

SANCTUARIES OF ROMAN DACIA

A CATALOGUE OF SACRALISED PLACES IN SHARED AND SECONDARY SPACES

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SACRALISED PLACES IN THE PRINCIPATE (1ST-3RD CENTURIES): ARCHAEOLOGY OF ROMAN RELIGION IN PROVINCIAL CONTEXTS

Spaces¹, where Romans communicated with divine agents were omnipresent in the architectural and natural landscape of the Roman Empire². Sacralising space was one of the major processes in ancient religious communication, aiming to create special places, where human actors can interact with the divine world, using a large set of tools (material objects, rituals, texts, prayers) to maintain successfully the sacralised space³. These spaces, where religious communication was established with a divine agency can be analysed after numerous criteria⁴: architectural features and typology (*templum*, *fanum*, *tolos*, *mithraeum*, etc.)⁵, titular

¹ This study is the revised version of a chapter from the doctoral thesis of the author entitled »Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia. Materiality and religious experience« (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Erfurt/D; Pécsi Tudományegyetem [University of Pécs/H]). – The doctoral project was financed by the Balassi Institute National Doctoral Scholarship (2012-2015) and by the Sanctuary Project of prof. Greg Woolf (2014-2016). – I'm very thankful for my supervisors, prof. Jörg Rüpke, prof. Greg Woolf and Dr. Ádám Szabó and my colleagues from the Max-Weber-Kolleg, the University of Pécs, the RGZM Mainz, further Kóródi Vass Lóránt and Mátyás Bajusz for their help and support. For the theoretical analysis and a broader methodological approach of some of the well-documented sanctuaries of Dacia see: Szabó 2018.

² There is no comprehensive list or database of Roman sanctuaries and sacralised spaces, although several works and projects are

focusing on a comprehensive list of sanctuaries from Germaniae, Italia or Galliae: Fauduet 1993; Van Andringa 2000; Spickermann 2003; Fauduet 2010. – See also the series of the FTD Project (Fana, Tempia, Delubra: corpus dei luoghi di culto dell'Italia [Roma 2008, 2011, 2014, 2015]): de Cazanove/Scheid 1993; Coarelli/Scheid 2015. – On the notion of sacred landscape see: Cancik 1986. – On religious communication see: Rüpke 2016.

³ For a more detailed description of space sacralisation see: Szabó 2018, 1-10.

⁴ Another typology of sacralised spaces can be found also in: Raja/Rüpke 2015a.

⁵ Classical examples for such a typology: Stambaugh 1978, 554-608; Stamper 2005a; Schollmeyer 2008; Kaizer 2013; Nielsen 2014, 2015. – See also ThesCRA IV, 140-153.

gods and the addressed divine agency (**tab. 1**)⁶, the type of religious communication and related religious experiences (healing sanctuaries, spring sanctuaries, oracular shrines, *lararia*, funerary sanctuaries)⁷, spatial and topographic specificities (border sanctuaries, crossroad sanctuaries, *extra muros* sanctuaries)⁸, temporal (spaces for unique or repetitive actions, short or long-term durability)⁹, ethnic-cultural (Celtic, Gallic, Greek, Syrian sanctuaries) and legal aspects¹⁰. Most of the seminal works focusing on Roman sanctuaries were analysing exclusively the architectural features and typologies of the buildings, discussing the material evidence from the perspective of *Bauornamentik* or production¹¹. Although the role of architecture and Roman art in the maintenance of sacralised spaces were highly criticized recently¹², they can still offer new possibilities of analysis if the focus of research is highlighting their role of agency in the process of space sacralisation¹³.

Other aspects – such as temporality, economy, religious practices, experiences in religious communication – were marginally treated even in those examples, where the available archaeological data serves with such details (**tab. 2**). Recently, since the redefinition of materiality¹⁴, several case studies emerged within the study of archaeology of Roman religion, where the focus of research turns on the agency of objects, sensescapes, experiences and religious practices in the process of space sacralisation and religious communication¹⁵.

Roman sacralised spaces – a monumental public temple or a small domestic shrine – should not treat necessarily as a special, separate entity in the architectural landscape of the Roman Empire, but as a part of an intra-connected world, where religious, social, economic, political and cultural knowledge was in constant exchange and transformation¹⁶. The study of Roman religious communication and its sacralised spaces in a combined system of the Lived Ancient Religion (LAR) approach with Grahame Clark's systemic model of past societies and the space archaeology of David Clarke¹⁷ can offer a radically new view on the archaeological material too (**figs 1-2**)¹⁸. The LAR approach is focusing on the role of agency, individual choices and modes of religious communication and introduced a specific space taxonomy for sacralised spaces (known usually as sanctuaries): shared/public, secondary and primary/domestic spaces (**fig. 1**)¹⁹. In contrast with the above presented traditional research focuses, this space taxonomy and the LAR approach analyses sacralised

6 Most of the archaeological catalogues are following this typology, labeling the space after one or several divinities, which dominated the sacralised space and rarely, by the architectural features and specificities of the place. Some cases, such as the *dolichenum*, *mithraeum*, *iseum*, *serapeum*, *bacchium* are artificial denominations: Collins-Clinton 1977, 20 note 27; Nielsen 2014.

7 Petridou 2016.

8 Stek 2009, 64-65.

9 This aspect is the less emphasized by most of the works focusing on Roman sanctuaries and other sacralised spaces, mostly because of the unsure chronology and phases of the archaeological sites.

10 Catalano 1978, 440-553. – Bloch 2006, 48-64. – Basista 2010, 9-10.

11 Derks 1998, 143-150; Stamper 2005a; Schollmeyer 2008; Nielsen 2014. – This increased focus on architecture is explained by the archaeological data available in most of the case studies, which does not allow to focus on other aspects: Van Andringa 2015, 29.

12 Van Andringa 2015.

13 This approach was initiated in the study of Roman art by P. Stewart: Stewart 2008; Borg 2015. – A similar approach in the study of Roman architecture was used very rarely till now: von Hesberg 2015; D'Alessio 2016; Maschek 2016. – Neither P. Stewart

nor the companion edited by B. Borg, however, is not focusing on the agency of Roman art in Roman religious communication or sacralised spaces. For such an attempt see also the focal point of the ERC Project focusing on the decoration of sacred places: www.klassarch.uni-kiel.de/de/decor/projekt-4 (1.9.2018). – For a theoretical approach see: Verkaaik 2013, 7-16.

14 Morgan 2010. – Hicks 2010. – Pongratz-Leisten/Sonik 2015, 3-10.

15 For a cultural approach of sensescapes see: Howes 2008. – One of the earliest attempts for a new approach, which goes beyond an exclusive focus on architecture: Derks 1998, especially 131-132. – A paradigmatic example of a new approach: Van Andringa 2009; Schäfer/Witteyer 2013. – On the methodological limits of new approaches see: Van Andringa 2015; Raja/Rüpke 2015b. – See also Szabó 2016; 2017a.

16 On the notion of intra-connectivity see: Busch/Versluys 2015; Knappett 2016. – See also Van Oyen/Pitts 2017.

17 Clarke 1977, 9.

18 On Clark's model see: Clark 1957; Bintliff 2014, 258-259. – On the LAR approach see: Rüpke 2011b; 2017, 39-40. 42-51; Raja/Rüpke 2015a.

19 On the three main categories of shared, secondary and private spaces see: Rüpke 2011b; Kristiansen 2015, 162-166.

titular divinity/spirits	settlement	cat. no.
Apollo	Alburnus Maior, Apulum, Grădiştea Muncelui, Praetorium, Războieni Cetate, Sarmizegetusa, Tibiscum	I.2, I.3, I.8, I.28, I.34, I.53, II.2, III.28, III.49
Asclepius	Ampelum, Apulum, Sarmizegetusa	I.35, II.1, II.2
Azisos	Apulum, Potaissa	II.14, III.17
Bel	Porolissum	I.24
Bussumarius	Apulum	II.10
Caelestis	Napoca, Sarmizegetusa	I.34, II.17, III.36
Ceres	Gherla	III.27
Cimistenus	Apulum	III.8
Deus Aeternus	Apulum	III.6
<i>Dii Patrii Maurorum</i>	Micia	I.21
<i>Dominae</i>	Apulum	II.9
<i>Domnus et Domna</i>	Sarmizegetusa	I.37
Fortuna	Ampelum, Apulum	II.3, III.3
<i>Genius sardeatum</i>	Alburnus Maior	I.3
Hercules	Aquae, Ad Mediam, Apulum, Micia, Potaissa, Sarmizegetusa	I.8, I.27, I.40, III.1, III.18, III.29
Hekate	Apulum, Sarmizegetusa	III.58
Isis/Serapis	Apulum, Micia, Sarmizegetusa	I.5, I.8, I.34, II.13, II.16, III.10
Jupiter Dolichenus	Ampelum, Apulum, Drobeta, Micia, Napoca, Porolissum, Potaissa, Praetorium, Samum, Sarmizegetusa, Sucidava, Tibiscum	I.23, I.28, II.7, III.4, III.25, III.31, III.37, III.46, III.53, III.57, III.63, III.65
Jupiter Heliopolitanus	Micia	I.20
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Almaşu Mare, Ampelum, Apulum, Inlăceni, Napoca, Potaissa, Praetorium, Sarmizegetusa	I.5, I.19, I.26, I.27, I.28, I.36, II.4, II.5, III.2, III.5, III.38, III.39, III.44
Jupiter Narenos	Alburnus Maior	I.2
Jupiter Sardendenos	Alburnus Maior	I.2
Liber Pater	Apulum, Aquae, Micia, Napoca, Potaissa, Sarmizegetusa, Slăveni, Tibiscum	I.6, I.8, I.21, I.40, I.42, II.19, III.34, III.44, III.61
Magna Mater	Apulum, Drobeta, Gherla, Romula	II.11, III.11, III.27, III.51
Malagbel/Yarhibol	Apulum, Sarmizegetusa, Tibiscum	I.46, I.47, I.52, III.9
Mithras	Apulum, Cincşor, Decea Mureşului, Dierna, Micia, Napoca, Peştera Veterani, Peştera lui Traian, Pojejena, Potaissa, Romula, Sarmizegetusa, Slăveni, Sucidava, Tibiscum	I.7, I.15, I.43, I.50, II.12, III.13, III.14, III.15, III.19, III.22, III.23, III.35, III.41, III.42, III.43, III.45, III.50, III.56, 62, III.66
Nemesis	Apulum, Micia, Porolissum, Samum, Sarmizegetusa, Sucidava	I.8, I.25, I.32, I.44, II.2, II.6, II.15, II.18, III.33
Neptunus	Alburnus Maior, Apulum, Sarmizegetusa	I.2, I.5, I.45,
Nymphae	Germisara, Sarmizegetusa	I.17, I.45
Quadriviae	Apulum	III.12
Sabasios	Apulum, Drobeta	III.7, III.24
Saturnus	Potaissa	III.48
Silvanus	Apulum, Micia, Napoca, Porolissum, Sarmizegetusa	I.8, I.28, I.22, I.42, I.48, III.16, III.30, III.38
Sol Invictus	Apulum	II.8

Tab. 1 List of sacralised spaces after titular gods.

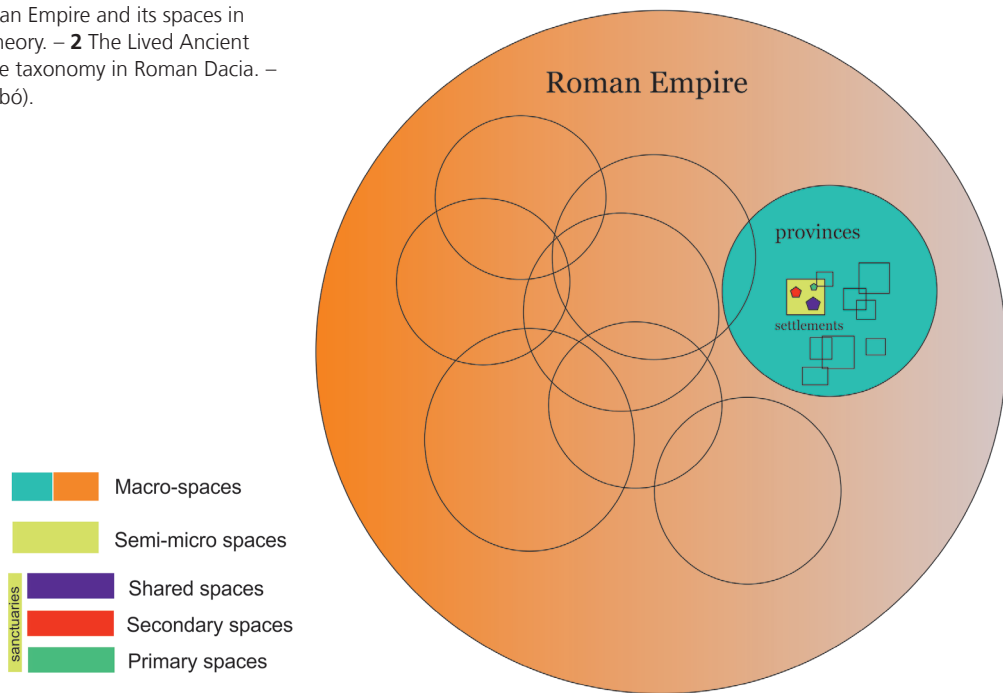
religious experience type	settlement	titular divinity/ spirits	cat. no.
healing	Ampelum, Apulum, Germisara, Ad Mediam, Săcelu, Sarmizegetusa. Probably also in Călan		I.35, I.17, II.1, II.2, III.1, III.60
oracle	Apulum?	Asclepius	II.2
<i>incubatio</i>	Apulum, Inlăceni, Sarmizegetusa	Asclepius, IOM	I.19, I.35, II.2
ritual bath	Germisara	Nymphae	I.17
banquet	Alburnus Maior, Ampelum, Apulum, Cincșor, Decea Mureșului, Dierna, Drobeta, Micia, Napoca, Peștera Veterani, Peștera lui Traian, Pojejena, Potaissa, Romula, Sarmizegetusa, Slăveni, Sucidava, Tibiscum		I.1, I.2, I.3, I.4, I.7, I.15, I.23, I.28, I.43, I.46, I.47, I.50, I.52, II.7, II.12, III.4, III.9, III.13, III.14, III.15, III.19, III.22, III.23, III.25, III.31, III.35, III.37, III.41, III.42, III.43, III.45, III.46, III.50, III.53, III.56, III.62, III.63, III.65, III.66

Tab. 2 List of sanctuaries after religious experience and communication.

Space typology accessibility	Natural spaces	Human built / material	Imaginary / thirdspaces
Public spaces Locus sacer	mountains, cavities, caves, springs, forests, crossroads	Temples on <i>ius Italicum</i> before 212 AD	Templum, pomerium, spaces of afterlife, world of Saturn
Secondary spaces pro sacra	Baths, springs	aedes, fanum, mithraeum, serapaeum, iseam bacchium, dolichenum, church houses	Sacred geography of sanctuaries, bodies / spaces of gods / divinatio
Primary spaces	Private gardens, private fields, parts of forests, human body	Domus urbana, lararium, villae, private rooms, personal shrines, funerary monument	Personal divinatio / dreams / visions
Methodology: forms of space sacralisation as tools in religious communication			
Aim: creating and maintaining sacralised spaces through a set of strategies			

Fig. 1 The methodological model of space sacralisation based on the Lived Ancient Religion (LAR) approach. – (Illustration Cs. Szabó).

Fig. 2 1 The Roman Empire and its spaces in D. Clarke's space theory. – **2** The Lived Ancient Religion (LAR) space taxonomy in Roman Dacia. – (Illustration Cs. Szabó).



1

Sacralised places in primary spaces

Apahida (CIL III 7656), Căianu (CIL III 7655), Mera (ILD 607), Sic (CIL III 6247), Vâlcele Aiud (CIL III 942-3), Berghin (IDR III/4, 41), Dragu, Daia Română (CIL III 7788), Gușterița, Valea Nandruului, Sebeș (IDR III/4, 18), Sănmiclăuș (IDR III/4, 89), Vințul de Jos, Orlea, Ciunăfaia. In numerous houses in urban settlements (for example in Apulum) and military contexts (Marcu 2004; Petruț 2015). Possibly III.3.

Sacralised places in secondary spaces

Alburnus Maior (I.1-4), Almașu Mare (III.2), Ampelum (III.3, III.4), Apulum (I.6,7,8, II.3, II.8, 9, 10, III.6-17), Caranșebeș (III.21), Cincșor (III.22), Cioroiu Nou (III.18-19), Decea Mureșului (I.15), Dierna (III.23), Drobeta (II.11, III.24-25), Gherla (III.26-27), Micia (I.20, I.21, II.12, II.13, III.29-31), Napoca (III.34-37, 39, 40), Peștera Veterani (III.41), Peștera lui Traian (III.42), Pojejena (III.43), Porolissum (I.23, I.24), Potaissa (II.14, III.44-47), Praetorium (I.28), Războieni Cetate (III.49), Romula (III.49-50), Sarmizegetusa (I.34, I.43, I.46, I.47, II.16, III.56-59), Samum (III.52-53), Slăveni (I.50, III.61) Sucidava (III.62), Tibiscum (I.52, II.19, III.65-66), Valea Săngeorgiului (III.67)

Sacralised spaces in shared spaces

Ampelum (II.1, III.5), Apulum (I.5, II.2, II.4-6), Arcobadara (I.9), Buciumi (I.10), Caranșebeș (III.21) Călugăreni (I.11), Cămpulung-Jidova (I.12), Cigmău (I.13), Cumidava (I.14), Drobeta (I.16), Germisara (I.17), Gilău (I.18), Grediștea Muncelului (III.28), Inlăceni (I.19), Micia (III.32), Napoca (III.38), Peștera Veterani (III.41), Peștera lui Traian (III.42), Pojejena (III.43), Porolissum (I.22, I.25), Potaissa (I.26-27), Praetorium (I.28), Racovița (I.29), Răcari (I.30), Războieni Cetate (III.49), Resculum (I.31), Romula (III.49-50), Sarmizegetusa (I.33, I.35-42, I.44-45, III.54-55), Samum (I.32), Săcelu (III.60), Slăveni (I.50, III.61) Sucidava (II.18), Tibiscum (I.51), Vărădia (I.54)

2

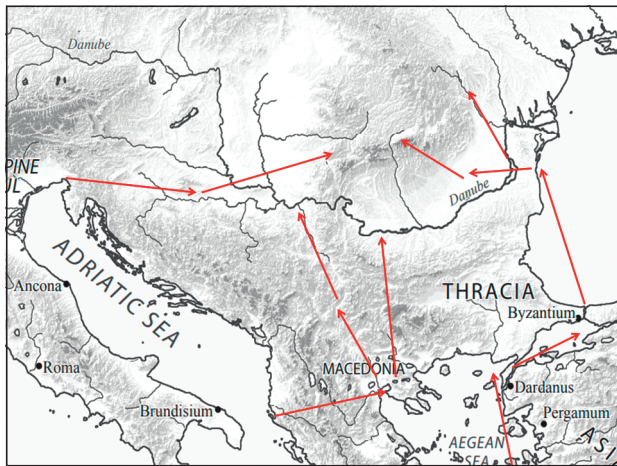


Fig. 3 Economic routes and networks in the Balkan area in the 2nd-1st centuries BC. – (Illustration Cs. Szabó based on Egri/Berecki 2015, 133 fig. 8).

spaces through their visibility, accessibility and the intensity or dynamics of religious communication. Shared or public sacralised spaces are those great public sanctuaries, which show great intensity of religious communication, high accessibility and attracts and use a large set of human and material agency in their maintenance (fig. 2, 2). Secondary spaces are those assembly houses and sanctuaries of small group religions, which have less visibility and accessibility, but also attract less human agency in religious communication²⁰. Finally, the primary/domestic spaces are those house shrines and domestic sanctuaries, which give usually the highest level of religious individualization and have a decreased level of accessibility and visibility. The LAR approach seems to analyse Roman religion and its spaces separated from the economic, social, historical and political systems of the Roman Empire. Integrating the LAR taxonomy in the space models of G. Clark and D. Clarke can give us a much more accurate approach to Roman religion and its material agency too. In this model (fig. 2, 1) sanctuaries (shared/public, secondary and primary spaces) are interpreted as semi-micro spaces, influenced by urban factors (cification²¹) and by larger systems, macro-spaces, such as provinces, custom systems (*Publicum Portorium Illyrici*), large economic units and clusters (Black Sea area, Danubian provinces, Adriatic area, Silk road, Amber road) or the Roman Empire itself. This work – as the first step of a much detailed analysis²² – intends to contextualize Roman Dacia within the Roman Empire, to analyse the architectural and economic specificities of the sacralised spaces from the province and to present the first comprehensive catalogue of sacralised places (known commonly as sanctuaries) in shared and secondary spaces. Due to the lack of sources and the current state of research, primary spaces from Dacia are not analysed in this study (see also fig. 2, 2)²³.

ROMAN DACIA: RETHINKING THE NOTION OF THE PERIPHERY

The study of Roman Dacia produced a waste bibliography in the last more than three centuries mostly by local scholarship focusing on almost all possible aspects of the material evidence of the once called Romani-

²⁰ On small group religions see: Gordon 2017; Lichtermann et al. 2017. – See also Diaconescu 2011; Nielsen 2015.

²¹ <https://urbrel.hypotheses.org/about> (15.5.2020).

²² For the comprehensive analysis of space sacralisation in Roman Dacia see: Szabó 2018.

²³ Primary spaces, such as *lararia*, domestic house shrines and spaces for religious communication in the barracks are not enrolled in this catalogue. – On religious life of rural and domestic environments see also Bărbulescu 1998; Pop 1998; Opreanu 2008; Gudea 2009.

sation²⁴. This territory of Europe was in an intense economic, military but first of all, material connectivity with the Roman Empire already two centuries before the successful conquest of Trajan²⁵. The emerge of Greek and Roman material culture from the Black Sea area, Aquileia (prov. Udine/I) and Macedonia (amphorae, wine dealers and various innovations and local appropriations in architecture, pottery production and daily conviviality) created not only the essential economic routes between Dacia and the rest of the Mediterranean but also naturalised the material culture and customs of »the« Roman way of life (fig. 3)²⁶. The territory was not a new place for the Romans after 106 AD at least on a general level, although the ethnographic traditions and imaginaries about the province, its indigenous population and the geographic realities created various types of economic and cultural boundaries, which were deconstructed by various strategies of local appropriations²⁷.

These cultural, historical, economic, geographic and political boundaries and differences were emphasized by the Romanian and Western scholarship presenting Dacia as a peripheral territory, an edge of the Empire, a barbaric area conquered and »civilized« by an organised colonisation and Romanisation²⁸. Studies were emphasizing the marginality of the province, the multiethnic composition of the population, the almost complete lack of indigenous groups and material evidence and the large-scale, organised mobility of the colonisation based exclusively on epigraphic and literary sources²⁹.

The recent studies on the indigenous culture of the Dacians³⁰ and the diverse mobilities of small groups of Dacia³¹ present a radically different view on the province. In the current discourse of ancient globalisation³², intra-connected material cultures³³ and the new paradigm of Romanisation, the province, as a unit in the study of Roman history and archaeology is largely debated and contested³⁴. Instead of this, the focus is much more on the situational (local) and the global (empire) scale analysis³⁵. This approach brings in the research the old space theory of D. Clarke on micro-spaces of objects, semi-micro spaces of places and cities and the macro-spaces, such as the Roman Empire (fig. 2, 1)³⁶, which deconstruct the notion of the periphery³⁷. If the focus of our research lies on mobilities of objects and humans between various sites of the Roman Empire, the material evidence of Roman religious communication in Dacia can be viewed differently as it was before³⁸.

The archaeological evidence of Roman religious communication in the sanctuaries of Dacia is a good example for this new approach. The architectural specificities, the economic networks related to the sanctuaries and the global intra-connectivity of the human agency of the sanctuaries are important, but less researched aspects of Roman religious communication in Dacia. In the following, I will present a short history of research of sacralised spaces in Dacia, followed by an analysis of the architecture and economy of the sanctuaries, as two of the many tools used in creating and maintaining a sacralised space.

24 On an incomplete bibliography of the province see: Cociş/Țentea 2007; Cociş/Marcu/Țentea 2003; Cociş/Țentea/Mustață 2015. – Important to note, however, that only the recent publications on the province of Dacia – most notably the book edited by W. Hanson and I. Haynes and the monograph of I. Oltean – are used as a starting point in the Western scholarship: Hanson/Haynes 2004; Oltean 2007. – See also Găzdac 2010; Ardevan/Zerbini 2007.

25 For the literary evidence see: Oltean 2007, 42-53. – For the material connectivity see Drăgan 2013; Egri 2014.

26 Woolf 1998, 11.

27 On De Certau's notion for Roman case studies see: Rüpke 2011b.

28 The traditional discourse of colonisation and Romanisation is still present in some of the studies of the local scholarship: Ardevan 2013. – See also Rubel 2009.

29 Bîrliba 2011.

30 Oltean 2007. – Nemeti 2013. – Florea 2013. – Dana/Zăgreanu 2013.

31 Găzdac 2010. – See also Matei-Popescu 2012.

32 Knappett 2016. – See also Pitts/Versluys 2014.

33 Knappett 2016. – See also Busch/Versluys 2015.

34 Woolf 2004. – Versluys 2014, 11.

35 Versluys 2014.

36 Clarke 1977.

37 The peripheral aspect of Dacia will persist, however, in the very fact that it was on the physical and geographic edge of the Empire, far from Rome and the pre-Trajanic ethnographic traditions were constantly reinvented during the Empire and even after.

38 On Roman religion and networks see also Collar 2013; Woolf 2016.

DISCOVERING THE SANCTUARIES OF ROMAN DACIA: HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Roman religious studies in Romania

Studying the Roman religion of Dacia in Romania was for a long time a single chapter of the »cultural life« of the province³⁹. It was presented as a consequence of the »deep Romanisation«⁴⁰ and the »massive presence of the Latin-speaking element« in the society⁴¹, proving the large-scale mobility, exemplified in almost all of the major Romanian works with the proverbial reference of Eutropius (VIII, 6.2): »*ex toto orbe Romano*«⁴². Traditional approaches present the materiality of Roman religion in secular old categories, dealing with ethnic and geographic pantheons⁴³, emphasizing the supremacy of »Italic cults and divinities«⁴⁴, limiting their bibliography to the old French literature⁴⁵ and giving a much higher focus on the institutionalized tools of religion, such as priesthood⁴⁶, the architecture of temples⁴⁷ and the »Greco-Roman cults«⁴⁸. Important studies, focusing on the »Oriental« cults emphasized the dichotomy with the traditional Roman religion⁴⁹. Religion appeared as an already prepared, fixed norm and language, acculturated by the Romanised society of Dacia⁵⁰. Due to the political situation, scholars from the West used till 1990 the materiality of Roman Dacia almost exclusively based on great corpora and works published before 1948⁵¹. Recently, the rich material evidence of Roman religion from the territory of Dacia is under a new focus. The accelerated internationalisation of classical studies and Roman »provincial archaeology« and the urge of interdisciplinarity created a vast bibliography, which tries to fill the gaps of historiography, creating new catalogues and introducing new trends and topics in the research⁵².

³⁹ Macrea 1969, 338-404. Art and literacy usually is presented just before religion. Including religion as one aspect of the cultural life of the province is still practiced. – See also Gudea/Lobüscher 2006, 64-89 dedicate, however, an integrated chapter for cults; Ardevan/Zerbini 2007, 175-186; Bărbulescu 2010. – On research history see: Szabó 2014a.

⁴⁰ Macrea 1969, 385.

⁴¹ Petolescu 2010, 272. His summary on Roman religion – published perhaps not accidentally in the same year with the new edition of the great companion of History of Romanians, where M. Bărbulescu wrote the synthesis on Roman religion – is a perfect example of the old, but still very popular discourse, which dominates the Romanian scholarship on Roman religion. See Petolescu 2010, 264-272.

⁴² »because Trajan, after he had subdued Dacia, had transplanted thither an infinite number of men from the whole Roman world, to people the country and the cities; as the land had been exhausted of inhabitants in the long war maintained by Decebalus« (translated, with notes, by the Rev. John Selby Watson [1853]). – This quotation is constantly cited by every Romanian scholar as the foremost argument for the large-scale colonisation in Dacia: Bîrliba 2011. – It is worth noting, however, that the sources of Eutropius are debated and not clarified yet: Bird 1993.

⁴³ Petolescu 2010, 265 even affirms that the best way to present the materiality of Roman religion is to »classify the cults after their ethnic and geographic origin«.

⁴⁴ Petolescu 2010, 265 note 804. – See also Zerbini 2010; 2015.

⁴⁵ One can observe the supremacy of F. Cumont and R. Turcan. – In some works, especially from the Transylvanian school of classical archaeology, the dominant presence of A. Domaszewski and

G. Wissowa is more obvious: Domaszewski 1895. – Wissowa 1902.

⁴⁶ Ardevan 1998. – Szabó 2007. – Petolescu 2010, 266-267.

⁴⁷ Pescaru/Alicu 2000.

⁴⁸ Bărbulescu 1985. – Bodor 1989.

⁴⁹ Sanie 1989. – See also Carbó Garcia 2010 for a slightly better, but still, ambiguous approach.

⁵⁰ A few studies existed till recently, where art in Roman Dacia was analysed in detail and focusing on local particularities, transformations and appropriations. Important to mention the review of Toynbee written by A. Bodor, the works of M. Gramatopol, C. Pop, M. T. Marinescu and recently, the works of A. Diaconescu, although the emphasis is still on the elaboration (technical skills, workshop networks) and iconographic typologisation instead of a social history of Roman art in Dacia. One of the finest examples: Bărbulescu 2015. – See also Stewart 2008.

⁵¹ Here one needs to highlight the great influence and success of the small and almost inaccessible book of W. Jones from 1929, cited even today especially in the American literature (see Byros 2011). – Due to the rich network of M. Vermaseren however, the materiality of Roman religion from Dacia is relatively well represented in the EPRO series. Especially C. Daicovicu, E. Condurachi, M. Gramatopol, S. Sanie and A. Bodor had a large international network with French, German and English scholars, which influenced the accessibility of the Romanian material by foreign scholars, but also the exchange of new ideas and books from the West. – The great publicity of the *Apulum* journal contributed also to some kind of internationalisation of the field already in the 1970s; see: Matei-Popescu 2007; Szabó 2014a.

⁵² On the recent state of research and the perspectives Nemeti-Marcu 2014; Szabó 2014a.

Within the study of Roman religion and provincial archaeology in Romania, sanctuaries occupied a secondary place. The most relevant publications and catalogues appeared after 2000, focusing mostly on architectural and topographic features of sanctuaries and temples of the province⁵³.

Archaeology of Roman religion in Romania: a review

Roman sacralised spaces and their materiality were always present in the geographic and cultural landscape of the ex-territory of Dacia⁵⁴. Although a few of the sacralised spaces from Roman times were used in any form by later societies, their presence is attested in the antiquarian tradition since the 15th century⁵⁵. As the mutilated Jupiter statue from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis shows⁵⁶, the most prominent temples and sanctuaries of the province were visible in Early Medieval times too. In the 1690s, L. F. Marsigli was able to draw the lines of the *Ara Augusti* and the provincial *forum* from Sarmizegetusa⁵⁷, while in 1715 G. Ariosti described standing Roman statues and possible temples of Apulum⁵⁸. The first detailed report about a discovery of a sanctuary comes from A. Bartalis⁵⁹ and Gy. Aranka⁶⁰ from the end of the 18th century, while in the 19th century the number of discovered or identified Roman sacralised spaces increased significantly both in Transylvania and Oltenia⁶¹. The area became well known in the early European *Altertumwissenschaft* due to the large quantity of Mithraic finds and sanctuaries discovered. Except for the seminal work of Pál Király about the *mithraeum* from Sarmizegetusa⁶², none of the publications tried to contextualize the finds and the sacralised place discovered⁶³.

In the first half of the 20th century, more than 30 sanctuaries were identified in urban and non-urban settlements, mostly in Tibiscum, Porolissum, Micia, Sarmizegetusa and Apulum. The archaeologically attested sites excavated between 1918 and 1989 are relatively well documented, although none of them were published in the form of a monograph⁶⁴. The epigraphic and statuary material discovered in this period, however,

⁵³ Most relevant and till now the only comprehensive catalogue of »temples« in Roman Dacia is the book of A. R. Pescaru and D. Alicu, later extended by some supplementary articles of D. Alicu. Their work introduced a typology based on »archaeologically attested, epigraphically attested and presumed or uncertain« temples. The book does not have a well-defined terminology for sacred spaces and is focusing mainly on the architectural features, typology, chronological phases and short presentation of the buildings. Their list since 2002 was not updated till now: Pescaru/Alicu 2000; see also Alicu 2002; 2004; Marcu 2009. – Another important work regarding the temples and sanctuaries of Sarmizegetusa was published in German, without a relevant impact in the Romanian or the Western literature: Schäfer 2007; see also Szabó 2014a.

⁵⁴ Despite this, in the foreword of the first – and till now the only synthesis on Roman temples of Dacia – Mihai Bărbulescu emphasized that the sanctuaries of Roman Dacia were never observed and remained unknown for the next generations: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, foreword.

⁵⁵ Some of the Roman sanctuaries, such as those from Apulum or Colonia Sarmizegetusa were still visible on the ground in the 16th-17th centuries. Other possible sanctuaries, such as those from Napoca entered in the common mentality as the foundations of Medieval churches. – Late Antique or early Medieval domestic activity was attested in numerous sanctuaries in Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Micia, Porolissum and other places of the province, although their functionality as sacralised spaces ended after the Roman period.

⁵⁶ Szabó 2015a.

⁵⁷ Szabó 2004, 83-119. In the text I use the short denomination of the Roman city (Sarmizegetusa). In the Romanian literature the often used versions (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa or Colonia Sarmizegetusa) are incomplete forms of the Roman name of the city. In the case of the Roman finds from Sarmizegetusa Regia, the Dacian capital I emphasize the difference.

⁵⁸ Szabó 2014b.

⁵⁹ Szabó 2013a.

⁶⁰ Szabó 2014b.

⁶¹ See also Boda 2014; Szabó 2014b.

⁶² *Ad absurdum*, this short book is still the only synthesis of a systematically excavated *mithraeum* from the provinces of Dacia: Király 1886; Szabó 2014c. – The sanctuary cannot be identified today on the field: Boda 2014.

⁶³ Most of the publications are short archaeological reports or even less, personal notes and eye-witness accounts. Although in the second half of the 19th century there were already important studies and articles on Roman religion and its material and spatial aspects, the local literature did not use the first renderings of German *Religionswissenschaft*. On historiography of the discipline see: Phillips 2007.

⁶⁴ Despite the fact that some of the identified sanctuaries – such as the shrine of Jupiter Heliopolitanus or the temple of the *Dii Mauri* from Micia, the temple of Apollo from Tibiscum or the *asklepieion* from Sarmizegetusa – were unique or rare discoveries of this kind not only in the province, but the whole Empire. A large part of the small finds and the ceramic material were just partially published or – as the case of the Bel-Liber Pater assembly house from Porolissum shows – never published.

suggest that numerous sacralised places have now vanished in Napoca and especially in Apulum due to the severe urbanization of these sites since the 13th-14th centuries, which accelerated in the Habsburgic era⁶⁵. Even if this period produced numerous important studies and books on the religious life of the province, the spatial and »lived« aspects of religion were not emphasized in these works. Roman religion in Dacia was understood and presented as spiritual interferences or specific case studies of religious syncretism⁶⁶. Although the number of possible sacralised spaces in Dacia is reflected by a large number of urban settlements and hundreds of rural environments identified till now⁶⁷, the works in the Romanian literature were almost exclusively focusing on shared and secondary spaces (public temples and rarely, houses of small group religions), the sacralised spaces in the domestic, private sphere being almost totally neglected⁶⁸. Roman archaeology in Romania had always two major focal points: forts (*Limes* research) and urban archaeology. This is one of the main reasons, why this work cannot enlist funerary and domestic (household) religious spaces⁶⁹. A milestone in the research is represented by the discovery and the systematic excavation of the Liber Pater shrine from Apulum (I.6 [Reference to catalogue I]) between 1989 and 2003, which revolutionized the archaeology of religion in Romania and introduced numerous new questions and aspects in the local academic discourse. This case study is the best application to date of new field methods (GIS, geophysical surveys, single context recording, archaeobotany and archaeozoology) and international collaboration. Unfortunately, as many other important case studies from the province, this one remains unpublished 1.5 decades after its excavation. Due to its exceptionally rich material evidence, this site produced till now the most relevant studies on lived Roman religion from Dacia⁷⁰. Similarly, the excavations of the *dolichena* from Porolissum and Mehadia (I.23; I.28)⁷¹, the shrine of Domnus and Domna from Sarmizegetusa (I.37) and the *mithraeum* from Apulum (I.7) represent a development in the archaeology of Roman religion in Dacia⁷². These recent cases represent a new tendency in the Romanian research, which hopefully will focus in the future also on the archaeology of Roman domestic and funerary religion and the current approaches of Roman religious studies and theoretical discussion will have a stronger emphasis in Romanian research too⁷³.

⁶⁵ Szabó 2014b.

⁶⁶ One of the most important studies is the seminal work of M. Bărbulescu on »spiritual interferences« of Dacia. In this work, the author intentionally changes the paradigm of research, opening a phenomenological discourse on Roman religion in Romania. This is the first work, where some unresearched aspects of religion, such as workshops, economy, funerary practices, architecture and – most importantly – »religious feelings« (sentimental religios) are presented together. In his most intriguing chapter on so-called religious feelings (Bărbulescu 1984, 230-250), the author presents various, sometimes hardly compatible currents of history of religion and religious studies (Eliade, Paul Veyne, Cumontian ideas and especially the French school of history of religion) but he is the first in the Romanian literature, who introduce some new topics – although he does not name them clearly in every case– such as embodiment (Bărbulescu 1984, 237-238), superstitio (ibidem 231-233), theophoric names as agents of religious individuation (ibidem 244-245), festivals (ibidem 246-247) or prodigies (ibidem 247-249). The Romanian book republished in 2003, but never translated in a foreign language, is still the best synthesis on Roman religion from Dacia. See also Nemeti 2012.

⁶⁷ On the landscape of the province and an incomplete list of Roman sites see: Oltean 2007; Gudea 2009.

⁶⁸ On religious life of rural and domestic environments see: Bărbulescu 1998; Pop 1998; Gudea 2009. – See also Opreanu 2008.

⁶⁹ There are numerous cemeteries excavated in the recent years in the conurbation of Apulum and Porolissum, but none of them were published systematically: Petruț/Găzdac/Găzdac-Alföldy 2010; Bounegru 2011; see also Oltean 2007, 190-192. – On funeral religion in Dacia see also Bărbulescu/Fodorean/Nemeti 2003.

⁷⁰ See Szabó 2018, 11-128.

⁷¹ Gudea/Tamba 2001; Benea 2008. – While the *dolichenum* from Porolissum was highly popularized and emphasized in numerous articles and foreign publications, the sanctuary from Mehadia remained till now almost unknown by the international literature (see the list from Schwarzer 2013). – See also Blömer 2014, notes 52-53; M. Blömer questions the Dolichenian nature of the sanctuary from Mehadia. After our opinion, in Dacia the large number of Dolichenian groups and monuments, the presence of the Apollo statue in Dolichenian iconography, the close analogy to the case study of Porolissum and Tibiscum indicate without doubt the Dolichenian nature of the sanctuary.

⁷² Although the archaeology of religion is evolving rapidly due to the above mentioned new discoveries and excavations, a large part of the publications still reflect old topics and currents, focusing exclusively on architecture, iconography and material typology.

⁷³ On the necessity of theoretical discussions in the Romanian archaeology see also Opreanu 2016.

ARCHITECTURE OF SANCTUARIES: GENERAL AND SPECIFIC PATTERNS

Roman architecture as a field of research in the Romanian scholarship produced generally a few important studies, mostly focusing on particular case studies, such as the architecture of Potaissa⁷⁴, Porolissum⁷⁵ or the capital of the province, Colonia Sarmizegetusa⁷⁶. Since the works of Mihai Gramatopol, there was no comprehensive study on the transfer and reception of Roman architectural forms and the so-called provincial architecture of Dacia⁷⁷, maybe except for the works of Alexandru Diaconescu⁷⁸. A particularity of the local scholarship was the special focus on the military architecture, although a comprehensive analysis of this topic is also missing⁷⁹. The architecture of houses and baths – although not much excavated in Romania – was recently analysed⁸⁰. In most of these cases, the main focus of the research was on the architectural planimetry and the evolution (phases) of the buildings, rarely analysing the appropriation of these plans comparing it with other indigenous or Roman case studies. A more comprehensive research was focusing on the architecture of amphitheatres of the province⁸¹. From the various types of architectural elements and *Bauornamentik* only the capitals were analysed till now, mostly focusing on the case studies of the main urban settlements⁸². No studies focusing on the social and political aspects of Roman architecture, mobility, movements, sensescape and the relationship of architecture with the natural environment were made yet⁸³.

Similarly to the above-mentioned group of buildings, studies on the architecture of Roman sanctuaries from Dacia were focusing also only on the chronological phases, typologies and functionalities of the buildings⁸⁴. Although in the introduction of their seminal work, Adriana Pescaru and Dorin Alicu reflected on the social and economic aspects of the architectural features and specificities of a sanctuary, their analysis mostly examined the chronology and typology of the buildings⁸⁵. The second volume of their work – which intended to be probably the analysis of these sacralised spaces in the historical, political, economic and broader social environment⁸⁶ – was never published. In the short, theoretical introduction of their work, A. Pescaru and D. Alicu argued that Roman temple architecture is essentially an urban phenomenon – a theory, which can be contested by the presence of early Republican rural sanctuaries (especially the notion of the *lucus*, as sacralised space⁸⁷) and complex building types⁸⁸.

The architecture of Roman sanctuaries in contemporary scholarship still represents an important topic. While in numerous studies the focus points to the decorative and socio-cultural effect of the *Bauornamentik*⁸⁹, a significant number of articles focuses on the role of the architectural elements and structures in the urban/rural mobility and the relationship of sanctuaries with the broader architectural, natural landscape and sensescape⁹⁰. Sanctuary decoration and architectural elements are recently interpreted in the Gadamerian terms of experience of art, as part of the so-called architectural atmosphere of a building⁹¹. Architecture,

74 Barbulescu 2015.

75 Gudea 1989. – Tamba 2012.

76 Schäfer 2007. – Bota/Diaconescu 2009.

77 Gramatopol 2000. – See also the very general chapters on architecture in the companion of the History of Romanians: Bărbulescu 2010. – See also Băeștean 2004; Schäfer 2014.

78 Diaconescu 2008; 2011.

79 Marcu 2009 although without a detailed analysis of the architectural elements and *Bauornamentik*.

80 Opreanu 2008. – Țentea 2010. – Blaga 2014. – Burkhardt 2016.

81 Alicu/Opreanu 2002. – Bajusz 2011.

82 Hampel 1912. – Bărbulescu 1977. – Bota 1999. – Bota/Diaconescu 2009.

83 An exceptional case is represented by the work of Wanner 2012 focusing on the relationship of the military architecture of Porolissum and the role of the natural environment in the formation of this.

84 Pescaru/Alicu 2000. – Alicu 2002; 2004. – Diaconescu 2011.

85 Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 7-8.

86 Ibidem 8.

87 Scheid 1995. – See also Stek 2013, 229.

88 Stek 2013, 11-12. They use the example of Timgrad to present the topography of a classical Roman city and the role of the sanctuaries in the topography of an urban environment. It presents also some of the basic notions of the Vitruvian architecture and the influences of the Eastern, especially Syrian architecture on the provincial case studies: Stek 2013, 11-22. On the rural sanctuaries see: Stek 2013.

89 Iara 2014. – See also von Hesberg 2005; 2015.

90 For a great example for such an approach see: Stek 2013. – See also Gasparini 2013.

91 Haug 2015, 10.

as an agency in creating and maintaining sacralised spaces represents an important element in the current theoretical approaches on Roman religious communication too.

The formation and architectural variability of temple structures in the ancient Mediterranean is a strictly social phenomenon, influenced by the local (political and religious) elite and individuals⁹² but also by global changes and transformations in architectural techniques and the mobility of objects. A particularity of the architecture of Roman sanctuaries during the Principate was their transfer to the provinces. This process was explained for a long time by the mobility of workshops and engineers, plans and building types⁹³, however, this phenomenon was recently contested, changing the focus from the so-called provincial Roman architecture⁹⁴ to the local appropriation of forms, plans and decorations⁹⁵. Local geography, economic possibilities and the political histories play a key role in the situational variations of the architecture of sanctuaries in a provincial context.

The architecture of Roman sacralised spaces in Dacia has no pre-Roman history and none of the few stone built sanctuaries of the Dacians shows a continuous use after 106 AD⁹⁶. In the case of Germisara (I.17), as the only sacralised space of the Dacians, which was used in Roman times, the architectural continuity is not present⁹⁷. Although Hellenistic and Greek architecture was present in the pre-Roman period, the few cases, where their influence was attested stopped to be maintained after 106 AD⁹⁸.

Creating and maintaining sanctuaries

The first architecturally defined sacralised spaces of the new province were formed already in the first months after the Second Dacian War ended in the summer of 106 AD. The most significant architectural project in this sense was planned in the new capital of the province, Colonia Sarmizegetusa, where numerous sacralised spaces were planned and built in the very first year (I.33-36)⁹⁹. The case of Sarmizegetusa is a unique one in Dacia, because it is the only systematically planned *colonia deducta* of the province. Architectural monumentality here plays a crucial role and serves as an agent in the public religious communication in re-creating the local Rome, as an imaginary second space¹⁰⁰. Another case of an imaginary space, where special architectural elements may play a crucial role was the *iseum* of Potaissa (III.47), where elements, such as the famous pseudo-hieroglyphic stelae were used to create a specific identity, second space within the sanctuary¹⁰¹.

Although the first phases of these sanctuaries show a much more modest architecture than in the Severan age, still they were probably the largest sacralised spaces of Dacia for many decades (I.36; I.40)¹⁰². Only a short time later built buildings, such as the *aedes principiorum* from Apulum and Potaissa (I.5; I.26) were comparable in size with the architectural monumentality and elaborated decoration of the sanctuaries in Sarmizegetusa – although the inventory of some, unexcavated sacralised spaces might have monumental features too¹⁰³. The first sanctuaries of the province were dedicated mostly to the *Dii Consentes* (especially

92 Nielsen 2014. – See also Gasparini 2015; Raja 2015.

93 On architects and planning see: Senseney 2011. – Senseney 2014 although with less focus on the so-called provincial Roman architecture.

94 On provinciality see: Hufschmid 2017.

95 Lipps 2017. – Maschek 2017.

96 Pețan 2015.

97 After the short archaeological reports of the excavators, there were no stone structures discovered from pre-Roman times, which suggest that the indigenous population used only the natural cavity as a sacralised space, without transforming the

landscape with architectural installations: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 67-74.

98 Glodariu 1974. – A more critical approach on this topic see: Pețan 2015, 78-79.

99 Piso 2010.

100 On the notion of first, second and third space: Soja 1996.

101 Deac 2014.

102 See: Boda 2015.

103 See the sanctuaries of Apulum or Ampelum. Large-sized and well-elaborated column capitals were discovered also in Napoca: Bota 1999, 165.

cat. no.	places abroad
I.1	Dalmatia, Ansium
I.2	Dalmatia, Galatia
I.3	Dalmatia
I.4	Dalmatia
I.5	Rome, Pannonia, Moesia
I.6	Thracia, Pannonia
I.8	Pannonia, Moesia
I.17	Moesia Inferior
I.20	Syria
I.21	Mauretania
I.23	Thracia, Pannonia
I.26	Italia, Rome, Poetovio
I.28	Moesia Inferior, Doliche
I.33	Italia, Rome, Pannonia
I.35	Pergamon

cat. no.	places abroad
I.43	Poetovio, Aquileia, Rome
I.46	Palmyra
I.47	Palmyra
I.52	Palmyra
II.2	Pannonia, Pergamon
II.7	Syria, Commagene
II.10	Asia Minor
III.4	Commagene
III.6	Asia Minor
III.8	Asia Minor
III.9	Syria
III.15	Italia, Poetovio
III.24	Moesia Inferior, Thracia
III.39	Asia Minor
III.43	Moesiae
III.48	Africa Proconsularis
III.53	Asia Minor

Tab. 3 Sanctuaries with extra-provincial networks.

the Capitoline Triad) although the presence of small religious groups and their favoured divinities are attested already in the early years of the province in Alburnus Maior, Napoca, Tibiscum and Sarmizegetusa too (I.1-4; I.38; I.43; I.46-47; I.52). Most of the sanctuaries in the early Trajanic and Hadrianic period were concentrated in Sarmizegetusa, the early forts of the province and the military *vici* and later in urban and quasi-urban centres formed from *pagi* or civilian *vici*. The architectural forms, plans and builders of these buildings are defined mostly by the group, who created and maintained the building or by the possible analogies of their homeland (as it was suggested in the case of the *askliepeia* from Sarmizegetusa and Apulum inspired from the complex healing sanctuary of Pergamon¹⁰⁴). The rich external connectivity of the groups maintaining a sanctuary suggests also the direct connection between sanctuaries from Dacia and other provinces, although the impact of sacred travels and connectivities on architecture is hard to prove (tab. 3).

As in most cases of the provinces, there is no data on the architects of these buildings¹⁰⁵, however, the majority of the sanctuaries from military *vici* were probably built by architects of the army¹⁰⁶. This is suggested also by the similarities of the *aedes principiorum* of the forts, which follows the architectural canon described by Vitruvius and copying the Trajanic models of the Roman *fora*, however, the local variations show that this was not always followed strictly¹⁰⁷.

Adaptation and transformation

The architecture of the sanctuaries shows a very heterogeneous aspect. Except for the sanctuaries from the great urban centres, the sacralised places from military *vici* and the countryside has a small, rectangular planimetry without significant *Bauornamentik* and architectural decoration, however, in some cases

¹⁰⁴ Szabó 2007, 189.

¹⁰⁵ See also CIL III 1652; AÉ 1997, 1313a.

¹⁰⁶ Freu 2016, 186 on the *gentes* specialized on temple architecture – probably only a specificity for Italia. – See also Marcu 2009.

¹⁰⁷ On the analysis of the *aedes principiorum* see: Bărbulescu 1987. – On the Roman *fora* in the Trajanic period see: Diaconescu 2008. – More generally: Marcu 2009.

dimensions	settlement	cat. no.
< 5 m ²	Alburnus Maior, Arcobadara, Buciumi, Călugăreni, Cigmău, Cămpulung-Jidova, Cumidava, Decea Mureşului, Drobeta, Gilău, Inlăceni, Micia, Porolissum, Racovița, Răcari, Resculum, Samum, Sarmizegetusa, Slăveni, Vărădia	I.1, I.9, I.10, I.11, I.12, I.13, I.14, I.15, I.16, I.18, I.19, I.20, I.22, I.25, I.29, I.30, I.31, I.32, I.34, I.37, I.39, I.45, I.50, I.54, III.55
< 10 m ²	Sarmizegetusa, Slăveni, Tibiscum	I.38, I.46, I.49, I.51
< 20 m ²	Apulum, Aquae, Porolissum, Potaissa, Sarmizegetusa, Tibiscum	I.7, I.23, I.26, I.47, I.52, I.53, III.18
< 30 m ²	Alburnus Maior, Caranșebeș, Germisara, Micia, Praetorium, Sarmizegetusa, Tibiscum	I.2, I.3, I.17, I.21, I.28, I.41, III.21, III.65
< 40 m ²	Alburnus Maior, Apulum, Porolissum, Sarmizegetusa	I.4, I.5, I.6, I.24, I.48
> 40 m ²	Apulum, Sarmizegetusa	I.8, I.33, I.35, I.36, I.40, I.42, I.43(?), I.44, II.2

Tab. 4 List of sanctuaries after the dimension of their plan.

sacralised places in public and shared spaces were separated by walls or a *temenos* from the rest of the architectural neighbourhood. Except for the large public sanctuaries, the architectural atmosphere of these buildings did not show much difference from the architectural neighbourhood of the settlements and the local domestic/household architectural specificities¹⁰⁸. Their identification as sacralised space is based only on the material culture in use, without a clear identification of the annexed and minor compartments. Similarly, the communication, sensescape and movements between the main and auxiliary compartments were not analysed yet¹⁰⁹.

Most of these sites are small or middle-sized places, less than 5 m² (**tab. 4**) used by small groups of elective cults, rarely organised on ethnic or cultural criteria (**I.2; I.46-47; I.52; III.39**)¹¹⁰. Though Romanian scholarship emphasized the »Celtic« nature of the *fanum* type of sanctuaries¹¹¹ – a notion, which can be rarely ethnicized based on archaeological evidence¹¹².

An exceptional case are the sanctuaries of the Palmyrian groups from Sarmizegetusa, where a very interesting case of local appropriation was attested: their sanctuary was also by its dimension, planimetry and topography a dominant agent in the landscape of the settlement (**I.46-47**). Architecture and planimetry here play the role of a special cultural and even ethnic identity¹¹³.

The planimetry of the sanctuaries and the constant extension during the short, 170-year existence show not only a pragmatic solution but reflect also the social and political communication of the local power elite. This is particularly true for the healing sanctuaries, especially with regional or provincial importance (**fig. 4**). In some cases, external factors and major political or military events – such as the so-called Marcommanic Wars, the dislocations of the army or the sickness of emperor Caracalla (**I.5; I.34**)¹¹⁴ – influenced also the architectural features and atmosphere of the sanctuaries. Modifications occurring in the building planimetry rarely suggest internal changes within the group or their religious communication (**I.23; I.28**). In the cases of water sanctuaries, the transformation and integration of the natural environment within the architectural atmosphere was essential in the maintenance of the sacralised spaces (**I.17; I.53; II.2; III.1**).

¹⁰⁸ Opreanu 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Identifying the functionality of these compartments and the human interaction within these spaces could tell us more about the local forms and variations of religious communication especially in small group religions/elective religious groups. – See also Nielsen 2014.

¹¹⁰ Diaconescu 2011.

¹¹¹ Pescaru/Alicu 2000.

¹¹² See the discussion on the notion of *fanum*: Van Andringa 2015.

¹¹³ Gruen 2011. – See also Diaconescu 2011.

¹¹⁴ His visit is not proved yet: Opreanu 2016.

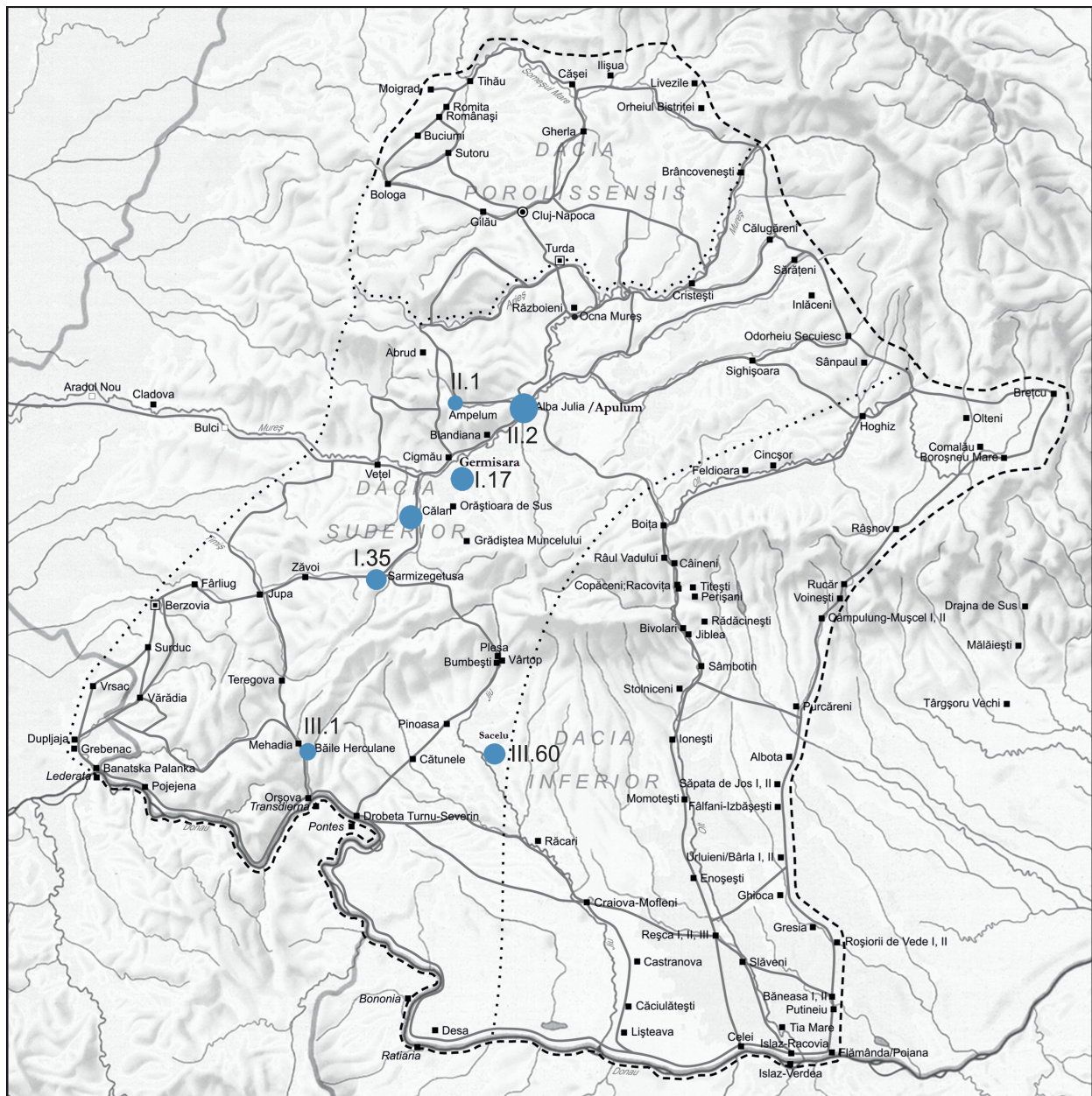


Fig. 4 Map of Dacia with the healing sanctuaries. – (Based on Schäfer 2007, 357 fig. 1; with kind permission of the author).

In most of the cases, the wooden elements or phases of the sanctuaries are not attested or just partially reconstructable (I.6; I.7; I.35)¹¹⁵. The most well-preserved architectural elements of the buildings are the columns, although in most of the cases, their context is unknown¹¹⁶. The best-preserved columns and capitals are coming from the sanctuaries of Colonia Sarmizegetusa, a large number of them produced in the marble quarry of Bucova and the stone quarries near the settlement¹¹⁷. Most of the capitals are in Corinthian style, which shows a predominant influence of Pannonia¹¹⁸, although the analysis of M. Bărbulescu highlighted already some local specificities too. A particular group is the so-called Egyptian style columns of

115 Pesaru/Alicu 2000, 105-106 for example, the wooden phase of EM 24 is mentioned in detail.
 116 The latest – still not a comprehensive – analysis of the columns of the province: Bărbulescu 1977.

117 Müller et al. 2011, 80 SA no. 1.
 118 Bărbulescu 1977, 239-240.

Apulum, however as most of the columns of the city, they are from an unknown archaeological context¹¹⁹. A large part of the architectural elements was produced in local workshops, although the mobility of foreign *marmorarii* and *lapidarii* was suggested¹²⁰. Foreign marble – especially from Thasos – was used also in architectural elements, although marble remained the privilege of the capital and a few of the most monumental buildings of the province, such as the palace of the governor from Apulum¹²¹.

The majority of the sanctuaries were built from local stone and wood extracted from the vicinity of the settlements¹²². The great number of inscriptions mentioning the reconstruction (*restituit*)¹²³ of sanctuaries during the short, less than 170-year existence of the province had two major reasons: the short-term durability of the small and poorly elaborated buildings¹²⁴ and the frequency of fires in urban contexts¹²⁵.

Architectural elements, decorative programmes of the sanctuaries and their monumentality played an important but not unusual role in the creation and maintenance of sanctuaries of Dacia. In some cases, such as in Germisara, Ad Mediam or the *asklepieia* of Apulum and Sarmizegetusa (I.17; II.2; III.1), the natural environment played a crucial role and was transformed or integrated within the architectural atmosphere of a sanctuary. The presence of caves and cavities transformed into sacralised spaces was attested also in Dacia, although this might be a specificity of the Dalmatian groups, whose indigenous divinities (Silvanus, the Nymphs) were worshiped together in caves too¹²⁶. The presence of Mithraic caves was not confirmed by modern archaeological investigations (III.41-42).

Most of the buildings built by elective cults or small group religions were private initiatives, financed and created by individuals, however, the largest urban building projects – among them the *capitolium* of Sarmizegetusa (I.36) and other large-sized sanctuaries – were public properties, where the financial possibilities defined also the architectural monumentality of the sanctuaries.

Pragmatism and adaptation to the local economic and natural resources were one of the major characteristics of the architecture of sacralised spaces from Dacia. An interesting aspect would be to analyse also the role and functionality of small and auxiliary compartments of the sanctuaries, however, in most of the cases, the archaeological material does not help us to identify the functionality and communication between these. Similarly, an attempt to reconstruct the movements, sensescape and evolution of various phases of a sanctuary and its neighbourhood would fail, due to the current state of research. The influence of the architectural specificities of the Danubian provinces is visible on the sacralised spaces of Dacia, however, each case reflects the architectural pragmatism of the local natural (geographic) or economic possibilities.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SPACE SACRALISATION

Practicing religion presumed always financial investment and costs. Even the most widespread and simple practices of Roman religious communication – such as the production and use of amulets, small terracotta figurines, household shrines and their inventories – were an immense economic investment for each individual actor and on a large scale, of the entire Roman Empire. Studying the economics of religion, however, is a relatively new field¹²⁷, which focused especially on contemporary religions or pilgrimages and the so-called

119 Bărbulescu 1977, 239, Lupa 19323, 19263.

120 Crînguș/Balaci 2007.

121 Müller et al. 2011, 62 DR no. 1.

122 The provenience of the material is usually hard to establish. On stone quarries see: Wollmann 1996. – See also Bajusz/Konyelicska 2009.

123 Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 48.

124 A similar situation is also described by Plinius Minor, letter 70, book X. www.attalus.org/old/pliny10b.html#70 (22.10.2018).

125 Aldrete 2004, 93-94.

126 Dzino 2012, 264. 268.

127 Gladigow 1995. – Iannaccone 1998. – McLeary 2011. – Koch 2014.

religious taxes mentioned by sacred laws and ritual norms¹²⁸. Economic aspects of Roman religion, however, go far beyond the taxes and financial laws of sanctuaries¹²⁹: they include the taxation of imperial statues¹³⁰, the short or long-distance mobility of foreign marble and material¹³¹, the relationship of sacralised spaces with markets and shops¹³², the production and costs of statues and statuettes used in religious communication¹³³, the economic aspects of building and reconstructing sanctuaries¹³⁴ and in a figurative term, also the human and religious investments and risks in maintaining religious communication and its spaces¹³⁵.

The economy of Roman Dacia was rarely analysed¹³⁶, most of the studies were focusing on the numismatic evidence of the province¹³⁷ or particular sites, mostly the large urban settlements¹³⁸. The current state of research does not allow us to analyse all the economic aspects of Roman religious communication in the province, a few general remarks, however, can highlight the importance of this in the overall economic life of the province¹³⁹.

The economic dimensions of the major religious public events of the province, such as the *feriae et dies festi*¹⁴⁰, the celebration of the *Ara Augusti* in the capital of the province (III.54) and the *dies natales templorum* (*tubilustrium*) or the *epulum Iovis* on 23rd May (IDR III/2, 242, see also I.36)¹⁴¹ or the great festivities in the legionary forts (I.5; I.26) can be just presumed, based on the monumentality of these spaces, as the largest sacralised places of the province (tab. 4). Several smaller festivities, specific or regular religious gatherings were organized in several small sacralised spaces too, mostly by elective cults (see banquets on tab. 2). A particular case study for the economic aspects of such small religious events comes from Alburnus Maior (see I.1-4), where one of the wax tablets enrolls the costs (664 *sestertii*) of a religious *collegium* (IDR I/46). This unusual, however very important source gives a short glimpse into the economic investments of these small group religions. Another rare example of a very costly and probably repetitive religious festivity was attested in the sanctuary of Liber Pater from Apulum (I.6), where the presence of ritual pits, intentional depositions and vessel destructions were attested¹⁴².

When it comes to the financial investment in religious spaces, Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, the two major urban centres of the province had the most important building projects. Most of the large sacralised spaces of these two cities (I.8; I.33; I.35-36; I.40; I.42; I.44; II.2) were built by the *ordo decurionum* or from imperial support. The statuary material – many times exported from the Greek islands or Asia Minor¹⁴³ – especially from the *asklepieia* of these two cities and the sanctuaries of the capital suggest that these building projects were significant financial investments. As the list of R. Duncan-Jones suggests, large temple buildings in the Western and African provinces could cost between 150,000 *sestertii* and 6200 *sestertii*¹⁴⁴. The monumental architecture of the sanctuaries from Sarmizegetusa and Apulum suggests similar financial investments, although these remained rare projects in the short existence of the province, mostly initiated by Trajan and later, by the Severan dynasty.

In the case of Apulum however, the constant extension of the *porticus* of the *asklepieion* (II.2) was a private *evergetes* act of wealthy individuals of the city, as probably in the case of the majority of the middle and

128 Carbon/Delforge 2012.

129 Dignas 2002.

130 Fishwick 1989.

131 Fant 1993. – See also Russell 2014.

132 Neudecker 2005.

133 Friedländer 1871; Duncan-Jones 1986; Madigan 2013, 62-63. – See also Szabó 2013b, 373-374.

134 See also the latest conference on this topic: http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/news/the_economics_of_roman_religion/ (12.6.2017). See also www.academia.edu/33192349/Call_for_papers_for_AIAC_2018_panel_on_religion_and_the_city (11.5.2020).

135 The notion of the religious marketplace was introduced by J. North and R. Stark and was recently highly criticized: Beck 2006.

136 Protase 2010, 163-209.

137 Găzdac 2010.

138 For example, Apulum: Găzdac/Suciu/Găzdac-Alföldy 2009.

139 See also Szabó 2013b.

140 Rüpke 2011a, 87.

141 Piso 2010.

142 Haynes 2014; Schäfer 2014.

143 36 statues or objects identified as exported marble: Müller et al. 2011, 16.

144 Duncan-Jones 1965, no. 470a; 374. 476. 482.

small-sized sanctuaries all over the province too. In some cases, such as the monumental temple of the Palmyrian group from Sarmizegetusa (I.46-47), the sanctuary of Liber Pater from Apulum (I.6) or the rich sanctuary of Mithras in Apulum and Sarmizegetusa (I.43; III.15) the exceptional size of the buildings and the exquisite nature of the statuary material suggest a very rich community or external financial help from the *ordo* or other extra-provincial sources. A unique testimony of a financial investment for reconstructing a temple building comes from Apulum (IDR III/5, 444), where Marcus Aurelius Chrestus, patron of the *collegium fabrum*, donated 6200 *sestertii* for the building of an *aetomae*¹⁴⁵.

Although the cost of a Roman marble statue varied from province and artist between 100 and 10,000 *sestertii*¹⁴⁶, the investment of an individual or a group in such cases as the Liber Pater sanctuary from Apulum or the donation of Secundinus in the so-called Kaftal *mithraeum* (III.15) was probably an important financial burden. While almost all the stone statues from Dacia are local productions¹⁴⁷, a third of the marble material of the sanctuaries are exported and probably were exceptional financial investments of individual donors¹⁴⁸. A similar percentage of foreign material is present among the bronze statuettes, used mostly in domestic religious communication or as temple inventories¹⁴⁹. Some of these were exceptional artworks, copies of the most well-known Roman statues of the Principate¹⁵⁰.

The impact of Roman religious communication on the economy of Dacia can be measured mostly in urban contexts, where the available archaeological material is more significant. From the more than 1000 inscriptions of Apulum, almost 50% are used in religious communication. A similar percentage was identified in Sarmizegetusa too. A similar if not an even higher proportion of objects produced for religious communication is also present among the bronze statuettes and stone reliefs. These industries and craftsmanship were mostly monopolized in Dacia by the actors of religious communication in the two major cities and their *territoria*. Further research focusing on the mobility, production and durability of objects and architectural elements can give an even more accurate picture of the impact of religious communication on the economy of Dacia.

CONCLUSIONS

The 54 archaeologically and 19 epigraphically attested and 67 presumed sanctuaries of Dacia represent a large part of the architectural and economic atmosphere and landscape of the province, although this number is not unusual in comparison with the Western provinces (figs 5-6). Their impact on natural and architectural landscape, economic and social life of the urban and more or less, on the rural environment is measurable by the great number of sanctuaries of Sarmizegetusa and Apulum – the two urban centres dominating the sacralised spaces of Dacia. The analysis of the architecture of the sanctuaries shows that the majority of these places are small-sized buildings, constructed from local material probably by local craftsmen and architects, related to the army of the province. A few of the buildings can be compared to the scale and exquisite ornamental decorations of Rome or the major urban centres of the Empire. All of these sanctuaries were established in Sarmizegetusa and Apulum and later in the fort of Potaissa. Many of the small and middle-sized sanctuaries were used for one or two generations of small group religions, while the

¹⁴⁵ Szabó 2013b, 376-377.

¹⁴⁶ Szabó 2013b, no. 494. – See also Madigan 2013, 62.

¹⁴⁷ Although stone material was probably less expensive as marble, bronze or gold, multiple altars or statue donations suggest that these served also a competition or intensification of religious piety: Szabó/Boda/Timoc 2016.

¹⁴⁸ One of the largest and most exquisite marble statues were found in Ampelum, a copy of the famous Zeus Otricoli: Diaconescu 2014a, 62-64. – Another monumental Jupiter statue stood in the *capitolium* of Sarmizegetusa: Piso 2010. – See also Müller et al. 2011, 16.

¹⁴⁹ Pop/Țeposu-Marinescu 2000.

¹⁵⁰ Diaconescu 2014b.

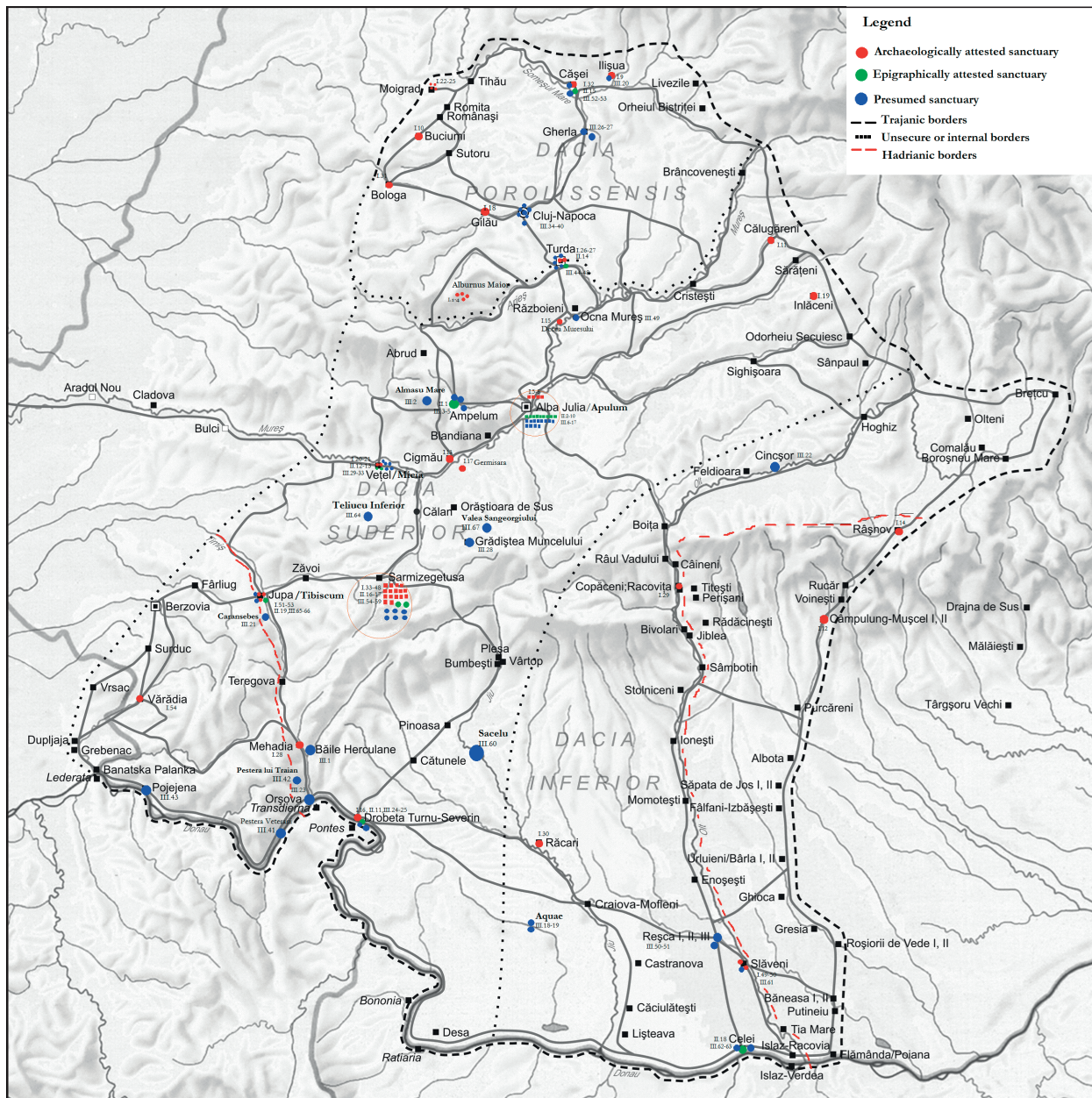


Fig. 5 Map of Dacia with the archaeologically attested, epigraphically attested and presumed sanctuaries. – (Based on Schäfer 2007, 357 fig. 1; with kind permission of the author).

larger, monumentalized building projects were related to public religious festivals and religious communication. Their economic and financial possibilities and richness of the material in these spaces were mostly influenced by the networks and financial status of some individuals and small groups. The particularities of the sanctuaries of Dacia are their short, less than 170-year existence, the lack of Christian and Jewish sacralised spaces and – except for Germisara – the discontinuity of sanctuaries from pre-Roman times.

The material evidence of the sanctuaries from this province shows also the intra-connectivity of the province with other cities from Pannoniae, Moesiae, Dalmatia, Asia Minor, the Greek islands and Rome too. It proves also the important role of human and material mobilities in creating and maintaining a sacralised space and establishing successful strategies in religious communication, which contributed to the transformation and local appropriation of religious and cultural identities of the people living in Dacia (fig. 7).

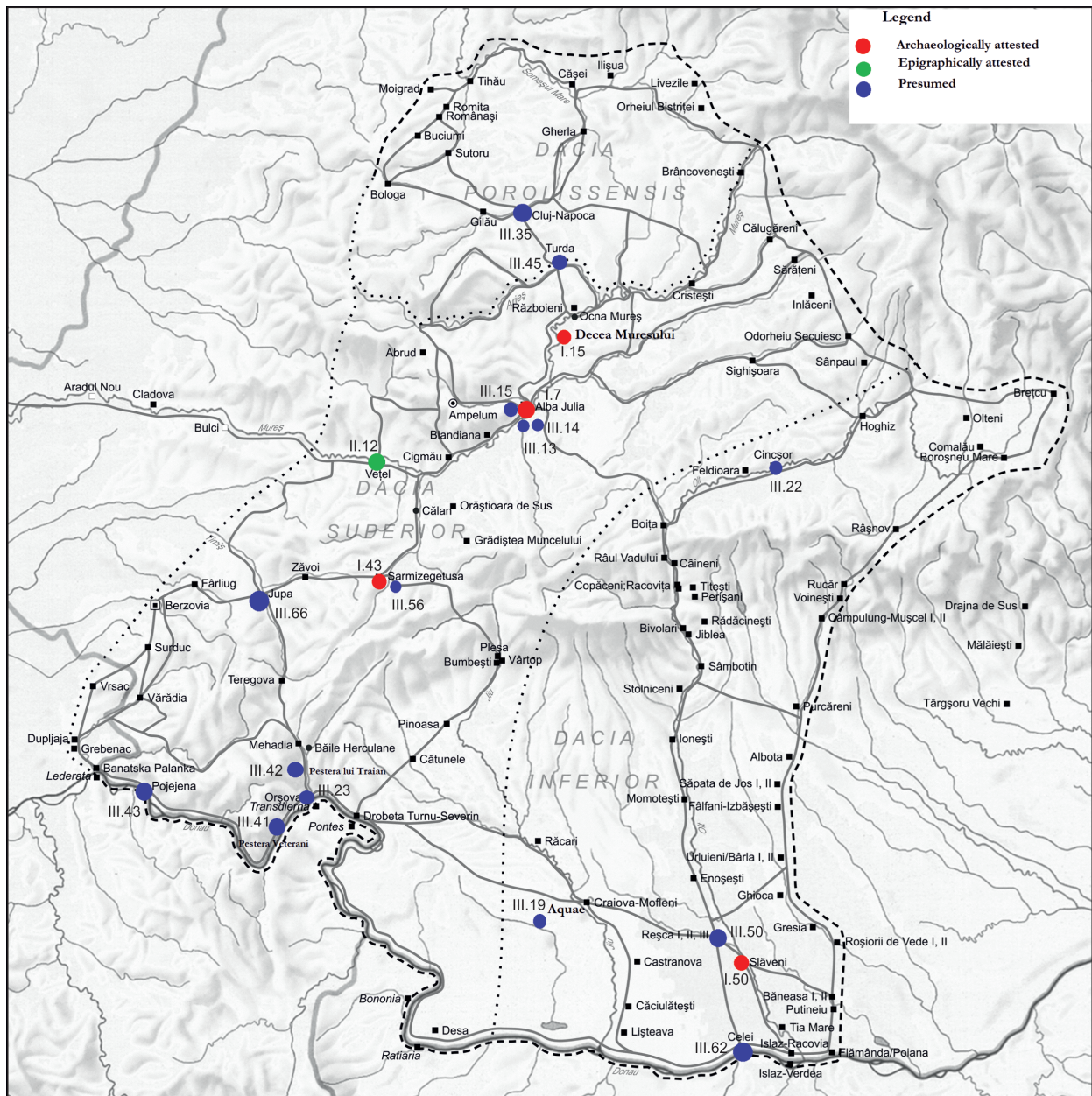


Fig. 6 Map of Dacia with Mithraic sanctuaries. – (Based on Schäfer 2007, 357 fig. 1; with kind permission of the author).

CATALOGUE OF THE SANCTUARIES OF ROMAN DACIA (106-271 AD)

The work of A. R. Pescaru and D. Alicu enrolled 85 »temples«. Although in their theoretical introduction they presented a classical, Vitruvian concept of Roman temple architecture¹⁵¹, the examples from their catalogue enrolls also assembly houses of small group religions, such as the *mithraeum*, *dolichenum*, *serapeum*, *iseum*, etc.¹⁵² The architectural heterogeneity and the local variety of these examples show that such places cannot be typologized strictly after some architectural features¹⁵³. This catalogue, following the methodol-

¹⁵¹ Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 11-31. – See also Stamper 2005b; 2014.
¹⁵² Nielsen 2014.

¹⁵³ Van Andringa 2012; Raja/Rüpke 2015a. – See also Gasparini 2015.

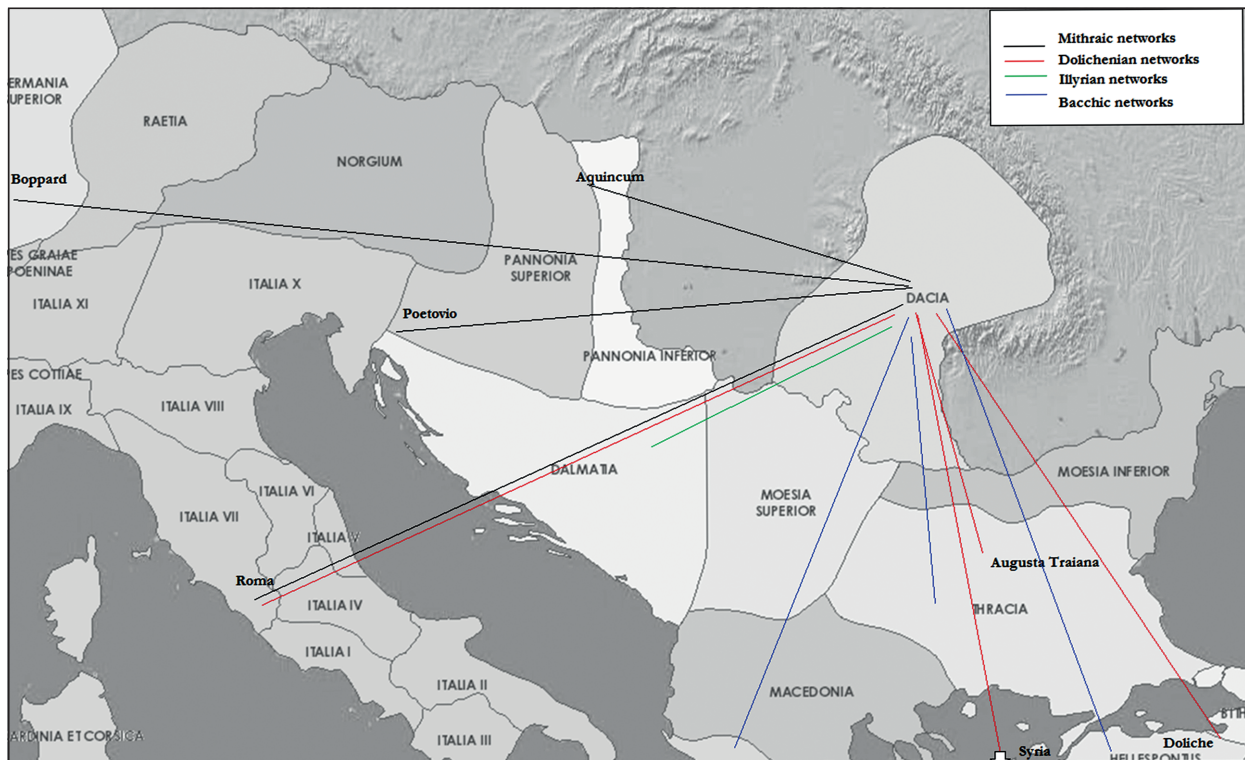


Fig. 7 Religious diasporas and networks of Dacia based on the epigraphic data. – (Illustration Cs. Szabó).

ogy presented in the introduction enlists not only the Roman temples but a large variety of spaces, where groups were participating in religious communication and experiences, named here as sacralised spaces. Due to the problematic state of research focusing on domestic (*primary*) places from the province, I omit this category, mentioning here only the *shared (public)* and *secondary spaces* where religious communication occurred. The catalogue will present also the case studies from Pescaru-Alicu's work, with modifications and corrections and will follow their three main categories, dividing the examples in archaeologically attested (I.1-55), epigraphically attested (II.1-19) and presumed sanctuaries (III.1-67). In the first category, I included only the sites where the systematic or preventive archaeological investigation took place since the 19th century. The second category enlists the sites where the epigraphic record mentions the exact type of building or a particular architectural element (*porticum*, etc.). The third category enlists all sacralised places in shared and public spaces, which were not systematically excavated or unanimously accepted as sanctuaries. Identifying a sacralised space in Roman context is a difficult task, especially, when a large part of the materiality of religious communication was discovered a long time before systematic excavations and responsible publications. Selecting these examples I took in consideration the following criteria: 1) spaces, where more than one altar, statue or another type of votive offering was found; 2) spaces, where the remains of Roman building were attested together with votive offerings; 3) spaces, which were identified as a sanctuary by the older literature based exclusively on the architectural features of the building. Although I'm aware that the discovery of several altars in an undocumented spot is not enough proof to name a place or a context directly as a sanctuary, this list intends to show not only the possibility of spaces used in religious communication in Roman Dacia but also the great loss of Romanian archaeology in the last one century and beyond. Some settlements, such as Călan, known from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as a famous thermal bath complex could have a healing sanctuary, although the archaeological material cannot prove this. Similarly,

the context of discovery of the Dolichenian statue from Amărăștii de Sus indicate the possible existence of a sanctuary¹⁵⁴. The number of sacralised spaces with singular finds – especially in the less investigated rural environments – are much higher, but their context does not allow a more precise interpretation¹⁵⁵. Similarly, the existence of an *aedes signorum* can be presumed in most of the Roman forts of Dacia, although only a part of them was attested archaeologically¹⁵⁶.

Instead of following the old and anachronistic categories associating spaces with »Graeco-Roman« and »Oriental« divinities, I will simply enrol them in alphabetical order of the settlements (Roman and contemporary names). Due to the incoherence between ancient and modern terminologies of sanctuaries and building types¹⁵⁷, I will follow a minimalist terminology, keeping the ancient denomination (*templum*, *aedes*, *fanum*) only in those cases where it was attested epigraphically and naming the rest of the cases as »sanctuary«, following the definition presented above. I introduced in the catalogue of archaeologically attested sites the places of worship from the excavated Roman forts of Dacia, although I'm aware that their identification as *aedes signorum* in most of the cases are based on the architectural canon and literary traditions and not always materiality of religious experiences. Similarly to this, the identification of some sacralised spaces as *capitolia* can be very hypothetical in provincial archaeology as it was recently shown¹⁵⁸. In some cases, I preserved the traditional approach, associating a place with a single divinity, which dominates the materiality of the sanctuary, although as I mentioned in the introduction, in a polytheistic society – and especially in the case study of Dacia – sacralised spaces were usually dedicated to multiple divinities, »hosted« by a tutelary one. Each archaeological site has its Latin and contemporary Romanian and Hungarian names, a short historical and archaeological review of the settlement, location (GPS data based on Google Maps coordinates), a figure representing the plan of the building, dimensions, description, archaeological repertory and a short bibliography.

A constantly modified and dynamic atlas of the sacralised spaces from Dacia is available online as part of the Digital Atlas of Roman Sanctuaries in the Danubian Provinces (DAS)¹⁵⁹.

I. Archaeologically attested sanctuaries

Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană, jud. Alba)

Alburnus Maior and its environment was the major Roman mining centre of Roman Dacia, situated in the middle of the Apuseni Mountains, which was part of the *Aurariae Dacicae*, the golden district of Dacia and later, Dacia Superior. Since 106 AD or after some opinions, even in the period of the Dacian Kingdom, the settlement developed in the vicinity of the gold mines (fig. 8). The Roman settlement of Alburnus Maior was inhabited by numerous Illyrian groups, organised in *kastella*. The material evidence of the religious communication of these groups and the civilians of the settlement shows a specific Illyrian pantheon appropriated to the new Dacian environment. Besides the indigenous Illyrian divinities from Dalmatia, epigraphic

material records also the various cults from Italy too. The variety and religious individuation of these ethnic groups are reflected also in the dynamics of sacralised spaces from Alburnus Maior, predominated by secondary spaces used by small religious groups, formed especially on ethnic and cultural identities. The settlement has more than 100 votive inscriptions and due to its contemporary political and environmental importance, it is one of the best-researched Roman conurbations of Dacia. On the religious life of Alburnus Maior see: Piso 2004; Nemeti 2004, 91-101; Ardevan 2004; Ardevan/Cociș/Cosma 2007, 67-72; Ciongradi 2009; 2014; Schäfer 2009; Ciobanu 2010; Nemeti/Nemeti 2010, 109-133. – See also Pundt 2012.

¹⁵⁴ See also the case study of Desa: CCID 176.

¹⁵⁵ Some of the important settlements from the countryside with singular or more votive finds: Gudea 2009, 260-261. The number of *mithraea* in Dacia could be also much higher: Oltean 2007, 218; Sicoe 2014, 168-169. 245. – See also Bărbulescu 1998; Pop 1998; Opreanu 2008.

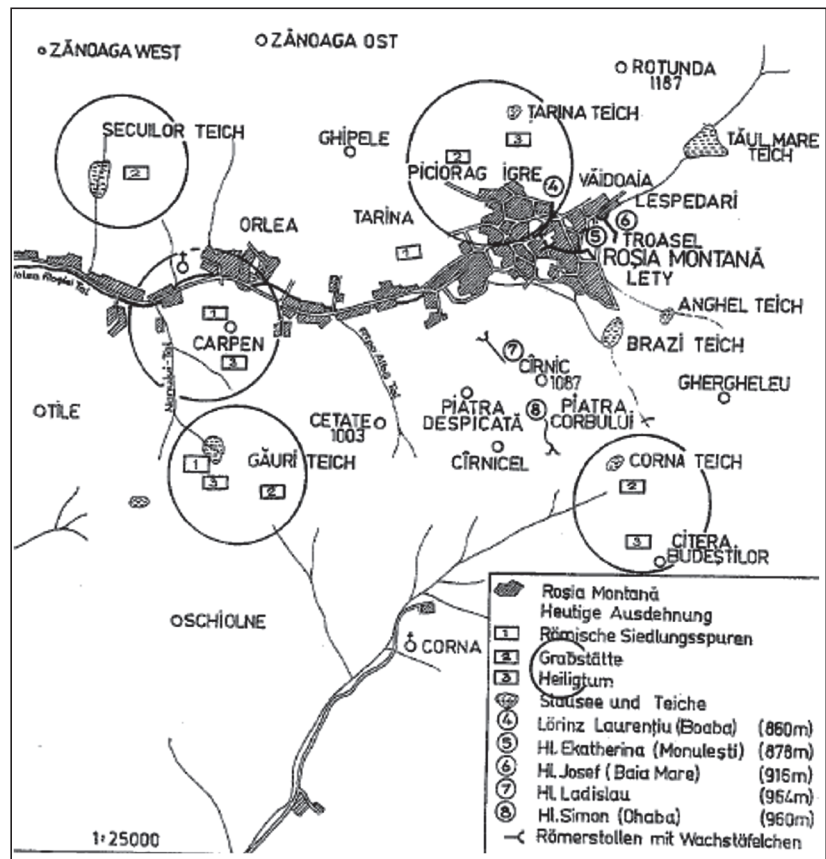
¹⁵⁶ Marcu 2009. On the places of worship in the forts of Dacia see: Marcu 2004.

¹⁵⁷ Scheid/de Polignac 2010. See also Introduction.

¹⁵⁸ Quinn/Wilson 2013.

¹⁵⁹ About the project see: www.danubianreligion.com (10.4.2020). See also: Szabó forthcoming.

Fig. 8 Topography of Roşia Montana (jud. Alba, Alburnus Maior). – (After Wollmann 1996, 320 fig. 1).



I.1 Sanctuary of the *kastellum* Ansium

Location: SW to the modern settlement of Roşia Montană, in the vicinity of the lake called Tăul Găuri on the so-called Hăbad Site (approx. coordinates: 46.298045, 23.111719; fig. 9). – Dimensions: A large area near the Roman road leading to the lake Tăul Găuri and a Roman mining gallery was identified with several small compartments. Each compartment is less than 6 m × 5 m, although the overall structure of the building complex is unknown. – Description: The site (known also as the *lucus* or *area sacra* from Hăbad) was discovered and excavated in 1983-1984 and later in 2000-2001. In the first seasons, 27 altars were found in small rooms near the Roman road, a few meters from a Roman mining gallery. The altars were discovered in two distinguished groups: one group in a small compartment just in front of the entrance of the Roman mine, another one in the next room, closer to the road. The distribution of the altars suggests that the site was used by at least two different groups or ethnic communities, as the inscriptions could also indicate this. Later, seven other altars were found on this site. The Illyrian group, who used this sacralised space was dedicated to several divinities from their homeland. The sanctuary seems to be a

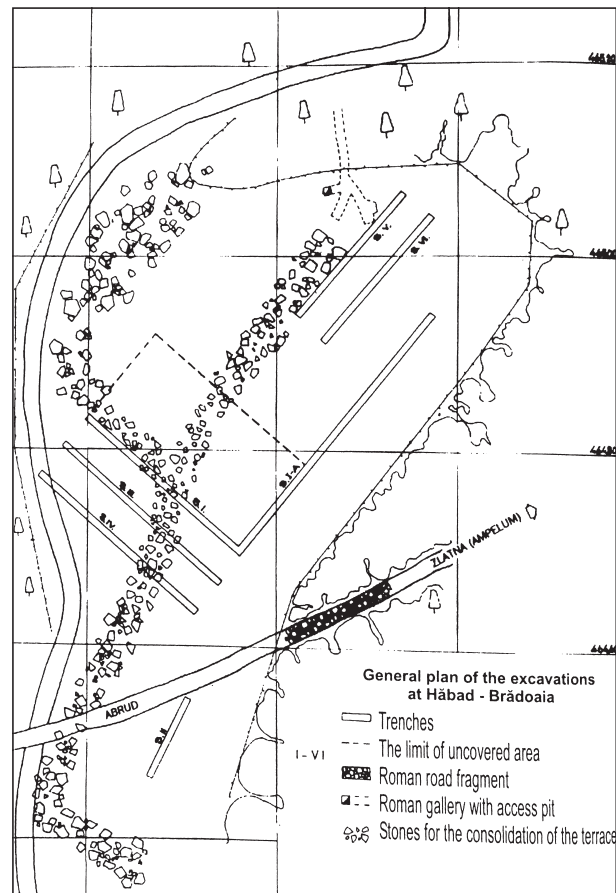


Fig. 9 Roşia Montana (jud. Alba, Alburnus Maior): Plan of the sanctuary of the *kastellum* Ansium. – (After Damian 2003, 160 fig. 2).

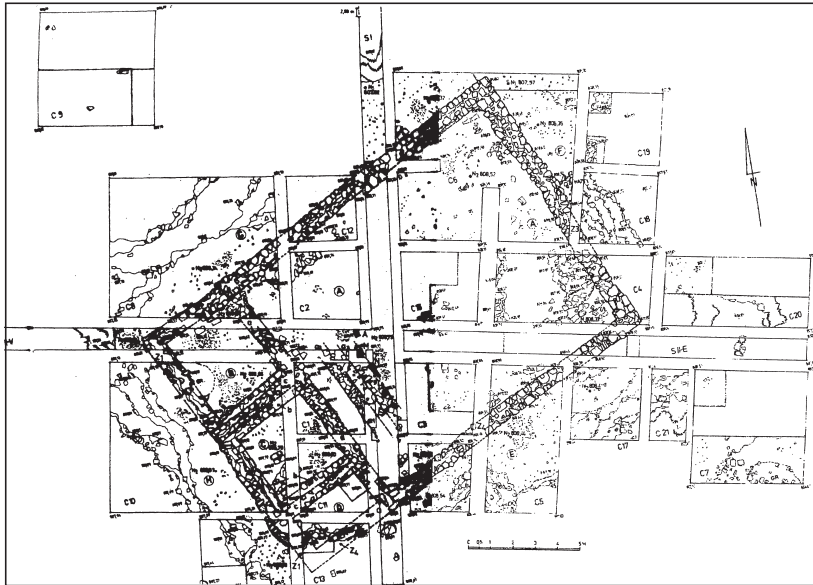


Fig. 10 Alburnus Maior: Plan of the sanctuary of the *kastellum* Baridustarum. – (After Damian 2003, 267 fig. 3).

sacralised space of several Illyrian groups forming a *civitas peregrina*, named as *kastellum* Ansium. Several different ethnic and religious groups seem to use this site, among them also a Bacchic *collegium* (ILD 365). – Archaeological repertory: 34 inscriptions, lamps and construction material from the buildings. – Bibliography: Wollmann 1985-1986, 253-294; Damian 2003, 147-190; Piso 2004; Ardevan 2004; Ardevan/Cociş/Cosma 2007; Ciograndi 2009; Nemeti/Nemeti 2010.

I.2 Sanctuary of the *kastellum* Baridustarum/Galatians?
Location: SW to the modern settlement of Roşia Montană, between the Hăbad Hill and the Găuri and Nanului valleys at the Székely Site (fig. 10). – Dimensions: The foundation of the rectangular building measures 18.5 m × 12.85 m. – Description: Known also as the edifice T I, the sanctuary was unearthed in 2001, during a rescue excavation, when a part of the *kastellum* Baridustarum was identified. The building had four compartments (A-D) used already from the period of Trajan. In this case, the epigraphic altars attest to the cult of Neptunus, Mercurius, Apollo and probably, Jupiter Sardendenos, Narenus and Jupiter Sittakomikos, worshiped here as their *Dii Patrii*. It is possible that this area, however, was used by two different groups: Galatians (which are attested in Alburnus Maior by the *collegium Iovis Cerneni*, the *collegium* of Jupiter Sardendenos and the *collegium* of Narenus). While the excavators of the site suggested that the Galatian altars came from the same site, S. Nemeti claimed that the Galatian *collegia* had a separate sacralised site at this area (Nemeti 2005, 249-245). – Archaeological repertory: Six altars were found in 1936 and five more in 2001. A rich ceramic material consisted of 35 items was also published. – Bibliography: Damian 2003, 253-263; Ardevan 2004; Nemeti 2005, 249-252; Ciograndi 2009.

I.3 Sanctuary of the Genius of the *collegium sardeatum*
Location: SW to the modern settlement of Roşia Montană, between the Hăbad Hill and the Găuri and Nanului valleys at the Drumuş Site (coordinates: 46.1756, 23.0638; fig. 11). – Dimensions: Trapezoidal formed building, measuring 11.35 m × 23.6 m. – Description: Known also as the edifice T II, the sanctuary was unearthed in September-October 2001, during a rescue excavation, when a part of the *kastellum* Baridustarum was identified. The building follows the classical building type of Hellenic dining halls of small group religions and associations. Marked with two podia, the building ends in the SE part with a *cella*. It was associated with the regular dining of the *collegium sardeatum*. The vicinity of the local cemetery could indicate also a relationship with burial rites and funerary commemorations. The altars are dedicated to the Genius of the *collegium sardeatum*, Ianus Geminus, Terra Mater, IOM and to Apollo Piruniinus (Pirunenus). The building and the *collegium* were parts of the *kastellum* Baridustarum. – Archaeological repertory: 17 altars were discovered. 32 ceramic artefacts were also published by the excavators. – Bibliography: Damian 2003, 285-333; Ardevan 2004; Ciograndi 2009; Diaconescu 2011, 162-167.

I.4 Sanctuary of the Delmatae
Location: On a plateau located next to the bottom of an elevation that dominates the western side of the Nanului valley, known as the Dalea Site (coordinates: 46.1757, 23.0626; fig. 12). – Dimensions: The building complex is partially preserved and had multiple compartments. The square, inner courtyard measures 17.7 m × 19 m. The whole precinct could measure 34 m × 25 m. – Description: Known also as the sacred space of the Dalea Site, the sanctuary was unearthed in August-October 2001, during a rescue excavation. The building was a monumental one,

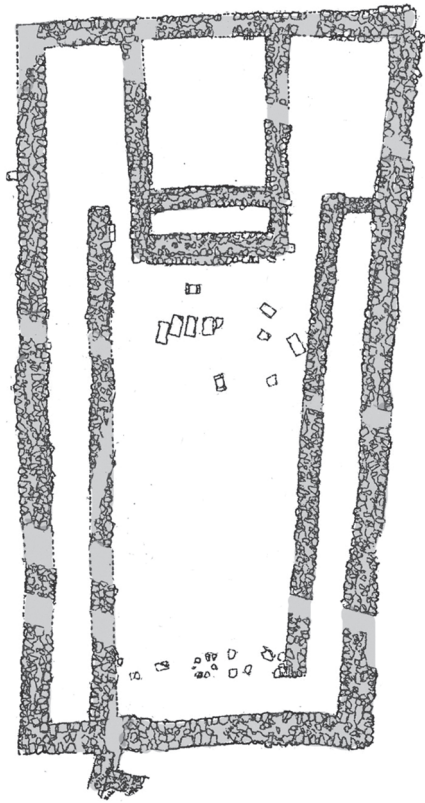


Fig. 11 Alburnus Maior: Plan of the sanctuary of the Genius of the *collegium sardeatum*. – (After Diaconescu 2011, pls 26-27).

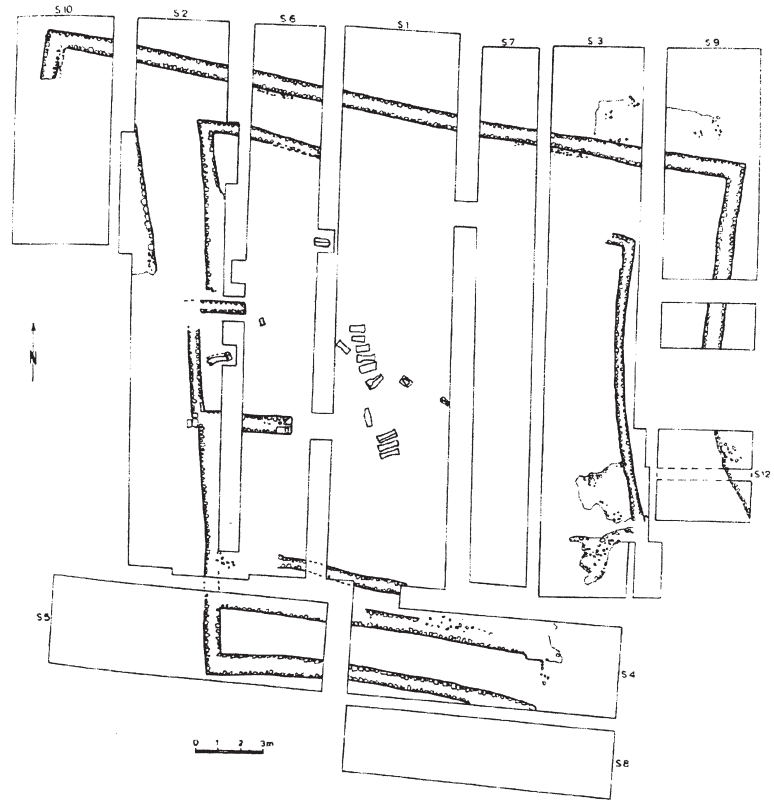


Fig. 12 Alburnus Maior: Plan of the sanctuary of the Delmatae. – (After Damian 2003, 362 fig. 1).

with a large *portico*, inner courtyard, which was possibly uncovered. Three rooms were found west to the *portico*. The nine altars discovered in two separate lines with 2 m distance from each other seem to mark two large events of a religious group. It is not sure if the building was used by the *kastellum* Baridustarum, or, as it was suggested by R. Ardevan, by the Delmatae. The inscriptions attest various divinities, one of them, the so-called Apio Dalmatarum, is attested for the first time. – Archaeological repertory: Nine altars were discovered. 32 ceramic artefacts were also published by the excavators. – Bibliography: Damian 2003, 285-333; Ardevan 2004; Ciongradi 2009; Diaconescu 2011, 162-167.

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg; jud. Alba)
The conurbation of Apulum was founded in the vicinity or on the territory of the Dacian tribe of Apuli in the Mureş valley and consisted of four major territories: the legionary fort of the *legio XIII Gemina* (fig. 13), the civilian settlement (*pagus*) found 2.2 km south of the fort, later Municipium Aurelium Apulensis and since 194 AD Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (fig. 14), the military *canabae* around the fort, after 194 AD known as Municipium Septimium Apulense, and the Palace of the Governors (*praetorium consularis*). This urban centre became the largest and

most important military, economic and cultural hub of Dacia Superior and the entire province too. Populated with large groups from Pannoniae, Asia Minor and Thracia but also from Syria and other provinces, the various forms of religious communication, appropriation and space sacralisation produced almost a quarter of the material known from the entire province. The sacralised spaces attested in this conurbation were serving not only the local population but also played an important role as regional religious centres. Intense object and human mobilities can be documented between Apulum and various cities of the Publicum Portorium Illyrici, especially with Sarmizegetusa, Ampelum, Poetovio and Aquincum, but iconographic analogies prove a direct connection between religious groups from Londinium and Boppard too. Apulum served also as an important centre of producing material objects for religious communication and had a certain impact on the local iconographic and visual language of the provincial Roman art of Dacia. A large part of the archaeological material known from excavations was published in the Digital Map of Apulum (DMA). The first synthesis on the religious life of this conurbation was made by Pál Király in 1892 and later by Alexandru Popa in 1975 (see also Király 1892; Popa 1975). Since then, numerous individual objects or short reports were published on votive monu-

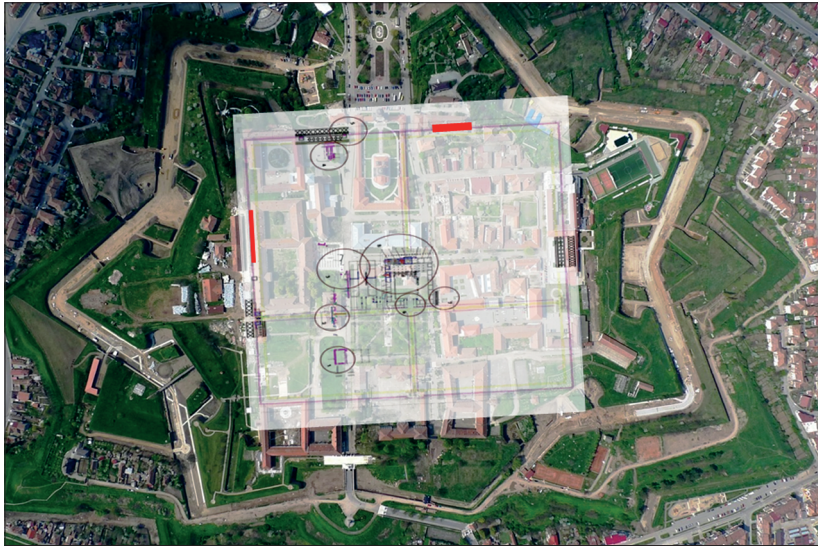


Fig. 13 Apulum: Map of the legionary fort of the *legio XIII Gemina*. – (Based on <http://castrul-apulum.ro/> [22.10.2018]).

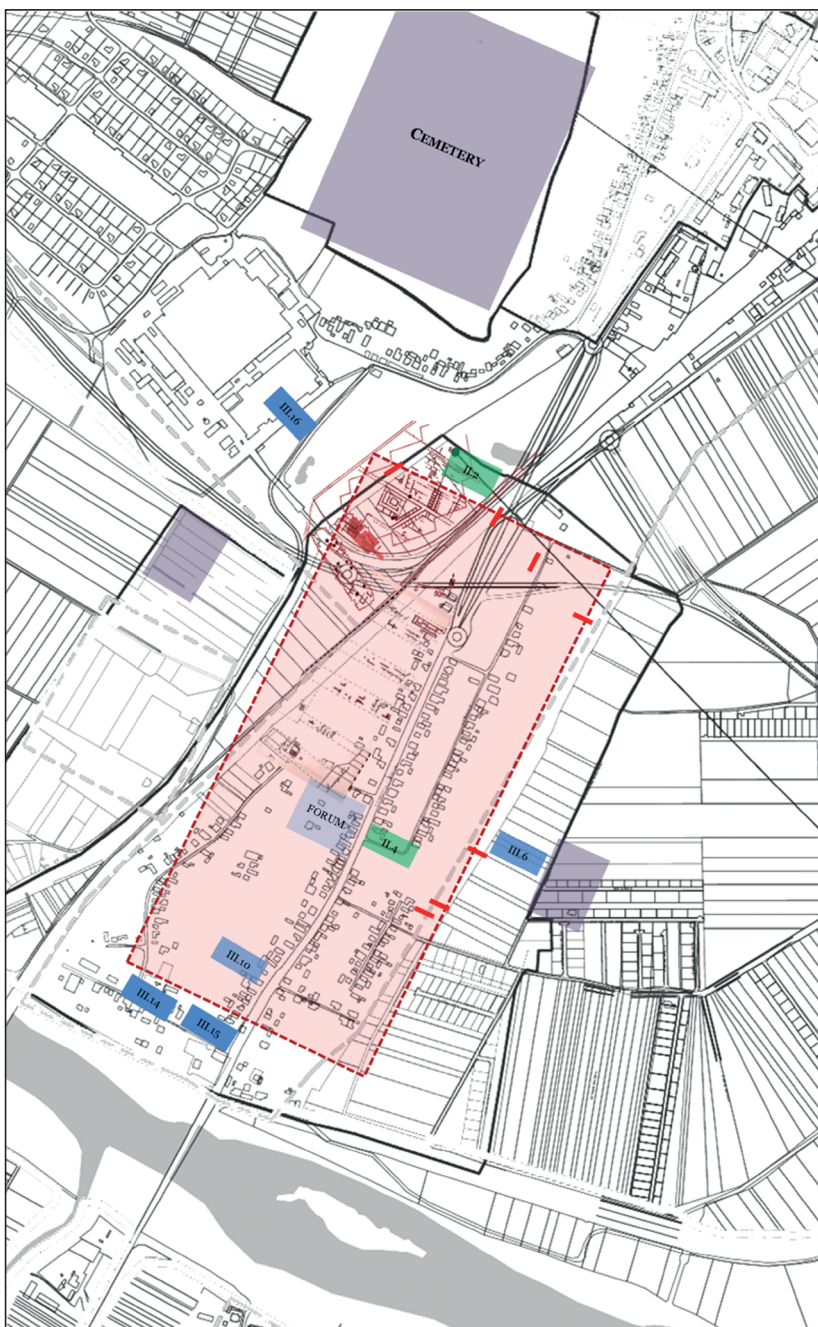
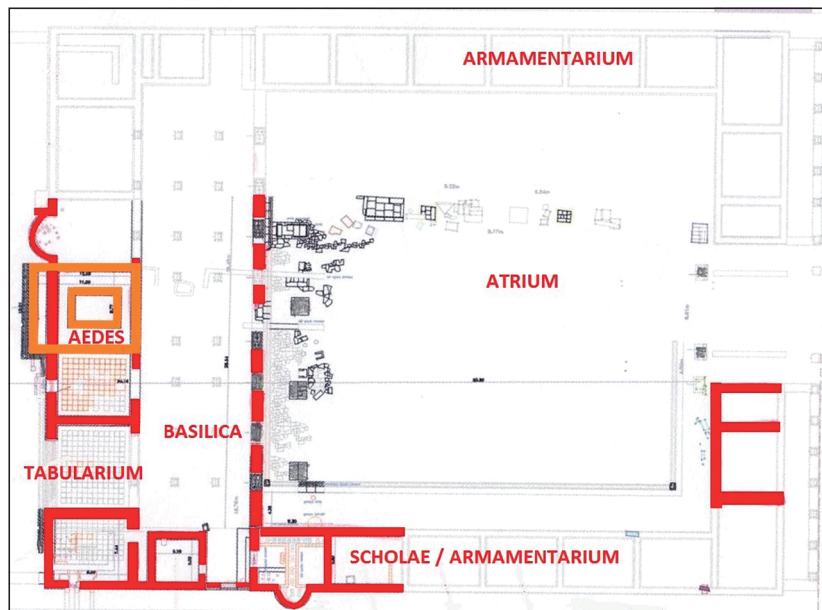


Fig. 14 Topography of Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – (With the contribution of L. Korodi-Vass).

Fig. 15 Apulum: Partial plan of the *aedes principiorum* from the fort, revealed by the excavations from 2011. – (After <http://castrul-apulum.ro/> [22.10.2018]).



ments and sacralised spaces, sanctuaries, focusing especially on the cult of Liber Pater, Mercurius, Apollo, Asclepius, Mithras or Jupiter (Szabó 2014b; 2015b). Based on the large amount of votive material found in this conurbation, the number of sacralised spaces in Apulum was probably much higher than the archaeologically or epigraphically attested sanctuaries suggest. Based on the archaeological material, the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter Zbelsurdos, Hekate, Cealestis-Dea Syria and Sucellus-Nantosuelta/Aeracura is also plausible.

I.5 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae*, today in the Vauban fortress, on the Piața Cetății/former Custozza Park (coordinates: 46.068430, 23.572189; **fig. 15**). – Dimensions: The exact size of the building is unknown, there is no official publication yet. – Description: The localisation of the *principia* was supposed already at the end of the 19th century during the first systematic excavations on the territory of the fort and in the major works related to the *legio XIII Gemina* and the fort (Gudea 2014, 545-560). There is no written report on the major urban development and the possible archaeological finds in the area of the *principia* (Custozza Park) and the surroundings. The first inscription and rescue excavation, which identified the *principia* was carried out in 1952 during canalization near the current building of the »1 Decembrie 1918 University« (Crișan 1954, 603. – AÉ 1956, 204). The next important archaeological find was discovered in 2006, the year, which marked the beginning of the radical transformation of the Custozza Park and the territory of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae* (Moga/Piso/Drîmbărean 2008, 177). Similarly, the excavations between 20 August and 22 September 2011 revealed numerous important inscriptions, among them a monumental honorary plaque

dedicated to emperor Caracalla and Iulia Domna, an altar for Serapis and a votive column dedicated to Jupiter (Cupcea/Deac/Inel forthcoming). The excavation – opened in an area of at least 50m × 50m – was the largest ever inside of the territory of the *castra*, revealing numerous compartments (C1, C2, C3), walls, columns and the hypocaust system of the *principia*. One of the compartments is an apsidal room with hypocaust system, followed by an open-air *forum*, wrapped by large, rectangular stone slabs. The area could serve important information about the water supply of the *principia* and generally, the *castra legionis* itself due to the complex system of canalization near the *aedes*. It is important to mention that in many cases (Faßbinder 2010, 97), the *principia* is surrounded by channels, which can suggest a much splendid interior of the space, vegetation, which played an important role in the sacralization of the space. About another, large section of the *principia* and the central part of the *castra* (named as S2p) appeared only a short report in the local press, without mentioning the exact functionality and role of the compartments (Cupcea/Deac/Inel forthcoming). – Archaeological repertory: The new finds are unpublished. The press conference reported numerous votive inscriptions, honorary plaques, monumental architectural elements, stamped bricks and a large amount of ceramic material. Numerous votive monuments found reused on the territory of the Vauban fort could stand in the *principia* or the *praetorium*. – Bibliography: Crișan 1954; Moga/Piso/Drîmbărean 2008; Gudea 2014, 545-560; Heidenreich 2013, cat. nos 403-429; Cupcea/Deac/Inel forthcoming.

Numerous other votive monuments were found on the territory of the Roman fort, most of them, however, in secondary, reused position. Two notable cases, the so-called *mithraeum* and the »shrine of Nemesis« in the fort – as it

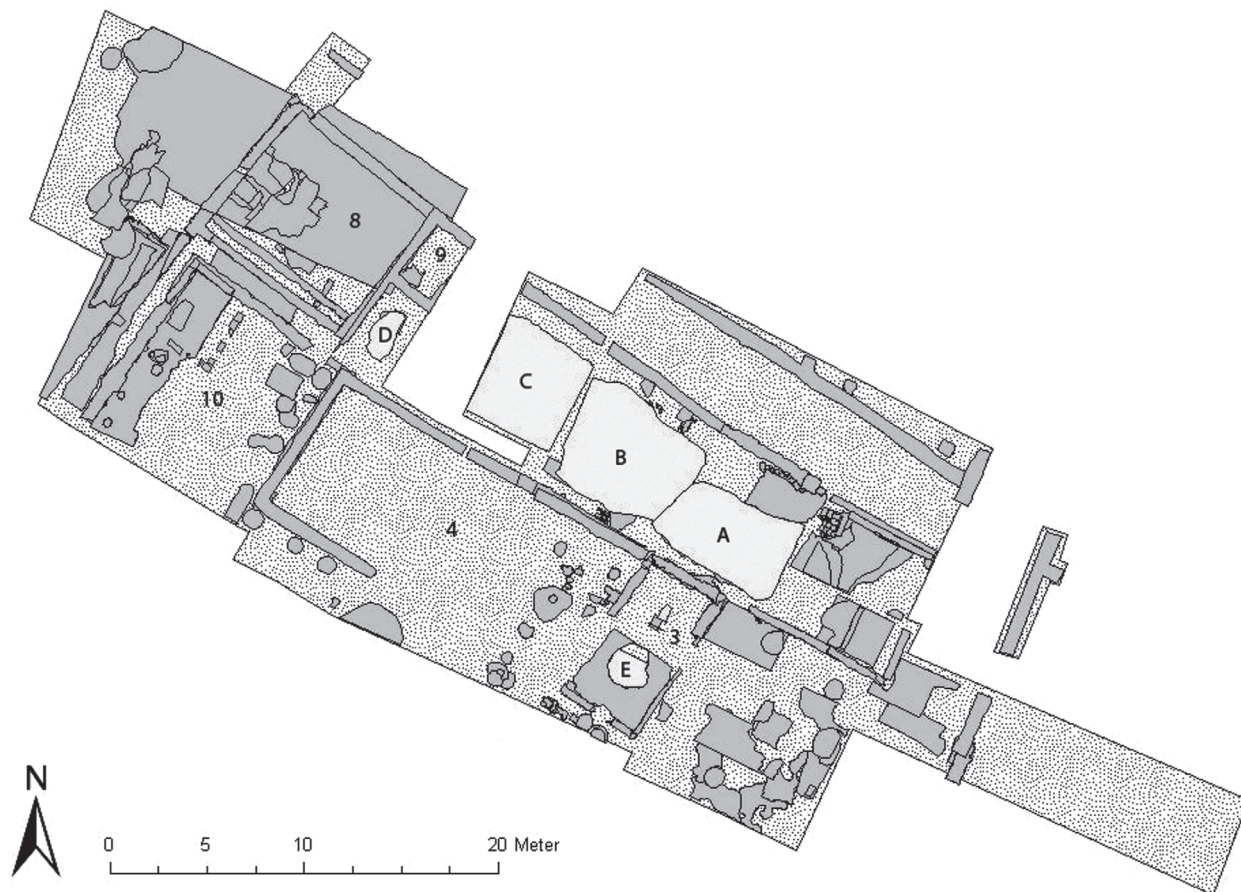


Fig. 16 Preliminary plan of the Liber Pater sanctuary. – (After Schäfer 2014, 49 pl. I.1).

appears in the Romanian literature and press – cannot be interpreted as sanctuaries: Szabó 2014d, 533, especially notes 3. 5.

I.6 Liber Pater shrine

Location: NW corner of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (coordinates: 46.050488, 23.564560; **fig. 16**). – Dimensions: Rectangular building with multiple chambers (total length: 43 m, width: 20 m). The plan of the building and its surrounding is uncertain. – Description: Rectangular complex of buildings with a forecourt, positioned near a street of the conurbation. The entrance area faced a rectangular hall-like enclosure measuring about 23.5 m × 8.5 m. This area was possibly a garden, as the archaeobotanical analysis already suggested (Ciută 2010, 185-199). Several rooms were grouped around this central area. To the North, an open hall (probably a *stibadium*) was bounded by the wall that enclosed the sanctuary area. Four pits or *favissae* (A-D) were found in the hall area. – Archaeological repertory: A part of the epigraphic material was published (IDR III/5, 236-237. 244. 370-371. – Haynes 2005, 44. – Sicoe 2014, 149 no. 23). Similarly, the statuary material is published (Diaconescu 2001, 161-176. – Schäfer 2015). A part of the terracotta, ceramic and glass mate-

rial was also published and some of the archaeobotanical and zoological analysis were reported (Ruscu 1992, 125-134. – Fiedler/Höpken 2002, 375-390. – Egri 2005, 85-87). Important to mention that one or more spaces dedicated to Liber Pater were presumed already before the discovery of the shrine, based on two plaques discovered in the 19th century (IDR III/5, 242). – Bibliography: Although there is a long list of publications related to the sanctuary, a comprehensive monograph of the excavation is still not published. For a complete list of the publications see: BRRD I 124. 306-307. 311. 316; II 227. 233. 236. 238-239. 240-243. 247. 261. 263-268; ABRRD; see also: Haynes 2014.

I.7 Mithraeum

Location: Bulevardul 1 Decembrie 1918, SW part of the Roman fort, probably on the territory of the *canabae*, later Municipium Septimium Apulense, part of an *extra muros* area with numerous sacralized spaces (coordinates: 46.066403, 23.565013; **fig. 17**). – Dimensions: The whole building is not yet unearthed. The excavated area revealed more than 75% of the sanctuary on a surface of 17 m × 9 m in 2013 and further parts and annexes in 2014. – Description: Known as »*mithraeum* III« the build-

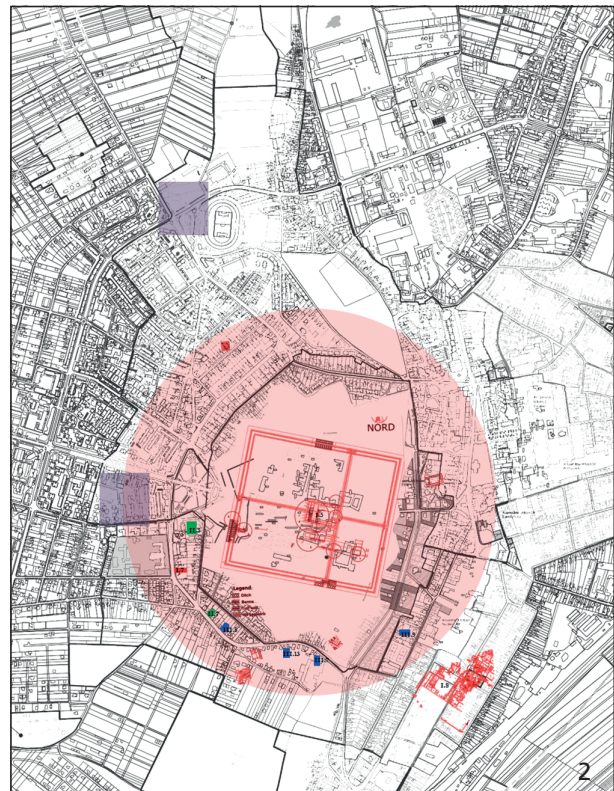
Fig. 17 Apulum: **1** the *mithraeum* from Municipium Septimium Apulense discovered in 2008. – **2** topography of Municipium Septimium Apulense. – (1 after Szabó 2015b, 130 fig. 3; 2 map Cs. Szabó with the contribution of L. Korodi-Vass).



ing is the first sanctuary dedicated to Mithras excavated systematically in Alba Iulia. The structure of the building follows a general architectural and spatial tendency of the Mithras sanctuaries, being divided into three main parts: a *pronaos* (antechamber) in the SE, a *naos* with two benches and an additional room in the NE part. The first campaign revealed that the building had a brick elevation. The inferior part of the building was built by small-sized stones. The excavation also revealed a pit under the annexed building, which predates the sanctuary and a part of a rectangular timber structure. The stratigraphy was severely damaged and modified by the medieval (12th-13th century) and modern (17th-18th century) layers and interventions. – Archaeological repertory: The finds are not yet published. The recovered inventory consists of four altars, architectural elements, pottery, objects made of glass, iron, bronze, bone, stone and a large number of animal bones. Palynological, archaeobotanical, archaeozoological, soil and radiocarbon samples were also collected (Rustoiu et al. 2014, 17). – Bibliography: Rustoiu et al. 2014; 2015; Szabó 2015b; Egri et al. 2018.

1.8 *Praetorium consularis*

Location: The palace of the governor was never fully unearthed. Recent excavations identified the rest of the building in the area of the Str. Munteniei 15-17 (coordinates: 46.065572, 23.577662; **fig. 18**). – **Dimensions:** The building complex was discovered only partially in three phases of excavation between 1888 and 2012. More than 14.000m² were revealed and identified as the palace of the governor in more than 266 rooms and annexes discovered by Béla Cserni and numerous others by Alexandru Popa, Ion Berciu and Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț. – **Description:** Although the building complex did not mean to be a sanctuary, the finds suggest a vivid religious life in the palace. At least five places were identified, where votive objects were found, however, the majority of the rooms have an unknown functionality. Cserni describes the place where the Minerva and Nemesis altar was



found as a peristyl building, with several columns still preserved (Cserni 1897, 42-43). Schäfer cites Cserni from 1897 about a possible »*mithraeum*« found in the palace, however, there are no inscriptions or other sources proving this (F. Schäfer 2014, 450 nos 246-247). A possible shrine of Epona, Nemesis and a *serapaeum* were suggested by later scholars (Piso 1995a; Deac/Varga 2014). After Ioan Piso, the worship of the Capitoline Triad could be also possible in the *praetorium consularis*, where a shrine dedicated to them should exist. The worship of Apollo, Deus Aeternus, Mercurius, Diana, Aesculapius, Hercules, Mars, Virtus Romana, Liber Pater, Silvanus/Pan and Fortuna were attributed to the staff of the governor, however, the majority of the monuments have an

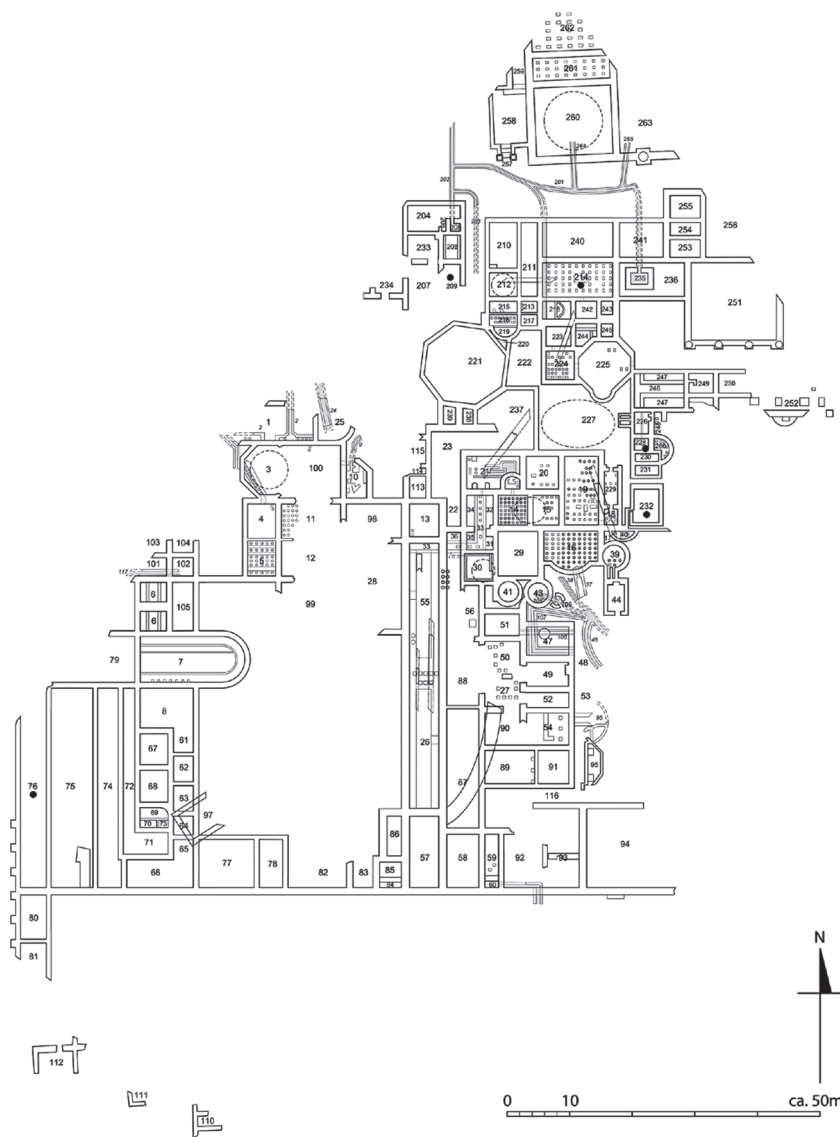


Fig. 18 Apulum: Plan of the palace of the governor (*praetorium consularis*). – (After Schäfer 2014, 273 fig. 281).

unknown provenience. The presence of bronze, imperial statues and the Genius Imperatoris suggest also the cult of the emperor. The few cases, where the votive monuments were found suggest that the palace of the governor was a place of individual/domestic and communal worship too. The cults are strictly related to the senatorial preferences of the 2nd/3rd centuries, only the cult of Epona could be interpreted as a divinity related to the *singulares*, the personal guards of the governor (Várhelyi 2010). – Archaeological repertory: Two silver plates representing Fortuna and Mercurius, a fragment of an Apollo Belvedere, a bust of Diana, a head of Iuno, a relief of the Thracian Rider and a rich epigraphic material on altars, statue bases and funerary monuments (IDR III/5. 61. 68-71. 90. 96. 135. 138. 142. 166. 178. 201. 244. 263. 291. 295. 317. 319. 358. 375. 378. 453-454. 544. 594. 621). – Bibliography: Ota 2006, 231-236; Rusu Bolindeț et al. 2011; F. Schäfer 2014, 265-287. 442-451; Cupcea 2015; Varga 2016; Ota/Almănuș 2016.

Arcobadara/Arcobara? (Ilișua, Alsóilosva; jud. Bistrița Năsăud)

Roman settlement in Dacia Porolissensis, on the northern border of the province. Formed probably in the vicinity of a Dacian settlement or on the territory of an indigenous tribe, the first, Trajanic earth-timber camp was later transformed in the Hadrianic period by the *ala I Tungro-rom Frontoniana*. In the vicinity of the camp, a *vicus* was formed, identified recently as Arcobadara or Arcobara, which had also a *territorium* nearby. Although several altars and small finds prove the existence of sacralised spaces in the *vicus* too, there is no archaeological evidence yet for sanctuaries (Nemeti 2010; 2014). As in many Roman forts, several smaller compartments were transformed into sacralised spaces/places of worship. K. Torma mentioned that the two Greek inscriptions dedicated to Asclepius and Hygieia were found in the area of the *principia*, where certainly a *valetudinarium* or a shrine for the healing divinities existed.

I.9 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, which is around 500m SE to the modern village, at the point called Orășel. The building of the *principia* is barely visible today (coordinates: 47.211386, 24.100533; **fig. 19**). – Dimensions: The *principia* probably had multiple phases, but it is not well researched. The last excavation revealed a building of 34m × 32.4m, while the *aedes* has 7m × 6.3m. – Description: Although the fort was known from the mid-19th century, the *principia* and the *aedes* were researched systematically only at the end of the 1970s. The small chapter is one of the six rooms attested in the SW part of the *principia*. – Archaeological repertory: The fort was severely looted already in the 19th century. No finds were attested in this area. See also: ILD 796-801. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 53-54; Marcu 2009, 78-80; Nemeti 2014.

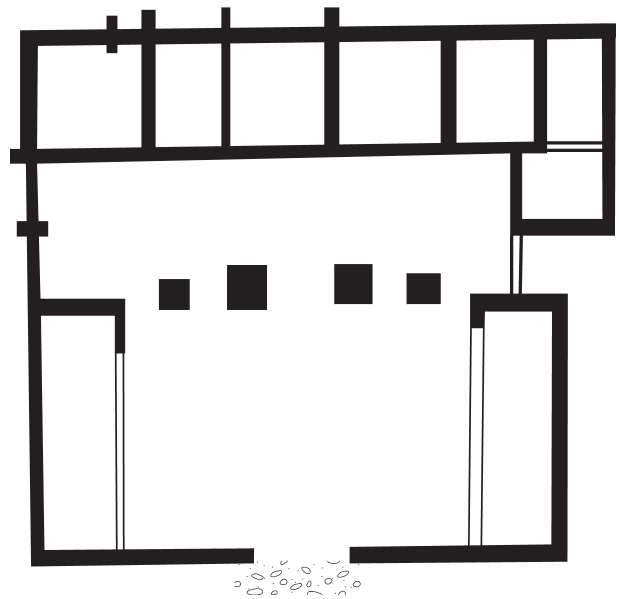


Fig. 19 Arcobadara: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Protase et al. 1997, fig. 1).

Buciumi (Vármező, jud. Sălaj)

Roman auxiliary fort and its *vicus* formed on the northern border of Dacia Porolissensis. Severely looted in the Middle Ages, the fort was systematically excavated in the 1960s-1970s. The *vicus* is partially overlapped by the contemporary settlement of Buciumi. Certain religious communication forms were attested in the barracks of the fort too (Petruț 2015).

I.10 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. The building of the *principia* is integrally restored (coordinates: 46.3921, 23.7643; **fig. 20**). – Dimensions: The sacralised space was part of the *principia*, which had a rectangular, 26m × 32m foundation, divided in several small compartments in the southern part. – Description: The *aedes signorum* was identified in the southern back of the *principia* as a small room of 4.8m × 5.7m. In the middle of the room, a stone and brick trestle was attested measuring 0.95m × 0.95m. It could serve as a central altar or statue base. – Archaeological repertory: No epigraphic or figurative monuments were attested. See also: ILD 633. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 42-43; Marcu 2009, 38-40.

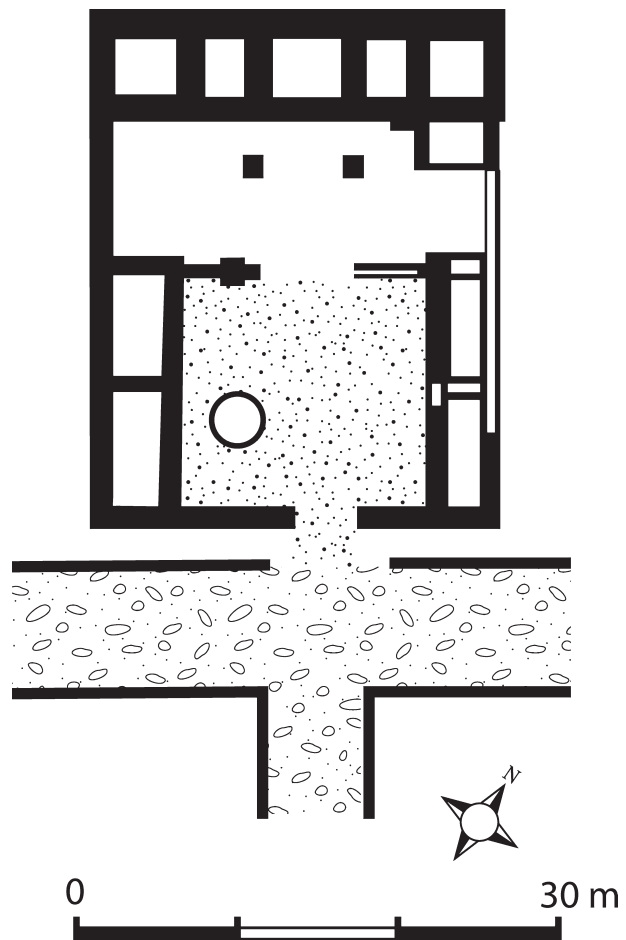


Fig. 20 Buciumi: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 264 pl. 4).

Călugăreni (Mikháza, jud. Mureș)

Roman auxiliary fort and its *vicus* formed on the Eastern *Limes* of Dacia. The *vicus* is less researched. An inscription (CIL III 944 = IDR III/4, 215) mentions the cult of Adrastia from Phrygia and the presence of a *collegium utriculariorum*, specialized probably in the wine trade. Their sacralised space was not yet identified archaeologically (Liu 2009, 137. – Carbó Garcia 2010, 307-308. 937).

I.11 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. The building of the *principia* is partially revealed (coordinates: 46.626476, 24.875993; **fig. 21**). – Dimensions: The *prin-*

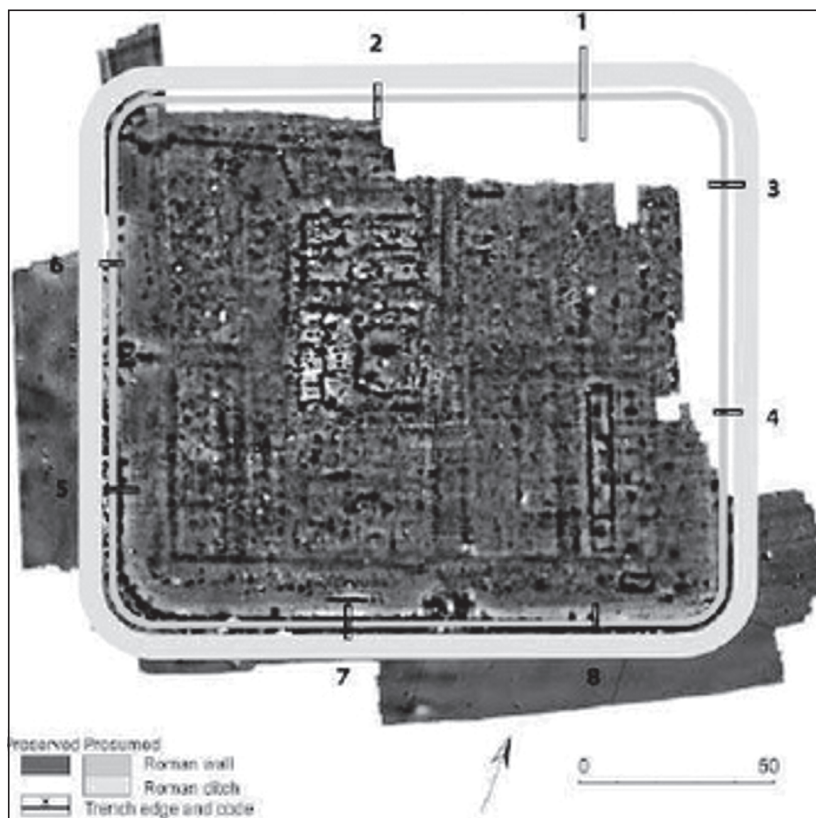


Fig. 21 Călugăreni: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Pánczél 2014, 912 fig. 4).

cipia is partially revealed. The territory of the building complex can be reconstructed based on the geophysical measurements: 33 m × 26 m. – Description: The *aedes signorum* was identified in the southern back of the *principia* based mostly on analogies from other auxiliary forts. Based on the geophysical measurements from 2010, new excavations from 2013 onwards revealed a large part of the small compartments in the western part of the *principia*. – Archaeological repertory: No archaeological material was published yet. – Bibliography: Pánczél 2015.

Câmpulung-Jidova (jud. Argeş)

Roman auxiliary fort and its *vicus* in Dacia Inferior (later Malvensis) on the SN border of the province. The excavations revealed only parts of the fort; the *vicus* was not researched yet.

I.12 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, SE to the modern settlement, on the spot called Jidova or Cetate (fig. 22). – Dimensions: The *principia* measured 34.3 m × 30.4 m, while the *aedes* 5.5 m × 6.3 m. – Description: Two forts were identified next to each other already in the 19th century. The second, bigger fort was excavated again in the 1970s. The *principia* was almost fully excavated. The *aedes* was identified again in the eastern part of the *principia*, based on the topography of the compartment, as the central room from the three compartments

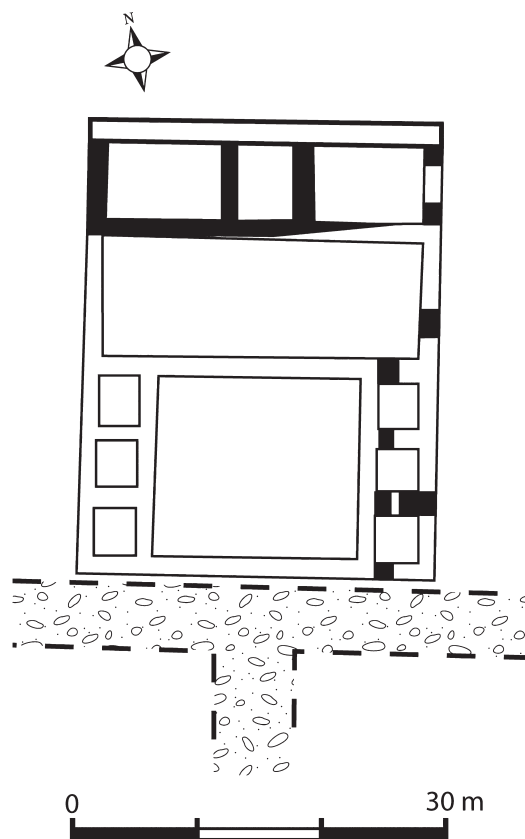


Fig. 22 Câmpulung-Jidova: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 298 pl. 38).

attested. – Archaeological repertory: Unpublished. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 80-81; Marcu 2009, 197-198.

Cigmău (Csigmó; jud. Hunedoara)

Roman auxiliary fort and its *vicus* attested on several points on a large area (named by locals as »Turiac, Pogradie«). The *vicus* is less researched, an altar dedicated to Hercules was found in the 19th century. The fort was also responsible for Germisara, the famous Roman bath complex.

I.13 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort on the spot called Cetatea uriasilor or Progadie. The building of the *principia* is partially revealed (coordinates: 45.905409, 23.165374; fig. 23). Important to mention the small, subterranean chamber (possibly an *aerarium*) identified below the *aedes*. – Archaeological repertory: No archaeological material was published yet. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 103-104; Marcu 2009, 122-126.

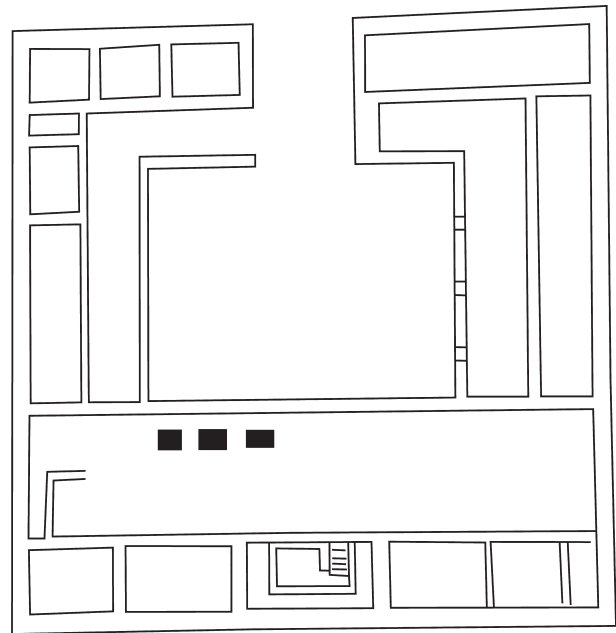


Fig. 23 Cigmău: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 282 pl. 22).

Cumidava (Rășnov, Barcarozsnyó, Rosenau; jud. Brașov)
Roman auxiliary fort and its *vicus* on the northern part of the *Limes* of Dacia (Inferior) *Malvensis*. The *vicus* was not researched yet.

I.14 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. A large part of the *principia* was revealed and still preserved on the field (coordinates: 45.619144, 25.441702; fig. 24). – Dimensions: The *principia* measures 24.5 m × 21 m, while the central *aedes* approx. 4 m × 3.3 m. – Description: The *aedes signorum* was identified in the SW part of the *principia*. It is limited by two, multicomparted rooms, giving a central position to the *aedes*. – Archaeological repertory: No archaeological material was published. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 66; Marcu 2009, 218-220.

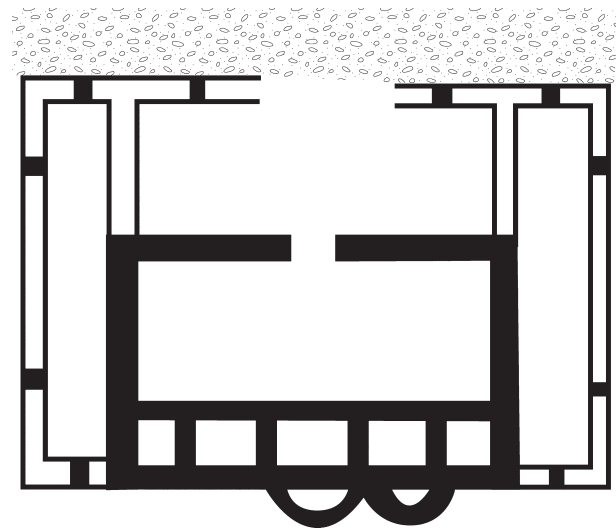


Fig. 24 Cumidava: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 290 pl. 30).

Decea mureșului (Marosdécse, jud. Mureș)

Roman settlement, probably part of the military *vicus* identified on four major spots in the area of the contemporary village of Decea Mureșului. Two statues (one of them probably a representation of Ceres) were discovered without a precise archaeological context (Gudea 2009, 281-282).

I.15 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain. The description of Károly Herepei is confusing and it is hard to establish the position of the sanctuary. Approx. 300m from the Roman road between the auxiliary fort and the modern village of Decea (approx. coordinates: 46.3921, 23.7643; fig. 25). – Dimensions: Partially revealed. The known structure was probably the *naos* itself, consisting of a rectangular building of 4.15 m × 4.65 m. – Description: The sanctuary was reported shortly by Károly Herepei in his journal, discovered after 1888. The

mithraeum seems to be far from the military *vicus*, in the vicinity of the imperial road, the artery of economic and military communication within the province, which suggest that it was a rural sanctuary, used irregularly. Its position also suggests that the Romans integrated the natural elements (the slope of a hill) into this sacralised space, recreating the Mithraic cosmos as a *spelaeum*. – Archaeological repertory: Three altars found in the sanctuary. Based on the manuscript of K. Herepei, Takács mentioned also ceramic material, bones and painted wall fragments. –

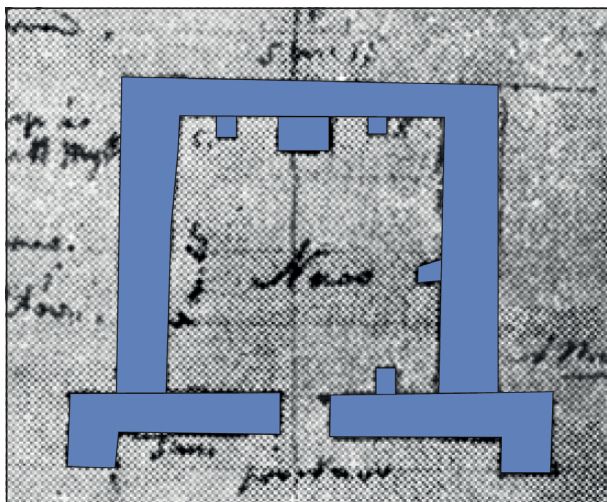


Fig. 25 Marosdécse/Decea Mureşului: Plan of the *mithraeum*. – (After Pintilie 1999/2000, 232 fig. 1).

Bibliography: Takács 1987; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 78; Sicoe 2014, 168 cat. nos 59-61.

Drobeta (Drobeta Turnu-Severin; Szörénytornya, Szörényvár; jud. Turnu-Severin)

Roman auxiliary fort and civilian settlement formed on the northern bank of the Danube, on the *Limes* of Dacia Inferior, later Malvensis. Due to the Roman bridge of Trajan, it became an important commercial, military and economic hub and costume centre of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* (*municipium* during the reign of Hadrian, *colonia* after 194 AD). Besides the four attested or presumed sanctuaries, the number of sacralised spaces must be much numerous, based on the rich archaeological material of religious communication.

I.16 Aedes signorum/principia

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. The *principia* was a long time ago fully excavated and it is partially restored on the field as part of the archaeological park (coordinates: 44.624847, 22.667887; **fig. 26**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measures approx. 35 m × 40 m, while the *aedes* 7 m × 5 m. – Description: One of the most well-known and systematically excavated forts of Roman Dacia, the auxiliary *castra* of Drobeta was in use almost continuously for five centuries, having several phases and reconstructions. The so-called Trajanic fort had a large-sized *principia*, occupying 6.4% of the fort's territory. The building was following the model of the *forum* type *principiae*, having a colonnade with ten columns in front and a large square inside. The *aedes* was identified as the central, apsidal building with a *portico* with steps in front of it. The plan of the building suggests that the *aedes* had also several reconstructions already in the 102-271 AD period. – Archaeological repertory: The fort has a research

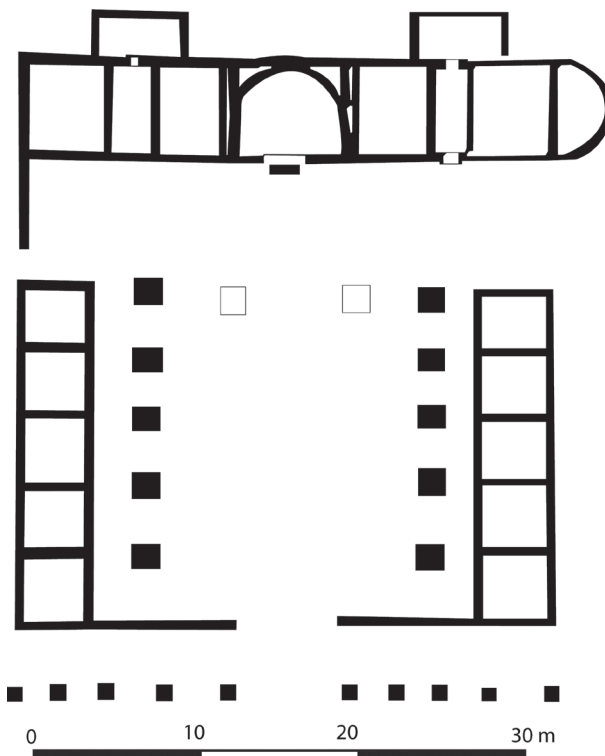


Fig. 26 Drobeta: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 279 pl. 19).

history of 80 years, but a large part of the archaeological material has an insecure topography or would need a systematic reanalysis. Several votive dedications were found from the territory of the fort. See: IDR II, 18-19. 21. 29. – Bibliography: Marcu 2009, 129-133.

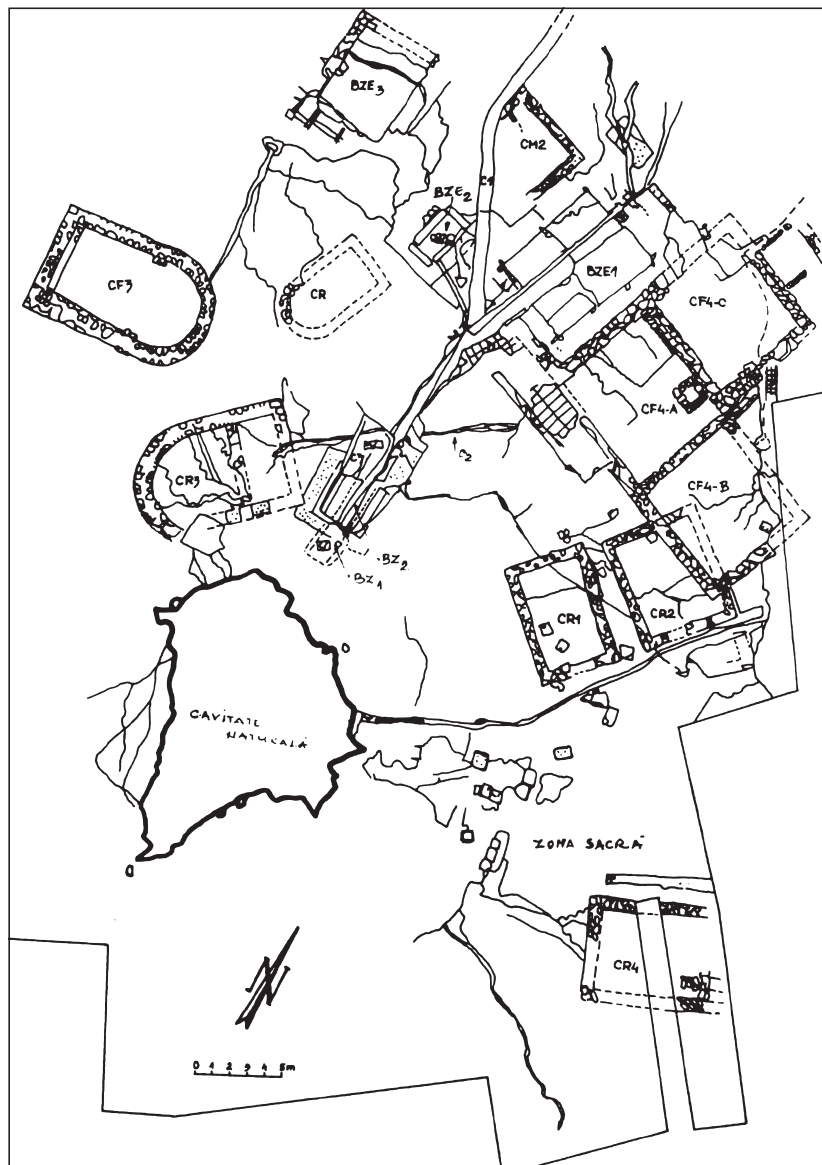
Germisara (Geoagiu-Băi, Feredőgyógy, Algyógy, Gergesdorf; jud. Hunedoara)

Dacian settlement formed around the natural cavity of hot springs, transformed in baths. In Roman times it became one of the major healing centres of the province (**fig. 4**). Close to the auxiliary fort of Cigmău and its *vicus* some of the finds have an uncertain provenience and it could belong to the same administrative *territorium* of the fort. The attestation of a *collegium Galatorum* suggests (IDR III/3, 234) that as in the case of Apulum and other settlements, some groups with a strong ethnic/cultural identity could have their own assembly houses and dining halls in Germisara too. A fragmentary inscription dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus could indicate also a Dolichenian group in the settlement: ILD 317.

I.17 Nymphaeum

Location: On the hill called »Dămbul Romanilor«, in the vicinity of the Roman necropolis, 5 km north to the Roman auxiliary fort from Cigmău (coordinates: 45.935511, 23.161929; **fig. 27**). – Dimensions: The natural cavity and

Fig. 27 Topography of Roman Germisara and its sites. – (After Pescaru-Alicu 2000, 68 pl. XXI).



hot spring (18 m × 12 m) were surrounded by several small shrines, reservoirs and channels built in multiple phases. – Description: The lake of the natural cavity was presumed to be used as a healing sanctuary, later transformed with channels, which lead to several reservoirs. The lake was used as sacralised space for various religious practices and depositions. Two rectangular buildings were built in the bank of the lake. The functionality of the first one (4.5 m × 7 m) was not identified, while the second building (5.6 m × 7 m) was used as a *statio* or souvenir shop. A third, apsidal building was identified in the NW of the first two. The basins (reservoirs) are overlapped by later, post-Roman constructions. – Archaeological repertory: Eleven golden plates, a marble statue of Diana, 600 coins and several inscriptions. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 65-74; Schäfer 2009; 2011; Ardevan/Cociş 2014; Piso 2015. Gilău (Gyalu, Julmarkt; jud. Cluj)

Roman auxiliary fort (*ala* and *cohors*) and *vicus* in the vicinity of the Roman city of Napoca, Dacia Porolissensis. The *vicus* is less researched (Isac 1997).

I.18 *Aedes signorum / principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort in the vicinity of the Bánffy castle. A large part of the *principia* was revealed (coordinates: 46.756681, 23.369919; fig. 28). – Dimensions: The *principia* has at least three phases. The last one measures 38.1 m × 28, 5 m, while the central *aedes* approx. 7 m × 5 m. – Description: The fort is one of the best-known in Roman Dacia. The *principia* was almost fully excavated, three phases (including the timber phase from the period of Trajan) were identified. Although the *praetorium* of the fort was modified three times, the *aedes* changed slightly, having an apsidal annex in the last phase. – Archaeological repertory: An inscription dated to

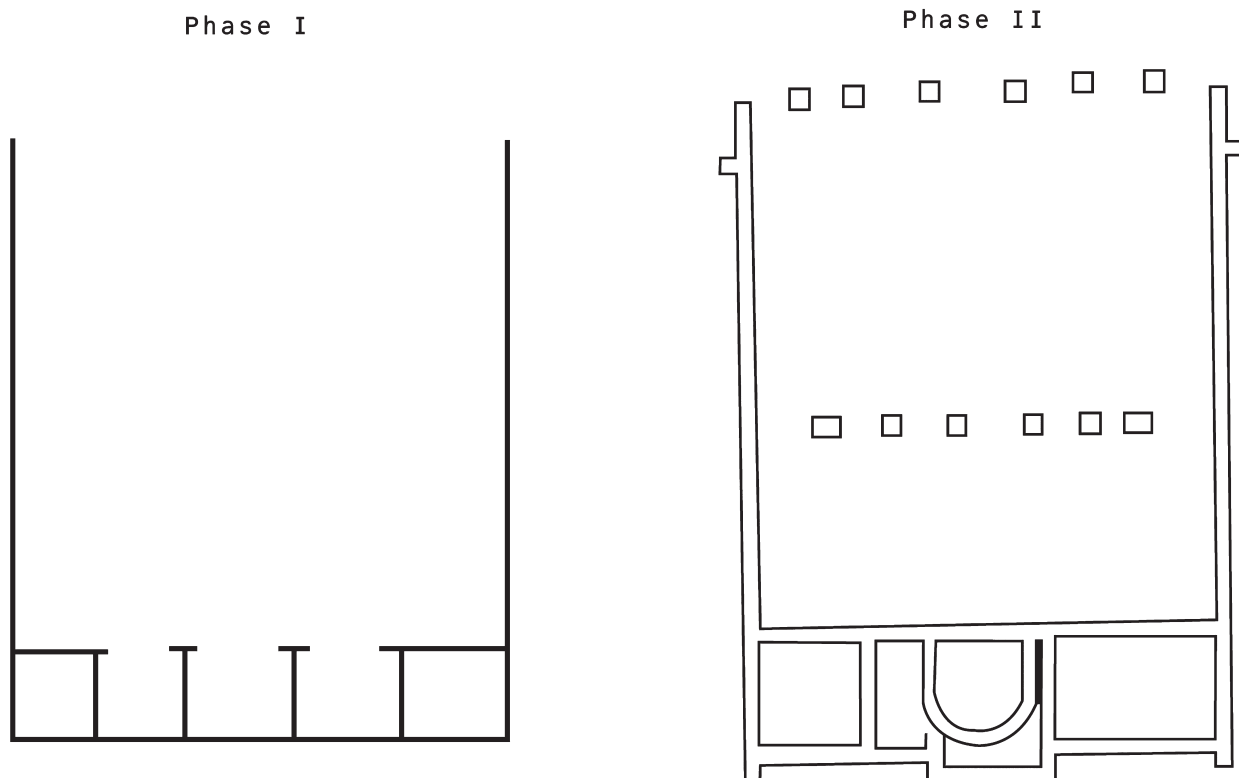


Fig. 28 Gilău: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 267 pl. 7).

the period of Caracalla was found here (ILD 599). – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 100; Marcu 2009, 71-73.

Inlăceni (Énlaka; jud. Harghita)

Roman auxiliary fort and *vicus*, part of the Eastern *Limes* of Dacia. The *vicus* lies under the contemporary village. Roman finds – especially two altars dedicated to Diana (IDR III/4, 272. 274) discovered 200m south of the *castrum* in the early 20th century at the place called »Átal« – suggest the presence of sacralised spaces in the civilian settlement too (Gudea 1979. – See also the context of IDR III/4, 279).



Fig. 29 Inlăceni: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 285 pl. 25).

I.19 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort on the spot called Vâr. The *principia* is one of the few excavated buildings of the fort (coordinates: 46.432615, 25.114421; **fig. 29**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measures 29m × 16.3m, while the *aedes* approx. 5m × 5m. – Description: The fort was known a long time ago in the older literature, but systematic excavations were carried out only in 1947 and 1950. The *aedes* has a small dimension, surrounded by two compartments in the North and one bigger room in the South – although this one could be divided too. Recently, the fort became again researched by Zs. Visy. – Archaeological repertory: No archaeological material was reported. A large number of inscriptions from the settlement attest the cult of Jupiter, Liber Pater. One of them

mentions a possible experience of *incubatio* in the *tabulatorium* of the *principia* (IDR III/4, 284). – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 59-60; Marcu 2009, 140-141.

Micia (Veşel, Vecel; jud. Hunedoara)

Important Roman auxiliary fort and civilian settlement identified already since the 17th century. One of the best-researched military settlements of Dacia. Situated on the bank of the river Mureş, the civilian settlement played an important role in the external and internal commercial networks of the province. Besides the nine attested sacralised spaces, several others could exist, based on the large number of material of Roman religious communication. It is possible that a sanctuary of Liber Pater existed in the



Fig. 30 Micia: Statue of Jupiter (Heliopolitanus?). – (Photo O. Harl; Lupa 17684).

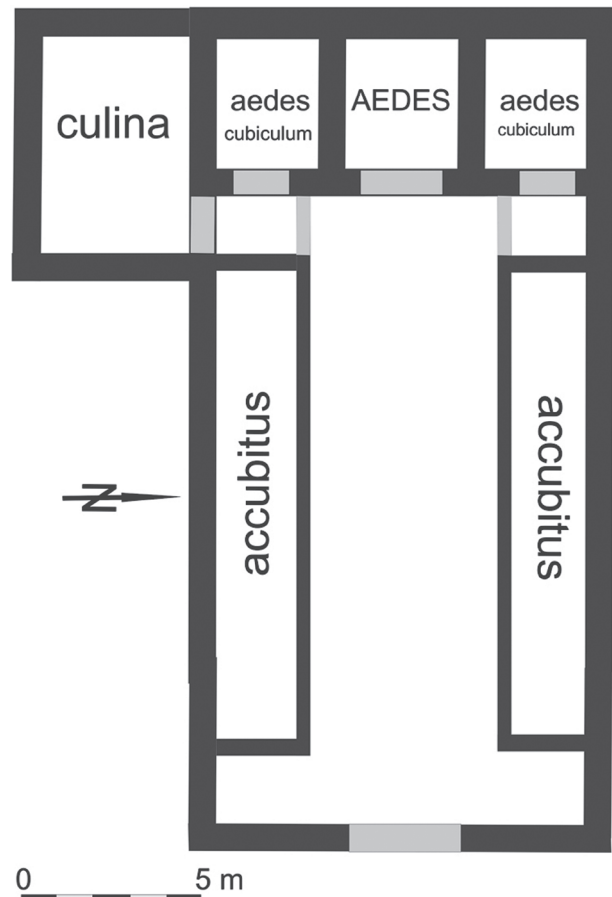


Fig. 31 Micia: Plan of the *templum Dii Patrii Maurorum*. – (After Diaconescu 2011, 186 pl. XVI.).

conurbation, as well as an *aedes signorum* in the fort unexcavated yet. It seems plausible also that the finds dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Dea Syria, Turmasgades, Dolichenus had a huge impact on the processes of space sacralisation in secondary and shared (public) spaces too. A possible shrine of Diana was also presumed in the older literature, without solid arguments, however (Alicu 2004).

I.20 Sanctuary of Jupiter or Jupiter Heliopolitanus

Location: 400 m SE to the auxiliary fort on the site called »La Hotar« (12 m south of the 68.65 km on the highway), close to the *templum Dii Patrii Maurorum* (approx. coordinates: 45.9059, 22.8097; **fig. 30**). – Dimensions: Uncertain. It was reported as a small-sized building of 3.5 m × 2 m of a single *cella*, although with rich building material. – Description: The sanctuary was identified in the field by O. Floca in 1947. He discovered several epigraphic and anepigraphic altars and a Jupiter statue. One of the inscriptions is dedicated to IOM Heliopolitanus, which created the confusion that the sanctuary was dedicated to the Syrian divinity, although the cult of this divinity is attested on more than one inscription in Micia (IDR III/3, 95-

97). The material shows a striking similarity with the case study from Colonia Aurelia Apulensis or Potaissa (II.4 and I.27). – Archaeological repertory: Several inscriptions were attested in the building (IDR III/3, 97-101). A statue of Jupiter was found within the *cella* (Isac 1974, 74 pl. III, 1). The small finds and the ceramic material of the sanctuary is partially published (Floca 1953, cat. nos 9-10). – Bibliography: Floca 1953; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 77; Alicu 2004, 68-76; Carbó Garcia 2010, 188.

I.21 *Templum Dii Patrii Maurorum*

Location: 1000 m SW to the auxiliary fort on the site called Comoară (approx. coordinates: 45.9059, 22.8097; **fig. 31**). – Dimensions: The building has at least two phases. In the final phase, it consists of a *pronaos* with three naves (18 m × 11.9 m long), three *cellae* in the West and a smaller annexed chamber to this in the SW. – Description: The temple was excavated in 1937, four years after the construction plaque was discovered. Although only two inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus and the *Dii Patrii* of the Maurs were identified on the field, later, two other inscriptions dedicated to Liber Pater and Pluto were

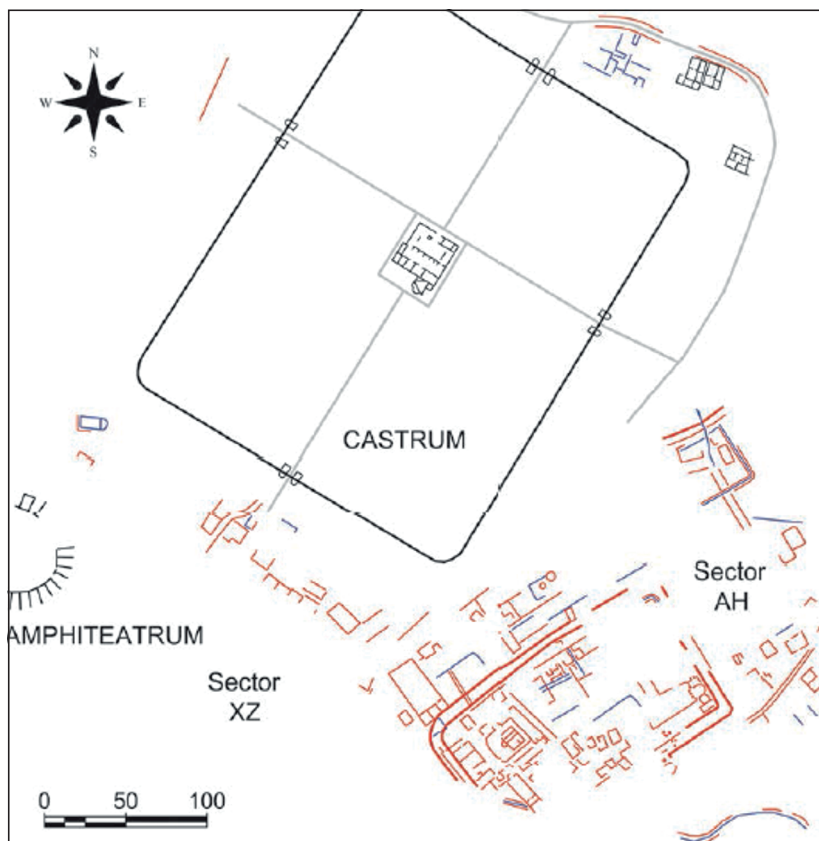


Fig. 32 Porolissum: The archaeologically attested and excavated buildings. – (After Opreanu/Lăzărescu/Ștefan 2013, 104 fig. 20).

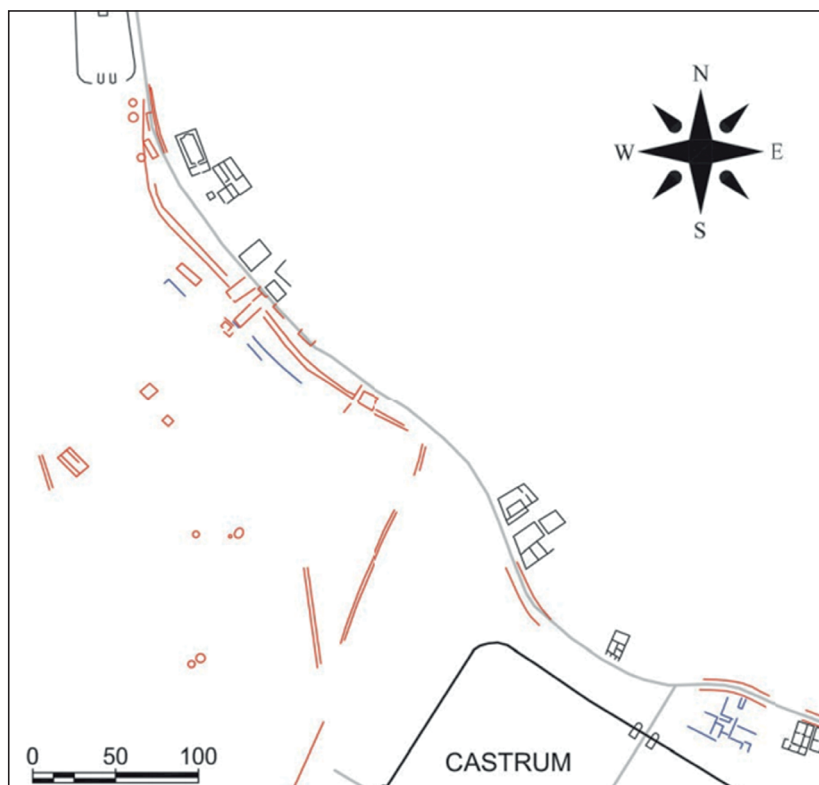


Fig. 33 The plateau of the sanctuaries in Porolissum. – (After Opreanu/Lăzărescu/Ștefan 2013, 104 fig. 24).

associated with the temple, serving as a home for the triad of the Maurs (Liber Pater, Silvanus, Pluto). – Archaeological repertory: Four inscriptions dedicated to Liber Pater, Silvanus, Pluto and the triad, named as *Dii Patrii* (IDR III/3, 47. 104. 116. 118). The small finds and the ceramic material of the sanctuary is not published. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 92-94; Alicu 2004, 63-68; Diaconescu 2011, 158-162.

Porolissum (Moigrad, Mojgrád; jud. Sălaj)

One of the best-researched auxiliary forts and civilian settlements of Dacia Porolissensis (figs 32-33). The *vicus* gained the title of *municipium* during the reign of Septimius Severus. The existence of several other sacralised spaces in the civilian settlement and on the so-called terrace of the sanctuaries can be presumed based on the large extension of the Roman city. Based on the results of some recent excavations, archaeologists identified the possible *forum* of the *municipium*, which could indicate also the presence of further public, sacralised spaces (Gudea 1989. – Opreanu/Lăzărescu/Ştefan 2013). The building of the staff of *publicum Portorium Illyrici* (customs building) could have also a compartment dedicated to religious activities, although the denomination of the sacralised building (*templum?*) is missing (Piso/Opreanu/Deac 2016). Further sacralised spaces were presumed by D. Deac (2018).

I.22 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. A large part of the *principia* was revealed and still preserved on the field (coordinates: 47.179052, 23.157203; fig. 34). – Dimensions: The *principia* measures 29 m × 30 m, while the central *aedes* approx. 5 m × 7 m. – Description: The fort is one of the best-researched in Roman Dacia and the Danubian provinces. The *principia* had multiple phases, from a timber phase to at least two phases of stone construction, the last major modifications being dated to the period of Caracalla and the Severan dynasty. The *aedes* is one of the small compartments identified in the SE part of the *principia*. In front of the entrance, two monumental (4.75 m × 3.60 m and 3.75 m × 3 m) statue bases were found. Fragments of a monumental equestrian statue of Caracalla were also discovered, although it is unsure if it was in the *principia* or other parts of the fort. – Archaeological repertory: An inscription dedicated to Vulcanus was found (ILD 686). Several other inscriptions dedicated to IOM and Silvanus were also discovered in the central area of the fort, but their position is not established. The votive finds from C3 could belong to the *praetorium* or to *principia* too. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 45; Marcu 2009, 88-91.

I.23 *Dolichenum*

Location: On the so-called terrace of the sanctuaries, on the imperial road, next to the NW corner of the auxiliary fort (coordinates: 47.181192, 23.157344; fig. 35). –

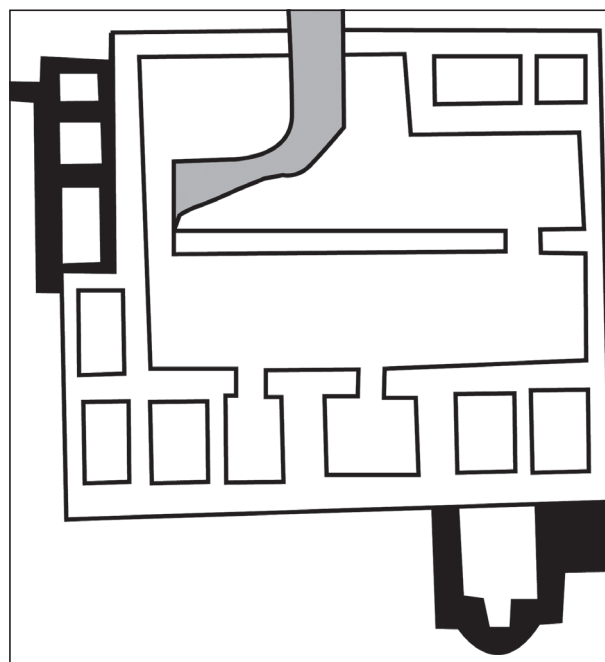


Fig. 34 Porolissum/Moigrad: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 271 pl. 11).

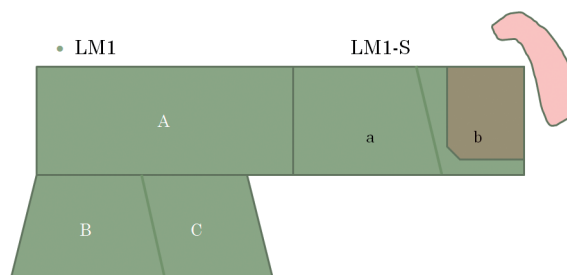


Fig. 35 Porolissum: Plan of the *dolichenum*. – (Illustration Cs. Szabó).

Dimensions: Building (LM1, LM1-S) with multiple phases, consisted of three rooms and two additional spaces of 14.4 m × 10.4 m. – Description: The building was discovered in 1939, and later excavated partially between 1993 and 1999. Two timber phases were identified, which were later interpreted as being a *taberna*. The sanctuary was probably functioned after the *taberna* was transformed into a stone building. This one had two phases. The existence of a *pronaos* and a dining hall was also presumed. Several statuary monuments were found all over the building, indicating religious activity in LM1-S but also in the A-C rooms. – Archaeological repertory: A large part of the epigraphic and figurative material was published in the monograph of the sanctuary. The coin finds and a part of the small finds are also known. See also: ILD 681-682, which could belong also to the sanctuary. – Bibliography: Gudea/Tamba 2001; Ardevan/Gudea 2001; Piso 2001; Alicu 2002, 204-212.

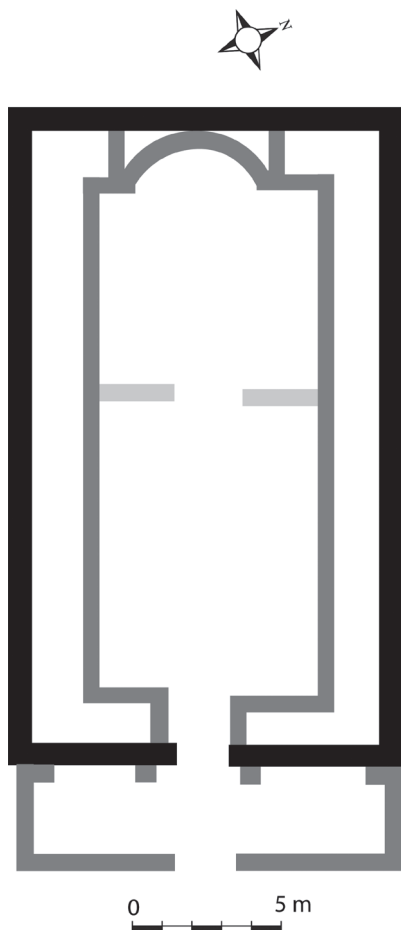


Fig. 36 Porolissum: Plan of the *templum* of Bel. – (After Diaconescu 2011, 176 fig. VI).

1.24 *Templum* of Bel

Location: On the so-called terrace of the sanctuaries, 6 m from the imperial road, which connects the custom building with the auxiliary fort (coordinates: 47.181117, 23.157340; **fig. 36**). – Dimensions: The rectangular building had multiple phases. In the last one, it consisted of a hall measuring 27.4 m × 13.5 m. Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 75 give other dimensions: 22.6 m × 13.5 m. – Description: The sanctuary was identified during several archaeological excavations from the 1930s onwards. For a long time, it has been stated that a Liber Pater sanctuary was transformed into a *templum* dedicated to Bel, which at the end of the 3rd century became a Christian *basilica*. None of these theories seems to be plausible. The Liber Pater temple was identified as a neighbouring building, next to the *templum* of Bel, known before in the literature as building N3 (Deac 2018).

The building follows the assembly hall type of dining rooms, often used by small group religions especially in the Eastern/Hellenic provinces. It has been presumed to have at least three phases. The epigraphic material proves for sure, at least two phases, the second one being estab-

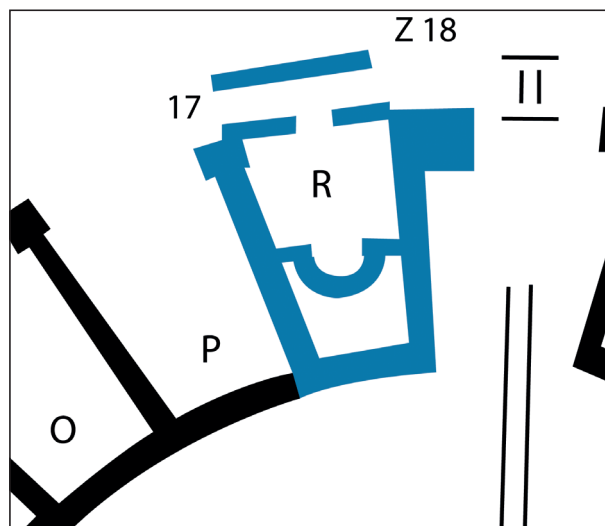


Fig. 37 Porolissum: Plan of the *nemeseion*. – (After Wittenberg 2014, 111 fig. 30).

lished in the age of Caracalla. – Archaeological repertory: Four inscriptions dedicated to Liber Pater, Bel, Dea Syria and IOM. Several possible rubbish pits or *favissae* were identified, but their material was never published. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 74-77; Diaconescu 2011, 139-148; see also Alicu 2002, 234.

1.25 *Nemeseion*

Location: *Carcera* in the NW part of the Northern gate of the amphitheatre (coordinates: 47.177554, 23.153483; **fig. 37**). – Dimensions: Approx. 5 m × 1.7 m, severely modified. – Description: The soldiers of the *numerum Palmyrenorum* used one of the *carcera* of the amphitheatres as a sacralised space later at the end of the 2nd century. The shrine was marked with the construction of an apsis. Several reused building materials were also found. – Archaeological repertory: ILD 692. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 58-61; Bajusz 2011; Wittenberg 2014, 89.

Potaissa (Turda, Torda, Thorenburg; jud. Cluj)

One of the most important military centres of the province. The presence of the V Macedonia legion is attested since 168 AD. The *canabae* became a *municipium* during the reign of Septimius Severus (**fig. 38**). The archaeological heritage of the Roman conurbation from Potaissa is severely looted already from early Medieval times. A large part of the 18th/19th century collections disappeared. A rare statuary fragment of Jupiter Balmarcodes from Libanon (Bal of Deir el Qalaa) and numerous altars of Silvanus could indicate sacralised spaces dedicated to these divinities too. A head of a monumental representation of Serapis found in the baths of the fort could indicate that a *serapaeum* was established there (Bărbulescu 1994, 65-70. 159-173; 2012. – Diaconescu 2014, 77-80). A sanctuary

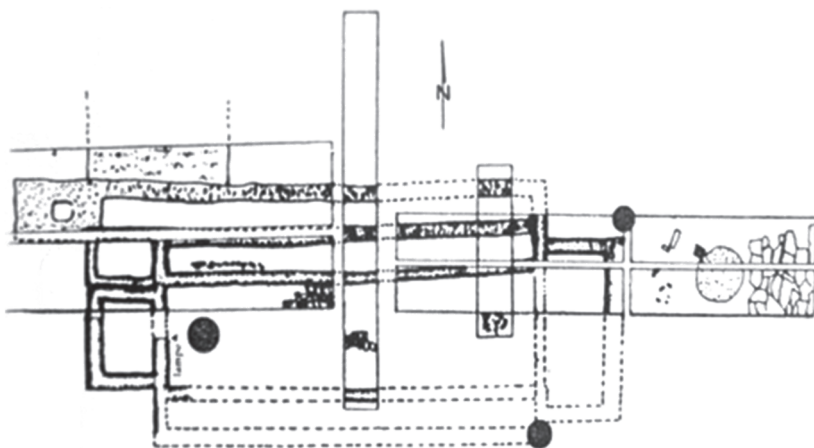


Fig. 40 Mehădia: Plan with the finds of the *dolichenum*. – (After Benea 2008, 190 fig. 1).

probably had a *porticus* with tetrapylon with several steps. The excavators estimated that the facade could have had an exceptional, 6 m elevation. – Archaeological repertory: Several votive inscriptions were found in the territory of the *principia*, where the cult of the Genii of the legion and the imperial cult was attested in various forms (bronze statue fragments, bronze statuettes, inscriptions). It is possible that two representations of life-size statues of the *Genii castrorum/huiusque loci* came also from the *principia*, where the cult of the *Genius centuriae* and *armamentarium* was attested (ILD 501, 502). See: Diaconescu 2014, 75-77. 80. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1997, 31-32; 2012; Marcu 2004.

I.27 Sanctuary of Jupiter/*capitolium*?

Location: On the corner of Str. Cheii and N. Bălcescu (coordinates: 46.562081, 23.775837). – Dimensions: Unknown. From the variety of the finds and the dimension of the column capitals, the sanctuary seems to have monumental features. – Description: In 1949 an altar dedicated to IOM was attested in this spot, well known even before as the centre of the Roman civilian settlement of Potaissa in the 2nd century (ILD 469). Numerous altars were found in this area already in the 19th century (Bărbulescu 1994, 69-70). In 1985/1986 during a rescue excavation, four other altars were discovered in the same place dedicated to IOM, Mercurius, Terra Mater and Hercules (ILD 464. 485. 487. 500). The large, more than 120 cm high altar dedicated to Jupiter (ILD 464) mentions that the dedication was made for »Jupiter and all the gods living in that place« (*Iovi Optimo Maximo et dis Hospitibus huiusque loci*). Although the formula *dis Hospitibus* can also refer to the gods of hospitality for the accepted, accommodated foreign gods, it seems plausible that in this case, we are talking about a sanctuary, as in many cases of Dacia, where religious communication was established in a space dedicated to various divinities (in this case, with Jupiter, Mercurius, Terra Mater and Hercules). M. Bărbulescu suggested that an inscription attesting

the building of a *templum* came also from this area (ILD 507). – Archaeological repertory: ILD 464. 469. 485. 487. 500. Numerous fragments of terracotta, column capitals, construction material; see also: CIL III 888. 891. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu/Cătinaş 1992; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 151.

Praetorium (Mehădia, Mehădia, Mihăld; jud. Caraş-Severin)

Roman auxiliary fort and *vicus*. The fort was excavated in the first half of the 20th century, the *vicus* is less researched. An *aedes signorum* and other sacralised spaces can be presumed in the settlement (Benea 2008).

I.28 *Dolichenum*

Location: Approx. 40 m from the western wall of the auxiliary fort, near the Roman road (coordinates: 44.917722, 22.354086; **fig. 40**). – Dimensions: Building with multiple phases. In the latest period, it measured approx. 30 m × 10 m. – Description: The sanctuary had at least three phases. In the first phase, a timber structure was identified. Later, the stone building was built in the middle of the 2nd century, extended at the end of the 2nd century and continued to exist till Gordian III. The excavators presumed that the sanctuary first was dedicated to Apollo and later transformed into a *dolichenum*. The author of these lines proved with I. Boda that the sanctuary could function as a *dolichenum* from the very beginning of its existence. – Archaeological repertory: Numerous inscriptions (AÉ 2011, 1094-1096), militaria small finds, lamps, construction material, coins, statuary fragments of Jupiter, Apollo, eagle, relief of Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno *dolichena*. A part of the material was published in the monograph of the sanctuary. – Bibliography: Alicu 2002, 202; Benea 2008; Boda/Szabó 2011.

Racoviţa (Copăceni, Praetorium[?]; jud. Vâlcea)

Roman auxiliary fort and *vicus* from Dacia Inferior (Malvensis). The *vicus* was not excavated (Tudor 1978, 274-276).

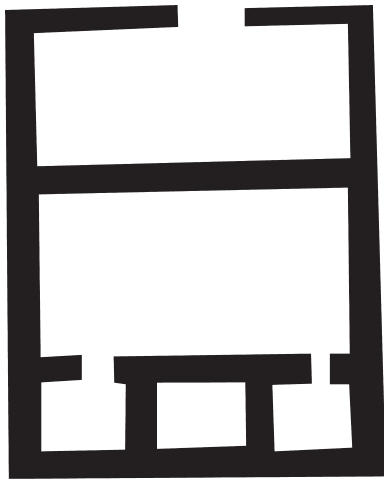


Fig. 41 Răcovița: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 295 pl. 35).

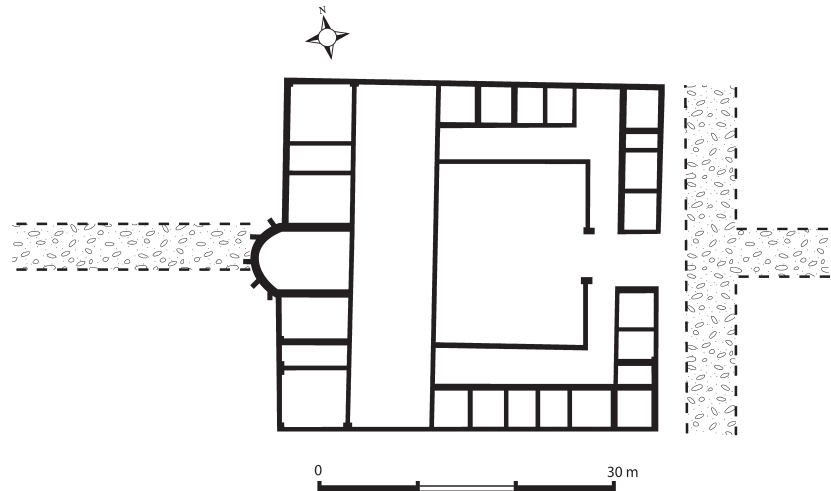


Fig. 42 Răcari: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 301 pl. 41).

I.29 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. The *principia* is largely excavated. Today, the building is in severe danger and ruined (coordinates: 45.400954, 24.310298; **fig. 41**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measured 21 m × 28 m, while the *aedes* 6.35 m × 5.85 m. – Description: The *principia* was partially excavated in the 1980s. The *aedes*, considered as relatively big for the small size of the fort, is in the centre of the western part of the *principia* as one of the three compartments identified. – Archaeological repertory: Not published. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 93; Marcu 2009, 213-214.

Răcari (Răcari de Jos; jud. Dolj)

Roman auxiliary fort and *vicus* in Dacia Inferior (Malvensis). Although the fort is well excavated, the *vicus* was not yet researched (Marcu 2009, 213-216).

I.30 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, SE to the modern settlement of Răcari de Jos. The *principia* is largely excavated and preserved (coordinates: 44.514074, 23.571606; **fig. 42**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measured 37 m × 34 m, while the *aedes* has a radius of 5.90 m. – Description: The *principia* is relatively large for the auxiliary fort. The *aedes* was identified as one of the seven rooms in the western part of the headquarter. Similarly to the Slăveni fort and several others in Dacia, it was rebuilt in the second phase as an apsidal building. – Archaeological repertory: Not published. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 96-97; Marcu 2009, 217-218.

Resculum (Bologa, Sebesvár; jud. Cluj)

Roman auxiliary fort and *vicus* in the Northwest *Limes* of Dacia Porolissensis. The *vicus* is less researched.

I.31 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, on the spot called Cetate or Grădiște (coordinates: 46.890533, 22.872855; **fig. 43**). – Dimensions: The *principia* is just partially revealed. It measures approx. 29 m × 32.5 m. The *aedes* measures around 2.5 m × 6 m. – Description: The *aedes signorum* was identified in the southern part of the *principia*. It is surrounded by four other compartments, although the phases and the exact structure of this area need a much more detailed analysis. New excavations identified three phases within the fort. – Archaeological repertory: No archaeological material was published from the *aedes*. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 39-42; Marcu 2009, 28-30.

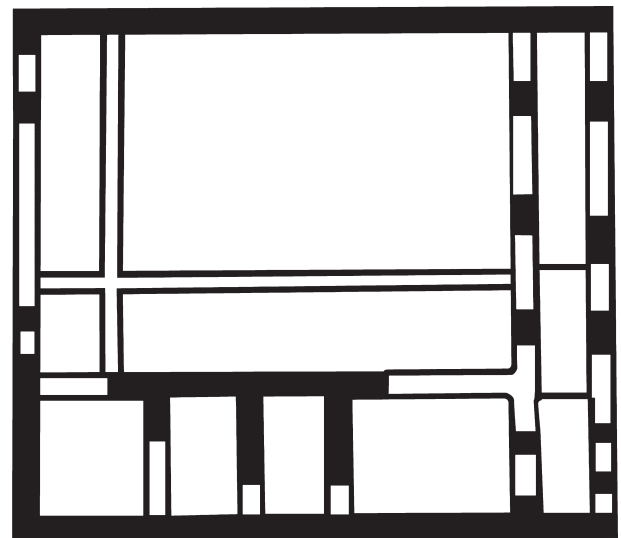


Fig. 43 Resculum/Bologa: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 262 pl. 2).

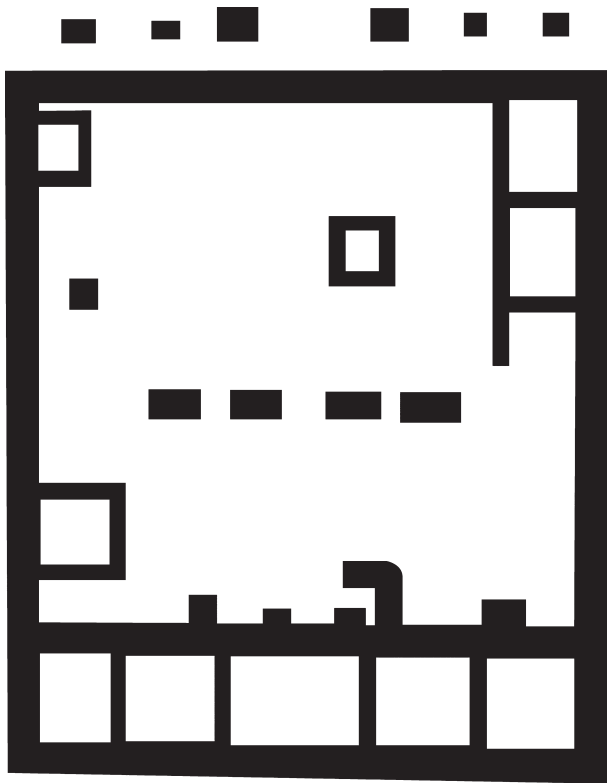


Fig. 44 Samum: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 265 pl. 5).

Samum (Ad Samum, Cășeiu, Alsókosály; jud. Cluj)
Roman auxiliary fort and *vīcus*. Based on a large number of epigraphic material, the number of sacralised spaces was probably much higher (Isac 2003).

I.32 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort. Although the building of the *principia* was fully excavated, today it is barely visible on the surface (coordinates: 47.186084, 23.837362; **fig. 44**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measures 30 m × 25.5 m, while the *aedes* 7 m × 5.2 m. – Description: The *aedes* is part of the SW part of the *principia*, where five compartments were attested. The middle one – which is the largest – was identified as the *aedes*, although the area was severely looted already in the 1930s when the building was excavated. – Archaeological repertory: More than 50 inscriptions known from Samum, but a few of them have a well-known topography. Although a sacralised space dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and Nemesis seems plausible, it is not sure, which of the votive inscriptions came from the *aedes* or the *principia*. A statue of a Genius was also found in the fort. See also: Diaconescu 2014, 98; ILD 763-794. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 52-53; Isac 2003; Marcu 2009, 54-56.

Sarmizegetusa (Colonia Sarmizegetusa, Várhely; jud. Hunedoara)

Capital of the Trajanic province, seat of the financial procurator of Tres Daciae, founded as *colonia deducta* in

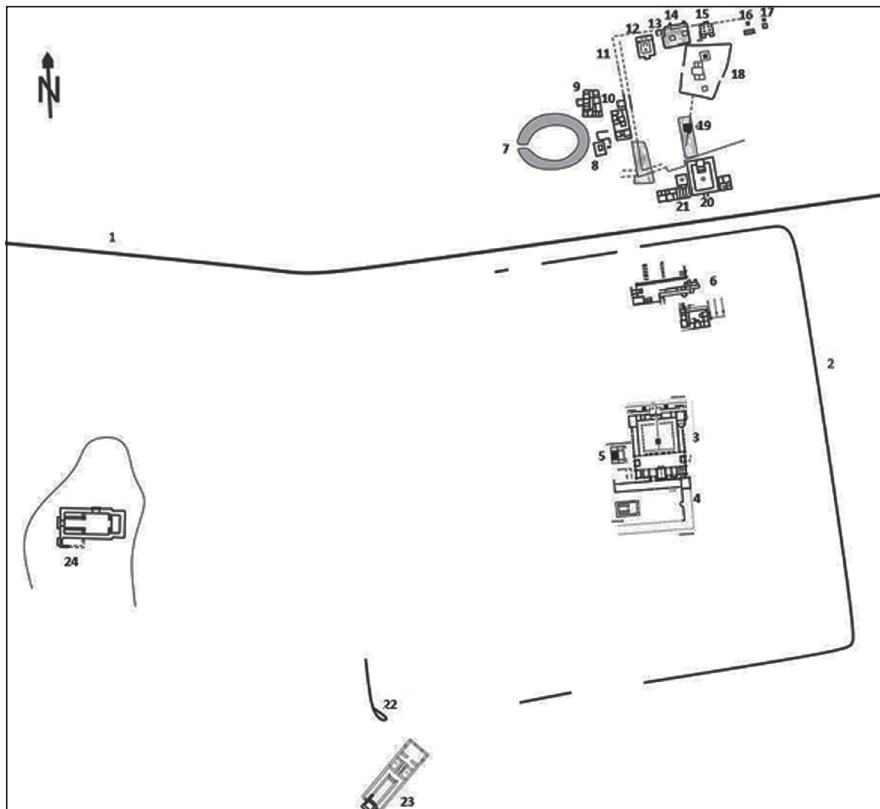


Fig. 45 Topography of Colonia Sarmizegetusa. – (After Boda 2015a, 304 fig. 1).

106 AD (fig. 45). Some of the buildings attested during the extensive excavations since the 1930s were interpreted as sanctuaries (buildings EM 19, 29, 004), although the archaeological material cannot prove this hypothesis. Their functionality was presumed based exclusively on their position and vicinity of the NE *area sacra* of the city. Several temples dedicated to the Palmyrene gods (Bel Hamon, Malagbel I-III) were reported from the extensive excavations of the Hunyad Vármegyei Régészeti és Történelmi Társulat (Archaeological and Historical Association of Hunyad County), but possibly the finds from the four reported sanctuaries came from the two archaeologically attested sanctuaries of the Palmyrene gods (see also: Boda 2014). The assembly hall of the *augustales* is attested archaeologically and also epigraphically, although it is not sure if religious activities were practiced within this building. A sanctuary of Sucellus and Nantosuelta/Aeracura was also presumed, based on four reliefs found in the city (Nemeti 1998). The provenience of the finds is uncertain, which makes this hypothesis insecure (Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 109-114. 119-122. 161-162; Alicu 2002, 201-202; Nemeti 2005, 148-149; Boda 2014; 2015a, 2015b). Several *collegia* were attested in the city, which could have religious activities in their assembly houses too. The presence of the *Dii Magni* (probably the great gods of Samothrake) can also indicate a sanctuary of the divinity (Nemeti 2016, 84-85).

I.33 Sacralised spaces in the Forum Vetus

Location: In the centre of Colonia Sarmizegetusa (coordinates: 45.513181, 22.787807; fig. 46). – Dimensions: The *basilica* (62.7 m × 17.35 m) and the *aedes fabrum* with three phases. – Description: The major religious activities in the shared and secondary spaces of the Forum Vetus were concentrated in two buildings: the *basilica* and the *aedes fabrum*. While the first building represented the space of religious communication of the provincial/senatorial elite, the *aedes fabrum* was a place for closer, communal activities, forming a dining hall, monumentalised in the last phase with an apsidal room. – Archaeological repertory: Numerous statue fragments of emperors and altars dedicated to Minerva Augusta (IDR III/2, 271), Genius ordinis decurionis (CIL III 1425=IDR III/2, 219), Fortuna (IDR III/2, 210) and Concordia (IDR III/2, 195). – Bibliography: Étienne/Diaconescu/Piso 2006, 143-152 cat. nos 18-23; Boda 2015a, 289-290; 2015b.

I.34 Area sacra in the *domus procuratoris*

Location: NE part of Colonia Sarmizegetusa (coordinates: 45.515014, 22.787697; fig. 47). – Dimensions: Several compartments identified in a well-limited area of the *domus*, where cultic activity can be presumed. Most notably, a small rectangular building (10 m × 5 m) in the SW part of the *domus procuratoris*, identified as a possible *serapeum*, while another one (known as building 004) with

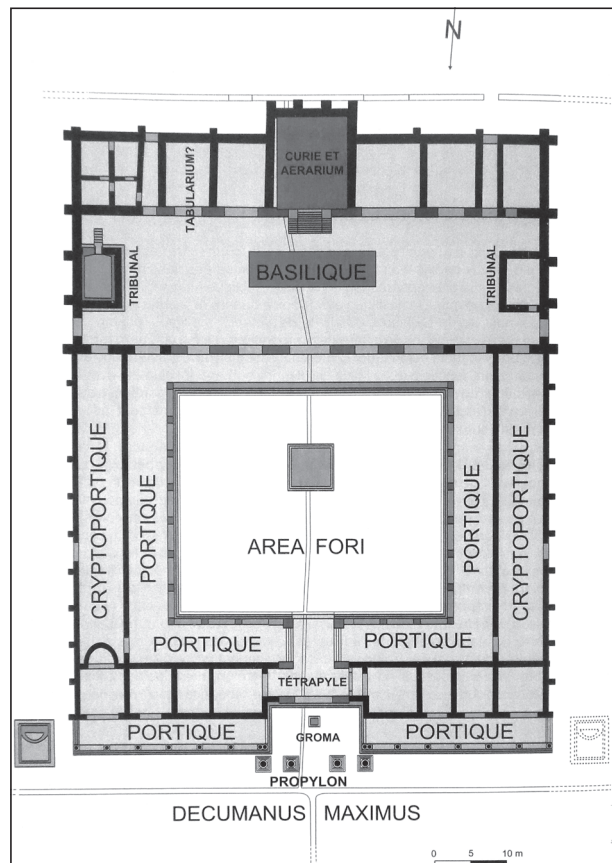


Fig. 46 Plan of the Forum Vetus from Colonia Sarmizegetusa. – (After Schäfer 2007, 362 fig. 9).

three small chambers (nos 1-3) as shrines dedicated to the imperial cult. – Description: In the monumental building complex, which had at least five phases, several artefacts were found, attesting religious practices. The sacralised space, where these finds were concentrated is well limited between the storage houses and the baths, in a narrow section of 10 m × 65 m, with several, small rectangular buildings from the 2nd and 3rd phases. Similarly to the *praetorium consularis* in Apulum, cultic activities in such palaces could be concentrated on small rooms of specific

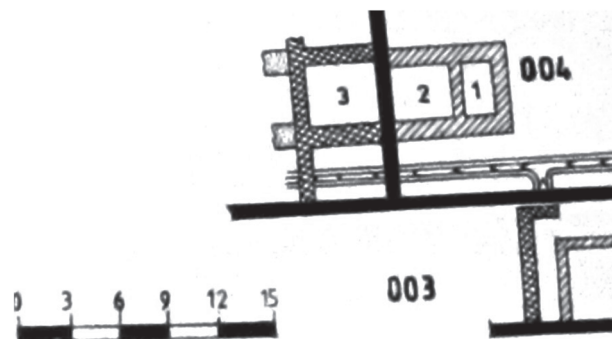


Fig. 47 Sacralised spaces in the *domus procuratoris* from Colonia Sarmizegetusa. – (After Schäfer 2007, 372 fig. 20).

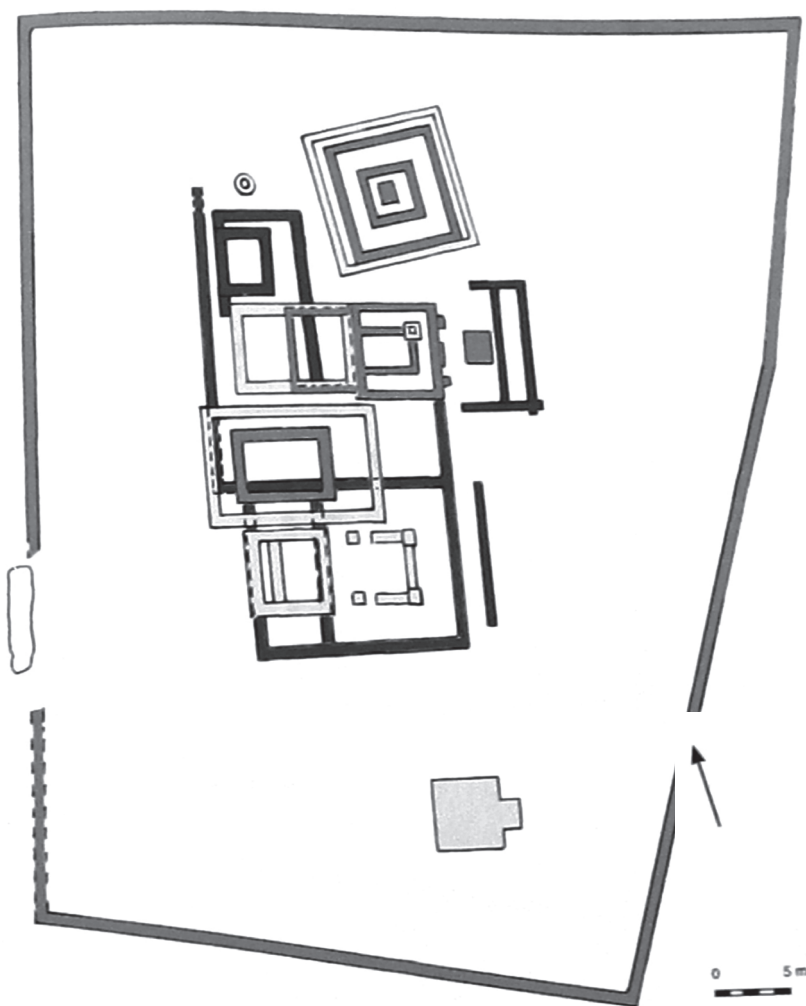


Fig. 48 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the *asklepieion*. – (After Schäfer 2007, 373 fig. 21).

groups (possible Serapis worshippers) or shared spaces, where the worship of the divine emperors or the *Genius Imperatoris* happened. The material from this limited area of a few compartments shows a striking and various religious communication. Among the finds, several inscriptions are mentioning Italic divinities, such as *Vulcanus Mitis*, Germanic gods, such as *Mars Camulus*, *Rosmerta* and most curiously, *Mithras*, or Syrian divinities, such as *Caelestis*. The cult of *Salus* and *Apollo Grannus* was also attested in this area, probably related to the health issues of the emperor *Caracalla*. While some of the dedications show a religious communication related to the obligations of the high political elite of the province, others, such as the rare combination of *Mars Camulus-Mithras*, the dedication for twelve divinities by *Publius Aelius Hammonius* (IDR III/2, 246) or the cult of *Vulcanus Mitis*, seem to be a rare attestation of religious individuation in *Sarmizegetusa*. – Archaeological repertory: More than 50 inscriptions, statues and statue bases were found in this area. – Bibliography: *Pescaru/Alicu* 2000, 90-91. 112-114; *Schäfer* 2007, 245-272. 398-399 *Kat. H XII*; *Boda* 2015a, 291; 2015b, 189-196.

I.35 *Asklepieion*

Location: *Extra muros*, east to the amphitheatre of the Roman city (coordinates: 45.517506, 22.788252; **fig. 48**). – Dimensions: The building complex is formed by four edifices, surrounded by a 57 m × 41 m × 61.5 m × 70 m trapezoidal wall. The area was delimited by a 229 m long wall, with a possible gate. The four buildings had multiple phases, in the recently known phase they have the following dimensions: I: 10.25 m × 10 m, II: 9.5 m × 6.5 m, III: 12.8 m × 8.1 m, IV: 5 m × 5.9 m. – Description: The healing complex had at least three phases. The first phase, dated to the end of the 2nd century, shows an irregular structure with multiple compartments. It is very possible that in this phase the structures had another functionality and do not served as a sanctuary. In the second phase, the wall of the sacred precinct is already attested. Four buildings (I-IV) and a circular fountain are attested. In building I, an altar base was found in the interior of the *cella*, while in building II, the altar was in front of the entrance. Building III in the second phase was identified as a tetrasyle temple. West to building I, a fountain was attested. The area was recently reconstructed as a garden or a grove, although

archaeobotanical analysis was never made in this area. At the end of the second phase, a large fire occurred, often related to the Sarmatic/Marcommanic Wars. In the last phase, all the edifices are extended and heavily modified. Building II was changed from three into a double-roomed edifice, while buildings I and III preserved their inner structure, but were extended. South of building III a new sanctuary was attested (building IV). In some reconstructions, a fifth edifice is also represented. – Archaeological repertory: At least 18 statues, inscriptions and bronze small finds were attested in the building complex. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 32-42; Schäfer 2007, 64-69. 145-158. 374-376; Boda 2015a, 288 no. 18; 2015b, 154-164.

I.36 *Capitolium*

Location: *Intra muros*, in the western part of the Forum Novus (coordinates: 45.512474, 22.787321; **fig. 49**). – Dimensions: The foundation of the building is 27.6 m × 18.7 m. – Description: Identified a long time ago, the territory was known also before 2004, when the systematic excavations began. The hypothesis was raised in 1990. The field research was carried out with short breaks till 2011, although the building and its surrounding is still not totally revealed. The sanctuary was identified as a Roman *templum* of *hexastylus, peripteros sine postico* type, although the ideal reconstruction is very hypothetical. The identification of the building with the *capitolium* of the city is based on the topography of the building, the existence of the *epulum Iovis* in Sarmizegetusa and on the monumental size and exquisite building material of the area. The presence of the *cultores Iovis* was also recently attested (ILD 249). – Archaeological repertory: Inscriptions mentioning the *epulum Iovis* (IDR III/2, 242), a fragment of Jupiter's finger and parts of the eagle. See also: Lupa 15140, 15223, 17596, 19191. – Bibliography: Schäfer 2007, 47-50; Piso 2010; Piso/Țentea/Marcu 2012; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 4.

I.37 Sanctuary of *Domnus et Domna*

Location: *Extra muros*, in the NE precinct of the *area sacra*, west to EM 24, in the very vicinity of the Liber Pater sanctuary (coordinates: 45.517925, 22.787610; **fig. 50**). – Dimensions: The small sanctuary had multiple phases. In the first phase, it measured 4.1 m × 3.8 m. – Description: The area with two other buildings were identified between 2004 and 2007 as part of an international collaboration. After the geophysical measurements, the sanctuary was excavated. It is one of the best-documented sacralised spaces of the province. Not only the timber phase was identified, but several votive deposits and non-repetitive rituals were identified. The first phase ended probably around 170 AD as many of the sanctuaries in the *area sacra* were presumably destroyed by the Sarmatic attacks. The second phase ends up after the abandonment of Au-

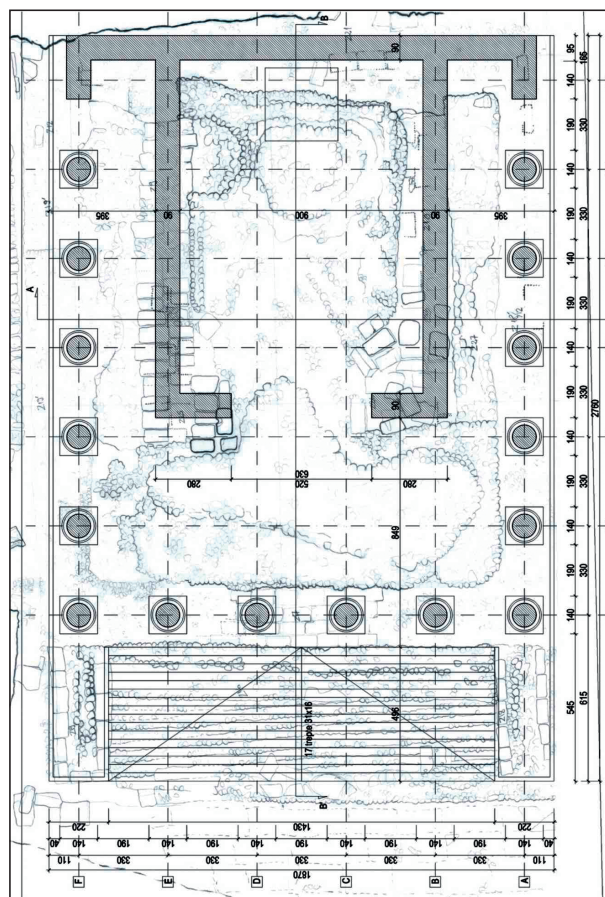


Fig. 49 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the *capitolium*. – (After Piso/Țentea/Marcu 2012, 126 fig. 6).

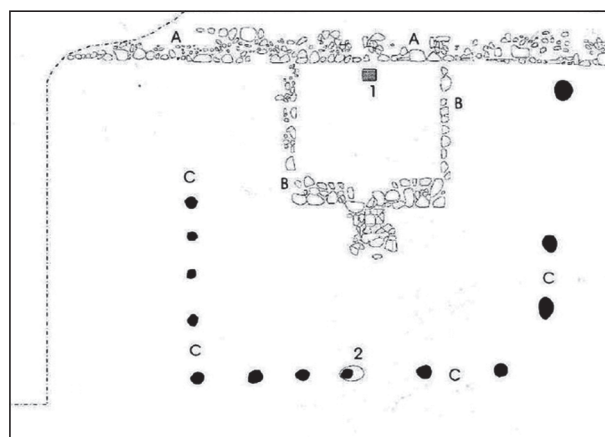


Fig. 50 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the sanctuary of *Domnus et Domna*. – (After Fiedler/Höpken 2010, 334 pl. I.1).

relian around 271 AD. The sanctuary is also important, because it is the first one attesting a sacralised space for *Domnus et Domna*. Their cult was recently associated by I. Tóth and Á. Szabó with the well-known cult of the Danubian Riders, as a specificity of the Danubian provinces (Á. Szabó 2017. Other authors did not accept this theory: Boda 2015b). – Archaeological repertory: The con-

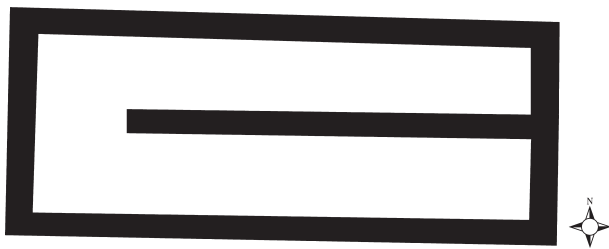


Fig. 51 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of EM 16. – (After Schäfer 2007, 396 fig. 44).

struction inscription was found in the sanctuary (AÉ 2010, 1383). Several votive deposits with a large amount of ceramic material (kantharos, lamps, vessels) and bones were found in the two phases. 100m from the sanctuary a lead tablet was discovered, probably used in magical practices as *defixio*. – Bibliography: Fiedler/Höpken 2010; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 13; Németh 2015, 396-397; Szabó 2017b, 102-103.

I.38 Sanctuary EM 16

Location: *Extra muros*, in the NE precinct of the *area sacra*, east to EM 24 (coordinates: 45.518092, 22.788840; fig. 51). – Dimensions: It had a rectangular form of 13.5m × 6.5m. – Description: The sanctuary was discovered in 1979. It was identified as a sanctuary, because of the close vicinity to the sanctuaries in the *area sacra* and the *asklepieion*. The archaeological material was extremely poor, which does not support this theory. – Archaeological repertory: There were no inscriptions or figurative monuments (reliefs, statues) found. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 109; Schäfer 2007, 243-244; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 16.

I.39 Sanctuary EM 17

Location: *Extra muros*, in the NE precinct of the *area sacra*, east to EM 24 (coordinates: 45.518092, 22.788840; fig. 52). – Dimensions: It had a rectangular form of small dimensions (approx. 5m × 6m). – Description: The sanctuary was discovered in 1979. It was identified as a sanctuary, because of the close vicinity to the sanctuaries in the *area sacra* and the *asklepieion*. The archaeological material was extremely poor, consisted mostly of ceramic finds. A bronze statue fragment could indicate the sacralised nature of this place. The building was later destroyed by the new construction of a motel. – Archaeological repertory: There were no inscriptions found. Mostly ceramic material (unpublished) and a very small, bronze statue fragment. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 109; Schäfer 2007, 244; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 17.

I.40 Sanctuary EM 18 or the »Great Temple«

Location: *Extra muros*, in the southern part of the *area sacra*, between the northern city wall and the *asklepieion*

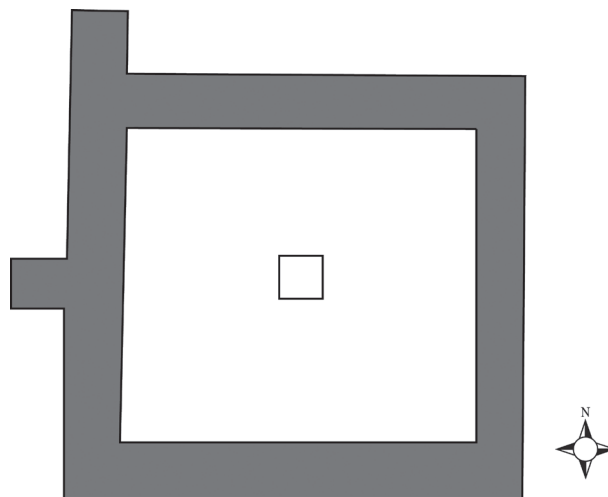


Fig. 52 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of EM 17. – (After Schäfer 2007, 396 fig. 45).

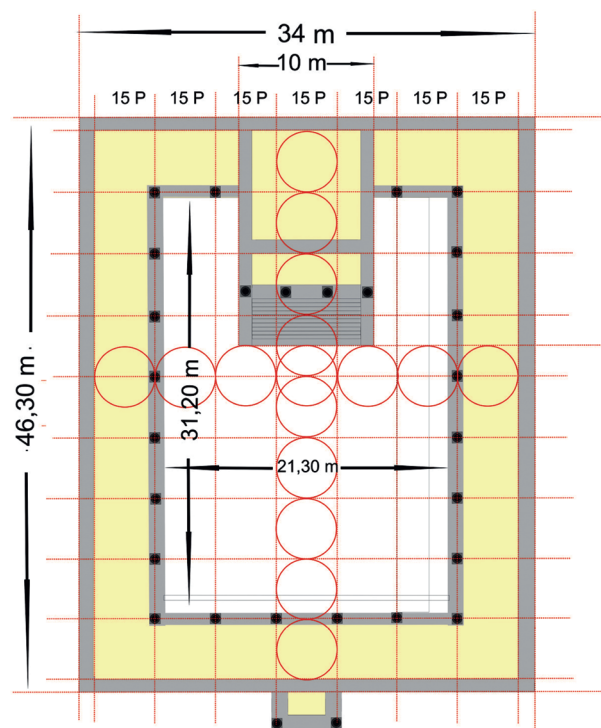


Fig. 53 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the so-called Great Temple. – (After Diaconescu 2011, 171 pl. Ia).

(coordinates: 45.516280, 22.788324; fig. 53). – Dimensions: The territory of the sanctuary is the largest ever attested in Dacia, measuring 43.6m × 34m. The entrance with a *vestibulum* is 5m × 3.5m, while the interior courtyard measures 21.3m × 31.2m. The *cella* itself is 10m × 5.6m. – Description: The sanctuary was discovered between 1976 and 1978. It was probably built after 170 AD, although there are a few chronologically

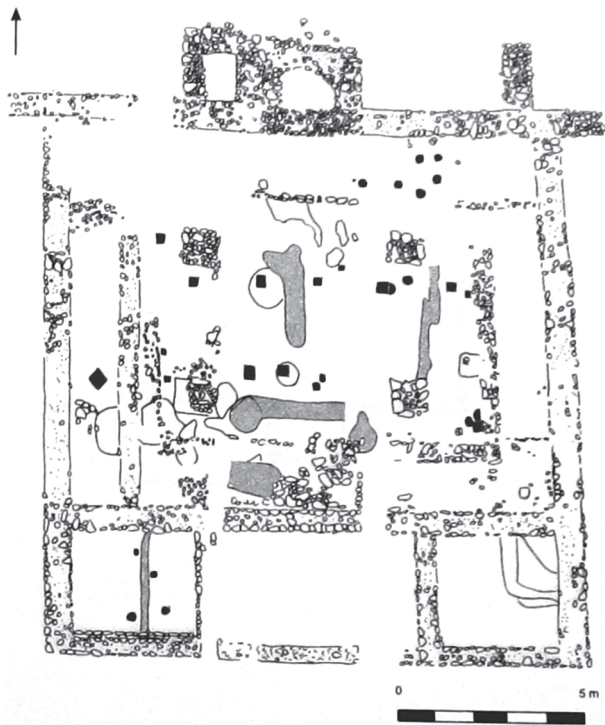


Fig. 54 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of EM 24. – (After Schäfer 2007, 383 fig. 31).

attestable material. The functionality of the building and the divinities worshiped within provoked numerous discussions. It is accepted that numerous divinities, among them Iuno, Diana Augusta, Liber Pater and Hercules Augustus were also worshiped. This combination – often cited by the Romanian literature as the tutelary divinities of the province – seems to be more a personal choice of the economic elite of the province. – Archaeological repertory: The archaeological material consists of several statue fragments representing Diana, Hercules and Liber Pater. Numerous lamps were attested in the interior too. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 114-119; Schäfer 2007, 156-159; Diaconescu 2014, 1-4; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 20.

I.41 Sanctuary EM 24

Location: *Extra muros*, in the NE precinct of the *area sacra*, next to the Liber Pater sanctuary (coordinates: 45.517966, 22.788387; **fig. 54**). – Dimensions: The building has multiple phases and compartments. In the first phase, it had a rectangular form of 15.9 m × 15.3 m. – Description: The building was excavated between 1983 and 1985. Several phases of the construction were identified, which revealed that at the end of the 2nd century the building was heavily modified. An apsis was added in the northern part of it and a tripartite *cellae* system was established in the South. The building was hypothetically reconstructed with a pos-

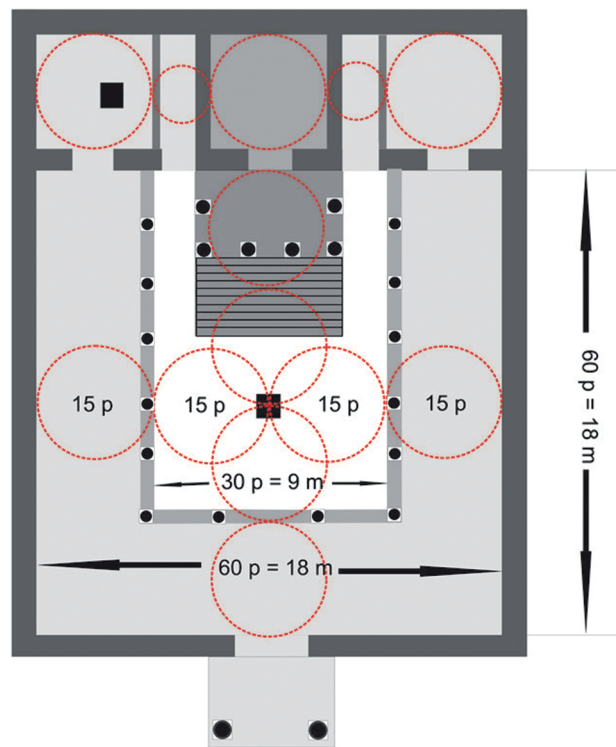


Fig. 55 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the Liber Pater and Silvanus sanctuary. – (After Diaconescu 2011, 171 pl. Ib).

sible tower. It was unanimously accepted that the building functioned as a sanctuary because of its topography within the *area sacra*, although the archaeological material does not prove this. – Archaeological repertory: There were no inscriptions or figurative monuments (reliefs, statues) found. The excavators mentioned several iron objects (arrowheads, fibulae). – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 104-109; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 15.

I.42 Liber Pater and Silvanus sanctuary

Location: *Extra muros*, 300m NE to the amphitheatre of the Roman city (coordinates: 45.517803, 22.787392; **fig. 55**). – Dimensions: The building has a rectangular shape of 25.5 m × 20.4 m. – Description: The sanctuary had at least two phases. In the first phase, the three *cellae* were accessed by a *vestibulum* with two columns, later extended with a larger, four column entrance from the South. Similarly, the three *cubicula* from the North were modified, new entrances being installed. In the centre of the inner courtyard, an altar was standing. In the NW *cubiculum* of the building, several monuments dedicated to Silvanus were found, which could indicate that this shrine was dedicated to him. The cult of Diana was also present in this complex. – Archaeological repertory: 22 inscriptions, statues and reliefs were found in the building complex. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 52-58; Schäfer 2007, 175-190. 384-385; Boda 2015a, 288 no. 12.

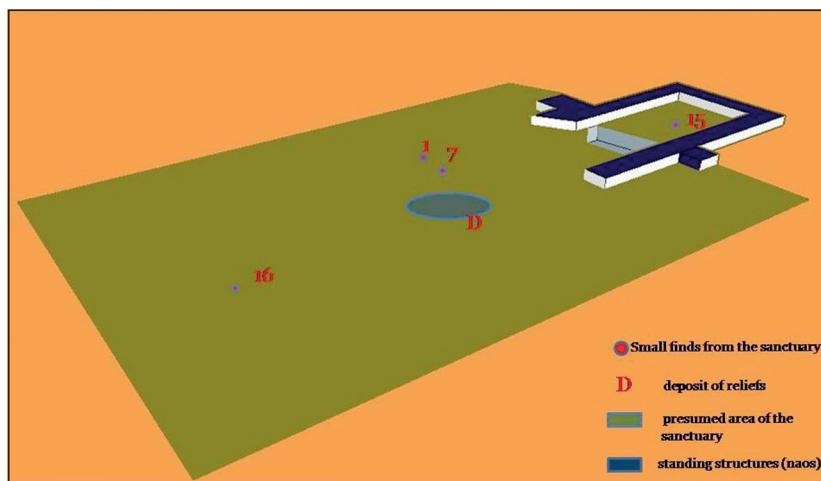


Fig. 56 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the *mithraeum*. – (After Szabó 2014, 137 fig. 1).

I.43 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain. *Extra muros*, SW to the city wall, close to the bank of the so-called Apa Mică brook (approx. coordinates: 45.5080, 22.7855; **fig. 56**). – Dimensions: Uncertain. The excavators revealed only the *naos* and a small part of the central nave of the building (3.8 m × 4.20 m). Based on the extreme amount of finds, the sanctuary was

interpreted as one of the biggest *mithraea* of the Roman Empire. – Description: The sanctuary was discovered in 1882 and 1883 in two short systematic excavations by Pál Király and his team. Only a small part of the building (a part of the *naos*) was identified, although the largest part of the finds came from a single deposit in front of this. Although it was interpreted as one of the largest sanctuaries of its kind, it is very possibly a middle-sized building. The provenience and function of a large amount of finds are still not solved. Recently, it was suggested that a large amount of finds could prove the presence of a workshop, specialising on Mithraic reliefs or a late Roman statuary deposit. – Archaeological repertory: More than 184 relief fragments, statues, statuettes, altars and a significant amount of small finds were reported, which makes the largest Mithraic deposit ever found in the Roman Empire. – Bibliography: Király 1886; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 81-84; Schäfer 2007, 190-236; Szabó 2014c; Sicoe 2014, 174-230 cat. nos 72-194; Boda 2015a, 287 fig. 7, 23; Höpken/Fiedler 2015, 201.

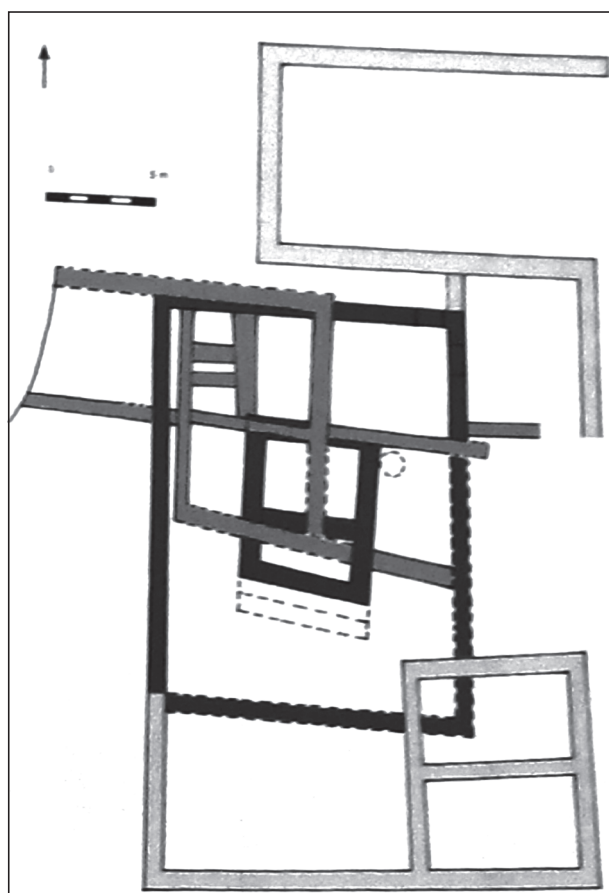


Fig. 57 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the *nemeseion*. – (After Schäfer 2007, 381 fig. 29).

I.44 *Nemeseion*

Location: *Extra muros*, SE to the main entrance of the amphitheatre (coordinates: 45.516588, 22.786654; **fig. 57**). – Dimensions: 15 m × 18.5 m (approx. 52 m²) with multiple phases of reconstruction. – Description: The building had multiple phases. The first one was identified as being contemporary with the timber phase of the amphitheatre. Later, the *nemeseion* was enlarged. The *cella* (4.5 m × 3.55 m) and the *pronaos* (4.2 m × 1.8 m) changed only slightly in the two later phases. The *cubicula* were probably installed in the northern part of the sanctuary. The exact functionality of these are not identified, but the inscriptions attesting the *incubatio* suggest a strict contact with the *asklepieion* nearby. – Archaeological repertory: 17 inscriptions, statues and bronze object fragments. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 61-65; Schäfer 2007, 163-173. 381-382; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 8.

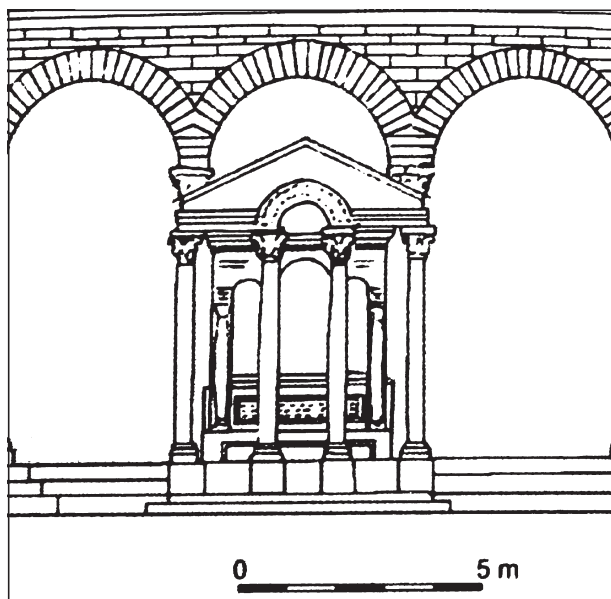


Fig. 58 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Reconstruction of the two fountains (*nymphaea*). – (After Étienne/Diaconescu/Piso 2006, 248 pl. B).

I.45 *Nymphaea*

Location: In the vicinity of the eastern part of the entrance to the Forum Vetus (coordinates: 45.513602, 22.787703; **fig. 58**). – Dimensions: The foundation of the first *nymphaeum* was 6.2 m × 5.6 m and a height of more than 4 m. – Description: The two fountains and the rich archaeological material was discovered in 1993-1994. The two propylonic *nymphaea* were standing in the monumental entrance of the Forum Vetus. Their iconographic programme of the buildings was following the main ten-

dencies of the Trajanic city planning. The archaeological material found in these two buildings and its surroundings do not attest religious activity, although the publicity and functionality of public statues representing divinities can have similar connotations. – Archaeological repertory: Two honorary inscriptions, several fragmentary statues representing Poseidon/Neptun of the Laterane type, the nymphs, Apollo and the muses. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 74; Diaconescu/Bota 2004; Băeștean 2007; Boda 2015a, 287.

I.46 Palmyrene sanctuary

Location: *Intra muros*, in the western part of the Forum Vetus (coordinates: 45.513093, 22.787067; **fig. 59**). – Dimensions: The foundation of the central *cella* is 8.75 m × 8.75 m. – Description: The area was well known after 1988, when the area of the Forum Vetus and later, the Forum Novum was systematically excavated. The sanctuary was researched in 2010-2011, although based on the epigraphic material the hypothesis was raised already in 2003. The building had multiple phases, and it was predated by a *domus* of a wealthy magistrate. It is not sure if the owner of the house was related to the Palmyrene group, who will dedicate this temple to Yarhibol and Malagbel in the age of late Caracalla or Severus Alexander. New fragments of inscriptions identified also a new religious *collegium* of the city and a unique list of *cultores*. The sacerdotal system of the Palmyrene group and the *cultores* suggest a well-established Syrian community in the city. Some authors do not accept the possibility of a Syrian sanctuary in the very heart of the Roman city. – Archaeological repertory: Several fragments of inscriptions were recently found, which complete the older epigraphic material from this area:

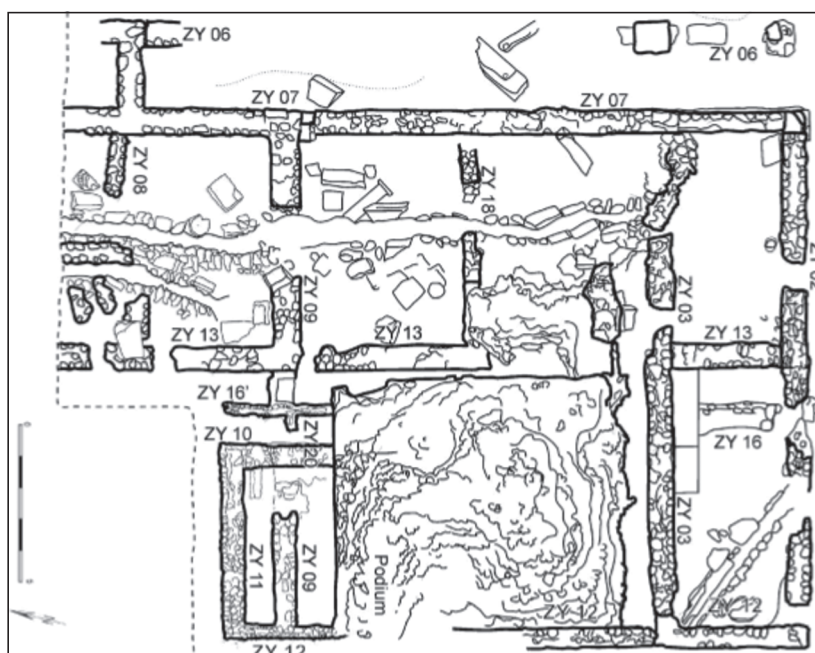


Fig. 59 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the Palmyrene sanctuary. – (After Piso/Țentea 2011, 114 fig. 2).

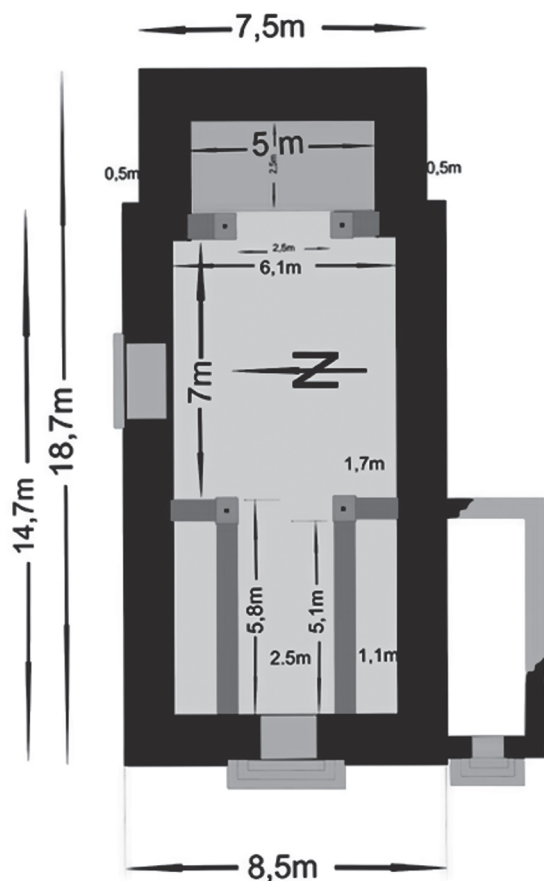


Fig. 60 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: Plan of the *templum* of the Paternal Gods of the Palmyrian tribe of Bene Agrud. – (After Diaconescu 2011, 176 pl. VIa).

IDR III/2, 65; AÉ 2004, 1216; Piso/Țentea 2011, 117-118 nos 2-3; painted walls and frescos were identified too. The small finds and the material are not published yet. – Bibliography: Piso/Țentea 2011; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 5.

I.47 *Templum* of the Paternal Gods of the Palmyrian tribe of Bene Agrud

Location: *Extra muros*, west to the Forum Vetus on the Delineștilor Hill (coordinates: 45.511429, 22.774917; **fig. 60**). – Dimensions: Uncertain. Recently reconstructed as a building with a plan measuring 18.7m × 7.5-8.5m. – Description: Followed by several lootings from the 1870s, the site was excavated in 1881 by G. Téglás and P. Király. For long, it was known as the Malagbel I temple, presuming the existence of at least two other sanctuaries dedicated to the Syrian divinities. The sanctuary was just partially revealed, but an approximate plan was made by the excavators. Recently, a hypothetical reconstruction interpreted as a Syrian assembly hall type building, with banqueting places and a kitchen (*culina*) attached to the sacralised place. – Archaeological repertory: Two inscriptions and construction plaques, building materials

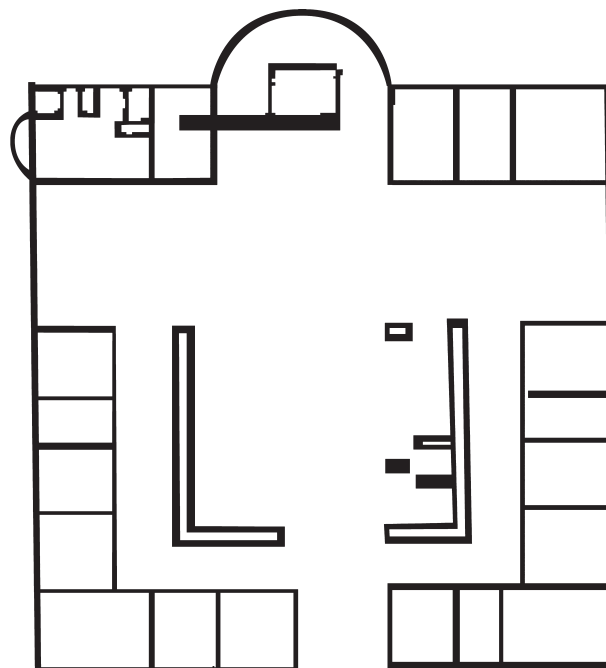


Fig. 61 Slăveni: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 297 pl. 37).

(IDR III/2, 18. 262). – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 77. 84-90; Schäfer 2007, 85-93. 242-243; Carbó Garcia 2010, 921; Diaconescu 2011, 148-158; Boda 2015a, 297.

I.48 Sanctuary of Silvanus

Location: *Extra muros*, in the southern part of the *area sacra*, between the northern city wall and the *asklepieion*, next to the »Great Temple« (coordinates: 45.516175, 22.788016). – Dimensions: The building has multiple phases. The last one is a rectangular building with several small compartments, measuring 28m × 12.8m. The building has also another one annexed to it, with an unknown functionality. – Description: The sanctuary was discovered and excavated in 1976. It was probably built after 170 AD and had at least three phases. An older building, which predated the sanctuary was also identified. The functionality of the building and the divinities worshiped within provoked numerous discussions. It was presumed that it could be a Syrian temple of Malagbel too. More recently, based on a single relief representing Silvanus with his female companions, accepted as being a sanctuary dedicated to the god of forests. – Archaeological repertory: Relief representing Silvanus with his female companions (Lupa 15150). – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 119-122; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 21.

Slăveni (jud. Dolj)

Roman auxiliary fort and military *vicus*. Although archaeological investigations since the 19th century revealed a large part of the fort and the baths, the excavations in the *vicus* were not yet published (Tudor 1978, 306-311).

I.49 *Aedes signorum/principia*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, SE to the modern settlement of Răcari de Jos. The *principia* is largely excavated and preserved (coordinates: 44.081887, 24.529161; fig. 61). – Dimensions: The *principia* measured 43.2 m × 37.4 m, while the *aedes* has an exceptional 10 m × 10 m with a 5.6 m radius of the apsis. – Description: The *aedes* was identified in the SW of the *principia*, surrounded by five other rooms. It has an apsidal shape and a relatively large size for an auxiliary fort. – Archaeological repertory: Not published. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 83-84; Marcu 2009, 229-230.

I.50 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain. It was reported that the sanctuary was close to the river Olt. – Dimensions: Uncertain. Based on the position of the sanctuary in a rural context, it had probably a modest size for a small group. – Description: The sanctuary was discovered in 1837 by M. Ghica and later published shortly by Vladimir de Blaremborg. His report mentions that the reliefs and altars were in a long

building, installed in a subterranean slope, while the brick walls were painted in different colours. – Archaeological repertory: Eight altars and reliefs found in the *mithraeum*. There are a few lines about small finds too, but they were not preserved. – Bibliography: Petolescu 1976; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 81; Sicoe 2014, 251-255 cat. nos 240-247.

Tibiscum (Jupa, Zsuppa/Iaz-Obreja, Obrézsa; jud. Caraş-Severin)

Important Roman auxiliary fort and military *vicus* in the SW edge of the Hadrianic *Limes*. The Roman fort and the extensive *vicus* of Tibiscum were well known since the 16th century. Most of the large amount of epigraphic and statuary material has an undocumented findspot, which makes it hard to establish the number of sacralised spaces (fig. 62). Although the presence of early Christian communities and even their assembly houses were suggested in several articles, the archaeological material does not prove these theories (Benea/Bona 1994; Ardeţ/Ardeţ 2004; Boda/Timoc 2016).

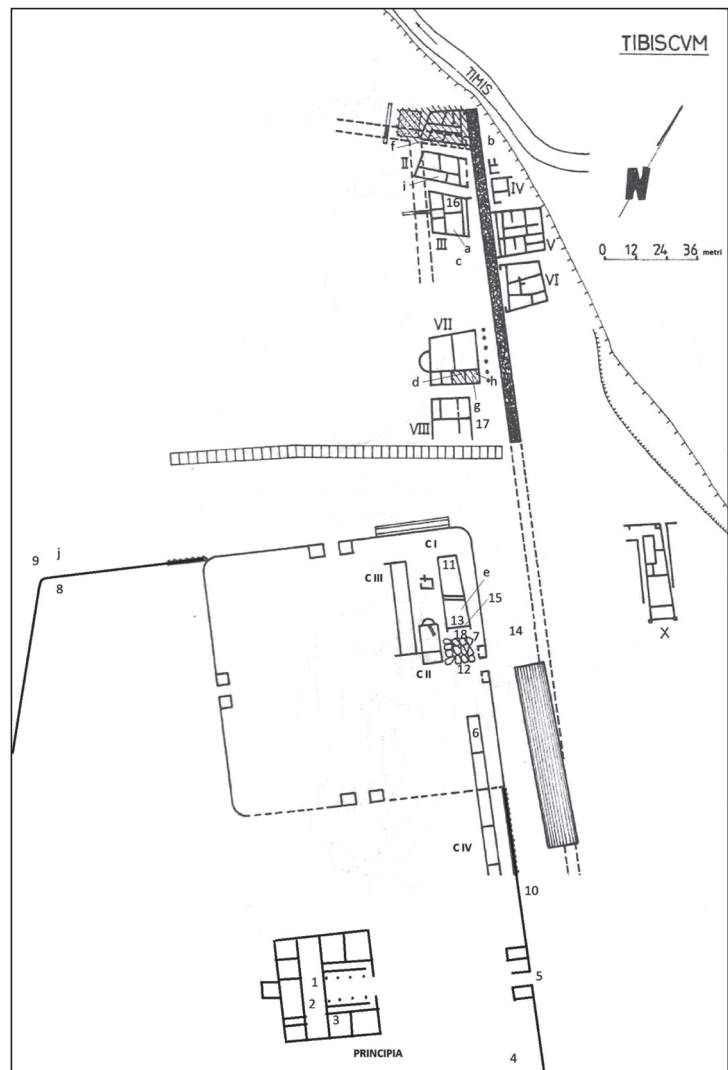


Fig. 62 Topography of Tibiscum. – (After Boda/Timoc 2016, 54 fig. 1).

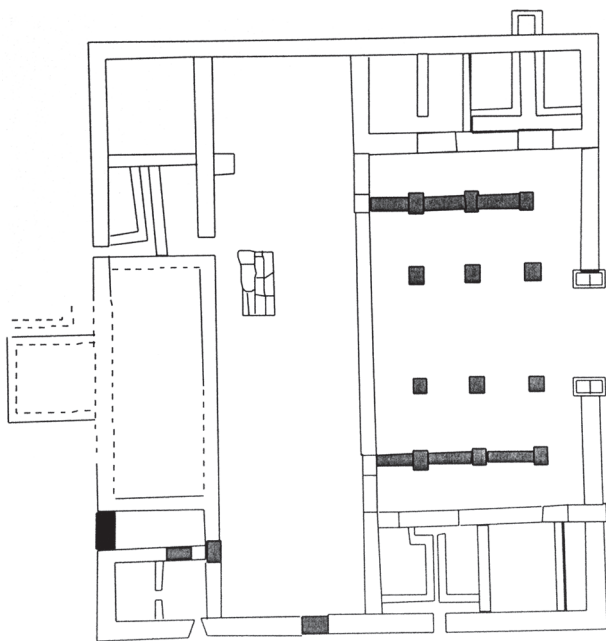


Fig. 63 Tibiscum: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 163 fig. 35a).

I.51 *Principia/aedes signorum*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, NE to the modern settlement of Jupa. The *principia* is largely excavated and preserved (coordinates: 45.465756, 22.189699; **fig. 63**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measured 31.5 m × 36 m, while the *aedes* has an exceptional 14 m × 6.6 m. – Description: The fort of Tibiscum was modified numerous times, at least three large phases are known. The recently known *principia* served for the last, enlarged *castra*. The *aedes* was identified in the SW of the *principia*, surrounded by four other rooms. The size of this compartment is very large in comparison with the rest of the annexed rooms and the *principia*, which indicated that it probably was also divided. Although some authors contest the presence of sacralisation in this space, the position of the room indicates that it functioned as an *aedes signorum*. Another possibility could be that only the smaller chamber (J) behind the room G served as the *aedes*. – Archaeological repertory: Large amounts of bones and a possible ritual deposit. Possibly, an inscription mentioning a silver statue and the building of a temple (*templum*) could refer to the *aedes signorum* (Alicu 2002, 235). Timoc in his article on the sanctuary of the Palmyrene presents also a statuette of an *aquila* on a *globus*, which could belong to the *aedes* (Timoc 2005, 122 fig. 5). – Bibliography: Benea/Bona 1994, 48-49; Gudea 1997, 32-33; Marcu 2009, 162-165.

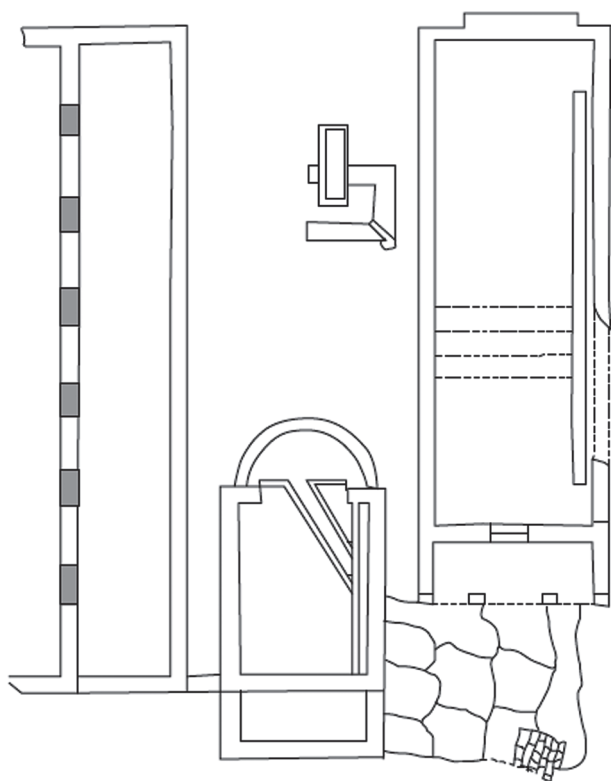


Fig. 64 Tibiscum: Plan of the *schola*. – (After Marcu 2009, 167 fig. 35b).

I.52 *Schola* or dining hall/Palmyrene sanctuary

Location: In the NE of the Roman auxiliary fort, NE to the modern settlement of Jupa (coordinates: 45.467550, 22.190486; **fig. 64**). – Dimensions: The building complex measured 28.8 m × 6.8 m. – Description: The functionality of the building provoked a large debate in the scholarly publications. The excavator, M. Moga never published his archaeological journals and a detailed report. Based on his notes, I. Piso and D. Benea identified the building as a *horreum* transformed into a *schola*. Recently, it was presumed that the building was serving as a podium-salee, a dining room following the structure and functionality of Hellenic assembly houses of small group religions. The position of the building within the fort makes problematic to establish its functionality, although the presence of sacralised spaces within forts are well documented. The attestation of several votive dedications (inscriptions, votive plaques, plumb objects) suggest a shared, but not public religious experience of a small, possibly Palmyrene group. Their habit to establish a sacralised space in an unusual or »non-canonical« space (as it happened in Sarmizegetusa, near the Forum Novus) could indicate that this building served indeed as a dining hall of a religious group of Palmyrene. Several other inscriptions mentioning the presence of the Palmyrene in Tibiscum (Kaizer 2004), some of them (IDR III/1, 134) were found south of the fort. The presence of a sanctuary dedicated to their *Dii Patritii* is almost certain, the

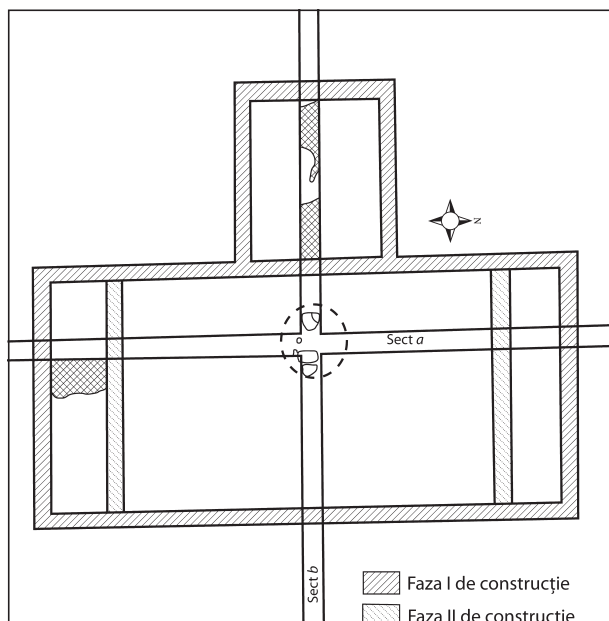


Fig. 65 Tibiscum: Plan of the Apollo sanctuary. – (After D. Alicu, *Templul lui Apollo de la Tibiscum. Cronologie și tipologie. TIBISCUM. Studii și Comunicări* 10, 2000, 304 fig. 1).

location of this, however, not. – Archaeological repertory: Several inscriptions dedicated to the Genius of the *horreum*, Malagbel and Liber Pater. Votive plaques and relief fragments are still unpublished. See also: IDR III/1, 134. 136. 142. 149; ILD 202. – Bibliography: Alicu 2002, 212-218; Timoc 2005; Marcu 2004, 91-96; 2009, 168-170; Diaconescu 2011; Boda/Timoc 2016.

I.53 *Fanum* of Apollo

Location: 1.5 km west to the auxiliary fort, in the periphery of the Roman civilian settlement, on the spot called »Sat Bătrân«, close to the Tibiscum-Sarmizegetusa road (Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 42). Today, the exact location of the sanctuary is unknown (approx. coordinates: 45.462, 22.224; **fig. 65**). – Dimensions: The building complex had multiple compartments. The inner courtyard measures 17 m × 10.6 m, delimited by two smaller rooms (10.6 m × 5.1 m and 6.1 m × 6.9 m) and circular shaped compartments in the East. – Description: The building complex was never published by the excavators. It was presumed that the *fanum* had multiple phases, suggested also by the inscription mentioning the rebuilding of the sanctuary. The reconstruction was associated with the *cohors I Vindellicorum* (Haynes 2013, 379), who replaced the *cohors I Sagittariorum* in Tibiscum. – Archaeological repertory: Inscription mentioning the reconstruction of the building: ILD 199, while another was placed in the sanctuary after the miraculous healing of the emperor Caracalla (ILD 200). – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 42-49; Ardeț/Ardeț 2004, 66; Boda/Timoc 2016.

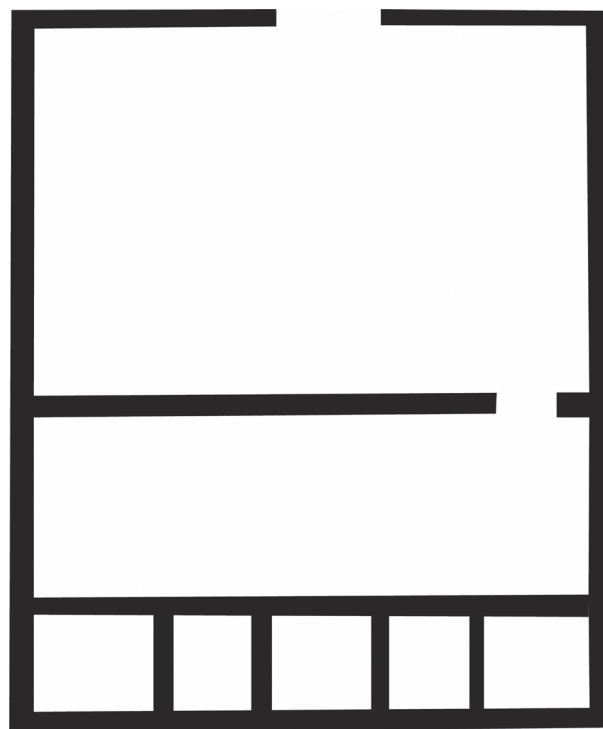


Fig. 66 Vărădia: The building of the *principia/aedes signorum*. – (After Marcu 2009, 277 pl. 17).

Vărădia (Arcidava?; jud. Caraș Severin)

Roman auxiliary fort and military *vicus* in Dacia Superior. After some opinions, it was part of the province only in the Trajanic period (Nemeth et al. 2011, 41-45. – See also Höpken et al. 2016).

I.54 *Principia/aedes signorum*

Location: In the centre of the Roman auxiliary fort, NE to the modern settlement of Vărădia, on the bank of the river Karas. The fort today is barely visible (coordinates: 45.087723, 21.552518; **fig. 66**). – Dimensions: The *principia* measured 37.5 m × 32.5 m, while the *aedes* around 5 m × 5 m. – Description: The fort was excavated in 1932 and later, in 2000. Five small compartments were attested in the southern part of the *principia* by the first excavator, but the exact functionality of the building was presumed only from its canonic position and not from the archaeological material. No further excavations were carried out in this area since then. – Archaeological repertory: Unpublished. – Bibliography: Gudea 1997, 26; Marcu 2009, 172-173.

II. Epigraphically attested sanctuaries

Ampelum (Zlatna, Zalatna; jud. Alba)

Roman civilian settlement in the Apuseni Mountains, centre of the *Auraria Dacicae*, the golden district of Dacia. The large number of inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus, an inscription mentioning the cult of Isis, Terra Mater, two inscriptions dedicated to Liber Pater (one of them possibly mentioning a Bacchic group [IDR III/3, 37]) indicate the presence of other sacralised spaces in the Roman town and its vicinity. A possible sanctuary of *Domnus et Domna* was also presumed here based on a single inscription (CIL III 1289 – Á. Szabó 2017, 102-103.). A pottery workshop producing religious artefacts existed here (Moga 1996; fig. 67).

II.1 *Templum Aesculapii* (*asklepieion*)

Location: Between the modern settlements of Zlatna and Pătrânjeni, on the spot called Chilia Grui, under the mountain of Jidovu (approx. coordinates: 46.09195, 23.25950). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: Around 1930 a fragmentarily preserved plaque was found together with building material and the foundations of

a building. Although the area was rarely habited even in the 1960s, today it is already heavily modified. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 280. 280a. Several other inscriptions (IDR III/3, 286-287) are attesting the cult of the healing divinities. – Bibliography: Russu 1984, 283-284; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 123.

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg)

II.2 *Asklepieion*

Location: Approx. 200m from the northern wall of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, near the Tăușor lake (coordinates: 46.052080, 23.568733; fig. 68). – Dimensions: There is no archaeological evidence of the exact dimension of the building (or buildings), however, the epigraphic material suggests a *porticus* modified at least three times. The latest attests a 11.84m long entrance, which suggest a monumental building. The analogy of Colonia Sarmizegetusa indicates a healing complex with multiple buildings, separated from the city by walls or natural, geographic elements, such as the river and the lake. The geophysical survey of the Apulum Project indicates also a multicomparted, large building in this area. – Description: The healing complex consisted of multiple buildings: a fountain (IDR III/5, 31), a bridge and a rectangular building with three *cellae* were attested epigraphically and on the terrain in the 1970s. If we presume that the detailed description of György Aranka from 1796 refers to the same place, than the *asklepieion* consisted of the following buildings dedicated to various divinities: the temple of the healing divinities, rebuilt at least three times with a monumental *porticus*, a bridge, which connected the sacred area with the imperial road (*via Traiana*), a fountain with a shrine dedicated to Diana, a temple for Apollo Salutaris and probably a shrine for Liber and Libera with a *crypta* and a *porticus*. Altars dedicated to Venus, Nemesis, Silvanus, Jupiter Conservator and Dolichenus were also discovered in this area. There were no systematic excavations in the area. The region was looted already in the Medieval ages and severely damaged in the 20th century canalization, when most of the remains of the complex were discovered. Aerial photos and the first geophysical survey proved the existence of monumental buildings in the area, outside of the northern part of the *colonia*, which can be identified with the largest healing centre of Dacia. – Archaeological repertory: The majority of the epigraphic material dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygeia have no exact context, however, we can presume that all of them came from the healing complex. The material consists of: IDR III/5, 1-21. 30-36. 47. 199. 220. 223. 247. 297. 356. 363 and probably IDR III/5, 26. 241-242. 323. 326. 330. 343. 349. The statuary representations of Apollo and Asclepius could be also from here (Lupa 12367, 19306,

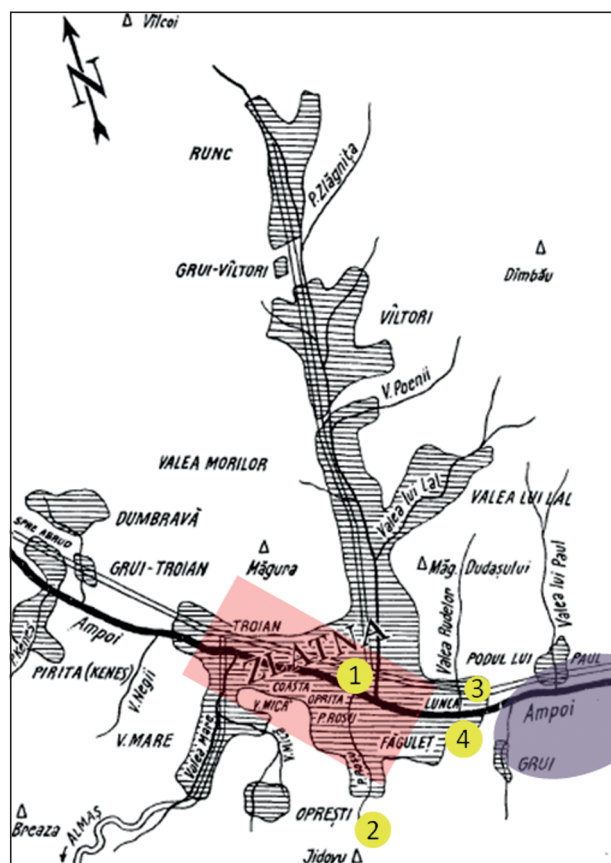
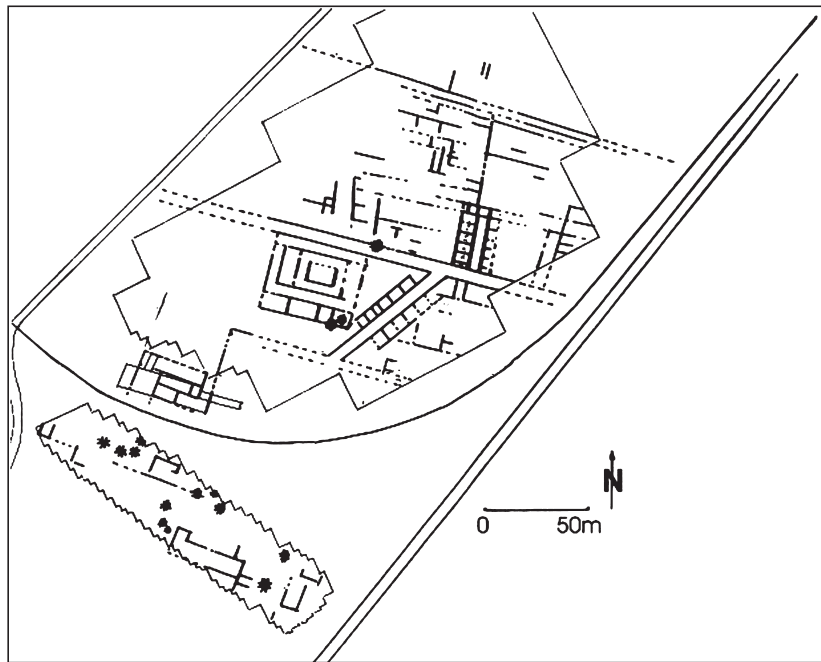


Fig. 67 Topography of Roman Ampelum (purple: cemetery. – red: civilian settlement). – 1 Jupiter temple/capitolium. – 2 *asklepieion*. – 3 Fortuna Salutaris sanctuary. – 4 *dolichenum*. – (After Pătrășcanu 1967, 678 fig. 1).

Fig. 68 Apulum: Geophysical survey results of the *asklepieion* area. – (Source [http://cronica.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=3055&d=Alba-Iulia-Sanctuarul-Liber-Pater-\[Apulum\]-2004](http://cronica.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=3055&d=Alba-Iulia-Sanctuarul-Liber-Pater-[Apulum]-2004) [22.10.2018]).



19346, 19362). – Bibliography: Crișan 1971, 341-346; 1976, 35-46; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 123-126; Szabó 2004, 91-114; 2015b; BRRD 64-65.

II.3 *Aedes* of Fortuna

Location: Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (Partoș, Marospartos). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of the sanctuary (*aedes*) is presumed only on the basis of a fragmentary inscription first attested in 1836. It is not sure if the building mentioned in the text was dedicated only to Fortuna Supera or the altar stood in another sacralised space. The large number of the inscriptions dedicated to Fortuna in the conurbation (IDR III/5, 72-78) and her association with personifications (*Genius canabensis*), special epithets (*domesticus*) or dedicators (*legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae*) suggest that the divinity was worshiped in multiple places, not only in one. – Archaeological repertory: One fragmentary inscription (IDR III/5, 78). – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 127.

II.4 *Capitolium* or Jupiter temple of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis

Location: Uncertain. Recently the *forum* of the civilian settlement was identified (between B-dul Reg. V. Vânători/Str. Gemenilor no. 13 (coordinates: 46.0455, 23.5662). Possibly, a representative area of the city had one or more sanctuaries dedicated to the Capitoline divinities and the *Dii Consentes*. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: There are numerous inscriptions dedicated to the supreme god, however, their topography is impossible to establish. Due to the syncretistic nature of the divinity and its unprecedented popularity in the conurbation, we can presume that it was worshiped in numerous places. A

spectacular find was attested at the end of August, 1867 and described in detail by K. Gooss. During the building of the railway in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, a monumental temple ruin was attested, with a standing column, numerous column bases, a monumental statue of Jupiter (Lupa 17354) and three altars (IDR III/5, 123. 167-168). The temple described by Gooss is the only Jupiter temple attested in the province and one of the most spectacular finds of Apulum (fig. 69).

One votive column (IDR III/5, 191) dedicated to Jupiter and Iuno by an *Augustalis coloniarum* mentions the rebuilding of a temple (*templum*). The exact findspot of the monument is impossible to establish. Eight representations of Jupiter were found in this area of the Municipium Aurelium Apulense/Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (Daicoviciu 1941, 307 fig. 6, 7. – Băluță 1980, 101-102. – Ota 2013, 63 figs 46-47), one of them together with altars and a marble plaque dedicated to Diana in the garden of Gligor Sas (str. Gemenilor no. 13, IDR III/5, 52). This part of the city – close to the recently identified *forum* – could have one or more sanctuaries dedicated to the supreme Roman god. Another inscription is known from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, which mentions the existence of sanctuaries of Jupiter (IDR III/5, 153). It was discovered in 1904 in the Marospartos, however without an exact context. The palaeography of the text suggests a similarity with the plaque dedicated to Diana, discovered later (IDR III/5, 52). Numerous votive and honorific altars and statue bases (IDR III/5, 432) were discovered in this area, which also suggests the identification of the area as the *forum* of the city. A representation of Hercules was also found in this area (Ciuță 2014, 458-470). The context of the find is poorly documented, but it could stand also in a public

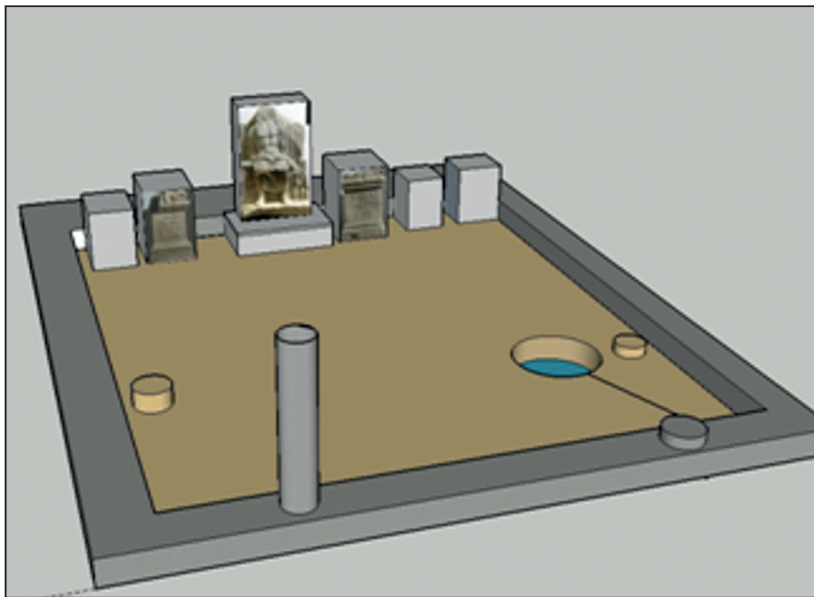


Fig. 69 Roman sanctuary discovered by K. Gooss in 1867 in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – (After Szabó 2015, 142 fig. 7a).

bath in the vicinity of the *forum*. Without archaeological excavations, the existence of the temple and its topography is hypothetical. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown. IDR III/5, 123. 167-168 and the exceptional statue of Jupiter Capitolinus (Lupa 17354). The Jupiter statues, the marble plaque dedicated to Diana (IDR III/5, 52) and the altars of Sol (IDR III/5, 351) could belong to the temple(s). See also: IDR III/5, 432. 446. – Bibliography: Daicoviciu 1941, 305-306; Băluță 1980, 101-102; Pescaru/Alicu 127-129; Szabó 2015b.

II.5 Jupiter temple of the Municipium Septimium Apulense
Location: Unknown. Based on particular finds, a possible site of a sanctuary was identified during the construction of the modern Palace of Culture (Casa de Cultură). The territory is part of an *extra muros* area, where a possible »road of sanctuaries« was identified (approx. coordinates: 46.064, 23.568). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a Jupiter temple on the territory of the Municipium Septimium Apulense can be argued with the numerous finds related to the worship of the god. Five statues of Jupiter were discovered and an inscription (IDR III/5, 193) mentioning the rebuilding of a *templum* with a *horologarium* by a *miles legionis*. One of the statues are the biggest ever found in Dacia, decorated once with metal applications and carefully elaborated details, however, it seems to be discovered in a secondary position (Lupa 19222). Although the building complex, where the statue was found, was a monumental one, it was destroyed during the construction of the Palace of Culture. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 193; Lupa 19222. – Bibliography: Băluță 1978, 169; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 129-130; Ota 2012, 95-96; Szabó 2015b; see also: Diaconescu 2014, 58, cat. no. 31a.

II.6 Temple(s) of Nemesis

Location: Uncertain. Multiple places of provenience. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of one or more places where Nemesis was worshiped is sustained by the numerous finds related to her cult, an inscription mentioning the rebuilding of a temple (IDR III/5, 295) and the logical possibility of the existence of an amphitheatre in the conurbation. Temples of Nemesis were identified by the historiography in the *praetorium consularis*, in the healing complex of the *asklepieion* or most recently inside the *castra legionis XIII Geminae*, although none of the cases have a documented archaeological context. As D. Alicu underlined already, the great variety of the finds and the analogies from the entire Roman Empire suggest that a Nemesis sanctuary should exist in the vicinity of the amphitheatre, possibly identified by B. Cserni and later by V. Moga. – Archaeological repertory: Alexandrescu 2013, 234 cat. no. 70; AÉ 2012, 1239. 1241; IDR III/5, 293-297; Nemeti 2005, 339 no. 96; Lupa 19325. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 130; Ciobanu/Bounegru 2012, 41-50; Szabó 2014d, 533-544; 2015b.

II.7 Dolichenum

Location: Uncertain, probably the *extra muros* area of the Municipium Septimium Apulense on the modern street of B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 or in the northern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Dimension: Unknown. – Description: There are no sanctuaries dedicated to Dolichenus attested archaeologically in Apulum. A beautifully elaborated marble plaque mentioning the reconstruction of a temple by a *sacerdos* of a Dolichenian community, probably formed mostly from militaries was found in a secondary position at the end of the 19th century (IDR III/5, 217). Numerous analogies from the Danubian provinces show that the sanctuaries of Dolichenus were positioned closely

to a commercial area of the city or near the forts, in the vicinity of other assembly buildings, like the *mithraea*. In 1963 a Dolichenus altar was found in the B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 (IDR III/5, 221). In this area, where two possible *mithraea* were identified could place also a *dolichenum*, but the divinity could be worshiped in multiple places as well, like in the area of workshops in the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 135-136; Ota 2012, 116; Szabó 2015b.

II.8 *Aedes* of Sol Invictus

Location: Uncertain. One of the few buildings, which stood also in the 18th century and was described by G. Aristi near the fort. Possibly, it was also part of the *extra muros* area of the Municipium Septimium Apulense. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: An inscription dedicated by C. Caerellius Sabinus, *legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae* (IDR III/5, 354) mentioning the reconstruction of an *aedes* of Sol Invictus was discovered by G. Aristi. The Italian architect, who supervised the building of the Vauban fort in the area of the *canabae/municipium* mentions also as a comment that the find came from the ruins of a temple, still visible between 1715 and 1722. The inscription was interpreted till the mid-20th century as a Mithraic one (CIMRM 1968), however, later it was excluded from the Mithraic finds of Apulum. It is possible that an *aedes* of Sol Invictus stood in the vicinity of the fort, the same area (B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918), where other sacralized spaces were found. The existence of the building and the importance of it in the religious life of the soldiers could be argued also by the dedication of three senatorial persons (*legatus legionis*), a rare case attested in Dacia. It is also possible that these dedications were part of the *principia*. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 354; see also: IDR III/5, 350. 353. – Bibliography: CIMRM 1968; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 139; Szabó 2015b.

II.9 *Fanum Dominae*

Location: Unknown, probably in the *extra muros* area of the Municipium Septimium Apulense (B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918). – Dimensions: Unknown. The term of *fanum* could suggest a modest dimension with a possible garden or transformed natural environment, similar to the small compartment of the *Domnus et Domna* sanctuary in Colonia Sarmizegetusa. – Description: The inscription dedicated by a *pictor*, was one of the earliest mentioned by antiquaries in the 16th century. Its exact position is unknown. The *fanum* was dedicated to collective Celtic divinities, probably related to the cult of the *matronae*, attested in numerous military settlements in the Empire (Woolf 2003, 131-138). – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 66; numerous monuments dedicated to Celtic female divinities were attested in Apulum (Suleviae, Nantosuelta, Badones Reginae). They could be worshiped also in a simi-

lar *fanum*. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 141; Ota 2012, 95; Szabó 2015b.

II.10 *Exedra* of IOM Bussumarius

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the NW part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Dimensions: Unknown. The construction plaque mentions the rebuilding of an *exedra* (9 m × 7.5 m) with an arch. – Description: The cult of Bussumarius is known from three inscriptions found in the conurbation. One of them (IDR III/5, 206) was discovered on a field of Marospartos (Colonia Aurelia Apulensis) in an unknown context. The text mentions that an *augustalis* of the *colonia* commemorates with a marble plaque the building of an *exedra* with an arch. The notion *exedra cum arcu* suggests a small architectural instalment, and not a proper building, which means that it could stand also in a house or assembly halls. Various communities from Asia Minor and their divinities were attested in Apulum, which could suggest the presence of this kind of assembly halls, dining rooms of religious associations. A votive column dedicated to the divinity (IDR III/5, 39) was described the first time in 1874, however, it was surely discovered earlier. However it seems logical that if the reused stone stood in the territory of the *canabae*, its original place could be also there, but some examples show that stones could wander within the city itself and even outside of it. The presence of a column suggests a monumental architecture. The worship of Bussumarius could be present also in the *extra muros* territory of the Municipium Septimium. Another votive column dedicated to the divinity was found in 1857 walled in the Catholic Cathedral (IDR III/5, 113). – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain. A head of a divinity, which was reported together with the construction plaque: Cserni 1901, 315; Diaconescu 2014, 61 cat. no. 33. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 142; Ota 2012, 94; Szabó 2015b.

Drobeta (Drobeta Turnu-Severin; Szörénytornya, Szörényvár; jud. Caraş-Severin)

II.11 Sanctuary of Cybele-Magna Mater

Location: Unknown. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The inscription was attested in the 16th century by Megyericsei (Mezersius) in the wall of the Roman fort, today is disappeared. It mentions the dedication of Iulia Maximilla to the Great Mother of Cybele, who rebuilt the *porticus* of a building. Although the nature of the building is not revealed, the inscription and the divinity indicate a sanctuary. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see: IDR II, 26-27. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 135; Ota/Szabó 2015.

Micia (Veşel, Vecel; jud. Hunedoara)

II.12 *Mithraeum*

Location: Unknown. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The inscription (IDR III/3, 49) was found reused in the

modern church of Solymos (Șoimuș). The text mentions that Publius Aelius Euphorus, one of the key members of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* and an actor of Publius Aelius Marus, built a temple for Deus Invictus. The text was associated with Mithras for a long time; recently, its Mithraic nature was contested. The large number of Mithraic finds from Micia indicates for sure the existence of a *mithraeum* in the settlement. The great impact of Publius Aelius Marus, as one of the charismatic persons attested in the Mithraic groups from Apulum, supports this hypothesis too (see also IDR III/4, 248). – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, 230-234 cat. nos 195-202. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 139; Alicu 2004, 112-114.

II.13 *Templum* of Isis (*iseum*)

Location: Unknown. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The inscription (IDR III/3, 48) was found in a secondary position and for a long time was kept in the garden of the Jósika family from Branyicska. The inscription is missing, but it was reconstructed based on drawings from the 19th century. The text mentions that Domitia, probably the wife of Varenus Pudens, built a temple of Isis. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 48 = SIRIS 686; see also: IDR III/3, 75. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 140.

Potaissa (Turda, Torda, Thorenburg; jud. Cluj)

II.14 *Templum* of Bonus Puer (Azisos)

Location: Unknown. The inscription was found in the spot called »in vii«, impossible to locate today. For a possible location see: 46.569076, 23.764604. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The inscription was found in 1774 in a private garden of grapes (CIL III 875). Donatus, the *praefectus* of the V Macedonica legion, reconstructed the building in the period of Valerianus and Gallienus. Possibly, the inscription dedicated to Apollo Phoebus (ILD 482) found 600m SW from the fort came from the same sanctuary. – Archaeological repertory: CIL III 875; see also ILD 482. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 134-135.

Samum (Ad Samum, Cășeu, Alsókosály; jud. Cluj)

II.15 *Sacrarium* of Nemesis

Location: Unknown. – Dimensions: Unknown. The term *sacrarium* could suggest a modest dimension. – Description: The inscription was dedicated by Cassius Erotianus, a *beneficiarius*, who rebuilt the sacralised place in the mid-3rd century. Although some of the Nemesis dedications were found in a secondary position in the fort, reused already in Roman times (probably after the rebuilding of the *sacrarium* by Erotianus), the sacralised space could belong to an amphitheatre. – Archaeological repertory: ILD 773-776. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 130-131.

Sarmizegetusa (Colonia Sarmizegetusa, Várhely; jud. Hunedoara)

II.16 *Templum* of Isis (*iseum*)

Location: Unknown. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of an *iseum* in Colonia Sarmizegetusa is based on the large number of Isiac material found in the city. The dedicatory plaque of the sanctuary (IDR III/2, 227) has, unfortunately, an unknown provenience. The cult of Isis was attested in two more inscriptions (IDR III/2, 228-229) and several statuary representations too. Possibly, her cult was related to the so-called *serapeum* attested in the *area sacra* of the *domus procuratoris*. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/2, 227-229. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 140; Deac 2015 [*non vid.*].

II.17 *Templum* of Caelestis

Location: *Extra muros*, somewhere in the NW part of the Roman city, probably in the garden of Litschek (approx. coordinates: 45.516881, 22.778010). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of the temple is based on the construction plaque of Nemesianus, libraries, who built the sanctuary on his costs (IDR III/2, 17). Although the exact position of this construction plaque was not mentioned, later C. Daicoviciu discovered an altar dedicated to Caelestis in the garden of Litschek, which can indicate in that spot a sanctuary too. No further research was carried out in this area. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/2, 17. 192. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 140-141.

Sucidava (Celei; jud. Olt)

Important military fort and *vicus* in Dacia Inferior (later Malvensis). There are inscriptions and figurative monuments attesting the cult of Isis, Fortuna, IOM, Apollo/Hercules/Diana triad too. Unfortunately, the provenience of these finds is unknown (Tudor 1978, 11-25. 198-207). A possible workshop on producing religious artefacts existed here (Tudor 1978, 197-208; Gudea 2009, 257). Based on some votive plaques and an inscription, a sanctuary of *Domnus et Domna* could exist here too (Á. Szabó 2017, 102-103).

II.18 *Templum* of Nemesis

Location: Unknown. In the area of the Roman civilian settlement (approx. coordinates: 43.764637, 24.459581). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The fragmentary inscription mentioning the rebuilding of a *templum* was found in 1973, reused in the wall of the Roman fort (IDR II, 197). It was probably previous to another one, discovered in the 19th century (IDR II, 190), which mentions the curiales of the *territorium Sucidavensis*. Due to the position of the dedicants, the inscription was dated to the end of the 3rd century, which indicates at least two phases of such a sanctuary. It also remarks the increasing cult of Nemesis in Dacia in the second half of the 3rd century, which seems to

be present also in Apulum and other cities. – Archaeological repertory: ILD 773-776. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 131.

Tibiscum (Jupa, Zsuppa/laz-Obreja, Obrézsa; jud. Hunedoara)

II.19 *Templum* of Liber Pater

Location: Uncertain. A part of the construction plaque was discovered in the eastern part of the fort, near the Roman road (approx. coordinates: 45.468047, 22.188881). –

Dimensions: Unknown. The construction plaque could measure 1.4 m in length, which suggests a monumental *portico*. – Description: The fragment of the inscription was discovered in the eastern part of the fort, while the provenience of the rest of the construction plaque is insecure. The text mentions that a *vexillatio* of the Palmyrene troop built a *templum* for Liber Pater. The reading of the text is very problematic. – Archaeological repertory: ILD 202, 203. – Bibliography: Alicu 2002, 220.

III. Presumed sanctuaries

Ad Mediam (Herculane, Herkulesfürdő; jud. Hunedoara) Roman settlement formed around the natural sources of hot springs and cavities. Based on the map of Grisellini from 1774, D. Benea claimed that a round building in sector I of the ancient ruins of the city was an *asklepieion*. Later, D. Alicu did not accept this theory, arguing correctly with the monumental size of the structure (46 m in diameter). The two inscriptions mentioning the cult of Asclepius and Hygeia (IDR III/1, 54-55) indicates that they were placed right in the bank of the river and the thermal baths and mineral springs and not necessary in a building (Alicu 2002, 222-223).

III.1 Sanctuary of Hercules

Location: Uncertain. In the so-called sector III on the map of Grisellini (approx. coordinates: 44.874072, 22.411479; fig. 70). – Dimensions: Unknown. The building associated with the cult of Hercules had multiple compartments. – Description: Based on the map of Grisellini from 1774 and the descriptions of the first reports of the Roman site, D. Benea and I. Lalescu identified in the so-called sector III a building with multiple compartments, where the Hercules statues and numerous inscriptions dedicated to the protector god of healing springs were found. Although the description of Caryophilus confirms the identical find-spot of numerous artefacts, they cannot be identified anymore on the field. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/1, 55-56. – Bibliography: Alicu 2002, 223-229.

Almaşu Mare (Nagyalmás; jud. Hunedoara)

Roman stone quarry and mining centre attested in the 19th century. No systematic excavations were made.

III.2 Sanctuary

Location: Uncertain. On the spot called Dosu Nyegri (Dosul Negru) in the vicinity of the Roman mines (approx. coordinates: 46.104584, 23.117350). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary in the area of Almaşu Mare is based on a middle-sized (65 cm ×

45 cm) statue of Jupiter and Iuno discovered on the site at the end of the 19th century. It could belong, however, also to a workshop or *lapidaria*. – Archaeological repertory: Rudimentary statue representing Jupiter with a severely damaged female figure on his right. – Bibliography: Téglás 1890.

Ampelum (Zlatna, Zalatna; jud. Alba)

III.3 Sanctuary of »Fortuna«

Location: Uncertain. In the vicinity of the smeltery, today under the territory of the abandoned factory (approx. coordinates: 46.106065, 23.233818). – Dimensions: Unknown. The first report mentions a ruin with 1 m standing walls and excavation layers of 2 m. – Description: In 1900 during the extension of the smelter, mining engineers discovered two altars and five bronze vessels. Based on the short description of Zs. Kurovszky and later, G. Balla, it seems plausible that in this spot, near the Roman cemetery on the road, which was leading to Apulum, stood a small, sacralised space dedicated to Fortuna. The cult of Fortuna is attested on several altars in Ampelum (IDR III/3, 301-304; ILD 347; see also IDR III/3, 311), however, their context is insecure. Important to notice that an altar of Fortuna Redux and the Genius of the *numerus Maurorum* was found together with a Dolichenian inscription, which indicates the vicinity of the two sanctuaries. Recently, a

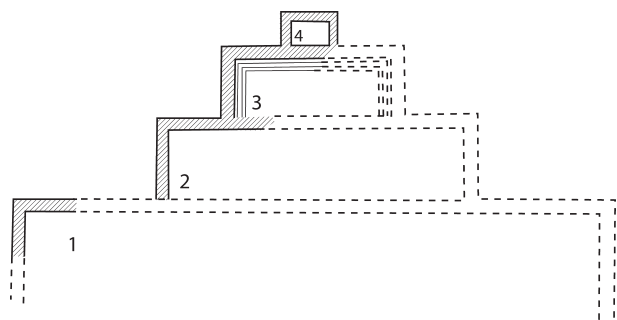


Fig. 70 Ad Mediam: Plan of the presumed sanctuary of Hercules. – (After Alicu 2002, 229 fig. 15).

new reinterpretation of the material and archaeological context suggested that the vessels are not from the same context with the altars and could belong to an assembly house of a *collegium* or a domestic context (Paper held by Silvia Mustață at the Conference Archaeologica Transylvanica, Targu Mureș, 2016 December. Verbal confirmation of the author). – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 303. 315 and five bronze vessels. The provenience of ILD 347 could be the same place. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 146.

III.4 *Dolichenum*

Location: Uncertain. Close to the spot called Luncă or în Luncă, near to the modern bus station (approx. coordinates: 46.108633, 23.231323). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The presence of a sanctuary is based on a large amount of inscriptions (6) and a sacerdotal colleague in Ampelum. In 1966, three votive inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus, Dolichenus and Fortuna Redux were discovered in the Luncă spot, close to the place where in 1900 the Fortuna sanctuary was attested too. In 1979, a votive column dedicated to Dolichenus was found in the same place, which confirmed the existence of a sanctuary here, mentioning possibly in the text a *sacerdos templum*. The presence of Dolichenian groups was proved also by a funerary monument (ILD 338). The votive columns have the same dimension, which indicates also their identical provenience. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 218. 291. 295. 297-298; see also: IDR III/3, 333. 336. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 154.

III.5 Sanctuary of Jupiter/*capitolium*

Location: Uncertain. A head of a monumental Jupiter statue was found at the T. Vladimirescu street no. 22 (approx. coordinates: 46.109876, 23.227174). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary dedicated to the supreme god is based on three statuary representations of Jupiter found in Ampelum. One of them (Diaconescu 2014, 63 cat. no. 34) was a 2.5 m high monumental statue, one of the finest of the province. Two other statues are smaller and less elaborately made (see Ota 2013, 69. 75 figs 56-57; Lupa 19244). Numerous inscriptions attesting the cult of Jupiter, one of them is dedicated to the Capitoline Triad (IDR III/3, 318). The presence of the *cultores Iovis* mentioned on a column indicates also a sacralised space dedicated to the supreme god. Large-sized statue bases and honorific monuments indicate also the existence of a *forum* in this area of the city. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 280. 292-293. 318. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 149-150.

Apulum (Alba Iulia, Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg; jud. Alba)

III.6 Deus Aeternus sanctuary

Location: Uncertain. In the *extra muros* area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, field of Ioan Popa at the »Lăbuț« (ap-

prox. coordinates: 46.045407, 23.571380). – Dimensions: Unknown. The size of the columns suggests a building with great dimensions. – Description: There are at least eight inscriptions found in the conurbation dedicated to Deus Aeternus, however, the divinity appears sometimes also in syncretism with the supreme god (Nemeti 2005, 373-375). See also IDR III/3, 216: *C(aius) Iul(ius) Tato d(eo) / (a)et(e)rno v(otum) p(osuit)*. The finds – mostly votive columns – were attested in numerous places of the conurbation (*castra legionis, canabae, praetorium consularis, colonia*), which suggests that it was worshipped in multiple places. A possible sanctuary was discovered on 26th February 1936 in an *extra muros* area, east to the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis on the area called »Lăbuț«, where two large-sized votive columns and more than 200 oil lamps were found (IDR III/5, 25. 29). – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 25. 29; the rich lamp deposit does not exist anymore; see also: IDR III/5, 22-29. 65. 203. 205. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 132-134; Ota 2012, 112; Szabó 2015b.

III.7 Sabasius sanctuary

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the *extra muros* area of the *municipium*, along the B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 and its surroundings (»Majorszöllőtelep«). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a possible building or shrine dedicated to Sabasius is based on a plaque discovered in 1912 in the territory of »Crișan« at Majorszöllőtelep. Although the text does not mention the building or restoration of a place, the word »fecit« on a plaque dedicated by an *aedilis* of the *colonia* suggests this. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see: IDR III/5, 225. – Bibliography: Macrea 1961, 64-67; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 138; Ota 2012, 111; Szabó 2015b.

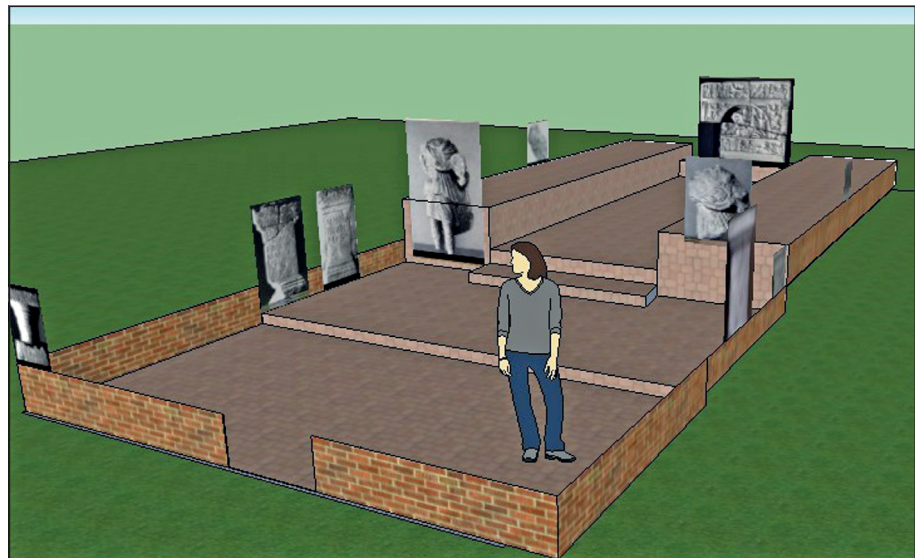
III.8 Sanctuary of IOM Cimistenus

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the *extra muros* area of the *municipium*, along the B-dul 1 Decembrie 1918 and its surroundings. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: In 1961 on the »Dealul Furcilor« was discovered two altars dedicated to IOM Cimistenus together with some parts of stone blocks, bricks and mortar fragments. Although the first publishers do not mention the exact location of the find and there were no systematic excavations after the discovery, they noticed that this place is located in the very vicinity of the »mithraeum of Oancea« discovered 30 years earlier. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see also: IDR III/5, 208-209. – Bibliography: Berciu/Popa 1963; Ota 2012, 93; Szabó 2015b.

III.9 Sanctuary of Yarhibol

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the *extra muros* area of the *municipium* in the vicinity of the B-dul Ferdinand, near the Franciscan Church (approx. coordinates: 46.0640, 23.5793). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The possible existence of a Syrian sanctuary is based on the

Fig. 71 Oancea: Hypothetical interior of the so-called *mithraeum*. – (Illustration Cs. Szabó).



presence of numerous Syrians in the conurbation and the discovery of an altar dedicated to Yarhibol by a *sacerdos* of the divinity. The altar was found in 1971 or 1972 in the vicinity of the *praetorium consularis*, at the B-dul Ferdinand I. in front of the Franciscan Church (see also IDR III/5, 102). Another altar dedicated also by a *sacerdos* of the divinity was described already in the 16th century. Possibly, the sanctuary stood in the very periphery of the *extra muros* area of the *canabae/municipium*, at the very end of the »road of sanctuaries«. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: IDR III/5, 102-103. – Bibliography: Pescau/Alicu 2000, 153; Szabó 2007, 51; 2015b.

III.10 Iseum

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the southern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, near the bank of the river (approx. coordinates: 46.042591, 23.560883). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: In 1958, an altar dedicated to Isis Myrionima was found in the garden of Ion Drăghici in the Partoș, southern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The first publisher mentions the presence of a Roman building structure, bricks, pottery, mortar and two coins from the Hadrianic period (Popa 1962, 147). No further excavations were carried out on the location. I. Piso identify the garden of Drăghici in the southern part of the *colonia*, however, it was not yet confirmed by further examinations. The cult of Isis is well attested in the *colonia* and also in the *praetorium consularis*. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 104 (two coins from Hadrianic times); see also: Neugebauer 1851, 209-211 cat. nos 81. 136; Lupa 21973. – Bibliography: Popa 1962, 147-150; Deac/Varga 2014, 14; Szabó 2015b.

III.11 Magna Mater sanctuary

Location: Unknown. Possibly in the *extra muros* area of the *canabae/municipium* or in the northern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Dimensions: Unknown. – De-

scription: The existence of a sanctuary of Magna Mater is based on a votive plaque, probably of large dimensions found in 1831 (IDR III/5, 253). The place and condition of the discovery is unknown. The other sources of the cult of Magna Mater from Apulum has also an uncertain provenience. Two of them (IDR III/5, 255-256) were found in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: CCCA VI, 485-488; IDR III/5, 253-256. – Bibliography: Carbó Garcia 2010, 301-303; Ota/Szabó 2015; Szabó 2015b.

III.12 Quadriviae sanctuary

Location: Uncertain; probably on the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a possible place of worship for the Quadriviae is based on the fact that three of the altars dedicated to the divinities were found in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis: one of them (IDR III/5, 310) in 1846 in the garden of Johannes Pauer with a large number of other votive monuments (Szabó 2014a, 60) and the other one (IDR III/5, 309) in the garden of Vasile Pleșa in 1927. The exact location of these gardens is not yet clarified. The third altar came from a secondary position, probably used in the reconstruction of the city wall (IDR III/5, 311). – Archaeological repertory: unknown; see also: IDR III/5, 309-311. – Bibliography: Szabó 2015b.

III.13 »Mithraeum of Oancea«

Location: *Extra muros* area of the *canabae/municipium*. Found on the property, garden or field (»Grundstück«, »jardin«) of Ioan (or Ștefan) Oancea (Christescu 1927-1932, 624. – Daicovicu 1941, 308) on the plateau of the Vauban fortress on the B-dul Încoronării (today 1 Decembrie 1918). Later, C. Băluță mentioned that a sarcophagus and a Mithraic relief were discovered on the Dealul Furcilor, in the garden of Tăutu Constantin at B-dul 6 Martie, no. 3 in the vicinity of this possible *mith-*

raeum (approx. coordinates: 46.0648, 23.5651); the place is not yet located on the terrain (fig. 71). – Dimensions: Unknown. The number of the monuments (ten to eleven) suggests a large or at least, middle-sized sanctuary. – Description: In 1930, Virgil Cucuiu attested a Roman building with numerous Mithraic monuments discovered probably by the owner of the garden or field. The context and the exact location of the discovery were never published properly. The finds and the discovery entered in the literature as a sanctuary (*mithraeum*) already from the first publication and cited numerous times later. Only once was questioned the very nature of the discovery and raised a possibility of a late antique *spolia* based on a IOM altar found also in the sanctuary (IDR III/5, 141. – Gordon 2009, 413 note 170). Without a systematic excavation and topographic identification of the site, the existence of the sanctuary is hypothetical. – Archaeological repertory: CIMRM 1953-1967; IDR III/5, 141. 270-271. 279. 282. 288-290; see also Băluță 1974, 130-132; IDR III/5, 279. 289; CIMRM 1957; Sicoe 2014, 153 cat. no. 31; Szabó 2015c, 240 fig. 3. – Bibliography: Christescu 1927-1932, 620-625; Daicovicu 1941, 299-336; Carbó Garcia 2010, 131; Ota 2012, 106; Sicoe 2014, 21; Szabó 2015b.

III.14 »Mithraeum of Károly Pap«

Location: Uncertain; on the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: In 1852, Károly Pap, shipmaster (»hajómester«), discovered in his garden ruins of a Roman building and three Mithraic monuments, two altars (IDR III/5, 272-273) and a fragmentary relief, which is considered disappeared today (Torma 1861-1863, 134). The exact place of his garden is not yet located, but the first publisher mentioned the »Marospartos«, which is the southern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. The function of the discoverer and the dolphin representation on the altar of Dioscorus could suggest the vicinity of the river. Recently, a votive column was found on the black market, which could belong to the same context (Szabó/Boda/Timoc 2016). – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 272-273 and a relief attested only in the 19th century. – Bibliography: Torma 1861-1863, 134; Szabó 2015b; Szabó/Boda/Timoc 2016.

III.15 »Mithraeum of Franciscus Kaftal«

Location: Unknown; on the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: Around 1785, Franciscus Kaftal »ponderum magistri« found in the territory of the Marospartos (southern part of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis) a spectacular group of monuments dedicated to Mithras, the finest pieces of this kind from the province. The nature of the finds (free-standing Mithras Tauroctonos, complex relief) suggests the presence of a *mithraeum*. It is possible that further, unepigraphic finds came from the same spot. The exact place of discovery is impossible to establish. – Archaeological repertory: IDR

III/5, 280-281. 284; see also: CIMRM 1985. 1991. 2186. 2188. – Bibliography: Szabó 2013a, 45-64; 2015b.

The exact number of Mithras sanctuaries from the conurbation of Apulum is impossible to establish. The large number of the monuments and the presence of six large-sized cult reliefs suggest at least five to six buildings dedicated to the worship of this divinity. This number would not be surprising, the similar density of sanctuaries was attested in Poetovio, Aquincum, Ostia or Rome.

III.16 Sanctuary of Silvanus

Location: Uncertain. In an *extra muros* area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, near a Roman road, on the territory of the current »Apulum« porcelain factory (approx. coordinates: 46.052, 23.562). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: On 12th June, 1847 three monuments dedicated to Silvanus were found in the same place, in the vicinity of the old brick factory, which was later replaced in the 1970s by the »Apulum« porcelain factory. The exact context of the finds is unknown, shortly mentioned by Thalsen in the 19th century. The area was heavily dense with forest even in the 18th-19th century. An inscription preserved in a manuscript of Szamosközy (Zamosius) could indicate also the reconstruction of a *templum*. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 323. 330. 343. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1993, 182; Szabó 2015b.

III.17 Sanctuary of Bonus Puer (Azisos)

Location: Unknown. Important to mention that numerous inscriptions were reused in the Saint Michael Cathedral, which suggests that the sanctuary should be in the vicinity of the Roman fort. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The possible existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Bonus Puer/Azisos is based on the large number (nine) of inscriptions dedicated to the divinity. Similarly to the case of Potaissa, another legionary fort, the cult of this divinity seems to be very popular, attracting a very heterogeneous group of worshipers (women, magistrates, soldiers, officers, *liberti*). Almost all the inscriptions mentioning the divinity are disappeared, being among the first artefacts reused in Medieval times, which could indicate also that the sanctuary was among the most visible landmarks of the ruins of Apulum (the other one was the *asklepieion*). – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/5, 2. 300-307. – Bibliography: Nemeti 2005, 179-185. 346-347; Carbó Garcia 2010, 192. 806-812.

Cioroiu Nou (Malva?; Aquae? Cioroiăși; jud. Dolj)

Roman auxiliary fort and important settlement. The ancient toponym of the settlement is insecure. It was associated with Malva and Aquae, although without solid arguments. Recent studies emphasize that the settlement could be identical with the long disputed Malva: IDR II, 142: *M(arcus) Opellius Maximus I [dec(urio) Mo]ntanensium Herculi I [pro sal(ute) Aquae?]uensium ex voto posuit.*

The presence of numerous votive offerings and representations of divinities (Hekate, Magna Mater, Bacchus, Apollo, Jupiter – Tudor 1978, 379-380 fig. 108) indicates the presence of multiple sacralised spaces in the civilian settlement or even in the fort (Diaconescu 2014, 83-84). A possible workshop on producing religious artefacts existed here (Tudor 1978, 208-214; Gudea 2009, 257).

III.18 Sanctuary

Location: In the NE part of the Roman fortification, 60 m from the highway (approx. coordinates: 44.057724, 23.437196; fig. 72). – Dimensions: The rectangular building has the dimensions of 17.8 m × 6.6 m and three compartments. – Description: The building was discovered in 1960-1961. It was identified as section no. VIII during the excavations, in the vicinity of the fort, on the bank of the modern brook of Cioroiu. The excavators claimed that the building was erected in the 2nd century and abandoned in the period of Gordian III. Possibly, it was a domestic place, later transformed into sanctuary. The identification of the building as sanctuary, was based on the tripartite structure of the complex, similar to what we find also in the case of the *dolichenum* from Porolissum, for example. The finds from the vicinity of the fort (especially from the NE and SW corner of it) suggest indeed a similar situation as we find in Porolissum, on the terrace of the sanctuaries. The archaeological material, however, does not serve with strong arguments. New excavations in this settlement from 2004 onwards can offer perhaps a reconsideration of the research from 1960-1961. – Archaeological repertory: The excavators claimed that a large relief fragment representing Hercules with the lion of Nemeia was discovered in 1938 in the area of this building, although the vicinity of the baths could be a much appropriate place for Hercules representations. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 100-101.

III.19 Mithraeum

Location: In the SE part of the Roman fortification (approx. coordinates: 44.056236, 23.434364). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: In 1936, in this area was found two marble statues later disappeared on the black market. The statues described by Tudor based on the report of »some local people« represented a figure surrounded by a snake and another holding a shield and a sword (probably two statues of Mithras Petrogenitus – Tudor et al. 1967, 595 note 6). Later, a Mithraic inscription was found in this area too (IDR II, 145). The excavation from 1960-1961 revealed in this area (section nos IV-VI) several statue fragments representing Bacchus, Jupiter and Apollo too. Interestingly, they found also a small fragment of a bull and a mould for terracotta bulls. – Archaeological repertory: IDR II, 145; two missing statues of Mithras Petrogenitus. – Bibliography: Tudor et al. 1962; Sicoe 2014, cat. no. 230.

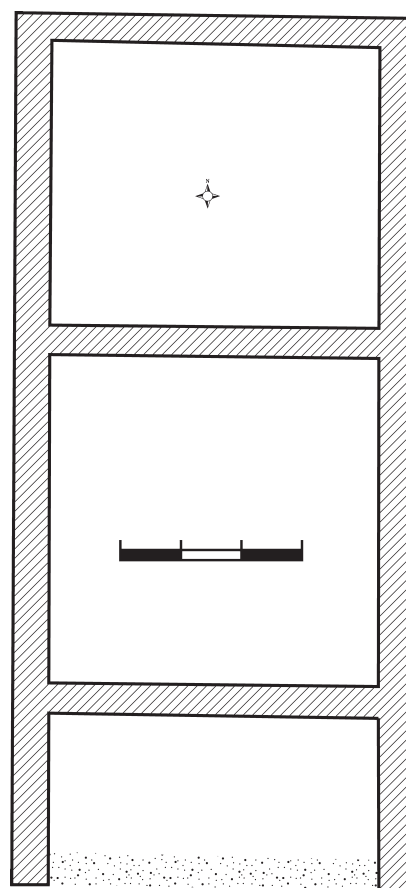


Fig. 72 Cioroiul Nou: Plan of a presumed sanctuary. – (After Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 101 pl. 34).

Arcobadara (Arcobara?; Ilișua; Alsókosály; jud. Bistrița-Năsăud)

III.20 Sanctuary (*schola*?)

Location: Uncertain. In the vicinity (or part) of the baths of Arcobadara (approx. coordinates: 47.211386, 24.100533). – Dimensions: 29 m × 14.68 m. – Description: The structure of the building excavated in 1875 and described by K. Torma in 1880 seems to be a rectangular one, consisted of two compartments: a long *pronaos* (18.3 m × 13.45 m) and a smaller *naos* ended in an apsidal structure. He associated this building with the inscription discovered in 1776 by Makrai Elek (CIL III 7626), based on the correspondence of J. Kemény. Although the inscription indeed mentions a *templum* and a *schola* of the *decuriones* of the *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, the provenience of the inscription and the nature of the building is insecure. – Archaeological repertory: Torma mentioned that in this building he found a golden fibula, gold rings, bronze bracelets and fragments of terra sigillata. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 147-148; see also: Nemeti 2010.

Caranșebeș (Karánsebes, Karansebesch; jud. Caraș-Severin)

Roman settlement (probably a *pagus* or *vicus*) in the southern part of Dacia Superior. A *villa* was also found on the territory of the modern city.

III.21 Sanctuary/*capitolium*?

Location: In the vicinity of the modern settlement, east to the 68 national highway on the spot known as Câmpul lui Corneanu on the first terrace of the Timiș river (approx. coordinates: 45.4303, 22.2308; fig. 73). – Dimensions: The partially revealed building was found in a courtyard measuring an impressive 50 m width and 60 m length. The building complex measures 19.95 m × 14.75 m. – Description: The building complex was discovered and partially revealed in 1975. A monumental, walled courtyard was identified. On the eastern wall of the courtyard, a building was attested, with several compartments and based on the plan of the excavators, at least three phases. The building has three *cellae* in the centre, surrounded by the East with a large *pronaos* and from the West with a smaller compartment. The excavators suggested that the building complex was a *mansio*, taking into consideration that on the territory of the modern settlement a *villa rustica* was already identified. I. Piso suggested that an inscription interpreted by him as one dedicated to the Capitoline Triad could belong to this building, identifying the tripartite structured complex with a »rural Capitoline temple«. C. C. Petolescu does not accept this theory and claims that the inscription »certainly comes from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa« (ILD 195: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] / [Iun]oni M[iner(vae)] / [-- Eujryma[---] / [---] col(oniae) pro [salute] / [sua]m(!) et su[orum] / [v(otum)] I(ibens) [solvit]*). From the original report of the excavators, the attested archaeological material does not indicate that this building could be a sanctuary. Till a more accurate study on the site, the only argument for such an interpretation is the architectural structure of the complex, similar to the sanctuaries attested in Colonia Sarmizegetusa and Micia. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: Piso 1995b, fig. 1. – Bibliography: Piso 1995b; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 98-100.

Cincșor (Kissink, Kleinschink; jud. Brașov)

Roman auxiliary fort and military *vicus* at the Southeast *Limes* of Dacia Superior.

III.22 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain; probably on the spot called Schlenkried (approx. coordinates: 45.837648, 24.835793). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *mithraeum* is based on twelve relief fragments found in 1906 on the field of Michael Ludwig. The location of the place was not yet confirmed on the field, it could be part of the *vicus militaris* formed in the western part of the auxiliary fort of the *cohors II Bessorum*. – Archaeological

repertory: Sicoe 2014, 172-174 cat. nos 67-71. – Bibliography: Sicoe 2014, 172-174.

Dierna (Orsova, Orșova; jud. Mehedinți)

Important auxiliary fort and civilian settlement in the SW edge of Dacia Superior on the bank of the river Danube. The settlement was developed from the *vicus* formed around the fort of the *cohors I Brittonum* and auxiliaries of the V Macedonica legion and in the time of Septimius Severus became a *municipium*. At the end of the 1960s, large parts of the Roman necropolis and the settlement were revealed, although no sacralised spaces were attested (Gudea 1997, 31).

III.23 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the vicinity of the fort (approx. coordinates: 44.712650, 22.393414). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *mithraeum* is based on two relief fragments. Although there were excavations in the civilian settlement at the end of the 1960s, the traces of the *mithraeum* were not identified. – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, 240-241 cat. nos 217-218. – Bibliography: Sicoe 2014, 240-241.

Drobeta (Drobeta Turnu-Severin; Szörénytornya, Szörényvár; jud. Mehedinți)

III.24 Sanctuary of Jupiter Zbelsurdos-Sabasios

Location: Uncertain; on the place called Ogasul Tabacarilor, approx. 100 m west of the fort. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a Jupiter Zbelsurdos sanctuary was presumed by D. Tudor, based on the large, almost 80 cm long marble plaque with relief, dedicated to Zbelsurdos and Sabasios, interpreted by him as a construction plaque. The cult of this divinity is attested also in Apulum, where a sanctuary or a compartment dedicated to him could exist too. – Archaeological repertory: IDR II, 20. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 156; Nemeti 2005, 255-257.

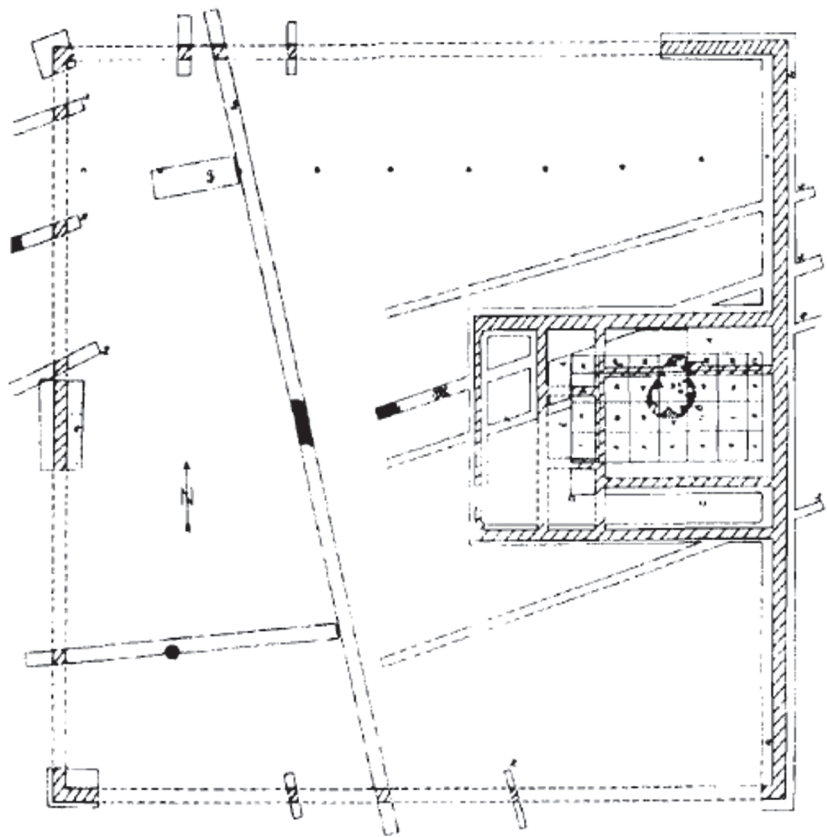
III.25 *Dolichenum*

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *dolichenum* is based on the presence of a monumental plaque (109 cm × 45 cm). The inscription is dedicated by three *sacerdotes* of the *cohors I Sagittariorum*. A *dolichenum* in Drobeta can be argued also by the discovery of a head from a large-sized statue representing the divinity. – Archaeological repertory: CCID 173; ILD 53. – Bibliography: Carbó Garcia 2010, 872.

Gherla (Szamosújvár, Neuschloss; jud. Cluj)

Roman auxiliary fort and military *vicus* in Dacia Porolissensis. The settlement, although well known for its Roman finds since the 16th century, is poorly examined. The systematic excavations since the 1850s were focusing mostly on the Roman fort. Several finds were attested in reused, second-

Fig. 73 Caranșebeș: Plan of a presumed sanctuary. – (After Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 99 pl. 33).



ary position, most of them reused by the Armenian community from the 18th century. The epigraphic and statuary material (Jupiter statue, Hercules Magusanus and Nantouelta bronze plaque) suggests that a very rich, mostly military Celtic community was present here, which could have several sacralised spaces (Protase/Gudea/Ardevan 2008).

III.26 Sanctuary of the night's watch

Location: Uncertain; on the Corobăi Hill, probably as part of the civilian settlement, east to the fort, near the railway (approx. coordinates: 47.017811, 23.903211). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The first publisher, J. Orstein, mentions that around 1889 three altars were found on a hill, where a circular ruin was attested. The topography of the find indicates that it was in the periphery of the military settlement, formed east to the fort. One of the inscriptions mentions the *nocturni*, the night's watch and firefighters of the settlement. The place – although it is not yet covered by the modern settlement – was never excavated. – Archaeological repertory: CIL III 12539. 12541. 12543. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 102.

III.27 Sanctuary of Magna Mater/Ceres?

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: A middle-sized statue representing Magna Mater was discovered in the territory of Gherla. Unfortunately, Á. Buday, the first publisher, does not mention the exact findspot of the statue. The presumption that there was a

sanctuary or space, where Romans worshiped Magna Mater cannot be proved yet. The iconography of the statue is also problematic: while the lions accompanying the goddess from both sides of her throne, the *patera* in her right hand can be associated also with the representation of Ceres, a divinity, which was worshiped within the forts of Micia and Samum too (Popescu 2004, 77-78). – Archaeological repertory: Protase et al. 2008, 78 pl. XXV, 1. – Bibliography: Ota/Szabó 2015.

Grădișteța Muncelului (Gredistye; jud. Hunedoara)

Dacian settlement in the close vicinity of the Dacian capital of Sarmizegetusa Regia. The area was conquered by the Roman army during the two wars of Trajan. A Roman fort was established in this area. It is not sure, how long the fort existed or if it was a civilian settlement in the area too.

III.28 Sanctuary of Victoria/Apollo

Location: Uncertain; on a hill called Sub Cununi, a few kilometers north of the Roman fort (approx. coordinates: 45.638733, 23.205734). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: Two altars were discovered before 1831 on a place called Sub Cununi, where later important Roman finds were noticed too, proving the presence of a possible Roman settlement or *statio*. The existence of a sanctuary was raised in the 1970s, based on a passage of Cassius Dio, who mentioned that emperor Trajan ordered a regular sacrifice on an altar in this area (Cass. Dio LXVIII, 8; Opreanu

2000, 163). The inscriptions dedicated to Apollo Augustus and Victoria Augusta suggest that the shrine or sanctuary was dedicated to the imperial cult. – Archaeological repertory: Two inscriptions: IDR III/3, 275-276; large construction blocks and stamped bricks were mentioned by Neugebauer. – Bibliography: Neugebauer 1851, 96-97 no. 24; Opreanu 2000, 162-164; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 144.

Micia (Vețel, Vecel; jud. Hunedoara)

III.29 Sanctuary of Hercules

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary/dining hall dedicated to Hercules was based on an inscription attested in the 19th century, which mentions the *magistri cultorum Herculi* (IDR III/3, 73). The cult of Hercules is attested to three other inscriptions too, although none of them has an exact provenience. A religious association of Hercules is a rare, but not unique phenomenon in the Roman Empire (CIL IX 2679. 4673; X 5386). In Dacia many times the *cultores Herculi* seem to share the same assembly house with the Bacchic groups, as it was attested in Apulum and Ampelum too. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see also: IDR III/3, 72-74; ILD 306. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 148-149; Alicu 2004, 98-106.

III.30 Sanctuary of Silvanus

Location: Uncertain. Perhaps on the bank of the river, in the vicinity of the port or at the bureau of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici*. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a possible sanctuary dedicated to Silvanus is based on the large number (21) of inscriptions found in the territory of the ancient city. A large-sized statue representing Silvanus-Pan was also discovered, although the functionality of the statue can be more a decoration of a *villa*, than a cultic statue. The provenience of the existing altars shows a large variety of places (baths, *principia*), but a large number of altars and the nature of dedicants suggest that a sanctuary of Silvanus existed. One of the altars (IDR III/3, 131) in the form of a capital mentions that an unknown person dedicates 10 librae of silver. Although the addressee is not named, one can suggest that he gave this large amount of sum for an economic association, such as the costum bureau (see also IDR III/3, 102: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) I(Terrae) Dac(iae) I(et) Genio p(opuli) R(omani) I(et) commerci I(Felix) Caes(aris) n(ostri) se[r(vus)] I(vil(icus) statio(nis) Pont(is) Aug(usti) I(promot(us) ex st(atione) Mici(a) I(ex) vi[car]io ---)*). Another argument to the association between the economic elite and the cult of Silvanus is the presence of Publius Aelius Marus and his large social network attested in the inscriptions. The association of Silvanus and Mercurius suggests also the strict relationship between the bureau and the cult of Silvanus. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see also: IDR III/3, 72-74; ILD 306. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 148-149; Alicu 2004, 98-106; Loránd Dészpa 2012, 53-59.

III.31 Dolichenum

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *dolichenum* is based on the presence of a military unit from Commagene and the epigraphic attestation of Jupiter Dolichenus and Turmagades. One of the altars (IDR III/3, 67) mentions that dedication for Jupiter was made at the *ara miciae*, probably a public space. This shows also that Dolichenian groups – especially in the 3rd century – gained not only imperial or senatorial support but also larger visibility and publicity, switching from a more intimate, secondary space into a shared, public audience. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see also: CCID 159-160; IDR III/3, 138-139 and possibly also IDR III/3, 136. – Bibliography: Alicu 2004, 89.

III.32 Ara miciae

Location: Uncertain. One of the altars attesting the Genius Miciae was found 70m east to the fort (approx. coordinates: 45.913288, 22.818316). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a central altar dedicated to the city is attested on a Dolichenian altar (IDR III/3, 67), serving an indirect reference to the existence of a central place of worship, probably in the *forum* of the city. The worship of the Genius Miciae attested on several altars indicates a strong communal mentality of the citizens of Micia. It is uncertain if such a place of worship had a dining hall/assembly house or *schola*, as it was suggested by D. Alicu. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see also: IDR III/3, 69-71. – Bibliography: Alicu 2004, 89-94.

III.33 Sanctuary of Nemesis

Location: Uncertain; probably in the vicinity of the amphitheatre (approx. coordinates: 45.914949, 22.817598). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sacralised space dedicated to Nemesis is based only on the existence of a large military amphitheatre and a small relief fragment dedicated to the divinity. The relief fragment presents a kneeling prisoner, an allusion to the gladiatorial games probably. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; see also: IDR III/3, 114. – Bibliography: Alicu 2004, 107-111.

Napoca (Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvár, Klausenburg; jud. Cluj) Roman civilian settlement and possible procuratorian seat in Dacia Porolissensis. During the reign of Hadrian, it became a *municipium*, later Colonia Aurelia Napocensis. There is no synthesis yet about the Roman city. Most of the epigraphic and statuary material was found in secondary position, built in the houses and churches. The large number of rescue excavations revealed also significant material (**fig. 74**), which are not yet or partially published (Bodor 1957; 1994; see also Rusu Bolindeț 2007; Diaconescu 2012).

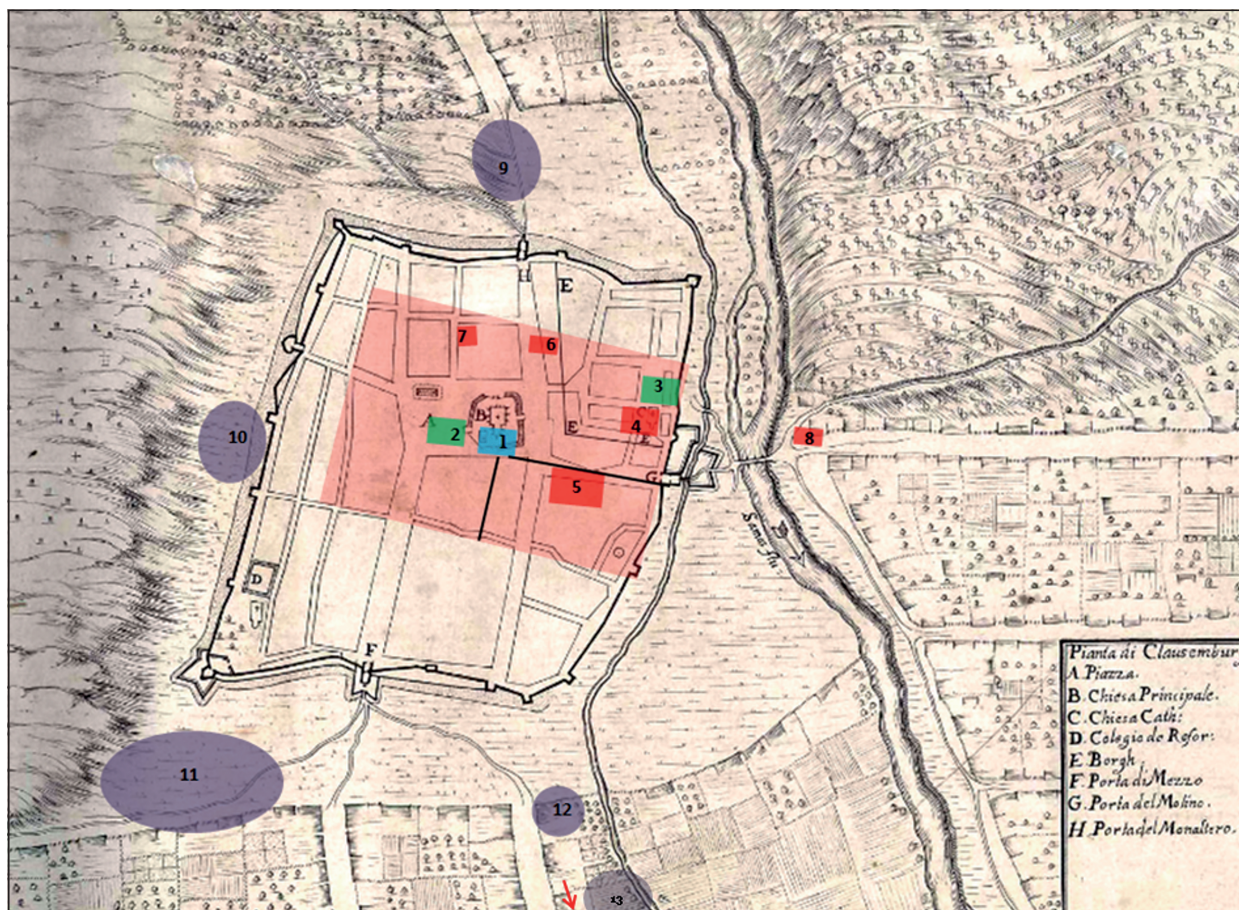


Fig. 74 Topography of Colonia Aurelia Napocensis: **1** forum/possible baths. – **2** villa urbana (domus). – **3** villa urbana (domus) at Deleu Street. – **4** Fortuna Augusta sanctuary. – **5** Silvanus sanctuary, *insulae*. – **6** possible location of the Dea Syria sanctuary. – **7** assembly hall/sanctuary of Priapus Pantheus. – **8** Liber Pater sanctuary. – **9-13** Roman cemeteries. – (After the map of G. Visconti, www.vasarhely.ro/kulturter/fundalok-pallerok-epiteszek [15.5.2020]).

III.34 Sanctuary of Liber Pater

Location: Uncertain. Probably on the slope of the Belvedere Hill, close to the Someșul Mic river (approx. coordinates: 46.773447, 23.581851). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a Liber Pater sanctuary is based on a large number of inscriptions, reliefs, statues and pilasters representing Bacchic motives. An altar (ILD 547) was discovered in the area of the Belvedere/Citadel, outside of the Roman city, while other finds were recorded in the area of the E. Zola/Palatul Poștei area (Bodor 1987-1988, 195). – Archaeological repertory: ILD 547; Lupa 12331, 12375 and numerous reliefs and statuary representations. – Bibliography: Bodor 1957, 103; 1989; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 161.

III.35 Mithraeum

Location: Uncertain. One of the finds was discovered in the main square of the modern city, on the territory of the Tivoli House, near the Bánffy Palace (Sicoe 2014, 137 citing G. Finály). In the same area, a statuette of Hercules and Pan was found (Bodor 1987-1988, 196. 199). Later D. Alicu claimed that in this area could be located a sanc-

tuary of Liber Pater (Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 161). It seems more plausible that this area, close to the central area of the Roman city, was more a representative district, with large urban villas, decorated with rich statuary material and private baths. The statue of Hercules Farnese could indicate this. It is not sure if the Mithraic inscription was found *in situ* or in a reused position. Opreanu presumed that the sanctuary was *extra muros*, 5 km far from the Roman city (Opreanu 2009). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary can be presumed only on the basis of the few Mithraic finds discovered in the territory of the Roman city, although some of them were recently excluded from the Mithraic repertories, interpreted as dedications for Sol Invictus. – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, 137 cat. no. 1; see also: Sicoe 2014, 137 cat. no. 2; AÉ 2010, 1369. – Bibliography: Bodor 1957, 103-104; see also: Opreanu 2009.

III.36 Sanctuary of Dea Syria Caelestis

Location: Uncertain. The construction plaque was discovered on the Memorandumului no. 6 (than Unió utca 6-os

szám) (approx. coordinates: 46.770070, 23.587669). – Dimensions: Unknown. The full length of the construction plaque was around 1.5 m, which suggests a large building. – Description: A fragmentarily preserved construction plaque was discovered before 1913. It was dedicated by Aurelius Claudius Nepotianus and his brother to the well being of the emperor Caracalla and his mother in 214 AD. It is not impossible that the divinity was worshiped in the *dolichenum*, as it happened in Apulum too (IDR III/5, 221). – Archaeological repertory: ILD 542. – Bibliography: Alicu 2002, 233-234.

III.37 *Dolichenum*

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *dolichenum* is based only on the two inscriptions mentioning the cult of Dolichenus in Napoca. One of the inscriptions was found in count Apor's house in secondary position (CIL III 7659), while the other one (CIL III 7660) was noticed by E. Jakab in the northern wall of the Óvár. – Archaeological repertory: CCID 140, 141. – Bibliography: Nemeti 2005, 355.

III.38 Sanctuary of Jupiter or Silvanus

Location: Under the central supermarket, Str. Regele Ferdinand 22-24 (coordinates: 46.772559, 23.589245). – Dimensions: Unknown; the archaeological material reported during the rescue excavation suggests a large-sized building complex. – Description: In this area, several inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus were attested. The most important discovery occurred during the building of the central supermarket in 1975. During the rescue excavations, several column fragments, capitals and ornamental figures were recovered, together with a monumental altar of 148 cm height (Lupa 15467; ILD 545). The altar is dedicated to Jupiter, Silvanus and all the protecting gods, which can indicate that in this case, we have again a sacralised space, which hosted numerous divinities. Recent excavations under the supermarket revealed further compartments of this building. A part of the Roman road system (*decumana* and *cardo*) was identified, which indicates that this area was close to the *forum* of the city, probably on the Main Square of Cluj or Union Square (Piata Unirii-Főtér), where a Roman bath was also identified in 1822. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: ILD 545. – Bibliography: Bodor 1957, 101-102; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 150-151; Rusu Bolindeț/Popescu 2012.

III.39 *Collegium* of a group from Asia Minor/Priapus Pantheus sanctuary

Location: Str. Episcop Ioan Bob (coordinates: 46.768588, 23.587748). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: In 1800/1801 during the construction of the Graeco-Catholic Church (today Invierea Domnului Church), a large-sized inscription mentioning a *spira Asianorum* was discovered, enlisting a large number of members of a *collegium* from

Asia Minor (CIL III 870). In 1846 in the same place, a large, 192 cm high statue of Priapus (Silvanus) Pantheus and a large, 150-160 cm tall Jupiter statue (Tavianus?) was discovered. The place probably served as the seat of an ethnic/religious *collegium* of the Galatians or other groups from Asia Minor. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: CIL III 860, 870; Neigebaur 1851, 227-228 cat. nos 27-28. – Bibliography: Neigebaur 1851, 227-228; Onofrei 2008; Diaconescu 2014, 66-67.

III.40 Sanctuary of Fortuna Augusta

Location: In the area of Str. Emil Zola and the Franciscan Church (coordinates: 46.772142, 23.589067). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The possible existence of a sacralised space dedicated to Fortuna Augusta is based on the epigraphic material reused in the Dominican (later Franciscan) Church dedicated to the divinity (CIL III 853, 7657) and the large-sized statuary representation of the divinity found in the same area in the 1950s. An antiquarian tradition mentioned also that the Dominican monastery (dedicated to the Holy Virgin) was built on a Roman temple. The area is close to a rich residential area of the town, in the vicinity of the presumed Roman walls of the city. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: CIL III 853, 7657; Diaconescu 2014, 69-71 cat. nos 37-38. – Bibliography: Benkő 1778, 228.

Peștera Veterani (Peth, Peștera lui Maovaț; jud. Mehedinți) Natural cave used since the Neolithic, especially in Roman and Medieval times.

III.41 *Mithraeum* (cave)

Location: Natural cave on the bank of the Danube identified already in the 15th century (approx. coordinates: 44.596742, 22.261915). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *mithraeum* (*spelaeum*) established in the natural cave was raised by the excavators, who carried out systematic research in the cave from 1964 to 1969. They identified material evidence from various prehistoric cultures too. The Roman presence was attested through stamped bricks and a today missing altar, with hardly visible inscription. After the excavators, it could belong to Mithras; it is very possible that the excavators, who were not epigraphists, associated the natural cavity with Mithras, based on their vague knowledge on similar cases and analogies from the Empire. There were no systematic researches since then in the cave. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain; probably an altar dedicated to Mithras. – Bibliography: Pintilie 1999/2000, 235-236; Sicoe 2014, 22.

Peștera lui Traian (Valea Cernei; jud. Mehedinți)

III.42 *Mithraeum* (cave)

Location: Uncertain; visited by F. Cumont in the 19th century, in the valley of the Cerna river – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *mithraeum*

(*spelaeum*) established in the natural cave is based on a short report of F. Cumont, who visited Transylvania in the 19th century. He reported that local inhabitants showed him a rock installation with altars in a cave, but no further details are known. F. Cumont enrolled the place among the uncertain sanctuaries. – Archaeological repertory: Uncertain. – Bibliography: Pintilie 1999/2000, 236.

Pojejena (Alsópozsgás; jud. Caraş-Severin)

Roman auxiliary fort and military *vicus* on the Southern *Limes* of Dacia Inferior, probably part of Moesia after the Hadrianic period. The presence of the cult of Dolichenus could indicate also that as in many cases in Dacia, several sanctuaries were established in the vicinity of the auxiliary fort (CCID 172).

III.43 Mithraeum

Location: Uncertain. The finds were attested in the NE tower of the Roman auxiliary fort, probably from secondary position. Another one was found south of the modern settlement (approx. coordinates: 44.779973, 21.597051). – Description: In 1922, a Mithraic relief was discovered south of the fort, close to the Danube (more than 1 km from the Roman fort), although this could be in secondary position too. Later, in 1976 systematic excavations revealed in the NE tower of the fort a deep compartment, with four Mithraic relief fragments. It is not clear if they were *in situ* or not. Installing a *mithraeum* within the fort is a rarity in the whole Roman Empire, although in some cases, such in the House of Laticlavus in Aquincum, it was attested, when the extension of the fort was probably changed. – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, 235-240 cat. nos 205-216. – Bibliography: Gudea/Bozu 1978; Pintilie 1999/2000, 238; Boda/Timoc 2016.

Potaissa (Turda, Torda, Thorenburg; jud. Cluj)

III.44 Sanctuary of Liber Pater

Location: Uncertain; probably in the southern part of the Roman fort, in the area of the Str. Zamfirescu no. 5 near the Sind (Sândului) brook (approx. coordinates: 46.562973, 23.776876). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a Liber Pater sanctuary is based on the numerous epigraphic (12 inscriptions) and figurative (reliefs, statues) sources. One of the statue fragments (CIL III 7683; Lupa 21980) mentions a *signum* of the divinity, while a statuary group dedicated to Jupiter, Hercules Invictus and Liber Pater was ordered by a *sacerdotes*, Aurelius Ingenius (CIL III 7681; Szabó 2007, 58-59). – Archaeological repertory: Twelve inscriptions, numerous statues and reliefs. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1994, 161.

III.45 Mithraeum

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the SE slopes of the so-called Dealul Cetății Hill, in the vicinity of the Roman fort (approx. coordinates: 46.570430, 23.764672). – Di-

mensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *mithraeum* in Potaissa is based on the numerous Mithraic finds from the settlement, consisted mostly of altars and reliefs. One of them was bought by I. Téglás in 1905, who mentioned that it comes from the southern part of the fort (ILD 505 comments). Two representations of standing statues representing Mithras or a so-called Mithraic genius seem to be implausible, although it would indicate a more strict relationship with Poetovio, where a *vexillatio* of the V Macedonica legion from Potaissa is well attested. (The theory of S. Nemeti and I. Nemeti on the so-called Mithraic genius from Potaissa was contested by A. Diaconescu: 2014, 75-77.) An altar dedicated by a certain Hermadio was discovered in the same area as the other Mithraic finds (ILD 492), which could indicate the Mithraic nature of this inscription too. – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, 138-144 cat. nos 4-13; see also: Diaconescu 2014, 75-77. 80; ILD 492. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1994, 70; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 156.

III.46 Dolichenum

Location: Uncertain. Probably in the eastern part of the so-called Dealul Cetății Hill, in the vicinity of the Roman fort and one of the cemeteries, on the I. Rațiu (former Jósika M. Street) (approx. coordinates: 46.569902, 23.781638). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a *dolichenum* in Potaissa is based on the three altars dedicated to the divinity and two fragments of a so-called Dolichenian bronze *triangulum*, used in rituals within a sacralised space. One of the altars (CCID 144; ILD 479) was found at the Jósika street, near a Roman cemetery (Archaeologiai Értesítő 1908, 360). – Archaeological repertory: CCID 142-145; see also: Nemeti 2005, 363-364 cat. nos 241-245. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1994, 162-163; Nemeti 2005, 229.

III.47 Iseum

Location: Uncertain; probably close to the river. M. Bărbulescu claimed that because the head of a monumental statue of Serapis was found around the fort (probably in the baths), the *iseum* should be located in the vicinity of this. In my opinion, the cult of Serapis in baths or in forts could be related to the *valetudinarium* or other healing divinities, attested often in military contexts. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of an *iseum* in Potaissa is based on the large number of various *aegyptiaca* found in Turda since the 18th century. One of the inscriptions (CIL III 882; RICIS 616/0102) mentions a *collegium Isidis* and a *pater* of the group, C. Iulius Martialis. The presence of a pseudo-hieroglyphic stele proves also the existence of a building dedicated to the Isiac cults. – Archaeological repertory: CIL III 881, 882, numerous bronze statuettes (Harpoocrates, Anubis, Osiris, Sphinx), representations of Apis bull, pseudo-hieroglyphic stele. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1994, 164-166; Deac 2014; 2015 [*non vid.*].

III.48 Sanctuary of Saturnus

Location: Uncertain; on the eastern slope of the Dealul Șuia Hill, south to Dealul Zănelor (approx. coordinates: 46.560008, 23.769400). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Saturnus and the African divinities is based on an accidental find that occurred around 1978. Aurel Nemeș, a local citizen, discovered a monumental statue base dedicated to Saturnus and Latona (*Saturno regi patri deorum et Latonae*; ILD 463) with a relatively well-preserved statue of a Saturnus Tonans still on the base – a rarity in Roman archaeology. Besides this, he described an anepigraphic altar and several fragments of conducts too. The position of the statue and the intact nature on the base indicates that in this area was a sanctuary. The dedication was made by Publius Recius Primus *beneficiarius legati legionis V Macedonicae*. He also mentions his African origins (*domo Zigali afer*). – Archaeological repertory: ILD 463, an altar without inscription and several conduct parts. – Bibliography: Bărbulescu 1994, 70; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 157; Nemeti 2005, 108-110. 337 cat. no. 81.

Războieni-Cetate (Székelyföldvár, Ocna Mureș; jud. Alba) Auxiliary fort and military *vicus* in Dacia Superior. Numerous Roman finds were known already from the early 19th century, some of them probably from the fort and the cemetery of the *vicus*. The cult of Epona was also attested by an epigraphic relief (ILD 417). No sacralised spaces were excavated yet. The best record of the finds – most of them already disappeared – was published by Neugebauer, who saw the collection of count Sámuel Kemény: Neugebauer 1851, 243-245.

III.49 Sanctuary (Apollo?)

Location: Uncertain; in the vicinity of the Roman auxiliary fort (approx. coordinates: 46.412506, 23.863536). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: In 1859, Sámuel Löwenthal discovered on his field in the vicinity of the modern settlement of Székelyföldvár a large number of Roman artefacts. The nature of the objects indicates indeed a sacralised space, although it is insecure if they come from the same place. The possibility of an Apollo sanctuary was based on the large-sized plaque discovered among the finds (IDR III/4, 73). – Archaeological repertory: At least ten artefacts reported. Among the finds, there was a relief representing Hercules, another representing Apollo (IDR III/4, 72), a fragment of a large-sized plaque (IDR III/4, 73), a relief representing probably Asclepius or Jupiter and a Bacchic relief. – Bibliography: Neugebauer 1851, 243-244; Torma 1860; Gudea 1997, 105-106; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 126.

Romula (Reșca, Dobrosloveni; jud. Olt)

Important Roman auxiliary fort and settlement. The *vicus* became a *municipium* and later *colonia* during the reign

of Septimius Severus. As the financial capital of Dacia Inferior numerous troops were attested: *cohors I Flavia Comagenorum, numerum Surorum, vexillationes legio VII Claudia, legio XXII Primigenia, legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*. The presence of Syrian groups are attested on numerous inscriptions, one with particular importance attesting the cult of Atargatis in Palmyrene language. Similarly, the cult of Jupiter Turmasgades, an avatar of Dolichenus, was attested. The place of worship of these divinities is not yet attested. The cult of the Nymphs and Isis indicates also specific sacralised places and not necessary domestic environments (IDR II, 329-348. – See also Gudea 1997, 85-87; Nemeti 2005, 320).

III.50 Mithraeum

Location: Uncertain; it was attested on the bank of the Teslui river (approx. coordinates: 44.168757, 24.394470). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary is based on the significant number of votive offerings dedicated to Mithras and the short report of a priest, called Martin from 1856, later published by Alex. Popovici. He mentions a »round« sanctuary, where offerings were made. A presence of a fountain was also reported. The territory was never excavated, the topography of Romula – although it should be an important Roman settlement in Dacia Inferior – is one of the less known from Dacia (Amon 2012). – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, cat. nos 231-238; see also: CIMRM 2170. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 78-81; Sicoe 2014, 246-250.

III.51 Sanctuary of Magna Mater-Cybele

Location: Uncertain (approx. coordinates: 44.1687, 24.3944). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary is based on two votive offerings dedicated to Magna Mater, although her cult could exist also in domestic environments. The exact findspot of the objects is uncertain, in 1933 the statue was already in the collection of Maria Istrati-Capșa. Both monuments are of small size, which indicates a small, shared or a domestic environment and not necessarily a sanctuary. A possible representation of Attis on a vase was recently identified from Romula. – Archaeological repertory: A fragmentarily preserved marble relief and a beautifully elaborated marble statue. – Bibliography: Tudor 1933, 76; CCCA VI, 475-476; Alexandrescu 2006; Szabó/Ota 2015, 236.

Samum (Ad Samum, Cășeiu, Alsókosály; jud. Cluj)

III.52 Ceres sanctuary

Location: Uncertain. Probably in one of the *horrea* near the *principia* of the auxiliary fort (approx. coordinates: 47.186084, 23.837362). – Dimensions: Uncertain; the *horreum* had a 36.5 m × 10 m dimension. – Description: During the systematic excavations of 1992, two statues representing Ceres were found. One of the statues had

also, a fragmentary inscription, which identifies certainly the divinity (AÉ 2010, 1364). The iconography of the statues shows a striking similarity with those finds in Gherla (jud. Cluj), interpreted in that case as Magna Mater. This could indicate a special choice of the troops in Dacia Porolissensis within the auxiliary fort, worshipping the goddess of fertility and agriculture, often associated with the imperial cult, peace and prosperity of the Empire too (Popescu 2004, 77-78). – Archaeological repertory: Two statues of Ceres, one of them with inscription (AÉ 2010, 1364). – Bibliography: Isac 2003, 176; Popescu 2004, 77; ILD 777.

III.53 *Dolichenum*

Location: Uncertain; probably in the vicinity of the fort (approx. coordinates: 47.1860, 23.8373). – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a *dolichenum* from Samum is based on the reinterpretation of an inscription on a construction plaque, dedicated by a pontifex of Porolissum. Three other inscriptions attesting also the presence of the cult. While in other auxiliary forts, such as in Gherla or Arcobadara, the material evidence suggests more domestic worship of the divinity, in the case of Samum the presence of a sanctuary seems plausible. – Archaeological repertory: Four inscriptions (ILD 769-772). – Bibliography: CCID 130-132; Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 154; Nemeti 2005, 354; Carbó Garcia 2010, 185-188.

Sarmizegetusa (Colonia Sarmizegetusa, Várhely; jud. Hunedoara)

III.54 *Ara Augusti*

Location: *Extra muros*, in the middle of the *area sacra*, between the *asklepieion* and the »Great Temple« (coordinates: 45.516760, 22.787897; fig. 75). – Dimensions: It had a rectangular form of around 10 m × 10 m. – Description: The existence of an *Ara Augusti* was a long time ago presumed by the older literature. Recently, geophysical measurements taken in 2004-2007 identified a rectangular form in the middle of the *area sacra*, which could belong to a large altar base. Based on the epigraphic dedications of the *sacerdoti Ara Augusti coronatus trium Daciarum*, I. Piso, Á. Szabó and A. Schäfer presumed that the *Ara Augusti* and the *forum provinciae* should be in the same place. Other authors presumed that the discovery of a golden bronze representation of the emperor Decius, Victoria and several altars found in the vicinity of the amphitheatre indicates that the *forum provinciae* was not east, but west to the amphitheatre. – Archaeological repertory: Fragments of monumental inscriptions and bronze letters were found in the territory of Colonia Sarmizegetusa, which could belong to the *Ara Augusti*. Similarly, the famous inscription attesting the *votorum carmen* of emperor Trajan was probably decorating the large altar (IDR III/2, 241); see also: Diaconescu 2014, 15-16, IDR III/2, 93-94. – Bibliography: Schäfer 2006; Fiedler/Höpken 2010; Boda 2015, 288 fig. 7, 19.

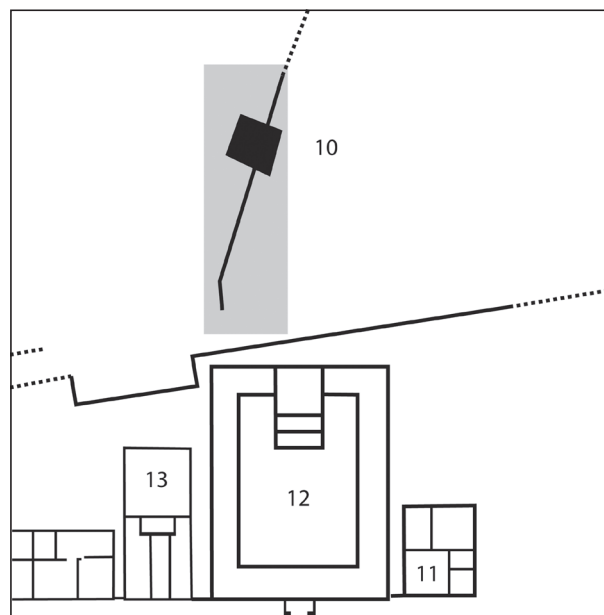


Fig. 75 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: **10** possible *Ara Augusti*. – **11** sacralised spaces for unidentified divinities. – **12** sanctuary EM 18 or the »Great Temple«. – **13** sanctuary of Silvanus. – (After Fiedler/Höpken 2010, 334 pl. I.1).

III.55 Sanctuaries in the NE *area sacra*

Location: In the northern part of the *area sacra*, next to the *Domnus et Domna* sanctuary (approx. coordinates: 45.517948, 22.787760; fig. 76). – Dimensions: Uncertain. The two small buildings seem to have similar sizes as the *Domnus et Domna* shrine of 4 m × 4 m. – Description: The two small buildings were identified in 2007 after the geophysical survey of an international, German-Romanian collaboration. The site was not excavated, but due to the position of the buildings in the very heart of the *area sacra*, one can presume that they served also as sacralised spaces dedicated to some divinities. Further research will hopefully contribute to the identification of these buildings. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown. – Bibliography: Fiedler/Höpken 2010, 334; Boda 2015a, 288 fig. 7, 14.

III.56 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a second or even multiple *mithraea* or even multiple *mithraea* in *colonia* Sarmizegetusa was suggested by D. Alicu, based on an inscription found in 1880, before the discovery of the famous sanctuary in 1882. The construction plaque mentions the name of the divinity as *Invictus*, which does not make sure the Mithraic nature of the find. It was dedicated to the health and memory of Sextus Valerius, *decurio* of the city. This habit, to keep the memory of a leading member of a religious group, was attested also in Poetovio in Mithraic context. Further excavations and field research will need to confirm the existence of several *mithraea* in Sarmizegetusa. –

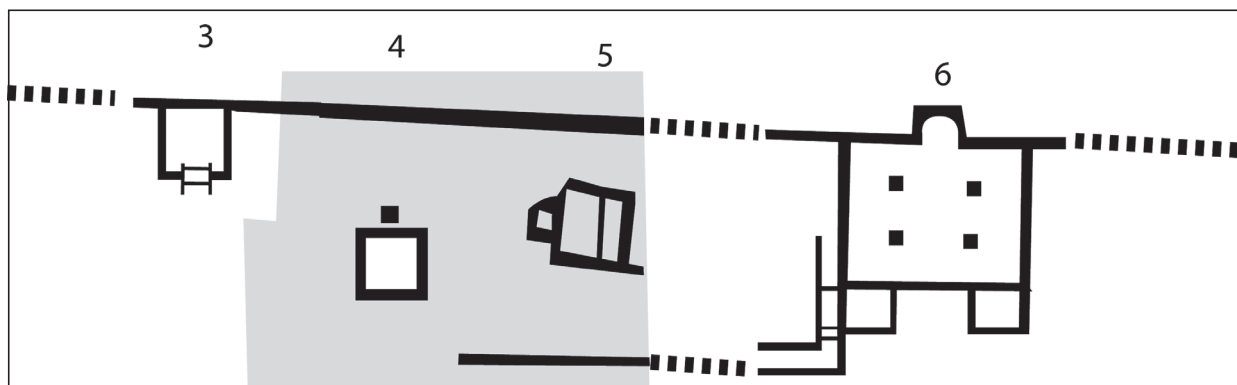


Fig. 76 Colonia Sarmizegetusa: **3** sanctuary of Domnus et Domna. – **4-5** sanctuaries in the NE *area sacra*. – **6** a so-called *basilica*. – (After Fiedler/Höpken 2010, 334 pl. I.1).

Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: IDR III/2, 226. – Bibliography: Alicu 2002, 221-222.

III.57 *Dolichenum*

Location: Uncertain. Probably annexed to the city wall, in the southern part of the Roman city, close to the famous *mithraeum* discovered by Király (approx. coordinates: 45.510020, 22.784855). – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The first Dolichenian find occurred already in the 16th century. The existence of a *dolichenum* in Sarmizegetusa was presumed already by G. Téglás and G. Kuun in the 19th century. They reported that a sanctuary was discovered in 1884 next to the southern corner of the city wall. G. Téglás reported that the Dolichenus sanctuary was found within the city walls, annexed to the southern corner »with the typical finds of the divinity«. Unfortunately, no systematic excavations were carried out in that area till now. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: CCID 164-170; IDR III/2, 201-204. – Bibliography: Boda 2015a.

III.58 Sanctuary of Hekate

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a Hekate sanctuary is based on the large-sized cult statue of the divinity found in the capital of the province and the numerous figurative and epigraphic sources attesting her cult. In one of his short reports, J. Banó mentioned that besides the inscription mentioning the cult of Hekate from Sarmizegetusa, he saw in the museum of the local priest also a statue of 40 cm representing a goddess with three faces (Piso/Szabó 2019). The famous statue of Hekate Triformis from the Muzeul Național Brukenthal, attested at Ocna Mureșului is still under debate if it comes from Apulum, Sarmizegetusa or from a local sanctuary of Salinae (Diaconescu 2014, 85). – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: IDR III/2, 220, Lupa 17663. – Bibliography: Carboni 2015. – Piso/Szabó 2019.

III.59 Sanctuary of Theos Hypsistos

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Deus Aeternus is indicated by a carefully elaborated marble plaque of a building (IDR III/2, 190) mentioning the cult of Deus Aeternus, Iuno and the Angels and the several epigraphic attestations of the divinity. – Archaeological repertory: Unknown; see also: IDR III/2, 187-190. – Bibliography: Carbó Garcia 2010, 905-908.

Săcelu (jud. Gorj)

Roman settlement with important bath complex. A few short-term excavations were carried out outside of the Roman bath in the *vicus*. No sacralised spaces were discovered yet (Tudor 1978, 227).

III.60 Healing sanctuary

Location: Uncertain. In the vicinity of the Roman baths on the spot called în Blaniță (approx. coordinates: 45.081175, 23.54660). – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a possible sanctuary formed around the natural mineral springs of the settlement is based on the presence of the cult of the healing divinities, Aesculapius and Hygeia. Archaeological excavations identified a Roman bath and a civilian settlement, probably in the vicinity of an auxiliary fort. – Archaeological repertory: IDR II, 182.

Slăveni (jud. Olt)

III.61 Liber Pater sanctuary

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a Liber Pater sanctuary is based on the large amount of statuary fragments found in the vicinity of the Roman fort. – Archaeological repertory: Bondoc 2004, 68-72.

Sucidava (Celei; jud. Olt)

III.62 *Mithraeum*

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a *mithraeum* is based on the significant number of Mithraic reliefs and inscriptions attested in Sucidava. – Archaeological repertory: Sicoe 2014, 255-257 cat. nos 248-251; see also the comments on ILD 106. 110. – Bibliography: Sicoe 2014, 255-257.

III.63 *Dolichenum*

Location: Uncertain. – Dimensions: Uncertain. – Description: The existence of a *dolichenum* can be presumed only on the basis of one single inscription attesting the cult of Dolichenus. This is not a strong argument yet for the existence of a sanctuary, but the great number of soldiers, the presence of the *cohors II Chalcidenorum sagittaria* and the size of the settlement can indicate this. – Archaeological repertory: CCID 177; see also: ILD 109. – Bibliography: Carbó Garcia 2010, 202.

Teliucu Inferior (Alsótelek; jud. Hunedoara)

Roman civilian settlement in Dacia Superior, administrative centre of the iron mines of Dacia (*conductores ferrariorum Dacicarum*). Although important Roman constructions were attested in the 19th century, no systematic excavations were made.

III.64 Sanctuary

Location: Unknown (approx. coordinates: 45.717545, 22.874022). – Dimensions: 2 m × 2 m, near a monumental building, which measures 18 m × 25 m. – Description: In 1904, Gábor Téglás discovered the ruins of a Roman *officium*, measuring 18 m × 25 m and two other smaller compartments. In one of the small rooms (2 m × 2 m), he found an altar dedicated by two magistrates from Apulum and Sarmizegetusa, serving in Teliucu as *conductores ferrariorum*. Although the settlement should be a very important one, being the centre of the iron mining area of Dacia, it was never systematically excavated. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 37; Szabó 2007, 79 cat. no. D 51. – Bibliography: Hirt 2010.

Tibiscum (Jupa, Zsuppa/ laz-Obreja, Obrézsa; jud. Caraş-Severin)

III.65 *Dolichenum*

Location: In the northern part of the fort, near the Roman road (coordinates: 45.468047, 22.188881; **fig. 77**). – Dimensions: Trapezoidal building with several compartments, measuring 16 m × 16.5 m. – Description: The building excavated in 1965, known as building no. III, was part of the *vicus militaris*, in the close vicinity of the fort. It has an irregular shape, with three small compartments in the West and two others in front of it. The middle and the biggest one is divided by a wall, which could belong to another phase of the building mentioned by M. Moga

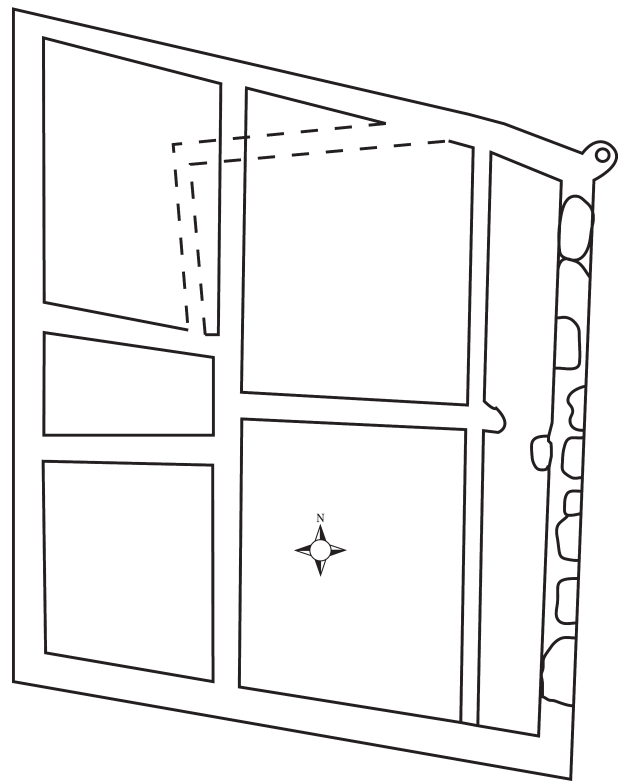


Fig. 77 Tibiscum: Plan of building III interpreted as a *dolichenum*. – (After Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 103 pl. 35).

in his unpublished archaeological journals cited by Alicu and others. Similarly to Porolissum and Aquae, in Tibiscum seems also a rule that along the road *extra muros* of the Roman fort several sacralised spaces (*Liber Pater templum*) was established. In one of the compartments, a fragmentarily preserved column was found (IDR III/1, 140). A head of a monumental Jupiter statue was also associated with this building, although M. Moga did not mention the provenience, while the later researchers interpreted this statue in various ways. Ardeţ claims, based on the report of F. Medeleţ, that the head was not found in the building no. III (Ardeţ/Ardeţ 2004, 87 note 160). D. Benea claims that the statue representing Dolichenus, was found there (Boda/Timoc 2016.) – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/1, 140, possibly a representation of Jupiter Tonans (Benea/Bona 1994, 109-110) and a head of a monumental statue representing Jupiter Dolichenus; see also: IDR III/1, 139. – Bibliography: Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 102-104; Ardeţ/Ardeţ 2004, 86-90; Boda/Timoc 2016.

III.66 *Mithraeum*

Location: Unknown. – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: The possible existence of a *mithraeum* is based only on the presence of two Mithraic finds from the settlement. A famous altar dedicated by one of the most well-known religious entrepreneurs of the cult, Hermadio actor was associated with Tibiscum (IDR III/1, 145), while a

Mithraic relief was recently localised in Tibiscum. Till further researches, the presence of a *mithraeum* in Tibiscum is hypothetical. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/1, 145; Sicoe 2014, 243 cat. nos 203-204. – Bibliography: Boda-Timoc 2016.

Valea Sângeorgiului (Szentgyörgyválya; jud. Hunedoara) Roman settlement or more probably, a *villa* where several altars were discovered. It is not sure if these finds are coming from a sanctuary or a domestic context.

III.67 Sanctuary

Location: On the Gugutoi Hill, NE to the modern settlement, on the bank of the Bercsán brook (approx. coordinates: 45.748074, 23.074759). – Dimensions: Unknown. – Description: Around 1890, Gábor Téglás, the pioneer of archaeology in Hunyad county, identified a spot on the Gugutoi Hill, where he found ruins of Roman buildings, bricks, sculpture fragments and three altars. There were no systematic excavations on the site. – Archaeological repertory: IDR III/3, 17-19. – Bibliography: Szabó 2018, 165-175.

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Abbreviations

ABRRD: Addenda for the Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia. <http://brrd2014.wixsite.com/brrd> (1.9.2018).

AÉ: L'Année Épigraphique.

ANRW: W. Haase / H. Temporini (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Rise and Decline of the Roman World. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* (Berlin, New York 1972 ff.).

BBRD: I. Boda / Cs. Szabó, *The bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia* (Cluj-Napoca 2014).

CCAR: *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România*.

CCID: M. Hörg / E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni. Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* 106 (Leiden 1987).

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum*.

CIMRM: M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae I-II* (Hagae Comitibus 1956-1960).

DMA: Digital Map of Apulum: <https://tini.to/o8P> (15.08.2020).

EPRO: *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* (founded by M. J. Vermaseren).

IDR: *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae I-III* (București, Paris 1975-2001).

ILD: C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripții latine din Dacia (Inscriptiones Latinae Daciae)* (București 2005).

Lupa: www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch.php (1.9.2018).

ThesCRA: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (Basel, Los Angeles 2004-2014).

ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Köln)

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG / SUMMARY / RÉSUMÉ

Heiligtümer im römischen Dakien. Ein Katalog von sakralisierten Orten in gemeinsamen und sekundären Räumen

Sakrale Orte, in traditionellen archäologischen Diskursen als Heiligtümer bezeichnet, waren im römischen Kaiserreich allgegenwärtig. Die meisten der bislang erschienenen Studien waren einzig auf die architektonischen Besonderheiten eines Heiligtums ausgelegt, und vernachlässigten dabei die gelebten Aspekte (*lived ancient religion*) religiöser Kommunikation in Dakien. Diese Studie will neue Perspektiven für die Erforschung der Heiligtümer von Dakien eröffnen. In einem ersten Schritt wird ein umfassender Katalog von öffentlichen und gemeinsam genutzten sakralen Orten in Dakien vorgestellt.

Der erste Teil dieser Arbeit beschreibt die sakralen Orte Dakiens als öffentliche und »secondary« (geteilte) Räume; er bezieht sich dabei auf allgemeine und lokale Aspekte römischer Heiligtümer, ihrer architektonischen Besonderheiten und wirtschaftlichen Ausgaben. Eine große Anzahl der Heiligtümer Dakiens, die zwischen 106 und 271 n. Chr. errichtet und unterhalten wurden, wird hier als Räume religiöser Kommunikation, lokaler religiöser Aneignung sowie als Orte von Verkörperung und Praxis dargestellt. Der zweite Teil besteht aus dem aktuellsten und bislang umfangreichsten Katalog von Heiligtümern Dakiens und stellt die archäologischen, epigrafisch bezeugten und mutmaßlichen Heiligtümer in alphabetischer Reihenfolge der

Siedlungen vor. Durch die Anfertigung eines Katalogs von Heiligtümern in öffentlichen und gemeinsamen Räumen stellt diese Studie den Beginn einer detaillierteren Arbeit dar, die sich auf materielle Belege gelebter antiker Religion in Dakien und die Rolle von räumlicher Sakralisierung in römischer religiöser Kommunikation in dieser als peripher bezeichneten Provinz des römischen Kaiserreiches konzentrieren wird.

Sanctuaries of Roman Dacia. A Catalogue of Sacralised Places in Shared and Secondary Spaces

Sacral sites, known as sanctuaries in the traditional archaeological discourse, were omnipresent in the Roman Empire. Most of the studies till now have focused exclusively on the architectural features of a sanctuary, neglecting the lived aspects of religious communication in Dacia. This study wants to open new perspectives in studying the sanctuaries of Roman Dacia. As a first step of this attempt, the study will present the first comprehensive catalogue of public and shared sacral sites of Roman Dacia.

The first part of this paper presents the sacralised spaces of Roman Dacia in public and secondary (shared) spaces, focusing on the general and local specific aspects of Roman sanctuaries, their architectural features and economic investments. The large number of sanctuaries of Roman Dacia created and maintained between AD 106 and 271 are presented in this work as spaces of religious communication, local religious appropriation and places of embodiment and experience. The second part is the latest and hitherto most comprehensive catalogue of sanctuaries of Roman Dacia, presenting the archaeologically and epigraphically attested as well as presumed sanctuaries in alphabetical order of the settlements. By creating a catalogue of sanctuaries in public and shared spaces, this study is a prologue for a more detailed work, which will focus on the material evidence of lived ancient religion in Dacia and the role of spatial sacralisation in Roman religious communication in this so-called peripheral province of the Roman Empire.

Sanctuaires de la Dacie romaine. Catalogue des lieux sacrés dans les espaces communs et secondaires

Les espaces sacralisés, connus sous le nom de sanctuaires dans le discours archéologique traditionnel, étaient omniprésents dans l'Empire romain. La plupart des études jusqu'à présent se sont concentrées exclusivement sur les caractéristiques architecturales d'un sanctuaire, en négligeant les aspects vécus de la communication religieuse dans ces espaces. Cette étude veut ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives dans l'étude des sanctuaires de la Dacie romaine. En tant que première étape de cette tentative, l'étude présentera le premier catalogue compréhensif des espaces sacralisés publics et partagés de la Dacie romaine.

La première partie de cet article présente les espaces sacralisés de la Dacie romaine dans des espaces publics et secondaires (partagés), en se concentrant sur les aspects spécifiques généraux et locaux des sanctuaires romains, sur leurs caractéristiques architecturales et leurs investissements économiques. Le grand nombre de sanctuaires de la Dacie romaine créés et maintenus entre 106 et 271 AD sont présentés dans ce travail comme des espaces de communication religieuse, d'appropriation religieuse locale et comme des lieux d'incarnation et d'expérience. La deuxième partie est le catalogue le plus récent et jusqu'à maintenant le plus compréhensif des sanctuaires de la Dacie romaine, présentant les sanctuaires archéologiquement, épigraphiquement attestés et présumés, dans l'ordre alphabétique de leurs établissements. En créant un catalogue de sanctuaires dans des espaces publics et partagés, cette étude est un prologue pour un travail plus détaillé qui se concentrera plus tard sur les preuves matérielles de la religion antique vécue en Dacie et sur le rôle de la sacralisation de l'espace pour la communication religieuse romaine dans cette soi-disant province périphérique de l'Empire romain.