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ET D’HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LXVI
2022

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

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LXVI

2022

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IN MEMORIAM PROFESSORUM

ALEXANDRU BARNEA *ET* ALEXANDRU AVRAM

Alexandru Barnea
(17 février 1944 – 8 mai 2020)

Alexandru Avram
(16 septembre 1956 – 4 août 2021)

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE

INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

DACIA LXVI, 2022

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ARGUMENTUM

The annual scientific communications session organized in 2022 (April 15-16) by the Centre for the Comparative History of Ancient Societies (CICSA) was dedicated to the memory of Alexandru Barnea (1944-2020) and Alexandru Avram (1956-2021), founding members of the Centre, whose activity they supported with a permanent dedication and professionalism.

"Archaeologists at the meeting with history. In memoriam professorum *Alexandru Barnea et Alexandru Avram*" was organized in collaboration with the Department of Ancient History, Archaeology, and Art History (further DIAAIA) of the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, and the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology from Bucharest.

Fate made whole generations of students to be trained by the two professors, true mentors whom Romanian history and archaeology will remember as some of the most prominent personalities. Former students, colleagues, collaborators, all having the privilege of meeting professors Alexandru Barnea and Alexandru Avram, presented the results of their scientific endeavours as a pious tribute to their memory.

Both of them were university professors and distinguished specialists in the fields of history, archaeology, epigraphy, and classics. Alexandru Avram's research activities referred mainly to the history of ancient Greece and Greek colonies from Pontus Euxinos. Alexandru Barnea's scientific interests covered a broader time frame, from the Roman period of the Late Republic to the Early Byzantine period, as he was an exceptional *connaisseur* of both classical languages – Greek and Latin – spoken and used in the areas of the Lower Danube and Black Sea. Over time, the commemorated professors have participated in many archaeological excavations also carried out in the Dobrudja region, elaborating numerous works and reference studies, guiding the training of many generations of researchers within the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology or on the archaeological sites of Histria and Tropaeum Traiani, and in the Romanian and French university milieu. With patience and professional accuracy, they created working groups of students, historians, epigraphists, and archaeologists, bridging education and research in the field of classical studies. They have always encouraged critical thinking about the role of ancient material culture, as well as the role of modern preoccupations in shaping the study of ancient material, encouraging their students to be aware of the latest theories and principles coming from the social and human sciences to archaeology. This scientific meeting was intended to stimulate a dialogue not only between the two ancient cultures but between generations of researchers belonging to different historiographic and methodological traditions.

During the two days of the online scientific meeting, 26 papers, prepared by scholars from France, Italy, Poland, the USA, and Romania were presented. Addressing a wide range of historical, historiographical, archaeological, and epigraphical topics, these interventions were organized into smaller panels: Material culture from the Mediterranean to the Danube and the Carpathians;

Roman Dacia and Lower Danube areas – armies and settlements; Roman Dacia and Lower Danube areas – multidisciplinary approaches; Art, religion, ideology and Histria – Greek Colony and Roman City. Exposing the contents and analysing them from different perspectives gave the authors the chance to dialogue with the participants and validate their interpretations, opening the way to new correlations and nuances. Aspects of economic materiality attested archaeologically through various categories of artefacts; particularities of political, military, and administrative control brought to light by epigraphic or archaeological evidence; expressions of religious and funerary rituals correlated with important testimonies in the field of art and architecture; all could be met convergent, despite their content diversity, in the realm of rigorous contextualization methodologies and multidisciplinary approaches.

The conference was opened by two particularly warm and friendly evocations of the two, presented by professor Mihai Bărbulescu for Alexandru Barnea, and professor Vlad Nistor for Alexandru Avram. The keynote speaker was professor Lucrezia Ungaro, with the paper *Il potere dell'impero ritratto nel Foro di Traiano: la comunicazione globale attraverso il programma figurativo.*

In the closing speech of the session dedicated to the memory of professors Alexandru Barnea and Alexandru Avram, dr. Daniela Zaharia, director of DIAAIA from the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest, expressed her conviction that the intellectual and scientific legacy of the commemorated colleagues proves to be successfully valued by their disciples, contributing to the continuation of the great Romanian archaeological and classical studies tradition. She also emphasized the two evoked professors' contributions to the maintenance and development of the collaboration between the academic bodies of the partner institutions in the organization of this pious and scientific event.

The organizers of the conference would like to thank the editors of the Dacia N.S. journal, especially the editor-in-chief, Dr. Eugen Nicolae, for publishing this special issue containing some of the papers presented at this conference. We are very grateful to Dr. Daniela Zaharia for the support given to the organisation of the commemorative event, for the warm concluding remarks of the two days of scientific presentations, and for the constant support for the publication of many of these communications. We also extend our warmest thanks to the authors, who prepared their texts for publication in a very short time, and to the members of the editorial board, who patiently read earlier drafts and helped shape the content of the papers into their final form.

Adriana Panaite
Florica (Bohîlțea) Mihuț

ALEXANDRU BARNEA, TEL QUE JE L'AI CONNU

Le geste de commémorer les deux professeurs, Alexandru Avram et Alexandru Barnea, est tout à fait remarquable dans un monde trépidant qui oublie souvent ceux qui, il n'y a pas si longtemps, étaient parmi nous et qui représentaient beaucoup avec leur science et leur humanité. Je sais que certains collègues, d'autres étudiants du professeur Barnea, l'ont connu mieux que moi. C'est pourquoi, m'inclinant respectueusement devant sa mémoire, je me bornerai à écrire quelques mots sur Alexandru Barnea, Sandu entre amis, tel que je l'ai connu, dans les circonstances où je l'ai connu.

Au début des années '70, lors de mes visites à Bucarest, j'arrivais le matin en train et je me dirigeais généralement vers l'Institut d'Archéologie. C'était un plaisir de les revoir là-bas Alexandru Suceveanu et Alexandru Barnea, deux personnes charmantes. Ils n'avaient que quelques années de plus que moi et ils m'ont toujours témoigné de l'amitié. J'étais fier de cette amitié et j'en étais reconnaissant. Quel dommage qu'aujourd'hui ni eux, ni Alexandru Avram, ne soient parmi nous, car ils auraient eu tant à faire en tant que spécialistes et en tant que braves gens. On parlait de notre métier, sur nos découvertes, les leurs de la Dobroudja romaine et byzantine, les miennes de la Dacie romaine. C'étaient les années où le volume sur la cité de Tropaeum Traiani, dirigé par son père, était en préparation et dans lequel Sandu a apporté une contribution importante. Parfois, les discussions se sont poursuivies autour d'une bière à la taverne qui était à Piața Romană, à l'angle de la rue Mendeleev et du boulevard Magheru, où se trouve à présent l'un des sièges de Banca Comercială.

Au début des années '90, nous nous sommes réunis à Bucarest dans notre tentative de changer pour le mieux l'activité archéologique en Roumanie, en réformant la Commission nationale d'archéologie. L'initiative de réformer la commission d'archéologie « de bas en haut » est venue de Suceveanu et Sandu Barnea. Je ne pense pas avoir beaucoup réussi, c'est ce que nous voyons aujourd'hui. L'idée de créer des organes territoriaux, comme les « soprintendenze » italiennes, n'a pas été retenue alors. Pire, certains collègues s'opposaient à la personnalité juridique de la Commission archéologique. La Commission est devenue de plus en plus un organe consultatif, en fait, un organe décoratif auprès du Ministère de la Culture. Et je ne peux pas m'empêcher de dire qu'il se trouve que nous étions tous les trois successivement, Alexandru Barnea (de 1997 à 2001), moi (de 2004 à 2008) et Alexandru Suceveanu (de 2008 à 2011), présidents de la Commission nationale et nous avons essayé de faire du mieux que nous pouvions. Il convient de noter que Alexandru Barnea a été le premier président élu par les archéologues à la tête de la commission nationale, non nommé par le Ministre de la Culture. Ce furent des années difficiles lorsque des réglementations sur l'archéologie et la protection des monuments ont également été introduites en Roumanie. Alexandru Barnea écoutait tout le monde avec calme et bienveillance et trouvait des solutions à des problèmes difficiles.

DACIA N.S., tome LXVI, Bucarest, 2022, p. 11-18

Parce que je les ai mentionnés tous les deux ici, Alexandru Suceveanu et Alexandru Barnea, je dois dire que leur livre, *La Dobroudja romaine*, publié en 1991, est à mon avis la meilleure synthèse écrite à ce jour. Alexandru Suceveanu y écrivit la première partie, jusqu'au III[e] siècle, et Alexandru Barnea s'est penché sur l'histoire de Dobroudja jusqu'au VII[e] siècle. Je l'ai utilisé au maximum pour mon cours sur l'histoire ancienne de la Roumanie. Mais laissez-moi vous raconter comment je l'ai eu. En septembre 1993, un groupe de chercheurs roumains, nous revenions d'un colloque roumano-suisse à Berne. Nous nous sommes arrêtés à Vienne et sommes allés à l'Institut Culturel Roumain. Le livre sur Dobroudja gisait là en de nombreux exemplaires, car il était considéré comme approprié à la propagande étrangère et, par conséquent, il a été remis aux instituts roumains pour distribution. Mais l'Institut Culturel de Vienne, qui était alors dirigé par une personnalité très appréciée, n'avait pas réussi à le distribuer, ou peut-être qu'il n'a même pas essayé de le faire. Par conséquent, nous, les Roumains, étions heureux de pouvoir prendre le livre et l'Institut Culturel était content de s'en débarrasser.

Au début des années 1990, notre enseignement supérieur a été relancé. Après de nombreuses années de stagnation, les chercheurs sont alors appelés à enseigner dans les universités. Encore une fois, il est arrivé que Alexandru Barnea et moi devenions professeurs en même temps, en 1992, lui à l'Université de Bucarest, moi à l'Université Babeș-Bolyai de Cluj. Et en même temps, en 1996, nous sommes tous les deux devenus doyens, chacun dans sa faculté. La différence était que j'ai résisté à un seul mandat, alors qu'il a fait deux mandats. Nous sommes tous les deux à la tête des départements d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie pendant de nombreuses années.

Ce furent les années de grandes transformations et de nouveautés dans les universités. Entre autres choses, est apparu le diplôme de maîtrise, ce que les Roumains appellent master. Le système aurait pu poursuivre avec bonheur des études de premier cycle, à condition qu'il soit organisé de manière transversale entre les universités roumaines. Ce n'est plus un secret maintenant, et je peux le dire : en 1997, j'ai rencontré à Cluj le doyen Alexandru Barnea de Bucarest et le doyen Ioan Ciupercă de Iași. Nous nous sommes alors consultés ensemble et nous avons décidé de spécialiser nos masters – à Bucarest, Cluj et Iași – par une corrélation. À Cluj, la maîtrise devait se concentrer sur l'histoire et l'archéologie daces et sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de la Dacie romaine. À Bucarest, le master aurait été profilé sur l'archéologie préhistorique, l'histoire classique, l'archéologie de la Dobroudja grecque, romaine et byzantine. Enfin, le point fort du master à Iași aurait été l'histoire et l'archéologie du premier millénaire. Pour cela, il aurait fallu un échange de professeurs entre les trois universités, pour un semestre ou pour des cours en bloc et un échange de diplômés aussi, car ils auraient été orientés vers une maîtrise dans une autre université. Par exemple, le diplômé de Iași intéressé par la préhistoire serait allé à Bucarest, le diplômé de Bucarest intéressé par la Dacie romaine serait venu à Cluj et ainsi de suite. De cette façon, les étudiants auraient connu d'autres professeurs, d'autres centres universitaires et bibliothèques. Nous n'avons pas réussi à mettre notre projet en pratique, pour diverses raisons : il y avait de l'argent pour la mobilité à l'étranger, mais il n'y avait pas d'argent pour la mobilité dans le pays. Mais la plus gênante était l'opposition de certains collègues : pourquoi un tel spécialiste de l'archéologie dace devrait-il venir de Bucarest à Cluj, quand nous avons nos spécialistes ici…

Je l'ai écouté tellement de fois le professeur Alexandru Barnea, soit aux assemblées annuelles des archéologues, soit à l'occasion de colloques et congrès en Roumanie et à l'étranger. Ses exposés étaient toujours clairs, qu'il s'agisse de questions d'histoire ou d'archéologie ou épigraphie.

Nous avons participé ensemble au Congrès Eirene des études classiques dans les pays socialistes à Berlin, en 1986, avec Petre Alexandrescu et Gheorghe Ceaușescu. À Rome, en avril 2005, nous étions ensemble au Colloque International organisé par l'Accademia di Romania, *Culti orientali e tradizionali nel periodo del Principato nell'area Danubiano-Balcanica*. Ensuite, j'ai eu le plaisir de l'inviter à d'autres colloques à l'Accademia di Romania. En décembre 2013, il est intervenu au colloque *L'èra costantiniana. Percorsi sociali, politici e religiosi in area danubiana e nel resto dell'Impero*, avec la communication *I martiri della Dobrugia (III – IV sec.)*. Enfin, en mai 2017, lors du colloque *Dacia capta e l'imperatore Traiano*, Alexandru Barnea a présenté la communication *Le Trophée de Trajan et la Colonne Trajane de Rome*.

L'un de ses sujets de prédilection était le Tropaeum Traiani. Il était l'un des auteurs du volume *Tropaeum Traiani. Cetatea*, paru en 1979. Il a également fait des recherches à Dinogetia, Noviodunum, Callatis, Histria, Beroe, Târgșoru Vechi, Dunavățu de Jos.

Alexandru Barnea était un vrai savant et un grand professeur, comme tous ses élèves le confirment. Il a compris que dans les qualités et fonctions qu'il occupait après 1990, professeur, doyen, il devait devenir un promoteur des nouveautés qui s'imposaient et qu'il avait observées, qu'il doit dire sans hésiter ce qu'il pense de la réorganisation de l'enseignement, de l'avenir des études classiques, de la situation de l'archéologie en Roumanie. Il a été membre fondateur du Séminaire d'archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » et membre du Centre d'histoire des religions de la Faculté d'histoire. Il a encouragé ses étudiants à faire des recherches et à publier, en surveillant de près leurs progrès. Ainsi est né, par exemple, le livre écrit avec ses élèves de maîtrise, sous sa direction, sur le premier siècle de l'histoire de l'archéologie en Roumanie.

Il a été membre fondateur de l'Institut roumain d'histoire récente. Bien qu'historien de l'Antiquité, il n'hésitait pas à écrire sur les malheurs du XXe siècle, étant dans certains d'entre eux un témoin oculaire. Ceux qui connaissaient les faits et avaient quelque chose à dire devaient le faire.

Et, surtout, n'oublions pas sa gentillesse. Il était croyant, comme ses parents l'ont élevé. Il a vécu en harmonie – enfant et adolescent – avec ses parents, il a vécu en harmonie avec son épouse, Iuliana Barnea, sa fidèle collaboratrice dans de nombreuses publications.

Lorsque nous utilisons ses livres, ayons une bonne pensée pour celui qui les a écrits.

Mihai Bărbulescu*

* Académie Roumaine ; e-mail : mihaibarbulescu47@gmail.com.

Adamclisi, 1985, haut : Alexandru Avram, Costel Chiriac, Sandu Ion, Ion Horaţiu Crişan, Gheorghe Popilian, Adrian Rădulescu ; milieu : Alexandru Barnea, Liviu Lungu, Mihai Irimia, Zaharia Covacef, Traian Cliante, Maria Bărbulescu ; bas : Antoaneta Vertan, Carin Chera, Monica Mărgineanu Cârstoiu

Bucarest, 2004, à sa table de travail, à l'Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan »

Dinogetia, 2004, devant la maison des fouilles

Bucarest, 2004, avec Dan Gh. Teodor

Tropaeum Traiani, 2007

2008, au musée de Cernavoda, à l’occasion de la Session Internationale *Pontica* (photo Gabriel Talmaţchi)

Constanţa, 6-8 octobre 2016, Session Internationale *Pontica,* lancement du livre *Moesica et Christiana : studies in honour of professor Alexandru Barnea,* avec Gabriel Talmaţchi (à gauche) et Adriana Panaite (à droite)

Constanţa, 6-8 octobre 2016, Session Internationale *Pontica,* lancement du livre *Moesica et Christiana : studies in honour of professor Alexandru Barnea*, de gauche à droite : Alexandru Avram, Gocha Tsetskhladze, Alexandru Barnea, Virgil Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Traian Cliante

Bucarest, 2018, avec Christina Zarifopol

Adamclisi, 2018, lors de la visite de Cinzia Conti, organisée par Anca Cezarina Fulger

Adamclisi, 2018, avec Ghiorghe Papuc, à la cérémonie de remise du titre de citoyen d'honneur de la commune d'Adamclisi

Adamclisi, 2018

Bucarest, 20 février 2019, Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », lancement du livre *La Dacie et l'Empire romain : mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie offerts à Constantin C. Petolescu*, avec Constantin C. Petolescu et Oana Cerchia

MEMORIES ABOUT ALEXANDRU AVRAM

My encounter with Alexandru Avram happened during our university years. Very quickly, we found ourselves in a group of mostly History students, all interested in the study of the Antiquity (and in one case – the Middle Ages), all very close and spending most of our time together. Alexandru Niculescu, Lukács Antal and I were – if I recall correctly – in our 3rd or 4th year of studies, Alexandru Avram and Emilian Alexandrescu had barely started theirs and Manuela Tecușan was a student of the Classical Languages Department.

We were bound together mostly by our common passion and professional interests. Although we did not have a very clear vision of our future, it was inconceivable to any of us not to pursue our passion further, no matter the direction our careers would have taken.

In those days it was hardly possible to join the staff of a museum, research institute, or the Faculty of History, rapidly. We were all lucky enough though to be appointed as History teachers at various Bucharest high-schools and this preserved and consolidated our group. It was then that Professor Zoe Petre joined our rather small but coherent crowd, giving it more consistency. Thus, we all became even closer, while Zoe Petre's quasi-permanent presence made things take a favourable turn.

We all met almost weekly at her house in Stupinei Street, at times benefiting from the brilliant and extremely benevolent presence of Professor Condurachi. The long professional talks, but not only, had an impact, I believe, on the evolution of each of us, and I bear great respect to the day to the memory of those years. Occasionally, other persons were also present, such as the classicist and poet Petru Creția. Thus, we grew professionally concomitantly for a while, as at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, several of us held *pro bono* seminars of Ancient History at the Faculty of History within the University of Bucharest. The effervescence of the debates and their extremely high level of information were, I believe, determinant for the later evolution of each of the members of our group whose potential was noticed by Professor Zoe Petre.

An interesting moment comes to my mind. In the evening of December 16, 1989, when Radio Free Europe (Radio Europa Liberă) broadcasting the partly distorted recording of the shooting and cries during the repression in the Opera Square in Timișoara, we were all in Zoe Petre's dining room, eating omelette, and listing with indignation the extremely hard comments of the radio station. It was then that it came to me that Alexandru was standing apart in our group by his rigorous, pragmatic mind, and the extremely clear and unspeculative perspective on all matters. The two of us were very different leaving the apparent impression we were all the time in contradiction.

It was this very professional pragmatism that was to shape Alexandru Avram's academic future. He was a man who held all advantages of the classical education – spoke several modern languages and mastered Latin and Greek, essential instruments for his academic development.

DACIA N.S., tome LXVI, Bucarest, 2022, p. 19-32

Alexandru held important archaeological ambitions as well. Ever since his student years he was extremely involved in the research at Histria, with the excavations in the Sacred Area benefiting the most of his essential contribution. It was also the occasion when he became very close to Petre Alexandrescu, soon to become his raw model.

But this was only the beginning for him. Throughout the following years, but mainly after he fulfilled his dream of working at the Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy, he gave full proof of his professional qualities.

As time went by, Alexandru proved himself not only as a reputed archaeologists but also a recognized epigraphist, well-known not only in *little Romania*, but throughout the world. Of course, in those days the disputes in our milieu were diverse, from professional to personal and even political, at times stemming from ancient issues within the Romanian school of archaeology. But almost no one contested my friend’s professional achievements, no matter how numerous the detractors and the disgruntled were.

He became also an academic at the Faculty of History within the University of Bucharest, following, alongside many of us, a long activity of working with students for whom he was a true model. After a short while though, he left our university, having been offered a teaching position in France, at the University of Le Mans.

I shall never forget the meeting of our Department of Ancient History and Archaeology when Alexandru announced his departure, having accepted the academic position in France. Professor Alexandru Vulpe, also a member of the department, pointed out that Alexandru’s givingup teaching at the prestigious university in Bucharest was a miscalculation. This was in full agreement with my personal feeling, and I still believe it today. Had Alexandru chosen to remain in Bucharest, his professional evolution might have been even more spectacular, as at the time he held all the premises for an impressive professional career.

Alexandru Avram was one of the greatest Romanian epigraphists of all times, a spectacular scholar, and above all, a very good and dear friend.

Requiescat in pace!

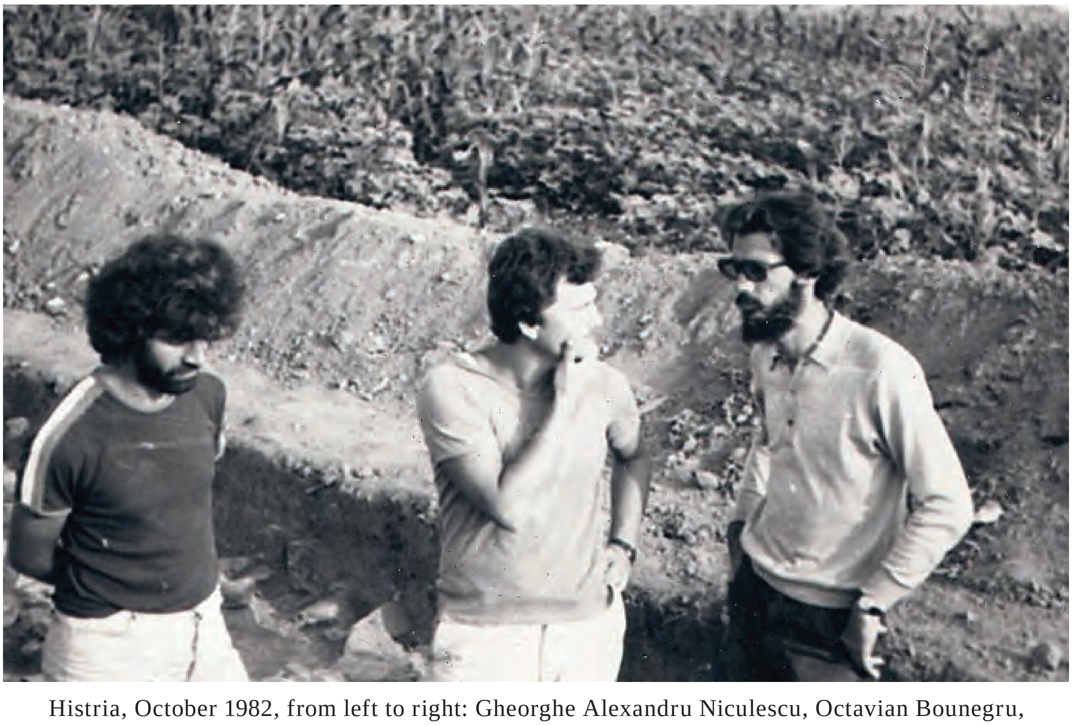
Vlad Nistor*
(Translated by Adina Boroneanț)

* Faculty of History, University of Bucharest; e-mail: g.v.nistor@gmail.com.

Histria, July 1977

Dobrudja, 1980s, from left to right: Costel Chiriac, Vlad Nistor, far right Alexandru Avram

Histria, 1981, from left to right: Alexandru Avram, Dionisie M. Pippidi, Pierre Dupont



Histria, October 1982, from left to right: Gheorghe Alexandru Niculescu, Octavian Bounegru, Alexandru Avram

Histria, 1983, from left to right, up: Mircea Angelescu, Alexandru Avram, Marian Ciucă, Octavian Bounegru, far right Konrad Zimmermann; down: Petre Alexandrescu, Catrinel Domăneanțu, Monica Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, Regina Zimmermann, Anișoara Sion, Crișan Mușețeanu, Alexandru Suceveanu

Histria – *Pod*, 1986, from left to right: Alexandru Avram, Konrad Zimmermann, Hanna Derer

Histria – *Pod*, 1990

Delos, 1993

Histria, August 2003

Histria, 2003

Histria, 2003, from left to right: Alexandru Avram, two German students, Konrad Zimmermann, Mădălina Dana, Dan Dana, Iulian Bîrzescu

Histria, 2008, with Dinu Theodorescu

Pessinus, 2010

Histria, 2010, from left to right: Alexandru Suceveanu, Theodor Ulieriu-Rostás, Ștefan Vasiliță, Valentin Bottez, Mircea Angelescu, Mircea Dabîca, Luca Angelescu, Argeș Epure, Florina Panait-Bîrzescu, Alexandru Avram, Konrad Zimmermann, Iulian Bîrzescu, Nubar Hamparțumian, Octavian Bounegru, Catrinel Domăneanțu

Constanța, 10th-12th of October 2012, *Pontica* International Session, from left to right: Gabriel Custurea, Șerban Papacostea, Alexandru Avram, Gocha Tsetskhladze, Alexandru Suceveanu

Constanța, 10th-13th of May 2017, International colloquium *Evocări ovidiene: poezie – mitologie – realitate istorică*, from left to right: Alexandru Avram, Livia Buzoianu, Gabriel Custurea

Constanța, 18th-22nd of September 2017, Sixth International Congress of Black Sea Antiquities, from left to right: Valentin Bottez, Gabriel Talmațchi, Alexandra Bivolaru, Alexandru Avram, Alexandra Țârlea, Irina Achim, Iulia Iliescu, Irina Sodoleanu, Konrad Zimmermann

Le Mans, 2019

THE ATHENIAN BLACK-GLOSS POTTERY FROM HISTRIA. SOME REMARKS ABOUT THE TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION AND TECHNIQUE OF DECORATION

INGA GŁUSZEK*

Keywords: black-gloss pottery, Histria, Nikonion, pottery production, stamped decoration
Abstract: The article aims to present the characteristics of the Athenian black-gloss pottery assemblage from Histria, which is the subject of the author's studies. At the current stage of research, the technological process of Athenian pottery production is well known, which makes it possible to explain specific physical characteristics of these ceramic vessels, analysed macroscopically, on the basis of our knowledge of pottery production in Athenian workshops. The article presents selected physical features observed in examples of dishes from Histria in the light of knowledge about the technology of the production of pottery and the results, *e.g.* in the colour, quality and consistency of gloss, which were obtained by the production methods applied. The decoration of dishes was also analysed, indicating different methods and technical solutions that were used in the case of the Athenian pottery from Histria. Secondary macroscopic analyses (*i.e.*, relying on the detailed drawing and photo documentation prepared by the author at various times) allow for comparative studies between the pottery from Histria and the Nikonion black-gloss pottery finds, which were the subject of a project implemented in 2016-2019.

Cuvinte-cheie: ceramică ateniană cu firnis negru, Histria, Nikonion, producție ceramică, decor ștampilat
Rezumat: Scopul articolului este acela de a prezenta caracteristicile ceramicii ateniene cu firnis negru descoperită la Histria, despre care autoarea a mai scris și cu alte ocazii. În stadiul actual al cercetării, procesul tehnologic al producerii ceramicii ateniene este bine cunoscut, ceea ce permite explicarea caracteristicilor fizice specifice ale vaselor ceramice studiate, analizate macroscopic, pe baza cunoștințelor noastre despre producția ceramică în atelierele ateniene. Articolul discută anumite trăsături fizice, observate prin studiul unor farfurii de la Histria, în lumina cunoștințelor despre tehnologia producției ceramice și a rezultatelor, ca de exemplu culoarea, calitatea și consistența luciului, care au fost obținute prin metodele de producție aplicate. De asemenea, a fost analizat decorul farfuriilor, fiind discutate diferite metode și soluții tehnice folosite în cazul ceramicii ateniene de la Histria. Analize macroscopice secundare (bazate pe desene și fotografii detaliate realizate de către autoare) permit studii comparative ale ceramicii cu luciu negru de la Histria și Nikonion, temă a unui proiect derulat în perioada 2016-2019.

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INTRODUCTION

Athenian ceramics, including black-gloss vessels, were widespread in the cities on the Black Sea's western and northern coasts. In the Classical period, they constitute one of the most numerous categories of finds among imports at the archaeological sites of this area. Specialists have already studied Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria several times. Representative examples of black-gloss finds from Histria were published in 1954, in *Histria I. Monografie arheologică*[1]. A series of black-gloss vessels were also published in volume II of the *Histria* series[2], and the Athenian black-gloss pottery was the subject of detailed studies in volume IV of the same series, edited by Petre Alexandrescu in collaboration with Suzana Dimitriu and Maria Coja[3]. The Athenian black-gloss vessels from Histria were also published in the catalogue of the National Historical Museum of Romania in 1983[4]. The Hellenistic tableware, including black-gloss pottery of both Athenian and non-Athenian production, was also the subject of studies conducted by Vasilica Lungu[5]. The other publications of pottery from Histria concern the archaic and classical finds[6], the production and distribution of pottery in Histria[7], Hellenistic bowls with relief decoration[8], Roman pottery[9] and transport amphorae[10].

As a result of detailed archaeometric research conducted by several different research teams, the process of production of Athenian pottery is now well understood. The technological treatments applied have specific effects that can be observed even at the level of macroscopic analysis. As a result of these analyses, it is possible to link specific physical attributes of these vessels, particularly the gloss features covering their surface, with specific procedures performed during their firing. Moreover, a detailed analysis of the ornament applied to the vessels' surface provides data for understanding the technical processes used to create decorative compositions with basic motifs and simple tools. This article presents the Athenian black-gloss ceramics found in Histria from a technological and technical point of view. Selected examples of Athenian black-gloss pottery are introduced to illustrate some technical issues related to the production of tableware pottery in Athens. The phenomena associated with Attic black-gloss vessels and the characteristic features of vessel decoration observed on finds from Histria[11] will be supported by examples from other Greek settlements of northern Pontus, such as Nikonion, a Greek colony located in the Lower Dniester region and perhaps founded as part of a Histrian colonisation initiative[12]. The comparison of imported Attic black-gloss finds from Histria with those from Nikonion is particularly important,

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[1] Dimitriu, Zirra, Condurachi 1954.

[2] Condurachi 1966.

[3] Alexandrescu 1978, p. 82-92.

[4] Coja, Gheorghiță 1983.

[5] Lungu 1993; Lungu 2004-2006; Lungu 2013; Lungu, Dupont 2014.

[6] Flot-Lambrino 1938; Alexandrescu 1978, p. 35-81, 93-124.

[7] Coja, Dupont 1979.

[8] Domăneanţu 2000.

[9] Suceveanu 2000.

[10] Avram 1996; Conovici 1998; Bîrzescu 2012.

[11] A 20× magnifying glass was used for macroscopic identification, and pieces were examined in daylight conditions.

[12] Zaginajlo 1991; Zaginajlo, Karyškovskij 1990, p. 4; Vinogradov 1999; Avram, Hind, Tsetskhladze 2004, p. 936.

since this allows us to identify similarities and differences between two cities that may have had an especially close relationship. This comparative study may be treated as a preliminary step toward further comparisons, including with other Greek cities in the region that had strong connections with Athens, like Apollonia Pontica and Kallatis[13]. A similar situation can be assumed for the importation of Attic black-gloss pottery at Olbia, especially in light of scholars' interpretation that during the 5th century BC, Olbia, like Nikonion in the same period, became a leading polis in the north-western Black Sea region[14]. This article is based on the study of the black-gloss ceramic assemblage from Histria made available to the author for research by the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy. The pottery finds come from previous excavations in the *Sacred area*, the *SG* sector and the *Basilica Pârvan* sector. The presentation of the comparative finds from Nikonion was possible thanks to the implementation of a research project in 2016-2019 aimed at the scientific development of black-gloss pottery study from this archaeological site[15].

THE PROCESS OF ATHENIAN BLACK-GLOSS POTTERY PRODUCTION

Research on the technological aspects of the production of Athenian black-gloss pottery is important because it allows us to develop a better understanding of the vessels themselves. At the same time, considering the high activity of the Athenian workshops and the broad import of Athenian products around the Mediterranean and into the Black Sea basin, this research is also useful for identifying imported ceramics. The production of black-gloss pottery in Athens, like the production of red-figure vessels, reached its highest level during the Classical period. It provided a model for local potters of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, who then developed their production methods and distributed vessels into areas previously dominated by imports from Athens. Identifying and understanding the production processes of vessels from Athenian workshops, which are so abundantly represented over a long period in various Greek centres, provides a point of reference for further studies. The recognition of a technological process that became the prototype for pottery workshops away from Athens is undoubtedly helpful in researching the origins of the black-gloss pottery found in various Greek cities, including those of the Black Sea, during the Hellenistic period. The classification of decorated pottery, defined mainly by the stylistic characteristics of shape and decoration, must go hand in hand with the determination of the technological features of its production. Decorated archaic East Greek pottery is an excellent example of this. Thanks to archaeometric analyses of the clay fabric, it has been possible to assign pieces bearing the same stylistic features to different pottery workshops on the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor[16].

The technological process for producing black-gloss vessels in Athens is now well known, as a result of specialist research and experimental study, and it has been possible to relate

[13] Avram, Hind, Tsetskhladze 2004, p. 931, 933-934; Hermary *et alii* 2010; Ivanov 1963.

[14] Sekerskaja 1989, p. 92-95.

[15] The references to the finds from ancient Nikonion are the result of study conducted by the author during 2016-2019, among the others as the head of the project "Antyczne Nikonion – analiza i weryfikacja danych z badań archeologicznych 1957-2013", which has been funded by the National Centre of Science, granted on the basis of decision number 2018/02/X/HS3/01263.

[16] Schlotzhauer, Villing 2006; Villing, Mommsen 2017, p. 99-101.

macroscopically recorded features of clay and gloss to specific production procedures. The archaeometric analyses and experimental studies have made it possible to conclude that Greek vessels with black-gloss surface decoration were fired precisely at strictly defined temperatures during a single process consisting of three stages: oxidation, reduction and oxidation again (iron reduction technique)[17].

The black-gloss finish itself was obtained from an iron-rich, low-calcium clay dispersed in water, with or without the aid of a dispersing agent, resulting in a very fine colloidal fraction. We can assume that the potters of ancient Athens attached great importance to the choice of raw material, depending on the result they wanted to achieve. Current research on Athenian workshops takes into account clay deposits, not only those in the city's immediate vicinity, but also others from the whole region of Attica. Artemi Chaviara and Eleni Aloupi-Siotis compared the physical and chemical properties of experimentally-produced examples of black-gloss with examples of ceramics from archaeological contexts[18]. Of the 36 clays collected from different regions of Attica, 21 allowed the production of a colloidal suspension that acquired a dark, shiny appearance after firing, without adding a dispersing agent. These clays were iron-rich, calcium-poor (about 1% CaO) and illite-poor, but with some kaolinite present[19]. Chemical analysis (pXRF assisted by μPIXE) of the black-gloss on the experimental samples and on a chronologically-extensive collection of archaeological samples revealed a higher Zn content (400-800 ppm) in the gloss than in the clay in the vessel corpus. Such a high Zn content was characteristic of pieces from Laurion, among the others. This feature also appeared among the many studied examples of black-gloss from archaic vessels discovered on the Athenian Acropolis and on black and red-figure vessels dated to the 6^{th}-4^{th} centuries BC. Rare-earth element analysis has identified another chemical marker in the Athenian pottery in the form of a cerium (Ce) depletion anomaly. However, the fact that Zn and Ce markers were detected not only in the Athenian black-gloss, but also in some samples from Corinth (6^{th} century BC) and Etruria (4^{th} century BC), seems to weaken the hypothesis that the clay used for black-gloss production at Athens was associated with a single zinc-rich environment, such as that present at Laurion[20].

Several natural sciences researchers, archaeologists and ceramologists involved in the restoration of Athenian black-gloss have suggested using additives to the clay to create a suspension in water. Several substances such as urine, wine residue, blood, bone powder, wood, and seaweed ash have been suggested, and chemical compounds such as sodium hexametaphosphate, pyrogallic acid or vitriol have also been proposed in this context[21]. However, as Eleni Aloupi-Siotis notes, most of these additives affect the final chemical composition of the black-gloss and should have been identified by archaeometric analysis; moreover, the colloidal suspensions obtained are inconsistent with the original Athenian black-gloss[22].

The black-gloss finish on Greek pottery can be defined as a sinter, which is a layer of gloss produced by the sintering of a fine clay, especially the clay mineral illite, originally in the form

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17 Noll, Holm, Born 1975; Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

18 Chaviara, Aloupi-Siotis 2015; see also Aloupi-Siotis 2008; Aloupi-Siotis 2020; Winter 1959; Winter 1978.

19 Chaviara, Aloupi-Siotis 2015, p. 4.

20 Chaviara, Aloupi-Siotis 2015; Walton *et alii* 2015; Jones 2021, p. 99.

21 Schumann 1942; Winter 1959; Winter 1978; Hofmann 1962; Noble 1960, p. 307-313; Noble 1965.

22 Aloupi-Siotis 2008.

of a suspension, at a high temperature. The surface treatments of pottery vessels, which serve both as decoration and as a means of reducing their permeability to liquids, include burnishing and the application of mineral pigments, a slip, or a glaze. The terminology for the black finish on Greek ceramics is still developing. The older nomenclature defined it as a glaze, but the modern terminology now widely accepted in both archaeological and archaeometric spheres prefers “gloss”. The description of ancient pottery as “glossed” rather than “glazed” was proposed by John W. Hayes[23] and elaborated by Kathleen Warner Slane[24]. It can be said that discussion in this matter is still not settled and the distinction between gloss, slip and glaze is still uncertain, especially since the new term “black-glass ceramic” was proposed by scholars involved in archaeometric studies[25].

In a suitable paint-like form, the black-gloss was applied to the vessel’s surface. In the case of Athenian vessels, SEM analyses have estimated that the gloss layer on the vessels ranged from approximately 20 μm to 5 μm, depending on the macroscopic and mineralogical variation of the gloss layer observed[26]. This layer was not necessarily homogeneous in terms of microstructure. For example, on its outer surface, there may have been a very thin (approximately 1-2 μm) glassy film responsible for the shine of the gloss. This film was rich in Al and Fe but depleted in Si. This could be attributed to a build-up effect occurring during the layering of the gloss before firing, which would have resulted in the complete vitrification of the ultrafine clay particles and iron oxide grains forming the outermost layer. When viewed in this way, it can be assumed that the presence of such a film is characteristic of black-gloss vessels of the highest quality[27]. The firing process consisted of three stages: oxidation, reduction and oxidation again (ORO). In the first oxidation stage, the ancient potters raised the temperature in the kiln while allowing air to circulate. When the desired temperature was reached and the clay paint began to sinter or vitrify (the body and decoration are red at this point), the air supply was closed off: the entire kiln was sealed, thus interrupting the oxygen supply and reducing the temperature. At this reduction stage, nanocrystals of magnetite formed in the paint layer and the black colour appeared (at this stage of firing, the body and decoration become black and dark grey). In the final oxidation stage, the potters open the kiln hole (which causes the temperature to increase again), and the painted and glazed areas do not re-oxidise, thus remaining black, while the unpainted areas re-oxidise, becoming red. This last step required considerable attention, as it was necessary to prevent the temperature from increasing too much, which could lead to the glaze turning red again[28].

Based on the experiments of Eleni Aloupi-Siotis and Lisa C. Kahn and John C. Wissinger, the temperature could reach 900°C in the first phase[29], under oxidising conditions, at which point the air supply to the firing chamber was closed off and moist fuel was added to create reducing conditions. It should be noted that in her recent study, Eleni Aloupi-Siotis emphasizes that gloss reached its best quality at temperatures of 890-950°C in the first firing phase[30]. In the subsequent reduction phase, the temperature drops to around 750-800°C. The optimum temperature for this

[23] Hayes 1984.

[24] Slane 1986.

[25] Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

[26] Mirti *et alii* 2004, p. 715; Tang *et alii* 2001.

[27] Maniatis, Aloupi, Stalios 1993; Aloupi-Siotis 2020, fig. 1.

[28] Jones 2021, p. 103-104.

[29] Aloupi-Siotis 2008; Kahn, Wissinger 2008.

[30] Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

phase closes at 800-830°C. This phase was supposed to be relatively short and last no more than 30 minutes. The temperature then rises to more than 800°C during the re-oxidation phase, and the furnace was then cooled for at least 12 hours[31]. What happens during the reduction phase is decisive for the quality of the resulting black-gloss, the main parameters being the temperature range, the rate of temperature change, the duration of the phase, and the composition of the gas in the kiln. The blue-black colour that can be observed on the best quality Athenian black-gloss ceramics can be related to the higher concentration in gloss of Fe 2+ ions than Fe 3+, a state associated with the presence of hercynite and magnetite. Crystals of these iron oxides are dispersed in the vitrified aluminosilicate matrix of the gloss. As the relative proportion of Fe 3+ increases, the colour effect of the gloss changes. The final effect depends on several factors: (a) the nature of the composition of the gloss colloidal suspension, in particular the iron state; (b) the size of the fraction of the gloss components; and (c) the parameters of the reduction phase of the firing. These factors individually or together determined the final quality of the black-gloss[32].

Monitoring the temperature was probably managed in much the same way as modern potters do when they fire pots in a traditional wood-fired kiln. At 720-730°C the exterior of the pottery kiln takes on an orange colour as a result of the heat radiation; at 800°C it has a bright orange colour, which becomes very bright (luminous) when the temperature reaches 950°C; and at 1000°C the heated kiln has a light-yellow colour[33]. Perhaps the need to monitor the temperature by observing the firing kiln (the colour, intensity and brightness it took on under the influence of the temperature) determined the spatial organisation of the pottery workshop and may even have regulated the daily work cycle, inasmuch as beginning the firing process at dusk would have improved the conditions for such observation[34].

The effects of the technological processes used during the firing of black-gloss vessels are identifiable by the macroscopic observation of ceramic finds. Researchers involved in analysing Italic black-gloss pottery have adopted the following terms for the different colours of the gloss: shining black, vitreous black, silver black, black with metallic sheen, bluish black, matt black, misfired red and black[35]. As noted by Eleni Aloupi-Siotis for Athenian ceramics, the shiny bluish (dark blue) shade of black-gloss is obtained during highly intense reducing conditions starting from a temperature of about 900°C (± 10), and a greenish gloss tint was produced when the maximum temperature in the firing chamber reached 950°C (±20)[36]. This smooth, shiny surface is characteristic for Athenian black-gloss vessels of high quality from the Classical period. Black glosses with a metallic sheen appear on later Athenian products dating to the Early Hellenistic period, but even in this period it is not as common a firing effect on Athenian pottery as it is, for example, on Italian black-gloss ware.

Applying this information to the Histria black-gloss pottery assemblage, it is possible to differentiate black-gloss ceramic finds by specific physical characteristics such as colour and

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[31] Giorgetti, Gliozzo, Memmi 2004; Cianchetta *et alii* 2015a; Cianchetta *et alii* 2015b; Aloupi-Siotis 2008, p. 114-121; Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

[32] Balachandran 2019; Giorgetti, Gliozzo, Memmi 2004; Aloupi-Siotis 2008; Aloupi-Siotis 2020; Kahn, Wissinger 2008.

[33] Muller 2007, p. 111.

[34] Gonlin, Nowell 2017, p. 70.

[35] Gliozzo *et alii* 2004, p. 230, fig. 1.

[36] Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

degree of shine. The black-gloss pottery finds from Histria can be divided into shiny (pl. I/1), semi-matt (pl. I/2) and matt (pl. I/3) examples, and those with a metallic sheen (pl. I/4). The shiny and semi-matt vessels generally belong to the Classical and Late Classical periods. In the Hellenistic period, vessels bearing a black-gloss with a metallic sheen include Athenian imports, but this gloss effect is much more common among vessels from non-Athenian pottery workshops. In the case of Athenian ware, most vessels of the Hellenistic period have a semi-matt or matt gloss. This is probably related to the gradual dilution of the colloidal suspension that produced the black-gloss finish, and the thinner layers of film used to cover Athenian vessels. With respect to colour, shiny vessels are often characterised by a dark blue (pl. I/5) or greenish (pl. I/6) gloss shade. Still, most examples of vessels from Classical and Early Hellenistic periods have a dark brown (pl. I/7) or dark brownish-red shade (pl. I/8). Colour variations can be seen on both glossy and matt surfaces of vessels. The outcome of the colour and shine/matt appearance is based on the firing process, assuming that: "intense reduction with simultaneous temperature decrease to 800-830°C is essential for the partial reduction of $Fe3+$ to $Fe2+$ to take place through the formation of magnetite crystals"[37].

There are also examples of vessels with a dark grey (pl. I/9) gloss shade, generally associated with the Hellenistic period. As mentioned above, in light of the archaeometric research, it seems that these visual qualities should be associated with the vessel firing process, specifically the temperature reached in the first stage of the firing process and the time allocated to each stage of firing.

To correctly identify the technological processes and applied pottery practices, it is necessary to consider probable post-production changes caused by the use of vessels and the deposition conditions of archaeological artefacts. Even preliminary macroscopic analysis will allow an assessment of whether the recorded surface damage resulted from the use of the vessels (pl. I/10) or from post-depositional processes (pl. I/11). The black-gloss layer on Athenian vessels is generally very durable and resistant to most chemicals. Nevertheless, changes can be caused by prolonged exposure to weak acids; for example, contact with vinegar can lead to opalescence of the surface[38]. Although the surface of black-gloss vessels is not usually affected by a dry environment, in some cases mild corrosion can be observed, causing depletion of Si and K and a delamination phenomenon on the outer surface of the gloss. It has been suggested by scholars that the probable reason of this phenomenon is the weathering of the outer layers of the black paint[39]. Changes in the chemical composition and micromorphology of the black-gloss vessels are more pronounced due to prolonged exposure to humid environments and, more importantly, seawater. Exposure to seawater can also cause surface damage in the form of pits, cracks on the ceramic coating (pl. I/11)[40], or changes in colour due to partial dissolution of the upper black layer[41].

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[37] Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

[38] Aloupi-Siotis 2020.

[39] Maniatis, Aloupi, Stalios 1993; Mirti *et alii* 2006.

[40] When discussing Histria finds, it is important to consider the effects of depositing black-gloss pottery in soil with high salinity levels. Such an environment may have a similar effect on ceramics as seawater. While the indicated type of vessel surface damage is documented on artefacts from Histria, these examples are not numerous. The discovery of black-gloss pottery in stratigraphic layers that show no signs of this kind of destruction suggests that soil conditions may not have had such a significant impact on the destruction of artefacts. However, it is also possible that specific soil conditions are necessary for this type of reaction, which have not yet been fully identified by current research.

[41] Pradell *et alii* 1996; Picon 1991; Aloupi-Siotis 2020, fig. 9/b.

THE BLACK-GLOSS POTTERY FROM HISTRIA. FORMS AND STAMPED DECORATION

Forms

The Athenian black-gloss pottery becomes more numerous among finds from Histria in assemblages dating to the 5th century BC. However, there are a few examples of earlier drinking vessels, such as the Type C cup[42] (pl. II/2), dated in Athens to the last quarter of the 6th century BC, but these are only isolated instances. A similar situation is observed at Nikonion[43]. It can therefore be assumed that these cups represent a group of the earliest imports of Athenian black-gloss pottery in these Greek colonies. Among the examples from the 5th century BC, most Athenian products in Histria are drinking vessels[44]. Within this group are three main types: skyphoi[45] (pl. II/1), stemless cups[46] (pl. II/3-6) and "Bolsal" (pl. II/7-8)[47]. In the late 5th century and the beginning of the 4th century BC, stemless cups were slowly replaced by other types of drinking vessels. The repertoire of Athenian vessels in Histria at this time is dominated by examples of the cup-kantharos[48] (pl. II/9) and the kantharos of classical shape (with a modelled or plain rim, pl. II/10-12)[49], with a smaller number of examples of the cup-skyphos. It is interesting that the kantharos of Hellenistic shape is rather rare in Histria among both Athenian and non-Athenian imports. This form of drinking vessel is equally rare in Nikonion, where ten examples of this shape are known: nine of them were produced in Athenian workshops and one can be assigned to an unidentified centre of production[50]. Another category of Athenian vessels known among finds from Histria dating back to the Classical period are bowls with outturned and incurved rims (pl. III/1-7). During the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, the import of ceramics from

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42 The shape (V 21111) can be compared with a find from the Athenian Agora: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 4/398, dated to ca. 525 BC.

43 Głuszek 2018, p. 114-116.

44 The typological distinction between shapes is based on the most commonly adopted typology of vessel shapes taken from Sparkes, Talcott 1970 and Rotroff 1997. The quantification of black-gloss vessels from Histria according to shape and chronology in this article is based on available publications and preliminary analyses of finds made available for research in cooperation with the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy.

45 Coja, Gheorghiță 1983, p. 49, pl. 24/50, V336; compare with Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 16/340, dated to the beginning of second quarter of the 5th century BC.

46 The vessel of pl. II/3 (His.T=Histria Templum/46) represents a stemless cup dated in the Athenian Agora assemblage to 470-450 BC (Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 5/471); the shape has also been identified as a Cástulo cup, for which the latest appearance is around the beginning of the 4th century BC (Shefton 1982; Shefton 1996a; Shefton 1996b; Domínguez, Sánchez 2001, p. 171-458). See also: Alexandrescu 1978, p. 83, fig. 11/519. Plate II/4 (MH= Museum in Histria 177) can be compared with an Athenian Agora example dated to ca. 430 BC: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 5/487; pl. II/5 (MH 180) has a foot shape comparable with Boardman 1958-1959, p. 179, dated to ca. 450 BC; pl. II/6 (His.T/26) is close to Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 5/469, dated to 480-470 BC.

47 The shape of pl. II/7 (V 17208) can be compared with Alexandrescu 1978, p. 82, fig. 13/544 dated to ca. 450 BC; the vessel of pl. II/8 (His.T/124) is close to Chelbi 1992, p. 171, cat. 339.

48 The shape represented on pl. II/9 (MH 191) can be compared with Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 7/667, dated to the second quarter of the 4th century BC.

49 The kantharos of classical shape represented on pl. II/10 (V 15376) can be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 7/700, characteristic of the third quarter of the 4th century BC; the shapes of pl. II/11-12 (V 19627, V 19625) can be compared with forms from the first half of the 3rd century BC: Rotroff 1997, fig. 5/25; for the other finds from Histria see also: Coja, Gheorghiță 1983, p. 51, pl. 29/60, pl. 30/61-63; Alexandrescu 1978, p. 88-90, fig. 14.

50 Głuszek 2018, p. 190-194, cat. 27.1-9.

Athens to Histria and other northern Black Sea cities declined markedly in favour of pottery from other production centres[51]. Among Athenian wares, various types of bowls with outturned and incurved rims continued to be popular, as they were in the Classical period. These bowls vary in size, from large vessels to small bowls and saltcellars[52]. In the Late Classical period, and especially in Hellenistic times, the number and variety of plates increased (pl. III/8-11). The earliest few examples represent variants with rilled rims, while later examples belonged to the type with a rolled rim, which was also very common in Nikonion[53]. Fish plates (pl. III/12) are well represented among the finds of black-gloss vessels in Histria; in this case both Athenian and non-Athenian products are present in significant numbers[54].

The stamped decoration

Black-gloss pottery produced in Athens during the Classical period is characterized by rich surface decoration consisting of simple ornamental motifs, which were either combined in complex patterns or left in an uncomplicated but elegant design. This decoration is simplified in the Early Hellenistic period and disappears completely in the subsequent production stage[55]. Among the decorations of black-gloss vessels, there are specific patterns of composition that include the repetition of some common motifs, as well as rarer and more original arrangements. Ornament made with stamps, incised lines and cuts was the most common in the Classical period. This type of ornament appeared on Athenian vessels at the end of the second quarter of the 5th century BC and quickly became a popular way of decorating black-gloss vessels. Such decoration was particularly widespread in the period from the end of the 5th to the first half of the 4th century BC; in the second half of the 4th century, however, there was a decrease in the number of vessels decorated with stamps, engraved lines and cuts. Later, in the 3rd century BC, decorative motifs become more schematic and less complicated. It is rare to find such ornamental motifs on Athenian

[51] Handberg, Petersen 2010; Głuszek 2018, p. 76-89.

[52] Pl. III/1 (MH 179) is an example of a bowl dated to the third quarter of the 5th century BC: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig 8/814. The bowl of the shape represented in pl. III/2 (V 18476) can be compared with a find from the Athenian Agora excavations dated to the last decade of the 4th century BC: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 8/808. The shallow bowl represented by drawing on pl. III/3 (V 18174) can be compared with another find from the Athenian Agora: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 8/832, dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC. The bowl with incurved rim of pl. III/4 (His.T/17) is close to Athenian Agora examples: Rotroff 1997, fig. 63/1004 (foot), 1011 (upper part), characteristic of the second half of the 3rd - first quarter of the 2nd century BC. The small bowls and saltcellar of pl. III/5-7 (His.T/85, His.T/101, His.T/19) are characteristic shapes from the second half of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 9/870, 876, 934. Compare also with: Coja, Gheorghiţă 1983, p. 50, pl. 27/55; Alexandrescu 1978, p. 90-93, fig. 15/587-588, 593, 598, 603, 606.

[53] The shape represented by pl. III/8 (His.T/65) may be compared with Rotroff 1997, fig. 46/644, characteristic of the last quarter of the 4th century BC; the plate of pl. III/9 (His.T/11) is close to the Rotroff 1997, fig. 46/646, dated ca. 300 BC. The next shape represented by pl. III/10 (His.T/74) is close to Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 10/1035, dated ca. 325 BC; the plate of pl. III/11 (His.T/28) has a foot with a groove characteristic of the shape represented by Sparkes, Talcott 1970, fig. 8/1058, dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC. For finds from Histria see also: Alexandrescu 1978, p. 92, fig. 15/607-608. For the finds from Nikonion, see also: Głuszek 2018, p. 207-208, tab. 17.

[54] The example from pl. III/12 (V 3705) is close to a shape dated to the 2nd century BC: Rotroff 1972, fig. 50/709; see also: Alexandrescu 1978, p. 91, 92-93, fig. 609; Coja, Gheorghiţă 1983, p. 52, pl. 31, 64, 65.

[55] Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p. 17-31; Rotroff 1997, p. 37-72.

black-gloss vessels from the first half of the 2nd century BC[56]. The decoration was located mainly on the inner bottom surface of open vessels like drinking vessels, bowls and plates. The most complex compositions are characteristic of the stemless cups[57]. Their broad, flat bottoms favoured the creation of intricate designs on a circular plan. But the Athenian workshops also produced some open forms, such as the sessile kantharos, and some closed vessels, such as amphoriskoi and lekythoi, the outer surfaces of which could sometimes bear stamped decorations[58].

Previous research has clearly demonstrated that the architectural traditions of the mid-5th century BC had a particular influence on the formation and development of the main decorative motifs of stamped ornamentation[59]. Some elements, such as palmettes or meanders, may also have been borrowed from vase painting[60]. This is easy to see in the case of palmettes, which were one of the most popular elements complementing the main figural compositions on Attic black- and red-figure vessels[61]. Similarly, the motif of lotus or ivy leaves, rarely used but occasionally noted in stamped decoration on black-gloss vessels, could have been adopted from compositions widespread in Athenian vase-painting[62]. The most frequently used stamped decorative motif consisted of palmettes. This is a type of floral ornament reminiscent of a palm crown or a fan-shaped palm leaf[63]. Decorations of black-gloss vessels using stamps with palmettes were most widespread in the period from the second half of the 5th century BC to the end of the first half of the 3rd century BC, with some return to this type of composition occurring in the 2nd century BC[64].

The stamps were most likely made of clay; in the case of larger decorative motifs, wooden stamps may have been used[65]. There is also some evidence for the use of metal stamps in Italic and Roman pottery workshops[66]. The other tools used to make decorations on black-gloss vessels are various styluses or engraving tools that allow the potter to make simple decorative motifs in the form of lines and short dashes. The concentric circles forming the hoops were probably obtained with a compass-like tool. The specific rouletting ornament, consisting of short vertical or diagonal dashes, was obtained with a freely-rotating toothed wheel[67].

The method of decorating black-gloss vessels has been the subject of many studies by researchers who considered the use of the same stamps on different vessels, the possibility of correlating the composition (especially the use of stamps) with specific vessel forms, and the organization of combinations of decorative motifs into distinct and consistent groups, allowing hypothetical connections to be proposed between these groups and specific pottery workshops. In the first studies of the decoration of Athenian black-gloss pottery, attention was drawn to the

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[56] Sparkes,Talcott 1970, p. 22; Pemberton 1997, p. 57-61; Rotroff 1997, p. 37-72.

[57] Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p. 98-105, fig. 5, pl. 49-52.

[58] Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p. 115, 155-156, pl. 47-48; some examples of vessels with this decoration came from Nikonion: Głuszek 2018, tab. 23/9.4, 9.5.

[59] Talcott 1935, p. 489-490; Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p. 22; Slej 1991, p. 251-256.

[60] Folsom 1967, p. 88, 90-92, 95-96, 136-137, 143.

[61] Slej 1991, p. 251.

[62] Folsom 1967, p. 75, 90, 136.

[63] Butkevič 2008, p. 32.

[64] Corbett 1955; Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p. 17-31; Rotroff 1997, p. 37-72; Pemberton 1997.

[65] Corbett 1955, p. 173; Slej 1991, p. 251.

[66] Slej 1991, p. 252.

[67] Schreiber 1999, p. 13-16, ill. 2b.

impossibility of identifying similar stamps on different vessels, which could have suggested some relations between individual forms and stamped compositions. In her study, Lucy Talcott noted the rapid wear of a given stamp and thus its short use, which prevents a comparative analysis between various stamp impressions, even within the same decorative schema, arranged on vessels produced in different Athenian workshops[68]. However, further studies of the palmette-shaped stamps on two large sets of black-gloss pottery from Athens revealed that in fact the same stamps could be used for quite a long time[69]. As a result of the macroscopic analysis of decorations, four identical or very similarly-shaped stamps were distinguished on the vessels under consideration. The analyses in these studies revealed that noticeable differences in the shape or quality of stamped decorations were associated with the way in which the stamp was impressed into the clay[70]. These conclusions have been supported by further analysis of large groups of decorated black-gloss pottery finds from the Athenian Agora[71].

Some researchers have attempted to identify groups of black-gloss vessels made in particular workshops on basis of similarities in their decorations and in the stamps used to make them. For David W.J. Gill, the analysis of the stamps on the inner surface of vessels of the “Bolsal” group made it possible to suggest a series of vessels probably made in the same workshop[72]. Karen Slej, analysing Italian black-gloss pottery with stamped ornaments using methods developed for the study of Athenian ornamentation, also attempted to identify elements that could be attributed to specific workshops[73]. Tatyana V. Egorova analysed a set of 300 vessels and fragments decorated with stamped ornaments in the form of palmettes. These vessels and fragments of vessels, dated from the 5th to mid-2nd century BC, were produced both in Athenian workshops and in other centres. Egorova distinguished two main groups in this set of examples: one consisting of vessels from Athenian workshops, which included 21 subgroups using over 80 different palmette stamps, and the other defined by 17 stamps characteristic of other production centres. In her research, the author also points to a certain similarity with (even imitation of?) Athenian stamps among the products of Pergamene workshops[74].

The repertoire of motifs and compositions recorded on the examples from Histria is highly varied. There are elaborate ornamental compositions that characterise drinking vessels, especially stemless cups, and simple designs that are examples of the ordinary decoration characteristic of Late Classical and Hellenistic products. Some examples of the decorative designs and motifs can be compared within the Nikonion assemblage. Similarities identified between these vessels should be treated as a starting point for further detailed research[75].

[68] Talcott 1935, p. 487.

[69] Corbett 1955, p. 172-186.

[70] Corbett 1955, p. 173, 174, fig. 1.

[71] Sparkes, Talcott 1970, p. 22-25.

[72] Gill 1984.

[73] Slej 1991.

[74] Egorova 2018.

[75] The similarities were identified in the course of macroscopic analysis of the finds carried out by the author during the study of the material from both sites. Further comparative research was undertaken on the basis of detailed documentation of finds. At this research stage, it seems that for more reliable conclusions, it will be necessary to implement additional research methods such as microscopic analyses.

One of the most common motifs used in the decoration of black-gloss pottery was a depiction of a palmette. On the examples from Histria, the petals of the palmette could take the shape of a teardrop, slightly curved at the top, with the lower petals curled in a spiral and a diamond-shaped centre (pl. IV/1)[76]. These stamps have an elongated shape in the form of a rounded cone; as with other types, many sub-types can be distinguished, *e.g.* according to the number of palmette petals (pl. IV/1-5)[77]. What draws attention here is a stamp with clearly separated proportional leaves and some curls like a hook at the ends (pl. IV/5). The palmettes also differ in the shape of the petals, which can be rounded or have a more geometric shape with flattened tops (pl. IV/6-11)[78]. The palmette stamps may be also distinguished because of their size (pl. IV/9-11); larger palmettes have quite broad leaves, often slightly bent at the ends, but with relatively flat tops. In this case, it is also possible to distinguish individual stamps that differ from each other in the number of petals or their shape[79]. Another group consists of smaller-sized palmettes with a round fan shape, a reasonably wide base, and broad, relatively long leaves arranged close to each other (pl. IV/12-14)[80]. The next group of stamps also features small palmettes, but these are characterized by narrow leaves clearly separated from each other and have an almost circular shape (pl. IV/15-18)[81]. In this group, it is worth noting a stamp with leaves marked in the form of slightly bent short lines (pl. IV/18). As some researchers have suggested, these differences in stamp shape may represent different pottery workshops[82].

In some cases, careful observation of the ornament allows us to reconstruct the process of applying the different decorative elements to the vessel's surface. In some examples, it can be seen that the palmettes were first impressed onto the surface individually and only later were arched lines added, joining them to form a wreath (pl. IV/1, 15, 17). In another case, the palmettes are stamped very shallowly; in fact, only the edges of the palmettes are visible (pl. IV/6-7, 18). It has been suggested that this may mean that the stamp used to make such decoration was already heavily worn from long use, or that the depth of the impressed stamp reflects the manner in which the stamp was applied to the surface. Plate VI/1-2[83] show examples of an evenly impressed ornament and one where the stamp was applied to the surface starting with the edges of the stamp, with different pressure used for each impression. There is also an example where the entire ornament is shallowly impressed into the clay (pl. IV/18 and V/6 – decoration of the same vessel), which may indicate a deliberate decorative choice that could be described as a feature of a particular workshop.

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[76] The palmette (His.T/17) may be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 59/865.

[77] The stamp of the palmette of pl. IV/3 (His.T/10) may be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 49/458; the palmette of pl. IV/4 is close in shape to: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 49/479 (the other stamps: His.T/17, V 857272, V 21087, His.T/7).

[78] His.T/85; His.T/10; His.T/92; His.T/34; His.T/21; His.T/76.

[79] The palmette of pl. IV/9 can be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 51/504; the shape of the palmette stamp of pl. IV/10 can be compared to: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/559.

[80] V 85423; V 857272; His.T/95.

[81] The palmettes in this group might be compared with Athenian Agora materials. The stamp of pl. IV/16 (His.T/183) is close in shape to the stamp from stemless cup 491: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 51/491. Pl. IV/15 is close in shape to Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 50/484; other examples: His.T/124; His.T/71; V220465.

[82] Detailed analyses of palmette stamps have been published by Peter E. Corbett (1955) for the Athenian finds and Tatyana V. Egorova for finds from Panticapaeum (2018).

[83] His.T/124; V 21038.

The next most popular decorative motif used in the black-gloss pottery examples from Histria consists of ovules, *i.e.* oval stamps arranged in a circle enclosed between two concentric lines. A careful analysis of the examples known from Histria shows that the ornament could take two shapes: a full oval (pl. IV/1, 5)[84] or an oval with a truncated, unclosed end; sometimes the decoration is similar to a series of hooks (pl. V/2-4, 6)[85]. There is also an example where the ovals have been replaced by dots (pl. V/7)[86]. Moreover, it can be seen that this pattern can be made very carefully (pl. V/1-2), with evenly impressed ovals forming, together with enclosing lines, a ring (perhaps a special tool was used in such cases?), or it can be more irregular, with individual ovals overlapping or extending beyond their intended area (pl. V/3-4)[87].

The rosette motif is formed by long lines that radiate from a small incised circle in the centre of the bottom of an open vessel and then connect to each other with a series of arcs when they reach an outer incised circle (pl. V/8)[88]. Another arrangement of the same compositional components consists of bands of long parallel lines closed at one or both ends with arcs, the so-called "petals" or "tongues" motif (pl. V/9-12)[89]. For motifs consisting of long straight lines, both single and double lines could be used (pl. V/8, 11), probably incised or impressed with similar tools. Among the finds from Histria, examples of similar compositions are known, where both rosettes and tongue strips were most likely made with a tool, *i.e.* a simple thin plate, which allowed parallel lines of the same length to be imprinted (pl. V/11). On the other hand, another example of the same type of decoration shows parallel rosette lines made "freehand" with a stylus or burin. This is indicated by the hooked ends of the lines, their different lengths and the fact that the lines do not reach and interact with the arcs forming the ends of the rosette petals (pl. V/9-10).

The decoration of Athenian black-gloss vessels also includes the so-called rouletting motif, made by using a gear-shaped tool that produced an ornament in the shape of multiple, concentrically-arranged rows of short lines, placed vertically or obliquely. Careful observation shows that, just as palmettes vary in shape and size, this motif can also take on different designs: short dashes in separated circles (pl. V/15), a single row of densely spaced long lines (pl. V/13)[90], dashes that may be thin or rather wide (pl. V/14, 16)[91]. The roulette motif might also be arranged in one or multiple circles (pl. V/13-15)[92].

As has already been mentioned, the ornament on black-gloss Athenian vessels can consist of many elements combined into a complicated composition, or it can be a simple schematic decoration. Among the finds from Histria, the most elaborate designs can be found on stemless cups. The flat

[84] The stamp of pl. V/1 (His.T/174) may be compared with Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 50/498. Pl. V/5 (His.T/158) represents an ovule shape comparable with that on Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/536.

[85] Pl. V/6 (V 220465) is close in style to Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 52/514. Pl. V/2 (His.T/39) is comparable with Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 52/522.

[86] V 8552.

[87] The motif of ovules of pl. V/3-4 (His.T/62; V 857272) can be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 58/799, 800.

[88] V 17967.

[89] His.T/53; His.T/69; His.T/84; His.T/113.

[90] The rouletting ring of pl. V/13 is also known from an Athenian Agora example: Rotroff 1997, pl. 142/633. The decoration of pl. V/14 (V 18395) is comparable to Rotroff 1997, pl. 142/638.

[91] V 21038.

[92] The rouletting rings of pl. V/15 (His.T/43) are close in style to those on a black-gloss vessel from Athenian Agora excavations: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/560. The rouletting from pl. V/14 can be compared with Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 56/759.

shape of the bottom of these vessels encouraged the placement of complex compositions on their inner surface. The decorations observed on finds from Histria are, for example, composed of a double palmette wreath surrounded by a strip of tongues (pl. VI/3)[93]. This ornament is placed on a vessel in the shape of a stemless cup close to a form dated to the end of the third quarter of the 5th century BC[94]. The design itself may be compared with another example from the Athenian Agora excavations dated to the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th century BC[95]. The composition is made with great precision. Double parallel lines were used to create the sides of the tongues, and the shape of the arches at their ends suggests that they were incised by a sharp tool. Careful observation reveals that first the concentric circles which divided the surface into separate zones of decoration were incised, then the parallel doubled lines were added, and finally, the arched lines which closed the tongues were inscribed (pl. VI/4-5). In another variant of the decoration of the stemless cup, the palmettes and the band of tongues are separated by a motif of ovules, which also closes the composition[96].

Another composition can be found in two examples from Histria that carry the same pattern, in which the decoration was arranged in the scheme of a rosette in the centre, then a palmette wreath, then a band of ovules, and finally a band of tongues and another circle of ovules to complete the composition (pl. VI/6)[97]. The decoration is applied to the inner surface of a stemless-cup bottom dated, like the other examples, to the 30s of 5th century BC[98]. Comparisons for the decoration may be found in other finds from the Athenian Agora excavations[99]. In another decoration variant, a band of ovules is placed in the centre, reduced to a row of single dots. This motif is surrounded by palmettes that are not connected with each other, followed by a band of petals, represented as radially-diverging lines like tongues but closed with arcs only on their outside ends. The two motifs are separated by a narrow band repeating the motif of reduced ovules[100]. The same motif of ovules reduced to dots is known from another fragment from Histria (pl. V/7) and on examples from Athens from the last quarter of the 4th century BC[101]. As can be observed in another example from Histria, the decoration placed on the stemless cup may also represent simpler arrangements that give the impression of a lighter composition, not so overloaded with details. The best-preserved example of this kind from Histria is a stemless cup with a composition consisting of a rosette surrounded by two bands of petals and a band of ovules[102]. A very close parallel is known from the Athenian Agora assemblage[103]. Other examples of this schema include vessels with a decoration of concentrically-arranged bands of tongues surrounding a rosette or a simple circle placed in

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93 MH 180.

94 Alexandrescu 1978, p. 84, pl. 62/528; Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 22/487, fig. 5/487.

95 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 51/502.

96 Alexandrescu 1978, p. 84, pl. 62/532; the shape of the vessel can be also compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 22/487, fig. 5/487.

97 MH 177.

98 Alexandrescu 1978, p. 84, pl. 61/529, and pl. 63/533, the shape may be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 23, 50/488, fig. 5/488.

99 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 50/486, 488-489.

100 Alexandrescu 1978, p. 84, pl. 61/527; the shape can be compared with form 484 from Athenian Agora: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 23, 50/484, fig. 5/484.

101 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 59/1026.

102 Coja, Gheorghiță 1983, p. 49, pl. 24/49.

103 Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 50/483, 484.

the centre[104]. This decoration schema is close to an example from the Athenian Agora that can be dated to the end of the third quarter of the 5th century BC[105].

Among the Athenian black-gloss pottery production, other decorative motifs like ivy leaves, lotus or a meander motif are relatively rare. They have not been recognized in the Histria assemblage, but they are known from the Nikonion finds (pl. VII/1)[106]. On the other hand, there are known from Histria other fragments with rare decorations that were originally part of more extensive, complicated compositions, like triangles covered by parallel lines (pl. VII/2) and a band with a net motif (pl. VII/3). The triangle motif with parallel lines is known from finds from the Athenian Agora[107] and from the decoration of a vessel at Nikonion, but in the latter case it appears on the external surface of the wall of a sessile kantharos[108]. Interestingly, in the fragment from Histria, the parallel lines were almost certainly drawn "freehand" with some kind of stylus, while in the case of the example from Nikonion, the lines are made with high precision, which suggests the use of another kind of tool. The net band observed on the Histria fragment (pl. VII/3) may be part of a more elaborate decorative scheme, by analogy with the decoration on stemless cups from Nikonion (pl. VII/4) and the Athenian Agora assemblage[109]. A very popular motif, represented in many variants among the finds at Histria, was a palmette wreath arranged in a few concentric circles (pl. VII/5) or placed as a single decoration (pl. VII/6, 7)[110]. The palmettes could also remain unconnected, arrayed in concentric bands separated by a single ring (pl. VIII/1-2). Comparable compositions dated to the 30s of the 5th century BC are known from the Athenian Agora[111]. In the simpler version of the composition, the palmettes are not joined with each other and are just arranged around a single incised centre circle (pl. VIII/3). The closest comparison for this fragment from Histria is the decoration found on a vessel in Athens dated to the beginning of the 4th century BC[112]. Later compositions using palmette motifs are limited to a few patterns, the most common of which features four palmettes stamped close to each other in a cross arrangement (pl. VIII/4). The motif is known from many examples dated to the 4th century BC from the Athenian Agora excavations[113].

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[104] Alexandrescu 1978, p. 84, pl. 61/523, the shape can be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 23, 50/484, fig. 5/484, dated to ca. 450 BC; another example is Alexandrescu 1978, p. 84, pl. 61/524 the shape is in type of: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 22/487, fig. 5/487, characteristic for the end of the third quarter of the 5th century BC.

[105] Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 50/490, 493.

[106] In particular, a fragment from the Ukrainian-Polish excavations in Nikonion, season 2011 (Nikonion/2011/35). The motif of meander decoration is known from the Athenian Agora examples: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 52/510, 53/544; an Athenian black-gloss vessel with decoration using the meander motif is also known from Tyras: Sekerskaja 1980, p. 43, ris. 4/4; the ivy leaf from the Nikonion fragment may be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/553; lotus stamps: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/554.

[107] The ornament of pl. VII/2 (V13965) may be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 52/507, fragment of a stemless cup dated to ca. 420 BC.

[108] Głuszek 2018, p. 152-154, cat. 9.15.

[109] For the ornaments of Histria (V 17210) and Nikonion (Głuszek 2018, tab. 21/6.53), compare: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 51/491, 494, stemless cups dated to 430, 420 BC.

[110] The finds from Histria – pl. VII/6, 7 (V 20029, 118) can be compared with the following examples from the Athenian Agora: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/549-550, pl. 56/659.

[111] The concept of the composition from pl. VIII/1 (V 85423) and VIII/2 (His.T/34) might be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 49/467 – with separating rings, and pl. 49/479 – without separating rings.

[112] The decoration from pl. VIII/3 (His.T/76) refers to the decorative schema of: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 52/599.

[113] The composition of pl. VIII/4 (V 21087) can be compared with: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/558; Rotroff 1997, pl. 142/637.

Another popular decorative pattern in the Athenian workshops was the combination of a wreath of palmettes with the ovule motif. The composition, as the examples from Histria demonstrate, may consist of a single band of ovules encircled by a wreath of palmettes (pl. VIII/5) [114], but there are also examples from Histria where the ovule band is surrounded by single palmettes that are not joined to each other[115]. There is also another fragment known from Histria with a palmette-wreath decoration placed in the centre of the composition, within a band of ovules (pl. VIII/6)[116]. There are also more elaborate compositions consisting of four palmettes arranged in a cross in the centre, surrounded by a band of ovule motifs enclosed in turn within a palmette wreath that served as the outer band of the composition (pl. VIII/7). The schema is close to the decoration of a stemless cup from Athens dated to ca. 420 BC, and other parallels can be found on bolsals dated to ca. 430 BC and bowls dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC[117].

The most interesting composition is represented by a fragment from Histria decorated with a central rosette motif and a band of tongues above. The band separating the two motifs is divided by vertical dashes into metopes with individual palmettes (pl. IX/1). The stamp shows the palmette with a relatively simple shape, which we can also find on a vessel from Nikonion, albeit in a different decorative arrangement (pl. IX/2)[118]. Another example of decoration on Athenian black-gloss vessels is a motif of radially-diverging long lines terminating in a small stamped circle. Examples of such decoration can be seen on finds at both Histria (pl. IX/3) and Nikonion (pl. IX/4)[119]. The Histria and Nikonion fragments are comparable in the concept of the composition, but the differences in the shapes of the circles suggest instead that these are examples of the same decorative motif made in different workshops, or at least using different stamps.

Vessels decorated with the roulette motif form a separate group. In the Histrian ceramic assemblage, there are examples of both compositions described above: those that use the rouletting motif as the only element of decoration and those where it has been combined with other elements into a more complicated design. The first variant, widespread in Athenian production, is represented by a few well-preserved examples from Histria (pl. V/13)[120]. The other variant involves bands of rouletting surrounding palmettes arranged in a wreath (pl. IX/7) or placed next to each other

[114] Alexandrescu 1978, p. 88, pl. 66/550a (V 857272) – the decoration is placed on the inner surface of a bolsal dated to the last decades of the 5th century BC: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/536. The decoration corresponds to the composition on: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 49/458, 53/536.

[115] Alexandrescu 1978, p. 85, pl. 64/542, pl. 66/563 – similar decoration is placed on the inner surface of a bolsal dated to the last decades of the 5th century BC: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 24/541, fig. 6/541. The decoration also corresponds to: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 53/548, 54/590.

[116] The pattern of composition of pl. VIII/6 (His.T/158) can be identified on examples from the Athenian Agora excavations: pl. 51/504, 53/532, 54/586, 55/602, 614.

[117] For a comparable decoration for pl. VIII/7 (V 857272) see: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 51/504 – stemless cup; fig. 6/532, 53/532-533 – bolsal; pl. 57/780, 782-784 – bowls.

[118] The fragment from Nikonion, comparable with the fragment from Histria (His.T/8), was discovered during the Ukrainian–Polish excavations carried out in 2010 (Nikonion/2010/74).

[119] The type of decoration is related to the compositions of the Athenian Agora finds: Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 49/441 from late 5th century BC and Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 52/513 referring to the stemless cup dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC. The fragment from Histria was discovered in so-called *Sacred area* (His.T/39), the fragment from Nikonion came from excavations conducted by Ukrainian and Polish archaeologists in 2011 (Nikonion/2011/25).

[120] The examples from Histria: Alexandrescu 1978, p. 90, pl. 66/584 – kantharos dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC, and Alexandrescu 1978, p. 92, pl. 67/598 – bowl dated to the second quarter of the 4th century BC; pl. IX/5 (His.T/24), refers to the later Athenian production: Rotroff 1997, pl. 142/631, 643.

without connecting arcs (pl. IX/6, 8)[121]. These compositions are rather popular in Histria and well-known in the Athenian Agora assemblage as well[122].

A simple decorative motif is the band of repeated dots, which may be aesthetically related to rouletting. Examples of vessels with this decorative pattern come from both Histria and Nikonion (pl. IX/9, 10). In both cases, the palmette-wreath motif was placed at the centre of the composition. Still, the different shape of the stamps and dots indicates that the vessels were made in different workshops. Some analogies for the dot motif can be found in the Athenian black-gloss pottery from the Athenian Agora excavations[123].

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, based on the information provided, black-gloss Athenian pottery continues to offer many fascinating avenues of research. An in-depth understanding of the technological process of producing black-gloss ceramics is crucial for recognising and understanding the physical characteristics of macroscopically-recorded vessels produced in the Athenian workshops. These studies and the connection of the archaeometric results with the stylistic and typological analysis of the vessels lead not only to the proper assessment of the source material being studied (ceramics made in a specific way in the workshops in Athens), but also constitute a reference point for similar studies and analyses of fragments of black-gloss vessels that were produced in other Greek cities. This point of view is justified considering that, in many cases, the production of black-gloss vessels developed elsewhere in the Greek world under the influence of Attic products. It should be remembered that stylistic studies (including comparative analyses) based on the analysis of stamp imprints and other decorative motifs should be as accurate as possible, including microscopic examination, if it is necessary, in the course of research. Only such a research process can lead to credible conclusions.

In a broader perspective, thanks to detailed studies of finds from a given Greek centre, further research is possible, including comparative analyses with identified groups of finds from other sites. Finds from Greek centres that also appear in neighbouring areas can enrich our ability to reconstruct relationships between different centres that are currently only inferred from textual sources. Continuing research in this direction may provide a new perspective on the development of Greek cities on the north-western coast of the Black Sea. It should be remembered that this type of research should be carried out on large and well-contextualized groups of finds, providing the largest possible spectrum of chronological and typological attributes characteristic of the ceramic assemblage at a given archaeological site.

The analogies presented here as representative of similarities between finds from different sites should be treated as a proposal for further, more detailed research in this area. Moreover, it should be remembered that the stylistic analogies presented for the decoration on vessels from

[121] Pl. IX/6 (V 21038), pl. IX/8 (V 18395), for the other example see: Alexandrescu 1978, pl. 66, 67/590, 592, 595, 607, 608.

[122] Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 56/659, pl. 58/805; Rotroff 1997, pl. 142/169 – rouletting and wreath of palmettes; Sparkes, Talcott 1970, pl. 56/664; Rotroff 1997, pl. 142/637 – rouletting with cross-arranged palmettes.

[123] The fragment from Nikonion (pl. IX/10) from Ukrainian–Polish excavations, season 2010 (Nikonion/2010/54), fragment from Histria (pl. IX/9), from *Sacred area* excavations (V 18279); Rotroff 1997, pl. 143/664-665.

Histria and Nikonion are based on macroscopic observations made by the author. The necessity of microscopic analyses cannot be ruled out for more detailed studies. It seems reasonable to perform such analyses even for the group of finds from one site, as they can provide more detailed data for studying the finds and bring new conclusions in the context of stamps and other technical procedures used in the decoration of black-gloss pottery.

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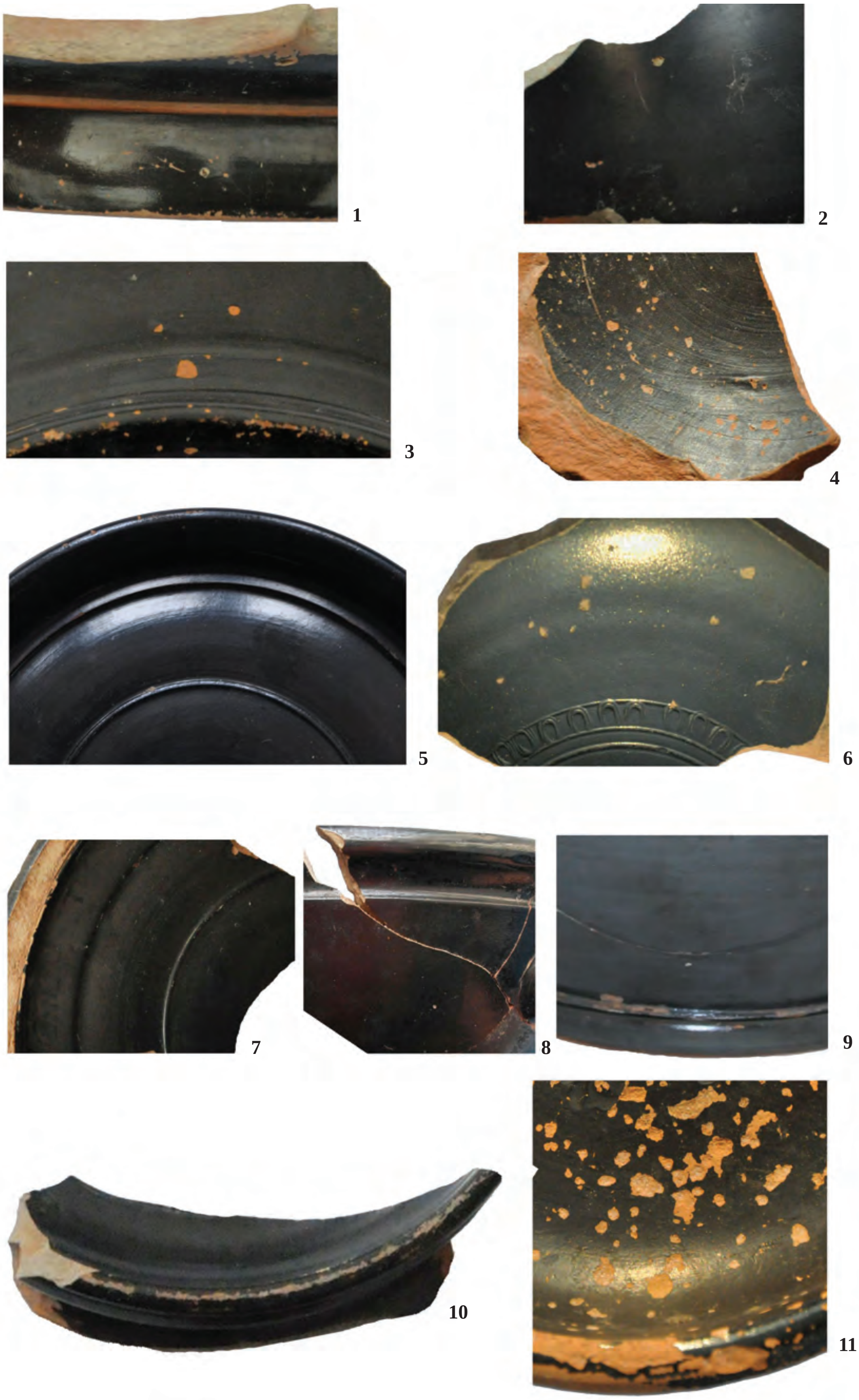
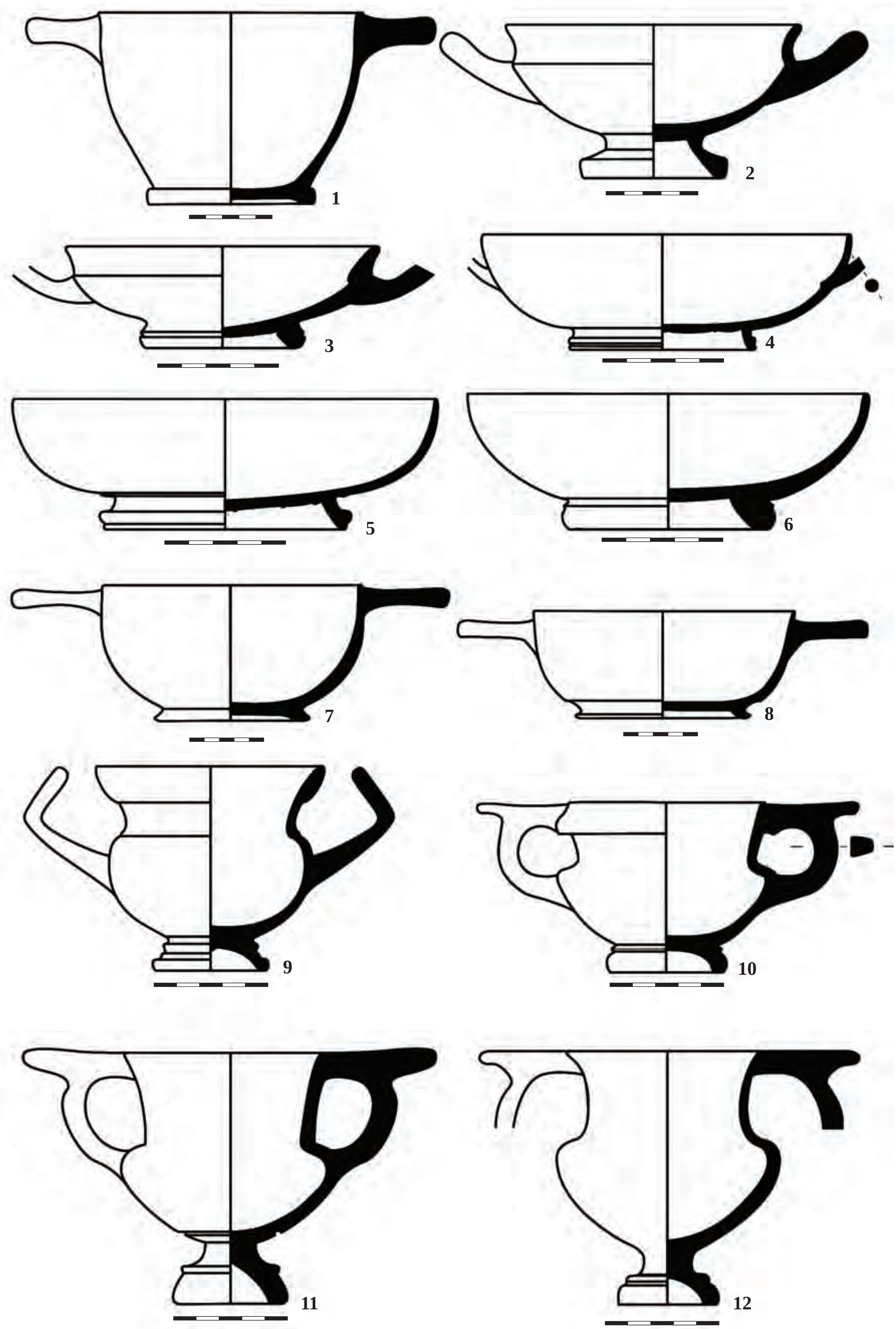
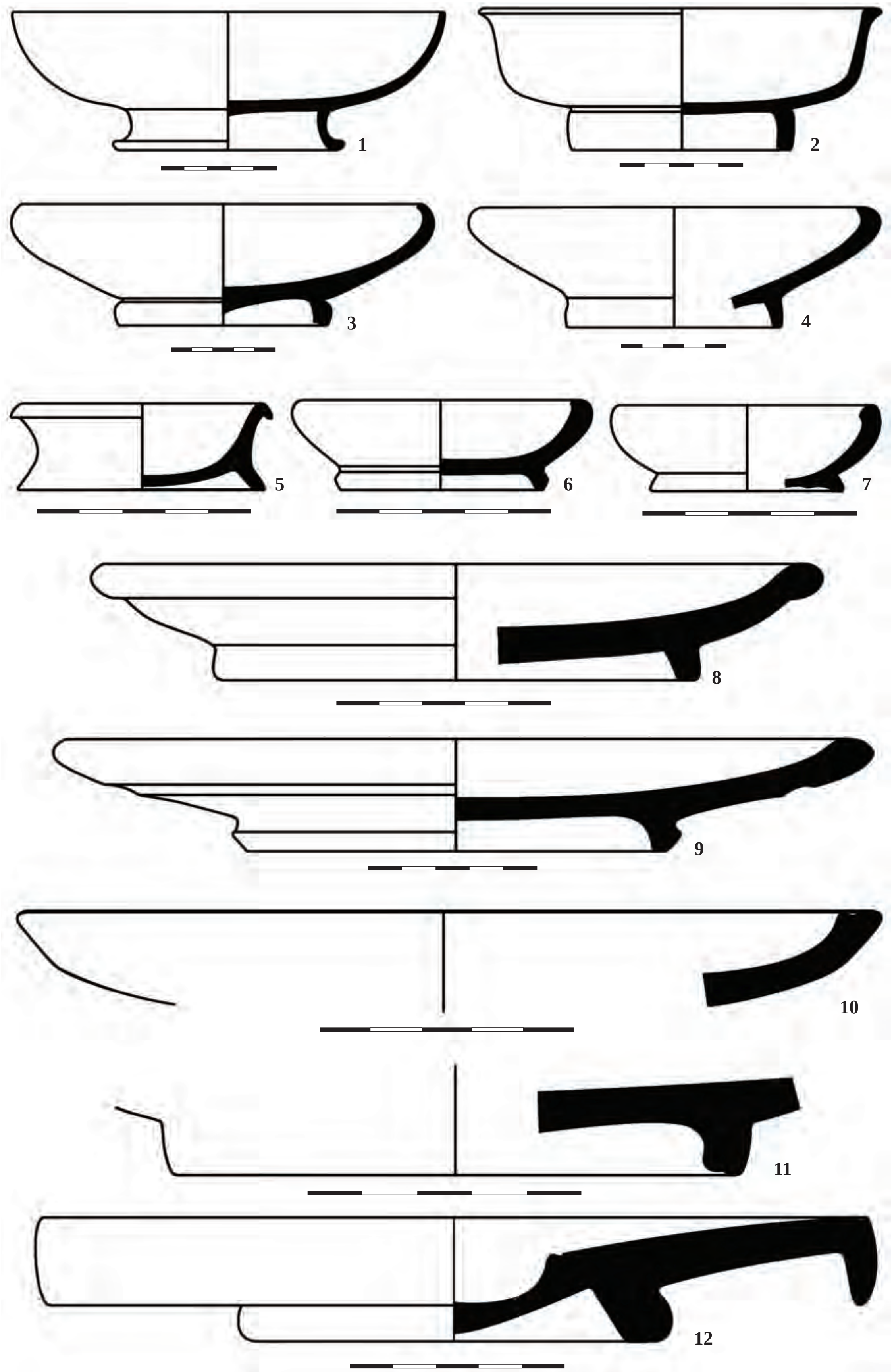


Pl. I. The differing visual appearances of the black-gloss layer: 1. Sheen; 2. Semi-matt; 3. Matt; 4. Metallic sheen; 5. Dark bluish; 6. Greenish; 7. Dark brown; 8. Dark brownish-red; 9. Dark grey; 10. The traces of vessel's use; 11. The traces of deposition destruction.

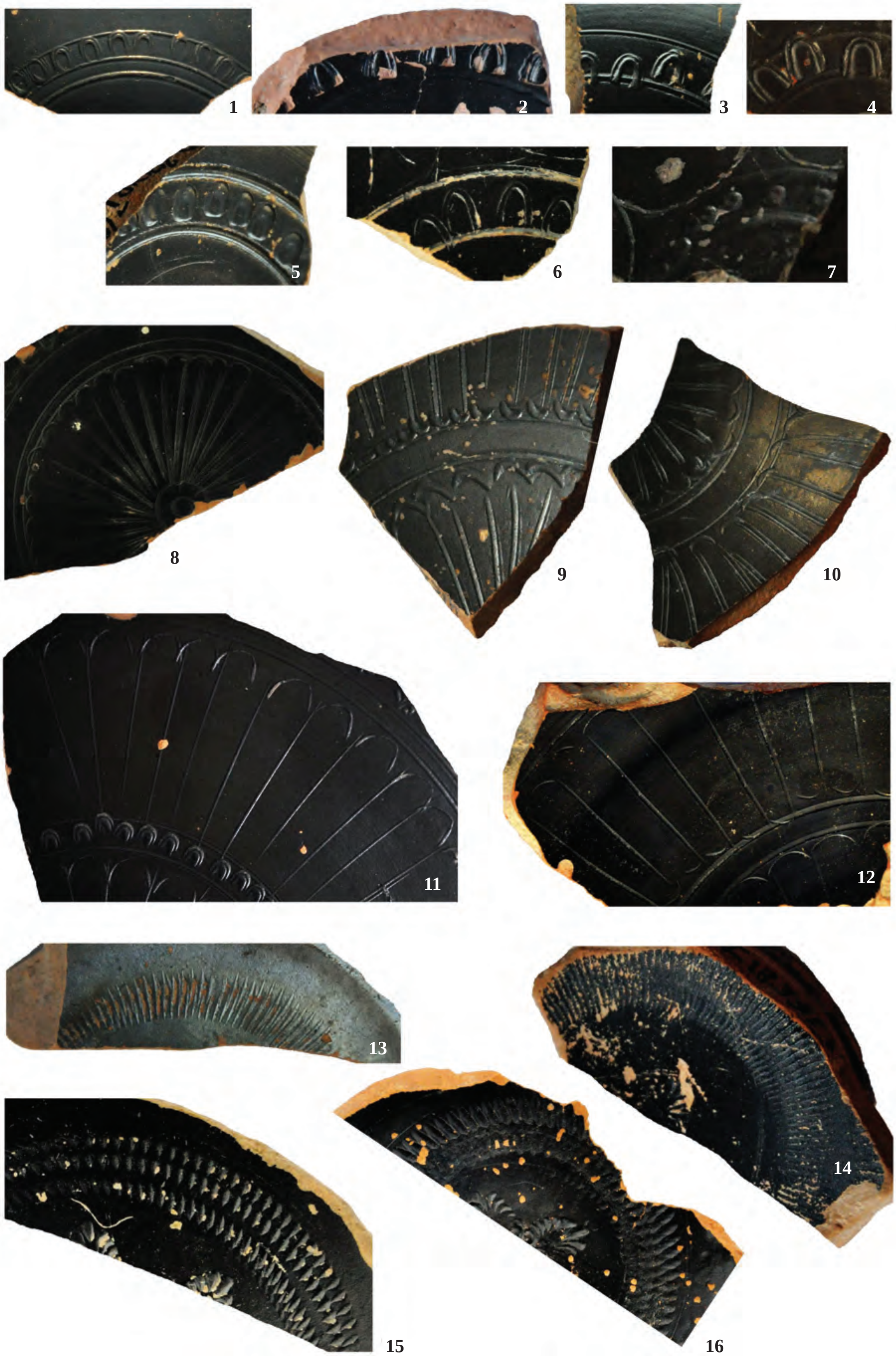


Pl. II. The Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria. Drinking vessels (drawings Inga Głuszek).



Pl. III. The Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria. Bowls, plates, fish-plate (drawings Inga Głuszek).

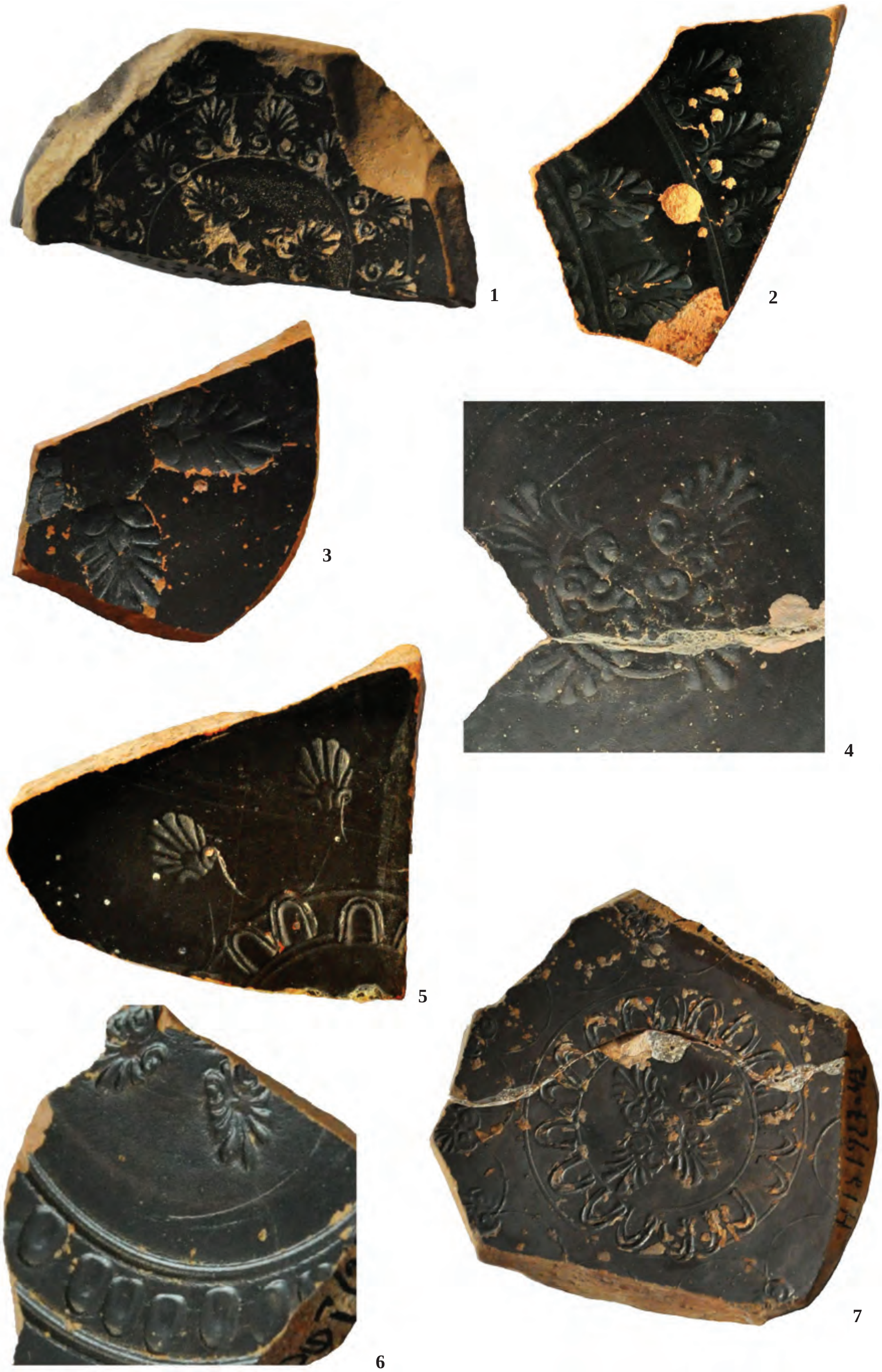
Pl. IV. The stamps of palmettes of Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria (photo Inga Głuszek).



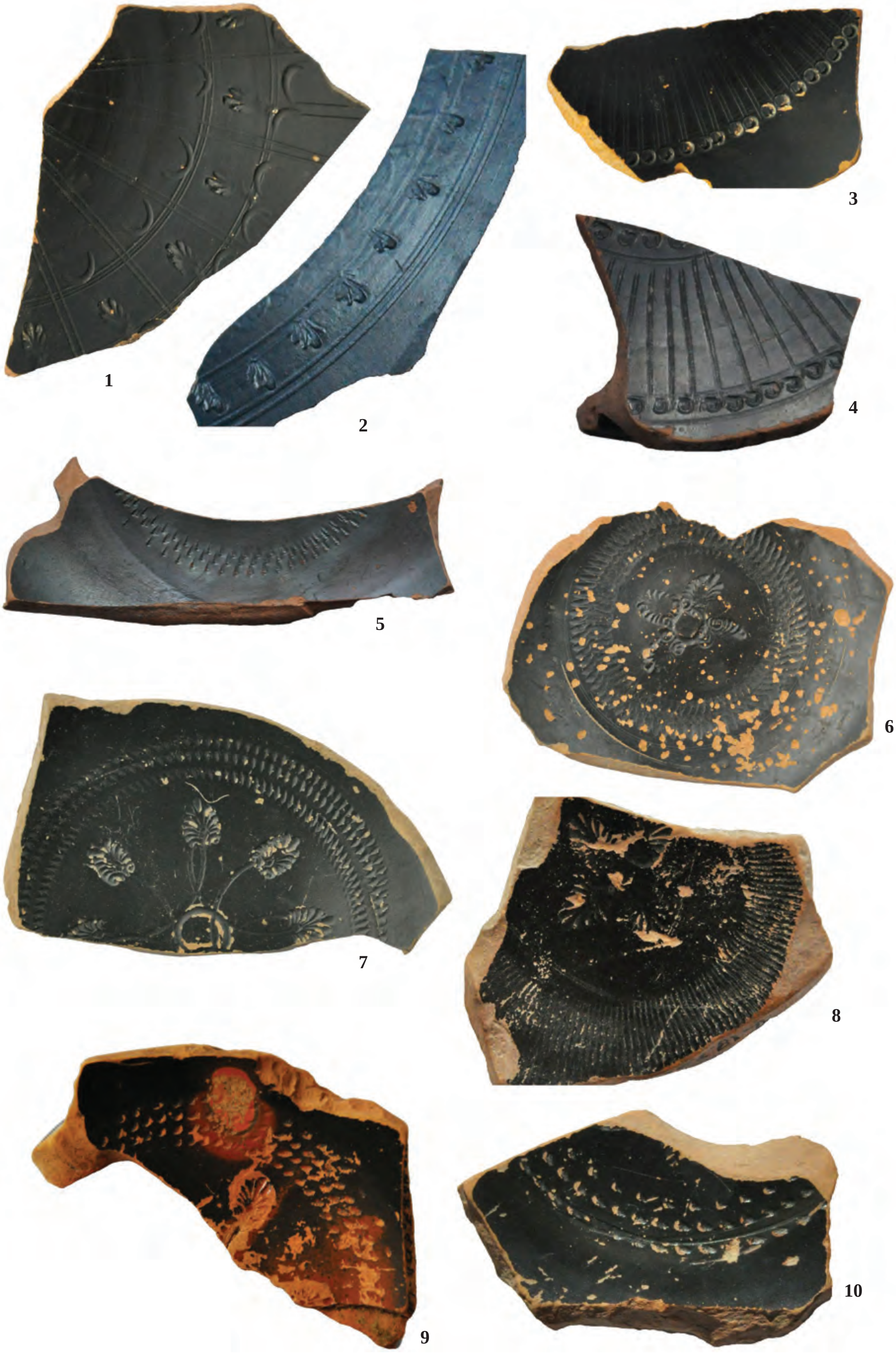
Pl. V. The stamped and incised decoration of Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria.

Pl. VI. The Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria. Patterns of decoration (photo Inga Głuszek).

Pl. VII. The Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria and Nikonion. Patterns of decoration (photo Inga Głuszek).



Pl. VIII. The Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria. Patterns of decoration (photo Inga Głuszek).



Pl. IX. The Athenian black-gloss pottery from Histria and Nikonion. Patterns of decoration (photo Inga Głuszek).

THE FIRST LEAD SPINDLE WHORL REPORTED FROM ISTROS

ALINA IANCU*, LIVIU MIHAIL IANCU**

Keywords: Classical period, Istros, lead, metallurgy, spinning, spindle whorl, textile tools

Abstract: A small lead truncated biconical object with a central hole, discovered in 2021 in the Roman-period necropolis on the Plateau of Istros, but most likely originating from a Classical layer from below, is published in this paper as the first ever reported lead spindle whorl from this West Pontic Greek city. Given the abundance of similar artefacts from the Greek cities on the north-western coast of the Black Sea and some other pieces of evidence, it is hypothesized that such objects were produced in large numbers in Istros, too, and that probably only mischance and the lack of interest towards this type of finds prevented the recovery and the publication of more lead whorls from this site. This first lead spindle whorl from Istros is a supplementary proof of the substantial similarities in the material culture of the ancient Greek cities on the western and north-western shores of the Black Sea before the Roman conquest.

Cuvinte-cheie: perioada clasică, Histria, plumb, metalurgie, tors, fusaiolă, unelte pentru producția de textile

Rezumat: Un mic obiect bitronconic de plumb, cu orificiu central, descoperit în 2021 în necropola din perioada romană de pe Platoul de la Histria, dar provenind, cel mai probabil, dintr-un strat inferior din perioada clasică, este publicat în acest articol drept cea dintâi fusaiolă de plumb semnalată în această cetate greacă vest-pontică. Date fiind abundența artefactelor similare din cetățile grecești de pe coasta nord-vestică a Mării Negre și alte câteva mărturii, se presupune că astfel de obiecte trebuie să fi fost produse în număr mare și la Histria, probabil doar hazardul și lipsa de interes față de acest tip de descoperiri împiedicând până acum colectarea și publicarea mai multor fusaiole de plumb de aici. Prima fusaiolă de plumb de la Istros reprezintă o dovadă suplimentară a asemănărilor substanțiale existente la nivelul culturii materiale a cetăților antice grecești din vestul și nord-vestul Mării Negre, înainte de cucerirea romană.

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INTRODUCTION

A small lead truncated biconical object with a central hole was discovered by the American-Romanian Histria Multiscalar Archaeological Project team on the Plateau of the Greek city of Istros on the 4th of August 2021, the fatal day when our beloved professor Alexandru Avram dramatically passed away. It is not only this strange coincidence that makes this modest contribution an appropriate homage to his memory. The find highlights once again the close similarities between the Greek communities along the western and north-western Black Sea shores, thus continuing Alexandru Avram's constant focus on the shared characteristics of the ancient Pontic Greek cities.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE FIND

The object was found in a trench dug ca. 150 m west to the midpoint between the two main gates of the Early Roman enclosure wall and ca. 120 m west to the Classical enclosure wall, in the central south-eastern part of the Istrian Plateau (fig. 1). The area examined by opening this trench – designated as the "Kiln Trench" (KT) and constantly enlarged from 36 m^2 in 2019 to 63 m^2 in 2022 – functioned as a pottery workshop in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period (mostly the 4th century BC) and as a necropolis in the Roman period (2nd-6th centuries AD). It should be

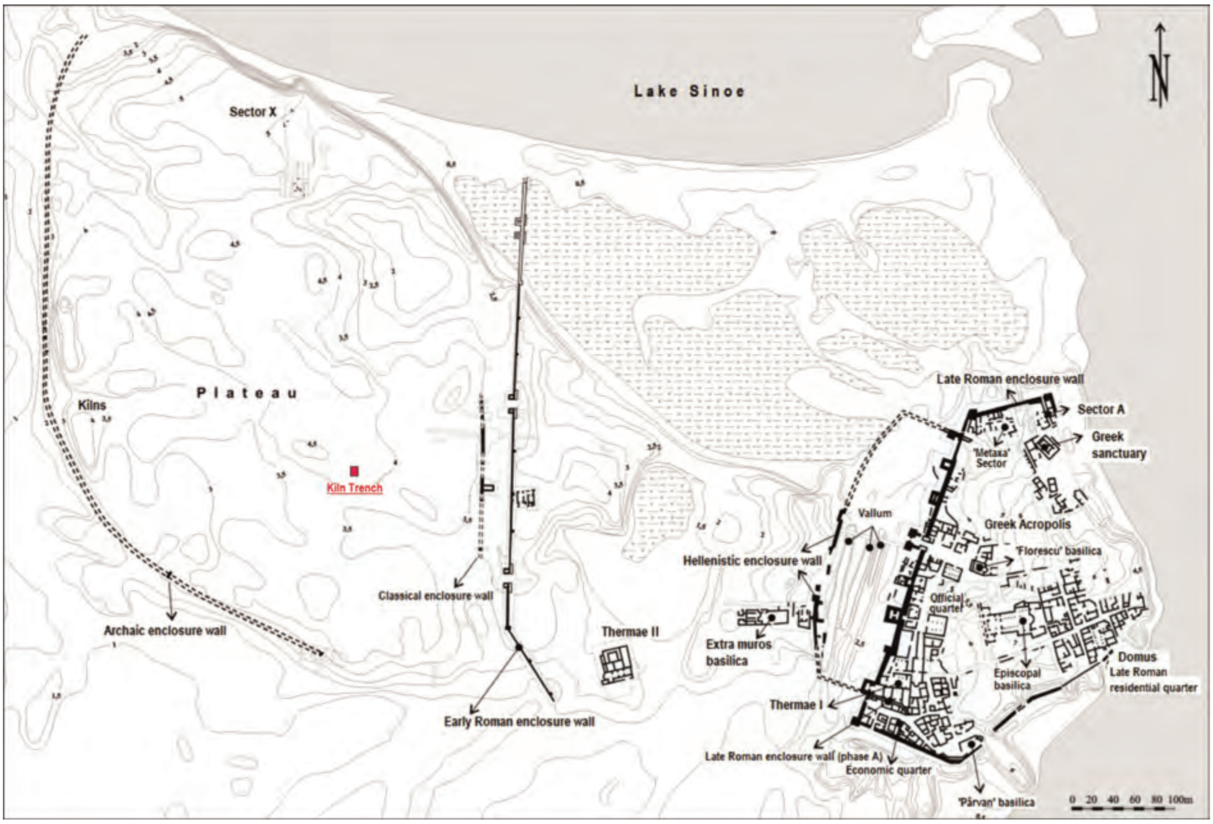

Fig. 1. The position of KT on the plan of Istros archaeological site. The plan is a slightly modified version of Suceveanu 2007, pl. I.

noted though that the excavations in the area are ongoing and the current stratigraphic conclusions should be considered preliminary[1].

The artefact was found in a layer consisting of mixed brown-yellow dirt with traces of ash resulted from the collapse and degradation of mudbrick building structures due to rain, wind, bioturbation caused by ground squirrels and human activities associated with the cemeterial use of this plot of land starting from the second half of the 2nd century AD[2]. The intense building and hole-digging activities in this area led to the frequent discovery of Late Classical material – sherds of painted and black glazed pottery, stamped amphora handles, etc. – in the upper layers formed during the Late Hellenistic and Roman times, such as the layer where the lead object was found. Given its discovery close to the west side of T 9, an Early Roman child cist grave, in an area with a high concentration of Early Roman tombs and next to large pits filled with Late Hellenistic pottery (fig. 2), it is quite probable that the artefact similarly moved up from older strata to the spot where it was found.

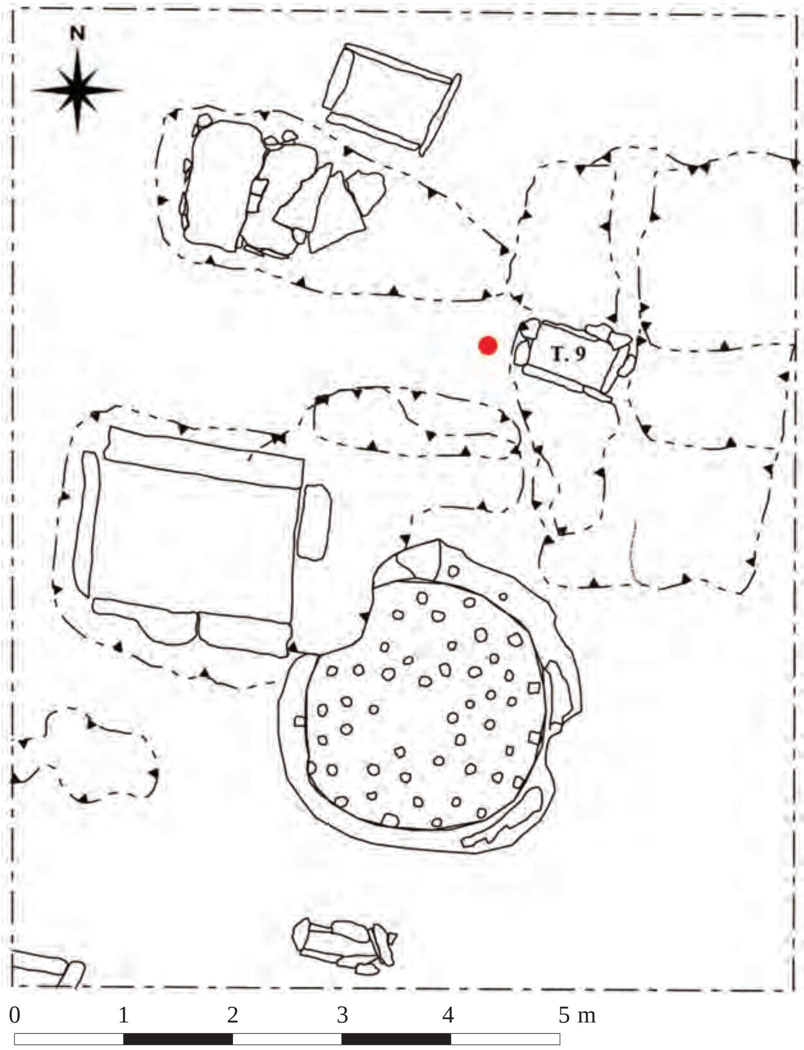

Fig. 2. The find spot of the lead spindle whorl on the plan of KT.

[1] Two short notes on the results of the excavations were published as Rabinowitz *et alii* 2020; Rabinowitz *et alii* 2022.

[2] Layer 005 in the recording system of the excavation.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECT

Despite heavy corrosion that significantly altered the surface of the object and even led to a certain degree of fragmentation[3] of its side B[4], its overall shape may be described as truncated biconical, with a central hole (fig. 3). As we consider the artefact to be a spindle whorl, a spindle shaft made of perishable material, most probably wood, should have passed through its central hole. In its actual state of preservation, the object has the following dimensions: maximum height = 1 cm, maximum diameter = 2 cm, maximum diameter of the central hole = 0.7 cm, weight = 11.63 g. In its initial state, the object should have weighted around 1.5-2 g more.

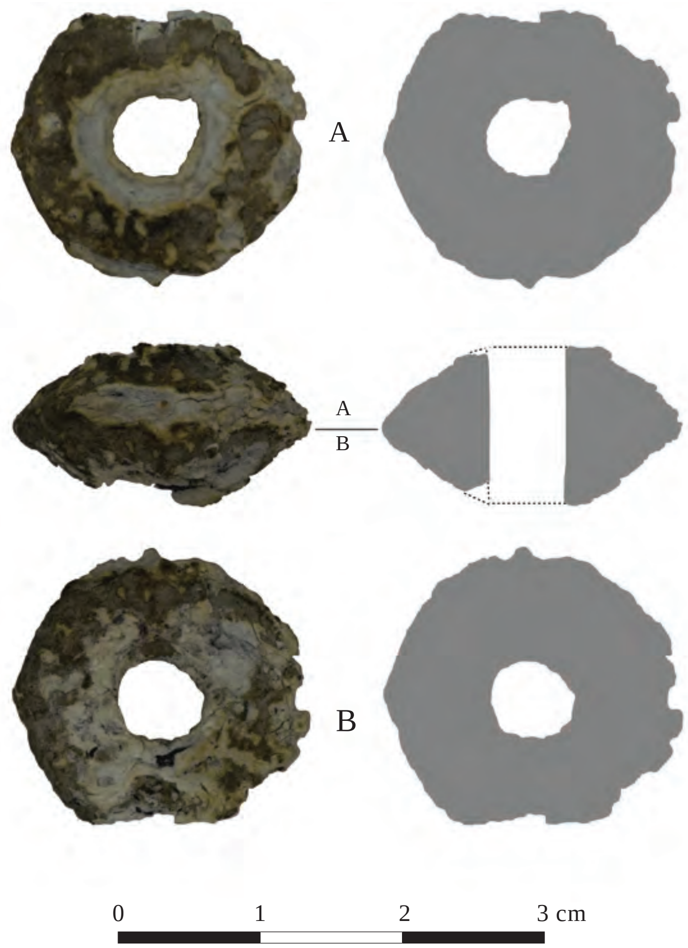

Fig. 3. Photograph and drawing of the lead spindle whorl.

[3] This type of surface corrosion of lead spindle whorls occurs frequently, as noticed on a larger assemblage of 69 items by Gavriljuk 1987, p. 121.

[4] The designation of the sides is arbitrary, being made for the convenience of description. It does not point to the position of the whorl on the spindle shaft. Besides the fact that the criteria for differentiating between the sides of truncated biconical whorls, like the ones presented in Gavriljuk 1987, p. 118, 120 (the different width of the central hole on the two sides, use-wear traces around the central hole), could be disputed, the high degree of corrosion and fragmentation renders differentiation unreliable in the current case. For example, it is impossible to reliably assess if the central hole was straight-sided or very slightly conical in profile.

The surface of the artefact is so worn and corroded that it is fairly difficult to ascertain whether it was plain or decorated with raised lines radiating from the central hole to the edge. A few hardly detectable groups of three to six closely rendered lines preserved on both sides of the object, but especially on the less damaged side A (fig. 4), might be considered traces of an initial decoration, as it is rather implausible that they resulted from corrosion. Moreover, as most of the known truncated biconical lead objects are decorated with patterns of lines radiating from the centre, either numerous and closely drawn, or just a few[5], it is advisable to consider the preserved traces as remnants of the original decoration.

On the other hand, it is implausible that the circular worn surface around the central hole on side A is a use-wear trace[6]. More likely, it resulted as part of the heavily corroded crust on the surface of the artefact might have been accidentally removed at its discovery.

Fig. 4. Microscope photograph of side A of the object, showing the remnants of the decoration consisting of raised lines radiating from the central hole to the edge. The image was captured using a Dino-Lite Digital Microscope AM4515ZT.

[5] *Cf.* Hmelevskij 2015, p. 224 for the criteria for establishing the two decorative sub-patterns. *E.g.* Ostroverchov 1981, p. 34, fig. 7/14-18; Smol'janinova 2009, p. 204, fig. 2/10-11, p. 205, fig. 3/25, p. 208, fig. 4/21, 24-30, p. 209, fig. 5/2, 32-33, p. 211, fig. 6/5-6, 8, 15-16, p. 214, fig. 8/8-19, 21; Hmelevskij 2015, p. 225, fig. 1/1-3.

[6] For use-wear traces on spindle whorls and bobbins, see Forte, Lemorini 2017.

PRODUCTION

The artefact was solid cast in a small two-part mould[7]. Moulds used for casting similar truncated biconical objects[8] were discovered in Tyras[9], Berezan[10], Olbia[11] and its *chora*[12], and Pantikapaion[13], whereas moulds for other types of presumable lead spindle whorls are known from Nikonion[14], Berezan[15], Olbia[16] and nearby settlements[17], and Pantikapaion[18]. Archaic and Hellenistic moulds discovered on the Plateau of Istros, which at the time of their publication were believed to have been used for casting jewellery, could have been used in fact for manufacturing whorls similar to the one discovered in KT[19].

TYPOLOGY AND FUNCTION

Similar small lead objects of different shapes were discovered in large numbers in other Greek settlements on the north-western coast of the Black Sea – Berezan, Olbia, Tyras, Nikonion – and in their *chorai*, while a smaller amount of finds of the same type was also recorded in Barbarian graves and settlements from the North-Pontic steppe and forest-steppe regions or in Crimea[20]. Often without or with minimal arguments, several hypotheses were advanced for the function of these artefacts, ranging from amulets and beads to clothing and harness decorations, but at least

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[7] The casting process is described at length and depicted in Denisova 1994, p. 79-80, fig. 1/3, 6. The depictions are redrawn in Treister 2010, p. 118, fig. 13.

[8] It is unclear to us from the description and the picture of a mould from Camiros published in Jacopi 1932-1933, p. 341, 358, fig. 87, cat. no. XI.1 (14523) if it should be included in this category of objects.

[9] Two moulds: Dmitrov 1949, p. 48-49, fig. 10/1; Smol'janinova 2009, p. 206-207.

[10] Son 1987, p. 122-123, fig. 42/3-4 and 7-8, moulds AB-61/740 and AB-71/646.

[11] Furmans'ka 1958, p. 42, fig. 1/2-3, p. 43-44, where one of the truncated biconical objects that could have been cast closely matches the dimensions of the object from Istros (2.0 cm – diameter of the object; 0.8 cm – diameter of the central hole); Denisova 1994 and Treister 2010, p. 117-120, fig. 12-15, mould OL 85-351.

[12] Kozyrka XV – Ruban 1979, p. 249-251, fig. 2 and Son 1987, p. 123, fig. 43, cat. no. II.7, where one of the truncated biconical objects that could have been cast closely matches the dimensions of the object from Istros (1.9 cm – diameter of the object; 0.8 cm – diameter of the central hole); Čertovatoe II – Ostroverchov 1981, p. 35, fig. 8.

[13] Treister 1987, p. 41-42, fig. 6/5; Treister 2010, p. 218.

[14] Brujako, Sekerskaja 2016, p. 188-189, 192, fig. 62/2, 3.

[15] Son 1987, p. 123, mould AB-75/503; Solov'ëv 2005, p. 125, cat. no. 232, mould B 66.274.

[16] Furmans'ka 1958, p. 42, fig. 1/1, p. 43; Bujskih, Fornasier, Kuzmiščev 2016, p. 46, 53-54, fig. 4/6.

[17] The evidence is summarized in Kryžickij *et alii* 1989, p. 78-79, fig. 29. On the moulds from Staraja Bogdanovka II, see however a revised interpretation by the excavators in Marčenko, Domanskij 1999, p. 49, 51.

[18] Blavatskij 1956, p. 119-120, fig. 8; Blavatskij 1957, p. 16-17, fig. 9.

[19] Coja 1961, p. 35-37, fig. 12/1 and 2; Coja 1962, p. 134-135, fig. 12/1 and 2. The dimensions of the whorls that could have been produced in these moulds slightly differ from those of the lead object discovered in KT (diameter: 1.4, respectively 1.9 cm; height – calculated as the actual height from the preserved part of the mould multiplied by two: 1.4, respectively 1.8 cm), but their overall appearance and size are very close. The hypothetical use of one of them – the Archaic mould published as well in Dimitriu 1966, p. 482, pl. 50e – for casting lead spindle whorls has already been advanced in Ruban 1979, p. 251. *Cf.* Treister 2010, p. 218.

[20] A complete list of the sites that produced lead spindle-whorls is strenuous to compile and would exceed the aim of this paper. The closest to the task – but still far from completion – seems to be Smol'janinova 2009. Finds from the steppe Scythian burials of the northern Black Sea region are listed in Gavriljuk 1987, p. 121-122. Some recent finds from Berezan are mentioned in Hmelevskij 2015, p. 224-225 (Berezan).

recently they have been interpreted as a specific kind of spindle whorls manufactured before the Roman conquest of the region[21]. Although the Eastern and the Pontic Greeks intensively used lead for casting jewellery and ornaments[22], the weight and the different shapes of the objects, as well as the dimensions of their central hole, more appropriate for introducing a stick than a wire or a thread, are arguments against the use of these objects as beads, buttons, amulets or clothing and harness decorations[23]. At least at the nomads from the North-Pontic steppes, lead seems to be the second most popular material for manufacturing spindle whorls, after clay[24].

On account of its profile, the spindle whorl from Istros should be assigned to the typological group of truncated biconical whorls. This well-known type of spindle whorls was first defined based on the evidence of this shape in clay[25], but it was also attested in materials considered uncommon and somehow luxurious, such as various rock types[26]. Svetlana Smol'janinova included this type in her classification of the lead whorls from the Black Sea area, acknowledging its high popularity and long tradition in the region, where they are attested from the 6th century BC until the 3rd century BC[27], a period consistent to the presumed date of the object from Istros. Unpublished clay spindle whorls from this site show that this spindle whorl shape was popular for a long time[28]. The type remained one of the most common in the Istro-Pontic region until the Byzantine period[29]. The closest analogies to the whorl from Istros are to be found in Berezan[30], Yagorlyk[31], and the rural territories of Olbia[32] and Tyras[33]. These are much better preserved than the one from Istros,

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[21] Ostroverchov 1981, p. 35 (himself a supporter of the amulet hypothesis) lists most of the hypotheses. *Cf.* Furmans'ka 1958, p. 43-47: decorations for the military equipment and horse harness; Dmitrov 1949, p. 48; Treister 2010, p. 118: beads (but Alekseeva 1982, p. 27 rejects this function for most of the types). Recent contributions interpreting them as spindle-whorls: Smol'janinova 2009; Hmelevskij 2015, p. 224-225; Bujskih, Fornasier, Kuzmiščev 2016, p. 46, 53-54. Similar objects deemed to be spindle whorls appear again during the Middle Ages, see Smol'janinova 2009, p. 213-215 and Diaconu 1959, p. 663-664, fig. 12/11.

[22] *Cf.* Iancu, Iancu (forthcoming); Ostroverchov 1981, p. 34, 36, fig. 7/5; Klebinder-Gauß 2007, p. 278-279, cat. nos. D15, D17, D33.

[23] Oftentimes it is difficult to differentiate between beads, buttons, and spindle whorls, regardless of their material, when the archaeological context is missing or does not provide relevant clues about their function (Mazăre 2012, p. 104: Olofsson, Andersson Strand, Nosch 2015, p. 77, 86). Nevertheless, experimental spinning projects brought valuable data showing that the functional parameters of an object can point out its role (Olofsson, Andersson Strand, Nosch 2015).

[24] See the table in Gavriljuk 1987, p. 118, who analysed 243 whorls: 120 (49.4%) are made of clay, 78 (32.2%) of lead, 11 (4.8%) of stone, eight (3.3%) of bronze, five (2.1%) of recycled amphora handles, two (0.8%) of iron. For 19 fragments representing 9.45%, there is no information on their material.

[25] Gleba 2008, p. 103-106; Mazăre 2012, p. 118-121; Rahmstorf 2015, p. 4.

[26] Mazăre 2012, p. 103, with references. For the later use of the truncated biconical whorls made of various rocks, especially schist, on the western shore of the Black Sea, see Grigore, Paraschiv 2007-2008, p. 246, 248-250, pl. II.

[27] Smol'janinova 2009, p. 206-207. See also Hmelevskij 2015, p. 224, who identified 14 such objects in the excavations in the sector "T" of Olbia, most of them dated between the middle of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. *Cf.* on the chronology, Ostroverchov 1981, p. 35, on the type itself, Gavriljuk 1987, p. 120, fig. 1/5 (type 7) and p. 122.

[28] Personal observation made during the ongoing research of an assemblage of spindle whorls from older excavations currently preserved in the storerooms of the archaeological site of Istros.

[29] Grigore, Paraschiv 2007-2008.

[30] Hmelevskij 2015, p. 225, pl. 1/1.

[31] Ostroverchov 1981, p. 34, fig. 7/15; Vinogradov, Fonjakov 2000, p. 100, fig. 3/10.

[32] Smol'janinova 2009, p. 214, fig. 8/11.

[33] Smol'janinova 2009, p. 208, fig. 4/26, 29.

having not only the same truncated biconical shape but also featuring similar dimensions and being decorated with a close pattern of raised lines radiating from the central hole[34].

Spinning was an essential stage in textile production, through which raw fibres were spun into yarn. There are several spinning techniques documented in antiquity[35], but most often spinning was performed with a spindle and a distaff as this was the most efficient technique[36]. Unfortunately, the majority of prehistoric and ancient spindles were made of wood (*e.g.* simple rods or sticks) and perished from the archaeological record, and thus only the whorls made of hard materials were preserved. They were placed on the spindle through their central hole and acted as flywheels, providing weight and tension during spinning[37]. According to Elizabeth Barber, the spindle whorls should fulfil some technical requirements to be efficient: they "need to be broad enough to help maintain the momentum; they may be heavy enough to help with drafting but must not be so heavy that they break the thread; and it helps if they are symmetrical about a central axis so as not to introduce inefficient and irritating wobble into the rotation"[38].

Thus, the size, shape, and weight of a spindle whorl are important functional parameters that influence the quality of the spun yarn. In the last two decades, there was considerable debate in the field of archaeological textiles regarding the ranges of these parameters, since these are the features that can help distinguish between beads, buttons, and spindle whorls. Experimental archaeology convincingly demonstrated that whorls as light as 4 g (or even less) could be successfully used for spinning yarn[39]. Spindle whorls up to 15 g were suitable to produce a thin and fine yarn, those between 15 and 30 g were used to spin medium threads, while spindle whorls weighing over 40 g were appropriate only for coarser and thicker yarns[40]. Hence the lead spindle whorl unearthed on the Plateau of Istros, which has small dimensions and weighs less than 12 g (preserved weight), was suitable for spinning a thinner and delicate thread appropriate for fine weaves.

Another aspect related to the function of spindle whorls is their position on spindles. There are three possibilities documented through archaeological evidence: high-whorl spindle (the spindle whorl was placed on the top of the spindle), low-whorl (at the bottom), or mid-whorl (in the middle)[41]. According to Elizabeth Barber, the mid-whorl technique was commonly used in prehistoric Anatolia, the high-whorl technique is documented in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, while the low-whorl spindle is first attested in Bronze Age Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Aegean[42]. It was then commonly used in Archaic and Classical Greece[43] and in Scythia[44]. Unfortunately, when the spindle is completely missing and also the whorl is heavily corroded, as in our case, it is fairly

[34] Similar, but smaller whorls were discovered at Tyras, both in the city and in its rural territory, and at Nikonion, see Smol'janinova 2009, p. 204, fig. 2/10, p. 208, fig. 4/30, p. 209, fig. 5/33.

[35] Andersson Strand 2015, p. 44.

[36] Andresson Strand 2015, p. 44-45.

[37] Gleba 2008, p. 103.

[38] Barber 1991, p. 303.

[39] Liu 1978, p. 90; Olofsson 2015, p. 32-33.

[40] Andersson Strand 2015, p. 48.

[41] Andersson-Strand 2015, p. 45-46, fig. 2/10.

[42] Barber 1991, p. 54-58.

[43] As shown by numerous painted Greek vases, of which the best known are: Metropolitan Museum 31.11.10 (ca. 550-530 BC); British Museum 1873.0820.304 (ca. 490-470 BC); Art Institute of Chicago 1916.410 (ca. 480-470 BC).

[44] Gavriljuk 1987, p. 123-125.

difficult to reach a conclusion regarding the spinning technique based only on the archaeological evidence, but it can still be inferred from contemporary analogies that the lead spindle whorl from Istros was used in the low-whorl spinning technique.

DISCUSSION

Why first?

Spinning was a ubiquitous domestic craft in the ancient Greek cities and Istros made no exception, as shown by the frequent finds of spindle whorls in all the excavated areas[45]. Moreover, the excavations in the settlement on the Plateau brought to light several clay loom weights dating from the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period[46], showing that the main stages of textile production were conducted in this important habitation and artisanal area of the city.

Accordingly, given the large number of lead spindle whorls found on the NW shores of the Euxine, it is rather surprising that no such finds have been reported from Istros. Archaic and Hellenistic casting moulds for jewellery and other small metal objects, including spindle whorls (see above), were discovered at Istros[47]. Only few small lead artefacts from earlier excavations were reported in publications[48], although many more were discovered. For example, an unpublished small cylindrical lead object found in the area of the Istrian sanctuary (fig. 5) could hypothetically be interpreted as another lead spindle whorl from the site: however, the identification rests uncertain because of its shape and its obscure context of discovery[49]. Thus, it is likely that such implements were produced in rather significant numbers in Istros and the lack of published discoveries up to this point should be explained by mischance, improper old methodologies for recovering small finds and/or academic disinterest in publishing objects of this type.

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[45] Coja 1962, p. 115-116. Clay spindle whorls were discovered too in the rural settlement of Tariverde, see Pippidi *et alii* 1959, p. 319.

[46] Coja, Dupont 1979, p. 52, cat. nos. 74-78, pl. 9. A new Hellenistic find of the same type was found in KT in 2022. Similar tools were discovered in the 4th century BC farmstead discovered 4 km WSW to the city, at Histria – *Pod*, see Zimmermann, Avram 1987, p. 22-23, fig. 20, n. 22.

[47] Coja 1962, p. 132; Dimitriu 1966, p. 27, pl. 50e.

[48] *E.g.* Suceveanu 1967, p. 249-250, fig. 6/2 – an Early Roman lead mirror; Iancu, Iancu (forthcoming) – an Archaic knob-shaped lead fitting etc.

[49] Its functional parameters (maximum diameter = 2.45 cm; maximum height = 0.7 cm, maximum diameter of the central hole = 0.7 cm, weight = 21.25 g) and shape (*cf.* the six slightly smaller cylindrical whorls from Tyras and Olbia, published in Smol'janinova 2009, p. 207, roughly dated from the 5th to the 1st century BC) theoretically allow for this interpretation. The very few lead objects of this shape, compared with the large numbers in other categories, render their interpretation as whorls slightly less secure, but still plausible given the high frequency of cylindrical spindle whorls made of clay or stone. On the other hand, the relevant information about the context marked in ink on the object has regrettably become hardly legible in time: only the abbreviations for the site and Temple area and the word *passim* could be securely read, whereas the year 1988, when a test trench was dug through the Archaic destruction layer and the foundation fill of the temple of Aphrodite (Alexandrescu 2005, p. 541; Conovici, Avram 1996, p. 257), is a mere guess. In the end, although no secure provenance can be established for this object, it is more likely that it was connected with the Greek sanctuary before its demise in the 1st century BC than with the later habitations in the same area. This should not come as a surprise since textile implements are among the common objects found in ancient Greek sanctuaries as votives or tools involved in the sacred or more mundane production of textiles items, see Gleba 2009. Anyway, the interpretation of this artefact remains problematic due to the aforementioned reasons.

Fig. 5. Photograph of the cylindrical lead object discovered in the area of the Istrian sanctuary.

Why lead? The view from textiles production

Lead has been used for casting spindle whorls since the Late Chalcolithic, as demonstrated by a wooden spindle preserving its lead whorl in place, discovered in Ashalim Cave, in the Judean Desert[50]. In the first millennium BC, lead spindle whorls and loom weights are also known from other regions inhabited by the ancient Greeks, such as Athens[51], Corinthia[52], Euboia[53], Rhodes[54],

[50] Langgut et *alii* 2016.

[51] Athens – Agora: Davidson, Thompson 1943, p. 79, n. 95 – five loom weights from the first half of the 4th century BC, in a cistern north to the Hephaistion; Athens – Pnyx: Davidson, Thompson 1943, p. 79-80, 94, cat. nos. 150-155 – four conical and two pyramidal loom weights; Davidson, Thompson 1943, p. 100, 101, fig. 45, cat. nos. 23-26 – objects interpreted as rings sewn into garments that might have actually been spindle whorls.

[52] Rachi: Raubitschek 1998, p. 116, cat. nos. 400, 405, 405A, pl. 63 – one Archaic spindle whorl and two 3rd century BC pyramidal loom weights; Corinth – although Raubitschek 1998, p. 111, n. 18 states that “only whorls of terracotta and stone were found at Corinth”, the lead weight MF 4837, described and sketched in Howland 1935, p. 153, but not published in Davidson 1952, might be in fact a lead spindle whorl.

[53] Eretria: Martini 2015, p. 67, 75, pl. 12/3 – pyramidal loom weights from a Hellenistic loom found *in situ*, used together with clay loom weights of the same shape; p. 62 – “certaines pièces discoïdes en plomb” which might have been used as spindle whorls.

[54] Lindos: Blinkenberg 1931, p. 136, cat. no. 346 – one Archaic spindle-whorl; Camiros: Jacopi 1932-1933, p. 342, 358, fig. 88, cat. no. XI.4 (14526) – one (Archaic?) small pyramidal loom weight; Rhodes: Kakavogiannis 1984, p. 131-133, fig. 5-6 – 22 pyramidal loom weights from a Late Hellenistic lead workshop.

Aegean Thrace[55], Chalkidike[56] and Macedonia[57], not only from the Black Sea area. Later on, truncated pyramidal lead loom weights were in use at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the 1st century AD, sometimes along with clay loom weights[58], whereas lead spindle whorls were commonly used in Roman Britain[59].

As the ergonomic aspects of textile crafts developed over time, the manufacturing of lead loom weights might be explained through the interest of the people involved in textile production in possessing more standardized sets of tools that lasted longer. In the case of spindle whorls, the choice of lead could also be explained through the intention to spin a certain type of yarn. As previously shown, larger and heavier spindle whorls determine lower rotation speeds of the spindles and thus thicker threads[60]. Lead spindle whorls of smaller size than other spindle whorls of the same weight allowed spinners to spin more delicate yarn. This fact raises the question if these tools could be envisaged as markers for a more specialized production of textile items intended to be commercialized or for the existence of more skilful artisans, possibly of higher social status, who afforded more sophisticated spinning tools. However, the archaeological evidence is inconclusive on this matter for the moment[61].

Why lead? The view from metallurgy

This find from Istros also brings to attention lead as a metal used by the ancient Greeks on a large scale and for a wide range of objects, from clamps for mending pottery and building works to jewellery, figurines, and sculptures[62]. Lead was both easily workable, given its low melting point of only 327°C, and affordable, with prices ranging from 1.5 to 7 drachmas for a talent in the 4th-3rd centuries BC in the Aegean[63]. The high density of lead (11.34 g/cm^3 near room temperature) made it a perfect choice, particularly for objects intended to have a large weight and small volume at the same time: standardized weights, loom weights, spindle whorls, sinkers and fishing weights, plummets, anchors, and sling bullets. Lead workshops were thus not infrequent in the ancient world, particularly in the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman times[64].

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[55] Abdera: more than 20 pyramidal loom weights and a couple of spindle whorls displayed in the site museum.

[56] Olynthos: Cahill 2002, p. 104, 107, 111, 130, 326, n. 50 – several hypothetical loom weights in different Late Classical buildings.

[57] Aigai – Vergina: Andrianou 2009, p. 104, p. 177, with references to the pertinent archaeological reports – 12 loom weights in a 2nd century BC building on the acropolis, whereas the total number of lead loom weights recovered from the excavations on the acropolis was 35.

[58] Monteix 2010, p. 181-185.

[59] Wild 2002, p. 8, n. 55 with references.

[60] Martini 2015, p. 61-62 with earlier literature.

[61] It is only Gavriljuk 1987, p. 122-123, who hypothesizes that eight bronze spindle whorls from burial mounds in the Lower Dnieper region belonged to women of high social status, based on the other objects in their funerary inventories and the high tin content of the alloy used for their production. Her conclusions on bronze spindle whorls cannot be extended to the much more numerous lead spindle whorls.

[62] On the multiple uses of lead in the ancient Greek cities, see *e.g.* Kakavogiannis 1984, p. 137. For an extended survey of the uses of lead in the ancient world, see Pulsifer 1888, p. 146-174.

[63] Kroll 1977, p. 94-95, n. 29.

[64] Rhodes: Kakavogiannis 1984, p. 132; Herculaneum and Pompeii: Duvauchelle, Monteix 2013.

CONCLUSION

The truncated biconical object found on the Istrian Plateau, which can reliably be envisaged as a lead spindle whorl, is a proof that such implements were in use in Istros, most likely in the Classical period. Thus, the artefact brings new insights into the textile crafts practiced in this city, a less-known economic activity. Moreover, circumstantial evidence such as the moulds discovered at Istros and the analogies from the north-western Pontic cities enables us to hypothesize the existence of a steady local production of such implements on the overall background of a developed lead metallurgy.

Consequently, it seems that significant characteristics of textile production and lead metallurgy were shared by the Pontic Greek cities near the mouths of the Danube, Dniester, and Bug rivers, in their first few centuries of development. Inasmuch as the production of lead spindle whorls was spread on both shores of the Danube, the conventional limit between Scythia and Thrace, during the Archaic and Classical periods[65], it becomes even clearer, despite some recent attempts to emphasize the role of barbarian metalworkers and particularly founders, that the development of lead metallurgy in this Pontic region was intimately connected to the arrival and the expansion of the East Greeks who settled on these shores and created a local material *koinē*[66].

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[65] Vulpe 1986; Vulpe 2012.

[66] Ruban 1979, p. 250; Ostroverchov 1981, p. 36; Brujako, Sekerskaja 2016, p. 194-196, *pace* Ol'govskij 2014, p. 241-243; Ol'govskij 2021. On the concept of "material *koine*", see Handberg, Gadolou 2017.

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HAUTE CUISINE IN ANCIENT ATHENS. AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE DINING HABITS OF A CLASSICAL CITY

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Keywords: *haute cuisine*, ancient cooking habits, pottery, imported ingredients, ancient Athens
Abstract: The aim of this paper is to explore the dining habits of ancient Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, through the concept of *haute cuisine*. Using Jack Goody's (1982) prerequisites necessary for an elevated form of cooking to appear in a society, the author is investigating literary and archaeological sources. The literary sources hint to a change in food attitudes in the 4th century BC. For instance, the character of the cook appears in comedies, and the first texts that might be called cookbooks are written. In the archaeological material, when elite and non-elite contexts from Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic periods are quantified, an increase in the number of table vessels is noticeable around the same time. In the kitchen, new shapes appear (*e.g.* fish-plates) and new cooking techniques (*e.g.* frying). Furthermore, Athens – a trade centre – receives foreign influences and ingredients (*e.g.* wines, spices). The author concludes that, according to Goody's ideas, *haute cuisine* was, to a certain degree, present in 4th century BC Athens. The author also suggests that the spark for such a transformation may have originated in Athenian taverns, probably run by non-locals. The further culinary developments of later Hellenistic and Roman times have their roots in the 4th century BC Athenian changing dining habits.

Cuvinte-cheie: gastronomie, obiceiuri culinare antice, ceramică, ingrediente importate, Atena antică
Rezumat: Scopul acestui articol este să exploreze obiceiurile culinare ateniene în secolele V și IV a.Chr., cu ajutorul conceptului de *haute cuisine* („bucătărie înaltă" în traducere literală). Pornind de la premisele necesare pentru ca o formă elevată de a prepara mâncarea să poată apărea într-o societate, așa cum sunt descrise de Jack Goody (1982), autorul va investiga surse antice literare și material arheologic. Sursele literare indică o schimbare de atitudine față de mâncare în secolul al IV-lea a.Chr. De exemplu, personajul bucătarului începe să apară în comedii, iar primele texte care pot fi numite cărți de bucate sunt scrise în această perioadă. În materialul arheologic, atunci când ceramica arhaică, clasică și elenistică timpurie este cuantificată, spre sfârșitul secolului al V-lea și în secolul IV a.Chr., se poate observa o creștere vizibilă a numărului vaselor folosite pentru mâncare. În bucătărie apar vase cu forme noi (*e.g.* farfuria de pește) și tehnici inovative (*e.g.* prăjirea). Mai mult, Atena – important centru comercial – primește ingrediente noi (vin, condimente), dar și influențe străine, din afara Aticii. Autorul este de părere că, pe baza premiselor lui Goody, *haute cuisine* era prezentă într-o oarecare măsură in Atena secolului IV a.Chr. De asemenea, autorul mai sugerează că este posibil ca scânteia declanșatoare

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a unei schimbări în modul atenian de a prepara și servi mâncarea să fi provenit din tavernele ateniene, probabil deținute de străini. Evoluțiile ulterioare, în perioada elenistică târzie și romană, își găsesc probabil rădăcinile în obiceiurile culinare ateniene din secolul al IV-lea a.Chr.

INTRODUCTION

Research question

The aim of this paper is to explore the dining habits of ancient Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, through the concept of *haute cuisine*[1]. More concretely, I am interested to examine to what extent we can describe Classical Athenian dining habits as haute cuisine, and how this view can be used as an explanation for various changes visible in literary and archaeological sources.

Theory, methods, and definitions

In the introduction to the book *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau[2] discuss the concept of a “great food culture” and its possible meanings. On the one hand, Nadeau argues that such a concept is a cultural construct that must be seen as part of a historical context. Moreover, it is impossible to find measurable levels of “greatness” which can be said to be objective signs of a “a great food culture”; it is from within, through the agenda of various writers, that a culture comes to be perceived as great, *i.e.* it is declared as such by its agents. On the other hand, Wilkins suggests that a “great food culture” must be a reflection of a lengthy cooking tradition. Techniques, recipes, and secrets are transmitted from generation to generation over a long period of time, establishing a kind of cooking lore, including local and imported ideas. Thus, according to both authors’ definitions, there is no such “great food culture” in the Graeco-Roman world because there are no nonpartisan ways to measure the greatness of a cooking culture outside the allegations of its participants, and because their food tradition does not have a long history.

This dialogue shows the importance of defining the terms used in any interpreting attempts, and the exercise of defining concepts can not only clarify meanings, but also further the current explanations and interpretations. So, what does *haute cuisine* (also used as an approximate equivalent to a “great food culture”) mean in this paper? According to Jack Goody’s book, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class. A Study in Comparative Sociology*, the concept of *haute cuisine* is defined as an elevated form of cooking, distinct from everyday cooking, and in the service of the elite[3]. For the sake of simplicity, throughout this paper, elite or aristocracy is understood as the wealthy social stratum occupying the upper segment of the social hierarchy[4]. Furthermore, Goody’s social theory of *haute cuisine* also proposes a series of prerequisites that must be present in a society in order for an elevated form of cooking to appear. They are as follows:

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[1] This paper is based on the research that constituted my master’s thesis presented at the University of Oslo to obtain a Master of Arts in Archaeology, June 2021. The full text of the thesis can be accessed at https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/87516.

[2] Wilkins, Nadeau 2015.

[3] Goody 1982, p. 98.

[4] Although simplistic, the dichotomy “rich” – “poor” is necessary for the theoretical framework of this paper, and it was previously used, see *e.g.* Pritchard 1999, p. 2. For a more nuanced view on aristocracy, see Fisher, van Wees 2015.

- a wide range of new ingredients and recipes available, including the presence of cooking books;
- a group of consumers who associate food with pleasure and are inclined to try new foods;
- increasing innovation and complexity in the kitchen, including utensils and techniques;
- flourishing trade and developed agriculture.

While having a definition and a series of "testable" characteristics seem to create an ideal framework of interpretation, some methodological challenges inevitably occur. How can such highly abstract social theory be tailored into a methodology applicable with a sufficient degree of success to literary and, even more challenging, to archaeological sources? This theory can be used in a dual manner. First, Goody's observations create a theoretical framework within which interpretation of change can occur – it informs the selection of materials to be investigated and their meaning. The key word here is "change". Goody applies his theory loosely through time and space, from the Iron Age to the Middle Ages over Europe and Asia, following notable changes in the economy of cooking[5]. While he is mainly interested in the literary sources that might suggest changes, the material culture comes second, but can be included. It is even desirable that the archaeologist should be co-opted in this endeavour, although in Goody's case it is always auxiliary[6]. However, change is a legitimate lead that the archaeologist is always on the lookout for.

Secondly, in the way it was formulated, Goody's series of prerequisites that must be present in a society in order for an elevated form of cooking to appear can be used to "test" the emergence of *haute cuisine* in Classical Athens. Although they are presented in general terms and thus, very inclusive, they are still useful because they function as guidelines for the selection of relevant points within a wide range of data. Making a selection of pertinent data might seem methodologically flawed, but any presentation of data must be selective, and becomes *nolens volens* subjective and evocative. For the present paper, this is an exercise into how an anthropological theory can be applied to literary and archaeological sources. Its aim is rather to investigate changes from a different angle, within a specific time (6th-3rd centuries BC) and place (Athens). If, by the end of this investigation, it is acceptable to conclude the presence of *haute cuisine* in this case study, the concept can be further used as an explanation for other societal changes, for instance, the shift in focus from wine to luxurious foods at the symposium[7].

The extent of the current analysis demands a wide range of sources. Thus, allowing for the methodological considerations discussed, literary sources and archaeological material will be investigated. As precious as they are, the ancient literary sources must be seen through a critical lens, while the archaeological material, especially the pottery assemblages, require a quantification in order to establish consumption patterns.

LITERARY SOURCES

In this paper, literary texts are used on one hand as stand-alone sources of information and, on the other hand, they will be used in relation to the archaeological evidence, supporting or opposing

[5] Goody 1982, p. 97-153.

[6] Goody 1982, p. 3-4.

[7] Lynch 2018.

it. This way, literary sources are utilized on a broader spectrum, but a series of delimitations and justifications for various choices must be discussed. Therefore, the methodological problems are acknowledged and their significance for the conclusions are examined. The main literary texts that will be used are comedies, and a so-called cookbook. However, other types of writings (*e.g.* philosophical, legal speeches, etc.) will find their way into the text, where deemed necessary to highlight, contrast, or strengthen an argument.

There are two relevant changes visible in the literary sources that must be considered: the emergence of the character of the cook in the comedies of the 4th century BC, and the appearance of a type of text that resembles cookbooks, or some form of dining guidebooks. These two changes are visible relatively chronologically close (*i.e.* 4th century BC) and might reflect a societal attitude change towards food. As it will become evident later in the analysis, they might be part of a broader shift also visible in the material evidence.

The character of the cook is almost absent in Old Comedy, and his appearance is part of a standardization of characters that takes place in Middle and New Comedy[8]. More precisely, W. Geoffrey Arnott[9] traces his emergence somewhere between 370-350 BC. Alan H. Sommerstein[10] argues that this change cannot be related to any historical development, but it is only an evolution of the genre of comedy – a shift from the public to the more private sphere. On the same note, Wilkins[11] refers to the “hazardous” temptation to match this change within the comedic universe to some societal developments, while Guy Berthiaume[12] suggests that it could be an evolution in sophisticated dining. As I will argue later, I find the latter direction most persuasive – comic realities might obscurely reflect historical realities.

The cook, *mageiros*, is responsible for the sacrifice at feasts and festivals – cooking and selling the meat. In Old Comedy, although present, his role is taken by the protagonist, rendering the cook invisible. In Middle and New Comedy, he is receiving a central role, as cook and entertainer. This latter role, he is usually performing through long and boastful monologues. Based on his discourses, few characteristics of the comic cook can be discerned. He has the power to transform not only the tasteless meat of the sacrifice into a feast, but also entire social occasions. At least, that is how the cook from a comic fragment by Hegesippus[13] is bragging about transforming funerals into weddings by bewitching his patrons with the smell of his cooking. He is considering himself an artist[14] or a general on a battlefield[15]. Although placed on a low societal standing, the cook can move his employer on a higher ranking by creating a refined experience. He knows how to find the best produce or how to change low quality produce into great meals; this way, the cook participates in an illusion that might temporarily blur societal boundaries of wealth. Usually portrayed as

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[8] Wilkins 2000a, p. 87.

[9] Arnott 1972, p. 77.

[10] Sommerstein 2019, p. 217.

[11] Wilkins 2000a, p. 370.

[12] Berthiaume 1982.

[13] Hegesippus, *Brothers*, fr. 1 (Athenaeus VII, 290b-e). References to various fragments of comedies will be given as follows: the author, the play (if known), fragment number, the reference to Athenaeus, if quoted there. Loeb Classical Library translations available online at https://www.loebclassics.com/ (accessed on 15.09.2022) are used for all the ancient literary sources.

[14] Sotades, fr. 1 (Athenaeus VII, 293b-f).

[15] Dionysius, fr. 2 (Athenaeus IX, 404e-405d).

male[16], there are some suggestions that the comic cook might have had formal training, and by the end of the 4th century BC, some professionalization could have occurred[17]. Sometimes a freelancer, sometimes a slave, the cook evolves into a chef, at least in the comic discourse. How much of these comedic depictions can be assumed to have some correspondence in historical realities, is very difficult to ascertain.

Secondly, the first surviving text resembling a cookbook in the Graeco-Roman world is *The Life of Luxury* (*Hedypatheia*), written in verse by Archestratus – a Sicilian Greek, probably in mid-4th century BC[18]. A guidebook for the traveling gourmand, the book offers suggestions about when and from where the best produce, especially fish, can be procured. Michael Freeman[19] highlights the importance of travelling in the emergence of *haute cuisine*. The traveller is exposed to various styles of cooking and different ingredients which can be then transposed to other places, transforming local traditions and styles. Archestratus' text might have played such a role in the Mediterranean world; it promoted different cooking ideas to an attentive audience. Moreover, the existence of cooking books is among Goody's prerequisite for the appearance of *haute cuisine*.

However, the work is literature, more precisely, parody, but might contain valuable information. Its purpose is unclear, but it is more likely that it was used for entertainment at a dinner party, rather than as an instruction's manual for the cook. Nadeau[20] argues that Graeco-Roman cookery books should not be taken as "objective descriptions of reality" considering that taste is a cultural construct. Moreover, the cooks might have been in their majority slaves and illiterate[21], thus having no use for a cookbook, although a literate person could have read them out-loud for the rest. In addition, the recipes are not usable in the modern sense, because no quantities or instructions are usually preserved. They read as lists of ingredients and might have been mnemonic devices, although the case is not proven for ancient times. Although Nadeau[22] states clearly that the cooking books of antiquity did not actually impact the kitchens, he admits that food becomes a form of knowledge through these types of texts such as the one of Archestratus. Written by an intellectual for like-minded fellows, Archestratus' book can be a sign of growing interest in food. The fact that a cooking style can be discerned from the book suggests that, at least in the narrow circle in which it was read[23], such a style was recognizable and even contrasted with another cooking style – Sicilian cooking. Archestratus prefers simple dishes made of fresh produce, while sauces, spices, and cheeses, are reserved for the low-quality produce, to mask its lack of taste.

While it was probably not a cookbook in the modern sense, Archestratus' text could have influenced the kitchen, especially that of the elite. If the book circulated rather in a restricted milieu, it could have indirectly influenced the way food was served. Even though the cooks might have not been able to read it, its style could have easily been explained. The intellectual elite had

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[16] Pherecrates, fr. 70, see Wilkins 2000a, p. 375-377; Wilkins 2000b.

[17] Dionysius, fr. 2 (Athenaeus IX, 404e-405d) and fr. 3 (Athenaeus IX, 381d-f).

[18] Dalby 1995.

[19] Freeman 1979, p. 168.

[20] Nadeau 2015, p. 53.

[21] It was argued that creating a great cooking culture was possible in African slave communities of the American South, despite a low level of literacy among its members, see Twitty 2017.

[22] Nadeau 2015, p. 57.

[23] A fragment from Lynceus of Samos (fr. 19-21, Athenaeus VI, 228c; VII, 313f; I, 4d, see Dalby 2000, p. 376) suggests that it could have had a wider use.

the means to hire cooks, even pay for their training, and could ask for a specific style, if that was desired. This top-down model shows that texts such as Archestratus' *Life of Luxury* could have been more than an intellectual curiosity. The path from the bookshelf to the table was not a long one, at least in the wealthy sections of society. The fact that such a text starts to be available in approximately the same time as the character of the cook emerges in the comedy hints to an attitudinal change. If this change affects the material culture, remains to be determined.

Methodologically, the literary sources present two problems. First, the question of reliability: to what extent can comic texts be used to reconstruct historical realities? Based on some humour theories[24] I believe that the comic texts present a simplified version of reality. In order for a joke to be funny, the audience must be able to recognize the stereotypes and see the clever twist of the comedian. Otherwise, it will not provoke laughter. In this case, the character of the cook must be recognizable, albeit exaggerated. Thus, while comedies are not the most reliable sources, they have some correspondence with historical realities, and are not simple descriptions of a comic, fictitious city. They reflect historical societal concerns and attitudes. However, discerning what is invented and what is not, is a difficult task.

The second methodological problem is the fact that most of the comic fragments, as well as Archestratus' cookbook, are preserved as quotations in a late Greek author (2nd century AD) – Athenaeus. As part of the Second Sophistic trend, he was interested in the peculiar. All the surviving fragments are thus filtered through his own curiosities and might be changed or even out-right invented[25]. His interest in food might explain his bias at collecting and citing food references. However, the fact that they are from Middle and New Comedy, and not from Old Comedy, to which Athenaeus had also access, reflects a higher interest in food starting in the 4th century BC, and even an attitudinal shift[26]. Moreover, without Athenaeus' work, used as a library of quotes, it will be close to impossible to say anything about food perspectives in Classical and Early Hellenistic Athens. Thus, with these cautions in mind, I believe Athenaeus is a vital source for understanding Classical dining habits.

Does the presence of recipes in the Greek world in the 4th century BC satisfy one of Goody's prerequisites for *haute cuisine*? Probably not convincingly, but it does show a change and an increased interest in food (*e.g.* as a form of knowledge). Because of the ambiguous nature of the literary sources, to further check the argument's viability an investigation of archaeological sources is also necessary.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The main archaeological source that pertains to this investigation is pottery. Through their nature, pottery assemblages are suitable for quantitative analysis. However, even though it might seem a straight-forward process, quantifying pottery poses a series of methodological issues which are even more challenging when an attempt is made to divide between drinking and eating vessels.

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[24] Davies 2011; Gimbel 2017.

[25] Wilkins, Hill 1995.

[26] Nesselrath 1997, p. 277.

First, the investigation had to be limited to mainly fine ware because this is the type of find best published and preserved. Not only did older excavations fail to publish the coarse ware, but they also discarded it without much consideration. Secondly, dividing between drinking and eating vessels is complicated by at least two main problems. On one hand, the use of various vessels in antiquity is poorly understood or outright misunderstood. On the other hand, the presence of multi-purpose vessels (such as the one-handler which had to be eliminated from the quantifications), makes this artificial division between drinking and eating vessels even more blurry. Nonetheless, this differentiation was necessary to explore a possible change in the eating habits. Thus, I created two categories: vessels associated with drinking (*e.g.* cups), including serving/pouring vessels, and the rest of the fine ware – called table ware (*e.g.* plates, bowls). Their percentage was calculated, and the results are presented in fig. 1.

Third, because of the fragmentary nature of the archaeological material, the Minimum Number of Vases (MNV) had to be determined for each context to allow for a reasonable comparison. Some publications offer the MNV, but others do not. Where missing, I used a formula proposed by Susan I. Rotroff and John H. Oakley[27] as a guideline to estimate the MNV.

In addition, because Goody's definition of *haute cuisine* includes the elite's role, I attempted to differentiate between elite and non-elite contexts. Put simply, this differentiation is between wealthy and poor social strata. Identifying contexts pertaining to each category is a difficult endeavour. As calculated by John Kenyon Davies[28] or Josiah Ober[29], the wealthy represented a very small fraction of the Athenian population, and thus their presence in the archaeological material is also scarce. Moreover, the Athenian democratic system did not encourage personal wealth display as some legal speeches describe the houses of the elite as undifferentiated from the rest[30]. This situation is somewhat confirmed by the Attic stelai[31] which listed the auctioned properties of some wealthy citizens[32] accused of mutilating the Herms of the city ahead of the Sicilian expedition launch in 414/413 BC. The lists are a treasure trove of information in general, but for this instance they tend to show that the furnishing of the elite houses was not much more different from the ordinary classes. In addition, because one was compelled to pay taxes if categorized as wealthy[33], the elite might have tried to hide their wealth in less tangible avenues (*e.g.* commercial and financial endeavours). All in all, the small number of the wealthy and the socio-economic and political context they lived in, make distinguishing between elite and non-elite contexts in the archaeological material a challenging task.

Nevertheless, a house might have belonged to an upper-class family if it had an *andron*, if it was involved in agricultural rather than industrial activities, it was closer to the agora, or in a

[27] Rotroff, Oakley 1992, p. 132: "W + O + (U-O)/2, all whole foot are added to all over half of a foot and then from under half of a food the over half of the foot is subtracted and the result is divided by 2. where W = a whole foot, O = over half of a foot, and U = under half of a foot". Photographs and catalogue descriptions were used to determine the state of preservation for each vase.

[28] Davies 1981, p. 27-28.

[29] Ober 1989, p. 192.

[30] *E.g.* Demosthenes, *Third Olynthiac*, 25-26.

[31] Amyx, Pritchett 1958; Pritchett 1953; Pritchett, Pippin 1956.

[32] Thucydides calls them "the best" (χρηστοί, VI, 53.2) citizens, or "remarkable men" (ἀξιόλογοι ἄνθρωποι, VI, 60).

[33] *E.g.* see Aristophanes' curse in *Knights*, 936-937: "You'll pay me a fine penalty for this, when I crush you with tax bills; *because I'll fix it so you're registered among the rich*! [my emphasis]. For more on the Athenian taxation system, see Fawcett 2006.

specific part of the city or in the countryside. The symposium was probably an elite activity[34] and having a dedicated room of the house for such an occasion was a sign of wealth. Moreover, the elite preferred owning land and profiting from its yields, rather than being involved in trade or industrial activities[35], although it is not excluded that some of the elite invested in commercial endeavours to diversify and possibly conceal their wealth. Additionally, country houses were among the properties of the wealthy, as listed in the Attic stelai.

Athens had a sort of city zoning[36], although not in the modern sense – an industrial district might be discerned in the southwest part[37], a concentration of shops, taverns, and inns southeast of the agora[38], while around the Kerameikos, a "red zone" might have been functioning with brothels and gambling venues[39]. In these quarters, the poorer strata of the Athenian society lived, and the archaeological remains from these parts open a window into their way of living. Closest to the agora, the houses were the most expensive[40], and it is reasonable to assume that some of them were owned by wealthy citizens who might have rented them further to lower-class citizens or metics (resident aliens) involved in artisanal crafts or other activities for profit. However, the archaeological assemblages associated with such contexts reflect the way in which their *de facto* inhabitants lived, and not their actual owners. Thus, bearing in mind all these methodological concerns, the chart (fig. 1) presenting the data must be taken with a grain of salt. It has, as Kathleen Lynch[41] puts it, an "impressionistic and subjective nature", but I believe it shows some interesting tendencies.

Analysed contexts

Thus, I have singled out the following contexts[42] for analysis: a series of wells: J 2:4[43] (+H 12:15)[44], N 7:3[45], R 13:4[46] (+U 13:1), Menon's cistern (F 16:8)[47], pit H 4:5 (probably a public dining establishment)[48], Dema[49] and Vari[50] houses, and Building Z (tavern/brothel)[51]. Three of

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[34] Murray 1980, p. 197-203.

[35] *E.g.* Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, VI, 7-10; XV, 4. However, the literary sources present an idealized version of the elite and what a gentleman should be involved in.

[36] Tsakirgis 2005, p. 79. For an analysis of the relation between food consumption and urban developments, see Dibble 2010.

[37] Young 1951.

[38] Shear 1975, p. 355-361; Talcott 1935.

[39] *E.g.* Alexis, fr. 206 (Athenaeus VI, 258c), see Arnott 1996, p. 595-596; Younger 2005, p. 38-39.

[40] Cahill 2002, p. 276-281, 294-299; Nevett 2000.

[41] Lynch 2018, p. 239.

[42] For each context, the source of the data is given in the note. For an extensive description of each context and their data, the original publications must be consulted. For an overview of the numbers, how they were reached, and reasons for including each context, as well as an overview map, see my master's thesis (link indicated in note 1).

[43] Lynch, Lawall, Little 2011.

[44] Shear 1993, p. 553-555.

[45] Boulter 1953.

[46] Lynch 2016.

[47] Miller 1974, p. 229-239 and Athenian Agora online database (http://agora.ascsa.net/ accessed on 15.09.2022).

[48] Rotroff, Oakley 1992, p. 133-135.

[49] Jones, Sackett, Graham 1962.

[50] Jones *et alii* 1973.

[51] Ault 2016; Knigge 2005.

them (well J 2:4, Dema house, and Vari House) are perceived as elite contexts, while the rest are considered non-elite. Out of those three, Dema house (425-400 BC) is the closest we can get to identify an elite context. First, the Attic stelai mention country houses among the properties of the wealthy. Secondly, the house had a well-defined *andron*. Third, there were no visible traces of industrial or even specialized agricultural activities at the house; it was probably used for leisure, hunting, and ordinary agricultural work. Fourth, the house was primarily covered with Corinthian tiles, an expensive type of tiles used in Athens mainly for public buildings[52]. Moreover, the house was built during a short pause in the Peloponnesian war in the part of Attica most plundered by the Spartans. It is reasonable to assume that only a wealthy citizen could have afforded such a house in wartime, and its loss would not have been significantly felt. Therefore, Dema house is, arguably, an elite house.

The contexts range chronologically from the end of 6th century BC to the beginning of 3rd century BC, with the focus on 5th and 4th centuries BC. Their variety is an attempt to show a transversal section of Athenian society. The two contexts outside of Athens (Dema and Vari) are from Attica, the countryside of Athens, and thus are considered to reflect the same consumption patterns.

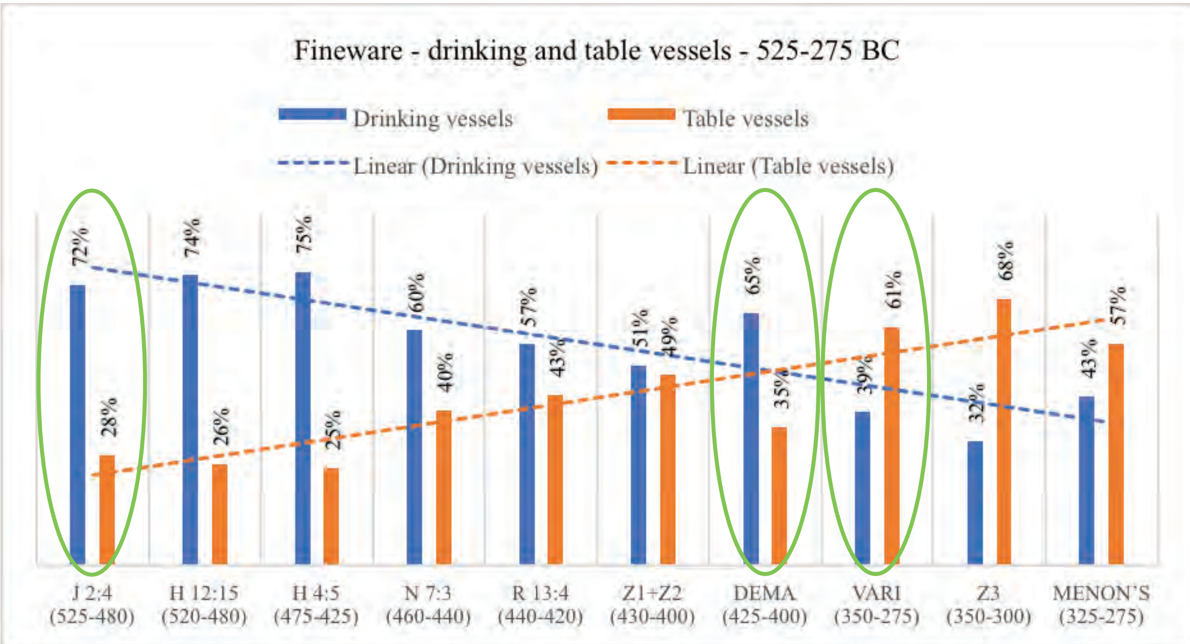

Fig. 1. Percentage of drinking and table vessels – fine ware – from ten Athenian contexts spanning from the Late Archaic period to Early Hellenistic times. Possible elite contexts highlighted green. For the source of data see note 41 and subsequent notes.

Results

There are two main conclusions that can be drawn from this pottery quantification. First, there is no significant difference between elite (highlighted in green) and non-elite contexts, as

[52] Jones, Sackett, Graham 1962, p. 108; Pritchard 1999, p. 5.

far as such contexts can be identified. They fit within the chronological pattern with the rest of the contexts. This might also be due to the difficulty of differentiating between elite and non-elite. The picture might be further muddled by the omission of metal vessels in this analysis. As Michael Vickers and David Gill[53] have argued, the elite preferred metal for their vessels, while pottery was looked upon as cheap imitations in clay. Due to the rarity of metal in the archaeological record, it is impossible to submit the extent of its use in Athenian houses. However, at a closer look, it was suggested that fine pottery was used by the elite, and its iconographic themes represent, in specific instances, close aristocratic ideals that could have been most meaningful to the upper class[54]. In any case, the consumption of pottery by different social strata remains an open debate and, for the present analysis, this differentiation stays elusive.

Second, and the most striking trend is that the number of table ware increases and equals or even supersedes the drinking vessels in the 4th century BC, regardless of context (elite or not). This is not evidence of a reduction in the importance of drinking at parties or otherwise, but that food becomes more visible in the archaeological material.

Last, but not least, this shift in consumption patterns mirrors the change in food attitudes expressed in the literary sources. The concomitant presence of the cook in comedies, the first "cooking books", as well as an increase in table ware visible in the material culture, could not be a simple coincidence. They might be indications of societal changes. Does this prove the presence of *haute cuisine* as defined by Goody? Not strongly, but it does show a consumption pattern change. If this can relate to a trend that might be called *haute cuisine*, remains to be determined.

INNOVATION AND COMPLEXITY

The previous sections established that a change occurred in the dining habits of Athenian people sometime at the end of the 5th and into the 4th century BC. They do not prove the existence of *haute cuisine* in Classical Athens, but together they suggest shifts in consumption patterns. Those changes are visible not only in the literary texts, but also in the material culture. If a coincidence is excluded, then I believe that it is worth further investigating the rest of Goody's prerequisites for the emergence of *haute cuisine* around the chronological marker that becomes noticeable (*i.e.* end of 5th-4th century BC). However, as discussed above, most of these prerequisites are formulated in very general terms and can be applied easily to a lot of times and places. Therefore, it is important to emphasize the provisional nature of these conclusions and to urge for a holistic understanding of the changing dining habits. In other words, none of the arguments presented here can stand alone for scrutiny, but taken together, they paint a picture of a society exploring new food interests. Therefore, further investigating the rest of Goody's prerequisites can only nuance the presence of *haute cuisine* in Classical Athens.

Innovation and increased complexity constitute another one of Goody's prerequisites[55]. Around the end of the 5th and in the 4th century BC, the complexity of the kitchen equipment starts to increase, a process that continued well through the Hellenistic times. Plates and bowls are used

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[53] Vickers, Gill 1994.

[54] Pritchard 1999.

[55] Goody 1982, p. 98.

on a larger scale, but also new shapes appear, and some are fading away. As seen in chart (fig. 1), the number of table ware is on the rise.

The fish-plate, a plate with a depression in the middle, and decorated with marine motifs in its figured version, is a novelty[56]. It is an open discussion about the role of the depression[57]. It could have gathered the excessive sauce and made the dish look rather limited in seasoning. Yet, the ambitious eater could always have some more dressing to add to his food. In this way, the shape of the fish-plate managed to balance the expectation of the society (*i.e.* excessive relishes were the sign of ignorance according to Archestratus' cookery book) with the desire of the gourmand (extra sauce available). The fact that the fish-plate comes to disappear in the 2nd century BC, when deeper plates were available and the need for draining was less obvious[58], adds to this argument. In the end, it seems that the glutton might have won the "right" for extra sauce. If this is the case, it shows how societal attitudes shape the function and form of its material culture, in this instance – views on lavishness and sauces, might have influenced the shape of the pottery.

The small bowls, used probably for salt or other condiments, started to become rarer in the Hellenistic period, or even to disappear[59]. Beyond the middle of the 3rd century BC, the saltcellars, quite present in earlier Classical times, vanished. It is possible that their use was taken over by a different shape, or they were not needed anymore. If they were used for salt or spices, the food might have already been flavourful enough, so the saltcellar became obsolete[60]. The cooks, with their sauces and spices, not as restricted as in previous times, might have played a role in the demise of this shape. Furthermore, if this was the case, it might also indicate a trust of the consumer, probably the elite, in the ones that were preparing the dishes (*i.e.* the cooks). The professionalization of cooking probably created this level of confidence in the chefs; there was no need in adjusting the taste, because it already matched expectations. In a sense, the cook became the chef.

Another innovation that probably starts at the end of the 5th century BC and continues in later times is frying[61]. Literary evidence[62] suggests that frying fish was present in Classical times and becomes widespread in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. While it is quite difficult to ascertain when it started, some shapes offer hints of this technique. The *lopas*, a casserole that becomes popular at the end of the 5th century BC, could have been used for frying[63], but, in my opinion, it is best suited for sauces and stews. A series of pans, from the bean-parcher of earlier times to the thin-walled frying-pans of the Hellenistic period, are suggestive of this new technique and its evolution.

The bean-parcher is also suited for frying or even stir-frying, the same way a modern Chinese wok is used. The wok was introduced in the Chinese cuisine between ca. 200 BC-200 AD and was initially used for parching (*i.e.* drying) beans or grains[64]. It can be imagined that the so-called parcher could have been used also to stir-fry small cuts of meats, small fish, or vegetable bits.

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[56] Sparkes, Talcott, Gisela 1970, p. 147.

[57] Moore 1997, p. 58.

[58] Rotroff 1997, p. 148-149.

[59] Sparkes, Talcott, Gisela 1970, p. 132.

[60] Rotroff 1997, p. 15.

[61] Rotroff 2015, p. 185.

[62] *E.g.* Aristophanes, *Knights*, 938.

[63] Sparkes, Talcott, Gisela 1970 p. 227.

[64] Wilkinson 2000, p. 647.

There is a type of food that was popular in 4th century BC Athens called *aphye*, a mix of small fish that was always fried[65]. Athenaeus[66] says that this mix was put in hot oil and only kept for a very short time, until sizzling. The description is eerily similar to a modern stir-fry. Moreover, the physical remains of the parcher seem to suggest such a use. The earlier specimens (ca. 420-400 BC) are "light-weight"[67], while the later ones (4th-3rd century BC) are very smooth on the interior, blackened on the underside (exterior), but also on the interior of the curved floor[68]. The smooth surface, if oiled, prevented adhesion, the curvature of the walls permitted easy turning, and the blackening of the floor was a result of frequent burning in the hottest part of the pan. These traces might be from bean/grain parching, but also from stir-frying and the usage features could be easily seen also in modern woks. Even if this pan was mainly used for drying, later developments of the pan suggest that experimenting with frying was not a short phase.

A grooved pan is a later addition to the Greek kitchen[69]. The role of the grooves is not well understood, but it is reasonable to assume that they functioned in the same way they do in a modern grill-pan. The grooves not only facilitated fat drainage, but also left heat marks on the food. If Darrell A. Amyx and W. Kendrick Pritchett's[70] suggestion is to be accepted, then sausages are the kind of food that was very well suited for this type of "grilling". The fact that the consumer might have been interested also in the aspect of the food, not only in its taste, suggests a more educated, refined palate.

The *lasana* was an arched pipe usually used in pairs. Sarah P. Morris[71] suggests, based on iconographic and literary evidence, that they were used in the kitchen as pot stands – to keep the containers above the fire. They proved to be very practical because they could accommodate a wide range of shapes. Although used since the Iron Age until the Hellenistic times around the Mediterranean region, all (six) of the inventoried specimens from Athens are dated contextually to the 4th century BC, and half of them come from context U13:1, probably a well serving a tavern in the southeast part of the Athenian agora[72]. Although rejected by Morris[73] because of modern analogies, the hypothesis that the *lasana* was used for warming up food is not as inconceivable as it might seem. If used in a food serving setting (*i.e.* a tavern), as their context suggests, they would be well suited for warming up or keeping the food warm. Also, their versatility – accommodating all kinds of shapes and volumes – might have been an advantage in a serving facility; it enabled the preparation and serving of different dishes in various quantities. Moreover, permitting the pot to be placed above the fire and not directly onto the fire facilitated the cooking of thicker dishes (*e.g.* sauces, stews) by reducing the risk of burning. In whatever capacity they were used, they fell out of favour in the Hellenistic times as more standardization of cooking pots and braziers occurred. Nevertheless, the shape is an interesting example of innovation and the complexity that begins to

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65 Dalby 1996, p. 72; Mylona 2008, p. 106, 113.

66 Athenaeus VII, 285d citing Archestratus (fr. 61) and Clearchus of Soli (fr. 81).

67 Sparkes, Talcott, Gisela 1970, p. 228.

68 Rotroff 2006, p. 187-188.

69 Rotroff 2006, p. 191.

70 Amyx, Pritchett 1958, p. 232. It might appear in the list of auctioned goods on the Attic stelai, although the identification is not definitely proven.

71 Morris 1985.

72 Shear 1975, p. 361.

73 Morris 1985, p. 400, note 423.

crystallize in this period. It is notable that most of these innovative shapes and techniques have their starting point at the end of 5th and in the 4th century BC. While it is difficult to precisely pinpoint these changes, they seem to revolve around this chronological marker.

TRADE

Goody[74] affirms that flourishing trade and intensive agriculture are among the prerequisites for the emergence of *haute cuisine* in a society. Both are vast subjects and there is no "objective" way to measure their state of development. Agriculture was at a pre-industrial level, but this does not mean that there was no development, or it was too primitive to be called intensive[75]. However, it was through trade that Athens supplied its population with grain when the city grew so much that the produce of its countryside (Attica) became insufficient[76]. Athenian trade in the 5th and 4th centuries BC is an ample subject and treated better elsewhere[77]. Moreover, because of Goody's too general and vague assertions, it is difficult to neutrally argue for a "developed system of trade". Therefore, I would rather focus on two aspects of trade and the role they played in the development of a higher form of cooking: the traded goods and the agents of trade.

The Athenian empire of the 5th century BC facilitated the movement of foreign goods, people, and ideas. By "foreign" I mean strictly non-local (*i.e.* non-Athenian), not necessarily non-Greek. Athens adopted an open attitude that furthered the exchanges, and more important, the adoption. A series of ancient literary texts suggest that Athens was a trading hub in the 5th and 4th centuries BC[78]. This facilitated the interaction with new cooking styles and trends, the import of new ingredients, and the emergence of a group of people interested in new tastes. Among the most important goods relevant to this discussion are corn, fish, wine, and spices[79].

Corn

Due to its finely tuned commercial networks, Athens managed to secure its corn supply even after the Peloponnesian war, when its empire disintegrated, and its fleet was drastically reduced[80]. In Athens, at the end of 5th century BC, bread was sold in the market, by professional bakers[81]. Thearion is the name of a famous Athenian baker, as Plato and other ancient sources suggest[82]. The process of bread-making was time and energy consuming, and thus left to the experts. This "professionalization" of baking made Athens acclaimed for its bread, even though other places

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[74] Goody 1982, p. 99.

[75] For more on agriculture see Isager, Skydsgaard 2013.

[76] Hopper 1979, p. 71-92.

[77] *E.g.* Hasebroek 1965; Hopper 1979; Reed 2003.

[78] Thucydides II, 38-39; pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians*, II, 7; Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 42.

[79] *E.g.* Hermippus, fr. 63, (Athenaeus I, 27e-f), Antiphanes, fr. 233 (Athenaeus I, 27e), Eubulus, *Olbia*, fr. 74 (Athenaeus XIV, 640b-c); *Glaucus*, fr. 18 (Athenaeus I, 28d).

[80] According to Aristophanes, *Assembly women*, 547-8, the price of wheat remained affordable, about 3 drachmas/medimnos, see Hopper 1979, p. 80.

[81] Sparkes 1962, p. 123, note 13; see also Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 858: "the bread women" quarrelling in the market.

[82] Plato, *Gorgias*, 518b; Antiphanes, *Omphales*, fr. 174 (Athenaeus III, 112c-d); see also Dalby 1996, p. 109, note 52.

from around the Mediterranean competed for the best flours and breads[83]. Moreover, according to Archestratus, the best bakers were Phoenicians or Lydians[84]. The poet does not only advertise the best produce or craftsmen, but it educates the elite what to choose. It is possible that the Athenian elite hired foreign bakers for personal use, transforming a staple food, such as bread, into a status display. It is worth noting the central role that the foreigners might have played in this process of creating the best bread. Even though Athens was dependent on corn import to feed its people, it became famous for its bread quality. This shows the favourable conditions in Athens for gastronomic development and innovation; there was demand and the best circumstances for supply.

Fish

Associating eating with pleasure is one of Goody's[85] prerequisites for the emergence of *haute cuisine*. Fish, together with spices, is the type of food that is largely associated with luxury and depravity, at least in the literary sources. Plato[86] writes that an ordinary city is in a constant pursuit of relishes (*opson*) and fish is supreme among them. In specific contexts, *opson* becomes simply synonymous with fish, rather than relishes – a general term for that which was eaten with bread (*sitos*)[87]. In the *Laws*, Plato[88] wishes to ban the imported goods, especially fish, from the ideal city, and in *Gorgias*, he is comparing the physician with the cook: one has vital benefits for the body, the other only dispensable ones. According to Eubulus[89], the Homeric heroes did not eat fish, only "proper" meat, especially roasted. Therefore, eating fish was a departure from the Homeric ideal. An isotopic study at Thebes suggests that the intake of marine protein increased in the Classical times compared to earlier periods[90]. This increase might be associated with a more developed trade especially within the main cities and with a social group – elites or aspiring – that might have been in search of new tastes.

Fish-eating was an urban phenomenon that was mainly made possible by trade routes and preserving methods (salting, smoking, pickling, fish-sauce)[91]. Literary sources tend to emphasize the importance of fish for the dinner table in the cities[92]. Isotopic analysis of bones from cemeteries around Athens suggests that in the diet of the Classical time, marine protein intake was significant[93]. Although Athens is located close to the seacoast, a lot of fish was imported[94]. The fish came to Athens from the West (*e.g.* Sicily) and from the Black Sea. Archestratus' "cookbook" abounds of

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[83] Archestratus, fr. 5 (Athenaeus III, 111e-112b): "[…] But as for bread made for sale in the marketplace, famous Athens supplies mortals with the best […]".

[84] Archestratus, fr. 6 (Athenaeus III, 112c).

[85] Goody 1982, p. 98. This is one of the prerequisites that Goody borrowed from Freeman 1979, p. 143-145, who developed them in relation to the emergence of *haute cuisine* in Chinese cooking.

[86] Plato, *Republic*, 372e-373.

[87] Davidson 1998, p. 20-35.

[88] Plato, *Laws*, 847b-c; *Gorgias*, 517-518.

[89] Eubulus, fr. 118 (Athenaeus I, 25c).

[90] Vika, Aravantinos, Richards 2009.

[91] Mylona 2008, p. 75-90.

[92] Aristophanes, *Peace*, 900; *Knights*, 812-819; Alexis, fr. 77 (Athenaeus III, 119f); Antiphanes, fr. 69 (Athenaeus VIII, 358e-f).

[93] Lagia 2015.

[94] Mylona 2008, p. 88-90.

fish recipes, and the most mentioned cities are Ambracia in the West, and Byzantium, an important exporter of salt-fish from the Black Sea[95]. Although an exaggeration, Lynceus of Samos, a comic writer of the 4th-3rd centuries BC, encourages his audience to bring a copy of Archestratus' book to the fish-market in order to display high fish-knowledge, thus scaring away the fishmongers[96]. Other texts[97] suggest that there was plenty of spoiled fish in the market which was sold as excellent; there was no quality control, and one could easily be tricked[98]. Food knowledge might have been a necessity, and Archestratus' book could have also been an attempt to fill that void. It is also possible that the elite did not bother with the shopping but left the task to the cook[99]. In the Attic stelai, one of the slaves auctioned is called *trapezopoios* – the one who sets the table; his price (215 drachmas) is above average[100]. Although the exact meaning and the tasks of a *trapezopoios* are difficult to ascertain, it is possible that, at least in the elite houses, there were people entrusted with the preparation of the dinner, which also included buying the fish from the market, a chore that necessitated more knowledge than it seemed.

Buying fish could also have had societal implications. High prices were usually set for the large specimens of each species sold in the market, and it was thus affordable mainly for the wealthy. This is the impression given by the Hellenistic price list found at Acraephia, in Boeotia[101], while other literary sources[102], even though they could be exaggerated for a humorous effect, tend to support the same idea. However, the small fish could have been rather cheap[103] and within the financial means of a larger group of the society. Nevertheless, spending huge amounts of money on fish became a sign of decadence and luxury. In a legal speech, Demosthenes accuses a traitor who wasted his money on "fish and harlots"[104]. A symbol of depravity and extravagance, fish-eating also became the food of the aspiring elites, the social group that had the means to buy expensive foods but were not aristocrats – the so-called middling class[105]. It is possible that, in doing so, this group of consumers stimulated gastronomic innovation, in an attempt to move away from old traditions and to create new identities. Facilitated by the flourishing trade networks, fish was an ingredient that gained heavy social connotations, and it might have played an important role in the emergence of elevated ways of cooking.

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95 Dalby 1996, p. 120.

96 Lynceus of Samos, *Shopping for Food*, fr. 19-21 (Athenaeus VI, 228c; VII, 313f; I, 4d).

97 Antiphanes, fr. 159 (Athenaeus VI, 225d).

98 Hopper 1979, p. 70.

99 Antiphanes, fr. 69 (Athenaeus VIII, 358e-f) and Sotades, fr. 1 (Athenaeus VII, 293b-f).

100 Pritchett, Pippin 1956, p. 279.

101 Feyel 1936; Salviat, Vatin 1971; see also Mylona 2008, p. 103-106.

102 *E.g.* Antiphanes, *Lycon*, fr. 145 (Athenaeus VII, 299e); Antiphanes, *Young Men*, fr. 164 (Athenaeus VI, 224c-d): "Before this, I thought the Gorgons were a fairytale; but whenever I enter the marketplace, I believe in them. When I look at the fish-sellers there, I immediately turn to stone, and I have to turn my head away when I talk to them. Because if I see how much they're charging for a miniscule fish, I'm outright paralyzed."

103 Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 490-495.

104 Demosthenes, *On False Embassy*, XIX, 229.

105 Fisher 2000, p. 368.

Spices

It can be argued that spices are transforming the food from mere nutrition to pleasure. Arguably, spices have negligible nutrition value, but they convert the food into a particular cultural construct, which becomes time and space dependent. Understanding ancient spices is a difficult endeavour, one that is less relevant for the current discussion[106]. In ancient sources, the line between spices and medicine is blurred[107], and some of the fragrances are probably lost forever, such as *silphion*, one of the first documented plants run into extinction by human consumption, although it might make a comeback nowadays[108].

In Athens, spices came from all over the known world, according to literary sources[109]; however, it is difficult to ascertain who bought them and for what purposes[110]. There is one curious case that might exemplify the use of spices in the Athenian kitchens. In the lists of Hermocopidae's properties, a *phormos*[111] of coriander[112] is auctioned[113]. The quantity is substantial, indicating bulk use, probably in wine making or preservation[114]. There are some mentions of coriander in literary sources that suggest its use in fish recipes[115]. However, Alcaeus Comicus[116], an Attic comic poet from the beginning of the 4th century BC, recommends its use in small game preparation, especially hares. Hunting was an aristocratic activity, and usually happened in the countryside where the wealthy owned houses. One of these houses might have been the Dema house, discussed above as one of the elite contexts. Mentioned in the list of confiscated properties from the elite, used in recipes that asked for small game, coriander might have been a spice that garnished the plates coming out of the kitchens of the well-off.

Wine

Although Attica produced its own wine, a series of foreign wines were considered of better quality. Among the best imported wines were Mendean, Thasian, Chian, and Lesbian[117]. The latter became popular in the 4th century BC. The lists of auctioned properties also contain wine, especially Thasian and Chian[118]. Their prices are about double of the Attic wines. Mabel Lang[119]

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[106] See Dalby 1996, p. 82-86 for an overview.

[107] *E.g.* Theophrastus, *On Odors*, 10-11.

[108] Miski 2021.

[109] Eubulus, *Olbia*, fr. 74 (Athenaeus XIV, 640b-c).

[110] Although the prices of spices made them affordable mainly for the rich, it is also possible that the poor bought them in an expensive attempt to imitate the elite. The case is exemplified in Roman black pepper consumption, see Cobb 2018.

[111] According to Pritchett, Pippin 1956, p. 192-195 one *phormos* is the equivalent of one *medimnos*, that is approximately 50 litters.

[112] Known in Greece since prehistoric times, see Dalby 1996, p. 49-52, especially note 53, p. 221.

[113] Pritchett, Pippin 1956, p. 185.

[114] For coriander use in Egyptian wine making see McGovern, Mirzoian, Hall 2009.

[115] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 676-678; Anaxandrides, fr. 51 (Athenaeus II, 68b).

[116] Alcaeus Comicus, *Callisto*, fr. 17 (Athenaeus IX, 399f).

[117] Hermippus, fr. 77 (Athenaeus I, 29e-f, see also Dalby 1996, p. 99-101).

[118] Pritchett, Pippin 1956, p. 199-203.

[119] Lang 1956, p. 13-14.

suggests even higher prices than the ones from the Attic stelai. Surmising ancient prices is not a clear-cut process, but even estimates indicate that, for good wines, the costs could be soaring. In the southeast area of the Athenian agora, there is a higher concentration of amphorae remains from the expensive wines. This pattern of consumption compelled Mark L. Lawall[120] to conclude that the activity must be rather commercial in this corner of the agora. It is possible that the expensive wines were sold in a few retail establishments (*i.e.* taverns) active around this neighbourhood. Run probably by foreigners, they could have sold more than wine. In any case, wine was also a commodity that was heavily imported and used, based on its appraisal, as a social status indicator.

Agents of trade

Furthermore, looking at who was involved in the Athenian commercial activities, reveals the main agents that facilitated and used new dining trends. It is commonly accepted that luxury, imported goods, satisfied the elite, a social group that traditionally was not readily involved in the trading business, but profited from it. In addition, it was probably also an attraction for the middling class, the social class lacking the nobility, but not the means to showboat their wealth. Among them were probably a few who had businesses in the city, even though not all of them thriving. The foreigners and the metics were the driving force behind the Athenian trade. It is possible that foreign, non-local influences, could have also shaped Athenian food preferences. Within this context, I would highlight a few foreign elements in the Athenian dining habits of the 4th century BC.

The owners of the taverns – places that retailed and served imported wine and sometimes foods – were mainly foreigners. Literary sources placed their origins outside of Athens[121]. For instance, Plato[122] mentions a wine-seller named Salambus who might have been Platean, and Mithaecus, a Syracusan chef[123]. James N. Davidson[124] speculates that Salambus was a "cocktail maker" due to the elite artisans he is mentioned together with. Procuring, storing, mixing, and serving wine might have become a specialty at which the non-locals excelled.

In the southeast corner of the agora, there are some examples of taverns, some of them supplied with water from the U13:1 well, mentioned above. Expensive wines (Chian, Thasian) and exotic foodstuffs were on the menu[125], according to the interpretation of the faunal remains. "Cattle, sheep, goat, pig, equid, dog, turtle, tortoise, red deer, murex, arca, oyster and mussel" are mentioned. Scraps of long fin bones and animal skulls with holes for brain extraction add large fish and other exotic dishes to the menu.

In addition, at least two non-local culinary specialties were popular in 4th century Athens: *karyke* and *kandaulos*[126]. They are perhaps both Lydian or Ionian and probably some sort of sauces, the first one spicy, and the second one thicker, comparable to a stew or even a cake batter. Moreover,

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[120] Lawall 2000.
[121] Hipponax of Ephesus, see Dalby 1996, p. 106.
[122] Plato, *Gorgias*, 518b.
[123] Dalby 1996, p. 109.
[124] Davidson 1998, p. 54.
[125] Kelly-Blazeby 2006, p. 171-173.
[126] Dalby 1996, p. 106-107; Harvey 1995, p. 277.

cooks from other parts of Greece[127] were present in 4th century BC Athens. These snippets of information point to an apparent foreign component to the Athenian gastronomic choices. Without more in-depth research, it is challenging to speculate how far this foreign element permeated the Athenian dining habits.

DISCUSSION

Was there something resembling *haute cuisine* in Classical Athens? As discussed, the answer resides within the definition of *haute cuisine* or "great culinary culture". According to Nadeau and Wilkins[128] and their definitions, although different, we do not have impartial evidence to conclude that any trend in the Graeco-Roman world can be described as *haute cuisine*. What about Goody's definition? Is there an elevated form of cooking, different from common cooking, that was in the service of the elites? And do the arguments presented in this paper support the presence of *haute cuisine* in Classical Athens as defined by Goody? The answer lies once more, in the definition.

Due to the general terms in which Goody defined *haute cuisine* and its prerequisites, it is possible to accept that a form of elevated cooking was present in Athens at the end of 5th and into the 4th century BC. Even though the elite is difficult to find in the archaeological material, the presence of all the prerequisites suggests that there must have been a social elite that relied on a higher form of cooking. Especially literary sources are clear enough about the presence of high social standing strata in democratic Athens. Some ingredients (*e.g.* fish, wine, spices) and styles (*e.g.* Sicilian, Phoenician bakers) are expensive enough to make them exclusive for the wealthy. However, it is hard to overlook the influence that lower social strata could have had on the dining habits. The cooks and the tavern owners, especially the foreign ones, played a crucial role in shaping the elite consumption preferences, but more research is needed to reveal the extent of this foreign influence. It is interesting to note the possibility of at least two models of influence. One is top-down, in which the elites drove the need for a change in the culinary habits, because they had the means and were in search of new ways to express their wealth. Another one is bottom-up, based on the high number of foreigners that started to call Athens their home from the 5th century BC onwards. They brought with them their own cuisines and exposed the locals to different tastes. Some of them, especially the tavern owners, tried to make a business out of their own traditions and offshore relations, and probably a small percentage of them succeeded. The prosperous ones joined the middling class, an aspiring elite class, which longed for the aristocratic allure, aiming to buy it with their wealth. In time, this class strived to find new ways to express their elitism, and probably food was used as such. If the old aristocracy showed their status and ideal of equality through the drinking parties (symposia), the newer elite might have found a way to express their wealth through feasts, where lavish foods were more central. If this is the case, the presence of *haute cuisine* in Athens towards the end of the Classical era adds to other social transformations.

Rotroff[129] attributes the disappearance in the Hellenistic period of the *krater* – the central vessel of the symposium – to a social change. The new elite lost the equality ideal and invented a

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[127] *E.g.* from Elis, see Antiphanes, fr. 233 (Athenaeus I, 27d-e).

[128] Wilkins, Nadeau 2015.

[129] Rotroff 1996.

new one – that of the potentate – the single individual or family that enters a race of wealth display. While the old democratic ideal elevated the body of citizens to the highest civic importance, in Hellenistic times, the wealthy individual proves his civic importance through his own contributions. It is a reversal of the democratic ideal, but a discernible change. Lynch[130] argues similarly when attempting to document the transformation of the symposium into a feast. At the symposium, the participants maintained the illusion of equality by drinking the same wine from the same *krater*. At a banquet, the host is showing off his wealth through the lavishness of the foods served, while reinforcing the societal hierarchy through table placements and serving orders. The democratic ideal dissipates, and it is replaced by the power of the local potentate and his clientele, a system that will keep functioning into the Roman times. So, within this changing social reality, the use of *haute cuisine* can be easily placed. It could have had a specific function, either as an imposed top-down model, or could have been co-opted from a different social category (the bottom-up model) and used in self-interest. Either way, *haute cuisine*, in Goody's terms, could have fit perfectly in the changing social environment at the end of the Classical times in Athens.

Nonetheless, returning to Goody's definition and prerequisites, we observe the broadness of his statements which makes them so inclusive that their applicability almost touches universality. With some effort, *haute cuisine* can be detected in many societies at various times in history. Based on his examples, it is possible that this was Goody's intention regardless. However, this is detrimental to what it can reveal about concrete societies, rendering his theory less useful than it might seem at first glance. Yet, in this case (*i.e.* Classical Athens), it offered a theoretical framework within which change can be traced across a variety of sources and domains. The fact that it captured a change in the literary sources that it was somewhat mirrored in the archaeological material, speaks about the theory's merits. Although so general that might be designated as vague in at least some aspects, Goody's idea of *haute cuisine* proves to be useful enough to discern fluctuating consumption patterns in Classical Athens and, additionally, presents possible foundations for an explanation. This explanation can be, in turn, used to further explore other social changes that are partially explained. It does not definitely answer all the questions, but it does contribute to current explanations, enriching and nuancing them. At least for this, Goody's social theory of cooking must be appreciated for its input.

CONCLUSION

According to Goody's prerequisites, the Athenian society met all the criteria for *haute cuisine*, to a certain degree. Most of the transformations mentioned started at the end of 5th and into the 4th century BC, but this was a prolonged and subtle process. However, the methodological problems acknowledged throughout this text, pertaining to literary and archaeological evidence, do not permit definitive answers. If *haute cuisine* is defined as an elevated form of cooking employed by the elite, there is evidence that high cooking took place. The elite is not easily visible in the archaeological material, but the literary sources suggest its existence. This approach, at least in the format presented in this paper, structures a variety of sources and makes clearer how changes in food preferences occurred. Moreover, it highlights the foreign influences and how non-local

[130] Lynch 2018.

people, ideas, and ingredients contributed to this transformation. Furthermore, it opens the door for formulating models which could illuminate later developments in the institution of the symposium, and its metamorphosis from a drinking party between equals into a banquet offered by a potentate to his inferiors. The further culinary developments of later Hellenistic and Roman times may have their roots in the 4th century BC Athenian changing dining habits.

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THEOROI AND *THEORODOKOI* IN ISTROS AND SAMOTHRACE: A NEW READING OF SEG 51, 936

DRAGOȘ HĂLMAGI*

Keywords: *theoroi*, *proxenoi*, Istros, Samothrace, honorific decrees
Abstract: A Hellenistic inscription from Istros, SEG 51, 936, hitherto partially understood, is shown to contain two decrees honouring two men from Samothrace for hosting a delegation of Istrian *theoroi* sent to the island to take part in the annual festival.

Cuvinte-cheie: *theoroi, proxenoi*, Istros, Samothrace, decrete onorifice
Rezumat: Articolul reia o inscripție elenistică din Istros, SEG 51, 936, înțeleasă doar parțial: aceasta conține de fapt două decrete onorifice pentru doi bărbați din Samothrace, care au găzduit o delegație de *theoroi* istrieni trimiși pe insulă pentru a participa la festivalul anual.

A diligent scholar of the antiquities of the Left Pontus, Alexandru Avram dedicated much of his work to the inscriptions of Istros. His revisiting of Dionisie M. Pippidi's corpus in the pages of this journal 15 years ago showed that rethinking known inscriptions can produce satisfactory and sometimes even spectacular results[1].

One of the reconsidered inscriptions was discovered in 1972, on a severely weathered marble stele reused in the western Roman baths in Istros, the so-called Thermae II[2]. The lettering is characteristic of the 2nd century BC. Little else was known about it for three decades, until Alexandru Avram examined the stone and re-published the inscription as follows[3]:

[ἔδ]οξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· ἐπιμηνι-
εύοντος Ποσειδίππου τοῦ Ποσειδίππου,
Εὐξενίδης Μονίμου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἀποστα-
λέντες ὑπὲρ [– – – – – – – – εἰς] Σαμο<θ>ράι-
κην Εὐξενίδ̣η̣ς [– – –, – – – – Ἡρ]α̣κ̣λεί-

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[1] Avram 2007.

[2] Suceveanu 1982, p. 131, no. 1 (mentioned); Pippidi 1982, p. 36, no. 2 (SEG 32, 680) = ISM I, 36 (reading only the first three lines; other suggestions: Moretti 1983, p. 54; Mihailov 1984, p. 84; Vinogradov, Karyškovskij 1984, p. 178).

[3] Avram 2000-2001, p. 344-348, no. 3 (BÉ 2003, 390, 3 = SEG 51, 936); Avram 2007, p. 88-89, no. 36 (with ameliorations).

δου, Βιάνωρ Κλειτ[οφῶντος – – –]ΑΛΟΥ
[.]ηνην ἐχ ό̣ν̣τ̣ω̣[ν – – – – – – – – –]τ̣ην[…]ω̣κ̣[..]-
ωνος Σαμ[– – – – – – – – – – – – δή]μ̣ωι καὶ [..]-
[..] το̣τ’ ἐν τῶι̣ [– – – – – πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν]
παρεχόμενο[ς· δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ] τῶι δή-
μωι· ἐπη̣νῆσαι δ’ ἐπ[ὶ τούτοις – – –]ν· [δ]εδόσ-
θαι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγ[όνοις προξενίαν πολι]τεί-
αν ἰσοτέλει[αν εἴσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν κ]αὶ πο-
λέμου καὶ εἰρ[ήνης ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπον]δεί· εἶ-
ναι δὲ αὐτ[ῶι καὶ ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴ]ν
καὶ τὸν [δ]ῆμ[ον μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ] π[ρώ]τωι· τοὺς
δὲ ἡγεμ[όνας ἀναγράψαι τοῦ]το δὲ τὸ ψή-
φισμα εἰ[ς] σ[τ]ή[λην καὶ στῆσαι ἐ]ν τῶι Σαμ[ο]-
[θ]ρ[α]ικ[ίωι· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦναι] τὸν οἰκονό-
[μο]ν, μερ[ίσαι] δὲ [τοὺς μεριστάς·] *vacat*
[ἔδο]ξε τ[ῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμ]ωι· ἐπιμηνι-
[ε]ύοντος Π[οσειδίππου τοῦ Ποσ]ει[δ]ίππου,
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – εἶπεν· ἐπει]δὴ ἀπο-
[σταλέντες ὑπὲρ – – – – – – – – –] εἰς Σ[α]-
[μοθράικην – – – – – – – – Ἡρακλε]ίδο[υ]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ἀ]π̣αγγέ[λ]-
[λουσι – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ΜΗΤ̣[.]
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ς προξε-
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] τῶι δήμωι
[– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] τ̣ῶ̣ν πολιτῶν
[– – – – – – – – – – – · δεδόχθαι] τῆι βουλῆ[ι]
[καὶ τῶι δήμωι· ἐπη̣νῆσαι δ’ ἐπὶ] τού-
[τοις – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –]ΘΕΑ-
[– – – – – – – – – ἀναγράψαι τοῦ]το δ[ὲ]
[τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην τ]οὺς ἡγ[ε]-
[μόνας καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι Σαμοθρ]αικίωι· τὸ
[δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦναι τὸν οἰκονόμο]ν, με-
[ρίσαι δὲ τοὺς μεριστάς. *vacat*]

Despite the fragmentary state of the text, Philippe Gauthier put forward a compelling interpretation in a short note in the Bulletin Épigraphique of 2003[4], which was adopted by Avram and from which I quote in part below:

> "Arrivés à Samothrace, ces délégués ont accompli avec succès leur mission, notamment sans doute grâce aux services que leur ont rendus tel et tel Samothraciens. Revenus à Istros, ils ont attesté que l'un d'eux s'était montré dévoué envers eux [...]. Et ce fut cet évergète Samothracien (et non un délégué de la cité) qui fut ensuite honoré de la proxénie

[4] BÉ 2003, 390, 3.

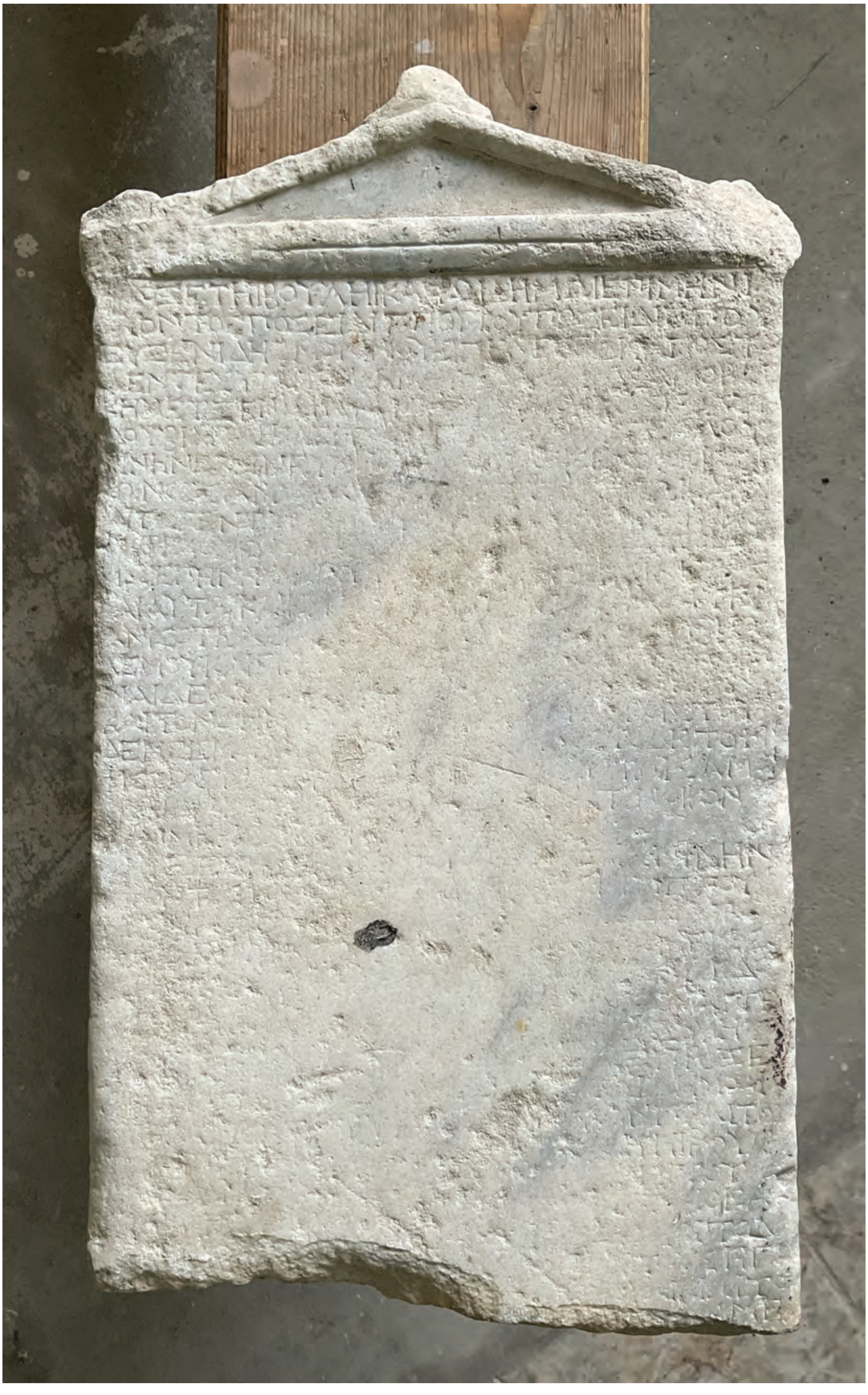

Fig. 1. Decrees of Istros for two Samothracian *theorodokoi*. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Histria Museum.

et du droit de cité par le premier décret gravé sur la stèle. Dans le second décret, très mutilé, [...] sur le rapport des délégués, un autre Samothracien (ou un autre étranger) était honoré à son tour de la proxénie."

I re-examined the inscription in 2021 (fig. 1-2) using grazing light and a squeeze. Many letters are erased or reduced to mere traces, but fortunately the highly formulaic language of the decrees is helpful in recovering much of the text. I suggest the following reading and translation:

[ἔδ]οξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι ἐπιμηνι-
εύοντος Ποσειδίππου τοῦ Ποσειδίππου·
Εὐξενίδης Μονίμου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἀποστα-
λέντες ὑπὸ τọῦ δήμọυ [θε]ωρ[οὶ] ẹἰ̣ς Σαμ<ο>θράι-
κην Εὐξενίδη̣[ς] Μ̣[ο]ν̣ί̣μ̣[ου, – –κερδο]ς(?) Π[ο]λυί-
δου, Βιάνωρ Κλειτ[ο]φ[ῶ]ντọς [ἀ]ν[α]γγέλλου-
[σ]ιν ἣν ἔχων εὔν[οιαν διατε]λ̣ẹῖ Ξενọ́φων Σ̣ί-
[μ]ωνος Σαμ[όθ]ρ̣α[ιξ κοινῆι τῶι δήμ]ωι καὶ [ἰ]δ̣ί̣-
[α]ι τοῖ̣ς ἐντυ[γχάνο]υ̣[σι τῶν πολι]τῶ̣ν χρẹίας
παρεχόμενο[ς· δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ] τῶι δ[ή]-
μωι· ἐπηνῆσ̣α̣ι̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣[ὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις κα]ὶ δ̣εδ[ό]σ-
[θ]αι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγ[όνοις προξενίαν πο]λ̣ιτεί-
αν ἰσοτέλειαν̣ [εἴσπλουγ καὶ ἔκπλο]υ̣γ̣ <καὶ> πο-
λέμου καὶ εἰρ̣ή̣[νης ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπον]δ̣ẹί̣· εἶ-
ναι δὲ αὐ̣τ̣[οῖς κα]ὶ̣ ἔ̣[φοδον ἐπὶ] τ̣ὴ̣[ν βο]υ̣λ̣ὴν *vac.*
καὶ τὸν δῆμ[ον μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ] π̣[ρώ]τοις· τοὺς
δὲ ἡγεμ[ό]ν̣α̣[ς ἀναγράψα]ι̣ τόδε τὸ ψή-
φισμ̣α εἰς σ̣[τ]ή[λην καὶ στῆσαι ἐ]ν̣ τῶι Σαμọ-
[θ]ρ[α]ικ[ίω]ι· [τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦναι] τὸν οἰκον[ό]-
[μο]ν, μερί̣σ̣[αι] δ̣[ὲ τοὺς μεριστάς·] *vacat*
[ἔδο]ξε τῆ[ι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμ]ω̣ι̣ ἐπιμην[ι]-
[ε]ύ̣οντọς Π̣[οσε]ι[δίππου τοῦ Πο]σ̣ε̣ι̣[δ]ίππου, *vac.*
[Εὐ]ξ[ε]ν̣[ί]δ̣[ης Μονίμου εἶπεν· ἐπ]ε̣[ι]δὴ ἀπο- *vac.*
[στα]λ̣έντ[ες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου θεωροὶ] εἰς Σ[α]-
[μοθ]ρ[ά]ικη[ν Εὐξενίδης Μονίμου, – –]κε̣ρ̣δος(?)
[Πο]λυ̣ί̣δ[ου, Βιάνωρ Κλειτοφῶντος] ἀ̣ν̣α̣γγέ[λ]-
[λο]υσ̣[ιν] ἣν̣ [ἔχων] ε̣[ὔνοιαν δια]τ̣ε̣λ̣εῖ̣ Μητρ̣[ο]-
[. . . .] Δε̣– – – – – – – – – Σαμόθρ]α̣ι̣ξ πρόξε-
[νο]ς Ἰ[σ]τρ̣[ιανῶν ὢν καὶ κοινῆι] τῶι δήμωι
[καὶ] ἰ̣δ̣ί̣α̣ι̣ τ̣ο̣ῖ̣[ς] ἐ̣[ν]τ̣υ̣γ[χάνουσ]ι̣ τ̣ῶ̣ν πολιτῶν̣
[χρε]ία[ς] πα̣ρ̣[εχό]μ[ενος· δεδό]χ[θ]α̣ι τῆι βουλῆ[ι]
[καὶ τῶι δ]ή[μωι· ἐπηνῆσαι αὐτὸν] ẹπὶ τού- *vac.*
[τοις] κ̣[α]ὶ̣ σ̣τ̣ε̣[φανοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν] τ̣ῶ̣ι θεάτ̣-
[ρωι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ ἀναγρά]ψ[α]ι τόδε̣
[τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην] τ̣οὺς ἡγε̣-
[μόνας καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι Σαμοθ]ρ̣α̣ικ̣ίωι· τὸ
[δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦναι τὸν οἰκονόμο]ν, με-
[ρίσαι δὲ τοὺς μεριστάς. *vacat*]

It was decided by the council and the people. When Poseidippos, son of Poseidippos, was president of the assembly, Euxenides, son of Monimos, proposed: since Euxenides, son of Monimos, …kerdos(?), son of Polyidos, and Bianor, son of Kleitophon, *theoroi* sent by the people to Samothrace, reported the goodwill which the Samothracian Xenophon, son of Simon, continues to have, rendering services both collectively to the people and individually to the citizens he met; the council and the people shall resolve to honour him on account of these and give him and his descendants proxeny, citizenship, equality in taxes, the right of sailing into and out of the city in war and peacetime with immunity and without treaty, and for them to have access to the council and the people immediately after the religious affairs; the *hegemones* shall engrave this decree on a stele and place it in the temple of the Samothracian gods; the treasurer shall pay up the cost and the *meristai* shall distribute it.

It was decided by the council and the people. When Poseidippos, son of Poseidippos, was president of the assembly, Euxenides, son of Monimos, proposed: since Euxenides, son of Monimos, …kerdos(?), son of Polyidos, and Bianor, son of Kleitophon, *theoroi* sent by the people to Samothrace, reported the goodwill which the Samothracian Metro…, son of De… continues to have, being a *proxenos* of the Istrians and rendering services both collectively to the people and individually to the citizens he met; the council and the people shall resolve to honour him on account of these and crown him in the theatre with a gold crown; the *hegemones* shall engrave this decree on a stone stele and place it in the temple of the Samothracian gods; the treasurer shall pay up the cost and the *meristai* shall distribute it.

Lines 3-6. The new reading confirms Gauthier's intuition, while also casting a surprising and welcome light on the nature of the embassy. The three men were *theoroi* sent to perform sacrifices and attend a major festival in Samothrace, perhaps also to become initiates[5]. The mover of the two decrees, Euxenides, son of Monimos, was also one of the *theoroi*. Both names are recurrent in Istros[6].

Line 7. The syntax is a bit odd, but not without parallel: the same phrasing is used in IG II² 1326 (176/5 BC), ll. 4-5.

Lines 7-8. The *theoroi* must have received grants of proxeny from the city of Samothrace[7]. The two Istrian decrees show how the honours were reciprocated by the cities which sent *theoriai* to Samothrace: they granted similar privileges to the Samothracian *theorodokoi* who hosted the delegations.

Line 13. Ϋ̣Γ̣ΠΟ on stone, quite probably a καί is missing here.

Line 23. The two decrees originated in the same motion and were drafted separately to be sent to each of the two honorands. It is unclear, however, whether the two texts were originally inscribed

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[5] Cole 1984, p. 48-56; Dimitrova 2008, p. 9-20, 71-74.

[6] Another Euxenides, son of Monimos, is known from ISM I, 212, a name list of imperial date. The same name might be restored in ISM I, 5 (3rd century BC), ll. 3-4: [Εὐξενί]|δης Μονίμου (*cf.* BÉ 2003, 390, 3; SEG 51, 936; Avram 2007, p. 82-83, no. 5). The inscription is a decree mentioning a delegation of three men sent to interrogate the oracle of Apollo in Kalchedon about the cult of Sarapis. If Euxenides was the mover of the decree, he could have been the grandfather of the *theoros* sent to Samothrace.

[7] Dimitrova 2008, p. 72, 74. The Samothracian decrees were also sent and probably displayed in Istros, *cf.* the decrees found in Iasos (Habicht 1994; SEG 43, 715) and Kaunos (Kunnert, Marek 2014; SEG 64, 944).

on the same stone or the present stele is a different monument, set up in unknown circumstances at a later time.

Line 25. A few letters seem to be missing and I have no solution for the name. Nor are the two letters following K certain: I can see only their vertical strokes.

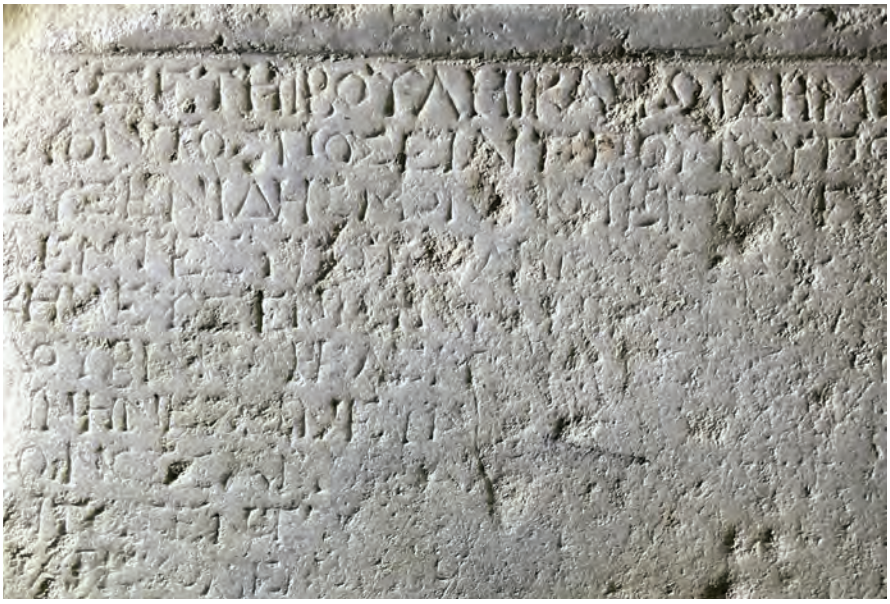

Fig. 2. Decrees of Istros for two Samothracian *theorodokoi*. Detail of the inscription's first lines. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Histria Museum.

Lines 27-29. The other Samothracian was already a *proxenos*, a fact suggesting that Istrian *theoriai* were more or less regular.

Lines 34-35. Only two other decrees of Istros award crowns to foreigners. The honorand of ISM I, 25 received a gold crown weighing ten staters in the theatre, in addition to proxeny and other customary privileges[8]. The fragment is unfortunately too small and does not preserve anything from the preamble. The other foreigner is Diogenes, son of Diogenes, from Amisos, appointed *strategos* in the city by Mithridates Eupator[9]. Diogenes received the gold crown, but not proxeny, which he might had obtained previously.

The cult of the Samothracian Gods was established in the city in the 3rd century BC, at the same time as the cults of Theos Megas and Sarapis[10]. The location of the temple is not known, but three other inscriptions mention it or allude to it[11]. A decree of the 3rd century BC, ISM I, 19, honours Dionysios, son of Strouthion, and grants him and to his descendants the priesthood of the

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[8] New readings by Avram 2007, p. 86, no. 25 and Hălmagi 2020, p. 426, no. 1. The key passage is in l. 4: ἀπὸ χρ]ụσῶν δέκα.

[9] ISM I, 45 joined with two new fragments by Avram, Bounegru 1997 (SEG 47, 1125) and new supplements by Avram 2007, p. 117-119, no. XXVIII. For the ethnic, I suggest Δ̣ιογένην Διογένου Ἀμ[ισηνὸν τὸν στρα]τηγὸν | [τῆ]ς πόλ̣[ε]ως in ll. 41-42.

[10] Alexandrescu 2005, p. 110-111, 133.

[11] Other brief summaries: Cole 1984, p. 76; Avram 2000-2001, p. 344.

Samothracian gods (ll. 20-22: δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόν[οις ἀεὶ | τῶ]ι πρεσβυτάτωι τῶν ὄντων ἱερωσύ[νην δη|μ]οσίαι θεῶν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράικηι). It also specifies that the stele should be displayed near the altar of these gods (ll. 29-30: στῆσα[ι] παρὰ τὸ[ν βωμὸν | τ]ῶν θε[ῶ]ν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθ[ρά]ικηι). The altar was probably in front of the temple, which is mentioned in another contemporary decree, ISM I, 11. ISM I, 10, lost today, must belong to the same inscription: the letters have the same shape and size, and the two fragments seem to fit together (fig. 3)[12]:

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
[– – – ἐπαινέσαι ἐπὶ τού]τ̣[ο]ι̣ς Διονύ̣-
[σιον τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ δεδ]όσθαι αὐτῶ[ι]
[καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν] πολιτεί-
[αν ἰσοτέλειαν εἴσπλο]υν καὶ ἔκ-
[πλουν πολέμου καὶ εἰρ]ή[νης] ἀσυ- *vac.*
[λεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδε]ί̣· εἶνα[ι δὲ] α̣ὐτῶι
καὶ ἔ[φοδον ἐ]π̣ὶ τὴν βου[λὴν] καὶ τὸν
[δ]ῆμον [πρώτ]ωι μετὰ [τὰ ἱερά· τὸ δὲ]
ψήφισμα [τόδ]ε ἀναγρά[ψαι τοὺς *vac.*]
ἡγεμόνας ε̣[ἰς] σ̣τήλην̣ [καὶ στῆσαι]
ἐν τῶι Σαμο[θρ̣ακίωι· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα]
[τ]ὸ ἐσόμενον [δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν, με]-
[ρίσ]αι δὲ τοὺ[ς μεριστάς· ἀποστεῖ]-
[λαι] δὲ αὐτ̣[ῶι καὶ ξένια τὸν ταμίαν·]
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

Fig. 3. Proxeny decree of Istros for Dionysios. Collage of an old photograph and a photograph by Laurențiu Cliante, courtesy of the Histria Museum.

[12] Both inscriptions were re-edited by Avram 2007, p. 83, no. 10-11.

Finally, ISM I, 58, a 2nd century BC decree of the Istrian *phylai* for a certain Meniskos ends with the same provision (ll. 32-34: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφῆ[ναι | εἰς τ]ελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ ἀνατ[εθῆ]|ναι ἐν τῶι Σαμοθρᾳκίωι). Unfortunately, all these inscriptions were reused as building material and offer no clues to the location of the temple.

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IMMAGINE E POTERE DELL'IMPERO ATTRAVERSO IL PROGRAMMA FIGURATIVO: NOVITÀ E CONTINUITÀ NEL FORO DI TRAIANO

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Keywords: Antonio de Romanis, Heinrich Bauer, polychrome marbles, Dacians, Germans, bodies, heads, *porticus nationum*

Abstract: The study starts from the identity themes of the constructive and figurative public programmes of the Imperial Forums: memory, lineage, continuity, the colossal nature of the buildings, and the signification of representations, briefly examining the *Forum* of Augustus, *Templum Pacis* and the *Forum* of Nerva, a path introducing to the extensive analysis of Trajan's *Forum*, where the square, the three-segmented aula, the porticoes and Basilica Ulpia are new and expanded spaces destined to crowded legal activities. Now the public monumental figurative program includes representations of Dacians and other populations. Following a new examination of a great number of fragments of these sculptures and the application of the scalar comparison system, conceived with Valeria Di Cola, the author presents the subdivision in three series of the sculptures examined so far from those gathered in public and private collections and those kept in the area of the *Forum*. The author draws attention on the reconstructed heights, on the attested marbles, white and coloured (pavonazzetto, porphyry and bigio morato), the provenance of historical collections, identification of the populations represented not only to celebrate the victory, but also for their inclusion into the universal Roman Empire, in a sort of *porticus nationum*. The transcription of Antonio de Romanis' notebooks brings above all into question the attribution of some architectural constructive elements of the Basilica Ulpia, while the examination of the graphic archive of the German Archaeological Institute has revealed a very suggestive proposal by Heinrich Bauer, whose reconstruction of the central nave of the Basilica – the central place of the administration of justice – is based on the mighty statues of Dacians used in an intermediate order. A quick *excursus* connects the Dacians statues on the Constantine Arch with the "famous" pairs of Barbarians and Prisoners, especially in coloured marble, porphyry and bigio morato: these polychrome statues are attested in the collections of the Museum of Imperial Forums by a few dozen fragments, still in study. The examination of the heads scattered in various European museums, a work in progress, is also anticipated: *pileati*, divided into two subgroups, *capillati*, Germans and other populations. Finally, the two Trajan's main monuments, the Column in Rome, and the other one on the edge of the Empire, *Tropaeum Traiani* in Adamclisi (Romania), are mentioned for their meaning in the two different contexts.

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Cuvinte-cheie: Antonio de Romanis, Heinrich Bauer, marmură policromă, daci, germani, corpuri, capete, *porticus nationum*

Rezumat: Studiul de față pornește de la principalele teme și motive ale programului constructiv și registrului figurativ public întâlnit în forurile imperiale, precum: funcția memorială, descendența troiană și continuitatea romanilor, monumentalitatea edificiilor publice, semnificația reprezentărilor. Toate acestea sunt abordate în contextul analizelor Forului lui Augustus, al Templului Păcii și al Forului lui Nerva, premergătoare amplei discuții despre Forul lui Traian, unde locul rezervat pieței politice, aula trisegmentată, porticele și Basilica Ulpia sunt mărturii ale organizării unor spații ample, destinate activităților juridice care implicau un mare număr de persoane. Registrul figurativ al monumentelor publice din epoca lui Traian include reprezentări ale dacilor și ale altor populații străine. Examinarea unui număr mare de fragmente ale acestor statui, provenind din colecții particulare sau ale muzeelor, folosindu-se metoda comparației scalare concepută împreună cu Valeria Di Cola, a permis autoarei prezentului studiu clasificarea sculpturilor în trei categorii principale. Criteriile folosite au ținut seamă de: dimensiunile statuilor așa cum au fost ele reconstituite de către specialiști, tipurile de marmură utilizată (albă sau colorată, vineție, de culoarea porfirului sau gri negricioasă), proveniența fragmentelor statuare sau apartenența acestora la anumite categorii de colecții, identificarea populațiilor, a căror reprezentare nu este importantă doar pentru sublinierea victoriei militare, ci și pentru includerea acestora în granițele Imperiului Roman considerat universal, într-un fel de *porticus nationum*. Transcrierea caietelor de lucru ale lui Antonio di Romanis repune în discuție atribuirea descoperirilor anumitor elemente constructive arhitecturale ale edificiului Basilica Ulpia, iar examinarea schițelor și desenelor din arhiva Institutului Arheologic German readuce în actualitate interpretarea lui Heinrich Bauer, care propunea ca impozantele statui ale dacilor să fie asociate cu un ordin arhitectural intermediar folosit în construcția navei centrale a Basilicii, spațiul central al împărțirii dreptății în epoca lui Traian. Un rapid *excursus* conectează reprezentările statuare de daci de pe Arcul lui Constantin cu perechile „celebre” de *barbari* și *prizonieri* realizate în marmură policromă, ale căror fragmente, aflate încă în studiu, sunt păstrate în Muzeul Forurilor Imperiale. Autoarea subliniază importanța continuării acestor analize și a rezultatelor interpretative prin adăugarea și a altor reprezentări, păstrate în muzeele europene, de *pileati* (împărțiți în două subgrupe), *capillati*, germanici și alte populații. În încheierea studiului, sunt prezentate două importante monumente – Columna lui Traian amplasată în Roma și Trofeul de la Adamclisi (România) situat la marginea imperiului – menționate pentru sensul lor în două contexte diferite.

Prima di entrare nel merito del mio contributo[1] mi soffermo su un tema che ne costituisce la premessa: cosa si intende per propaganda?

Si tratta dell'azione che tende a influire sull'opinione pubblica e dei mezzi con cui viene svolta. È un tentativo deliberato e sistematico di plasmare percezioni, manipolare cognizioni e dirigere il comportamento al fine di ottenere una risposta che favorisca gli intenti di chi la mette in atto. La propaganda si avvale anche di forme di più sottile diffusione, quali la letteratura, il teatro, le arti figurative ecc., che possono più facilmente influenzare i ceti colti. "Ciò che caratterizza infatti la propaganda è l'essere linguaggio (nel senso più ampio del termine), rivolto ad altri allo scopo

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[1] Ringrazio il Centro per la storia comparata delle società antiche, Dipartimento di storia antica, archeologia e storia dell'arte, Facoltà di storia, Università di Bucarest per avermi invitata a partecipare alla Annual scientific communications session, April 15-16, 2022: *Archaeologists at the meeting with history* in memoriam professorum *Alexandru Barnea* et *Alexandru Avram*, per me un vero onore in ricordo dell'amicizia e della stima che ho avuto e che ho per il professor Barnea. L'obiettivo di questo contributo non è certamente quello di un nuovo catalogo aggiornato sulle sculture genericamente attribuite alla tipologia del "Dace, Barbaro, Prigione" e in alcuni casi di incerta provenienza dal Foro di Traiano; piuttosto, intendo aggregare conoscenze sul contesto archeologico e sulla dispersione dei materiali perché si aprano prospettive di lettura del programma figurativo diverse. Il futuro catalogo, quindi, avrà una finalità di contestualizzazione nel Foro, di approfondimento delle vicende e dei percorsi dei materiali nel tempo, di suddivisione delle sculture per caratteristiche oggettive (misure, abiti ecc.) e resa formale.

d'influire sul loro modo di agire"[2]. Si è detto che la miglior propaganda consiste nell'esempio, e il mezzo migliore è quello educativo; infatti, la propaganda è, in certo modo, educazione.

Denis McQuail si rifà ad una vasta letteratura nella quale la propaganda è persuasione finalizzata ad acquistare o esercitare il potere su altri[3]. La propaganda è sempre indirizzata a gruppi specifici, sebbene i destinatari siano in genere gruppi assai ampi (a volte addirittura intere popolazioni); esiste sempre un'opposizione potenziale che occorre anticipare e neutralizzare con una contro-propaganda. Nella propaganda tipicamente il fine giustifica i mezzi, e per questa ragione si tratta di una forma di comunicazione sospetta.

In cosa consiste, invece, la diffusione dell'immagine nell'Impero romano? Secondo Paul Zanker e Paul Veyne si deve parlare di comunicazione e diffusione dell'immagine soprattutto da Augusto in poi in un territorio sempre più complesso e vasto[4]. In tempo di pace, gli imperatori non hanno necessità di fare propaganda ma piuttosto di manifestare il loro potere e la presenza del governo attraverso le immagini e le opere.

Fatta questa premessa penso sia opportuno ripercorre brevemente alcune tappe importanti del linguaggio figurativo nei Fori Imperiali da Augusto a Traiano.

La valle dei Fori Imperiali è stata il vero centro del potere imperiale e ha formalizzato gli elementi fondamentali dell'architettura pubblica e della comunicazione ufficiale, che dalla capitale si irradiano nelle province.

Memoria, discendenza, continuità, colossalità degli edifici e definizione delle rappresentazioni sono elementi-guida per i programmi figurativi pubblici nei Fori[5].

IL FORO DI AUGUSTO

L'articolazione originaria degli spazi nel Foro di Augusto prevede l'uso di quattro grandi esedre e di profondi portici per finalità giuridiche, con l'ospitalità dei tribunali del pretore urbano e del pretore peregrino, dando origine ad un modello longevo in particolare per la funzione delle esedre[6]. L'intreccio tra funzioni pubbliche e programma figurativo è innovativo e costituisce una premessa fondamentale per il successivo Foro di Traiano.

Discendenza divina, antenati fondatori, uomini illustri della Repubblica, trionfatori della nuova era: tutti concorrono all'ascesa della *gens Iulia* e alla giustificazione del suo potere (fig. 1).

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[2] Pincherle, Enciclopedia Italiana, 1949, s.v. *Propaganda* (https://treccani.it/enciclopedia/propaganda_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/ [accesso 26.10.2022]).

[3] McQuail 2007.

[4] Zanker 1989, p. 7-28, 146-167; Veyne 2010, p. 328-364.

[5] Le indagini e gli studi tuttora in corso hanno restituito un'immagine profondamente diversa dei Fori, spazi monumentali con una forte valenza ideologica, specializzati in diverse funzioni, chiusi al loro interno come fortezze, connessi tra loro attraverso percorsi controllati, con molti interrogativi ancora aperti sulla saldatura tra gli edifici (soprattutto nel Foro di Traiano).

[6] Carnabuci, Braccalenti 2011, particolarmente utile il confronto tra la planimetria esito dello scavo e quella ricostruttiva (fig. 1/7) e le considerazioni alle pagine 40-43, 51-54.

La *magnificentia publica* è esaltata dalle dimensioni colossali del Tempio[7], dalla progettazione unitaria delle superfici pavimentali e degli ordini architettonici, con marmi policromi in orizzontale e verticale, cui si aggiungono i marmi bianchi dipinti[8].

Le origini divine (Marte e Venere) e mitiche (Enea e Romolo, il mito di Troia e della fondazione di Roma) della *gens Iulia,* con gruppi scultorei colossali occupano le nicchie centrali e si sommano alla galleria di uomini illustri che anima i porticati e le esedre a doppia altezza; le figure storiche che "hanno fatto" grande Roma e i nuovi trionfatori assistono agli affollati processi e la *familia augusta* si identifica con lo stato[9]. Le esedre, dove vengono allestiti i tribunali mobili, sono schermate da un possente ordine in cipollino (pilastro e semicolonna), che "protegge" i dibattimenti, mentre semicolonne in cipollino e giallo antico danno ritmo alla parete semicircolare a doppia altezza nel caso delle esedre in corrispondenza del Tempio, mentre le esedre di recente scoperta hanno risalti che probabilmente inquadravano vani per gli archivi dei tribunali (fig. 2).

Con Augusto vengono concessi gli *ornamenta triumphalia,* ovvero la dedica della statua di bronzo nel Foro per l'effetto coloristico, si aggiungono i metalli preziosi lucenti. Il "togato" rappresenta il *cives:* vestire la toga è un riconoscimento pubblico e influenza le nuove classi sociali che vogliono dimostrare la loro partecipazione al nuovo *status,* il loro consenso alla politica augustea, con un processo di identificazione che non ha eguali nella storia.

Sull'attico dei portici della piazza, pannelli quadrati contengono le *imagines clipeatae*: le teste al centro sono applicate con un tenone marmoreo e incorniciate da tre tipologie di motivi decorativi vegetali[10], rappresentano Giove Ammone con corna di ariete e un altro soggetto maschile con *torques*[11]; non è finora provata la presenza della Gorgone/Medusa; le teste si alternano alle *Korai* copiate dall'Eretteo sull'acropoli di Atene, mentre invece le più recenti analisi con le fotografie UV a fluorescenza hanno rivelato la sostanza fosfoproteica su frammenti di incorniciature con treccia continua, ovvero il primer per l'applicazione del colore, evidentemente per accentuare l'effetto patetico delle teste maschili[12]. Infine, l'Aula del Colosso si colloca in fondo al portico settentrionale (usato come basilica civile) quale *aedis*, che accoglie secondo alcuni studiosi il culto del *Genius Augusti*, entità che media il rapporto tra uomini e dei[13]. Un acrolito colossale si stagliava su una parete di fondo rivestita in lastre di marmo lunense dipinte per creare l'effetto

[7] Nel rapporto scalare 2:1 tra Tempio e portici, che verrà ripreso anche nelle capitali ispaniche e nel *Templum Pacis*: Ungaro 2021; Ungaro 2022c.

[8] Ungaro 2007, p. 118-169; Ungaro 2008a; Ungaro 2008b; Ungaro 2020b.

[9] Per la sconfinata bibliografia sul Foro di Augusto restano basilari i lavori di Paul Zanker, Joachim Ganzert, e Martin Spannagel; per la città di Roma in età augustea La Rocca 2013 (e nello stesso catalogo vari saggi); Spannagel 2017, con ampia bibliografia precedente. Per recenti studi (e bibliografia) si vedano anche Ungaro, Dal Monte 2020; Dal Monte, Polito, Ungaro 2020; Dal Monte 2020.

[10] Ungaro 2011; La Rocca 2011; Monaco 2017. Al di sopra dell'attico doveva esserci un terzo registro figurativo, non sappiamo ancora con quali rappresentazioni, se figurate, come aveva proposto Heinrich Bauer o di altro genere. Le teste sono applicate con un tenone marmoreo e aderiscono direttamente alla parete di fondo.

[11] In ambedue le tipologie tra le ciocche dei capelli sono praticati fori di diversa forma e poco profondi che non giustificano l'applicazione di corna in metallo: Ungaro 2011, p. 51, fig. 5.

[12] Ungaro 2020c.

[13] Ungaro 2008a; Ungaro 2008b. *Contra* l'identificazione del Colosso nel *Genius Augusti* interviene nuovamente e con ampia disamina anche bibliografica Spannagel 2017. Il podio per la statua colossale alta 11 metri, presenta l'uso degli stessi marmi usati per l'abside della cella del Tempio, pavonazzetto e alabastro, mentre la parete di marmo bianco lunense viene dipinta per creare l'illusione di un tendaggio: si riconoscono blu egizio, oro, ocra, rosso per disegni floreali molteplici e il soffitto a cassettoni per creare l'illusione di una nicchia nella quale era evidentemente inquadrata la statua. Per un aggiornamento bibliografico sull'attribuzione della statua al *Genius Augusti*: Ungaro 2020b, con riferimenti ad estesa bibliografia di Eugenio La Rocca.

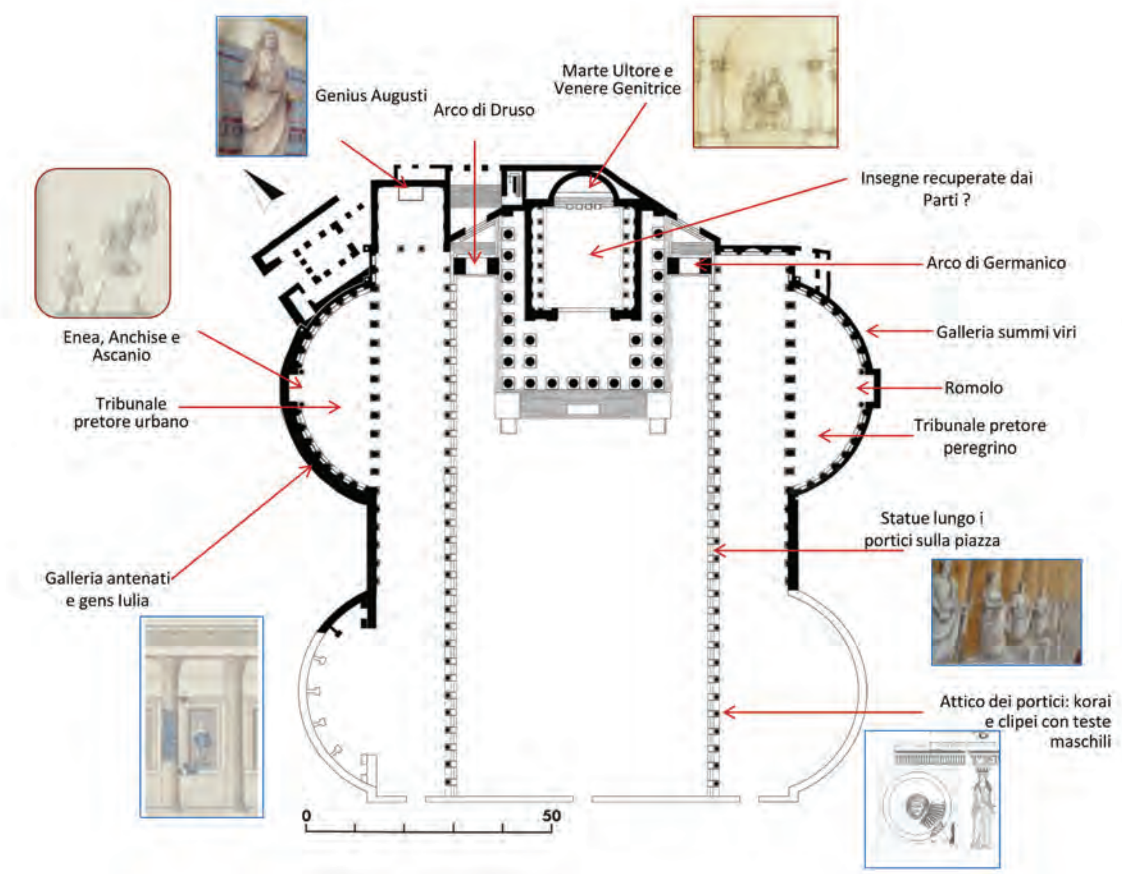

Fig. 1. Pianta del Foro di Augusto in età augustea con le quattro esedre, da Carnabuci, Braccalenti 2011, fig. 1 – rielaborazione con distribuzione del programma figurativo (dell'Autore): da notare la parete interna dell'esedra augustea, poi eliminata da Traiano, simile all'esedra della Basilica Ulpia: *cf. infra* fig. 5.

Fig. 2. Foro di Augusto, esedra settentrionale, veduta acquerellata ricostruttiva: allestimento mobile per il tribunale urbano. Direzione scientifica L. Ungaro, disegno Ink Link (2007). Archivio grafico Museo dei Fori Imperiali.

di un tendaggio. Solo con Tiberio, nel 19 d.C. gli ingressi dalla *Subura* saranno enfatizzati con l'inserimento dei due archi gemelli dedicati a Germanico e Druso Minore: le loro statue di bronzo entreranno così nella galleria degli uomini illustri e Tiberio lascerà il suo "segno" anche qui come nel vicino Foro Romano[14]. Questa immagine solenne, ma al tempo stesso in technicolor, diviene manifesto politico di Augusto tradotto in marmo e sarà un punto di riferimento per Traiano e il suo nuovo Foro.

IL *TEMPLUM PACIS* E I FLAVI

Il *Templum Pacis* rappresenta l'intervento flavio per eccellenza nella città con la creazione di un luogo privilegiato per la cultura. I Flavi ambiscono alla rappresentazione ideale del mondo romano pacificato dopo un anno di guerre civili e dopo la sanguinosa repressione giudaica; vogliono diffondere il messaggio di pace e prosperità ritrovate grazie alla loro nuova dinastia: il modello del Foro augusteo potrebbe essere stato un riferimento a Roma, negli ordini colossali identici a quelli del Tempio di Marte Ultore e nel rapporto scalare tra Tempio e portici (2:1). Anche il *Templum* è un *temenos*, un recinto sacro, il cui fulcro è l'edificio templare dedicato alla dea *Pax*[15]. La valenza culturale del complesso è rappresentata dalle biblioteche, dall'ambiente destinato alla consultazione della *Forma Urbis*, dall'eccezionale concentrazione di opere d'arte (fig. 3). Roberto Meneghini non riconosce la presenza di tracce attribuibili alla copertura di un attico e tuttora ritiene corretta la proposta ricostruttiva edita già nel 2007, nel 2009 e confermata successivamente[16]. Di tutt'altro avviso, Luigi Tucci, che invece legge segni ineludibili di un tetto a spiovente per la copertura di un attico, in sintonia con quello augusteo e fa una proposta ricostruttiva diversa anche sulla scorta di quel modello[17].

La verifica dei dati catalografici sui materiali schedati negli anni scorsi ha fornito notizie solo su pochissimi frammenti attribuibili a incorniciature di clipei (non rinvenuti in giacitura primaria): non è possibile solo sulla base di questi elementi affermare che l'eventuale attico dei portici del *Templum Pacis*, ancora molto discusso, fosse decorato con clipei in analogia al Foro di Augusto, malgrado la forte suggestione[18].

IL FORO DI NERVA

Il Foro di Nerva, in realtà realizzato da Domiziano, si inserisce nel nostro percorso per la decorazione dell'attico dei "finti" portici creati con un ardito ordine a risalti per creare l'illusione ottica di porticati. L'attico è caratterizzato dalle personificazioni di *nationes, gentes* e *populi,* come

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[14] Ungaro, Dal Monte 2020.

[15] Meneghini 2014, p. 284-299, anche sulle diverse fasi dell'edificio templare e bibliografia: nel catalogo della mostra *Bibliotheca Infinita* compaiono alcuni articoli con aggiornamenti sugli scavi recenti e sulla lettura anche degli altri ambienti. Ungaro 2021, p. 17-30.

[16] Meneghini 2009, p. 79-97; vedi anche Meneghini, Corsaro, Pinna Caboni 2009.

[17] Tucci 2017, p. 1-115; Tucci 2022.

[18] Grazie alla cortesia di Beatrice Pinna Caboni e di Antonella Corsaro, presso l'Ufficio Fori Imperiali ho potuto consultare l'importante documentazione prodotta dagli archeologi coordinati da Patrizio Pensabene. Un accenno ai frammenti in questione si legge in Pensabene, Caprioli 2018, p. 215, nota 12; ai quattro citati, ne va aggiunto un quinto individuato da Beatrice Pinna Caboni (Ungaro 2021, p. 24-26).

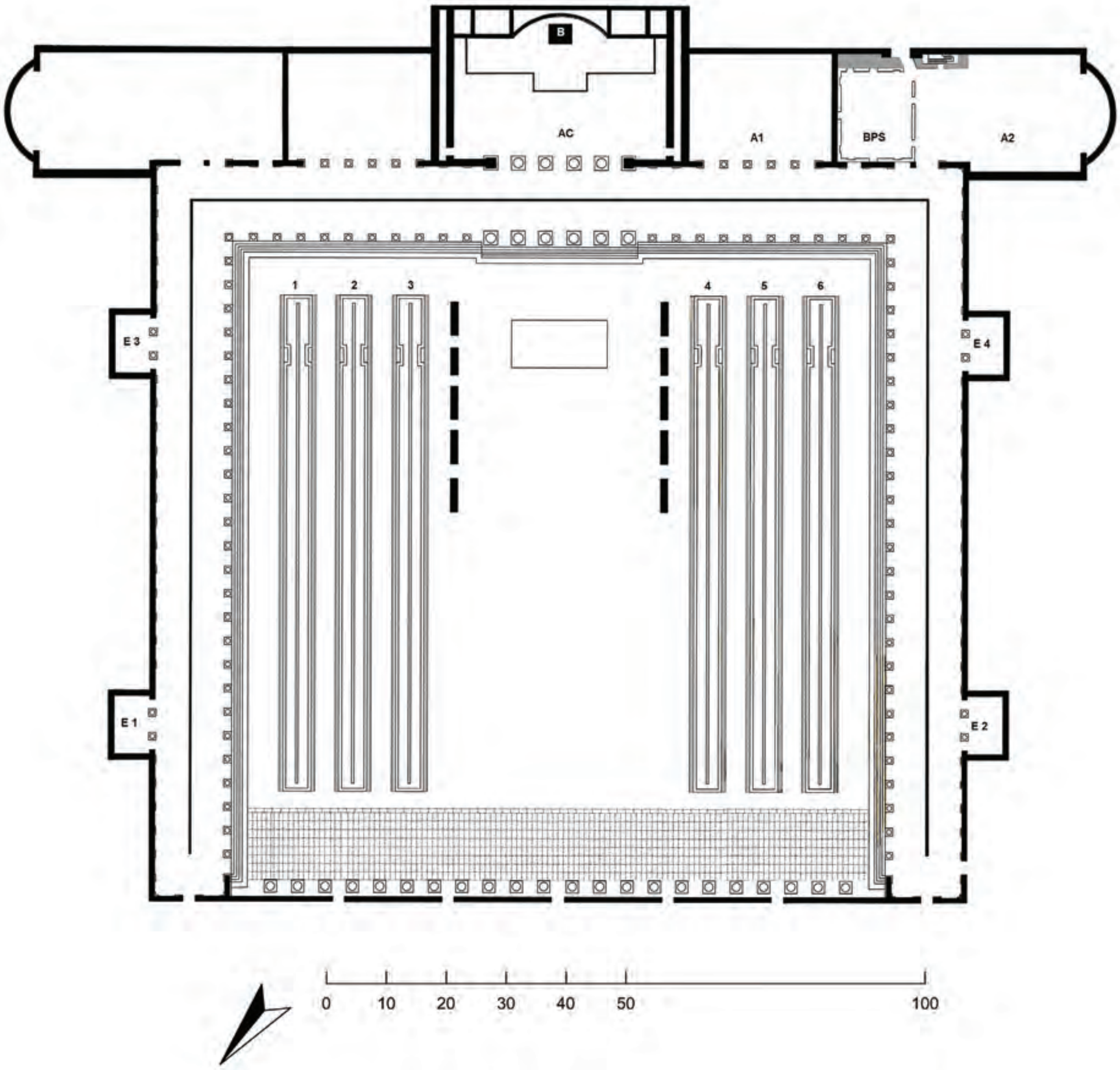

Fig. 3. Planimetria ricostruttiva del *Templum Pacis* da Meneghini, 2014, fig. 1, rielaborazione dell'Autore: AC = aula centrale; B = basamento statua di culto; A1 = sala della *Forma Urbis* severiana; BPS = *bibliotheca Pacis* in età severiana; A2 = *auditorium*; E 1, 2, 3, 4 = *auditoria* aperti sui portici; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 = euripi (Ungaro 2021, fig. 5).

ormai accertato durante gli scavi giubilari e proposto nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali: si allude alla pacificazione e unificazione del mondo conosciuto, ovvero dell'Impero romano[19] (fig. 4). Il Foro domizianeo si presenta, nell'ambito dei Fori imperiali, come il *trait d'union* tra il Foro di Augusto – dove abbiamo visto le *Korai* sull'attico e le statue dedicate dalle province, forse in funzione di personificazioni – e il Foro di Traiano dove vedremo moltiplicarsi le figure dei vinti in associazione con le armi, in un vero e proprio trionfo di marmo, ma non solo. É stato ben evidenziato come Traiano erediti da Domiziano un linguaggio ufficiale pubblico maturo, dove le caratteristiche della raffigurazione della vittoria tra trofei (con armi di vinti), l'abbigliamento distintivo dei Daci, i motivi iconografici che rappresentano il potere romano, la colossalità di monumenti equestri, sono tutti elementi acquisiti. Traiano abilmente cancella ogni riferimento e/o legame con Domiziano ma

[19] Lalle 2010; Del Moro 2007; Pinna Caboni 2015: contributo che sintetizza la genesi e le rappresentazioni di *porticus nationes* (p. 103-112) e valorizza i pochi ma importanti materiali attribuibili al Foro Transitorio domizianeo.

Fig. 4. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, Foro di Nerva, attico dello pseudo portico: ricomposizione del pannello con figura femminile (*gens*, provincia), allestimento 2007. Archivio fotografico Museo dei Fori Imperiali.

ne sfrutta sia i progetti avviati, sia le realizzazioni come avviene anche per il *Tropaeum Traiani*, secondo alcuni studiosi[20].

Citiamo il precedente più illustre nell'uso di alcune iconografie in spazi pubblici: il Palazzo imperiale sul Palatino, dove interviene Domiziano col suo architetto Rabirio. Nell'Aula Regia frammenti dal Grande Fregio (Vittoria accanto a trofeo), dal Piccolo Fregio (Eros che offre libagioni e Vittoria tauroctona), e due blocchi di epistilio del Grande Fregio, i cosiddetti Trofei Farnese, con Vittorie accanto a trofei, Eroti desinenti da racemi, preludono ai fregi architrave protagonisti nel Foro di Traiano in diversi edifici, e alla Vittoria alata, che scrive sullo scudo ed è inserita tra due trofei, a metà del nastro narrante sulla Colonna Traiana: segna il passaggio tra le due campagne daciche[21].

IL FORO DI TRAIANO

La pianta del Foro e l'articolazione degli edifici ancora presentano aree di incerta interpretazione sia a nord della Colonna, sia a sud circa la funzione della "corte", che immette nel Foro di Augusto[22]. I suoi spazi coperti dilatati possono essere stati destinati ad ospitare attività giuridiche complesse e "affollate" (tribunale senatorio e discussione delle *quaestiones,* quindi, tribunali civili e penali) negli emicicli sia della Basilica Ulpia, sia dei portici prospicienti la piazza e nei portici stessi (fig. 5). Pochi numeri già danno l'idea dell'estensione: la piazza = 1 ha; la Basilica Ulpia = 6.500 mq; emicicli dei portici = 650 mq circa. Le dimensioni del complesso "oversize" soprattutto nella piazza, ne fanno uno spazio nuovo per l'esaltazione delle *virtutes* dell'imperatore e della *maiestas imperii romani* in un vero programma di comunicazione nella capitale, dove *primus inter pares*, massimo condottiero e stratega dell'esercito romano, include tante forze armate provenienti da province e da popolazioni diverse: lo esalta ancora di più il valore riconosciuto al "nemico", il popolo dei Daci con i suoi alleati e con il suo capo, Decebalo[23].

Abbiamo osservato in più occasioni come la distribuzione delle sculture secondo significati e dimensioni diverse debba essere ricercata in sintonia alle funzioni dei luoghi, ai percorsi previsti, agli ordini architettonici; qui è anche fondamentale l'equilibrio tra vincitori e vinti, associati alle *congeries armorum* che con Traiano diventano arte pubblica. Chi frequentava il Foro? Soprattutto coloro che componevano i diversi tipi di tribunali, come già nel Foro di Augusto, qui ancora più articolati e, quindi, seguiti anche da un maggior numero di "spettatori". Si sommano infatti le attività civili, legate alla manomissione degli schiavi (come nell'*Atrium Libertatis*) e la presenza di un vasto archivio a servizio dei pretori, e attività penali con la *quaestio servorum* (come nell'

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[20] La Rocca 2013; La Rocca 2018a; Stefan 2005; Stefan 2015, p. 34-39; Fulger 2019. Per alcuni aspetti specifici: Ungaro 2014.

[21] Grüssinger 2018; Milella 2018; Maisto, Pinna Caboni 2018.

[22] Per l'area a nord della Colonna: La Rocca, Meneghini 2021. Sulla destinazione d'uso: Meneghini 2019, ma recentissimo Bianchi, Meneghini 2022: nel ripercorrere i risultati degli scavi 1991-2007, gli Autori riprendono il tema della destinazione d'uso degli spazi e forniscono un'interessante ipotesi per la corte sud in stretta e diretta relazione col Foro di Augusto.

[23] In occasione di campagne di restauro e di allestimenti espositivi e museali nei Mercati di Traiano e nel Foro di Traiano, sono state condotte ricerche e analisi con la direzione di chi scrive: Ungaro 1993, p. 145-174; Ungaro 2002, p. 128-133, 334-339; Ungaro 2010. Infine, i testi sul catalogo per la mostra dedicata a Traiano nel 2017, seconda edizione del 2018 (nella seconda edizione le pagine e le figure sono invariate per tutti gli Autori, sono stati apportati miglioramenti ai testi e alla bibliografia): Ungaro 2018a; Ungaro 2018b; Ungaro 2018c. Per il programma figurativo nell'insieme: Ungaro 2018e; un ulteriore approfondimento per le teste-ritratto: Ungaro 2020a. Un primo contributo sui risultati ottenuti anche con l'applicazione del sistema scalare studiato a partire dalla fine del 2019 in Ungaro, Di Cola 2022 (di seguito Ungaro 2022b). Il catalogo di Jutta Pinkerneil resta basilare, anche se ovviamente richiede un profondo aggiornamento (Pinkerneil 1983), mentre è fondamentale il confronto col fregio della Colonna Traiana (esemplare in Stefan 2015).

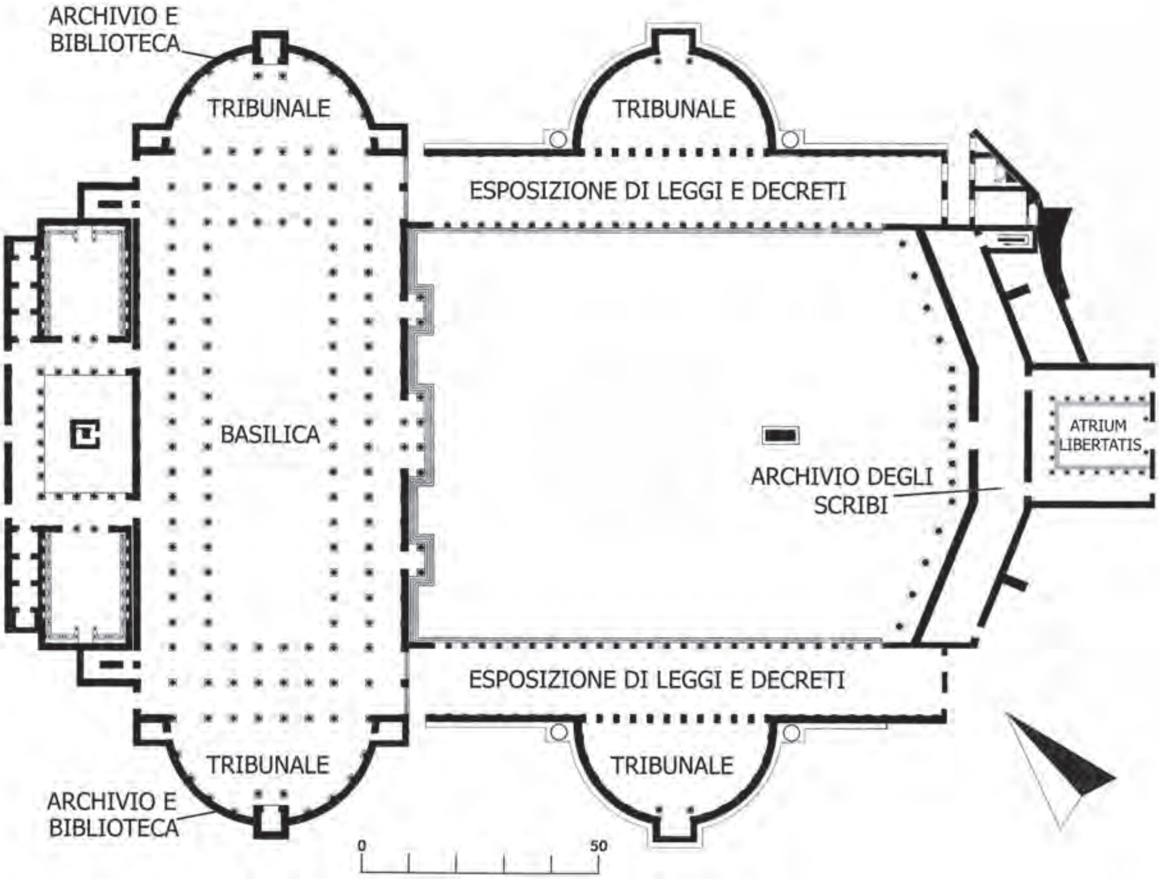

Fig. 5. Foro di Traiano, planimetria ricostruttiva con individuazione delle funzioni attribuibili ai diversi settori (Bianchi, Meneghini 2022, fig. 6/14). La destinazione d'uso a sede di tribunali con archivio e biblioteca (struttura in analogia al Foro di Augusto) determina una diversa distribuzione dei possibili cicli statuari.

Atrium Libertatis) e le *quaestiones* dei tribunali criminali[24]. I vasti emicicli del Foro di Traiano, soprattutto nella Basilica Ulpia, sono schermati da un possente ordine divisorio: in quelli della Basilica al centro sembra essere delimitato un piccolo vano con due colonne a sottolinearlo (come nel Foro di Augusto nelle esedre in linea col Tempio) e sui bracci curvilinei laterali si notano cinque elementi aggettanti come per creare scomparti (in analogia alle esedre di nuova scoperta nel Foro augusteo?). La figura dell'imperatore ha sicuramente trovato spazio nella Basilica Ulpia per il suo ruolo di "garante" e, secondo fonti e basi iscritte, davanti agli ingressi alla Basilica stessa, ma non possiamo dire altrettanto dei cicli statuari legati alla sua famiglia, ai suoi modelli di riferimento e a coloro che lo hanno coadiuvato sul campo, nonché alle legioni stesse, che possono aver trovato spazio più probabilmente nelle esedre dei portici, nelle *imagines clipeatae* immaginate sulla facciata dell'aula trisegmentata stessa (come nelle monete) e sull'attico della facciata dei portici in base ad alcuni ritrovamenti (fig. 6). Ormai conosciamo una serie di ritratti colossali (h = 55-60 cm), di possibili statue di varie dimensioni (dai 2,60 ai 4,80 m), abbiamo un reperto per ora inedito riferibile ad una statua colossale seduta forse in forma di Giove, ma non abbiamo dati certi su basamenti per statue così pesanti. Vedremo le possibili interazioni tra i cicli imperiali e le sculture relative a Daci e altre popolazioni in relazione anche alla destinazione d'uso giuridica degli spazi.

[24] Tutta la materia viene riepilogata in Bianchi, Meneghini 2022, p. 317-325 (conclusioni a cura di Roberto Meneghini), come vedremo anche in seguito.

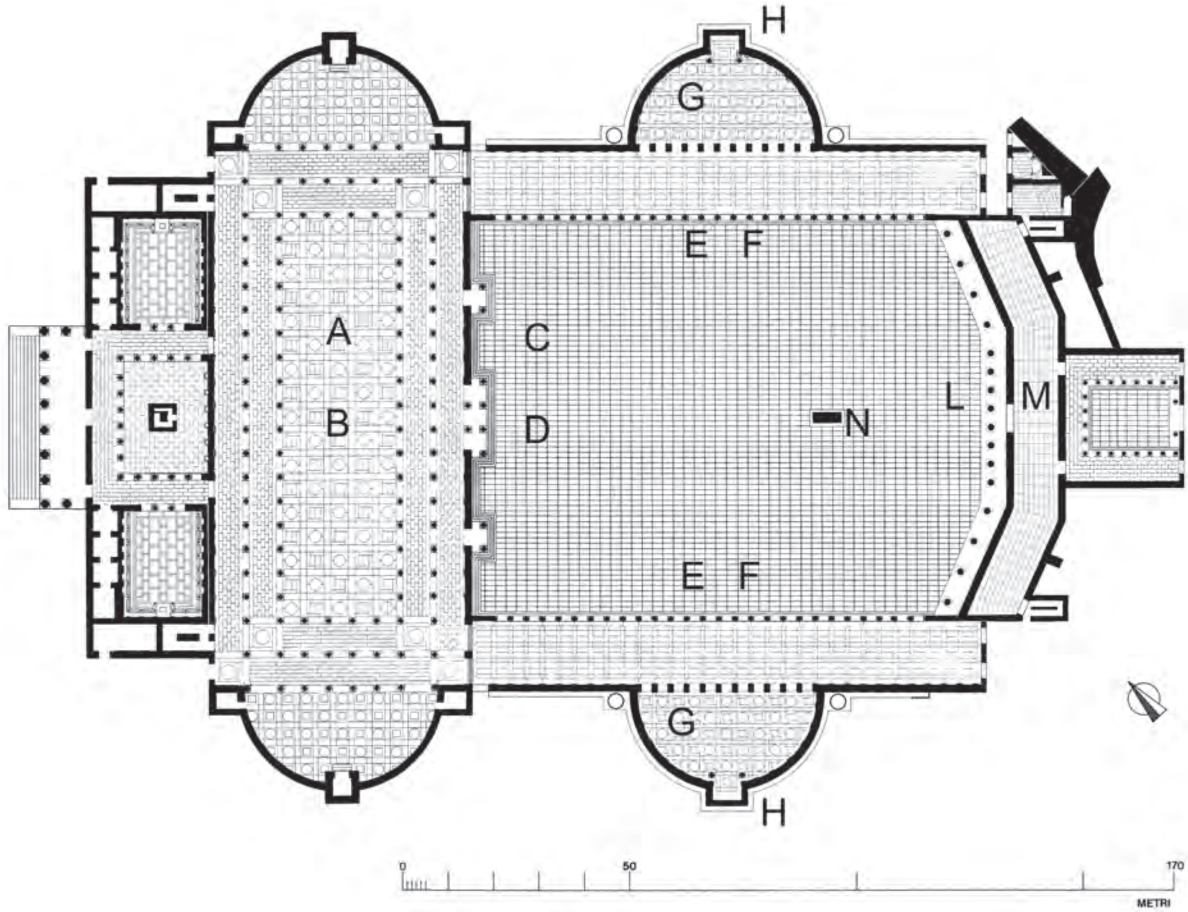

Fig. 6. Foro di Traiano, planimetria ricostruttiva (da Meneghini 2019) con possibile distribuzione del programma figurativo alla luce della destinazione d'uso come nella figura 5:

A/B: nella Basilica Ulpia sono attestate le statue colossali di Daci in pavonazzetto; la statua colossale dell'imperatore doveva essere inserita in relazione al suo ruolo di garante delle attività giudiziarie; non possiamo dire altro su altre serie di statue imperiali.
C: facciata della Basilica Ulpia, attico, alternanza di statue di Daci e altre popolazioni vinte in marmo bianco (h max. = 2,90 m) e *congeries armorum*.
D: ingressi alla Basilica Ulpia: basamenti con iscrizioni dedicatorie per statue colossali dell'Imperatore (h ricostruite 2,80/3,00 m)
E: facciata dei portici sulla piazza del Foro, attico: la proposta di alternanza di statue colossali di Daci in marmo pavonazzetto (h = 3,15 m circa) e clipei deve essere rivista; *congeries armorum*?
F: statue acroteriali di popoli vinti e/o insegne (h = 3,00 m e oltre)
G: nicchie delle esedre dei portici, statue colossali imperiali
H: nicchie pavimentate al centro delle esedre: possibile collocazione di statue colossali?
L: facciata edificio meridionale*: imagines clipeatae*, statue di Daci, altro?
M: aula trisegmentata: pavimentazione in porfido, statue in marmi colorati (porfiretiche), iscrizioni?
N: *Equus Traiani*

I fregi figurati negli edifici del foro[25]

La decorazione architettonica amplifica i simboli del potere dello stato e dell'imperatore già presenti nei Fori o nei palazzi imperiali precedenti e tutti concorrono all'esaltazione del *princeps* e

[25] Nicotra 2015; Milella 2018; Pinna Caboni 2019. Un mio contributo in corso di stampa affronta il tema del collegamento tra frammenti di fregi confluiti in collezioni private e poi musei europei e le sculture con essi collegabili: *La rappresentazione di Daci e altre popolazioni nel Foro di Traiano: trionfo e inclusione*.

del buon governo da lui guidato. Nella Basilica Ulpia: gli amorini desinenti in acanto e candelabri vegetali sulla facciata verso la piazza, le vittorie tauroctone alternate a quelle che adornano un candelabro centrale al primo ordine della navata centrale, le sfingi al primo ordine delle esedre. In più edifici compaiono: i fregi con coppie di grifoni a testa d'aquila seduti ai lati di un vaso separate da candelabri sui colonnati dei portici e delle esedre (e con leggere varianti presenti anche sui portici antistanti le biblioteche); il fregio con grifoni dalla testa leonina che vengono abbeverati da amorini desinenti in acanto, motivo attribuito all'edificio meridionale sulla piazza; un terzo tipo è stato individuato negli scavi della corte a sud verso il Foro di Augusto. Tutti trasmettono i concetti di giustizia (soprattutto i grifoni), potenza, vittoria, *pietas*, abbondanza e prosperità, eternità e apoteosi, tutti riconducibili al buon governo dell'imperatore.

LE SCULTURE ATTRIBUITE A DACI, BARBARI, PRIGIONI

La fortuna nei secoli di queste rappresentazioni ha determinato la conservazione di un consistente numero di esse e la percezione del loro significato di vittoria sulla "barbarie" è prevalsa su qualsiasi altra implicazione.

L'Arco di Costantino, il più famoso dell'Urbe, rappresenta un punto di riferimento anche nei secoli successivi all'età imperiale. Viene "composto" riutilizzando materiali da diversi monumenti preesistenti, policromi o inseriti su sfondi policromi con un effetto coloristico che doveva essere di grande efficacia[26]. Le statue dei Daci, nel maculato marmo pavonazzetto, imponenti con la loro altezza di almeno 3 metri, sono esempio tangibile del simbolo della vittoria e della subordinazione e così continuano ad essere recepite. Per intervento di papa Clemente XII Corsini nel 1733 vengono restaurate e completate con nuove teste, una sola statua crollata viene sostituita e la parte inferiore superstite viene esposta nel Cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori, dove tuttora si trova (n. inv. S 44; fig. 7). Questo frammento, come tutte le altre statue sull'Arco ha incisa sulla base originaria la scritta *ad arcum* (oppure *ad arc*) in modo corsivo[27]: è una scritta di cantiere per indicare la destinazione delle sculture ed è opinione di alcuni studiosi che queste statue siano state recuperate in deposito e messe in opera direttamente sull'Arco e che, quindi, non siano state smontate dalla decorazione del Foro di Traiano[28]. La loro "divisa" è caratterizzata dal movimento dei mantelli riccamente frangiati, non sono seriali a differenza di quelli che descriveremo tra poco (fig. 8)[29].

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[26] Pensabene Perez, Panella 1999.

[27] Si nota una differenza tra la scritta completa e regolare sul frammento ora in Campidoglio e quelle rilevate sull'arco tutte molto approssimative: si tratta solo di lapicidi diversi?

[28] La nostra ricostruzione: Milella 2007, fig. 281; Ungaro 2010, fig. 18-19. In effetti, è possibile che la gran quantità di materiale sia stata anche parte integrante della decorazione di vari monumenti traianei (e non solo) inclusi quelli non pervenuti fino a noi.

[29] Grazie alla liberalità del Direttore del Parco, Alfonsina Russo, e delle colleghe Barbara Nazzaro e Federica Rinaldi, mi è stato possibile effettuare sopralluoghi e documentazione fotografica durante il restauro dell'Arco verso il Colosseo. Per un esame puntuale si attende la pubblicazione del Parco sui risultati dell'intervento complessivo e si rimanda ad altra occasione l'analisi dei corpi delle sculture.

Fig. 7. 1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile: statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto dall'Arco di Costantino, n. inv. S 44. (foto dell'Autore); 2. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile: statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto dall'Arco di Costantino: dettaglio della base originaria della statua con iscrizione *ad arcum*.

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Fig. 8. 1. Arco di Costantino, lato verso il Colosseo: dettaglio della parte inferiore di una statua di Dace in pavonazzetto, da notare la posizione dei piedi (foto dell'Autore, si ringrazia la Direzione del Parco del Colosseo); 2. Arco di Costantino, lato verso il Colosseo: dettaglio della parte inferiore di una statua di Dace in pavonazzetto, da notare la scritta *ad arcu* (foto dell'Autore, si ringrazia la Direzione del Parco del Colosseo).

L'Arco e le sue statue introducono al tema affascinante della fortuna di questa tipologia di sculture antiche nel collezionismo romano ed al significato delle pietre colorate[30]. Sono note, infatti, alcune "coppie" di statue che ritroveremo nella nostra analisi complessiva:

- Collezione della Valle, Palazzo della Valle, Giardino pensile[31]: tre statue in porfido, una in marmo bianco[32], poi transitate nella Collezione Medici a Villa Medici sul Pincio (1584), nel XVIII secolo portate a Firenze, dove ora sono nel Giardino di Boboli (i due porfidi, *pileatus* e *capillatus*) e nel Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure (il terzo porfido conservato solo nella parte inferiore) e Palazzo Pitti (la statua in marmo bianco conosciuta come il Barbaro Pitti);

- Collezione Cesi, Palazzo Cesi: due statue in bigio morato denominate i "Prigioni" poi acquisite per intervento di papa Clemente XI e nel 1714 donate al popolo romano, allestite insieme alla rappresentazione di Roma *Victrix* nel Cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori in Campidoglio nel portico appositamente costruito, dove si trovano tuttora;

- Collezione Colonna, Palazzo Colonna al Quirinale: due statue in marmo pavonazzetto, poi transitate nella Collezione Farnese e infine portate a Napoli, dove si trovano nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale;

- Palazzo Savelli nel Teatro di Marcello: due statue in porfido, in seguito nella Collezione Borghese poi vendute al Museo del Louvre, dove tuttora si trovano;

- Collezione Farnese, scenografia degli *Horti Palatini Farnesiorum* sul Palatino: una mezza statua in marmo pavonazzetto con testa in marmo bianco coerente, una mezza statua col corpo in marmo docimio, la testa in marmo bianco inserita non pertinente, perché più grande;

- Collezione Cesarini, Palazzo Cesarini, Giardino: due statue in marmo bianco, in seguito nella Collezione Ludovisi e Boncompagni Ludovisi, tuttora nel Casino Ludovisi, dell'Aurora.

Le "coppie" di porfido oggi a Firenze e quelle di bigio morato ancora a Roma sul Campidoglio sono accomunate da un particolare momento storico: la vittoria sui Turchi celebrata come nuova supremazia della Roma cristiana sui nuovi "barbari".

In questa sede ci soffermiamo solo su alcuni aspetti delle statue in pietre colorate, rimandando ad altro intervento un'analisi più approfondita. In particolare, dalla pietra preziosa del porfido, costosa ma molto più resistente alle mani dello scultore, ricca di variazioni cromatiche intrinseche, vengono realizzate statue che non sono seriali, ma anzi la "divisa", soprattutto nel mantello, è dinamica e variata.

Ci soffermiamo sulle statue in porfido[33] e in bigio morato.

- *Pileatus* Boboli: mantello definito con pieghe ampie e profonde sul retro, gamba destra leggermente flessa, solo il corpo h = 1,98 m; con la testa attuale = 2,32 m (fig. 9).

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[30] De Lachenal 1987; Schneider 2002 (con ampia bibliografia precedente dell'Autore); Capecchi 2008. Recentemente, ho partecipato all'*11th International Round Table on Polychromy in Ancient Sculpture and Architecture. The materiality of polychromy*, 9-12 November 2022, Rome, Musei Capitolini and Museo Nazionale Romano, con un intervento dal titolo: *Il potere del colore nello spazio antico, ieri ed oggi: il Foro di Traiano*, nel quale ho presentato le sculture in porfido e in bigio morato note ed alcuni frammenti poco conosciuti conservati nei depositi del Museo dei Fori Imperiali.

[31] Marten van Heemskerk soggiorna a Roma tra il 1532 e il 1537: in quegli anni riproduce il Giardino della Valle (Hülsen, Egger 1916, p. 56-66).

[32] Saggio fondamentale quello di Capecchi 2008; vedi anche Paolucci 2019. Utile l'opera complessiva di Del Bufalo 2012, con schede anche di Francesca Licordari, autrice della tesi di laurea magistrale dal titolo *L'utilizzo del porfido a Roma in età imperiale* (2006-2007), relatore Eugenio La Rocca, correlatore Lucrezia Ungaro.

[33] Grazie alla disponibilità della Direzione delle Gallerie degli Uffizi ed al dottor Fabrizio Paolucci, ho potuto osservare da vicino le famose statue durante il restauro effettuato tra l'estate e l'autunno dell'anno 2022.

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Fig. 9. 1. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, statua porfiretica con testa in marmo bianco di Dace *pileatus* (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi); 2. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, statua porfiretica con testa in marmo bianco di Dace *pileatus,* retro (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi), 3. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, statua porfiretica con testa in marmo bianco di Dace *pileatus,* dettaglio del retro con pieghe profonde del mantello e corpo ben evidenziato (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi).

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- *Capillatus* Boboli: mantello meno lavorato sul retro ma comunque con la resa di pieghe appena accennate che rendono la pesantezza e il movimento del tessuto; h = 1,89 m, con testa = 2,18 m (fig. 10/1-2).

Ambedue le statue presentano le spalle larghe, evidentemente per sfruttare tutto il blocco di porfido e per accentuare l'effetto di imponenza dal basso: dovevano essere collocate su alto basamento ed essere libere.

- Il porfido oggi nel Museo Opificio delle Pietre Dure, arriva a Firenze integro e con testa. Il mantello ben definito lo avvicina al *Pileatus* di Boboli, la gamba sinistra flessa in avanti invece al *capillatus* di Boboli e all'"Anziano" del Louvre[34] (fig. 10/3).

- Dalla Collezione di Palazzo Savelli a quella dei Borghese, giungono al Louvre negli anni 1808-1810, il "Giovane" (MA 1381) e l'"Anziano" (MA 1385), h = 2,40/2,50 m: ambedue ampiamente integrati nelle parti bianche (teste e braccia), oggetto di vari restauri[35].

- Il Togato imperiale ora a Villa Corsini, Firenze, dalla Collezione Della Valle-Capranica, con ogni probabilità dalla stessa area di scavo forense, altezza conservata = 1,80 m, ricostruita = 2,40 m circa[36].

- La figura di Dace dal *Castrum Caetani*, sulla Via Appia Antica a Roma, viene ricostruita sul modello e sulle proporzioni del *pileatus* di Boboli[37].

- Frammenti di panneggi in porfido conservati nei depositi del Museo dei Fori Imperiali sono stati segnalati ma non analizzati adeguatamente e, invece, testimoniano la presenza nel complesso forense di statue simili a quelle disperse con analogie puntuali nella resa degli abiti[38].

- Le due statue colossali di Prigioni Cesi in Campidoglio (n. inv. 779, con braccia mozzate h = 3,24 m compresa la testa di restauro; n. inv. 773, con mantello riccamente frangiato h = 3,15 m compresa la testa di restauro: fig. 11) non a caso sono state associate a una "Roma" seduta trionfante. Nelle due statue maschili gli eruditi dell'epoca riconoscevano le popolazioni legate ai Turchi: Traci, Frigi, Armeni, Parti, Numidi; mostrano altezze confrontabili con la nostra terza serie di statue in pavonazzetto (3,00/3,15 m), ma nulla si può dire con certezza sulla loro provenienza tranne che anche in questo caso frammenti di mantello frangiato in marmo bigio morato finora mai segnalati riscoperti nei depositi sembrano attestare la presenza di statue in questo marmo nel Foro.

Dove potrebbero aver trovato posto le statue colorate così diverse e variate rispetto a quelle di produzione seriale in marmi bianchi e in pavonazzetto? La facciata dell'aula meridionale, detta trisegmentata, è già in "technicolor" per l'uso di marmi colorati negli ordini architettonici di proporzioni colossali, ma non abbiamo elementi per immaginarla all'interno. Unico dato interessante emerso dagli scavi è che potrebbe essere stata pavimentata in porfido, dato eccezionale

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[34] Per l'esemplare del Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure è stata avanzata la proposta di assimilarlo al *capillatus* per la gamba destra flessa in avanti e all'"Anziano" del Louvre, con un'altezza ricostruita di 2,40/2,45 m (per cortese comunicazione di Anna Maria Patera, curatrice del Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure). Dal punto di vista della conservazione della pietra, l'esemplare dell'Opificio risulta meno degradato rispetto alle due sculture di Boboli, esposte all'aperto da oltre 200 anni (a Firenze).

[35] Malgouyres 2003, p. 26-65, schede 5 e 6, p. 48-49.

[36] Romualdi 2002, scheda cat. 29.

[37] Ambrogi 2017.

[38] In occasione della preparazione dell'intervento di cui alla nota 29, durante recenti sopralluoghi nei depositi sono state rilevate nei frammenti di panneggi in porfido e bigio morato analogie puntuali con le statue note e, quindi, anche se di misure contenute, i frammenti in questione meritano una schedatura e un'edizione completa.

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Fig. 10. 1. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, statua porfiretica con testa in marmo bianco di Dace *capillatus* (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi); 2. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, statua porfiretica con testa in marmo bianco di Dace *capillatus*: il retro durante il restauro di alcuni anni fa (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi); 3. Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, statua porfiretica frammentaria di Dace (foto dell'Autore).

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Fig. 11. 1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile, statua in bigio morato di "Prigione", dalla Collezione Cesi, n. inv. 773 (foto dell'Autore); 2. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile, statua in bigio morato di "Prigione", dalla Collezione Cesi, n. inv. 773: dettaglio del mantello frangiato (foto dell'Autore).

vista l'estensione dell'aula di ben 900 mq[39] ed è inevitabile la suggestione di identificarla con la *porticus porphiretica* delle fonti. Le nostre ormai numerose statue di porfido potrebbero essere state collocate in questo grande spazio, insieme ad altre colorate[40].

STATUE DI DACI E DI ALTRE POPOLAZIONI IN MARMI BIANCHI E IN PAVONAZZETTO

In più occasioni chi scrive si è cimentata nell'analisi delle sculture attribuite a questa tipologia rinvenute con certezza negli scavi del Foro di Traiano tra XIX, XX e inizi del XXI secolo.

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[39] Meneghini 2019; Bianchi, Meneghini 2022, p. 72-74, fig. 2/61.

[40] Ungaro 2018e (anche per la presenza di iscrizioni in porfido).

Nel 1939 Italo Gismondi realizza il plastico parziale del Foro (piazza e portici con esedre) in un'unica copia, oggi conservato presso il Museo Storico Nazionale di Bucarest[41]: il plastico "fissa" la proposta ricostruttiva della facciata dei portici con clipei e statue di Daci e va considerato che Italo Gismondi negli stessi anni stava seguendo i lavori nel Foro di Augusto e aveva contribuito alla ricomposizione di un settore dell'attico dei portici del Foro di Augusto, così come è tuttora visibile nella Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi[42]. Dopo interventi massivi di restauro e movimentazione delle sculture in più occasioni[43], durante gli studi per l'allestimento del Museo dei Fori Imperiali, inaugurato nel 2007, sono state fatte considerazioni basate sulla logica strutturale e sul funzionamento del cantiere antico: le sculture stanti su gambe quasi parallele con il retro a lastra, con lo sviluppo in altezza di 10 piedi romani (3 metri) e nel peso di circa 1.500 kg, si andavano a collocare sui portici della piazza; erano stati associati per questo gli esemplari nn. inv. FT 6103 in marmo bianco e FT 6101 in marmo pavonazzetto; le sculture su gambe divaricate in forma di "telamoni" erano statue libere, col mantello sul retro lavorato, circa 10 piedi ed erano state immaginate libere sulla sommità dei portici, anche in base al ricollocamento di una base idonea a sostenerle: il modello sono state le sculture dell'arco di Costantino con la statua frammentaria proveniente dall'arco di Costantino ed esposta nel Cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori alla quale abbiamo accennato sopra[44]. Le sculture in marmo bianco con le gambe quasi parallele, parzialmente lavorate sul retro, di altezza inferiore 2,45/2,60 m erano state collocate sull'attico della Basilica Ulpia. Già durante gli ulteriori studi intorno al 2010 in occasione della mostra "Ori antichi della Romania. Prima e dopo Traiano" avevo individuato l'altezza intermedia nella scultura n. inv. FT 6103, rimettendo in discussione la sua collocazione[45].

Tra la fine del 2019 e il 2020 è stato applicato il sistema del confronto scalare per selezionare soprattutto le statue attribuite alla tipologia del "Dace" o comunque del vinto rappresentato nel Foro, con la preziosa collaborazione di Valeria Di Cola[46]. L'indagine si è allargata anche agli esemplari conservati in collezioni museali pubbliche e private in Italia e, malgrado le difficoltà dovute soprattutto alla pandemia, sono state censite le sculture presenti a Roma, Città del Vaticano, Firenze, Napoli, genericamente provenienti dal Foro, mettendole in relazione con quelle emerse dagli scavi durante i secoli XIX, XX, XXI.

Adesso, come vedremo, l'applicazione del sistema di confronto scalare ha confermato l'esistenza della misura intermedia anche per altre sculture. Nello stesso periodo sono stati trascritti

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[41] Ungaro 2019 (in particolare p. 507 e nota 4).

[42] Ungaro 2015.

[43] Ungaro 1993, p. 145-174; Ungaro 2002, p. 128-133.

[44] Milella 2007, fig. 281; Ungaro 2010, fig. 18-19.

[45] Ungaro 2010, p. 111-112.

[46] Ungaro 2018d: per tutte le sculture provenienti da scavi del Foro trattate in questo articolo, rimando alle schede di catalogo redatte in occasione della mostra su Traiano, con bibliografia precedente. Sul sistema scalare: Ungaro, Di Cola 2022. Gli aspetti tecnologici del metodo di misurazione sono stati illustrati dalle stesse Autrici nel convegno *Archaeology and Architecture: New Methodologies for XXL Structures of Ancient Rome*, a cura di Fabrizio Sommaini, tenutosi presso l'Istituto Archeologico Germanico a Roma, 2-4 novembre 2022, con un intervento dal titolo: *Measuring the Oversize. Classifying the XXL Architecture and colossal sculptures in the Trajan's Forum in Rome.*

e pubblicati da Maria Pia Muzzioli i preziosi taccuini di Antonio de Romanis[47], il quale segue sul campo e documenta gli scavi nell'area della Basilica Ulpia negli anni 1812-1814, producendo rilievi archeologici dettagliati e disegni dei materiali architettonico-scultorei. I testi trascritti, che commentano i disegni, hanno chiarito dove sono state rinvenute le statue frammentarie[48]:

- Ms Lanciani, I/3 testo e disegno 1/ f. 2r[49]: davanti alla facciata della Basilica Ulpia sono state rinvenute statue frammentarie in marmo bianco corrispondenti agli esemplari conservati nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali – nn. inv. FT 6103, 6105, 6109 (fig. 12);

- Ms Lanciani 2/ f. 2v[50]: all'interno della Basilica, nella navata centrale sono state rinvenute statue frammentarie di diverse proporzioni corrispondenti agli esemplari in marmo pavonazzetto nn. inv. FT 6101, 6104a, 6107, 6112 (fig 13).

Il de Romanis non pubblica la monografia sul foro di Traiano che doveva aver in animo di fare, ma collabora con Antonio Nibby, il quale riporta fedelmente la sua fondamentale testimonianza[51].

Nell'Archivio grafico dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico è custodito il materiale di Heinrich Bauer tra i quali anche una suggestiva proposta per l'interno della Basilica Ulpia: nella navata centrale inserisce un ordine intermedio con le statue dei Daci addossate ad un elemento architettonico (fig. 14)[52]. Questo insieme di dati di archivio impongono una riflessione sulle proposte ricompositive finora adottate, indirettamente avvalorato dalla proposta di lettura complessiva in chiave giuridica.

Le serie individuate in base all'esame della tettonica delle sculture e all'applicazione del sistema di misurazione scalare (fig. 15):

I serie – la misura più contenuta oscilla +/- intorno ai 2,44-2,46 m, ovvero otto piedi romani circa, comprende soprattutto statue intere e frammentarie in marmo bianco, pavonazzetto e docimio provenienti da collezioni storiche e da scavi del Foro.

- Dalle collezioni storiche citiamo: il Dace Pitti, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Palazzo Pitti, Sala Castagnoli, n. inv. OdA 1911, n. 440, h = 2,45 m, dalla Collezione della Valle, poi della Valle-Capranica, successivamente acquistata dai Medici ed infine da loro traslata a Firenze. La figura è stante sulla gamba sinistra, mentre la destra è leggermente flessa, i piedi quasi paralleli; il mantello è ripiegato sul braccio sinistro, mentre la manica sul braccio destro è scostata dall'arto; corpose pieghe della tunica cadono dritte sotto al *cingulum*. Il capo è scoperto, la capigliatura accostata alla nuca con scrinatura centrale, barba e baffi copiosi e composti (fig. 16/1).

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47 Muzzioli 2019: la studiosa ha decodificato la documentazione conservata presso l'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Roma, Manoscritti Lanciani – Mss. Lanciani – e nello stesso Istituto Collezione Lanciani, Roma XI e alla Biblioteca Comunale Antonio Sarti. Ho avuto la possibilità di prendere visione dei taccuini prima della pubblicazione del volume, ma solo grazie al lavoro encomiabile di Maria Pia Muzzioli ho acquisito la "lettura" dei testi manoscritti.

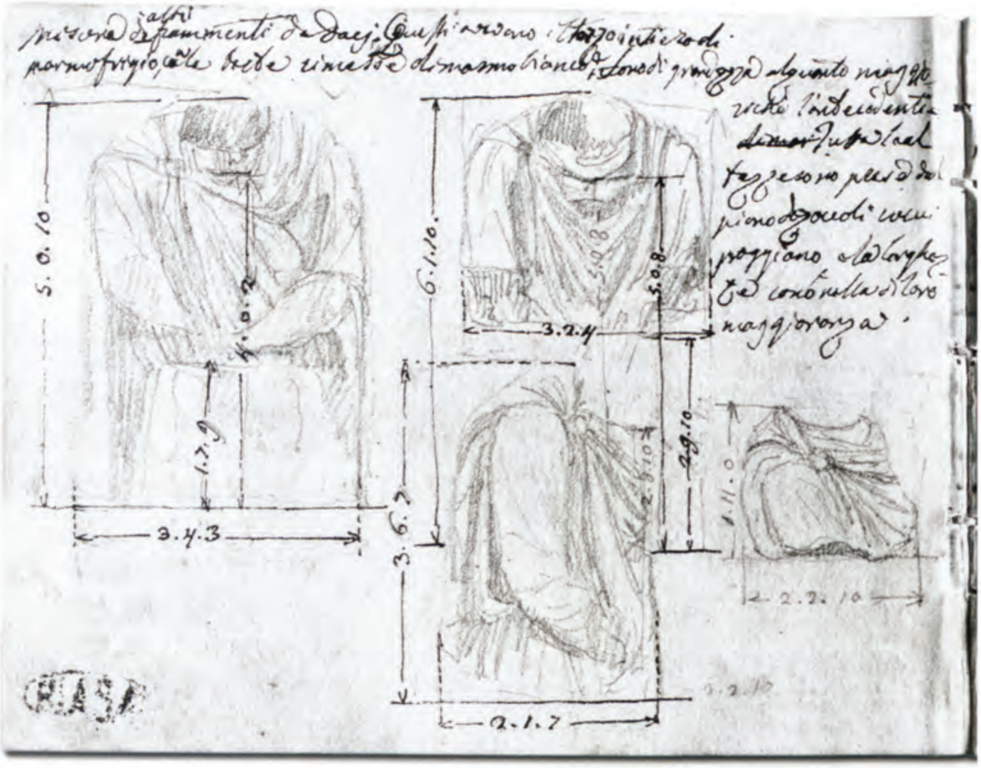
48 Muzzioli 2019, Roma XI. 5.II. 96, 450, 471-475; Ungaro 2022a, note 36 e 40.

49 Muzzioli 2019, p. 173, disegno a p. 135.

50 Muzzioli 2019, p. 173, disegno a p. 136.

51 Per il testo di Antonio Nibby: Nardini 1818-1820, p. 348-358.

52 Ringrazio la Direzione dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico in Roma (professor Ortwin Dally) e la Direzione della Biblioteca e dell'Archivio (professor Thomas Froehlich, dottoressa Valeria Capobianco) per avermi facilitato l'accesso alla documentazione del compianto Heinrich Bauer, malgrado le restrizioni dovute alla pandemia (DAI, Rom, Archivio Grafico, Heinrich Bauer, Forum Trajani, B 41-201-009; Ungaro 2022b, fig. 7).



f. 2v. **1**

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Fig. 12. 1. Antonio de Romanis, taccuini 1812-1814, Ms Lanciani, I/3 testo e disegno f. 2r, statue in marmo bianco rinvenute davanti alla facciata della Basilica Ulpia (Muzzioli 2019, p. 173, disegno a pagina 135); 2. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 6103 (Archivio fotografico Museo dei Fori Imperiali); 3. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 6103, lato posteriore (foto dell'Autore); 4. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 6103, fianco sinistro (foto dell'Autore); 5. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 6109 (foto dell'Autore); 6. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 6109, dettaglio del fianco sinistro (foto dell'Autore).


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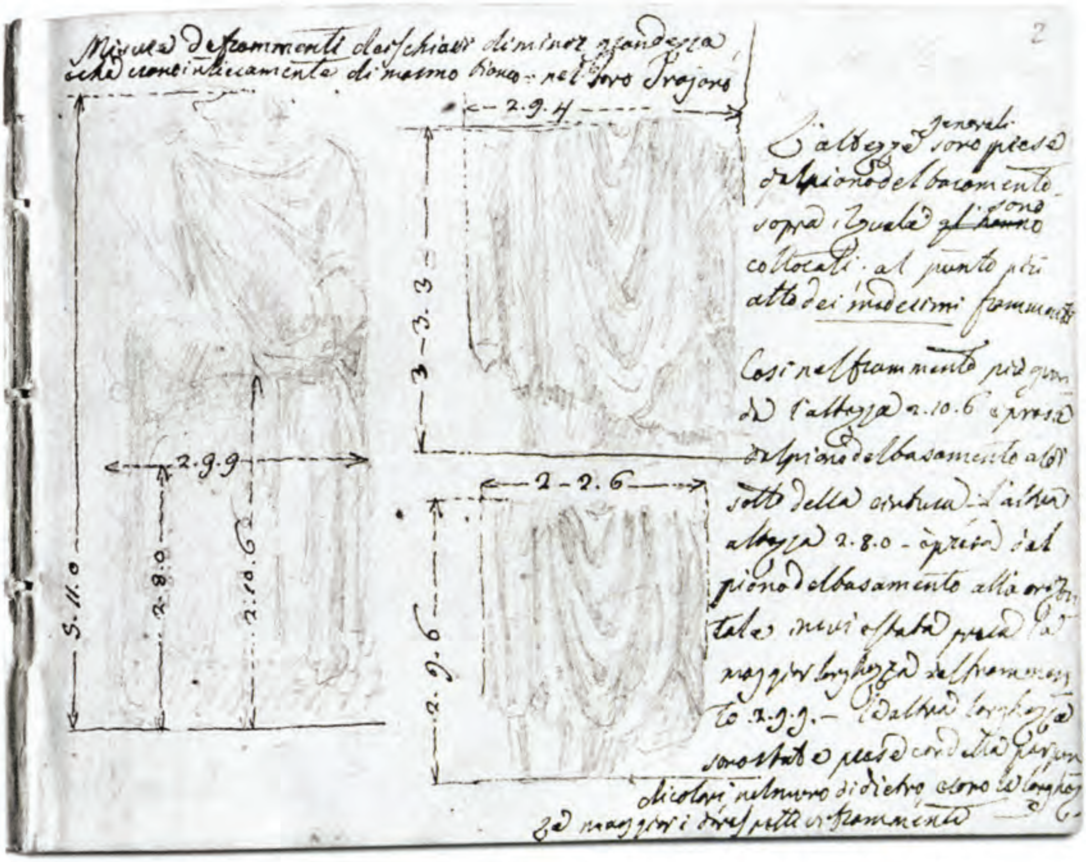

f. 2r.

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Fig. 13. 1. Antonio de Romanis, taccuini 1812-1814, Ms Lanciani f. 2v: statue in pavonazzetto rinvenute all'interno della Basilica Ulpia (Muzzioli 2019, p. 173, disegno a pagina 136); 2. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto, n. inv. FT 6104 a, frontale (Archivio fotografico Museo dei Fori Imperiali); 3. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto, n. inv. FT 6107 (foto dell'Autore); 4. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto, n. inv. FT 6107, retro e fianco destro (foto dell'Autore); 5. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto, n. inv. FT 6101 (Archivio fotografico Museo dei Fori Imperiali); 6. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in pavonazzetto, n. inv. FT 6101, lato posteriore (foto dell'Autore).

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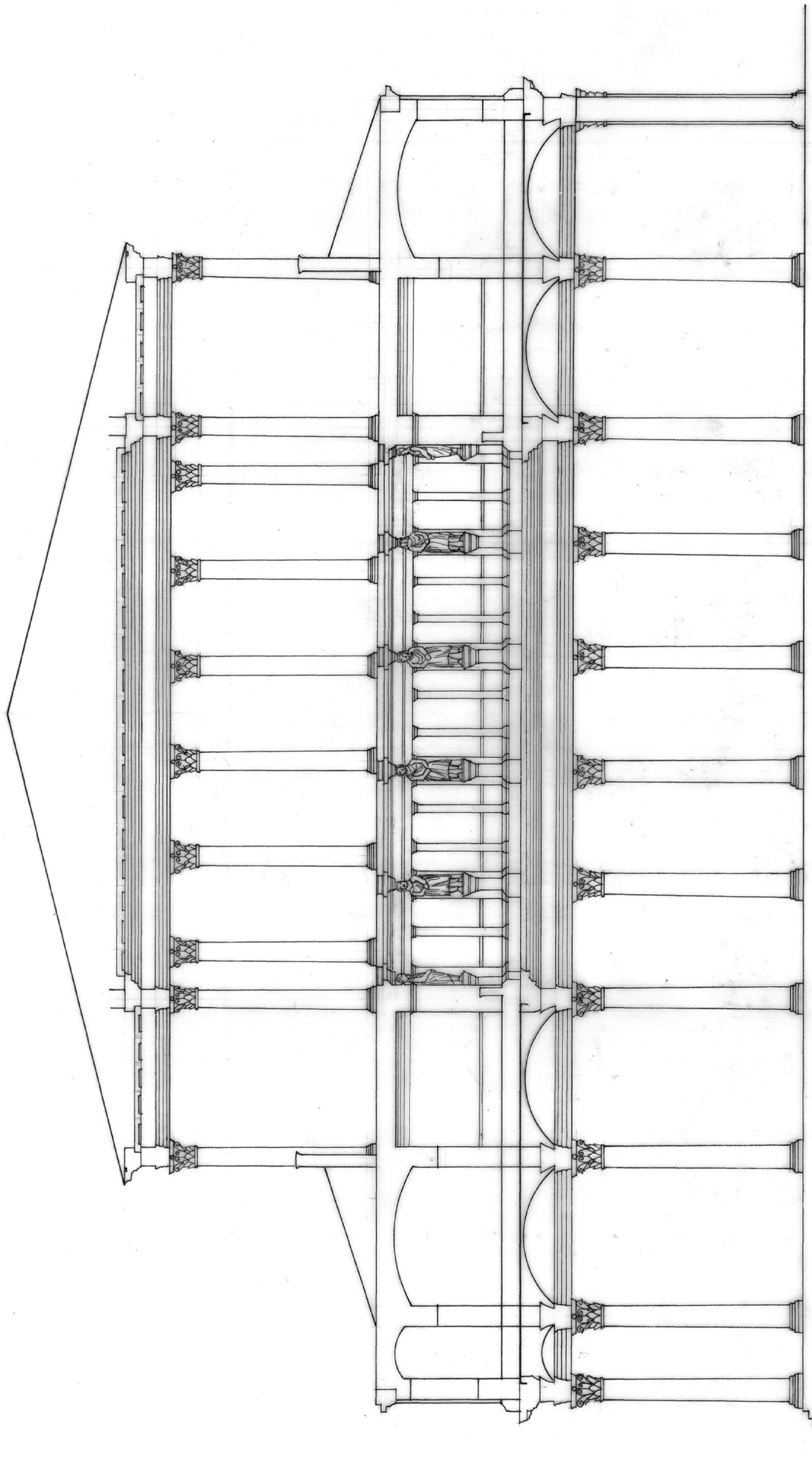

Fig. 14. Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Archivio Grafico digitalizzato; Heinrich Bauer, Forum Trajani, B 41-201-009 (cortesia Direzione dell'Archivio; Ungaro 2022 b, fig.7).

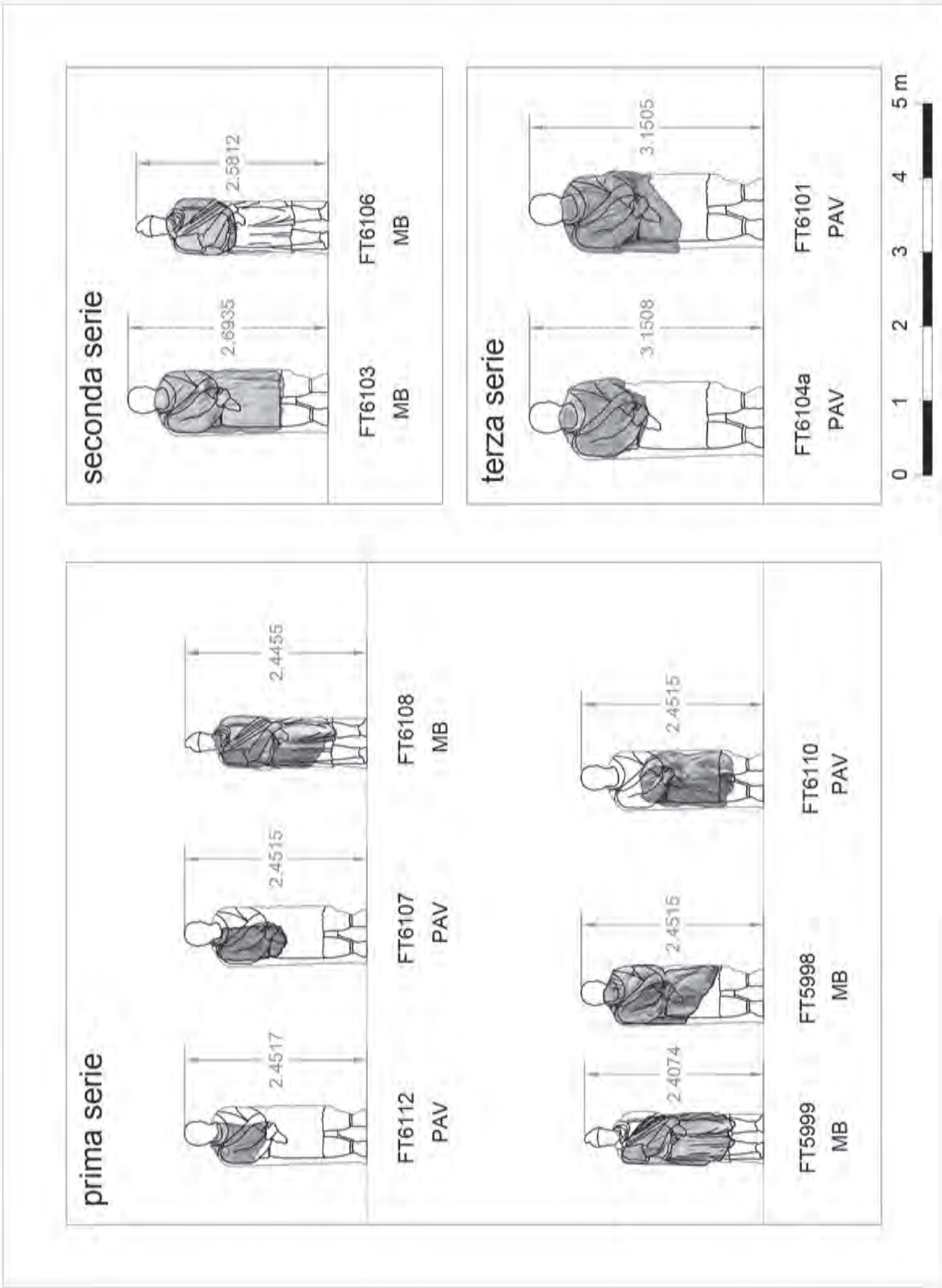

Fig. 15. Tavola sinottica con le tre serie dimensionali dei Daci, ricostruite a partire dagli esemplari conservati presso il Museo dei Fori Imperiali nei Mercati di Traiano. Elaborazione di Valeria Di Cola (Ungaro, Di Cola 2022, fig. 9).

- I due Daci dal Casino dell'Aurora, Collezione Boncompagni-Ludovisi, nn. inv. 261 (con integrazione delle mani), 262 (senza integrazioni e recentemente restaurato), h = 2,458 m; stessa struttura del Dace Pitti, ma sul bordo della manica destra compare una sorta di tassello, una "firma" del lapicida? (fig. 16/2).

- La mezza figura di Dace, Orti Farnesiani, *capillatus*: dopo un recente esame autoptico (ma senza analisi della composizione del marmo) ritengo che la scultura sia realizzata in marmo docimio (bianco, leggermente venato in azzurrino), inv. non rilevato, h = 2,465 m conservato sotto il *cingulum*, ha la stessa struttura dei precedenti (fig. 16/3).

- Dagli scavi dell'area archeologica: le due figure di Daci dalla piazza del Foro, scavi giubilari, nn. inv. FT 5998 e FT 5999, h = 2,45 m: per quanto frammentarie, le due sculture ripropongono lo schema delle precedenti, compreso il dettaglio del tassello sulla manica corta destra, accentuando la suggestione di una sorta di firma del lapicida; inoltre, n. inv. FT 5998 conserva sul retro alcuni punti di misurazione e tracce di lavorazione sui margini che la accomunano al Dace Torlonia (FT 5998: fig. 16/4).

- La figura di Dace, scavi XIX secolo, n. inv. FT 6108, dall'area antistante la facciata della Basilica Ulpia, la scultura è caratterizzata da forte degrado delle superfici, stante sulla destra, leggermente piegata la sinistra, la tunica ha le maniche lunghe, lungo il lato destro in basso è presente un tassello per alloggiare un sostegno[53] (fig. 16/5).

Queste sculture hanno in comune la rifinitura sommaria del retro e la terminazione delle pieghe sottolineata da una profonda incisione del marmo che crea un forte effetto chiaroscurale: potrebbe trattarsi della caratteristica dell'atelier che ha lavorato alla produzione in serie di esemplari, forse con destinazione univoca, il Foro di Traiano, senza poter escludere altri monumenti pubblici coevi[54].

Due esemplari eccezionali mai posti in opera e non finiti testimoniano il sistema di lavoro negli atelier della capitale:

- Il Dace Torlonia, Collezione Torlonia, collocazione attuale Laboratorio di restauro della Fondazione Torlonia, n. inv. 412, h = 2,44 m[55]: è stata lavorata solo la parte anteriore della figura con la testa e invece non completata la parte posteriore della lastra; la figura è stante sulla gamba destra, mentre la sinistra è leggermente flessa, i piedi quasi paralleli, conserva tutte le tracce di lavorazione sui margini lungo i lembi degli abiti (*cf. supra* in n. inv. FT 5998) e la caratteristica terminazione con un incavo; si rilevano numerosi punti di misurazione; il mantello è ripiegato sotto il braccio sinistro sul quale sembra arrotolarsi, mentre sul braccio destro la manica corta rimane discosta dall'arto; la tunica crea un insieme di pieghe che cadono dritte sotto il *cingulum*, come nel Dace Pitti e nei Daci dal Casino dell'Aurora. Il capo è coperto dal morbido *pileus* stretto intorno alla testa, lasciando le orecchie scoperte, ma dal berretto fuoriescono capelli con ricche ciocche

[53] Ungaro 2018d, p. 407 (scheda 18b). Dal recente scavo di via Alessandrina (portico orientale della piazza) sono emersi molti materiali di grande interesse che saranno oggetto di pubblicazione da parte della Sovrintendenza Capitolina – Direzione Musei. In particolare, qui si segnalano due reperti che, se pur frammentari, possono essere inseriti nella serie in questione: n. inv. 15401, che si può ascrivere alle figure fin qui descritte, ma con tunica dalle maniche lunghe; n. inv. 16092 che presenta la struttura della tunica a pieghe dritte e il foro per possibile sostegno sul lato sinistro della figura, come nel n. inv. 6108 che ha un simile foro sul lato destro.

[54] Ringrazio Gabriella Capecchi per avermi segnalato questo trattamento, da lei notato nel Dace Pitti durante il restauro della statua: così accentuato si rileva quasi esclusivamente nelle sculture in marmo bianco e nell'esemplare in docimio, meno evidente negli esemplari in pavonazzetto.

[55] Tuccinardi 2019, p. 190. Ringrazio le dottoresse Carlotta Loverini Chigi e Bianca Malitesta della Fondazione Torlonia per la preziosa visita al laboratorio di restauro.

che vanno a coprire le guance e ad unirsi alla barba e ai baffi (separati sotto il naso); rappresenta un volto maturo (fig. 17).

- Il Dace oggi nel Museo Lateranense (Musei Vaticani), n. inv. 10534, marmo docimio, h = 2,25 m (7 piedi e mezzo circa); é un esemplare con caratteristiche diverse: mantello nella foggia delle sculture dal Foro, ma riccamente frangiato, stante sulla sinistra mentre la destra è molto avanzata (in questo ricorda statue realizzate in marmo pavonazzetto come quelle sull'arco di Costantino), retro non finito sia sulla nuca sia sul corpo, si contano 21 punti di misurazione; molto evidente la lavorazione delle pieghe con profonde incisioni in analogia al Dace Torlonia[56] (fig. 18).

II serie – la misura intermedia riguarda alcuni esemplari alti nove piedi circa. É rappresentata principalmente da una delle sculture rinvenute con certezza davanti alla facciata della Basilica Ulpia come documentato da Antonio de Romanis[57]. Dace dall'area antistante la facciata della Basilica Ulpia, 1812-1814, n. inv. FT 6103, h ricostruita = 2,69 m (9 piedi circa), gambe parallele e leggera flessione della gamba sinistra; unico esempio per ora in marmo bianco con mantello frangiato (oltre ad un frammento conservato in deposito); impostazione della figura simile al Dace Pitti e ai Daci del Casino dell'Aurora; retro a lastra, perfettamente liscia nella parte superiore, riscalpellata per adeguamento alla parete nella parte inferiore, e soprattutto con una differente resa dei due lati della figura: a destra il fianco ad incasso, a sinistra la lavorazione del mantello completa: era una figura collocata in una posizione angolare, con visibilità del solo fianco sinistro?[58] (fig. 12/2-4).

Come abbiamo scritto, i taccuini del de Romanis associano questa scultura ad altre due con resti di abiti differenti riferibili a Germani piuttosto che a Daci (nn. inv. 6105 e 6109; fig. 12/5-6)[59], e di diversa altezza (non abbiamo per ora il confronto scalare), cui dobbiamo aggiungere il n. inv. FT 6108 già descritto, con uno sviluppo di 8 piedi circa, verosimilmente rinvenuto anch'esso davanti alla facciata della Basilica Ulpia. Il confronto più immediato per il diverso abbigliamento è con un altorilievo proveniente dalla città di Puteoli, esposto nel Museo dei Campi Flegrei a Baia, raffigurante un Germano[60]. Le sculture traianee mostrano la parte inferiore del corpo, coperta da pesanti tuniche dalle ampie pieghe profonde, raccolte in vita, sotto indossano i pantaloni; la scultura puteolana datata all'età di Domiziano, mostra la figura di schiena, a dorso nudo e con la caratteristica capigliatura raccolta nel tipico nodo suebo. È più che probabile la rappresentazione anche nel programma figurativo degli edifici forensi di altre popolazioni coinvolte negli scontri bellici e poi incluse nel nuovo assetto dell'Impero come accade sulla Colonna Traiana[61] e sul *Tropaeum Traiani*[62].

III serie – la misura più grande riguarda solo statue in marmo pavonazzetto fino ai 3,15 m, 10 piedi romani e mezzo e presentano il retro poco lavorato o addirittura a lastra; qui segnaliamo i più significativi e la loro possibile relazione tipologica, ricordando che quelli rinvenuti nell'area secondo il de Romanis sono stati scoperti nel vano centrale della Basilica Ulpia.

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[56] Ringrazio Claudia Valeri per la cordialità e per la disponibilità con le quali ha facilitato i sopralluoghi nei Musei Vaticani, malgrado le restrizioni dovute alla pandemia. Per il rinvenimento del Dace Lateranense e del Dace Torlonia, e l'individuazione delle officine resta fondamentale: Maischberger 1997, p. 22-40, 121-123, 147-151, 157-160.

[57] Muzzioli 2019, Ms Lanciani 1/3, p. 173, f 2r, p. 135; Nardini 1818-1820, p. 348-358.

[58] Ungaro 2018d, p. 406-407 (scheda 18a).

[59] Ungaro 2018d, p. 410 (schede 18h, 18i).

[60] Gialanella 2008, p. 83.

[61] Soria Molina 2016, p. 59-65.

[62] Barnea 2013.

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Fig. 16. 1. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Palazzo Pitti, statua in marmo bianco di Dace (foto dell'Autore); 2. Collezione Buoncompagni-Ludovisi, Villa Ludovisi, Casino dell'Aurora, statua di Dace, n. inv. 262 (foto dell'Autore); 3. Parco del Colosseo, Palatino, Giardini Farnese, Uccelliere, statua frammentaria (parte superiore) in marmo docimio di Dace (s.n.i.; foto dell'Autore); 4. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 5998 (Archivio fotografico Museo dei Fori Imperiali); 5. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. FT 6108 (Archivio fotografico Museo dei Fori Imperiali).

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Fig. 17. 1. Fondazione Torlonia – Statua (non finita) di Barbaro Dace, n. inv. 412 (copyright della Fondazione Torlonia, PH Lorenzo De Masi); 2. Fondazione Torlonia – Statua (non finita) di Barbaro Dace, n. inv. 412 (copyright della Fondazione Torlonia): l’immagine evidenzia la lastra residua non lavorata.

1

- Dace dal Foro, n. inv. FT 6101, altezza ricostruita 3,15 m, retro a lastra scalpellata, gambe parallele, maniche della tunica lunghe, mantello ripiegato sul braccio sinistro, copre il torace e assimila la scultura all’esemplare che segue (fig. 13/5-6); Dace Borghese, oggi esposto nel cortile del Palazzo dei Conservatori nei Musei Capitolini, n. inv. VB 136, h ricostruita = 3,00 m, struttura analoga al precedente (fig. 19/1-2): il mantello si allarga sul corpo in modo diverso dagli altri altri esemplari ed ha un preciso riscontro in una statua conservata ad Efeso sempre in pavonazzetto[63].

- Dace dal Foro, n. inv. FT 6104 a, h ricostruita = 3,15 m, il busto è imponente soprattutto per l’ampio mantello lavorato con pieghe a V sul torace, maniche corte, retro appena lavorato (fig. 13/2); Dace Orti Farnesiani n. inv. 421868, h ricostruita = 3,15 m, il busto è imponente come

[63] Sull’importanza del soggiorno di Traiano ad Efeso e sulla scultura presente nel Museo Archeologico di Izmir (n. inv. 5): Strocka 2017, fig. 25 a-b, p. 429. Spero di poter approfondire l’esame comparato delle due sculture. Efeso presenta uno scenario interessante anche per la decorazione architettonico-scultorea del tempio edificato con Domiziano e a lui dedicato vivente, di cui tratto brevemente *infra* nella nota 111.

Fig. 18. Musei Vaticani, Museo Lateranense – Statua (non finita) in marmo docimio di Barbaro Dace, n. inv.10534 (foto dell'Autore).

il precedente, poco lavorato sul retro, con testa pertinente priva di *pileus*: la nuca si presenta non finita e tale da poter prevedere un appoggio (fig. 19/3-4)[64].

Come abbiamo scritto sopra, nel suo taccuino il de Romanis certifica che le statue nn. inv. FT 6101 e 6104 a sono state rinvenute nella navata centrale della Basilica Ulpia, ma insieme ad altri due esemplari che, secondo l'applicazione del sistema scalare, sono di minore altezza, 2,45 m ovvero otto piedi (nn. inv. FT 6107 e 6112)[65].

Vanno, infine, ricordate le teste colossali rinvenute sempre in quest'area in più riprese associabili alle sculture di maggiori dimensioni. Due, una di *pileatus* e una di *capillatus,* sono testimoniate come rinvenute poco oltre la navata centrale: ambedue sono entrate nella collezione dei Musei Vaticani (rispettivamente nn. inv. MV 2241 e 2293; fig. 20/1-2: *pileatus*; fig. 20/3-4: *capillatus*) e oggi sono esposte nel Braccio Nuovo; le misure sono proporzionate alle grandi sculture in pavonazzetto, ambedue presentano il retro poco rifinito, sicuramente non visibile.

Altre tre teste risultano rinvenute "nell'area del Foro di Traiano prima del 1855" e transitate nella Collezione Campana, dove sono attestate in pubblicazioni e in un'illustrazione di Anonimo, realizzata per la messa in vendita della Collezione stessa, poi acquistata dallo zar di Russia (1861) ed entrare a far parte del Museo dell'Ermitage a San Pietroburgo (i due *pileati* oggi nn. inv. 4216, 4271; nn. inv. precedenti 247A, 248 A; fig. 21/1)[66]. Una terza testa molto interessante e problematica è quella di un personaggio maschile con nodo suebo, un "germano bastarne" (n. inv. recente non rilevato, n. inv. precedente 249 A, fig. 21/2) attestata nelle stesse pubblicazioni e tuttora esposta a San Pietroburgo, per la quale abbiamo confronti sulla Colonna Traiana e sul *Tropaeum Traiani*[67].

Per ora, in modo del tutto preliminare, in attesa che vengano pubblicati i dati dello scavo di via Alessandrina, si rileva una forte concentrazione di figure in marmo bianco di altezza otto piedi circa nell'area meridionale della piazza e forse dai portici; figure in marmo bianco di 8 e 9 piedi dalla facciata della Basilica Ulpia (in abiti attribuibili a diverse popolazioni); le possenti figure da 10 piedi dall'interno della Basilica ma anche con elementi da 8 piedi (fig. 22).

Abbiamo visto che Heinrich Bauer propone in modo molto suggestivo (forse anche sulla scorta dei suoi studi sulla Basilica Emilia), di collocare le statue dei Daci applicate ad un ordine intermedio della navata centrale della Basilica, che lo studioso fa corrispondere all'ordine attico della facciata[68] e con Bauer torniamo al tema del rapporto tra sculture e destinazione d'uso degli spazi.

Infatti, la presenza di sculture in pavonazzetto (il marmo degli orientali, insieme al giallo antico) nel cuore amministrativo, con una forte valenza giuridica, non stupisce se pensiamo alle funzioni dell'*Atrium Libertatis* trasferite in tutto il Foro, come ha già proposto Filippo Coarelli[69] e

[64] Le proporzioni, la capigliatura, le fattezze rendono assimilabile questa testa a quella rinvenuta nel Foro di Traiano negli scavi 1812-1814 ed oggi nei Musei Vaticani (Braccio Nuovo, n. inv. 2293).

[65] Muzzioli 2019, Ms Lanciani 1/3, 173, f 2v, f 3r, 136; Ungaro 2022a, p. 232, nota 40, fig. 3/a, p. 233.

[66] Per la rappresentazione del Casino di Villa Campana *cf.* Museo di Roma, Gabinetto delle Stampe, n. inv. MR 6157 (Anonimo); per il catalogo delle opere della Collezione poi vendute allo zar: Guedeonov 1861 (manoscritto del 1851); d'Escamps 1858; restano fondamentali Bienkowski 1928, p. 216-235 (anche per le misure dettagliate); Wostschinina 1945, p. 211-218. Purtroppo, per ora non sono riuscita ad avere notizie sul terzo reperto (249 A) direttamente dal Museo russo.

[67] Guedeonov 1861 (manoscritto del 1851); d'Escamps 1858; restano fondamentali Bienkowski 1928, p. 216-235 (anche per le misure dettagliate); Wostschinina 1945, p. 211-218.

[68] DAI, Rom, Archivio Grafico, Heinrich Bauer, Forum Trajani, B 41-201-009.

[69] Coarelli 2014.

confermato da Roberto Meneghini[70], alcune delle quali connesse alla manomissione degli schiavi e alla difesa dei servi. Il problema semmai è la collocazione "fisica" visto che allo stato attuale delle conoscenze abbiamo ricostruito due ordini della navata centrale con colonne in granito al primo e in cipollino al secondo[71], ed un terzo ordine dovrebbe avere un ordine in cipollino di poco inferiore. Al secondo ordine dovrebbe esserci stato un parapetto, che secondo alcune tracce sulle colonne risulterebbe troppo alto per consentire l'affaccio agevole del pubblico dai matronei, ma che comunque lascia aperto il tema di come potesse essere articolato questo livello della Basilica.

Per quanto riguarda l'aula trisegmentata nel recentissimo volume Elisabetta Bianchi e Roberto Meneghini avvalorano la proposta di riconoscervi la *porticus porphyretica*[72], che secondo fonti tardo antiche accoglieva i registri degli scribi, ovvero i verbali processuali da loro redatti[73] ed era quindi un luogo di rappresentanza, collegato al Foro di Augusto attraverso la corte meridionale, ambiente non solo di passaggio tra i due Fori; l'importanza dell'aula sarebbe ancor più rilevante se si accogliesse la suggestione di riconoscere in questo spazio la sede idonea ad ospitare le insegne e parte del prezioso bottino delle campagne daciche[74]. Di conseguenza, la presenza in questa "galleria" di statue in marmi colorati particolarmente preziosi e costosi non stupirebbe.

TESTE ATTRIBUITE ALLA TIPOLOGIA DEL DACE ED ALTRE POPOLAZIONI

Sulle teste collegate a corpi e su quelle che sono *disiecta membra* sparse in Europa stiamo ancora lavorando: qui anticipiamo alcuni aspetti della ricerca[75]. Un numero considerevole di reperti è migrato in Musei europei, dove le opere sono giunte da Roma, da collezioni private e attraverso mediazioni spesso poco chiare, soprattutto all'inizio e durante il XIX secolo! Solo in pochissimi casi abbiamo certezza della provenienza originaria.

Com'è noto, le teste si dividono in due grandi categorie, *pileati* e *capillati*, alle quali direi di aggiungere una terza categoria in modo molto preliminare: i Germani con o senza nodo suebo e altre popolazioni.

Tra i *pileati* è evidente un'ulteriore sottodivisione in anziani e giovani, e in misure diverse. Una serie presenta il berretto morbido afflosciato sulla nuca stretto intorno alle tempie, il quale in

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[70] Bianchi, Meneghini 2022, p. 317-325 (conclusioni a cura di Roberto Meneghini).

[71] Durante gli ultimi mesi del 2022 l'immagine attuale della Basilica Ulpia sta cambiando: è infatti in corso di realizzazione il progetto di anastilosi del secondo ordine con il ricollocamento delle tre colonne in cipollino su tre delle colonne in granito e con la proposizione del fregio delle vittorie tauroctone modellato dai frammenti presenti nell'area del Foro e da quelli trasferiti a Monaco di Baviera nel XIX secolo. Chi scrive ha contribuito al progetto e alla documentazione del fregio presso la Glyptotek di Monaco.

[72] Bianchi, Meneghini 2022, p. 148, nota 194; p. 323; Ungaro 2018e, p. 172-174 (anche per la presenza di iscrizioni in porfido).

[73] SHA *Prob.* 2, 1, dove si fa riferimento ai "*…libri….ex regestis scribarum porticus Porphyreticae*…." (Lugli 1965, XVI – I, *Regio VIII: Fora Imperatorum*, 317, p. 52).

[74] Così La Rocca 2018b, p. 94, nota 77: Lid. *Mag.* 2, 28, il testo non fa esplicito riferimento ad un edificio.

[75] La verifica in corso prevede la misurazione dell'altezza, degli angoli interni ed esterni degli occhi, la larghezza della bocca, misure che consentono di collegare in modo proporzionale le teste alle serie dei corpi. Gli esemplari sono presenti sia nel vasto repertorio di Pinkerneil 1983 (senza immagini), sia in Velcescu 2010: l'Autore ha il merito di aver aggiornato la raccolta seppure con immagini approssimative; in alcuni casi ha pubblicato inediti senza il dovuto avviso alle Istituzioni interessate.

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Fig. 19. 1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile, statua di Dace dalla Collezione Borghese, in pavonazzetto, n. inv. VB 136 (foto dell'Autore); 2. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile, statua di Dace dalla Collezione Borghese, in pavonazzetto, n. inv. VB 136: particolare del mantello (foto dell'Autore); 3. Parco del Colosseo, Palatino, Giardini Farnese, Uccelliere, statua frammentaria (parte superiore) in pavonazzetto di Dace, n. inv. 421868 (foto dell'Autore); 4. Parco del Colosseo, Palatino, Giardini Farnese, Uccelliere, statua frammentaria (parte superiore) in pavonazzetto di Dace, n. inv. 421868, retro della testa (foto dell'Autore del 1999).

alcuni casi copre del tutto la capigliatura, in altri casi lascia fuoriuscire capelli più lunghi, barba e baffi sono più folti e incorniciano un volto più maturo. Le misure sono diverse: alcune teste sono proporzionate alla nostra prima serie di sculture, altre più grandi sono proporzionate ai corpi della terza serie e forse della seconda. È difficile riconoscere in modo certo il ritratto di Decebalo come vorrebbe Leonard Velcescu[76].

Ricordo solo gli esemplari più significativi[77]:

[76] Velcescu 2010, p. 84-94.

[77] In questa sede non presento il catalogo con schede e bibliografia ragionata, ma ritengo utile associare teste e corpi per quanto possibile in base alle misure e ai luoghi di rinvenimento, ed anche per avere un'idea della varietà dei soggetti rappresentati nel Foro.

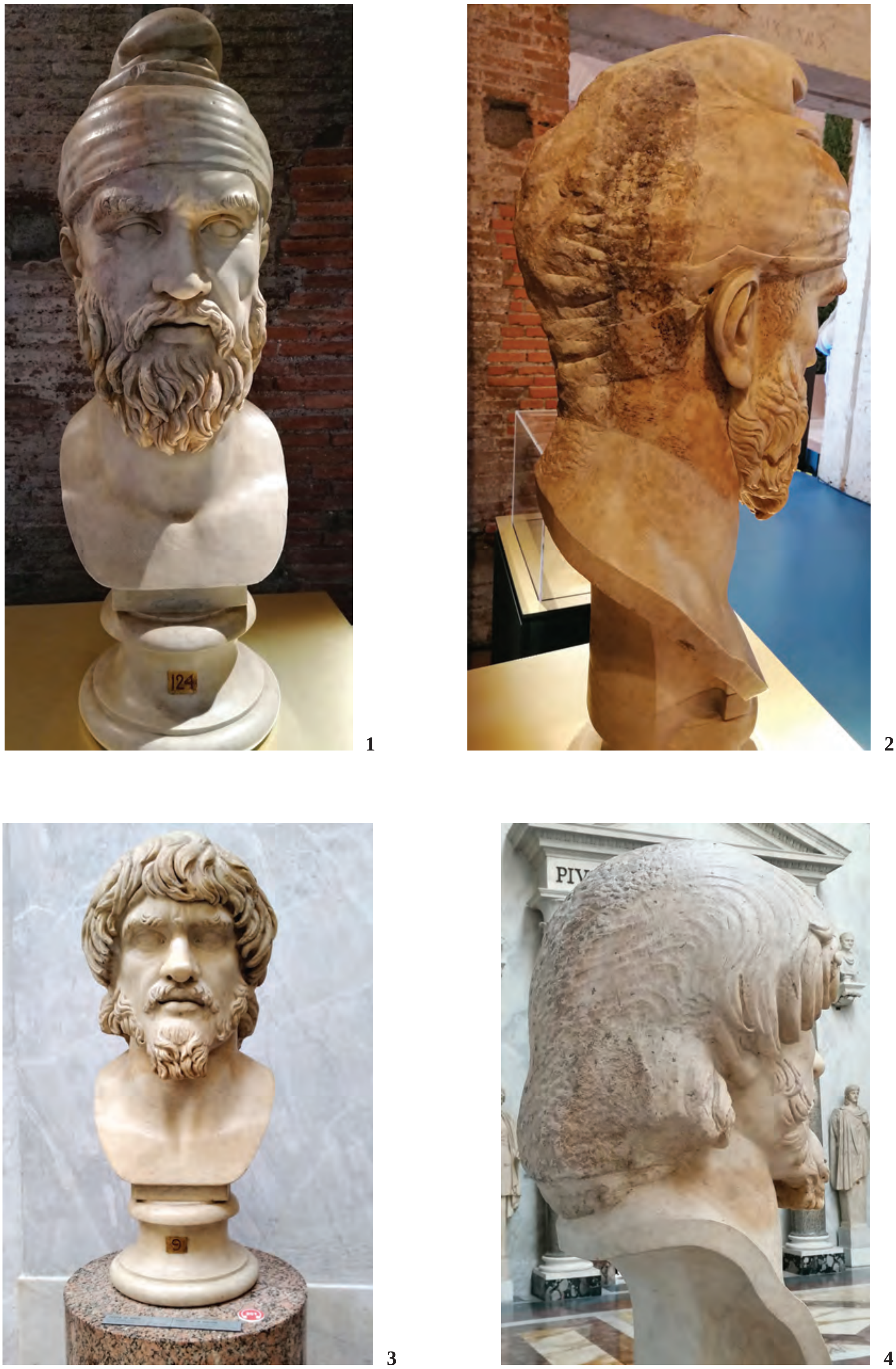

Fig. 20. 1. Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, busto in marmo bianco di Dace *pileatus*, n. inv. 2241 (foto dell’Autore); 2. Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, busto in marmo bianco di Dace *pileatus*, n. inv. 2241: dettaglio del retro della testa (foto dell’Autore); 3. Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, busto in marmo bianco di Dace *capillatus*, n. inv. 2293 (foto dell’Autore); 4. Musei Vaticani Braccio Nuovo, busto in marmo bianco di Dace *capillatus*, n. inv. 2293: dettaglio del retro della testa (foto dell’Autore).

- *pileati* con berretto stretto che copre i capelli ordinatamente:

- n. inv. FT 5997 testa dallo scavo giubilare, oggi esposta nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali h = 38 cm, proporzionata ai corpi della prima serie (fig. 23/1-2); testa collocata sulla statua in porfido nel Giardino di Boboli[78] (fig. 9/1); n. inv. TM 905 testa conservata nei depositi del Teatro di Marcello, oggi esposta nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali, h conservata = 32 cm, in proporzione è superiore anche ai corpi della terza serie e paragonabile alle teste colossali dalla galleria di personalità imperiali; si distingue per una particolare profondità degli occhi e di conseguenza dello sguardo[79] (fig. 23/3); testa di Dace oggi nei Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, n. inv. 2214, dallo scavo 1812-1814 in prossimità della Basilica Ulpia, misura proporzionata alla terza serie e agli esemplari rinvenuti nella Basilica documentati da de Romanis, circostanza avvalorata dal retro non rifinito, scalpellato[80] (fig. 20/1-2);

- *pileati* con berretti dai quali fuoriescono capelli, volti più anziani, datazione tra il periodo traianeo-adrianeo e oltre:

- testa del Dace Torlonia (*cf. supra*) e testa riutilizzata su un corpo di filosofo oggi nel Museo dell'Opera del Duomo[81], misure compatibili con la prima serie di statue;

- teste di "Daci" rinvenuti "nell'area del Foro di Traiano prima del 1855, oggi nel Museo dell'Ermitage a San Pietroburgo (oggi nn. inv. 4216, 4271)[82];

- "Dace" in marmo bianco, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala dei Busti (n. inv. 651, datato ai primi decenni del II sec. d.C.)[83]: la testa è stata trovata sepolta ai piedi dell'Arco di Costantino, con *pileus* alto paragonabile ad alcune presenze nella scena della Colonna Traiana che si svolge davanti al ponte sul Danubio[84] (fig. 24);

- testa di personaggio maschile maturo in marmo grigio (bigio morato e greco scritto), Museo del Prado, n. inv. 387-E., con copricapo rigido ripiegato sulla punta, capelli che ne fuoriescono a piccole ciocche e scrinatura centrale sulla fronte; baffi e barba che copre le guance eseguiti alla stessa maniera; occhi profondi sotto sopracciglia folte: l'esemplare è diverso dagli altri come resa plastica[85], ma l'espressività lo accumuna ad un *capillatus* oggi alla Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek di Copenhagen[86].

- tra i *capillati* anche si distinguono due tipologie principali:

- con la capigliatura composta, la scrinatura centrale, appartengono a statue che rientrano nella nostra prima serie: il *capillatus* di Boboli (fig. 25/1), i *capillati* del Casino dell'Aurora; nel caso del

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78 Ungaro 2018d, p. 409 (scheda 18f).

79 Pergola 2018, scheda 20; Ungaro 2020a, per il confronto con i ritratti imperiali.

80 Ferrazza 2021.

81 Capecchi 1992.

82 Bienkowski 1928, p. 216-235 (anche misure dettagliate); Wostschinina 1945, p. 211-218, vedi *supra* nota 66: per queste statue si pensa ad una datazione adrianea. Da ricordare per la tipologia anche il "Dace" dalla Collezione Montalto Negroni, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, recentemente restaurato e anch'esso con una datazione decisamente più tarda.

83 Valeri 2017.

84 Stefan 2015, planche 39 = Cichorius XCVIII-C.

85 Schröder 2004, p. 448-449, cat. n. 200. *Cf.* Velcescu 2010, p. 103. Ho in programma un viaggio di studio a Madrid per l'esame autoptico di questa testa e di un'altra attribuita genericamente "ad un indiano" che potrebbe essere riferita alla visita a Roma durante il governo di Traiano di delegazioni da paesi orientali (Schröder 2004, p. 451, cat. n. 201).

86 Moltesen 2005, p. 226-227, cat. n. 107, I.N. 1293. Anche per questa testa ho in programma un viaggio di studio per l'esame autoptico.

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Fig. 21. 1. San Pietroburgo, Museo dell'Hermitage, busto di Dace anziano *pileatus*, n. inv. 4216 (ex 247 A) (copyright Museo dell'Hermitage); 2. San Pietroburgo, Museo dell'Ermitage, busto di Germano Bastarne (?) con nodo suebo, s.n.inv. (ex 249 A) (copyright Museo dell'Hermitage).

capillatus di Boboli si nota un'integrazione quasi sulla sommità che fa pensare ad una lavorazione in antico come la n. inv. FA 2741[87] (fig. 25/2);

- con capigliatura più folta a larghe ciocche che disegnano una curva pronunciata sul retro della nuca ed hanno misure proporzionate alla prima e alla terza serie delle statue:

- n. inv. FA 2741 conservato nel deposito archeologico del Foro di Augusto, oggi esposto nel Museo dei Fori Imperiali, sulla sommità un tratto della nuca resecato[88] (fig. 26/1-2); testa frammentaria deposito del Museo Nazionale Romano n. inv. 121990, presenta un tratto della nuca resecato confrontabile con il n. inv. FA 2741, provenienza ad oggi sconosciuta[89] (fig. 26/3-4);

- due teste oggi conservate alla Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek N.I. 1697 a Copenhagen[90] (fig. 26/5-6) e nei Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin n. inv. Sk 461[91] (fig. 26/7-8) con provenienze da Roma diverse e interessanti, sono accumunate dalla lavorazione della "frangia" sulla fronte e

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[87] Capecchi 2008, p. 161-167.

[88] Ungaro 2018d, p. 409 (scheda 18g).

[89] Grazie alla disponibilità della Direzione scientifica del Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, ho potuto esaminare la testa e avere l'autorizzazione al suo studio.

[90] Moltesen 2005, p. 226-227, cat. n. 108, I.N. 1697 (dalla Collezione Borghese, attraverso l'antiquario fiorentino Bardini viene acquistata all'asta nel 1899): ringrazio il Direttore della Glyptotek per le immagini sia d'archivio sia prese direttamente sul reperto e per le misure interne al volto.

[91] Scheda e fotografie in *Arachne Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin,* https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1062556 (accesso 8.12.2022), scheda a cura di Semra Mägele. Il reperto è attestato nella Collezione Aldobrandini già dal 1646, è stato venduto nel 1826 al Museo berlinese (de Lachenal 1987, p. 63; Benocci 1990, p. 81-83, 86-89).

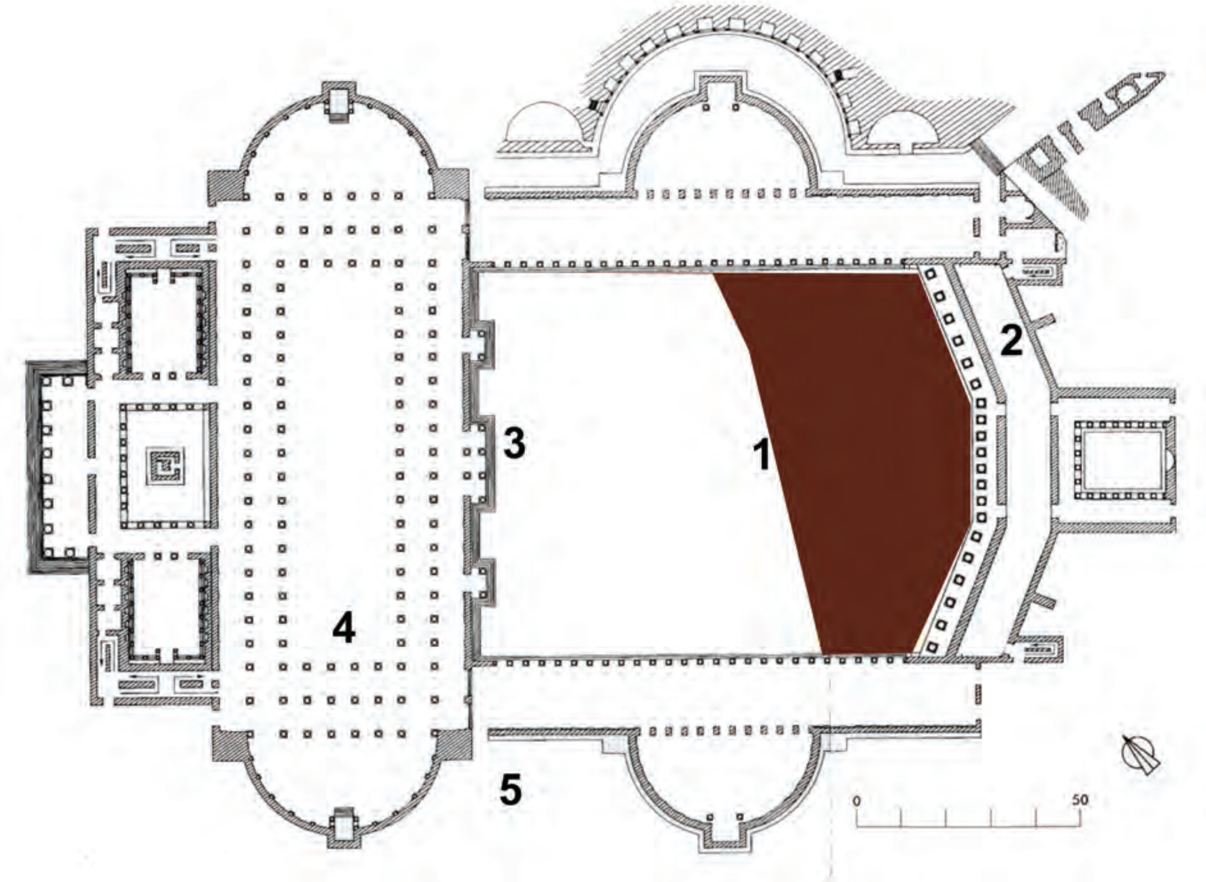

Fig. 22. Pianta del Foro di Traiano con la localizzazione dei rinvenimenti di sculture raffiguranti Daci e altri popoli. 1. Area meridionale della piazza e portico orientale: scavi Giubileo del 2000, scavi su via Alessandrina 2021. Statue frammentarie in marmo bianco (I serie), nn. inv. FT 5998, 5999, 5997 (testa pileata), 15401, 16092; 2. Aula meridionale trisegmentata: pavimentazione in porfido, statue in porfido oggi a Firenze, Giardini di Boboli (2), al Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure (1), Museo del Louvre (2), Castrum Caetani (1 ricostruita da frammenti); 3. Basilica Ulpia, facciata sulla piazza: de Romanis attesta le statue in marmo bianco in diverse misure, nn. inv. FT 6103 (II serie), 6105, 6109; n. inv. FT 6108 attestata dal 1839 (misure diverse); 4. Basilica Ulpia, navata centrale: de Romanis attesta le statue in marmo pavonazzetto nn. inv. FT 6101, 6104 a (III serie), 6107, 6112 (diverse misure); 5. Area limitrofa la Basilica Ulpia: de Romanis attesta il rinvenimento di teste colossali oggi ai Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, MV 2214, 2293. Guedeonov e d'Escamps attestano tre teste colossali (2 pileati, 1 di Germano?) della Collezione Campana, oggi al Museo dell'Ermitage, San Pietroburgo.

dal distacco della capigliatura dalla nuca che crea un forte chiaroscuro, nonché dalla disposizione delle ciocche; la prima presenta anche il taglio sulla sommità della testa come nell'esemplare del Museo dei Fori Imperiali n. inv. FA 2741[92].

- testa di Dace oggi nei Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, n. inv. 2293, dallo scavo 1812-1814 in prossimità della Basilica Ulpia, è proporzionata alla terza serie e agli esemplari rinvenuti nella Basilica documentati da de Romanis, circostanza avvalorata dal retro non rifinito (fig. 20/3-4);

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[92] Una seconda testa della Ny Carlsberg dalla Collezione Giustiniani è stata acquistata nel 1895: Moltesen 2005, p. 226-227, cat. n. 107, I.N. 1293: *cf. supra* nota 77.

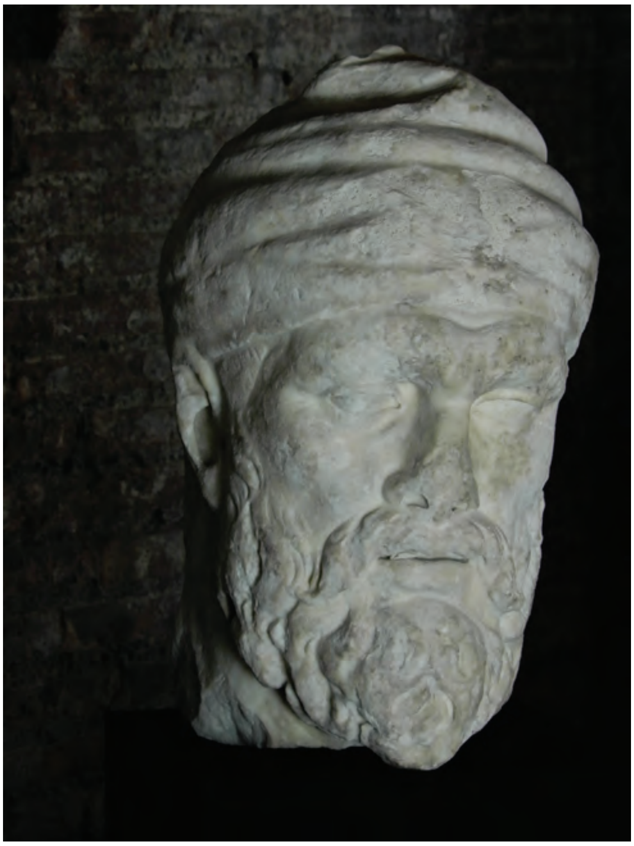

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Fig. 23. 1. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, testa di Dace *pileatus,* n. inv. FT 5997 (foto dell'Autore); 2. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, testa di Dace *pileatus,* n. inv. FT 5997: particolare del retro (foto dell'Autore); 3. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, dal deposito archeologico del Teatro di Marcello, testa colossale di Dace *pileatus*, n. inv. TM 905 (foto dell'Autore).

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Fig. 24. 1. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, sala dei Busti, n. inv. 651 (foto dell'Autore); 2. Museo della Civiltà Romana, calco dalla serie riproducente il fregio della Colonna Traiana, scena C (inv. MCR 3105) (foto Archivio Museo dei Fori Imperiali, da catalogo mostra *Traiano. Costruire l'Impero, creare l'Europa*, scheda 26b, p. 417).

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Fig. 25. 1. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, testa della statua porfiretica di Dace *capillatus* (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi); 2. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Giardino di Boboli, testa della statua porfiretica di Dace *capillatus:* particolare della sommità (foto cortesia Gabriella Capecchi).

testa del *capillatus* negli Orti Farnesiani, n. inv. 421868, il cui retro presenta una rilavorazione[93] (fig. 19/4; 27/ 1); busto Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, dalla Collezione Farnese, n. inv. 6106[94] (fig. 27/2): i tre esemplari sono accumunati da misure interne al volto uguali e dalla lavorazione della capigliatura simile;

- testa di *capillatus* in docimio negli Orti Farnesiani, numero di inventario non rilevato: le misure interne come nei precedenti, ma la resa del volto differisce (fig. 27/3);

- testa di Dace oggi nei Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, n. inv. MV 2220: lavorazione della capigliatura e dei tratti del volto diversa, più giovanile, ma misure interne analoghe ai precedenti; provenienza da scavi a *Portus* o dall'arco di Costantino[95] (fig. 27/4).

Della testa attribuibile ad un Germano bastarne dalla collezione Campana ed oggi al museo dell'Ermitage abbiamo già detto; dalla Wostschinina è ritenuta antonina[96], al momento attuale in assenza di notizie d'archivio più precise non si può escludere la provenienza dall'area traianea[97].

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[93] Grazie alla disponibilità della Direzione del Parco del Colosseo è stato possibile esaminare da vicino le teste delle due sculture oggi esposte negli Orti Farnesiani.

[94] Dodero 2010.

[95] De Lachenal 1987, p. 84: secondo l'Autrice sarebbe stata dimenticata la provenienza dagli scavi dell'Arco di Costantino.

[96] *Cf.* Bienkowski 1928, p. 216, fig. 279 a-b; Wostschinina 1945, p. 211 e fig. n. inv. 249 A.

[97] Al tempo stesso esistono altre teste di incerta provenienza che potrebbero introdurre un tema molto interessante: la rappresentazione di ambasciatori giunti a Roma in età traianea addirittura da terre lontane come l'India: Schröder 2004, p. 451-452, cat. n. 202, ipotesi già avanzata dalla Pinkerneil 1983, p. 204-211 e prima ancora da Bienkowski 1928, p. 232.

In via del tutto preliminare: le teste disperse, non sempre di provenienza certa, testimoniano la diffusione della rappresentazione del "barbaro", quelle attribuite a scavi del Foro (ma in alcuni casi senza prove certe) non sono tutte riconducibili alla tipologia canonica del "dace" e anche in questo caso, come per alcuni corpi, potrebbero essere state raffigurate altre etnie, a fasi alterne alleate o nemiche di Roma, sconfitte e inglobate nell'impero "allargato" da Traiano, secondo una struttura paragonabile alla *porticus nationum:* vediamo qualche riscontro importante sulla Colonna Traiana e sul *Tropaeum Traiani*.

IL TROFEO URBANO E IL TROFEO SUL TERRITORIO CONQUISTATO

La lettura della Colonna Traiana è stata e sarà oggetto di lavori altamente scientifici; qui ci limitiamo ad osservare la famosa scena con l'inaugurazione del ponte sul Danubio, opera ingegneristica che è la prova tangibile del progetto di conquista del territorio da parte di Traiano fin dall'inizio della guerra: il ponte serve ad impressionare e compattare gli alleati di Decebalo che lo stanno abbandonando[98] (fig. 24/2).

Traiano incontra rappresentanti di etnie diverse da quella geto-dacica, che sono raffigurate anche nell'altro *monumentum* fondamentale voluto dall'imperatore nel territorio della Mesia Inferiore, il *Tropaeum Traiani*, e si riconoscono in ambedue i casi soggetti con *pileus* alto, copricapo troncoconico, emisferico, a turbante e altri con il nodo suebo sull'orecchio destro, ma sono trattati in modo diverso. Sulla Colonna si svolge una scena complessa di negoziazione tra l'imperatore e popoli clienti e alleati dei Daci durante le campagne di Domiziano e Traiano stesso: secondo David Soria Molina si tratta di *carpos* e *costobocos,* li distingue la tunica lunga con o senza mantello, il pileo rigido alto (come nell'esemplare MV 651 Sala dei Busti, fig. 24/1)[99]; Alexandre Simon Stefan nota la varietà di abbigliamento e di copricapi, li interpreta come etnie prima alleate dei Daci, ora passate ai Romani. Sulla Colonna la capigliatura con i capelli raccolti nel nodo è attribuita solo ai Suebi; nel *Tropaeum Traiani* il nodo è usato come segno distintivo dei popoli Germani anche non Suebi e i Germani a torso nudo monopolizzano le scene, a sottolineare che è l'unica popolazione che può intervenire in una campagna aggressiva in Dobrugia.

Apparenti contraddizioni tra i due "trofei" si spiegano proprio con il loro ben diverso contesto: la Colonna è destinata al pubblico della città, più abituato a stereotipi delle popolazioni "barbare" conosciute; il *Tropaeum* è elaborato per coloro che hanno il contatto diretto con i popoli transdanubiani e le raffigurazioni sono molto precise e dettagliate[100]. Già Alexandru Barnea ha rilevato questa lettura etnografica delle figure dei prigionieri che documenta le forze in campo durante le campagne daciche e corrisponde alle popolazioni conosciute in quella parte di "mondo" interessata dagli scontri, in particolare sui merli I e XVII per i Germani e merli X e XVI forse per i

[98] Stefan 2015, planche 39 = Cichorius XCVIII-C. La pubblicazione di Stefan permette una lettura del nastro scolpito particolarmente facilitata, l'Autore sintetizza nell'ampio saggio introduttivo la sua precedente produzione. Solo dopo la consegna di questo articolo è stato pubblicato il prezioso volume sulla Colonna Traiana curato da Cinzia Conti e non ancora distribuito in tutte le biblioteche specializzate (Conti 2022).

[99] Soria Molina 2016, p. 59-72. Il volume esamina tutti gli aspetti del confronto bellico tra Romani e Daci con i loro alleati, nonché l'organizzazione dello stato dacico.

[100] Dalla vasta letteratura sull'argomento, enucleo solo i contributi più recenti che offrono una lettura molto specifica sull'argomento: Bianchi 2006; Fulger, D'Amato 2018, p. 175-184; (Bohîlțea) Mihuț, Fulger 2021 e Fulger, Bohîlțea-Mihuț 2021.

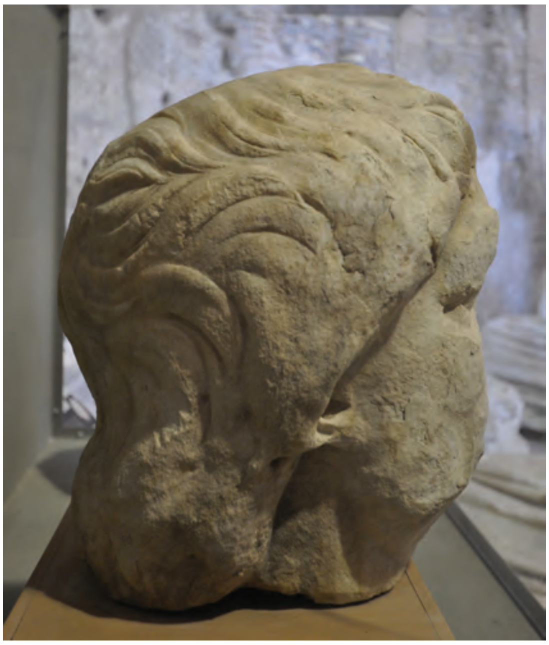

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Fig. 26. 1. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, testa frammentaria di Dace *capillatus*, n. inv. FA 2741 (foto dell'Autore); 2. Museo dei Fori Imperiali, testa frammentaria di Dace *capillatus*, n. inv. FA 2741: retro con taglio della nuca (foto dell'Autore); 3. Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano, deposito archeologico, testa frammentaria di Dace, n. inv. 211990 (foto dell'Autore); 4. Museo Nazionale Romano, Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano, deposito archeologico, testa frammentaria di Dace, n. inv. 211990: dettaglio del taglio sulla sommità (foto dell'Autore); 5. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, testa frammentaria di personaggio maschile, N.I. 1697 a (cortesia Archivio Fotografico Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek); 6. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, testa frammentaria di personaggio maschile, N.I. 1697 a: dettaglio del taglio sulla sommità (cortesia Archivio Fotografico Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek); 7. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin, n. inv. Sk 461 (da *Arachne Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin,* https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1062556 [accesso 8.12.2022]); 8. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin, n. inv. Sk 461: profilo (da *Arachne Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin,* https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1062556 [accesso 8.12.2022]).

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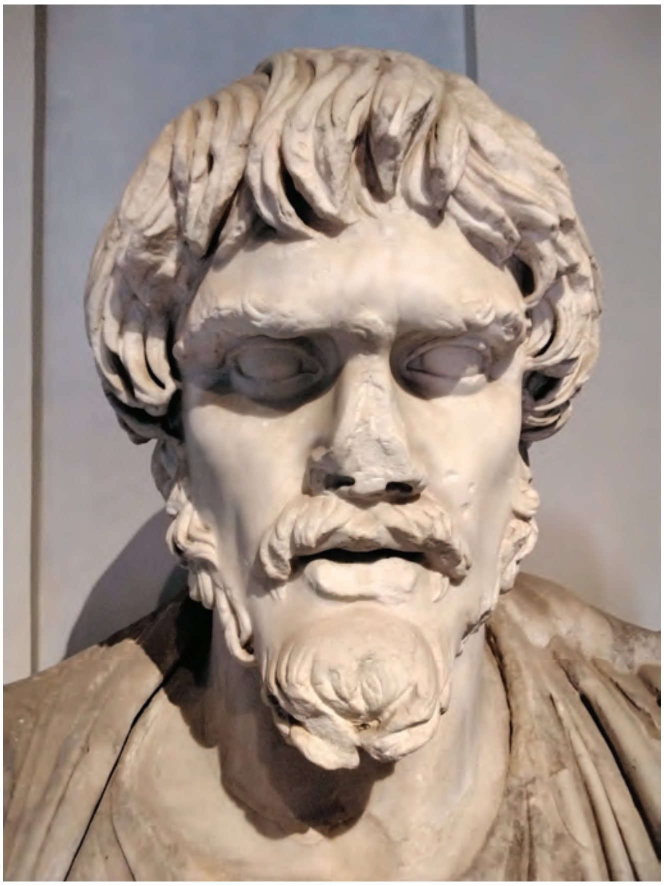

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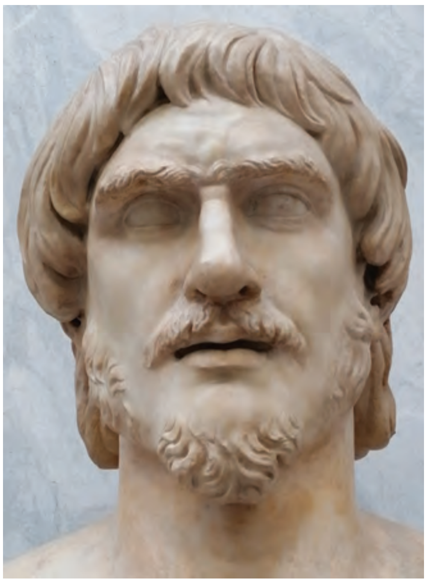

Fig. 27. 1. Parco del Colosseo, Palatino, Giardini Farnese, Uccelliere, testa della statua frammentaria in pavonazzetto di Dace, n. inv. 421868; 2. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Collezione Farnese, busto di Dace in marmo bianco, n. inv. 6106 (foto dell'Autore); 3. Parco del Colosseo, Palatino, Giardini Farnese, Uccelliere, particolare della testa della statua frammentaria di Dace in marmo docimio s.n.i. (foto dell'Autore); 4. Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, busto di Dace da *Portus* o dall'arco di Costantino, n. inv. MV 2220 (foto dell'Autore).

Parti che hanno un ruolo diplomatico importante[101]. Sembrano essere assenti i Sarmati, che invece sono ben presenti sulla Colonna Traiana, ma in alcune metope in compenso sono rappresentate le armi sarmate come la spada ricurva lunga e corta. Recentemente, Alexandru Barnea e Polly Lohmann hanno tracciato la storia del *Tropaeum Traiani* e degli elementi salienti della letteratura archeologica su questo *monumentum* caricato di significato politico anche in tempi moderni[102].

Perché esibire la vittoria diventa così importante?

Torniamo alla "comunicazione" e ricordiamo qualche numero: i Daci tenevano in scacco militare i Romani da circa 200 anni; erano di fatto la seconda potenza "europea" ai tempi di Domiziano e Traiano: infatti, con Decebalo gli effettivi erano passati da 40.000 a 200.000 unità, con una notevole strategia di alleanze e di influenza anche negli armamenti[103]. L'obiettivo raggiunto da Traiano è definitivo: la sparizione violenta dello stato dacico e l'egemonia sul continente. Naturalmente, a Roma prevale l'esibizione dei popoli sconfitti anche in modo anomalo: ad esempio, sulla Colonna i *pileati,* nobili e sacerdoti indossano tuniche con le maniche corte, i *comati* o *capillati* indossano tuniche con le maniche lunghe; sul *Tropaeum Traiani* le scene di violenza sono più realistiche.

Tropaeum e Colonna sono edificati, pur nei due diversi contesti, con l'obiettivo di ricordare le guerre daciche e la vittoria romana. La Colonna (inaugurata nel 113 d.C., dopo la Basilica Ulpia 112 d.C.) in ambito urbano svetta oltre gli alti edifici forensi, con la statua dell'imperatore, verso gli dèi ai quali narra del suo valore, di quello dei vincitori ed anche di quello dei vinti.

Il *Tropaeum* è stato innalzato per volere dell'imperatore per "segnare" il territorio della nuova espansione imperiale, concepito infatti dopo la prima campagna dacica ma inaugurato nel 109 d.C., insieme ai maggiori edifici pubblici della capitale ed è trofeo della vittoria e tumulo eroico.

Sul *monumentum Tropaeum Traiani* esiste una vasta letteratura[104], arricchita da una recente e copiosa bibliografia; torniamo solo su alcuni concetti ritenuti fondamentali:

- l'iscrizione dedicatoria a Marte Ultore è al nominativo da parte di Traiano, come quella rinvenuta nella corte sud del Foro, nella quale però non è conservato il nome della divinità[105]. Traiano vendica l'esito problematico della campagna di Domiziano, si identifica con l'esercito; il messaggio è globale: il trofeo si vede da lontano su un percorso importante; rappresenta un avvertimento chiaro e diretto alle popolazioni di questa estrema regione ai confini dell'impero, la forza e la vittoria su tutti dello stato romano. Si tratta di un territorio ancora militarizzato nell'interno della Dobrugia, diverso da quello costiero.

L'altare che è stato eretto nella stessa area ricordava invece 3800 caduti romani della precedente spedizione. A tale proposito, un breve ma significativo rimando ad Alexandre Simon Stefan, e alla sua lettura dei resti conservati sul terreno: l'Autore restituisce a Domiziano il primo progetto

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[101] Barnea 2013.

[102] Barnea, Lohmann 2021.

[103] Soria Molina 2016, p. 44-51.

[104] Importanti i contributi di Luca Bianchi, qui ne ricordiamo quello iniziale più significativo e uno tra i più recenti utili per il presente articolo: Bianchi 2006; Bianchi 2019.

[105] Bianchi, Meneghini 2022, p. 75-149, 307-326.

e la prima realizzazione dell'altare in memoria dei soldati romani caduti e del trofeo con una struttura che rinnova il modello augusteo[106]. Il nome di Domiziano viene scalpellato dall'iscrizione dell'altare, il trofeo viene destrutturato e forse il materiale, almeno in parte, riutilizzato. Traiano riorganizza radicalmente la memoria, annulla fisicamente il passaggio di Domiziano, ne perpetua nella storia la responsabilità della sconfitta e delle perdite sul campo.

- di diverso avviso Luca Bianchi; l'Autore legge come segno di pacificazione il dado con armi stilizzate su cui poggia il trofeo[107]; il richiamo al basamento della Colonna ci sembra immediato: si tratta di un altro tassello del progetto attribuibile ad Apollodoro di Damasco?[108] (fig. 28).

PROSPETTIVE

È evidente la necessità di sottoporre a nuovo esame le proposte ricostruttive dei principali ordini architettonici di tutti gli edifici e di proseguire il lavoro di verifica diretta e di ricostruzione scalare delle sculture riferibili alla tipologia del Dace e di altre popolazioni vinte e/o inglobate nell'impero romano, con l'obiettivo di redigere un catalogo ragionato delle opere che effettivamente possono essere appartenute al programma figurativo del Foro di Traiano e perfezionare la loro distribuzione nei vari edifici, insieme alle *congeries armorum* e ai clipei, in relazione anche alle gallerie di personalità della famiglia imperiale, dei modelli e dell'entourage dell'imperatore[109], ovvero coloro che sono parte integrante del suo programma di comunicazione globale dell'imperatore. Altrettanto importante continuare a valorizzare il confronto con strutture realizzate contemporaneamente come il *Tropaeum Traiani*.

Non meno importante è il legame tra programma figurativo e destinazione funzionale di tutto il complesso quale luogo della giustizia in sostituzione dell'*Atrium Libertatis.*

Se per l'equipaggiamento del Dace/Barbaro abbiamo già con Domiziano una notevole formalizzazione[110], anche per la scelta di apporre possenti figure ad elementi architettonici troviamo nell'attività edilizia legata all'imperatore flavio due precedenti in contesti diversi ma con lo scopo di "esporre" le *provinciae fideles* o comunque *populi* e *gentes*: nel caso del Foro di

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[106] Sulla strategia della guerra e sull'altare ulteriori contributi di Stefan 2018a; Stefan 2018b.

[107] Bianchi 2019.

[108] Il tema delle cataste d'armi è stato affrontato in più sedi da chi scrive ma meriterebbe ancora spazio per illustrare i precisi riscontri tra la Colonna Traiana col suo basamento che è una catasta d'armi dalla quale sviluppa il fusto scolpito dove abbondano le armi, i pannelli sempre concepiti come cataste d'armi e dislocati in vari punti del complesso forense, il *Tropaeum Traiani*, dove vengono "illustrate" con estrema precisione le dotazioni dell'esercito romano, come è stato recentemente dimostrato: Fulger, D'Amato 2018.

[109] Coloro che sono inseriti nel programma figurativo e partecipano alla comunicazione globale: Ungaro 2018e; Ungaro 2020a.

[110] Come dimostra Stefan 2005, p. 468-471, tema ripreso anche in Stefan 2015.

Fig. 28. Adamclisi (Romania), Museo Archeologico di Adamclisi, trofeo posto sul monumento *Tropaeum Traiani:* da notare i blocchi del basamento decorato con rilievi di cataste d'armi (foto cortesia Anca-Cezarina Fulger).

Nerva su un innovativo ordine a risalti (cui abbiamo già accennato)[111], mentre nel tempio a lui dedicato vivente ad Efeso un ordine dorico sostiene un ordine figurato[112].

Ci sembra, quindi, auspicabile approfondire i temi della possibile continuità con Domiziano e del lascito ad Adriano, che sicuramente interviene nel Foro stesso a completarne strutture e apparati figurativi.

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[111] Pinna Caboni 2015 (*supra* nota 18).

[112] Viscogliosi 2006, p. 295-297, fig. 82-83; Pinna Caboni 2015, p. 110-111 e fig. 4: il tempio voluto da Domiziano presentava figure di genti barbare alloggiate nelle nicchie ricavate da semicolonne. Di forte suggestione, anche se cronologicamente più tarda, la rappresentazione di personaggi, nota purtroppo solo da disegni antichi e da materiale architettonico, nell'edificio conosciuto come "Las Incantadas" di Salonicco, nell'area del foro, collocato cronologicamente nella prima età antonina e che presentava sculture apposte su ambedue i lati di un ordine architettonico, avendo il monumento funzione di diaframma: Bianchi, Vitti 2020.

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CONTRIBUTION ON THE MITHRAS/SOL ICONOGRAPHY: THE DEPICTION OF MITHRAS WITH RAYED CROWN

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Keywords: Mithras, Sol, iconography, rayed crown
Abstract: The fragment of a large Mithraic relief MNA L 463, without known provenance, features the tauroctony scene, with the peculiarity that Mithras wears a rayed crown. The few existing analogies are discussed, while also taking into consideration the possible source of this iconographic detail, most probably tributary to an oriental tradition, reinvented in Rome, during the 3rd century, and revived in the 4th century, with the re-establishment of the official importance of the cult of Sol by the Roman emperors.

Cuvinte-cheie: Mithras, Sol, iconografie, coroană de raze
Rezumat: Relieful mithriac MNA L 463, fără proveniență cunoscută, de mari dimensiuni, poartă reprezentarea taurochtoniei, cu particularitatea că Mithras are o coroană de raze. Puținele analogii existente sunt discutate, precum și eventuala sursă a acestui detaliu iconografic, cel mai probabil tributară unei tradiții orientale, reinventate la Roma în secolul al III-lea şi revitalizate în secolul al IV-lea, odată cu reacordarea importanței oficiale cultului lui Sol de către împărații romani.

THE RELIEF FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (FURTHER MNA) L 463

The rarity of detail, the rayed crown, depicted on the fragmentary Mithras relief MNA L 463 (fig. 1-4), now part of the collections of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, of unknown provenance, is the rationale behind the present note.

On the preserved part of an initially large relief[1], with a rounded upper border, Mithras can be seen in the tauroctony, looking straight to the viewer, with curly hair, wearing the Phrygian bonnet,

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[1] The fragment is about 40 cm high and 31 cm wide, while the slab has a thickness of 14-15 cm (upper border) up to 17 cm (lower part of the fragment, *i.e.* towards the middle of the relief). The upper part of the fragment is also the original border of the relief and seems to be rounded. The initial relief was slightly curved, with the more protruding laterals. On the backside (at the level of the god's head from the front side) a cavity is preserved (12 × 13 cm wide, about 8.5 cm deep), which served for the mounting of the relief on a support/wall, and still preserves rests of shard rich pink/reddish mortar (fig. 2/2). The relief surface is partially damaged and has different sandy depositions, probably an effect on the material from the environment the piece laid in.

Fig. 1. Relief MNA L 463 (photo by Cătălin I. Nicolae).

and a rayed crown on the background of a nimbus. Twelve rays seem to have been depicted. Still preserved are parts of his chlamys, and his left hand, seizing the nostrils of the bull. As for the animal, only the forepart of its head is preserved. The rounded upper border of the relief features the row of seven altars (only five are preserved) alternating with (palm / fig / cypress?) trees (fig. 4). Despite the precarious state of conservation, it can be stated that the sculptor paid attention to details. The manner of representation of Mithras, using a flatter relief, gradually moving to a high relief, gives the impression of depth, *i.e.* of vividness, which will have been effectively enhanced by the play of light and shadow in the original display of the relief in the cult place. The general aspect of the relief remains rather rough.

The analysis of the stone did not allow a more precise determination of its provenance[2].

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[2] See the report in the *addendum*.

Fig. 2. Relief MNA L 463, top, rear and side views (photo by Cătălin I. Nicolae).

ICONOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

While the row of seven altars is quite common on Mithras reliefs from Moesia inferior and also on some examples in Dacia[3], as the only additional element to the tauroctony group, the combination of trees and altars is rare[4]. A similar depiction can be seen on one relief found in the

[3] For example, the two reliefs from urban centres: Sicoe 2014, cat. no. 233 = CIMRM II, 2172 (small size, from Romula) and cat. no. 39 (large size, from Apulum). See also Nemeti, Nemeti 2004-2005, p. 115-118 (but with too radical conclusion on the "Danubian" monuments), as well as the relief from Sucidava (Bordenache 1969, cat. no. 193; CIMRM II, 2182).

[4] See also Alexandrescu, Topoleanu 2019, p. 183-185.

Fig. 3. Relief MNA L 463, detail (photo by Cătălin I. Nicolae).

proximity of Church Santa Lucia in Selci (Rome, Esquiline)[5]. There are only six visible altars on the upper border of the tauroctony scene, while a further row of seven altars can be seen under the main scene (fig. 5).

Mithras' young look[6] and Oriental curly hair (fig. 3) find good analogy on the large relief uncovered in the "La Adam" cave, near Târgșor, and also on the relief from Medgidia[7], although rather poorly carved, compared to the first one.

MITHRAS WEARING A RAYED CROWN

MNA L 463 is the largest Mithras relief in the region[8] and possibly one of the latest in date findings as well, which is to be discussed in connection with the occurrence of the evidence for the *Sol Invictus* cult and of the representations of Mithras as Sol. The crown of rays in the Mithras cult (as an attribute of the *Heliodromos*[9], one of the seven grades in this cult) and the figure of the sun beside Mithras are to be naturally kept apart from the representation on this relief.

The best-known other examples with *Mithras Tauroctonos* wearing the crown of rays come from Italy: the relief in Pisignano[10] (fig. 6), the one from Macerata[11] (fig. 7) and the unique bronze brooch, from Ostia (fig. 8), now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford[12]. The relief from Macerata, where the rays are rendered very schematically, on the back of the frontally depicted head of Mithras, also bears a dedication: *Invicto.* Furthermore, a head with Oriental dress (fig. 9), interpreted as Mithras, was found in a well in the small Roman settlement in Sindelfingen, Southern Germany, near the Neckar *limes*[13]. There are two rectangular holes for metallic stabs carved in the laterals of the Phrygian cap, which can be assumed to have been fixing a crown of rays[14].

The most relevant example is to be found however in the large sandstone relief (fig. 10) found in the so-called mithraeum III from Carnuntum, where the crown of rays[15] worn by Mithras is

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[5] CIMRM I, 368 (0.88 m high, 1.20 m wide).

[6] On the late Hellenistic origin of this way of depiction see Boschung 2015, p. 228.

[7] Alexandrescu Vianu 2000, cat. no. 191, see also cat. no. 192; Alexandrescu, Topoleanu 2019, fig. 3 ("La Adam") and 1 (Medgidia).

[8] Only the thickness of the slab is original, reaching 14-15 cm at the upper part of the relief, and getting thicker (about 17 cm) towards its middle. The position of the mounting cavity on the rear of the slab corroborated with the dimensions of the head of Mithras, enable the hypothesis that the initial relief was about 120-150 cm high (with or without a higher lower border/basis), and at least 120-150 cm wide. The central group of Mithras and the bull could have been flanked by Cautes and Cautopates (but not obligatory). In the upper corners, the busts of Sol and Luna can be safely restituted. The proposal on composition and dimensions is based on reliefs and assemblages of relief(s) and sculptures such as the finds from Heddernheim (mithraeum III), Carnuntum (Kremer 2012, cat. no. 191), Stixneusidl (CIMRM II, 1658), Budaörs (Nagy 2007, cat. no. 196), as well as on the ensemble of reliefs (CIMRM II, 1283) from the mithraeum in Neunheim (CIMRM II, 1282).

[9] Beck 2006, p. 75-77.

[10] CIMRM I, 692.

[11] CIMRM I, 690-691: *Invicto Propitio / Sal(vio) Novanio / Lucianus / d(onum) p(osuit).*

[12] CIMRM I, 318; Weiß 2004.

[13] Schwertheim 1974, p. 207, cat. no. 168, pl. 49. On the Roman settlement from Sindelfingen see Knopf 2000.

[14] The author is indebted to Dr. Nina Willburger and her colleagues from the Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart for kindly examining the piece on her behalf and confirming the information from the literature.

[15] Kremer 2012, cat. no. 189 and p. 382-385. In fact, there the individual rays are inserted in the head, detail unnoticeable when the large relief was seen from the walking level.

Fig. 4. Relief MNA L 463, detail (photo by Cătălin I. Nicolae).

considered to be an *addendum* of the late stage of use of this cult place, contemporary with the important epigraphic evidence on the relation between the Mithras-Sol cult and the official cult of emperors[16]. This relief bears also inscription, the dating and content of which are still object of debate[17]. It is worth noting that the rays are actually fitted in the bonnet Mithras wears (fig. 11). On the other hand, in the case of the already mentioned statue from Sindelfingen, there seems to have been a crown fastened on the head of Mithras, as there are only two holes (fig. 9).

The depiction on the brooch in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 8) was thoroughly analysed by Maria Weiß[18]. Her conclusion is that, in this case the common tauroctony where Mithras (the moonless sky of the night) is the Moon-killer, as the bull is the animal of the Moon, finds in the iconographic composition on the brooch an exception, "die über zwei Bildebenen (eine eingeritzte Tag- und eine erhabene Nachtseite) verfügt, und darum den Vorgang sowohl da darstellen kann, wo er geschieht, als auch da, wo er erfahrbar ist" [which has two image levels (an engraved day side and a raised night side) and can therefore represent the process both where it happens and where it can be experienced]. Thus, Mithras combines his attributes and actions with Sol's (daytime sky).

In the museum in Aleppo, there is a small fragment of a marble relief[19] depicting most likely Mithras wearing the Phrygian cap and a rayed crown, represented on the background of a nimbus, with the head slightly turned to his right (fig. 12). The similarly depicted nimbus can be seen on the relief in Bucharest and on that in Pisignano, while the rays are behind the nimbus on the brooch from Ostia.

As regards the relief in Bucharest, even if an in-depth analysis is limited from the start given its fragmentary state of preservation, it is worth noting the association of the rayed crown and the row of the seven altars on the same large relief that can be assumed to have been the main relief in a Mithras cult place. The particularity of this depiction is the frontality of the god, otherwise

[16] Kremer 2012, p. 334.

[17] Kremer 2012, cat. no. 189 and p. 334.

[18] Weiß 2004.

[19] CIMRM I, 90; Will 1952, p. 67. One further fragmentarily preserved relief featuring the depiction of Sol or Mithras with radiate crown and bearing also a dedication to Sol is mentioned in Troesmis, but not illustrated or seen since 1865, see ISM V, 169 (with literature).

Fig. 5. Relief from S. Lucia in Selci (after https://www.roger-pearse.com/mithras/images/cimrm368-mono.jpg [last seen on 01.02.2023]).

Fig. 6. Relief from Pisignano (after https://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm692 [last seen on 01.02.2023]).

Fig. 7. Relief from Macerata (after https://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/en/catalog/611400 [last seen on 01.02.2023]).

a quite common occurrence on the “simple” tauroctony reliefs, especially in the provinces along the Danube[20]. The increasing use of frontality in representation has links with the east, even in the official reliefs, such as the reliefs of the Severan arch at Lepcis Magna. Its aim was to express a more hieratic concept of the depicted[21].

MITHRAS AND SOL

The cult of Mithras-Sol and *Sol Invictus* is well documented in Moesia inferior mainly through inscriptions[22] and recent studies approached the subject[23]. The depictions that should stay in direct

[20] See, on this aspect, Boschung 2015, p. 228-229, as well as the comments in Keleş 2008, p. 215-216.

[21] Walden 1990, p. 227.

[22] Covacef, Barnea 1973.

[23] Covacef, Barnea 1973; Bottez 2006, p. 297-299; Bottez 2018, p. 256.

Fig. 8. Brooch in Ashmolean Museum
(after https://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm318 [last seen on 01.02.2023]).

relation to this topic need to be also investigated[24]. The limestone altar, without inscription, from Fântâna Mare (former Bașpunar), in the rural area of Tropaeum Traiani[25], features on the cornice the bust of Sol in the lunette field formed by a garland tied to the horns of two boar protomes, while pine cones are depicted in the acroteria[26]. Similar decoration features the pediment of a funerary altar in Pruse, Bithynia[27]. However, the latter bears further decorations and also an inscription, relating the monument to the cult of Isis. Thus, the altar from Fântâna Mare cannot be indisputably interpreted as an expression of the cult of Sol.

[24] Generally, on the matter see Halsberghe 1972.

[25] Covacef, Barnea 1973, p. 90-93, fig. 1 and 2. It can be also a half-finished piece, which might have been used as base, votive of funerary altar, depending on the additional features, decoration and inscription to be added. This is an example of how such pieces were made and how careful the interpretation of this kind of find should be. From the area of Tropaeum Traiani there are further examples of half-finished stone monuments (mainly stelai), most of them, however, without documented context or provenance, especially if unspectacular for epigraphic studies.

[26] Zaharia Covacef and Alexandru Barnea consider the monument to be a funerary altar: Covacef, Barnea 1973, p. 93.

[27] Veymiers 2021, p. 136-139.

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Fig. 9. Mithras head from Sindelfingen (1. after https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fi%C8%99ier:Mithras.JPG#metadata [last seen on 01.02.2023]; 2. photo by Nina Willburger).

The more or less simultaneous beginning of the imperial cult and the cult of Mithras in the Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea was already observed and the evidence investigated[28]. The provenance of the relief under discussion in this paper is unknown, therefore, it makes little sense to try relate it to any of the ancient centres of the province. It is, however, worth mentioning that the subject of the cult of Mithras in this geographic area, a real transit and contact zone during all times, could profit from a wider investigation, which should consider both the Pontic, as well as the Western evidence. Furthermore, the analysis should go more into depth as to just consider the epigraphic or the iconographic evidence and their particularities[29], in order to aim to understand the social and even political context of the cult and its followers/cult communities in this province.

MITHRAS WITH RAYED CROWN ON THE RELIEFS IN NEMRUD DAĞ

The great cult inscription found in the complex from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaeus/Nemrud Dağ, near the residence of the kings of Commagene, and dated to the late 1st century BC, mentions

[28] Bottez 2018, p. 258-261.

[29] Ruscu 2003-2004; Bottez 2018; Alexandrescu (forthcoming).

Fig. 10. Mithras relief from Carnuntum (after Kremer 2012, pl. 52).

Fig. 11. Mithras relief from Carnuntum, detail (after Kremer 2012, pl. 52).

Fig. 12. Mithras relief in Aleppo, photo of the cast taken in the museum (after Will 1952, fig. 3).

that Antiochus I instituted the buildings and altars for the cult of Mithradates Callinicus and himself[30]. The exact function(s) of the building complex, on a place considered to be the tomb of Mithradates I Callinicus, are not clearly identified as cultic or funerary. On the stela from the so-called Pedestal II, along the processional way, the standing figures of Mithras-Helios, wearing a tiara surrounded by sunrays, and the king in *dexiosis* are depicted[31]. The usual interpretation considers this depiction is a syncretic expression of the Mithras-Helios Apollo-Hermes iconography, supported also by the epigraphic evidence from the rear of the slabs featuring reliefs[32]. The inscription states further that the priest appointed by the king Antiochus for the cult of Mithras-Helios Apollo-Hermes "shall serve this god" and "take care for the cult appropriate maintenance both of the sacred stelae and communal altars"[33]. A large fragment of a further stela[34] was found further up on the mountain, near the so-called Pedestal III; it also features also the *dexiosis* scene of Antiochus I and Mithras-Helios Apollo-Hermes, with inscription on the rear. Worth mentioning is that, in this case, the sunrays are depicted frontally (fig. 13), on the background of a nimbus, while the god wearing tiara is in profile.

MITHRAS/SOL WEARING RAYED CROWN IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Mithras is the Sun-god, protector of kings and, later on, he will further be seen and represented as such, with the rayed crown and a nimbus, for instance, on the Scythian coins of Bactria, between 87 and 129 AD[35]. The followed tradition is there most probably a different one from the one from Kommagene and Asia minor, and will find a late expression in the rock relief of Sasanian king Shapur II at Taq-e Bustan.

Of further direct interest for the discussion here are the coins of several ancient centres in Anatolia featuring, in the 2nd and 3rd century AD, the figure of Mithras wearing the rayed crown,

[30] Brijder 2014, p. 263-264.

[31] Brijder 2014, p. 238-260 (with literature).

[32] Brijder 2014, p. 241.

[33] Brijder 2014, p. 243.

[34] Brijder 2014, p. 258-260.

[35] CIMRM I, 1-3; Frothingham 1914, p. 153.

Fig. 13. Relief with Antiochos I and Mithras from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaeus (after Brijder 2014, fig. 171/a).

as draped bust[36] (*i.e.* wearing *exomis*[37]), bust with horse protome in the background[38] or as riding god[39]. Dedicated analyses on the iconography of this are far from advanced and the terminology used in the descriptions is therefore problematic[40]. The main issue is still related to how the depicted god is to be called, if the name used in a reference work like RPC – *i.e.* Mithras – is in all cases the right "convention". The matter certainly cannot be suitably addressed here.

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[36] RPC III, 2929-2931 (Trapezus, Trajan); RPC IV.2, 5343 (Trapezus, Antoninus Pius); RPC IV.2, 5344 (Trapezus, Marcus Aurelius); RPC IV.3, 5345 (Trapezus, Lucius Verus) – references based on the search in https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/ (last seen on 01.02.2023).

[37] See on Mithras wearing *exomis* Boschung 2015, p. 226-227 (with literature).

[38] RPC IV.3, 8415, 11053 (Trapezus, Marcus Aurelius); RPC IV.3, 10981 (Trapezus, Lucius Verus); RPC IV.3, 5346, 5348, 5467, 8414 (Trapezus, Commodus); RPC VI, 6613 (Trapezus, Elagabalus); RPC VI, 6645 (Trapezus, Severus Alexander) – references based on the search in https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/ (last seen on 01.02.2023).

[39] The riding god on the obverse of some coins from Trapezus, Istrus and eventually Hyrgaleis and Seleucia ad Calycadnum is called "Mithras" within the RPC, but features different details and attributes that make a differentiation in the description necessary. Up to now there is no depiction of the riding Mithras wearing a rayed crown. There is however one example from Seleucia ad Calycadnum (RPC VII.2, 2899) from the reign of Gordian III, featuring a radiate horseman facing Athena standing and holding Nike, spear and shield set on ground. The latter example can be, in my opinion, also a depiction of the emperor himself and not of Mithras. The observations are based on the search in https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/ (last seen on 01.02.2023).

[40] See, for example, Keleş 2008 (for Trapezus), with a quite problematic comment on the subject of riding Mithras, given that the description of the representations on coins is far from certain; Beldianu 2014, p. 46-70 (for Istrus).

The evidence from the 1st century BC in Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaeus belongs to a phase of the cult of Mithras different from that with mysteries. The latter spread especially in the West – according to some authors – from the late 1st century AD[41]. Thus, the depictions on Roman coins from the Anatolian centres can feature both pre-Roman and Roman traditions and cult practices, *i.e.* cult images, but the tauroctony is certainly the main expression of the mysteric cult of Mithras, as known from the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, and features the iconographic schema originating from the West/Rome[42].

Mithras is described as "Sol Invictus" in inscriptions[43], as victory was his characteristic. But Sol and Mithras were different deities[44]. Sol has a long tradition in the Roman official iconography and cult[45]. By the late 3rd century, the Sun had become a permanent feature of Roman religion[46]. Some scholars even considered the depiction on the background of reverse of the *Decennalia* monument in the *Forum Romanum*, celebrating the permanence and stability of Tetrarchic rule, as the head of Mithras and not of Sol[47], in the context of the official iconography of Emperor Diocletian[48]. But this would mean to postulate for Rome an ideological value of the depiction similar to that in Nemrud Dağ, which seems rather improbable[49]. Actually, the Tetrarchs relegated to the background the Sun cult, as on the *Decennalia* relief, and it was Constantine who reinstated the importance of the Sun cult and solar iconography, Sol being depicted as the companion of the emperor[50].

The vagueness of the term *invictus* means that it was used as a title for a number of deities, like Jupiter, Hercules and Mars, besides Sol. Mithraism never became a state cult, however, unlike the official late Roman *Sol Invictus* cult[51]. Unlike the Sun god, Mithras, more precisely his attributes, were not taken over in the official iconography of the emperors, *i.e.* the rayed crown in the imperial portraits has no relation to the Mithras with rayed crown[52].

Although Mithras himself is called *Sol Invictus*, in the Mithras iconography, he and Sol are depicted as separate persons in several scenes, the banquet scene being the most relevant example. Other scenes feature Mithras ascending behind Sol in the latter's chariot, the deities shaking hands and the two gods at an altar with pieces of meat on a spit or spits. One peculiar scene shows Sol kneeling before Mithras, who holds an object in his hand.

Up to now, Mithras with rayed crown is depicted on the Roman reliefs only within the tauroctony scene. Worth mentioning in the context of the present discussion is a rare coin of Tarsus, in Cilicia, under the reign of Gordian III, a bronze *aes* from 240, featuring the tauroctony

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[41] Vermaseren 1960, p. 24-25.

[42] Boschung 2015.

[43] Clauss 2000, p. 146.

[44] Clauss 2000, p. 147.

[45] Hijmans 2009 (with literature); see also Bottez 2006, p. 297.

[46] Walden 1990, p. 225.

[47] Frothingham 1914.

[48] The scene features actually the sacrifice carried out by one of the tetrarchic Caesars, probably Galerius.

[49] Furthermore, the *Decennalia* base has been proven to be one of the examples for the incomprehension of the urban Roman elites regarding the new form of government – see also Boschung 2020, p. 265-266 (with literature).

[50] Walden 1990, p. 232; Migotti 2017, p. 133-136.

[51] Clauss 2000, p. 23-24.

[52] Bergmann 1998; Hijmans 2009.

with Mithras wearing the rayed crown on the obverse[53], and the radiate, draped and cuirassed emperor's bust on the reverse (fig. 14). Given the rarity of this issue, the comments are limited[54]. Cumont's theory postulating Tarsus as a great centre for the cult of Mithras[55] is rather problematic given the lack of further evidence. If there was a relief/sculpture in Tarsus similar to the depiction cannot be stated.

Fig. 14. Bronze *aes* of Gordian III issued by Trapezus, RPC VII.2, 3087 (after https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/8342 [last seen on 01.02.2023]).

CONCLUSION

In addition to bringing into attention the relief MNA L 463, with its various details and characteristics, the present contribution enables the re-analysis of one particular aspect of Mithras' iconography, however without providing a solution. The analogies known to the author are from the western part of the Empire, while the arguments for the origin of the motive of the rayed crown worn by Mithras are from the East. Further research is certainly needed, as in the case of many iconographical compositions or details related to the cult of Mithras. It goes without saying that there was a direct connection between the official cults and that of Mithras, that for several Roman emperors Sol and Mithras were of great relevance if not the most important. The meaning(s) behind this depiction of Mithras in the late 3rd and 4th century, wearing the rayed crown, which made him equal to Sol/Helios, might have been more complex as now imaginable, especially as this is featured by monuments and items with official character, such as coins[56] or monuments in Rome and in the provinces. MNA L 463 could have been the main relief in one mithraeum, assumption based only on its restituted possible dimensions and on the featured iconography.

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[53] RPC VII.2, 3087; CIMRM I, 27. See also https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/7.2/3087 (last seen on 01.02.2023).

[54] See also Keleş 2008, p. 215.

[55] See Vermaseren 1960, p. 22-25.

[56] See Vermaseren 1960, p. 23 who considers the coin of Gordian III with the tauroctony on the reverse a mean of propaganda in the context of the war with the Persians, as a manifestation of the cult of a god of Oriental origin, at the moment of the war with his former homeland.

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ADDENDUM: ANALYSIS ON THE STONE MATERIAL OF MNA L 463

ALBERT BALTRES*

The relief was carved in a white, coarse-grained limestone. The sample CA20 (taken from MNA L 463) was investigated both macroscopically and under the microscope, by means of a thin section. It is an unsorted, intraclastic calcarenite cemented with sparry calcite. Besides the coarse and fine intraclasts are present various encrusting microfossils (serpulids, bryozoans, sessile foraminifera, cyano-bacterial micrite envelopes) and loose bioclasts of echinoderms, Tubiphytes nodules and whole foraminifera, some of them providing clues to the geological age of the rock. The foraminifera genera *Protopeneroplis* and *Trocholina* (fig. 1) and *Quinqueloculina robusta* argue for the Lower Cretaceous (Berriasian – Valanginian) age of this limestone. Other foraminifera (*Miliolidae*, *Nodosariidae*) are also present in the micropaleontological association. Apart from the information regarding the geological age of this limestone, we have no direct clues regarding an area of provenance. White limestones of this age are known in South Dobrudja at Dumbrăveni and Canaraua Fetii, but a direct link with these is unproved, as concerns specific microfacial features.

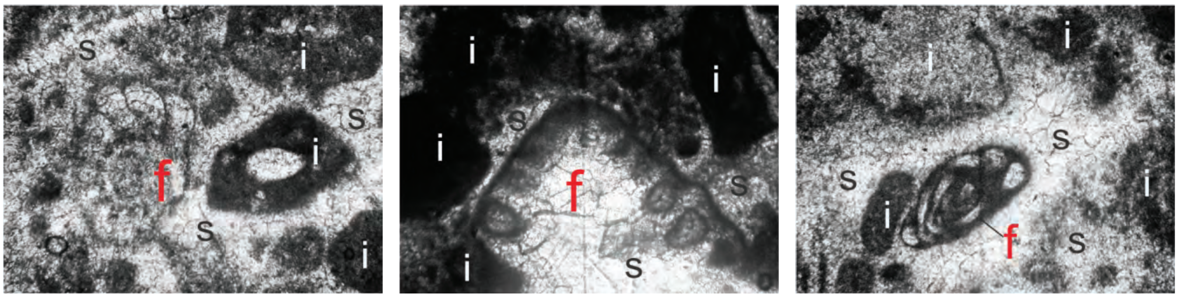

Fig. 1. Lower Cretaceous foraminifera *Protopeneroplis* sp. (**f** in left photo), *Trocholina* sp. (**f** in centre), *Quinqueloculina robusta* (**f** in right photo) and dark intraclasts (**i**) cemented with sparry calcite (**s**) in limestone sample CA20. The long side of all images = 0.75 mm.

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ORGANODETRITIC LIMESTONE FROM THE QUARRIES IN HOTNICA IN ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS FROM NOVAE (MOESIA INFERIOR)

ANDRZEJ B. BIERNACKI*, ELENA KLENINA**

Keywords: Novae, quarry, economy, Hotnica, organodetritic limestone

Abstract: For the first time this paper presents the data on quarrying activity related to the development of the Roman military camp and Early-Byzantine city of Novae. The study analyses new information about the quarries in Moesia Inferior and the production of the elements from the local organodetritic limestone. The discussed high-quality organodetritic limestone came from quarries between the present villages of Hotnica and Samovodene (province of Veliko Tărnovo). From the second quarter of the 2nd century AD onward, at least two quarries operated there, in Kornica and Mogilite. A third one, which supplied Nicopolis ad Istrum, was at Sevlievo, near the present village of Kamenec. After a field walk research, the present authors believe that the most possible and feasible route of transportation of architectural elements and details to Novae was the eastern one, through the rivers of Rosica, Jantra and Danube. The total distance to be covered by riverboats from Nicopolis ad Istrum to Novae would amount to 113 km; the distance on water route from Hotnica to Rosica (near Nicopolis ad Istrum) is approximately 12 km. An unsettled issue concerns the location of stonecutters' workshops. No satisfactory evidence of the operation of stonecutters' workshops in Novae, Iatrus, or Nicopolis ad Istrum (buildings, tools, intermediate products, or waste products) is available.

Cuvinte-cheie: Novae, carieră, economie, Hotnica, calcar organodetritic

Rezumat: Studiul prezintă, pentru prima oară, date despre activitatea de exploatare a carierelor legate de dezvoltarea fortificației romane și a orașului bizantin timpuriu Novae, analizând informații noi despre carierele din Moesia Inferior și producția de elemente arhitecturale constructive realizate din calcar organodetritic. Această rocă, de calitate foarte bună, provine din carierele aflate între localitățile actuale Hotnica și Samovodene (provincia Veliko Tărnovo). Începând cu al doilea sfert al secolului al II-lea p.Chr., cel puțin două cariere erau exploatate aici, la Kornica și Mogilite. O a treia carieră, care aproviziona Nicopolis ad Istrum, se afla la Sevlievo, lângă localitatea actuală Kamenec. În urma unei cercetări de teren, autorii consideră că, pentru aducerea blocurilor de calcar folosite la ridicarea orașului, ruta cea mai ușor de practicat înspre Novae este cea estică, folosind râurile Rosica, Jantra și apoi fluviul Dunărea. Distanța totală de parcurs cu bărcile fluviale de la Nicopolis ad Istrum la Novae ar fi 113 km; distanța pe firul apei de la Hotnica la Rosica (lângă Nicopolis ad Istrum) este

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de aproximativ 12 km. Amplasarea atelierelor de pietrari reprezintă încă o problemă nerezolvată. Nu sunt disponibile dovezi satisfăcătoare cu privire la funcționarea atelierelor de prelucrare a pietrei la Novae, Iatrus sau Nicopolis ad Istrum (clădiri, unelte, produse semifinite sau deșeuri).

The Roman legionary camp and Early-Byzantine city of Novae near the modern town of Svištov in Bulgaria, one of the most important strongholds on the border of the Empire, is among the best studied facilities of this type in the area of the Lower Danube (fig. 1). The past Polish-Bulgarian archaeological and interdisciplinary studies at the site of the Roman legionary camp and Early-Byzantine town of Novae have made it possible to identify and analyse a number of elements constituting its urban and architectural uniqueness (fig. 2).

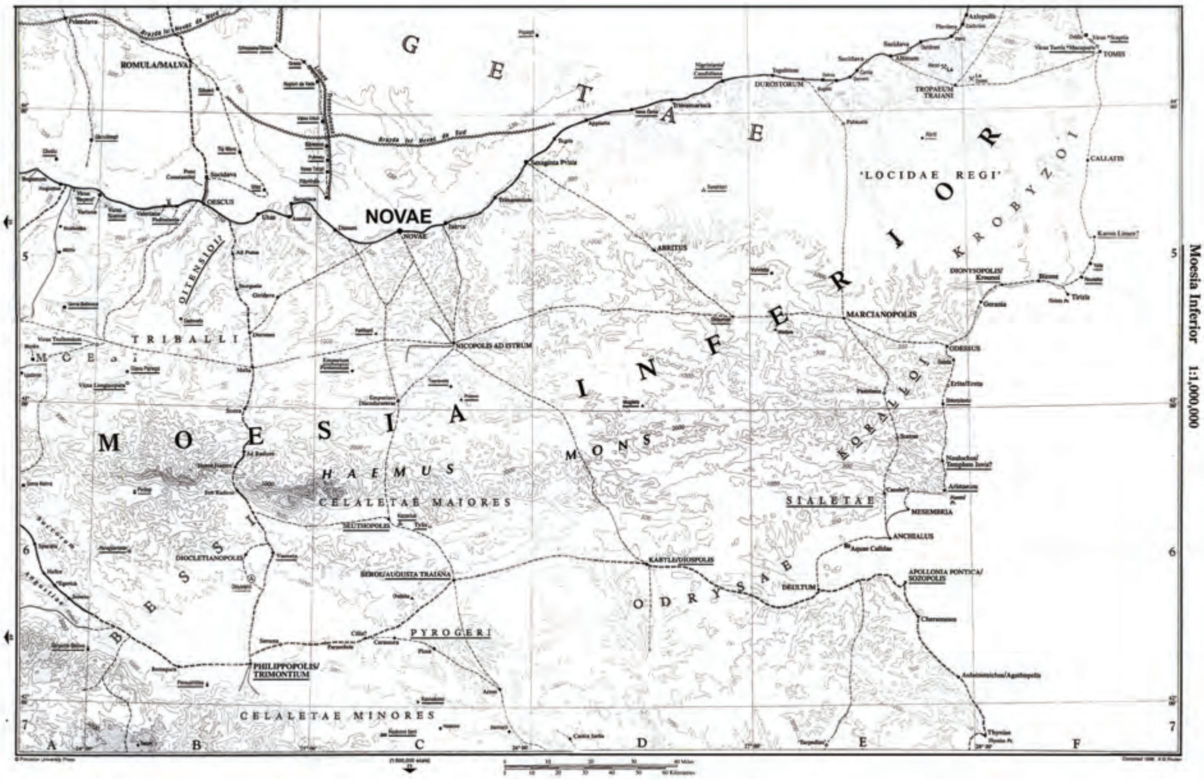

Fig. 1. Map of Moesia Inferior and Thrace (after Talbert 2000, p. 22).

Roman and Early-Byzantine architectural elements and details play a crucial role in the study of the history of building activity in Novae[1]. The present paper provides an overview of the research conducted by Polish archaeologists[2], architects and geologists since 1970 within the framework of the International Interdisciplinary Archaeological Expedition "Novae" of Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań. The main basis of the applied approach are macroscopic

[1] Biernacki, Klenina 2020, p. 9-134.

[2] In 2019, Andrzej B. Biernacki presented some results of our research and made preliminary conclusions regarding the use of limestone from Hotnica and the ways of its delivery at the conference dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Professor Janusz Skoczylas in Poznań (Poland) (Biernacki 2019).

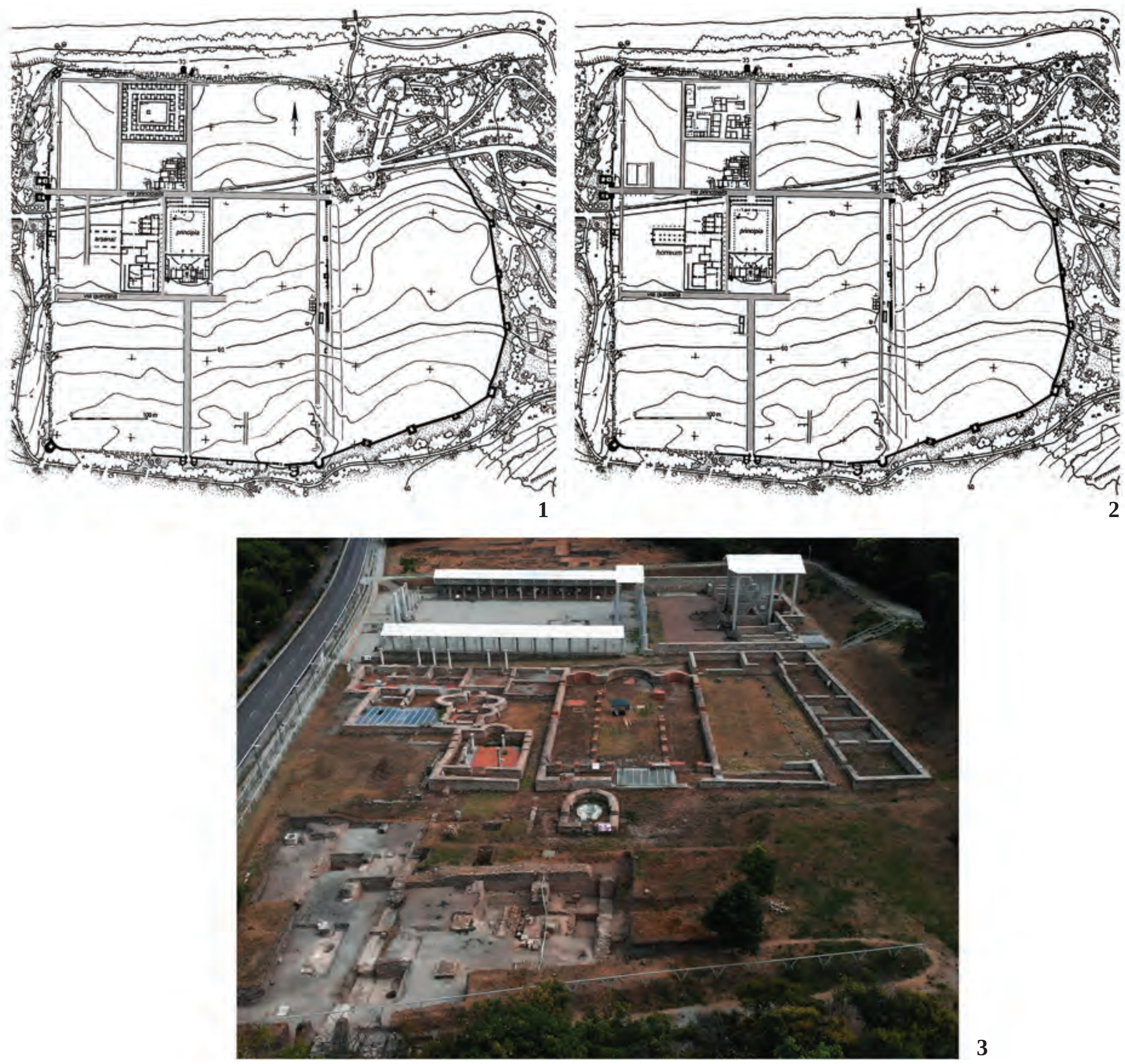

Fig. 2. Topographical plan of the legionary fortress of Novae: 1. Phase I-II, first half of the 2nd century-3rd century; 2. Phase III-IV, 4th century (created by E. Klenina based on an outline plan by S. Parnicki-Pudełko, A.B. Biernacki, T. Sarnowski, P. Dyczek and E. Genčeva); 3. Novae. *Latera praetorii sinistra*. Aerial view from the west, year 2022 (photo by M. Atanasov).

petrographic analyses of the rock material of the more than 1,600 architectural elements and details discovered in Novae[3]. The primary supervisors of this project were Andrzej B. Biernacki and Janusz Skoczylas of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland)[4], while its substantial component was the more than 100 spectral isotope analyses executed by Stanisław Hałas of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University of Lublin (Poland). A comparative study of the Tuscan, Ionic and leaf capitals has revealed a striking regularity of both their chronology and material. Thus, all the Tuscan capitals discovered so far in Novae are made of crumbly limestone. Chronological and stratigraphic tests have demonstrated that local crumbly limestone[5] (fig. 3) began to be used

[3] Biernacki 2008, p. 413-414.

[4] Biernacki 2013, p. 7-18; Biernacki, Skoczylas 2002; Biernacki, Skoczylas 2003; Skoczylas 2013a; Skoczylas 2013b.

[5] Skoczylas 1995, p. 98.

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Fig. 3. The samples of local crumbly limestone architectural elements and details: 1. The lion head relief and macroscopic image of a material sample; 2. The ram's head relief and macroscopic image of a material sample; 3. Tuscan capital and microscopic image of a material sample (Michniewicz 2013, p. 149, fig. 3/a-b, p. 150, fig. 4/a-b, p. 154, fig. 9/a-b).

for the production of architectural elements and details around the year 90 AD[6]. This carbonate sedimentary rock widely occurs in the area of Novae, in the valley of both the Danube and its tributary rivers, *e.g.* the Jantra: even now, it is still visible on their bottoms when the water levels are low[7]. Among the petrographically analysed material from Novae, most of the crumbly limestone plinths and altars are dated – mainly by inscriptions – between 110 and 235[8]. Thus, this carbonate sedimentary rock started to be widely used for the making of altars, pedestals and tombstones only after Trajan's Dacian Wars. Interestingly, crumbly limestone constituted also the most common material of the defensive walls of the legionary camp of Novae from the last decade of the 1st century to the 240s AD. The relatively simple shapes of the Tuscan bases and capitals result from the natural characteristics of crumbly limestone, which is soft and easy to cut, but does not allow the fashioning of more complex decorations, *e.g.* smooth and sharp edges of strips, half rounds and quarter rounds. The occurrence of the Tuscan order in Novae is explained by the fact that in the 1st century AD most soldiers of the *Legio I Italica* came to the town from the Apennine Peninsula, where it was the most common order at the time; its lack of complication and ease of imitation made it accessible even to imperfect stonecutters.

Another material of stone architectural elements and details in Novae is organodetritic limestone (fig. 4). The extensive microscopic petrographical and X-ray analyses done by Janusz Skoczylas and Leonard Jochemczyk have established that organodetritic limestone is beige or cream-colored and contains white organic detritus[9]. Recrystallization, or metamorphosis into marble, is observed. Its main component is micrite with enclaves of sparite. The micrite includes pieces of organic detritus of sizes of between 0.2 and several millimetres, apparently consisting of *Foraminifera*, crustaceans and molluscs. The mass of micrite visibly recrystallizes through microsparite into xenoblasts of the size of 0.02-0.04 mm. X-ray analysis has revealed that beside calcite, the stone also contains small amounts of quartz. Limestone is hard and firm, which qualities are partly due to its recrystallization[10]. The report of a later, more detailed analysis[11] points out that organodetritic limestone consists of detritus of molluscs, brachiopods and gastropods (snails), spines of sea urchins, columnals of crinoids, tests of *Foraminifera*, *e.g.* of the genera *Orbitolina* and *Rotalina*, and finally of algae, all sunken in a fine-crystalline, almost amorphous mass of lime mud (micrite).

Forty-five Ionic capitals have so far been discovered in Novae, making up the largest known corpus of architectural elements of this order in Moesia and Thrace. Out of these, as many as forty are made of organodetritic limestone described above, this also constitutes the material of Ionic capitals from Iatrus and Nicopolis ad Istrum. Furthermore, most pedestals and inscribed tombstones encountered in those three towns are made of organodetritic limestone. The texts of the inscriptions evidence that the latter items were produced in the years 130-233 AD[12]; the Ionic capitals are dated to the same period.

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[6] Biernacki, Skoczylas 2002, p. 203.

[7] Skoczylas 1995, p. 98-99; Skoczylas 2013a, p. 121-122.

[8] Biernacki, Skoczylas 2002, p. 204.

[9] Skoczylas, Jochemczyk 1995.

[10] Skoczylas, Jochemczyk 1995, p. 88-89; Skoczylas 1995, p. 99.

[11] Michniewicz 2013, p. 143-145.

[12] Biernacki, Skoczylas 2002, p. 204; Biernacki 2008.

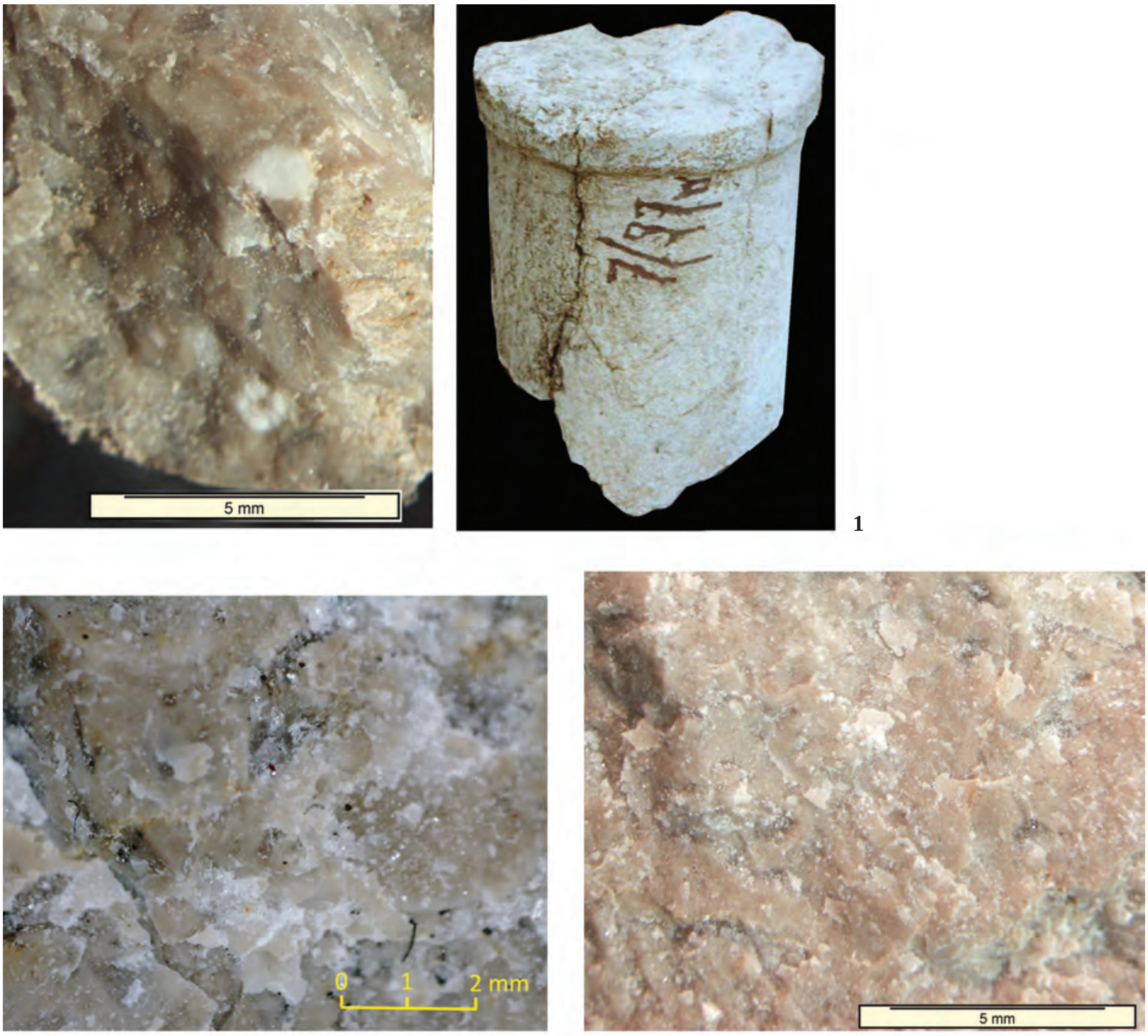

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Fig. 4. The organodetritic limestone macroscopic samples: 1. The fragment of the column shaft from Novae (Michniewicz 2013, p. 155, fig. 11/a-b); 2. The sample of Hotnica limestone, 2021 (photo by P. Zambrzycki); 3. The sample of Hotnica limestone (Michniewicz 2013, p. 155, fig. 12/a).

The large number of Ionic capitals discovered in Novae is exceptional among the camps and towns of the Danubian *limes*. Their decoration and style resemble typologically capitals from the Roman cities of Asia Minor the most[13]. Apparently, the Ionic order was brought to Novae by stonecutters and builders from Nicomedia and Nicaea and their successors[14], at least indirectly through their employment at the quarry in Hotnica and in nearby workshops which produced architectural elements and details of the organodetritic limestone from the latter site. Stonecutting techniques from Asia Minor may have been applied in workshops near Hotnica; so far, no stonecutter workshop has produced architectural elements and details in Novae or its vicinity. Most Attic-Ionic bases encountered in Novae are also made of organodetritic limestone from Hotnica as well.

[13] Biernacki, Skoczylas 2003; Dimitrov 2012.

[14] Biernacki, Skoczylas 2003, p. 199; Chakarov 2021, p. 269.

Fig. 5. Localisation of the ancient quarries in the area of Hotnica. Satellite view from above, 2022 (© Google Earth).

The leaf capitals discovered in Novae in 2009-2013, representing the palmate variety or having elongated grooved necks, are dated to between the second quarter of the 2nd century and the early 3rd century AD. These are also made of organodetritic limestone from the quarry in Hotnica. Comparing them with other similar items found in Moesia and Thrace, *e.g.* in Abrittus, Marcianopolis, Odessos and Mesembria[15], those from Novae are of an inferior stylistic and technical quality, and in particular the grooves on the neck of the capital are simplified and schematically executed. If the quarry in Hotnica was indeed established by stonecutters from Asia Minor, one may hardly wonder at their imperfect grasp of the cutting of architectural elements and details in the Doric-Roman order, which obviously was uncommon in Asia Minor. Conversely, the stonecutters from Hotnica, because of their Asia Minor origins, were highly familiar with the techniques of manufacturing and styles of the Ionic capitals and Attic-Ionic bases which they produced. Another factor which favoured the architectural elements and details in the latter two orders was that the physical and chemical properties and overall texture of the organodetritic limestone from Hotnica resembles the marble of Asia Minor, and therefore seemed more congruent with the craftsmen's tradition.

Neither archaeologists, nor geologists or petrographers, have so far published an extensive monograph of the quarry in Hotnica (fig. 5); the brief surveys of the site may not be deemed scientifically relevant. At present, a formidable obstacle to a more satisfactory exploration of the site is the ongoing wasteful excavation of limestone from some parts of the quarry. Geologists and archaeologists who surveyed the quarry in the last dozen years include Janusz Skoczylas, Katarzyna Grala, Andrzej B. Biernacki and Elena Klenina, all of the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, as well as Ivan Tsarov, Pavlina Vladkova and Kalin Chakarov of the Archaeological Museum of Veliko Tărnovo[16].

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[15] Petrova 1990; Dimitrov 2007a, p. 93-160; Dimitrov 2015, p. 492-493; Petrova 2017.

[16] Skoczylas 2013a, p. 124; Skoczylas 2013b; Biernacki 2019; Chakarov 2019; Chakarov 2021.

Of considerable scholarly value is a Bulgarian article on quarries in Moesia and Thrace in the Roman and Late-Ancient periods[17]. In their discussion of quarries in the territory of the present Bulgaria, the latter authors adopt the criteria of operation and organization from centres of stonemasonry in Greece and Asia Minor, which in fact differed from the former in terms of the excavated stone (mainly marble) and the volumes of excavation, production and sales. Furthermore, the latter authors divide quarries in Moesia and Thrace into two groups: what they call "authentic quarries", or sites where evidence of the activity of ancient stonecutters and sculptors is still extant, *e.g.* Marcianopolis, Hotnica and Kreta (province of Pleven), and "other quarries", where however evidence of the same activity is equally observed to various degrees. By some of the latter quarries there were settlements of stonecutters and sculptors-craftsmen; as examples the Bulgarian scholars mention again Hotnica, Samovodene and Kreta. The authors of the present study find this approach unacceptable, vague and impractical as it does not specify reliable criteria of the division into groups.

In his extensive monograph of architectural decorative elements in Moesia Inferior in the 1st-3rd centuries AD, Zdravko Dimitrov[18] treats the locations and activity of quarries in a cursory manner, merely summarizing earlier publications. His approach may be due to the lack of petrographic studies. Also, his catalogue of architectural elements and details, information on the material bases on the author's macroscopic perusal. It was only in a later paper, available through the webpage of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum of Mainz under the EU program "Transformation. The Emergence of a Common Culture in the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire from Britain to the Black Sea up to 212 AD", the author dealt with to quarries and stonecutters' techniques in Moesia Superior and Inferior in the Roman times[19]. In this paper, Zdravko Dimitrov states that several stonecutters' workshops operated in Novae throughout the Roman period, or from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. The authors of this study know that only a few unfinished architectural elements and details have been discovered in Novae, and no satisfactory evidence of the operation of stonecutters' workshops in the town (tools, intermediate products or waste products) is available. Scholars' general opinion is that the local centre of stonemasonry in the area of Nicopolis ad Istrum supplied the camp of the *Legio I Italica* in Novae. The high-quality organodetritic limestone which was discussed earlier herein, came from quarries between the present villages of Hotnica and Samovodene (province of Veliko Tărnovo). As of the second quarter of the 2nd century AD, at least two quarries operated there, in locations called currently Kornica and Mogilite[20]; a third one, which supplied Nicopolis ad Istrum, was located in the area of the town of Sevlievo and near the village of Kamenec.

In the Antiquity, there were two categories of workers employed in a proper quarry: *lapidarii*, or stonecutters, cutting stone into blocks and preparing them for building construction applications, and *marmorarii*, or stonemasons who finished the blocks of stone. The latter also segregated the blocks into material for sarcophagi, tombstones and architectural elements and details on the one hand and into ordinary building material, *e.g.* rustic blocks or arch blocks, on the other. The quarries of Moesia Inferior were initially organized and managed by the army, and specifically

[17] Petrova, Ivanov 2008.

[18] Dimitrov 2007a, p. 93-160.

[19] Dimitrov 2007b.

[20] Dimitrov 2007a, p. 285-287.

by the legions stationed in Ratiaria, Oescus, Novae and Durostorum, and in the early 2nd century they became privatized or controlled by local municipalities; at that time there were also imperial quarries managed by appointed officials. The discussed quarries in Moesia Inferior were prevalently managed by the local municipal authorities of Nicopolis ad Istrum[21].

The *Gazetteer of Stone Quarries in the Roman World* by Ben Russell[22] includes those in Moesia Superior and Inferior, among them Hotnica, located at 43.142003° N, 25.509208° E, near Nicopolis ad Istrum, described as a quarry of limestone used locally in the times of the Roman Empire (fig. 6). The gazetteer does not mention Samovodene, Sevlievo or Kamenec. A topographic map, available to the authors of the present study, shows a quarry in Hotnica (fig. 7). Janusz Skoczylas at least twice, in 1996 and 2005, and Andrzej Biernacki and Elena Klenina in 2005 and 2021 conducted non-invasive studies of the quarry in Hotnica. After the research in 1996, Janusz Skoczylas described the condition of the quarry as the size of 100 × 100 × 30 m, featuring old dump heaps which gave him the impression of an abandoned open pit stripped of its resources, cutting off the top of the original hill. During our research in Hotnica in 2005 together with Ivan Tsarov, the present authors observed several sites of excavation of stone, *e.g.* a cut-off block intended for a sarcophagus or pieces of Roman ceramic vessels[23] (fig. 8-9).

According to Janusz Skoczylas and Andrzej Biernacki, this is definite proof that the quarry in Hotnica supplied Nicopolis ad Istrum and Novae. In the monograph of Roman aqueducts published in 2017[24], Ivan Tsarov identifies the positions of the biggest quarries in the area south of Nicopolis ad Istrum as the border between the present villages of Samovodene and Hotnica, locations called Isterna and Kurnicite. Thus, there was a total of at least four limestone quarries in the area in question in the Roman times: Kornica, Mogilkite, Isterna and Kurnitsite, and a fifth one, somehow further away, near Sevlievo and Kamenec. A topographic surveying map, available to the authors of this study, marks the area of the quarries with the word “Мрамор” (Bulgarian: “marble”) (fig. 10). Photographic records of Google Earth for the period from November 19, 2006 to June 8, 2018 show clearly the extremely rapid rate of the changes in the area in question, both in the currently operating quarries and in the ancient ones: in particular, one can see traces of vehicles at the very sites of ancient excavation of stone (fig. 6). Unless regular surface and archaeological investigation begins soon, the former Roman quarries may be totally destroyed and all evidence of their operation obliterated. Moreover, the present leaseholders of the quarries resent archaeologists’ and geologists’ attempts to preserve the scarce traces of their Roman past. To address this issue, Kalin Chakarov conducted in March and April 2019 a surface survey of the area in question between the villages of Samovodene and Hotnica, at the sites of Mogilkite and Kurnicite. Further locations of ancient quarries are in the Hotniška kuria and Kairaka south and south-west of Hotnica[25] (fig. 11-13); somehow more distant are those near the villages of Rusalja: Mazite, Markova stapka and Čukata[26].

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[21] Slokovska *et alii* 2002, p. 85.

[22] Russell 2013.

[23] Skoczylas 2013a, p. 124-125; Biernacki 2019, p. 83.

[24] Tsarov 2017, p. 317-318.

[25] Chakarov 2021, p. 270-273.

[26] Chakarov 2021, p. 273-275.

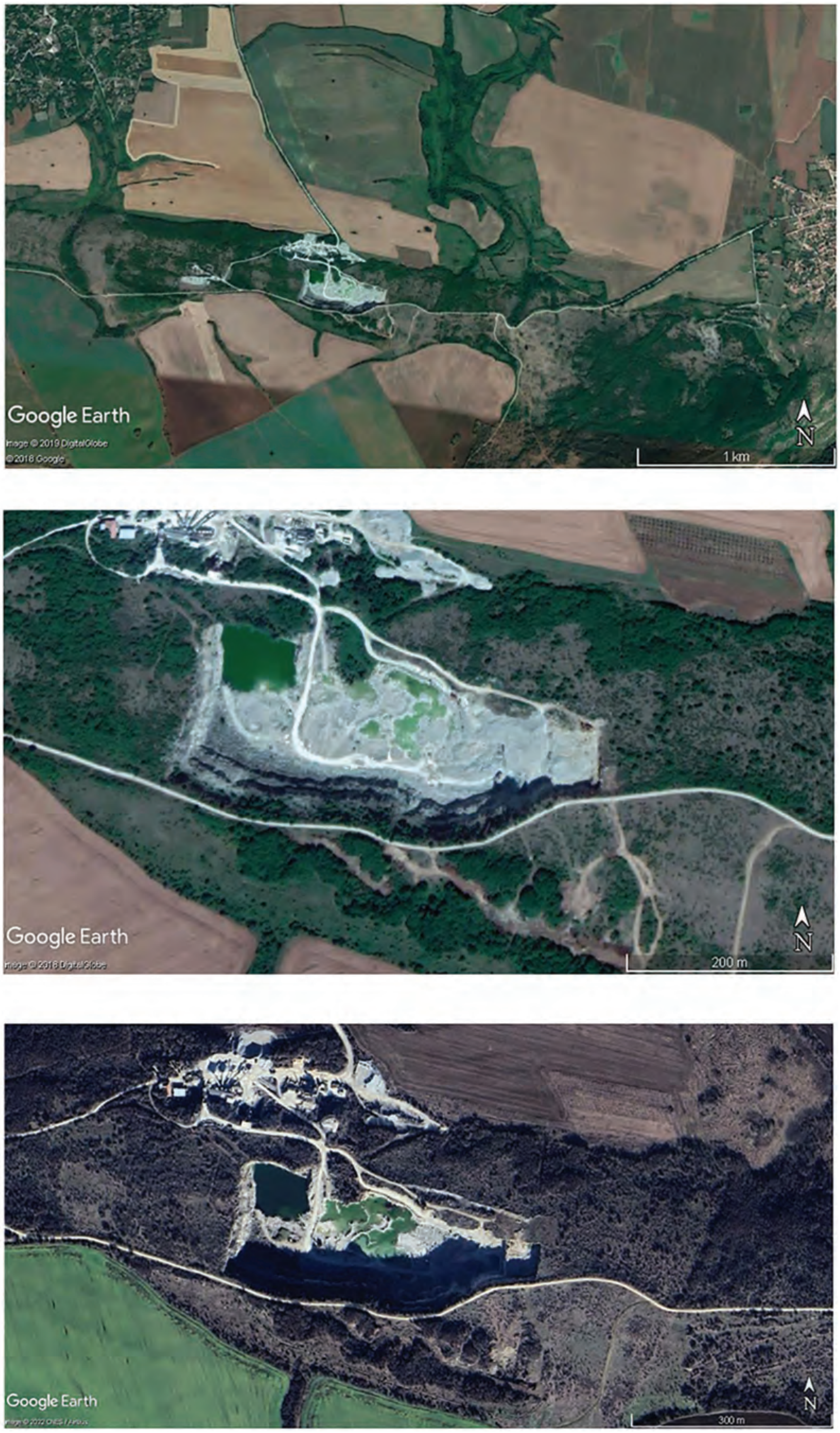

Fig. 6. Ancient and modern quarries in the area of Hotnica. Satellite view from above, 2018-2019 and 2022 (© Google Earth).

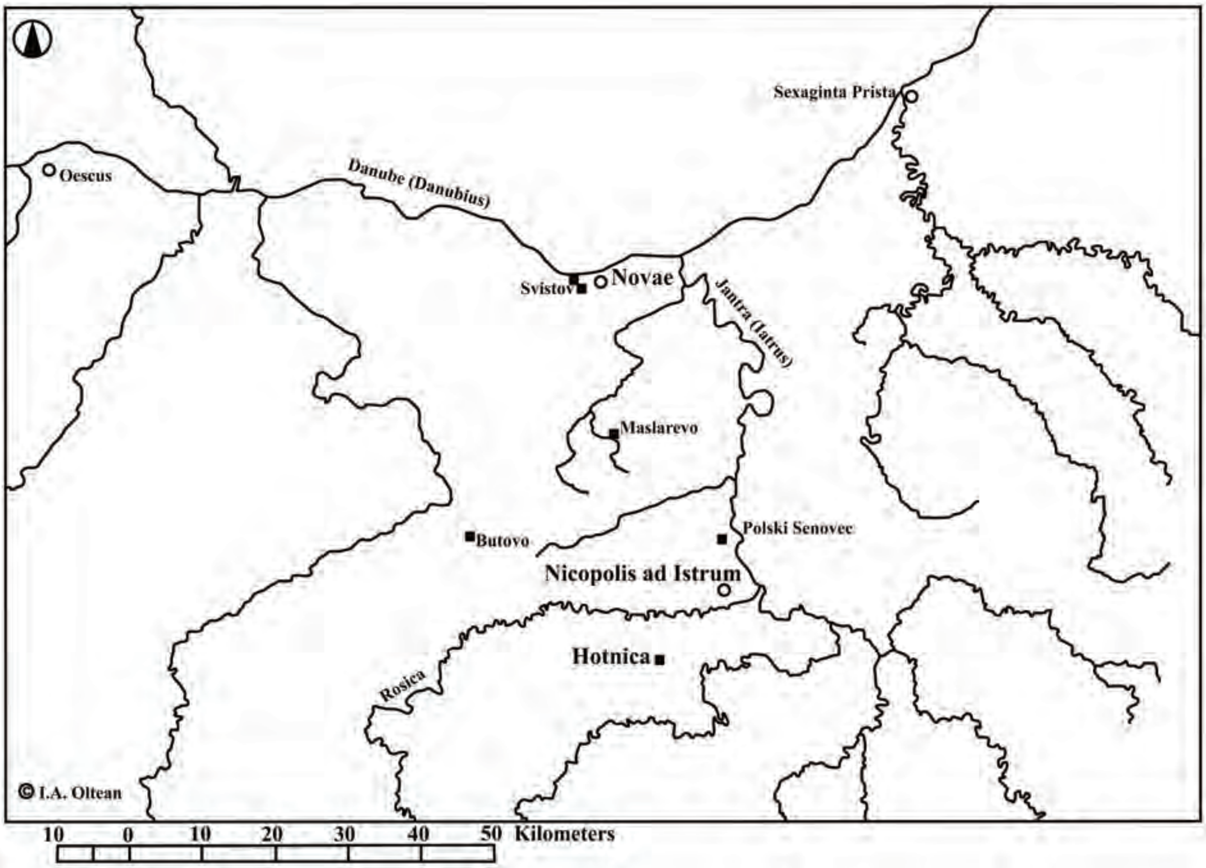

Fig. 7. Map of Moesia Inferior (by Ruscu 2007, p. 217, fig.1).

Another important task is the identification of the land and river routes of the transportation of quarried stone first to nearby stonecutters' workshops and thence to the final users in Nicopolis ad Istrum, Novae or Iatrus. In the last years, the most competent authority on Roman roads in Moesia Inferior is the Romanian archaeologist Adriana Panaite[27]. Within the area in question, between Hotnica, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Iatrus and Novae, she identified two routes. Unfortunately, a serious error appears on her map of roads in Moesia Inferior, where Nicopolis ad Istrum figures not only south of Hotnica (correctly), but also south of Veliko Tărnovo (falsely)[28]; the actual order from the north to the south is Nicopolis ad Istrum–Hotnica–Veliko Tărnovo.

According to Adriana Panaite and with the latter adjustment, the eastern route ran from Hotnica through Nicopolis ad Istrum, thence along the western bank of the Jantra through the present villages and towns of Draganovo, Polski Trămbeš, Dolna Studena and Novgrad to Iatrus (Krivina), whence one could travel by the road from Iatrus to Novae along the bank of the Danube or reach Novae directly by the Danube. The distance from the ancient quarry in Hotnica to Nicopolis ad Istrum and the river Rosica is 8.5-9 km as the crow flies; the river flows into the Jantra west of the present-day village of Draganovo. The distance from Hotnica directly to the Jantra near Draganovo amounts to 14.5 km. The Jantra provides easy access by rivers first to Iatrus, and thence on the

[27] Panaite 2015; Panaite 2016.

[28] Panaite 2015, p. 597, fig. 3.


1


2


3

Fig. 8. 1-2. The ancient quarry nearby Hotnica. 3. The remains of the stonemason's workshop (photo by A.B. Biernacki).

Fig. 9. The ancient quarry nearby Hotnica. Unfinished elements and architectural details (photo by A.B. Biernacki).

Danube to Novae. The present authors believe that transportation by rivers would be not only more convenient and cheaper, but also – more importantly – faster.

According to Adriana Panaite and with the present authors above adjustment the western route ran from Hotnica through Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pavlikeni, Butovo, Dragomirovo and Oreš to Novae[29]. It would be very long and mainly on land; although it ran through provincial centres

[29] Panaite 2016, p. 151-164.

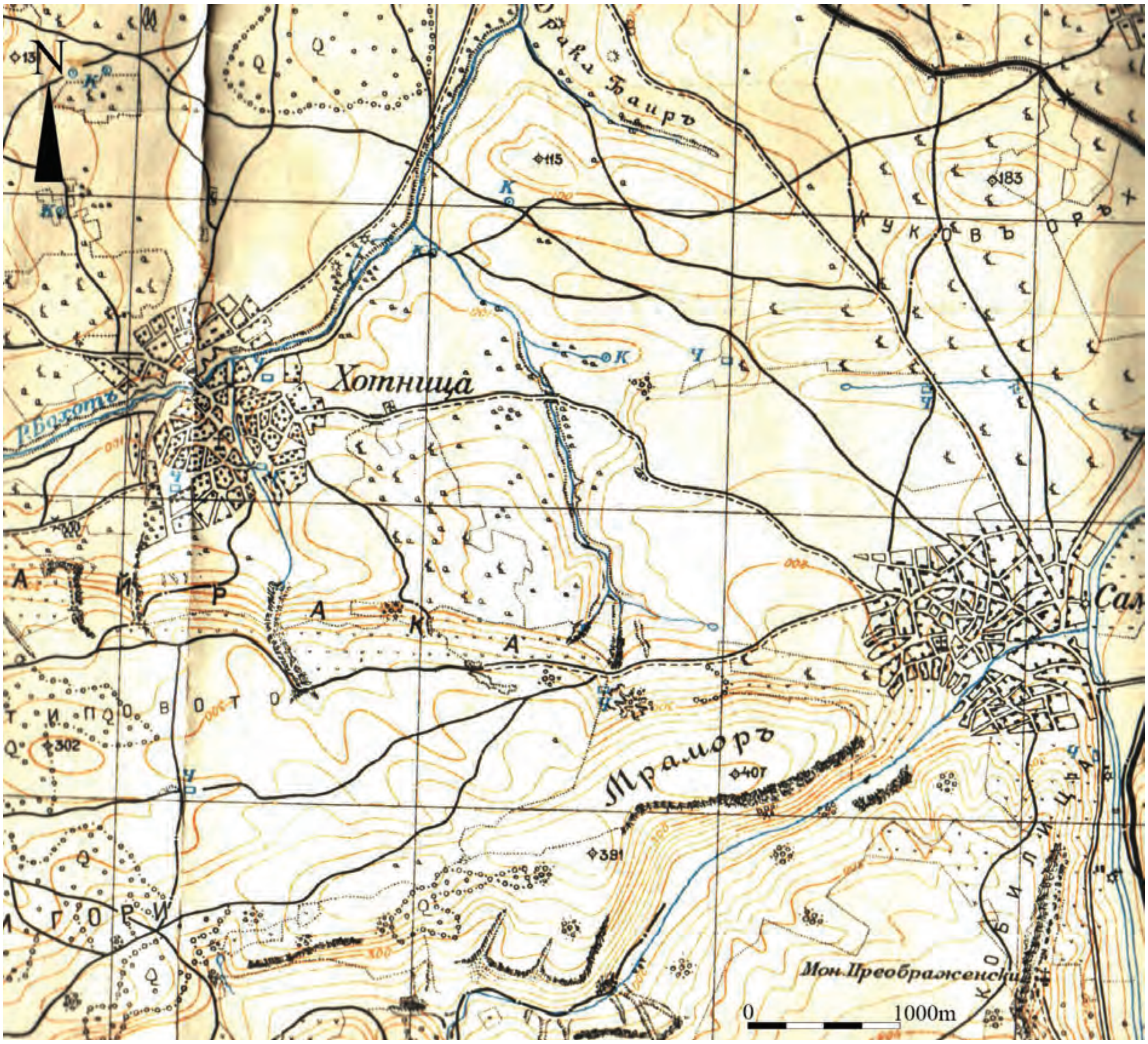

Fig. 10. Topographic and geodetic map of the Hotnica and Samovodene regions (the Regional Historical Museum in Veliko Tărnovo).

of the manufacturing of ceramic vessels, the authors of the present study do not consider it likely for the transportation of stone. Even in a simplified, straighter version, through Resen, Maslarevo, Alekovo and Carevec to the southern gate of Novae, its length amounts to a total of 55.5 km and land vehicles must be applied, making it an unlikely choice in view of the relief of the land, which features many hills and other prominences[30].

Similar to Adriana Panaite, Janusz Skoczylas discusses two routes of the transportation of stone items from Hotnica through Nicopolis ad Istrum to Novae[31].

The authors of the present study have visited the supposed course of these routes on several occasions and believe that the more feasible would be the eastern one, which make the most use of water transportation on the Rosica, Jantra and Danube. The water route from the ancient quarry in

[30] Madzharov 2009, p. 251-254.

[31] Skoczylas 2013b, p. 141-142, fig. 1.

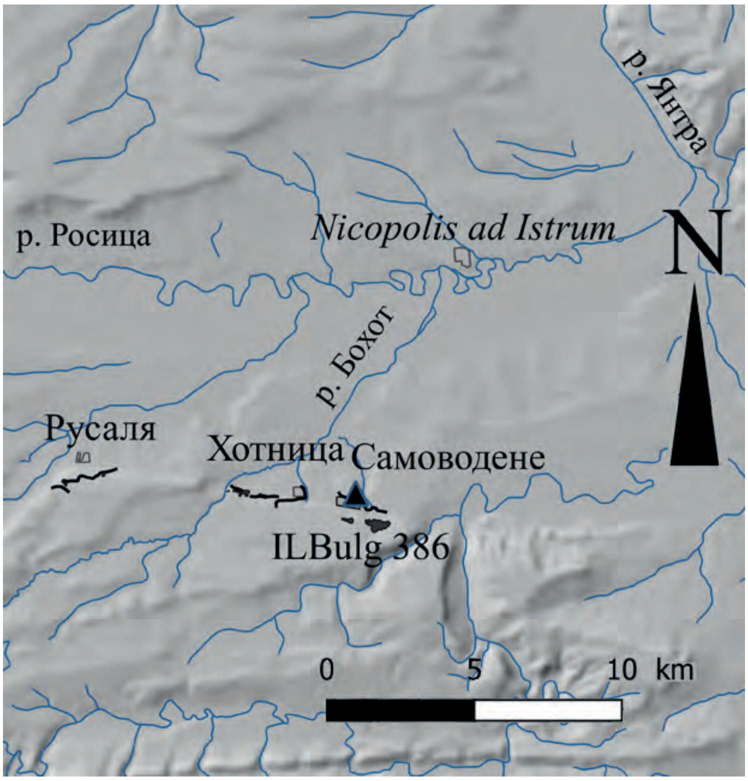

Fig. 11. Map of ancient quarries in the area south of Nicopolis ad Istrum, between the modern villages of Rusalia to the west and Samovodene to the east (according to Chakarov 2021, p. 282, fig. 1).

Hotnica to Nicopolis ad Istrum and the river Rosica is 11-12 km long; the river flows into the Jantra west of the present-day village of Draganovo. The distance from Hotnica directly to the Jantra near Draganovo amounts to 14.5 km. The Jantra provides easy access by rivers first to Iatrus, and thence on the Danube to Novae. In the Antiquity, transportation by rivers would not only be more convenient and cheaper, but also – more importantly – faster. In his article of 2021, reporting on his field survey, Kalin Chakarov hardly mentions the matter of the transportation of architectural elements and details after their production. However, in his discussion of the various quarries in the area between the present villages of Rusalia, Hotnica and Samovodene and in the plans and maps in his article, one notices the small river Bohot and its tributary the Dola[32] (fig. 13). The Bohot runs from the south-east and eventually flows into the Rosica. Both the Bohot and the Dola flow only several dozen or several hundred meters away from the quarries in Kairaka, Kurnicite and Mogilkite. The present authors' view is that these small rivers, themselves tributaries of the Rosica and then of the Jantra, could have provided a perfect water route for the shipment of architectural elements and details directly from the quarries to Nicopolis ad Istrum and Novae. More proof of their claim is that the sections of the Roman road between the outcrops of the quarry in Kairaka and directly north of those in Kurnicite and Mogilkite, as identified by Kalin Chakarov, run markedly along parallels of geographical latitude, from the east to the west, reaching the small rivers Bohot and Dola[33] (fig. 12-13). The road would make it easy to bring architectural elements and details produced in stonemasons' workshops at quarries to a river harbor, where they could be

[32] Chakarov 2021, p. 270-273, 282-286, fig. 1-12.

[33] Chakarov 2021, p. 283, fig. 5, p. 286, fig. 12

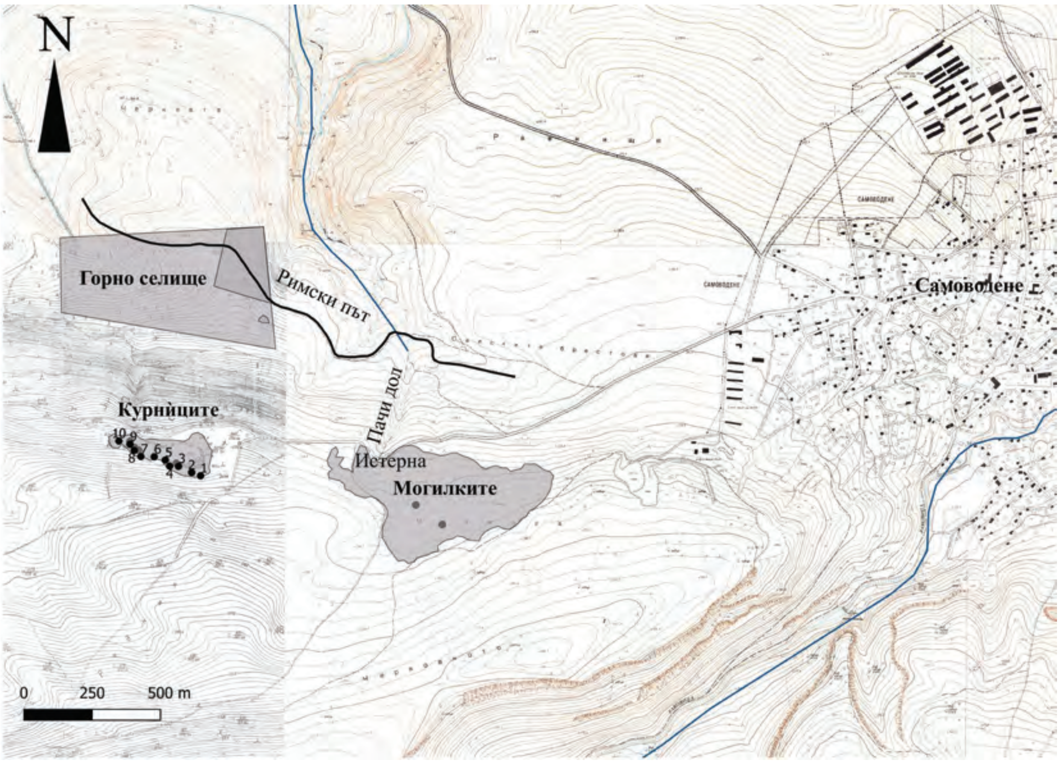

Fig. 12. Map with the location of the ancient quarries in the Mogilkite and Kurnicite areas to the villages of Samovodene and Hotnica and Roman roads and settlements in the vicinity (according to Chakarov 2021, p. 283, fig. 5).

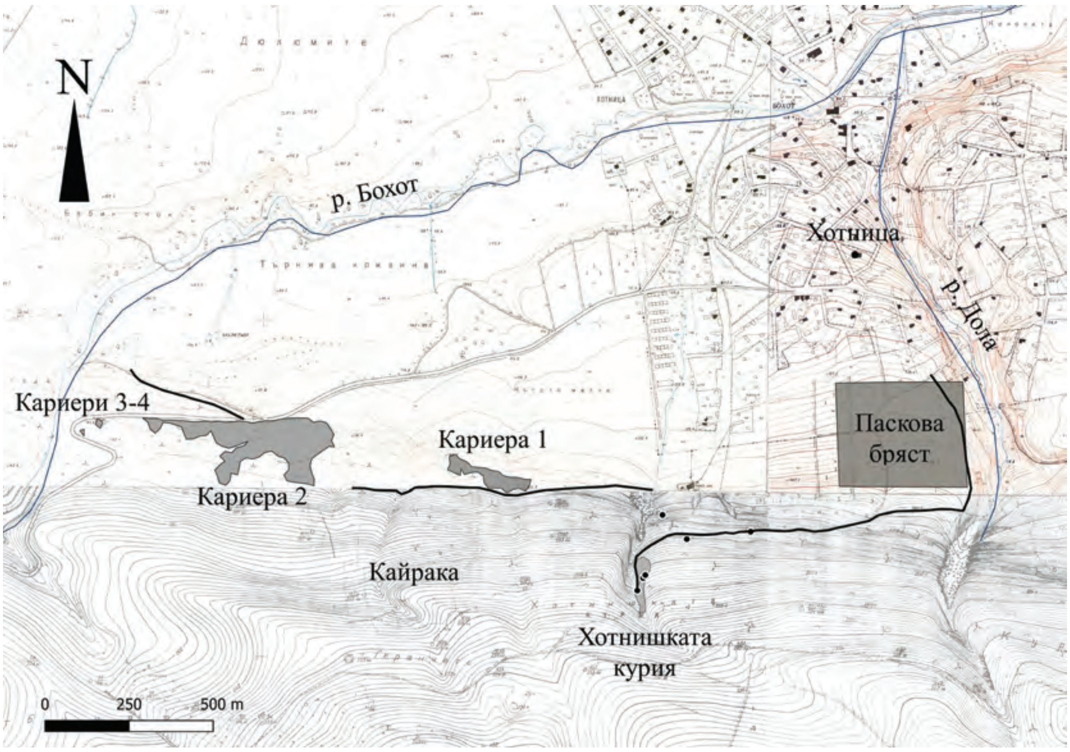

Fig. 13. Map with the location of the quarries in the areas of Hotnica curia and Kairaka and south and southeast of the village of Hotnica and Roman roads and settlements in the vicinity (according to Chakarov 2021, p. 286, fig. 12).

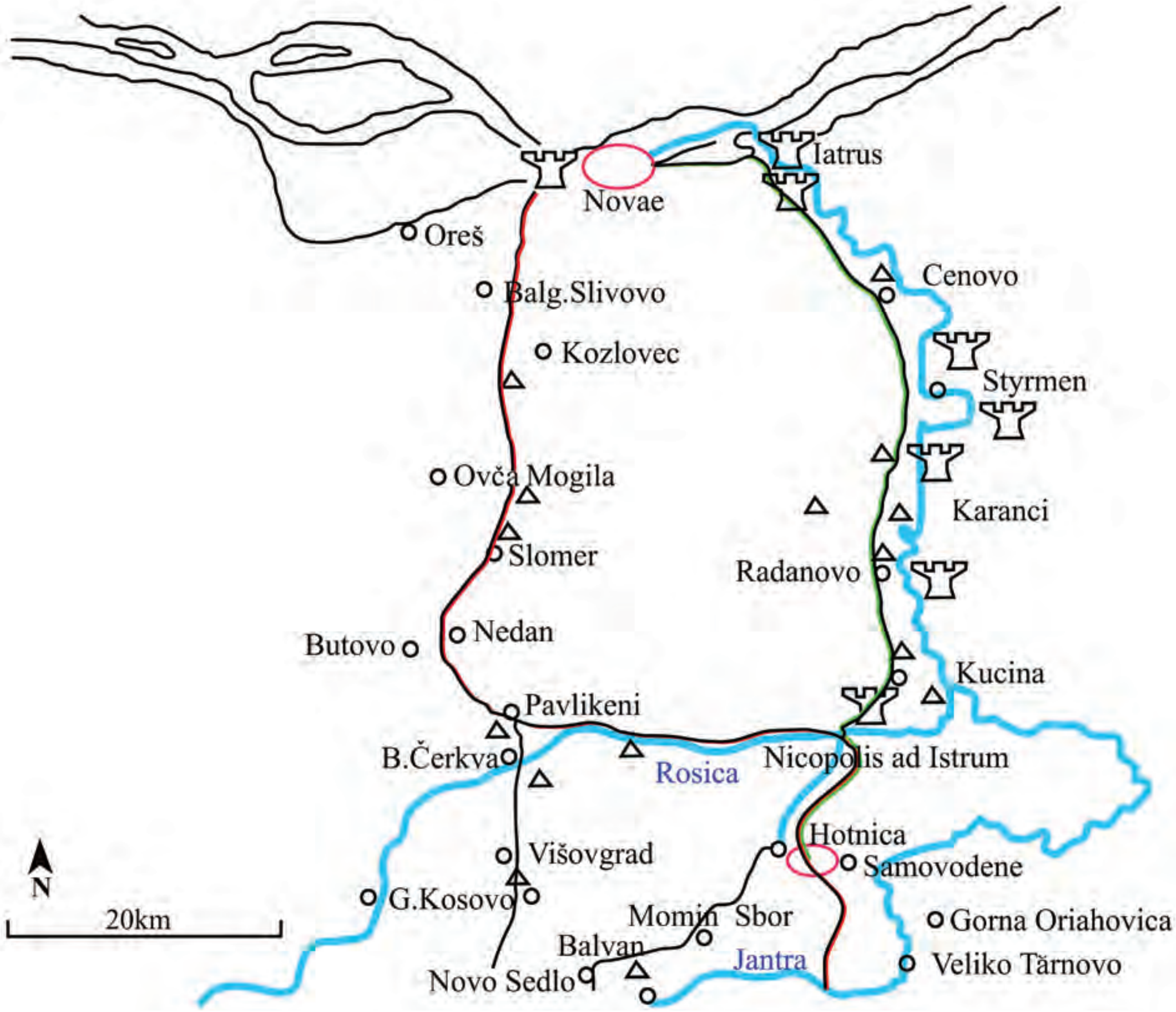

Fig. 14. River and land routes from the ancient quarry near Hotnica to Iatrus and Novae (created by A.B. Biernacki, E. Klenina based on an outline plan by Ruscu 2007, 217, fig. 1).

loaded onto barges[34] and subsequently shipped to the final users in Nicopolis ad Istrum and Novae. The water route would comprise the distance of some 11-12 km by the rivers Dola and Bohot from Hotnica to the Rosica at Nicopolis ad Istrum and then some 113 km by river from the latter town to Novae (fig. 14). Obviously, only a detailed archaeological surface survey of the area in question may identify with more certainty the routes of the transportation of architectural elements and details made of the limestone from Hotnica to the final users in Novae.

A final unsettled issue concerns the location of stonecutters' workshops. No satisfactory evidence of the operation of stonecutters' workshops in Novae, Iatrus or Nicopolis ad Istrum (buildings, tools, intermediate products or waste products) is available, and statements by Zdravko Dimitrov and Svetla Petrova that such establishments did exist are not supported by relevant archaeological material and thence must be considered mere hypotheses. On some architectural

[34] Škorpil 1910, p. 151-152. Karel Škorpil describes also a land route running on the right banks of the Rosica and the Bohot from Hotnica to Nicopolis ad Istrum. However, because of the relief of the terrain, the present authors believe that a water route would be more convenient for the transportation of heavy and usually large architectural elements and details made of limestone.

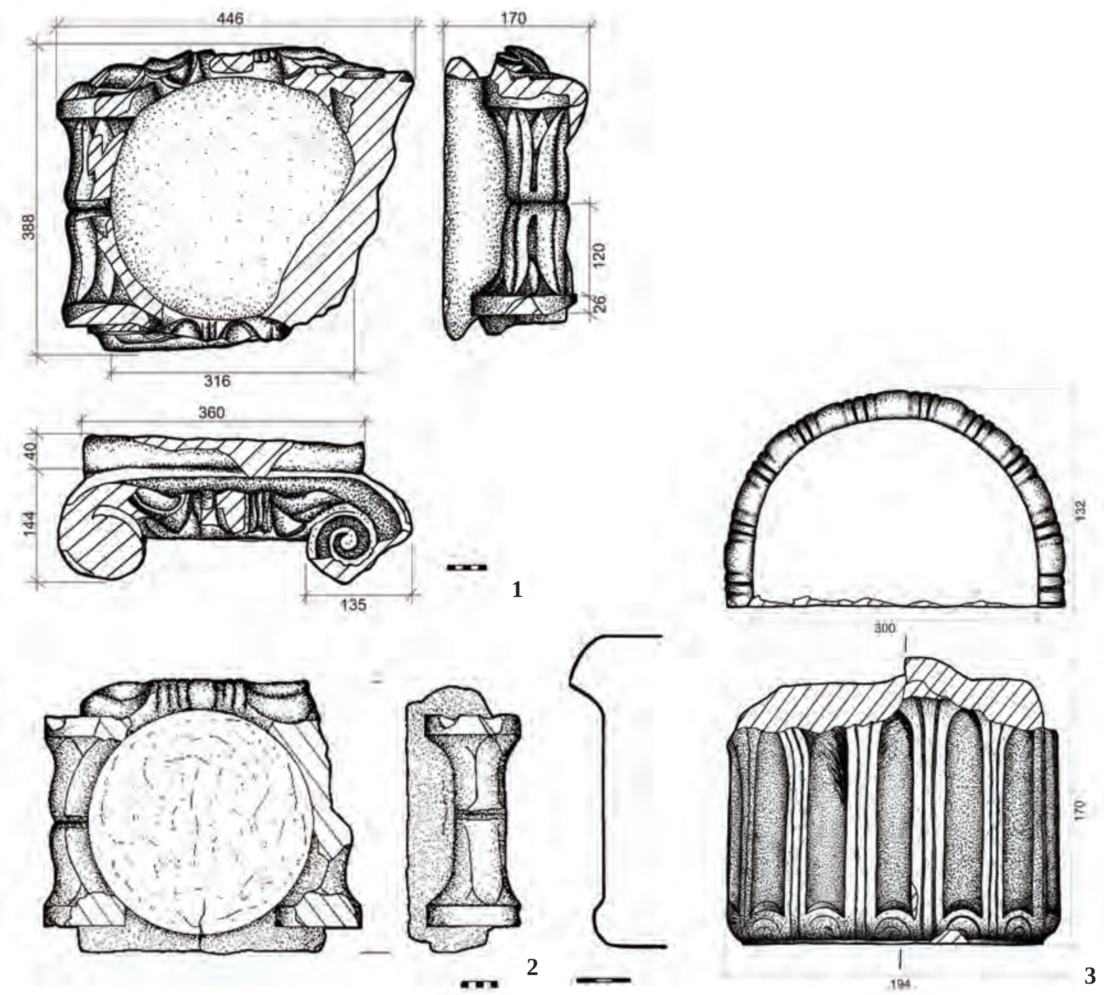

Fig. 15. Ionic and leaf capitals discovered in Novae (drawn by A.B. Biernacki).

elements and details made of organodetritic limestone and discovered in Novae, among them certain individual Ionic capitals and bases, imperfections or absence of the designed decorations are visible. Apparently, the decoration was left unfinished at the stage of the final dressing prior to their placement in a building. This, in turn, may have been due to two reasons: either there was no time left for the finishing work, or there were not enough qualified stonecutters or sculptors (fig. 15). Similarly, the quality of the execution of decoration may vary from one specimen of an architectural element or detail to another, depending on their intended location within a building: thus, the frontal sides of certain Ionic or Corinthian capital (those visible to visitors to the building) are decorated more carefully than the back sides, *e.g.* facing the interior of a portico, and accordingly less conspicuous or altogether invisible to visitors.

One must bear in mind the organization of work in marble quarries of Asia Minor: Stonecutters' and sculptors' workshops were located at the sites of excavation or near them, and produced only the transportation stage of the architectural elements and details, without the final decorations or without smoothing the surfaces[35]. Such was, *e.g.* the practice in Proconnesus, Docimium or Aphrodisias. Apparently, the stonecutters from Nicomedia and Nicaea who – as was discussed

[35] Asgari 1988; Asgari 1990; Asgari 1992; Biernacki 2009.

above – organized the excavation and production at the quarry at Nicopolis ad Istrum applied the same policies and shipped their architectural elements and details at the transportation stage, leaving the finishing work to be done at the user's premises prior to their placement in a building.

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DEUX FRAGMENTS DE DIPLÔMES MILITAIRES ROMAINS

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Abstract: Two fragments of Roman military diplomas are studied in this article. Both have unknown places of discovery and are in a private collection in Romania. The first fragment belongs to an imperial constitution of 177-178 AD for Lower Moesia, and it seems to come from Dobrudja. The second one can be precisely dated to the year AD 87, but we cannot specify for which province; it could have been found somewhere in the surroundings of pre-Roman Sarmizegetusa.

Cuvinte-cheie: diplomă militară, Moesia Inferior, războaie marcomanice, L. Neratius Priscus, C. Cilnius Proculus, *adnepos, ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana, cohors I Claudia Sugambr(or)um, cohors II Chalcidenorum, ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*
Rezumat: Două fragmente de diplome militare romane sunt studiate în acest articol. Ambele au locul de descoperire necunoscut și se află în posesia unui colecționar din România. Primul fragment aparține unei constituții imperiale din anii 177-178 p.Chr., pentru Moesia Inferior, care pare să provină de undeva din Dobrogea. Cel de-al doilea fragment se poate data cu precizie în anul 87 p.Chr., dar nu se știe pentru care provincie anume; acesta putea să fi fost găsit undeva în împrejurimile Sarmizegetusei preromane.

Nous présentons maintenant deux fragments de diplômes militaires romains, tous les deux ayant une provenance incertaine et appartenant à un collectionneur de Cluj qui a souhaité rester anonyme. Il les a gentiment mis à la disposition du deuxième signataire des lignes suivantes, mais seulement pour une courte période. Ainsi, les pièces ne pouvaient être que mesurées, photographiées et examinées optiquement. Ni leur nettoyage chimique ni le reconditionnement des parties déformées n'ont pu être effectués, alors que ces opérations auraient été nécessaires.

Les deux pièces sont en tôle de bronze et ont manifestement subi des déformations ultérieures. Nous pensons que, tout comme d'autres artefacts similaires, ils proviennent de diplômes qui ont été réutilisés dans des tentatives d'utiliser le métal à d'autres fins. Les fragments, découpés dans les pièces originales, ont été perdus à un moment donné, peut-être même dans l'Antiquité tardive. Très

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probablement, leur découverte est le résultat d'une action de certains détecteurs contemporains, qui les ont ensuite placés sur le marché noir des antiquités.

1. Fragment d'un diplôme militaire (*tabella prior*), de forme polygonale irrégulière. Aucune marge n'a été conservée. Dimensions : env. 28 × 27 mm ; épaisseur env. 0,5 mm ; poids 3,23 grammes. Les lettres sont d'env. 2-3 mm sur l'*extrinsecus* et entre 2 et 3,5 mm sur l'*intus*. Les espaces entre les lignes sont les mêmes, environ 1-1,5 mm ; la seule exception est l'espace entre les deux dernières lignes conservées sur l'*intus*, qui dépasse 2 mm. À l'intérieur, les dimensions sont similaires, mais les lettres ont été écrites plus négligemment et avec plus d'espace entre elles.

Fig. 1. Fragment de diplôme militaire pour la Mésie inférieure (*extrinsecus*).

Comme d'habitude, à l'extérieur les lettres sont plus nettes et leur lecture est claire. Sur la partie conservée de l'*extrinsecus* on peut distinguer sept lignes écrites, comme suit (fig. 1) :

1 …VAE ABNE…
2 …...MP II CO....
3 .....VSQVIMILIT….
4 .…TECTORIGIA…
5 .…TIBVSVNDE…
6 .…AMIORVMVET…
7 .…DENORVM…

Les lettres de la l. 4 suffisent pour nous guider vers un diplôme dans lequel apparaît l'*Ala I Gallorum Atectorigiana*. Cette unité auxiliaire peut être identifiée grâce à son nom inhabituel. C'est l'une des plus anciennes *auxilia*. À ce jour, elle n'apparaît sur les diplômes qu'en Mésie Inférieure[1], mais son lieu exact de garnison n'est pas connu. Elle semble être restée dans cette

[1] À une seule exception près, dans la courte période où l'unité appartenait à l'armée de la Dacie Inférieure (RGZM 20), voir Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 242.

province de Vespasien jusqu'à la fin du III^e^ siècle, avec une brève interruption au début du règne d'Hadrien, lorsqu'elle fut incluse dans l'armée de la Dacie inférieure. De plus, des soldats de cette aile ont été postés plus longtemps en Tauride (date inconnue) et en Maurétanie Tingitane (durant la guerre d'Antonin le Pieux avec les Maures)[2]. Ainsi, la simple présence de cette *ala* dans le texte indique qu'il s'agit de la copie d'une constitution impériale pour les troupes de Mésie Inférieure.

À partir de ce constat, on peut tenter de restituer le sens de certaines lignes de la portion conservée. Nous notons que nous n'avons aucune idée pour approximer la largeur de la tablette.

Dans la l. 3 on rencontre la formule *[.….equitibus et peditib]us qui milit[averunt in alis ….],* et en l. 4 on trouve le nom d'une aile, *[… I Gallorum A]tectorigia[na….].* Nous ne pouvons pas connaître la forme exacte d'enregistrement du nom, car le mode d'expression et les abréviations utilisées sont différents. Cependant, nous notons que les mots *peditibus* et *Atectorigiana* semblent avoir été écrits en entier, sans abréviations ; l'idée est renforcée par les deux mots en l. 6 et 7 se terminant par *...-orum*, qui ne peuvent être que des parties des noms ethniques de certains *auxilia,* enregistrés évidemment sans abréviations.

Mais en l. 5, les lettres conservées ne peuvent cacher que la formule *[....et cohort]tibus unde[cim...*, ce qui correspond au nombre de cohortes inscrites parfois sur les diplômes de Mésie Inférieure vers le milieu du II^e^ siècle apr. J.-Chr.[3]. Il s'ensuit que le texte de la tablette aura mentionné d'abord le nombre des ailes, puis leurs noms, suivi du nombre des cohortes et seulement ensuite leurs noms – le tout écrit sans abréviations.

La manière d'enregistrer les unités militaires – à savoir avec les ailes et les cohortes séparément – devient courante sur les diplômes militaires après 150 apr. J.-Chr.[4]. Cela offre donc un support pour dater la pièce en question. Marquer le nombre des *auxilia* avec des mots au lieu de chiffres est moins fréquent, mais de tels cas apparaissent au cours des I^er^-II^e^ siècles apr. J-Chr. sans qu'aucune règle particulière ne soit observée[5]. En revanche, l'enregistrement des troupes auxiliaires avec le nom complet, sans abréviations, s'avère beaucoup plus rare et apparaît surtout dans les documents de la fin du I^er^ siècle apr. J.-Chr.[6] ; dans notre cas, cela pose quelques problèmes de complétion et d'interprétation.

Dans cette optique, on peut essayer de compléter les autres lignes conservées. Après les mots *[cohor]tibus unde[cim …]* dans la l. 5 suivaient naturellement les noms de certaines unités stationnées dans la province. Mais les lettres ... *AMIORVM* dans la l. 6 ne correspondent au nom d'aucune cohorte connue de la Mésie Inférieure. Une telle terminaison au génitif pluriel pourrait indiquer l'une des cohortes suivantes : *I Hamiorum sagittaria* (qui ne stationnait qu'en Bretagne)[7], *II Hamiorum milliaria* (connue exclusivement en Afrique)[8], *I Musulamiorum equitata* (présente en Syrie et en Lycie-Pamphylie)[9], *ou I Flavia Musulamiorum* (attestée uniquement

[2] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 178-181.

[3] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 314. Il s'agit des diplômes militaires avec les textes des constitutions impériales du 7 avril 145 (RMD V 399), ? 146 (RMD IV 270), 27 septembre 154 (RMD V 414) et ? 156/158 (RMD I 50).

[4] RMD II, p. 182. Le premier document connu avec ce type d'enregistrement date de 154 apr. J.-Chr.

[5] Quelques exemples : RMD III 185 ; IV 208, 209, 214, 223, 225, 226-229, 270, 286 ; V 329, 330, 332, 333, 335, 337, 338, 341, 345 (= III 152 + IV 228), 349, 360, 380.

[6] Voir RMD IV 209 ; V 329, 330, 332, 333, 335, 337, 338, 341.

[7] Spaul 2000, p. 13, 401-402, 408.

[8] Spaul 2000, p. 13, 410.

[9] Spaul 2000, p. 14, 472.

en Afrique)[10]. Aucune d'entre elles ne pouvait se trouver quelque part sur le Danube aux IIe-IIIe siècles apr. J.-Chr. Il est plus probable que nous soyons confrontés à une erreur de gravure : en l. 6 au lieu de ...*AMIORVM* il faudrait en fait lire ...*AMBRORVM*, c'est-à-dire qu'on a tenté de rendre les lettres *BRO* dans une ligature, mais dans la gravure elles sont devenues *IO*[11]. Alors ce serait la *cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana equitata*, qui était vraiment stationnée en Mésie Inférieure[12]. Notre hypothèse est soutenue par les lettres *VET* suivantes, car l'épithète *veterana* apparaît toujours pour cette unité au IIe siècle[13]. De sorte qu'on peut compléter cette ligne sous la forme *[… et I Claudia Sug]ambrorum vet[erana .....]*[14]. Celle-ci, stationnée dans la province danubienne seulement jusqu'à l'époque d'Hadrien, fut ensuite envoyée quelque part en Orient[15], mais sous Antonin le Pieux elle est de nouveau présente[16]. Il est très probable qu'elle ait séjourné en Mésie Inférieure pendant les guerres marcomannes[17] ; de plus, une vexillation d'elle est attestée vers la fin du IIe siècle apr. J.-Chr. à Chersonèse en Crimée[18].

Pour les lettres de la l. 7 la lecture est claire, les lettres ...*DENORVM* ne peuvent se référer qu'à la *[cohors II Chalci]denorum [sagittariorum....],* présente dans la province[19].

Reste à préciser les lettres en l. 1 et 2. Pour la l. 2 on pense distinguer les mots *[... i]mp(erator) II co(n)[s(ul)...].* Quant à la l. 1, sur le côté droit de la portion conservée les lettres *ABNE* cachent certainement l'attribut *abne[pos...]* d'un nom impérial. Avec les lettres précédentes conservées, elles peuvent être complétées *…. divi Ner]vae abne[pos ...].* Nerva est le seul empereur auquel ce terme pourrait convenir, le diplôme contiendra donc un nom impérial de la seconde moitié du IIe siècle ou du début du IIIe siècle. Mais Antonin le Pieux apparaît toujours dans les inscriptions comme *divi Nervae pronepos*[20]. Ainsi, dans le cas présent nous excluons une datation sous cet empereur. La qualité de *divi Nervae abnepos* se retrouve dans les noms impériaux sur les diplômes de Marc Aurèle, Lucius Verus ou Commode, et sous une forme légèrement modifiée (*divi Traiani Parthici et divi Nervae adnepos*) sur ceux de Septime Sévère et Caracalla[21].

Dans le nom impérial de Marc Aurèle[22] ou de Lucius Verus[23] apparaît également la qualité de *divi Nervae abnepotes.* Tout au contraire, sur les diplômes on inscrit d'abord le nom complet de

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[10] Spaul 2000, p. 14, 466, 471.

[11] De telles erreurs de transcription sont également connues sur les diplômes militaires (un exemple récent : Petolescu 2019, p. 272-273, no. 2032).

[12] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 228-230.

[13] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 229.

[14] L'épithète *equitata* pourrait manquer. Mais, comme le nom ethnique apparaît aussi sous la forme *Sugambrum,* on ne peut pas exclure la gravure des lettres *IO* à la place de la lettre *B*, auquel cas il faut compléter *[...Sug]ambrum*.

[15] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 229-230.

[16] Au moins pour l'époque illustrée par les diplômes, voir : RMD I 50 ; RMD IV 270 ; RMD V 399, 414 (*apud* Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 314).

[17] Pour la datation du diplôme pendant la seconde guerre marcomanne, voir ci-dessous.

[18] AÉ 2000, 1276 (*apud* Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 230, note 2048).

[19] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 200.

[20] De même sur les diplômes militaires et sur les monuments en pierre (par exemple ILS 331-336, 339, 340).

[21] Voir RMD I 73 ; III 187-189 ; IV 302, 303, 305 ; V 449. Pour Caracalla seul, voir RMD I 74. Septime Sévère apparaît rarement comme *adnepos* de Nerva, mais avec une longue filiation, et Nerva est enregistré comme tel avec Trajan (ILS 422).

[22] ILS 356, 359, 360, 371, 374.

[23] ILS 359, 361.

chacun et les dignités détenues par chacun à ce moment-là, puis on introduit la filiation développée au pluriel[24]. Sur le fragment actuellement étudié, les titres d'empereur et de consul apparaissent après la filiation, il ne peut donc être question d'aucune constitution de ces deux co-empereurs, et le nombre de salutations impériales exclut également le règne de Marc Aurèle tout seul[25]. La situation similaire ainsi que le terme *adnepos*[26] excluent une datation au temps des premiers Sévères.

Pour le règne conjoint de Marc Aurèle et Commode (177-180 apr. J.-Chr.)[27] les choses sont différentes : les noms des deux Augustes sont écrits séparément, avec toutes les dates et titres, et tout de suite après le second (Commode) commence la chaîne des troupes auxiliaires couverts par cette constitution. Mais Marc-Aurèle apparaît comme *divi Nervae abnepos*, tandis que son fils corégent est appelé *divi Nervae adnepos*[28] ; la même formule apparaît pour le règne de Commode tout seul[29], mais dans ce cas elle ne peut plus être associée à la seconde salutation impériale[30]. Par conséquent, la seule solution acceptable et cohérente avec le titre d'*imperator II* serait le règne de Commode aux côtés de son père. Cela signifie que sur le diplôme en l. 1 il faut en fait lire *adnepos* (fait parfaitement possible).

Ainsi, le diplôme dont il est maintenant question date de 177-178, car en 179 Commode reçoit la troisième salutation impériale[31]. Et le texte conservé sur l'*extrinsecus* peut être complété comme suit :

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Antonini fil(ius), divi Veri Parthici maximi frater, divi Hadriani nepos, divi Traiani Parthici pronepos, divi Nervae abnepos, M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Aug(ustus) Germanicus Sarmaticus pontifex maximus tribunic(ia) potest(ate) XXXI/XXXII, imp(erator) IX, co(n)sul III p(ater) p(atriae) et

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug(ustus), Antonini Aug(usti) fil(ius), divi Pii nepos, divi Hadriani pronepos, divi Traiani Parthici abnepos, divi Ner]vae adne[pos, Germanicus Sarmatic(us) tribunic(ia) potestat(e) III] imp(erator) II co[(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae)

equitib]us qui milit[averunt in alis tres quae appellantur …… et I Gallorum A]tectorigi[ana et ……… et in cohor]tibus unde[cim quae appellantur …… et I Claudia Suga]m<b>rum vet[erana et …… et II Chalci]denorum [sagittariorum ………].

Sur la face interne (*intus*) du fragment conservé, les lettres sont plus indistinctes et, de plus, il semble avoir subi des dommages mécaniques ultérieurs (fig. 2). Cependant, nous pouvons être sûrs qu'il contenait une variante du même texte. Nous avons donc d'abord essayé de distinguer certaines lettres, puis de trouver des correspondances possibles avec le texte restauré de l'*extrinsecus*.

Avec un peu d'effort, nous pouvons remarquer l'existence de six lignes conservées, d'où nous lisons ce qui suit :

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[24] Quelques exemples : RMD I 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68 ; II 111, 112, 115 ; III 177, 178 ; IV 286.

[25] Kienast 1996, p. 139.

[26] Voir *supra*, note 17.

[27] Kienast 1996, p. 147.

[28] RMD II 123; III 184, 185; IV 293.

[29] RMD I 69; IV 297, 298; V 446.

[30] Kienast 1996, p. 149.

[31] Kienast 1996, p. 148-149.

1 RVM ?
2 E? ET FL C?
3 DECIM QVE A
4 ET I CL SVG
5 N ? RVM
6 NOR?VM

Fig. 2. Fragment de diplôme militaire pour la Mésie inférieure (*intus*).

Les lettres dans la l. 3 répètent le libellé *…… et in cohortibus un]decim quae a[ppellantur...* , donc dans les lignes suivantes nous devrions rencontrer les noms des cohortes nominées. En l. 4 on lit *...] et I Cl(audia) Sug[ambr(um) vet(erana)....* , et dans les deux lignes suivantes on ne distingue que la terminaison en ....-*orum* des noms d'autres cohortes que nous ne pouvons plus préciser[32]. Les ailes devaient apparaître devant les cohortes, ainsi dans la l. 2 se cache le nom d'une *ala Flavia* ; la seule candidate est que la *I Flavia Gaetulorum*, attestée dans la Mésie Inférieure tout au long des II-III siècles, avec de petites interruptions[33], donc nous lisons *....]e? et Fl(avia) G(a)e[tulorum ….* On remarque que sur l'*intus* les épithètes impériales apparaissent abrégées, et dans le second cas le numéro de l'aile n'est pas indiqué. Dans la l. 1, les lettres conservées peuvent représenter toujours la fin d'un certain nom d'*ala* (peut-être même de *ala I Gallo]rum [Atectorigiana*), mais alors il devait certainement y avoir au moins un autre nom d'un autre *ala* entre celui-ci et la *I Flavia Gaetulorum*.

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[32] Il y avait plusieurs noms possibles (*Lusitanorum*, *Chalcidenorum*, *Germanorum* etc.), voir Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 314.

[33] Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 173-175.

Ainsi la lecture du fragment sur la face interne de la tablette n'apporte en plus que la présence de cette dernière aile parmi les unités de la province dont étaient alors libérés des vétérans.

À notre avis, nous n'avons pas assez de points d'appui pour une restauration plus poussée du texte. Premièrement, un diplôme ne comprend pas toujours toutes les troupes auxiliaires d'une province. Ensuite, la composition même de l'armée provinciale a varié dans le temps. Mais surtout la rédaction du présent document incite à la prudence. La façon inhabituelle d'écrire les noms des troupes auxiliaires sur l'*extrinsecus*, sans les abréger, fait croire – sur une estimation superficielle – que toute la liste aurait demandé plus d'espace que d'habitude, et à se demander s'il ne s'agit pas maintenant seulement de certaines troupes de la province. Si pour les cohortes on peut être sûr qu'elles auront été bien citées 11[34], la situation n'est pas la même pour les *alae*. Il est également possible que les noms des unités n'aient pas été écrits chaque fois *in extenso*.

En tout cas, il est certain qu'il s'agit d'une constitution impériale jusqu'alors inconnue pour les unités auxiliaires de Mésie Inférieure lors de la seconde guerre marcomanne. C'est une période pour laquelle l'histoire militaire de la province est mal connue et les diplômes militaires font généralement défaut. Il n'est pas exclu que le diplôme en question ait été délivré même un peu plus tard que la date de la constitution impériale[35].

Le propriétaire de la pièce prétend qu'elle vient de Roumanie. Si cette déclaration peut être étayée, on pourrait s'attendre à ce qu'elle ait été trouvée quelque part dans la Dobroudja.

2. Fragment d'un diplôme militaire (*tabella prior*) de forme hexagonale irrégulière et fortement ondulé à la suite d'une déformation ultérieure. Elle semble avoir souffert à la suite d'un incendie, et sur la face intérieure on trouve une partie très dégradée, recouverte de dépôts ; ce coin a l'apparence de deux tablettes qui se chevauchent – mais nous pensons que la pièce peut en fait avoir été pliée et cuite lors d'une réutilisation. La plaquette n'ayant pu être nettoyée, certaines lettres encore conservées nous sont restées invisibles. Sur la face extérieure, on remarque un bord droit du texte avec des traces d'une bordure à deux sillons – une constatation qui vaut bien sûr aussi pour la face intérieure, même si elle manque d'un marquage évident.

La plaque de bronze est assez épaisse, env. 2 mm. Dimensions conservées : 6,9 × 7,2 cm, poids 41,35 g. Sur la face extérieure (*extrinsecus*), lettres de 4-4,5 mm, avec des espaces entre les lignes d'env. 1 mm. Sur la face interne (*intus*) apparaissent des lettres de 5 mm, avec un espace entre les lignes de 3-4 mm.

Les lettres sur l'*extrinsecus* sont disposées en 12 lignes, comme suit (fig. 3) :

1 NTV
2 ON LA
3 CVM
4 NT DVM
5 I AS
6 MBR
7 ISCO

[34] Il ne correspond pas au nombre de cohortes attestées au début du règne de Marc Aurèle (Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 243), mais la composition de l'armée provinciale change fréquemment. Il est possible que certains changements, même de courte durée, aient été apportés au cours de la seconde guerre marcomanne.

[35] Alföldy 1968, p. 215. Un exemple offre le diplôme de Drobeta : Piso, Benea 1984, p. 290-292; AÉ 1987, 843 ; RMD II 123.

8 ROCVLO COS
9
10 PANNCV
11 TVMEX
12 TT

Fig. 3. Fragment de diplôme militaire de 87 apr. J.-Chr. (*extrinsecus*).

Leur lecture pose des problèmes. En l. 7-8 on reconnaît les terminaisons de deux *cognomina* à l'ablatif, accompagnées du mot *co(n)s(ulibus)*. Évidemment, il s'agit d'une datation consulaire, où les deux *cognomina* se terminent respectivement par *-iscus* et *-roculus*. La seule paire correspondante est L. Neratius Priscus et C. Cilnius Proculus, *consules suffecti* dans le dernier quart de l'an 87[36]. C'est ainsi que date la constitution impériale sur laquelle repose le diplôme en question.

Ces mots sont suivis, après un espace vide (l. 9), d'une ligne dans laquelle aurait dû figurer l'unité auxiliaire à laquelle aura appartenu le titulaire du diplôme. Il faut également tenir compte de la proximité du bord, situé tout de suite à droite des lettres *COS* en l. 8. Des lettres conservées nous déduisons l'épithète ethnique de l'unité, *[...] Pann(oniorum)*, sans aucun autre détail ; mais la lettre *O* qui suit doit en fait être un *C* de la formule *cu[i praest]*. La ligne 11 contient le nom du commandant, dont seules quelques lettres ont été conservées (peut-être un ....*[Pos]tum(us) Ex[*….).

Les dernières lettres visibles (à la l. 12) appartiennent certainement au nom et au grade du vétéran. Évidemment, on ne peut plus établir ni l'unité militaire ni la province de garnison.

[36] Degrassi 1952, p. 26.

Dans la l. 6, la date devait être enregistrée ; ont été conservées seules les dernières lettres de l'abréviation d'un nom de mois (septembre, novembre ou décembre). Et en l. 4-5 on reconnaît des fragments de la formule …*quas postea duxissen dumtaxat singuli singulas* … (mais cette restitution ne serait possible que si les lettres *TAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS* de la l. 5 avaient été écrites vers le centre de la tablette[37]).

Les lettres en l. 3 peuvent provenir de la formulation *...] cum [est civitas iis data]*.... Mais pour les quelques lettres encore visibles en l. 1-2, sur une surface fortement déformée, nous ne pouvons proposer aucune complétion plausible.

Donc, nous pouvons lire :

[....... / .....]nt (?) [...... / ...]on la[.... (?) .... / ……..] cum [est civitas / iis data aut si qui caelibes essent cum iis quas postea duxisse]nt dum[taxat] / [singuli singu]las / [........]mbr(as) / [L(ucio) Neratio Pr]isco / [C(aio) Cilnio P]roculo co(n)s(ulibus) / [........] Pann(oniorum) cu[i praest] / [......] TVMEX[....... / ....]TT[........

Passons maintenant à la face interne (*intus*), on y distingue des lettres en cinq lignes (fig. 4) :

1 SEI (?)
2 ERVER
3 VBSCRIPTA · S
4 ERISQVE · E
5 ONVB

Fig. 4. Fragment de diplôme militaire de 87 apr. J.-Chr. (*intus*).

[37] Dans cette variante, il est évident que les lettres en l. 5 sont trop peu nombreuses pour l'espace restant.

Certaines formulations existantes sur les diplômes militaires romains peuvent être reconnues. Dans la l. 1 on peut supposer la formule *[quini]s et [vicenis]*, donc le I final devrait être un T ; pourtant, cette formule semble moins probable ici, pour les raisons ci-dessous. On complète approximativement les lignes 2 à 5 comme suit (fig. 4) :

…[…. qui quina et vicena aut plura stipendia m]eruer[unt quorum / nomina s]ubscripta s[unt ipsis liberis post]erisque e[orum civitatem / dedit et c]onub[ium cum ….

Comme il n'y a plus de place sur la tablette pour une autre ligne, le texte continuait bien sûr sur l'*intus* de la *tabella posterior.*

Nous avons donc deux fragments du texte d'une constitution impériale donnée en 87 apr. J.-Chr. Cette datation correspond à la formulation *stipendia meruerunt*, qui est en usage principalement dans la seconde moitié du Ier siècle et est ensuite remplacée par *stipendiis emeritis*[38]. Mais on n'arrive plus à établir ni la province pour laquelle le document a été émis, ni l'unité auxiliaire ou l'ancien combattant pour qui il a été délivré.

Le possesseur de cette pièce affirme qu'elle provient des environs des forteresses daces des Monts d'Orăştie. Dans leur proximité il y avait des établissements de type romain après la conquête, au moins jusqu'à la seconde moitié du IIe siècle[39]. Parce que la zone était très fréquentée par les détecteurs et les chasseurs de trésors[40], l'affirmation semble plausible. Mais c'est un diplôme délivré bien avant la création de la province de Dacie. Nous sommes enclins à croire qu'il aura été apporté par quelque colon après 106 apr. J.-Chr. et réutilisé comme source de bronze depuis l'Antiquité.

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[38] Alföldy 1968, p. 216-217.

[39] Glodariu 1989-1993 ; Luca 2005, p. 75, 81, 114-115 ; Bărbulescu 2006, p. 126-131 ; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2021, p. 604-608.

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BADGE OF RANK: THE MINIATURE SPEARHEAD BALDRIC FASTENER DISCOVERED AT FELDIOARA/MARIENBURG

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Keywords: Roman Dacia, Feldioara/Marienburg, Roman military equipment, baldric fastener, miniature spearhead

Abstract: The authors publish a baldric fastener in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead, discovered during the archaeological excavations conducted within the Feldioara/Marienburg medieval fortress. For a better understanding of the archaeological context and the dating of the piece in the first half of the 3rd century AD, the Roman finds from Feldioara are briefly reviewed with special emphasis on the coins. The spears with this characteristic head functioned as a symbol of the Roman authority and were carried by various type of soldiers from the *officium* of the governor: *beneficiarii consularis* or *procuratoris*, *frumentarii* and *speculatores*. Although the Roman discoveries from that area speak for a possible rural frontier settlement, the very presence of this miniature spearhead, which functioned also as badge of rank, proves that the area was under the surveillance of the Roman army through these *officiales*, most likely the *beneficiarii procuratoris* or *beneficiarii consularis*.

Cuvinte-cheie: Dacia romană, Feldioara/Marienburg, echipament militar roman, închizătoare de *balteus*, lance miniaturală

Rezumat: Autorii publică o închizătoare de *balteus*, realizată sub forma unei aşa-zise lănci miniaturale de beneficiar. Aceasta a fost descoperită în timpul cercetărilor arheologice din cetatea medievală de la Feldioara/Marienburg. Pentru mai buna înţelegere a contextului arheologic şi a datării piesei în prima jumătate a secolului al III-lea p.Chr., sunt reluate pe scurt descoperirile romane de la Feldioara, cu accent deosebit asupra monedelor. Lăncile prevăzute cu acest vârf caracteristic au funcționat ca simbol al autorității romane și au fost purtate de diferiți soldați din oficiul guvernatorului, cum ar fi *beneficiarii consularis* sau *procuratoris*, *frumentarii* şi *speculatores*. Chiar dacă descoperirile romane din zona respectivă indică mai degrabă existenţa unei aşezări rurale de graniță, prezenţa acestei închizătoare de *balteus*, care este totuși un simbol de rang, dovedește că zona se afla sub supravegherea armatei romane, prin intermediul acestor *officiales*, cel mai probabil *beneficiarii procuratoris* sau *beneficiarii consularis*.

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INTRODUCTION

The village of Feldioara (Feldioara commune, Braşov County – German: Marienburg; Hungarian: Földvár), located in the Bârsa depression, on the left bank of the Olt River and about 20 km north of the city of Braşov, is known especially for its medieval preserved heritage. Starting primarily from the German name of the settlement – Marienburg / Fortress of Holy Mary[1] – but not only, there had been located the main headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in the short period between 1211 and 1225, when they were settled in Ţara Bârsei (German: Burzenland; Hungarian: Barcaság) by the Hungarian king Andrew II.

The nowadays settlement is located on a terrace about 20-25 m high, which advances as a spur from west to east in the Olt River floodplain, with the archaeological site covering mainly the eastern segment of the terrace. On the eastern end of the mentioned spur a medieval stone fortress is preserved (recently consolidated and renovated); it is separated to the west by a vast defensive ditch, whose artificial or natural origin could not be determined. Further to the west, there follows an area with an approximately triangular plan, bounded by a defensive ditch, artificially created, with an opening of about 30 m and a depth of 15 m; the ditch follows an arched path corresponding at both ends with the edges of the terrace[2]. This territory represents a probably prehistoric earthen fortification[3]. Located in the centre, the Evangelical church is surrounded by a small enclosure wall with an oval path which does not constitute a fortification in itself.

Over time, archaeological researches were carried out in various locations, which revealed the existence of dwellings corresponding to several periods: Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman era, Middle Ages and the modern period. The archaeological research from 1990 to 1995 revealed, among many others, traces of a Roman settlement unknown until that date[4]. We must also stress that there should be no confusion between Feldioara/Marienburg and Feldioara (Ucea commune, Braşov County) located about 25 km west of Făgăraş, where a Roman auxiliary fort and a military *vicus* on the right bank of the Olt River are located[5].

The Roman settlement of Feldioara was noticed within the former earthen fortress[6]; stratigraphically, this was identified through the existence of a 20-30 cm thick layer of dark

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[1] First mentioned in 1240, under the name *Castrum Sanctae Mariae* (Ub. I, p. 68-69); Saint Mary is the patroness of the Crusader order, as confirmed by the parallel with the city of Marienburg (Malbork) in northern Poland, founded by the Teutons after leaving Ţara Bârsei, at the middle of the 13th century.

[2] Nowadays a large part of the defensive trench has been filled with earth and levelled.

[3] The Hungarian name of the village Földvár = earthen fortress derives from this fortification; in Romanian, it gave the current name – Feldioara.

[4] See for example the map from TIR L 35.

[5] TIR L 35, p. 41; Tudor 1968, p. 281; Țentea, Matei-Popescu, Călina 2021a, p. 23-25, no. 4; Țentea, Matei-Popescu, Călina 2021b, p. 304-305.

[6] The excavations were conducted within six different sectors marked with letters from A to F: sector A (1990-1991) – the south-eastern edge of the terrace, of the area bounded by the great defensive ditch; Sector B (1990-1991) – located around the Romanesque basilica; Sector C (1990) – located in the garden of the parish house; Sector D (1990-1995) – the plaza with a roughly trapezoidal plan that lies between the Romanesque basilica (the Evangelical church) and the evangelical parish house; Sector E (1991) – the western edge of the territory bounded by the great defence ditch; sector F (1991-1995) – the stone fortress, located at the eastern edge of the plateau on which the village is located (fig. 1/a). Archaeological materials dating from the Roman period were discovered practically in all sectors; various works carried out in a series of households located inside the former earth fortress also revealed such artefacts. The densest habitation of the Roman era was particularly recorded in sectors A and D. Within the latter a consistent layer of remains was also noticed.

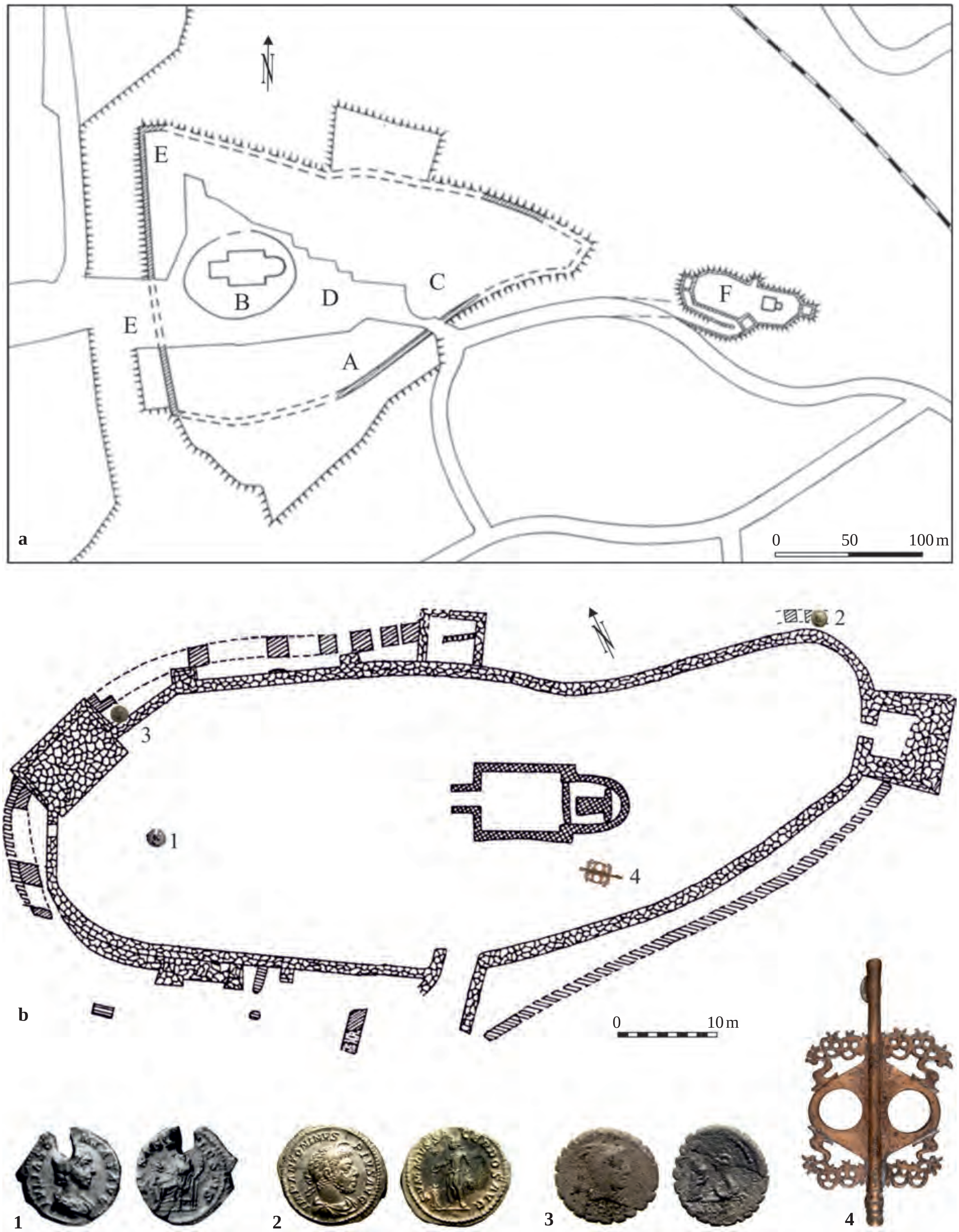

Fig. 1. a) Layout plan of the Feldioara archaeological site (according to Ioniţă *et alii* 2004, p. 168); b) layout plan of the Feldioara medieval fortress and the Roman archaeological discoveries; 1-3. Roman coins; 4. baldric fastener in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead.

brown earth with many mud-bricks remains, resulting probably from the burnt walls of the straw and clay houses. Numerous and varied materials were gathered from the Roman period deposit: ceramic vessels, glassware, tiles, grinders, two fibulas, two sconces, a bracelet, a needle, a bronze thimble, etc.[7]. The layout plan of the houses could not have been traced, but several hearths and a furnace were noticed.

A number of 23 Roman coins were also found, though many of them within the medieval contexts (see below the entire discussion about the general chronology of the Roman occupation layer)[8]. We point out that the most important part of the Roman settlement was overlapped by a medieval cemetery belonging to the German settlers, who came here after the middle of the 12th century[9]; the Roman layers were sometime cut by the medieval graves.

THE MINIATURE *BENEFICIARIVS* SPEARHEAD BALDRIC FASTENER

The most spectacular find is a baldric fastener ("Balteusschließen") designed in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead. It was found during the 2013 archaeological season, in the excavations conducted within the medieval fortress, exactly in S. 7/2013, square 4, at -0.26 m depth, between the apse of the small church, from which only the foundations are still preserved, and the south-eastern segment of the southern rampart (on the right side of the entrance to the fortress) (fig. 1/4). From the stratigraphic point of view, it was found in a layer of grey soil pigmented with mortar, characteristic of the medieval habitation in the fortress. Most likely the item got there, just like some of the Roman coins presented below, during the Middle Ages, being unlikely to have been lost during the Roman period on the hilltop where the stone fortress would have been built 1000 years later. The hilltop, located near the settlement, was certainly used during the Roman period as an observation point, since the spot offers excellent visibility over the Olt River valley and part of the Bârsa Country.

Description: a bronze cast baldric fastener in the shape of a miniature spearhead. The piece was probably silvered, some traces being still visible. Large mount shaped in the form of a stylized miniature spearhead with raised central rib tapering to the slightly bolded upper end. Above the lower domed head there are baluster-and-rib mouldings. In the middle, there are two symmetrical oval flattened projections forming the blade of the spearhead. The blade has the two characteristics large circular holes, symmetrically disposed on each side of the rib. Under and above the blade, there are four openwork *peltae*, bound to the blade by two stylized dolphin shaped links on each side. The outer face of the fastener is polished and silvered, while the back side is flat. On this back side a retaining ring is weld in the median area and two characteristic headed studs at the both ends. The very presence of the retaining ring allows us to establish the function of this object as baldric fastener (fig. 2).

Measurements: Weight = 50.60 g; L = 11 cm; l = 5.4-6 cm; thickness = 2.5-3 mm.

These so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearheads are generally discovered in the proximity of the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and sometimes even within important sites located beyond the frontiers[10]. They could have functioned as brooches, strap terminals, simple baldric mounts, terminal plates, belt fasteners, or, rarely, even as baldric fasteners. To the latter category belongs

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[7] Ioniţă 1994; Ioniţă *et alii* 2004, p. 27-28, 90-92, 199-201, 219.

[8] Two of these coins will be now published, for the other 21 coins see Popescu 2004.

[9] Ioniţă *et alii* 2004, p. 29-58, 93-123, 202-226.

[10] Petculescu 1993.

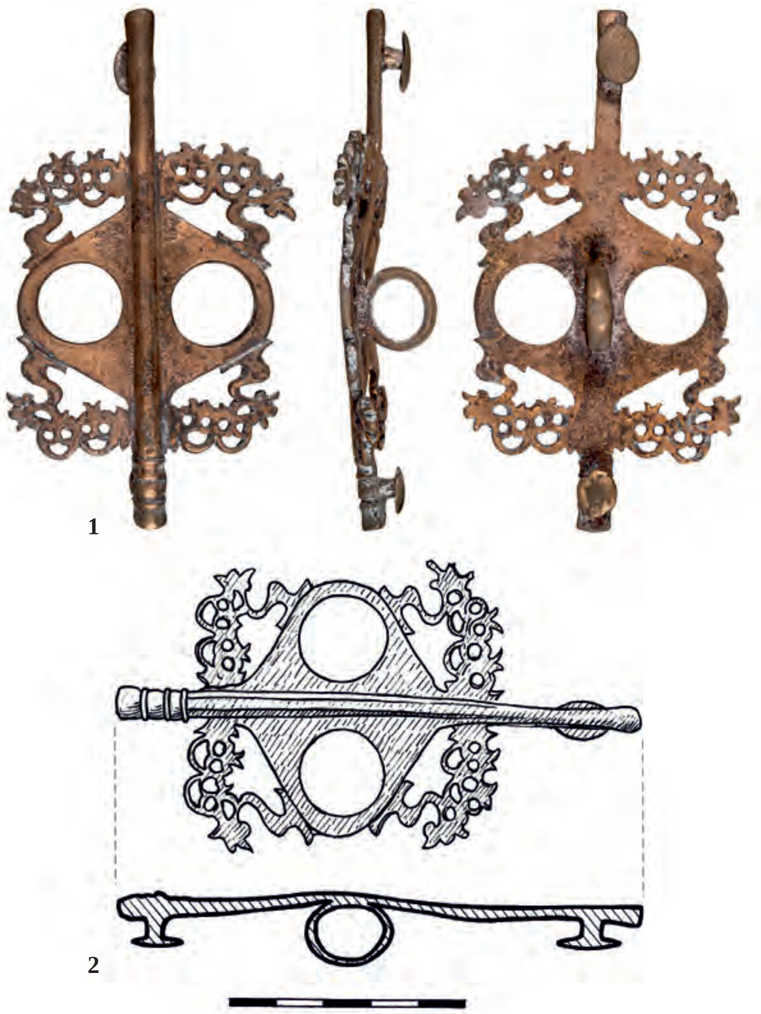

Fig. 2. Baldric fastener in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead.

also the item here published, having on its back, between the two headed studs, the typical retaining ring[11]. They imitated at reduced scale the big-heart shaped spearheads, used by certain ranks of subordinated officials, like *beneficiarii consularis* or *procuratoris*, *speculatores* or *frumentarii*, all serving in the *officium consularis*[12]. Among them, this type of spearhead was mostly connected with the *beneficiarii consularis* or *procuratoris*, being considered as the symbol of "the sovereign power of the Roman state for which they were acting"[13]. Around the *beneficiarii consularis* it seems

[11] For the baldric fasteners of different types and shapes, mostly *phalerae*, see Oldenstein 1976, p. 226-234, 281-282, nos. 1105-1125.

[12] Eibl 1994, p. 278-297; Rankov 1999, p. 23-31; Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 285-288; Cupcea 2006-2007; Cupcea 2009; Cupcea 2014, p. 21-22 and 42; Piso 2019, p. 117. For *frumentarii*, bearing the same type of spear, see the funerary monument of Victorius Sabinus, φρουμένταρις Αὐγούστου, from Perinthus (Thracia), Sayar 1998, p. 266-268, no. 80, pl. XXI, fig. 80 (p. 268: "Unter der Inschrift befindet sich in flachem Relief die Darstellung der Spitze einer sogen. Benefiziarierlanze. Diese war das Dienstabzeichen verschiedener, mit besonderen Auftragen betrauter Soldaten wie *beneficiarii*, *speculatores* und *frumentarii*".), Bérard 2004, p. 362-369; see also at Scupi (Moesia), another *frumentarius legionis VII Claudiae piae fidelis*, during the 1st century AD, CIL III, 8201 = IMS VI, 47. For *speculatores* see the funerary stele of *L. Blassius Nigellio*, *speculator legionis VII Claudiae*, from Viminacium (Moesia superior), CIL III, 1650 = ILS 2378 = IMS II, 106.

[13] Alföldy 1959, p. 11-12; see also Ritterling 1919.

that the *officium* of the governor was built around the *beneficiarii consularis*, being the officials often detached within the *stationes* around the province[14], therefore they must be distinguished somehow within and outside the Roman army.

From the Dacian provinces the only other baldric fastener in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead was discovered at Micia. It is very similar in shape and size with the piece from Feldioara, but the upper part of the *pelta*-shape openwork ornaments and the central stud are missing. Moreover, it has only two openwork ornaments, each one disposed on each side of the rib[15]. Other eight pieces, smaller in size and without the typical retaining ring, published by Liviu Petculescu, are only baldric mounts (Slăveni, Răcari, somewhere in Oltenia region, Drobeta, Micia, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa)[16]. Among them, four bear *pelta*-shape openwork ornaments, just like the baldric fastener from Micia and the fastener published here. From this point of view the baldric fastener from Feldioara has the most lavish *pelta*-shape openwork ornaments. Another simple baldric mount, in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead, still unpublished, was discovered at Apulum, during a survey conducted by Alexandru Diaconescu in the Partoș district of Alba Iulia, in the south-east corner of the Podei plateau[17].

Baldric mounts were discovered beyond the Dacian provinces, too. We can therefore mention a baldric mount in the shape of a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead discovered during the excavations at Mătăsaru, not far from the frontier of Dacia inferior[18]. The item has three studs on its back, being highly probably produced in the province, and dated by Liviu Petculescu in the first half of the 3rd century AD[19]. The baldric mount from Mătăsaru bears a very close resemblance to the mount discovered at Medieșul Aurit, an important settlement located beyond the frontier of Dacia Porolissensis[20].

Two direct analogies regarding the shape and function of our item are known: one discovered beyond the Roman frontier at Vimose, part of a ritual deposition into a bog[21], and the other one discovered on the frontier of the province of Raetia at Rainau-Buch[22]. We do not, however, count the fragmentary items, discovered at Pfünz and Osterburken for example[23], which could have also been baldric fastener, but having missed their middle parts with the retaining rings, the identification is not at all sure.

Recently, a plain rectangular belt buckle was published, with an open frame enclosing a so-called *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead design, probably belonging to a soldier of the legion *III Cyrenaica*, highly probably a *beneficiarius legati legionis*[24].

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[14] Ott 1995, p. 67-68; Rankov 1999, p. 16-21; Cupcea 2014, p. 43-48; Piso 2019, p. 114-120.

[15] Petculescu 1993, p. 195, no. 4 and p. 184, fig. 1/4.

[16] Petculescu 1993, p. 184, fig. 1/1-3, 5 and p. 186, fig. 2/6-9.

[17] Bounegru *et alii* 2011, p. 100, no. 172.

[18] Bichir 1984, p. 58, pl. LII/8 and LIII/4; Petculescu 1993, p. 182-185, 196, no. 7, fig. 2/7.

[19] Petculescu 1999, p. 895-896, no. 8: "all these three baldric fittings were manufactured in *Dacia* province and date in the first half of the 3rd century AD possibly around AD 250" and p. 900.

[20] Dumitrașcu, Bader 1967, p. 40, fig. 20, pl. XVI/8; Petculescu 1993, 182-185, 196, no. 6, fig. 2/6; Petculescu 1999, p. 899, no. 28, 900 and 905, pl. 3/28, dated to AD 200-250/260.

[21] Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 32, fig. 13; Pauli-Jensen 2014, p. 375-376, fig. 2.

[22] Oldenstein 1976, p. 252, no. 385, pl. 40/385; Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 184, fig. 119/1.

[23] Oldenstein 1976, p. 252, nos. 386-387, pl. 40/386-387.

[24] Raviv, Zissu 2021.

Fig. 3. Proposal for the reconstruction of the way of wearing the baldric fastener.

The most common opinion about the miniature spearheads is that they were badges of ranks of the *beneficiarii*, *frumentarii* or *speculatores*[25], imitating at a reduced scale the head of the spears which they carried[26]. The badges allowed them to be distinguished among the other soldiers and to be recognised as officials direct commissioned by the governor of the province, by the provincials, and by the people living beyond the Roman frontier. Most of them bear *pelta*-ornaments, which could have had apotropaic characteristics, but their exact meaning, if there is any, is indeed difficult to understand[27]. However, being parts of the Roman military equipment, it is difficult to set them on the same scale with the spears themselves, which were probably formally given to the officials in the moment they entered the service, as the depictions on Roman monuments seem to attest. Taking into account the discovery of such spearhead in the area of the sanctuary of Osterburken[28], it is highly possible that it was deposited at the end of the service in that *statio* and not simply lost.

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[25] Petculescu 1993, p. 181 and 192; Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 29-30.

[26] See the spearhead discovered at Osterburken (France, Nelis-Clément 2014, p. 174, fig. 15), and the one preserved in the Wiesbaden Museum (Ritterling 1919, p. 10-11, fig. 1); see also Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 285-288.

[27] Petculescu 1993, p. 192.

[28] Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 285-288; France, Nelis-Clément 2014, p. 174, fig. 15.

Nothing allows us to believe that they had received miniature spearheads on the same occasion, since they were so different in shape, size and function, and if they were to function as badges, they must have been more standardized. Moreover, all the known pieces are to be dated after approx. AD 170 and the *beneficiarii consularis* or *procuratoris* (since the area was part of the province of Dacia inferior), *frumentarii* and *speculatores* were all acting well before that moment[29]. The spears themselves were the only symbol of their office in the governor's staff, being considered sacred, just like other *signa*[30], the miniature spearheads being only decorative imitations inspired by them. They seem to have come into fashion together with the *balteus* (fig. 3) sometime after the Marcomannic wars and disappeared when the *limes* collapsed on the Rhine frontier and in Dacia around AD 260. Nevertheless, connected with the spears themselves, they could also distinguish the *officiales* among their fellow soldiers and the *provinciales*. These badges were not probably received by the *officiales* when were appointed – they only received the spear with the characteristic shape of the head –, but it is highly possible that some of them simply commissioned these baldric mounts or fasteners sometime after, as a merely private initiative.

THE COINS EVIDENCE AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT FROM FELDIOARA

Along with the discovery of the baldric fastener, the coins evidence is also important for establishing the general chronology of the Roman habitation of Feldioara. As it has been already mentioned, 23 Roman coins were found during the archaeological excavations. Three of them were discovered within the medieval fortress, where no Roman level or other Roman period materials were noticed, except for the baldric fastener. Twelve coins were discovered within the medieval graves, out of which seven coins seem to have been used as funerary obols: two Imperial *denarii* – Caracalla AD 213 (G. 4A), Iulia Mamaea AD 222 (G. 6); four *denarii* fourées – Iulia Domna AD 204 (G. 5), Septimius Severus AD 205 (G. 21), Severus Alexander AD 223 (G. 57), Caracalla AD 210 (G. 93a-b); a *sestertius* – Severus Alexander AD 226 (G. 46); and five coins were found, more or less by chance, in the filling of the grave pits: two Republican *denarii* – Roma SAFRA 150 BC (G. 56), Q. Pomponius Musa 66 BC (G. 22); an imperial *denarius* – Geta Caesar AD 203 (G. 38); two *denarii* fourées – Elagabal AD 218-219 (G. 50 and G. 74).

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[29] The same conclusion by Petculescu 1993, p. 193: "Therefore, I think that the hypothesis stating that miniature spearheads were badges of *beneficiarii* rank is improbable, insofar as badges are as yet unattested in the Roman army, with only one possible exception, the 'Optime maxime conserva' baldric mounts, which were remarkably uniform set of pieces throughout the Roman Empire".

[30] Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 286: "Comme les enseignes, les lances de ce type pouvaient donc être plantées dans le sol, sur un espace sacré comme c'est le cas dans la station d'Osterburken. Cet objet symbolique et religieux représente en quelque sorte la puissance de Rome, de ses dieux et de ses autorités partout où elle est transportée. Dans les provinces, les *hastae* à deux yeux étaient habituellement portées comme signe distinctif de l'*auctoritas* du gouverneur (ou d'une personne en charge d'une institution) par ses *officiales*, en particulier par lorsqu'ils étaient en service détaché ou appelés à se déplacer. De la même manière, les détachements militaires emportaient les enseignes ou étendards, symbole de la personne même de l'empereur". It seems like the spear itself with its characteristic spearhead was named *signum*, too, as it appears on the inscriptions of the *beneficiarii consularis* from Samum (Cășeiu), Dacia Porolissensis (*sub signo* or *sub signis*), France, Nelis-Clément 2014, p. 131 and Piso 2019, p. 115-116. This idea was set forth by Kovács 2005, p. 958: "The *signa* can be identical with the spear-ensigns stuck on the earth in front of BF-*statio*. These inscriptions are from the middle of 3rd c. (AD 239, 243) therefore the change of name (from *lancea-hasta* to *signa*) cannot be ruled out either".

Eight coins come from the Roman layer, or can be connected with various archaeological features corresponding to it, more or less damaged by the overlapping medieval habitation, or even from archaeological layers adjacent to the Roman one, brought there as a result of numerous interventions into the soil: three imperial *denarii* – Septimius Severus AD 195 (S. 38/1995, -0.70 m), Septimius Severus AD 204 (S. 32/1994, *passim*), Severus Alexander AD 225 (S. 34/1994, -0.93 m); four *denarii* fourées – Caracalla AD 209 (sector A, S. 7/1990; pit no. 40 b, -1.90 m), Divus Severus AD 211 (S. 35/1994, -0.30-0.40 m), two unspecified fragmentary (S. 4/1991, -0.65 m and S. 6/1992, -1.45 m); a cast bronze coin "*denarius*" – Caracalla AD 209 (S. 11/1992, -1.40 m).

All three coins found in the fortress are in secondary contexts, which will be briefly presented to correctly understand the more or less random nature of their presence there. The first coin, a *denarius* of Iulia Soaemias Bassiana (AD 218-222)[31] (fig. 1/1), broken at one edge, was found in S. II a/1994 (inside the fortress, in the western part of the courtyard), at -1.80 m, in a pit, that went much deeper (about -4.20 m) and contained medieval and modern materials. It is not excluded that the coin was first punctured and worn as a medallion (until the "ear" was broken), a fact also suggested somewhat by the positioning of the rupture in relation to the effigy of the character, sometime in the Middle Ages or modern period[32]. Other two coins are still unpublished[33], since they were found in the 2016 archaeological season, when extensive excavations were conducted as part of the restoration works at the fortress that took place in 2013-2016. A *denarius* of Elagabal (AD 218-222)[34] was found 10 cm east of S. 56/2016 (outside the fortress, near the north-eastern segment of the northern curtain, about 4-5 m from the eastern tower), at -0.48 m, in a black/dark brown layer with mortar fragments and pigment, rare brick pigment, 3-4 cm above the remains of the wall attributed to the Teutons (fig. 1/2).

The other coin, a Republican *denarius* L. Roscius Fabatus 64 BC[35] (fig. 1/3), was found in S. 65/2016 (outside the fortress), on the second floor of the northern rampart, at 0.60 m from the wall of the western tower, in the filling of the 1991 excavation[36].

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31 Popescu 2004, p. 65, 131, 249, fig. 83/13.

32 By forcing the description of the piece with elements not resulting from the publication nor the *de visu* examination, it was also issued the opinion has been also put forward that the coin was cut with a chisel, to check the quality of the metal, mandatory in the Middle Ages, a practice unknown for the Roman period (Purece 2013, p. 306); this assertion ignores the evidence of the broken and even perforated coins, during the Roman period, from the hoard of Vârtop, which contains, among other pieces, coins from the 2nd-3rd century AD (from Trajan to Gordian) (Dudău 2006, p. 67, 137-138). It should also be noted that coins were generally checked by practicing a notch and not by breaking a piece.

33 The two coins discovered in 2016 were identified and studied by our colleague Aurel Vîlcu, from the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, to whom we are very grateful.

34 Obverse: IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG; laureate bust draped towards the head with horns right. Averse: SVMMVS SA-CERDOS AVG; Elagabal standing to the left, sacrificing over tripod, holding patera and branch, star in the left field; silver 3.17 g; 20.5 × 18.2 mm; RIC IV.2, p. 38, no. 146, Rome, AD 218-222.

35 Obverse: Head of Junona Sospita to the right; control mark behind, below L · ROSCI. Reverse: Girl and snake face to face; to the left control mark, below FABATI; silver ↖ 2.62 g; 19.9 × 18.5 mm; burnt; RRC, p. 439-440, no. 412. 1 (*denarius serratus*), Rome, 64 BC, L. Roscius Fabatus ("his types reveal his Lanuvine origin").

36 S. 65/2016 overlapped S. 1α/1991; on this occasion, the coin that was unnoticed in 1991 and discarded along with the earth when refilling the section was recovered. However, it is certain that it comes from this area, located at the junction between the northern enclosure wall, the west tower and the remains of the wall attributed to the Teutons. Most likely the coin was in the La Tène layer, which was massively recorded on the hill of the fortress, later pierced by the foundations of the medieval walls.

As it can be seen, 20 coins belong to the Imperial period (2nd-3rd century AD), and three to the Republican period (2nd-1st century BC), with four types of coins being distinguished: eleven silver *denarii* (eight Imperial and three Republican), ten *denarii* fourées (counterfeit), a cast bronze "*denarius*", and a bronze coin (*sestertius*).

The question of the coins originating from a supposed hoard discovered by the German colonists barely settled at Feldioara, and later divided among the various families, for use as a funerary obol has been recently stretched forward[37], based on circumstantial arguments, which, however, do not withstand a thorough analysis. Firstly, the discovery context of the coins, where at least some of the pieces were found in Roman period deposits (or in neighbouring layers, accidentally arrived there as a result of various interventions on the soil)[38], as mentioned above, does not advocate the existence of a hoard. We cannot say for sure that even the coins discovered in the filling of the graves' pits (two Republican *denarii*, one Imperial *denarius*, and two *denarii* fourées) arrived there as funerary obols, or simply by chance because they were in the layers affected by the digging of the pits. Also, for coins found in pits with other destinations, dug out during Middle Ages, the intentional or random element of their presence in the respective contexts cannot be proved.

Going beyond the natural question: *why would a discoverer share a so-called hoard within the community?*, the diversity of coins that are difficult to assemble in a hoard according to the hoarding customs (norms of the period) and known examples, strikes as peculiar. On the one hand, three Republican coins, found in secondary contexts[39], may come from the Dacian settlement (La Tène period), archaeologically documented at Feldioara[40], without excluding the lesser possibility that they remained in circulation even in the Imperial period until Trajan's monetary reform (AD 107) and very rarely after, but not until the 3rd century, no matter the circumstances[41]. On the other hand, the Imperial coins, although chronologically spread over a short period of about 30 years (AD 195-226)[42], can be hardly associated with a hoard because of the composition/ nominals in which bronze predominates, the ten fourées denarii also having the bronze core, as it is known, to which are added a cast "*denarius*" and a *sestertius*, both of bronze. Some very well-preserved pieces, without traces of blunting, could suggest the idea of hoarding, but, in fact, the explanation lies in the character of the settlement located at the edge of the Empire, its short existence and implicitly the limited period in which the coins were circulated. This could also

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[37] Purece 2013. It was even assumed that there were two distinct hoards, one composed of Imperial coins much more numerous than those discovered, which were selected by the medieval inhabitants, retaining the qualitative pieces and depositing in the tombs the lower quality coins. The Republican coins (two at the time) would come from another hoard discovered in an area about 20 km northeast of Feldioara, where several treasures containing Republican *denarii* are known.

[38] The assessment that the coins could have ended up in these layers or in various other pits, as a result of being part of the funerary inventories of graves destroyed by subsequent interventions is at least risky (Purece 2013, p. 306).

[39] Because no Republican coins were actually found in the La Tène deposits, it was wrongly assumed that they actually came from another hoard found in a more distant or closer area. According to this assumption the medieval inhabitants of Feldioara circulated them in the new contexts (Purece 2013, p. 308, 310-311).

[40] Boroffka 2004, p. 25-26, 88-89, 193-198.

[41] Petac 2010, p. 13-31.

[42] Besides, the Severan period (AD 192-235) when the coins are dated is characterized throughout Roman Dacia by a sensible reduction of the hoarding process (Petac 2010, p. 182). We also mention that all known hoards that end during this period contain also pre-Severan Imperial coins, which does not happen in the Feldioara site (Petac 2010, p. 38-42).

explain the few known examples of hoards containing in addition to *denarii* and fourées coins[43], a *denarius* fourée just out of the mint ("fleur de coin") that can often be confused with a genuine *denarius* (both in that time and sometimes by numismatists). With these possible exceptions, after all, the *denarii* fourées being officially silver coins, there is a clear homogeneity visible across the territory of Roman Dacia – there are hoards containing precious metals coins, these being the most numerous, and separately hoards comprising common metal coins[44]. We underline once again that some of the coins, at least the seven undoubtedly used as obol (two Imperial *denarii*, four *denarii* fourées, and a *sestertius*)[45], were discovered separately, possibly during the digging of the grave pits, or as a result of other activities carried out by the medieval community on the area of the former Roman site, over which they had just settled. We, therefore, reject the haphazard opinion that ignores the conditions of discovery, the hoarding rules of the period and even the explanations to the common-sense questions set out above, creating confusion by inventing hoards where they are not. It is not the existence of a supposed hoard that explains the relatively large monetary presence in the modest Roman settlement of Feldioara, but its character, a possible *statio* of the *beneficiarii consularis* or *procuratoris*.

The secondary context and the absence of any traces of Roman habitation on the hill on which the medieval fortress was later built[46] lead us to the idea that the three coins discovered within the fortress belong in fact to the medieval context. This is valid at least for the Imperial *denarii*, while the Republican coin could have come from the La Tène layer (well documented on the hill of the fortress), as mentioned earlier.

CONCLUSIONS

Due to its geographical location on the border and the natural, but also artificial environment (the pre-existence of a large earthen fortification), which were extremely advantageous, Feldioara could not be ignored in the strategy of the Roman frontier of the province of Dacia inferior.

Based on the discoveries, especially the coins, the Roman settlement started after the Marcomannic wars and reached its peak during the Severan period. The cash flow diminished and ceased under Severus Alexander, like in the case of some auxiliary forts, located in the

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[43] For example, in relation to the areas of the auxiliary forts, the counterfeit *denarii* are present only in two hoards (Vârtop and Porolissum – *Pomet*), in very small numbers, representing 0.33% of the total number of hoarded coins (Dudău 2006, p. 82).

[44] Petac 2010, p. 27.

[45] We insist on them because of the specific character of intentional deposition in medieval tombs, which could make them likely (in the opinion of some) to have been part of a hoard found by medieval inhabitants, who then used them as funerary obols, either to save coins in circulation or because they were rare. We can also ask ourselves why the one who discovered/owned the presumed hoard did not exchange the good silver Roman coins for coins currently circulating in the Hungarian Kingdom (Hungarian denars) at the money exchangers. We mention that a Roman *denarius* weighs 20-30 times more than a Hungarian denar from the second half of the 12th century. This is another argument that no inhabitant of the medieval settlement ever disposed of all the Roman coins discovered so far in Feldioara or a good number of them, but only that some were found and reused by different people at different moments.

[46] It is true that on the citadel on the hill there were intense constructive activities in the last eight centuries, which inevitably led to considerable interventions on the soil, the upper strata being quite affected and mixed. However, if there had been a Roman habitation on the spot, it is impossible that the traces would have completely wiped out.

east, south-east and south Transylvania[47] (Călugăreni[48], Sânpaul[49], Orheiul Bistriţei[50], Râşnov[51], Cincşor[52], Boiţa[53] and Racoviţa[54]).

The large number of *denarii* of other quality than the official one (counterfeit, false, from billon) characterizes the Severan dynasty monetary circulation[55]. The very presence of a large number of *denarii* fourées (counterfeit) is also a feature of civilian settlements and the environment of auxiliary forts[56] and in no case would it be due to a selection from a supposed hoard, made by the medieval inhabitants of Feldioara.

Based on the baldric fastener, one can think that at a certain moment, Roman army personnel from the *officium* of the *procurator* of the province of Dacia inferior, or from the *officium* of the *consularis trium Daciarum* was sent to that frontier zone, highly probable the *beneficiarii procuratoris* or *consularis*. The *beneficiarii* of the governor, in comparison with other *beneficiarii* attached to the army officers, such as *beneficiarii tribuni* or *beneficiarii legati legionis*, could have been sent throughout the province to one of the *stationes*, representing the governor himself[57]. Unfortunately, there are no other archaeologically traces of their presence, all the remains uncovered during the excavations being mostly connected with a typical rural frontier settlement and not with a possible *statio* of the *beneficiarii*, a *mansio*, or other type of Roman military building.

Up to this moment, no epigraphic monuments attest the presence of the *officiales* of the *procurator Daciae inferioris* or of the *consularis trium Daciarum*[58], but three baldric mounts of this type were discovered at Răcari and in Oltenia region, and another one at Mătăsaru, beyond the Eastern Dacian frontier in Muntenia region, into a native settlement context. Comparing with the other two Dacian provinces, Dacia superior and Dacia Porolissensis, the evidence is scarce, which

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47 Dudău 2006, p. 87.

48 Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, p. 10.

49 Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, p. 13.

50 Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, p. 9.

51 Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, p. 16-17.

52 Țentea, Matei-Popescu, Călina 2021b, p. 303-304.

53 Țentea, Matei-Popescu, Călina 2021b, p. 305-306.

54 Țentea, Matei-Popescu, Călina 2021a, p. 33-35, no. 8.

55 Dudău 2006, p. 45-46.

56 Dudău 2006, p. 81-82.

57 Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 217-227; France, Nelis-Clément 2014, p. 123-124.

58 At Urzica (Olt County), not far from Sucidava, a *beneficiarius tribuni* of an unknown auxiliary unit or legion is attested (even one of the legions from the neighbour province of Moesia inferior), but he was obviously part of the *officium* of a *tribunus militum* and not of the *procurator Daciae inferioris* (AÉ 1998, 1110 = ILD, 129: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Fl(avio) M(arci) fil(io) / Pap(iria) tribu Epste/lae vet(erano) ex / trib(uni) b(ene)f(iciario) vixit / [ann(is)]... / [- - -]* – belonging to tribe Papiria he probably originated from *colonia Ulpia Oescus* and since the epigraphic field is badly preserved the reading is not sure, he could have been probably an Ulpius and not a Flavius, hence: *M. Ulpius M(arci) fil(ius) Pap(iria tribu) Epstela*). There is no clear indication that this type of badges could have been worn by the lower rank *beneficiarii*. A *beneficiarius* appears on a bronze stud ("*sur un bouton en bronze*"), discovered at Racovița (*Praetorium* on the River Olt frontier), but the piece is now lost (CIL III, 13797 = IDR II, 591: *PAC B - b(ene)f(iciarius)*) and another one on very fragmented inscription, a graffito on a brick fragment, discovered at Romula (AÉ 1969-1970, 556 = IDR II, 394: *CIN ... / B - b(ene)f(iciarius)* – difficult to say if he was indeed a *beneficiarius procuratoris*, since it is not at all sure that his *officium* was indeed located there). A *statio* is epigraphically attested at Cioroiu Nou, but the inscription was raised by a *speculator* of the legion *VII Claudia* from Moesia superior during Maximinus' reign, IDR II, 141 = ILD, 99: *[Dia]nae Sanc[ta]/e Mercurio G[u]/bernatori e[t Genio] / stationis A[ur(elius) Ger]/manus spe[cul(ator) leg(ionis)] / VII Cl(audiae) [[Max[imianae]]] / [li]bens an[imo - - -].*

should not be a surprise, taking into account that *officium* of the praesidial procurator and, after AD 168, of the financial procurator of the province of Dacia inferior was not very big, having little personnel, all detached from the auxiliary units of the province, while the *beneficiarii procuratoris* were probably detached from the legions of Dacia or Moesia inferior[59]. If indeed a *statio* should have been located in the area of Feldioara, it only appeared after the Marcomannic wars and disappeared sometime after AD 235 and it was highly probably used by the *beneficiarii consularis* of the *officium* of the *consularis trium Daciarum* from Apulum (in his *officium* must have been at least 60 *beneficiarii*[60]). This perfectly fits with the general trend throughout the Roman Empire, where the *stationes* located along the Rhine and Danube frontiers appeared only around the 160', as a part of the intelligence role played by the *officia* of the governor in the new context. Taking into account the general turmoil, the need to have first-hand intelligence information about the moving of the peoples beyond the frontier obviously increased[61].

To sum up, without being a decisive proof, the discovery of this badge of rank could be an indication that somewhere in a still unidentified location at Feldioara, or in the vicinity, a *statio* was located, where *officiales* were active, highly probably *beneficiarii procuratoris* or *beneficiarii consularis*, in order to survey that frontier zone of the province of Dacia inferior.

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[59] Ott 1995, p. 33 and p. 82-85.

[60] For the number of the *beneficiarii consularis* from a legion see Ott 1995, p. 31 and 44, based on an inscription from Lambaesis, AÉ 1917-1918, 57 = AÉ 1992, 1871.

[61] Rankov 1987, p. 246-247; Nelis-Clément 2000, p. 27-28; France, Nelis-Clément 2014, p. 125-128; Piso 2019, p. 118. One of the earliest was however the *statio* from Obernburg raised in AD 141/144, but it was rebuilt around AD 200, see Steidl 2005, p. 89-90; Steidl 2014, p. 106-108.

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AN EARLY BYZANTINE PRIVILEGED BURIAL FROM HISTRIA. (RE)DISCOVERING GRAVE 58 FROM THE *BASILICA EXTRA MUROS* SECTOR

CIPRIAN CREȚU*, ANDREI DORIAN SOFICARU**

Keywords: Scythia, Early Byzantine, mortuary archaeology, privileged burial, anthropological analysis

Abstract: The paper aims at rediscussing grave no. 58 discovered in 1964 in the *Basilica extra muros* sector at Histria during the excavations coordinated by Nubar Hamparțumian. The grave containing golden items from a footwear set together with remains of golden threads from a dress embroidery was placed near the apse of the basilica, something that makes the authors believe it was a privileged burial. The mortuary assemblage is discussed in relation to both the local context (the Histria cemetery) and a wider regional framework taking into account relevant cases encountered in the Lower Danube region and beyond. The anthropological analysis is published here for the first time. New perspectives and interpretations are proposed in an attempt to further the understanding of grave 58 more than half a century after Nubar Hamparţumian published his findings.

Cuvinte-cheie: Scythia, epoca romano-bizantină, arheologie funerară, înmormântări privilegiate, analiză antropologică

Rezumat: Articolul își propune să readucă în discuție mormântul M 58 descoperit în 1964, în Sectorul *Bazilica extra muros* de la Histria, în timpul săpăturilor coordonate de către Nubar Hamparțumian. Mormântul, în care s-au descoperit un set de garnituri din aur pentru încălțăminte și fire de aur de la îmbrăcăminte, este amplasat în proximitatea absidei bazilicii, fapt care îi conferă un caracter special. Complexul și inventarul funerar, sunt discutate atât în contextul cimitirului *extra muros* de la Histria, cât și într-un cadru mai larg care ține cont de descoperiri de acest tip din regiunea Dunării de Jos. Analiza antropologică a scheletului este publicată acum pentru prima dată. Noi interpretări și perspective sunt propuse, având în vedere informațiile apărute în literatura de specialitate ulterioară publicării articolului lui Nubar Hamparţumian despre M 58, acum mai bine de jumătate de secol.

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INTRODUCTION

Grave 58 was unearthed during the excavation campaign of 1964 carried out in the area located approximately 200 m south-west of the main gate of the Late Roman enclosure walls in the so-called *Basilica extra muros* sector (Sectorul *Bazilica extra muros*) at Histria. Between 1961 and 1964, excavations in this area uncovered 74 burials, spanning from the end of the 3rd century to the beginning of the 7th century. The construction of the new fortification walls which significantly reduced the area of the city was most probably initiated and completed sometime during the reign of Aurelian (AD 270-275)[1] or Probus (276-282)[2]. The earliest items discovered in some graves, such as coins from Diocletian (284-305) and a Keller 1 type crossbow brooch dated between 290 and 320, point towards the utilization of the space just outside the city walls for the purpose of burying the dead shortly after the enclosure structure was built[3]. Overall, 42 graves date back in the 4th century AD, while 19 burials were broadly dated in the interval between the 4th and the 5th century AD. Archaeologists established that this group, accounting for 61 graves, belongs to a “first funerary horizon” or to a first cemetery. A group of only 10 graves dated in the 6th and 7th century belong to the “second funerary horizon” (or the second cemetery). Even though Nubar Hamparţumian didn’t specifically mention the existence of two cemeteries in his published work from the 70s, he alluded to the idea of a later phase of the cemetery with burials grouped around and contemporary with the basilica[4]. Through archaeological research Nubar Hamparţumian sought to establish the development phases of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine cemetery in conjunction with its chronological framing and the relationship with the Christian basilica[5].

Based on the numismatic evidence, the basilica was constructed sometime between the end of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century in the *extra urbem* area that was already used for inhumations, as confirmed by the discovery of several earlier graves underneath the building[6]. Three phases were established for the basilica based on the archaeological evidence: the first phase marks the actual construction of the building, sometime between the end of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century; the second phase extends from the middle to the end of the 6th century; the final phase of the building ends in the first half of the 7th century. It is during the second phase when a cemetery developed and functioned as such in the proximity of the basilica until the beginning of the 7th century[7].

Among the 10 burials that are contemporary with the basilica, grave 58 stands out in the funerary topography of the area considering that it is located in the enclosure/courtyard that

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[1] All dates are AD unless specified otherwise.

[2] Sion, Suceveanu 1974, p. 5.

[3] Grave 11 contains two coins, grave 14 and 32 each had one coin (Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 151-153). The crossbow brooch was discovered in grave 26 (Nubar 1971a, p. 206, fig. 5.3). For the brooch chronology see Keller 1971, p. 32-35 (also Pröttel 1991, p. 349-352).

[4] Nubar 1971a, p. 210; Rusu-Bolindeț *et alii* 2014, p. 203-205; Achim 2015, p. 293-295.

[5] Nubar 1971a, p. 193.

[6] It is worth mentioning that the authors do not exclude the possibility that some of the burials found underneath the pavement of the basilica could be contemporary with it, “as the custom of burying the dead inside of churches in order to be closer to the remains of a martyr is well-known since ancient times” (Pippidi *et alii* 1959, p. 295).

[7] Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005, p. 107-108, 111.

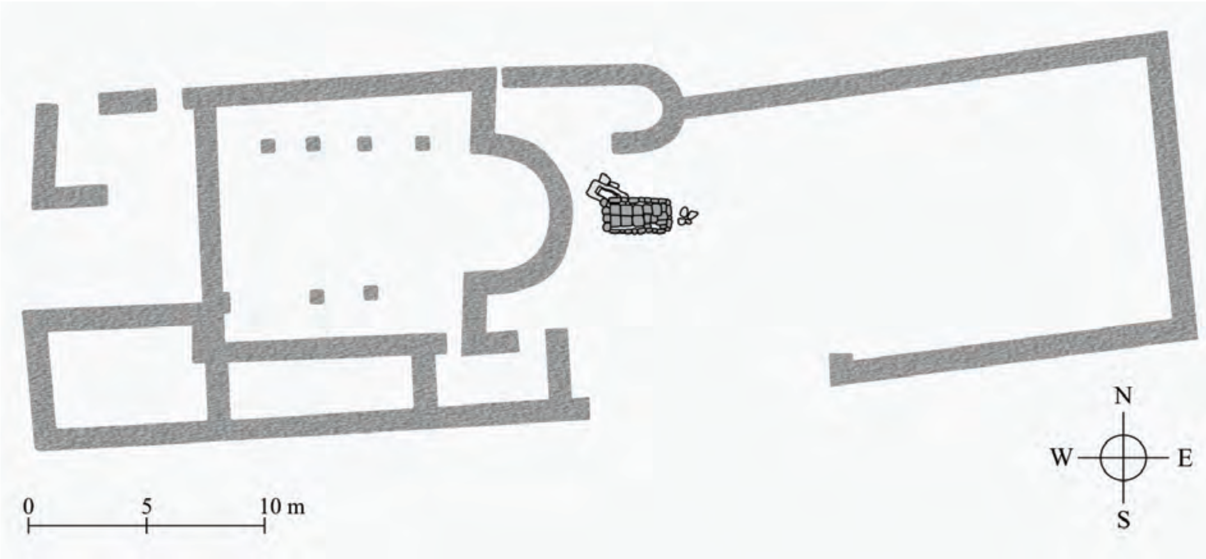

Fig. 1. The *extra muros* basilica from Histria with the location of grave 58 (drawing by C. Crețu).

runs eastward of the basilica's apse, at a distance of approximately 1.2 m in the extension of its longitudinal axis (fig. 1).

The lid of the grave was discovered at -1,30 m and the bottom of the pit at -2,15 m. The measured length was 2.00 m with a width of 0.80 m. On top of the grave a lid made of horizontally arranged bricks was placed. The walls of the pit were constructed using irregularly shaped stone blocks bounded with clay on every side. A bed made of square bricks (17 × 17 cm) was arranged at the bottom of the pit. The individual was oriented on a west-east axis in dorsal decubitus position, with straight arms along the sides of the body and extended legs. Many iron nails found in the pit as well as traces of wood point towards the use of a wooden coffin for the deposition of the body in the grave. The construction of the cist structure for grave 58 disturbed two earlier tombs: 59 to the west and 64 to the east. Only the skull, the left scapula and humerus, and some cervical vertebrae were identified from grave 59; the individual was probably placed in extended dorsal position; aligned on a NW-SE axis. No bones were recovered from grave 64; the grave featured a niche with the entrance on the left side covered with stone slabs. No object was discovered in either grave.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL DATA

In the 1971 paper particularly dedicated to this grave, as well as in the original excavation notes kept in the archives of the "Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, we read that during the excavation process part of the lid collapsed due to its weight and instability causing serious damage to the skeleton[8]. Almost all osteological material recovered from both old and newer excavations is kept at the "Francisc I. Rainer" Institute of Anthropology. Even though it was

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[8] Nubar 1971b, p. 338. We would like to thank the Institute of Archaeology for providing access to the Nubar Hamparțumian archival fonds.

previously stated that the skeleton belongs to an adult female[9], no proper anthropological analysis was performed and published thus far.

The representation state of the skeleton is very poor with only a few preserved elements: the left radius with the proximal part missing, both femurs without the proximal epiphyses and damaged femoral condyles, left tibia with parts missing from both proximal and distal epiphyses; splinters from diaphyses and the left femoral head are also preserved (fig. 2). While observing the photographs published by Nubar Hamparțumian[10], one could notice the presence of several elements that are now missing from the osteological inventory, such as bones from the pelvic girdle (including the sacrum), the lumbar portion of the vertebral column, the right tibia (with a longitudinal split) and patella from the same side, all heavily damaged to a shattered state. Since none of these bones were available for our analysis, even in fragmentary condition, it is reasonable to assume that the archaeologists selectively collected the bones and decided to keep the bones that were better preserved[11].

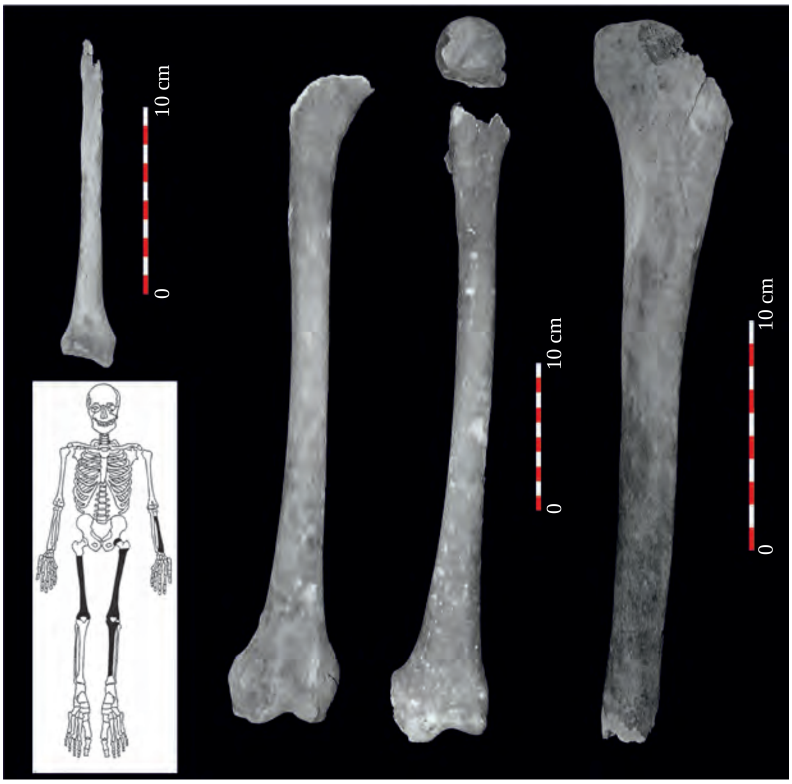

Fig. 2. The skeletal remains from grave 58.

[9] See Achim 2015, p. 293: "*according to Hamparţumian, the anthropological analysis confirmed that the bones found in the grave belonged to a female, probably of a Gothic-Alanic origin*". In a similar manner, Rusu-Bolindeț and Bădescu write about *the famous tomb belonging to a woman* (Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005, p. 111: "*celebrul mormânt aparţinând unei femei, aflat la est de absidă, în axa acesteia*"). However, Nubar Hamparțumian did not mention any details regarding the sex or age-at-death of the skeleton in the published materials (Nubar 1971a; Nubar 1971b). All things considered, we acknowledge the possibility that a primary unpublished anthropological assessment was carried out by Nicolaescu-Plopșor either on site or at a later date given that the anthropologist was a close collaborator of Nubar Hamparțumian and published some anthropological remarks on the skeletons discovered at the *Basilica extra muros* sector (Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1969).

[10] Nubar 1971b, fig. 4-6, 9.

[11] While omitting the right patella which seemed well enough preserved and in anatomical position with no displacement (based on the same photographs).

			Histria Grave 58	
Medieval Croatia, femur			**Value**	
Slaus 1997	**M**	**F**	***right***	***left***
Maximum length	456.10	412.10		
Epicondylar breadth	82.50	72.80	74.1	
Maximum diameter of the femoral head	48.40	42.00		43.27
Sagittal subtrochanteric diameter	26.00	22.10	29.32	28.05
Transverse subtrochanteric diameter	33.10	29.80	27.72	29.09
Sagittal diameter of the femur at midshaft	28.90	24.90	28.85	28.44
Transverse diameter of the femur at midshaft	28.60	25.60	24.23	27.46

Medieval Ireland, femur			**Value**	
Novak 2016	**M**	**F**	***right***	***left***
Maximum length of the femur (MLF)	461.15	419.28		
Epicondylar breadth (EBF)	83.45	73.00	74.1	
Maximum diameter of the femoral head (MDH)	48.78	42.02		43.27
Antero-posterior diameter (APDM)	30.00	26.46	28.85	28.44
Transverse diameter (TDM)	28.84	24.76	24.23	27.46
Circumference (CMF)	92.11	80.98	85	88

Contemporary Croatia, femur			**Value**	
Slaus, Petrovski 2003	**M**	**F**	***right***	***left***
Maximum length	469.6	439.36		
Epicondylar breadth	86.75	75.17	74.1	
Maximum diameter of the femoral head	49.17	41.74		43.27
Sagittal subtrochanteric diameter	28.88	25.87	29.32	28.05
Transverse subtrochanteric diameter	32.09	30.47	27.72	29.09
Sagittal diameter of the femur at midshaft	30.84	26.8	28.85	28.44
Transverse diameter of the femur at midshaft	28.8	27.42	24.23	27.46

Contemporary France, femur			**Value**	
Alunni-Peret *et alii* 2008	**M**	**F**	***right***	***left***
Epicondylar breadth (EBF)	84.3	74.8	74.1	

Table 1. Compared osteometric data.

Owing to the fact that the bones which are normally observed (such as the skull, including the dentition, or the pelvic bones) in order to estimate the age-at-death and the sex of a skeleton are absent, alternative methods were sought. Previous research established that osteometric measurements of the long bones have a high potential to estimate sex, most often in relation to tibiae and femora[12].

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[12] To name just a few studies, see Alunni-Perret, Staccini, Quatrehomme 2008; Bruzek 1995; Holland 1991; İşcan, Miller-Shaivitz 1986; Šlaus, Tomičić 2005.

Four samples were selected for comparison based on metric data measured on the femur: two ancient groups, one from medieval Croatia (7th-17th century)[13] and the other from medieval Ireland (5th-12th century)[14], together with two contemporary groups from Croatia[15] and France[16]. The following measurements were possible due to the incomplete state of the femora: epicondylar breadth (for the right femur only), maximum diameter of the femoral head (for the left femur only), sagittal subtrochanteric diameter, transverse subtrochanteric diameter, antero-posterior diameter (at midshaft), transverse diameter (at midshaft) and circumference. When compared, 13 out of 18 values are closer to those indicating a female individual, while only five are within close range to the values indicating a male (see Table 1). Even though it is widely accepted that males have larger body size, more massive joints, and stronger musculature compared with females, it should also be noted that the degree of the sexual dimorphism of the long bones is rather a population-specific phenomenon[17]. While recognizing these limitations and shortcomings, the employed method was the only one immediately available in trying to assess the sex of the skeleton. The five contrasting values could be interpreted as possible indicators of a female exhibiting more robust features.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Apart from its position near the apse of the basilica, the burial also stands out on account of the golden items belonging to a footwear set[18] discovered with the body: two buckles with the fitting plate probably depicting an animal head with horns seen from the front (of almost equal length, 4.1 and 4.2 cm); the tip of the thick shield spike extends beyond the edge of the oval buckle ring; two undecorated strap ends (3.7 × 1.4 cm) obtained by hammering together two gold sheets (for each strap end) featuring two horizontally placed rivets at the upper extremity; two rectangular fittings decorated with incised crosses (2 × 1.5 cm; 1.9 × 1.5 cm); the bifurcated ends of the crosses bent outwards. In addition to the set of gold footwear items, remains of golden threads from a costume's embroidery were found around the neck and the wrists of the skeleton (fig. 3).

Nubar Hamparțumian believed the grave belong to an individual of Gothic-Alanic origins[19]. Michel Kazanski notes that such items as those discovered in the grave are common for the Goths settled as *foederati* in the Lower Danube region and in Thracia[20]. Nonetheless, the findings from

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[13] Šlaus, Tomičić 2005.

[14] Novak 2016.

[15] Šlaus *et alii* 2003.

[16] Alunni-Perret, Staccini, Quatrehomme 2008.

[17] Eveleth 1975; İşcan, Miller-Shaivitz 1986; Macho 1990.

[18] It was brought to our attention the possibility that these items don't belong to a *Schuhgarnitur* but to a *Wadenbindegarnitur* intended for wrapping around the lower part of the calves. We would like to thank Dr. Uwe Fiedler for pointing out this aspect (see Fiedler 1992, p. 60 arguing that because of the presence of the rectangular fittings, this set is unlikely to be a shoe set but rather a calf bandage set). However, while acknowledging this hypothesis and the possibility of certain post-depositional movement inside the grave, given the position of the artifacts, (including both rectangular fittings) at the lower extremity of the feet we are rather inclined to assume the items belong to the former category.

[19] Nubar 1971b.

[20] When discussing the 6th century findings from the region the author writes that are predominantly burials in simple pits with the deceased laying in supine position with the body oriented on a west-east axis. Most graves belong to women and are equipped with more grave goods, thus being more easily recognizable. To these observations Kazanski adds: "*la tombe masculine n° 58 de la nécropole d'Histria qui a fourni une garniture de ceinture de caractère germanique constitue à ce titre une exception*". (See Kazanski 1991, p. 116-117, 137).

grave 58 should be regarded as special given the precious material used for their manufacture. Moreover, most items with a similar function from footwear sets are bronze casts, while in our case the technological process of production, due to the nature of the material (gold sheet), is also different. The stylistic motif of the fitting plate of the buckle depicting an animal head with horns further highlights the distinct character of the grave goods from grave 58[21].

The link between these gold items and a barbarian milieu was partially established in relation with two other findings from the same area[22]. A large bow fibula (19.8 cm in length) was probably found within an inhumation grave in the area of the *extra urbem* cemetery, near the western wall of the city. The item is made of gilded bronze decorated with almandines and buttons on the projections of the plate and with excised spiral motifs derived from Germanic animal style decoration. At the lower extremity it ends with a stylized animal head[23]. A second bow fibula, smaller than the first one (11.7 cm) and made of bronze, was found in a similar context[24]. It features a simpler design with the semidiscoidal plate without any decoration, trapezoidal foot plate with three pairs of protrusions, and elongated lower end decorated with geometric motifs[25]. Both items could be dated towards the end of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century[26]. Madgearu links the presence of bow fibulae to a “barbarization” phenomenon with regards to the material culture in the Lower Danube Region. In other words, if up to the 6th century the barbarian clientele aligned itself with the trends and fashion set within the empire, changes occurred in the following period when workshops and craftsmen from the empire produce objects based on the demands and tastes of the foreigners originating from the north of the Danube[27].

As already suggested, the fitting plate of the buckle depicting an animal head has no formal analogy either within the borders of the empire or beyond the Danube, anywhere from Crimea to the Balkans. The closest similarities, at least from a stylistic perspective, are to be found with a series of harness mounts that are part of the Martynivka hoard[28]. Even though they serve a different purpose and are made of a different material (silver), the decoration technique, including the contours and lines, the animal-mask decorated horse-harness mounts from Martynivka bears some resemblance to the golden fitting plate from grave 58. Scholars have dated the burial of the hoard at various times, ranging from the first half to the second half of the 7th century, or even to the early 700s[29]. The recently discovered fitting plate covered with gold leaf on the sides (from

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[21] See fig. 4 for the closest analogies with the items from grave 58 and a map with sites location.

[22] See Kazanski 1991, p. 117, 137.

[23] Petre 1965a.

[24] Both fibulae were discovered before the onset of the Second World War in conditions which remain unknown, but were considered lost until they were found in a storage box in 1961 (see Petre 1956a, p. 67, 70-71, for details regarding the probable finding spot).

[25] Petre 1965b.

[26] Petre 1965a; Petre 1956b; Madgearu 1997, p. 61-62.

[27] Madgearu 1997, p. 63-65. Studies involving bow fibulae generated a massive corpus of scholarly contributions revolving around complex issues such as their typological classification, the areas where they were produced, and a potential ethnic assignment based on their occurrence (to name just a few, see Teodor 1992, p. 119-121; Curta 1994, p. 233-239; Curta 2009; Curta 2012). Curiously enough, Ivanišević and Kazanski write that the gilded bronze fibula from Histria came from a *cremation* grave and consequently assigned it to the Slavs since at that time they were the only group practicing cremation in the area (Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, p. 113-114).

[28] Kidd, Pekarskaya 1995, p. 353, 360, pl. 5/d.

[29] Bálint 1989, p. 84-92; Ščeglova 1990, p. 179; Kazanski pushed the dating of the deposition to the late 7th or early 8th century (Kazanski 1990, p. 97).

Assos, Çanakkale province in modern-day Turkey)[30] is somehow similar to the ones discussed so far by virtue of its shape and the featured stylistic motifs. The latter would be the southernmost item acknowledged in relation to the one from Histria.

Morphologically similar strap ends with the ones from grave 58 were discovered in two burials (no. 17 and 102) from the Noșlac cemetery (Alba County, Romania) and are dated from the 6th to the 7th century[31]. In grave 17 one individual was inhumated in supine position, with west-east orientation, in a rectangular pit with rounded corners. The presence of an iron fastening clamp probably indicates the use of a wooden coffin as container for the body. The strap end was found towards the lower extremity of the body, thus belonging to a footwear assemblage. Other items were found inside the grave besides the strap end: silver buckle with decorated triangular plate, a silver belt plate, ceramic vessel placed near the head of the skeleton on the left side, and one iron sword placed along the body on the same side[32]. An analogous bronze strap end was found in grave 102 together with another three strap ends (but with a different design), two belt plates, two spearheads, and three old Roman coins[33]. Regardless of the intense debated ethnic assignment of the graves from Noșlac cemetery (late Gepids, Avars, acculturated Gepids living under Avar rule and adopting Avar burial customs and artefacts)[34], scholars roughly dated these discoveries in the period between the second half of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century. Another similar strap end was found at Kecel, in southern Hungary, together with other nine belt plates, two buckles, one earring and a Roman brooch, all made of bronze. The discovery was made in unknown circumstances, but it is likely that the objects come from the same grave[35]. A similar dating for this assemblage towards the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the next was suggested.

The two rectangular fittings belonging to the same footwear assemblage found in grave 58 are decorated with incised crosses whose extremities bifurcate and bent outwards. The presence of the cross as a Christian symbol is fairly well documented in the province of Scythia in the 6th century. During the 1953 archaeological excavations in room no. 40 from a feature located east of the baths within the city walls a hoard was found, consisting of two small crosses, two rings and two earrings, all made of gold. Its burial was dated during the last part of the 6th century or in the first decades of the 7th century at the latest[36]. At Beroe, to the north-west from Histria, a small silver cross was found attached to an earring in a grave where an individual with artificially deformed skull was buried in the 6th century[37]. A golden cross with a gemstone in the middle was found in a burial chamber from Axiopolis (Cernavodă). Crosses and trees were painted in red over the chamber's walls. The entrance was blocked by a limestone slab also decorated with a cross[38]. In a similar burial chamber from Callatis (Mangalia) a golden cross with red stone was found in the north-eastern corner of the room. Around the entrance crosses and religious inscriptions

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[30] The author notes that the item originates in either Lombard Italy or the Balkans where it was made in the first quarter of the 7th century (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2021, p. 47, pl. 35).

[31] Rusu 1962, p. 272, fig. 2/39; Rusu 1965, p. 37, fig. I/23.

[32] Rusu 1962, p. 272, fig. 2/33, 39, p. 276, fig. 4/1, p. 282, fig. 7/8.

[33] Rusu 1965, p. 37, fig. I/14, 23-24, 30-31, 34. For the Roman coins see Găzdac, Cosma 2013.

[34] For a summary of the debate see Doboș 2013.

[35] Balogh 2004, p. 275, fig. 1, p. 276, fig. 2.

[36] Popescu 1994, p. 374-375.

[37] Petre 1987, p. 78-79, pl. 144, fig. 238/a-g; Mirițoiu 2011, p. 542.

[38] Rădulescu, Lungu 1989, p. 2578-2591.

were painted using red pigment. Like the one from Axiopolis, the chamber had its entrance sealed by a stone block, this time undecorated[39]. As observed up to this point, crosses occur in the archaeological record of 6th-7th centuries Scythia (including at Histria) as objects *per se*, but also as depictions in burial chambers[40] and on various elements of material culture, such as oil lamps[41], pottery[42], and lead seals[43]. Notwithstanding this situation, no formal analogies were identified for the two rectangular fittings decorated with crosses. A literature survey was organized striving to cover an area as large as possible, from the burial chambers of Skalistoe and Maloe Sadovoe in Crimea to the Early Byzantine cemetery at Isthmia, in north-eastern Peloponnesus[44]. It also seems that the cross depicted as having bifurcated ends is somehow less popular than other models of representation[45], with a few examples appearing on ceramic items such as a lid from Callatis[46] or several plates from Tomis[47].

With relation to the gold wire embroidery and remains of golden threads found around the neck and the wrist of the body, most probably coming from a costume, the only similar finding comes from grave no. 2 in Keszthely, on the western shore of Lake Balaton. The individual was buried in a wooden coffin above which wooden planks covered with semi-circular wooden beams were placed. On top, a stone mantle delimited the grave. Threads made of gold, probably from a veil, were found inside the grave among many other objects such as 15 gold leaf pendants imitating Roman bronze coins, 11 gold belt plates, two gold beads, and a golden ring[48]. At least four other graves from Keszthely, all dated in the 6th century, had pieces of small gold tubes found around the skull, probably belonging to hair nets[49].

Determining the provenance of the footwear set alone in conjunction with the featured stylistic motifs is a difficult task. Generally speaking, there are four possible scenarios: 1. products made on Roman territory, traded and used within the Empire; 2. products made on Roman territory, but brought and used outside the Empire; 3. products made by Roman craftsmen outside the Empire according to local tastes or according to Roman tastes; 4. products made by “barbarian” craftsmen using Roman technology, again according to local or Roman tastes in terms of shape and decorative motifs[50].

There is a certain contrast between the superior quality of the execution, technically speaking, and the relatively poor quality of the decoration most discernible while observing the general outline and features of the animal heads with horns depicted on the fitting plates. This situation

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[39] Pillinger 1992.

[40] Valeva 2001.

[41] Bădescu, Bottez 2014, p. 237, pl. 3/2, 9, 13.

[42] Popescu 1965, p. 712, fig. 13/1-2, 8; Topoleanu 1996, p. 150-151, p. 166-168, pl. V/27, pl. V-VI.

[43] Nubar 1964.

[44] The survey included over 30 published materials (papers, monographs, conference proceedings, catalogues) which are not referenced in the paper to avoid overcrowding of the text and the bibliography section.

[45] Needless to say, none of the crosses described in the first part of the paragraph match the ones depicted on the belt fitting from grave 58.

[46] Barnea 1965, p. 409, fig. 1/7, p. 413.

[47] Papuc 1973, p. 175, fig. 15.

[48] Müller 2002, p. 33-35, p. 64, pl. 10/1, 2.

[49] Barkóczi 1968, p. 302.

[50] See Daim 2010, p. 61.

made Nubar Hamparțumian to advocate for a “barbarian” origin of the items[51]. However, the idea that low-quality decoration workmanship is indicative of production outside the borders of the empire should be cautiously considered. The aesthetic flaws of the animal head rendition could also point out that this is either the work of a Byzantine craftsman unfamiliar with a range or a foreign stylistic repertoire from beyond the empire’s borders, or that of an artisan (whether Byzantine or not) with limited artistic abilities.

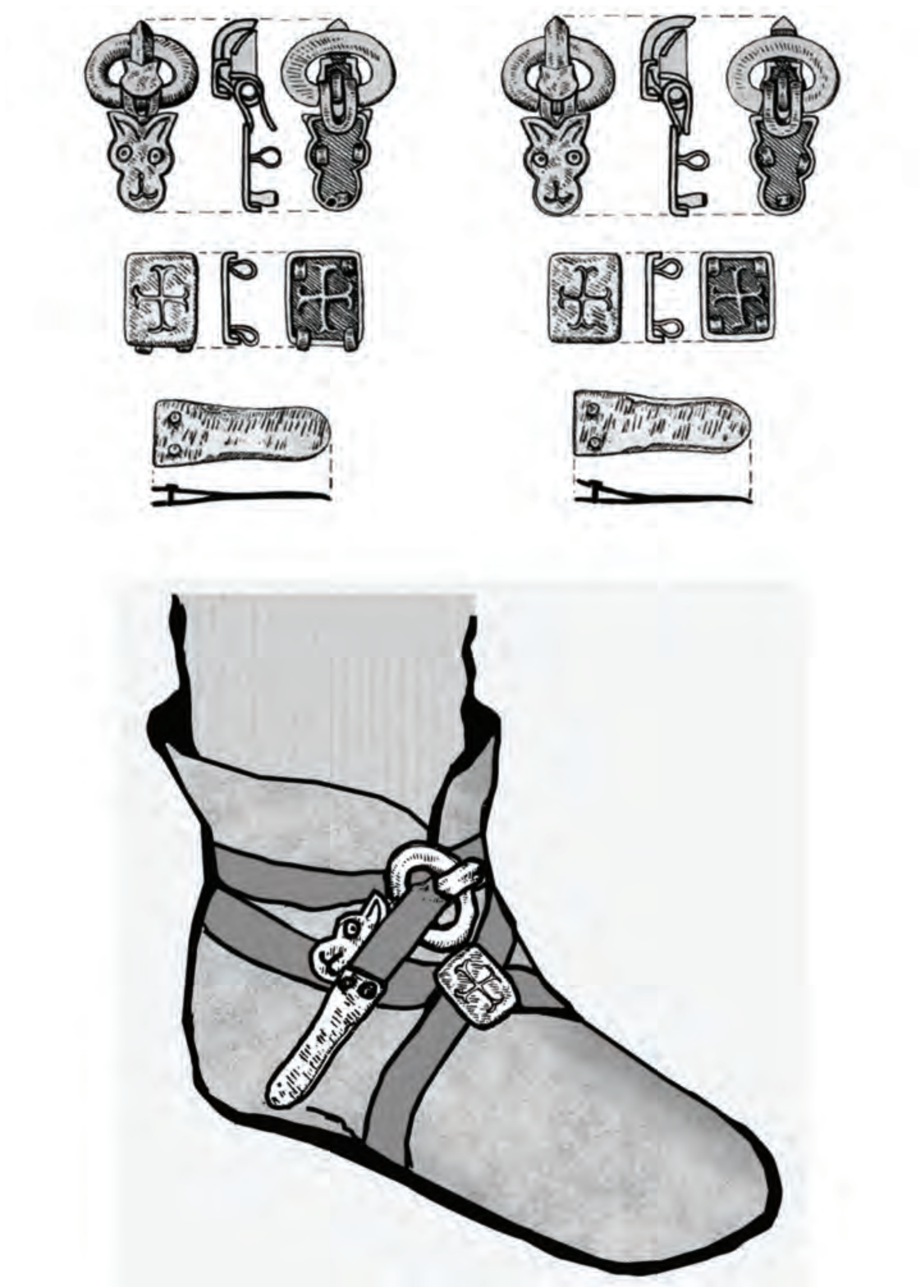

Fig. 3. Footwear items from grave 58 (after Nubar 1971b, fig. 8; modified) with an artistic rendition of the set (drawing by C. Crețu).

[51] Nubar 1971b, p. 344.

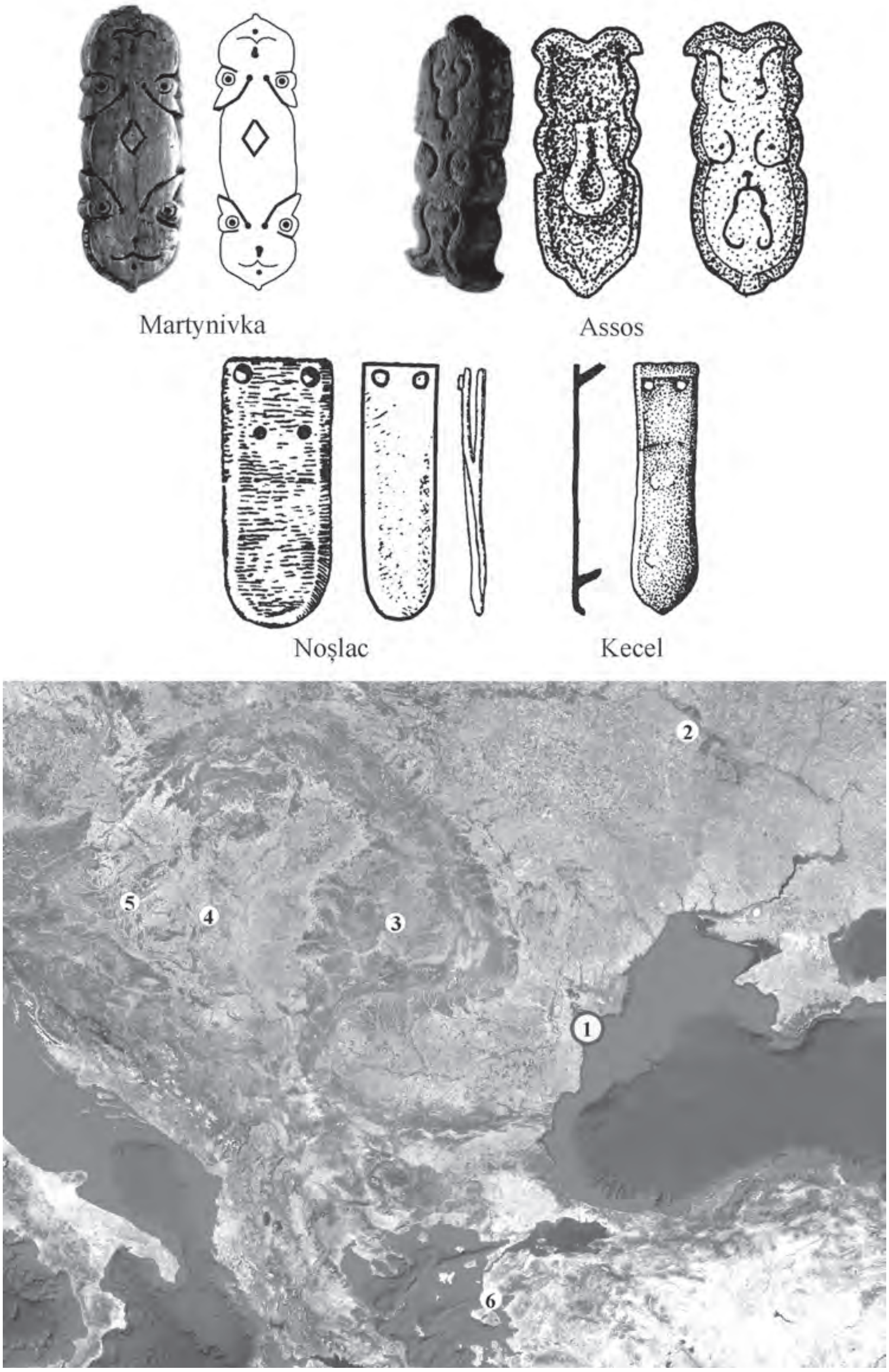

Fig. 4. The closest analogies for the items found in grave 58 and the localization of the sites. 1. Histria, 2. Martynivka, 3. Noşlac, 4. Kecel, 5. Keszthely, 6. Assos.

DISCUSSION

A contextual approach is necessary to better understand grave 58 in relation to the other contemporary burials. As mentioned before, during its second phase, a cemetery developed and functioned as such, until the beginning of the 7th century in the immediate vicinity of the basilica. A group of 11 burials (grave 58 included) were dated to the period between the 6th and 7th centuries, being contemporary with the cult building[52]. In six cases individuals were buried in cist-like structures with walls made either of stone[53], bricks[54], or by combining both materials as shown by grave 58. Three burials from this group are located in the courtyard east of the church[55]. For the remaining graves, a simple pit was dug with no additional structures[56], perhaps with the exception of grave 43 and grave 2/2008. From the knees region to the lower extremity of the pit an arrangement of large stones was found on the left side in the first case, while in grave 2/2008 *imbrices* were placed at the upper and lower extremities of the pit[57].

Only two other cist graves were discovered in the cemetery area until this moment: grave 13 from the Nubar Hamparțumian excavations (cist grave covered with horizontally placed tiles) and grave 15/2013 excavated by Dabîca. While grave goods were lacking, both burials were dated to the period between the 4th and 5th century, based on stratigraphical observation, thus being assigned to the first cemetery[58]. Even though the number of graves assigned to the first cemetery is disproportionately larger than the one accounting for burials belonging to the second cemetery, the preference for placing the dead in cist graves is obvious.

All but one of the individuals were placed in supine position, either with both arms alongside the body or with the hands resting on the pelvis. The one from grave 8 has a peculiar position: laying on his back, with the left arm extended alongside the body, right forearm flexed with the distal area of the radius and ulna near the left clavicle. The left leg is bent at the knee at a right angle, while the right leg, whose femur falls below the femur of the left limb, is also flexed. The shoulders are more elevated than the rest of the body as if the deceased had been deposited in such a manner that the head was forced down and shoulders were raised[59]. The graves are generally aligned on a west-east axis, with three individuals having a secondary orientation towards north-east and south-west.

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[52] Eight of them were unearthed during the Hamparțumian excavations in the 1960s (see Nubar 1971a; Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 147-148, 164, pl. 4), while two were discovered more recently in 2008 when Rusu-Bolindeț conducted archaeological research in the area (Rusu-Bolindeț *et alii* 2014, p. 205, 218-219, pl. X/1, pl. XI/1-2).

[53] Graves 33, 38, 49, 61 (Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 156).

[54] Grave 60 (Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 156).

[55] In addition to grave 58, only three graves were excavated in this courtyard – nos. 55, 60, 61. The only one that does not have a cist is grave 55 in which an adult (50 years old) and a subadult (9 years old), both of them males, were buried (Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 156).

[56] Graves 8, 46, 55 together with grave 1 discovered in 2008. See Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 155-156; Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2009.

[57] Nubar 1971a, p. 208, fig. 7/1; Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 156; Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2009; Rusu-Bolindeț *et alii* 2014, p. 219, pl. XI/1-2.

[58] Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 153; Dabîca 2014, p. 137.

[59] Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 178, pl. 18/a.

Except grave 58, only two burials had grave goods accompanying the deceased: grave 33 (6 years old subadult) had beads around the neck, a flat bronze square object, probably an amulet, a comb near the head, and two shells; grave 43 (55 years old adult male) had a Syracuse-type belt buckle (or Schulze-Dörrlamm type 12D) on the right side of the lumbar region[60].

A chronological framework for Grave 58 could be provided in relation to the basilica, given its position along the longitudinal axis of the building. The grave is placed east of the apse which dates from the second phase of the basilica, in the second half of the 6th century. At least three other graves have been oriented in the same manner further to the east. Given that the northern wall of the courtyard went below the apse of the small annex[61] it is plausible to assume that the precinct was constructed sometime before the third (and last) phase of the basilica. Therefore, considering the position of the graves in relation to the basilica, it was the orientation of the apse and not that of the enclosure that people took as reference point when they buried the dead.

It is tempting to consider grave 58 a *depositio ad sanctos* – burial near the relics of holy men – given its special location in conjunction with the Christian symbols depicted on the belt fittings. Such practice was based on the belief in an eschatological advantage derived from the closeness to the powerful remains of saints or martyrs, that is to say those who interred their beloved ones close to holy bones expected that the saints would act as intercessor and help their neighbours in the afterlife and when the Judgement Day is due[62]. A group of at least three burials were found near the apse of the Episcopal Basilica located within the city walls at Histria[63]. The graves have been interpreted belonging to the prelates who performed their religious service here based on their position in relation to the Christian building. Achim assigned this group to a category called "small groups of graves near the basilicas", together with Basilica C from Tropaeum Traiani, the main basilica of the cathedral complex from Novae and the *extra muros* church from Axiopolis[64]. While *intra ecclesiam* burials are documented on several sites in Scythia and Moesia Secunda, such as Beroe, Tomis, Halmyris, and Novae, graves found in a similar location to the one at Histria were seldomly discovered in the Lower Danube region and the Balkans. Four cist graves were discovered east of the apse at the church in Amygdaleza (Stamata) in Attica; two of them had walls cover with painted decoration and inscriptions. Two gold earrings with pyriform pendants and a gold pin, all dated to the turn of the 6th and the early 7th century, were found in grave II thus betraying the presence of a female burial[65]. Three tombs were installed outside the apse of the basilica by

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[60] Crețu, Dabîca, Soficaru 2020, p. 178, pl. 18/b, p. 179, pl. 19/a.

[61] Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005, p. 111.

[62] Duval 1988, p. 145-148, 182-188; Wiśniewski 2019, p. 95-100.

[63] The situation of these findings is a problematic one. In the report published in CCA, campania 1994, p. 3, it is mentioned that three graves were discovered, one of them having a buckle datable to 570-600. In the monograph dedicated to this basilica Suceveanu writes about five tombs: three discovered during the 1994-1995, an old discovery from the 1970s, together with another later burial probably dated 641-681 (for the first four graves see Suceveanu 2007, p. 37-38 and for the later one, see Suceveanu 2007, p. 43). Suceveanu did not insist on further details about these burials, as they will "one day" be the subject of a paper prepared by Karl von der Lohe, who was preparing at that time his doctoral thesis on graves located in the vicinity of the basilicas at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (Suceveanu 2007, p. 8, 37). Unfortunately, this paper was never published, even though more than a quarter of a century has passed since the graves were unearthed. In a more recent publication, Achim writes about five burials discovered in the area, three of them being contemporary with the building, one preceding it and the last dated to a later period (Achim 2015, p. 302). Therefore, we are left with the three graves mentioned in this paper.

[64] Achim 2015, p. 300-306.

[65] Kypraiou 1997, p. 187, fig. 207-208; Marano 2021, p. 509.

Corinth's Lechaion harbour. The identity of one buried individual, Thomas the Presbyter, is made clear on an inscribed mug placed beside the body around AD 600[66].

An *ad sanctos* burial would require, at least by virtue of its narrow definition, the nearby presence of physical remains belonging to holy men, either martyrs or saints. However, the basilica outside the city walls at Histria had no crypt designed for sheltering such remains, unlike the ones from Tropaeum Traiani[67] or Novae[68]. The only cult building with a crypt from Histria is the so-called "Florescu" basilica located within the city walls on the eastern side of the main square. The crypt was built below the floor level, occupying a space between the nave and the hemicycle of the apse. Neither traces of reliquary nor human remains were found inside the crypt. No burials were documented near the church, but this absence could be due to the building's central position in the city[69].

A small annex (7 × 2.5 m) was attached to the main building of the basilica in the extension of the north-eastern wall. This room communicates with the exterior courtyard only through an entrance located on the southern side, but not with the nave of the basilica because the wall is continuous on the eastern side[70]. Popescu calls this structure a chapel (*la chapelle*) that could have been used for housing the remains of a martyr or those of the church founder[71]. No human remains were found inside nonetheless[72]. For Born the northern annex of the basilica together with the "privileged" burials in the immediate vicinity of the basilica on the east side (grave 58 in particular) are indicatives for relics sheltering[73]. There is no other element to support such a hypothesis, aside from the interpretation offered by Born on the basis of the basilica architecture and the location of certain burials.

By employing the concept of *privileged burial*[74] instead of *ad sanctos* inhumation the perspective shifts from the presence of the martyrs' remains as a prerequisite condition towards the meaning and importance of the burial place near the church in itself. Perhaps more than a milieu facilitating the connection of this world with the heavenly paradise, a church is first and foremost a place where people meet and interact within corporate worship practice and other behaviours and strategies related to commemoration and remembrance of the departed ones (like visiting the cemetery or performing certain rituals). The phenomenon of burials in the vicinity of Christian basilicas can be most easily understood by considering the desire of an individual to

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66 Poulou-Papadimitriou, Tzavella, Ott 2012, p. 384.

67 No further details about this crypt could be identified from the surveyed published materials. The only observation in this sense comes from the brief report on the excavations from 1997 where "the integrity of the vault of martyrium under the altar" it is mentioned (CCA, campania 1997, p. 1).

68 At the *extra muros* basilica from Novae there is a tomb just below the sanctuary, oriented on an east-west axis and measuring 2.70 × 1.35 m. It is built with eight rows of bricks and covered with two large stone slabs. According to Čičikova, the basilica mainly had a commemorative function with the tomb in the apse housing the remains of the martyr Luppos (see Čičikova 1997; Biernacki 2005).

69 Popescu 1994, p. 314-316, fig. 3-5; Achim 2003-2005, p. 189-192; Achim 2012, p. 141-145.

70 Rusu-Bolindeț, Bădescu 2003-2005, p. 109.

71 Popescu 1994, p. 309. Barnea writes that the room could have served as *pastophorion* – the sacristy adjacent to the apse used for the reservation of the Sacrament. This old interpretation was based on an incomplete plan of complex on which the fact that the annex did not communicate with the interior of the basilica was not observable (Barnea 1977, p. 141).

72 Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț, personal communication (April 16, 2022).

73 Born 2012, p. 83.

74 See Duval, Picard 1986.

be deposited in such a place after death. The fulfilment of this desire depends of course on the capability and willingness of the survivors to act accordingly. The idea and the consequential action of burying someone in a privileged place could also originate in a decision of the survivors alone, independently of the deceased person's last words or wishes. This happens, for example, when the group considers that the deceased was a person who deserved such special treatment given its personal merits or social/political/economic status while alive. It is equally valid that people would bury their dead in such special places in order to convey a message in the mortuary arena – a suitable space for social negotiations, representations and creating narratives.

Given its central location in the courtyard, near the church apse and close to the entrance of the annex (whatever its functionality might have been) grave 58 was most likely additionally signalled by use of a gravestone or other grave marker, thus making it unavoidable in the visitors' field of vision – a noteworthy point in both the mental and the actual local topography. Within this interpretive framework it can be suggested that the graves "attracted" around a basilica are not only funerary monuments in themselves, but instead are integrated into the fabric of the edifice, through their constant presence in the visual field of the community members who frequented the place. A cemetery is not "a container space", but a "relational space"[75].

It is rather difficult and problematic to establish a direct relationship between the material record (*i.e.* grave goods) and notions of ethnic identity; such approaches have been increasingly questioned lately[76]. Therefore, instead on elaborating along this line of inquiry, a different aspect is discussed in order to explore the identity of the individual buried in grave 58.

It is both tempting and justified to assign a Christian identity to the individual in reference to the crosses depicted on the fitting plates and given the position of the grave in relation to the basilica. As already noticed, burial in or near churches in privileged locations were interpreted as belonging to the clergy. However, there is convincing evidence to suggest that such treatment was not the prerogative of members of the clergy, but was at the same time a matter of personal merit. Rich burial assemblages belonging to women found in such privileged places attest to this. An inhumation grave in a wooden coffin belonging to a woman was discovered inside or near a *martyrion* north of the city of Iustiniana Secunda (Gračanica, Kosovo). Many items were found in the grave, among them a digitated silver gilt brooch, two silver gilt cruciform brooches, one cross-shaped brooch made of bronze, three silver bracelets, and two strings of glass and amber beads[77]. The Amygdaleza (Stamata) grave located in the northern side of the nave of the basilica is another example of female beneficiary of a burial in privileged place[78]. It is difficult to assess the actual role or position of the woman buried at Histria in relation to the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the absence of any clearer evidence. The widespread practice of euergetism and commemoration of generous donors to the church, including women, can be used as clue in this regard[79]. A 6th century dedicatory inscription on the left side of the main altar of the basilica of St. Leonidas in Klauseios, Achaia reads: "Polygēros the most reverend lector and Andromacha the most beloved deacon[ess] of

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[75] Streb, Kolnberger 2019, p. 118.

[76] See Jones 1997 and Curta 2014 for overviews on the topic.

[77] Popović, Čerškov 1956, p. 319-320; Vinski 1968, p. 106, pl. II-III.

[78] See note 65 above.

[79] See Vuolanto 2002 and Theis *et alii* 2011-2012 for general outlooks.

God, because of their vow, beautified [the place]"[80]. A carved marble monument from Nicopolis in Thrace commemorates "Eugenia of praiseworthy memory, d[…] who built the house of the glorious apostle Andrew"[81]. The 6th century church of Hosios David in Thessalonica bears a dedicatory inscription recording the vow of the anonymous aristocratic female donor ("whose name God knows") who paid for the mosaics[82]. Closer to Histria, at Novae, one dedicatory inscription was found on the lower part of a marble column in the episcopal basilica. It commemorates deaconess Celerina who was sufficiently wealthy and in independent control of her resources to financially support the efforts to restore the building sometime during the reign of Justinian (527-565)[83].

In light of the evidence one could assume that the woman buried in grave 58 at Histria held an important position in the community manifested in both the religious and the secular realms. What Florin Curta writes about the woman buried with various precious items at Gračanica is also valid for the grave discussed in our paper: "*those artifacts were placed in the tomb by those who have buried the woman inside or next to the martyrium. In doing so, they certainly had no intention to associate her (and her grave) with her family or ethnic group. Judging by the existing evidence, she was buried there because of her own merits, whatever they may have been, or because she was regarded as particularly important, in her own right, by local Christians*"[84].

CONCLUSIONS

Grave 58 from Histria provides a good case for discussing the intertwined and complex relationship between multiple levels of the same person's identity. The ethnic identity of an individual was traditionally assumed (as it is our case with the individual of "Gothic-Alanic origin") building on a discourse based on the items found within a burial assemblage (grave goods), but this choice of objects intersects with a range of variables including religion, status, sex, and last but not least ethnicity. Thus, even though the design of the footwear set shows influences that have their origins outside the borders of the empire, establishing such connection is not enough to formulate conclusions on the ethnicity of the deceased. It is also of paramount importance to acknowledge that multiple identities could be maintained and that selection and "switching" between a range of material culture forms could have served different purposes in different contexts. We are inclined to rather consider the individual buried in grave 58 to be a local (not to be read and interpreted as *Roman*) more than a person without any connections with the people from the city, mainly because it is highly questionable that the local community would provide a deposition in such a privileged place for an individual with no local civic or religious belongingness. Even though the grave structure is carefully built, this type of construction is not unique by far. The position and the orientation of the body follow established, in other words common pattern that occurs in other burials as well. The privileged placement of the grave and the golden items placed inside are the elements that deem this archaeological discovery unique and intriguing. Additional data by means

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80 Robert, Robert 1966, p. 386.

81 Beševliev 1964, p. 164-166. "D…" – the only letter of her title that is preserved – is probably the beginning of "deaconess".

82 Feissel 1983, p. 97-99.

83 Kolendo, Božilova 1997, no. 180.

84 Curta 2021, p. 301-302.

of stable isotope analysis that can detect whether a person was local or nonlocal to the area where they died could prove to be extremely useful in furthering the discussion about the identity of the woman buried at Histria.

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COMPTES RENDUS

GERRIE VAN ROOIJEN, *Goddesses of Akragas. A Study of Terracotta Votive Figurines from Sicily*, Sidestone Press, Leiden, 2021, 383 p, 202+32 fig., ISBN 978-90-8890-900-9

Initiated as a PhD dissertation, and published shortly after its defence at the University of Leiden, the book presents, as the title announces, the study of a category of finds from the Akragas excavations, namely 202 terracotta figurines produced between the middle of the 6th and the middle of the 5th century BC. These are mostly block-shaped, almost aniconic female representations, characterized by an apron, pectoral pendants, and *polos* on the head. The work is an ambitious undertaking, which does not aim only to publish the material in a catalogue, but pursues a broad spectrum of questions, which go beyond the simply who and how is represented, and contextualizes the artefacts from the perspective of recent theoretical interpretations in archaeology. Thus, the catalogue at the end follows a typological and chronological classification (Chapter IV), the latter preceded by studies of aspects related to iconography (Chapter II) and technology (Chapter III), all set in their historical context (political, social and religious) at the very beginning of the volume (Chapter I).

The first part of the introductory chapter briefly reviews in several subchapters the state of research and the research questions, as well as the method and the structure of the work. But most of it consists of subchapter 6, dedicated to the historical context (p. 24-32). The written sources, namely the main authors making reference in their works to the Sicilian colonies (Thucydides, Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus), but also other archaeological data are correlated to provide the complex landscape of a multicultural society, which in a dynamic Mediterranean world and in a neutral colonial environment defined by the term "middle ground" led to the creation of an original local culture. The terracotta figurines are seen as a material manifestation of this hybrid culture playing an important role in the cultural mediation and the formation of a local identity through common participation in the cult.

The figurines are local products known in literature as Athena Lindia, according to Christian S. Blinkenberg's identification[1]. The Danish archaeologist, who excavated at Lindos in Rhodes, started from the interpretation of an inscription (the Lindian Chronicle) discovered in the temple of Athena, which speaks of the connections between the colonies of Akragas and Gela on the one hand, and Rhodes on the other, and from the assumption that the Akragas statuettes reflect a local cult statue, probably originating in Rhodes. Other identification suggestions have been made since, considering the figurines as representations of Demeter, or Persephone[2]. The author (further G.v.R.) downplays the contribution of the colonists and the importance of the relationship between the colony and the metropolis, noticing that the Rhodian influence is supported neither in terms of the Rhodian contribution to the foundation of Akragas (a participation considered symbolic, p. 29), nor in terms of artistic and iconographic influence. G.v.R. argues for the identification of the statuettes as generic representations of local female divinities, a hypothesis sustained throughout the work.

What fundamentally changes this contribution from what has been written so far is the perspective on the artefacts, namely the context of a society with a hybridized culture. The idea of a Greek culturally dominated society is redefined: "the cultures of the island, including that of the inhabitants of Akragas, are no longer to be seen as culturally subordinate to a dominant Greek culture" (p. 33). Greater attention is paid to other local cultural groups, such as the Siceliotes and the Phoenicians, who left no traces in the written, or archaeological sources, but who "might have been part of the same society" (p. 20), at least in the Archaic period when it is accepted that

[1] Blinkenberg 1917.

[2] Hinz 1998; Zuntz 1971.

the Greek city was much more inclusive compared to later periods (p. 26).

Thus, the work starts from the premise that the new settlement must have been independent from the beginning, in terms of religious relations (“the colonies might have been independent in aspects of society other than politics”, p. 32), developing its own local identity in terms of cult, with the terracottas representing the material expression of this particular reality. An important factor favouring the creation of social cohesion between the various immigrant groups is considered to have been, at least in the early stages of the settlement, the intermarriage. The religious festivals also had an equally important role, serving for polis community-building and overriding cultural differences. The terracottas, most likely votive dedications of women to local female divinities, are the best reflection of this reality: “a cultic symbiosis could have provided religious validation for marriages between local women and immigrant men (or vice versa). This symbiosis may have been reflected in the hybrid figurines, which rapidly changed over time, becoming more Greek in style and detail, but not losing their link to the past...” (p. 87).

The main objectives of the work are primarily the identification of the figurines represented by terracottas and the reconstruction of the prototype, respectively the model that inspired these figurines. This is mainly discussed in Chapter II, where an analysis of four aspects of the figurines is made: the shape of the body, the head and face, the dress and personal adornments, and the furniture.

The block-like body shape is characteristic and unique to Sicilian coroplastic. It consists of a rectangular block in the bottom half part, which becomes a prism towards the top, with a slight bending in the area of the knees as if the figure was sitting down, although at first there was no clear posture, either sitting or standing. The back of the figure is made by adding a sheet of paste, which was glued at the edges to the front part to give stability to the figure. The block-like body shape, at first without the articulation of hands and feet, has an aniconic appearance. Multiple influences are considered from the Beotian and Argive coroplastic technique of moulding to render three-dimensionality to local Sicilian and Phoenician aniconic artefacts, which may have served as model. The next subchapter (p. 44-53) analyses the constituent elements of the head: general shape and expression of the face, nose, mouth and chin, eyes and ears, and hairstyle from the perspective of the various cultural influences of the Mediterranean area: Phoenician, Etruscan, and Ionian. An important topic is represented by the question of gender that the iconography reveals to the viewer. This is not expressed through the body, or even the facial features and hairstyle, but rather through dress and personal adornment, elements discussed at length in the next subchapter (p. 54-87).

A characteristic item of clothing for the terracotta figurines of Akragas is the long apron, made from a thick fabric, fastened on the shoulders, covering the entire front side of the figurine that explains the constancy of the block-shaped body, and which was probably related to cult. A thin undergarment, a *chiton*, is visible beneath, especially on the later pieces, which present a more naturalistic rendering. Another element as important as the clothing is the headgear. This consists of the veil and the *polos*, present alternatively, and rarely in combination. A special subchapter deals with the meaning of these clothing items, especially in terms of their value as indicators of social and marital status, but also of the demarcation between divine and human. Next comes the treatment of the ornaments: fibulae, pectoral pendants and other jewellery, such as bracelets, necklaces and hairbands. The fibulae, which can be disk-shaped, rosette, palmette, or rectangular, are rendered oversized on the shoulders by an addition worked separately. They functioned as clasps for pendants and as cloth pins for the apron. The pectoral bands and pendants are another characteristic of Akragantine terracottas; these are discussed in several subchapters (p. 69-82). Their number, composition, dimensions and shape are analysed to reveal a chronology of the fashion, but also to discern the symbolism of the pendants, and possibly their origin. An interesting idea is that the pendants had not only an aesthetic role, but also an apotropaic one, at the same time the choice of shapes and their combination aimed to express through image the specific vows and wishes of the dedicant. Another subchapter discusses the furniture, respectively the type of support on which the figure was placed: different types of benches, chairs and thrones, sometimes with footstools. Particular attention is paid to the origin of these elements. This shows a local evolution after East Greek models, another example of hybrid forms.

The conclusions of chapter II aim to specify the gender and identity of the figurines. It is appreciated that the clothing could have had a real-life equivalent, more precisely it could have been inspired by the aristocratic dress. In terms of headgear, the veil is an indication of marital status, while the *polos* is an older element that indicates a special setting, being worn at specific cultic occasions. As with clothing, pendants were probably copies of real objects reserved for special occasions too. But like the *polos*, they seem not to have been regular items of adornment for all women. In addition, the sitting posture comes to reinforce the distinction between human and divine. All these justify the identification of the statuettes as representations of female divinities.

Chapter III describes in detail the stages of the production process from raw material to final product (p. 97-122). Besides the study of the objects, an archaeological experiment was carried out, in which two models were reproduced in the Leiden University laboratory with sample material brought from several locations nearby the site. The purpose of this enterprise was to identify the source of the material, but also its composition, workability and shrinkage, to reveal the coroplastic techniques and methods, to identify the individual coroplasts of Akragas, and to understand the terracotta moulding business and its social and economic implications. Four possible workshops were identified: the workshop of the white clay, of the convex back, of straight reworking, and of the chubby faces and the pendant necklace. A result of this analysis was to determine which iconographic choices were intentional, or whether they were just a side-effect of the applied technique. An exceptional case of the discovery of three wooden statuettes next to a terracotta one, which is most likely a copy of one of the three, indicates a possible development of terracotta figurine types from wooden models. The two traditions might have coexisted, the great difference between the two modes of production in terms of efficiency eventually led to the mass production of terracotta figurines. Finally, a subchapter is devoted to the exchange between the coroplastic of Akragas and other Sicilian cities, among which Selinous is the best known.

The results of the two studies on iconography and production technology lead to a typology, which is the subject of chapter IV (p. 123-139). Six groups have been analysed, of which groups 1-4 describe locally produced figurines, followed by group 5 with some imported pieces discovered at Akragas, and group 6 that contains other types of figurines. A very useful chronological overview of all groups is illustrated in several tables at the end of the chapter, in a synthetic manner (p. 140-153). Finally, the last chapter of conclusions and bibliography are followed by the illustrated catalogue (p. 178-377).

Without a doubt, the work is a useful tool for anyone dealing with terracotta figurines, not only for iconographic comparisons, but also for understanding the production process. Notable are the diverse issues considered, as well as the ambitious goal of seeing society beyond the object, namely reviewing “the inhabitants’ perception and conceptualisation of movement, exchange and integration” (p. 22). In this regard, however, it must be remembered that the study of terracotta figurines has its limits. Likewise, the premises used for understanding the socio-political and religious context are debatable, namely minimizing the relation between metropolis and colony in matters of cult, and overemphasizing the contribution of other ethno-cultural groups. Also, the idea that “cultural hybridity may have aided contact and interaction between different cultures and ethnicities” and “made political unity easier, through shared cross-cultural forms and cultic practices” (p. 83) seems a predetermined conception, rather a wishful thinking than a solid unquestionable fact.

Furthermore, wanting to shed light on other socio-cultural components of the colonial society, a prejudice is made to history: “as we have learned more about local cultural identities, it has become easier to identify the presence of hybrid cultures each with their own characteristics, borrowing from Greek culture, but developed in new contexts” (p. 33). The fact that the original culture of Akragas has developed in a new geographical environment, probably under the influence of other cultural traditions of the local population, does not make it “less Greek”.

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CHIARA TARDITI, RITA SASSU, *Offerte in metallo nei santuari greci. Doni votivi, rituali, smaltimento. Atti del seminario internazionale online 29 ottobre 2020*, THIASOS. Rivista di archeologia e architettura antica 10, 2, Supplementum V, Roma, Edizioni Quasar, 2021, 68 p., ISSN 2279-7297

The idea of a one-day online seminar tracking the latest developments in the study of the metal objects dedicated in Greek sanctuaries – put into practice on the 29th of October 2020 through the coordinating efforts of Chiara Tarditi and Rita Sassu and the positive answers to their call given by several other scholars – deserves praise. The prompt publication of the contributions in a thematic volume in the Thiasos supplementary series should also be warmly welcomed, even though, as a consequence of the tight schedule, Valeria Meirano's and Stavros Vlizos's papers on the metal finds from Delphi and the Amyklaion were not published and the others seem to be restricted to the essential lines of argument.

The opening paper, "Ritual Killing, Melting down, Re-use – fragmented Objects in the Sanctuary of Olympia" (p. 5-14), is an inquiry conducted by Holger Baitinger into the nature of the bronze fragments discovered at Olympia, most of them originating from large bronze vessels, statues and arms and armour, with only a few cases when their provenance can be traced to small offerings, such as Geometric votive animals. Drawing on archaeological observations from Olympia and written sources, as well as on parallels with Bronze Age scrap hoards and votive practices documented in Sicily, the author lists six possible interpretations for the bronze fragments found in the sanctuary: 1. metal scrap meant to be melted down and recast in the local workshops; 2. remnants from offerings that had been melted down, still preserved as votives, based on the principles of *pars pro toto* and *ouk ekphora* (regulations stating that offerings shall not be removed from the sanctuary); 3. "pre-monetary" dedications probably made by Western Greeks; 4. damaged objects of practical use, accidentally lost or intentionally discarded by their owners; 5. items reused with wholly different functions than the initial ones; 6. remnants from "ritually killed" objects. He emphasizes though that choosing the right explanation for most of the bronze fragments faces major practical limitations.

Raimon Graells i Fabregat's contribution on the arms and armour from the same sanctuary of Olympia ("Weapons of Olympia: some observations", p. 15-22) starts with a vivid summary of the current knowledge on the practice of dedicating weapons to the Greek gods (p. 15-16) and the main challenges faced in the study and publication of the finds from Olympia (p. 16-17). They are followed by some astute remarks on the spatial distribution of the martial offerings, demonstrating the purposeful optimization of this dedicatory practice whose ultimate aim was political propaganda (p. 17-18). It ends with a discussion on the underlying causes of the imbalance between the large number of shields and helmets and the relatively low quantity of spears, greaves, cuirasses and armguards recovered from the excavations, as well as on the changes in the associations of weapons dedicated throughout time, from ca. 800 to the 5th century BC (p. 19-20).

The third paper "Offerte metalliche e non per le divinità egizie a Cos in età imperiale" (p. 23-32), signed by Elisabetta Interdonato, is a useful reminder, based on the careful analysis of a 2nd century AD Koan honorary decree for a rich female benefactor of the yet unidentified *Iseion* or *Serapeion* on the island (IG XII, 4, 2, 853) that each cult needed its own specific paraphernalia and that metal objects were the most expensive, if not the most important, among them. The article provides a convenient account of some of the religious objects required for performing the rituals due to the pan-Mediterranean Egyptian deities, such as knives, lamps, βωμίσκοι, etc. and the materials which might have been used for their manufacture, depending on the wealth of the groups or individuals who donated them to the sanctuaries.

The fourth paper, "The Spartan lead votives: new data from archival and scientific analysis" (p. 33-44), presents some of the latest results of James Lloyd's renewed study of the 100,773 lead votives discovered in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta between 1906 and 1910[3]. The first part of the paper is devoted to explaining the recording system used by the excavators for this type of finds in two notebooks preserved at the British School at Athens and how a thorough analysis of the archival

[3] See also Lloyd (forthcoming).

data might shed new light on the Spartan dedicatory practices of lead votives. The author rejects the historical explanations that attempted to connect the lead votives with the renowned Lycurgan austerity reported by the written sources but hardly traceable in the archaeological record. Instead, the archival data on the contexts and the exact tally for the distinct categories of votives (wreaths – 59,981; goddesses – 4,354; women – 10,362; warriors – 8,129) allow him to suggest "a deliberate consideration in the creation of a religious custom that could involve the Spartiate community in a shared act of worship paired with the highly personal act of dedicating a miniature votive" (p. 38). While I found his conclusions to be interesting and I concur with his opinion that the Spartan lead votives should not be tied with the largely delusive concept of Lycurgan austerity, I would point out that the high frequency of miniature lead votives should still be partly explained through their large availability, as shown by the hundreds of miniature lead *bucrania*, ram-heads and *labryes* similarly deposed in funeral and sacred contexts in Olbia, Odessos and Apollonia Pontikē[4]. The second half of the paper contains the results of Pb isotope and pXRF analyses conducted on 19, respectively 58 objects from the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology, Reading, which add to some previous similar investigations on other sets of Spartan lead votives. The most important conclusion is that several lead sources were probably employed for casting the figurines, both from Laconia and abroad.

In the fifth paper, "Doni preziosi per gli dei: offerte d'oro e d'argento nell'Acropoli di Atene" (p. 45-58), Rita Sassu draws mainly on epigraphic and literary sources to emphasize the economic and political importance of Greek sanctuaries as they stored significant amounts of objects made of precious metals. Taking the Athenian Acropolis as a case study, Sassu shows how the sanctuary gradually developed its economic role starting from the Archaic period and became an actual public treasury already in the time of the Peloponnesian War. Whereas the chronological narrative on the development of the Acropolis as a treasury (p. 48-50) is definitely interesting, I would be more cautious about the interpretation of the sources dealing with the early Archaic period and particularly the *naukraroi* (p. 48-49), who, in my opinion, cannot be considered anymore "membri di quello che sembrerebbe essere il primo collegio incaricato della protezione degli *hiera chremata* del santuario dell'Acropoli, verosimilmente sede delle loro operazioni" (p. 48), in the light of the recent thorough analysis of Hans van Wees on this institution: I find very persuasive his reconstruction that portrays them as officials combining financial and military duties connected first and foremost with the provision of ships for the Athenian navy[5]. The paper also contains a useful synthesis of the information provided by the Athenian inventory lists and the treasurers' accounts on the gold and silver objects dedicated on the Acropolis (p. 50-52).

The last paper, "Modalità di smaltimento del vasellame in bronzo nei santuari greci: il caso dell'Acropoli di Atene" (p. 59-68) might be deemed a fortunate continuation of the previous one, as it deals too with metal objects from the Athenian Acropolis, but with those made of bronze. Harnessing on the data collected in her celebrated book where she inventories 1141 fragments of bronze vessels out of the total amount of more than 2000 found on the Acropolis since the 19th century[6], Chiara Tarditi tries to answer the tantalizing question of why the quasi-totality of finds are represented by full-cast handles and feet. Following a helpful discussion on their archaeological contexts and the several phases of reconstruction on the Acropolis (p. 59-64), she concludes that two major practices for the disposal of damaged or obsolete bronze vessels may be distinguished (p. 64-66). The first one, up to the mid-5th century BC, consisted in preserving the most illustrative parts of the bronze vessels, such as handles, feet and bases (*pars pro toto*), when the rest of the objects were disposed of through melting and recasting of new votives. Subsequently, it is replaced by a second practice similar to that recorded in the case of gold and silver objects, which consisted in fully melting down the vessels. This new practice explains why there are no finds of parts of bronze vessels dating after the middle of the 5th century BC. Nonetheless, in the case of the first practice, the question of why some full-cast attachments are additionally dismembered still does not get a wholly satisfying answer.

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[4] Olbia: Zajceva 1971; Wąsowicz, Zdrojewska 1998; Zajceva 2004; Odessos: Minčev 2012; Apollonia Pontikē: Venedikov 1963, p. 319-320, cat. nos. 1097-1099, pl. 169; Konova 2002.

[5] van Wees 2013, p. 44-61, not mentioned by Sassu.

[6] Tarditi 2016.

Overall, this short book is enjoyable and helpful as it revisits some of the most important questions on the use of metal objects in ancient Greek sanctuaries. Even in the absence of two papers presented at the original seminar, which cannot be but regretted, it will certainly find much use by Classical archaeologists working on branches of study such as ancient sanctuaries, economy, weapons and metals, in general. In addition, it is not unreasonable to think that prehistorians who study depositional practices will also find this book perfectly serviceable.

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Zajceva 2004 – K.I. Zajceva, *Svincovye izdelija v vide golovok bykov, baranov i sekir iz Ol'vii*, Bosporskie issledovanija 7, 2004, p. 356-390.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

AAA – Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών (Athens annals of archaeology), Athens
ABSA – Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens
ActaAntHung – Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Acta Hyperborea – Acta Hyperborea. Danish studies in classical archaeology, Copenhagen
ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Judeţean de Istorie şi Artă, Zalău
AÉ – L'Année épigraphique, Paris
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America
AJPA – American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Journal of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)1096-8644)
AK – Antike Kunst. Vereinigung der Freunde Antiker Kunst, Basel
AnB (S.N.) – Analele Banatului (Serie Nouă). Muzeul Banatului, Timişoara
Antichthon – Antichthon. Australasian Society for Classical Studies, Cambridge University Press
Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham University, Durham
Archaeologia Austriaca – Archaeologia Austriaca. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien
Archaeometry – Archaeometry. University of Oxford
ArchBulg – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iaşi
ArhPam – Arheologični pam'jatki URSR, Kiev
ArhSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia
Arheologičeskie vesti – Arheologičeskie vesti. Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Institut istorii material'noj kul'tury, Sankt Petersburg
ArheologijaKiev – Arheologija. Nacional'na Akademija Nauk Ukrajni, Institut Arheologij NAN Ukrajni, Kijv
BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
BCH – Bulletin de Correspendance Hellénique, Athènes – Paris
BComR – Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma
BÉ – Bulletin Épigraphique, Paris
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
BJb – Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn, Bonn
Bosporskie issledovanija – Bosporskie issledovanija. Bosporos Studies. Naučno-issledovatel'skim centrom istorii i arheologii Kryma
Britannia – Britannia. A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, Cambridge
BSS – Black Sea Studies, Aarhus
CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
CCA, campania ….. – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România

CCGG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz. Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
CEFR – Collection de l'École Française de Rome
Chiron – Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 volumes, Berlin, 1853-
CIMRM – J.M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae,* 2 volumes, Hague, 1956 and 1960
CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Bucureşti
Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine, Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », Bucureşti
Dossiers d'archéologie – Dossiers d'archéologie, Dijon
Eminak – Eminak. Scientific Quarterly Journal. Scientific Research Centre «Lukomorie», Mykolaiv, Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv
Enciclopedia Italiana – *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, Roma, 1949
EphemDac – Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma
EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie şi Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
FSI – Forensic Science International, Elsevier
Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
Greece & Rome – Greece & Rome. The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
Hesperia – Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
IDR II – G. Florescu, C.C. Petolescu (eds.), *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, vol. II. *Oltenia și Muntenia*, București, 1977
IG II^2 – J. Kirchner (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, pars I-III, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1913-1940
IG XII, 4, 2 – D. Bosnakis, K. Hallof, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII.4. *Inscriptiones insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum. Inscriptiones Coi, Calymnae, Insularum Milesiarum.* Pars 2. *Inscriptiones Coi insulae: Catalogi, dedicationes, tituli honorarii, termini*, Berlin, 2012
Il Mar Nero – Il Mar Nero. Annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripţii latine din Dacia,* Bucureşti, I (2005), II (2016)
ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae,* Berlin, I (1892), II.1 (1902), II.2 (1906), III (1914/1916)
IMS II – M. Mirković, *Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure*, vol. II. *Viminacium et Margum*, Beograd, 1986
IMS VI – B. Dragojević Josifovska, *Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure*, vol. VI. *Scupi et la Région de Kumanovo*, Beograd, 1982
ISM I – D.M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae,* vol. I. *Inscriptiones Histriae et viciniae*, București, 1983
ISM V – E. Doruțiu-Boilă, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, vol. V. *Capidava, Troesmis, Noviodunum*, București, 1980
IzvestijaNIM – Izvestija na Nacionalnija istoričeski muzej, Sofia
IzvestijaVelikoTărnovo – Izvestija na Istoričeskija Muzej, Veliko Tărnovo

JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science, Elsevier
JFS – Journal of Forensic Sciences. American Academy of Forensic Sciences
JHS – The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Cambridge University Press
JRA SS – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, Portsmouth, Rhode Island
JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
KSIIMK – Kratkie soobščenija o dokladah i polevyh issledovanijah Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury, Moskva
Linguistique balkanique – Linguistique balkanique. Institute for Bulgarian Language, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa
MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", București
MFMÉ-SA – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged
MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva
Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica – Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica. Laboratorio di Epigrafia e Papirologia Giuridica – Rivista di Diritto Romano e di Diritti dell'Antichità, Roma
Mortality – Mortality. Taylor & Francis Online
Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Ştiinţific al Muzeului Judeţean Buzău
Novensia – Novensia. Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw
Numizmatika i Epigrafika – Numizmatika i Epigrafika, Moskva
OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
Patrimonium.MK – Patrimonium.MK. Periodical for cultural heritage – monuments, restoration, museums, Skopje
Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii şi cercetări de istorie şi arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea
Plants – Plants. MDPI The Australian Society of Plant Scientists (ASPS), the Spanish Phytopathological Society (SEF), the Spanish Society of Plant Physiology (SEFV), the Spanish Society of Horticultural Sciences (SECH), the Italian Society of Phytotherapy (S.It.Fit.)
Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Naţională şi Arheologie, Constanţa
REG – Revue des Études Grecques. L'associations pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France, Paris
RGZM – B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz, 2004
RIASA – Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Roma
RIC IV.2 – H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, C.H.V. Sutherland (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IV.2. *Macrinus – Pupienus*, London, 1938
RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 volumes, London, 1978-2006
RM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung, Rom
RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor – Monumente istorice şi de artă, Bucureşti

RPC III – M. Amandry, A. Burnett, in collaboration with J. Mairat, with contributions by W. Metcalf, L. Bricault, M. Blet-Lemarquand, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, I. *From Nerva to Hadrian (AD 96–138)*, London – Paris, 2015

RPC IV.2 – V. Heuchert, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, IV.2. *From Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192): Asia*, Oxford, 2005

RPC IV.3 – V. Heuchert, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, IV.3. *From Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192): Lycia-Pamphylia to Arabia*, Oxford, 2005

RPC VI – D. Calomino, A.M. Burnett, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, VI. *From Elagabalus to Maximinus Thrax (AD 218–238): Asia Minor and Egypt*, Oxford, 2017

RPC VII.2 – J. Mairat, M. Spoerri Butcher, with contributions by M. Amandry, R. Bland, K. Butcher, J. Nurpetlian and U. Peter, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, VII.2. *From Gordian I to Gordian III (AD 238–244): all provinces except Asia*, Oxford, 2020

SA – Sovetskaja Arheologija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva

SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iaşi

SCIV(A) – Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche (şi Arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan", Bucureşti

SCA – Studii şi Cercetări de Antropologie. Academia Română, Institutul de Antropologie „Francisc I. Rainer", Bucureşti

Scienze dell'Antichità – Scienze dell'Antichità. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell'Antichità di Sapienza – Università di Roma

SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-1971, Amsterdam 1979-

SHA – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*

Syria – Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie, Institut français du Proche-Orient, Paris

Terra Sebus – Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica",Sebeș

TIR L 35 – *Tabula Imperii Romani (Romula – Durostorum – Tomis) L 35*, București, 1969

Ub. I – F. Zimmermann, C. Werner (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I*, Hermannstadt, 1892

VAMZ – Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb

VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Otdelenie istoriko-filologičeskih nauk Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva

ZIIMK RAN – Zapiski IIMK RAN. Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Institut istorii material'noj kul'tury

ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

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- Haşotti 1986 – P. Haşotti, *Observaţii asupra ceramicii dintr-un complex al culturii Hamangia de la Medgidia, punctul "Cocoaşe"*, SCIVA 37, 1986, 2, p. 121-133.

[1] 'S.' pour les textes en allemand.

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- Duval, Chevalier 1994 – N. Duval, P. Chevalier, *VII.g. Tables rectangulaires anépigraphiques,* in N. Duval, E. Marin, C. Metzger (éds.), *Salona I. Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone*, Coll. de l'École française de Rome 194, Rome, 1994, p. 158-172.

Livre :

- Comşa 1974 – E. Comşa, *Istoria comunităţilor culturii Boian*, Bucureşti, 1974.

Ouvrage collectif avec coordinateur(s) :

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[2] 'in' pour les textes en anglais, en allemand et en italien ; 'dans' pour les textes en français.

[3] (ed./eds.) pour les textes en anglais ; (éd./éds.) pour les textes en français ; (Hrsg.) pour les textes en allemand ; (a cura di) pour les textes en italien.

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- → Articles will be accompanied by an abstract of maximum 300 words, in both English and Romanian languages and by 5 keywords in the same languages.

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- Haşotti 1986 – P. Haşotti, *Observaţii asupra ceramicii dintr-un complex al culturii Hamangia de la Medgidia, punctul “Cocoaşe”*, SCIVA 37, 1986, 2, p. 121-133.

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1 ‘S.’ for texts in German.

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- Duval, Chevalier 1994 – N. Duval, P. Chevalier, *VII.g. Tables rectangulaires anépigraphiques,* in N. Duval, E. Marin, C. Metzger (éds.), *Salona I. Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone,* Coll. de l'École française de Rome 194, Rome, 1994, p. 158-172.

Authored volume:

- Comşa 1974 – E. Comşa, *Istoria comunităţilor culturii Boian*, Bucureşti, 1974.

Edited volume:

- Kogălniceanu *et alii* 2015 – R. Kogălniceanu, R.G. Curcă, M. Gligor, S. Stratton (eds.), *Homines, Funera, Astra 2. Life beyond death in ancient times (Romanian case studies). Proceedings of the International Symposium on Funerary Anthropology, 23–26 September 2012, "1 Decembrie 1918" University (Alba Iulia, Romania)*, Oxford, 2015.

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[2] 'in' for texts in English, German and Italian; 'dans' for texts in French.

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