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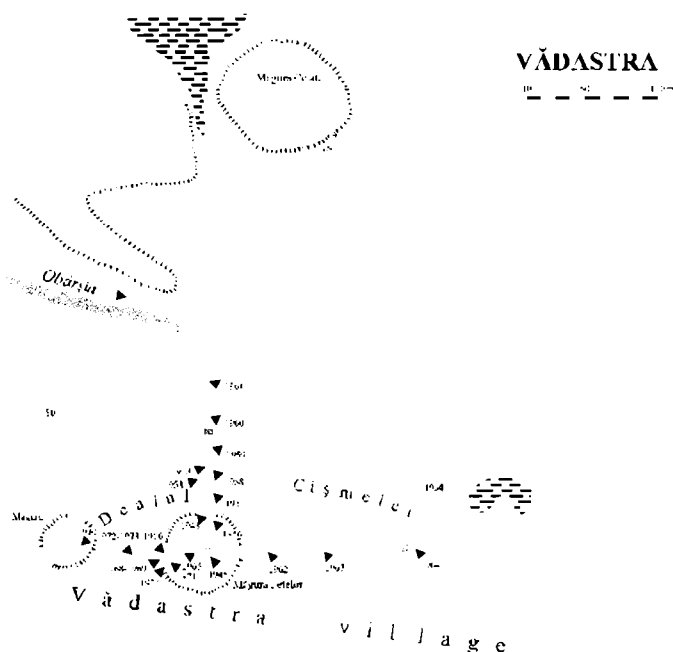
THE NEOLITHIC POTTERY FROM VĂDASTRA: A TECHNOLOGICAL STUDY

Introduction

With few exceptions¹, both in Romania, and in Bulgaria, most studies on the Vădastra pottery were dominated by the typo-chronological method². As they were mainly interested in the chronological stages of pottery development, Romanian archaeologists have used evolutionary concepts and ethnic interpretations for analysing the Vădastra material. The core of the approach has been the principle of 'pottery style = chronology = culture = ethnic group'³. In the present article we wish to tackle some aspects on the Vădastra pottery manufacture. These aspects have largely been ignored by Romanian archaeologists viz. clay sources, pot modelling, firing and so on.

Site location (Fig. 1)

The Neolithic settlement of Vădastra–Măgura Fetelor lies in the south of Romania, in the Oltenian Plain (part of the Romanian Plain), 14 km north-west of the town of Corabia, on a hill named by locals Dealul Cișmelei. It stands on the Băilești



terrace, one of the medium terraces of the Danube. To the north Dealul Cișmelei is bordered by the Obârșia stream flowing from west to east⁴. Today, *Măgura* is almost round-shaped with a north-south diameter of 54.50 m and the east-west one of 50.50 m and a height of 1.40 m. The altitude from the sea level is 82.50 m and 12-14 m above the Obârșia stream meadow⁵.

State of research

As resulted from the excavations reports, the main goal of those who conducted the excavations in the settlement of *Vădastra-Măgura Fetelor* was establishing and later checking the relative chronology of the site. The settlement was first surveyed by Vasile Christescu in 1926⁶. As Christescu's excavations failed to lead to any conclusions from a stratigraphical point of view, in 1934 Dumitru Berciu conducted new surveys⁷, that led to the identification of two Neolithic layers which he named *Vădastra I* (characterized by channelled pottery) and *Vădastra II* (characterized by excised pottery). According to Berciu one cannot make a clear distinction between the two layers. The pottery decorated with channellings occurs also in the lower levels of layer II, where it associates with the excised pottery, but later decreases and vanishes⁸. The excavations were resumed in 1946 by Corneliu N. Mateescu, who continued the researches – with some interruptions – until 1974⁹. The anthropogenic deposits are about three meters thick in the center of the hillock, getting thinner and thinner (till 0.50 m thick) as the hillock gets farther. Mateescu provided the following stratigraphic sequence:

1. Paleolithic layer with a maximum thickness of 0.60 m¹⁰.

2. 'Medium layer' with no archaeological material – with a maximum thickness of 0.45-0.50 m.

3. *Vădastra I* layer (Neolithic): 0.40-0.04 m thick, pervaded by many later pits (*Vădastra II*: some of them are 3.50 m in diameter and 1.50 m deep), the very reason why the material is mixed to a large extent. In this layer he uncovered 'pit-houses', pits, as well as a ditch supposed to have surrounded the settlement.

4. *Vădastra II* layer (Neolithic): 0.80-0.06 m thick and could have had more levels, that were not noticed. In this layer he uncovered a two-room house with a verandah built of a pole skeleton with wattle bound with clay, remains from other destroyed houses built in the same way, many pits, a kiln etc.

5. *Sălcuța* layer (Copper Age) with a thickness of 0.65-0.05 m. On *Măgura Fetelor*, the upper part of this layer has been destroyed by ploughing and erosion.

6. Mediaeval Age dwelling traces: the XIVth, XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries¹¹. The lower part of this layer has been preserved on the terrace.

The analyses of the soil samples taken from the excavations conducted in 1965 on *Măgura Fetelor*¹² proved that, from top to bottom, in the culture layers the clay ranges between 20 and 33 %. The loess in the 'medium layer', the Paleolithic one and that from the 'live soil' is richer in clay (the proportion is 33 %) than that in the Neolithic layers. At the same time, the plasticity ratio of the 'medium layer' and of the Paleolithic one has

⁴ Mateescu 1970b, p. 67.

⁵ Mateescu 1970a, p. 52.

⁶ Christescu 1927-1932, p. 169-205.

⁷ Berciu 1934, p. 75-79; 1937, p. 1-9.

⁸ Berciu 1937, p. 4.

⁹ Mateescu 1949; 1959a; 1959b; 1961a; 1961b; 1962a; 1962b; 1965; 1970a; 1970b; 1970c; 1972; 1973; 1978; Protopopescu-Pake *et al.* 1969, p. 136-149.

¹⁰ See Păunescu 1999-2000 with the previous literature.

¹¹ See Mateescu 1960; 1963; 1968; 1970d; Mateescu, Comănescu 1972; 1973; Comănescu, Mateescu 1970; 1970-1971.

¹² Protopopescu-Pake *et al.* 1969, p. 151-152.

higher values (16.0 %-18.5 %) by comparison with the values obtained for the Neolithic layers (12.5-15.5 %). All that made the author of the excavations believe that many identified pits were dug during the Neolithic in order to draw out clay for the manufacturing of vessels¹³. In this article we are going to prove that this assertion cannot be maintained.

According to Mateescu, the Vădastra I layer is characterized by fine black/greyish pottery decorated with channellings or with incised bands with dots filled with white paste (the so-called Vinča style), while the Vădastra II layer is characterized by black/brown pottery decorated with excised motifs. Therefore, he divided the 'Vădastra culture' in two phases (I and II). On some fragments found in the upper part of the Vădastra I layer the decoration made up of channellings is associated with excised decoration. The surface-roughened ware occurs in both layers.

Despite the informations published by Mateescu, we should keep in mind that the above mentioned pottery groups might be contemporaneous. Following the excavations conducted at Hotărâni, Berciu and Marin Nica stated that the old name of Vădastra I and Vădastra II no longer renders the reality and that channelled black and grey pottery occurs in all the layers¹⁴. At the same time, starting from his excavations (e.g. at Fărcașu-de-Sus) Nica observed that in the first phase of the so-called Vădastra culture, channelled pottery and the excised one coexist and that sometimes the excised decoration is combined with the channelled one on the same pot¹⁵. Unfortunately, all these datings are based on the stylistic analysis of the materials without presenting in detail the contexts where they have been found. Good contextual data come from the recent excavations carried out by a British-Romanian team in the Teleorman River Valley: for instance, one of the Vădastra features (C 22) found at Măgura-Buduiasca (Teleor 003) contains both channelled and excised pottery¹⁶.

We believe that more secure informations could be obtained by direct dating of Neolithic pottery¹⁷ or by relating the pottery with the C-14 datas from the same contexts. As an example, in the case of pottery deposited in a sacrificial fen at the Funnel-Beaker site of Skogsmossen (central Sweden), 15 AMS-datings of organic remains on potsherds have suggested that the design of the pottery had been more dependent on social rather than on chronological factors¹⁸. As Johannes Müller has noted for the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery from Central-Elbe-Saale region, '[...] stilistisch-typologische Beobachtungen sind nicht nur chronologisch, sondern als Teile sozialer Zeichensysteme zu bewerten. Erst mit typologien-abhängigen Datierungsmethoden sind diese typologisch-stilistischen Inventargruppen chronologisch einzuordnen und Zeitphasen zuzuordnen.'¹⁹

Chronology

On the basis of the excavation results a series of synchronisms were established. In the first Neolithic layer Mateescu found Boian-Bolintineanu pottery and a few fragments belonging to the Linear Pottery with Musical Notes (*Notenkopf*). In the second Neolithic layer the author of the excavation found Boian-Giulești sherds. Although until now there is only one radiocarbon date for the Vădastra-Măgura Fetelor

¹³ E.g. Protopopescu-Pake *et al.* 1969, p. 151, p. 152; Mateescu 1965, p. 260; 1970a, p. 56, p. 58; 1970b, p. 70, p. 71.

¹⁴ Berciu 1966, p. 97; Nica 1971, p. 31.

¹⁵ E.g. Nica 1976, p. 94, p. 96.

¹⁶ Andreescu, Bailey 2005, p. 225.

¹⁷ See Bonsall *et al.* 2002.

¹⁸ Hallgren, Possnert 1997.

¹⁹ Müller 2000, p. 119.

site, from Vădastra II layer²⁰, we mention that in his book on the Neolithic and Copper Age houses in south-east Europe, Clemens Lichter assigned the house uncovered in the eponymous settlement to *Datierungsgruppe 2*, that is 5500-4700 CAL. BC²¹. On the basis of corroborating the data on the relative chronology and the existing radiocarbon data for other Neolithic sites at the Lower Danube, the Vădastra settlements were dated between 5200 and 4900 CAL. BC²².

Analytical methods

The present article is based on the tests performed on 1172 diagnostic sherds and fragmentary vessels selected by Mateescu from the excavations he conducted at Vădastra. They derive both from the Neolithic layers, and from various identified features. For the sake of comparison 43 figurines (9 from Vădastra I contexts and 34 from Vădastra II contexts) have been also analysed²³.

The average thickness of the sherds was determined by the value obtained as an arithmetic average of all the individual measurements made with the gauge, with a 0.1 mm precision²⁴. The porosity was determined by a 24 hour water absorption and expressed in percentages as related to the initial weight of the pottery fragments.

Two indexes were calculated: the porosity index and the modelling one. The porosity index was calculated as a porosity/average sherd thickness ratio. It estimates the amount of vegetal mass added to the paste. The modelling index was calculated as a standard deviation of the individual measurements of the average thickness, and is an estimation of the evenness of the thickness of the sherd walls. The results of the physical tests and of the indexes were used for selecting the sherds for chemical tests, X-ray diffraction tests and infrared absorption tests. 138 chemical tests were performed of some extracts in hydrochloric acid 6N treating one gram sample – thoroughly cut into pieces – with 20 ml hydrochloric acid. The solution was kept for an hour on boiling water by stirring from time to time, filtered immediately, and washed with 5 % hydrochloric acid until collecting 100 ml. magnesium, calcium, strontium and iron were dosed by atomic absorption. The X-ray diffraction patterns were obtained by always using the same conditions of the equipment. 231 pottery samples and sources were broken up roughly and deposited on glass blades. The intensities of the lines from 4.26 KX (quartz) to 3.03 KX (calcite) were measured and the ratio of these lines was calculated. The infrared absorption analyses were performed by using the technique of the potassium bromide disks at a dilution of 1 mg sample in 300 mg potassium bromide. Kaolinite occurred in the case of 138 samples (out of 231). Clay fractions under 0.002 mm were separated from 14 presumptive sources by dispersion in water with NaOH up to the pH 9 and their mineralogical composition was determined by using orientated prepartes²⁵. Particle size analyses of the presumptive sources were carried out by the Khacinski method²⁶.

²⁰ Mateescu 1978, p. 65, footnote 9.

²¹ Lichter 1993.

²² Mantu 1999-2000, p. 101, table 2.

²³ About some figurines found at Vădastra see Voinescu, Mateescu 1980; Mateescu, Voinescu 1982. For the use of white paint or ochre in decorating the figurines (and pottery) see Găță, Mateescu 1987; 1992b; 1999-2001.

²⁴ Găță et al. 1997.

²⁵ Găță 1972.

²⁶ Moțoc 1964.

Ceramics

Surface treatment and decoration

According to the surface treatment, we divided the analysed pottery into three categories:

A. PLAIN BURNISHED WARE (Fig. 2: 1)

All the fragments in this group were tempered with vegetal material; the paste always contains quartz and white mica foils (both on the inside, and on the outside) originating from the clay sources. Many of the fragments are burnished/polished both on the outside and on the inside. Other sherds are burnished/polished on the outside and smoothed on the inside. Colours: exterior – black (10YR 2/1), yellowish brown (10YR 5/8), dark gray (7.5YR 4/0); interior – black (10YR 2/1), grayish brown (10YR 5/2), dark reddish gray (5YR 4/2).

B. DECORATED BURNISHED WARE

The fabric and the surface treatment are similar to the plain burnished ware. The decoration techniques are:

Channellings/plissé (Fig. 2: 2)

Almost each time they cover only the upper part of the pot. The channellings/plissé are vertical, horizontal, oblique or semi-circular. Sometimes, the part under the rims of the pots is painted with red ochre. Often, the channelled motifs are associated with *impresso* motifs (carried out with an object): small impressions on the maximum diameter of the vessel or triangles – filled with impressions – situated between the channelled motifs. On the necks of some fragments (always uncovered in the upper part of the Vădastra I layer: cf. Mateescu), channelled decoration is combined with a row of rhombs carried out by the excision technique (Fig. 2: 3). The colours are the same with those for the plain burnished ware.

Excision (Fig. 2: 4)

The excised motifs are combined with incised and grooved ones. The decorative elements are meanders, spirals, rhombs and rectangles, covering most of the pot. The spaces between the motifs were filled with white paste in a sharp contrast to the dark background²⁷. Like in the previous group, on the part under the rim and on the bottoms of some of the pots red ochre paint traces have been preserved²⁸. Some of the fragments are decorated both on the outside and on the inside. The pots decorated in this way must have had a strong visual impact upon the viewer, as the techniques and colour contrast (white and red on a dark background) were obtained deliberately. Colours: exterior – black (10YR 2/1), yellowish brown (10YR 5/4), gray (7.5YR 5/1); interior – black (10YR 2/1), light brownish gray (10YR 6/2), dark gray (10YR 4/1).

Incision

1) Shallow incisions rendering motifs characteristic of excised pottery (henceforth IN/EX) (Fig. 2: 5). Colours: exterior – black (10YR 2/1), light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2); interior – black (10YR 2/1), pale brown (10YR 6/3), dark gray (10YR 4/1).

²⁷ Gâță, Mateescu 1987; 1992b.

²⁸ Gâță, Mateescu 1999-2001.

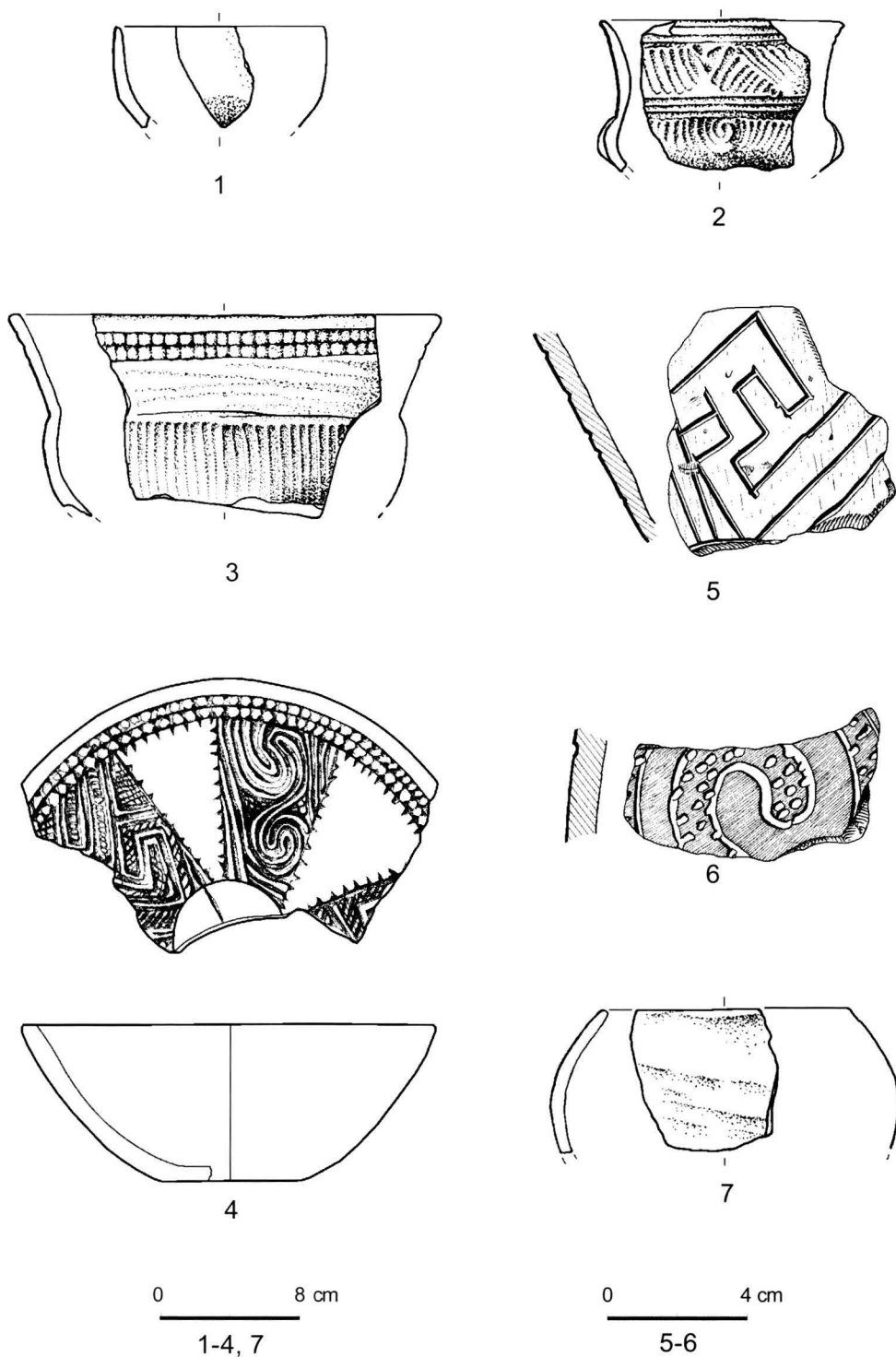


Fig. 2. Vădastra. Plain burnished ware (1); Decorated burnished ware (2-6); Surface-roughened ware (7).

2) Incised bands filled with dots – the so-called Vinča style (Fig. 2: 6). The incisions and impressions are filled with white paste that – also here – contrast with the dark background of the pots. Some of the fragments are decorated both on the outside and on the inside. On some sherds, the 'Vinča style' decoration is combined with excised motifs. Colours: exterior – black (10YR 2/1), grayish brown (10YR 5/2), pale brown (10YR 6/3); interior – black (10YR 2/1), grayish brown (10YR 5/2), dark gray (7.5YR 4/1).

C. SURFACE-ROUGHENED WARE (Fig. 2: 7)

This category includes fragments that have been previously catalogued as 'pottery for cooking'²⁹. The sherds contain vegetal material, pebbles, milimetric quartz and white mica granules (both on the inside and on the outside). A small number of fragments contain shells or grog in the paste. The shells do not seem to be added deliberately, but seemingly originate in the clay sources. It is possible that some of these fragments were intrusions from the Sălcuța layer which overlaps the Vădastra layers.

The outer surface is smoothed or rough, while the inside is more often than not well smoothed (sometimes even burnished) in order to reduce porosity. Many of the sherds making up this category come from secondarily fired pots, as a result of their repeated use on the fire. The surface-roughened ware was divided by us in two groups: 1) Plain; 2) Decorated: barbotine, impressions (made with an object on the rim or on the maximum diameter; impressions made with the finger under the rim), incisions, plastic decoration, finger stripes, combinations between the techniques mentioned above. The sherds belonging to this category have the following colours: exterior – very dark gray (10YR 3/1), light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), red (2.5YR 5/6); interior – black (10YR 2/1), grayish brown (10YR 5/2), reddish brown (5YR 5/4).

For the purpose of this study the surface-roughened sherds decorated with spiral incisions were treated separately. Colours: exterior – black (10YR 2/1), dark gray (10YR 4/1), light brown (7.5YR 6/4); interior – very dark brown (10YR 2/2), pale brown (10YR 6/3), reddish brown (5YR 4/3).

The core colours of the sherds from the sample are black (10YR 2/1), dark gray (10YR 4/1) and gray (10YR 5/1); rarely – grayish brown (10YR 5/2), pale brown (10YR 6/3) and reddish brown (5YR 5/4).

All bases are flat. Some of them are painted with red ochre (excised decorated pots), others are decorated with incised lines or have textile impressions (Fig. 3). In the previous articles concerning Vădastra pottery technology Mateescu used the terms 'Vădastra 1' for the plain burnished and channelled pottery and 'Vădastra 2' for the excised pottery. In the present article we use the same conventional terms but we do not imply a chronological difference between these pottery groups.

Wall thickness

We have used the following conventional groups:

1. thinner than 4 mm;
2. 4 – 6.9 mm;
3. 7 – 9.9 mm;
4. 10 – 15 mm;
5. over 15 mm.

The 'Vădastra 1' pottery is related especially to groups 2 and 3. At the same time, these pottery categories are the only ones containing sherds thinner than 4 mm (e.g. cups). The rest of the pottery categories are related above all to groups 3 and 4. Sherds over 15 mm occur only in the case of surface-roughened pottery and in that of

²⁹ Găță, Mateescu 1992a.

the 'Vădastra 2' pots. Some of the latter have an average thickness of about 19 mm and probably come from large storage vessels.

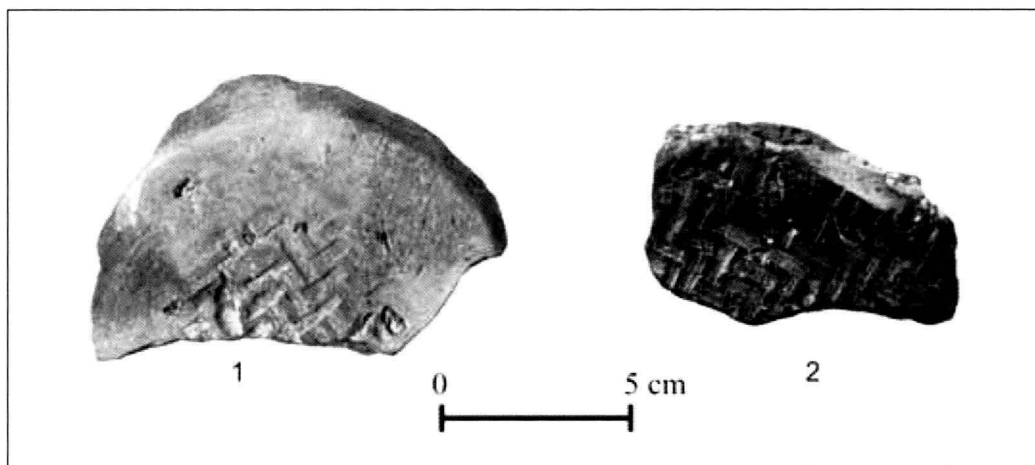


Fig. 3. Vădastra. Bases with textile impressions

Clay sources

If the potters used local raw matter for modelling their pottery, they must have taken the clay from near the settlement, namely from the outcrops in the Obârșia stream bed, from the outcrop in Dealul Cișmelei, the outcrop in Malul Roșu or from the pits dug in the settlement. All that material ranges from loamy sand to loam, with a clay content from 8 to 28 %, a quartz content from 20 to 55 % and a carbonate content from 1 to 54 %.

The distribution of some samples analysed according to the ratio between the X-ray diffraction lines intensity of the quartz (4.26 KX) and calcite (3.03 KX) appears bimodal and asymmetrical with two maximum intervals 4-5 and 13-14 (Fig. 4).

Except for the values over 22, all the pottery fragments overlap local sources and suggest that pottery was modelled with local clay. In Figure 4, the locations corresponding to the sources are grouped as follows: under the value 1 the samples with a high content of carbonates from the pits dug in the settlement³⁰; the interval 1-10 includes the samples from the Obârșia stream bed; the 10-17 one corresponds to Dealul Cișmelei and at 22 there is a sample from Malul Roșu. The last interval over the value 20 has few samples and suggests that only incidentally clays from this location could have been used.

Most pottery fragments range between 0-17, except for some surface-roughened sherds with spiral incisions and some 'Vinča style' pottery samples. This distribution could suggest that at least some of these are not made with local clay and could belong to pots brought in the settlement.

The locations corresponding to the pots and figurines are mixed up in the same areas and prove that the same clay sources were used both for pots and figurines.

The locations of all three pottery categories from our sample lie in the same areas and prove that they have the same sources, but suggest that the clay chosen for the burnished wares bore as few large sand granules as possible.

The 'Vădastra 1' pottery quartz-carbonate ration is high, that is from 1 to 23, suggesting, by comparison with the 'Vădastra 2' pottery, more clay attempts for pot

³⁰ Protopopescu-Pake *et al.* 1969.

modelling. Indeed, the 'Vădastra 2' pottery ranges between 1-15 more restrictedly. Surface-roughened pottery ranges between 1-16 and has the same sources as plain burnished pottery and decorated burnished pottery.

By comparing the pottery locations with those of the sources one might say that the clay sources were fewer for the excised pots, as there were used above all the sandy

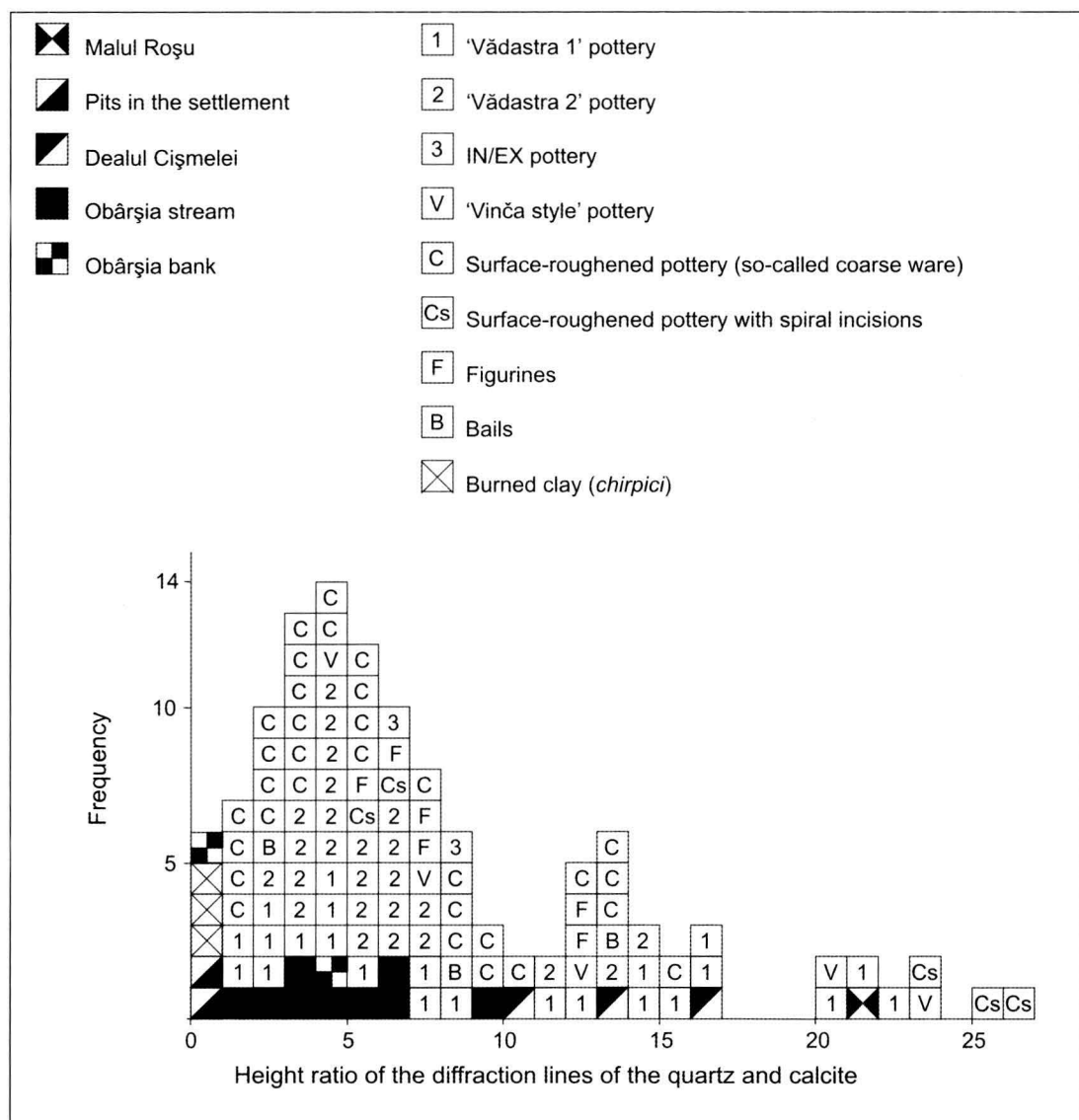


Fig. 4. The distribution of some clay and ceramic samples from Vădastra according to the ratio between the X-ray diffraction lines intensity of the quartz and calcite.

loam from Obârșia stream bed, and more rarely the clay from the outcrop in Dealul Cișmelei, as already specified for the surface-roughened pottery³¹.

The four 'Vinča style' sherds analysed are two in the Vădastra sources area and two at values over 20. The position of the latter two might suggest that they belong to pots brought to the settlement.

³¹ Găță, Mateescu 1992a.

Of the five samples of surface-roughened pottery with spiral incisions, two belong to the Vădastra sources interval, as the other three belong to the 23-27 interval not found at the sources from the settlement.

The distribution of the analysed samples according to the ratio of the quartz and calcite diffraction lines intensities points to three groups. The 0-11 interval corresponds to the sources from the Obârșia stream bed and from the pits in the settlement, next to all the pottery and adobe types, containing 74 % of the pottery fragments. The second interval, ranging between 11-17, includes only 18 % of the ceramics, containing 'Vădastra 1' sherds, surface-roughened sherds, less 'Vădastra 2' fragments and only one 'Vinča style' sherd. The last interval – with only 8 % of the pottery – contains only 'Vădastra 1' sherds, surface-roughened fragments with spiral incisions and 'Vinča style' ones. All these analytical data prove that the potters had used more often the sources from the Obârșia stream bed.

In order to determine more exactly the sources of raw matter used for modelling of Vădastra Neolithic pottery³², the analysed samples were distributed according to the ratios of the magnesium/iron and calcium/strontium concentrations from a hydrochloric acid 6N. The diagram obtained (Fig. 5) divides the samples into three areas according to the calcium/strontium ratio limited to the values 275 and 555.

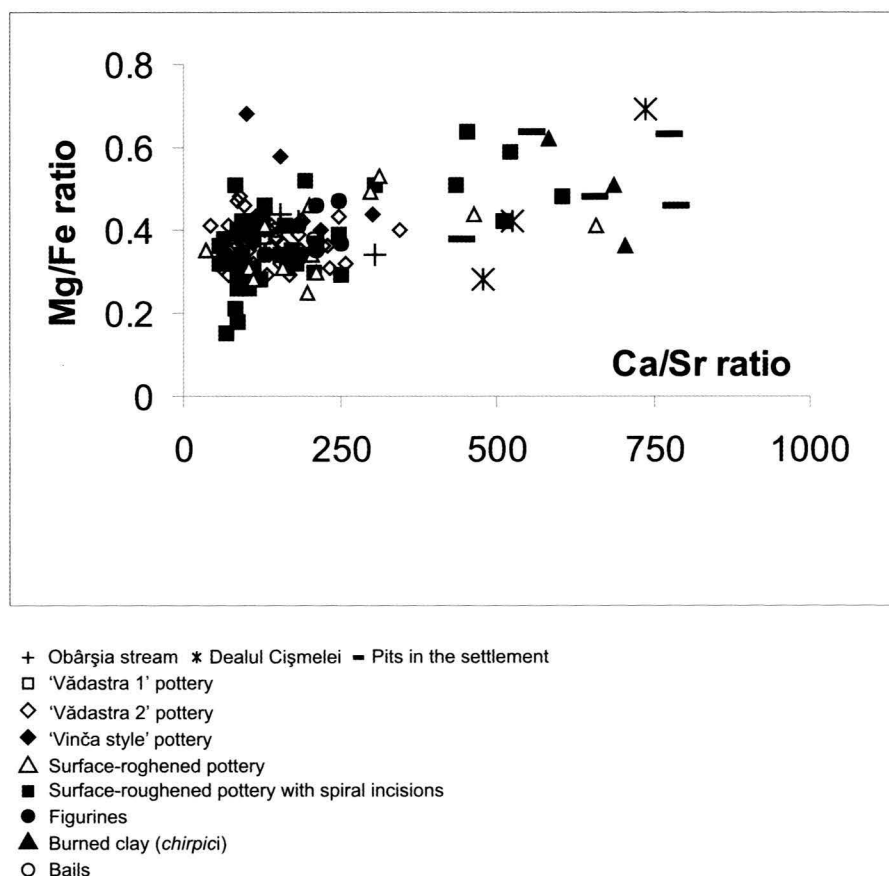


Fig. 5. The distribution of the clay sources and ceramics from Vădastra, according to Mg/Fe and Ca/Sr ratios.

³² Găță, Mateescu 1992a.

The first area includes the sources from the Obârșia stream bed and all the types of Vădastra pottery. The density of the pottery samples is higher and represents 91 % of the analysed fragments. The second area (7 %) includes surface-roughened fragments, 'Vădastra 1' sherds, next to sources from Dealul Cișmelei and from the pits in the settlement. The third area (2 %) includes a 'Vădastra 1' sherd, a surface-roughened sherd and two adobe samples.

The first area includes two 'Vinča style' pottery locations, at values of the magnesium/iron ratio over 0.55, and other three locations corresponding to the surface-roughened pottery with spiral incisions at magnesium/iron values under 0.21. These sherds could come from pots brought to the settlement. But these pottery groups also occur in the 'dots cloud' of the pottery from Vădastra.

The chemical and mineralogical data prove that the raw matter necessary for modelling the pots were taken from outcrops in the close vicinity of the settlement. More often than not, the sandy clay from the Obârșia stream bed was used, and less that from the outcrops in Dealul Cișmelei. Instead, it is less likely for the material from the pits in the settlement to have been used for the pottery, as the sherds examined by microscope do not contain many lime concretions as the material from the pits. However, the latter was used for building the house found in the Vădastra II layer. Meanwhile, the use of the clay from Malul Roșu is unlikely, as no fragment contains iron in such a high concentration as this material.

The suitability of the local clay sources researched is confirmed by the mineralogical composition of the clayey fractions containing about 10-12 % smectite, 9-11 % illite and 0.5-1 % kaolinite. The smectite content is optimal to give a paste with a very good plasticity for modelling pottery. The other components of the clay degrease the paste sufficiently to prevent deformation and cracking of the pots at firing. The experimental researches carried out at Vădastra proved that the local sources have very good modelling and firing properties: 'The suitability of the locally available clay has been excellently demonstrated. The clay can be obtained from the bed of the local river where it occurs in abundant quantities. It needs little working other than the breaking down of lumps within the clay. It is sufficiently coarse with enough naturally occurring inclusions to allow water to escape from the clay during firing. The clay is therefore naturally robust and this is demonstrated by the fact that the clay balls and discs were fired from wet in a bonfire with a rapid temperature rise.'³³

At the same time, it should be taken into account that in pre-industrial societies, both the clay and the temper were not chosen only out of utilitarian criteria. For instance, in some cases the clay sources are chosen out of social and political considerations. In a village in Ecuador (Conambo), the members of the Achuar political faction use – mainly – the clays from Yauna, while the members of the Quichua faction use clays from Gloria and more rarely Yulanda³⁴. In Paradijon (a small barrio in the town of Gubat, Southern Luzon, the Philippines), people identify three textures of clay called *barasan*, *himolot* and *salado*, and four colours of clay – white, red, black, and green³⁵. According to Mark A. Neupert '[m]en conduct probes within a clay source to find the best clays, the choicest being the white himolot; different sources are ranked in quality, based on the amount of the choicest clays. Although the men know which sources are superior, sociopolitical factors dictate which source they use, even if it contains clays of inferior quality'³⁶.

³³ Gibson 2002.

³⁴ *apud* Costin 2000, p. 386 and Table 1.

³⁵ Neupert 2000, p. 253.

³⁶ Neupert 2000, p. 253.

As noted by Oliver Gosselain, '[...] the real issue is to realize that every step of a technical process – be it pottery making or any other mundane and 'functional' activity – may become the locus of a symbolic discourse.'³⁷ Clay selection, tempering, firing or post-firing operations should not be understood only in functional terms but also as 'full cultural products'³⁸. We agree with Gosselain that '[...] the question is not so much to determine where function stops and symbol (or style) begins, but to be aware of their remarkable intricacy'³⁹.

Tempering

The preference of the clays from the Obârșia stream bed is explained *inter alia* by their light modelling, as the winter frost breaks the aggregates, and allows a lighter tempering of the paste when water is added.

The tempering is thorough and the quartz granules are spread rather evenly in the mass of the pottery. In the thin sections occur many voids produced by the firing of the cut vegetal material added as temper. There is no sand degreasing and no sand deposits occur close to the settlement.

The clay tempering has been done by portions. To a certain amount of clay water was added gradually until a consistent paste formed, by stirring all the time until a full wetting of the material. Then the paste ball was flattened and a cut vegetal mass was added, the margins were folded, an operation repeated more times. One recognizes in the thin sections such a procedure by a parallelism of the elongated voids in the pottery mass obtained by firing.

Modelling

Each pot was modelled by sticking flattened patches after they had been well tempered. First they modelled the bottom of the pot from a single piece, then the patches were overlapped, pressed and modelled. The modelling of the pot by adding flat strips is emphasized by the rolling voids between the two overlapped patches, occurring sometimes after the firing of the pot. Here the patch heightening the pot was added inside and the outer part was flattened upwards.

The fact that the modelling of the walls of the pots was carried out with patches tempered and degreased before the sticking is revealed by the systematic differences between the average values of some properties of the bottoms and the rest of the pots. Thus, the average of the porosity index (the ratio between porosity and the average thickness of the sherds, that is a measure of the amount of the added vegetal mass), is lower for the pot bottom than for the rest of the pot, in the case of 'Vădastra 1' and 'Vădastra 2' pottery (Fig. 6). This pattern suggests that the potters in the Vădastra Neolithic settlement deliberately modelled the bottoms of the pots with a lower porosity than for the rest of the pots, probably due to the firing conditions of the firing spaces where the bottoms of the pots were less stressed thermically. The potters modelled the pottery giving it certain shapes, thicknesses, diameters and vegetal mass addition according to a certain pattern, that they observed between certain tolerance limits.

³⁷ Gosselain 1999, p. 221.

³⁸ Gosselain 1999, p. 221.

³⁹ Gosselain 1999, p. 221.

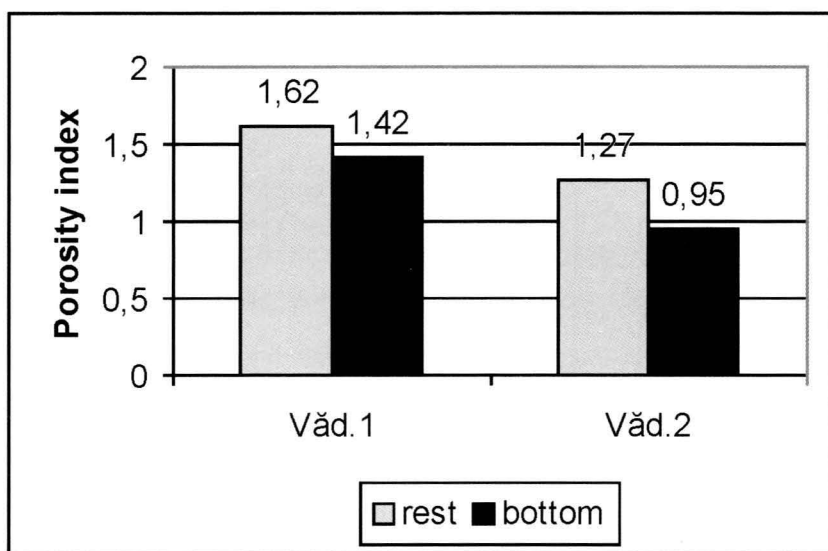


Fig. 6. The porosity index of vessel parts for 'Vādastra 1' pottery (Vād. 1) and 'Vādastra 2' pottery (Vād. 2) from Vādastra.

In order to follow a possible evolution of the Vādastra pottery the sizes and porosity properties of the various pottery categories uncovered in the settlement were compared. Table 1 presents the averages of the thicknesses, porosity index and diameters of the sherds, as well as the variation coefficients of these averages. In order to better realize of the possible evolution that could have resulted from the differences between the average values, we established the following groups: 1. plain burnished pottery; 2. channelled pottery (vertical, oblique and circular channellings); 3. excised pottery; 4. IN/EX pottery; 5. 'Vinča style' pottery; 6. surface-roughened pottery; 7. surface-roughened pottery with spiral incisions. The table presents separately the properties of the bottom parts of the pots. The pottery groups separated in this manner were rowed according to the increase in the average thicknesses of the fragments.

The thickness averages of the surface-roughened pottery with spiral incisions, IN/EX pottery and 'Vinča style' pottery are located between the 'Vādastra 1' and 'Vādastra 2' pottery. The same is the case with the rest of the surface-roughened pottery.

As the average thickness of the walls of the pots increases, also the average diameters increase from 130-150 mm in the case of the 'Vādastra 1' pottery, to 258 mm in that of the 'Vādastra 2' pottery. The surface-roughened pottery with spiral incisions IN/EX pottery and 'Vinča style' pottery have average diameters about 210 mm.

The average porosity ranges between 9 and 10.7 even at the averages of the 'Vādastra 1' pottery, without a systematic variation as related to the thickness of the sherds. It suggests that it was a notion unknown to the potters, not belonging to the pot modelling patterns. Instead, the vegetal mass addition as shown by the porosity index decreases with the increase in the thickness from values of 1.72-1.32 in the case of the 'Vādastra 1' pottery, to 1.13 in that of the 'Vādastra 2' pottery. The IN/EX pottery and 'Vinča style' pottery have intermediate values.

The surface-roughened pottery, with a porosity index of 1.16, has a smaller vegetal mass addition, probably meant for liquid heating, as proven by the oxidizing secondary firing in many fragments of this category.

Wares	No. of sherds	Thickness		Porosity		Porosity Index		Diameter (mm)	
		Average	V.C. %	Average	V.C. %	Average	V.C. %	Average	V.C. %
Pottery decorated with oblique channellings	49	6.5	25.3	10.7	21.3	1.72	28.8	148	28.3
Plain burnished pottery	107	6.83	34.4	10.3	25.6	1.63	36.1	132	44.6
Pottery decorated with vertical channellings	70	6.95	23.8	10.2	20.9	1.54	29.3	153	34.7
Pottery decorated with circular channellings	23	7.09	19.1	9	22.1	1.32	20	141	27
Surface-roughened pottery decorated with spiral incisions	100	8.5	20.6	9.7	19.9	1.18	24.6	212	26.5
IN/EX pottery	59	8.66	26.4	10.4	19.6	1.27	29.8	205	46.5
'Vinča style' pottery	75	8.66	21.9	10.9	21.3	1.34	34.2	217	42.2
Surface-roughened pottery	120	9.38	21.7	10.6	24.6	1.16	27.1	208	37.2
Excised pottery	237	9.78	25.8	10.3	17.1	1.13	32.1	258	41
Bases: IN/EX pottery	9	11.1	23.2	9.94	13.1	0.93	23.8	84	50.3
Bases: excised pottery	30	11.3	29.8	10.4	13.3	0.99	32.7	97	47.6
Bases: plain burnished and channelled pottery	26	12.2	22.8	11.1	18.9	0.96	27.5	72	35.4

Table 1. Wall-thickness, porosity index and diameters of the sherds
(V.C. = variation coefficient of the average).

The bottom is always thicker, while the porosity index and diameter of the bottom are smaller than the properties of the rest of the pot. It results that in the settlement of Vădastra conical and biconical pots prevail, having thicker bottoms than the rest of the pots and a smaller vegetal mass addition. The variation coefficients of the average thickness ranges between 19.1 and 34.4, having a rather constant thickness of the walls of the pots over the whole existence of the Neolithic settlement.

Comparing the various pottery groups, the average diameters of the pots increase from 132 mm to 258 mm, while their variation coefficients have average values from 26.5 to 46.5. There are no systematic variations in the row of the values, which proves that the range of the forms was maintained over the Vādastra Neolithic.

Wares	No. of sherds	i = f (s)			d = f (s)			m = f (s)		
		R 1	R 2	F	R 1	R 2	F	R 1	R 2	F
Plain burnished pottery	107	0.707	0.674	87.2	0.620	0.616	85	0.33	0.328	12.6
Pottery decorated with vertical channellings	70	0.710	0.658	52.1	0.417	0.401	13	0.541	0.45	12
Pottery decorated with oblique channellings	49	0.732	0.632	43.2	0.630	0.588	24.9	0.541	0.45	12
Pottery decorated with circular channellings	23	0.556	0.543	8.74	0.16	0.18	0.51	0.549	0.463	18.6
Excised pottery	237	0.848	0.794	40.1	0.524	0.519	86.8	0.14	0.12	3.54
IN/EX pottery	59	0.777	0.701	55.2	0.421	0.42	12.2	0.233	0.06	0.18
'Vinča style' pottery	75	0.756	0.698	69.3	0.58	0.502	24.6	0.393	0.343	9.71
Surface-roughened pottery	120	0.603	0.536	47.7	0.359	0.354	16.9	0.313	0.298	11.5
Surface-roughened pottery decorated with spiral incisions	100	0.638	0.616	59.8	0.507	0.504	33.4	0.263	0.235	5.73
Bases: plain burnished and channelled pottery	26	0.889	0.746	30.1	0.437	0.433	8.64	0.556	0.542	10
Bases: excised pottery	30	0.920	0.891	157.4	0.17	0.06	0.08	0.732	0.604	16.1
Bases: surface-roughened pottery	38	0.887	0.83	79.5	0.626	0.612	21.5	0.548	0.529	14

Table 2. The correlation coefficients of the equations with thickness (s), porosity index (i), diameter (d) and modelling index (m). R1 = the maximum value of the correlation coefficient; R2 = the linear correlation coefficient; F = the Fisher value of the linear relation.

The average porosity indexes continuously decrease from the 'Vādastra 1' pottery to 'Vādastra 2' pottery, and suggests that the potters used less vegetal material as temper in the case of the latter.

The variation coefficients of the average indices range between 20 and 36.1 %, showing tolerances in vegetal mass proportion added to the bottoms and the rest of the pots according to the researched categories.

In order to see in a more detailed manner the modelling patterns of the pots, properties of the sherds of various Vădastra pottery groups were compared. Thus, they were correlated to the thickness of the sherds – the porosity index, diameter and modelling index expressed by the standard deviation of the calculated averages representing an assessment of the evenness of the thickness of the pot walls. The tightest link is obtained between the porosity index and thickness of the walls of the pots for all the pottery categories analysed (Table 2).

According to the correlation coefficients R1, the proportion of the vegetal mass assessed by the porosity index, is approximately the same as related to the thickness of the ‘Vădastra 1’ pottery (0.56-0.73), the surface-roughened pottery, the ‘Vinča style’ pottery and the IN/EX pottery (0.60-0.78), but tighter for ‘Vădastra 2’ pottery (0.85). That suggests a smaller more thoroughly dosed amount of vegetal mass as related to the thickness of the ‘Vădastra 2’ sherds. The best relationships are the power ones and have a rather marked curvature radius as proven by the differences between R1 and R2. The bottoms of the pots have correlation coefficients R1 over 0.88, proving the care for adding vegetal degreaser. Also in this case, in the excised pottery one can notice more care for degreasing than in the other pottery groups.

In order to exemplify the distribution of the locations in a porosity index–thickness diagram we represented the ‘Vădastra 1’ pottery (Fig. 7). The representative locations are grouped along a power curve under the form of a dot band 1.14 units wide, representing a tolerance of 78 % as related to the average value 1.59 for the 249 tested samples. The high tolerance can be explained because this pottery was made for many generations.

Likewise, for the ‘Vădastra 2’ pottery, the porosity index–thickness diagram (Fig. 8) has the locations along a power curve under the form of a band 0.67 units wide for an average value of 1.13, representing a tolerance of 59 %. By comparing the tolerances of the pottery groups presented, there results a technological continuity between the ‘Vădastra 1’ and ‘Vădastra 2’ pottery.

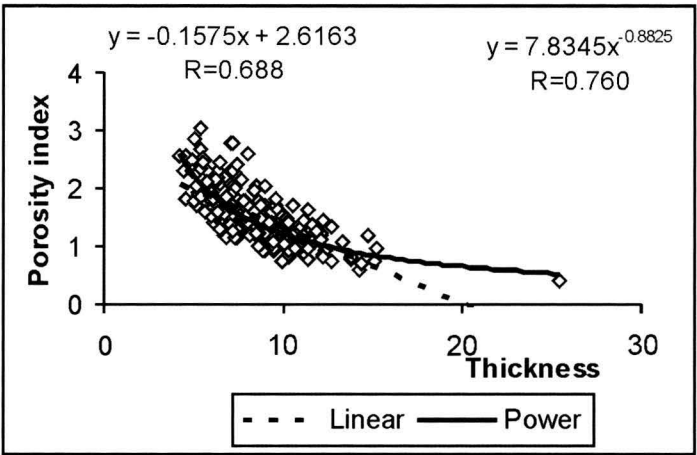


Fig. 7. The relation between porosity index and thickness for ‘Vădastra 1’ pottery from Vădastra

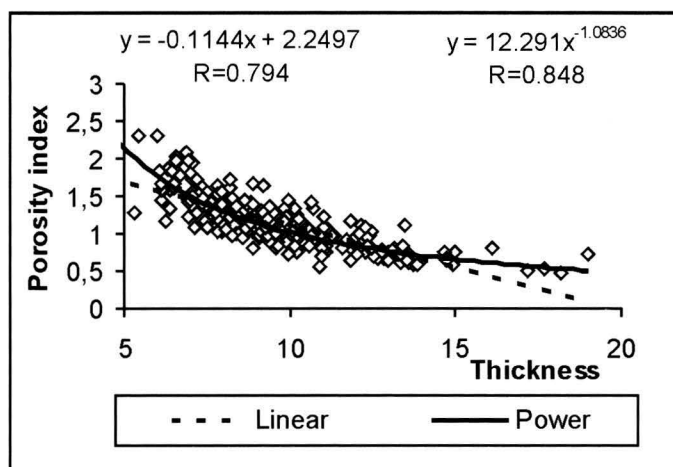


Fig. 8. The relation between porosity index and thickness for 'Vädastra 2' pottery from Vädastra.

Attention should be paid to surface-roughened pottery, modelled during both 'phases' (Fig. 9). In the diagram, the representative locations are spread, the correlation coefficients lower and the tolerance higher than 86 %. This pottery is in most part fired oxidizingly on larger outer thicknesses, proving that the pots were fired on an open firing like that of the fireplaces. That suggests that many pots from this category were used for cooking. It is possible for the higher dispersion of the location in Fig. 9 to come from the secondary firing.

The other pottery categories maintain a tighter relationship between the porosity index and sherd thickness best expressed by a power equation with correlation from 0.556 for 'Vädastra 1' pottery, to 0.848 for 'Vädastra 2' pottery suggesting more care for latter one in adding the vegetal temper. When modelling the bottoms of the pots the relation is even tighter with very high correlation coefficients (0.887-0.920).

In Table 1 (*vide supra*) it can be seen that the diameters of the sherds increase with their thickness. The relation is tighter for 'Vädastra 1' pottery ($R_1 = 0.630$) and looser for surface-roughened pottery ($R_1 = 0.359$). In many cases the correlation coefficients are higher, obtained at parabolic relations, being very close as values to those of linear relations.

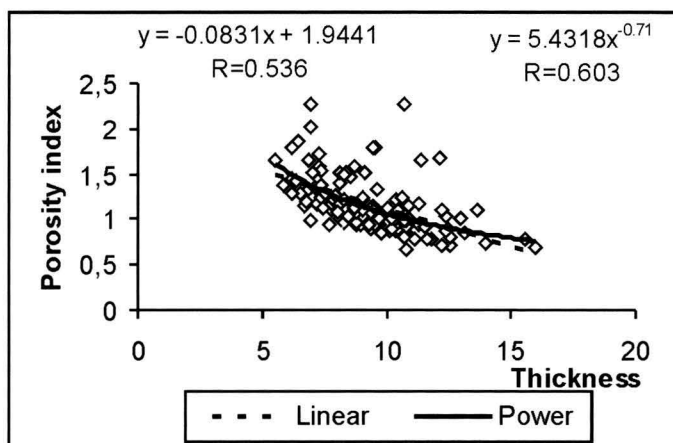


Fig. 9. The relation between porosity index and thickness for surface-roughened pottery from Vädastra.

In Fig. 10 we present the relation between diameter and thickness for 'Vădastra 2' pottery. The dispersion of the location increases with their thickness. For an average diameter of 258 mm the tolerance is 73 % and increases at the same time with the diameter. That increase proves that for the excised pots, the diameter–thickness ratio is lower as the pots are larger.

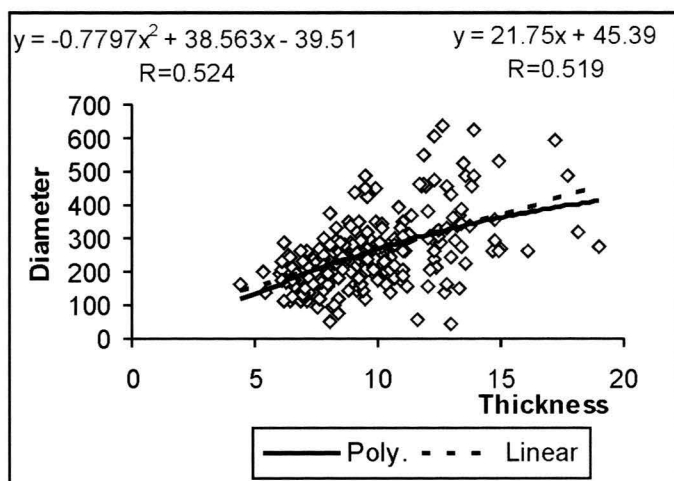


Fig. 10. The relation between diameter and thickness for 'Vădastra 2' pottery from Vădastra.

The IN/EX pots have preserved this pattern approximately (Fig. 11) with tolerances up to 300 %.

In order to assess the even thickness of the walls of the pots the modelling index was assessed as a standard deviation of the individual measurements for the calculation of the sherds thickness⁴⁰. The tightest modelling index–thickness relation is the parabolic one, but this relation is much looser than the porosity index–thickness and diameter–thickness ones (Fig. 12). That proves that the potters were not concerned with modelling pots with walls of the same thickness.

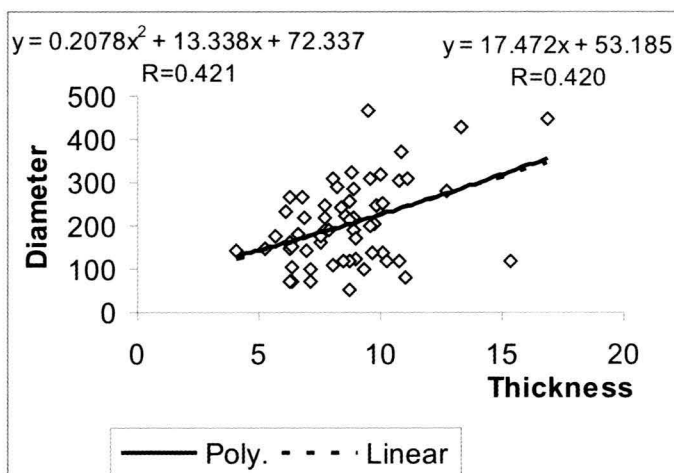


Fig. 11. The relation between diameter and thickness for IN/EX pottery from Vădastra.

⁴⁰ Găță et al. 1997.

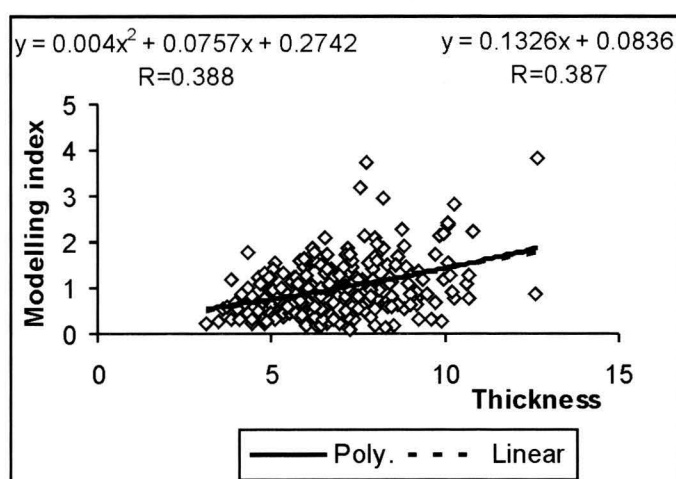


Fig. 12. The influence of the sherd thickness on the modelling index for 'Vādastra 1' pottery from Vādastra.

The fact that the average value of the modelling index is lower in the case of the 'Vādastra 2' pottery suggests that the potters paid more attention to modelling this kind of vessels (Table 3).

Wares	No. of sherds	Modelling index		Minim value	Maxim value
		Average	V.C. %		
Plain burnished pottery	107	0.89	71.5	0.16	3.75
Pottery decorated with vertical channellings	70	1.21	52.6	0.11	3.28
Pottery decorated with oblique channellings	49	1.06	58.5	0.26	3.18
Pottery decorated with circular channellings	23	1.1	32.3	0.47	2.17
Excised pottery	237	0.98	63.3	0.15	4.32
IN/EX pottery	59	0.95	65.2	0.57	4.48
'Vinča style' pottery	75	0.95	86.6	0.14	4.34
Surface-roughened pottery	120	1.07	78.5	0.5	4.57
Surface-roughened pottery decorated with spiral incisions	100	1.04	74	0.23	5.53
Bases: plain burnished and channelled pottery	26	1.41	48.9	0.45	3.28
Bases: excised pottery	30	2.6	70.2	0.27	5.33
Bases: surface-roughened pottery	38	2.19	45.8	0.58	4.49

Table 3. The modelling index of the various pottery groups (V.C. = variation coefficient of the average).

Nevertheless, these averages of the modelling indexes are of the same size order over the entire Vādastra Neolithic with values between 0.89 and 1.21. The variation coefficients have high values from 32.3 % to 86.6 % both at the bottom, and the rest of the pot. The surface-roughened pottery has modelling indexes similar to burnished pottery, confirming that the evenness of the walls thickness was maintained instinctively.

The results of the physical tests carried out help us figure out the working method and sequence of operations for the manufacturing of the pots. In the first place, the potter brought the clay for the pots from the outcrop from which (s)he was accustomed to take

it. If the clay had too many large quartz granules, (s)he used it only for surface-roughened pots. When modelling the bottom of a surface-roughened pot (s)he made it as rounded as possible, by thickening the adjacent portion between the bottom and body of the pot. In the case of the burnished pottery, the interior surface treatment (burnishing) was more rigorous for the plain burnished and channelled pots, and more superficial for the excised pots, which suggests that the excised pots were not used for liquids or food that could have stuck to the rough spots of the inner walls. The bodies of the pots were modelled and evened in a similar manner for the entire Vădastra pottery. After a thorough tempering of the clay with water – with a view to obtaining a consistent paste – they used to flatten the clay ball and add cut vegetal mass as a degreaser. Then, the paste was folded more times, so that as few as possible remains of plants appeared at the surface of the flattened patch. After the modelling and evening of the bottom, the newly tempered flattened patch was laid upon the adjacent margins of the bottom, the wall of the pot was pressed and modelled. The potter bore in mind first of all the proportion of degreasing addition to the clay as related to the thickness of the pots walls. Secondly, the potter used to proportion the thickness of the walls according to their diameter. The potters were not concerned with the evenness of the thickness of the pots walls, that were instinctively manufactured almost of the same thickness after the modelling.

Finishing the pots for firing

The pots were left to dry at the environmental temperature, laid on dry earth or on rugs. In a few cases, on the bottoms of the pots the pattern of the rugs was imprinted (see Fig. 3). After a partial drying, the fine pots were wetted by sprinkling them with a fine diluted suspension, made out of the same clay as the pots, and obtained by the sedimentation of the suspension, and the decantation of the fine part. This way, at the surface of the pots a thin slip formed. Then, the pots were decorated. After being dried out, the pots were again sprinkled a little, and the undecorated surfaces were burnished/polished with smooth polishing stones. More often than not, these stones were of microcrystalline quartz, as proven by their X-ray diffraction diagrams. Then red ochre was applied, especially on the excised pottery⁴¹. Sometimes, on the 'Vădastra 1' pottery red colour was applied also after firing⁴². The white colour is given by the cut limy concretions, that the potters got from the Obârșia stream bed⁴³.

Firing

Once finished and dried out, the pots were fired on open firing, in firing spaces with non-constant temperature, between 400 °C and 550 °C. The firing was incomplete, so that on the outside the pottery mass reached till 600 °C, while on the inside it barely reached 200 °C in the pots with thick walls. These levels of temperature can be recognized by the constant occurrence of the 10 kX diffraction line decomposing towards 680 °C, the presence or lack of the infrared absorption band from 3690 cm⁻¹ of the kaolinite decomposing at 450-500 °C and by the ratio of the intensity of the diffraction lines from 10 kX and 7.15 kX ranging between 100 °C and 450 °C. After firing and cooling, the pots were burnished/polished again, as proven by the lustre, and the orientation of the mica particles at the surface of the sherds. Unlike burnished pottery, many of the surface-roughened pots were fired secondarily unevenly, in oxidizing atmosphere, at temperatures over 550 °C.

⁴¹ During the excavations ochre balls for pottery painting were found.

⁴² Găță, Mateescu 1999-2001.

⁴³ Găță, Mateescu 1987; 1992b.

In the settlement of Vădastra several pottery firing pits were found, all of them in the Vădastra II layer⁴⁴. In the literature they were also called 'simple kilns'⁴⁵. Till now we have found informations about nine firing pits in Mateescu's documentation ('Mateescu Archive' – Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest):

- *1959 excavation season*. Rounded shape firing pit with diameters of 0.56 × 0.51 m. Burning traces have been preserved on the margins (5-6 cm thick). On the bottom of the pit the burnt area has been better preserved in the northern part and is 2-3 cm thick.
- *1960 excavation season*. Rounded shape firing pit with diameters of around 1 m × 0.80 m. Burning traces have been observed on the bottom and the eastern margin of the pit.
- *1961 excavation season*. A large part of a firing pit was destroyed by a Medieval pit-house (pit-house no. II). Burning traces were observed on the bottom of the pit (1-2 cm thick) and on the margins (around 2 cm thick).
- *1962 excavation season/squares 5 and 6*. Two firing pits with rounded shapes were found. One of them has diameters of around 0.69 × 0.70 m and a depth of around 0.23 m, while the other one has diameters of around 0.85 × 0.88 m and a depth of around 0.24 m. The burning traces are between 3 and 8 cm thick.
- *1962 excavation season/square 13*. One firing pit destroyed by the pit from squares 13 and 43. The burning traces are 5-6 cm thick.
- *1962 excavation season/square 44*. Rounded shape firing pit with a diameter of around 0.55 m and a depth of around 0.14 m. The preserved burning traces on the margins are around 3 cm thick. Only scarce burning traces have been preserved on the bottom of the pit.
- *1969 excavation season*. Two firing pits with rounded shapes were found in close proximity. One of them has a diameter of 0.65 × 0.43 m and a depth of around 0.20 m. The burning traces are around 6 cm thick on the north-eastern margin. The other one has a diameter of 0.70 × 0.60 m and a depth of around 0.29 m. On the margins the burning traces are between 3 cm (eastern part) and 6 cm (north-western part) thick, while on the bottom – 3 cm.

At the same time, a pottery firing kiln was uncovered during the 1956 campaign. The pit of the kiln was dug down to 0.70-0.80 m deep, it had an almost round shape and a maximum diameter of 0.75 m. The largest part of the firing chamber walls was destroyed. The coal found prove that the wood was of hard essence: some of it was tested and proved to be from oak-tree (*Quercus sp.*)⁴⁶. Taking into account the fragmentary state of the kiln mentioned above, it is not certain that it was used for pottery firing⁴⁷.

Whatever, the experimental firings at Vădastra have demonstrated the suitability of Vădastra clay both for bonfire firing and for kiln firing⁴⁸.

The potters

According to Mateescu, several Vădastra pottery fragments bear men's fingerprints⁴⁹. Most probably, taking into account the ethnographic examples, in various stages of pot manufacturing – the procurement and processing of clay, the modelling or

⁴⁴ E.g. Mateescu 1970a, p. 58.

⁴⁵ Comşa 1981, p. 228.

⁴⁶ Mateescu 1959a, p. 68-69; Comşa 1976, p. 355.

⁴⁷ See Ellis 1984, p. 130.

⁴⁸ Gibson 2002.

⁴⁹ E.g. Mateescu 1965, p. 260.

decoration of pots, procurement of fuel, the charging of pits/kilns and so on – participated both men and women⁵⁰. Pot manufacturing is a male and female activity at the same time⁵¹.

Conclusions

The Neolithic pottery from Vădastra was modelled out of local clays. Only some pots could be modelled with clays that are not found in the settlement area. The clays from the Obârșia stream bed were preferred, used in over 74 % of the Vădastra pottery, due to their sandy loam texture, the best smectite content, the low carbonate content, with aggregates crushed by the cold weather frost that makes them easy to be modelled. The modelling patterns are first of all the proportionality between the addition of vegetal mass and the pottery mass, according to the thickness of the modelled wall. The temper addition for the modelling of the bottoms of the pots is always lower than the addition for the rest of the pot. Secondly, the proportionality between the diameter and the thickness of the pots walls was maintained. The potters were little concerned with the evenness of the pots walls that they achieved by intuition. At first the bottom of the pot was modelled out of a piece, then the modelling continued by flattened patches, overlapping the walls of the pot already modelled, pressed and remodelled. After the modelling, the pots were dried out, a thin slip was applied, they were burnished wetly and fired on bonfire in a rediving environment, at about 400-550 °C. After the firing, the undecorated portions were burnished/polished again. The thickness of the pots increases with their diameter, but the degreaser addition decreases.

All these observations prove a technological uniformity of the ceramic assemblage found in both Vădastra I and Vădastra II layers.

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The archaeological contexts of the illustrated pottery:

Figure 2. (1) = Analysis no. 1741, Vădastra, 1962 excavation season, square 36, -2.20 m; (2) = Analysis no. 1765, Vădastra, 1966 excavation season, square 6, -1.20 m; (3) = Analysis no. 586, Vădastra, 1963 excavation season, square 22, -0.90 m; (4) = Analysis no. 739, Vădastra, 1971 excavation season, square 1, -1.60/-1.70 m; (5) = Analysis no. 1408, Vădastra, 1973 excavation season, square 4, -1.40 m; (6) = Analysis no. 1200, Vădastra, 1971 excavation season, square 1, -2.00 m; (7) = Analysis no. 2725, Vădastra, 1946 excavation season, bottom of B2.

Figure 3. (1) = Analysis no. 1998, Vădastra, 1962 excavation season, square 45, -0.80/-0.90 m; (2) = Analysis no. 1422, Vădastra, 1963 excavation season, square 8, -1.10 m.

⁵⁰ Wright 1991, p. 198.

⁵¹ Wright 1991, p. 199.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH-PONTIC REGION IN THE IIIrd CENTURY B.C.

One of the main issues that have attracted the specialists' attention over the last two centuries is the one examining not only the causes of Scythia's quick fall, but also the fall of most of the Greek and the indigenous population's rural settlements and the transformation of the entire system of relationships between the Greeks and the Barbarians.

The opinion of M. I. Rostovcev took root until not long ago in the specialty literature. Detaching itself from his predecessors' hypotheses¹ and relying on the accounts of Diodor of Sicily (II, 43, 7), he considered that the Sarmatians were responsible to the largest extent for the decline and fall of Scythia, as they crossed the Don river and entered Scythia at the end of the IVth century B.C. or the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C.²

There are presently four viewpoints in contemporary historiography that explain the causes of the events in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C. The first opinion blames this phenomenon, at least for the north-western part of the Black Sea, on the incursions of the Celts-Galatians³. According to the second viewpoint, the causes must not be searched for in the political-military sphere, but in the rapid change of natural and climate

¹ In connection with these opinions, see S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii k Sarmatii*, Kiev 1992, p. 7-32.

² M. I. Rostovcev, *Amaga i Tirgatao*, ZOOID, 1915, p. 60 sqq.; idem, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na juge Rossij*, Petrograd 1918, p. 43, 127 sq.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, p. 85, 139; M. Rostowzew, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, Berlin 1931, p. 405, 605. The hypotheses of his predecessors (V. N. Tatiščev, N. M. Karamzin, P. I. Šafarik, I. E. Zabelin, V. V. Latyšev etc.) and his ideas, further developed by his followers (Ju. V. Got'e, B. N. Grakov, D. A. Mačinskij, P. O. Karyškovskij, A. N. Šeglov, K. F. Smirnov, V. I. Kostenko, V. E. Maximenko) are exposed by S. V. Polin (S. V. Polin, op. cit., p. 7-32). Among the latest works published, see K. K. Marčenko, *Tretij period stabilizacii v Severnom Pričernomor'e antičnoj epohi*, SA 1, 1996, p. 70-80; Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, *Sarmaty i gibel' "Velikoj Skifii"*, VDI 3, 1997, p. 93-103; Ju. G. Vinogradov, *Hersonesskij dekrat o "Nesenie Dionisa" IOSPE 1² 343 i vtorženie sarmatov v Skifiju*, VDI 3, 1997, p. 104-124; V. E. Maximenko, *Sarmaty na Donu (arheologija i problemy etničeskoj istorii)* (= Donskie drevnosti, 6), Azov 1998, p. 74 sqq.

³ V. V. Ruban, *Problemy istoričeskogo razvitija ol'vijskoj hory IV-III vv. do n. e.*, VDI 1, 1985, p. 43-44; idem, *Osnovnye etapy prostranstvennogo razvitija Ol'vijskoj polisa (dogetscoe vremja)*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoi stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Kiev 1989, p. 19; V. P. Jajlenko, *Ol'vija i Bospor v ellinističeskuju epohu*, Ellinizm: ekonomika, politika, kul'tura, Moskva 1990, p. 274 sq. The internal problems of the population living in the steppes between the Danube and the Dnepr are explained through the Celto-Galatians' unfriendly actions by I. Brujako (I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele din sec. III a. Chr. în nord-vestul Mării Negre (patru concepții despre criză)*, Istros, 1997, p. 71-73, 77; idem, *Ot dioramy k panorame (O perspektivah na puti rešenija problemy severopontijskogo krizisa III v. do r. H.)*, Stratum 3, 1999, p. 325-332). Furthermore, Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 94, 102 do not reject the possibility of the Celts' involvement in the events that occurred in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C. in the lower Bug and Dnepr area. The supporters of this opinion consider the Celts to have invaded the Balkans after the death of Lysimachos and constituted the Celtic kingdom in the eastern part of the peninsula (Polybios IV, 45-46; VIII, 22), having its capital in the not-yet-identified city of Tylis (cf. for this kingdom A. Popescu, *Raporturile dintre regatul celtic de la Tylis coloniile grecești de pe țărmul apusean al Mării Negre*, AUB, Științe Sociale series (History) 5, 1956, p. 25-44; G. Mihailov, *La Thrace aux IV^e-III^e siècles avant notre ère*, Athenaeum 39, 1961, p. 33-44; P. O. Karyškovskij, *Istrija i eo sosedi na rubeže III-II vv. do n. e.*, VDI 2, 1971, p. 36-56; M. Domaradski, *L'état des Celtes en Thrace avec la capitale Tylis et en Asie Mineure – Galatie*, Pulpudeva 3, 1980, p. 52-56). The spread and boundaries of this kingdom are still incompletely known at present.

conditions, that forced the Scythians to leave the territories on which they had lived previously and also triggered the extinction of the Greek towns' rural settlements⁴. N. A. Gavriljuk also adds to this factor the economic crisis followed by other negative events, including the one having political features⁵. The defenders of the third opinion search for the explanations of this phenomenon in the economic sphere, which hardly has any followers today, although it used to be accepted for a while. At the bottom of it lays the economic crisis in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C.; more specifically, the situation of the wheat market in the Mediterranean basin which, according to the defenders of this idea, had negative effects on the economy of the Greek north-pontic cities and, first and foremost, on the agrarian base represented by rural settlements⁶. Finally, the last and the most popular opinion blames the destruction of Big Scythia and the decay of the Greek cities and their rural area on the penetration of the Sarmatians into the territories to the west of the Don river⁷.

The main weakness of the first opinion resides in the fact that it resorts to a local approach in order to explain the processes that spread to the entire north-pontic territory, and not only to the Dnestr and lower Bug areas. Moreover, we have reasons to believe that not only the manifestations and the concrete directions of the destabilization factors' action, but also their chronology are identical in the different corners of the huge space between the Dnestr and the Don. Thus, the extinction of the fortified and non-fortified settlements of the Greeks and Barbarians in the Don delta, the north-western part of Crimea, lower Dnepr and the vicinity of Olbia in the second quarter – the middle IIIrd century B.C.⁸ gives the impression of a massive military action, which, taking into

⁴ S. V. Polin, *Pro sarmats'ke zavojuvannja Pivničnogo Pryčernomor'ja*, Arheologija (Kiev) 45, 1984, p. 28-31; idem, *Ot Skifi...* (n. 1), p. 102 sqq., 122; M. M. Ievlev, *Roľ prirodnoho faktora v proniknovenii sarmatov na territoriju severopričernomorskih stepej*, Problemy arheologii Severnogo Pričernomor'ja, Tezisy dokladov arheologičeskoj konferencii, II, Herson 1990, p. 131-132; S. D. Kryžickij, S. B. Bujskij, A. V. Burakov, V. M. Otreško, *Sel'skaja okrug Ol'vii*, Kiev 1989, p. 96; A. Ju. Alexeev, *Skifskaja hronika*. Skify v VII-IV v. do n. e. Istoriko-arheologičeskij očerk, Sankt-Peterburg 1992, p. 141, 142.

⁵ N. A. Gavriljuk, *Domašnee proizvodstvo i byt stepnyh skifov*, Kiev 1989, p. 93.

⁶ S. A. Žebelev, *Severnoe Pričernomor'e*, Moskva-Leningrad 1953, p. 84-85, 147-148; V. F. Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe carstvo*, Moskva-Leningrad 1949, p. 76-78; D. P. Kallistov, *Severnoe Pričernomor'e v antičnuju epohu*, Moskva 1952, p. 135-137; V. D. Blavatskij, *Zemledel'e v antičnyh gosudarstvah Severnogo Pričernomor'ja*, Moskva 1953, p. 10; idem, *Pantikapej*. Očerki istorii stolicy Bospora, Moskva 1964, p. 101-104; I. G. Šugraja, *Voprosy bosporsko-egipetskoj konkurencii v hleboj torgovle Vostočnogo Sredizemnomor'ja ranneellinističeskoj epohi*, KSIA 138, 1973, p. 51-59; I. B. Brašinskij, *Černomorskaja torgovlja v epohu ellinizma*, Pričernomor'e v epohu ellinizma, Tbilisi 1985, p. 199-206; S. Ju. Saprykin, *Gerakleja Pontijskaja i Hersones Tavričeskij*, Moskva 1986, p. 163-164; I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 75-77 does not exclude this idea from the causes that set off the crisis in the north-pontic area.

⁷ M. I. Rostovcev, *Amaga...* (n. 2), p. 60 sqq; idem, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo...* (n. 2), p. 43, 127 sq.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks...* (n. 2), p. 85, 139; M. Rostowzew, *Skythien...* (n. 2), p. 405, 605; D. A. Mačinskij, *O vremeni pervogo aktivnogo vystuplenija sarmatov v Podneprov'e po svidetel'stvam antičnyh pismennyh istočnikov*, ASGE 13, 1971, p. 30-54; A. N. Šeglov, *Severo-zapadnyj Krym v antičnuju epohu*, Leningrad 1978; K. F. Smirnov, *O načale proniknovenija sarmatov v Skifiju*, MIA, 177, 1971, p. 191-196; idem, *Sarmaty i utverždenie ih političeskogo gosudarstva v Skifii*, Moskva 1984; V. N. Kostenko, *Sarmatskie pamjatniki Dnepro-Don'skogo mezhdurečja III v. do n. e. – serediny III v. n. e.*, Dnepropetrovsk 1983; V. E. Maximenko, *Savromaty i sarmaty na Nižnem Donu*, Rostov, 1983, p. 18, 43-49, 116-129; idem, *Sarmaty...* (n. 2), p. 74-81. Among more recent works that support this idea, see K. K. Marčenko, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 70-80; Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 93-103; Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 104-124.

⁸ A. N. Šeglov, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 128; idem, *O greko-varvarskih vzaimodejstvijah na periferii ellinističeskogo mira*, Pričernomor'e v epohu ellinizma, Tbilisi 1985, p. 192; Ja. V. Domanskij, K. K. Marčenko, *Poselenie Ol'vijskoj hory Kozyrka II*, ASGE 21, 1980, p. 38; V. V. Ruban, *Problemy...* (n. 3), p. 43; Arheologija Ukrainskoj SSR, II, Kiev 1986, p. 323; S. D. Kryžickij, S. B. Bujskij, A. V. Burakov, V. M. Otreško, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 100; A. A. Maslennikov, *Krymskoe Prazov'e v antičnuju epohu*, Problemy antičnoj kul'tury. Tezisy dokladov Krymskoj konferencii, Simferopol' 1988, p. 207; K. K. Marčenko, *Bosporskie poselenija na territorii Elizavetovskogo gorodišča na Donu*, VDI 1, 1990, p. 137; idem, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 71; S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifi...* (n. 1), p. 41, 44, 45, 66-69, 101.

account the immensity of the space, cannot be attributed to the Celts or Germanic populations in the Balkan-Carpathian-Danubian basin⁹. Besides, the destruction of Big Scythia and of the agrarian basis of the north-pontic Greek cities by the Celts cannot be sustained solely on the basis of the Protogenes decree, which mentions preparations for an incursion against Olbia made by the Galatians which, as we shall see, are not Celts, and who made an alliance with the Scirians¹⁰. Last but not least, we must mention the fact that the Celts' rule seems never to have been extended over the Haemus Mountains, to the north¹¹. Moreover, if the instauration of the kingdom of Tylis and the disturbances it caused in the south of Thracia only affected Dobrudja and the Greek cities here¹², then the north-west and north-pontic region was even less affected.

As for the second theory, which blames the worsening of the relations between the Greeks and the Barbarians in the north-pontic region on the changes in natural and climate conditions, there are even more flaws in it than in the others¹³. Judging by the data provided by researchers in this field, there have been minor changes in the climate in the Hellenistic period, but the moment when this process began is not very clear¹⁴. Moreover, we must make the precision that, however we might date the beginning of the global and climate change, we must take into account the fact that these changes went on for a long time (several centuries) until reaching their climax. On the other hand, archeological data indicate a sudden termination in the existence of most of the Greeks and Barbarians' rural settlements in this region. Another equally interesting fact indicates that on the eve of this phenomenon, in the first quarter of the IIIrd century B.C., the living standard and economic activity in all of the Greek and barbarian settlements in the territories between the Don and the Dneestr reached their highest standard¹⁵. This state of facts made several researchers reject this opinion, which is in contradiction with the data mentioned above¹⁶.

In what regards the economic viewpoint, whose defenders explain the decay of agriculture and the extinction of the Greek cities' rural settlements by the strong

⁹ Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 105-106; M. Domaradski believes, not without a reason, that the existence in the IIIrd century B.C. of Thracian kings, powerful from a military and political viewpoint, excludes the possibility of the foundation of a Celtic kingdom that could have subordinated the entire eastern Thracia. The same author considers that the role of the Galatians was limited to an episodic control and to incursions made for the plundering of Greek cities and the neighboring small Thracian kingdoms (M. Domaradski, *Keltite na Balkanskija poluostrvo*, Sofija 1984, p. 83, 88).

¹⁰ However, even though there is no certain data, we cannot exclude the Celts' involvement in the fall of the rural settlements of the Greek cities of Tyras and Olbia, nor in the fall of Nikonion, no later than the second half of the IIIrd century B.C. (S. D. Kryžickij, S. B. Bujskih, A. V. Burakov, V. M. Otreško, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 100; I. V. Brujako, S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii k Sarmatii*, Kiev, 1992, 202 s., 22 ris., RA 1, 1995, p. 235-236; idem, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 64, 71-73, 77). The construction activity on the fortification system of the city of Tyras in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C. is blamed by I. Brujako on the Celtic danger (I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 73).

¹¹ G. Mihailov, *La Thrace aux IV^e-III^e siècles avant notre ère*, Athenaeum 39, 1961, p. 40; S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 29.

¹² Cf. L. Ruscu, *Relațiile externe ale orașelor grecești de pe litoralul românesc al Mării Negre*, Cluj-Napoca 2002, p. 311-315. The same conclusion had been reached initially by S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 29 sqq.

¹³ Very solid arguments against this idea were brought by I. Brujako (I. V. Brujako, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 236; idem, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 73-75; idem, *Ot Skifii k Sarmatii bez prirodnih katastrof*, RA 4, 1997, p. 215-218).

¹⁴ I. E. Bučinskij, *Klimat Ukrainy v prošlom, nastojaščem i buduščem*, Kiev 1963, p. 59.

¹⁵ Cf. Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 94, for the situation of the settlements in the chora Olbia see S. D. Kryžickij, S. B. Bujskih, A. V. Burakov, V. M. Otreško, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 100.

¹⁶ Cf. in this sense Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 94; Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 106-107; I. V. Brujako, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 236; idem, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 73-75, 77; idem, *Ot Skifii k Sarmatii...* (n. 13), p. 215-218.

competition represented by the cheaper wheat brought from Egypt on the markets in the Mediterranean and Circumpontic basin, we must say that this theory has its weak points, as well. Thus, until now, just like Ju. G. Vinogradov noted¹⁷, the defenders of this theory have brought no proof for the idea of a well-coordinated or competitionist protectionist economic policy applied. As the same author justly remarked, there are no data to prove that Pontic wheat was more expensive than the Egyptian one. On the contrary, up to now nobody has rejected M. I. Rostovcev's thesis, based on the information from several epigraphic sources, according to which in the Hellenistic period the demand exceeded the offer on the wheat market¹⁸. However, the given opinion stands on a couple of solid arguments that have been exposed not only in older works, but also in a more recent study¹⁹, which makes certain aspects of it be taken into account.

As for the fourth theory, which blames the Sarmatians for the destruction of Scythia, it is supported by a large number of researchers²⁰, who rely to a great extent on information from written sources. A novelty in this approach is the establishment by Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko and E. Ja. Rogov of two successive Sarmatian attacks in the north-pontic territories to the west of the Don river²¹. According to this, the first Sarmatian attack took place right at the boundary between the IVth-IIIrd centuries B.C. or at the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C. and was aimed exclusively against the Scythians²². After this blow against the Scythians, there was a quiet period that lasted about 30 years. The second attack of the Sarmatians occurred between the '70s-'60s of the IIIrd century B.C. and was directed against the sedentary population to the north of the Black Sea. The authors believe that most of the Greek and barbarian settlements ceased to exist precisely as a consequence of this attack not only in the lower Don, Dnepr, Bug, and lower Dnestr area and north-western Crimea²³, but also in the European part of Bospor. The same authors explain the lack of material traces belonging to the Sarmatians in the north-pontic area to the west from the Don river by the fact that they ran their devastating blows from the steppes between the Don and the Volga or the Kuban region²⁴.

The arguments of those who criticize this opinion, whose main representatives are S. V. Polin and A. V. Simonenko can be brought down to three theses. The first refers to the events accounted for by Diodor of Sicily (II, 43, 7), which, in their opinion,

¹⁷ Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 107.

¹⁸ Cf., in this sense, Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 107 and all the bibliography.

¹⁹ I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 75-77 considers this factor as being parallel and independent from the Sarmatic and Celtic one.

²⁰ M. I. Rostovcev, *Amaga...* (n. 2), p. 60 sqq.; idem, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo...* (n. 2), p. 43, 127 sq.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks...* (n. 2), p. 85, 139; M. Rostowzew, *Skythien...* (n. 2), p. 405, 605; D. A. Mačinskij, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 30-54; A. N. Šeglov, op. cit. (n. 7); K. F. Smirnov, *O načale...* (n. 7), p. 191-196; idem, *Sarmaty i utverđenje...* (n. 7); V. N. Kostenko, op. cit. (n. 7); V. E. Maximenko, *Savromaty i sarmaty...* (n. 7), p. 18, 43-49, 116-129; idem, *Sarmaty...* (n. 2), p. 74-81. among more recent works, see K. K. Marčenko, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 70-80; Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 93-103; Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 104-124.

²¹ Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 98-101.

²² I. V. Brujako, *Ot dioramy k panorame...* (n. 3), p. 328 considers that the Sarmatic attack was not directed against the nomadic Scythians that were constantly moving, but against the settlements in which most of Scythia's economic and thrift potential was concentrated.

²³ Towards the middle IIIrd century B.C. life ceases to exist in virtually all ancient settlements in the lower Dnestr area (I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 64).

²⁴ Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 101; Ju. G. Vinogradov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 122-123; V. M. Klepikov, A. S. Skripkin, *Rannie sarmaty v kontexte istoričeskikh sobytij Vostočnoj Evropy*, *Donskie drevnosti* 5, 1997, p. 38 considers that in the IIIrd century B.C., the Sarmatians were responsible for the devastating incursions in the north-pontic territory to the west of the Don, in the steppes between the Don and the Volga.

cannot be dated with great accuracy and therefore are not truthful²⁵, and the second is based on the fact that in the last third of the IVth century B.C. the construction of Scythian "royal" tumuli and the tumuli built by the common people are dated from the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C.²⁶, at the latest. The third is based on the fact that the earliest Sarmatian vestiges in the north-pontic territory west from the Don river are from the IInd century A.D.²⁷, which also comes from the analysis of early Sarmatian discoveries in the north-pontic area²⁸.

We have to state, as a digression, that the archeological material inside Scythian settlements indicates the fact that most of them cease to exist in the time frame comprised between the first third and the middle IIIrd century B.C.²⁹. This inaccuracy related to the extinction of these settlements is due first of all to the fact that the archeological material found in the last inhabitation level is dated broadly, which hinders the exact establishment of their extinction. However, we can generally state that in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C. the great north-pontic Scythia ceased to exist on most of its territory³⁰.

As for the Sarmatians, we must state that archeological data allow us to conclude firmly that in the second half of the IVth century B.C. they began to penetrate and settle down in the vicinity of the territories inhabited by the Scythians. This fact is also confirmed by the finding, in the steppe areas to the east of the Don, the Kuban region and north-Caucasian territories, of funerary complexes belonging to the new nomads that

²⁵ Cf. S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 96-98; S. V. Polin, A. V. Simonenko, *Skifija i sarmaty*, Donskie drevnosti 5, 1997, p. 93; A. V. Simonenko, *Sarmaty Tavrii*, Kiev 1993, p. 104; idem, *Rann'osarmatskyj period u pivničnomu Pryčornomor'i*, *Arheologija* (Kiev) 1, 1994, p. 33-34; idem, *The Problem of the Sarmatian Penetration in the North Pontic Area According to Archaeological Data*, *Il Mar Nero I*, București 1994, p. 102-103; idem, *Sarmaty Pivničnogo Pryčornomor'ja. Hronologija, periodyzacija ta etno-polityčna istorija*, *Avtoreferat dysertacii na zdobuttja stupenja doktora istoričnyh nauk*, Kiev 1999, p. 23.

²⁶ S. V. Polin, *Pro sarmats'ke...* (n. 4), p. 24 sqq.; idem, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 33-50, 101-123 with all the bibliography; for the dating of the last Scythian tumuli, see A. Ju. Alexeev, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 157-164. None of the thousands Scythian tumuli in the north-pontic territory that have been researched along the years is dated later than the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C., and the earliest tombs in late Scythian necropolises are dated no earlier than the middle IInd century B.C.

²⁷ Cf. S. V. Polin, A. V. Simonenko, *Rannesarmatskie pogrebenija Severnogo Pričernomor'ja*, *Issledovanija po arheologii Podneprov'ja*, Dnepropetrovsk 1990, p. 76-95; S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1); A. V. Simonenko, *Roxolany (posuk arheologičnyh vidpovidnostej)*, *Arheologija* (Kiev) 4, 1991, p. 17-28; idem, *Sarmaty...* (n. 25), p. 7-29, 104-112; idem, *Rann'osarmatskyj period...* (n. 25), p. 32-48; idem, *The Problem of the Sarmatian...* (n. 25), p. 99-134; idem, *Sarmaty Pivničnogo...* (n. 25), p. 7-9, 21-25.

²⁸ After having analyzed the situation of the north-west pontic region in the IIIrd century B.C., I. V. Brujako reached the conclusion that the situation of the Hellenistic and barbarian population in this region is not connected to the Sarmatic danger (I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 71, 77; idem, *Ot dioramy k panorame...* (n. 3), p. 325-332.). The same author considers that the Sarmatic factor must be analyzed from a territorial and chronological viewpoint, together with the examination of other possible causes that led to the extinction of Scythia (I. V. Brujako, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 235). A compromise variant is suggested by the works of Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko and E. Ja. Rogov. It consists in the fact that both the Celts and the Sarmatians were involved in the extinction of Scythia, at the same time (Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 102). This compromise variant was proposed and supported, independently from the above-mentioned authors, by I. V. Brujako as well, who also considers that the economic factor also contributed to the ending of Scythia's existence (I. Brujako, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 77).

²⁹ Cf. S. V. Polin, *Pro sarmats'ke...* (n. 4), p. 24-34, idem, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 101 sqq. In the second quarter – the middle IIIrd century B.C., many of the settlements situated at the foot of the Mountains in Crimea ended their existence (A. E. Puzdrovskij, *Očerki etnosocial'noj istorii Krymskoj Skifii vo II v. dc n. e. – III v. n. e.*, *VDI* 4, 1999, p. 100).

³⁰ In connection with Scythian vestiges in the IIIrd century B.C. in the north-pontic region, see S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 33-72; I. V. Brujako, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 235-236.

have come from the East³¹. We must note that the Sarmatians' penetration and settling in these territories destabilized the political-military situation in the Kuban region and the north of the Caucasus, which resulted in the construction of fortification systems inside the indigenous population's settlements, and in some cases in the extinction of these dwellings³².

A similar situation was produced in the second part of the IVth century B.C. at Scythia's eastern border, as well. The conclusive proof is the building of supplementary defensive systems in the fortified settlement of Elizavetovsk, on the Don river³³. Equally relevant is the fact that a displacement of Scythian "royal" tumuli to the west was noticed in that respective period, which indicates the limitation of the territory very well-controlled by the Scythians³⁴.

Thus, taking into account the above-exposed situation in the entire north-pontic region, and also all the pieces of information and the opinions existing at present, we consider that they allow us to believe that at the frontier of the IVth-IIIrd century B.C. or at the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C., judging by all the existing data, the Sarmatians crossed the Don river and invaded a part of Scythia. An indicator of these events is the fortified settlement of Elizavetovsk, whose population leaves the premises without the slightest resistance³⁵. It is probably at that moment that a series of settlements around it cease their existence, as well.³⁶

³¹ Cf. in this sense Ju. M. Desjatčikov, *Process sarmatizacii Bospora*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Moskva 1974, p. 6-7; A. M. Ždanovskij, I. I. Marčenko, *Sarmaty v Prikuban'e*, Problemy sarmatskoj arheologii i istorii, Azov 1988, p. 42-43; I. I. Marčenko, *Sarmaty stepej pravoberež'ja Nižnej Kubani vo vtoroj polovine IV v. do n. e. – III v. n. e. (Po materialam kurgannyh nekropolej)*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Leningrad 1988, p. 7-8; idem, Siraki Kubani (po materialam kurgannyh pogrebenij Nižnej Kubani), Krasnodar 1996.; M. P. Abramova, *Central'noe Predkavkaz'e v sarmatskoe vremja (III v. do n. e. – IV v. n. e.)*, Moskva 1993; V. E. Maximenko, *Savromaty i sarmaty...* (n. 7); idem, *Sarmaty...* (n. 2); A. S. Skripkin, *Aziatskaja Sarmatija. Problemy hronologii i ee istoričeskij aspekt*, Saratov 1990; I. V. Sergackov, *O vremeni zaselenija Sarmatii severnoj časti Volgo-Donskogo meždureč'ja*, SA 1, 1992, p. 162-174; V. M. Klepikov, A. S. Skripkin, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 28-40.

³² Cf. V. B. Vinogradov, *Sirakskij sojuz plemen na Severnom Kavkaze*, SA 1, 1965, p. 112; A. M. Ždanovskij, I. I. Marčenko, op. cit. (n. 31), p. 47-48; I. I. Marčenko, *Sarmaty stepej...* (n. 31), p. 13; idem, *Siraki...* (n. 31), p. 116 sqq.

³³ Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 98.

³⁴ A. Ju. Alexeev, *Hronologija Skifii vtoroj poloviny IV v. do n. e.*, ASGE 28, 1987, p. 39. It is considered that the pressure from the Sarmatians at the east from Scythia stimulated the rapprochement between the Greeks and the Scythians (Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 98). A proof of this is represented by the written sources that attest the rapprochement and collaboration between Scythian aristocracy and the Greek cities to the north of the Black Sea. The account of Diodor of Sicily (XX, 22) is relevant in this respect, as he writes about the battle for the throne of Bospor in 310/309 B.C., in which the Scythians supported Satir, the elder son of Parysades, the legal heir to the throne, and the Sarmatians (Siraces) supported Eumelos, who went to fight against his brothers (Cf. Ju. M. Desjatčikov, *Process sarmatizacii Bospora*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Moskva 1974, p. 7-8, idem, *Arifarn, cari sirakov*, Istoriya i kul'tura antičnogo mira, Moskva 1977, p. 45-48; Ju. A. Vinogradov, *Osobenosti greko-varvarskih vzaimootnošenij na Bospore v VI-III vv. do n. e.*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Leningrad 1990, p. 14; I. I. Marčenko, *Siraki...* (n. 31), p. 113 sqq.; Ju. A. Vinogradov, K. K. Marčenko, E. Ja. Rogov, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 98). Last but not least, it must be mentioned that it is considered that Eumelos' enthronement in Bospor with the help of the Sarmatians was a turning point for the relations between the Greeks and the Barbarians to the north of the Black Sea, and that from that point on, the Sarmatians would be the main ally of the Bosporan kingdom (Ju. M. Desjatčikov, *Process sarmatizacii...*, p. 11 sq.; Ju. A. Vinogradov, op. cit., p. 14).

³⁵ I. B. Brašinskij, K. K. Marčenko, *Stroitel'nye komplekxy Elizavetovskogo gorodišča na Donu*, SA 2, 1978, p. 221.

³⁶ V. P. Kopylov, *O vremeni prekraščenija suščestvovaniya varvarskogo torgovogo centra v del'te Dona v svete Bosporsko-skifskih otnošenij konca IV - nač. III vv. do n. e.*, Antičnaja civilizacija i varvarskij mir v Podon'e i Priazov'e, Novočerkassk 1987, p. 14-15; S. V. Polin, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 67.

Other pieces of evidence of the devastating incursions made by the Sarmatians in the steppe and silvosteppe to the west of the Don are the fortified settlements in the silvosteppe that ceased to exist as a consequence of violent attacks to which they were subject at the end of the IVth-IIIrd century B.C. and the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C.³⁷. Thus, the central part of the fortified settlement in Semiluksk was transformed into a real ossuary that contained no less than 70 human skeletons (45 complete and 25 damaged). The people that died in Semiluksk were buried in the holes of the abandoned homes and in those existing in the households. Most of the burials were collective and the skeletons were put inside in different positions. As for the orientation of the deceased, it stretched over all the 360 degrees. Moreover, it was noted that many of the burials were done in haste. In many cases, the deceased were merely thrown into the hole. A proof of this is the fact that in many cases, the skeletons were thrown inside, one on top of the other, crossing the others. Without stopping to examine too many details, it is worth mentioning that a bronze arrowhead was found inside the body of a deceased in one of the tombs. Another fact that draws attention is that many weapons were discovered outside these "funerary complexes", and the research carried out lately identified traces of burn on the wooden part of the fortification³⁸. All of this allows us to state that we are dealing with a massacre, the deceased having probably been buried by the winners.

An almost similar situation was discovered in the fortified settlement of Kolomaksk. As a consequence of archeological research, it was discovered that at the frontier of the IVth-IIIrd century B.C., the site was subject to a blazing devastation. The skeletons of at least 50 of the settlement's inhabitants were discovered here, found in the position in which death had fallen upon them. They were not even buried. The skeletons of the dead were often discovered in the households destroyed by fire set upon them. Moreover, the bronze and iron arrowheads that had killed these people were found inside many of the skeletons³⁹. Traces of destruction have been recently discovered in the fortified settlements of Knyševsk and Pekševsk, as well⁴⁰.

Judging by the character of the destruction, all of these fortified settlements must be examined together with those situated to the north-east of the Azov Sea, the east and north-east of Crimea and other regions to the north of the Black Sea, where multiple pieces of evidence have been found recently, to prove the destruction of many settlements and also the violent death of a part of their population right between the IVth century B.C. and the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C.⁴¹. Finally, we must make the precision that a series of pieces have been recently found in the middle Don area, and partially reflect the devastating invasions of some groups of Sauromatae-Sarmatians to the east of the Don⁴². Practically, as we very well know, the construction of Scythian tumuli ceased at the same time in the steppes to the north of the Black Sea. For the IIIrd century – the beginning of the IInd century B.C., the number of funerary complexes is practically inexistent in the steppe and silvosteppe areas⁴³, and the population was substantially reduced and concentrated itself in the Don area and that of the lower Dnepr, Crimea and lower Danube regions⁴⁴.

³⁷ A. P. Medvedev, *Novye materialy o finale lesostepnoj Skifii*, *Donskie drevnosti* 5, 1997, p. 50-66.

³⁸ Idem, op. cit., p. 50-58 with all the bibliography.

³⁹ Idem, op. cit., p. 58 with all the bibliography.

⁴⁰ Idem, op. cit., p. 58-59.

⁴¹ Cf. A. N. Šeglov, *O greko-varvarskih...* (n. 8), p. 192; K. K. Marčenko, V. G. Žitnikov, E. V. Jakovenko, *Elizavetovskoe gorodišče – greko-varvarskoe toržišče v del'te Dona*, SA 3, 1988, p. 71; A. A. Maslennikov, *Skifija i Bospor v III-I vv. do n. e.*, Skifija i Bospor. Arheologičeskie materialy k konferencii pamjati akademika M. I. Rostovceva, Novočerkassk 1993, p. 60-61.

⁴² Cf. A. P. Medvedev, op. cit. (n. 37), p. 60-61.

⁴³ Cf. S. V. Polin, *Pro sarmats'ke...* (n. 4), p. 24-34, idem, *Ot Skifii...* (n. 1), p. 33-72.

⁴⁴ Idem, op. cit., p. 34.

Taking all of these into account, we believe that the above-presented data do not allow us to accept, together with other researchers⁴⁵, the opinion according to which Scythia ended its existence as a consequence of natural and ecological cataclysms.

Coming back to our initial point, we believe that the Sarmatian invasion that took place sometime between the IVth-IIIrd century B.C. or at the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C. was followed all through the IIIrd century B.C. by many others, of a greater or lesser intensity. Some of the Greeks and Barbarians' economic sites in the Don and lower Dnepr areas, the European part of Bospor, or the lower Bug region probably ended their existence after one of these incursions⁴⁶. One of the clearest proofs of this possible evolution of events is represented by the Olbian decree in the honor of Protogenes. It is from this particular source that we find out about the Sarmatian king of the Sai, Saitafarn, who forced the people from Olbia to pay a tribute to him, threatening them that otherwise, he would attack the city⁴⁷.

All these pieces of information makes us stop and ponder once again upon the account made by Diodor of Sicily who states, in a fragment of his work *Historical Library*, that many years after they had been brought from Media and had settled down to the east of Tanais, the Sauromatae became much stronger, devastated a large part of Scythia and exterminated the defeated population without exceptions, ravaging most of the country and turning it into a desolate waste land⁴⁸. Modern researchers appreciate differently the degree of truthfulness of this fragment. The most radical appreciation has been recently exposed in S. V. Polin's book, where he made extensive efforts to demonstrate the legendary and mythological character of this episode and moreover, that this fragment should be seen as an episode from the history of archaic Scythia⁴⁹.

It is well-known that Diodor was a very good compiler who had trustworthy sources at his disposal, although often have they been superficially verified. His information is worth taking into consideration, because many of the sources he had used are now lost. Moreover, he introduced in his work fragments from the works of his predecessors, in an exact chronology. As compared to Herodotus and other historians, Diodor of Sicily made no comments and appreciations; therefore he did not introduce knowledge from his own historical period in an earlier source. It is important for us that he knew the history of the region very well and especially the history of Bospor at the end of the IVth century B.C.⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ I. V. Brujako, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 236; idem, *Despre evenimentele...* (n. 3), p. 73-75, 77; idem, *Ot Skifii k Sarmatii...* (n. 13), p. 215-218.

⁴⁶ Although in the lower Bug area the traces of destruction were accounted for in several settlements, we cannot speak about a total destruction (Cf. I. A. Snytko, *K voprosu o pričinah prekraščeniia žizni na hore Ol'vii vo vtoroj polovine III v. do n. e.*, Nikonii i antičnyj mir Severnogo Pričernomor'ja, Odessa 1997, p. 245). There are not many traces of destruction in the settlements in the lower Dnepr areas that were abandoned by their inhabitants in the first third of the IIIrd century B.C., either (V. P. Bylkova, *O hronologii poselenii Nižnego Podneprov'ja*, Nikonii i antičnyj mir Severnogo Pričernomor'ja, Odessa 1997, p. 186-192). In the fortified settlement in Kamensk, which is considered (not by everybody, though) the political-administrative center of Scythia and which would have to be subject to destruction, first and foremost, there are no traces of a violent extinction. It is most likely that most of the settlements were abandoned beforehand, as a consequence of threats, and only a few of them had an abrupt extinction, following devastating attacks to which they were subject.

⁴⁷ IOSPE I², 32A, 11, 34, 42-45, 84-92. See K. F. Smirnov, *Sarmaty i utverždenie...* (n. 7), p. 67 sqq.; Ju. G. Vinogradov, *Političeskaja istorija Ol'viiskogo polisa VII-I vv. do n. e. (istoriko-epigrafičeskie issledovanija)*, Moskva 1989, p. 181-184; A. V. Simonenko, B. I. Lobaj, *Sarmaty Severo-Zapodnogo Pričernomor'ja v I v. n. e. (pogrebenie znati u s. Porogi)*, Kiev 1991, p. 78-79.

⁴⁸ Diodor of Sicily 2, 43, 7, *apud* V. V. Latyšev, *Scythica et Caucasica – Izvestija drevnih pisatelej, grečeskikh i latinskih o Skifij i Kavkaze*, I, Sankt-Petersburg 1893, p. 458-459; idem, *Izvestija drevnih pisatelej o Skifij i Kavkaze*, VDI 4, 1947, p. 251.

⁴⁹ S. V. Polin, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 97. This viewpoint is also shared by A. V. Simonenko (A. V. Simonenko, *Sarmaty...* (n. 26), p. 104; idem, *Rann'osarmatskij period...* (n. 26), p. 33-34).

⁵⁰ M. B. Ščukin, *Na rubeže er*, Sankt-Petersburg 1994, p. 84.

What is somewhat surprising is S. V. Polin's reproach, according to which Diodor provides no information on the events taking place in the IIIrd-IInd century B.C.⁵¹, when Scythia came to an end, and when the Sarmatians and Sarmatia entered the history arena. It is otherwise well-known that, especially for the Hellenistic period, the books that made up his works were preserved very fragmentarily, which makes us believe that he knew very well when the events discussed upon took place. Finally, we insist in underlining that, in spite of S. V. Polin's opinion, Diodor was familiar with the ethnonim „Sarmatians“⁵², and in his days, and also later on, the terms „Sauromatae“ and „Sarmatians“ that he used referred to the same population⁵³.

Even though the events described in this book refer to the events in the early history of Scythia, we can notice that Diodor's text does not conclude that he would attribute this particular event to archaic Scythia. Diodor's statement that the devastation of a part of Scythia took place many years after the Sauromatae had been brought in from Media has the form of an inserted piece of information, a typical method used by Greek historic literature and characteristic for Diodor's works. In fact, the respective fragment refers to the history of Scythia, and stands out through the syntagm “many years later”. After this parenthesis, Diodor comes back to the events in early Scythian history that took place many years before those described in the above-mentioned fragment. If things did not stand this way, then any impartial reader of Diodor's works would be confused, and wouldn't understand how Scythia could continue to exist if most of its population had been killed or how it was possible for an interregnum to be instituted in a country that had once been devastated and deserted⁵⁴. Archeological data do not contradict Diodor's assertions either, but rather confirm them, since he does not write about the conquest and occupation of Scythia by the Sauromatae, but only about the devastation of a part of it⁵⁵. All of these elements support our conviction that the fragment II, 43, 7 from Diodor's works is very important for the history of early Sarmatians and can be used as a source confirming the Sarmatians' incursions in Scythia in the IIIrd century B.C.

It is important to make the precision that archeological material from the IVth-IIIrd century B.C. allows us to speak about a migration of Sarmatians to the west and south-west within the boundaries of the region including the south of the Ural mountains, the Volga area and that of lower Don, North Caucasus, as well as about a gradual concentration of the new nomad groups to the east of the Don⁵⁶. This migration of the Sarmatians in the above-mentioned direction beginning with the IVth century B.C. was caused by the pressure they were put under by the nomads more to the east of

⁵¹ S. V. Polin, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 97.

⁵² Diodor of Sicily IV, 45, 4, *apud* V. V. Latyšev, *Izvestija drevnih pisatelej o Skifij...* (n. 49), p. 255.

⁵³ See about this Strabo, Ovid, Pomponius Mela, Lucan, Plinius the Old, Valerius Flaccus, Martial, Dionisius Perieget, Appianus or Ammianus Marcellinus, who use in their works the name of Sauromatae, together with the name of Sarmatians. Otherwise, we believe that M. I. Rostovcev was right when he said that the fact that sometimes some Greek and Roman used the name Sauromatae instead of Sarmatians is the result of the resemblance of their names, which confused them, but also a result of the preservation of their name in the historic tradition (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks...* (n. 2), p. 113. For an analysis of the information provided by ancient authors, Greek and Roman on Sauromatae and Sarmatians, see M. I. Rostovcev, *Skifija i Bospor*, Petrograd 1925, p. 10, 11, 22, 23, 25, 26, 39, 43-44, 46, 50, 54-55, 57, 60-61, 79-80, 91, 94, 99, 103, 106-115, 128, 131, 137-138). It is most likely that M. I. Rostovcev was right when he stated that the Sauromatae had nothing in common with the Sarmatians and that the Sauromatae were probably conquered by the Sarmatians and rode out of the history arena subsequently (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks...* (n. 2), p. 113).

⁵⁴ Diodor of Sicily II, 44, 1, *apud* V. V. Latyšev, *Izvestija drevnih pisatelej o Skifij...* (n. 48), p. 251.

⁵⁵ We insist in making the precision that it is very important to make the difference, when discussing issues like the expansion of Sarmatians to the west, between the penetrations, the incursions made in a neighboring territory and its actual occupation.

⁵⁶ V. M. Klepikov, A. S. Skripkin, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 28-33.

the south of the Ural Mountains⁵⁷. It is most likely that these Sarmatians in the territories to the east of the Don and Volga were the destabilizing factor for a major part of the north-pontic territories and that they are the ones responsible of the devastating incursions organized periodically, throughout the IIIrd century B.C. to the west of the Don. Probably the Sarmatians were not interested in taking over the territories to the west of the Don in the IIIrd century B.C. Thus, a piece of information relevant in this respect is the fact that the number of Sarmatian vestiges found in the Don-Volga interfluves and to the left of the Volga is not big enough to create demographic tensions in this area⁵⁸. This situation is probably the cause for which the Sarmatians do not resort to the occupation of the territories to the west of the Don in the IIIrd century B.C. However, in the IInd century B.C., a series of changes occurred in the ethnic and political structure of the east of Europe, which had a completely different character from the migrations in the IVth-IIIrd centuries B.C., and which were much more limited territory-wise. We are faced, at this point, with the activation of the Huns, the penetration of nomads in Central Asia, the fall of the Greek-Bactrian kingdom, the substantial increase of nomad population in Asian Sarmatia, the penetration of a new group of Sarmatians on its territory, and the pressures over the Asian part of the Bosporan kingdom⁵⁹. We can also add the innovations in the Sarmatians' material culture, among other elements⁶⁰. Under the pressure of these moves, the Sarmatians crossed the Don river most likely in the IInd century B.C. and occupied the entire territory between the Don and the Dnepr. It is also from this moment on that literary sources mention new groups of nomads on the territory occupied by the Sarmatians: between the Dnepr and the Don – the Roxolans and Iazigs, on the Don river – the Aorsi, in the Caspian Sea region – the upper Aorsi, and in the Kuban region – the Siraces.

Coming back to the north-pontic region in the IIIrd century B.C. we believe, however, that not all the Greek cities' or Scythians' rural settlements in the silvosteppe (especially those to the west of the north-pontic territories) ceased their existence as a consequence of the danger represented by the Sarmatians and their invasions. Moreover, it is very likely that the total incursion in the north-pontic territory to the west of the Don never even existed, in the form and to the extent described by Diodor. Last but not least, the Sarmatian factor must be examined taking into account not only the territorial-chronological aspect, but also other possible causes explaining Scythia's extinction as well as that of many of the Greek cities' rural settlements and the crisis in which they were absorbed starting with the '70s-'60s of the IIIrd century B.C. For example, the extinction of many rural settlements in the European part of the Bosporan kingdom, the north-west of Crimea and the chora of Chersonesus in the second quarter – the middle IIIrd century B.C. should probably be explained by the Scythians' incursions⁶¹.

⁵⁷ A. D. Tairov, *Rannie kočevniki Južnogo Zaural'ja v VII-II vekah do našej ery*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Moskva 1991, p. 23. It is most likely that the penetration of Sarmatic tribes to the west occurred, as M. I. Rostovcev justly remarked, because of the political and economical situation in Central Asia in the time lapse between the IVth-IInd century B.C. (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks...* (n. 2), p. 113-115). The same author pointed out the fact that the critical point of the Sarmatic expansion in the south of Russia occurred in the IInd century B.C., but also mentioned that archeological data and some historic events show that the Sarmatic tribes slowly headed west long before this period (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks...* (n. 2), p. 115).

⁵⁸ Cf. V. M. Klepikov, A. S. Skripkin, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 34.

⁵⁹ Cf. in this sense A. S. Skripkin, *K probleme istoričeskoj interpretacii arheologičeskikh paralelej v kul'turah Altajskogo i Dono-Ural'skogo regionov v poslednie veka do n. e.*, *Antičnaja civilizacija i varvar-skij mir*, II, Novočerkassk 1993, p. 7-9; idem, *O haraktere vostočnyh svjazej kočevnikov rannego železnogo veka Volgo-Donskikh i Severokavkaskikh stepej*, Tret'ja Kubanskaja konferencija. Tezisy dokladov meždunarodnoj arheologičeskoj konferencii, Krasnodar-Anapa 2001, p. 180-182; V. M. Klepikov, A. S. Skripkin, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 37-38.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 34-37.

⁶¹ Cf. in this sense A. N. Šeglov, *O greko-varvarskih...* (n. 8), p. 192; M. I. Zolotarev, E. Ja. Turovskij, *K istorii antičnyh sel'skikh usadeb Hersoneses na Geraklejskom poluostrve*, *Drevnee Pričernomor'e*, Odessa 1990, p. 85 sq.

As for the extinction of the city of Nikonion and the rural settlements of Tyras and of the Barbarians in the area, it can be probably blamed on barbaric populations. It is hard to believe that the Sarmatians' incursions in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C. reached the Dnestr, as the corresponding proofs are missing. As compared to the situation in the lower Dnestr region, that of the Bug area is a bit more complicated. Thus, the fall of most of Olbia's rural settlements can be explained both by the incursions of the Sarmatians that reached this region, and by the ones of closer barbarian neighbors.

On the other hand, the fact that we are dealing with similar negative phenomena at the same time and on a wide territory⁶² enables us to believe that the given situation was probably determined by other factors as well, which played a bigger or smaller role in the process. Thus, apart from the danger represented by outside enemies – which constituted the main cause of the situation in the first half of the IIIrd century B.C., we can count among other negative factors that were like successive links in the chain of events: the economic and political crisis in the Hellenistic world, the changes that occurred within the society, and also the irrational use of resources. Otherwise, it cannot be denied that, as proven by unwritten laws generally valid in the evolution of human societies, after a period of glory, expansion and prosperity, human societies always go through a period of decay, due to internal and external causes.

A slight stabilization of the situation was noted in the European part of the Bospor in the second half of the IIIrd century B.C.⁶³ More precisely, according to I. T. Kruglikova's opinion, it is in this period that a new stage began in the history of agrarian territories in the above-mentioned kingdom, when in "new settlements and big, reinforced households were created in well-defended places"⁶⁴. However, we must make the precision that the number of newly-created settlements is inferior to the number of those built until the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C.⁶⁵ Equally, there are no question marks related to the renaissance of life in the settlements in the chora of the city of Chersonesus. The archeological researches carried out over the past few years prove that, after a long period, a series of Greek settlements were built in the surrounding area of this city⁶⁶. We have to note as well the fact that, just like in the case of Bospor, the re-colonization amplitude of the city of Chersonesus' rural area, especially, and the colonization of Crimea in general, cannot be compared to the period of time elapsed before the first third of the IIIrd century B.C..

However, we cannot say the same about the stabilization of the situation in the north-west pontic region. Thus, in the lower Bug area, pretty far away from Olbia, only two settlements are known so far, among which a fortified one, where not only archeological material from the second half of the IIIrd century – the first quarter of the IInd century B.C. has been discovered, but also the traces of households and their annexes dating from this period⁶⁷. But there has not been any comeback of the population in the immediate vicinity of Olbia in the settlements abandoned in the third quarter of the IIIrd century B.C.. The discovery of fragments of Rhodian amphors on the surface of these are interpreted as traces of seasonal inhabitation⁶⁸. Besides, in the entire period of time

⁶² For the situation of the extracarpethian Getic area, as well as of the Thracian world to the south of the Danube see V. Vasiliev, A. Rustoiu, E. A. Balaguri, C. Cosma, Solotvino – "Cetate" (Ucraina transcarpatică). Așezările din epoca bronzului, a doua vârstă a fierului și din evul mediu timpuriu, Cluj-Napoca 2002, p. 54-55 with bibliography; A. Rustoiu, Războinici și artizani de prestigiu în Dacia preromană, Cluj-Napoca 2002, p. 131 sq.

⁶³ K. K. Marčenko, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 74.

⁶⁴ I. T. Kruglikova, *Sel'skoe hozjajstvo Bospora*, Moskva 1975, p. 101.

⁶⁵ Cf. eadem, op. cit., p. 95; A. A. Maslennikov, *Sel'skaja territorija Evropejskogo Bospora v antičnuju epohu*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoi stepeni doktora istoričeskikh nauk, Moskva 1993, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Cf. K. K. Marčenko, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 75 with all the bibliography.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*. Compare Ju. G. Vinogradov, *Političeskaja istorija....* (n. 47), p. 188, 189.

comprised between the second half of the IIIrd century – the first half of the IInd century B.C., there are settlements only on the left bank of the Bug⁶⁹. According to the information in the decree in the honor of Nikeretas⁷⁰, this refers, in the opinion of Ju. G. Vinogradov, to the events that occurred in the first two decades of the IInd century B.C.⁷¹, the situation in the lower Bug area was rather tensed, as Olbia had to face attacks from the Barbarians around.

A somewhat similar situation was created in the lower Dnestr region, as well. Just like in the surroundings of Olbia, material evidence of the restoration of life in the vicinity of Tyras is lacking. There are only three settlements in this area where more or less clear traces of the Greeks' household activities in this period have been found up to now⁷².

The first vague marks of the Scythians' return to the settlements and fortifications they had left previously begin to show up sometime towards the end of the IIIrd century B.C., in the lower Dnepr region⁷³, and around the middle IInd century B.C., Scythian dwellings on the lower Dnepr are transformed into fortifications, as a consequence of the construction of defensive systems⁷⁴. The tombs in the flat necropolises of these fortified settlements are dated to the second half – the end of the IInd century B.C.⁷⁵

The earliest vestiges belonging to late Scythian culture in Crimea are also dated to the end of the IIIrd century – beginning of the IInd century B.C.⁷⁶. In fact, from this point on can be noticed a concentration and later on, a rapid consolidation of nomads, especially in the pre-montaneous region where Little Scythia was created, with the capital at Neapolis. From the IInd century B.C. on, the Scythian population in Crimea increases significantly, and their fortified settlements begin to appear in the north-western part of the peninsula at the middle of the same century⁷⁷.

Bastarn tribes enter the scene at some point, in the last decades of the IIIrd century B.C., in the east of Europe, at the western border of the territory in question, and their interventions in the events in that period made them be mentioned in literary sources⁷⁸. They have been archeologically identified, in the central and northern part of the area between the Eastern Carpathians and the Dnestr, with the Poienești-Lukaševka culture⁷⁹,

⁶⁹ S. D. Kryžickij, S. B. Bujskih, A. V. Burakov, V. M. Otreško, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 101.

⁷⁰ IOSPE I², 34.

⁷¹ Ju. G. Vinogradov, *Političeskaja istorija*.... (n. 47), p. 183-189.

⁷² I. V. Brujako, *Demografija i ekonomika Severo-Zapodnogo Pričernomor'ja vo vtoroj polovine VII-načale III v. do n. e.*, Avtoreferat disertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk, Sankt-Peterburg 1993, p. 6.

⁷³ Cf. K. K. Marčenko, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 76 with all the bibliography.

⁷⁴ Cf. S. V. Polin, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 107-108; V. P. Bylkova, op. cit. (n. 46), p. 191; eadem, *K voprosu o naselenii Nižnego Podneprov'ja v III-II vv. do n. e.*, *Problemy skifo-sarmatskoj arheologii Severnogo Pričernomor'ja*. K 100-letiju B. N. Grakova, Zaporž'e 1999, p. 57-59.

⁷⁵ Arheologija Ukrainskoj SSR, II, Kiev 1986, p. 227-229; O. A. Gej, I. A. Bažan, *K voprosu o vremeni vozniknovenija pozdneskifskoj kul'tury po materialam mogil'nika u s. Krasnyj Majak*, *Problemy skifo-sarmatskoj arheologii*, Moskva, 1990, p. 138.

⁷⁶ A. E. Puzdrovskij, *Očerok etnosocial'noj istorii Krymskoj Skifii vo II v. do n. e. – III v. n. e.*, VDI 4, 1999, p. 101.

⁷⁷ O. D. Daševskaja, *Skify na severo-zapodnom poberež'e Kryma v svete novyh otkrytij*, MIA 177, 1971, p. 153; A. N. Šeglov, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 37-42.

⁷⁸ Polybios 25, 6; 26, 9; Pseudo-Scymnos 794; Diodor of Sicily 30, 19; 31, 14; Titus Livius 39, 35, 4; 40, 5, 10; 41, 19, 7-11; 44, 26-27; 57, 2; 58, 7-9; Strabon 7, 3, 15-17; Plinius the Old 4, 14, 100, 109; Tacitus, *Germania*, 46; Trogus Pompeius, 32, 3, 16; Appian, *Macedonia*, 11, 2; 18, 1: *Mithridates*, 15, 53; 71, 304; Ptolemy 3, 5, 7; Cassius Dio 38, 10, 3; 51, 23-25 etc.

⁷⁹ M. Babeș, *Die Poienești-Lukaševka Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte im Raum Östlich der Karpaten in den Jahrhunderten vor Christi Geburt*, Bonn 1993 with all the bibliography. Coming from Northern Europe, the Bastarns are less civilized than the indigenous population they subdue. They do not coin their own money and seem not to use coins at all, and Hellenistic products reach them to a

constituted in the last decades of the IIIrd century B.C.⁸⁰. Without resorting to too many details, we consider that an indirect proof of the Bastarn's presence at the end of the IIIrd century B.C. in the north-west pontic region is represented by the Olbian decree for Protogenes. We find out from the second part of it that the Galatians and Scirians make an alliance, gathering consistent armed forces, and getting ready to set for Olbia⁸¹. It is clear today that the fact that the Germanics - Bastarns were called Galatians (Celts) by some ancient authors (Polybios, Diodor of Sicily, Titus Livius and later Plutarch) is based on a confusion characteristic of those times, when the barbarian populations to the north of the Alps and the Danube were classified according to the traditional scheme: "the Celts to the west, the Scythians in the east"⁸². As for the Scirians, they are definitely a Germanic tribe that was part of the first wave that entered the eastern-Carpathian area and are, probably, a branch of the Bastarns, (they can eventually be identified with the Sidoni mentioned by sources as a branch of the Bastarns)⁸³. From here, they represent an extra-danger for Greek cities on the north-western and western shore of the Black Sea.⁸⁴

In the same period, when the Bastarns enter the territory of Moldova, the bearers of the Zarubineck culture settled down in the middle Dnepr region⁸⁵. They are Germanics as well, and, very probably, related to the Bastarns⁸⁶.

very small extent. On the basis of the information written in ancient sources, we can note that war was their main occupation. Therefore, they used to serve as mercenaries to all those who needed them, such as the last Macedonian kings or Mithridates VI Eupator from the kingdom of Pontus (cf. M. Babeş, op. cit., p. 72-75, 127-128, 178).

⁸⁰ The beginning of the Poienişti-Lukaşevka culture was initially set towards the half of the IInd century B.C. (M. Babeş, *Date arheologice istorice privind partea de nord-est a Daciei în ultimele secole înainte de erei noastre*, SCIVA 36, 1985, 3, p. 209). The analysis of the stamps on Greek amphora in a Bastarnic environment, as well as the presence of "imports" specific to this population in the archeological levels in the Getic settlement in Satul Nou – Valea lui Voicu, determined an earlier dating (N. Conovici, *Noi date arheologice privind începuturile culturii Poienişti-Lukaşevka şi prezenţa bastarnilor în Dobrogea*, SCIVA 43, 1992, 1, p. 3-13). M. Babeş has recently re-analyzed the initial dating, and he opted for a time interval between 200-175 B.C. (M. Babeş, op. cit. (n. 79), p. 153) or around the year 200 B.C. (Istoria Românilor, I, Bucureşti 2001, p. 527). See also, for the beginning of this culture M. B. Ščukin, *Problema bastarnov i etničeskogo opredelenija Pojanešty-Lukaševskoj i Zarubineckoj kul'tur*, PAV 6, 1993, p. 89-95; idem, *Na rubeže...* (n. 50), p. 116-119; V. E. Eremenko, "Kel'tskaja vual" i zarubineckaja kul'tura. Opyt rekonstrukcii etnopolitičeskikh processov III-I vv. do n. e. v Central'noj i Vostočnoj Evrope, Sankt-Peterburg 1997, p. 105-120.

⁸¹ IOSPE I², 32B, 5-8. Judging by the information in this decree, it seems however that the threat was never put into practice, the proof being also the absence from the inscription of information regarding the attack of the Scirians and Galatians on the city.

⁸² A well-argued demonstration that the Galatians are Bastarn Germanics and not Celts was made by S. V. Polin (S. V. Polin, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 26-32 with all the bibliography and opinions regarding this issue).

⁸³ M. Babeş, *Noi date privind arheologia şi istoria bastarnilor (O "fibulă pomeraniană" descoperită în România)*, SCIV 20, 1969, 2, p. 195-218, în special p. 214; M. Babeş, I. Untaru, *Der früheste latènezeitliche germanische Fund aus der Moldau. Der Kronenhalsband von Davideni*, Dacia N. S. 13, 1969, p. 283-290.

⁸⁴ Scirians are also mentioned on an inscription from Bulgaria, that has not been published yet and was mentioned only by D. M. Pippidi, in which there is mention about their attack on Histria around the beginning of the IInd century B.C., attack with no consequences (D. M. Pippidi, *Les relations politiques des cités de la côte occidentale de l'Euxin à l'époque hellénistique*, Parerga. Écrits de philologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne, Paris-Bucarest 1984, p. 165, note 8; D. M. Pippidi, *Gètes et Grecs dans l'histoire de la Scythie Mineure à l'époque de Byrebistas*, Parerga. Écrits de philologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne, Paris-Bucarest, 1984, p. 181-182, note 19; See also L. Ruscu, op. cit. (n. 12), p. 324).

⁸⁵ E. V. Maximov, *Zarubineckaja kul'tura na territorij USSR*, Kiev 1982, p. 25.

⁸⁶ Cf. in this sense M. B. Ščukin, *Problema bastarnov...* (n. 80), p. 85-95; idem, *Na rubeže...* (n. 51), p. 107-119; V. E. Eremenko, op. cit. (n. 80), p. 119-120, 121-171.

What is certain is the fact that, in the times before the Sarmatians settled down to the north of the Black Sea, the steppes here were free from the nomad population that had been here, but was now concentrated in the lower Dnepr area, Crimea and, to a small extent, in Dobrudja. In the silvosteppe area on the middle Dnepr lived the bearers of the Zarubineck culture, to the west of the Dnestr lived the Bastarns and the Getae-Dacians, and on the shore, the Greek cities that were going to a crisis period.

UN NOUVEAU « BOUCLIER » DE LA FIN DU DEUXIÈME ÂGE DU FER, DÉCOUVERT À PIATRA ROȘIE

Faisant suite à la demande du Ministère de la Culture et des Cultes, la citadelle dace de Lunca-Piatra Roșie (dép. de Hunedoara) a fait l'objet, durant le mois de novembre 2003, de nombreuses prospections, évaluations de l'état du site archéologique et autres activités préliminaires destinées à accroître la valeur touristique des monuments (les segments de muraille de la première enceinte, le chemin pavé, la tour de la porte, les bases en pierre des différents édifices).

Les prospections effectuées dans le périmètre de la fortification et dans les environs ont révélé aussi la présence de nombreuses fosses dues à l'action des chercheurs de trésors. On a pu ainsi récupérer différents matériaux archéologiques, notamment objets métalliques, qui sont par la suite entrés dans le patrimoine du Musée de la Civilisation Dace et Romaine de Deva. Au cours de ces incursions on a identifié un système de terrasses, quelques-unes de grandes dimensions, sur le versant nord du massif, contenant des traces d'habitation humaine.

Parmi les matériaux archéologiques récupérés à la suite de l'action des braconniers nous signalons des dizaines de menus fragments en tôle de fer, dont 10 avec les dimensions comprises entre 5 et 15 cm². Les traces d'une décoration réalisée *au repoussé* sont encore visibles sur plusieurs d'entre eux, alors que d'autres ont la forme d'une bordure périphérique. Nonobstant leur état de dégradation avancée, l'ornementation de ces pièces nous a convaincu qu'elles faisaient partie d'un disque (ou même plusieurs) similaire à celui découvert en 1949 et largement présenté jadis par C. Daicoviciu dans la monographie du site en cause.¹ Connue sous le nom du « bouclier de Piatra Roșie », cette pièce se trouve actuellement dans l'exposition permanente du Musée National d'Histoire de la Transylvanie à Cluj-Napoca.

Grâce à la bienveillance de la direction de cette institution, les fragments de tôle en fer ont subi plusieurs opérations de restauration et conservation effectuées par M. Ovidiu Bianu dans les laboratoires de ce musée. La décoration n'est malheureusement pas devenue plus visible et plusieurs pièces ont été détruites.

Quant au lieu de découverte, ces pièces ont été récupérées au début d'une pente extrêmement abrupte du versant nord, en-dessous du côté nord de la première terrasse. Les fragments de tôle en fer étaient dispersés sur une aire d'environ 2-2,5 m, cachés par les feuilles mortes de l'automne, dans la terre que les braconniers avaient excavée d'une fosse. De forme presque quadrilatère, cette fosse a les côtés de 1-1,5 m et une profondeur d'environ 1 m. Compte tenu de ses dimensions, il est à supposer que ses auteurs y cherchaient des pièces plus précieuses que les petits fragments en tôle, qu'ils ont d'ailleurs abandonnés tout autour.

Le fait que la fosse a été creusée à la base d'un rocher de la colline dévoile l'intention initiale de protéger les pièces enfouies dans cet endroit. Le fond de la fosse semble se cacher sous ce pic de rocher; la forme et les dimensions actuelles de la fosse sont le résultat des fouilles illégales entreprises par les braconniers, ce qui compromet toute tentative d'apprécier l'aspect du complexe archéologique.

¹ C. Daicoviciu, *Cetatea dacică de la Piatra Roșie. Monografie arheologică*, București, 1954; v. aussi I. Korodi, *AMN* 4, 1964, pp. 523-524 – observations et mesurages effectués au cours de la restauration.

Cette excavation devient importante dans les conditions où elle est située à environ 12 m, sur la direction nord-ouest, de l'abside du bâtiment où l'on a découvert, en 1949, le premier disque en fer – le « bouclier de Piatra Roșie ».²

Selon le plan³ que C. Daicoviciu a publié dans l'ouvrage déjà mentionné, dans la zone en cause il y aurait été un rempart en terre, pierre et bois appartenant à l'extension de la citadelle dans sa II^e phase. Cet rempart n'existe plus dans ce secteur, et il est fort possible qu'il ait glissé sur la pente abrupte voisine. Il est impossible dans ces conditions, sans fouiller l'endroit, de préciser si la fosse où l'on a trouvé l'objet (ou les objets) se trouve à l'extérieur de la II^e enceinte⁴, ou sous le mur de celle-ci. Même ces détails sont importants pour pouvoir interpréter la découverte et en établir sa chronologie, de même que la datation de la première pièce connue de ce genre.

Étant donné la proximité constatée, il se peut que les fragments en tôle ornementée enterrés durant l'Antiquité à l'extérieur de l'édifice voisin aient appartenu à un disque (ou à plusieurs disques) similaire(s) à celui découvert en 1949 dans l'abside du bâtiment en cause. Si l'on accepte l'hypothèse que cette construction a rempli une fonction sacrée⁵, il semble alors vraisemblable que cette fosse aurait constitué une *favissa*.

Les fragments en tôle ornementée

Les mesurages effectués sur les fragments récupérés indiquent que la pièce complète (dans le cas où elle aurait été ronde ou ovale, tel le disque découvert en 1949 et restauré sous cette forme) avait 45-55 cm de diamètre. Pour mesurer la circonférence de la bordure on a pris comme repère la circonférence de la torsade conservée sur le fragment à bordure.

Le premier disque, tel qu'il a été restauré et exposé dans le musée de Cluj, a 64,5 cm de diamètre, ce qui nous fait penser que les fragments récemment récupérés proviendraient d'un objet de moindres dimensions. Cette hypothèse est d'ailleurs confirmée par les dimensions des médaillons centraux de ces deux disques, décorés de motifs zoomorphes. Selon les estimations du restaurateur, le médaillon du premier disque avait 20 cm, alors que celui du second ne dépassait pas 15-16 cm. On peut alors se demander, après avoir effectué un examen détaillé de la récente découverte, de même que des fragments composant le premier « bouclier de Piatra Roșie », si ces derniers ne proviennent pas d'au moins deux disques.

La tôle en fer a cependant presque la même épaisseur – 0,8-1,5 cm dans le cas du premier disque et 1-1,5 cm dans le cas du second disque, les différences insignifiantes pouvant s'expliquer par l'état précaire de conservation des pièces mesurées ou, éventuellement, par la spécificité de la technique manuelle utilisée (martelage et partiellement incision, gravure) Aucune trace de joint entre deux ou plusieurs feuilles de tôle n'est visible sur les pièces conservées. I. Korodi déjà remarquait, lors de la publication des détails techniques observés au cours de la restauration de la première pièce, que celle-ci avait été travaillée dans une seule feuille de tôle en fer.⁶

Les quelques fragments de bordure que nous avons trouvés présentent des orifices spéciaux (percés, probablement, à l'aide d'un poinçon à la section quadrilatère, de l'extérieur vers le revers) destinés à servir à la fixation, à l'aide de clous. D'ailleurs,

² Nous mentionnons que cet objet a été trouvé « dans le bâtiment en abside de la première terrasse, dans le coin sud-ouest de la chambre E » (p. 119), plus précisément, « collé au mur » (p. 65) – idem, loc. cit.; v. aussi une réévaluation de cette découverte chez G. Florea, L. Suci, *Observații cu privire la scutul de la Piatra Roșie*, EN 5, 1995, pp. 47-61.

³ C. Daicoviciu, op. cit., planche II.

⁴ Fait assez improbable étant donné la conformation du terrain.

⁵ G. Florea, L. Suci, loc. cit., pp. 57-60.

⁶ I. Korodi, loc. cit.

parmi les fragments récupérés il y a aussi un fragment de clou. Etant donné qu'il n'a pas été découvert dans l'un de ces orifices mais dans la terre excavée autour de la fosse, on ne saurait pas préciser s'il a été attaché au disque en fer. Sa relation avec les fragments en tôle reste tout à fait vraisemblable. Le clou conservé est long de 2 cm, avec la tige grosse de 0,6 cm et le diamètre de la tête de 2,1 cm, ce qui indique un clou assez solide à l'origine.

En ce qui concerne les supposés registres concentriques qui se développent autour du médaillon central, on ne saurait pas dire si les fragments récupérés appartiennent à une seule pièce. Ce qui est tout de même certain, c'est que les deux (éventuellement plusieurs) disques, celui publié par Daicoviciu et ce dernier, n'étaient pas identiques.

Un fragment contenant une partie du médaillon central prouve qu'il était borduré d'une frise circulaire de palmettes en forme de feuilles d'acanthé (?) stylisées et de feuilles (ou pétales?) lancéolées imbriquées. Dans ce cas la situation est identique à celle du disque découvert en 1949.

Un autre fragment démontre l'existence d'un registre toujours circulaire de feuilles lancéolées (ou pétales de lotus?) imbriquées, semblable au registre périphérique du premier disque de Piatra Roşie. Tant que les fragments conservés sont incomplets, on ne peut pas en estimer la largeur. Après un autre examen des pièces exposées à Cluj on a d'ailleurs constaté la même chose, de sorte que les mesures notées sur l'esquisse publiée par I. Korodi sont toutes au plus approximatives.

Parmi les menues pièces que nous avons trouvées, plusieurs fragments proviennent apparemment des deux registres ornementaux déjà mentionnés. Une mention à part vaut une fragment à ornements végétaux de deux registres juxtaposés (dont l'un est, malheureusement, difficile à identifier), séparés par la « raie à torsade » – aucun des fragments récupérés en 1949 du premier disque, tout aussi incomplet lui aussi, n'atteste une situation pareille.

Les registres concentriques, munis de splendides décorations végétales, devaient, d'une part, enrichir l'ensemble de la composition et, d'autre part, focaliser le regard sur le centre. Les combinaisons d'ornements phytomorphes, qui respirent un air méditerranéen, se retrouvent sur une série d'autres artefacts métalliques ou céramiques découverts dans le complexe des Monts Orăştie, notamment à Sarmizegetusa Regia.⁷

Une autre différence consiste dans le fait que le disque découvert en 1949 présente à la périphérie de ses registres ornementaux, juste devant la bordure aux orifices de fixation, une torsade juxtaposée à une raie formée d'astragales, cette dernière n'existant pas sur les fragments de bordure que nous avons trouvés.

Les deux médaillons centraux, qui renferment au fond l'essence du message iconographique, présentent aussi quelques différences. Sur le premier (qui est d'ailleurs mieux conservé) l'on voit clairement que l'aurochs se déplace vers la gauche, alors que sur les fragments de médaillon central que nous avons récupérés l'on remarque seulement une paire de pattes d'herbivore en posture immobile (l'une de l'autre).

On déplore l'état extrêmement précaire de préservation des fragments récupérés, qui rend impossible tout autre observation.

Quelques conclusions

La découverte, dans les conditions susmentionnées, de quelques fragments de disque semblable au « bouclier de Piatra Roşie », qu'on considérerait jusqu'à présent unique en son genre, soulève une série de questions liées à ces objets et à leur fonction.

La décoration complexe et les différences de détail (concernant les dimensions et la figuration) entre ces pièces constituent, à notre avis, des arguments supplémen-

⁷ Une analyse de cette iconographie chez G. Florea, L. Suci, op. cit.

taires en faveur d'une fonction liée au culte. Il s'impose donc d'abandonner l'hypothèse selon laquelle il s'agirait de pièces d'armement (« bouclier d'apparat ») appartenant à un personnage haut placé sur l'échelle sociale de l'époque.

On pourrait, par exemple, imaginer une frise (ou autre genre de groupement) composée de pareilles pièces exposées dans l'édifice en abside de la première terrasse.

Il reste cependant à expliquer pourquoi certains fragments ont été découverts sous les ruines du bâtiment (probablement détruit pendant les guerres daco-romaines), alors que d'autres, provenant d'une (ou plusieurs) pièce(s) distincte(s), ont été enterrés dans les environs. Il est fort possible qu'ils soient à un moment donné mis l'un à la place de l'autre. A première vue, la technique et les détails d'exécution des ornements (principaux et secondaires) sur la tôle en fer, ainsi que la manière de traitement des motifs semblent identiques : l'état de conservation mis à part, elles ont l'air d'appartenir au même artiste.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, il est douteux que les fragments composant la pièce reconstituée exposée au musée de Cluj fasse partie d'une et même pièce. Le disque a été conservé sous vide, couvert d'une « coupole » en plastique transparent (on y a renoncé à présent), de sorte qu'il était impossible de réaliser des dessins, des observations et des mesures directes. Après un nouvel examen des pièces composantes, on se pose la question légitime si elles n'appartiennent pas en fait à deux ou plusieurs disques différents.

Ce qui reste du « registre en forme de croissant » – l'option arbitraire de reconstitution du restaurateur I. Korodi – portant l'image des pattes d'un félin pourrait au fond faire partie du médaillon central d'une autre pièce. La nervure en relief qui le confine représente l'arc d'un (supposé) cercle d'environ 18 cm de diamètre, tandis que le médaillon à l'image de l'aurochs (que nous avons remesuré) a 18-19 cm de diamètre.⁸ Les fragments à décoration végétale (rincaux) qui « complètent » le registre ne sont pas connexes à cette portion.

Les dimensions des fragments et le caractère incomplet des images ne permettent de formuler des certitudes, mais tout simplement de doutes et d'hypothèses possibles.

Le fait que les fragments découverts par C. Daicoviciu et ses collaborateurs en 1949 à l'intérieur de l'abside ne se complètent pas pour former un disque complet (il en manque de grands morceaux) pourrait être mis sur le compte de la destruction de l'édifice, sans pour autant négliger la possibilité d'une détérioration volontaire du premier disque – pour éviter, peu-être, le sacrilège. On ne pourrait non plus exclure l'hypothèse que les pièces trouvées dans la fosse braconnée par les chercheurs de trésors y auraient été mises pour des raisons de protection.

Il est extrêmement difficile, en l'absence de fouilles plus amples, de préciser la relation chronologique entre les pièces connues, compte tenu des conditions de la découverte. On doit aussi mentionner l'absence de données relatives à la relation stratigraphique entre le rempart en pierre, terre et bois qui forme la deuxième enceinte (actuellement invisible dans le secteur mentionné) et la fosse d'où l'on a récupéré ces fragments.

⁸ Les mesures approximatives s'expliquent par le fait que la pièce martelée a été travaillée à la main, a subi des dégradations majeures et, d'autre part, a subi des opérations de restauration.

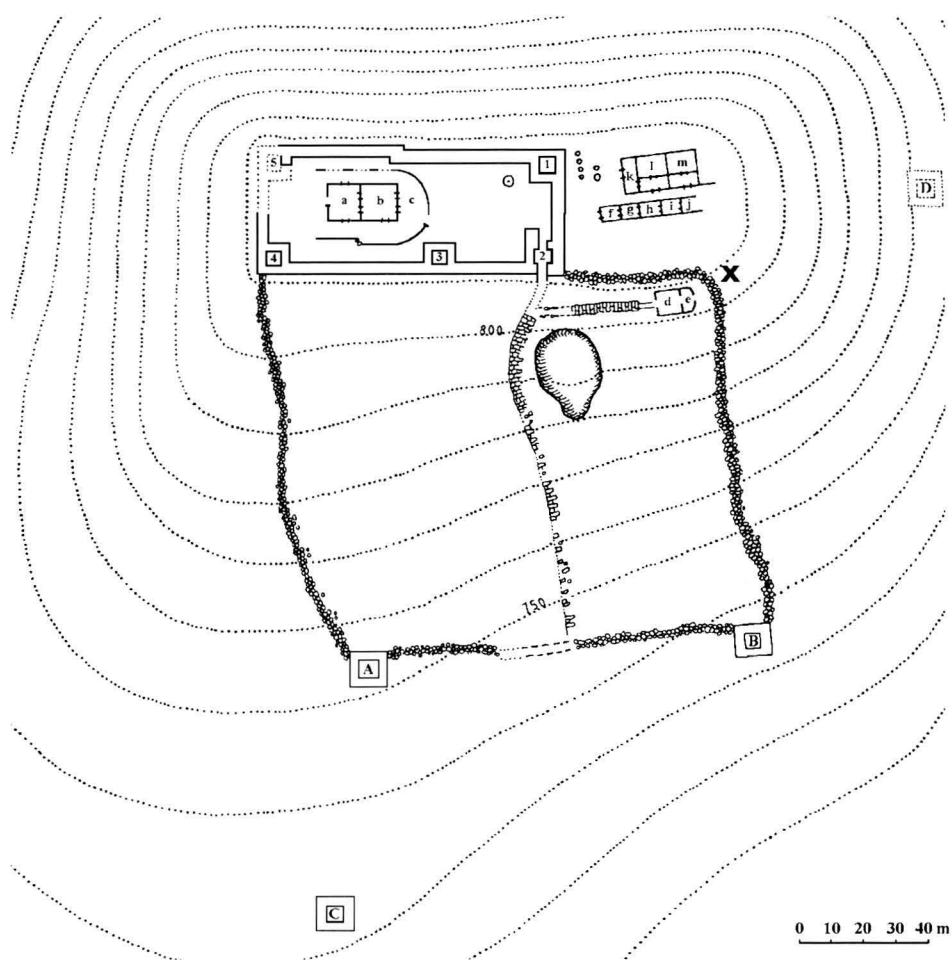


Fig. 1

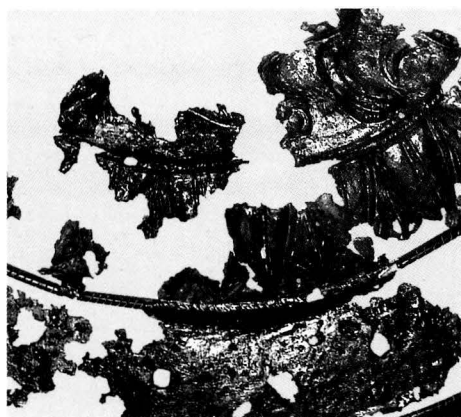


Fig. 8

Fig. 1. Plan de la forteresse de Piatra Roșie (d'après C. Daicoviciu); X l'endroit où on a trouvé les pièces en tôle de fer; fig. 8. Détail avec le registre végétal extérieur et la bordure perforée de la pièce publiée par C. Daicoviciu (photo G. Florea).

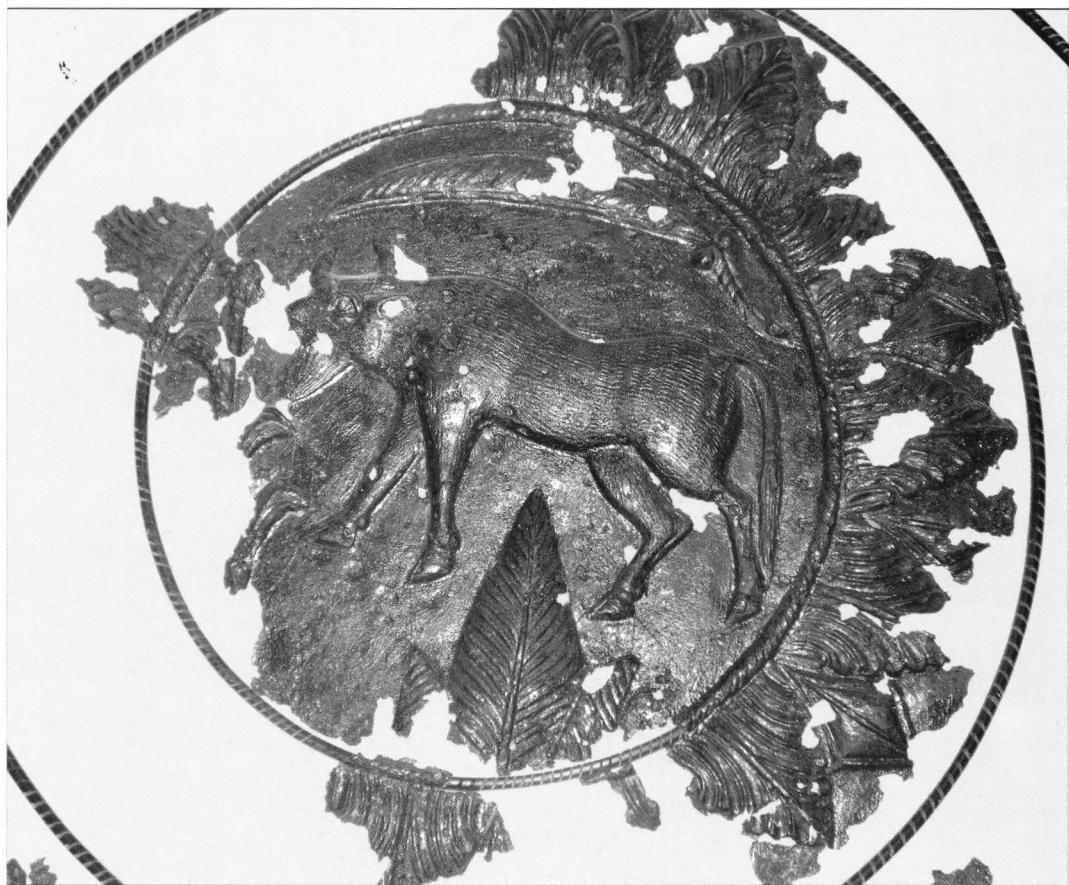


Fig. 2

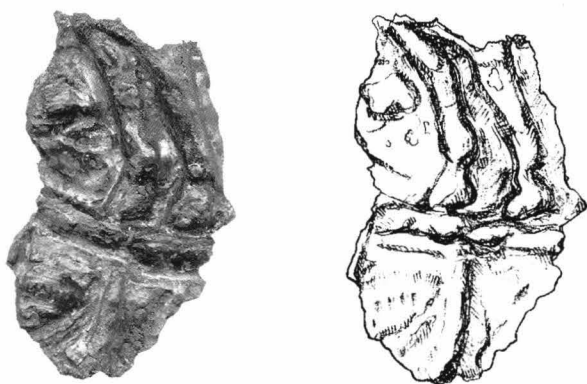


Fig. 3

Fig. 2. L'image du médaillon central de la pièce publiée par C. Daicoviciu (photo G. Florea);
fig. 3. Le fragment de médaillon central de la pièce découverte en 2003.

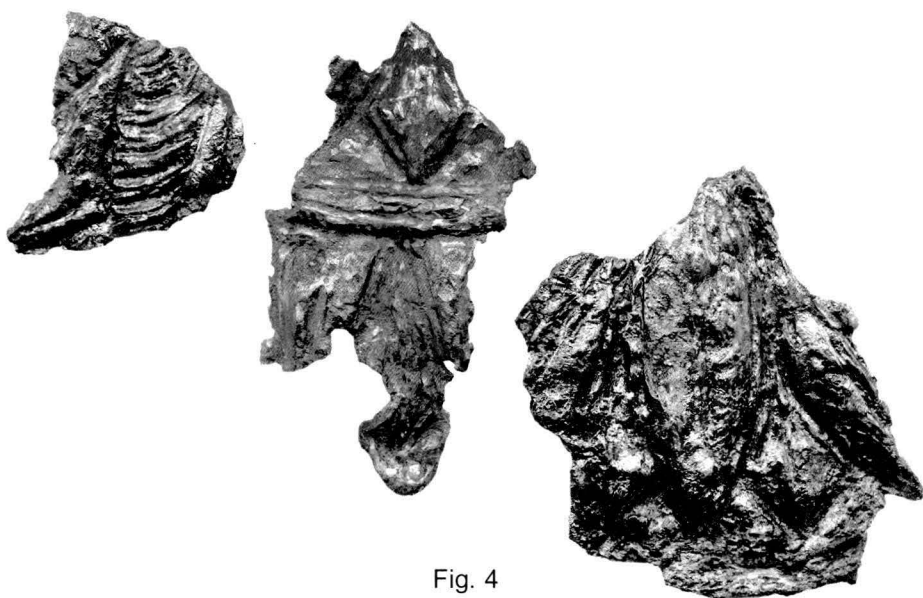


Fig. 4

0 3cm

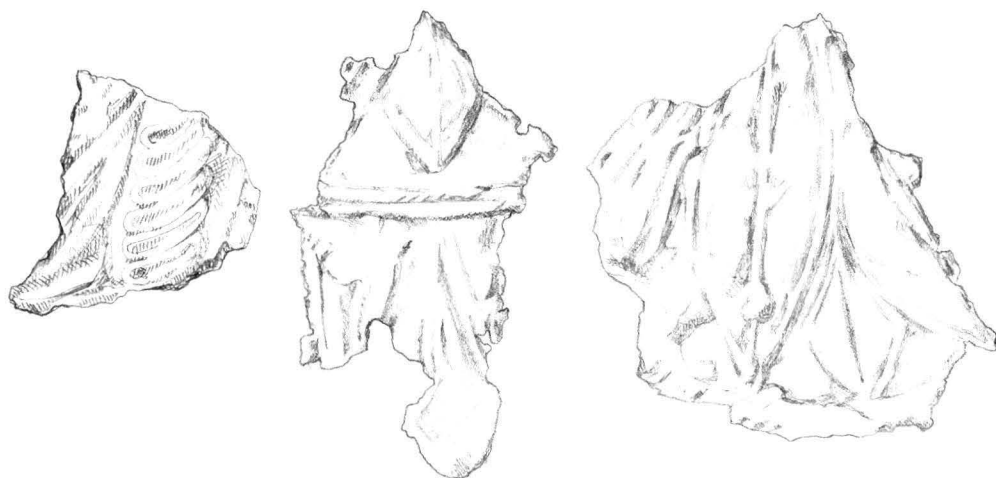


Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Fragments décorés de la pièces découverte en 2003 (photo); fig. 5. Fragments décorés de la pièces découverte en 2003 (dessin).



0 3cm

Fig. 6

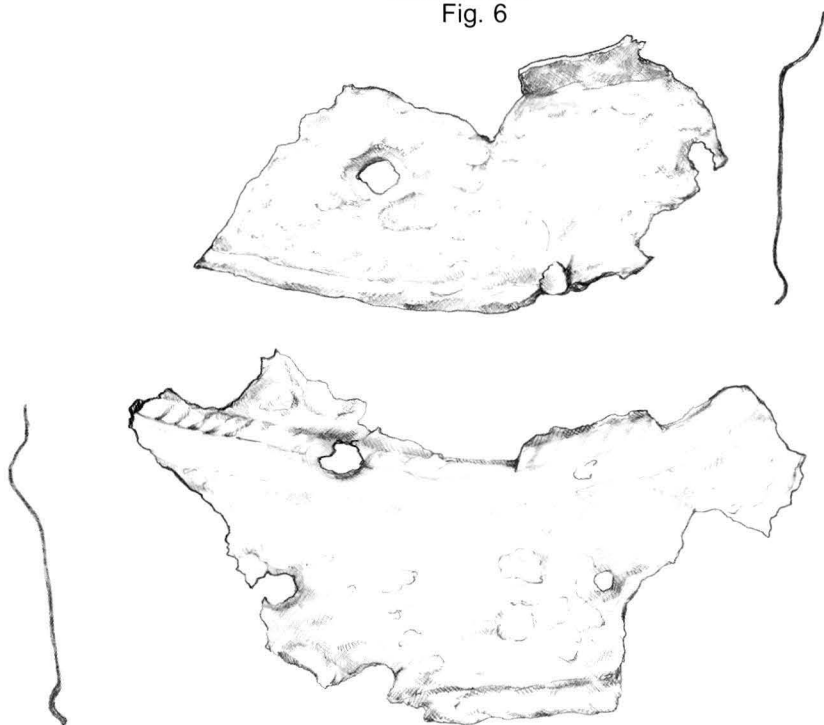


Fig. 7

Fig. 6. Fragments de bordure découverts en 2003 (photo); fig. 7. Fragments de bordure découverts en 2003 (dessin).

ON THE PRESENCE OF THE COHORT IX BATAVORUM MILLIARIA EQUITATA IN MOESIA INFERIOR*

The possible presence of this cohort¹ between the auxiliary troops of Moesia Inferior has been sustained based on three assumptions.

First of all, it was supposed, by D. Tudor, that the name of this troop appears on two tile stamps at Bîrsești and Buridava (Stolniceni)².

Starting from this assumption, K. H. Dietz has supposed that the name of this cohort could have been restored on the diploma fragment from Oberstimm, and therefore this diploma would have been issued both for the auxiliary troops of Raetia and for an unit that has been deployed for a short time in Moesia Inferior³.

Finally, the name of the cohort was also restored on a diploma fragment from Dambach dated to 27th September 112, which was attributed to the auxilia of Moesia Inferior⁴.

* I would like to thank Prof. Constantin C. Petolescu (Bucharest) and Dr. Paul Holder (Manchester) for reading previous versions of this short paper and made valuable comments on it allowing me to improve its quality.

Beneš 1978 = J. Beneš, *Auxilia romana in Moesia atque in Dacia. Zu den Fragen des römischen Verteidigungssystems im unteren Donauraum und in den angrenzenden Gebieten*, Prag 1978; Gudea 1997 = N. Gudea, *Der dakische Limes. Materialien zu seiner Geschichte*, Sonderdruck aus Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 1997, 44. Jahrgang; Holder 2003 = P. Holder, *Auxiliary Deployment in the Reign of Hadrian*, in J. J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in the Honour of Margaret Roxan*, London 2003; Lörincz 1979 = B. Lörincz, *Pannonische Stempelziegel II: Limes-Strecke Vetus Salina — Intercisa*, DissArch II, 7, Budapest 1979; Lörincz 2001 = B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. Teil I: Die Inschriften*, Wien 2001; Petolescu 2002 = C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, București 2002; Pferdehirt 2004 = B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer*, Band 37, Mainz 2004; PME = H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, I 1976, II 1977, III 1980, IV (Suppl. 1), 1987, Leuven; Sarnowski 1988 = T. Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie w Mezji Dolnej i na północnym wybrzeżu Morza Czarnego*, Warszawa 1988; Spaul 1994 = J. E. H. Spaul, *Ala². The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army*, Andover 1994; Spaul 2000 = J. Spaul, *Cohors². The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army*, Oxford 2000, BAR IS 841; Strobel 1984 = K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1984; Szilágyi 1946 = J. Szilágyi, *A daciai erődrendszer helyőrségei és a katonai téglabélyegek (Die Besatzungen des Verteidigungssystems von Dazien und ihre Ziegelstempel)*, Diss. Pann. II. 21, Budapest 1946; Tudor 1968 = D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană³*, București 1968, Thomasson 1984 = B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum I*, Göteborg 1984.

¹ For a short history see I. I. Russu, SCIV 23, 1972, 2, 68; Beneš 1978, 17, no. 47/10; Strobel 1984, 122; Spaul 2000, p. 215-216.

² IDR II 563 (Buridava (Stolniceni), TIR L 35, 68-69, I f; Gudea 1997, 88-89, no. 74): *C I[X]*, retrograde; 571 = AE 1964, 229 bis (Bîrsești, 3 kilometres westward from Stolniceni, TIR L 35, 27, I f): *II[X B]*, retrograde; D. Tudor, in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik* (Wien 17. bis 22. September 1962), Wien, 1964, p. 405-406, no. 2 (Bîrsești): "Parmi les nombreuses alae et cohortes auxiliaires, dont l'appellatif commence par la lettre B (comme: Bosporanorum – Bracaraugustanorum – Breucorum – Brittonum etc.), aucune n'a atteint le chiffre IX ou X, à l'exception de celles des Bataves. Cela nous permet de compléter avec certitude notre estampille: [coh(ors) I]X B(atavorum)"; D. Tudor, SCIV 16, 1, 1965, p. 184, no. 11; Strobel 1984, p. 122; Sarnowski 1988, p. 63.

³ RMD 10; K. H. Dietz, *Germania* 60, 1982, p. 183-191.

⁴ H-J. Kellner, BVbl, München, 50, 1985, p. 239-243 = RMD 85. See also Holder 2003, p. 104: "In addition there is a fragment of 112 in which twelve cohorts were named and at least two, *cohors I Cilicum sagittaria* and *cohors VIII Batavorum milliaria*, were not on issues on the previous year".

Starting from these assumptions the scholars have presumed that this cohort has been deployed in Moesia Inferior from Britannia, some time before 112, maybe with the occasion of the Trajan's Dacian wars, and then transferred to Raetia, where it appeared for the first time in 116⁵. In the following lines I try to discuss all these three assumptions and to show that none seems to be correct.

In 1966, two years after Tudor's first publication of the tile stamp from Bîrsești, a Romanian scholar, N. Gostar has sustained that on this stamp should be the name of *cohors milliaria Brittonum*⁶, known by its full name as *I Nerviana Augusta milliaria Brittonum*. Thus, the sign in the front of letter *B* should be read as (*milliaria*). Very few scholars have followed Gostar on this way. Though, the assumption made by Gostar seems to be correct, because there is another tile stamp from Buridava with the inscription *CORSMB*, which has been read as *co(ho)rs M(illiaria) B(rittonum)*⁷ and it is now known from the diplomas that this cohort has stationed in Moesia Inferior⁸ until the creation of Dacia Inferior at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, when it was enlisted between the units stationed in this province⁹. Moreover, on one diploma for the auxiliary troops of Moesia Inferior dated to September 25, 111 this troop appears as *I MILLIARIA BRITTONVM* on *extrinsecus* and as *I ∞ BRITTONVM* on *intus* (also on the diploma dated to 116). In summary, we have now more reasons to believe that the Gostar's reading is the one that is correct, bearing in mind the fact that the sign for *milliaria* as an *X* was used for other units from other provinces, too¹⁰. It is worth mentioning that on the diploma from 105, mentioned above, where the whole name was engraved, the sign for *milliaria* appears before the ethnic name of the unit, both on *extrinsecus* and *intus*, as in the diploma from 111 and as on the tile stamp from Bîrsești. The tile stamp from *Buridava* must be taken out of discussion because only the letter *C I* are fully preserved as we understand from Tudor's draw and other readings are possible. In fact, it seems that this tile was never seen since its first publication. D. Tudor has asserted there that the tile stamp comes from Gheorghe Petre-Govora's archaeological collection¹¹. But, as we understand from a Gheorghe Petre-Govora's letter sent to Constantin C. Petolescu,

⁵ Strobel 1984, p. 122: "Die *Cohors IX Batavorum milliaria equitata (exploratorum)* wurde für den 2. Dakerkrieg Trajans 103/105 n. Chr. von Raetien an die untere Donau verlegt, wo die Truppe ihre Ziegelstempel im Burgus von Bîrsești und im großen Militärzentrum von Buridava (Stolniceni) am Olt hinterließ. Nach dem Ende der Feldzüge kehrte die Einheit nach 107 n. Chr. in die Provinz Raetien zurück"; Holder 2003, 104: "The third, *cohors VIII Batavorum milliaria* had been transferred to Raetia by 116".

⁶ N. Gostar, *ArhMold* 4, 1966, p. 184.

⁷ CIL III 14216²⁵ = IDR II 560; Gostar, op. cit., p. 182-183; Petolescu 2002, p. 90, no. 25; F. Marcu, *AMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003, p. 222-223.

⁸ Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10, diploma from the 13th of May 105 found in the vicinity of *Novae* (Shvistov, Bulgaria); RMD 222; W. Eck, A. Pangler, *Dacia*, N.S. 50, 2006, p. 99-102, no. 3.

⁹ Petolescu 2002, p. 90, no. 25; F. Marcu, op. cit., p. 221-223; O. Țentea, F. Matei-Popescu, *AMN* 39-40/I, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 276-277.

¹⁰ For example, in Dacia on some tile stamp of the *ala I Bosporanorum milliaria*, which stationed at Cristești (Szilágyi 1946, Taf. XIV/203, p. 204; N. Gudea, A. Zrínyi, in D. M. Pippidi, Em. Popescu, *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII^e Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977), Bucharest 1977, p. 225, type II (fig. 6, 2) and p. 226, type VI (fig. 7, 4); Gudea 1997, p. 103-104, no. p. 98, fig. 2 (= IDR III/4 154) and 8; IDR III/4 153; for a history of the unit see Petolescu 2002, p. 65-66, no. 5); in Pannonia Inferior *cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum* (COH X HE from *Intercisa*, Lörincz 1979, p. 26, 71; cat. no. 7/21, p. 22, 44-48, 57-62, 65, 68-69; Taf. 7/4.7a; Lörincz 2001, p. 35-36, no. 23 and p. 266, no. 368a); also in Pannonia some tile stamps of *cohors I milliaria Nova Surorum* from *Ulcisia Castra* (T. Nagy, *BudRég* 13, 1943, 395 and 554e – COH X NS; for a history of the unit see Lörincz 2001, p. 42, no. 42). I shall use this opportunity to thank also to my dear friend and colleague, Ovidiu Țentea, who kindly informed me about the shape of the Pannonian tile stamps and who read also this paper and made valuable comments on it.

¹¹ Tudor 1968, p. 530, no. 399.

the tile stamp was never in his possession¹² and it is no sign of it in the museum from Râmnicu Vâlcea¹³. We have thus more reasons to believe that a *vexillatio* from *cohors I Nerviana Brittonum milliaria* stationed at Buridava was sent for short period to occupy the small fortification from Bîrsești¹⁴.

On the small fragment of Oberstimm¹⁵, in the first line K.-H. Dietz has presumed that he could read the name of *Ti. Iulius Aquilinus*, attested procurator of the Raetia province in those times¹⁶. In fact the name was constructed only using bottoms of the letters and as H. Wolff has already pointed out the assumption made by Dietz, that we have to restore the name of the cohort *IX Batavorum milliaria* on this fragment, does not sit on the firm ground¹⁷. Also, the name of certain governor *Faustinus* can not be, without any kind of hesitations, presumed to be the *cognomen* of *A. Caecilius Faustinus*, the governor of Moesia Inferior from 103/105¹⁸. For instance, we can search for a *Faustinus*, as an equestrian commander of a certain unit, on a diploma issued for one of the provinces with only one troop¹⁹. Or if it was in fact *A. Caecilius Faustinus* named on this fragment we shall have to bear in mind that he was also the governor of Pannonia Superior sometime before the 3rd of May 112²⁰. It would have been possible to have on a constitution for Raetia *auxilia* a unit which had been for a certain period deployed on the territory of that province. Therefore, there are no decisive proofs that *Faustinus* from the diploma fragment of Oberstimm was one and the same person with the attested governor of Moesia Inferior, *A. Caecilius Faustinus* or that this fragment having the name of this person on it should automatically referred to Moesia Inferior.

On the diploma from Dambach, it was engraved the name of a certain *Batavorum* unit, but one can not be sure that it is the cohort *IX Batavorum*, because the numeral is missing²¹. Although the diploma has certain difficulties of reading, there are no decisive proofs that, from the remaining letters, we can supply the names of some auxiliary troops of Moesia Inferior. Therefore, I believe that this diploma should be restored as a diploma for the auxiliary troops of Raetia. The first unit from the list which appeared to be *sagittaria* (VG SAGITT) could be identified as *ala I Augusta Thracum sagittariorum*, unit that was listed by the diplomas from 107 and 116 on the second position²². After this unit from the letters *ET I* we could read *et I singularium*, just like on the diplomas from 107

¹² Letter from 9th of the December 1976. I want to express my gratitude towards my professor, Constantin C. Petolescu, who kindly provided me this information.

¹³ Another information from Constantin C. Petolescu, based on the document sent in 1976 to him from this museum and where it was no sign of this tile stamp.

¹⁴ For a short presentation of the archaeological discoveries from there, see D. Tudor, in *Akte des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik (Wien 17. bis 22. September 1962)*, Wien, 1964, p. 405. D. Tudor believed there was situated the Dacian Latène site, in fact this presumably site was situated at Ocnița (TIR L 35, 54, I f).

¹⁵ RMD 10.

¹⁶ K. H. Dietz, *Germania* 60, 1982, p. 183-191.

¹⁷ H. Wolf, *BVbl*, München, 65, 2000, p. 155: "die Ergänzung der coh. VIII Batavorum milliaria erscheint z. Zt. ganz ungewiß".

¹⁸ *PIR*² C 43; Thomasson 1984, p. 131, no. 68.

¹⁹ See the earliest example provided by the fully preserved diploma for Cilicia from 19th of August 121: *intus PEDIT ET EQVIT QVI M IN COH IIII GALL QVAE EST / IN CILICIA SVB CALPVRNIO CESIIANO (CESTIANO ext.) PRAEF SVR / DENIO (SVDERNIO ext.) PRISCO*. See also the diplomas for Lycia et Pamphylia, RMD 161 (138), RMD 67 (23. 12. 167), CIL XVI 128 (23. 3. 178) and the diploma for Asia from 148 (RMD 100).

²⁰ RMD 223 = Pferdehirt 2004, p. 15, a diploma for the auxiliaries from Pannonia Superior under the governorship of *L. Minucius Natalis*, receiving their *honesta missio* in the time of *A. Caecilius Faustinus*.

²¹ H.-J. Kellner, loc. cit. = RMD 85.

²² CIL XVI 55; RMD 155; p. 229. For this unit which was transferred to Noricum by 132 see Spaul 1994, p. 228-230, no. 81; Holder 2003, p. 109.

and 116²³. The first publisher has presumed that he could identify the name of the cohort *I Cilicum milliaria sagittaria*, which stationed on the territory of Moesia Inferior in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. But there are no signs of this cohort in Moesia Inferior before the year 134, when appeared on a diploma for this province²⁴. Therefore, it could not have been on a diploma for Moesia Inferior which dated from 112. This assertion is strongly defended now by the fact that the name of this unit appears on a diploma from 115 for Moesia Superior²⁵, province where it was attested also before this year²⁶. In the final remained line on *intus III BR* can be restored the name of the cohort *III Britannorum equitata* which stationed in Raetia in the 2nd century²⁷ or the name of *III Bracaraugustanorum*, also stationed in Raetia in the 2nd century²⁸. On the territory of Moesia Inferior there are no information concerning the presence of a unit with this name or of another unit that could have been appeared on the diplomas as: *III BR*. From the letter *RAVG ET II M* the publisher reads *I Bracaraugustanorum et II Mattiacorum*. In fact, as we look to the diplomas for Moesia Inferior where both units appeared together, these two units were separated by another unit²⁹ and *I Bracaraugustanorum* was never to be abbreviated as *BRACAVG* or *BRACARAVG* on the diplomas from Moesia Inferior, before its deployment in Dacia Inferior³⁰. Therefore in this line too it can not be supplied the names of some cohorts from Moesia Inferior³¹.

The decisive proof that this diploma should be considered as a diploma for the auxiliary units from Raetia is the mention of this *Batavorum* unit³². In the two diplomas from 116³³ appeared two units with such name: *III Batavorum milliaria* and *IX Batavorum milliaria*. The first unit which was deployed also from Britannia where it was attested in the same fort at Vindolanda³⁴, together with the second cohort, appears in Raetia for the first time on the diploma from 107³⁵. The second unit appeared in Raetia for the first time in the year 116³⁶. In the diplomas of Moesia Inferior there is no place for a *cohors Batavorum*, even the number of documents has been into a continuous growth in the later years³⁷, thus a fragment discovered on the territory of Raetia and referring to a certain *Batavorum* unit should be considered as fragment of a diploma given to a soldier who

²³ CIL XVI 55; RMD 155; p. 229. For this unit see Spaul 1994, p. 204-206, no. 72.

²⁴ CIL XVI 78; F. Matei-Popescu, SCIVA 52-53, 2001-2002, p. 199, no. 17.

²⁵ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, Chiron 35, 2005, p. 49-67.

²⁶ Attested by the military diplomas from 16th of September 93 (CIL XVI 39), 12th of July 96 (RMD 6) and 8th of May 100 (CIL XVI 46).

²⁷ H. Wolff, op. cit., 168 and the table with the diplomas; Spaul 2000, p. 202 The cohort was deployed in the fortification of Eining.

²⁸ This unit appeared in Raetia in the 2nd century see H. Wolff, op. cit., the table with the diplomas; Spaul 2000, p. 94.

²⁹ CIL XVI 44 (14. 08. 99) the two units were separated by *I Hispanorum veterana*; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 11 (13. 05. 105), these two units were separated by the cohort *Sugambrorum tironum*.

³⁰ F. Matei-Popescu, in Corona Laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu-Marinescu, București, 2005, p. 313-318.

³¹ Into a letter sent to me on the 20th of February 2006, P. Holder has suggested me that *RAVG* or *RAVC ET II M* or *II A* could have been supplied as *I Br<e>uorum et I Aquitanorum*, cohorts which stationed in Raetia in 2nd century, but due to the bad condition of the diploma photo one can not go further into this direction for the moment.

³² H-J. Kellner, op. cit. = RMD 85, *extrinsecus* l. 8: *BATAVO*.

³³ RMD 155; p. 229.

³⁴ M. G. Jarrett, Britannia 25, 1994, p. 56, no. 15.

³⁵ CIL XVI 55.

³⁶ RMD 155; p. 229.

³⁷ Pferdehirt 2004, no. 10, no. 11; R. Petrovsky, Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 102, Speyer 2004, p. 13-17, another copy after the same constitution as Pferdehirt 2004, no. 11; CIL XVI 50 (diplomas from the 13th of May 105); RMD 222 (diploma from 25th of September 111); W. Eck, A. Pangler, Dacia, N.S. 50, 2006, p. 99-102, no. 3 (diploma from 116).

has fought in one of the *Batavorum* units attested there. This observation, together with the possible identification of some auxiliary units from Raetia, allow us to consider this fragment as a part of a diploma given to the auxiliary units from Raetia.

Recently, M. Biancardi³⁸ has undertaken the old assumptions on presence of the cohort in Moesia Inferior and supposed that it was transferred from Britannia to Raetia, where it is attested by an inscription at Weissenburg³⁹. From there first a *vexillatio* and then the entire unit were sent to Moesia Inferior. In fact he proposed a new reading of this inscription: *coh(ors) IX Bat(avorum)/ eq(uitata) (milliaria) ex p(rovincia) B(ritannia)* instead of *expl(oratorum)* as it was read till now. The new reading it is based on the first reading from CIL III where appeared *ex p. B.* H. Wolff has, although, pointed out that this inscription seems to date from the second half of the 2nd century, because of the use of numeral IX instead of VIII⁴⁰, thus Biancardi's assertions would have seem useless. But we learn now from leather strap found at Vindolanda where appeared *C IX B* that this form of the numeral was in use in the final part of the first century⁴¹, therefore this inscription could date from the beginning of the 2nd century. In this inscription the commander *M. Victorius Provincialis* is named as *praefectus* and not *tribunus*, as it should have been named the commander of a *cohors milliaria*, although it seems that this distinction was never applied to the *cohortes Batavorum* and *cohortes Tungrorum* from Britain auxiliary forces⁴². The commanders of this unit at Vindolanda ca. 95-105 were named also as *praefecti* having no direct proof that this unit was *milliaria*, but which was considered as *milliaria* due to the size of the fort there⁴³. Therefore, it is also possible this inscription to date from the very first moment of unit's deployment in Raetia⁴⁴, because it is possible later on that the cohort would have been commanded by *tribuni* as we learn from a Greek inscription found at Marseille, where it appears the tribune, *T. Porcius Cornelianus*⁴⁵. Nevertheless, this is not a decisive proof about the chronological moment of *Provincialis* command of the unit, because the other Batavian cohort which stationed in Raetia at the beginning of the 2nd century, *III Batavorum milliaria*, was commanded by *praefecti* also after its deployment in Pannonia Inferior in 118/119⁴⁶, but it appears a tribune, too⁴⁷. As anyone can see from the entire discussion above, it is virtually impossible to date the inscription from Weissenburg, yet there are no direct proofs against an early dating of the inscription. However, I would not follow Biancardi in his assertion that *M. Victorius Provincialis* was named *praefectus* in the Weissenburg inscription because a part of its soldiers (*vexillatio*) were deployed on the territory of Moesia Inferior and therefore: "la coorte ormai della consistenza numerica di un'unita quingenaria riporta come suo comandante un praefectus"⁴⁸. As we already saw from above it is very difficult to assert such thing on the Batavian cohorts, the case of *III Batavorum milliaria* being clear enough. Therefore, we can guess that both *Batavorum* units which would have been deployed on the territory of Raetia at the beginning of the

³⁸ M. Biancardi, ZPE 140, 2002, p. 245-251.

³⁹ CIL III 11918.

⁴⁰ H. Wolff, op. cit., p. 167: "Ihrem Erscheinungsbild zufolge und wegen der Schreibweise der Kohortenziffer – IX statt VIII – scheint die Inschrift eher in das späte als das frühe 2. Jahrhundert zu gehören."

⁴¹ RIB 2445. 2.

⁴² M. G. Jarrett, Britannia 25, 1994, p. 54-56; Spaul 2000, p. 212-216 (*cohortes III et IX Batavorum*).

M. G. Jarrett, op. cit., p. 48-50; Spaul 2000, p. 225-230 (*cohortes I et II milliariae Tungrorum*).

⁴³ *Flavius Cerialis, praefectus* (PME, F 43b); *Flavius Genialis* (PME, F 49b); K.-H. Dietz, BRGK 65, 1984, p. 243, note 498; Spaul 2000, p. 215-216.

⁴⁴ The history of the Batavian cohorts is very complicated and I do not want entering in this debate. For a short information see K.-H. Dietz, op. cit., p. 242-246; M. G. Jarrett, op. cit., p. 54-55.

⁴⁵ CIG III 6771 = ILS 8852; PME, P 95.

⁴⁶ Lőrincz 2001, p. 30-31, no. 9.

⁴⁷ CIL III 10329 = Lőrincz 2001, p. 236, no. 260.

⁴⁸ M. Biancardi, op. cit., p. 250-251.

second century would have been shared the same history. Both would have been deployed in Britannia in the flavian times and then transferred in Raetia, where *III Batavorum milliaria* was first attested on the diploma from 107⁴⁹, and *IX Batavorum milliaria* by the quoted inscription from Weissenburg and by the diplomas from 116⁵⁰. The latter unit remained on Raetian territory, instead of *III Batavorum milliaria* which was deployed in Pannonia Inferior sometime after 116⁵¹.

In summary, as we have seen from the previous lines it seems that this cohort was never dislocated on the territory of Moesia Inferior. All the evidences brought up into the discussion until now, by the scholars, could be interpreted different, too. The tile stamp from *Buridava* and *Bîrseşti* could be attributed to other unit. In the diploma fragment from Oberstimm one can not be sure that *Faustinus* from there it is the one and the same person with the attested governor of Moesia Inferior, or if it is the same person we can not automatically attributed the fragment to Moesia Inferior. Finally, the diploma fragment from Dambach should rather refer to the auxiliary units from Raetia than to the auxiliary units from Moesia Inferior. Therefore I sustain that we do not have enough elements to back up the assumption that this unit was transferred on the territory of Moesia Inferior at the beginning of the second century and we have now more reason to believe that it remained on the territory of Raetia after its deployment from Britannia.

⁴⁹ CIL XVI 55.

⁵⁰ RMD 155, p. 229.

⁵¹ See note 46.

EIN DIPLOM FÜR DIE TRUPPEN VON DACIA SUPERIOR UNTER DEM KOMMANDO DES MARCIUS TURBO IM JAHR 119 n. Chr.

In Acta Musei Napocensis 38, 2001, 27 ff. wurde ein Diplom für die Truppen von Dacia Superior vom 12. November 119 n. Chr. publiziert¹. Die 13 damals insgesamt erhaltenen Fragmente, die alle zu Tabella I des Diploms gehörten, ließen es zu, einen größeren Teil des Diplomtextes zu rekonstruieren. In AMN 39, 2002/2003, 48 ff. konnte durch ein weiteres Fragment das Ende des Diploms, vor allem der Name des Kohortenpräfecten sowie die Namen des Diplomempfängers und eines Teils seiner Kinder ergänzt werden². Lediglich der Name einer Auxiliareinheit, eines Teils der Kinder und vor allem der des Statthalters fehlten. Jedoch wurde aus bestimmten Überlegungen heraus angenommen, Sextus Iulius Severus, später *cos. suff.* im Jahr 126, sei bereits zu diesem Zeitpunkt mit der Leitung von Dacia Superior betraut gewesen.

Nun sind aber neue Fragmente aufgetaucht, die den Text des Diploms fast komplettieren und einige bedeutsame Änderungen im Text der Konstitution zulassen. Erhalten sind jetzt insgesamt 19 Fragmente, die mit Ausnahme von zweien aneinander passen. Daraus ergeben sich folgende Maße für das Diplom:

Höhe: 16,01 cm; Breite: 13,5 cm; Dicke: 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe außen 4 mm; innen 5 mm.

Das Diplom stammt vermutlich aus dem mittleren Donauraum, am ehesten aus dem Bereich der römischen Provinz Pannonia, worauf zumindest die Herkunft des Diplomempfängers verweist.

Folgendes ist nunmehr auf allen Fragmenten zusammen lesbar:

Außenseite:

IMP CAE[SAR DIVI] TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI ●
NERVAE [NEPOS] TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG
PONT M[AX T]RIBVNIC POTEST III ÇQ[S I]II
EQVITIB[VS ET PE]DITIBVS QVI [MILITAVERV]NT
IN ALA VN[A ET COHORTIB SEX QVAE APPELLANTVR]
HISPANOR [ET --- ca. 10-14 --- ET I ALPI]
NOR ET I BR[ITTANNICA ∞ C R ET II BRITTON C R]
P F ET V GALL[OR ET VIII RAETOR QVAE SVNT IN]
DACIA SV[PER SVB MARCIO TVRBONE QVINIS ET]
VICENIS [PLVRIBVSVE STIPENDIS EMERITIS DI]
MISSIS HO[NESTA MISSIONE QVORVM NOMINA]
SVBSCRIP[TA SV]NT IPSIS LIBERIS P[OST]JERISQVE EO
RVM Ç[IVITATE]M DEDIT ET CONVBIV[M] CVM VXORI
● ●
BV[S QVAS TVN]C HABVISSENT, CVM EST CIVITAS
IIS DATA AVT SI QVI CAELIBES ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS
POSTEA DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS.

¹ W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplome für Auxiliärtruppen in den dakischen Provinzen*, AMN 38/I, 2001 [2003], 27 ff. I. Piso danken wir für kritische Hinweise.

² W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, AMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003 [2004], 48 ff. = RMD V 351.

A D PR IDVS NOVE
 C HERENNIO CAPELLA L COELIO RVFO COS
 COHORT VIII RAETORVM CVI PRAEST
 L. AVIANIVS [---]RATVS
 EX PEDITE
 DEMVNIO AVESSONIS F ERAVISC
 ET PRIMO F EIVS ET SATVRNINO F EIVS
 ET POTENTI F EIVS ET VIBIAE FIL EIVS
 ET COMATVMRAE FIL EIVS
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AENEA
 QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST TEMPLVM
 DIVI [AVG] AD MINERVAM ●

Innenseite:

IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F DIVI
 NERVAE NEPOS T[RAI]ANVS HADRIANVS AVG
 PONTIF MAX TRI[B POTES]T III COS III
 [EQVI]T ET P[EDI]T QV[I] MILIT IN ALA VNA [ET]
 [COHORTIBVS SEX QVAE APPELL]ANTVR HISPANORVM
 ET I[] E]T I ALPINOR ET I BRITTANNIC
 ∞ C R[] ET II BRIT]TON C R P F ET V GALLOR ET VIII
 RAET[OR QVAE SVN]T IN DACIA SVPER SVB MARCI
 TVR[BONE QVI]NIS ET VICENIS PLVRIBVS
 VE [STIPENDI]S EMERIT DIMISS HONEST
 MI[SSIONE QVORV]M ●NOM SVBSCRIPT
 SV[NT IPSIS L]IBERIS POSTERISQVE EO
 RVM C[IVITATEM] DEDIT ET CONVBIV CVM

Die neuen Fragmente bestätigen manche Vermutungen, die früher geäußert wurden. An der Liste der Einheiten ändert sich nichts Grundsätzliches, doch werden die Überlegungen, die Paul Holder in RMD V 351 publiziert hat, hier eingeschlossen³. Bekannt ist die einzige in der Konstitution genannte *ala* sowie fünf der sechs Kohorten. Der Name der an erster Stelle angeführten *cohors* bleibt freilich weiterhin unbekannt. Folgendes ist zu den Einheiten zu bemerken:

Ala I Hispanorum: Zwei verschiedene Einheiten könnten mit dieser *ala I Hispanorum* gemeint sein. Zum einen kennen wir die *ala I Hispanorum Campagorum*, die im Jahr 114 noch in Pannonia inferior stand⁴. In Dacia Superior ist sie ohne Unterbrechung bis ins 3. Jh. hinein bezeugt. Ihr Lager war von Anfang an Micia. Mit dieser *ala* wurde diese Einheit bei der Erstpublikation des Großteils der Fragmente dieses Diploms identifiziert⁵. Nach Paul Holder sollte sie aber eher nicht mit dieser identifiziert werden, sondern mit der Reitereinheit, die aus Moesia inferior kam, wo sie bis zum Jahr 105 bezeugt ist⁶. Da sie nach diesem Diplom bereits im Jahr 119 in Dacia Superior stationiert gewesen wäre, wäre sie wohl bereits spätestens unter Traian, etwa im Zusammenhang mit den militärischen Unternehmungen, bei denen der Statthalter

³ Vgl. auch O. Tentea, F. Matei-Popescu, AMN 39-40/I, 2002-2003 [2004], 259 ff.

⁴ RMD III 153. Vgl. B. Lörincz, Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit, Wien 2001, 21.

⁵ Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl (Anm. 1) 32. Vgl. C. C. Petolescu, Auxilia Daciae, Bukarest 2002, 72 Anm. 13 (zu seiner dortigen Kritik siehe Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl [Anm. 1] Anm. 18).

⁶ RMD V 351 Anm. 2.

Iulius Quadratus Ende 117/Anfang 118 gefallen ist⁷, in diese Provinz versetzt worden sein. Allerdings gehört diese Ala bereits unter Hadrian zum Heer von Dacia Inferior; sie müßte also sehr schnell die Provinz gewechselt haben. Das ist zwar gerade am Anfang der Reorganisation des gesamten Provinzkomplexes nicht ausgeschlossen. Doch ist es natürlicher anzunehmen, dass die beiden Alen sogleich bei der Einrichtung von Dacia Superior und inferior den entsprechenden Heeren zugeteilt wurden.

Kohorten:

1. *Cohors I [---]*. Nach der Verteilung des Textes auf Außen- und Innenseite kann in der Lücke vor der *cohors I Alpinorum* nur der Name einer einzigen Einheit gestanden haben. Welche Kohorte dies war, läßt sich nicht sagen. Die Nummer 1 ist nunmehr durch den Rest einer senkrechten Haste sehr wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht zwingend zu erschließen.

2. *Cohors I Alpinorum*: Sie ist durch Diplome der Jahre 144 und 179 in der Provinz Dacia Superior bezeugt⁸. Zuvor ist sie bereits durch RMD IV 226 und CIL XVI 57 und 163 in Dacia bezeugt. Dieses Diplom zeigt, daß sie von Anfang an zum Bestand des oberdakischen Heeres gehörte.

3. *Cohors I Brita[nn.]*: Vermutlich handelt es sich um die *cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R. equitata*, die seit dem Jahr 109 in Dacia stand, sodann ab 123 ständig zum Heer von Dacia Porolissensis gehörte⁹. Sie dürfte bei der Schaffung der Dacia Porolissensis deren Heer zugewiesen worden sein. Der Befund zeigt damit auch, daß die Porolissensis im Jahr 119 zum Zeitpunkt der Ausgabe dieses Diploms (11. November) eher noch nicht bestanden hat¹⁰.

4. *[Cohors II Brit]ton(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)*. In der Erstpublikation war hier die *cohors I Brittonum c. R. p. f.* ergänzt worden. Doch hat Paul Holder, vielleicht zu Recht, darauf hingewiesen, dass diese Einheit die Ehrennamen *p. f.* Möglicherweise nicht lange beibehalten hat, während dies bei der *cohors II Brittonum* anders gewesen sein dürfte¹¹. Auch sie war von Beginn an Teil des dakischen Heeres, wie Diplome von 109, 110 und 114 zeigen¹². Auch sie könnte schon bei der Einrichtung dieser dritten dakischen Provinz dem neuen Präsidialprokurator unterstellt worden sein. Diese Einheit war eine *cohors milliaria*, was aber in diesem Diplom nicht angeführt wird.

5. *Cohors V Gallorum*. Die Geschichte dieser Einheit oder besser mehrerer Einheiten mit demselben Namen ist noch nicht im Detail geklärt¹³. Vermutlich handelt es sich bei der hier angeführten Einheit in Dacia Superior um die Kohorte, die vor den Dakerkriegen Traians dem Heer von Obermösien angehört hatte. Unter Traian wurde sie oder vielleicht eher ein Teil der Kohorte dem *exercitus Dacicus* zugewiesen, wo die

⁷ I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae I. Die senatorischen Amtsträger*, Bonn 1993, 28.

⁸ CIL XVI 90; RMD II 123. Vgl. C. C. Petolescu, *Die Auxiliareinheiten im römischen Dakien*, AMN 34, 1997, 75ff. bes. 89; J. Spaul, *Cohors*². The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army, Oxford 2000, 259 ff. Er verteilt allerdings die Zeugnisse für eine *cohors I Alpinorum* in Dacia Superior auf zwei verschiedene Einheiten: eine *I Alpinorum equitata* und eine *I Alpinorum peditata*. Die zeitliche Fragmentierung der Stationierung in Dakien zeigt jedoch, daß seine Verteilung der Zeugnisse so nicht zutreffen kann.

⁹ Petolescu, *Auxiliareinheiten* (Anm. 8) 92 f.; Spaul, *Cohors* (Anm. 8) 193 f.

¹⁰ Vgl. in diesem Sinn auch Piso (Anm. 7) 34 in der Diskussion anders lautender Vorstellungen.

¹¹ RMD V 351 Anm. 2.

¹² RMD III 148; CIL XVI 163; RMD IV 226.

¹³ Siehe das Material dazu bei I. Piso, D. Benea, ZPE 56, 1984, 281 ff.; Petolescu, *Auxiliareinheiten* (Anm. 8) 107 f. und Spaul, *Cohors* (Anm. 8) 170. Die Möglichkeit, daß es sich in Dacia Superior und in Moesia Superior um zwei Einheiten desselben Namens handeln könnte, wurde in den bisherigen Untersuchungen nicht wirklich in Rechnung gestellt. Ein ständiger Wechsel zwischen Obermösien und Dakien ist sehr unwahrscheinlich. Daß gleichnamige Einheiten durch Teilung und dann Auffüllung mit neuen Soldaten entstanden, ist weit häufiger, als manchmal zugestanden wird.

Teileinheit dann, wie es auch sonst nicht selten geschah, zu einer vollen Kohorte aufgestockt wurde. Seit Hadrian war sie jedenfalls Teil des oberdakischen Heeres¹⁴; dort ist sie noch im Jahr 179 bezeugt¹⁵.

6. *Cohors VIII Raetorum equitata*. Sie hatte vor den Dakerkriegen Traians dem Heer von Pannonia angehört; während dieser Kriege war sie jedoch Teil des obermösischen Heeres geworden¹⁶. Bereits 109 erscheint sie in einem dakischen Diplom, ebenso im Jahr 110¹⁷. Von Anfang an war sie sodann, wie dieses Diplom zeigt, dem Statthalter von Oberdakien unterstellt, wo sie auch noch 179 stationiert war¹⁸. Die Einheit war eine *cohors milliaria*, was aber in diesem Diplom nicht angeführt wird. Ihr Lager befand sich zunächst in Inläceni, später in Teregovă¹⁹.

Bekannt ist nunmehr auch der volle Name des Diplomempfängers: *Demuncius*, Sohn eines *Avesso*. Beide Namen scheinen in dieser Form noch nicht bezeugt zu sein. Doch verweisen Namen, die mit dem Bestandteil *Demi-* beginnen und sich in Oberitalien und Gallien finden, auf einen keltischen Zusammenhang²⁰. Gleiches gilt für *Avesso*, dessen erste Silbe *Ave-* etwa im selben geographischen Raum anzutreffen ist²¹. Die drei Söhne des Veteranen tragen lateinische Cognomina, wobei der erste bezeichnenderweise den sprechenden Namen *Primus* erhielt. Auch die erste Tochter wird mit einem lateinischen Namen, *Vibia*, bezeichnet, nur die zuletzt geborene Tochter scheint einen einheimischen Namen zu tragen: *Comaturma*. Im westlichen Balkanraum finden sich nahe damit verwandte Namen wie *Comatuia*, *Comatullus* oder *Comatumarus*, die sich in Pannonien konzentrieren²². Vermutlich handelt es sich dabei ebenfalls wie bei Vater und Großvater um einen Namen der Skordisker. Dieser Stamm siedelte zwischen Aquincum und Intercisa.

Der Lesetext des Diploms lautet damit folgendermaßen:

Außenseite:

Imp. Cae[sar, divi] Traiani Parthici f. divi Nervae [nepos] Traianus Hadrianus Aug[ustus], pont[ifex] m[aximus] t[ribunicia] potest[ate] III co[n]s[ul] I II

equitib[us] et pe[ditibus] qui [militaveru]nt in ala un[a] et cohortibus sex quae appellantur] (1) Hispanor[um] [et (1) I--- ca. 10-14 --- et (2) I Alpi]nor[um] et (3) I Br[itannic(a)] (milliaria) c[ivium] R[omanorum] et (4) II ? Britton[um] c[ivium] R[omanorum]] p[ro]p[ri]a f[amilia] et (5) V Gall[or]um et (6) VIII Raetor[um] quae sunt in] Dacia su[per]iore sub Marcio Turbone quinis et] vicienis [pluribusve stipendis emerit[is] di]missis h[onesta] missione,

quorum nomina] subscrip[ta] su]nt, ipsis liberis p[ro]st[er]isque eo[rum] civitate]m dedit et conubium cum uxorib[us], quas tun]c habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.

a. d. pr[ae]sidie idus Nove[m]bris C. Herennio Capella, L. Coelio Rufo cos.

cohort[is] VIII Raetorum cui praest L. Avianius [---]ratu[s] ex ped[ite] Demuncio Avessonis f[il]io Eravisc[o] et Primo f[il]io eius et Saturnino f[il]io eius et Potenti f[il]io eius et Vibiae fil[iae] eius et Comaturmae fil[iae] eius.

Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae post templum divi [Aug[usti]] ad Minervam.

¹⁴ In CIL XVI 90 aus dem J. 144 ist sie wohl an vorletzter Stelle in der Liste zu ergänzen: V [Gallorum].

¹⁵ RMD II 123. Vgl. zu ihr auch RMD V 351 Anm. 2.

¹⁶ Petolescu, *Auxiliareinheiten* (Anm. 8) 116 f.; Spaul, *Cohors* (Anm.8) 287.

¹⁷ RMD III 148; CIL XVI 57. 163.

¹⁸ CIL XVI 90; in RMD II 123 (vom Jahr 144) stand der Name wohl in einer der Lücken des Diploms.

¹⁹ Piso, Benea (Anm. 13) 287 f.; Petolescu, *Auxiliareinheiten* (Anm. 8) 116 mit Verweis auf AE 1960, 375.

²⁰ OPEL II 97.

²¹ OPEL I 222f.

²² OPEL II 69 f.

Innenseite:

Imp. Caesar, divi Traiani Parthici f. divi Nervae nepos T[ra]ianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus), pontif(ex) max(imus) tri[b(unicia) potes]t(ate) III co(n)s(ul) III

[equi]t(ibus) et p[edi]t(ibus) qu[i] milit(averunt) in ala una [et cohortibus sex quae appell]antur (1) Hispanorum et (1) I [--- ca. 10-14 --- e]t (2) I Alpinor(um) et (3) I Brittannic(a) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [et (4) II Brit]ton(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) et (5) V Gallor(um) et (6) VIII Raet[or(um)] quae sun]t in Dacia super(iore) sub Marci(o) Tur[bone qui]nis et vicens pluribusve [stipendi]s emerit(is) dimiss(is) honest(a) mi[ss]ion(e),

quoru]m nom(in)a subscript(a) su[nt, ipsis l]iberis posterisque eorum c[ivitate]m dedit et conubiu[m] cum [uxoribus] etc.

Die wichtigste neue Information betrifft freilich den Statthalter. In der Erstpublikation des Diploms war, wie oben angeführt, vermutet worden, Sex. Iulius Severus, der erste senatorische Statthalter nach der Teilung der Provinz Dacia, sei schon im Herbst des Jahres 119 in der Provinz gewesen²³. Dies stellt sich nunmehr als nicht zutreffend heraus. Vielmehr erscheint Marcius Turbo, den Hadrian, obwohl er nur ritterlichen Ranges war, mit der Leitung der beiden Provinzen Dacia und Pannonia Inferior beauftragt hatte, als der verantwortliche Statthalter²⁴.

Nach dem Wortlaut dieses Diploms ist er noch am 12. November 119 in Dacia superior im Einsatz. Andererseits hat ein weiteres Diplom, das zwischen dem 16. März und dem 13. April 119 für die Truppen von Pannonia inferior ausgestellt wurde, gezeigt, dass Turbo jedenfalls in dieser pannonischen Provinz im März 119 nicht mehr als Statthalter amtierte, vielmehr der Senator Cornelius Latinianus²⁵. Das aber heisst, dass die zeitliche Abfolge von Turbos Kommando in diesen beiden Provinzen, die man aus einigen Passagen der *Historia Augusta* erschlossen hatte, tatsächlich eingetreten ist²⁶. Zunächst übernahm er im Verlauf des Jahres 118 in beiden Provinzen die Statthalterschaft, um die militärischen Probleme, die sich aus den Aktionen der Jazygen ergaben, zu lösen. Als dies geschehen war, wurde Pannonia Inferior wieder einem eigenen senatorischen Statthalter anvertraut, nämlich dem schon genannten Cornelius Latinianus. Marcius Turbo aber blieb in Dacia, wo er nunmehr offensichtlich vor allem die Neugliederung durchzuführen, aber vermutlich auch noch die letzten Kämpfe abzuschließen hatte. Die Aufgabe der Neuordnung des dakischen Territoriums war am 12. November schon soweit abgeschlossen, dass Veteranen entlassen werden konnten, die bereits zum Heer von Dacia Superior gehörten. Vermutlich hat Turbo noch Ende 119, spätestens Anfang 120 die Provinz verlassen und hat in Rom seine neue Aufgabe als einer der beiden Prätorianerpräfekten übernommen.

²³ Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl (Anm. 1) 32.

²⁴ Die gesamte Literatur zu ihm braucht hier nicht angeführt zu werden; siehe dazu in Kürze I. Piso im 2. Band seiner *Fasti provinciae Daciae*. Hier sei nur auf folgende Arbeiten verwiesen: R. Syme, *The Wrong Marcius Turbo*, JRS 52, 1962, 87 ff. = *Roman Papers II*, Oxford 1979, 541 ff.; B. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani*, Göteborg 1996, 199f.; W. Eck, *Q. Marcius Turbo in Niedermösien*, in: *Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Festschrift für A. Lippold zum 65. Geb.*, Würzburg 1993, 247 ff.; I. Piso, *Der Prätorianerpräfekt Q. Marcius Turbo und seine Söhne*, ZPE 150, 2004, 270 ff.

²⁵ W. Eck, D. MacDonald, A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplome für die Auxiliärtruppen von Unterpannonien und die dakischen Provinzen aus hadrianischer Zeit*, AMN 39-40, 2002-2003 [2004], 25 ff.

²⁶ HA Hadr. 6, 6-8: *Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxolanarum praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petit. Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanium praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit*. Hadr. 7, 3: *Unde statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato*. Siehe z. B. R. Syme, JRS 52, 1962, 87 = *Roman Papers 2*, 541.

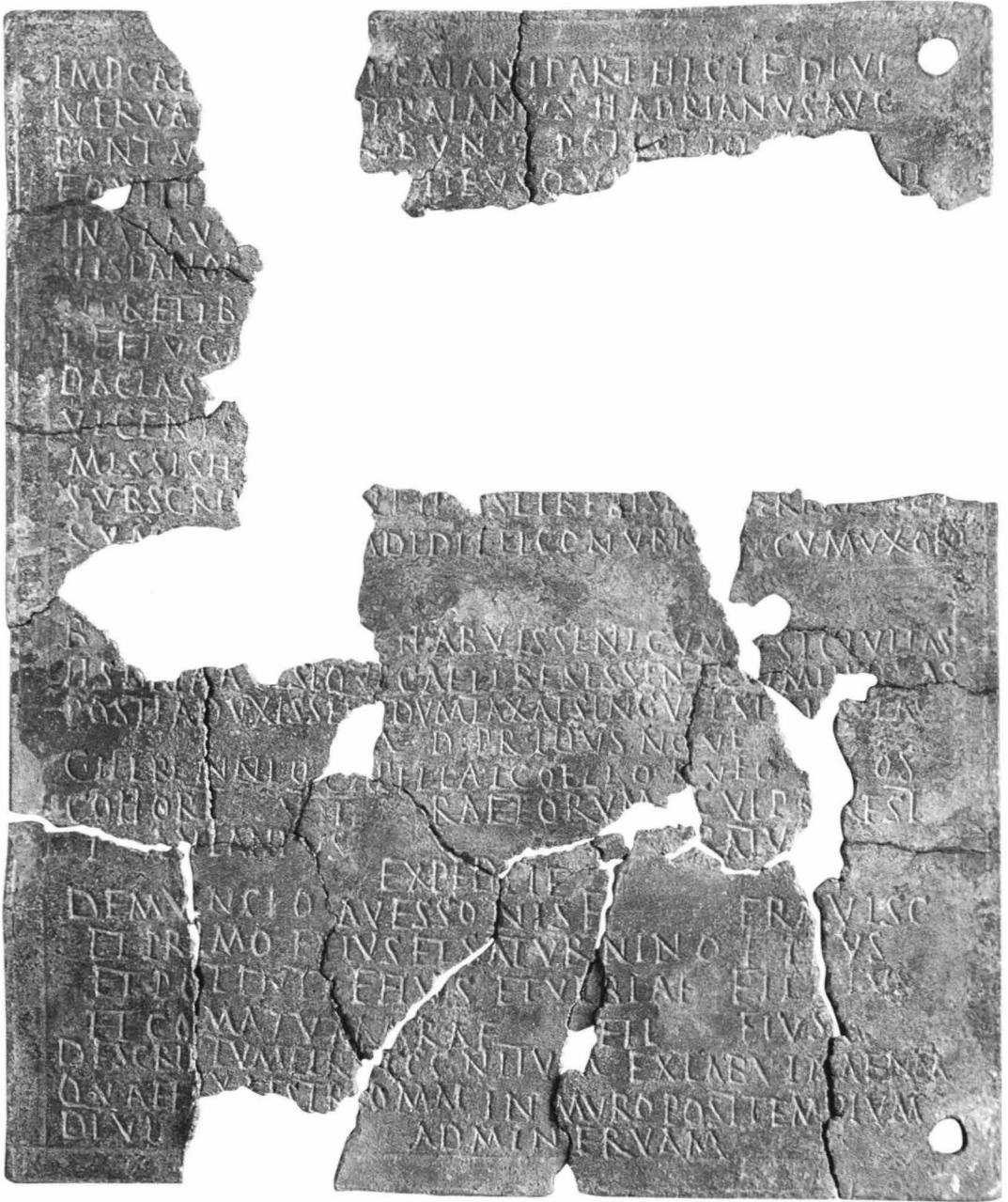


Abb. 1. Das Diplom vom 12. November 119 – Tab. I – Außenseite.



Abb. 2. Das Diplom vom 12. November 119 – Tab. I – Innenseite.

Dass Hadrian zu dieser Lösung griff, einem Ritter und nicht einem Senator das Kommando über die zwei Provinzen Pannonia Inferior und Dacia mit den dort stationierten Legionen anzuvertrauen, ist leicht aus den allgemeinen Umständen des Herrschaftsbeginns des neuen Kaisers erklärlich. Hadrians Stellung war durch die Beseitigung von vier hochangesehenen Konsularen innenpolitisch schwach. Da wäre es problematisch gewesen, wenn er ein so weit gespanntes Kommando über zwei Provinzen, das ihm aus militärischen Gründen nötig schien, einem Senator anvertraut hätte, zumal die so von Turbo kontrollierte Region sehr nahe an Italien lag. Ein dort amtierender senatorischer Statthalter hätte, wenn er nicht absolut loyal war, im innenpolitischen Machtkampf sehr entscheidend sein können. Diese Überlegungen haben es wohl Hadrian als ratsam erscheinen lassen, Turbo mit der Aufgabe zu betrauen, zunächst von beiden Provinzen aus die militärische Bedrohung von außen zu bekämpfen. In den vorausgehenden Jahren hatte Turbo seine besondere militärische Eignung auf verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen in Ägypten und Mauretanien bewiesen. Bei ihm war sich Hadrian offensichtlich sehr sicher, dass er keinen politischen Frontwechsel gegen ihn vornehmen werde. Darin hat Hadrian sich auch nicht getäuscht.

TRADITIONS ONOMASTIQUES, BRASSAGES ET MOBILITÉ DE POPULATIONS D'APRÈS UN DIPLÔME MILITAIRE POUR LA DACIE SUPÉRIEURE DE 123 (RGZM 22)

Un diplôme militaire récemment publié (constitution du 14 avril 123), accordé à un militaire ayant terminé son service en Dacie Supérieure, offre un cas intéressant à plusieurs égards: histoire sociale et mobilité, onomastique et brassage de populations. Bien qu'il ne soit pas un document unique, il constitue néanmoins l'exemple le plus révélateur que je connaisse pour ce type de documents. Voici le texte de la formule onomastique (RGZM 22)¹:

coh(orte) II Flavia Commagenor(um), cui praest
Ulpius *Victor,*
ex equite
Zaccae *Pallaei* *f(ilio)* *Syro,*
et Iuliae Bithi fil(iae) Florentinae uxor(i) eius Bess(ae),
et Arsamae *f(ilio) eius, et Abisalmae* *f(ilio) eius,*
et Sabino *f(ilio) eius, et Zabaeo* *f(ilio) eius,*
et Achilleo *f(ilio) eius, et Sabinae fil(iae) eius.*

Précisons d'entrée de jeu un détail non sans importance: contrairement à la plupart des diplômes parus ces dernières années sur le marché des Antiquités, le lieu de découverte de ce document est connu. Il s'agit de la ville moderne d'Urfa, en Turquie, qui recouvre l'antique Édesse (Urhaï), métropole syrienne en Osrhoène, capitale du royaume des Abgarides². Par conséquent, le militaire mentionné est revenu sur ses terres d'origine, après avoir quitté la Dacie, où il avait été libéré à la fin de son service de 25 ans (il a été vraisemblablement recruté autour de 98).

Du point de vue onomastique, l'apport de ce nouveau document est des plus étonnants: on compte des noms syriens, latins, grecs, iraniens et même thraces. Ce brassage onomastique est révélateur aussi bien de l'arrière-plan régional du militaire, que des endroits où il a servi, comme il ressortira du commentaire:

(1) noms syriens: *Abisalma*, *Pallaeus*, *Zacca*, *Zabaeus*.

(2) noms latins: *Iulia Florentina*, *Sabinus*, *Sabina*.

¹ B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, I, Mayence, 2004, p. 64-70, n° 22 (et photographies tome II, pl. 38-39); texte repris par C. C. Petolescu, *ILD*, p. 35-36, n° 20. Je remercie vivement M. Maurice Sartre pour les références aimablement communiquées concernant les noms sémitiques (tirées de sa base de données pour le futur tome VI du *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*), ainsi que Antony Hostein pour sa lecture attentive et ses observations.

² Voir H. J. W. Drijvers, *Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa. Die Städte der syrisch-mesopotamischen Wüste in politischer, kulturgeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, ANRW III/8, 1977, p. 863-896; J. Wagner, *Provincia Osrhoenae. New Archaeological Finds Illustrating the Military Organisation under the Severan Dynasty*, dans: S. Mitchell (éd.), *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at University College, Swansea, in April 1981*, Oxford 1983 (*BAR Int. Ser.* 156), p. 103-129; M.-G. Laude, *La politique des rois d'Édesse, entre Rome et les Parthes*, *Electrum* 7, Kraków 2003, p. 83-99; en général, S. K. Ross, *Roman Edessa. Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire*, 114-242 CE, Londres-New York 2001.

- (3) nom grec: *Achilleus*.
- (4) nom iranien: *Arsama*.
- (5) nom thrace: *Bithus*.

Noms syriens

Presque tous les noms syriens mentionnés sur ce diplôme sont des retranscriptions latines de noms déjà connus:

- *Zacca* est une variante du nom connu par les graphies grecques *Ζακχαῖος*, *Ζαχαῖος*³, ainsi que *Ζαχχεός*, *Ζαχέος*, *Ζακχεός* (inf. M. Sartre).

- *Zabaeus* est rarement attesté, sous les graphies *Ζαβαιος*, *Ζαββαιος*⁴ et *Ζαββας* (inf. M. Sartre), étant vraisemblablement une forme de *Ζαβδαιος*, nom qui est, en revanche, très fréquent⁵. En graphie latine, on le rencontre tel quel pour un militaire de la coh. XX *Palmyrenorum*, à Doura-Europos: *Aufr.] Zabae[u]s* (P. Dura 101 col. XXIV₂₃) (dans cette même unité, d'autres soldats portent le même nom, sous la graphie *Zabbaeus*).

- *Abisalma* est assez rare. En graphie latine, on le rencontre plusieurs fois à Doura-Europos, dans la coh. XX *Palmyrenorum*: (1) patronyme: *[A]bedsalme* (P. Dura 97₈); (2) *Aur. Abedsalmas Iarhaei* (P. Dura 100 col. XIV₄; P. Dura 101 col. XLV₁₄ [graphie *Abidsalmas*]); (3) *Aur. Abedsalmas Thema[rsa]* (P. Dura 100 col. XXXIX₁₀). Récemment, il apparaît en graphie grecque sur un timbre amphorique hellénistique de Jebel Khalid, au Sud-Est d'*Hiérapolis* (auj. Membidj): *Αβιδσαλμας* (SEG LII 1574: gén. *Αβιδσαλμα*)⁶.

- *Pallaeus* est peut-être syrien, même si les deux autres occurrences latines attestées sont ambiguës⁷. Heureusement, l'attestation la plus intéressante appartient à la même aire nord-syrienne: dans une inscription de Damlica, sur la rive droite de l'Euphrate (près de Samosate), concernant l'érection de statues sous le roi Mithridate II de Commagène (vers 36-20 av. J.-C.), il est question d'un certain *Ἀριαράμνης Παλαίου ἀρχιτέκ[τ]ων[ι]*⁸.

Nom iranien

- *Arsama* est un nom iranien bien attesté, davantage sous sa graphie grecque *Ἀρσάμης*⁹. Sa présence n'est pas étonnante: en Cappadoce voisine les noms iraniens

³ Cf. H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, p. 49. Ce répertoire est pourtant largement dépassé du point de vue de la documentation. Voir pour un aperçu utile des noms de facture sémitique M. Sartre, *Bostra. Des origines à l'Islam*, Paris 1985 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 117), p. 141-152 (onomastique sémitique et gréco-romaine) et 161-245 (index commenté des noms).

⁴ H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen...*, p. 47.

⁵ On le rencontre, par exemple, dans un diplôme militaire du 29 novembre 221 (RMD IV 307): *Zabdaeus*, fils d'un marin originaire de *Dolich(e) ex Syria*.

⁶ P.-L. Gatier, c.r. de l'ouvrage *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates. Report on Excavations 1986-1996*, I, Sydney, dans: *Topoi* 12-13, 2005, p. 754 (et BÉ 2004, 377). M. Sartre m'a aimablement fourni une autre attestation de ce nom, à M'alulâ (Damascène), en 167 ap. J.-C., où il lit *Αβισαλμας* (l'éditeur Bliss avait lu sur la pierre *Αβισαλνυλ*).

⁷ L. *Albutius Pallaeus* à Turin (CIL V 7095), et A. *Metilius A. l. Pallaeus* à Rome (CIL VI 22462). H. Solin propose d'y voir, mais avec un doute, un nom grec, *Palaeus* (pensant à *Παλαιός*) (*Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch II*, Berlin-New York 2003², p. 1024). Mais l'origine syrienne semble plus probable. D'autre part, M. Sartre suggère que, si *Pallaeus* est syrien, il faut le rapprocher de noms tels *Φαλέας* et *Φαλλαιος* (Mont Hermon, Adraha en Arabie et dans le Hauran).

⁸ S. Şahin, *Forschungen in Kommagene I: Epigraphik*, EA 18, 1991, p. 101-105 (= SEG XLI 1501); M.-Chr. Hellmann, *Les signatures d'architectes en langue grecque: essai de mise au point*, ZPE 104, 1994, n° 20, p. 157-158. Il convient de noter que le nom de l'architecte est iranien.

⁹ F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 29, s.v. *Ἀρσάμης*; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague 1964, p. 99, § 107-13 (*Ἀρσάκης*, *Ἀρσάμης*).

sont courants¹⁰; un des rois de Commagène portait le nom d'Arsamès, d'où les noms des villes Arsameia et Arsamosata¹¹; enfin, la ville d'Édesse a subi une forte influence du royaume des Parthes.

Nom grec

- *Achilleus* est un nom grec mythologique (*Ἀχιλλεύς*), très affectionné à l'époque impériale, aussi bien dans la partie hellénophone que dans la partie latinophone de l'Empire¹².

Noms latins

La femme du militaire s'appelle *Iulia Florentina*¹³, gentilice et *cognomen* des plus banaux. Pourtant, elle était d'origine thrace (« besse », dans les diplômes, est un terme générique pour « Thrace » ou « de Thrace »), comme l'indiquent aussi bien son patronyme – elle est fille d'un *Bithus* – que son pseudo-ethnique, *Bess(a)*. On mesure ainsi l'importance de toutes ces indications apportées par les diplômes militaires. Une fois de plus on est devant une onomastique banale (ou « neutre ») qui, en absence de tout contexte, serait inexploitable. C'est pourquoi il faut toujours regarder avec prudence les attributions, sur la base des simples noms de facture latine, d'une origine italique/latine/romaine de leurs porteurs (de même dans le cas des porteurs de noms grecs dans l'Orient grec, dont l'origine réelle, ethnique ou territoriale, est très souvent bien différente). De tels noms banaux et neutres peuvent être portés par des pérégrins ou des citoyens récents et, en l'absence d'autres indications, toute spéculation sur leur origine se révèle particulièrement dangereuse. Le caractère et le formulaire de chaque document épigraphique, ainsi que son contexte précis, sont déterminants. Dans le cas présent, supposons par exemple que l'on n'ait retrouvé que l'épithaphe du militaire, dont l'origine syrienne aurait probablement été mentionnée. Dans le passage relatif à sa femme, on aurait lu uniquement sur la pierre: *Iulia Florentina uxor/coniu(n)x*. Par conséquent, les commentateurs auraient insisté sur son onomastique *latine*, ignorant tout quant à son origine géographique. Qui plus est, si l'on se fie à ses noms, *Iulia Florentina* était déjà citoyenne, renforçant l'hypothèse qu'elle était la fille d'un vétéran thrace, hypothèse sur laquelle nous allons revenir plus loin.

Parmi les six enfants, un fils et une fille portent le couple de noms latins *Sabinus-Sabina*. Cependant, la fréquence particulière de ce nom dans plusieurs contrées de Syrie invite à prendre en compte la possibilité qu'ils s'agisse de noms d'assonance¹⁴. En d'autres termes, et malgré sa facture latine, l'emploi de ce couple onomastique n'est nullement innocent, et reste significatif de l'origine géographique – en l'occurrence, syrienne – de leur père.

¹⁰ Cf. L. Robert, Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine I, Paris 1963, p. 516-519.

¹¹ Voir en général M. Facello, Basileus Arsames. Sulla storia dinastica di Commagene, dans: V. Biagio (éd.), Studi ellenistici XII, Pise-Rome 1999, p. 127-158.

¹² Nombreuses occurrences à Rome (83 personnes): voir H. Solin, Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom I, Chicago, p. 504-506; 33 personnes dans les provinces latines d'Europe: OPEL I 13.

¹³ B. Pferdehirt avait lu *Fiorentinae*, mais sur la photographie (tome II, pl. 54) le L, très petit, a exactement la même forme que dans le nom (au datif) *Abisalmæ*.

¹⁴ M. Sartre, Bostra..., p. 233-234; Y. E. Meimaris et K. I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia. Vol. Ia. The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora), Athènes 2005 (*MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 41), p. 335-336. Pour les noms d'assonance, voir M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Réflexions sur les anthroponymes "à double entrée" dans le monde romain*, AC 74, 2005, p. 225-231; pour les noms d'assonance syrienne, voir H. Solin, *Anthroponymie und Epigraphik. Einheimische und fremde Bevölkerung*, Hyperboreus 1, Sankt-Petersburg 1994-1995, p. 100-101.

Nom thrace

Pour terminer, *Bithus*, le patronyme de la femme du militaire, est le nom thrace le plus courant¹⁵.

*

Le diplôme comporte deux ethniques: *Syrus* pour le cavalier, et *Bessa* pour sa femme, précisions confirmées par les noms ou bien par les patronymes qu'ils portent. Dans la région d'où venait *Zacca*, le mélange des noms syriens, iraniens et grecs était banal, depuis des siècles déjà. À cet ensemble anthroponymique s'ajoutèrent par la suite les noms latins. Originaire d'une région hellénophone (au moins du point de vue des traditions épigraphiques – car le syriaque est la langue courante), *Zacca Pallaei f. Syrus* effectua son service militaire dans les Balkans – mais dans une unité « ethnique », la deuxième cohorte montée de Commagéniens –, et plus précisément en Mésie Supérieure – région de contact entre latinophones et hellénophones –, avant d'arriver, avec son unité, en Dacie, province latinophone, où il passa les 15 dernières années de son service¹⁶. Le hasard fait que sur son diplôme on aperçoit, du point de vue onomastique, les trois composantes de sa région d'origine (syrienne, grecque, iranienne), auxquelles s'ajoute la composante romaine, due à son engagement¹⁷. Chose significative, la composante thrace est absente: on mesure ainsi le choix décisif du père dans la *Namegebung* de ses enfants; sa femme thrace n'a pas eu apparemment le droit de choisir le nom de ses enfants. Qui plus est, le lieu de découverte du diplôme implique le fait que son possesseur, avec son épouse et probablement avec ses enfants, est retourné chez lui, en Syrie du Nord. Conservatisme onomastique et retour au pays, malgré un parcours dans plusieurs provinces de l'Empire, se rencontrent aussi dans le cas d'autres militaires massivement recrutés, comme les Thraces et les Daces.

Cette disproportion dans le choix onomastique (reléguant la femme dans un plan secondaire), tellement évidente dans ce document, semble avoir été prépondérante dans les familles mixtes. Cependant, dans d'autres familles, les noms des enfants reflètent chacune des traditions ou composantes. Citons une famille, relevée dans le texte d'un diplôme militaire, composée d'un marin thrace et d'une femme dont l'ethnique est *Italic(a)*: leurs quatre enfants (deux garçons, deux filles) portent des noms latins et thraces¹⁸. Autant dire que la situation pouvait varier.

Sur le diplôme du cavalier syrien la proportion des garçons est frappante: ils sont cinq sur six enfants ! Cela s'accorde bien avec la prédominance générale des garçons

¹⁵ D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Vienne, 1976², p. 66-68; OPEL I 299; LGPN IV 69-71. Cette nouvelle occurrence du nom *Bithus* doit être ajoutée à celles relevées dans mon article *Onomastique est-balkanique en Dacie romaine (noms thraces et daces)*, dans *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj, 2004, p. 437; avec sa dizaine d'occurrences en Dacie romaine, *Bithus* reste, sans surprise, le nom thrace le mieux attesté.

¹⁶ Entre temps, la ville d'Édesse avait connu sous Trajan des années mouvementées, notamment la destruction par le général Lusius Quietus et une courte période de contrôle romain direct. Sous Hadrien, un membre de la dynastie locale revient au pouvoir: Ma'nu VII fils d'Izatès (123-139 ap. J.-C.). Voir J. Wagner, *Provincia Osrohoenae...*, p. 104-105; S. K. Ross, *Roman Edessa...*, p. 29-45.

¹⁷ Voir les considérations et les réserves avancées par M. Sartre, *Nom, langue et identité culturelle en Syrie aux époques hellénistique et romaine*, dans J.-B. Humbert et A. Desreumaux (éds.), *Fouilles de Khirbet es-Samra en Jordanie. I. La voie romaine. Le cimetière. Les documents épigraphiques*, Turnhout, 1998, p. 555-562; N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria*, Ann Arbor (Mich.), 2000, p. 111-134 (*Ethnicity and Army Recruitment*). Au sein d'une même famille peuvent coexister différentes traditions onomastiques et culturelles: voir J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Onomastique et histoire de la Syrie gréco-romaine*, dans D. M. Pippidi (éd.), *Actes du VII^e Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*, Bucarest-Paris, 1979, p. 171-183.

¹⁸ Le marin de Misène *C. Iulius Seuthi f. Bithus de Philippopolis ex Thr(acia)* épouse lors de son service *Marcia Acti <f>(ilia) Secunda Italic(a)* et reste avec elle en Italie, car ce diplôme du 7 février 160 (RMD II 105) a été découvert à Naples. Leurs enfants s'appellent: *Longinus, Bithus, Iulia, Bendis*.

sur les diplômes militaires: ces documents, où *tous* les enfants étaient nommés (quand ils étaient nommés; d'abord les garçons, puis les filles), attestent un nombre beaucoup plus élevé de garçons que de filles. Cet écart considérable indique une préférence nette pour la progéniture mâle, et témoigne vraisemblablement d'une pratique d'exposition des nouveaux-nés¹⁹.

La *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum*, présente en Dacie au moins depuis 109, était cantonnée à *Micia* (auj. Vețel), en Dacie Supérieure. Outre les attestations directes de cette unité, on connaît plusieurs dédicaces à des divinités orientales, tels *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*, *Iupiter Turmasgades*, *Iupiter Erapolitanus* et *Dea Syria*²⁰. Pour d'autres unités de Commagénien, on connaît rarement les noms des simples militaires: citons, par exemple, sur l'épithaphe d'un vétéran de la *coh. I Flavia Commagenorum* implantée en Mésie Inférieure, le nom iranien de son collègue d'armes *Mitridates* et celui, sémitique, de *Barales* (inscription de Tomi, *ISM II* 176).

Le regroupement de troupes mentionné sur le diplôme du 14 avril 123 (la *coh. II Flavia Commagenorum* et les *pedites Britannici* de Dacie Supérieure ainsi que l'*ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* et la *coh. II Gallorum Macedonica*, avec la mention précieuse *translatis in Dacia Porolissensi*) indique leur envoi dans une expédition, probablement celle orientale. Auparavant, la deuxième cohorte commagénienne avait été affectée à l'armée de Mésie Supérieure – et c'est très probablement ici que notre soldat a pris pour femme²¹ *Iulia Florentina*, vraisemblablement fille d'un auxiliaire thrace. Ce phénomène n'est pas inhabituel: au Sud du Danube, on connaît déjà par des diplômes plusieurs soldats étrangers qui épousent des femmes d'origine thrace et qui restent sur place. C'est le cas du Trévire *Urbanus Ateionis f.* de l'*ala I Asturum* de Mésie Inférieure, mari de *Crispina (H)eptacentis*, probablement fille d'un militaire thrace (diplôme du 13 mai 105, *RGZM* 11). Leurs enfants portent des noms latins (*Iulius*, *Crispinus*, *Praetiosa*) et tréviens (*Atto*). Dans ce cas, le choix principal appartient au père (au moins pour le nom *Atto*), mais sa femme est également concernée, puisqu'un de leurs fils porte un nom dérivé du sien. Encore plus intéressant est le cas d'un autre Syrien: *M. Antonius Timi f. Times*, d'*Hierapolis*, de la *coh. I Flavia Bessorum* (Macédoine), époux de la Thrace *Doroturma Dotochae fil(ia)* de *Tricornium*. Le diplôme (29 juin 120, *CIL XVI* 67) a été retrouvé à *Tricornium* (auj. Ritopek) en Mésie Supérieure; il est vraisemblable que le véritable lieu d'origine de *Doroturma*, ou plus précisément de son père, n'était pas *Tricornium*. Leurs deux enfants portent des noms de facture latine: *Secundus* et *Marcellina*. Dans la même province, un autre diplôme récemment publié, daté du 20 janvier 151, fut délivré au soldat dace – d'après son onomastique – *Siasis Decinaei f. Caecom() ex Moes(ia)*, de la *coh. III Brittonum veterana equitata*, qui avait

¹⁹ Ce phénomène est par ailleurs général: dans une analyse déjà dépassée (en raison des nombreux découverts récents de diplômes) effectuée sur un échantillon de 22 diplômes, on comptait 42 garçons mais seulement 22 filles (cf. M. Roxan et W. Eck, *A Diploma of Moesia Inferior: 125 Jun. 1*, *ZPE*, 116, 1997, p. 202-203). Cf. aussi S. E. Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers* (13 B.C.-A.D. 235). *Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Leyde-Boston-Cologne, 2001, p. 296-305 (sur 54 diplômes: 53 garçons, 31 filles, 22 indéterminés).

²⁰ J. Spaul, *Cohors². The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army*, Oxford, 2000 (*BAR Int. Ser.* 841), p. 404-405; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane* (roum.: *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuții la l'histoire militaire de la Dacie romaine*), Bucarest, 2002, p. 97-99, n° 31; O. Țentea et F. Matei-Popescu, *Alae et Cohortes Daciae et Moesiae. A Review and Updating of J. Spaul's Ala² and Cohors²*, *AMN*, 39-40, 2002-2003, p. 280. Sur la provincialisation de la Commagène, voir M. A. Speidel, *Early Roman Rule in Commagene*, *SCI*, 24, 2005, p. 85-100.

²¹ Voir, en général, S. E. Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers...* (et p. 53-85, pour les diplômes militaires).

épousé une femme d'origine dardanienne, *Prisca Dasmeni fil(ia) Dard(ana)* (RGZM 31)²², rencontrée lors de son service.

Le mariage de *Zacca* fils de *Pallaeus* illustre bien le brassage de populations favorisé par le service militaire et les agglomérations qui pullulaient autour des camps militaires. Quand les femmes des militaires syriens sont mentionnées sur les diplômes, leur origine est ordinairement syrienne (a), mais il existe aussi des mariages mixtes, en rapport avec la province de service de leur époux ou bien une province voisine (b):

a) - *Bargates Zaei f(ilius) Hamius*, de l'*ala I Hamiorum sagittariorum* (Maurétanie Tingitane), et sa femme *Iulia Iuli fil(ia) Deisata Sura*. Le diplôme (14 octobre 109, *CIL* XVI 161) a été découvert à Valentia Banasa, où le couple s'est établi. Les deux fils portent l'un un nom grec, l'autre un nom de facture latine: *Zena* et *Saturninus*.

- *C. Iulius Barhadati f. Montanus Dolich(e) ex Syria vico Arraba* (flotte de Misène) et sa femme *Aurelia Bassa* (même *civitas*). Le lieu de découverte du diplôme (29 novembre 221, *RMD* IV 307) est inconnu (Syrie ?). Tous les *cognomina* des 5 enfants sont indigènes: les fils *Barsadda*, *Zabdaeus* et *Barathes*; les filles *Rummea* et *Salamea*.

b) - l'exemple déjà discuté, de *M. Antonius Timi f. Times*, d'*Hierapolis*, de la *coh. I Flavia Bessorum* (Macédoine), et de sa femme thrace *Doroturma Dotochae fil(ia)* de *Tricornium* en Mésie Supérieure. Le diplôme (29 juin 120, *CIL* XVI 67) a été découvert à *Tricornium*. Leurs deux enfants portent des noms latins banaux, *Secundus* et *Marcellina*.

- *M. Antonius Antoni f. Maximus Syrus*, de l'*ala Gallorum Tauriana c. R. torquata victrix* (Maurétanie Tingitane), marié à *Valeria Messi fil(ia) Messia*, originaire d'*Iulia Transducta* (auj. Agésiras, colonie de Bétique). Le diplôme (18 novembre 122, *CIL* XVI 169) a été découvert à Valentia Banasa, dans la province de son service. Leurs deux enfants portent des noms latins, *Maximus* et *Maxima* – perpétuant l'onomas-tique banale de leur père.

- le cas de *Zacca Pallaei f. Syrus* et de sa femme *Iulia Bithi fil(ia) Florentina Bess(a)*.

Derrière l'histoire de plus en plus précise des provinces et des troupes militaires, à côté de l'étude de la mobilité et de la prosopographie des gouverneurs et des commandants, les diplômes militaires, dont des dizaines de nouveaux exemplaires sont publiés chaque année, laissent entrevoir diverses facettes d'une société mouvante où les militaires et les civils se côtoient. Ces supports de bronze, précieusement conservés par leurs bénéficiaires et par leurs descendants, font découvrir, sous un angle nouveau, la mobilité des simples soldats et de leurs familles, leurs traditions et choix onomastiques, et enfin la complexité de leurs identités.

²² B. Pferdehirt avait lu *LARD*(.), mais la photographie (tome II, pl. 54) autorise sans aucun doute la lecture *DARD(anae)*. Le patronyme est de facture illyrienne, comme l'est par ailleurs l'onomas-tique des Dardiens.

PLACES OF WORSHIP IN FORTS¹

Ever since Augustus' reign, soldiers have been a social category having a well-defined religious calendar emphasising traditional religious festivals and the worshipping of the imperial family². It is still unclear to what extent they expressed themselves religiously, and especially what the soldiers' behavior was in relation to Gods, inside their fortification.

The central place, in which all religious symbols of a troop were preserved was undoubtedly the central room on the back side of the headquarter building, the *aedes principiorum*. Standards were stored here, and probably also the altars and images dedicated to Roman emperors or the Gods of the official Roman religion³. Tacitus confirms it while describing the retreat of the consul Munatius Plancus, at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. to the camp of the 1st legion where: *Illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris altaria deum commaculavisset* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 39). The inscription found at Novae is dedicated to: *Dis militaribus Genio Virtuti aquilae sanct(ae) signisque leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Severianae* (CIL III 7591)⁴. Many inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva, Mars etc. have been also discovered in the proximity of the rooms at the back side of the headquarter building⁵. Tertullian also makes the precision that worshipping military standards before any God is the core of a Roman soldier's religious life. *'...religio Romanorum tota signa veneratur, signa iurat, signa omnibus deis praeposit...*' (Tertullian, *Apol.* 16.8)⁶.

There are numerous pieces of evidence attesting the fact that soldiers used or carried with them images or statues of the Gods, as well. Tacitus states that: *Dein paucis diebus interiectis magna utrimque specie inde eques compositus per turmas et insignibus patriis, hinc agmina legionum stetero fulgentibus aquilis signisque et simulacris deum in modum templi* (n.a. but it wasn't) *medio tribunal sedem curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 29). We can thus conclude that soldiers were in possession of, or had the right to carry statues / effigies of Gods besides those of emperors, but a precise location of the place in which these were placed inside the fortifications is still uncertain. Moreover, two inscriptions from Aquincum are dedicated to the *dis militaribus* (CIL III 3472; 3473; 7591), referring to Jupiter, Mars and Victoria⁷. Consequently, A. v. Domaszewski, quoting Hyginus, suggests the existence in every temporary camp of a special zone where offerings are made to Gods, the *'auguratorium'*, located in the open space between the *praetorium* and the *via principalis*: *Aris institutis in*

¹ This paper has been partially realized while I was at the Ancient History Institute in Cologne, on a scholarship offered by the Fritz Thyssen and Alexander von Humboldt (Bonn) Foundations, in May 2005.

² B. Campbell, *The Roman Army 31 BC-AD 337. A Sourcebook*, London – New York 1994, p. 127 sqq.

³ About the *aedes* as a sacred place inside fortresses, see Domaszewski 1895, p. 9-10; Petrikovits 1975, p. 75, n. 80 with bibliography.

⁴ See Domaszewski 1895, p. 8.

⁵ Cf. Domaszewski 1895, *passim*.

⁶ Probably from the times of Marius, the eagle represents the continuity and individuality of every one of the legions, and the loss of this symbol in battle was considered to be the biggest possible disgrace; therefore the most important holiday was probably *natalis aquilae*, celebrating the day in which the troop was founded. See also B. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁷ For explanations, see Domaszewski 1895, p. 2-4.

praetorii parte imae (Hyginus 11)⁸. Next to statues of Gods⁹ or to others erected to honor emperors, the soldiers that '*...aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adorauit*' (Suet., *Calig.* 14) can erect statues of their commanders in *principia*, as well, but these are probably isolated cases: '*colique per theatra et fora effigies interque signa legionum sineret*' (about Aelius Seianus) (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4, 2) or *Syriacis legionibus quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter principia coluissent* (Suetonius, *Tib.* 48). Therefore, the statues of emperors, their consorts or of the commanders were in the *aedes* or even in the rooms around the courtyard¹⁰.

The questions we are asking ourselves here are: to what extent were there places of worship in fortresses or forts, besides the *aedes principiorum*, and can we still rely on the 100 year-old statement made by A. v. Domaszewski, who asserted, on the basis of the arguments that he had at that time, that the only sacred place in a fortress is inside the headquarter building¹¹. I will refer only briefly to the dedication of altars to divinities inside buildings that have a definite role, other than temples, such as hospitals, baths, granaries or headquarter buildings, and will insist mostly on those buildings inside forts in Dacia that had been registered as temples.

The cult of *Genii* was extremely popular among Romans; the most widely spread being that of *Genius Augusti* or *Genius Imperatoris*, the soldiers being those who set up most of these inscriptions. There is also a special series of *Genii*, comprised of many items, in relation to military units, military divinities, different officers or military buildings. There were *Genii* for all types of troops; the least attested are those of urban cohorts in Rome, consequently the *Genius exercitus*, those of the legions, *alae*, cohorts or of some *numeri*. The most attested are the *Genii centuriae* and the *Genius turmae*, as the soldiers were very much attached to their troops, but first and foremost identified themselves with the *centuria* or *turma* they were included in. At Lambaesis, the chapels of the *centuria's Genii* were situated next to the barracks of each *centuria*¹². On the other hand, as Domaszewski noted, *Genius legionis* or that of another troop can be worshiped anywhere, not only in the *sacellum*, as the sanctuary of the entire unit, just like votive statues can be found in profane spaces. Inscriptions dedicated to the *Genius* of the entire troop were discovered both inside and outside the fortresses, in the chapels of the *scholae* of centurions or *mensores*, in *thermae*, in some *stationes* or in veterans' colonies¹³. This only proves, like M.P. Speidel asserts, the fact that this cult of the *Genii* was spontaneous and not prescribed¹⁴, a theoretical distinction being thus made between '*the act of duty*', as a result of the official religion, and the '*personal devotion*', which depended on the preferences of every individual, to which G. Alföldy and E. Birley were referring¹⁵.

⁸ *Auguratoria* as independent buildings were even presumed to have existed at Vindonissa and Noviomagus, a proof being the existence of a *haruspex*, *victimarius* and *pullarius* in the legion's commander's *staff*, cf. Petrikovits 1975, p. 76-77, B. 15, n. 82. Or, the proofs of their existence are only theoretical, the buildings in the above-mentioned fortresses being characterized by a central courtyard surrounded by rooms that could have been workshops, private houses etc.

⁹ For evidence regarding their location in the *aedes* see Domaszewski 1895, p. 11-12.

¹⁰ *Divi* are honored with statues since the times of Hadrian, but especially beginning with the Severi, since when their wives began to be honored, as well, cf. Domaszewski 1895, 10, p. 71-72.

¹¹ The demonstration was based on some inscriptions from the construction or rebuilding of the *aedes*, probably, which was not named in the inscriptions quoted by the author, Domaszewski 1895, p. 17-18.

¹² R. Cagnat, *Les deux camps de la légion IIIe Auguste à Lambèse d'après les fouilles récentes*, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 38, 1. Paris 1908, p. 55.

¹³ Domaszewski 1895, p. 96 sq.

¹⁴ Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, p. 1546.

¹⁵ G. Alföldy, *Geschichte des religiösen Lebens in Aquincum*, *AArchHung* 13, 1961, p. 103-124; E. Birley, *The Religion of the Roman Army: 1895-1977*, *ANRW II*, 16.2, 1978, p. 1515. D. Fishwick also argues

Consequently, an initial planning of an official building dedicated to these *Genii* in fortresses is out of the question. There is no doubt that the decision to erect such a building at a certain moment in time was made by soldiers or, more precisely, by military *collegia* interested in creating such worship places. This is the case for some *optiones* at Lambaesis in the 3rd C. A.D. who erected a reunion building decorated with statues and images of the divine household and having also protective gods (CIL VIII 2554 = ILS 2445). Or, this fact is also demonstrated by the inscription at Ilişua, from which we learn that a decurion (?) built a temple most probably for the *Genius* of the decurions' college: *P(ublius) Ael(ius) Pauli / nus templ(um) / instituit / pro se suorumque / salute / Genio sanc/to scholae de / curionum* (CIL III 7626).

Genii and possible *scholae* of several groups are known: *beneficarii* (CIL III 876, 7626; VIII 17628; XIII 6127; AE 1971, 218), *capsarii* (CIL XIII 11979), *centuriones* (CIL XIII 7631), *decuriones* (ILS 2545), *exploratores* (RIU 424), *immunes* (AE 1905, 241), *mentores* (CIL III 17796 = RIU II 391; AE 1973, 471), *optiones* (CIL XIII 6566), *praepositii* (*apud* Speidel 1978, n. 24), *secutores* (CIL XIII 11766), *signiferi* (AE 1927, 89 = RIB 451, AE 1958, 303), *speculatores* (CIL VIII 2603, IDR III/5, 426), *tectores* (ILS 9183), *veredarii* (CIL XIII 7439), *vexillarii et imaginiferi* (CIL XIII 7533). It is not very clear whether these are *Genii* of some *scholae*, although the above-mentioned inscription at Ilişua seems to demonstrate it, but it is quite obvious that there used to be associations of these categories of *principales*. Or, should the *Genii* have been worshiped in the framework of some *collegia*, the altar must have been placed inside a special building, a proper temple, or simply and most probably in a *schola*. Another question is whether the *Genii* belong to the *collegia* or to some buildings, like these *scholae*. The *Genii opt(ionum) coh(ortis) III Aquit(anorum) Philippianae* (CIL XIII 6566), and respectively *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Genio b(ene)f(iciarorum) co(n)s(ularis) G(ermaniae) s(uperioris) et loci...* (ILS 2401) are mentioned in two cases. Consequently, the first case can refer to a *schola* of the *optiones*, but the second case clearly refers to a *Genius* of consular beneficiaries. However, since the term *schola* can refer both to the members of a club and to a building, to the same extent, it is possible for the *Genii* of *scholae* to indicate soldiers and not a specific structure¹⁶.

So, what could such a building have looked like? The simplest analogy is the *aedes* of *principia*. The acknowledged shape of this *aedes*, especially since the second half of the 2nd C. A.D., consists of a rectangular room with no partitionings, provided with an apse, at least from a certain moment on. Suggestive in this respect are also most of the rooms on the back side of the headquarter building at Lambaesis, which have a simple, rectangular plan ending in an apse at the short extremity opposite the entrance, and which have been characterized as *scholae* (Fig. 1.1)¹⁷. Any *schola* of any college could have looked exactly the same.

We find out what could have been the functional dimension of such a structure from the archaeological excavations in the shrine of the Augustals in Misenum (Fig. 1.2)¹⁸. In what Dacia is concerned, a room of this kind was researched in the north-eastern corner area of the forum at Sarmizegetusa, which used to be a reunion hall of

about the necessity of a clear distinction between the official religion and the religious preferences of the soldiers in a troop, and also about the possibility for a troop like the *coh. XX Palmyrenorum* from Dura, 'when off duty' to dedicate altars to their own gods, adding that 'private and public observances are separate categories that need not show any obvious interaction', D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, Leiden 1991, p. 594.

¹⁶ Cf. Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, p. 1548-1549.

¹⁷ F. Rakob, S. Storz, *Die principia des römischen Legionslagers in Lambaesis*, MDAI (R) 81, 1974, p. 253-280; Petrikovits 1975, p. 78.

¹⁸ See Diaconescu 2005, p. 330-332.

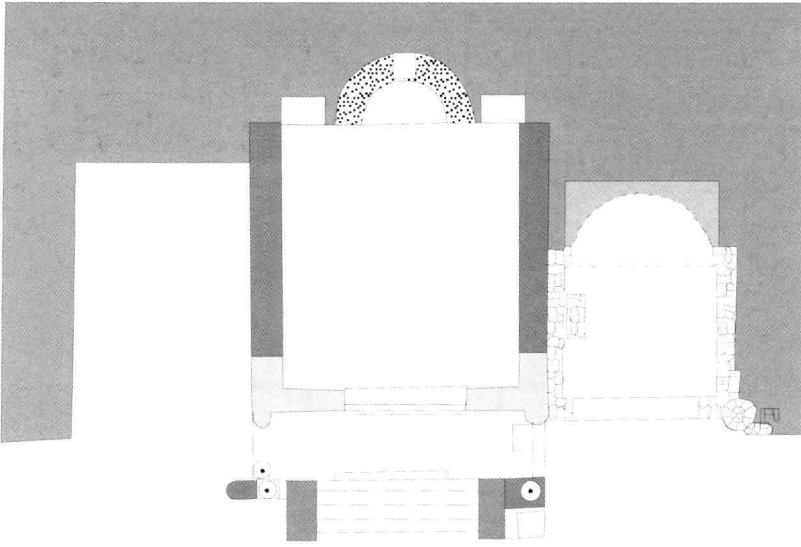


Fig. 1.2.

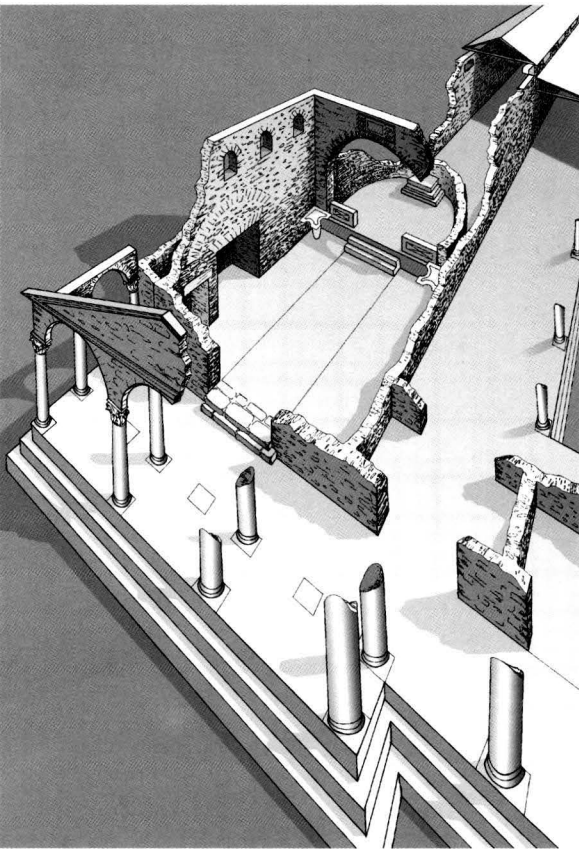


Fig. 1.3.

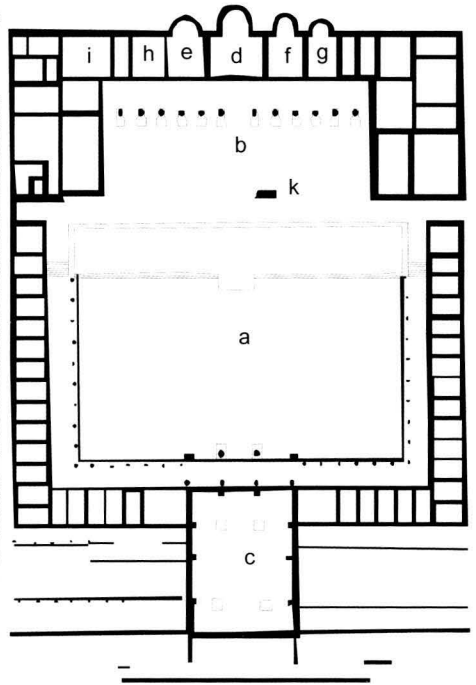


Fig. 1.1.



Fig. 2.1.



Fig. 2.2.

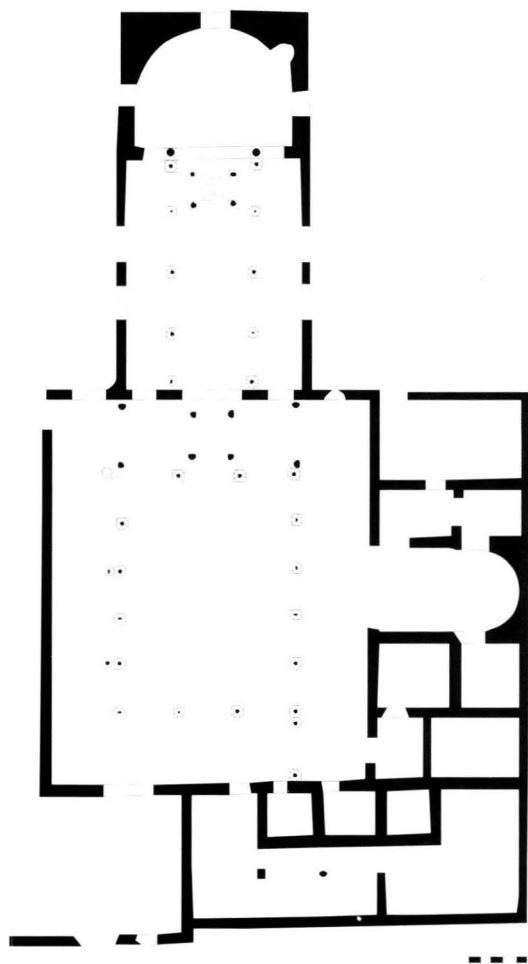


Fig. 3.1.

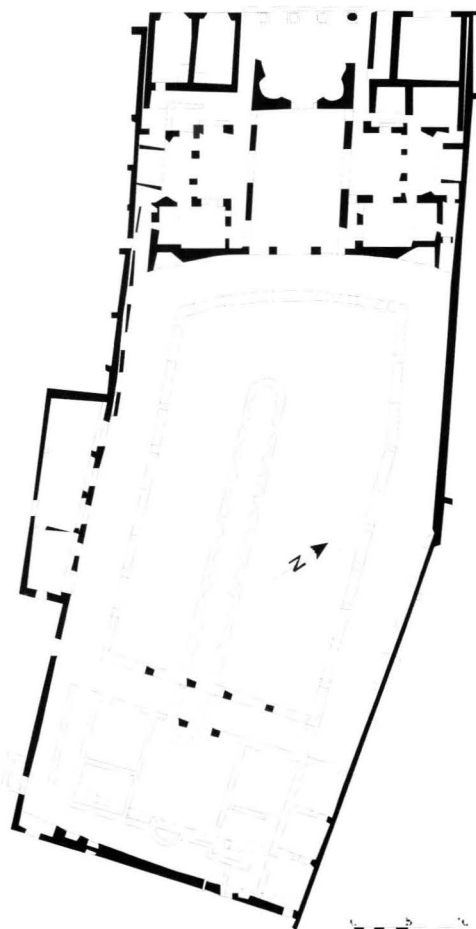


Fig. 3.2.

Fig. 2. "Podiensaal" – Pergamon; Fig. 3.1. Schola iuvenum – Mactar,
3.2. The Fabri headquarter – Ostia.

college of the *fabri*, referred to in an inscription as *aedes fabrum* (Fig. 1.3)¹⁹. An entire *templum*-type complex was researched at Misenum, but we are only interested in the central room, as it was provided with a bench on the axis of which the statue of the college's genius was placed²⁰. More statues of Vespasian and Titus were placed here, in niches dug into the thickness of the apse wall. The ceremonial character of this room is quite obvious, since there was another room next to it, also an apsidal room especially designed for banquets. In contrast to this, the chapel of the Augustals at Sarmizegetusa most probably had a double role: of worship and also the role of a *triclinium*, a banquet hall.

It is therefore obvious that these *scholae* are not only proper places of worship, but first and foremost reunion places, even though the reasons that had called for these reunions had initially been of a religious nature. H. v. Petrikovits asserts that the first characteristic of the *scholae* was that of a pastime for the members of a college²¹.

An extremely illustrative example in this respect is the 'Podiensaal' from Pergamon, a hall 'equipped with podiums on which the guests would lie down' (Fig. 2.1, 2.2), in which the altar was placed in niches. Consequently, the role of these premises was that of a reunion place for the various *collegia* in order to celebrate²² and less that of a sanctuary, even though it had, at least theoretically, the role of an *aedes* (sacred chapel) and undoubtedly there were ceremonies organised there, dedicated to the college's Genius. However, Al. Diaconescu makes a distinction between *aedes* and *schola*, as the structure at Sarmizegetusa was classified in an inscription as the former, although the terms do not necessarily exclude one another. *Schola*, as a reunion place, can become an *aedes* as well (with the meaning of a sacred chapel) if there is a sanctuary placed inside it. Or, even Al Diaconescu finds at Mactar a plan analogous to the structure at Sarmizegetusa, where it was classified as being a '*schola iuvenum*' (Fig. 3.1)²³. The fact that the construction at Sarmizegetusa also has the role of a *schola* (understood as the headquarters of a college) is indicated by the existence of a bed designed for banquets (*accubitus*), as well as the existence of a kitchen (*culina*)²⁴.

Surely, there could have been a complex of structures similar to the *templum* and a *schola*, made of porticos, *aedes*, courtyard etc., just like the complex belonging to the Augustals at Misenum or the headquarters of the *fabri* in Ostia (Fig. 3.2)²⁵. Or, it is possible for the term *schola* to have been used only where there is a strict, specific reference to a separate building and not to rooms that are part of another complex – as is the case of the forum at Sarmizegetusa²⁶.

The *Genii* of parts of buildings or even of ordinary structures in fortresses are well-known, without them having a congregational role. The following are mentioned as such: *Genii* of the *campus*, *castra*, *domus*, *excubitorium*, *horreum*, *praesidium*, *praetorium*, *statio*, *tabularium*, *armamentarium* or *valetudinarium*²⁷, just like in civil

¹⁹ R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, *Les fouilles de forum vetus de Sarmizegetusa. Rapport général*, AMN 39-40/1, 2002-2003 (2004), p. 113-115, Ep. 10, Pl. XXXVI.

²⁰ Diaconescu 2005, p. 332.

²¹ Petrikovits 1975, p. 78, B. 16.

²² See for an analogy the case of the *fabri* at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Diaconescu 2005, p. 340.

²³ Diaconescu 2005, p. 341.

²⁴ R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, op. cit., p. 114-115.

²⁵ Diaconescu 2005, p. 333; 344-345, fig. 180.

²⁶ However, the term *schola* is used, probably for the sake of convenience, by H. v. Petrikovits when he refers to the rooms in some of the *principia*, Petrikovits 1975, p. 78-79, *passim*.

²⁷ Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, p. 1549. For Dacia, see M. Macrea, *Viața în Dacia romană*, București 1969, p. 204-205; M. Bărbulescu, *Culte greco-romane în provincia Dacia, teză de doctorat*, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, *passim*.

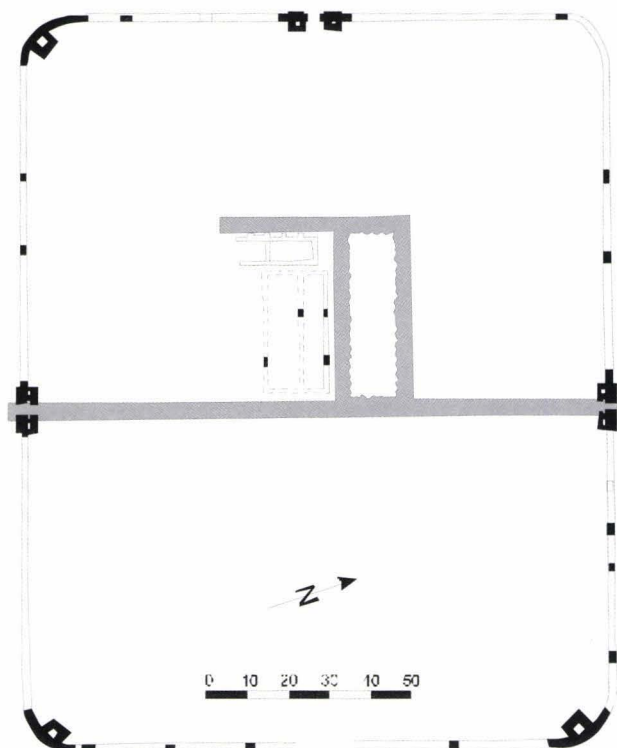


Fig. 4.1.

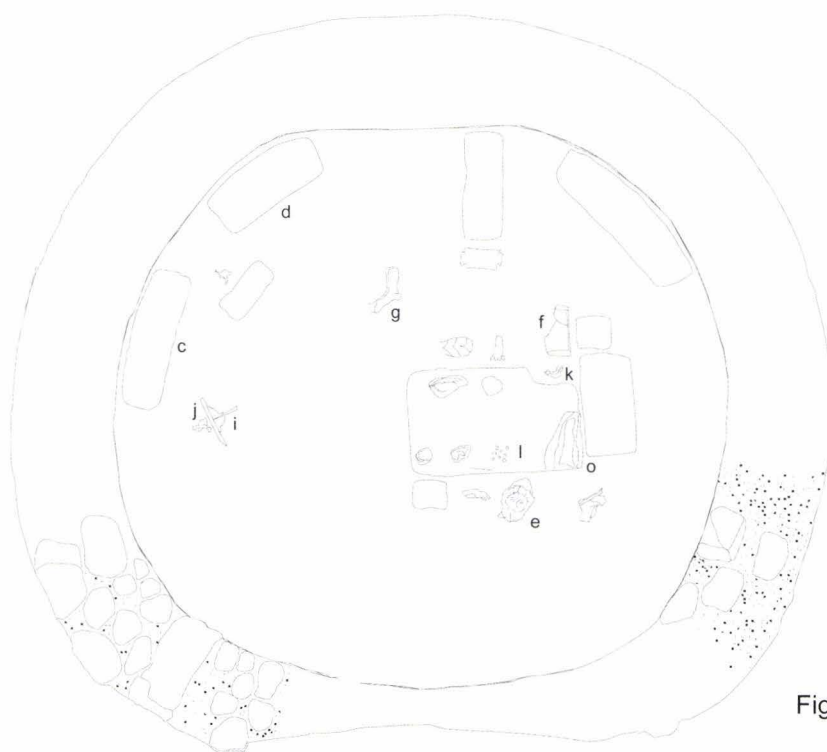


Fig. 4.2.

Fig. 4.1. Pojejena; Fig. 4.2. Brza Palanka (Moesia Superior).

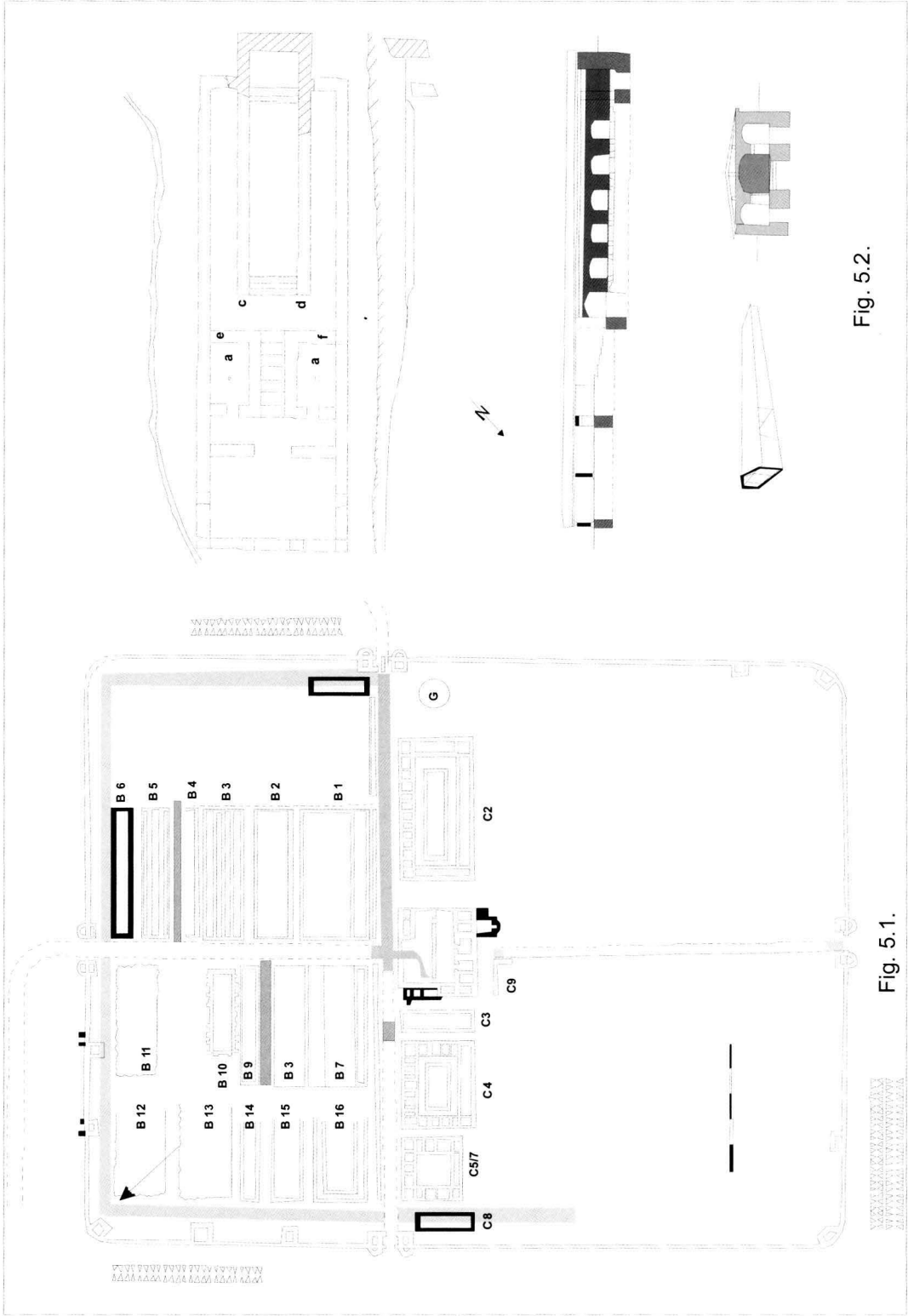


Fig. 5.2.

Fig. 5.1.

Fig. 5.1. Porolissum; Fig. 5.2. Mithraeum – Sarmizegetusa.

contexts, when a *Genius loci* is mentioned. As a consequence, an essential change occurs, M.P. Speidel reaching the conclusion that these collective *Genii* no longer represent a character, a personality, or even a '*Lebensgeist*' of a club as described by A. v. Domaszewski²⁸, but they become an objective divinity *per se* that protects the members of a particular group, though the subjective character of that group is not relevant²⁹. Consequently, unlike the case of standards or regardless of who the emperor was, the *Genii* were worshiped as real gods; the final outcome expected being their protection over the entire group³⁰.

Was the existence of worship places, small sanctuaries or altars possible in these buildings? What was the group members' behavior in relation to the *Genii*? They would just dedicate altars to them every now and then, and they would take advantage of the opportunity to celebrate, without necessarily dedicating a separate sanctuary to them. Most of the altars or statues of *Genii* or gods were undoubtedly placed in the *principia*, which can also be the location of some *collegia*³¹. When altars are dedicated to the *Genius* of a larger group – like the entire troop, as attested in the inscription *Genio sancto legionis et commanipulorum bonorum, Q(uintus) Caecilius Kalendinus, optio posuit* (ILS 2290)³², they are most probably placed in the *aedes principiorum*.

Or, some of the *Genii* must have been worshiped in special places of worship: like *scholae* or *praetoriae*, in the case of superior officers.

The fact that some gods are mentioned in some inscriptions discovered in fortresses does not automatically indicate the existence of a temple dedicated to them in that fortress. For instance, Mars is mentioned on an altar discovered at Novae, together with the *Genius armamentarii*³³. The association of some divinities that have a reduced protection range, like *Genii*, with Olympian gods among the *dii militaris* (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars or Hercules) having a larger protection range is normal, as we can see from several dedications in Africa (ILS 2400, 2399, 9102a), Germany (CIL XIII 6740a) or from Rome (CIL VI 31151)³⁴.

As we mentioned previously, buildings were excavated in several legionary fortresses, buildings with an obvious reunion role for some *collegia*, designated to be *scholae*. On the other hand, such buildings are lacking almost completely from auxiliary forts, as the existence was recorded of very few examples of buildings having an imprecise functionality designated as such.

As far as the area of Dacia is concerned, the existence of temples or worship places was presumed in three fortifications.

The existence of a sanctuary/temple was presumed inside the fort at Pojejena, as a consequence of the discovery of 14 fragments of Mithraic reliefs³⁵ in the tower in the north-east corner (Fig. 4.1). The 3.90 × 3.70 × 3.00 m tower has a trapezoidal shape³⁶. Its interior has been disarranged subsequently, the pieces being discovered in a

²⁸ Domaszewski 1985, p. 108.

²⁹ Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, p. 1550.

³⁰ An example of the resemblance with the gods is provided by the inscription at León dedicated by a tribune to: *Genio [(legionis)] VII G(eminae) f(elicis) Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Pompeianus, tr(ibunus) ex iu(ssu) G(enii) v(otum solvit)* (AE 1971, 208).

³¹ For these, see Petrikovits 1975, p. 78-79.

³² Cf. Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, p. 1550.

³³ The inscription, although discovered in a secondary position, probably comes from the *principia* area, where the *armamentaria* is usually located.

³⁴ Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978, p. 1553.

³⁵ N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *A existat un sanctuar mithriac la Pojejena?*, Banatica 4, 1977, p. 128; iidem, *New Mithraic Monuments from Pojejena, Romania*, JMS 2, 1977, 1, p. 69-73, iidem, *Descoperiri mithriace la Pojejena*, SCIVA 29, 1978, 4, p. 563-569.

³⁶ idem, op. cit., p. 569.

secondary position. Some of the materials have traces of mortar on their inferior side, as a consequence of their having been embeded into a wall, under the reserve that the pieces could have been thrown here later on by Christians³⁷. All these reasons make the excavations' authors doubt that the respective premises could have been used as a temple, but they come up with an apparently convincing analogy referring to the existence at Brza Palanka (Moesia Superior) of a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus whose dimensions are 3.80 × 3.50 m (Fig. 4.2), inside which many monuments and inscriptions have been discovered³⁸. But, however similar they might be from the viewpoint of their surface, the difference in what the planimetry of the two structures is concerned is quite obvious, the one in Moesia having an elliptical shape. At any rate, even though the construction at Brza Palanka has a worship character, it is rightfully characterised as being a sanctuary, unlike the tower in Pojejena, considered by some authors to be even a temple³⁹. Naturally, the difference is essential, but still, the question stands, whether there really are places of worship in the fortress. D. Alicu, who confirms the existence here of a temple, argues, on the other hand, that this is something 'unusual and not yet encountered' and 'against all the rules...'⁴⁰ Another argument following the excavations, mentioned only in 2002, is the information according to which the inside of the tower 'has been deepened (as compared to the other corner towers)'⁴¹, which suggests that the building had been a *mithraeum*. We can make out from this information that the walking level or the floor inside the temple has not been identified; therefore it is difficult to compare this walking level to the one in the other corner towers.

On the basis of the pieces of evidence from Pojejena and taking into account the character of the discoveries, we cannot state that this temple functioned here, especially since the place, the shape and the pieces discovered (in the fill material of a chronologically subsequent hole) do not confirm that. We are wondering who the worshippers might have been in that place, since the supervision or the guard were performed in shifts, therefore the tower was not destined to a limited, and not even to a fix number of soldiers, who could have arranged a small sanctuary here. However, the discovery of several worship objects in a place does not necessarily indicate the existence of a temple. Also, it cannot be argued that this structure has the role of a *schola*. For all these reasons, we do not believe that a temple – in this case a *mithraeum* – could have "functioned" at Pojejena, as we do not know of any analogy in this respect.

The building known as C3, located about 4 m to the left from the headquarter building in Porolissum (Fig. 5.1), was also considered to be an underground temple, therefore a *mithraeum*⁴². It has dimensions of about 6.00 × 30 m and an outer width of 7.50 m. Because the structure has only been archeologically verified by two parallel sections, S84 (95.50 × 1.50 m) and S85 (97 × 1.50 m), across the building and 10 m, respectively 20 m away from the *via principalis*, the structure's length is only presupposed by analogy to the neighbouring *principia*⁴³. The walls built in *opus incertum* are 0.80 × 1.00 m thick, therefore we can say that the building is quite solid. We do not

³⁷ *idem*, op. cit., p. 569, 571.

³⁸ Gudea 2002, p. 620, 621; B. Vučković-Todorović, *Svetilište Iupiter Dolichenus u Brazoi Palanci*, *Starinar* 15-16 (1964-1965), p. 1966.

³⁹ D. Alicu, *Addenda la repertoriul templelor romane din Dacia*, *Apulum* 39, 2002, or Gudea 2002, p. 621 (here, with reference to the sanctuary at Brza Palanka). Using the term 'sanctuar' employed by N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *A existat un sanctuar mithriac la Pojejena?*, *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 129 and N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *Descoperiri mithriace la Pojejena*, *SCIVA* 29, 1978, 4, p. 569.

⁴⁰ D. Alicu, *Templul lui Mithras de la Pojejena*, *Sargetia* 28-29, 2000, p. 220.

⁴¹ Gudea 2002.

⁴² Gudea et alii 1986, p. 122; N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de pe vârful dealului Pomet-Moigrad. Porolissum 1*, Zalău, 1997, p. 70.

⁴³ Gudea et alii 1986, p. 122.

know if the fact that the partitions were not discovered is only due to the excavation system by trial trenches, the excavations' authors confirming that the brick floor was continuous, uninterrupted⁴⁴.

The attribution was made as a consequence of the discovery inside the construction of two Mithraic reliefs and of several small plates on which the Danubian knights were depicted, being thus considered a *mithraeum*⁴⁵. Mariana Pintilie's statement, made on the basis of some information provided by I. Bajusz, refers to the existence of a central corridor paved with a mosaic⁴⁶. Or, later on, N. Gudea – the real author of the excavation – criticised Mariana Pintilie's pieces of evidence, arguing that there is no central corridor, and that the interior of the entire building had been paved with bricks. However, the main argument for classifying the building as a temple is, besides the above-mentioned reliefs, the difference of levels inside the construction, as compared to the interior of the neighbouring commander's building (4.00-5.00 m) and also the fact that the walls had been painted with vegetal motifs⁴⁷. The difference of levels is quite impressing, and extremely difficult to explain, even in the case of an underground temple. Moreover, on the inside, the wall starts to bend in 1.25-1.50 m from the floor, forming what seems to be the beginning of a vault, whose height must have been around 2.00-2.50 m⁴⁸.

A *mithraeum* connected to an auxiliary fort on which we have information is the one situated in the immediate vicinity of the fort at Carrawborough, where the *coh. I Batavorum*'s prefect dedicates three altars to Mithras⁴⁹. The temple was built at the beginning of the 3rd C. and was really an underground cavern in which there was enough room for 10-12 people.

In the case of the building at Porolissum, although no more than two excavation samplings have been taken, no division of the building in partitions has been identified⁵⁰. On the other hand, the floor is usually about 1 meter deeper, just like in the case of the temple at Frankfurt-Heddernheim (Fig. 6.3)⁵¹. Therefore, the building does not seem to be a temple dedicated to Mithras, but it is difficult to classify, having in mind the existence of the painting on the walls and the deepened brick floor.

⁴⁴ Gudea 2002, p. 620.

⁴⁵ Gudea et alii 1986, p. 122; N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de pe vârful dealului Pomet-Moigrad. Porolissum 1, Zalău, 1997*, p. 70; D. Alicu, *Addenda la repertoriul templelor romane din Dacia*, Apulum 39, 2002, p. 231, 233; N. Gudea, D. Tamba, *Porolissum. Ein dakisch-römischen archäologischen Komplex an der Grenze des Römischen Reiches* III. Über ein Iupiter-Dolichenus Heiligtum in der municipium Septimium Porolissensium, Zalău, 2001, Abb. 17, 18; N. Gudea, D. Tamba, *Heiligtümer und Militär in Porolissum, Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, Pécs 2005, p. 472.

⁴⁶ M. Pintilie, *Mithraea în Dacia*, EN IX-X, 1999-2000, p. 238.

⁴⁷ Gudea 2002, p. 619.

⁴⁸ Gudea et alii 1986, p. 122.

⁴⁹ The small dimensions of the *mithraeum* near the fortress at Carrawburgh reflect the belonging of the worshipers to a very small group, therefore suggesting the rather limited character of the cult, see E. Birley, *The prefects and their altars*, *ArchAel* 29, 1951, *passim*; I. A. Richmond, J. P. Gillam, *The temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh*, *ArchAel* 29, 1951, p. 53-54.

⁵⁰ This was noted by D. Alicu as well (D. Alicu, *Addenda la repertoriul templelor romane din Dacia*, Apulum 39, 2002, p. 233). He argued that it would have been normal for the traces of lateral benches to appear, as well. For further details, see also Gudea 2002, p. 620 where it is reasserted that there is no central corridor, and that the brick pavement was continuous, the width of the interior being 5.00-5.50 m. The plan of other *mithraea* known in the Empire is made of a portico, a pronaos and a naos crossed by a central corridor, M. Clauss, *Mithras. Kult und Mysterien*, München 1990, p. 54-55, Abb. 7, 8, 10, 11. The naos is not divided in three naves, but there were benches on both sides of the corridor, like it can be noted in the reconstruction of the temple in Sofia or Aquincum (Fig. 6.1, 2). The proper altar was located at the other end of the entrance, usually in an apse.

⁵¹ See M. Clauss, *op. cit.*, Abb. 6.

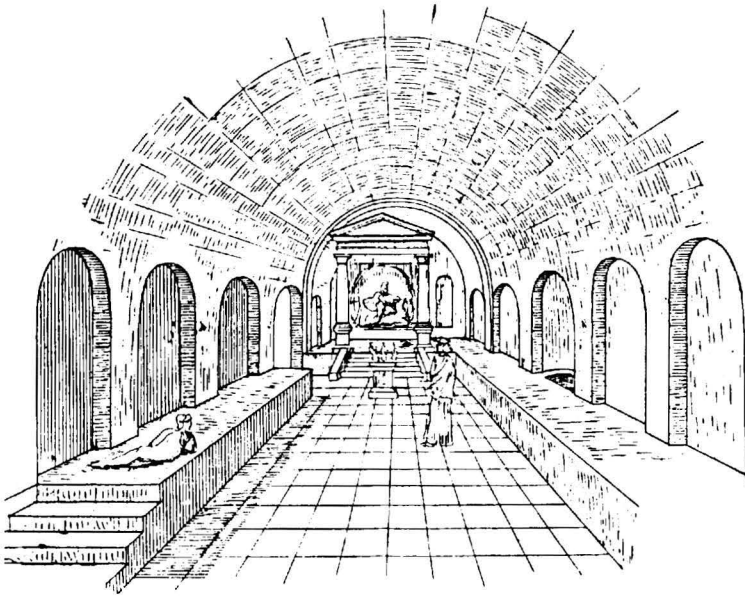


Fig. 6.1.

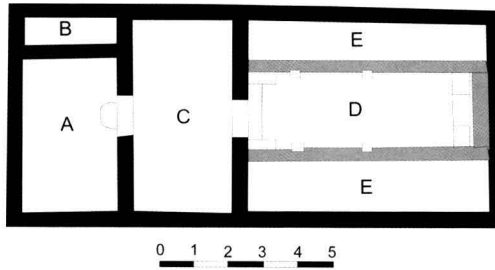


Fig. 6.2.

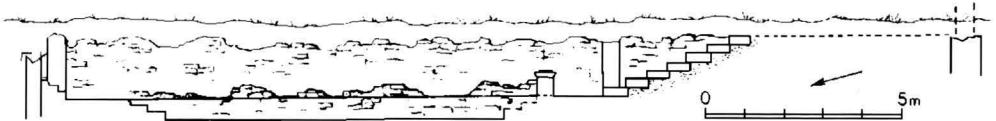


Fig. 6.3.

Fig. 7.1.

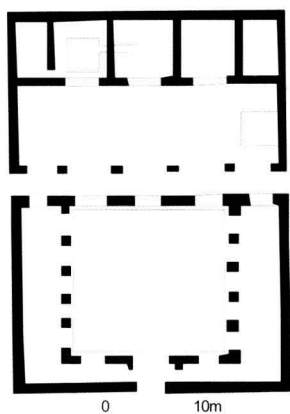


Fig. 7.2.

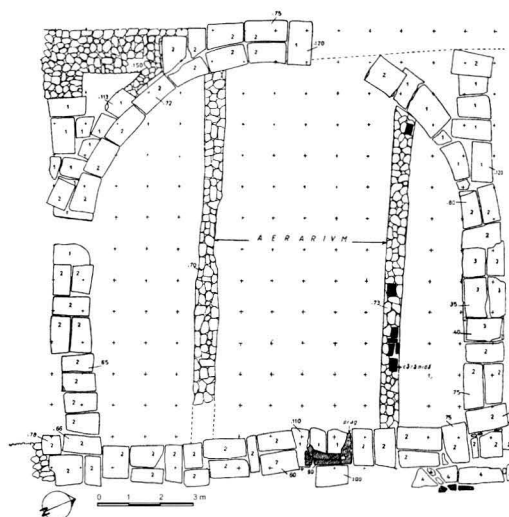
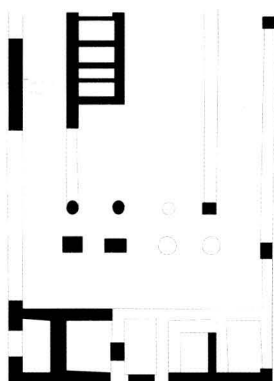


Fig. 7.3.

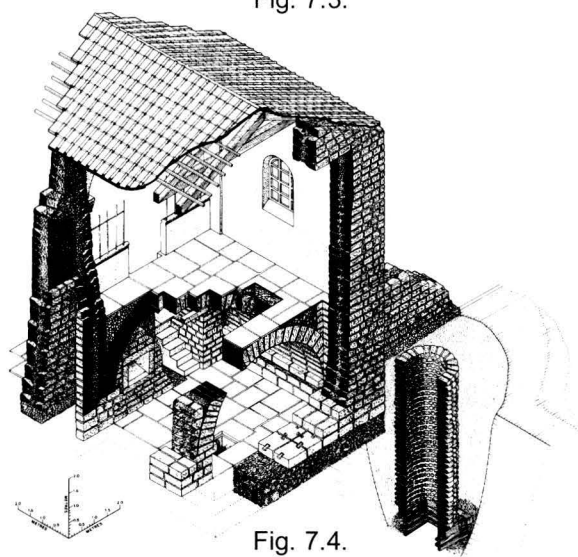


Fig. 7.4.

Fig. 7.1. Principia – Chester; 7.2. Principia – Benwell; 7.3. Aedes – Potaissa;
7.4. Aedes – South Shields.

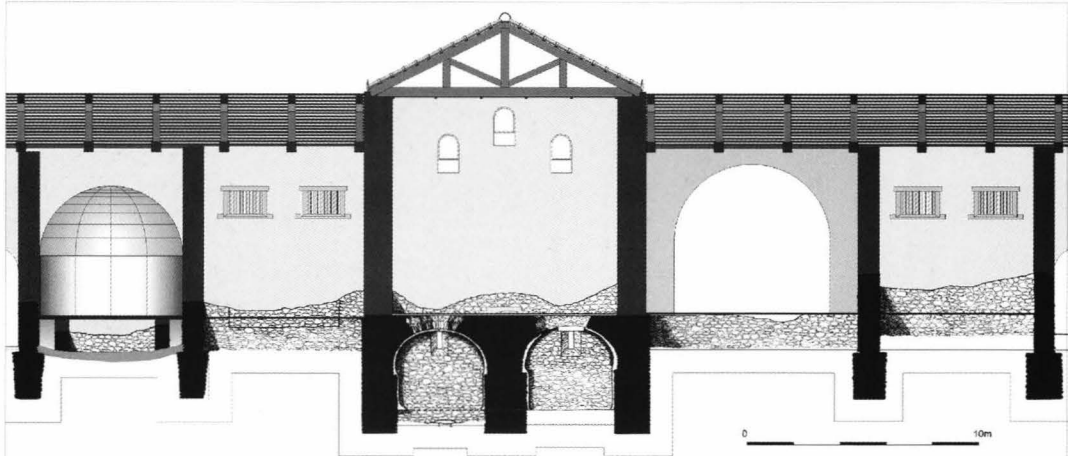


Fig. 8.1.



Fig. 8.2.



Fig. 8.3.

Fig. 8.1. – 8.3. Curia and aerarium – Sarmizegetusa.

On the basis of its characteristics, it is obvious that this structure fits among the exceptions encountered in forts – I personally don't know any other example of this kind⁵². Therefore, if we exclude the function as a temple of the structure to the left of the headquarter building, we are wondering what kind of function it might have had.

This building is one of the few that can be classified as a *horreum*, on the basis of the dimensions, shape and location, therefore its initial role as a granary cannot be excluded. Subsequently, the vaulted shape of the building's roof seems to indicate a basement or a cistern, like D. Alicu noted⁵³.

No buttresses can be identified, but having in mind the – only – 1.50 m wide sections⁵⁴, their existence in the upper part of these trenches is not impossible. On the other hand, taking into consideration the extremely deep construction, buttresses would not have been necessary to support the roof.

There is no doubt that the existence of the deepened floor where it should have normally been heightened, the existence of the painting and the discovery of artifacts like those identified here contradict the attribution of the storage function to this building.

Or, some of the characteristics of this building are similar to those of a room inside headquarter buildings or forums. Thus, the considerable depth of the building makes us recall instantly the only deepened and vaulted structure in legionary or auxiliary fortress: the *aerarium*. *Aeraria* are usually located under the *aedes principiorum*, the central room at the back side, the place where the troops' standards were stored. On the other hand, the location of these *aeraria* was not necessarily always under the *aedes*, as there are a couple of cases when they are placed under one of the rooms next to the *aedes*, like in the case of the legionary fortress at Noviomagus⁵⁵ or in the auxiliary fortress at Chesters (Fig. 7.1) or Benwell (Fig. 7.2) by Hadrian's wall⁵⁶. Likewise, the *aeraria* are presumed to be right under the *tribunalia* in the basilicas in Chesters or South Shields⁵⁷.

It is not very clear what exactly was stored in these 'safes', it is only certain that the soldiers' savings were kept here (Vegetius II.20)⁵⁸. In what legionary fortresses are concerned, the well-known case from Potaissa can be quoted, where a rectangular vaulted 10.50-11.80 × 5.30-5.40 m (60 m²) building was discovered under the *aedes* having 0.55-0.75 m thick walls and a floor about 1.95 m deeper than the walking level in the *aedes*, or about 1.00 m deeper than the one in the basilica, an interior height of about 2.30-2.50 m being thus created (Fig. 7.3)⁵⁹.

However, in auxiliary forts, the dimensions of these *aeraria* are much smaller, in some cases the storage place being nothing but a hole in the ground in which a wooden chest was deposited, as it is the case at Vindolanda⁶⁰. But usually there are even here

⁵² In Dacia, the only *mithraeum* fully researched is the one at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, whose dimensions were 44.23 × 12.44 m (fig. 5.2), A. Rusu-Pescaru, D. Alicu, *Templele romane din Dacia*, Deva 2000, p. 82. The plan of the temple is made of a pronaos, a naos (three naves) and a *cella*.

⁵³ D. Alicu, op. cit. But, even though the trenches' width is very small, the existence of a second cistern in the same fortress would have been pointed out by the authors of the excavations. Otherwise, the construction technique of the C3 building and of the B10 cistern must have been the same in the case of a similar functionality (see *infra*).

⁵⁴ Gudea et alii 1986, p. 122.

⁵⁵ Petrikovits 1975, p. 73.

⁵⁶ Johnson 1987, p. 136, fig. 89.

⁵⁷ See D. J. A. Taylor, *The Forts on Hadrian's Wall*, BAR B.S. 305, Oxford 2000, p. 28.

⁵⁸ H. v. Petrikovits is wondering to what extent the legions' savings were kept here, Petrikovits 1975, p. 73.

⁵⁹ M. Bărbulescu, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea V Macedonica și castrul de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 1987, p. 159-160.

⁶⁰ Johnson 1987, p. 134, fig. 86.

proper rooms whose floor was 1.50-2.00 m deeper than the walking level in the *aedes*⁶¹. The average of these rooms' dimensions in the case of auxiliary fortresses is around 6.00 m²⁶². These rooms' dimensions are not directly related to the garrison troop, since in some of the *cohors*' fort, the dimensions are bigger than those of the fort occupied by the *ala*⁶³. The exception to these cases is 'the strongroom' at South Shields, that measures 16.72 m² (Fig. 7.4). The explanation of this *aerarium*'s existence resides in the character of the South Shields fortress, which contained a considerable amount of merchandise or valuables in transit⁶⁴.

Besides the troops' storage facilities, statues or altars could have been placed in the *aerarium*, like those dedicated to Jupiter at Murrhardt, to the *Genius* at Kapersburg or to the representations of Hercules at Königen⁶⁵.

The character of the fort at Porolissum, situated in one of the most important strategical places of Dacia, both from a military and economical viewpoint, as well as the big number of garrison troops suggest the existence here of bigger *aerarium*, just like in South Shields. Even so, the structure's length would be quite big as compared to the one at Potaissa, but the interval between the excavation trenches measures only 10 m; therefore it is possible for the building at Porolissum to have a similar surface to that from Potaissa.

The impediments – quite important, as a matter of fact – in what the attribution of the structure to an *aerarium* is concerned are as follows: the position of the building, explainable maybe because there might not have been enough space under the *aedes*, where no underground room was discovered. At Sarmizegetusa, where a bigger *aerarium* was necessary, this situation is solved by the means of an *aeraria* placed underneath the *curia* (Fig. 8), taking the shape of two deepened (3.70 m) vaulted compartments, each having dimensions similar to the 11.90 × 3.70 m *aerarium* at Potaissa⁶⁶.

Other impediments are the fact that Suetonius, Vegetius and Tacitus state that the money and the *signa* are in relation⁶⁷, but as we have seen, there are exceptions in which the rooms were not under the *aedes*; and also since they were not in the *aedes* area, they could not have been guarded by the same guardian that was necessary for the protection of the standards⁶⁸. Last but not least, the question is: if the structure was not in relation to a *sacellum*, why was it necessary to make it deeper? The only possible explanation is the fact that there was also a suprastructure that must have also had an official character. Maybe, just like in the old Roman republic, there was at Porolissum an *aerarium* divided in two parts: the common wealth where the regular taxes were deposited and the sacred wealth (*aerarium sanctum*)⁶⁹. Both treasures were located in Rome in the temple of Saturn, but in distinct parts of the construction. At Porolissum, taking into consideration the position of the fort along one of the most important

⁶¹ See the case of the fortress at Brough-by-Bainbridge, where the floor is placed 1.70 m deep, Johnson 1987, p. 137.

⁶² For a table containing the dimensions of several "strongrooms" see P. Bidwell, S. Speak, Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort I. Newcastle u.T. 1994, Tab. 3.2.

⁶³ Cf. P. Bidwell, S. Speak, op. cit, p. 81.

⁶⁴ This circulation of goods was connected to the campaigns of Septimius Severus, ibidem.

⁶⁵ Johnson 1987, p. 133. Not all of these were probably discovered *in situ*, it is possible for them to have fallen down from the *aedes* subsequently.

⁶⁶ R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, op. cit, p. 147-148.

⁶⁷ ...a quoquam ad signa deponi, Suetonius, *Dom.* 7; Vegetius 2.20 and ... cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas ueherentur, Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, p. 37.

⁶⁸ H. v. Petrikovis states that money was deposited here especially to be under permanent guard, Petrikovits 1975, p. 73.

⁶⁹ Tit. Liv. XXVII.10; Flor. IV.2; Caes., *de Bello Civili*, 1.14; Cic. *Ad Atticum* VII.21.

commercial roads, the construction near the *principia* could have had the role of a common treasury, also destined to fulfill the needs of the troop.

A final possibility would be for the deepened structure at Porolissum to have represented a *schola*. Thus, three of the rooms on the back side of the *principia* at Carnuntum were interpreted to be worship places⁷⁰. A statue of Hercules and an altar dedicated to the fortress' genius were discovered in one of the rooms. This partitioning, although endowed with a heating system, is deep into the ground, and the walls were painted similarly to the ones of the building at Porolissum⁷¹. As a consequence, this structure at Carnuntum was also interpreted as a *schola*⁷². A possible analogy for the existence of underground rooms (*cryptae*) in relation with a *schola* can be found within the monument of Ucuētis at Alesia, presumed to have been the location of a craftsmen's association. The construction is characterized by an interior courtyard surrounded by rooms. One of these divisions appears to be an underground room, but it is not very clear what its role could have been⁷³.

Or, it is possible for the building at Porolissum to have been a *schola*, the reunion place of a college in which the college's Genius would have been worshiped, and in which, like in several other cases, other divinities would have been worshiped as well.

Undoubtedly, only the archeological research of the entire building can prove which of the three variants is correct, but the lack of analogies having certain epigraphic attestations indicate the fact that this building was not a temple, but something else.

In the north-east corner of the big fort at Tibiscum (Fig. 9), a 28.80 × 6.80 m building oriented NE-SW and having a 196 m² surface was identified, characterized by the excavations' authors as a *schola*⁷⁴. The structure is 0.40 m away from the eastern precinct wall, therefore over the fort's *agger*, which is 5.50 m wide and partially over the *via sagularis* which has a considerable width: 5.75-7.00 m⁷⁵. It is very difficult to assess the chronology of this structure, which seems, judging from its position, from a later phase, as the excavation's authors also believed⁷⁶. The chronological data we have are not at all encouraging, the archaeological situation being quite ambiguous. The building really seems to have been built later, but it is not clear why the second precinct wall doubling the first, which was rudimentary, situated 0.40 m away from the main precinct wall, partially goes over the building's floor. This wall has been identified by M. Moga to be 5 m away from the eastern precinct wall, sustaining the existence of the wall only on the eastern side of the fortress, and only from the north-eastern corner to the *porta praetoria* of the big fortress⁷⁷. It should be briefly mentioned that D. Benea and P. Bona were arguing that M. Moga had uncovered the entire building down to its floor, so it could have probably been impossible to notice the second lining wall placed on the floor of the building at the moment the structure was being excavated the second time, after the 1980's. Moreover, M. Moga argues that this wall was discontinued opposite the east gate of the small ancient stone fort (fortr II), which we believe to be essential information. Although the excavation's authors insist that this gate had been blocked once the fort was extended⁷⁸, we believe the discontinuation of the second lining

⁷⁰ Domaszewski 1895, p. 49; H. Stiglitz, M. Kandler, W. Jobst, *Carnuntum*, ANRW II.6, 1977, p. 634.

⁷¹ Ibidem.

⁷² Petrikovits 1975, p. 176, Anm. 88.

⁷³ P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine*. 1. Les monuments publics, Paris, 1996, p. 382, fig. 436, 437.

⁷⁴ See the description of the building at Benea, Bona 1994, p. 50.

⁷⁵ For these measurings, see Benea, Bona 1994, p. 39.

⁷⁶ The precise dating of some artifacts discovered by M. Moga, whose description consists in the mere mention of the object type, seems a bit far-fetched, see Benea, Bona 1994, p. 50. For other pieces discovered here, see Piso, Benea 1999.

⁷⁷ Benea, Bona 1994, p. 39.

⁷⁸ Benea, Bona 1994, p. 39.

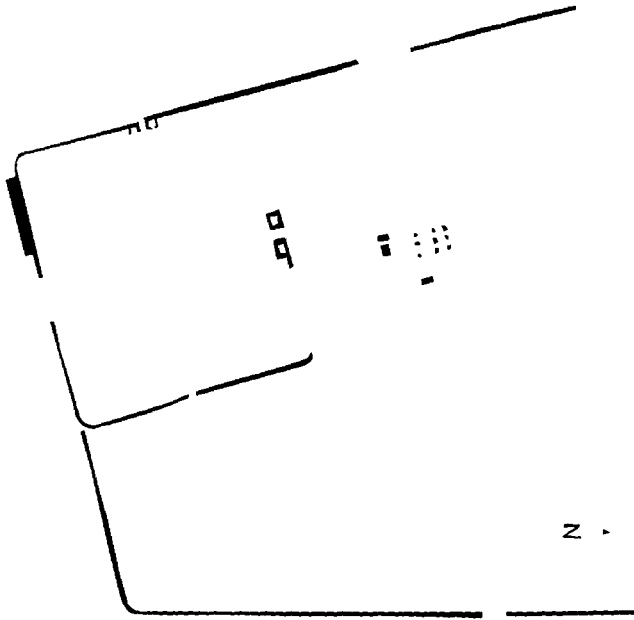


Fig. 9.1.

Fig. 9.2.

Fig. 9.1. Tibiscum; 9.2. The buildings in the North-Eastern corner – Tibiscum.

precinct wall to be significant, as we believe that this gate was still in use, at least for some time. This is undoubtedly justified by the big dimensions of fort IV, the distance from the north precinct to the *porta praetoria* being 150 m. Moreover, we do not believe the exact alignment of the buildings from the north-east corner along the ancient road going through the eastern gate of the small stone fort to be accidental. Besides, in older reports, archaeologists considered that this gate was still used in the times of the enlarged fortress 'as there were no traces attesting the gate being blocked'⁷⁹, therefore the subsequent change of opinion is bizarre.

The 2.60 m entrance into the building was on the short southern side, going through a small 3.20 m wide portico, and the inside floor was made of bricks fixed with mortar. The portico was made of two column bases, the ones to the extremes being located at the end of the building's longitudinal walls, stretching to the portico's exterior zone, making up a plan similar to an *in antis* temple. The foundations are pretty big (0,80 × 0,80 m), therefore it is not out of the question for them to have supported arches. Three entrances were thus created, a 2,60 m wide central one and other lateral entrances of about 1,80 m.

The structure seems to have been initially divided in two parts by a transversal wall built approximately in the middle of the building⁸⁰. Later on, the brick floor seems to overlap over the two walls; therefore the building becomes a basilica-type one, quite long and narrow. It is not certain whether it had the same role in all the phases in which the building was used. As long as the structure of the building was different, we would say that it did not. At any rate, keeping in mind the scarce information, it is hard to determine the function of this building. If the building had been used for the same purpose from the very beginning, it is possible for the respective walls to have been there to hold benches, thus creating a central corridor, similar to the plan of Mithraic temples or to some plans of *scholae*.

The building was dated – we do not know if its construction date was, too – mid 3rd C.; among the discovered archaeological material we can mention marble pieces decorated with vegetal motifs, 'votive plates' and bricks bearing the mark MID, some of them even on the bricks the building was paved with⁸¹, which suggests that some may have been reused⁸². As compared to other buildings to the west, this structure is a bit set back from the road to the north side, not aligned to the road going out through the east gate. The space between this road and the building is intermediary (3.40 × 2.60 m), almost completely paved with big standard stones. About 6.40 m south from the entrance portico, straight along the road from the building, but a little bit diverted to the east, a 2.40 × 2.00 m foundation made of limestone blocks was discovered, and was considered to be the basis of a statue⁸³.

The building's function is suggested by the building brick bearing an inscription identified in the portico (see *infra*) and by the inside finds.

Two marble hands and a horn of abundance were discovered inside the portico, and in the big room, several dedicated inscriptions: *[G]enio n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum) Tib(iscensium); Dis P[ai]t(riis)* (IDR III/1, 136) (Fig. 10.1): the official character is quite obvious. Consequently, in the above-mentioned inscription dedicated to the Genius of

⁷⁹ Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 314.

⁸⁰ Actually, two parallel 1m-wide walls were discovered here, standing about 1.20 m from one another, Benea, Bona 1994, p. 50.

⁸¹ Benea, Bona 1994, p. 50-51.

⁸² Whatever the situation, the bricks must have been military, since other cases when other civil bricks were used in a military environment have not been discovered yet, see F. Marcu, *Military tile-stamps as a guide for the garrisons of certain forts in Dacia*, Orbis Antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis, Cluj-Napoca 2004, *passim*.

⁸³ Cf. Benea, Bona 1994, p. 51.

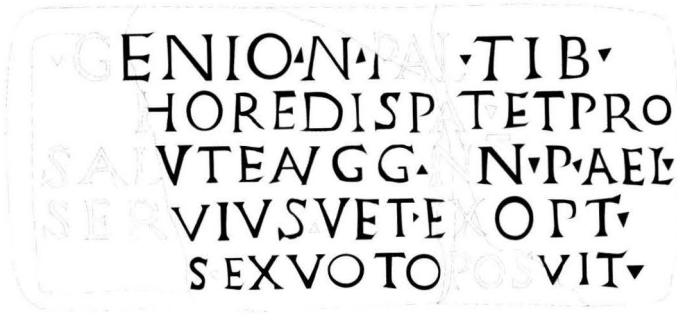


Fig. 10.1.



Fig. 10.2.

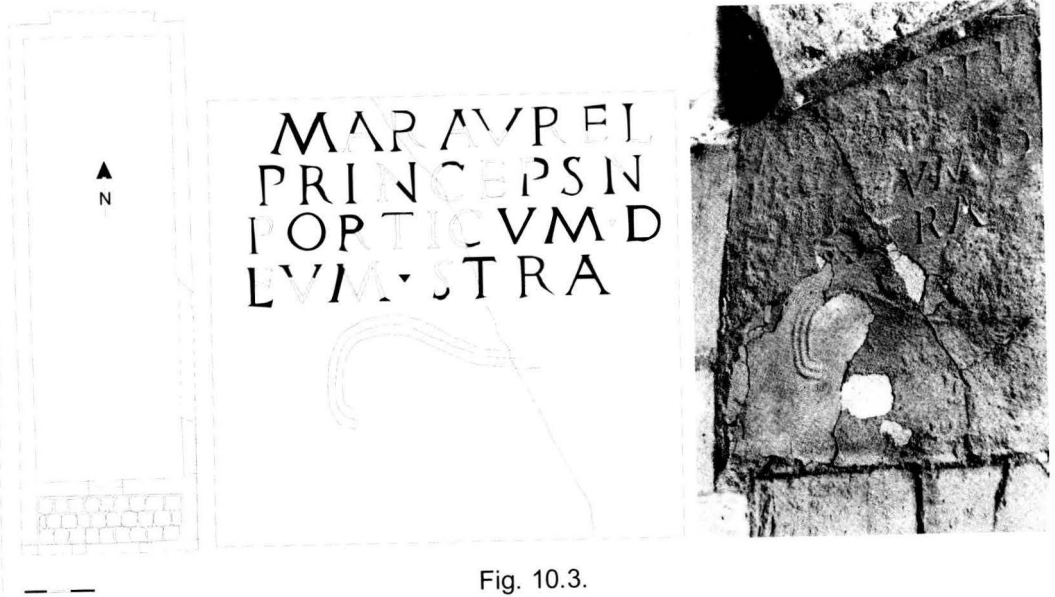


Fig. 10.3.

Fig. 10. Tibiscum.

the troop and *Dii Patri*, the *pro salute Auggustorum nnostrorum* is also mentioned⁸⁴. The inscription was reconstructed by I. Piso and D. Benea as: *[G]enio n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum) Tib(iscensium) / [?et] hor(reorum) e[ti]a[m] dis p[ro]p[ri]is et pro / [sal]ute Augg(ustorum) [n]n(ostrorum) P(ublius) Ael(ius) [?Ser]uius uet(eranus) [ex] opt(ione) / [?cum suis] ex uoto [pos]uit⁸⁵*. Or, it is quite difficult to believe that the Genius was the Genius of a *horreum* at the same time, since a *Genius* had never been associated to more than one entity. In addition, there is not enough space left in the inscription to suspect that a second *Genius* could have been written at the beginning of the second line, before the *HOR*. We can also suspect that the name of another god – Palmyrene, as I. I. Russu assumed – appears here⁸⁶, but this is also something difficult to argue. On the other hand, the abbreviation and the space missing after the name of the *numerus* can suggest *[co]hor(tis)*; what is to be understood in this case is that the genius would have been common both to the *numerus* and to the second troop present in the fort at Tibiscum, probably *coh. I Vindelicorum*⁸⁷. Likewise, at Bremenium there is recorded an individual *Genius* of the *coh. I Vardullorum* and *numerus exploratorum Bremensium* (CIL VII 1030)⁸⁸. Some *scholae* at Corbridge were assumed to have been used by several troops⁸⁹.

Inscriptions that record Malagbel (IDR III/1, 142 + 149) were discovered in the same building (Fig. 10.2)⁹⁰.

We find out, from one of the bricks the portico at the entrance into the building was paved with, that *port[i]cum d / eum stra(uit) by Mar(?ius) Aurel(?ianus) / princeps n(umeri)* (Fig. 10.3)⁹¹. But this document also fails to solve once and for all the problem of the building's functionality, although the term *porticum deum* may suggest another function than that of a temple. However, it is finally decided that this structure probably had the role of a *schola*, the existence of temples in fort being considered quite improbable⁹². Still, if we were to compare the plans of the building with those of other buildings presumed to fulfill the role of *schola*, we would be inclined to believe that the structure in the immediate vicinity of the basilica-type building has this role (see *infra*). This idea is reinforced by the existence of a heating system in that place, a *schola* being theoretically meant to host reunions of a smaller group of people. It is quite difficult to establish the shape of the *scholae*, as the existence of many different plans is possible. At any rate, the most suitable plan seems to be the basilica-type one, with only one room

⁸⁴ The discovery of the pieces inside this building has been confirmed by I. Piso, who had at his disposal the excavation journals of M. Moga. A jug with fragments of molten lead inside was also discovered, together with decorated votive plates and fragments of marble paving.

⁸⁵ Piso, Benea 1999, p. 104, n. 61.

⁸⁶ IDR III/1, 136, 158.

⁸⁷ Information I. Piso.

⁸⁸ *G(enio) d(omini) n(ostri) et signorum coh(ortis) I Vardull(or)um et n(umeri) explorator(um) Brem(ensium) Gor(dianorum) Egnatius Lucillianus leg(atus) Aug(usti) curante Cassio Sabino trib(un)o*.

⁸⁹ Cf. I. A. Richmond, *Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples and religious cults*, ArchAel 21, 1943, p. 136.

⁹⁰ See also I. Piso, *Epigraphica (XIV). Inscriptii din Apulum*, AMN 20, 1983, p. 107-109, nr. 6. The inscriptions IDR III/3, 143, 148 were probably also discovered in the building in the north-east corner, see explanations in Piso, Benea 1999, p. 105, n. 61.

⁹¹ It is rightfully presumed that the *numerus* mentioned is the Palmyrene one, since other inscriptions connected to the *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* were discovered here, in this building, cf. Piso, Benea 1999, p. 105-106.

⁹² Benea, Bona 1994, p. 50-51; Piso, Benea 1999, p. 106. *Contra*, S. Sanie, *Die syrischen und palmyrenischen Kulte im römischen Dakien*, ANRW II 18, 2, Berlin – New York, 1989, p. 1234. But the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Sarmizegetusa (Idem, op. cit., fig. IX) has a pronaos, a naos and three, or even four *cella*, whereas the building at Tibiscum only has a naos with a portico in front.

whose dimensions varied, which ended in an apse at one of its short ends⁹³. Therefore, the rectangular building with a portico in the vicinity of the east side of the precinct can be an *aedes* of the Genius of the Palmyrene troop stationed at Tibiscum.

The fact that the building was tall is proved by the partial thickening of the wall on the short side to the north – evidence of the considerable pressure of the roof that was only supported by the exterior walls. Undoubtedly, it would have been more natural to strengthen the longitudinal walls, the pressure being stronger in those areas. Maybe the wall that can be noticed in the plan, parallel and at a short distance from the eastern longitudinal wall of the building was used precisely for that. But the fact that this wall does not touch the walls in the short ends makes us believe that the role of this rudimentary wall was to support a bench on which the guests could lie down, thus confirming the fact that this building had a clear reunion purpose.

In the immediate vicinity of the basilica-type building, 2 m to the west, M. Moga uncovered another 18.40×10.70 (196.88 m^2) construction⁹⁴. This construction also has a small – 50×3.20 m – portico on its short side, this time with columns probably placed on a *stylobat*⁹⁵. It is interesting that a 2.60 m wide 'brick paving' was identified in front of the portico⁹⁶. Therefore, we believe that it is possible for these bricks to actually come from steps leading to the portico. Initially, the building had been made of this portico and a 10.90×7.50 m room.

The chronological relationship between this structure and the one standing near, to the east, seems quite obvious; therefore, the buildings must have been contemporaneous at least at some point. Thus, the big stone slabs forming the pavement in front of the basilica-type building are stuck to the east wall of the apsed building. It is therefore obvious that the basilica-type structure together with the paved space were built afterwards, maybe immediately after the erection of the apsed building. If the buildings' chronology were inverse, it would be impossible for the above-mentioned slabs to stay adjacent to the east wall of the structure.

⁹³ On the other hand, *scholae* having very complex plans are known to have existed in a civilian environment. This is the case at Mactar (Fig. 3.1) where the '*schola iuvenum*' is made of a peristyle courtyard bordered on two of the sides with various rooms, among which one with a worship role and some sanitary installations. The reunion hall situated on the west wing has a basilical plan, divided into three naves and with an apse on the short side, opposite the entrance (P. Gros, op. cit., p. 384, fig. 438). In theory, this apsed structure looks like a proper *schola*.

⁹⁴ Archaeologists have dated the building to the beginning of the 3rd C A.D., on the basis of the new research, of the material discovered and of the construction technique, Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 319. Regarding the dimensions, it is odd that in the plan drafted by the authors (Benea, Bona 1994, fig. 23), the basilica-type building and the apsed building are similar in width, although the former is 6.80 m wide, and the latter almost 11 m.

⁹⁵ It is rather curious that the authors of the excavations consider the space 'added' to the south end of the building as being a new division, although they specify that the walls are less than 0.65 m thick and have no foundation, all that is left being two rows of stones, Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 318; Benea, Bona 1994, p. 52. The alignment of the portico along the road going out of the old east gate of the small fortress is obvious, as we argued, therefore we do not believe that this small division/compartment was added subsequently, but was a part of the initial construction plan. Or, it is obvious that the entrance should have been through this part of the building, the long sides being almost completely blocked by the buildings in its immediate vicinity, and the other short side had an apse, at least at some point.

⁹⁶ The authors of the excavation believe that a corridor could have existed here, Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 319. Even though what we consider to be the entrance or the portico would really be a room, as the authors of the excavations mean, it is hard to believe that a corridor's dimensions would be something between those of the building's width and those of a possible entrance.

The construction has an apse leaning against it on the north-east side⁹⁷, which seems to have been added later, because the ends of the apse walls start neither from the north corners of the building nor from the end of the walls that are forming the corner with the longitudinal sides of the same structure⁹⁸. But what could be the reason for which the north wall was not demolished the moment the apse was attached? Probably the heating system was also installed at that moment, and a fragment of the wall was left right there in order for the elevated floor to find support on it. Or, the interior of the apse was elevated and the respective wall really is a basis for the stairs.

Although the building's dimensions and those of the non-partitioned space seem quite big, the entire surface could have been heated by the means of a heating system with a channel⁹⁹. It is odd, however, that this channel does not cross the room longitudinally or crosswise, as it is located only in its north-east corner. The narrow lining wall standing along the longitudinal east wall of the building is also interesting, because normally it should have been connected to the heating system, although we can see from the plan that this wall blocks the main heating channel at some point. Probably this wall was also the base for a bench that should have been located along both longitudinal sides of the building. Although the existence of a heating system is not ruled out, this channel having a pretty bizarre direction could have had the same purpose as the channels identified in an almost identical building at Corbridge, where they are characterized as 'sacrificial soak-drain', and consequently were used in religious rituals¹⁰⁰.

70 arrowheads with three and four edges were discovered inside the last of the channels mentioned. Besides the arrowheads found in the area of this building, a 'short sword' with a bone handle and a fragmentary bronze scabbard were identified¹⁰¹. Therefore, it was considered that this construction had the role of a weapon storage facility¹⁰², which is obviously hard to believe since there was a heating system in place¹⁰³.

All the construction details of this structure make us believe, like we have already mentioned, that this construction was a *schola*, in certain relation with the neighbouring basilica-type building. An almost perfect analogy can be found in the case of one of the *scholae collegii* at Corbridge, where the mentioned building with a channel has the plan and dimensions almost identical with those of the apsed building at Tibiscum¹⁰⁴.

It is not impossible that in Tibiscum we should be dealing with the more complex premises of a college or colleges made of the members of a Palmyrene troop, which

⁹⁷ The apse is considered to be another room (Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 318), although probably there was no other partitioning. Without this apse, the building is only 13.40 m long, see Benea, Bona 1994, p. 51-52.

⁹⁸ These two very short walls seem to have formed a single wall at some point, as the initial north limit of the building.

⁹⁹ Fragments of *suspensura* bricks were discovered also in the channel of the hypocaust and in the apse area, Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 318; Benea, Bona 1994, p. 51-52, n. 72.

¹⁰⁰ I. A. Richmond, op. cit., p. 133, fig. 3, 1.

¹⁰¹ Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 319; P. Bona, R. Petrovsky, M. Petrovsky, *Tibiscum – cercetări arheologice (III)*, 1976-1979, AMN 20, 1983, p. 413, nr. 21.

¹⁰² Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 319. Subsequently, a confusion was made when it was stated that the authors of the excavations considered that this building had the role of a 'guards' headquarters' (Benea, Bona 1994, p. 52), but they were referring to the building to the west from the apsed structure, see Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 318-319.

¹⁰³ The authors of the excavations argue, without arguments, that the hypocaust system was abolished at some point, Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982, p. 319.

¹⁰⁴ The dimensions of the structure in the British fortress are about 11, 50 × 6,00 m. The difference is that the apse in the fortress at Tibiscum has a wider opening, but the construction has even a small portico on the short side, see I. A. Richmond, op. cit., (n. 89), p. 133, fig. 3, 1.

should have had several reunion places for the members of some colleges. The last structure could have had a place reserved for a *triclinium*. Just like a *templum*, a *schola* could also be a complex of structures, made of porticos, *aedes*, courtyard, etc., like in the case of the complex belonging to the Augustals at Misenum, or in that of the fabric at Ostia¹⁰⁵. For instance, at Misenum, there was a smaller apsed room which had the role of a *triclinium* right next to the sacred chapel where the Genius of the Augustals was worshiped¹⁰⁶. At Tibiscum, the space between the three buildings in the fortress' north-east corner area could very well have had the role of a courtyard or of a garden. Thus, the entire complex of buildings in the north-east corner at Tibiscum represented, just like Corbridge for instance, a group of *scholae* of some *collegia* of Palmyrenes, in the first case.

It is not impossible for the above-mentioned buildings at Tibiscum to be characteristic to the 3rd C. A.D., as M. Popescu connected them to Septimius Severus' reforms to the benefit of worship inside other buildings, especially *principia*, and not temples. This is also of soldiers, which could have played an important role in the cultural turnaround and for the identity of the community of Orientals at Tibiscum¹⁰⁷.

Consequently, the epigraphic and archaeological proofs gathered so far entice us to believe that the existence of some *scholae* that had a place of worship attached but without forming a temple, is a reality. This is demonstrated by the finds coming from fortresses in general and confirmed by the excavations in some of Dacia's fortresses. Apart from these sacred places usually dedicated to some *Genii* of *collegia* owners of a *schola* and where altars were dedicated to other divinities as well, the place of worship inside a fortress *par excellence* is the *aedes principiorum*. Consequently, we have no certain proof attesting, at least in the Principate period, temples dedicated to a divinity inside fortresses.

The official character of these *scholae* is also demonstrated by the fact that emperors could have been worshiped here, together with other gods, according to an inscription at Lambaesis (CIL VIII 2554). This is the case of several inscriptions¹⁰⁸ where the name of emperors is written in the Dative case, which proves that they were also the gods of those *scholae*, together with the *dii conservatores*¹⁰⁹.

The many inscriptions that mention gods in fortresses (should they not be reused) may indicate, at best, small places indicated by the inscription discovered at Porolissum-Pomet, in the *via decumana* area, which mentions Volcanus¹¹⁰. It was related to a *fabrica*, and this role was attributed to the neighboring C9 building, without many arguments¹¹¹, but it is really possible for the inscription to have been in a *fabrica*.

In fortresses, the distribution of epigraphic pieces, altars, reliefs, gems, pottery, bricks, votive plates, oil lamps, statues or other objects recording gods or on which gods are represented are scattered randomly in every building in the fortresses. M. Popescu has recently drafted a diagram indicating the places where the worship material was

¹⁰⁵ Diaconescu 2005, p. 333; 344-345, fig. 180.

¹⁰⁶ The situation is quite clear, since a *triclinium* is mentioned in the very inscription in the pavement made of black *tesserae*: Q. Baebius Natalis August. / Immun. Triclin. Constantiae / sua peq. strauit et dedicavit, A. De Franciscis, Il sacello degli Augustali a Miseno, Napoli, 1991, p. 45, fig. 65-66 (*apud* Diaconescu 2005, p. 333).

¹⁰⁷ Popescu 2004, p. 207.

¹⁰⁸ Domaszewski 1895, p. 89, nr. 177, 178, 181, 184, 185.

¹⁰⁹ CIL VIII 2554 – Pro salute Aug(ustorum) optiones scholam suam cum statuīs et imaginibus domus [di]vināe, item diis conservatoribus eorum...

¹¹⁰ N. Gudea, E. Chirilă, Al. V. Matei, I. Bajusz, D. Tamba, Raport privind cercetările de la Porolissum, 1988-1991, AMP 18, 1992, p. 145, fig. 12.

¹¹¹ See Popescu 2004, p. 229. Other buildings in the *latera praetorii* could also have fulfilled the role of a *fabrica*.

discovered in Dacia's fort (Fig. 11)¹¹². A relative accumulation can be noticed in the distribution of altars, without them being necessarily attributed to only one god, in the *latera praetorii* area and especially in the *principia* and *praetorium*¹¹³. Consequently, the erection of altars can have firstly a public and secondly a private character, connected to the commandant's family¹¹⁴. It is obvious that officers of equestrian rank behaved just like any other high-rank official, as it can be noted in the case of the financial procurator at Sarmizegetusa, where there was an *area sacra* in the *praetorium* area, in which governors of equestrian rank dedicated votive statues and altars to an impressive diversity of gods¹¹⁵. This can be illustrated also by the words of Tacitus: *...conuiuium bucina dimitti et structam ante augurale aram subdita face accendi, cuncta in maius attollens admiratione prisca moris adfecit* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 30). Or, the existence of votive statues and altars in private environment was an obvious reality¹¹⁶.

The small places of worship referred to are located inside buildings that have a precise or recorded functionality, the divinities worshiped there being the protective divinities, with attributes closely connected to the activities practiced in the respective structures. For instance, this is the case of Ceres, not accidentally connected to the *horrea*, the most well-known case in Dacia being that of two statues and that of the base of statues discovered in the granary to the left from the *principia* at Cășei¹¹⁷. The same could be noted in the case of *Aesculapius* and *Hygia* in legionary fortresses in the entire empire: Carnuntum, Vindobona¹¹⁸ or Novae¹¹⁹, whose altars have been discovered exclusively in hospitals. Moreover, the *Campestres* – celtic divinities clearly connected to cavalry troops whose statues or altars are in the training fields' area of these units¹²⁰. Images of gods can also be found in *thermae* or in the vicinity of fountains¹²¹.

On the other hand, reliefs or the representations of deities on smaller items are especially connected to the soldier's private life, discovered inside of in the vicinity of barracks. They are not indicators or proper places of worship, just like in the case of the representations of Venus having the most numerous finds (11 pieces in the forts in Dacia), most of them in soldiers' barracks (5 pieces).

Consequently, it can be stated that there are sacred places in fort, but they are located inside buildings that have an initial or primary functionality, other than that of sanctuary or temple¹²², many altars being erected on the occasion of religious ceremonies in buildings that undoubtedly have other functionality than that of a temple.

¹¹² Popescu 2004, pl. II-VI.

¹¹³ Popescu 2004, pl. V.

¹¹⁴ For the relationship between the troop's commander and the gods, see *Hyginus* 11, 12; Domaszewski 1895, p. 8-9, where the temporary camp is mentioned, where the commandant's tent was in the middle of the camp, therefore fulfilling the role of *principia*.

¹¹⁵ About the rights of the governors, legati, tribunes or even centurions to dedicate altars, see Domaszewski 1895, p. 111; I. Piso, *Epigraphica* (XIV). *Inscriptii din Apulum*, AMN 20, 1983 and I. Piso, *Inscripții von Prokuratoren aus Sarmizegetusa (II)*, ZPE 120, 1998. The only person in the auxiliary troops that had the right to dedicate altars was the troop's commander, cf. Domaszewski 1895, p. 112. This happened with the exception of some officers, members of a college.

¹¹⁶ See I. Piso, *Epigraphica* (XI), Potaissa 2, 1980, p. 125-127. It is important that these altars 'are not gifts made as a consequence of an oath, because they do not end in the *ex voto* formula, or *votum solvit libens merito* so they had an ornamental role and that of a self introduction, in a way', cf. Diaconescu 2005, p. 347.

¹¹⁷ D. Isac, *Castrul roman de la SAMVUM – Cășeiu*. The Roman auxiliary fort SAMVM – Cășeiu, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 172-173, pl. VII, 3-4.

¹¹⁸ Petrikovits 1975, p. 78, n. 88.

¹¹⁹ P. Dyczek, *The valetudinarium at Novae – new components*, Limes 16 Rolduc 1995 (1997), p. 203.

¹²⁰ Domaszewski 1895, p. 50-51.

¹²¹ Petrikovits 1975, p. 78.

¹²² D. Isac also presumed the same thing in the case of the headquarter building and of one of the granaries at Cășei, D. Isac, op. cit., p. 147, 173.

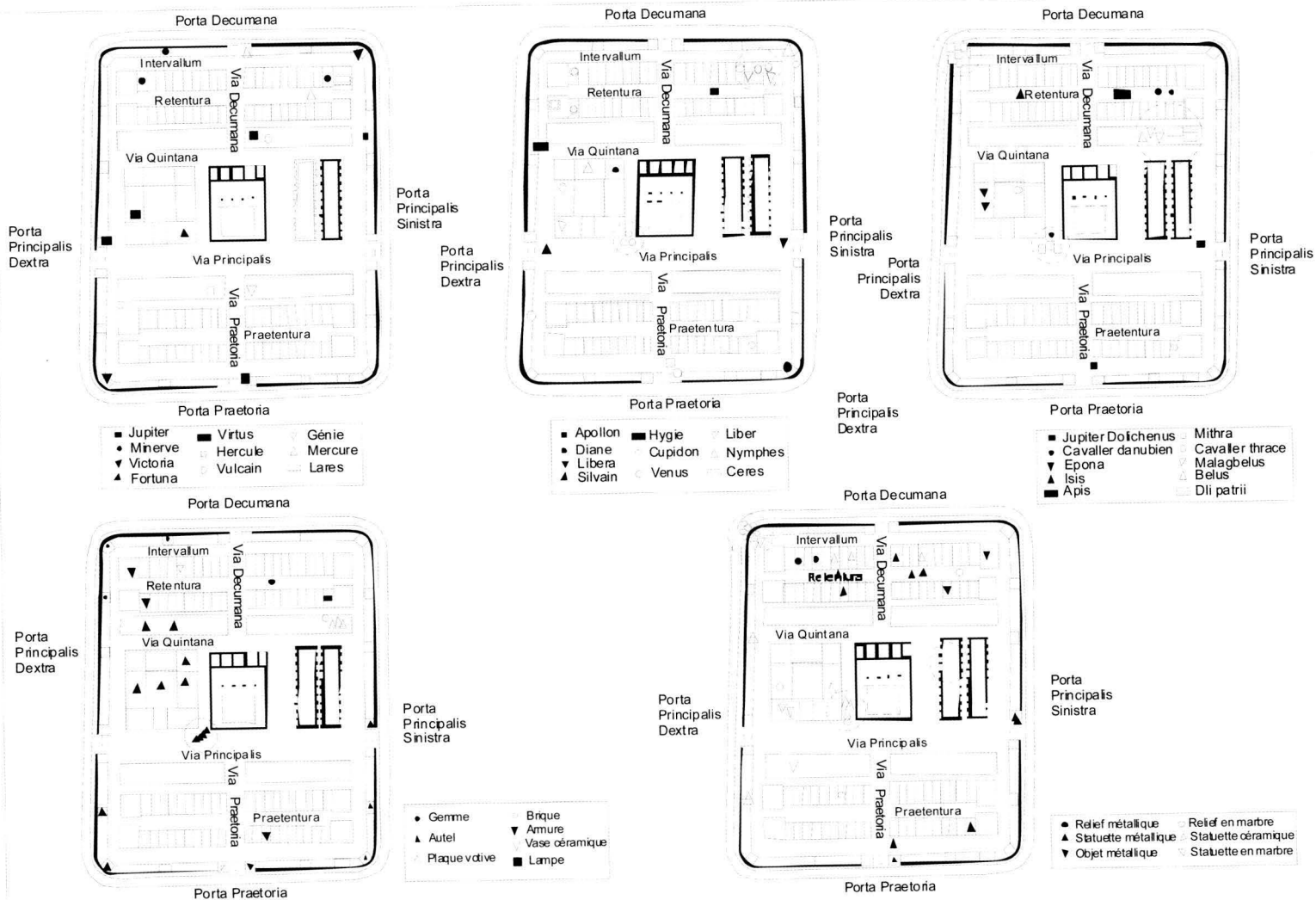


Fig. 11. The discovery places of the religious artifacts (based on Popescu 2004, Pl. II-IV).

The inexistence of temples inside fortifications is also proven by inscriptions mentioning *ad legionem* temples or by the above-mentioned inscriptions dedicated by the troop's prefect in the temple near the fortress at Carrawborough. The same thing is indicated by the already-mentioned inscription at Ilişua (CIL III 7626), whose place of discovery indicates the area of the *thermae* outside the fortress, under which C. Torma had identified an apsed building. Even theoretically, the existence of temples inside cities or fortifications was prevented, since they did not benefit from an *inauguratio*, as there was not a dedicated place, built and oriented, – the *templum* being understood as a defined place, separated by the Augurs from the rest of the field through a certain solemn formula, conceived as a *un liberatus et effatus*¹²³. Varro clearly points out that *locus effatus* was always outside the city (Varro, *De Ling. Lat.*, VI.7), so outside the *pomoerium*, since the interior of a city or fortification were, by their very nature, similar to a *templum*, a place in which the auspices could be taken.

Otherwise, the *aedes principiorum* did not benefit from an *inauguratio* either, as it was only consecrated, thus becoming *sacrum*, *sacrarium* or *sacellum* or *aedes sacrae*, without being a temple in itself.

The inscriptions mentioning the existence of temples in relation to some legions also prove the existence of temples in the vicinity of the fortress, and not inside the fortress. Two inscriptions at Apulum mention priests or sacred places in connection to *leg. XIII Gemina*. The inscription (IDR III/5 221) where *Flavius Bar/hadadi s(acerdos) I(ouis) D(olicheni) ad leg(ionem)* is recorded is significant, the phrase *ad legionem* being similar to *ad canabas legionis*, meaning in the vicinity of the legionary fortress¹²⁴. Similarly, Aurelius Ingenuus *nat(us) provinc(ia) Dacia leg(ione) XIII Gem(ina)* (CIL VI 2425 = ILS 2042) had not necessarily been a member of the above-mentioned legion¹²⁵, but is only mentioned to have been born in the *canabae* of the legion in Apulum¹²⁶. The *sacerdotes dei et coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) [t]emp[li] (um) cum / tabernis (a)ere suo feceru[nt]* are more clearly mentioned, on the ones in question are obviously the temple dedicated to Iupiter Dolichenus, situated in the immediate vicinity of the fortress at Porolissum-Pomet¹²⁷. It is also here that *numerus Palmyrenorum* dedicates the *tem / plum ui ignis consumptum* to Bel, also near the fortress at Porolissum and not inside.

One of the most important criteria in this discussion must be the issue of the right to erect altars. On the basis of epigraphic pieces of evidence, A. v. Domaszewski denies the 'peregrine troops' right to benefit from a collection of religious instruments or worship building, stating that the only one who had this right was the commander of the troop¹²⁸. If the soldiers did not have this right, who would

¹²³ P. Catalano, *Aspetti spaziali del sistema giuridico-religioso romano*, ANRW II.16.1, 1978, p. 473-478.

¹²⁴ See J. Jung, *Inscript aus Apulum*, JÖAI 12, Bbl. 139, n. 1. This is also confirmed by the name of the person making the dedication, who proved to be a traveller, so it is theoretically impossible for him to have been a soldier in a legion, cf. IDR III/5, 172. Also L. Iulius Leuganus *custos* of a sanctuary, probably of the Roman citizens in the *canabae* (*qui consistunt ad legionem*), cf. IDR III/5, 286.

¹²⁵ C.C. Petolescu, *Varia Daco-Romana* (XII), TD 8, 1-2, 1987, p. 200-202.

¹²⁶ Cf. I. Piso, *Prosopographia Coloniae Daciae Sarmizegetusae*, AMN 24-25, 1992 with bibliography.

¹²⁷ The result of this is not that the *sacerdos dei* was part of the troop, the mention of the unit proving the affinity of the troop for a certain god, see I. Piso, *Studia Porolissensia* (I). *Le temple Dolichénien*, AMN 38/1, 2001, p. 228-229. However, there is no doubt that the troop could also include priests, since a *sacerdos* mentioned in the papyri *PDur* 89 was part of the *coh. XX Palmyrenorum*, see R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, London, 1971, p. 193. For the plan and the details regarding archaeological excavations in the temple at Porolissum, see N. Gudea, D. Tamba, op. cit., (n. 45) p. 233, pl. 5, 7, 9.

¹²⁸ Cf. Domaszewski 1895, p. 112.

1. ILS 2090: *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Ael(io) Malco tectori eq(uitum) praetorian(orum) / coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) qui et urb(anae) item antistes (!) / sacerdoti temp(li) Martis castror(um) / pr(aetorium) / fecit ben(e) merenti coniugi dul(cissimo) suo / Roscia Sucessa (!) cum quo vixit ann(os) XL / decessit annor(um) LXVI.*

2. CIL VI 428: *Pro salute et reditu d(omini) n(ostr)i imp(eratoris) Caesaris C(aio) / Iulio Vero Maximino pio felici invicto Aug(usto) Domitius Bassus (centurio) / fr(umentarius) agens vice principis peregrinorum templum Iovis Reducis / c(astrorum) p(eregrinorum) omni cultu de suo exomavit.*

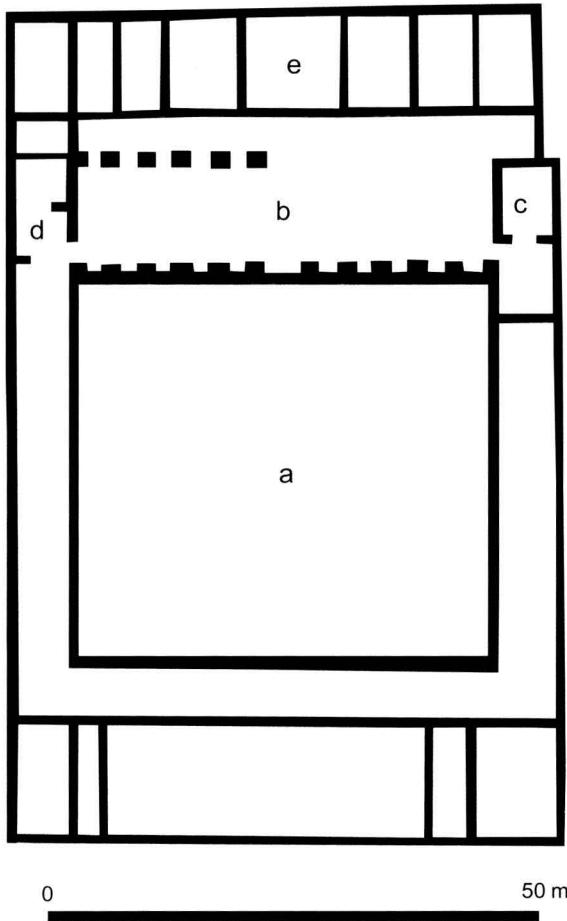


Fig. 12. Carnuntum.

be interested in such a big temple dedicated to Mithras inside a fortress like that in Porolissum¹²⁹?

Only some of the officers, like in Carrawburgh? That would be hard to believe!

Even the worship of the *Genius* had a limited character, since military law only allowed the officers (*principales*) to benefit from the right to found *collegia*, probably starting with Hadrian's reign, most of them being known since the times of Septimius Severus¹³⁰. Surely common soldiers were forbidden to dedicate altars and form *collegia*¹³¹, but it is obvious that the officers or subofficers had the right to dedicate inscriptions to divinities, *Genii* for instance. If *optio*, for example, dedicates an altar to the *Genio legionis et centuriae* or the *Genius* of an auxiliary troop¹³², then he probably acts as the representative of all the soldiers.

We have few obvious attestations of temples connected to the interior of some fortifications in Rome. Regarding the fortress of Praetorian cohorts, we learn that '*...item antistes sacerdos templi Martis castror(um) pr(aetorium)*' (CIL VI 2256), and in the case of '*castra peregrina ...Domitius Bassus (centurio) fr(umentarius) agens vice principis peregrinorum templum Iovis reducis c(astrorum) p(eregrinorum) omni cultu de suo exornavit*' (CIL VI 428)¹³³. As protective gods of the respective fortresses, it is most likely for the temples dedicated to them to be located in the *principia* as well, the official character of these cults being expressed quite obviously through their names, usually using the formula *Aug(ustorum)*¹³⁴ and being associated to the *Genio imp(eratoris)* or the *Genius* of the troop, like in the case of Hercules¹³⁵. But even in this case it is difficult to explain the existence of temples inside fortresses, if, as we were noting, no building here benefited from an *inauguratio*, but the entire fortification. Consequently, either the respective temples were in the proximity of the fortresses mentioned, or there were exceptions in the case of Rome, just as the temple of Mars Ultor was placed along the line of the forum of Augustus in Rome, although the cities were in an obviously different situation. That *sacerdos templi* does not indicate, as it is the case elsewhere, that the character was part of the military unit garrison of the fortress here, but only that he held this function outside the fortress, where the temple was. The inscriptions that mention temples here do not indicate that they would be inside the fortification, their existence being more probable in the proximity of the fortification. Another illustrative example is the location of the temples in the legionary fortress at Corbridge, where the precinct of the fortification itself was modified in order to provide the necessary space for the placement of the temples in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, with an opening to one of the main roads, fortification that becomes sinuous in this area.¹³⁶ Here, the entire area was reconstructed at some point in the 3rd C. A.D., and the organization of the buildings

¹²⁹ In the *mithraeum* discovered near the fortress at Carrawborough, there was enough space for 10-12 people, and altars were only dedicated by prefects, I. A. Richmond, J. P. Gillam, op. cit. (n. 49), *passim*; E. Birley, op. cit. (n. 49), p. 45-49.

¹³⁰ See B. Campbell, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 136 sqq.

¹³¹ Emperors ordered the governors of the provinces not to allow the existence of corporations' clubs, not to permit soldiers to form clubs inside the fortifications, cf. *Dig.* 47.22.1 (Marcianus III – in the times of Caracalla).

¹³² See Domaszewski 1895, p. 111.

¹³³ Domaszewski 1895, p. 47, nr. 87, 88,

¹³⁴ Like for example *Herculi Aug(ustorum)* at Aquincum (sec. III), Domaszewski 1895, p. 113.

¹³⁵ Domaszewski 1895, p. 47, nr. 89, 91. A similar situation is noted also in the case of the *Campestres*, Celtic divinities connected to cavalry troops associated for instance to the *Genio alae H[is]panorum Asturum* (CIL VII 510), see Domaszewski 1895, nr. 94.

¹³⁶ The areas with temples identified at Corbridge were named, due to their particular character, sacred enclaves in close connection to the military installations in the fortress, cf. I. A. Richmond, op. cit. (n. 89), 1943, p. 136-146.

inside the fortress, including those in its immediate vicinity, was modified¹³⁷. As a consequence, it could be argued that nothing could have stopped the legionaries from building the respective temples inside the precinct. On the contrary, that would have made easier the rather strange diversion of the fortress precinct, so as to make room for the sacred areas, as it was obvious from the very beginning that they must have been placed in the immediate vicinity of the fortification.

Other pieces of evidence that have been connected directly to the existence of temples are the finds in three rooms in the area of the second courtyard, actually a basilica, of the building headquarter at Carnuntum (Fig. 12)¹³⁸. A statue of Hercules and an altar dedicated to the genius of the fortress were discovered in one of the rooms (C). The so-called 'temples'¹³⁹ at Carnuntum were rightfully interpreted by H. v. Petrikovits as being *scholae* or reunion places¹⁴⁰, and have never been referred to as *templum*.

Or, all the above-mentioned examples are dated towards the end of the 3rd C. A.D., and the location of only a few of them is known (e.g. Carnuntum), this being, once again, inside the headquarter building. Therefore, after the Principate age, there is evidence of the existence of sacred places where altars were dedicated, but which could not be proper *aedes*, similar to an *aedes principiorum*.

Bibliographic abbreviations

ArchAel	= Archaeologia Aeliana 4 th Series, Newcastle u. Tyne.
Benea, Bona 1994	= D. Benea, P. Bona, Tibiscum, București 1994.
BICS	= Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. School of Advanced Study. University of London.
Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1982	= P. Bona, R. Petrovsky, M. Petrovsky, <i>Tibiscum. Cercetări arheologice (I) 1976-1979</i> , AMN 19, 1982, p. 311-330.
Diaconescu 2005	= Al. Diaconescu, <i>Statuaria majoră în Dacia</i> , Cluj-Napoca 2005.
Domaszewski 1895	= A. von Domaszewski, <i>Die Religion des römischen Heeres</i> , Trier 1895.
Gudea 2002	= N. Gudea, <i>Îndreptări arheologice. 1. Note la "Mithraea în Dacia"</i> , Apulum 39 2002, p. 618-621.
Gudea et alii 1986	= N. Gudea, E. Chirilă, Al. V. Matei, I. Bajusz, D. Tamba, <i>Raport preliminar privind săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de conservare și restaurare executate la Porolissum în anii 1983-1985</i> , AMP 10, 1986, p. 119-155.
Johnson 1987	= A. Johnson, <i>Römische Kastelle des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Britannien und in den germanischen Provinzen des Römerreiches</i> , Mainz a. Rhein 1987.
Limes 16 Rolduc 1995 (1997)	= Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Rolduc 1995 (Oxford 1997).

¹³⁷ Idem, op. cit., p. 146. The legal position of temples is defined as follows: *Sacra loca ea sunt, quae publice sunt dedicata, sive in civitatem sint sive in agro. Sciendum est locum publicum tunc sacrum fieri posse, cum princeps eum dedicavit vel dedicandi dedit potestatem* (Dig. 1, 8, 9.).

¹³⁸ See R. Fellmann, *Die Principia des Legionslagers Vindonissa und das Zentralgebäude der römischen Lager und Kastelle*, Brugg 1958, p. 132-133, Ab. 55; H. Stiglitz, M. Kandler, W. Jobst, *Carnuntum*, loc. cit. (n. 70)

¹³⁹ Domaszewski 1895, p. 49.

¹⁴⁰ Petrikovits 1975, n. 88.

- Petrikovits 1975 = H. von Petrikovits, Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit, Düsseldorf-Opladen 1975.
- Piso, Benea 1999 = I. Piso, D. Benea, *Epigraphica Tibiscensia*, AMN, 36, I, 1999, p. 91-108.
- Popescu 2004 = M. Popescu, La religion dans l'armée romaine de Dacie, Bucarest 2004.
- Speidel, Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978 = M.P. Speidel, Al. Dimitrova-Milčeva, *The Cult of the Genii in the Roman Army and a New Military Deity*, ANRW II, 16.2, 1978, p. 1542-1555.

PLANETS, GRADES AND SOTERIOLOGY IN DACIAN MITHRAISM

Introduction

The Iranian god Mithra was deeply transformed after his integration into a Hellenistic mystery structure, where he has always manifested himself as a triumphant god (*invictus*), as a creator and savior of the world¹. His cult enjoyed a wide popularity in the province of Dacia as well, where it was exemplified by the votive altars dedicated to him and by the reliefs with Mithras as a bull killer, the main image of his cult². Given the multiple meanings of a religious symbol, we intend to investigate from a global perspective the phenomena which have led to the appearance of this cult's icons in Dacia. Then, our approach emphasizes the astrological meaning of the tauroctony's symbols, in an attempt to overcome the 'personification' simplifying language used by F. Cumont³. In order to explain the tauroctony, some authors have resorted to the Iranian religious literature (F. Cumont, G. Widengreen, L. A. Campbell), the Greek-Roman art (F. Saxl, E. Will) and also the astral symbolism (K. B. Starck, R. Beck, R. L. Gordon)⁴.

The Astral Journey of the Soul: Grades and Planets

The degrees of the initiation that Mithra's worshippers went through have been known for a long time – thanks to the literary texts⁵ – but two discoveries from the XX-th century have revealed the relationship between the seven grades and the planetary gods who had the protective power over each of them: the mosaic on the pavement from the *mithraeum* of Felicissimus in Ostia and the *graffiti* from the *mithraeum* from Santa Prisca. This way we find out that every grade is placed under the protection (*tutela*) of one of the planetary gods: Pater – Saturnus, Heliodromus – Sol, Perses – Luna, Leo – Iupiter, Miles – Mars, Nymphus – Venus and Corax – Mercurius⁶. Origen's testimony, *Contra Celsum*, 6. 22, regarding the *symbolon* of a ladder with seven gates on top of which there was situated an eighth gate – symbol which Mithra's worshippers used to have, has risen different interpretations regarding the planetary gates that the soul of the initiated person

¹ Giulia Sfaenzi Gasparro, in *Mysteria Mithrae* (ed. U. Bianchi), Leiden 1979, p. 311.

² The Mithraic monuments in Dacia have been published in the two main repertoires: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (MMM) II, Paris 1896, p. 131-139, no. 232-308 (the inscriptions), p. 278-320, no. 136-212 (figurate monuments); M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae* (CIMRM), II, Hague, 1960, p. 273-333, no. 1916-2190; the subsequently discovered monuments were published in scientific reviews: Al. Popa, in *OmCD*, 1960, p. 443-446; A. Zrinyi, *RM*, 1965, p. 431-432; L. Mărghită, *SCIV* 18, 1967, 4, p. 693-700; N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *SCIVA* 28, 1977, 4, p. 333-343; N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *JMS* 2, 1977, 1, p. 69-73; R. L. Gordon, *JMS* 2, 1977, 1, p. 73-77; Al. Popa, in *Études mithriaques*, (ed. J. Duchesne-Guillemin), Leiden 1978, p. 327-333; C. L. Băluță, *SCIVA* 40, 1989, 4, p. 381-385; C. M. Tăulea, *Oltenia, Studii și articole*, 5-6, 1984-1986, p. 41-43; about cultic buildings: C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia NS* 20, 1976, p. 323-334; idem, *Apulum* 14, 1976, p. 455-464; Mathilda Takács, *Apulum* 24, 1987, p. 183-177; Mariana Pintilie, *EN* 9-10, 1999-2000, p. 231-243; short sketches of the cult in Dacia: C. L. Băluță, in *Études mithriaques*..., p. 1-6; I. Șerban, C. L. Băluță, in *Mysteria Mithrae*..., p. 573-578.

³ R. L. Gordon, *JMS* 1, 1976, 2, p. 119.

⁴ M. P. Speidel, *Mithras – Orion. Greek Hero and Roman Army God*, Leiden 1980, p. 5.

⁵ Hieronymus, *Ep. CVII ad Laetam*: ...*omnia portentosa simulacra quibus Corax, Gryphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, Heliodromus, Pater initiantur*...

⁶ R. Turcan, *Culte orientale în lumea romană*, București 1998, p. 251-264, fig. 5.

had to go through in its journey (*diexodos*). Celsus, quoted by Origen, enumerates the metals the gates and the tutelary planets were made of: lead for Saturnus, tin for Venus, bronze for Jupiter, iron for Mercury, alloy for Mars, silver for Luna and gold for Sol. These metals are also directly connected with the qualities which define the planets as well as with the personalities of the tutelary divinities of the gates. This way, the lead symbolizes the slowness of Saturn, the brightness and softness of the tin make it the perfect metal for illustrating the suave beauty of Venera, the toughness and resilience of bronze is connected to Jupiter's personality, the iron – just as Mercury – lasts through all exhausting tasks, the alloy the stair of Mars is made of underlines the mixture, the ambiguity, while the last two stairs are made of silver and gold, the metals which are universally consecrated to the Moon and the Sun⁷. The order in which the planets are mentioned from Saturnus to Sol does not correspond to the order of the grades / planets as they appear in Felicissimus' mosaic or to other planetary orders as they are known in the ancient astrology (it's the reversed order of the week days, from Saturday to Sunday). Celsus was seeking for an explanation of this cosmic display by attaching musical reasoning to the Persian theology⁸. Although the existence of this "seven – gated ladder of Celsus" in the mysteries is not accepted by modern exegesis, the idea of the initiated person's soul passing after death through the planetary spheres has known an important scientific career thank to F. Cumont. By applying the principles of ancient astrology to the mysteries, he assumed that the soul, whose essence was divine, ethereal, was returning after death in the Empyrean. This way, it goes beyond the sphere of the fixed stars, along the planetary spheres, getting rid of the virtues or the flaws it had obtained from the same planets when it descended on Earth, at the time of its birth⁹. However in Mithraism there is no evidence of the doctrine of the qualities and passions afferent to the planets¹⁰. This idea of Cumont was continued with the common opinion that Mithra, as god of a "mystery religion", was providing his adepts the guarantee of a salvation that was transcendent, beyond the world, of immortality and ascension to heaven. Excepting the ambiguous text of Celsus and some Platonic hints in Porphyrius¹¹, obvious evidence is also missing.

Grades of initiation

The structure of Mithraic communities in Dacia is not well known¹². Of the many worshippers who dedicate votive inscriptions or reliefs to this god, only a certain P. Aelius (?) Artemidorus (from an inscription preserved in a collection from Doştat) calls himself *de[curio?] sacerdos creatus a Pal[.]nis* or *Ad Al[.]nis* (R 13). The missing letters have been arbitrarily reconstituted in IDR as *sacerdos creatus a Pal[myre]nis*¹³. This reconstitution gives the impression that we are facing a priest "created" by a Palmyrean community, when it seems quite clear that we are dealing with a *pater* whose origin is in Macedonia (*domo Macedonia*) and who went then in that *mithraeum* where he dedicated an altar to Mithra who is called *Invictus* and *deus genitor*. The reading *Pal[myre]nis* in

⁷ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithra*, Leiden – New York – København – Köln 1988, p. 73-85.

⁸ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius. Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mitra* (EPRO), Leiden 1975, p. 47-50.

⁹ F. Cumont, *Astrologie et religion chez les Grecs et les Romains*, Bruxelles – Rome, 2000, p. 77-90.

¹⁰ R. Turcan, in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, Leiden 1982, p. 182-183.

¹¹ W. Burkert, *Les cultes à mystères dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1992, p. 36.

¹² Repertory of Mithra's worshippers in Dacia: M. Clauss, *Cultores Mithrae. Die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 192-208.

¹³ IDR III/4 30; M. J. Vermaseren, *Les inscriptions sacrées du Mithréum de Sainte-Prisque sur l'Aventin*, in *Religions de Salut* (Annales du Centre d'Étude des Religions 2), Bruxelles 1962, p. 65, 69.

row 4 is very unlikely, given the fact that between the letters A and L and the edge of the inscription there is space for only one more letter. If that would be an M, as the authors of IDR assume, we would have the strange abbreviation *Palmnis* for *Palmyrenis*. The relief with an inscription from London, dedicated by a certain Ulpus Silvanus, *emeritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)*, ends with the formula *factus Arausione*, where *factus* is translated by Vermaseren as *appointed, confirmed*, therefore a Mithraic *pater* „reborn” in Arausio. The situation is similar to that of P. Aelius (?) Artemidorus who is a *creatus pater* in a settlement from Dacia or elsewhere, whose name is written in the 4-th and 5-th rows of the inscription.

Another person from Dacia who probably had an important role in the Mithraic hierarchy from Ulpia Traiana and Tibiscum¹⁴ is Hermadio *actor*. The slave Hermadio calls the god *invictus, anicetus* and *nabarze*, and after the *manumissio* we find him again in Poetovio and Roma. In the latter place he dedicated a statuary group whose inscription contains the Persian invocation *Nama!*¹⁵.

Four of the altars dedicated to the Celtic goddess Epona come from Apulum, all of them having been discovered in the *praetorium* of the consular governor, in the area assigned to the stables, where I. Piso assumes there was a small cultic place of the goddess¹⁶. One of those who dedicated the altars was a slave, Libella, *superiumentarius*¹⁷, the overseer of the servants who took care of the governor's carriage horses. The altar was built for the health of C. Iulius Septimius Castinus, governor of the Dacian provinces during the Severus dynasty. This couple of persons – the governor and his coachman – is important because the same Castinus and Libella dedicate one altar each of them in the *V mithraeum* from Aquincum. The governor's worship is simple: *Deo invicto Mithrae*¹⁸; on the other hand, Libella has the grade *leo* and proves to know the Mithraic theology by dedicating the altar to Deus Arimanius, a personification whose iconographic representation is a character with a serpent ascending in a spiral on its body while he is often represented lion-headed¹⁹.

This attempt of revealing the structure of the Mithraic communities using as a starting point the inscriptions is quite difficult, given the fact that the worshippers avoid to disclose their grade in the hierarchy. The symbols of the ranks present in Felicissimus' mosaic have allowed R. Merkelbach to connect the altars with these symbols to certain ranks²⁰. An altar from Apulum (R 7, fig. 1)²¹ and another one from Transylvania (whose discovery place is not specified) (R 49, fig. 2)²² present on one of their facets a person dressed in Oriental costume, wearing a Phrygian bonnet and riding a bull, while holding a torch in his right raised hand. R. Merkelbach believes that this is not Mithras but Cautes – Lucifer and because of the torch's symbol he thinks it was dedicated by a *heliodromus*²³. A more relevant altar is another one from Apulum dedicated *Invicto Mythrae* by Dioscorus Marci, with a dolphin and a trident on each of its lateral sides (R 6,

¹⁴ CIMRM 2146, 2153.

¹⁵ Tóth I., *Mithras Pannonicus*, Budapest – Pécs 2003, p. 81–86.

¹⁶ I. Piso, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch*, Wien 1993-1994 (1995), p. 203-209; Adriana Rusu-Pescaru, D. Alicu, *Templele romane în Dacia*, Deva 2000, p. 157.

¹⁷ I. Piso, op. cit., p. 203, *superiumentarii et muliones* in the Carnuntum inscription.

¹⁸ CIMRM II 1774.

¹⁹ CIMRM II 1773; for Lion-Headed God and Deus Arimanius / Aion / Frugiferus see Hubertus von Gall, in *Études mithriaques*, Leiden 1978, p. 511-525; H. M. Jackson, *Numen* 32, 1985, 1, p. 17-25; A. Blomart, *RHR* 210, 1993, 1, p. 5-25.

²⁰ R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Hain 1984, p. 86-133.

²¹ CIMRM 1985.

²² CIMRM 2186.

²³ R. Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 125-126, Abb. 156, 157.

fig. 3)²⁴. The dolphin is the symbol of the goddess Venus and Venus was the tutelary planet of the grade of Nymphus²⁵. Linked with the Nymphus grade is also a statuary group from Porolissum which associated the goddess Venus and Amor with a mithraic torchbearer (R 16).

Planets and Fixed Stars

Celsus, quoted by Origen, declares that Mithra's worshippers had a *symbolon* of "the two celestial revolutions, one of the fixed stars and one of the planets, and of the road the soul take through and beyond them". The symbol is that of the seven metal ladders under the patronage of the planets²⁶. The Mithraic monuments indicate that the mysteries were preoccupied with the two celestial revolutions. The reading of the tauroctony from an astrological perspective, the presence of the zodiac constellations and of the planetary busts or altars in the Mithraic monuments' iconography from the Empire, are a confirmation of Celsus' words.

Our intention is that of discovering in the Mithraic monuments from Dacia – which are in generally characterized by stereotypy and a redundant repetition of the iconographic pattern – the preoccupation for the celestial *diexodos* of the soul, emphasized by the *paranatellonta*'s constellations or by the celestial revolution of the planets.

While listing the ways Mithras is worshiped, Nonnos Mythographos also mentions the emergence of a certain mystery religion of Mithras, "especially among astrologers"²⁷. The attempt of interpreting the tauroctony scene from an astrologic perspective led to a *communis opinio*, namely that before they were actors of an Iranian myth of an avestic Mithras, the characters and the objects represented in the scene are the image of the equatorial constellations. We are dealing with the zodiacal signs between Taurus and Scorpius and *paranatellonta*, namely those constellations that appear North or South of the zodiacal signs; when we are talking about the tauroctony, we are dealing with the Southern constellations, situated below the summer zodiacal signs. Therefore, the summer zodiacal signs from Taurus to Scorpius are: Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra and Scorpius, while South of them there is the *paranatellonta* of the summer signs (from left to right): Spica (*lucida* from Virgo, Alpha Virginis), Corvus, Crater, Hydra and Canis Minor (fig. 4)²⁸.

We can recognize most of these constellations in the characters involved in the tauroctony scene: Taurus is the bull sacrificed by Mithras, Spica is the ear of wheat that sometimes ends the bull's tail, Corvus is the raven from the god's mantle, Crater and Leo often form a symbolic group – the *krater* vessel and the lion – placed in different parts of the scene, and in the lower part, from left to right we find the following constellations: Scorpius (the scorpion that stings the genitals of the bull), Hydra (the snake) and Canis Minor (the dog stretching toward the stabbed neck of the bull).

Given the fact that the bull, the raven, the scorpion, the snake and the dog are the characters involved in the tauroctony act and their presence is therefore necessary in that scene not only for astrological reasons, we will analyze only those monuments on which the complementary symbols are present: the ear of grain and the lion-*krater* group.

²⁴ CIMRM 1942-1943; IDR III/5 273.

²⁵ R. Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 384, Abb. 151.

²⁶ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus*..., p. 47–52.

²⁷ M. P. Speidel, op. cit., p. 1.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 1-18; R. Beck, *Planetary Gods*..., p. 20-21, no. 46.



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

Fig. 1. Altar from Apulum, heliodromus (after R. Merkelbach); fig. 2. Altar from Transylvania heliodromus (after R. Merkelbach); fig. 3. Altar from Apulum, nymphus (after R. Merkelbach).

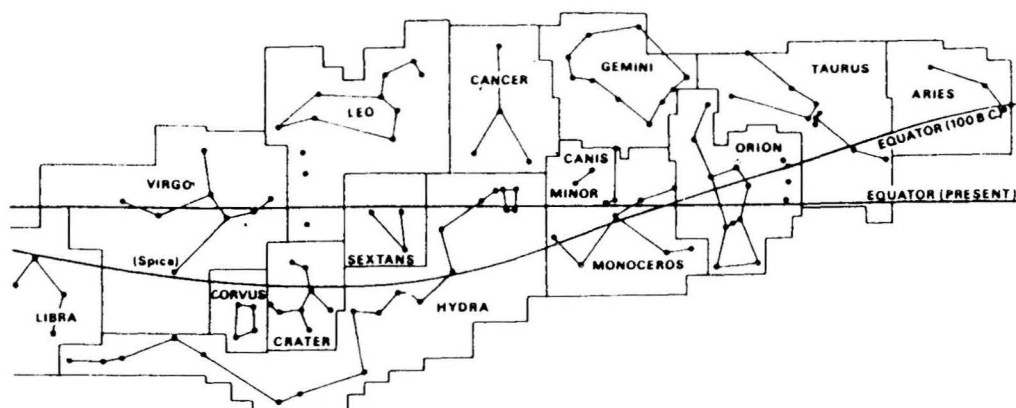


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

Fig. 4. Summer constellations (after M. Speidel); fig. 5. Marble relief from Apulum (after M. J. Vermaseren); fig. 6. Marble relief from Doştat (after G. Sicoe).

The lion-*krater* group is present on the reliefs with three registers from Apulum and Sarmizegetusa from Dacia, behind Cautes, near the right edge, either as a lion with a *krater* in front of him, or – in the simplified version – as a lion head above a *krater* (8 pieces) (R 1, 2 – fig. 5, 4, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28). This combination appears only twice on those reliefs that have only one register from Ulpia Traiana (R 21, 24). Thirteen pieces belonging to some special iconographic types contain only the *leo* symbol (R 11, 14, 15, 29, 34, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 46, 48). Spica is present only on seven of the Dacian reliefs, and all of them contain complementary symbols and keys for deciphering the astrologic and soteriologic message (R 3, 4, 12, 32, 33, 40, 44). On many Dacian reliefs one can notice the absence of the scorpion from the tauroctony scene, though we cannot specify if this omission is due to hazard or if it is an intentional one (the Scorpius constellation cannot be seen in the sky among the equatorial constellations).

Some tauroctony icons contain explicit or implicit references to the revolution of the fixed stars by displaying some zodiacal signs²⁹. On a relief from Ulpia Traiana with only one register (R 32) under Sol, to the left, instead of Cautopates, there is a tree above a lion (Leo) that rests his paw on a ram head (the Aries zodiacal sign). Most Mithraic zodiacs start with Aries and in the zodiacal semicircle whose first sign is Aries, the Leo sign is placed toward the zenith, while the last visible sign is that of Libra. This is the display of the vault of heaven during the vernal equinox³⁰.

We meet the same situation on a relief from Doştat through the display and the attributes of the torchbearers and in the statuary groups from the *mithraeum* at Ulpia Traiana and Apulum (R 8, 9, 12, 41, 42, 50). On the relief from Doştat (R 12 – fig. 6), the position of the torchbearers is the one we traditionally meet on the Danubian reliefs: Cautes to the right, beneath Luna, Cautopates to the left, beneath Sol³¹. Unlike other reliefs from Dacia, this one presents an additional element: Cautes holds in his right hand a bull's head and Cautopates holds a scorpion. The ascribing of the signs to the torchbearers tells us that their scene corresponds to the zodiacal semicircle between Taurus and Scorpius (the signs from Taurus to Scorpius, with Leo to the zenith and the *paranatellonta*). In Taurus, the sun is rising from the vernal equinox toward the summer solstice; therefore Cautes is lifting the torch, while in Scorpius it descends from the autumnal equinox toward the winter solstice, so that Cautopates is lowering the torch³². We discover the same situation in the statuary groups from *mithraea*: two statues of Cautes with the bull head come from Apulum (R 8, 9) and again two statues of Cautes with the bull head and one of Cautopates with the scorpion come from Ulpia Traiana (R 41, 42, 50 – fig. 7). To the right and left of the tauroctony group there are the statues of the torchbearers whose zodiacal signs used to establish the inner cosmic orientation of the *mithraeum*, the only one that mattered to the believers, to the prejudice of the real astronomical order. Mithras is placed in the right position, as Porphyrius tells us, between the equinoxes³³. The name of *Mesites* points to the place of the god in the cosmogonic *taurochtonia* of the Greek-Roman mysteries. His location at the equinox, between light and shadows – when day and night are equal, between Cautes and Cautopates, provides him the character of a "median" god³⁴.

²⁹ The zodiacal signs appear also on a medallion of clay with Sol in *quadriga* (R 45). From the circle of zodiac are preserved only the signs Virgo, Leo and Cancer. Relationships of this piece with the mithraic cult are uncertain.

³⁰ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods*..., p. 22, 24-25.

³¹ J. R. Hinnels, *JMS*, I, 1976, p. 38

³² R. Beck, *Planetary Gods*..., p. 24-27.

³³ R. L. Gordon, *JMS* I, 1976, 2, p. 127-130.

³⁴ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus*..., p. 14-22; idem, *Culte orientale*..., p. 255-256.

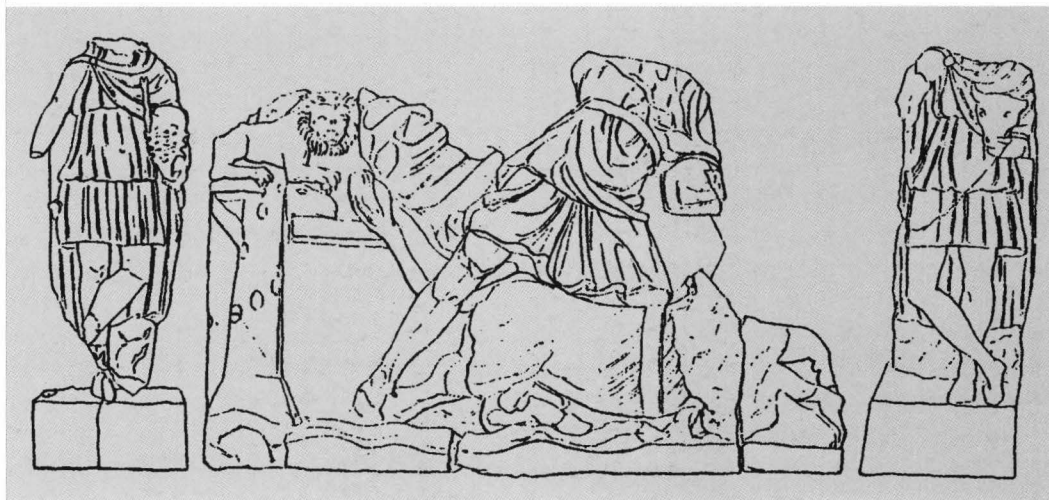


fig. 7



fig. 8

Fig. 7. Statuary group from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (after M. Clauss);
fig. 8. Marble relief from Vinț (after R. Merkelbach).

The revolution of the fixed stars in the sky is oriented toward West and to the right, the same as the tauroctony scene, like a celestial map or, as R. Beck put it, like a map of a *via salutis*³⁵.

As the cultic monuments and the preserved texts show, the initiation used to take place under the tutelary power of the planets. The *symbolon* of Celsus was also referring to the revolution of the seven planets. Some exceptional Mithraic monuments display the seven planetary gods' busts in different orders: the relief from Bologna, the plate from Brigetio, the mosaics from the Ostian mithraea (Sette Sfere, Sette Porte, Felicissimus), but most of them present only a row of seven (or more) undifferentiated altars, grouped between the symbols of the day and night stars, Sol and Luna³⁶. For R. Turcan, the seven altars represent the planetary multiplication of the tauroctony, the saving multiplication of this sacrifice that brings the total renovation of the world and, implicitly, of the souls. The sidereal group of seven represents the world above the terrestrial one, while when it is related to the tauroctony it involves its universal meaning, which is both spatial and temporal, and the seven altars symbolize not only the planetary gods but also the time lapses dominated by the errantes stars – the great cyclical week³⁷. In Dacia, the row of altars (7 and 9) has been found on 20 monuments and probably in other two uncertain cases (R 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 47). Only on two monuments – the ones from Vinț (R 5 – fig. 8) and Apulum (R 10) – there is a sequence of nine altars³⁸; on all the other monuments where the row was preserved intact, the number of the altars is seven (fig. 9) and they have been interpreted as representing the group of the seven planetary gods.

The ancient astrology and the mysteries certify the existence of several competing planetary orders: the Chaldean order or that of the distances between the planets and the Earth in the geocentric system, the horoscope order, the order of the week days in astrology in general³⁹, the order of the busts on the tablet from Brigetio, the order of the tutelary planets of the ranks (from the *mithraeum* of Felicissimus and the one from Santa Prisca) and two versions of the week days order (the *symbolon* of Celsus and the planetary busts on the relief from Bologna, in the Mithraic mysteries)⁴⁰. The lack of additional clues makes it difficult to specify the order in which the sequence of the seven altars should be read. The analogy of a relief coming probably from Potaissa with the relief from Bologna might shed some light in this problem.

The relief from Bologna, an adapted Danubian model, presents on the upper arched edge the busts of the seven planetary gods, having Sol to the left extremity and Luna to the right. Below the luminaries we can see Cautes, to the right, below Luna and associated with a bull head, and Cautopates to the left, below Sol and associated with the scorpion; therefore, the celestial area between the torchbearers is taken by the sequence of the zodiacal constellations between Taurus and Scorpius (Taurus, Gemini,

³⁵ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods...*, p. 73-85, p. 83, p. 28: "The tauroctony depicts a great act of salvation (...). To realize that salvation for the initiate a process and a route are needed. That process and route are defined in one forme in the grade structure of the cult, and they involve, as we now know, a passage under the tutelary powers of the planets in a certain unusual and evocative order. This is in some sense (...) a celestial journey. But the heavens, we know, are incorporated in the icon which expresses the central salvific event, overtly as a precise arrangement of the constellations symbols defining a particular tract of the heavens. Here, then, is another «map» of the *via salutis*".

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 1-73, 91-101; L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, p. 101-102; R. Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 77-86.

³⁷ R. Turcan, in *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*. Tome XXVII. Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité, Genève 1982, p. 364-365.

³⁸ R. Beck, *Apulum* 22, 1985, p. 45-51.

³⁹ A. Bouché – Leclercq, *Istoria divinației în Antichitate*, I, București, 1999, p. 193-203.

⁴⁰ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods...*, p. 1-34.



fig. 9



fig. 10

Fig. 9. Marble relief from Apulum (after G. Sicoe);
fig. 10. Marble relief from Potaissa (after R. Merkelbach).

Cancer, Leo – to the zenith, Virgo, Libra and Scorpius) and the *paranatellonta*. In order to discover the meaning of the planets' order, R. Beck has distributed the zodiacal signs divided in decans (circle segments of 10°, three decans for each zodiacal sign); the planets start with the first decan from Aries (the vernal equinox) and the first planet in the Chaldean order is Mars. Therefore, the order of the planets on the relief from Bologna is the order of the tutelary planets of the central decan from the zodiacal signs situated between Taurus and Scorpius: Luna, the central decan from Taurus, Mars from Gemini, Mercur from Cancer, Iupiter from Leo, Venus from Virgo, Saturnus from Libra and Sol from Scorpius. This is the order of the planets from Bologna, from left to right, beginning with Luna (in the central decan from Taurus) and ending with Sol (in the central decan from Scorpius)⁴¹.

A relief discovered at Potaissa (R 44 – fig. 10) presents the same way of connecting the planets with the zodiacal constellations by using the decanat. It contains the tauroctony with all its elements (including Spica) and even an additional cypress behind each torchbearer. Upward, above Mithras' head, having Sol in the left and Luna in the right, there is a lion's mask. The explicit presence of this central term discloses the planetary order from Bologna, where Iupiter, the tutelary god of the *leo* grade is watching over the central decan from the Leo constellation. In the altars' sequence from Barberini fresco, the central altar is replaced by the lion head of a character that is conventionally called Aion. The order on the relief from Dacia seems to be the following: Luna (Mars, Mercur), Iupiter (Venus, Saturn) Sol⁴².

This planetary order that begins with Luna ends with Sol, having Iupiter in a central position; the order of the planets that dominate the central decan of the constellations between Taurus and Scorpius is the reverse order of the week days, from Monday to Sunday. It doesn't correspond to the order of the initiation grades' patronage, but to the order of the planetary gates that has been transmitted by Celsus (the reverse order of the week days, from Saturday to Sunday, namely Saturn, Venus, Iupiter, Mercur, Mars, Luna, Sol). Although other planetary orders have been certified in the Mithraic mysteries as well (the order of the grades, the one on the plate from Brigetio, the groupings from Sette Sfere and Sette Porte), it is possible that this should be the right order of reading the sequence of the undifferentiated Danubian altars. The order is certified by monuments of Danubian origin (the reliefs from Bologna and Potaissa) and the series of seven altars appears mainly on Danubian monuments, where Luna is always situated to the left and Sol to the right.

This assumption seems to be supported by a sequence of different altars and symbols that appear on a relief from Apulum (R 3). Mithras as a bull-killer is present in the center accompanied by all the elements, including Spica. Sol is situated to the right and a sunray comes from him toward Mithras, while Luna is situated to the left. A row of seven altars separated by groups of two or three symbols appears above: a stick with a Phrygian cap, a tree, a knife. Four altars are accompanied by all the three symbols, while the other three only by two, every time in a different combination (the first altar from the left – tree and knife, the second – stick with cap and knife, the last from the right – stick with cap and tree). If we consider that out of the seven altars only those accompanied by two symbols are differentiated and if we interpret the altars as planetary gods using the order of the relief from Bologna, we get the following sequence: Luna (the bust of the moon, altar, stick with cap and tree), Mars, Mercur, Iupiter, Venus (altars and groups of three symbols), Saturn (altar, stick with cap and knife), Sol (the bust of Sol, altar, tree and knife). This way, the tutelary planets of the first three grades are differentiated: Pater (Saturn), Heliodromus (Sol) and Perses (Luna), the altar of Saturn – *pater* being accom-

⁴¹ Op. cit., p. 17-25.

⁴² Op. cit., p. 26, 32.

panied by symbols as the stick with the Phrygian cap and the knife, just like in the mosaic from Felicissimus' *mithraeum*.

The sequence of undifferentiated altars that appear on the Danubian reliefs from Luna (left) and Sol (right) is the symbol of the other celestial revolution of the planets – errantes that move in the sky in a reverse direction than that of the immobile stars, toward East and to the left. These planetary spheres the soul of the initiated person goes through are arranged in an order that involves the zodiac as well: the reverse order of the week days, the order in which the planets rule the central decan of the zodiacal signs from Taurus to Scorpius, order that appears also in the *symbolon* of Celsus.

The Dacian monuments that present the sequence of altars, the additional constellations (Spica, Crater and Leo) and zodiacal signs that divide in an astral way the scene during the vernal equinox (Aries, Taurus, Scorpius) are big size monuments (R 3 – 1,13 × 1,45 m, R 4 – 1,20 × 1 m, R 12 – 0,89 × 1,43 m, R 32 – 0,94 × 1,33 m), cultic reliefs which used to serve as models for the votive ones. They come from those *mithraea* whose inner sides were cosmically oriented, reliefs that display a cosmic map of the salvation path that has been conceived by a *pater, studiosus astrologiae*.

Repertory of the Dacian Monuments⁴³

Alba Iulia – (Apulum).

1. CIMRM II 1935–1936; MMM II 192, 242; CIL III 1109; IDR III/5, 280.

Marble relief with inscription, D – 62 × 63 × 8 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 7162.

The central scene represents Mithras as a bull-killer, with all the characters involved and the torchbearers appear on both sides of Mithras, in the typical crossed-legged position and wearing Oriental dress. Especially Cautopates captures the attention as he seems to hold a *scorpion* in his right hand. Behind Cautes, there is a *krater* above which one can notice a *lion* in a vertical position. On the upper row, under *scapha lunata*, we can see *seven altars* and then, after *templum caelestis*, there is a *ram* and above it a *dog*.

2. CIMRM II 1958–1959; IDR III/5, 271; V. Christescu, *Dacia* 3–4, 1927–1932, p. 620–622; C. Daicoviciu, *Dacia* 7–8, 1937–1940, p. 308.

Marble relief with inscription, D – 63 × 74 × 3.5 cm; MUA I, Inv. No. 225/I.

In the central register, next to the classical scene of Mithras as a bullkiller, there are also other representations. Among them, toward the left edge, we can see a *krater* and above it a *lion* in a vertical position, with his tongue stuck out. In the upper register, after the representation of the bull in a boat, there also *two rams*.

3. CIMRM II 1973; MMM II 193.

Marble relief, D – 113 × 145 × 10–23 cm; MUA I, Inv. No. 203/II.

The relief presents the *taurochtonia* scene at the center – Mithras kills the bull whose tail ends with *wheat ears*. Out of the two torchbearers, Cautes captures our attentions as he holds an object in his left hand, probably a *bull head*, a zodiacal sign that we meet frequently in this character's representations. On the rounded edge of this piece, between the busts of Sol and Luna, there have been represented alternatively *seven sacrificial knives*, *seven altars with a lit fire on them*, *seven sticks with a Phrygian bonnet on their top* and *seven trees*. Sol is represented with a nimbus and a crown formed of eleven rays out of which one is extended, falling upon Mithras.

4. CIMRM II 1972; MMM II 192 bis.

Sandstone relief, D – 120 × 100 × 8 cm; MUA I, Inv. No. 204/II.

⁴³ The pieces in this repertory are not new, being known to the specialists. This is the reason why will not insist upon their description but we will present them briefly, mentioning only the details regarding the iconographical motives that are the target of our study.

Mithras as a bullkiller is represented at the center, assisted by the two torchbearers. The bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. Behind Cautes, there is a *lion* seizing a *krater*. In the upper register, among the typical narrative scenes, *seven altars* are represented in a row.

5. CIMRM II 1974; MMM II 194; F. Cumont, AErt 13, 1893, 290.

Marble relief, D – 25 × 21 cm; private collection, Budapest.

Mithras as a bullkiller appears at the center. The two torchbearers are represented in Oriental dress, this time without the specific bonnets and their legs are not crossed. Both of them hold the torch (one of them upward and the other downward) in their right hand while both have on their left shoulder a *stick on top of which hangs a Phrygian bonnet*. Above the god's mantle, near the raven, there is a *krater*. Beneath the upper register there are *nine altars* placed on both sides of Mithras' head, four on the left and five on the right.

6. CIMRM II 1942-1943; MMM II 202, 245; CIL III 1113 = IDR III/5, 273; R. Merkelbach, Mithras, Hain 1984, p. 384, nr. 151.

Limestone altar, D – 63.5 × 38.5-50 × 38.5 cm; h. letters – 2.5 – 6.5 cm; MNIR, Inv. No. 69.933.

Invicto / Mythrae / Diosco/rus Marci /5/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). On each of the lateral sides there is a sculpture of a *dolphin* and a *trident*.

7. CIMRM II 1985; R. Merkelbach, Mithras, Hain 1984, p. 387, nr. 156.

Basis of a limestone statue (column?), D – 118 × 35-44 × 30-38 cm; MUAI, Inv. No. 33/I.

On the central side of this piece Cautes-Lucifer is represented riding a bull, turned to the right and holding the burning torch in his raised right hand (*Heliodromus*). Under the forelegs of the animal we can see a stem with three *wheat ears* (Vermaseren) or the stylized representation of a palm tree (Merkelbach). Under the back legs of the bull there is only one stem.

8. CIMRM II 1956.

Fragmented limestone statue (the head and the lower part are missing); h – 92 cm; MUAI, Inv. No. 233.

The statue represents one of the torchbearers in Oriental dress, holding the head of a *bull* or a *ram* (?) in his left hand.

9. CIMRM II 1957.

Fragmented limestone statue (only the bust of the character has been preserved); h – 22 cm; MUAI (?).

The statue probably represents Cautes, in Oriental garments, holding a *bull's* head (?) in his left hand.

Vințul de Jos – the riverbed of Mureș; the pieces come probably from **Apulum**.

10. CIMRM II 2000; MMM II 195; F. Cumont, AErt 13, 1893, 291.

Marble relief, D – 24 × 19.5 × 3 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 1826.

Mithras as a bullkiller is represented in the central register while *nine altars* are present on both sides of his head, five on the left and four on the right.

11. CIMRM II 2001 – 2002; MMM 198, 255; CIL III 7782; IDR III/5, 267.

Marble relief with Greek inscription, D – 16 × 23 × 2 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 1827.

This piece illustrates the *taurochtonia* scene. The front part of a *lion's* body can be seen in the bottom left corner.

Doștat – the Teleki collection; the piece comes probably from **Apulum** or **Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa**⁴⁴.

12. CIMRM II 2006-2007; MMM II 191, 256; CIL III 968, 7929; O. Floca, ED 1935, 216, fig. 1.

Marble relief with inscription, D – 89 × 143 × 21 cm; MCDR.

Mithras as a bullkiller appears on this piece and the bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. The torchbearers are represented in an atypical manner because they are not crossed-legged. Cautopates holds the torch in his right hand and a *scorpion* in his left hand while Cautes holds a *bull* head in his left hand.

13. CIL III 7728; IDR III/4, 30; CIMRM II 2008; MMM II 257.

Fragmented sandstone altar, D – 62 × 56 × 48 cm; MIA.

[*Invic*]to [Soli Deo] / [ge]nitori P[ublius] Ael[ius] Ar[emidorus] de[c(urio?)] / sacer(dos) creatus APAL[.]NIS d(omo) Macedonia et adve[n-]tor huius templi pro se / et suis fecit [l(ibenter)].

⁴⁴ G. Téglás, Hunyadvármegye Története, Budapest 1902, 79, fig. 178.

Celei (Sucidava)

14. CIMRM II 2182; D. Tudor, *Dacia* 11-12, 1945-1947, p. 158-159.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 27.5 × 21.2 × 4 cm.

Mithras as a bull-killer appears at the center, flanked by the two torchbearers. Cautes, situated to the right, holds in his right hand the torch pointed upward while in his left hand, that is bent on his chest, he holds an unidentified object (very likely the head of a *bull*). Cautopates, placed to the left of the god, holds a torch turned downward and behind this torch a *lion* head is visible. The rounded edge of the Mithraic cave is decorated with a row of *altars* (probably seven) out of which only two have been preserved.

Dragu

15. CIMRM II 1919.

Limestone relief, D – 41 × 49 × 7 cm; MNIT, Inv. No. IN 1326 = V. 15.812.

The relief has the form of a temple shape, with a triangular pediment and two lateral columns. In that triangular pediment, beside the representation of the busts of Sol, Luna and the raven, we can see a *lion* walking toward the right. The central register presents Mithras as a bull-killer in a typical hypostasis, flanked by the two torchbearers, with the one on the left standing on an *altar*.

Moigrad (Porolissum)

16. N. Gudea, D. Tamba, in *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Pécs, September 2003 (ed. Zsolt Visy), Pécs 2005, p. 472, nr. 6, fig. 17.

Fragment of a marble statuary group. Only the lower part of this piece has been preserved – the rectangular basis on which we can still notice the crossed legs of Cautopates to the left, and the end of the torch turned downward, while at the center the barefoot of a nude goddess (*Venus*) and most of the body (the head and the right arm are missing) of a small *Eros riding a dolphin*.

Pojejena

17. G. Téglás, *AERT* 24, 1904, p. 414-413; N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 118-119, nr. 2.

Fragmented relief. The main register illustrated the Mithraic sacrifice and of the upper one only the representation of the bull in the boat, supported by *seven altars*, has been preserved.

18. N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 118-119, nr. 6; idem, *SCIVA* 29, 1978, p. 564-565, nr. 2; *IDR* III/1, 14.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 20.7 × 17.5 × 1.2 cm; MBM, Inv. No. P 76 R2-6.

The upper register represents several standard scenes of the mythical Mithraic cycle among which the representation of Oceanus or Saturn, laying down above *seven* small size *altars*. In the central register, between the god's head and the Moon's bust there have been represented *five altars*. Probably other four altars were placed on the other side of Mithras' head.

Reșca – Romula (the Tzupagu collection and later on the Istrati-Capșa collection).

19. CIMRM II 2172 – 2173; *IDR* II 342; C. C. Petolescu, *SCIV* 25, 1974, p. 595, nr. 1; D. Tudor, *AO* 12, 1933, p. 221, nr. 1, fig. 1.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 23.8 × 19 × 3 cm; MPF, Inv. No. 131/5.

In the central register we have Mithras as a bullkiller. In the upper corner of the rounded edge, near the bust of the Moon, out of a row, *two altars* have been still preserved.

Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa)

20. CIMRM II 2048 – 2049; *MMM* II 271; *CIL* III 7934; *IDR* III/2, 297.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 73 × 51.2 × 2.5 – 1.8 cm; MCDR.

In the center of the image the scene representing Mithras killing of the bull appears in a typical manner. Behind the dog, we can see a *krater* and above it a *lion* head.

21. CIMRM II 2060, 2061; *MMM* II 288, nr. 154; *CIL* III, 7931.

Fragmented marble plate with inscription, D – 17 × 23 × 3 cm; MCDR.

The lower right corner of this piece has been preserved and beside the elements of the *taurochtonia* scene one can notice on this fragment a *krater* and above it a *lion* head.

22. CIMRM II 2044 – 2045; *MMM* II 165, 273; *CIL* III 7937; *IDR* III/2, 282.

Marble relief with inscription, fragmented in several pieces, D – 29.5 × 40 × 2 cm; MCDR.

The relief is decorated in three registers. In the third one, after the scene where Sol is helping Mithras to climb in the *quadriga*, we can see *three altars* placed in a row and above the third one, that is smaller than the others, there is a rectangular object.

23. CIMRM II 2068 – 2069; MMM II 142, 262, 284; CIL III 7925; IDR III/2, 273.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 27 × 32.5 × 3 cm; MCDR.

This piece illustrates the *taurochtonia* scene in a typical manner. In the upper part there are *seven altars*, four to the right of Mithras' head and three to the left.

24. CIMRM II 2066 – 2067; MMM II 153, 267; CIL III 7930; IDR III/2, 278.

Fragmented limestone relief with inscription, D – 18.3 – 23.5 × 62.2 × 3.4 cm; MCDR.

The Mithras as a bull-killer scene is partially visible. Near Cautes, a *krater* is represented to the god's right and above it, the representation of a *lion* head.

25. CIMRM II 2034 – 2035; MMM II 169, 270; CIL III 7933; IDR III/2, 291.

Marble relief with inscription, fragmented in several pieces, D – 22 – 36 × 30 × 1 – 2 cm; MCDR.

The relief is decorated in three registers, in the central one being represented the killing of the bull. This time, behind Cautes who is placed to Mithras' right, there is a representation of a *krater* and above it a *lion* in vertical position (the head of the animal is missing).

26. CIMRM II 2038 – 2041, MMM II 168, 269; CIL III 7932; IDR III/2, 284.

Marble relief with inscription, fragmented in several pieces, D – 38 × 54 × 2.5 cm; MCDR.

In the central register the *taurochtonia* scene is still partially visible. Near the torchbearer situated to the right there is a *krater* and a *lion* head seen in profile.

27. CIMRM II 2036; MMM II 167.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 25 – 18 × 33.5 × 3.2 cm.

The relief is decorated in three registers, the central one being filled with the scene representing Mithras as a bull-killer. Here, behind Cautes, we can notice a *lion* in vertical position, whose head, represented frontally, is placed above a *krater*. In the upper register, under *templum caeleste* there is an *altar* which probably used to belong to a row, as well as a *he-goat* head.

28. CIMRM II 2043; MMM II 163.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 36 × 53 × 13.5 cm.

The relief is decorated in three registers. On the horizontal border that separates the central register from the lower one, there is the representation of *seven altars* that flank the snake and the scorpion. In the third register, after the funerary banquet scene where Mithras and Sol participate, there is a *lion* placed above a *krater*.

29. CIMRM II 2063; MMM II 158; O. Floca, ED 1935, 217.

Marble relief, fragmented in several pieces, D – 46 × 72–79 × 6–8.8 cm.

The killing of the bull with all the characters involved are represented at the center. A *lion* head appears between Cautes and the bull.

30. CIMRM II 2070; MMM II 145.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 4 – 7 × 6 – 10 × 2 cm.

Sol's bust is represented above the scene depicting Mithras as a bull-killer and, beyond Sol, *three or four altars*.

31. CIMRM II 2079; MMM II 152.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 20 × 11 × 8 cm; preserved in a private collection from Lugoj.

Within the scene representing Mithras as a bull-killer, there are *four altars* between the raven and Mithras' head.

32. CIMRM II 2084; MMM II 139.

Mithras as a bull-killer, D – 94 × 131–133 × 3.5 cm.

The image illustrates the *taurochtonia* scene, as the bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. A tree trunk can be seen to the left and above it a *lion* that catches with its paw a *ram* head placed in front of it.

33. CIMRM II 2085; MMM II 179.

Marble relief, D – 24 × 31 × 4 cm; MB, Inv. No. 2649.

The piece presents Mithras as a bull-killer, a scene that is presided by Sol and Luna; the bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. Near the bust of Sol, there are *seven altars* placed one on top of the other while another row of *seven altars* is placed on both sides of Mithras' head, three to the left and four to the right.

34. CIMRM 2052; MMM II 180; CIL III 7935; IDR III/2, 306.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 18.5 × 12.5 × 3 cm; MB.

Mithras as a bull-killer is presented in the central register. Our attention is drawn toward a *lion head* placed between Mithras and Cautopates as well as toward *seven stars* scattered on the surface of the piece, one on both sides of Mithras' head, two above and one beneath the lion's head, one on the bull's belly and one on Cautes' body. *Seven altars* alternated with projecting knobs in between, in the upper register, after the representation of the raven.

35. CIMRM II 2086.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 10 × 5.8 × 2 cm; MCDR.

Several minor scenes have been still preserved – the representation of the bull in the boat and behind it an *altar*.

36. CIMRM II 2110.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 11.5 × 5.2 × 2 cm; MCDR.

Next to Mithras' *petrogenitus* representation there can be seen the back leg of a lion that was probably in a vertical position.

37. CIMRM II 2125.

The marble head of a lion, D – 6.5 × 8 × 1 cm; MCDR.

A *lion* head seen frontally is preserved.

38. CIMRM II 2133.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 7 × 11 cm; MCDR.

This piece preserves the representation of a *lion* head turned partially to the right.

39. CIMRM II 2112.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 6 × 3.5 cm; MCDR.

The hands and head of a character and an *altar* are still visible.

40. IDR III/2, 287; L. Mărghită, SCIV 18, 1967, 4, p. 696–697.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 29 × 21 × 2.5 cm; MCDR.

In the center of the image Mithras kills the bull whose tail ends with *wheat ears*. On the upper rounded edge of this piece there can be seen several extremely flattened reliefs. We can distinguish several small size *altars* placed in a row in the left corner.

41. CIMRM II 2120 – 2121; MMM II 140, 259a; CIL III 7922; IDR III/2, 193; O. Floca, ED 1935, 219, fig. 4.

Fragmented marble statue placed on a square basis, with inscription, h – 90 cm; MCDR.

This piece represents Cautopates (the head and the right forearm are missing) wearing a short tunic and with his legs crossed in the specific posture. He holds in his right hand a torch oriented downwards and in his left hand a *scorpion*.

42. CIMRM II 2122 – 2123; MMM II 140, 259b; CIL III 7922; IDR III/2, 193; O. Floca, ED, 1935, 219, fig. 4.

Fragmented marble statue placed on a square basis, with inscription, h – 89 cm; MCDR.

This piece represents Cautes (the head of the torchbearer is missing) wearing a short tunic and with his legs crossed in the specific posture. He holds in his right hand a torch oriented upwards and in his left hand a *bull* head.

Slăveni

43. CIMRM II 2167; MMM II 137 b; C. C. Petolescu, Dacia 20, 1976, p. 262, nr. 4; idem, Apulum 14, 1976, p. 461, nr. 4.

Fragmented marble relief; MNIR.

A *lion* oriented toward the right is represented in the lower register together with the specific narrative scenes.

Turda (Potaissa)

44. CIMRM II 2198 – 2199; MMM, II, 255a; CIL III 901; V. Wollmann, *Potaissa* 1, 1978, p. 47, nr. 15. Marble relief with inscription; D – 39.2 × 34.5 × 3.5 cm; MNIT, Inv. No. 2587 = V. 1135.

This piece presents the scene of the bull killing, whose tail ends with *wheat ears*. Mithras as a bull-killer is flanked by the two torchbearers; *two trees* are represented above them – according to F. Cumont, two cypresses. A *lion* head is represented between the busts of Sol and Luna, above Mithras' head.

Unknown place of discovery

45. C. C. Petolescu, *StCl* 17, 1977, p. 155–157.

Medallion of clay, D – 5.7 × 5 × 0.4 cm; MNIR.

Sol is represented on this piece in *quadriga* and between the representation of the god and the edge of the piece there are also placed the face of a *feminine character*, a *lion* toward the left and beyond it a *crab* – probably the Virgin, the Lion and the Cancer – three of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Unknown place of discovery (Oltenia)

46. CIMRM II 2180; MMM II 131.

Fragmented limestone relief, D – 31.5 × 39–34 × 7 cm; MNIR, Inv. No. 678.

Mithras as a bull-killer accompanied by the usual characters is represented in the central register. The snake (from the bull's killing scene) and a *lion* walking toward the right appear in the lower register.

Unknown place of discovery (Oltenia or Dobrogea?)

47. C. C. Petolescu, *StCl*, 1977, p. 154–155.

Fragmented brick, D – 27 × 12 × 5–7 cm; MNIR.

The sacrifice of the bull is presented at the center and on the edge of the cave were scratched *two altars* and *two trees* that belong to a longer row (probably of seven).

Unknown place of discovery (Transilvania?)

48. CIMRM II 2187; MMM II 211.

Marble medallion, D – 15 × 12 cm; the Opperman collection, Paris.

The central scene presents Mithras as a bull-killer; under this scene there are specific mythical-narrative representations among which a *lion* head.

49. CIMRM II 2186; MMM II 208; R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Haine 1984, p. 388, nr. 157.

Marble altar, D – 100 × 34–44 × 29–34 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 7274.

On the main side of the piece is represented Cauter-Lucifer riding a bull, turned toward the right, holding a torch in his right raised hand (*Heliodromus*).

50. CIMRM II 2185; MMM II 212.

Statue belonging to Cauter who is standing, wearing Oriental dress; his legs are not crossed. He holds the torch in his right hand and a *bull head* in the left.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AO	= Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
CIMRM	= M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae</i> , Hague, I, 1959; II, 1969.
ED	= <i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . <i>Annuario de la Scuola Romana di Roma</i> , București.
JMS	= <i>Journal of Mithraic Studies</i> , London.
MMM	= F. Cumont, <i>Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra</i> , I-II, Paris, 1896.
OmCD	= <i>Omăgiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu la cea de-a 60 a aniversare</i> , București, 1960.

RM	= Revista Muzeelor și monumentelor, Seria Muzee, București.
RHR	= Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris.

Museums

MB	= Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
MBM	= Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița.
MCDR	= Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
Brukenthal Museum	= Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
MIA	= Muzeul de Istorie Aiud.
MPF	= Muzeul Regiunii Porțile de Fier, Drobeta Tr. Severin.
MNIR	= Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	= Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MUAI	= Muzeul Unirii, Alba Iulia.

THE CENTURIONS' PROMOTION SYSTEM. THE EXAMPLE OF DACIA

Epigraphic sources are quite generous, as far as the centurions connected to Dacia are concerned. The presence of the army here left numerous epigraphic traces, allowing us to approach the issue of the promotion system and transfers of legionary centurions in the troops present in the province.

During the Principate, the legion was made of 59 centuriae, led, of course, by just as many centurions¹. In order to understand the way in which the promotion system was organized inside the legion and, from this perspective, the transfers within the army in general, the position of every centurion in the legion's organization chart must be known.

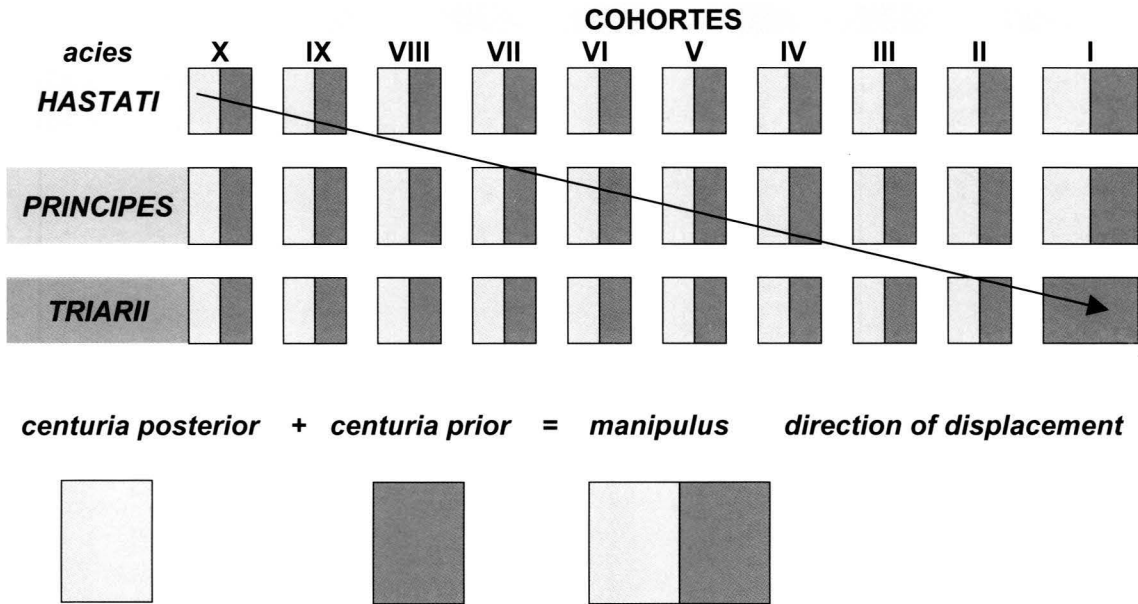


Fig. 1. The legion's organization chart.

Within a legion, the centuriae are split into ten cohorts, which are increasingly more important from the tenth to the first cohort. According to their position on the battlefield, they are positioned on three lines of battle (**acies**): *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*, reflecting the age and experience, which are increasing from the first line (*hastati*) to the last (*triarii*)². Therefore, a cohort is made of six centuriae, grouped in three pairs (*maniples*), which correspond to the lines of battle. According to their position on the

¹ The real number of centurions in a legion is 60, and the sixtieth centurion in the legion can be considered *primus pilus iterum*. Initially, in the times of the Republic, there were two *pimi pili*, each leading his own centuria; subsequently, the two units of the *triarii* manipule in the first cohort will merge under the single rule of a *primus pilus* (Domaszewski, Rangordnung², p. 91-93; Junkelman 1986, p. 110-111), the legion being practically ruled by 59 centurions.

² Luttwak 1979, p. 40; Speidel 2005, p. 286, 292.

battlefield, the two *centuriae* that form a maniple are called *centuria prior* (the right flank of the maniple) and *centuria posterior* (the left flank)³. The situation is a bit different the case of the first cohort – the most important of the legion – which has a double number of effectives grouped in only five *centuriae*, as a consequence of the merge of the units in the *triarii* maniple under the rule of a single person (*primus pilus*)⁴.

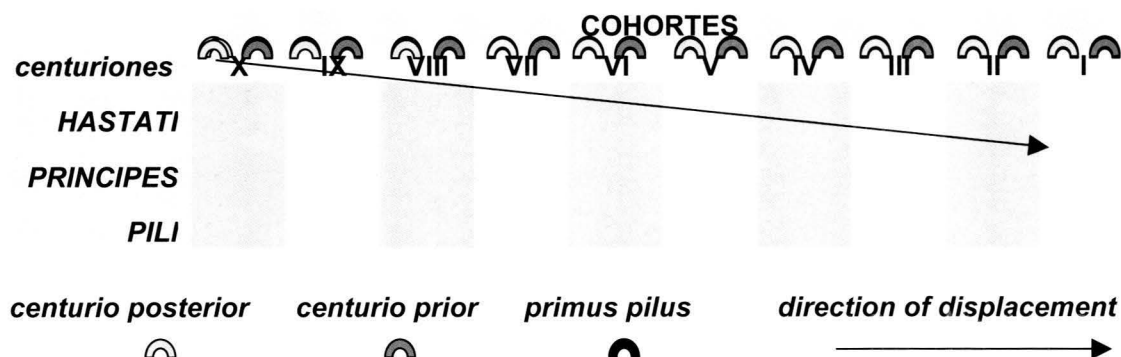


Fig 2. Position of centurions within the legion.

The hierarchy of centurions respects the legion's strict organization. The centurions receive, within the hierarchy, the position and importance of the *centuria* that they are leading. The cohorts II – X have six centurions each: *hastatus posterior*, *hastatus prior*, *princeps posterior*, *princeps prior*, *pilus posterior*, *pilus prior*⁵. The 5 centurions in the first cohort are called *primi ordines*, and they take the most important ranking positions in hierarchy⁶. The *primus pilus* is at the top of the centurions' hierarchy. As far as the rank is concerned, only the *praefectus legionis castrorum* and the *primus pilus iterum* are his superiors⁷.

The promotion⁸ occurs within the line of battle, along the reserved corridor (*prior* or *posterior*), from the Xth cohort towards the first cohort: from the *centurio hastatus decimus posterior* or *prior* to the *centurio hastatus primus posterior* or *prior*. The same situation is encountered in the case of centurions *principes* and *pili*. Likewise, a centurion with a certain amount of experience could be transferred from the position of *centurio posterior* into that of *centurio prior*, while the promotion from an inferior line of battle to another that was right above it – from *hastati* to *principes* and from *principes* to *pili* – took place together with the entire *centuria*⁹, once the person got older and more experienced,

³ Speidel 2005, p. 286, 290, 292.

⁴ Breeze 1993, p. 65; Dobson 1993, p. 162-164.

⁵ See the analysis that Speidel makes of the two inscriptions bearing centurion marks: CIL VIII 2568 from Lambaesis and CIL XIII 6801 from Mainz (Speidel 2005, p. 287-290).

⁶ Dobson, Breeze 1993, p. 93; Dobson 1993, p. 154-158; Speidel 2005, p. 292.

⁷ These are promoted in such positions from the centurions' rank, without exceptions, even though their position is recorded within equestrian careers, at some point (Domaszewski, Rangordnung², p. 92-93, 112, 113-115, 119-120; B. Dobson, p. XXIX, XXXI-XXXII, in Domaszewski, Rangordnung²; Dobson 1993, p. 162-166, 171-172).

⁸ A. von Domaszewski uses as an example to support this advancement plan the text of the inscription CIL VI 3584. Thus, Tib. Claudius Vitalis serves in eight legions; in the case of the last one (*VII Claudia*) even the position he occupied is mentioned: *centurio in (cohorte) II pr(inceps) post(erior)*. Each transfer into a new legion was accompanied by the term „*succesione promot(us) ex legionem... in legionem...*”, emphasizing also the advancement on a superior position within the hierarchy, once the transfer was made (Domaszewski, Rangordnung², p. 94-96).

⁹ Domaszewski, Rangordnung², p. 93-94.

at the moment when such higher positions were vacant due to various reasons (discharge, transfer, promotion, death on the battlefield etc.).

In Dacia, research confirmed over 110 legionary centurions who had various connections to the province. We have identified 29 of them who had centurionates attested in more than one unit (in legions, auxiliary troops or the cohorts from Rome)¹⁰, according to the epigraphic information. Here are, in brief, the careers of the 29 centurions:

1. M. Aebutius Victorinus¹¹, originating from Pannonia (col. Ulpia Traiana Poetovio), serves in eight legions at some point during the times of Trajan: *X Gemina*¹² (Noviomagus, Germania Inferior / Aquincum, from 102 AD, Pannonia¹³), *XI Claudia* (Vindonissa, Germania Superior / Brigetio or Aquincum, Pannonia, on the occasion of the Dacian wars / Durostorum, from 105-106 AD, Moesia Inferior)¹⁴, *XIII Gemina* (Vindobona or Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior / Dacia, with one vexillation at war / Orient, also with one vexillation)¹⁵, *I Minervia* (Bonna, Germania Inferior / Dacia, in the conquest wars, under the leading of the future emperor Hadrian)¹⁶, *XXII Primigenia* (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior)¹⁷, *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia)¹⁸, *VII Claudia* (Viminacium, Moesia Superior / Dacia, with one vexillation)¹⁹ and *XV Apollinaris* (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior / Orient, after 114 AD)²⁰. In the 14 years as a centurion²¹ he is promoted eight times, according to the number of transfers, but he does not reach the primipilate and maybe he also fails to be among the *primi ordines*. He probably ends up in a centurionate *ex caliga*²².

2. L. Aemilius Paternus²³ seems to come from the equestrian order (see the *praefectus fabrum* position from Rome). His centurionates carry him over to various corners of the Empire, including Rome, within urban and praetorian cohorts: *VII Gemina* (Leon, Hispania Citerior), *I Minervia* (Bonna, Germania Inferior), *VII Claudia* and *XIII*

¹⁰ In the case of the centurions whose legions changed garrison by transfer at a moment when they could still have been a member, we mentioned between brackets all the possible variants for the localization of the respective units in the period we are dealing with.

¹¹ CIL III 260 = 6761; Ritterling, Legio, 1627, 1744; IDRE, II, 399.

¹² Ritterling, Legio, 1680-1685; Gómez-Pantoja 2000, p. 184-187

¹³ From 107 (Ritterling, Legio, 1683) or more certainly from 117 (Gómez-Pantoja 2000, p.187) the legion was at Vindobona; one of its vexillations seemed to have been sent to Dacia, at Sucidava, during the conquest wars (Piso 2000, p. 220), but it is not likely for Victorinus to have been with them; he is most certainly present in the province a bit later, in the legion from Apulum.

¹⁴ Ritterling, Legio, 1694-1699; Fellmann 2000, p. 127-130.

¹⁵ Ritterling, Legio, 1736-1741; Franke 2000 a, p. 198-199.

¹⁶ Ritterling, Legio, 1421-1422, 1426; Le Bohec 2000, p. 83-85.

¹⁷ Ritterling, Legio, 1804-1813; Franke 2000, p. 97-99.

¹⁸ Ritterling, Legio, 1716-1718; Piso 2000, p. 220-224.

¹⁹ Ritterling, Legio, 1620-1622; Piso 2000, p. 218.

²⁰ Ritterling, Legio, 1752-1755; Wheeler 2000, p. 281-288.

²¹ The 14 (XIV) years of military service are "corrected" to 45 (X<L>V) by Fitz, who quotes Birley. They consider this variant to be more logical, taking into account the age and career of Victorinus (Fitz 1993, p. 899, no. 565), even though XIV is mentioned clearly in the inscription (see CIL III 260 = 6761), while Petolescu supports the variant arguing for 14 years, which would refer only to the centurionate years (IDRE II, p. 415, no. 399). However, taking into account the fact that he lives 63 years and 2 months, it is possible for the number of years spent under military service to be over 45, just like Birley suggests, and the recruitment to have taken place when Victorinus was only 18 years old. That means that his career as a centurion would stretch along 20-25 years.

²² Piso, Băluță 1998, p. 148; IDRE II 399.

²³ CIL II 4461= ILS 2661; Ritterling, Legio, 1627; Dobson, Die Primipilares, 111; Moga 1985, p. 150, no. 4; IDRE I 170, 171.

Gemina (when these were involved in the wars against the Dacians, carried out in the times of Trajan, as proven by the decorations he received)²⁴, in Rome in the cohorts *X urbana* and *III praetoria* (with the latter, he appears to have fought in the Partian war alongside Trajan, being thus decorated the third time)²⁵. He comes back to service within the legion, first as a centurion and then as *primus pilus* of the legion *II Augusta* (Isca, Britannia).

3. - - - Amblasius Secundus²⁶, originating from Pelagonia (Macedonia), begins his career in Rome, as an ordinary soldier (*miles*). He first becomes a centurion in the cohorts in the capital city (*I vigiles*, *XIII urbana*, ? *praetoria*); then in the following legions: *V Macedonica* (Potaissa, Dacia), ? *Parthica*²⁷ and *I Adiutrix* (Brigetio, Pannonia), in the last one possibly as a *primus pilus*²⁸. The dating suggested by Dobson points to the reign of Severus²⁹.

4. L. Artorius Castus³⁰ serves as a centurion in several legions, but also in the fleet: *III Gallica* (Raphane, Syria), *VI Ferrata* (Caparcotna, Syria-Palaestina), *II Adiutrix* (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior), *V Macedonica* (Potaissa, Dacia) and is promoted *primus pilus* also in the legion *V Macedonica*; then he receives a leading position in the fleet (*praepositus classis Misenensis*)³¹, and subsequently, he is the *praefectus legionis castrorum* of the *legio VI Victrix* (Eburacum, Britannia). After that, we can find him commanding a big vexillation, made of detachments from the legions and auxiliary troops in Britannia, against Armoricans, in north-western Gallia: *dux legionum, cohortium, alarum Britannicianarum adversus Armoricanos*. Subsequently, he is appointed procurator of centenarian rank in Liburnia (Dalmatia). His career is dated in the second half of the IInd century AD, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the reign of Commodus, for the most part of it³².

5. M. Aurelius Claudianus³³, military career comprises 11 centurionates in 10 legions: *II Adiutrix* (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior) in which he probably serves as *hastatus posterior* of the Xth³⁴ cohort, *I Italica* (Novae, Moesia Inferior) with two consecutive centurionates³⁵, *III Flavia* (Singidunum, Moesia Superior), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia), *III Gallica* (Raphanae, Syria Phoenice), *VII Claudia* (Viminacium, Moesia Superior), *I Minervia* (Bonna, Germania Inferior), *XV Apollinaris* (Satala, Cappadocia), *XXII Primi-*

²⁴ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 231; IDRE I, p. 172; Maxfield 1981, p. 187, 267.

²⁵ Thanks to the centurionates in the cohorts in the capital he also received the title *trecenarius* (CCC) – see Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 231; IDRE I, p. 172; Maxfield 1981, p. 187, 267.

²⁶ CIL XI 710; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1403, 1584; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 263; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 243; Bărbulescu 1987, p. 68; IDRE I 133; Fitz 1993, p. 626.

²⁷ Either near Rome, on the Mons Albanus, in the case of *legio II*, or in Mesopotamia, at Rhesaina or Singara, in the case of the other two Parthian legions.

²⁸ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 326.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ CIL III 1919, 12224 (= 12791); ILS 2770; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1584; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 151; IDRE II, 303, 304.

³¹ Both Dobson (*Dobson, Die Primipilares*, p. 267-268) and Petolescu (IDRE II, p. 307) see in this a possible command of a vexillation of the fleet at Misenum on the Danube, on the occasion of the Marcomanic wars.

³² Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 267; IDRE II, p. 307.

³³ AE 1981, p. 158; Fitz 1993, p. 633; IDRE I 98.

³⁴ IDRE I, p. 109.

³⁵ It is possible for his promotion from *centurio hastatus* to *centurio princeps* or from *centurio posterior* to *centurio prior* to date from this period.

genia (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior)³⁶ and *XVI Flavia* (Samosata, Syria Coele). The last centurionate, right before his death, finds him *princeps prior* of the IInd cohort of the legion and very close to be promoted among the *primi ordines*. His career was dated to the second half of the IInd and the beginning of the IIIrd century AD³⁷.

6. C. Caesius Silvester³⁸, originating from Italy (Tuficum), begins his military career as a soldier in the praetorian cohorts. His participation to the wars for the conquest of Dacia is rewarded with decorations³⁹. After having been promoted centurion, he serves in six legions⁴⁰: *II Augusta* (Isca, Britannia), *III Flavia* (Sarmizegetusa Regia, col. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa or Berzobis, Dacia)⁴¹, *III Gallica* (Raphanae, Syria Phoenice), *VI Ferrata* (Caparcotna, Syria Palaestina), *XXX Ulpia Victrix* (Vetera, Germania Inferior) and again in the *III Flavia* (Singidunum, Moesia Superior), in this last legion as *primus pilus* and subsequently, as *praefectus castrorum*. What is certain is that his discharge occurs before 142 AD, when he is mentioned as *curator viarum et pontium Umbriae et Piceni*⁴².

7. Tib. Claudius Valerianus⁴³ reaches the centurionate twice, and both of them seem to have occurred in Dacia, right after the conquest: in *XIII Gemina* and *I Adiutrix*⁴⁴. The dating goes up to 114 AD, when *I Adiutrix* is transferred in the Orient⁴⁵, moment until which the transfer from one legion to another could have occurred on the territory of Dacia.

8. Tib. Claudius Vibianus⁴⁶ is a centurion in *legio XIII Gemina* from Apulum at some point around the IInd – IIIrd century AD. The epithet *p(ia) f(idelis)* could be giving us a clue, referring to the reign of Commodus⁴⁷. Vibianus is also a *centurio frumentarius*, meaning that he belongs to the body of centurions in *castra peregrina* in Rome, having attributions of a secret police⁴⁸.

9. M. Herennius Valens⁴⁹ is originating from Salonic (Macedonia). He begins his military career in inferior ranks in cohorts in Rome, and then he reaches another inferior position in *legio XI Claudia* (Vindonissa, Germania Superior). Here he is promoted centurion, position from which he is promoted successively into six legions: *XI Claudia*

³⁶ J. Fitz argues, by dating his career to the end of the IInd century – beginning of the IIIrd century, that it is possible, on the basis of the moments when Claudianus changes the legions in the East with those in the West, that no transfer should have taken place at a distance, but that it should have meant the participation to the civil war and the Parthian war (Fitz 1993, p. 931-932, no. 633). If we take into account the fact that a vexillation of the legion XXIIth Primigenia takes part into Severus' second Parthian war, as part of the army body made of effectives of the four Rhenan legions (Franke 2000, p. 100), then the above-mentioned theory is covered, although it is not necessarily compulsory, even though the legions in which he serves before and after this moment are in the Orient, as well.

³⁷ IDRE I, p. 109.

³⁸ CIL XI 5696; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1548; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 276; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 128; Benea 1983, p. 203, 207; IDRE I 126.

³⁹ Maxfield 1981, p. 217, 268.

⁴⁰ In the six legions, he is promoted seven times.

⁴¹ Piso 2000, p. 208-213.

⁴² Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 249; IDRE I 126.

⁴³ CIL III 981; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1403, 1726; Moga 1985, p. 100, 104; Fitz 1993., 568; IDR III/5 11.

⁴⁴ IDR III/5 11, p. 10; Piso 2000, p. 205.

⁴⁵ Ritterling, *Legio*, 1390-1391; Lörincz 2000, p. 155.

⁴⁶ CIL III 7041; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1307, 1726; IDRE II 385.

⁴⁷ Ritterling, *Legio*, 1371-1372.

⁴⁸ Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 104-105.

⁴⁹ CIL III 13360; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1403, 1455, 1757; Fitz 1993, 236.

(still located in Germany)⁵⁰, *I Adiutrix* (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior / somewhere on the Danube, in Moesia Superior, on the occasion of Domitian's Dacian wars in 85-86 AD)⁵¹, *II Adiutrix* (Aquincum, Pannonia / Sirmium, Moesia Superior)⁵², *XV Apollinaris* (Carnuntum, Pannonia / Orient, after 114 AD)⁵³, *I Adiutrix* (Apulum, Dacia)⁵⁴, *III Flavia* (Berzobis, Ulpia Traiana or Sarmizegetusa Regia, Dacia)⁵⁵. At the moment of his discharge, he was, most naturally, (*centurio*) *hast(atus) post(erior) coh(ortis) V*. His long military career (55 years)⁵⁶ is dated sometime between 60 and 125 AD⁵⁷, thus comprising the reigns of Domitian and Trajan. It is therefore possible that Valens take part in the campaigns of both Roman emperors against the Dacians⁵⁸, but he most certainly should have had to be in Dacia throughout the events in 101-106 and immediately afterwards.

10. Iulius Bassus Suplicianus⁵⁹ seems to be originating from northern Africa. He has five centurionates recorded in his 37 years of military career, in the following legions: *II Traiana* (Nicopolis ad Alexandriam, Aegyptus), *XXII Primigenia* (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia), *III Augusta p. f.* (Lambaesis, Numidia) and *III Parthica Severiana* (Rhesaina, Mesopotamia). His career is dated in the times of the Severi, in the first third of the IIIrd century AD.

11. C. Iulius Celer⁶⁰ is mentioned in a votive inscription with three centurionates in legions *III Scythica* (Zeugma, Syria)⁶¹, *XVI Flavia Firma* (Samosata, Syria) and *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia). His oriental origin – not from an ethnic viewpoint, but most likely as a birthplace – is emphasized by the short form *ISA* (referring to the *domus* or the *origo*)⁶² and further strengthened by two centurionates at the beginning of his career, carried out in the legions in the Orient. The inscription is dated somewhere at the end of the IInd century AD.⁶³

12. C. Iulius Lepidus⁶⁴ serves in the various stages of the centurionate in five legions: *XIII Gemina p. f.* (Apulum, Dacia), *I Adiutrix* (Brigetio, Pannonia Superior), *X Gemina* (Vindobona, Pannonia Superior), *XX Valeria Victrix* (Deva, Britannia) and *VII Gemina p. f.* (Leon, Hispania Citerior). It is possible for him to have started his career precisely in this last legion, because he is originating from Ieso (Hispania Citerior), and also to have exercised the primipilate there, at some point in the IInd century AD. Legion VII-a Gemina receives the epithet *p(ia) f(elix)* in 197 AD under Severus⁶⁵, and

⁵⁰ Ritterling, Legio, 1694-1696; Fellmann 2000, p. 127-129.

⁵¹ Ritterling, Legio, 1387-1389; Lörincz 2000, p. 153.

⁵² Ritterling, Legio, 1441-1444; Lörincz 2000 a, p. 161-162.

⁵³ Wheeler 2000, p. 281-288.

⁵⁴ Vexillations of this legion were also reported at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Piso 2000, p. 205-206, 212-213). It is not very likely for the old centurion to have followed his legion to the Orient; he is more likely to have stayed in Dacia, as this is where his next transfer is coming from (Fitz 1993, p. 231-232).

⁵⁵ Piso 2000, p. 210, 212-213.

⁵⁶ Besides, Valens dies at 85 years of age.

⁵⁷ Fitz 1993, p. 232.

⁵⁸ Some of the legions in which he serves as centurion are involved in these events.

⁵⁹ CIL VIII 2891; IDRE II 455; Piso, Băluță 1998, p. 148.

⁶⁰ CIL III 1044; Piso 1981, p. 446 sqq; IDR III/5 148.

⁶¹ Speidel 2000, p. 334-335.

⁶² *ISA* can refer both to the region Isauria in Asia Minor, and to the city of Isaura (Piso 1981, p. 447; IDR III/5 148, p. 116).

⁶³ Piso 1981, p. 447.

⁶⁴ CIL II 4463; Ritterling, Legio, 1403; Dobson, Die Primipilares, p. 330-331; Moga 1985, p. 150, no. 5, and p. 152, no. 11; IDRE I 174.

⁶⁵ Ritterling, Legio, 1371.

beforehand, legion XIII Gemina receives the epithet *p(ia) f(idelis)* probably from Commodus⁶⁶, therefore for the dating of his career the last two decades of the IInd century, and even the beginning of the IIIrd century AD can be taken into consideration

13. M. Iulius Quadratus⁶⁷ comes from the equestrian order and, after service in a function specific to his rank, he does not follow an equestrian career, but becomes a legionary centurion. He carries out his first centurionate right here, in Dacia, at Apulum in *legio XIII Gemina*. Then follow his transfers to Numidia, at Lambaesis in legion *III Augusta* and in Britannia, at Isca, in *II Augusta*. He ultimately dies during a campaign with the latter, at only 38 years of age. His career is dated sometime in the IInd century AD.

14. Sex. Pilonius Modestus⁶⁸, originating from Italy (Beneventum) and also a member of the equestrian order, starts his military career directly with the centurionate. In 19 years of military service – that is how long his career was at the moment of his death – he appears to have served in five legions: *I Minervia p. f.* (Bonna, Germania Inferior or on the Danube, taking part into the Dacian wars, under Trajan)⁶⁹, *XI Claudia p. f.* (Vindonissa, Germania Superior / Pannonia, from 101 / Durostorum, Moesia Inferior, from 105-106)⁷⁰, *VIII Augusta* (Argentorate, Germania Superior), *VII Claudia* (Viminacium, Moesia Superior)⁷¹ and *IIII Flavia Felix* (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Dacia, where his funerary epigraph comes from)⁷². At the moment in which his career ended abruptly, he was *centurio hastatus posterior cohortis III*. It is possible for all of his first three centurionates to have taken place in Germania, and that he should have come on the Danube once legion VII Claudia was transferred to Viminacium. The dating of his career is made in the decades between the end of the Ist century and the beginning of the IInd century AD⁷³.

15. Cn. Pompeius Proculus⁷⁴. His inscription in Rome does not allow us to see more than two positions compatible with the centurionate: the command of several legions together (probably a vexillation made of detachments coming from several legions) and the primipilate of legion *IIII Flavia Felix* (if this is in Dacia)⁷⁵. Subsequently, he held several equestrian positions: he was a tribune in *coh. I urbana* (in Rome) and a financial procurator of the province Bithynia et Pontus⁷⁶. However, the dating of his career is very broad: ~ 70-118 AD.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ AE 1957, 249; IDRE II 443; Piso, Băluță 1998, p. 148.

⁶⁸ CIL III 1480; ILS 1645; Domaszewski, Rangordnung², p. 205; Ritterling, Legio, 1544; IDR III/2 437; Benea 1983, p. 128, 156, 207, no. 51; Piso 2000, p. 210.

⁶⁹ Ritterling, Legio, 1421, 1426.

⁷⁰ Ritterling, Legio, 1694-1699; Fellmann 2000, p. 127, 129-130.

⁷¹ *Legio VII Claudia* has a fruitful activity in Dacia as well, on the occasion of the conquest wars, its presence being attested archaeologically both in Drobeta, and in other locations in southern Banat region. (Piso 2000, p. 218).

⁷² IDR III/2 437, Piso 2000, p. 210.

⁷³ It is certain that he is in Dacia at the beginning of the IInd century.

⁷⁴ CIL VI 1672; Ritterling, Legio, 1548, 1549; Dobson, Die Primipilares, 102; Benea 1983, p. 205, no. 39.

⁷⁵ The primipilate should have been no earlier than the year 101 AD in order for it to be carried out in Dacia.

⁷⁶ At Pflaum, the interval in which Sabinus could have been procurator in Bithynia is very broad: 80-138 AD (Pflaum, Les carrières, p. 967, 1013, 1076, no. 91).

16. T. Pontius Sabinus⁷⁷ occupies, in the beginning of his career, the first two stages in the equestrian militia, as a Roman knight: *praef. coh. I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum eq. c. R.* (Germania Inferior) and *trib. mil. leg. VI Ferratae* (Caparcotna, Syria Palaestina), and is decorated by Trajan in the Parthian war⁷⁸. He interrupts his equestrian career for a career as centurion⁷⁹, serving in legions *XXII Primigenia* (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia) and, subsequently, as *primus pilus* in *III Augusta* (Lambaesis, Numidia). His experience and the trust he enjoyed propel him to lead a vexillation made of three legions (*VII Gemina*, *VIII Augusta*, *XXII Primigenia*) sent in an *expeditio Britannica*. That is the moment when his career as centurion ends, and he comes back to his equestrian career as tribune in cohorts *III vigilum*, *XIII urbana* and *II praetoria* from Rome. The second primipilate is an exceptional promotion, a proof of the trust that the emperor has in him. The climax in his career is the procuratorship of Gallia Narbonensis, in the times of Antoninus Pius⁸⁰.

17. Q. Raecius Rufus⁸¹. The positions compatible with the centurionate mentioned by his funerary epigraph are those of *trecenarius* in the cohorts in the capital and that of *primus pilus*, in *legio XII Fulminata* (Melitene, Cappadocia)⁸². The decorations received on the occasion of the Judaic (70 AD) and Dacian (101-106 AD) wars⁸³ stretch his career over three decades, especially since the primipilate seems to follow the Dacian war⁸⁴. He seems to be present in Dacia as centurion in one of the praetorian cohorts stationed here because of the conquest wars. At some point in his career, he holds the position of *princeps praetorii*, probably in the general staff of the governor of Dalmatia⁸⁵.

18. M. Sabidius Maximus⁸⁶ is one of the centurions promoted *ex caliga*. His progress from an ordinary *miles* to *centurio* occurs within the same legion: *XI Claudia* (Durostorum, Moesia Inferior). Out of 40 years of military service, he spends 20 as centurion, therefore he reaches his first centurionate around the age of 38-40, in the times of Hadrian. He is transferred to legion *III Gallica* (Raphanae, Syria), his participation to the Judaic war being rewarded with decorations⁸⁷. Then follow other promotions in the times of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Due to epigraphic gaps, we only know the names of two of the five legions mentioned: *IIII Scythica* (Zeugma, Syria) and *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia). To all appearances, he was originating from Scampa (locality in the land of Dyrhachium)⁸⁸. His career is dated approximately between 117 and 161 AD.

⁷⁷ CIL X 5829; ILS 2726; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 117; Piso, Băluță 1998, p. 148; IDRE I 90.

⁷⁸ Maxfield 1981, p. 267.

⁷⁹ C. C. Petolescu states that it is possible for him to enter directly among the *primi ordines* (IDRE I, p. 105).

⁸⁰ IDRE I, p. 104-105.

⁸¹ CIL III 9985 (= 2917); ILS 2647; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1709; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 99, 100; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 106; IDRE II 291.

⁸² Ritterling, *Legio*, 1706-1708; Bertrand, Rémy 2000, p. 254-255.

⁸³ Maxfield 1981, p. 269.

⁸⁴ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 225-226; IDRE II, p. 300.

⁸⁵ Dobson brings into discussion the order in which the career stages appear in the inscription and a possible error in their succession (Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 225-226); IDRE II, p. 300; for *princeps praetorii* see Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 98 and B. Dobson, p. XXV-XXIV, in Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ².

⁸⁶ AE 1937, 101; Piso, Băluță 1998, p. 148; IDRE II 364.

⁸⁷ Maxfield 1981, p. 187, 169.

⁸⁸ IDRE II p. 369.

19. C. Sulgius Caecilianus⁸⁹ begins his military career in Rome, in the *castra peregrina*, where he is mentioned as *optio*. He then accedes to the rank of *navarchus*⁹⁰ in the fleet at Misenum. Then follow the centurionates in legion *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia), legion *XVI Flavia Firma* (Samosata, Syria), legion *I Parthica* (Singara, Mesopotamia), legion *VII Gemina* (Leon, Hispania Citerior) and legion *III Augusta* (Lambaesis, Numidia). The rank of centurion allows him to fulfill the role of *praepositus* of the fleet squadron from Misenum that was responsible for the transportation by sea of provisions and troops required in the Parthian war (in 231 AD)⁹¹. He is subsequently promoted to primipilate in legion *XX Valeria Victrix* (Deva, Britannia) and finally, he is appointed *praefectus* of legion *III Cyrenaica* (Bostra, Arabia). His career is dated sometime between the reigns of Elagabal and Gordian III (218-238 AD)⁹².

20. L. Terentius Rufus⁹³ begins his career as a knight, in the first equestrian militia in *coh. VI Brittonum* (Germania Inferior). He then becomes a centurion and takes part at the Dacian wars in the times of Trajan, with legion *I Minervia*, led by the future emperor Hadrian, for which he actually receives a decoration⁹⁴. The next centurionate finds him with *legio XV Apollinaris*, as *primus pilus*, when the legion was possibly still in Pannonia.⁹⁵ He rushes to return to the equestrian career in the second militia in *coh. II vigilum*, in Rome. The dating of his career coincides partially with the reign of Trajan.

21. Trajanus Mucianus⁹⁶ has a career that is hard to decipher, due to epigraphic gaps. He is originating from Thracia (Augusta Traiana)⁹⁷ and his career is unfolded around the times when Gallienus reigned (253-268 AD)⁹⁸. He starts as an ordinary soldier, first in a *coh. I Concordia*, then in *legio II Parthica* near Rome and subsequently, even in the capital city, in *coh. VI praetoria*, as *evocatus*. His next positions are linked to the rank of centurion: *centurio protector* of legion *XIII Gemina*⁹⁹, fictitious positions within two cohorts in Rome (one of *vigiles* and one *urbana*)¹⁰⁰, *coh. V / VI praetoria* (as an escort to the emperor), *centurio princeps* (but we do not know in which legion) and the primipilate, possibly fictitious, as the legion is not mentioned (see footnote 94). We do know that he becomes *στρατοπεδάρχος* (*praefectus legionis*) of *leg. IIII Flavia* (Singidunum, Moesia Superior) and he also has a commanding position, possibly compatible with the rank of centurion, at the head of legions *VII Claudia* and *IIII Flavia* reunited (or of some vexillations of these legions)¹⁰¹. His next position is connected to his equestrian career: *στρατηγός* at the head of three legions (*II Traiana*, a second legion whose name was not preserved and legion *IIII Flavia*).

⁸⁹ CIL VIII 1322 (= 14854); CIL X 3342; ILS 2764; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 205; IDRE II 431.

⁹⁰ The equivalent of the centurion in the case of the fleet (Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 105-106).

⁹¹ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 301; IDRE II, p. 449-450.

⁹² IDRE II, p. 450.

⁹³ CIL II 2424; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1420; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 199; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 110.

⁹⁴ Maxfield 1981, p. 269.

⁹⁵ Ritterling, *Legio*, 1752-1755; Wheeler 2000, p. 281-288.

⁹⁶ IGR I 1496; ILS 9479; AE 1908, p. 259; AE 1946, 139; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 223; Moga 1985, p. 29, 80, 89, 144, no. 5; IDRE II 352.

⁹⁷ Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* ², p. 186; IDRE II 352, p. 357.

⁹⁸ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 316.

⁹⁹ The place where the detachment Mucianus belongs to was stationing is unknown (Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 314); C. C. Petolescu argues that the detachment of legion *XIII Gemina*, in which Mucianus serves, belongs to Gallienus' mobile army, which was present in Thracia in 267 to fight against the Goths (IDRE II, p. 358).

¹⁰⁰ His centurionate in these two cohorts in the capital is fictitious; it was not really exercised, as the number of the units mentioned in the inscription is missing (IDRE II, p. 358).

¹⁰¹ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 315.

22. M. Ulpius Caius¹⁰² has an interesting career. We have information about him being a centurion in *legio III Italica Antoniniana* (Castra Regina, Raetia). From there, he went with one vexillation to Dacia, where he is mentioned in an honorary inscription of the province's governor, L. Marius Perpetuus¹⁰³. Due to epigraphic gaps, we do not know how many transfers there were, or in how many legions Ulpius Caius could have served, or which stages of the centurionate he reached (including the primipilate) until he became the prefect of legion *XIII Gemina* from Apulum. What we do know for sure is that we find him in this position both in Dacia, at Apulum, and in Moesia Superior, at Singidunum (in *legio IIII Flavia*). His career is dated in the first third of the IIIrd century AD.¹⁰⁴

23. M. Ulpius Titus¹⁰⁵, originating from Sirmium (Pannonia Inferior), serves in at least six legions¹⁰⁶: *II Adiutrix* (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior), *I Adiutrix* (Brigetio, Pannonia Superior), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia), *V Macedonica* (Troesmis, Moesia Inferior / Orient / Potaissa, Dacia)¹⁰⁷, *XIII Gemina* (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior) and subsequently, again in *II Adiutrix* (Pannonia Inferior), at some point in the IInd century – beginning of the IIIrd century, at the latest.

24. Sex. Vibius Gallus¹⁰⁸ is mentioned as centurion in a cohort of Rome (*trecentarius*)¹⁰⁹. His career is continued with a primipilate and the prefectship of the legion, both in *legio XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia). The decorations he received during the wars are the object of controversy and interpretation regarding the dating of his career. The times of Domitian – Trajan (81-117 AD) or the times of M. Aurelius – L. Verus (161-169 AD) are mentioned in this respect. Dobson argues for the first variant¹¹⁰.

25. Cu - - - Campanus¹¹¹ is mentioned as centurion in two legions: *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia) and most probably *III Augusta* (Lambaesis, Numidia), at some point in the IInd century or the first third of the IIIrd century AD (ante Gordian, 238 AD)¹¹².

26. Anonymus¹¹³. The incomplete epigraph of this centurion mentions four legions, among which three have their full names preserved: *I Adiutrix* (Brigetio, Pannonia), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia) and *XV Apollinaris* (Satala, Cappadocia). For the fourth legion, the number XXX can refer to *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* (Vetera, Germania Inferior)¹¹⁴.

¹⁰² CIL III 1178; ILS 1165; CIL III 1201; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 194 ; Piso 1993, p.169, 177, no. 7; IDR III/5 436, 448.

¹⁰³ IDR III/5, p. 336.

¹⁰⁴ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 296; IDR III/5, p. 336, 349.

¹⁰⁵ CIL III 3259; IDRE II 290.

¹⁰⁶ The last part of the inscription is missing.

¹⁰⁷ Ritterling, *Legio*, 1576-1580; Piso 2000, p. 213-216.

¹⁰⁸ CIL III 13648 (= 6984 = 454); CIL III 14187, 4; CIL III 14187, 5; AE 1903, 258; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 104; IDRE II 389, 390, 391, 392.

¹⁰⁹ Dobson does not exclude the variant in which Gallus is a Roman knight who chooses a career as a centurion (Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 223).

¹¹⁰ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 223-224.

¹¹¹ AE 1916, 39; Ritterling, *Legio*, c. 1501; IDRE II 428.

¹¹² IDRE II, p. 447.

¹¹³ CIL III 14178; Moga 1985, p. 151, no.13.

¹¹⁴ We do not believe that a fifth legion is mentioned for sure in the inscription; the number VII that appears in the text cannot refer to a legion, since it is followed by the name of a person– *Trophim[us]* – and not by the name of a legion, as it was assumed (see CIL III 14178).

27. Anonymus¹¹⁵. This centurion serves in at least three legions: *XI Claudia* (Durostorum, Moesia Inferior), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia) and *IIII Scythica* (Zeugma, Syria); it is possible however for the number of the legions to have been bigger. The mention of the *[has]tat(us) prior* is connected to his position in the centurions' hierarchy.

28. Anonymus¹¹⁶. This centurion whose name was not preserved is promoted *ex caliga*, one of his positions before the centurionate being that of *aquilifer*. After his promotion, he serves in three legions: *XIIII Gemina* (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior), *XIII Gemina* (Apulum, Dacia) and *XXII Primigenia* (Mogontiacum, Germania Superior). The career of this old centurion stretches over 45 years, sometime in the IInd – IIIrd century AD.

29. Anonymus¹¹⁷. This time, a centurion whose name was lost provides us with an exceptional career. He begins his military service in Rome, in the praetorian cohorts, having inferior ranks (*cornicularius praefectorum praetorio*). Then he is promoted to centurionate in a legion whose name was not preserved, then he probably leads, as a *dux*, a vexillation made of detachments of the legions in Dacia (*XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonia*), in the times of Gordian III (238-244 AD) and subsequently, it is worth mentioning his primipilate, also in one of the legions in Dacia, as Dobson believes¹¹⁸. Promoted member of the equestrian order, he is tribune of one of the praetorian cohorts, then he is procurator of Lusitania and of the gladiator fortress in Rome (*procurator ludi magni*), followed by the centenarian prefectship of the imperial postal service (*praefectus vehiculorum*). The progress in the last part of his career occurs under Phillip the Arabian¹¹⁹, therefore his entire career must be dated around 250 AD.

The number of legions in which a centurion serves throughout his career varies greatly, without respecting a specific rule. In our case, out of the 29 centurions, 10 are mentioned with two, three centurionates at the most, the other 19 serving in four legions or more. The table below shows the situation of the 29 centurions, according to the number of troops in which they serve along their career:

CENTURIONS	LEGIONS + OTHER TROOPS
no. 7, 8, 15, 20	2
no. 11, 13, 25, 27, 28, 29	3
no. 17, 22, 24, 26	4
no. 10, 12, 14, 16	5
no. 3, 6, 9, 23	6
no. 2, 18	7
no. 1, 4, 21	8
no. 19	9
no. 5	10

As for the reduced number of promotions (only two or three troops mentioned) we must specify that, in most of the cases, the information comes from votive inscriptions (no. 7, 8, 11, 25) and honorary inscriptions (no. 15), the text unveiling the careers from the moment when the inscription was raised, and this allowed for further improvements. There are also situations in which the reduced number of centurionates is explained by

¹¹⁵ CIL III 1859; Moga 1985, p. 151, no. 13.

¹¹⁶ CIL III 6952; Moga 1985, p. 151, no. 13.

¹¹⁷ CIL VI 1645; ILS 2773; Ritterling, *Legio*, 1579; Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 212; IDRE I 19.

¹¹⁸ Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 304-305.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

the fact that the holder was promoted very fast and moved on from one stage of the equestrian career to the next (no. 20, L. Terentius Rufus and no. 29, Anonymus), or he died prematurely in some military campaign (no. 13, M. Iulius Quadratus), or even more plainly, in 45 years of military service, a centurion promoted *ex caliga* only managed to be promoted three times (no. 28, Anonymus).

The position held within the hierarchy is mentioned in 18 cases. We know exactly in the case of three centurions what position they hold at a certain moment and the one they were promoted to: M. Aurelius Claudianus (*princeps prior coh. II* – no. 5), M. Herennius Valens (*hastatus posterior coh. V* – no. 9) and Sex. Pilonius Modestus (*hastatus posterior coh. III* – no. 14). In the case of other two centurions, the positions they had were mentioned only partially: Trajanus Mucianus (*centurio princeps*, with no further details – no. 21) and an anonymous (*hastatus prior*, the cohort is not mentioned due to epigraphic gaps – no. 27). In 14 cases, higher positions confirm the promotion in the hierarchy: eight centurions reach the primipilate (no. 2, 3, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 29), while the other six receive the prefectship of the legion or of the fortress (no. 4, 6, 19, 21, 22, 24).

The tenor of the military career does not provide extra information regarding the promotion of the centurions. Maybe it gives indications about the rhythm in which these promotions occurred, which was different from one case to another. The inscriptions of six centurions mention the number of years spent in the army; in the case of three of them the years spent as centurions are mentioned: Sex. Pilonius Modestus (no. 14) in 19 years of military service exercise the centurionate in five legions and dies at only 37 years of age, probably before he was discharged; M. Sabidius Maximus (no. 18) spends 20 of his 40 years of career as centurion in seven legions, and M. Aebutius Victorinus (no. 1) spends 14 out of 63 years of his life under arms, as centurion serving in eight legions¹²⁰. For the other three centurions, we can only assume the period spent in this position out of the total number of years of their military career. Thus, M. Herennius Valens (no. 9) spends 55 years in the army out of which, according to J. Fitz¹²¹, for 39 years he is centurion in the six legions. Iulius Bassus Suplicianus (no. 10) has 37 years of military service, and if he spends at least 20 of them in an inferior rank, he is left with 17 years of centurionate, in five legions. No. 28 (Anonymus) is promoted *ex caliga* and serves about 20-25 out of a total of 45 years in the army as centurion, in three legions¹²².

The directions from which the promotions are made or from where people can accede to centurionates are, on the one hand, the inferior ranks of the legions and the cohorts in the capital, and on the other hand, the equestrian order. Therefore, out of the 29 centurions, five are *ex equite Romano* (no. 2, 13, 14, 16, 20), eight come from the troops in Rome (no. 3, 6, 9, 17, 19, 21, 24, 29) and 16 from legionary soldiers (some exceptions are not excluded, due to information gaps). Generally, the knights promoted to centurions accede to higher-placed centurionates (especially the primipilate – no. 2, 16, 20), exceptions occur only in fortuitous situations, such as premature death (no. 13, 14). In the context of the professional and social advancement, it is worth mentioning that other 11 centurions have access to the equestrian order from the moment they reached the primipilate (no. 3, 4, 6, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 29). From all those who

¹²⁰ The 14 *stipendium* years probably refer exclusively to the centurionate period, without mentioning the previous years of military service (at least six more in which he must have gone through the inferior stages of his career, but probably much more than that, going up to 20; see also the comments on footnote 21).

¹²¹ Without knowing how many of the 55 years he spent as centurion, J. Fitz approximates that he spent around 16 years of his career in various inferior ranks, the other 39 years being spent in the six centurionates (Fitz 1993, p. 331-332, no. 236). Valens has a very long career; the venerable centurion was discharged at 73 years of age.

¹²² He dies after being discharged, at the age of 70.

accede to the rank of knights, seven will occupy equestrian positions after the centurionate: from military tribunship to procuratorships and higher prefectships (no. 4, 6, 15, 16, 20, 21, 29).

By examining the map of the empire, we notice that the direction of transfers follows the provinces and regions strongly militarized on the Rhine and the Danube, in Britannia or the Orient. The promotions and transfers could occur within the same province and even within the same legion (if we only refer to the promotions), but often implied the change of the province or even of the region in the empire¹²³. There is a list below containing the provinces in which are transferred the centurions coming or going in or out of Dacia per number of transfers:

Troops from Rome.....	6
Hispania.....	3
Britannia.....	7
Germania.....	12
Raetia.....	1
Pannonia.....	13
Moesia.....	10
Cappadocia.....	4
Syria.....	9
Mesopotamia.....	3
Arabia.....	1
Aegyptus.....	1
Oreint (not mentioned).....	3
Numidia.....	5
Fleet.....	2

Thus, 56 transfers are on the Danube (50 %, counting in the legions in Dacia, as well), 12 transfers on the Rhine (10.7 %), 21 transfers in the Orient on the whole (18.7 %), 7 transfers in Britannia (6.36 %), 5 transfers in northern Africa (especially in Numidia) (4.46 %), only 3 transfers in Hispania (2.67 %), and no more than 6 transfers to Rome (5.35 %)¹²⁴. For the centurions in Dacia, most of the transfers occur, obviously in or from the troops in the neighboring provinces (Pannonia and Moesia) and the provinces nearby (Germania), followed by remote provinces (Syria, Britannia, Numidia). We must also mention in this context the transfers related to the troops in Rome.

Record must be made in Dacia of the presence of centurions in the following legions: *I Minervia* (1 case), *I Adiutrix* (2), *III Flavia* (4), *V Macedonica* (4), *VII Claudia* (1), *XIII Gemina* (20) and *XVIII Gemina* (1 ?). Only one centurion – Q. Raecius Rufus (no. 17) – is present in Dacia with one of the praetorian cohorts¹²⁵. Most of the centurions come, most naturally, from legions *XIII Gemina* (20) and *V Macedonica* (4), which were garrisoned for a longer time in Dacia, but also from legion *III Flavia* (4), which was stationed here from the very beginning of the province. It is worth mentioning that, with the exception of the centurions from legions *V Macedonica* and *XIII Gemina* (partially), the carriers of the rest of them are dated, with no exception, in the times of Trajan, at least for the moment when they are present in Dacia. Besides, all of these legions are involved in Trajan's efforts to fight against Dacia and almost a third – 9 of the 29 centurions – are present in the province or around it on this occasion.

¹²³ See the journeys of M. Aurelius Claudianus (no.5) following the evolution of his career: Danube – Orient – Danube – Rhine – Orient.

¹²⁴ No. 2, 3, 8, 17, 21, 24.

¹²⁵ On the occasion of the conquest wars, C. Caesius Silvester (no. 6) was also present in Dacia with one of the praetorian cohorts, as an ordinary soldier, and was decorated after the Dacian wars; he comes back to this province as centurion, as well (see above, the comments to no. 6).

The localization in time and space of the stages in the career of a centurion is much facilitated in the case of those who were already decorated on the occasion of the different military campaigns. In Dacia, there are seven cases of this kind and if even Sex. Vibius Gallus (no. 24) received the decorations, like Dobson¹²⁶ argues, in the times of the emperors Domitian or Trajan, then we are referring to wars in the second half of the 1st century and the first four decades of the 2nd century AD. Thus, we have centurions who fought in the Dacian wars (no. 2, 6, 17 and 20) and in the Partian wars (no. 2 and 16) led by Trajan, in Judaic wars in the times of Vespasian and Titus (no. 17) or Hadrian (no. 18) or in the campaigns of emperors Domitian (on the Rhine or on the Danube) and Trajan, and with no particular specification (no. 24)¹²⁷.

An eventual chronological order of the careers of the 29 centurions reveals the fact that more than one third of them (11 careers) are centered in the time span beginning with the conquest wars and until the end of Trajan's reign, even up to the mid 2nd century, for a couple of cases. Other seven careers are dated in the 2nd century (especially the second half of it) and the beginning of the 3rd. In four cases, the chronological dating cannot be specified more exactly than the entire context of the Roman rule in Dacia (2nd – 3rd century). There are five careers dated in the times of the Severi, and two careers in the time span after the year 235 AD. In Dacia – just like in the rest of the Empire, including the 1st century, as well – the promotion phenomenon and that of transfers abides by the same rules both in the 2nd and in the 3rd century, and stays the same for a long time, not only in the times of the Severi, but also in the "military anarchy" period (see no. 21 and 29)¹²⁸.

The promotion and transfer of centurions as components of the same process abide by rules that respect criteria of competency, experience, age, social belonging¹²⁹ or personal and professional relationships and, last but not least, are made according to the needs. The fact that, in the times of the strongest military territorial expansion of the Principality, centurions like those that pass through Dacia serve into a bigger or smaller number of legions all over the Empire, gives us an idea of the importance of the transfer system, whose main purpose was to maintain the tactical unity of the army, the troops' cohesion and discipline in broad spaces, therefore the experience of career officers was essential.

Abbreviation list and bibliography

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| Benea 1983 | = D. Benea, <i>Din istoria militară a Moesiei Superior și a Daciei. Legiunea a VII-a Claudia și Legiunea a III-a Flavia</i> , Cluj-Napoca 1983. |
| Bertrand, Rémy 2000 | = F. Bertrand, B. Rémy, <i>Legio XII Fulminata</i> , in <i>Légions</i> , p. 253-256. |
| Breeze 1993 | = D. Breeze, <i>The Organization of the Legion: the First Cohort and the equites legionis</i> , in <i>Roman Officers and Frontiers</i> , Stuttgart, 1993, p. 65-70. |

¹²⁶ See footnote 110 and the comments to Sex. Vibius Gallus (no. 24).

¹²⁷ There is the possibility for this Gallus (no. 24) to have acquired the decorations in the times of Marcus Aurelius (Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, p. 223-224, no. 104; IDRE II, p. 408-409).

¹²⁸ It is true that after 235 AD, their number drops significantly, at least for Dacia.

¹²⁹ The centurionate was open for knights. The centurions promoted *ex caliga* could also aspire to the access to the equestrian order, once they had got to the primipilate.

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AUXILIA COMMAGENORUM IN DACIA*

Commagene, a kingdom in north-western Syria became independent in 162 BC, following an uprising against the Seleucids. The first direct contacts with the Romans date from the times of the civil wars, when King Antiochus swore allegiance to Pompey, by sending him 200 archers¹, and was therefore rewarded with a part of Mesopotamia. He was dethroned by Marcus Antonius because of his attitude during the conflict against the Parthians².

In the first part of the 1st century AD, the Roman state carried out an interesting policy, apparently lacking coherence. In certain particular moments, these apparently contradictory aspects were more likely the effects of some dynastic problems (both in *Commagene* kingdom, and in Rome), rather than due to foreign policy reasons. The kingdom was annexed for the first time by Tiberius in 17 AD, when the entire Cappadocia³ was attached, and the authority of King Antiochus IV was restored by Caligula in 38 AD⁴. The conquest of the small kingdom and its inclusion in Syria province was accomplished in the second part of the year 72 by its governor, L. Junius Caesennius Paetus, also because of an alleged complicity with the Parthians⁵. Inscriptions mention a *bellum Commagenicum*⁶, although Josephus⁷ and Suetonius⁸ refer to a "skirmish"⁹.

Generally, both in diplomacy and in war, the relation between the perception of danger and preventive attacks is indistinct. Examples mentioned throughout the centuries are extremely numerous, depicting situations in which Empires motivate their expansion by the need to secure their frontiers. A proof in this respect would be Josephus Flavius' recall of the conquest of the *Commagene* kingdom (Josephus, BJ II 16.4), interpreted in an extremely suggestive way by Benjamin Isaac. So, if the king was unfaithful (he wasn't!) and if the Parthians really wanted to attack (they didn't!), it would

* I would like to thank my dear friend Florian Matei-Popescu, who read this paper and made valuable comments on it.

¹ Davies 1977, p. 261.

² Speidel 2005, p. 85-88.

³ The annexation of the kingdom during the reign of Tiberius had a vague motivation, king Archelaus was accused of leading a "rebellion" (Isaac 1990, p. 40).

⁴ Rey-Coquais 1978, p. 49; Millar 1993, p. 52-53.

⁵ D. Kennedy, C. Velius Rufus, *Britannia* 14, 1983, p. 187-188; Millar 1993, p. 80-93; Dabrowa 1994, p. 20; Isaac 1990, p. 22, p. 39.

⁶ ILS 9198 – *Baalbek*; AE 1943, p. 33 – *Volubilis*.

⁷ See note 4.

⁸ Suetonius, *Vespasian* 8.4: *Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum libertate adempta, item Trachiam Ciliciam et Commagenen ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit* [...]; 8, 5: *Cappadociae propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit consularem rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano*.

⁹ According to Josephus (BJ VII 7.1-2), in the fourth year of Vespasian's reign (1 July 72 – 30 June 73), Paetus denounced king Antiochus IV Epiphanes of *Commagene* of having the intention to rally to the Parthians in an uprising against Rome. With the approval of emperor, Paetus is heading towards *Samosata*, while Antiochus' sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, start stirring the people, so as to organize the resistance. Antiochus recommends prudence; he travels to Tarsus in Cilicia where he turns himself in to the Romans, which seems to have demoralized the army. This is a possible explanation for the Roman's easy success. Subsequently, Antiochus was received in Rome with great honors, just like his sons were, and it was considered "intolerable for them to live outside the Roman Empire" (ILS 9200; Josephus, BJ VII 7.3). Epiphanes continued to name himself *basileus*, even though he entered the Senate and became a Consul in 109 (Sullivan 1977, p. 794).

have been dangerous for Romans not to take over *Samosata* (so, they did it!)¹⁰. The same author interpreted Josephus' tale as a proof of the fact that the Parthians did not represent, at that particular time, a danger for the borders of the Empire. Before the Judaic revolt, the ancient author presents Agrippa II as having said about Parthia that it had not violated the treaty with Rome, and subsequently describes the meeting between Vologaeses I and Titus at Zeugma, when the suppression of the Judaic revolt was allegedly celebrated, and therefore the Parthian king gave Titus a golden crown¹¹.

Some researchers see in the annexation of *Commagene* an expansion, while others plead for strategic arguments connected to the fortification of the Euphrates¹². This conquest must be analyzed in the broader context of Emperor Vespasian's policy, period in which major changes occurred, both in the reorganization of the infrastructure, in the arrangement of units, and in the foreign policy and administration of some of the provinces. Benjamin Isaac thinks it is quite possible for the reason on which the annexation of *Commagene* was based to have been the intention to station the legion at *Samosata*¹³, and the central element of this reorganization seems to have been the transformation of Cappadocia in a major military province. Two legions were transferred at *Samosata* and *Satala*, so that Cappadocia could become a major military province, all major commercial routes and crossing places over the Euphrates being under the control of Roman legions. The incorporation of *Commagene* completed the defensive policy at the eastern frontier, the governor of Syria having the responsibility of defending the Euphrates from Sura to the Cappadocian border¹⁴.

After the annexation, the kingdom was divided into four city-states: *Samosata*, *Caesarea Germanica*, *Perrhe* and *Doliche*, a *koine* remaining separate in the framework of Syria province¹⁵. Strategic reasons must have played a decisive role in the political reconfiguration of the entire area. Royal authority was replaced by a Roman governance in Armenia Minor, and the small kingdoms of Chalkidike and *Emesa* vanished from the political configuration of the area.

The kingdom's internal history reveals interesting aspects concerning the relationship between the royal family and different families. There were certain clashes between the local Semitic population and several families of Iranian, Greek or Macedonian origin, which can explain king Antiochus I's religious program having a syncretic character. Its stake was to reconcile such differences and, naturally, to consolidate the royal family, who was also anchored in traditions that had a Greek and Persian origin. It is interesting to note that, after the death of Antiochus III in 17 AD, much of the population of *Commagene* asked for Rome's direct control over the kingdom. Quite probably, this was a proof of dynastic instability, which probably encouraged the nobility to come up with this solution. A comparative analysis of the relationship that small kingdoms in the area had with the Empire reveals the fact that Rome considered that it had to be consulted in all issues related to the succession to the throne.

¹⁰ Isaac 1990, p. 22.

¹¹ Some researchers argued that this was a consequence of Caesarius Paetus' easy success, in 73 the Parthian king Vologaeses began hostilities against the Empire, probably in the *Commagene* area (G. W. Bowersock, *Syria under Vespasian*, JRS 63, 1973, p. 135; Dabrowa 1994, p. 25).

¹² For a synthetic presentation of these opinions, see Speidel 2005, p. 86 note 5.

¹³ Isaac 1990, p. 39. The annexation of *Commagene* can be seen as a lesson learned after Corbulo's failed attempt to conquer Armenia, and also after the failures in the times of Nero and Paetus. Syria proved to be vulnerable while the Roman army was involved in the campaigns in Armenia, which has been proven by the Parthian invasions in the province. The fortification of this frontier sector down to the Euphrates seems to have been vital for the policy carried out by the Romans in the following years, by strengthening the entire defensive system and the infrastructure. Thus, excellent supply and attack bases were built.

¹⁴ Mitford 1978, p. 1182. B. Isaac considered it possible for the intention to camp the legion at *Samosata* to have been the reason for the annexation of *Commagene* (Isaac 1990, p. 39).

¹⁵ Rey-Coquais 1978, p. 53; Sullivan 1977, p. 732-798.

It was assumed that auxiliary Commagenians' units were recruited among the soldiers sent in aid by king Antiochus of *Commagene* during the campaign of Titus in Judea¹⁶. Flavius Josephus indicates a number of Commagenians sent in the year 66 by Antiochus IV to support Cestius Gallus in the Judaic rebellion¹⁷. The diploma from Cataloi, dating from 92¹⁸, mentions members of the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* among the units of Moesia Inferior discharging soldiers in that respective year. On the basis of this, we can state that the respective unit could have been recruited in 67 at the latest¹⁹, which is concordant with the statements of the ancient author.

According to Flavius Josephus, the army of Antiochus IV consisted in over 2000 archers on horseback and 3000 pedestrian archers. Naturally, the army of *Commagene* could not be inferior in number to the garrison that was stationed here after the year 72, made of a legion and a few *auxilia*²⁰.

Only four auxiliary units recruited from *Commagene* have been attested up to the present moment, in the times of the Principate: *ala I Commagenorum* (Egypt, Noricum)²¹, *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* (Moesia Inferior, Dacia Inferior), *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* (Moesia Superior, Dacia, Dacia Superior) and *cohors VI Commagenorum* (Numidia)²².

We shall take into discussion the first two cohorts of Commagenians, whose history is connected to that of the province of Dacia. Whether an "*ala II Flavia Commagenorum*" was attested in the army of this province or not is still under discussion; two hypotheses have been formulated but the final verdict depends on new pieces of evidence that are still to be found. The unit is attested in only one diploma, dating from October 109²³. J. Garbsch considered that "*ala II Commagenorum sagittaria*" was in fact the scribe's mistaken version for *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*, but P. Holder has no doubt that the respective recording is correct²⁴.

Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata (?)²⁵

The moment of the unit's constitution was considered to be related to the annexation of the *Commagene* kingdom (72 A.D.), hypothesis supported by the unit's imperial name. The presence of this unit on the diploma from Cataloi suggests an earlier

¹⁶ Cichorius, RE IV, 274; Wagner 1938, p. 123-126; Saddington 1982, p. 48-49; Spaul 2000, p. 404-405; Petolescu 2002, p. 97-99.

¹⁷ Josephus, BJ II 18.9.

¹⁸ Petolescu, Popescu 2004, p. 269-276.

¹⁹ Matei-Popescu 2004, n^o. 20. *Ala I Commagenorum* for instance, is attested in Egypt on a *pridianum* dated from 48 A.D. (Saddington 1982, p. 255). If the two cohorts were also recruited earlier than Flavian times, then the imperial entitling could have been granted as an honor for bravery in combat - Holder 1980, 16.

²⁰ Speidel 2005, p. 98-99.

²¹ Spaul 1994, p. 94-95; Ubl 2004, p. 31-38.

²² Spaul 2000, p. 406-407; Y. Le Bohec, Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le Haut-Empire, Aix - Marseille 1989, p. 73-76.

²³ AE 1990, 860 = RMD III 148.

²⁴ J. Garbsch, *Das älteste Militärdiplom für die Provinz Dakien*, BVbl 54, 1989, p. 137-151; conclusions reiterated by J. Garbsch, N. Gudea, *Despre cea mai veche diplomă militară eliberată pentru provincia Dacia*, AMP 14-15, p. 70; P. Holder, *Auxiliary Deployment in the Reign of Hadrian*, Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan (J. J. Wilkes ed.), London 2003, p. 132, table 1; P. Holder, *Auxiliary deployment in the reign of Trajan*, Dacia, N.S. 50, 2006, table 4. See also Ubl 2004, 32.

²⁵ Cichorius, RE IV, 273-274; Christescu 1937, p. 183; Wagner 1938, p. 123-124; Kraft 1951, p. 60 61; 173, n^o 1330-1331 a, b; Russu 1972, p. 70; A. Aricescu, *Armata în Dobrogea romană*, București 1977, p. 59-60; Tudor 1978, p. 334; Beneš 1978, p. 26-27; Strobel 1984, p. 127; Vlădescu 1983, p. 25; Al. Suceveanu, in Al. Suceveanu, Al. Barnea, *La Dobroudja romaine*, București, 1990, p. 65; Spaul 2000, p. 403; Petolescu 2002, p. 95-96; Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 204, n^o. 20; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 279-280; Matei-Popescu, Țentea, 2006a, p. 87-88.

recruiting, which must have occurred before Vespasian's reign²⁶. It is listed among the Moesia Inferior diplomas from 92²⁷, 97²⁸, 105²⁹, 111³⁰ and 116³¹.

From the period the cohort was stationed in Moesia Inferior dates the epitaph from *Tomis* (before Trajan), in which are mentioned M. Tertullus and Mitrdates: a veteran, respectively a pedestrian from this unit³².

In the first two decades of the IInd century, the history of the Commagenians' unit cannot be handled separately from the history of the legions that took part in the operations in Muntenia region during the Dacian wars. *Exercitus Moesiae Inferioris*³³ was an essential component of the military effort deployed by the Empire in the conflict against the kingdom of Dacia³⁴, due to the strategic position that the two Moesias had facing the northern Danubian territory³⁵. The core of Moesian military units was represented, during Trajan's first Dacian conflict, by Legion V Macedonica (*Oescus*) and Legion I Italica (*Novae*)³⁶. The two legions took part in complex operations, being the only units attested in *Buridava* during the first campaign³⁷. In this context, M. Zahariade considers that it is very likely for detachments from Legion V Macedonica and Legion I Italica to have been transferred to *Drajna de Sus* and *Mălăiești*, together with the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* (in full effective) from the garrison of *Buridava*, in order to build forts along access routes from Transylvania³⁸. These transfers of units are thought by the same author to have been related to the destruction of Dacian fortresses from *Gura Vitioarei*, *Plopeni*, *Slănic* or *Homorîciu*, simultaneously causing the erection of the fortresses in *Drajna de Sus* I and *Mălăiești*³⁹. In the time interval between the two Dacian wars, the garrison of the fortress from *Drajna de Sus* was made of vexillations from the Legions mentioned and of the effectives of the Commagenians' cohort. According to Zahariade, after the conquest of Dacia, they were joined by a vexillation from Legion XI Claudia⁴⁰. The unit

²⁶ See note 18.

²⁷ Petolescu, Popescu 2004, p. 269–276.

²⁸ RMD V 338; W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Zwei Konstitutionen für die Truppen Niedermösens vom 9. September 97*, ZPE 151, p. 185–192.

²⁹ CIL XVI 50.

³⁰ RMD IV 222.

³¹ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplome für die Auxiliärtruppen in den mösischen Provinzen von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, Dacia, N.S. 50, 2006, p. 99–102, 103.

³² AE 1938, 6 = ISM II 176. According to I. I. Russu, the name Mithradates has an Iranian origin, and Barales a Syro-Semitic origin (Russu 1969, p. 171 note 13).

³³ CIL III 12467.

³⁴ Wagner 1938, p. 123; Russu 1969, p. 172; Strobel 1984, p. 127; Petolescu 1995, p. 249.

³⁵ Christescu 1937, p. 13–14; T. Sarnowski, *Zur Truppengeschichte der Dakerkriege Traians*, Germania 65, 1987, 2, p. 107–122. See Matei-Popescu, 2004a and the entire discussion on this subject.

³⁶ For the participation of legions from Moesia Inferior to the Dacian campaigns, see the more recent discussion in Matei-Popescu 2007, p. 290–300.

³⁷ IDR II 381; Zahariade 1997, p. 59. The fact that they were attested here, just like the *pedites singulares*, led to the hypothesis that the governor of Moesia Inferior was also stationed here (Gh. Bichir, *Centrul militar roman de la Buridava*, TD 5, 1985, 1–2, p. 99–102). However, E. Doruțiu-Boilă (Emilia Doruțiu-Boilă, *Despre cărămizile cu ștampilă ale legiunilor V Macedonica și XI Claudia la Dunărea de Jos și pe litoralul nordic al Mării Negre*, SCIVA 41, 1990, 3–4, p. 251–271) dates the presence of the *pedites singulares* at *Buridava* after the hostilities of the first campaign ceased, or even after the constitution of the province.

³⁸ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, p. 61–62.

³⁹ For the strategic position of the aforementioned forts, as well as for the relationship between them and the fortified Dacian points, see Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, fig. 1.

⁴⁰ It seemed, until not so long ago, that this legion was stationed for a while at *Brigetio*, in Pannonia, but it is very possible for these traces to date from the period of the transfer to the Lower Danube limes, transfer carried out, according to Florian Matei-Popescu, as a consequence of the Dacian attack in the winter of 101–102 (B. Lőrincz, *Zur Erbauung des Legionslagers von Brigetio*, AArchHung 27, 1975, 3–4, p. 342–352; Matei-Popescu 2004a, p. 123–129). M. Zahariade considers that only a part of this legion

of Commagenians is likely to have been stationed here in full formation, between 102 and 117/8⁴¹.

The stamps from the fortress in Drajna de Sus were broken down in three types, the third one including two subvariants⁴²: the stamps "COH COM" represent the Drajna de Sus I type⁴³, the stamps "COH I COM" represent the Drajna de Sus II type⁴⁴, and "COH COMA" the Drajna de Sus III.a-b type⁴⁵. Although fragmentary, a stamped brick discovered in the fortress at Voinești can be included in type III.a⁴⁶. Type III.b has the same characteristics as type III.a, the text impression being deeper and doubled on the inside by a thin line. Archaeological research in Târgșor revealed tegular stamps belonging to this unit⁴⁷. Although fragmentary, a stamp from Voinești can be included in type Drajna III and probably in subvariant III.b, but in fact the two pieces from Târgșor belong to a different type.

According to the researchers who studied the tegular material in north-western Muntenia, the number of stamp types used by the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* at Drajna de Sus could suggest the fact that the unit was stationed in the mentioned fortress in full effective⁴⁸. The respective assertion, as well as the calculation of the military effectives in the area is determined only by the correspondence paradigm of a stamp type to a *centuria*. To what extent does the discovery of the two stamps from Târgșor and of the item from Voinești allow us to assert the presence of vexillations from the Commagenians' unit in these areas or just the fact that some transports of tegular material from the fortress in Drajna de Sus were reported? Light will probably be shed on this subject only when geological and mineralogical analyses will have been carried out and new elements will have been brought into discussion!

Stamps of Legion XI Claudia are mentioned in Drajna de Sus, Voinești and Târgșor, together with attested evidence of the Commagenians' cohort, which can mean,

was transferred to Oescus, where it was stationed together with the legion V Macedonica, this transfer occurring before the beginning of the first Dacian war, simultaneously with the vexillation from *Brigetio*, and that subsequently, another vexillation was sent directly to Durostorum in 105-106 (M. Zahariade, *How and when the Legio XI Claudia arrived in Lower Moesia*, Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (ed. N. Gudea), Zalău 1999, 599-607). Following the attack in the winter of 101-102, being under an extraordinary pressure on two quite broad fronts, Trajan decides to bring in the legion XI Claudia and also some detachments from the legion I Minervia (or maybe the entire legion), leaving at *Brigetio* the vexillation dealing with the erection of the forts in that particular place on the Pannonic limes, as he did not want to weaken this limes sector excessively. Fl. Matei-Popescu argued that it was only after the attack in the winter of 101-102 that the army of Moesia Inferior was reinforced with two legions and two cohorts millariae, and that it was in this context that the legion V Macedonica was transferred to *Troesmis* (Matei-Popescu 2004a, 123-129). It is possible for the army in Moesia Inferior to have been involved in the deployment of military operations only from the year 102, more specifically after the attack of Decebal and his allies to the south of the Danube (Matei-Popescu 2007, p. 290-300).

⁴¹ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, p. 64.

⁴² CIL III 12530a = IDR II, 603 a-c = Gh. Ștefan, *Le camp romain de Drajna de Sus, département de Prahova*, Dacia 9-10, 1941-1944, p. 124.

⁴³ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, p. 23, fig. 14 a-b; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, p. 127, fig. 5/I a.

⁴⁴ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, p. 23, fig. 15 a-c; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, p. 127, fig. 5/II b.

⁴⁵ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, p. 23; type III.a - fig. 16 a-b, type III.b - fig. 16 c-e; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, p. 127, fig. 5 / III c-d.

⁴⁶ M. I. Bădescu, *Ștampile tegulare de la Voinești, Muscel, com. Lerești (jud. Argeș)*, SCIVA 32, 1981, 2, p. 292, fig. 2; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, p. 127, fig. 5/g.

⁴⁷ Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, p. 127, fig. 5 / IV e-f. See also previous records, accomplished on the basis of verbal information from the author of the discovery: Petolescu 1995, p. 249 note 433; Petolescu 2002, p. 96 note 5.

⁴⁸ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, 64: the calculation is valid if we admit that a type of stamp corresponds to an individual workshop belonging to a *centuria*, so the garrison at Drajna de Sus should have been made of 1060 people. If we admit this hypothesis, the Commagenian cohort couldn't have been camped in the fort at Drajna de Sus in full effective, because two *centuriae* would be missing.

under the reserve of similar attestations in the future, that we are dealing with a mere attachment of the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* to this Legion's vexillations⁴⁹.

Following Hadrian's administrative reorganization, the unit is reported on the list of military effectives in Dacia Inferior attested in the diplomas in 130⁵⁰; 140⁵¹; 146⁵². Chronological references are lacking from the attestations of the other fortresses in Dacia Inferior. The fact that the unit was attested in *Romula*⁵³, *Slăveni*⁵⁴ and *Acidava*⁵⁵ is due to the de discovery of tegular stamps. This type of stamps, displaying a retrograde writing, seems to have appeared after 117/8, when the unit was transferred to the Alutan limes area⁵⁶, and differs from the types from *Drajna de Sus*. We believe that the stamps from *Romula* and *Slăveni* could belong to different subtypes. Cartridge dimensions are very similar, the writing is retrograde in both cases, but the letters' shape and thickness are different. Since only one item from each site is known up to the present moment, we must be cautious in approaching a possible interpretation.

The first reading of this unit's stamps from *Romula*, belonging to the Papazoglu collection was the correct one, and was performed by O. Hirschfeld: *Coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Com(magenorum)*⁵⁷. When he published it in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, A. von Domaszewski mistook the abbreviation of the imperial name "FL" for "II"⁵⁸, reading that was to be reiterated on other occasions, as well⁵⁹. V. Christescu reestablishes the correct reading of this type of stamps, after confronting them with the situation reported in two military diplomas from Dacia Superior, province where the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* had no reason to be present⁶⁰. D. Tudor considered that *Romula* was the most important place where the biggest number of stamps were discovered at that time, stating that the unit had been stationed here since 105. From here, some of the vexillations would have been temporarily transferred to *Slăveni* and *Acidava*, with a view to participating to an intensive campaign of building fortifications on the Olt valley and in the north-eastern part of Muntenia – at *Drajna de Sus*. Therefore, after the administrative reorganization in the times of Hadrian, the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* stayed in Dacia Inferior⁶¹. The transfer of the unit to the north of the Danube will follow a different course. Most probably, D. Tudor's assertions can be transposed to the period immediately after the Romans abandoned north-western Muntenia. Ioana Bogdan Cătănciu believes that there used to be a *castellum* at *Romula*⁶², and that the units whose stamps were discovered in the precinct wall and in other buildings having an official character did not have a garrison at *Romula*, but contributed to the construction and reconstruction of the Roman city⁶³. In *Slăveni*, the unit is attested by stamps belonging to the same type

⁴⁹ The *Cohors I Aelia sagittariorum* can be a very good analogy in this respect, because it acted as a unit auxiliary to the legion Vindobonense through a considerable chronological interval. The cohort was camped at Klosterneuburg, but strategically, it seems to have been subordinated to the legion stationed at *Vindobona*. Klosterneuburg (*Cannabianca*) was considered to be a "flank fortification" of *Vindobona*. Furthermore, the *Cohors I <∞> nova Severiana Surorum sagittariorum (Ulcisia Castra)* seems to have been included in the orbit of the legion at *Aquincum*.

⁵⁰ RMD V 376

⁵¹ IDR I 13 = RMD I 39

⁵² RMD IV 269.

⁵³ IDR II 382.

⁵⁴ Tudor 1933, fig. 3 c, d; IDR II 528 = CIL III 8074, 14d (wrong reading).

⁵⁵ IDR II 551 = CIL III 8074, 14d.

⁵⁶ Zahariade, Dvorsky 1997, p. 68 note 18.

⁵⁷ O. Hirschfeld, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, Berlin, II n° 40 (apud Tudor 1933, p. 229).

⁵⁸ CIL III 8074, 14c.

⁵⁹ Cichorius, RE IV, 274; Pârvan 1926, p. 277.

⁶⁰ Christescu 1937, p. 183 (= IDR II 382; Tudor 1933, p. 67-68, p. 229, n° 1; Tudor 1978, p. 334; Vlădescu 1983, p. 35).

⁶¹ Tudor 1933, p. 232.

⁶² Bogdan Cătănciu 1994, p. 350 note 32.

⁶³ Bogdan Cătănciu 1981, p. 25-26 note 226.

as the ones in *Romula*, but of smaller dimensions⁶⁴. Therefore, it is impossible to know precisely whether this cohort had its garrison at *Romula*⁶⁵ or Slăveni⁶⁶.

According to the opinion of Al. Barnea and I. Ciucă, the attestation of bricks bearing the stamp of the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* documents the presence of some vexillations of the respective unit in *Acidava* as builders, and this fortress was the unit's garrison later on. The moment in which the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* came back to the Olt river would have coincided with the replacement of the wooden fortress at *Acidava* with the brick one⁶⁷.

The only chronologically relevant attestation can be found in the fortress from Câmpulung-Jidava. A brick bearing the signature of a soldier (*miles*) from the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* was found in the *retentura dextra*, on the pavement of the *contubernium* of a barracks, and this is considered to be the first attestation of a unit on the *limes transalutanus*⁶⁸. The barracks has only one construction phase; the dating appears to be Severian (based on the coins), an item from *Philippus Caesar*, found in the burning level, would indicate the destruction of the fortress during the Carpians' attack under *Philippus Arabs*⁶⁹. On the basis of a comparison with the Commagenians' unit from *Micia*, C. C. Petolescu assumed that the unit was an *equitata*⁷⁰. In the basement of the *principia*, in "the same room and even disposed in compact groups" were identified over 400 arrowheads; some of them, namely trilobate arrows, are typically oriental⁷¹. This phase of the *principia* from Jidava, which also comprises the *armamentaria* under discussion, is very likely to correspond to the period in which the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* was stationed in this fortress. C. C. Petolescu considered that the fact that this unit was stationed in this fortress was certain, at least from the first half of the IIIrd century⁷².

The fact that in the *castellum* from Urluieni, arrowheads are predominant among all the weapons found in archaeological investigations led to the assumption that the unit stationed here was made of archers. This hypothesis also relies on the fact that these *castella* were situated along the fortress line in western Muntenia, where the Roman army was fighting against Dacian and Roxolan populations, which were made of good archers⁷³.

Information regarding the constituents of this unit is quite scarce. Two praefects are known, probably of Italic origin⁷⁴: *M. Antoninus Modianus* and *C. Betitius Pietatas*⁷⁵. Two of this unit's soldiers are attested in the inscription from *Tomis*: *M. Iulius Tertullus*

⁶⁴ See note 52. About the units stationed at Slăveni, see Vlădescu 1983, p. 32-57.

⁶⁵ Tudor 1978, p. 334.

⁶⁶ Beneš 1978, p. 27.

⁶⁷ IDR II 551 = CIL III 8074 14d; Barnea, Ciucă 1989, p. 148, p. 154. For a presentation of the fort, see Tudor 1978, p. 301-304 and Vlădescu 1983, p. 82-85.

⁶⁸ Avram, Petolescu 1999, p. 189; Petolescu 2002, p. 95-97, n° 30.

⁶⁹ Petolescu, Cioflan 1984, p. 15-17.

⁷⁰ Petolescu 1995, p. 250 note 443; the argumentation is based on the considerable dimensions of the *horreum*, which would indicate the fact that a *cohors equitata* was stationed in the respective fort, cf. Petculescu 1987, p. 70.

⁷¹ Popescu, Popescu 1970, p. 257, fig. 12/2. See Davies 1977, p. 257-265; Zanier 1988, p. 22-25.

⁷² Petolescu 1995, p. 250; Petolescu 2002, p. 96-97.

⁷³ See the argumentation of Mrs. Ioana Bogdan Cătănciu, who was underlying the fact that, when arrows are identified in a certain site, one cannot draw the absolute conclusion that *sagittarii* were stationed in that place, since bows were used by other soldiers for training purposes, as well (Bogdan Cătănciu 1994, p. 348).

⁷⁴ Wagner 1938, p. 124; Russu 1969, p. 172.

⁷⁵ CIL VI 3504 (*Roma*), PME 9 A 138; respectively CIL IX 1132 (*Aeclanum*, Regio II), PME B 22 – dating in the first part of the IInd century A.D.; ILD 106.

and Mitridates⁷⁶. The name of one soldier, [- - -]ITULCAI (?), is known from a graffito discovered in the fortress from Jidava⁷⁷.

Therefore, the unit's effectives correspond to a *cohors quingenaria*, but there is also the possibility for it to have been an *equitata*⁷⁸. Both by analogy with the aforementioned unit and on the grounds of the archaeological situation of the fortress in Jidava, we can assume that the unit's name was the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum equitata (?) sagittariorum*⁷⁹.

Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum⁸⁰

The unit is recorded in the diplomas from Moesia Superior from 96⁸¹, 100⁸² and 103/5⁸³. It took part in Trajan's Dacian expeditions⁸⁴, being subsequently attested among the units in the new province in 109⁸⁵ and 110⁸⁶.

Following the administrative reforms in 118/ 119, this cohort will be among the auxiliary units in Dacia Superior. The first attestation dates from April 14th 123: a military diploma copied from an imperial constitution granted to soldiers in this cohort, as well as to those from the *Pedites singulares Britannici* formation, from *ala I Brittonum c. R.* and the *cohors II Gallorum Macedonica*, who had already been transferred on the territory of the new province, Dacia Porolissensis. The diploma was granted to *Zacca, Pallaei f., Syrus*, under the command of *Ulpius Victor*⁸⁷. He had been recruited in the year 98 at the latest, his origin indicating the preoccupation of Roman authorities to round up the effectives of some archers' cohorts with recruits coming from the same area

⁷⁶ ISM II 176. The inscription from *Tomis* cannot be an argument for a possible stationing of the cohort in the town on the Black Sea shore, since the beneficiary of the funerary inscription was a veteran and was not active in the military force (Matei-Popescu 2004, n° 20).

⁷⁷ Reading ILD 164 (the discovery was also mentioned in Petolescu 1995, p. 250; Petolescu 2002, p. 96-97), Felix Marcu argues that a *graffito* mentioning the name of a soldier in the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* does not automatically indicate the unit's stationing at Jidava. To support his argument, he indicates a *graffito* on a brick bearing the stamp of the *legio XX* from Caernarvon, dated in the times of Septimius Severus, which indicates a soldier in an auxiliary unit (*coh. Sunicorum* or *Sunucorum*) who worked in the legion's *figlina* (F. Marcu, *Military Tile-stamps as a Guide for the Garrisons of several Forts in Dacia*, *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj-Napoca 2004, p. 577).

⁷⁸ See note 70.

⁷⁹ In a recent study, M. Zahariade and D. Lichiardopol suggest a method for the calculation of effectives stationed in northern Muntenia (Wallachia), on the basis of the ratio between the typology and distribution of stamped tegular material. This approach is based on the totality of tegular evidence in north-western Muntenia, the hypotheses regarding the effectives of the units stationed in every fort individually are limited by the precariousness of archaeological researches in the forts in the respective area - Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, p. 121-133.

⁸⁰ Cichorius, RE IV, 273-274; Christescu 1937, p. 183; Wagner 1938, p. 123-124; Kraft 1951, p. 60-61, p. 173, n° 1330-1331 a, b; Russu 1969, p. 167-186; C. C. Petolescu, *Cohors II Hispanorum la Micia*, Sargetia 9, 1972, p. 43-50; Beneš 1978, p. 26-27; Russu 1972, p. 70; Petolescu, Mărghitani 1974, p. 247-258; Petolescu 1976, p. 393-398; Gudea 1976, p. 517-521; Tudor 1978, p. 334; Petculescu 1982, p. 84-89; Strobel 1984, p. 128; Spaul 2000, p. 404-405; Petolescu 2002, p. 97-99 n° 31; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 280; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, p. 87-88.

⁸¹ AE 1977, 722 = RMD I 6.

⁸² CIL XVI 46.

⁸³ CIL XVI 54; Pferdehirt 2004, no 13. For possible datation of this constitution see Fl. Matei-Popescu, AJA 111, 4 Online Book Review - http://www.ajaonline.org/pdfs/book_reviews/111.4/16_Popescu.pdf, October 15, 2007.

⁸⁴ Strobel 1984, p. 128.

⁸⁵ AE 1990, 860 = RMD III 148. See also note 24.

⁸⁶ IDR I 3 = CIL XVI 163.

⁸⁷ Pferdehirt 2004, n° 22.

and probably having the same abilities. Four other diplomas attest it in Dacia Superior in 136/138⁸⁸, 144⁸⁹, 157⁹⁰ and 179⁹¹.

The unit was attested to have been stationed in the fortress from *Micia* for nearly the entire duration of the province's existence, except for the first two decades of the IInd century. The earliest attestation dates from the reign of Hadrian⁹². Other inscriptions were dedicated by the unit to the following emperors: Antoninus Pius⁹³, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus⁹⁴, in 164. The baths (*balneas coh(ortis) II Flaviae Commagenorum vetustate dilapsas restituit*)⁹⁵ were renovated in 193, under the supervision of praefect Sextus Boebius Scribonius Castus. The baths were repaired once more under Severus Alexander⁹⁶. During the common reign of Septimius Severus and of his sons, the cohort takes part, together with other units, in important military works, a [*praefect*]us being mentioned in the inscription⁹⁷.

However, this unit seems to have been stationed at *Micia* right from the times of Trajan, taking into consideration the fact that it is in this particular moment that could be dated more precisely the altar dedicated by praefect *M. Arruntius Agrippinus* to Jupiter Turmasgades⁹⁸. This person is very likely to have become in 118 the praefect of the oriental desert, in Egypt (*praefectus Montis Berenicidis*), according to the mention on an *ostrakon*, in Greek, discovered at *Krokodilo*⁹⁹. This position could have been attained after having held three posts the equestrian militias and consisted in controlling roads and stone quarries in this part of Egypt¹⁰⁰. Therefore, the command of a *quingenaria* cohort being the first of equestrian *militiae*, *Agrippinus'* mission at *Micia* could be dated in the first years of the province's existence¹⁰¹.

The *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* is attested in the fortress at *Micia* by four types of tegular stamps¹⁰². The reading of the first two types raised several problems, which led to rather consistent controversial debates in specialized literature.

Type 1: "COH II FL COMM" – the *cohors II Fl(avia) Comm(agenorum)*. The stamps belonging to this type have initially been read COH II HIS, being attributed to the *cohors II Hispanorum*¹⁰³. Since an important number of bricks bearing this type of stamps were discovered in *thermae*, Floca attributed the renovation and enlargement of the *thermae* to the *cohors II Hispanorum*, suggesting that in the incomplete part of the inscription, attesting the renovation of these *thermae* during the reign of Alexander

⁸⁸ RMD V 384

⁸⁹ IDR I, 14 = CIL XVI 90.

⁹⁰ IDR I, 15 = CIL XVI 107.

⁹¹ I. Piso, Doina Benea, *Das Militärdiplom von Drobeta*, ZPE 56, 1984, 263-295 = RMD II 123 = AE 1987, 843.

⁹² CIL III 1371 = IDR III 3, 51.

⁹³ Petculescu 1982, 84-85, n° 1, fig. 1; ILD 307 - dated: 10 December 139 – 9 December 140.

⁹⁴ CIL III 1372 = IDR III 3, 52; CIL III 1373 = IDR III 3, 53.

⁹⁵ CIL III 1374 = IDR III 3, 45.

⁹⁶ AE 1903, 66 = Daicoviciu 1930, 35, n° 1 = IDR III 3, 46.

⁹⁷ CIL III 1343 = AE 1978, 705, IDR III 3, 77.

⁹⁸ IDR III 3, 138.

⁹⁹ Cuvigny 2005, p. 135-154, n° 87, with a comment on the career of this person on page 138-139.

¹⁰⁰ See the career of *M. Artorius M. f. Pal. Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus* preserved in an inscription at *Puteoli* (CIL VI 32929 = ILS 2700) dated from the times of Trajan. After having held the position of *praefectus cohortis XV voluntariorum c. R.* (Germania Inferior), *tribunus legionis VII Claudia* p. f. (Moesia Superior), *praefectus alae I Pannoniorum* (Africa or Moesia Inferior), this person becomes *praefectus montis Berenicidis*; PME, A 168; Holder 1980, p. 157, E 139.

¹⁰¹ Matei-Popescu, Tentea 2006a, p. 88.

¹⁰² C. C. Petolescu, *Cronica epigrafică a României* (V, 1985), SCIVA 37, 1986, 4, p. 350, nr. 341, considers confuse and incomplete their publication in IDR III 3, 197– where three types are mentioned.

¹⁰³ Floca 1968, p. 113, n. 10.

Severus¹⁰⁴, the name of the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* must be replaced by that of the *cohors II Hispanorum*. The same reading of the respective stamps was reiterated on the occasion of the publication of a kiln group¹⁰⁵ or that of some stamped tiles and bricks¹⁰⁶. Rectifications of these readings were carried out only a few years later, as a consequence of the discovery of better impressed stamps, which were able to provide an accurate reading¹⁰⁷.

Type 2: "COH II FL COMC". The reading accepted nowadays was established by a study dedicated to epigraphic discoveries made by L. Petculescu at *Micia*¹⁰⁸; and goes as follows: *Coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(ma)g(enorum)* or *Coh(ors) II Fl(avia) Com(ma)genorum* *C(ommodiana)* or *G(ordiana)* or *G(alliana)*. C. C. Petolescu considers that the final letter G can be rounded up as *G(etica)*¹⁰⁹. It is worth mentioning that the items on which the three letters COH are of the same size belong, in fact, to the type under discussion¹¹⁰, and they are not variants of the type COH II FL COMM¹¹¹.

Types 3 and 4 raised no problems in their reading and interpretation. These stamps are: "CO SE FLA C", and the reading is *Co(hors) Se(cunda) Fla(via) C(ommagenorum)*¹¹², respectively "COH II COM" – *Coh(ors) II Com(magenorum)*¹¹³.

Stamps of the same unit have been identified more recently in Cladova, about 100 km ahead of the fortress in *Micia*¹¹⁴. No elements leading to the dating of these stamps could be identified. According to Eduard Nemeth, this does not exclude the transfer of several vexillations from this unit along the lower course of the Mureș river in the times of Trajan¹¹⁵.

We have some epigraphic records up to the present moment, therefore we can determine its full name. The unit's name is the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata sagittariorum*, to which the imperial surname is added, according to the situation. In the aforementioned diplomas from 109 and 110 it was recorded as *sagittaria*, respectively *sagittari(um)*. In an inscription from *Micia* it appears under the name *eq(uitata) s[ag(it-tariorum)]*¹¹⁶. L. Sossiu[s] is a *decurio*, which proves that the unit is a *cohors equitata*¹¹⁷, its effectives corresponding to a *cohors quingenaria equitata*¹¹⁸. Two other inscriptions

¹⁰⁴ See note 96.

¹⁰⁵ Oct. Floca, Șt. Ferenczi, L., Mărghitani, *Micia*. Grupul de cuptoare romane pentru ars ceramică, Deva 1970, p. 9-10.

¹⁰⁶ Petolescu 1972, p. 43-46, Petolescu, Mărghitani 1974, p. 254-256.

¹⁰⁷ Petolescu 1976, p. 395-397, n° 3; Gudea 1976, p. 519, n° 3.

¹⁰⁸ Petculescu 1982, p. 87-88, n° 3, fig. 3.

¹⁰⁹ AE 1983, 848 = C. C. Petolescu, *Cronica epigrafică a României (III, 1983)*, SCIVA 35, 1984, 4, p. 378 nr. 233. The fact that they were rounded up slightly differently is explained by the weak impression of the cartridge: Petolescu, Mărghitani 1974, p. 256 nr. 33 (Petolescu 1972, p. 47, note 25) – add to the end of the reading from CIL III 8074.14a - *S(agittariorum)*; Floca 1968, p. 112 suggests "COMAG".

¹¹⁰ Petolescu 1976, p. 397 note 17.

¹¹¹ Petolescu, Mărghitani 1974, p. 253, n° 35.

¹¹² Petolescu 1976, p. 397 nr. 4 (= IDR III 3, 197, type II – incomplete due to the fragmentary character of the item; Petolescu, Mărghitani 1974, p. 256, n° 34 – A is rendered incorrectly, respectively upside down. In fact, the letter is in its normal position).

¹¹³ Petolescu 1976, p. 397, nr. 5; Petolescu, Mărghitani 1974, p. 255-256, n° 32 note 45 quotes erroneously an analogy for this type in the item Szilágyi 1946, p. 55, pl. XVIII/253; (the cartridge quoted is in fact XVII/253 (!) and belongs to type "COH COM", being similar to the Draja de Sus I type (!). The discovery place of the item published by Szilágyi was not published at the time.

¹¹⁴ P. Hügel, *Cărmizi romane ștampilate descoperite la Cladova (jud. Arad)*, Ziridava 19-20, 1996, p. 74, II/1, a-c.

¹¹⁵ E. Nemeth, *Armata în sud-vestul Daciei Romane. Die Armee im Südwesten des Römischen Dakien*, Timișoara 2005, p. 43.

¹¹⁶ AE 1903, 65 = Daicoviciu 1930, 37, 6 = ILS 9273 = IDR III 3, 138.

¹¹⁷ CIL III 1355 = IDR III 3, 105.

¹¹⁸ Daicoviciu 1930, p. 24, p. 36-37; Christescu 1937, p. 185; Floca 1968, p. 113; Petolescu 1995, p. 251.

from *Micia* mention the unit's *nomina imperialia*: [Severi]ana [Alexandriana]¹¹⁹ and, later on, *Philippiana*¹²⁰.

The unit's prosopography includes the following persons among the *praefecti*: *M. Arruntius Agripinus*¹²¹, *Sex. Boebius Scribonius Castus*¹²² (193-212), *Iulius Arcanus*¹²³, *C. Pomponius Cassianus*¹²⁴, *Tampius Ruffinus*¹²⁵, *C. Vettius Sabinianus*¹²⁶, [...]*di-anus*¹²⁷ and two others whose name is still unknown¹²⁸. Among *centuriones*, the following are mentioned: *Crisp(us) Lucius*¹²⁹ and *C. Iulius [Martijalis]*¹³⁰. Furthermore, the existence of decurion *L. Sossiu[s]*¹³¹, of an *actarius*, *Ianuarius*¹³² and of two veterans, *Dion[ysius]*¹³³ and *Aur(elius) Maurus*¹³⁴ is recorded.

The religion of the Commagenians' units in Dacia

It has been generally assumed that these units, like the ones recruited from the Orient in general, were the bearers of the religions in the areas they were recruited from, but depending on several factors (the time elapsed since the formation of the units, the province they were transferred in etc.), other significant variables got in the way. It is worth mentioning that the different knowledge degree of the history of the units under discussion and, obviously, the documentation – uneven from a quantitative viewpoint – that we have at our disposal hinders the formulation of generally valid conclusions.

Jupiter Dolichenus was an extremely popular divinity in the military environment. Traces of the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Empire have been found especially in Oriental provinces and in those at the frontier. Some of the attestations of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Danubian provinces can be put down to the civil element (in major economic centers) or the Syrian military element¹³⁵. It is considered that the penetration of Jupiter Dolichenus in this area is due exclusively to the Commagenians' units¹³⁶.

¹¹⁹ AE 1903, 66 = IDR III 3, 46 (n. 99).

¹²⁰ CIL III 1379 = IDR III 3, 58.

¹²¹ See note 128 – Turmazgades, and he probably also appeared in the dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus (AE 1911, 35 = IDR III 3, 67). Cf. PME, A 165.

¹²² CIL III 1374 = IDR III 3, 45; AE 1903, 67 = IDR III 3, 68.

¹²³ CIL III 7855 = IDR III 3, 109; PME, I 24.

¹²⁴ CIL III 7848 = IDR III 3, 78; CIL III 7849 = IDR III 3, 79. Cf. PME, P 24. See also IDR III 3, 151.

¹²⁵ Family name established by I. I. Russu - IDR III 3, 63. Erroneous in AE 1977, 706 and PME A 113: *P. Ampiu[s] Ruffinus*.

¹²⁶ CIL III 1619 = 7854 = IDR III 3, 108. He must have been a *praefectus* in 160-170, because in 180 the same person was attested as governor of the three Daciae (AE 1920, 45; Piso 1993, p. 131-137, n° 26; IDRE II 427; Petolescu 2002, p. 98 note 14 – *Thurburbo Maius*).

¹²⁷ See note 96.

¹²⁸ *M. [...]* – AE 1911, 35 = IDR III 3, 67; *ignotus* - CIL III 1343 = AE 1978, 705 = IDR III 3, 77.

¹²⁹ CIL III 1347 = 7850 = IDR III 3, 88.

¹³⁰ CIL III 7873 + 13773 = IDR III 3, 177. According to some authors, a former centurion of this unit was mentioned in a funerary inscription from *Sucidava*, the respective unit is still unknown (D. Tudor, *Câteva descoperiri din Dacia Inferioară*, AISC 2, 1933-1935, p. 190-191, n° 14. For other opinion see I. I. Russu, *Despre inscripțiile antice ale Olteniei și Munteniei (În legătură cu Inscriptiile Daciei Romane II)*, Drobeta 3, 1978, p. 192 and C. C. Petolescu, ILD 113 = IDR II 205.

¹³¹ See note 117.

¹³² AE 1971, 399 = IDR III 3, 111.

¹³³ CIL III 12569 = IDR III 3, 175. According to I. I. Russu (*Note epigrafice*, SCIV 18, 1967, 1, p. 170-171, n° 4), this person can be identical with *Aur(elius) Dionisius cur(ator)*, who dedicated an inscription to *Genius Turmazgada*.

¹³⁴ CIL III 6267 = IDR III 3, 166. C. C. Petolescu (Petolescu 1995, p. 251 note 477) argues that this cognomen was rectified unjustifiedly *Ma(t?)urus* (IDR III 3, 166).

¹³⁵ Nemeti 2005, p. 232.

¹³⁶ C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia și fenomenul oriental. Studiu introductiv*, in R. Turcan, *Culte orientale în lumea romană*, București 1998, p. 8.

Four inscriptions were found for Jupiter¹³⁷, and two for Dolichenus¹³⁸ in *interpretatio Romana*, from which in one case he has the surname Commagenus. Two inscriptions of this unit record Turmazgades as Jupiter Turmazgades, respectively Genius Turmazgades¹³⁹. The following are mentioned in one inscription each: Mercury¹⁴⁰, Hercules¹⁴¹, Liber Pater¹⁴², Mars Gradivus¹⁴³, Fortuna¹⁴⁴, Minerva¹⁴⁵ and Diana¹⁴⁶.

Only two inscriptions of the 14 votive inscriptions belonging to the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* from *Micia* are dedicated to him. We would have certainly expected for the attestations of Dolichenus to be more numerous at *Micia*, considering that this fortification had been the Commagenian unit's garrison for a remarkable chronological interval. Several divinities originating from Syria have been attested at *Micia*, namely Jupiter Dolichenus and Jupiter Turmazgades, Jupiter Hierapolitanus¹⁴⁷, Jupiter Heliopolitanus. To what extent can we put this down exclusively to the Commagenians unit? The only thing we know for sure is that they brought Turmazgades to light¹⁴⁸.

A group of inscriptions from *Ampelum* was connected to a *vexillatio* from the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* transferred for the protection of auriferous areas¹⁴⁹. Out of a group of six, three dedications were for: *Deus Aeternus Commag(enorum) Dulc(enus)*¹⁵⁰, *I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximo) Commagenorum [A]eternus*¹⁵¹ and *I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) D(olichenus) et Deus Commacenus*¹⁵². Katalin B. Angyal and Lajos Balla consider *Deus Commagenus* a divinity different from Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus and from Aeternus, namely a „reissue” of Baal from Doliche¹⁵³. Some authors considered that these dedications should be connected to civil elements, related to cultural, eventually commercial activities, taking into account the fact that the three persons mentioned are *sacerdotes*¹⁵⁴. There used to be a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in *Ampelum*¹⁵⁵, where,

¹³⁷ CIL III 1343 = AE 1978, 705 = IDR III 3, 77; CIL III 7848 = IDR III 3, 78; CIL III 7849 = IDR III 3, 79; CIL III 1347 = 7850; IDR III 388.

¹³⁸ AE 1911, 35 = IDR III 3, 67; Floca 1953, p. 762-763, n° 6, fig. 7 = IDR III 3, 66.

¹³⁹ AE 1903, 65; ILS 9273 = IDR III 3, 138; CIL III 1338 = ILS 4047a = IDR III 3, 139.

¹⁴⁰ CIL III 7855 = IDR III 3, 109.

¹⁴¹ ILD 306: the most recent discussion; IDR III 3, 130 (Silvanus Domesticus).

¹⁴² CIL III 1355 = IDR III 3, 105.

¹⁴³ CIL III 1619 = 7854 = IDR III 3, 108.

¹⁴⁴ CIL III 1374 = IDR III 3, 68.

¹⁴⁵ AE 1971, 399 = IDR III 3, 111.

¹⁴⁶ AE 1975, 706 = IDR III 3, 63.

¹⁴⁷ IDR III 3, 97; for the description of the discovery and interpretation conditions, see Adriana Rusu – Pescaru – Alicu, Deva 2000, p. 77. Sorin Nemeti (Nemeti 2005, p. 242-243) argues that a temple of Dolichenus must have existed here, a temple belonging to Commagenian soldiers in which Turmazgades and Heliopolitanus would have been hosted, as well as a temple of the goddess Dea Syria and of Turmazgades.

¹⁴⁸ Țentea 2007, p. 213. See also the inscription from *Romula* dedicated to *Turmazgada* by Maximus Maximinus and Iulianus Maximinus (CIL III 8027 = IDR II 340).

¹⁴⁹ Popa, Berciu 1978, p. 11-15, n° 9-11; Petolescu 1995, p. 252 note 489.

¹⁵⁰ CIL III 7832 = IDR III 3, 296 = Balla 2000, p. 69, n° 3.

¹⁵¹ CIL III 1301a = 7834 = ILS 4298 = IDR III 3, 298 = Balla 2000, p. 70, n° 4.

¹⁵² CIL III 1301b = 7835 = ILS 4299 = IDR III 3, 299 = Balla 2000, p. 70, n° 5.

¹⁵³ Balla 2000, p. 63-72, and the entire demonstration. For a brief review of other opinions, see Nemeti 2005, p. 287 note 306.

¹⁵⁴ M. Popescu, *La religion dans l'armée romaine de la Dacie*, Bucharest 2004, p. 138; Atalia Ștefănescu, *Deus Commagenus, a new deity in the pantheon of Roman Dacia*, *Studia historica et archaeologica in honorem magistrae Doina Benea* (eds. Mariana Crînguș, Simona Regep-Vlasici, Atalia Ștefănescu), Timișoara 2004, p. 373-378; Nemeti 2005, p. 288. A fragment of a tegular stamp from *Ampelum* can reopen the discussion on the presence of this unit in this locality or the transportation of tegular material bearing the unit's stamp. Its reading was restituted by the author of the discovery as follows: *IIII FL* (I. T. Lipovan, *Monumente epigrafice din Ampelum (I)*, SCIVA 39, 1988, 1, p. 68-69, fig. 6/2 a-b. See also C. C. Petolescu, *Cronica epigrafică a României, VIII (1988)*, SCIVA 40, 1989, 4, p. 490; AE 1988, 961 b). C. C. Petolescu considers as probable the reading: *[Leg.] IIII FF* (ILD 349); under

according to Sorin Nemeti, oriental priests elaborated by adjunction to Deus Aeternus, a new conception of the Commagenian divinity considered to be eternal¹⁵⁶.

A similar problem is raised by the dedication to Jupiter Commagenus on the altar discovered at Săcădate (Sibiu)¹⁵⁷. Just like in the case of the attestations at *Ampelum*, the dedication does not represent the proof for the existence of any Commagenian vexillation or of any members of one in the settlement.

The answer to the question whether these cohorts were promoters par excellence of the cults originating from the kingdom of *Commagene* into the province of Dacia would be an appeal for prudence in formulating general conclusions, in, for instance, discussions on the penetration of oriental cults into the western part of the Empire¹⁵⁸. On the basis of the brief presentation above, we can argue that these units' soldiers made a clear contribution to the spreading of these cults, but they were not their only promoters¹⁵⁹.

The weapons of Commagenian cohorts in Dacia

Sagittarii units were introduced in the Roman army under the pressure of enemies requiring a different tactical approach. The *sagittarii* are mentioned for the first time in the army of Scipio the African. In spite of their early entry in the Roman army, their integration and constitution into regular units was completed in the times of the Principate, therefore the presence of words like *sagittaria*, *sagittariorum* in the entitling of a unit indicated the weapon that was specific to that respective unit¹⁶⁰.

The looks and equipment of oriental archers are represented by "levantine" clothing, as depicted on Trajan's column: an ankle-long tunic, worn underneath a shirt with short sleeves and a *lorica squamata* on top, and a conical helmet on the head, which was atypical for the Roman army. The arrow quiver was worn on the back in the case of pedestrian archers, and around the waist, in the case of those on horseback¹⁶¹.

Naturally, once they entered the Roman army, these auxiliaries underwent strong "Romanising" influences in all aspects of spiritual or material life, and implicitly in what

these circumstances, this would be the northernmost attestation of tegular material of the legion in Dacia (C. H. Opreanu, *Activitatea constructivă a legiunii IIII Flavia Felix la nordul Dunării, în anii 101-117 d. Chr.*, Dacia Augusti Provincia, p. 52, fig. 1). If the reading of the respective stamp were restituted as *[Co]H II FL*, the aforementioned inscriptions could be seen in a new light. Until recently, the tegular attestations of the cohors II Flavia Commagenorum were recorded only at *Micia*. The discovery of this unit's stamps at Cladova (see note 114), places in a totally new context the discussions regarding the diffusion of the tegular material bearing this unit's stamp. Therefore, in *Ampelum*, just like in Cladova, we could be dealing with the attestation of the cohors II Flavia Commagenorum!

¹⁵⁵ Adriana Rusu-Pescaru, D. Alicu, p. 154.

¹⁵⁶ Nemeti 2005, p. 288.

¹⁵⁷ IDR III 4, 86.

¹⁵⁸ Tentea 2007, p. 215-216.

¹⁵⁹ The names *Surus* and *Sura* attested at *Micia* in two inscriptions can have an ethnic meaning, but no connection can be established between these persons and the Commagenian unit stationed here (Russu 1969, p. 179; Sanie 1981, p. 220 sqq.). Two dedications to *Dea Syria* (CIL III 7864 = IDR III 3, 136) and Jupiter (CIL III 1348 = 7851 = IDR III 3, 91) from the same M. Ulpius Phoebus indicate the presence here at *Micia* of a person probably originating from the Orient, whose past might have been connected to the Commagenian cohort's activity. The following dedications are in the same situation: that of Iulius Trophimus to Jupiter Dolichenus Commagenus (IDR III 3, 66) and that of Casius Rufus to Jupiter Erapolitanus (Hierapolitanus), discovered in the ruins of a temple attributed to this divinity (Floca 1953, p. 773-784; AE 1952, 196 = IDR III 3, 97).

¹⁶⁰ See the weaponry from *Numantia* published by Groller 1901, p. 85-132; Iulius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* VII 31. For synthetic presentations of the archers' units' evolution from the Republican times up to the Principate, see: Feugère 1993, p. 211; M. C. Bishop, J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from The Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, London 1993, p. 55, fig. 25 (second edition, 2006, p. 58, fig. 27).

¹⁶¹ Zanier 1988, p. 7; Coulston 1985, fig. 29, 30, 33; Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 57, fig. 23.

the military equipment was concerned. They gradually gave up their traditional conical helmets, for the simple reason that these helmets were not produced anymore by Roman workshops in the second half of the IInd century A.D., when they disappeared completely. As for offensive weaponry, these auxiliaries had to adopt some weapons atypical for their specialization as well, firstly for tactical reasons, related to their adapting to the Roman army standards. Therefore, they gave up their traditional *bipennis* in favor of the Roman sword, sometimes receiving also light spears to defend themselves in case the enemy took them by surprise¹⁶². An armor was imposed to those to whom the armor was not specific, due to the fact that they could not wear shields¹⁶³.

It seems that the stationing of a unit of Syrian archers can be attested archaeologically, especially when offensive weaponry is analyzed, and only within a chronological interval. In what the military equipment is concerned, particularities specific to its provenience area can be noted quite sporadically. An extremely relevant example in this respect is represented by the fortress in Straubing, where the *cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria equitata sagittaria* was stationed after 125 A.D.¹⁶⁴. The equipment items belonging to the soldiers of this unit preserve the aforementioned particularities only in a few cases; they are otherwise extremely standardized¹⁶⁵. It is under these circumstances that the situation of the units of Syrian archers in the army in Dacia must be analyzed.

Trilobate arrows have been spread in the entire Empire, just like the composite bow, by oriental archers, at least in the early imperial age – although they are pretty different in shape, dimensions and processing standard¹⁶⁶. Like most launching weapons, arrowheads are not highly datable artifacts, typological information being significant only if the context in which the discovery was made and implicitly the dating elements are known.

Discoveries in Dacia provide the following broad picture:

Trilobate arrowheads have been discovered especially in the fortresses in which units of Syrian archers were stationed: *Porolissum*¹⁶⁷, *Tibiscum*¹⁶⁸, *Micia*¹⁶⁹, Jidava, *Aru-tela*¹⁷⁰, Urluieni (unidentified unit)¹⁷¹.

Ear laths have been discovered in auxiliary fortresses at *Micia*¹⁷², *Tibiscum*¹⁷³, *Romita*¹⁷⁴, Cristești¹⁷⁵, Urluieni¹⁷⁶, three such pieces have been recorded at *Apulum*¹⁷⁷.

¹⁶² Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 77.

¹⁶³ Vegetius 1.20; 2.15.

¹⁶⁴ Spaul 2000, p. 433 for a brief history of the unit.

¹⁶⁵ Walke 1965; Keim, Klumbach 1976; Prammer 1989.

¹⁶⁶ Coulston 1985, p. 264; Zanier 1988, p. 5-27.

¹⁶⁷ Gudea 1989, p. 990 pl. CXXXI/9-11; Gudea 1996, p. 235-239, pl. LVI, LVII; N. Gudea, *Sagittarii Porolissenses și armele lor. 1*, Fontes Historiae. Studia in honorem Demetrii Protase (ed. C. Gaiu, C. Găzdac), Cluj-Napoca 2006, p. 409-411, fig. 9-11.

¹⁶⁸ Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1983, p. 412; M. S. Petrescu, *Piese de armament descoperite în castrul de la Tibiscum I*, AMN 22-23, 1985-1986, p. 522, pl. III/1-7.

¹⁶⁹ Petculescu 2002, p. 770, fig. 6/102-105.

¹⁷⁰ Vlădescu 1983, p. 177, fig. 113 = Vlădescu 1974-1975, p. 42, fig. 16.

¹⁷¹ Bogdan Cătănciu 1994, p. 321, 347, fig. 4/2, 13.

¹⁷² Petculescu 2002, p. 768-769, fig. 1-4.

¹⁷³ Bona, Petrovsky, Petrovsky 1983, p. 417, pl. XI/1, 2, 11; Petrescu, Rogozea 1990, p. 117, pl. XI/5; Benea 1983, fig. II/2.

¹⁷⁴ Al. V. Matei, I. Bajusz, *Castrul roman de la Romita-Certiae. Das Römergrenzkastell von Romita-Certiae*, Zalău 1997, p. 129, pl. 82/1.

¹⁷⁵ Petică, Zrinyi 2000, p. 127, nr. 41.

¹⁷⁶ Bogdan Cătănciu, 1994, fig. 14 a.

¹⁷⁷ Daniela Ciugudean, *Obiecte din os, corn și fildeș de la Apulum, Alba Iulia*, 1997, pl. XXX/2-4. Analogies for legionary fortresses: *Carnuntum* (Groller 1901, p. 131 pl. 24; Mathilde Grünewald,

Thirteen trilobate arrowheads have been found in the fortress at *Micia*, but there is no dating element¹⁷⁸. In the center of the fort was excavated a store dated around 106-170 containing a significant number of bow laths, bone arrow nocks and antler debris or waster. Two pieces are of bone and the rest of antler. None of the finished ear laths is entirely preserved. All are broken, many of them were burnt together with the building¹⁷⁹. The first mention that must be made is the fact that we are definitely in the presence of a workshop that was producing composite bows, which stands for a unique case in the entire Empire. The mention refers to the shape and dimensions of ear laths. Most of them have a rounded head (some have an angular head), some of them are shorter and more strongly arched, and others are straighter and wider. The latter were undoubtedly much longer. The storage place from *Intercisa*¹⁸⁰ provides better analogies, as the only undamaged pieces found in the entire Empire were preserved there. The ear laths that were longer, wider, with less curved braces connected to bows having a wide span between the two ends are described as belonging to pedestrian archers¹⁸¹, whereas smaller and less curved braces belonged to much smaller bows, like in the descriptions of bows belonging to archers on horseback and as per the sculptural representations or the mosaics from Apamea Syriae¹⁸². It is very likely for the arrowheads and the bow pieces discovered in the fort at *Micia* to have belonged to the *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittariorum equitata*.

Four hundred arrowheads were discovered in the *armamentarium* of the fort at Jidava¹⁸³, this being the biggest weapon storage room discovered in Roman Dacia so far. The constructive phase of the principia in Jidava, to which the *armamentarium* under discussion was attached, can be correlated to the level of the barracks researched in the '80s, in the pavement of which was identified the brick bearing the signature of a soldier in the Commagenians' cohort¹⁸⁴. Therefore, it is quite probable for the arrows deposit to correspond to the period in which the *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* was stationed in this fort, as this unit was stationed at Jidava at least until the first half of the IIIrd century¹⁸⁵.

The constitution of these units cannot be connected *stricto sensu* to the year in which the *Commagene* kingdom was conquered. The two cohorts were dislocated in the proximity of Dacia, probably during the reign of Domitian, perhaps taking part in Trajan's Dacian campaigns on two different fronts, their history being also determined by two different spaces in the province of Dacia.

From what we can understand on the basis of epigraphic sources, especially those in *Micia*, the religion of the soldiers that made up these units does not differ sensibly from the more well-known cases of other auxiliary units in the Empire. Obviously, it cannot be argued that these units promoted Dolichenus in any special way, but it is certain that Commagenians soldiers made Turmazgades well-known.

Keramik und Kleinfunde des Legionarslagers von Carnuntum (Grabungen 1976-1977) RLÖ 34, Wien, 1986, Taf. 13/6-8). The discovery of these pieces in legionary fortresses must be connected to the Vegetian precepts, according to which one third of the legionaries had to know how to string an arrow (Davies 1977, p. 265-286). In some cases, much scarcer, some *sagittarii* vexillations could have been attached to legionary bodies.

¹⁷⁸ Petculescu 2002, p. 770, fig. 6/102-105.

¹⁷⁹ Petculescu 2002, p. 765, 768-769, fig. 2-4, 5/53, 64, 65.

¹⁸⁰ Agnes Salamon, *Csontmühely Intercisában*, AÉrt 103.2, 1976, p. 209, fig. 1.

¹⁸¹ Coulston 1985, p. 245-246

¹⁸² Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 53.

¹⁸³ Popescu, Popescu 1970, p. 257, fig. 12/2 – only three arrowheads were published in the preliminary excavation report, the others are unpublished.

¹⁸⁴ See note 69.

¹⁸⁵ See note 77.

Numerous arrowheads and bow pieces specific to *sagittarii* units were identified archaeologically both in Micia and in Jidava.

The stationing of these units in Dacia is documented both epigraphically and archaeologically for an extremely broad chronological interval beginning with conquest campaigns till the last moments of the province's existence.

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THE ROMAN FORT AT ROMITA (DACIA). RESULTS OF THE GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY¹

In the north-western part of the Porolissum *limes* several forts are placed at short distances from each other around the most important point in the area: the fort at Porolissum (Fig. 1). One of these forts, near Romita-Certiae (Românași village, Sălaj County, România) is sited on the right bank of the Agrijului valley², close to the (modern) river, at the position where the valley is at its narrowest. The Agrij River runs parallel with the Meseș Mountains to the north and flows into the Someșul Mare River at Jibou. The corridor formed by this valley is one of the easiest to pass through, as is the parallel corridor to the east (Almașului valley), who both form an easy point of entry into the Roman "Hinterland".

The first accounts regarding the Roman ruins at Romita were provided early in the 19th C³, however a report concerning the exact place and dimensions of the fort was provided by C. Torma in 1864⁴. He gives more precise informations in 1880 when he identified also the garrison of the fort as *coh. I Batavorum* and *coh. II Britannica*⁵. Different dimensions of 210 × 150 m were given by P. Király late in 19th C⁶. After mid 20th C V. Lucăcel will report an area of 230 × 185 m and the location of the four gates on the enclosure wall without any archaeological research⁷. Some archaeological prospections were made in the seventies in the vicinity of the fort, inside the Roman baths. Afterwards, a proper archaeological excavation was made in 1996 and 1997 concentrated on the defensive system and *portae praetoria* and *principalis sinistra*, to establish finally the precise dimension of the fort of 187 × 225 m⁸.

During the spring of 2000 a combined team of archaeologists and geophysicists carried out a survey of the Romita site⁹. Several different methods were used, amongst them the normal magnetic measurement, resistivity – and electromagnetic measuring.

¹ The material presented here is an homage paid to J. K. Haalebos, a much regretted scholar, the one who initiated the use of magnetic prospections in specialty studies in Romania, as well. The first results obtained as an outcome of magnetic prospections are those from the fort at Tihău, see J. K. Haalebos, *Nederlanders in Roemenië*, Nijmegen 1999. The following abbreviations have been used more frequently: Bărbulescu 1987 = M. Bărbulescu, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea V Macedonica și castrul de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 1987; Hodgson 1996 = N. Hodgson, *A late Roman courtyard house at South Shields and its parallels*, in *Architecture in Roman Britain* (ed. by P. Johnson, I. Haynes), London 1996, p. 135-151; Johnson 1987 = A. Johnson, *Römische Kastelle des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Britannien und in den germanischen Provinzen des Römerreiches*, Mainz a. Rhein 1987; Matei, Bajusz 1997 = Al. V. Matei, I. Bajusz, *Castrul roman de la Romita – Certiae. Das Römergrenzkastell von Romita – Certiae*, Zalău (Ghid al monumentelor arheologice 4) 1997; Petrikovits 1975 = H. von Petrikovits, *Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit*, Düsseldorf – Opladen 1975.

² For the ancient name of this settlement, see briefly Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 12-13.

³ C. Hodor, *Doboka vármegye természeti és polgári esmértetése*, Kolozsvár 1837, p. 532-535.

⁴ The author records an area surrounded by walls of 280 × 200 feet, cf. C. Torma, *Adalék észak-nyugati Dácia fölke és feliratához*, Budapest 1864, p. 14.

⁵ C. Torma, *A limes dacicus felső része*, Budapest 1880, p. 101.

⁶ P. Király, *Dacia Provincia Augusti I*, Nagybecskerek 1893, p. 414-415.

⁷ See in detail Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 15-16.

⁸ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 18 ff.

⁹ The team comprised of archaeologists from the Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen and geophysicists from Utrecht University, both in the Netherlands.

These methods will be explained, as to provide the reader with some insight in what was measured and what not.

The earth can be considered a large magnet, but the magnetic fields differ in time and in frequency. Objects who are magnetic by nature show a marked difference with the natural magnetic fields, and thus with their surroundings. Also, and this is interesting for archaeologists, ceramic products, if baked in an oven at a high temperature, and from a clay which contains particles of iron, take on the magnetic field of the moment and place where they were manufactured. This field then becomes 'trapped' in the finished product. As most often these ceramic products are then transported elsewhere, where they give a marked and different reading when measured compared to their 'new' surroundings. Even after 2000 years. The effect is that in a Roman context especially tiles and bricks, from roofs, floors or heating systems, give very clear readings. When they are used or re-used in the foundations of buildings, these show clearly in the measurements. Thus only magnetic objects or those with a different magnetic field from the surrounding soil will show. Blocks from quarries in a volcanic rock will show when used elsewhere, as will tiles or bricks. Ovens also will show very well, but decayed wood will usually not, nor sun dried clay bricks. The measurements were conducted with a proton based magnetometer, which is very sensitive. These measurements form the basis of most of our results.

A different method is where one introduces a new magnetic field, based on an electric field. This method can produce different results, but in practise it was very much slower than the previous method. Also it is more sensitive to local conditions, which in the case of Romita proved to be unfavourable. Therefore it was used mainly on the *porta principalis sinistra* and parts of the *principia*. In the end hardly any new insights were gathered using this apparatus.

The third method used was by measuring the resistivity. An electric current is sent through the surface, and is then measured at certain intervals. As the current and the intervals can be varied, it is possible to vary the depth accordingly to the estimates of the archaeologists. Unfortunately, the assessment of the depth of the Roman remains previous to the campaign was inaccurate. Therefore a specific appliance was brought to Romita which was more slow and precise then needed. It turned out the Roman remains were much nearer to the modern surface than thought. But what does one measure? The answer is: differences in the capacity to let an electric current pass through. We will give two examples to illustrate this. A stone foundation, set in a sandy soil, will block a current much more than the natural soil. A former ditch, with a different filling than the surrounding soil, can act as a drain, and could therefore be moist, which will show in the measurements as the electric current will pass differently. Based on the interval between the point of entry and the point where the current is measured, a certain time will elapse. The differences in the measured elapsed times will indicate a difference in subsoil structures. It cannot tell what is there, but it can tell something is there.

All methods have several things in common: they should be used on large areas, as they measure differences. Secondly, they cannot be used to pinpoint exactly where certain irregularities occur. They are indicative, but given that they are used over larger tracts, they can be fairly precise. Also they are not able to discern layers, i.e. they can't show the chronology. Ideally these methods should be accompanied with 'real' archaeology. These profiles can also be used as a confirmation of the geophysical work.

All data presented here are indicative, and the measurements could not discern the different phases of the shown structures. A short profile through the canalized Cioroi showed that in the latest phase blocks from the nearby Măgura-hill were used. This hill is

of a volcanic origin which shows very well in the measurements. All very clear, strikingly present remains can possibly be attributed to this latest phase¹⁰.

The dimensions of the fortification of Romita were measured on site, being approximately 225 × 187 m (see *supra*). According to magnetic measurements, measuring from the centre of the precinct wall, the fort's dimensions are approximately the same as those measured on site: about 230 (north/south) × 192 (east/west) m. Most certainly, the remains that can be seen as an unevenness of the ground represent the dimension of the last phase of the fort. During the previous archaeological research a first timber phase was found, especially on the north, west and east side of the fort's defences. Remnants of this phase were also seen in the profile along the canalized Cioroi (see *supra*). It seems therefore that this earlier phase covered the same area as the latest phase. Chronologically, this earth and timber fort was dated from the very beginning of the province¹¹. However, it is possible that the original fort was smaller, which could imply that there were less soldiers garrisoned in the fort than in the previous phase. An indication for this can be found in the way in which the buildings in the *latera praetorii* were organized (see *infra*).

The traces of defensive ditches were identified during archeological excavations, but at ground level we can only notice a reddish impression going along the precinct wall, reflecting a different consistency of the ground¹². Archeological excavations identified the middle of the first ditch at about 9.00 m from the exterior side of the precinct wall¹³. However, the ditch that we can see in our plan as a shade of color is a different one, 1.00-1.15 m more to the exterior, representing the last phase of the defensive system in Romita.

The fort's stone wall is visible even in the plan obtained as a result of magnetic prospections. A few of the sandy grit stone shaped blocks that used to face the fort wall were discovered in the excavation¹⁴. The preserved thickness of the precinct wall is 1.40-1.45 m. We can easily notice several interval towers along this wall, one between the north-east corner and the *porta principalis sinistra*, two between this gate and the south-east corner, and once again one between *porta decumana* and the south corners of the fortification and finally several others, probably symmetric but less visible, on the west side of the fortification. They have a usual shape, rectangular and attached to the precinct wall, without being projected towards the exterior. In exchange, the gate towers have a different plan, as they are also rectangular but only a little bit projected outside, which proves they had a different functionality¹⁵. Three of the fort's gates: *porta praetoria*, *portae principales sinistra* and *dextra* are double, each having two corridors, whereas the *porta decumana* has just a simple opening. The corner towers also have a normal trapezoidal plan, their exterior wall being at the same time the fort's precinct wall. During

¹⁰ Some data regarding the early stages of inhabitation in Romita are to be found in Matei, Bajusz 1997, *passim*.

¹¹ Cf. Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 26, 30.

¹² For details on the defense system of the fort at Romita, see Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 20-38.

¹³ Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 32.

¹⁴ Sometimes, such blocks were discovered on both sides of the wall; therefore, it could have been covered with stone blocks on both sides (cf. Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 31); but in this case, the existence of an *agger*, noticed in the excavation (Matei, Bajusz 1997, 35), was useless. Therefore, it is most likely for the space, or at least the supra-structure between the *via sagularis* and the precinct wall to have been open, this being supported by a wooden structure, whose traces were in fact discovered in the excavation, as well. This is probably what this is all about when the authors of the excavations state that they noticed „...the trace of transversal beams that held the palisade pillars...” Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 36.

¹⁵ The archeological excavations at the *porta principalis sinistra* and *porta praetoria* confirm the planimetry of the gate bastions and at the same time provide extremely interesting new information on the inhabitation inside the towers, on the materials discovered here, on the temporary blocking of the gates and on their construction system, see Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 38-57.

the excavations, the existence of an initial earth and wood phase was pointed out to the north, west and east sides and the traces of wooden pests at the gates were identified.

The fortification at Romita is 160 m wide, measured from the interior extremity of the *via sagularis*, having a tripartite internal organization, just like most of the forts in the western provinces of the Empire, with a 60.00 m deep *praetentura*, the *latera praetorii* of about 55.00-60.00 m and a 70.00 m *retentura*. The fact that the fortification in Romita had initially been shorter is also suggested by the dimensions of the buildings in the *latera praetorii*. Thus, the headquarter building appears to be longer than the other stone construction with a visible, clear plan in the *latus praetorii dextrum*. The unusually long headquarter building can be explained by a subsequent necessity of re-dimensioning the structure¹⁶, its exterior extremity being on the back line of the building that seems to be a *praetorium*, just like it should have, right where the *via quintana* should have been placed initially. The interval towers existed and continued to function to its extremity. They are easily visible in the last phase of the precinct. It is normal for the distance between the *via principalis* and *via quintana* in a fort to reflect the dimensions or the length of the buildings in the *latera praetorii* that should theoretically take up its entire depth. There are a few cases in which the *via quintana* is not located in the back of all the buildings in the *latera praetorii*; in such cases, there are open spaces in the places that were not yet built on. The cases in which the buildings in this part of the fort do not have equal depths are more similar to the different situations encountered in legionary fort, where there are other types of buildings with an official resses role in the area behind the *principia*, such as a *valetudinarium*, for example. Where are such buildings, the length of the buildings in *latera praetorii* could be different¹⁷. However, the commandment buildings' extension may have been caused by the restoration of the *retentura* at a certain moment, probably as a consequence of the change of the garrison in Romita. What was the reason for the existence of a bigger commandment building in that particular moment? This can be explained if we ask ourselves which part of the commandment building is extending the most (see *infra*). Therefore, it is possible that there had been initially a fort of smaller dimensions; at least the *retentura* may have been shorter.

The point from which the mapping of a fort begins is at the crossroad between the *via principalis* and the *via praetoria*, right where ancient authors speak of the existence of a *locus gromae*. Therefore, the *groma* marks the entrance in the *principia*. At the same time, it has a religious function¹⁸ as well as a precise, functional role, as it is the point from which prospections begin, by mapping the two main roads¹⁹. The *groma* is epigraphically attested in Lambaesis, in an inscription over the entrance in the *tetrapylon* that marks the

¹⁶ Similar proportions and lengths are to be found in the forts at Rudchester (D. J. A. Taylor, *The Forts on Hadrian's Wall*, BAR B.S. 305, Oxford 2000, Fig. 5) or Benwell (Johnson 1987, Abb. 202), but we do not have enough information on these constructions to be able to come up with a parallelism.

¹⁷ This is the case in Housesteads or Wallsend, see the plans in J. Crow, *Book of Housesteads*, London 1995, p. 50-51, Fig. 30 and N. Hodgson, *The Roman Fort at Wallsend (Segedunum)*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2003, Fig. 10.

¹⁸ Hyginus, *De limitibus* (F. Blume, K. Lachmann, A. Rudorff, *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, vol. 1, Berlin 1848, p. 170: *posita auspicaliter groma*).

¹⁹ Hyginus 12: *in introitu praetorii partis mediae ad viam principalem gromae locus appellatur quod <quod> tuor viae ibi congruat sive in dictatione metationis posito in eodem loco ferramento groma superponatur, ut portae castrorum in conspectu rigoris stellam efficiant*. Among non-commissioned officers, the following are mentioned by Vegetius 2, 7: *mensores qui in castris ad podismum dementiuntur loca, in quibus tentoria milites figant vel hospitia in civitatibus praestant*. As a *locus gromae*, it is well-known from papyri as well. Even guards were placed there; see R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, London/Michigan 1971, nr. 15, col. 2, 9 and nr. 19, line 6 (dated in 242-256 B.C.). See also RE VII, 2, 1912, 1881; O. A. W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors*, Plymouth 1971, p. 66, 88, 89 or O. A. W. Dilke, *Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence of Roman Land Surveys*, ANRW II.1, 1974, p. 571 where he reminds the fact that the *groma* must be "in the centre of the centuriation stone".

crossroad between the *viae principales* and *praetoria* and the entrance in the *principia*²⁰. Since the *groma* is in the Accusative, it is assumed that in this case we are dealing with a construction in itself, and not with the proper topographic instrument²¹. Thus, we are dealing with a *tetrapylon*-type structure, built according to the scheme of a Roman triumphal arch, which marks the crossroad of the *via principalis* and the *via praetoria* in Lambaesis or Dura-Europos, Lauriacum, Rapidum and maybe Haltern²². The cases in which this structure was identified are extremely rare, although the excavations in the *principia* area are regularly quite consistent. But for the legionary fort in Lauriacum, built in the second half of the IInd century B.C. and maybe except for the one in Haltern, the existence of a construction that should indicate the *locus gromae* seems more likely to be a characteristic of the Orient.

In Dacia, traces of an eventual base for a *groma* have been discovered in Turda (Potaissa) under the layer of volcanic tufa that made up the *via praetoria*, at its crossroad with the *via principalis*: a limestone base having a more or less triangular shape²³. Moreover, in Sarmizegetusa, the precise place of the base for the *groma* was identified, under the shape of a 67 × 60 cm stone base²⁴. Just like in Lambaesis, in Sarmizegetusa the *groma* is covered by a rectangular, 14.00 × 8.40 m construction²⁵, as well.

Similarly, there are in Romita four points that most probably represented the bases of columns forming a *tetrapylon*, very clearly visible in the plan of magnetic prospections. This time they were right at the crossroad between the *via principalis* and the *via praetoria*. It is hard to define more accurately exactly what this construction looked like. It was probably like the one in Lambaesis, with several arched openings, even though only four pillar bases can be discerned²⁶. Just like in other places, it is probably not a separate construction, as it appears to be from the plan, being connected to the commandment building by two arches between the southern bases and the building's front wall. The intermediary space between the *tetrapylon* southern limit and the front of the commandment building is about 5.00 m wide. There was probably a portico there, going along the entire front of the building, hard to discern at ground level. The *principia* and implicitly, the *groma* and *aedes* are oriented straight along the road from the fort's axis. The four bases of the monumental construction that marked the *groma* were on the *via principalis*, in a symmetric position, right at the middle of the distance between the *portae principales*. The bases are placed 10 m away from one another, at the northern and southern sides of the *via principalis*, in front of the crossroad with the *via praetoria*. The point in the middle of the construction is about 70.00 m away from the *porta praetoria*, 145 m from the *porta decumana* and 85.00 m from the *portae*

²⁰ CIL VIII 2571: ... *gromam Te[r]tiis Augustani[s].....restituit*, *Ten[a]gino Prob[us] pra[eses] prov[inciae] Nu[m]idia[rum] dedicavit*], re-read by H.-G. Kolbe, *Die Inschrift am Torbau der principia im Legionslager von Lambaesis*, MDAI (R) 81, 1974, p. 284.

²¹ Cf. H.-G. Kolbe, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 293, 295.

²² R. Fellmann, *Die Principia des Legionslagers Vindonissa und das Zentralgebäude der römischen Lager und Kastelle*, Brugg 1958, 139 f., Abb. 56, 58; F. Rakob, S. Storz, *Die principia des römischen Legionslagers in Lambaesis*, MDAI (R) 81, 1974, p. 266; Petrikovitz 1975, n. 78; Johnson 1987, p. 140, Abb. 97. In order to find a few examples of *tetrapyla* and a reconstruction of that at the entrance in the stone forum in Sarmizegetusa, see R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, *Les fouilles de forum vetus de Sarmizegetusa. Rapport général*, AMN 39-40/1, 2002-2003 (2004), pl. XXIX, XXX.

²³ Bărbulescu 1987, p. 129.

²⁴ The monument is not placed right in the middle of the crossroad between the *decumanus maximus* and the *cardo maximus*. It is positioned slightly back, towards the entrance, on the same line with the portico on the north side of the stone forum, subsequently moved to the south, cf. R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, op. cit. (n. 22), p. 64, pl. XXXII, 2, B. 33, 36.

²⁵ *Idem*, op. cit., p. 104, 110.

²⁶ The entrances in the *principia* in Lambaesis have about 7.00 m, F. Rakob, S. Storz, op. cit. (n. 22), fig. 9, pl. 135, 2.

principales. All these dimensions clearly indicate that this is the place in which we would expect to find a monument in the honor of the *groma*.

Principia

The dimensions of the commandment building were initially established solely on the basis of on-site observations, without having carried out any archeological excavations. Thus, considering the differences in level in the central area, the fortification's commandment building was considered to be about 48 (north/south) × 34 (east/west) m²⁷. As a result of magnetic prospections, we can easily figure out that this conformation of the field is due to the existence of a large building, whose approximate dimensions are 50-52 (north/south) × 35-37 (east/west) m, and stretching over an impressive surface of almost 2000 m², thus close to the previous prospections. Still, because of the large dimensions of the fort, the *principia* covers about 4.10 % of it. That represents a normal surface for fortifications in Dacia, where the usual percentage is between 3 and 5 %, with small variations²⁸. Moreover, the ratio between the length and the width of the commandment building is pretty big, about 1.50. In Dacia, it was only overcome by the ratio between the length and the width of commandment buildings in the forts at Inlăceni (1.80) and Titești (1.72)²⁹. As far as Romita is concerned, the explanation can be the fact that the commandment building had initially had, as we previously noted, a 40 m long back line formed by the neighboring building in the *latus praetorii dextrum* and the curtain towers that were on the extremities of this virtual line that had probably been the *via quintana*. Therefore, the *principia* could have had, in an early phase, about 40 (north/south) × 37 (east/west) m (1480 m²), the equivalent of 3.5 % of the fort, provided that the fortification was this big from the very beginning³⁰.

Why was it necessary to have the commandment building extended at a certain point? Maybe because the need of more space was not felt until at a certain moment in time. The part of the *principia* that was probably the most modified dimension-wise is practically the first court yard. Its main role was probably to serve as a place for the soldiers' reunions or to display the statues of emperors or altars for the *Disciplina militaris*³¹. The need for a bigger space is understandable, since two troops were present here. The *principia* was undoubtedly the administrative and also religious space par excellence in a fort; and in those places where several troops were stationed, administrative needs in relation with the *principia* were fulfilled by a very large construction. The surface covered by the commandment building was, basically, directly proportional to the surface of the entire fortification³².

²⁷ The very big dimensions of the building made the authors of the on-site observations to assume that there were two similar buildings here, which used to fulfill similar roles for each of the troops in the garrison, Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 30. Or, this would be the first such case known in the Roman Empire. For epigraphic proof regarding a *principia* used by two troops alike, see Johnson 1987, p. 139.

²⁸ For some comparative dimensions of the forts in other western provinces, see J. K. Haalebos, op. cit. (n. 1), 26, n. 43; D. J. A. Taylor, op. cit. (n. 16), Table 2.

²⁹ In Dacia, commandment buildings are usually more or less square, with very small differences, regardless of the ratio between the length and the width of the forts.

³⁰ Since the fortification was probably occupied by two auxiliary troops from the very beginning, this is not impossible.

³¹ The *principales* used to gather in the front courtyard, the soldiers on the *via principalis*, and the tribunes and centurions in the *basilica*, A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Principia des römischen Lagers*, Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher 9, Heidelberg 1899, p. 155. More suggestively, R. Fellmann states that a generalization is not possible, that situations are not always similar, and the analysis of every commandment building should be carried out individually, R. Fellmann, op. cit. (n. 22), 88. *Contra* H. v. Petrikovits who claims that there is not enough space for all the legionnaires to have been gathered here, Petrikovits 1975, p. 73, n. 71.

³² For the plan of the fort at Vetera, with two legions in the garrison, hence twice the size of other legionary fortifications, the *principia* is twice the size of other similar buildings, see Petrikovits 1975, Taf. 5a, b.

The entrance in the *principia* is not visible. The front side of the building was divided in a few compartments whose dimensions are not distinct in the plan, having a pretty big maximal depth, of about 10.00 m³³. On the western side of the building, a few compartments can be made out, approximately square and with a side of about 6.00 m. In exchange, the divisions on the opposite side are not clear enough, leaving the impression that they never even existed³⁴.

The courtyard is about 28.00 (north/south) × 28.00 (east/west) m. It appears to have covered a very large space, about 785 m², taking almost 40 % of the *principia*. If the uncovered space were, however, bordered by rooms on the east side as well, then the yard would have stretched on about 29 % of the commandment building space. The existence of a peristyle or of a colonnade to border the indistinguishable courtyard was necessary, especially in the case of the lack of compartments on that particular side, just like in the cases of Hod Hill sau Pförring. A stronger anomaly can be noted in the north-west corner of the commandment building's courtyard, where there was usually a fountain³⁵.

The walls in the back of the *principia* are thicker, that is why they can be perceived so clearly in the plan. Things stand alike in the case of the division wall between the front yard and the basilica, which seems to be interrupted at the extremities. Since this wall was a *stylobat*, this discontinuity can be normal, as it was not necessary to extend the wall to its extremities, the place functioning as an entrance from the courtyard to the basilica. On the other hand, if there were rooms bordering the courtyard, then it is obvious that the space at the extremities of the *stylobat* was not used.

The considerable thickness of the walls in the basilica area is undoubtedly due to this part of the building's big dimensions: about 12.00 × 37.00 m (444 m²). One cannot identify the place where the *tribunal* used to be, since it was probably made of wood or had weaker walls, hard to detect through magnetic prospections. However, we can notice quite accurately three statue bases or altars inside the basilica, one of these being in front of the *aedes*, just like in other cases, and the other two flanking the first. The existence of a base is also possible in the proximity of the basilica's south-east corner³⁶.

The rooms on the back side are not clearly discernable either; there were probably two on one side of the *aedes* and two on the other. They go about 5 m deep. Unlike them, the main room stretched over 70.00 m², the equivalent of about 10.00 (north/south) × 7.00 (east/west). The room is projected towards the south, about 5.00 m beyond the southern limit of the commandment building, and it probably did not have apses³⁷.

Praetorium

In the *latus praetorii dextrum*, about 30.00 m from the eastern side of the commandment building, we can see in the mapping a large building having a central yard. The construction is aligned to the *via principalis*, it is perpendicular on it and close

³³ Its dimensions are quite big, as compared to other commandment buildings in auxiliary forts, and similar to those of the very big rooms in the *principia* in Potaissa (Turda), see Bărbulescu 1987, p. 137.

³⁴ The commandment buildings that have yards with rooms on one side only were identified in Hod Hill (Johnson 1987, Abb. 182) or Pförring (W. Czysz, K.-H. Dietz, Th. Fischer, H.-J. Kellner, Die Römer in Bayern, Stuttgart 1995, Abb. 195).

³⁵ For the existence of fountains in similar positions, we want to bring into attention the forts in Hofheim (Johnson 1987, Abb. 190), Wiesbaden (Johnson 1987, Abb. 196), Eining (W. Czysz, K.-H. Dietz, Th. Fischer, H.-J. Kellner, op. cit. (n. 34), Abb. 127) or Wallsend (N. Hodgson, op. cit. (n. 17), Fig. 10).

³⁶ Such statue bases must have been a constant feature of the forts. Just like in the *fora*, a suggestive example is that of the four bases, all located approximately in front of the *aedes* in the fort at Wiesbaden, see for the plan Johnson 1987, Abb. 196.

³⁷ The similar case of the central room in Balmuldy, Johnson 1987, Abb. 206.

to the *porta principalis dextra*. The exterior dimensions of the building are: 42.00 (north/south) × 37.00 (east/west) m, on a 1554 m² surface. Thus, this building covers 3.70 % of the fort's surface. It is quite obvious, because of its position and the plan that it has, that this structure is in fact the commander's residence, as it is a peristyle house type of construction.

The inside courtyard, which does not seem to have a portico this time, either, although is probable that it did, is 20.00 × 20.00 (25.00) m large, the equivalent of 450 m². It stretches over 30 % of the total surface of the building. Magnetic anomalies can be noted in the north-east corner of the building, making it possible for the structure to have been enlarged or to have more extra-compartments added, as is the case, for example, for the buildings of the fort commanders in the same *limes* sector: Buciumi, Bologa, Căței or Gilău³⁸.

The existence of several compartments all around the courtyard is also visible. We can notice, on the south side, opposed to the entrance, a large division, about 10.00 × 8.00 m, whose north side is not on the demarcation line of the rooms in the back side, but which is projected a bit towards the yard. The room has similar dimensions to those of an *aedes* of the *principia*, but it is projected in the opposite direction, that is towards the interior of the building. This division in compartments can play the role of a similar *triclinium* and is characteristic to Mediterranean Roman houses, but not necessarily to the *praetoria* in auxiliary forts, apart from a few exceptions³⁹.

We can clearly discern, to the west of this room, three compartments with almost equal dimensions. Symmetrically, it is possible that there had been three compartments to the east of the *triclinium*. Besides, such divisions seem to have existed on all of the four sides all around the yard. Therefore, the structure has all the characteristics of a *praetorium*.

However, a striking element is the existence of a building in the *praetentura sinistra* similar to the first, from the viewpoint of its dimensions, but slightly different plan-wise. The construction is near the *porta principalis sinistra*, aligned to the *via principalis*, about 40.00 m from the *via praetoria* and 30.00 m from the *via sagularis* on the north side of the fort. This is also a structure that has a central yard, but this time its dimensions are bigger. The yard is bordered with big compartments on all sides, probably divided into several smaller, but these smaller spaces are not visible in the plan. The rooms are about 5.00 m deep, but the only clear, 3.00 m wide division is distinct right in the middle of the south side of the building, opposite from the *via principalis*, undoubtedly marking the entrance into the building. The total dimensions of the construction are: 40.00 (east/west) × 37.00 (north/south) m; it stretches over a 1480 m² surface, the equivalent of 3.5 % of the fort. It has been singled out that it has similar dimensions to those of the building in the *latus praetorii dextrum* and to the commandment building. Nevertheless, unlike the building considered to be a *praetorium*, the courtyard of the structure in the *praetentura* stretches over 600 m², its coordinates being 30.00 (east/west) × 20.00 (north/south) m and taking 40 % of the building's total surface.

The existence of a portico all around the courtyard is possible, but due to the poorer quality of the construction, it is possible that it should not be visible in magnetic prospections. Magnetic anomalies can be discerned inside the courtyard, in the south-west corner, therefore we can state that there was probably a water storage tank or a

³⁸ D. Isac, P. Hügel, D. Andreica, *Praetoria in Dakischen Militäranlagen*, SJ 47, 1994, *passim*, Abb. 5, 6, 7, 22, 25; D. Isac, *Castrul roman de la SAMVM – Căței*. The Roman Auxiliary Fort SAMVM – Căței, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 148, Fig. 13b

³⁹ For comparisons with Mediterranean-type houses and the *praetorium* at South Shields, see briefly Hodgson 1996, p. 143-149, Fig. 12.9, 12.10, 12.11. Otherwise, the dimensions of the *triclinium* in the *praetorium* in South Shields (10 × 6.60 m) are similar to those of the fort at Romita.

cistern here, close to the entrance, just like for the construction with a central courtyard in the *praetentura* of the fort at South Shields⁴⁰.

What do these two buildings belong to? Due to the probable existence of a *triclinium* in the building in the *latera praetorii*, we assume that it used to be the residence of a person, probably of one of the commanders of the two garrison troops in the Romita fort.

However, judging by its plan, the building in the *praetentura* can play the role of a *praetorium*, *mansio* or lodging place for officials in transit, *fabrica*, *valetudinarium* or storing room⁴¹. All these types of buildings are susceptible to have a rectangular plan, with rooms grouped around a central courtyard. It is pretty obvious that the final labeling of the building can be made only after having carried out detailed archeological research, but the pretty big dimensions of the building indicate a residence, as we shall see. Since it is not easy to make out the clear function of the structure from the plan of the building, visible through the prospections, we shall not discuss here each possible attribution. Summing it up, we are trying to understand if the existence of a second *praetorium* in a fort is possible, and which might have been the reason to explain the existence of two very big residences here.

In some fortifications, there is another building that comes out, with an interior courtyard and rooms all around, situated in another part than in the *latera praetorii*, also interpreted as being a *praetorium*. In Britannia, such buildings were identified in the *praetentura dextra* of the fort in Hod Hill and in the *praetentura sinistra* of the fort in The Lunt, Baginton⁴². The second *praetorium* in Hod Hill, larger than the one behind the commandment building was probably built for the *praefectus equitum*, superior in rank to the centurion that was in command of the legion vexillations that were stationed there, as well⁴³. The one in The Lunt, Baginton, which is also bigger than the one near the *principia*, suggests the presence of a more numerous "staff" "needed here by activities of which the *gyrus* is the chief archaeological indication"⁴⁴. Another analogy for the existence of two *praetoria* can be found in Caernarfon (*Segontium*); one of them is in the *latera praetorii*, and the other in one of the corners of the fort, attributed to an official responsible for ore extraction⁴⁵.

Two buildings with a central courtyard and recognized as being possible *praetoria* were also identified in Rottweil, which was probably a fort with several troops garrisoned here, on both sides of the commandment building⁴⁶. Furthermore, to the east of the commandment building in Straubing, an aerial photography unveils the existence of two buildings with a central courtyard, with rooms around⁴⁷.

We do not know what generally happens in the forts where two troops are attested, like the one in Strageath, for instance⁴⁸. Were there two commanders, or just

⁴⁰ Hodgson 1996, p. 135, 137, Fig. 12.3.

⁴¹ Briefly, for every type of building, see Petrikovits 1975, Bild 20, 23; Johnson 1987, *passim*; N. Hodgson, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 139-140.

⁴² Johnson 1987, p. 160, Abb. 182, 187.

⁴³ Johnson 1987, p. 160.

⁴⁴ D. R. Wilson, *Roman Britain in 1973*, *Britannia* 5, 1974, p. 431.

⁴⁵ See Hodgson 1996, 143. The existence of two *praetoria* was discussed in relation to the fort at South Shields as well; one of them has been clearly located in the *praetentura* (Hodgson 1996) and the other one is supposed to be located in a normal position in the *latera praetorii* (P. Bidwell, S. Speak, *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort I*, Newcastle upon Tyne 1994, p. 39-40); however, the existence of the latter has not been verified, see Hodgson 1996, p. 143.

⁴⁶ D. Planck, *Arae Flaviae I*, Stuttgart 1975, p. 24-98.

⁴⁷ W. Cysz, K.-H. Dietz, Th. Fischer, H.-J. Kellner, op. cit. (n. 34), p. 519-520.

⁴⁸ However, the fort's dimensions are pretty small, and therefore it is most likely that only part of two troops were stationed here, and not the full strength of both troops, cf. S.S. Frere, J. J. Wilkes, *Strageath* (Excavation within the Roman Fort 1973-1986), *Britannia Monograph Series* 9, London 1989, 135.

one? Theoretically, and according to historical sources, there should have been two commanders, therefore two *praetoria*, as it would be hard to believe the two would have lived together. However, it is obvious in the case of the fully-researched fort in Strageath that there is only one *praetorium* here⁴⁹. Therefore, due to the specificity of each particular case, it is obvious that each fort must be analyzed alone, and that generalizations are not possible.

It is pretty obvious that the commander with the highest rank has, at least theoretically, the supreme authority in a fort with more than one auxiliary troop. But as far as the sources are concerned, there is no express mention, at least according to our knowledge, of the existence – or inexistence – of several *praetoria*. In some cases, it is certain that there were lodging facilities for each of the officers and implicitly, of the commanding officers⁵⁰, especially since each of the officers was undoubtedly accompanied by his entire family⁵¹.

Therefore, since there is at least a theoretical possibility, the dimensions of the structure in the *praetentura sinistra* in Romita encourage us to believe that it used to have a residential role. However, other destinations are not excluded, since buildings having reasonably big dimensions and a central courtyard proved to be *fabricae*, thanks to inside discoveries, in the case of the fortifications at Oberstimm or Wiesbaden; especially since big water storage tanks have been identified in the courtyards of both buildings⁵². A similar situation seems to be encountered in the courtyard of the construction in the *praetentura sinistra* at Romita. Besides, there is another argument against the attribution of this structure to a *praetorium*: we can see that the compartments all around the courtyard are divided according to a rather regular plan, whereas this situation is considered to be quite rare in the case of a *praetorium*, especially as a consequence of the many additions and because of the functions of the different rooms.

The reason for which the second *praetorium* in Romita could have been placed in the *praetentura* could be the lack of space in the *latera praetorii*, as the peristyle house was situated in the *dextra*, and probably two *horrea* in the *sinistra* (see *infra*). This internal planning could be the consequence of dividing the fort between the two troops, in two longitudinal halves. As one of the troops probably had smaller effectives, at least so did the *coh. VI Thracum* at a certain point, it could have taken the half to the west of the fort. Moreover, the granary for the entire effective was placed here, as there was plenty of space.

Horrea

According to the magnetic prospections' mapping, two long and narrow buildings seem to have existed in the *latus sinistrum*, perpendicular on the *via principalis*. Their length seems to be similar to that of the commandment building, but it is hard to establish their width. They were probably no more than 10.00 m wide. Even though buttresses cannot be discerned, as a consequence of the planning and of their position, it is possible for the two buildings to have been granaries.

⁴⁹ See *idem*, op. cit. (n. 48), *passim*.

⁵⁰ Polybios mentions that, although more than one legion camped in one fort, each officer had his own, well-established allotted place (Polybios VI, 27-28), it is true that the consuls' tents had to be in the central part of the fort, together with other official buildings (Polybios VI, 32).

⁵¹ The attestations on the Vindolanda plates alone are sufficient (A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets. Tabulae Vindolandenses II*, London 1994, p. 29, 30), confirmed by archaeological discoveries in the building of the commander of the same fort for instance, cf. R. Birley, J. Blake, A. Birley, *The 1997 Excavations at Vindolanda. The Praetorium Site. Interim Report*, Haltwhistle 1997, *passim*.

⁵² Johnson 1987, p. 160-161, Abb. 180, 196.

Therefore, the two 50.00 m buildings situated 15.00 m away from the *principia*, having a 10.00 m intermediary space could both be *horrea*. The space they took up was undoubtedly quite big, and especially the length/width ratio, since normally the ratio is 1: 2 or 1: 3. At any rate, the surface they were on was about 4 % of the fort, a relatively big percentage, as compared to other forts, where these granaries took up about 1.5-3.50 %⁵³.

The intervallum area

Along the north side of the fort, in the vicinity of the precinct opposite the *praetentura dextra*, another 3.00 (east/west) × 7.00 (north/south) building is visible in the plan, stretching over 224 m². If the width of this building goes up to the fort's precinct wall, it will have a surface twice as big, of about 480 m². The function of this building with a rectangular plan is even harder to establish, at the premises were suitable to hold many functions, which could be indicated with accuracy only through archeological research. The building can play a residential role; it can be the fort's stables, storehouse, *fabrica* or could even have a utilitarian role.

Barracks

Traces of barracks were identified in the 1990's only on the edges of an artificial canal, so called S1, with no systematic excavations having been carried out. In the opinion of the archeologists the placement of these barracks in the *retentura* is pretty clear⁵⁴. As the small valley whose shore was embanked flows from the east to the west and cuts off the width of the *retentura*, the identification of the barracks, usually placed *per scamna* (in this case, parallel with the valley), is carried out with difficulty. Therefore, a confirmation of the barracks and their attribution to the different troops stationed in Romita can be inoperative at this stage⁵⁵.

It was extremely hard to discern traces of the barracks' walls in the magnetic prospections' planning, as they were probably made of wood. However, we can still notice, in the *retentura sinistra*, a few narrow and long constructions stretching over the entire width of the space between the *intervallum* and *via decumana*. Therefore, the archeologists' findings can be valid: it is certain that the buildings here were oriented *per scamna*. Thus, the buildings in the area can be over 50.00 m long – very big dimensions for mere barracks, but the many compartments inside, about 4.00 m wide suggest that these were indeed barracks. In this case, the outcome would consist in structures of about 55.00 × 10.00 (?) m, covering 550 m² surfaces. Or, the barracks' dimensions vary around 325 m², having limits of about 125-550 m² ⁵⁶. Therefore, especially as a consequence of the pretty big space taken up by a barracks, the *contubernia* are quite big, too, close to the ones that can be found in legionary forts.

If these are barracks, even if made of wood, they were probably built on a stone base; that is why we can still discern in our plan at least the orientation and the length of the structures. Similar constructions, probably having the same dimensions, can be found in the *praetentura dextra* as well, but we cannot state their number with precision. It would also be inoperative to make scenarios regarding the number of soldiers in the fort in relation to the fort's dimensions without knowing neither technical details, nor the plan of all the buildings in the fort, since the number of soldiers in a

⁵³ P. Gentry, Roman Military Stone built Granaries in Britain, BARBS 32, Oxford 1976, Table 1, Fig. 5. For a couple of more detailed dimensions of several forts in Britannia, see D. J. A. Taylor, op. cit. (n. 16), Tab. 5.

⁵⁴ Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 60-61.

⁵⁵ The valley's winding course makes the interpretation even more difficult, see Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 62.

⁵⁶ Cf. D. Davison, The Barracks of the Roman Army from the Ist to the IIIrd Centuries A.D., BAR IS 472, Oxford 1989, p. 8.

troop depends greatly on very many unknown factors and since there is no fixed number firmly decided upon.

Troops

The fort at Romita was probably built by the *coh. VI Thracum* and the *coh. I Ituraeorum*⁵⁷. If the second troop is a *milliaria*, its replacement, at some point in the IInd century with the *coh. II Britannorum* ∞ is normal, although the latter was probably an *equitata*⁵⁸. E. Tóth also tries to prove the fact that the *Ituraei* troop is a *milliaria*. He states that the S that appears in the final part of the stamps, written down as in a mirror and sometimes having the extremities elongated, is in fact the abbreviation for *milliaria*, respectively an upside down ∞⁵⁹. The only problem is the fact that a few *praefecti* of this troop are mentioned in some inscriptions, therefore, either the troop turns from a *milliaria* into a *quingenaria* at a certain point, or, like in other cases, the *praefecti* lead troops having much larger effectives than we would expect⁶⁰.

The *coh. II Britannorum* was most probably stationed at Romita in the first half of the IInd century, replacing the *coh. I Ituraeorum*. The cohabitation with the *coh. VI Thracum* being proven by many tile stamps, some discovered in the same archeological contexts, it is possible that from the seventh decade of the IInd century, the garrison of the fort in Romita be made of the *coh. II Britannorum* and the *coh. I Batavorum*, both *milliariae* troops, the latter replacing the Thracian cohorts.

Coh. II Britannorum

The first attestations of this troop are the abbreviations of the troop's name on tile stamps in Germania Inferior, in Xanten⁶¹ and Vechten⁶², and more recently the recording of the troop in the diplomas in 81 and 83/84 (ZPE 143, no. 1)⁶³. Once the Dacian Wars took place, the unit was dislocated towards Moesia Superior, being recorded in the diploma in the year 100 (CIL XVI 46). Between 109 and 164 A.D., the troop appears to be a part of Dacia's army, and subsequently, that of Dacia Porolissensis⁶⁴.

The stamp that attests the *coh. II Brittanorum* in the fort in Ilișua is different from those in Romita, because of the existence of an abbreviation for *milliaria*. A similar stamp

⁵⁷ The stratigraphic conditions in which the stamps bearing the abbreviation of these troops were discovered make the excavation's authors support the idea of the two cohorts alone having built the fort, see Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 95.

⁵⁸ *Coh. I Ituraeorum* is attested only in the diplomas in 109 (AE 1990, 860 = RMD 148) and 110 (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I, 3), therefore it is possible to have left the province in the first half of the IInd century B.C. The letter E appears at the end of the stamps attesting it at Vechten, in Germania Inferior, it is probably an abbreviation for *equitata* (CIL XIII 12425), see G. Alföldy, Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior, Epigraphische Studien 6, Bonn – Düsseldorf 1968, p. 8. Some authors doubt that there have been riders in this troop, as well, see N. Gudea, *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane*. 3. *Cohors II Britannica de la Romita*, AMP 7, 1983, p. 156. Although this troop is only attested by stamps, the "ex silentio" argument in what the term *equitata* is concerned is not operative.

⁵⁹ E. Tóth, Porolissum. Das Castellum in Moigrad. Ausgrabungen von A. Radnóti, 1943. Régészeti Füzetek II/19, Budapest 1978, p. 50-51. The same opinion can be found in O. Țentea, *Cohors I Ituraeorum sagittariorum equitata milliaria*, Orbis Antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis, Cluj-Napoca 2004, p. 809.

⁶⁰ Other cases of *praefecti* to lead *milliariae* troops, such as *I Tungrorum* (CIL VII 638-42) and *II Tungrorum* (CIL III 11918, CIL VIII 5532) are attested; see W. Ensslin, RE XXII, 2, 1954, 1278-1283.

⁶¹ CIL XIII 12424.

⁶² CIL XIII 12425; G. Alföldy, loc. cit.

⁶³ [---]RITTON[---] appears in *tabella I*, identified with the *coh. II Brittonum milliaria*, see W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Sex. Iulius Frontinus als Legat des niedergermanischen Heeres*, ZPE 143, 2003, p. 205-211.

⁶⁴ Military diplomas are dated to 109 (AE 1990, 860); 110 (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I, 3); 133 (IDR I, 11 = RMD 35); 154 (IDR I, 17 = RMD 47) and 164 (IDR I, 18 = RMD 64; CIL XVI 185 = IDR I, 19 and IDR I, 20 = RMD 63).

and two other stamps absolutely identical with the one published from Ilișua were discovered in the fort and in the *vicus* in Cășeu, in relatively clear stratigraphic contexts: the first inhabitation level in the *praetorium*, dated Trajan – Hadrian, respectively the first phase of the *vicus* in the vicinity of the fort⁶⁵. Thus, it was concluded that this troop built the forts in Cășeu and Ilișua in their first phase (Trajan), without knowing in what order or if not simultaneously⁶⁶. The “bigger” frequency of tegular stamps of the *coh. II Brittanorum* in the fort in Cășeu could be a clue regarding the fort’s garrison in the first inhabitation phase⁶⁷. During Trajan’s reign, the garrison troops are not known for certain in either of the two forts. In this period, the surface of the fortification in Cășeu is bigger by almost a hectare than that of the fort in Ilișua⁶⁸. However, the *coh. II Brittanorum* could have been stationed in either of them and could have participated, with material or personnel, to the constructions in the neighboring fort. It is not excluded either that the *coh. I Britannica milliaria equitata* should have also been stationed in the fort in Cășeu from the very beginning, taking into account the dimensions of the fortification, which were quite large, anyways.

N. Gudea states that the unit built the garrison of the fort in Romita, where it was probably stationed with the *coh. VI Thracum*, which was a *quingenaria*⁶⁹. The quoted author orders the stamps of the *coh. II Brittanorum* discovered in this fort into 11 types comprising different variants, without being able to analyze them from a stratigraphic viewpoint, as well⁷⁰.

In fact, as a consequence of the very large number of tile stamps discovered at Romita, it is quite likely that the troop should have been stationed here subsequently. This is where the subsequent (?) known attestations of this troop come from: the stamps in which it bares the imperial name *Antoniniana*⁷¹. The fortification at Romita stretches over an impressive surface for an auxiliary fort: 4.20 ha, thus having two troops in its garrison⁷². Since there is no other unit *II Brittanorum* attested in inscriptions or military diplomas, the existence of two troops with the same name is quite improbable⁷³. We would also want to remind the fact that usually, in abbreviations on tile stamps, the sign for *milliaria* is omitted from the troops’ names; it is the case of the stamps at Romita, the existence of this sign is more an exception than a rule⁷⁴.

The authors of more recent excavations in the fort at Romita are tempted to order the different tile stamps chronologically, classifying them especially according to the

⁶⁵ D. Isac, *Date noi cu privire la cohors II Britannica (milliaria)*, AMP 11, 1987; D. Isac, F. Marcu, *Die Truppen im Kastell von Cășeu: cohors II Br(ittanorum) milliaria und cohors I Britannica milliaria c.R. equitata Antoniniana*, Limes 17, 1997 (1999), Zalău, p. 587. The third fragmentary stamp in Cășeu, with the abbreviation COH II BR...R is interesting, both as a discovery and as type. The tile bearing this stamp was found in the fort’s *porta principalis dextra*, and was probably reused, and a C is probably missing before the last R, the short form from *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, see D. Isac, F. Marcu, loc. cit. Or, in military diplomas from 109 (AE 1990, 860) and 110 (CIL XVI 163 = IDR I, 3), this unit was *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*.

⁶⁶ D. Isac, op. cit. (n. 65), p. 179-180.

⁶⁷ Idem, op. cit., p. 180.

⁶⁸ D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman de la Ilișua (jud. Bistrița-Năsăud)*, Bistrița, 1997 = *Castrul roman și așezarea civilă de la Ilișua (jud. Bistrița-Năsăud)*, RB 10-11, 1996-1997, p. 45-52. The troop from Britannia seems to have been an *equitata* in Germania Inferior, its name is abbreviated in the stamps at Vechten as *coh(ors) II Br(ittanorum) m(illiaria) e(quitata)*, but otherwise we have no other proof that this troop also possessed cavalry detachments.

⁶⁹ N. Gudea, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 156; Idem, *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane. 4. Cohors VI Thracorum*, AMP 8, 1984, p. 222-223.

⁷⁰ N. Gudea, *Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane. 3. Cohors II Britannica de la Romita*, AMP 7, 1983, p. 155, pl. 1.

⁷¹ Most of these kinds of stamps were discovered in late levels; see Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 90-91, Fig. 9.

⁷² Matei, Bajusz 1997, 67 f.

⁷³ Contra Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 97.

⁷⁴ We are enumerating here a couple of troops that are not *milliariae*, although tegular stamps do not reflect it: *coh. I Britannica*, *coh. III Campestris*, *coh. I Sagittariorum* etc.

shape of the letters⁷⁵. Such a chronological classification may involve several risks, the most important being that the stratigraphic context could be ignored. Stamped tiles come especially from the vestiges of one of the fort's gates. The authors of the archeological excavations themselves insist that the stamp type considered to be „the earliest” was discovered both at bigger depths and in the upper level⁷⁶. Therefore, taking into consideration the permanent reuse of the tiles, it is very hard to put them in a chronological frame. In addition, it does not necessarily arise from the different abbreviations of a troop's name that there are chronological discrepancies among them, as they may very well be contemporaneous with one another (see *infra*).

The four tiles from Românași bearing the stamp of the coh. II *Britannorum* could have gotten here as construction material. And still, the COH II BR – type stamps⁷⁷, with an R in the top part, were not found at Romita or Porolissum. Or, even the *ala Siliana* types of stamps from Viștea, in the vicinity of the garrison fort in Gilău, are a different type from those in the above-mentioned fort, and do not prove with accuracy the presence of the *ala* here⁷⁸.

The fact that there are no inscriptions on it referring to this unit, and no information about it (structure, expeditions etc.) is curious, but the excavations in the fort at Romita were mainly focused on one of the *portae*, and less on the *latera praetorii*, where we would expect inscriptions to be, as proven by the three or four bases in the *basilica* that can be perceived in the magnetic prospections planning. Many of the stamped bricks or tiles come from the *thermae* by the fort.

If the COH II BRTS (retrograde S) - type stamps discovered only in Porolissum are rounded up coh. II *Britannorum Severiana*, maybe this can mean that the troop was moved here, but more probably that it sends construction material⁷⁹.

Coh. I *Ituraeorum*

The only attestations of the coh. I *Ituraeorum* on military diplomas are from 88 A.D., placing it among the troops of Syria⁸⁰, and respectively from 109 (AE 1990, 860) and 110 (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I, 2), in Dacia's army. The stamps in Porolissum reminding of this unit are identified in contexts dated to the 3rd century A.D. and beginning of the 3rd century A.D.⁸¹. On the other hand, the two stamps in the fort at Romita, belonging to the same type as one of those discovered in Porolissum, are associated to early levels of the fort and *thermae*⁸². We cannot be sure of the place where the troop was garrisoned. Nor can we know when the cohors was transferred to Thracia⁸³. In 135 A.D. the troop seems to be present in Cappadocia. It is mentioned among the troops led by Arrian against the Alanians, but subsequently it is not attested in this province anymore⁸⁴.

⁷⁵ Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 88-89.

⁷⁶ Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 89.

⁷⁷ M. Macrea, M. Rusu, I. Mitrofan, *Șantierul arheologic Porolissum*, Materiale 8, 1962, Fig. 20.

⁷⁸ See F. Marcu, *Military tile-stamps as a guide for the garrisons of certain forts in Dacia*, *Orbis Antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj-Napoca 2004, 572.

⁷⁹ J. Szilágyi, *A Dáciai erődrendzser helyőrségei és a katonai téglabélyegek* (Die Besatzungen des Verteidigungssystems von Dazien und ihre Ziegelstempel), Budapest 1946, 56, pl. XVIII/268. Another explanation is the fact that the reversed S really represents an abbreviation for *milliaria*. E. Tóth asserts, regarding the coh. I *Ituraeorum*, that the reversed S, sometimes a bit elongated at the extremities, present at the end of the stamps, is really a ∞ reversed, see E. Tóth, loc. cit. (n. 59).

⁸⁰ CIL XVI 35. For a detailed history of this troop, see O. Țentea, loc. cit. (n. 59).

⁸¹ J. Garbsch, N. Gudea, *Despre cea mai veche diplomă militară eliberată pentru provincia Dacia*, AMP 14-15, 1991, p. 71.

⁸² The troop is considered to be, together with the coh. VI *Thracum*, the garrison of the Romita fort in the earthen precincts stage, dated to Trajan's times, Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 91-93.

⁸³ It is mentioned in inscriptions in Thracia: AE 1897, 123; AE 1907, 50; CIL XI 2113.

⁸⁴ Arrian, *Alan.*, 1; P. Holder, *Auxiliary deployment in the reign of Hadrian*, London (reprinted from Documenting the Roman Army, BICS Supplement 81, London 2003), p. 102, 117, Tab. 16.

Coh. VI Thracum

The Thracian unit was part of the army of Germany in the year 80 (CIL XVI 158), in 84 (CIL XVI 30) and 85 (CIL XVI 31) of that of Pannonia, and subsequently, of the troops of Moesia⁸⁵. It will be mentioned for the first time in Dacia, and then in Dacia Porolissensis in the diploma in 110⁸⁶. It is hard to specify whose fort this garrison was, in the north-western *limes* area. Taking into account the bigger number of tiles and bricks bearing stamps found in the fort at Romita, it is highly possible for this troop to have been stationed here⁸⁷. These stamps were ordered typologically, but it can still be risky to attempt the elaboration of chronologies mainly on the basis of the shape or the letter combinations on the stamps⁸⁸. It is interesting that the CO VI T abbreviation type was discovered only in Porolissum, where it seems to be part of a subsequent context⁸⁹.

No inscription is known in Dacia in which the troop or its soldiers be mentioned. It is not out of the question that the unit may have left Dacia after 164 A.D., probably being present in Britannia, and recorded on the lead seals in Brough under Stainmore⁹⁰.

Coh. I Batavorum ∞

The inscription (CIL III 839 = ILS 2598) discovered at Romita, dedicated by *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) Florius Virilis* to a centurion in the *coh. I Batavorum ∞* can prove that the troop or the vexillations of it were present here at a certain point in time. This is however an uncertain fact⁹¹, what is harder to accept is only the presence of the centurion here. The case of the fort at Românași, in the vicinity of Romita, where this troop is also attested is similar (CIL III 841).

The Batavian troop had initially been a part of Pannonia and Pannonia Inferior's army, and was recorded in the diplomas in 98 (CIL XVI 42), 100/2 (RMD 144), 113 (RMD 86), and subsequently pointed out, starting with 130-131 (ZPE 141, 241-251, nr. 5) or 133 (IDR I, 11 = RMD 35) in the army of Dacia Porolissensis. Here, it continues to be attested in the diplomas in 151 (AMN 38/1, 54), 154 (IDR I, 17; RMD 47) and in those in 164 (CIL XVI 185 = IDR I, 19; IDR I, 18 = RMD 64; IDR I, 20 = RMD 63; AE 1999, 1103).

Maybe it is after the middle 2nd century that this cohort replaced the *coh. VI Thracum*, being transferred from Potaissa once the *leg. V Macedonica* was stationed here, as M. Bărbulescu assumed⁹². It is true that the surface of the fort at Romita, however impressive it may have been, may not be big enough for the full effectives of two auxiliary troops, but this way we could explain the existence of two *praetoria* of similar dimensions, since the garrison troops' commanders had the same rank. After this exchange of troops, the fort at Romita and its internal organization will have another shape, namely the one suggested by the plan obtained through magnetic prospection.

⁸⁵ CIL XVI 46; RMD 6.

⁸⁶ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I, 3. Subsequently, it is present in diplomas from 114 (RMD IV 226); 154 (IDR I, 17 = RMD 47); 164 (IDR I, 18 = RMD 64; CIL XVI 185 = IDR I, 19 and IDR I, 20 = RMD 63).

⁸⁷ 22 such pieces were discovered in the excavations carried out in the 1990's, among which 5 inside the fort, Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 72.

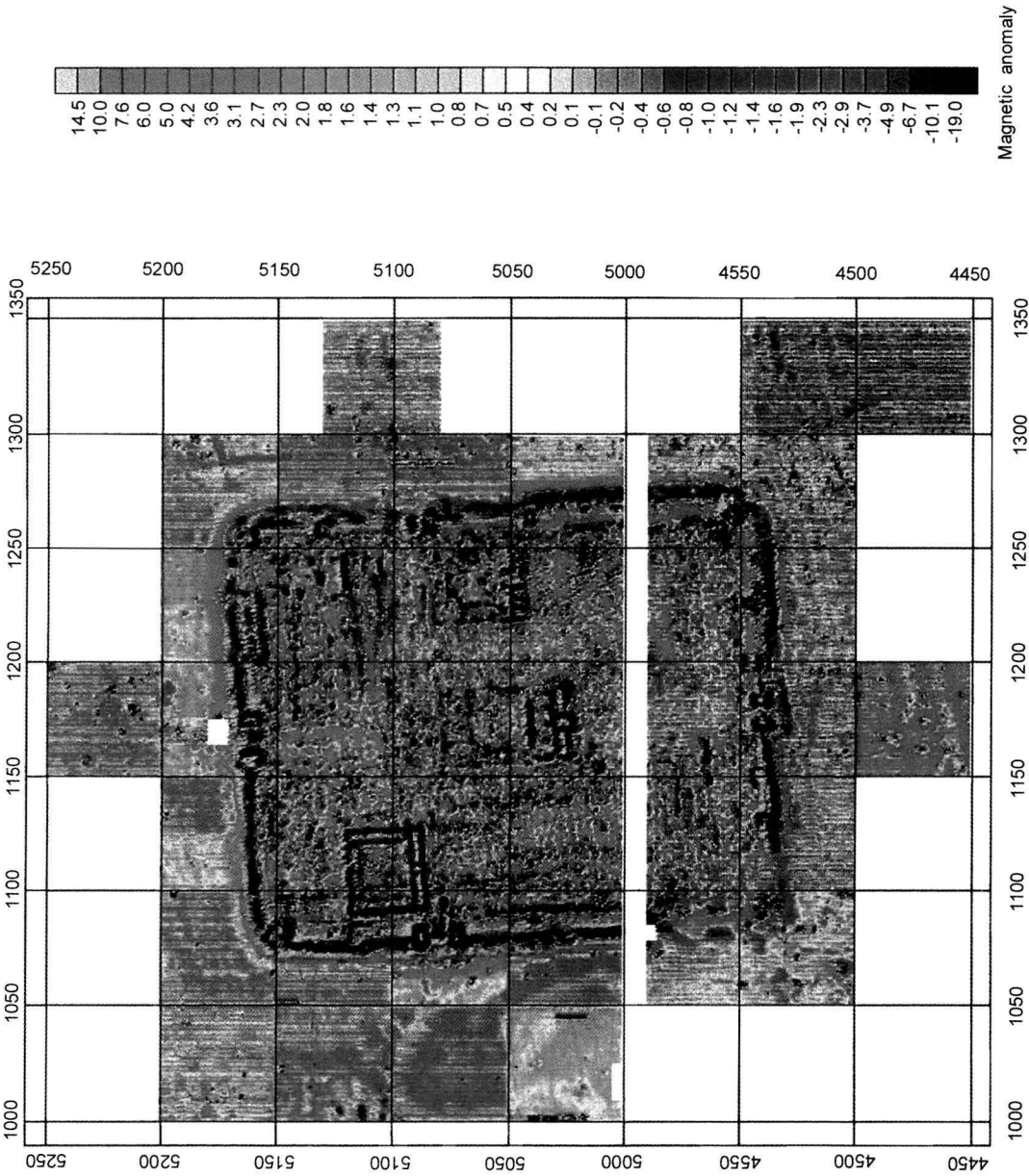
⁸⁸ This troop's stamps seem to have been discovered at Romita even in early levels. We can thus assume the troop was stationed in this fort from the beginning of the 2nd century, Matei, Bajusz 1997, p. 78.

⁸⁹ N. Gudea, op. cit. (n. 69), p. 221-222.

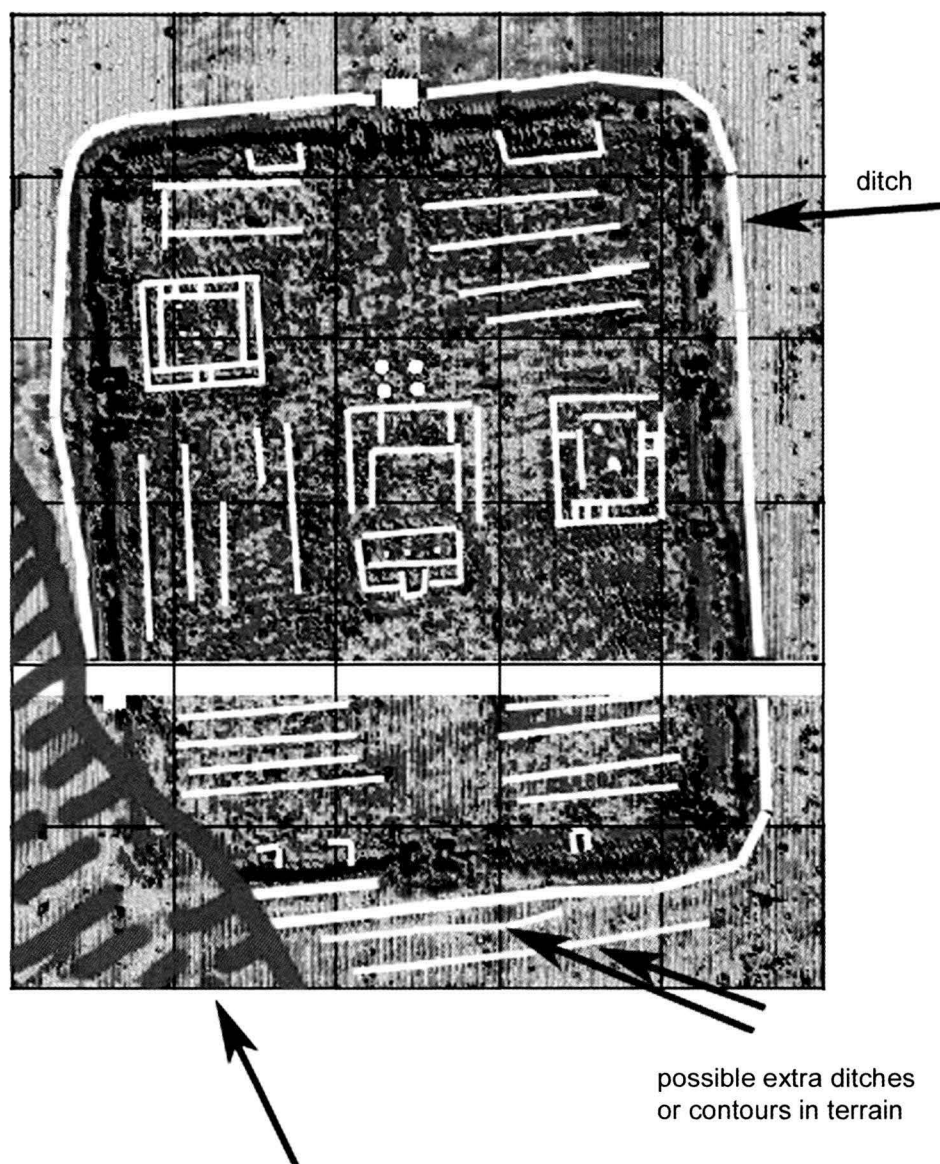
⁹⁰ J. E. Bogaers, *Troupes auxiliaires Thraces dans la partie Néerlandaise de la Germania Inferior*. Limes 9 Mamaia 1972, p. 455; P. A. Holder, *The Roman Army in Britain*, London 1982, p. 122.

⁹¹ Some authors assert this troop was surely present at Romita after the arrival of the legion *V Macedonica* at Potaissa, where the Batavian unit is attested as well (CIL III 13766, 13767), see Bărbulescu 1987, p. 36.

⁹² Bărbulescu 1987, p. 36.



1. Geographical survey at Romita.



2. Geographical survey at Romita (the internal planning).

UN NOUVEAU CONDUCTOR SALINARUM EN DACIE

Grâce à une information offerte par le philologue Ilie Moise de Sibiu, je viens de faire une découverte épigraphique dans un village de montagne peu connu. Il s'agit de Boia Bârzii (dép. de Hunedoara), une localité d'un accès très difficile des montagnes de Poiana Ruscă, située à environ 20 km sud de Vețel, l'ancienne Micia. Dans la très coquette église en bois, dont la cloche date de 1785, la table de l'autel est soutenue par la moitié inférieure d'un autel romain ou d'une base de statue en marbre (fig. 1 a). La base est moulurée et du champ de l'inscription est conservée la partie inférieure.

Dimensions : 66 × 60 × 59 cm; lettres : l. 1-4 = 5 cm; l. 5 = 4 cm. Ligatures : l. 2 – ND; points de séparation : l. 2 entre l et C, après ND; ils manquent dans les l. 4 et 5.

La l. 1 et la première moitié de la l. 2 contiennent le nom au génitif de la personne pour le salut de laquelle le monument avait été érigé. Le plus simple est de reconstituer le cognomen *Ru/[fi]ni*. Du nomen sont conservés incomplètement les lettres IILI. Comme on ne distingue rien d'un N, le nomen finit très probablement en TILI. On trouve avec cette terminaison des *nomina* comme *Atilius*¹, *Petilius*², *Quintilius* ou *Sextilius*³, pour n'en citer que les plus fréquents⁴. Les deux premiers semblent être trop brefs, car la ligne contenait environ 12 lettres, donc l'initiale du *praenomen* et un nomen assez long. Le personnage était inconnu. C'est pour son salut que le monument a été érigé. Dans une première ligne perdue se sera trouvé le nom de la divinité, dans une seconde, assez brève et centrée, la formule *[pro salute]*. Dans le début conservé de la l. 3 on distingue le bout d'un A et la partie inférieure d'un L. Le texte (fig. 1 b):

1. - [- - -]
[pro salute]
[.....]tīli Ru-
[fi]ni cond(uctoris)
[s]alinarum
Ursio ser(vus)
act(or) verna.

Le monument est dédié à un [- - -]tilius Rufinus, fermier des salines appartenant au fisc impérial, par un de ses subordonnés, Ursio⁵, esclave né dans la famille de son propriétaire et en même temps administrateur d'un office local. Comme on verra plus loin, on connaît déjà à Micia un monument érigé pour le salut d'un *conductor pasculi et salinarum*⁶. Il est donc correct de supposer que le monument trouvé à Boia Bârzii provient toujours de Micia.

¹ Un L. Atilius Faustinus est attesté à Micia en tant que *magister pagi* (CIL III 7852 = IDR III/3, 94).

² Une Pet(ilia?) Victorina est connue à Sarmizegetusa comme mère de l'Augustale C. Togernius Ingenuus (CIL III 1510 = IDR III/2, 444).

³ On connaît à Sarmizegetusa une Iustia Sextilia (CIL III 7989 = IDR III/2, 451), dans le nom de laquelle *Sextilia* joue le rôle d'un cognomen.

⁴ Voir tous ces *nomina* chez H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*², Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1994, p. 239.

⁵ Pour ce nom voir B. Lőrincz, OPEL 4, Wien 2002, p. 187.

⁶ Plus bas, le n° 3.



I I L I R V
 F I N I C O N D'
 S A L I N A R V M
 V R S I O S E R
 A C T V E R N A

Fig. 1. a – b La piéce romaine de Boia Bârzii.

On connaissait jusqu'ici quatre textes concernant les *conductores salinarum*⁷:

2. – A. Buday, *Dolgozatok* 4, 1928, p. 300; C. Daicoviciu, *ACMIT* 1929, p. 311; *AE* 1937, 141; D. Tudor, *Istoria sclavajului în Dacia romană*, București 1957, p. 271, n° 128; M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* II, *Hagae* 1960, p. 294, n° 2011; S. Sanie, *Culte orientale în Dacia romană I*, București 1981, p. 269, n° 71; *IDR* III/4, 248; L. Balla, dans *Studia Dacica. Collected Papers* (éd. Edit Szabó), Debrecen 2000, p. 137⁸ (Sânpaul): *Soli Invicto pro | salutem | C(ai) Iuli Valen|tini c(onductoris) salinar(um) | Iulius Omucio | libertus actor | posuit.*

3. – G. Fischer, *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 44, 1921, p. 71-72; C. Daicoviciu, *ACMIT* 1929, p. 308; V. Christescu, *Viața economică a Daciei romane*, Pitești 1929, p. 51, n. 2; *AE* 1930, 10; D. Tudor, *Istoria sclavajului în Dacia romană*, București 1957, p. 275, n° 150; N. Gostar, *Arheologia Moldovei* 4, 1966, p. 175-171; I. I. Russu, *SCȘCluj* 7, 1956, p. 7-13; idem, *Sargetia* 5, 1968, p. 92; *AE* 1957, 273; C. Daicoviciu, *AMN* 3, 1966, p. 158, n. 25 = idem, *Dacica*, Cluj 1970, p. 391, n. 25; *AE* 1967, 388; L. Balla, *Studia Dacica*, p. 136-137⁹ (Domnești - Bilak): *[[(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et T(erra) M(atri) | [p]ro sal(u)t(e) Ael(ii) | Mari fl(aminis) col(oniae) | [c]onduc(toris) pasc(ui) | et salina(rum) At|ticus act(or) eius | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

4. – *CIL* III 1363; V. Christescu, *Viața economică*, p. 51; I. I. Russu, *SCȘCluj* 7, 1956, p. 10; idem, *Sargetia* 5, 1968, p. 92; L. Balla, *Studia Dacica*, p. 137; *IDR* III/3, 119 (Micia) : *Silvano Do|mestico | P(ublius) Ael(ius) Euph[o]rus pro | salute P(ublii) Ael(ii) | Mari con|ductoris pascui et sa|linar(um) I V V*¹⁰.

5. – *CIL* III 1209; *ILS* 7147; L. Balla, *Studia Dacica. Collected Papers* (éd. Edit Szabó), Debrecen 2000, p. 137; *IDR* III/5, 443 (Apulum) : *P(ublio) Ael(io) P(ublii) fil(io) Pap(iria) | Strenuo eq(uo) | p(ublico) sacerdoti arae | Aug(usti) auguri et | Iluiral(ii) col(oniae) | Sarm(izegetusae) | augur(i) | col(oniae) Apul(ensis) dec(urioni) | col(oniae) Drob(etensis) pat(ron)o collegior(um) | fabr(um) cento(nariorum) et naut(arum) conduc(tori) pas|cui salinar(um) | et commer|cior(um) Rufinus | eius.*

Les mines de sel ou en tout cas les plus importantes, appartenaient au fisc impérial et étaient affermées à des *conductores*, qui à leur tour percevaient le vectigal des petits fermiers (*coloni*)¹¹.

⁷ Cf. L. Balla, *Studia Dacica. Collected Papers* (éd. Edit Szabó), Debrecen 2000, p. 135-143.

⁸ C'est à C. Daicoviciu (*ACMIT* 1929, p. 311 = *Dacica*, Cluj 1970, p. 151) que nous devons la lecture correcte de *c(onductor) salinar(um)*. Voir encore D. Tudor, *Istoria sclavajului în Dacia romană*, București 1957, p. 271, n° 128; M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* II, *Hagae* 1960, p. 294, n° 2011; S. Sanie, *Culte orientale în Dacia romană I*, București 1981, p. 269, n° 71; P. Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy and Romanization*, Copenhagen 1985, p. 347, n° 19.

⁹ Voir encore P. Ørsted (n. 8), p. 346, n° 18.

¹⁰ Le même affranchi apparaît toujours à Micia, dans l'inscription I. I. Russu, *Sargetia* 5, 1968, p. 88-90, n° 1 (= *AE* 1971, 384; S. Sanie, *Culte orientale în Dacia romană I*, București 1981, p. 269, n° 70; *IDR* III/3, 49): *Deo Invicto / [P(ublius)] Ael(ius) Eupho(rus) pro / salute sua / et suorum / templum a solo / fecit.*

¹¹ Voir M. Rostowzew, *Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis Diokletian*, Leipzig 1902, 413-414; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² I, Oxford 1957, p. 341 sqq.; U. Täckholm, *Studien über den Bergbau der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Uppsala 1937, p. 124 sqq.; P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford 1990, p. 394-396. Pour la Dacie voir V. Christescu, *Viața economică a Daciei romane*, Pitești 1929, p. 50-51; L. Balla (n. 7), p. 137; P. Ørsted (n. 8), p. 347; V. Wollmann, *Der Erzbergbau, die Salzgewinnung und die Steinbrüche im römischen Dakien*, Cluj-Napoca – Klausenburg 1996, p. 31-33, 248-249. Pour les salines en Dacie voir V. Christescu, op. cit., p. 50; V. Wollmann, op. cit., p. 240 sqq.

On connaît maintenant en Dacie quatre grands fermiers des salines. [- - -]tilius Rufinus (1) et C. Iulius Valentinus¹² (2) sont appelés tout simplement *conductores salinarum*, P. Aelius Marius (3-4) est appelé *conductor pascui et salinarum*¹³, tandis que P. Aelius Strenuus¹⁴ (5) semble cumuler trois entreprises: *conductor pascui, salinarum et commerciorum*. Le rapport entre les *pascua* et les *salinae* est assez clair. Les pâturages constituaient les alentours d'une saline, étant importants surtout pour les extractions de surface¹⁵. D'autre part, un domaine du fisc devait occuper une aire bien définie et pas seulement l'entrée dans une mine. Il est donc possible que [- - -]tilius Rufinus et C. Iulius Valentinus aient eux aussi réuni dans leurs mains les salines et les pâturages. P. Aelius Strenuus s'occupait lui aussi de la vente du sel, ce qui suppose un rapport avec le *portorium*¹⁶. On peut s'imaginer que tous ces *conductores* avaient les mêmes attributions, d'autant plus que P. Aelius Marius est attesté non seulement dans la zone des salines (Domnești), mais aussi à Micia, qui représentait une importante station de douane¹⁷. Le fait que l'on connaît déjà avec [- - -]tilius Rufinus deux *conductores salinarum* à Micia renforce cette idée.

P. Aelius Strenuus est chevalier romain et avait parcouru une carrière municipale brillante. P. Aelius Marius a été lui aussi promu au très important flaminat d'une colonie, soit de Sarmizegetusa, soit d'Apulum¹⁸. Ce sacerdoce n'est pourtant pas mentionné dans l'inscription de Micia (4). Cette circonstance suggère que [- - -]tilius Rufinus avait lui aussi un statut social élevé, mais que sur un monument votif érigé par son *actor* ce qui comptait était sa qualité de *conductor*.

¹² P. Ørsted (n. 8), p. 347, n° 18 identifie notre *conductor* à son homonyme de Tibiscum (IDR III/1, 139), *flamen m(unicipii) T(ibiscensium)*, ce qui, à cause de la fréquence de ces *tria nomina*, n'est qu'une faible possibilité; voir encore pour ce personnage L. Balla, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 137, 140.

¹³ Le cognomen est lu *Marus* par I. I. Russu (ad IDR III/3, 119) et P. Ørsted ((n. 8), p. 346, n° 18), *Marus* ou *Marius* par C. Daicoviciu (Dacica, Cluj 1970, p. 391, n. 25) et, correctement, *Marius* par V. Christescu ((n. 11), p. 50-51, n. 2) et L. Balla ((n. 7), p. 137-138).

¹⁴ Voir encore pour P. Aelius Strenuus P. Ørsted (n. 8), p. 347, n° 20; I. Piso, dans : Du latifundium au latifondo (Actes de la Table ronde internationale du CNRS organisée à l'Université Michel de Montaigne – Bordeaux III, 17-19 décembre 1992), Paris 1995, p. 440-441 = An der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 2005, p. 252-253. Sur une plaque fragmentaire du *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa j'ai identifié le nom de P. Aelius Strenuus, I. Piso, Le forum vetus de Sarmizegetusa, București 2006, p. 43-44, n° 43.

¹⁵ Cette idée a été accentuée par L. Balla (n. 7), p. 138-139 et P. A. Brunt (n. 11), p. 396.

¹⁶ Une station de douane est attestée même à Apulum, où a été érigée la statue de P. Aelius Strenuus (n° 5); voir I. Piso, V. Moga, AMN 35, 1998, p. 106-108.

¹⁷ CIL III 1351 = 7853 = IDR III/3, 102; voir S. De Laet, Portorium. Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire, Brugge 1949, p. 216; I. I. Russu, SCIV 4, 1953, 3-4, p. 792.

¹⁸ Pour Apulum se prononcèrent tous, à partir de V. Christescu ((n. 11), p. 50-51, n. 2). Pourtant, si Domnești (n° 3) est plus proche d'Apulum, les alentours de Micia (n° 4) se trouvent sur le territoire de Sarmizegetusa. Admettons que les deux arguments s'annulent réciproquement.

STUDIA POROLISSENSIA (II)*

I. – Le procurateur Pompeius Longus

Un des plus beaux résultats des recherches archéologiques de N. Gudea et de ses collaborateurs à Porolissum a été la découverte de deux bases de statue attestant une station vamale. Comme Porolissum se trouve sur la grande route qui reliait Aquincum à Tyras, l'existence de cette station était obligatoire¹. Les monuments ont été trouvés sur une hauteur appelée "Ferice", à l'extérieur d'une fortification mesurant 45,50 × 35 m et ayant dans l'intérieur deux barraques². Que la fortification elle-même représenterait la station vamale, est sans doute une erreur, car il s'agit d'un petit camp ("fortlet"). Il est tout à fait normal que la douane soit perçue sur le limes à un point obligatoire de passage, surveillé par des militaires, qui assuraient aussi la coercition nécessaire au service des fonctionnaires impériaux³. Ce n'est pas pourtant de l'aspect archéologique de la station de Porolissum que nous allons nous occuper dans les pages suivantes.

Les deux monuments sont des bases de statue ou des autels, érigés, le premier par le procurateur Claudius Xenophon⁴, le second par un procurateur encore inconnu, Pompeius Longus⁵. Pour le second monument (fig. 1), N. Gudea a offert le texte suivant:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci)*

Aurel(ii) Antonini

Aug(usti) [[Commod]i]

5 *[[Pii Fel(icis)] et Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii)*

vectigal(is) Illyr(ici)

procurante [Pompe]-

io Longo proc(uratore)

Aug(usti) Felix et Luc(ius) vil(ici).



Fig. 1. L'autel de Pompeius Longus.

* *Studia Porolissensia* (I), dans AMN 38, 2001, p. 221-237.

¹ Elle a été supposée avec de bons arguments par S. De Laet, Portorium. Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut Empire, Brugge 1949, p. 217 et par F. Vittinghoff, RE XXII/1 (1953), 368.

² N. Gudea, AMP 12, 1988, p. 176-178.

³ Voir S. De Laet, Portorium (n. 1), p. 367; la même idée chez Fr. Vittinghoff, RE XXII/1 (1953), 392.

⁴ N. Gudea (n. 2), p. 178, 188 = idem, Vama romană. Monografie arheologică. Contribuții la cunoașterea sistemului vamal din provinciile dacice, Cluj-Napoca 1996, p. 278 n° 2; AE 1988, 977; C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 40/4, 1989, p. 397-398 n° 507; L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, Sclavi și liberi imperiali în provinciile romane din Illyricum, Iași 2004, p. 142 n° 89-90; ILD 677.

⁵ N. Gudea (n. 2), p. 178-179, 189 = idem (n. 4), p. 277-278 n° 1; AE 1988, 978; C. C. Petolescu (n. 4), p. 398 n° 508; L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (n. 4), p. 142 n° 87-88; ILD 678.

Dans la ligne 7 les lettres POMPE ne posent pas des problèmes. C'est le nom de l'empereur qui doit être mis en question. Selon les épithètes *pius felix*, l'inscription serait datable à partir de 185⁶. Pourtant, après AVG il y a assez de place pour neuf lettres. Dans leur commentaire, les éditeurs de l'Année Épigraphique envisagèrent la possibilité que le texte contienne non pas le nom de Commode, mais bien ceux de Caracalla et de Geta, celui du second empereur ayant été martelé. Ceci est impossible pour des raisons d'espace. À son tour, J. Fitz proposa la lecture AVG [COMMODI | SARM GERMI]⁷, ce qui daterait l'inscription des années 181-182. La reconstitution de J. Fitz se heurte au même manque d'espace. Aussi, pourquoi aurait-on martelé les épithètes impériales, qui avaient été portées aussi par Marc Aurèle?

Ce qui dérange le plus est que le nom *Commodi* a été mis après et pas avant *Aug(usti)*. Dans tout l'Empire romain cette erreur est arrivée deux fois⁸, mais deux erreurs ne peuvent pas servir de justification pour une troisième.

La seule lecture qui tient compte des lacunes, des traces des lettres et d'une onomastique impériale normale est AVG·[[ET COMMODI] | CAES]⁹. On a donc affaire à l'empereur Marc Aurèle et à l'héritier du trône, Commode. Son nom complet est, en tant qu'héritier, *L. Aurelius Commodus Caesar*,¹⁰ mais le nom bref apparaît très souvent dans les textes des monuments où les noms impériaux se trouvent au génitif et pas au nominatif ou au datif.

Dans la ligne 9 N. Gudea voit AVG FELIX ET LVC VIL. Bien que cette lecture n'ait éveillé aucune suspicion, elle est fautive. Sur la pierre on distingue clairement AVG·FELIX·EIVS·VIL·. Le monument a donc été érigé par un seul *vilicus*, Felix¹¹, et pas par deux. Le texte corrigé:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci)

Aurel(ii) Antonini

Aug(usti) [[et Commod]i]

5 *[[Caes(aris)]] et Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii)*

vectigal(is) Illyr(ici)

procurante Pompe-

io Longo proc(uratore)

Aug(usti) Felix eius vil(icus).

J. Fitz a cru pouvoir reconnaître le nom de Pompeius Longus dans l'inscription d'Albertirsa, qui a déjà une longue histoire dans l'épigraphie pannonienne¹² : *[Pro salute | .. Pompe]ii L[ongi procur]ator[is Aug(usti) cond(uctoris) ve[ct(igalis) | eiu]sdem posita*

⁶ D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, Darmstadt 1990, p. 149.

⁷ J. Fitz, *Schriften des Vorarlberger Landesmuseums*, Reihe A. Landschaftsgeschichte und Archäologie 5, Bregenz 1992, p. 201; idem, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II*, Budapest 1993, p. 733 n° 415, 2.

⁸ CIL III 6052 = Dessau 394 und CIL III 14370, 2 = Dessau 5338 ont été utilisées par J. Fitz comme parallèles pour l'inscription de Porolissum; cf. A. Stein, *PIR² A 1482*: "errore".

⁹ Prof. Géza Alföldy a confirmé cette lecture lors de sa visite à Porolissum, le 24 mars 2005.

¹⁰ D. Kienast (n. 6), p. 147.

¹¹ Un autre Felix de Porolissum, *Felix Aug. n. vil.* (AE 1944, 47) n'est probablement pas identique au nôtre, car la formule *Aug. n.* est utilisée au III^{ème} siècle.

¹² J. Fitz, loc. cit. (n. 7) = AE 1993, 1314. Le texte apparaît en diverses variantes dans CIL III 10605 b; M. Rostovtzeff, *AEM* 19, 1896, p. 136-137; Á. Dobó, *Publicum portorium Illyrici* (tirage à part de *AÉrt* 3) Budapest 1940, p. 176 n° 160; S. De Laet, *Portorium* (n. 1), p. 212 Anm. 3; 201; G. Alföldy, apud P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum I*, Bonn 2005, n° 212.

[ara] | an]n(o) Oppi kal(endas) Mai[as]. Or, le seul candidat pour ce poste dans l'inscription d'Albertirsa est C. Antonius Rufus¹³.

En raison du titre de César pour Commode et de l'absence du nom de Lucius Verus, l'inscription de Porolissum pourrait être datée des années 169-177. Le laps de temps peut être rétréci si l'on tient compte du fait que Commode n'a été coopté dans les sacerdoces que le 20 janvier 175 et qu'il a pris la toga virilis le 7 juillet de la même année¹⁴. Ce n'est qu'à partir de ce moment-là qu'il fait son entrée dans la vie publique¹⁵. Par conséquent, l'inscription de Porolissum, est à dater de la période depuis 175 jusqu'à la moitié de 177, quand Commode est devenu Auguste. La procuratèle de Pompeius Longus se place bientôt après la réforme, qui mena de l'affermage à des *conductores*, à la perception directe par des procurateurs. La réforme aura eu lieu, tel que nous l'apprenons de la carrière de C. Antonius Rufus, dans l'intervalle 169-175¹⁶.

Il est significatif que Felix se désigne lui-même comme *eius vil(icus)*, comme s'il appartenait encore à un *conductor*¹⁷, tandis que les esclaves actifs dans les stations douanières administrées par le fisc apparaissent comme esclaves impériaux¹⁸. Pour Felix le sens du changement n'aura pas été très clair.

La nouvelle datation de l'inscription de Porolissum joue un rôle important dans la discussion sur la date de la réforme de la douane sous les derniers Antonins¹⁹.

II. – Une base de statue de Porolissum

En 2001 je commentais et rectifiais dans les *Acta Musei Napocensis* la lecture, appartenant à N. Gudea et D. Tamba, de deux inscriptions de Porolissum provenant du temple de Jupiter Dolichenus²⁰. Un des deux monuments a été dédié à cette divinité pour le salut de l'empereur Gordien et de la *cohors III Campestris* par trois dignitaires du municipe Septimium Porolissum, en tant que *sacerdotes dei et coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae)*²¹. Grâce à ce texte il est devenu clair que la *cohors III Campestris (milliaria)* avait remplacé à Porolissum au début du III^e siècle ap. J.-C. une autre *cohors milliaria*, attestée ici au II^e siècle, notamment la *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*²². Comme cette conclusion a des implications importantes pour la vie militaire de la province et de Porolissum, je dirigeai tout de suite mon attention sur la grande inscription d'une base de quadrigue trouvée dans les *principia* du grand camp de Pomet (fig. 2 a). Elle avait été publiée plusieurs fois avec la lecture suivante dans les deux dernières lignes: [*coh(ors) V Lingonum Anto]niniana [p]ed[itata]* ou [*p]ed[it(ata)]*²³. J'y ai lu le nom de la [*coh(ors) III*

¹³ Dans *Fasti provinciae Daciae* II. Die ritterlichen Amtsträger, en cours de publication, où sera donnée une autre reconstitution du texte d'Albertirsa.

¹⁴ A. Stein, *PIR*² A 1482; D. Kienast (n. 6), 147.

¹⁵ CIL VI 40560 (= 1015 = 31226); J. Scheid, *Commentarii fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*, Rome 1998, p. 88, I. 6; CIL VIII 11928; XIV 4378.

¹⁶ Voir n. 12.

¹⁷ Voir De Laet, *Portorium* (n. 1), p. 392-398; pour les *ex privatis* p. 395.

¹⁸ S. De Laet, *Portorium* (n. 1), p. 407.

¹⁹ Dans *Fasti provinciae Daciae* II.

²⁰ I. Piso, *AMN* 38, 2001, p. 221-237.

²¹ Op. cit. (n. 20), p. 228 = AE 2001, 1707.

²² Op. cit. (n. 20), p. 231. F. Marcu suppose à juste titre (*AMN* 39-40, 2002-2003, p. 226) que la *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* apparaît sous le règne de Caracalla dans le camp de Bumbești sous le nom de *coh. I Aurelia Brittonum (milliaria) Antoniniana*.

²³ M. Macrea, *SCIV* 8, 1957, p. 227-231, n° 3; AE 1958, 231; N. Gudea, V. Lucăcel, *Inscripții și monumente sculpturale în Muzeul de Istorie și Artă Zalău*, Zalău 1975, p. 9-10, n° 4; E. Tóth, *Porolissum. Das Castellum von Moigrad. Ausgrabungen von A. Radnóti* 1943, Budapest 1978, p. 22-24, n° 10; AE 1979, 492; N. Gudea, *AMP* 13, 1989, p. 761-762, n° 8; A. Diaconescu, dans : *The Impact of Rome on Settlement in the Northwestern and Danube Provinces (BAR International Series 921, éd. St. Altekamp, A. Schäfer)*, Oxford 2001, p. 138, n° 2, 2.



Fig. 2. a-b. La base de statue de Porolissum.

Campestris Anto]niniana c(ivium) R(omanorum), mais me suis pour le moment contenté d'avertir dans une note de l'article cité, donc déjà en 2001, que "pour la première base [celle discutée ci-dessus], que je vais prochainement republier, il s'agit de la *cohors III Campestris*"²⁴. J'avais, d'ailleurs, une reconstitution graphique du texte (fig. 2 b), que j'ai donnée, avec mon commentaire, à Alexandru Diaconescu pour son information. L'article "Die Cohors III Campestris in Porolissum", traitant exactement de cette inscription, n'a été publié qu'en 2005 dans un livre en l'honneur de Ekkehard Weber²⁵. Il sera utile de reproduire ici mes arguments pour la nouvelle lecture : "Alle bisher angeführten Autoren haben, wenn man vom Zweifel von N. Gudea und V. Lucăcel absieht, die Ergänzungen von M. Macrea in der letzten Zeile akzeptiert. Wir sollen demnach mit einer Cohors V Lingonum *peditata* zu tun haben. Eine *cohors peditata* scheint am ersten Anblick eine Tautologie zu sein, denn eine Cohors besteht prinzipiell aus *pedites*. Dennoch wird sie als technischer Ausdruck von Pseudo-Hyginus²⁶ für unbestimmte Kohorten verwendet, die ausschließlich aus Infanteristen bestehen, um sie von den *cohortes equitatae* zu unterscheiden, die auch einen Reiterbestand besaßen. In konkreten Fällen unterscheidet man die letzten dadurch, daß man sie *equitatae* nannte, während das Fehlen dieser näheren Bestimmung gewöhnlich auf eine reine Infanterieeinheit hinweist. Es gibt meines Wissens einen einzigen Fall, in welchem eine belegte Cohors ausdrücklich *peditata* heißt. Es geht um die niederpannonische *cohors I Alpinorum peditata*, die man von einer sich in derselben Provinz befindenden *cohors I Alpinorum equitata* unterscheiden mußte. Das ist auch die einzige Erklärung für die einmalige offizielle Verwendung eines solchen Attributes.

Wenden wir uns jetzt dem Fragment e der Inschrift aus Porolissum zu. Man wird sofort bemerken, daß die übriggebliebenen Reste keineswegs einem E und einem D, sondern einem C oder G und einem P oder R, die zudem durch einen Punkt getrennt werden, angehören. Damit haben wir es mit *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* zu tun, das im

²⁴ I. Piso, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 231, n. 55.

²⁵ I. Piso, dans : "Eine ganz normale Inschrift" ... und Ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005 (éd. Fr. Beutler, W. Hameter), Vienne 2005, p. 325-331.

²⁶ Pseudo-Hyginus 4, 19, 23, 28, 30, 40.

Namen der Cohors III Campestris und nicht auch in jenem der Cohors V Lingonum enthalten ist. Folglich lautet der Name der Einheit [coh(ors) III Campestris Anto]niniana c(ivium) R(omanorum). Es sollte nicht stören, daß c(ivium) R(omanorum) nach dem Kaiserepitheton Antoniniana und nicht vor ihm gesetzt wurde. Ich habe auch andere, kleinere Änderungen vorgenommen, die aus der graphischen Rekonstruktion ersichtlich sind²⁷. J'y ajoutai ma propre reconstitution graphique (fig. 2 b) et mon propre texte, que je reproduis ci-dessous:

[Imperatori Caesari Marco Aurelio]
 [Antonino pio felici Aug(usto) Parthico max(imo)]
 [pont]if(ici) max(imo) B[rit(annico) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot]es[t(ate) XVI
 imp(eratori) II]
 [co(n)s(uli) III] procō(n)[s(uli) felicissimo f]ortissimoq[ue]
 5 princ(ipi) indul[gentiis eius aucta] liberalitat[i]busq[ue]
 ditata [coh(ors) III Campestris Anto]niniana c(ivium) R(omanorum).

En 2004 est entrée en circulation sur un CD un ouvrage de A. Diaconescu, Statuaria majoră în Dacia romană I-II, Cluj-Napoca 2004. À ma grande surprise, j'y trouvai le commentaire suivant, que j'ai traduit du roumain: "Le nom de la troupe qui a érigé le monument a été complété théoriquement par M. Macrea coh. V Lingonum, reconstitution acceptée aussi par moi-même²⁸. I. Piso m'a pourtant averti qu'à la fin du texte la reconstitution *peditata* manque de sens. En effet, c'est un pléonasme que de dire qu'une cohorte est *peditata*, dès qu'elle était une troupe d'infanterie. Toute autre chose est l'épithète *equitata*, qui se rapporte à l'existence d'un contingent de chevaliers attachés à la troupe. Le terme *peditata* n'apparaît que dans un cas spécial en Pannonie, où stationnaient deux unités au même nom, les coh. I Alpinorum. Pour qu'on en puisse faire la différence dans des listes (dans le cas des diplômes militaires), l'une portait l'épithète *equitata*, l'autre celui de *peditata*. En examinant la photographie publiée par Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, n° 4, j'ai constaté que sur le fragment en cause il ne peut pas s'agir du groupe de lettres ED, parce que entre la fin supposée de l'E et la lettre suivante l'espace est beaucoup trop grand et puisque entre les deux lettres existe, d'ailleurs, un point de séparation. La seconde lettre ne peut pas être un D, parce que la courbure n'est pas assez ample (à comparer avec le fragment jointif, où on avait écrit *ditata*). La lettre est certainement un P ou un R. La lecture doit être C R, avec un point de séparation entre les deux lettres, plus précisément c(ivium) R(omanorum). La troupe pouvait être la coh. I Brittonum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum pia fidelis, qui apparaît avec ce titre sur un autel dédié à Apollon et découvert dans le pavage près de l'édifice du commandement au moment même de la découverte de notre inscription (Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, p. 12-13, n° 9). L'inscription du temple de Jupiter Dolichenus récemment découverte atteste la présence à Porolissum sous Gordien aussi de la coh. III Campestris"²⁹.

À ce docte commentaire A. Diaconescu ajouta un texte de l'inscription avec la cohors I Brittonum milliaria, suivie, sans avoir demandé ma permission, par ma propre reconstitution graphique (fig. 2 b) avec, évidemment, la lecture cohors III Campestris, sans rien modifier et sans me citer.

A. Diaconescu cite donc avec une prétendue élégance l'opinion de I. Piso que quelque chose ne va pas dans l'ancienne lecture avec l'épithète *peditata*. Pourtant, avec son peu d'expérience en épigraphie, I. Piso ne pouvait pas aller plus loin. Heureusement, A. Diaconescu nous apporte sur le bon chemin, en faisant preuve d'une remar-

²⁷ I. Piso, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 329-330. Je ne cite ici que mon texte, en éliminant les notes.

²⁸ Voir n. 23.

²⁹ A. Diaconescu, Statuaria majoră în Dacia romană I, Cluj-Napoca 2004, p. 212-213, n° 33.

quable sagacité épigraphique et en trouvant des arguments même dans l'histoire de l'armée pannonienne. La *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* a été introduite dans le jeu en raison de la "bonne méthode", pour que la vérité apparaisse sous une plus belle lumière. En réalité, les idées et la démonstration m'appartiennent en exclusivité. On peut se demander pourquoi un spécialiste aussi bon que A. Diaconescu ressent-t-il le besoin de se parer des plumes d'autrui.

ENCORE UNE INSCRIPTION RÉUTILISÉE DE NAPOCA

Comme on le sait, sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne ville de Napoca on a découvert de nombreux monuments épigraphiques, réutilisés dès l'Antiquité. Plusieurs en constituent un groupe dans l'aréal de la nécropole romaine tardive, c'est à dire sur le terrain compris dans l'angle des rues N. Titulescu (l'ancienne Pata) et C. Brâncuși (l'ancienne Gheorgheni). Ils ont été réutilisés afin de confectionner des sarcophages improvisés, vers la fin du III^e siècle ap. J.-C. et durant le siècle suivant¹.

Le monument présenté provient du même point topographique. Il fut trouvé par hasard, pendant des travaux de canalisation rue Plugarilor (= «rue des Laboureurs» en roumain), tout au centre de la zone archéologique mentionnée ci-dessus. La fosse d'un canal, pratiquée sur le front Sud de la rue, a surpris un sarcophage en pierre devant la maison n^o 20; on a élargi la fosse au-dessous de l'enclos, dans la cour de la maison, et on a enlevé la pierre qui empêchait le travail – une grande plaque en pierre calcaire, provenant d'une paroi latérale d'un sarcophage. Par les bons offices du propriétaire de la maison et ceux d'un voisin², la pièce fut préservée attentivement, et le Musée National d'Histoire de la Transylvanie en fut averti tout de suite. Le même jour (le 6 septembre 2004) la pierre fut acquise par le Musée; elle se trouve maintenant dans le lapidaire de cette institution (sans numéro d'inventaire).

Le monument, conservé partiellement, a été exécuté en pierre calcaire de Baci, matériel très commun pour la Napoca antique³. Aujourd'hui il présente l'aspect d'une plaque grossière, à faces irrégulières, travaillées sommairement. Mais il est évident qu'il s'agit en fait d'un fragment découpé d'un parallélépipède massif en pierre. Les dimensions maximales de la portion préservée sont : 101,5 cm de hauteur, 65 cm de largeur, 21,5 cm d'épaisseur (beaucoup moins vers le centre).

La face principale comprend un fragment assez grand d'une inscription latine, entourée d'un bord; celui-ci devrait avoir été orné de motifs en relief, mais tout a disparu par martèlement. Sur son côté vertical on distingue encore une ligne, endommagée, présentant des pirouettes (7 × 3,5 cm chacune) ayant deux par deux perles entre elles (chacune au diamètre de 3,5 cm). La largeur du bord martelé est de 22 cm. (fig. 1a et 2a).

La face latérale droite du monument a conservé plus d'un bord similaire. Sur son long côté on voit encore ses deux moulures; l'intérieur est de 2,5 cm de largeur, tandis que l'autre n'a que 2 cm. Vers l'intérieur il s'ensuit une cannelure à profile semi-circulaire, ayant le diamètre de 4,5 cm. Puis on trouve une ligne de pirouettes (7 × 3 cm), ayant deux par deux perles entre elles (environ 3 × 2,5 cm chacune). L'espace délimité par celles-ci ne s'est conservé que d'une manière très réduite (82 × 8 cm), mais on voit toujours un fragment de son angle gauche supérieur (fig. 1b et 2b). À coup sûr, la face

¹ Voir: R. Ardevan, I. Hica-Câmpeanu, *Inscriptions romaines réutilisées de Napoca*, AMN 22-23, 1985-1986, p. 541-542, 550-552; R. Ardevan, I. Hica, *Inscriptions de Napoca*, AMN 37/I, 2000, p. 243, 248; I. Hica, *Necropola din zona de sud-est a municipiului Napoca (sec. II – IV)*, dans Napoca – 1880 de ani de la începuturile vieții urbane, Cluj-Napoca 1999, p. 97-104; D. Protase, *Autohtonii în Dacia II. Dacia postromană până la slavi*, Cluj-Napoca 2000, p. 132.

² Il s'agit de M. I. Negru et respectivement G. Popița, citoyens de grand cœur, qui ont déployé des efforts pour sauver des découvertes pareilles. On leur exprime cette fois aussi notre spéciale gratitude.

³ Chaleureux remerciements à Madame l'ingénieur Doina Boroș, chef du Laboratoire de restauration du musée, pour avoir soigneusement nettoyé la surface du monument.

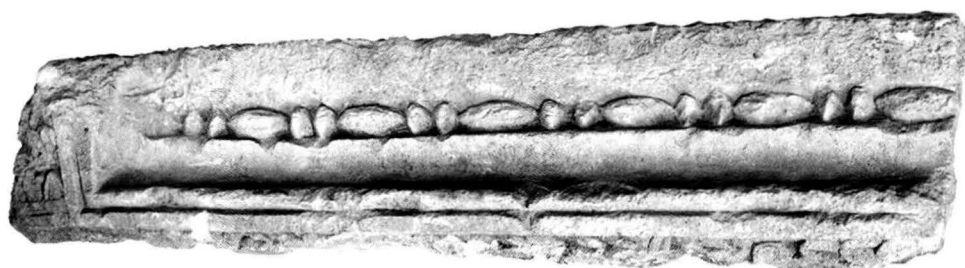


Fig. 1b

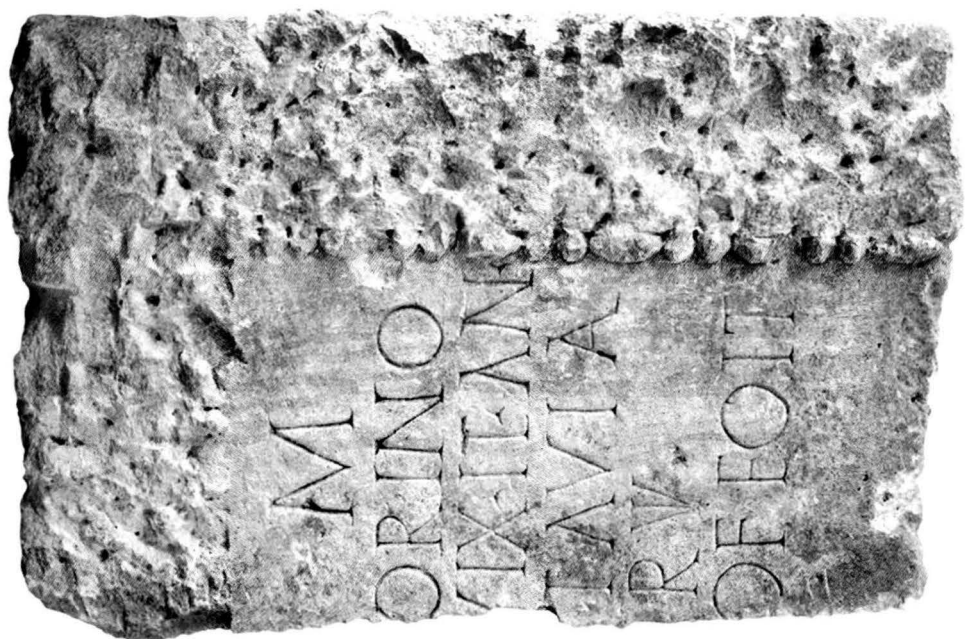


Fig. 1a

Fig. 1a. Le monument à inscription, la face principale;
fig. 1b. Le monument à inscription, la face latérale.

latérale droite du monument initial avait été soigneusement ornée, et peut-être pourvue d'une inscription aussi⁴. Parce que l'inscription gravée sur la face principale est indubitablement un texte funéraire, il s'agit sans doute d'un *cippus* funéraire imposant, probablement orné sur trois de ses faces.

Toujours sur cette face latérale on remarque des traces de mortaire. Elles proviennent de la réutilisation du fragment présenté ci-dessus, en tant que simple matériel de construction. Vu les conditions de découverte, la pièce – découpée d'un *cippus* – doit avoir servi à fabriquer la paroi latérale d'un sarcophage. Bien sûr, à cette occasion fut détruit le bord orné de la face principale, pour obtenir l'épaisseur réclamée par cette nouvelle fonction.

Sur la face principale subsiste une inscription latine fragmentaire (fig. 1a). Ce qui reste encore du champ épigraphique comprend 76 × 39 cm. On distingue facilement les lettres suivantes :

	M
	ORINO
	VIX ·IT·AN·
	TAVIA
5	RVI
	OFEOIT

Les lettres sont disposées sur six lignes; elles ont été gravées assez soigneusement, mais leurs dimensions diffèrent. Dans la l. 1, l'unique lettre conservée a la hauteur de 8,7 cm, tandis que dans les autres lignes elle ne dépasse jamais 6,9 cm. Leur largeur est assez variable aussi, mais nous n'allons la mentionner que pour les lettres plus larges : si le M de la l. 1 touche 9,5 cm, dans les lignes suivantes O comprend 6,8 cm, N atteint 5,5 cm et A seulement 5, tandis que E n'a que 3 cm. Les espaces entre les lignes sont légèrement différents également : 6 cm entre le bord supérieur et la première ligne, mais seulement 3 cm entre les l. 1 et 2, puis environ 2,5 cm entre les autres. Entre la dernière ligne écrite et le bord inférieur reste un large espace de 14 cm sans aucune trace d'écriture, ce qui prouve que le texte se disposait sûrement sur six lignes seulement.

Quelques lettres présentent certaines particularités. Par exemple, l'A de la l. 2 manque de haste horizontale, dans la l. 5 les lettres V et I forment une ligature, tandis que dans la dernière ligne le mot FEOIT représente une forme erronée pour FECIT (O à la place de C). Une erreur d'orthographe surgit dans la l. 3 aussi, où un point sépare sans raison les lettres X et I du mot VIXIT.

Tous ces traits montrent que l'inscription fut gravée par un maître lapicide assez adroit, mais d'une culture déficitaire.

Pour restituer le texte, il est essentiel d'établir sa nature. La formule, très claire, *vixit an(nis)* de la l. 3 fait preuve de son caractère funéraire, donc la dernière parole est assurément *fecit*, et la lettre M de la l. 1 doit avoir appartenu à l'acclamation *D(is) M(anibus)*.

Un autre support peut offrir la largeur du champ épigraphique. Nous croyons que l'unique indication en ce sens est à trouver dans la l. 5. Les lettres ...RVI représentent la terminaison d'un substantif de la IV^{ème} déclinaison, au cas datif singulier, qui devrait exprimer la qualité de la personne décédée, pour laquelle le monument fut érigé. L'unique complètement possible est la parole [*soc*]rui. La longueur du mot, ainsi que l'espace entre celui-ci et le bord droit du champ épigraphique (sûrement égal à celui-ci vers le bord

⁴ Une analogie en ce sens: le monument funéraire CIL III 7981 = IDR III/2, 388 de Sarmizegetusa.

gauche, pour raisons de symétrie), indiquent que le champ doit avoir eu environ 85 cm de largeur.

À base de ces données on peut tenter une restitution du texte.

Dans la l. 2, les lettres ...ORINO représentent sans doute la fin d'un nom masculin, de la II^{ème} déclinaison et au cas datif singulier – donc, celui du défunt. De tels noms existaient en grand nombre dans l'onomastique de l'époque⁵, mais en ce cas-là le plus approprié (pour des raisons d'espace) semble être *Victorinus*, qui d'ailleurs est le nom romain ayant cette terminaison le plus répandu aussi. Donc on peut compléter [...VICT]ORINO ; devant ce *cognomen* reste assez de place pour un gentilice abrégé.

La l. 3 finit sûrement par la formule *vixit an(nis)*. Le large espace précédent pourrait avoir abrité des indications abrégées sur le statut social du décédé (telles VET LEG, EX 7, DEC COL, AVG COL, EQ R etc.) ou même un *domus* ; les variantes possibles sont trop nombreuses pour y insister. Malheureusement on ne peut rien dire de plus en ce sens.

Toujours inconnue reste l'âge de Victorinus lors de sa mort, qui devrait avoir été consigné au début de la l. 4. Bien sûr, il s'agit d'une personne assez âgée, car il a une belle-fille aussi⁶. Pour des raisons d'espace disponible, nous croyons que la parole *annis* de la l. 3 était abrégée uniquement par les lettres AN; donc, au début de la ligne suivante reste assez de place pour un *nomen gentile* assez commun, abrégé⁷, ainsi que pour le chiffre indiquant les années vécues, très probablement autour de 50 (écrit L). Et les lettres ...TAVIA de la fin de la l. 4 cachent sans doute le *cognomen* du dédicant – un nom féminin, à la I^{ère} déclinaison, au nominatif singulier. De tels noms sont assez nombreux aussi⁸ ; l'espace disponible et la fréquence accrue rendent le complètement [OC]TAVIA pour le plus vraisemblable.

Enfin, dans la l. 6, avant le verbe *fecit*, la lettre O doit représenter la terminaison d'un attribut masculin au singulier, accordé au substantif de la ligne précédente. Le sens et l'espace disponible recommandent le complètement [OPTIM]O.

De sorte que la lecture du texte conservé peut être restituée ainsi (fig. 2a):

[D(is)] M(anibus)
[... ... Vict]orino
[... ...] vixit an(nis)
[... ...Oc]tavia
5 [soc]rui
[optim]o fecit

En traduction: «Aux dieux mânes. À ... Victorinus, (qui) a vécu ans, Octavia, au meilleur beau-père a fait (le monument)».

Un obstacle à cette traduction le représente la parole *socrus* en datif singulier (*socrui*) dans la l. 5. Comme on le sait bien, différemment à *socer*, -i (= beau-père), le substantif *socrus*, -us de la IV^{ème} déclinaison signifie « belle-mère »⁹. Mais dans ce contexte-ci le sens ne peut être que celui de « beau-père »: la personne décédée est de sexe masculin, tandis que la dédicante est sûrement une femme, et le mot *socrui* est

⁵ A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann, E. Márton, M. Szilágyi, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinæ cum indice inverso*, Budapest 1983, p. 386.

⁶ Voir en bas.

⁷ Tout comme le gentilice du défunt, celui-ci devrait être un nom assez fréquent, marqué par une abréviation (tel AEL, ANT, AVR, CL, FL, IVL etc.); le plus vraisemblable serait un nom abrégé par deux lettres seulement, CL ou FL.

⁸ A. Mócsy et alii, op. cit. (n. 5), p. 371.

⁹ A. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis lexicon*² 5, Prato 1871, p. 541, 543; K. E. Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* 2, Leipzig 1880, 2424; I. Nădejde, A. Nădejde-Gesticone, *Dicționar latin-român*, Iași 1913, p. 614-615.

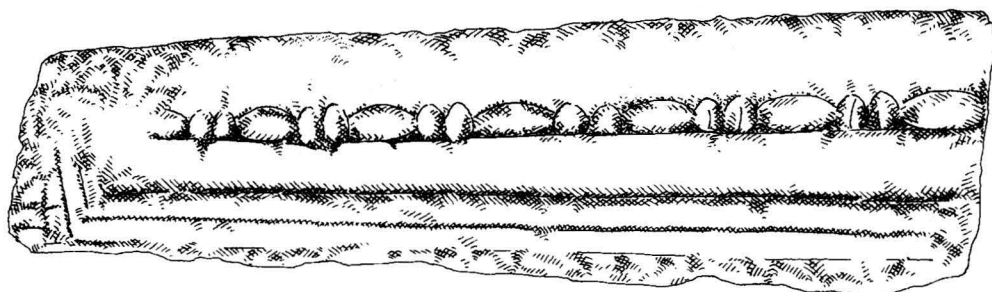


Fig. 2b

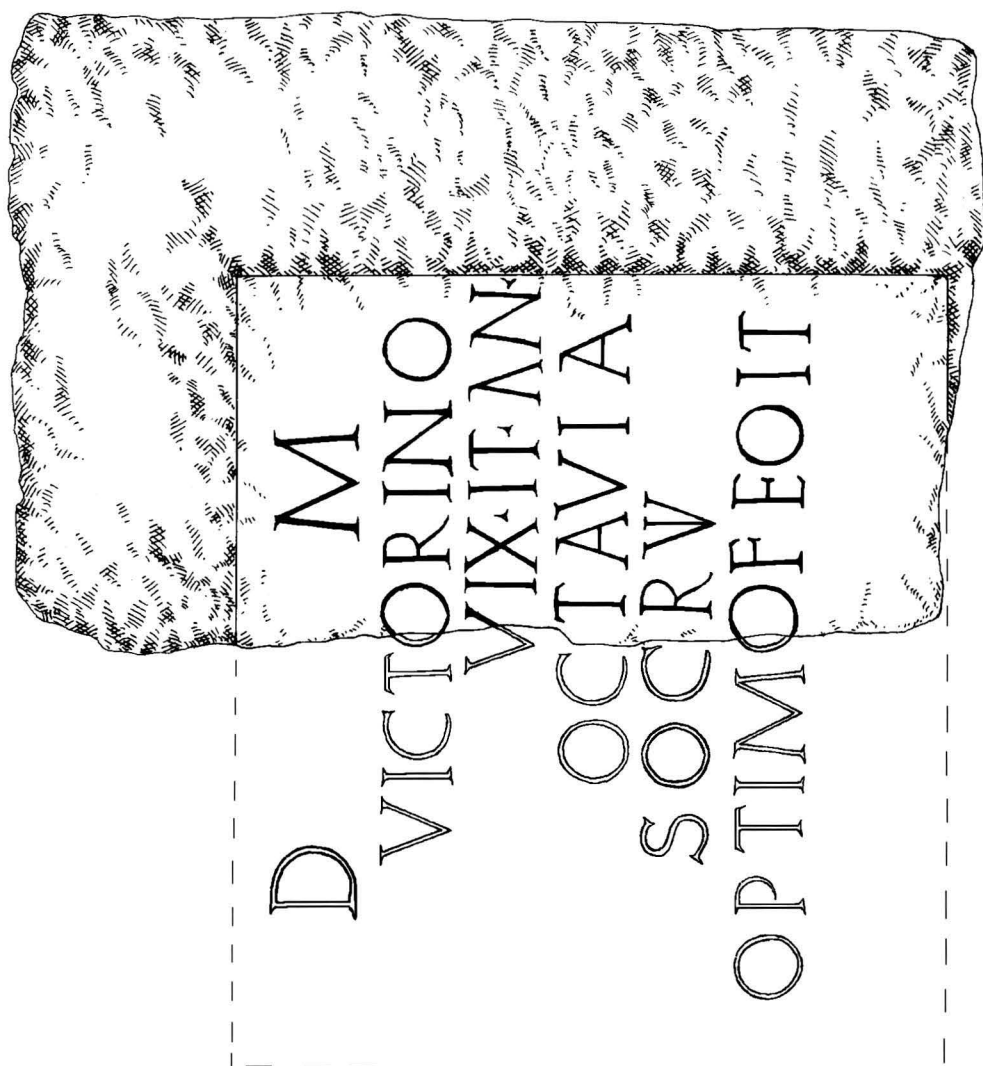


Fig. 2a

Fig. 2a. Le monument à inscription, la face principale (dessin et restitution);
fig. 2b. Le monument à inscription, la face latérale (dessin).

accompagné d'un attribut masculin. Or, le sens masculin du mot, malgré son extrême rareté, existe et connaît des attestations¹⁰. Jadis, son usage au genre masculin était pris pour un trait archaïque¹¹; mais les inscriptions attestent ce sens du mot même beaucoup plus récemment, justement pendant l'existence de la province de Dacie¹², chose confirmée une fois de plus par la découverte présentée ici.

En conclusion, il s'agit d'un fragment de monument funéraire imposant de Napoca, un *cippus* de grandes dimensions et richement orné, provenant de la tombe d'un personnage très aisé, peut-être membre de l'élite sociale locale. Le fait qu'une certaine ... Octavia dresse le monument pour son beau-père, ... Victorinus, montre que, à ce moment-là, elle devrait être déjà veuve; son mari (le fils du décédé) doit avoir disparu auparavant, tout aussi que la femme de Victorinus. Tous pouvaient avoir été déposés dans le même caveau familial. Et Octavia elle-même ne semble pas avoir eu d'enfants, car personne ne s'associe à sa dédicace funéraire. Le décédé et la dédicante portent tous les deux des noms romains corrects; certainement ils proviennent de familles de citoyens romains, même si on ne parvient plus à deviner leurs gentiles.

Tout élément certain pour une datation fait défaut. Mais la structure du texte et l'espace disponible soutiennent l'absence d'un prénom de Victorinus, ce qui indiquerait plutôt le III^e siècle ap. J.-C. De même, les erreurs orthographiques sur un monument à prétentions rendent plus vraisemblable toujours une datation tardive. On est enclin à croire que l'inscription doit avoir été érigée vers le milieu du siècle mentionné ci-dessus, une période difficile, pendant laquelle la société provinciale perd graduellement de sa prospérité et de son éclat¹³.

Le monument fragmentaire discuté maintenant témoigne une fois de plus de la civilisation romaine à Napoca et de la richesse de ses couches supérieures.

La réutilisation de l'inscription en tant que matériel de construction pour un sarcophage improvisé est à dater, naturellement, plus tard encore. Nous croyons qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène consommé à Napoca seulement après l'abandon de la province, probablement pendant la première moitié du IV^e siècle ap. J.-C. C'est une datation suggérée par tous les traits de la nécropole à laquelle appartient le sarcophage¹⁴. Des précisions supplémentaires pourrait offrir seulement la recherche archéologique de la tombe, ainsi que celle de la portion encore existante de la nécropole antique – une démarche qui nous reste impossible pour le moment. En tout cas, ce sarcophage s'inscrit parmi les arguments d'une survie romaine tardive à Napoca, au IV^e siècle¹⁵.

La découverte étudiée maintenant confirme l'importance et la richesse de la nécropole romaine tardive de Napoca, emplacée autour de la rue « Plugarilor » du municiple moderne¹⁶. Son exploration complète et la publication de tous les résultats des anciennes fouilles représente une nécessité évidente pour l'avenir.

¹⁰ A. Forcellini, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 543; K. E. Georges, loc. cit. (n. 9); J. T. White, J. E. Riddle, A Latin-English Dictionary, London 1880, p. 1817; L. Quicherat, A. Daveluy, Dictionnaire latin-français, Paris 1884, p. 1099; E. Benoist, H. Goelzer, Nouveau dictionnaire latin-français, Paris 1922, p. 1436.

¹¹ A. Forcellini, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 541, 543; K. E. Georges, loc. cit. (n. 9).

¹² H. Mihăescu, La langue latine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, București – Paris 1978, p. 293 § 300.

¹³ G. Alföldy, Römische Sozialgeschichte³, Wiesbaden 1985, p. 133, 141-143, 147-148; R. Ardevan, *Autour du texte épigraphique CIL III 1474 = IDR III/2, 379*, Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series historica, Alba Iulia 9/1, 2005, p. 247-248.

¹⁴ R. Ardevan, I. Hica-Câmpeanu, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 541, 550-552 (avec la bibliographie antérieure); R. Ardevan, I. Hica, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 243 (n. 1-3 aussi), 248.

¹⁵ D. Protase, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 131-134.

¹⁶ I. Hica, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 101-102; D. Benea, I. Hica, *Damnatio memoriae în arhitectura romană târzie de la Dunărea de Jos, Timișoara 2004*, p. 112-139.

NEW DATA ON THE IMPORTED *TERRA SIGILLATA* TO NAPOCA

1. Research stage

The imported *terra sigillata* discovered in the Roman city of *Napoca* during the excavations prior to 1980 were the object of a special study, published by D. Isac¹. They were also included by the author in his PhD thesis on the subject of the *terra sigillata* in *Dacia*². 35 vessels and fragments of *terra sigillata* were included in the works mentioned, most of them being plain sigillata. I had access to 33 of them, but I only had at my

We used the following abbreviations:

Bémont-Jacob 1986 = C. Bémont, J.-P. Jacob (eds.), *La terre sigillée gallo-romaine. Lieux de production du Haut Empire: implantations, produits, relations*, DAF 6, Paris, 1986; Bernhard 1981 = H. Bernhard, *Zur Diskussion um die Chronologie Rheinzaberner Relieftöpfe*, *Germania* 59, 1, 1981, p. 79-93; Bjelajac 1990 = L. Bjelajac, *Terra sigillata u Gornjoj Meziji. Import i radionice Viminacium – Margum (Terra sigillata in Upper Moesia. Import and Viminacium – Margum Workshops)*, Beograd 1990; CGP = J. A. Stanfield, G. Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters*, London 1958; Conspectus = Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae Italico modo confectae, MRK, Heft 10, Bonn 1990; Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000 = A. Dimitrova-Milčeva, *Terra sigillata und dünnwandige Keramik aus Moesia Inferior (Nordbulgarien)*, Sofia 2000; Gabler 1994-1995 = Gabler D., *Samian Ware from the Vicus of Albertfalva*, in CAH, 1994-1995, p. 61-79; Gabler 1996 = Gabler D., *Terra sigillata tardo-italica in Pannonia*, AArchHung 48, 1996, p. 49-69; Gabler-Kocztur 1976 = Gabler D., Kocztur É., *Terra Sigillata-Depotfund aus Gorsium*, AR 15, (1976), 1977, p. 65-81; Gabler-Márton 2005 = Gabler D., Márton A., *Gauli-Germaniai és Duna-Vidéki terra sigillata bélyegek nem reliefdiszes edényeken (Gallisch-germanische Terra Sigillata-Stempel auf nicht reliefverzierten Gefäßen (in Pannonien))*, CAH, 2005, p. 227-307; Hofmann 1988 = B. Hofmann, *L'Atelier de Banassac*, *Revue Archéologique Sites*, hors-série 33, Gonfaron 1988; Kandler-Zöchmann 1997 = C. Kandler-Zöchmann, *Terra Sigillata der Grabungskampagne 1993*, in M. Kandler (ed.), *Das Auxiliarkastell Carnuntum 2. Forschungen seit 1989*, Wien 1997, p. 101-172; Ludowici-Ricken 1948 = H. Ricken, *Die Bilderschüsseln der römischen Töpfer von Rheinzabern – Tafelband*, W. Ludowici, Katalog VI meiner Ausgrabungen in Rheinzabern 1901-1914, Speyer 1948; Isac 1980 = D. Isac, *Importuri de terra sigillata la Napoca*, AMN 17, 1980, p. 467-481; Isac 1985 = D. Isac, *Terra sigillata in Dacia romană*, PhD, Cluj-Napoca 1985; Oswald 1931 = F. Oswald, *Index of potters stamps on Terra Sigillata*, Margidunum 1931; Oswald-Pryce 1984 = F. Oswald, T. D. Pryce, *Introduction à l'étude de la céramique sigillée*, *Revue Archéologique Sites*, hors-série 11, Avignon 1984; PGC = J. A. Stanfield, G. Simpson, *Les potiers de la Gaule Centrale*, Nouvelle édition française, *Revue Archéologique Sites*, hors-série 37, Gonfaron 1990; Pferdehirt 1986 = B. Pferdehirt, *Die römische Okkupation Germaniens und Rätians von der Zeit des Tiberius bis zum Tode Trajans. Untersuchungen zur Chronologie südgallischer Reliefsigillata*, JRGZM 33, 1986, p. 221-320; Popilian 1976 = Gh. Popilian, *Ceramica romană din Oltenia*, Craiova 1976; Popilian-Ciucă 1988 = Gh. Popilian, I. Ciucă, *Nouvelles informations sur l'importation de terra sigillata en Dacie méridionale*, *Dacia N.S.*, 32, 1988, p. 61-79; Popilian-Ciucă 1993 = Gh. Popilian, I. Ciucă, *Ceramica de tip terra sigillata de import descoperită la Enoșești-Acidava (jud. Olt)*, AO 8, 1993, p. 29-42; Ricken-Thomas 2005 = H. Ricken, M. Thomas, *Die Dekorationsserien der Rheinzaberner Reliefsigillata. Textband zum Katalog VI der Ausgrabungen von Wilhelm Ludowici in Rheinzabern 1901-1914*, MRK, Heft 14, vol. I-II (Text und Tafeln), Bonn 2005; Rogers 1999 = G. B. Rogers, *Poteries sigillées de la Gaule centrale. II. – Les potiers*, vol. I-II, *Revue Archéologique Sites*, hors-série 40, Lezoux 1999; Rusu-Bolindeț 2001 = V. Rusu-Bolindeț, *Ceramica romană de la Napoca (Cu privire specială asupra veselei ceramice)*, PhD, Cluj-Napoca 2001; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004 = V. Rusu-Bolindeț, *Tardo-Italica Terra Sigillata from Roman Dacia*, in vol. *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (Ligia Ruscu, Carmen Ciongradi, R. Ardevan, C. Roman, C. Găzdac eds.), *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis* XXI, Cluj-Napoca 2004, p. 412-434; Webster 1996 = P. Webster, *Roman Samian Pottery in Britain. Practical Handbook*, Archaeology no. 13, Council for British Archaeology, York 1996.

¹ Isac 1980.

² Isac 1985, p. 42-43, 50, 53-54, 71; fig. 2, tab. 1 -3; fig. 6.

disposal the drawings of the pieces³. The ceramic material from the excavations performed after 1980, counting no less than 25 totally new pieces, adds to the previously-mentioned figure, representing a total of 58 vessels and fragments of imported *terra sigillata* that we know from the archaeological finds on this site.

2. The provenience of the ceramic material

The biggest agglomeration of imported *terra sigillata* finds ever published was recorded in 21-23 Gh. Doja (now Ferdinand) str., where a deposit was discovered during the excavations in 1968, containing mostly plain sigillata (24 pieces) (pl. I). Imported ceramic material, which has been published, was also found in the excavations carried out between 1958 and 1962 in the area of the E. Zola str., Museum Square, right opposite the old Telephones' building (five items), as well as in the south-western corner of Libertății (Unirii) Square (two items), than other two pieces whose place of discovery has not been specified. The biggest number of new pieces originate from V. Deleu str. (17 items), to which must be added those found in the rescue excavations carried out so as to create a setting for the Memorandists' Monument in 1994-1995 (four fragments), as well as those discovered in Prahovei str. in 1996 (one item), no. 3 Matei Corvin str. (one item)⁴, from the above-mentioned older excavations in Libertății (Unirii) square (one fragment), and from a not mentioned place within the territory of the ancient city (one item).

3. Analysis of the imported *terra sigillata* found in Napoca

Although most of the imported sigillata ware from *Napoca* has already been the object of a special study, as we have previously mentioned, we considered necessary to include them together with the new material found mostly in the archaeological excavations carried out over the last 20 years. Such an approach is most necessary, as the respective material is recorded in a ceramic monograph⁵, the presence of this category of recipients providing clues regarding the commercial connections with various production centers in the Empire. It also helps seizing the influences under the incidence of which the local production of pottery emerged and grew. Naturally, there is also the added value in what the dating is concerned, which this kind of material brings, together with other categories of artifacts.

a. Late Italian sigillata. *Terra sigillata tardo-padana*

The novelty regarding the imported sigillata in *Napoca* is represented by the discovery of six items originating from Po Valley workshops. The situation is all the more interesting as such imports had previously been extremely rare in the province of Dacia, which can be explained by the activity period of the respective workshops, which, according to more ancient opinions, would have ceased production the moment our province was included in the Empire. However, a study recently published on late Italian sigillata imports in Dacia demonstrated that this category of sigillata was well-known in the province in the period of Trajan-Antoninus Pius and was spread on the sites along the imperial road⁶. Thus, the real picture of late Italian sigillata imports

³ I would like to thank especially Mr. Dan Isac for the original illustration in his PhD thesis, which he kindly placed at my disposal for the elaboration of the chapter on imported *terra sigillata* ware in my PhD thesis (see below, footnote 5).

⁴ For the unpublished pottery material which was so kindly put at my disposal, I want to express my utmost gratitude to my fellow researchers: Dr. S. Cociș and V. Voișian (most of the unpublished Samian ware come from V. Deleu str., where archaeological excavations were carried out), Dr. Viorica Crișan, Dr. Adrian A. Rusu.

⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, p. 130-180.

⁶ Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, p. 712-734, pl. I, table 1-2. See also in the same study the discussion on the possible penetration routes of late Italian sigillata into Dacia – p. 714-715, pl. III.

(mostly tardo-padana) from the province of Dacia is much closer to that of Dacia's neighboring provinces⁷, even though Dacia was included much later into the Roman Empire.

The most frequent forms of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana from *Napoca* are the dishes Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39 and the cups Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43 barbotine decorated: two bowls Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39.1 (no 1-2, pl. II/1-2), as well as three cups of the following types: Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.1 (no. 5, pl. III/5), Conspectus 43.1.2 (no. 4, pl. III/4), and respectively Conspectus 43.1.3 (no. 3, pl. III/3). They are part of B group of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana, characterized by a flaring rim, an "S"-shaped profile and barbotine decoration⁸. The analyzed items have almost the same decoration: bunches of grapes that have an ivy leaf instead of the stem, combined with motives in the shape of a lily (central leaf with two spirals on the sides). The item no. 2 in the catalogue is an exception from the viewpoint of the decoration (pl. II/2), where the bunch of grapes is placed almost diagonally on the rim of the vessel, because this manner of placing the decoration has never been encountered in the classical items of the ware types under discussion. The emergence of new decorations as compared to the already well-recognized ones is not unusual – a totally new situation was brought out by an item discovered at *Flavia Solva*⁹ as the respective decoration completed the list of ornaments specific for the Conspectus 39 and 43-type recipients. Unfortunately, the decoration on our vessel is much too fragmentary, which means that under the circumstances, we cannot go deeper in analyzing its unusual character. None of the items discovered at *Napoca* have a stamp on the bottom, which is no exception in the case of these forms.

Terra sigillata tardo-padana type Conspectus 39 and 43 are quite frequent in Danubian provinces (more frequent than the relief decorated Samian ware), analogies in the neighboring provinces being numerous. We will only mention a few sites from *Pannonia* and *Moesia Superior* where such discoveries were recorded, such as Kálváriá¹⁰,

⁷ For Pannonia see Gabler 1996; idem, *Late Italian terra sigillata in Pannonia*, in *Belgian Archaeology in a European Setting*. I (M. Lodowijck ed.), Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 12, Leuven 2001, p. 51-56; Buocz T., Gabler D., Savariai városfal. A városfal építési ideje a terra sigillaták tükrében, Sárovar, 2002, p. 64-90 and an interesting comparative study on the presence of Arretine sigillata among the Italian sigillata ware discovered at the main sites in *Pannonia* and *Noricum* – fig. 16; for *Moesia Superior* – Bjelajac 1990, p. 9-11, pl. 2/1-2; p. 118, no. 56, pl. 55; for *Moesia Inferior* – see Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, p. 5-9, catalogue no. 1-91; p. 43-49, pl. 1-4, 5/85-91, fig. 2-3; p. 14, pl. 13, no. 186; one of the international congresses of the association of specialists in Roman pottery (*Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores*), which took place in Rome in 2002, highlighted a totally different picture of the dissemination of Italian sigillata (including that of late Italian sigillata!) in the entire Roman universe – see RCRF Acta 38, Abingdon, 2003, and for the subject under discussion the articles: R. Chinelli, P. Donat, I. Pavić, *Importazioni dall'Italia ed elementi di tradizione italica nella ceramica romana rinvenuta a Vienna (Austria), con particolare riferimento agli scavi urbani effettuati nel Michaelerplatz (1990/1991)*, p. 191-200; A. Faber, *Produzione di terra sigillata italica ed il consumo di ceramiche a vernice nell'Italia meridionale alla fine della repubblica e nella prima età imperiale*, p. 171-179; A. Gamberini, L. Mazzeo Saracino, *Produzioni tarde di terra sigillata da Galeata (Fo)*, p. 99-107; G. Olcese (con il contributo di M. Picon), *Terra sigillata italica a Roma e in area romana: produzione, circolazione e analisi de laboratorio*, p. 11-26; G. Rizzo, *Roma e le ultime produzioni "tardo-italiche" di vasi in terra sigillata*, p. 35-42; E. Rivello, *Terra sigillata italica dalla Longarina (Ostia antica, Roma)*, p. 69-72; C. Viegas, *Terra sigillata imports in Santarém (Portugal)*, p. 323-331; D. Zhuravlev, *Italian and other western sigillata in the northern Pontic area*, p. 219-224 etc.

⁸ This separation was made by S. Zabehllicky-Schefenegger, in her study on Tardo-padana sigillata ware – *Terra Sigillata Tardo-Padana*, RCRF Acta, 31-32, 1992, p. 416-417, fig. 1, 4.

⁹ E. Schindler-Kaudeika, *Italische Terra Sigillata aus Flavia Solva. Ein Überblick am Beispiel der Funde aus der Insula XLI*, FÖ 33, 1994, p. 363, pl. 1/3.

¹⁰ Gabler D., *Adatok az Itáliai barbotinos sigillaták kérdéséhez (Contribution of the question of Italian Terra Sigillata decorated en barbotine)*, Arrabona 6, Győr 1964, p. 5-17, a synthesis on the *terra sigillata* tardo-padana with barbotine decoration discovered in *Pannonia* up to that moment.

*Carnuntum*¹¹, *Flavia Solva*¹², *Poetovio*¹³, *Aquincum*¹⁴, the *vicus* from Albertfalva¹⁵, *Savaria*¹⁶, *Singidunum*¹⁷ etc., the rest being included in the catalogue of each piece individually. The predominant presence in Dacia of vessels Conspectus 39 and 43 barbotine decorated and that of the products made by LVCIVS RASINIVS PISANVS¹⁸ can be explained by the fact that the vessels under discussion represent the last offensive of Italian sigillata industry. These products reached the markets in the Danubian provinces of the Empire that were part of the *portorium Illyricum*, the Italian sigillata having a market in this area ever since the Augustan-Tiberian period¹⁹. The export of late Italian sigillata is inexistent in Germany and very scarce in Gaul, their presence in the Danubian provinces being strictly linked to the interest range of the commerce with *Aquileia*²⁰.

The series of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana from Napoca is ending by a fragmentary plate Conspectus 3.2.1 (no 6, pl. III/6), recessing, with tall walls and a distinct, flaring rim. Usually, variants of this type have the potter's name stamped on the inside in *planta pedis*. This type of plates was produced from the Ist century AD on, but the production peak was recorded in the second half of that century, going up to the IInd century²¹. According to recent studies, the form Conspectus 3 was noted in Rome among imports of late Italian sigillata even in the Antonine period²², which confirms the fact that they were still produced and exported until the mid IInd century AD. The item discovered at Napoca comes from an archaeological context dated in the times of the emperor Trajan, which confirms the chronological dating of the form, encountered at other sites in other provinces of the Empire.

From a chronological viewpoint, the analyzed pieces fit in the first half of the IInd century AD (Trajan – Antoninus Pius), in all of the three earth-and-timber phases of the

¹¹ Kandler-Zöchmann 1997, p. 101-102, pl. I/1-9.

¹² St. Groh, *Die Insula XLI von Flavia Solva. Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1959 und 1989 bis 1992*, JÖAI Sonderschriften Band 28, Wien 1996, p. 104-106, T. 2/TSTP 21, T. 4/TSTP 26, 27 etc.

¹³ J. Istenič, *Poetovio, zahodna grobišča I. Grobne celote iz Deželnega muzeja Joanneuma v Gradcu*. Poetovio, the Western Cemeteries. Grave-Groups in the Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, *Catalogi et monographiae* 32, Ljubljana 1999, p. 90, pl. 9:3, m. 39, pl. 118:1, 3, m. 583 etc.

¹⁴ Nagy L., *Perióduskutatások az aquincumi polgárváros területén (Erforschung der periode in Zentral-Gebiete der Zivilstadt von Aquincum)*, BudRég 21, 1964, p. 43; Gabler D., *Die Sigillaten vom Gebiete der Hercules Villa in Aquincum*, AArchHung 28, 1976, p. 22; Lebegyev J., Márton A., *Újabb terra sigillata leletek az Aquincum katanavárosi canabae területéről. A Lajos utca – Nagyszombat utca sarok és a Bakor utca – Galagonya utca 9-es telek ásátásának terra sigillata anyaga (New Samian ware fiind from the canabae legionis of Aquincum. Samian ware from the corner of Lajos street – Nagyszombat street and from 9 Galagonya street – Bokor street excavation)*, AErt, 128, 2003, p. 126, fig. 3/5-6, p. 158, fig. 20/1.

¹⁵ Gabler 1994-1995, p. 61-62; p. 64, no. 3, fig. 1/2, 2/1; p. 67, no. 14, fig. 2/2-3.

¹⁶ Buocz T., Gabler D., op. cit., p. 64-66, 72-74, fig. 8/136-144.

¹⁷ Bjelajac 1990, p. 121, 126, 197, pl. 57-58; S. Nikolić-Dorđević, *Antička keramika Singidunuma. Oblici posuda (Antique Pottery from Singidunum. Form of Vessels)*, Singidunum 2, Beograd 2000 (M. Popović ed.), p. 96, 231, type III/4.

¹⁸ On the distribution of LVCIVS RASINIVS PISANVS' products in Dacia and in the neighboring provinces, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, p. 713, 716, catalogue no. 4, pl. VII/1 and footnotes 4-5, 11, 13 with corresponding bibliography.

¹⁹ Gabler D., *Differences between imported pottery in the Western and Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire*, AArchHung 38, 1986, p. 93-94.

²⁰ Idem, op. cit., p. 98-99, fig. 3.

²¹ Conspectus, p. 16, 56, Taf. 3.

²² G. Rizzo, op. cit., p. 36, 38, table 2 – with a conclusive diagram showing the preponderance of the form Conspectus 3 among Italian sigillata in the Trajan period, just like in the Trajan-Hadrian period – see p. 38-39, table 4; the situation changes in the Antonine period, when plates Conspectus 3 are surpassed as frequency by cups Conspectus 45 – see p. 39-40, table 6.

settlement in *Napoca*²³. Furthermore, they are in line with the general chronology of tardo-padana products, at certain sites this dating being pushed even further, to the beginning of the Marcomanic wars²⁴.

The six late Italian sigillata items discovered at *Napoca* make 10 % of the total imports, which place *terra sigillata* tardo-padana workshops ahead of the South Gaulish ones in this respect (see table 1, diagram 1). In the same time, excluding from the total sigillata imports from *Napoca* the deposit discovered on 21-23 Gh. Doja str., the tardo-padana workshops are better represented per ansamble on the same site, respectively with 18 % (table 2, diagram 2).

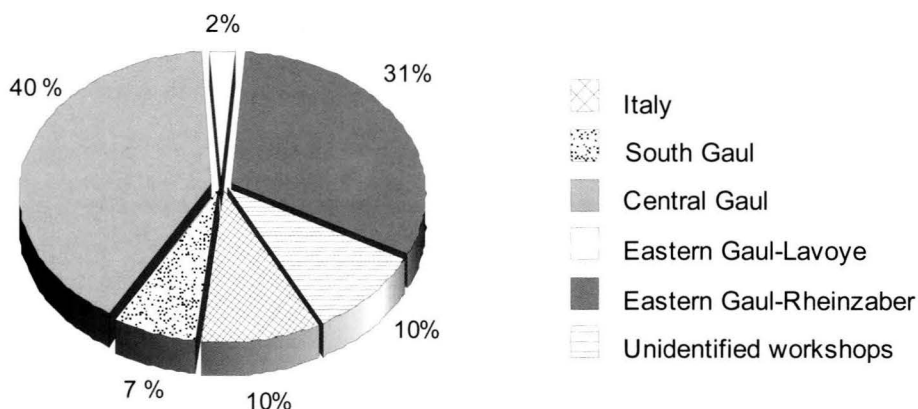


Diagram 1. Ratio of the imported *terra sigillata* workshops to *Napoca*.

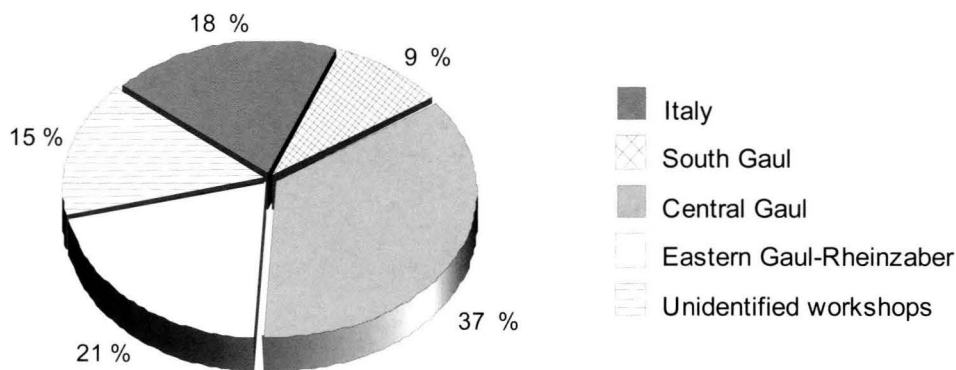


Diagram 2. Ratio of the imported *terra sigillata* workshops to *Napoca*, except the Samian ware deposit.

²³ S. Cociș, V. Voșian, A. Paki, M. Rotea, *Raport preliminar privind cercetările arheologice din str. V. Deleu în Cluj-Napoca. I. Campaniile 1992-1994*, AMN 32/I, 1995, p. 636.

²⁴ E. Schindler-Kaudelka, op. cit., p. 364, 366 – in *insula XLI* from *Flavia Solva*, the last imports of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana type Conspectus 39 and 43 are dated to the period c AD150/160-170, but it seems that in the southern-eastern part of *Noricum*, in settlements and tombs, B group of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana can be encountered up to the late Antonine period – see p. 366 and footnote 25. Meanwhile, late Italian sigillata with relief decoration is present at the sites in *Pannonia*, also up to the end of AD160/170 – see Gabler 1996, p. 66-67.

b. South Gaulish *terra sigillata*

South Gaulish *terra sigillata* did not count any new vessels or fragments of vessels with a relief decoration from the more recent excavations, their number being no higher than two, just like in 1980. Their general number went up by the means of the attribution of other two vessels with barbotine decoration to the workshops in this area, so that their percentage in the total imports is 7 % (diagram 1) or 9 % if we exclude the imported Samian ware deposit (diagram 2). From the pieces with relief decoration, the earliest item, a fragment of a bowl Drag. 37 (no. 7, pl. IV/7), was attributed, according to the animal motive preserved, to the style of several potters working in the workshops in La Graufesenque and Banassac in the Flavian period, respectively to BIRAGILVS, FLORVS, MERCATOR and NATALIS²⁵. Because of the small dimensions of the fragment, no supplementary precisions can be made regarding its attribution to one or another of the above-mentioned producers; however, corrections can be made related to its dating, in the light of recent research on the chronology of the South Gaulish workshops. Thus, the vessels with relief decorations made in the entourage of the potters MERCATOR, BIRAGILVS and GERMANVS III were attributed to the III group in the list of B. Pferdehirt²⁶, the activity of their *officinae* being most recently dated from the late Domitian period, until the times of Trajan (c AD 90-120)²⁷. This chronology is closer to the period in which the respective vessel could have been imported to *Napoca*, than the Flavian period; therefore we opted for the dating comprised in the most recent bibliography.

The explanation for the rarity of the sigillata imports from the South Gaulish workshops into Dacia was thought to be the activity period of these workshops and the competition represented by the pottery from the *officinae* in central Gaul²⁸. Since the activity period of the respective workshops proved to be longer²⁹, it is possible for the processing of *terra sigillata* ceramic material recently discovered in Dacia to provide us with surprises in this respect, as well.

c. Central Gaulish *terra sigillata*

The first production place of sigillata imports discovered at *Napoca* is represented by the Central Gaulish workshops. The phenomenon is generally valid for the entire province and is due both to the blooming period of the Central Gaulish

²⁵ Isac 1980, p. 469.

²⁶ Pferdehirt 1986, p. 221 sqq.

²⁷ B. Pferdehirt suggested an earlier dating of these *officinae*, between AD 79/82 and 115/120. This chronology was criticized by A. Faber, who suggested, on the basis of more recent archaeological discoveries, the interval between AD 90 and 120 (A. Faber, *Die südgallische Terra sigillata aus Kastell und Vicus Eining. Zum Beginn des Militärstützpunkts*, BVbl 58, 1993, p. 113; P. Eschbaumer, A. Faber, *Die südgallische Reliefsigillata—kritische Bemerkungen zur Chronologie und zu Untersuchungs-methoden*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Fundberichte Baden-Württemberg 13, 1988, p. 238), dating which corresponds both to the beginning of the respective workshops' activity period, and to the end of the exports from La Graufesenque, which has been recently established around the year AD 120 (see A. Vernhet, *Les poinçons matrices de sigillée du Musée Moulins*, Figlina 1, 1976, p. 29-37; idem, *Un four de la Graufesenque (Aveyron). La cuisson des vases sigillées*, Gallia 33, 1981, p. 33). The discussions around the chronology of the most important South Gaulish sigillata workshops and the new data related to this subject could be seen at A. Mees, in the most recent synthesis about relief decorated sigillata workshops from South Gaul (*Modellsignierte Dekorationen auf südgallischer Terra Sigillata*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Fundberichte Baden-Württemberg in Baden-Württemberg Band 54, Stuttgart 1995, p. 55-59, 102-104) and at M. Pollak, *South Gaulish Terra Sigillata with Potters' Stamps from Vechten*, RCRF Acta Supplementum 9, Nijmegen, 2000, p. 15-38.

²⁸ Popilian 1976, p. 25; Isac 1985, p. 40; Popilian-Ciucă 1988, p. 62; another point of view related to the failure of the South Gaulish sigillata industry at M. Polak, op. cit., p. 36-37.

²⁹ A. Mees, op. cit., p. 102-104 corrected, for example, the chronology of the sigillata workshop from Banassac, the activity and the export of this *officina* been dated c AD 110-150 and not earlier; the same opinion at M. Polak, op. cit., p. 27-30.

officinae in the Antonine times, as well as to an age of economic prosperity and intense monetary circulation in Dacia³⁰. The pieces from *Napoca* that have this provenience amount to 23 (table 1), representing a percentage of 40 % from the total imports at this site (diagram 1) or 37 % if we except for the total the *terra sigillata* deposit (table 2, diagram 2). 12 of them belonged to vessels with relief decoration and 11 are included in the plain sigillata category. All of the decorated vessels are bowls Drag. 37 (see table 1). Three of them (no. 15-17, pl. V/15-17) do not have their decorated part preserved, as they are fractured right under the respective portion, and therefore could not be attributed to a certain workshop, but could be recorded, on the basis of the fabric and slip, as belonging to one of the Central Gaulish *officinae*.

The earliest items with relief decorations imported to *Napoca* from Lezoux – the centre with the most prolific production of sigillata from all the workshops in central Gaul – belong to the style of the potters QVINTILIANVS (no. 8, pl. IV/8), DOCILIS and DOCCALVS respectively (no. 9, pl. IV/9), who carried out their activity between c AD 125 and 145/150³¹. The respective potters have already been attested in Dacia³², the products of QVINTILIANVS being more numerous. It is worthwhile to note as something unusual the fact that these vessels made by the potters in Lezoux were identified among the finds in *Napoca*.

Most of the *terra sigillata* from Lezoux was imported to the site under analysis in c AD 135-180. We can therefore identify the potters CINNAMVS (no. 10, pl. IV/10), ALBVCIVS (no. 11, pl. IV/11; no. 12, pl. IV/12; no. 13, pl. IV/13), MERCATOR II (?) (no. 14, pl. IV/14).

The first of the mentioned potters is acknowledged as one of the most important producers in central Gaul; his pottery has an excellent quality, a wide variety of decoration motives and was extremely widespread in our province. In Roman Oltenia for instance, the vessels attributed to CINNAMVS made, in 1988, 14.46 % of the total imports and 25 % of the products coming from central Gaul³³ (59 fragments), their number increasing considerably after the publication of the imported sigillata batch coming from the civilian settlement of the fortress at *Acidava*-Enoșești, where the 40 items made by the same potter made 26.92 % of the total imports from central Gaul³⁴. CINNAMVS' pottery was discovered in intra-Carpathian Dacia as well, but their frequency at the sites is much more reduced than in Oltenia, with the exception of *Apulum* and *Porolissum*³⁵. His activity was dated by J. A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson in the French edition of their work in 1958, between AD 135 and 170³⁶, period that marks the end of his production, but it was rectified by G. B. Rogers, who dated it to AD 180, on the basis of more recent archaeological finds in Scotland and in the Danubian

³⁰ Popilian 1976, p. 26; Isac 1980, p. 469.

³¹ The beginning of the activity period of the potters DOCILIS and DOCCALVS was dated earlier by G. B. Rogers in his latest work on the producers of Central Gaulish sigillata with relief decoration (see Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, p. 132-133, with bibliographical references and comments), in which he makes chronological corrections to the French edition of J. A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson's work in 1990 (PGC) – for the respective potters see Rogers 1999, p. 116.

³² Popilian 1976, pl. II/20; D. Isac, *Terra sigillata din castrul roman de la Buciumi*, AMP 1, 1977, pl. I/3; D. Isac, N. Gudea, *Terra sigillata de la Porolissum (I)*, AMP 4, 1980, pl. I/7; Popilian-Ciucă 1988, p. 62; Popilian-Ciucă 1993, p. 30 – for QVINTILIANVS; Popilian 1976, p. 27, pl. II/17.

³³ Popilian-Ciucă 1988, p. 62.

³⁴ Popilian-Ciucă 1993, p. 31.

³⁵ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, *Descoperiri de terra sigillata la Apulum*, Apulum 17, 1979, pl. I/12; pl. II/11, XI/11; pl. III/13 a, b; pl. III/4, III/5, III/16 – *Apulum*; D. Isac, N. Gudea, op. cit., pl. IV/26, fig. 2/26; pl. V/27 a, b; pl. V/28 a, b; pl. V/29 – *Porolissum*; D. Isac, op. cit., pl. I/5 – *Buciumi*; D. Isac, *Terra sigillata de la Gilău*, Potaissa 3, 1982 – *Gilău*, pl. III /12 etc.

³⁶ PGC, p. 303-310.

provinces³⁷. The same author separated the long activity of CINNAMVS's workshop in three major styles, on the basis of stamps and decorative elements. We can therefore identify an early style, dated to c AD 135-145, a medium style, dated between c AD 140 and 160 and a late style, between AD 160 and 180³⁸.

The piece attributed to this potter, no. 12 in the catalogue (pl. IV/12), was preserved in a fragmentary state, which did not allow for its attribution to one of CINNAMVS' styles, therefore we included it in the general activity period of the potter under discussion.

The biggest number of vessels with a relief decoration imported to *Napoca* both from Lezoux and from the other production centers in the western provinces, belong to the potter ALBVCIVS. Of the three items that were attributed to him, two have not been published before (no. 11, pl. IV/11 and 13, pl. IV/13 in the catalogue), and the third was published by D. Isac (no. 12, pl. IV/12)³⁹. The dating of ALBVCIVS' activity period suffered two modifications: on the basis of the archaeological research of B. R. Hartley in Scotland, in the French edition of *Central Gaulish Pottery* in 1990, J. A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson moved the chronological interval in which the respective potter activated from c AD 150-190 to c AD 140-170⁴⁰, the beginning of the production being subsequently moved up by G. B. Rogers to AD 145, on the basis of more recent archaeological discoveries in *Britannia* and Scotland and based on the observation that this potter had influenced CINNAMVS' early activity⁴¹.

In Dacia, in what the imports are concerned, the products made by ALBVCIVS are not very numerous; at any rate, they do not distinguish themselves from a quantitative viewpoint, like the vessels made by CINNAMVS and PATERNVS do⁴². From all the sites in the province, where the vessels attributed to him were identified, we can mention: *Romula*⁴³, *Acidava-Enoșești*⁴⁴, *Apulum*⁴⁵, and *Porolissum*⁴⁶.

The last of the potters in Lezoux whose products were discovered in *Napoca* is MERCATOR II (?). The only piece attributed to his style is original, but fragmentary (no. 14, pl. IV/14). His activity was classified by J. A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson as taking place in the interval c AD 170-195⁴⁷. G. B. Rogers argues that the respective period must be dated earlier – c AD 160-180 – on the basis of recent archaeological finds in *Britannia*⁴⁸. His pottery is rare in Dacia, identified in *Romula*⁴⁹ and *Micia*⁵⁰.

The products of the Central Gaulish workshops were extremely widespread throughout the entire IInd century AD, attested in *Britannia* and in the Rhenan area in this particular time interval⁵¹. In *Pannonia*, the situation differs from site to site, on some of them the Central Gaulish imports of sigillata being predominant, such as in *Carnuntum*⁵², *Salla* (Zalalövö)⁵³ for example; whereas at other sites these products had a strong

³⁷ Rogers 1999, p. 101.

³⁸ Rogers 1999, p. 97-103.

³⁹ Isac 1980, pl. I/4.

⁴⁰ PGC, p. 16, 258.

⁴¹ Rogers 1999, p. 41 with bibliographical references.

⁴² Popilian 1976, p. 29-30; Popilian-Ciucă 1988, p. 62-63.

⁴³ Popilian 1976, no. 65-67, pl. IV.

⁴⁴ Popilian 1976, pl II/18, III/33; Popilian-Ciucă 1988, no. 66-67, fig. 4; Popilian-Ciucă 1993, no. 20-22, pl. I.

⁴⁵ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., pl. III /18.

⁴⁶ D. Isac, N. Gudea, op. cit., pl. III/14.

⁴⁷ PGC, p. 290.

⁴⁸ Rogers 1999, p. 182.

⁴⁹ Popilian-Ciucă 1988, p. 62, no. 73, fig. 4.

⁵⁰ Isac 1985, no. 151, pl. 17.

⁵¹ P. A. Tyers, *Roman Pottery in Britain*, London 1996, p. 113, fig. 99.

⁵² Kandler-Zöchmann 1997, p. 104-106, table p. 110.

⁵³ Gabler D., *Die Sigillaten von Salla (Zalalövö) (Grabungen 1982-1983)*, AArchHung 41, 1989, p. 467, table p. 454-455.

competitor in the sigillata made in Rheinzabern – for example, the *vicus* of Albertfalva⁵⁴ or the settlement of Szakályi⁵⁵. However, the great Rhenan workshop was generally considered to be *Pannonia*'s most important supply centre with sigillata, its products being well represented at most of the sites. A similar situation is noted in the case of *Moesia Superior*, where sigillata from central Gaul was met with the competition of the products from Rheinzabern, as well as of the strong local production, represented by the workshops from *Viminacium* – *Margum*⁵⁶. In the case of *Moesia Inferior*, the products of the workshops in central Gaul are on the second place in what the imports of vessels with a relief decoration are concerned, being outran by the products of the South Gaulish centers and followed by those of the workshop in Rheinzabern⁵⁷. Dacia was considered to be one of the provinces in which imports of from central Gaul were less frequent⁵⁸. The present stage of the research of sigillata in Dacia proves, however, that these are on the first place, with a percentage of 50 %, very far from the rest of the imports from other production centers⁵⁹.

d. East Gaulish *terra sigillata*. Rheinzabern

Vessels with relief decoration from Rheinzabern are only represented at *Napoca* by one item alone, although this production centre is on a second place in what imports at this site are concerned, following the Central Gaulish workshops (- 31 % of the total, (diagram 1, table 1) or 21 %, if we except for total the imported sigillata deposit (table 2, diagram 2). Plain sigillata items originating from here are more numerous (17 items), which makes the percentage of imports from this Rhenan workshop to be high, as compared to that of other production centers. However, out of the total of the imported vessels with a relief decoration, this workshop holds a total of 8 %, equal to that of Lavoye. From this perspective, the situation of *Napoca* is interesting, as it is well-known that the products from Rheinzabern supplied the Danubian provinces with a significant quantity of sigillata towards the end of the IInd century and the beginning of the IIIrd AD. The piece under discussion is fragmentary, but, based on a good analogy from *Viminacium*, the main decorative motive could be reconstructed⁶⁰. The attribution of the item was a bit more difficult, due to the fact that both the *ovolos* and the filling element preserved and the main decoration have been used by many potters, among which Cerialis I and V, Comitialis I and II, Belsvs I⁶¹, as well as BF Attoni, Reginvs II, Avgvstinvs, Lucanvs, which can be included in the Bernhard I b/II a group, with an activity period comprised between AD 140/150 and 175, respectively c AD 175-233⁶² or, according to the rectifications of K. Bittner to the chronology of H. Bernhard, between AD 160/170 and 178, respectively c AD 170/178-210/220⁶³. Most of the decorative

⁵⁴ Gabler 1994-1995, p. 63-64, table p. 75.

⁵⁵ Gabler D., Horváth F., *A szakályi terra sigillaták és helyük a bennszülött telep kerámiaspektrumában*, A Wosinszky Mór (Béri Balogh Ádám) Múzeum évkönyvéből, Szekszárd 19, 1996, p.148, 150-151.

⁵⁶ Bjelajac 1990, p. 193.

⁵⁷ Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, p. 15, tab. 5.

⁵⁸ Bjelajac 1990, p. 193. The author noted the same things about the situation of the imports from *Pannonia* and *Moesia Inferior*.

⁵⁹ D. Isac, *Die Geburt der Technologie der gestempelten Keramik und der Sigillaten in romisches Dakien zwischen Westlichen und Ostlichen Einflüssen*, RCRF Acta, Abingdon 2000, p. 329; a synthesis of the present stage of researches on the *terra sigillata* imported in Dacia can be found at Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, p. 136-137.

⁶⁰ Bjelajac 1990, p. 58, no. 229, pl. 22.

⁶¹ An item with the same type of decoration, attributed to BELSVS I, discovered at *Singidunum*, also makes a good analogy to our form – see Bjelajac 1990, p. 50, no. 174, pl. 17.

⁶² Bernhard 1981, p. 87.

⁶³ K. Bittner, I. Zetsche Huld, *Zur Fortsetzung und die Chronologie Rheinzaberner Relieftöpfer*, BVbl 51, 1986, p. 251; K. Kuzmová, *Terra sigillata im der Vorfeld des Nordpannonischen Limes (Südslowakei)*, Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Fontes XVI, Nitra 1997, p. 21-22.

elements (ovolos, the central ornament and the circle in which it was framed) indicated COMITIALIS II to be the producer, in association with IOVENTI, included in the Bernhard I b group, with the previously-mentioned production activity⁶⁴. The archaeological context corresponds to this dating, and was identified during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the beginning of Septimius Severus' reign (c AD 160-193).

For the moment, no relief decorated sigillata imports made in the workshops of Westerndorf and Pfaffenhofen have been identified in *Napoca*, just like there is no evidence of products originating from the workshops in *Pannonia (Aquincum)* or in *Moesia Superior (Viminacium – Margum)*. The situation had been acknowledged previously, as the outcome of the production centers mentioned penetrated harder or not at all in the northern extremity of the province, due to the fact that Dacia's northern settlements were far from the Danube, which was the main way for the penetration of these late sigillata items⁶⁵. The recent *terra sigillata* finds in *Napoca* confirmed this opinion, but on the other hand, it must be taken into account that thanks to the latest archaeological stratigraphic excavations at the analyzed site, first and foremost those in V. Deleu str., the early levels of the settlement were very well documented, including its evolution throughout the IInd century AD, the late levels being less represented by the means of ceramic material. Therefore, the rather unusual situation encountered in *Napoca* related to the sigillata imports must be also approached from the viewpoint of the present stage of archaeological knowledge about this site. To this we must add the local sigillata production, as well as the stamped vessels, which probably fulfilled the needs for luxury pottery, as it was noted at several sites in *Dacia Porolissensis*.

e. Plain sigillata

We have a relatively big number of plain sigillata forms – 42 items representing 14 forms – figure which outruns by far the number of sigillata items with relief decoration, the ratio being 2.6:1 in favor of the former. This seems to be a specific characteristic of the sigillata imports in *Napoca*, as this situation has never been encountered at other sites in Dacia. On the other hand, it must be taken into account that an imported sigillata deposit was discovered at *Napoca*, mostly made of plain sigillata vessels (20 pieces out of 24), which could explain their high frequency at the site under discussion. If we consider the respective deposit as a group of items in circulation, as something "additional" and not as a group of pieces originating from the waste from current human activity, then the number of plain sigillata discovered at *Napoca* would be of only 22 items. As compared to the 16 vessels with relief decoration, the respective ratio would come down to 1.4:1 in favor of the plain sigillata, which represents an unusual situation for Dacia, from this viewpoint. However, at other sites (in *Britannia* for instance), this situation is normal, since at most of Roman military sites and in big civilian settlements, the proportion between plain sigillata and decorated sigillata was usually, in the Ist century AD, 3:1 or 4:1⁶⁶ in favor of the plain forms. On the other hand, it was noted that in local rural settlements in eastern England, the situation is exactly the opposite, as the decorated sigillata was preferred⁶⁷, plain sigillata items being found rather rarely or even not at all. Obviously, the compared situations are not contemporaneous, but they reflect

⁶⁴ Ricken-Thomas 2005, p. 91, Taf. 81, 4 (with the stamp COMITIALIS A), 10 F (stamp COMITIALIS A and IOVENTI), 11 (with the stamp COMILIAS A inside the decoration).

⁶⁵ Isac 1980, p. 471.

⁶⁶ S. Willis, *Samian beyond Dating*, in K. Meadows, C. Lemke, J. Heron (eds.), TRAC 96. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Oxford 1997, p. 41 and table I.

⁶⁷ S. Willis, op. cit., p. 41 and table II. A possible explanation for the frequency of decorated sigillata as compared to plain sigillata could be the preference of the consumers at these sites for the former, precisely due to the significance of their decoration and to their value.

the resemblances and differences that can be mentioned in connection with the imports of Samian ware at different types of sites, from different time periods.

The list of plain sigillata from *Napoca* includes 14 forms, as previously mentioned. Among them, the plates Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39 and cups Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43 with barbotine decoration on the rim, as well as the plate Conspectus 3.2.1 were presented when I referred to *terra sigillata* tardo-padana. Likewise, the vessels that form the sigillata deposit at *Napoca* will be presented further on. I shall now refer to the forms of the plain sigillata that are not part of any of the previously mentioned pottery groups.

First and foremost must be mentioned, among the imported plain sigillata, the items with a manufacturer's stamp on the bottom. The first of them is a fragmentary cup Drag. 33 (*acetabulum*)⁶⁸ with a stamp on the inside, on the bottom of which only the letter M... was preserved (no. 19, pl. V/19, VIII/5). According to the length of the stamp, D. Isac suggested the interpretation M[OXIM], thus attesting the manufacturer MOXIVS from Lezoux, the one who produced in the Antonine period, both bowls Drag. 37 with relief decoration, and also plain sigillata Drag. 18, 27 and 31⁶⁹. In the most recently bibliography B. Dickinson attributed the activity of the potter under discussion between c AD 130-160⁷⁰; Gabler D. and Márton A. suggest the dating c AD 135-170⁷¹; therefore we opted for the dating comprised in the most recent bibliography.

The other plain sigillata items do not have a stamp or graffiti and will be presented in the order of the classical tipology established: Dragendorff – Déchelette – Knorr – Walters – Curle – Ludowici – Ritterling.

Drag. 18/31 – *catinus* (no. 20, pl. VI/20)⁷². The form Drag. 18 appeared in the Claudian period at La Graufesenque and were produced throughout the entire Ist century AD in the South Gaulish sigillata workshops⁷³. At the beginning of the IInd century AD, the form evolved into the 18/31 variant, characterized by a higher footring. It was manufactured in the production centers in central Gaul and in the one in Rheinzabern in the IInd century and the beginning of the IIIrd AD⁷⁴. It is one of the most often encountered forms in the IInd century AD, including in Dacia. Many of the items of this type have stamps on the inside, on the footring, attesting the manufacturer's name. One such piece was found in *Napoca* as well, bearing the stamp of the potter GIPVVS from Lezoux (see below), who was active between c AD 140 and 160; this item is part of the Samian ware deposit discovered at this site. Apart from these pieces, there is also a fragmentary item (no. 20, pl. VI/20), unpublished, whose production centre could not be established and which was dated, according to the archaeological context, in the Trajan – Hadrian period.

Drag. 27 – *acetabulum* (no. 21, pl. VI/21)⁷⁵. Form attested early on, of Italic origin, produced ever since the Augustan period and especially since the Claudian one⁷⁶. It was produced in the South Gaulish workshops until the end of the Ist century AD, the

⁶⁸ W. Hilgers, Lateinische Gefässnamen. Funktion und Form römischer Gefässe nach den antiken Schriftquellen, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 31, Düsseldorf 1969, p. 33, 91, fig. 4, catalogue no. 1.

⁶⁹ Isac 1980, p. 470, no. 21, pl. II, VI; the identification of the stamp: Oswald 1931, p. 212; B. Hoffmann, *Catalogue des estampilles sur les vases sigillés, 1ère partie (les ateliers de La Graufesenque et de Lezoux)*, in Groupe d'Archéologie Antique de Touring Club de France, Notice Technique, 21, 1, pl. XV/248.1; N. Walke, Das römische Donaukastell Straubing-*Sorviodurum*, Limesforschungen 3, Berlin 1965, 43/260.

⁷⁰ B. Dickinson, *The Potter's Stamps*, in The Romano-British "Small Town" at Wanborough Wiltshire. Excavations 1966-1976, (A. S. Anderson, J. S. Watcher, A. P. Fitzpatrick eds.), Britannia Monographs Ser. no. 19, London 2001, p. 201.

⁷¹ Gabler-Márton 2005, p. 266-267.

⁷² W. Hilgers, op. cit., p. 48, 142, catalogue no. 91.

⁷³ Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 120, pl. XLV; Webster 1996, fig. 69.

⁷⁴ Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 121, pl. XLVI/1-8.

⁷⁵ W. Hilgers, op. cit., p. 33, 91, catalogue no. 1, fig. 2.

⁷⁶ Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 127, pl. XLIX.

climax of the production being recorded in the Flavian age. This form is rare in the IInd century, manufactured in the centers in Lezoux and Rheinzabern until the second half of the IInd century AD⁷⁷. It is not a very frequent form in Dacia, a similar piece (but not the variant under discussion) being discovered at *Apulum*⁷⁸ and another items at *Romula* and *Acidava-Enoșești*⁷⁹. The situation is similar in the neighboring provinces, *Moesia Superior*⁸⁰ and *Inferior*⁸¹, where it is attested in a small number of pieces.

The item in *Napoca*, with no stamp, unpublished, has as special feature the very thin walls. The characteristics of the fabric and the slip did not allow its classification to any of the production centers known. It is important to note, however, the early period in which it fits chronologically, as it was discovered in the Trajanic level of the settlement.

Drag. 31, 31R – *catinus* (no. 22-23, pl. VI/22-23). This form marks the evolution of the Drag. 18, respectively 18/31 plates throughout the IInd century and in the first half of the IIIrd century AD, towards the type under discussion, characterized by higher recessing walls and a rising footring. We can find rouletted decoration on the inside of some of the items, on the footring, and therefore the respective pieces received the suffix R⁸². This type of vessels were produced also in the Central Gaulish workshops (Martres-de-Veyre for instance⁸³), but especially in the East Gaulish workshops and *Germania Superior*, the most representative production centers being, from this particular viewpoint, Rheinzabern and Westerndorf. There are also variants that appeared in the mid IInd century and in the first half of the IIIrd century AD, classified by W. Ludowici as being from the centre in Rheinzabern (Tq, Sa, Sb)⁸⁴. It is a form characteristic to the IInd century AD, quite frequent in Dacia and in the neighboring provinces.

The two items from *Napoca* have rouletted decoration on the footring and were only preserved fragmentarily. One of them (no. 23, pl. VI/23) can be attributed to a workshop in central Gaul, according to the quality of the fabric and the slip, and eventually the other item as well, taking into account the early archaeological context in which they were discovered – the Hadrianic – Antoninus Pius period. The form itself is one of the best represented of the plain sigillata at the site under analysis; it is true, however, that this is also due to the presence of a big number of items in the Samian ware deposit discovered.

Drag. 33 – *acetabulum, paropsis*⁸⁵ (no. 24-25, pl. VII/24-25). The cups of this type have an Italic prototype, the Ritterling 10 form. They were initially manufactured in the workshops from Arezzo. The earliest of the items were created in the Claudian period, their production spreading ceaselessly throughout the Ist and IInd centuries AD. With slight modifications of the profile, this form continues to be produced until the end of the IIIrd and the beginning of the IVth century AD⁸⁶. Having the widest dating period, this

⁷⁷ Bjelajac 1990, p. 124; Webster 1996, fig. 69-70.

⁷⁸ Isac 1985, p. 162, no. 475, pl. 52. The respective item bares the stamp of GATVS, potter who worked at La Madeleine in the Trajan – Hadrian period.

⁷⁹ Popilian-Ciucă 1988, no. 131-133, fig. 8.

⁸⁰ Bjelajac 1990, p. 124.

⁸¹ Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, p. 10, catalogue no. 120-123, pl. 6-7.

⁸² Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 124-125, pl. XLVII, Webster 1996, p. 28, fig. 22, 69-70.

⁸³ J.-R. Terrisse, Les céramiques sigillées gallo-romaines des Martres-de-Veyre (Puy-de-Dôme). XIX^e supplément à Gallia, Paris 1968, p. 73, fig. 28, 31, p. 148, fig. 5; A.-M. Romeuf, *Les Martres-de-Veyre*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 145-152.

⁸⁴ W. Ludowici, Stempel-Namen und Bilder römischer Töpfer, Legions-Ziegel-Stempel, Formen von Sigillata und anderen Gefäßen aus meinen Ausgrabungen in Rheinzabern 1901-1914, Speyer 1927, p. 284, 287; Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 122, pl. XLVII/9-16, p. 124, pl. XLVII.

⁸⁵ W. Hilgers, op. cit., p. 33-34, 238-239, fig. 4. The two terms are almost equivalent, but *paropsis* stands for a bigger cup – an *acetabulum maius* (ibidem, p. 33 and footnote 164).

⁸⁶ Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 130, pl. LI; O. Bruckner, Rimska Keramika u Jugoslovenskom delu Provincije Donje Panonije, Beograd 1981, p. 61, pl. 13; Bjelajac 1990, p. 126, pl. 59-60.

form was extremely widespread in the Empire's Danubian provinces⁸⁷, and was also imitated to a large scale from the mid IInd century AD by a series of local workshops. Therefore it is hard to determine the exact production place if the respective items do not bear a stamp on the footring.

The two items Drag. 33 from *Napoca* are small cups – *acetabula*, both preserved fragmentarily. The workshop that produced them could not be determined. The situation is not better from a chronological viewpoint either, both pieces coming from older archaeological excavations, with no archaeological context mentioned. In Dacia, analogies of piece no. 28 can be found at *Apulum*⁸⁸.

Drag. 35, 35/36 (no. 26-27, pl. VII/26-27), originate from Italian prototypes, taken over by the workshops at La Graufesenque. From the 60's and 70's on, the manufacturers here created six types of tableware, each made of a type of plate, a cup and a small high-footed plate. Furthermore, in this period the vessels were barbotine decorated, including those coming from the tableware discussed above⁸⁹. Late Italian workshops produced the types Drag. 35 and 36 from the second half of the Ist century up to the first half of the IInd century AD⁹⁰, at Lezoux and in central Gaul till the end of the IInd century AD⁹¹. In the East Gaulish workshops they reached a production climax in the Antonine period⁹², and in the centre at Rheinzabern they were produced until the beginning of the IIIrd century AD⁹³. The form was also imitated by local potters in all of the Danubian provinces.

The two items discovered at *Napoca* are part of the type A South-Gaulish service, and were attributed possibly to the production centre at La Graufesenque. Imports of this kind of products in Dacia are frequently encountered, these forms influencing the local production in Dacia as well, including the one in *Napoca*. Analogies for the pieces under discussion can be found at *Romula* and *Slăveni*⁹⁴, *Ilișua*⁹⁵ etc.

Curle 21 (no. 28-29, pl. VII/28-29, no. 30, pl. VIII/30) – the three *mortaria*-bowls Curle 21 are unusual. Item no. 28 from the catalogue (pl. VII/28) is *terra nigra*, the other two (no. 29, pl. VII/29, no. 30, pl. VIII/30) being *terra sigillata*. According to the characteristics of the fabric and the slip, all the pieces in the catalogue could be attributed to the production centre at Rheinzabern. From a chronological viewpoint, the items under discussion are from the Antonine period (Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus). A similar item was discovered in the fort at Cășeu⁹⁶. Vessels of this type are not very frequently discovered in Dacia.

Lu Tq – *catinus* (no. 31, pl. VIII/31) is a variant of the form Drag. 31, defined as such by W. Ludowici for the ware of this type from Rheinzabern (see above, to Drag. 31). It was mostly produced in the workshops in Rheinzabern and Westerndorf, from

⁸⁷ C. Mușeteanu, D. Elefterescu, *Céramique sigillée à Durostorum*, Dacia 34, 1990, p. 244, catalogue no. 36-38, fig. 5; Kandler-Zöchmann 1997, p. 103, pl. 11/11-15, p. 105-106, pl. 19/5-12, p. 107-108, pl. 25/6-9; S. Nikolić-Đorđević, op. cit., p. 37, type I/45; Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, p. 10, catalogue no. 125-130, pl. 7 etc.

⁸⁸ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., p. 234, pl. XI/49.

⁸⁹ A. Vernhet, *Centre de production de Millau. Atelier de la Graufesenque*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 100, fig. 3.

⁹⁰ Conspectus, p. 120, 128.

⁹¹ Ph. Bet, H. Vertet, *Centre de production de Lezoux*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 139, fig. 1.

⁹² M. Lutz, *Les ateliers de l'Est de la France. La période de plein fonctionnement*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986 p. 181; idem, *Ateliers de la Moselle. Boucheporn*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 212-213, fig. 2-3; idem, *Ateliers de la Moselle. Mittelbron*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 216, fig. 4.

⁹³ Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 134, pl. XLIII; O. Brukner, op. cit., p. 61; Bjelajac 1990, p. 126.

⁹⁴ Popilian 1976, no. 192, 193, pl. XIII.

⁹⁵ D. Protase, C. Gaiu, G. Marinescu, *Castrul roman și așezarea civilă de la Ilișua (jud. Bistrița-Năsăud)*, RB 22, 1997, pl. XXX/1.

⁹⁶ Isac 1985, no. 523, pl. 58.

Hadrian's time until the beginning of the IIIrd century AD⁹⁷. We have only one item from this form, published previously⁹⁸. It was attributed to the centre at Rheinzabern, framed chronologically in the Antonine period. A similar piece was discovered in the fort at Gilău, but bearing the stamp of the potter GIPVS from Lezoux⁹⁹.

Déch. 72 = Lu Vsd (no. 32, pl. VIII/32) represents globular or hemispherical vessels, with fine walls, decorated in most of the cases in the "cut glass" technique. This form was produced at Lezoux, Rheinzabern and Westerndorf from Hadrian's times until the mid IIIrd century AD¹⁰⁰. Variants of this form were identified by W. Ludowici for the workshop at Rheinzabern (Ve, Vt, Vg, Vsb, Vsd, Vse)¹⁰¹. The unique character of the decoration and the lack of stamps make the attribution of these vessels quite difficult.

Four items of this type were discovered in *Napoca*, among which three come from the Samian ware deposit. Piece no. 32, which does not belong to this group, was published previously¹⁰². It is fragmentary and was decorated by excision. It was attributed probably to the production centre at Rheinzabern, chronologically belonging to the second half of the IInd century AD. In Dacia, items that could belong to this form were discovered at *Apulum*¹⁰³, *Acidava*¹⁰⁴ etc.

Apart from plain sigillata that was typologically identified, two vessels were discovered at *Napoca* which could not be defined, due to their preservation state. The fragment in question belonged to a big vessel (according to the thickness of the walls), decorated in the "cut glass" technique (no. 33, pl. VIII/33), probably a product from the workshop at Rheinzabern. The other item (no. 34, pl. VIII/34), from which only the hemispherical footring was preserved, is a small vessel, probably a cup, which was discovered in one of the early levels of the settlement, Trajan – Hadrian, but whose workshop could not be determined.

The plain sigillata directory in *Napoca* is made of a relatively big and variegated number of forms (14), mainly coming from the centers in Lezoux and Rheinzabern (see table 1-2). We also have to point out the small number of stamps containing names of manufacturers on these vessels – practically, apart from the three items coming from the Samian ware deposit, there is only one piece bearing a stamp – which made it difficult to put them in a frame, to identify the workshops that produced them and where they were imported from and which made the percentage of unidentified workshops to be relatively high at site level – 10 %, respectively 18 % (see diagram 1-2).

From a chronological perspective, the time period in which these imports came into Dacia reflects another special feature of the Roman city of *Napoca* – they made their appearance from the very moment of the foundation of the settlement and experienced an exceptional intensity throughout the IInd century AD. However, they do not go beyond the end of that century. We shall include the possible explanations of this phenomenon when approaching the conclusions related to this study (see below).

4. The Samian ware deposit

Another uncommon and interesting aspect of the imports of sigillata found in *Napoca* is the discovery of a deposit of such vessels.

⁹⁷ Oswald-Pyce 1984, p. 122, pl. XLVI/9-11.

⁹⁸ Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 7, pl. 11/7.

⁹⁹ D. Isac, *Terra sigillata de la Gilău*, Potaissa 3, 1982, no. 24, pl. VII, fig. 1/24.

¹⁰⁰ Bjelajac 1990, p. 128.

¹⁰¹ W. Ludowici, op. cit., p. 282-283.

¹⁰² Isac 1980, p. 470, no. 32, pl. V.

¹⁰³ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., p. 258, no. 62, pl. VI.

¹⁰⁴ Popilian-Ciucă 1993, p. 40, no. 67, pl. IV.

a. Circumstances of the discovery

In 1968, in Gh. Doja str. no. 21-23 (pl. I), on the occasion of the excavation of a 1.50 m long and 2-2.50 m deep ditch for telecommunications on its western side, in a Roman demolition layer, a "group of vessels" was discovered on a limited area. Moreover, the remains of a building in the eastern part of the Roman city were also identified here¹⁰⁵. Unfortunately, the author of the excavation, P. Gyulai, did not have the profiles of the respective ditch or those of the building's walls drawn, nor did he recover all the vessels discovered, most of them broken by the workers and left in the profile of the respective ditch. Therefore, stratigraphic conditions cannot be of more help in understanding of the context in which they appeared. We also do not have the clear evidence of the number of vessels the deposit was made of, the author of its publication, D. Isac, indicating 24 pieces that could be put to advantage scientifically, their real number being much bigger¹⁰⁶. Furthermore, the same author put this discovery in connection with another one, subsequent, on the eastern side of Gh. Doja str.: when the "Central" supermarket was built, a building that had a religious purpose was uncovered, probably a temple¹⁰⁷, attributed initially to the god Jupiter¹⁰⁸, recently reconsidered as being a temple of Silvanus¹⁰⁹. D. Isac considered the group of *terra sigillata* vessels discovered in Gh. Doja str. no. 21-23 as being part of the ceramic inventory deposited in a room built for commercial purposes¹¹⁰.

b. Contents of the deposit

The deposit is made of four items with relief decoration (no. 35-38, pl. IX) and 20 plain sigillata items (no. 39-42, pl. X; no. 43-48, pl. XI; no. 49-54, pl. XII; no. 55-58, pl. XIII) (table 3, diagram 3).

b1. Relief decorated sigillata is represented by bowls Drag. 37, determined and attributed to the potters: NATALIS (Banassac), CINNAMVS and CENSORINVS (Lezoux), TOCCA and TRIBVNVS (Lavoye) (for the ratio of the sigillata workshop see diagram 4).

The earliest relief decorated bowl Drag. 37 was imported to *Napoca* from Banassac and attributed to the style of NATALIS (no. 35, pl. IX/35). This potter's production was dated in the Nerva – Trajan period, including for the item under discussion¹¹¹, on the basis of older bibliography. The activity of the workshop at Banassac has recently been established as taking place from the Flavian period until the reign of Hadrian¹¹², as its products continued to be on the markets in the southern part of *Germania Superior*, in *Raetia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, until the end of the 30's or even until the beginning of the 40's of the IInd century AD¹¹³. More recently, it was established a new chronology of the activity of this workshop between AD 110 and 150¹¹⁴. Potter NATALIS is acknowledged as the latest of all the sigillata producers at Banassac, as he carried out his activity in the Trajan – Hadrian period¹¹⁵. His pottery is also present in Dacia, but in a reduced number of pieces¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁵ Isac 1980, p. 467-468.

¹⁰⁶ Isac 1980, p. 468, 471.

¹⁰⁷ I. Mitrofan, *Vestigii din Napoca romană*, AMN 13, 1976, p. 199-203.

¹⁰⁸ M. Bărbulescu, *Culte greco-romane în provincia Dacia*, PhD, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, p. 34.

¹⁰⁹ A. Rusu-Pescaru, D. Alicu, *Templele romane din Dacia (I)*, Deva 2000, p. 150-151.

¹¹⁰ Isac 1980, p. 471.

¹¹¹ Isac 1980, p. 469.

¹¹² Hofmann 1988, p.15-17, 32-33.

¹¹³ Gabler 1994-1995, p. 63.

¹¹⁴ A. Mees, op. cit., p. 102-104; M. Polak, op. cit., p. 26-30.

¹¹⁵ Hofmann 1988, p. 57-59; Gabler 1994-1995, p. 63; A. Mees, op. cit., p. 111.

¹¹⁶ Popilian-Ciucă 1988, p. 62, no. 3, p. 74, fig. 1/3.

Of the two items discovered la *Napoca* and made by the potter CINNAMVS from Lezoux, no. 36 in our catalogue (pl. IX/36) is preserved in a good enough condition to allow a reconstruction of the decoration, to which we can add the preservation of a fragment of the potter's stamp in the decoration (pl. VIII/1). It was published by D. Isac¹¹⁷. In the light of more recent research, we have managed to date CINNAMVS' medium style, and the dating is made earlier and more limited in time than that of the author of its publication, namely c AD 140-160 in relation with Antoninus Pius – Commodus¹¹⁸.

The potter CENSORINVS is present on the analyzed site through just one item, previously published¹¹⁹ (no. 37, pl. IX/37). Rectifications were also made in his case, related to the chronological interval in which he was active: the starting period was moved up a little by G. B. Rogers from AD 150, like it was mentioned by J. A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson¹²⁰, to AD 160, on the basis of the recent archaeological evidence in *Britannia*¹²¹. His products were discovered at a few sites in Dacia, like *Sucidava*¹²², *Acidava-Enoșești*¹²³, *Apulum*¹²⁴.

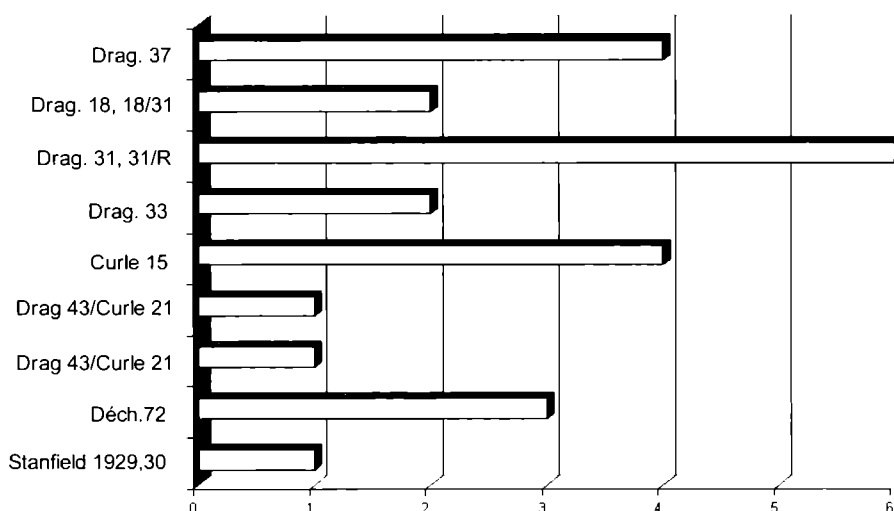


Diagram 3. Comparative frequency of the pottery types of imported Samian ware deposit from *Napoca*.

Only one item comes from the centers in eastern Gaul, from Lavoye (no. 38, pl. IX/38), which represents 2 % of the total of sigillata pottery in *Napoca* (table 1, diagram 1). The scarcity of the products from eastern Gaul and Germania Superior (5 % of the total imports) can be explained, like in the case of *Pannonia*¹²⁵, by the competition of the Central Gaulish workshops, which in the same time period (the IInd century AD) had incomparably more vessels of a superior quality and a better quality of the decoration¹²⁶.

¹¹⁷ Isac 1980, pl. I/5, fig.1/5.

¹¹⁸ For the activity of CINNAMVS and about the frequency of his products in Dacia see above the subchapter 3. c.

¹¹⁹ Isac 1980, pl. I/3.

¹²⁰ PGC, p. 233.

¹²¹ Rogers 1999, p. 94.

¹²² Popilian 1976, pl. II/21, VII/110.

¹²³ Popilian-Ciucă 1993, pl. I/18.

¹²⁴ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., pl. I/18.

¹²⁵ Gabler D., *Adatok az Itáliai barbotinos sigillaták kérdéséhez (Contribution of the question of Italian Terra Sigillata decorated en barbotine)*, Arrabona 6, Győr 1964, p. 99.

¹²⁶ Isac 1985, p. 43.

The item from *Napoca* belongs to the entourage of TOCCA and TRIBVNVS, who were active in the period Antoninus Pius – Marcus Aurelius (more exactly, in the interval c AD 140/150-170)¹²⁷. In Dacia, products from Lavoye have also been identified at *Romula*¹²⁸, *Apulum*¹²⁹, and *Gilău*¹³⁰.

b2. Plain sigillata ware are listed below, first in the form of a catalogue, to which must be added the comment referring to the forms that make it up, without repeating the general description of the forms which, with the exception of the Stanfield 1929 type 30, have been thoroughly discussed when the other plain sigillata pottery items were presented (see above). Therefore, only a brief discussion about the mentioned form will be included, as it is present in the catalogue in the order according to which import sigillata wares are listed, as in to the classical classification:

Plain sigillata ware include the following forms: plates (*catili*) Drag. 18/31, 31, 31R (eight items), cups (*acetabula*) Drag. 33 (two pieces), *mortaria*-bowls Drag. 43/Curle 21 (one item) and Curle 21 (one item), plates Curle 15 (four items), cups Déch. 72 (three items), cup Stanfield 1929, 30 (one item) (see table 3, diagram 3).

Among the plain sigillata vessels, mention must be made of those that have stamps inside, on the footring. There are three items in this category, all of them already published by D. Isac¹³¹. The first of the vessels bearing a stamp is a Drag. 18/31-type plate (*catinus*)¹³², from which only the footring was preserved, with the stamp GIP[PI] M (no. 39, pl. X/39, pl. VIII/3). The respective stamp attests GIPPVVS, manufacturer from Lezoux, who is active in the Antonine period and who produces vessels having the following forms: 18/31, 31, 33, 38 and Curle 15. He is also well-known in other areas of the Empire, where he exported his products, like for instance in Straubing¹³³, *Brigetio*¹³⁴, *Gorsium*¹³⁵, *Viminacium*¹³⁶.

Another producer from Lezoux, attested on the bottom of a plate Drag. 31 R (no. 40, pl. X/40, VIII/2) is GEN[...]. D. Isac, the one who published the item, suggested the reading GEN[ETIIM], which attests GENETIVS or GENETLVS, manufacturer active in the Trajan – Hadrian period in the production centre mentioned¹³⁷. A similar stamp is present also on a plate Drag. 18/31 from Colchester¹³⁸.

The third stamp, IVVENIM, comes from the footring of a vessel Drag. 33 (no. 41, pl. X/41, VIII/3), attesting the manufacturer IVVENIS, also from Lezoux, whose activity period was established by F. Oswald in the times of Trajan – Hadrian¹³⁹, or in the interval c AD 140-190 by B. Hoffmann¹⁴⁰. D. Isac, who also published this vessel, suggests the period Hadrian – Antoninus¹⁴¹.

¹²⁷ B. Hofmann, *Catalogue des poinçons pour moules à vases sigillés des décorateurs argonnais*, Ogam 20, no. 3-6, 1968, p. 275.

¹²⁸ Popilian 1976, p. 31, no. 119, pl. VIII.

¹²⁹ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., pl. IV/20.

¹³⁰ D. Isac, *Terra sigillata de la Gilău*, Potaissa 3, 1982, pl. IV/18.

¹³¹ Isac 1980, p. 470, no. 8, 9, 21, 22, pl. 11, VI.

¹³² W. Hilgers, op. cit., p. 48-49, fig. 25.

¹³³ N. Walke, op. cit., pl. 42/179-180.

¹³⁴ Juhász G., *A lezouxi terra sigillata gyárák aquincumi lerakata*, AErT 41, 1936, p. 142, no. 125 a-b, pl. XLVI.

¹³⁵ Gabler-Kocztur 1976, p. 70, no. 5, pl. VI.

¹³⁶ Bjelajac 1990, p. 126, no. 42, pl. 64.

¹³⁷ Isac 1980, p. 470, no. 8, pl. II.

¹³⁸ Oswald 1931, p. 133.

¹³⁹ Oswald 1931, p. 156.

¹⁴⁰ B. Hofmann, *Catalogue des estampilles sur les vases sigillés*, see note 69, 21.1, XII/94.

¹⁴¹ Isac 1980, p. 470, no. 22, pl. II.

On the footring of a *mortarium*-bowl Curle 21 (no. 42, pl. X/42), on the outside, two letters were incised before the firing, which could read ..TE or, more probably . . .FE. It is the only graffitied item from the imported sigillata deposit in *Napoca*. It was not attributed to any production centre, due to its fragmentary state, but after the quality of fabric and slip, could belong to the workshop from Rheizabern. It was dated in the second half of the IInd century¹⁴².

Except the forms of plain sigillata presented above, in the components of the Samian ware from *Napoca* were *mortarium*-bowl Drag. 43/Curle 21 (no. 50, pl. XII/50) and Curle 21 (no. 42, pl. X/42 described above). The two forms are dealt with together because both are in the category of big vessels that imitate the form of *mortaria* in pottery¹⁴³. It is characterized by a widening interior of the pots and by grooves on the exterior walls, while a flange starts right underneath the rim of the vessel, sometimes with barbotine decoration¹⁴⁴. The two forms were produced from the second half of the IInd century and until the first quarter of the IIIrd century AD at Rheinzabern, while in the workshop at Trier they were produced until the second half of the IVth century¹⁴⁵. The form Drag. 43 was also manufactured in the centre at Lezoux as well, in the IIIrd century AD¹⁴⁶ and in other Central-East Gaulish workshops, while the Curle 21 form appears from the second half of the IInd century in the East Gaulish workshops, in the group at Argonne¹⁴⁷ or in the ones in the group at Moselle (Boucheporn, Mittelbronn)¹⁴⁸. Stamps on such vessels are rare, therefore their attribution is difficult.

There is only one item at *Napoca* having the Drag. 43 form (catalogue no. 50, pl. XII/50), which is more like a mixed form of a *mortarium*-bowl Drag. 43/Curle 21, because it has the rim just like in the case of the Curle 21-type pieces but has a spout, like the items type Drag. 43. The sample in discussion has no barbotine decoration on the rim, which is not similar to a rim, like in the case of the classical Drag. 43 items. The vessel was published previously and attributed to the centre at Rheinzabern, dated in the second half of the IInd century¹⁴⁹.

Barrel like-beaker Stanfield 1929, 30 (no. 58, pl. XIII/58) is listed among the most unusual forms of *terra sigillata*¹⁵⁰. It has the form of a closed cup (glass), with approximately equal diameters for the opening and the footring, with a bulging profile, and a hemispherical footring. Its main characteristic is the presence of an equal number of grooves on the upper and the lower part of the body, whereas in the point of maximum girth it bares no decorations. It is similar to the cup Ludowici Vc, and the person that defined it, J. A. Stanfield, considers that the reproductions that copy this form in *Britannia* have as prototype the sigillata coming especially from eastern Gaul. In *Britannia*, it does not come from a well-dated archaeological context; therefore J. A. Stanfield considers that the period when this form was produced in *Britannia* was the IInd or the IIIrd century AD, as it does not appear among the classical forms manufactured in the Ist century AD.

When analyzing the plain sigillata items that make the vessels deposit, one can notice the frequency of a number of items belonging to the same type, which is

¹⁴² Isac 1980, p. 474, no. 26, pl. IV.

¹⁴³ W. Hilgers, op. cit., p. 68-70, 225-227.

¹⁴⁴ Isac 1985, p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 166, pl. LXXIII; Bjelajac 1990, p. 128, pl. 61.

¹⁴⁶ Ph. Bet, H. Vertet, op. cit., p. 139, fig. 1.

¹⁴⁷ P.-H. Mitard, *Groupe d'Argonne: Pont-des Rèmes (Vallée de la Biesme)*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 203, fig. 5.

¹⁴⁸ M. Lutz, *Ateliers de la Moselle. Boucheporn*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 213, fig. 3 – Boucheporn; idem, *Ateliers de la Moselle. Mittelbronn*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 218, fig. 6 – Mittelbronn.

¹⁴⁹ Isac 1980, p. 474, no. 27, pl. IV.

¹⁵⁰ J. A. Stanfield, *Unusual forms of terra sigillata*, *Archaeological Journal* 86, 1929, p. 134, fig. 30; Webster 1996, fig. 16.

something specific for sigillata deposits¹⁵¹. The big number of plates Drag. 31 (six items) can be pointed out, whose diameters range between 27.5 and 36 cm, grouped according to the size, as follows: two items with identical diameters, of 27.5 cm (no. 43-44, pl. XI), three pieces with diameters of 31.5-32 cm (no. 45-47, pl. XI) and one item having the biggest diameter: 36 cm (no. 48, pl. XI). Another relatively frequent form is the plate Curle 15 (no. 51-54, pl. XII), with relatively close diameters, ranging between 24.5-27.5 cm. Another form comprising a bigger number of items – Déch. 72 – includes both items decorated by excision (no. 55-56, pl. XIII), as well as one without decoration (no. 57, pl. XIII), with similar diameters, between 7 and 8 cm. The rich varieties of forms, among which some are repeated insistently, as well as their variable diameters suggest the idea of the existence of some services.

Roman tableware is divided in three groups of four vessels each, the most frequent types being the *catili*, *paropsides* and *acetabula*. Literary-epigraphic and archaeological sources have confirmed this division in three of Roman dishes, firstly with silver dishes¹⁵² and also at the level of luxury pottery¹⁵³. This reflects the Romans' culinary habits and the succession of their courses: during their meals, they were lying on their *lecti* (*kliné*) and holding the vessel from which they were eating in their hand. Big flat vessels were also serving platters, they contained several kinds of food in smaller recipients, and the cups were used for drinking¹⁵⁴. The Romans would display an incredible luxury in the dishes on the table, even when these were only recipients made of pottery, and not of some precious metals. The Samian ware deposit from *Napoca* included, in its structure identified only partially due to the conditions of the discovery, the constitutive service elements: *catili*, *acetabula* and bowls.

Generally, vessels deposits found in the Empire were made of a considerable number of pieces, dozens of them or, from a quantitative viewpoint, amounting to quite a few kilograms¹⁵⁵, but there are also pottery deposits having the same character that were made of just a few elements¹⁵⁶. Their main characteristics are: the *non-used* aspect of the items in the deposit, and the fact that they are grouped, the variety of the forms, as well as the big number of items belonging to the same forms, sometimes with variations in diameters; these were actually services sold as such.

¹⁵¹ Gabler-Kocztur 1976, p. 78-79.

¹⁵² F. Drexel, *Ein ägyptisches Silberinventar der Kaiserzeit*, MDAI (R) 36, 1922, p. 34-57; F. Baratte, *Römische Silbergeschirr in den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen*, Aalen 1984, p. 18-23.

¹⁵³ Fr. Drexel, *Römische Sigillataservices*, Germania 11, 1928, p. 51-53; A. Vernhet, op. cit., p. 99-100, pl. 3; Conspectus, p. 46, 50, Abb. 1; M. Egri, *Notes on some ceramic assemblages with a funerary character*, in Ligia Ruscu, Carmen Ciongradi, R. Ardevan, C. Roman, C. Găzduc (eds.), *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis 21, Cluj-Napoca 2004, p. 503-504.

¹⁵⁴ Gabler-Kocztur 1976, p. 79-80.

¹⁵⁵ See for example the deposit in Pompei – D. Atkinson, *A Hoard of Samian Ware from Pompeii*, JRS 4, 1914, p. 27; Burghöfe – T. Ulbert, *Die römischen Donau-Kastelle Aislingen und Burghöfe*, Limesforschungen 1, Berlin, 1959, p. 55-57 and pl. 33 for the *terra sigillata* forms the deposit was made of; Bregenz – J. Jacobs, *Sigillatafunde aus einem römischen Keller zu Bregenz*, Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde VI, Wien 1912, p. 172; see also South Gaulish sigillata deposits in the 1st century and from the beginning of the 2nd century AD in Britannia cf. S. Willis, op. cit., p. 46-47, annex 2, p. 50, and the respective bibliographical references.

¹⁵⁶ The closest deposit to the one in *Napoca*, from a chronological viewpoint and, possibly, from the viewpoint of its proportions, is the one discovered at *Gorsium*, made of 19 plain sigillata – Gabler-Kocztur 1976; similar to the one found at Wroxeter – G. Macdonald, *Forschungen im römischen Britannien 1914-1928*, BRGK 19, 1929-1930, p. 70-71 and the one found at *Vindonissa*, under the house of the tribune – E. Ettlinger, R. Fellmann, *Ein Sigillata-Depottfund aus dem Legionslager Vindonissa*, Germania 33, 1955, p. 364-373. A characteristic for all of them is the fact that they are made of plain sigillata. See the synthesis about all the similar deposits discovered until 1982 at W. Cysz, *Der Sigillata-Geschirrfund von Cambodunum-Kempton*, BRKG 63, 1982, p. 281-346, especially at p. 336-345.

c. Dating

From a chronological viewpoint, the pieces making up the Samian ware deposit of vessels in *Napoca* stretch on a very generous time interval, between the reign of Trajan and the end of the IInd century (see table 3). D. Isac, the author of its publication, pointed out rightfully that most of these vessels are dated in the second half of the IInd century AD, especially in the Antonine period, manufactured especially in the *officinae* at Lezoux and Rheinzabern (diagram 4)¹⁵⁷. The same author argued, in his PhD thesis, that the dating of the entire deposit was determined by the item with a relief decoration – the stamp of CINNAMVS, who was dated in the fourth quarter of the IInd century AD, therefore in the late Antonine period¹⁵⁸. An overview of the chronological picture provided by the pottery in the deposit at *Napoca* indicates the fact that it was made of three composing elements (see table 3):

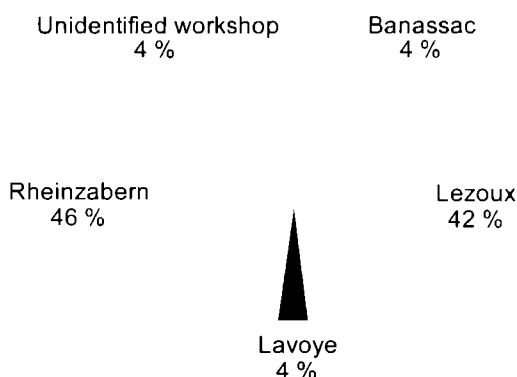


Diagram 4. Samian ware deposit – ratio of the sigillata workshops.

- 1) Two pieces, one with relief decoration (no. 35, pl. IX/35), attributed to the manufacturer NATALIS from Banassac, and another with a stamp on the footring, belonging to GENETVS from Lezoux (no. 40, pl. IX/40) are *the earliest pieces* in the deposit. They are dated in the times of Trajan – Hadrian's reigns.
- 2) Two vessels are attested between c AD 140 and 160: an item decorated with the stamp of CINNAMVS, attributed on the basis of recent research to his medium style (no. 36, IX/36, VIII/1) and the plate Drag. 18/31, bearing the stamp of the potter GIPPVVS from Lezoux (no. 39, pl. X/39, VIII/3).
- 3) The other items with relief decoration or items that have a stamp on the footring, as well as the plain sigillata in the deposit are dated from AD 140/150 until AD 180/190. The latest of the items that can be dated are a bowl Drag. 37 with relief decoration attributed to the manufacturer CENSORINVS from Lezoux, whose activity is dated between AD 150/160-180 (no. 37, pl. IX/37), and a fragmentary cup Drag. 33, bearing the stamp of the potter IVVENIS from the same workshop (no. 41, pl. X/40, VIII/4), who carried out his activity between c AD 140 and 190.

Therefore, we have two possibilities to classify chronologically the Samian ware deposit from *Napoca*. Firstly, we can opt for a *long chronology*, comprised in the interval AD 140-190, which can be explained by the common period in which most of the vessels are overlapping (table 3). The two pieces dated earlier can be understood as exceptions

¹⁵⁷ Isac 1980, p. 471.

¹⁵⁸ Isac 1985, p. 54.

from this viewpoint, as it is common knowledge that there is a time gap between the moment of their production until the moment they are imported, due to their storage, transportation, display and purchase. At the same time, it must be pointed out that, even though most of the vessels can be classified in this broader chronological interval, most of them are plain sigillata, whose chronological classification was made in big time intervals, due to the lack of other elements that could help a more narrow classification. On the other hand, if we admit an even more accentuated narrowing of the *time span*, we can see in the same diagram that the common *period* for most of the items in the deposit (with the same early exceptions, whose ending period is AD 140) is represented by the years **AD 140/150 –160**. Opting for one or the other of the two chronologies will help providing possible explanations for the origin and presence of this deposit at *Napoca*.

d. Possible explanations of the presence of the Samian ware deposit at Napoca

The explanation for the making of such pottery deposits varies. Thus, at military sites in *Britannia*, their existence has been conventionally considered to represent broken material in transit or connected to the evacuation of the sites or the revival of their activity. Since all of these deposits were connected to major structural changes of the sites under discussion, it has been more recently considered, besides the previous explanations, that they could also be ritual/votive deposits of some valuable materials of significant from the viewpoint of their material culture¹⁵⁹. Moreover, the fact that they were buried also reflects moments of danger – such as the Marcomanic wars for the Danubian provinces – in which their owners tried to protect these objects, which attests the value of the material¹⁶⁰. There are also situations in which the respective deposits, made of the tableware of specific owners or groups of vessels to be sold, were caught in the destruction levels caused by natural disasters or fires¹⁶¹.

Unfortunately, for the sigillata deposit at *Napoca* we do not have at our disposal the essential element to provide a plausible explanation – the well-defined archaeological context from which it originated. The non-used aspect of the vessels, with no traces of secondary burning suggests that they have NOT been found in a destruction level (fire) of the respective building. If this building was a store that did not go through a violent destruction, then the presence of a big quantity of vessels grouped in one place, coming mainly from the production centers at Lezoux and Rheinzabern, could be due to the fact that they could not be sold anymore, as a consequence of the negligent transportation and then thrown in a waste material pit. Should this explanation be adopted, the short chronology that we suggested above could be accepted as dating – AD 140/150-160 – for a group of vessels meant to be sold, a period of half a century (the long chronology) is not plausible.

On the other hand, the proximity of the building (shop) where the pottery was found to the temple of Silvanus or of another deity can also suggest a ritual/votive burial of the material, eventually in *favissa*, the respective zone being located in the designated space of the temple mentioned. Given the value and special significance of the *terra sigillata* vessels, emphasized by recent studies on similar deposits in *Britannia* (see above), this possible explanation must also be taken into account.

¹⁵⁹ S. Willis, op. cit., p. 46-47, with the respective bibliographical references.

¹⁶⁰ E. Ettlinger, R. Fellmann, op. cit., p. 364-373; Gabler-Kocztur 1976, p. 81.

¹⁶¹ The classical example in the first case is the pottery deposit from Pompei – D. Atkinson, op. cit., p. 27-64; and in the second case, the warehouse from Saint-Romain-en-Gal, built next to the forum, whose products were caught in a massive fire around the year AD 40, where even the remains of the shelves on which the products were displayed were discovered – *Artistes et artisans de l'antiquité. Les ateliers de potier de Lyon et de Vienne*, Vienne 2000, p. 17 – or the deposit discovered in the civil settlement at *Aquincum*, in some storehouses that were also destroyed by fire – Juhász G., loc. cit.; the reconsideration of its dating, Gabler-Kocztur 1976, p. 75.

The possibility for the group of vessels under discussion to represent a deposit belonging to somebody who could have buried it in a moment of danger must be also considered. In this case, the long chronology of the deposit can be accepted; the accumulation in time (50 years or more) of more than one tableware or the accumulation of the constitutive items piece by piece is also acceptable. Usually, in this situation both the destruction level that justified the hiding of the material, and the chest in which the respective vessels were preserved were found. Moreover, graffitied names were found on some of the recipients in the pottery deposit, attesting different owners and thus the accumulation of the material in time. The most conclusive example in this respect is the deposit discovered at *Gorsium*, which is contemporaneous with the one at *Napoca*¹⁶² – belonging to the Antonine period (AD 140/150-170/180), made of plain sigillata of different ages, mostly coming from the centre at Lezoux (84 %). The difference from the deposit at *Napoca* is the fact that the deposit at *Gorsium* benefits from a well-defined archaeological context, which allowed the explanation of its discovery by the destructions during the Marcomanic wars. Unfortunately, as we were arguing above, it is precisely this element that is missing in our case; therefore we cannot make a firm assertion for either of these possible explanations.

The original dimension of such a discovery at *Napoca* must be emphasized once more, groups of imported sigillata having also been found at *Apulum*, as well, in a building considered to have been a big ceramic workshop, where, besides local products, a big number of imported TS vessels were deposited, dated from the times of Hadrian until the mid IIIrd century AD¹⁶³. Moreover, the impressive volume of imported sigillata discovered in the civil settlement in the fortress at *Acidava-Enoșești* can suggest the existence of a distribution point of such products in the Olt river area, even though they haven't been found yet in a closed complex, that should attest the existence of a warehouse.

5. Conclusions

At the end of this study, here are a couple of conclusions on the imports of sigillata to *Napoca*:

1. As compared to the situation in 1980, when D. Isac published a batch of 32 items, another 26 items were processed later on, among which 25 come from archaeological excavations carried out in the last two decades. On the basis of these finds, some modifications have been made to the situation of the imports of sigillata in 1980 in what their distribution on production centers is concerned, or some of the conclusions that were reached at the time were confirmed, and a specific character of *Napoca* was outlined from this viewpoint, as well.

2. The significant novelty provided by the processing of the material found after 1980 is rendered by the *presence of terra sigillata tardo-padana*, in a more important percentage – 10 % (or 18 %) of the total imports (diagram 1-2) – which overtakes the import of products from South and East Gaulish workshops (other than Rheinzabern) taken together. All tardo-padana vessels are plain. Most of them belong to the form Conspectus 39 and 43, with barbotine decoration on the rim, making up a A service of sigillata tardo-padana, with no manufacturers' stamps on them; there is also a fragmentary Conspectus 3.2.1-type plate. These products are present since the first phase of the settlement and are imported throughout the first half of the IInd century AD, the site's chronology being in line with the period in which late Italian imports launched their very last offensive on the markets in the Danubian provinces. Tardo-padana sigillata imports exerted an important influence over local production – forms Conspectus 39 and 43,

¹⁶² Gabler-Kocztur 1976, passim.

¹⁶³ D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., p. 228, 235. The building consisting of 13 rooms was considered to be a closed complex, dated from Hadrian's times until the reign of Philipppus.

both local imitations of sigillata, and similar items classified in the common pottery category were frequently produced by local workshops¹⁶⁴.

3. South Gaulish sigillata – the attribution of two plain sigillata with barbotine decoration determined the increase of the percentage for the imports of these products to *Napoca* (7 % or 9 %), but there are no pieces on top of the situation previously known. The relative rarity of sigillata imports from the South Gaulish workshops into Dacia has been explained by their production period, as well as by the competition of the Central Gaulish workshops.

4. Samian ware from Central Gaulish production centers, namely those manufactured at Lezoux are on the first place in what determined imports are concerned (40 % or 37 %) (see table 1-2, diagram 1-2). They also count the biggest number of sigillata with relief decoration (12 of 16 pieces), although some of them, especially the unusual ones, are very fragmentary. The situation is identical to that noted at the level of the entire province. As compared to the information provided by the material imported from this major ceramic centre and discovered until 1980, we now have new data, provided by totally new pieces found subsequently. Thus, new items have been identified, belonging to the manufacturers QVINTILIANVS, DOCILIS and DOCCALVS who were active in the early age of the workshops at Lezoux (c AD 125-145/150). The vessels with relief decoration attributed to the manufacturers CINNAMVS and ALBVCIVS are more numerous and MERCATOR II was attested at *Napoca* – the producer with the latest production known at this site (AD 160-180). At the same time, modifications have been made in what the chronological classification of the activity of the potters from Lezoux is concerned, in the light of the more recent research in this field.

5. East Gaulish workshops are represented by only one item (2 %), with no changes registered from the situation acknowledged previously.

6. The centre at Rheinzabern holds a high percentage – 31 % (or 27 %) (second place after Lezoux) especially thanks to plain sigillata. A fragment with relief decoration, attributed to the Bernhard Ib group is original. As compared to other sites in Dacia, the weak representation of sigillata wares with relief decoration belonging to the major Rhenan centre also represents an interesting aspect, specific to the site under analysis.

7. Another original aspect regarding the imports of sigillata at *Napoca* is the absence of products from Westerdorf, Pfaffenhoffen and from the neighboring provinces (*Pannonia* and the two *Moesia*). This situation can have several explanations. Firstly, the lack of products coming from the centers of Westerdorf and Pfaffenhofen was explained by the fact that those workshops supplied with sigillata the fortresses and settlements situated on the Danubian *limes*; and on the other hand, by the different supplying routes that the south of the province had (Danube, Olt) from those of the central and northern parts of the province (the river Mureș, and the route to *Lugio-Parthiscum-Micia*, and then another presumed route through the plain of the Tisa, from *Aquincum* to *Porolissum*)¹⁶⁵ in what the commerce with sigillata and other categories of imports were concerned. Even accepting these explanations, the situation is interesting, *Napoca* being among the few sites in Dacia where such products are completely lacking.

8. From a chronological viewpoint, the reign in which sigillata forms were imported in *Napoca* includes the interval between Trajan's period and the end of the IInd century AD. As for the IIIrd century AD, ceramic material of this type is practically inexistent. One of the causes is related by the end of activities of the *terra sigillata* workshops in the western provinces. Another possible explanation could be the fact that they were replaced by local products – however, the production of local decorated

¹⁶⁴ Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, cups Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43 – p. 191-195, pl. XLVIII/1-6, XLVIII/1, XLIX/1, XLIV/1; plates Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39 – p. 195-198, pl. XLVIII/2-4, XLIX/2-3.

¹⁶⁵ Isac 1985, p. 45.

sigillata is represented by few items (five)¹⁶⁶, in exchange, local plain sigillata are produced to a considerable extent (77 pieces)¹⁶⁷, just like stamped pottery – in fact, the production of the latter on a large scale was a specific feature of *Dacia Porolissensis*. What is more interesting is that the maximum production of stamped pottery was also attained in the IInd century AD (60 % of the total), while in the IIIrd century much less is produced – about 21 % of the production of stamped pottery¹⁶⁸. At the same time, this last category is the only in the group of fine pottery that appears among the vessels dated in the IIIrd century AD. On the other hand, it must be taken into consideration that we do not have at our disposal a large number of ceramic items coming from well-dated contexts in the IIIrd century AD¹⁶⁹, which casts a shadow on the real image representing the ratio between imports and the local production of ceramic at the site under analysis.

Moreover, it was noticed that at the end of the IInd century there was a decrease in sigillata imports in the entire Mediterranean basin. In the light of recent research, this decrease in sigillata imports was interpreted in a more complex way, not only from the perspective of a possible economic crisis that should have triggered a drop of people's purchasing power. Nowadays, explanations focus on the changes in social life and the change of people's eating habits. Thus, in the Ist – IInd centuries AD there was a period of intense social competition, which, from an archaeological viewpoint, is visible through the inscriptions placed by elites to show how well-off and conveniently placed in society they were and also through the erection of impressive public buildings. In what the production of pottery is concerned, this is reflected in the display of ostentatious tableware, containing a rich variety of types of vessels. It is the period in which "services" made an entry in *tardo-padana* and especially Gaulish sigillata, consisting in the production and display of several different forms to be used together¹⁷⁰. In the IInd century AD, the absence of big vessels to be used at the common table is noted, at the same time. All these elements suggest that this is a period in which the individual was much more important than the group, a period when social competition manifested itself, more than in other times, around the table. The idea of "competitive meals" is highlighted archaeologically also by the way dining rooms were built. In the Ist – IInd centuries AD, the dwellings of the wealthy ones had a *triclinium*, which was made of three beds, with very strict rules as to the place in which every person was seated, based on ranks and favors¹⁷¹. At the beginning of the IIIrd century, the *triclinia* of dwellings in Africa, (used as a term of comparison because they are the best preserved), demonstrate an increase in the dimensions, before they were replaced for good by dining halls in the shape of a *stibadia* – *stibadia*. These did not have such strict rules as for the place where people sat at the table¹⁷², and it is possible for these modifications to be connected to the emergence of big "communal" tableware in the same period. All these suggest the changes that occurred related to the place that meals (the table) had in social life¹⁷³, as

¹⁶⁶ V. Rusu-Bolindeț, *Terra sigillata locală cu decor în relief de la Napoca*, in *In honorem Gheorghe Popilian* (D. Bondoc ed.), Craiova 2006, p. 322-336.

¹⁶⁷ Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, p. 182-223.

¹⁶⁸ Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, see especially p. 309-313 and diagram 12.

¹⁶⁹ Rusu-Bolindeț 2001, diagram 16.

¹⁷⁰ J. W. J. Hawthorne, *Pottery and Paradigms in the Early Roman Western Empire*, in *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, Oxford 1998, p. 165.

¹⁷¹ K. Dunbabin, *Triclinium and stibadium*, in *Dining in a classical context* (W. J. Slater ed.), Michigan 1991, p. 121-148.

¹⁷² K. Dunbabin, op. cit., p. 129-130; idem, *Convivial spaces: dining and entertainment in the Roman villa*, *JRA* 9, 1996, p. 66-80.

¹⁷³ J. W. J. Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 168. The rich people in the regions situated in the Mediterranean keep using fine pottery until the end of the IInd and the beginning of the IIIrd century AD. To these people, meals were used to display wealth and social status; therefore they were still important, with a strong commensalism in their unfolding.

well as an influence from early Christianity on everyday habits: meals must be shared by many, and as simple as possible. Probably the same Christian precepts determined the abandonment of luxury pottery (at least at the level of the poor strata), simultaneously with the emergence of very big vessels, used during common meals. These were African ceramic products with a red slip and were also produced in Hispania in the IIIrd century for example, but also at the level of Gaulish sigillata. In the case of the latter – even though this phenomenon is not so visible in all of its forms – the most common of them (such as the bowls) experienced a very significant increase in dimensions in this period. The increase in the vessels' dimensions could explain the smaller number of fragments discovered in this period, a smaller number of items being needed to contain the same quantity of food that was previously contained by a larger number of smaller recipients¹⁷⁴. All the above-mentioned factors (the changes in social life, reflected in eating habits, the influence of early Christianity on the latter, the increase in the vessels' dimensions) could be possible explanations of the small quantities of imported *terra sigillata* in *Napoca*. Considering the fact that the first signs of the economic crisis make their entrance in the Danubian provinces – including in Dacia – only after the times of Severus, the absence of sigillata imports in *Napoca* is strange, at least in the first half of the IIIrd century. We probably owe this situation mostly to the stage of the site's archaeological research, which shows a deficit in what that particular century is concerned. On the other hand, the local production of luxury pottery must have satisfied the needs of the city's population.

9. The percentage represented by imported *terra sigillata* in the overall group of ceramic tableware analyzed at *Napoca* – about 9 % – probably does not reflect the real situation. At any rate, imported sigillata does not represent a very important percentage within pottery groups in general – in *Britannia*, in the IInd and IIIrd centuries, imported sigillata represented about 10 % of the entire group¹⁷⁵, while in Switzerland their presence is more important, but decreasing in the IIIrd century¹⁷⁶. From all this, the supplementary deposit of vessels must be taken into account, which is made of objects in circulation and not the outcome of the city's inhabitants' current activity. Should this be considered as something out of the ordinary, the quantity of imported sigillata in *Napoca* is smaller (34 items), which represents however an interesting special feature of this site, although normally it should have had more imported sigillata, since it was a settlement that reached its urban status quite early on. The real situation of the discovered pottery indicated a rather modest import of such products at that moment, where plain sigillata was predominant, as well as the presence of a sigillata deposit. Both represent something out of the ordinary for *Napoca* and for Dacia in what sigillata imports are concerned. The ratio of sigillata pottery from major Western production centers in ceramic tableware imports at the analyzed site is quite overwhelming, as expected, as it represents 93.5 % of the total.

CATALOGUE OF IMPORTED *TERRA SIGILLATA* IN NAPOCA*

The description of imported sigillata in *Napoca* presented in the catalogue goes along the following coordinates: form of the vessel, plate, preservation state, dimensions, fabric, slip, decoration, archaeological context, dating, analogies, bibliography and place of deposit. We use the follow abbreviations for the dimensions of the vessels:

¹⁷⁴ J. W. J. Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 167-168.

¹⁷⁵ S. Willis, op. cit., p. 44-45.

¹⁷⁶ C. Schucany, St. Martin-Kilcher, L. Berger, D. Paunier, Römische Keramik in der Schweiz / Céramique romaine en Suisse / Ceramica romana in Svizzera, Antiqua 31, Basel 1999, p. 242, table 8.1.

* MNIT = Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.

- d r. = diameter of the rim;
 d b. = diameter of the bottom;
 h. = high;
 w. t. = walls thickness.

A. LATE ITALIAN SIGILLATA

1. TERRA SIGILLATA TARDO-PADANA BARBOTINE DECORATED

DRAG. 36 = CONSPECTUS 39

1. Plate Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39.1.1. Pl. II/1; can be rounded off, preserved to an extent of about 40 %; d r. = 20 cm; d b. = 8 cm; h. = 3.5 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 10R, 6/8 light red), very fine, mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains and mica; glossy red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red). Barbotine decoration applied on the rim. A lily-shaped motive was preserved, represented by a leaf, a vertical stem, positioned between two spiral-shaped tendrils, bent downwards and inside. It is part of a service A (Conspectus, p. 50, fig. 1) and of a group B of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana (S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker, op. cit., p. 416-417, fig. 1); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, S 3, first earth-and-timber phase; dating: general, cf. Conspectus = c AD 50-150; according to the archaeological context – Trajan.

Analogies: a discovery of similar items can be found in Conspectus, p.120; this type of ceramic material was published by Gabler D., *Adatok az Itáliai barbotinos.....*, Arrabona 6, Győr 1964, p. 5, fig. 2-3, items discovered at Kálvariá, in *Pannonia*; and more recently in the monograph of the auxiliary fortress at *Carnuntum* – Kandler-Zöchmann 1997, p. 101-102, pl. 1/3-9 or on the *insula* XLI at *Flavia Solva* – E. Schindler-Kaudelka, op.cit., pl. 1/3, but with a new, combined decorative motive; *Singidunum* – S. Nicolić-Dorđević, op. cit., p. 96, type III/4; *Vindobona* – R. Chinelli, P. Donat, I. Pavić, op. cit., p. 192-193, fig. 2, 3 etc.; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, no. 10, p. 717, pl. XI/2; MNIT; V. 47 469.

2. Bowl Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39.1. Pl. II/2; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 24 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 10R, 6/6 light red), fine, with very fine particles of calcite, mica and red iron-rich grains; glossy red slip (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red); barbotine decoration applied on the rim. It was preserved in a fragmentary state and probably represented a bunch of grapes, positioned not along the rim (like to the recognized items of the respective type), but slightly everted; it is part of a service A (Conspectus, p. 50, fig. 1) and of a group B of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana (S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker, op. cit., p. 416-417, fig. 1); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, S 5, fill from below the floor; IIIrd earth-and-timber phase; dating: general, according to Conspectus, p. 120 – second half of the Ist century – first half of the IInd century AD; according to the archaeological context: Hadrian – Antoninus Pius; analogies: just like for item no. 1 in the present catalogue regarding the form; the decoration is new, it has not yet been encountered on this type of vessels; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, no. 11, p. 717, pl. XI/1; MNIT; V. 47 483.

DRAG. 35 = CONSPECTUS 43

3. Bowl Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.3. Pl. III/3; entirely preserved, slightly chipped on the rim and the base; d r. = 10 cm; d b. = 4 cm; h. = 3 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 10R, 6/8 light red), fine, with common inclusions of quartz; glossy red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); barbotine decoration, applied on the rim. Consists of two motives shaped as bunches of grapes, with the creeping stalk ending in an ivy leaf with two ornaments shaped as lilies (central leaf, bordered by two spirals); it is part of a service A (Conspectus, p. 50, fig. 1) and of a group B of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana (S. Zabehlicky-

Scheffenegger, op. cit., p. 416-417, fig. 1); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, S 3, construction layer over the ovens level; IInd earth-and-timber phase; general dating, according to Conspectus = c AD 50-150; according to the archaeological context – Trajan – Hadrian; analogies: Gabler D., *Adatok az Itáliai barbotinos.....*, Arrabona 6, Győr 1964, p. 5, pl. 6/1; L. Plesničar Gec, Severno Emonsko grobišče. The northern necropolis of *Emona*, Ljubljana 1972, pl. 177/12, in the necropolis at *Emona*; O. Brukner, op. cit., pl. 12/2 (*Teutoburgium*), pl. 12/3,5 (*Sirmium*); I. Mikl Curk, Rimska lončena posoda na Slovenskem, Ljubljana 1987, pl. 43/34, 35 (*Celeia*); St. Groh, op. cit., p. 104-106; pl. 2/TSTP 21; pl. 4/TSTP 26, 27; pl. 6/TSTP 22 (*Flavia Solva*); J. Istenič, op. cit., p. 90, pl. 9:3, m. 39, pl. 118:1, 3, m. 583, pl. 130:10, m. 604, fig. 76, pl. 131:8, m. 607 (necropolis at *Poetovio*). All of the items presented as analogies were dated according Conspectus; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, no. 13, p. 717, pl. VIII/2; MNIT; V. 47 422.

4. Bowl (cup) Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.1. Pl. III/5; incomplete fragment of rim and body; 3.5 × 3.1 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 2,5 YR, 6/8 light red), fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising particles of quartz (<0.2 mm), mica and red iron-rich grains; glossy red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/6 red); fragmentary barbotine decoration, applied on the rim. Represents a lily-shaped motive, from which only one of the tendrils was preserved (spiral-shaped), the beginning of the central stem and that of the other tendrils; just like for the previous items, it was part of a service A and of a group B of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., S 5, in the earth-and-timber layer underneath the *opus signinum* floor; the IIIrd earth-and-timber phase; general dating, according to Conspectus, p. 128 – the second half of the Ist – first half of the IInd century AD; according to the archaeological context: Hadrian – Antoninus Pius; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, no. 15, p. 717, pl. VIII/3; MNIT; V. 47 528.

5. Bowl Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.2. Pl. III/4; fragment of rim; D r. = 10 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 6/8 light red), fine, with sparse inclusions of quartz in its composition; glossy red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); barbotine decoration applied on the rim, consists in a bunch of grapes that has at the end of its stem an ivy leaf; it is part of a service A (Conspectus, p. 50, fig. 1) and of a group B of *terra sigillata* tardo-padana (S. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger, op. cit., p. 416-417, fig. 1); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., S 4, IInd earth-and-timber phase; general dating, cf. Conspectus = c AD 50-150; according to archaeological context = Trajan – Hadrian; analogies: see previous item; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, no. 14, p. 717, pl. VIII/4; MNIT; V. 47 430.

2. PLAIN TARDO-PADANA *TERRA SIGILLATA*

CONSPECTUS 3.2.1.

6. Plate Conspectus 3.2.1. Pl. III/6; fragment of rim; d r. = 27 cm; red fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 5/6 red), fine, with very fine inclusions of calcite and mica, parallel to the vessel's walls; glossy dark-red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); *Napoca*, setting of the Memorandists' Monument, 1994, S 3, -2.70-3.20 m; general dating: according to Conspectus, p. 56 – the mid Ist to the beginning of the IInd century AD; according to the archaeological context – Trajan; analogies: G. Rizzo, op. cit., p. 36, fig. 1, 1; Rusu-Bolindeț 2004, no. 19, p. 718, pl. XII/2; V. Rusu-Bolindeț, S. Cociș, *The pottery in the Roman vicus of Napoca*, in C. Gaiu, C. Găzdac (eds.), *Fontes Historiae. Studia in honorem Demetrii Protase*, Biblioteca Muzeului Bistrița, Seria Historica 12, Bistrița – Cluj-Napoca 2006, p. 557, fig. 5, 20 and note 29 for the correction of the form's classification; MNIT; V. 52 441.

B. SOUTH-GALISH *TERRA SIGILLATA*

1. *TERRA SIGILLATA* WITH RELIEF DECORATION LA GRAUFESENQUE AND BANASSAC

DRAG. 37

7. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IV/7; fragment of body; 6 × 4 cm; fabric: color and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip (color not mentioned); decoration: fragmentary. 1. Lion moving to the right (O 1400 = D 747, Hofmann 1988, 204) – style of BIRAGILVS, FLORVS, MERCATOR, NATALIS, La Graufesenque and Banassac; 2. Stem with leaves shaped as hearts (F. Hermet, La Graufesenque, Paris 1934, 9/24, 88/3). **La Graufesenque and Banassac**, group III b (according to Pferdehirt 1986, p. 221); *Napoca*, Libertății Square, north-eastern corner of St. Michael church, -1.70 m, in Roman level; Flavii? (according to Isac 1980, p. 469); c AD 90-120 AD (late Domitian period – Trajan, cf. A. Faber, *Die südgallische Terra sigillata aus Kastell und Vicus Eining. Zum Beginn des Militärstützpunkts*, BVbl 58, 1993, p. 113; Gabler 1994-1995, p. 63; Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 2, pl. I/2; MNIT; no inventory number.

C. CENTRAL GAULISH *TERRA SIGILLATA* LEZOUX

DRAG. 37

8. Bowl (?) Drag. 37. Pl. IV/8; fragment of body; 5.2 × 2.2 cm; fabric: red (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), very fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions of lune spar and mica; the surface is red (Munsell 10R, 6/8 red), the slip is smooth and lustrous; decoration: fragmentary. Only the ovolos were preserved (possibly Rogers B 206) and the pearled line underneath (Rogers A 24). The decoration was grouped in medallions; **Lezoux**. Rogers B 206. Ovolos were used by many potters, among which PATERNVS, ACVRIO, MERCATOR I, QVINTILIANVS and CENSORINVS, which was active at Lezoux between c AD 125-170/180 (cf. PGC, p. 225). Closer to the style of QVINTILIANVS and his followers (PGC, pl. 73/46, 49); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, IInd earth-and-timber phase; dating: according to the archaeological context, Trajan – Hadrian; according to the workshop – c AD 125-150 (PGC, p. 186-190); unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 497.

9. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IV/9; fragment of body; 4.5 × 4 cm; red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions of lune spar and mica; the surface is red (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red), the slip is smooth and lustrous; decoration: ovolos (Rogers B 24, PGC, fig. 24/1) – DOCILIS and DOCCALVS. Decoration divided in panels probably by pearled lines, inside which there were metopes made from double semicircles, with a big astragalus border on the upper side. The decorative element probably represented a gladiator (fighter), head turned left, with a helmet on (?), hard to determine due to its fragmentary state; **Lezoux**. The style of DOCILIS and DOCCALVS; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, Ist earth-and-timber phase; dating: according to archaeological context – Trajan; according to the workshop and the potter – c AD 125-145 (Rogers 1999, p. 115-116) or c AD 130-150 (PGC, p. 219); analogies: for the ovolos – Isac 1985, no. 71, pl. 9; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 366.

10. Bowl Drag. 37(?). Pl. IV/10; fragment of body; 3 × 3.2 cm; fabric: red (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), fine, with limestone, mica and red-brown iron-rich grains inclusions; the surface is red-brown (Munsell 10R, 6/8 red), the slip is smooth and lustrous; decoration: fragmentary, probably organized in medallions. Decorative elements: 1. Sphinx, turned to the left (O 857 = D 497). Decorative details: 2. Small circle (CGP, fig. 47/11); **Lezoux**. CINNAMVS, no possible attribution to one of his styles; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, Ist earth-and-timber phase; dating: according to the archaeological context – Trajan;

according to the workshop and the potter – c AD 135-170/180 (cf. PGC, p. 310, Rogers 1999, p. 97-105); analogies: decorative motive – Popilian 1976, pl. VI/93; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 367.

11. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IV/11; fragment of body; 7 × 5.2 cm; red fabric (Munsell 2,5 YR, 4/8 red), fine, mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains and mica, quartz is sparse; red smooth and lustrous slip (Munsell 2,5 YR, 4/8 red); decoration: ovolos (Rogers B 107), wide and very narrow panels alternating, separated by pearled lines. Decorative elements: 1. Nude *Venus*, sitting, holding a flower in her right hand, arm in the air, (O 338 = D 204, PGC, pl. 121, 16); 2. Stylized acanthus leaf (Rogers K 35, PGC, pl. 122, 27), probably placed in the upper part of a colonnette (Rogers P 3, PGC, pl. 172, 5); **Lezoux**, ALBVCIVS; *Napoca*, the Memorandists' Monument place of foundation, 1994, S 3, eastern profile, -3.25 m, IInd earth-and-timber phase; c AD 140-170 (cf. PGC, p. 258) or c AD 145-170 (Rogers 1999, p. 41); a very good analogy for the main decorative motive (*Venus*) – PGC, pl. 121, 16; for the secondary decorative motive (colonnette with acanthus leaf on the upper part) – see PGC, pl. 172, 5; unpublished; MNIT; no inventory number.

12. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IV/12; fragment of hemispherical footring and body; d b. = 10 cm; fabric: quality, color and components not mentioned; smooth and lustrous slip; decoration: fragmentary. Decorative elements: 1. bear (O 1589 = D 810) – LASTVCA, PATERNVS, ALBVCIVS, IANVARIVS II, BVTRIO (in association with O 1732). 2. Stag (O 1732 = D 860), used by many potters, among which ALBVCIVS. 3. Other elements (PGC 123/33, 35, 38) – ALBVCIVS; **Lezoux**, ALBVCIVS' style; in the inventory register it appears as having been discovered at Ilișua, during Torma's excavations, but it was published by D. Isac as coming from *Napoca* = no place of discovery; c AD 140-170 AD (cf. PGC, p. 258) or c AD 145-170 (Rogers 1999, p. 41); Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 4, pl. I/4; MNIT; V. 2608.

13. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IV/13; fragment of body; 4 × 2 cm; fine red fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 5/8 red), with very fine inclusions of lune spar (< 0.1 mm), mica and red iron-rich grains; red smooth and lustrous slip (Munsell 2,5 YR, 4/8 red); decoration: fragmentary; only the ovolos were preserved (Rogers B 105, PGC, fig. 35/1, pl. 120, 2) and an astragalus border (Rogers A 9); **Lezoux**, ALBVCIVS; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, Ist stone phase; c AD 140-170 AD (cf. PGC, p. 258) or c AD 145-170 (Rogers 1999, p. 41); according to archaeological context: Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 550.

14. Bowl (?) Drag. 37. Pl. IV/14; fragment of body; 4 × 3.5 cm; fine red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains and mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 10R, 6/8 red); decoration: fragmentary. Only the ovolos border was preserved (Rogers B 180), with a pearled line underneath (Rogers A 4) – style of MERCATOR II (Rogers 1999, pl. 74/16; PGC, pl. 146, 10); **Lezoux**. Style of MERCATOR II (?); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, Ist earth-and-timber phase; AD 160-180 (Rogers 1999, p. 180-182); AD 170-195 (PGC, p. 290); however, the archaeological context is very early – Trajanic level; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 366.

BOWLS DRAG. 37, PROBABLY WITH A RELIEF DECORATION

15. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. V/15; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 20 cm; red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), fine, dense, with very fine particles of lune spar and mica inclusions; smooth, metallic red slip (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red); decoration: only a very small part of the beginning of an ovolos was preserved. According to the quality of the fabric and the slip, it is possible that it was made by a Central Gaulish workshop; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1996, S VII, D 3, -2.00 m; IInd earth-and-timber phase; Trajan – Hadrian; analogies: for the dating of the form see Webster 1996, fig. 8, respectively fig. 69-70; the

form appeared in the second half – the end of the Ist century AD, the climax being the Antonine period; unpublished; MNIT; V. 49 426.

16. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. V/16; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 20 cm; fine red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), with fine inclusions of lüne spar (< 1 mm); red-brown surface, smooth and lustrous slip (Munsell 2,5YR, 4/8 red); decoration: it is hard to state whether the bowl was decorated or not because it was broken above the decorated part; the form of the recipient is specific to relief decorated sigillata; according to the quality of the fabric and the slip, it is possible that it should belong to a Central Gaulish workshop; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, D 3, -2.00 m; Ist stone phase; dating: according to the archaeological context Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus; for the dating of the form – Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. XIII/6; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 565.

17 Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. V/17; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 20 cm; fine red fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 4/8 red), mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains, lüne spar, quartz and mica; red-brown surface, smooth and lustrous slip (Munsell 2,5YR, 4/8 red); probably decorated, but it was broken right above the decorated part, just like the previous item; according to the quality of the fabric and the slip, it is possible that it was made by a Central Gaulish workshop; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1992, outside the eastern wall, C I, -2.50-3.00 m; IInd earth-and-timber phase; Trajan – Hadrian, according to the archaeological context; for the dating of the form – Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. XIII/6; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 436.

D. EAST GAULISH TERRA SIGILLATA RHEINZABERN

DRAG. 37

18. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. V/18; two fragments of body; 8.2 × 5.2 cm; fine red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising limestone, quartz and mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); decoration: ovolos (Ri-Fi E 2), used also by many potters from Rheinzabern, among which CERALIS I and V, COMITALIS I and II, BELSVS I. Decoration organized in medallions, probably separated by pearled lines, which had a leaf turned upside down at the upper end (Ri-Fi P 138) or a vertical border of leaves, with the tip orientated in the same way. 1. Circle (Ri-Fi K 48) also used by a big number of potters from Rheinzabern, among which, apart from the ones mentioned above, IANVARIVS, BF ATTONI etc. The decorative element, preserved in a fragmentary state, represents a fighter leaning on his left knee and holding a shield in his left hand, above his head (Ri-Fi M 211 = O 224), decoration used also by a series of potters from the same centers – Rheinzabern, to those mentioned we can add REGINVS II, AVGVSTINVS, LVCANVS; **Rheinzabern**, style of COMITALIS II – IOVENTI (the latter having a stamp in the decoration) – the ovolos, main decorative motive and the circle in which it is framed correspond – Ludowici-Ricken 1948, pl. 81/10 F; the secondary element does not correspond (leaf upside down), for the item identified as analogy, but the respective potter also uses this type of decoration on other vessels – see Ludowici-Ricken 1948, pl. 80/3, 9 etc. COMITALIS II is in the Bernhard group I b, dated between c AD 140 and 150-175 (Bernhard 1981, p. 87) or, according to more recent dating, in the interval c AD 160/170-178 (K. Bittner, I. Zetsche Huld, op. cit., p. 251; K. Kuzmova, op. cit., p. 22); a broader chronology was suggested more recently by K. Kortüm, A. Mees, op. cit., p. 162 for the potters CERALIS I-V (c AD 160/170-220/230) and COMITALIS I-VI (c AD 170/180-230/240); the scene can be reconstituted on the basis of an item discovered at *Viminacium*, where we can find the same character, the same figure, with the same type of medallion, and the stamp BF ATTONI (cf. Bjelajac 1990, no. 229, pl. 22), but also on the basis of the items discovered at Speyer cf. Ricken-Thomas 2005, p. 91, Taf. 81, 4 (with the stamp COMITALIS A), 10 F (stamp COMITALIS A and

IOVENTI), 11 (with a stamp inside the decoration COMILIAS A); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., 1994, 1st stone phase; dating: according to the archaeological context, Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus; analogies: see Bjelajac 1990, no. 174, pl. 17, attributed to BELSVS; no. 229, pl. 22, with the stamp BF ATTONI and in Dacia, a fragment found at *Porolissum* – D. Isac, N. Gudea, op. cit., no. 38, pl. VI, the potter is not mentioned, due to the fragmentary state; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 541.

E. PLAIN *TERRA SIGILLATA*

1. PLAIN *TERRA SIGILLATA* WITH A POTTER'S STAMP

CENTRAL GAULISH *TERRA SIGILLATA*

LEZOUX

DRAG. 33

19. Cup Drag. 33. Pl. V/19; fragment of body and hemispherical footring; D b. = 6 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; incomplete stamp M[...], according to the stamp's length and the dimensions of the letters we can round it up and read M[OXIM] (Oswald 1931, 212; B. Hofmann, op. cit., 21,1, XV/248.1; N. Walke, op. cit., 43/260); potter that also produced relief decorated sigillata (CGP, 296), included, on the basis of decorative motives, in the entourage of CINNAMVS (Gabler-Márton 2005, p. 267); **Lezoux**. MOXIVS (?); *Napoca*, E. Zola str. (the old Telephone Palace), no archaeological context; dating: Antonini, cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 21; at B. Dickinson, op. cit., p. 201 the potter under discussion carries out his activity between c AD 130-160; Gabler-Márton 2005, p. 266-267 suggest the dating c AD 135-170; analogies: see Oswald 1931, 212, where the potter MOXIVS, MOXSIVS or MOSSIVS from Lezoux or Lubié is active during the Vespasian – Hadrian period; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 21, pl. II/21; MNIT; no inventory number.

2. PLAIN *TERRA SIGILLATA* WITH NO STAMPS OR GRAFFITI

DRAG. 18/31

20. Plate Drag. 18/31R. Pl. VI/20; fragment of rim and body; D r. = 20 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 6/8 light red), fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains, quartz and mica; bright red slip (Munsell 2,5YR, 4/8 red); *Napoca*, Prahovei str., no. 12, 1995, 2 -3.30 m square; IInd earth-and-timber phase; dating: Hadrian – Antoninus Pius, according to the archaeological context; for the dating of the form, see – Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. XLV/17; Webster 1996, fig. 12, 70 and its chronology, with the dating of South Gaulish late Flavian and early Trajan items (AD 90-110), of those from Les Martres-des-Veyre between AD 100 and 120 and of the central Gaulish early items from between AD 120 and 150; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 377.

DRAG. 27

21. Bowl Drag. 27. Pl. VI/21; preserved about 60 %; d r. = 27 cm; w. t. = 2-3 cm; fine light red fabric (Munsell 10R, 6/8 light red), with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains, quartz and mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 2,5YR, 5/8 red); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., B 2, 1st earth-and-timber phase; Trajan; for the dating of the form Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. XLIX, variant IB, with a very early chronological framing (Augustan period); furthermore, the variant under discussion was also produced particularly in the workshop at Crambade, a subsidiary of the one in Montans (see Th. Martin, *Centre de Montans: atelier de Crambade*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 72-73, fig. 14), between AD 15 and 20; the form itself is characteristic also to the period between the mid 1st century and the mid IInd century AD for the South-, Central- and East-Gaulish

workshops (cf. Webster 1996, fig. 69-70); in Switzerland, at *Aventicum*, the same variant is dated between AD 50/70 and 100, being produced locally (see D. Castella, M.-F. Meylan Krause, *La céramique gallo-romaine d'Avenches et de sa région. Esquisse d'une typologie*, Bulletin de l'Association Pro Aventico, Avenches 36, 1994, form 202/2); in *Moesia Inferior* – similar item at *Ratiaria*, but with a stamp on the footring OFFGER (FLAVIVS GERMANVS, produced in the South Gaulish *officinae*, in the late Flavian period – Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, no. 122, pl. 7/122); in Dacia, a piece that could be an example of this form (without being the variant under discussion) at *Apulum*, with the stamp GATVS, produced at La Madeleine in the Trajan – Hadrian period (cf. Isac 1985, p. 162, no. 475, pl. 52); unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 392.

DRAG. 31, 31R

22. Plate Drag. 31R. Pl. VI/22; fragment of hemispherical footring; d b. = 11 cm; fine red light fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 6/8 light red), dense, with fine particles of limestone, quartz, mica and black rich-iron grains (> 1 mm); smooth and lustrous red slip (Munsell 10R, 6/8 red); incised rouletted decoration. It is made of six borders of successive triangles, framed by two concentric circles. The first border of rouletted decoration is placed above and below the upper circle. In the centre of the vessel's base there is a smaller circle, inside which there probably was a potter's stamp, which, unfortunately, was not preserved; **Lezoux**; *Napoca*, the setting place of the Memorandists' Monument, S III, -2,80-3,10 m; IInd earth-and-timber phase; Hadrian – Antoninus Pius, according to the archaeological context; the vessel's form was produced in the Antonine period cf. Webster 1996, fig. 71; for the classification of the form, see Webster 1996, p. 28, fig. 22; unpublished; MNIT; V. 52 432.

23. Plate Drag. 31R. Pl. VI/23; fragment of hemispherical footring; d b. = 11 cm; red – ochre fine fabric (Munsell 10R, 4/6 red), very dense, with very fine inclusions of lüne spar and mica; bright red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); decoration: incised, rouletted. It is made of several very fine lines, bordered by two concentric circles; Central Gaulish–**Lezoux**; *Napoca*, setting of the Memorandists' Monument, S III, -2.80-3.10 m; IInd earth-and-timber phase; Hadrian – Antoninus Pius; unpublished; MNIT; V. 52 431.

DRAG. 33

24. Cup Drag. 33. Pl. VII/24; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 12 cm; fine red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising calcite and mica; smooth, metallic red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); *Napoca*, Libertății (Unirii) Square, 1948, -0.40-0.60 m; IInd – IIIrd centuries AD; for the classification of the forms – Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LI, 11; unpublished; MNIT; IN 4037.

25. Cup Drag. 33. Pl. VII/25; fragment of rim and hemispherical footring; d b. = 5 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 2,5 YR, 6/8 light red), fine, dense, with fine particles of limestone and mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 2,5YR, 4/8 red.; *Napoca*, Libertății Square, pit, -4-4.50 m; IInd – IIIrd centuries AD; unpublished; MNIT; V. 5459 = IN. 3493.

DRAG. 35, 35/36

26. Bowl Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43. Pl. VII/26; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 14 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not indicated; barbotine decoration, applied on the rim – made of big ivy leaves, lanceolated; dating: probably the first half of the IInd century AD; are part of the type A South-Gaulish service (A. Vernhet, *Centre de production de Millau. Atelier de la Graufeseque*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 100, fig. 3), created in the Flavian period at La Graufesenque; see also Conspectus, p. 49–50; **La Graufesenque**; is extremely widespread, both in western provinces, and in the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire, see for example Bjelajac 1990, p. 126, T. 57-58; Kandler-Zöchmann 1997, p.

132, pl. 10; Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, no. 131-137, pl. 7 etc.; Isac 1980, no. 23, pl. V/23; attributed probably to the centre at Rheizabern and dated to the IInd century AD; MNIT; IN. 6673.

27. Bowl Drag. 35/36. Pl. VII/27; probably 50 % of it was preserved; d r. = 13 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; light, shiny slip, faded (probably exfoliated) – no indication of color; barbotine decoration, applied on the rim; seems to represent spirals; *Napoca*, E. Zola str. (Telephones Palace), 1958-1962, in a Roman demolition layer; probably the first half of the IInd century AD; are part of the type A South-Gaulish service (A. Vernhet, op. cit., p. 100, fig. 3), created in the Flavian period at La Graufesenque; see also Conspectus, p. 49–50, fig. 1; **La Graufesenque**; Isac 1980, no. 24, pl. V/24; MNIT; no inventory number.

CURLE 21

28. *Mortarium*-bowl Curle 21, *terra nigra*. Pl. VII/28; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 20 cm; dark gray fabric (Munsell Color Chart 1 for Gley N 4/ dark gray), semi-fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising limestone, quartz and mica; very dark grey slip, almost black (Munsell Color Chart 1 for Gley N 3/), lustrous; the vessel has very deep grooves all over the body; **Rheinzabern**; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., profile D 4, rectification; Ist stone phase; dating: according to the archaeological context: Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus; form produced especially in the Antonine period cf. Webster 1996, fig. 71; for the classification of the forms, Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LXXIII/1-4; Webster 1996, fig. 16; unpublished; MNIT; V. 41 362.

29. *Mortarium*-bowl Curle 21. Pl. VII/29; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 22.5 cm; light red fabric (Munsell 2,5YR, 6/8 light red), fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising red iron-rich grains (2 mm), quartz and sparse mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red); very deep grooves all over the body; *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., profile D 4, rectification; Ist stone phase; dating: according to the archaeological context, Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus; form produced especially in the Antonine period cf. Webster 1996, fig. 71; according to the quality of the fabric and slip, it could be attributed to the East Gaulish workshop at **Rheinzabern** (R. Tomber, J. Dore, The National Roman Fabric Reference Collection. A Handbook, London 1998, p. 39, pl. 27); analogies: see previous item; unpublished; MNIT; V. 41 364.

30. *Mortarium*-bowl Curle 21. Pl. VIII/30; preserved about 60 %; d r. = 32 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; light, shiny slip, color not mentioned; deep grooves all over the body; **Rheinzabern**; *Napoca*, no archaeological context; second half of the IInd century AD; in Dacia, similar item from Cășei – Isac 1985, no. 523, pl. 58; Isac 1980, p. 474, no. 25, pl. IV/25; MNIT; V. 661.

LU TQ

31. Plate Lu Tq. Pl. VIII/31; form which can be rounded up – a part of the bottom is missing; d r. = 17 cm; d b. = 9 cm; h. = 5.8 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; smooth, metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, E. Zola str., 1958-1962, in a Roman demolition layer. **Rheinzabern**, Antonini, cf. Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 7; for the classification of the form, see Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. XLVI/10-12, 16; similar item from Dacia at Gilău cf. Isac 1985, no. 461, pl. 49 (with the stamp GIPPI M, produced at Lezoux, in the same period); Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 7, pl. II/7; MNIT; no inventory number.

DÉCH. 72 = LU Vsd

32. Cup Déch. 72 = Lu Vsd. Pl. VIII/32; fragment of body; 4.3 × 6 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; shiny slip, color not mentioned; decoration: excised ("cut glass" technique), on the body of the cup. It represents a leaf, probably

inside a medallion, produced in the same technique; second half of the IInd century AD; *Napoca*, Libertății (Unirii) Square, 1948, -3.00-3.20 m; rescue excavation for the construction of a room for the introduction of a gas pipe; **Rheinzabern**; according to the production centre – second half of the IInd century AD; for the decoration, see Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LXXVII/1, 3, both products from Lezoux; Isac 1980, p. 470, 473, no. 32, pl. V/32; MNIT; IN 3501.

UNIDENTIFIED FORMS

33. Unidentified form. Pl. VIII/33; fragment of body; 7.3 × 4 cm; bright red fabric (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red), fine, with mixture of well-sorted inclusions, comprising quartz and sparse mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); excised decoration ("cut glass" technique), on the body of the vessel. Due to the fragmentary character of the ornamented part preserved, it is more difficult to define. It probably also represented a leaf or a succession of leaves (?); other observations: the thicker walls indicate a bigger vessel than the cups from the previous items. According to the fabric and slip, it was more likely produced at **Rheinzabern** than at Lezoux (although the fabric and slip of the item with relief decoration from Rheinzabern, present in our catalogue, are different from those of the item under discussion); *Napoca*, Matei Corvin str., no. 3, 1994, S II, firing hole; probably the second half of the IInd century AD; possible decoration analogies: (eventually as form), W. Ludowici, *Stempelnamen römischer Töpfer von meinen Ausgrabungen in Rheinzabern 1901-1904*, Speyer 1904, p. 256, fig. 54, p. 258, fig. 49; unpublished; MNIT; no inventory number.

34. Cup, unidentifiable type. Pl. VIII/34; fragment of hemispherical footring; d b. = 4 cm; red fabric (Munsell 10R, 5/8 red), fine particles of limestone, quartz and mica; smooth red slip (Munsell 10R, 4/8 red); *Napoca*, V. Deleu str., A 2, -2.20 m, IInd earth-and-timber phase; Trajan – Hadrian; unpublished; MNIT; V. 47 490.

F. IMPORTED SAMIAN WARE DEPOSIT [IN NAPOCA]

1. TERRA SIGILLATA RELIEF DECORATED

A. SOUTH GAULISH BANASSAC

DRAG. 37

35. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IX/35; fragment of rim and body; 8 × 6.3 cm; fabric: color and components not mentioned; dark metallic slip (color not clear); decoration: ovolos (Hofmann 1988 E; P. Karnitsch, *Sigillata von Iuvavum* (Salzburg), Salzburg 1971, pl. 28/8, 9; 29/10), attributed to NATALIS; under the ovolo border, a pearled line. Decoration elements: 1. Dogs running to the left (O 1955; R. Knorr, *Südgallische Terra-Sigillata-Gefäße von Rottweil*, Stuttgart 1912, XII/24) – La Graufesenque, Banassac; 2. Decorative motive – palmettes? (Hofmann 1988 E; R. Knorr, op. cit., XXIV/5; P. Karnitsch, *Die Reliefsigillata von Ovilava* (Wels, Oberösterreich), Linz 1959, 27/4) – Banassac, style of NATALIS; 3. Rosettes (Hofmann 1988 J; P. Karnitsch, *Sigillata von Iuvavum...* (Salzburg), Salzburg 1971, pl. 25/5, 6). **Banassac**, style of NATALIS; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from a Roman demolition layer; Nerva – Trajan (cf. Isac 1980, p. 469); Trajan – Hadrian (cf. Hofmann 1988, p. 57-59; Gabler 1994-1995, p. 62); Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 1, pl. I/1; MNIT; no inventory number.

B. CENTRAL GAULISH LEZOUX

DRAG. 37

36. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IX/36, VIII/1; three fragments of body; 8 × 8.3 cm; 12 × 7 cm; 7.5 × 2.5 cm; fabric: color and components not mentioned; lightly slip (probably orange – brownish (Munsell 2,5 YR, 5/8 red), according to the production centre); decoration: ovolos (CGP, fig. 47/1 = Rogers B 223) – CINNAMVS; pearled line. Decoration organized in panels, divided by pearled lines; inside them, alternation of big, double medallions, and human figures. Inside the medallions: 1. Rider (O 245 = D 156) 2. Bear (O 1627 = D 820). In the panel, alternating with the mentioned medallion: 3. *Hercules* (O 774 = D 449) and a decorative element (Rogers Q 27 = PGC, fig. 47/28) – CINNAMVS; filling elements: small circles, crowned rosettes (Rogers C 98) – CINNAMVS; metopes with small circles at both ends and a creeping stalk with bifid leaves. Stamp inside the decoration [CINNA]MI (CGP 169); **Lezoux**, CINNAMVS, medium style; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman debris level; dating: general – AD 135-170 (cf. PGC, p. 310) or AD 135-180 (cf. Rogers 1999, p. 105). CINNAMVS' medium style, dated between AD 140 and 160 (Rogers 1999, p. 99-100); analogies: a very good analogy, which can suggest another type of reconstruction than the one proposed by D. Isac, in PGC, pl. 170, 5; Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 5, pl. I/5; MNIT; no inventory number.

37. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IX/37; fragment of rim and body; 13 × 5.5 cm; fabric: color and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, no other precisions; decoration: ovolos (CGP, fig. 29/2; cf. P. Karnitsch, *Die Reliefsigillata von Ovilava* (Wels, Oberösterreich), Linz 1959, pl. 45/5) – CENSORINVS. Decoration grouped in metopes. Decorative elements: 1. Stag running to the right (O 1732 = D 860), used, among others, by PATERNVS and CENSORINVS; arch with astragalus at both ends; 2. Semi-nude *Venus*, standing (O 290 = D 181) – CENSORINVS's style, PATERNVS; **Lezoux**. CENSORINVS; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; AD 150-180 (cf. PGC, p. 233) or AD 160-180 (cf. Rogers 1999, p. 94); Isac 1980, p. 472, no. 3, pl. I/3; MNIT; no inventory number.

C. EAST GAULISH LAVOYE

DRAG. 37

38. Bowl Drag. 37. Pl. IX/38; fragment of footring and body; d f = 18 cm; fabric: color and components not mentioned; light, shiny slip (color not mentioned); decoration: fragmentary, partially organized in medallions. Decorative elements: 1. Lion looking left (O 1436; B. Hofmann, *Catalogue des poinçons pour moules à vases sigillés des décorateurs argonnais*, Ogam 20, no. 3-6, 1968, 164), inside the medallion – Lavoye, a student of TOCCA or TRIBVNVS; also appears at Blikweiler, Eschweilerhof and Trier (E. Fölzer, *Die Bilderschüsseln des Ostgallischen Sigillata-Manufakturen*, Bonn 1913, 586). 2. Small lion looking left (O 1442; B. Hofmann, op. cit., 169 A-B) – Lavoye, the followers of TOCCA and TRIBVNVS; 3. Bore (O 1694 A; B. Hofmann, op. cit., 196) – used by TOCCIVS, TRIBVNVS at Pont de Rèmes and Lavoye; 4. Leaf (B. Hofmann, op. cit., 347) – TRIBVNVS; Arcades (G. Müller, *Das Lagerdorf des Kastells Butzbach. Die Reliefverzierte Terra Sigillata*, Limesforschungen 5, Berlin 1968, 17/449, 463) – Lavoye; inferior leaf made from rosettes (B. Hofmann, op. cit., 456; G. Müller, op. cit., 17/447, 449, 455) – Lavoye; **Lavoye**. AD 140 – 170; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50m, from the Roman demolition layer; Hadrian – end of the IInd century AD; Isac 1980, no. 6, pl. I/6; MNIT; no inventory number.

2. 1. PLAIN SIGILLATA WITH POTTER'S STAMP

A. CENTRAL GAULISH LEZOUX

DRAG. 18/31

39. Plate Drag. 18/31. Pl. X/39; hemispherical footring; d b. = 9.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; stamp GIP[PI]M on the inside bottom of the plate (Oswald 1931, 137; G. Juhász, *Die Sigillaten von Brigetio*, Budapest, DissPann II, 3, 1935, *Brigetio*, XLVI/125; N. Walke, op. cit., 42/179-180). A certain GIPPVS, producer of bowls Drag. 37 with relief decoration, is also attested in Lezoux (see Ph. Bet, R. Delage, *Introduction à l'étude des marques sigillée moulée de Lezoux*, SFECAG. Actes du Congrès du Cognac, Cognac 1991, p. 193-227, N. 107, 214, fig. 12.207, with stamp inside the decoration; also cf. Gabler-Márton 2005, p. 253-254) but with a later dating – AD 180-200 (cf. Rogers 1999, p. 131-132, pl. 46); **Lezoux**. GIPPVS. Antonini; in the sigillata deposit at *Cambodunum*-Kempton, the dating of this potter's activity is around the year AD 160 (W. Czyst, op. cit., 333, 336); Gabler D., *A balácai terra sigillaták 2. (Terra sigillata aus Baláca 2)*, Balácai Közlemények, Baláca 2, 1992, N. 40, 298 considers that GIPPVS carried out his activity in the Antoninus Pius – Marcus Aurelius period (see also Gabler-Márton 2005, p. 254), while B. Dickinson, *The Samian*, in A. McWhirr, *Houses in Roman Cirencester*. Cirencester Excavations III, Cirencester, 1986, p. 188 considers that the same potter is active around AD 155-185; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, in the Roman demolition layer; Antonini (cf. Isac 1980, p. 473); AD 140-160 (cf. Bjelajac 1990, p. 135); analogies: besides those mentioned when the stamp was identified, in Dacia, in the Roman fortress at Gilău, complete, cf. Isac 1985, no. 461, pl. 49; in *Moesia Superior*, at *Viminacium*, identical stamp on a cup Drag. 33 (Bjelajac 1990, p. 126, pl. 64, no. 42); in *Pannonia* at *Gorsium* (Gabler-Kocztur 1976, N. 5, 70) on the same type of vessel; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 9, pl. II/9; MNIT; no inventory number.

40. Plate Drag. 31R. Pl. X/40, VIII/2; fragmentary hemispherical footring; d b. = 12.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; decoration: incised, rouletted, on the inside of the footring. Decoration bordered by two concentric circles. In the centre of the recipient's footring there is another smaller circle inside which there is the stamp GEN[ETI]M (Oswald 1931, p. 133; B. Hofmann, *Catalogue des estampilles sur les vases sigillés, 1ère partie (les ateliers de La Graufesenque et de Lezoux)*...., in Groupe d'Archéologie Antique de Touring Club de France, *Notice Technique*, 21, 1, XII/84, 1-84, 2; XV/84, 4); **Lezoux**. GENETIVS or GENETLVS; Trajan – Hadrian period; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, ? 2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; similar stamp on a vessel Drag. 18/31 from Colchester cf. Oswald 1931, p. 133; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 8, pl. II/8; MNIT; no inventory number.

DRAG. 33

41. Cup Drag. 33. Pl. XLI/3; hemispherical footring and fragments of walls; d b. = 4 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; the fragment has a stamp on the bottom I[V]VENI M (Oswald 1931, p. 156; B. Hofmann, op. cit., 21.1; XII/94.1; C. Bémont, A. Bourgeois, *Annexe. Les noms de potiers. Ateliers situés en France*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 282 – activity place: the workshops at La Graufesenque and Heiligenberg); **Lezoux**. IVVENIS. Oswald 1931, p. 156 provides an early dating, Trajan – Hadrian period; D. Isac attributed it to the Hadrian – Antonine period (Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 22); B. Hofmann, op. cit., 21.1, XII/94.29 dates it in the interval AD 140-190. The same dating is reasserted by Gabler-Márton 2005, p. 256; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str. no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer;

analogies: with the stamp IVVENI *M(anu)* from *Poetovio* – I. Mikl-Curk, *Terra sigillata* na sorodne vršte keramike iz Poetovija, Dissertationes IX, Beograd 1969, N. 257, 35; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 22, pl. II/22; MNIT; no inventory number.

B. EAST GAULISH

RHEINZABERN

CURLE 21

42. *Mortarium*-bowl Curle 21. Pl. X/42; fragment of footring, with an almost flattened ring; d b. = 8 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; heavy grooves on the whole body, as characteristic of the form. On the footring, on the outside, there are two letters incised, before the firing: ..TE or, more likely ...FE; **Rheinzabern**; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; the second half of the IInd century AD; Isac 1980, p. 474, no. 26, pl. IV/26; MNIT; no inventory number.

3. PLAIN SIGILLATA

RHEINZABERN

DRAG. 31, 31R

43. Plate Drag. 31. Pl. XI/43; preserved about 40 %; d r. = 27.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated to the Antonine period – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 14, pl. III/14; MNIT; no inventory number.

44. Plate Drag. 31. Pl. XI/44; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 27.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated to the Antonine period – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 15, pl. III/15; MNIT; no inventory number.

45. Plate Drag. 31. Pl. XI/45; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 36 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated to the Antonine period – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 13, pl. III/13; MNIT; no inventory number.

46. Plate Drag. 31. Pl. XI/46; preserved about 40 %; d r. = 32 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated to the Antonine period – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 10, pl. III/10; MNIT; no inventory number.

47. Plate Drag. 31. Pl. XI/47; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 32 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated to the Antonine period – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 11; pl. III/11; MNIT; no inventory number.

48. Plate Drag. 31; pl. XI/48; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 31.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed

to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated to the Antonine period – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 12, pl. III/12; MNIT; no inventory number.

LEZOUX

DRAG. 33

49. Cup Drag. 33. Pl. XII/49; preserved about 60 %; d r. = 11 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed by D. Isac to the workshops at Lezoux or Rheinzabern and dated chronologically to the mid IInd century AD; **Lezoux**; for the classification of the form – Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LI, 11, 12, 16 etc. Analogies are very numerous, as this form was extremely widespread in all of the Empire's provinces. In Dacia, similar items were discovered at *Apulum* (Isac 1985, no. 477, pl. 52, with the stamp MAXIMI, potter from Lezoux); Gilău (Isac 1985, no. 481-483, pl. 52-53) etc.; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 20, pl. II/20; MNIT; no inventory number.

RHEINZABERN

DRAG. 43 / CURLE 21

50. *Mortarium*-bowl Drag. 43/Curle 21. Pl. XII/50; two fragments of rim and body; d r. = 23 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; deep grooves on the body; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the workshop at **Rheinzabern** and dated chronologically to the second half of the II century AD (cf. Oswald-Pryce 1984, p. 166); for the general classification of the form – Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LXXIII/5, 6; Webster 1996, fig. 14, however, the item under discussion is more likely a mixed form Curle 21/Drag. 43 as its rim is similar to that of the first form mentioned and because it has a spout just like the type Drag. 43 *mortaria*; Isac 1980, p. 474, no. 27, pl. IV/27; MNIT; no inventory number.

LEZOUX

CURLE 15

51. Plate Curle 15. Pl. XII/15; form preserved in full (or which can be rounded up); d r. = 25.5 cm; d b. = 9.5 cm; h. = 5.2 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, 2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; mid IInd century AD cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 16 and attributed to the workshops at Lezoux or Rheinzabern; **Lezoux**; for the classification of the form see Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LVII/14; produced at Lezoux, cf. Ph. Bet, H. Vertet, op. cit., p. 139, fig. 1; Terre-Franche (workshop which was also included in the group at Lezoux); M. et P. Vauthey, *Groupe de Lezoux. Terre-Franche*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 159, fig. 15; in the East Gaulish workshops: belonging to the group from Argonne (Pont-des-Rèmes, cf. P. H. Mitard, op. cit., p. 203, fig. 5), of that in Moselle like Boucheporn (M. Lutz, *Ateliers de la Moselle. Boucheporn*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 213, fig. 3; the respective form was produced at the end of the IInd century AD), Mittelbronn (M. Lutz, *Ateliers de la Moselle. Mittelbronn*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 218, fig. 5) or in the group of workshops in Alsace, at Dinsheim-Heiligenberg (cf. E. Kern, *Dinsheim-Heiligenberg*, in Bémont-Jacob 1986, p. 229) etc., as well as in Rheinzabern; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 16, pl. IV/16; MNIT; no inventory number.

52. Plate Curle 15. Pl. XII/52; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 24.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned;

Napoca, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; mid IInd century AD – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 18, pl. IV/18; MNIT; no inventory number.

53. Plate Curle 15. Pl. XII/3; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 27.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; mid IInd century AD – cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 17, pl. IV/17; MNIT; no inventory number.

54. Plate Curle 15. Pl. XII/54; fragment of rim and body; d r. = 26 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; Hadrian – Antonine cf. Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 19; for the classification of the form see Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LVI/9-11; similar items in Dacia found at Gilău and *Tibiscum*, cf. Isac 1985, no. 501, pl. 55, no. 508-509, pl. 56; Isac 1980, p. 473, no. 19, pl. IV/19; MNIT; no inventory number.

RHEINZABERN

DÉCH. 72 = LU Vsd WITH EXCISED DECORATION

55 – 55 a. Cup Déch. 72 = Lu Vsd. Pl. XIII/55; two fragments of rim and body; d r. = 8 cm; d max. = 10 cm; 3.8 × 4.5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; decoration: excised ("cut glass" technique), on the body of the cup. It represents a vine leaf in a medallion; **Rheinzabern**, second half of the IInd century AD; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; dating: according to the production centre – the second half of the IInd century AD; for identification see J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, II, Paris 1904, p. 312 sqq., pl. V/1, 3; p. 314, fig. 0; Oswald-Pryce 1984, LXXVII/1, 3, 6-8; it was produced at Lezoux and Rheinzabern, in the second half of the IInd century AD; also cf. W. Ludowici, *Stempelbilder römischer Töpfer aus meinem Ausgrabungen in Rheinzabern und der 2. Teil der Stempelnamen 1901-1905*, Speyer 1905, p. 256, fig. 54, 358, fig. 53. It is a ware type that can be found only in a smaller number of items, but it appears in many provinces of the Empire – see Bjelajac 1990, p. 128, pl. 61 (classified typologically as Drag. 54); Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, no. 180-183, pl. 12 etc. In Dacia: D. Isac, M. Rusu, C. Băluță, op. cit., p. 258, no. 62, pl. VI – *Apulum*; Isac 1985, no. 533, pl. 59 – *Feldioara*; Popilian-Ciucă 1993, p. 40, no. 67, pl. IV – *Enoșești-Acidava* etc.; Isac 1980, p. 470, 473, no. 30, 30 a, pl. V/30, 30 a; MINT; no inventory number.

56 – 56 a. Cup Déch. 72 = Lu Vsd. Pl. XIII/56; two fragments of rim and body; d r. = 7 cm; d max. = 9.5 cm; 6 × 2.4 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; decoration: excised ("cut glass" technique), on the body of the cup. It represents a leaf in a medallion similar to a wreath; **Rheinzabern**, second half of the IInd century AD; place of discovery identical to that of the previous item; dating: according to the production centre – second half of the IInd century AD; analogies: Oswald-Pryce 1984, pl. LXXVII/6, 8 for decoration; see also analogies from the previous item; Isac 1980, p. 470, 473, no. 31, 31 a, pl. V/31, 31 a; MNIT; no inventory number.

DÉCH. 72 WITHOUT DECORATION

57. Cup Déch. 72. Pl. XIII/57, preserved about 40 %; d r. = 6.8 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; attributed to the centers at Lezoux or Rheinzabern and classified chronologically into the second half of the IInd century AD; **Rheinzabern**; for the classification of the form – Oswald-

Pryce 1984, pl. LXXIX/3; pl. LXXVII/1, 3, 4, items with decoration; Isac 1980, no. 29, pl. V/29; MNIT; no inventory number.

STANFIELD 1929, 30

58. Barrel-like beaker type Stanfield 1929, 30. Pl. XIII/58; three fragments of rim and body; d r. = 5 cm; fabric: color, quality and components not mentioned; slightly metallic slip, color not mentioned; decoration: the cup has 11 deep grooves, from the rim down to the point of maximum girth; *Napoca*, Gh. Doja str., no. 21-23, -2-2.50 m, from the Roman demolition layer; Isac 1980, no. 28, pl. V/28; MNIT; no inventory number.

Abbreviations

BudRég	= Budapest Régesegei, Budapest.
CAH	= <i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
DAF	= Documents d'Archéologie Française, Paris.
DissPann	= Dissertationes Pannonicae, Budapest.
MRK	= Materialien zur Römisch-Germanischen Keramik.
Figlina	= Figlina. Documents du Laboratoire de céramologie de Lyon, Lyon.
FÖ	= Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien.
RCRF Acta	= <i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
SFECAG	= Société Française d'Étude de la Céramique Antique en Gaule.

TERRA SIGILLATA WORKSHOPS	RELIEF DECORATED SIGILLATA	PLAIN SIGILLATA															Total
	Dr. 37	Consp 3.2.1	Dr. 18, 18/ 31R	Dr. 27	Dr. 31, 31R	Dr. 33	Dr. 35 = Consp.43	Dr. 36 = Consp.39	Dr. 35/36	Dr. 43/Curle 21	Curle 15	Curle 21	Lu Tq	Déch. 72 = Lu Vsd	Stanfield 1929, 30	Unidenti Fied forms	
LATE ITALIAN	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
SOUTH GAULISH	2		-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
CENTRAL GAULISH	12		1	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	23
EAST GAULISH - LAVOYE	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	1
EAST GAULISH – RHEINZA BERN	1		-	-	6		-	-	-	1	-	4	1	4	-	1	18
UNIDENTIFIED WORK SHOPS	-		1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	1	1	6
TOTAL	16		2	1	9	5	4	2	1	1	4	4	1	4	1	2	58

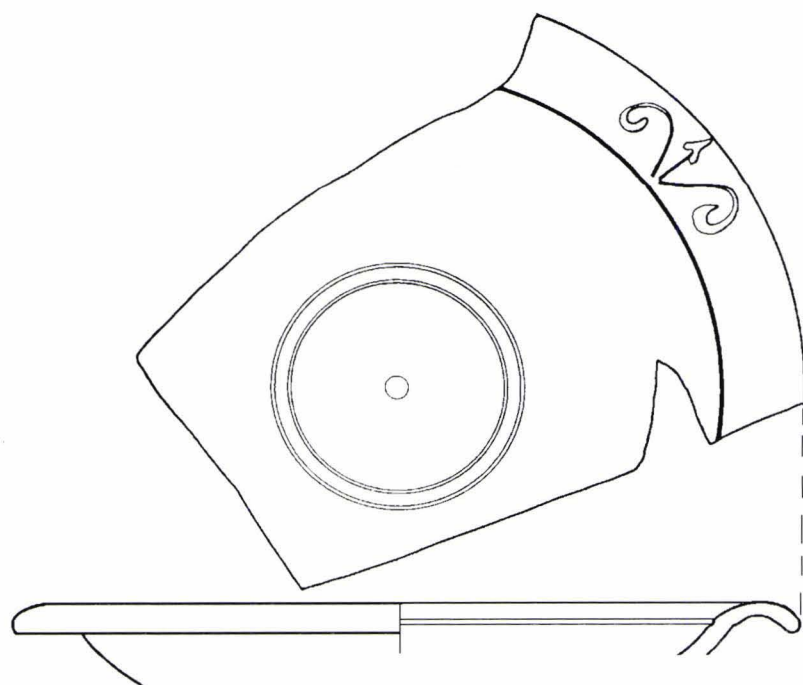
Tabel 1. Imported *terra sigilla* to Napoca– repartition by pottery workshops and by forms.

TERRA SIGILLATA WORKSHOPS	RELIEF DECORATED SIGILLATA	PLAIN SIGILLATA															To tal
	Dr. 37	Consp. 3.2.1	Dr. 18, 18/ 31R	Dr. 27	Dr. 31, 31R	Dr. 33	Dr. 35 = Consp.4 3	Dr. 36 = Consp.3 9	Dr. 35/36	Dr. 43/Curle 21	Curle 15	Curle 21	Lu Tq	Déch. 72 =Lu Vsd	Stanfield 1929, 30	Unidenti Fied forms	
LATE ITALIAN	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
SOUTH GAULISH	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
CENTRAL GAULISH	10	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
EAST GAULISH - RHEINZA BERN	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	1	7
UNIDENTI FIED WORK SHOPS	-		1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	5
TOTAL	12	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	2	34

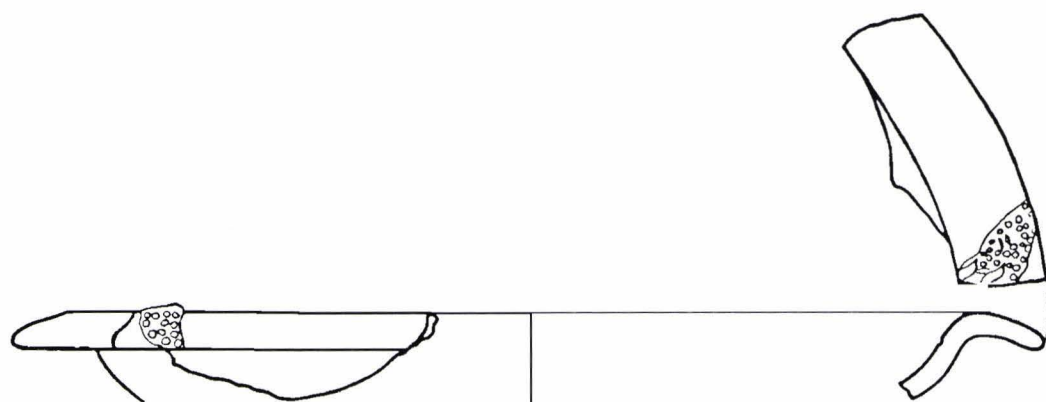
Tabel 2. Imported *terra sigilla* to *Napoca*, except the Samian ware deposit – repartition by pottery workshops and by forms

NO. CATALOGUE	SGILLATA TYPE	POTTER/POTTER'S STAMP	SIGILLATA WORKSHOP	DATING	NO. VESSELS
35.	Drag. 37	NATALIS	Banassac	[Traian-Hadrian] AD 120-140	1
36.	Drag. 37	CINNAMVS	Lezoux	AD 140-160 (medium style)	1
37.	Drag. 37	CENSORINVS	Lezoux	AD 150/160-180	1
38.	Drag. 37	TOCCA and TRIBVNVS' style	Lavoye	AD 140-170	1
39.	Drag. 18/31	GIP[PI] M	Lezoux	AD 140-160	1
40.	Drag. 31R	GEN[ETIIM]	Lezoux	[Traian-Hadrian] AD 120-140	1
41.	Drag. 33	IV[V]ENIM	Lezoux	AD 140-190	1
42.	Curle 21	<i>Graffiti</i> ..TE or FE...	Rheinzabern	AD 150-190	1
43-48.	Drag. 31, 31R	-	Rheinzabern	AD 150-190	6
49.	Drag. 33	-	Lezoux	second half of the II nd century AD AD 150-190	1
50.	Drag. 43/Curle 21	-	Rheinzabern	AD 150-190	1
51-54.	Curle 15	-	Lezoux	AD 120-180	4
55-57.	Déch. 72	-	Rheinzabern	second half of the II nd century AD AD 150-190	3
58.	Stanfield 1929, 30		-	second half of the II nd century AD	1
TOTAL	10 sigillata types	3 relief decorated vessels 3 potter's stamps 1 <i>grafitti</i>	Banassac 1 Lavoye 1 Lezoux 10 Rheinzabern 11 Unidentified workshop 1	AD 100/120– 190	24

Table 3. Contents and dating of the imported Samian ware deposit from *Napoca*.



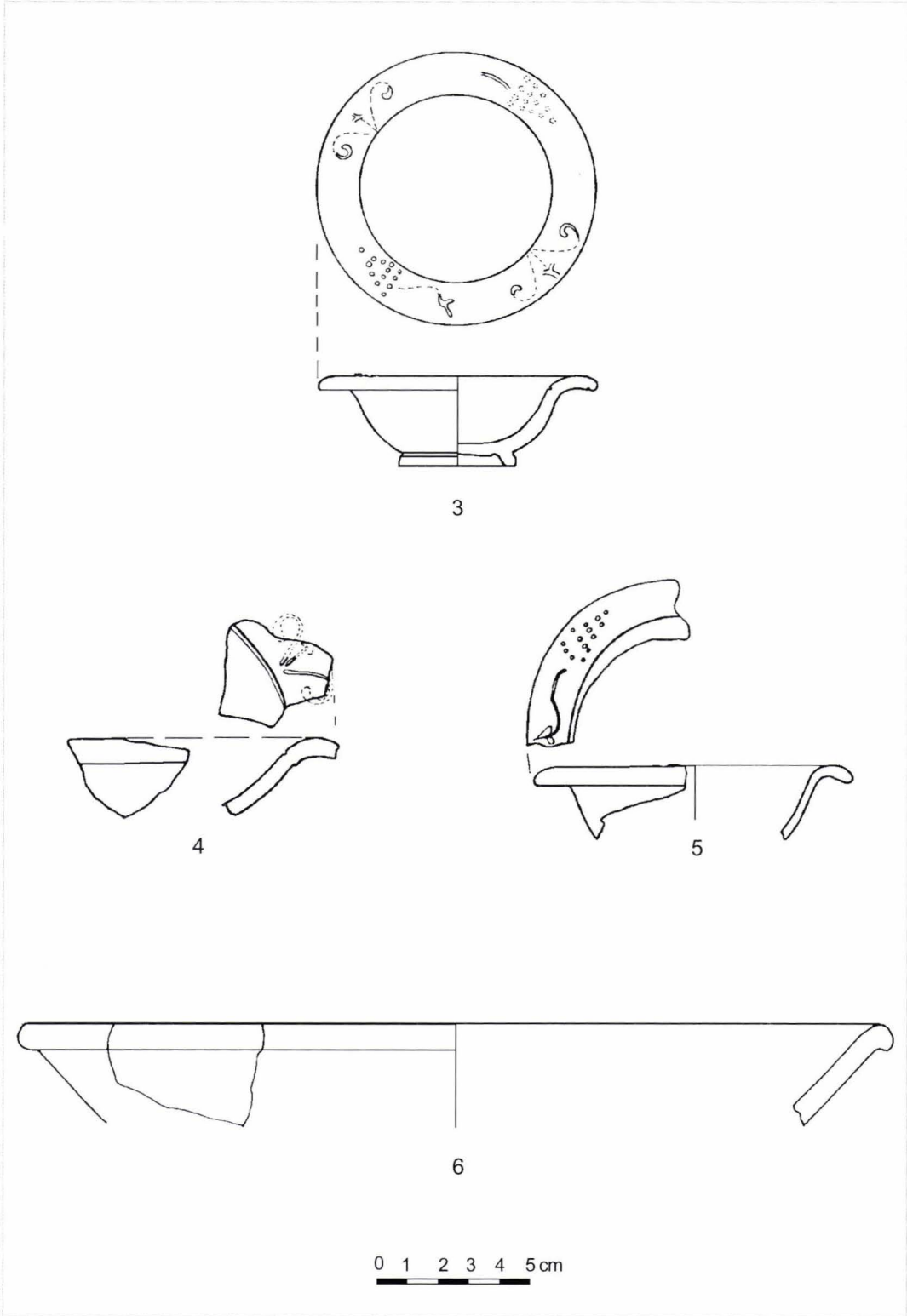
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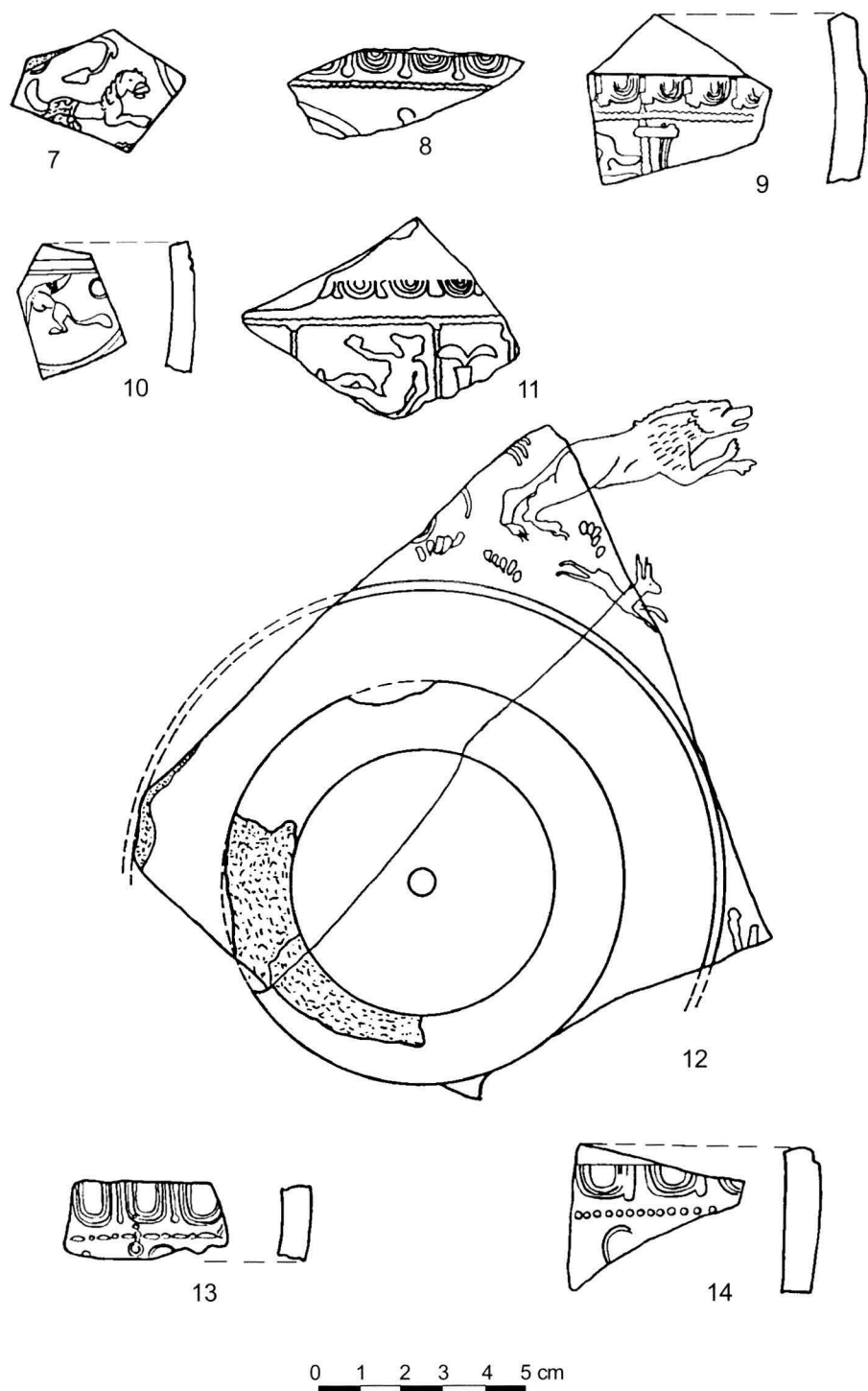
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0 1 2 3 4 5 cm

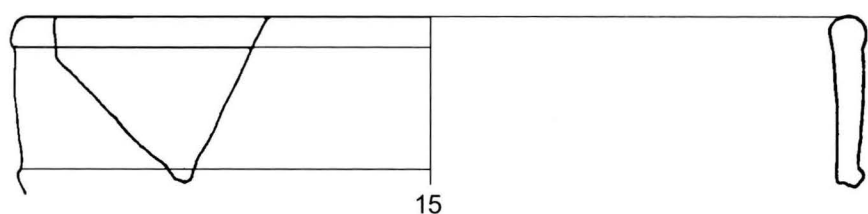
Pl. II. Terra sigillata tardo-padana, barbotine decorated: 1. Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39.1.1;
2. Drag. 36 = Conspectus 39.1.



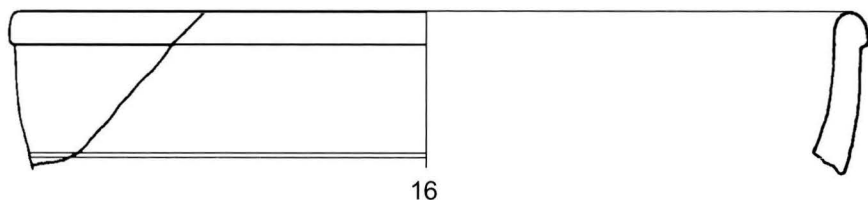
Pl. III. Terra sigillata tardo-padana, barbotine decorated: 3. Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.3; 4. Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.2; 5. Drag. 35 = Conspectus 43.1.1; plain sigillata: 6. Conspectus 3.2.1.



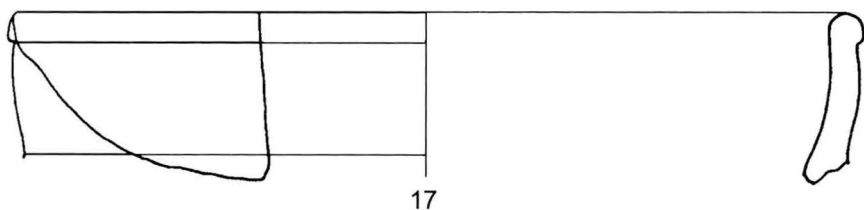
Pl. IV. Relief decorated sigillata: South Gaulish: 7. Drag. 37 – La Graufesenque and Banassac;
Central Gaulish: 8-14. Drag. 37 – Lezoux.



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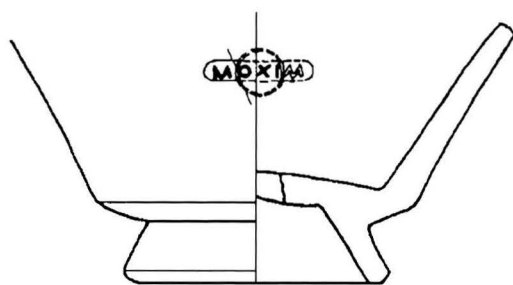
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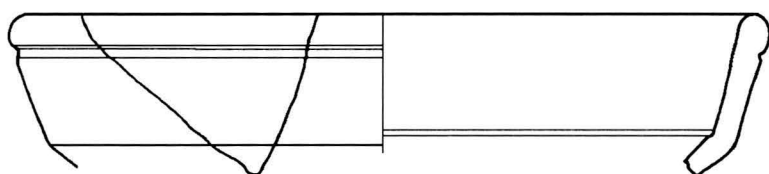
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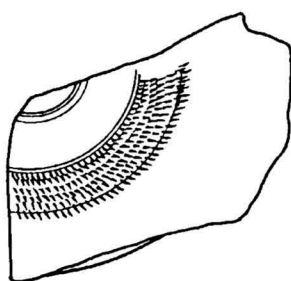
Pl. V. Relief decorated sigillata: Central Gaulish: 15-17. Drag. 37 – Lezoux; East Gaulish: 18. Drag. 37 – Rheinzabern; plain sigillata: 19. Drag. 33, with the potter's name M[OXIM] – Lezoux.



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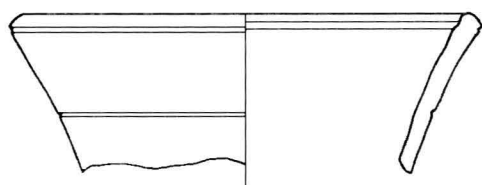


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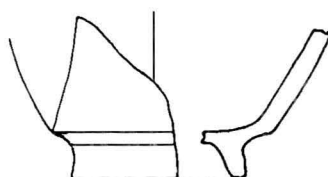


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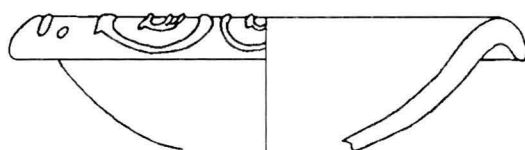
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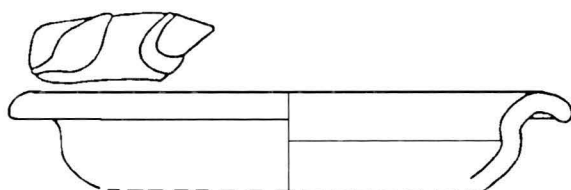
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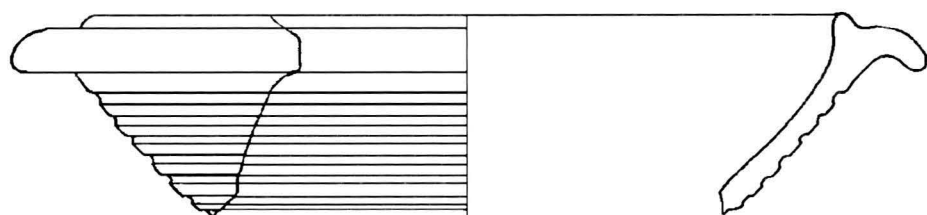
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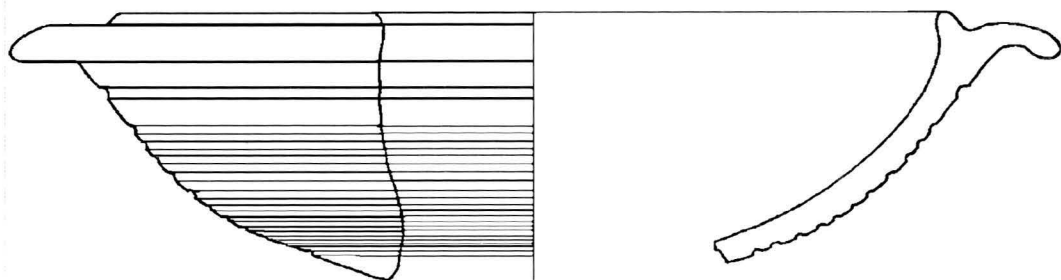
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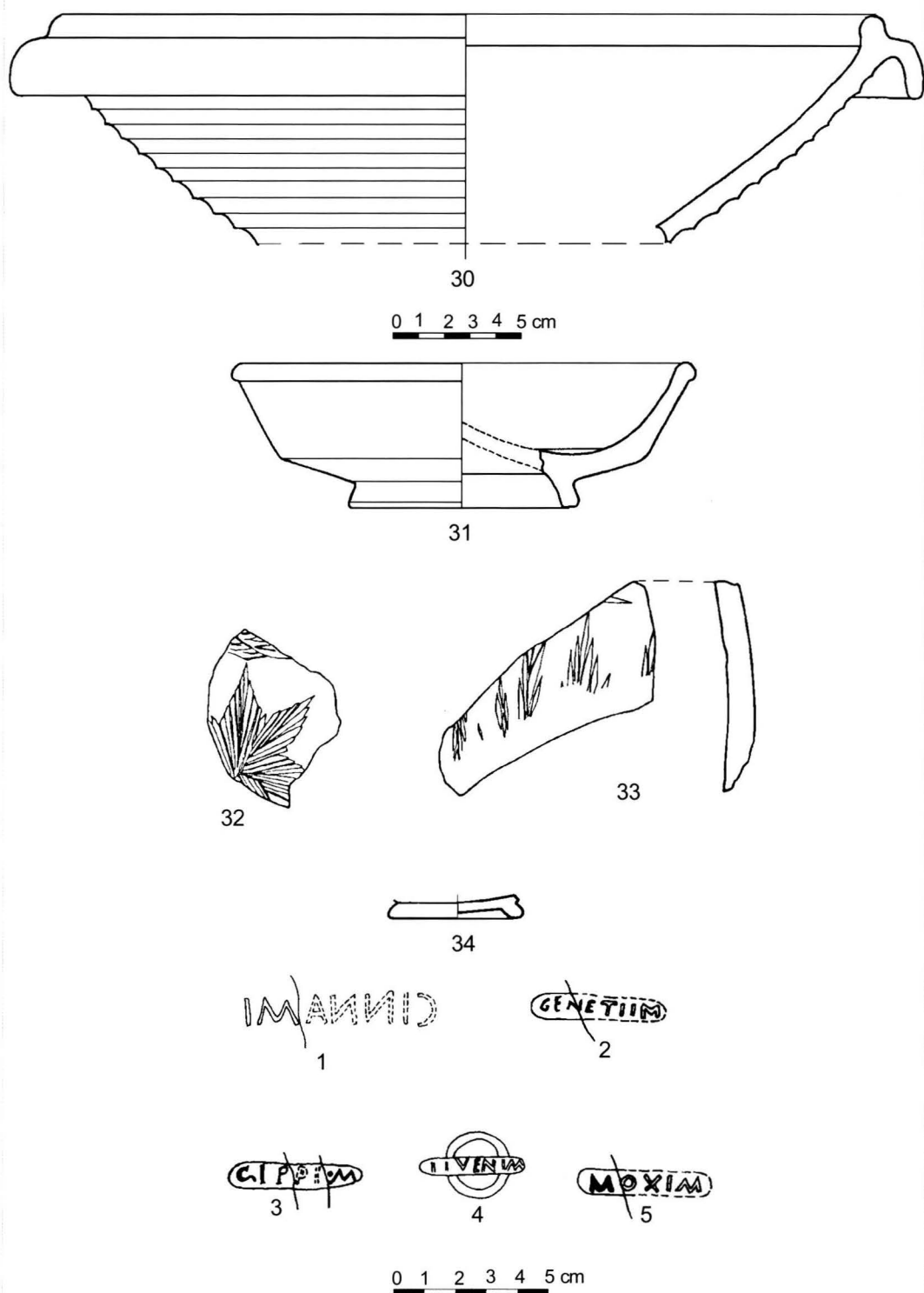
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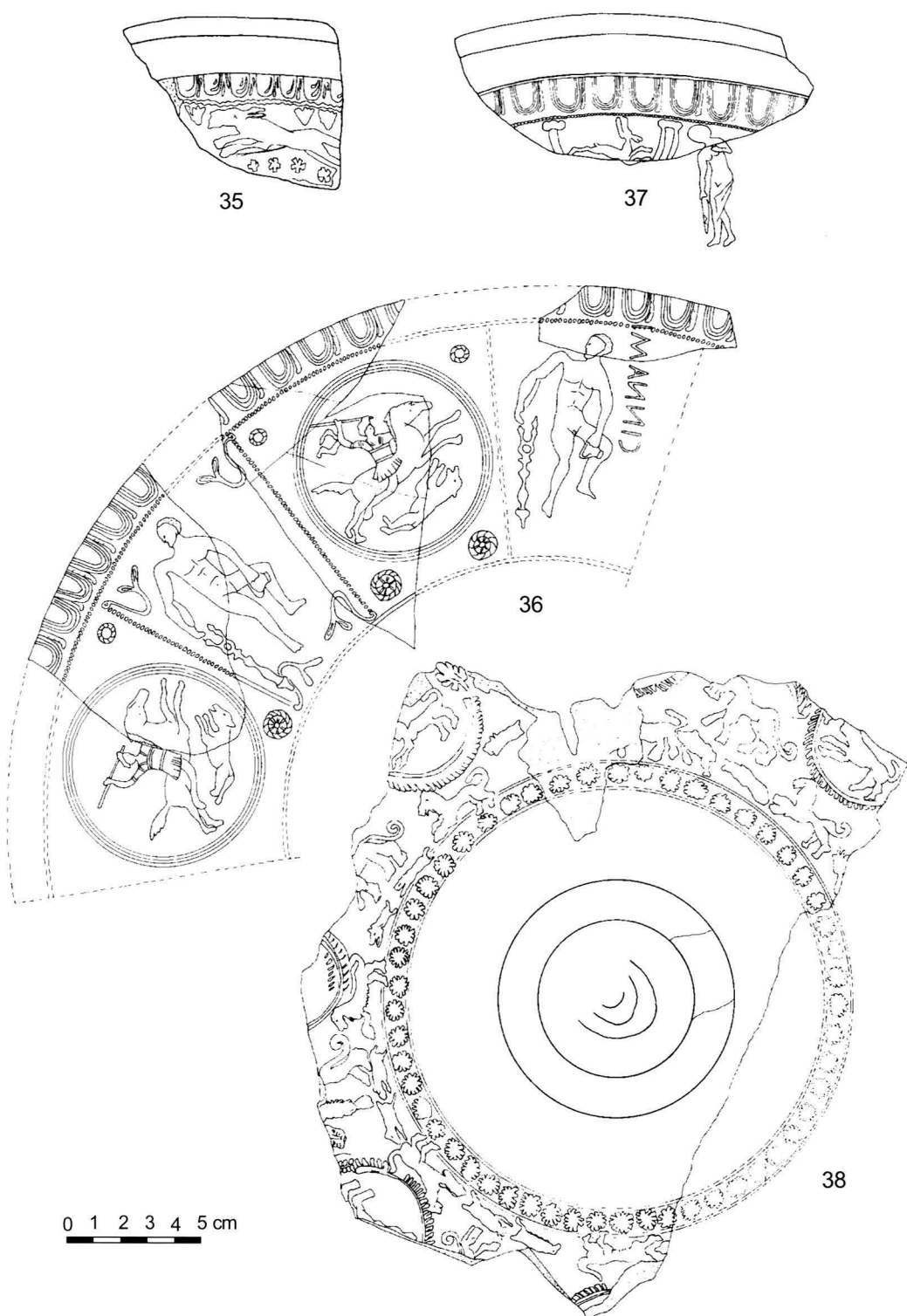
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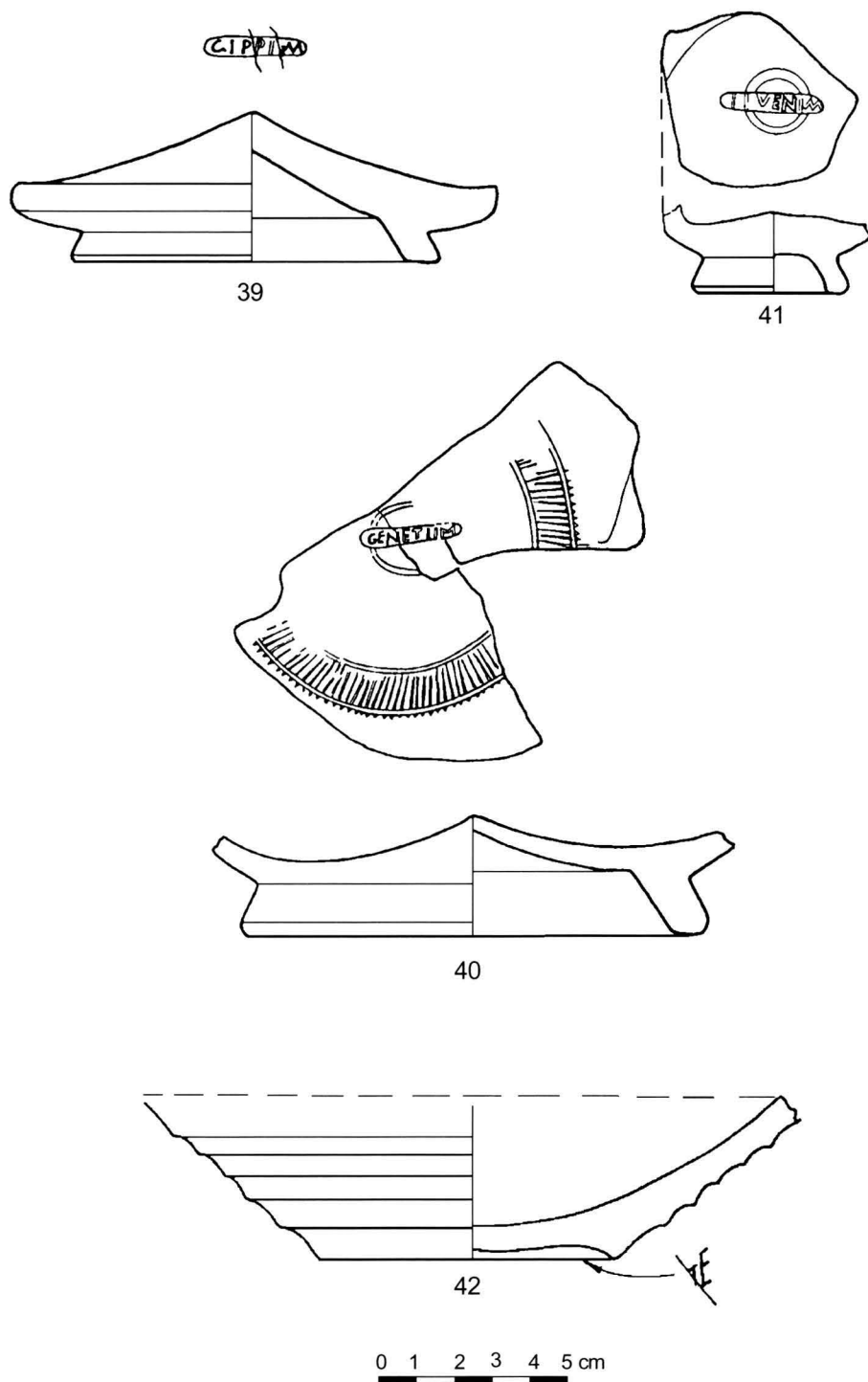
Pl. VII. Plain sigillata: 24-25. Drag. 33 – unidentified workshops; South Gaulish plain sigillata, barbotine decorated: 26-27. Drag. 35, 35/36; East Gaulish plain sigillata: 28-29. Curle 21 – Rheinzabern.



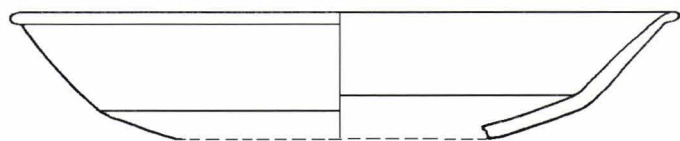
Pl. VIII. East Gaulish plain sigillata: 30. Curle 21; 31. Lu Tq; 32. Déch 72, decorated in "cut glass" technique; 33. unidentified form, decorated in "cut glass" technique – Rheinzabern; 34, unidentified type of cup; potters' stamps on the relief decorated and plain Central Gaulish sigillata: 1. CINNAMMI; 2. GEN[ETIIM]; 3. GIP[PI]M; 4. IIVENI M; 5. M[OXIM] – Lézoux.



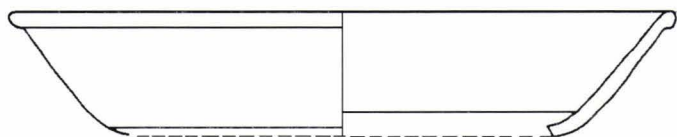
Pl. IX. Contents of the imported sigillata deposit from Napoca: relief decorated sigillata:
 35. Drag. 37 – Banassac; 36-37. Drag. 37 – Lézoux; 38. Drag. 37 – Lavoye.



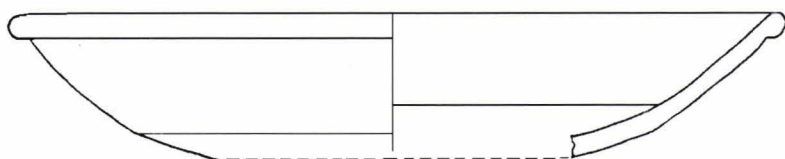
Pl. X. Contents of the imported Samian ware deposit from Napoca: potters's stamps on Central Gaulish plain sigillata: 39. Drag 18/31, with the potter's name GIP[PI]M; 40. Drag. 31R, with the potter's name GEN[ETI]M; 41. Drag. 33, with the potter's name IIVENI M – Lezoux; East Gaulish plain sigillata with graffiti: 42. Curle 21, ...TE or FE... – Rheinzabern.



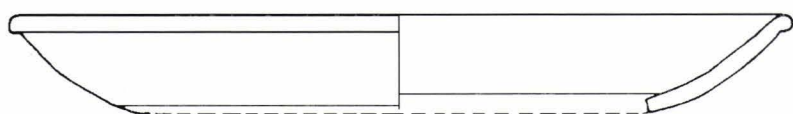
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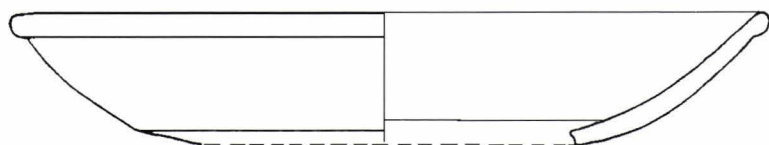
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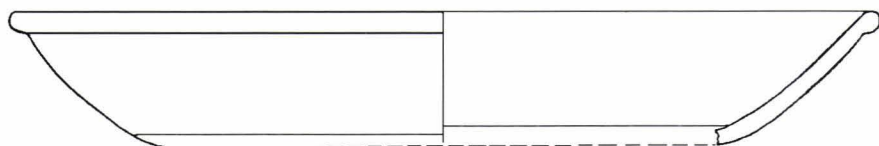
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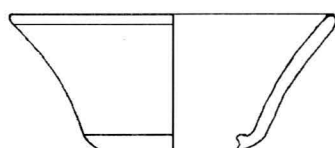


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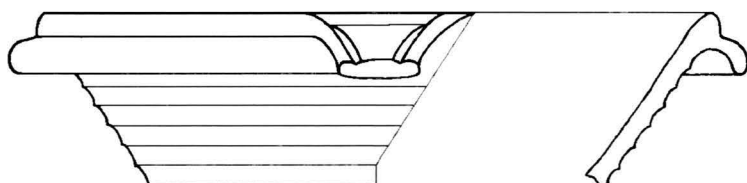
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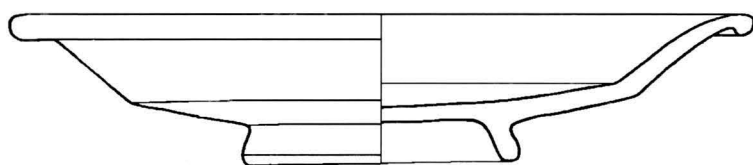
Pl. XI. Contents of the imported Samian ware from Napoca: East Gaulish plain sigillata: 43-48. Drag. 31 – Rheinzabern.



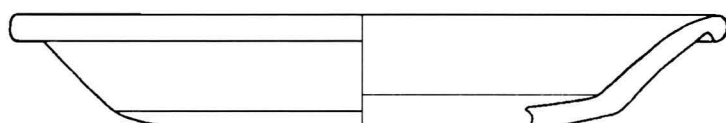
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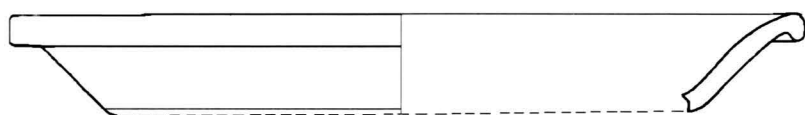
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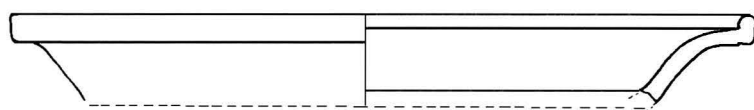
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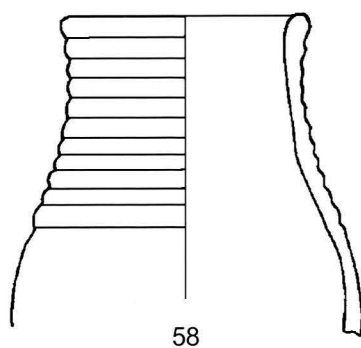
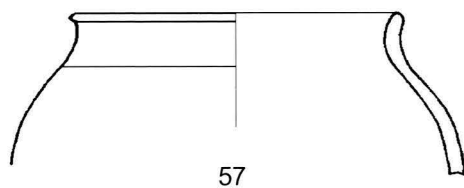
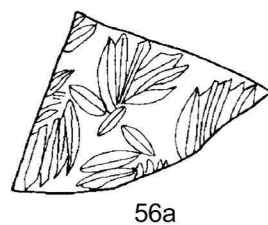
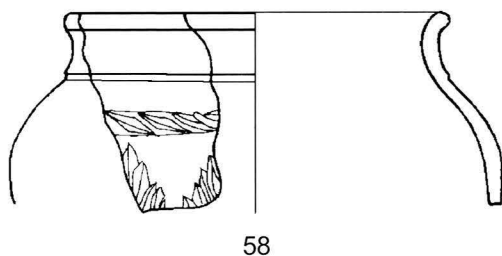
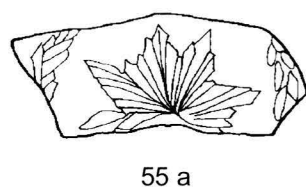
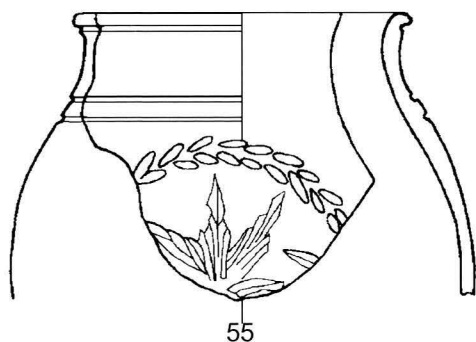
53



54

0 1 2 3 4 5 cm

Pl. XII. Contents of the imported Samian ware from Napoca: plain sigillata: 49. Drag. 33 – Lezoux; 50. Drag. 43/Curle 21 – Rheinzabern; 51-54. Curle 15 – Lezoux.



Pl. XIII. Contents of the imported Samian ware from Napoca: plain sigillata:
55-57. Déch 72 – Rheinzabern; 58. Stanfield 1929, 30.

NEW MONUMENTS DISPLAYING FUNERAL BANQUET SCENES DISCOVERED AT GHERLA

Amongst Roman monuments discovered in Dacia Porolissensis, the ones displaying funeral banquet scenes occupy a very important place¹. Four new such monuments, which were identified in Gherla, will be discussed in detail within the present paper.² They are housed within two institutions: *aedicula* hind walls (fig. 2, 3, 4) are located in the Roman Lapidary of the National History Museum of Transylvania, while the fourth piece (fig. 1) is located in the Roman Lapidary of the History Museum of Gherla³.

1. Stela fragment (fig. 1 a-b)

The monument is housed in the History Museum of Gherla, inventory number 3739, size: 65 × 45 × 21 cm. It is made of volcanic tuff coming from Dej. The item is poorly preserved. The find spot is uncertain, yet it probably originates in the fort of Gherla⁴.

Only one fragment of the funerary stela left part was preserved, having the relief field divided into two registers. The relief field was framed by two columns with spiraled barrel, comprising a leaves' capital supporting an archivolt. The 9 cm wide upper part of the left column and the leaves' capital, schematically represented, were preserved. The column framed both the inscription register and its lower part of the register containing the banquet scene, which is presented in the upper register. The scene depicts a headless woman seated on the *kathedra*. The woman is equipped with *tunica* girdled beneath the breast and coming to the ankles; she probably carried a *palla*, however it cannot be clearly distinguished. Since the item is poorly preserved, the object that the woman holds in her right hand, probably a cup or a *rhylon*, cannot be precisely identified. The inscription in the lower register is missing, except for the upper part of the letter "C".

2. Hind wall of *aedicula* (fig. 2)

The monument is housed in the National History Museum of Transylvania, no inventory number, size: 58 × 61 × 18. The item is made of volcanic tuff coming from Dej; the discovered fragment is fortunately well preserved. It was uncovered in 1983 inside the fort of Gherla during industrial works⁵.

The fragment belongs to the scene top portion depicting a banquet. The scene displays a man laying on the *kliné*, from which the back board survived. The man carries a *tunica manicata*, while the *sagum* is realistically portrayed. The physiognomic features are well rendered; the hairstyle and beard are noticeable. The left hand is folded in right

¹ L. Bianchi, *Rilievi funerari con banchetto della Dacia Romana*, *Apulum* 12, 1974, p. 169, confirms that Dacia Porolissensis is the area where large part of monuments exhibiting funeral banquet scenes come from.

² We wish to thank Ms. Carmen Ciongradi for the suggestions in support of drafting the present paper.

³ D. Isac and Al. Diaconescu, *Aspecte ale artei provinciale romane la Gilău*, AMN 17, 1980, p. 125, M. Gramatopol, *Dacia antiqua*, București, 1982, p. 165 made reference to the mystical veils' representation on piece number 3, yet no further observations or descriptions have been published.

⁴ The piece was made available for publishing by courtesy of Mr. Mihai Meșter, director of the local museum, to whom we address our thanks.

⁵ The piece was identified and recovered by Prof. Radu Ardevan, to whom we express our gratitude for making the piece available for publishing.



fig. 1



fig. 2

angle, laying on the *kliné* mattress and holding a cup, while the right hand stretched out holding probably a wreath. This monument is similar to *Iulius Crescens* stela from Cășei. Behind the man on the *kliné*, we could partially observe two mystical veils, sketchily represented. The item dimensions suggest that three mystical veils must have had been depicted within the banquet scene.

3. Hind wall of *aedicula* (fig. 3)

The monument is housed located in the National History Museum of Transylvania, inventory number 1590, size: 54 × 90 × 18 cm; made of volcanic tuff coming from Dej. It is fairly well preserved. The find spot is unknown, but it most likely comes from Gherla – Dej – Ilișua since the manufacturing material is the volcanic tuff. Dan Isac and Alexandru Diaconescu⁶, and also Mihai Gramatopol⁷ made reference to the above mentioned item. Unfortunately, only the banquet scene upper part survived; it introduces two characters, rendered realistically. The two figures hold in their hands two mystical veils that form deep folds. Noticeably, the characters hold the veils in an elegant manner. The heads are turned in semi profile, glancing a little to the left, respectively to the right. On the left, the upper part of a female head, seated on the *kathedra* can be distinguished, while the head contour of the character seated on the *kliné* is vaguely distinctive in the image center, since this part is broken.

4. Fragment (fig. 4)

The monument is located in the History Museum of Transylvania, inventory number S856, size: 21 × 31 × 8 cm. The finding place is uncertain; it probably comes from the collections housed with the History Museum of Dej. Unfortunately all its borders are broken. Only representations of the *mensa tripes* curved feet were preserved, however the lower part is missing. The item lacks the upper part as well, thus we could not identify what lays on the *mensa*. A *panarium* is depicted under the *mensa*, to the left, with the upper part of an arched lid clearly defined.

*

Monument number 1 can be relevantly paralleled with another monument coming from Gherla. The latter displays a fragmentary banquet scene⁸ as well (fig. 5). The two monuments are produced based on a similar prototype: the spiral columns and the leaves' capital are almost identical. The archivolt frames both registers and is rendered in the same manner. We must remark that the first editor of the monument states the inscription is illegible⁹, while Lucia Țeposu-Marinescu erroneously assigns. The monument an inscription¹⁰ that actually pertains to another item. The same author ascribes the item under discussion to the type of funeral monuments depicting a single individual¹¹. Adrian Husar¹² also mistakenly attributes both the inscription and the banquet scene type to the same monument. Conversely, the piece is fragmentary and the representation of the woman seated on *kathedra* was not preserved. Analogously, monument number 1 can be paralleled with the funerary stela discovered at Cășei¹³: the similar spiral column type, with a leaves' capital and the same *kathedra* prototype. The

⁶ See note 2.

⁷ See note 2.

⁸ L. Țeposu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis* (BAR International Series 128), Oxford, 1982, p. 117, no. 61.

⁹ J. Ornstein, *Ausgrabungen bei Szamosújvar*, JÖAI 6, 1903, Beiblatt 118, no. 3, fig. 39.

¹⁰ L. Țeposu Marinescu, op. cit., p. 117, no. 61. This inscription pertains to the piece with the National History Museum of Transylvania, inv. No. B 890; see J. Ornstein, op. cit., Beiblatt 116-117, no. 2, fig. 38.

¹¹ L. Țeposu-Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 47.

¹² A. Husar, *Norico-pannonii*, in M. Bărbulescu (ed.), *Funeraria Dacoromana. Arheologia funerara a Daciei romane*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 369, 378.

¹³ L. Țeposu Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 127, no. 101.

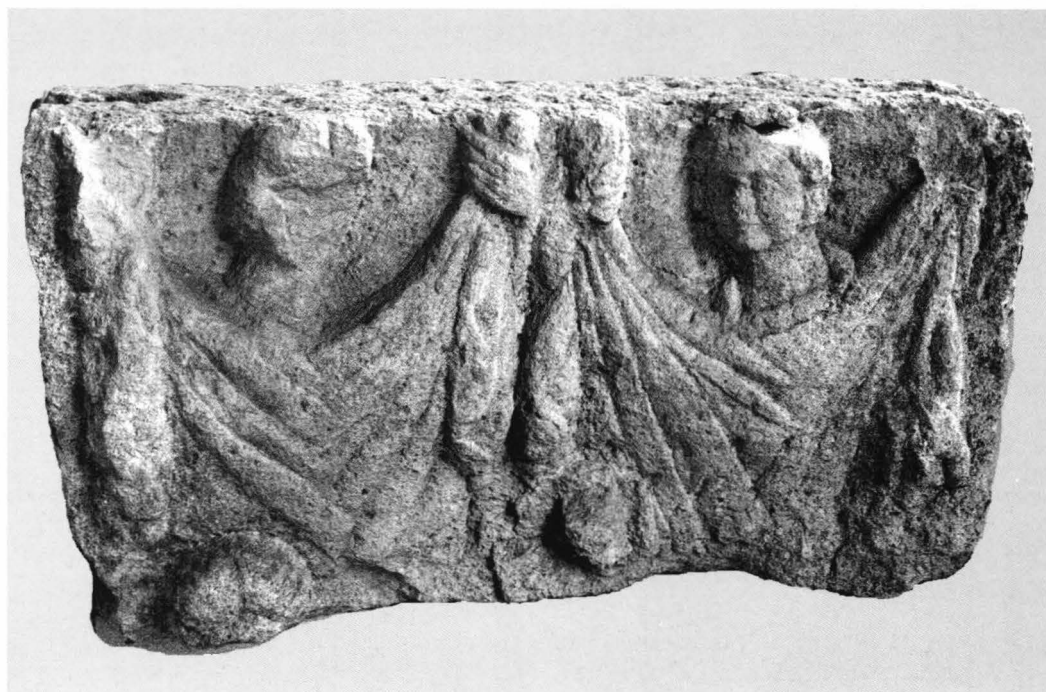


fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7

presence of almost identical monuments upon style, composition and manufacturing material (the volcanic tuff of Dej) in the Gherla – Cășei – Ilișua area favorably accounts for the existence of a workshop in this area.

The style the veils are sketchily represented on monument number 2 is similar to that of the three mystical veils depicted on the monument of *Iulius Crescens* discovered in Cășei, but in our case the figures holding the veils are not represented. Moreover, on both monuments, a man head seated on the *kliné* is carved in the lower veils part.

The realistic style in exhibiting the veils and the individuals holding them is noticeable on the monument number 3. The representation manner in rendering the characters is very similar to that of the stela fragment located in the National History Museum of Cluj-Napoca¹⁴, which comes from Napoca or Dej, and the monument originating in Gilău (fig. 7).¹⁵ On the latter, the individual with long hair is most likely a female and she holds the veil in the same elegant way. The item is dated in the 3rd century AD.

The representation of the *panarium* on monument number 4 can also be found on other four monuments discovered in Dacia Porolissensis. The location of the *panarium* under the curved feet of *mensa tripes* can be observed on the monuments coming from Șaula¹⁶ and Ilișua¹⁷, and is accompanied in all these cases by an *urceus*. The *panarium* is located in front of the *mensa tripes* accompanied by two *urcei* on a monument coming from Potaissa¹⁸, and a *panarium* with arched lid, located between two characters, is displayed on a monument coming from Napoca¹⁹.

*

The monuments of Dacia Porolissensis exhibiting mystical veils are: the stela of *Iulius Crescens* from Cășei²⁰ (fig. 6); the monument of the National History Museum of Transylvania²¹ (fig. 7); the monument of the church of Gilău²² (fig. 8); monument number 2 (figure 2 a-b) and of the monument number 3 (fig. 3 a-b) herein discussed.

There are three representation styles for the mystical veils:

- a) The sketchy representation of veils. The style is characteristic to the monument number 2 herein discussed (fig. 2 a-b) and the *Iulius Crescens* stela (fig. 6).
- b) The elegant representation of the veils and of the position of the hands, the realistic representation of the characters. The style is observed for the monument number 3 in our paper (fig. 3 a-b) and on the monument housed by the National History Museum of Transylvania of Cluj-Napoca (figure 7).
- c) The plain representation of the veil, without rendering the folds volume, hold by only one character. The style is observed for the monument coming from Gilău (fig. 8).

*

Dating the monuments under discussion represents an essential aspect. We believe that the resemblance with other monuments which depict funeral veils is indicative for well dated items. The first representation style of veils is the earliest, as *Iulius Crescens* stela was dated in the first half of the 2nd century AD.²³ We believe monument 2 in our

¹⁴ L. Țeposu Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 150, no. 204.

¹⁵ D. Isac, Al. Diaconescu, loc. cit. (n. 3).

¹⁶ Al. Diaconescu, *Un fragment de stelă cu reprezentarea banchetului funebru*, AMN 16, 1979, p. 545-549.

¹⁷ D. Protase, *Noi monumente sculpturale romane din nordul Daciei*, Apulum 4, 1961, p. 127-129.

¹⁸ I. Mitrofan, L. Țeposu, *O aedicula funerară de la Potaissa*, AMN 7, 1970, p. 533-534, fig. 3.

¹⁹ L. Țeposu-Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 205, no. 31, pl. XXXVII.

²⁰ See note 6.

²¹ See note 10.

²² L. Țeposu Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 128, nr. 107.

²³ L. Țeposu Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 127, no. 101.



fig. 8

paper belongs to this period as well. The monument in the National History Museum of Transylvania, which belongs to the second representation style, was dated in the 3rd century AD alike monument number 3 in our study. Regarding the third representation style the dating criteria are ambiguous, therefore, based on evident similarities between the character holding the veil and the individual depicted on the monument in the National History Museum of Transylvania, we suggest that the item belongs to the 3rd century AD as well.

Monument number 1 in our paper, upon form similarities with the monument of Gherla dated above in the 2nd half century AD²⁴ can be assigned to the same period. No accurate dating could be established for monument number 4, because of its fragmentary state.

*

Scholars expressed various opinions regarding the significance of the mystical veils depicted on funeral monuments. Luca Bianchi argued that the representation of the veils constitutes an extremely rare symbolic theme on monuments with the funeral banquet of the Roman period and that the characters who sustain these veils are *genii*²⁵. The author asserts that the representation of such characters who sustain draperies is justified by *horror vacui*.

Regarding the monuments with the funeral banquet scene discovered in Dacia Porolissensis, the representation of the mystical veils is mentioned by Dan Isac and Alexandru Diaconescu on a number of four monuments²⁶. Mihai Gramatopol, after mentioning the presence of the veils on three monuments with the banquet scene, states that they are dionysiaques mystical veils supported by the god's acolytes; the author also mentions that such veils appear on the relief of the tomb of *Haterii* from Rome, during the first century AD, and on certain sarcophagi of the second half of the 3rd century AD²⁷. These mentions of the veils presence are singular. It is necessary to make further reference to the veils representation on the marble relief of the *Haterii* family tomb from Rome, dating from the end of the first century and which are in the collections of the Lateran Museum²⁸, two veils hanging behind the character which lays on a *kliné* are depicted.

There are ancient literary reports mentioning the veils' presence in funerary context. Cassius Dio records that, when Agrippa died, Augustus delivered the funeral speech and a veil was interposed between the emperor's and the deceased, exposed in the Forum.²⁹ The author finds no reason for that fact. In another circumstance, when the emperor's sister Octavia died, Augustus hung between him and the body a veil³⁰, yet again the ancient author is surprised about such a practice. Seneca, speaking of Tiberius who delivers the funeral speech when his son Drusus died, states that the veils are

²⁴ L. Teposu Marinescu, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 117, no. 61.

²⁵ L. Bianchi, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 166.

²⁶ D Isac, Al. Diaconescu, loc. cit. (n. 3).

²⁷ M. Gramatopol, loc. cit. (n. 2).

²⁸ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, New York 1971, p. 44, fig. 17.

²⁹ Cassius Dio, LIV 28: *πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αὔγουστος (ἔτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὁπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας τῷ τῶν παίδων ὀνόματι τιθείς) ἐξαρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ἔς τε τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέθηκε, τὸν τε λόγον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε, παραπέτασμα τι πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείνας.*

³⁰ LIV 35: *καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, εἴ γέ τω πιστόν, οὕτω παραδέδοται· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνώκισε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανούσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλείου ἡρώου, παραπέτασματι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ χρησάμενος.*

interposed between the emperor and the deceased because the gaze of the *pontifex* cannot become impure at the sight of a body³¹.

A definite interpretation for the significance of the veils representation on funeral monuments is difficult to offer. The religious significance of the veils remains an open question.

³¹ Seneca, *De consolatione ad Marciam*, 15, 3: *Ipse pro rostris laudavit filium stetisque in conspectus posito corpore interiecto tantummodo velamento, quod pontificis oculos a funere arceret...*

Franz Humer, Cristian Găzdac

THE HOARD FROM HAUS I IN THE CIVILIAN TOWN OF CARNUNTUM. A DAILY LIFE DISASTER

Introduction to the site

The civilian city was that part of Roman Carnuntum in today's town of Petronell-Carnuntum (Austria) which developed from the second half of the first century AD more than 2.2 km west of the military camp and the legionary city (see pl. 3). Following the example of Roman cities in Italy, a civilian settlement came into being.

Despite the investigations that have been carried out since the second half of the 19th century in the area of the civilian city, the few open excavations – which often lie at great distances from each other – still do not provide a clear picture of the layout of the city. And there are only a few details – limited to topography – known about how this community developed as a municipality (see pl. 2).

The built-up area of the ancient city stretched west towards today village of Wildungsmauer, about one kilometre beyond the present-day town of Petronell-Carnuntum. Although very little "classical" field archaeology has been carried out in this area, aerial photographs show signs of buildings placed close one to the other, on both sides of the Limes Road, which runs through the field known as "Gstettenbreite". To the south, continued rows of buildings reached as far as the civilian amphitheatre. There were burial plots and individual buildings even farther south towards the monument of Heidendor. The settlement was bordered to the north by the River Danube. The civilian city extended eastwards to the most easterly edges of the present-day town near the local cemetery and school. Further eastwards, an ancient burial plot marks the transition to the military area (the cavalry fort).

The centre of the city was fortified in the 3rd or 4th century AD with a wall of two metres thickness. Together with settlements outside the city wall (suburbs), the civilian city thus covered a total area of about 30 hectares. Only a small part of this area has been excavated and is open to the public today in the Archaeological Park Carnuntum.

There are four excavation areas in the Archaeological Park Carnuntum where remains of the civilian city can be seen: the large public baths, the amphitheatre, the Heidendor as well as a residential quarter of the civilian city.

The first excavations in the so-called "Spaziergarten" (in the residential quarter of the Roman town) began right after the annexation of Austria to the German Reich in 1938, when E. Swoboda was in charge to carry out investigations on the field. This research project came to a sudden end when the WWII broke out. It was only after this event that Swoboda restarted excavations in this area for several years, from 1948 onwards.

Because of visible signs of decay in the structure of the walls and the lack of any chronology of the settlement, the research was again taken up at the end of the 1980's.

In 2001 a research project planned to run over several years was initiated by the landowner (the Province of Lower Austria) to complete investigations. The aim of this project is to re-evaluate the ruins on show in the Open Air Museum through further methodical excavations, and then to restore and put them on display. The excavated building structures and material should help to answer questions concerning the settlement's chronology and its building technology, as well as everyday life and the economic importance of the civilian settlement in the mid-Danube area.

The hoard

The so-called Haus I in the Open-Air-Museum in Petronell-Carnuntum covers an area of 1200 sq. metres and comprises three connected elements. In the centre is a large rectangular building with an area of 255 sq. metres. A wide corridor runs through this building from north to south. The entrances to this central building are at both ends of this corridor. The individual rooms of the building lie to the left and right of the corridor. The central building had wide verandas running from east to west to the north and to the south. South of the central building is a generously dimensioned garden, enclosed by a stone wall. After the excavation in 2001-2002 the remains are presented now as a partial reconstruction of a Carnuntum residential building dating from the 4th century AD:¹

Period	Chronology	Archaeological evidence
I	2 nd half of 1 st century AD	Wooden buildings, wooden portico (South) Street I
II	After 125 AD	Clay brick houses with parallel courtyards Street II
III	Around 150 AD	Central building erected in stone
IV	After 190 AD	Central building: rooms added on west side Street III
V	After 300 AD	Central building: dismantling and rebuilding of west wall in parts following a fire of western annexes Street IV
VI	2 nd half of 4 th century AD	Central building: addition of hypocaust heating system and mosaic floor in Room G Street V
VII	Middle Ages/early modern	Demolition of central building

The hoard described in here was found amongst the pillars of a *hypocaustum* during the excavation to unveil the extension of "Haus I" towards west (see Fig. 3)².

This discovery is one of extremely importance for numismatists, archaeologists and historians due to few particular features.

The hoard consists of 50 coins (see Plate 1/a) that were spread on an area of circa three squared meters: 47 bronze coins (*folles*) and 3 silver coins (*argentei*) all belonging to the first Tetrarchy (see the catalogue).

The composition of the hoard is as follows: Diocletian 12 coins, Maximian I 16 coins, Maximian II (Caesar) 12 coins, Constantius I Chlorus (Caesar) 10 coins (see the table).

The distribution of mints confirms the theory that the nearest mint produce the largest number of coin finds³, in our case Siscia (Šišak – Croatia), Aquileia (Venice – Italy) and Roma (Rome – Italy): Siscia – 17 coins, Aquileia – 13, Rome – 10, Ticinum (Italy) – 3, Karthago (Cartagina – Tunisia) – 3, Antioch (Syria) – 3, Thessalonica (Thessalonik – Greece) – 1, Nicomedia (Turkey) – 1 (see the table and the pie-chart).

¹ F. Humer, A. Konecny, FuBerÖ 41, 2002 (2003) p. 659-661. s.v. *Petronell*; F. Humer, M. Kandler, AÖ 14/1, 2003, 16-18; *Spaziergarten – Zur Rekonstruktion eines römischen Bürgerhauses in Carnuntum*, Morgen 08/2003, p. 24 ff.

² The hoard spot was excavated by Dominik Maschek (Austria), Paul Pupeză and Mircea Duluș (Romania).

³ Ch. Howgego, JRA 7, 1994, 12-13.

According to the date of minting for these coins, AD 294 – 305, hoard was very fast accumulated, if not at once.⁴ At the same time, the archaeological contexts and more numismatic evidence – isolated coin finds⁵ – suggest that this hoard was hidden soon after AD 305. Arguments on this line are provided by the hoards and monetary depots found at *Augusta Raurica*. Similar hoards were found in well-dated archaeological contexts that indicate a close date of burial / lost from the minted date of the last coin in the hoard / depot.⁶

Based on the structure of this hoard, only two possible analogies were found in the area of the Middle and Lower Danube in the hoards *Storgosia III – Moesia Inferior* (today Pleven – Bulgaria) which consists of 80 *folles*, and *Ovilavis – Noricum* (Wels – Austria) 39 *folles* but from the time of Constantine I and Licinius I⁷. On the same area, other hoards with the latest coins issued under first Tetrarchy were found at Winden am See (Austria) – 8 bronze coins, *Brigetio* (Szöny – Hungary) – 7 gold coins, *Solva* (Hungary) – 1204 silver and bronze coins, two hoards at *Intercisa* (Dunaujváros – Hungary) – 69 and 150 silver coins, *Siscia* (Sišak – Croatia) – 1434 silver coins, Kulcs (Hungary) – 1058 silver coins⁸.

To know the value of the hoard from “Haus I” we have to relate to the prices and wages from the time when the coins of this hoard were minted.

According to the date of issue the coins were struck in between AD 294-305, therefore right after the Diocletian's currency reform which radically changed the Roman monetary system. All metals experienced changes to their weight, their denomination and their values relative to one another.⁹

In the case of this hoard – due to the fact that the last coins are issued in AD 305 – we take into consideration the revaluation *argenteus* – billon *numus (follis)* from the final step of Diocletian's monetary reform in AD 301. According to the edict of Aphrodisias an *argenteus* was revalued at 100 *denarii communes*, while the billon *nummus* at 25 *denarii communes*.¹⁰ If we agree with these official values of imperial money, the hoard from “Haus I” should represent a value of 1,475 *denarii communes* (3 *argentei*, 47 *folles*).

How much could somebody have bought with this amount of money in that period? Again, we refer to an ancient source, the “*Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis de rerum venalium*” issued at the end of November / beginning of December AD 301. Although, there is some information that the maximal prices mentioned in this edict were not respected¹¹, still it provides us with the official prices for various products. According to this edict with an amount of money worth 1,475 *denarii communes* you could have bought, for instance:

- a) FOOD: 14.75 *kastrenses modii frumenti* (army measures of wheat ~260 litres), or 24.58 *kastrenses modii hordei* (army measures of barley ~432 litres), or 49.16 *kastrenses modii avenae* (army measures of oats ~865 litres); or 49.16 *sextarii de vinis Picensi* (~27 litres of Picenian wine) or 184.37 *sextarii de vinis rusticis* (~101 litres of ordinary wine); or 245.83 *sextarii aceti* (~135 litres of vinegar); or

⁴ C. Găzdac, F. Humer, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums* 3, 2002, p. 17-18.

⁵ C. Găzdac, F. Humer, *CarnuntumJb* 2004, p. 179-240.

⁶ M. Peter, *SFMA* 17, 2001, p. 212-229.

⁷ K. Vondrovec, *Die antiken Fundmünzen von Ovilavis/Wels*, Wien 2003, p. 55-56.

⁸ C. Găzdac, *Monetary circulation in Dacia and the provinces from the Middle and Lower Danube from Trajan and Constantine I (AD 106-337)*, Cluj-Napoca 2002, see catalogue of hoards.

⁹ C. King, in *L'inflazione nel quarto secolo D.C. Atti dell'incontro di studio*, Roma 1988, p. 33.

¹⁰ P. Bruun, *ANSMN* 24, 1979, p. 133; R. Reece, *Coinage in Roman Britain*, London 1987, p. 39.

¹¹ P. Hardtert, *Propaganda macht Geschichte*, Gelsenkirchen 1998, p. 114; *As the Romans Did: a source book of Roman social history*, 2nd edition (ed. Jo-Ann Shelton), New York – Oxford 1998, p. 133-134.

36.87 *sextarii mellis optimi* (~ 20 litres of honey, best quality); or 36.87 *sextarii olei floris* (~20 litres of olive oil, fresh); or 122.91 *Italici pondes carnis porcinae* (~40 kilograms of pork meat); or 184.37 *Italici pondes carnis bubulae* (~60 kilograms of beef);

- b) SHOES: ~10 *pares calcei patricii* (patrician shoes); or ~15 *pares caligae senatorum* (senatorial shoes).

At the same time, the edict offers a picture of the wages in that period. Here are some examples of them related to the value of 1,475 *denarii communes* (=d.c.) of the studied hoard:

Calculatori in singulis pueris menstruos (arithmetic teacher, per boy, monthly) = 1,475 d.c. / 75 d.c. per month = ~ 20 months

Grammatico Graeco sive Latino et geometrae in singulis discipulis menstruos (grammaticus Greek or Latin language and literature, geometry, per student, monthly) = 1,475 / 200 d.c. per month = ~7 months

Oratori sive sofistae in singulis discipulis menstruos (teacher of rhetoric or public speaking, per student, monthly) = 1,475 d.c. / 250 d.c. per month = ~6 months.

Operario rustico pasto diurni (farm labourer, with meals, daily) 25 d.c. × 1,475 d.c. / 25 d.c. per day = 59 days

Pictori parietario ut supra (painter, walls, as above) 1,475 d.c. / 75 d.c. per day = ~20 days

Carpentario vacuo ut supra (carpenter, as above) 1,475 d.c. / 50 d.c. per day = ~30 days

Pastori pasto (shepherd, with meals, daily) 1,475 d.c. / 20 d.c. × = ~74 days

At first sight, it can be noticed that this amount of money found – we can say together – in one of the western annexes of Haus I had quite a value for a poor owner. But the entire aspect of Haus I – from the architectural plan to the finds retrieved from it (figural wall-painting, to mention just one outstanding feature associated with the building) – suggest a wealthy owner. On the same line, we have to point out, that no sign of a container to keep this money was found. So, there is no certainty that the coins found at the spot represent the entire quantity of the initial hoard. Of course, as in other cases, had there been a container, it would have been made from organic material, “such as leather, fabric or basketry, which had long since decomposed”¹². Therefore, these coins could have been the result of many reasons of hoarding: owner's savings, recent transaction or stolen money. No certain answer can be given to this aspect in the study of a hoard.

One of the most important aspects revealed by this hoard is its contribution to the history and chronology of the building in which it was found – the building from the end or 3rd century. The hoard was found in a layer composed of burnt ground, mortar, pieces of floor, and pillars of a *hypocaustum*. An important observation is that this layer does not spread all over the room but near the north wall and the eastern half of the room.

The most intense burnt area is near the hot air inlet (*praefurnium*) that linked the room with the furnace. Above this layer, on the northern wall of the room, the wall painting, which did not burn, had just slid down on the floor remains together with the wall mortar.

In the area not touched by fire, the pillars from the *hypocaustum* have been removed. This context was covered with debris layers brought here to rearrange the space (see figs. 3, 4).

This presentation of the archaeological context in which the hoard was found allows some historical interpretations. The cause of not recovery of this hoard by its owner was a fire produced – most possible – by a malfunction of the heating system.

¹² S. Minnitt, *The Shapwick Treasure*, Tauton 2001, p. 10.

This happened probably after AD 305. The archaeological evidence of this area indicates that after the fire the western annexes of this building ("Haus I") have never been rebuilt (see pl. 3). Those who rearranged the place removed the pillars, which were not destroyed by fire, and probably reused them in other places. They were not interested in the burnt pillars – many of them actually broken – and that is why they did not find the coins. Between the fire moment and the rearrangement of this space there was a period of approximately 20 years as it is suggested by the coins found on the debris layers which cover the layer of hoard, as well as other aspects such as the connection between construction phases of "Haus I" and the similar phases of the street to which this building was connected (Südstrasse).

The case of the hoard from Haus I, it is one when the non-recovery reason is a local event, which involved just a small place, as no traces of a fire or contemporary destruction it was noticed either at site of present excavation – "Zivilstadt" – or any other areas from Carnuntum.

List of periodical abbreviations

ANSMN	= The American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes, New York, USA.
AÖ	= Archäologie Österreich, Wien, Austria.
CarnuntumJb	= Carnuntum Jahrbuch, Wien, Austria.
FuBerÖ	= Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien, Austria.
SFMA	= Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike, Berlin, Germany.

CATALOGUE OF THE HOARD FROM "HAUS I" (448 gr.)

Find spot: Haus I, western annexe, room with *hypocaustum*, end of phase IV (early 4th century AD).¹³

DIOCLETIANVS

1. Inv. No: 1763 / 2002.

Denomination: numus argenteus.

Axis: 6; D: 19.9 × 18.4 mm; W: 2.1 gr.

Mint: Rome.

Dating: 294.

Obv: **DIOCLETI-ANVS AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **VIRTVS – MILITVM** **R**

The four princes sacrificing over tripod before gate in six-turreted enclosure.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 353, no. 32 a.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

2. Inv. No: 1747 / 2002.

Denomination: numus argenteus.

Axis: 6; D: 18.6 × 17.9 mm; W: 3.3 gr.

Mint: Rome.

Dating: 294.

Obv: **CONSTAN-TIVS CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **VIRTVS – MILITVM**

The four princes sacrificing over tripod before gate in six-turreted enclosure.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 353, no. 29 a.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

3. Inv. No: 1748 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.2 mm; W: 10.3 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 294.

Obv: **FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**

S | B

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 464, no. 81 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

4. Inv. No: 1754 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

¹³ F. Humer, A. Konecny, *Petronell*, *FuBerÖ* 41, 2002, p. 659.

Axis: 12; D: 27 × 24.6 mm; W: 8.3 gr.

Mint: Ticinum.

Dating: 294-295.

Obv: **IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 283, no. 23 b.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

5. Inv. No: 1771 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.3 mm; W: 10.2 gr.

Mint: Nicomedia.

Dating: 294-295.

Obv: **GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 556, no. 28 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

6. Inv. No: 1772 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 11; D: 28.6 × 26.1 mm; W: 9.3 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 296.

Obv: **IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 466, no. 95 a.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

7. Inv. No: 1785/ 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 28.1 × 25.9 mm; W: 8.1 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 296.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 466, no. 98 a.

DIOCLETIANVS

8. Inv. No: 1762 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 26 mm; W: 9.3 gr.

Mint: Ticinum.

Dating: 296-297.

Obv: **IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 284, no. 31 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

9. Inv. No: 1745 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 26.1 × 23.8 mm; W: 8 gr.

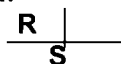
Mint: Rome.

Dating: 296-297.

Obv: **IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 358, no. 64 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

10. Inv. No: 1744 / 2002.

Denomination: numus argenteus.

Axis: 12; D: 18.1 mm; W: 3.1 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 297.

Obv: **MAXIMIA-NVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **XC•VI/ AQ** in laurel-wreath.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 312, no. 16 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

11. Inv. No: 1733 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 26.3 × 25 mm; W: 7.7 gr.

Mint: Karthago.

Dating: 297.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **FELIX A-DV-ENT AVGG NN**

B |
—
PKS

Africa standing facing, head left, in long drapery with elephant-skin head-dress.

Right holding standard, left tusk, at feet to left, lion with captured bull.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 425, no. 21 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

12. Inv. No: 1751a / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 11; D: 27.5 × 25.9 mm; W: 9.3 gr.

Mint: Antioch.

Dating: 297.

Obv: **IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI**

— | **Υ**
Γ
—
ANT

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 619, no. 48 a.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

13. Inv. No: 1760 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28 × 25.8 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

Mint: Rome.

Dating: 297-298.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**

R | **S**
—
Δ

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 467, no. 73 b.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

14. Inv. No: 1735 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 5; D: 28.3 × 26.3 mm; W: 9.1 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 297-298.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI**  **AQS**

Genius standing left, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 314, no. 26 a.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

15. Inv. No: 1765 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28.7 mm; W: 10.5 gr.

Mint: Thessalonica.

Dating: 298-299.

Obv: **GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 512, no. 20 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

16. Inv. No: 1755a / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 26.1 mm; W: 7.8 gr.

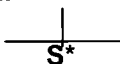
Mint: Rome.

Dating: 299.

Obv: **IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 361, no. 94 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

17. Inv. No: 1769 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

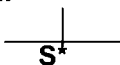
Mint: Rome.

Dating: 299.

Obv: **IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 361, no. 94 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

18. Inv. No: 1766 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 29 × 27 mm; W: 10.8 gr.

Mint: Aquileia

Dating: 299

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**

	B
—	AQS

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 315, no. 7 b

MAXIMIANVS I

19. Inv. No: 1743 / 2002

Denomination: numus follis

Axis: 6; D: 28 mm; W: 10 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 299.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**

	B
—	SIS

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 467, no. 108 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

20. Inv. No: 1758 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 27.9 × 26.1 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 299.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**

	B
—	SIS

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 467, no. 108 b.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

21. Inv. No: 1761 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28 mm; W: 8.5 gr.

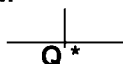
Mint: Rome

Dating: 299

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 361, no. 95 b

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

22. Inv. No: 1727 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 27.5 mm; W: 8.5 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 299.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 467, no. 109 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

23. Inv. No: 1746 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28.3 × 26.4 mm; W: 8.5 gr.

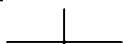
Mint: Rome?.

Dating: 299-300.

Obv: **IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POPVLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: cf. RIC VI, p. 361, no. 96 a.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

24. Inv. No: 1730 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 29.2 × 25.9 mm; W: 9.9 gr.

Mint: Karthago.

Dating: 299-303.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART**



Carthago standing facing, head left, in long robe, holding fruits in both hands.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 427, no. 32 b.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

25. Inv. No: 1732 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 30.4 × 27.9 mm; W: 10.8 gr.

Mint: Karthago.

Dating: 299-303.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART**



Carthago standing facing, head left, in long robe, holding fruits in both hands.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 427, no. 32 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

26. Inv. No: 1736 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 29.7 × 28.1 mm; W: 8.3 gr.

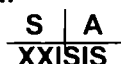
Mint: Siscia.

Dating: c. 300.

Obv: **IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POP-VLI ROMANI**



Genius standing left, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 467, no. 110.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

27. Inv. No: 1741 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 300.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**



Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 315, no. 30 b.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

28. Inv. No: 1739 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 27.9 × 26 mm; W: 10.2 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 300-301.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS [nob] CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**



Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 362, no. 102 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

29. Inv. No: 1728 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

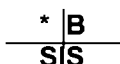
Axis: 6; D: 27.8 × 25.8mm; W: 10.5 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 301.

Obv: **IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**


*|B
SIS

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: cf. RIC VI, p. 469, no. 134 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

30. Inv. No: 1742 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follies.

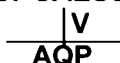
Axis: 12; D: 27 mm; W: 7.7 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 301.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**


V
AQP

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 315, no. 31 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

31. Inv. No: 1755b / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

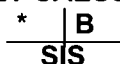
Axis: 12; D: 27.3 mm; W: 8.3 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 301.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**


*|B
SIS

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 469, no. 134 b.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

32. Inv. No: 1790 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 29 × 26.6 mm; W: 10.7 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 301.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

| V
— AQF —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 315, no. 32 a.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

33. Inv. No: 1764 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.4 mm; W: 9.9 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 301.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

| V
— AQF —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 315, no. 32 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

34. Inv. No: 1752 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.5 mm; W: 10.3 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 302.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

* | B
— *SIS —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 469, no. 136 b

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

35. Inv. No: 1753 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 29.1 × 27.2 mm; W: 9 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 302.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

* | A
— *SIS —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 469, no. 137 b.

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

36. Inv. No: 1789 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 29.4 × 28.2 mm; W: 9.9 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 302.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

*	B
*SIS	

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 469, no. 137 b.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

37. Inv. No: 1729 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.6 × 26 mm; W: 8.2 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 302.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

*	A
*SIS	

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 469, no. 137 a.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

38. Inv. No: 1756 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 29.1 × 26.2 mm; W: 8.8 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 302.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

*	A
*SIS	

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 469, no. 137 a.

DIOCLETIANVS

39. Inv. No: 1757 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 5; D: 27.9 × 26 mm; W: 9.7 gr.

Mint: Rome.

Dating: 302-303.

Obv: **IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN**

*

R P

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 362, no. 105 a.

DIOCLETIANVS

40. Inv. No: 1759 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27 mm; W: 9 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 302-303.

Obv: **IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

| VI

AQS

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 316, no. 35 a.

DIOCLETIANVS

41. Inv. No: 1750 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28 × 25.8 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

Mint: Antioch.

Dating: 302-303.

Obv: **IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **GENIO POPV-LI ROMANI**

| B

ANT*

Genius standing left, naked but chlamy over shoulder, holding patera and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 620, no. 56 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

42. Inv. No: 1768 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27 mm; W: 9.8 gr.

Mint: Rome.

Dating: 302-303.

Obv: **IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN**

*

R S

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 362, no. 103 b.

MAXIMIANVS I

43. Inv. No: 1751b / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.2 × 25 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 302-303.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

| VI
— AQS —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 316, no. 35 b.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

44. Inv. No: 1793 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28.7 × 27 mm; W: 10.6 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 302-303.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

| VI
— AQT —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 316, no. 36 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

45. Inv. No: 1740 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27 mm; W: 9.2 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 303.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

* | VI
— AQP —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 316, no. 37 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

46. Inv. No: 1726 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 4; D: 28.1 mm; W: 9.8 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 304.

Obv: **IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NN**

∪ | V
— SISB —

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: cf. RIC VI, p. 470, no. 142 a (var. Obv.).

MAXIMIANVS II GALERIVS (Caesar)

47. Inv. No: 1796 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28.6 × 26.7 mm; W: 10.3 gr.

Mint: Ticinum.

Dating: 304-305.

Obv: **MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

|*
—
S T

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 286, no. 48 b.

DIOCLETIANVS

48. Inv. No: 1788 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 27.8 mm; W: 9.8 gr.

Mint: Aquileia.

Dating: 304-305.

Obv: **IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR**

U|VI
—
AQP

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 316, no. 39 a.

MAXIMIANVS I

49. Inv. No: 1797 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 6; D: 28.8 mm; W: 9.7 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 305.

Obv: **IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NN**

U|VI
—
SISB

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 470, no. 144 b.

CONSTANTIVS I CHLORVS (Caesar)

50. Inv. No: 1749 / 2002.

Denomination: numus follis.

Axis: 12; D: 27.1 mm; W: 9.5 gr.

Mint: Siscia.

Dating: 305.

Obv: **CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES.**

Head laureate, right.

Rv: **SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NN**

U | VI
—
SISF

Moneta standing left, holding scales and cornucopiae.

Reference: RIC VI, p. 470, no. 145 a (but SACRA).



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 5

Fig. 1. Part of the site "Zivilstadt" Carnuntum with the hoard spot; fig. 2. Coins of hoard at the find-spot (modern reconstitution); fig. 5. The wall painting slides down over the layer with coins.

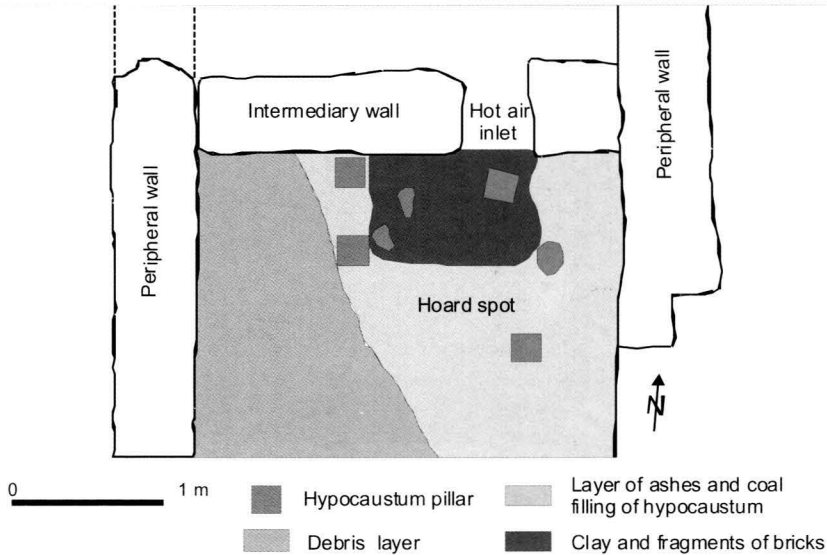


Fig. 3

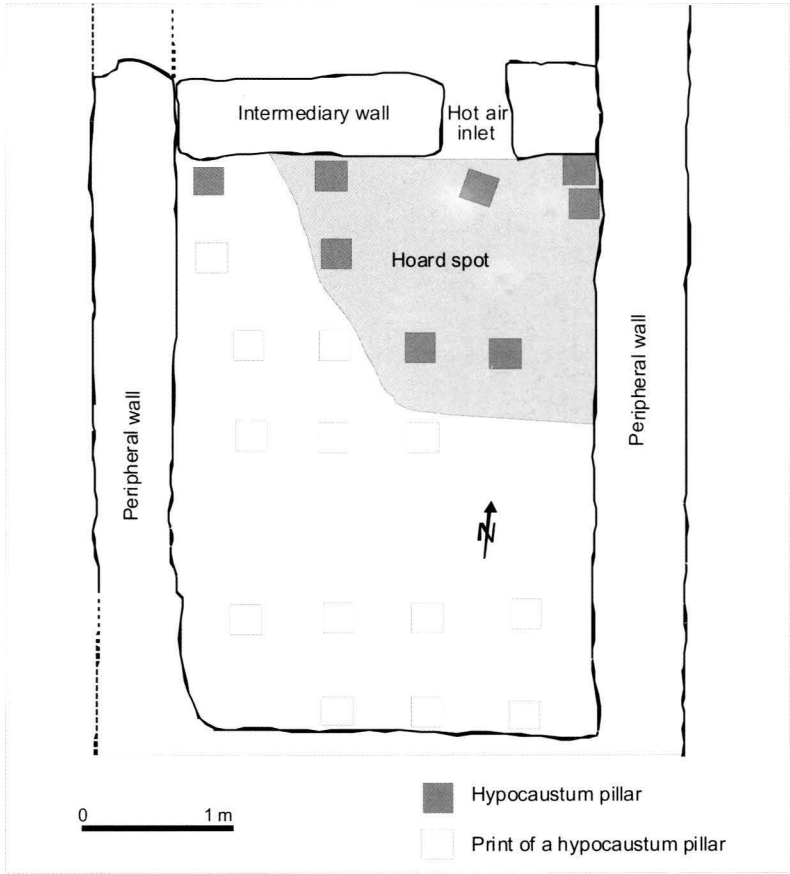
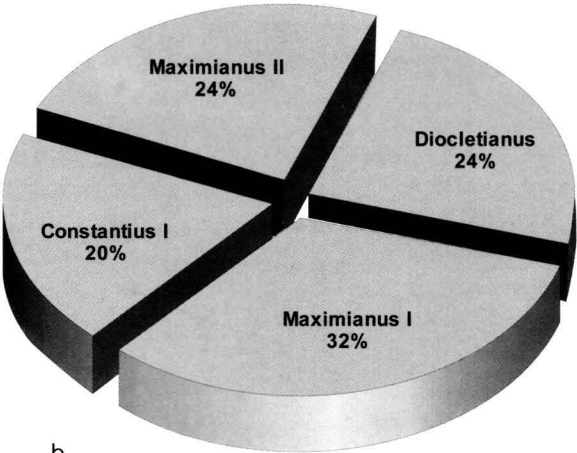


Fig. 4

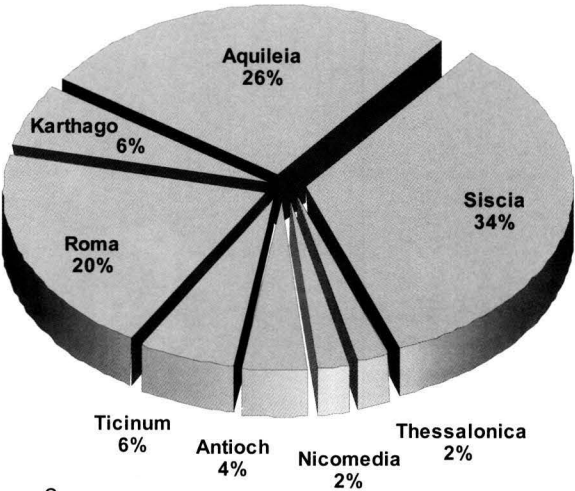
Fig. 3. The room where the hoard was found before the complete removal of the debris layer; fig. 4. The room where the hoard was found after the removal of the debris layer.13.

	Argenteus		Follis								TOTAL	%
Mint/Issuer	Roma	Aq	Tic	Roma	Kart	Aq	Siscia	Thess	Nic	Ant		
Diocletianus	1		1	2		2	4			2	12	24
Maximianus I		1	1	4	1	4	5				16	32
Constantius I Chlorus	1					4	5				10	20
Maximianus II			1	2	2	2	3	1	1		12	24
TOTAL	2	1	3	8	3	12	17	1	1	2	50	
%	4	2	6	16	6	24	34	2	2	4		

a

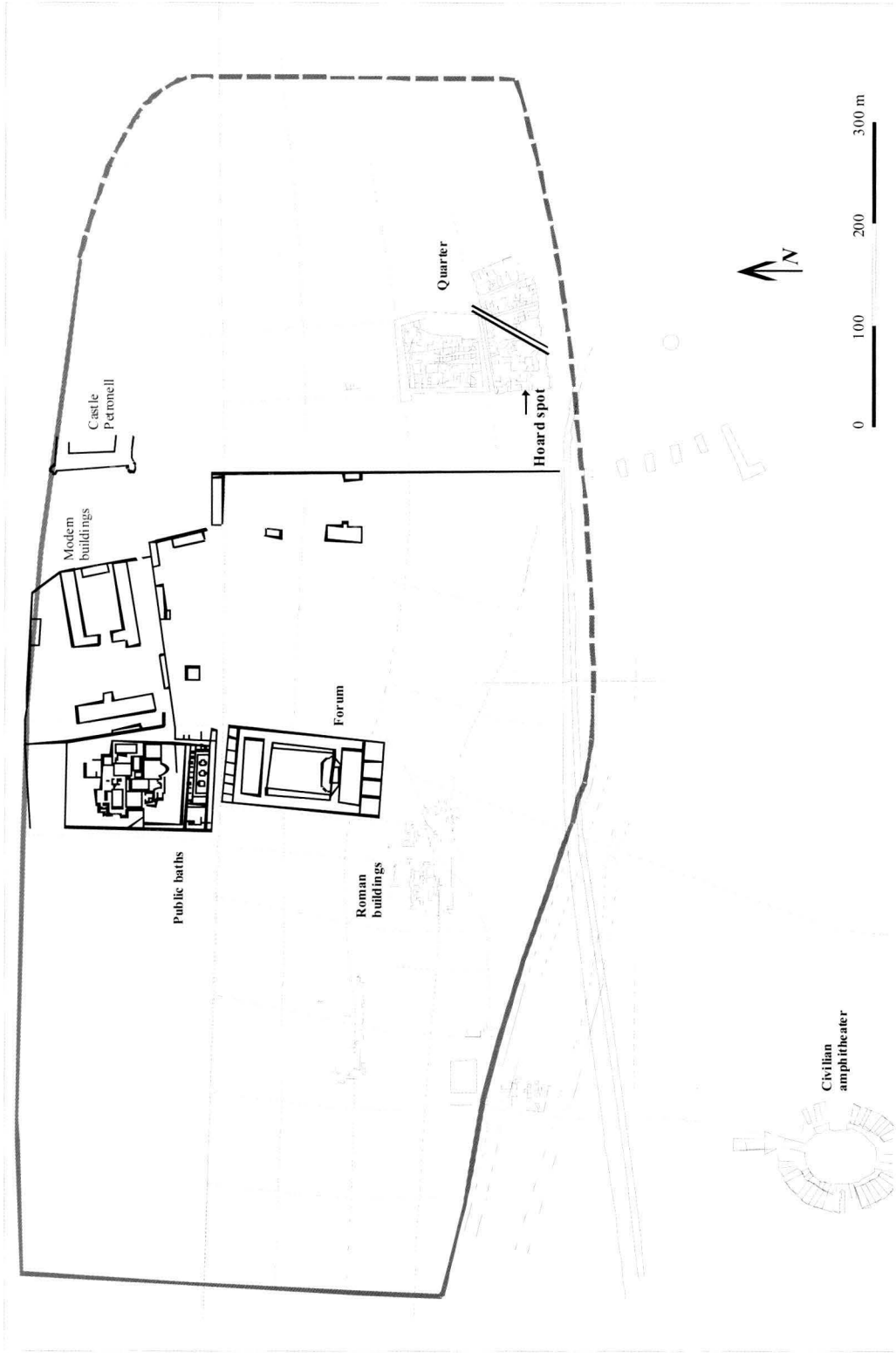


b



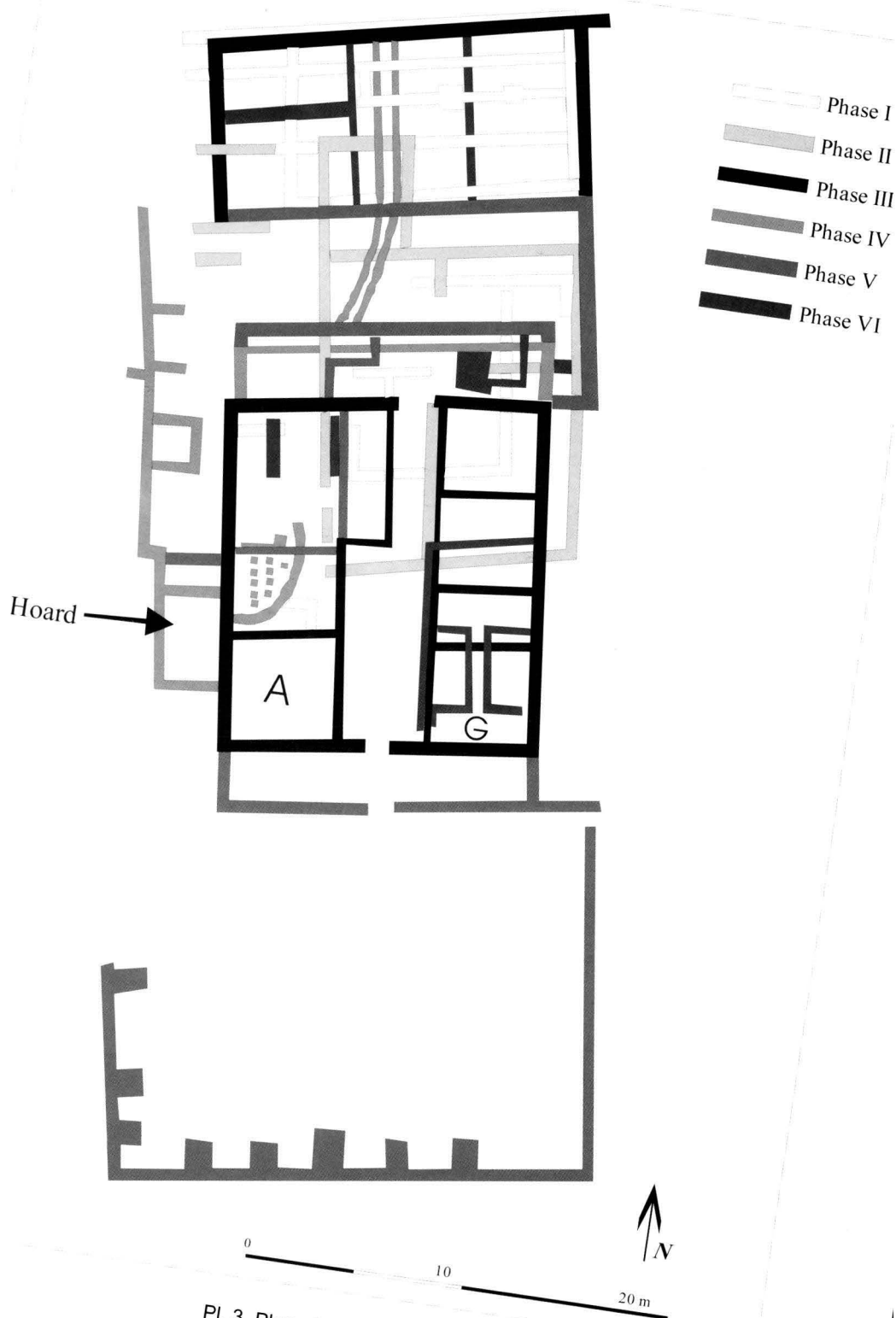
c

Pl. 1. a The hoard from "Haus I"; b Percentage of coins in the hoard "Haus I"; c Percentage of mints in the hoard "Haus I".



Pl. 2. Plan of the site of Carnuntum
(based on original drawing by F. Humer, M. Kandler, *Carnuntum*, AÖ 14/1, 2003, p. 9, fig. 4).

THE HOARD FROM HAUS I IN THE CIVILIAN TOWN OF CARNUNTUM



Pl. 3. Plan of "Haus I".



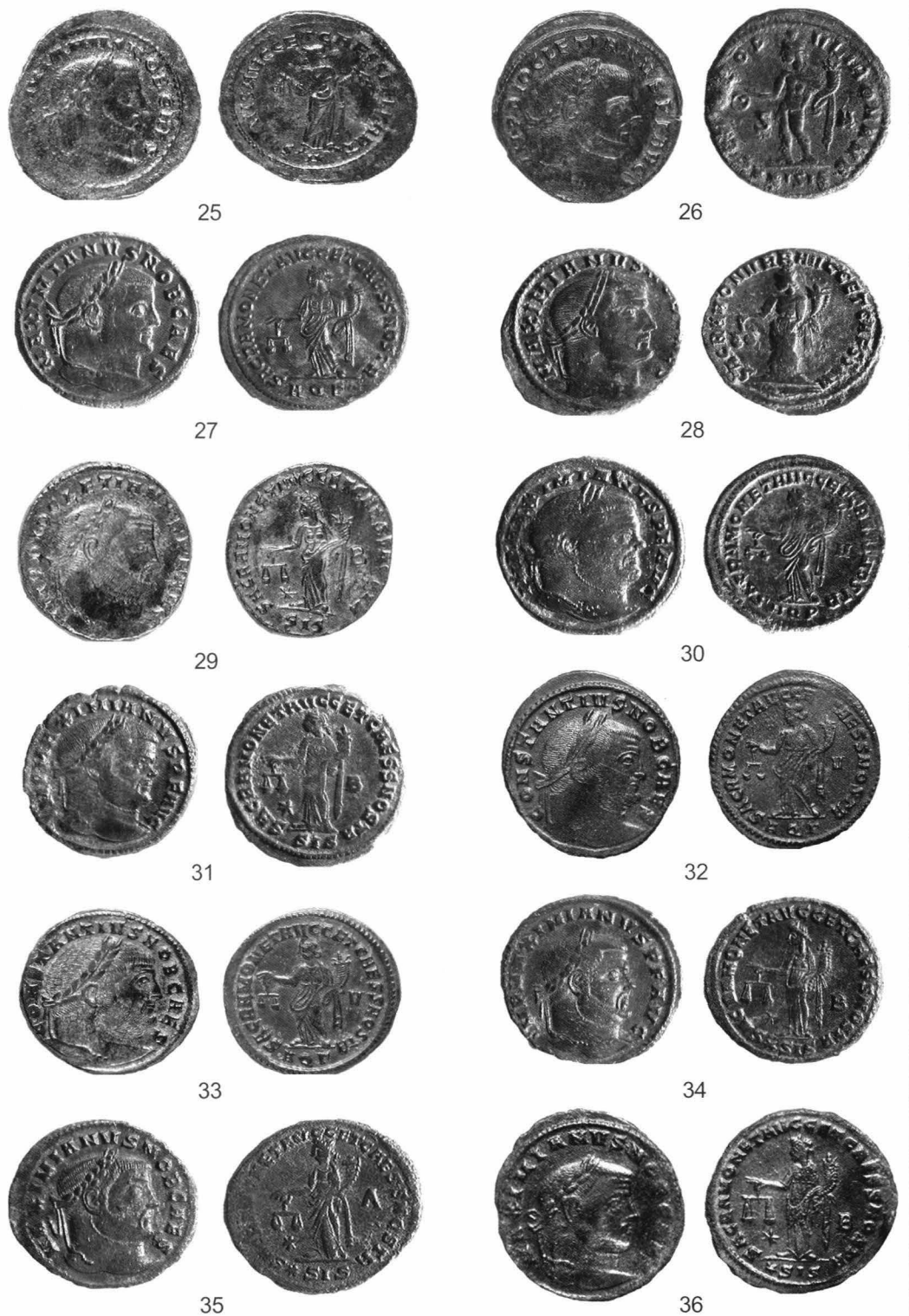
Pl. 4. The hoard from "Haus I".



Pl. 5. The coins from hoard.



Pl. 6. The coins from hoard.



Pl. 7. The coins from hoard.



Pl. 8. The coins from hoard.

THE 6th – 8th CENTURIES METALLURGICAL ACTIVITY FROM BUDUREASCA VALLEY. THE MOULDS¹

Introduction

The Budureasca Valley is a micro zone situated in the region of the first sub-Carpathian hills, east of the Prahova County. The valley lies on the present territory of the Vadu Săpat commune, approximately 10 km north of the town of Mizil. In this narrow valley, with rather steep mountain sides, crossed by the Budureasca spring, and sprinkled with high, well-defined terraces, separated by precipices, a high level of human settlements has been noticed. On a rather small area (the valley has approx. 10 km², but the settlement area is limited to mere terraces) so far 31 archeological sites have been identified. Among them, 15 sites are dated back to the V-VII A.D.

The archeological sites in the points Budureasca 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 15, 17 have been partially researched or investigated. Unfortunately, the intense and particularly important research conducted by Victor Teodorescu has not been yet used as it would have deserved. It is only the excavations of Budureasca 4 that have been partially published².

In this work we shall attempt to discuss the moulds dug out of the investigated sites in Valea Budureasca.

Our focus is on them owing to the fact that they are by far the most significant concentration of moulds discovered in the area outside the Carpathians and, simultaneously, one of the least known. Unfortunately, though most of the items were excavated 30 years ago, they have not been appropriately published so far, not even distinct items. Part of the terms the present article refers to are displayed in the exhibition dedicated to the Budureasca Valley within the County History and Archaeology Museum of Prahova (MJIAPh), whereas the other part is included in the collections of the Romanian National Museum (MNIR).

Background

In the Budureasca Valley the moulds used for clothing and jewels were discovered in three archaeological sites: Budureasca 3, 4 and 5, practically in all sites where systematic excavations have been conducted. We believe that a brief account of the publication of these items is necessary, and we thus shall endeavor to highlight the need for this article³.

In 1964, during the Session of Scientific Reports of the History Museums, Victor Teodorescu was trying to provide arguments for the indication of a new archaeological culture: the Ipotești-Cândești. Then he made mention of the discovery of a mould valve⁴ in Budureasca 3. Unfortunately, he added no illustration and description of it.

Two years later, at the International Congress of Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Sciences organized in Prague, another mould⁵ is recorded, discovered in Budureasca 4,

¹ English version by Mihaela Năstăsescu.

² Teodorescu 1993, p. 365-388; Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 91-118.

³ We will quote only the main articles and reports, in particular the ones that contain the first record of the presented discoveries.

⁴ Teodorescu 1971, p. 107.

⁵ Teodorescu 1971, 1a., p. 1043. On p. 1044 the Budureasca 3 mould is also recorded.

on which they said it was meant for making earrings with granulated star-shaped pendant and for other granulated pendants. No illustration is available.

A new mould, still coming from Budureasca 4, is recorded on the occasion of an exhibition organized in London in 1971, along with the others, however with no descriptions or photos⁶.

In a report (The 14th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 1971) on the Roman Byzantine type earrings⁷, the same moulds are recorded: 1 of Budureasca 3 and 2 (?) of Budureasca 4, again, with no description or illustration⁸.

A year later, in 1972, in an article that renders a detailed analysis of the metallurgic discoveries in the area of Bucharest, Victor Teodorescu records only a crafts center identified in Budureasca, reminding of a mould of Budureasca 4 meant for casting *perle-mellon*⁹. Another mould is recorded in a note, as an analogy for an item discovered in Străulești-Măicănești¹⁰.

Unfortunately, neither does Maria Comșa's 1975 article, that was intended a synthesis on the socio-economic organization north of the Danube, provide additional details, the author being content only with indicating the "center" of Budureasca and taking over Victor Teodorescu's 1972 illustration.

The best publication of the moulds discovered in Budureasca is done in 1980 when Victor Teodorescu publishes the images of three moulds, with no scale, as well as more detailed descriptions. Unfortunately, he fails to match the numbers of the images to those of the description of the items. A disagreement between the image and description of one of the moulds is even more unbecoming. Practically speaking, the description refers to a completely different item¹¹.

The much needed summary of the research is elaborated in 1981 for a session of reports organized in Târgu Mureș. Unfortunately, the report was not published. We find out from the summary that 11 moulds were known at that time among which one was discovered in Vadul Săpat. On this occasion a mould discovered in Budureasca 5 in a potential workshop is recorded¹².

In the second issue of the year book of the Museum in Ploiești, that came out in 1985, Victor Teodorescu, together with Marinela Peneș, provided a systematic presentation of the research conducted in Budureasca. The authors indicated a mould discovered in Budureasca 5¹³.

A most brief recording of the Budureasca moulds appears in 1993 concerning the discovery of "4 moulds meant for casting pseudo-filigree and granulated jewelry" in a pit excavated in 1965. Again, neither illustration, nor description¹⁴.

The last recording of a discovered Budureasca mould goes back to 1999. It is a "fragmented single-sided mould discovered among the stones of the stone oven found in Budureasca 5, house 15", considered a possible workshop. No further details are provided¹⁵.

In short, we are in possession of information published on the eight moulds among the eleven that Victor Teodorescu spoke about. Unfortunately, only two of them were published along with a description and illustration, the others remain mere recordings, despite a large number of titles that can be quoted.

⁶ Teodorescu 1971, 1b., p. 94, no. 392, 393, 396.

⁷ Teodorescu 1971, 1c., p. 157.

⁸ It is only a summary of the work.

⁹ Teodorescu 1972, p. 80, fig. 6/13 "G mould".

¹⁰ Teodorescu 1972, p. 77, note 15, fig. 6/9.

¹¹ Miclea, Florescu 1980, p. 212, no. 823, 824, 825.

¹² Teodorescu 1981.

¹³ Teodorescu, Peneș 1985, p. 46, fig. 15.

¹⁴ Teodorescu et alii 1993, p. 367.

¹⁵ Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 93.

Archaeological context

Some of the moulds were found within archaeological complexes. We shall endeavor to present the contexts according to the published data.

In **Budureasca 3 – La Greci**, three moulds come from one single complex (catalogue no. 6, 7, 8; figure 7). B6 / 1964 is a sunken building (the moulds were found at a depth of -1.40 m). There are no recordings on this complex. As far as we know, in Budureasca 3 several houses have been excavated and the following items have been recovered: handmade pottery with smashed sherds in it (pots, pans), a hand mill, several little carving chisels, spindle whorls, a bracelet with a one thickened end and one thinned end, a bone bilateral comb, fragments of a metal recipient¹⁶.

We are in possession of more data on **Budureasca 4 – Puțul Tătarului**, which are, however, quite unclear.

The marking of the items shows us that two moulds were discovered in pit A / 1965 (catalogue no. 2, 9; figure 5) and some other two in pit G.T. / 1967 (catalogue no. 4, 10; figure 4 and figure 6). At first sight they seem to be two different complexes.

However, in the brief comment in 1980¹⁷, Victor Teodorescu says that the three moulds published in the volume come from one complex – a pit on which no complex number or year of discovery is marked. Moreover, in the 1993 article¹⁸, the same author speaks about “pit T / 65 where 4 moulds were discovered that were intended for casting pseudo-filigree and granulated jewelry”.

Given these data, we believe that the four moulds, though distinctly marked, belong to the same complex whose name, we think, evolved in time: when first discovered it was given the index A / 1965 (most likely it was the first pit excavated in that campaign), then, following the discovery of the other moulds as well, it became G.T.¹⁹ / 1967, after the investigation of the entire complex²⁰.

Besides these moulds, pottery fragments were taken out as well, of which we managed to identify the upper part of a recipient²¹, slow wheel made, decorated on the shoulder with a row of nail-made notches, whereas beneath there is a wave-type decoration area, negligently made with a comb.

During two campaigns (1982-1983) complex B15²² was investigated as well. It is a sunken house, sizes 3.65 (N) × 3.5 (V, partially seen), with pole holes in the middle of the north and east sides, a niche in the north-east corner for joining the wall beams in a V manner and a stone oven in the north-west corner. The inventory of the 1982 campaign includes the following items²³: a strongly oxidized iron buckle that is an imitation of the Byzantine bronze cast buckles; strongly oxidized iron buckle; spindle whorl; blue glass paste bead with a yellow eye. These are added in 1983 other several items²⁴: the blade of a scythe! (L = 20.2 cm); hand and wheel made pottery fragments, as well as a fragmented single-sided mould discovered among the stones of the stone oven²⁵. Unfortunately, the mould does not have an illustration or a detailed description. The collections of the Prahova County Museum include a fragmented item marked B15 /

¹⁶ Teodorescu 1971, p. 107-108, fig. 2/3, 5, 8; fig. 4/1-3, 6-7, 9-11.

¹⁷ Miclea, Florescu 1980, p. 212.

¹⁸ Teodorescu et alii 1993, p. 367.

¹⁹ G[roapă] T[ipare].

²⁰ In Budureasca 4, many of the complexes have been excavated during several campaigns, sometimes after long intervals of time.

²¹ Marked gr. T/1967

²² Teodorescu et alii 1993, p. 374; Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 93.

²³ Teodorescu et alii 1993, p. 374, fig. 13/1-4.

²⁴ Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 93, fig. 4, fig. 5/1 The figures are only mentioned in the text, in reality they are “lost” because of unpredictable “hardships” according Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 91, note 1.

²⁵ Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 93: “...a mould fragment in stone, double-valve probably, with one face, discovered among the stones of the stone carver’s”

1983²⁶, inv. no. 6.4.-19914, which is displayed among the other moulds (figure 11). However, the fragment shows no trace of incision or geat. Only one of the sides seems polished, (but the item may be mere wetstone!). On the other hand, the material it is worked on is different from that of the other moulds discovered in Budureasca, as it is harder. Therefore, **we do not consider it** a mould, and will not include it in the catalogue.

In **Budureasca 5 – Oncești**, only the discovery of a single mould is recorded²⁷. Victor Teodorescu makes a brief comment that house B 7, with a simple hearth and Koločin pottery, overlaps a “rich proto-Romanian workshop” that provide a mould, a carver, Romanic fibula, *chaton* with cross decoration, a pot with cross sign ornamentation, some slag and debris.

Among the moulds in the MJIAPh collections, the marking of Budureasca 5 appears on one mould only as site of discovery. It is mould catalogue no. 3 that comes from house B5/1973. We think it the self same mould (figure 8).

As regards the other two moulds in our catalogue, we are not aware of the precise circumstances of discovery. As to the first of them (catalogue no. 1; fig. 3), we know that it was found by chance²⁸ on the territory of the Vadu Săpat commune, a locality crossed by the Budureasca spring and located in the area of contact between the hills and the plains. The mould is recorded once by Victor Teodorescu in his report defended at Târgu Mureș in 1981.

The second mould is only recorded in the MJIAPh as coming from point Budureasca 4, with no specification as to the potential complex or other information (catalogue no. 5; figure 8).

Analysis of the moulds

Among the 10 moulds that we analyze in this study, only one (catalogue no. 5) is made of clay, whereas for the other nine rocks of various degrees of hardness were used. In most cases, it is soft rock, easy to incise, with soap-like aspect, yellow-grey in color. They are most likely various types of limestone²⁹. Only one mould (catalogue no. 1) is made of some other type of rock: harder, of a dark brown – grey color; probably grit stone.

The side that the items are incised on is generally flat and well polished. It is not the case of the back side of the moulds, that, except for two of them (catalogue no. 1 and 3), were not as carefully processed.

From the perspective of the mould concept, we can notice that three of them are double-sided. However, only two (catalogue no. 1 and 4) show items on the second side as well; the third one (catalogue no. 10) shows one single geat.

Similarly, most of the moulds were conceived to be used as double-valve moulds, except for the back side of mould 1 (as per our catalogue) that has neither geat, nor elements for fastening the second valve.

On the other hand, holes that supposedly helped fasten the second valve are visible on six of the ten analyzed items.

On two fragmented moulds (catalogue no. 4 and 5) one hole and three such fastening holes respectively were preserved.

On the other four whole moulds we can notice that they are provided with three fastening holes (catalogue no. 2 and 9) or ten holes as in mould catalogue no. 10. In this

²⁶ Year when the “stone oven” was excavated and the supposed mould was discovered: Teodorescu et alii 1999, p. 93

²⁷ Teodorescu 1981, passim.

²⁸ By Moise Nicolae Dan, in 1981.

²⁹ The items have not been analyzed by a geologist.

case, it is difficult to explain the presence of so many holes. As to the forth one (catalogue no. 8), we are dealing with a one-of-a-kind situation, for which we are not aware of any analogies whatsoever. The preserved valve is perforated on either sides of the small channel that joins the geat with the item itself. In these asymmetrical perforations two small iron rods were inserted that appear as protuberances on the active valve surface. They have a conical, round section on their upper side.

If we consider that the fastening hole valves are element 1 of the mould³⁰, then, in the case of item no. 8, we can speak of element 2 – positioned in the upper part of a mould. This would be the first situation of this kind that has so far been identified.

Other four moulds (catalogue no. 1 – side A; 3; 6 and 7) do not have any holes that can be related to the fastening of the second valve. For these, we can suppose that the second valve was made either of clay or another material and it was simply tied to it.

Side B of mould catalogue no. 1 incites other comments. It is most likely, owing to the analogies with these moulds, that in this case there is no second valve, as the casting was done directly in the mould.

On two of the Budureasca items (catalogue no. 9, 10) one can notice the narrow small channels perpendicular on the casting axis, crossing the item area. The geat does not communicate with these channels and, therefore, they were not used for casting metal. If, in the case of clay moulds, supposedly these channels served to evacuate the wax³¹ (the *à cire perdu* technique), in the case of stone moulds, as it is our case, the role of these channels was probably to evacuate the air during the casting process.

There are three moulds with several geats on the same side (catalogue no. 1, 9 and 10). They are positioned on the short sides, one opposite the other. In the other cases, we only have one geat, and in the case of side B of mould no. 1 there is no geat.

As regards the number of shapes on one side of the valve, we deal with two situations: as regards five moulds one single item was incised (catalogue no. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8); on the remaining moulds, there are several shapes, either whole items (catalogue no. 1) or elements that would be assembled after the casting in various items of clothing or jewelry (catalogue no. 2, 4, 9, 10).

On the ten Budureasca moulds a variety of 24 items or element shapes were incised, from simple granules to intricate shapes of appliques.

Some of the shapes appear several times on the same valve. This is the case with four moulds (catalogue no. 2, 4, 9, 10).

In most cases, the shapes are typical of each valve. However, a certain similarity may be noticed between item c on mould catalogue no. 1 and the item on mould catalogue no. 7, as well as between items f – h of mould catalogue no. 9 and items g – h of mould catalogue no. 10. If, in the case of moulds catalogue no. 1 and no. 7, we deal with discoveries from various perspectives (Vadu Săpat, Budureasca 3 respectively), moulds catalogue no. 9 and no. 10 come from the same complex (G.T., Budureasca 4).

Analogies with moulds found in other sites

When analyzing the moulds discovered in Valea Budureasca, we have the benefit of analogies coming from other sites. We shall further endeavor identify the most similar analogies and propose dating them on this basis.

To start with, we shall describe other moulds similar to the Buduresca ones, and then we shall show the potential analogies of finished items (objects).

³⁰ In the relevant literature, moulds actually refer to a valve, no whole mould has been discovered so far (with both valves). In the territory outside the Carpathians, only halves (one valve) of double-valve moulds appeared.

³¹ Oldeberg 1966, p. 259.

Mould catalogue no. 3, intended to manufacture files for finishing the clothing and jewelry items, corresponding to a good analogy in the Avarian epoch cemetery from Vác – Kavicsbánya³².

Among the inventory items provided by the tombe 140 is also a stone mould showing the shapes of two files. Unlike the Budureasca item, these two do not have a peduncle individualized for setting a handle. The proposed dating is late 7th century and early 8th century.

We can also indicate the discovery from the 6th – 7th centuries settlement from Zimne where a three-file fragmented mould comes³³.

For the clay mould (catalogue no. 5) we have analogies made of stone, in D'yakova settlement³⁴, and in Bernashivka, complex L 36³⁵. The last one is a workshop where 64 moulds were found, showing a variety of shapes, in particular clothing and jewelry items. The complex is dated back to the 6th century³⁶.

As to mould catalogue no. 8, meant for casting triangle-shaped pendants, one can find similar analogies, dated in 6th century, in the sites of Bernashivka, L 36³⁷ and Ladoga³⁸. A similar pendant – shaped mould appears in the last level (N VI A) of the Adamclisi – Tropaeum Traiani fortress, dated back to late 6th century and early 7th century³⁹.

Moulds catalogue no. 9 and 10 have a good analogy in a mould found in Cristur⁴⁰, inside the Carpathians area. The said mould belongs to house L 4 and is accompanied by pottery dated back to the 7th – 8th century.

Mould catalogue no. 7, as well as mould catalogue no. 1, item c., surprisingly have an analogy in the discovery at Felnac. It is here that it was discovered, along with 44 shapes for punching items, a clay mould with a semi-spherical hollow⁴¹. The Felnac deposit can be dated back to early 7th century⁴².

We saved for last the analysis of one of the most interesting moulds among the ones studied in this article: mould catalogue no. 1.

Item f has the most analogies. It appears on a series of moulds in the area outside the Carpathians: Aldeni⁴³, Cacica⁴⁴, Cucuteni⁴⁵, Poienița⁴⁶, Răcoasa⁴⁷, Rădeni⁴⁸, Soveja⁴⁹.

Unfortunately, all these have been found by chance and so was our mould.

A good indication of the dating of this series is provided by the discovery at Cacica⁵⁰. On one of the mould sides, two crosses were incised. These shapes are rather

³² Tettamanti 2000, p. 32, Taf. 5, Taf. 39.

³³ Aulih 1972, p. 74, no. 2, tabl. XV/1.

³⁴ Krenke, Tavlintseva 2002, ris. 7/4.

³⁵ Vynokur 1997, ris. 21, ris. 41.

³⁶ Vynokur 1998, p. 226 (late 5th century – early 6th century); Kazanski 1999, p. 94 (late 6th century).

³⁷ Vinokur 1997, ris. 23.

³⁸ Sheglova 2002, ris. 2/16.

³⁹ Barnea 1979, p. 191, no. 10.14, fig. 169.

⁴⁰ Székely 1971, p. 357, fig. 1/3-3a.

⁴¹ Mărghită 1985, p. 54, fig. 6/4.

⁴² Garam 2001, p. 119.

⁴³ Teodorescu 1972, fig. 7/3.

⁴⁴ Andronic 1997, p. 64-65, fig. VII/3.

⁴⁵ Boghian 1999, p. 115-124, fig. 3.

⁴⁶ Teodorescu 1972, fig. 7 / 1.

⁴⁷ Bobi 1981, p. 107, fig. 27/5.

⁴⁸ Mitrea 1980, p. 108, fig. XLVI/2.

⁴⁹ Teodor 1997, p. 147, nr. 637.

⁵⁰ Andronic 1997, p. 64-65, fig. VII/3. The author estimates the mould belongs to the Middle Ages, the 16th – 18th centuries.

widespread in particular in the Central and Western Europe (as fibulas and pendants)⁵¹ and are dated especially back to the 7th century⁵². Similar shapes may be encountered in Crimea as well where they are decorations on various items of clothing and jewelry⁵³. The dating in this last case is as early as the first half of the 7th century.

A later dating is suggested by Bartołomiej Szmoniewski: late 7th century and early 8th century⁵⁴ in his study regarding the moulds from Cucuteni, Poienița, Răcoasa, Rădeni and Soveja.

We can notice the following aspects: none of the moulds, which shape f appears on, has either geat or fastening elements for the second valve. This cannot be a coincidence if we consider the large number of discoveries. All f. shapes seem rather deep sunken in the mould. With some shapes one may even notice that they do not start off the very active surface of the mould, but form a rectangular, initially sunken shape, due to which the cast product seems to stand on a rectangular platform⁵⁵, aspect which is common for a series of patrices discovered in the Byzantine Empire: Adalia⁵⁶, Carthago⁵⁷, Krim⁵⁸, Constantinople⁵⁹, Syria⁶⁰, or in the intra-Carpathian area: Dumbăveni⁶¹.

All the above mentioned lead us to believe that we deal with moulds for casting patrices⁶² dated back to the 7th century.

We suggest our hypothesis in connection with form f. of mould no. 1 for the other shapes on the B-side of the mould as well. Another argument in this respect is the similarity of shape d. with the moulds discovered in Northern Europe in Lummelunda or Salem, dated back to the 7th century as well⁶³. Similarly, for shapes d., e., g. and i. we can indicate a series of patrices like the ones in Biskupin⁶⁴, Felnac⁶⁵, Gátér⁶⁶, Kunszentmárton⁶⁷, Ringelsdorf⁶⁸ or Břeclav⁶⁹.

Analogies with various finished items

If, for the Budureasca moulds, we can quote, as shown above, a series of similar or identical moulds, things are different when we try to find out if there are items that were possibly manufactured with these very moulds. Unfortunately, for the item shapes considered „whole” such as the ones on mould catalogue no. 1 (items a. and b.), mould catalogue no. 3 or mould catalogue no. 6, we have not succeeded in identifying any items in the area close to Budureasca. On the other hand, discoveries in the closest

⁵¹ Lorren 2001, p. 163 – 164.

⁵² Vida 1995, 252, Abb. 23; Riemer 1997, p. 448, Abb. 512, 513; Lorren 2001, p. 163.

⁵³ Aibabin, Khrapounov 1997, p. 51-52, 71, no. 63.

⁵⁴ Szmoniewski 2002, p. 127.

⁵⁵ See the casted gypsum model of the mould in Aldeni: Teodorescu 1972, fig. 7/3b.

⁵⁶ Werner 1970, Taf. 7.

⁵⁷ Roth 1980, p. 330, fig. 7/2.

⁵⁸ Aibabin 1993, p. 167, fig. 8/1, 4.

⁵⁹ Ross 1965, p. 57, no. 66.

⁶⁰ Coche de la Ferté, 1958, p. 100, no. 31, fig. 38.

⁶¹ Horedt 1958, fig. 13/8.

⁶² Supposition made, with no arguments, by Victor Teodorescu based on the discoveries of Poienița and Aldeni: Teodorescu 1972, p. 91.

⁶³ Capelle, Vierck 1971, p. 47-49, fig. 3/1-2.

⁶⁴ Csallány 1933, Taf. III.

⁶⁵ Mărghită 1985, fig. 4/4.

⁶⁶ Garam 2001, Taf. 139/6.

⁶⁷ Csallány 1933, Taf. II.

⁶⁸ Garam 2001, Taf. 139/5.

⁶⁹ Szmoniewski 2002, p. 124, fig. 7/6.

vicinity cannot be quoted for the other shapes either, that are considered elements of various clothing and jewelry items⁷⁰.

Mould catalogue no. 1

Item a. does not have any analogies so far. The item of Dietersheim can be considered the closest similarity. It is an applique datable 7th century⁷¹. Also, there is an almost identical decoration of the lower part of Nagyarsáni⁷² type of buckles, dated back to 7th century.

For item b. an almost identical analogy was discovered in Maglavit⁷³. It is a cast silver pendant, discovered by chance and dated back to mid 7th century.

Item c. has similar analogies in many discoveries in the Avar area. We would like to refer only to the items found in riders' graves from Kunszentmárton (patrices)⁷⁴ or Kunágota and Hajdudorog (if the mould was intended for punched appliques for harness)⁷⁵, Szentendre and Sânpetru Gherman (if the mould was meant for making earrings)⁷⁶. The above-mentioned items are dated 7th century⁷⁷.

Items d., e. and g. are a series of moulds either for appliques, ring *chaton* or pendants for earrings. Among the analogies, we would like to mention only the rosette appliques made by punching, found in the Band cemetery⁷⁸, the rings from Kunágota graves⁷⁹ and the earrings from Câmpia Turzii graves⁸⁰.

Items from cemeteries of Band and Kölked-Feketekapu A are dated in the early 7th century⁸¹, but in the horse graves from Tiszafüred are datable in the early 8th century⁸².

Item f. does not have analogies so far. The most similar item is considered an belt ornament in Tiszafüred, tomb 488, dated back to late 7th century and early 8th century⁸³.

There are no identical discoveries for item h. However, we can notice a similarity with the belt decoration discovered in a rider's tomb in Szegvár – Sápoldal⁸⁴. The discovery of a Mauricius Tiberius coin in this tomb dates it back to early 7th century⁸⁵.

The item i. has its best analogies in the tear-like pendants from Felnac⁸⁶ (patrice), or from Mali Idjos, Jutas and Kiskörös – Városalatt⁸⁷, all from the 7th century⁸⁸.

Mould catalogue no. 2

Only for the item d. we can find analogies. Such pendants or appliques, of horse-shoes form, are typically for the cast Avarian belts with "gryphon" ornamentation. We can

⁷⁰ The most similar discoveries are the star-shaped pendant earrings in the tombs of Sărata Monteoru or Ceptura.

⁷¹ Roth 1986, p. 123, fig. 29.

⁷² Ibler 1992, p. 140, 142, fig. 6/9-11, 13.

⁷³ Toropu 1976, p. 126, 138, Pl. 17/5.

⁷⁴ Csallány 1933, p. 54, Fig. 5, 7-10; Garam 2001, Taf. 138.

⁷⁵ Garam 1992, p. 138, 143, Taf. 8/1-10, 13/1,2; 47/1-20.

⁷⁶ Garam 1992, 139, 144, Taf. 53/1.

⁷⁷ Garam 1992, p. 148-150, 160-161; Teodor 1995, p. 194.

⁷⁸ Horedt 1958, p. 87-88.

⁷⁹ Garam 1993, Taf. 55/5-12.

⁸⁰ Teodor 1995, p. 191, fig. 4/3.

⁸¹ Kiss 1996, p. 244.

⁸² Garam 1995, p. 425.

⁸³ Szmoniewski 2002, p. 127, fig. 7/2.

⁸⁴ Garam 1992, p. 139, Taf. 15/11-16.

⁸⁵ Garam 1992, p. 140, 154.

⁸⁶ Garam 2001, p. 37, fig. 3.

⁸⁷ Garam 1993, Taf. 47/20.

⁸⁸ Garam 1993, p. 87.

quote the appliques find in graves from Tiszafüred⁸⁹, Orosháza⁹⁰ Kölked-Feketekapu B⁹¹. All the items can be dated in the early 8th century⁹².

Mould catalogue no. 3

For the file manufactured with this mould we can mention an item belonging to the inventory of the Poysdorf tomb⁹³, dated early 6th century⁹⁴.

Mould catalogue no. 4

The shape on this mould could be an element of earrings like the items found in the early Avarian graves from Lopadea Nouă⁹⁵, Teiuş⁹⁶ or Chişinău-Criş⁹⁷. These earrings come from areas considered Avar and are dated back to the 7th century.

Mould catalogue no. 6

Triangle-shaped pendants of this kind have not appeared so far in the territories outside the Carpathians. They are not known in the Avar area, but appear quite often north of the Black Sea⁹⁸.

Mould catalogue no. 9

Item d. could be for production of granulated column pendants. At Kölked-Feketekapu A (grave 230) was discovered a pendant similar like this. It is considering being a Byzantine type⁹⁹ and is datable at the end of 6th century and early 7th century¹⁰⁰.

The other items on the moulds represent shapes that are too simple and are encountered as elements of a great variety of items, not relevant from a chronological point of view. We can only say that they can be an indicative of a Byzantine influence, as they are granulated decorations. As regards the shape on mould catalogue no. 7, we cannot suppose what it was used for.

The dates

As a summary, following the dating proposed for analogies (be them moulds or items), we notice that we are in possession of moulds of three chronological levels.

- a. The 6th – 7th centuries: moulds catalogue no. 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8.
- b. The 7th century (the second half of the century?): mould catalogue no. 1;
- c. The 8th century (late 7th century?): moulds catalogue no. 2, 4, 9 and 10.

If we are to arrange the discoveries by sites and complexes, we would get the following situation:

- a. The 6th – 7th centuries: Budureasca 5 – house 5 (catalogue no. 3); Budureasca 4 – cultural layer? (catalogue no. 5); Budureasca 3 – house 6 (catalogue no. 6-8);

⁸⁹ Garam 1995, fig. 101/17, 18, 20.

⁹⁰ Juhász 1995, Taf. III/2 (Orosháza-Bónum téglagyár: M 33), Taf. XXIII/2 (Orosháza-Béke Tszhomokbánya: M 150).

⁹¹ Kiss 2001, p. 256, Taf. 79/2-3 (M 419).

⁹² Garam 1995, p. 128, 425, fig. 101/17-20.

⁹³ Kiss 1966, Taf. 6/2.

⁹⁴ Articus 1988, p. 230, no. 69.

⁹⁵ Horedt 1958, p. 101, fig. 13/11-12.

⁹⁶ Horedt 1958, p. 83.

⁹⁷ Dumitraşcu 1983, p. 61, no. 1, pl. 29.

⁹⁸ Sheglova 2002, ris. 2/16.

⁹⁹ Kiss 1996, p. 203, Taf. 52/3 (M. 230).

¹⁰⁰ Kiss 1996, p. 285, "the beginning of the last third of VIth century and the beginning of the last quarters of the VIIth century AD."

- b. The 7th century (the second half of the century?): Vadu Săpat – accidental discovery (catalogue no. 1);
- c. The 8th century (late 7th century?): Budureasca 4 – G.T. / 1967 (catalogue no. 2, 4, 9 and 10).

According to these data, we can deduce that the crafts-related activity in Valea Budureasca is diminished towards the end of the 7th century, and ceases to exist in the 8th century¹⁰¹.

We shall render a complete image of the metallurgical activity in Valea Budureasca by briefly listing what has been published and dated in the period we are dealing with¹⁰²:

Site	Ovens for iron ore reduction	Melting pots	Spoons for metal casting	Carvings	Stamps	Punch	Miniature anvil	Tongs	Hammer	Bronze ingots
Budureasca 3				*	*					
Budureasca 4	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*
Budureasca 5				*	*					
Budureasca 9	*	*							*	

One can easily notice that, in all sites where moulds have been discovered, elements of the metallurgical activity have appeared as well, and this is in particular the case of Budureasca 4. This is owed to the uneven level of research of the said sites, Budureasca 4 being by far the best excavated.

Conclusions

The provided analogies highlight an interesting situation in the archaeological context of the 6th – 8th centuries period of time.

Eight of the discoveries are part of complexes, one for each excavated site. We know in connection with two of them (L6 – Budureasca 3; L5 – Budureasca 5) that they are constructions deep in the ground, and one of them could be a pit (G.T. – Budureasca 4). It is difficult to say, for lack of information, but it is most likely that we are dealing with the vestiges of crafts workshops. On the other hand, in the entire area outside the Carpathians, and even in the extraordinary complex of Bernashivka, all the discoveries considered to be workshops are mainly but mould fragments if we are to speak of their inventories. Seldom there appear other vestiges such as debris, refuse, tools and instruments.

We believe that the mould found at Vadu Săpat belongs to an itinerant craftsman. We can state this also on the basis of the fact that none of the moulds in the series they belong to has been discovered in an archaeological complex. The argument

¹⁰¹ So far, in Budureasca, there are no discoveries that attest metallurgical activity dated after the 8th century.

¹⁰² Teodorescu, Peneş 1985, p. 46; Teodorescu et alii 1993, p. 372.

could be fragile, but we think that the situation (discovery outside a complex) repeats in the case of these moulds too many times to be able to take this as a coincidence or related to the stage of the research.

On the other hand, we think that we can identify the relations of the discoveries in the Valea Budureasca with two completely different cultural horizons in terms of expression and area of spreading.

Among the moulds discovered in Budureasca 3, item catalogue no. 6 seems to be indicative of a strong link with the mould in Bernashivka, but, for lack of information concerning the complex where it was discovered, we cannot think further than that. Based on the analogies provided for the triangle-shaped pendant, we can suggest a relation to eastern communities as far as the Baltic Sea.

There is also a horizon of the relations with the Avar fashion, by the moulds of Vadu Săpat and Budureasca 4. As to the latter we can also sense a strong Byzantine influence, in particular by the shapes meant for casting granulated ornaments.

To highlight this relation, the discovery of punched appliques in Budureasca 4 has its contribution in this respect, with certain analogies in the Avar area. However, so far, the discovered pottery has nothing to do with the Avar pottery¹⁰³ either in terms of shape or decorations.

The image of a community having relations with the eastern area and that of another with western areas is contoured. In other words, it seems we are dealing with two moments in time. First, the Budureasca 3 metallurgical centre had interests and relations with the circle of power represented by the populations that Byzantine historians named „Slavic”. Second, the Budureasca 4 metallurgical center seems to orientate its attention towards another circle of power, that of the Avars in the Pannonian Plain.

It is premature to draw further conclusions for lack of detailed information concerning the two communities. We hope that the excavations in Budureasca 3, 4 and 5 will, one day, be published and thus, we will be able to study further the above hypothesis based on the study of one single category of items: the moulds.

The Catalogue of the Budureasca Moulds

L – length

l – width

t – thickness

d – depth

1. Inv. No. 6.4.-23788 (MJIAPh).

location: the commune of Vadu Săpat.

complex: accidental finding, 1981.

description: two-sided mould ¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 3, 9).

The mould is made of a dark brown – grey rock, very hard, probably a grit stone, of a slightly trapezoidal shape (one of the short sides is shorter). The item is very well finished, the pieces for the casting of which the mould was used are highly accurately made.

Sizes: L = 12.5 cm; l = 4.6 cm; t = 2.1 cm.

On one side three items are incised, two are opposite one another, with different geats, starting off the short sides of the item. The third is placed centrally, of the other two items, and has no contact with them or the geats. There are no orifices for fastening the second valve.

¹⁰³ For the Avarian pottery see Vida 1999.

¹⁰⁴ Two-sided mould = mould that has negatives incised on both sides.

a. The first item on this side of the mould consists of a bunch of three ovoid buttons that have a round termination (granule) on its lower part. The three buttons are decorated with vertical lines. The buttons are gathered in a bunch by way of three-legged rings (?) that unite in a circular area, decorated with radial lines (sizes: $L = 2.8$ cm; $l = 2.2$ cm; $d = 0.2-0.4$ cm).

b. The second item displays three decorative areas. At the side near the geat, there is an area of approximately trapezoidal shape, with indented edges, whereas in the centre of a frame there is a six-corner star. The central area of the piece is made up of a stylized vegetal decoration from inside out. Opposite the geat it is semi-round, with a pearl-like decoration, and geometrical decorations inside. At its end, the piece has a protuberance similar to those of the buttons of the above-mentioned piece. ($L = 3.8$ cm; $l = 2.2$ cm; $d = 0.2-0.4$ cm).

c. Simple piece consisting of a semispherical alveolate (diameter = 1.4 cm; $d = 0.3$ cm).

On the other side there are six incised items of various shapes and decorations (round, rectangular, flower- or heart-shaped). This side does not have a casting geat or an orifice for (possibly) fastening a second valve.

d. Round item, with a pearl-like decoration on the edge (diameter = 1 cm; $d = 0.2$ cm).

e. Round piece, with a pearl-like decoration on the edge, similar to the one on the previous piece; centrally there are six round "petals" placed in a circle around the seventh. The two decorations are separated by a circular groove (diameter = 1 cm; $d = 0.3$ cm).

f. Rectangular piece, with a pearl-like decoration on the edge, separated by a circular groove from the rest. On the inside, the piece is decorated with geometrical shapes arranged as follows: centrally there are three squares set in a line, around them there are lines that separate the surface in small trapezes ($L = 1.8$ cm; $l = 1.1$ cm; $d = 0.2$ cm).

g. Round item, similar to the above-mentioned one. It shows the same pearl-like decoration on the edge, separated by a circular groove from the rest. Centrally, there are eight lines arranged in a radial fashion (diameter = 1 cm; $d = 0.2$ cm).

h. The flower-shaped item, made up of two rows of eight "petals" each of various sizes, arranged around a central protuberance (diameter = 1.8 cm; $d = 0.5$ cm).

i. Heart-shaped piece, decorated with two areas of pearl-like decoration. Centrally, there is a small heart-shaped triangle, crossed by three radial lines ($L = 1.3$ cm; $l = 1$ cm; $d = 0.2$ cm).

2. Inv. No. 6.4.-19387 (MJIAPh).

location: Budureasca 4 "Puțul Tătarului".

complex: pit A/1965.

description: single side mould¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 5, 10).

The mould is made of limestone, fine, yellowish and grey rock, approximately rectangular in shape. The side showing the incisions is smooth, the others are rather irregular. The item has one single geat that shows burning traces. On the side where the items are, there are three hollows, set symmetrically at one side and the other of the items, that could be the supporting elements for the second valve.

Sizes: $L = 6.5$ cm; $l = 4.4$ cm; $t = 2-2.3$ cm.

Five grooves 1.5-2 cm long start from the geat; through them the metal would flow out; the items are at the end of the grooves.

¹⁰⁵ Single-side mould = mould that has negatives incised on one single side.

- a. A flower-shaped item consisting of five petals around a protuberance round in shape, the central part is a little raised. (diameter = 0,7 cm; ad = 0,1 cm).
- b. Item identical to the one above in terms of shape and sizes.
- c. Item identical to the one above in terms of shape and sizes. A groove descends from one of the petals placed on the lower part; at its end there is a tear-shaped "petal". (L = 1.3 cm; l = 0.04 cm; d = 0.1 cm).
- d. Item consisting of a link which a horse-shoe decoration is connected to, ending in two granules. Diameter of the link = 0.6 cm; L of the horse-shoe decoration = 0,8 cm; width of the horse-shoe = 0,7 cm; d = 0,2 cm.
- e. Item identical to the items a. and b. above in terms of shape and sizes.
- f. Opposite the geat, four small incisions are visible, round in shape, symmetrically arranged in a square.

3. Inv. No. 6.4.- 23789 (MJIAPh).

location: Budureasca 5 "La Oncești".

complex: B5/1973 (S. VII, □ 4, -1,29 m).

description: single-sided mould (Fig. 8, 9).

The mould is made of soft, grey-yellowish, well smoothed rock; it is rectangular in shape, possibly the second valve is made of clay. The geat is wide and darkened probably because it was used. Under the geat, opposite the item, there is crack along part of the length of the item.

Sizes: L = 9.9 cm; l = 3-3.2 cm; t = 1.7-2 cm.

On one of the sides a single rectangular item is carved; on its surface there are horizontal parallel grooves. A 0.7 cm groove starts from the geat. At its end lies the item. In this case it may be a file for finishing clothing or jewels, and the above-mentioned groove may be a peduncle for fastening the tool in a wooden (?) handle. (L = 5.5 cm; l = 0.7 cm; d = 0.1-0.2 cm).

4. Inv. No. 6.4.- 19342 (MJIAPh).

location: Budureasca 4 "Puțul Tătarului".

complex: G.T./1967.

description: double-sided mould (Fig. 4, 10).

Three fragments were recovered from the broken mould that could be glued together. It is made of soft, whitish rock, probably limestone. At the corner next to the geat, there is a hollow probably meant for fastening one of the valves. Because of its state of fragmentation, we do not have all the elements to provide a full image of this item.

Sizes: L = 6.1 cm; l = 6.2 cm; t = 2.1-2.2 cm.

On one of the sides there are four hollows (pieces a-d), arranged in a line, that do not communicate one with the other or with the geat (diameter = 0.5 cm; d = 0.2 cm). They are decorated with three horizontal lines each. On this side there is also a hollow probably meant for fastening a second valve.

On the other side there is an geat that leads to a groove of approx. 1.7 cm long; there is no item at its end. Also, on the same side of the mould there is a possible geat, with no piece or burning trace.

5. Inv. No.: 6.4.-20118 (MJIAPh).

location: Budureasca 4.

complex: ?

description: single side mould (Fig. 8, 9).

Mould made of clay, brown color, with burning traces. Two pieces that have been glued together were recovered from the fragmented piece.

Size: L = 4.9 cm; l = 2.1 cm; t = 0.9 cm.

The geat probably communicates (precisely in this area, the mould was restored and its status is no longer clear) with a circle in the midst of which there is a conical protuberance, raised by approx. 0.04 cm higher than the surface of the mould. It is the only item in Budureasca that is in relief. The surface of the circle projects 0.2 cm deeper. Opposite the geat, there are three rather irregular hollows arranged in a line that do not communicate with the above-mentioned piece. These hollows have diameters between 0.2-0.4 cm and ds of approx. 0.2 cm.

6. Inv. No. 6.4.-19365 (MJIAPh).

location: Budureasca 3 "La Greci".

complex: B6/1964 (C. 7, □ 3, -1,40 m).

description: single-sided mould (Fig. 7, 9).

The mould is made of soft, grey-yellowish, fragmented rock; it was probably rectangular in shape.

Sizes: L = 4.2 cm; l = 2.2 cm; d = 1.1 cm.

On one side there is a part of an geat that goes on with a spindle-shaped slightly sinusoidal hollow sharpened at the end next to the geat and straight at the lower end where it is crossed by a short groove arranged perpendicularly on the piece.

7. Inv. No. 6.4.-19364 (MJIAPh).

location: Budureasca 3 "La Greci".

complex: B6/1964 (C. 7, □ 3, -1,40 m).

description: single-sided mould (Fig. 7, 9).

The mould is made of soft, grey-yellowish rock, rectangular in shape, irregular.

Size: L = 2.5 cm; l = 2.3 cm; t = 0.7 cm.

The mould has a wide, trapezoidal geat that communicates with a semi-spherical hollow (diameter = 1.2 cm; d = 0.5 cm).

8. Inv. No. 106660 (MNIR).

location: Budureasca 3.

complex: B6/1964 (C. 7, □ 3, -1,40 m).

description: single-sided mould (Fig. 7, 9).

The mould is made of fine, limestone rock, rectangular in shape. On either side of the groove uniting the geat and the piece there are two round perforations. In them two iron "dowels" were set with the purpose of fastening the second valve of the mould.

Sizes: L = 5.0 cm; l = 2.2 cm; t = 1.4 cm.

On one of the sides a single piece is incised that lies at the end of a groove starting off the geat. The piece consists of a triangle that has a circle at each of its ends. Inside the circle there are three granules also arranged in a triangle.

9. Inv. No. 106661 (MNIR).

location: Budureasca 4.

complex: pit A / 1965¹⁰⁶.

description: single-sided mould (Fig. 5, 10).

Mould made of yellowish-grey grit stone, rectangular in shape, with two broken corners. There are three perforations meant for fastening the second valve.

Sizes: L = 9.4 cm; l = 5.9 cm; t = 2.8 cm.

¹⁰⁶ Also according to Teodorescu in Miclea, Florescu 1980, p. 212, no. 820-822, where only the indication "pit" appears.

On the side where the items are there are two opposed geats, arranged on the shorter sides. There are several grooves that start off the geats, five from one of them, and six from the other; at their end, there are small pieces that seem to represent the components of earrings.

The following pieces start off the first geat:

- a. a piece consisting of a groove (located next the one starting off the geat) at the end of which there are two protuberances of a round shape (granules);
- b. a piece consisting of a link which a triangle is connected to that has granulated decorations on its edges and that ends in a second link that is smaller than the first;
- c. a piece similar in shape and decoration with the above one;
- d. a piece consisting of a link from which a line made up of six small granules starts off, the last one is somewhat larger;
- e. the fifth piece that starts off from the first geat consists of a link that a triangle is connected to, that has granulated decorations on its edges

The following pieces start off the first geat:

- f. a semi-round link with a granulated decoration at its ends. On one of the ends there are three granules arranged in a vertical line; on the other arm there are six granules, arranged along two vertical parallel rows;
- g. a piece similar to the one above;
- h. a piece similar to the one above.

10. Inv. No.: 106689 (MNIR).

location: Budureasca 4.

complex: pit T / 1967.

description: double-sided mould (Fig. 6, 10).

Mould made of soft rock, rectangular in shape; on one side it shows two geats arranged along the shorter sides and one single geat on the second side. The latter has no piece incised. Still on the first side there are ten hollows that supposedly were meant for fastening the second valve. Because of their number, we could even suppose that a set of valves was used, depending on the desired piece.

Sizes: L = 7.7 cm; l = 5.0 cm; t = 2.2 cm.

Seven grooves start off the first geat:

- a. a piece made up of two granules. Approximately in the area between the two granules, the mould is crossed horizontally by a groove narrower than the small channels meant for the metal flow;

- b. a piece similar to the first one;
- c. a piece similar to the first one;
- d. a piece similar to the first one;
- e. a piece similar to the first one;
- f. a piece similar to the first one;

Six grooves start off the second geat, that are meant for the flow into two pieces:

- g. semi-round link, i.e. with granulated decoration at the ends. On one of the ends there are three granules arranged in a vertical line, and on the other one there are five granules, on two parallel vertical rows (the interior one consists of two granules);
- h. a piece similar to the first one.

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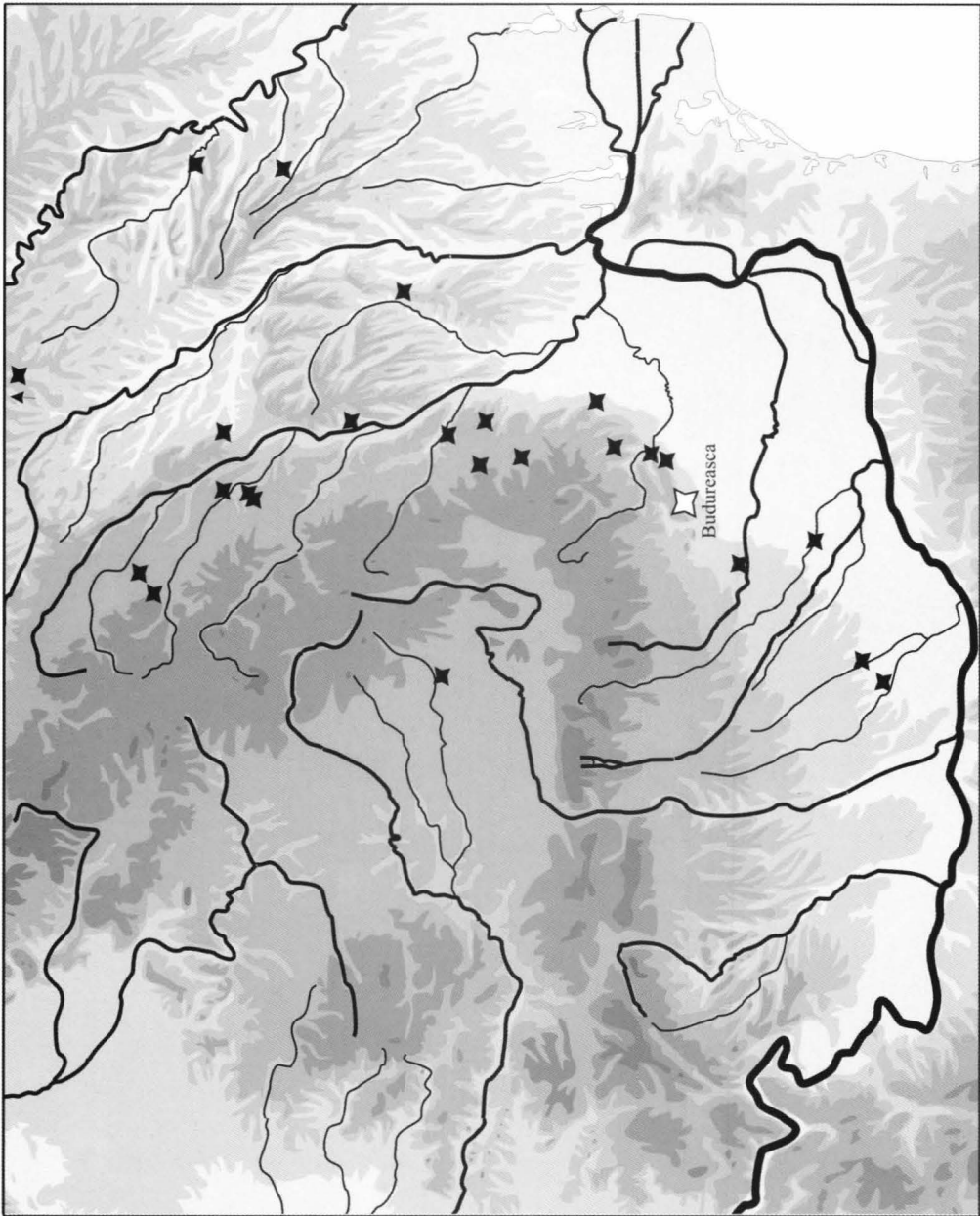


Fig. 1. Distribution of the casting moulds.

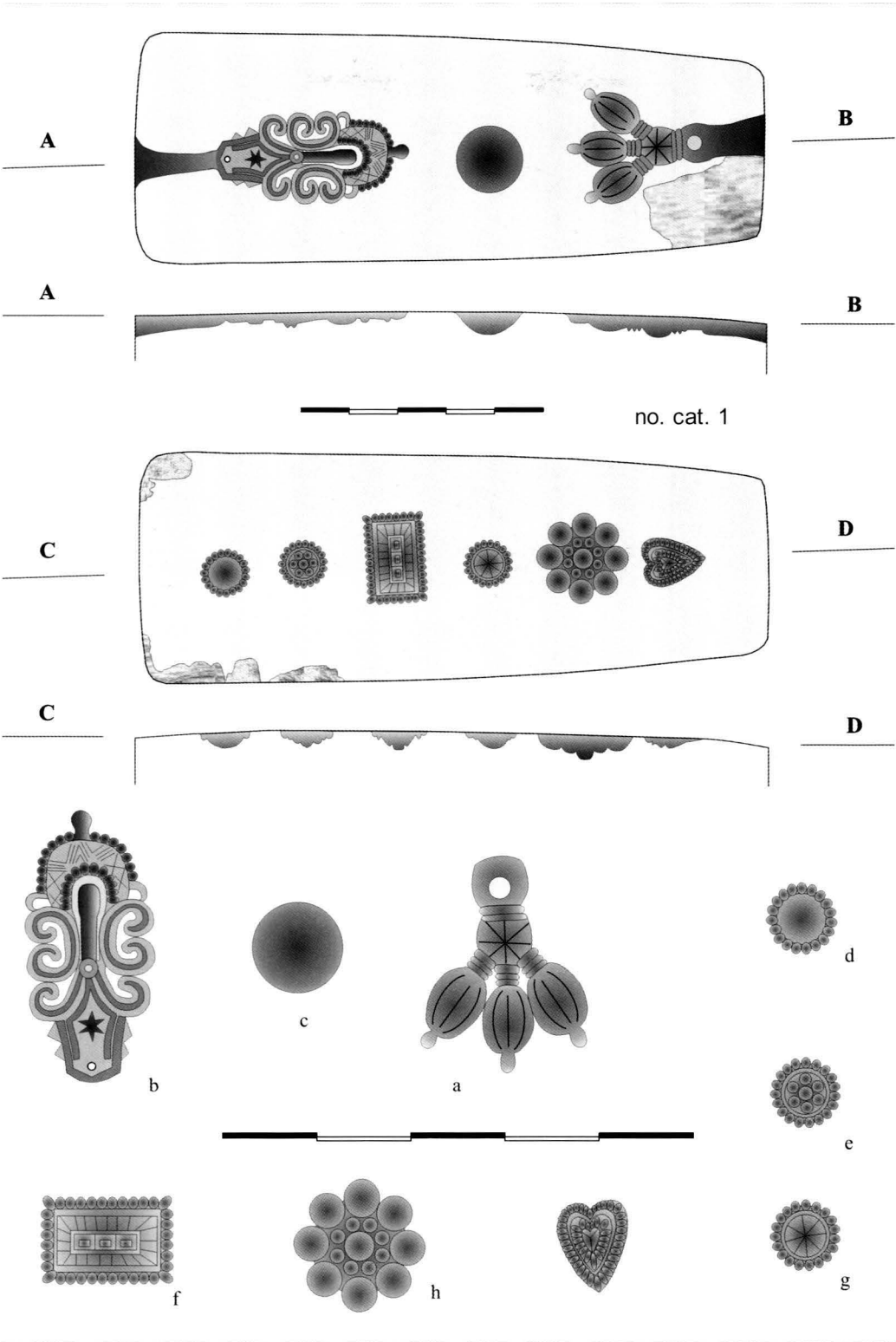


Fig. 3. Vadu Săpat.

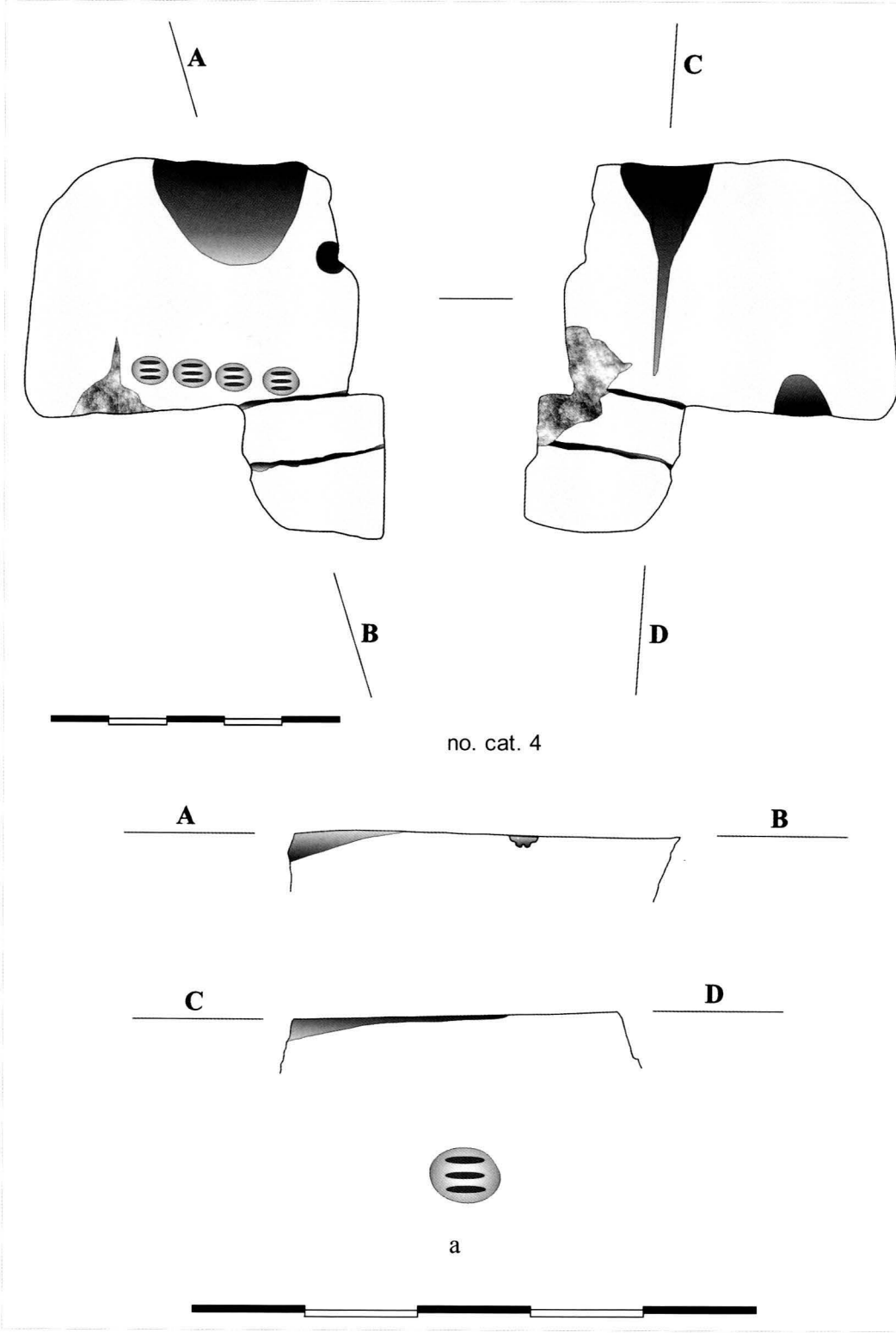


Fig. 4. Budureasca 4, G.T./1967.

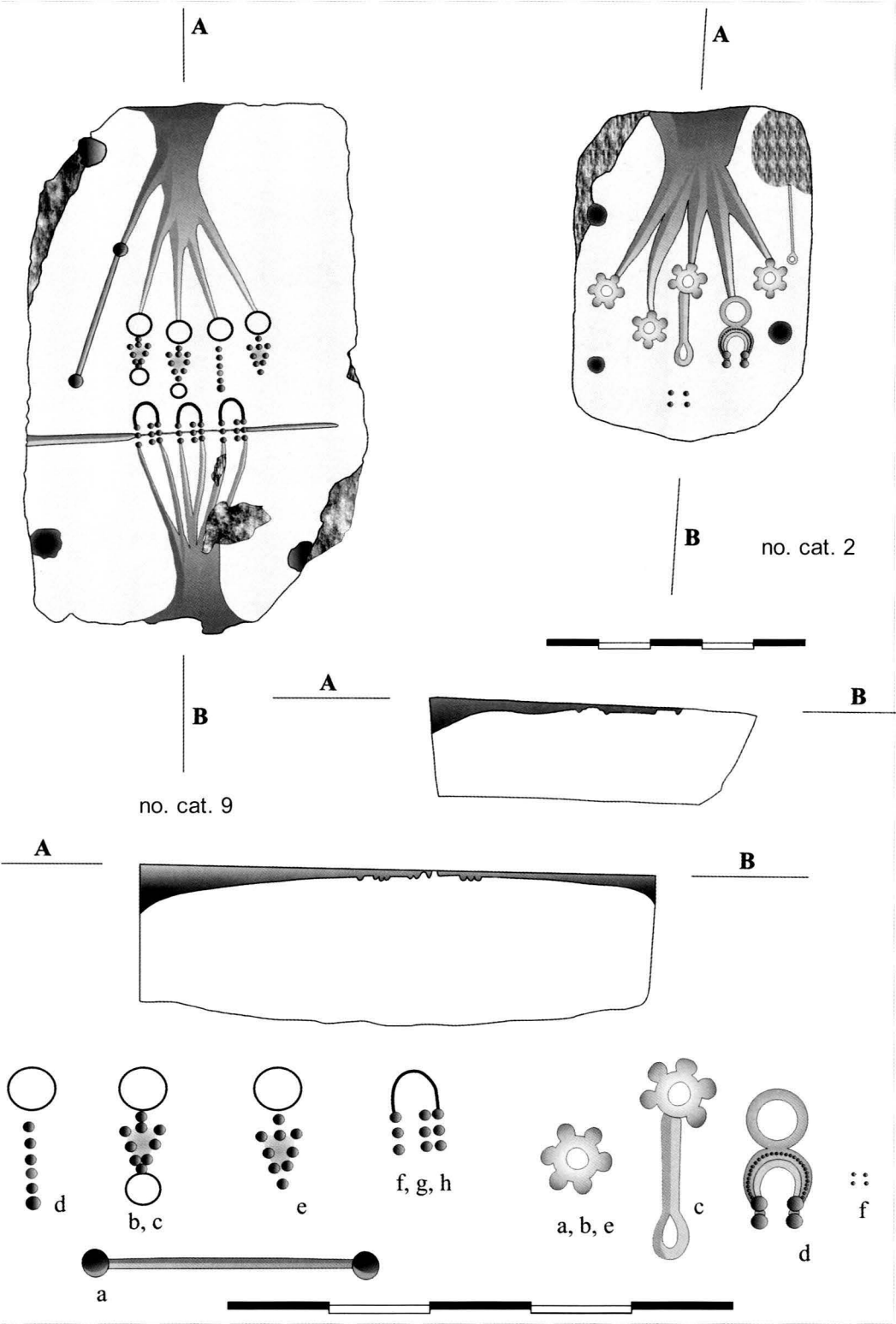


Fig. 5. Budureasca 4, G.T./1967.

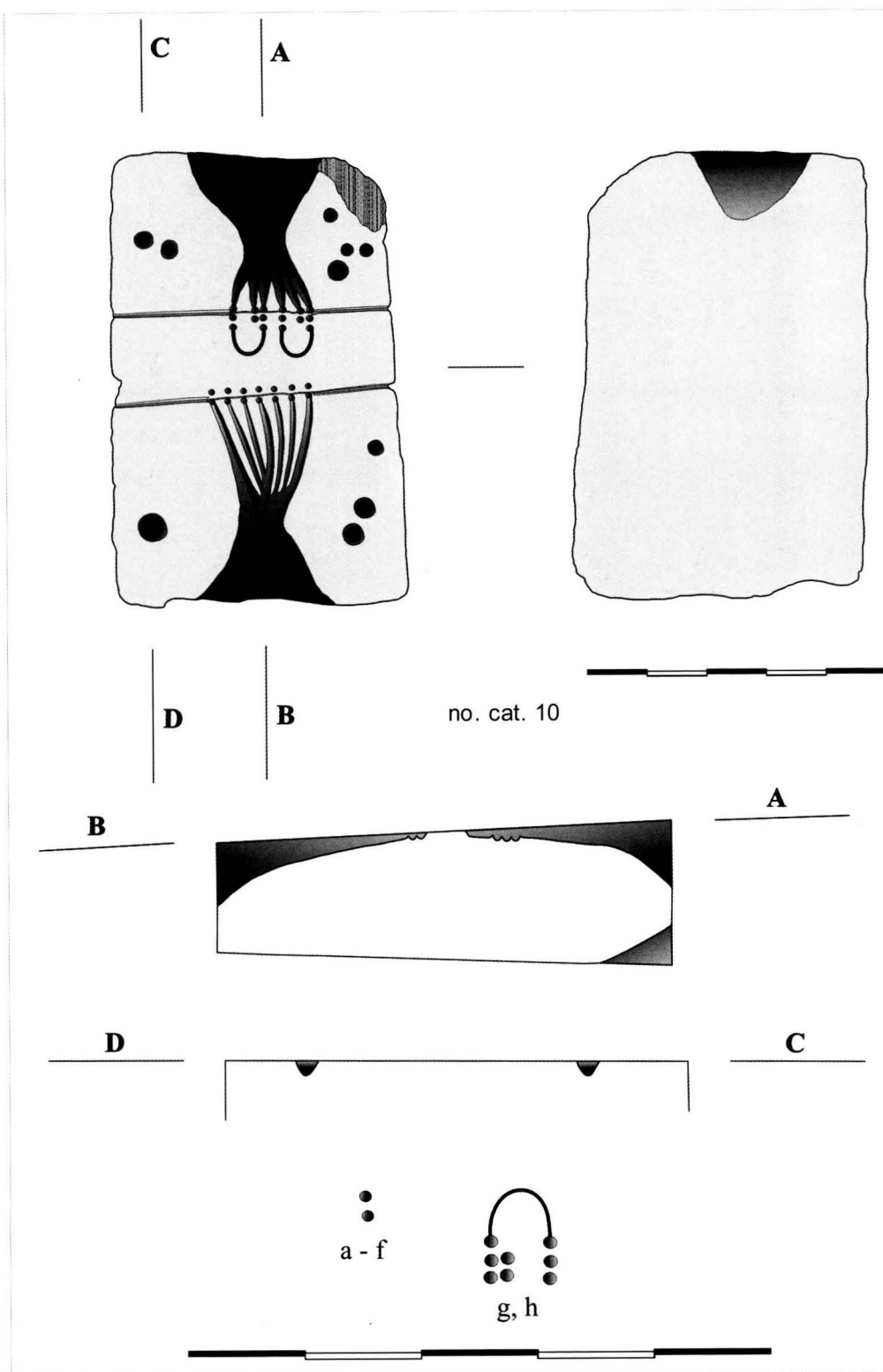


Fig. 6. Budureasca 4, G.T./1967.

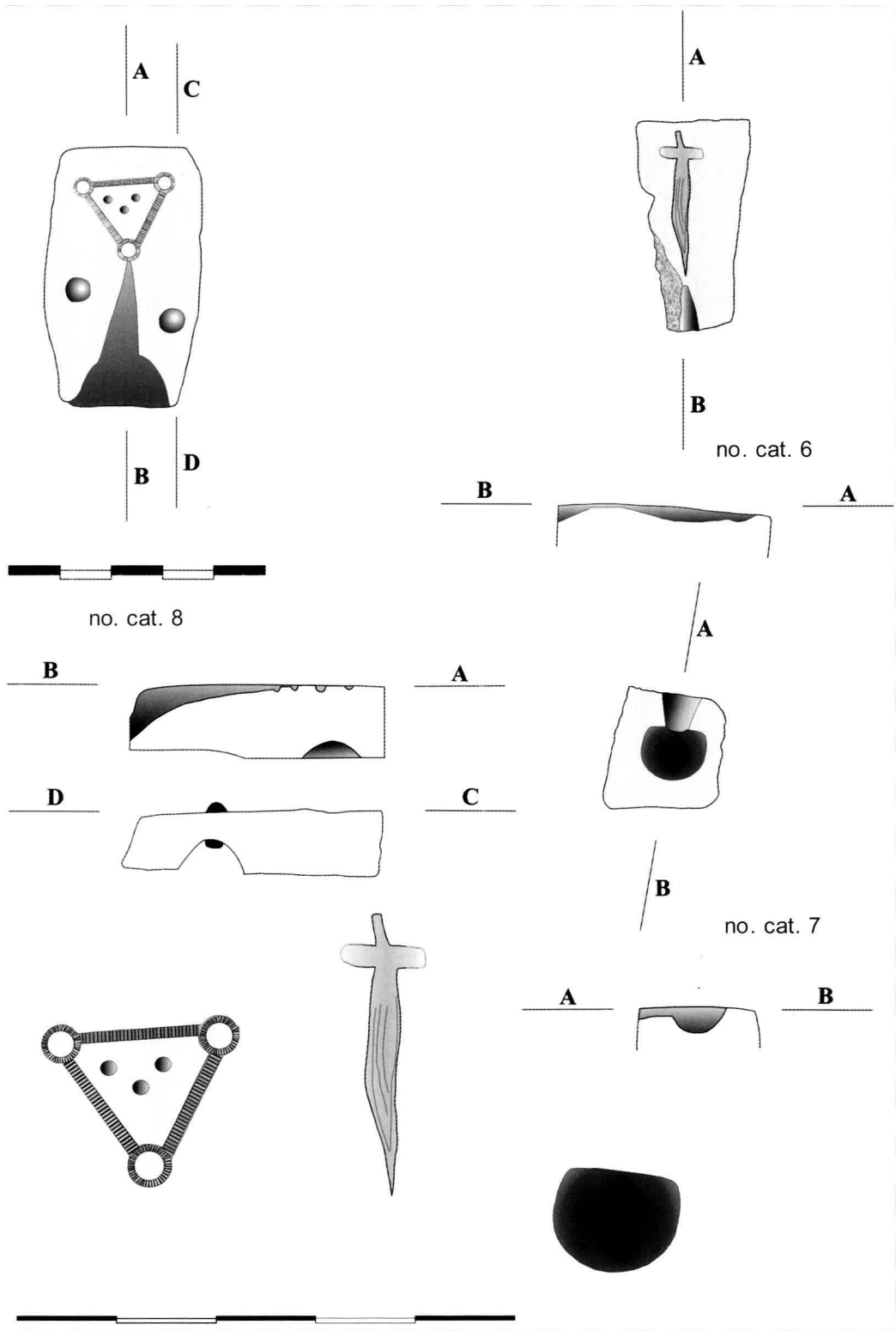


Fig. 7. Budureasca 3, B. 6.

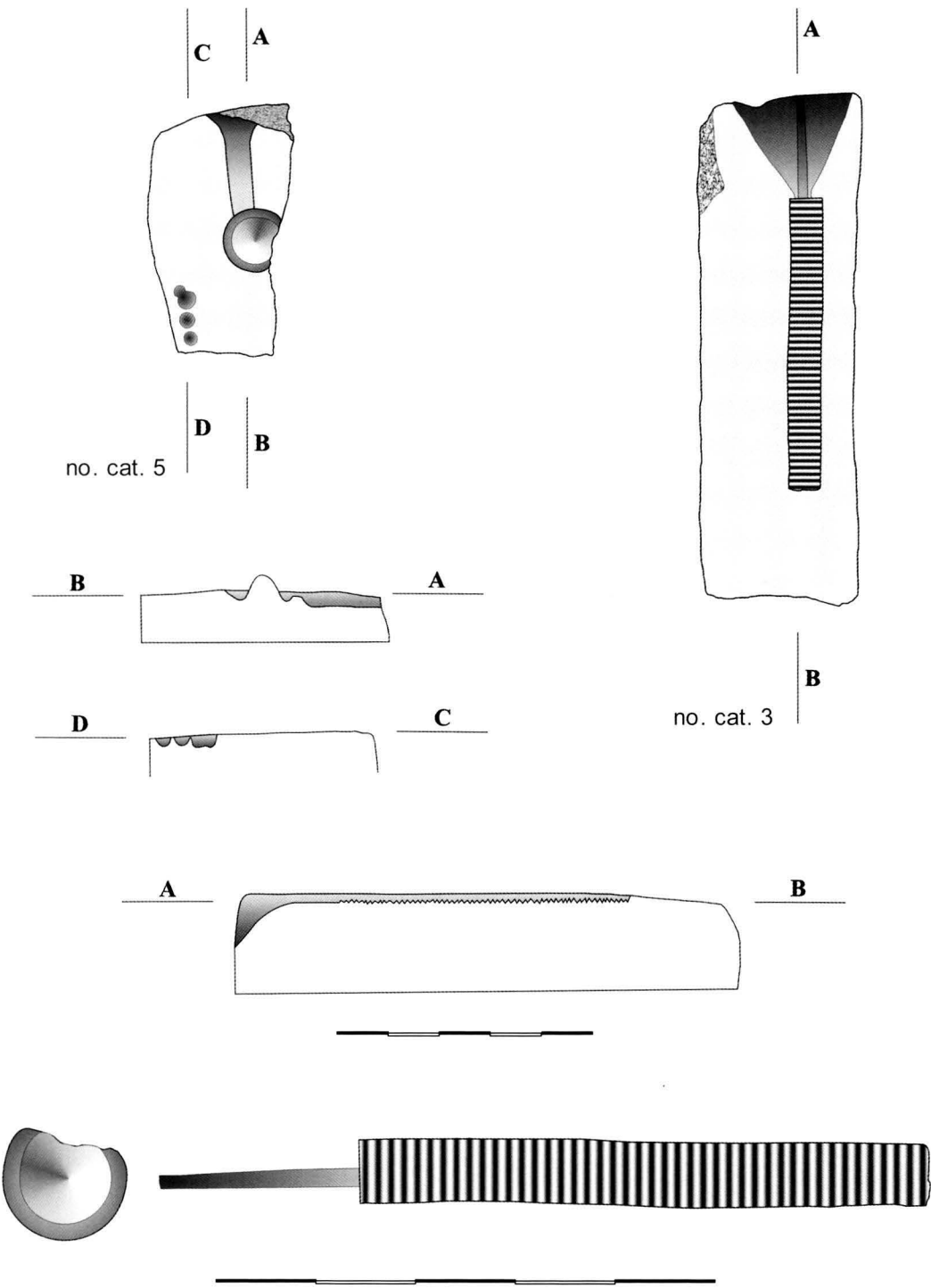
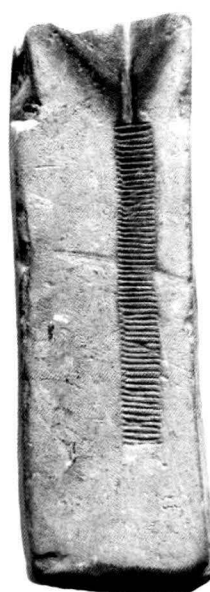
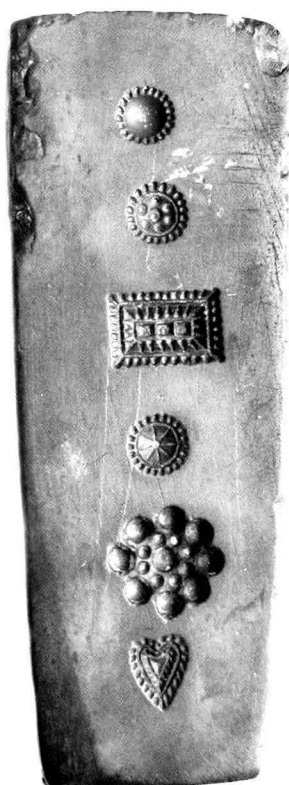


Fig. 8. Budureasca 4, no. cat. 5; Budureasca 5, B 5.



no. cat. 1



no. cat. 3



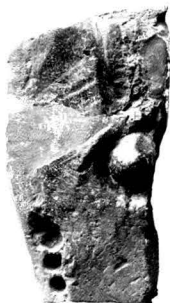
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no. cat. 7



no. cat. 8

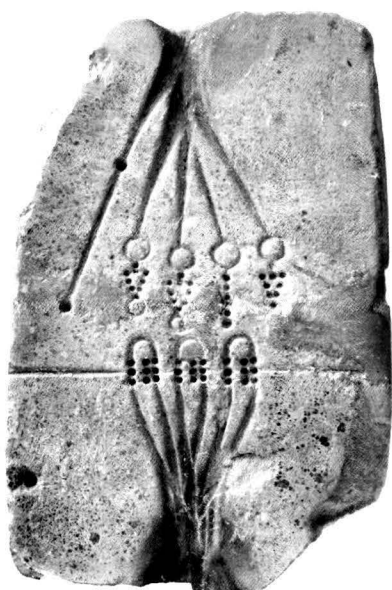


no. cat. 5

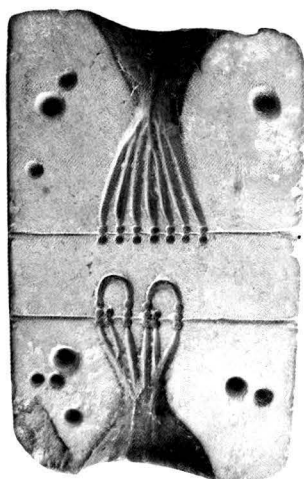


L 15

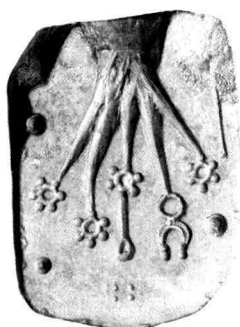
Fig. 9. Moulds from Vadu Săpat (no. cat. 1); Budureasca 5 (no. cat. 3); Budureasca 3 (no. cat. 6-8); Budureasca 4 (no. cat. 5); polished stone from Budureasca 4, L 15.



no. cat. 9



no. cat. 10



no. cat. 2



no. cat. 4



Fig. 10. Moulds and ceramic from pit G.T./1967.

ABBREVIATIONS – ABKÜRZUNGEN – ABRÉVIATIONS

Die Abkürzungen im vorliegenden Band befolgen jene der L'Année Philologique. Solche, die dort nicht vorkommen, werden im folgenden aufgelistet.

ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice. Secția Cluj, Cluj-Napoca.
AIACluj	Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie, Cluj.
AE	L'Année épigraphique, Paris.
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
Argesis	Argesis, Studii și comunicări de istorie, Pitești.
Arheologija	Arheologija, Kiev, Institut Arheologii, Kiev.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
Apulum	Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arrabona	Múzeumi közlemények, Győr.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
ASGE	Arheologičeskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža, Leningrad.
Athenaeum	Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antiquità, Pavia.
AUB	Analele Universității din București, seria Istorie, București.
AUI	Analele Universității Iași, Iași.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Județean Caraș-Severin, Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BÉ	Buletin Épigraphique, Paris.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București.
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae, Budapest.
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Berlin.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CRRR	Civiltà Romana in Romania, Roma.
Dessau	Vide ILS.
Donskie drevnosti	Donskie drevnosti. Azovskij Kraevedčeskij muzej, Azov.
Drobeta	Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier, Turnu Severin.
EN	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo.
FÖ	Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien.
IDR	Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, București – Paris.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine, Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (Ier – IIIe siècle), București I (1996) – II (2000).
ILD	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptii latine din Dacia, București, 2005.

ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin, I (1882) – IV (1916).
IOSPE	<i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> , Petropoli.
ISM	<i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris antiquae</i> , București – Paris.
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> , Portsmouth USA.
JRGZM	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz</i> , Mainz.
KSIA	<i>Kratkie Soobščeniia Instituta Arheologii</i> , Moskva.
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews et alii (eds.), <i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford.
Marisia	Marisia. Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
MatArh	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
MIA	Materialy i issledovanja po arheologii, Moskva.
MN	Muzeul Național, București.
MRK	Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik, Frankfurt am Main.
Numen	Numen. International Review for History of Religions, Leiden.
Ogam	Ogam. Tradition celtique. Histoire – Langue – Archéologie – Religion, Rennes.
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I-IV (B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et al., Budapest 1994–2002).
PAV	<i>Petersburgskij arheologičeskij Vestnik</i> , Sankt Petersburg.
PIR²	G. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani²</i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.
PME	H. Devijver, <i>Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum</i> , Leuven I – V (1976-1994).
Pontica	Pontica, Studii și materiale istorice, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	Potaissa. Studii și comunicări, Turda.
Pulpudeva	Pulpudeva. Semaines Philippolitaines de l'histoire et de la culture thrace, Sofija.
RA	<i>Rossijskaja Arheologija</i> , Moskva.
RB	<i>Revista Bistriței</i> , Bistrița.
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RIB	<i>The Roman Inscriptions in Britain</i> , Oxford.
RLÖ	<i>Der römische Limes in Österreich</i> , Wien.
RMD	Margaret M. Roxan, <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , London.
RMI	<i>Revista Monumentelor Istorice</i> , București.
RRK	<i>Römer in Rumänien</i> , Köln.
SA	<i>Sovetskaja Arheologija</i> , Moskva.
Sargetia	Sargetia, Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
SC	Studii clasice, București.
SCIVA	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie, București.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Ephigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden – Amsterdam.
SFECAG	<i>Société Française d'Étude de la Céramique Antique en Gaule</i> , Marseille.
SIB	Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea Timișoara, Timișoara.
Singidunum	M. Popović (red.), <i>Singidunum</i> , Beograd I, 1997.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
Starinar	Starinar. Organ Srbskogo arheološkog društva, Belgrad.

StComCâmpulung	Studii și comunicări, Câmpulung Muscel.
Stratum	Stratum, Kișinev.
TD	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	Tabula imperii Romani, L 35 Budapest 1968, L 36 București 1969.
VDI	Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, Moskva.
Ziridava	Ziridava. Studii și cercetări, Arad.
ZOIOD	Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorij i drevnostej, Odessa.

