

THE BARBARIANS WITHIN. ILLYRIAN COLONISTS IN ROMAN DACIA

*Los bárbaros interiores.
Los colonos ilirios en la Dacia romana*

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Fecha de recepción: 23-IX-2010; aceptación definitiva: 4-X-2010

ABSTRACT: The present study attempts at grasping, as encompassing as possible, the process of acculturation undergone by peregrins from the Illyrian territories, a process that continued after their colonization in Dacia. The analysis follows the specific forms of organization of the various gentes arrived from Dalmatia (kastella, vicus, principes), noting the organized character of the colonization of these dalmatians, specialists in gold extraction. They were brought in compact groups and had their own institutions. The onomastic study took into consideration all persons who, through their names, relatives or origin, can be identified as illiri. Four groups of people have been identified, each illustrating a stage in their acculturation reflected in the onomastic system. In the field of religious life, one can note a continuous oscillation between the preservation of ancient values and the borrowing of new religious forms, which eventually lead to the colonized Illyrians assuming a new cultural identity. Learning Latin, acquiring Latin names, and adopting Roman gods indicates in historical

terms their Romanization. In the funerary field, they were more conservative. As a funerary phenomenon, incineration with the deposition of calcined remains in ritually burnt pits is attributed to populations colonized in Dacia from the Dalmatian area. As for the inventory of their tombs and their funerary monuments on the other hand, one notes that they took over Roman material culture and used monuments that follow the canons of provincial art.

Keywords: Illyrians, Roman Dacia, Romanization, acculturation, religion, onomastics, necropolises.

RESUMEN: Este estudio intenta analizar, abarcando todos los aspectos posibles, el proceso de aculturación sufrido por los peregrinos procedentes de los territorios ilirios, un proceso que continuó después de su colonización en Dacia. El análisis sigue las formas específicas de organización de las diversas *gentes* llegadas desde Dalmacia (*kastella*, *vicus*, *principes*), haciendo notar el carácter organizado de la colonización de estos dálmatas, especialistas en la extracción de oro. Fueron traídos en grupos compactos y tenían sus propias instituciones. El estudio onomástico ha tomado en consideración todas las personas que, a través de sus nombres, parientes u origen, pueden ser identificados como ilirios. Cuatro grupos de personas han sido identificados y cada uno de ellos ilustra un estadio en su aculturación que se refleja en el sistema onomástico. En el campo de la vida religiosa, se puede apreciar una continua oscilación entre la preservación de los antiguos valores y la toma en préstamo de nuevas formas religiosas, que eventualmente condujeron a los ilirios colonizados a asumir una nueva identidad cultural. Aprender el latín, tomar nombres latinos y adoptar los dioses romanos son indicadores de su romanización, en términos históricos. En el campo funerario, no eran más conservadores. Como fenómeno funerario, la incineración con la deposición de los restos calcinados en pozos quemados ritualmente es atribuida a poblaciones colonizadas en Dacia procedentes del área dalmática. En cuanto al inventario de sus tumbas y sus monumentos funerarios, por otra parte, se puede apreciar que tomaron la cultura material romana y que usaron monumentos que siguen los cánones del arte provincial.

Palabras clave: ilirios, Dacia romana, romanización, aculturación, religión, onomástica, necrópolis.

The conquest of the north-Danubian territory and the establishment of the province of Dacia in the beginning of the second century A.D. attracted numerous colonists from the most diverse parts of the Empire. Literary sources tell us briefly of the dimensions of this colonization, while the epigraphic, sculptural and archaeological sources document the existence in the province of ethnic groups on various levels of romanization. The acculturation process undergone by peregrine in the barbarian territories previously conquered by Rome and turned into provinces continues in Dacia as well. The present-day image of how the process of colonization developed is partial, on one hand due to the precariousness of available sources and on the other hand due to the restricted stage of archaeological research. One can note the organized dislocation of certain communities from provinces such as Dalmatia, Pannonia and Noricum, and how the dislocation of auxiliary troops brought about the introduction of ethnic groups originating from more distant areas (such as Palmyra and North Africa). Thracian elements, those belonging to the western Celts, others from Syria, Hispania, and North Africa entered the new province through the same mechanisms related to the dislocation of troops and the immigration of communities linked by interest to these troops. Long distance trade led to the introduction of merchants from Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt but also from East Gallia and Rhenania¹. In the new meltingpot, ethnic communities interacted by assuming, on various levels, classical culture and the use of the common language —Latin— thus determining the complex processes of acculturation. In the construction of group identity (both linguistic and religious), some ethnic communities show conservative tendencies, expressed in modern terms as «resist against romanization» or counter-acculturation: they continue to use their native tongue, revere their fathers' gods and preserve traditional funerary habits. Under the influence of the environment, these traits of traditional civilization fade out and are slowly altered, since adaptations triggers integration.

ILLYRIAN *KASTELLA* IN ALBURNUS MAIOR

Discoveries made during the last years in Alburnus Maior (Roşia Montană, Alba County) reopened the discussion on the presence of miners

1. PAKI, Adela: «La colonisation de la Dacie romaine», FREI-STOLBA, Regula; HERZIG, H. E. (Eds.): in *La politique édititaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romaine, IIème-IVème siècles après J.-C.*, Berne, 1995, pp. 19-38.

from Dalmatia in the gold extraction area of Dacia. Recent archaeological research have contributed new data to the knowledge of these miners' habitat, funerary rite and religious life through the discovery of civilian settlements, large plane incineration cemeteries and cult buildings². New epigraphic discoveries have also added data on the names of these inhabitants³ and the manner in which the communities that formed Alburnus Maior were organized.

Until now, the various *gentes* arrived from Dalmatia seemed to be organized according to their own manner. The colonization of these Dalmatians, specialists in extracting gold⁴, was probably organized in compact groups brought and settled according to their own institutions (*kastella*, *principes* etc.)⁵. Rural communities called *kastella* are the ones usually attested in Alburnus Maior (the term *vicus* only appears once – *vicus Pirustarum*)⁶. According to the official vocabulary of habitation during the imperial era, *kastellum* usually means a civilian agglomeration that does not form a *res publica*, lacking proper jurisdiction and located on the territory of a settlement of municipal status⁷.

Several toponyms determined by the abbreviated *K(astellum)* feature on wax tablets and inscriptions discovered in Alburnus Maior. The following toponyms were attested there in inscriptions known in the nineteenth century: Kartum, Kavieretium⁸ or Kansum (*Platinonis*

2. DAMIAN, P. (Ed.): *Alburnus Maior*, I, București, 2003; SIMION, Mihaela; APOSTOL, V.; VLEJA, D.: *Alburnus Maior II. Monumentul funerar circular*, București, 2004; DAMIAN, P. (Ed.): *Alburnus Maior. III/1. Necropola romană de incinerare de la Tăul Corna*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008; CIONGRAZI, Carmen: *Die römischen Steindenkmäler aus Alburnus Maior*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, pp. 9-18.

3. PISO, I.: «Gli Illiri ad Alburnus Maior». In: URSO, G. (Ed.): «Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 25-27 settembre 2003», Pisa, 2004, pp. 231-307.

4. For the main mining areas in Dalmatia - ZANINOVIĆ, M.: «The Economy of Roman Dalmatia», *ANRW*, II, 6, 1977, p. 796.

5. DAICOVICIU, C.: «Les «Castella Delmatarum» de Dacie», *Dacica*, Cluj, 1970, pp. 325-333; PROTASE, D.: «Illirii în Dacia romană pe temeiul datelor epigrafice», *SCIV*, 29, 1978, 3, pp. 497-503; MROZEK, S.: «Aspects sociaux et administratifs des mines d'or romaines de Dacie», *Apulum*, VII, 1, 1968, pp. 310-315; SÂNTIMBREANU, A.; WOLFFMAN, V.: «Aspecte tehnice ale exploataării aurului în perioada romană la Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană)», *Apulum*, XII, 1974, pp. 242-247; NOESKE, H.-CHR.: «Studien zur Verwaltung und Bevölkerung der dakischen Goldbergwerke in römischer Zeit», *Bj*, 177, 1977, pp. 275-277. CIOBANU, R.: «Les illyriens et la Dacie romaine», *Apulum*, XXXVI, 1999, pp. 199-214;

6. IDR I, TC IX.

7. *DizEp*, II.1, 1900, *s.v. castellum*, pp. 129-132; RE III, 2, 1989, *s.v. castellum*, c.1754 - 1760 [KUBITSCHKEK].

8. IDR I, TC VI.

Verzonis Kanso)⁹. In 1958, C. Daicoviciu completed the dedication made by Seneca Bisonis as *Genio collegii Kastelli Baridustarum*, offering thus the solution for the reading of the other toponyms: *Kastella Ansum*, *Artum*, *Avieretium*¹⁰. Later discoveries have confirmed C. Daicoviciu's correct intuition. A significant moment was the discovery of the lot of altars on the plateau of Hăbad, published by V. Wollmann, which contributed new data to locating that K(astellum) Ansum, the village of the *kastellani Ansi* (or *Ansienses*)¹¹. Besides the *Ansi*, an altar discovered in the above mentioned location attests the existence of a Dalmatian *gens* called *Maniates*¹², which might be identified with Μανιοί (in Pseudo-Scylax)¹³.

The completion of the picture and the real topography of the Alburnus Maior area through the location on the field of these *kastella* and their corresponding cemeteries was facilitated by discoveries made in recent years (Pl. 1)¹⁴. New altars were found on the Hăbad-Brădoia plateau attesting a *kastellum Ansum* while archaeological research revealed the existence of a religious building there¹⁵. Two funerary monuments in the necropolis in the area of Țarina attest people from the Delmatae tribe, natives of *kastellum Starva*¹⁶. Another altar, from the same place, attests a *k(astellum) Man(iatium)*¹⁷. A cult building was discovered in Valea Nanului, on the spot called Székely, where a *collegium kastelli Barisdustarum* was previously known of¹⁸. Several altars discovered on various points in Valea Nanului attest the *Sardiatae*, grouped in a *collegium Sardiatarum*¹⁹. *Kastellum Artum* is attested on a wax tablet (*Actum K(astello) Arto*) and

9. CIL III, 1271; IDR III/3, 422.

10. DAICOVICIU, C.: *op. cit.*, pp. 325-333.

11. WOLLMANN, V.: «Un lucus la Alburnus Maior», *AIIA Cluj*, 27, 1985-1986, pp. 263-295 ; *idem*, *Mineritul metalifer...*, p. 68; PISO, I.: *op. cit.*, p. 294.

12. WOLLMANN, V.: «Un lucus...», p. 263, nr. 5, fig. 8; ILD 363.

13. RUSSU, I. I.: *Illirii. Istoria – limba și onomastica – romanizarea*, București, 1969, p. 224; WOLLMANN, V.: «Un lucus...», p. 265; ARDEVAN, R.: *Viața municipală în Dacia romană*, Timișoara, 1998. p. 292, n. 127 (for the identity *Maniates / Manioi*).

14. ARDEVAN, R.: «Die Illyrier von Alburnus Maior: Herkunft und Status». In: HEFTNER, H.; TOMASCHITZ, K. (Eds.): *Ad fontes! Festschrift für Gerhardt Dobesch zum fünfundzechzigsten Geburtstag am 15. September 2004*, Wien, 2004, pp. 593-598.

15. *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 123-191; ARDEVAN, R.; COCIȘ, S.; COSMA, C.; URȘUȚIU, A.: «Toujours sur le «lucus» d'Alburnus Maior (Dacie). In: *Acta XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae*, Barcelona, 2007, pp. 67-72.

16. TIMOFAN, Anca; BARBU, Ioana : «O stea funerară cu inscripție descoperită la Alburnus Maior», *Apulum*, 44, 2007, pp. 185-191; CIONGRADI, Carmen; TIMOFAN, Anca; BĂRCĂ, V.: «Eine neue Erwähnung des kastellum Starva in einer Inschrift aus Alburnus Maior. Studium zu epigraphisch Bezeugten kastella und vici im dakischen Goldbergwerksgebiet», *ZPE*, 165, 2008, pp. 249-266: *kastellum Starva* identified in Dalmatia.

their religious center can be identified with edifice TII in Valea Nanului (on the spot called Dalea), where an altar dedicated to *Dii Artani* (the gods of certain Artani) has been found²⁰.

In short, to the present state of research one can maintain the existence in the gold extraction area of several tribes or *gentes* with origins in the Dalmatian area: *Pirustae*, *Delmatae*, *Baridustae*, *Sardiatae*, *Maniates*, *Ansi*, *Artani*. Their communities bear various names taken from the municipal Latin vocabulary: one *vicus Pirustarum*, one *collegium Sardiatarum* and several *kastella*²¹: *Ansum*, *Maniatium* (?), *Baridustarum* and *Artum*.

THE ILLYRIANS-THE PEOPLE AND THEIR NAMES

Inscriptions in Roman Dacia mention a considerable number of people who can be identified as Illyrians due to their name, relatives or origin²². Most of them were located in the mining center of Alburnus Maior²³, others lived in cities such as *Apulum*, *Ampelum*, *Sarmizegetusa*, *Potaissa*, *Napoca*, *Drobeta*, *Romula*, *Tibiscum*, while very few were to be found in rural areas (Brădeni, Bretea, Gârbău, Slatina, Zegaia), or military *vici* (Brâncovenesti, Bologna, Cigmău, Gherla, Ilișua, *Micia*, Pojejena).

This group of people show, through the names they bear, a certain level of romanization. Thus, one can distinguish between four main categories among people of Illyrian origin attested in inscription from Dacia,

17. BEU-DACHIN, Eugenia: «Două inscripții votive inedite de la Alburnus Maior», *EN*, XIII, 2003, pp. 189-192, reads *k(astellum) Man(iatum)*.

18. IDR III/3 388; *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 255-285.

19. *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 287-337; ARDEVAN, R.; CRĂCIUN, Cristina: «Le collegium Sardiatarum à Alburnus Maior». In: ALONSO DEL REAL, C. et alii (Eds.): *Vrbs Aeterna. Actas y colaboraciones del coloquio internacional Roma entre la literatura y la historia. Homenaje a la Profesora Carmen Castillo, Pamplona*, 2003, pp. 227-240; CIONGRADI, Carmen: *op. cit.*, p. 15, nr. 8, 16, 22, 58, 64, 85, 109, 119.

20. NEMETI, S.: *Kastellum Artum* – relation at the international colloquium Humboldt – Kolleg «Förderung der nachhaltigen Entwicklung im Donaauraum durch kulturelle und wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit (2. Sektion, Antike Zivilisation im Donaauraum), Cluj-Napoca, 20-23 Mai 2010.

21. ARDEVAN, R.: *op. cit.*, p. 292; ARDEVAN, R.; CRĂCIUN, Cristina: *op. cit.*, p. 239; PISO, I.: *op. cit.*, p. 299, no. 212.

22. There are 132 persons with Illyrian names and other 33 related with Illyrian environment. The onomastic study is based on a repertory of the person of Illyrian origin from Dacia (too big to be published here).

23. NOESKE, H.-CHR.: *op. cit.*, pp. 329-347.

each category illustrating a stage in their acculturation reflected by the onomastic system.

1. The first category consists of Illyrians who did not adopt the Roman onomastic system. They only feature in inscriptions with their personal names of Illyrian origin or, according to the barbarian onomastic system, a personal name and patronym of Illyrian origin. Names such as *Bato*, *Batonianus*, *Bedarus*, *Beucus*, *Bricena(?)*, *Aepicadus*, *Epicadus*, *Glavicida*, *Lossa*, *Passia*, *Platius*, *Pla[t]or*; *Purtus*, *Sam[e]ccus* fall in the first subcategory. The second group is composed of people named *Andueia Batonis*, *Anduenna Batonis*, [...] *Annaius*, *Anneses Andunocnetis*, *Bato Annaei*, *Bato Secundi*, *Beucus Daeci*, *Beucus Dasantis*, *Beucus Sarius*, *Beucus Suttinis*, *Beusas Platoris*, *Bisius Scenobarbi*, *Dasa Suttinis*, *Dasantus Scenobarbus*, *Dasas Licai*, *Dasas Loni qui et[...]*, *Dasas Verzonis*, *Dasas Sta(...)* *qui et Durius*, *Dasius Verzonis*, *Dasius [...]*, *Dassius Breuci*, [...] *Jus Dassius*, *Epicadus Plarentis qui et Mico*, *Implaius Lisantis*, *Implaius Sumeletis*, *Lavius Verzonis*, *Liccaius Vinentis*, *Liccaius Epicadi*, *Massurius Messi*, *Mavida Epicadi*, *Nevato Implai*, *Panes Bizonis*, *Panes Epicadi qui et Suttius*, *Panes N[?]setis*, *Panes Stagilis*, *Panianus*, *Pla(?res) Baotius*, *Planus Baezi*, *Planus Verzonis Sclaius*, [...] *Plarentis*, *Platius Dasantis*, *Platius Turi*, *Plator Carpi*, *Plator Implai*, *Plator Implei*, *Plator Panentis*, *Plator Sar (...)*, *Plator Scenobarbi*, *Scenobarbus Dasi*, *Surio Sumeletis*, *Sutta Epicadi*, *Suttis Panentis*, *Temaius Dasi*, *Tritius Gar[...]*, *Varro Sceni*, *Verso Dasantis qui et Davius*, *Verzo Beusantis*, *Ve(r)z(o) Pan(tonis)*, *Verzo Platoris*, *Ulcudius Baedar*²⁴.

These are Illyrians who bear their barbarian names, some articulated according to the Latin model, other even acquiring Latinized form such as *Batonianus* (from *Bato*), *Panianus* (from *Panes*). They represent the most «conservative» category, resisting romanization, probably also because of the cultural, social and other type of limitations imposed by their generally

24. KERÉNYI, A.: *Die Personennamen von Dazien*, Budapesta, 1941, *passim*; RUSSU, I. I.: *Onomasticon Daciae. Numele de persoane în inscripțiile provinciei, AISC*, IV, 1941-1943 (1944), pp. 198-207; *idem.*: «Rectificări și adăușe la «Onomasticon Daciae», *AISC*, 1944-1948 (1949), pp. 284-287; IDR I, TC. I, II, III, V, VI, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XXI, IDR II, 134, 134; IDR III/1, 17, 169; IDR III/2, 459; IDR III/3, 345, 350, 383, 384, 386, 387, 389, 392, 393, 402, 403, 406, 413, 415, 417, 418, 423, 522; IDR III/4, 185; IDR III/5, 312, 522; AE 1990, 831, 841, 843, 844, 846; WOLLMANN, V.: «Un lucus...», *passim*; NEMETI, S.: *Sincretismul religios în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 327-335; PISO, I.: *op. cit.*, *passim*; ARDEVAN, R.; CRĂCIUN, Cristina: *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 50-51, 129-130, 152-154, 260-262, 295-301, 341-354; CCA, 2005, p. 306; CIONGRADI, Carmen; TIMOFAN, Anca, BĂRCĂ, V.: *op. cit.*, pp. 249-266; CIONGRADI, C.: *op. cit.*, pp. 40-98; COCIȘ, S.; OLOSUTEAN, G.: «Un nou altar votiv închinat lui Mercur la Alburnus Maior», *EphNap*, XII, 2002, pp. 167-169.

modest social origin (peregrines, slaves). They have certainly adopted Roman-type «material culture» such as the inventory of known necropolises proves. They more or less knew Latin, such as indicated by the texts on wax tablets and those of the inscriptions they have erected. The texts of the latter are extremely modest but written, without exception, in Latin.

2. The second category illustrates a more advanced stage of romanization, consisting of combined Illyrian and Roman names; they do not follow the Roman onomastic system of *tria nomina* (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*), indicating the fact that the people who bore them generally had the status of non-citizen peregrine. One must remark the erroneous use of certain onomastic elements – *nomen gentile* used as *praenomen* etc, or the combination of a Latin *praenomen* and an Illyrian patronym: *Bato Primitivi Tovetis?*, *Maximus Batonis*, *Aelius Baebius*, *Iulia Beuc(i) Aelius Be [...]*, *Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua*, *Bers(ius) [I]ngenu(u)s*, *Seneca Bisonis*, *Alexander Carrici*, *Dasas Capito*, *Ulpius Dasius*, *Aurelius Epicatius*, *Sabina Labrionis*, *Serena Licconis*, *Terentius Liga[...]*, *Linda Severus*, *Maxima Luri*, *Aelius Mes (...)*, *Na(?s)idius Primus*, *Plator Acceptianus*, *Aelius Plator*, *Fronto Plarentis*, *Crescens Platoris*, *Rufus Platoris*, *September Platoris*, *Plicia Varri Capitonis*, *Saturninus Scenobarbi*, *Iulius Scenobarbus*, *Rufius Sten(?atis)*, *Macrianus Surionis*, *Aelius Tato*, *Trosius Crispus*, *Tutor Silvani*, *Varro Titi*, *Maximus Veneti*, *Maximus Veranis*²⁵. Some of these people come from well-romanized families, such as *Aurelius Epicatius* from Potaissa, who bears an Illyrian cognomen but his brothers have Roman names: *Aurelius Viator* and *Aurelius Corbulo*²⁶. In other cases one sees mix families, as shown by another two inscriptions also found in Potaissa – *Iulius Scenobarbus* was the brother of *Iulius Zeno* (a Greek cognomen) and *Iulius Gaius*²⁷, while *Aurelius Dasius* was the brother of *Aurelius Bassianus* and *Aurelius Aulucentus* (a Thracian cognomen)²⁸. Some of them are Roman citizens, but their names do not follow the classic system of *tria nomina*: *Aelius Scenobarbus Batonis*, *Aelius Plator Geldonis*²⁹.

25. IDR I, TC. I, II, IV, V, VI, XI, XII, XXI; IDR II 45, 60, 137, 354; IDR III/3, 352, 388, 398, 403, 404, 405a, 420, 422; IDR III/5, 285, 521, 522, 585; CIL III 843, 918, 920; CIL III 843, 918, 920, 1129, 13671; AE 1990, 829, 830, 839; ILD, 444; PROTASE, D.: «Două inscripții latine inedite de la Ilișua», *Materiale*, 4, 1957, pp. 319-320; *Idem*, *Orizonturi daco-romane*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, pp. 145-146; *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 300, 341-342, nr. 2; p. 340, nr. 6; BEU-DACHIN, Eugenia: *op. cit.*, pp. 189-192; RUSSU, I. I.: «Onomasticon...», p. 206, nr. 102.

26. CIL III, 920.

27. CIL III, 13671.

28. CIL III, 918.

29. IDR I, TC. VI; AE 1990, 841.

3. The third category consists of people with names fully following the Roman onomastic system of *tria nomina* (in the case of men) but bear *cognomina* that betray their Illyrian origin: *Aelia Andena*, *P. Aelius Audarus*, *Aelius Macrinus Epidianus*, *M. Aurelius Dassius*, *L. Dasumius Priscus*, *Plaetoria Maxima*, *C. Iulius Tato*, *T. Scervius Vitalis*, *C. Venetius Privatus*, *Verzovia Saturnina*³⁰. The great majority were Roman citizens, part of completely romanized families. Two of them —*Aelius Macrinus Epidianus qui et Epidus*, *C. Venetius Privatus*— were *augustales*, a status indicating an advanced level of romanization. The Illyrian *Verzovia Saturnina* also came from a completely romanized family belonging to the provincial elites. She was the mother of *C. Nummius Certus*, a Roman eques, *augur* of *colonia* Apulum and patron of the *collegia* of *fabri* and *dendrofori*³¹. Out of traditionalism or other motifs escaping us, some *cognomen* betraying an Illyrian origin surface in the case of romanized Illyrian families. *P. Aelius Audarus* for example was the son of *Publius Aelius*, the nephew of *P. Aelius Ariortus*, *duumvir* of Drobeta, and of *Ulpia Digna*, while his brother was called *P. Aelius Valerius*, a perfectly Roman name³². Another group of people are veterans who had been granted citizenship after fulfilling military service. *M. Aurelius Dassius*, *L. Dasumius Priscus*, and *C. Iulius Tato* were all recent citizens, and so might have been *M. Aurelius Scenobarbus*³³. From the point of view of the level of romanization, there is not difference compared to the following category, that of Illyrians who cannot be identified as such according to their names. The latter were people well integrated in the Roman society who had generally been granted Roman citizenship and probably kept using their barbarian language in private and their traditionalism sometimes resurfaces in some *cognomina* given to their descendants or in the Illyrian origin of their *gentilicia*.

4. The last category consists of people with perfectly Roman names whose Dalmatian origin is indicated by other details in epigraphic texts: the indication of their origins, *domo* or family connections. *Avilia Pietas*, wife of *Dasa Suttinis* mentioned her *domo Aequum*³⁴. *Titus Flavius Aper* mentioned his ethnic origin —*Delmata*, and the city he came from— *Splonum*³⁵. *M. Opellius Adiutor*, *duumvir* of Sarmizegetusa, is notable

30. IDR III/1, 118; IDR III/2, 372, 405, 459; IDR III/3, 421; IDR III/5, 350; CIL III 851, 8242, 7880.

31. IDR III/5, 599.

32. IDR III/1, 118.

33. CIL III, 851, 7880; IDR III/2, 405; IDR III/3, 415.

34. IDR III/3, 417.

35. IDR III/3, 345.

among the provincial elites, but his *gentilicium* was frequent in Dalmatia. He was the heir of *P. Celsenius Constans*, decurion of colonia Aequum where he came from to settle in Dacia, becoming a decurion of Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa. These were provincial notables of Dalmatian origin, either Italics from that province or thoroughly romanized Illyrians³⁶. A special case is that of a Dalmatian family – *Claudia Pia* mentions as her *domo* the unidentified Dalmatian settlement of Lapiaerom; she was the mother of *Claudius Firminus*, and was married to the freed man *Capito Triti* (whose patron was thus an Illyrian)³⁷.

The study of family relations offers numerous other interesting details. *P. Aelius Valerius*, *P. Aelius*, *P. Aelius Ariortus* and *Ulpia Digna* were the relatives of *P. Aelius Audarus*³⁸. *Valeria Terentia* and *C. Valerius Viator* were the wife and son of *Andes Titi*³⁹. In the case of some Illyrians' wives, the same ethnic origin is not self understood, but can be presumed. *Macrinia Marcia* was the wife of *Aelius Macrinus Epidianus* and the mother of *Aelia Andena*⁴⁰. Similarly, *Ulpia Patricia* was the wife of *C. Venetius Privatus*⁴¹. *Cassia Peregrina* was married to *Bisius Scenobarbus* from the tribe of *Sardiatae*⁴². *Aelia Kara* was the wife of veteran *Ulpus Dassius*⁴³. Other associations between people in the text of inscriptions can also indicate the possibility that some bearers of Roman names associated to illyrians might also be illyrians. *Aelius Baebius*, together with *Beusas Platoris*, dedicated an altar to Ianus Geminus⁴⁴. *Germanus*, together with *Purtus*, dedicated an altar to Aptus Delmatarum⁴⁵.

These people might have been Illyrians romanized in Dalmatia sometime between the establishment of that province and their colonization in Dacia. There might have been also several other people of Illyrian descent in Dacia, but they cannot be easily identified.

36. IDR III/3, 350.

37. IDR III/3, 352.

38. IDR III/1, 118.

39. IDR III/3, 424.

40. IDR III/2, 372.

41. IDR III/2, 459.

42. IDR III/3, 418.

43. ILLD, 444.

44. IDR III/3, 389.

45. *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 354-355, no. 13.

THE RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION OF THE *ILLIRI*

With the exception of some obscure theonyms that are difficult to explain (Naon, Maelantonius, Aptus), the votive altars of Illyrians in Dacia are exclusively dedicated to divinities bearing Roman names. The religion of the Illyrians in their territory of origin is relatively little known. Hans Krahe put together a list of 57 theonyms he considered to be Illyrian, including a number of names bore by Celtic gods in Pannonia and Noricum⁴⁶, but their Illyrian character was contested by I. I. Rusu⁴⁷. In his opinion one can safely consider as Illyrian theonyms and epithets only those of god Bindus, of the Iapozii, Grabovius (an epithet of Jupiter, Mars and Vofionus in the Umbrian tables from Iguvium), Jupiter Menzana from Salentini and Verzobius from Beneventum and Vitolano⁴⁸. In order to distinguish the field of an «Illyrian religion» in Dacia, one needs to analyze the votive dedications of persons with Illyrian names. From a methodological perspective, it is incorrect to start from the premise that the divinities with Roman names preferentially adored by the Illyrians are the disguise of their national divinities, to establish thus a priori categories of *interpretationes Romanae* or *Illyricae* and to try to prove that some divine figures belong to the ancient Illyrian background⁴⁹. For S. Dušanić, the fact that divinities such as Liber Pater and Libera, Silvanus, Diana, Terra Mater, Hercules, Neptunus, Nymphae, Castores are predominantly adored in Illyricum is not explained by the resurgence of local beliefs and an *interpretatio Illyrica* applied to these Roman gods, but by the profession of the believers who make dedications: in short, these were the cults of miners, clerks, and other people in the field of mining. In order to delimit the «pantheon» of the miners in Illyricum, the author uses three criteria: their origin in a mining region, the explicit relation of the dedicator with mine-related activities and the mining competence of the respective divinity⁵⁰. In this way he establishes a circumstantial pantheon that comprises three groups of divinities adored by the miners. Starting from the idea that the ancients did not distinguish between the fertility of the soil and that of the underground, and that for them metals were perceived as fruits of the same nature that produced the wheat, the grass, the trees, the

46. KRAHE, H.: *Die Sprache der Illyrier*, I, Wiesbaden, 1955, pp. 80-86.

47. RUSSU, I. I.: *Illirii*, p. 50, no. 15.

48. *Ibidem*, pp. 34, 94.

49. Liber Pater and Libera, Silvanus, Diana as local gods in Illyricum – VON DOMASZEWSKI, A.: *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier, 1895, pp. 54-56.

50. DUŠANIĆ, S.: «The Miner's Cults in Illyricum», *Pallas*, 50, 1999, 2, p. 129, n. 2.

vines etc., he separates a group of divinities protectors of nature: Liber Pater and Libera, Silvanus, Diana, Ceres and Terra Mater (Dea Orcia, Aeracura). A second group consists of gods that protect the various activities involved by mining proper or related to it: Hercules (in connection to physical power and effort), Vulcanus (the god of blacksmiths and craftsmen), Neptunus and the Nymphs (related to the use of water in mining activities), Castores (in connection to labor in subterranean galleries). The third group includes divinities adored by miners but with less obvious connections to mining, such as Jupiter optimus maximus, Numen Augusti, Aesculapius and Hygeia, Fortuna, Nemesis, Antinous etc⁵¹.

The obvious question that must be addressed in this case is: are these divinities those of Illyrians or of miners? are they national or professional divinities? It is relevant to show that S. Dušanić, in his attempt to isolate the divinities of these miners, relied substantially on the votive altars discovered in Alburnus Maior and the miners in *Aurariae Dacicae* were predominantly Illyrians. In order to establish if the votive dedications of Illyrians in the mining area have any specific traits, if they preferred certain divinities, we will analyze the entire series of altars available at the present stage of research. A statistics of monuments erected by Illyrians in Dacia (most in Alburnus Maior and Ampelum, but also in Apulum, Potaissa, Napoca) indicates that Jupiter optimus maximus was the most popular (in the case of 13 monuments), followed by Silvanus (8) and Apollo (8), Neptunus (5), Janus and Diana (4 monuments each), Liber Pater, Terra Mater, Mercurius (3), Nymphae, Castores, Minerva, Iunona (2) and Sol, Venus, Fortuna, Hercules (1)⁵². In Alburnus Maior, where most altars come from, the classification of divinities according to the number of votive monuments dedicated to them is slightly different, but a group of preferred gods can be identified: Silvanus and Apollo (7 monuments each), Jupiter optimus maximus (6), Neptunus (5), Janus and Diana (4 each), Liber Pater, Mercurius and Terra Mater (3 each), Minerva, Nymphae, Iuno, Castores (2 each)⁵³. Among these divinities to whom people with Illyrian names (mostly non-citizens) have dedicated altars in Alburnus Maior and Dacia in general, one may note that some belong to the so-called professional divinities, protectors of miners, from the group delimited by S. Dušanić. The group of nature divinities is in this case composed of Silvanus, Diana, Liber Pater and Terra Mater and the group

51. DUŠANIĆ, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 129-139.

52. NEMETI, S.: *Sincretismul religios în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, pp. 85, 327-336.

53. *Ibidem*.

of divinities protectors of activities related to mining includes Neptunus, Nymphae and Castores. The partial correspondences might suggest that these gods assume the qualities of divinities protectors of miners, while the adoration of some such as Apollo, Jupiter and Janus raise doubt since they were preferred by Illyrian miners in Dacia but do not feature in S. Dušanić's list of miners' divinities. They are nevertheless to be found in the precarious list of preserved Illyrian theonyms and that of Illyrian divinities attested with certainty in Dalmatia during the Roman era.

The altars discovered on Hăbad Hill form an important lot that can provide indications on the religious preferences of Illyrians. The five collective dedications (made by *kastellani Ansi*) are important in establishing the preference of the group: the gods adored by the Illyrian community structured according to the model of ethnic *collegia* are Silvanus and Diana, Janus Geminus, Soranus, Minerva, while Neptunus features in most dedications and is invoked under a unique name. One finds here the same main group that holds statistical preponderance in Alburnus Maior: Silvanus and Diana, Apollo, Neptunus and Janus⁵⁴.

Another group of votive altars comes from the edifices excavated in Valea Nanului (on the spots known as Drumuş, Dulea and Székely), an area where *Sardeatae*, *Baridustae*, *Delmatae* and *Artani* are epigraphically attested. Among the invocations, one notes an altar dedicated to collective divinities (*Dii Artani* – the gods of those from *kastellum Artum*)⁵⁵, a god of the tribe of the *Delmatae* called Aptus⁵⁶, and a unique epithet of god Apollo, *Pirunenus*⁵⁷. There are no collective dedications to offer clues in establishing a main group of gods in the preference of these Illyrians. One notes that three altars are dedicated to Apollo, in one case the god receiving a unique epithet. Jupiter, Terra Mater and Mercurius received two altars each, while among those honored by a single altar one can mention Silvanus, Neptunus and Nymphae, Janus Geminus etc. Thus, some divinities from the main group also feature here: Apollo, Jupiter, Silvanus, Neptunus and Janus Geminus.

54. WOLLMAN, V.: *op. cit.*, pp. 263-295; *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 123-191; ARDEVAN, R.; COCIŞ, S.; COSMA, C., URŞUŢIU, A.: *op. cit.*, pp. 67-72.

55. PISO, I.: *op. cit.*, p. 298; *idem*: «Epigraphica (XVII)», *ActaMN*, 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 203, nr. 3; NEMETI, S.: *Kastellum Artum*, mss.

56. *Alburnus Maior*, I, p. 355 (the reading Aplo or Apio); PISO, I.: *op. cit.*, p. 298; *idem*, «Epigraphica...», pp. 201-202, no. 1: reads *Apto Delm*.

57. *Alburnus Maior*, I, p. 300, F, fig. 17/2, 20/2. I. PISO, «Epigraphica...», pp. 202-203, no. 2.

Therefore, the statistics of monuments dedicated to «Roman» gods by Illyrian believers, compared to the groups of gods popular among the communities in Hăbad and Valea Nanului⁵⁸ reveal the existence of a rule, of an improvised grouping of divinities that dominate the pantheon of these Dalmatian miners. Silvanus, Apollo and Jupiter are more popular, but the presence of Neptunus and Janus is unusual: the first is a god of the sea adored in the mountains of Dacia, and the second an archaic god absent from cult in Italy, who features in votive inscriptions in the area of Salona⁵⁹. Diana, Liber Pater, Terra Mater and the Nymphs are divinities of nature popular in Illyricum, while on Mercurius' or Minerva's «Illyrian» character one can only speculate. The selection of certain divine figures, among which some are obscure (Soranus), little popular (Janus) or inadequate for the region (Neptunus), illustrates the manner in which religious adaptation resulting from the overlapping of and confrontation between two polytheistic religious systems (the Illyrian and the Greco-Roman) is reached. The general aspect of the divine figures and of the dedication is classic: Latin language and the habit of erecting votive altars offer the background against which these Illyrians expressed themselves. Indications on local traditions in the cult of these gods and the selection of certain divine figures show, nevertheless, that under Roman name and aspect, the Illyrians were adoring their ancestral gods: Neptunus was adored because he was the patron of running waters and Illyrians saw Bindus in him, while the Latin Silvanus was depicted as a teriomorph being similar to the Greek Pan⁶⁰. But *interpretatio Illyrica* is not the only manner of religious expression of Dalmatian colonists in Apuseni Mountains. Imitating their Roman neighbors, they adored the Capitoline Triad—the nucleus of the official pantheon— Venus, the goddess of love, Fortuna, Liber, Mercurius and Terra Mater, and the Illyrian communities practiced the cult of tutelary genii, typical to the Roman religion. This continuous balance between the preservation of ancestral religious values and the borrowing of new religious forms is an integral part of the complex process of acculturation which would eventually lead to these Illyrians miners assuming new cultural identities. Learning Latin, adopting

58. Recently discussed by SCHÄFER, A.: «Gruppen von Weihealtären in ländlichen Heiligtümern Dakiens». In: AUFFARTH, C. (Ed.): *Religion auf dem Lande. Entstehung und Veränderung von Sakrallandschaften unter römischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, 2009, pp. 103-132.

59. NEMETI, S.: «Bindus Neptunus and Ianus Geminus at Alburnus Maior (Dacia)», in *Sudia Historica. Historia Antigua* (Salamanca), 22, 2004, pp. 91-101.

60. BĂRBULESCU, M.: *Interferențe spirituale în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca, 1984, p. 47; *idem*, *Culte greco-romane în provincia Dacia*, diss. Cluj-Napoca, 1985, pp. 103, 118-119.

Latin onomastics, and adopting the gods of the Romans equals, in historical terms, to their romanization.

INCINERATION NECROPOLISES IN APUSENI MOUNTAINS

In Romanian historiography, the topic of incineration necropolises was taken up in strict connection to the continuity of Dacian autochthons during the Roman era⁶¹. Starting from the premise that incineration, with its different variants, was the funerary rite of the Dacians before the Roman conquest, in the first stage all incineration necropolises have been attributed to the autochthonous Dacians. Thus, the necropolises in Zlatnei Mountains and those in Cașolț and Calbor were considered as being autochthonous. Gradually, in the specific bibliography, opinions became more nuanced as a consequence of correct analysis of the archaeological inventories: the three-foot bowls from Cașolț and Calbor led to these necropolises being attributed to Norico-Pannonian colonists⁶². The necropolises in Boteș-Corabia, Cinciș, Ighiu and Alba Iulia, attributed by some voices in the Romanian historiography to the autochthonous Dacians, were considered since the 1960s to belong to Illyro-Dalmatins⁶³. The necropolis discovered in Sighișoara, at Pârâul Hotarului, is an interesting case since it was attributed to Dacians who died during the time of the province until the discovery of funerary stelae whose inscriptions document a population with mix Celtic and Illyrian onomastics⁶⁴.

M. Garașanin's classification and mapping of pit incineration necropolises led him to the conclusion that this funerary phenomenon was in strict relation to Illyrian populations. The typology of these necropolises—called after the main places of discovery «Mala Kopašnica-Sase»—include the following types of tombs: 1. tombs with oval or rectangular

61. DAICOVICIU, C.: *La Transylvanie dans l'antiquité*, Bucarest, 1945, pp. 120-121; PROTASE, D.: *Riturile funerare la daci și daco-romani*, București, 1971.

62. HOREDȚ, K.: *Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, Bukarest, 1958, pp. 9-35.

63. MACREA, M.: «Les Daces à l'époque romaine à la lumière des récentes fouilles archéologiques», in *Dacia NS*, I, 1957, p. 214; PROTASE, D., *Riturile funerare...*, p. 10; *idem*: «Der Forschungsstand zur Kontinuität der bodenständigen Bevölkerung im römischen Dazien (2.-3. Jh.)», *ANRW*, II.6, 1977, p. 1.009.

64. LUPU, N.; MUREȘANU, A.: «Sondajul arheologic de la Pârâul Hotarului (Sighișoara)», *StCom*, 13, 1967, p. 183; MITROFAN, I.: «Inscripțiile de la Pârâul Hotarului (Sighișoara)», *ActaMN*, XVIII, 1981, p. 99-110.

(often with rounded corners) pits showing traces of burning on the walls and bottom; 2. tombs with step-pits and traces of burning; 3. tombs with unburnt, less deep, round or oval pits of various dimensions⁶⁵. M. Babeş corrected the interpretation of pits classified in this typology, by believing that M. Garašanin's type 1 are tombs with pits ritually burnt while type 2 are *busta*, pyre-tombs⁶⁶.

The necropolises in Alburnus Maior (Roşia Montană). By mapping the funerary monuments discovered during time in Roşia Montană, V. Wollmann managed to sketch the distribution of funerary discoveries in the area and to postulate the existence of several necropolises around the mining settlement, related to the groups of Dalmatian colonists organized in *kastella* around the mining center. The concentration of Roman remains associated to funerary discoveries indicates that the necropolises were located in the areas called Țarina, Găuri, Tăul Secuilor and Tăul Cornii⁶⁷. The situation sketched by V. Wollmann was confirmed by test trenches and rescue excavations initiated in 2000. Thus, incineration tombs with ritually burnt pits and Roman inventory items were uncovered in sections from the area *Hop – Găuri*, ca 150 m north of Tăul Găuri, part of a plain incineration necropolis⁶⁸. Research in 2001 led to the discovery of 171 incineration tombs there (89 *busta*, 82 with the dead burnt at an *ustrinum* and their remains deposited in simple, ritually burnt pits), and the necropolis continued on the steep slope in the southern area (where were found others 80 graves and a circular funeral monument with 4 tombs). The pits were of prolonged rectangular shape, with rounded corners. The inventory of these tombs consisted of Roman pottery, oil lamps, brooches, one mirror, coins, glass recipients (*lacrimaria*, *unguentaria*), iron nails and spikes, fragments of quartz and silex⁶⁹. Another incineration necropolis was systematically researched in 2002 in the area of *Tăul Cornii*. There have been identified 322 funerary complexes (of which 295 incineration tombs). According to funerary rite, they were classified as follows: a) tombs with on site burning (subtype 1 – with steps-pit, 15 tombs, subtype

65. GARĂȘANIN, M. V.: «Razmatranja o necropolama tipa Mala Kopašnica – Sase (Considérations sur le necropoles du type Mala Kopašnica – Sase. Contributions à la delimitation des Illyriens et des Daces à l'époque romaine)», in *Godisnjak*, VI, 4, 1968, pp. 27-34 (french abstract).

66. BABEȘ, M.: book-review of Miliutin Garašanin, *Razmatranja o necropolama tipa Mala Kopašnica – Sase*, *Godisnjak*, VI, 4, 1968, pp. 5-34, *RÉSEEE*, VIII, 4, 1970, pp. 727-730.

67. WOLLMANN, V.: *Mineritul metalifer...*, pp. 222-224, 229, pl. LXXXVIII.

68. CCA 2000 (2001), pp. 210-211.

69. CCA 2001 (2002), nr. 181; CCA 2002 (2003), pp. 104-106, nr. 62, 63; *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 193-251; SIMION, Mihaela; APOSTOL, V.; VLEJA, D.: *op. cit., passim*.

2 – with simple rectangular pit, without steps – 140 tombs) and b) tombs with burning at the *ustrinum* (with the deposition of calcined remains directly in the pit– 132 tombs; with urns – 3 tombs). The inventory consisted of pots, oil lamps, coins, dress accessories, *unguentaria*, iron nails etc.⁷⁰. Other three necropolises were researched between 2001 and 2006 in Roșia Montană: in the area *Orlea / Pârâul Porcului – Tăul Secuilor*⁷¹, on the spot called *Țarina*⁷² and the one known as *Jig – Piciorag*⁷³. The results of these researches have not been yet published, but on the basis of preliminary reports one can note that the funerary rite and installations were similar to those in the necropolises in Hop and Tăul Cornii. Incineration tombs with stone circles have been identified in 2001 on *Carpeni Hill*, and eight of them have been researched. These tombs had rectangular pits of variable dimensions, and the filling of the pits consisted of earth, coal and calcined bones. The pits have been ritually burnt, as the walls turned red on small portions indicate. The inventory of these tombs included pottery, glass recipients, three beads, five bronze coins, a gold earring etc.⁷⁴.

The necropolis in Boteș-Corabia. Several groups of tumular incineration tombs were discovered in Zlatnei Mountains, on the hills of Boteș and Poduri and closely by the massive of Corabia. Part of the tumuli were uncovered between 1878 and 1879 by Lukács Bela, in 1885 by G. Téglás and in 1938 by Octavian Floca⁷⁵. The tumuli measure in diameter ca. 3 m and between 40 and 50 cm in height from the present-day ground level. The pits showed up at ca. 0.80 - 1 m in depth from today's ground level, were oriented E-W, and were rectangular in shape, measuring between 1.60 and 0.60 m. The tumuli were surrounded by stone circles on the outside. The filling of the pits consisted of a layer of ashes and coal of 15 - 20 cm, few remains of burnt bones, pot fragments, nails, glass fragments,

70. *Alburnus Maior III, passim*; CCA 2001 (2002), p. 212; MOGA, V.: «Monumente inedite la Alburnus Maior», in *Studii de istorie antică. Omagiu profesorului Ioan Glodariu*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 384, 385.

71. CCA 2001 (2002), pp. 213-214; *Aburnus Maior*, I, pp. 36-37; CCA 2004 (2005), pp. 291-297, no. 187; CCA 2005 (2006), pp. 299-301, nr. 158; CCA 2006 (2007), pp. 295-300, no. 152.

72. *Alburnus Maior*, I, pp. 40-41; CCA 2003 (2004), pp. 264-280, no. 161; CCA 2004 (2005), pp. 298-313, no. 189; CCA 2005 (2006), pp. 297-299, no. 157.

73. CCA 2003 (2004), pp. 262-264, no. 160.

74. CCA 2002, no. 184.

75. IDR III/3, pp. 422-423; D. Protase, *Riturile...*, pp. 104-107; FLOCA, O.: «Cercetări arheologice în Munții Zlatnei, pe dealurile Boteș și Corabia», *AISC*, III, 1936-1940 (1941), pp. 160-173; *idem*, «Sistemele de înmormântare din Dacia Superioară romană», *Sargetia*, II, 1941, pp. 91-98; HOREDȚ, K.: *op. cit.*, pp. 13, no. 2; WOLLMANN, V.: *Mineritul metalifer...*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, pp. 156-158, 225-228.

oil lamps, entire containers (pots, plates, bowls). Octavian Floca's excavations in 1938 (five tombs on Pođuri Hill and one on Boteş Hill) indicate that the margins of the tombs had not been burnt and thus the incineration had not been performed inside the pits or on top of them but somewhere else —at an *ustrinum*— from where the calcined remains had been brought and deposited in the pits. The archaeological material discovered in the tombs can be dated generally to the Roman era, but some oil lamps and a bronze coin can be dated more exactly – to the middle of the second century A. D.

The necropolis in Brad-«La Petreneşti». The necropolis is located on the spot called «La Petreneşti», between the hills of Muncelul and Barza, and 126 incineration tombs were researched in 1966-1969, 1977-1980 and 1981⁷⁶. It is a plain incineration necropolis with two funerary rite variants: a) the burning of the dead in the pit, without a later moving of the calcined remains, b) the burning of the bodies at an *ustrinum* and the previous purification through fire of the pit. Out of 126 tombs, one third had a rectangular hollow each, measuring 80 X 40 X 20 cm, located inside the pits at 20-30 cm. What is more, hollows feature in some pits inside the walls, measuring 30 X 25 cm. The authors of the research have interpreted them as insertion places of wooden beams that supported the pyre. These tombs with steps-pits and hollows in the walls are tombs where the deceased were burnt on the spot (type *bustum*), while the simple smaller rectangular pits (measuring ca. 140 cm), with a thinner layer of coal and ashes and a superficial burning of the walls are tombs with ritually burnt pits and the incineration of the deceased at an *ustrinum* (two thirds of the total). Inventory: the pits generally contained Roman materials – pottery (cups, fruit bowls), oil lamps, iron nails, pearls, silver coins, silex and quartz fragments. What is remarkable is the discovery in this necropolis of three funerary stelae with the portraits of the deceased and Latin inscriptions and of a funerary slab with a Latin inscription. The busts of the deceased are typical for the figurative representations of the Illyrians on

76. STOIA, A.: «Les fouilles archéologiques en Roumanie», *Dacia NS.*, XXI, 1977, p. 359; *idem*, «Les fouilles archéologiques en Roumanie», *Dacia NS.*, XXII, 1978, p. 350; CRIŞAN, D.; BOZSITZ, B. Gh.: «Peste două milenii de activitate *minieră*», in *2000 trepte în minieritul zărândeian*, Deva, 1979, pp. 78-87; RUSU, Adriana: «Cercetări în necropola de la Muncelu Brad» *Materiale*, 1979, p. 219; IDR III/3 p. 426-432, nr. 435-438; WOLLMANN, V.: *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188, 228-229; RUSU, Adriana: «Les Illyriens en Dacie». In: FREI-STOLBA, Regula; HERZIG, H. E. (Eds.): *La politique édititaire...*, II, pp. 145-156.

funerary monuments in Dalmatia and Dacia⁷⁷. The Latin inscriptions indicate persons with Roman (peregrines), Illyrian and Thracian anthroponomastics: Aurelius Valerius, Marcus Antonius, Aurelia Banea, Dules Maximi, Aurelia Tzod (...).

The necropolis in Cinciș. A *villa rustica* has been discovered on the territory of the settlement in Cinciș, Hunedoara County, on the Popeasca plateau. A small cemetery has been also found ca. 200 m apart, on the western end of the plateau⁷⁸. The necropolis includes a funerary construction composed of two rooms: a funerary anteroom (a) and a wider inner space (b) where four tombs have been excavated. One of them was an inhumation tomb, built of brick, and devoid of inventory (robbed), while the other three were tumular incineration tombs. The pits were trough-like, oriented E-W, with traces of burning on the margins (incineration on the spot) and the tumulus was surrounded by a basis made of a circle of stones. Besides the funerary building there were another twelve incineration tombs, sharing the same characteristics. Tomb no. X contained a double burial and was the only outer tomb having a funerary stela with the depicted busts of two women. The pits contained ashes, coal and calcined bones, and some were covered with stone slabs. Their funerary inventory consisted of pottery (Roman pots and hand-made pottery), oil lamps, jewelry, coins, pieces of iron ore (limonite).

A mix typology, combining the necropolis type with the funerary rite variant is needed in the analysis of incineration necropolises containing tombs with calcined remains deposited directly in the pit. This is a funerary phenomenon encountered in the area of the Danubian provinces, in Illyricum (Dalmatia, the Pannonias, the Moesias, Thracia, Dacia)⁷⁹. The various types of pit incineration tombs thus cannot be attributed exclusively to the Illyrians, since these variants of funerary rite were also practiced by populations of other origin in this area.

77. DAICOVICIU, H.: «O stelă funerară de la Alburnus Maior *Potaissa*, III, 1982, pp. 106-107; NEMETI, Irina; NEMETI, S.: «Tracii și illirii» in BĂRBULESCU, M. (Ed.): *Funeraria Dacoromana. Arheologia funerară a Daciei romane*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, pp. 408-409.

78. FLOCA, O.; VALERA, M., «Villa rustica și necropola daco-romană de la Cinciș», *ActaMN*, II, 1965, pp. 163-193; PROTASE, D.: *Problema continuității în Dacia în lumina arheologiei și numismaticei*, București, 1960, pp. 30-31; *idem*, *Riturile...*, pp. 90-91; WOLLMANN, V.: *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 230-231.

79. GARAȘANIN, M. V.: *op. cit.*; BABEȘ, M., in *Dacia NS.*, XIV, 1970, p. 195; SIMION, G.: «Rituri și ritualuri funerare practicate în necropola romană de la Noviodunum», in *Pontica*, XXVII, 1994, p. 93, pl. 1; in Eastern Dalmatia, Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior. PETCULESCU, L.: «Mormântul cu echipament militar roman din cimitirul de sud-est al orașului Romula», in BĂRBULESCU, M. (Ed.): *Civilizația romană în Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 219.

Type 1. In Dacia, tombs type Garašanin 1- tombs with oval or rectangular ritually burnt pits – can be found in Boteș-Corabia (rectangular pits with rounded corners, either burnt or not), Cinciș (ritually burnt oval pits), Apulum – the Veterinarian Hospital (ritually burnt oval pits), Apulum-Podei (ritually burnt rectangular and oval pits), Alburnus Maior (ritually burnt rectangular and oval pits), Porolissum - Ursoieș (ritually burnt oval pits), Morești (ritually burnt oval pits), Obreja (ritually burnt oval pits), Muncelu - Brad (ritually burnt rectangular pits with rounded corners), Romula – the Northern Necropolis (ritually burnt oval pits). Tumuli were only erected over such pits in Boteș – Corabia and Cinciș (Pl. 2)⁸⁰. The pits are of variable size, shape, and orientation, but in essence they reflect the same funerary phenomenon: the burial of the dead that have been incinerated someplace else, at an *ustrinum*, in a pit ritually purified through fire (a practice that explains the burnt earth crust on the rim, walls and bottom of the pits, which was not caused by the incineration of the dead on top of these pits). Analogies in Dalmatia and the presence of these tombs in the mining region of Dacia (Boteș - Corabia, Muncelu - Brad, Roșia Montană, Cinciș) plead for their attribution to Illyrian populations⁸¹. The archaeological material discovered in these tombs was of a Roman type (with the exception of the coarse hand-made pottery found in Cinciș), but there are also other indications pleading for the attribution of these necropolises to Illyrian miners: fragments of iron ore (limonite) in Cinciș, quartz fragments from the Michaeli gold vein in Ruda – Brad⁸² in the tombs from Muncelu-Brad, fragments of silex and quartz from Roșia Montană (in the necropolis in «Hop-Găuri») and the funerary monuments depicting the deceased according to the canons of «Illyrian portraiture» in Muncelu - Brad⁸³ and Apulum – the Veterinarian Hospital⁸⁴.

Type 2. Tombs type Garašanin 2⁸⁵ – tombs with the incineration of the deceased on the spot (*bustum*) in a large rectangular pit excavated in steps – are to be found in Dacia in the necropolises in Muncelu - Brad (one third of the total), in Romula – the South-Eastern Necropolis (all 12 tombs discovered) and the Northern Necropolis (7 tombs), and in Roșia

80. NEMETI, Irina; NEMETI, S.: *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421.

81. JOVANOVIĆ, A.: «Romanization and ethnic elements in burial practice in the southern part of Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior». In: PEARCE, J.; MILLET, M.; STRUCK, Manuela (Eds.): *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*, Oxford, 2000, p. 205, fig. 21. 2.

82. WOLLMANN, V.: *Mineritul...*, p. 188, n. 168.

83. IDR III/3 435, 437.

84. PROTASE, D.: *Orizonturi daco-romane*, II, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 47.

85. JOVANOVIĆ, A.: *op. cit.*, p. 205, fig. 21.2, p. 207, fig. 21.5.

Montană («Hop-Găuri» – 89 tombs) (Pl. 2)⁸⁶. This type of on site incineration tombs, with the two-step firing pit, is of Greek origin and M. Babeş believes that it was borrowed during the Roman era by the Thracians and the Illyrians⁸⁷. This category can be found in the tumular necropolis in Histria (type JAaVI), and it is believed that it only featured during the Roman era in the eastern part of Thracia and in Dobrudja (the necropolises in Svetikirilovo, Stara Zagora, Lüleburgaz, Noviodunum), and must be thus attributed to Thracians⁸⁸. It is possible that in Dacia as well this funerary category may be explained by the presence of colonists from south of the Danube⁸⁹. In the necropolis in Muncelu – Brad, among the funerary stelae discovered in the cemetery, two belong to persons bearing Thracian names: Dules Maximi, one (Muca)tralis?, Aurelia Tzod⁹⁰. The cemetery in Muncelu – Brad, reuniting two variants of funerary rite (ritually burnt rectangular pits and steps-pits with on site incineration) and Thracian and Illyrian depictions and name parts can be attributed to a population colonized from the area on the linguistic border between the Thracians and the Illyrians⁹¹.

In conclusion, this funerary phenomenon – incineration with the deposition of calcined remains in a ritually burnt pit – is attributed to populations colonized in Dacia from the Dalmatian area. The funerary rite variants indicate the ethnic heterogeneity of these populations; the differences may have been caused by the presence in Dacia of communities coming from different tribes speaking Illyrian idioms. The onomastic analysis also indicates a colonization from different parts of Dalmatia⁹² (but not all researchers consider the method of identifying onomastic regions defined by groups of typical names as adequate)⁹³. Among the

86. NEMETI, Irina; NEMETI, S.: *op. cit.*, pp. 432-433.

87. BABEŞ, M., in *RĚSEE*, VIII, 4, 1970, p. 729.

88. ALEXANDRESCU, P.: *op. cit.*, pp. 265-267; BABEŞ, M.: «Zu den Bestattungsarten in nördlichen Flachgräfeld von Romula. Eine Beiträge zur Grabtypologie des römischen Daziens», *Dacia N.S.*, XIV, 1970, p. 195; VULIČEVA, Darina: «Tumular Burials in Thrace and Moesia Inferior and the Tumulus in other European Provinces». In: Roman, P.; DIAMANDI, Saviana; ALEXIANU, M.: *The Thracian World at the Crossroad of Civilisations*, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 645.

89. JOVANOVIC, A.: *op. cit.*, p. 205, fig. 21.2 («Mala Kopašnica – Sase» type tombs), p. 208, fig. 21. 5 («Thracian» type tumular burials).

90. IDR III/3 438, 436.

91. NEMETI, Irina; NEMETI, S.: «Funeraria Thracica». In: PROTASE, D.; BRUDAŞCU, D. (Eds.): *Napoca. 1880 de ani de la începutul vieţii urbane*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, pp. 185-187.

92. KATIČIĆ, R.: «Die Illyrischen Personennamen in ihrem südöstlichen Verbreitungsgebiet», *Živa Antika*, XII, 1962, 1, pp. 95-120; XII, 1963, 2, pp. 256-292.

93. ŠAŠEL, J.: «L'anthroponomie dans la province romaine de Dalmatie», in *L'onomastique latine*, Paris, 1977, p. 371-374.

names epigraphically attested in Dacia, some like Plator are frequent among the *Delmatae*, Epicadus, Epidius, Plarens, Temaius among the South-Eastern Illyrians, Bato, Dassius, Dassa, Dasmenus, Liccaius, Scenobarbus, Scenus among the *Paiones*, Titto, Verzaius, Verzo among the tribes in Eastern Dalmatia (*Glinditiones, Scirtones, Pirustae*)⁹⁴.

The enclaves of Illyrian population in Dacia preserve ancient funerary beliefs and practices, through which they delimit themselves as distinct groups in the provincial society. The analysis of Illyrian monuments and necropolises in Roman Dacia allows one to sketch a coherent scheme related to the romanization of these ethnic groups. The archaeological material discovered in tombs is provincial Roman, illustrating thus the first stage of romanization – *the taking over of material culture*. The analysis of the necropolises indicates a second stage, i.e. the *adoption of certain spiritual aspects*: funerary monuments with the depiction of the deceased according to the canons of provincial Roman art have been discovered. Some of them even include inscriptions written in Latin. One can also analyze the romanization of these persons through the study of votive and funerary inscriptions that can be attributed to the Illyrians according to onomastic criteria. Romanization is a modern theory articulated on fluid ancient realities which, without an applied study of the written sources, is bound to remain fatally abstract. There are sufficient historical and archaeological sources for the Roman province of Dacia to help one define the stages in the romanization of colonized groups of populations who have undergone a first contact with the Roman civilization in their lands of origin.

94. WILKES, J. J.: *Dalmatia*, Londra, 1969, pp. 162-176.

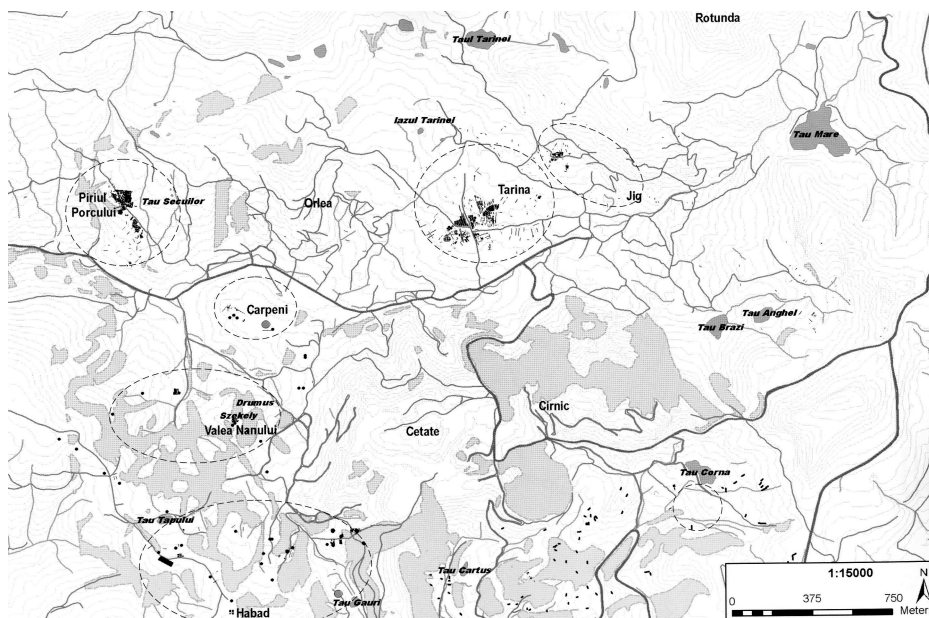


Plate 1. Archaeological findings in Roșia Montană (*Alburnus Maior*), after CIONGRADI, Carmen: *Die römischen Steindenkmäler aus Alburnus Maior*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

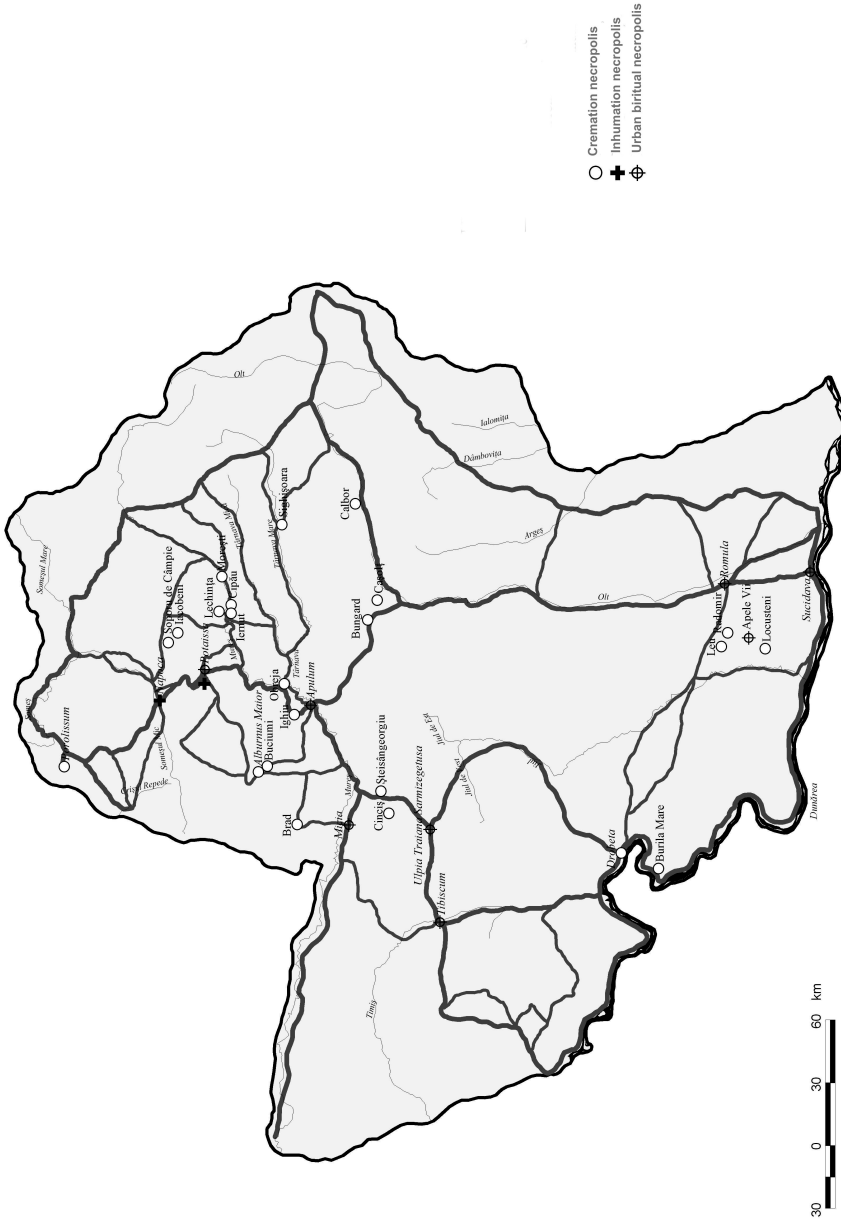


Plate 2. Necropolises in Roman Dacia, after BĂRBULESCU, M. (Ed.), *Atlas – Dicționar al Daciei romane*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AE: *L'Anné épigraphique*, Paris.
- AIA Cluj: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, Cluj-Napoca.
- ActaMN: *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
- ANRW: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Berlin - New York.
- Apulum: *Apulum. Anuarul Muzeului Unirii din Alba Iulia*, Alba Iulia.
- CCA: *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România*.
- CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
- Dacia NS: *Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne. Nouvelle Serie*, București.
- EphNap: *Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
- IDR: *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, I, București, 1975; II, 1977; III/1, 1977; III/2, 1980; III/3, 1984; III/5, Paris, 2001.
- ILD: PETOLESCU, C., C.: *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, București, 2005.
- Materiale: *Materiale și cercetări arheologice*, București.
- Pontica: *Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie*, Constanța.
- RE: PAULY, A.; WISSOWA, G. Et alii (Eds.), *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893 sqq.
- RÉSEE: *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, București.
- Sargetia: *Sargetia. Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara*, Deva.
- SCIV: *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche*, București.
- StCom: Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
- ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn.
- Živa Antica: *Živa Antica. Antiquité vivante*, Skopje.