

Luciana Nedelea

## LOCAL AND IMPORTED WARES DISCOVERED IN THE LEGIONARY BATHS OF *POTAISSA*. MILITARY LIFE IN ROMAN *DACIA*

*The archaeological investigations undergone between 1995 and 2008 in the thermae of Potaissa have unearthed various types of archaeological materials, however the largest quantity is being represented by the ubiquitous Roman pottery, with a total of 2362 of individual vessels. This material has been analyzed in its entirety, uncovering new information regarding the consumption of pottery and the military lifestyle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. A large quantity of cooking pots has been discovered here, which raises the question if the praefurnia of the rooms belonging to the thermae have been used as kitchens. At the same time, the presence of vasa escaria and potatoria suggests that the milites most likely used to dine here, transforming the baths into social spaces. Another new, important discovery is that of the foculus/foculi, a portable heater, having bronze braziers as its precursor.*

Roman Dacia – Roman pottery – legionary baths – military lifestyle – local production

### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, *Potaissa* developed into one of the most important cities of Roman *Dacia*, holding an outstanding strategic location along the Imperial Road. Its prosperous future was granted with the arrival of the V<sup>th</sup> Macedonian Legion, which built its fortress on Dealul Cetății (**fig. 1-2**) in nowadays Turda, Cluj county, Romania (Andone-Rotaru and Nedelea 2018: 61-90; Bărbulescu 1987: 129; Bărbulescu 1994: 99; Pișlaru 2011: 167-182; Pișlaru 2014: 95-106).

Throughout the decades, occasional finds from the area have brought to light an impressive quantity of ceramic materials, such as tableware, toys, *terracotta* figurines, lamps, moulds and medallions used for decorating ceramic goods etc. (Bajusz 2005: 727-768). Even early on, they all pointed out to the presence of local workshops (Bajusz 1980: 388; Bajusz 2005: 751, 755, 780), which must have helped supply the *vicus Patavissensium* in its early stages and later the legionary fortress and the larger civilian settlement. Being only a supposition initially, this was finally proven through systematic and rescue excavations, leading to the discovery of 20 kilns pertaining to two workshops on Dealul Zânelor (Pișlaru 2007: 151-157). There is little doubt that 'Workshop I' can certainly be attributed to military pottery production, as all the chronological indicators discovered here place it in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Andone-Rotaru and Nedelea 2018: 69-90). The discovery of stamped *tegulae* reading LEG

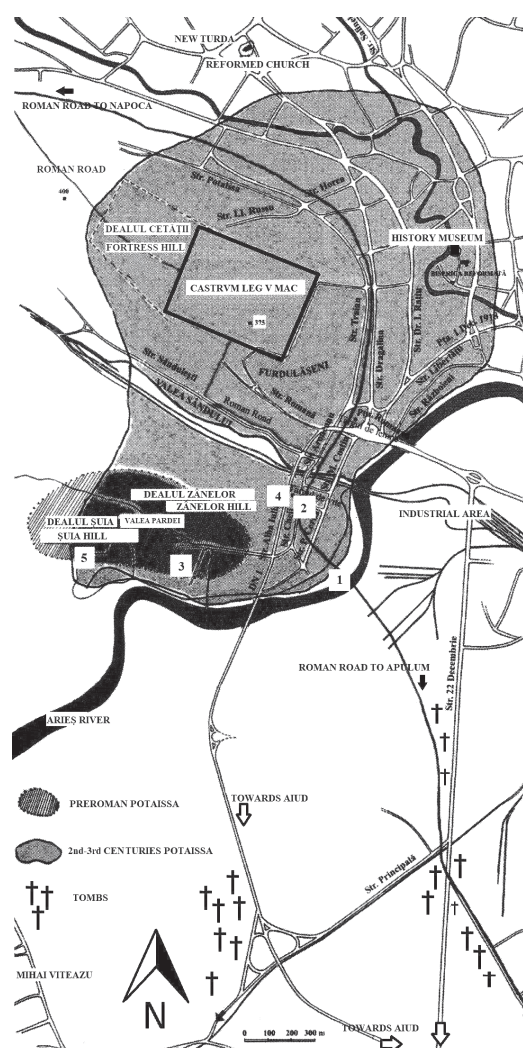
V MAC, as well as military equipment elements (buckles) and weapons (*pilum* fragments) definitely tie its activity to the legionary fortress (Andone-Rotaru and Nedelea 2018: 84-86). It is certain that the presence of the legion brought about the growth of pottery production at *Potaissa*, resulting in the manufacture of goods that display characteristics specific to ceramic traditions normally identified in *Moesia Inferior*. It is clear that these influences were brought here by potters that followed the legion, from *Troesmis*, to its new location in Roman *Dacia* (Nedelea 2016: 185-202; Nedelea 2017: 83-106).

### 2. Analysis of the ceramic material discovered in the legionary baths

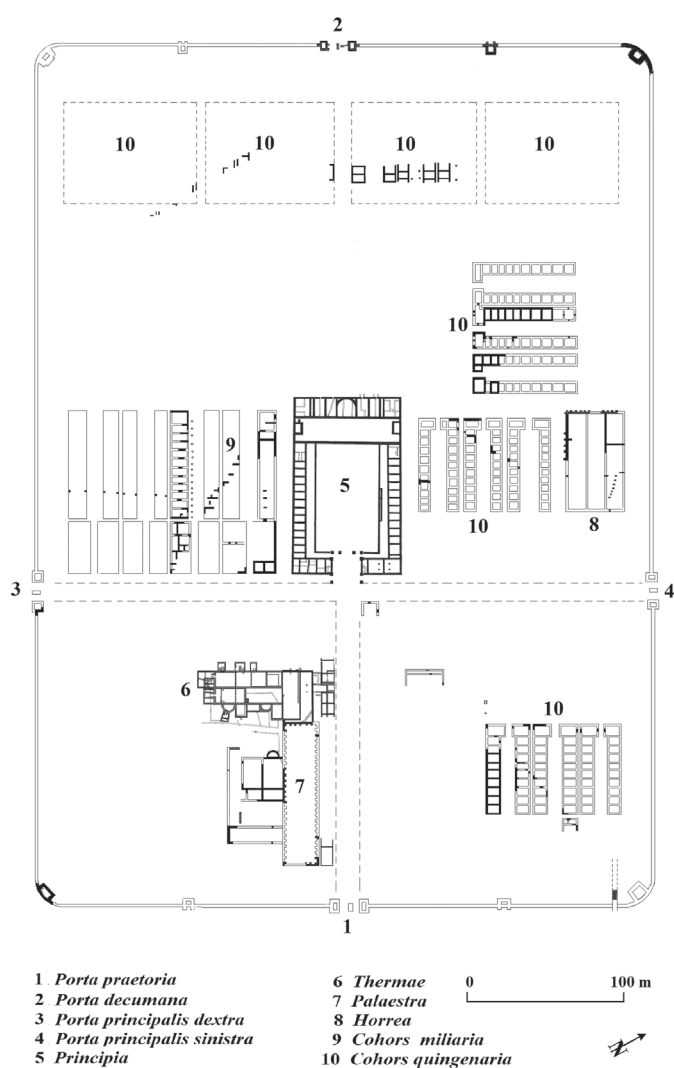
Subsequent to the analysis undergone for the pottery sherds discovered in the legionary baths, a total of 2362 individual pottery types were identified. All the statistics and numbers expressed in the following paper will refer only to individual pottery shapes (and not sherds). Based on this large quantity of earthenware, we were able to observe and identify new patterns regarding the local production of Roman pottery, but also aspects regarding the quantities of imported fine wares that make their way to *Potaissa* at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. This analysis allows for a better understanding of their spatial distribution, the functionality of these rooms, but also the activities that took place within the legionary baths, which, as we will discover, are not always what we expect them to be.

A big percentage of the ceramic material discovered here is represented by waste that was produced during the Roman period. After the deterioration of the wares, some of the remains were disposed of in rooms or spaces adjacent to

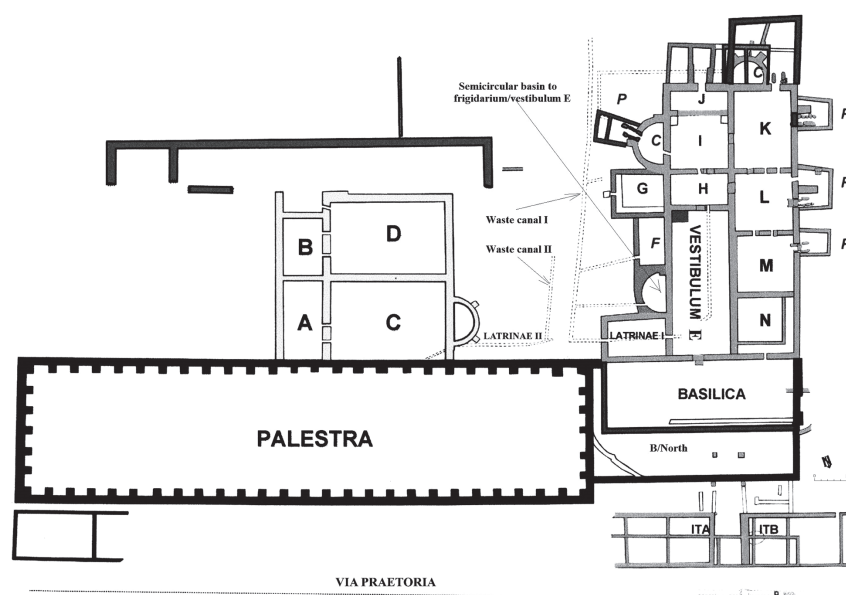
<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my utmost gratitude to prof. dr. Mihai Bărbulescu, conf. dr. Sorin Nemeti, museum director Mariana Andone-Rotaru and the History Museum Turda (Cluj county) staff, for granting me access and the opportunity to work with this material, but also for their help and professionalism.



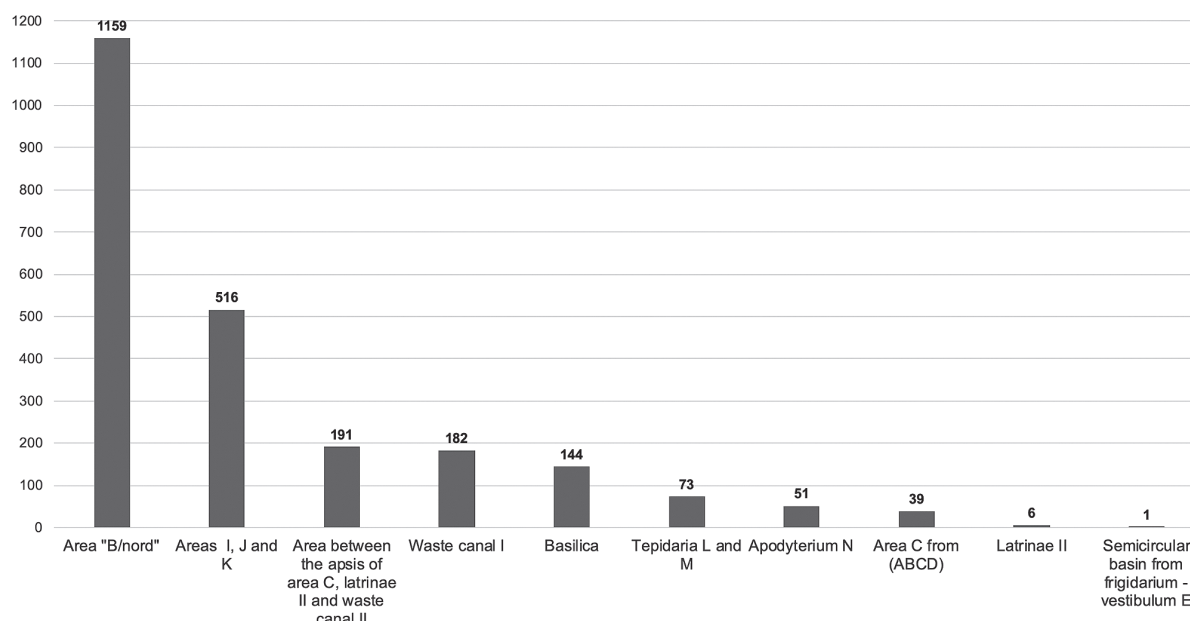
**Fig. 1.** Location of the Roman settlement and legionary fortress of *Potaissa* (after Bărbulescu 2015).



**Fig. 2.** The layout of the legionary fortress of *Potaissa* (after Nemeti and Nemeti 2017).



**Fig. 3.** Layout of the legionary baths of *Potaissa* (after Bărbulescu 2019).



**Fig. 4.** The distribution of individual vessels discovered within the Roman baths (own research; Luciana Nedelea).

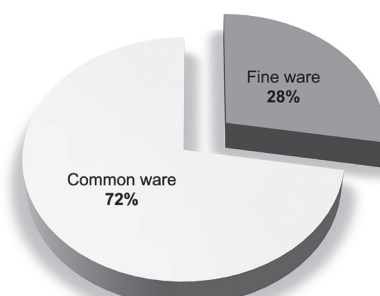
the baths. This led to the discovery of a significant number of fragmentary wares in the *praeurnia*, waste canals, but also other areas outside the Roman bath complex, therefore spaces that had little use for the soldiers or were less visible at that time. It is clear that they discarded pottery in 'hidden' places which would not affect daily life activities (**fig. 3**).

All rooms pertaining to the Roman baths have been archaeologically investigated, resulting in highly interesting archaeological finds, but our focus will be the analysis of the Roman pottery identified here (**fig. 4**).<sup>2</sup> Our research allowed us to observe how the majority of the ceramic finds are concentrated in the following rooms: *apodyterium* N (51 vessels), *tepidaria* L and M (73 vessels), rooms I-J and K (516 vessels), latrine II (6 vessels), waste canal I (182 vessels), *basilica* (144 vessels), area 'B/north' and the entrance to the baths (1159 vessels), area between the apsis from C (from ABCD), latrine II and waste canal II (191 vessels), area C (from ABCD) (39 vessels), the semicircular basin pertaining to the *frigidarium-vestibulum* E (one vessel). Area 'B/north' and the entrance to the baths, together with the rooms I-J and K provide the largest quantities of vessels (1675) and the richest typological repertoires.

From a quantitative perspective, the predominant category is that of provincial pottery (1718 vessels), representing 72% of the total of vessels analyzed for this study. The rest of 28% is being represented by fine wares (**fig. 5**). Within the luxury category (644 vessels) we were able to distinguish two main groups, represented by imported and locally produced fine wares. For the provincial pottery shapes and typologies from *Potaissa*, analogies were identified in Roman *Dacia*, as well as adjacent provinces (*Moesia Superior*, *Moesia Inferior* and *Pannonia Inferior*). A strong Dobrudjan influence is still

lingering even in the new camp, as most likely the legion brought at least some of its potters from *Moesia Inferior* to the new camp at *Potaissa*. To these already known shapes, we were able to identify and add a new ceramic type (*foculus/foculi*), having bronze braziers as its precursor. For now, they have been discovered and identified with certainty only within the legionary fortress of *Potaissa* (Nedelea 2018: 117-159).

Through the discovery of products belonging to the *vasa escaria* group (28% of the total/646 plates and bowls), we are inclined to believe that additionally to activities normally associated with the Roman baths (hygiene), the soldiers would also consume and enjoy different small meals in these rooms, the thermal complex being thereof transformed into a space where they would also relax and socialize. The consumption of different types of food in public or military *thermae* throughout the Roman Empire has been proven in different occasions (Biers and Biers 1988: 48-125; Withmore 2013: 91): bread with poppy seeds, wild radishes, and plum seeds have been discovered at Silchester (Hope 1904, 367); olive seeds at Caerleon (Zienkiewicz 1986); olive seeds,



**Fig. 5.** Comparison between the two pottery categories: fine and common wares (own research; Luciana Nedelea).

<sup>2</sup> Given space requirements and the large quantity of material analysed in this study, a selection of only the most important typologies and illustrations was made; for a more thorough analysis see Nedelea 2019: 182-248.

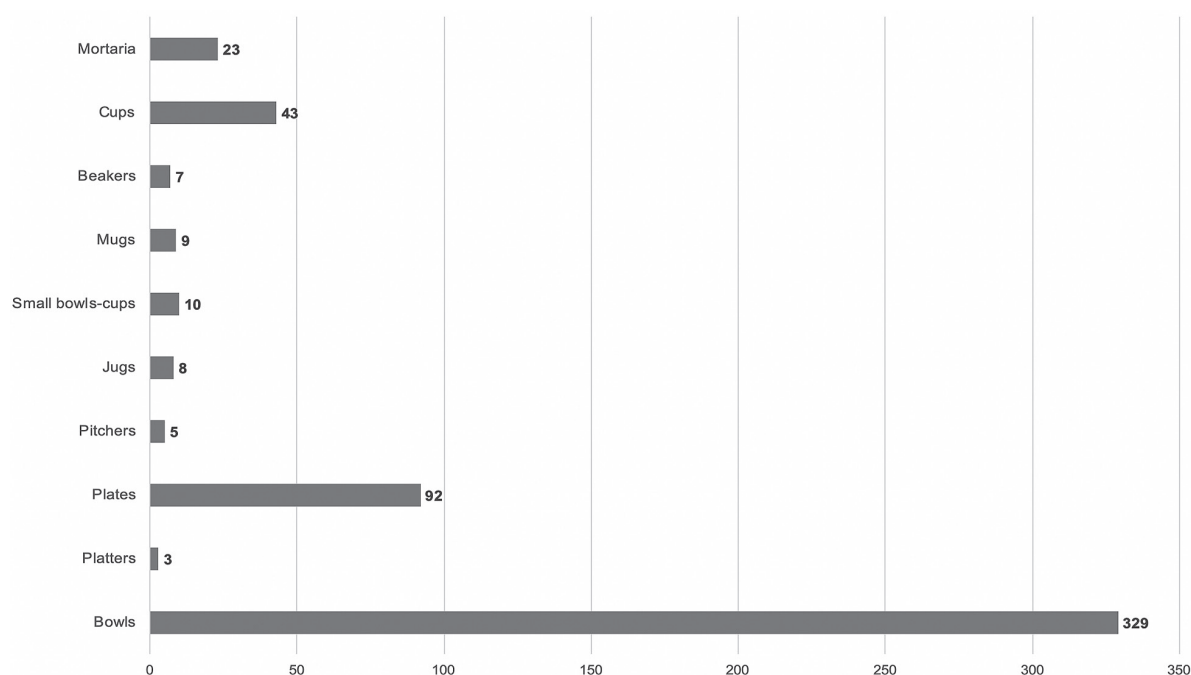


Fig. 6. Shape frequency for locally produced plain *sigillata* (own research; Luciana Nedelea).

dates, cereals and plums at *Pompeii* (Conticello et al. 1990: 188). For Roman *Dacia*, such details are rarely mentioned or observed, and the only few information we have regarding the consumption of food in Dacian *thermae* come from the auxiliary fort from Bologa, where ‘many bones’ have been discovered around the building itself (Gudea 1997: 36). At Romita, large quantities of pottery and glass vessels were identified in the *caldarium* (Matei and Bajusz 1997: 109-111), but *terra sigillata* is completely missing here. Some pottery types (*vasa escaria* included) from Brețcu (Gudea 1980: 306-322) and *Alburnus Maior* (Țentea 2015: 123-126) have also been published, but without explainin their presence in these buildings.

At *Potaissa*, not just in the *thermae*, but also within the fortress, the majority of products belonging to the *vasa escaria* group are fine wares. The dimensions of the vessels discovered here indicate that they were used by more than one individual and that these meals were communal. Every plate or bowl seems to have been used to serve one type of meal at a time, which would then be shared among the *milites*. From the pottery analysis undergone for the military baths, as well as the barracks pertaining to the *praetentura sinistra* (Nedelea 2017: 83-106), we were able to observe that the soldiers used to prefer almost only fine ware when dining. Just in the Roman baths, from the 646 vessels belonging to the *vasa escaria* group, 516 of them were attributed to the fine ware category. In most cases, their meals were served in locally produced plain *sigillata*, whereas relief decorated *sigillata* is being considered *rara avis* at *Potaissa*. As far as their shapes are concerned, the most frequent ones are the bowls (329 individual bowls) and plates (92 individual plates), followed by other smaller and less frequent types (fig 6). When it comes to luxury plates, the type that was locally and most frequently

imitated at *Potaissa*, was the Drag. 32 type plate (fig. 7, 1-2), very popular and largely spread in the Roman Empire due to its rather simple, but very practical shape. Because of these characteristics, it will be frequently copied in many local workshops and in large quantities. Analogies for this type of plate can be found in other sites in Roman *Dacia* as well, at Romita, Bologa, Orheiul Bistriței, Buciumi, *Napoca*, etc (Chirilă and Gudea 1973: 115-122; Matei and Bajusz 1997; Petruț 2016: 643-649; Protase, 2007: 93-111; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007: 599). Another example of a practical and extremely popular shape at *Potaissa* is the Drag. 44 type bowl. No other product will gain such popularity among the soldiers stationed here, as the above-mentioned type. Out of all the so far investigated areas within the Roman fortress, the largest quantities of local Drag. 44 type bowl imitations were discovered here, in the *thermae* (282 bowls). Again, their height and diameter suggest that they were not utilized by just one individual at the time. We can conclude that it was very popular among Roman soldiers, as it was mass produced at *Potaissa*. Over 1000 such bowls were discovered in all areas of the fortress, as well as some parts of the *canabae legionis* (fig. 7, 3-5, 14, 2). Inside the military baths, the largest quantities come from the area 'B/north' (73 bowls) and the rooms K and I (96 bowls). Variations with two handles were found here as well, although it is not as frequent as the simple shape (fig. 7, 6). The Drag. 37 type bowl (fig. 14, 1) makes an appearance here also, under the form of local plain *sigillata* imitations, however it never came close to the popularity of the Drag. 44 type bowl, which predominated the local production in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In general, *vasa escaria* are very poorly represented within the common ware category, having the smallest percentage of all the groups identified in the *thermae* (8%, fig. 8), namely 130 vessels in total. We were

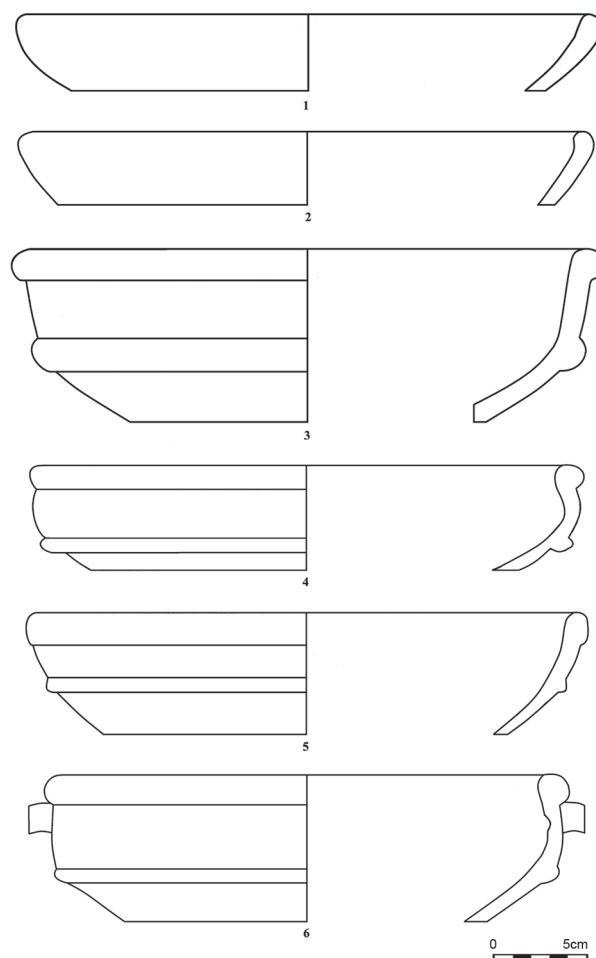


able to identify four main shapes for the *vasa escaria* group pertaining to the common ware category: plates, platters, bowls and small bowls, all with local shapes, the latter being again the most numerous (with 17 types and 100 vessels).

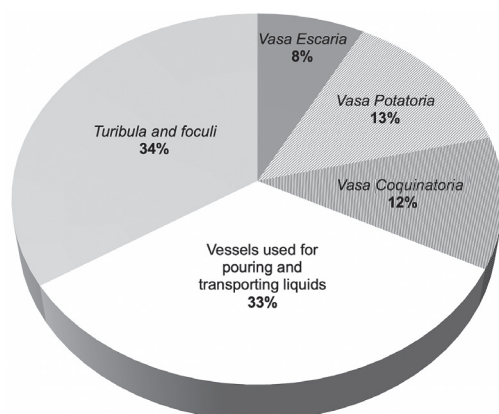
From a quantitative perspective, the *vasa escaria* group is followed by the group of vessels used for pouring, storing or transporting liquids (pitchers, flagons, table *amphorae* and *dolia*), representing 25% of the total of pottery from the *thermae* (fig. 9, 578 vessels), and 33% of the common ware category (fig. 8, 558 vessels; only 20 belong to the fine ware category). Pitchers and flagons are the most frequent forms and for the most part they are attributed to the common ware category. The same phenomenon was observed in the *centuriae* of the *praetentura sinistra*, proving that the production of fine ware was focused mainly on products used for serving food, and less on products used for serving liquids (Nedelea 2017: 83-106). In reverse, the common ware production was mainly focusing on manufacturing goods that were missing in the local fine ware category, like pitchers and flagons, which are discovered here in very large numbers. This proves once more that as far as Roman camp logistics are involved, there was a very good awareness of the quantities and types of pottery that were being produced in the workshops at *Potaissa* (Andone-Rotaru and Nedelea 2018: 69-90), and that all the vessels that made their way inside the fortress were controlled. Locally, the manufacture of pitchers and flagons as luxury goods did not represent a priority, but they were mass produced as provincial pottery, and in a simplistic manner: semi-fine fabric, most of the time without any paint or ornamental motifs on their body. The most frequent form is the pitcher, with 391 products (25 types), followed by flagons, with a total of 142 products (13 types). With 602 vessels (33%), the group of vessels used for storage and serving liquids is the second most numerous within the common ware category discovered in the military baths from *Potaissa* (after *foculi*/ceramic braziers).

Almost equal to the group of vessels used for storage and serving liquids, is the group of wares in which hot coals were placed, with 25% of the total (574 *foculi*, fig. 9), and it is the most numerous group belonging to the common

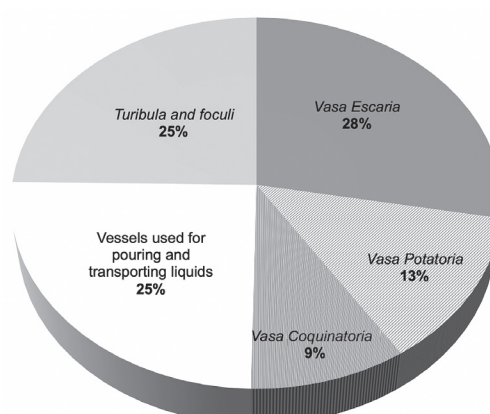
ware category (34%, fig. 8). This group is comprised of two forms: *turibula* (14 types and 46 vessels in total; fig. 10-11) and the *foculi* (only one type for all the products of this kind).



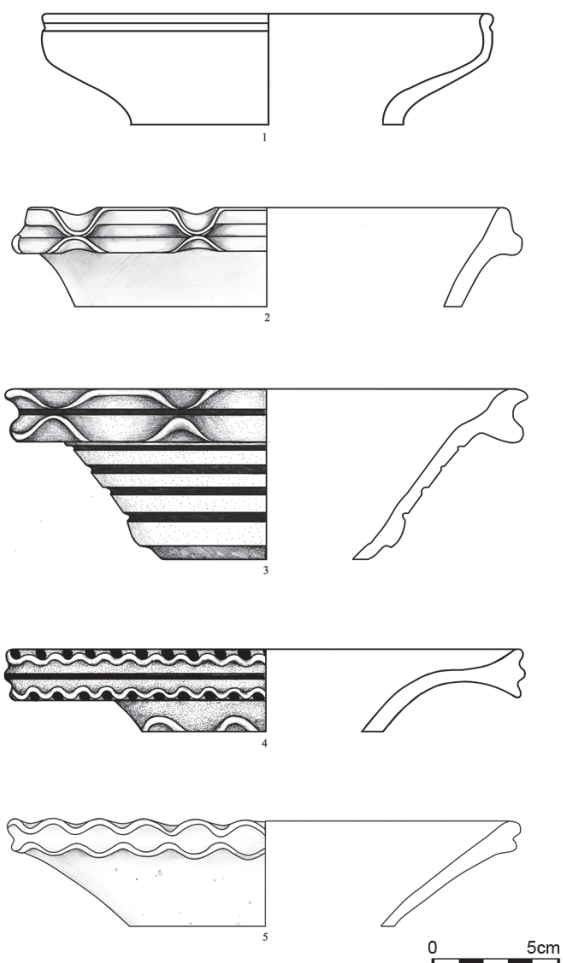
**Fig. 7.** Local plain *sigillata* discovered in the legionary fortress of *Potaissa*. 1-2. Drag. 32; 3-6. Drag. 44 (own drawings; Luciana Nedelea).



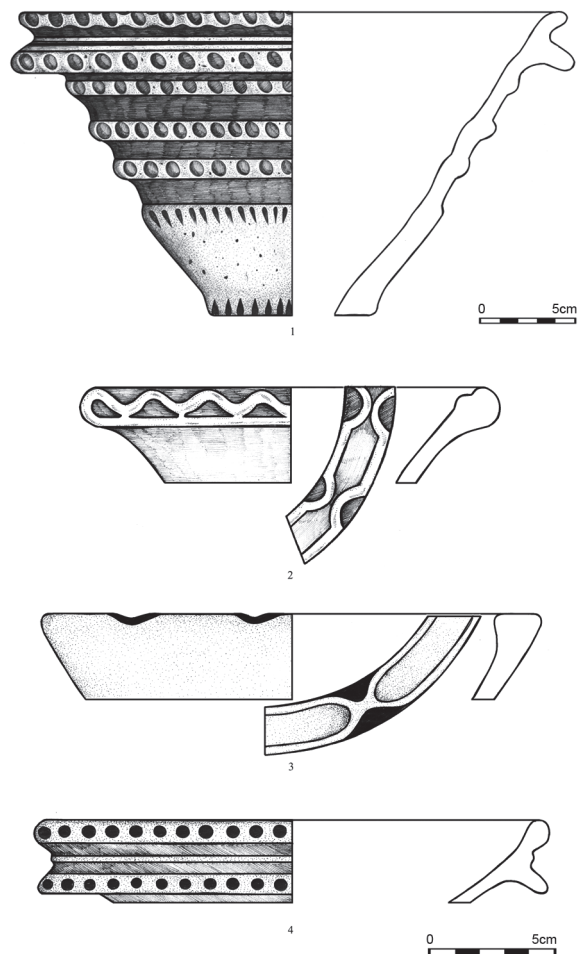
**Fig. 8.** The repartition of common pottery based on shape functionality (own research; Luciana Nedelea).



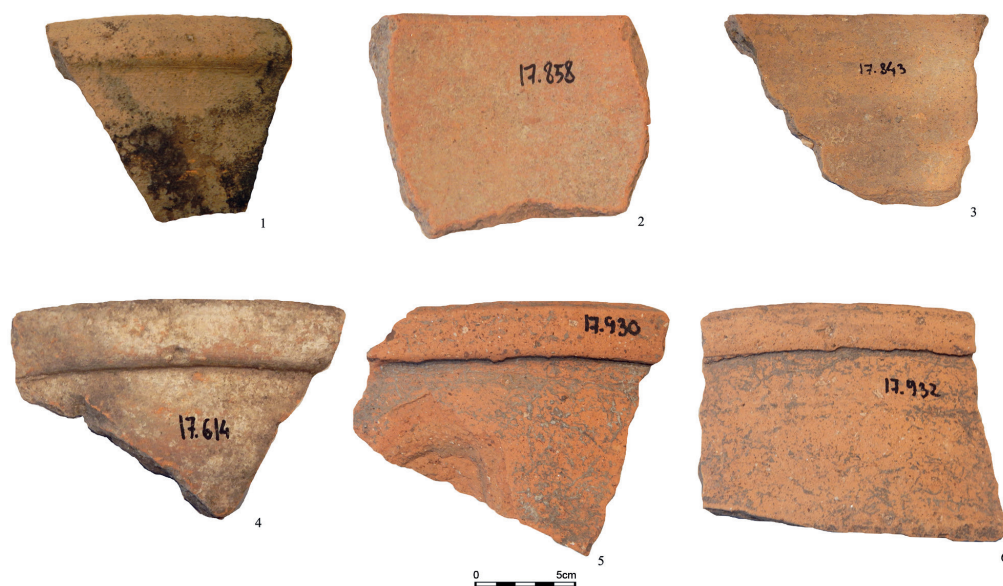
**Fig. 9.** The repartition of common and fine wares based on shape functionality (own research; Luciana Nedelea).



**Fig. 10.** Common ware discovered in the legionary fortress of *Potaissa*. 1-5. *Turibula* (own drawings; Luciana Nedelea).



**Fig. 11** Common ware discovered in the legionary fortress of *Potaissa*. 1-4. *Turibula* (own drawings; Luciana Nedelea).



**Fig. 12.** Common ware discovered in the legionary fortress of *Potaissa*. 1-6. *Foculi* (after Nedelea 2018).

Based on their characteristics, these *foculi* belong only to the common ware category. By identifying a new ceramic shape, a new group had to be formed as well, dedicated only to earthenware in which hot coals were placed. We identified 527 *foculus* type bowls in the *thermae*, the majority of them being discovered in the area 'B/north' (fig. 12). Whether the *foculus* existed and was utilized as a portable brazier in other forts and settlements from Roman Dacia, still remains to be proven (Nedelea 2017: 83-106). Thus far, we have no knowledge of these pots being produced elsewhere in the province, whether it represents a local phenomenon, which could be related strictly to the presence of *Legio V Macedonica* and traditions or habits specific to other provinces where this legion might have stationed in the past. This type of product was born out of necessity, as heating systems are missing in many of the so far investigated complexes of the Roman fort. Within the legionary fortress, a large number of similar pots have been identified only in the *centuriae* complex pertaining to the *praetentura sinistra*. They could have been used as a substitute for mobile braziers/stoves, as no heating systems have ever been discovered here (Nedelea 2017: 83-106). It is very important to mention the fact that from all the areas investigated from the Roman fort, the largest quantities of *foculus* type pots have been identified only in these two areas (the Roman baths and the barracks from *praetentura sinistra*). In the buildings where hypocaust heating systems were available, this bowl appears in extremely small quantities, if at all. There is a high possibility that the B/North area, which was added at a later time to the legionary baths, might be connected to the activity of the *cohors quingenaria* stationed in the barracks of the *praetentura sinistra* in the same fortress, as the highest quantities of *foculi* come only from these two locations (Nedelea 2017: 83-106).

Even though initially it was believed that at Potaissa the *vasa potatoria* group is represented by very small quantities, we were able to observe how just in the *thermae* this group appears as large amounts of cups, beakers, mugs and bowl-cups (13% of the total; fig. 9). Out of the 302 vessels, 78 belong to the fine ware category (fig. 13), and the remaining 224 vessels represent provincial pottery (fig. 8). Within the common ware group associated with *vasa potatoria*, we identified four main shapes: mugs, cups, beakers, and bowl-cups. The most frequent shape is the mug (9 types and 128 vessels). Most probably, the repertoire of clay drinking vessels was completed by those made out of glass, precious metals or even wood, thereof explaining the overall small presence of these types of pots in the fortress, whereas *vasa escaria*, which accompanied these vessels, is very well represented by fine ware. As far as local *sigillata* is concerned, Drag. 33 type cups have been frequently imitated and produced in the workshops from Potaissa (67 such local cups have been identified in the entire Roman fortress). This phenomenon was observed in other Danubian provinces as well, such as *Moesia Inferior* (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000: 11) and *Pannonia Inferior* (Gabler 1987: 47-56; Gabler, Márton and Gauthier 2009: 205-324), the Drag. 33 type cups being at the top of the list for the most popular shapes at this time. In the *thermae* we were able to identify 25 such local imitations. From a quantitative perspective, this cup is followed by local imita-

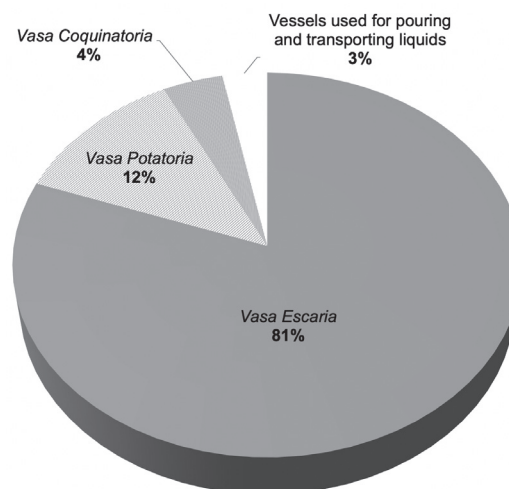
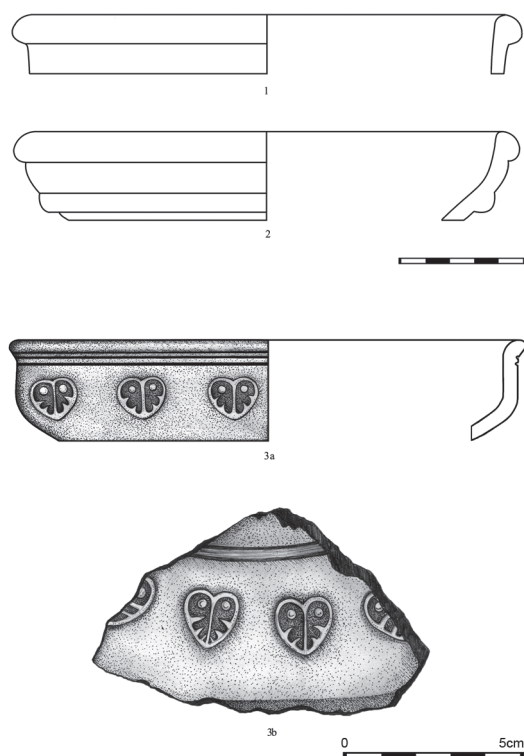


Fig. 13. The repartition of fine ware based on shape functionality (own research; Luciana Nedelea).

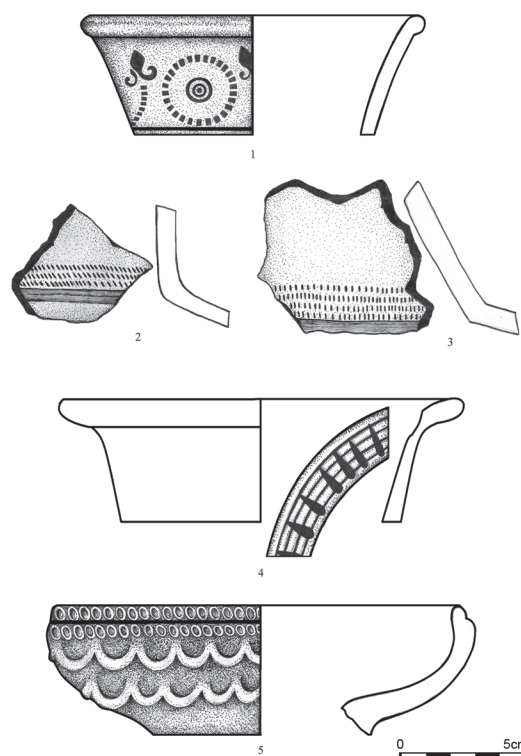
tions of the Drag. 46 type cups (10). For this type, throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the cups that were produced in East and Central Gaul where most often associated with Curle 15 type plates, and imitations of this type have been identified in the *thermae* as well, with a total of 20 such products, twice as much as the local Drag. 46 type cups.

One of the most intriguing situations here is the presence of high quantities of cooking pots and trays identified in the *praefurnia* of the *thermae*. The issue related to cooking in the Roman baths has been disputed starting with the 50s (Daniels 1959: 85-176), when gradually, more and more pots belonging to the *vasa coquinatoria* group were being discovered in thermal complexes (including the military baths from Caerleon, Castell Collen, Weißenburg, Dover and Ribchester). Even though some researchers believe that these pots end up in these buildings purely by chance (Fagan 1999: 33-34; Greep 1986: 50-96; Webster 1992: 111-121; Zienkiewicz 1986: 20) the presence of cooking pots, trays, big bowls or *mortaria* within Roman *thermae* or their vicinity can surely not be ignored. After identifying cooking pots in the *praefurnia* pertaining to the *caldaria* and *tepidaria* at Potaissa, we are inclined to believe that these ovens were utilized for cooking as well, either by the soldiers, or the caretakers of these spaces (slaves?), giving these ovens a double functionality. Also, a series of products which would normally be attributed to the *vasa coquinatoria* group seem to have been placed deliberately in some rooms and used for different purposes. For example in the 'B/north' area and at the entrance to the baths, bowls with very big diameters and dimensions have been identified (30-34 cm), and their use was most likely not connected to cooking, but rather for storage related purposes (related to hygiene?). To these bowls we can also add *dolia* (17 exemplars) and storage-jars with two handles (33 exemplars). At the same time, in the rooms I-J and K, 56% (290 pieces) of the material comes from the *praefurnia* (122 from I and 168 from K). It is very important to mention the fact that from the three *praefurnia* investigated for this study, cooking trays have been identified only in the western *praefurnium* of room





**Fig. 14.** Local fine gray ware discovered in the legionary fortress from *Potaissa*. Plain shapes: 1-2. Drag. 44; 3. Stamped ware (own drawings; Luciana Nedelea).



**Fig. 15.** Local fine ware with red engobe discovered in the legionary fortress from *Potaissa*. 1. Drag. 46 type cup with stamped motifs; 2-3. Cups with rouletted design; 4. Local Drag. 46 type cup with rouletted decor on the rim; 5. Cup - local imitation of glazed pottery (own drawings; Luciana Nedelea).

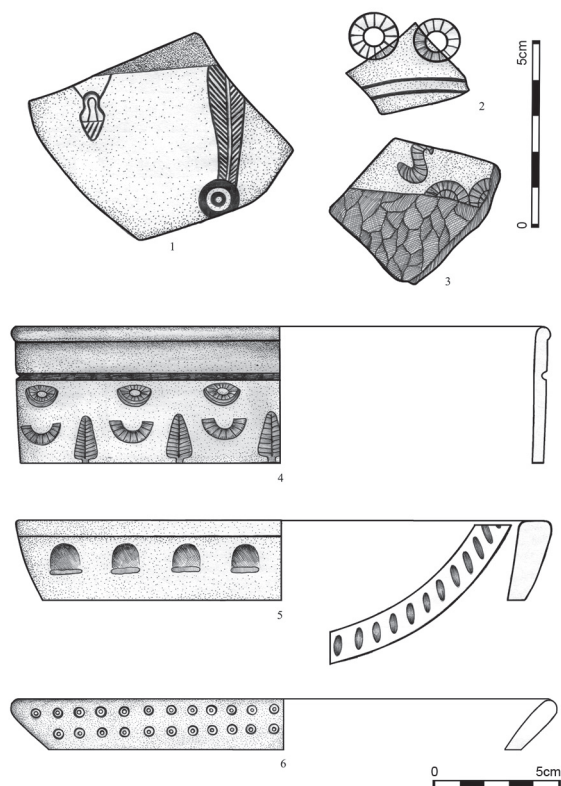
K (3 trays) and the eastern *prae-furnium* belonging to room I (one tray). Cooking pots have been identified in the western *prae-furnium* from room K (17 pots), the southern *prae-furnium* of rooms I-J (11 pots), and the eastern *prae-furnium* to the room I (6 pots), where a strainer was discovered as well. For *tepidaria* L and M, the quantity of pottery discovered here is rather scarce, with only 73 pieces (the majority is fine ware), the majority of the material being discovered in the *prae-furnium* belonging to *tepidarium* L (46 individuals). No ceramic material has been discovered in the *prae-furnium* belonging to room M. In total, 192 pieces of kitchenware were identified within the *thermae* (fig. 8), having seven main shapes: trays, bowls, strainers, *mortaria*, cooking pots, lids and bowls. The predominant shape is represented by cooking pots (8 types and 93 individual pots).

Until recently, plain *sigillata* (locally produced or imported) has been ignored and excluded from all *terra sigillata* studies dedicated to pottery production and discoveries at *Potaissa*. Our research yielded thereof surprising results in connection to this category. If in past studies only four *terra sigillata* types were known for this site, Drag. 37, Drag. 39, Drag. 30 and Drag. 45 (Cătinaş 1982: 41-51; Cătinaş 1984: 481-503; Cătinaş 1997: 21-30; Cătinaş 2004: 83-97; Cătinaş 2007: 123-150; Cătinaş and Bărbulescu 1979: 101-126), now, their number has grown considerably. In total, we were able to identify 37 *sigillata* types. Locally produced fine ware represents 89% of the luxury products identified in the

thermal complex (573 exemplars). Within this category, we distinguished five groups: locally produced plain *sigillata* (93%, 533 vessels), incised *sigillata* (one product), relief *terra sigillata* (1%, three exemplars), local plain fine grey ware (4%, 22 exemplars) and local stamped fine ware (2%, 13 exemplars; figs. 14, 3; 15-16).

As far as imported fine ware is concerned (68 overall pieces), we were able to identify four main groups, out of which three quarters (51 individual wares) coincide perfectly with the typological repertoire proposed by Rheinzabern workshops. We do not know if these products arrive at *Potaissa* directly from Rheinzabern or through *negotiatores*, from other provinces. Previous studies dedicated to imported *terra sigillata* have shown that at *Potaissa*, relief *sigillata* arrived from Lezoux, as well as Rheinzabern (Cătinaş 2004: 83-97). Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that these 51 imported pieces discovered in the *thermae* cannot come from the same production center. We were also able to identify 11 plain *terra nigra* products that could belong to the same East Gaulish workshops. A new group discovered now for the first time at *Potaissa* however, is that of *pontic sigillata* (Drag. 34 type cups). Only five such products have been identified in the Roman baths (7%). The *pontic* pieces discovered here, in the *praetentura dextra*, come from within the building of the baths, as well as their exterior (Nedelea 2016: 185-202). Thus far, we do not know the production center for these products, but based on their fabric and overall characteristics we were



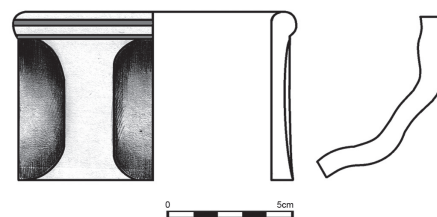


**Fig. 16.** Local fine stamped ware with red engobe discovered in the legionary fortress from *Potaissa*. 1-4. Drag. 37; 5-6. Plates (own drawings; Luciana Nedelea).

able to distinguish two main groups, very different from the products normally discovered at *Potaissa*. In the entire Roman fortress, only 12 pontic *sigillata* have been identified, which most likely arrived here with the legionaries. To the special category of products, we now add two *Faltenbecher* type beakers as well, very rare at *Potaissa* (fig 17). Therefore, we can establish that the predominant fine ware group is that of the plain *sigillata* 89%, mostly locally produced, compared to only 11% imported fine goods.

### 3. Conclusions

The first thorough and exhaustive analysis dedicated to all the categories and types of earthenware discovered in the *thermae* within the legionary fortress of *Potaissa* (Roman *Dacia*) has shown an overall preference for activities related to dining



**Fig. 17.** Faltenbecher (imported fine grey ware) discovered in the legionary fortress from *Potaissa* (own drawing; Luciana Nedelea).

and drinking. This enables a proof that throughout the time the Roman baths had become places that the soldiers would not frequent just for hygiene related purposes, but gradually started to utilize them as social and entertainment spaces as well. One of the main reasons that could justify food preparation and consumption within the Roman *thermae* could be related to the lack of space within the military barracks. Trapped in the small, claustrophobic spaces of the *contubernia*, the ordinary *milites* most likely saw these thermal complexes as little oases where they could also share communal meals. The presence of cooking pots and trays in the adjacent spaces of the *thermae* which were utilized to fuel the *praeefurnia* to its main heated rooms, indicates that the Roman soldiers transformed these spaces into kitchens, taking advantage of the fires which were arranged every day in these areas of the fortress. This could explain the absence of any other places dedicated only to this purpose within the legionary camp or barracks.

Another significant result of this analysis is the identification of new types of pottery in this fortress. If until recently *terra sigillata* seemed to be almost missing at *Potaissa*, the answer to this problem is now delivered through the identification of large quantities of locally produced plain *sigillata*, which were ignored in previous studies. We now know that the local potters imitated products specific to other important centers, such as East and Central Gaul, a phenomenon which was determined exclusively due to the presence of the military element in this area. The same situation was observed in the neighboring provinces as well, like *Pannonia Inferior*, *Moesia Superior* and *Inferior* (Kabakčieva, Sultova and Vladkova 1988: 18-21; Bjelajac 1990: 143-172; Kabakčieva 2000: 60-61; Cvjetičanin 2014: 113-117; Cvjetičanin 2016: 553-561). All these newly investigated wares point at a new and unknown side of *Potaissa*, allowing us to take a closer look into the daily life of the Roman soldiers at the outskirts of the Roman Empire in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Luciana Nedelea  
Babeş Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)  
*nedealaluciana753@yahoo.com*

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