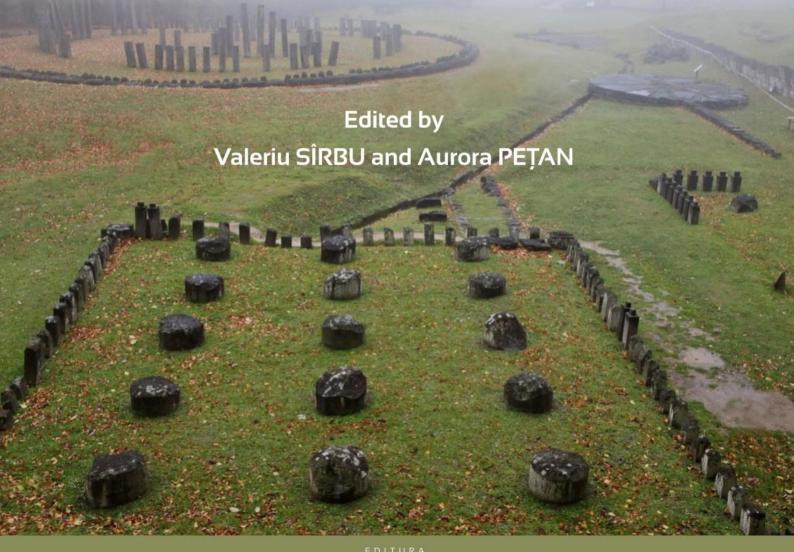




INVENTORY, OFFERINGS AND RITUALS IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE AND MEDITERRANEAN AREA (7TH C. BC-2ND C. AD)

3 INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM

Alun (Romania) June 16th-19th 2022





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IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN TEMPLES AND SACRED
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MEDITERRANEAN AREA (7th c. BC-2nd c. AD)

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Cover IV: Bronze mask from Alun-Piatra Roșie Dacian fortress

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FOREWORD

The 3^{rd} International Colloquium "Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Places at the Thracians and their Neighbours", with the theme *Inventory*, offerings and rituals in pre-Christian temples and sacred places of continental Europe and the Mediterranean area (7^{th} century $BC - 2^{nd}$ century AD, was held between 16 and 19 June 2022 at the Study Centre of Dacica Foundation in Alun, Hunedoara County. The colloquium was supposed to be held in 2021, but due to the pandemic, it had to be postponed for 2022.

The colloquium took place under the auspices of the *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Mortuary Practices Commission* of the *International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences* (UISPP) and was organized by the Study Centre of the Dacica Foundation.

At this event, 15 papers were presented, by 30 authors, from six countries: Romania, the Republic of Moldova, Bulgaria, Greece, Poland and Italy. Prestigious researchers from universities, research institutes and museums participated, thus ensuring a high scientific level. The chosen theme proved to be an inspired one, as evidenced by the thematic, chronological and geographical variety of the presentations, as well as the discussions that followed.

The presentations, as can be seen from the studies in this volume as well, covered a period of about a millennium and a half (12th century BC – 3rd century AD) and a wide geographical area, from the Italian Peninsula to The Baltic Sea, from the Carpathians to the Aegean Sea. They approached various civilizations and peoples (Thracians, Greeks, Samnites, Germanics, etc.) and had various topics, such as cult places (temples, pit fields, votive deposits, ritual complexes in prestigious tombs, etc.), or categories of ritually deposited pieces (weapons, items of military equipment and harness, ceramic vessels, figurative representations, etc.).

The present volume includes 11 valuable studies, published in excellent graphic conditions, which will ensure wide international circulation and great scientific visibility.

An interesting documentary visit was made to Sarmizegetusa Regia, Costești-Cetățuie and Alun-Piatra Roșie, which allowed the colloquium participants to get to know some of the most impressive monuments of the Dacians.

Dr. Aurora Peţan and Arch. Marian Coman deserve our acknowledgement, both for the financial and logistical effort of organizing the colloquium and publishing the volume. I owe thanks also to the participants in the colloquium, coming from various parts of the continent, for their submission of papers, which is, moreover, one of the conditions of participation in this scientific event.

As we committed, the next colloquium will take place in 2024, and will be followed, like the previous ones, by the publication of the proceedings.

Valeriu SÎRBU
President of the *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Mortuary Practices*Commission of the UISPP

CUVÂNT ÎNAINTE

Al 3-lea Colocviu Internațional "Sanctuare din epoca fierului și locuri de cult la traci și vecinii lor", cu tema *Inventar, ofrande și ritualuri în templele precreștine și locurile sacre ale Europei continentale și în zona mediteraneeană (sec. VII a.Chr. – sec. II p.Chr.)*, s-a desfășurat în perioada 16-19 iunie 2022, la Centrul de Studii al Fundației Dacica de la Alun, județul Hunedoara. Colocviul a fost programat pentru 2021, dar, din cauza pandemiei, a fost amânat pentru anul 2022.

Colocviul a avut loc sub egida Comisiei *Practici mortuare în Preistorie și Protoistorie a Uniunii Internaționale de Științe Preistorice și Protoistorice* și a fost organizat de Centrul de Studii al Fundației Dacica.

La această manifestare au fost susținute 15 comunicări, de către 30 de autori, din șase țări: România, Republica Moldova, Bulgaria, Grecia, Polonia și Italia. Au participat cercetători de prestigiu de la universități, institute de cercetare și muzee, asigurându-se, astfel, un ridicat nivel științific. Tema aleasă s-a dovedit a fi inspirată, ea fiind certificată atât de varietatea tematică, cronologică și geografică a comunicărilor, cât și de discuțiile care au avut loc după acestea.

Comunicările, așa cum rezultă și din studiile prezente în acest volum, au avut in vedere o perioadă de circa un mileniu și jumătate (sec. XII a.Chr. – III p.Chr.) și o largă arie geografică, din Peninsula Italică la Marea Baltică, din Carpați la Marea Egee. Ele s-au referit la civilizații și popoare diverse (traci, greci, samniți, germanici etc.) și au avut o tematică variată, fie că a fost vorba de locuri de cult (temple, câmpuri de gropi, depuneri votive, complexe rituale în morminte de prestigiu etc.), fie de categoriile de piese depuse ritual (arme, piese de echipament militar și de harnașament, vase ceramice, reprezentări figurative etc.).

Prezentul volum include 11 studii valoroase, publicate în excelente condiții grafice, care-i vor asigura o largă circulație internațională și o mare vizibilitate științifică.

S-a efectuat o interesantă vizită documentară la Sarmizegetusa Regia, Costești-Cetățuie și Alun-Piatra Roșie, care a permis participanților la colocviu să cunoască câteva dintre cele mai impresionante monumente ale dacilor.

Dna Dr. Aurora Pețan și dl Arh. Marian Coman merită mulțumirile noastre, atât pentru efortul financiar și logistic de organizare a colocviului, cât și de publicare a volumului. Aceleași mulțumiri le datorez și participanților la colocviu, veniți din

diverse părți ale continentului, pentru predarea la tipar a comunicărilor, aceasta constituind, de altfel, una din condițiile de participare la această manifestare științifică.

Așa cum ne-am angajat, următorul colocviu va avea loc în anul 2024 și se va finaliza, asemenea celor precedente, cu publicarea comunicărilor prezentate.

Valeriu SÎRBU Președintele Comisiei *Practici mortuare în Preistorie și Protoistorie* a UISPP

AURORA PEŢAN VALERIU SÎRBU (ROMANIA)

REVISITING FEȚELE ALBE – AN IMPORTANT DACIAN SITE NEAR SARMIZEGETUSA REGIA

KEYWORDS: Dacian Kingdom, settlements, temples, Sarmizegetusa Regia, Fețele Albe

ABSTRACT. The impressive ashlar walls at Feţele Albe (Grădiştea de Munte) have attracted the attention of scholars since the 19th century, who thought that there was a Dacian fortress there. The idea persisted until the mid-20th century, and it was only with the first archaeological research, carried out in the late 60's, that it began to be seen that the site does not have the characteristics of a fortification, but of a settlement. The nature of this site is still unclear however, due to the exceptional features that distinguish it from other settlements in the area: monumental retaining walls and a sacred area with temples.

Although considered a wealthy district of Sarmizegetusa Regia, the relationship between Feţele Albe and the royal capital, located not far from it, has not yet been clarified, especially since the chronological clues published so far place the beginning of the site before the appearance of the dwelling and the sacred area of the capital on Grădiştii Hill, as well as before other Dacian settlements in the Şureanu Mountains.

The analysis of LiDAR data shows that the site is much more extensive and complex than previously thought, and the orientation of the communication routes suggests a weak connection between this site and the nearby capital. Our field observations revealed a larger number of temples than reported in the literature, which made up a sacred area similar to that of the capital Sarmizegetusa. We also identified a novel figurative representation on a limestone block, which is probably confined to the sacred realm.

In this paper we aim to re-analyse the information available in the excavation reports on the group of temples and their inventories, and to add some new data, in order to try to clarify the functionality of the site at Fețele Albe and its relationship with Sarmizegetusa Regia, the capital of the Dacian Kingdom.

1. The data of the problem

1.1. Location

The archaeological site Feţele Albe is located in Grădiştea de Munte village, Orăștioara de Sus commune, Hunedoara County, in close proximity to the capital of the Dacian Kingdom, Sarmizegetusa Regia (Pl. I/1). Most researchers believe that it was a very district of the capital. Feţele Albe Hill lays north of Grădiştii Hill, on which was the core of the royal capital. The two hills are separated by Valea Albă, a deep and wild valley. On the southern slope of Feţele Albe¹ there are several artificial terraces arranged by the Dacians. The most important ones are grouped in the area called "Şesul cu Brânză", located about 800 m upstream from the confluence of Valea Godeanului with Valea Albă, halfway down the slope, at an altitude of 985 m. According to the National Archaeological Repertory (site code 90397.07), the settlement has about 20 terraces (over 30, according to Glodariu *et alii* 1996, p. 141), and the dimensions of the site (which probably refer only to the five central terraces) are 82x42 m. The distance, in a straight line, between the central areas of the two sites – Sarmizegetusa Regia and Feţele Albe – is 2,2 km (Pl. I/2).

1.2. History of research

The first written mention of the ruins on Feţele Albe belongs to the fiscal procurator Paul Török, who visited this place in the summer of 1803. Sent by the Habsburg authorities to investigate the discovery of some coin hoards by the villagers near the ruins of Grădiştea Muncelului, Török arrived at Feţele Albe and described what he found there in a report dated August 26, written in Latin (Jakó 1971, p. 442-443). He identified three broad terraces, suspended above the valley, on which could be seen remains of walls, numerous scattered stone blocks and bricks, and interpreted these ruins as those of a small fortress. Among the blocks seen there, he identified one inscribed with two letters and two other blocks with figurative representations (two goat legs and a knot) (Peṭan 2018a). The role of this fortress would have been to oversee the fortress on Grădiştii Hill, the access to it from the foot of the hill, as well as a large part of the road that led from this fortress to the villages in the Grădiştii valley. Török admits that he does not know where the access road to the fortress on Feţele Albe was, due to the position above the precipice of the terraces with ruins.

The place remained almost unknown to researchers until after World War II. None of the scholars who visited the ruins on Grădiștii Hill during the 19th century seem to have reached Fețele Albe. Towards the middle of the century, Michael Ackner takes information from Török's report, without implying that he visited the site (Ackner 1844, p. 26). Even the diligent researcher Téglás Gábor, who made several field surveys in the area at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the next, did not manage to reach Fețele Albe, although he had set out to do so (Téglás 1902, p. 21). In his 1910 expedition, Finály Gábor fails to learn from either the locals or the

¹ The toponym "Faṭa/Feṭele (Face/Faces)" usually designates the southern, sunny slopes of a hill. "Feṭele Able (White Faces)" designates the slopes oriented towards Valea Albă (Peṭan 2018b, p. 420).

foresters where this place is (Finály 1916, p. 32). The toponym is recorded on maps starting from the second half of the 19th century.

In the interwar period, D.M. Teodorescu made a field survey in the surroundings of Grădiștea and reached the summit area of Fețele Albe, where he identified a small terrace cut by the waters of a spring, with traces of "barbarian" habitation, at an altitude of 1100 m. Nearby he noticed the traces of an old road, covered by forest, that went down in serpentines to Anineșului Valley (Teodorescu 1923, p. 20-21). It is obvious that he did not reach the stone-walled terraces that Török had seen, which were located much further down the hillside. Teodorescu believed that it was about scattered "rural settlements" belonging to the fortress on Grădiștii Hill.

It is only after almost a century and a half since the 1803 report that the first new (but very brief) information about the site at Feţele Albe is published, where "traces of smaller settlements" and "traces of a strong fortification" have been identified. Constantin Daicoviciu is the one who indicated that, about 800 m away from the confluence of Godeanului Valley with Alba Valley, halfway along the coast, one can see a wide terrace with traces of the walls of a fortification. Below this he observed three other successive terraces, on which were numerous blocks of stone either fallen from the fortification above, or from towers which may have existed there. It also indicates several terraces with traces of burnt adobe about 100 m above the valley, and above them another terrace on which one could see some stone blocks that could have come from a tower. He noted that there are terraces with traces of dwellings all along Feţele Albe (C. Daicoviciu and Ferenczi 1951, p. 41).

Therefore, before the beginning of the archaeological excavations, it was believed that there was a fortification on Feţele Albe and several inhabited terraces around it. The role of this fortification would have been to defend from the north the main fortress on Grădiştii Hill (C. Daicoviciu 1954, p. 20), an idea previously stated by P. Török and M. Ackner. It is remarkable the observation of C. Daicoviciu that the traces of habitation can be found on the entire stretch of Feţele Albe, until close to the fortress on Dealul Grădiştii, i.e., on an east-west axis of more than one kilometre. Unfortunately, this information was never exploited later, and the research focused only on the group of terraces in the western area.

The archaeological research was of a large scale and was carried out during nine campaigns, in the period 1965-1973 (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1989, p. 161-165). Excavations were made on 15 terraces out of about 20-30 which were thought to exist. If after the first campaign the hypothesis of a fortress at Feţele Albe was still maintained, in the following year it became clear that the walls were not of an enclosure but had the role of supporting the terraces (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1989, p. 163; Pl. II/1-2) and therefore, there was a settlement there, not a fortress or a fortification. The central area ("Ṣesul cu Brânză"), consisting of five terraces supported by stone walls, as well as several terraces to the west and east of them, was partially uncovered, and others were probed. Unfortunately, only a few short articles were published following this research (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1966; H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1969;

H. Daicoviciu 1971; H. Daicoviciu et alii 1973)². From 1973 until today (so half a century!) no research has been done in this site. Logging, overgrowth, and a fire have affected the site in recent decades (Pl. II/3-5).

1.3. The structure of the site

The core of the settlement consists of a group of five terraces supported by strong stone walls, built during several stages (Pl. III/1-2). Circular constructions with concentric rooms and a circular temple with limestone pilasters were investigated on these terraces. At least one other temple with andesite elements existed nearby, given that disparate elements from it were reused at some point. The settlement is considered to have been destroyed by the Romans twice, in the two campaigns at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Inhabitation ceased in AD 106, and Roman presence is not documented in this site after the conquest. Unfortunately, little information has been published about this research. The plan, drawn up on that occasion, only includes the central area with the five terraces. We have no data about the location of the other terraces. The ancient ways of access to the site are not known, and it is unclear how it communicated with the settlement on Grădiștii Hill. Today, access is via a modern path that climbs steeply from Alba Valley.

On four of the five terraces in the central zone were identified constructions: on terraces I and II there used to be circular buildings, considered to be dwellings, on terrace III there was a circular temple and on terrace V there was a dwelling whose plan is unclear, but which had an outbuilding. Nothing was found on terrace IV. Regarding the other ten researched terraces, there are only very brief mentions and a plan with their location has never been published (H. Daicoviciu et alii 1989, p. 164-165)3. Thus, two levels were found on terrace VI, without any other details; on terrace VII also two levels: on the upper one a poorly preserved construction, and on the lower one a construction with an unclear plan and a ceramic water pipe, with two branches, one of which led to a pottery kiln on the same terrace, and another led to terrace VIII4; a workshop is also indicated on terrace VII; on terrace VIII there were two levels: on the upper one there was a house which was completely destroyed in Antiquity; there is no information about terrace IX; on terrace X the remains of a house with two concentric rooms and a porch; on terrace XI a barn with storage vessels; on terrace XII a house with two concentric rooms; on terrace XIII a house with a rectangular plan; on terrace XIV a deposit of agricultural and carpentry tools;

² Our request for access to the excavation documentation from 1965-1973 was rejected by the dean of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the "Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca, on the grounds that the documents have not yet been digitized. Likewise, our request for access to the materials from the excavations at Feţele Albe was rejected by the manager of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca, with the reason that these artifacts were taken over by the coordinator of the excavations at this site, Mr. Răzvan Mateescu, who is preparing them for publication. However, in the Information System for the Administration of Archaeological Research in Romania there is no research authorization registered for the site Feţele Albe during the last 20 years.

 $^{^3}$ Some additional details about the constructions on these terraces can be found in Glodariu 1976 and Glodariu 1983 (passim).

⁴ Details about this pipe in Glodariu 1983, p. 39-40, where it is located on terrace VIII, not VII.

on the terrace XV they found the traces of the water collection system of the spring that supplied the pipe on the VII terrace.

The centre of the entire settlement seems to have been terrace II, probably together with terrace I. Terraces III and V were built later, and terrace IV may have been under construction when the site was destroyed. There is no information regarding the chronological relationship between this group of terraces and the rest of the dwelling on Feţele Albe, but very likely the settlement developed gradually, around this nucleus on "Şesul cu Brânză", and reached its peak in the 1st century AD, like the settlement on Grădiştii Hill.

1.4. Buildings and inventories

In the central area were identified the remnants of five constructions that belonged to various levels of habitation and considered to be: three circular dwellings (A-C), a rectangular dwelling with an outbuilding (E) and a circular temple (D).

There were two housing levels on terrace I, but the lower one is poorly preserved. The upper level dates from after the destruction of the site, when an impressive polygonal building (Building A) was built on this terrace, with two concentric rooms: the outer wooden one, and the inner one with 20-25 cm thick clay walls and wooden frame (Pl. IV/1, 4). The outer room served as a storeroom and housed 90% of the building's inventory. The inner room was circular or apsed, but its dimensions are unclear⁵. The total diameter of the building was 15 m, and the area 176 m². Among the artifacts there are numerous ceramic sherds from wheel-worked vessels, of gray and especially red good quality paste; many fragments of large red storage vessels; fragments painted in geometric style (especially lids); an *unguentarium*; a handle from a bronze saucepan with the stamp of Ansius Diodorus' workshop (Pl. IV/6); a spear but, a scabbard fragment, a pruning knife, a strickle, etc.

The foundation of the building overlapped the retaining wall of the terrace, which had been previously destroyed or dismantled. Several pieces from destroyed temples were reused in its construction: three beheaded andesite pillars from a temple, a corner block, also from andesite, probably from the same temple, and a limestone pillar from the circular temple on terrace III (Pl. IV/2, 3 and 5). Numerous other andesite fragments are marked on the building plan, coming probably from the same temple. For this reason, it is believed that this building was built after the destruction of the temples and of the entire site, which would have happened during Trajan's first campaign in AD 102. The building would have functioned sometime between 102-105, and in 106 the site would have been destroyed again by the Romans, this time definitively.

Three levels have been documented on terrace II (Pl. V/1, 2). The lower one has poor archaeological traces. On the second level there was a building with a total diameter of 11,50 m and a complex plan, consisting of two concentric rooms and

⁵ In H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1973, p. 67, the central room has a diameter or length of 12 m, and the porch is 1,45-1,50 m wide. In Glodariu 1983, p. 21, the length of the central room is 6 m. On the published plans, according to the scale, the porch is approx. 3,5 m wide (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1973, p. 82, Fig. 4).

a porch (Building B). The outer room was circular, and the inner one rectangular or apsed. The porch had a width of about 1,50 m and a well-smoothed clay floor, ornamented with curved or slightly wavy relief grooves, unique in this area (Pl. V/3). The authors of the research claim that the ceramics from this level have no analogues in the settlements definitely dated in the 1st BC-1st AD in the Orăștiei Mountains and date back to the end of the 2nd – the beginning of the 1st century BC, being the earliest in this area (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 69, 74). These are large black-brown vessels with black slip and polished, having thickened and faceted lip and a flat bottom, as well as red vessels, made of coarse paste, with a straight and slightly thickened lip and a flat bottom, very different from those of the superior level. To these are added two vessels with graphite in the paste, which are local imitations of Celtic *situlae* (Pl. V/4).

On the upper level there was a wood and clay building with concentric rooms (Building C), which perished in a great fire at the beginning of the 2^{nd} century AD, in the context of the wars with the Romans. Among the artifacts, several special ceramic vessels stand out, including a painted jar and a spouted globular vessel rarely found in Dacian sites (Pl. V/5-6).

Both buildings were interpreted as dwellings.

Terrace II was supplied with water through a ceramic pipe that ran through the retaining wall to the north of the terrace. The authors of the research believe that the water fell on the terrace as a spring and was collected in a basin and led to the stone channel that crossed the southern retaining wall, from where it flowed into the valley. In front of this wall was found a partially preserved andesite basin, provided with a "beak" for draining water. This remarkable arrangement, which belongs to the upper level (but it might be earlier), reinforces the special character of this terrace.

On terrace III there was a circular temple (Building D), with a diameter of 10,80 m, bordered by limestone pillars, of two dimensions: some are narrow and tall, others are wide and short⁶ (Pl. VI/1-3). Because only some of them were found in their original place, it was impossible to determine the way they were grouped. All the pillars were "beheaded", similarly to the ones at Sarmizegetusa Regia. No cult artifacts have been found (or at least this role has not yet been assigned to any of the discovered pieces). The situation is similar to that of Sarmizegetusa Regia, where such items are extremely rare, if not completely absent. It is very plausible that the Dacians emptied out of goods these temples before the arrival of the Romans, as we believe happened in Sarmizegetusa Regia, Alun-Piatra Roșie or elsewhere (Sîrbu 2006, p. 81; Sîrbu and Pețan 2020; Peṭan and Sîrbu 2020, p. 151). The temple was disassembled in Antiquity, after having been set fire to, and some of the limestone pillars were reused. After the destruction of the temple, a large pit was dug in its southern half (width at the mouth: 1,25 m, depth: 1,85 m), which was filled back in a short time, and which indicates an activity of the Dacians on terrace III even after it was set on fire.

No vestiges were found on terrace IV.

⁶ At Sarmizegetusa Regia there was a similar temple, but with andesite pillars and a diameter of 12,50 m.

On terrace V there was just one level, on which there used to be a wooden building, whose plan is hard to reconstruct and an outbuilding (a barn?), both burned down (Building E). The humble character of these buildings comes in contrast with the massif walls that protect this terrace on all its sides (Pl. VII/1-2).

1.5. The site chronology

The starting date of this settlement is still subject of debate. As seen above, the authors of the excavations claim that the earliest artifacts from this site date back to the end of the 2nd century BC or, at latest, to the first part of the 1st century BC. However, a few years later, they changed the date for the first half of the 1st century BC (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1976, p. 79). Unfortunately, the artifacts have not been made public, so we have to rely on this information and statements. Building B from level 2 of terrace II belongs to this period and level 1 of this terrace indicates that the beginnings of the site are even earlier than the period mentioned above.

It is believed that the settlement was conquered by the Romans two times: first, in year 102 AD, then partially rebuilt by the Dacians, only to be finally wiped out in year 106 AD (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1969, p. 471-472). This scenario is based on the reuse of pieces from the destroyed temples in raising building A.

		2 nd C. BC	1 st C. BC	1 st C. AD	102 AD 1 st conquest	102-105 AD	106 AD 2 nd conquest
T1	L1		100-51 50-1		X		
	L2					A	X
T2	L1						
	L2		В				
	L3			С	X		
Тз				D	X		
T4					X		
T5				E	X		

Tab. 1. Chronology of the buildings

However, we believe that the question of the dating of building A is still not fully clarified. Its inventory dates at the earliest to the second half of the 1st century AD, perhaps even towards the end of this century⁷, but its construction only between 102-105 implies a very short life span. This fact is contradicted by the numerous layers of plaster (Glodariu 1983, p. 21) noted on its clay walls. Also, the architecture of the building and its very rich inventory (which also includes imports) do not normally characterize a construction built in time of war. In addition, following the research on the 15 terraces, it was concluded that this is the only building that can be dated after the final destruction of the site, which makes it completely lonely in the middle of an abandoned site (Peṭan 2020, p. 340-341, 349). This scenario raises questions

 $^{^{7}}$ The workshop of Ansius Diodorus, from which the saucepan with the inscribed handle comes, operated in the period AD $_{70}/_{75}$ -90 (Vipard 2013, p. 136).

and further archaeological research will be needed to clarify when and under what circumstances the temples at Fețele Albe were destroyed and this building was built⁸.

Regarding the relative chronology, it appears from the existing data that terrace II was the first to be laid out and preserved its important status until the Roman conquest. The settlement developed around it, by arranging of new terraces in its immediate vicinity, as well as at greater distances. The temples we know date from later, towards the end of the settlement, but the existence of older phases of them is probable.

2. New data and approaches

2.1. The site plan and extension

As shown before, it is considered that the site from Fetele Albe consists of about 20-30 terraces, located about midway down the slope and having as a central zone the group of five terraces on "Sesul cu Brânză". The LiDAR-derived Digital Terrain Model (DTM) reveals a real surprise: the site is a lot wider, occupying the entire southern side of the hill, along 2 km, from Arsurii Creek up to the fortification on Grădiștii Hill and it has almost 200 terraces (Pl. VIII), so ten times more that it was believed! The terraces are most often lined up (as "garlands") along the contour lines, and today they are completely covered by forests (Pl. IX/1). Some are in steps, others in clusters (Pl. IX/2-5). The largest concentration of terraces is located near "Sesul cu Brânză". Access is difficult today for the antique pathways have disappeared. However, the DTM shows in some places the paths that connected the groups of terraces and that formed a real network covering the entire slope. Traces of numerous constructions with a rectangular or polygonal/circular base are visible on the terraces. Some terraces are right on the crest of the hill, close to the ridge road, as D.M. Teodorescu had remarked. All these terraces have remained unknown until now. As shown above, C. Daicoviciu intuited that the site extends along the entire east-west axis of Fetele Albe, and D.M. Teodorescu saw traces of habitation near the crest of the hill. Nevertheless, only now is it possible to correctly assess the size of the settlement and the number of terraces. Until now, the only existing plan was that of the five terraces in the main area. The DTM provides us with the plan of the entire settlement and clarifies how it was connected to the rest of the area.

Fețele Albe Hill is crossed from north to south by several streams (torrents) that spring from under the top of the hill and flow into Alba Valley, segmenting the slope into several areas. From west to east, these torrents are: Arsurii, Hârban, Curmătura (or Alboanea) and Prelucii (Pl. VIII). "Şesul cu Brânză" is located on the left bank of Hârban Creek. The 15 investigated terraces lie on the same contour line, between Arsurii, Hârban and Alboanei Creek. The torrents provided water in abundance for homes, workshops and temples, but there were also numerous springs that were caught in Antiquity, and which today are no longer visible on the surface

⁸ H. Daicoviciu admits that, theoretically, it could have been built after the year 106 and perished in an accidental fire, but he believes that the wealth of his inventory and the general situation in the Orăștiei Mountains make such a hypothesis unacceptable (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 470, n. 3).

(e.g. the spring that supplied water to the pottery workshop on terrace VIII and the one that was directed towards the terraces on "Sesul cu Brânză").

The plan of the central area was never completed. It was adjusted as the research progressed, but the last version published does not include the research from 1972 (Pl. III/1). In that year the supporting wall of terrace II was uncovered, and a buttress was found, but these are not represented on any plan. Many years later, I. Glodariu (*et alii* 1996, p. 147) claimed that the wall was in a circular arch. The DTM, confirmed by our field observations, highlighted the linear route of the walls and the existence of an opening, not a buttress (Pl. X/1). This opening, flanked by two short walls facing the interior of the terrace could represent the place of a gate. In fact, on the outside of this wall there is an alley about 4 m wide, which stretches from the eastern edge of terrace III to the western edge of terrace I, passing to the south of terrace II. Its length is about 80 m. Building B, located on the level 2 of terrace II, had the entrance to the south, i.e. oriented towards this presumed gate. If future research confirms the existence of a gate on terrace II – the oldest and most important of all the terraces – this could lead to a reconsideration of the organization of the entire complex.

It is important to note that the number of terraces in this central cluster is greater than previously thought: there are at least two more terraces to the north, partially slipped down, that remain unexplored, and another one approx. 20 m south of terrace II (Pl. X/1).

The settlement developed around this core in a way quite similar to that on Grădiștii Hill. The discovery of a pottery kiln on terrace VIII, served by a pipe carrying water from a catchment located on terrace VII, but also of a deposit of tools on terrace XIV, indicates the existence of a craft area. Although little has been researched, and the published information is very poor, one can still see an organization of settlement into "districts" with specialized functions.

Topographically, Feţele Albe hill represents an extension of Muncelului ridge, and it continues to the west along two branches: Muncelului hill, south of Valea Anineşului, and Vulpii hill, east of it. D.M. Teodorescu had also noticed that the road on the ridge of Feţele Albe descends into Anineşului Valley. Therefore, the crest of Feţele Albe is well connected to the western hills, but communication with Grădiştii Hill is difficult, because of the northern steep slope of the latter, even if the distance between the boundaries of the two sites is only a few hundred meters. This field situation suggests a weak connection between the two sites. The connection between them must have been done on the crest road on Grădiştii Hill, after a descent into Alba Valley and a difficult ascent on the opposite slope, but only on foot or with pack animals. The carriages could only be used on the ridge roads, and to reach these roads from one site to another, a considerable detour was necessary (Pl. X/2-4).

There were two ways of supplying the settlement (Pl. XI). One was the eastern route, on the ridge road that comes from Muncelului Peak and descends in a gentle slope to above the terraces on Feţele Albe. This branched off from the ridge road that came from the north, from Cugir and from Mureşului Valley. The other is the western route, which went up Muncelului Hill from Grădiştii Valley, from the confluence

with Anineşului Valley. Grădiștii Valley can be reached either by going down from Luncanilor ridge road, which was south of Grădiștii Valley, or from the northern ridge road that comes from Costești-Deal and Prisaca and continues towards Muncel. The construction stone from the quarry at Măgura Călanului was transported on the western road and must have been particularly difficult and expensive, just like in the case of the stone constructions on Grădiștii Hill (Peţan 2022, p. 140-142; 179-180). A calculation of the amount of stone used might suggest what resources the master of this settlement possessed (Cetean *et alii* 2022). The western route was also used for the supply of grain and other agricultural products that came from the valleys of the lower Strei or Mures.

2.2. The sacred area at Fetele Albe

Up to the present day, just two temples were known at Feţele Albe: a) the circular temple with limestone pillars, partially preserved *in situ*, and b) a rectangular temple with andesite pillars and kerbs whose location is not known and from which only four, reused items were found: three pilasters⁹ and a corner stone (Pl. XII/2, 3). The pieces appear to have been used as supports for something inside the building. Numerous other reused andesite fragments are figured on the published plan, and an andesite drum from the same temple is also mentioned in the literature, but without specifying the place where it was discovered (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1989, p. 193). We identified on the field three fragments of andesite drums in the area of terraces III and V, visible on the field (Pl. XII/1). This temple had elements very similar to those of the small andesite temples on terrace XI at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Pl. XII/4). Its original location is not known, but it must have been nearby, very likely on one of the terraces on "Sesul cu Brânză".

Dislocated elements from a third temple are visible in the central area, but there is no published information about them except for a brief mention (Glodariu *et alii* 1996, p. 153). We are talking about four limestone cylindric bases coming from a temple with wooden columns: they have a diameter of about 50 cm and are 40 cm tall (Pl. XII/5). These plinths have dimensions similar to those of the temple in Alun-Piatra Roșie (Peţan 2019, p. 332). The temple was disassembled in Antiquity and the four plinths are "stored" south of terrace III; the place where this temple functioned is not known.

I. Glodariu *et alii* (1996, p. 148) says that the second temple of the settlement was located on terrace II, without elaborating this statement. We do not know which of the two lost temples he was referring to.

It therefore follows that at Feţele Albe there were at least three temples: one circular, with limestone pillars, and two rectangular ones - one with andesite elements, the other with limestone. The analogies with the temples at Sarmizegetusa Regia suggest a dating of the andesite temple in the second half of the 1st century AD, when this building material began to be quarried by the Dacians and used for

⁹ Meanwhile, one of the three andesite pillars has been moved from its place and is located north of terrace I.

the temples of the capital city. For the limestone temples the dating may be broader, but it is very likely that all three temples, which made up a sacred area, ended in the same circumstances.

A remarkable detail is the presence in the area of the circular temple (probably fallen from the retaining wall behind it) of a limestone hemisphere like those in the sacred area of Sarmizegetusa Regia, but unornamented (H. Daicoviciu 1971, p. 259-260). This type of architectural element is not found in any other site in Şureanu Mountains. Moreover, at Sarmizegetusa the pieces, which were decorated with heads of aquatic birds, were found around the spring in the sacred area and seem to have ornated the crest of a retaining wall (C. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1953, p. 157-158).

Another aspect that deserves attention is that of the functionality of the circular buildings in the central area of the site (buildings A, B and C). They have been interpreted as simple dwellings, but certain characteristics of them suggest they had a special destination.

With a diameter of 15 m, Building A, the largest building at Fețele Able (much larger even than the circular temple), was considered a simple dwelling. This belongs to a series of large circular or polygonal Dacian buildings, with concentric rooms, most of them with a cult role and none with the functionality of a simple house. At the head of this list is the large circular temple at Sarmizegetusa Regia, with a diameter of 29,40 m (C. Daicoviciu et alii 1951, p. 113-117), followed by the circular temple at Racos, (19,20 m) (Glodariu and Costea 1991, p. 26-27) and the building on Pustiosu Hill (19 m) (C. Daicoviciu et alii 1957, p. 272-273). Other similar buildings, with an oval plan and concentric rooms, but with seasonal functioning, existed on the high hills of Rudele (15x13 m) and Meleia (on the plateau: 16x14.80 m, on terrace II: 15,20x13,60 m) (C. Daicoviciu et alii 1960, p. 347-348; C. Diacoviciu et alii 1961, p. 312-313) – all with a still unclear destination, but with unusual inventories for simple dwellings. To these is added a polygonal building with a diameter of 12,50 m, investigated in the settlement on Grădiștii Hill, inside which, in addition to a household inventory, was found the famous vessel with the inscription "Decebalus per Scorilo", deemed to be a cult vessel. The impressive dimensions of that building led archaeologists to consider it a "palace", or a public or cult edifice, in which there could also be objects of common use (C. Daicoviciu et alii 1955, p. 202). Among other artifacts, there was also a sestertius issued by Emperor Trajan in 101-102, which indicates the functioning of the building until the conquest of the capital city, i.e. in the same period as the building at Fetele Albe.

These analogies suggest a special status for the Building A as well, but only full publication of the inventory and of the details regarding this construction could shed light on its functionality.

Building B doesn't look like a simple dwelling either. It had a circular porch with an ornamented floor, unique in the area of the capital of the Dacian Kingdom. This suggests either a high status of the owner, or a special functionality of the building public, perhaps even religious. At least for the chronological segment represented by the middle level, this terrace seems to have been the centre of the entire settlement.

From the information published so far, it follows that building C had a privileged position in the complex on "Şesul cu Brânză" in the second half of the 1st century AD. This is the "successor" to Building B and seems to have inherited its status as well. A sophisticated water supply system seems to have functioned on this terrace and outside the southern wall there was a wide alley, which seems to have led to a monumental entrance located in the middle of this wall. Several artifacts found inside it seem to go beyond the household domain, such as the spouted vessel – a ceramic type rarely attested in Dacian settlements and for which some researchers have assumed a ritual function (Ursachi 1995, p. 181). In its immediate vicinity was the circular temple, dated to the same period. Again, the published data are too poor to draw conclusions about the activities carried out in this building, but its size and location in a central position and near the temple suggest that it was not a simple dwelling.

An important aspect that needs to be emphasized is the reinforcement of the terraces with massive support walls (Pl. XIII/1-3). The construction technique, conventionally called "murus dacicus", is the one found in other sites from the capital area, and consisted of two paraments of limestone blocks linked together with transverse beams, and a filling of earth and local stone. The limestone blocks were brought from a distance of about 40 km, from Măgura Călanului quarry, and transported on the crest roads, with considerable effort and expense. The walls protected all five terraces on all sides, except for the western side of terrace IV, on which no traces of habitation have been found and which was either under construction or insufficiently investigated. Therefore, the terraces were "boxed" with massive walls, even doubled on some portions. The walls were built in stages as the terraces were laid out: the oldest terraces are I and II, followed by terraces III and V (both with a single housing level), and terrace IV may be the latest. There are differences related to the thickness of these walls on certain segments, the dimensions of the blocks and the composition of the filling (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1969, p. 466-467).

The monumental aspect of this group of terraces was highlighted by the authors of the excavations, who state that this site evokes (keeping the proportions) the image of the Hellenistic Pergamum (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1969, p. 472).

Such walls only existed in the sacred area of Sarmizegetusa Regia and at the acropolis of the fortresses in the area of the capital. Nowhere were thick retaining walls built for the protection of simple dwellings. These walls are a clear indication of the importance and massiveness of the buildings on these terraces, which should be expected to belong to one of the two categories known so far: temples or high-class residences. The temple on terrace III is an indication about the existence of a sacred zone in that area. The remnants of the other two temples cannot come from far away. They have been reused or stored after the temples were dismantled, and they could have occupied terrace IV (and/or terrace V?) or, maybe, the two terraces that have not been investigated yet. The lack of traces on terrace IV can be due to insufficient investigation, which could have missed the eventual temple substructures.

In short, some important aspects emerge from the data above, which help us characterize this site. First of all, it must be emphasized that the number of temples at Fețele Albe is greater than previously thought. There were certainly three temples: one circular, with limestone pillars, and two rectangular, one with limestone plinths, and another with andesite pillars and plinths. It is possible that the number of cult buildings was higher, but they have not been identified due to the limited nature of the research.

Second, if we accept the residential character of buildings A, B, C and E, it means that temples and dwellings coexisted in the same space, a fact that can only be explained if there was a very high-ranking residence there. It is possible, however, that those buildings were not simple homes, but public buildings or other types of constructions with an important role within a sacred area.

Finally, the protection of terraces with stone walls is an important argument in characterizing this cluster of terraces as being of particular importance to the Dacians.

2.3. Figurative representations

To the west of the sacred area, on the right bank of Hârban stream, there is a group of 6-7 terraces, located both sides of the ancient road. Only two of these have been investigated – terraces VII and VIII. On terrace VII there was a workshop with a pottery kiln, and on terrace VIII a large building. Both were supplied with water brought through ceramic pipes from a catchment located higher. There were two levels on terrace VIII, but no detailed information about them has been published: as seen above, we only know that there was a dwelling on the upper one, which was completely destroyed in Antiquity. This terrace was supported on the south by a retaining wall of dressed stone, which bordered the road, the remains of which are still visible. Among the stone elements scattered in the area of the wall is a stone gutter, which must have been connected to the pipe identified in the excavation, and a unique limestone block, decorated with carved figures, discovered recently by us (Pl. XIV/1-3).

The block is only partially preserved, it has approx. 54x36 cm and it was affected by weathering on the face with representations. On this face thin, carved border can be seen, and within its field a complex scene is rendered, but it is difficult to distinguish the details based on the on-site visual examination of the block and on the photos we took at the time. Moreover, the drawings made by two people, based on our photos, have noticeable differences. The common element in these, as well as in our observations, is the presence of one/two aurochs/bisons, to which other motifs are added. The other details of the representations will only be able to be specified by studying the block in a laboratory and by photographs taken with more advanced technical means.

At the beginning of the 19th century, two other limestone blocks with figurative representations were found in this site, on one of which the feet of a goat could be seen (Peṭan 2018a). In the Dacian fortress of Căpâlna, two wall blocks were also

found with carved representations of fantastic or real animals (horse, deer, possibly a unicorn) (Glodariu and Moga 1989, p. 123-125, 210, fig. 98, pl. VII).

Bovids are quite frequently represented in the Dacian art and just like in older eras, they symbolized strength, vitality, and fecundity (Sîrbu and Florea 1997, p. 102-103). The most remarkable representations of this kind come from the Dacian fortress at Alun-Piatra Roșie, where several iron disks were discovered, three of which have an auroch in profile in the central register (Daicoviciu 1954, p. 119-120, fig. 39-40; Trohani 2011-2012, p. 173-175; Peţan and Sîrbu 2020, p. 148, 160, fig. 12-13).

This block was very likely part of the retaining wall of terrace VIII. It can be assumed that it was oriented with its decorated face towards the road, conveying to passers-by a message, a story or information about the building on that terrace or its owner. However, the very little information we possess does not allow us to make too many assumptions. Nevertheless, its importance is undeniable and comes to enrich the repertoire of figurative representations from the period of the Dacian Kingdom, as well as to strengthen the hypothesis of a special significance of bovids (or especially auroch) in the imaginary of the epoch¹⁰.

3. Comments and conclusions

The above-mentioned elements lead to an image of this site, which is quite different from the one generally admitted in the last half of the century. It is beyond any doubt that at Feţele Albe there was a sacred zone similar to that on Dealul Grădiştii, with circular and rectangular limestone and andesite temples, concentrated in a relatively small area. Its real dimensions are not known, but there were at least three temples.

The large circular buildings, with complex plan and special inventory, located in the same area with the temples, are very unlikely to be ordinary dwellings. More likely, these were either aristocratic residences or public, possibly even cult, buildings. In the vicinity of the sacred area there was a craft area, with workshops for the production of ceramic vessels and metallurgical ones, which suggests an organization of the territory similar to that on Grădisti Hill. The large settlement from the southern slopes of Fețele Albe developed around this religious center. Other elements common to the Fețele Albe site and the one on Grădiștii Hill, which suggest a special status of the former, very close to that of the latter, are: painted pottery, limestone hemisphere, the use of andesite in temples and basins, the retaining walls, figurative representations etc. The similarity between the two centres is striking. What seems to distinguish them, however, is the chronology.

The oldest vestiges on Grădiștii Hill were dated to the first half of the 1st century BC (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1976, p. 77), but it must be taken into account that these are sporadic monetary discoveries, which only indicate a *terminus post quem*.

¹⁰ The detailed analysis of this block, in the context of the presence of representations of bovids in the archaeological discoveries and in the Geto-Dacian imaginary, will be the subject of a paper that we will write in the future.

Until now, no ceramics, fibulae, imports or other artifacts with absolute dating capacity have been reported to confirm the existence of this centre in the first decades of the 1st century BC and even less at the end of the previous century. For the sacred area, there is no evidence (for now) that it is earlier than the middle of the 1st century BC. Therefore, from the data published so far, it appears that the central area from Feţele Albe existed at least a generation (around 100 BC) before the one on Grădiştii hill (around 50 BC). After the middle of the 1st century BC, the centre seems to move from Feţele Albe to the neighbouring hill. The two religious centres operated in parallel until the Roman conquest, but we cannot specify the relationship between them. From a topographical point of view, the two communicated each other with difficulty and were oriented in different directions: Feţele Albe to the west, towards the large settlements on Anineşului Valley and Muncelului Hill, and Grădiştii Hill to the south, towards the settlements bounded by the Luncanilor ridge road.

Dating the beginnings of Feţele Albe at the end of the 2nd century BC or the dawn of the next century opens an interesting perspective in re-discussing the outset of the power centre in the Şureanu Mountains. The site at Feţele Albe was, therefore, contemporary with the Dacian fortress of Costeşti-Cetăţuie and that of Alun-Piatra Roşie, both older than Sarmizegetusa Regia. The analysis of imports, types of ceramic vessels and monetary finds from Costeşti-Cetăţuie places this fortress and the settlements around it at the end of the 2nd century BC or at the latest in the first two or three decades of the next century (H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1976, p. 72-73; Glodariu 1995, p. 120). The beginnings of the fortress Alun-Piatra Roşie is dated similarly by some historians (Strobel 1998, p. 209-212). This "triangle", made up of the sites Costeşti-Cetăţuie, Alun-Piatra Roşie and Grădiṣtea de Munte-Feţele Albe represents the core of the power centre that would later develop in this area, starting from the middle of the 1st century BC, and which experienced a second peak in the second half of the 1st century AD.

Considering these data, it is obvious that the site at Feţele Albe can no longer be considered a district of Sarmizegetusa Regia, but, most probably, the very place where Sarmizegetusa was "born". Even if the settlement on Grădiştii Hill grew in size and importance, the one on Feţele Albe certainly remained a place with a special status, which had a sacred area in its centre and which symbolized the beginnings of the power centre in the Şureanu Mountains.

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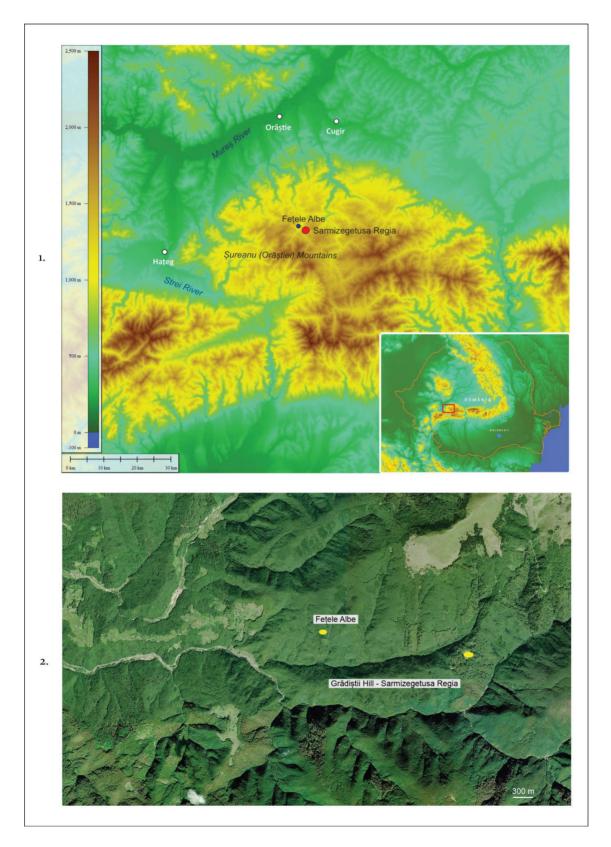
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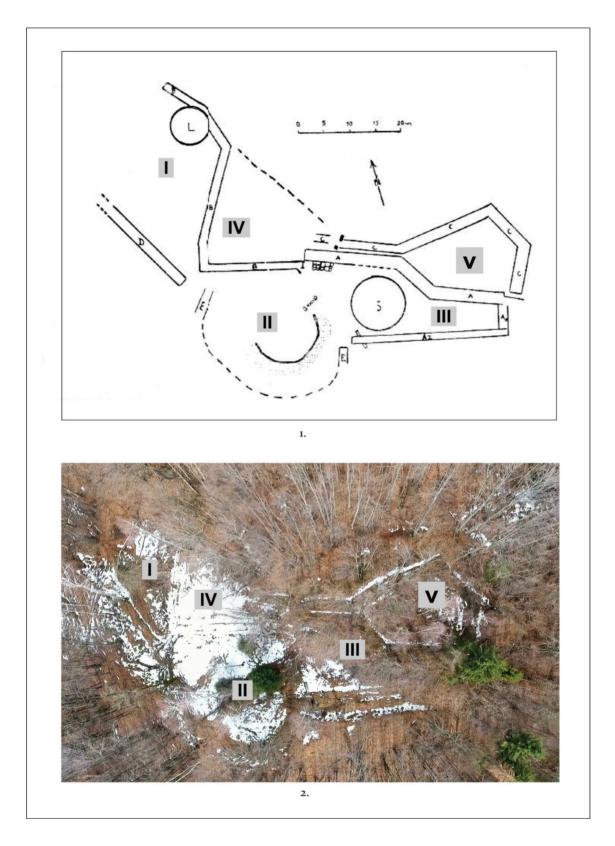
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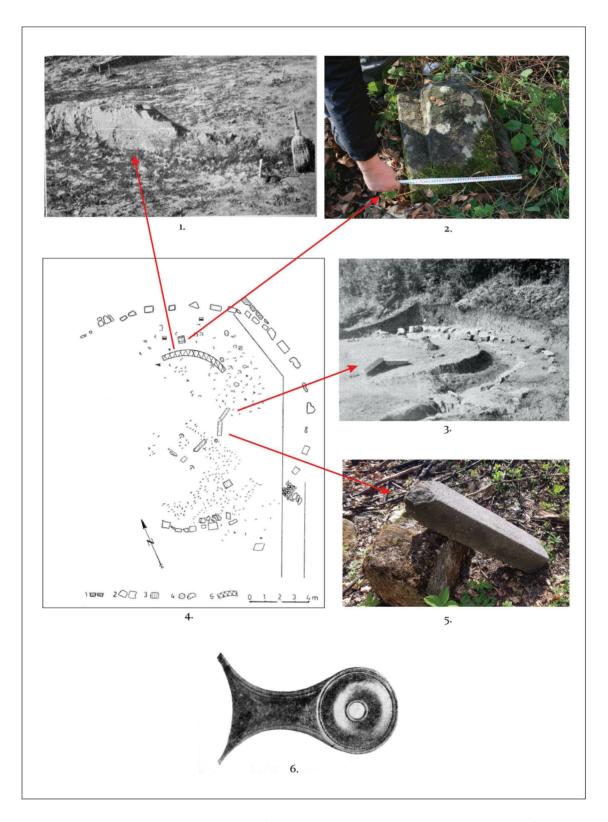
Pl. I. The site at Fețele Albe: 1. General map; 2. Location in relation to Grădiștii Hill (Sarmizegetusa Regia).



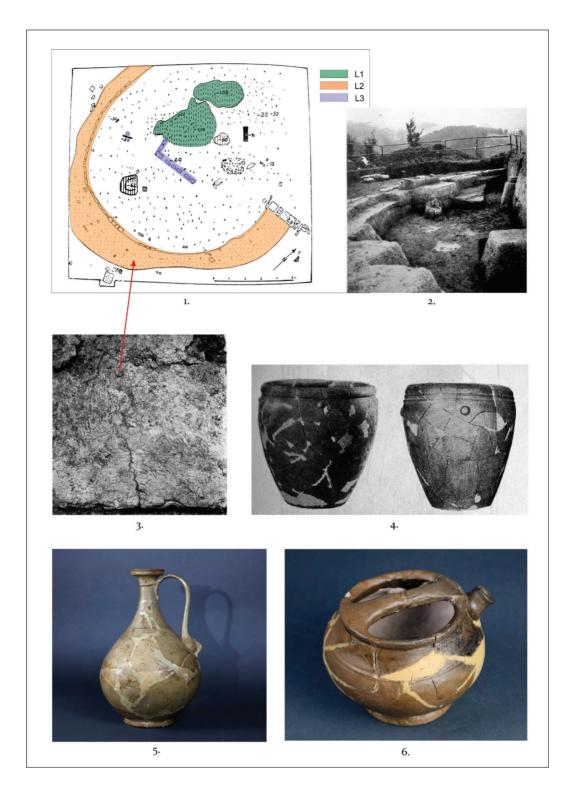
Pl. II. 1-2. Pictures taken during the excavations (H. Daicoviciu 1972, fig. 24; H. Daicoviciu and Glodariu 1966, p. 487); 3-5. The current status of the site.



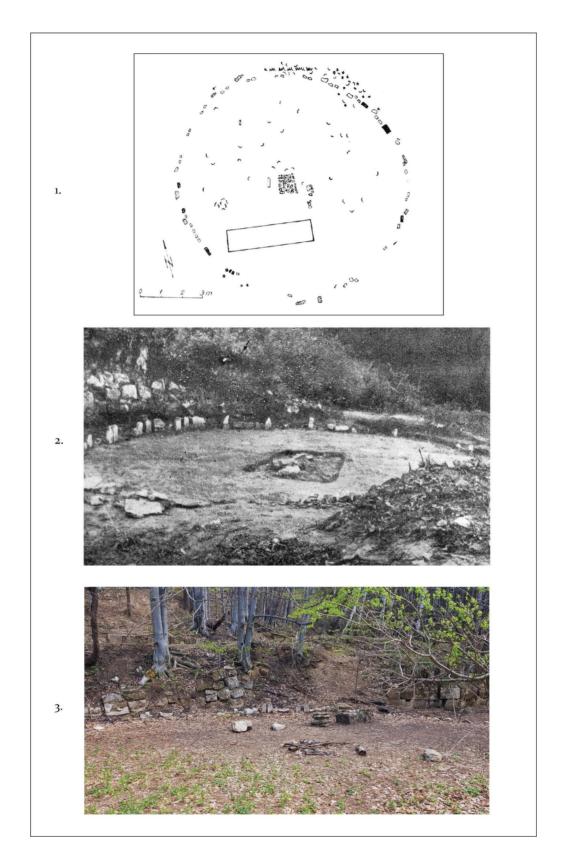
Pl. III. The group of terraces at "Şesul cu Brânză": 1. Plan (after H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 79, fig. 1); 2. Aerial picture.



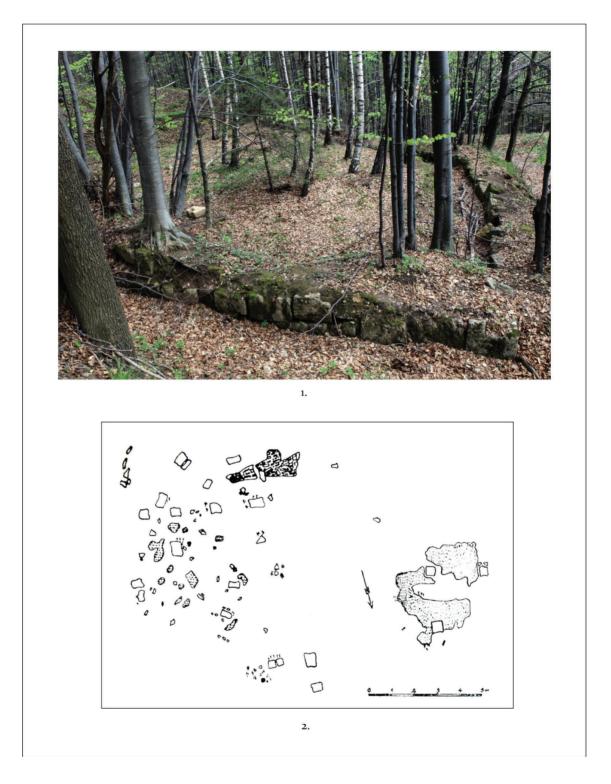
Pl. IV. Terrace I: 1. The adobe wall of the building on L2 (H. Daicoviciu 1972, fig. 28); 2. Reused andesite block; 3. Reused andesite pilasters (H. Daicoviciu 1972, fig. 22/1); 4. Plan (after H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 82, fig. 4); 5. Andesite pilaster; 6. Saucepan handle with the stamp of Ansius Diodorus' workshop (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 84, fig. 8).



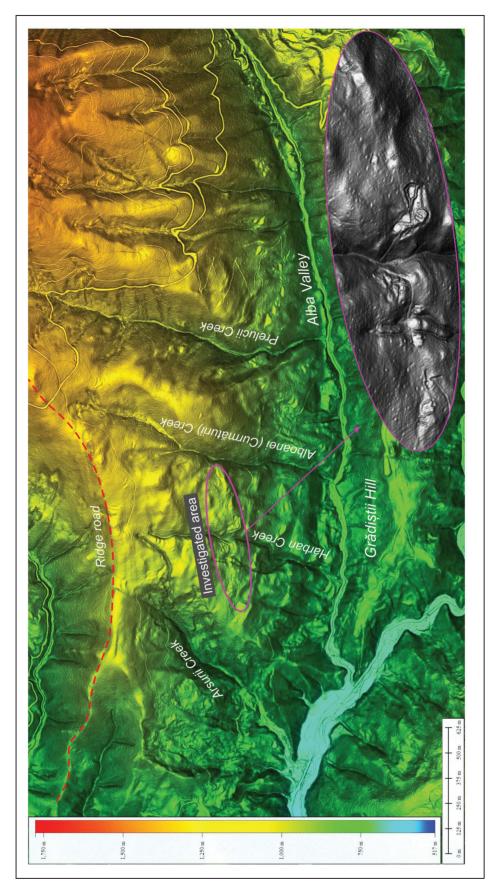
Pl. V. Terrace II: 1. Plan (after H. Daicoviciu et *alii* 1973, p. 86, fig. 12); 2. Picture taken during the excavations (H. Daicoviciu 1972, fig. 22/2); 3. Ornated floor of the building on L2 (H. Daicoviciu 1972, fig. 29); 4. Imitations of Celtic *situlae* with graphite in paste, from L2 (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 89, fig. 15); 5-6. Painted jug and spouted vessel from L3 (Neamțu *et alii* 2016, p. 155, fig. 6 and p. 51, fig. 27).



Pl. VI. Terrace III: 1. Plan of the circular temple (after H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 90, fig. 16); 2. Picture taken during the excavations (H. Daicoviciu 1971, p. 260, fig. 4); 3. Actual status of the terrace.



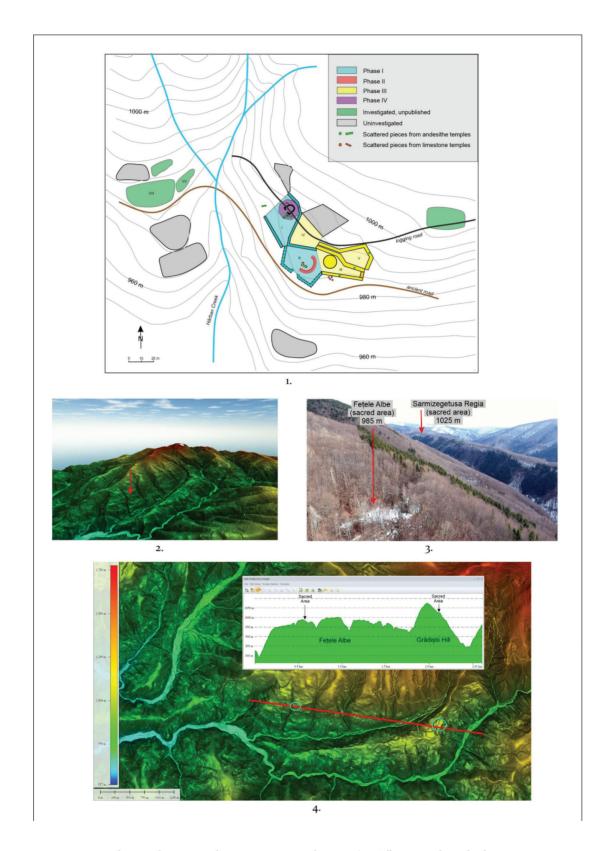
Pl. VII. Terrace V: 1. The retaining walls; 2. Plan of the constructions (H. Daicoviciu *et alii* 1973, p. 93, fig. 20).



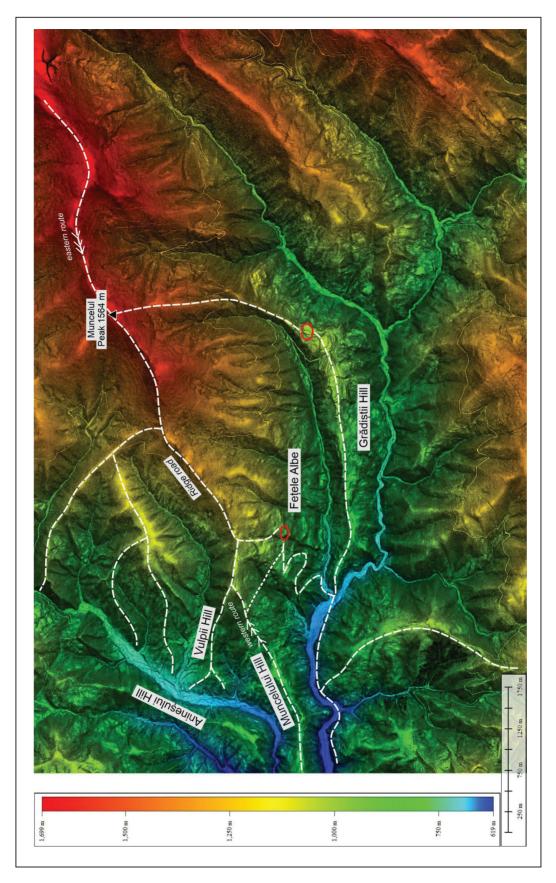
Pl. VIII. LiDAR-derived DTM and close up image with the investigated area.



Pl. IX. 1. The layout of the terraces on the slopes of Fețele Albe (LiDAR image); 2-5. Terrace grouping patterns.



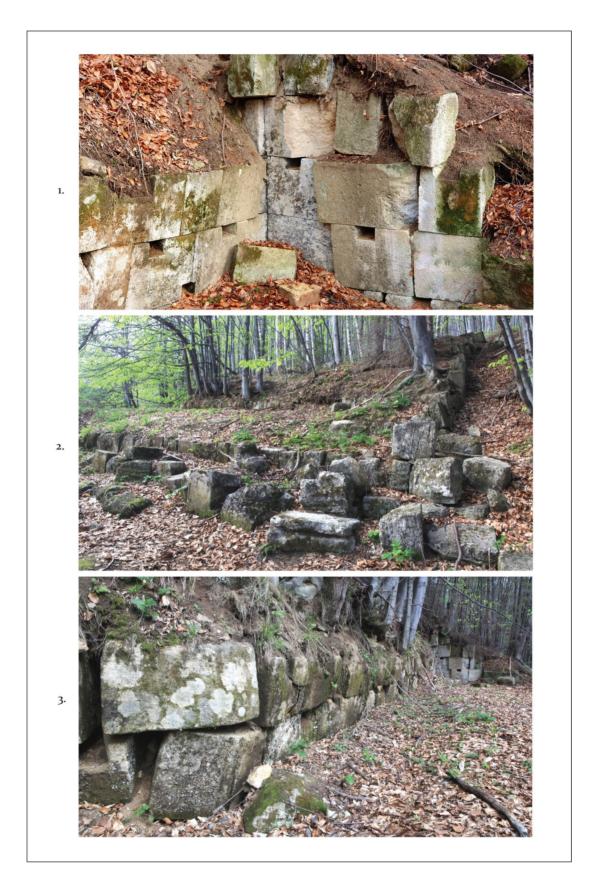
Pl. X. The sacred area on "Şesul cu Brânză": 1. Updated plan; 2. The location on the slope (3D LiDAR-derived DTM); 3. The location in relation to the sacred area of Sarmizegetusa Regia (aerial image); 4. LiDAR-derived DTM with altimetric profile between the two sacred areas.



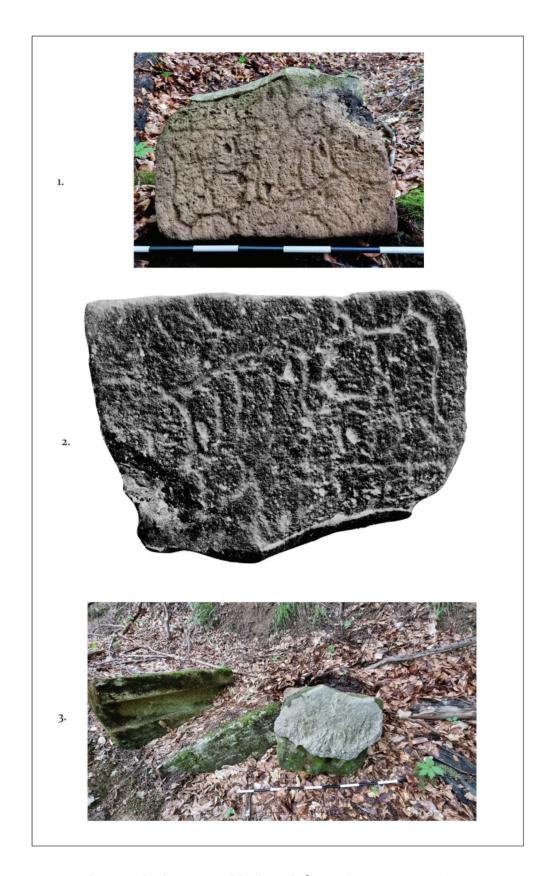
Pl. XI. LiDAR-derived DTM with the network of roads.



Pl. XII. Lost temples at Fețele Albe: 1. Fragment from an andesite plinth; 2. Andesite corner stone; 3. Andesite pilaster; 4. Andesite temple at Sarmizegetusa Regia; 5. Limestone drums.



Pl. XIII. 1-3. Retaining walls at Şesul cu Brânză.



Pl. XIV. The limestone block with figurative representations: 1. The in-situ piece; 2. Processed image; 3. The context.