

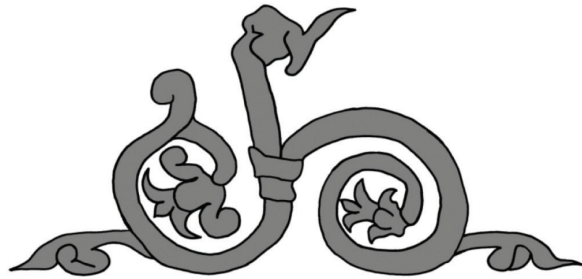
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Any correspondence will be sent to the editor:  
Museum Arad  
Piata George Enescu 1, 310131 Arad, RO  
e-mail: ziridava2012@gmail.com

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# Reflecting on the Typological Analysis of Roman Provincial Baths and Bathhouses

Britta Burkhardt

**Abstract:** The study of bathing in the Roman period is defined by some abiding issues relating to architecture and human involvement such as terminology, the origins-debate, the evolution of forms and grasping the conventional bathing experience. The paper, withstanding current research trends, chooses to return to the question of the architectural habit in the study of bathing in the Roman Empire. The stressed discussion of architectural features and components is tangible in the writings of earlier scholars and still persists in current historiography. Concerning the British and German research the regional aspects of Roman architecture have been dealt with, considering merely the different approaches in establishing a typology of bathhouses. In middle and eastern European countries it is safe to say that the question of bathhouse-architecture remains a subject insufficiently researched. With the intent of initiating further discussion under the hallmark of provincial bathhouse-architecture the paper summarizes withstanding issues like the regional factor, fortress baths, usable resources, terminology and identifying room functionality and the typology of partially unearthed structures.

**Keywords:** baths and bathhouses, architectural habit, Roman provinces, layout, Dacia

## The research of provincial bathhouses and of the issue of architectural habit

General trends of research fluctuate according to the current dominant scientific climate. Recent classical archaeological research suffered a shifting from architectural and art-historical interests to functional, social and interdisciplinary concerns. In the case studies dealing with Roman bathhouses, initially we may talk of the “architectural habit” as it has been defined by Marechal. The stressed discussion of architectural features and components is tangible in the writings of E. Pfretzschner, D. Krencker, F. Kretzschmer, E. Brödner, W. Heinz, A. Farrington, I. Nielsen even J. DeLaine etc<sup>1</sup> – some of which will be further discussed later. This particular interest for this subject is considered to be the result of the influence of the German *Alttertumswissenschaften*<sup>2</sup>. Researches have relied strongly on literary evidence, leading to the neglect of the regional aspects of baths situated in the provinces. More recently scholars have started focusing on the theoretic aspects of bathing such as explaining the social, economic-functional and symbolic aspects of these facilities. This applies mainly to earlier research of Imperial bathing palaces in Rome, but further studies are still based on the written sources of Roman authors<sup>3</sup>.

The situation is different in the studies of baths situated in the provinces: the main concern is that of publishing the archaeological material, but there are several neglected aspects that require further discussion. As mentioned in the writings of H. Dodge<sup>4</sup> most of the publications initially focused mainly on the bathhouse-architecture of Rome and Italy<sup>5</sup>, but research is flourishing concerning the provinces, yet we know little about the Roman provinces in middle Europe. It is commonly accepted that recognition goes to H. Koethe for observing and stressing the importance of regional studies in the architecture of Roman bathhouses<sup>6</sup> – and a long line of scholars followed his lead.<sup>7</sup> The issue in the study of provincial baths is a mix subject, involving topics such as regional aspects of architecture and

<sup>1</sup> Krencker 1929; Kretzschmer 1961; Heinz 1979; Brödner 1983; Farrington 1992; Nielsen 1993a; DeLaine 1992.

<sup>2</sup> Marechal 2012, 144.

<sup>3</sup> For further studies see Yegül 1992, 132–172; Fagan 1999, 105–123.

<sup>4</sup> Dodge 1994, 190–191.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson 1990, 88–9.

<sup>6</sup> Koethe 1940.

<sup>7</sup> Among the first the baths of Asia Minor in the thesis of Yegül in 1975, the baths of Baden-Baden by Heinz in 1979 and the Pamphylian bathhouses by Abbasoğlu 1994, and others followed with studies on the baths of Mauritania Tingitana by Lenoir in 1991, on the baths of Gall Narbonensis by Bouet in 2003 etc.

human involvement<sup>8</sup>; the blend of local tradition and new models<sup>9</sup>, theistic aspects of bathhouses<sup>10</sup>, the division between private and public as well as the military facet of bathing<sup>11</sup>, considering that provincial Roman architecture largely consists of defensive structures.

Nevertheless bathing in the Roman provinces represents a variegated subject of classical studies and archaeology<sup>12</sup>. According to L. Rewell<sup>13</sup>, general dialogue has inclined to devalue the importance of military bath-houses in the provinces. This is in part an offshoot of relying heavily on literary evidence which concentrates on bathing in Rome and its display within an urban setting<sup>14</sup> as argued in detail also by T. Henderson<sup>15</sup>. Fortress baths are discussed mainly under the aegis of the evolution process of the Imperial style *thermae*, placed between late Republican baths and the monumental Baths of Trajan<sup>16</sup>. Scholars insist on typical elements of the Roman defensive system ignoring bathing as a part of a soldier's daily customs and discuss bathing conjointly with other topics<sup>17</sup>. Furthermore only as of late studies focus on the civilian sphere of provincial bathing<sup>18</sup>, especially bathing facilities found near roman *villae*<sup>19</sup>, and continue to merely nibble on the issue of public baths found in provincial towns or settlements, facilities found in *vici*<sup>20</sup>.

### The alternating typology of bathhouses

The typology of bathhouses is eminently compelling, as the ruins of these complexes are unmistakable in their recurrent elements such as the layout, the basins and the heating system – also they seem to have no precise earlier or contemporary equivalents outside the Roman Empire<sup>21</sup>. Knowledge of the baths is progressively changing<sup>22</sup> leading to difficulties in establishing with any certainty an evidence of typicality. These facilities bear both functional and representational values<sup>23</sup>. Their architectural category retains a variety of types depending on placement possibilities, usage and function – their structures subsisting in wavering stages of atrophy. One can account for several small sized poorly preserved town baths in Pompeii and Herculaneum, not to mention the humble bathing facilities from the Roman provinces, such as those of auxiliary fortresses or the more lavish private baths of Roman villas. Still several major cities of the Empire, like modern Alexandria in Egypt, Varna in Bulgaria and Trier in Gaul are equipped with great ensembles akin to the Imperial baths of Rome, relevant examples of Roman propaganda<sup>24</sup>.

Probably the most conventional and established typology belongs to D. Krencker. The most common types are discussed first by the author. In addition, D. Krencker relied on selective material, as stated by him, merely on important possibly well preserved baths. Several scholars follow adopting certain components in D. Krencker's classification of baths – for example E. Brödner does so faithfully<sup>25</sup>, whilst other scholars only do so partially<sup>26</sup>, contesting some of the criteria in his analysis.

<sup>8</sup> Such as use of natural resources and building material, landscaping, different social and ethnic categories affiliated with the facilities, bathing routine, identifying the typical against what is exceptional etc.

<sup>9</sup> Nielsen 1999; Farrington 1999.

<sup>10</sup> See Aupert 1991; Scheid 1991; Schrettle 2012; Lohner-Urban 2012

<sup>11</sup> Aspect mentioned by Wilkes 1999, 18–19 as one of the more neglected aspects of provincial bathhouse architecture.

<sup>12</sup> For one of the few enthralling studies on the affiliation between provincial and Italic baths see Nielsen 1991, 151–160.

<sup>13</sup> Rewell 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Rewell 2007, 231.

<sup>15</sup> Henderson 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Rewell 2007, 230; “*The auxiliary bath-houses are even less well served, with their analysis confined to the identification of parallels within the row and block typologies, or the attempt to identify the units of measurement underpinning their dimensions. In discussions of the significance of bathing, both legionary and auxiliary bath-houses are almost completely ignored.*” Based on DeLaine 1992, 257–75.

<sup>17</sup> DeLaine-Johnston 1999, 161; Wilkes 1999, 18–19.

<sup>18</sup> As mentioned also by O. Țentea 2007 in the case of Dacia.

<sup>19</sup> There are few studies concerning bathhouses of provincial roman villas, earlier Koethe 1940; Heinz 1979; Biróné Sey 1990; more recently Dodt 2005; Peuser 2012; Schrettle 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Höck 2012; Öllerer 2012; Lehar 2012.

<sup>21</sup> DeLaine 1999, 11.

<sup>22</sup> Brödner 1983, 37; Heinz 1983, 176; Fagan 1999, 28.

<sup>23</sup> DeLaine 1999, 12.

<sup>24</sup> Wilkes 1999, 18.

<sup>25</sup> See Brödner 1983, 26, 39, 101–102, 250 and Z 14, Z 34–36.

<sup>26</sup> Nielsen, DeLaine, Rewell, Farrington, Țentea and so on.



D. Krencker differentiates between seven layout types in which the different areas are grouped in a long the line or *apodyteria*, often merged together with the *apodyteria* indicated with B; the section farther from the entrance is treated separately also, marked with E. Considering that in this study Krencker chose to focus on the general planimetry of bathhouses, the subcomponents of bathhouses will be discussed at another occasion – needless to say, this requires ample research.

In the chapters discussing the layout typology D. Krencker confers beforehand the rather widespread baths with a linear layout and the so-called block layout<sup>27</sup>. The first is referred to as the row-type<sup>28</sup>. It features two sub-variants: axial and angular row-type baths<sup>29</sup>. The layout comprises main areas like *frigidaria*, *tepidaria*, *caldria* sometimes *sudatio*, and customarily the rooms are placed on the axis of the *caldaria*. These rooms are handled by I. Nielsen as bearing a Greek influence, as this layout is typical for the early Roman baths. The design remained a favorite in the provinces into later periods<sup>30</sup>, and the axial-row type often reappeared included into other layout categories essentially. The second most common bath type discussed by D. Krencker has a circular or ring-shaped layout and is named after the bathing route followed by the visitors<sup>31</sup>. As the layout features the main rooms situated next to each other is often referred to as bath with block layout, presenting itself as an economically beneficial solution from the perspective of heating and space<sup>32</sup>.

Nevertheless there is a general disarray as to what should be considered as a block-type and as a row-type layout plan<sup>33</sup>. For example the angular row-type is considered by Heinz a block type considering the fact that some of the main areas are bayed together<sup>34</sup> and W. Heinz stresses the dismissing value of the side position of the *laconicum/sudatio* in the case of row-type layouts. Presumably W. Heinz proposed that these baths ought to be considered as having a block-type layout<sup>35</sup>. The term was first used by E. Pretzschner in 1909<sup>36</sup>, D. Krencker as mentioned neglects using it but it reoccurs in the writings of H. Koethe who does not elaborate on it sufficiently. The term gained preference among scholars, until the present<sup>37</sup>.

The 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> categories of D. Krencker, seemingly feature similar doubled sequences in their layout<sup>38</sup>. These are not discussed by other authors, but their features suggest that we are dealing with more intricate structures that gave access simultaneously to women and men, or more than one military unit. Furthermore, these categories may be interpreted as combinations of row-type and block-type layout with added sequences, with certain elements duplicated and occasionally situated symmetrically.

The first type, often with two *caldaria* placed near each other and with two distinguishable axes, is referred to as bathhouse with a paired layout<sup>39</sup>. In all likelihood a tight group<sup>40</sup>, the Stabian baths are not considered an adequate example, as they are not symmetrical and several components in the layout do not correspond to each other in an antipodal manner. The second type and the third type begin with a common area comprised of an *apodyteria*, *tepidaria* and/or *frigidaria*<sup>41</sup> but their layouts show additional variations featuring the mentioned doubled areas for warm bathing routines. Customarily the main axe was bifurcated, as such the layout gained several doubled components, very often the *caldaria*<sup>42</sup>. But as a sub-variation, showing a tendency towards providing a rotary circulation route for visitors on occasion the axes rejoin anew<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> The author uses the term “Ringtyp”, the translation of which would be “circular layout”.

<sup>28</sup> Krencker 1929, 177.

<sup>29</sup> For examples see the most recent facility in Pompeii, the Central baths; the civilian baths of Ostia; the fortress baths of Niederbieber, Neuwid.

<sup>30</sup> Nielsen 1999, 36–37.

<sup>31</sup> For examples see the Small bath in Madaurus, Faustina’s bath in Millet; the baths of Hippas.

<sup>32</sup> Tentea 2010, 457; Heinz 1979, 28.

<sup>33</sup> Heinz ibidem and for example see Czysz 1974, 13.

<sup>34</sup> Heinz 1983, 179.

<sup>35</sup> Heinz 1979, 30.

<sup>36</sup> Pretzschner 1909, 25–27, 38.

<sup>37</sup> Heinz 1983, 168; Rewell 2007, 230; DeLaine 1992 used baths with circular layout.

<sup>38</sup> Krencker 1929, 178–179; Brödner 1983, 40.

<sup>39</sup> Krencker 1929, 178; Brödner 1983, 39.

<sup>40</sup> For examples see the baths from the Gallo-Roman site of Vieil-Evreux and the baths in Badeneiler, Baden-Württemberg.

<sup>41</sup> Krencker 1929, 179.

<sup>42</sup> For examples see the bath partially uncovered in 1827 in Allonne, Oise; the fortress baths of Bosra, Syria.

<sup>43</sup> For example see the fortress baths of Tazoult-Laembsis, Algeria.

The following two categories in the typology of D. Krencker elaborate on the bathhouses similar to the Imperial baths of Rome, often labeled with the Latin term *thermae*, incorporating additional areas, often a *palaestra* and others with unidentifiable functions indicated with I, II, III by the author<sup>44</sup>. These baths consist of two subcategories – Krencker differentiates between small and large baths with Imperial layout<sup>45</sup>. The first type has a middle, seemingly linear axis comprised of main areas such as *frigidaria*, *tepidaria*, *caldaria* together with *palaestra*. This axis is accompanied by symmetrically placed side elements, such as *apodyteria* and other unknown areas<sup>46</sup>. The side elements are often close related to the *caldaria*, which on its own attains three side apses serving as additional water basins or plunge baths. The larger Imperial layout does not differ in many ways; more areas for social interaction are doubled, such as the *palaestra*, *apodyteria* and an extra unidentifiable area is added to the side sequences of the *caldaria*<sup>47</sup>. This layout plan bears two entrances and as such should be considered a variation of doubled bathing installations accommodating a large number of people.

Later other authors, some near contemporaries, other not, also contributed with different individual perceptions on the categorization possibilities of Roman provincial bathhouse architecture. One should note that F. Kretzschmer's approach is based on technical aspects of the baths (heating, window orifices and lighting conditions) and supported by ancient literary sources and some of the archaeological evidence<sup>48</sup>. Furthermore in a shorter study on bathing in the Roman Empire W. Heinz added at first hand some terminology issues concerning the different types of public and private baths, handled often as *balneum*<sup>49</sup>, different types of medicinal baths<sup>50</sup> as well as private baths pertaining to villas. Thereafter in another chapter, upon taking under review the architectural typology of bathhouses the author faintly reproaches the current state of research concerning emperor baths or *thermae*<sup>51</sup>, in the absence of more data concentrates on block- and linear-type baths, adding the functional examination of the inner spatial components to the analysis<sup>52</sup>.

### Concerning the Dacian province

Regarding Dacia an average of two studies have approached the question at hand. Essentially the first comprehensive work was drafted by P. Huszarik more than a decade ago and it is notably a synthesis on the military bathhouses of Dacia<sup>53</sup>. The scholar provides an adequate introduction on architectural aspects of bathhouses of the Roman Empire, followed by a description of the sites with baths discovered in Dacia and thereafter discusses the detailed discussion of 21 military baths from the province. Alas the author's typological considerations are rendered in a few pages, based on a selected faction of bathing structures, but it represents a consistent contribution nonetheless. The author claims that a transformation in the planimetry of Dacian military baths is noticeable at hand on the examples presented: the linear-type A/B baths unfold onto block-type structures, typical for the later Roman period in the province<sup>54</sup>. Although an interesting take on the matter, it lacks a comparative investigation of the findings of specialized literature concerning other provinces, the concept does not relate to the inequalities of public military bathhouses and shared bathhouses of the vici and military. Additionally, the matter requires further investigation in the light of the new archaeological discoveries of the last two decades.

Even since the second publication on the topic of Dacian military baths, comprised by O. Țentea<sup>55</sup> – a short essay on auxiliary fortress baths – there has been considerable development in this research

<sup>44</sup> Even so, Krencker does not engage in the issues related to the Latin terms *thermae* and *balneum*, these categories are absent from his typology.

<sup>45</sup> Krencker 1929, 180; Brödner 1983, 39.

<sup>46</sup> For example see the Imperial baths of Trier, and the officier baths of Tazoult-*Laembesis*.

<sup>47</sup> For example see the Imperial baths of Caracalla, Rome.

<sup>48</sup> Kretzschmer 1961, 37–41.

<sup>49</sup> Heinz 1983, 36–52.

<sup>50</sup> Heinz 1983, 157–176.

<sup>51</sup> Heinz 1983, 177.

<sup>52</sup> Heinz 1983, 179–180.

<sup>53</sup> Huszarik 1999 (PhD dissertation, not published but available for viewing at the Roman Classical Studies Institute, Cluj-Napoca).

<sup>54</sup> Huszarik 1999, 202–204.

<sup>55</sup> Țentea 2010, 455–458.

area. As referred to also by O. Țentea since the end of 1990s new discoveries have been made at Zăvoi<sup>56</sup>, Cioroiu Nou<sup>57</sup> and Pietroasele<sup>58</sup>, and further results have been recently reached in the cases of Orhei-Bistriței<sup>59</sup>, Tibiscum<sup>60</sup> and Călugăreni<sup>61</sup>.

In his essay O. Țentea presents the current state of research, then gives an account of the smaller military bathhouses (*balneum*) and details a short outline of conclusions and typical traits established by research and observed thus far in Dacia. It seems interesting that the scholar refers merely to the predominant elements of the block-type layouts on a provincial level, arguing the resource- and economic benefits gained by the specific room placement and does not endorse the ascertainments of P. Huszarik upon the matter<sup>62</sup>. The author additionally refers to the difficulties of researching provincial bathhouses e.g. establishing the functionality of the different areas found in the structures and to the identification of typical areas, the *frigidarium-tepidarium-caldarium* sequence<sup>63</sup>.

### Identifying the layout of bathhouses and handling the textual evidence

The use of epigraphic and other written Roman sources is of paramount importance in earlier studies of planimetry and room functionality and serves as a bedrock for typological analysis. Identifying widespread differences in practice against specific local or regional variants is an ever-present debate in current social bathing studies<sup>64</sup> and it goes as far as to suggest that the experiences of the bather, i.e. the social use of space should be placed in the foreground of typological investigations<sup>65</sup>. Nevertheless the authors of written sources focus on bathing in Rome and on the experiences typical to the sumptuous Imperial baths. The question of provincial bathhouses is rarely mentioned, as these sources are inadequate in the research of the architecture and the bathing culture of the provinces.

The problems pertaining to the terminology of bathhouses and their components is a pertinent issue also related to the use of ancient written sources. This became apparent in the work of I. Nielsen<sup>66</sup> and has been discussed repeatedly by authors such as W. Heinz<sup>67</sup>, R. Rebuffat<sup>68</sup>, G. Di Vita-Évrard<sup>69</sup>, G. Fagan<sup>70</sup>, P. Gros<sup>71</sup>. The manifold of terms often applied for the composite rooms<sup>72</sup> and the designation of the structure as a whole (*balnea*, *thermae* and *lavacrum*) presents itself as a very nuanced subject<sup>73</sup>. Each study should disclose the terminology used, similar to a glossary. It may seem that ancient sources are inconclusive on this matter and lead to confusion<sup>74</sup>.

Identifying room functionality in conjunction with terminological issues seems to have its drawbacks too<sup>75</sup>. Customarily scholars hinge on written accounts, already established typologies and the

<sup>56</sup> Ardeț et al. 2010, 320–321.

<sup>57</sup> Bondoc 2010, 57–58.

<sup>58</sup> Constantinescu et al. 2010, 145–152.

<sup>59</sup> Protase 2007, 93–111.

<sup>60</sup> Benea et al. 2005, 203–205.

<sup>61</sup> Man et al. 2012, 34–37; Man et al. 2013, 36–38; Man et al. 2014, 37–38, Man, Cioată 2012, 85–99.

<sup>62</sup> Tentea 2010, 458 referring to circular baths, in the manner of P. Krencker.

<sup>63</sup> Tentea 2010, 458.

<sup>64</sup> DeLaine-Johnston 1999; DeLaine 1988; Fagan 1999.

<sup>65</sup> Deetz 1967, 51; DeLaine 1992, 159; DeLaine-Johnston 1999 for the study of space in architecture see Vita et al. 2003, 17–41.

<sup>66</sup> Nielsen 1993.

<sup>67</sup> Heinz 1982.

<sup>68</sup> Rabuffat 1991a; Rabuffat 1991b.

<sup>69</sup> Di Vita-Évrard 1991.

<sup>70</sup> Fagan 1996.

<sup>71</sup> Gros 1996.

<sup>72</sup> A wide range of Latin terms were used by scholars and ancient authors, such as *apodyterium*, *tepidarium*, *porpigneum*, *districtarium*, *frigidarium*, *frigida latuatio*, *piscina*, *natatio*, *caldarium*, *calia piscina*, *caldaria tepidariaque*, *laconicum*, *assa sudatio*, *sudatorium*, *cella soliaris*, *tepidaria insudare*, *heliocaminus*, *alveus*, *alueus*, *solium*, *labrus*, *labrum*, *unctorium*, *unctus*, *eleothasium*, *solarium*, *preafunrium*, *capsatoria*, *pozzo*, *basilica thermarum*, *vestibul*, *atrium*, *latrine*, *reservoir*, *palaestra*, *exedra*, *taberna*, *bibliotheca*, *sphaeristera*, *nymphaeum* etc.

<sup>73</sup> See the work of Inge Nielsen. Nielsen, who considers that *balnea* was used for cleansing and hygienic purposes, reminiscent of Greek tradition and *thermae*, a larger scale facility was used for exercising and other activities also. Rewell uses the terms to differentiate auxiliary fortress baths from legionary fortress baths.

<sup>74</sup> DeLaine-Johnston 1999, 10 and Rabuffat 1991a, 6–7.

<sup>75</sup> Mentioned also by Fagan 1999, 28.

correlation between room placement and the heating system of the baths<sup>76</sup>. Few studies look at the finds, discussing them from the perspective of social aspects, focusing on who used the baths<sup>77</sup>. As an alternative, T. Henderson proposes a solution akin to the method established by P. Allison, used in Roman household archaeology: determining room function based on the *locus* and nature of the archeological material, artifacts found<sup>78</sup>. The scholar used the site of Hammat Gader in Israel as an explanatory example to determine if there is a correlation between the architectural remains, *locus* and the material evidence in determining room function<sup>79</sup>. Regardless, the site appertaining to civilian bathhouse architecture is to be considered an exceptional site, prone to present exceptional results. Although the cases of Caerleon – *Isca Augusta* and others stress the importance of artifacts found in the drains of the baths which also convey evidence about activities and affiliations related to these facilities<sup>80</sup> one can utilize the data of through material evidence in establishing room functionality.

The methodology of T. Henderson seems inadequate in the case of provincial fortress baths, particularly auxiliary fortress baths. These types of baths show a different reality. They were frequented by a lower number of people from a different social stratum revealing a different kind of bathing experience than that of the Roman legionaries and civilians. This becomes evident in the trifling to inconsequential archaeological material found in these sites, which also does not pertain to the functioning period but is prior to the establishment of these structures<sup>81</sup>. In addition there is also the matter of identifying and recording the *locus* of the material. Generally, excavation methods in our region incorporate traditional procedures, rarely recording on hand the *locus* of findings, concentrating rather on the architectural features of the site than on the artifacts.

The last chapter of the architectural habit in bathing studies is of course the typological analysis of planimetry. As such the numerous rebuilding stages of most of the bathing complexes remain hard to unravel and the construction phases undated – interpretation often falls to the excavator and how he manages to follow the accumulation of *débris*<sup>82</sup>. In the case of several provinces customarily archaeological research standards are uneven<sup>83</sup>, extended mainly to identifying and partially excavating the structure only as a confirmation of initial assumptions. Whole surface unearthing of archaeological sites are rare and proper publication of the findings is still pending<sup>84</sup>. Several spaces are not assigned specific functions, as scholars mainly focus on identifying the *tepidaria*, *caldaria* and *frigidaria*<sup>85</sup>. Under these circumstances we are dealing with the theoretical understanding of the architectural sequences and the problematic task of establishing a typology on partially uncovered structures based on dispersed material records.

**Britta Burkhardt,**

Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca

Cluj-Napoca, ROU

brittaburkhardt@gmail.com

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<sup>76</sup> Henderson 1991, 9 – these overall ignore the regional aspects of the baths.

<sup>77</sup> DeLaine-Johnston 1999, 9; for further information see Fagan 1999, Knights et al. 1983 and from the field of journalism see *Down the Drain: Lost Items Reveal Roman Bath Activities by Stephanie Pappas, Live Science Contributor*. Available at: <<http://www.livescience.com/26202-drain-lost-items-roman-baths.html>> [January 11, 2013].

<sup>78</sup> Zienkiewicz 1986, 17–21.

<sup>79</sup> Henderson 1991, 13–20.

<sup>80</sup> Wilkes 1999, 19.

<sup>81</sup> Corroborated by Alexandru Diaconescu, mentioned also by Heinz 1979, 4.

<sup>82</sup> On the reality of baths in use over time in Roman society see Wilkes 1999, 23.

<sup>83</sup> Fagan 1999, 26.

<sup>84</sup> Thought accruing also by DeLaine 1992, 259.

<sup>85</sup> As mentioned by Ţentea 2010; for examples see the monographs of Krencker, Nielsen, Brödner etc.

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# Abbreviations

Acta Ant et Arch Suppl	Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum. Szeged.
AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Krakow.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice. Secția pentru Transilvania. Cluj.
ActaArchHung	ActaArchHung Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
AEM	Archäologische Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie. Cluj.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Zaláu.
ATF	Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis. Făgăraș.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensens. Sibiu.
Agria	Agria. Annales Musei <i>Agriensis</i> . Az egri Dobó István Vármúzeum évkönyve. Eger.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului. Timișoara.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
ArchJug	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
Arh. Pregled	Arheološki Pregled. Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije. Beograd.
AM	Arheologia Moldovei. Iași.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
ArchRozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy. Praga.
ASMB	Arheologia Satului Medieval din Banat. Reșița 1996.
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei. Sibiu.
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports. International Series. Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice.
BerRGK	Bericht der RömischGermanischen Kommission, Frankfurt a. Main.
BHAB	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Timișoara.
BMB. SH	Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița. Seria Historica. Bistrița Năsăud.
BMÉ	Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve
BMI	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BMN	Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
BMMK	A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Békéscsaba.
BMMN	Buletinul Muzeului Militar Național, București.
BThr	Bibliotheca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
Carpica	Carpica. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Bacău. Bacău.
CAMNI	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul de Istorie al R. S. România/Muzeul Național de Istorie. București.
CCA	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice (din România)</i> , 1983–1992 <i>sqq.</i> (și în variantă electronică pe <a href="http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/cercetariarh.asp">http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/cercetariarh.asp</a> ).
CRSCRCR	Coins from Roman sites and collections of Roman coins from Romania. Cluj-Napoca.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle serie. București.
Danubius	Danubius – Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galati. Galați.
DDME	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen.
DolgCluj	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Érem- és Régiségtárából, Klozsvár (Cluj).
DolgSzeg	Dolgozatok. Arbeiten des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
FADDP/GMADP	Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Dacia Porolissensis/Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis.



FolArch	Folia Archaeologica. Budapest.
Forsch. u. Ber. z. Vor- u. Frühgesch. BW	Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg.
GPSKV	Gradja za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine. Novi Sad.
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva. Beograd.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. Miskolc.
HTRTÉ	Hunyadvármegye Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
JahrbuchRGZM	Jahrbuch des RömischGermanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz.
Lohanul	Lohanul. Revistă cultural științifică. Huși.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.
MCA-S.N.	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice-Serie Nouă. București.
MA	Memoria Antiquitatis. Complexul Muzeal Județean Neamț. Piatra Neamț.
MFME	A Móra Ferenc Múz. Évkönyve. Szeged.
MFME StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Studia Archaeologica. Szeged.
MN	Muzeul Național. București.
Opuscula Hungarica	Opuscula Hungarica. Budapest.
OTÉ	Orvos- Természettudományi Értesítő, a Kolozsvári Orvos-Természettudományi Társulat és az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Természettudományi Szakosztálya.
Palaeohistorica	Acta et Communicationes Instituti Archaeologici Universitatis Groninganae.
PamArch	Památky Archeologické. Praha.
Past and Present	Past and Present. Oxford.
PIKS/PISC	Die Publikationen des Institutes für klassische Studien/ Publicațiile Institutului de studii clasice. Cluj-Napoca.
PBF	Praehistorische Bronzefunde. Berlin.
PMÉ	Acta Musei Papensis – Pápai Múzeumi Értesítő.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
Rev. Muz.	Revista Muzeelor, București.
RIR	Revista Istorică Română.
RMM-MIA	Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. seria Monumente istorice și de artă. București.
RMMN	Revista Muzeului Militar Național. București.
Ruralia	Ruralia. Památky Archeologické – Supplementum. Praha.
RVM	Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche. București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări Numismatice. București.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra.
SIA	Studii de Istoria Artei. Cluj Napoca.
SIB	Studii de istorie a Banatului. Timișoara.
SKMÉ	A Szántó Kovács János Múzeum Évkönyve, Orosháza.
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. București.
SMMA	Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár. Szolnok.
SMMIM	Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară. București.
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut. Beograd.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComBrukenthal	Studii și comunicări. Sibiu.
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica. Budapest.
StudCom	Studia Comitatus. Szentendre.
StudUnivCib	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Sibiu.
StudCom – Vrancea	Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Etnografie Vrancea. Focșani.
StudŽvest	Študijne Zvesti Arheologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied. Nitra.
Symp. Thrac.	Symposia Thracologica. București.
Tempora Obscura	Tempora Obscura. Békéscsaba 2012.
Tibiscus	Tibiscus. Timișoara.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.

VMÉ  
Ziridava  
ZM  
ZSA

A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője  
Ziridava. Arad.  
A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője  
Ziridava Studia Archaeologica. Arad.