MUREȘ VALLEY AS A ROUTE OF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN SOUTHERN TRANSYLVANIA AND NORTHERN ITALY DURING THE LATE IRON AGE*

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Abstract: *The article analyses the interactions between Dacian communities inside Carpathians range and northern Italy on the basis of two case-studies focusing on the Dacian fortresses from Ardeu – Cetățuie and Craiva – Piatra Craivii. These two sites are located on important access routes towards the mineral resources from Apuseni Mountains in the close proximity of the Mureș Valley. Archaeological discoveries from the two fortresses include different Roman artefacts that can be generally dated from the end of the 2nd century BC to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Their presence suggests that the local communities interacted in various ways with the Roman world and with other Dacian settlements and fortresses from the north of the Danube, which could have acted as intermediaries.*

Taking into account other studies that analysed the interactions between Romans and Dacians during the period in question, this paper aims to give new insights on the matter from a regional perspective that presents its own particularities and characteristics. The presence of a variety of imported goods in these Late Iron Age sites, as well as in others from the vicinity, like the Dacian fortresses from the Orăștie Mountains, suggests that many Dacian communities thrived in the proximity of the Mureș Valley, which was a major means of interaction with the Italic Peninsula and the Alpine region through the lower Danube and Sava valley.

Keywords: *interactions, Mureș Valley, Roman imports, Dacian fortresses, Ardeu – Cetățuie, Craiva – Piatra Craivii.*

The two archaeological sites

Before proceeding with the analysis of the recovered Roman artefacts, the two archaeological sites in question are briefly described (Pl. 1).

Ardeu – Cetățuie is situated in the southern part of the Ardeu village's territory, Balșa commune, Hunedoara county, Romania. It stands at approximately twenty kilometres north of the Mureș Valley, guarding one important route towards the rich gold resources in the Apuseni Mountains. The oldest mentions of the antiquities discovered on the site were made in the last quarter of the 19th century. This was followed by brief archaeological investigations in the 1970s, made by Larisa Nemoianu from the National Museum of Bucharest. Systematic investigations began in 2001, being organized by Iosif Vasile Ferencz from the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisations in Deva[2]. The extent of the excavations led to the identification of several structures,

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[2] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 17.

which include a precinct wall, a tower dwelling, a workshop and other common dwellings. The presence of a workshop was proven by the discovery of several semi-finished objects, debris from osseous materials as well as ferrous and non-ferrous slag[3]. Another workshop was also discovered at the base of the southern slope of the hill[4].

Craiva – Piatra Craivii is situated in the south-eastern part of the Apuseni Mountains, in the Trascău mountain range. The hilltop site dominates the surroundings of the Mureș Valley downstream of its confluence with the Arieș River. The Dacian fortress has access to the route along the Ampoi River and down to the Mureș Valley, and is close to the Metaliferi Mountains, which have rich mineral resources[5].

The Dacian fortress and settlement from Craiva-Piatra Craivii were discovered in the 1960'. Systematic archaeological investigations were carried out by Ion Berciu until 1970, uncovering archaeological materials belonging to the Bronze Age, La Tène and medieval periods; a short campaign was also organized in 1988 by Ioan Glodariu and Vasile Moga. Archaeological investigations were resumed in 2005[6].

Eleven inhabited terraces supported by thick walls built with limestone blocks were identified, as well a fortress built on the hilltop[7]. The construction technique of the wall stands out in comparison with other Dacian fortresses from Transylvania, being similar to the *opus Africanum* technique[8].

Besides the fortress, several structures were identified, including remains of some cult buildings and one workshop that produced brooches. The sanctuary uncovered on the 5th terrace was dated between the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD. On the other hand, archaeological evidence indicates that the workshop was active from the end of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 1st century AD[9].

Archaeological evidence

The analysis is based on two separate databases that gathered the published and unpublished Roman imports from Ardeu – Cetățuie and the published ones from Craiva – Piatra Craivii.

Ardeu – Cetățuie

Most of the Roman imports from Ardeu – Cetățuie were discovered in contexts related to different structures and areas. Their distribution shows three main concentrations: the workshop, the tower-dwelling and the area between the three dwellings from the south-eastern part of the plateau and the eastern wall of the fortress (Pl. 1). A few other Roman finds come from the foot of the eastern slope of the "Cetățuia" hill.

One category of artefacts includes a quite large number of bronze objects having different functions: drinking-related vessels, a statuette of the god Mercurius, two strongly profiled brooches and the fittings of a wooden box. The term "bronze" is used in this article to indicate objects made from copper-based alloys. In the absence of any chemical core or surface analyses of these artefacts, the observations regarding their identification are based on typological

[3] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 18.
[4] FERENCZ/BODÓ 2004; FERENCZ 2014; PESCARU ET AL. 2000, 15.
[5] PLANTOS 2006A, 8.
[6] PLANTOS 2006A, 8–9; MOGA 2009, 106–109.
[7] PLANTOS 2006A, 10; PLANTOS 2005, 449–450.
[8] BODÓ 2001, 319–324.
[9] RUSTOIU/MOGA 1997

data and their context of discovery, which were correlated with the evolution of trading routes towards the region in question as well as other means and ways of interaction and acquisition of bronze items.

The bronze vessels repertoire includes a thin-cast saucepan. This is a stray find discovered on the eastern slope of the hill. The fragmentary saucepan has a horizontal rim decorated with a band of ovolos, a small body with slightly convex walls, a flat base turned on the lathe and a handle with rich incised decoration that also displays the stamp of the manufacturer, which is unfortunately poorly preserved, making it unreadable[10].The vessel belongs to the Petrovszky type III, conventionally known as Blechkasserolle, and was usually part of a drinking service, being used for mixing the wine in the Roman world. Such vessels were produced in north-eastern Italy, at *Aquileia*, between the last two decades of the 1st century BC and the third decade of the 1st century AD. Due to the context of discovery, it is impossible to provide a precise dating of this artefact, but it probably fits into the same chronological interval as other similar examples. Worn-out lines on the handle decoration suggest a prolonged use[11].

The second bronze vessel is a strainer discovered in an archaeological complex situated at the foot of the hill, having a possible ritual or funerary function. The complex was dated between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD. The strainer is in a poor state of conservation, so nine fragments belonging to the perforated area were found, thus making typological identification difficult[12]. The context of discovery could suggest that the strainer belonged to one of the types produced in the period in question. These include strainers of the Eggers 159a type, produced during the Augustan period in the same northern Italic workshops which made the previously mentioned thin-cast saucepans. The decorative pattern of the perforated area of the strainer is similar to that of other examples belonging to the Eggers 160 type. Another possible typological identification is provided by the late Republican strainers produced between the end of the 2nd century BC and the Tiberian period. The strainer in question shows regular cuts and some large perforations made on the edge, thus indicating that it was meant to be attached to a different setting. It has been presumed that the original vessel was no longer functional, but the straining part was still in a good shape and was reused for a longer period[13].

Another fragment of a bronze vessel is the foot belonging to a Tassinari 1100 type basin. The piece is a stray find, being discovered by locals on a terrace situated on the eastern slope of the Cetățuia hill. The top rectangular plaque of the piece is covered with numerous random fine incisions, suggesting a prolonged use perhaps as an anvil[14]. Similar bronze feet were found in Dacia at Sarmizegetusa Regia and Costeşti – Cetăţuie, aside from a stray find belonging to the collections of the Arad Museum Complex. The artefact originates from the same north-eastern Italic workshops, being dated between the last decades of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD[15].

Furthermore, two other bronze vessel bases were identified. The first one was discovered in an annex room belonging to the workshop. In the same context were discovered two bronze sheet fragments[16]. The piece is in a poor state of conservation, with oxidized bronze drops on each side, suggesting a reuse in metallurgical activities. The preserved parts of the vessel indicate that the body was produced together with the base. Since concave bases with concentric circles

[10] for a detailed description of the piece see FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 26.
[11] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 18–20.
[12] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 26.
[13] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 20–21.
[14] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 26.
[15] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 22.
[16] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 26.

appear on a wide variety of Roman bronze vessels produced during the 1st century AD, the precise typological identification is impossible[17].

The second base was discovered in a demolition layer belonging to the tower-dwelling. It belonged to a vessel with the body and the base made separately, with the joining still visible[18]. According to the dimensions and shape, the base probably belonged to a Tassinari 1000 / Raev 18 globular amphora produced in the second half of the 1st century AD, or to certain types of bronze jugs used for boiling water[19].

Six other bronze fragments were probably part of bronze vessels, including the two bronze sheets mentioned earlier. Their preservation is poor, most of them being found in the area of the workshop, thus not allowing a proper typological identification. They show clear cut marks and were severely bent, being probably collected as scrap metal to be reused in other metallurgical works[20].

Among the bronze artefacts is the statuette of Mercurius which was discovered in a corner of the structure where the workshop and the nearby craftsmen's dwelling functioned[21]. The mould cast bronze statuette was attached to a rectangular lead base which was not part of the original piece. Mercurius is represented in a standing posture, nude and with his body weight rested on his left foot, while the right foot is flexed. The obviously later attachment of the base was cast in a rough manner in comparison with the representation of the god.

Bodily ornaments originating from the Roman world are also present at Ardeu – Cetățuie, being represented by two strongly profiled brooches. The first piece is a stray find discovered in the vegetal layer on the western side of the upper plateau. Made of bronze and deformed in antiquity[22], the piece has been typologically identified as belonging to the Rustoiu 19c type that includes brooches with a full catch-plate[23]. The "c" variant was widespread across Dacian territory, being dated to the 1st century AD[24].

The second brooch was discovered by a villager from Ardeu on the eastern slope of the hill, on a small terrace situated near the ancient road that provided access to the upper plateau[25]. The piece was identified as belonging to the Rustoiu 19a type, being made of bronze and having a bilateral spring composed of 4+4 spires, a protecting plaque and an external chord. The bow is flattened and decorated with a knob separated by two ribs. The foot ends with a knob preceded by a rib and the catch-plate is perforated. Brooches of the Rustoiu 19a type appeared at the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD and were used until the middle or the third quarter of the 1st century AD[26].

A bronze element belonging to a wooden box was discovered on the western side of the "*Judele*" plateau among other artefacts, such as the aforementioned strainer, in a funerary or ritual context which was dated to the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD. The piece is composed of a rectangular bronze sheet with serrated edges and a centred L-shaped keyhole and a small rectangular perforation below it. The corners of the bronze sheet display four circular perforations which were meant to affix the piece on a wooden box.

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17 FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 23.
18 FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 27.
19 FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 25.
20 FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 25.
21 FERENCZ ET AL. 2005, 56–57.
22 for a discussion regarding the intentional brooches' deformation SEE FERENCZ 2003, 101, note 30.
23 FERENCZ 2003, 101.
24 FERENCZ 2003, 102.
25 FERENCZ ET AL. 2017, 327–328.
26 FERENCZ ET AL. 2017, 326–329.

Similar wooden box fittings were discovered in other sites from pre-Roman Dacia[27]. These boxes could have had several functional purposes ranging from the storage of valuables to medical kits, with a well-known example found at Grădiştea Muncelului[28]. They were commonly used in the Roman world, and their presence is also proven archaeologically by the discovery of keys and other metal parts of the box, like fittings, locks and hinges. Because these artefacts were used within a wider chronological frame, the context of discovery provides a better dating of the presented item.

Some imported iron objects were also discovered at Ardeu-Cetățuie, namely four iron keys. Three of the keys were discovered in a demolition layer on the upper plateau, where the tower-dwelling collapsed[29]. The fourth key is only known from a drawing by Larisa Nemoianu; the context of discovery and the object itself are lost. Presumably, this key was discovered in one of the trenches excavated in the 1970s. The keys were forged from iron and are well preserved. The context of discovery of the keys also contained a base from a bronze vessel and an imported ceramic lamp. Considering the presence of boxes, caskets and chest provided with locks, imported from the Roman World, it is likely that the keys were also imported with the mentioned containers[30]. Their typological identification and the context of discovery provide a dating between the last quarter of the 1st century AD and the first quarter of the 2nd century AD[31].

Ceramic objects of foreign origin include a lamp. The completely preserved lamp was discovered in the upper part of the demolition layer, together with the keys and the base of a bronze vessel. Its features suggest a provincial variant of the Loeschecke X type, more likely produced in Pannonia[32]. Original lamps of this type appeared in northern Italy after AD 70. In Pannonia, provincial copies are dated between the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Accordingly, the lamp from Ardeu, probably originating from the Roman province of Pannonia, can be dated between the end of the 1st century AD and the time of the fortification's destruction during the second Roman-Dacian war[33].

The group of glass artefacts from Ardeu includes a well preserved glass counter and nine glass fragments which were found mainly in contexts belonging to the workshop and the tower-dwelling, while a single example was discovered near the southern dwellings on the upper plateau. Most fragments are small and poorly preserved, making difficult any detailed identification. Therefore the typological identification was based on the manufacturing technique and the morphological characteristics of the fragments[34].

Two fragments of glass more likely belong to *balsamaria.* The first fragment was found in the area of the collapsed tower-dwelling and the second was found in the context of the workshop[35]. They can be dated according to the context of discovery and some analogies between the middle of the 1st century AD and the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. Different types of *balsamaria* are well represented in many sites from the Roman Empire, being frequently used in funerary contexts. Similar vessels were also used to store cosmetic substances while others were found together with pharmaceutical ointments or dried herbs[36].

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[27] for a detailed list see FERENCZ 2010A, 227–229.
[28] CRIȘAN 2007.
[29] FERENCZ 2010B, 288.
[30] FERENCZ 2010B, 289.
[31] FERENCZ 2010B, 288.
[32] FERENCZ 2005, 373.
[33] FERENCZ 2005, 378.
[34] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 355.
[35] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 356.
[36] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 357.

The group of glass finds from Ardeu-Cetățuie also includes seven fragments of vessels made using the mould-blown technique.

The first fragment probably belonged to an *aryballos* which was discovered in the workshop. Typologically, the vessel can be identified as an Isings form 61[37]. Based on the context of discovery and other analogies, the vessel can be dated between the middle of the 1st century and the 2nd century AD. The glass *aryballos* was also widespread in the Roman world. Its main function was to store oils used for personal hygiene at the baths. Although, it is more likely that the *aryballos* from Ardeu suffered a change in functionality, considering that no proper baths were discovered on the site[38].

Another type of mould-blown glass vessel found at Ardeu is the beaker with indented walls. The fragmentary vessel was found in a section of the workshop and can be typologically identified as an Isings form 32[39]. Accordingly, the piece has been dated between the middle of the 1st century and the 2nd century AD. Glass beakers were used both in daily life and in ceremonial events of banquets[40].

Another identified vessel is the hemispherical bowl with reverted rim. The fragment has been found in the workshop and can be ascribed to the Isings 42 a, or b type[41]. This type of bowls is common in the western Roman provinces and their proximity. Their production started in Augustus' times and continued until the 2nd century AD, with some examples unearthed in Pannonia and the eastern provinces. Although, the context of discovery narrows the chronological framing between the middle of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD[42].

Another glass fragment was found in the workshop. It is poorly preserved, so it can only be said that the vessel had a globular shape. The fragment has cobalt blue and white wave striped decoration. Accordingly, it could belong either to a bowl or cup. Considering the context in which the artefact was discovered, it could be dated from the middle of the 1st century to the beginning of the 2nd century AD[43].

The last two mould-blown fragments are thick, rough and have a greenish colour. The first was discovered between the eastern wall and the southern dwelling from the upper plateau, and the second fragment was discovered in the demolition layer of the collapsed tower-dwelling. Their morphological features tend to identify them as fragments of square bottles belonging to the Isings 50a type[44]. In the Roman world, this type of glassware was intended for storing liquids or as serving tableware. The square bottles circulated in the Roman world from the 1st century until the 4th century AD. According to the context of discovery, the bottle fragments from Ardeu can probably be dated to the second quarter of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD[45].

Next piece is a well preserved glass counter, which was discovered in the level corresponding to the workshop's destruction. The presence of this piece among other counters manufactured from broken local ceramic vessels and a bone die, which was considered to be a Roman import, suggests its functionality as a gaming piece[46].

A single bone artefact discovered at Ardeu-Cetățuie is of foreign origin – a die. The well preserved piece was found in the upper level of the workshop, under the vegetal layer, in

[37] ISINGS 1957, 78–81.
[38] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 357.
[39] ISINGS 1957, 46–47.
[40] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 357.
[41] ISINGS 1957, 57.
[42] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 357.
[43] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 358.
[44] ISINGS 1957, 63–66.
[45] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 359.
[46] FERENCZ ET AL. 2016, 61–67.

association with artefacts dated to different periods. This level represents the backfill of Larisa Nemoianu's excavation in a section near the workshop. Although, bone and antler manufacturing was documented at Ardeu, the very good quality of the piece suggests a standardized production in a Roman workshop[47].

Craiva – Piatra Craivii

Roman artefacts from Craiva – Piatra Craivii, as well as other archaeological finds, generally lack an exact context of discovery. Many of them are mentioned as coming from one of the three terraces, mainly the 5th terrace, thus making context-related interpretations difficult. Besides the upper plateau of the fortresses and the mentioned terraces, a cremation grave was discovered near the fortress; it included a funerary inventory composed exclusively of iron objects.

The category of imported bronze wares is composed of numerous and typologically diverse artefacts: vessels belonging to drinking sets, bodily ornamentations, fragments belonging to a statue and a statuette. The exact number of bronze fragments belonging to different vessels is currently unknown. Only some artefacts were completely analyzed, while others are just mentioned in archaeological literature.

The bronze vessels repertoire includes one attachment of a *situla* of the Eggers 18 type. The production of Eggers 18 *situlae* is dated between the first half of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD. They originated from the Italic Peninsula, being manufactured in different workshops[48]. Several fragments of the same type of vessel have been discovered in other sites across Dacia. The contextual recordings of the fragments found in the region are missing, thus the chronological reference takes into account the general dating of the sites as well as the distribution stages of bronze vessels in the northern Balkans region, indicating their presence in Dacia from the last third of the 1st century BC onward[49].

Another piece belonging to some bronze vessel is mentioned in archaeological literature. The piece consists of a rhombic attachment representing an anthropomorphic figure resembling Gorgona – Medusa provided with small rivets at the upper and lower ends[50]. The shape and fastening elements of the artefact suggest that it was probably part of a *situla.* Situla attachments representing anthropomorphic figures are represented in various archaeological studies. Although, the mentioned pieces are formed from the figure and the upper ring designed for inserting the handle of a situla, cast in a single piece. This may suggest the possibility that the piece from Craiva was fastened to a situla attachment. Within the Dacian territory was discovered one example of situla attachment provided with fastening orifices at Piatra Neamț – Bâtca Doamnei. The mentioned piece has been identified as a type Eggers 18 situla attachment, and dated accordingly. In the absence of other analogies, the artefact from Craiva most likely was part of the attachment of a situla from the type last mentioned.

The third bronze vessel fragment is a trapezoidal attachment of a *situla* of the Eggers 20 type, discovered on the 5th terrace[51]. A similar *situla* has been found at Brad in the fortified settlement, where the context of discovery provide a dating to the second half of the 1st century BC, although the vessel could have been used over a longer period. The previously mentioned find, as well as the one discovered at Piatra Craivii, have attachments that are similar to the one found at Manching and dated to the LT D[52].

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[47] FERENCZ ET AL. 2016, 62–65.
[48] RUSTOIU 2005, 54.
[49] RUSTOIU 2005, 55; 81.
[50] MOGA/PLANTOS 2007, 23, Pl. 23; GLODARIU 1974 Pl. XLV, B11/j.
[51] RUSTOIU 2005, 55; GLODARIU 1974, Pl. XLV, B11/g.
[52] RUSTOIU 2005, 56.

Another part of a bronze vessel is the handle of a strainer[53], which was probably similar to the strainer discovered at Ardeu – Cetățuie. These strainers are generally dated from the 2nd century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD. The production area is considered to be southern Italy but other places of production cannot be excluded[54]. Similar strainers come from the Sava basin and the Middle Danube region, as well as from other sites in Dacia such as Pietroasele – Gruiul Dării and Șuncuiuș – Peștera Ungurului. The lack of a clear context of discovery leads to a general dating between the end of the 2nd century and the last third of the 1st century BC, with the possibility that the pieces in question were also used in the 1st century AD[55].

Another artefact belonging to the bronze vessel repertoire is a fragmentary handle shaped to resemble a bird's head. The fragment comes from a "pan" of the Aylesford or Eggers 130 type. The location of the workshops that produced this type of vessels is considered to be in Campania, but other areas were also suggested[56]. The general dating ranges from the end of the 2nd century BC to the first two decades of the reign of Augustus, being discovered in the Italic Peninsula, as well as in sites from western, central and northern Europe. In eastern Europe, the Aylesford "pans" are distributed in a similar fashion as other late Republican vessels, with discoveries in the Sava basin, the Balkans and north of the Danube[57]. In Dacia two fragments of similar vessels were discovered at Ocnița and Divici – Grad. The context of the fragment discovered at Divici belongs to the last layer of habitation in the fortress, dated to the 1st century AD, suggesting a prolonged use. Other late Republican vessels from the same fortress belong to a layer dated from the second half of the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD[58]. Taking into account these chronological data, the distribution of this type in the northern Balkans region is placed at the end of the 2nd and during the first half of the 1st century BC[59].

Another bronze artefact discovered on the 5th terrace resembles a vine leaf and can be identified as an attachment of an Eggers 94 type krater. The prototype for this type of vessels comes from Macedonia, where a similar example was discovered in the tumulus of Aigai, known as the tomb of King Philip, dated to the 4th century BC[60]. Similar vine leaf-shaped attachments have been discovered in Greece, Gaul, Britain, northern Germanic regions, Egypt, and the Scordiscian area, with some examples concentrated in the southern Alpine region. This type of krater was produced at Capua or in other workshops from the Greek environment in southern Italy, although the presence of more examples in northern Italy may suggest other areas of production as well. The dating is based on the few discoveries from clear archaeological contexts indicating the middle of the 1st century BC until the reign of Augustus[61].

A fragmentary handle belonging to a skyphos was unearthed in the civilian settlement[62]. The piece represents a fretwork bronze plaque which was mould cast showing a decorative register of stylized aquatic birds[63]. This type of vessels was produced between the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD, similar examples being discovered in

[53] PLANTOS 2005, 451.
[54] RUSTOIU 2005, 67.
[55] RUSTOIU 2005, 74; 81.
[56] FEUGÈRE 1991, 106; BOLLA 1994, 15–18.
[57] RUSTOIU 2005, 69.
[58] RUSTOIU 2005, 70.
[59] RUSTOIU 2005, 74.
[60] BOLLA 1991, 115.
[61] BOLLA 1991, 117.
[62] GLODARIU 1974, Pl. XLVI, B/10m.
[63] MOGA / PLANTOS 2007, 25, Pl. 28.

Noricum and Pannonia. In Dacia, one piece was found at Luncani – Piatra Roșie; the fragment from Craiva – Piatra Craivii more likely arrived in the same timespan[64].

Another fragment of a bronze vessel discovered at Craiva – Piatra Craivii belongs to a basin of the Eggers 91–92 type. This is a mobile attachment which was unearthed on the 5th terrace[65]. The production of this type of basin is dated from the beginning of the reign of Augustus to the middle of the 1st century AD, with many examples discovered in the Germanic areas. Fragments from similar vessels were also discovered in Dacia, at Luncani – Piatra Roșie, Pietroasele – Gruiul Dării, Costești – Cetățuie and Sighișoara – Wietenberg[66]. The contexts of discovery from Dacia suggest that this type of vessels arrived in the northern Danube region at the end of the 1st century BC and remained in use until the middle of the 1st century AD[67].

Other pieces belonging to some bronze vessels are mentioned in archaeological literature. One is a well preserved bronze handle was determined as part of a small bronze vessel[68]. The published plate has no scale, making any measuring difficult. The semicircular shape of the handle, with the extremities bent upwards and flattened at the end may resemble the handles from a large array of *situlae*. In the absence of other information regarding the piece, any identification is speculative.

The last unidentified part of a bronze vessel is a base with two deepened concentric circles and a centred orifice[69]. Many types of Roman bronze vessels have these features, mainly those dated to the 1st century AD[70]. From the illustration, it is likely that the vessel was cast in a single piece, although the purpose of the orifice is currently unknown.

A fragmentary bronze chain used for the suspension of Roman lamps or candelabra has also been found on the 5th terrace[71]. The chain was initially identified as a Rustoiu I type, of profiled chains with bars joined by simple rings, which was dated to the end of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC. Accordingly, the appearance of Roman bronze candelabra in pre-Roman Dacia could be dated to the second half of the 1st century BC, more likely in the Augustan period[72].

The category of Roman bronze imports also includes bodily ornaments. The first piece is a rectangular-shaped belt buckle with two pins, decorated with stylized heads of aquatic birds, which was identified as belonging to a Garbsch G2a type and Rustoiu 4 type[73]. These buckles are widespread, with numerous discoveries across Noricum, Pannonia and Germanic areas dated to the beginning of the 1st century AD[74]. An identical piece was discovered at Pietroasele – Gruiul Dării, while the find from Magdalensberg was dated to the times of Augustus[75]. Without a context of discovery, the buckle in question can be dated according to the analogies mentioned above, from the beginning of the Augustan period to the beginning of the 1st century AD.

Another clothing accessory consists of a rectangular bronze plaque with nine symmetrical perforations interspersed with groups of three small incisions forming a decorative register.

[64] RUSTOIU 2005, 79.
[65] GLODARIU 1974, Pl. XLIV, B11/b.
[66] RUSTOIU 2005, 79.
[67] RUSTOIU 2005, 80.
[68] BERCIU ET AL. 1965, Pl. 83, Fig. 32a, no. 3.
[69] BERCIU ET AL. 1965, Pl. 84, Fig. 32b, no. 14.
[70] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 24.
[71] BERCIU ET AL. 1965, Fig. 33b, no. 37.
[72] RUSTOIU/EGRI 2008, 81.
[73] PLANTOS 2009, 57.
[74] RUSTOIU 1996, 120.
[75] PLANTOS 2009, 58.

The belt has been identified as belonging to a Garbsch B7g type and Rustoiu 9 type, dated to the Augustan time, onward. Similar belts have been discovered in the Germanic area and also south of the Danube[76].

A well preserved bronze pendant was also discovered, showing a bird with spread wings, decorated with concentric circles and incised dots. While analyzing the manufacturing technique, Aurel Rustoiu has found similarities with the bird-shaped brooches having a hinge, characteristic for the Roman World in the 1st century AD[77].

Among the foreign bronze artefacts found at Craiva-Piatra Craivii are two fragments that belonged to a statue and a statuette respectively. The first artefact is a mould cast bronze foot that belonged to a medium-sized statue. The quality of the execution and style of representation suggest that it was most probably made in a specialized Mediterranean workshop. The bronze leg has the big toe ripped off and the upper part shows traces of cutting and hammering. Ioan Glodariu dated the artefact to the 1st century AD, although the dating is questionable due to the absence of a known context of discovery or a typological identification[78]. Its presence in a Dacian site may suggest that the fragment was a result of a plundering raid in one of the neighbouring Roman provinces. The tool marks on the artefact suggest a possible attempt to reuse the bronze in the workshop from the 5th terrace, so it could have come there as scrap metal[79].

The second artefact is a fragment of a hollow cast bronze statuette showing the god Amor. It was discovered on the "Bănuțului" terrace in 1988 and was dated to the 1st century AD. It can be assumed that the statuette arrived at the Dacian fortress from Piatra Craivii, in a similar fashion as the last presented artefact, and was reused accordingly[80].

The first ceramic artefact of foreign origin is a fragmentary cylindrical neck with an attached handle and a small part of the rim. The vessel was made of a fine light grey fabric and the strap handle is grooved. The recovered fragment has a height of 20.31 cm, being initially identified as an amphora dated to the 1st century BC[81]. In this context, it has to be mentioned that several other amphora fragments have been mentioned, but no details or illustrations were published[82].

Reconsidering the morphological features of the piece, especially the rounded shape of the lower part of the fragment, the slender neck and the bell shaped mouth, as well as the presence of a single handle positioned under the rim, without any observable traces of a second handle, it can be suggested that the fragment comes from a *lagynos,* a wide-bodied wine flask. *Lagynoi* were mainly manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean regions, at Pergamon and in Asia Minor workshops, with many examples also discovered in other parts of the Mediterranean basin and on the Black Sea coasts, being generally dated from the 3rd to the 1st century BC. The morphological features resemble variant 1 of Cypriot *lagynoi*, defined by a strapped handle with grooves, plain, torus or cup shaped rim, round or angular body, datable from late 2nd to the end of the 1st century BC[83]. Still, the height of the preserved part and the angle of the vertical handle point towards a common, large angular body *lagynos*, which could be also used in transporting wine. Similar artefacts were discovered in sites outside the Carpathians, being identified as originating from Pergamian or Asia Minor workshops, dated between the middle of the 2nd century

[76] PLANTOS 2009, 59.
[77] RUSTOIU 1996, 127.
[78] GLODARIU 1974, 237.
[79] RUSTOIU/MOGA 1997.
[80] MOGA/PLANTOS 2007, 24, Pl. 25.
[81] MOGA/PLANTOS 2007, 30, Pl. 42.
[82] BERCIU ET AL. 1965, 134.
[83] ROTROFF 1997, 226–228.

and the middle of the 1st century BC[84]. It is also worth mentioning that two *lagynoi* were discovered inside the Carpathians range, at Fețele Albe[85] and Căpâlna[86].

The second ceramic artefact of foreign origin is a completely preserved *skyphos* [87]. The vessel belongs to the category of *skyphoi* with a vertical rim and recurved handles, associated with drinking activities and documented among the Pontic and Bosphoran sigillata. Similar vessels belonging to the Pontic *sigillata* have been dated from the middle of the 1st century AD to the beginning of the 2nd century AD in pre-Roman Dacia, being widespread outside the Carpathians range[88]. Still, the very pale brownish colour of the fabric as well as the composition of the paste and the polished reddish-yellow coating, indicate that the vessel doesn't belong to any of the Pontic *sigillata* groups[89].

The third ceramic fragment comes from a plate that was discovered in the rectangular sanctuary from the 5th terrace[90]. *The fabric is of fine quality, bluish-grey with the firnis of the same colour and shiny*[91]. *The vessel belongs to the category of fine grey tableware. Two centres producing colour-coated grey vessels have been identified in the eastern Mediterranean, one at Knidos and the second at Ephesus, while some pieces burned in a reducing atmosphere were linked to the Eastern Sigillata B group. Other similar pieces had been identified as products of Pontic workshops, coming from Olbia and Histria*[92]. *This kind of grey ware is dated from the 2nd century to the end of the 1st century BC with one Pontic example that could be dated to the end of the 1st century AD*[93].

The glass artefacts that were discovered at Craiva – Piatra Craivii consist of glass fragments belonging to a hemispherical bowl and a *millefiori* dish with a ring shaped base.

The fragmentary hemispherical bowl was discovered on the 5th terrace. The piece has a yellowish, semi-transparent fabric and was decorated with broad, horizontal grooves[94]. The shape of the fragment indicates that it belonged to the type of hemispherical "grooved" bowls which appeared in the Syro-Palestinian region between the late 3rd century and the middle of the 2nd century BC. The type was produced in large quantities and diffused through-out the Mediterranean Basin, being used for a long period of time. The pieces that arrived in the Italic Peninsula generated a local production dated between the end of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Similar vessels were discovered outside the Carpathians, at Grădiștea (Brăila County), Poiana, Răcătău and Pietroasele – Gruiul Dării, being dated from the last quarter of the 2nd century to the middle of the 1st century BC[95].

Other glass fragments come from a dish with a ring shaped base, decorated in the millefiori style. The place of discovery is uncertain, the fragments being discovered either on the terrace known as "Terasa Balcon"[96] or on the 5th terrace[97]. The graphically reconstructed vessel has a rim diameter of 15.5 cm and a base diameter of 5.5 cm. The rim of the vessel is decorated with white oblique lines. The base of the vessel was separately made before being attached to the body and has a wide range of colours from violet to green and yellow. The entire glass vessel is

[84] POPESCU 2014, 18, Fig.3.
[85] NEAMȚU ET AL. 2016, 155, fig. 6.
[86] NEAMȚU ET AL. 2016, 49, fig.25.
[87] POPESCU 2013, 274, Pl. 64.
[88] POPESCU 2013, 76.
[89] POPESCU 2013, 88.
[90] POPESCU 2013, 267, Pl. 57. GWa.
[91] POPESCU 2013, 176.
[92] POPESCU 2013, 84–85.
[93] POPESCU 2013, 92, Chart 5.
[94] PLANTOS 2006B, 145.
[95] PLANTOS 2006B, 146; POPESCU ET AL. 2010, 145.
[96] PLANTOS 2006B, 147.
[97] PLANTOS 2006B, 148.

mainly coloured in dark blue, with slight intrusions of violet and floral light blue, green, yellow and white bearing discs[98]. Considering the shape of the vessel and some features of the *millefiori* decoration, the artefact probably belongs to the so-called *Antikythera* group, section II A, of *millefiori* dishes with a ring base and flaring rim, albeit the pattern of decoration is not identical. The cargo from the ship dates the glass artefacts between 80 and 50 BC[99]. Although, this group does not set a *terminus ante quem* for the production of *millefiori* vessels, archaeological discoveries show their presence in the Roman world until the 3rd century AD[100]. Taking into account the time span in which these vessels were produced and the slightly different pattern of the *millefiori* decoration observed on the vessel from Craiva – Piatra Craivii, it is possible that the piece had an Italic origin.

Discussion

Archaeological evidence presented can be arranged according to their function, chronological frame and context of discovery. This approach helps at observing certain similarities and differences between the two sites and suggests some particularities regarding the local patterns of consumption, social organisation and interactions with the Mediterranean world.

The artefacts from Ardeu are represented by several functional categories that are characterised by a typologically diversified array of goods. The functional categories include beverage consumption vessels, food serving vessels, small and large recipients, bodily ornaments, domestic metal wares, a lamp, a statuette, gaming accessories and some unidentified bronze and glass artefacts (Chart 1).

At Piatra Craivii the functional categories are represented only by beverage consumption vessels, food serving vessels, bodily ornaments, candelabra and the statue and statuette parts that were probably used as scrap metal. In contrast with the categories from Ardeu, Piatra Craivii offers few functional categories, although, the vessels used in drinking activities have a diversified typological framing. This observation is also applicable to the bodily ornaments and food serving vessels. At Piatra Craivii, the imported bronze vessels are represented by several types of situla and other containers (Chart 2).

From the chronological point of view, the imports from Ardeu range from the second half of the 1st century BC until the destruction of the fortress at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Within this chronological frame several particularities can be observed (Table 1).

The bronze vessels related with drinking practices, the box fitting and the strongly profiled brooch Rustoiu 19a can be labelled as the first stage of Roman imports that arrived at Ardeu[101]. The second stage, chronologically framed between the middle of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, comprises the rest of the presented archaeological evidence, distinguished by material and functional diversity. Within this second stage, several artefacts recovered from the workshop have been dated more precisely, granted the known context and the typological identifications. Some studies have shown that the workshop situated on the acropolis from Ardeu was inhabited by foreign craftsmen in the late 1st century AD, which probably brought their personal belongings or manufactured some of them at Ardeu[102]. Therefore, the Mercurius statuette, bronze vessel base, bone die, glass counter and probably some of the glass vessels arrived at the Dacian fortress in a tight chronological span, due to individual mobility.

[98] PLANTOS 2006B, 145.

[99] OLIVER 1968, 55–56.

[100] OLIVER 1968, 68.

[101] The separation of the archaeological material in chronological stages considers only the artefacts presented in this study. Future discoveries may contribute to the presented assumption or change its boundaries.

[102] FERENCZ ET AL. 2017, 330, NOTE 28.

The imports from Craiva Piatra Craivii spread roughly from the second half of the 2nd century BC to the beginning of the 2nd century AD[103] (Table 2). They suggest the continuous interaction with the Mediterranean world within the mentioned time frame. Beginning with the second half of the 2nd century BC until the Augustan period, the imports from Piatra Craivii comprise several drinking and food serving vessels. From the Augustan period until the first quarter of the 1st century AD besides the mentioned functional categories, some Roman provincial bodily ornaments were desired by the community from Craiva. Unlike the archaeological evidences from Ardeu, there are few published artefacts from Craiva that correspond to the period framed by the middle of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD. Albeit, the ceramic skyphos, bronze vessel base, pendant and possibly the parts belonging to a statue and a statuette, suggest the continuous interactions, through various means, of the community from Craiva with the Mediterranean areas until the Roman – Dacian wars.

Looking at the contexts of discovery, half of the imports discovered at Ardeu were recovered from the workshop (Chart 3). The archaeological excavation of the workshop has revealed the presence of a structure provided with living and working quarters. The structure had two separate construction levels. These two levels revealed a high quantity of archaeological material specific to the Dacian culture as well as some of the imports discussed in this study. These pieces, suggests the use of drinking and food serving vessels, cosmetic and pharmaceutic substances, gaming accessories and cult related objects. Several unidentified bronze fragments discovered in the context of the workshop suggest the presence of metalworking activities. This assumption is further argued by several discoveries of slag, melting pots, ferrous and nonferrous debris[104].

The tower-dwelling revealed a quarter of the imports discovered at Ardeu. The discovered artefacts belong to liquid containers, cosmetic and pharmaceutic substances, keys and a lamp[105]. The archaeological inventory of the tower-dwelling offered a wide range of fine and common wares: local painted pottery, cooking, food consumption and drinking vessels, iron and stone building materials etc[106]. The mentioned Roman imports can be assigned as household wares. The inventory of the tower-dwelling indicates towards some material similarities with the living quarters of the workshop. The discovery of the keys and lamp in the destruction level of the structure suggest that these items were in use in the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Other artefacts presented in this study were discovered in a funeral or ritual context. They show the acquisition of a wooden box provided with bronze fittings and a bronze strainer that shows signs of reuse. Their presence in such a context indicates a change in functionality. This situation emphasises on the importance of such wares for the local community, probably considered as status symbols.

At Craiva – Piatra Craivii, the majority of the archaeological evidences were recovered from the 5th terrace, with one example discovered on terrace known as „Bănuțului"(Chart 4). Nevertheless, Mediterranean artefacts discovered on the terraces in question indicate towards a large array of interactions with foreign regions. Amongst these discoveries, the main functional categories present in the questioned context are composed from drinking related vessels and food serving vessels. The beverage consumption vessels are represented by several types of containers, pouring and drinking paraphernalia, framed in a long chronological period. The food

[103] Due to the absence of contextual information, the chronological span of the presented artefacts is based solely on typological identifications, political context of the time and some analogies from other Late Iron Age sites.

[104] FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016, 17–18.

[105] The low quantity of imports discovered in the context of the tower-dwelling is most likely due to the state of research. Currently the archaeological excavations are concentrated on the site of the tower-dwelling, being researched through two surfaces. For the detailed approach of the current excavations see FERENCZ/BODÓ 2004; FERENCZ/MUSTAȚĂ 2016; CETEAN ET AL. 2018.

[106] FERENCZ/BODÓ 2004; CETEAN ET AL. 2018, 213–214.

serving artefacts from the 5th terrace indicate the presence of glass and ceramic vessels that were also discovered outside the Carpathians, indicating some links with the settlements from the Siret Valley and the eastern Mediterranean wares[107]. As for the stray finds from Craiva, it can be assumed that they come from the inhabited terraces of the fortress. The functional categories of artefacts labelled as stray finds comprise the functional categories discovered on the 5th terrace with the addition of bodily ornaments.

Resuming the synthesized archaeological evidence from the sites questioned in this study, several similarities and differences can be observed between the two. The typology and functional purposes of the identified archaeological material indicates the selection of some components of the Italic drinking service. The use of such vessels, probably in social gatherings or banquets is proven by the importation of beverages, transported in large ceramic, bronze and glass recipients. From both sites were recovered glass and ceramic fragments belonging to food serving vessels that perhaps enhanced the local tableware and were used in special occasions. The difference consists in the typological variety of the mentioned wares as well as the importance of the situla in the local bronze vessel repertoire from Pitra Craivii.

Bodily ornaments discovered in the discussed sites show the interest of the communities in Roman and provincial accessories. The different types of accessories encountered in the two fortresses may due to the chronological differences between them. On one hand, perhaps Roman provincial accessories were fashionable at Piatra Craivii during the last quarter of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD, while at Ardeu, strongly profiled brooches where predominant clothing accessories during the 1st century AD. On the other hand different bodily ornaments may indicate different preferences for each community in part.

Lastly, the discoveries from Ardeu indicate the preference and use of various house hold, gaming accessories and cult related items represented by the keys, lamp, statuette, counter and the die. While at Piatra Craivii, the presented candelabra suggests a more exquisite way of illuminating the interior space, probably used in structures were gatherings with various purposes were held.

From the chronological point of view, the two fortresses show different stages of their interaction with the Mediterranean World. It can be observed that Piatra Craivii started these relations in an earlier phase than the case of Ardeu.

Regarding the contextual information, the archaeological from Ardeu shows that the artefacts mainly concentrate on the upper plateau of the hill in the precincts of the fortress, inhabited by the elite, their entourage and craftsmen. The archaeological evidences discovered at Craiva were discovered mainly on the terraces, situated outside the fortification itself, inhabited probably by cult officials, craftsmen and other groups and individuals whit particular interests.

Conclusions

Archaeological evidences presented in this study suggest many facets of the interactions between the Romans and the indigenous communities from southern Transylvania during the Late Iron Age. Previous studies have shown that the interactions between Dacians and Romans consisted of a wide range of actions resulting from various interests. The exchange of goods, ideas, technologies, practices, habits and behaviours was facilitated by different means (diplomatic gifts, tribute, conflict related actions and individual mobility), in which Dacian communities, groups and individuals as well as their Roman counterparts were involved[108]. The ways and means of interaction were influenced by several particularities of the region in question, the

[107] TEODOR 1994; POPESCU 2013.
[108] EGRI 2014B, 172–173.

social-political entities engaged in these relations, their internal social structure as well as the political events of the time[109].

Looking at southern Transylvania during the Late Iron Age, it is quite clear that the region featured a series of local social-political entities that were defined by the presence of fortresses located on hilltops surrounded by adjacent terraces, which functioned as local and regional centres of authority, controlling the territory and its resources, as well as important access routes, thus being perceived as status symbols of the local chieftains[110]. The archaeological evidence suggest that a strong and socially coherent aristocratic class emerged at the beginning of the 1st century BC, controlling the resources provided by the region in question and developing the social and economic base for further connections with other territories. This fact has already been observed by the analysis of the late Republican bronze vessels which were discovered in fortresses, aristocratic graves and hoards[111].

Certain particularities of the sites allow the identification of different possible social groups that carried their daily lives and activities in particular areas of the sites in question. Due to the state of research, this discussion regarding the recovered archaeological materials is only partial, dealing with some better excavated buildings and areas, with different purposes or functionalities.

As already mentioned, the archaeological evidence discovered on the upper plateau at Ardeu-Cetățuie revealed the presence of three categories of inhabitants: the chieftain, his entourage and the craftsmen. The structures of habitation inside the fortress suggest that these individuals occupied a special place within the community. Furthermore, the distribution of Roman wares indicates that these groups, in spite of their different occupations and interests, more likely represented the upper social level of the community, the people who maintained most of the interactions with other areas and acquired such wares to fulfil their requirements of consumption. This in turn, does not undermine the possibility that other groups and individuals had acquired similar wares. Likewise, foreign artefacts are also possible indicators of several types of relationships between the mentioned groups, thus offering insights into the internal structure of power and social hierarchies. Previous studies have shown that the chieftains tended to monopolize the so-called desirable goods, redistributing them among their close followers and other individuals who provided specialized services. The practice enhanced the status of the chieftain and his authority among the members of the community both in life, through the objects he displayed and used in various social practices, but also in death, through funerary rituals and inventories[112]. Also, the redistribution of wares can be perceived as part of mutual agreements between the chieftain and the other two social groups inhabiting the fortified area of the site. Nevertheless, these are only some of the multitude of possible relations that contributed to the social dynamics of the respective communities. In spite of the fact that several social actions and relations have not left archaeological evidence, it has to be taken into account that each individual, group and family had its own goals within the community and particular ways of achieving them.

At Piatra Craivii the structures and their inventories identified on the three researched terraces most likely indicate the existence of cult officials and craftsmen. Other categories of archaeological artefacts discovered on the same terraces include agricultural and metallurgical tools, as well as others used for textile manufacturing, which could indicate the presence of different groups and individuals with a variety of social and economic interests[113]. The groups in

[109] EGRI 2014B, 187–188.
[110] EGRI 2014B, 177.
[111] RUSTOIU 2005, 72.
[112] EGRI 2014A, 233–234.
[113] BERCIU ET AL. 1965, 134–146.

question suggest multiple possible relations and social actions between them, perhaps similar to those from Ardeu. Nevertheless, the archaeological excavations and material captions the environment and daily life of the individuals that were participating within the community and to the wellbeing of the fortress.

Based on the chronological and typological data of the artefacts, some observations can be issued regarding the existence of regular and established interactions between the two sites and the Roman World. Furthermore, the supply network of the northern Balkan region is an important aspect regarding the ways and means through local communities had access to foreign wares.

The region questioned in this study benefited from the Mureș valley which was the main waterway, crossing Transylvania from east to west and providing a direct link to the Tisa basin and the middle and lower Danube (Pl. 2). Other important Dacian sites, such as the one discovered at Pecica on the lower Mureș, probably intermediated the distribution of Roman wares towards Transylvania; the fortress from Divici-*Grad* in the Iron Gates region played a similar role in the distribution of late Republican and Augustan bronze vessels[114]. Another important route to the region is the one going through Židovar, which followed the course of the Caraș River, also linking the region to the lower Danube[115]. At the same time, another regional network of communications is indicated by artefacts originating from the eastern Mediterranean basin, suggesting that the fortresses in question maintained interregional relationships with the fortified settlements from the Siret valley, which in turn facilitated the circulation of wares originating from the Greek cities on the western shores of the Black Sea.

Several studies observed that the mentioned water ways and land routes evolved gradually with the Roman expansion towards the Lower Danube and the creation of provinces, ensuring the safety of the routes travelled by merchants and individuals. This changed the major distribution and redistribution areas as well as the categories of wares acquired in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC providing a growth in quantity and diversity of imports after the beginning of the 1st century AD[116].

It can be observed regarding the bronze vessels from both sites, that the examples discovered correspond mainly to the first and second stage in the diffusion of bronze vessels north of the Danube, while the bronze vessels from Ardeu-Cetățuie, belong only to the second stage, with two examples dated during the 1st century AD[117].

The archaeological evidences suggest, that beginning with the second stage in the evolution of commercial activities towards Dacia, marked by the diffusion of Augustan bronze vessels together with some examples of late Republican vessels, several other artefacts travelled along and were desired by the local groups and individuals. In the section previous two sections of this study several household items and bodily ornaments were documented as arriving in the region beginning with the Augustan period. This raises the possibility that after Augustus pacified the Iapodes and Panonni in 35–33 BC, mixt cargoes of Roman wares travelled on the eastern route along the Sava and Drava to the Danube, revealing more functionalities than the drinking service bronze vessels documented for the previous stage. In the same time the origin of the dressing elements as well as the areas in which they were fashionable indicates towards the arrival of several Roman provincial items during this sequence.

After the establishment of the Roman provinces Moesia and Pannonia at the end of the 1st century BC and beginning of the 1st century AD, the evolution of trading routes towards Dacia witnessed a new stage resembled by the intensification of imported materials from the

[114] EGRI 2014B, 179.

[115] RUSTOIU 2005, 75.

[116] RUSTOIU 2005, 70–84; EGRI 2014B, 181–187.

[117] for the diffusion stages of bronze vessels north of Danube see RUSTOIU 2005.

Italic Peninsula as well as the provincial areas of the Roman Empire[118]. The archaeological material dated during the 1st century until the beginning of the 2nd century AD from both sites, corresponds with this stage characterized through a functional diversification with several places of origin, some corresponding to the provincial areas of the Roman Empire.

From Ardeu-Cetățuie, several items, such as the lamp type Loeschecke X and some of the glass vessels may indicate a connection with the Roman province of Pannonia. The glass indented beaker as well as the identified types of glass wares that didn't carried substances and ointments, show similarities with the glass vessels discovered at Siscia[119]. The chronological data offered by the Roman wares suggest that they arrived at Ardeu-Cetățuie,in a regular manner, beginning with the second quarter of the 1st century AD and intensified in the second half of the same century. In a similar manner the importation of provincial Roman wares, is best observed as intensifying from the middle of the 1stcentury AD with more examples corresponding to the last quarter, that may due to individual mobility as well as other means and ways of acquisition.

As for Craiva-Piatra Craivii, the archaeological material belonging to the third stage in the diffusion of Roman wares north of the Danube is scarce. The "grooved" bowl, *millefiori* dish and ceramic *skyphos* show that possibly the site continued its existence until the Roman-Dacian wars from the beginning of the 2nd century AD. The hypothesis, based on the materials and structures uncovered on the 5th terrace, that they ceased to exist at the beginning of the 1st century AD is arguably unlikely, granted that the activity of a workshop was observed until the middle of the same century, on the same terrace[120].

The distribution mechanisms include divers ways and means through goods were acquired by the communities in question. The case of individual mobility observed in the case of the Ardeu site, implies some relations between the craftsmen and the host community. The presence of craftsmen possibly originating from the Mediterranean basin, may indicate that the chieftain, desired a specialized craftsman in his vicinity, ensuring an easy access towards wares acquired, until then, from distant sources and through other means. In the same time, a similar interest was probably manifested by the craftsmen himself, that probably benefited from the advantages of a new market and access to raw materials. The craftsman may have also shared practices, habits and technical knowledge regarding the wares he was accustomed to.

Other means and ways of interaction are represented by conflict related actions and diplomatic affairs. Epigraphic and archaeological evidences indicate that several warlike incursions were practiced by the Dacian communities in the Lower Danube region[121]. These incursions may have resulted in plunder and arrival of several foreign wares within the addressed fortresses. It has been observed on the archaeological material from Craiva-Piatra Craivii, that some items, mainly the bronze statue and statuette fragments may have been the results of such actions. These conflicts left their mark in the antic written sources, such as *Consolatio ad Liviam*, from the beginning of 1st century AD, where a sentence remarks the turbulent nature of the Danubian people and particularly those from the distant Dacian *Appulus*, identified with the community from Craiva-Piatra Craivii[122].

Another way of interaction is resembled by the establishing of certain agreements between the Roman state and local chieftains that may have brought along gifts and tribute or stipends. It can be presumed that the contents of the gifts and stipends acquired after a well-conducted agreement, may have contained fine objects, currency but also individuals that provided specialized services. The „peace treaty" from 89 AD states that several Roman military

[118] RUSTOIU 2005, 82; EGRI 2014B, 187.
[119] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 361.
[120] PLANTOS 2006A, 16–17.
[121] EGRI 2014B, 174–175.
[122] MOGA/PLANTOS 2007, 22.

instructors and engineers were sent to Dacia. Such agreements have been documented in the case of some Dacian rulers from the present-day Dobrogea or at the east of the Carpathians, as early as the Augustan period. A similar diplomatic agreement was suggested by the previously mentioned "peace treaty", when Decebalus became an imperial client king[123]. Archaeological evidences and other antique sources do not refer specifically to the establishment of such diplomatic affairs between the Romans and the fortresses addressed by this study, but in the same time, their localization in southern Transylvania along the fortresses and Dacian Capital from Orăștie Mountains may indicate the possibility that on some degree, various local leaders or high social ranking individuals participated in diplomatic agreements or were influenced to regard the agreements established by known regional leaders.

Lastly, the social structure and internal organization of the fortresses in question as well as the means and ways of interaction, influenced the local pattern of consumption. The functional categories of artefacts presented in this study reveal several categories of objects that, during the two centuries in which they arrived at the studied sites, integrated in the local patterns of consumption manifested by the communities. The contexts of discovery show their usage in several ways that indicate, on one hand, towards the importation of practices, trends and behaviours and on the other hand the adaptation of these items to the particular local requirements, practices and understanding. The identified functional categories of wares from both fortresses reveal the preference and interest of the groups and individuals in the consumption of wine, fashionable costume garments, food serving vessels, storage recipients and boxes, illumination items, cosmetic and pharmaceutical products, with the addition of gaming accessories and domestic metal wares discovered so far, at the fortress from Ardeu-Cetățuie.

Based on the identified ceramic and bronze vessels intended for drinking activities, several observations have been mentioned in the archaeological literature, regarding the practices related to wine consumption and the integration of these practices and artefacts in the Dacian social patterns of consumption. For Transylvania during the 1st century BC, these artefacts were almost exclusively discovered in fortresses, trading centers and sanctuaries, indicating that wine was mainly consumed by the local warlike and religious elites, being used in convivial and ritual practices. Wine and the practices derived from it, played an essential role in socially differentiating the elites among the community and strengthened the personal bonds between the king or chieftains and their close followers[124]. The association of vessels belonging to different types and places of origin, indicates towards a careful selection of items corresponding to different practices of consumption unrelated with the ones from eastern Mediterranean or northern Italy[125]. The bronze and ceramic vessels presented in this study subscribe to the observations mentioned above, with many examples discovered in contexts that indicate towards the practice of convivial and ritual behaviours among the upper social levels of the communities from both fortresses.

As the material and functional purpose of the artefacts diversified, it can be observed the inclusion of Roman provincial bodily ornamentations into the dressing codes of the local communities. Although, their place of discovery does not indicate the presence of a particular assembly of such items or any special occasions and practices in which they were used. For Craiva-Piatra Craivii, the dress elements could be related to the individuals that functioned in the cult related area, but also they can resemble the daily costume of the elites or other possible social groups that inhabited the questioned terraces.

Furthermore, the category of glass vessels is composed mainly from table wares and cosmetic or pharmaceutical recipients. These functional categories of glass items were documented

[123] EGRI 2014B, 187.
[124] EGRI 2014C, 61.
[125] EGRI 2014C, 62.

in the Dacian sites from the Siret Valley and Sarmisegetusa Regia, with many unpublished examples from other Dacian sites, being common and accessible wares across the Roman Empire during the 1st century AD[126]. The vessels intended for eating and food serving were probably added to the locally manufactured and foreign ceramic items. They suggest a diversification regarding food consumption and were probably adopted in the local patterns of consumption due to their rarity in the „barbarian" communities, morphological aspect, as well as advantages granted by the material[127]. The beakers, cups and bottles may indicate a different fashion of consuming and storing liquids. The cosmetic and pharmaceutical recipients show their coexistence with similar ceramic types intended for the same purposes[128].

The analysis of the imported archaeological materials from both Dacian fortresses revealed several particularities concerning their internal social structure, social dynamics and interaction with the Roman world as well as other areas, roughly across two centuries. The distance between southern Transylvania and the Roman controlled territories, even after the organization of the provinces from the Middle and Lower Danube, emphasizes on the importance of the Mureș Valley as the easiest and facile connection route with the Danube and the routes that derive from it. The various ways of interaction as well as the diffusion and preference for certain Roman wares could be further discussed and developed by the analysis of the archaeological material belonging to divers functional and material categories, from other Dacian sites situated along the Mureș Valley. Furthermore, several perspectives upon the Dacian communities situated near the border, such as Pecica, could give new insights regarding the manner in which Roman wares were diffused towards Transylvania as well as the practices and behaviours that came along with them.

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[126] POPESCU/IOSIFARU 2013; POPESCU ET AL. 2010; MATEESCU-SUCIU 2017.

[127] CĂSĂLEAN 2018, 363.

[128] At Ardeu was discovered in the context of the workshop a ceramic *unguentarium*, probably manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean basin. For details regarding the context of discovery see FERENCZ ET AL. 2005, 57.

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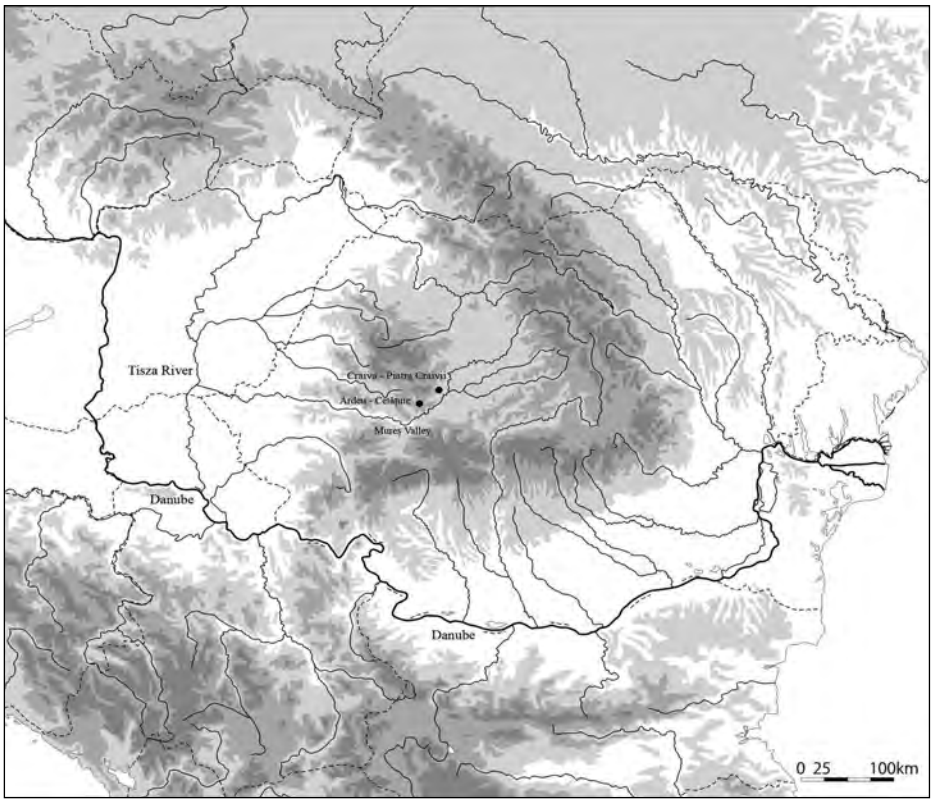
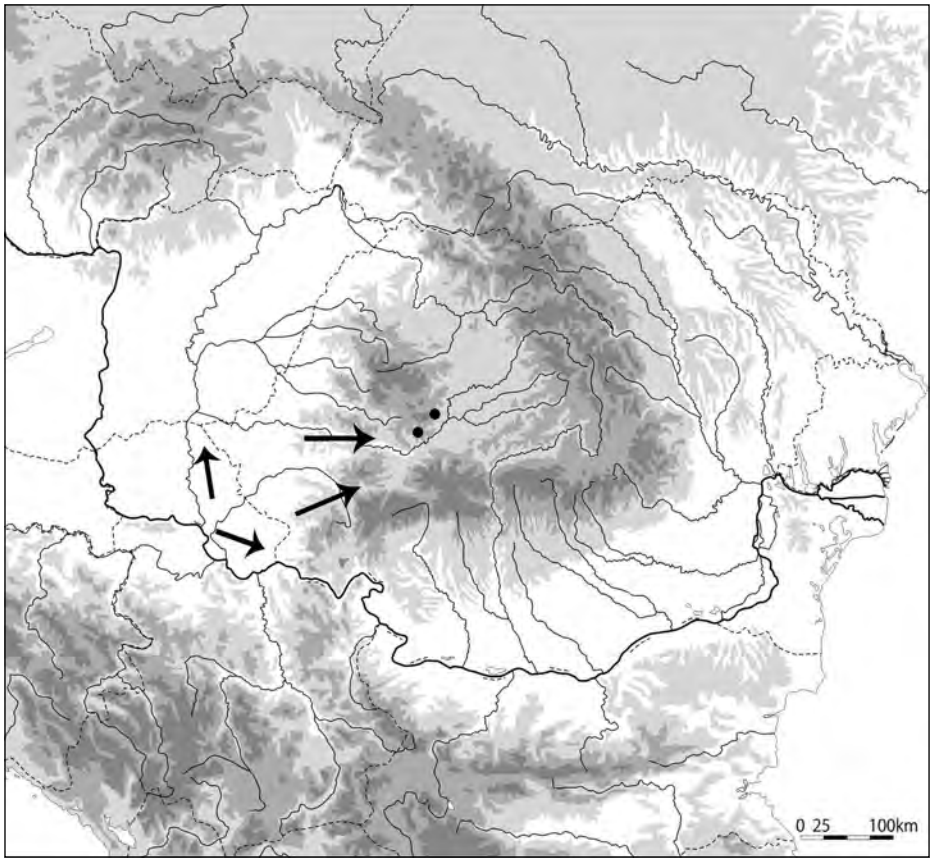


Pl. 1. Location of the sites.



Pl. 2. Possible routes towards south-western Transylvania.

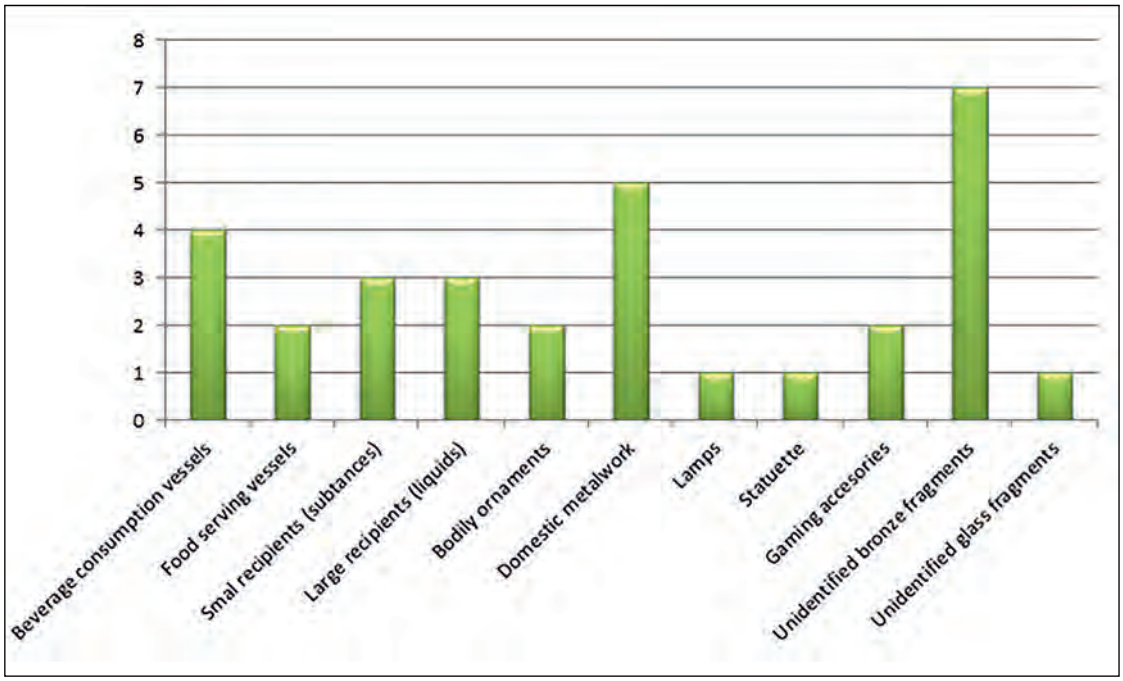


Chart 1. Ardeu – Cetățuie. Functional categories of artefacts.

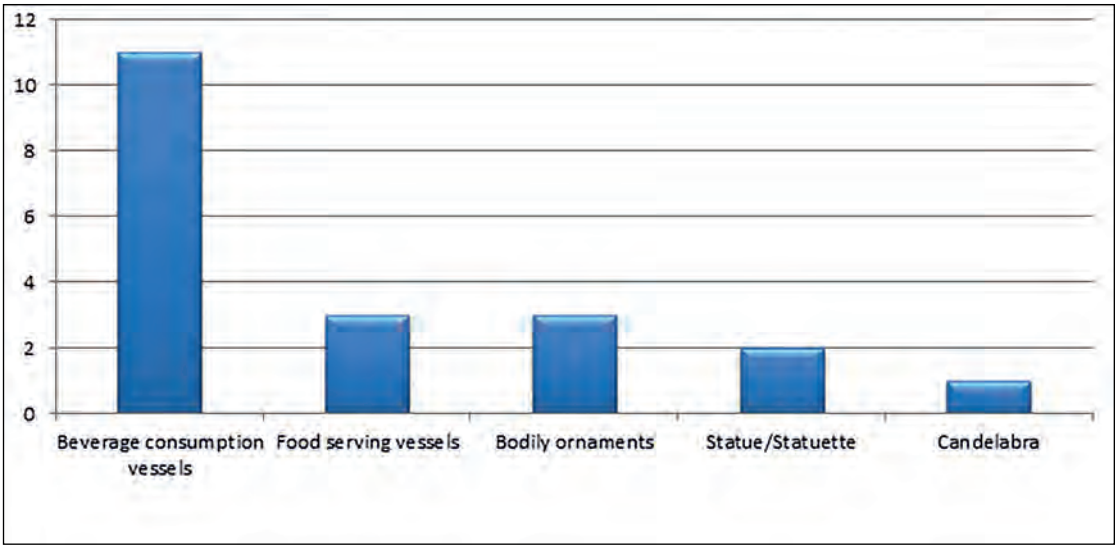


Chart 2. Craiva – Piatra Craivii. Functional categories of artefacts.

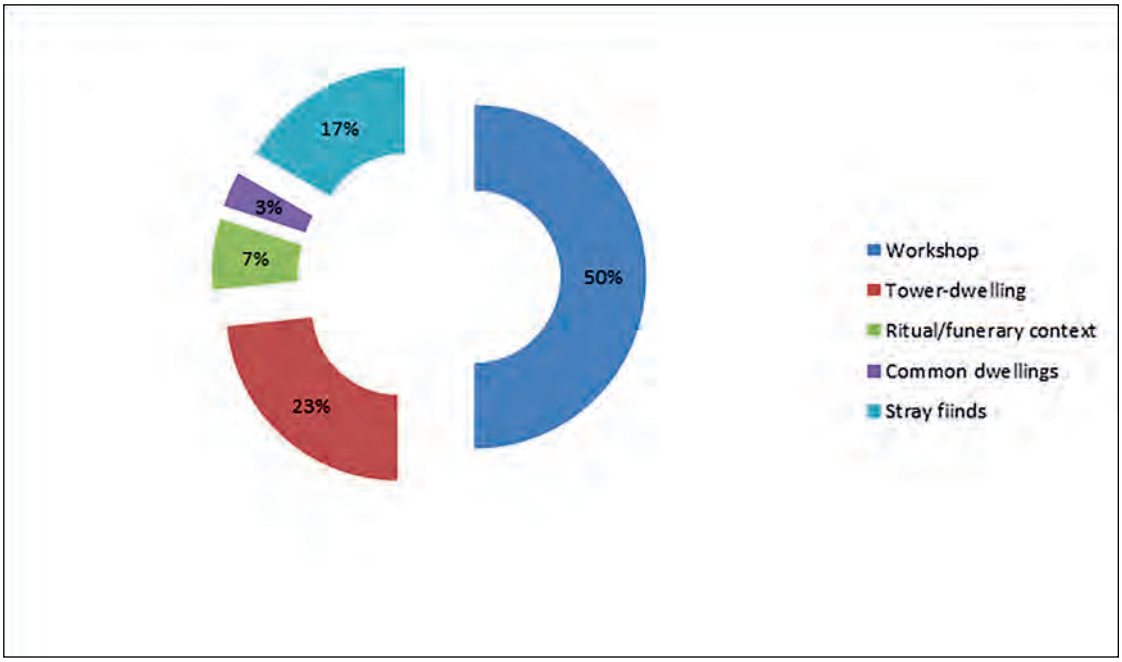


Chart 3. Ardeu – Cetățuie. Contexts of discovery.

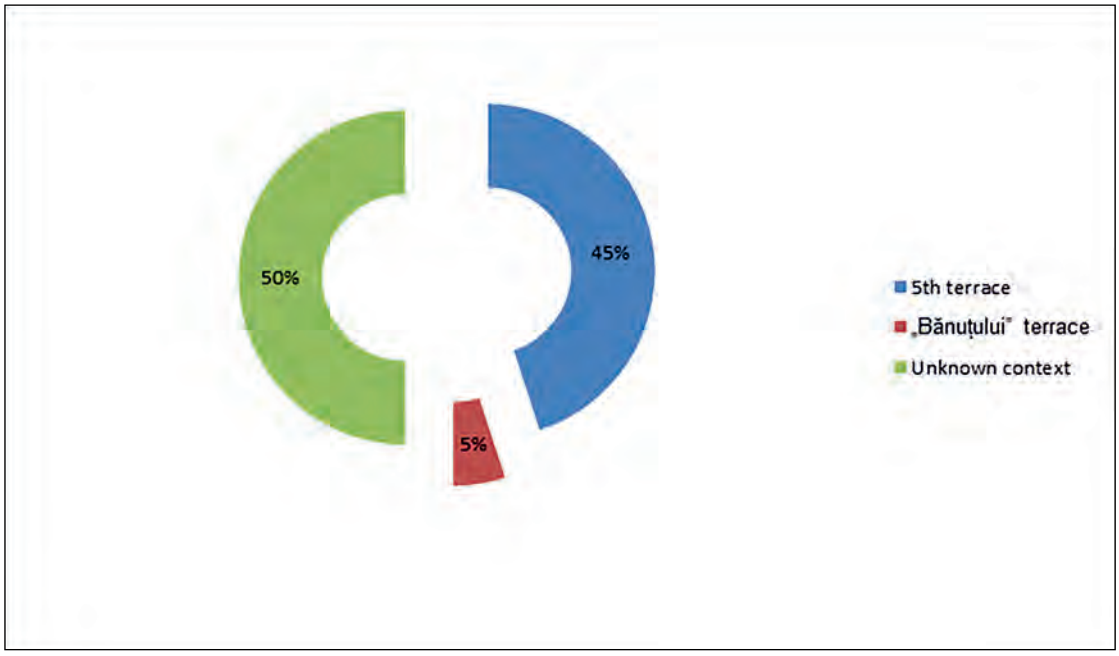


Chart 4. Craiva – Piatra Craivii. Contexts of discovery.

Artefact	Tipology	Context
Saucepan	Petrovszky III	Stray find
Strainer	E 159a/160	Funerary
Basin	Tassinari 1100	Stray find
Vessel base	-	Workshop
Amphora	Tassinari 1000	Tower-house
Statuette	-	Workshop
Brooch	Rustoiu 19c	Stray find
Brooch	Rustoiu 19a	Ancient road
Box fitting	-	Funerary
3 Keys	III,e/II,a/II,b	Tower-house
1 Key	-	Stray find
Lamp	Loeschecke X	Tower-house
Balsamaria 1	Isings 82	Tower-house
Balsamaria 2	Isings 82	Workshop
Aryballos	Isings 61	Workshop
Beaker	Isings 32	Workshop
Bowl	Isings 42	Workshop
Cup/Bowl	-	Workshop
Bottle 1	Isings 50	Near southern dwelling
Bottle 2	Isings 50	Tower-house
Counter	-	Workshop
Die	-	Workshop

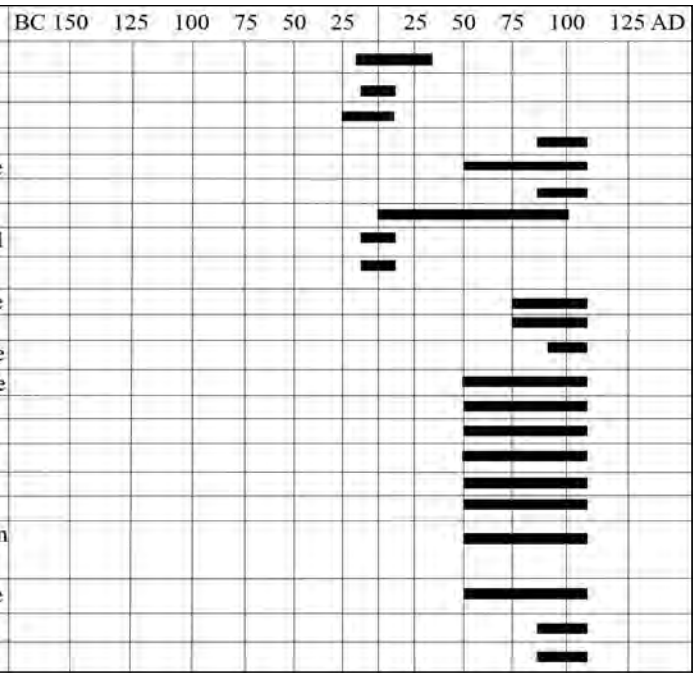


Table 1. Chronological framing of the artefacts from Ardeu – Cetățuie.

Artefact	Tipology	Context
Situla	Eggers 18	5th terrace
Situla	Eggers 18	-
Situla	Eggers 20	5th terrace
Strainer	-	-
Aylesford pan	Eggers 130	-
Krater	Eggers 94	5th terrace
Skyphos	-	5th terrace
Basin	Eggers 91-92	5th terrace
Vessel base	-	-
Candelabra chain	Rustoiu I	5th terrace
Belt buckle	Rustoiu 4	-
Belt	Rustoiu 9	-
Pendant	-	-
Statue	-	5th terrace
Statuette	-	„Bănuțului" terrace
Lagynos	Cypriot 1	-
Skyphos	-	-
Plate	Grey ware	5th terrace
„Grooved" bowl	-	5th terrace
Dish	Antikythera section II A	-

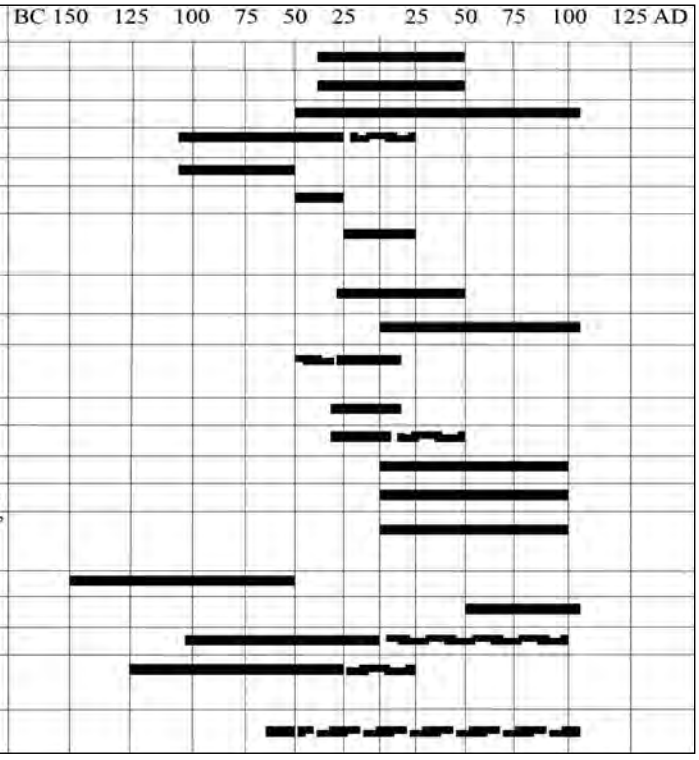


Table 2. Chronological framing of the artefacts from Craiva – Piatra Craivii.