas attestée avant le VIIe siècle av. J.-C., même si les imitations de la céramique grecque apparaissent dès l'époque mycénienne et submycénienne. Cela incite à penser que l'importation pouvait être effective dès cette époque, car l'imitation suppose la présence d'éléments à imiter, mais rien ne le prouve. Les fragments les plus récents en céramique sont les amphores de Chios, l'une découverte à Hisar et l'autre à Cernic. La présence de ces deux fragments de Chios témoigne de l'importation de vin de la Grèce et des rapports entre les commerçants. Ensuite l'importation a été remplacée par l'imitation, ce qui nous conduit à penser que les Dardaniens avaient commencé à produire aussi du vin. La production du vin incita les artistes à faire apparaître les grappes de raisin sur les récipients et ensuite sur les monuments funéraires.

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[55] SHUKRIU 1996, 106.
[56] SHUKRIU 1996, 80.

Au VIᵉ siècle av. J.-C., c'est l'importation attique de vases à figures noires qui domine. La tombe princière de Banja e Pejës en témoigne. La majeure partie des vases de cette nécropole avait en effet une origine attique (groupe dit de Saint Valentin).

Au Vᵉ siècle av. J.-C., les importations de céramique grecque cessent, ce qui a provoqué un développement de la production locale. C'est à ce moment que la plus grande quantité d'imitations des vases grecs a été réalisée.

L'apparition des importations au Kosovo est conditionnée par deux types de facteurs, extérieures et intérieures. Parmi les facteurs extérieurs, un rôle important était joué par le système de production (fondé sur l'esclavage) et son marché. La surproduction du marché grec a déterminé la fondation de colonies et la création de nouveaux marchés pour distribuer leurs marchandises; ainsi, ils ont fondé des colonies à partir desquelles les produits ont pénétré à l'intérieur des Balkans. Le facteur intérieur est la position géographique favorable du Kosovo, grâce à ses voies de communication qui ont facilité la circulation des produits grecs. Les vallées des fleuves du Vardar, Morava, Drin, créaient des conditions favorables pour les marchands, ainsi que la vallée de l'Ibri qui, par le Danube, arrive sur la mer Noire. Le contact avec les Grecs produisit des changements dans la classe aristocratique. Ainsi, les Dardaniens se sont approprié le travail des objets de luxe, de même que dans la production céramique ils ont adopté de nouvelles formes. Cependant, les Grecs étaient surtout attirés par les nombreuses richesses naturelles du pays : bétail et produits pastoraux, bois, chevaux, minerai d'argent.

L'insuffisance des fouilles et de la publication du matériel archéologique, la détérioration et les pillages du patrimoine archéologique ont fait qu'un grand nombre d'archéologues considèrent cette partie des Balkans comme sous-développée et retardée car restée à l'écart des contacts avec les autres civilisations. Néanmoins, les objets de luxe du tombeau princier de Banja e Pejës et la trouvaille des armes de Gllareva, ainsi que celles de Romaja, Hisari, Shiroka et Cërnica attestent de l'organisation et du développement culturel de ce territoire, avec l'existence de classes aristocratiques qui témoignent d'une certaine hiérarchisation de la société.

Figure 10. Cotyle de Bellaqevc

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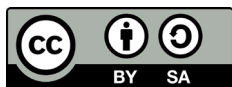
A salt production site at Gherla–Valea Sărată (Transylvania). Preliminary report

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Abstract. *The article presents the preliminary results of the archaeological and ethnographic explorations of the site with remains of salt exploitation from Gherla–Valea Sărată. The site is located at ca. 1800 m south-west of the city of Gherla, Romania, and covers the valley of a salt creek measuring ca. 3000 m (N–S) × 550 m (E–W). In the northern sector of the site, around a salt water basin that was recently developed, on a surface measuring ca. 70 m (N–S) × 60 m (E–W), there were identified and studied various archaeological remains: traces from structures of wooden poles and wattle, ceramic fragments and a stone axe. They date from the Neolithic or the Eneolithic, the early and middle Bronze Age, and the modern period. The discovered remains are, by most probabilities, related to the exploitation of the salt water. In the northern and central part of the site there are numerous cavities and earth mounds, as well as other soil irregularities of anthropic origin, for which it was not possible to advance a dating. The northern part of the site yielded several structures from the recent period: two roofed salt water wells with timber shafts, both recently re-developed using fresh and reclaimed timber. Across the entire site there are several salt springs with basic furnishings. In the northern and central part of the site there are several "scalde" — pools with basic furnishings used for treatments with salt water and mud, without any supervision from healthcare personnel. Near the largest of these "scalde", there have been discovered fragments a wayside crucifix, specific to the area. It was most likely dedicated to the curative properties of the "salt place". According to the interviewed denizens, the saline manifestations from Valea Sărată are exploited to a large extent in the traditional economy: for cooking and preserving human food and animal fodder, and in folk medicine. Also relevant is that Valea Sărată is one of the preferred grazing locations for sheep according to the local shepherds, who mentioned that animals particularly like the grass growing in saline soils. The brine from Valea Sărată is considered by the locals and inhabitants of the surrounding villages as "the best of the area", so that people from multiple settlements around a 10 km radius come regularly to Valea Sărată for collecting brine and for bathing. The site has a high potential for more in-depth interdisciplinary research.*

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Rezumat. *Articolul prezintă rezultatele preliminare ale explorărilor arheologice și etnografice ale sitului cu urme de exploatare a sării de la Gherla–Valea Sărată. Situl se află la cca. 1800 m sud de marginea de sud-vest a orașului Gherla și cuprinde valea unui pârâu sărat care măsoară cca. 3000 m (N–S) × 550 m (E–V). În sectorul nordic al sitului, în jurul unui bazin de apă sărată amenajat recent, pe o suprafața de ca. 70 m (N–S) × 60 m (E–V), au fost identificate și studiate variate vestigii arheologice: urme ale unor structuri din pari de lemn și nuiele împletite, fragmente ceramice și un topor de piatră. Acestea datează din neolitic sau eneolitic, perioadele timpurie și mijlocie ale epocii bronzului, precum și din perioada modernă. Vestigiile descoperite, după toate probabilitățile, sunt în mod nemijlocit legate de exploatarea apei sărate. În partea nordică și centrală a sitului se observă numeroase cavități și movile de pământ, precum și alte denivelări de pământ de origine antropică. Acestea încă nu au putut fi datate. În partea nordică a sitului se află câteva structuri din perioada recentă: două fântâni de apă sărată cu puțurile căptușite de lemn și acoperite, ambele fiind re-amenajate recent din material lemnos nou și cel preluat de la structuri mai vechi. Pe întreaga întindere a sitului au fost observate mai multe izvoare de slatină amenajate sumar. În partea nordică și centrală a sitului au fost realizate câteva „scalde" – bazine cu apă sărată amenajate sumar și folosite pentru tratamente cu apă sărată și nămol, nesupravegheate de cadre medicale. În apropierea celei mai mari dintre astfel de „scalde" au fost descoperite fragmente de la o troiță (răstignire) specifică zonei. Aceasta, după toate probabilitățile, a fost dedicată proprietăților curative ale „sărăturii". Conform interviurilor realizate cu localnicii, manifestările saline din Valea Sărată sunt pe larg exploatate în cadrul economiei tradiționale: în gătitul și conservarea produselor alimentare, aditivarea hranei animalelor și medicina populară. Nu este lipsit de interes și faptul că Valea Sărată este unul dintre locurile preferate pentru pășunatul oilor, păstorii spunând că oilor le place în mod deosebit iarba care crește în soluri sărate. Apa sărată de aici este considerată de localnicii și locuitorii satelor din jur „cea mai bună din zonă", astfel încât oamenii din mai multe localități de pe o rază de cca. 10 km, vin periodic aici după slatină și la băi. Situl prezintă un potențial ridicat pentru cercetări interdisciplinare mai aprofundate.*

Keywords: Gherla–Valea Sărata, salt spring, salt mud, ethnomedicine.

1. Introduction

Up to the end of the 20th century, the knowledge on ancient, recent and present-day non-industrial salt exploitation in Transylvania[5] was based just on a few random archaeological and epigraphical finds[6], some written records, and a couple of sporadic notes on "folk" salt production and usage. Systematic archaeological and ethnographic field explorations focused on salt exploitation in Transylvania have started just at the very beginning of the 2000s[7]. Until 2016, the explorations were carried out just in the East-Transylvanian Subcarpathians

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[5] We use the term of Transylvania to cover just the territory of the Transylvanian Basin, without Maramureș, Crișana and Banat.

[6] RUSSU 1966; MAXIM 1971; WOLLMANN, CIUGUDEAN 2005; PISO 2007; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018.

[7] HARDING & KAVRUK 2013; CHIRICESCU 2013; CAVRUC *et al.*, 2014; 2015.

and in the Someşul Mare river Basin. In contrast, the western part of Transylvania, despite the abundance of easily accessible salt deposits in the area, remained much less studied until the most recent years. The archaeological and ethnographic field explorations on salt exploitation started in this part of Transylvania just in 2016. The research witnessed significant progress from a specialised project on the ethnoarchaeology of salt[8]. Since then, a number of salt production sites have been explored in the Someşul Mic river Basin and in the Turda–Alba Iulia Corridor. The most consistent evidence of ancient, recent and nowadays non-industrial salt exploitation have been explored at Ocnişoara (Lopadea Nouă, Alba County), Pata, Dezmir, Sic, Cojocna, Gădălin, Corpadea, Sânmarghita, Gherla–*Valea Sărată*, and Buneşti (Cluj County).

This article aims to present the preliminary report of the archaeological and ethnographic explorations carried out in 2019 at the Gherla–Valea Sărata site. Pursuant to the methodology first introduced in a pioneering article[9], the site was first investigated on the ground by M. Alexianu, who discovered ceramic remains around the present-day pond, and then by V. Kavruk, who collected archaeological materials (ceramic fragments) and revisited the site for supplemental documentation.

2. The geographical position, geology and topography of the site

The site is located on the western part of the Transylvanian Plateau, in the Someşul Mic river basin, in a hilly area, to the south of Gherla, in the area rich in brine, salt soil and halophytes (Figure 1). It covers the Valea Sărata (Salt Valley) around the brine stream flowing northwards into the *Valea Lungu* (Long Valley) valley. The *Valea Lungu* is fed also by *Lacul Ştiucii* (Lake of the pike). Further on, this stream flows into the Fizeş River and, from there on, into the Someşul Mic River. All the area occupied by Valea Sărata belongs to the territory of the municipality of Fizeşul Gherlii, being positioned at equal distance between the villages of Bonţ (to the east) and Hăşdate (to the west).

The geological evolution of the area is governed by the sedimentation processes known for most of the Depression of Transylvania[10], having their beginning as early as the Mesozoic Era (approx. 200 million years ago). These first deposits were in the meantime eroded along with the lifting movements of the basin bottom so that the oldest deposits identified in the Transylvanian Depression belong to the Upper Cretaceous sedimentation cycle (approx. 100 million years ago).

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[8] KAVRUK & CURCĂ 2018.

[9] ALEXIANU *et al.*, 1992.

[10] KRÉZSEK & BALLY 2006; CIUPAGEA *et al.* 1970; VANCEA 1960.

In the more recent sedimentation sequences, during the Middle Miocene[11], the salt and evaporite deposits were laid over and partially intertwined in the previous layer, of eruptive origin, known as Dej Tuffs (approx. 15 million years ago[12]). Salt deposits are, in turn, covered by more recent sedimentary formations, formed, lithologically, from rhythmic alternations and stratigraphic successions of sandstone, marlin, clay and sands. Finally, Quaternary deposits placed on older strata built the basis for the recent geomorphological sculptures.

The thick layer of salt occurs at the surface in many parts of the Transylvanian Depression in the form of salt domes. This is also the case in the study area where such a salt dome, known as "the Hăşdate salt massif", intrudes vertically into surrounding sedimentary rock strata (Figure 2)[13]. The presence near the surface of the salt massive led to the appearance of several salt springs along the valley. The site is located on an S–N axis of tectonic origin[14].

The topography of the site, beyond the available cartographic materials, was established through a low altitude aerial survey session. Given the linear nature of the site, a corridor type approach was used, based on a set of mosaics of aerial perpendicular and oblique images taken from low and medium altitude[15]. All of these images were taken by a 20 Mp photo camera carried by a DJI Phantom 4+ V.2.0. For the general area survey, an aerial mission was programmed in a zig-zag pattern with overlapping flight tracks at 110 m altitude. After the photogrammetric processing of more of 800 perpendicular and oblique aerial images extremely highly detailed orthophotos (Figure 4/a.) and Digital Terrain Models have been calculated (Figure 4/b.). The surveyed area cover an area of 2.5 km (o the N–S axis) by 0.55 Km (on the E–W axis).

For some spot areas, bearing traces of past human activities, mosaics of low altitude (5 ÷ 15 m) perpendicular and oblique images has been recorded using free style aerial missions in order to calculate even more detailed orthophotos (better than 0.1 mm / pixel) and digital models. Using all the acquired aerial data but also the surface archaeological survey, an updated Topographic plan of the site was generated (Figure 5).

The segment on which saline manifestations occur in *Valea Sărata* has a length of approx. 3 km while the width of the bottom of valley varies between 70 and 200 m. In this segment the valley path is linear and oriented approximately S–N (10 degrees oblique to the East). The water flowing to the north is supplied not only by salt springs (mainly from the eastern slope), but also by freshwater springs. Such a freshwater spring that comes from the west,

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[11] MĂRUNȚEANU *et al.*, 1999.

[12] More detailed analyses on the age of Dej Tuffs and salt sedimentation sequences see SZAKÁCS *et al.*, 2012.

[13] BOMBIȚĂ *et al.*, 1967.

[14] Corpadea, Jucu, Gădălin, Sic and Bunești are other salt exploitation sites aligned on this axis (see Figure 1 — right).

[15] ȘTEFAN & ȘTEFAN 2016.

beneath *Dealul Comorii* (the Treasure Hill), is captured in a concrete well in the immediate vicinity of the brine well (Figure 5/3).

3. The physical-chemical characteristics of the salt water from well no. 1

The saline water sample from the captured spring from Gherla–*Valea Sărată* was analysed in order to establish the density, salt concentration and elemental composition. The density, established by applying the pycnometer method, was 1.1469 g/cm^3. The salt concentration, established by evaporating a volume of brine in a porcelain crucible, through the gravimetric method, was 19.1340%. The elemental composition was determined using a scanning electron microscope (SEM) model Vega II LSH, coupled to an EDX detector type Quantax QX2. It was obtained on a salt microstructure from the SEM image (Figure 6), on the basis of the EDX spectrum (Figure 7), as listed in Table 1. The elements identified in the salt were Na and Cl in high concentration, and Ca and S under 2% concentration.

4. The previously known data

The site has been known for a long time. In the First Military Survey of the Austrian Empire[16], the area was labelled as *Valje Sarate,* while the brine extraction source was labelled as *Saltz Brun* (Figure 3). In the archaeological literature it has been noticed as early as at the beginning of 20th century[17]. Under its various names (*Gherla–Sărătura, Gherla–Valea Sărata, Gherla–Fântâna Sărată*) it has been mentioned in some recently published archaeological works[18]. All of them notice the Coţofeni culture pottery in the site. In addition, the National Archaeological Repertoire (RAN) mentions "the Neolithic settlement of the Iclod culture"[19]. Unfortunately, the papers lack the description and pictures of the uncovered evidence. As we can know, this site has never been mentioned in the papers dealing with prehistoric salt production.

5. The recent explorations in the site

In Mai, June, and July of 2019, the authors have paid several visits to the site and explored some of its aspects. The exploration focused on some environmental (Dan Ştefan and Valerii Kavruk), archaeological (Valerii Kavruk and Dan Ştefan) and ethnographic (Marius Alexianu

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[16] Josephinische Landesaufnahme, 1764–1768.

[17] OROSZ 1901.

[18] REPERTORIU CLUJ, 215 (9); CIUGUDEAN 2000; LISTA CLUJ (Cod LMI: CJ-I-s-B-07061; GPS coordinates: 47°00′19″N 23°54′20″E); RAN).

[19] RAN.

and Valerii Kavruk) features of the site, as well as on the oral witnesses of locals regarding recent and nowadays salt exploitation in the area (Marius Alexianu).

6. The material evidence of human activity in the site

The site contains various material evidence of human activity, from prehistory to the most recent period. The earliest of it dates to the Neolithic or Eneolithic period, to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, as well as to the modern period (18th–19th centuries AD), and is visible only in the northern part of the site, more precisely around the brine pool, recently rebuilt. In addition, the recent and some undated evidence of human activity are visible throughout the entire valley.

6.1. Neo-Eneolithic (?) evidence uncovered in the site

The prehistoric evidence was uncovered in the northern part of the site, on both sides of the brine stream, around the recently built brine pool, close to salt springs and wells. The most archaic looking evidence includes a fragment of a polished stone plate axe with a hafting hole (Figure 6/1), some potsherds with crushed pottery and chaff or dung in the fabric (Figure 6/3–4). The number of these finds is too little to suggest their more or less precise dating and cultural attribution. The axe shows similarities with many axes found in Eneolithic contexts in Transylvania. Thus, for instance, some more or less similar axes are known in the Ariușd cultural group, for example at Comolău[20] and in Covasna County[21]. The pottery shows some general elements specific to Neolithic and Eneolithic periods (for example, the presence of chaff in the fabric), but it does not show any features specific to a certain Neolithic or Eneolithic culture. In the present stage of research, it is impossible to say whether are these the remains of salt production activity, or of a votive deposition of goods related to salt springs. By the bye, the Neolithic or Eneolithic stone axes have been found close to brine spring at Mărtiniș in the Homorod Depression[22].

6.2. The Early Bronze Age (EBA) evidence

The Early Bronze Age (EBA) evidence includes some potsherds (Figure 7) that show the characteristics common to most of the EBA cultural groups, without any specific culturally diagnostic features: just fragments of coarse fabric pots, sometimes with brushed surface. Taking into account the geographic area and the aspect of this pottery, some similarities with

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[20] SZTÁNCSUJ 2015, 376, fig. pl. XIX: 10.

[21] SZTÁNCSUJ 2015, 378, pl. XXI: 2.

[22] CAVRUC & CHIRICHESCU 2006, 40.

the Coţofeni[23] (Later Eneolithic / EBA I), Copăceni[24] (EBA II) and Iernut pottery[25] (EBA III) should be considered in view of its further cultural attribution. For more precise attribution further investigations are needed. So far, in Transylvania, the EBA evidence for salt production was found just at Băile Figa (the Iernut stile pottery[26] and some timber fragments dated to ca. 3300–2800 cal BC[27]) and at Pata (a worked log dated to ca. 2600–2500 cal BC[28]).

6.3. The Middle Bronze Age (MBA) evidence

The MBA evidence includes the pottery specific to the Wietenberg culture[29]. This pottery mainly comes from bowls and pots (Figure 8) with wide openings. This suggests the use of the vessels for brine evaporation. No any fragment of Wietenberg fine decorated pottery was found in the site, which does not allow the attribution of the pottery to a certain period of the culture. For now, the lot of the Wietenberg pottery from Gherla–Valea Sărata is the largest one found till now in salt production contexts. Transylvania, except Gherla–Valea Sărata, some single Wietenberg potsherds have been found just at Comăneşti[30] and Băile Figa[31].

6.4. The material evidence of modern, recent and present-day period

6.4.1. The material evidence of the modern period

The modern period evidence (18th–19th centuries AD) in the Gherla–Valea Sărata site includes a number of potsherds (Figure 9) found around the brine pool in the northern part of the site. The presence of the modern period pottery is omnipresent in nearly every salt production site in Transylvania we have explored so far. It is a common pottery which does not suggest any clues of how it could be used in salt production.

6.4.2. The material evidence of recent and present–day period

The material evidence of recent and present-day period is rich, and it is visible in most of the site's surface. It includes, among many others, the following features:

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[23] CIUGUDEAN 2000.
[24] ROTEA 2003.
[25] CIUGUDEAN 1993.
[26] HARDING & KAVRUK 2013.
[27] HARDING & KAVRUK 2013.
[28] TODA *et al.*, 2019.
[29] BOROFFKA 1993.
[30] CAVRUC & ŞTEFAN 2014.
[31] HARDING & KAVRUK 2013.

– Two brine wells built from recent and earlier used timbers, located near the recently re-built brine pool (Figure 10).

– A concrete well in the northern part of the site that collects fresh water coming from the neighbouring western hill.

– Several summarily arranged brine springs (Figure 11).

– Three summarily arranged brine pools used for halotherapy (Figure 12).

– Some earth work traces, of which the earth mounds and roundish cavities are most visible (Figure 13).

– The 20th century crucifix specific to the area found in the northern part of the site, in front to the largest brine pool (Figure 14). This probably marked the importance of this salt-rich area for the local community.

6.5. Undated material evidence

Some features, among which the remains of structures made of wooden sticks and wattle (Figure 15) are visible in the northern part of the site, close to the eastern side of the recently rebuilt brine pool, more precisely in the brine stream-bed and on its banks. In the same spot the modern period and prehistoric pottery was found. We took some samples from these structures in view of their radiocarbon dating. So far, no reliable indications regarding their age are available.

7. The oral witnesses for the present-day salt exploitation

According to the methodology employed in the EthnosalRo project, an interview was carried out, concerning this salt resource. We had the chance to identify an elder, whose life had constantly interacted with this resource, on May 9th, 2019. The interviewee was Constantin Cherecheș, 83 y.o., from Gherla, 76 Călărași Str. The main information provided by him is as follows:

– *La sărătură* is the toponym marking the existence of a salt resource. The present-day facilities were made in 2018.

– The inhabitants that collected brine from here came from the towns and villages: Gherla, Nicula, Hășdate, Fizeș, Bonțu, and Săcăleia.

– In order to collect brine, the denizens of Gherla walked carrying 5-6–litres buckets or with a *canta* (a ceramic pot with a capacity of ca. 5 l, with strap handles, which allowed pouring or drinking the liquid inside).

– Transport was ensured by a cart drawn by a horse or a cow, loaded with 1–3 barrels (80–100 l). Each cart was accompanied by 2–3 persons (members of the family or neighbours). The cart could have also been loaded with wooden recipients with a capacity of 30–50 l, without a lid

(Rmn. *ciubăr*, pl. *ciubere*). To prevent the brine from spilling during transportation, these recipients were covered with pieces of cloth.

– Currently, part of the denizens of Gherla bring to the Sărătura a hand cart with a canister of 5, 10 or 15 l. Some reach the site with a taxicab, carrying plastic recipients of various capacities. Travelling from the city itself to the salt place takes, in this way, around 5 minutes.

– Main uses: preserving pork fatback and meat on December 20th (*Ignat* in Romanian, the day when the pig was sacrificed according to the Christian Orthodox tradition); preserving various vegetables (pickles; Rmn. *murături*); sprinkling brine on the corn husks and cobs (and generally all fodder), as to soften them and appeal more to the cattle.

– Observation: rough horsetail grew around the salted pond, which was both savoury and sweet, and much enjoyed by cattle.

– The salt place was an attractor for roe deer, wild boar and rabbits.

– Periods with increased human activity at the salt place are autumn (for preserving vegetables) and winter (for preserving pork fatback and meat).

– Remarks: he remembers that when he was a child, alongside other children of 8, 9, 10 y.o, they went alone to the salt place and brought back brine in *canta* ("Where are you going? I'm going for brine."). When gathering wild strawberries, they sojourned at the salt pond and bathed for 5–10 minutes, then drying in the sun until evaporation, to repel the flies. Of archaeological interest is the informer's statement that some of the *canta* pots sometimes broke when they hit the ground while being hauled by the children.

– The Gherla–*Valea Sărata* site is one of the favourite places for sheep grazing (Figures 16–23). The shepherds say that sheep particularly enjoy grass that grows in salty soils.

8. Some conclusions

The Gherla–Valea Sărata site is a hybrid one. It is rich in environmental, archaeological, ethnographic, and immaterial heritage. The prehistoric evidence uncovered in the site to some extent is unique in Transylvania, since it shows for the first time in Transylvania the Neolithic and/or Eneolithic evidence associated with salt production context. The site provides important potential for further more in-depth interdisciplinary research.
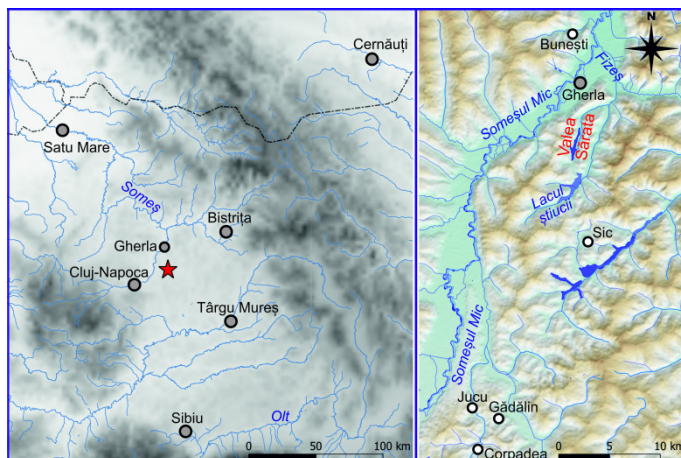
Figure 1. Location maps of Valea Sărata
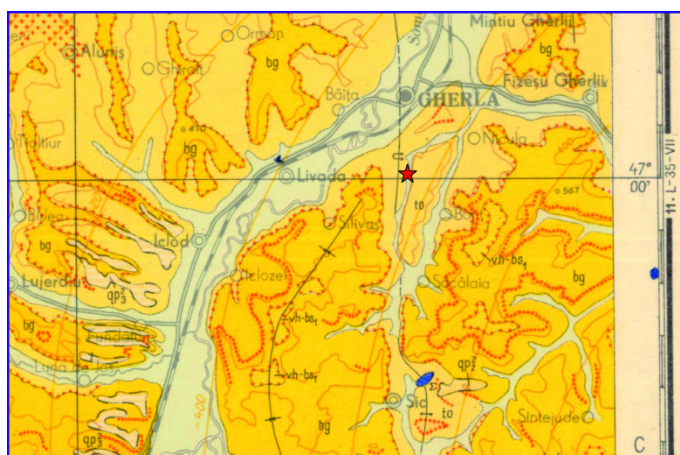
Figure 2. Selection from Geological Map, 1:200 000, on the study area

Valerii Kavruk, Dan Ștefan, Marius Alexianu, Viorica Vasilache
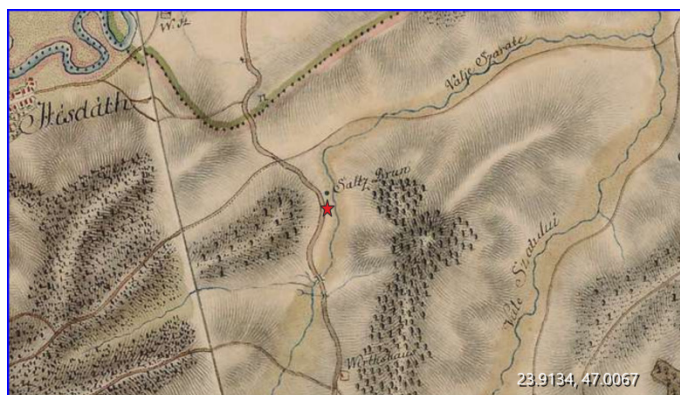
Figure 3. Selection from the First Military survey of the Austrian Empire, on the study area
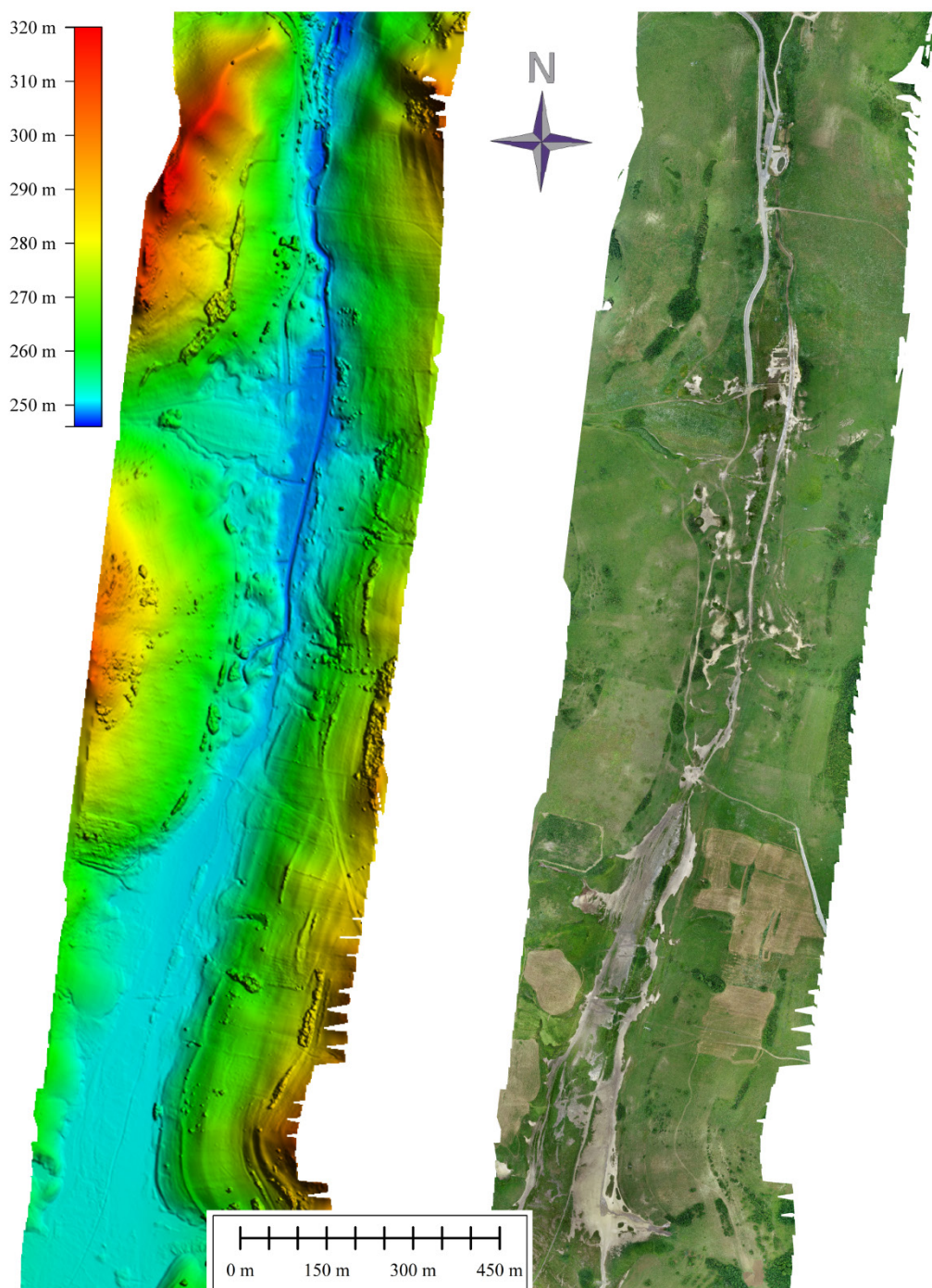
Figure 4. Valea Sărata ortophoto (a) and Digital Elevation Model (b)
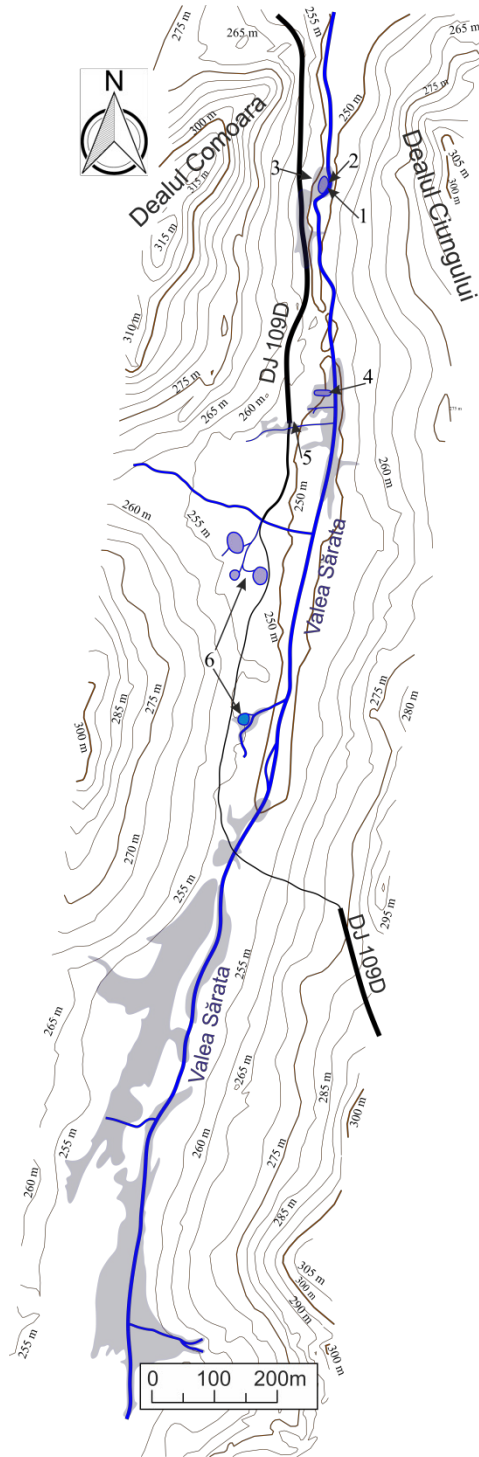
Figure 5. Valea Sărata, topography of the site; 1, 4 – pool; 2, 3 – brine well; 5 – wayside cross; 6 – pits
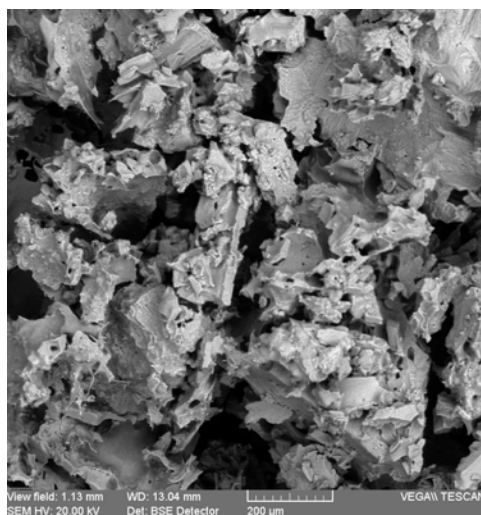
Figure 6. The SEM image of the salt microstructure under analysis (magnification of 200×)
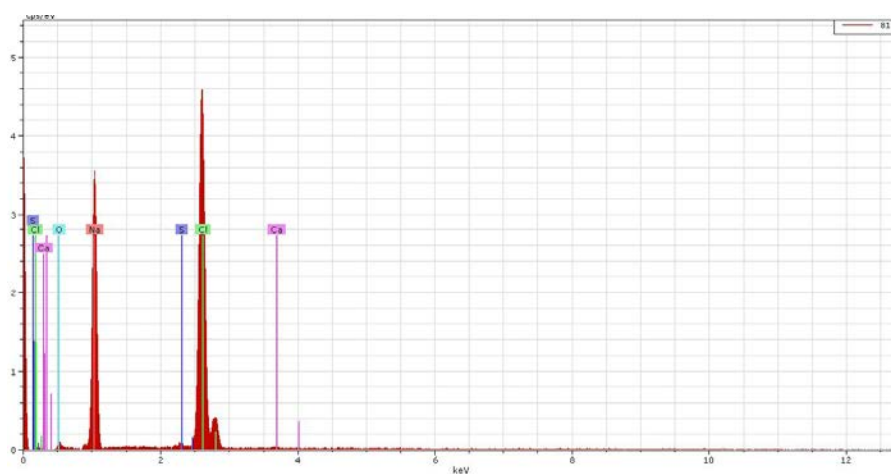
Figure 7. The EDX spectrum corresponding to the microphotograph in Figure 1, on the basis of which the chemical composition found in Table 1 was obtained

Table 1. The chemical composition of recrystallized salt

Element	series	[wt.-%]	[norm. wt.-%]	[norm. at.-%]	Error in %
Sodium	K-series	47,2796	35,70548	44,27939	3,099371
Chlorine	K-series	76,64235	57,88018	46,54595	2,618937
Sulphur	K-series	2,494471	1,88382	1,674928	0,137501
Calcium	K-series	0,709289	0,535654	0,381048	0,06768
Oxygen	K-series	5,28982	3,994863	7,118682	1,283132
	Sum:	132,4155	100	100	

Figure 8. Valea Sărata, views from above: top – northern sector; bottom – northern-central sector

Figure 9. Valea Sărata, views from above: top – central-southern sector; bottom – southern sector

Figure 10. Valea Sărata, views from above:
central-northern sector – earth barrows and cavities of anthropic origin

Figure 11. Valea Sărata, northern sector: top – brine pool built in 2018;
bottom — brine spring with plastic tube outlet, located close to the pool

Figure 12. Valea Sărata, northern sector: top – brine pool in 2011; bottom – brine pool in 2019

Figure 13. Valea Sărata, northern sector: top – brine stream; bottom – brine well no. 1

Figure 14. Valea Sărata, northern sector: brine well no. 2

Figure 15. Valea Sărata, central sector: brine springs

Figure 16. Valea Sărata, northern sector: brine pool with basic furnishings

Figure 17. Valea Sărata, northern sector: prehistoric potsherds visible on the surface,
close to the well no.2

Figure 18. Valea Sărata, northern sector: timbers and wattle *in situ* visible on the right bank of the brine stream, close to the brine spring with plastic tube outlet

Figure 19. Valea Sărata, northern sector: prehistoric pottery (top and bottom) and a stone axe (middle)
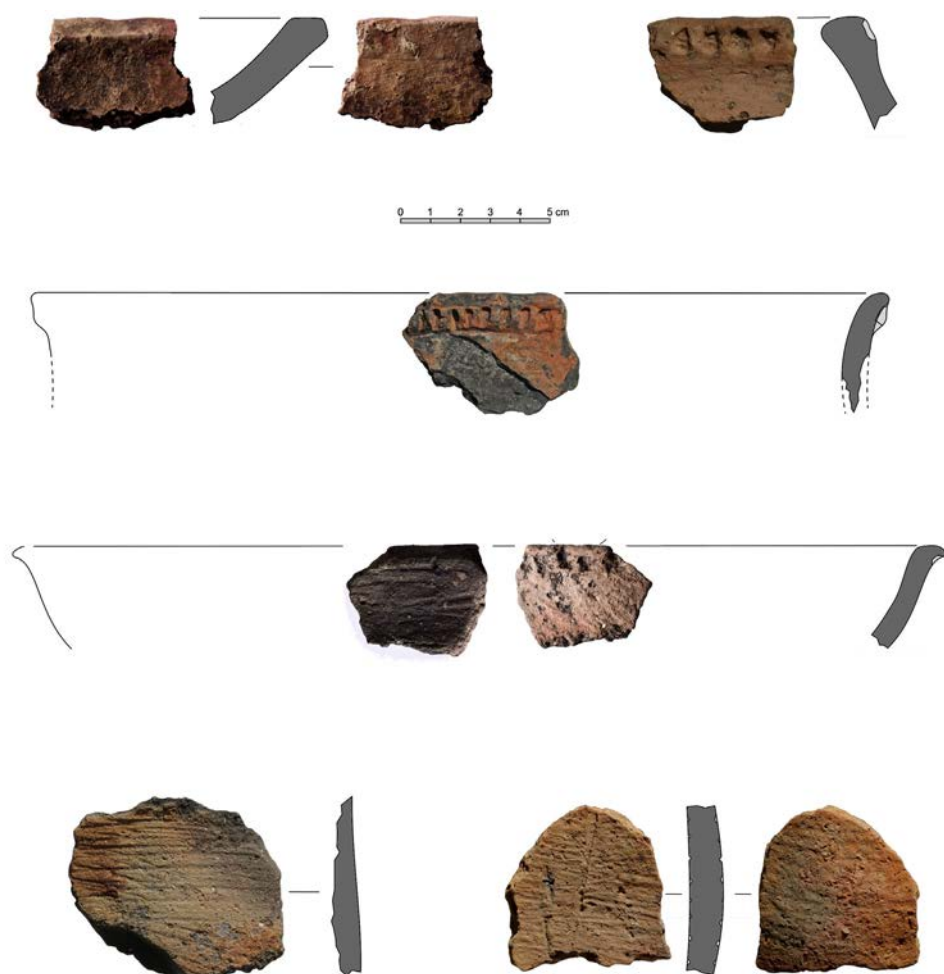
Figure 20. Valea Sărata, northern sector: EBA pottery
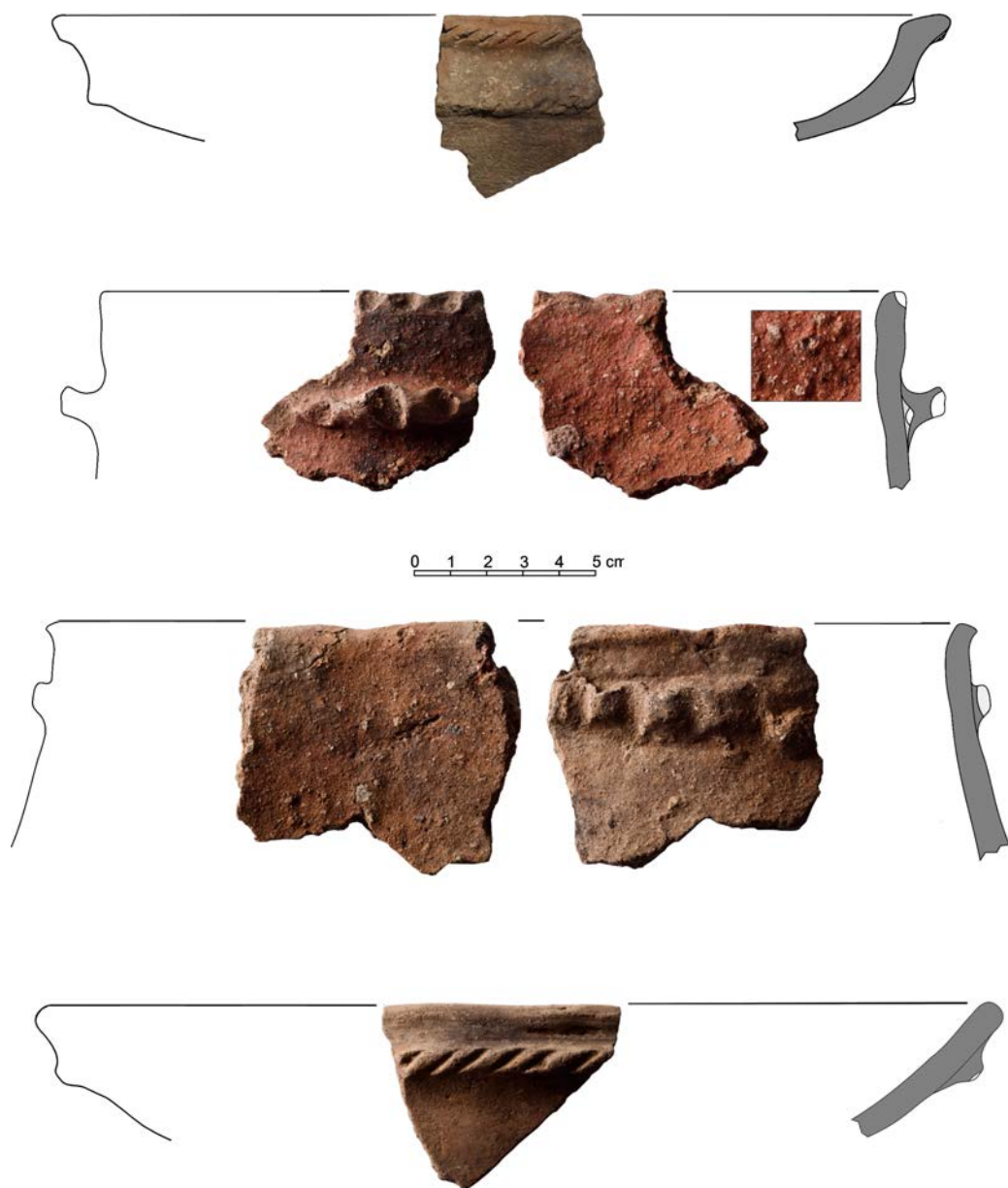
Figure 21. Valea Sărata, northern sector: MBA (Wietenberg) pottery
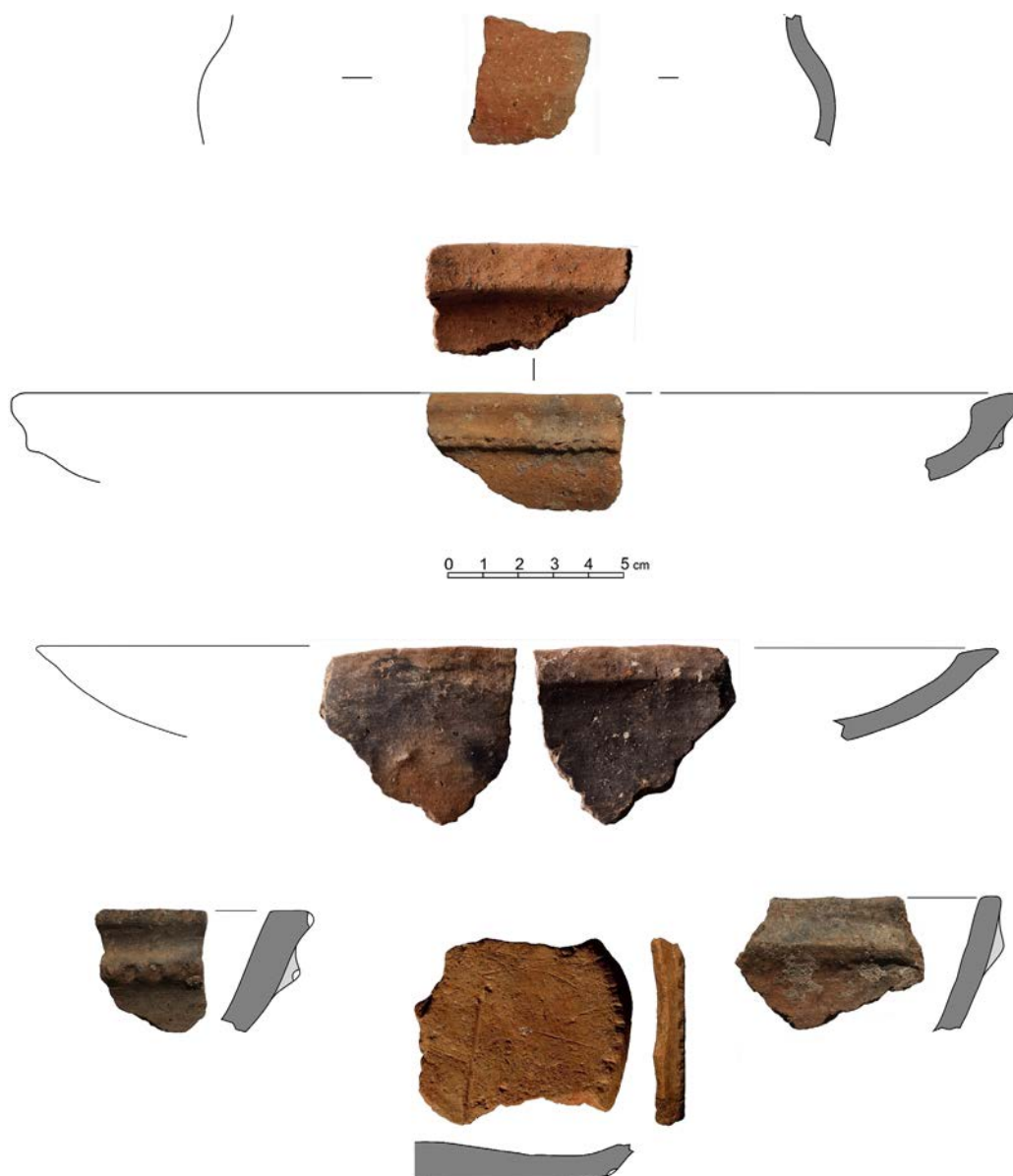
Figure 22. Valea Sărata, northern sector: MBA (Wietenberg) pottery

Figure 23. Valea Sărata, northern-central sector: clockwise from top-left: fragments of a wayside cross found on the site; bottom-left – wayside cross in the Săcăleia village (4 km from the site)

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The notion of justice in Roman wars and the fetial law

Alexei BORISOVICH EGOROV[1]

Abstract. *Both in scientific literature and popular mind the Romans are considered e the symbol of aggression, militarism and conquest, but the more thorough analysis shows that many of Roman wars were really defensive or at least began as a war of defence and Th. Mommsen's idea of "defensive imperialism" has a good deal of sense. The fetial law with its concept of "bellum iustum" stands at the foundation of Roman idea of international relations and was (despite all possible speculations) an important step in the world of undeclared warfare of "civilized (Greeks, Carthaginians) or "uncivilized" (Gauls, Germans and others) nations. Most wars (about 60 of 100) of 5th-3rd centuries BC are depicted in Roman tradition as self-defence, while the period from the Samnite Wars till the time of Julius Caesar becomes the time of the defence of numerous Roman amici and socii. On these principles grows the global doctrine of the defence of "human civilization" against the "barbarian world" and the establishment of world order, based on law and justice. One may consider this picture as an instrument of propaganda, but many of these ideas and declarations were real truth.*

Rezumat. *Atât în literatura de specialitate, cât și în cultura populară, romanii sunt considerați a fi, printre altele, un simbol al agresiunii, militarismului și cuceririi, dar o analiză mai aprofundată arată că romanii începeau adeseori războaiele ca având scopuri de apărare, iar ideea lui Th. Mommsen potrivit căreia se poate vorbi de un „imperialism defensiv" este cât se poate de logică. Legea fetială cu conceptul de „bellum iustum" stă la baza ideii romane privind relațiile internaționale. Cea mai mare parte a războaielor (circa 60%) din secolele V-III a. Chr. sunt descrise în tradiția romană a auto-apărării, în vreme ce perioada cuprinsă între războaiele samnite și epoca lui Iulius Caesar devine o perioadă de apărare a aliaților. Pe aceste principii se dezvoltă doctrina globală a „civilizației umane" vs. „lumea barbară", iar instituția războiului e bazată pe lege și justiție. Se poate considera acest aspect ca un element de propagandă, dar trebuie văzut faptul și în ce măsură romanii credeau în ele.*

Keywords: Rome, war, fetial law, defence, civilization, barbarians.

In scientific literature and even more in public opinion Rome is considered to the symbol of aggression, militarism and imperialistic conquest. Another popular belief is that the Roman imperialism was quite different from the imperialism of 18th–20th centuries because of its complete absence of economic reasons and the domination of the motives of political,

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ideological and prestige character[2]. Of course this opinion has a good deal of reason, but one can also find a number of possible objections.

The Romans certainly had economical aims in their wars and conquests. Even if we try to deny such apparently economical motive as the "struggle for the export markets", "freedom of trade" and "the trade imperialism"[3], one can discover some other motives of quite an economical character. The Romans certainly waged their wars for the possession of lands in the conditions of natural and agrarian hunger and they also struggled for military booty, that was present in most of Roman wars. The capture of slaves was also the principal attribute of Roman warfare[4].

Sometimes economical motives became the principal reasons of war and one can see the apparent desire to capture the territory or to establish the control of trade communications and places of the output of minerals. In the war against Pyrrhus (275–272 BC) we can hardly see any serious contradiction of trade interests, but the desire to capture the resources of rich cities of Southern Italy is quite apparently seen. As to the Punic Wars, it is also difficult to see economical or trade conflict between Rome and Carthage, but it was the economic, financial and trade power of Carthaginians that was the basis of its political and military strength, and so the Romans had to deprive their enemy of its economic and financial power.

In the First Punic War (264–241 BC) the Carthaginians lost nearly 500, and the Romans nearly 700 warships (Polyb., I, 63, 6–7), while after the Second Punic War in 201 BC, Carthage had to surrender to the Romans all their warships, subject territories and a large contribution of money (Liv., XXX, 37, 1–6; 42, 11–21; 43). As to the Syrian war (193–189 BC) against Antioch III, the Romans didn't get any territories (the latter became the property of Roman allies), but they received the contribution of 15 000 talents, the great military booty and the enemy's fleet (Liv., XXXVIII, 38–39)[5].

If the wars in the East brought with them a really fantastic military booty, a great number of handicraft production and many masterpieces of art (Liv., XXXIV, 32; XXXVII, 59; Plut. Aem. Paul., 32–33; 38), the wars in Spain were waged for its natural resources[6]. To a large extent the Spanish wars were caused by the political and prestige motives, but perhaps the

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[2] About the Roman imperialism see for example: FRANK 1914, STIER 1957, HARRIS 1979, GARLAN 1975, BLÖSEL 2015, KASCEEV 1993, BELIKOV 2003. For very important reviews of literature about imperialistic tendencies in Roman politics see: STARR 1972, WERNER 1972.

[3] See WERNER 1972, 510–519; STARR 1972, 9 mentions a vast number of scientific works (from T. Frank to E. Badian), whose authors make the accent on the absence of economical motives in Roman politics and expansion.

[4] Such is the position of classical historiography. See: MOMMSEN 1937–1941; ROSTOVTZEFF 1926; FRANK 1914. To some extent it is shared by modern historiography: STARR 1972, 10; WERNER 1972, 503–505.

[5] On the Syrian war of 193–188 BC see WILL 1972; BENGSTON 1960, 470–473.

[6] TSIRKIN 2000, 168–182.

main reason was the Spanish mines and minerals[7]. The wars against the Ligurians, who were poor people, turned into, as Mommsen puts it, "the great slave-hunt"[8].

Besides these motives, we can find some actions that look like the real "economic wars". The Illyrian wars of 229–8 and 220–219 BC were certainly the wars for the control of naval trade communications and the interests of Roman merchants[9], while the sanctions against Rhodos in 168/7 had the principal aim to weaken the economic and political influence of that prosperous and flourishing island state[10].

The result of these measures was the transition of trade control into the hands of Athens, who were a loyal Roman ally, and the island of Delos, that belonged to the Athenians. The aim was perhaps a political one, but methods were purely economic.

Economic motives played an essential part in Roman politics and the Roman wars during the period of 3rd–2nd BC and their result was the "economics of spoliation", the unpaid import of grain to Rome, speculation of wine and other agricultural and industrial production, non-equivalent trade and the pillages of the publicani[11]. As Cl. Nicolet writes about this situation "the pillage of the world by the Romans from 146 BC to the end of the civil wars is a massive economic fact, testified as much by Sallust as by Posidonius or Agatharchides of Cnidus and illustrated by "the lust of gold" of the notorious Crassus[12],

We can see, that the economic reasons played an important role in Roman politics and Roman warfare, and one of the reasons of practically negligible role of economic motives in the works of Roman authors is the high prestige of war in Roman society and the evident

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[7] See also GARCIA Y BELLIDO 1972, 462–491. The Phoenician colonization to Spain had the economic and trade character both in 12th–11th and 9th–8th centuries BC and later in the times of Carthaginian expansion from 8th century BC. Of course, as it is usually stated, the Spanish possessions of the Barcids composed the greater part of economic and military power of Carthaginians and the victory over them was impossible without the victory in Spain. Both the armies of Hannibal in 219–218 and Hasdrubal in 207 BC consisted mainly of Gauls and Hispanians in approximately equal proportion, and so the victory of the Romans was possible only after the battle of Metaurus (207 BC) and Baecula and Ilipa (206 BC), but after the victory it were, perhaps, metals and minerals, that made the Romans wage the hard and exhausting wars of 2nd century BC. About the military, political and economic aspects of the Phoenician colonization and the conquests of Spain see TSIRKIN 1987, 14–18, 49–52; TSIRKIN 2000, 32–36; 48–51; 98–101.

[8] MOMMSEN 1937-1941, II, 75–76. As Th. Mommsen wrote: "In previous time for the increase of slave population it was enough to capture the war prisoners and the natural increase, but the new system of slave economy demanded, just as in America, the systematic people-hunt".

[9] BELIKOV 2003, 165. Even if we follow the author and deny the organized Illyrian piracy as the cause of war, it is impossible to deny, that the main official demand of the Romans was to put an end to the organized support of the sea robbers and the refuse of the Queen Teuta to stop it, as well as the murder of one of the ambassadors became *casus belli* (if not the reason) of the First Illyrian war of 229–228 BC.

[10] BELIKOV 2003, 38–46; NICOLET 1996, 637–638 shows that the action had the economical character and the main dealers at Delos were the Roman and Italian trader, dealers and bankers.

[11] NICOLET 1996, 637–639.

[12] NICOLET 1996, 640.

neglect of economic problems and subjects, that were considered too "low" and "dull" for the historical literature[13].

Speaking about the economic factors, we can see some other interesting subjects. Though the Roman authors themselves (see especially the picture of Livius in his books I–X) show the conquest of Italy as the constant warfare, the more thorough analysis shows us that except for the numerous wars against the Equi, Volsci and the Samnites[14], the most serious wars were waged against the "foreign" nations, the Etrusci (wars in 509–508, 483–474, 438–435 and 428–425, 406–396, 389–388, 359–351, 314–308 and some campaigns of 3rd BC) and Gauls (391–390, 367–349, 295, 283–282, 226–222, 200–196) and that in these wars Rome takes the role not only of one of city-states, but the image and responsibility of Italy and its nations.

We can also see, that perhaps most of Italian peoples and regions (Campania, Umbria, Apulia, Venetia, and even Lucania, Bruttium and the warlike tribes of central Italy, that played a prominent role in the Social War of 91–88 BC) joined or surrendered to Rome without any serious resistance[15]. The same was with Greek and Italian cities of Campania, the Greek cities of Southern Italy and even some cities of Etruria. Some of these peoples could be serious rivals to Rome and the reason of their "surrender" was not the political and military weakness, but common economic and political interests, ethnical unity, the need of economic and cultural cooperation and the necessity of common defence. Italy was rich in agriculture and industry and according to Cl. Nicolet "A re-reading of Nissen, E.G. Semple, Cary, or encyclopaedic surveys like Almagia-Miglioni, will simply confirm the ecstatic assertions of the ancients—Varro, Strabo, Vitruvius, Virgil, Pliny—as to the diversity, yet always

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[13] The main historical works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, Tacitus, Cassius Dio and other great historians were devoted to military and political history. About the specific interest to the political history see: FROLOV 1991, 98–100, 138–140.

[14] These wars were really numerous: Livy puts the wars against the Aequi under 494,485–482, 479, 475, 471, 468, 462, 459–457, 449, 447, 431–430, 421, 419–418, 415, 409, 397, 394–392, 389–8 and, finally, 304 (Liv., II, 31;40; 42–43; 53; 60; 63; 65; III, 1; 8; 10; 22; 66; 70; 71–72; IV, 9–10; 37; 51; 55; 56; 58–59; 61; V,12; 23; VI, 12–13; 21; 22; 32; VIII, 1; 13). Against the Volsci – 495, 494–493, 491–489, 487, 486–483, 479, 475, 471, 469, 468, 461, 459, 449, 443, 431, 413, 408–407, 404, 401, 389, 385, 382, 377, 347, 341, 338 (Liv. II, 22; 25; 31; 35; 38–39; 43; 48; 53; 60; 63–64; III, 10; 22; 60; 61; IV, 9–10; 27–29; 51; 56; 58; 61; V, 10; 12; VI, 2; 13; 22; 32; VII, 27; VIII, 1; 13. The Samnite Wars of 343–341; 328–304 and 298–290 are well known.

[15] In 493 BC after the great battle of the Regillan lake of 496 BC Rome renewed the treaty with Latium (Liv., II, 33) and until the Gallic invasion of 390 BC they practically didn't rebel against the Romans. Then there followed the Latin wars in 377, 370, 353 and the great Latin War of 340–338 BC. If we look at the list of other Roman wars, it will be much less, than in previous lists. Livius tells us about wars against the Sabini under 505, 479, 475, 470, 458, 449 (Liv., II, 15; 48; 53; 63; III, 30; 38), Aurunci – 495, 346 (Liv., II, 27; VII, 28), the Hernici – 486, 389, 362–358, 306 (Liv., II,41; VI, 2; VII, 7–8; 9–11; IX, 42–43), Ausoni – 336, 314 (Liv., VIII, 16; IX, 24), Vestini – 325–324 (Liv., VIII, 16; IX, 24), Apulians – 323 (Liv., VIII, 29), Umbri – 309–308 (Liv., IX, 39–41), Marsi – 302–301 (Liv., X, 3). We can also mention such different cities as Labicum (418 – Liv., IV, 45–46); Praeneste – 382, 380, 339 (Liv., VI, 22; 28–29; VIII, 32), Tibur 361–359; 338 (Liv., VII, 9–12; VIII, 13); Priverni – 330 (Liv., VIII, 19–20).

moderateness of the climate of Italy, the multiplicity of her resources, the equal capacity of the land for all forms of agriculture, not excluding animal husbandry"[16].

This multiplicity of resources had one consequence. Italy needed internal unity, but it didn't need the expansion overseas, and as we can see, the Gauls, Hispanians and even Greeks appeared in Italy just before the Roman legions began to conquer their territories. Even if we don't take into consideration the Greek colonization in Mycenaean times and the mainstream of 8th–7th centuries BC, the Greeks of Hellenistic times came to Italy with Pyrrhus in 275 BC, the Hispanians appeared in Italy together with the army of Hannibal in 218 BC, while the relations between the Gauls and Romans began in 391/390 BC when the Gallic invasion ended with the Gallic capture and pillage of Rome. Mommsen's idea of the Roman "defence imperialism" had a very good reason[17].

It were just the Romans, who brought definite norms into the rules of warfare. If Philip II declared the war of revenge for the annihilation and damage of Greek temples during the Xerxes' invasion of 480 BC, Isocrates in his "Philippus" nearly puts it aside and speaks only about the internal problems of Greek world. It is overpopulated and burdened by practically unsolvable problems and internal wars (Isocr., Phil., 46–54; 96; 120). The great orator speaks about the foundation of new cities, capture of new territories and arable land and solving of other difficulties of Greeks practically without mentioning of any possible "guilt" of the barbarians, who exist just in order that the Greeks could solve their own problems. He certainly remembers about the Persian invasion, but the accent is quite clear.

Even in the prime of their imperialistic expansion and the ideas of world domination the Roman politicians didn't speak in such a manner. Cicero in his speech "De provinciis consularibus", which he pronounced in 56 BC, when the great orator wanted to praise Caesar and convince the Senate to prolong his Gallic command, finds some other motives. He is certainly proud of great victories of Caesar and says that Caesar is the first general to start "real war" against the Gauls, while in the previous time the Romans only defended themselves against the enemy, who was always the mortal threat for the Roman State. He is also proud to say, that Caesar defeated even the tribes, that were very distant and unknown to Romans, but he stresses the fact, that Rome was at least free from the danger of Gallic invasion (Cic. De prov. cons., 13, 33 – 14, 34). The conquest becomes not only the "war of revenge", but the end of the long and full of difficulties defensive war, when the historical enemy at last ceased to be a historical danger, that could eliminate all the successes of the Romans (Ibid., 14, 34). To some extent it was true, and the Romans suggested the peoples of Gaul not only destruction, but the life in the world civilization, where, as it appeared later, the Gauls also found their worthy place. Even in this rather an imperialistic speech Cicero speaks not only about the annihilation of the enemy, but about making this war the last war

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[16] NICOLET 1996, 609.

[17] MOMMSEN 1937, I.

in the history of Roman-Gallic relations (Ibid. 14, 34–35). In his own "Commentaries" Caesar often speaks about these problems[18]. He also stresses the Gallic threat towards Rome and the already civilized part of Gaul, especially underlying the German danger (Caes. B.G., I, 3–7; 11; 31; 33; III, 1; IV, 1; 3; 16; VII, 1–2; 3)[19], and shows, that the real way of every nation is the way together with Rome and not against it (Ibid., 1, 17; 28; 30; 31; 33; IV, 6; VI, 11; 12; 21–23; VII, 49, 1) and the yesterday enemy may become a friend tomorrow.

Another fact is the negative attitude towards Civil War, when the Roman public opinion rejected the very idea of such a conflict, notwithstanding the fact, on what side the person participated[20]. Especially after the Civil War of 49–45 BC the border between the bellum civile, that was unacceptable to Roman morals, and the bellum externum, that was considered "the natural process", began to disappear[21]. There were numerous attempts to make a civil war look like bellum externum[22], but it was also the step towards the denial of the war as it is and later — towards the Stoic idea of unity of the mankind.

At the foundation of this idea stands the ceremony of declaration of war by Roman fetials, the detailed description of which can be found in Livius (Liv., I, 24, 4–9; 32, 5–14) aid other Roman authors (Dion. Hal., II, 67, 31; Plut. Numa, 16; Varro L.L., V, 86). I.L. Mayak justly explains it as a very archaic custom, connected with prehistoric times, when the Roman kings didn't yet exist and considers that its archaic character makes any later construction impossible[23].

The characteristic feature of Rome was that the Roman kings, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, made this custom a necessary procedure for the political and diplomatic life. Especially interesting is the fact, that the Greek authors (Plutarch and Dionysius) connect it not with a king-warrior Tullus Hostilius, as Livius does it, but with the peace-making king Numa Pompilius, who put the end to all wars and was the founder of the Roman priesthood and sacral organization.

Livy often mentions the fetials, especially when he speaks about the events of 364–298 BC (Liv., IV, 53, 1; VII, 9, 2; 36, 2; 32, 1; IX, 45, 6; X, 12, 1–3), as well as about the later wars (Liv., XXX, 43, 9; XXXVI, 7–12; Polyb., III, 25). In early times the fetials usually made the declaration

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[18] HOLMES 1911, 211–256; COLLINS 1972, 926.

[19] COLLINS 1972, 922–939; RADITSA 1973, 419–433.

[20] JAL 1966, 394–439; MEYER 1966, 156–157, 301–302; COLLINS 1972, 942–962; RADITSA 1973, 446–447.

[21] COLLINS 1972, 923–928, 936–937.

[22] One may remember the triumph of Pompey over the Numidian king Hyarbas, who helped the marian army of Domitius Ahenobarbus (Plut. Pomp., 10–12; App. B.G., 1 , 93–96; Liv. Epit., 89; Eutr., V, 9; De v. ill., 77), triumph of Metellus and Pompey over Sertorius (Eutr., VI, 5) and, certainly, the African and the Hispanian triumphs of Caesar and the victory "over Cleopatra" of Octavianus. Though the triumphators stressed the fact, that the Romans "fought on the side of the external enemy (king Juba or Cleopatra), the popular opinion couldn't take the idea, that such people like Sertorius and Porcius Cato and even Marcus Antony or Labienus were the traitors of the *populus Romanus*. All these attempts were met with strong discontent of the Roman people.

[23] MAYAK 1982, 247–248.

of war, while later they also took an active part in making peace, concluding the peace agreements and committing other diplomatic activity.

The ceremony declared a few simple, but very important principles. Firstly, the war was considered a "just" one only if it was openly declared; secondly, the fetial law demanded the exposition of basic demands and thirdly, the other side had the time of about 30 or 33 days of delay and the war could be declared only if the enemy refused to receive fetials themselves or rejected their demands. According to Livius, the fetials had to return home and inform the King and the Senate (later — the Senate and the Popular Assembly) and only after their decision, they were again sent to the enemy and declared the war by the famous custom of throwing the spear into the enemy land (Liv., I, 52).

If the enemy was prone to compromise, the fetial law could become the beginning of peaceful negotiations, and if he considered the war as an established fact, he at least got time for military preparations and so the fetial ceremony was not only the simple declaration of war, but the establishment of moral pattern in the more inhuman world of international affairs.

This concept of "bellum iustum" certainly could be the object of manipulation. The demands could be completely unacceptable or even unrealistic and the pause could be used for the military preparations not only by the enemy, but also by the Romans. One of the patterns of manipulation is vividly described by Livius (Liv., I, 22, 3–7) and Roman behaviour during the Third Punic War perfectly shows the way of making the conditions of the peace treaty completely unacceptable (App. Lyb., 75; 77; 81; Liv. Epit., 49; Diod., XXXII, 6, 1–3; Polyb., XXXVI, 4, 5–7; Zon., IX, 26)[24].

Despite these facts, the Roman behaviour was a contrast towards the behaviour of their enemies. Pyrrhus started dramatic negotiations only after the battle of Heraclea. In 272 BC, despite the treaty with Rome, the Carthaginians sent their fleet to help the people of Tarent (Liv. Epit., 14). The Syrian War (193–188 BC) began with the disembarkment of Antioch III in Greece in order to unite his forces with that of the Aetolian league, which were already waging the war with the Romans (Liv., XXXV, 48), while Philip V began his undeclared war with Rome after the secret treaty with Hannibal[25].

Perhaps, most characteristic of this principle was the beginning of the Second Punic War in 218 BC, when the Romans lost a lot of time, trying to observe the necessary formalities, at the time, when Hannibal was besieging the city of Saguntum (Liv., XXI, 6–7) and even didn't receive the Roman embassy, while the Carthaginian gerousia mockingly suggested the Romans to choose between war and peace.

Only then the embassy of Fabius could declare the war (Polyb., III, 33, 2–4; Liv., XXI, 6; 10–11; 16–17; App. Hisp., 13), but even after the declaration of Roman embassy, that was made in

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[24] KORABLEV 1976, 339–340.

[25] KORABLEV 1976, 66–69.

the gerousia, the Romans had to affirm it by the resolution of the Senate and the decree of the Popular Assembly (Liv., XXI, 16–17). Of course, the question of "war guilt" in this great war is a matter of long and difficult discussion[26], but it usually concerns the question of the justice of Roman treaty with Saguntum, while it is impossible to reject that it was Hannibal, who began military actions, and it was Rome, who openly declared the war, that was already going. It is possible to reproach the Roman Senate that it didn't foresee the plan of Hannibal and lost several heavy battles from Ticine and Trebbia (218 BC) till the disaster of Cannae (216 BC), but it just concerns the military side of the question. On the contrary, it is impossible to accuse it in the unrealistic desire to escape this most tragic war in the Republican history[27]. The Romans perfectly well understood its inevitable character and their behaviour was a matter of their mentality. The Senate couldn't make necessary military preparations and the Roman generals prepared for the "second edition" of the First Punic War or something like this, but all the formalities, both religious and political, had to be observed, and the Romans believed that the Gods were on their side. When time came, it was Fabius and his surroundings, who found the way to win the war.

So Romans are often considered the "aggressors" just because they were the side, who openly declared the war, while their enemies often preferred the undeclared warfare. This was characteristic for the "civilized" enemies as Greeks and Carthaginians, but it was even more characteristic for the "uncivilized" enemies (Gauls, Ligurians, Celtiberi, Lusitans and Germans), who preferred the sudden attack, considering it as an excellent military strategy. One may object, that it was a pattern of Roman authors, but the existence of such a pattern must also be taken into consideration. Perhaps, it is not surprising, that many wars from the Pyrrhus' war to the I Mithridatic War began with defeats of the Romans and ended with their final victory and sometimes even with the destruction and capitulation of the enemy.

This moral influenced the general concept of war in Rome. Usually our sources tried to show it as a defence against the aggression of the enemy. Of course, very often it was not so, but now we are again speaking about the interpretation of Roman authors, which sometimes differed from real situation.

1. The most frequent explanation is the self-defence, and when the Romans could show their wars in this way, they usually did it. Despite the concept of "just" and "unjust" wars, the Romans preferred to show, that it were not they, who began the military actions.

From the time of Roman kings until the Samnite Wars out of about a hundred of wars of 753–282 nearly 60 are shown as purely defensive, though they often ended with Roman offensive and victory. That was the case with most of wars against the Volsci, Aequi, Sabini, Etruscians and other neighbours of Rome (for example — Liv., II, 6, 1–5; 9, 1–4; 18, 3–4; 24, 1–2; 26, 1; 30, 8; 30, 12; 39, 1–7; 42, 9; 58, 3; 64, 3; III, 4, 2–4; 6, 4; 25, 5;26, 1; 38, 3–5; IV, 16–12; 17, 1;

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[26] KORABLEV 1976, 56–59.

[27] KORABLEV 1976, 72–74.

26, 2–3; 30, 12–15; 49, 7–8; 56, 4; 58, 5; V, 8, 5–6; 28, 5–7; 31, 4; VI, 3, 2; 11, 2; 22, 1–2; 28, 1–2; VII, 42, 8; IX, 45, 5–8), and especially against the Gauls (Ibid., V, 36–37; VIII, 12, 7; 9, 6 and others).

2. About the middle of the 4th century BC, when the attacks on the Roman territory became more and more difficult, and the Romans were surrounded by their allies (socii), we can see the beginning of another principle, the defence of socii and amici of Roman people. This idea appeared already in the wars against the Aequi and Volsci, when the Romans were defending their allies, the Latini and Hernici (Liv., IV, 51, 7; 53, 1; VII, 16, 2–3; 17, 7–8). The defence of the allies in Campania and Lucania is stated as the cause of the Samnite Wars (the First — Liv., VII, 32, 1–2; the Second — VIII, 23, 3–7; the Third — X, 11, 1). This motive was also present in the First and Second Punic Wars and became especially important in the Eastern Wars of 2nd c. B. C. The Second Macedonian War began as "the war of revenge" against Philip V for his help to Hannibal, but very soon it turned into the protection of all "small" and "weak" countries (Egypt, Rhodes, Pergamon, as well as numerous Greek city-states) against the great powers of the Hellenistic world, the Seleucid Empire and Macedonian monarchy. In Mithridatic Wars Rome combined the defence of their own provinces with the help of the client and allied kingdoms. This motive was especially important in the Gallic Wars of Julius Caesar (58–51 BC) and it was practiced from their beginning in 58 BC (Caes. B.G., 1, 31–33) till 53–52 (Ibid., V, 55; VI, 3), while the wars against Germans were represented not only as Roman, but also as the Gallic project (Ibid., I, 33; IV, 5–7; V, 20).

3. The idea of the "defence of the allies" became the foundation of some more global ideas. The alliances with Greek city-states and leagues created the philhellenic idea, which clearly manifested itself in the liberation of Greece in 196 BC The philhellenic policy of the Romans is a matter of discussion, and the opinions differ from the idea of a cool cynical play of Roman political leaders to a sincere desire to defend and save the Greek culture and civilization. It is not the place to discuss this question, but perhaps the Roman politicians could not play their role so perfectly if they didn't (at least partly) take it as their real mission, while for the Greeks, notwithstanding the seemly side of Roman invasion and rule, this way was the most acceptable one.

Another side of this defence of the civilization and culture show the wars against the world of north barbarians (the Gauls, Ligurians, the tribes of north Balkan regions, partly the tribes of Spain and especially the Germans), that were, on the whole, much more numerous and full of bloodshed and cost the Romans much more human and material losses. In 200, 198–196, 194–193, 191, 179, 166–160 BC the Romans fought against the Gauls (Liv., XXXI, 2; 10; 21; XXXIII, 22, 2; XXXIV, 22; 46–47; XXXV, 4–5; XXXVI, 36–38; XLI, 1; Epit., 46), Ligurians in 194, 193, 187, 181–179, 177, 173–172 (Liv., XXXIV, 56; XXXV, 3; XXXVI, 38; XXXVIII, 42; XXXIX, 1–2; 20; XL, 41; 53; XLI, 12; XLII, 7; 21); Spanish tribes in 197, 192, 187, 183, 181–180 and 179 BC, the Istrians (Ibid., XLI, 1–4; 11), the Sardinians (Ibid., XLI, 9; 12; 16–17) and the Corsicans (Ibid., XLII, 7).

Later came the wars against the Celtiberians and Lusitani (153–133 BC), the Numidians (the Iugurthine War of 113–105 BC), the Arverni and Allobroges (125–123 BC) and the Cymbri and Teutoni (114–101 BC). All this warfare was waged without any rules from both sides, but the barbarian invasions of 5th and 3rd c. AD vividly show, what should happen after the fall of Roman defence. The Gallic Wars of Julius Caesar (58–51 BC) and the German and Pannonian Wars of Augustus and Tiberius (13–9 BC, 4–9 and 14–17 AD) for about two centuries created an irresistible barrier against any barbarian threat.

Another global idea was that of the world order. It had a very broad concept, including not only the defence of Roman State, its borders and allies, but also the defence of the Roman citizens, their life, their interests and property, notwithstanding, where they were (see the beginning of Iugurthine war), and, if the State failed to do it, the revenge for their death (the Ephesian slaughter of 88 BC was stated as the main cause of all three Mithridatic Wars). We can add to it, that every Roman chief commander had to return all the captured Roman citizens, whom he was able to free, while the return of Roman war prisoners was one of the main demands of every peaceful treaty.

Another Roman idea was the defence of the diplomatic missions and their members from every possible insult or danger to their life (see for example the Illyrian war of 229 and Liv. Epit., 12) and we, perhaps, can see, that the Romans were especially scrupulous towards this institute, being rather tolerant to the foreign diplomatic visitors (Sall. Iug., 33–35; Liv., VIII, 6), when the capital punishment for them was the banishment from the country. Diplomacy was a dangerous profession, but the Romans affirmed the principle of diplomatic immunity.

4. Global wars of 1st c. BC, beginning from the First Mithridatic War (89–65 BC) until the wars of Augustus, were the wars for the world domination, when the Roman armies went forward until they were stopped by the natural border, strong enemy resistance or heavy human and material losses. This doctrine can be understood as a pure imperialism and the strive for unlimited domination, the way of thinking and acting with the intention of complete domination over all other nations of the world.

At this time Rome especially practiced such dangerous ideas, as the punishment for every help to the enemies of Rome (material help, use of the territory or even moral help) (Liv., VII, 16, 2–3; 17, 7–8; IX, 16, 6–7; X, 21, 11–12), as well as the ideas of "preventive war"[28], "the war of

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[28] Perhaps, the classical situation of "preventive war" is the situation around the Gallic war of Julius Caesar. See, for example: COLLINS 1972, 923–936; RADITSA 1973, 417–427. It is possible to mark three main positions: the first shows the Gallic wars as a pure imperialistic aggression, caused either by the personal ambitions of the Roman leader, or by the inner problems of the Romans (A. Heuss, D. Timpe and others); the second considers the conquest of Gaul as the historical mission of Rome and Caesar, that was called by the political and historical necessity (Th. Mommsen) and the third, according to which, the threat of Gallia and especially of the Germans really existed (L. Raditsa, A. Sherwin White). The majority of the authors of the works about the Gallic wars show, that the Roman public opinion didn't protest against the wars in Gallia, as soon as they were victorious and the protests concern only one point – the growth of the power of Caesar and his army, which he could use in the inner struggle against his enemies in Rome.

revenge"[29] and the war against the "historical enemy" (Gauls or Carthaginians), as well as the transformation of external wars into the "suppression of brigandage, piracy and other criminal activity". One can find a lot of examples, when the high and "beautiful" words about the "war Justice" were cynically violated and the war protests began only when the armies suffered heavy defeats and losses and the war expenses began to grow. All this is true, but there was just another side.

The Romans had the long tradition of international community, and from the very beginning of their history they had the experience of cooperation of different nations. Even in the early period of Roman kingdom the populus Romanus (as well as the ruling aristocracy) consisted not only of Latins and Sabinians, but incorporated other nations, from Siculi and Liguri to Greeks and Etruscans[30]. Even in the earliest period of Roman kingdom the Roman citizenship absorbed into itself the representatives of different peoples of Italia. The Roman history, Roman census and the information of Roman nobility[31] show the steady increase of Roman citizenship owing to the so called "artificial growth"[32].

One more argument can be mentioned: both German and Helvetian invasion were thoroughly prepared, and the preparations began about the end of the '60s. The Helvetians began to prepare their resettlement about 61 BC, while the Germans of Ariovistus began the attack against the Aedui even earlier (Caes. B.G., 1, 3–5; 31), and Caesar, preoccupied by inner struggle in Rome, could deal with these problems only at the end of his consulship of 59 BC. The optimate government completely ignored this problem and at the moment of Helvetian attack in March 58 the Roman "aggressor" had only one legio at the frontier line of Rhodanus (Ibid., 1, 7), while the three others were far away at Aquileia and two others were conscripted in a very short time. Four legions were the usual garrison of the Cisalpine Gaul (see BRUNT 1971, 343–345), which they had there even in peaceful times. The Gallic Wars began not with a sudden massive attack with overwhelming force (as, for instance, the wars of Pyrrhus and Hannibal), but with the express measures in order to organize the defence of the Roman provinces.

[29] See also the note 28. The classical example is, of course, the Third Punic War (149–146 BC), which caused the discussion in the Roman Senate and, later, in the historical literature (Liv. Epit., 47–48; Plut. Cato, 26; App. Lyb., 69). See KORABLEV 1976, 332–336.

[30] MAYAK 1982, 46–89. The author gives a thorough analysis of the material of ancient writers from Varro, Livius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus till Macrobius and Themistius, as well as the vast archeological material and the historiography of the question. Even the consideration of the populus Romanus in the time of early kings shows, that it consisted of different ethnic groups (Siculi, Ligures, Latini or Protolatini, the Troyans, Mycaenians and later Sabini, Etruscans, Illyrians, Veneti, Iapudi, Aurunci and others).

[31] Even the earliest patrician aristocracy consisted not only of the Latin and Sabinian gentes, but included Etrurians, Greeks, Illyrians, Troyans and other people, while some of the patrician gentes (Fabii, Potitii, Pinarii and others) could have their ancestors among the Siculi, Pelasgi and the unknown Aborigines (See MAYAK 1982, 139–141). As to the further history of the Republic in 5th–1st c. BC, we can look at the numerous articles in Pauli–Wissowa, that show that the Republican nobility, especially the plebeian, comes from practically every nation from Latini and Campani till the Samnites and Etruscians. The same picture shows the prosopography of the Roman Empire of 1st–3rd c. AD, when the nobility and senators represented practically every province of the Roman world.

[32] See ZABOROVSKII 1985, 6–64. The basic works on Roman census even now are considered that of K.J. Beloch, T. Mommsen, T. Frank, P. Brunt and Cl. Nicolet (MOMMSEN 1871–1887; BELOCH 1886; FRANK 1930, 313–324; BRUNT 1971; NICOLET 1977). Perhaps the periods of the strongest artificial growth since the time of 332 BC were the census of 265 BC (292 334) after 271 234 in 275 BC; the census of 236–234 BC – 270 213 after 241 212 in 247 BC; the census of

After the Latin war (340–338 BC) and the victory of Rome over Latium the census of 332 shows the growth of Roman citizens from about 150–160 000 to 250 000 certainly because of granting the citizenship to the Latin communities, and the grant of citizenship after the Second Punic War saved the Romans from the possible depopulation[33]. The process was rather difficult and the "national resistance" to the granting of citizenship to Italian socii and the provincials brought the society to the horrible bloodshed of the Social War (91–88 BC) as well as to the possible catastrophe of 40–30 BC, but after Caesar Rome came to the real "legal revolution"[34], that gave the rights of Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of Roman provinces, who received it in 2nd–1st centuries AD. Owing to Julius Caesar, Roman State could escape the "great rebellion" of the provinces against the Roman rule, that could repeat the horrors of the Social War.

Rome took the Caesarean and later the Imperial idea that the conquered peoples sooner or later receive the Roman citizenship and live in order and prosperity, when the recent enemy could become a friend today and a Roman citizen and even the Roman senator in the next generations. In fact Caesar and Augustus didn't invent any new ideology, but just adapted the old Roman tradition to the new historical reality.

Livy, who wrote in the times of Augustus, tells us, that after the foundation of the City Romulus founded the asylum for all the persecuted and unemployed people (Liv., I, 8, 4; Dion. Hal., I, 16; Plut. Rom., 20)[35]. This legend, that perhaps had a good historical background as well as the fetial custom and the idea of "just" and "unjust" war, stands at the very beginning of the history of Roman State, and when it became the world power, it was trying to create the new world order, based on these principles.

From the self-defence and the defence of their allies the Romans came to the ideas of the defence of the world civilization and culture, the establishment of the world order and the people, who lived in the Roman Empire, from all forms of violence and the defence of weak and unemployed from any injustice. Livy wrote his monumental work when the Augustan Empire took this mission on itself. Perhaps it didn't manage to fulfil it, but the pax Romana of 1st–2nd c. AD and its achievements show, that this idea was not mere words or the means of manipulation.

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189 (258 318) after 143 704 in 194 BC; the census of 125 BC (390 736) after 317 823 in 131 BC and, of course, the census of 86 BC – 463 000; of 70 BC – 910 000; and of 28 BC – 4 063 000. The Romans should exhaust their human resources in Punic, Social, Civil and other wars if it were not the permanent "artificial" increase of Roman citizenship.

[33] See Liv., IX, 19; NICOLET 1996, 603 considers these numbers should be amended, but then how to explain the quite reliable numbers of 262 331 in 294/293 BC after the II Samnite War of 328–304 BC

[34] ZABOROVSKII 1985, 31–33; 35.

[35] MAYAK 1982, 208–209.

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The cult of Mercury in Roman Gaul and Roman Britain

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Abstract. *According to Julius Caesar, of all the gods Celts revered Mercury the most, regarding him as the inventor of all arts. The cult of Mercury became widespread not only in Roman Gaul, which was one of the most thoroughly Romanised provinces of the Empire, but also in Roman Britain — the farthest western area governed by the Roman Empire. In both provinces Mercury was worshipped as the patron of commerce, which befitted him as the Roman god of trade and profit. At the same time, in both Gaul and Britain Mercury was syncretized with the Celtic horned god of fertility. Archaeological findings from these regions also suggest that the Mercury worshipped in Britain and Gaul during the Roman rule was also the guardian of military affairs — a role absolutely untypical of the original Roman god, but necessary for the supreme god of Celts who was the divine warrior-patron of Celtic tribes. Besides, the magical-chthonic aspect of Celtic Mercury likened him to Hermes, the god of eschatological and mystical endeavour of humankind in the religion of the Ancient Mediterranean.*

Rezumat. *Potrivit lui Caesar, celții l-au venerat cel mai mult pe Mercur, acesta fiind considerat inventatorul tuturor meșteșugurilor. Cultul lui Mercur nu s-a răspândit doar în Gallia romană, care era una dintre provinciile profund romanizate ale Imperiului , ci și în Britannia — provincia cea mai vestică a Imperiului roman. Mercur era venerate în ambele provincii ca patron al comerțului, dar atât în Gallia, cât și în Britannia, a fost sincretizat cu zeul celt al fertilității. Descoperirile arheologice arată că Mercur era perceput în ambele provincii ca păzitor al armatei — un fapt absolut netipic pentru zeul roman, dar necesar pentru zeul suprem al celților — patron războinic al triburilor celtice. Aspectele magice ale cultului lui Mercur celtic îl leagă pe acesta de Hermes.*

Keywords: cult of Mercury; Roman Gaul; Roman Britain; religion.

The most clear and compelling written evidence on the religion of Ancient Celts provided by antique historiography is the famous writing by Caesar devoted to the great Gaulish gods (Caes. B. G., VI, 17). A distinctive feature of this text is that when Caesar enumerates the most prominent Gaulish deities, he gives them the names of the gods of the Graeco-Roman pantheon. Caesar writes that among other gods the Gauls most worship Mercury whom they declare the inventor of all arts. After him they set Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. In Caesar's words, the Gauls have almost the same idea of these deities as all other nations,

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"Apollo drives away diseases, Minerva supplies the first principles of arts and crafts, Jupiter holds the empire of heaven, Mars controls wars" (B. G., VI, 17).

Among scholars there are two primary objections to Caesar's assertions. One of them is of a more general nature. It is expressed, for instance, by M.L. Sjoestedt in her excellent work "Gods and Heroes of the Celts" which is often referred to and cited by more recent scholars. She finds it difficult to admit the possibility that "the great Gods of the Celts would seem to correspond more or less exactly to the great Gods of the Romans". She argues, "Such a coincidence is *a priori* surprising. In view of the profound divergence in mentality and social structure which we observe as between Romans and Celts, one must wonder at such a similarity of their religious ideas"[2]. The other objection is more specific. Celticists wonder why Caesar, while giving Roman names to Celtic gods, places Mercury above Jupiter, the supreme god of Romans.

Concerning the surprise Sjoestedt expresses over the fact that in Caesar's writings Gaulish and Roman deities appear so similar as to make it possible to equate them to each other, one may argue that such equation is, in fact, perfectly natural. It signifies the beginning of the process of Romanisation of the Celtic religion under Roman influence. This process, once started, was accelerated further by the Roman conquests, when they seized Celtic lands, turning them into Roman provinces (first Gaul, then Britain). The phenomenon of Romanisation of local cults in the areas conquered by Romans is a sign of religious syncretism characteristic of ancient civilizations. "In general ancient religions were accommodating"[3], as J. Ferguson points out.

This point of view is shared by J. Vendryes. He wrote, "All ancient nations deemed it beneficial to identify alien deities with the gods of their own land. The prestige that Ancient Greek civilization had enjoyed promoted the practice of identifying Minerva with Athena, Diana with Artemis, Venus with Aphrodite and Juno with Hera. Tacitus displays the same tendency when he mentions the cult of Castor and Pollux among a Germanic tribe that lived close to present-day Bohemia" (Tac. Germ., 43)[4].

Incidentally, it was Tacitus who coined the phrase *interpretatio Romana* that is used in modern science to denote syncretic processes of equating Roman and local deities which took place in Romanised provinces. When describing the Germanic tribe of the Nahanarvali, Tacitus writes about the sacred grove where an ancient cult is practised. He goes on to say that, "Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana, Castorem Pollucemque memorant" ("A priest in female attire has the charge of it. But the deities (*who are worshipped in the sacred grove — N.Sh.*) are described in Roman language as Castor and Pollux") (Tac. Germ., 43). M. Henig notes that *interpretaio Romana* was a dynamic concept. It

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[2] SJOESTEDT 1940, 20.

[3] FERGUSON 1970, 211.

[4] VENDRYES 1942, 262.

did not destroy the ancestral gods but it most certainly changed them. The rites and ceremonies performed in British temples of the Roman period closely resembled those held in shrines of pre-Roman Britain. So, "a line of continuity in worship and ritual links Romano-Celtic religion with its past. A Briton of the Flavian period must have felt he was venerating the gods of his fathers and grandfathers even though artists from the continent now gave them human (i.e. Graeco-Roman) faces"[5].

The second objection—that in his writings Caesar names Mercury and not Jupiter as the head of the Celtic pantheon—can be easily countered if one bears in mind that in Caesar's time the process of Romanisation of the religion was gaining traction in Gaul. Obviously, the god Celts revered the most was taking on the appearance of the Roman Mercury via *interpretatio Romana*, the two deities already having similar functions.

As is known, in Roman mythology Mercury was the god of trade and financial gain, the patron of merchants and travellers. Equating Mercury with Hermes leads to the increased complexity of the image of the Roman god. He becomes a psychopomp — the guide of departed souls to the underworld, the emissary of gods, the patron of heralds and ambassadors, the guardian of envoys' immunity, an adept of magic and astrology. As is the case with Hermes, Mercury's role as the patron of herdsmen who increases animal yield is secondary. One of Mercury's attributes as the messenger of gods and patron of heralds was the caduceus — a staff entwined by two serpents that in ancient times was an emblem of messengers, heralds and envoys giving them immunity. When Mercury acted as the patron of trade and commercial success, his attribute was a purse or a money bag. As the intermediary between the worlds of the mortal and the divine, and the guide escorting deceased souls to the underworld he wore golden winged sandals which helped him to transfer swiftly between the worlds.

Caesar's assertion that Mercury was the most venerated god among the Gaulish tribes is corroborated by a large number of written sources indicating the extents of his cult in Roman Gaul. Inscriptions (440), statues and reliefs (350), bronze statuettes (440), places of worship consecrated to Mercury are far more numerous than similar objects concerning any other god. Gaul accounts for two thirds of documents regarding Mercury that have been found in all the Roman provinces[6]. A gigantic statue of Mercury, one of the biggest in the ancient world, was erected in the centre of the province. The Arverni commissioned the statue to Nero's sculptor Zenodorus who spent ten years working on it and received a huge fee (Plin. H. N., XXXIV, 18).

The cult of Mercury can also be traced through numerous toponyms. Some place names suggest that the veneration of the god was connected with heights — e.g., Mont Mercure in Barjon (the territory of the Lingones), Montmartre in Paris, the Merkur (mountain) near

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[5] HENIG 2005, 6.

[6] DUVAL 1976, 69.

Baden-Baden. The temple of Mercury erected at the summit of Pui de Dôme was widely known. Archaeological evidence suggests that the temple was notable for its splendour — the walls were faced with rare types of marble and the roof was made of lead. No less significant was the cult of Mercury on Mount Donon in the Vosges where the god was worshipped by the Mediomatrici and the Leuci[7]. In Roman Gaul Mercury was depicted with the attributes typical of this Roman deity — a caduceus, a purse, etc.

The cult of Mercury became widespread not only in Roman Gaul, which was one of the most thoroughly Romanised provinces and was situated in the centre of the Empire, but also in Roman Britain — the farthest western area governed by the Roman Empire. The archaeological excavations conducted in Uley, Gloucestershire in 1976-1979 resulted in the discovery of a Romano-Celtic temple dedicated to Mercury. Around the temple were living quarters of the priests officiating at the altar, guest accommodation and a bath complex[8]. The shrine in Uley yielded the biggest number of votive offerings that have been found in Britain during the excavation of temple sites of the Roman period[9].

Soon after 380 AD, during the Theodosius period—when pagan temples were being destroyed and sacrifices forbidden—votive offerings were removed from the shrine and the north-eastern corner of the temple and the portico were demolished. Later, when the rubble was cleared away, a small stone building was erected over the remnants of the previous ones. When archaeologists excavated it, they discovered fragments of the Roman cult statue of Mercury carved in limestone—the head of the god and the torso of a ram (an animal associated with the deity)—hidden under the cobbled platforms surrounding the building. The body of a cockerel—another animal consecrated to Mercury—was incorporated in the foundation of a building dating back to the Theodosius period. It may be supposed that the fragments of the statue were carefully buried by the god's worshippers in the post-Roman period in an attempt to save at least these remnants left after the destruction Christians wrought[10].

The head of Mercury (Figure 1) is notable for the highly accomplished manner it is created in. Although it is carved in local limestone, the harmony and symmetry of the features; the subtle modelling of the planes of the cheeks, set off spectacularly by a mass of tight curls; and finally, the expression of gentle goodwill on the face resemble the beautiful images sculpted by Praxiteles from semi-translucent Parian marble. The curly tresses suggest the use of the drill to achieve such rich texture, like in the youthful portraits of Marcus Aurelius . The outlining of the irises and pupils also indicates the 2nd century AD as the time

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[7] VRIES 1961, 42.
[8] HENIG 2005, 151.
[9] ELLISON and HENIG 1981, 43.
[10] ELLISON and HENIG 1981, 43.
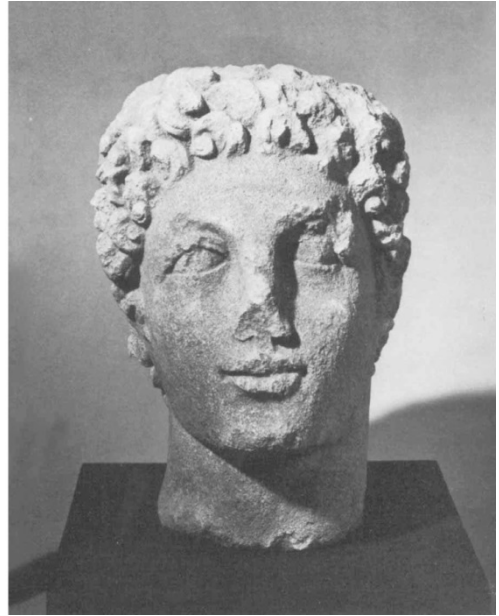
Figure 1. The head of the cult statue of Mercury. Limestone, 2nd century AD, Uley, Gloucestershire

when the statue was created, since it was in that period that such techniques were becoming frequently employed by Roman sculptors[11].

It is believed that the cult statue of the shrine in Uley was made in Antonine times in a highly Romanised environment. The only non-classical element in it was the use of local limestone instead of costly marble. The extant fragments demonstrate a degree of craftsmanship which is astonishing for a sculpture carved in coarser-grained stone. That naturally leads to the question of the authorship of this excellent work. A. Ellison and M. Henig suggest that the statue might have been created by a certain Sulinus son of Brucetus [Sulinus Scultor Bruceti f(ilius)], of whom it is known that in Bath (*Aquae Sulis*) and Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*) he erected two altars dedicated to goddesses Suleviae (RIB 105, 151)[12].

It is a well-known fact that starting from Hellenistic time the figure of so-called "itinerant artist" becomes quite common in the artistic life of classical antiquity. An artist (a painter or a sculptor) would move from town to town, from country to country taking along his pupils, his ideas, his techniques. It promoted closer cultural connections between certain artistic schools that existed in different Hellenistic states and enhanced cohesiveness of complex and

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[11] WALDHAUER 1923, 72; BRITOVA 1956, 328.

[12] ELLISON and HENIG 1981, 44.

multifaceted Hellenistic culture[13]. In the Roman period that was how Classical Greek tradition found its way to Rome.

J. Toynbee who undertook rigorous research into the literary sources and inscriptions of the names of architects, sculptors and artists working in Rome in the late Republican period as well as the time of the empire arrived at the conclusion that the majority of them were foreigners—Greeks mostly—who introduced Greece's cultural heritage to Rome. She notes that in the Roman period the Greek art of sculpture in eastern centres of the Roman world remained vibrantly alive and creative; it was first to use certain technical innovations which only later became part of that repertoire of tools Roman sculptors used. As an example J. Toynbee cites the use of the drill to deeply etch curls and eyes of portrait sculptures—the technique Roman sculptors started to employ only in the 2nd century AD, although it was known to their Greek counterparts in Aphrodisias—a small Hellenistic city located on the border of Phrygia and Caria in the time of Tiberius (1st century AD)[14]. As to "our" sculptor who created the cult statue of Mercury for the temple in Uley, A. Ellison and M. Henig advance a hypothesis that although the sculpture is made of local limestone the artisan might have come from a region in the Eastern Mediterranean much more distant than Romanised Gaul, from where numerous sculptors, painters and mosaicists arrived in Roman Britain to work for local clients[15].

Mercury is also depicted on a relief on a small figured limestone altar which during the Theodosius period was used face down to pave the floor of the building erected over the ruins of the temple. The relief displays the god nude apart from a cloak draped over his left arm. He holds the money bag in his right hand and the caduceus in his left. On his head he probably had a wide-brimmed wayfarer's hat—a *petasos*—with small wings of which only short stubs remain and which helped Mercury to transfer between worlds performing the same function as his winged sandals. The god is flanked by the ram (on the right) and the cockerel (on the left). Judging by the few slightly better preserved parts of the relief it was notable for its high artistic quality and so it is among the best examples of artworks from the Roman period discovered in Britain[16]. Also discovered in Uley were two bronze figurines of Mercury. The bigger one closely resembles the image of the god depicted on the relief on the altar. Again the god is represented as a naked ephebe with a drapery hanging over his left arm, the purse in his right hand and the caduceus in his left. The second figurine shows Mercury wearing a warm hooded cloak—a *paenula*—that travellers habitually wore. In both cases Mercury is

[13] ROTENBERG 1956, 257.
[14] TOYNBEE 1951, 65.
[15] ELLISON 1978, 369.
[16] HENIG 1978, 370.

depicted in the Graeco-Roman manner, and both types seem to have been modelled after the classical statues of the god[17].

During the excavations of the shrine a miscellany of small objects were discovered including coins, jewellery and inscriptions on bronze and lead which are considered of significant archaeological interest. There are more than a hundred lead tablets inscribed with a stilus in Roman Cursive. Some are tolerably well-preserved but the majority had been rolled and then flattened, although archaeologists hope to be able to unroll them. It is entirely likely that the tablets are curse tablet (*defixiones*), or pledges made to the god. Another group of votive offerings includes miniature spears, miniature votive pots and a vast array of broken bronze rings[18].

Despite the pronounced "classical accent" obvious in the depictions of Mercury, his image and his cult incorporated non-Roman features. Miniature weapons can be regarded as such since classical Mercury had never performed military functions. M. Henig believes miniature rings to be stylized torcs that were a typical neck ornament worn by the Celts[19].

According to Henig, in the Iron Age there was a shrine of some local Celtic deity on West Hill. Seeing *interpretatio Romana* as a living, active force, Henig paints a vivid and colourful picture of the way Romanisation of the local deity and cult practised by the Celts in Uley could have started. A Roman colonist owing land in the vicinity or a soldier of the Roman army stationed in Britain who is probably going on a hazardous expedition explores the neighbourhood. He comes upon a site which is clearly the dwelling of some Celtic god. He sees a hill surmounted by an ancient mound with a sacred grove in an enclosure. Wishing to venerate the unknown deity and secure his support the visitor asks the natives about the name of the god. He may not succeed at first, for names are powerful things and might give him power over the god of Uley.

Then the visitor tries to find in the Celtic shrine some features resembling the gods of his Roman pantheon well-known to him. The first thing that attracts his attention is the sacred grove which could be the preserve of Silvanus, originally the Roman deity of woods delighting in trees growing wild. In the time of the empire the god becomes the patron of the fields and flocks (Serv. Verg. Georg., I, 20), the protector of the house and estate, presiding over its boundaries; a grove is sacred to him (Horat. Ep., II, 21). Then the pilgrim sees weapons among the votive offerings given to the Celtic god worshipped in Uley, naturally, it reminds him of the Roman war god Mars. He is not surprised that the Celtic god incorporates the features of both Silvanus and Mars. Combining the images of both gods in one cult was not unknown in the Roman context. E.M. Shtaerman cites the inscription on the altar dedicated to Mars-

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[17] HENIG 1978, 369.

[18] ELLISON 1978, 370.

[19] HENIG 2005, 42.

Silvanus (CIL XI, 7602)[20]. In the temple in Uley among the curse tablets (*defixiones*) that are legible some are addressed to Mars-Silvanus[21].

A Roman visiting a Celtic shrine understood that it was a site sacred to a great god. In the society of British Celts, as in any heroic-age society, a tribal god, whatever his own functions might be, occasionally manifested in the form of a warrior, patron of the tribe, leading the men in battles. He personified his people and set an example of fortitude and heroism for them to follow. It stands to reason that the Celts who were fiercely committed to warfare should be attracted by the cult of Mars, the god of war. When Roman conquerors brought to Britain, as to the other territories they subdued, the so-called *Pax Romana* (Roman peace), Mars—the god of war—appeared to be the natural counterpart of the divine warrior-patron of Celtic tribes.

However, starting from the time of Caesar, ancient authors were of the opinion it was the cult of Mercury that enjoyed the greatest popularity among Celtic tribes; so Mercury was considered the most venerated god of the Celts[22]. In Uley, a number of curse tablets (*defixiones*) are addressed to Mars-Mercury[23]. The question arises about the ratio of warlike features to peaceful ones in the image of the supreme god of the Celts[24]. The scholars who studied the material originating from Gaul noted that in Roman Gaul sometimes it had been hardly possible to differentiate between Mars and Mercury. As early as the beginning of the 20th century C. Jullian hazarded an observation that Mars and Mercury were but two interpretations of the main god of the Gauls. This hypothesis is similar to what P. Lambrechts suggested while arguing that in Gaul neither Mars nor Mercury had anything in common with their Roman homonyms and that both gods were often blended into one image[25]. But in this blend Mercury had the upper hand. J. de Vries, who was always careful to weigh his words, observed that the Gaulish god of trade had also military functions[26]. M.L. Sjoestedt and P.M. Duval further defined this ratio. In their opinion, in the world of Celtic gods the "commercial" element surpassed the military one[27].

The conclusions made by the celticists working with the materials from Roman Gaul are corroborated by the set of artefacts coming from the shrine in Uley in Britain. Although several votive spears have been found at the site, the majority of the findings—*caducei*, coins, jewellery, bronze figurines, and altars—show that the deity venerated in the temple in the Roman period was considered to be Mercury. Finally, in Antonine times (2nd century AD) a

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[20] SHTAERMAN 1967,66.

[21] HENIG 2005, 39.

[22] DUVAL 1976, 28.

[23] HENIG 2005, 39.

[24] JULLIAN 1908, 119.

[25] LAMBRECHTS 1941, 131, 145, 153.

[26] VRIES 1961, 44.

[27] SJOESTEDT 1940, 32; DUVAL 1976, 28.

limestone statue of Mercury accompanied by his cult animals—the ram and the cockerel—was presented to the temple. The sculptor who created this cult image was obviously influenced by Praxiteles. According to M. Henig, the statue replaced the simple herm-like wooden idol[28]. Therefore, in the British temple in Uley the classical Roman element in the cult of Mercury prevailed over the militaristic Celtic component represented by votive weapons.

Although the image of Mercury from the shrine in Uley was conspicuously classical in nature, British celticists generally warn against underestimating the important role that local Celtic religious traditions played in the formation of the new Roman-British religion, which formation was part of the process of Romanisation after the arrival of Romans in Britain[29]. M. Green suggests that "many lower class rural Celts, at any rate in North and West Britain, were probably not Latin speakers, particularly outside military areas, and one would expect their cults and beliefs to have been little altered by the presence of Rome"[30].

For example, in Northern Britain, where Romans never wielded much influence, there was a widespread cult of the horned god of fertility — the concept "derived from beliefs and symbols current in Northern Europe and elsewhere in the proto-Celtic and Bronze Age phases of pre-history"[31]. A. Ross notes that the earliest evidence for this cult in a demonstrably Celtic context possibly dates back to the mid-fourth century BC and that the cult of the horned god was firmly entrenched in Britain of the Roman period[32]. Similar to the god venerated in the temple in Uley, via *interpretatio Romana* the horned god was equated at times to Silvanus, at times to Mars or Mercury[33].

In the Roman period Mercury had a significant following in Northern Britain. He performed the function of the patron of herdsmen increasing animal yield, which likened him to the local Celtic horned god of fertility who had similar abilities. That was due to the economic aspects of the region. While people in the rural areas of Southern Britain were mainly engaged in crop farming, in the North a major role was assigned to animal agriculture, namely, sheep and cattle breeding[34]. S. Piggott notes that in the North of Britain the production of woollen fabrics and felt made of excellent local sheep wool was well developed. Then skilled craftsmen used the fabric to make warm cloaks. In his opinion such cloaks were similar to the ones found on the relief from Housesteads, Northumberland depicting the so-called *Genii Cucullati* — three females of very small stature wearing long hooded cloaks. Wool products from Northern Britain were prized on the European market as late as the 8th century

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[28] HENIG 2005, 41.

[29] ROSS 1967, 383,384.

[30] GREEN 2011, 38.

[31] ROSS 1967, 127.

[32] ROSS 1967, 131, 132.

[33] ROSS 1967, 134.

[34] ROSS 1967, 355.

A.D[35]. So the Mercury venerated in Northern Britain had another function that fit perfectly into the traditional picture of the god of trade and profit — he was the patron of local craftsmen and traders producing and selling these excellent woollen goods.

F. Benoit drawing on a large quantity of archaeological material discovered in the territory of France argued that in Roman Gaul it was not the commercial but rather the chthonic aspect of Mercury, the god of eschatological and mystical endeavour of humankind, that contributed to his becoming the greatest god of Gaul. While other gods of Roman Gaul were most often depicted in stylized, stiffly formal poses, Mercury underwent numerous transformations that made him positively unrecognizable, "gallicised" to such an extent that he appears now as a god holding a poppy flower in his hand, now a horned god or a squatting god; he is accompanied by a deer, or a dog, or a snake; he carries a ram (*Kriophoros*, i.e., ram-bearer), he is depicted wearing a hooded cloak (*cucullatus*), with a staff or cornucopia, a sickle, a bow or a plectrum. All of the above-mentioned objects are attributes of the god — the patron of the dead.

In folk religion the belief in the magic power of Mercury's attributes was so strong that even the most common of the—the money bag and caduceus—are found among the symbols of death on intaglios showing the head of a dead person or a skeleton. Not without interest is the image of a skeleton sitting on an amphora with his feet on a wheel; the figure is surrounded by the attributes of Mercury and holds a cornucopia full of poppy flowers which are known as a symbol of sleep or death. Due to his magical-chthonic function Mercury was the divine patron of the dead, an adept of magic and the guide of departed souls. It is obvious that this feature makes him close to archaic Hermes of "primary" Mediterranean religion. And it is this feature that might be the key to the image of Gaulish Mercury[36].

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The specific aspects of the cult of Mercury that was practised in Roman Gaul and Roman Britain can be explained by the hypothesis that this cult was an instance of the general syncretic processes which took place in those lands after the Roman conquest. The most telling evidence of this syncretism was cultural Romanisation which resulted not in the replacement of the local Celtic culture by the Roman culture but rather in the interpenetration of cultures which lead to their synthesis[37].

As it has been demonstrated, the cult statue in the temple in Uley was an ideally beautiful image of the god created in the classical Graeco-Roman manner under discernible influence of Praxiteles' style. In Gaul, however, there are statues of Mercury that significantly diverge

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[35] PIGGOTT 1952, 27.

[36] BENOIT 1959, 148.

[37] FRERE 1967, 303; HENIG 2005, 20.

from the canons of depicting this god in the art of classical antiquity. These are the images of Mercury as an elderly man with a beard, wearing a Gaulish cloak, with a staff in his hand[38]. The assortment of votive offerings discovered at the temple site in Uley (purse, coins, jewellery, caducei) show that there—just like in Rome—the main function of the god was to be the patron of commerce and financial gain, of merchants and travellers. In Northern Britain he was venerated as the patron of traders dealing in woollen goods. At the same time in Northern Britain and some regions of Gaul[39] Mercury was equated with the Celtic horned god of fertility whose cult had roots in religious beliefs existing in Northern Europe as early as in Bronze Age.

According to P.M. Duval, probably the most non-Roman feature of Mercury described by Caesar is that the god is called not only the patron of travelling and trade (which falls within the competence of the Roman Mercury as well) but also the inventor of all arts. This feature is neither of Greek nor of Roman origin, since in classical antiquity only two inventions were ever ascribed to Mercury — that of the lyre, which he fashioned from a tortoise shell, and of the balance for weighing and the measuring rod. In Duval's opinion, this role of Mercury as the inventor of arts was most pronounced when he was depicted together with a goddess. Most often this goddess is Rosmerta whose name contains the same root as one of Mercury's epithet, Adsmerius. *Rosmerta* means "she who provides (something)", *Adsmerius* — "he who provides (something)"[40]. Not without interest is the case when Mercury on a relief, depicted with a beard according to local fashion, is placed beside Minerva who, in Caesar's words, supplied the first principles of arts and crafts in the world of Celtic gods.

Therefore, it is natural that the god who invented all these arts and crafts should become the most venerated deity of the Celts whose skills in various crafts were quite advanced. It is known that the Celts were excellent metalsmiths, accomplished shipbuilders and wainwrights, expert weavers and skilled carpenters. The progressive methods that diligent and inventive Gauls employed in cultivating the rich soils of their country also fell within the competence of Mercury as the patron of all peaceful activities. However, the Celts were also strongly committed to warfare and their supreme god had to be a war god. As has been demonstrated, the Mercury worshipped in Roman Gaul and Roman Britain had military functions as well, and thus was sometimes equated with Mars. Finally, the magical-chthonic functions of Mercury likened him to Hermes, the god of eschatological and mystical endeavour of humankind in the religion of the Ancient Mediterranean, which makes the syncretism typical of this god truly all-encompassing.

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[38] VRIES 1961, 44.

[39] BENOIT 1959, 154.

[40] DUVAL 1976, 70.

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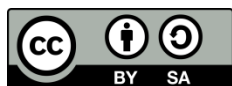
La population dans le milieu rural de Capidava

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Abstract. *The civil settlements from Capidava emerged probably next to the camp which constituted the siege of many auxiliary units. The texts attest uexillationes of the legio V Macedonica, but the camp was mainly occupied by two cohorts: I Vbiorum and I Germanorum ciuium Romanorum. Next to the cap there were the canabae and another civil settlement. I shall analyse the population coming from the civil settlements from an epigraphic point of view. I shall also discuss the origin of the population in the rural milieu of Capidava and the reasons of the newcomers' presence in this area.*

Résumé. *Les établissements civils de Capidava se sont probablement développés autour du camp qui a constitué le chef-lieu de plusieurs unités auxiliaires. Les textes attestent des uexillationes de la legio V Macedonica, mais le camp a été occupé principalement par deux cohortes: I Vbiorum et I Germanorum ciuium Romanorum. Près du camp il y avait les canabae et un autre établissement civil. J'analyserai la population des établissements civils de point de vue épigraphique. Je discuterai également l'origine de la population du milieu rural de Capidava et les raisons de sa présence dans la région.*

Rezumat. *Aşezările civile de la Capidava s-au dezvoltat probabil în jurul castrului care a constituit sediul mai multor unităţi auxiliare. Textele atestă vexilaţii ale legiunii a V-a Macedonica, dar castrul a fost ocupat în principal de două cohorte: I Vbiorum şi I Germanorum ciuium Romanorum. Lângă castru s-au dezvoltat canabae-le şi o altă aşezare civilă. Voi analiza populaţia din aşezările civile din punct de vedere epigrafic. Voi discuta de asemenea originea populaţiei din mediul rural al Capidavei şi, în măsura posibilului, motivele prezenţei acesteia în regiune.*

Keywords: Capidava, rural milieu, Roman army, population.

1. Introduction

Capidava est une cité connue surtout par les vestiges d'époque romaine tardive[2]. Pourtant, les nombreuses inscriptions font preuve de l'existence d'une cité d'époque du Haut-Empire, développée près du camp où ont été stationnées plusieurs unités auxiliaires[3]. Les textes

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[2] Voir surtout FLORESCU, FLORESCU, DIACONU 1958 ; FLORESCU 1965 ; OPRIŞ 2003; OPRIŞ, RAŢIU 2016a, 193–217; 2016b, 24–42; 2018.

[3] Voir aussi MUNTEANU 1970, 211–222.

attestent des vexillations des légions V Macedonica[4] et XI Claudia[5] mais le camp a été occupé principalement par deux cohortes : *I Ubiorum*[6] et *I Germanorum ciuium Romanorum*[7]. Près du camp, il y avait les *canabae* ou un *uicus militaris* et également un établissement civil. Le *territorium Capidauensis*, mentionné dans une inscription trouvée à Ulmetum[8], corroboré avec la mention d'un *princeps loci*, a déterminé E. Doruțiu-Boilă à considérer Capidava comme un *uicus*[9]. Je reviendrai sur ce point mais il ne faut pas oublier, à voir les inscriptions assez nombreuses attestant des structures rurales, que l'établissement civil de Capidava a pu être une *ciuitas*, comme le propose A. Bâltâc[10], ou qu'on puisse parler d'une autorité militaire à laquelle ce territoire était soumis. Pourtant, le statut de la localité reste encore inconnu. Les limites du territoire de Capidava sont aussi inconnues. Bâltâc suppose l'existence des territoires des centres situés près des camps de Beroe, Cius, Carsium et Axiopolis[11] mais il est vraiment difficile de vérifier ces hypothèses, en sachant que les dernières cités évoquées ici étaient trop petites pour avoir un territoire. Il peut s'agir des autonomies rurales existant dans cette région.

Il faut aussi souligner qu'à Capidava fonctionnait un bureau des douanes, comme il résulte d'une inscription honorifique pour le fermier T. Iulius Saturninus[12]. Il y avait probablement un péage pour le transport des marchandises sur le Danube.

En ce qui concerne les recherches archéologiques, j'ai précisé auparavant que les résultats les plus importants datent de l'Antiquité tardive. Pourtant, à l'extérieur de la cité, les archéologues ont trouvé des couches datables de l'époque du Haut-Empire (par l'intermédiaire des monnaies)[13]. Une tombe trouvée à Crucea (près de Capidava) a été supposé comme appartenant à la nécropole du village[14].

J'analyserai donc le dossier épigraphique sur la population dans le milieu rural de Capidava, en discutant les possibles origines des habitants et, dans la mesure du possible, les raisons de leur présence dans la région.

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[4] ISM V, 54.

[5] ISM V, 53.

[6] OPRIȘ 1997, 277–278 ; COVACEF 2000, 287–289 ; MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 235–236.

[7] ISM V, 16 ; OPRIȘ, POPESCU 1997, 177–181 ; COVACEF 2000, 290–291 ; MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 213–215.

[8] ISM V, 77.

[9] ISM V, 77, *sub numero.*

[10] Voir BÂLTÂC 2011, 88–89, avec la bibliographie

[11] BÂLTÂC 2011, 8687, 89.

[12] ISM V, 10.

[13] PINTER, URDUZIA 2011, 31–32.

[14] BAUMANN 1983, 65–66.

2. Le dossier épigraphique sur la population du milieu rural de Capidava

Je reviens d'abord sur l'inscription de C. Iulius Quadratus, *princeps loci* et *quinquennalis territoirii Capidauensis*[15]. V. Pârvan a considéré le *princeps loci* comme un *magister uici*[16]. Gr. Florescu était d'avis que *locus* représentait une forme d'organisation rurale qui englobait plusieurs *uici*, et c'est pourquoi il disposait d'un *territorium*[17]. E. Doruțiu-Boilă ne partageait pas, à juste titre à mon avis, l'opinion de Gr. Florescu, en argumentant que *locus* a un sens assez vague, qui peut désigner plusieurs entités rurales en même temps[18] ; elle pensait que *locus* désignait cette fois-ci un *uicus*[19], en l'identifiant avec celui mentionné dans un texte voué à Jupiter et à Junon[20]. Il est vrai que ce *uicus* n'a pas de nom car le *magister* qui accomplit le voeu ne le précise pas. Cependant, en Mésie Inférieure, les *territoria* sont habituellement liés aux *ciuitates* ou à d'autre type de cités[21]. C'est pourquoi je ne peux partager l'opinion d'E. Doruțiu-Boilă, sans pour autant pouvoir la rejeter totalement. Les hypothèses présentées ci-dessus ne sont pas encore vérifiables dans leur intégralité. Je suis quand même d'accord avec l'opinion exprimée par E. Popescu, conformément à laquelle *princeps* aurait désigné les chefs indigènes[22]. Par conséquent, C. Iulius Quadratus était l'un de ces chefs qui avait reçu la citoyenneté romaine. En ce qui concerne le *territorium Capidauensis*, je pense qu'il s'agit plutôt, comme P. Kovács l'a montré pour d'autres situations[23], d'une structure rurale sous autorité militaire (des unités qui ont stationné ici). Il s'agit donc d'un territoire de dimensions assez réduites, l'équivalent d'un *uicus* (*militaris*, dans ce cas). Antonius Zinenis[24], un *princeps* dont la femme s'appelle Zudecitup[25] (tous les deux dans le territoire de Tropaeum Traiani) sont des exemples de *principes* indigènes. Revenant à Iulius Quadratus, le même gentilice de sa femme (Iulia Terentia) suggère qu'elle a eu le droit de cité en même temps que son mari, ce qui renforce l'hypothèse d'E. Popescu.

Continuons par les *uici* attestés dans les inscriptions près de Capidava. À Dorobanțu (département de Constanța, Roumanie), un autel est voué à Jupiter par M. Coc(ceius) Hilus (*sic!*), *magister uici Hi[---]*[26]. Comme deux autres textes mentionnent encore des membres de cette *gens* dans leurs propriétés rurales (dont le nom de l'un est écrit en deux modalités –

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[15] ISM V, 77.

[16] PÂRVAN 1912, 498.

[17] FLORESCU, FLORESCU, DIACONU 1958, 19–21.

[18] Comme dans l'inscription CIL XI, 1147. Voir aussi ISM V, 117.

[19] ISM V, 77, *sub numero*.

[20] ISM V, 56.

[21] AÉ 1928, 152 ; 1985, 765; 1987, 881; ISM III, 241; ISM IV, 82; ISM V, 135; BAUMANN 1984, 223; ILB 223.

[22] POPESCU 1967, 187.

[23] KOVÁCS 2013, 144.

[24] CIL III 7470.

[25] ISM IV, 66.

[26] ISM V, 6.

Cocceius Elius et Cocceius Helius)[27], je suppose que dans le cas de ce *magister*, une petite omission du lapicide a pu aussi remplacer Cocceius Helius. Puisque l'on va rencontrer cette famille de Cocceii dans le milieu rural de Capidava, il faut maintenant rappeler les sources et essayer de voir si l'on peut leur établir un pays d'origine. Comme je l'ai déjà mentionné auparavant, une inscription funéraire évoque Cocceius (H)elius, encore vivant au moment de la construction du monument, et Titia Matrona, sa femme, *obita ad uil(l)a(m) sua(m)*[28] (Figure 1). L'autre épitaphe est érigée pour deux Cocceius Vitales et pour sa femme, Cocceia Iulia, par leurs fils Cocceius Clemens et Cocceius Helius[29]. L'identité du gentilice de ces deux époux suggère soit qu'ils ont reçu en même temps le droit de cité, soit que la femme fût l'affranchie de son mari. Ils sont décédés dans leur *uilla*, comme le dit l'inscription. On remarque que l'un des fils, Helius, est le mari de Titia Matrina et il est possible qu'il soit le même personnage qui celui qui est *magister uici* à Dorobanțu. En tout cas, cette branche de la *gens* doit être assez aisée, ayant une propriété (ou plusieurs) dans la campagne de Capidava. Un cippe funéraire garde les noms d'autres Cocceii : M. Cocceius Vitalis, M. Cocceius Albucius, M. Cocceius Valerius, M. Cocceius Vitalis, et M. Cocceius [---]us[30]. Enfin, M. Cocceius Vitlus, vétéran de la *cohors I Ubiorum*, mort à 70 ans après avoir servi 28 ans, est commémoré par sa femme Claudia et par ses fils Cocceius Veturius, Cocceius Nardus et M. Cocceius Titio[31]. Je pense qu'il faut commencer l'histoire des Cocceii à Capidava avec cette inscription. M. Cocceius Vitlus est un vétéran de la cohorte des Ubiens, qui a stationné en Mésie (puis en Mésie Inférieure à partir du règne de Vespasien[32] jusqu'au règne d'Hadrien, lorsqu'elle a été transférée en Dacie[33] (Figure 2). L'inscription date du IIe siècle et, vu l'âge avancé du vétéran, une datation du deuxième quart de ce siècle est aussi possible. En tout cas, l'ancien soldat a préféré s'installer en Mésie Inférieure. Il n'est pas exclu qu'en raison de la période de stationnement de la cohorte dans cette province, il a eu sa citoyenneté sous Nerva. Puis, il a vécu encore environ 25 ans après sa libération et est décédé aux environs de 122–123. Les Cocceii de Capidava sont très probablement ses descendants. Le surnom Vitlus est rencontré, à une seule exception, dans les provinces celto-germaniques (Germanie Supérieure, Aquitaine, Belgique et Lugdunensis[34]). Il n'est pas exclu alors que M. Cocceius Vitlus soit originaire d'une de ses provinces et qu'il soit arrivé en Mésie Inférieure avec la Ière cohorte des Ubiens. Après avoir été libéré, il a préféré rester dans le milieu rural où il avait effectué son service. L'aisance de l'ancien soldat et de ses descendants leur a permis d'avoir des *uillae* à la campagne et même de

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[27] ISM V, 29–30.

[28] ISM V, 29.

[29] ISM V, 30.

[30] ISM V, 28.

[31] ISM V, 24. Pour les Cocceii, voir aussi DUMITRACHE 2017, 175–179.

[32] ECK, PANGERL 2009, 506–509.

[33] ECK, MACDONALD, PANGERL 2001, 38–42; ILKIĆ 2009, 59–73. Voir aussi MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 235–236.

[34] AÉ 1897, 114t ; CAG II, 366 ; XXXII, 223; XLVII, 146; XLIX, 116, etc.

joindre les notables locaux. Un autre M. Cocceius (H)elius apparaît comme lapicide d'un voeu pour Jupiter à Ulmetum[35] mais il n'est pas exclu que la pierre provienne de Capidava. Pârvan pensait que le personnage d'Ulmetum est identique avec celui de Capidava[36], tandis que Gr. Florescu considérait que l'inscription a été transportée de Capidava et qu'elle a été gravée dans l'atelier de Cocceius (H)elius[37]. Cette hypothèse est raisonnable mais elle ne contredit pas l'affirmation de Pârvan selon laquelle, les personnages portant les mêmes noms sont identiques.

Un autre *uicus* est celui attesté à Gălbiori (près de Capidava) ; le nom de l'ancienne localité n'est pas mentionné dans le texte, en revanche, le *magister* s'appelle Veturius Tertius[38] (Figure 3). Le texte est voué à Jupiter et à Cérès Frugifera, ce qui prouve l'importance de l'agriculture dans cette région. Le même personnage fait ériger une épitaphe pour Iulia Veneria, sa femme, et pour sa mère, Veturia Furnia[39]. On voit que Veturius Tertius porte le nom de sa mère, ce qui montre que le père n'était pas un citoyen au moment de sa naissance. Une autre Veturia a été mariée avec M. Ulpius Piso[40]. Ils ont eu deux enfants : Veturia Ulpia (né lorsque le père n'était pas citoyen) et M. Ulpius. Cela indique le fait que M. Ulpius Piso a été soldat dans une unité auxiliaire (probablement la Ière cohorte des Ubiens) et a reçu le droit de cité sous Trajan. Cette inscription semble être plus ancienne que celle attestant Veturia Furnia. On ne sait pas d'où proviennent ces femmes, qui utilisent comme surnom une forme de gentilice. Sont-elles, d'une certaine manière, comme Cocceius Veturius, qui a transmis son surnom comme gentilice selon la tradition germanique ? Il est très difficile de répondre à cette question. En ce qui concerne le nom du *uicus*, d'E. Doruțiu-Boilă croit qu'il s'agit de *uicus Capidauensis*[41], mais rien ne prouve que Capidava était un *uicus* et non une *ciuitas*. On peut imaginer qu'il s'agit plutôt du *uicus* qui était sous l'autorité du camp militaire. Un texte trouvé comme réutilisé dans le rempart d'époque du Bas-Empire atteste un *magister uici* qui s'appelle Eftacentus, fils de Bitus[42] (Figure 4). Le village n'est pas nommé mais il s'agit d'un établissement habité par des indigènes (la plupart des pérégrins, comme ce maire) et probablement par des vétérans et des citoyens romains. Le type d'organisation semble être celui avec un seul maire. Il n'est pas exclu qu'un ancien habitat indigène a été réorganisé selon le modèle romain. Le texte date de 168. Encore cinq inscriptions, dont les textes sont incomplets, représentent des voeux pour Jupiter le Tonneur et pour Junon accomplis certainement par les autorités du village mais leurs titres ne sont plus conservés sur la pierre. Dans un texte, on identifie le nom d'un

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[35] ISM V, 73

[36] PÂRVAN 1912, 550–555.

[37] FLORESCU, FLORESCU, DIACONU 1958, 22.

[38] ISM V, 56.

[39] ISM V, 35.

[40] ISM V, 35.

[41] ISM V, 56, *sub numero*.

[42] ISM V, 15.

magister, Aelius Cara[---][43], tandis que dans un autre, le nom du notable local n'est plus visible[44]. Ces deux voeux datent du règne d'Antonin. Les deux textes qui suivent datent du temps de Commode. Ils n'ont pas conservé non plus le nom de l'autorité villageoise. Un premier voeu est non seulement pour Jupiter et pour Junon, mais aussi pour le *genius [lo]ci* ou *[ui]ci*[45]. La quatrième inscription est de 188 et le texte est presque complètement martelé[46]. Enfin, le cinquième texte datant de l'année 200 est consacré au même couple divin et le *magister* s'appelle Claudius Cocceius[47] (Figure 5). Il ne précise pas sa charge officielle, mais comme il s'agit d'une inscription à caractère officiel, on peut supposer qu'il est le maire du village. *Gr*. Florescu remarque que l'autel provient du même atelier que celui voué par Cocceius Hilus[48] et que la stèle funéraire est consacrée par Cocceius (H)elius[49]. L'atelier fabriquait probablement plusieurs pièces pour les officiels de la communauté villageoise, mais aussi pour les gens aisés[50].

Une autre inscription vouée à Jupiter et à Junon (datée 161–169) est celle consacrée par Aelius Longinus[51], vétéran de l'*ala Arauacorum* stationnée probablement à Carsium[52]. Il ne mentionne pas son statut de notable mais le type de dédicace me fait penser qu'il est également un *magister uici.* Même s'il est citoyen, la façon dont cette inscription est rédigée (avec beaucoup d'erreurs) indique une origine non latine de l'ancien soldat, peut-être même un indigène ayant obtenu le droit de cité sous Antonin.

Un village dont on connaît le nom est le *uicus Scenopesis*. Une première inscription (datée du règne d'Antonin le Pieux) mentionne le *magister* Ebrenus, qui voue un autel à Jupiter Très Bon et Très Grand[53] (Figure 6). Un deuxième texte, de 175, est consacré par un autre maire, dont le nom s'est perdu[54]. Le nom d'Ebrenus est thrace et il s'agit sans doute d'une ancienne communauté indigène, réorganisée par les Romains comme un *uicus* ayant un *magister*. Le maire appartient à la communauté indigène et on se demande si Eftacentus, fils de Bitus n'était pas notable de la même communauté[55]. Il faut aussi s'imaginer l'existence de plusieurs communautés indigènes organisées selon le système rappelé ci-dessus.

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[43] ISM V, 13.

[44] ISM V, 14.

[45] ISM V, 17.

[46] ISM V, 18.

[47] ISM V, 19.

[48] ISM V, 5.

[49] ISM V, 29

[50] FLORESCU, FLORESCU, DIACONU 1958, 114.

[51] ISM V, 23.

[52] ISM V, 94–95. Voir aussi MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 189–190.

[53] ISM V, 21.

[54] ISM V, 22.

[55] ISM V, 15.

Une inscription qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre a été l'épitaphe d'Aurelius Hermes, *paganus* et de sa femme, Aurelia Melite[56]. Ils ont eu sept enfants, six fils et une fille. Pârvan a interprété le mot *paganus* comme habitant d'un *pagus*[57], tandis qu'E. Doruțiu-Boilă, en partant d'une inscription de Rome attestant une *familia gladiatoria*[58], pense que, dans ce cas là, on peut comprendre *paganus* comme « civil », par opposition au statut de gladiateur[59]. Les inscriptions se réfèrent pour la plupart à *paganus* en tant qu'habitant d'un *pagus*, dans tout le monde romain[60]. Le mot a aussi le sens de « civil », en tant qu'antonyme de « militaire »[61]. On observe pourtant que le terme apparaît dans les inscriptions associées avec son antonyme, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans le texte de Capidava. Le manque du prénom d'Aurelius Hermes et le même gentilice porté par sa femme me font croire que l'inscription date du IIIe siècle, après l'édit de Caracalla, et les deux époux étaient d'anciens pérégrins. Par conséquent, je pense que le terme *paganus* désigne ici un habitant d'un *pagus*, ce qui n'est pas surprennant en tenant compte des *uici* qui sont mentionnés dans le territoire de la cité. Puis, la mention d'un *territorium* sous l'autorité militaire, comme je l'ai affirmé, peut être complétée par l'existence d'un *pagus.* Quant à nos personnages, ils étaient tous les deux des Grecs pérégrins qui habitaient le milieu rural. On ne connaît pas les raisons pour lesquelles ils se sont établis à la campagne, mais l'une d'entre elles était certainement l'activité agricole.

Du milieu rural de Capidava proviennent aussi d'autres inscriptions qui ont été trouvées aux alentours ou réutilisées dans le rempart de l'époque du Bas-Empire. À Bălțăgești (département de Constanța, Roumanie, à sud-est de Capidava), C. Iulius Capito, vétéran, ancien *sesquiplicarius*, est commémoré par son fils qui porte les mêmes noms[62]. Il est possible que l'ex-militaire se soit retiré à la campagne où il a fini sa vie.

Il y a aussi des textes découverts dans la forteresse d'époque romaine tardive de Capidava, mais qui sont originaires, à mon avis, du milieu rural de la cité. Le principal argument c'est la population mentionnée dans les inscriptions. Nous avons rappelé Aurelius Hermes et sa femme Melitine. Ils ne sont pas les seuls hellénophones du territoire. Un C. Iulius Hermes et Iulia Rhodope sont les parents de Iulius Valens et de Iulius Vitalis[63]. Hermes peut être un soldat qui a reçu sa citoyenneté en même temps que sa femme, ou bien ils étaient

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[56] ISM V, 42.

[57] PÂRVAN 1914, 335–338.

[58] CIL VI 531 = ILS 5084.

[59] ISM V, 42, *sub numero*.

[60] Par exemple, en Italie (CIL V, 42, 424, 3249; IX 1618, 4206; XI 1147; XI 7265; AE 2004, 413), Bétique (CIL II 1043, 2322), Gaules (CIL XII 594, 1114; XIII 384; AÉ 2001, 1376; 2004, 911), Afrique (AÉ 2010, 1802). Voir aussi CURCHIN 1985, 338–343; FAUDOT 2006, 115–122.

[61] Voir, par exemple CIL VI 3183, 3236.

[62] ISM V, 7.

[63] ISM V, 25.

tous les deux les affranchis d'un C. Iulius. Une autre pérégrine d'origine grecque, Acrilla, fille de Trygitianus, est commémorée par son mari, Aurelius Gaius[64].

Une série de textes font preuve d'une communauté thrace dans la région. Les inscriptions évoquent des personnages comme Auluporus et sa femme[65], Bassus, Tsinna, Zura, Tsiru et Martia[66], Batsinis[67] (Figure 7). Tous sont des pérégrins et il semble qu'ils habitaient les villages indigènes où il y avait des *magistri* originaires de la même communauté[68].

Il semble aussi que les Iulii et les Valerii sont nombreux dans ce milieu. Hormis les Iulii déjà mentionnés ci-dessus, un texte fragmentaire atteste un Iulius Lucius[69], tandis qu'un Iulius et un Valerius sont commémorés dans une épitaphe[70]. D'autres Valerii, Tertullus et Campanus, font ériger une pierre funéraire à leur père[71], tandis que Valeria Casta consacre une épitaphe à son mari[72]. Il n'est pas exclu que beaucoup de ces Valerii sont des Thraces qui ont fait leur service militaire et prennent ce gentilice après avoir obtenu le droit de cité, comme le suppose D. Dana[73].

On ne peut pas terminer le dossier épigraphique de Capidava sans rappeler la *statio* des douanes. La première (en ordre chronologique) est en l'honneur de T. Iulius Saturninus, fermier de l'autre partie de l'Illyricum et de la rive thrace (*conductor Illyrici utriusque et Ripae Thracicae*)[74]. Le texte atteste toutes ses charges. Il était *praefectus uehiculorum* au moment de la construction du monument honorifique, après avoir été fermier des douanes illyriennes, *apparitor* de l'empereur Antonin le Pieux et *scriba tribunicius*. Les milices équestres (*praefectus cohortis I Claudiae equitatae* et *tribunus militum legionis I Italicae*) ne sont pas oubliées. La carrière de T. Iulius Saturninus est connue par plusieurs inscriptions[75]. Une inscription de Dierna atteste Saturninus comme *conductor t(ertiae) p(artis)*, c'est-à-dire fermier des deux Mésie et des Dacies[76]. De Laet pense que la fonction de *praefectus uehiculorum* a été exercée en même temps que celle de fermier[77], théorie acceptable mais qui reste encore à vérifier. Iulius Saturninus a

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[64] ISM V, 43.

[65] ISM V, 26.

[66] ISM V, 27

[67] ISM V, 31.

[68] ISM V, 15, 21.

[69] ISM V, 33.

[70] ISM V, 40.

[71] ISM V, 37.

[72] ISM V, 38.

[73] Dana 2011, 56–57.

[74] ISM V, 10.

[75] CIL III 1568, 4720, 12363; V, 5079–5080; VI 559; XIII 1750, 3636; AÉ1928, 153; 1934, 107; 1960, 343. Voir aussi DE LAET 1949, 181; PISO, MOGA 1998, 105–108.

[76] IDR III/1, 60. Voir aussi MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2010, 145–152; PETOLESCU 2014, 298–299.

[77] DE LAET 1949, 386.

occupé une procuratèle en Gaule sous le règne conjoint de Marc Aurèle et de Lucius Verus[78]. Lorsque T. Iulius Saturninus était fermier des Mésies et des Dacies, les autres parties du district douanier ont été confiées en affermage à C. Antonius Rufus [79]et Q. Sabinus Veranus[80]. Plus tard, Iulius Ianuarius, Iulius Capito et Iulius Epaphroditus sont les trois fermiers du district[81]. La division territoriale des charges se maintient aussi lorsque la circonscription passe sous administration directe de l'État. Un exemple en ce sens est T. Claudius Xenophon, *procurator Illyrici per Moesiam Inferiorem et Dacias tres*[82]. Revenant à l'inscription de Capidava, la raison pour laquelle une inscription officielle a été érigée en l'honneur de T. Iulius Saturninus est l'existence d'un bureau douanier dans cette localité, ce qui est tout à fait explicable par la position sur le Danube de la cité et par la présence de l'armée. Un deuxième texte, beaucoup plus fragmentaire, atteste un procurateur dont le nom ne s'est pas conservé[83]. L'inscription est pourtant une preuve que le bureau a continué de fonctionner lorsque le district a été administré directement par l'État romain. Ainsi s'explique la présence d'Antonius Florus, bénéficiaire du gouverneur, mort à Capidava à 40 ans, après avoir servi 23 ans dans l'armée[84]. Son frère, Antonius Florianus, qui lui fait ériger l'épitaphe, a également suivi une carrière militaire, étant *optio* dans la *legio I Italica* au moment du décès de son frère. Les *beneficiarii* étaient attachés, à côté d'autres *officia*, aux bureaux douaniers[85]. E. Doruțiu-Boilă[86], en suivant Gr. Florescu[87], considère que la Ière légion Italica, après le transfert de la Ve légion Macedonica en Dacie, a occupé la place de cette dernière *legio* dans la zone contrôlée par celle-ci et quelques vexillations ont stationné à Capidava. Il est sûr que la *legio I Italica* a remplacé en certains points la *legio V Macedonica* mais dans ce cas-là, il n'y a aucune preuve qu'Antonius Florianus n'a pas effectivement commandé le monument funéraire de son frère, décédé à Capidava, lui-même effectuant le service à Novae.

Pour conclure, le milieu rural de Capidava connaît l'existence des *uici*. D'un côté, il y avait les communautés indigènes qui ont été réorganisées selon le modèle romain en *loci* et *uici*. Les *uici* indigènes étaient dirigés par un *magister* pérégrin. Il y avait aussi le *uicus* militaire situé à côté du camp de la *cohors I Ubiorum*, puis de la *cohors I Germanorum*. Les vétérans de ces unités se sont achetés des *uillae* à la campagne et leurs descendants ont fait partie de l'élite locale. À Capidava, a fonctionné aussi un bureau douanier, ce qui a impliqué la présence des

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[78] Voir aussi PIR[2] J 548; PFLAUM 1960, 436; BOUNEGRU 1986, 113–123.

[79] CIL III 5122, 5127, 13283 etc. Voir aussi FITZ 1993, 718.

[80] CIL III 4015, 4017, 4019, 4875, 5146 etc. Voir aussi FITZ 1993, 721.

[81] CIL III 751, 5121, 6124 etc. Voir FITZ 1993, 724, 726.

[82] CIL III 7127.

[83] ISM V, 12.

[84] ISM V, 41.

[85] FUHRMANN 2012, 205. Voir aussi DISE jr. 1996, 72–85.

[86] DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1972, 45–62.

[87] FLORESCU, FLORESCU, DIACONU 1958, 107–108.

fonctionnaires (attachés d'abord aux fermiers, puis aux procurateurs, mais pas encore documentés dans les sources épigraphiques) et une *statio* de *beneficiarii*, certainement en liaison avec le bureau des douanes.

3. Conclusions

Le tableau de la population du milieu rural de Capidava est assez complexe et intéressant, malgré le nombre assez réduit des inscriptions.

Il faut mentionner qu'il y avait les structures villageoises indigènes. D'un côté, elles ont été organisées dans des *loci* dirigés par des *principes* appartenant à l'élite locale et ayant obtenu le droit de cité. De l'autre côté, certains villages ont été organisés selon le modèle d'autres villages de la Mésie Inférieure, avec un *magister*. Les *uici*, où la population prédominante était indigène, avaient à leur tête un *magister* pérégrin, tandis que les autres avaient un maire citoyen issu des vétérans ou de leurs descendants. Il faut remarquer la présence des anciens militaires originaires des provinces germaniques, dont la famille de Cocceii est assez aisée et achète des propriétés dans le milieu rural. La population est composée aussi, hormis les Thraces, des Grecs installés ici toujours par des raisons économiques, visant en premier lieu l'agriculture. Les voeux et les monuments pour Jupiter et Junon, pour Silvain ou pour Bacchus sont fréquents dans la région, attestant ainsi l'importance des activités agraires.

La présence des vétérans est confirmée par d'autres textes. Ils habitent cette région rurale à côté de la population thrace. J'ai discuté le cas de M. Cocceius Vitlus, vétéran de la *cohors I Ubiorum*, mort à 70 ans après un service militaire de 28 ans, commémoré par sa femme Claudia et par ses fils Cocceius Veturius, Cocceius Nardus et M. Cocceius Titio[88]. M. Cocceius Vitlus est probablement parmi les premiers Cocceii arrivés à Capidava avec la cohorte des Ubiens et il s'est installé ici à la retraite. Son origine des provinces celto-germaniques est confirmée par le surnom de Vitlus[89]. Ses descendants, comme on l'a déjà vu, possèdent des *uillae* à la campagne. Dans le même milieu rural, s'est installé un vétéran provenant de la même unité, M. Ulpius Piso[90].
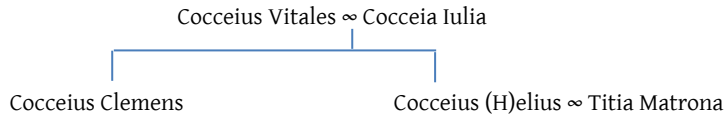
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[88] ISM V, 24. Pour les Cocceii, voir aussi Dumitrache 2017, 175–179.

[89] AE 1897, 114t; CAG II, 366; XXXII, 223; XLVII, 146; XLIX, 116 etc.

[90] ISM IV, 35.

Annexe 13.1. L'arbre généalogique des Cocceii de Capidava (ISM V, 29–30)

Cocceius Vitales ∞ Cocceia Iulia

Cocceius Clemens

Cocceius (H)elius ∞ Titia Matrona

Annexe 13.2. Les *magistri uici* du territoire rural de Capidava

Mention	Datation	Source
M. Cocceius Hilus (ou Helius), *magister uici Hi[---]*	IIe s.	ISM V, 6
Veturius Tertius, *magister uici*	IIe s.	ISM V, 56
Aelius Cara[---]	Antonin	ISM V, 13
Anonyme	Antonin	ISM V, 14
Ebrenus, *magister uici Scenopesis*	Antonin	ISM V, 21
Aelius Longinus	161–169	ISM V, 23
Eftacentus, fils de Bithus, *magister uici*	168	ISM V, 15
Anonyme, *magister uici Scenopesis*	175	ISM V, 22
Anonyme	Commode	ISM V, 17
Anonyme	188	ISM V, 18
Anonyme	200	ISM V, 19

Annexe 13.3. Les Thraces mentionnés dans les inscriptions du territoire rural de Capidava

Nom	Datation	Source
Auluporus	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 26
Secu[---] Do[..]eni	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 26
Bassus	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 27
Tsinna	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 27
Zura	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 27
Tsinnu	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 27
Martia	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 27
Batsinis	première moitié du IIe s.	ISM V, 31
Ebrenus, *magister uici Scenopesis*	Antonin	ISM V, 21
Eftacentus, fils de Bithus, *magister uici*	168	ISM V, 15

Annexe 13.4. Les vétérans présents dans le milieu rural de Capidava, Beroe, Carsium et Cius

Nom	Unité	Charge dans le village	Source
M. Cocceius Vitlus	*cohors I Ubiorum*	-	ISM V, 24
M. Ulpius Piso	probablement *cohors I Ubiorum*	-	ISM V, 35
Aelius Longinus	*ala II Arauacorum*	*magister*	ISM V, 23
C... Iulius Capito	probablement légion	-	ISM V, 7
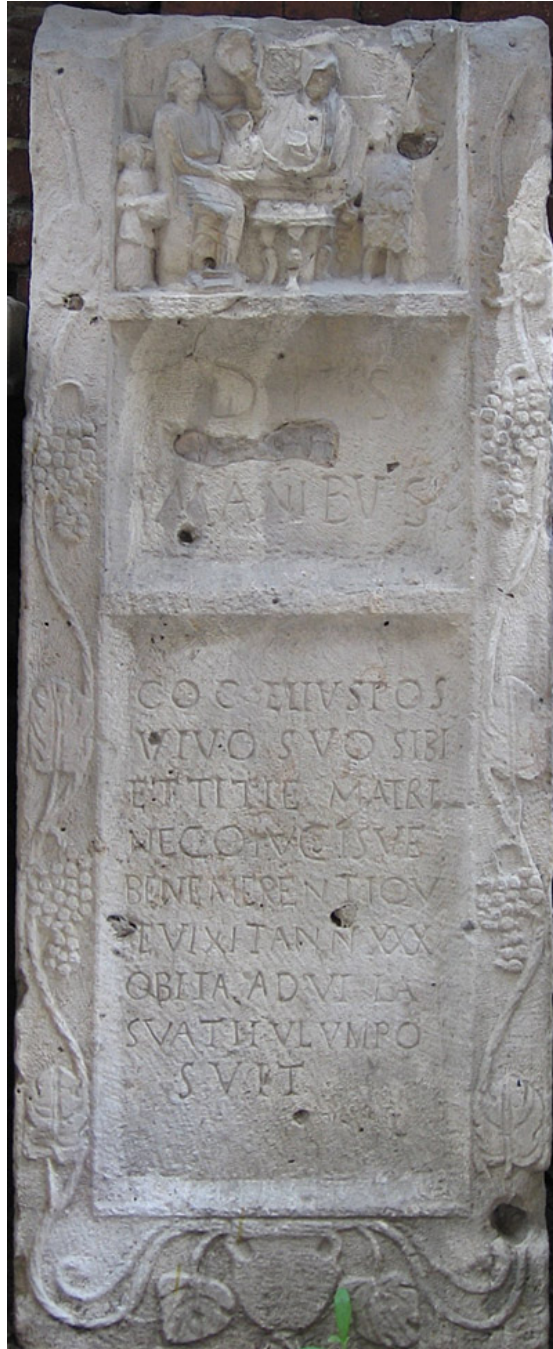
Figure 1. Épitaphe de Cooceius (H)elius et de sa femme, morte chez sa *uilla* (Capidava)
(source: capidava.ro)
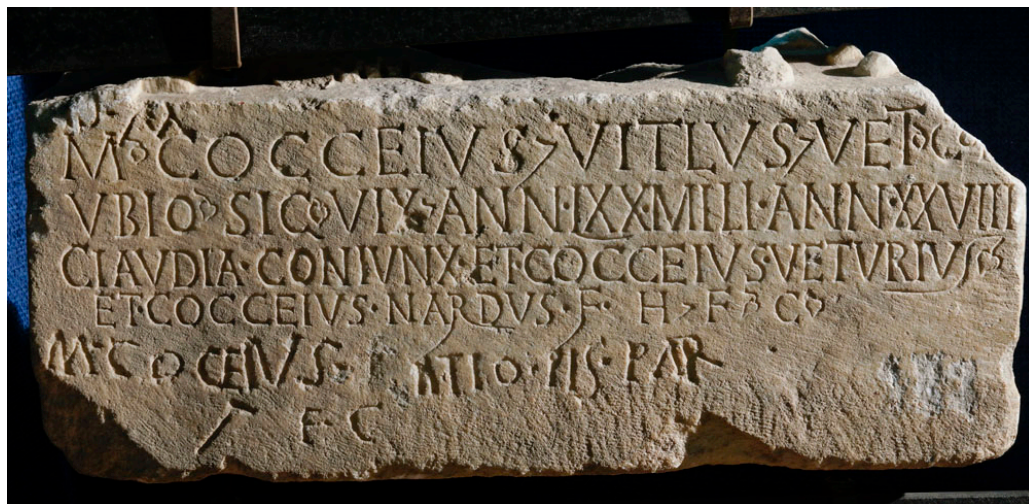
Figure 2. Épitaphe de M. Cocceius Vitlus, vétéran de la *cohors I Ubiorum* (source: db.edcs.eu)

Figure 3. Inscription votive de Veturius Tertius, *magister uici* (Capidava)
(source: ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument 21020)
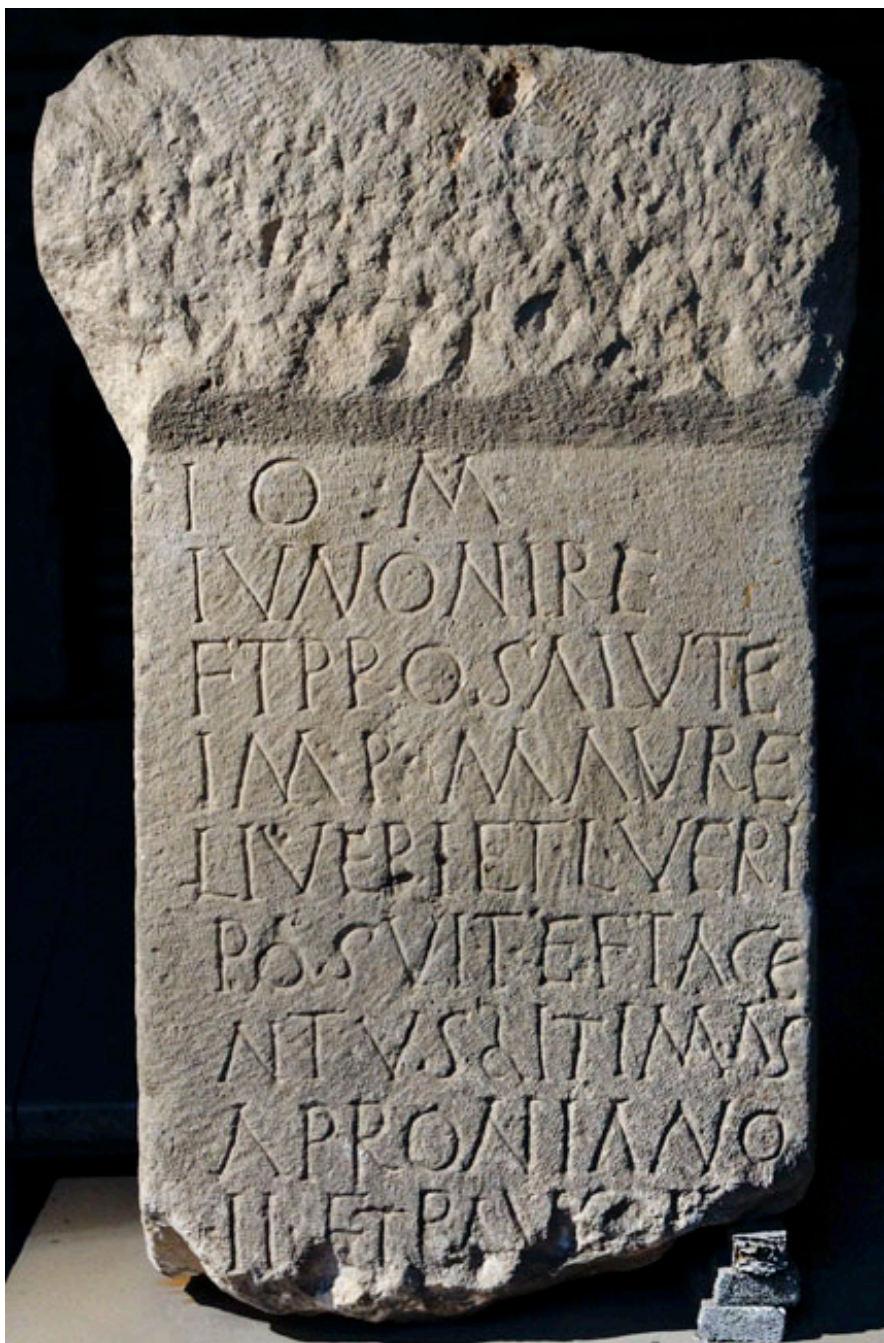
Figure 4. Inscription votive du *magister* Eftacentus Biti (Capidava) (ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument 21042)

Figure 5. Inscriptions votive de Claudius Cocceius, probablement *magiste uici* (Capidava)
(ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument 15314)
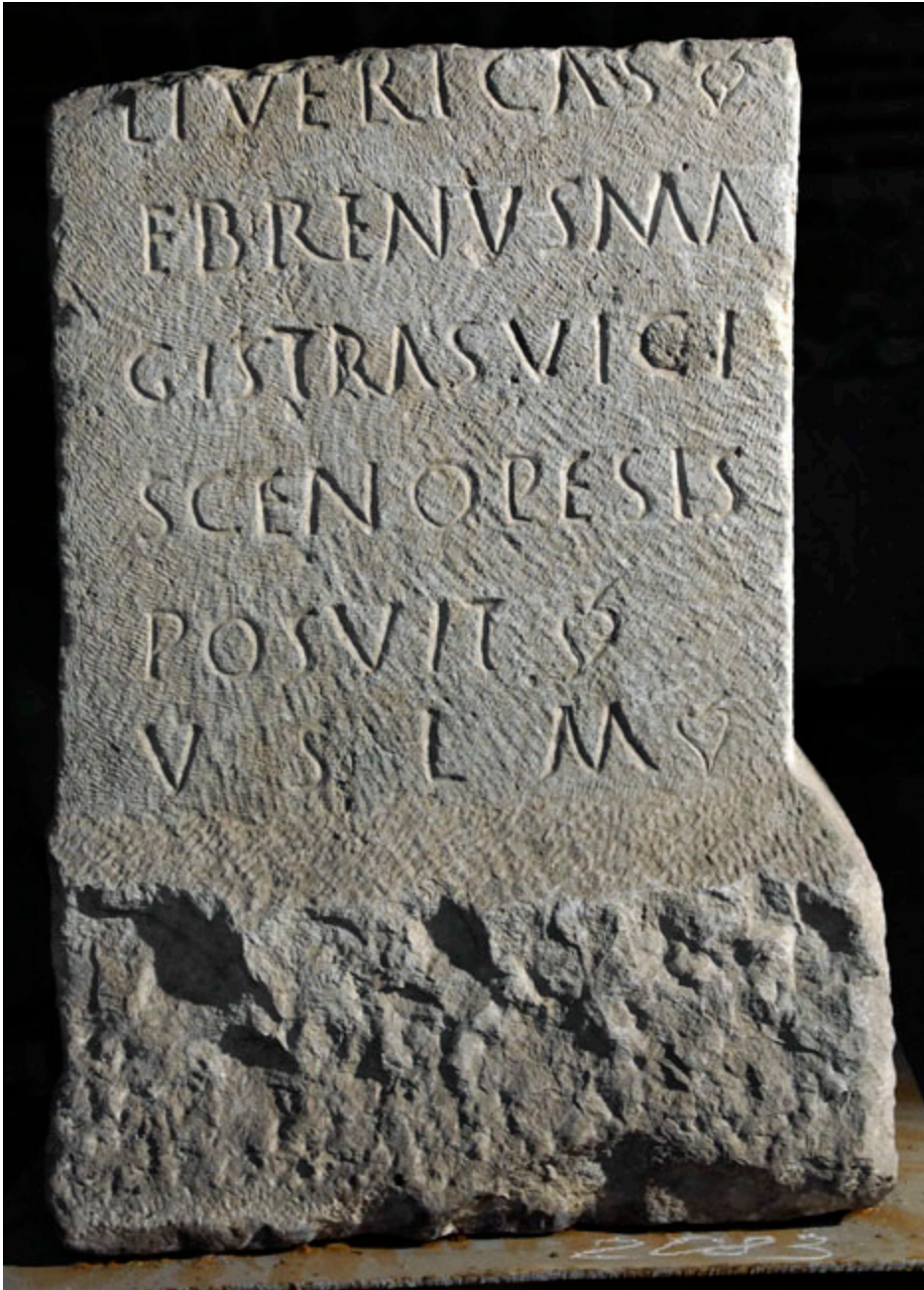
Figure 6. Inscription votive d'Ebrenus, *magister uici Scenopesis* (ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument 21045)

Figure 7. Une famille de Thraces dans le milieu rural de Capidava (ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument 21029)

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The votive relief to Pluto from Nicopolis ad Nestum

Svetla PETROVA[1]

Abstract. *Although found more than 130 years ago and thought to be lost in the Bulgarian science, this votive monument from Nicopolis ad Nestum was "re-discovered" by the author in the exposition of the museum in Drama, Greece. The votive with the represented on it gods from the Graeco-Roman Pantheon is devoted to Pluto. The iconography of the monument is of the type Pluto on the throne. According to the inscription, Pluto is not only a chthonic deity of the Underworld, but also as "Πλούτος"–"Plutos" is the god of fertility, abundance and richness. Hermes is also depicted as "Ploutodotes"/"Κερδῷος", while Asclepius is represented as healer, giving strength and restoring, also of possibility of abundance and richness. The dedicators of the votive descent from a rich Thracian family and probably are part of the elite of Nicopolis ad Nestum. Their names reveal that these people have received Roman citizenship with the Constitutio Antoniniana after 212. The votive relief is made of a local marble, and is a work of the local masters, knowing well the iconography of the Graeco-Roman deities and the one of the imperial portraits of Julia Domna and Caracalla from the Severan dynasty.*

Rezumat. *Deși descoperit mai bine cu 130 ani în urmă și considerat a fi dispărut în arheologia bulgară, acest monument votiv din Nicopolis ad Nestum a fost „re-descoperit" de autoare în expoziția muzeului din Drama, Grecia. Monumentul cu reprezentările unor zei din panteonul greco-roman este dedicat lui Pluto. Pluto e reprezentat pe tron; potrivit textului inscripției, Pluto nu este doar o divinitate chtoniană, cu și un zeu al fertilității, abundenței și bogăției. Hermes este reprezentat ca „Ploutodotes"/" Κερδῷος ", în vreme ce Asclepius este reprezentat ca vindecător. Dedicanții descind dintr-o familie bogată de origine tracică și probabil fac parte din elita orașului. Numele lor arată că au primit cetățenia romană o dată cu Constitutio Antoniniana după 212. Relieful votiv este realizat din marmură locală, de către meșteri locali, care cunoșteau bine iconografia divinităților greco-romane și pe cea a portretelor imperiale reprezentându-i pe Iulia Domna și Caracalla.*

Keywords: votive, Pluto, Persephone, Hermes, Asclepius, local production.

Nicopolis ad Nestum is situated in the Middle reaches of the River Mesta (Nestos) in the most southwestern part of the province of Thrace (Figure 1). The epigraphic monuments from the city and its district reveal the predominant Thracian origin of its population. The votives are in Greek[2] and show the worship of different Greek deities. The only exception so

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[2] The only monument at that time from the ancient city is a fragment of a Roman milestone (*Miliarium*) with Latin inscription (PERDRIZET 1900, 547; Геров 1961, 349 (197), № 66).

far is the votive monument studied here. It is devoted 'to the lord Pluto', a deity from the Roman Pantheon, while the iconography of the other deities on the votive may be referred to the Greek religion. The very interesting fate of the votive and the deities represented on it caused my interest to study it from iconographic, stylistic and cult aspect. According to the inscription on the lower frame, both dedicators are persons of Thracian origin[3]; probably descending from rich and outstanding families who have received the Roman citizenship by the edict of Caracalla.

The votive relief has been discovered in Nicopolis ad Nestum more than 130 years ago, but for some reasons the original monument remained almost unknown for science. Till recently its inscription and representations were known only from the drawing of S. S. de Fonseca (Figure 2). It is known that in 1889 the relief was taken from Nevrokop (now Gotse Delchev) and brought to Serres to the house of the English vice-consul Mr. K. Kapetis and that its first publisher was Petros Papageorgiou on the 7 of March 1893 in the Athenian newspaper Ἑστία Εικονογραφημένη.[4] According to M. Dimitsas, P. Papageorgiou has copied the inscription and made the drawing of the plate at the moment it was brought to Serres.[5] After that Paul Perdrizet has commented the votive, again on the base of the drawing of de Fonseca, without dating it.[6] In Bulgarian scientific literature till recently it was considered that the monument has been lost and known only by the drawing of de Fonseca. Prof. B. Gerov dated it between the second half of the 2nd–first half of the 3rd century.[7] When publishing the votive in his volume IV of *Inscriptiones Grecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, prof. Georgi Michailov still has not seen the original monument[8]. He does not date it and the representations are interpreted by him as Jupiter, Juno, Aesculapius and Mercury.[9] Near to

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[3] After my re-discovery of the monument considered being lost long ago, I was the first in this century to publish it twice: with the necessary photo and description (Петрова 2015а, 68–70) and with a report on the International symposium in Strumitsa in 2016. In the same year I showed the monument in situ in the museum of Drama to N. Sharankov, who in his next publication corrected the name of the female dedicator on the relief (SHARANKOV 2016, 345, No 2343=5929). In his turn, he has showed the monument to D. Boteva, who cites only him as a discoverer of the monument (БОТЕВА 2018, 128–131; 136–141).

[4] Παπαγεωργίου 1893, τομ. Α', No 10, σελ. 158–159; see also Νίγδελης 2001, 150 and note 5.

[5] Δημίτσας 1896, 669.

[6] PERDRIZET 1906, 230–232.

[7] Геров 1961, 348 (196), № 61.

[8] There is certain confusion about the origin of the monuments from Nicopolis ad Nestum and Nevrokop/Gotse Delchev. In the scientific literature, especially from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the ruins of Nicopolis were usually identified with Nevrokop. For example while G. Michailov states that the relief to Pluto comes from Nicopolis, P. Papageorgiou was of the opinion that it has been found in Nevrokop, and finally P. Perdrizet considered that it has happened in Hissarlik. The latter name in the Ottoman period was used for the suburb Zagrade, now a quarter of the village of Garmen, situated next to Nicopolis ad Nestum.
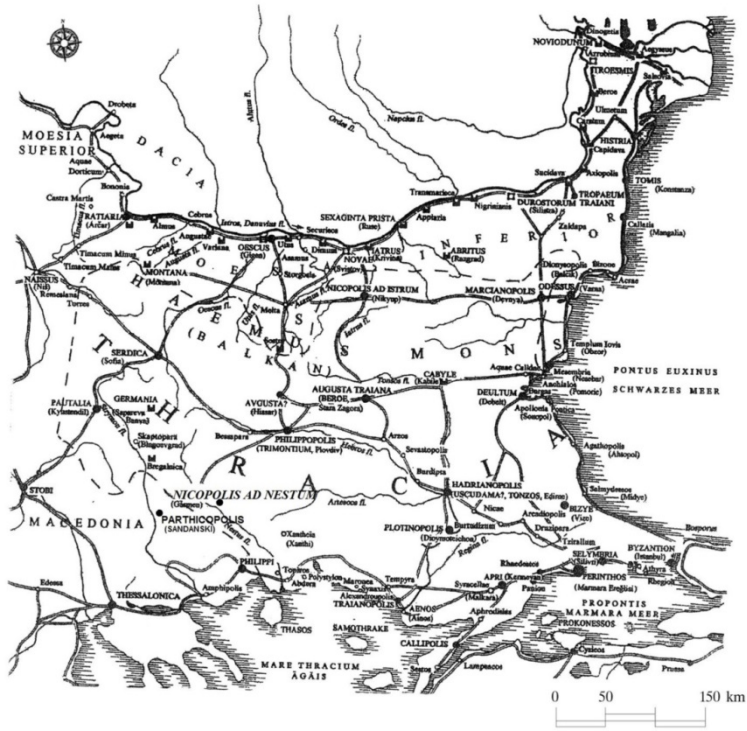
[9] IGBulg IV, 2345, with reference.

Figure 1. Map of the Roman provinces of Lower Moesia, Thrace and the Eastern part of Macedonia during the Principate (according to R. Ivanov, with additions and corrections of S. Petrova)

Figure 2. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum, drawing by S. S. de Fonseca (by P. Perdrizet 1906, 230)

our time[10] the monument is discussed also by Kaftantzis[11] and P. Pilhofer.[12] The first one is describing the monument, while the latter is considering that the nimbus of Pluto is an Early Christian feature. We shall stop our attention on this problem below.

During one of my visits to the Archaeological museum of Drama in 2012, I had the chance to 're-discover' the plate from Nicopolis considered to be lost till that moment (Figure 3), arranged in the newly opened exposition.[13] It is made of grey, almost coarse-grained and sparkling marble, although according to P. Perdrizet the marble is white, which proves that he has not seen the relief in original.[14] Its dimensions are[15]: height 53 cm, width 84 cm and thickness from 6.5 to 9 см.

The plate has a frame wider in its lower part[16]. At both ends of its upper part two differently modelled eight-pointed stars are incised in shallow circles. Two frontally represented busts are placed in the space between them. The bust of Sol is on the left and that of Luna to the right, typical for the Greco-Roman iconography, influenced and descending from the East and often connected with the cult relief of Mithra.[17] Similar images of Helios (Sol) and Selena (Luna), also framed by stars, which are interpreted as the dew of Eos (Aurora), can be found on the votive relief devoted to the healing deities from Parthicopolis, province of Macedonia.[18] In the field inside the plate[19], also represented frontally, are sculpted Asclepius, Hermes, Pluto (Hades) and Persephone.

A two-line inscription in Greek is made on the frame between the representation of Sol and Luna: "ΚΥΡΙΩ ΠΛΟΥ|ΤΩΝΙ". A second inscription, also in Greek[20], is chiselled on the lower

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[10] In 1967, the year of the short comment of G. Kaftantzis on the votive and its inscription, the monument was kept in the gymnasium of Serres. On his turn, G. Michailov, citing the just mentioned publication, corrects the place also to the gymnasium in Serres in his Addenda volume V (IGBulg V 1997, 5927=2343).

[11] Καφταντζῆς 1967, 284–288, No 480.

[12] PILHOFER 2009, 632.

[13] Inventory No Λ 27. ПЕТРОВА 2015a, 68–70.

[14] PERDRIZET 1906, 230.

[15] These dimensions are taken by me and N. Sharankov, but in the publication of D. Kaftantzis (Καφταντζῆς 1967, 284) they are slightly different (height 0.53, width 0. 53 and thick 0. 12 m). According to D. Kaftandzis, the representation to the right of Hermes belongs to a deceased, whom Hermes in the role of Psychopompos is guiding to the kingdom of death (Καφταντζῆς 1967, 284). This affirmation denies the votive character of the relief and in such a case considers it as sepulchral. But this is confuted by the votive inscription in which the dedicators devote the represented deities to Pluto. The same fact should also reject the idea for a votive connected with the beliefs on the fate of the deceased. The latter the Thracians were identifying and deifying with Heros, not with Asclepius, and the votive is erected namely by Thracians.

[16] The frame has different width: to the left (next to Asclepius) – 8 cm, up – 9 cm, to the right (next to Persephone) – 10 cm and down – 15 cm.

[17] WILL 1955, 272 ff., fig. 50, 296 ff.

[18] ПЕТКОВ, КОВАЧЕВ 2005, 234–238.

[19] With our measuring the central field for representations is 29 cm high and 65 см wide, while with Kaftantzis the dimensions are 28x65 см (Καφταντζῆς 1967, 284).

[20] Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μεστικεντος κὲ Αὐρ(ηλία) Επτεπυρις Εζβενεος | γυνὴ Μουκιανοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνέθηκαν.

part of the frame with the names of the dedicators. The translation of the inscriptions says: "To the lord Pluto. Avrelios Mestikenthos and Avrelia Gepepyris[21]/Επτεπυρις,[22],daughter of Ezbeneos, wife of Moukianos, devoted these deities". According to N. Sharankov, the votive is only to Pluto, while the other deities are the object of the devotion, e.i. their representations are devoted to Pluto (Figure 3). The same phrase "τοὺς θεούς" concerning some represented deities, is established by N. Sharankov also "in two more reliefs from the area of Augusta Traiana, as well as in other places".[23] Although the votive is in Greek, the god of the Underworld is called not Hades, but Pluto, with his Roman name. It should be expected that the other deities also bear Roman names (Proserpina, Mercury and Asclepius). But the further analysis of their iconography will show a syncretism between the Greek and Roman iconography and the naming.

The presence of nimbus (halo) around the head of Pluto as a part of his iconography is commented by D. Boteva, without interpreting the whole relief. This scholar is inclined to accept the monument rather as a tomb one than as votive. She supports the opinion of G. Kaftantzis, who in the figure of Asclepius sees the figure of a deceased man, "who arrives in the kingdom of the dead, led by Hermes Psychopompos. It looks like this relief was thought to represent plot, connected with the beliefs the faith of the dead".[24] Having in mind the appearance of the nimbus in Antiquity and very often later in the Middle and Late Roman imperial pagan cult representations[25], we should consider that this nimbus of Pluto was sculpted from the very beginning. But in the Early Christian period it was accepted as Christian.

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[21] M. Dimitsas reads Γησέπυρις (Δημίτσας 1896, p. 670), while P. Papageorgiou, G. Michailov and P. Pilhofer accept the name as Γηπεπυρις (Παπαγεωργίου 1893; Mihailov=IGBulg IV 1966, 2343; PILHOFER 2009, 632). According to N. Sharankov, who studied already the original, not the drawing, there is a mistake in the readings, that's why he gives a new name, Επτεπυρις, different from the already commented authors. In l. 3, he reads Επτεπυρις (ligatureTE)" (SHARANKOV 2016, 345. "2343=5929).

[22] The name Επτεπυρις is witnessed in one more epigraphic monument–catalogue found in Nicopolis ad Nestum (IGBulg IV 1966, № 2337).

[23] My collegial gratitude to N. Sharankov for the corrections of the previous readings and for the new one; also for the parallels and the data of similar practice from Augusta Traiana and other sites.

[24] БОТЕВА 2018, 130.

[25] See MCGINTY 2013, 26ff. See also the nimbus of a god from Stobi (PERDRIZET 1906, 231); and a relief from Heraclea Lyncestis (Bitola, Macedonia) (LIMC VI, 1992, 1054, Taf. 707, Nr. 492 (Heros Equitas) and another reliefs/votives from Moesia and Thrace (see: from the village Manastir near Varna – LIMC IV, 1988, 720–721, Nr. 13, Taf. 438; from Plovdiv: ЦОНЧЕВ 1938, 104–105, обр. 111; from Ribnovo, territory of Nicopolis on Mesta. The nimbus here is not commented. It probably has been outlined with gold, whose reddish colour survived to the present day (ПАСКОВА, ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006, 146). See more IVANOV 2009, 325–336. See images from the Greek Classical period (LIMC III, 1986, Taf. 216, Fig. 67; LIMC V, 1990, Taf. 639, Fig. 120); from the Hellenistic period (LIMC II, 1984, Taf. 200, Fig. 475; LIMC III, 1986, Taf. 457, Fig. 17); also from the wall paintings in Pompei (LIMC II, 1984, Taf. 317, Fig. 274, Taf. 334–335, Fig. 420, 421, Taf.691, Fig. 36; LIMC III, 1986, Taf.134, Fig.3; LIMC V, 1990, Taf. 555, Fig. 5).

Figure 3. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum (photo S. Petrova)

Figure 4. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum,
drawing by S.S. de Fonseca, with corrections of N. Sharankov

Moreover, the relief was additionally reworked in Early Christian times. During our visit with N. Sharankov to the Archaeological museum in Drama and the careful investigation of the relief, we found on the lower frame at the beginning of the text a secondary incised cross having equal arms. The nimbus and secondarily incised added cross denoted the votive as a Christian monument in the Early Christian Era (Figure 4).

Although the relief is not high, all the representations and the inscriptions are in a good state, except some erasing, especially of the faces. The sitting on thrones deities are frontal and in relatively high relief in the lower part of their bodies — in the thighs, the knees and the legs up to the feet. These parts are as if "parting" from the surface of the relief, and protruding almost in three-dimensional form.

Except in the inscription, the syncretism between the Greek and the Roman iconography is very clear in the other details. The sitting on the throne Pluto is wearing a toga, while the other deities are represented in Greek dresses. That's why it is more correct to call them with their Greek names as Asclepius and Hermes, represented to the right of Pluto, and Persephone on his left side. The practice of combining the iconographies of the Roman and Greek deities is also known from the other Roman monuments to Pluto found in Northern and Northeastern Macedonia, geographically the most closely situated area to Nicopolis ad Nestum in Southwestern Thrace. The healing god Asclepius is standing, with an almost frontally represented head with long hair-do, slightly turned to the right. The hairstyle is presented like a nimbus, outlined with a carved line along its outer contour. The end of his mantle is thrown over his right shoulder (Figure 5). He is leaning the right hand on his stick with a coiled around it snake[26], while the left one is covered with the mantle.

The cult of Asclepius is widely spread in Thessaly[27], alongside the Aegean shore, in the provinces of Macedonia and Thrace in the reaches of the rivers of Strymon and Nestos in Parthicopolis, Pautalia and Nicopolis ad Nestum[28]. The functions of Asclepius as a healer and as chthonic god should be studied separately. The water (the mineral thermal water) is of main significance for the healing, at one and the same time healing, giving strength and recreating; supplying with fruitfulness and wealth.[29] This is what we see in Dion, also in Macedonia, in the sanctuary of Demeter and in the connected together with her cult that of Asclepius.[30] Asclepius had a great significance for Nicopolis ad Nestum and its citizens,

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[26] Similarly to the faces of the other figures, the representation of the snake is quite erased, although the traces of its coiling around the stick can still be traced (see fig. 5 – detail).

[27] According to the legend, the most ancient sanctuary to Asclepius was in Τρίκη in Thessaly (Strabo 9.5.17).

[28] KERÉNYI 1956, VIII; MARTIN, METZGER 1976, 74 ff.; BURKERT 1977, 447; PETROVA, PETKOV 2015, 371 ff., with references.; ИВАНОВ 1919–20, 67–88; КАЦАРОВА 2005, 126–130, with references; ПАСКОВА, ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006, 146f.

[29] MARTIN, METZGER 1976, 82 ff.

[30] Πινγιάτογλου 2005, 430; Πινγιάτογλου 1999, 911–919.

Figure 5. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum, detail (photo T. Uzunov)

judging by its coins struck in the period of Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna; by the found inscription–catalogue, witnessing for his cult and the existence of his cult society in the city,[31] as well as by the numerous found here votives to him.

Hermes is represented next to Asclepius on the votive to Pluto, also standing, naked, with the mantle thrown over the shoulders, whose end covers his left hand, slightly turned to the left. The winged hat (petasus, πέτασος) is represented on his head[32]. In his left hand he holds high the straight and leaned to his shoulder caduceus, while in his stretched forward right hand he holds the parcel. An altar is placed between Asclepius and Hermes. The image of Hermes on the votive also should not be understood as a guide of the souls of the dead persons (Psychopompos/Ψυχοπομπός), and only as the god bringing Persephone to Demeter.[33] Since he has all the attributes of a merchant, he should be defined as the god

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[31] Petrova 2012, 327; IGBulg IV, 2336.

[32] Because of the strong erasing it can't be established surely if there are winged sandals on his legs (talaria, πτερόεντα πέδιλα). Although with difficulty, it is possible to trace the remnants of the crossed in diagonal straps over the sandals.

[33] Hermes is one of the deities of the Eleusinian mysteries. He brings Persephone back to the earth in springtime and takes her to the Underworld in autumn.

supplying with wealth, abundance and gain. This is the type Ερμής Κερδώος[34] or Hermes Ploutodotes, i.e. giving gain and wealth.[35]

After Hermes, the god of the Underworld Pluto and his wife Persephone are sculpted, sitting on thrones with complexly lathed legs and high solid backs ending with balls. A round nimbus in low relief is shown around the head of the god. He has curly hair-do and curly short beard, with a regular oval of the face. The arranged curls, one next to the other, are plastically modelled, similar to the portraits of the emperor Caracalla. The dress under the toga is with short sleeves and high under the neck. A strip with embroidery[36] can be observed on the lower part of the toga, over the legs there. The end of the toga is passing over the back and from the right side of his waist is clasped over the chest and the left shoulder. The sceptre is in his left hand, three of the fingers horizontally placed, the other ones coiled around the sceptre, the forefinger pointing to its top. In his slightly protruded right hand he holds a phiale. The three-headed Cerberus is shown, sitting on the hinder paws, with stranding fore-paws[37] at the right side beside the throne's legs.

A close iconographic parallel in the sculpture for this type, Pluto on throne[38], can be found in his statue from Villa Borghese, with the same attributes in the hand and Cerberus next to the throne.[39] Another analogy is in Copenhagen (Ancient Art and Architecture Collection, Kobenabn B10PDE-1) and the third example comes from Hierapolis.[40]

Persephone is shown also frontally on the left of her spouse and again sitting on a throne. She is dressed in short-sleeved to the elbow chiton. The other dress (peplos?) seen under it at the legs is longer. It is made of a milder textile and naturally pleated. Because of the pose, the pleats are treated as opened. The head is covered with a veil (?) falling to the shoulders and to her back. The face is oval, with correct features and a sharp chin. The hair is parted in the middle of the forehead forming of a pelta together with the eyebrows. It is likely that such hair-style with hairs drawn back is similar to that of Julia Domna. A two-lined jewel is hanging on the neck as if a high complex collar (?). The chiton under the breast is tied with a belt with the Hercules' knot, the end of the belt falling down to her lap[41]. Through that knot Persephone is represented not only as giving fruitfulness, but as the protector of the marriage

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[34] „Gain/ *κερδώος*". For Apollo Kerdoos in the cities in northern Thessaly and his connection with Hermes see MILI 2011, 41–44. According to this author, the cult of Apollo Kerdoos is more spread than that of Hermes, but the epithet is more frequent namely with the cult of Hermes. See MILI 2015, 137, note 220.

[35] See FISKE 1885, 67.

[36] Probably he is represented with shoes, but the representation is very much erased.

[37] The frontal head of Cerberus is broken, but its place is very clear. Now are preserved the two other side heads.

[38] LIMC IV, 1990, 403 (Pluto Thronended).

[39] MEYERS 1888, 140.

[40] D'ANDRIA 2013a, 157–217; D'ANDRIA 2013b.

[41] This knot in the ancient Greek and Roman mythology is protecting and preserving from magic, also used for attaining might and strength. The bride in the Roman rituals is also shown with this knot and her husband is the first and the only one to 'unfasten' it.

and the family; as a woman, with dominating matrimonial status, having in mind the fact that it is quite rare she to be shown on the throne as a girl or young woman. The goddess also has in her left hand a sceptre similarly to Pluto. In her right hand, also slightly protruded as in the case of Pluto, she holds a mirror[42].

The myth of Hades/Pluto is developing in two directions[43]. In the first one the god is raping Kore/Persephone for making her his spouse and co-ruler of the Underworld.[44] In the second one the name of the god is Pluto (Ploutos, in the sense of "wealth")[45], having in mind the subterraneous ores and minerals. Here Pluto as chthonic god is ruling deeply under the earth, keeping the sewn seeds, which will bring rich crops.[46] Hades/Pluto is the ruler of the dead souls, but as a spouse of Persephone he is connected also with fruitfulness.[47] In the mythology of the Underworld Hades is connected mainly with the cult to the dead. The reception of death and the Underworld connected with Hades and the rape of Persephone are tied and belong to the cycle of Demeter, to which also affiliates Heracles.[48] In the ancient Greek mythology Hades is a brother of Zeus[49] and considered as a merciless god, believed to have no sanctuaries (see Iliad, scholia 158). Being a too early cult, it is connected with the Eleusinian mysteries, with existing tie with Demeter and Kore; also revealing the connection between Life and Death in all mysteries.[50] Strabo (9, 2, 29) says that the statue of Itonian Athena has been devoted to the temple of Hades for some mystic reason. When Pausanias (9, 34, 5) speaks of Hades, he means the place the dead are going to, namely "to Hades". But when he speaks of Pluto, he calls him "richness" connecting him with peace and wealth (Pausanias 9, 16, 1–2).[51] The god is also venerated as chthonic in the Roman period, when he is more

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[42] According to P. Perdrizet the image looks like a snare („on dirait un nœud coulant", PERDRIZET 1906, 230–231).

[43] Hades and Pluto have different characters, but they are not two different figures, because they share two dominating myths.

[44] HANSEN 2005, 180–182.

[45] Pluto together with Cerera=Hades plus Kore/Demeter; he is the god of revival and from there – of the fruitfulness, wealth etc. The Romans called Pluto with the Greek epithet „πλούτος" – wealth, wellness. Pluto is the latinized form of the Greek Plouto.

[46] HANSEN 2005, 182.

[47] ATHANASSAKIS 2004, 56.

[48] GRIMAL 1991, 36–37, Hades.

[49] In the inscription from Nicopolis ad Nestum the epithet of Pluto is "Κυρίῳ". The same epithet is used in the inscriptions of this for Zeus (see: IGBulg IV, 2340 and 2341). This epithet is used only for the supreme deities.

[50] In the classical times the cult to Hades as chthonic god can be found everywhere in Hellas: in Peloponnesian Elis (Pausanias 6, 25.2), Triphylia (Strabo, 8, 344), Eleusin (Faure 1958, 800 ff.), Attica (Vanderpool 1970, 47), Boeotia (Strabo. 9, 411; Pausanias 9,34.1; Παπαχατζής 1987, 116–117), Larissa in Thessaly and in the village of Fallanna, also in Larissa district (IG IX.2 No 1229 (Φαλλάννα); MCDEVIT 1970, 364 (Larissa), Epirus (Τζουβάρα-Σούλη 1979, 99 ff.). Se also BURKERT 1987, 95.

[51] 16. ....After the sanctuary of Ammon in Thebes it follows the so-called "oinoscopion" of Tiresias (place for prediction of the future by birds), and near to it is located the sanctuary of Tyche (Fate), holding the child Pluto (wealth); 2. In the opinion of the Thebenians, the hands and the face of the statue were sculpted by the Athenian

often named with his Roman name Pluto, from the Greek epithet "πλούτο", standing for "richness". That's the reason Pluto to be associated also with abundance.[52]

The mixture of iconographies of representations from the Greek and Hellenistic religion with that of the Roman Pantheon on the votives with Greek texts is not exceptional for the area of Southwestern Thrace and Macedonia. A relief from the village of Aiani (Αίανή) in Kozani district, dated in the 2nd century, is devoted to Pluto, named Θεῷ Δεσπότῃ Πλούτωνι[53]. In another votive from Larissa in Thessaly, Pluto himself is defined as Δεσπότῃ: Δήμητρι καί Κόρῃ καί Δεσπότῃ.[54] Devotions to Pluto are to be found also in the peninsula of Attica[55].

The monuments to Pluto from Thrace and Moesia are only reliefs so far, votives or sepulchral ones. The representation of the god on the relief from the village of Choba near Plovdiv in Thrace is iconographically identical to the one from Nicopolis: the god is sitting on the throne, with sceptre in the left hand and in the broken now right hand probably with a phiale.[56] The inscription from the village of Svoboda, municipality of Chirpan (district of Stara Zagora), also in Thrace, is Πλούτωνι ἐπηκόῳ. The plate was kept in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia; devoted by Αὐρήλιος Σευοῦηρος.[57] Another relief with Pluto, this time with Demeter and Kore, was found in Odessos, where he has been worshipped as a supreme god.[58] The devotions are met more often on postaments (arae) or on plates[59], in Greek to Pluto or to Proserpina in Latin in Moesia Inferior.

We consider that in the case with the relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum the referring to the deities of the Underworld and their chthonic essence should relate Pluto to the god gifting

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Xenophon, while the rest parts were made by Kalistos, a local citizen. It was suitable for these artists to put Pluto in the hands of Tyche by that to suggest that she is his mother or suckling-mother. Also suitable is the notion of Kephisodotos who has made the statue of Eirene (Peace) for the Athenians with Pluto in her hands.

[52] For this see also Παπαχατζής 1987, 130; GERNET, BOULANGER 1970, 85.

[53] According to the researchers, the monument belongs to a temple to Pluto. See Ριζάκης, Τουράτσογλου 1985, p. 31, No 15 and cit.lit.; CHATZINIKOLAOU 2010, 193–222, No 8 Pluto.

[54] Αρβανιτόπουλος 1910, 377.

[55] In Eleusin (KERÉNYI 1962; BURKERT 1977, 584; SIMON 1969, 105–109, SIMON 1998, 373ff.; GRUBEN 2000, 242–245 fig. 178.33); on a relief with Pluto with a Greek inscription, devoted to Pluto, Demeter and Kore (IG II 3, 1933 [= Syll. 3, 1022 ff.] See: FAURE 1958, 800 ff.).

[56] КАЦАРОВ 1932–33, 381–382, обр. 130.

[57] KALINKA 1906, 132, No 142.

[58] КАЦАРОВ 1932–33, 382, with references.

[59] One was found in Ivanyane-Bankya (Thrace), devoted to θεῷ Πλούτωνι (IGBulg IV, 2010). An altar is descending from Nikopol kale in Moesia Inferior with a Latin inscription to Pluto and Proserpina (Бешевлиев 1952, № 57), but according to Shkorpil it has been taken from Ulpia Oescus/the village of Ghigen (ИРАИК 1910, 460). Also the general devotion "to the deities of the Underworld" can be met in Ratiaria/ the village of Archar in Moesia Superior (Бешевлиев 1952, №№ 56, 64) and in Oescus in Moesia Inferior, and in the village of Geren near Plovdiv in Thrace (БЕШЕВЛИЕВ 1952, №63). A relief, from the Vidin Museum, was defined as Hades and Proserpina (Persephone) on throne (АТАНАСОВА-ГЕОРГИЕВА, МИТОВА-ДЖОНОВА 1985, 59–60). But V. Popova corrects the interpretation of the pair in high relief not as Hades and Persephone, but as Isis and Osiris because of the babe which she is nursing, does not exist in the representations of Persephone (ПОПОВА 2016, 238–239).

wealth and abundance. It derives from the location of the city in the reaches of Middle Nestos, from the abundance of farming, forests, quarries, ores and minerals and mineral waters. That's why Pluto described as Wealth is also connected with Asclepius.[60]

The worship of Pluto is unique according to the investigations for Macedonia.[61] According to the inscription from Aiane[62] and the plate from Larissa,[63] the representation and the name of Pluto are connected with the fruitfulness[64]. A tomb epigram from the 2nd century AD is known from Veria devoted to Pluto in the role of "giving wealth".[65] Similar tomb epigrams with the same function are also known from the Roman imperial period in Thessaloniki.[66] The worship of this chthonic deity alongside the Aegean shore, in Northern and Northeastern Macedonia with the same function, similarly to the valley of Middle Strymon (Struma), reveals a specifics, probably imported from the cult in the ancient Hellas — in Peloponnesos and Attica, where temples of Hades-Pluto were existing and he has been worshipped predominantly in the Roman imperial period as "giving wealth".

The spread of this cult in the valley of Middle Nestos (Mesta) can be established comparatively late, under the influence of his wide spread in the close lands — the Aegean shore of Thrace and in the province of Macedonia. That's the reason to consider that in the votive from Nicopolis Pluto and Persephone are not only chthonic deities of Death. Being represented together with Hermes and Asclepius with the functions of healing gods, of fruitfulness, profit and "wealth", the pair of Pluto and Persephone should be accepted with the same functions. The entire relief is magnifying the role and the functions of all deities represented on it as supplying with wealth, but these deities being devoted to the god and sovereign Pluto, who "preserves and gives/gifts with fruitfulness and wealth".

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[60] HEUZEY 1868, 24; RE XXI, 1 (1951), col. 1027 – Plutonion (J. Schmidt).

[61] HEUZEY 1868, 18–25; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1880, 376; DÜLL 1977, 118; Ριζάκης, Τουράτσογλου 1985, 32; Ριζάκης, Τουράτσογλου 1999, 952, note 13.

[62] BAEGE 1913, 141–142.

[63] Αρβανιτόπουλος 1910, 377.

[64] Except these monuments, at the Aegean shore of Thrace and the province of Macedonia, there existed also tomb epigrams, connected with the name of Hades. Such an epigram is found in Maroneia in North Greece, now in the museum of Komotini (Inv. No ΑΓΚ 456; see Λουκοπούλου, Ζουρνατζή, Παρισάκη, Ψωμά 2005, 396, No E 215, πίν. 54) and in Dubia (Δουμπιά) on Chalkidiki, where are located the most famous mineral sources of Greece, the epigram from there now in the Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki (Inv. No 2216, see Μισαηλίδου-Δεσποτίδου 1997, No 69). Also sepulchral is the function of the wall painting-scene with Hades, Persephone, Hermes and Cerberus in the recently found tomb in Alexandria, Egypt (necropolis of *Kom al-Shugafa*, Tomb 2). Here Hermes is without the bag and in the role of Pchychopompos, the Cerberus at the entrance of the Underworld (GUIMIER-SORBETS 2018, 90–93, figs. 6–9).

[65] Γουναροπούλου, Χατζόπουλος 1998, 357–359, No 404, πίν. 629.

[66] IG X 2.1, p. 132–133, No 368, 217–218, 148, No 447, 150–151, No 454; Λουκοπούλου, Ζουρνατζή, Παρισάκη, Ψωμά 2005, A, B, 248–249.

It is quite possible that the relief was placed in a sanctuary of Pluto.[67] Such sanctuaries of Pluto/Hades and Persephone should be located in places with existing deep holes and caves, connected with the legend of this pair. One of the well-known sanctuary is the Plutonion in Hierapolis (Strabo 13, 4, 14), supposedly existing already in the Hellenistic period.[68]

At the end of the '60s–the beginning of the '70s of the 1st century, the "strategos" Flavios Dizalas from Nicopolis ad Nestum has founded the sanctuary of Artemis, which was located at or in the settlement Κειρπαρα.[69] Although B. Gerov considers that it was restored at that time,[70] N. Sharankov thinks that it was founded namely then. A cave Κειρις is known to exist in Moesia (Dio Cass. LI, 26, 3). If we accept the proposal of B. Gerov that Κειρις could be connected with the name of the settlement Κειρπαρα,[71] there in a close proximity should be located also the sanctuary of Pluto, most probably at the cave, which has given its name to the sanctuary (?).

The fact that the relief with Pluto was found in the ruins of the ancient city provokes several questions. The first one is if there existed a sanctuary to Pluto in it or it was *extra muros* and even more remote, why not in the modern village of Gospodintsi. B. Gerov connects the settlement Κειρπαρα with the town Κερεοπύργος, mentioned by Hierocles (635, 2), and with the modern village Gospodintsi (previously Tsiropol), situated about 5 Roman miles west of Nicopolis ad Nestum. In this ancient settlement I have localized old Roman quarries for marble, also remnants of underground iron-ore mines. One of the quarries for marble is in the locality Peshterata (the Cave), southwestern from Gospodintsi.[72] Near it there are mineral sources rich in hydrogen sulphide. The second question is was it possible that the monument has been taken from the sanctuary and brought to the city and how it could be re-used in the new Early Christian situation having in mind the additionally incised cross on it? We have many examples of similar secondary re-usage, the latest one being a pagan altar with devotion to many deities, included in the Episcopal basilica of Philippopolis.[73] For the moment there are no sure answers to these questions.

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[67] The only sanctuary so far from the territory of Bulgaria, devoted to Demeter and Kore/Persephone, is found on the на cape Scamni, at the ancient Apollonia on the Black Sea. It has been actively functioning in the period between the 6th and the 3rd century BC, with parallels on Mitilini and in the Tesmophorion on the island of Thassos (ПАНАЙОТОВА, СТОЯНОВА, ЧАЧЕВА, ДАМЯНОВ 2012, 243).

[68] Except the sanctuary, the religious complex includes a pool with mineral water and a cave, the entrance to the Underworld. The end of this complex is considered to happen in the 4th century, being destroyed by the Christians. See PICCADRI 2007, 98–99, fig 3b; D'ANDRIA 2013a, 157–217.

[69] ШАРАНКОВ 2015, с. 70.

[70] ГЕРОВ 1961, с. 215 и цит.лит.

[71] ГЕРОВ 1961, 220.

[72] This quarry was discovered by the author in 2013.

[73] See the paper of N. Sharankov (in print) in the conference „The Episcopal basilica of Philippopolis, research and results (2015–2018)", held from the 9th to 12th of May 2018 in Plovdiv. Also: ШАРАНКОВ 2018, 731, обр. 1.

Nevertheless there are some hints for the further research. The dedicators come from significant families with high status in the hierarchy, with big possibilities to order a monument of high artistic value. That's the reason to think that it was possible the relief to be installed in a sanctuary or at a temple, situated on the agora or next to it, and not in the environments of it, for instance in the locality Peshterata (the Cave). Having in mind the dimensions of the relief and its high artistic quality, it is difficult to suppose its installation somewhere in the periphery and not in some central place of the city.

The composition of the relief to Pluto with its three more deities show them as the ones protecting the health, the trade, the trip and the richness, also of the family, because of the obvious functions of Asclepius, the Ploutodotes/Kerdoos, and of the pair of the Underworld Pluto-Persephone. This is a new iconography, unknown so far in the region of Nicopolis ad Nestum. The devotion itself is also a novelty, because the other deities are devoted in the inscription to Pluto, with his function of bestowing richness.

The iconography of the representations, their hair-dresses and vestments reveal the knowledge and the skillfulness of the sculptor in the period of the Severans. The manner of treatment and the local marble is much higher than the numerous votive and sepulchral reliefs and statuettes from Nicopolis ad Nestum and its area,[74] but nevertheless local. The relief of Pluto is made of the local marble extracted in the ancient quarries, located around 10 Roman miles southeastern of the ancient city, near the modern village of Koprivlen. These quarries belonged to the Roman and Early Byzantine Nicopolis ad Nestum.[75] Some of the monuments are also made of the same kind of marble as colour and quality, demonstrating the same provenance of the marble and most probably made in one and the same workshop. It should be noted that this grey marble, from middle- to coarse-grained, can be met in the votive and sepulchral monuments,[76] as well as in architectonic ones — the Roman Dorian capitals type II, variant B, according to the typology[77] at the very end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century. This duration hints on the exploitation of new stone deposits alongside Middle Nestos or near to this river, starting in the same period end of the 2nd–beginning of the 3rd century. One can also propose, that this practice in preparing cult and architectonic sculpture has been also continuing for a longer period till Late Antiquity, having in mind the Early Christian capitals and cancel plates made of the grey marble from the same quarries[78]. The often appearing of products of this marble after the end of the 2nd century in Nicopolis and its region reveals not only the exploitation of these new quarries/deposits. It also questions why the monuments made of white marble were diminishing and was this white

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[74] ПАСКОВА, ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006, 146–151.

[75] ПЕТРОВА 2015B, 75–85.

[76] PETROVA 2017, 119–121.

[77] ПЕТРОВА 1990, 8–16.

[78] ПЕТРОВА 2017, 233–252.

marble import or was extracted from more distant places/quarries, more unprofitable for the citizens of Nicopolis and the settlements around. It is also possible that at the end of the 2nd century the ownership of the quarries for white to white-grey marble has been changed and the cheaper grey one became more preferable. It is also possible that all these circumstances were combined in the usage of the grey marble.

The relief to Pluto supplies with rare data for the cults and the cult sculpture of Nicopolis ad Nestum, probably including the most worshipped deities of Nicopolis — Asclepius, Hermes, Pluto and Persephone in their function of giving richness and prosperity. The Thracian names of the unknown to that moment persons from the city are more probably belonging to the local elite. They have acquired the Roman citizenship after 212 by *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the period of Caracalla. This is also witnessed by the representations of Hermes and Asclepius with identical iconography on the reverse of coins of Caracalla and Geta, struck in Nicopolis in 210–211.[79] In the same coin emission there are parallels for the type of Hades–Pluto[80] and Hades–Serapis.[81] The votive relief demonstrates the skilfulness of the sculptors, the knowledge of the iconography of the represented deities and of the imperial portraits of several members of the Severan dynasty—of Julia Domna and Caracalla—repeated in sculpturing the hair-dresses, the beards and the poses. The complex analysis of the local marble from the quarries, properties of Nicopolis, the treatment by local masters of a local atelier, belonging probably to the quarries themselves or to an atelier in close proximity to the city, the iconography of the representations as well as the affiliation of the dedicators to the Roman citizens after 212 — all these facts are supplying with the arguments to relate the monument generally after 212, and no later than the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century.

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[79] ХРИСТОВА, ЖЕКОВ 2007, 22, 24, 34.

[80] МУШМОВ 1912, 230, № 4070.

[81] ХРИСТОВА, ЖЕКОВ 2007, 33. Coins with Pluto and Persephone are struck during the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in Stobi, where inscriptions to Hades are also found (DÜLL 1977, 258, 118–119).

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Swastika-shaped fibulae with horse-head decorations (Almgren 232) from the Roman period in Dobrudja (Moesia Inferior)

Radu PETCU[1]

Abstract. *Discovered in a large number in the Balkan-Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire, the swastika-shaped fibulae with horse-head decorations are in most cases attributed to the military. The iconographic motive and form are the artistic expression of Thracian traditions specific in the Lower Danube regions. The precursors of this type of brooches are the silver brackets found in Thracians princely graves discovered in Romania and Bulgaria dated in the 4th century BC. Chronologically framed in the 2nd–4th centuries AD, the roman fibulae are discovered mainly in military environments. On the territory of Dobroudja (Moesia Inferior), four brooches of this type are known, one at Ulmetum and three in the civil settlement near the camp of Durostum, at Ostrov-Ferma 4.*

Rezumat. *Descoperite într-un număr ridicat în provinciile balcano-dunărene ale Imperiului Roman, fibulele svastică cu terminațiile brațelor în formă de cap de cal sunt atribuite în cele mai multe cazuri militarilor. Motivul iconografic și forma sunt expresia artistică a unei tradiții tracice specifice Dunării de jos. Precursoarele fibulelor sunt aplicile de argint descoperite în mormintele princiare tracice de pe teritoriul României și al Bulgariei, datate în secolul al IV-lea a.Chr. Încadrate cronologic în secolele II–IV p. Chr., fibulele sunt descoperite cu precădere în medii militare. Pe teritoriul Dobrogei sunt atestate până în prezent patru fibule, una la Ulmetum și trei în așezarea civilă de la Durostum, în punctul Ostrov-Ferma 4.*

Keywords: Moesia Inferior, Ulmetum, Durostorum, fibulae, 2nd–4th century AD.

Introduction

The publication of this article came from the necessity of filling the bibliographic gap that specialized literature had on this subject, being at the same time a topic of debate at two international conferences, one held at the Université d'Angers in France in 2015 and the second in the workshop *"Scythia. The province's economic and commercial relations with the Roman world"*, which took place in Tulcea, Romania in October 2017. The number of swastika-shaped fibulae with horse-heads decoration discovered in Dobrudja is not very large compared to

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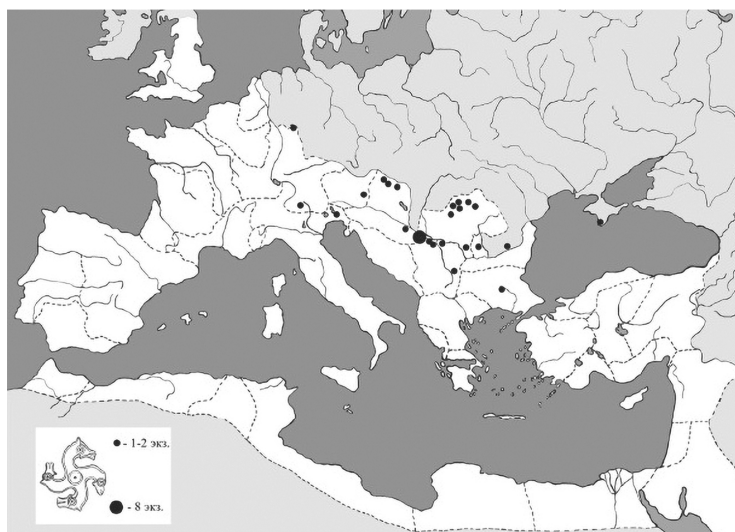
Figure 1. The distribution of the swastika shape fibulae with horse-head decorations
in the Roman Empire (KOSTROMICHYOV 2012)

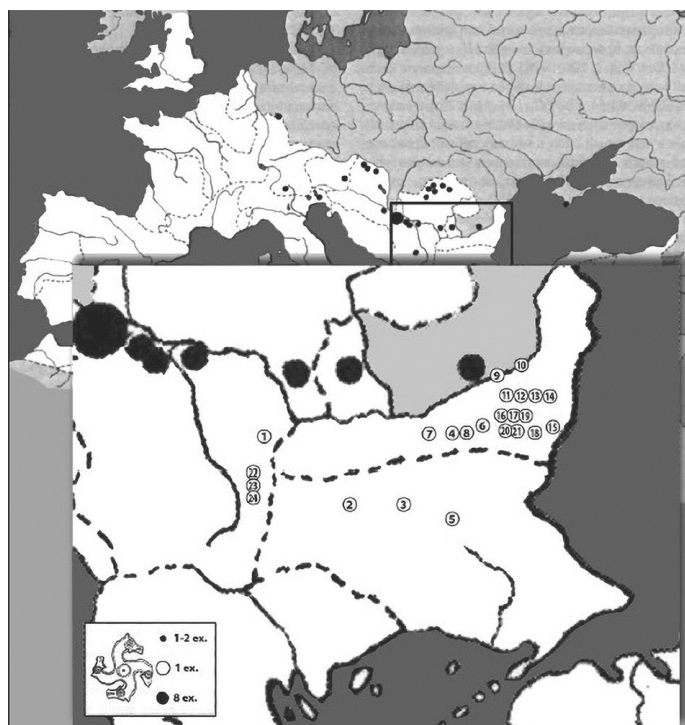Figure 2. The distribution of the swastika shape fibulae with horse-head decorations
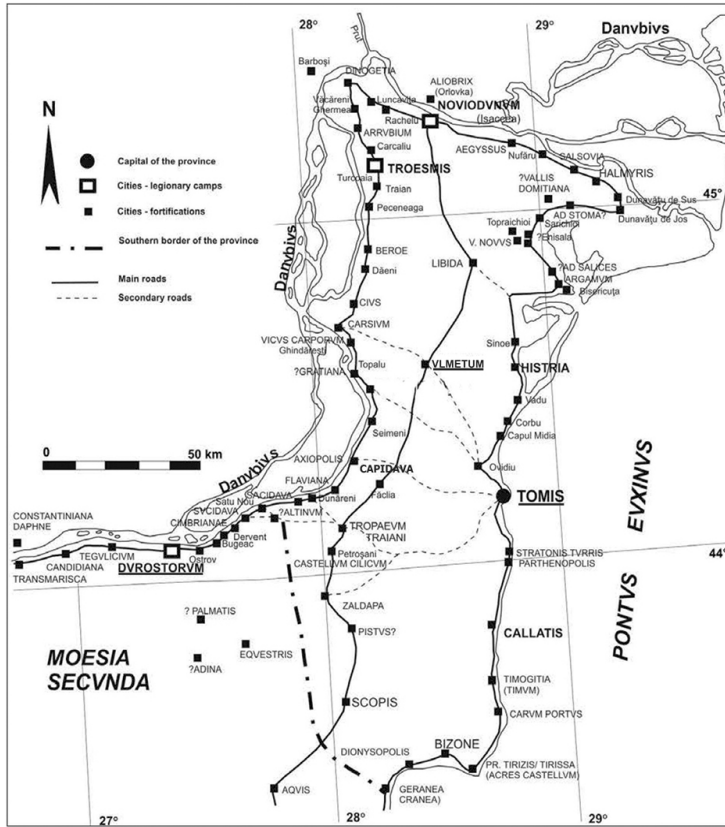in the Balkans (HARALAMBIEVA 2014)

Figure 3. The major settlements in Roman Dobrogea
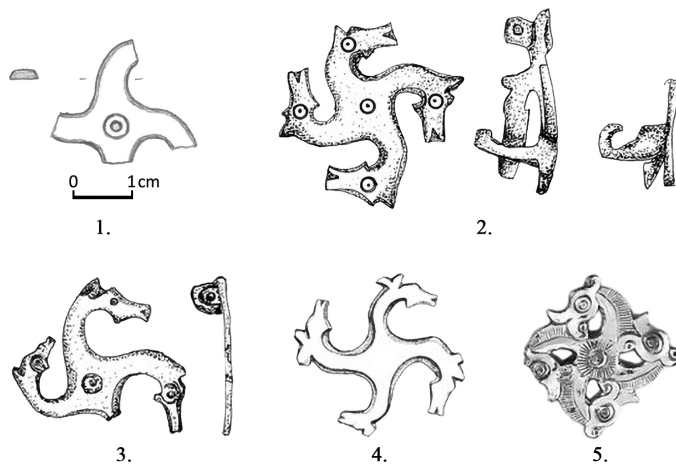and the location of Ulmetum and Durostorum (OPRIȘ & RAȚIU 2017)

Figure 4. Swastika-shaped fibulae with horse-head decorations: 1 – Ulmetum; 2–4 – Durostorum;
5 – Silver braket from the princely tomb from Peretu, 4th cent. BC

those found on the territory of Bulgaria[2], respectively three pieces found in the civil settlement from "Ferma 4", near the military camp from *Durostorum*[3], and one in the Late Roman fort at *Ulmetum* (Figure 3). We consider this study to be an absolute necessity for completing the spreading area of this type of fibulae. Their emergence in a less studied region from this point of view shows us the material culture uniformization that took place in the Roman provinces of the Lower Danube. The main factor of spreading the Roman culture was of course the military. This is reflected in the contexts in which the fibulae were discovered: the civil settlement beside the legionary camp of *Legio XI Claudia* from *Durostorum* and the *statio* from Ulmetum, strategically positioned at the intersection of several Roman roads in the centre of Dobroudja.

Spread area and typology

From a morphological point of view, the swastika-shaped fibulae with horse-head decorations combine two common motifs: swastika or solar symbols and animal representations that appear as horse heads, more or less schematically represented at the ends of the four arms[4]. Ideologically, both elements designate "movement", which could confirm Nicolae Gudea's theory, according to which these brooches are artistic expressions of a horse cult that was born from the impact that the cavalry had as a basic military unit, with the establishment of Illyrian cavalry corps[5]. Another opinion belongs to Serbian researcher Sofija Petković, who believes that the appearance of this type of fibulae is closely related to the recruitment of "barbarians", especially Sarmatians and Alans, among Roman cavalry units, as a result of reforms adopted in the early 3rd century AD[6]. The wide diffusion area of this type of fibulae is the result of a massive and constant movement of troops from the Balkan Peninsula during the reign of Emperor Maximinus Thrax (235–238 AD) and throughout the Tetrarchy period[7]. They are found in the provinces of *Dacia*, *Dardania*, *Pannonia Inferior*, *Moesia Superior*, *Moesia Inferior*, *Noricum,* in the North Pontic area (Chersonesos), as well as in Germany and Northern Italy (Figures 1-2).

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[2] HARALAMBIEVA 2014, 33, Fig. 1

[3] I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Dan Elefterescu (MDJ Călăraşi) and Dr. George Nuțu (ICEM Tulcea) for giving me the available information (photographs, drawings and details of the contexts in which they were discovered) about the fibulae from Ferma 4 – Ostrov. The three fibulas are part of a much wider study which is currently in print: GEORGE NUȚU, DAN ELEFTERESCU, *The Brooches from Durostorum – Ostrov*, Iaşi, 2018; and also to Dr Constantin Băjenaru (MINA Constanța) and Mr Daniel Schmidt for helping and supporting me in my research.

[4] BUORA 1992, 105.

[5] GUDEA 2004, 191.

[6] PETKOVIĆ 2010, 187; HARALAMBIEVA 2014, 34.

[7] BUORA 2005, 117.

Typologically, horse head swastika fibulae fall within Roman provincial port-clips group – type Almgren 232, appearing for the first time in literature through a piece discovered in Romania, which is currently in the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca[8]. The fibulae body is flat and at arms endings are depicted horse heads with concentric circles engraved as eyes. The same pattern of concentric circles can also be found in the middle of the body. There are two examples known so far in the literature in which the tails of horses are also shown, one discovered in Italy at Udine[9] and a second one in Bulgaria, at Ruse (the camp of *Sexaginta Prista*)[10].

Regarding the manufacturing process, they were made by pouring bronze into moulds made of hard materials. The grip system is the type Cociş 16, where the port-clip is hook-shaped[11].

The iconographic motif of the horse head that starts from the same body as well as the spreading area of most discoveries, namely the Danubian provinces *Pannonia Inferior*, *Dacia*, *Moesia Superior* and *Moesia Inferior*, denotes a Balkan origin[12]. The Almgren 232 type is very similar to the Thracian and Scythian items from Late Hallstatt[13]. Brackets with the same representation were discovered in Thraco-Getic princely graves from the 4th century BC, such as the examples from Peretu[14] or Agighiol[15], both in Romania (Figure 4/5). Besides, the horse motif is very well known in Antiquity, being artistically represented in various forms since the Iron Age until the late Middle Ages, and being an important symbol of nomadic steppe tribes.

The high concentration of items found in Novi Banovci, the ancient *Burgenae*, and their spreading in the neighbouring territories justifies the hypothesis of the presence of a production workshop for horse head swastika fibulae in the Serbian settlement on the Danube bank[16].

In Dacia several such fibulae are known, divided by S. Cociş into two types, 33b1 and 33b2[17], mostly found in military contexts such as the camps from *Apulum*[18], *Porolissum*,

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[8] ALMGREN 1923, 104 and Tafel X, 232.

[9] BUORA 2005, 120, Tav. III/31.

[10] TODOROVA2013, 66, pl. II/6.

[11] COCIŞ 2004, 31, and pl. CLXX, fig. 16 from page 424.

[12] BUORA 1992, 105.

[13] REDŽIĆ 2007, 51.

[14] For brackets from the princely tomb from Peretu see MOSCALU 1986, 62, fig. 4; BUORA 1992, pl. 2, figs. 1 and 2; TROHANI 2013, 266, 52.4–52.6.

[15] For the inventory tomb from Agighiol see BERCIU 1969, 169–187.

[16] BUORA 1992, 105; PETKOVIĆ 2010, 187; KOSTROMICHYOV 2012, 69.

[17] One is published by ALMGREN 1923 – 232, and the other eight by COCIŞ 2004, type 33b1 and 33b2, cat. no.: 1631–1638.

[18] BOUNEGRU *et al.*, 2011, 126, cat. no. 257.

Potaissa[19], Micia, Cristeşti, etc. Several brooches, including a silver one, were discovered in the camps from the Danube line, in Banat region[20]. Although there is a rather high number of finds in this area, the author assumes that in the province there was no local production centre, the pieces being imports from other areas of the empire, most likely coming from the southern branch of Pannonia Inferior, where the above mentioned settlement, *Burgenae*[21], was located.

Chronology

Because of the uncertain circumstances in which these archaeological pieces were discovered, in many cases, their dating has never been an easy task. Considering the specific environments like camps or strategic points at crossroads, such as the *Ulmetum* station, those who wore them were mainly soldiers[22]. For *Dacia*, N. Gudea suggests a chronologic classification in the first half of the 3rd century AD, having as a *terminus post quem* the abandonment of the province (year 275 AD), believing that after the withdrawal of the administration and the army their existence ceases[23]. However, S. Cociş believes that they have a longer period of evolution, from the 3rd to the 4th centuries AD[24]. On the territory of Serbia, this type (Petković 23D) is dated also throughout the 3rd–4th centuries AD, based on discoveries made in the graves in the necropolis of *Viminacium*. However, the author notes that they can be found in disturbed stratigraphic contexts from the 2nd century AD until the early 5th century AD[25]. Also, for Bulgaria, E. Genčeva frames the Almgren 232 type (Genčeva 32b) throughout the 4th century AD, and notes that fibulae are found also within the province of *Moesia*, not necessarily only in the area of the *limes*[26].

The context of the findings

The fibula from *Ulmetum* (Almgren 232, Cociş 33b2), was discovered in 2009 during systematic investigations carried out in the fort, near the Early Christian basilica, in the gravel pavement of a street dated in the 5th century AD. After its state of poor preservation, having broken the swastika arms and after traces of damage, it can be concluded that it was found in a secondary

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[19] NEMETI 2017, pl. XXVIII/4.

[20] The brooches are not published. This information was given to us by the courtesy of Dr. Ana Hamat from Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reşiţa.

[21] COCIŞ 2004, 135.

[22] COCIŞ 2004, 135.

[23] GUDEA 2004, 189–191.

[24] COCIŞ 2004, 135.

[25] PETKOVIĆ 2010, 187.

[26] GENČEVA 2004, 122; TODOROVA 2013, 58.

archaeological context, being carried from the levels of previous habitation to the street. Although the stratigraphic situation is not clear, we can date the piece to the 3rd–4th centuries AD, and put it in relation with the functioning of the Roman road station that existed in *Ulmetum* before the construction of the late fortress. According to the latest archaeological researches and the discovery of some lead seals and pieces of military equipment, which are clearly dated earlier than the fortification system, with the necessary reserves, we date the functioning of the statio in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.

Of course, the issue of dating remains open, waiting for discoveries in a much more clear chronological context. The closest analogies for the piece from Pantelimonu de Sus come from the provinces *Moesia Superior*, in the camp of the *Legio IV Flavia Felix*, *Singidunum*[27] and from Moesia Inferior, discovered in uncertain conditions, currently part of the Ruse Regional Museum collection[28].

The three brooches from Ostrov – Ferma 4 were unfortunately discovered on the Danube shore, stray finds on the beach, without a clear archaeological context that could help date them. Thus, we consider their chronological framing according to the evolution of the *vicus* developed here in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. Starting with the second Dacian war from 105–106 A.D., when *Legio XI Claudia* was detached at *Durostorum* during Emperor Trajan's reign, the civil settlements developed near the camp begin to flourish[29]. The two main civil centers found in the proximity of the legion headquarters were the *canabae* (identified northeast, north and northwest of the camp, covering an area of 25–30 ha[30]) and the *vicus* mentioned above. This *vicus* covers an area of 24 ha, and is located between the Constanța – Călărași national road and the bank of the Danube. The discovery of a substantial collection of artifacts and archaeological vestiges, during surface surveys and systematic investigations, and a *spolia* which mentions the name *Municipium Aurelium Durostorum*, led to the hypothesis embraced by many scholars that this *vicus* and not the *canabae* developed into a *municipium*[31].

In a recent study by the Bulgarian researcher I. Boyanov, the author proposes a new theory, by identifying the settlement with *vicus* Gavidina, mentioned on epigraphic monuments and in ancient written sources. In his opinion, the *canabae* from the vicinity of the camp was promoted to the rank of *municipium*, and not the *vicus* from Ostrov, Romania. Thus, the *vicus* took over the functions of the *canabae* after it developed into a *municipium*. From this point forward, the *vicus* became a very prosper artisan center, inhabited also by veterans from the Roman legion[32]. The archaeological research conducted here in the last

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[27] BUORA 2005, Tav. II/18–21; PETKOVIĆ 2010, T. XXXIV/2.

[28] TODOROVA 2013, 66, Pl. II/6.

[29] DAMIAN, BÂLTÂC 2007, 62–63.

[30] BOYANOV 2010, 53.

[31] DONEVSKI 2009, 109–110.

[32] BOYANOV 2010, 57.

decades have brought to light an important settlement, dated in the 2nd–4th centuries A.D., which was in very close connection with the legionary camp of the eleventh legion[33]. Among the discoveries which illustrate the prosperity of the settlement, we can include here the engraved stones or the gems, a clear indicator of richness, multiculturalism and polytheism[34].

Catalogue

1. Place of discovery, context: Ulmetum 2009, square H 46, depth -0,70 m, in the gravel pavement of an ancient street (Figure 4/1).
Place of preservation: MINAC, Inv. Nr. 47630.
Conservation status: Fragmented.
Technical-Material-Description: Mould cast, bronze with a lot of lead, possibly gilded. Copper 66,8%, lead 28%, tin 4,8%, traces of Gold; fibulae body is flat. All four arms are broken. It has two concentric circles in the middle of the body.
Dimensions: L. 25 mm; l. 21 mm.
Dating: the 3rd–4th centuries AD.
Bibliography: Unpublished

2. Place of discovery, context: Ferma 4-Ostrov 1975. Stray find on the beach. Field survey by Dan Elefterescu (Figure 4/2).
Place of preservation: MDJC, inv. 15144.
Conservation status: Missing the pin. Slightly deformed.
Technical-Material-Description: Horse's eyes are represented by a circle and dot. The same type of ornament also appears in the middle of the brooch. Decoration obtained by casting. The horizontal catch plate has a rounded end and a very wide cut hook.
Dimensions: L. 40 mm; l. 13.4 mm.
Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.
Bibliography: NUȚU, ELEFTERESCU 2018, cat. no. 90.

3. Durostorum-Ostrov 1984. Stray find on the beach. Field survey by Dan Elefterescu (Figure 4/3).
Place of preservation: MDJC, inv. 15120.
Conservation status: One arm and the pin are missing. One of the arms is slightly deformed.
Technical-Material-Description: Eyes are represented by a circle and dot. The same type of decoration also appears in the middle of the brooch. Hinge system. Gold colour, specific to bronze.
Dimensions: L. 40; l. of the long arms 33 mm.
Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.
Bibliography: NUȚU, ELEFTERESCU 2018, cat. no. 91.

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[33] DAMIAN, BÂLTÂC 2007, 67.

[34] MUȘEȚEANU, ELEFTERESCU 1976, 199–201; DEAC, PETCU 2017, 7–14.

4. Durostorum-Ostrov. Stray find on the beach (Figure 4/4).

Place of preservation: Private collection.

Conservation status: Missing the needle. Easily deformed. Very good conservation status. Steady brown-red patina.

Technical-Material-Description: Hinge system. It is mostly covered with brownish-red oxides.

Dimensions: L. 33 mm.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD.

Bibliography: NUȚU, ELEFTERESCU 2018, cat. no. 92

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ESB in Western Black Sea

Marian MOCANU[1]

Abstract. *The commercial and cultural links between the West-Pontic region and the Aegean basin date well before the appearance of ESB tableware. In this article is analysed the presence of this type of pottery in the Western Black Sea. In the period between the 1ˢᵗ and 3ʳᵈ centuries AD, in this region was recorded 14 forms specific of workshops from Western Asia Minor. In archaeological sites from the Black Sea coast this type of ceramics is encountered in a larger proportion than in the inland settlements. Troesmis on the Danube line is a settlement where a significant amount of ESB has been discovered.*

Rezumat. *Legăturile comerciale și culturale dintre spațiul vest-pontic și bazinul egeean datează cu mult înainte de apariția ceramicii de masă ESB. În acest articol este analizată prezența acestui tip de veselă în bazinul occidental al Mării Negre. În intervalul cuprins între secolele I–III p.Chr., în această regiune a fost înregistrată prezența a 14 forme specifice atelierelor din vestul Asiei Mici. Siturile arheologice în care acest tip de ceramică este întâlnit într-o proporție mai mare sunt cele de pe litoralul Mării Negre. Pe linia Dunării o așezare în care a fost descoperită o cantitate semnificativă de ESB este Troesmis.*

Keywords: ESB, Red Slip Ware, Early Roman Empire, Aegean, Western Black Sea.

By definition, ESB is a group of red-slip tableware produced in western Anatolia (Meander Valley) between the end of the 1ˢᵗ century BC and the first half of the 3ʳᵈ century AD. The ESB concept appears for the first time after the Second World War following the classification proposed by K. Kenyon, based on the ceramics discovered in Samaria[2], without indicating the geographical area where this type of pottery was produced. The specialists have focused their attention on tableware produced in western Asia Minor since the beginning of the 20ᵗʰ century. Zahn described and classified for the first time this kind of pottery, following the research conducted at Priene in the last decade of the nineteenth century[3]. He considers the ESB workshops appeared as branches of the Italic *officinae* from Aretium. This hypothesis, which is still standing nowadays, is due to the presence of common stamps and some common forms for both Italian and ESB ceramics[4]. A last aspect of the paper published in 1904

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[2] KENYON 1957, 282.

[3] ZAHN 1904, 440-449.

[4] For a recent discussion regarding the origin and history of research on ESB pottery, see BESS 2015, 16-17.

refers to the geographical area where this type of tableware was produced. Zahn says the ceramics, which will later be known as ESB, were produced in the island of Samos. The basis of this hypothesis is ancient text of Plinius[5], but also the rather small distance between Priene and the island of Samos. In the volume about pottery discovered in the Athenian Agora, H.S Robinson accepts Zahn's theory that this type of tableware comes from the island of Samos[6], so for the coming decades it will appear in the literature called Samian Wares. Robinson establishes two categories of ESB differentiated by the quality and texture of the fabrics and slip, calling them Samian A and B. This classification is taken over by Hellström, who renames the two groups ESB 1 and ESB 2, which is still used today[7]. In the mid-1980s, J.W. Hayes proposed for ESB workshops the location in Meander Valley of western Anatolia[8] and this hypothesis is still valid today. This article will present the ESB ceramics discovered in the archaeological sites from the territory corresponding to the nowadays Romanian Dobrogea. In the chronological period when ESB was in circulation (1st–3rd century AD), this geographic region was part of Moesia Inferior Province.

For the area previously defined, the concept of ESB appears in the literature, late in the 20th century in various specialized papers. Until then, ESB tableware was generally considered as imports from Asia Minor, such as the ceramic fragments discovered at Troesmis[9]. In his work regarding the roman pottery discovered at Histria, A. Suceveanu makes the confusion between Samian Wares and ESB[10]. So far no repertoire of ESB forms has been carried out for the region covered by this article. Thus we do not know how many forms of ESB tableware are present in the Western Black Sea and what the quantitative ratio between them is.

To classify ESB forms from west-pontic area I used the typology published in 1985 by JW Hayes in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*[11]. In order to achieve a data base for the present study, I have used exclusively the ceramic material published in previous decades. Because of this, important archaeological sites in Dobrogea, such as Callatis, do not appear in the present article, as the ceramics discovered here are largely unpublished. Thus, from the outset, it is important to highlight the preliminary charter of the conclusions of this article, which may change in the future.

For the territory of Dobrogea, we identified 13 ESB-specific forms plus a non-classified form in the 1985 Hayes typology.

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[5] PLINIUS, XXXV, 46.

[6] ROBINSON 1959, 12.

[7] HELLSTRÒM 1965, 32-33.

[8] HAYES 1985, 49; HAYES 2008, 31.

[9] OPAIȚ 1980.

[10] SUCEVEANU 2000.

[11] HAYES 1985, 49-70.

Atlante Form 8 (Figure 5/1). Small or medium sized plate with vertical rim, nearly horizontal and slightly curved walls, short circular foot. The diameters of these plates do not generally exceed 15 cm. The fabric is of good quality with shades of red to orange (2.5 YR 4/3, 4/4, 5/3, 5/4), red slip with a matt or gloss appearance especially on the outer surface of the vessel. Atlante Form 8 is encountered mainly in the Aegean and is attested in centres like Corinth or Ephesus[12]. On the North African shore, Atlante 8 is present at Berenice[13]. In all the cases mentioned above the dishes belonging to this form were dated in the middle of the 1st century AD. In Roman Dobrogea we know a single copy of Atlante 8, discovered at Histria during the archaeological excavations of the interwar period. The editor of this specimen carries out a large chronological frame, dating back to the first and second centuries AD[14].

Atlante Form 13 (Figure 5/2). Medium and large size bowl. The bowl rim is oblique, slightly flared to the outside, the walls are heavily arched, flat floor. These bowls have diameters generally ranging from 15 to 20 cm. High quality fabric, well-burned, no impurities in the composition. The hue is red-brown to brown (2.5 YR 4/3, 4/3, 4/6, 4/8), and the slip closes to orange (2.5 YR 6/6, 6/8, 7 / 6, 7/8). The distribution area of this form generally coincides with the Aegean basin. Some of this specimens have manufacturer's stamp with Greek letters. The Form Antlante 13 is dated in mid first century AD[15]. In the west-pontic region, a ceramic fragment was discovered at Histria in the Temple sector and was dated in the first half of the 1st century AD. The Histria fragment does not keep track of the manufacturer's stamp[16].

Atlante Form 38 (Figure 5/3–4). Bucket/crater of variable sizes. Small size, vertically disposed rim, linked with the walls through a discrete, triangular section, verge. The vessel walls are almost vertical, strongly curved in the upper third. A high circular foot ensures vessel stability. The outer surface of the vessel can be decorated with a toothed wheel incision. The decor can be present on the rim or in the upper third of the bowl. The cups diameter is between 15 and 20 cm. The morphological characteristics of the fabric coincide with the specific features for the western region of the Asia Minor, the hue is red-brick (2.5 YR 4/3, 4/3, 4/6, 4/8), while the slip has red shades towards orange (5 YR 6/4, 7/4, 6/6, 7/6). The distribution area for this form is in the Aegean settlements in the first part of the 1st century AD. Some pots have a rectangular shape stamp with Latin characters. So far, four different stamps are known[17].In Western Black Sea two ceramic fragments, and a full copy, belong to the Atlante 38 form. The two fragments were discovered at Histria in the Temple

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[12] HAYES 1985, 55, fig.11/19

[13] KENRICK 1985, fig.45/345.

[14] SUCEVEANU 2000, 72, fig.26/15.

[15] HAEYS 1985, 55-56, fig. 12/3-4.

[16] SUCEVEANU 2000, 53, fig. 18/5.

[17] HAYES 1985. 60-61.

sector and dated in broad chronological limits between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD[18]. A full copy of an Atlante 38 cup is a random discovery from Tomis[19]. A fourth vessel similar to the aforementioned random discovery, also comes from Tomis, from a funerary context (tomb 33). C. Băjenaru and L. Nedelea advanced the hypothesis that the krater belongs to the Cypriot workshops[20] (ESD), this specimen having all the features of the X39 shape[21]. Since I saw this last cup only in the photograph, I am limiting myself to recording the presence of a fourth similar vessel both in shape and dimensions as those of the Atlantean form 38.

Atlante Form 40 (Figure 5/5). Thin-shaped miniature cup, vertical rim, no distinctive elements between it and the walls, thin slightly oblique walls, flat floor. According to Hayes's description on the outer surface of the vessel are two horizontal lines made by incision, approximately equally spaced between the upper limit and the floor. This fact is valid for the copy of Dobrogea. The fabric from which this type of dish is made is of good quality, with shades of red (2.5 YR 4/8) and from a chromatic perspective the slip is similar. The circulation of this form is attested in the sites of the Aegean (Corinth, Athens, Priene, Ephesus), but also in the eastern Mediterranean (Antioch). The chronological range in which it circulates coincides with the first century AD[22]. Only one entire specimen is known in west-pontic region, discovered at Tomis[23].

Atlante Form 53 (Figure 5/6–8). Medium-sized dish with strongly arched walls, slightly creased rim to the inside of the bowl, flat floor, short leg. This type of bowl represents one of the most common form made in many of the great ceramic workshops in the Roman Empire. In fact, J.W. Hayes believes that the product of the Eastern Sigillata B workshops is in fact an imitation of the Goudineau 43 form produced by the Aretine workshops. According to the same author, the form in question does not have a very wide distribution[24]. In Roman Dobrogea was discovered gest one copy at Histria in contexts dating back to the 1st century AD[25].

Atlante Form 58 (Figure 5/9–11). Medium or large plate/bowl with vertical rim, very slightly arched inwards. On the outer surface, the rim is separated from the body by a discrete threshold, triangular in the section. The walls slightly curved, the base is flat with a very short foot. The fabric for these dishes is of high quality, porous appearance, sometimes with impurities in composition, red, with yellowish tints (2.5 YR 5/8), glossy slip on both surfaces

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[18] SUCEVEANU 2000, 11-12/6-7, pl.1/I/6-7.

[19] BĂJENARU, VLAD 2018, 196, no.533; BOUNEGRU 1993.

[20] BĂJENARU, NEDELEA 2018, 199, no.542; BOUNEGRU 1993.

[21] HAYES 1985, 88, fig.21/3.

[22] HAYES 1985, 61, fig.13/2.

[23] BOCAN 2018, 197, no.536.

[24] HAYES 1985, 62, fig.13/15-16.

[25] SUCEVEANU 2000, 23, fig.22-23.

of the vessels, with red-light shades (2.5 YR 6/8). Some plates are provided with relief decoration on the outer surface of the rim or made by incision with the toothed wheel. In Roman Dobrogea this form was attested in Histria[26] and Aegyssus[27]. One ceramic fragment was discovered at Niculițel–Teicom[28]. The form in question is widespread in the Pontic basin, being also found in the Crimea, in funerary contexts dated at the end of the 1st century BC and at the beginning of the next century[29]. This form, as well as others belonging to the second phase of ESB workshops, have a distribution area in the Eastern Mediterranean[30]. On the territory of Roman Dobrogea this form is present in archaeological contexts dating from the 1st century AD and in the first half of the next century.

Atlante Form 60 (Figures 5/12; 6/13–18). Medium or large sized bowls with a vertical, sharp rim, obliquely disposed towards the inside of the vessel. The rim outer surface, is bounded by the walls with a sharp verge, triangular in the section. The walls are arched while the floor is flat. The fabric has a porous appearance, sometimes with impurities in the composition, red, sometimes with yellowish shades (2.5 YR 5/8), glossy slip on both surfaces of the vessels, with red-light shades (2.5 YR 6/8). Atlante Form 60 bowls were discovered at Troesmis, dating in the chronological range between the last quarter of the 1st century BC and the first quarter of the 3rd century AD[31], and Histria, dated between the 2nd century and the 4th century[32]. A similar ceramic fragment originates from Tropaeum Traiani, being dated by its publishers in the 3rd century AD[33]. A considerable number of pots were discovered at Durostorum, in the waste pits of the ceramic workshop area. Publishers of these vessels consider the dishes in question to be local imitations of a form originating from the micro-Asiatic area[34]. For this reasons we will not taking in consideration the eight vessels discovered in the pit no. 18 from Durostorum. At Tomis we know the existence of at least two such full copy, discovered in graves and dated between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD[35]. In the north-pontic area, plates of this form were discovered in funerary contexts that were dated in the second half of the 2nd century and the first part of the following one[36]. This form had a fairly wide spread area, including the Mediterranean basin of southern Italy, northern Africa to the Levantine area. It is also found in the Aegean and Pontic basins. JW Hayes dates the Atlante

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[26] SUCEVEANU 2000, 70, fig.26/1.

[27] NUȚU, COSTEA 2010, 153, fig.3/10.

[28] MOCANU 2014, 67, fig.16/118.

[29] ZHURAVLEV 2010, 24-25, fig.5.

[30] HAYES 1985, 63/58, fig.14/58; KENRIKC 1985, 249/B351, fig. 45/351.1-352.2.

[31] OPAIȚ 1980, 359, fig.19/1-3.

[32] SUCEVEANU 2000, 82, fig.31/1-4.

[33] BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA 1979, fig.149/2.2.

[34] MUȘEȚEANU, ELEFTERESCU 1988-1989, 106, fig. 6/32, 36-39 și fig.8/33-35, 40.

[35] BĂJENARU, VLAD 2018, 197, no.534-535.

[36] ZHURAVLEV 2010, 26, fig. 6-7.

Form 60 between the mid-1st century AD and the middle of the 2nd century AD, believing it to be one of the most widespread forms of ESB[37].

Atlante Form 61 (Figure 6/19–20). Medium-sized bowl, with horizontal rim, oblique walls and flat floor. The diameters of these bowls are ranging between 14 and 18 cm. The fabric has shades of orange (5 YR 6/8) and the slip is bright red-brown (2.5 YR 5/6, 6/8), sometimes with lime particle inserts. Outside the Aegean, specimens of Form 61 are known in the eastern Mediterranean, but also in the Italy. The specific chronological range is the first half of the second century[38]. In the West-Pontic area we know about the existence of two specimens discovered at Troesmis, following the archaeological excavations carried out in 1977[39].

Atlante Form 62B (Figure 7/21). The rim is made up of two parts, the upper vertical limit makes a right angle with the lower limit, which is horizontal and provides the connection with the body of the vessel. The walls are oblique and the floor is flat. Generally, the diameter of these bowls does not exceed 16-18 cm. The fabric has red-orange shades (2.5 YR 7/8), similar to the slip. Atlante Form 62 is found in the Mediterranean basin in the last quarter of the 1st century AD and in the first part of the 2nd century[40]. The only specimen of the West-Pontic region known to date was discovered at Tomis. In the case of this copy, the small size of the vessel is remarkable, with a maximum diameter of 7 cm[41].

Atlante Form 63 (Figure 7/22–23). Medium sized bowl, with oblique rim, oriented towards the exterior, the walls are oblique, straight, flat floor. Some pots in the Aegean area have decoration made by stamping in the centre of the floor. The diameter of these bowls is about 20 cm. The fabric is generally of superior quality, orange hue (5 YR 7/6), no impurities in composition, granular appearance. The slip is of good quality, orange, but a shade more pronounced than the fabric (2.5 YR 6/8). The chronological range specific to this form is comprised between the end of the 1st century AD and the first half of the next century[42]. In the Black Sea region, until now, the Atlante Form 63 is less well known. Evidence of its presence are found in the Crimea, a specimens being discovered in a funerary context and dated in the last quarter of the first century and in the first quarter of the second century[43]. In Western Black Sea a specimen was discovered in a rural settlement in the territory of Argamum[44]. Also for the Dobrogea's territory we find examples of similar bowls at Histria[45], or Troesmis[46]. In the case of these findings, the publishers of those vessels do not

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[37] HAYES 1985, 64, fig.14/7-8.

[38] HAYES 1985, 64-65, fig.14/9.

[39] OPAIȚ 1980, 359, fig.19/4.

[40] HAYES 1985, 65, fig.14/11.

[41] BĂJENARU, NEDELEA 2018, 198, no.537.

[42] HAYES 1985, 65, fig.14/12-13

[43] ZHURAVLEV 2010, 28, fig.7/28.

[44] BAUMANN 1995, fig.15/32.

[45] SUCEVEANU 2000, 91-92, fig.36/1.

specify the workshop, so we can't say whether they are ESB products or from the Çandarli workshops.

Form Atlante 70 (Figure 7/24–30). Cups with small or medium diameters, with a vertical rim, slightly bent towards the interior of the bowl. On the outer surface, the boundary between the rim and the body of the vessel is marked by a prominent, well-pointed verge, triangular in the section, while on the inner surface this limit is marked by an incision. The walls of the vessel are oblique, small annular floor. The fabric of these dishes has a porous appearance, with reddish brown hue (2.5 YR 6/8, 5 YR 6/8), orange red slip with a shiny brown shade (5 YR 5/4, 6/4). According to the typology made by JW Hayes, these vessels have a decoration similar to that of Atlante Form 58[47], but the ceramic fragments of Roman Dobrogea are undecorated. These come from the archaeological researches carried out at Aegyssus, being discovered in archaeological context dated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and from a typological point of view, the two vessels are considered to be pontic sigillata[48]. This form was also produced by the Pontic workshops as an imitation of italic cups[49]. At Histria there are presented not less than 51 specimens, which the author groups in Form 18, but most of these vessels are products of pontic workshops. A. Suceveanu realizes the typology taking in consideration only the shape of the vessels, and their area of origin is ignored. Thus, out of the 51 vessels, only five are products of the ESB workshops, and their publisher, influenced by the classification of H. Robinson, considers them to be Samian Ware. From a chronological point of view, at Histria these vessels are dated in the second half of the first century and especially in the early part of the 2nd century[50]. We also note the presence of a specimen of this type in Noviodunum[51]. This form is well documented also in the North-Pontic area, being encountered in the Crimean graves in Belbek's necropolis, dating from the second half of the first century and the first half of the next one[52].

Form Atlante 72 (Figure 7/31). Medium sized bowl with wide, horizontally rim, curved walls, flat floor. The upper rim surface can be decorated with concentric circles made by incision in the raw fabric. Unlike the ceramic fragment discussed below, the diameters specific to the shape in question do not exceed 12-15 cm. In our case either we are dealing with a particular example of Atlante Form 72 (a variant), or rather, as suggested by the drawing published by the editor of this bowl, it was made an error in calculating the diameter of the vessel. Even if the diameter of the Histria's copy does not match the diameters of the Mediterranean exemplars, the characteristics of the fabric - some impurities in the

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[46] OPAIȚ 1980, 359, fig.19/4.

[47] HAYES 1985, 66-67, fig.14/19.

[48] NUȚU, COSTEA 2010, 151-152, fig.2/6-7.

[49] ZHURAVLEV 2008, 90-93, fig.1.

[50] SUCEVEANU 2000, 69-77/23,28,30,36,39, fig.27/23,28,30, fig.28/36,39.

[51] TOPOLEANU 1984, 192, fig.4/1.

[52] ZHURAVLEV 2010, 29-30, fig.8.

composition and shades of reddish brown (2.5 YR 4/3, 4/4, 5/3), and reddish orange slip (2.5 YR 6/6, 6/8), justify us to consider the fragment of Histria as belonging to the Eastern Sigillata B 2 ceramic group. The Atlante 72 Form is found in the Aegean and in the settlements of Greece, but also in more distant parts of the Mediterranean, such as Ostia in Italy or Samaria-Sebaste in the Near East[53]. Concerning the Pontic region, the Atlante Form 72 was attested in Olbia[54], and at Histria a ceramic fragment belonging to the Atlante 72 was certified and dated in the 1st century AD[55].

Form Atlante 75 (Figure 7/32). Small bowl, similar in shape to the Atlante Form 72, the differences being given by the reduced size and lack of decoration on the upper rim surface. The diameters of these bowls are about 15 cm. Good quality fabric, burnt uniformly, with some small impurities in the composition. The fabric colour is shiny red to red orange (2.5 YR 4/3, 4/3, 5/3, 5/4). The slip has a glossy look with orange to yellow shades (7.5 YR 7/8, 8/8). Some pots have been discovered with a Greek manufacturer's stamp. The form circulated in the eastern part of the Mediterranean[56] but it also penetrated into the Pontic region, being discovered at Olbia[57] and Histria, in the Therme I sector, in an archaeological context dated to the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD[58].

Form Atlante 80 (Figure 7/33–34). Small/medium bowl, hemispherical shape with vertical rim undiluted by the vessel body, strongly curved walls, short, circular foot. The diameters of these bowls generally range from 10 to even 20 cm. Good quality fabric, with uniform combustion and with some small impurities in the composition, with reddish brown hue (2.5 YR 4/3, 4/3, 5/3, 5/4). The slip has a glossy appearance, especially on the outer surface and orange shades (5 YR 6/6, 6/8, 7/6, 7/8). According to Hayes, we are dealing with a rather widespread form in the Mediterranean, these form circulating at the end of the 1st century AD and in the first half of the next century[59]. The form in question is attested in Histria, in the Temple sector, in a context of the first century AD[60], but also at Durostorum, in a waste pit in the ceramic workshop area. The pit in question dates between first and third centuries AD[61].

Unclassified form (Figure 7/35). Small/medium bowl with vertical rim, bounded by the vessel body through a triangular verge, curved walls, annular floor. We do not know decorative elements. The fabric from which the dishes are made is orange (5 YR 7/8) with

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[53] HAYES 1985, 67-68/72, fig.15/3; HAYES 2008, 38, 153/Shape IV, fig.12/323-326.

[54] KNIPOVICI 1929, 16, fig.1.5/IV.3.

[55] SUCEVEANU 2000, 94, pl.37/1.

[56] HAYES 1985, 68, fig.15/8-9.

[57] KNIPOVICI 1929, 16, fig.I/6.

[58] SUCEVEANU 1982, 97/I B-C/4, fig.3/4.

[59] HAYES 1985, 69-70, fig.15/15.

[60] SUCEVEANU 2000, 14/3, pl.2/III/3.

[61] MUŞEŢEANU, ELEFTERESCU 1985, 70, fig.1/7.

limestone particles insert in the composition, the slip is light brown (2.5 YR 5/8). The only known copy so far has been discovered in the civil settlement of Troesmis and can be dated in the 2nd century. This type of bowl was produced in significant quantities in both Asia Minor workshops, such as those at Çandarli, but also in workshops from the Western Roman Empire.

In his 1985 classification, J.W. Hayes established 80 forms for ESB tableware. From these 80 forms, 14 are recorded in West-Pontic area. For this region, we counting a total of 46 specimens discovered in eight distinct sites. Six of the 46 specimens belong to the ESB 1 category, while the remaining 37 are in the ESB 2 category. The tendency from the Aegean basin, according to which ESB 2 ceramics in more widespread than ESB 1, also remains in the Western Black Sea. In West-Pontic area the most common form is Atlante 60, with 35% of all ESB tableware, followed by Atlante 70, with 18 percent. In its turn form Atlante 63 has a share of 9%, followed by Atlante 38 and 58 with 7 percent. The remaining forms do not exceed 5 percent.

From the quantitative perspective, for the chronological interval between 1st and 3rd centuries AD, in the West-Pontic Basin, the ESB tableware ranks third, after the Pontic and the Pergamene (ESC) fine wares (Figure 1). For comparison, in the northern Aegean area in the first two centuries of Christian era, ESB pottery is the second most widespread category, after ESC, with 15.3%. From a chronological point of view, the peak of ESB diffusion occurs at the beginning of the 2nd century[62], the ESB 2 forms being more widespread than ESB 1, a valid

Figure 1. ESB percentage in Western Black Sea

observation for both the Aegean and the Pontic region. If we refer to the most widespread ESB forms, we note the following: in the northern Black Sea are inventoried until now 13 forms of ESB (Atlante 29, 32, 58, 60, 62B, 63, 65, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75 to which it is added an unclassified form by Hayes)[63]. In north-eastern Greece, at least 11 forms have been recorded (Atlante 8, 15, 60, 63, 70, 71, 76, 80, plus at least three unclassified forms in the EAA)[64]. Thus, a common pattern of ESB diffusion is observed both for the Aegean basin and for the Black Sea area.
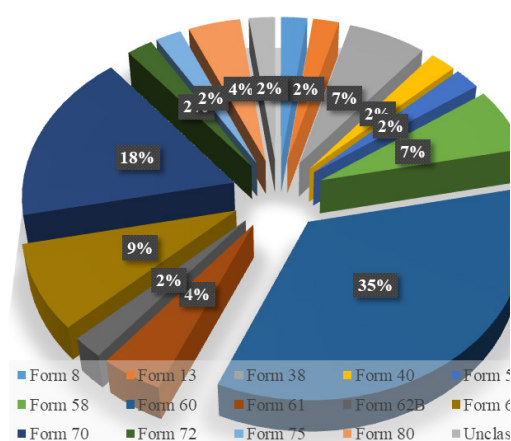
[62] BESS 2015, 36-38, fig.19, 20 and 21.

[63] ZHURAVLEV 2010, 23-32; KNIPOVICI 1929.

[64] MALAMIDOU 2005, 29-32.

Returning to the West-Pontic area, when we look at the territorial distribution of ESB tableware, the situation is as follows: Histria is the site with the largest number of discoveries, with 43% of the total, followed by Troesmis with 30% and Tomis with 12 percent (Figure 2). The remaining archaeological sites mentioned in the text have a share of less than 10 percent. However, this situation needs to be carefully considered, the percentages

Figure 2. ESB distribution in Western Black Sea

recorded being significantly influenced by the current state of research and especially the publication of ceramics. In my opinion, Tomis should record a percentage at least similar to Histria, if not higher. The fact that ESB tableware is predominantly certified in cities from the Black Sea shore is no surprise, since the commercial links between the ancient Greek centres in the West Pontic area and the micro-Asiatic region date back centuries before the ESB ceramics and continue after its disappearance. In this context, the seaside towns played a link between the micro-Asiatic economic centres and the settlements inside the province, such as those on the Danube line and even beyond the limes of the Roman Empire.

It is interesting to have a substantial amount of ESB tableware at Troesmis. Besides discoveries from the old excavations, the Austrian team that carried out field survey between 2010 and 2014 recorded two ESB fragments, one framed by Atlantean forms 77 or 78, the second atypical[65]. From a chronological point of view (the form Atlante 60 with 9 specimens) overlaps with the period when the legion V Macedonica was stationed there, and its links with the eastern parts of Roman Empire are well known in the Romanian literature[66].

The presence of ESB tableware in the West-Pontic area must have had a certain cultural influence on the population of this region. Traditionally, the appearance of pontic sigillata is attributed to the imitation of forms produced in the italic workshops. We can't overlook the common repertoire of ESB forms and pontic tableware (ex. Atlante 70), and if we take into account the fact that, from a quantitative point of view, as well as territorial distribution, ESB exceeds the presence of italic sigillata, the influence of this tableware category on West-Pontic workshops must not be minimized.
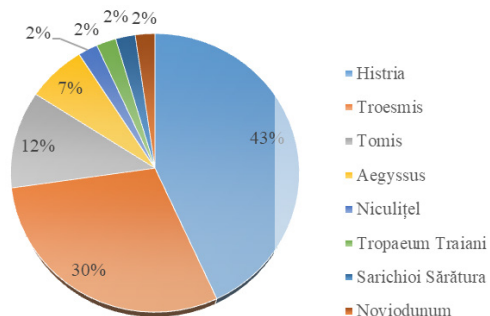
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[65] WALDNER 2016, 203, fig. 1/K14.
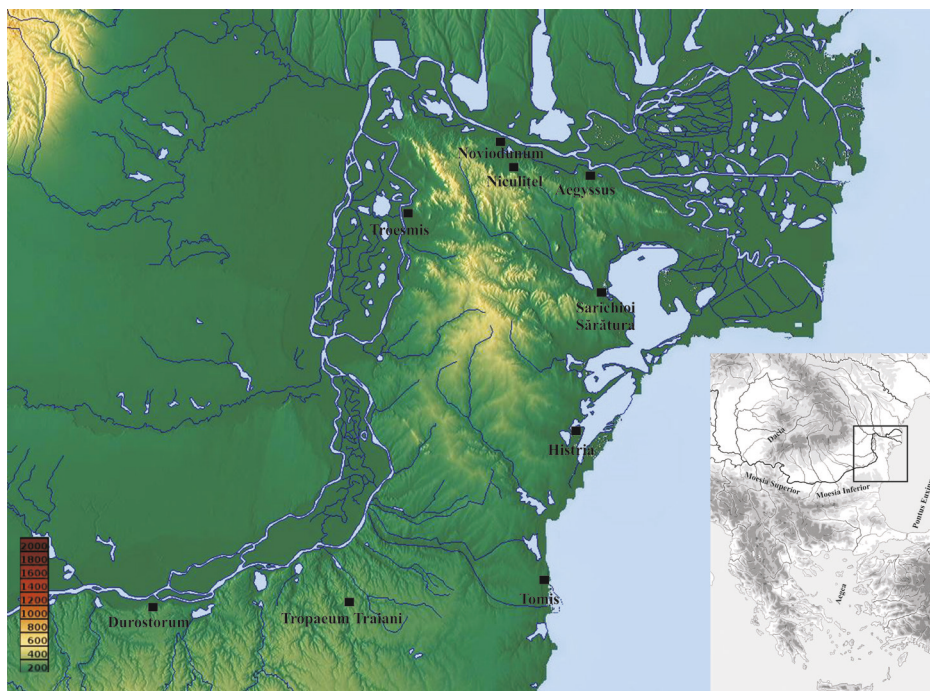
[66] MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 281-283.

Figure 3. Map of Roman Dacia

Figure 4. 1 – ESB Form 38 (BĂJENARU & VLAD 2018); 2 – ESB Form 40 (BOCAN 2018); 3 – ESB Form 62B (BĂJENARU & NEDELEA 2018); 4–5 – ESB Form 60 (BĂJENARU & VLAD 2018)
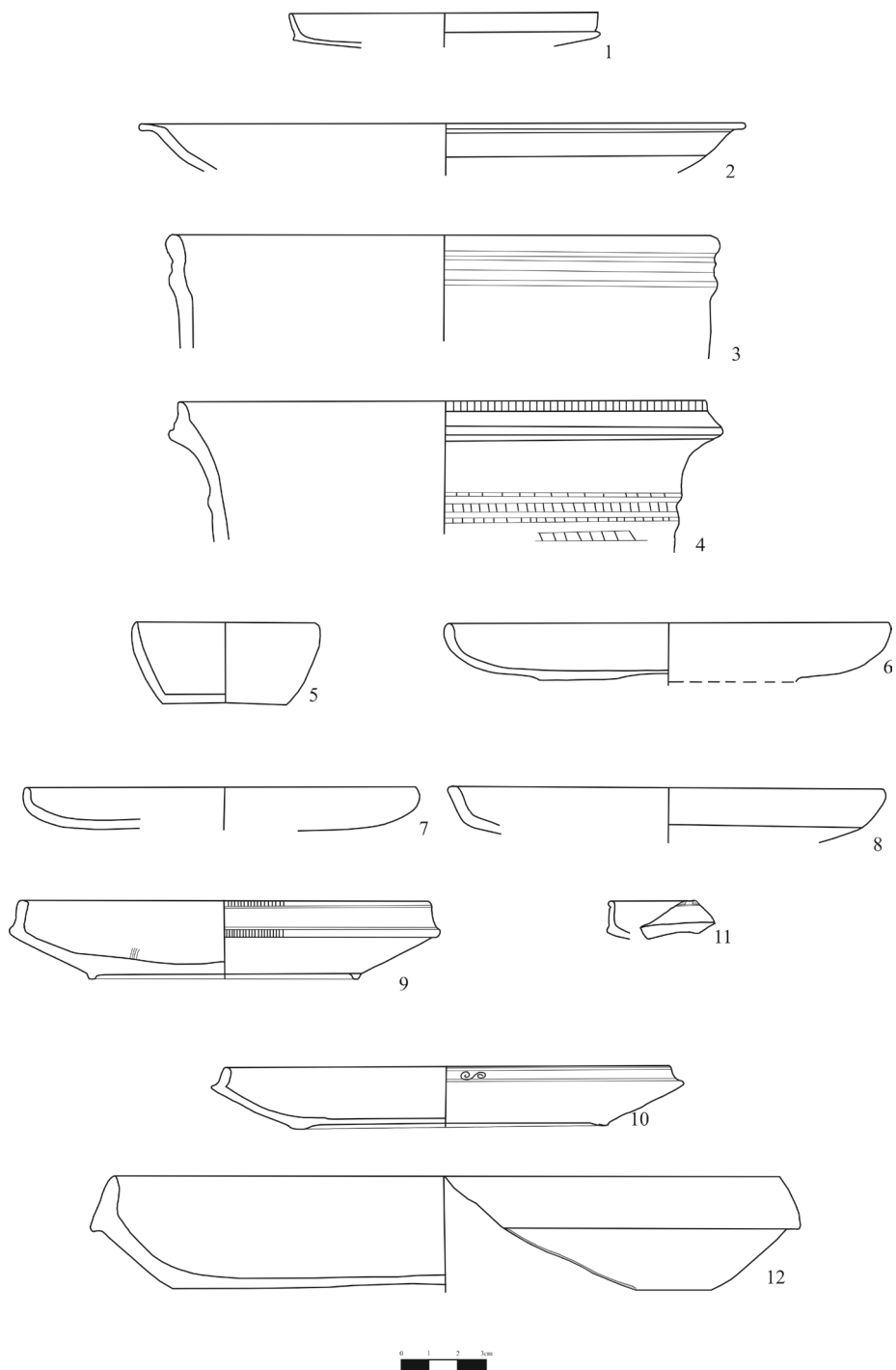
Figure 5. 1 – ESB Form 8; 2 – ESB Form 13; 3–4: ESB Form 38; 5 – ESB Form 40;
6–8 – 68 ESB Form 53; 9–11 – ESB Form 58; 12 – ESB Form 60

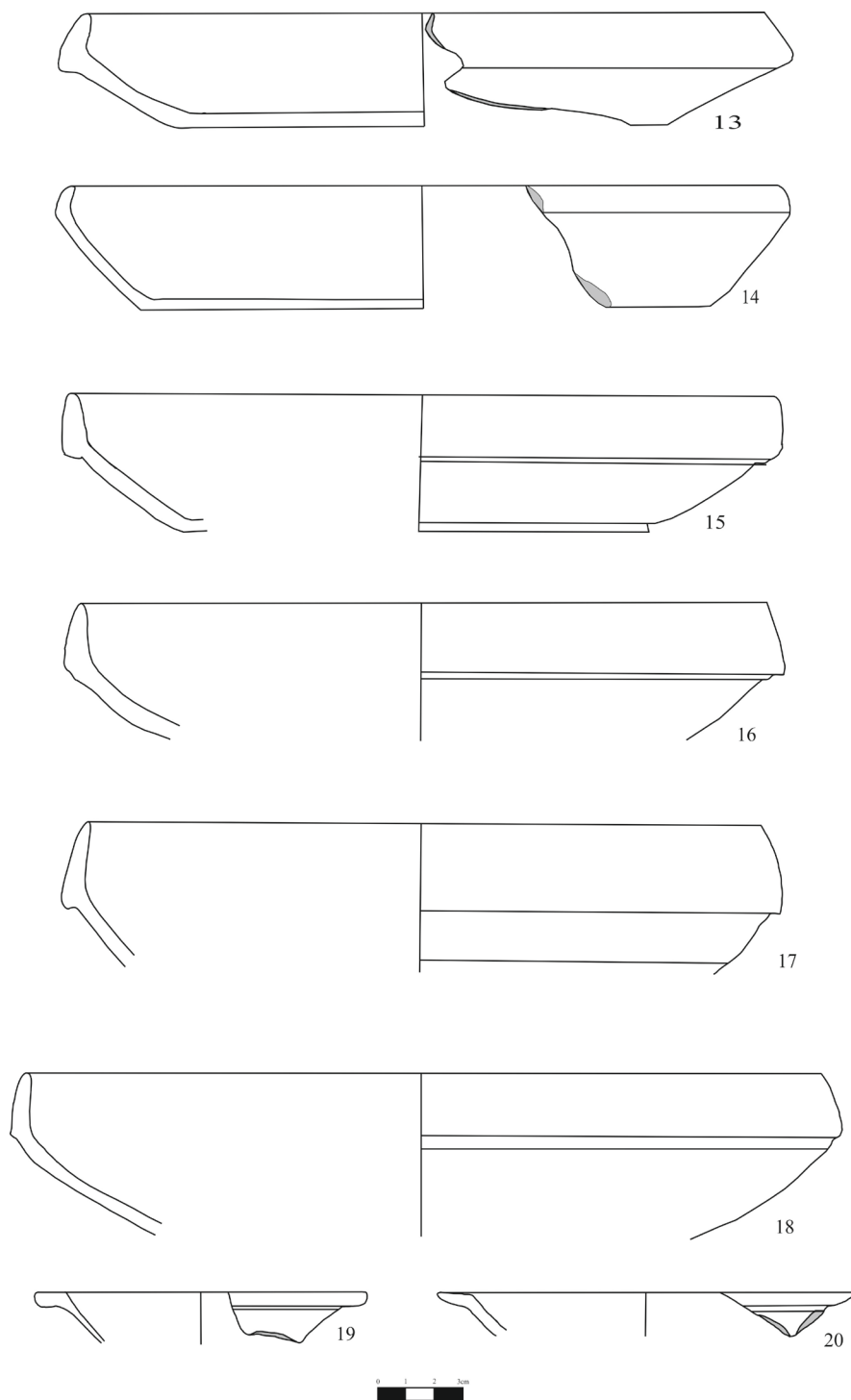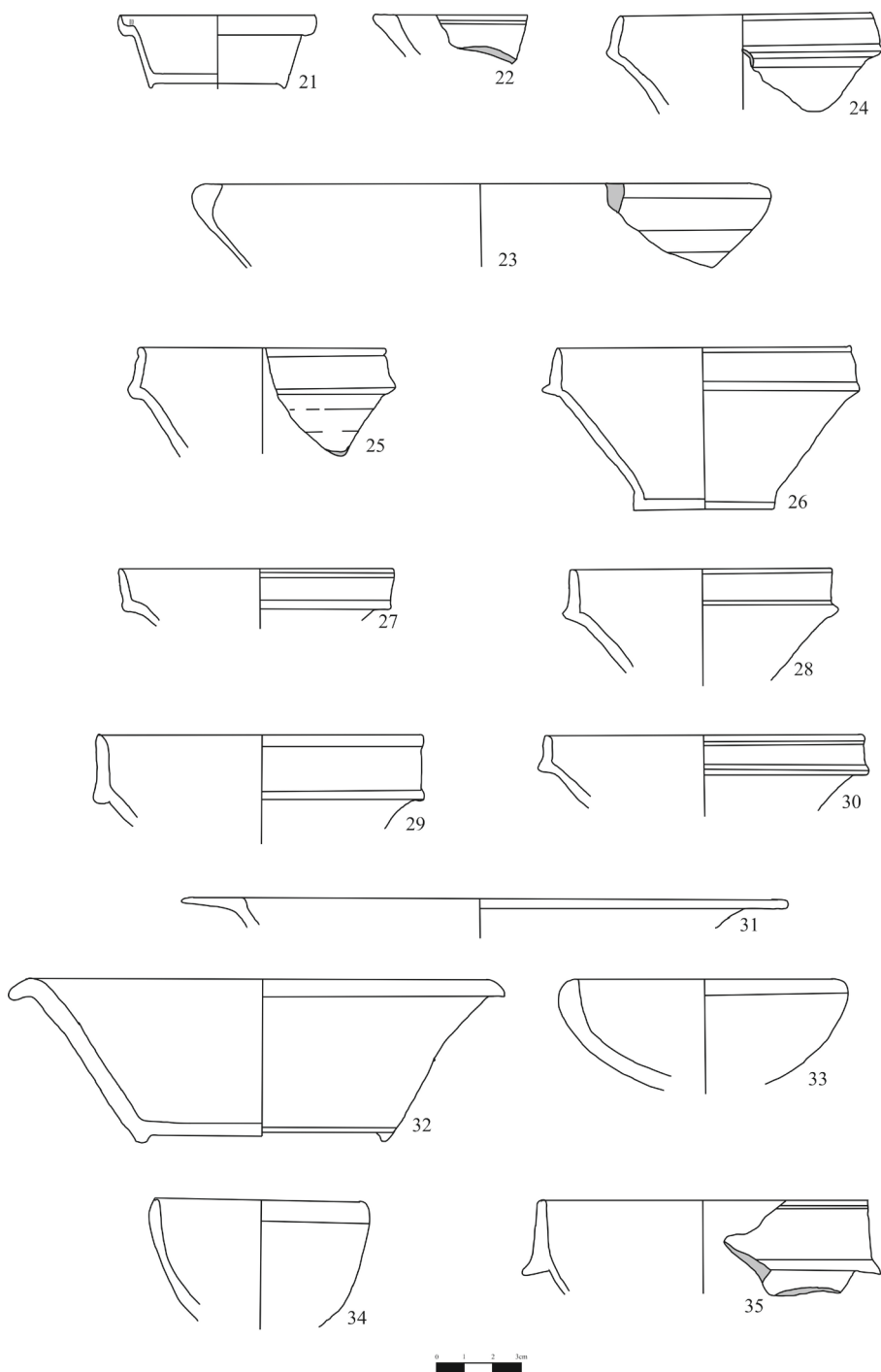Figure 6. 13–18 – ESB Form 60; 19–20 – ESB Form 61

Figure 7. 21 – ESB Form 62B; 22–23 – ESB Form 63; 24–30 – ESB Form 70; 31 – ESB Form 72; 32 – ESB Form 75; 33–35 – ESB Form 80; 35 – Unclassified Form

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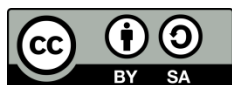
The conservation of the byzantine icon from Georgios Church, Jordan

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Rita Sulaiman AL DAWOOD[3]

Abstract. *The paper presents the physical, chemical and biological investigations, as well as a detail the process of restoration of a byzantine icon from Church of Saint Georgios in Ajloun, Jordan. Before establishing any treatment or maintenance procedures, it was necessary to obtain complete information about the components of the icon and its condition. Keeping in mind the original aesthetic aspect of the icon. In this effort an integrated analytical approach was used. In order to evaluate the icon's components and degree of degradation, surface and bulk techniques were used. X-ray fluorescence using a Philips Minipal PW4025 spectrometer was used to identify the elemental composition of the preparation layer and background. For the chemical analysis, X-ray diffraction (XRD) was investigation was performed. The FTIR technique was also used to identify the media used in the application of the icon layers, as well as the type of varnish used to insulate the icon. The cleaning process is a key point in the conservation process although it is one of the most important aspects for an artwork and is considering a series of deteriorations and degradations. XRF results of the preparation layer sample revealed it consisted of Gypsum ($CaSO_4.2H_2O$), since it contains calcium (Ca) and Sulphate, analysis of red pigments showed that it was comprised of red-lead (Pb_3O_4). The overall efficiency of all conservation process including cleaning seems to be effective.*

Rezumat. *Lucrarea prezintă investigațiile fizice, chimice și biologice, precum și un detaliu al procesului de restaurare al unei icoane bizantine din biserica Sf. Gheorghe din Ajloun, Iordana. Partea procedurală a fost precedată de obținerea de informații complete despre componentele icoanei și starea acesteia, ținându-se cont de aspectul estetic original. În acest efort s-a utilizat o abordare analitică integrată. Pentru a evalua componentele pictogramei și gradul de degradare, s-au folosit tehnici de suprafață și vrac: fluorescența cu raze X, difracția cu raze X (XRD), tehnica de spectroscopie infraroșie de transformare Fourier (FTIR). Procesul de curățare este un punct cheie în procesul de conservare, deși este unul dintre aspectele cele mai importante pentru o lucrare de artă și are în vedere o serie de deteriorări și degradări. Eficacitatea generală a întregului proces de conservare, inclusiv curățarea, pare a fi eficientă.*

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1. Introduction

The word icon, comes from the Greek word εἰκών and means a religious image, and derived from the verb *eikonito* (to look like), then became a term used in the Byzantine period for paintings on wood. Usually these paintings represent Christian religious themes, including images of Jesus, the Apostles, the Virgin Mary, martyrs, saints, and other Christian religious subjects which have been mentioned in the Torah, the Bible, and in Church history.[4] Icons emerged as a tool to help the believers of the new faith (Christianity) to elucidate and simplify religious concepts and principles for the public.[5]

Museums, churches and monasteries around the world, abound with thousands of icons of different types. The icons date back to different periods, from the fourth century to the end of the nineteenth century AD. Icons signify a vital aspect of art in general and in particular Byzantine art. They emphasize religious, artistic, historical and educational values [3].[6] Icons are also considered one of the most important components of worship in the Eastern Church, used in the interpretation and explanation of Bible teaching, as well as an educational medium. Icons are considered as an aid to prayer, supplication and glorification to Jesus Christ.[7]

Jordan is rich in Christian legacy, especially historical churches and monasteries. The Greek Orthodox Church of Saint Georgios in Ajloun is one of the most important historical churches in Jordan, dating back to the late 19th century (1873-1880) (Figure 1). This church, and other churches, contains dozens of Byzantine icons, which were painted on wood in different styles and techniques. They symbolize a variety of different values and concepts. Icons are considered a type of photography that is closely related to Christianity. It is of a great interest for people at the official and individual levels. The church contains many icons of different sizes and shapes. Among these, there is an icon with a very common theme: Saint James the brother of the Lord (Figure 2). It was chosen because of its historical importance and the necessity of its treatment and restoration. The Byzantine icons are characterized by a variety of preparation methods, some of which are painted directly on wood and some with and without a preparation background. Others include a fabric layer (typically linen), as a preparation layer and then a layer of paint. There are many other types of icons produced in different techniques, in which a portrait was painted over a coloured background. Very often the painting was done over a gold background. This one of the most important features of

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[4] TADROS 1995, *passim*.

[5] SHEPARD 2009, *passim*.

[6] SKALOVA 1995, 85-90.

[7] MANGO 2002, 10.

Byzantine icons. The Byzantines excelled in decorating gilt backgrounds in different forms of distinctive Christian decorations.[8]

Icons are typically painted on a wooden panel with animal glue or egg tempera paint, over a layer of gypsum and glue (preparation layer). Sometimes, canvas is present between the wood and the preparation layer. Indeed, the prevailing environmental conditions as well as the chemical properties, which are exhibited by the wide spectrum of different varnishes, may lead to a self-destructive process. The damage caused to these layers can be attributed either to internal or external factors. The external factors include, fluctuation in temperature and humidity, other factors include lighting, air pollution, storage, and handling.[9]

Icon deterioration could be attributed to the aging of materials, tangential carving of the board of which the panel is made up, the aging of the glue as well as unintentional human damage. No icon escapes the process of aging, which over time leads to a change in its appearance. This phenomenon of degradation affects the whole structure of the painting. Due to their delicate components, icons are frequently subjected to damage. The most common problem damaging Byzantine icons is the appearance of cracks on their surface. Varnish oxidation is another phenomenon that can seriously degrade their overall appearance.[10] Dirt, and smoke as well as other degradations, deteriorate their appearance even more. The end result is that, colours fade and the paint appears brown or black. This is particularly true for icons or church murals, where candle smoke degrades icon colours. In many cases, this degradation can affect the artistic value of a painting. Also, it is known that when two factors of damage are combined, the alteration of organic materials occurs more rapidly. The rate of material damage depends largely on the chemical makeup of the icons components, their reactions and the surrounding environmental conditions. [11]

For discovering the proper solutions for the damaged icon, a precise knowledge is required in order to recognize and respond appropriately to the issues; choosing either preventive measures or restoration techniques. The employment of non-destructive analytical methods makes it possible to identify the painting techniques, including the approach to drawing, the choice of materials, and their technique of application. This also makes it possible to determine the extent of damage. Simultaneously, these data provide crucial material for conservators involved in the restoration and cleaning process.

Visual inspection, combined with transmission or penetration techniques (X-ray florescence, SEM, FTIR, X-ray diffraction etc.) provide data on the structure of the icon's components. In order to identify the features of the icon that had been damaged, SEM was used to uncover the changes in the structure of the painting layers as well as in other

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[8] HOSSAN EDIN 1984, *passim*.

[9] BURGES 1990, 60.

[10] ABDUL AZIZ 2011, *passim.*

[11] FAKI 2004, 32.

components. Exceptional attention was given to obtaining a descriptive sampling of the icon under consideration and to avoiding further irreversible damage. The cleaning system and the intervention methods were selected taking into consideration the chemical and physical nature of the materials as well as the delicate components of the icon.[12]

2. Icon Description

The icon's dimensions are as follows: Length: 121 cm., Width: 73 cm. and thickness: 2.5 cm., The icon is made up of three panels, the icon's subject is an image of Saint James (brother of the Lord).

A portrait of Saint James, shows him standing in a priest's ceremonial clothes, pointing with his right hand with the sign of blessing (beginning and end) and carrying in his left hand the Bible with colourful decorations of the four gospel writers, with the cover bearing a scene of resurrection (Figure 2). The head is surrounded by a Holiness Halo. in the upper part of the icon above the plaster layer circles carved filled with a rose in shape of a cross. The icon has a gold background. On the upper right part of the icon there is an inscription in Greek "Saint James" and in the upper left part it is written "brother of the Lord."

3. Experimental part

Before establishing any treatment or maintenance procedures, it was necessary to obtain complete information about the components of the icon and its condition. In this effort an integrated analytical approach was used. In order to evaluate the icon's components and degree of degradation, surface and bulk techniques were used. X-ray fluorescence using a Philips Minipal PW4025 spectrometer was used to identify the elemental composition of the preparation layer and background. For the chemical analysis X-ray diffraction (XRD) was conducted using a Shimadzu 6000 Spectrofluorophotometer. The Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) technique was also used to identify the media (bonding material) used in the application of the icon layers, either with the preparation layer or the gilding layer, as well as the type of varnish applied to insulate the icon using a Bruker-Tensor 27 device. All analyses were conducted in the laboratories of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University, Jordan. The Minipal PW4025 was operated at 30 kV, 30 mA, 60 s, air and a Kapton filter. The Shimadzu 6000 operated at a wavelength of CuKα equal to 1.5418 ° C, 30 kV and 30 mA. For the FTIR technique, the powder sample was mixed with potassium bromide and the homogeneous mixture disk analysis was done with the Bruker-Tensor 27 in the IR spectrum between 500 and 4000 cm -1 at 4 cm -1 and 32 scan. The analysed sample

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[12] ABDEL-GHANI *et alii* 2008, 69-75; ABDEL-GHANI *et alii* 2009, 566-575; AJO *et alii* 2005, 333-348; COLLINART 2001, 1-4; EASTAUGH *et alii* 2004, 241-256; GALE *et alii* 2000, 334-350.

pattern was compared with standard samples of animal glue, yolk and Arabic gum in order to identify the colouring medium.

4. Icon diagnosis

After a thorough diagnosis of the studied icon's damaged features, it was determined which factors should be addressed. The damage was attributed to, in addition to the inappropriate restoration process previously used: aging of materials, accidents, liturgical use and the surrounding environmental conditions. All these factors have led to the warping of the wood panel, cracking due to age, gaps in the paint layers, wearing of the colour layer, aging and darkening of the varnish, with dirt and wax deposits.

4.1. Varnish layer

The icon was in an environment where it was exposed to high temperatures, and the varnish had aged significantly. This led to dryness and shrinkage in the varnish layer. The occurrence of superficial surface cracks was also noted. This was observed especially in places with a thick varnish layer. There the varnish layer had become fragile and weak and turned a dark yellow colour, losing its transparency and turning into a dark layer (Figure 3/a–b).

4.2. Colour layer

Colour medium is the main constituent of the colour layer, this could be made of either gum, glue or albumin, these materials are at high risk and become damaged when temperature and humidity are high. This causes the layer to lose its adhesive property with reduction in its strength of cohesion and bonding. The results: wearing of the colour and darkening (Figure 4).

4.3. Gilding Layer

Many cracks, flakes and scratches are also seen in the bearing layer above which the colouring layer and the gilding layer are applied. Especially in the carved parts on the preparation layer (Figure 5).

4.4. Preparation Layer

The application of the preparation layer is a very crucial step in preventing the wood panel from absorbing the colour layer. It provides a suitable background for the paints, and enables

a smooth movement for the brush throughout the painting process. Due to its liturgical use, and the heat emitted by candles, the icon developed cracks and breaks in the preparation layer. A serious weakening of the paint layers, general wearing of the colour and flaking in the paint layer can be seen (Figure 6). The high temperature inside the church led to severe dehydration, loss of elasticity, increasing the layer's hardness with some breakage occurring. The expansion and shrinkage of the linen holder caused cracks and gaps in the preparation layer.

4.5. Wood Panel

The wooden panel of the icon is an organic material characterized by hygroscopic properties (i.e., the ability to absorb and lose water due to the fluctuation of the surrounding relative humidity). As a consequence of this desiccation, the wood lost its mechanical properties which led to bending, cracking and curving (Figure 7/a–b). The separation of large-sized wooden knots can be observed; as a result of relative humidity fluctuations. This confirms that these knots were not processed during preparation phase (Figure 7/c–d).

4.6. Previous Intervention

Inspection made it clear that the icon had been improperly restored, and colours were added. During the previous restoration, workers used a black colour for the outer frame, which is not in tune with the original colour scheme or in terms of chemical composition. The frame is decorated with random gilt styles using bronze powder which is evidence of a restorer's attempts to stabilize it (David — Figure 8/a). They used a modern white coating for the posterior side of the icon which was not in harmony with proper archaeological restoration. In addition to the completion of the preparation layer, colouring was completed in an inappropriate manner and done without cleaning or removal of dirt and candle droppings (Figure 8/b).

5. Results and Discussion

Representative samples taken from the preparation layer, gilding layer and from the red pigments were analysed using Philips Minipal 2 PW4025 spectrometer. In order to insure the ongoing examinations were in line with conservation ethics and aesthetics, our analysis was restricted to damaged and separated parts. XRF results of the preparation layer sample revealed it consisted of gypsum ($CaSO_4.2H_2O$), since it contains calcium (Ca) and Sulphate (S) (Table 1; Figure 9). The XRF pattern of the gilding layer sample, shows the presence of

Table.1 XRF analysis of the preparation and the gilding layer

Table. 2 XRF analysis of the red pigments

reta1 9912300000
D 10 <Standard 9000
C S 20.70650 % S 141.9545 9000
C Ca 57.48506 % Ca 785.2401 9000
C Fe 1.59412 % Fe 67.5032 9000
C Co 0.02713 % Co 1.3730 9000
C Cu 0.40028 % Cu 27.0630 9000
C Zn 0.11816 % Zn 9.0854 9000
C Sr 0.65180 % Sr 38.3870 9000
C Pd 6.04907 % Pd 23.1617 9000
C Te 2.75618 % Te 19.7070 9000
CAu 10.21169 % Au 441

D 13 <Standard 9000
C K 1.10532 % K 5.6934 9000
C Ca 49.28591 % Ca 319.9489 9000
C Sc 0.47837 % Sc 2.8347 9000
C Fe 5.17448 % Fe 118.4832 9000
C Co 0.12094 % Co 3.2967 9000
C Cu 0.96343 % Cu 33.5760 9000
C Zn 0.66162 % Zn 26.1058 9000
C As 1.05612 % As 43.5671 9000
C Pd 10.84057 % Pd 22.6308 9000
C Te 2.00645 % Te 6.6982 9000
C Re 0.08230 % Re 1.6185 9000
C Au 0.82971 % Au 17.5160 9000
C Pb 27.39478 % Pb 586.3795 9000

gold (Au) with a percentage of copper (Cu). This indicates the use of high quality gold in the preparation layer. The presence of high zinc content (Zn) was added to the preparation layer to obtain a smooth background for the base gilding layer. The presence of Fe content refers to the presence of Hematite (Fe_2O_3) which was used to improve the properties of the preparation layer, this was consistent with period icon gliding methods.

XRF analysis of red pigments showed that it was comprised of red-lead (Pb_3O_4). It is characterized by its vitality, strong colouring and smooth texture.[13] Red-lead was a main component in the sample in addition to the white zinc which gives the shiny appearance. (Table 2: Figure 10).

X-Ray Diffraction spectrum of the icon's preparation layer can be seen in Figure 11. The preparation layer consisted of Gypsum ($CaSo_4.2H_2O$ Figure 11).

Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR), is one of the most important methods for the analysis of colour bonding materials. It was used to identify the material applied to the preparation layer. After comparing the spectrum with standard samples it seems they used animal glue. From the FTIR spectrum, absorption occur at 604 cm^{-1} which is characteristic of bone, indicating that the adhesive protein contains animal glue (Figure 12). For the varnish sample, the FTIR spectrum showed that the varnish used was mastic varnish, after comparing the results with a mastic standard sample. These methods and techniques were widely spread in Greece, the Baltic countries and Russia (Azemard,2014p143). FTIR spectrum for the varnish

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[13] LUCAS, HARRIS 1962, 348.

sample (Figure 13) shows the increase in the hydroxyl group's O-H absorption intensity at 3404 cm-[1], stretching and the expansion of the carbonyl group at 1714 cm-[1], 2936 cm-[1] and at 11 1181 cm-[1] these wave numbers are distinctive features for mastic varnish.

5.1. Linen canvas

A sample was taken from the flaking formed on the damaged background, where the weave of the canvas could be seen even by the naked eye. The analysis through SEM revealed the textile used to be a flax, as illustrated in Figure 14/a.

5.2. Ultraviolet Imaging

Through UV and visible reflectography, both the front and the back of the icons were analysed. A series of evolutionary deteriorations and degradations of the painting, polychrome layer, and of the support were identified. Traces of mechanical impacts, multiple small gaps and fly holes were observed. These discoveries help identify new interventions to be undertaken, which otherwise would have not been detected by the naked eye (Figure 15/a–b). The panel was examined through ultraviolet radiation, bulb with a wave length of 254 nm.

6. Conservation and Cleaning

Restoration is an important and necessary process for preserving and refurbishing damaged icons. This requires careful attention to avoid irreversible errors. The cleaning products to be used must be tested, because inappropriate cleaning products can affect the integrity of the noble patina and degrade the polychrome layers, which can be easily washed away.[14] It was necessary to conduct a comprehensive analysis for ascertaining a full understanding of the icon's components and the complete certainty that the materials applied would result in a successful conservation. The mechanical cleaning of the accumulated dust was done using soft brushes, scalpels, hand tools, and with more abrasive brushes, removing the existing dirt. Each piece, all cleaning and every intervention process was monitored and documented.

6.1. Treatments of the Reverse Side

Cleaning the reverse side has been carried out through physicochemical methods, with compatible substances, established after cleaning and solubility tests. Paints were removed

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[14] MAYER 1978, 245.

from the back using DMF- Dimethyl formamide (C_3H_7No) with solvent pads and cotton. Care was taken to make sure no excess use of the solvent would leak through the cracks and joints between the wooden panels, or seep through the joints to the pictorial layer.

6.2. Straightening the Curvature

One of the main reasons for the curvature of the wood panel was the removal of the rear reinforcing bars, which caused the tearing and cracking and separation of wood panels. The wooden panel was flattened by pressing using a bench vise. Before starting the flattening process, the wood panel was wetted with an 80% ethyl alcohol solution to restore the internal water content to assist in flexing under pressure (Figure 16/a). The pressed panel was left for one week with the increase of the pressure ratio gradually until it became straight. The back side was then coated with a 10% diluted solution of alcohol and shellac resin to fill the pores of the panel and to prevent future curvature. After fully adjusting the wooden panel, a bench vise was used, as well as using polyvinyl alcohol as adhesive to fix the split in the wood panel figure 16/b. The rear surface was consolidated using 5% paraloid 72% to prevent future dust and moisture interaction.

6.3. Pictorial Layer Treatments

Initial tests of cleaning solvents, effectiveness and sensitivity should be conducted prior any interventions.[15] The process of cleaning the pictorial layer started by removing dust and staining, using soft brushes and a vacuum, and then simple or mixed cleaning solutions were used to remove the dirt. The adherent deposits on the pictorial layer were removed quite easily, with 10 ml acetone, turpentine, 20 ml n-butyl alcohol and 5 ml ethylene glycol-based solutions giving good results. The residue of candle soot was removed using ethyl alcohol and turpentine (2:1) in a safe and effective manner.

6.4. Removing Old Varnish

Removing varnish is one of the most complicated processes in the treatment of oil paintings. All agreed that it was necessary to remove the old varnish, due to the agglomerations and its disturbing browny appearance. The removal process was done by using a mixture of ethyl alcohol and turpentine (1:3) on a cotton swap which gave good results.[16] For sensitive and delicate places, soaked pads of dimethyl was used, as well as medical scalpels.[17] Toluene

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[15] LOWENDGARD 2007, *passim*.

[16] ALDRIDGE 1984, 67.

[17] KNUT 1999, 22.

(methyl benzene $C_6 H_5 CH_3$) was also used in some places and gave good results (Figure 17/a–b).

6.5. Clean the Gilding Layer

The most efficient and simple method of cleaning the gilded layer was to use pure ethyl alcohol in proportion which gave satisfactory results. This method eliminates the gold layer components from oxidation and chemical reactions Figure 18/a–b.

6.6. Removal of the Added Embossed Black Colour on the Outer Frame

The icon had been recently restored using new colours. Those added colours were not compatible with the original colour, in terms of chemical structure, and appearance. That added colour was removed by using soaked pads of Dimethyl formamide (DMF C_3H_7NO) solvent as well with a medical scalpel. It was safely removed, the original colours of the frame appeared, golden and red separated with fine white line. (Figure 18/a–b)

6.7. Filling Gaps and Holes in the Preparation Layer

A mixture of calcium sulphate, gypsum (in accordance with the results of the analysis of the original substrate) and polyvinyl alcohol (PVAL) was prepared in the form of a light-textured paste with the addition of a sodium fungicide (Sodium-Fluoride) and using knives for dental filler to fill the small holes and micro-cracks completely.[18] The large gaps on the lower and upper sides of the icon, as well as the joints between the wooden knots and the holder, were reinforced by using yarns of raw linen fabric with animal glue to help increase the cohesion of the preparation layer (Figure 19/a–d). The wood panel was coated with 5% of PVC glue to be a base for the preparation layer to insure the cohesion of the next layers, taking into consideration the thickness of the original preparation layer. The first layer was applied using (coarse gypsum): with (10%) of Concentrate PVC Vinyl Adhesive, after a complete drying, a second layer of fine gypsum consisting of a lower emulsion from the previous texture with 5% of PVC (Vinyl Acetate) was placed. The finished layers were kept in a clean room at room temperature for 48 hours, later after a complete drying the surface was smoothed using glass paper and readied for colouring.

6.8. Re-gilding the Background

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[18] MANDELSTAM 1982, *passim*.

The missing parts of the gilded background and frame were replaced with new gold leaf. After preparing and finishing, the preparation layer was coated with three layers of 10% Shellac resin solution dissolved in alcohol. A thin layer of masonry resin was applied and before drying, gold foil was glued and polished with cotton pads (Figure 20/a–b). Finally, to protect it, the gilding layer was coated with two layers of 10% shellac resin solution in alcohol and shellac varnish lacquer.

6.9. Recolouring the Missing Parts

The icon chromatic integration was done with respect to the original uniform appearance. Recolouring was restricted only to the places with cracks, each colour is lighter than the original colour[19] When the painting was done the icon was set aside and allowed to dry completely in a clean room. The icon was opened in horizontal position, with quick moves, with a soft hair brush, in a room equipped with an exhaust system. After a complete drying, the pictorial layer was coated with a new varnish layer. The icon was laid flat, and the varnish poured over it in a thick coat. Throughout the day, the varnish was absorbed by the paint, as it thickened, and formed a film on the surface of the paint. The varnish also deepened and enhanced the colours. When all was done and well dried out, the final work began-applying the 3% of Poly Metha Crylate which was used to ensure that the painted surface will "lock together" and have a protective surface.

7. Conclusion

Control of environmental conditions appears to have been particularly poor and had a high negative impact on the icon's quality. The use of cleaning tests is obligatory, because the cleaning process can affect the integrity of the icon, and can damage rather than conserve it.

The study confirmed the danger of liturgical use (lighting candles, incense, writing names, launching Nero oil) inside the churches. The use of organic solvents was very successful and had a positive impact on the icon components. Curvature and torsion caused by the improper hanging and placing the icon on the walls directly. The complementary employment of XRD and XRF contributed and resolved the identity of icon components. The XRF technique revealed the identity of the white background which was composed of $CaSO_4.2H_2$ and the red colour was composed of hematite. While red colour of the preparation layer beneath the gilding layer consisted of red-lead (Pb_3O_4). The gilding layer consisted of high-grade gold metal.

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[19] EMILE 1976, *passim.*

One can conclude through FTIR analysis that the binding material of the golden leaf and the calcium sulphate used in the preparation layer was animal glue. The same technology showed that the varnish used for colour isolation was mastic varnish.

Linen was the main constituent in the textile layer which was used as a support for the wooden panels. The study also highlighted the importance of removing the worn varnish layer and re-applying another lacquer layer to restore the colours to their original lustre and brilliance (Figures 21–22).

Figure 1. Image showing the templon of Georgios church

Figure 2. The Byzantine Icon of saint James

<div align="center">a</div>

<div align="center">b</div>
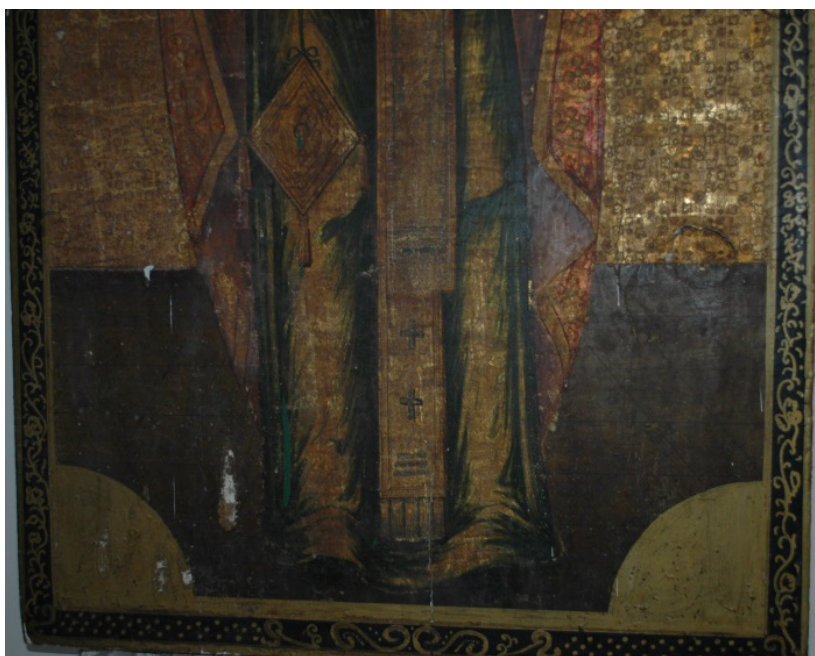
Figure 3. a–b – the damage feature of the varnish layer

Figure 4. The darkening and cracking of the colour layer

Figure 5. The cracks and damage in the gilding background

| a | b |

Figure 6. a – flaking of the preparation layer; b – wearing and fading of colours

Figure 7. Images showing: a — bending, curving; b — cracking of the icon;
c and d — the separation of large-sized wooden knots

a   b

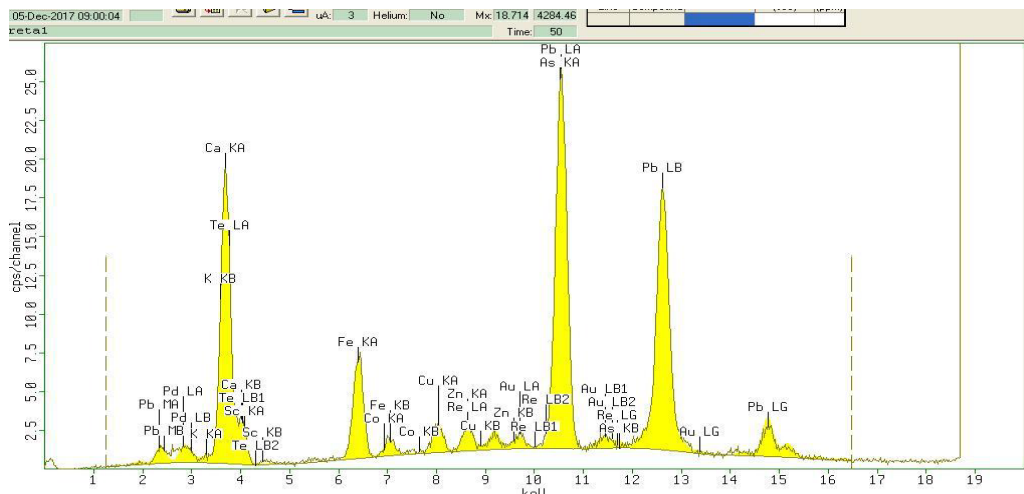Figure 8. a – traces of the previous restoration; b – improper colouring

Figure 9. XRF patterns for the preparation and the gilding layer

Figure 10. XRF patterns for the red pigments

Figure 11. XRD patterns for the preparation layer sample
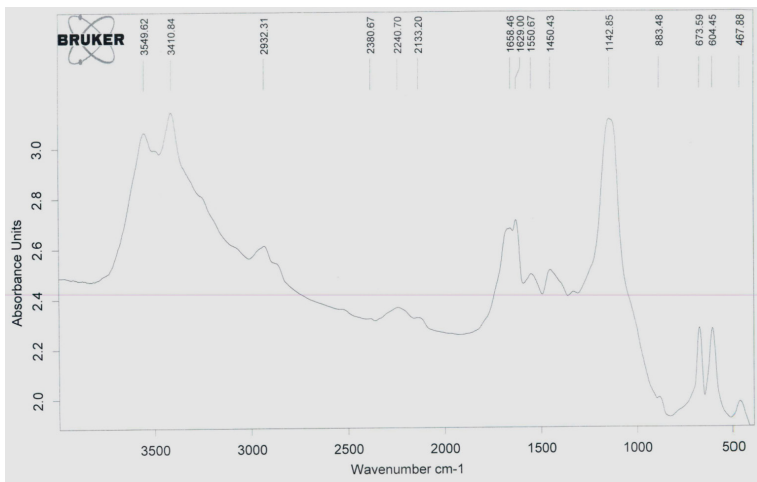
Figure 12. FTIR spectrum for the preparation layer sample
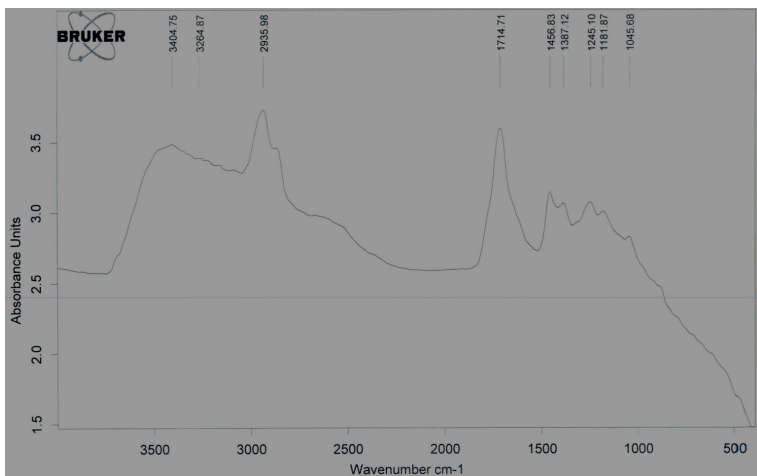

Figure 13. FTIR spectrum for the varnish sample

| a | b |
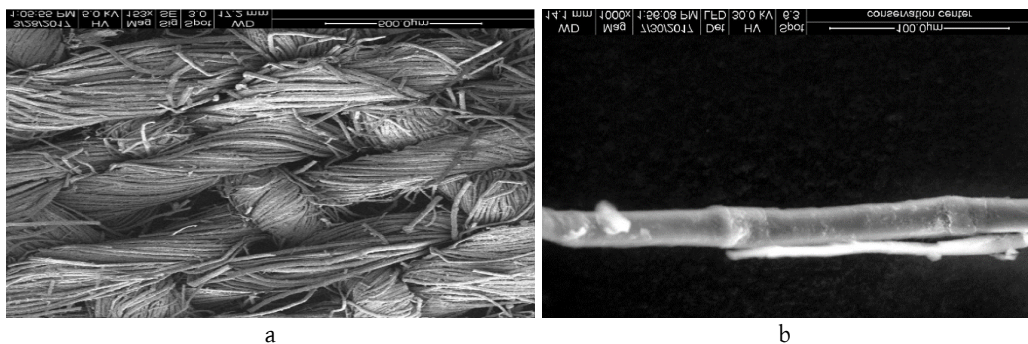
Figure 14. SEM image: a–b – linen textile
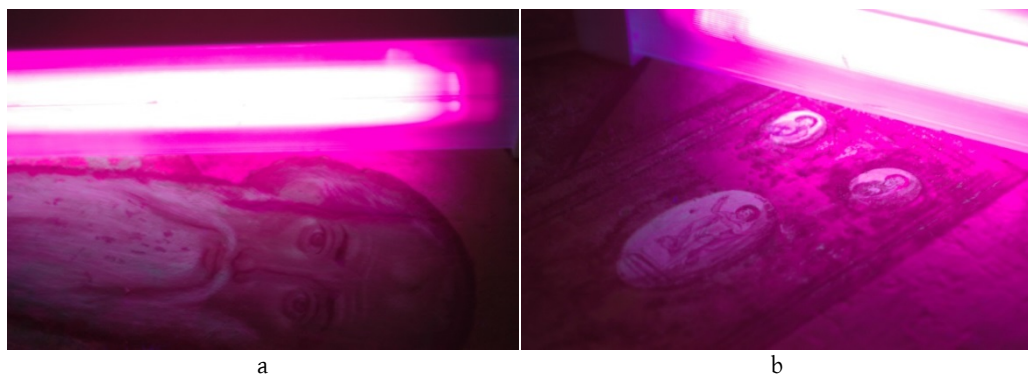
Figure 15. a–b — UV inspection images

Figure 16. a–b – the straitening the curvature in the icon; c–d – the treatment of the reverse side

Figure 17. a – soaked pads of dimethyl used to remove old varnish; b – medical scalpels used in cleaning; c – gilding layer after cleaning; d – before cleaning

Figure 18. a–b – removal of colour from the previous intervention

Figure 20. Restoring the gold leaf and recolouring the missing colour

Figure 21. a – the icon after conservation; b – the icon before conservation

Figure 22. a – backside of the icon after conservation; b – backside before conservation

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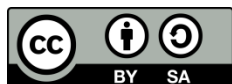
The medieval church of San Biagio in Cittiglio (Varese, Northern Italy). Archaeological and anthropological investigations of the cemeterial area

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Abstract. *The old medieval church of San Biagio in Cittiglio (Varese, Northern Italy) is one of the oldest religious buildings of Valcuvia. Since 2006, the interior of the church has been under investigation to acquire historical data and to reconstruct the archaeological site. These excavations yielded a series of discoveries, such as a significant number of tombs and pictorial elements. During our first field season, we exposed several architectural phases of the church, from the 9th to the 15th century. Inside the church, a funerary atrium was discovered and it was fascinating to find several tombs placed on different chronological layers. In particular, two of these tombs are remarkable. A tomb containing the skeletal remains of a young male showed three perimortem cuts on the skull. The other one kept the bones of a woman with a spearhead at the level of the ribs. We also observed another aspect, the conspicuous presence of childhood graves. In order to better investigate the paleodemography, we needed more osteoarchaeological data. Therefore, we focused our attention on the funerary area (7.5 m North–South × 18 m East–West) immediately outside the church. The archaeological excavation, which started in March 2016, brought to light several burials. During this phase, we discovered five overlapping archaeological layers, which testified an important funerary context. In the superficial layer, we recovered fragmented human bones, coins and numerous metallic artefacts. In the underling layer, we found tombs with coins, which allowed us to date it back to the Renaissance period. Square stones of different dimensions delimited the tombs of adults, while dead infants and foetuses were buried inside shingles. In the same layer, we also recovered archaeological findings such as an iron key, an iron knife, bronze buckles and bronze rings. The anthropological data for this cemeterial phase also documented the high infant mortality together with findings of pathological indicators such as arthrosis, dental diseases and traumatic injuries.*

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Rezumat. *Biserica medievală medievală San Biagio din Cittiglio (Varese, nordul Italiei) este una dintre cele mai vechi clădiri religioase din Valcuvia. Din 2006, interiorul bisericii a fost cercetat pentru a obține date istorice și pentru a reconstrui situl arheologic. Aceste săpături au dat naștere unei serii de descoperiri, cum ar fi un număr semnificativ de morminte și elemente picturale. În timpul primului nostru sezon de teren, am descoperit mai multe faze arhitecturale ale bisericii, din secolul al IX-lea până în secolul al XV-lea. În interiorul bisericii a fost descoperit un atrium funerar și a fost fascinant să găsim mai multor morminte așezate pe diferite straturi cronologice. În special, două dintre aceste morminte sunt remarcabile. Un mormânt care conține resturile scheletice ale unui tânăr de sex masculin a arătat trei tăieturi perimortem pe craniu. Celălalt conține oasele unei femei cu un vârf de lance la nivelul coastelor. Am observat și alt aspect, prezența vizibilă a mormintelor de copii. Pentru a investiga mai bine paleodemografia, am avut nevoie de mai multe date osteoarheologice. Prin urmare, ne-am concentrat atenția asupra zonei funerare (7,5 m nord-sud × 18 m est-vest) imediat în afara bisericii. Săpăturile arheologice, care au început în martie 2016, au adus la lumină câteva morminte. În această fază, am descoperit cinci straturi arheologice suprapuse, care au furnizat un context funerar important. În stratul superficial, am recuperat oase umane fragmentare, monede și numeroase artefacte metalice. În stratul inferior, am găsit morminte cu monede, ceea ce ne-a permis să-l datăm în perioada Renașterii. Pietre pătrate de dimensiuni diferite au delimitat mormintele adulților, în timp ce copiii și fetușii morți au fost îngropați în țigle. În același strat, am recuperat și diverse obiecte, cum ar fi o cheie de fier, un cuțit de fier, catarame de bronz și inele de bronz. Datele antropologice pentru această fază de înmormântareau evidențiat, de asemenea, mortalitatea infantilă ridicată, împreună cu constatările indicatorilor patologici precum artroza, bolile dentare și leziunile traumatice.*

Keywords: San Biagio, medieval church, anthropological data.

Introduction

The medieval church of San Biagio in Cittiglio (Varese, Northern Italy) (Figure 1) is one of the most ancient religious buildings of Valcuvia (Figure 2). It is an example of the Romanesque art that dominated the architecture scene in Northern Italy during the High Middle Ages[8]. The church is located approximately 200 meters from Cittiglio Station and it is placed on a hill, which overlooks the village. From the church courtyard, it is possible to see the Lake Maggiore and the Alpine Mountain of Monte Rosa. The religious complex, including the adjacent church square, is part of the parish properties of San Giulio di Cittiglio, Diocese of Como (declaration issued by the relevant office of the Curia of Como in 27 February 1990). Several documents kept in the Episcopal Como Archive describe bishops' pastoral visits to the Cittiglio church during these centuries. Two notarial deeds, drawn up on 11th June of 1235, and now preserved in the Milan State Archive, are the oldest documents known today which

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[8] FINOCCHI 1966.

talk about the church. The contents of these two parchments were published in 1989[9]. By the analysis of these writings, it is clear that the church was dedicated to St. Biagio and St. Andrea and was built "*in Castro Cittillio*", a fort called "Cittiglio"[10]. We do not have knowledge of other documents that mention the fort again. The function of the fort gradually vanished and, during the centuries, structures of the castle were converted to other uses. Today it is still possible to recognize some vestiges of the old castle in some houses' walls placed in the highest part of the village of Cittiglio, near the church.

The original church of San Biagio was a castrense church, a private chapel of the castle and probably a property of the family who held the feud: the rich family of De Cittiglio, which was replaced by De Morsiolo and then by the Besozzi family.

The architecture of the church consists of a single nave (5.50 m x 14.80 m), which is accessible by a central door on the East side; there are two windows on the North side of the building. The roof, at two pitches, is made of tiles and is supported by four beautiful wooden trusses, which are visible from the inside of the building and that characterize the entire environment. The high altar, leaning against the West wall, dates back to the 18th century and it is shaped to insert the altarpiece, specifically designed for this church. The altar is enriched by a frontal tripartite datable to the early 18th century, showing an almond in the centre with a representation in white of San Biagio Bishop which is inserted just below the coat of arms of the Besozzi family. The new nave floor, realized after the restoring works, is made of terracotta, with portions of transparent glass slabs on a steel frame in order to display the archaeological ruins. The Milano Monuments Heritage in agreement with the Lombardy Archaeological Heritage approved this arrangement.

In 2006, the restoration works allowed to show archaeological findings brought to light with the excavations. In particular, there are two archaeological sections: the first, at the present entrance, which highlights the significant architectural and iconographic evidences of underlying medieval presbytery; the second, near the current presbytery, shows a very interesting sequence of tombs, probably those of the ruling family members.

Methods

Archaeological investigations

Stratigraphic sequence diagrams of the identified units (inside and outside the church) were made in order to reconstruct several archaeological phases.

Residues of activated carbon (burning torch or generic) and significant organic remains, present in the environment, were sampled. The elevations of structures and artefacts were

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[9] PEREGALLI, RONCHINI 1989.

[10] POZZI 1986; PERPENTI 1849.

measured. Archaeological artefacts were catalogued and delivered to the Lombardy Archaeological Heritage.

Bone remains were transferred for anthropological investigations to the Centre of Research in Osteoarchaeology and Paleopathology of the Insubria University.

Anthropological investigations

The identification of the "biological profile" on skeletal material consists of the determination of sex[11], race[12], age at death[13], body size, stature[14] and pathological conditions. Sex estimation was carried out using standard pelvic and cranial morphological indicators according to methods given by Buikstra and Ubelaker[15]. The dimorphic characteristics of the pelvis comprise the aspect of the ischiopubic ramus and presence or absence of the ventral arch and subpubic concavity. For each skull, the following features were observed: nuchal crest, glabella, supraorbital margin, mastoid process and mental eminence[16]. Age at death of adult subjects was determined from the degree of degeneration of the pubic symphysis[17] and of the facies auricolaris of the pelvic bones[18]. The degree of suture closure was also assessed[19] together with the sternal rib modification[20]. The age of juvenile individuals was estimated based on tooth eruption and development[21], the degree of ossifications centers and the measurements of the diaphyseal length. Intra vitam body stature was calculated using the length of long bones, in particular that of the femur[22].

All skeletons were analysed for the possible presence of the common pathological changes discovered in osteoarchaeological material.

Radiological investigations

To investigate pathological conditions X-ray and CT scans were performed on the same scanner (16-layer Hitachi Eclos 16 X-ray equipment).

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[11] GILES 1963; MALL *el al.* 2000.

[12] BIRKBY 1966.

[13] GALERA *et al.* 1995.

[14] TROTTER, GLESER 1952.

[15] BUIKSTRA, UBELAKER 1994.

[16] KROGMAN, ISCAN. 1986.

[17] BROOKS, SUCHEY 1990.

[18] LOVEJOY *et al.* 1985.

[19] MEINDL, LOVEJOY 1985.

[20] ISCAN *et al.* 1984.

[21] UBELAKER 1989.

[22] TROTTER, GLESER 1952.

The archaeological investigation inside the church

Since 2006, the interior of the church has been under investigation to acquire historical data and to reconstruct the archaeological site. These excavations yielded a series of surprises, such as a significant number of graves and pictorial elements. The excavation recognised 14 archaeological phases, all related to building development.[23]

The first church, 8th century

The origin of the church has been attributed to the last third of the 8th century. To the earliest phase the building was a single court of modest dimensions with a semicircular apse. The hemicycle, identified under the present facade, found its structural development outside it, in front of the current entry. The excavation allowed us to explore the apse and structures that could belong to this original high medieval building and that were destroyed by an extended fire.

The second church, 9th century

The Romanesque church may be the result of a planned enlargement of the early medieval building through the demolition and reconstruction of the Southern side and of the original facade of the Western courtroom. The foundation of the new Romanesque facade was brought to light by excavations with its central access portal, its monolithic threshold and two steps. The construction of the bell tower, inside the nave in the South-East angle, was concomitant to the enlargement of the Romanesque building. It is a cusp bell tower with lithic slivers, without architectural partitions and windows or louvers, except for the bell chamber opened on three sides by straight lancet windows with small columns adorned by archaic capitals. Perhaps, during this phase, two-wall ends of the apse were removed in order to adapt it to a perfect hemicycle.

The realization in the presbytery of an important cycle of frescoes dates back to this building phase, near the 9th century. Of great interest is the discovery of large tracts of painted plaster of the lower register of a figurative cycle. In particular, on the left side of the presbytery, the picture of a *velarium* represents a rare medieval iconography of the Chimera (Figure 3). This three-headed monster (lion, goat and serpent) breathing fire, the daughter of Typhon, is a clear heritage of the classical tradition. This representation could be part of a larger figurative cycle of fantastic *bestiaria*, transmitted by the iconography of the monastic codes. A similar *velarium* was recently found in a near church, the Romanesque church of San

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[23] MELLA PARIANI, LORENZI 2006.

Michele al Monte in Porto Valtravaglia[24]. A second fresco on the Northern wall was realised during the late phase of the Romanesque period. It represents a small winged dragon, lying on his back, in the act of being pierced by the lance of a holy warrior.

Funeral atrium, 11th–13th century

A massive stone block was built in front to the facade. It is an atrium (or exonarthex) for funerary uses reserved to family descendants of the original chapel's founder. The facade of the new avant-corps had hence become the new external facade of the church, emerged from the building restoration of 1980 and still visible from the back sacristy. The facade is hut shaped, with a large arched central door in local tuff. The original pillar, preserved in the upper part, shows the remains of a Renaissance fresco centrally representing a bishop, probably San Biagio.

The presence of natural rock determined the rising of the threshold of the previous entry facade in the new flooring atrium. Only in the Northern area of the atrium, where the rocky declivity is too deep, the inumatoria practice was allowed. In this place, the deposition of the oldest privileged burials began. The archaeological investigation revealed 22 burials of individuals, from birth to adulthood (Figure 4).

The privileged burials inside the funeral atrium of the church indicate that they were probably members of De Cittiglio family. The absence of the grave goods and the architectural structure of the burials, such as anthropomorphic shape characterized by square stones, which limited the burial site, complicated the dating, probably between the 11th and 13th century (Figures 5–6).

Closure of funeral atrium, 14th century

In 14th century, the wall aperture of the first Romanesque facade in the church was dismantled in order to obtain a new and more spacious courtroom for liturgical use. This intervention led to the closure of the funeral atrium. Following the realisation of a number of floors, the first made of mortar, then of brickwork tiles, demonstrated the initial maintenance of original orientation of the building with the apse located to East.

New alignment of the church, 17th century

In 17th century, the apse was demolished to build a new facade. On the West side, the new altar was built against the internal wall of the old atrium facade, closing the central door.

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[24] FRIGERIO 2004.

Dating back to the same time is an ossuary inside the church, beyond the central line of the altar, almost leaning against the Northern wall. The opening of the ossuary consisted of a trapdoor made of a quadrangular stone, its perimeter framed by four flat stones. The first trap door, in the existing floor level, conceals a second ossuary, closed by a stone, which gives access to the burial chamber (estimated 2.5. m high and about 1x1.5 m in width) and which contains several human bones not yet analysed. The ossuary is mentioned in historical visits of Como bishops during centuries.

The significant findings related to the numerous liturgical objects, in addition to 12 bronze and silver coins that mark the stratigraphy of the church, have allowed delineating the key moments of the civil and devotional history of this ancient community.

The archaeological investigation outside the church

The archaeological investigation conducted in 2016 involved the area nearest to the hemicycle of the early medieval cemetery (size: 8 m North–South, 6 m East–West). The small area available for cemeterial use is limited to North by the side slope, to South by the rocky dorsal and to West by the church. The cemetery is characterised by an overcrowding of burial sites, superimposed laterally and vertically. We also noticed the phenomenon of reuse of existing burials. All buried showed a Western orientation of the head, as was the altar of the ancient medieval church, with the exception of the Tomb 25.

The stratigraphic analysis of the archaeological deposit has allowed discovering five progressive chronological phases of human activity in this area through the centuries (Figure 7).

Masonry with floor level, early 14th century

Immediately outside the church, near the existing medieval semicircular apse (US 133-134) a large stone wall was built to East–West. On the South side the wall is in connection with a floor in grout (US 297).

Cemetery, early 14th century

The cemeterial phase was testified by the presence of a great burial also closed and not investigated for structural reasons (Tomb 37), and by the remains of a wall (US 244a) erected in order to contain the embankment of the cemetery.

Cemetery 14th–15th century

A series of anthropomorphic tombs, some of which could be reusing the previous burials, indicate an increase in number of inhumations. Among the tombs, the oldest is the number 32, an anthropomorphic tomb containing an adult with head to West side, which was deposed an obol of coins. The coin is made of silver, wrought issued from the Mint of Milan, probably to Azzo Visconti, Lord of the city between 1329 and 1339. In the same cemeterial phase, we discovered tombs with one-individual deposition, tomb 31, 33, 35, 38 (remains in tomb 38 were not removed) and two burials in plural deposition: tomb 23 with three progressive depositions of adult individuals in wooden coffin and tomb 34 with three overlapping adult subjects.

Cemetery, 16th–17th (1630) century

Under the superficial layer of tomb 23 a fourth adult was retrieved. In the same layer were documented tombs 28 and 29, the latter preserving a bronze ring. Of great significance is the tomb 30 because of the recovery of a coin of Ludovico Sforza (Duke of Milan between 1494 and 1499) near the hands. In this phase tomb 39 was not removed from the site and documented in section. In the same layer, three neonatal burials (tombs 26, 27 and 36) emerged.

Cemetery, 17th (1630)–18th century

The most recent burials, found at an upper level, were destroyed by following structural interventions due to funeral disuse. Hence, in this layer (US 243) numerous scattered bone fragments were recovered outside the burial perimeter. In the same period, a floor (US 233) and the remains of the tomb 25 date back.

Paleodemographical investigation

The goal of paleodemographical investigations is to reconstruct the structure of ancient population dynamics, their spatial distribution, processes of formation and evolution over the time and to provide important osteoarchaeological data: demographic parameters (infant mortality, differential mortality by sex and age, fertility etc.), such as paleopathological features, and cultural and economic partners. Before talking about the results of the research conducted on the skeletal remains of Cittiglio, it is necessary to emphasize the poor representativeness of the osteological sample, a common problem in the majority of anthropological studies. In our case, the absence of a complete sample is mainly attributable to the fact that the necropolis area has not been fully investigated.

During the first excavations, 22 tombs were discovered but it was possible to investigate only 17 tombs and 18 individuals were identified. In each grave skeletal remains belonging to

an individual were deposed, with the exception of tomb 4 in which a foetus was laid together with a subadult near 6–8 years of age. The good preservation of the skeletal remains allowed us to proceed with the anthropological investigations. We would like to highlight that about 67% of the individuals belonged to the subadult population, and that about 45% of cases were under 3 years of age. Skeletal remains of six adult individuals were studied (4 males and 2 females), aged between 21 and 55 years with a height of around 163–167 cm and 150–155 for males and females, respectively (Table 1).

The second period of excavation made it possible to uncover 17 tombs, only 14 were investigated. These tombs presented a very different situation from those investigated in the first archaeological campaign, because several were reused during the years, and inside a single burial site was possible to find more than one individual. The excavation exposed bones belonging to 39 individuals: 14 sub-adults (35.9%) and 25 adults (64.1%). In this cemeterial phase, the infant mortality rate is well represented, with 70% of the subadults under the age of three years. Contrarily to the 11th–13th century tombs only few remains of each subadult were discovered, mixed with other adult skeletal remains. The tomb 27 and 36 were only used for the burial of two foetuses, both contained in a shingle. It has been possible to detect and identify sex, age and height of 11 adult individuals (8 males and 3 females), whereas, because of the poor conservation of the remains, it was not possible to proceed with a complete identification of the other 14 adults. The estimated age ranged from 18–24 years (3 males) to more than 60 years (one male and one female). The stature for males ranged between 165 and 176 cm, while for females between 150 and 155 (Table 2).

Paleopathological investigation

The main pathological changes diagnosed in our osteoarchaeological material are arthrosis, dental diseases and traumas[25].

Arthrosis

Arthrosis is a degenerative disease determined by the gradual wear of the articular cartilage and it is manifested through erosive lesions, hard to find in osteoarchaeological material, or with proliferative bone formation[26]. The most involved district is the spine. We have not noticed a difference in the male and female population with regard of incidence of the disease. For subjects over 40 years of age, we have observed the presence of arthrosis, especially on the lower thoracic and lumbar traits[27].

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[25] LICATA *et al.* 2014a; LICATA *et al.* 2015.

[26] ROGERS *et al.* 1987.

[27] LICATA 2017a

Dental disease

Teeth are one of the best indicators of the individuals' lifestyle, as they provide information on the age at death, sex, any nutritional stress and diseases related to eating habits and general standards of living and health conditions[28]. In our sample, especially for the adult subjects, the most frequent dental diseases are caries, tartar, dental wear and loss of teeth, principally for molar and premolar[29]. Caries is a disease of infectious origin that causes progressive loss of enamel and dentin and it is caused by poor oral hygiene, the consumption of carbohydrates and simple sugars, age and inherited genetic traits. The tartar instead is formed by mineralization of the bacterial plaque and consists of a dense accumulation of microorganisms on the surface of teeth and it is caused by a poor oral hygiene and consumption of carbohydrates. Tooth loss and periodontal disease are often correlated with acute and chronic inflammatory processes mainly due to bacterial plaque.

Traumatic injury

Traumatic lesions are among the most important sources of data related to interpersonal violence within ancient populations. Unlike the historical and archaeological records that are subject to interpretative obstacles, these injuries represent a direct source aiding the analysis of the lifestyle of past populations. In the paleotrauma analysis, the correct investigation of lesion types provides data about interpersonal violence, intergroup conflict or warfare, and daily activities. It is important to explain that in osteoarchaeological collections, the investigation on the incidence of trauma is hard to evaluate, especially for the fragmented state of skeletal remains. To examine the episode of violence in antiquity, it is necessary to identify traumatic lesions from cause and from time of injury. The archaeological site of Cittiglio documented two violent deaths: tomb 13 and tomb 16. The young male of tomb 13 (Figure 6) shows, at level of the skull, three important cuts caused by a sharp weapon on the parietal and occipital bones[30]. We believe that the subject was killed during a battle[31] even if other hypotheses suggest a beheading for justice. From our point of view, three elements propose the "battle theory". In the first place, the location of the cuts at the skull level and not on the cervical vertebrae suggest this hypothesis. In a beheading for justice, generally transverse lesions on the cervical vertebrae are present. Furthermore, the number of cuts and the distance between them at the occipital and the parietal level, lead us to imagine that the fighting took place with energetic manoeuvres and that the duellist has launched three blows

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[28] LAZZATI *et al.* 2015.

[29] MOLNAR 2008.

[30] LICATA, ARMOCIDA 2015.

[31] KEPA *et al.* 2013.

from the top down. The first shot on the parietal brought the victim to the ground that collapsed with his face down and, in this position, he received two more blows to the occipital bone (Figure 10). By the archaeological point of view, the deposition of the corpse in a correct anatomical position, such as that received by the individual in tomb 13, does not lead us to suggest a beheading for justice[32]. The archaeological literature, in fact, contains funerary evidence of executed individuals who had their skulls placed in a grave at the knees or ankles' level, not in a continuous anatomical position. Outdistancing the head from the rest of the body sought to empathise the condition of the beheaded. Finally, the subsequent discovery of a nearby burial, containing the skeleton of an adult female with an arrowhead at the ribs level (Tomb 16 — Figure 5) furthermore suggests the "battle theory". There are no traces on the skeleton of damage caused by this arrow but there is little to no doubt that the female individual died due to the extent of the injuries, since the portion of the weapon was found in her ribcage.

During the archaeological investigation of 2016 we have found other traumatic injuries, in particular a case of a resolved sharp trauma on the parietal bone of an adult male and a femur (bone isolated, found in a surface layer) with an important post trauma callus[33] At this point of the archaeological investigation it is difficult make hypotheses about others violent deaths. By proceeding with our archaeological investigation inside and outside the church, in the two burial areas, we will evaluate the presence or the absence of other signs of injury associated with deaths in battle.

The future of research

There are still unanswered questions related to the archaeological site of San Biagio, especially from the osteoarchaeological point of view. We still have to clarify and better define the "battle theory"[34]. Secondly, we need to appreciate if inside and outside the church there were designated areas for children buried, due to the high number of subadults found during the excavations. In order to answer these questions there is a need to proceed with new investigations both inside and outside the church, with others archaeological campaigns. Furthermore, the Cittiglio site is on the verge of being added to an archaeological museum tour, which includes historical and worship monuments representative of the medieval funerary rituals in North-Western Lombardy[35].

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[32] CARTY 2015.

[33] PROKOPEC, HALMAN 1999; LICATA *et al.* 2014b.

[34] LICATA, ROSSETTI 2017b

[35] LICATA *et al.* 2018
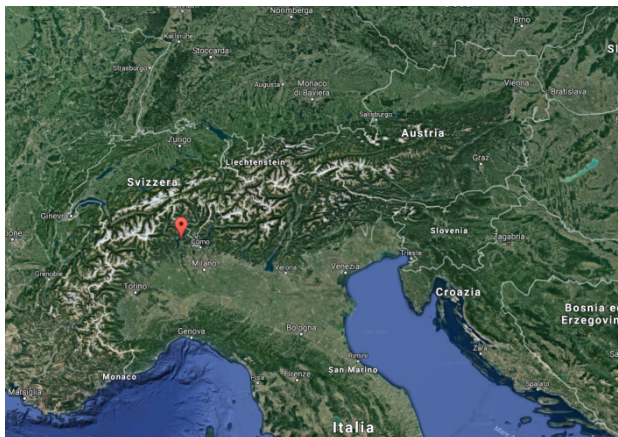
Figure 1. The red dot indicates the localization of Cittiglio, Lombardy

Figure 2. The church of San Biagio in Cittiglio.

Figure 3. The picture of Chimera
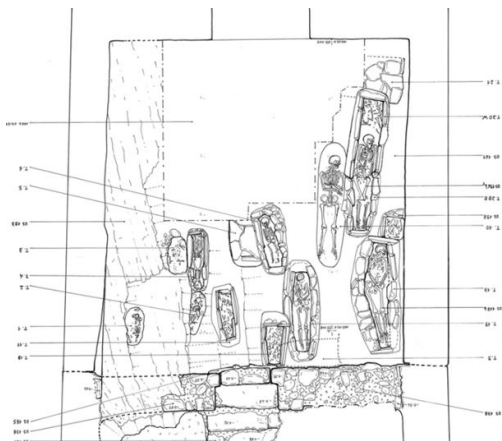
Figure 4. Left – plan of oldest burials inside the atrium; right – church interior, after restoration works
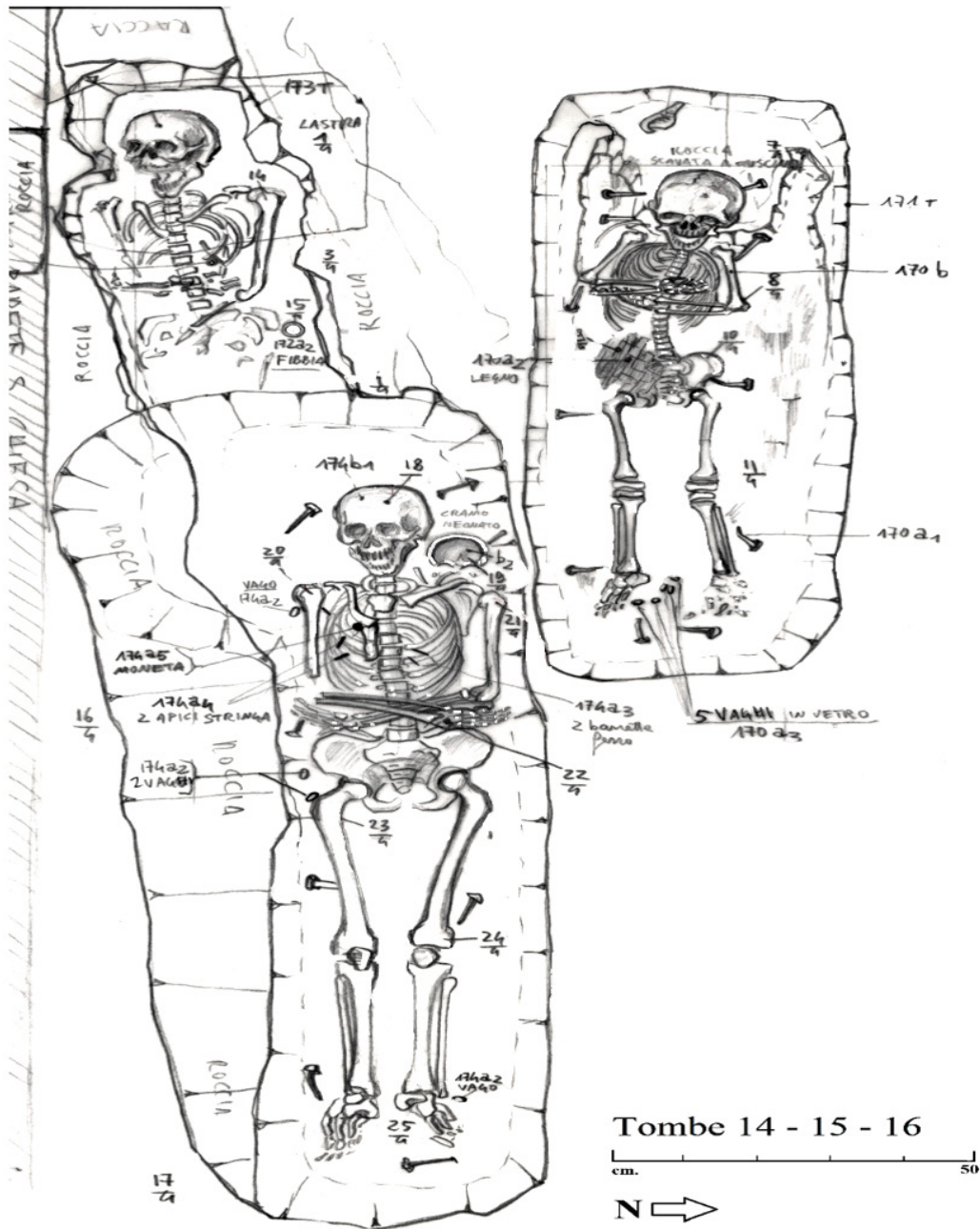
Figure 5. Plan of three inhumations present in the oldest layer

Tomba 13 - copertura

Tomba 13 - inumato
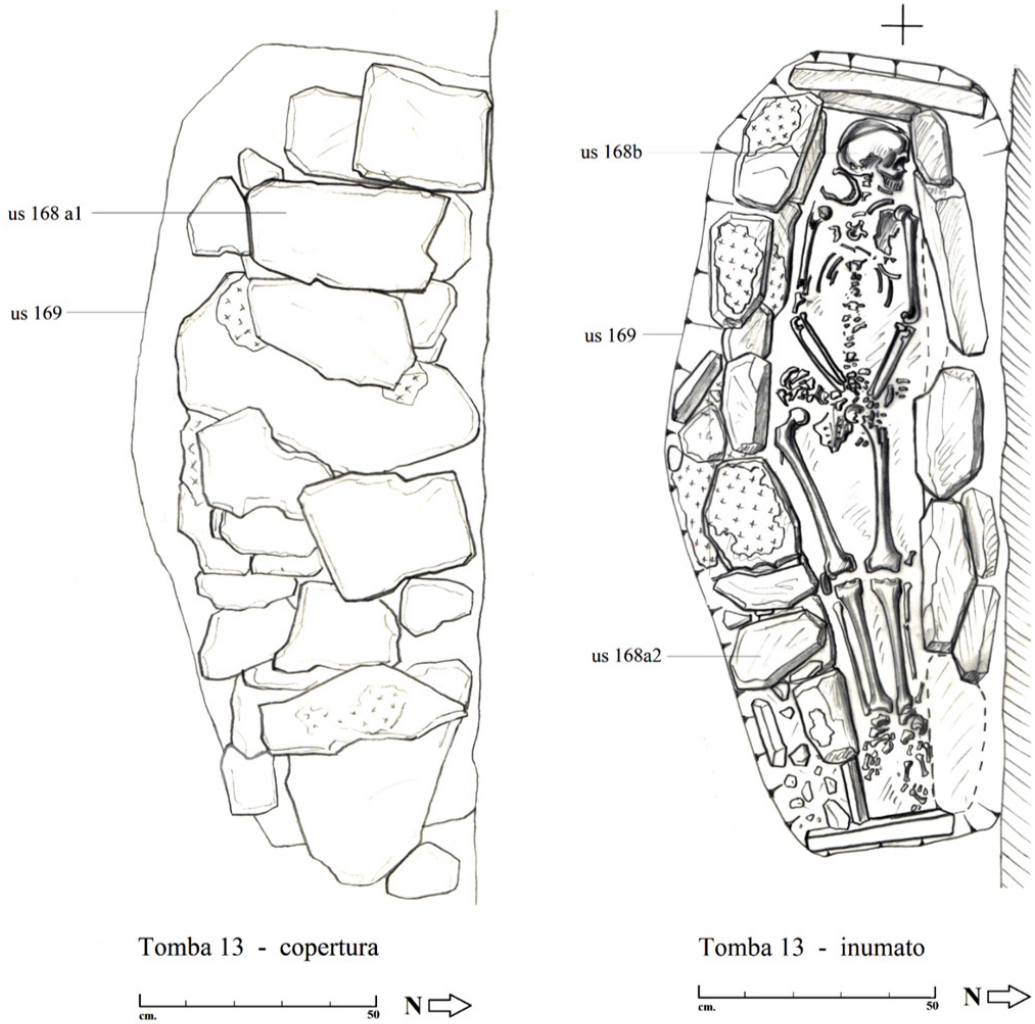
Figure 6. Plan of tomb 13
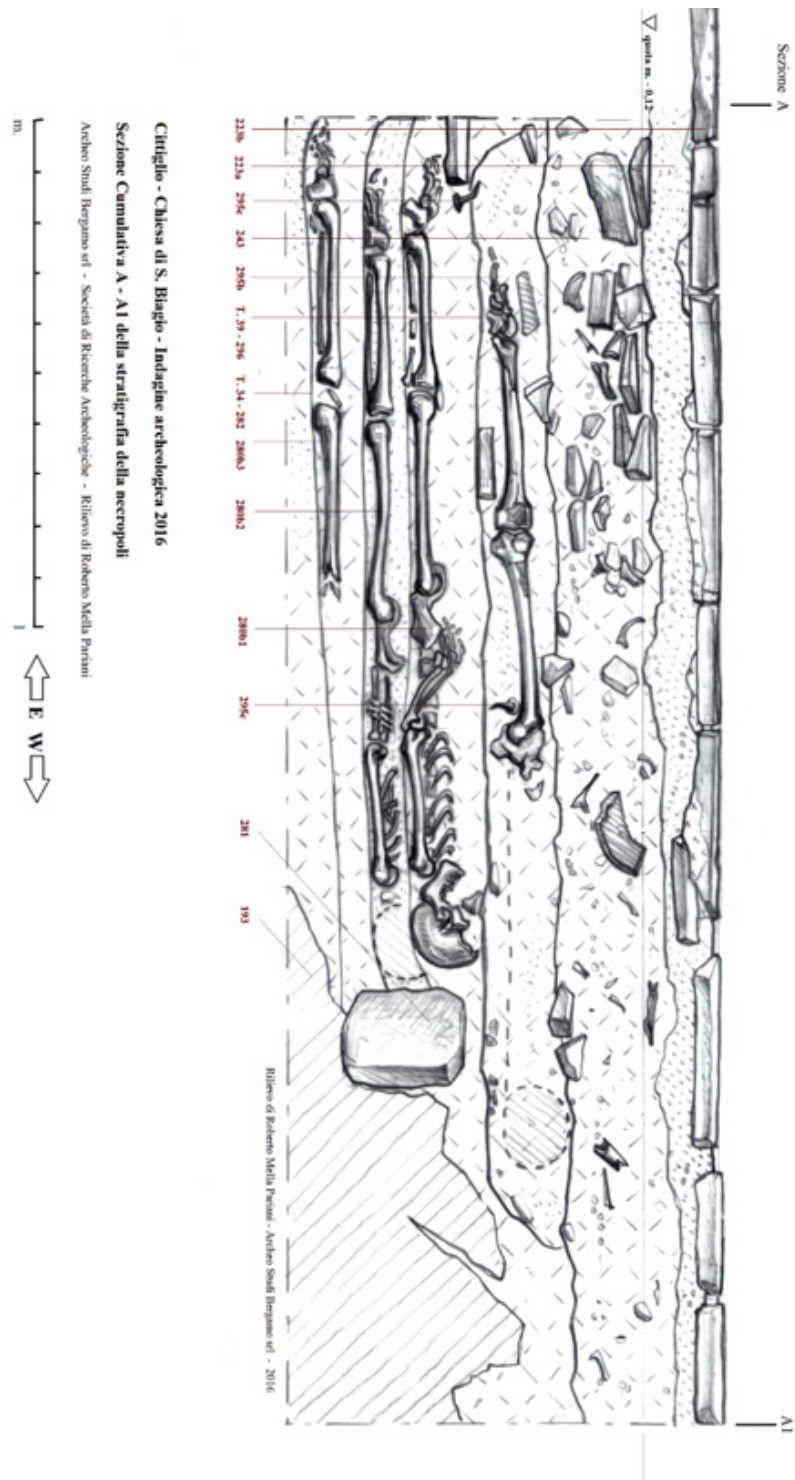
Figure 7. Plan showing the archaeological stratigraphy on the left side of the outside cemeterial area
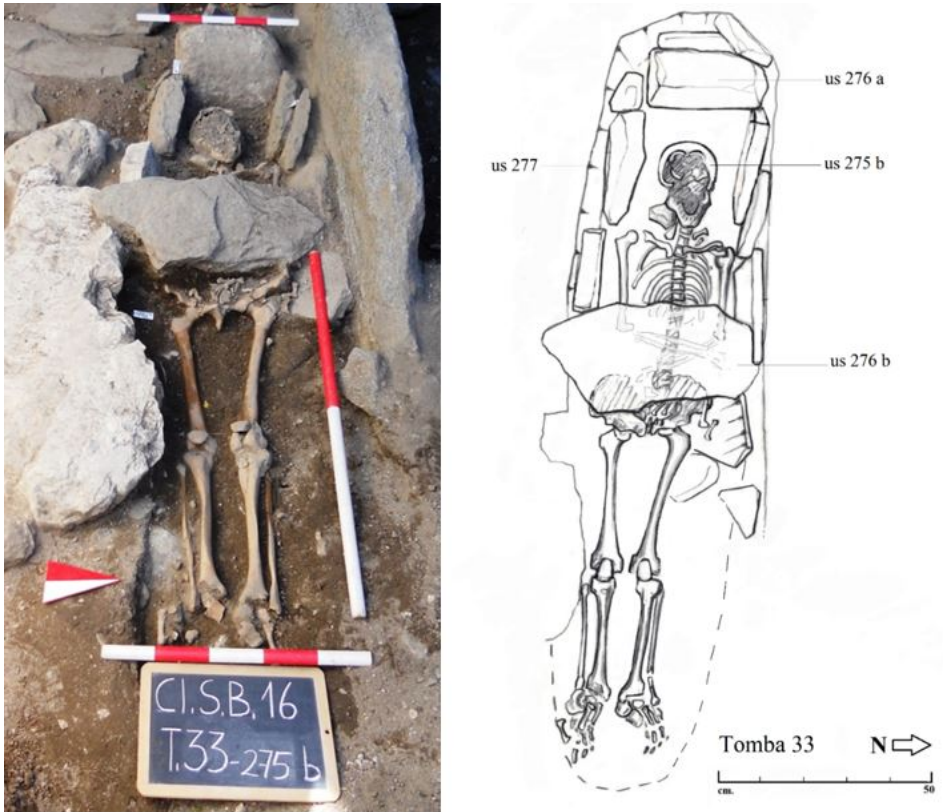
Figure 8. Left – picture of tomb 33; right – plan showing tomb 33
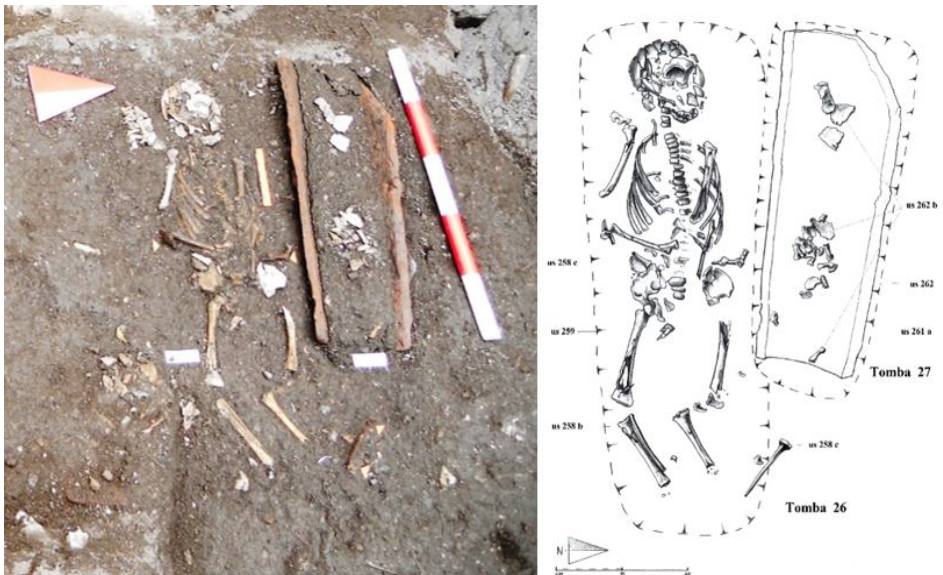
Figure 9. Left – picture of tomb 26 and 27; right – drawing of tombs 26 and 27

Figure 10. Left – picture of skull from tomb 13; right – CT scan of the skull of tomb 13

Table 1. NMI (number of minimal individuals), sex and age structure
of skeletal sample from the funerary atrium (11th–13th century)

GRAVE	NMI	SEX	AGE
1	1	subadult	1.5–2.5
2	1	subadult	2.5
3	1	subadult	2.5
4	2	subadult	foetus
		subadult	6–8
5	1	subadult	1.5
6	1	subadult	1.5–2.5
7	not investigable		
8	not investigable		
9	1	subadult	6
10	1	male	40–50
11	1	male	35–55
12	not investigable		
13	1	male	20–30
14	1	subadult	6
15	1	female	30–40
16	1	male	25–35
17	1	subadult	1.5
18	1	subadult	0.5–1
19	1	subadult	10–12
20	1	female	25–35
21	not investigable		

GRAVE	NMI	SEX	AGE
22	not investigable		
TOTAL	**18**		
TOTAL SUBADULT		12	
TOTAL MALE		4	
TOTAL FEMALE		2	

Table 2. NMI (number of minimal individuals), sex and age structure of skeletal sample
from the cemeterial atrium (14th–17th century)

GRAVE	NMI	SEX	AGE
23	5	male indeterminated indeterminated indeterminated subadult	30–35 indeterminated indeterminated indeterminated
24	1	indeterminated	indeterminated
25	3	indeterminated	indeterminated
26	1	subadult	0.5–1
27	1	subadult	Foetus
28	1	indeterminated	indeterminated
29	3	male male subadult	60+ 40–60 indeterminated
30	4	male male indeterminated subadult	35–45 18–24 indeterminated foetus
31	5	female male subadult subadult subadult	45–55 18–24 10–15 1 0–0.5
32	3	male indeterminated subadult	18–24 indeterminated indeterminated
33	2	male subadult	30–40 indeterminated
34	5	female female indeterminated indeterminated subadult	60+ 35–45 indeterminated indeterminated 11–14
35	4	indeterminated indeterminated	indeterminated indeterminated

GRAVE	NMI	SEX	AGE
		subadult	6–8
		subadult	foetus
36	1	subadult	foetus
37	not investigable		
38	not investigable		
39	not investigable		
TOTAL	39		
TOTAL SUBADULT		14	
TOTAL MALE		8	
TOTAL FEMALE		3	
UNDETERMINATED		14	

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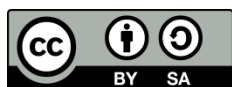
A study on the Seleucid and Parthian seals of the Semnan Museum, Iran

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Abstract. *Seals and clay sealings are the most valuable evidence for studying the economic, political and cultural structures of the different past societies. Due to the lack of resources to explain the various characteristics of Seleucid and Parthian material culture, studying the seals of these periods can reveal not only the artistic sides of glyptic material but to clarify the roles played by sealings in the social and economic contexts of the Seleucid and Parthian societies. Seven seals which are currently being preserved in the Semnan Museum are described and studied in the present paper. These seals have been discovered through illegal excavations. Their patterns and styles are usually influenced by Greek art elements, including animal motifs, the Greek goddess Athena and human illustrations in the majority, which is probably because of the greater attention to human and humanist perspectives among the Greek artists. The present study aims at analysing the motifs of the seals, as well as making comparisons to identify similarities with other cases found in different sites such as Tel Kedesh (Israel), Nisa (Turkmenistan) and Dura-Europos (Syria) in order to suggest a more precise dating for the mentioned seals.*

Rezumat. *Sigiliile și pecețile sunt printre cele mai valoroase dovezi ale studierii structurilor economice, politice și culturale ale diferitelor societăți anterioare. Din cauza lipsei de informații în explicarea diferitelor caracteristici ale culturii materiale seleucide și parthe, studierea sigiliilor din aceste perioade poate dezvălui nu numai fețele artistice ale materialului glipatic, ci și clarificarea rolurilor pe care le au pecețile în contextele sociale și economice ale societăților seleucide și parthe. Șapte sigilii care sunt în prezent păstrate în Muzeul Semnan sunt descrise și studiate în lucrarea de față. Aceste sigilii au fost descoperite prin săpături ilegale. Modelele și stilurile lor sunt, de obicei, influențate de elementele de artă grecești, incluzând motive animaliere, sau reprezentarea zeiței Athena, precum și reprezentări umane. Prezentul studiu vizează analizarea motivelor sigiliilor, precum și realizarea unor comparații pentru a identifica asemănările cu alte cazuri găsite în diferite luri, precum Tel Kedesh (Israel), Nisa (Turkmenistan) și Dura-Europos (Siria). Comparația este necesară și pentru o datare mai precisă a sigiliilor menționate.*

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1. Introduction

Due to the importance of seals and sealing in archaeological studies, the data obtained from these objects are extremely valuable. Studying and investigating different aspects of these precious objects can give us insights about various aspects of art, culture and economy among the residents of the Iranian plateau through the centuries. The use of seals was a documented grantee for authenticity, ownership and partnership in legal transactions or commodity preservations against the encroachments for seven thousand years[3]. Accordingly, due to the lack of resources and studies about the archaeology and art of Seleucid and Parthian period (330 BC–AD 224) in Iran in particular and in the Near East in general compared to other periods, studying seals can open new perspectives on glyptic art and industry of these periods. Although interest in studying seals is increasingly growing in Iran, the lack of discovered artefacts and ambiguity in recognition the style and features of seal related to Seleucid and Parthian period led to a scarcity of research references about these periods. However, the efforts of researchers such as Bivar,[4] Wallenfels,[5] Herbert[6] cannot be neglected. The present study aims at analysing the mentioned seals, as well as making comparisons to identify similarities with other cases found in different sites such as Tel-Kedesh in Galilee area in Israel, Tele Nisa and Dura-Europos (during Roman occupation) and Uruk in Mesopotamia in order to propose a relatively precise dating for these seals.

2. Introducing Seleucid and Parthian seals in Semnan Museum

The city of Semnan is close to several major ancient sites of Parthians such as Qumis and Hissar which enriched its Museum with precious artefacts. Among them are hundreds of seals and bullae from different periods including the seven seals which are the main concern of the present study. As mentioned before, these seals have been discovered in the illegal excavations and thus their precise dating remains a difficult task. Therefore, due to the absence of laboratory methods in dating seals, the only possible way is comparing them with other similar samples in engraving style, imagery techniques and parallelism between their motifs.

Another useful method would be comparing the seal motifs with those on coins and other artefacts from Seleucid and Parthian period which can also be regarded as criteria for dating them and answering some ambiguities[7]. However, because of the limited stylistic research

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[3] COLLON 1987, *passim*.

[4] BIVAR 1967, 515–525.

[5] WALLENFELS 1990.

[6] HERBERT 2005, 65–86.

[7] GHASEMI 2014, 13.

extension about the seals of these periods, distinguishing between the seals of these two periods would be sometimes very hard. In fact, none of the experts in Seleucid and Parthian period is able to precisely differ from each other or can make an exact dating for a seal or a sealing with a questionable context. Another point is the overlap between the end of Seleucid period and the beginning of Parthian period, especially in west of Iran and Mesopotamia is which makes assigning the seals to a particular period more difficult. Nonetheless, comparing the Semnan Museum seals with similar seals and sealing and by precisely studying their motifs, their dating can be conducted.

The seals shapes, the engraving style, the motif subjects, their decorations and inscriptions are the major identifying features for Seleucid and Parthian seals[8]. There are six human motifs and one animal motif on the seven seals belonging to the Semnan Museum; all of them are made of brown and white agate except for one, which is made of a type of blue stone. All of the seals are circular and oval signet rings which with the hemisphere are the most common shape for remaining seals from Seleucid and Parthian periods. The deeper cutting in Seleucid and Parthian seals compare to the Achaemenid ones show their progress in engraving techniques which is quite obvious in the remaining sealings. Also the parallel lines on the seals because of the excessive use of wheels for cutting made them even more popular[9]. Utilizing jewelled or gem seals became more common during Seleucid and Parthian periods[10]. Hemispherical seals with elongated base were used during Seleucid period which were usually stamped on clay sealing and their motifs are clearly bossed[11]. Bivar believes that contrary to the oval shape of Seleucid seal, the Parthian seals were circular[12]; to consider his opinion, it is best to study the seals of Hellenic archive from Uruk in Mesopotamia with many oval shapes. Seleucid sealings[13], all of these mentioned sealings were stamped on clay tablets and beside the cuneiform writings. This criterion applies to our understudied seals, the Parthian seal no. 2 is circular while the rest of the seals which are probably Seleucid are oval in shape. In the following the mentioned seals will be described more precisely.

The engraved motif on the seal shows a person sitting on a chair or a throne with naked upper body and covered his lower torso with a robe. He is stretching out his right arm forward. And has a small animal in the hand which is not clear but it is quite similar to a lamb. There is also a small size bird which looks like an owl or an eagle in front of his left leg. The picture of the right is another similar sample from Dura-Europos city excavations which dates back to the second and third century AD and is similar to our seal[14].

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[8] DEBEVOISE 1934, 13–15.

[9] DEBEVOISE 1934, 15–16.

[10] COLLON 1987, 119.

[11] DEBEVOISE 1934, 16.

[12] BIVAR1967, 515–525.

[13] WALLENFELS1990, 35 sqq.

[14] GUIRAUD 1992, 82.

Figure 1. No 1: Seal shape: oval; material: blue stone;[15] motifs: human images; period: Seleucid

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[15] GUIRAUD1992, 82.

Figure 2. No 2: Seal shape: circular; material: brown agate[16]; motifs: animal images;
period: Parthian; size: 12×13 mm

Figure 3. No 3: Seal shape: oval; material: brown agate; motifs: human[17] images;
period: Seleucid–Parthian; size: unknown.

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[16] FRUMKIN 1970, 240.

[17] HERBERT 2005, 70.

A person standing with a spear in hand and starching out the right arm with something in hand is depicted in the motifs of this seal. Athena is shown standing and viewed from her back. Part of the seal is damaged and broken. Their outfits, especially their hats and also their standing figures are very similar, both of them are standing on a bossed horizontal ground lines. These seal motifs are very close to the similar samples from Seleucid period and sealings found in Kedesh site and probably belonged to the goddess Athena[18]. Numismatic data are also helpful for studying motifs related to Athena: for instance, bronze coins of Antiochus I minted at Seleucia on the Tigris depicting this deity standing, with her usual hat and on the reverse. There is a stater of Antiochus I[19] represented on Figure 4.

On the reverse side of some of bronze coins of Antiochus I, Athena is standing lying over the left and leaning a spear or a shield on her leg[20] (see Figure 5). As Apollo who has been frequently depicted on the Seleucid coins, these two samples are actually very rare cases of showing Athena on the same coins.

The motif of this seal shows a person standing with a spear in hand and a long robe to the feet and wearing a hat similar to Athena. This goddess' body is in full face and her head and face are shown in silhouette. Athena, daughter of Zeus and Metis, was the god of war and armed with shield and spear. She is also the goddess of peace and scientific and industrial activities. Her symbols are shield, spear and helmet, and she has a calm, beautiful and dignified apparent[21].

Figure 4. Antiochus I bronze coin showing a depiction of Athena[22]

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[18] HERBERT 2005, 70.

[19] HOUGHTON and LORBER 2002, 381.

[20] HOUGHTON and LORBER 2002, 588.

[21] GRIMAL 1951, 125.

[22] HOUGHTON and LORBER 2002, 588.

Figure 5. Antiochus II bronze coin showing a depiction of Athena[23]

Figure 6. No 4: Seal shape: oval; material: brown agate; motifs: human[24] images;
period: Seleucid; size: 14 mm

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[23] HOUGHTON and LORBER 2002,588.

[24] ROSTOVTZEFF 2004, 978.

The depicted motifs on this sealing are very similar to the seal number 3. There is also a metal sculpture discovered in the Parthian site of Nisa, whose style of the figure, its tailed hat, the dress with flounces and her dignity is quite similar to Athena[25]. The comparison between the statue and the seal reveals the similarities in their style and motifs, although unlike the seal, the statue of Athena does not carry a spear.

A standing person is depicted on the signet ring, the figure is leaning on one leg and the details of the body show a muscular build and he is holding an unclear object in his right hand (Figure 7). Another important point is that the figure's joints have been depicted faintly and a line or something like a spear divided the picture on two uneven parts. As you can see above, a closely similar seal has been discovered in Dura-Europos site which is probably related to second and third century AD and the Roman period (Figure 8)[26]. Furthermore, beside the mentioned similar sample, there are numerous similar motifs in Greek and Roman art with human figures as the main theme in statues, coinage, seals and rock reliefs (like in Figure 9).

On this signet ring, a person with a hat is standing in a common Greek style (standing while leaning on one leg), and wearing a robe up to the knees. The person is holding an object like a shield in the right hand and holding a sear in the left hand. The details of the face is not clear so the gender is in doubt. Were this figure a woman, she would probably be a representation of the goddess Athena; otherwise the mere description of this image should be sufficient.

Figure 7. No 5: Seal shape: oval; material: agate; motifs: human images[27]; period: Seleucid; size: 13×8 mm

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[25] ROSTOVTZEFF 2004, 978.

[26] GUIRAUD 1992, 80.

[27] GUIRAUD 1992, 80.

Figure 8. No 6: Seal shape: oval; material: agate;
motifs: human images; period: Seleucid; size: 17 mm

Figure 9. No 7: Seal shape: oval; material: brown agate; motifs: human[28] images;
period: Seleucid; size: 15 m

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[28] HERBERT 2005, 71.

On this seal, a human figure wearing a hat in the shape of a helmet and a long robe is seen. She is holding an object like a spear in her right hand and a small human-shaped figure in her left hand. This image is comparable with similar motifs of Athena, discovered in Kedesh site in Israel holding a spear and the goddess Nike[29]. On the above figures, both figures are wearing a tailed hat, holding spears and standing on an engraved horizontal line while their outfit, standing style and body shapes are closely similar to each other.

3. Conclusion

The present paper aimed at describing and introducing seven seals, currently preserved at the Semnan Archaeological Museum and comparing their styles and motifs with similar samples in order to present a more precise dating. Of course this would not be possible without getting help from similar sample and complementary documents such as numismatic data. All of the seals are made of semiprecious and precious stones such as white agate and brown agate, except for one seal which is made of blue stone as Collon suggests the glyptic art during Seleucid and Parthian period is a promotion of a kind of lapidary.

All of the seals, probably related to Seleucid period, are oval in shape, except for the seal number 2 which is probably from Parthian period and is circular. One of the main reasons for affiliating the oval seals to Seleucid period is the comparison between the shape of seals and the similar samples from Uruk, realized by Bivar. Another reason is the goddess motifs similarity with the coin samples. The six seals which are related to Seleucid period are depicting a motif of Athena the Greek goddess and Hellenistic style motifs that clearly reveal the Greek influence. The seals from this collection are closely similar to the seals discovered in Tal-Kedesh in Israel and Dura-Europos.

The only Parthian seal of this collection contains animal motifs which are common in other samples discovered in sites such as Nisa, Qumis, Nippur and Susa. While Seleucid seals are mostly contain human motifs which can be due to the attention to human and humanist perspectives among the Greek artists. A glance at discovered seals in Seleucia of Tigris and Kedesh can prove this claim.

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[29] HERBERT 2005, 70.

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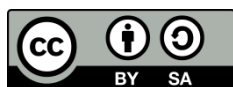
A multilingual Romance-language lexicon for manufactured objects

Policarp HORTOLÀ[1]

Abstract. *In multidisciplinary communication, putting standardised lexicons into practice is essential in order to avoid problems such as terminological misinterpretations and ambiguity. Most standardised lexicons take English as a basis; however, in many cases Romance languages are not taken into account. In this work, lexicons for manufactured objects are presented in the main Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, and Catalan) together with the seminal English lexicon. This multilingual lexicon is organised in the style of a traditional dictionary. It concerns either past or present, original or (contemporary or not) copied items, and is intended to help people active in any field in which manufactured objects may be involved, from museum pieces to factory-made items.*

Resumen. *En comunicación multidisciplinaria, es esencial poner en práctica léxicos estandarizados para evitar problemas tales como la mala interpretación y ambigüedad terminológicas. La mayoría de los léxicos estandarizados toman el inglés como base. Sin embargo, en muchos casos las lenguas románicas no se toman en cuenta. En este trabajo se presentan léxicos para objetos manufacturados en los principales idiomas romances (francés, italiano, español, portugués, rumano y catalán), junto con el léxico inglés seminal. Tal léxico multilingüe está organizado al estilo de un diccionario tradicional. Concierne a elementos pasados o presentes, originales o (contemporáneos o no) copiados, y está destinado a ayudar a personas activas en cualquier campo en el que estén involucrados objetos manufacturados, desde piezas de museo hasta artículos industriales.*

Rezumat. *În comunicarea multidisciplinară, punerea în practică a lexicoanelor standardizate este esențială pentru a evita probleme cum ar fi interpretări eronate terminologice și ambiguități. Majoritatea lexicoanelor standardizate iau ca bază limba engleză; totuși, în multe cazuri limbile romanice nu sunt luate în considerare. În această lucrare, lexicoanele pentru obiecte fabricate sunt prezentate în principalele limbi romanice (franceză, italiană, spaniolă, portugheză, română și catalană), împreună cu lexiconul de limbă engleză. Acest lexicon multilingv este organizat în stilul unui dicționar tradițional. Este destinat să ajute persoanele active în orice domeniu în care pot fi implicate obiecte fabricate, de la piese muzeale la articole fabricate.*

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1. Introduction

In multidisciplinary communication, putting standardised lexicons into practice is essential in order to avoid problems such as terminological misinterpretations and ambiguity. Although most standardised lexicons take English as a basis, in many cases Romance languages are not taken into account. In order to solve this issue to some extent, English-based lexicons for manufactured objects in the main Romance languages are presented together with the seminal English lexicon. These Romance-language lexicons are based on the combination of two previous English lexicons,[2] which have been grouped and adapted in order to establish a common vocabulary in French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, and Catalan. This multilingual lexicon is arranged in the traditional dictionary style. It concerns either past or present, original or copied items ('copy' meaning any object derived from an original), whether contemporary or not. These lexicons are intended to help people active in any field in which manufactured objects may be involved, from museum pieces to factory-made items.

2. Seminal English lexicon

Abbreviations

AD — (Latin *anno Domini*) current era
adj. — adjective
BC — (before Christ) before the current era
ca. — (Latin *circa*) approximately
n. — noun

Antique. (French *antique*, Italian *antique*, Spanish *antique*, Portuguese *antique*, Romanian *antic*, Catalan *antique*) From Latin *antiquus*, ancient. *adj.*, *n.* Object manufactured between more than a century ago and the beginnings of globalisation (AD 1571, foundation of Manila).

Archaic. (French *archaïque*, Italian *arcaico*, Spanish *arcaico*, Portuguese *arcaico*, Romanian *arhaic*, Catalan *arcaic*) From Greek ἀρχαίος, *archaios*, ancient. *adj.*, *n.* (ex-professo nominalised *adj.*). Object manufactured between the beginnings of globalisation (AD 1571, foundation of Manila) and the first known written documents (*ca.* 3200 BC, Eanna's archaeological level IVa, Late Uruk period of Sumer).

Duplicate. (French *dupliqué*, Italian *duplicato*, Spanish *duplicado*, Portuguese *duplicata*, Romanian *duplicat*, Catalan *duplicat*) From Latin *duplic-*, twofold, and *plicare*, to fold. *n.* Copy

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[2] HORTOLÀ 2017, 2018.

made in the same raw material as the original, produced employing the same method as used for the original, and that displays the same shape as the original.

Idealisation. (French *idéalisation*, Italian *idealizzazione*, Spanish *idealización*, Portuguese *idealização*, Romanian *idealizare*, Catalan *idealització*) From Latin *idealis*, existing in idea only. *n.* Copy made in a raw material different from the original, produced employing a method different from that used for the original, and that displays a shape slightly different from the original.

Imitation. (French *imitation*, Italian *imitazione*, Spanish *imitación*, Portuguese *imitação*, Romanian *imitație*, Catalan *imitació*) From Latin *imago*, image. *n.* Copy made in the same raw material as the original, produced employing a method different from that used for the original, and that displays the same shape as the original.

Memento. (French *mémento*, Italian *memento*, Spanish *memento*, Portuguese *memento*, Romanian *memento*, Catalan *memento*) From Latin *meminisse*, to remember. *n.* Object manufactured in the last half century.

Primigenial. (French *primigène*, Italian *primigenio*, Spanish *primigenio*, Portuguese *primigénio*, Romanian *primigen*, Catalan *primigeni*) From Latin *primus*, first, and *generare*, to create. *adj., n.* (ex-professo nominalised *adj.*) Object manufactured before the first known written documents (*ca.* 3200 BC, Eanna's archaeological level IVa, Late Uruk period of Sumer).

Recreation. (French *récréation*, Italian *ricreazione*, Spanish *recreación*, Portuguese *recreação*, Romanian *recreare*, Catalan *recreació*) From Latin *re-*, back or again, and *creare*, to create. *n.* Copy made in a raw material different from the original, produced employing the same method as used for the original, and that displays the same shape as the original.

Repetition. (French *répétition*, Italian *ripetizione*, Spanish *repetición*, Portuguese *repetição*, Romanian *repetare*, Catalan *repetició*) From Latin *re-*, back or again, and *petere*, to seek. *n.* Copy made in the same raw material as the original, produced employing the same method as used for the original, and that displays a shape slightly different from the original.

Replica. (French *réplique*, Italian *replica*, Spanish *réplica*, Portuguese *réplica*, Romanian *replică*, Catalan *rèplica*) From Latin *re-*, back or again, and *plicare*, to fold. *n.* Copy made in a raw material different from the original, produced employing a method different from that used for the original, and that displays the same shape as the original.

Reproduction. (French *reproduction*, Italian *riproduzione*, Spanish *reproducción*, Portuguese *reprodução*, Romanian *reproducere*, Catalan *reproducció*) From Latin *re-*, back or again, and *producere*, to produce. *n.* Copy made in a raw material different from the original, produced employing the same method as used for the original, and that displays a shape slightly different from the original.

Simile. (French *simile*, Italian *simile*, Spanish *símil*, Portuguese *simile*, Romanian *similar*, Catalan *símil*) From Latin *similis*, similar to. *n.* Copy made in the same raw material as the

original, produced employing a method different from that for the original, and that displays a shape slightly different from the original.

Vintage. (French *vintage*, Italian *vintage*, Spanish *vintage*, Portuguese *vintage*, Romanian *vintage*, Catalan *vintage*) From Latin *vindemia*, a grape-gathering. *n., adj.* Object manufactured between more than half a century and a century ago.

3. English-based Romance-language lexicons

3.1. French/Français

Abréviations

a. C. — avant le Christ
adj. — adjectif
angl. — anglicisme
ca. — (Latin *circa*) à peu près
n. f. — nom féminin
n. m. — nom masculin

Antique. (Anglais *antique*, Italien *antique*, Espagnol *antique*, Portugais *antique*, Roumain *antic*, Catalan *antique*) Du latin *antiquus*, ancien. *adj., n. m., angl.* Objet réalisé entre il y a plus d'un siècle et les débuts de mondialisation (1571, fondation de Manille).

Archaïque. (Anglais *archaic*, Italien *arcaico*, Espagnol *arcaico*, Portugais *arcaico*, Roumain *arhaic*, Catalan *arcaic*) Du grec ἀρχαῖος, *archaios*, vieux. *adj., n. m.* (*adj.* nominalisé *ex professo*). Objet réalisé entre les débuts de la mondialisation (1571, fondation de Manille) et les premiers documents écrits reconnus (*ca.* 3200 a. C., niveau archéologique IVa d'Eanna, période Uruk tardive de Sumer).

Dupliqué. (Anglais *duplicate*, Italien *duplicato*, Espagnol *duplicado*, Portugais *duplicata*, Roumain *duplicat*, Catalan *duplicat*) Du latin *duplic-*, deux fois, et *plicare*, plier. *n. m.* Copie réalisée avec la même matière première que l'original, produite selon la même méthode et qui présente la même forme.

Idéalisation. (Anglais *idealisation*, Italien *idealizzazione*, Espagnol *idealización*, Portugais *idealização*, Roumain *idealizare*, Catalan *idealització*) Du latin *idealis*, existant seulement dans l'idée. *n. f.* Copie réalisée avec une matière première différente de l'original, produite avec une méthode différente et qui présente une forme légèrement différente.

Imitation. (Anglais *imitation*, Italien *imitazione*, Espagnol *imitación*, Portugais *imitação*, Roumain *imitație*, Catalan *imitació*) Du latin *imago*, image. *n. f.* Copie réalisée avec la même matière première que l'original, produite avec une méthode différente et qui présente la même forme.

Mémento. (Anglais *memento*, Italien *memento*, Espagnol *memento*, Portugais *memento*, Roumain *memento*, Catalan *memento*) Du latin *meminisse*, rappeler. *n. m., angl.* Objet réalisé dans le dernier demi-siècle.

Primigène. (Anglais *primigenial*, Italien *primigenio*, Espagnol *primigenio*, Portugais *primigénio*, Roumain *primigen*, Catalan *primigeni*) Du latin *primus*, premier, et *generare* créer. *adj., n. m.* (*adj.* nominalisé *ex professo*) Objet réalisé avant les premiers documents écrits reconnus (*ca.* 3200 a. C., niveau archéologique IVa d'Eanna, période Uruk tardive de Sumer).

Récréation. (Anglais *recreation*, Italien *ricreazione*, Espagnol *recreación*, Portugais *recreação*, Roumain *recreare*, Catalan *recreació*) Du latin *re-*, retour ou encore, et *creare*, créer. *n. f.* Copie réalisée avec une matière première différente de celle de l'original, produite selon la même méthode et qui présente la même forme.

Répétition. (Anglais *repetition*, Italien *ripetizione*, Espagnol *repetición*, Portugais *repetição*, Roumain *repetare*, Catalan *repetició*) Du latin *re-*, retour ou encore, et *petere*, chercher. *n. f.* Copie réalisée avec la même matière première que l'original, produite selon la même méthode et qui présente une forme légèrement différente.

Réplique. (Anglais *replica*, Italien *replica*, Espagnol *réplica*, Portugais *réplica*, Roumain *replică*, Catalan *rèplica*) Du latin *re-*, retour ou encore, et *plicare*, plier. *n. f.* Copie réalisée avec une matière première différente de celle de l'original, produite avec une méthode différente et qui présente la même forme.

Reproduction. (Anglais *reproduction*, Italien *riproduzione*, Espagnol *reproducción*, Portugais *reprodução*, Roumain *reproducere*, Catalan *reproducció*) Du latin *re-*, retour ou encore, et *producere*, produire. *n. f.* Copie réalisée avec une matière première différente de celle de l'original, produite selon la même méthode et qui présente une forme légèrement différente.

Simile. (Anglais *simile*, Italien *simile*, Espagnol *símil*, Portugais *simile*, Roumain *similar* , Catalan *símil*) Du latin *similis*, similaire à. *n. m., angl.* Copie réalisée avec la même matière première que l'original, produite avec une méthode différente et qui présente une forme légèrement différente.

Vintage. (Anglais *vintage*, Italien *vintage*, Espagnol *vintage*, Portugais *vintage*, Roumain *vintage*, Catalan *vintage*) Du latin *vindemia*, une vendange. *n. m., adj., angl.* Objet réalisé entre il y a plus d'un demi-siècle et un siècle.

3.2. Italian/Italiano

Abbreviazioni

a. C. — avanti Cristo
agg. — aggettivo
angl. — anglicismo
ca. — circa

n. f. — nome femminile

n. m. — nome maschile

Antique. (inglese *antique*, francese *antique*, spagnolo *antique*, portoghese *antique*, romeno *antic*, catalano *antique*) Dal latino *antiquus*, antico. *agg., n. m., angl.* Oggetto fabbricato in un periodo che comincia più di un secolo fa e finisce agli inizi della globalizzazione (1571, fondazione di Manila).

Arcaico. (inglese *archaic*, francese *archaïque*, spagnolo *arcaico*, portoghese *arcaico*, romeno *arhaic*, catalano *arcaic*) Dal greco ἀρχαῖος, *archaios*, vecchio. *agg., n. m.* (*agg.* sostantivato *ex professo*). Oggetto fabbricato tra l'inizio della globalizzazione (1571, fondazione di Manila) e l'apparizione dei primi documenti scritti conosciuti (*ca.* 3200 a. C., livello archeologico Eanna IVa, periodo Uruk finale di Sumeria).

Duplicato. (inglese *duplicate*, francese *dupliqué*, spagnolo *duplicado*, portoghese *duplicata*, romeno *duplicat*, catalano *duplicat*) Dal latino *duplic-*, due volte, e *plicare*, piegare. *n. m.* Copia fatta con la stessa materia prima dell'originale, prodotta utilizzando lo stesso metodo e che ha la stessa forma.

Idealizzazione. (inglese *idealisation*, francese *idéalisation*, spagnolo *idealización*, portoghese *idealização*, romeno *idealizare*, catalano *idealització*) Dal latino *idealis*, esistenti solo sotto forma di un'idea. *n. f.* Copia fatta con una materia prima diversa dall'originale, prodotta utilizzando un metodo differente e che presenta una forma leggermente differente.

Imitazione. (inglese *imitation*, francese *imitation*, spagnolo *imitación*, portoghese *imitação*, romeno *imitație*, catalano *imitació*) Dal latino *imago*, immagine. *n. f.* Copia fatta con la stessa materia prima dell'originale, prodotta utilizzando un metodo diverso e che ha la stessa forma.

Memento. (inglese *memento*, francese *mémento*, spagnolo *memento*, portoghese *memento*, romeno *memento*, catalano *memento*) Dal latino *meminisse*, ricordare. *n. m., angl.* Oggetto fabbricato nell'ultimo mezzo secolo.

Primigenio. (inglese *primigenial*, francese *primigène*, spagnolo *primigenio*, portoghese *primigénio*, romeno *primigen*, catalano *primigeni*) Dal latino *primus*, primo, e *generare*, creare. *agg., n. m.* (*agg.* sostantivato *ex professo*) Oggetto fabbricato prima dell'apparizione dei primi documenti scritti conosciuti (*ca.* 3200 a. C., livello archeologico Eanna IVa, periodo Uruk finale di Sumeria).

Ricreazione. (inglese *recreation*, francese *récréation*, spagnolo *recreación*, portoghese *recreação*, romeno *recreare*, catalano *recreació*) Dal latino *re-*, indietro o di nuovo, e *creare*, creare. *n. f.* Copia fatta con una materia prima diversa dall'originale, prodotta utilizzando lo stesso metodo e che ha la stessa forma.

Ripetizione. (inglese *repetition*, francese *répétition*, spagnolo *repetición*, portoghese *repetição*, romeno *repetare*, catalano *repetició*) Dal latino *re-*, indietro o di nuovo, e *petere*, cercare. *n. f.* Copia fatta con la stessa materia prima dell'originale, prodotta utilizzando lo stesso metodo e che presenta una forma leggermente differente.

Replica. (inglese *replica*, francese *réplique*, spagnolo *réplica*, portoghese *réplica*, romeno *replică*, catalano *rèplica*) Da latino *re-*, indietro o di nuovo, e *plicare*, piegare. *n. f.* Copia fatta con una materia prima diversa dall'originale, prodotta utilizzando un metodo differente e che ha la stessa forma.

Riproduzione. (inglese *reproduction*, francese *reproduction*, spagnolo *reproducción*, portoghese *reprodução*, romeno *reproducere*, catalano *reproducció*) Dal latino *re-*, indietro o di nuovo, e *producere*, produrre. *n. f.* Copia fatta con una materia prima diversa dall'originale, prodotta utilizzando lo stesso metodo e che presenta una forma leggermente differente.

Simile. (inglese *simile*, francese *simile*, spagnolo *símil*, portoghese *simile*, romeno *similar* , catalano *símil*) Dal latino *similis*, simile a. *agg., n. m. (agg. sostantivato ex professo)* Copia fatta con la stessa materia prima dell'originale, prodotta utilizzando un metodo differente e che presenta una forma leggermente differente.

Vintage. (inglese *vintage*, francese *vintage*, spagnolo *vintage*, portoghese *vintage*, romeno *vintage*, catalano *vintage*) Dal latino *vindemia*, un vintage. *n. m., agg., angl.* Oggetto fabbricato nel periodo che va da più di mezzo secolo e un secolo fa.

3.3. Spanish/Español

Abreviaturas

a. C. — antes de Cristo
adj. — adjetivo
angl. — anglicismo
ca. — (latín *circa*) aproximadamente
s. f. — sustantivo femenino
s. m. — sustantivo masculine

Antique. (inglés *antique*, francés *antique*, italiano *antique*, portugués *antique*, rumano *antic*, catalán *antique*) Del latín *antiquus*, antiguo. *adj., s. m., angl.* Objeto manufacturado entre hace más de un siglo y los inicios de la globalización (1571, fundación de Manila).

Arcaico. (inglés *archaic*, francés *archaïque*, italiano *arcaico*, portugués *arcaico*, rumano *arhaic*, catalán *arcaic*) Del griego ἀρχαίος, *archaios*, antiguo. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* sustantivado *ex professo*). Objeto manufacturado entre los inicios de la globalización (1571, fundación de Manila) y los primeros documentos escritos conocidos (*ca.* 3200 a. C., nivel arqueológico IVa de Eanna, período Uruk tardío de Sumeria).

Duplicado. (inglés *duplicate*, francés *dupliqué*, italiano, portugués *duplicata*, rumano *duplicat*, catalán *duplicat*) Del latín *duplic-*, dos veces, y *plicare*, doblar. *s. m.* Copia hecha con la misma materia prima que el original, producida empleando el mismo método y que presenta la misma forma.

Idealización. (inglés *idealisation*, francés *idéalisation*, italiano, portugués *idealização*, rumano *idealizare*, catalán *idealització*) Del latín *idealis*, existente sólo en idea. *s. f.* Copia hecha con una materia prima diferente del original, producida empleando un método diferente y que presenta una forma ligeramente diferente.

Imitación. (inglés *imitation*, francés *imitation*, italiano, portugués *imitação*, rumano *imitație*, catalán *imitació*) Del latín *imago*, imagen. *s. f.* Copia hecha con la misma materia prima que el original, producida empleando un método diferente y que presenta la misma forma.

Memento. (inglés *memento*, francés *mémento*, italiano, portugués *memento*, rumano *memento*, catalán *memento*) Del latín *meminisse*, recordar. *s. m.*, *angl.* Objeto manufacturado en el último medio siglo.

Primigenio. (inglés *primigenial*, francés *primigène*, italiano, portugués *primigénio*, rumano *primigen*, catalán *primigeni*) Del latín *primus*, primero, y *generare*, crear. *adj.*, *s. m.* (*adj.* sustantivado *ex professo*) Objeto manufacturado antes de los primeros documentos escritos conocidos (*ca.* 3200 a. C., nivel arqueológico IVa de Eanna, período Uruk tardío de Sumeria).

Recreación. (inglés *recreation*, francés *récréation*, italiano, portugués *recreação*, rumano *recreare*, catalán *recreació*) Del latín *re-*, atrás u otra vez, y *creare*, crear. *s. f.* Copia hecha con una materia prima diferente del original, producida empleando el mismo método y que presenta la misma forma.

Repetición. (inglés *repetition*, francés *répétition*, italiano, portugués *repetição*, rumano *repetare*, catalán *repetició*) Del latín *re-*, atrás u otra vez, y *petere*, buscar. *s. f.* Copia hecha con la misma materia prima que el original, producida empleando el mismo método y que presenta una forma ligeramente diferente.

Réplica. (inglés *replica*, francés *réplique*, italiano, portugués *réplica*, rumano *replică*, catalán *rèplica*) Del latín *re-*, atrás u otra vez, y *plicare*, doblar. *s. f.* Copia hecha con una materia prima diferente del original, producida empleando un método diferente y que presenta la misma forma.

Reproducción. (inglés *reproduction*, francés *reproduction*, italiano, portugués *reprodução*, rumano *reproducere*, catalán *reproducció*) Del latín *re-*, atrás u otra vez, y *producere*, producir. *s. f.* Copia hecha con una materia prima diferente del original, producida empleando el mismo método y que presenta una forma ligeramente diferente.

Símil. (inglés *simile*, francés *simile*, italiano, portugués *simile*, rumano *similar* , catalán *símil*) Del latín *similis*, similar a. *adj., s. m.* Copia hecha con la misma materia prima que el original, producida empleando un método diferente y que presenta una forma ligeramente diferente.

Vintage. (inglés *vintage*, francés *vintage*, italiano, portugués *vintage*, rumano *vintage*, catalán *vintage*) Del latín *vindemia*, una vendimia. *s. m.*, *adj.*, *angl.* Objeto manufacturado entre hace más de medio siglo y un siglo.

3.4. Portuguese/Português

Abreviaturas

a. C. — antes de Cristo
adj. — adjetivo
angl. — anglicismo
ca. — (latino *circa*) aproximadamente
s. f. — substantivo feminino
s. m. — substantivo masculino

Antique. (inglês *antique*, francês *antique*, italiano *antique*, espanhol *antique*, romeno *antic*, catalão *antique*) Do latino *antiquus*, antigo. *adj., s. m., angl.* Objeto fabricado entre mais de um século atrás e os primórdios da globalização (1571, fundação de Manila).

Arcaico. (inglês *archaic*, francês *archaïque*, italiano *arcaico*, espanhol *arcaico*, romeno *arhaic*, catalão *arcaic*) Do grego ἀρχαίος, *archaios*, antigo. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* sustantivado *ex professo*). Objeto fabricado entre os primórdios da globalização (1571, fundação de Manila) e os primeiros documentos escritos conhecidos (*ca.* 3200 a. C., nível arqueológico IVa do Eanna, período Uruk tardio da Suméria).

Duplicata. (inglês *duplicate*, francês *dupliqué*, italiano *duplicato*, espanhol *duplicado*, romeno *duplicat*, catalão *duplicat*) Do latino *duplic-*, duas vezes, e *plicare*, dobrar. *s. f.* Cópia feita com a mesma matéria-prima do original, produzida usando o mesmo método e que tem a mesma forma.

Idealização. (inglês *idealisation*, francês *idéalisation*, italiano *idealizzazione*, espanhol *idealización*, romeno *idealizare*, catalão *idealització*) Do latino *idealis*, existindo apenas no pensamento. *s. f.* Cópia feita com uma matéria-prima diferente do original, produzida usando um método diferente e que tem uma forma ligeiramente diferente.

Imitação. (inglês *imitation*, francês *imitation*, italiano *imitazione*, espanhol *imitación*, romeno *imitație*, catalão *imitació*) Do latino *imago*, imagem. *s. f.* Cópia feita com a mesma matéria-prima do original, produzida usando um método diferente e que tem a mesma forma.

Memento. (inglês *memento*, francês *mémento*, italiano *memento*, espanhol *memento*, romeno *memento*, catalão *memento*) Do latino *meminisse*, lembrar. *s. m., angl.* Objeto fabricado no último meio século.

Primigénio. (inglês *primigenial*, francês *primigène*, italiano *primigenio*, espanhol *primigenio*, romeno *primigen*, catalão *primigeni*) Do latino *primus*, primeiro, e *generare*, criar. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* sustantivado *ex professo*) Objeto fabricado antes dos primeiros documentos escritos conhecidos (*ca.* 3200 a. C., nível arqueológico IVa do Eanna, período Uruk tardio da Suméria).

Recreação. (inglês *recreation*, francês *récréation*, italiano *ricreazione*, espanhol *recreación*, romeno *recreare*, catalão *recreació*) Do latino *re-*, para trás ou outra vez, e *creare*, criar. *s. f.* Cópia

feita com uma matéria-prima diferente do original, produzida usando o mesmo método e que tem a mesma forma.

Repetição. (inglês *repetition*, francês *répétition*, italiano *ripetizione*, espanhol *repetición*, romeno *repetare*, catalão *repetició*) Do latino *re-*, para trás ou outra vez, e *petere*, procurar. *s. f.* Cópia feita com a mesma matéria-prima do original, produzida usando o mesmo método e que tem uma forma ligeiramente diferente.

Réplica. (inglês *replica*, francês *réplique*, italiano *replica*, espanhol *réplica*, romeno *replică*, catalão *rèplica*) Do latino *re-*, para trás ou outra vez, e *plicare*, dobrar. *s. f.* Cópia feita com uma matéria-prima diferente do original, produzida usando um método diferente e que tem a mesma forma.

Reprodução. (inglês *reproduction*, francês *reproduction*, italiano *riproduzione*, espanhol *reproducción*, romeno *reproducere*, catalão *reproducció*) Do latino *re-*, para trás ou outra vez, e *producere*, produzir. *s. f.* Cópia feita com uma matéria-prima diferente do original, produzida usando o mesmo método e que tem uma forma ligeiramente diferente.

Simile. (inglês *simile*, francês *simile*, italiano *simile*, espanhol *símil*, romeno *similar* , catalão *símil*) Do latino *similis*, semelhante a. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* sustantivado *ex professo*) Cópia feita com a mesma matéria-prima do original, produzida usando um método diferente e que tem uma forma ligeiramente diferente.

Vintage. (inglês *vintage*, francês *vintage*, italiano *vintage*, espanhol *vintage*, romeno *vintage*, catalão *vintage*) Do latino *vindemia*, um vintage. *s. m., adj., angl.* Objeto fabricado entre mais de meio século e um século atrás.

3.5. Romanian/Română

Abrevieri

adj. — adjectiv
ca. — (latină *circa*) aproximativ
gal. — galicism
î.Hr. — înainte de Hristos
ital. — italianismo
s. f. — substantiv feminin
s. m. — substantiv masculin

Antic. (engleză *antique*, franceză *antique*, italiană *antique*, spaniolă *antique*, portugheză *antique*, catalană *antique*) Din latină *antiquus*, antic. *adj., s. m.* Obiect mai vechi de un secol dar produs după începutul globalizării (1571, întemeierea orașului Manila).

Arhaic. (engleză *archaic*, franceză *archaïque*, italiană *arcaico*, spaniolă *arcaico*, portugheză *arcaico*, catalană *arcaic*) Din greacă ἀρχαίος, *archaios*, antic. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* substantiv *ex professo*)

Obiect produs între începuturile globalizării (1571, întemeierea orașului Manila) și primele documente scrise cunoscute (*ca.* 3200 î. Hr., nivel arheologic Eanna IVa, perioada Uruk târzie a Sumerului).

Duplicat. (engleză *duplicate*, franceză *dupliqué*, italiană *duplicato*, spaniolă *duplicado*, portugheză *duplicata*, catalană *duplicat*) Din latină *duplic-*, de două ori, și *plicare*, plia. *s. m.* Copie realizată din același material cu originalul, după aceleași metode, și care are aceeași formă cu originalul.

Idealizare. (engleză *idealisation*, franceză *idéalisation*, italiană *idealizzazione*, spaniolă *idealización*, portugheză *idealização*, catalană *idealització*) Din latină *idealis*, existent doar în idee. *s. f.* Copie realizată din materiale diferite față de original, prin metode diferite, și care are formă ușor diferită de a originalului.

Imitație. (engleză *imitation*, franceză *imitation*, italiană *imitazione*, spaniolă *imitación*, portugheză *imitação*, catalană *imitació*) Din latină *imago*, imagine. *s. f.* Copie realizată din același material cu originalul dar prin procedee diferite și care are aceeași formă cu originalul.

Memento. (engleză *memento*, franceză *mémento*, italiană *memento*, spaniolă *memento*, portugheză *memento*, catalană *memento*) Din latină *meminisse*, amintiți-vă. *s. m., ital.* Obiect produs în ultima jumătate de secol.

Primigen. (engleză *primigenial*, franceză *primigène*, italiană *primigenio*, spaniolă *primigenio*, portugheză *primigénio*, catalană *primigeni*) Din latină *primus*, în primul rând, și *generare*, creați. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* substantiv *ex professo*), *gal.* Obiect produs înainte de primele documente scrise cunoscute (*ca.* 3200 î. Hr., nivel arheologic Eanna IVa, perioada Uruk târzie a Sumerului).

Recreare. (engleză *recreation*, franceză *récréation*, italiană *ricreazione*, spaniolă *recreación*, portugheză *recreação*, catalană *recreació*) Din latină *re-*, înapoi sau din nou, și *creare*, creați. *s. f.* Copie realizată cu materiale diferite de original, produsă prin aceleași metode și care are aceeași forma cu originalul.

Repetare. (engleză *repetition*, franceză *répétition*, italiană *ripetizione*, spaniolă *repetición*, portugheză *repetição*, catalană *repetició*) Din latină *re-*, înapoi sau din nou, și *petere*, căutare. *s. f.* Copie realizată din același material cu originalul, produsă prin aceleași metode și care prezintă o formă ușor diferită de original.

Replică. (engleză *replica*, franceză *réplique*, italiană *replica*, spaniolă *réplica*, portugheză *réplica*, catalană *rèplica*) Din latină *re-*, înapoi sau din nou, și *plicare*, plia. *s. f.* Copie realizată cu materiale diferite de ale originalului, prin alte metode, dar care are aceeași formă cu originalul.

Reproducere. (engleză *reproduction*, franceză *reproduction*, italiană *riproduzione*, spaniolă *reproducción*, portugheză *reprodução*, catalană *reproducció*) Din latină *re-*, înapoi sau din nou, și *producere*, produce. *s. f.* Copie realizată cu materiale diferite de ale originalului, prin aceleași metode și care prezintă o formă ușor diferită.

Similar. (engleză *simile*, franceză *simile*, italiană *simile*, spaniolă *símil*, portugheză *simile*, catalană *símil*) Din latină *similis*, similar cu. *adj., s. m. (adj.* substantiv *ex professo)* Copie realizată din acelaşi material cu originalul, produsă prin metode diferite şi care areo formă uşor diferită de a originalului.

Vintage. (engleză *vintage*, franceză *vintage*, italiană *vintage*, spaniolă *vintage*, portugheză *vintage*, catalană *vintage*) Din latină *vindemia*, o epocă. *s. m., adj., ital.* Obiect cu o vechime cuprinsă între jumătate de secol şi un secol.

3.6. Catalan/Català

Abreviatures

a. C. — abans de Crist
adj. — adjectiu
angl. — anglicisme
ca. — (llatí *circa*) aproximadament
s. f. — substantiu femení
s. m. — substantiu masculí

Antique. (anglès *antique*, francès *antique*, italià *antique*, espanyol *antique*, portuguès *antique*, romanès *antic*) Del llatí *antiquus*, antic. *adj., s. m., angl.* Objecte manufacturat entre fa més d'un segle i els inicis de la globalització (1571, fundació de Manila).

Arcaic. (anglès *archaic*, francès *archaïque*, italià *arcaico*, espanyol *arcaico*, portuguès *arcaico*, romanès *arhaic*) Del grec ἀρχαίος, *archaios*, antic. *adj., s. m. (adj.* substantivat *ex professo)*. Objecte manufacturat entre els inicis de la globalització (1571, fundació de Manila) i els primers documents escrits coneguts (*ca.* 3200 a. C., nivell arqueològic IVa d'Eanna, període Uruk tardà de Sumèria).

Duplicat. (anglès *duplicate*, francès *dupliqué*, italià *duplicato*, espanyol *duplicado*, portuguès *duplicata*, romanès *duplicat*) Del llatí *duplic-*, dues vegades, i *plicare*, doblegar. *s. m.* Còpia feta amb la mateixa matèria primera que l'original, produïda emprant el mateix mètode i que presenta la mateixa forma.

Idealització. (anglès *idealisation*, francès *idéalisation*, italià *idealizzazione*, espanyol *idealización*, portuguès *idealização*, romanès *idealizare*) Del llatí *idealis*, existent només en idea. *s. f.* Còpia feta amb una matèria primera diferent de l'original, produïda emprant un mètode diferent i que presenta una forma lleugerament diferent.

Imitació. (anglès *imitation*, francès *imitation*, italià *imitazione*, espanyol *imitación*, portuguès *imitação*, romanès *imitație*) Del llatí *imago*, imatge. *s. f.* Còpia feta amb la mateixa matèria primera que l'original, produïda emprant un mètode diferent i que presenta la mateixa forma.

Memento. (anglès *memento*, francès *mémento*, italià *memento*, espanyol *memento*, portuguès *memento*, romanès *memento*) Del llatí *meminisse*, recordar. *s. m., angl.* Objecte manufacturat en el darrer mig segle.

Primigeni. (anglès *primigenial*, francès *primigène*, italià *primigenio*, espanyol *primigenio*, portuguès *primigénio*, romanès *primigen*) Del llatí *primus*, primer, i *generare*, crear. *adj., s. m.* (*adj.* substantivat *ex professo*) Objecte manufacturat abans dels primers documents escrits coneguts (*ca.* 3200 a. C., nivell arqueològic IVa d'Eanna, període Uruk tardà de Sumèria).

Recreació. (anglès *recreation*, francès *récréation*, italià *ricreazione*, espanyol *recreación*, portuguès *recreação*, romanès *recreare*) Del llatí *re-*, enrere o un altre cop, i *creare*, crear. *s. f.* Còpia feta amb una matèria primera diferent de l'original, produïda emprant el mateix mètode i que presenta la mateixa forma.

Repetició. (anglès *repetition*, francès *répétition*, italià *ripetizione*, espanyol *repetición*, portuguès *repetição*, romanès *repetare*) Del llatí *re-*, enrere o un altre cop, i *petere*, cercar. *s. f.* Còpia feta amb la mateixa matèria primera que l'original, produïda emprant el mateix mètode i que presenta una forma lleugerament diferent.

Rèplica. (anglès *replica*, francès *réplique*, italià *replica*, espanyol *réplica*, portuguès *réplica*, romanès *replică*) Del llatí *re-*, enrere o un altre cop, i *plicare*, doblegar. *s. f.* Còpia feta amb una matèria primera diferent de l'original, produïda emprant un mètode diferent i que presenta la mateixa forma.

Reproducció. (anglès *reproduction*, francès *reproduction*, italià *riproduzione*, espanyol *reproducción*, portuguès *reprodução*, romanès *reproducere*) Del llatí *re-*, enrere o un altre cop, i *producere*, produir. *s. f.* Còpia feta amb una matèria primera diferent de l'original, produïda emprant el mateix mètode i que presenta una forma lleugerament diferent.

Símil. (anglès *simile*, francès *simile*, italià *simile*, espanyol *símil*, portuguès *simile*, romanès *similar*) Del llatí *similis*, semblant a. *adj., s. m.* Còpia feta amb la mateixa matèria primera que l'original, produïda emprant un mètode diferent i que presenta una forma lleugerament diferent.

Vintage. (anglès *vintage*, francès *vintage*, italià *vintage*, espanyol *vintage*, portuguès *vintage*, romanès *vintage*) Del llatí *vindemia*, una verema. *s. m., adj., angl.* Objecte manufacturat entre fa més de mig segle i un segle.

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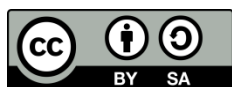
Sidonio Apollinare nella manualistica letteraria di età umanistica

Patrizia MASCOLI[1]

Abstract. *In this contribution the author explored a moment of Sidonius's fortune in the humanistic age, examining the works of three authors who endeavoured to produce the first organic systematization of the history of Latin literature; they considered the figure of Sidonius from different angles: as a bishop, a politician and as a writer, both in prose and in poetry. Evidently drawing from various sources, these treatises confirm a still scarce knowledge of his work in the humanistic period.*

Riassunto. *In questo contributo l'A. si è proposto di esplorare un momento della fortuna di Sidonio in età umanistica, esaminando le opere di tre autori che si dedicarono ai primi tentativi di sistemazione organica della storia della letteratura latina; essi hanno considerato la figura di Sidonio da angolazioni diverse: come vescovo, uomo politico e scrittore, sia in prosa che in versi. Attingendo evidentemente a varie fonti, questi trattatisti confermano una conoscenza ancora poco diffusa della sua opera nell'umanesimo.*

Rezumat. *Autoarea explorează un moment al destinului lui Sidonius Appolinaris în epoca umanismului, examinând operele a trei autori care au încercat primele sistematizări organice ale istoriei literaturii latine; aceștia au abordat figura lui Sidonius din mai multe perspective: ca episcop, politician și scriitor, atât în proză, cât și în poezie. Inspirându-se din surse diferite, aceste tratate confirmă o cunoaștere încă limitată a operei sale în epoca umanismului.*

Keywords: Sidonius Apollinaris, Fortleben, Siccus Polenton, Petrus Crinitus, Lilius Gregorius Giraldi.

La ricezione delle opere di Sidonio Apollinare in età tardoantica e soprattutto tra V e VI secolo è stata già oggetto di un mio precedente lavoro[2]; nel presente contributo intendo invece soffermarmi sull'attenzione dedicata al nostro autore in età umanistica, in particolare da parte di tre letterati attivi tra Padova, Firenze e Ferrara: Sicco Polenton, Pietro Crinito e Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, autori delle prime trattazioni, per quanto possibile sistematiche, della storia della letteratura latina.

Sicco Polenton, nato tra il 1375 e il 1376, scrisse un poderoso trattato di storia letteraria, terminato probabilmente nel 1433: *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII.* Si tratta di un

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[2] MASCOLI 2004, 165–183.

lavoro che si caratterizza per una ingente raccolta di materiali, frutto evidente di un'attenta disamina delle fonti. Come faceva notare Ullman[3], il numero delle opere latine conosciute da Sicco è davvero notevole, anche se con ogni probabilità di molte di esse egli non aveva una nozione diretta. Tuttavia, a causa di questa tensione verso la raccolta di una vasta mole di materiali, l'opera finisce per essere farraginosa e senza equilibrio tra le parti[4]: infatti all'inizio del libro IX, in una sorta di 'proemio al mezzo', Sicco confida al lettore le grandi difficoltà che gli si presentavano in corso d'opera, in quanto egli cercava in ogni modo di collegare insieme tante notizie sparse e frammentarie per realizzare un lavoro per quanto possibile sistematico. Con il X libro, invece, ha inizio una vera e propria monografia dedicata solo a Cicerone che si conclude, dopo ben sette libri, con il libro XVI, l'unico che Sicco dedica all'opera letteraria di Cicerone, laddove i libri precedenti costituiscono un vero e proprio trattato di storia romana di età tardorepubblicana, incentrato sulla figura di Cicerone 'politico'[5].

Il libro XVII è interamente dedicato a Seneca, mentre il XVIII è l'ultimo (ma anche il più breve) dell'opera, che con questo libro si conclude bruscamente, per motivi che non conosciamo; anche se alla fine del libro precedente l'autore aveva scritto: *reliquos autem de quibus dicendum restat libri sequentes habebunt.* Il libro XVIII assume la funzione strumentale di registrare, peraltro in una disordinata successione cronologica, tutti gli altri autori di cui Sicco aveva notizia, ma che non aveva potuto inserire nei libri precedenti: Vitruvio, Marziano Capella, Quintiliano, Lattanzio, Apuleio, i grammatici, gli artigrafi e poi, finalmente, Sidonio[6] di cui menziona il matrimonio con la figlia dell'imperatore Eparchio Avito, al quale il popolo romano, dopo l'uccisione dell'imperatore Marciano, consegnò i fasci dell'impero, perché esso restasse in Italia. Per questo motivo grande era divenuto il nome di Sidonio, grande la speranza di ottenere l'impero, se la fortuna lo avesse favorito. Ma in un contesto in cui *ardebant omnia bellis, quod magnis undique copiis plurique imperium vi et armis, si iure non possent, arripere conarentur atque sua pro licentia se Caesares appellarent*, l'imperatore Avito, non potendo avere più la situazione in pugno, depone le armi e le insegne e si fa nominare vescovo di Piacenza. Sidonio, sulle orme del suocero, assume l'episcopato in Alvernia; entrambi infatti ritennero che la consacrazione religiosa fosse il più sicuro presidio della vita.

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[3] Benemerito per gli studi sulla storia e la tradizione manoscritta di quest'opera è stato ULLMAN, che nel 1928 ne pubblicò l'edizione critica. Si tratta della prima edizione integrale dell'opera, basata sul manoscritto vaticano autografo di Sicco (*Ottob. Lat.* 1915), che registra la stesura definitiva del lavoro con aggiunte e correzioni dell'Autore, sì che lo studioso americano con malcelato orgoglio poteva dichiarare: "This is not only the *editio princeps* but also the definitive edition of Sicco's most pretentions book" (*praef.* p.VI).

[4] In proposito vd. PIACENTE 1992, 75–86.

[5] *Vd.* PIACENTE 1992, 83.

[6] ULLMAN 1928, 507–508.

Anche per ciò che riguarda gli scritti di Sidonio, Sicco sembra sufficientemente documentato[7]: infatti nei primi decenni del XV secolo, negli anni in cui egli presumibilmente raccoglieva (anche in maniera indiretta) le notizie che avrebbe poi utilizzato nel suo trattato, circolavano manoscritti contenenti, anche se spesso solo parzialmente, l'opera di Sidonio. Con ogni probabilità è questo il motivo per cui, non essendosi ancora consolidata un'edizione complessiva dei *carmina*, Sicco segue un ordine dei componimenti alquanto diverso da quello oggi vulgato[8]. Egli registra, infatti, i panegirici (ad Antemio, *carm.* II; a Maggioriano, *carm.* V; ad Avito, *carm.* VII); segue il carme IX a Magno Felice, definito *excusatorium*, perché Sidonio declina la proposta dell'amico di curare una raccolta dei suoi scritti, che egli considera solo *nugae temerariae* (v.9) che, se pubblicate, non produrrebbero altro che carta da macero. Poi gli epitalami: a Ruricio e Iberia[9] (*carm.* XI); a Polemio e Araneola[10] (*carm.* XV) e l'*Euchariston* indirizzato al vescovo Fausto di Rietz (*carm.* XVI). Seguono gli epigrammi a Catulino (*carm.* XII) e all'imperatore Maggioriano (*carm.* XIII) che nelle nostre edizioni sono invece collocati tra i due epitalami. I rimanenti epigrammi (*epigrammata alia ad diversos quinque*) sono evidentemente quelli 'minori', dal XVII al XXI, cui Sicco fa seguire, nell'ordine, il *Propempticon ad librum suum* (*carm.* XXIV), il *Burgus Pontii* (*carm.* XXII) e le *laudes Narbonensium urbis et civium eius*, che corrispondono al nostro carme XXIII a Consenzio. Sicco, dunque, conosce, oltre all'epistolario, l'intera produzione poetica di Sidonio, ma ha anche notizia di un libro di *Causae* e uno di *Sacramenta*. Per il contenuto di queste due opere a noi non pervenute ci può essere utile ciò che ci riferisce Gregorio di Tours il quale esalta, oltre all'eloquenza, anche la capacità di Sidonio di presiedere le funzioni liturgiche senza l'ausilio di una traccia scritta e ricorda, in proposito, di aver trattato più diffusamente questo aspetto della sua personalità nella prefazione di una sua opera: *quod in praefatione libri, quem de omissis ab eo compositis coniunximus, plenius declaravimus*. Gregorio, dunque, dichiara[11] di essersi adoperato per raccogliere (*coniunximus*) i testi dei prefazi composti da Sidonio nell'ambito della sua attività pastorale, utilizzati durante il culto divino e dipendenti dai tempi dell'anno liturgico: si trattava con ogni probabilità di una silloge di omelie sidoniane, risalenti a qualche decennio prima, ma che erano evidentemente ancora richieste, probabilmente come modelli da seguire

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[7] *Sidonius autem, quod vir doctus esset ac dicendi facultatem et prosa et metro haberet, scripsit libros Epistolarum novem, Causarum unum, Sacramentorum unum, Pangericum, hoc est laudum Anthemii Augusti, unum, Pangericum Maiorano Augusto unum, Pangericum Avito imperatori, socero suo, unum, Excusatorium ad Felicem unum, Epithalamium dictum Ruricio et Hibene unum, Epithalamium Polemio et Araricolae unum, Euchariston ad Faustum episcopum unum, Epigramma ad Catulinum unum, Epigrama ad imperatorem Maioranum unum, Epigrammata alia ad diversos quinque, Propenticon ad Librum Suum, Burgum Pontii, Laudes Narbonensis Urbis et Civium Eius.*

[8] All'epoca di Sicco sono ancora lontane le prime edizioni a stampa degli *opera omnia* di Sidonio: infatti il primo incunabolo fu pubblicato senza luogo né data, ma forse nel 1474 ad Utrecht.

[9] ULLMAN riporta la forma *Hibene*.

[10] *Araricolae* nell'ed. di ULLMAN.

[11] *Hist. Fr.* 2,22.

durante la catechesi liturgica, diventate poi quasi 'letteratura' per l'opera meritoria di Gregorio. E' pertanto presumibile, come peraltro già ipotizzato[12], che le *missae* richiamate da Gregorio di Tours siano da identificarsi con le *contestatiunculae* che Sidonio stesso aveva inviato al vescovo Megezio per obbedire ad una sua pressante sollecitazione[13]. Infatti il termine *contestantiunculae*, che è un *hapax* in tutta la letteratura latina a noi nota, indica quelle brevi omelie ed esortazioni che, all'inizio della funzione religiosa, permettevano al sacerdote di spiegare ai fedeli il significato della celebrazione (*praefationes missae*).

Risale agli inizi del secolo successivo (1505) il *De poetis latinis* di un dotto fiorentino, Pietro Del Riccio Baldi[14], latinizzato in *Petrus Crinitus*, un'opera in cinque libri sull'attività di coloro che *scribendis carminibus praecipue apud latinos claruerunt*. La trattazione segue uno sviluppo rigorosamente cronologico, dai poeti arcaici ai cristiani, attraverso una sorta di schedatura che registra tutto ciò che in quell'epoca era noto sui poeti latini. Le notizie di storia letteraria che Crinito ci fornisce assumono un particolare rilievo, perché sono legate alla formazione che questo dotto aveva avuto alla scuola del Poliziano, del quale aveva assiduamente frequentato non solo le lezioni, ma anche la sua biblioteca privata. Infatti alla morte del Maestro egli ereditò tutte le sue carte, preservandole dalla dispersione, tanto che questi appunti preziosi sono ancora conservati in alcuni mss. della *Staatsbibliothek* di Monaco di Baviera[15].

Nel *De poetis* Crinito dichiara (f. LXXXIII v) di non aver utilizzato in maniera acritica tutto il materiale documentario di cui disponeva (evidentemente molto ricco) ma di averne fatto una scelta guidata da *prudentia* e *iudicium*, avendo presente il modello di *brevitas* del *de viris illustribus* di Svetonio. Carlo Angeleri affermava che il Crinito supera di fatto "gli squilibri del primo periodo umanistico, quando i letterati si trovavano ancora in una condizione di immaturità critica per le variazioni repentine e continue, che da un decennio ad un altro la critica storica e filologica subivano con le scoperte improvvise di nuovi codici e con l'apporto di nuove fonti, fino allora inesplorate e sconosciute, che d'un tratto venivano alla luce e abbattevano opinioni e teorie già inveterate nella mente dei più"[16].

La scelta critica delle fonti e il costante ricorso agli autori antichi (*nihil apud veteres legimus*, f. XCIV v) si configurano come elementi basilari per la valutazione dell'attendibilità delle notizie che Crinito ci fornisce. Egli non di rado esprime le sue personali perplessità in

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[12] *Vd.* PIACENTE 2001, 183, n. 1.

[13] *Epist.* 7,3,1 *Diu multumque deliberavi, quamquam mihi animus affectu studioque parendi sollicitaretur, an destinarem, sicuti iniungis, contestatiunculas, quas ipse dictavi.*

[14] *Diz. Biogr. degli Italiani*, 38, 1990, pp. 265–268 (R. RICCIARDI). L'edizione da me utilizzata è quella di Nicola di Barra, pubblicata nel 1518, che è una semplice ripresa della parigina dell'Ascensius del 1510. Vd. anche PIACENTE 1995-96, 59–65.

[15] Purtroppo, però, il Crinito non ebbe la possibilità di salvare dalla dispersione la biblioteca privata di Poliziano, sulla cui storia vd. BRANCA – PASTORE STOCCHI 1978, 65–68.

[16] ANGELERI (a cura di) 1995, 19 n. 2.

merito a posizioni di studiosi precedenti, ad esempio anche per il luogo di nascita di Sidonio: *quidam Burdigalensem faciunt, ipse vero de se scribens pluribus locis atque epistolis Arvernum se dicit.* La sua 'scheda' sidoniana, confrontata con quella di Sicco (che comunque risale a più di settant'anni prima) si presenta non solo maggiormente dettagliata, ma soprattutto basata su fonti diverse[17]. Peraltro anche il quinto e ultimo libro di Crinito mantiene la medesima tipologia del XVIII libro di Sicco, in quanto offre al lettore un coacervo piuttosto sommario e lacunoso di un insieme di poeti pagani e cristiani che *Antoninorum temporibus usque ad Theodosium et Constantios Caesares vixerunt* (f. CVIII). Ma il tempo non era passato invano, per cui gli innegabili progressi, evidenti nel *de poetis*, rivengono non solo da una più matura esperienza critica che inserisce la poesia latina in uno sviluppo storico più approfondito e attendibile, ma anche (e soprattutto) dal rigoroso metodo critico di Angelo Poliziano che il Crinito seguì molto da vicino. Mentre il profilo sidoniano di Sicco è essenzialmente di taglio storico-istituzionale, profondamente inserito nella politica dell'epoca, il Crinito si sofferma più che altro sull''uomo' Sidonio; ci presenta, infatti, la sua origine, la famiglia (*honestis parentibus et illustri familia ortus est*), la sua formazione iniziale (*latinis litteris a prima statim aetate magna diligentia institutus*) e quella successiva alla scuola del retore Flavio Nicezio (*eruditionem accepit*), dove il Nostro superò nel profitto tutti gli altri giovani suoi compagni di studi.

Per quanto riguarda le opere in prosa di Sidonio, il giudizio del Crinito sull'epistolario è decisamente negativo: secondo la sua valutazione, le lettere di Sidonio sembrerebbero più apprezzabili per l'*ingenium* che per il *iudicium* e, oltretutto, esse sarebbero appesantite da un'eccessiva e inutile ricercatezza verbale (*simul inepta verborum affectatione supra modum laboret*): una critica che è indubbiamente condivisibile, ma che deriva anche dalla preminenza che in quell'epoca la poesia assumeva rispetto alla prosa, appunto considerata una sua ancella. Peraltro Crinito critica anche altri scrittori, come Cassiodoro, Ennodio, Fulgenzio e Claudiano Mamerto, cui rivolge l'accusa di aver corrotto l'originaria purezza della lingua

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[17] *C. Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris genere Gallus fuit. Quidam Burdegalensem faciunt, ipse vero de se scribens pluribus locis atque epistolis Arvernum se dicit. Sunt enim Arverni populi finitimi Eduis inter Certas constituti. Honestis parentibus et illustri familia ortus est latinisque literis a prima statim aetate magna diligentia institutus. Nam sub Flavio Nicetio (qui per ea tempora excellens grammaticus habebatur) eruditionem accepit cumque ingenio et industria in prosequendis disciplinis magnopere praestaret, brevi effecit, ut eos omnes antecederet qui paribus studiis tenebantur. Permulta scripsit cum soluta oratione, tum vario genere carminum. Libros novem epistolarum secutus Plynium Secundum, ut ipse refert, etsi tali opere magis ingenium probatur Sidonii quam iudicium, ut qui peregrinum et Gallicum redoleat et simul inepta verborum affectatione supra modum laboret. Cuiusmodi accusantur a nostris grammaticis Cassiodorus, Enodius, Fulgentius et Claudianus Mamercus, qui violata passim ac disiecta Romani imperii dignitate, minime servarunt latini sermonis puritatem. Itaque multo maiorem laudem adeptus est ex poeemutis* (sic) *atque hendecasyllabis quod in his multum ingenii sit, atque elegantiae minime vulgaris. In his quoque panegyricis commendatur quos Antemio atque Maiorano dicavit viris consularibus atque clarissimis. Idem Sidonius magnopere dilexit eruditorium ingenia summisque officiis, ac singulari humanitate fovit ut Lampridium, Tonantium, Tetradium et alios plures. Quam rem ipsius epistolae atque epigrammata satis ostendunt. De sacerdotio illius ceterisque dignitatibus nihil dicendum videtur quod in plaerisque aliis omisimus qui collocati sunt ab antiquis scriptoribus inter Christianos Poetas.*

latina: *qui violata passim ac disiecta Romani imperii dignitate, minime servarunt latini sermonis puritatem.* Da considerare, inoltre, un altro elemento: un ms. della biblioteca Laurenziana (XC. 18) contiene alcune glosse del Crinito all'epistolario di Sidonio, una testimonianza sicura della sua diretta conoscenza di quell'opera[18].

Crinito, invece, tesse un ampio elogio delle composizioni poetiche di Sidonio alle quali riconosce uno spiccato *ingenium* ed una raffinata *elegantia: multo maiorem laudem adeptus est ex poematis atque hendecasyllabis, quod in his multum ingenii fit, atque elegantiae minime vulgaris.* Tra le composizioni poetiche, registra solo i due panegirici ad Antemio e a Maggioriano e poi, in maniera molto vaga, ricorda amici cari di Sidonio come Lampridio, Tonanzio, Tetradio *et alii plures*, cui egli inviò sia lettere sia versi. Conclude dichiarando che ometterà le ulteriori *dignitates* di Sidonio, così come si è comportato anche nei riguardi degli altri poeti cristiani.

In conclusione, per quanto concerne la poesia, all'analitica ma asettica e del tutto acritica registrazione di Sicco si contrappone una descrizione più sommaria dei poemi di Sidonio da parte di Crinito, ma che — a mio parere — riflette una più matura assimilazione della poesia latina tarda nella cultura italiana agli inizi del Cinquecento, un'epoca in cui si opera ormai una più meditata selezione tra le opere allora conosciute. Si erano infatti esaurite le continue riscoperte dei classici avvenute circa un secolo prima, quando opere fino ad allora sconosciute spostavano sensibilmente la valutazione critica dello sviluppo storico della letteratura.

L'ultimo della triade degli autori di manuali di storia letteraria è il postumanista ferrarese Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, allievo di Battista Guarini, il quale, dopo aver girovagato per varie corti italiane, fu a Roma protonotaro apostolico, prima di ritirarsi in vecchiaia nella natia Ferrara, dove visse fino al 1552 in estrema indigenza e in precarie condizioni di salute[19]. Egli fu autore di *Historiae poetarum tam graecorum quam latinorum dialogi decem*, un'ampia storia della poesia greca e latina impostata per generi letterari[20] e strutturata in capitoli tra di loro indipendenti. Nell'epistola *nuncupatoria* (p. 3) Giraldi dichiara di aver composto la sua opera *ad novitiorum et rudium literarum utilitatem*, dedicandola cioè ai principianti. Osserva Luigi Piacente[21] che "tutta la materia appare come filtrata attraverso le indagini dei suoi contemporanei, piuttosto che ricavata da un esame diretto delle fonti antiche. La costante presenza, nel corso dell'opera, di nomi di umanisti (anche se non ne vengono quasi mai indicate le opere) sono la più chiara testimonianza delle fonti a cui il Giraldi attingeva da vicino".

Da notare l'attenzione che Giraldi riserva soprattutto alle opere di incerta attribuzione o a quelle perdute tralasciando le altre, nel presupposto che fossero note al pubblico; manca però quasi del tutto l'inquadramento dei singoli autori nel contesto storico-sociale in cui essi

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[18] Di tali glosse intendo occuparmi in un prossimo lavoro.

[19] *Vd.* PIACENTE 1991, 55–69.

[20] La prima edizione uscì a Basilea nel 1545 e ad essa si riferiscono le citazioni di questo lavoro.

[21] *Vd.* PIACENTE 1991, 58.

vissero. La 'scheda' relativa a Sidonio[22] è contenuta nel V dialogo (pp. 646–648) che Giraldi divide in due parti: la prima registra l'attività poetica degli uomini di stato della latinità, la seconda è dedicata agli scrittori cristiani fino all'età medioevale. Egli dunque presenta Sidonio, vissuto al tempo di Teoderico, dopo le brevi stagioni di Antemio, Ricimero e Maggioriano, basandosi su due fonti quali Paolo Diacono e i *Chronica* di Palmerio. A chi sosteneva che Sidonio fosse vissuto all'epoca di Cassiodoro, Giraldi eccepisce che Cassiodoro fu il *magister ab epistulis* e *a secretis* di Teodorico, come si può facilmente ricavare dalle sue *Variae*. Per analoghi motivi di cronologia Giraldi osserva che Cassiodoro non può essere stato citato da Gerolamo, né Sidonio può essere ricordato da Firmico, vissuto sotto Costantino. Inoltre — sostiene Giraldi — suscita il riso la notizia che Sidonio sia chiamato Salviano da Gennadio, secondo cui furono maestri di Sidonio il poeta Erizio e il grammatico Flavio Nicezio. Ma costoro *a veritate deviant*, perché Sidonio considera Nicezio solo un suo caro sodale. L'ultima parte della scheda contiene un fugace cenno alle sue opere[23], con il corredo di un giudizio sostanzialmente negativo: Giraldi, infatti, non intende né elencarle e neppure ne sollecita la lettura, perché sia in poesia sia ancor più in prosa egli rileva tratti di lingua

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[22] *Iam de C. Sollio Sidonio Apollinari agamus, qui eo tempore quo Theodoricus apud Gothos regnavit, floruit, cuius regis et staturam et corporis filum, sua quadam epistola non illepide descripsit: viderat enim ante Theodoricum, Anthemii, Ricimeris et Maiorani virorum illustrium tempora in quos et Sidonii ipsius extant carmina. Eorum et meminit Paulus Diacunus et Palmerius in Chronicis. Sed qui Gallorum regum historias scribit, Childerici tempore Sidonium vixisse tradit. Nec silentio (inquit in eius regis vita) praetereundus est Sidonius, qui sacerdos Arvernorum ex senatore factus, cum gravi fame Burgundi laborarent, quatuor egenorum millia suis opibus pavit. Tum, memini me, inquit Piso, legere Sidonium Cassiodori aetate floruisse, in iis qui in eum aediti sunt commentarii. Ita est, inquam, Cassiodorus enim ab epistolis et a secretis Theodorici regis fuit, id quod cum ex aliis, tum in primis ex eius variarum libris liquido datur intelligi. Sed videte quam parum viderit, qui eos confecit commentarios, cum in iis conscribitur, quod Cassiodorus ab Hieronymo laudatur, cum plane contrarium sit: nam Cassiodorus Hieronymum in suis scriptis celebrat, atque in primis in psalterii commentariis et uno plus etiam seculo post Hieronymum vixit. Sed nec illud in iisdem aequo est animo ferendum, Sidonium scilicet a Firmico laudatur, quando Firmicus Constantini Caesaris temporibus vixerit, ut facile ex ipsius lectione notum est citaturque ipse Firmicus a Sidonio in ea quae Pontio Leontio epistola scribitur, in fronte eius villae quae Burgus vocata est. Nec illud sine risu in eisdem legi, Sidonium a Gennadio Salvianum appellari: quo quid absurdius? Fuit enim Salvianus is, cuius Gennadius meminit, Massiliensis sacerdos, qui et multa scripsit et eorum adhuc quaedam leguntur. Sed quid ego haec colligo? Sunt in iis sexcenta hiuiusmodi. Quibus autem magistris sit usus Sidonius ipse indicat: Eritium enim poetam commemorat, cuius etiam Musas venerabiles appellat. Nam quod aliqui Flavium Nicetium, celebrem per ea tempora grammaticum, Sidonii magistrum tradunt a veritate deviant: hunc certe Sidonium suum vocat sodalem et ita laudat: Flavius, inquit, Nicetius vir ortu clarissimus, privilegio spectabilis, merito illustris et hominum patriae nostrae prudentia peritiaque iuxta maximus, et paulo post eiusdem celebrat habitam orationem. Fuit ergo Sidonius Arvernus patria ex Galliis patrem habuit Apollinarem, qui praefectus praetorius Gallicanis, ut idem ipse Sidonius ait, tribunalibus praesedit, tametsi alii Gelliani filium putent. Quid vero haec consectamur? totam eius vitam ex ipsius lectione colligetis. Illud certe hoc loco non praeteribo, statuam illum Romae meruisse in foro Traiani duplicemque coronam id utrumque ipse ostendit in sapphico ad Firminum et eo epigrammate quod est ad Priscum Valerianum, in quo sunt hi versus:"Ulpia quod rutilat porticus aere meo, / vel quod adhuc populo simul et plaudente senatu, / ad nostrum reboat concava Roma sophos". Quae autem Sidonii scripta extent, nec ego recensebo, nec vos ad ea legenda satis impellam: in utroque enim dicendi genere Gallicum nescio quid et barbarum redolere videtur, tametsi carmine praestat magis et, nisi Graecae linguae inscitia a recta plerumque numerorum lege declinare fecisset, poterat inter mediocres poetas annumerari, ut iure fuerit eorum temporum, quae iam linguae sordibus erant inquinatae.*

[23] Sono ricordate, in particolare, solo l'epistola dedicata a Teoderico II (*epist.* 1,2) e il carme per il *Burgus Pontii Leontii.*

tipicamente gallica e di sapore barbarico (*quae autem Sidonii scripta extent, nec ego recensebo, nec vos ad ea legenda satis impellam: in utroque enim dicendi genere Gallicum nescio quid et barbarum redolere videtur, tametsi carmine praestat magis*)[24]. Ma egli si dimostra comunque cosciente di vivere in un'epoca in cui la lingua latina era ormai ampiamente corrotta (*linguae sordibus erant inquinatae*).

Dalla rapida disamina fin qui condotta possono emergere alcune valutazioni conclusive riguardo all'attenzione che a Sidonio fu riservata in età umanistica in Italia. In primo luogo mi sembra che si possa sottolineare lo scarso interesse che questo autore ha suscitato tra le *élites* culturali di quel periodo. I giudizi dei tre dotti qui considerati non sono certo molto lusinghieri, ma non c'è da stupirsene, quando si pensi ai modelli estetici ai quali si ispiravano le concezioni umanistiche. In questa prospettiva, a mio avviso, devono essere considerate le ripetute riserve dettate dalla sempre crescente consapevolezza del ricorso di Sidonio, nella poesia come nella prosa, ad una lingua latina profondamente corrotta nelle sue fondamenta da influenze 'barbariche': una evoluzione, peraltro, inevitabile per un intellettuale che aveva vissuto ed operato in un mondo ormai in via di dissoluzione. Un mondo che egli stesso pure aveva tenacemente e con piena convinzione tentato di salvaguardare e di difendere, anche in una nuova ottica d'integrazione. Molto limitati sembrano i riferimenti agli aspetti più spiccatamente letterari della produzione sidoniana, quasi a confermare la sostanziale estraneità delle tematiche frequentate dall'autore rispetto agli interessi culturali di un'epoca che segnava la fine del medioevo e si apriva ad inedite prospettive sperimentando in molti quadranti la ricerca del mondo nuovo, mettendo così in pratica l'antica esortazione di Callimaco: "Percorri la strada non calpestata dai carri e non andare dietro alle impronte altrui" (*Aitia* 1, 25–26).

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[24] Si noti l'espressione *Gallicum . . . et barbarum redolere*, che richiama da vicino il *peregrinum et Gallicum redoleat* di Crinito, per cui vd. *supra* nt. 17.

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REVIEWS

A. Tomas, *Inter Moesos et Thraces: The Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia (1st–6th Centuries AD)*, Archaeopress, Roman Arcaheology 14, Oxford 2016, ISBN: 978-1784913694

Agnieszka Tomas's book aims at being an exhaustive monograph of the territory around the city of Novae. It presents the realities of the area from multiple points of view and it resorts to all types of sources: archaeological, literary, epigraphic. The book is structured into seven chapters, a catalogue, five appendices with the epigraphic and monetary finds from the area, an index of ancient and modern place names and the bibliography.

The first chapter presents the *Geography of the region*, with modern-day maps, photos and data, as well as with consistent references to the ancient sources and how the landscape and clime of the region come through from reading them. The difficult and in many cases still obscure matter of identifying ancient toponyms is also discussed here.

Methodological remarks and classification of the sites brings forth a very useful opening, in the form of a short synthesis of political and military history. This, along with the map and the periodization included in the sub-chapter, is enlightening for the reader, regardless his/her previous level of knowledge on the area and serves as needed contextualization. The author makes a typology of settlement types (p. 30–31) and offers definitions for each of them. In the sometimes extremely subjective context of Roman provincial archaeology, this endeavour is very useful and provides a potentially universal pattern of investigation and cataloguing settlements.

The 'narrative' develops organically and the next chapter is focused on *Settlement structures*; this is the larges chapter of the book and attempts at rendering the complete image of site locations and types, building materials and techniques, periodization, economy of the region, religious life and infrastructure. A salutary initiative in the military presence sub-chapter is discussing both sides of the Danube and thus offering a correct strategic and geo-political image. The presentation of settlements, associated with Catalogue, stands out as the solid core of the book and the research and documentation processes behind it. The typology (p. 27–28) based on the area of the settlement is interesting, especially because we get a diachronic look at it as well, underlining the decline of large (over 10 ha) settlements during the second half of the 3rd C AD; even if this is an affirmation that historians generally could, out of intuitive reasons or based on analogies, make, it is always welcomed to see hard data proving it.

The sub-chapter dedicated to religious life is multi folded as investigation means. One of the pleasant specificities of the book is narrating, whenever possible, the accounts pf 18th or 19th C scholars or travellers; here, we get the rather romantic image of a *heroon* dedicated to the Thracian Horseman still standing during the 19th C AD. As the chapter moves forward, we

are presented with the general image of a 'rural' religion, with visible preferences for Diana, Artemis, Liber. As well, a very interesting detail is underlined (p. 84): while Roman deities are worshipped mostly through Latin language inscriptions, there is a strong predominance of Greek dedications (86%, even if the author takes the information from older scholarly sources[1]) for local divinities. As well, at the end of the chapter, early Christianity is discussed, with the few martyrs attested and the Christianisation of the Lesser Goths by Wulfila, during the 340s AD.

The next sub-chapter focuses on infrastructure: aqueducts and drainage facilities, roads, bridges, water routes and harbours. A very welcomed and profound contribution are the maps presenting data in a comparative manner: types of settlements, classified according to the area, are correlated with epigraphic finds (taking into account and marking in a different graphic manner language, dating, if the attested characters are veterans or soldiers) and respectively, with the road routes and harbours (p. 94).

Local administration and government are largely from a historiographic point of view, with an introduction on the formation of the province and the local administration, getting to debatable matters such as the military jurisdiction over the settlements neighbouring forts and the municipal status of Novae itself. The exact localization of the *canabae* and the *vicus* are also discussed, and even if a certain degree on uncertainty lingers on, the questions are more or less settled.

In the *Language in use, ethnic and social structures chapter*, it is justly noticed that the most relevant documents for the actually spoken language in the rural area are the *instrumenta domestica* (p. 119). Even if their presence is scarce in the discussed area, the remark is useful and completely in trend with todays research tendencies. Directly connected to the situation of languages of adoration presented before, Greek seems to be the language of the hinterland, Latin being employed mostly by veterans and administration personnel. Amid discussing social structures in the area, a fairly comprehensive chart of the epigraphically attested social categories is presented. One remarks the low number of veterans, given their good general representativeness in Moesia Inferior (4% in the area, compared to 7,91% in the whole province, according to new scholarship on the matter[2]).

In the end of the book, in the chapter entitled *Military and civilian interactions: realtions, impact and development*, it is conclusively described how the interaction between civilian and military shaped the area, its landscape, the society inhabiting it, its historical evolution and ultimately its evolution through Late Antiquity and beyond.

The *Catalogue* records all the registered sites from the area. It is well structured and extremely easy to use – which is a great plus for the book as a whole. For each site, it records the name, modern and ancient (when possible), the type of site, location, topography, plan,

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[1] GEROV 1980, in this case.

[2] PÁZSINT 2019.

state of preservation, remains and finds, chronology and history of surveys. The *Appendices* present the boundary stones (delimiting the territory of the *Moesi* and of the *Thraces*), other relevant epigraphic monuments (with pictures included for a selection of artefacts), and tables with the stamped building materials from the area, the coin hoards and the individual coin finds.

As a general remark, we want to draw attention to the multitude of tables, charts and graphs included in all chapters. Besides proving the solid documentation undertaken by the author, they are extremely useful for the reader to systematize and better visualize the presented data. For example, the toponym tables, presenting literary (p. 17) and epigraphic (p. 18) sourcing attesting toponyms from the area are exhaustive and eloquent for the reader. As well, each chapter (types of settlement, military presence, etc.) has an introductory part of Latin terminology, which is useful in the context of the book and of understanding the debated matters, but as well in a more general sense, even serving a didactic-like purpose.

The general sense that the books offers is of thorough and solid documentation, thus seeming completely trustworthy in regard of the provided data. Even if aspects of this investigation have been revised and enhanced recently[3] (e.g. Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2018), micro-monographs for mainly rural provincial areas are scarce for this part of Europe, thus A. Tomas's book serves as a methodological example, as well as an important source of information and data.

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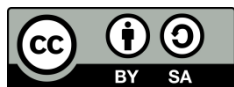*radavarga@gmail.com*

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[3] MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018.

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