

ACTA MVSEI APVLENSIS

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series *ARCHAEOLOGICA ET ANTHROPOLOGICA*

CARPATHIAN HEARTLANDS

*Studies on the prehistory and history of Transsylvania in
European contexts, dedicated to Horia Ciugudean on his 60th
birthday*

NUCLEUL CARPATIC

*Studii privind preistoria și istoria Transilvaniei în context
european, dedicate lui Horia Ciugudean la aniversarea a 60 de
ani*

**Edited by /
Volum îngrijit de:**

**Nikolaus Boroffka
Gabriel Tiberiu Rustoiu
Radu Ota**

ACTA MVSEI APVLENSIS

APVLVM

LI

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Adresa de corespondență:

MUZEUL NAȚIONAL AL UNIRII

510010 ALBA IULIA

Str. Mihai Viteazul, 12-14

Tel. 0258/813300

revista.apulum@yahoo.com

www.mnuai.ro; www.muzeuluniriialba.ro; www.anuarulapulum.ro

Correspondence address:

MUZEUL NAȚIONAL AL UNIRII

RO – 510010 ALBA IULIA

Mihai Viteazul St., 12-14

Tel. (+40) (258) 813300

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Tehnoredactare: RADU OTA

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Horia Ciugudean

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NOTES ON A NEW *SALARIARIUS* FROM APULUM

Csaba SZABÓ
University of Pécs, Hungary

Abstract. In the article some observations are made concerning an unpublished inscription discovered in 2011 in the castrum of the legion XIII Gemina at Apulum (Alba Iulia). The text and the image of the inscriptions have recently been published with a very laconic interpretation, which defines a title of *salararius* as an „administrative civil function in the administration of a salt storing place”. In this article another interpretation, based on analogies, is presented concerning the function of *salararius*, while at the same time there is an analysis of the cult of the goddess Nemesis in Apulum and of the role of the two soldiers mentioned in the inscription.

Cuvinte cheie: legio XIII Gemina, *salararius*, *evocatus*, Apulum, *salinarum*, Nemesis.

Key words: legio XIII Gemina, *salararius*, *evocatus*, Apulum, *salinarum*, Nemesis.

In the spring of 2011 among many other important finds, two new inscriptions were discovered in Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg*) in a Roman building complex in front of the Saint Michael Catholic Cathedral during the renovation and restoration of the Vauban fortress¹. The small, rectangular building was considered as a Nemesis sanctuary by the archaeologists². After the same authors the other, subterranean chamber was interpreted as a *mithraeum*³. Without any details about the excavation, we can't affirm anything about the chronology, functionality and the archaeological material found in this structure⁴. However, it is important to mention, that the building is situated *intra*

¹ The exact find spot of the building: 46° 4'4.60" North and 23°34'10.00" East. About the excavation: <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-8496911-templu-dedicat-zeitei-nemesis-descoperit-interiorul-cetatii-din-alba-iulia.htm>. Last access: 01.04.2014.

² Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 41-42, Ciobanu 2013, p. 135 (footnote nr.8) and 138.

³ The only argument of the researchers being the form, subterranean aspect and the two, *podium* – shaped structure of the building. The recent studies proved, that this is not an acceptable argument for the existence of a *mithraeum*: Diaconescu 2011, p. 135-192; Goffaux 2012, p. 199-219; Frackowiak 2012, p. 18-36; Gordon 2012, p. 970- 975. About the presence of various divinities in a *mithraeum* (*synnaos*), see: Alvar 1993, p. 802; Alvar, Muñoz 2004, p. 69-94, Rodríguez Azcárraga, 2006-2007, p. 267-278; Toynbee 1986; Shepherd 1998, p. 74-86; Huld - Zetsche 1986, p. 41-42; Gordon 2009, p. 401; Kremer 2012, p. 332-334 and CIMRM 1755 from Aquincum. About the late Roman urban *spolia*, see: Alchermes 1994, p. 167-178; Ambrogi 2011, p. 511-566; Kristensen 2013, p. 23-45.

⁴ Beside the two inscriptions of Nemesis, another dedicated to Mars was discovered in the same place: Ciobanu 2013, p. 135.

muros of the *castrum legionis XIII Geminae*. This position raises a strong critique for this hypothetical functionality and religious role of the building⁵. In this article we will focus on the text of the inscriptions and some special aspects of the cult of Nemesis in Apulum.

Notes about the function of a *salariarius* in Apulum.

The two inscriptions have the following texts:

*I. Nem(esi) Reg(inae) sacr(um) / Pro sal(ute) Impp(eratorum) NN(ostrorum) / M(arcus) Vib(ius) Verinus / evocatus leg(ionis) / XIII Ge(minae) et Q u(i)n(tus) / Val(erius) Felicianus / salariar(ius) t(estamento?) / fecerunt*⁶

*II. M(arcus) Vibius Ver^lin^lus evoc(atus) / Q(uintus) Vale(rius) Felicianus sala(riarius)*⁷

Both of the inscriptions have some particular epigraphic and paleographic features. On the statue base the letter „s” in Verinus in the third line and the last syntagma „us” in the name of Felicianus in the sixth line is written with a smaller letter. The paleographic aspect of the two inscriptions is quite different: on the statue base we see very beautifully carved letters, on the statue the inscription is in a semi – cursive style, similar to the *ordinatio*⁸.

Without the details from the excavation and the archaeological context, the inscriptions can be dated after the following criteria: the name of the goddess, the imperial title, the iconographic and stylistic features⁹ and – as an indirect methodology – the paleography of the text¹⁰.

⁵ About votive objects and sacral buildings inside forts, see: Popescu 2003, p. 103-123; Marcu 2007, p. 76-104; Popescu 2009, p. 121-138; Zsidi 2011, p. 157-183. About the position of the *mithraea* in military context see: Caronna 1986; Kocsis 1991, p. 117-179; Gudea 2002, p. 618-621; Marcu 2007, p. 84-85, 103; Gordon 2009, p. 396-399. As a relevant analogy, see: Kremer 2012, p. 387 and kat. nr. 343, 377, 379. As *spolia* for Nemesis votives: Kremer 2012, p. 388 (cat. no. 267, 378, 385).

⁶ Text published: Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 41-42 and Benea 2013, p. 120. Doina Benea doesn't mention the ^lty^l nexus read as *testament fieri* by the first publishers. The formula appears very rarely in Dacia: IDR III/4, 118. See also: CIL III 1164b, 1323, 1426. It is much more possible, that the last symbol of the seventh line is not a TF *nexus* but a single F(ecerunt) doubling the verb in the sentence, or an I with some natural marks on the stone: *salariari(us)*.

⁷ Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 43-44, Benea 2013, p. 120, Ciobanu 2013, p. 137.

⁸ Cooley 2012, p. 295. See also: Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, p. 32. Inscriptions carved in similar style from Apulum: IDR III/5, 64, 190, 245, 290, 296, 324, 329, 337, 342. See also: Pastor 2011, fig. 2.

⁹ The *corona* of the statue – base is very unusual in Apulum. As analogy see: IDR III/5, 80, 157. About the typology see: Draeger 1994, Beilage 1, I. C. group nr. 2.

¹⁰ About this method see: Gordon 1957, p. 232, Agócs *et alii* 2014.

The name of the divinity – *Nemesis Regina sacrum* – is very common in the Danubian provinces¹¹ and it is attested also in Apulum (AÉ 1930, 6 = IDR III/5, 297). There is no strict, chronological aspect of this epithet, but usually it appears at the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 3rd century. The formula – *pro salute imperatorum nostrorum* – without doubt, is the most relevant detail for the dating. The first publishers of the inscription dated it for the beginning of the reign of Septimius Severus, who in 197 founded the *Municipium Septimium Apulense*¹². Although it is an indirect proof for this chronology¹³, the wide spread of this formula in Dacia and also Apulum indicate the plausibility of this suggestion¹⁴.

On the inscriptions appear two persons: Marcus Vibius Verinus¹⁵ as an *evocatus* and Quintus Valerius Felicianus¹⁶ as *salararius*. The geographical *origo* and the ethnic origin of the persons are impossible to establish. Marcus Vibius Verinus is the first person attested in Apulum with the title of *evocatus legionis XIII Geminae*¹⁷ and the second known *evocatus* in Dacia¹⁸.

Quintus Valerius Felicianus is the second *salararius* known in the province¹⁹. The publishers of the inscriptions affirmed that both persons were soldiers from the XIII Gemina legion, interpreting the function of *salararius* as a military - commercial one²⁰. Doina Benea affirmed, that “*in the Roman Empire this function was usually associated with the administration of a salarium (salt – deposit)*” interpreting this function as a civilian and administrative one, strictly in relation with the salt trade in Apulum²¹. We would insist now on this statement, clarifying the above mentioned notions. First of all, defining the *salarium* as a deposit of the salt is an anachronism, especially in the 3rd century

¹¹ Hornum 1993, p. 69, 338, Pastor 2011, p. 80.

¹² Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 42-44, Mráv 2013, p. 230. Caracalla appears on imperial inscriptions as co-ruler from 196. See: Kienast 1997, p. 162.

¹³ The wording *imperatorum nostrorum* appears also in the period of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: AÉ 1971, 367.

¹⁴ CIL III 1174, 1340, 1375, 14216, AÉ 1960, 225, AÉ 1944, 74, AÉ 2004, 1222.

¹⁵ About the Vibia gentilicium, see: KIP 1975, 1247-1252, IDR III/5, 175, 521, 572. The Verinus cognomen appears more than 100 times in the Empire, mostly in Western provinces, but also in Pannonia and Noricum: OPEL IV, 158-159. Cognomens as “Verus” and “Verissumus” were very popular among soldiers: Dean 1916, p. 57. It is the first attestation of this cognomen in Dacia.

¹⁶ The cognomen appears quite rarely in the Empire: OPEL II, 137. In Dacia there is only one other person attested with this cognomen: CIL III 1149= IDR III/3, 325.

¹⁷ About the *evocati*, see: Domaszewski 1967, p. 75-78; Breeze 1971, p. 131; Maxfield 1981, p. 210-213; Stoll 2001, p. 306-307, especially footnote 24.

¹⁸ IDR II, 336. The altar from Romula is also dedicated to Nemesis. See also: CIL III 13761 and IDRE 27, 58.

¹⁹ IDR III/2, 285.

²⁰ Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 41-44.

²¹ Benea 2013, p. 120.

A.D.²² The *salarium* was the annual salary of an *evocatus* (see also: CIL VI 2495, 2589, 3419 and CIL XI 19). There is no direct proof for the existence of a salt bureau or trade – center in Apulum²³, however the importance of the river Mureş in the salt trade, the presence of some *conductores salinarum* in the city and the importance of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) in the Medieval and Modern salt – trade, could indicate indirectly the existence of a local salt bureau in Apulum²⁴. The omnipresence of the *conductores* in the province, their strong relationship with the army and with the staff of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* suggest a complex social network, which had an important impact on some religious and economic aspects of the province²⁵. This phenomenon however has nothing to do with the function of *salararius* or at least, his presence in Apulum is not direct proof for the salt trade.

This title was interpreted in many ways, but now the theory that considers the *salararius* as a civil person or a veteran, who joined (or rejoined²⁶) the army by a specific contract (*fecit in salario*), having some special military or civil tasks and an annual sum, seems to be accepted²⁷. They appear usually in contract with the Roman army (*salararius legionis*)²⁸, however it is important to mention, that there are some examples when the *salararius* is in contract with a city (*salararius civitatis*)²⁹ or in strict relationship with some urban magistrates³⁰. They fulfill some pragmatic roles in the army, as medics, architects or as *hydraularius*. In this interpretation, the *salararius* is a civilian in contract with the Roman Army or with a city for a well – defined period paid with a fixed *salarium*. Quintus Valerius Felicianus could have served as a *salararius legionis*, but his exact role is unknown. Without any clear proof, we cannot sustain the affirmation of Doina Benea regarding the role of the *salararius* in the local salt trade.

²² About the *salarium*, see: RE, 1846-1847; Stoll 2001, p. 311; Méa 2012, p. 201.

²³ Benea 2007, p. 41-46.

²⁴ Wolf 1996, p. 471-490; Timoc 2006, p. 213-218; Moga 2006, p. 53-55; Egri 2007, 107, Benea 2013, p. 123; Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, p. 31.

²⁵ Tóth 1992, p. 153-160; Balla 2000, p. 135-143. About the importance of Publius Aelius Marius in the religious networks of the province, see: Szabó 2014 (forthcoming).

²⁶ About the *salararius* as an *evocatus*, see: Stoll 2001, p. 311, subnote 43.

²⁷ Méa 2012, p. 212-213; Deac 2013, p. 315-316.

²⁸ CIL III 4308, 10988; CIL VI 37262; AÉ 1947, 35; CIMRM II 2314. They appear in contract with legions, cohorts or *alae*.

²⁹ CIL XI 3007. See: Méa 2012, p. 207.

³⁰ CIL III 10439. The inscription is a good analogy, mentioning a reconstruction of a Nemesis sanctuary. See: Tit Aq. I. 267.

Notes about the cult of Nemesis in Apulum.

Although the context of the discovery is not published, the epigraphic sources show clearly, that we are talking about a votive deposit of the Nemesis cult³¹. For a clearer analysis it is important to mention also the third inscription from the *cachette*, dedicated to Mars by a gladiator:

*I. Aur(elius) Marti(an)us secun(da) rudis pos(t)u(m) v(ot)u(m) l(i)b(ens)*³²

Aurelius Martianus³³ is the second gladiator known from Apulum and the first known in Dacia with the title of *secunda rudis*³⁴. A *libertus* and probably an ex – gladiator, he served as an instructor and supervisor of the combats. The presence of a gladiator's monument with two others dedicated to Nemesis by a soldier and a *salariarius* indicate, first of all, a votive context near an amphitheatre³⁵ and not necessarily the relationship of the army with the gladiators as the publishers affirmed³⁶. As the protector of the games, fate and good will, Nemesis was very popular among the gladiators but mostly among those soldiers and magistrates, who organized the games – a role possibly fulfilled by M. Vibius Verinus and Q. Valerius Felicianus too³⁷. Although there is no direct proof of the existence of an amphitheatre in Apulum³⁸, there is no doubt, that one or even two must have existed (as the analogies of Aquincum, Brigetio and Carnuntum show)³⁹ in the conurbation. The great topographical variety of the finds⁴⁰ can be an argument for this hypothesis.

Pastor presents the amphitheatre as “*the symbol of the Roman presence and power in the provinces*” strictly together with the imperial cult and the cult of Nemesis⁴¹, therefore a presence of a *sacellum*⁴² for Nemesis is necessary in

³¹ As a hypothesis, I presume that the original position of these objects was in a sanctuary of Nemesis, near an amphitheatre, but not inside the castrum.

³² Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 50; Ciobanu 2013, p. 135-137.

³³ About the cognomen: OPEL III, 31. See also: CIL III 1301a. About the gladiators in Apulum: Moga 1983, p. 81-88.

³⁴ About the role of the *secunda rudis*, see: Caldelli 2001, p. 93-94; Carter 2007, p. 102, Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 50, footnote 13. For analogy see: CIL XIII 1749.

³⁵ About the dedicators and their social status see: Hornum 1993, p. 70-74; Pastor 2011, p. 76.

³⁶ Ciobanu, Bounegru 2012, p. 50.

³⁷ About the organizers of the games and the soldiers role see: Hornum 1993, p. 73 and appendix 2, Andringa 2002, p. 223-226; Pastor 2011, p. 80.

³⁸ Moga 1983, p. 81-88.

³⁹ About the amphitheatres in the Danubian provinces and their relations with legionary camps, see: Borhy, Számadó 2005, p. 970-973; Borhy 2009, p. 65-73; Bajusz 2011; Gugl *et alii* 2014, p. 176-180.

⁴⁰ Most notably the inscription IDR III/5, 297 found in the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis mentions a presence of a sanctuary also there. About a possible amphitheatre in the Partos see also: <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/historical/research/project/2372>. Last accessed: 29.07.2014.

⁴¹ Pastor 2011, p. 85.

⁴² Pastor 2011, p. 75. About the sanctuaries of Nemesis see also: Gregori 1989, p. 66.

Apulum too. An inscription (CIL III 14474= IDR III/5, 295) mention the reconstruction of a Nemesis sanctuary (*templum*). The inscription was found in the governor's palace, which could indicate that the *sacellum* was also there⁴³. Is it possible, however, as some sporadic discoveries can indicate⁴⁴, that a *templum* existed very near the legionary fort, in the territory of the *canabae* or the Municipium Septimium Apulense, where probably the amphitheatre existed? The multiple presence of Nemesis sanctuaries – one in Partoş or in the Locus Apulensis (IDR III/5, 297)⁴⁵, one in the governor's palace (IDR III/5, 295) and one in the Municipium would not be exceptional in the Danubian provinces⁴⁶.

The dedications of Nemesis from Apulum (IDR III/5, 293 – 297) show various religious and social aspects of the cult. The deity appears as Dea Nemesis⁴⁷, Nemesis Exaudientissima⁴⁸ and Nemesis Regina⁴⁹ one time associated with Fortuna (IDR III/5, 294)⁵⁰. All of the seven worshippers hold an important function in military or civilian context. Two of them – Claudius Marcellus *augustalis* or *antistes*⁵¹ and Caius Iulius Valens *haruspex et antites huiusque loci*⁵² came from a civil milieu. C. Iulius Valens is the only haruspex known from the province but also the only person with seven votive dedications from the city⁵³. His title as *antistes* of the so – called Locus Apulensis (interpreted as a sacred area with multiple sanctuaries) suggests the existence of a Nemesis sanctuary also outside of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, near the Tăuşor lake⁵⁴. It is possible, that Claudius Marcellus and C. Iulius Valens came from the same community and fulfill the same role in the *Locus Apulensis* as *antistes*.

The other worshippers have some important military or administrative functions as *optio signiferum legionis XIII Geminae*, *legatus legionis XIII Geminae*, *beneficiarius*, *evocatus* or *salariarius*, strictly related to the XIII Gemina and the governor. Unfortunately two of the inscriptions (IDR III/5, 293, 294) have an unknown provenience, but they could originate from the same place. Both of the inscriptions are dated in the first half of the 3rd century, which

⁴³ Ota 2012, p. 91 and 128.

⁴⁴ Moga 1983, p. 84, fig. 2; Ota 2012, p. 102, subnote 1287.

⁴⁵ Szabó 2004, p. 99.

⁴⁶ See most notably the example of Carnuntum: Kremer 2012, p. 387-389.

⁴⁷ IDR III/5, 293, 294, 295.

⁴⁸ IDR III/5, 296.

⁴⁹ IDR III/5, 297 and the recently found objects.

⁵⁰ About the syncretism, see: Ciobanu 1989, p. 275-282, Pastor 2011, p. 80.

⁵¹ The nexus of the last two letters (an or au) could be read as *antistes* or *augustalis*: Agócs 2011, p. 25.

⁵² About the *locus* as sacred area and the *antistes huiusque loci* title see: Szabó 2004, p. 97-99.

⁵³ Szabó 2007, p. 93-94; Szabó 2013.

⁵⁴ Szabó 2004, p. 99.

could indicate that the sources related to the army are later than those from the Colonia. These two side aspect of the worshipers – partially civilian and military – are very common in the other Danubian cities too.

Conclusions.

In this short note the author discusses the recently found inscriptions from Apulum, reinterpreting the function of the *salariarius* presented wrongly in the present Romanian literature as a civilian responsible for the salt – trade in Apulum. The article discusses also the local cult of Nemesis, with some remarks on the social aspects and titles of the worshipers and the sacral topography of the city. The new finds are exceptionally important not only for the local cult of Nemesis, but also for the rare titles and functions of the worshipers. The *salariarius*, *evocatus* and the *secunda rudis* gladiator are new titles, first attested in Apulum. The social and religious context of these persons and the votive objects are very important for a clearer view about the religious life of Apulum and an indirect, but strong proof for the existence of an amphitheatre.

NOTE CU PRIVIRE LA UN NOU *SALARIARIUS* DE LA APULUM

REZUMAT

Articolul prezintă câteva observații asupra unor inscripții edite descoperite în 2011 în castrul legiunii XIII Gemina din Apulum (Alba Iulia). Textul și imaginea inscripțiilor au fost publicate recent și interpretate foarte laconic, definind titlul de *salariarius* ca o „funcție administrativă civilă în conducerea unui depozit de sare”. În articol vom prezenta prin analogii noile teorii referitoare la funcția de *salariarius*, analizând totodată cultul zeiței Nemesis în Apulum și rolul celor doi soldați menționați în epigrafe.

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LISTA AUTORILOR

Dan Anghel - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, dnanghel@yahoo.com

Sote Angeleski - Cluj-Napoca, s_angeleski@yahoo.com

Tiberius Bader - Hemmingen, tib.bader@web.de

Dan Băcuet-Crișan - Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău, bacuet@yahoo.com

Radu Băjenaru - Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan", București, radu.bajenaru@gmail.com

Gabriel Bălan - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, liviugabrielbalan@yahoo.com

Corneliu Beldiman - «Dimitrie Cantemir» Christian University, Faculty of History, Bucharest; Romanian Scientific Society for Interdisciplinary Research, Bucharest; belcor@gmail.com

George Bounegru - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, bounegru_g_viziru@yahoo.com

Björn Briewig - German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, bjoerndebrie@yahoo.de

Vasile Budui - "Ștefan cel Mare" University, Suceava, Faculty of History and Geography, Department of Geography, vbudui@yahoo.com

Raluca Burlacu-Timofte - Universitatea "Babeș-Bolyai", Cluj-Napoca, raluburlacu@gmail.com

Dan-Lucian Buzea - National Museum of the Eastern Carpathians, Sfântu Gheorghe, buzealuci@yahoo.com

Sergiu Cadar - Institutul de Cercetări pentru Instrumentație Analitică Cluj-Napoca, sergiu.cadar@icia.com

Mircea Chintoanu - Institutul de Cercetări pentru Instrumentație Analitică Cluj-Napoca, chintoanu_m@yahoo.com

Radu Ciobanu - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, pufu_ciobanu@yahoo.com

Beatrice Ciută - Universitatea "1 Decembrie 1918", Alba Iulia, beatriceciuta@yahoo.com

Marius Ciută - Universitatea "Lucian Blaga", Sibiu, mariusciuta@yahoo.com

Sorin Colesniuc - Muzeul de Arheologie Callatis, Mangalia, sorinmarcelcolesniuc@yahoo.com

Călin Cosma - Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca, cosma.calin@yahoo.com

Aurel Dragotă - Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, reludragota@yahoo.com

Nicolae Gudea - Universitatea "Babeș-Bolyai", Cluj-Napoca

Nicolae Har - Universitatea "Babeș-Bolyai", Facultatea de Biologie și Geologie, Departamentul de Geologie, Cluj-Napoca, nicolae.har@ubbcluj.ro

Tünde Horváth - Budapest, tundehorvath4@gmail.com

Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici - Institutul de Arheologie, Iași, magdamantu@yahoo.com

Gheorghe Lazarovici - Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, ghlazarovici@yahoo.com

Adrian Luca - Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, luca_adrian_sibiu@yahoo.com

Sabin Adrian Luca - Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, sabinadrian.luca@ulbsibiu.ro; Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, sabin.luca@brukenthalmuseum.ro

Florentina Martiș - Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara, tina.martis@yahoo.com

Sascha Mauel - Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, kontakt@mauel.dk

Teodor Munteanu - Universitatea "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", Iași, teddy_muntean@yahoo.com

Bianka Nessel - ERC Project "BronzeAgeTin" Institute of Earth Sciences Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberg, Bianka.Nessel@geow.uni-heidelberg.de

Bogdan Petru Niculică - Bukovina Museum, Suceava, niculicab@yahoo.com

Radu Ota - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, eractum@yahoo.com

Dalia Anna Pokutta - Department of Archaeology, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, dalia.anna.pokutta@gu.se

Anca-Diana Popescu - Institutul de Arheologie "Vasile Pârvan", București, ancadiana_popescu@yahoo.com

Marcin S. PRZYBYŁA - Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, mszprzybyla@gmail.com

Marius Râza - Universitatea "1 Decembrie 1918", Alba Iulia, raza_marius@yahoo.com

Cristian Schuster - Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan” – Centrul de Tracologie, București, cristianschuster@yahoo.com

Csaba Szabó - University of Pécs, Pécs, szabo.csaba.pte@gmail.com

Zsolt Székely - UBB, Extensia Sf. Gheorghe, Sf. Gheorghe, szekely.zsolt@fspac.ro

Diana-Maria Sztancs - «Dimitrie Cantemir» Christian University, Faculty of History, Bucharest; Romanian Scientific Society for Interdisciplinary Research, Bucharest; beldiana22@yahoo.com

Claudiu Tănăselia - Institutul de Cercetări pentru Instrumentație Analitică Cluj-Napoca, claudiu@tanaselia.ro

Biba Teržan - Univerza v Ljubljani Filozofska fakulteta Oddelek za arheologijo, Ljubljana, ljubinka.terzan@ff.uni-lj.si

Peter Thomas - Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum Forschungsbereich Montanarchäologie, Peter.Thomas@Bergbaumuseum.de

Anca Timofan - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, anca.timofan@yahoo.com

Anamaria Tudorie - Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, anamaria.tudorie@brukenthalmuseum.ro

Claes Uhnér - Department of historical studies, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, claes_uhner@hotmail.com

Monica Ursu - Institutul de Cercetări pentru Instrumentație Analitică, Cluj-Napoca, monaursu5@yahoo.com