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CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

CORINA TOMA

“The iconographic lineage” of *Toc-Chereluș* coin-type. Relationship between Dacian scyphates and the coins from the Scordisci territory..... 9

ALIN HENȚ

Forging the trowel, hammering the *Dacians*: Marxism and Late Iron Age Archaeology in Romania (1948–1989).....23

FELIX MARCU, MÁTÉ SZABÓ

New data on the Roman temporary camps in Șureanu Mountains.....63

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

Fragmentarische Diplome aus der hadrianisch-antoninischen Regierungszeit..... 89

ZSOLT MRÁV, ISTVÁN A. VIDA

A new copy of the constitution for soldiers and their “parents, sisters, brothers ...” of 5 April 121?.....123

SORIN NEMETI

Dacici Maximi. The «Barracks Emperors» and the conflicts with the Barbarians near the frontiers of Dacia.....129

LUCIANA NEDELEA

“The pottery whisperer”. *Scholae* within the *principia* of the Potaissa legionary fortress in the 3rd century AD.....143

TIMEA VARGA

Aegrescit medendo. Some common diseases among the inhabitants of Roman Dacia.....165

DÁVID PETRUȚ

The Roman epigraphic collection of 17th century antiquarian Ferenc Lugossy from Petreștii de Jos (Cluj County).....187

DAN DANA

Notices épigraphiques et onomastiques (Dacie romaine) (II).....205

LUCIANA NEDELEA

A fish-eyed misfit glaring back from antiquity. The peculiar face pot from the *centuriae cohortis*
I milliariae at Potaissa.....223

RADU ZĂGREANU

A Roman funerary *aedicula* wall with an erotic (?) scene from Porolissum.....233

PÉTER KOVÁCS

Provincia Valeria media?.....247

ÁDÁM SZABÓ

Onachar from Apahida (> Onacharus < Aunacharus)277

REVIEWS

S. Nemeti, *Le syncrétisme religieux en Dacie Romaine*, Cluj-Napoca 2019, 374 p. (**Csaba Szabó**).....295

I. Stamati, *The slavic Dossier. Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova: between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor*, Leiden – Boston 2019, 306 p. (**Sorin Nemeti**).....299

D. Spânu, M. Dima, A. Frînculeasa, S. Kraus, E. Pernicka, *Tezaurul de orfevru de la Mălăieştii de Jos / The Mălăieştii de Jos Silver Craftsman's Hoard*, Târgovişte 2018, 99 p. (**Dorottya Nyulas**).....301

PROJECT OUTLINE

PÉTER KOVÁCS

Preliminary notes on a future *Fontes Hunnorum*.....311

IN MEMORIAM

Nicolae Gudea (1941-2019) (**by Ágnes Găzdac**).....323

Abbreviations.....327

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

“THE ICONOGRAPHIC LINEAGE” OF *TOC-CHERELUȘ* COIN-TYPE. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DACIAN SCYPHATES AND THE COINS FROM THE SCORDISCI TERRITORY*

CORINA TOMA

Abstract: The article resumes the topic of the lineage relationship between the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues and *Toc-Chereluș* imitations. The coin hoards found at Ostrovul Șimian (Romania) and Krčedin (Serbia) and the hybrid issues legitimize Karl Pink's view on locating coins *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* in the Scordisci area. The relationship with the *Sirmium* type and the Dyrrhachium drachmas amends the chronology of the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues, which goes back from the first half of the 2nd century BC to the end of this century or (sooner) early 1st century BC.

Aspects related to the prototype's location and dating directly impact the establishment of the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates' chronology. The *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates are the result of mixing two monetary types issued in the Scordisci area: the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues for the obverse and those of type *Sirmium* for the reverse. The chronology of the *Toc-Chereluș* imitations, broadly framed to the second half of the 2nd century BC and first decades of the following century is therefore narrowed down. Copies cannot precede the prototype and, given also the suggested chronology for the Macedonia Prima and Thasos tetradrachms, we believe that *Toc-Chereluș* coins were struck after early 1st century BC. As a result, the hypothesis on the *continuity of the local mint from Dacia* must be abandoned, since between the Celtic coinage in the *first stage* and the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates, which together with those intra-Carpathian compose the *second stage*, there is a gap of almost half a century.

Keywords: Pre-Roman Dacia; monetary types; *Sirmium*; *Crișeni-Berchieș phase b*; *Toc-Chereluș*; prototype; hybrid issues.

Rezumat: Articolul reia problema relației filiative dintre emisiunile monetare *Crișeni-Berchieș faza b* și imitațiile *Toc-Chereluș*. Tezaurile monetare descoperite la Ostrovul Șimian (România) și Krčedin (Serbia) și emisiunile hibride legitimează opinia lui Karl Pink privind localizarea monedelor *Crișeni-Berchieș faza b* în zona scordiscă. Relația cu monedele de tip *Sirmium* și cu drahmele de Dyrrhachium modifică cronologia emisiunilor *Crișeni-Berchieș faza b*, care coboară din prima jumătate a secolului II a. Chr. spre sfârșitul secolului sau (mai curând) spre începutul secolului I a. Chr.

Aspectele legate de localizarea și datarea prototipului au implicații directe în stabilirea cronologiei scyphatelor *Toc-Chereluș*. Scyphatele *Toc-Chereluș* se nasc din combinarea a două tipuri monetare emise în zona scordiscă: emisiunile *Crișeni-Berchieș faza b* (pentru avers) și cele de tip *Sirmium* (pentru revers). Cronologia imitațiilor *Toc-Chereluș* încadrate larg în a doua jumătate a secolului II a. Chr. și primele decenii ale secolului următor se restrânge. Imitațiile nu pot precede prototipul și, având în vedere datarea tetradrahmelor Macedoniei Prima și a celor de Thasos, considerăm că monedele *Toc-Chereluș* au fost bătute după începutul secolului I a. Chr. Prin urmare, ipoteza *continuității monetăriei locale din Dacia* trebuie abandonată, căci între monedele celtice din *prima fază* și scyphatele *Toc-Chereluș*, care împreună cu cele intracarpatiche alcătuiesc *faza a doua*, apare un hiatus de circa o jumătate de secol.

* The text was translated by Gabriela Safta.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia preromană; tipuri monetare; *Sirmium*; *Crișeni-Berchieș faza b*; *Toc-Chereluș*; prototip; emisiuni hibride.

The *Toc-Chereluș* type coins with a distribution area located within the territory of Arad County compose, together with the intra-Carpathian types *Rădulești-Hunedoara*, *Aiud-Cugir* and *Petelea* – with the bust of goddess *Artemis*, the class of large-module scyphate form coins,¹ ascribed to the second development stage of the Graeco-Macedonian type imitations from Dacia. The ambiguous dating, much too broader, to the second half of the 2nd century BC and the first decades of the following century make debates on lineage issue rather interesting, given that archaeologists, compelled to supply existing gaps in the research of the period, tend to adopt, without reservation, the views of the numismatists.

In finding coins that served as prototype, iconography, which may aid the identification of a succession line out of a row of copies after copies commenced almost a century before, is defining. The *Toc-Chereluș* coins are easy to recognize, yet the description of an abstract iconography – rendering on the obverse an odd looking human head and on the reverse, a sketched horse, while instead of the rider, there is a circle of pearls with a midway globule – varies depending on sight sharpness and depiction quality,² reason for which we replaced it with the graphical reconstruction of images specific to the two variations of type *Toc-Chereluș* (Fig. 1).³



Fig. 1. a-b. *Toc-Chereluș* coin-type.

Because the advanced corrosion and deficient striking technique (illustrated by unequal imprinting, off-centre striking, the differences between the flan diameter and those of the dies etc.), image reconstruction, although having involved the use of several specimens, remained incomplete here and there.

¹ The phrase belongs to Karl Pink (1974, 49–52) who ascribed the monetary class *Mit großem Schrötling* (Scyphati) groups *Mit Zeuskopf*, *Mit Herakleskopf* (Hunyader Gruppe), *Mit Bartkranzavers* (Arader gruppe) and *Mit Artemisbüste*. Constantin Preda (1973, 295 sqq.) maintained this name and division into four groups, re-titled coinage types, however difficulties in identifying the effigy and prototype recognition made the author relinquish typological references and terms them according to the findspots of the coin hoards (believed) representative: *Mit Zeuskopf* → *Aiud-Cugir*, *Mit Herakleskopf* → *Rădulești-Hunedoara*, *Mit Bartkranzavers* - *mit großem Schrötling* → *Toc-Chereluș*, *Mit Artemisbüste* → *Petelea* – with the bust of goddess *Artemis*.

² Chirilă, Chidioșan 1965, 111–112; Chirilă et alii, s.a., 2–3; Preda 1973, 307–308; Preda 1998, 210.

³ The coins ascribed to the first variation (Fig. 1/a) compose the hoards from the Crișul Alb Depression (i.e. Feniș and Almaș), while the coins in the second variation (Fig. 1/b) are specific to the finds at Pecica, yet occur associated with the first in the lots of *Chereluș*.

The relationship with the *Crişeni-Berchieş* (*Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers*) coins

Graeco-Macedonian imitations from Dacia mainly reproduce the iconography of the tetradrachms of Phillip II: on the obverse, a bearded and laureate head of Zeus, to the right, and on the reverse the rider on a trotting horse, to the right (the Olympic rider) or left (the Royal rider). Struck at appreciable distance from first imitations, the *Toc-Chereluş* issues reference this model through the depiction on the reverse, yet raise questions concerning the effigy's prototype recognition.

Compared to intra-Carpathian scyphates, named based on portrait specificities rendered on the obverse (*mit Zeuskopf*, *mit Herakleskopf*, *mit Artemisbüste*), in the case of scyphates from the Arad area, Pink avoided any reference to the effigy's identity and used a name somewhat neutral: *mit Bartkranzavers* ("bearded, wreathed"). We say "somewhat" as the phrase references the *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers*⁴ imitations ascribed to the previous stage of the southern Celts' mint. Depending on the technical specificities, the coins *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* were divided into two classes: *Gute Ausführung* ("of good execution") (Fig. 2/a) and *Die verwilderten Gruppen*, the last comprising issues *mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* ("with large flan and sideways 8") (Fig. 2/b). When discussing the latter, Pink noted a few elements specific to Eastern types: the S-letter decoration and the depiction manner of the horse's head, for which he references coins from Chereluş, ascribed to the *Arad* group.⁵



Fig. 2. a. *Crişeni-Berchieş* stage a (*Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* - *Gute Ausführung*) coin-type; **b.** *Crişeni-Berchieş* stage b (*Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* - *Mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter*) coin-type.

The relationship of *Toc-Chereluş* imitations with the *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* - *mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* issues⁶ was recognized by the Romanian numismatists, however views disagree on the time and territory where the prototype coins were issued. Since these aspects directly impact the establishment of the chronology and context in which *Toc-Chereluş* scyphates occur, we shall proceed with a review of existing points of view.

The find in the 60'ies of the Almaş and Feniş (Arad county) hoards composed exclusively of *Toc-Chereluş* coins reopened debates on their lineage. Starting from the premise that *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* coins do not belong to the southern

⁴ Preda 1973, 97–104.

⁵ Pink 1974, 40.

⁶ The *Crişeni-Berchieş* phase b coins in Preda's classification 1973, 99 sqq.

Celts, but are Transylvanian issues,⁷ Chirilă et alii placed their discussion in the continuity register of the coinage workshops from Dacia. The editors claimed that not only the issues *mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* of type *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers*, but also their predecessors, the *Gute Ausführung* issues⁸ dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC had a decisive contribution. In this evolutionary line, the *Toc-Chereluş* imitations were originally located by mid-2nd century BC,⁹ then, according to the chronology of the Macedonia Prima and Thasos tetradrachms (which would have exerted their influence in diameter terms), to the second half of the respective century (more precisely towards 120–110 BC)¹⁰ and, lastly, by the end of the 2nd century BC, possibly early 1st century BC.¹¹ The latter proposition deepened the temporary cleavage between the *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers - mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* issues (that would reach the half of the 2nd century BC) and *Toc-Chereluş* imitations, yet the authors avoided to re-discuss the idea of the unceasing activity of the coin workshops from western Dacia.

Without any reference to the assertions made by Chirilă et alii, Iudita Winkler, adopting the idea of the lineage relationship between the two groups into which Pink divided the *Toc-Chereluş* coins (*Mit Bartkranzavers* in his typology): *mit normalem Schrötling* and *mit grossem Schrötling*,¹² interceded the “regular flan” issues (*type Toc* in her classification) between the *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* prototype-coins and “large flan” issues (*type Chereluş*).¹³ Numismatists views are unanimous regarding the chronological relation between the two groups: the “regular flan” issues precede those with “large flan”, arguments being of stylistic order based on the involution principle of a barbarized image by copying. The aesthetic rationale is though insufficiently convincing, Winkler himself noting there was intentional alteration of the image with the purpose of “accomplishing a different type from those circulating in those regions, especially in the neighbouring territories”.¹⁴ The emergence of “regular flan” issues in the area of *Răduleşti-Hunedoara* scyphates – evidenced by the composition of the *Toc* hoard¹⁵ and the coin finds just nearby (the *Temeşeşti* hoard¹⁶) – reinforces Winkler’s hypothesis on the issue of “regular flan” coins by a different

⁷ The hypothesis of locating *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers - mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* issues in the Arad area (which would be found in Preda as well) starts from the interpretation of Pink’s statement: “Der Kopf ist eine Verwilderung des Bartkranzaverses. Charakteristisch für den Osten ist das S über dem Ohr, das für die Arader Gruppe typisch ist, und die über den Scheitel verstreuten Hohlblätter, wie sie besonders der Schnabelpferdtyp hat” (Pink 1974, 40).

⁸ The *Crişeni-Berchieş* stage a coins in Preda’s classification 1973, 98 sqq.; Chirilă 1965, 200; Chirilă, Chidioşan 1965, 112–113, 117; Chirilă et alii, s.a., 19–22.

⁹ Chirilă, Chidioşan 1965, 116–117.

¹⁰ Chirilă et alii, s.a., 22.

¹¹ Chirilă et alii 1987, 56–57.

¹² Pink 1974, 51.

¹³ Gohl 1916, 104; Winkler 1968, 79–80, 85.

¹⁴ Winkler 1968, 80.

¹⁵ Of the ca. 47 coins discovered in 1840 at *Toc* (Arad county) are known five coins of type *Mit Bartkranzavers* “with regular flan” and one of type *Răduleşti-Hunedoara* “with small flan” (Siedl 1846, 146–147; Pink 1974, 50–51; Dembski 1998, 104/1184). Other two coins are mentioned among the finds at *Chereluş* preserved with the Hungarian National Museum, yet their origin remains uncertain (Winkler 1968, 69–70).

¹⁶ Gohl 1916, 97–104; Pink 1974, 50.

issuer, yet opens the possibility they were rather copies of *Toc-Chereluş* "large flan" coins and not their prototype.

Regardless the flan size, Constantin Preda joined the two groups in the *Toc-Chereluş* coinage type and agreed their inspiration source are the *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers - mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* coins, re-termed *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b*.¹⁷ At the time when the monograph was published, the case of the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* coin finds was confusing, isolate coins being known, very few with a mentioned findspot: a coin from Bistriţa-Năsăud county, two coins within the territory of Dolj county and other two coins reported in Serbia (Sirmium district). The finds topography and weight differences made Preda assume their issue in distinct workshops and regions, yet the southern origin possibility suggested by Pink was rejected and the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* issues were related to those in *stage a* (discovered in the Transylvanian hoards) and ascribed to northern and western Dacia; Banat, the Lower Danube area and the lower courses of the Drava and Sava represented an extension of the circulation area.¹⁸

To support the idea of continuity of the local mint from Dacia, Preda attempted to chronologically draw near the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* issues – believed *Daco-Celtic or Celtic with a definite Dacian input* – to the *Toc-Chereluş* Dacian imitations. In order to do so, the author lowered the dating of the first from the first half to mid-2nd century BC, namely the first development stage of the local mint to the transition point towards the late stage, the issue of the first Dacian *scyphates* series being set just after mid-2nd century BC.¹⁹

The question of the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* issues

A year after the monograph's publishing, when printing the Ostrovul Şimian (Mehedinţi county) coin hoard, Preda takes up again the question of the dating and location of the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* issues.²⁰ Above hoard proves relevant by both its southern location and composition: *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* coins,²¹ *Sirmium* Scordisci coins (Fig. 3b) and Dyrrhachium drachms.²² In the context of such association, Preda reminds Pink's view on the *Sirmium* coins evolution among the *Serbian group* (with small flan) and detects "certain resemblances, although farther territorially and in time" between the *Sirmium* coins and those in group *Crişeni-Berchieş*.²³ However, in balance, for the idea of their intra-Carpathian origin, evidences the relation of the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* issues with *Tonciu – with mark B on the reverse (der B-Reiter)* coin types (Fig. 3a) and the *Toc-Chereluş* *scyphates*.²⁴

¹⁷ Preda 1973, 104, 319.

¹⁸ Preda 1973, 100–103, Fig. 8.

¹⁹ Preda 1973, 104, 320–321, 421.

²⁰ Preda, Davidescu 1974, 77–103. We thank our colleague Radu Dumitrescu (Museum of Oltenia, Craiova) for his support in obtaining this article.

²¹ In this article, Preda avoids the phrase *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* and uses the term given by Pink: *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers - mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* or the short form *mit liegendem Achter*.

²² Pink 1974, 44–45.

²³ Preda, Davidescu 1974, 94.

²⁴ Preda, Davidescu 1974, 95.



Fig. 3. a. *Tonciu* – with mark B on the reverse coin-type; b. *Sirmium* coin-type.

Iconographical similarities and the association with *Sirmium* Scordisci coins in a hoard buried around 100 BC or early 1st century BC²⁵ bring chronological changes to the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* coins. Originally, Preda had conjectured that *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues were contemporary with those of type *Tonciu*, yet, through their relation with the *Sirmium* Scordisci coins, *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues “may be clearly considered a late stage of *Crișeni* and *Tonciu* types”.²⁶ Thus, between the *Tonciu* Transylvanian issues²⁷ and those of type *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* in the hoard of Ostrovul Șimian – dated towards the end of the 2nd century BC, without excluding for some even the early 1st century BC – there emerges an almost half a century gap. The new chronology of the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues is important, as, as prototypes, they require the reduction by a few decades of the dating suggested for the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates.²⁸

The shift of emphasis on the relationship between the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues with those of *Tonciu* type and avoidance of discussions concerning the connection with the *Sirmium* Scordisci issues becomes problematic, given the outlining of a common territory and the dating of the Scordisci coins to the second half of the 2nd century BC, mainly its third quarter.²⁹ In the attempt to explain their stylistic connections, Preda prompted that *Crișeni-Berchieș stages a* and *b* issues occur in finds grouped in two distinct areas: “one lies in the territory where type *Sirmium* dominates, while the other in northern Transylvania, in the Cluj and Bistrița-Năsăud regions”.³⁰ The relationship of *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues with the Scordisci area and the *Sirmium* coins remains unclear, as Preda avoids establishing there their striking centre and still argues, until proven otherwise, they were minted in Dacia, this time as Celtic issues.

It was not long before the evidence to the contrary became apparent, as in 1981, the Serbian specialists Velika Dautova-Ruševljanin and Petar Popović published a hoard consisting of a few hundreds of *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* coins found at Krčedin (Sirmium region, Serbia).³¹ The composition of the Krčedin and Ostrovul Șimian hoards clarifies

²⁵ Preda, Davidescu 1974, 97; Popović 1987, 81 (much more likely by early 1st century BC).

²⁶ Preda 1973, 106; Preda, Davidescu 1974, 100.

²⁷ The chronology of the *Tonciu* issues is not specified, likely remaining the first half of the 2nd century BC (Preda 1973, 106; Preda 1998, 158).

²⁸ Preda 1973, 320–321.

²⁹ Preda, Davidescu 1974, 97.

³⁰ Preda, Davidescu 1974, 100.

³¹ Dautova-Ruševljanin, Popović 1981, 15–47. We thank Mr. Emanuel Petac (Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy) and Theodor Isvoranu (the “Vasile Pârvan” Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest) for their support in obtaining this article.

the matter of locating these issues in the Scordisci area, since, when adding to the finds mapped by Preda on Romanian territory those yielded in Serbia, the authors noted that *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues cluster in the Sirmium region and adjacent areas, while *Crișeni-Berchieș stage a* issue amass, as noted by Preda, in Transylvania.³²



Fig. 4. *Crișeni-Berchieș* (or *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers*) transition stage.

Between the two stages of type *Crișeni-Berchieș*, with different distribution areas, the editors of the hoard at Krčedin identified a transition stage in which they included issues from Serbia, Voievodina and Transdanubia³³ (Fig. 4). The transition specimens recognized in the Ostrovul Șimian and Krčedin hoards provide landmarks for locating and dating this stage, Dautova-Rușevljanin and Popović noticing that the overstruck example of Ostrovul Șimian was obtained of a used *Sirmium* coin on top of which was punched a *Crișeni-Berchieș* coin, ascribed to the transition stage.³⁴ In the given circumstances, the editors conjectured that the *Sirmium* Scordisci coins, which Preda had dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC (mainly 150–125 BC), would lie closer to mid-century, and therefore, the *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition specimens would date to the second half or end of the 2nd century BC, while the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* coins would have been struck by the end of the 2nd century BC and early 1st century BC, more towards the first decades of the 1st century BC, according to the editors.³⁵

Despite the prospects laid down by Ostrovul Șimian and Krčedin hoards, Preda would maintain his point of view, ascribing the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues to northern and north-western parts of Dacia, and, ignoring chronologies established upon the publication of the Ostrovul Șimian hoard, he would maintain the dating of the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates to the interval comprised between the last three decades of the 2nd century BC and early 1st century BC.³⁶

The prototype of the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates: the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* and *Sirmium* coins

Inclusion of the historiographic discourse on the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates' lineage in the *continuity of the local mint tradition* register is based upon the hypothesis of the

³² Dautova-Rușevljanin, Popović 1981, 33–34, map 1.

³³ Dautova-Rușevljanin, Popović 1981, 34/map 1; Popović 1987 54–55. In Pink's typology (1974, 39–40), the transition issues are found in the Barbarized series of coins *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers* (*Die natürliche Verschlechterung* and *Die Verwilderung Prägetechnik*), while Preda (1973, 99) considers them as having as prototype the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage a* coins, in good part contemporary with those in *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b*.

³⁴ Dautova-Rușevljanin, Popović 1981, 34–35; Popović 1987, 54–55, 80.

³⁵ Dautova-Rușevljanin, Popović 1981, 37–38; Popović 1987, 79–81.

³⁶ Preda 1998, 211.

issue *Crișeni-Berchieș* (*Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers*) coin series in the north and north-western part of Dacia. In light of the information provided by the Ostrovul Șimian and Krčedin hoards, which lowers by a few decades the dating of the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* coins and invalidates the presumption on their issue in the intra-Carpathian space, placing them in the Scordisci area, the outlook on the lineage and chronology of the *Toc-Chereluș* imitations changes.

In intra-Carpathian Dacia, coinage types *Crișeni-Berchieș stage a* and *Tonciu* – with mark *B* on the reverse date towards the end of the 3rd century BC, respectively the first half of the 2nd century BC,³⁷ or, based on the Vișea (Cluj county) hoard, to the first half of the 1st century BC.³⁸ Transylvanian coin finds that could be included with confidence in the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* class are missing, since the coin from the Bistrița-Năsăud area reported by Preda belongs to the transition stage,³⁹ to that Barbarized series in Pink's typology, located in Scordisci territories and dated by the Serbian numismatists to the second half or end of the 2nd century BC. In order to complete the coin finds' state, the dating of the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* issues towards the end of the 2nd century and early 1st century BC excludes their striking in the intra-Carpathian area, since then, according to the effective chronology, they would be contemporary with the Dacian *Rădulești-Hunedoara*, *Aiud-Cugir* and *Petelea* – with the bust of goddess *Artemis* scyphates. Therefore, we may presume that the issue of the *Crișeni-Berchieș* coin series ceases in the intra-Carpathian area (sometime) towards the end of the first half of the 2nd century BC, or even earlier, the last being the stylised coins of type *Tonciu* and, in the light of the Bistrița find, the incipient issue of certain transition specimens. The occurrence of the *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition issues in the Scordisci territory, where, after mid-2nd century BC, *Sirmium* type coins dominate, was related to the Celts' withdrawal from Transylvania to the eastern part of the Sirmium region, where they would continue their coinage activity.⁴⁰

Stylistic connections between the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage a*, respectively *Tonciu* issues and the *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition issues support the hypothesis of the displacement, or rather, return of the issuers in the Scordisci space, where coins with iconography specific to series *mit Bartkranzavers* ("with rounded beard") have an ancient history. The first *Der Bartkranz* issues were identified by Pink among early southern imitations included in the *Neue Typen* class, the new obverse type being the result of the mixture between the portrait of young Heracles with the Nemean lion's skin depicted on Alexander the Great's tetradrachms and the bearded portrait of Zeus on Phillip II tetradrachms.⁴¹ The hybrid Zeus-Heracles effigy on the Banat issues would be reproduced, in different varieties, on small-module, thick-flan issues included, together with coins rendering the portrait of Zeus on the obverse, in the *Serbian group*.⁴²

³⁷ Preda 1973, 104, 106.

³⁸ Chirilă, Chifor 1979, 73, 75.

³⁹ Dessewffy 1910, 15, Tab. IX/263.

⁴⁰ Dautova-Ruževljanin, Popović 1981, 36–37; Popović 1987, 59. The idea of a population movement emerges in Preda, Davidescu 1974, 100–101 as well.

⁴¹ Pink 1974, 33–34. The examples *Neuer Avers: Der Bartkranz* published by Pink clarify the origin of the effigy which would appear, following successive imitation over the decades, on the obverse of *Toc-Chereluș* coins (Pink 1974, 33–34; taf. VI/112–115; Dembski 1998, 99, taf/62–63, 1070–1074).

⁴² *The Serbian group* (*Die Serbische Gruppe*) is characterized by great typological variety and a series of

Thus, in a relatively contemporary period (end of the 3rd century BC – early 2nd century BC), the *Mit Bartkranzavers* issues in the *Serbian group* and those intra-Carpathian *Crișeni-Berchieș stage a* adopt the same portrayal solution: the hybrid effigy Zeus-Heracles (rounded beard rendered by parallel curved lines, dotted spiral behind the ear and rider with elongated crest helmet), which would evolve differently, chronologically apart. In Transylvania, in the first half of the 2nd century BC, the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage a* type issues would be furthered by those of type *Tonciu* and, incipiently, by the *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition issues. In the Scordisci area, after minting of the coins *mit Bartkranzavers* ascribed to the *Serbian group*, towards mid-2nd century BC, in parallel with the *Sirmium* coins (copying Zeus's effigy),⁴³ transition variations would emerge, out of which the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* coins would branch.

The coins *mit Bartkranzavers* in the *Serbian group* separate from the *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition issues by an interval of a few decades (approximately the second quarter of the 2nd century BC), during which in the Scordisci area there is no coin type or variation that would perpetuate the hybrid Zeus-Heracles effigy. A confident relationship between the *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition issues and the Scordisci issues is evidenced by the overstruck coin in the Ostrovul Șimian hoard, which suggests that the transition variations and type *Sirmium* (*stage A*) issues overlapped temporarily, sometime towards the mid or early second half of the 2nd century BC.⁴⁴ The influence of the *Sirmium* Scordisci issues on the *Crișeni-Berchieș* series is mirrored by the lending of certain iconographic elements, like the crosslike symbol on the reverse of certain transition examples⁴⁵ and then, the reverse of certain *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* type variations.⁴⁶ The iconographical influence of the *Sirmium* type issues is possible in the context in which coin finds record territorial superposition, mainly in the eastern side of the namesake region,⁴⁷ while the suggested dating indicate a close chronological connection. If *stage A* of type *Sirmium* dates towards mid-2nd century BC, *stage B* marks the second half and early 1st century BC, being partly contemporary with the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* coins dated towards the end of the 2nd century BC and/or (sooner) early 1st century BC.⁴⁸ The relationship between the *Sirmium* and *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* type coins is especially relevant for the lineage of the *Toc-Chereluș* imitations.

Said coin specimens are not the only ones to prove the relationship between the two types, as the archives of auction houses include *hybrid variations* associating the *Crișeni-Berchieș stage b* type obverse with the *Sirmium* type reverse. In their case, the

varieties discovered in Serbia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria and Romania. The coins of interest here belong to the class suggestively termed by Pink *Mit Bartkranzavers* - *Mit Helmschweifreiter*, divided at its turn (depending on additional elements emerging in the reverse field) into several variations (*mit Rad*, *mit Baumreiter*, *mit Kugelreiter* etc.) (Pink 1974, 42–43; Popović 1987, 39–45, Pl. 3/14–15, 79).

⁴³ The *Sirmium* coins had as prototype the *Serbian group* issues reproducing on the obverse Zeus's effigy, yet the reverse dies used for striking the latter evidence their issue by the same workshop which struck the Serbian specimens with the hybrid Zeus-Heracles effigy (*Mit Bartkranzavers*) (see Popović 1987, 45, Pl. 3/2–3, 14).

⁴⁴ Popović 1987, 80.

⁴⁵ Dautova-Rușevljanin, Popović 1981, 34, Pl. IX/4.

⁴⁶ See the coins in the Ostrovul Șimian hoard, yet also the examples without find spot illustrated by Dessewffy 1915, 78, Tab. XLIX/1207 and Pink 1974, 41, VIII/154–155.

⁴⁷ Popović 1987, 59, Fig. 11–12.

⁴⁸ Dautova-Rușevljanin, Popović 1981, 37–38; Popović 1987, 79–81.

obverse remains in minute details similar to that of *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* variations, however the iconography of the reverse either goes through crucial changes under the influence of *Sirmium* type representations or directly evolves from the *Sirmium* type reverse. Briefly, the rider with branch and turban with elongated crest disappears, its place is left empty (Fig. 5/a), or is replaced with a circle with midway globule (Fig. 5/b). With respect to the horse, the depiction manner of the head and body is preserved, yet the legs and hoofs shape changes, the crest being rendered by a line of globules, and under the tail branched in the form of parallel oblique small lines is set a globule.



Fig. 5. a-b. Hybrid coins associating the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* type obverse with the *Sirmium* type reverse.

The *hybrid Crişeni-Berchieş stage b - Sirmium* issues on which the description above relies were proposed for sale, starting with 2014, by different auction houses. The first specimens were listed on the *Solidus Numismatik e.K.*,⁴⁹ *Numismatik Lanz München*⁵⁰ and *Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung*⁵¹ auctioneer websites. The last put up simultaneously for sale three coins presented as “mit liegendem Achter” tetradrachms type. For the third coin, differentiating from the first two by the presence on the reverse (in the rider’s place) of a circle with a mid dot, type *Sirmium* and a possible hybrid issue were referenced. A specimen in the circle variation, described as “tétradrachme du type *Kugelwange* (n.n. *Sirmium*), stylisé”, was listed in the archive of *CBG Numismatics Paris*.⁵² In the following years, other two coins in the variation without circle with midway globule were put up for sale by *Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger*⁵³ and *Solidus Numismatik e.K.*⁵⁴ The unusual occurrence of several specimens over the course of 2014 makes possible the discovery of a coin hoard composed, according to the lots for sale by *Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung*, of at least two *hybrid* variations, stylistically and chronologically contiguous.

In conclusion, the iconography of *Toc-Chereluş* scyphates is born from combining two coinage types: the *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b* issues (for the obverse) and those of type *Sirmium* (for the reverse). The “iconographic prototype” of the *Toc-Chereluş* imitations remains in the *Der Baumreiter mit Bartkranzavers - mit grossem Schrötling und liegendem Achter* (or *Crişeni-Berchieş stage b*) issue class, yet their striking in the Scordisci area

⁴⁹ List of Auction Houses (1).

⁵⁰ List of Auction Houses (2).

⁵¹ List of Auction Houses (3).

⁵² List of Auction Houses (4).

⁵³ List of Auction Houses (5).

⁵⁴ List of Auction Houses (6).

sometime by the end of the 2nd century BC and/or early 1st century BC both refines the dating of the *Toc-Chereluș* coins and changes the approach built around the relationship between prototype and duplicate. The chronological linkage disappears, while that stylistic proves much more complicated, with chronological breaks, geographical mutations and iconographic contamination with ethnic valences foreign to the Dacian element, occurring during the imitation process. Moving away from the *continuity* hypothesis, since between the *two development stages of the local mint in Dacia* there is an almost half a century gap, and based on more restricted dating, which likely falls after early 1st century BC, the question on how the coin issues from the Scordisci area became the *Toc-Chereluș* scyphates' prototype in the Arad area remains still unanswered.

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Pl. I. 1–10. 1. *Crișeni-Berchieș* stage a coin-type; 2. *Tonciu* – with mark B on the reverse coin-type; 3. *Crișeni-Berchieș* transition stage; 4. *Crișeni-Berchieș* stage b coin-type; 5. *Sirmium* coin-type; 6. *Sirmium* coin-type; 7. The hybrid *Crișeni-Berchieș* stage b - *Sirmium*; 8. The hybrid *Crișeni-Berchieș* stage b – *Sirmium*; 9. *Toc-Chereluș* coin-type; 10. *Toc-Chereluș* coin-type.

FORGING THE TROWEL, HAMMERING THE DACIANS: MARXISM AND LATE IRON AGE ARCHAEOLOGY IN ROMANIA (1948–1989)

ALIN HENȚ

“The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways;
the point is to *change* it”
(Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*)

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to make a critical evaluation of the Romanian historiography from 1948–1989 which had as a subject of study the social history of the northern Balkan communities in the Late Iron Age period. The two years that I have chosen have both a symbolical and a chronological value. The year 1948 marks the beginning of an extensive and radical process of political, economic, social, and cultural changes, while the year 1989 symbolizes the fall of the Romanian “communist” regime. I propose a contextual analysis, which takes into account the evolution of the “communist” regime, as well as some key events that shaped the discourse. Through this evaluation, I want to intervene in the symbolic struggles that had as a final stake the Late Iron Age archaeology from Romania. Without claiming an objective analysis, I want to offer an alternative to the distorted portrayals which had existed so far. Although labelled as a “Communist” or “Marxist” historiography, it never strayed too far from the nationalist ideology, creating massive distortions along its way. In almost 50 years, the Romanian Late Iron Age historiography has gone from a formal and superficial application of Marxist theories, to a relative liberalization, and finally returned to an almost right-wing discourse over the Dacian past. Moreover, I will show, in contrast to the classical post-Communist view that the Late Iron Age archaeology in Romania was in touch, at least at some point, to the contemporary historiographical debates.

Keywords: Marxism; Late Iron Age period; archaeology; historiography; Communism.

Rezumat: Scopul acestui articol este de a face o evaluare critică a istoriografiei românești din perioada 1948–1989 care a avut ca subiect de studiu istoria socială a comunităților nord-balcanice de la sfârșitul epocii fierului. Cele două date pe care le-am ales au atât o valoare simbolică, cât și cronologică. Anul 1948 marchează debutul unui amplu și radical proces de schimbări politice, economice, sociale, și culturale, iar anul 1989 simbolizează căderea regimului “comunist” din România. În această lucrare, propun o analiză contextuală, care are în vedere întreaga evoluție a regimului comunist, precum și unele evenimente-cheie care au modelat discursul. Prin lucrarea de față, doresc să intervin în luptele simbolice care au ca miză arheologia protoistorică din România. Fără a avea pretenția unei analize obiective, vreau să ofer o alternativă la portretizările distorsionate de până acum. Distorsiunea pornește mai ales prin faptul că, deși este etichetată drept o istoriografie “comunistă”, ea nu s-a depărtat niciodată prea mult de ideologia naționalistă. În decursul a aproximativ 50 de ani, istoriografia din România a trecut de la o aplicare formală și superficială a teoriilor marxiste, spre o relativă liberalizare, ca în cele din urmă să se întoarcă spre un discurs aproape fascist asupra trecutului dacic. Mai mult, în contrast cu viziunea clasică postcomunistă, o să arăt că arheologia perioadei de sfârșit a epocii fierului din România a fost racordată, cel puțin la un moment dat, dezbaterilor istoriografice contemporane.

Cuvinte cheie: marxism; perioada de sfârșit a epocii fierului; arheologie; istoriografie; comunism.

Introduction

A socio-economic system fuelled by an ideology that traces its origins in the works of Karl Marx (and Friedrich Engels), but which underwent through severe mutations, collapsed in Central and Eastern Europe almost 30 years ago. Ever since the Romanian Revolution from December 1989, a detailed analysis of the Late Iron Age historiography from 1948–1989 – the so-called “Communist” or “Marxist” historiography – is virtually absent from the archaeological literature. The only notable exception is Dan Dana’s paper,¹ a well-documented approach, but with little or no impact in the Romanian archaeological literature. In this paper, I put forward an externalist approach, in which I want to contextualize the debates, thoughts and symbolic struggles from the Romanian Late Iron Age social archaeology. Basically, I will show that some ideas, concepts and theories expressed in the Romanian Late Iron Age archaeology can only be “read” by placing them in their social, political, ideological or economical context.

I have started this paper from a series of introductory notes. Therefore, through the Late Iron Age period I am referring to the interval of time between the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. In historical terms, this period stretches from Byrebistas to Decebalus and the beginnings of the Roman administration in Dacia. As it was already mentioned in the Romanian archaeological literature, in this time period the social history of the Getae and the Dacians entered in the Greek and Roman scholars’ sphere of interest. Among the most important information offered by the ancient written sources we can mention the existence of a form of political organization of the northern Balkan communities, i.e. “Kingdom”, as well as the existence of different social structures – *tarabosteseis/pilophoroi/pileati* and *kometai/capillati*.²

Given the fact that the present paper makes a critical evaluation of the Romanian historiography in the period 1948–1989, some concepts need an adequate explanation. I will use the term “Communism” not in order to characterize a state of affairs, but rather as a synonym for the period 1948–1989. As the most recent re-evaluations have shown, the political regime that ruled Romania for almost 50 years was a form of authoritarian power completed in some cases with a nationalist agenda and precisely for these reasons it cannot be labelled as Communist.³ Moreover, through Marxism I understand a body of knowledge that was born with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, developed and nuanced especially in the Western literature after the Second World War. In contrast, for the Marxism of the Soviet Union – during the time of Lenin and especially Stalin – and also for Marxism

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¹ Dana 2000.

² See especially Florea 2006.

³ Ban 2014.

of the Eastern Bloc, I will use the term of Marxist-inspired ideology. Known also as Marxism-Leninism or even Stalinism, this ideology of the 20th century borrowed notions, concepts and theories from classical Marxism, but “bent and hammered” them “into an instrument for pernicious purposes”.⁴

Since the main tenets of classical Marxism were already discussed in the archaeological literature,⁵ a resumption of the ideas, concepts, and theories exposed by Marx and Engels is perhaps superfluous. However, I have considered necessary to make a short presentation of the archaeology of the Soviet Union in the interwar period, mainly because, this type of archaeology was exported after 1945 in Central and Eastern Europe, including Romania. Before analysing the debates that emerged in Romanian historiography in the period 1948–1989, I have shown the status of Romanian interwar Marxism and I have tried to highlight the main predispositions over which a new political regime, armed with a whole new ideology, settled.

Marxism in archaeology before the Second World War

For sure, Marx had no training at all in anthropology or archaeology fields but nevertheless his legacy over these academic disciplines is enormous. Over the course of a century, anthropologists and archaeologists have engaged in symbolic struggles with his ideas and concepts, in order to understand the societies from the more or less distant past and to explain their social and cultural change. However, until the aftermath of the Second World War, Marxism or Marxist-inspired ideologies – Leninist and Stalinist versions – resumed to play an important role only in Soviet archaeology and in the works of the Australian-British archaeologist V. Gordon Childe.⁶ These two incorporations of Marxism profoundly marked the archaeological theory and practice in the second part of the 20th century. If in the capitalist West, Marx’s ideas received a well-deserved critique and were substantially developed, especially in situations of social crisis, under different political regimes from Central and Eastern Europe, Marxism tended to stagnate. The situation is totally different from the Marxism of the Second and Third International where the discourse was dominated and basically animated by Marxist figures from this part of the European continent – Max Adler, Otto Bauer, Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, György Lukács, Rosa Luxemburg or Georgi V. Plekhanov.

Paradoxically, Marx’s and Engels’ knowledges about pre- or protohistoric periods and in general about archaeology were quite limited. During their time, this discipline was still in its pioneering stage, despite the rising tide of nationalism and the emergence of nation states that massively encouraged archaeological excavations in order to search for their “ancestors”. As their works and their private correspondence show,⁷ the “fathers of Marxism” were only aware of some stone implements discovered in various caves across Europe, the pioneering archaeological research undertaken in barren regions from the

⁴ McGuire 2008, 73.

⁵ Trigger 1993, 160–171; Trigger 2006, 331–334; McGuire 2002, 21–49; McGuire 2008, 73–76; Patterson 2003, 1–32; Gilman 2015.

⁶ Childe’s Marxism is discussed by: Gilman 2015; Klejn 2012, 158–175; McGuire 1993, 112–115; McGuire 2002, 56–59, 69–71; McGuire 2008; Patterson 2003, 33–62; Trigger 2006, 344–353.

⁷ Engels to Marx in London, Manchester, 6 June 1853, in Marx, Engels 1983 (Vol. 39), 335–342; Marx to Engels in Manchester, London, 14 March 1868, in Marx, Engels 1987 (Vol. 42), 547–549.

Near East or the chronological scheme proposed by the Scandinavian researchers, while later they discovered the ethnographic literature of Lewis Henry Morgan. In contrast, the societies of the classical world were better known from ancient written sources. Rome and Greece remained, for Marx and Engels, the main sources of reconstructing the primeval societies and the origins of the state. This idea is also reinforced by the fact that only one of their modes of production – the Asiatic mode of production –, was reconstructed to a lesser extent with the help of archaeological information which documented the importance of the irrigation system in these societies.

However, Marx's and Engels' ideas regarding the primacy of matter over ideas or the dynamics of social and cultural change fuelled and continued to fuel the imagination of archaeologists who (re)construct the past starting from its material manifestations. The majority of archaeologists considered that in Marx's well-known analysis of the labour process and the process of producing surplus value, he stressed also the importance of material manifestations:

Relics of bygone instruments of labour possess the same importance for the investigation of extinct economic forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals. It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epoch. Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on.⁸

This passage from *Capital* (1867), quoted also by Stalin in his famous booklet *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938),⁹ grasped the nettle for the application of the historical materialism in the archaeological theory and practice from the Soviet Union, which will be the model to follow not only by the Romanian archaeology, but by all the archaeologies of the Eastern Bloc.¹⁰

The majority of researchers considered that the archaeology of the Soviet Union was shrouded in a Marxist cloak only after the 1917 Revolution.¹¹ However, Leo Klejn and other ex-Soviet archaeologists¹² proposed alternative reading, in which the beginnings of the Marxist influence on Russian archaeology can be traced back at the end of 19th century, although the true incorporation of Marxism began only in the second half of the 1920s. Moreover, according to the same authors, the Marxist cloak covered the Russian archaeological theory and practice gradually and not immediately and spontaneously,¹³ as

⁸ Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chap. VIII, Sect. 1, *The Labour Process and the Process of Producing Surplus Value*, in Marx, Engels 1996 (Vol. 35), 189–190.

⁹ Stalin 1975, 34.

¹⁰ Anghelinu 2003, 175–200; Anghelinu 2007; Barford 2002; Bartosiewicz 2017; Bursche, Taylor 1991; Klejn 1977, 21–22; Kobyliński 1991; Kreković, Bača 2013; Lech 1997–1998; Lozny 2011; Lozny 2017; Milisauskas 1986; Milisauskas 1997–1998; Neustupný 2017.

¹¹ Gilman 2015, 670; McGuire 1993, 103; McGuire 2002, 56–57; McGuire 2008, 78; Mongait 1961, 49–54; Trigger 2006, 326–327.

¹² Bulkin, Klejn, Lebedev 1982, 273–274; Klejn 2017, 62.

¹³ Danckers 2017 presented an alternative reading regarding the introduction of Marxism in the Italian

we could expect in the case of a totalitarian regime. In the very first years after the October Revolution, the majority of the Soviet archaeologists continued to use “Bourgeoisie” methods and principles, and the methodology inherited from the *ancien régime*, but the situation changed radically after the end of the Russian Civil War and Lenin’s death. However, in the late 1920s, Soviet scholars understood and applied Marxism in a precarious and deficient way, in the form of economic determinism, emphasizing only the primacy of the modes of production over different spheres of culture.¹⁴ In this aspect, Leo Klejn considered that the main purpose of Soviet archaeologists was to illustrate with artefacts and archaeological data the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which became the official ideology of the Soviet state. Last but not least, it should be noted that in some cases Soviet archaeologists have somehow abandoned Marxist orthodoxy and applied terms and formulations proposed by Morgan-Engels scheme: “clan”, “tribe”, “pre-clan”, “patriarchy”, “matriarchy”, “savagery”, “barbarism”, “military democracy”, “commune” and “origins of the state”.¹⁵

The biggest changes in the Soviet archaeology occurred in the 1930s when Stalin consolidated his power. Soviet archaeologists were forced to model their research in accordance with his dogmatic view regarding the stages of development and social and cultural change.¹⁶ Archaeologists developed a theory of evolutionary stages which emphasize that different societies across the world transformed through revolutionary leaps, and the (re)construction of their social organization started from the economic level. Despite these theoretical “innovations” in the late 1930s, archaeology of the Soviet Union abandoned internationalism and embraced nationalism. Other new topics were embraced as well, including ethnogenesis studies, very popular in Europe at that time, in order to understand how ethnic groups formed and changed over time.¹⁷ While some researchers considered that this paradigm shift has occurred due to the German aggression from the West,¹⁸ other explanations can be found in the structural changes that took place within Soviet archaeology and especially Soviet ideology. The theory of *Socialism in one country* – formulated by Stalin and further supported by Bukharin – as well as Marr’s Japhetic theory may be reliable explanations for these changes in the Soviet archaeological theory and practice.¹⁹

Therefore, when Central and Eastern Europe came under the Soviet influence, in Russia theoretical reflections have ceased, scholars devoted themselves to empirical and descriptive studies or to topics specific to the national ideology. In Artsikhovskiy’s famous aphorism, Soviet archaeology became only “history armed with spade”,²⁰ in which written historical sources and archaeological data intersected to serve primarily political purposes. This type of archaeology that formed and developed under certain political and ideological

archaeological practice and theory.

¹⁴ Bulkin, Klejn, Lebedev 1982, 273–274; Klejn 2012, 17–18; Klejn 2017, 62; McGuire 2002, 57–58; McGuire 1993, 103; McGuire 2008, 78; Trigger 2006, 328.

¹⁵ Klejn 2012, 19–20; Klejn 2017, 71.

¹⁶ Bulkin, Klejn, Lebedev 1982, 275–277; Klejn 2012, 27–28; Klejn 2017, 62–70; McGuire 2002, 57–58; McGuire 2008, 78; Trigger 2006, 334.

¹⁷ Bulkin, Klejn, Lebedev 1982, 277; Shnirelman 1995.

¹⁸ Shnirelman 1995; McGuire 2008, 59.

¹⁹ Bulkin, Klejn, Lebedev 1982; Klejn 2012, 189–216; Klejn 2017; Shnirelman 1995.

²⁰ For a history of this concept see: Klejn 2012, 233–252, but also Klejn 2017; Lozny 2017.

contexts, was “exported” through domination in Central and Eastern Europe, where it settled over certain local, regional and historical predispositions.

Marxism in interwar Romania and the (re)constructions of the Dacian society

For the moment, a contextual approach of interwar Marxism is missing from the Romanian literature that encompasses the social history of the political parties, labour and student movements and their political culture.²¹ While still expecting such an approach, from an idealist perspective, it can be said that Romanian interwar Marxism was neither more nor less than a small group of individuals talking to each other through their theoretical works. For Adrian Cioroianu, the Marxism of the interwar period can be reduced to the dimensions of a sect, peripheral in the social system of the Romanian society.²² However, some short-lived moments of the left-wing groups cannot be omitted in the years following immediately the end of the World War I, characterized by strikes, street demonstrations or small groups coagulated within the Universities of Iași and Cluj.²³

In order to exist, Marxism relied on a self-conscious proletariat and an industry that would generate this revolutionary consciousness, however both of them were insufficiently developed in interwar period. In order to develop to their fullest potential, they needed cities for their fullest expression, but for one of the most influential cultural currents of the beginning of the 20th century – *sămănătorism* – the town was the symbol of the decadence of the Romanian society, the place that permanently erodes the moral foundations of people. Doctrinal divergences could be one of the explanations for the failure of Romanian interwar Marxism. Another cause is the repressive action of the state which censored the newspapers, forbidden public meetings, labelled left intellectuals as Soviet “agents” (in fact the majority of them were advocates of Red Vienna) and suppressed the movement through mass arrests.²⁴

American anthropologist Katherine Verdery stresses the fact that the entire Romanian interwar political discourse was dominated by anti-Russian feelings. Political parties looked for support to Paris, Berlin, London or even Rome, but never to Moscow. The geographical proximity of the Soviet Russia, the fear of the spread of the Bolshevik Revolution, and the support given by the Communist International (Comintern) to the national minorities in the period 1922–1928, fuelled these feelings of anxiety. The threats to the sovereignty over the new territories added to Romania in 1918 (Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania) culminated with the total banning of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR) in 1924.²⁵ As a result to the abovementioned, the left was almost absent from the political life of interwar Romania. Political, cultural, social, economic and ideological discourse was dictated by the centre and right-wing parties that embraced a nationalistic discourse, in its infinite forms. The Romanian state encouraged this type of discourse,²⁶ promoted by the Romanian intellectual elite.²⁷ In the same time, a similar situation was noticed in Lenin’s

²¹ An attempt of a contextual approach of the Romanian Marxists in Cistelean, State 2015.

²² Cioroianu 2007, 44–45.

²³ Livezeanu 2000, 248–256.

²⁴ Dohotaru 2019, 326.

²⁵ Verdery 1991, 44; Verdery 1995, 109.

²⁶ Livezeanu 2000.

²⁷ This type of nationalism is known as *cultural nationalism*: Alexandrescu 2002.

and Stalin's Russia where "the modern mythmakers were no longer the priests and scribes of the old demotic *ethnie*; their place was taken by poets and philologists, lexicographers and grammarians, historians and novelists, academics and journalists and lawyers".²⁸

As Marius Lazăr²⁹ noted, the modern evolution of Romania and the social construction that this process implied, starting from the 19th century until the Soviet occupation and the installation of a new political regime, overlaps the history of the rise and the competition of the intellectual elites. The same author considered that the nationalistic discourse was the simplest and most practical way for the elites to preserve their old political privileges or to acquire new forms of capital.³⁰ At a first glance, this method is quite simple to explain. As an ideology, nationalism in its different expressions is a political practice of unity, uniformity and equality. To put in other words, nationalism founds the society by imposing its own models of solidarity and mobilization, which ensures an apparent coherence, pushing forward the people/nation as an *instance de légitimation*.³¹ Basically, all the measures are taken on behalf of people and for people, but on a closer look, the people rarely appear as political actors. They only appear as symbolic representations within the elites disputes: in public speech, in language, in political imaginary.

As a partial conclusion, it can be said that Romanian interwar nationalism resembles the concept of "cultural hegemony" introduced by the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci.³² However, Romanian interwar nationalism means more than that. It responded to the needs of Romanian society and has become a part of everyday life. Perhaps it is not surprising that during the interwar period broader debates take place regarding the "national specific" and the paths that Romania had to follow.³³ As Dan Dana pointed out, Romanian society had to clarify some identity and belonging dilemmas: "The Romanians are Latins, but *Orthodox*; they are Europeans, but they participate also to an *Eastern* tradition; they are a people of peaceful *peasants*, who kept their souls clean, as opposed to the inhabitants of cosmopolitan, atheist and too chaotic cities".³⁴

²⁸ Smith 1992, 59.

²⁹ Lazăr 2002, 83; Lazăr 2008, 216.

³⁰ Bourdieu 1986, 242: "Depending on the field in which it functions, and the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the preconditions for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility"; For the contextualization of *political capital*, see Bourdieu 1991.

³¹ Adam 2018, for a perspective on how the "people/nation" was invoked in the discourse of Romanian elites in the last two centuries.

³² Gramsci 1971, 12: "The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production".

³³ Verdery 1991, 46–54; Hitchins 1995; Papahagi 1995; Verdery 1995; Trencsényi 2010, 356–359.

³⁴ Dana 2008, 303: "românii sunt latini, dar *ortodocși*; sunt europeni, dar participă și la o tradiție *răsăriteană*; sunt un popor de țărani pașnici, care și-au păstrat sufletul curat, în opoziție cu locuitorii orașelor cosmopolite, atee și prea haotice".

Therefore, the total recovery of the Dacian past takes place in this ideological context of internal symbolic struggles for defining the “national specific”. From a historical point of view, this major change in Romanian identity discourse was triggered by the political context after the First World War, respectively the creation of Greater Romania at the end of the 1918.³⁵ The Kingdom of Romania had doubled its territory by including Transylvania, Banat, Bessarabia and Bukovina, provinces that were previously placed under the administration of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary or Czarist Russia, but this multi-ethnic and pluri-religious political entity also needed historical legitimacy. The creation of a new political entity “required that the loyalties of the citizenry also be newly created”.³⁶ Thus, unlike Romania’s neighbours from the Balkans, who have their “birth certificate” in the medieval period – the First Bulgarian Empire, Hungarian Medieval Kingdom of Saint Stephen or Kievan Rus’ – Romanian society was forced to invent a tradition.³⁷ In this context, the end of the Late Iron Age period was chosen, because according to the popular consciousness, this episode was the only time a political entity incorporated more or less “the same territories” as the new state formed in the late 1918.³⁸ As a difference, in the 19th century, in the climate of romanticism and the awakening of the nations, the revolutionary spirit and the challenge of imperialism, the Dacians were rediscovered and claimed only occasionally as ancestors. In the works of Mihail Kogălniceanu, Alecu Russo, Cezar Bolliac or Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, this “rebellion” is triggered towards the dominant ideology, namely, the pure Latin origins of the Romanians. In other cases, in the poems of Mihai Eminescu, the Dacians appeared in an ahistorical space, tragic and heroic in the same time.³⁹ Without being main topics, in these works the protohistoric past is opposed to the contemporary realities. In the same time, the Dacian past looks like a mythical era, dominated by unity, power and moral purity.⁴⁰

Many of these ideas were taken for granted, or sometimes were modified and developed in the interwar period, but now the Dacian past was overlapped by a “scientific image”. This image, which although relies on an appropriate and critical methodology, cannot be separated from the ideology of nationalism, moreover in some cases, it even embraces it. The main responsible for this portrayal projected on the Late Iron Age period was Vasile Pârvan, the “father of the Romanian archaeology”. In his works, especially *Getica* (1926),⁴¹ the main characters Getae/Dacians were (re)constructed with the help of

³⁵ For a historical point of view, the major changes in the archaeological practice from Europe occurred after key political changes in certain regions – First World War, the collapse of Austro-Hungarian, German and Ottoman Empires, Second World War, introduction and the collapse of the “Communist” regimes, EU integration. Novaković 2011 offers an interesting discussion regarding the archaeological practice in Southeastern Europe based on these key-events.

³⁶ Kaiser 1995, 107.

³⁷ Hobsbawm 1983, 1: “Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (...) they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past”.

³⁸ Henț 2018, 89; Henț 2019.

³⁹ See Florea 2019, 2–3.

⁴⁰ Babu-Buznea 1979; even if this work appeared in the period of the climax of the nationalism promoted by Ceaușescu’s regime, it still offers some interesting perspective to analyse.

⁴¹ Pârvan 1926.

the ancient written sources, corroborated to some extent by iconographical representations and very little by archaeological data. In fact, during the interwar period, the entire *public image of the Dacians* was cut out from ancient sources, both written and iconographical, while the archaeological researches were rather limited⁴² and had no immediate impact onto historiography.⁴³ When it was invoked, archaeology only contributed to the creation of the collective portrayals of the “ancestors” in the cultural-historical framework. It should also be noted that in this period the concepts and methodology of German archaeology – the homeland of culture-historical archaeology – were massively assimilated into the papers of Romanian archaeologists, based on the great influence played by German culture on Romanian society.⁴⁴

Returning to the works of Vasile Pârvan, not a few times, the history of the Late Iron Age Dacia overlaps perfectly the history of interwar Romania, the image of the Late Iron Age population being strikingly similar to the Romanian peasant life.⁴⁵ The (re)constructions proposed by Pârvan can only be “read” with the help of the dominant cultural currents and ideologies of his period. If *sămănătorism* was mentioned in the pages of this paper, another influent ideology was agrarianism. Promoted by one of the major political parties, the National Peasant Party through the voice of the economist Virgil Madgearu, agrarianism came in contradiction with both capitalism and socialism. Despite these portrayals, in Pârvan’s conception the Dacians represented a homogeneous group with well-defined social structures, in fact the only population from the northern Balkan area that managed to create a political entity i.e. *Kingdom*. This point of view was however in contradiction with the opinions expressed during the same period by Bulgarian researchers regarding the *Odryian kingdom*.⁴⁶ This idealistic portrayal promoted by Pârvan upon the Dacian past will loom large in the Romanian historiography as well as in the public consciousness.⁴⁷

However, the merit of Pârvan cannot be overpassed regarding the beginnings of the Late Iron Age archaeology in Romania,⁴⁸ the whole methodological paradigm that results from his works, as well as the start, under his close guidance, of the archaeological research program in the area of the Orăștie Mountains.⁴⁹

In the same time with Pârvan’s works or immediately after, the Dacian past and especially the religiosity of the Iron Age populations have captured the thoughts of the entire elites of the interwar period. The Iron Age Dacians were presented in political discourses, in newspapers, in literary or philosophical works. Famous names of the Romanian culture like Lucian Blaga, Mircea Eliade, Petre P. Panaitescu or Mircea Vulcănescu entered in

⁴² Here, we could mention the archaeological researches carried out by Radu and Ecaterina Vulpe at Tinosu (Prahova County) and Poiana (Galați County), by Ioan Andrieșescu at Piscu Crăsani (Ialomița County) and by Dimitrie M. Teodorescu in the area of Orăștie Mountains (Hunedoara County).

⁴³ Iorga 1936, 29–40, 99–129; Giurescu 1946, 89–115. A notable exception was Ion Nestor’s paper – Nestor 1933.

⁴⁴ Nestor 1933; Anghelinu 2003, 113–153; Anghelinu 2007, 5; Boia 2012.

⁴⁵ Boia 1997, 58–59, 99–101; Boia 2018, 10–11; Dana 2008, 306–311; Dragoman, Oanță-Marghitu 2006, 61; Dragoman, Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 19–20; Gheorghiu, Schuster 2002, 291–293; Florea 2019, 5; Popa 2003, 166; Popa 2015, 340.

⁴⁶ Marinov 2015, 29.

⁴⁷ Dana 2008, 306–311; Grancea 2007, 96; Grancea 2009, 198.

⁴⁸ Nestor 1988 [1933].

⁴⁹ Florea 2019, 5.

this game.⁵⁰ The rise of the extreme right parties on the Romanian political scene meant a predilection for the history of the Iron Age Dacians and the whole mythology that developed around them, supported by a radical atmosphere that dominated the entire continent.⁵¹ The Dacians stand in the front line of the Iron Guard pantheon, together with Orthodoxy and the voivodes of the Medieval Romanian political entities.⁵²

Moreover, when through international political affairs, Romania lost some of its territory (in 1940, Bessarabia was annexed by the Soviet Union and Northern Transylvania entered under the administration of Hungarian Fascist regime of Miklós Horthy and therefore the University of Cluj was moved forcibly to Sibiu) the Dacians were invoked as an *instance de légitimation* over these territories.⁵³ One of the best examples in this aspect is reflected by Constantin Daicoviciu's paper *Spațiu și popor dacic*⁵⁴ (*Space and Dacian people*). This idea resembles a concept promoted by the German geographer and ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel and completely distorted by the Nazi ideology.⁵⁵ However, the situation from Romania is very similar to what happened in France, in the time of the Vichy regime, where the Gauls of Vercingetorix were symbolically called out to fight against the Nazi occupation.⁵⁶

Briefly outlined, these are the main predispositions over which a new political regime has settled with the help of the Red Army. From a theoretical point of view this new regime forbade any kind of discrimination, but in practice it established its own norms of segregation.

The periodization of Romanian “Communism”

According to a widespread present-day conception, the period from 1948 until 1989 is considered the darkest page in the recent history of Romania. In the same lines, the political regime that governed Romania's political destinies is labelled as “communist” or “socialist”. However, the more recent revisionist literature argues convincingly that this regime was in fact, an authoritarian political form that had little in common with classical Marxism or with social democracy.⁵⁷ Moreover, the same reformulations show that the regime from Bucharest, as well as other political regimes from the Eastern Bloc, used in theory a Marxist vocabulary, but in practice the situation was completely different. In a first phase, in Romania the political agenda was dictated by the interpretation given to Marx's and Engels' legacy by the Stalinist ideology. This was characterised by a set of ideas, concepts and theories that were very distant of the classical Marxism, the critical one. In the second phase, a great part of the intelligentsia tried to review Marxism,

⁵⁰ Țurcanu 2006; Dana 2008, 303–328.

⁵¹ Florea 2019, 6.

⁵² Căușu 1995; See also Schmitt 2017.

⁵³ See also the remark in Tismăneanu 1998, 11: “the myth of the Dacian past has been used by Romanian nationalists to deny Hungarian claims on the cultural heritage of Transylvania; the issue gets lost in the mists of the pre-Christian history, and the debate loses any rational content”.

⁵⁴ Daicoviciu 1941.

⁵⁵ Arnold 1990.

⁵⁶ Olivier 1998.

⁵⁷ Ban 2014, 41.

introducing Herder's concept of nationalism in the middle of the class analysis.⁵⁸ To put it in other words, national frustrations were translated in terms of dialectical and historical materialism.

Taking into account these short remarks, the history of Romanian totalitarian regime has been divided traditionally into two or three periods,⁵⁹ each with its own specific characteristics. The first period (1948–1960) is labelled as “Stalinist era” or the “period of terror”⁶⁰, and overlaps roughly with Soviet military occupation and the first Stalinist-inspired governments. It was the period when the new regime settled over the existing predispositions, the moment of the transformation of the social structures and of the individual consciousness which culminated with a massive programme of deportations, persecutions, concentration camps and educational experiments.

The second period (1960–1975) corresponds somehow with the restoration of the national ideology which marked paradoxically an ephemeral episode of relative economic prosperity and ideological relaxations.⁶¹ The starting point is represented by the “Declaration of Independence” claimed by Romanian Workers’ Party (PMR) in April 1964 over the politics of Soviet Union. The detachment from the Eastern “bigger brother” and the exit from the ideological cave that characterised the beginning of the regime by refreshing the nationalistic idea were also embraced from 1965 onwards by Nicolae Ceaușescu. Derived from this period a (re)turn of the political regime around the national ideology can be identified in the latter part of the seventies and more precisely in the 1980s (1975–1989).

In contrast, the most recent works that discuss the practice of archaeology in the former Eastern Bloc operate after other chronological refinements. Thus, Ludomir R. Lozny divides the archaeology of the Eastern Bloc in four periods: “*The Stalinist Era*” (1945–1953), “*The Thaw*” (1954/1955–1968), “*Socialism with a Human Face*” (1970–1985), and “*Perestroika*” (from 1985 until the collapse of the “communist” regimes and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991).⁶² If the first two periods proposed by the Polish researcher correspond to some extent with the first two periods of the Romanian “Communism”, regarding the other two periods, the things were quite different in Romania. For countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland or even Hungary, *perestroika* was the signal that the internal tensions and transformations were not just tolerated, but also encouraged. In contrast, especially in the 1980s, Romania placed itself in the opposite direction, rejecting the reforms initiated by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, because the anti-Russian sentiments were characterising the political regime from Bucharest.

The analysis of the Romanian historiography from the period 1848–1989, proposed here, folds perfectly over this tri-partite division of the “communist” period. As I will show, these wider debates cannot be “read” without including them in the suitable contexts (ideological, social, political, and cultural).

⁵⁸ Verdery 1991, 158–166.

⁵⁹ Angheliniu 2003, 176; Angheliniu 2007, 7; Deletant 2010; Henț 2018, 89–90; Henț 2019; Martin 2002.

⁶⁰ Tănase 1998, 57–58.

⁶¹ Martin 2002, 6.

⁶² Lozny 2017, 19–23.

The Stalinist period (1948–1960)

Jerzy Gąssowski remarked very well that the official nomenclature installed in the aftermath of the World War II in the countries from Central and Eastern Europe (German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania), never used the title “communism” to characterize the new political order. Instead, other terms like “people’s democracy”, “people’s republic” or “socialism” were preferred.⁶³ This is also true for Romania which was proclaimed in 1948 as Romanian People’s Republic (RPR). In theory, this fact shows that the new political regimes sought legitimacy in the great masses of the population, according to the classical Marxist misquoted dogma after which the masses make history. In Romania, a profoundly agrarian state, the political regime (understood here as representing the proletariat) made an alliance with the working peasantry, in fact the class that was hated by Lenin for its lack of revolutionary spirit and political finality. Besides its ideological justification, this agreement had also a massive impact in the attempt to (re)write Romanian history.

In practice, at least in the case of Romania, the new regime has settled, as I have discussed earlier, on an almost barren land in terms of the left ideas. In order to fill its gaps and to realize its ideals, it has undergone a series of transformations. In a classical work, Hannah Arendt has shown that the subordination and control of the intellectual field and of the individual consciousness has always represented an essential condition of fulfilling the broader program of remodelling the human condition within the totalitarian political systems.⁶⁴ After 1948, in Romania this transformation was achieved through two mechanisms: the reorganization (reformation) of the university, academic and research institutions, respectively the extreme ideologization of the historical discourse, simultaneously with the process of the purification of the “bourgeoisie” professors.⁶⁵ Moreover, the contemporary practice shows us that a political regime, and especially a totalitarian one, legitimized itself by criticizing the old state of affairs. In the case of the Romanian Late Iron Age archaeology these critics were made by the same Constantin Daicoviciu. In a paper from 1954 entitled *Poziția antiștiințifică a istoriografiei burgheze cu privire la daci* (*The anti-scientific position of bourgeoisie historiography regarding the Dacians*), Daicoviciu first admitted his own mistakes and moreover he brought a severe criticism to previous Romanian archaeologists and historians. In this aspect, very suggestive is the following paragraph: “Lacking a just orientation, a truly scientific base in the appreciation of the social phenomenon, ignoring – with free will – the materialist conception of history and the laws of the development of the society, our bourgeois historians clung to the pulp of the different currents and « styles » of history from the West, imitating and applying them, according to the special interests of the national bourgeoisie, to the history of the Romanian people”⁶⁶ (my trans.).

⁶³ Gąssowski 2017, 1.

⁶⁴ Arendt 1973, 437–438.

⁶⁵ Catalan 2009; Matei-Popescu 2007, 266–268; Mihalache 1999; Pleșa 2006; Velimirovici 2015, 30–48.

⁶⁶ Daicoviciu 1954, 160: “Lipsiți de o orientare justă, de o bază cu adevărat științifică în aprecierea fenomenului social, ignorând – cu voință – concepția materialistă a istoriei și legile de dezvoltare a societății, istoricii noștri burghezi s-au agățat de pulpana diferitelor curente și « stiluri » de istorie din Apus, imitându-le și aplicându-le, după interesele speciale ale burgheziei naționale, la istoria poporului român”.

Despite these major changes in Romanian social and cultural life, a number of scholars⁶⁷ have argued convincingly that the new regime officially installed in 1948, continued the process of modernization, started in the “bourgeoisie” period, through its classical means: industrialisation and urbanization, compulsory education, secularization, financing of arts, science and technology. Archaeology fully enjoyed from the generosity of the new regime, which founded new archaeological journals, new museums and massively financed archaeological research.⁶⁸ Although the archaeology of Early Slavs and Iron Age Scythians emerged and was privileged, the Dacians were not quite forgotten either. The data seems to contradict Lucian Boia’s statement, who considered that the first phase of the Romanian “Communism” meant a period of decline for both the Dacians and the Romans, because the founding myths of this regime were completely different, namely revolutions and rebellions.⁶⁹ In the case of the Late Iron Age archaeology, the emergence of the new regime corresponds with the beginnings of the researches conducted in the Orăştie Mountains. From this moment on, the civilization from the Late Iron Age period from the Northern Balkan area will no longer be regarded as a “wooden culture”,⁷⁰ but as an original and grandiose civilization. This area of the Orăştie Mountains that started to be (re)discovered also through archaeology, will be the *point de départ* in the (re)constructions of the social landscape from the Late Iron Age period. Moreover, the archaeological data (both artefacts and archaeological structures) discovered in different parts of Romania and dated in the same time period were compared to the discoveries from the Orăştie Mountains. The proposed (re)constructions were modelled according to the pattern of dogmatic Marxism and therefore archaeological discourse was flooded with key words such as “mode of production”, “social organization”, “class struggle”, “military democracy”, “state”, “forces of production”, “relation of production”, “base” and “superstructure”,⁷¹ taken out of context and completely misunderstood.

Moreover, the modelling of the archaeological discourse after the standards of Marxist-inspired ideology was done gradually and not immediately because it needed a true Marxist-base power.⁷² In this aspect, Florin Constantiniu⁷³ mentioned that historians and archaeologists did not write almost anything during the first two years after the installation of the new regime, for the simple fact that they did not know how to acquire the new theoretical tradition. The same situation is reflected by the new established archaeological journal SCIV, latter labelled SCIVA – *Studies and Researches of Ancient History (and Archaeology)*. In its first two numbers from 1950, besides paying homage to Stalin on the occasion of his 70th birthday and some reviews and book presentations of Soviet scholars, the rest of the studies continued the old methods of research –

⁶⁷ Angheliniu 2003, 175; Angheliniu 2007, 6; Ban 2014, 53–55; Tamás 2009, 20; However, the same authors considered that this forced, hasty, and wilful process of modernization contributed massively to the collapse of whole system in December 1989.

⁶⁸ See the explanatory panel from 1953 regarding the rise of the archaeological researches in the regime of “people’s democracy” reproduced in Dragoman 2013, 91, Fig. 4.

⁶⁹ Boia 1997, 107–108.

⁷⁰ Pârvan 1926, 138–141.

⁷¹ Dragoman, Oanță-Marghitu 2006, 62; Dragoman, Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 21.

⁷² Zub 2003.

⁷³ Constantiniu 2007.

positivism, chronology, typology and seriation, archaeological reports – thus seemingly ideology-free.⁷⁴ However, starting with the work of Mihail Roller,⁷⁵ the main propagandist of the new regime in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the new theory was introduced in the Romanian historiography.⁷⁶ His political ideas quickly became historiographical theses: “class struggle” became the engine of social and historical evolution and, more importantly, the history of Romanians unfolded as a succession of five stages (primeval commune, slave-owning, feudalism, capitalism and the new order installed after the 23th of August 1944). Iron Age Dacians were placed in the second stage (slave-owning), but this portrayal does not result from internal dynamics. Greeks and Romans were responsible with this contamination. This idea illustrates the difficulties of doctrinaire accommodation to the particularities of the Northern Balkan space. However, Roller’s historical discourse prefers illustration and not demonstration, a task that archaeologists and historians will later assume.

In order to understand how the new theory was used, I will discuss the three main themes that dominated the archaeological discourses regarding Late Iron Age period from 1948–1960, although the same topics, slightly modified, were used until 1989 or even after the fall of the “Communist” regime: forms of property, modes of production, and origins of the state. All these three themes are intertwined, property relations determine the predominant mode of production, which in turn allows the characterization of the state, the last stage of social organization.

Therefore, in the 1950s and beginnings of the 1960s, the (re)constructions of the social landscape started from the socio-economic base, and the first topics on the research agenda of the new historiography were forms of property.⁷⁷ The main purpose was to establish the public or the private character of the property during the Late Iron Age period. In my opinion, this large debate from Romanian archaeology was animated by a series of problems: in the first place, the works of Marx and Engels and the results of the Romanian interwar sociology.

Starting with the 1850s, Marx and Engels observed that in different communities across the globe (Asiatic, Germanic, Slavic, Peruvian, and even Romanian) property has a common character, thus egalitarian. Moreover, the ethnographical literature of Morgan reached the same conclusions regarding the primeval societies. These ideas inspired them in contemplating about the nature of the “communist” society which they projected as a logical resolution of the class contradictions that existed in a capitalist society.

In the interwar period, the sociological investigations carried out by Dimitrie Gusti and his fellow students, especially Henri H. Stahl, documented the existence of a common

⁷⁴ The same situation in Hungarian archaeological journal *Archaeologiai Értésítő* – Bartosiewicz 2017, 215.

⁷⁵ Roller 1947; for the works of Mihail Roller, see Pleșa 2006.

⁷⁶ In Romania, Mihail Roller played the role that Andrei Zhdanov played in the Soviet Union, that of an intermediary between the Party and the intellectual field.

⁷⁷ In classical Marxism and also in Marxist-inspired ideologies, the theory of property has a profound teleological character. Therefore, the historical progress is necessarily oriented towards a state of affairs that has been reached before in the history of humankind, namely the primeval society without classes and no private property over the means of production. Deriving from this theory, a hierarchy of property has been developed in Marxist-inspired ideologies which included: state property – first and most important; collective property and private property.

form of land ownership (Romanian *obște* very similar to Russian *obshchina*)⁷⁸ in different mountain villages from the outer region of the Carpathian Mountains.⁷⁹ The concept of *obște* (understood as a synonymous for village community) will play a significant role in the historiographical debates that developed within Late Iron Age archaeology.⁸⁰ But as Stahl correctly pointed out, the concept was not used as a social form of organization as defined by the Romanian sociology, but as a historical stage between the primeval societies and class societies.⁸¹

I partially agree with Dan Dana, who considered that the concept of *obște* is just a projection into the distant past of an idyllic image of the Romanian village or the Romanian peasant life, an ahistorical form of organization through which peasants ensured their survival.⁸² However, the discussion cannot be reduced to that, and in my opinion it corresponds to the massive structural changes that were taking place in the Romanian society after the Second World War. Therefore, I argue that the entire historiographical debate from Late Iron Age archaeology on this concept overlaps perfectly with the massive process of collectivization that took place between 1949 and 1962. In contrast with Soviet Russia, this process was carried out in a country dominated by small property and not by common property of the village communities.⁸³ Even if archaeologist or historians were not directly involved, they contributed, at least symbolically, in the newly created-present. Projecting into the Dacian past a form of common property did nothing more than to legitimize the process of collectivization and to show that this state of affairs was reached before in Romanian history.

Since archaeology was not capable to sustain with reliable data this fact, some scholars turned their attention to ancient written sources. In fact, just like in the interwar period, the main sources in reconstructing the social landscape of the Late Iron Age period were the written ones. Of course, the archaeological data were not so numerous, but the authors that wrote during the Stalinist period were professors and researchers trained in the spirit of classical archaeology (at the Institute of Classical Studies in Cluj). It may be said that in this period Late Iron Age archaeology was only an appendix of classical archaeology. Thus, Mihail Macrea⁸⁴ and András Bodor⁸⁵ selected fragments from Horace and Flavius

⁷⁸ Just like in the case of Russian *obshchina*, the history of the concept of Romanian *obște* is unknown, the first mentions appeared somewhere in the 17th century. In Romanian sociology *obște* is considered an archaic form of community organization in which land belonged to the village, and the arable land was allotted to the member or household of the community by more or less permanent arrangements.

⁷⁹ See especially Stahl 1938; Stahl 1980a, 35–62.

⁸⁰ This situation is very similar to Soviet anthropology, ethnography and sociology, where *obshchina* emerged gradually as an essential tool in explaining the historical process – Skalnik 1981; It is interesting to note that after 1948 in the Romanian translations of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, original German concepts such as *Gemeineigentum* and *Dorfgenossenschaft* (common property and village community in English) were equated with *proprietatea obștească* (property of *obște*) and *obște sătească* (village of *obște*). In contrast, in one of the earliest translation of Engels from 1920, the same concepts were translated through *proprietate comună* (common property) and *comunitate sătească* (village community).

⁸¹ Stahl 1992, 133–134.

⁸² Dana 2000, 52.

⁸³ Kligman, Verdery 2011, 49–87.

⁸⁴ Macrea 1954.

⁸⁵ Bodor 1956; Bodor 1957.

Josephus or used a Roman inscription dated in late 2nd century AD from Dobruja (Moesia Inferior and not Dacia – CIL III 14447), in order to sustain the common character of the property in the Late Iron Age period.⁸⁶ In other cases, *obște* appears as an ancestral form of organization whose existence no longer needs to be proven. In 1960, C. Daicoviciu concluded that the majority of the Iron Age Dacians lived in village communities where lands, pastures, and waters were considered common property, while only a minority had private property over herds, slaves and smaller or bigger plots. Therefore, these differences in terms of property led to class differences, which over time become more and more visible.⁸⁷ On a closer look, the entire argumentation of Constantin Daicoviciu is strikingly similar to Marx's drafts to the Russian revolutionary Vera Zasulich, in which he explained how village communities have changed over time in his native land, the district of Trier.⁸⁸

With only one exception, Macrea who does not go beyond Engels' "Bible" – Dacians lived in "military democracy"⁸⁹ – the rest of the scholars from the 1950s and beginnings of 1960s, accepted the existence of a Dacian "state". Modelled after Marx's and Engels' learning, this "state" appeared as a consequence of the splitting-up of the society in antagonistic social classes, as an instrument of social and economic domination of the elites/aristocracy. Moreover, the ancient written sources were also "read" through the lens of "class struggle": *tarabosteseis/pilophoroi/capillati* were the "exploiting minority" while *kometai/comati* were "exploited majority".⁹⁰

In fact, the question of the origins of the Dacian "state" received a special attention, a similar situation being documented successfully in other archaeologies of Eastern Bloc. In Poland or Czechoslovakia archaeologists searched for the Slavic origins of their modern states in the spirit of the "brotherly nations".⁹¹ In Romania, although covered in a Marxist cloak, the accent was moved on the Dacian past, continuing the interwar nationalistic trend, thus producing mythologized origins of Romanians. Archaeological data has been modelled to support the antagonistic nature of social relations in the past. Since in Marx's and Engels' writings the Roman state was the classical exponent of slavery, Iron Age Dacians, conquered directly by the Romans in AD 106, cannot be catalogued otherwise. In this aspect, Constantin Daicoviciu considered that the complex system of settlements, fortifications, civil or cult constructions from Orăștie Mountains cannot be realized without slave labour.⁹² In this aspect, "slavery" appears not as a historical necessity, but as a superior way in organizing the social labour.

The official version of the historiography will be integrated within the Romanian Academy Treaty of *History of Romania* (1960),⁹³ signed by a group led by the same

⁸⁶ See the critics in Daicoviciu 1955b; Daicoviciu 1960b, also Dana 2000.

⁸⁷ Daicoviciu 1960a, 271.

⁸⁸ Marx, *Drafts of the Letter to Vera Zasulich*, in Marx, Engels 1989 (vol. 24), 350 and 366.

⁸⁹ Macrea 1954.

⁹⁰ However, the inferiority of those mentioned in ancient written sources as *kometai/capillati* in relation to *tarabosteseis/pilophoroi/capillati* is not an invention of the Romanian "Communist" regime, but can be traced back to the end of the 19th century.

⁹¹ Lozny 2017, 20; Gąssowski 2017, 103–104;

⁹² Daicoviciu 1950; Daicoviciu 1955a; Daicoviciu 1960a.

⁹³ This massive work started to be compiled in 1956, after Stalin's death when foreign elements started to be gradually removed from the official nomenclature of Romania. Despite the introductory notes in which the authors considered that the supreme guidance is offered by Marxist conception of history and

Constantin Daicoviciu. Therefore, in this Treaty, the Dacian “state” is officially labelled as a “slave-owning state”. While slaves were the main exploited class, the majority of the production was provided by free peasant and artisans or in a relationship of dependence to the state elites.⁹⁴ As Stahl rightly points out, the argument presents internal contradictions, because the entire idea is more close to feudalism than to slavery.⁹⁵

An overview of the main historiographical productions shows that the main source of inspiration was Engels’ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884),⁹⁶ while Marx’s writings were only cited as a general framework or in order to illustrate his assumptions.⁹⁷ Most likely, a closer look at his works would not have led to vulgar interpretations in the form of economic determinism. Therefore, the implements would not have been merely material manifestations, but in fact concretizations of some mental elaborations, as Marx showed in his famous comparison between the work of a bee and the work of an architect.⁹⁸ Moreover, the character of a society cannot be reduced only to its mode of production. In Marxist formulations, each society is not only economic, but also social, and thus their research must start from both the base and the superstructure.⁹⁹ However, Florin Constantiniu noted that the first generation of scholars of the “Communist” regime understood Marxism from the perspective of paragraph no. 2, chapter IV from the *Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, where Stalin’s schematic view of historical materialism was presented.¹⁰⁰

avoided a mechanical application, the entire volume shows a poor Marxist training. This work oscillated between a proper historiographical method and a Marxism flooded by slogans and misunderstood key words, completed by Stalinist vulgate, economic determinism and Soviet-type economic planning – Anghelinu 2003, 184; Mihalache 1999, 63; Stahl 1992, 128–129.

⁹⁴ Daicoviciu 1960a, 281.

⁹⁵ Stahl 1992, 134.

⁹⁶ Same conclusions in Stahl 1992, 125; Constantiniu 2007, 243.

⁹⁷ The only theoretical works cited in the chapter dedicated to the Late Iron Age social structures from *Istoria României* (1960) were: Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) and Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (1917).

⁹⁸ Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chap. VII, Sect. 1, *The Labour Process and the Process of Producing Surplus Value*, in Marx, Engels 1996 (Vol. 35), 188: “... a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality”.

⁹⁹ Engels to Joseph Bloch in Königsberg, London 21[–22] September 1890, in Marx, Engels 2001 (Vol. 49), 34–35: “According to the materialist view of history, the determining factor in history is, *in the final analysis*, the production and reproduction of actual life. More than that was never maintained either by Marx or by myself. Now if someone distorts this by declaring the economic moment to be the *only* determining factor, he changes that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, ridiculous piece of jargon. The economic situation is the basis, but the various factors of the superstructure – political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, namely constitutions set up by the ruling class after a victorious battle, etc., form of law and, the reflections of all these real struggles in the minds of the participants, i.e. political, philosophical and legal theories, religious views and the expansion of the same into dogmatic systems – all these factors also have a bearing on the course of the historical struggle of which, in many cases, they largely determine the *form*. It is in the interaction of all these factors and amidst an unending multitude of fortuities (i.e. of things and events whose intrinsic interconnections are so remote or so incapable of proof that we can regard them as non-existent and ignore them) that the economic trend ultimately asserts itself as something inevitable. Otherwise the application of the theory to any particular period of history would, after all, be easier than solving a simple equation of the first degree”.

¹⁰⁰ Constantiniu 2007, 241; See also Kołakowski 1978, 93–105.

To sum up the archaeological debates of the 1950s and early 1960s, we could say that they continued the practices that had begun in the interwar period. Archaeologists have unearthed the “glorious” past, but now they covered it with Marxist slogans and key words in order to legitimate the new-established present and furthermore to keep or obtain new academic or university positions. As an extension of classical archaeology, the Late Iron Age archaeology was a “dubious” combination of ancient written sources and archaeological data. Just like in the case of Soviet archaeology, Romanian Late Iron Age archaeology was only a “history with spade”, which instead of looking for the causes that led to social and cultural changes, manipulated the data in order to support *a priori* the dominant ideological theses.

The ideological relaxation (1960–1975)

Stalin's death in 1953 and the condemnation of his tyrannical dictatorship in Khrushchev's report with the occasion of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956) was the signal that the regime that ruled Central and Eastern Europe was able to reform itself. “The Thaw” (1954/1955–1968), in the famous Ilya's Ehrenburg formulation, meant a departure from doctrinarism and dogmatism that characterized the previous period. From this moment economic reforms, international trade, educational and cultural contacts were possible, while “class enemies” were discharged from labour camps. Paradoxically, the period labelled as “The Thaw” corresponds with two events having strong symbolic implication, the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the Cuban Missile Crisis in the following year.

On one hand, Khrushchev's words had a domino effect, several Eastern European political leaders have been removed and several attempts of reformation have taken place, i.e. Hungarian Revolution of 1956 or Poznań uprising from the same year. On the other hand, Khrushchev's destalinization made possible the revival of chauvinistic passions and national ideology. One of the best examples in this aspect was the national celebration of the Millennium of the Polish State (1000 years from the Christianization of Poland) that took place over the years 1960–1966.¹⁰¹

The set of reforms initiated in the Soviet Union did not have an immediate effect in Romania. On the contrary, the “rebellions” from Eastern Europe, especially the Hungarian one, allowed the regime from Bucharest to show its allegiance to the Moscow politics.¹⁰² Although, the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1958 marked the beginning of a relative ideological relaxation, the majority of the scholars considered that the decisive moment in this aspect was the “Declaration of Independence” of the Romanian Workers' Party (PMR) from April 1964.¹⁰³ The political act, signed by Romanian officials, showed that at least from now on the light does not come from the East and chose a national path in the realization of “communism”. Moreover, the same policy of detachment from Moscow was embraced by the following political leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu. In 1965, Ceaușescu abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat – power belonged to all-people – changed the name of the country in Socialist Republic of Romania (RSR) and the Party was officially labelled as Romanian Communist Party (PCR).

¹⁰¹ See especially Davies 2005, 3–22.

¹⁰² Copilaș 2015, 140–141; Deletant 2010, 140–145.

¹⁰³ Boia 1997, 69–70; Martin 2002, 6; Deletant 2010, 153–168; Copilaș 2015, 141–148.

Ideological relaxation has led not only to an economic boom, in the form of developmentalism¹⁰⁴ – especially in the late 1960s and early 1970s – but it also brought a number of positive aspects to the cultural field too. Among the most important are: the inauguration of the dialogue with the Western countries, the rehabilitation of the bourgeoisie historiography, and the return of the national values. Regarding the last aspect, Mircea Martin made some important corrections. As an eyewitness, Martin pointed out that the relaunch of the discourse on the nation in the mid-1960s did not resemble at all the nationalist “explosion” that characterised the end of the political regime in Bucharest. In the 1960s, national ideology was seen as an exit from the ideological cave and the glaciation imposed by Moscow at the end of the Second World War.¹⁰⁵ The climax of this policy was Ceaușescu’s speech in August 1968, in which he condemned the aggression of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Pact, an act that brought him not only the sympathy of the Romanians but also of the Western nations.

In the same period, several Western countries such as United States, United Kingdom, West Germany, and especially France turned to the political ideas of the left, with major implications for the intellectual field, i.e. the famous month of May 1968. A number of scholars – Theodor W. Adorno, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas sau Herbert Marcuse – tried to save Marxist doctrine by returning to the works of Marx and Engels, unfiltered by Leninist and Stalinist ideology. In this context, the recovery of the young Marx took place as well as the concept of “Asiatic mode of production” (AMP) which was very popular in the period 1960–1980.

In archaeology, and respectively anthropology, a considerable body of material relating in one way or another to this question, was applied to the study of various pre-capitalist social communities, which had slipped through the net of the five-stage schema. In France, the discussion was animated by scholars like Maurice Godelier, Charles Parain, and Jean Chesneaux, as well as Hungarian Sinologist Ferenc Tökei in the prestigious Marxist journal *La Pensée*, no. 114 from 1964.¹⁰⁶ A special place in the discussion of AMP is held by former Marxist Karl A. Wittfogel. He used Marx’s analyses regarding the socio-economic structure of Russian and Oriental societies in his *Oriental Despotism*,¹⁰⁷ as a means to attack Marxism and to draw the attention to the establishment of despotic power in non-European societies. However, subsequent debates in the journal *La Pensée*,¹⁰⁸ as well as other papers¹⁰⁹ written during the same period, led to a global spread of the AMP concept.¹¹⁰

On various occasions, Marx spoke in favour of the existence of an Asiatic or Oriental mode of production – in this category were included others societies and communities, specific not only to India and China – different from both the Ancient mode of production or Feudalism, and situated somewhere in the transition from classless to class society.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Ban 2014, 44–55.

¹⁰⁵ Martin 2002, 7.

¹⁰⁶ For a summary of the 1964 debates, see Vitkin, Ter-Akopian 1965; a part of *La Pensée* online collection is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34348981h/date>.

¹⁰⁷ Wittfogel 1957.

¹⁰⁸ *La Pensée* nos. 117 (1964), 112 (1965), 127 (1966), 138 (1968), and 144 (1969).

¹⁰⁹ Hobsbawm 1965; Godelier 1969; Thorner 1969; Anderson 1974.

¹¹⁰ Dunn 2012, 77–120.

¹¹¹ For the sources used by Marx in developing the concept of the “Asiatic mode of production” – Krader 1975.

This concept, briefly mentioned by Marx, shows that he did not believe that there was necessarily a single pattern of evolution that can be applied to the whole humankind. While some scholars have accused Marx of Eurocentrism,¹¹² a common practice in nineteenth-century Europe, others authors considered that Marx was fascinated by the stability of Asiatic states and wanted to understand how they were overtaken by Europe, despite the fact that their history was much more rich and complex. To this information about Asia, Marx added the news about the Inca, an empire which functioned without the aid of literacy, being held together by a mixture of “ruthless military power and religion”.¹¹³

According to Marx, the very essence of the AMP lies not in the dialectical interplay between classes but in the social relations between primeval village-communities and the state with its social functions (religious, military etc). On one hand, AMP is characterized by the absence of private property, while production is provided by autonomous village-communities who had a collective form of land ownership and are organized on the basis of kinship. On the other hand, lays a form of centralized state which is in charge with major public works, especially irrigation. In order to finance public works, the state extracts the economic surplus produced by the local village-communities in the form of tributes and collective work. In general, these practices are made through coercion and control of armed forces. Moreover, once surplus-labour is extracted, the autonomous village-communities remain relatively independent within their “self-subsistence” economies, lacking an internal dynamic.¹¹⁴ After the first volume of *Capital* (1867) the AMP concept almost disappeared from further Marxist formulations. In *The Origins of Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), Engels did not mention it at all.¹¹⁵ Since AMP implied the existence of a possible state without classes, or at least a state without the effect of classes on the internal labour of the community, the whole concept was incompatible with Marxist theory as understood within Soviet Union. Thus, Lenin used it in order to stigmatize Czarist Russia as a “semi-Asiatic” country,¹¹⁶ while Stalin in his mechanical succession of modes of production from late 1930s, expunged the concept from the official Marxist orthodoxy.¹¹⁷ Since AMP “est une question que ni Marx ni Engels n’ont traitée indépendamment et pour elle-même, et nous ne trouverions pas un livre, pas un chapitre, ni même un article exclusivement consacré à ce sujet”,¹¹⁸ starting with the 1960s, scholars have applied it in many ways, as it has also happened with many other concepts, ideas and theories formulated by Marx. Under the AMP umbrella were included not only the classical Asiatic societies, India and China, but also Japan, Africa or Central and South America, both state and pre-states societies. However, in Godelier’s famous formulation, AMP was both a stage of development from which both slavery and feudalism can evolve.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Said 1979, 153–155; Sunar 2014, 61–65.

¹¹³ Bloch 1983, 39–40.

¹¹⁴ Godelier 1969, 49–50; Bloch 1983, 38–39.

¹¹⁵ Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private property and the State* (1894), in Marx, Engels 1990 (Vol. 26), 129–276.

¹¹⁶ Lenin, *Stolypin and the Revolution*, in Lenin 1963 (Vol. 17), 249.

¹¹⁷ Stalin 1975.

¹¹⁸ Thorner 1969, 338.

¹¹⁹ Godelier 1969, 61–66.

In contrast to the classic post-Communist view which regards the period 1948–1989 as a unitary bloc torn by international relations, the situation seems to be exactly the opposite. Romanian literature has been receptive to the changes that were taking place in the world within the historiographical field and has actively participated in these debates. In Romania, the first introductions of AMP have taken place just two years after the wide debate from *La Pensée*, through the works of Iosif Natansohn and Natalia Simion¹²⁰, but especially of Ion Banu,¹²¹ a historian of ancient philosophy. However, the broadest formulations took place in sociology, which initially was banned in the aftermath of the Second World War, but was reintroduced as an academic science in 1965 after several failed attempts. Miron Constantinescu¹²² and Henri H. Stahl¹²³ are the most important authors who have often spoken about the existence of a “Tributal” or “Asiatic” mode of production, applied mainly in the period between the Roman withdrawal from Dacia and the first political entities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The two true Marxist intellectuals with diametrically opposed lives, destinies and careers¹²⁴ have profoundly marked not only Romanian sociology, but also archaeology. Constantinescu enjoyed a greater recognition among Romanian archaeology. In 1969, he also wrote together with Constantin Daicoviciu and Ștefan Pascu a *History of Romania*,¹²⁵ in which the concept of the “Asiatic” mode of production was used for the first time outside the sociological and economical field.

Romanian archaeology, and especially the Late Iron Age one, enjoyed a fruitful marriage with sociology and the theoretical and methodological reformulations that took place within this field. The first attempts of theoretical refinements were made by Hadrian Daicoviciu in the late 1960s. Even if in 1965, he accepted the conclusions drawn by his father (“slave-owning mode of production”, “slave-owning state”),¹²⁶ in 1968 he gave up on these ideas and considered that the Dacian “state” must be delimited both by classical slave-owning states and by states of the Ancient Near East.¹²⁷ For the first time in Late Iron Age archaeology, H. Daicoviciu criticized Engels’ stages of social formation (from “military democracy” to state), and concluded that for the Dacian past, the idea of a period of turmoil, progress and downfall must be accepted, at least on a theoretical level.¹²⁸ Basically, H. Daicoviciu broke off with previous static portraits regarding the Late Iron Age social structures, recognizing at least at a theoretical level an internal dynamic of societies, as Marx and Engels have mentioned on several occasions.¹²⁹

¹²⁰ Natansohn, Simion 1966.

¹²¹ Banu 1966a, Banu 1966b.

¹²² Constantinescu 1972; Constantinescu 1973; Constantinescu 1974.

¹²³ Stahl 1980b.

¹²⁴ For Constantinescu’s life and work: Bosomitu 2015; Poenaru 2015; For Stahl’s historical sociology: Guga 2015a; Guga 2015b.

¹²⁵ Constantinescu, Daicoviciu, Pascu 1969.

¹²⁶ Daicoviciu 1965, 105–107.

¹²⁷ Daicoviciu 1968, 56.

¹²⁸ Daicoviciu 1968, 56.

¹²⁹ For example, Engels’ review on *Karl Marx, “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy”*, in Marx, Engels 1969, (Vol. I), 513: “History often proceeds by leaps and zigzags and it would thus have to be followed up everywhere, whereby not only would much material of minor importance have to be incorporated, but there would be much interruption of the chain of thought”.

The same conclusions were repeated in H. Daicoviciu's later work, but on these occasions, the concept of "Asiatic" or "Tributary" mode of production was used for the first time in the archaeological literature.¹³⁰ However, H. Daicoviciu avoided to label the Dacian "state" in this way, leaving this task to further research.

Ion Horațiu Crișan did not do the same thing and categorized the Dacian "state" as an "Asiatic" or "Oriental" state, with an "Asiatic" or "Tributary" mode of production.¹³¹ In one of the most ideologizing works of the entire "Communist" period,¹³² ancient written sources – a paragraph from Crito (T. Statilius Crito) of Heraclea, chief physician of the Roman Emperor Trajan – were invoked in order to support this theory. If in the previous period, the Stalinist one, the same fragment was mentioned to support the existence of antagonistic class interests,¹³³ now it was modelled to designate the category of tax-collectors necessary for the functioning of "Asiatic" or "Tributary" mode of production. Also, as a difference to the previous period, the complex system from the Orăștie Mountains was no longer made by slaves, but through collective work. Therefore, for I. H. Crișan, the social structure was no longer limited to antagonistic classes, and moreover on this occasion he brought one of the most vehement critics to C. Daicoviciu's theories from 1950s and 1960s. The opening of the dialogue with the Western countries, including some external visits, has made some innovations possible. In the same work, Crișan tried to make a comparison between the Celtic society as painted by Caesar on one hand and the Dacian one on the other, equating *kometai/capillati* with Celtic *equites*,¹³⁴ a theory that brought him criticism in the following years.¹³⁵ Even if Crișan does not mention which was his main source of inspiration, the entire argumentation resembles Dumézil and Eliade's logic,¹³⁶ of the trifunctional hypothesis of social class in ancient societies.¹³⁷

Apart from Mircea Babeș who correctly expressed his doubts regarding the existence of a Dacian "state" during the 1st century BC and 1st century AD,¹³⁸ the rest of the scholars who wrote in the period of ideological relaxations often emphasized this. In different papers, the "profound unity of the Dacian civilization", as well as the central character of the Dacian "state", was highlighted.¹³⁹ Emanuel Copilaș remarked very well that starting with this period, pre-Roman Dacia looked more and more with Ceaușescu's Romania.¹⁴⁰ At least in some works, the destiny of the two political entities seems to merge. Thus, for H. Daicoviciu, pre-Roman Dacia represented the main threat for the "Roman imperialism"

¹³⁰ Daicoviciu 1972, 82–83; Daicoviciu 1976, 244–246.

¹³¹ Crișan 1977, 209–217; See the critics in Stahl 1992, 170–171 and 187–191.

¹³² In order to give just one example, I resume to the following paragraph: "Am arătat că toate documentele de care dispunem în momentul de față ne dovedesc... proprietatea comunistă manifestată în cadrul obștilor sătești / I have shown that all the documents we have at the moment prove us, as a form of majority property... the *communist* property manifested within the village communities" (my translation) – Crișan 1977, 215.

¹³³ Bodor 1957, 146.

¹³⁴ Crișan 1977, 197.

¹³⁵ Suceveanu 1978; Daicoviciu 1979.

¹³⁶ See Dana 2008, 267–268, 288 regarding the friendship of Georges Dumézil and Mircea Eliade.

¹³⁷ The same trifunctional logic can be observed in other works of Crișan, see Dana 2008, 288–289, and 354–355.

¹³⁸ Babeș 1974.

¹³⁹ Daicoviciu 1968, 53; Daicoviciu 1972; Daicoviciu 1976, 241; Crișan 1977.

¹⁴⁰ Copilaș 2015, 186.

(read Soviet and/or American imperialism) through its (read Socialist Republic of Romania) capacity to mobilize “all the « barbarian » forces in a grandiose offensive against the Empire”¹⁴¹ (my. transl.). As Copilaş pointed out, Romania had assumed the role of a great local and regional power, in comparison to its Balkan neighbours, and claimed the status of a world power.¹⁴²

In the Late Iron Age archaeology, the discussion regarding the “Asiatic” or “Tributary” mode of production ended when Ceauşescu’s Romania transformed in an “Oriental Despotism”. Power and authority were centralized in the hands of an individual or an inner-circle of individuals,¹⁴³ and the state financed the largest public works: Danube–Black Sea Canal, Transfăgărăşan road across the Carpathians, Cernavodă Nuclear Power Plant, Iron Gate I and II Hydroelectric Power Stations, House of the Republic (nowadays The People’s House or The Palace of the Parliament). The megalomania of the Ceauşescu’s regime was not limited to these gigantic construction sites, but also aimed to rewrite the past in order to control the present and to secure the future, and the Iron Age Dacians could not be missing from this equation.

The (re)turn of national ideology (1975–1989)

The question regarding the functioning and the existence of national ideology within “Communist” countries is as natural as it can be, given the theoretical incompatibility between any national idea and proletarian internationalism. The movement of the Eastern Bloc regimes – including here also the Soviet Union – divided the literature, especially, the Western one, in two opposing camps. On one hand, there are the perennialist or primordial approaches, and on the other hand the instrumentalist approaches that derive from the modernist ones.

The starting point of the perennialist or primordial interpretations is that social groups based on blood, race, language, common origins, religion, and custom are stronger than any other ties – including those based on ideology, professional affiliation, social class or social status – in societies with weak democratic civil and political institutions. Anthony D. Smith, one of the most vocal commentators on perennialism in the form of ethno-symbolism, pointed out that “what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular *living past* has been, and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias. It is from these elements of myth, memory, symbol, and tradition that modern national identities are reconstituted in each generation, as the nation becomes more inclusive and as its members cope with new challenges”.¹⁴⁴ Taking into account this definition, the rising tide of nationalism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries appears only as a reaction to the official ideology. Basically, in these societies national feelings played an important role all the time, but they were faded by the process of communization, i.e. abolishing the ownership of the means of production, and more important, the transformation of social structures and individual consciousness.

¹⁴¹ Daicoviciu 1965, 201: “toate forţele « barbare » într-o grandioasă ofensivă împotriva imperiului”.

¹⁴² Copilaş 2015, 186.

¹⁴³ More recently, this type of politics was labelled as a form of “sultanism” – Ban 2014, 42 with further bibliography.

¹⁴⁴ Smith 1999, 9.

One of the weak points of the perennialist approaches in general and its application to the late history of the Eastern Bloc states, is its inability to explain why some nationalist movements – Soviet Union and Yugoslavia – have been more successful than others in mobilizing their ethnic communities, even when political and socio-economic conditions were favourable for such mobilization. At this point of the analysis, the instrumentalist approach seems to offer another explanation.

The instrumentalist approach rejects the main thesis of the perennialist one, according to which nationalism is a result of the political manipulation of the primordial ties within a society especially in moments of political, economic or social crises. As in the case of philosophy – scientific notions, categories and theories do not reflect objective reality, being only tools for performing actions useful to the individual – the instrumentalist approach argues that nationalism is a result of the manipulation of ethnic identities by elites as a means of gaining or retaining power. As Paul R. Brass pointed out “political and economic circumstances may cause elites to downplay or discard the symbolic manipulation of cultural forms, values, and practices and to instead seek cooperation with other groups or collaboration with the state authorities”.¹⁴⁵

There is a unanimously accepted opinion among researchers that in the last part of its existence, the Bucharest regime embraced nationalism with suffocating tendencies, which was labelled as “national Stalinism”¹⁴⁶ or “national communism”.¹⁴⁷ In the long line of causes that produced the effect of the nationalist “explosion”, we could mention the “Declaration of Independence” from 1964, Ceaușescu’s visits to China and especially North Korea crowned with the famous Theses from July 1971¹⁴⁸ – seen as the beginning of the “cultural revolution” from Romania – the Program of the Romanian Communist Party, proposed with the occasion of the Eleventh Party Congress from 1974,¹⁴⁹ or Romanian *protochronism*.¹⁵⁰

In the literature, the “nationalist drift” of the Ceaușescu’s regime was also analysed through the prism of the two major approaches: perennialism or instrumentalism. According to the first formulation, nationalism appears as a reaction to Soviet domination; nationalism was the main instrument of the regime both to justify its authority to the people and to keep intellectuals in relations of collaboration and/or subordination.¹⁵¹ Instead, other authors have proposed an alternative view that is closer to the instrumentalist

¹⁴⁵ Brass 1991, 16.

¹⁴⁶ Tismăneanu 1999.

¹⁴⁷ Boia 1997.

¹⁴⁸ The July Theses is a name given to a speech delivered by Nicolae Ceaușescu on 6th of July 1971, before the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR). Their full name was *Propuneri de măsuri pentru îmbunătățirea activității politico-ideologice, de educare marxist-leninistă a membrilor de partid, a tuturor oamenilor muncii / Proposed measures for the improvement of political-ideological activity, of the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, of all working people*; See, especially Velimirovici 2015, 180–187.

¹⁴⁹ Verdery 1991, 221: “The most unequivocal sign of history’s apotheosis was the 1974 Program of the Romanian Communist Party, issued for the Eleventh Party Congress, which began with an eighteen-pages summary of Romanian history. This summary traced events from Dacian and Roman times through successive foreign overlords and local uprisings, the development of capitalism and the proletariat, the creation of the Party, and its rise of power in the war against fascism”.

¹⁵⁰ Verdery 1991, 167–214; Tomiță 2007.

¹⁵¹ Tismăneanu 1998, 69.

approach. Thus, Kenneth Jowitt argued that different “Communist” regimes tried to ensure the loyalty of their key social segments, without political or economic reforms, through a “policy of inclusion”. This means “a shift from a socio-political order based almost exclusively on command and violence to one in which leadership skills of manipulation and persuasion are more significant than in the past”.¹⁵² Therefore, Eastern Bloc regimes – including Romania – created groups that were not only “politically knowledgeable and oriented”, but also “capable of offering the regime support of a more differentiated and sophisticated character”.¹⁵³ Moreover, K. Verdery proclaimed that “the Party was forced onto the terrain of national values (not unwillingly) under pressure from others, especially intellectuals, whom it could fully engage in no other manner”.¹⁵⁴

Regardless of the camp in which we place ourselves – perennialism/primordial or instrumentalism – one thing is certain: history was placed at the centre of the nationalist discourse, accepted and promoted by the political regime in Bucharest.¹⁵⁵ This new history started from the Dacian past, and basically, in the late 70s and especially in the 80s, the Romanian Communist Party was no longer a continuation of the Party founded in 1921, but sought its origins in Byrebistas’ “state” from the middle of the first century BC. The anniversary in 1980 of exactly “2050 years since the creation of the first centralized and independent Dacian state”¹⁵⁶ under the reign of Byrebistas – an absurdity from a historical and a political point of view – reflects the ideas mentioned above. It matters less whether this strange anniversary was animated by Ceaușescu’s visits to China, North Korea and Iran,¹⁵⁷ or by the competition engaged with the Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov,¹⁵⁸ but there is certainly a perfect overlap between Ceaușescu’s Romania and the Dacian past.

In this period, the existence of a Dacian “state” no longer had to be proven, the state appears as *a priori* assumption.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, some authors have modelled ancient written sources and archaeological data to support the “unitary, centralized, and independent”

¹⁵² Jowitt 1975, 79.

¹⁵³ Jowitt 1975, 71, note 4.

¹⁵⁴ Verdery 1991, 122.

¹⁵⁵ Verdery 1991, 220: “History was a major source of new symbolic resources for the apparatus to deploy and a fundamental site for reappropriating older ones. Ceaușescu referred to the historical profession as « the historians’ front, » in the military sense, vital to shaping both the national and the materialist facets of his regime’s ideology and to socializing the public into a particular set of values. To consolidate this « front » had required new institutional arrangements that drew the production of historiography more and more tightly under central control”.

¹⁵⁶ For other “commemorative histories” from 80s Romania regarding the Late Iron Age period – Henț 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Cioroianu 2013, 249–251; in 1971 the last Shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, celebrated the 2500th anniversary of the Persian Empire under the rule of Cyrus the Great.

¹⁵⁸ In 1981, Bulgaria commemorated the 1300th anniversary of the First Bulgarian Empire; similar events in the Eastern Bloc: Poland – Millennium of the Polish State (1960–1966) and USSR – 1000th anniversary of the Christianization of Rus’.

¹⁵⁹ Daicoviciu 1981, 23: “Cea dintîi [premisă] este teza marxistă bine cunoscută că *statul* apare ca o formă de organizarea politică superioară specifică societăților împărțite în clase cu interese antagoniste, ca un instrument al clasei dominante. A doua [premisă] este existența unui stat dac de la Burebista la Decebal / The first [premise] is the well-known Marxist thesis in which the *state* appears as a form of political organization specific to societies divided into classes with antagonistic interests, as an instrument of the ruling class. The second [premise] is the existence of a Dacian state from Byrebistas to Decebalus” (my transl.).

character of this state.¹⁶⁰ The only problems that arose referred to the characterization of the main mode of production. The majority of the works still followed the idea of an “Asiatic” or “Tributary” mode of production, although with “particularities” specific to the Northern Balkan space. In this period analogies were no longer sought in the ancient Near East, but rather in the Black Sea area i.e. the Bosporan Kingdom.¹⁶¹

If in the previous epoch the theoretical refreshments filtered by the state apparatus were still agreed on, in this period this thing was no longer possible on the grounds of the evolution of the official policies of Romania: condemnation of Western imperialism, political independence from the Soviet Union, border closure, while contacts with foreign archaeologist ceased. The discourse from the Late Iron Age archaeology reflects the evolution of Romania as a state. In the 1980s, the older discussions of historiography are resumed, the Marxist theory is applied only formally, and with few exceptions, not too many nuances are brought forward. Thus, in some cases the eternal debates of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s regarding the common character of the property in Late Iron Age period, i.e. *obște* are brought in discussion.¹⁶² The works that resume this issue reach the same conclusion: from an archaeological point of view the village communities are difficult to be discovered, but their existence has been proven by historical science.¹⁶³

In contrast, H. Daicoviciu admitted that due to the incomplete nature of written sources and archaeological data, the reconstruction of the social landscape from the Dacian period could not be started from the socio-economic base, but only from the elements of the superstructure.¹⁶⁴ In a logic that makes us think of Max Weber,¹⁶⁵ the same H. Daicoviciu proposed another reading of the ancient written sources – *tarabosteseis/pileati/pilophoroi* and *kometai/capillati* would have originally designated social status identities and not social classes.¹⁶⁶ For the first time in the Romanian Late Iron Age archaeology, the social position of an individual was judged not only in terms of material conditions (socio-economic), but other elements were introduced as well, i.e. social honour and dignity – an idea that has remained somewhat solitary in archaeological literature.¹⁶⁷ Also a different reading of the ancient sources was proposed by András Bodor. Just like Ion Horațiu Crișan, Bodor seems to have also been seduced by the Dumézil-Eliade schema,¹⁶⁸ and distinguished three social categories: secular aristocracy, religious aristocracy, and common people.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁰ Crișan 1980a; Crișan 1980b; Glodariu 1980, 435: “Deocamdată ceea ce se poate afirma cu siguranță este consolidarea centralizării statului, evidentă și mai accentuate în vremea lui Decebal / For now, what can certainly be said is the consolidation of the centralization of the state, evident and more accentuated in the time of Decebalus” (my transl.).

¹⁶¹ Gostar, Lica 1984, 33; Glodariu 1987–1988, 540.

¹⁶² Bodor 1981; Gostar, Lica 1984, 122–141.

¹⁶³ Bodor 1981, 18: “Că țăranii trăiau în obști sătești este astăzi un fapt general acceptat de știința istorică / That the peasants lived in village communities is a general fact today accepted by the historical science” (my transl.).

¹⁶⁴ Daicoviciu 1981, 23.

¹⁶⁵ Weber 1978, 302–307 and 926–939.

¹⁶⁶ Daicoviciu 1981, 32–33.

¹⁶⁷ An exception – Florea 2006, 4.

¹⁶⁸ This idea was also highlighted by Dana 2000, 55, note 49.

¹⁶⁹ Bodor 1981, 12; Critics in Glodariu 1987–1988.

Basically, in this late period of the regime from Bucharest, the official Marxist theory was placed in the background from a political point of view with major repercussions on the historical and archaeological discourse. In the 1980s, the main topics discussed were closely related to national ideology. A similar situation was documented in the Soviet Union, where archaeologists were devoted to the problems of the “syndrome of national sensitivity”.¹⁷⁰ Returning to the Romanian case, by far the most important topics were “habitation since immemorial times” and “eminent ancestors”, both having in their inner core the Dacian past. The translation and publication in the early 1970s of some works written by Marxist and neo-Marxist theoreticians such as Louis Althusser, Roger Garaudy, Antonio Gramsci, György Lukács and Herbert Marcuse had no impact in the Romanian archaeological literature. Nevertheless, R. A. Dragoman and S. Oanță-Marghitu¹⁷¹ noticed that some Marxist papers published in the 1980s in Great Britain or United States¹⁷² were not used either. As G. M. Tamás rightly remarks, Marxism was incompatible with the official ideology, because if it was fed properly, Marxism produced tensions and rebellions.¹⁷³

As a partial conclusion, in a cultural-historical framework, Late Iron Age archaeology was used only in order to glorify the past, especially if these glorious events and/or individuals from the past were accepted by the leadership of the Party. Moreover, archaeologists who were politically engaged in the creation of an image of the past to fit the official propaganda, were just following the official ideology, even if personally they felt indifferent to the political pressure. As Ceaușescu urged in one of his speeches “with every excavation, the archaeologists are bringing to light more evidence, proving that it is here, in this land, and not elsewhere, that the bones of the forefathers of our forefathers’ forefathers are to be found”.¹⁷⁴

Conclusions and further directions

In the pages of this paper I have tried to show that the debates from the Romanian Late Iron Age archaeology from 1948–1989 cannot be “read” if we do not take into account certain political, ideological, economic or social contexts and also some key events, both internal and external. Since the main tenets of classical Marxism were already discussed in the archaeological literature, a resumption of the ideas, concepts, and theories exposed by Marx and Engels would prove superfluous. However, I consider necessary to make a short radiography of Soviet archaeology from the 1917 Revolution until the Second World War. As it was pointed out, when the Soviet model of “communist archaeology” was exported to Central and Eastern Europe, this discipline became only “history armed with a spade”, a mere combination of written sources and archaeological data. In fact, this type of archaeology synchronized perfectly with the “archaeology of ethnicity” practiced from the end of the nineteenth century and in the first part of the twentieth century throughout the entire continent, including Romania.

¹⁷⁰ Klejn 2012, 139–140; Klejn 2017, 86–87.

¹⁷¹ Dragoman, Oanță-Marghitu 2006, 63; Dragoman, Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 23.

¹⁷² Especially: Miller, Tilley 1984a; Spriggs 1984; Miller, Rowlands, Tilley 1989.

¹⁷³ Tamás 2014, 137.

¹⁷⁴ Nicolae Ceaușescu quoted in Kaiser 1995, 115.

Last but not least, I have shown that Marxist ideas were totally “foreign” elements to the great currents of thought of Romanian interwar period – where nationalism grew harmoniously and captured the entire society. In this context, the (re) discovery of the Iron Age Dacians and their subsequent placing at the foundation of the Romanians’ history took place, as well as the beginning of their research from an archaeological point of view. Over these predispositions a new political regime and a new ideology (along with a new theory) was established with the support of the Red Army, which within approximately 50 years led the political destinies of Romania. As I have tried to show, the Late Iron Age archaeology contributed massively to the legitimation of the newly created present, taking over and modelling Marxist theory according to official directives.

Therefore, in a first phase, Marxist theory was applied in the form of “vulgar Marxism” which is found on narrowly understood economic determinism and only emphasized the significance of the modes of production. The reconstruction of the social landscape from the Late Iron Age period started only from the socio-economic base, although the sources used were not the material ones – they were analysed only from a typological, chronological and stylistic point of view¹⁷⁵ – but as in the interwar period, written and iconographical sources were preferred. Since the archaeology of the Late Iron Age was only an appendix of classical archaeology, ancient written sources were modelled on official ideology either to support the common character of property in the Late Iron Age or to emphasize the nature of antagonistic social relations. Just like in the case of other archaeologies of the Eastern Bloc, special importance was given to the issue of the origins of the Dacian “state”, also judged by the division of society into social classes with opposite interests. Archaeological data had also been modelled according to the official doctrine, and since funerary complexes are a sporadic presence in the archaeological landscape, the focus has shifted to fortifications that produced assumed evidence of class differences. Theoretical discussions were not allowed in order not to question the politically imposed dogma of class struggle, as the main cause of cultural and social change. It can be concluded that in the 1950s and early 1960s a simplified version of Marxism was used as an analytical tool, rather than a theory.

A paradigm shift could be observed in the second period of Romanian “communism”. This short episode of ideological relaxation that led, among other things, to the reopening of cultural and educational dialogue with the Western countries, also allowed a “refreshment” of Marxist theory. As it was noticed, the Romanian literature, especially the sociological one, was receptive to the methodological and theoretical changes that took place within the world historiographical field. During this period, the emergence of the Dacian “state” is also judged through the lens of “class struggle”, although the main mode of production was no longer the “Ancient (Slave)” as in the previous period, but the debates were now focused on “Asiatic” or “Tributary” mode of production. Just like in the previous period,

¹⁷⁵ The same situation was observed in the case of Romanian Prehistoric archaeology – Anghelinu 2007, 28: “There is therefore no surprise to note that little, if any attention was paid to technological and economic aspects of the archaeological assemblages, a typical feature of any Marxist archaeology. It is however true that such aspects were the focus of analysis during the first decades after the war, but in every single case, tools and weapons were analysed from a stylistic, not functional or economic point of view. Even for Palaeolithic, the archaeology of which is primarily a discussion of tools and weapons, the emphasis was on their stylistic, not functional or economic significance”.

arguments were not sought in material culture, but ancient written sources were invoked to support the existence of this mode of production. Moreover, the exchange of ideas and opinions with archaeologists from Western Europe, as well as some external visits allow the import of new research methodologies – the Dumézil-Eliade scheme of the trifunctional hypothesis of social class in ancient societies – very influential at that time in European archaeology. Despite these brief theoretical refreshments, in this period of ephemeral ideological relaxation, in Late Iron Age archaeology the nationalist ideology was beginning to feel its presence more and more.

The last stage of the Romanian “Communist” period corresponds to the embrace of the national ideology as an official credo by the political regime in Bucharest. At the centre of the national ideology was the end of the Iron Age. The dual action of both the party on the field of national values and history/archaeology, as well as the adherence of some archaeologists/historians among the official nomenclature led to the exacerbation of the Dacian past and the commemoration of events that have no historical legitimacy: 1980 equated with “2050 years from the creation of the first Dacian centralized, unitary and independent state under the rule of Burebista”; 1986 marked “2500 years from the first mention of the Geto-Dacians in the ancient written sources”; 1987 summed “1900 years from Decebalus’ access to power”.¹⁷⁶ In this last period, the existence of a Dacian “state” did not have to be proven since Ceaușescu’s Romania was the continuation of Byrebistas’ “centralized, unitary and independent” Dacian state from the middle of the 1st century BC. Theoretical discussions almost ceased, Marxism was applied only formally, and most archaeologists have resumed only the older theses in historiography.

The archaeology of the Late Iron Age period together with its debates reflects very well the evolution of Romania as a state in the approximately 50 years of “Communist” political regime. From a vulgar Marxism, accompanied by slogans and keywords, historiography has slowly moved towards a formal Marxism, finally covered completely by themes and ideas specific to national ideology. The way in which Marxist theory was understood and applied shows that most archaeologists did not want to change the world as Marx wanted in the eleventh thesis to Feuerbach – the chosen *motto* of this work – but were content to defend their academic and scientific positions or to gain new types of capital. The situation is not unique, Leo Klejn showed that in essence Soviet archaeology “was not exclusively Marxist. It was not uniquely Marxist, neither only Marxist, nor strictly Marxist. Frequently it was a very long way from Marxism; in many of its sectors it had no need of it; in some assertions it contradicted Marxism, or, at least, did not derive from Marxism”.¹⁷⁷

As a system (a total whole) or an ideology, Marxism or rather, the way it was put into practice, showed its political limits, but as a way to investigate the past and to get knowledge about the past, Marxism, in its various refreshments, still has an immense potential. In the last 30 or even 40 years, a number of symbolic, critical and postprocessualist archaeologists have turned their attention to certain Marxist ideas, concepts and theories. The concept of modes of production, refreshed and updated, is successfully applied in the study of different communities and pre-industrial societies.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, there is a growing interest

¹⁷⁶ Hent 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Klejn 2017, 89.

¹⁷⁸ See the papers in Rosenswig, Cunningham 2017.

among British and American archaeologists for classical Marxist concepts such as class, class struggle, property, repression, domination, resistance, historical transitions etc.¹⁷⁹

French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser's analysis, in which he accorded a greater importance to the social relations of productions than to the forces of production¹⁸⁰ inspired some anthropologists and archaeologists. Thus, in the late 1970s Maurice Godelier rejected Marx's notion that economic relations were the main cause of cultural and social change and concluded that this belief can be rooted in the economist view of the nineteenth century. Godelier argued that in different pre-capitalist societies and communities, kinship, politics and religion had played the central role in organizing the relations of production.¹⁸¹ Marx's and Engels' concept of ideology, also discussed and refreshed by Althusser,¹⁸² was used by Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley. In their early work, the aforementioned authors, argued that "ideology is not some autonomous comment on the social, but is part of attempts to produce, maintain or resist large-scale social changes, attempts which are always related to the existence of clashes of interest between different individuals and/or groups".¹⁸³

These are just a few of the Marxist ideas, concepts and theories that are gaining popularity in the archaeological literature. The application of such themes in the Romanian Late Iron Age archaeology could show us that the *Dacian* past was not only populated by: elites/aristocracy living in dwelling towers or "palaces" (constructions with several rooms), and possessing prestige goods made of precious material; fiercely warriors whose main purpose was to die heroically on the battlefield and to be buried alongside all their military equipment; "specialists in the sacred" who were able to communicate with "spirits, to go up into the sky and meet the gods, to descend to the underworld and fight demons, sickness, and death".¹⁸⁴ Marxist perspectives can show us that the majority of the population in the Late Iron Age period from the North Balkans was dynamic, engaged in production and reproduction of real life, in eternal struggles for identity, be it social status, class, individual or group identity, age, sex, gender and so on. Marxist ideas can show us that a burial is a symbolic act that may or may not take into account the social position of the individual during life. Marxist refreshed concepts can show us that ideology (seen here as a synonymous for religion) was both a social liaison and an element of domination and articulation of social status or even group identity in the Late Iron Age period.

By far the most important aspect of today's Marxism is its critical theory, which mainly explores the relationship between our knowledge of the past and the context of its production. Applied to the field of archaeology,¹⁸⁵ critical theory shows that "archaeology is not about the past",¹⁸⁶ it is more about the present and to some extent about the future. The debates in the archaeology of the Late Iron Age period from 1948–1989 (the discussion can be moved to the interwar or post-Communist periods), show us that the *Dacian*

¹⁷⁹ Miller, Rowlands, Tilley 1989; Saitta 1994; Earle 2000.

¹⁸⁰ Althusser 2014, 209–217.

¹⁸¹ Godelier 1977, 15–69.

¹⁸² Althusser 1971.

¹⁸³ Miller, Tilley 1984b, 148.

¹⁸⁴ Eliade 2004, 508.

¹⁸⁵ Tang et alii 2014.

¹⁸⁶ Willems 2011, vii.

past existed only as a metaphor for the present. The Dacian past has become a subject of manipulation in order to fulfil current political goals and to link the present to a glorious past as it was imagined. As the title of this paper says, when the trowel was forged – Late Iron Age archaeology became a conscious discipline – the Late Iron Age Dacians were hammered to fit into the moulds of the official ideology. Finally, I express my doubts if anywhere within the world archaeology can be objective, separated from local, regional and national politics or dominant ideologies.

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NEW DATA ON THE ROMAN TEMPORARY CAMPS IN ȘUREANU MOUNTAINS

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Abstract: The conflict archaeology topic is a challenge all over the world, developing in the past ten years simultaneously with the new techniques in understanding the past and use of high-resolution recordings of cultural heritage. Besides, in close relation with the topic of conflict archaeology is continuously improved the methodology of another sub-domain, the landscape archaeology, with great results in the last couple of years, important here are the discovery of many new temporary camps in Germany and north west of the Iberian Peninsula. Especially the last ones are similar in shape and positioning with the Roman camps in Șureanu Mountains, though each has its own uniqueness. These reveal in a very special way the Roman army strategy in one of the most important conflicts of the Roman Empire in an alpine area.

Keywords: Dacian wars; Roman temporary camps; aerial archaeology; conflict archaeology; Roman army.

Rezumat: Subiectul arheologiei conflictului este o provocare pretutindeni în lume, dezvoltându-se în ultimul deceniu simultan cu noi tehnici de abordare a trecutului și utilizând o rezoluție ridicată a înregistrării patrimoniului arheologic. În plus, în strânsă legătură cu arheologia conflictului se îmbunătățește permanent metodologia unui alt sub-domeniu, arheologia peisajului care a înregistrat realizări deosebite în ultimii ani, importantă fiind pentru discuția noastră descoperirea a numeroase noi caastre temporare în Germania și nord-vestul Peninsulei Iberice. Acestea din urmă, în mod special, sunt similare ca formă și poziție cu cele din Munții Șureanu, deși fiecare prezintă propria-i unicitate. Acest aspect ilustrează în mod special strategia armatei romane în unul dintre cele mai importante conflicte purtate în zona montană în Imperiul Roman.

Cuvinte cheie: Războaiele Dacice; caastre romane temporare; arheologie aeriană; arheologia conflictului; armata romană.

The historical context

The most impressive examples of warfare on the territory of Romania must have been the two Dacian wars, especially the area of Șureanu Mountains and the main routes the Romans marched on. We know from Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 8 that Trajan “...climbed even mountain tops, conquering mountain after mountain with much danger...” or that the mountains had have been levelled to form camping places. Yet, we have little information on Dacian and Roman fortifications in general and even less on the events of AD 101–102, when the Romans spread in Țara Hațegului, after the victory of Tapae. On Trajan’s Column the scenes depicting Romans cutting trees and erecting fortifications are numerous, however none of such battlefields or fortifications have been researched in detail. Only in one case location seems certain, as it is for instance at Cioclovina-Ponorici where a very complex system of earthen works was registered.¹

¹ Ferenczi 1979; Stefan 2005, 229.

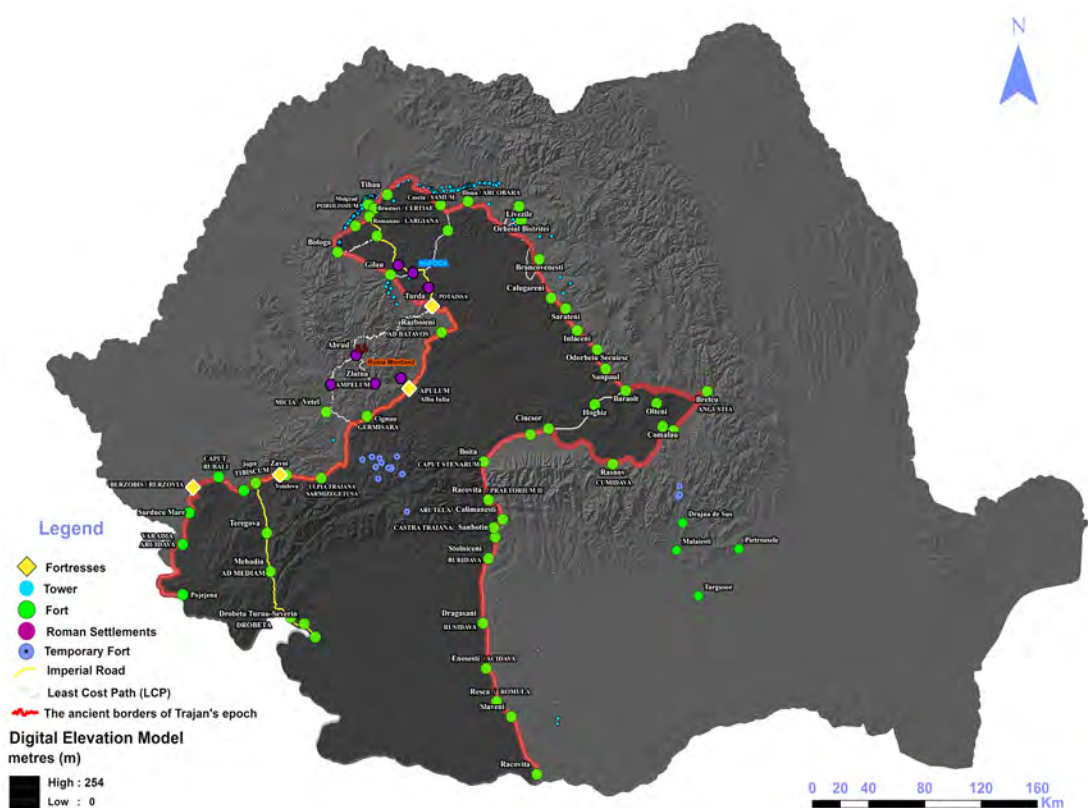


Fig. 1. The map of Dacia in early 2nd century, ©Felix Marcu.

The temporary fortifications are located in the central area, close to Grădișteța Muncelului, in Șureanu Mountains, on a high plateau belonging to the complex Borăscu (Fig. 1). The only exceptions are the marching camps from Jigoru Mare in the area of Râu Șes complex and the newly discovered camp at Crac-Găuri.² In general, the forts layout is rectangular, with few exceptions. Although the position is not always on the plateau, it is regularly on high settings, usually with gentle slopes.

Camp sizes in the area are similar, stretching, in general, over a surface of 4–7 ha. Their identification in the field would lead to the accurate establishment of the Roman armies route during the two wars.³

After so many years of research there are yet very important unanswered issues. The conquering army was very big, but the marching camps we know are just a few (Fig. 2). So, there are still many left to be discovered if we assume the Roman advance took place on at least two parallel routes to reach Sarmizegetusa Regia from the south,⁴ taking into account the requirement of one camp each day's march apart.⁵

² Oltean 2012, 511 sqq., i.c. 34 (here under the name “Coasta lui Rus Mică”); Teodor et alii 2018a.

³ There is a wealthy bibliography on the topic, being a common knowledge now that the Romans advanced from many directions towards the Dacian fortresses, with a focus on the main fortress, Sarmizegetusa Regia.

⁴ For instance Glodariu 1974.

⁵ See Jones 2012, 7.

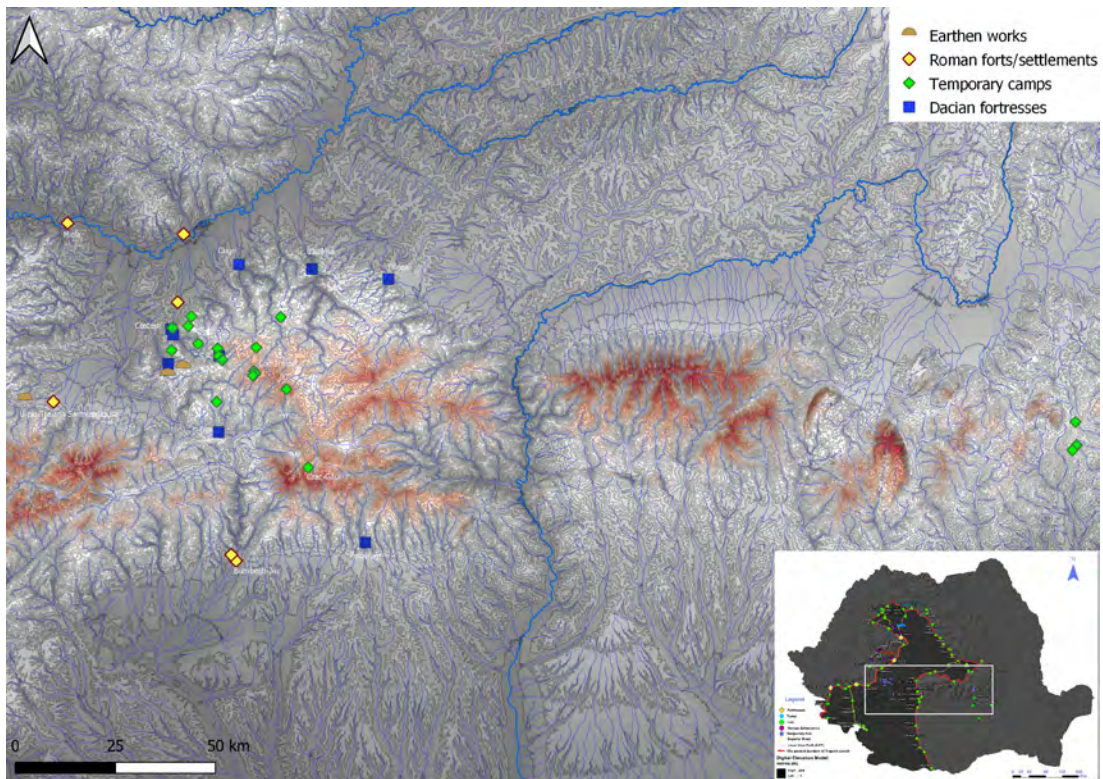


Fig. 2. SRTM-3-arc-second Resolution with Southern Carpathians , ©Felix Marcu.

Clearly here the first Roman fortress at Sarmizegetusa Regia was built in the aftermath of the first Dacian War⁶ (Fig. 2). So, other forts on the way to Sarmizegetusa Regia must have been in existence, though we have not much evidence, except the marching camps, of which only one with certainly more than one occupation phase.⁷ There are clear signs of a Roman seizure of Sarmizegetusa Regia, with some very interesting features during reconstructions of the perimeter, not yet generally agreed upon, but with Roman construction blocks attesting three or four legions.⁸ In only one other fortress is there a fragment of a slabstone with visible “goat feet” and a knot, at Fețele Albe,⁹ similar with three other stones at Sarmizegetusa Regia with two Capricorns facing each other (IDR III/3, 271). The fact that the Hunt papyri (P. Lond. 2851 = ChLA III 219 = CPL 112 = RMR 63) reveal that

⁶ The Romans left a fort/troops at Sarmizegetusa (στρατοπέδον) and in some other places, Cass. Dio LXVIII. 9. 7. See Daicoviciu 1945, 86–87; Daicoviciu 1972, 325–328, 332; Ferenczi 1983, 193–195 (who ventured to say that Dio meant by some other places’ the temporary camps in Șureanu mountains, that they could have been *castra aestiva*); Piso 1993, 2; Diaconescu 1997, 25–26; Stefan 2005, 323–355; Opreanu 2012; Oltean, Hanson 2017.

⁷ It is very difficult to date them, since in just very few of them there were some excavations performed and only on a small scale (e.g. Vârful lui Pătru: Glodariu, Moga 1988). Nevertheless, the well defined perimeter of the camps at Vârful lui Pătru and of those three at Comărnicele hill was described well before, already in 19th century, see Stefan 2005, 291–313.

⁸ The vexillation of *VI Ferrata*, *II Adiutrix*, *III Flavia Felix* and, maybe *I Adiutrix*, had been probably in garrison, yet, as the stones seem to be reused it is hard to establish their chronological sequence, Glodariu 1995, 124–128; Diaconescu 1997, 25–30; Opreanu 2012.

⁹ Pețan 2018.

coh. I Hispanorum veterana is *Piroboridavae in praesidio* and *Buridavae in vexillatione* indicate, in our view, that other Dacian fortresses had been occupied by the Roman troops before the 2nd Dacian war.¹⁰ A second fortress which has been probably dismantled after the first Dacian war to be rebuilt before the second expedition is Căpâlna, and this is important for our demonstration below.¹¹

We know that the forts on the south-westernmost line of the future Dacia and the forts in north-west Wallachia are dated under Trajan, and were abandoned under Hadrian or in the late Trajanic period.¹² Except Vărădia, where two forts were built, there are further forts and fortresses in the south and south-west of the Carpathian Mountains which might reflect a garrisoning in between the two wars: Drobeta-Schela Cladovei, Bumbești-Pleșa, Bumbești-Vârtop, Berzovia, Tibiscum, Zăvoi, Sarmizegetusa, Draja de Sus and maybe the other forts in northern Muntenia.¹³ The newly discovered temporary camps, if indeed Roman, through Buzău Pass indicate a northward movement of the Roman army during the Dacian wars also in this area (Fig. 2), towards the Dacian fortresses in south-east Transylvania, though it is not easy to date them precisely.¹⁴

Thus, the facts account for a military presence in south-west and south of the Carpathian Mountains between the wars. These were not abandoned shortly after the 1st Dacian war, as it was supposed in relation with Sarmizegetusa Regia and maybe Căpâlna.¹⁵

¹⁰ Piroboridava was associated with the fortresses in southern Moldavia at Poiana or Barboși (Matei-Popescu 2010, with the bibliography) and Buridava could have been the Dacian fortress at Ocnița, not the future Roman fort/settlement at Stolniceni or the fort at Sâmbotin, however the latter might be true, see Dana, Nemeti 2016, 81–5; Nemeti, Dana 2017, 217 sqq. Both fortresses are mentioned by Ptol. *Geog.* III. 10. 8, likewise Sarmizegetusa Regia. The expression *trans Danuvium in expeditionem*, from the same *pridianum*, could be understood, in our view, in the sense of the “tours of duty” as outpost duties of the Roman soldiers for several months (see Speidel 1988) at the forts built in northern Wallachia.

¹¹ On the Romans withdrawal from the Dacian fortresses area after the first Dacian war, but controlling the south-west of the future Dacia, see Strobel 1984, 199, n. 127. Concerning the Dacian capital two theories prevail, one that Sarmizegetusa Regia had been garrisoned by the Romans continuously between the two wars (see Diaconescu 1997, 25; Oltean, Hanson 2017, 445) and the second establishing, on archaeological grounds, a reoccupation and reconstruction of the perimeter before the 2nd war by the Dacians, Glodariu 1989–1993, 22, with all the bibliography; Stefan 2005, 323–331.

¹² See Nemeth 2005, 119, 130–133.

¹³ There is still a debate concerning the routes followed by the Roman army during the two Dacian expeditions, except those already mentioned from Șureanu Mountains, but it is not the topic of this paper, see Patch 1937, 73 sqq.; Daicoviciu 1972; Strobel 1984, *passim*; Diaconescu 1997; Cizek 1980, 293 sqq. (accounting even for six routes). It is relevant here to mention the movement of troops during the war, with an interesting concentration especially in south-west of the future Dacia, some of the units dislocated exclusively for the Dacian expedition, as part of the Moesia Superior army, some of them garrisoned after the first expedition north of the Danube, Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2018, 80, n. 876, Tab. 2–3. However, for the south-eastern future Dacia the history of troops shift is not the same, Matei-Popescu 2010, 257–269. *Contra*, Piso 2008, 297–299. Dio, the only reliable ancient source, does not help much with his account on Laberius Maximus’ tour de force, conquering a stronghold and capturing Decebalus’ sister (LXIII, 9, 4) nor about Longinus and his command (LXIII, 12), though these produced a lot of theories, sometimes fantasies, starting already with C. Patsch (Patsch 1937, 73 sqq.), as plenty of researchers were set to find the location of the Dacian fortress and the nature of Longinus’ command.

¹⁴ Ștefan, Ștefan 2018.

¹⁵ Glodariu 1995; Glodariu, Moga 1988.

The temporary camps in Șureanu Mountains (Fig. 2)¹⁶

The complex system of the Dacian fortresses and the Roman camps have been described in detail¹⁷ and for the first time using aerial photography by A. S. Stefan.¹⁸ He includes into the marching camps category seven fortifications, adding here another three dealt with separately, of which one was surely similar with those in the first classification.¹⁹ It's not sure that all are of Roman date, though the majority must have been from the period of the Roman expeditions in the area early in the 2nd century. Only one, until now, seems to be a siege camp in relation with the Dacian fortress at Costești²⁰.

To these were added lately three more fortifications: two very close to Sarmizegetusa Regia, at Șesului Hill and Cornu Pietrii Hill²¹ and the other very far from it, but somewhere on one of the routes to Sarmizegetusa Regia, at Crac-Găuri.²² A possible Roman temporary camp, close to the peak of Muntele Bătrâna, is partially visible on orthophotos and on Google Earth.²³

Almost all marching camps are on the routes following the crests of Parâng and Șureanu Mountains,²⁴ on locations similar to those in the north-west of the Iberian

¹⁶ We would like to thank Răzvan Mateescu for helping us to find the best trails.

¹⁷ For all these and also for the temporary forts from where the routes towards the north, in the mountains, had been developed from, see Ferenczi 1983.

¹⁸ Stefan 2005, 267 sqq., with the bibliography up to the early 2000s.

¹⁹ First of the three is the fort at Orăștioara de Sus, rebuilt in stone at some point, but partially destroyed by flooding of the nearby valley, the second, smaller and with an earthen rampart, close to Costești fortress, probably a siege camp, the last, at Luncani-Târșă, actually a marching camp, similar to the other in the area, see Stefan 2005, 283–285.

²⁰ Crișan 1973; Ferenczi 1983; Stefan 2005, 595–599, Fig. 134, 246.

²¹ The first considered a possible siege camp, Oltean, Hanson 2017, 435–438, Fig. 5

²² Discovered in 2008, dubbed “Coasta lui Rus Mică” (Oltean 2012, 512–513, i. 56–57), properly published later on by Teodor et alii 2018.

²³ C. I. Popa rightly alleged some linear traces of a possible camp perimeter, with the southern short axis of 168 m, and the long sides, as much as they can be perceivable because of the forest in the north, of 211 m and 188 m respectively, Popa 2011, 346, Fig. 40a/2, 158/2. The camp is referred to in some other places, but without any other comments, see for instance Micle et alii 2016, 732 or Teodor et alii 2018a, 77 and Fig. 1.

There are some other linear features in the area, Roman in nature, even camps and forts, it is said, in connection with Dacian defensive earthworks. The most spectacular example of these are the ones at Cioclovina-Ponorici, likely one of the uninvestigated battlefields of the Dacian wars, Ferenczi 1979; Ferenczi 1983; Stefan 2005, 229 sqq; Teodor et alii 2013b. In view of the geomorphology and the large area covered by artificial features, some of them modern, we are lost in the shuffle without non-invasive prospections, especially LiDAR measurements. Some other artificial linear features, maybe ancient, have been observed close-by, on the way to (arguing for the existence of about another five more camps, Tatu, Moraru 1982–1983) and from Cioclovina-Ponorici towards Sarmizegetusa Regia and the fortresses in the surroundings (Costești and Blidaru), see Teodor et alii 2013a; Teodor et alii 2019, 77. Almost all of these proposed ideas, and many others, in general with poor arguments, but filled with flights of imagination, are described by an amateur, Oltean 2012, 500 sqq.

Another temporary camp is claimed on a possible alternative Roman routes of invasion, in the plain close to the Dacian fortress of Cugir at Vinerea-Brazdă or Pianu de Sus on the way towards the Dacian fortress at Cugir, Popa 2011, 347–349, n. 2000, Fig. 40a/4, 154.

²⁴ It has been demonstrated how problematic it would have been the use of narrow and wild valleys, let alone the strategic reasons, Ferenczi 1978, 123.

Peninsula,²⁵ different from those in Scotland,²⁶ which are on locations related with the geomorphology.²⁷

The temporary camps in Șureanu and Parâng Mountains are typical, characterized by similar size, shape and the regularity of the linear feature, with few exceptions,²⁸ rounded corners, with *tituli*, *claviculae* or just gaps, earthen ramparts and ditches. Nevertheless, they appear to have distinctive patterns in respect to their topographical placement and we will see that not all of them were targeting the same place, Sarmizegetusa Regia, as it was claimed until now.

New discoveries in the Șureanu Mountains

We have started our aerial survey, related to the World Heritage nomination process and the general research of the Dacian limes in 2019, and we have had only three flights over the Șureanu Mountains since then. Based on the results of the researches of the last decade²⁹ and on our own experience of the aerial reconnaissance of the Eastern Limes of Roman Dacia,³⁰ we tried to find some needles in the haystack. Whereas we could only rely on traditional aerial archaeological methods and on-site survey, our itinerary followed the mountain pastures, pathways, crossroads and the nearby springs, which could be important aspects of the Roman military settling strategy.³¹ Unfortunately we do not have in Romania open sources for aerial imagery or LiDAR as in other countries.³²

Some oblique images have been taken in the late autumn of 2019 at Bătrâna Mountain³³ (Fig. 3).

The site lies 6.50 km from Comărnicești camps and there are almost 10 km to Muncelu hill, as the crow flies, 500 m north-east from the peak of Bătrâna Mountain (1792 m). This point is located some 2000 meter further away from the pathway leading up the main ridge of the Șureanu Mountains on Mlăciștea crest, opposite to the direction, towards Muncel and Sarmizegetusa Regia.

²⁵ The latest account we know of in, Costa-Garcia et alii 2019.

²⁶ Customarily built close to the river valley routes, on low ridges above the watercourse, Jones 2012, 34.

²⁷ I. Ferenczi already observed that even in the irregular perimeter of Comărnicești III case, the topography had nothing to do with the shape and the location of the fort, as in the close proximity there is sufficient space to apply the traditional Roman patterns in building a camp, Ferenczi 1983, 192.

²⁸ One of the three camps at Comărnicești (no. III) has an irregular shape, similar to that on Prisaca Hill. Only the double camp at Comărnicești and the one at Jigoru Mare seems to be perfectly rectangular.

²⁹ Micle et alii 2016; Olteanu, Hanson 2017; Ștefan, Ștefan 2018; Teodor et alii 2018a; 2018b.

³⁰ Pánczél, Szabó 2015; Höpken et alii 2016.

³¹ The preferred position of the camps in general is close to rivercrossings, crossroads and close to a river or a spring (Veg. *Mil.* I. 22; Pseudo-Hyginus, *De munitionibus castrorum* 57), see Jones 2012, 29, 33, 76.

³² In the last years more than 20 temporary fortifications have been found in north-west Iberian Peninsula due to open access to a lot of geospatial data sets, including LiDAR (aerial orthophotographs with 50 cm resolution and LiDAR with an average density of 2 points/m²), see Costa-Garcia et alii 2019, 20.

³³ The area is recognized as abundant with natural resources and it is known, since early 19th century, as the ore resource for Sarmizegetusa Regia, Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 17; Daicoviciu et alii 1989, 40–41. There are a lot of rectangular trenches south and south-east of the camp, visible from the air as well, around 5–20 × 1.50–2 m and about 1 m deep, most of them oriented northeast-southwest, with no apparent explanation, neither for quarrying nor for metal processing. They could have date from the WW1 or WW2 periods, though this would be hard to prove for the moment.



Fig. 3. Shadow-mark highlighted the remains of the temporary camp on Muntele Bătrâna (20 October 2019, ©Máté Szabó).

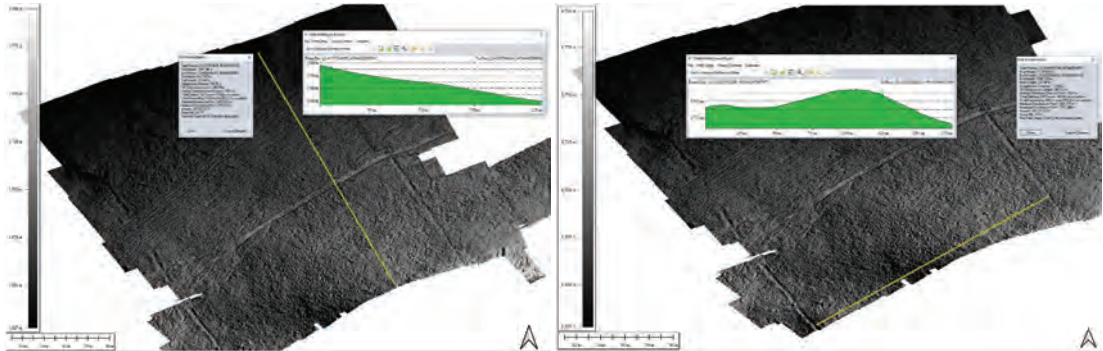


Fig. 4. Path profiles. DEM resolution 2.64 cm/pix, ©Felix Marcu.

The camp lies on a slope perpendicular to the ridge, its main directions being northwest-southeast, but the northern part of the fortification disappears unidentifiably in the dense forest. Only the ditches of the camp, carved into the bedrock are observable from the air and barely in the field. The shorter side of the camp is about 175 m in straight line and about 200 in 3D distance on the surface, and two short ditch sections suggest the gate defence (as *tituli*) on the southern, in the middle and on the western side of the perimeter. The longer western side is 200 m as far as it is visible, but, if similar with the camp at Crac-Găuri, of the same width, the long edges must have been of about 300 m. It is on a strange position, on a slope towards the north, enclosing, near the south-east corner, the top of the mountain.³⁴ Here the very strong slope has a maximum of 33°, with minimum of 6° (Figs. 4, 5).

³⁴ For the preference to set the rear of the camp on high position, see Jones 2012, 76.

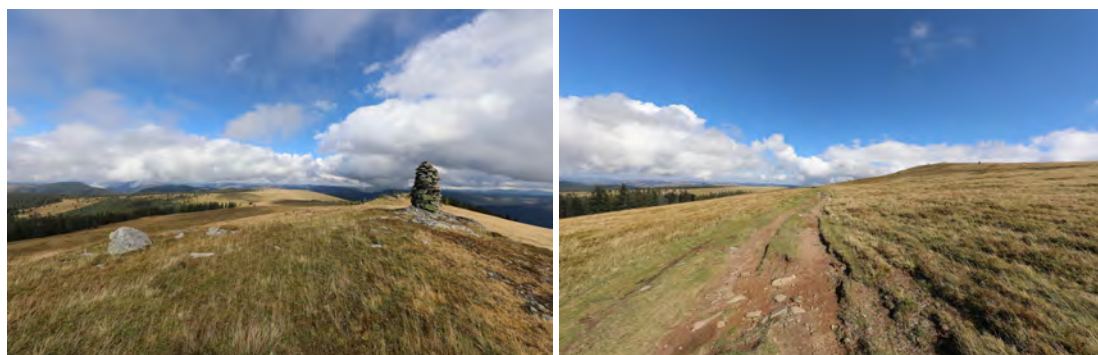


Fig. 5. View from the south-east corner towards Muncelu-Lăutoarea and from the western edge of the perimeter from roughly the middle towards east, ©Felix Marcu.

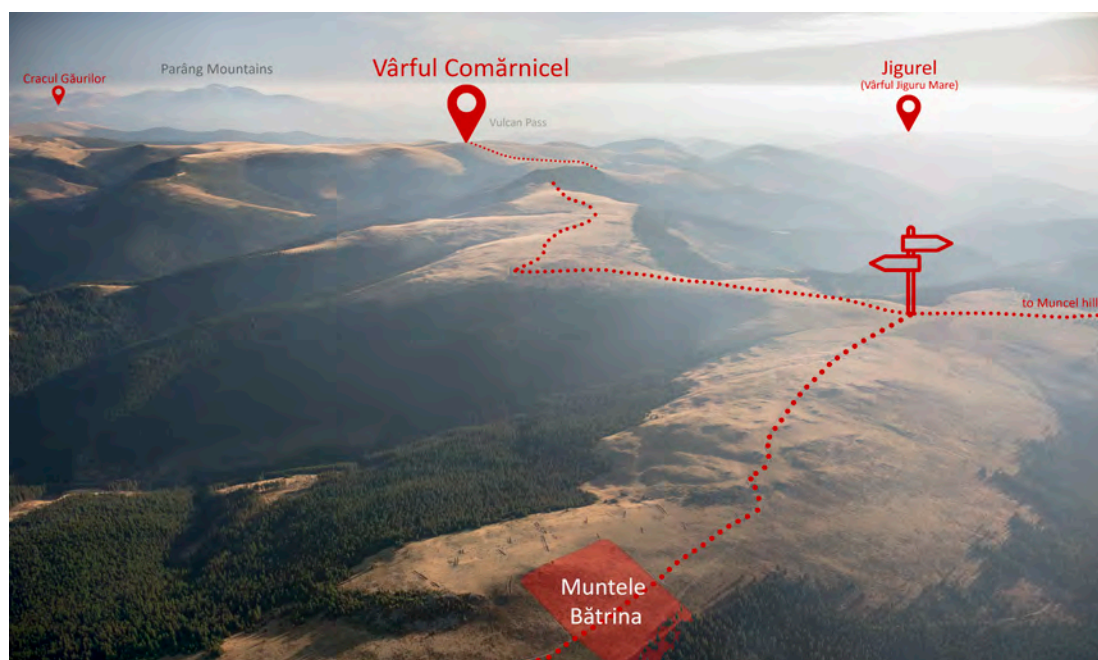


Fig. 6. The location of Muntele Bătrâna temporary camp and its environs with possible pathways (20 October 2019, ©Máté Szabó).

From the top is a very large view in every direction, especially towards the south where the camps at Vârful lui Pătru and Comărniceș are located (Fig. 6), except to the south-west because of Bătrâna peak. It is not oriented along the path which is going through it transversely as, most likely, the source of water (in the north-east corner) might have been more important over concerns of orientation.³⁵

The camp could control the traffic to the northern part of the Șureanu Mountains from this point and two main directions are observable by its topography. The Bătrâna Mountain ridge goes further north to Cugir or, by crossing the valley of the Cugir stream (Valea Cugirului) to Căpâlna and possibly to Tilișca, where Dacian fortifications are located.³⁶

³⁵ Because of the slope the ancient path must have probably had the same course. A spring would be essential more than suiting the topography, see Jones, 76.

³⁶ See Daicoviciu et alii 1989, 224–227.

The camp at Muncelu-Lăutoarea³⁷

On this track, to the north-east, following the ridge, we can find similar mountain pastures and pathways. The trail from Sebeșului valley, where the Dacian fortress of Căpâlna is located is used today in the summer by the shepherds towards the sheepfolds in the uplands of Vârful lui Pătru and Comărnicel across another distinct Muncelu Hill and Bătrâna Mountain.³⁸ The only difficult sector to pass is represented by the escarpments of Cugir valley (Fig. 9). Close by, some 10 km from the camp of Muntele Bătrâna, above the valley on the Muncelu hill (1371 m), which dominates the area, we have discovered a very new spot³⁹ (Figs. 7, 8).

The depression was probably crossed, as today, between Preluca Groșilor and Muncelu, a path still visible on the 1: 25.000 2nd edition of the topographical military maps produced in 1970s-1980s (Fig. 9).

This site has an east-west direction, and although its rampart is almost completely eroded, the nearly almost rectangular cropmarks and the playcard shape with rounded corners indicate its Roman origin. The peak of the Muncelu hill is enclosed adjacent to the northern rampart near the middle as at Bătrâna Mountain but the slope here is gentle, from the top to south and east of about 6° and to north and west of around 1.50–2.50° (Figs. 10, 11).

The camp covers an area of 270 × 180 m, which means about 4.80 hectares inside the perimeter. The observable sections of the rampart have some 3 meter in width and on the eastern side is also visible a short segment of the ditch outside, if not some modern work.⁴⁰ The micro-relief visualisation⁴¹ of the image-based 3D model⁴² with its tenfold vertical exaggeration also suggests a slightly visible north-south directed line inside the camp, which can even be interpreted as a division or an inner road of the camp (similar with the *via principalis* in the forts), though this is almost impossible to guarantee.⁴³ Unfortunately, the eroded remains of the camp do not allow for the detection of the gates and their defence neither from the air nor from the surface.

Its settling strategy fits our basic criteria. Although it is sited on the gently undulating top of the hill, there are many springs nearby, crossroads and mountain pastures are on the hill, and the camp has a good visibility in all directions, especially to the camps at Vârful lui Pătru, Comărnicel and Bătrâna. The Muncelu-Lăutoarea camp can be approached from two directions from the main ridge of the mountains, on the one hand a longer, but all

³⁷ Lăutoarea is the closest toponym we have on the maps, about 600 m south-east from the camp, therefore the place is labelled with this byname not to mistake it for the Muncelu hill close to Sarmizegetusa Regia. The shepherds we met there told us that the tag of the peak is Vârful Colțului, not found on any map we have checked.

³⁸ See Oltean 2012, 589.

³⁹ This site is also identifiable in the satellite archive of Google Earth.

⁴⁰ There are another two rectangular pits inside the camp, one close to the middle of the fort, almost 1 m in depth, presumably modern or from WW1 or 2.

⁴¹ Kokalj et alii 2013

⁴² Built on the aerial images of the survey and on a DTM created with the same instruments as at Bătrâna, taking 175 photos from 50 m altitude, generating in Agisoft a DEM with a resolution of 1.3 cm/pix.

⁴³ A comparable division was identifiable at Crac-Găuri, Teodor et alii 2018a, 80 and maybe at Comărnicel I, see Stefan 2005, 304, Fig. 146–148.



Fig. 7. Light snow cover highlights the remains of the temporary camp on Muncelu-Lăutoarea.
Photographed from east (15 February 2020, ©Máté Szabó).



Fig. 8. Shadow-marks emphasize the slightly visible remains of the temporary camp on Muncelu-Lăutoarea (20 October 2019, ©Máté Szabó).

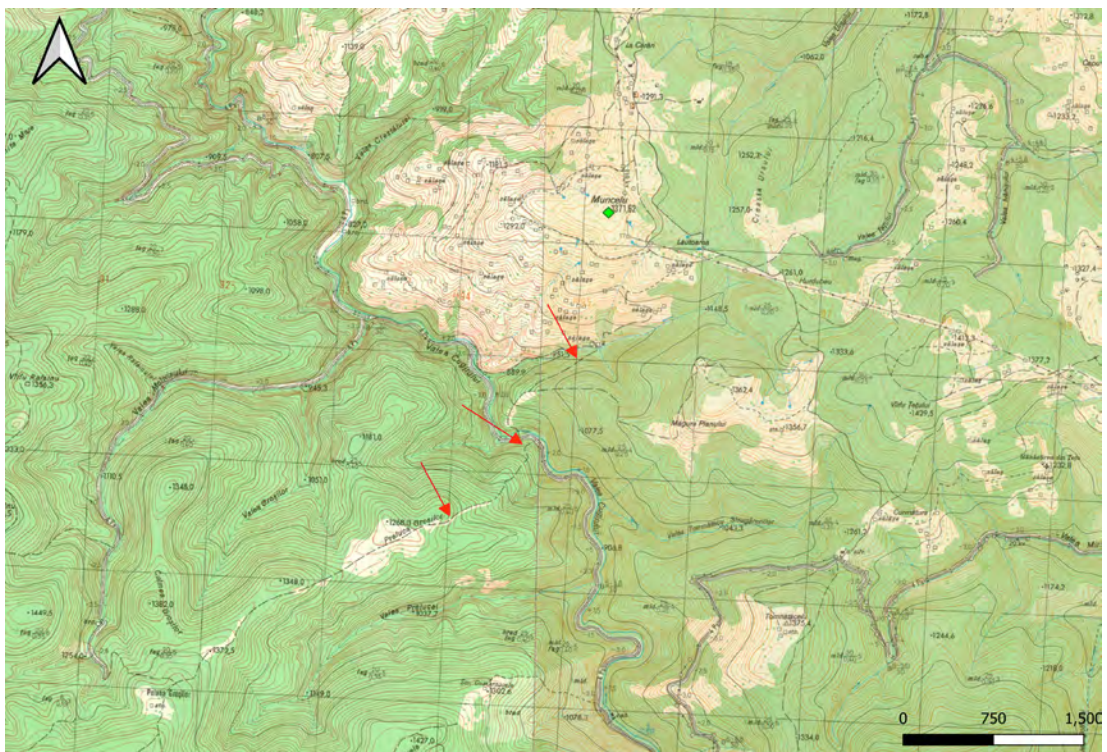
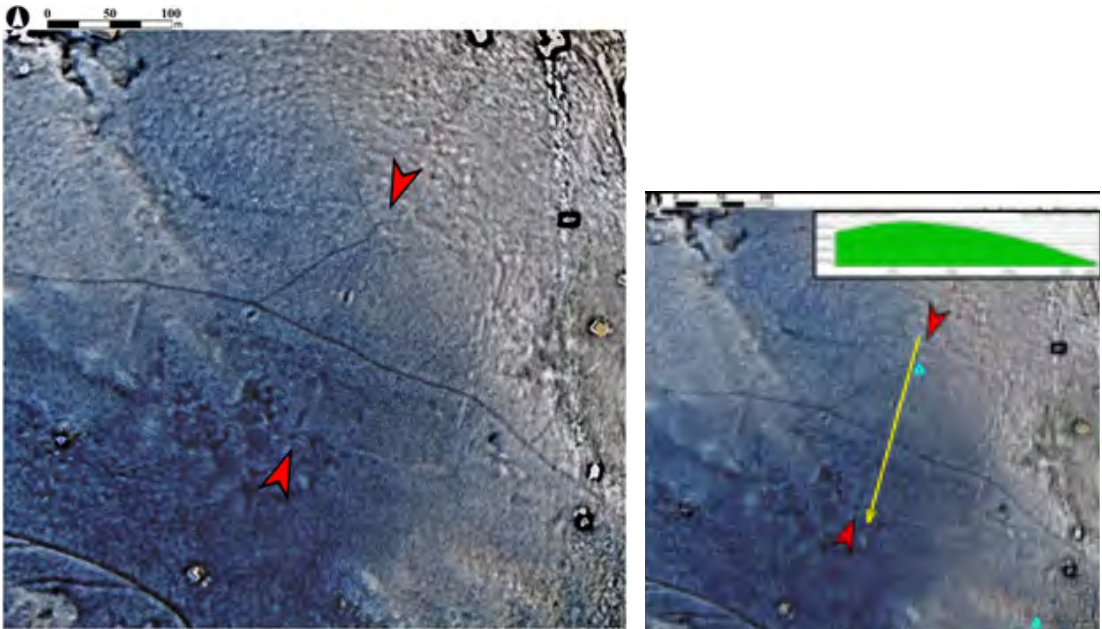


Fig. 9. Muncelu-Lăutoarea area on the 2nd edition of the topographical military maps produced in 1970s-1980s, ©Felix Marcu.



Fig. 10. The top of Muncelu-Lăutoarea with the camp location and the view from the camp towards south (far in the middle the Vârful lui Pătru and Comărnicele area), ©Felix Marcu.



11-1

11-2

Fig. 11-1, 11-2. Arrows indicate the possible division of the camp (SLRM model, vertical exaggeration: 10). Path profile (map ©Máté Szabó and profile ©Felix Marcu).

the way following the hilltops from Vârful lui Pătru (about 22 km), a heavy trail,⁴⁴ less probable because of the topography, better on the path used today from Bătrâna Mountain (about 10 km) (Fig. 12). The Dacian fortification of Căpâlna lies to the one day's walk away north-east from the site and the total distance to Sarmizegetusa Regia is about 50 km, with Muncelu-Lăutoarea positioned about in the middle.

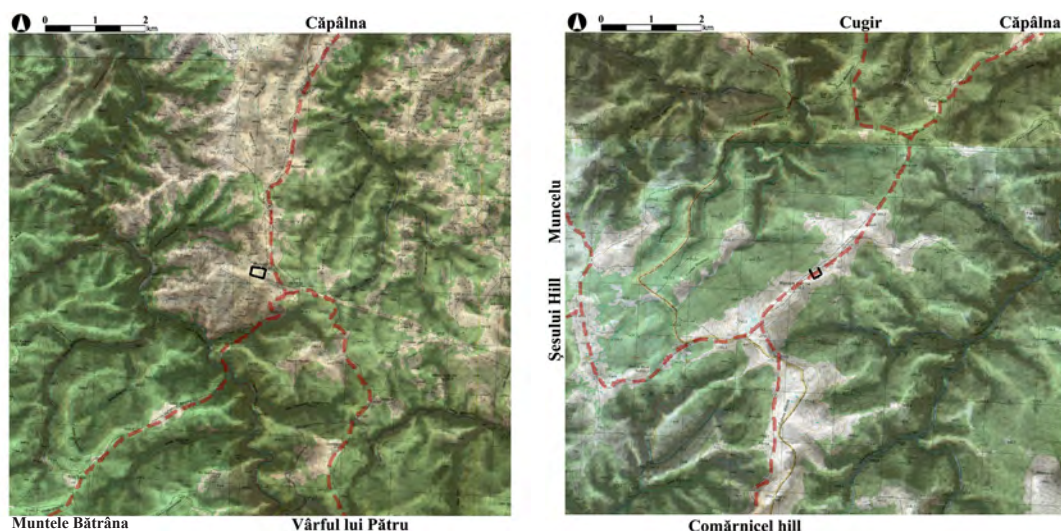


Fig. 12. The location of Muncelu-Lăutoarea and Muntele Bătrâna temporary camps with possible pathways (©Máté Szabó).

In fact, the distances from Muncelu-Lăutoarea to the Dacian fortresses at Cugir (north-west) and Căpâlna are almost the same around 30 km (about 15 km as the crow flies), being the best place to start an operation towards both of them and maybe also towards Tilișca, around 30 km north-east as the crow flies (Fig. 19). Another parallel way to the fortress at Cugir is from the camp at Bătrâna northward along the Râul Mic, within a distance of maximum 25 km. It would have been easier to approach Tilișca from the east (Olt valley), but from Muncelu-Lăutoarea directly would have been feasible as well.

The fortlet at Strungaru-Ciocu' lui Găvaiță (Fig. 13)

We also took aerial photographs of the known and presumed fortified points, and not far from the Dacian fortress of Costești, we found a smaller rectangular feature presumably a Roman fortlet or watchtower.

The site lies about 6 km to north-east from the above mentioned fortifications on the Muntele Strungaru ridge, about 300–400 m south-west from the hamlet Ludeștii de Sus (Orăștioara de Sus parish). It is a very clearly visible rectangular shape of an earthen mound, of circa 25 × 22 m surrounded by a clear-cut ditch.

⁴⁴ The itinerary is rendered as a possible route, among some others, on a map published by I. Glodariu, described in more detail latter on by I. Ferenczi, from Vârful lui Pătru to the fortress at Căpâlna on the right hand of Cugir valley, Glodariu 1983, Fig. 2; Ferenczi 1978, 122.

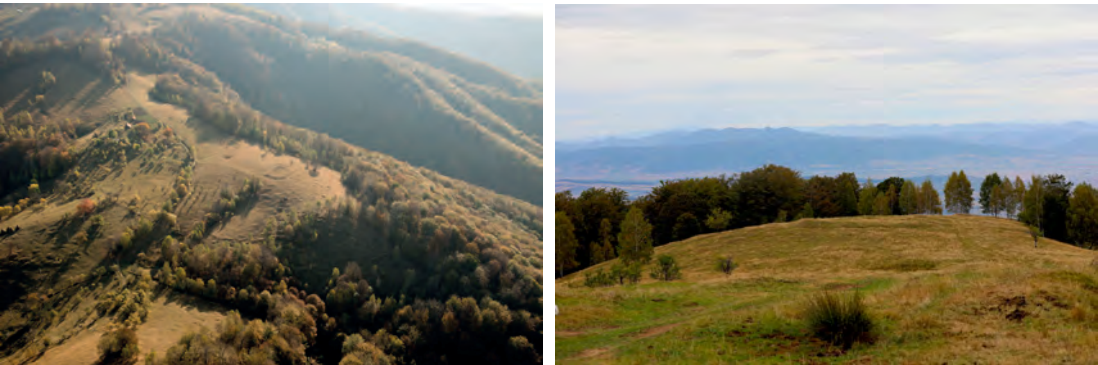


Fig. 13. The small fortification on Muntele Strungaru from the air (20 October 2019, ©Máté Szabó) and from the ground (28 September 2020, ©Felix Marcu).

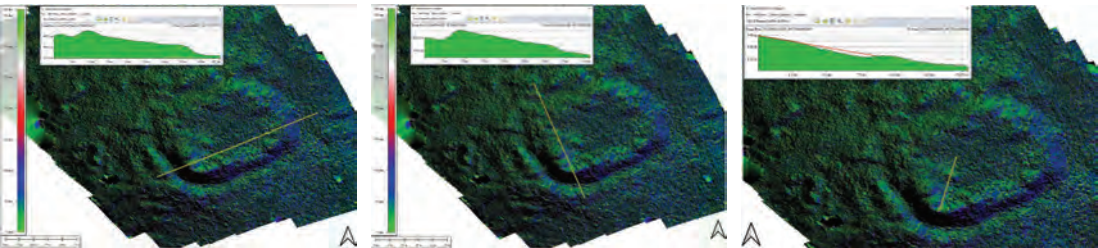


Fig. 14. Path profiles. Terrain-model with 6.5 mm/pix resolution, ©Felix Marcu.

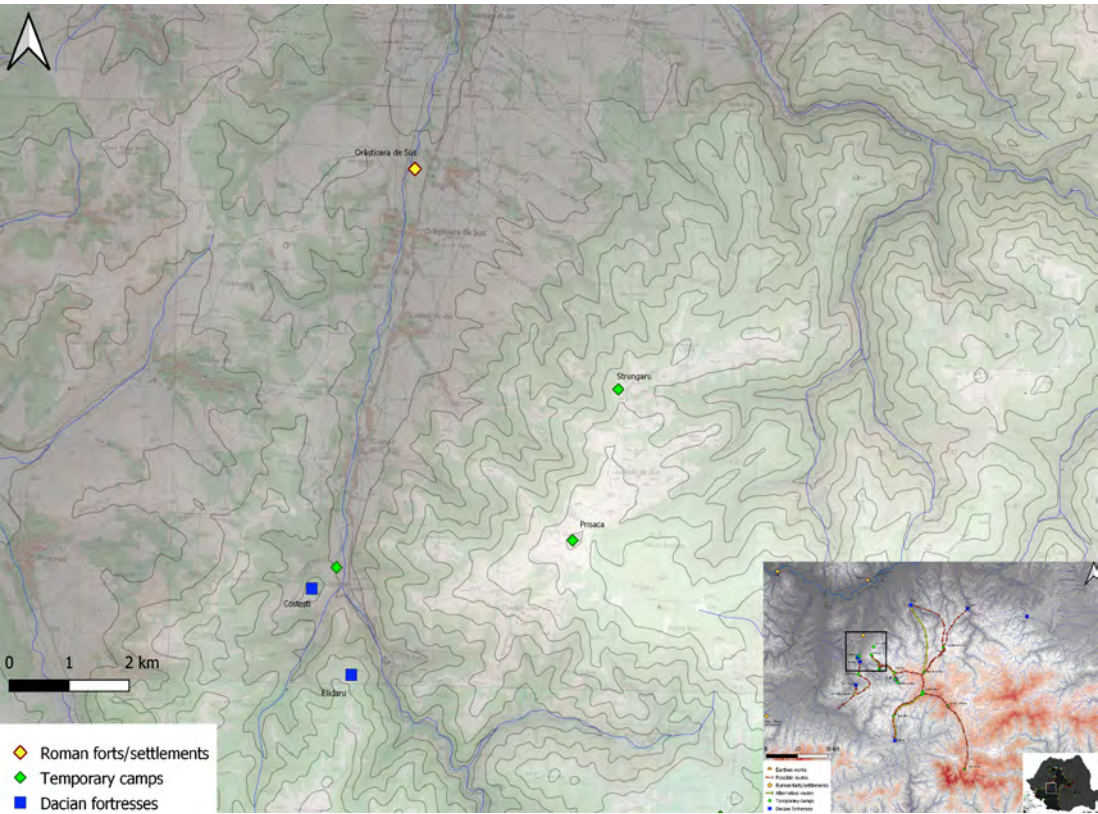


Fig. 15. The area where the fortification at Strungaru is sited, ©Felix Marcu.

It has perfect visibility to the northern part of the Șureanu Mountains and the valleys nearby, and could control the traffic of the pathways running up to the mountains. The closest known archaeological site, named Prisaca hill is considered Dacian, Roman or even medieval,⁴⁵ and lies 2.5 km south from the new site (Fig. 15).

The fortification is sited on the ridge above Orăștie valley where, 6 km to north-west as the crow flies, a fort garrisoned by *numerus Germanicianorum* was built,⁴⁶ on a possible route parallel with the road running along the watercourse.⁴⁷

Until it is confirmed by archaeological excavation we may suppose it is a Roman fortification of some sort, too small for a fortlet and too big for a tower. In our example, the micro-relief analysis, based on photo 3D modelling,⁴⁸ indicating a slope of around 10°, (Fig. 14), suggests that the tower itself stood in the southwest corner of the rampart (Fig. 16).

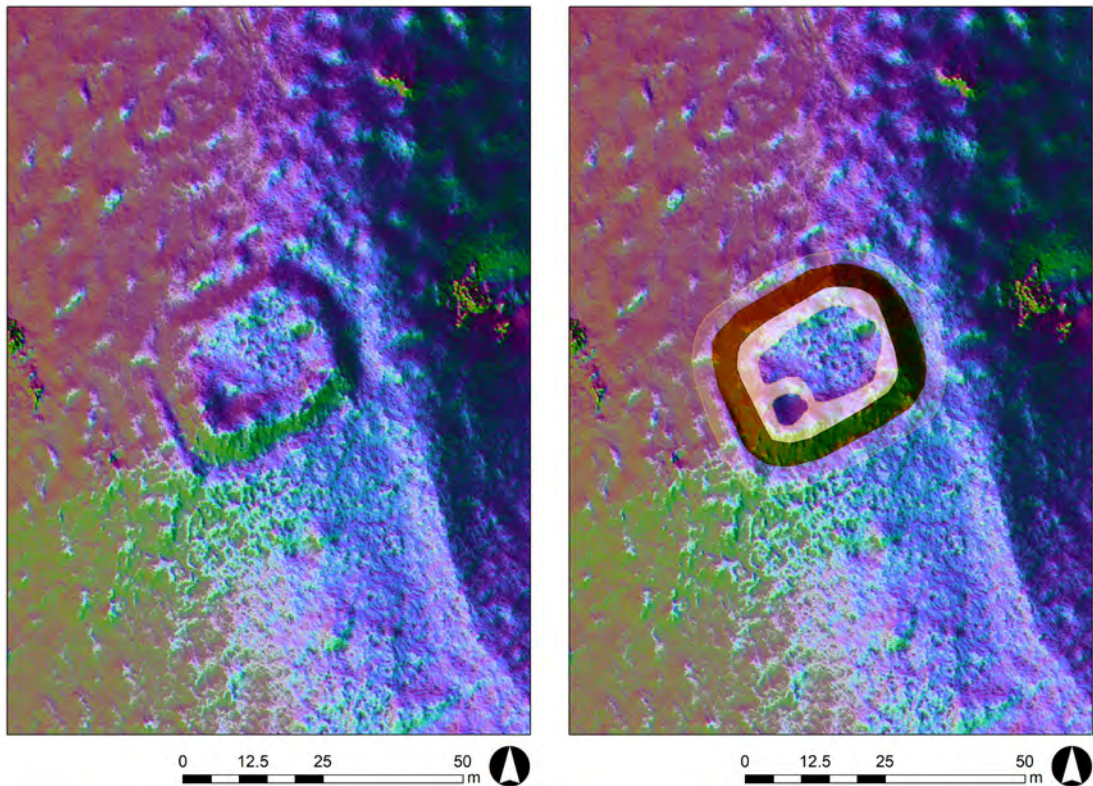


Fig. 16. Principal Component Analysis combined with Sky-View Factor; vertical exaggeration: 10 (©Máté Szabó).

⁴⁵ It is an irregular perimeter surrounding the top of Prisaca hill, similar in shape and dimension with the temporary camp at Comărnicești III, but without any visible gap in the rampart, see in short Stefan 2005, 284–285.

⁴⁶ Daicoviciu et alii 1959, 350–353.

⁴⁷ The path is described by I. Ferenczi (1978, 123) with Orăștioara de Jos as starting point. Nevertheless, according to the locals the easiest way is through Ludeștii de Jos, though for an off-road car. On foot any of the routes would be possible, although more logically from Sibișel valley - “La Poduri” - Poieni - Dealul lui Luca - Vârful Strungaru - Prisaca - Costești.

⁴⁸ 118 photos were taken from an altitude of 30 m gathered and processed with the same methods as the first camp described here, generating a DEM with a resolution of 6.5 mm/pix.

However, the sub-path in the south-west corner, the highest point of the presumed rampart, where the tower is postulated indicate a more strong slope (about 20°) towards the interior of the perimeter (Fig. 14). Its position, size and shape is very similar to the newly discovered Roman watchtowers on the Eastern limes of Dacia, which have been confirmed by excavations.⁴⁹

Towards a comparative analysis

Accurate surveys over the past decade provide an opportunity for comparative analysis of an increasing number of sites. Although these researches are still fundamentally based on non-invasive archaeological methods, but the layouts and the settlements of these encampments give some opportunity for their interpretation.

The comparison of the citadel of Sarmizegetusa Regia and the fortification of Muncelu hill was among the first to be made, and although there is still a debate as to which parts can be considered Roman, the similarity in size and shape is clear.⁵⁰ It should be noted that, in our opinion, the ramparts attached to Muncelu hill fortification on the south-eastern side can be interpreted as a defensive system to block the possibility of advance, rather than as an unfinished *annex* of the fortification⁵¹ (Fig. 18). And, comparably, it is important that the parallel ramparts running on the western slope lead straight to a spring of fresh water near the forest.

There is equivalence between the identified Roman temporary camps in Șureanu Mountains, both in size and layout. On the one hand, they can provide a basis for determining the size of the corresponding conquering troops,⁵² and on the other hand, they can even refer to relative chronological differences. In any case, to calculate the total number of soldier we need to know the Roman army's route from one camp to another, as they were not, presumably, garrisoned at the same time, except some of them.⁵³

The smallest camp in the area is on the Șesului hill near Sarmizegetusa Regia, which can be interpreted as connected with the siege of the Dacian royal residence.⁵⁴ With its 1.5 hectares area, this camp is similar with the presumed siege fortlet near the Dacian fortress at Costești of 45 × 45 m (interior 34 × 34 m = 1156 m²).⁵⁵

⁴⁹ The chronological sequence indicates the earliest date early 2nd century. Höpken et alii 2016, 249; Pánczél et alii 2011, 179; 2018.

⁵⁰ Oltean, Hanson 2017, 438–439; Teodor et alii 2018b, 698–700.

⁵¹ This idea is based on our observations from different parts of the Roman frontier system of Dacia, where earthen ramparts may have played a primarily diversionary role to help controlling the traffic in the mountains (e.g. herders, tradesmen or thieves), and mostly running to the steep edges of the hilltops or ridges or, with the supervision of watchtowers and fortlets, directly blocking free movement on the pathways. For further references, see Pánczél, Szabó 2015; Pánczél et alii 2018; Szabó 2016, 148–149.

⁵² For theoretical estimation of the soldiers garrisoning the temporary camps (c. 500 - 650 soldiers/ha), see Jones 2012, 109–120; Costa-Garcia 2019, Table 2.

⁵³ See Costa-Garcia et alii 2019, 22. For the seasonable argument of the temporary camps in Șureanu Mountains see Ferenczi 1983, 193–195.

⁵⁴ Oltean, Hanson 2017, 435–437.

⁵⁵ The archaeological trench made early in the 1960s revealed few potsherds, a corroded Roman coin and a burnt layer just underneath the rampart, Crișan 1973; Daicoviciu 1945, 265, no. 2, n. 6; Ferenczi 1983, 192; Stefan 2005, 283–284, Fig. 39; 246, a-b.

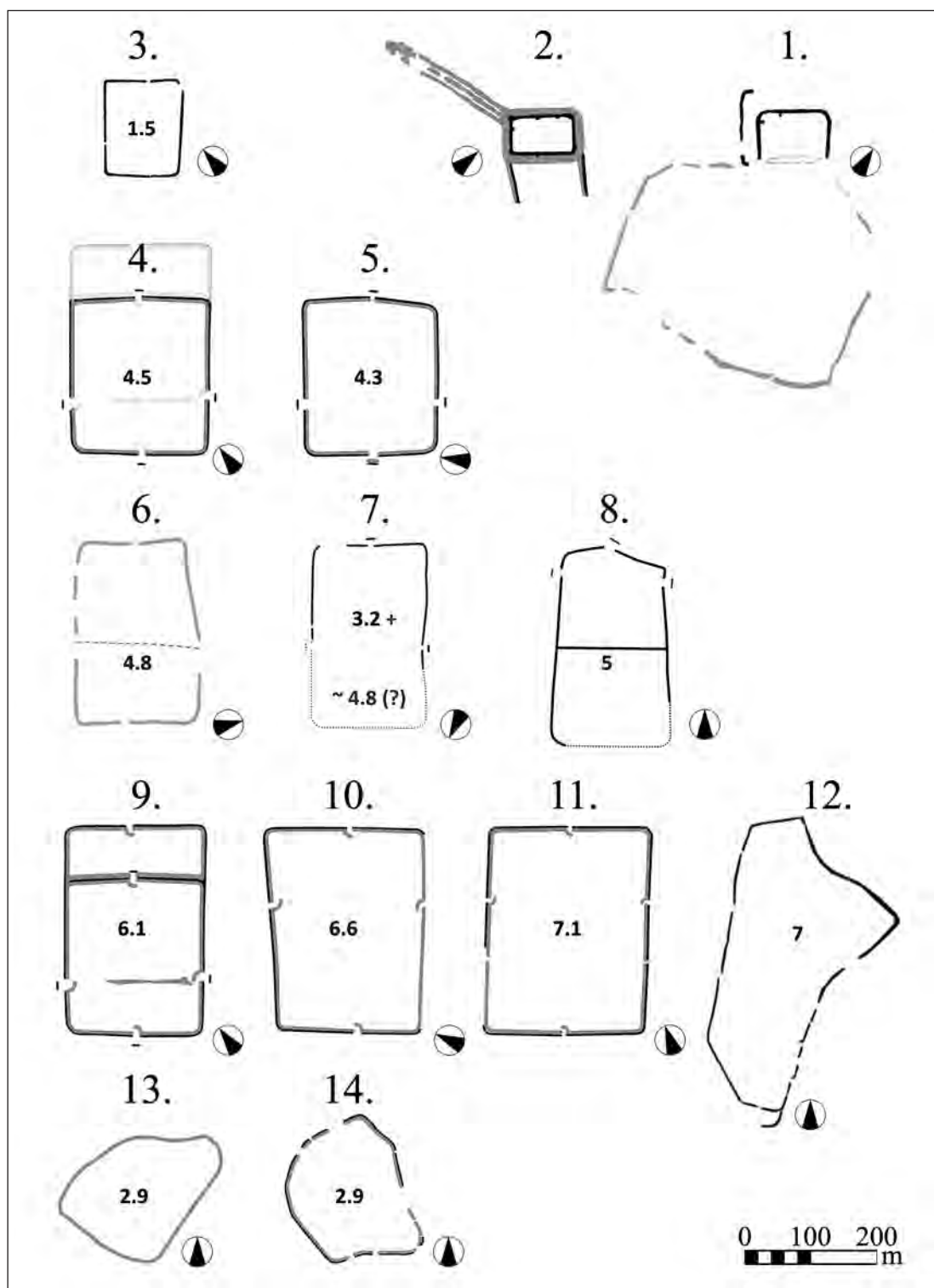


Fig. 17. Fortifications and temporary camps mentioned in the paper (sizes are in hectares): 1. Sarmizetegusa Regia; 2. Muncelu hill; 3. Șesului hill; 4. Comărniceș I/A; 5. Vârful lui Pătru; 6. Muncelu-Lăutoarea; 7. Muntele Bătrâna; 8. Crac-Găuri; 9. Comărniceș I/B; 10. Comărniceș II; 11. Jiguleț; 12. Cornu Pietrii; 13. Prisaca; 14. Comărniceș III (©Máté Szabó).

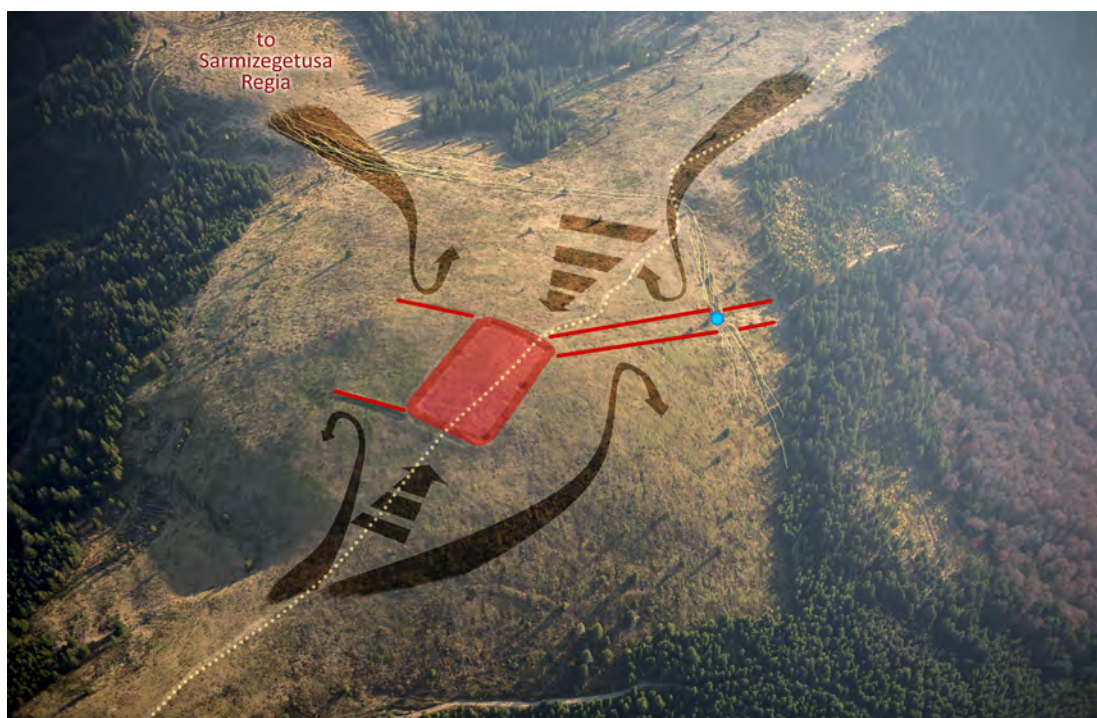


Fig. 18. The strategic conditions of Muncelu hill. The blue dot indicates the location of the spring, which could play a key role in the defence (20 October 2019, ©Máté Szabó).

The temporary camps Comărnicești I/A and I/B show a clear chronological difference, which can be seen not only in the expansion, but also in the gate defence system.⁵⁶ There are many examples across the Roman Empire of pairs or more camps sited on the same location, therefore the reusing of the same perimeter is plausible, though hard to prove.⁵⁷ The smaller camp, the Comărnicești I/A has four gates with *tituli* and the rampart and the ditch outside are clearly visible from the air. With its 4.5 hectares area inside the ramparts, this camp forms the second group and the striking resemblance to Vârful lui Pătru is similarly not new.⁵⁸

The most recently discovered sites essentially belongs to our third group. In addition to their similar or presumably the same size, they are also characterized by the traces of simpler rampart or ditch, as well as by the way of the gate defences (*tituli*). Many similarities can be discovered between the newly identified camp of Crac-Găuri in the Parâng Mountains⁵⁹ and Muntele Bătrâna in Șureanu Mountains, as they are positioned on strong slopes and probably have similar dimensions. Although only a part of the latter is visible, its size can also be approximated to 5 hectares. The remains of the temporary camp, Muncelu-Lăutoarea slightly differ from the other. Its rampart is almost flattened, but its layout and size is very similar too, yet by circa 1 ha smaller. Therefore, a sequential movement of troops from one to another of these camps seems plausible: Crac-Găuri

⁵⁶ Stefan 2005, 299–307.

⁵⁷ Commonly the smaller forts are the earliest, see Jones 2012, 87, 90.

⁵⁸ On possible routes in this area, see Glodariu 1974; Ferenczi 1978; Glodariu 1983, 62–63; Stefan 2005, 291–298, Fig. 150.

⁵⁹ Teodor et alii 2018a.

- Vârful lui Pătru - Comărnicele I/A - Bătrâna - Muncel - Dacian fortresses (Cugir, Căpâlna and Tilișca). The camps have similar proportions with a ratio of close to the ideal 3:2 (1.50), as indicated by both Vegetius and Pseudo-Hyginus, except Vârful lui Pătru (1.14) and Comărnicele I (1.12), which are almost square. Their orientation is almost north-south, except the perimeters at Vârful lui Pătru and Muncel, which are east-west.⁶⁰ Comărnicele, with the three camps emplaced there, is surely the most important junction.

The camps of 6–7 hectares in size, with the exception of Cornu Pietrii,⁶¹ all have basic similarities in design and form our next group. The uniform characteristic of the temporary camps of Jigoru Mare,⁶² Comărnicele I/B and Comărnicele II can also be observed with their wide rampart, the outer ditch and inner *claviculae*. The number of gates (about 6) is also similar. Camp's dimension is another indicator for the direction followed which could have been from Jigoru Mare to Comărnicele I/A or Comărnicele II, the first being almost identical in shape and features with the last, but with a ratio of 1.28 and 1.40. From here the troops would have marched about 15 km directly to Sarmizegetusa Regia and then, maybe to Cornu Pietrii - Prisaca - Costești. If so, the fortifications at Comărnicele II and Comărnicele I/A are extra to the imagined scheme, the last is the only evidence of a chronological variation. The smaller camps at Muncelu, if Roman, and Șesului Hill are directly related with the siege of Sarmizegetusa Regia.

Although in our last group we can find fundamental similarities in the size, shape and design, there are many uncertainties about their origin. The Roman nature of the fortification on Prisaca hill near Costești is uncertain, while the Comărnicele III⁶³ stands next to the other two no doubt Roman camps. Their identifiable defensive elements, the ramparts appear to be Roman, but the irregular shape may seem strange, though Vegetius (III. 8) inform us that the camps could also be circular or triangular. There are very few examples of irregular perimeters in other parts of the Empire but here the shape is due to geomorphology⁶⁴ as it seems to be in our area at the new camp at Cornu Pietrii and the Roman perimeters from Sarmizegetusa Regia.⁶⁵

From moving armies to controlled frontier

While the Roman presence identified in the Șureanu Mountains was basically associated to the Dacian wars in the previous researches, it is inevitable to think of the mountains as a transport network as well (Fig. 19).

The location of Sarmizegetusa Regia created a special military situation for the Romans. Based on the increasing number of Roman temporary camps, it can be assumed that the Roman strategy generally relied on the opportunities offered by the mountainous environment, not only in the case of Sarmizegetusa Regia, but also of other Dacian fortifications⁶⁶ in Transylvania.

⁶⁰ On the marching camps orientation and the preference for the suitable ground in contrast with following some pre-established patterns, see Jones 2012, 55.

⁶¹ Oltean, Hanson 2017, 437–438.

⁶² Ștefan 2005, 287–291.

⁶³ Ștefan 2005, 284–285, 308–317.

⁶⁴ One case in Britain (Jones 2012, 102, illus. 16, 193) and four in north-west Iberian Peninsula - Costa-Garcia 2018, 986–988; Costa-Garcia 2019, 25).

⁶⁵ Oltean, Hanson 2017.

⁶⁶ Ștefan, Ștefan 2018, 268–270.

conditions for the Roman conquerors. These features can also be identified on the frontier of Roman Dacia: watchtowers and earthen ramparts as outposts, reflect the land use, often located deep in the mountains. These archaeological sites preserve a landscape palimpsest, which requires uniform research methods of the different periods.

Conclusions

Several Roman temporary camps are located on the main ridge of the Șureanu Mountains. Extensive mountain pastures form a line from Oltenia to the Mureș valley in this region and, although we speak of an altitude of over 2000 meters in many cases, the upper region of the Șureanu Mountains is free of exposed rocky ridges and many springs help grazing on the high plateaus. The main ridge also forms the border between Hunedoara and Alba counties (and Gorj and Vâlcea counties to the south in Parâng Mountains), which indicates a landscape palimpsest in this region.

The Dacian royal residence, Sarmizegetusa Regia is located west of this line, in the centre of the mountains at Grădiștea Muncelului (Fig. 19). It could be approached from the main ridge on the Vârful Godeanu and Muncelu hills and, on a parallel line from the Șesului hill, which branches off at Steaua Mică. These pathways are confirmed by the fortifications found on the Muncelu and Șesului hills, and their starting points are also the temporary camps on Comărniceș and Vârful lui Pătru.⁷¹

Until recently, only the temporary camp at Jigoru Mare was known far from the main ridge of the Șureanu Mountains. This situation has changed due to the LiDAR survey around Sarmizegetusa Regia and by the temporary camp of Crac-Găuri identified in the Parâng Mountains. Previous examples could mostly belong to the siege or the supervision and control of the Dacian centre and the extraction of the mineral resources in its environs.⁷²

The newly identified sites, which branched off from the main ridge of the Șureanu Mountains to north, suggest that the Roman conquest may have targeted not only Sarmizegetusa Regia, but also the capture or control of the Dacian fortifications and pathways in the area. Muntele Bătrâna and Muncelu-Lăutoarea camps were able to fulfil this role towards the Dacian fortresses at Cugir, Căpâlna and, maybe, Tilișca. In this respect, the temporary camps of Jigoru Mare may not necessarily be a point on the route to the main ridge (to Vârful Comărniceș), as it is accepted, but rather to capture of the Dacian fortress at Bănița; the marching direction would be that from Comărniceș II to Jigoru Mare. In this case another route to Comărniceș must have existed. This could be the argument for the extra camps here. The track could have been on the ridge Cindrel or, more probable, Lotrului Mountains from the Olt valley in the east,⁷³ therefore more camps should have been in existence.

⁷¹ Remain to be proven that these and the small fort close to Costești fortress are at some point siege camps, they could have been related just with a static control after the conquest in the first or the second Dacian war. The scenes on Tajan Column with the *carroballistae* used by both the Dacians and the Romans in a hilly and forested area (LXVI, 52–54) are insufficient arguments yet.

⁷² The latter was raised by I. A. Oltean and W. Hanson related to the camp site on Cornu Pietrii, although with the alternative of being built in regards with the control of some Dacian sites, Oltean, Hanson 2017, 443. Also the fort at Bătrâna in an area with a lot of natural resources used by the Dacians as well, though its primary role must have been connected with the army's advance to the fortresses at Căpâlna and Cugir.

⁷³ Regarding accessibility and geomorphology of this region as well see Daicoviciu et alii 1989, 25–26, 96–97, 109–116.

On the western side of the Șureanu Mountains, in the Cioclovina-Ponorici and Luncani-Târsa area, different traces of fortifications are also highlighted by aerial survey. These differ from the other Roman temporary fortifications of this region, but their location and structure point to their relation to the Dacian wars. As one of the logical approaching routes from the Transylvanian Iron Gate (Porțile de Fier) or from the south, using Vâlcan Pass or the Parâng Mountains, through the Hațeg basin, the study of this area is of a similar importance (Fig. 19).

The new results of the last decade provide information not only on the Roman campaigns, but also on the land use of the area and the mapping of the mountain trail network. The increasing number of Roman temporary camps also provides an opportunity for a comparative analysis of their characteristics. These initial observations highlight many similarities at several points. The size, layout, construction methods and the gate defences of each camp could all be a reference point to define their relative chronology and strategical importance very hard to evidence yet, except that they are from the period of the Dacian wars. The camps are, as in the other parts of the Roman Empire, consistent with few exceptions. In addition, proper interpretation requires a systematic survey of the area, as well as a more detailed investigation of each sites. Clearly, the Roman military effort was significant, though not comparable with other campaigns from which we have analogies for temporary camps,⁷⁴ as it was stated by many, until recently, with not only Sarmizegetusa Regia as a target.⁷⁵ The main route was from Parâng to Șureanu Mountain, but there were also from the west, towards the fortresses at Costești, Blidaru and/or Sarmizegetusa Regia, as the earthworks and the temporary camp at Luncani-Târsa confirm. In addition, there was the course towards the Dacian fortresses in south-east Transylvania through Buzău Pass. Consequently, considering the number of the Roman forces assembled to defeat the Dacians the task groups to conquer the Dacian fortresses in the uplands of Șureanu Mountains must have been the most efficient, to mention here just the Moors of Lusius Quietus (Cass. Dio LVIII, 32). Presumably, the main body of the army stood behind in alert in other temporary camps, some transformed later in *castra stativa*, in the Mureș valley, Țara Hațegului or south to the Carpathian Mountains which remain to be discovered along with the battlefields.

If the three camps at Comărniceș, the meeting point in Șureanu Mountain, were at one time contemporaneous, then these must indicate the total number of the soldiers in this alpine region. A maximum of circa 15 ha evidence for a task force of a maximum 10.000 soldiers.

⁷⁴ In the series of camps in Scotland the 25 ha group is the most homogenous (Jones 2012, 100) and in north-west Iberian Peninsula the camps of 4–7 ha are included in the medium-sized enclosures (Costa-Garcia 2019, 24).

⁷⁵ I. A. Oltean and W. Hanson conclude that the military efforts have been overestimated, an effect of Trajan's "publicity campaign", Oltean, Hanson 2017, 446.

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FRAGMENTARISCHE DIPLOME AUS DER HADRIANISCH-ANTONINISCHEN REGIERUNGSZEIT

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

*In Erinnerung an Hans Lieb
geboren vor 90 Jahren
am 28. August 1930*

Abstract: A collection of 16 fragments of diplomas from the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius is published here. They are copies of constitutions for the armies of Dacia Porolissensis, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior and Syria as well as for unknown provinces. Some of the constitutions are already known, others are new. In any case, they intensify the records for the armies during the two periods of government.

Keywords: *diplomata militaria*; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius; Dacia Porolissensis; Moesia inferior; Pannonia inferior; Syria.

Zusammenfassung: Insgesamt 16 Fragmente von Diplomen aus den Regierungszeiten von Hadrian und Antoninus Pius werden publiziert. Sie sind Abschriften von Konstitutionen für die Heere von Dacia Porolissensis, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior und Syria sowie für nicht genannte Provinzen. Teils sind die Konstitutionen schon bekannt, teils sind sie neu. Sie verdichten jedenfalls die Überlieferung für die Heere in den beiden Regierungszeiten.

Schlüsselwörter: *diplomata militaria*; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius; Dacia Porolissensis; Moesia inferior; Pannonia inferior; Syria.

Rezumat: Un total de 16 fragmente de diplome militare din perioada domniei împăraților Hadrian și Antoninus Pius sunt publicate în acest studiu. Acestea sunt copii ale constituțiilor imperiale pentru armatele provinciilor Dacia Porolissensis, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior și Syria, dar și pentru armatele unor provincii neidentificate. Unele dintre constituții sunt deja cunoscute, altele sunt noi. În orice caz, ele sporesc cantitatea informațiilor despre armata romană din perioada celor două domnii.

Cuvinte cheie: *diplomata militaria*; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius; Dacia Porolissensis; Moesia inferior; Pannonia inferior; Syria.

In Band 215 der ZPE wurden von den beiden Autoren dieses Beitrags eine Reihe von Diplomfragmenten aus der Zeit zwischen Claudius und Traian vorgelegt.¹ Es sind teilweise weitere Kopien von bereits bekannten Konstitutionen gewesen, teils bezeugen sie trotz des geringen erhaltenen Umfangs neue Erlasse, so dass die Reihe der kaiserlichen

¹ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Fragmentarische Militärdiplome aus der Zeit zwischen Claudius und Traian, ZPE 215, 2020, 285 ff. Wir danken Florian Matei-Popescu für seine hilfreiche Kritik bei der Vorbereitung dieser Publikation.

Dokumente zum Bürgerrecht von Auxiliaren immer dichter wird. Dies soll hier für die Regierungszeiten von Hadrian und Antoninus Pius weitergeführt werden.

1. Rekonstruktion eines Diploms aus dem Jahr 120 n.Chr. für die ala I Flavia Gaetulorum in Moesia inferior (RMD V 356 = ZPE, 207, 2018, 224).

Unter den Konsuln der ersten Jahre Hadrians findet sich ein Paar, deren Namen sukzessive bekannt wurden. Zunächst kannte man nur einen C. Atilius Serranus,² worauf bald in anderen Dokumenten sein Kollege auftauchte, dessen Name zunächst Carminius Gallus zu sein schien,³ was eine gewisse Plausibilität hatte, da Carminii mehrfach im Senat des 1. und 2. Jh. belegt sind. Schließlich aber erkannte man, dass der Name tatsächlich C. Arminius Gallus gelaute hat.⁴ Die Namen beider liegen in zwei Diplomen vor, einem vollständigen, das in ZPE 207, 2018 publiziert wurde, das es dann schließlich auch möglich machte, das zweite, nur fragmentarisch erhaltene Diplom zu einem gewissen Teil zu ergänzen.⁵

Von diesem letzteren Diplom lag bisher ein kleines Fragment der tabella I vor,⁶ ferner die untere rechte Hälfte der tabella II.⁷ Zu dieser rechten Hälfte der tabella II ist nun auch die linke Hälfte bekannt geworden, so dass jetzt folgende Lesung beider Teile geboten werden kann.

Maße: Höhe 6.3 cm, Breite 7.8 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 4–5, innen 5 mm. Gewicht 23.3 Gramm.



Abb. 1



Abb. 2

Folgendes kann gelesen werden:

Außenseite:

[--]	FELICIS
Q FABI	ITI

² P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, 239 ff. Nr. 6.

³ W. Eck – P. Weiß, Chiron 32, 2002, 461 ff.

⁴ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 207, 2018, 219 ff.

⁵ Siehe jetzt EDCS-43900057.

⁶ Siehe W. Eck – P. Weiß, Chiron 32, 2002, 461 ff. = RMD V 356.

⁷ P. Weiß, ZPE 117, 1997, 239 ff. Nr. 6.

L CAECILI GORGI
[C] IVLI ● PARATI

Innenseite:

CVM VXORIB QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM EST ●
[C]IVITAS IIS DATA AVT SI QVI CAELIBES ESSENT
[C]VM IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT SIN
GVLI SINGVLAS ● *vacat*
A D XIII K NOV
C ARMINIO GALLO C ATILIO SERRANO COS
ALAE I FLAVIAE GAETVLOR CVI PRAEST
[- BETVVS] CILO
[E]XGREGALE

Das neue Fragment bestätigt die Lesung, die bisher zum Teil rekonstruiert werden musste. Wichtig ist auch, dass erneut deutlich wird, dass das Gentilnomen des consul prior Arminius lautet und nicht Carminius, wie man längere Zeit angenommen hatte. Dabei hatte eine Rolle gespielt, dass Edmund Groag in der PIR eine, damals durchaus plausibel erscheinende Konjektur auf Grund einer ephesischen Inschrift gemacht hatte. In diesem Text erschien im Jahr 98/99 ein prokonsularer Legat der Provinz Asia, dessen Name Groag als Carminius Gallus verstand.⁸ Er bezog sich dabei auf schon bekannte senatorische Carminii. Mit diesen aber hat er, wie nunmehr sicher ist, nichts zu tun. Interessant ist aber, dass C. Arminius Gallus erst mehr als 20 Jahre nach seiner prokonsularen legatio zum Konsulat gekommen ist. Wenn er, wie die meisten prokonsularen Legaten damals bereits prätorischen Rang erreicht hatte, müsste er erst in seinen späten 40er Jahren, also bereits in einem etwas höheren Alter, zum Konsulat gekommen sein. Vielleicht hatte Hadrian Gründe, den nicht mehr jungen Senator dennoch zum höchsten republikanischen Amt zuzulassen.

Der Text der neu rekonstruierten Teile lautet damit auf der Außenseite:

[--Lini; / A(uli) Fabi Iusti; / P(ubli) Atini Flori; / --] Felicis; / Q(uinti) Fabi Iti; / L(uci) Caecili Gorgi; / [C(ai)] Iuli Parati.

Innenseite:

[--ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium] // cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est / [c]ivitas iis data aut, si qui caelibes essent, / [c]um iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat sin/guli singulas.

A(nte)] d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Nov(embres) / C(aio) Arminio Gallo C(aio) Atilio Serrano co(n)s(ulibus) / alae I Flaviae Gaetulor(um), cui prae(e)st / [- Betuus] Cilo / [e]x gregale / [--].

⁸ PIR² A 1065; in D. 8822 hatte Dessau noch Γ[αίου] / Ἀρμινίου Γάλλ[ου] gelesen, was aber in Inschriften von Ephesus V 1499 wieder zu Γ[αίου] / [Κα]ρμινίου Γάλλ[ου] verändert wurde; W. Eck, Chiron 13, 1983, 330 zum Prokonsul Pedanius Fuscus Salinator.

2. Eine weitere Kopie der Konstitution für Syria aus dem Jahr 129 unter dem Statthalter Publius Marcellus.

Fragment aus der Mitte der tabella I eines Diploms, dessen Rand nirgends erhalten ist.
Maße: Höhe 2 cm, Breite 2,6 cm.



Abb. 3



Abb. 4

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[---]

[II ITALICA C R] ET III [THRAC SYRIACA SAG]

[ET IIII CALLA]EC LVC [ET V VLP PETR SAG ET]

[●] *vacat* [●]

[SVNT IN SYRI]A SVB PO[BLICIO MARCELLO]

[QVINIS ET] VICEN[IS PLVRIBVSVE STIPEND]

[EMERITIS DI]MISS H[ONEST MISS QVOR NOM]

Innenseite:

[---]

[--SAG C R] ET II IT[AL C R ET III THRAC SYRIACA]

[SAG ET II]II CALL L[VC ET V VLP PETR SAG ET SVNT]

Die erkennbaren Reste von Einheiten in Verbindung mit dem Anfang des Statthalternamens lassen erkennen, dass das Fragment auf eine Konstitution für die Truppen von Syrien unter dem Statthalter Publius Marcellus zurückgeht. Wir kennen bereits 11 Diplome für diese Provinz mit diesem Statthalter.⁹ Soweit diese aus sich heraus datiert werden können, stammen sie alle aus dem Jahr 129, mit dem genauen Datum *a(n)te d(iem) XI K(alendas) Apr(iles)* = 22. März. Aus den Diplomen, die keine Hinweise

⁹ AE 2005, 1735; 2006, 1845–1852; 2007, 1238; 2012, 1956; siehe dazu W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Zwei neue Diplome für die Provinz Syria aus domitianischer und hadrianischer Zeit, ZPE 183, 2012, 234–240.

auf eine genaue Datierung liefern, ergibt sich jedoch umgekehrt auch nichts, das gegen eine Zugehörigkeit zu dieser Konstitution spräche. Das gilt auch für das neue Fragment, das damit wahrscheinlich eine weitere, damit 12. Kopie dieses Erlasses darstellt, eine außergewöhnlich hohe Zahl von Diplomen, die zum selben Zeitpunkt für dasselbe Heer ausgegeben wurden. Als Hadrian seine Zustimmung einige Zeit vor diesem Datum gab, hielt er sich noch in Athen auf, weshalb in seiner Titulatur *proconsul* nicht erscheint, obwohl er Rom und Italien bereits verlassen hatte. Doch Athen war rechtlich als *civitas libera* nicht Herrschaftsgebiet des römischen Volkes, also nicht Provinzboden, weshalb Hadrian diesen Titel dort vermieden hat.

Rekonstruieren lässt sich nur der Standarttext dieses Diploms:

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) potest(ate) XIII, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) / equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui militaver(unt) in alis II et coh(ortibus) XI, quae appellantur Aug(usta) Xoitan(a) et I Flav(ia) Agrippian(a) et I Ascalonitanor(um) sagitt(aria) et I Ulp(ia) Dacor(um) et I Ulp(ia) sagitt(aria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ulp(ia) Petr(aeorum) sagitt(aria) et II Classica et II Gemina Ligur(um) et Corso[r(um)] et II Ulp(ia) equit(um) sag(ittaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Italica c(ivium) R(omanorum)] et III [Thrac(um) Syriaca sag(ittaria) et IIII Callaec(or)um] Luc(ensium) [et V Ulp(ia) Petre(or)um] sag(ittaria) et sunt in Syri]a sub Po[blicio Marcello] quinis et] v[icenis pluribusve stipend(iis) emeritis di] miss(is) h[onest(a) miss(ione), quor(um) nom(ina) subscripta sunt--] etc.*

Innenseite:

[-- et II Ulp(ia) equit(um) sag(ittaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum)] et II It[alica c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III Thrac(um) Syriaca sag(ittaria) et II]II Call(aeorum) L[uc(ensium) et V Ulp(ia) Petr(eorum) sag(ittaria) et sunt in Syria sub P[ob]licio Marcello] etc.

3. Diplom unter Einschluss der Frau und eines Kindes eines Veteranen, vielleicht zwischen 128 und Anfang 133.

Fragment aus der linken unteren Ecke einer tabella I eines Diploms, dessen Rand links und unten erhalten blieb. Den Rahmen bilden zwei Linien. Bemerkenswert ist, dass vor der Descriptum-Formel auf der linken Seite Platz für etwa zwei Zeilen frei geblieben ist.

Maße: Höhe 3.9 cm, Breite 3.2 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 4 mm, innen 4 mm. Gewicht 10.7 Gramm.



Abb. 5.



Abb. 6

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[--]

ET APTAV[--]

[ET –F/FIL EIVS]

[--]

DESCRIPT[VM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA]

AENEA Q[VAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST]

TEMPLVM [DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM]

Innenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F] DIVI NER

[VAE NEP TRAIANVS HADRIANVS] AVG PONT

[MAX TRIB POT COS III P P] PROCO[S]

[--]

Das Fragment lässt nur erkennen, dass die Konstitution in den Jahren erlassen wurde, als Hadrian, wie es der Titel *proconsul* zeigt, sich in den Provinzen aufhielt, also zwischen 121 und 125, sowie erneut zwischen 128 und Anfang 133.¹⁰ Wenn die Ergänzung *p(ater) p(atriae)* zutrifft, gehörte die Konstitution in die Zeit der zweiten großen Reise in die östlichen Provinzen.

Das Diplom schloss neben dem Veteranen auch dessen Frau sowie vermutlich ein oder zwei Kinder; deren Namen dürften in dem Teil des Diploms gestanden haben, der links zwischen dem Namen der Mutter und *Descriptum* unbeschrieben ist.

Der Name der Frau lautet offensichtlich Aptav[--], der allerdings bisher nicht bezeugt ist.¹¹

Der rekonstruierbare Text lautet:

Außenseite:

[---] / et Aptav[--/ et --- *f(ilio)/fil(iae) ?et f(ilio) / fil(iae) eius?*] / *Descript[um et recognitum ex tabula] / aenea q[uae fixa est Romae in muro post] / templum [divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam].*

Innenseite:

[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius)*] *divi Ner/[vae nep(os) Traianus Hadrianus] Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / [max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) --, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae),] proco(n)[s(ul)] / equitibus et peditibus--] etc.*

¹⁰ Siehe dazu W. Eck, Die Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen als serielle Quellengattung und *proconsul* als Element in der Titulatur der römischen Kaiser, in: Mélanges J.-L. Ferrary, hg. A. Heller, C. Müller, A. Suspène, Paris 2019, 488–492.

¹¹ Bezeugt ist Apta: Siehe z.B. CIL V 2901; CIL VI 6520, 11842; CIL VIII 18975; CIL XIV 299. Der Name kann, wie RMD IV 311 = D. Dana – F. Matei-Popescu, Chiron 39, 2009, 217, 224 f. zeigt, auch für einen Mann verwendet werden.

4. Eine neue Konstitution Hadrians aus dem Jahr 135/6, wohl für die Truppen von Pannonia inferior.

Fragment aus der oberen Mitte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist oben erhalten, den Rahmen bildet eine einfache Linie.

Maße: Höhe 2,3 cm, Breite 2,4 cm, Dicke 0,5 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 4 mm, innen 5 mm. Gewicht 2,4 Gramm.



Abb. 7



Abb. 8

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[IMP CAESAR DI]VI TRAIAN[I PARTHICI F DIVI]
[NERVAE NEPO]S TRAIAN[VS HADRIANVS AVG]
[PONTIF MAX TR]IB POT XX I[MP II COS III P P]
[EQVIT ET PEDI]T QVI MIL[IT IN ALIS --- ET COH]

Innenseite:

VET[--]
AVG [--]
THR E[--]
++[--]M+[--]

Die Konstitution wurde von Hadrian für ein Provinzialheer ausgestellt, als er die 20. *tribunicia potestas* bekleidete. Dass es die 20. und nicht etwa die 21. war, zeigt deutlich der Zahlstrich, der kurz vor dem Bruchrand endete; bei der Ziffer XX[I] hätte er über den Bruchrand hinausgeragt. Damit gehört die winzige Spur einer Haste am unteren Ende der Zeile zum folgenden I[MP]. Die *tribunicia potestas* XX dauerte vom 10. Dez. 135 – 9. Dez. 136.

Die Reste der Namen von Einheiten auf der Innenseite sind nicht sehr spezifisch: *veterana*, *Augusta*, *Thracum*. Diese finden sich wohl vor allem beim Heer von Pannonia inferior, auch in etwa in dieser Reihenfolge, so etwa in einem Diplom aus dem Jahr 135.¹²

¹² RMD IV 251 = RGZM 27.

equitib(us) et pedit(ibus), qui militav(erunt) in alis V et coh(ortibus) XIII, quae appell(antur) I Thr(acum) vet(erana) et I Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Brit(annica) |(miliaria) et I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Aug(usta) Itur(aerorum) / pr(aetoria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Alp(inorum) et I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) etc.

Eine genauere Einpassung dieser Abfolge in die wenigen Reste scheint aber nicht möglich, zumal die Reihenfolge der Einheiten in Pannonia nicht so streng ist, wie in anderen Provinzen.

Folgender Text aus Außen- und Innenseite lässt sich rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) di]vi Traian[i Parthici f(ilius) divi / Nervae nepo]s Traian[us Hadrianus Aug(ustus) / pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XX, i[mp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) /

equit(ibus) et pedi]t(ibus), qui mil[it(averunt) in alis -- et coh(ortibus) / --, quae appell(antur) -- et --] vet(erana) [et -- et --] Aug(usta) [-- et -- et --] Thr(acum) e[t -- et -- / et[--] M[--].

5. Diplom vielleicht für Pannonia inferior, wohl aus der zweiten Hälfte der hadrianischen Regierungszeit.

Fragment aus der mittleren Mitte von tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nirgends erhalten.

Maße: Höhe 2.7 cm, Breite 1.4 cm, Dicke 1–1.3 mm; Buchstabenhöhe außen 3, innen 4.5 mm. Gewicht 2.4 Gramm.



Abb. 9



Abb. 10

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[--]++[--]
 [--]ET SVN[T ---]
 [-- SVB ---]E QVI[NIS ET VICENIS]
 [ITEM CLASSICIS SENIS ET V]ICENI[S STIPENDIS]
 [EMERITIS DIMISSIS HONES]T MISS[IONE QVORVM]

[NOMINA SVBSCRIPT SVNT I]P̄SIS LI[BERIS POSTE]
[RISQVE EORVM---]

Innenseite:

[--]+++++ [--]
[--]VG THRA[--]
[--]++ II [--]

Das Diplom wurde für eine Provinz ausgestellt, in der neben einer Einheit mit dem Namen *Aug(usta) Thracum* auch *classici* zum Heer gehörten, wie es die unterschiedliche Dauer des Dienstes zeigt. Beide Elemente finden sich zusammen auch in zahlreichen anderen Diplomen, die, soweit unser bisheriges Vergleichsmaterial es zulässt, alle für Pannonia inferior ausgegeben wurden: RMD IV 251 (135); CIL XVI 175 (139); RMD IV 266 (143); RMD IV 268 (141/144); AE 2008, 1116 (146); CIL 16, 179. 180 (148); AE 2009, 1826 (152); AE 2004, 1923; AE 2013, 2198 (154); RMD II 102. 103 (157).

Da *quinis* der Buchstabe E vorausgeht, war damals ein Statthalter im Amt, dessen Name im Ablativ auf E endete. In all den eben angeführten Diplomen endet allerdings kein Cognomen des jeweiligen Statthalters im Ablativ in dieser Weise.

Allerdings kennen wir aus dem Jahr 133/134 einen L. Attius Macro als Legaten in Pannonia inferior, dessen Cognomen passen würde.¹³ Auch kommt er in einem Diplom vor, das vermutlich für einen Soldaten dieser Provinz ausgestellt wurde.¹⁴ Allerdings werden dort keine *classici* erwähnt. Ferner wird ein weiterer Statthalter, dessen Cognomen mit *[-]one* endet, in einem Diplom angeführt, das ebenfalls für Pannonia inferior bestimmt war und aus dem Jahr 127 stammt.¹⁵ In diesem Diplom wurden *classici* in den Text aufgenommen, allerdings ist dieser Teil der Rekonstruktion nicht zwingend, wie auch das vorher zitierte Diplom mit Attius Macro zeigt.

Der Name des Attius Macro würde allerdings in die Lücke passen, wenn man den Text so rekonstruieren würde:

[--]ET SVN[T IN PANNON]
[INFER SVB ATTIO MACRON]E QVI[NIS ET VICENIS]
[ITEM CLASSICIS SENIS ET V]ICENI[S STIPENDIS]

Doch bleibt das sehr hypothetisch, weshalb der Name unten nicht in die Rekonstruktion eingeschlossen wird. Ansonsten aber kann man das Fragment mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit der Provinz Pannonia inferior zuweisen, und zwar am ehesten in die zweite Hälfte der Regierungszeit Hadrians. Der späteste Zeitpunkt ist jedenfalls der Herbst 140, da von diesem Zeitpunkt an die Kinder von Veteranen wegen des Eingriffs des Antoninus Pius nicht mehr in die Bürgerrechtsvergabe eingeschlossen wurden.

Damit kann man den Text in etwa folgender Weise rekonstruieren:

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) ---, co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriae)?*]

¹³ B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* 19:008a.

¹⁴ J. Minis – St. Schorn, A fragmentary military diploma from the Thermenmuseum in Heerlen, ZPE 204, 2017, 299 ff.

¹⁵ P. Weiß, Statthalter und Konsulndaten in neuen Militärdiplomen, ZPE 171, 2009, 238 ff.

equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis --- et coh(ortibus) ---, quae appell(antur) --- et -et? A]ug(usta Thr[ac(um) et - et --] et sun[t in Pannonia inferiore? sub --]e qui[nis et vicenis / item classicis senis et v]iceni[s stipendis / emeritis dimissis hono]r(a) miss[ione, quorum / nomina subscript(a) sunt i]psis li[beris poste/risque eorum---] etc.

6. Diplom aus der Zeit Hadrians für Moesia inferior unter dem Statthalter Iulius Gallus.

Fragment aus der linken Mitte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nur links erhalten. Den Rahmen bildet eine nur noch schwach erkennbare Doppellinie.

Maße: Höhe und Breite je 2.9 cm. Gewicht 3.4 Gramm.



Abb. 11



Abb. 12

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[--- PAN]
 NON E[T --]
 ET I FLA[VIA --]
 ET SVN[T IN MOESIA INFERIORE SVB IVLIO]
 GALLO[--]

Innenseite:

[IMP CAE]S DIVI TR[AIANI PARTHICI]
 [FILIVS DI]VI NERV[AE NEPOS TRAIA]
 [NVS HADRIA]NVS A[VG PONT MAX]
 [TRIB POT COS]

Das Diplom wurde für das Auxiliarheer einer Provinz ausgestellt, in der eine Einheit lag, in deren Namen das Element [--]non(--)] enthalten war; dies sollte am ehesten eine *ala/*

cohors Pannoniorum gewesen sein oder vielleicht eine Einheit mit dem Namen *Pannonica*; ferner gehört eine zweite Einheit zur Provinzbesatzung, deren Name mit *I Flavia* begann. Einheiten mit diesen Namens-elementen gab es zahlreich, sowohl bei den Alen als auch bei den Kohorten. *I Flavia* war als Name allein möglich, meist aber folgte danach noch eine weitere Bezeichnung wie z.B. *Afrorum*, *Bessorum*, *Brittonum* usw.¹⁶ Auf Grund dieser Vielzahl ist es nicht möglich, über diese Einheiten die Provinz zu bestimmen, da die beiden Elemente *Panniorum* und *I Flavia* in den Listen mehrerer Provinzheere auftreten.

Erhalten ist auch ein Teil vom Namen des Statthalters: *Gallo* [--]. Man darf davon ausgehen, dass hier das Cognomen Gallus im Ablativ gemeint ist. Das Gentile Gallonius, das ebenfalls sowohl bei Senatoren als bei Rittern zu finden ist, kann hier nicht gemeint sein, da aus Gründen der Platzverteilung bereits in der Zeile davor ein Gentile gestanden hat, auf das ein Cognomen gefolgt sein muss. Doch für beides ist in der Zeile nach ET SVN[T IN + Provinzname] nicht mehr genügend Platz. Damit muss *Gallo* das Cognomen gewesen sein.

Aus der Regierungszeit Hadrians, in die das Fragment gehört, kennen wir einen Iulius Gallus als Statthalter von Moesia superior im Jahr 126 und 129.¹⁷ Doch Einheiten, deren Name mit *I Flavia* beginnt, sind in dieser Provinz nur von der flavischen bis in die spätraianische Zeit bezeugt,¹⁸ danach nicht mehr, obwohl wir nicht wenige Diplome mit vollständigen Listen für diese Provinz kennen. Damit kann Iulius Gallus jedenfalls als Legat von Moesia superior nicht in dem Fragment genannt sein. Möglich ist aber, dass er nach der obermösischen Provinz eine weitere konsulare Provinz übernahm, in der Auxilien mit diesen Namensteilen stationiert waren.

In Germania inferior sind die beiden im Diplom vorhandenen Namensteile für Auxilien bezeugt,¹⁹ doch kommt die Provinz deshalb nicht in Frage, weil in den Diplomen für diese Provinz die Einheiten regelmäßig in umgekehrter Reihenfolge erscheinen, also die *I Flavia* vor der *Pannoniorum*.

Auch in Moesia inferior finden sich beide Namens-elemente in den Diplomen, und zwar in der Reihenfolge wie in dem neuen Fragment: zuerst eine Einheit *Pannoniorum*, dann eine *I Flavia*. Bezeugt sind z.B. in RMD IV 241 aus dem Jahr 127 unter dem Legaten Bruttius Praesens eine *ala I Pann(oniorum) et Gall(orum)* und eine *cohors I Flav(ia) Numidar(um)*;²⁰ auch bereits für das Jahr 120 sind die Einheiten dort bekannt.²¹ Ein Statthalter Gallus ist bisher in dieser Provinz nicht bezeugt; wohl aber kennen wir dort im Jahr 132 einen Legaten, dessen Gentile mit *Iu* [--] beginnt, der bisher mit Iulius Maior

¹⁶ Siehe die Listen in den beiden Arbeiten von J. Spaul, *Ala*², Andover 1994, 12 ff.; *Cohors*², Oxford 2000, 10 ff.

¹⁷ AE 2006, 1864 = AE 2008, 1717 = AE 2014, 1648; AE 2015, 1886. Vgl. B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* 20:035; W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 207, 2018, 219–231, hier 224 ff.

¹⁸ Noch im Jahr 115 ist die *I Flavia Bessorum* in Moesia superior (AE 2005, 1723 = AE 2008, 1740) bezeugt, doch schon im Jahr 120 lag sie in Macedonia (CIL XVI 67). Siehe auch F. Matei-Popescu – O. Țentea, *Auxilia Moesiae superioris*, Bukarest 2018, 36–37.

¹⁹ Siehe R. Tomlin – J. Pearce, *A Roman Military Diploma for the German Fleet* (19 November 150) found in Northern Britain, ZPE 206, 2018, 207–216; RMD IV 239.

²⁰ Ebenso RGZM 23; AE 2008, 1755.

²¹ RMD V 356; W. Eck – A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplome aus der Zeit Hadrians für die beiden mösischen Provinzen*, ZPE 207, 2018, 219–232 mit weiteren Hinweisen. Siehe auch F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia inferior*, Bukarest 2010, 185–186 und 225.

identifiziert wurde,²² der im Jahr 134 sicher als Statthalter von Moesia inferior bezeugt ist.²³ Dass er schon 132 im Amt war, ist zwar möglich, doch ist es weit wahrscheinlicher, dass Iulius Maior nach 134 noch länger in der Provinz war, solange, bis er von Antonius Hiberus abgelöst wurde, der im Jahr 136 dort bezeugt ist.²⁴ Der Text der Innenseite des Diploms aus dem Jahr 132 muss aber nicht auf Iulius Maior ergänzt werden, es lässt sich auch der Name des Iulius Gallus einsetzen:

[ET SVNT IN MOES I]NFER SVB IV[LIO]
[GALLO QVINQV ET VIGINTI STIP E]M DIM HON MISS
[QVOR NOMIN SVBSCRIPT SVNT IP]SIS LIB POST EOR
[CIV DED ET CONVB CVM VXOR QVA]S TVN[C HABV]

Damit haben wir folgende Informationen: Im Jahr 132 war ein *Iu[lius]* Statthalter von Moesia inferior. Ferner kennen wir unter Hadrian einen Statthalter Gallus, der das Heer einer Provinz kommandierte, in dem zwei Einheiten standen, in deren Bezeichnung die Namenselemente *Pannoniorum* und *I Flavia* erscheinen, was unter Hadrian nur in Moesia inferior bekannt ist, was damit auch für den Statthalter Gallus gilt, der damit in die Reihe der Statthalter der Provinz zu integrieren ist. Bisher kennen wir für diese Provinz folgende konsulare Legaten:

C. Ummidius Quadratus ca. 119 - 122

C. Bruttius Praesens ca. 125 - 127/128

Sex. Iulius Severus ca. 128 - 129/130

Sex. Iulius Maior ca. 133 - 135/136

M. Antonius Hiberus ca. 135/136 - 138/139.

Daraus ergibt sich, dass nur nach Ummidius Quadratus und zwischen Iulius Severus und Iulius Maior Platz ist für einen weiteren Statthalter. Da nun eben im Jahr 132 ein *Iu[lius]* als Legat in der Provinz bezeugt ist, spricht alles dafür, ihn mit dem Iulius Gallus, der wegen der im Diplom zitierten Einheiten nach Moesia inferior gehören muss, zu identifizieren. Dann war Iulius Gallus zunächst zwischen 126 und 129/130 Legat in Moesia superior gewesen²⁵ und hat anschließend etwa von 130²⁶ bis mindestens 132 oder sogar 133 die Nachbarprovinz geleitet.

Man muss noch darauf hinweisen, dass damit in Moesia inferior nacheinander drei Statthalter im Amt waren, deren Gentilnomen jeweils gleich war, nämlich Iulius. Solche Gleichartigkeit kann bei fragmentarischen Texten leicht zu irrigen Identifizierungen führen, wie das im Fall von Iulius Maior geschehen ist.

Der rekonstruierte Text dieses Diploms lautet:

Innenseite:

²² W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Neue Diplome für die Truppen in den Donauprovinzen, in: Visy 75. Artificem commendat opus. Studia in honorem Zsolt Visy, hg. B. I. Farkas – R. Neményi – M. Szabó, Pécs 2019, 129–145, hier 135 f.

²³ Zu Iulius Maior siehe CIL XVI 78 (134); RMD IV 252; auch in AE 2008, 1723 ist sein Name zu ergänzen.

²⁴ AE 2016, 2015. 2016.

²⁵ Bezeugt ist er im Jahr 126 durch: AE 2000, 1851 = RMD V 366; AE 2014, 1648; 2015, 1886, im Jahr 129 durch ein weiteres Diplom: W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 207, 2018, 224 ff.

²⁶ Sein Vorgänger Sex. Iulius Severus, den man früher noch als Legaten in Moesia inferior im Jahr 132 angesehen hatte, ist nunmehr bereits im Jahr 130 in Britannien bezeugt (P. Weiß, ZPE 156, 2006, 245 ff. = AE 2006, 1836).

[Imp(erator) Cae]s(ar) divi Tr[ai]ani Parthici / filius di]vi Nerv[ae] nepos Traia[nus] Hadria[nus] Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus), / trib(unicia) pot(estate) ---, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae)? /

equ(itibus) et ped(itibus), ---]

Außenseite:

[--, quae app(ellantur) – Pan]/non(iorum) [et Gallor(um) et --] / et I Fla[via] Num(idarum) et --] / et sun[t in Moesia inferiore sub Iulio] / Gallo [quinis et vicens pluribusve stipend(iis) emerit(is) ---] etc.

Der Text des Diploms, das in der Festschrift für Z. Visy publiziert wurde,²⁷ ist in folgender Weise zu ergänzen:

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVI, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae), proco(n)s(ul)

equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui militaver(unt) in alis -- et coh(ortibus) --, quae appell(antur) – et I Bracarorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) --- et sunt in Moesia inferiore sub Iulio Gallo quinq(ue) et vigint(i) stipend(iis) emeritis dimiss(is) honest(a) missione,

quorum nomin(a) subscript(a) sunt, ipsis liber(is) posterisq(ue) eorum civitat(em) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxorib(us), quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelib(es) essent, cum iis, quas / postea duxisse]nt, dumtaxa[t singuli singulas. /

A(nte) d(iem) --?] k(alendas) Mart(ias) oder A(nte) d(iem)] k(alendis) Mart(iis) / [C(aio) Serio Augu]rino, C(aio) Trebio [Sergiano co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) I Braca]ror(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum), [cui prae(e)st / -- Qu]intillianu[s -- / ex pedite / [--]endi [f(ilio) -- / et – f(ilio) eius] et Flacco f(ilio) ei[u]s et – f(ilio) eius. /

Descriptum et rec[og]nitum [ex tabula aen/ea, quae fixa est R]omae in m[uro] post tem/plum divi Au[g(usti)] ad Min[ervam].

Innenseite:

[--- et sunt in Moesia i]nferiore sub Iu[l]io / Gallo quinqu(e) et vigint(i) stip(endiis) e]m(eritis) dim(issis) hon(esta) miss(ione), / [quor(um) nomin(a) subscript(a) sunt, ip]sis lib(eris) post(erisque) eor(um) / [civ(itatem) ded(it) et conub(ium) cum uxor(ibus), qua]s tun[c habu(issent)] etc.

7. Diplom für einen Auxiliar, ausgegeben zwischen 118 und 134.

Fragment aus der linken Mitte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nur links erhalten. Der Rahmen besteht aus zwei einfachen, eng beieinander liegenden Linien.

Maße: Höhe 2.9 cm, Breite 4.6 cm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[---]

CIVITATEM DED[IT ET CONV]B CVM VXORIB QVAS]

TVNC HABVI[SS CVM EST CIVITAS IS DATA AVT SI]

QVI CAE[LIBES ESSENT CVM IS QVAS POSTEA DVX]

²⁷ Siehe oben Anm. 22.

Innenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI TRAI]ANI PAR[THICI F DIVI NER]
 [VAE N TRAIANVS H]ADRIAN[VS AVG PONT MAX]
 [TRIB POTEST]II CO[S III --?]
 [EQVIT ET PEDIT QVI] MIL ● [IN ALIS ---]



Abb. 13



Abb. 14

Der erschließbare Text zeigt nur, dass das Fragment auf eine Konstitution zurückgeht, die von Hadrian für das Auxiliarheer einer Provinz ausgestellt wurde. Ausgeschlossen ist eine Konstitution für eine der italischen Flotten, da sonst der Rahmen stärker ausgearbeitet wäre, wie das bei Diplomen für die *classes praetoriae* oft zu beobachten ist. Die Zahl der *tribunicia potestas* lässt sich aus den beiden noch sichtbaren Hasten nicht näher bestimmen, es war mindestens eine II (117/118) und maximal XVIII (133/134). Am Ende von Zeile drei der Innenseite stand möglicherweise noch *p(ater) p(atriae)*; doch ist diese Ergänzung nicht sicher; der Titel *proco(n)s(ul)* dürfte allerdings aus Platzgründen dort nicht gestanden haben. Damit ist unter Einschluss der beiden Seiten nur der einfache Text zu rekonstruieren:

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) diui Trai]ani Par[thici f(ilius) diui Ner/vae n(epos) Traianus H]adrian[us Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus), / trib(unicia) potest(ate) ?]II, co(n)[s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae) ? /

equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui] mil(itaverunt) [in alis --- et coh(ortibus) --- quae appell(antur) ----] /

civitatem ded[it et conub(ium) cum uxorib(us), quas] / tunc habui[ss(ent), cum est civitas i(i)s data, aut, si] / qui cae[libes essent, cum i(i)s, quas postea /duxissent---].

8. Diplom für einen Bessus, nach ca. 127.

Fragment aus der rechten unteren Ecke von tabella I eines Diploms. An allen Seiten abgebrochen, nur unten ist ein Stück des Rands erhalten. Den Rahmen bilden zwei einfache Linien.

Maße: Höhe ca. 3.1 cm; Breite ca. 3.3 cm.



Abb. 15



Abb. 16

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[ex---] *vacat*
 [--] BESSO
 [DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX] TABVLA AE[N/R]
 [EA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN] MVRO POST
 [TEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MI]NERVAM

Innenseite:

[---]DVX DVM
[TAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS] *vacat*
oder
[TAXAT SINGVLIS] *vacat*
vacat

Das Auxiliardiplom ist an einen Soldaten aus dem Stamm der Bessi ausgegeben worden. Weder eine Frau noch ein Kind ist in die Privilegierung eingeschlossen. Das Diplom gehört auf jeden Fall in ein Jahr nach ca. 127; denn der Verleihungstext endet seitdem fast immer auf der Innenseite von tabella I, wie das auch hier der Fall ist.²⁸ Vorher endete er meist erst in den ersten Zeilen der Innenseite von tabella II.

²⁸ Siehe RMD V p. 921 ff.

Auffällig ist der recht große freie Platz am unteren Ende der Innenseite. Dies könnte entweder auf eine nur kleine Liste von Einheiten hindeuten, die in die Konstitution eingeschlossen waren, oder auf die Jahre zwischen ca. 143 und 152 verweisen, als meist im Innentext auf die Nennung der Einheiten „verzichtet“ wurde.²⁹ Dann würde das Diplom in die Zeit des Pius gehören. Doch scheint es keine Möglichkeit zu geben, um das eine oder andere zu verifizieren. So bleibt es allein beim terminus post quem ca. 127.

Der Text lautet:

[cum iis quas postea] dux(issent) dum[taxat singulis singulas oder singulis.

ex ---] Besso. /

[Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex] tabula ae[r(ea), / quae fixa est Romae in] muro post / [templum divi Aug(usti) ad Mi]nervam.

9. Diplom Hadrians für Auxiliare oder Flottensoldaten, nach 127/129.

Fragment aus der rechten Mitte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Das über CIVITAS sichtbare Loch gehört zu den Löchern für den Siegeldraht. Dagegen ist das Loch rechts oben später für einen anderen Zweck angefertigt worden. Der Rahmen besteht aus zwei Linien mit einem weiten Zwischenraum. Der Rand ist nur rechts erhalten.

Maße: Höhe 4.1 cm, Breite 4 cm, Dicke 1.5 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 4–5 mm, innen 5 mm. Gewicht 15.8 Gramm.



Abb. 17



Abb. 18

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[---]+[---]

[-- ET CONVIVIM CVM VXORIBVS] QVAS

[●] ●

[TVNC HABVISS CVM EST C]IVITAS IIS DA

²⁹ W. Eck, Die Veränderungen (Anm. 30) 98 f.

[TA AVT SI QVI CAELIB ESS] CVM IIS QVAS
[POSTEA DVXISS DVMTAX]AT SINGVLI
[SINGVLAS]

Innenseite:

[---]
[HABVISS CVM EST CIVITAS]● IIS DA[TA AVT]
[SI QVI CAEL ESSENT CVM II]IS QVAS P[OSTEA]
[DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT SIN]GVL SING[VL]
[vacat] vacat
[vacat] vacat

Vom Diplom ist nur Standardtext erhalten. Doch einige äußerliche Faktoren lassen dennoch eine relativ enge Datierung zu. Zum einen endet bereits auf der Innenseite der gesamte Privilegierungstext. Das zeigt, dass das Diplom erst nach 127/129 ausgestellt worden ist. Denn vorher wird der Text vor dem Datum meist noch auf tabella II hinübergezogen. Andererseits endet der Text noch mit *singuli singulas*, was seit Ende 140 nicht mehr geschieht; außerdem wird schlicht die *civitas* verliehen, während der Text der Diplome seit 140 die *civitas* als *Romana* kennzeichnet.³⁰ Damit gehört das Fragment in die Zeit von 127/129 bis 140, vermutlich am ehesten unter Hadrian. Da auf der Innenseite unten recht viel Platz frei geblieben ist, war entweder die Liste der Auxilien, die in die Privilegierung eingeschlossen waren, sehr kurz oder es könnte sich um eine Konstitution für eine der italischen Flotten handeln. Denn für sie war der Text von der Titulatur bis *singulis singulas* naturgemäß kurz. Entscheiden lässt es sich aber nicht.

Der Text lautet damit, falls Hadrian der Urheber war, so:

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthic(i) f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) potest(ate) --, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae)*

equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui militaver(unt) in alis -- et coh(ortibus) --, quae appell(antur) --- quinis et vican(is) plurib(us)ve stipend(iis) emerit(is) dimiss(is) honest(a) missione

oder, falls das Diplom für einen Flottensoldaten bestimmt war:

iis, qui militaverunt in classe praetoria ---, quae est sub --- sex et viginti stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione

quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus,] quas / [tunc habuiss(ent), cum est c]ivitas iis da/[ta, aut, si qui caelib(es) ess(en)t, cum iis, quas / [postea duxiss(ent), dumtax]/at singuli / [singulas].

10. Diplom des Antoninus Pius für eine unbekannte Einheit zwischen 13.

Februar und 22. August 139.

Fragment aus der rechten oberen Ecke einer tabella I eines Diploms, wo auch eines der Löcher für den Ring, der die beiden Tafeln zusammenhielt, erhalten ist. Der Rand

³⁰ Dazu zusammenfassend W. Eck, Die Veränderungen in Konstitutionen und Diplomen unter Antoninus Pius, in: Militärdiplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004, hg. M. A. Speidel – H. Lieb, Stuttgart 2007, 87–104.

ist oben und rechts erhalten. Den Rahmen bildet eine einfache Linie, relativ weit vom Rand entfernt.

Maße: Höhe 4 cm, Breite 2.1 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe außen 3, innen 4 mm. Gewicht ca. 5 Gramm.



Abb. 19



Abb. 20

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[IMP CAESAR DIVI HADRIANI F] DIVI TRAIAN ●
 [NI PARTHICI NEP DIVI NERVAE P]RONEP T AE
 [LIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AV]G PIVS PONT
 [MAX TRIB POT II COS]II PP
 [---]++[--]

Innenseite:

QV[OR NOMIN SVBSCRIPT SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS]
 QVE [EOR CIVIT DEDIT ET CONV B CVM VXORIBVS QVAS]
 TVN[C HA C EST CIV IS DAT AVT SI Q CAEL ESS CVM IS Q]
 ● P D[VX DVMTAX SINGVLI SINGVLAS]

Die winzigen Buchstabenreste in Zeile 5 der Außenseite (genau unter der Ziffer II in Zeile 4] sind nicht zu identifizieren.

Die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, wurde von Antoninus Pius im Jahr 139 erlassen. Dies ergibt sich aus der Ziffer II in Zeile 4 der Außenseite. Diese kann sich nicht auf *imp(erator) II* beziehen, weil dieses Titularelement, das seit 142 stets erscheint,

immer vor dem Konsulat steht. Dass die Ziffer *II* zu lesen ist und nicht etwa zu *[I]II* ergänzt werden kann, zeigt der Zahlstrich über *II*, der gerade über der ersten Haste nach rechts ansetzt.

Die Zeit kann noch insoweit auf die Monate vor dem 22. August 139 eingeschränkt werden, weil in einem Diplom mit diesem Datum auch die Designation zum dritten Konsulat genannt wird, die aber hier nicht gestanden haben kann.

Im Jahr 138 und Anfang 139 wurde die Privilegierungsformel ein wenig geändert, was an der Formel *conubium cum uxoribus, quas NVNC HABENT, cum iis civitas DATVR* deutlich wird. Diese ist seit 138 bekannt und noch am 13. Februar 139 bezeugt;³¹ doch in dem neuen Fragment steht bereits wieder *tunc* wie in der üblichen Formel. Damit ist das Fragment nach dem 13. Februar und vor dem 22. August 139 zu datieren.

Was von der Innenseite erhalten ist, gehört zur Privilegierungsformel. Versucht man allerdings die Buchstabenreste, deren Lesung klar ist, auf die Zeilen zu verteilen, dann entsteht, auch bei starker Abkürzung für viele Worte in der Zeile, die mit *TVNC* beginnt, ein Bild, das sehr ungleichmäßig ist.

QV[ORVM NOMINA SVBSCRITA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS]
QVE [EOR CIVITATEM DEDIT ET CONVB CVM VXORIB QVAS]
TVNC [HAB CVM EST CIV IS DAT AVT SI QVI CAEL ESS CVM IS QVAS]
P[OST DVXISS DVMTAX SING SINGV].

Die Zeile bleibt, auch wenn man viele Worte massiv abkürzt, länger als die anderen, in denen in der Rekonstruktion in Kapitälchen fast nicht abgekürzt wird. Man könnte das damit erklären, dass in dieser Zeile ein oder zwei Worte ausgefallen sind, doch lässt sich dies nicht verifizieren. Der Grund für die Disparatheit bleibt, ohne dass dies aber den Inhalt betrifft.

Der Text lautet damit:

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traia/[ni Parthici nep(os) divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Ae/[lius Hadrianus Antoninus Au]g(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) / [max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II, co(n)s(ul)] II p(ater) p(atriciae) / [--]*]

Für welche Provinz die Konstitution bestimmt war, lässt sich nicht erkennen. Innerhalb des ermittelten Zeitraums kennt man nur zwei Erlasse für die Heere von Pannonia inferior und superior mit dem Datum: *a(nte) d(iem) XV K(alendas) Aug(ustas)* = 18. Juli.³² Ob das Diplom auf diese Konstitution bezogen werden kann, bleibt offen.

11. Eine Konstitution für die Truppen von Dacia Porolissensis aus dem Jahr 139 oder 140.

Fragment aus der linken unteren Ecke einer tabella II. Der Rand ist links und unten erhalten; ein doppelter Rahmen mit zwei leichten Rillen ist links zu sehen. Auf der Innenseite ist am rechten Rand wohl massiv gereinigt worden, wodurch in Zeile 2 der zweite Buchstabe sehr unklar geworden ist.

³¹ W. Eck, Die Veränderungen in Konstitutionen und Diplomen unter Antoninus Pius, in: Militärdiplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004, hg. M. A. Speidel – H. Lieb, Stuttgart 2007, 87–104, hier 88 f.

³² CIL XVI 175; AE 2010, 1262.

Maße: Höhe 5.4 cm, Breite 4.1 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe außen 5, innen 4–5 mm. Gewicht 25 Gramm.



Abb. 21



Abb. 22

Folgendes kann gelesen werden:

Außenseite:

[--]

T FLAV[--]

TI IVL[--]

C IVLI[--]

Innenseite:

A D [--]

IM[--]

vacat [--]

COH II AVG[--]

L VQ[--]

Die Siegelzeugen auf der Außenseite, die die letzten drei Stellen der gesamten Zeugenreihe einnehmen, sind aus anderen Diplomen bekannt, die in RMD V p. 924 zusammengestellt sind. Sie führen auf die Jahre 138 bis maximal 140. Auf der Innenseite ist von der kompletten Datumsangabe nur wenig erhalten, aber immerhin der Anfang des Namens des ersten Konsuls. Das I ist sicher zu lesen; denn was wie eine obere Querhaste aussieht, wird nur durch die zahlreichen Rillen, die von der Herstellung stammen, bewirkt. Der darauf folgende Buchstabe könnte am ehesten ein M sein, bei dem die rechte Schräghaste verloren gegangen ist.

Üblicherweise werden in dieser Zeit auf der Innenseite nur noch die Cognomina der beiden Konsuln genannt. In den Jahren 138 und 139 sind zahlreiche Konsuln bezeugt, allerdings nicht alle.³³ Unter den bekannten Amtsträgern beginnt nur das Cognomen des M. Ceccius Iustinus mit dem Buchstaben I, der aber wegen des folgenden S hier nicht gestanden haben kann. Wenn aber der nach I folgende Buchstabe tatsächlich ein M sein sollte; dann scheint es möglich, dass dies der Rest von *Imp(eratore)* ist. Antoninus Pius führte sowohl im Jahr 139 als auch 140 die *fasces*, 139 mit C. Bruttius Praesens, beide zum zweiten Mal, 140 als *cos. III* zusammen mit seinem Adoptivsohn Marcus Aurelius. Wenn einer der Kaiser im Jahr der Ausgabe eines Diploms die *fasces* führte, wird auch auf der Innenseite von tabella II dessen voller Name genannt, was man von der Zeit Vespasians bis zu Maximinus Thrax sehen kann. Dabei lässt sich zeigen, dass dann die Namen der beiden Konsuln untereinander angeordnet sind, nicht nebeneinander, wie es bei den zwei Cognomina anderer Konsuln üblich war (denn einen Kaiser in einer Datierung der kaiserlichen Kanzlei nur mit einem Namen zu nennen, war mehr oder weniger ausgeschlossen). Der vollständige Name findet sich etwa in CIL XVI 42 aus dem Jahr 98:³⁴

a(nte) d(iem) X K(alendas) Mart(ias)

Imp(eratore) Caesare Traiano Aug(usto) Ger(manico) II

Sex(to) Iulio Frontino II co(n)s(ulibus).

Ebenso im Jahr 119:³⁵

[a(nte) d(iem) --] K(alendas) April(es)

[Imp(eratore) Caesare Traiano H]adriano Aug(usto) III

[A(ulo) Platorio] Nepote co(n)s(ulibus).

Auch aus dem Jahr 139 findet sich Pius' Name in etwas vollständigerer Form, allerdings nur als

Antonino Aug(usto) Pi(o) et Praesente II co(n)s(ulibus),³⁶

also sogar in einer Zeile. Dass diese Angabe aber nicht als völlige Normalität angesehen werden darf, zeigt das Fehlen der Iterationszahl bei Pius selbst. Dass im Fall, dass beide Konsuln zum zweiten Mal die *fasces* führten, dies nur nach dem zweiten Namen vermerkt wurde, ist mehr als ungewöhnlich, noch dazu, da die Ziffer beim Kaiser fehlt. Deshalb wird man bei dem neuen Fragment in Analogie zu den anderen Jahren, in denen Kaiser den Konsulat übernahmen, mit einiger Berechtigung folgende Lesung vorschlagen können und zwar für das Jahr 139:

Im[p(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio II et]

[Praesente II co(n)s(ulibus)].

Für die Verteilung der Konsuln auf zwei Zeilen spricht auch, dass der Abstand zwischen IM und der Zeile mit COH II AVG fast doppelt so groß ist wie der zwischen Tages- und Monatsdatum und der Zeile mit IM[---].

Das ist eine wahrscheinliche Lösung, aber sie muss nicht unbedingt zutreffen. Auch das Jahr 140 kann man nicht ausschließen. Das beruht auf einem weiteren Diplom, das in

³³ Siehe die Liste bei W. Eck, *Die Fasti consulares der Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius. Eine Bestandsaufnahme seit Géza Alföldys Konsulat und Senatorenstand*, in: *Studia Epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy*, hg. W. Eck – B. Fehér – P. Kovács, Bonn 2013, 69–90.

³⁴ Ebenso AE 2014, 1628 und ZPE 209, 2018, 254.

³⁵ AE 2013, 2193.

³⁶ RMD I 38.

ActaMN 39/40, 2002–2003 publiziert wurde.³⁷ Auch dieses Fragment kann nur auf Grund der erhaltenen Zeugennamen ans Ende der hadrianischen Regierungszeit oder unmittelbar in den Anfang der Regierung des Antoninus Pius, wohl in die Jahre 138/140, datiert werden. Der Empfänger war ein Veteran aus der *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis (milliaria)*, also derselben Einheit, der der Veteran des neuen Fragments angehörte. Und der Befehlshaber der Einheit war ein L. Volusius; im neuen Fragment ist vom Namen nur L. Vo[–] erhalten. Dass beide dieselbe Person meinen, kann man angesichts der Zeit und der Auxiliareinheit nicht bezweifeln.

Dass dieselbe Einheit und derselbe Kommandeur in zwei verschiedenen Konstitutionen, aus zwei verschiedenen Jahren erscheinen und durch Diplome dokumentiert sind, kann man nicht ausschließen, obwohl es nicht sehr wahrscheinlich ist. Dagegen ist es durchaus bezeugt, dass mehrere Diplome für dieselbe Einheit mit demselben Kommandeur, die auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückgehen, bis heute erhalten sind. So kennen wir drei Diplome mit dem Datum 6. Februar 158, in der die *ala VII Phrygum* mit ihrem Präfekten Roscius Capitolinus genannt wird.³⁸ Auch ein C. Ostorius Tranquillianus ist als Kommandeur der *ala I Aug(usta) Gallor(um)* in drei Diplomen bezeugt, die auf eine Konstitution des Jahres 153 zurückgehen.³⁹ Gleiches ist damit auch für die *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis* und ihren Präfekten L. Volusius möglich.

Für das Diplom, das in ActaMN 39/40, 2002–2003 publiziert wurde, ist allerdings das Jahr 139 und 140 möglich; denn dort sind neben dem Veteranen auch noch Kinder in die Privilegierung eingeschlossen, was erst seit Ende 140 nicht mehr geschah.⁴⁰

Wenn man also wegen der Identität von Einheit und Einheitskommandeur beide Diplome auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückführen will, dann ist diese entweder ins Jahr 139 oder 140 zu datieren, da in beiden Pius Konsul gewesen ist. Ein Kriterium, das eines der Jahre ausschließt, lässt sich nicht erkennen. In 139 hat Pius sicher für vier Monate die *fascies* geführt, im Jahr 140 lässt es sich nicht genauer bestimmen. Der Text der Innenseite ist mit den entsprechenden Varianten für die Jahre 139 und 140 in etwa folgender Form wiederherstellen:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Hadriani f(ilius), divi Traiani Parth(ici) nep(os), divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) II oder III, co(n)s(ul) II oder III p(ater) p(atriciae)

equitib(us) et pedit(ibus), qui militaverunt in alis --- et cohortibus ---, quae appellantur --- et II Aug(usta) Nerviana Pacensis (milliaria) Brittonum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et --- et sunt in Dacia Porolissensi sub --- quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendis emeritis etc.---].

A(nte) d(iem) [--] / Im[p(eratore) Antonino Pio Aug(usto) II et / Praesente II co(n)-s(ulibus)] oder

³⁷ W. Eck – D. MacDonald – A. Pangerl, Neue Diplome für Auxiliartruppen in den dakischen Provinzen, AMN 38/I, 2001 [2003], 27–48 = AE 2003, 2046.

³⁸ AE 2006, 1835; AE 2007, 1766. 1767.

³⁹ RGZM 34; AE 2005, 1726; AE 2007, 1776.

⁴⁰ Dass hier ausgerechnet im verlorenen Privilegierungstext die Sonderformel mit *praeterea praestitit* solches möglich gemacht hätte, sollte man angesichts der Seltenheit dieser Formel nicht als Argument gegen die Datierung anführen. Siehe zur Sonderformel W. Eck, Beobachtungen zur Sonderformel *praeterea praestitit* in diplomata militaria, ZPE 209, 2019, 245–252.

A(nte) d(iem) [--] / Im[p(eratore) Antonino Pio Aug(usto) III et / M(arco) Aelio Aurelio Caesare co(n)s(ulibus)]

Coh(ortis) II Aug(ustae) [Nervianae (milliariae) Pacensis, cui praefuit] / L(ucius) Vo[lusius ---] etc.

Außenseite:

[Ti. Claudii Menandri, P. Atti Severi, L. Pulli Daphni, P. Atti Festi], T. Flavi [Romuli/Lauri?, Ti. Iuli Felicis, C. Iuli Silvani]

Auch der Text des schon 2002/2003 publizierten Diploms ist in folgender Weise zu vervollständigen:

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Hadriani f(ilius), divi Traiani Parth(ici) nep(os), divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) II oder III, co(n)s(ul) II oder III, p(ater) p(atriciae)

equitib(us) et pedit(ibus, qui militaverunt in alis --- et cohortibus ---, quae appellantur --- et II Aug(usta) Nerviana Pacensis (milliaria) Brittonum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et -- et sunt in Dacia Porolissensi sub --- quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendis emeritis etc.---

A(nte) d(iem) [--] / Im[p(eratore) Antonino Pio Aug(usto) II et / Praesente II co(n)s(ulibus)] oder

A(nte) d(iem) [--] / Im[p(eratore) Antonino Pio Aug(usto) III et / M(arco) Aelio Aurelio Caesare co(n)s(ulibus)]

Coh(ortis) II Aug(ustae) Nerv[ianae (milliariae) Pacensis, cui praefuit] L(ucius) Volusius [---]

expe[dite] Didaecuttio L[--- f(ilio) ----] et Diurpae Dotu[--- f(iliae) uxori eius] et Iulio f(ilio)[eius et --- f(ilio) eius] et Dimidusi fil(iae) [eius ----.]

[Ti. Claudii Menandri / P. Atti Severi / L. Pulli Daphni / P. Atti Festi] / T. Flav[i Romuli/Lauri?] / Ti. Iul[i Felicis] / C. Iuli [Silvani].

12. Diplom für einen Soldaten einer Auxiliareinheit? aus dem Jahr 139.

Fragment aus der linken unteren Ecke einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links und unten erhalten. Den Rahmen bildet eine einzige einfache Linie.

Maße: Höhe 3.4 cm, Breite 4 cm, Dicke 1 mm, Buchstabenhöhe außen und innen 4 mm. Gewicht 11 Gramm.



Abb. 23



Abb. 24

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[---]++[--]
 SATVRNIN[O F EIVS ET ---]
 ET SATVRNI[N—F/FIL EIVS ET? --]
 DESCRIPT E[T RECOGNIT EX TABVL AER]
 QVAE FIXA [EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST]
 TEMPL [DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM]

Innenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI TRAI]ANI
 [PARTHIC NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PRON]EPOS
 [T AELIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS] AVG
 [PIVS PONT MAX ● TRIB POT II CO]S II
 [DESIGN III P P]

Das Fragment ist über die Verteilung der Titulatur auf der Innenseite zweifelsfrei auf Antoninus Pius zurückzuführen. Am Ende von Zeile 4 steht *[co]s II*, was auf das Jahr 139 führt. Eben aus diesem Jahr ist eine Konstitution für die *classis Ravennas* durch ein Diplom bekannt, das eine völlig gleichartige Verteilung des Namens und der Titulatur des Pius auf fünf Zeilen zeigt, wobei in Zeile 5 neben *pater patriae* auch die Designation zum dritten Konsulat steht.⁴¹ Die Verteilung auf fünf Zeilen war deshalb möglich, weil der Privilegierungstext für eine Flotte kurz war, während üblicherweise für die Namen der Einheiten, die eingeschlossen waren, mehr Platz nötig war. Damit könnte man meinen, das Fragment bezeuge eine zweite Kopie dieser Konstitution für die Flotte von Ravenna unter dem Präfekten Fabius Sabinus.

Doch die Außenseite, auf der die Namen von Privilegierten erscheinen, lässt diesen Schluss nicht einfach zu. Dort stehen untereinander zwei Namen und zwar in dieser Form:

SATVRNIN[O ---]
 ET SATVRNI[N ---]
 DESCRIPT E[T RECOGNIT EX TABVL AEREA] etc.

Der erste Name beginnt unmittelbar am Zeilenangang. Alle anderen Namen von privilegierten Söhnen oder Töchtern und auch die Namen von Ehefrauen werden am Anfang einer Zeile generell mit *et* angeschlossen. Damit müsste der erstgenannte Saturninus der Diplomempfänger sein. Dem steht allerdings der Einwand entgegen, dass Flottensoldaten seit Jahrzehnten nicht mehr nur mit einem Namen in den Diplomen genannt werden, sondern generell mit den *tria nomina*; sie hatten bereits lateinisches Bürgerrecht. Selbst wenn man statt Saturninus das Gentile Saturninius ergänzen wollte, wäre das keine Lösung, da auf jeden Fall das Praenomen fehlt. Damit scheint es ausgeschlossen, dass das Diplom für einen Angehörigen der Flotte von Ravenna (oder von Misenum) bestimmt war.⁴²

⁴¹ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 163, 2007, 217 = AE 2007, 1786.

⁴² Anzunehmen, der Name eines Flottensoldaten habe schon in der Zeile vorher begonnen, ist nicht möglich, da man dann mit einer absoluten Ausnahme rechnen müsste, was aber für einen nicht erhaltenen

Wenn Veteranen mit einfachen Namen in den Diplomen erscheinen, dann handelte es sich stets um die Soldaten aus Auxiliareinheiten, die in den Provinzen stationiert waren. Damit bezeugt das Fragment notwendigerweise eine Konstitution für eine Provinz, die nicht bestimmt werden kann. Da andererseits auf der Innenseite die Titulatur des Kaisers fünf Zeilen einnahm, dürften im folgenden Text nicht allzu viele Einheiten aufgeführt gewesen sein. Das ist einerseits bei Provinzen der Fall, in denen nur wenige Einheiten standen, wie etwa Thracia,⁴³ Cilicia⁴⁴ oder Asia.⁴⁵ Doch manchmal werden auch für Provinzen, in denen viele Alen und Kohorten standen, nur wenige Truppen in eine Konstitution eingeschlossen, wie z.B. in einer Konstitution für Cappadocia mit nur einer *ala* und einer *cohors*,⁴⁶ oder in Moesia superior mit drei *alae* und einer *cohors*.⁴⁷ Damit muss man es offen lassen, für welche Provinz die Konstitution im Jahr 139 bestimmt war.

Neben dem Veteranen war noch eine Person in die Privilegierung eingeschlossen, vermutlich ein Sohn, der denselben Namen trug wie sein Vater, aber auch eine Tochter ist nicht ausgeschlossen. Falls diese Rekonstruktion zutrifft, dann stammt das Diplom neben RMD IV 261 vom 30. Oktober 139 aus einer der allerletzten Konstitutionen, in denen Kinder von Auxiliaren noch eingeschlossen wurden. Schon in einem Diplom vom 22. November 139 ist das nicht mehr der Fall gewesen.⁴⁸

Unter den genannten Voraussetzungen kann man den Text des Diploms in etwa so rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Trai]ani / [Parthici nepos divi Nervae pron]epos / [T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus] Aug(ustus) / [Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) II, co(n)s(ul) II, / [design(atus) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) /

equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis -- et cohortibus --, quae appellantur---

A(nte) d(iem) / --- co(n)s(ulibus) / ex---] / Saturnin[o -- f(ilio) --] / et Saturni[no/nae f(ilio)/fil(iae) eius et ---?] /

Descript(um) e[st recognit(um) ex tabula aerea] / quae fixa [est Romae in muro post] / templ(um) [divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam].

Die Zeugen müssten diese gewesen sein:⁴⁹

[Ti(beri) Claudi Menandri / P(ubli) Atti Severi / L(uci) Pulli Daphni / / P(ubli) Atti Festi / T(iti) Flavi Romuli / Ti(beri) Iuli Felicis / C(ai) Iuli Silvani].

13. Diplom aus einer Konstitution des Antoninus Pius zwischen 145 und 161 für die Veteranen von fünf Alen.

Fragment aus der rechten oberen Ecke einer tabella I eines Diploms; dort ist auch eines der Bindungslöcher erhalten. Den Rahmen bildet eine zweifache, nicht sehr tief eingravierte Linie. Die Buchstaben sind auf der Innenseite in Zeile 1 und 2 nicht gut lesbar.

Teil methodisch nicht möglich ist.

⁴³ Z. B. RMD I 14; IV 260 = V 385 oder AE 2013, 2188.

⁴⁴ RGZM 19.

⁴⁵ RMD II 100.

⁴⁶ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 150, 2004, 234 = AE 2004, 1913.

⁴⁷ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 194, 2015, 231 = AE 2015, 1886.

⁴⁸ CIL XVI 87.

⁴⁹ Siehe RMD p. 924.

157	Moesia inferior	Vitrasius Pollio	AE 2007, 1236
146 148	Pannonia superior	Pontius Laelianus	CIL XVI 178; CIL XVI 96
146	Pannonia inferior	Fuficius Cornutus	ZPE 171, 2009, 229; RMD V 401
148	Pannonia inferior	Cominius Secundus	CIL XVI 179. 180
154 157	Pannonia inferior	Iallius Bassus	AE 2004, 1923; RMD II 102. 103
157	Pannonia inferior	Geminus Capellianus	AE 2009, 1079

Bei keinem dieser zahlreichen Diplome fehlt ein Teil, den man durch dieses Fragment ergänzen könnte. Es lässt sich, angesichts fehlender differenzierender Kriterien, auch nicht erkennen, ob das Fragment von einer der durch diese Diplome schon bezeugten Konstitutionen abhängt oder ob es vielleicht von einer neuen Konstitution stammt. Rekonstruierbar ist damit nur der Standardtext:

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi T]raiani / [Parthici nep(os) divi Nervae pro]n(epos) T(itus) Aelius / [Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pi]us pont(ifex) / [max(imus), tribun(icia) pot(estate) --, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) I]III, p(ater) p(atriae) / [equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui milit(averunt) i]n alis V / [---]

Innenseite:

[---subscript(a) sunt ci]/vita[t(em) Roman(am), qui eorum non habere(nt) dedit] / et con(ubium) c[um uxor(ibus), quas tunc hab(uissent), cum est civ(itas) i(i)s] / dat(a) aut [cum i(i)s, quas post(ea) dux(issent), dumtax(at) singul(is)].

14. Diplom aus einer Konstitution des Pius für eine unbekannte Provinz zwischen 154 und 161.

Fragment aus der linken oberen Ecke einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links und oben erhalten; eine nur leicht eingravierte Doppellinie bildet den Rahmen.

Maße: Höhe 3 cm, Breite 1.5 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 3 mm, innen 4 mm. Gewicht 3.7 Gramm.



Abb. 27



Abb. 28

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

IMP [CAESAR DIVI HADRIANI FIL DIVI TRAI]
IAN[I PARTHIC NEP DIVI NERVAE PRONEP]
T AE[LIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVG PIVS]
PON[TIF MAX TRIBVN POT IMP II COS IV P P]
EQV[ITIB ET PEDITIB QVI MILIT IN AL QVAE]
APPE[LLANT ---]

Innenseite:

IMP CAE[S DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI TRAIANI]
PARTH N [DIVI NERVAE PRON T AELIVS HA]
DRIANV[S ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PONT MAX]

Das Fragment lässt nur die Kaisertitulatur erkennen, ferner auch, dass die Konstitution für Auxiliarsoldaten bestimmt war. Die Textverteilung in den Zeilen 5 und 6 macht es außerdem sicher, dass das Dokument nicht vor dem Jahr 154 ausgegeben worden sein kann. Denn in Zeile 5 ist nicht genügend Platz, damit dort neben der Zahl der Alen auch noch auf die der Kohorten verwiesen wurde. Es muss vielmehr schon eine Textänderung im Formular eingetreten sein. Bis zum Jahr 153 lautet an dieser Stelle die übliche Formel:⁵⁰

equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis --- et cohortibus ---, quae appellantur;
doch seit den Diplomen, die das Datum des 24. September 154 tragen, verändert sich die Formel zu:⁵¹

equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis ---, quae appellantur --- et cohortibus ---.

Da diese auch hier zwingend erforderlich ist, gehört das Diplom in die Jahre zwischen 154 und 161. Der einfache Anfang des Diploms ist somit so zu rekonstruieren:

Imp(erator) [Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Trai]/ian[i Parthic(i) nep(os) divi Nervae pron(epos)] / T(itus) Ae[lius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius] / pon[tif(ex) max(imus) tribun(icia) pot(estate) -- imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IV p(ater) p(atriae)] /

equ[itib(us) et peditib(us) qui milit(averunt) in alis -- quae] / appe[ll(antur) -- et coh(ortibus) --].

Innenseite:

Imp(erator) Cae[s(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traiani]/ Parth(ici) n(epos) divi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aelius Ha]/drianu[s Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pontif(ex) max(imus)/ --] etc.

15. Diplom aus der Zeit des Antoninus Pius für die Provinz Dacia Porolissensis zwischen 154 und 161.

Fragment aus der oberen Mitte einer tabella I. Ein Rahmen ist nicht mehr zu erkennen. Der originale Rand ist oben erhalten.

⁵⁰ Siehe z.B. RMD V 409. 411.

⁵¹ So in CIL XVI 104. 110; AE 2004, 1923; 2009, 1817; 2013, 2198.

Maße: Höhe 2.7 cm, Breite 3.1 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 3 mm, innen 3 mm. Gewicht 5.2 Gramm.



Abb. 29



Abb. 30

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[IMP CAE]S DIVI HAD[RIANI F DIVI TRAIANI]
 [PART]HIC N DIVI N[ERVAE PRON T AELIVS]
 [HAD]RIANVS ANT[ONINVS AVG PIVS PONT]
 [MA]X TRIB POT X[-- IMP II COS IIII P P]
 [EQVIT]IB ET PEDIT[IB QVI MILIT IN ALIS]
 [QVAE APPE]LLANT[VR --]

Innenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI TRAIANI]
 [PARTHIC N DIVI NERVAE PRON T AELIVS]
 [HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PONT]
 [M]AX TR[IB POT X--- IMP II COS IIII P P]
 EQV E[T PED QV M IN AL III QV APP GALL ET]
 PANN [ET SIL C R ET I TVNG FRON ET SVNT IN]
 DA PORQ[---]

Die Konstitution geht auf Antoninus Pius zurück; sie kann nicht vor dem Jahr 154 erlassen worden sein. Denn sowohl auf der Außen- wie auf der Innenseite ist klar zu erkennen, dass dort, wie schon in der vorausgehenden Nummer, die Formel gestanden hat, nach der zunächst mit *in alis* --, *quae appellantur* die Alen namentlich aufgeführt wurden, bevor dann mit *et in cohortibus* – auch die Namen der Kohorten folgten. Der jeweils vorhandene Platz erlaubt keine andere Ergänzung. Damit muss die Zahl X, die bei der *tribunicia potestas* noch zu lesen ist, mindestens zu XVII ergänzt werden; sie kann aber auch höher gewesen sein. Von den Auxilien, die in die Konstitution eingeschlossen waren, ist nur eine Einheit mit dem Namen Pannoniorum bekannt. Aus der Stellung des

Namens direkt nach der Angabe *in al(is) – quae app(ellantur)* müsste es sich um eine *ala* handeln. Denn der Name einer Kohorte könnte dort nur stehen, wenn es sich noch um einen verkürzten Text handeln würde, wie das zwischen 143 und 153 sehr oft vorkam, als die Namen der meisten Einheiten weggelassen wurden.⁵² Doch diese Phase war schon beendet.

Folgende Alen, in deren Name das Element *Pannoniorum* erscheint, sind aus Diplomen aus den Jahren zwischen 140 und ca. 167 n.Chr. bekannt:

Name	Provinz	Jahr	Beleg
Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum)	Dacia Porolis.	151	RMD V 404
Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum)	Dacia Porolis.	154	CIL XVI 110; IDR I 17b = III 1, 98b
II Gallor(um) et Pann(oniorum)	Dacia Porolis.	164	RMD I 63. 64; II 115. 117; IV 287
I Gallor(um) et Pann(oniorum)	Moesia inferior	145	RMD III 165 = RMD V 399
Gallor(um) / et Pannoniorum	Moesia inferior	145	RMD IV 270
Gallorum et Pannoniorum	Moesia inferior	146	AE 2015, 1888. 1889
I Gallor(um) et I Pannonior(um)	Moesia inferior	154	AE 2009, 1817
I Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum)	Moesia inferior	157	AE 2008, 1726
I Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum)	Moesia inferior	157	AE 2007, 1236
I Pan]non(iorum) Tampian(a)	Noricum	157	AE 2015, 1892; AE 2012, 1079

Sowohl die Einheit in Dacia Porolissensis als auch die in Moesia inferior stehen jeweils an der Spitze der Alen in den Diplomen, wie auch in dem neuen Diplom. Allerdings tragen beide Einheiten einen Doppelnamen *Gallorum et Pannoniorum*, manchmal auch noch mit der Ziffer I oder II vor dem Namen. Wenn man in Zeile 5 den ersten Teil, also zumindest *Gall* unterbringen will, müssen alle anderen dort nötigen Worte sehr abgekürzt sein. Das geschieht in Diplomen, vor allem auf der Innenseite immer wieder; auch hier scheint das möglich, da auch *equ(itibus)* drastisch abgekürzt ist. Entscheidend dürfte sein, wie man die Buchstaben in Zeile 6 der Innenseite versteht. Die Lesung DA PORQ scheint sicher zu sein. Das führt in Verbindung mit einer *ala*, die auch *Pannoniorum* heißt, auf die Provinz Dacia Porolissensis. Dabei bleibt freilich das Problem, dass sich die Abkürzung DA für *Da(cia)* bisher nur auf Ziegelstempeln⁵³ und in einer Grabinschrift aus Carnuntum findet (CIL III 4501). Die etwas weniger starke Abkürzung *Dac(iae)* findet sich allerdings zahlreich, auch in Militärdiplomen.⁵⁴ So ist es wohl möglich, in einem Einzelfall auch DA als *Da(ciae)* zu verstehen. Nimmt man dies an, dann ist es auch möglich, die in den drei Diplomen für Dacia Porolissensis neben der *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum* genannten zwei weiteren

⁵² Siehe oben Anm. 29.

⁵³ Z. B. CIL III 1633,22 = 8075,48a. 14216,32; AE 1976, 583d.

⁵⁴ RMD V 361. 389; AE 2007, 1760; 2012, 1945; ZPE 195, 2015, 237 ff.; siehe auch CIL VI 1449 = Dessau 1107.

Alen, die *ala Silian(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum)* und die *I Tungr(orum) Fronton(iana)* in Zeile 6 unterzubringen:⁵⁵

PANN [ET SILIAN ET I TVNG FRON ET SVNT IN]

DA PORO [SVB --].

In den Diplomen für Moesia inferior sind dagegen stets fünf Alen angeführt, von deren Namen keine mit den Buchstaben DA PORO in Zeile 7 der Innenseite in Übereinstimmung gebracht werden können. Damit ist es fast sicher, dass das Fragment sich auf die Provinz Dacia Porolissensis bezieht.

In der Liste oben erscheinen zwei Konstitution für diese Provinz unter Antoninus Pius; doch kann das neue Diplom nicht vom Erlass aus dem Jahr 151 abhängen, da schon allein die Formel in Zeile 5 erst auf die Zeit ab 154 verweist. Entscheidender ist jedoch, dass, wenn die Rekonstruktion zutrifft, die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, nur für die drei eben rekonstruierten Alen gegolten haben kann, auf die nicht noch weitere Kohorten gefolgt sein können; denn unmittelbar auf die Namen der Alen folgt bereits der Name der Provinz, womit die Aufzählung der Einheiten abgeschlossen war. Damit muss es sich hier um einen eigenen Erlass allein für die Veteranen aus den drei Alen gehandelt haben.

Erlasse, die nur Alen oder nur Kohorten betreffen, sind nicht häufig, aber sie sind bekannt. So sind z.B. in CIL XVI 99 aus dem Jahr 150 nur Alen eingeschlossen, ebenso in ZPE 208, 2019, 229 ff.; dagegen erscheinen in RMD I 14 = RMD IV 227 nur Kohorten, ebenso in AE 2010, 1852 = AE 2016, 2016 und auch AE 2011, 1792, war für fünf Kohorten in Dacia Porolissensis bestimmt.⁵⁶ Warum jeweils eine solche Konzentration erfolgte, bleibt dunkel. Wenn diese Schlussfolgerung zutrifft, dann muss man allerdings annehmen, dass *peditibus*, das auf beiden Seiten steht, irrtümlich aus dem Normalformular beibehalten wurde, ohne beim Text darauf zu achten, dass allein Alen namentlich angeführt wurden. Andererseits zeigt die Innenseite, wenn DA PORO als Provinzname verstanden wird, dass dort zwischen den Alen und der Formel: *quae sunt in Dacia Porolissensi* keine Kohorten genannt gewesen sind. Das Fragment zeigt somit viele Eigenheiten, die aber, wie es scheint, nicht anders, als vorgeschlagen, erklärt werden können.

Der Text der beiden Seiten lässt sich damit so rekonstruieren:

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Cae]s(ar) divi Had[rian(i) f(ilius) divi Traiani / Part]hic(i) n(epos) divi N[ervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aelius / Had]rianus Ant[oninus Aug(ustus) Pius pon(tifex) / ma]x(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) X[--, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae) / equit]ib(us) et pedit[ib(us) qui milit(averunt) in al(is) III quae / appe]llant[ur Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum) / et Silian(a) et Tungror(um) Front(oniana) et sunt in --].

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadrian(i) f(ilius) divi Traiani / Parth(i) n(epos) divi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aelius / Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pon(tifex) / m]ax(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) X--, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriciae)] /

⁵⁵ In dieser Reihenfolge in RMD I 63. 64; IV 287 und AE 2007, 1764.

⁵⁶ Siehe auch W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Eine Konstitution Hadrians wohl für die Truppen von Arabien unter dem Statthalter Haterius Nepos, ZPE 209, 2019, 258–262.

equ(itibus) e[t ped(itibus) q(ui) m(ilitaverunt) in al(is) III, qu(ae) app(ellantur) Gall(orum) et] / Pann(oniorum) [et Sili(ana) et Tung(rorum) Fron(toniana) et sunt in] / Da(cia) Poro[l(issensi) sub ---].

16. Diplom mit einem Kohortenkommandeur Campanius.

Fragment aus der unteren Mitte einer tabella I eines Diploms, auf allen Seiten abgebrochen. Das Fragment ist mit einem weiteren Fragment fest verbunden, vielleicht verschmolzen, möglicherweise einem Teil der zugehörigen tabella II; beide Seiten dieser zweiten tabella tragen, soweit sichtbar, keine Schriftzeichen.

Maße; Höhe 4 cm, Breite 4.8 cm; Dicke 0.5–1.5 cm. Buchstabenhöhe außen 4 mm. Gewicht 8 Gramm.



Abb. 31



Abb. 32

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[CO]H I HISPAN[ORVM CVI PRAEST]

[-] CAMPANIVS [--]

EX EQV[ITE]

[--] +++[--]

Das Fragment bewahrt nur den Namen des Kohortenkommandeurs Campanius, ein Name, der auch für ritterliche Militärs bekannt ist, etwa für einen *L(ucius) Campanius L(uci) f(ilius) Flaccus tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XV* und *praef(ectus) fabr(um)*.⁵⁷ Ein Offizier, der als *praef(ectus) eq(uitum) alae Parth(icae), trib(unus) coh(ortis) pr(imae) Hemesen(orum), praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Breucor(um)* gedient hatte, trägt den Namen M. Campanius Marcellus.⁵⁸ Ein Campanius, der eine *cohors I Hispanorum* kommandiert hat, war bisher nicht bezeugt.

Auxiliareinheiten mit der Bezeichnung *I Hispanorum* sind so vielfältig bekannt, dass keine Identifizierung mit der hier genannten möglich ist. Dass es sich hier um eine Kohorte handelt, wird durch den Rest eines Buchstabens vor der Ziffer I deutlich; dies kann nur eine senkrechte Haste gewesen sein, weshalb dort ein H und nicht ein E gestanden haben muss, was man aber, wenn es eine *ala* gewesen wäre, fordern müsste. *Exequite* ist auch bei Kohorten möglich, da einige der *cohortes I Hispanorum* den Zusatz *equitata* tragen.

Der kurze Text lautet:

[--consulibus.] / Co]h(ortis) I Hispan[orum, cui prae(e)st / -] Campanius [--] / exequ[ite / ---].

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⁵⁷ AE 1980, 218.

⁵⁸ CIL X 3847 = Dessau 1398.

A NEW COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION FOR SOLDIERS AND THEIR “PARENTS, SISTERS, BROTHERS ...” OF 5 APRIL 121?

ZSOLT MRÁV, ISTVÁN A. VIDA

Abstract: A new Roman military diploma is published, which is most probably the fifth survived copy of the so called “parents, sisters, brothers ...” constitution of 5 April 121. It was a special grant of Hadrian to the soldiers of a single unit, the *ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria c. R.*, belonging temporarily to the army of Dacia Superior c. 121, and their close relatives (parents, sisters, brothers), as reward for bravery in 117–119 war against the Sarmatian Roxolani and Iazyges.

Keywords: *ala I Ulpia contariorum*; AD 121; Hadrian; military diploma; Dacia Superior; Arrabona.

Rezumat: Articolul publică o nouă diplomă militară romană, care cel mai probabil reprezintă cea de-a cincea copie păstrată a constituției din 5 aprilie 121. A fost o acordare specială a lui Hadrian pentru soldații unei unități, *ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria c. R.*, aparținând provizoriu armatei Daciei Superioare (c. 121), precum și rudelor lor apropiate (părinți, surori, frați), ca recompensă pentru vitejie în războiul din 117–119 împotriva sarmaților roxolani și iazygi.

Cuvinte cheie: *ala I Ulpia contariorum*; 121 p. Chr.; Hadrian; diplomă militară; Dacia Superior; Arrabona.

The fragment of a military diploma is from the private collection of András Fekete who sold it to the Hungarian National Museum in 2019.¹ According to the seller, the diploma comes from the legacy of his father, the elder András Fekete, known as collector of ancient artefacts. Its find-spot is unknown. However, it was found somewhere in the Carpathian Basin, most probably in the territory of the Dacian or Pannonian provinces.

This is a small fragment of a Roman military diploma from the lower left part of tabella II. Only the partly preserved name of suffect consuls from the intus text and the last two witnesses from the extrinsecus text survived. Double framing line can be recognized along the left side. The letters on the outer face are relatively well formed, on the inner face are less carefully engraved. In appearance the tablet closely resembles AE 2008, 1749, which is probably part of the same issue.

Dimensions: height: 2.8 cm; width: 3.8 cm; thickness of the sheet: 0.11 cm. Height of letters: intus: 0.5–0.65 cm (l. 1); 0.55 cm (letter P in l. 2); extrinsecus: 0.45–0.5 cm (l. 1).

¹ Hungarian National Museum, Inv. no. RT-RO 2019.1.1.

Tabella II intus (Fig. 1)

M H[- - -]

Q P[- - -]

Tabella II extrinsecus

L PVL[- - -]

P ATIN[- - -].

The pair of suffect consuls can evidently be identified with M. Herennius Faustus (PIR² H 107) and Q. Pomponius Marcellus (PIR² P 751). They were consuls in March/April 121.²

We have two options for interpreting the constitution.

1. According to the first, less likely possibility, this is a new, hitherto unknown constitution, which was issued by Hadrian for uncertain province(s) in March/April 121.

2. According to the second, more likely option, this is a new copy of the constitution for soldiers and their “parents, sisters, brothers ...” of 5 April 121.

Only the *praenomen* and the *gentilicium* of the last two witnesses survived from the fragmentary outer side text of tabella II. They can be identified as L. Pullius Charito³ in the sixth and P. Atinius Crescens in the seventh place.⁴ Their names and order correspond exactly to the witness list of the survived copies of the 5 April 121 constitution.⁵ This makes it very likely that these, and the present diplomas, are copies of the same constitution.⁶ The text as well as the names and place of the other five witnesses of the new diploma can be restored accordingly:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nep(os) Traianus Hadrianus Augustus pont(ifex) max(imus) tribun(icia) pot(estate) V co(n)s(ul) III

iis qui militant in ala Ulpia contariorum mil(liaria) quae est in Dacia superiore sub Iulio Severo legato praefecto Albucio Candido

quorum nomina subscripta sunt ante emerita stipendia civitatem Romanam dedit cum parentibus et fratribus et sororibus

Non(is) Apr(ilibus)] M. H[erennio Fausto], Q. P[omponio Marcello co(n)s(ulibus)]

[Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

L. Attei Atteiani, C. Vettieni Hermetis, A. Caselli Proculi, L. Equiti Gemelli, L. Pulli Verecundi], L. Pul[li Charitonis], P. Atin[i Crescentis].

² Eck, Weiß 2002, 479–489.

³ RMD I 19 (= AE 2008, 1752); Eck 2008b, 284, no. 3 (= AE 2008, 1749); Scheuerbrandt 2009, 265.

⁴ Scheuerbrandt 2009, 259.

⁵ RMD I 19 (= AE 2008, 1752).

⁶ Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 283, with similar argumentation concerning the date and interpretation of RMD I 19.

With all this in mind, the diploma is most probably the fifth copy of the so called “parents, sisters, brothers ...” constitution which was a special grant to the soldiers of only one unit, the *ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria c. R.* belonging temporarily to the army of Dacia Superior c. 121.

	Name of the recipient	Literature
1.	[Ulpio - - - f. - - -]nae Daco	RMD V 357; Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 283, no. 1 (= AE 2008, 1751)
2.	[- - -]	Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 283–284, no. 2 (= AE 2008, 1750)
3.	Ulp[io - f. - - - B]esso	Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 284, no. 3 (= AE 2008, 1749)
4.	[- - -] Besso	RMD I, 19; Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 284, no. 4 (= AE 2008, 1752)
5.	[- - -]	Published here

Tab. 1. The known copies of the constitution issued on 5 April 121.

The *ala* was first raised by Trajan,⁷ and not in the Neronian period or under the Flavian dynasty as supposed earlier by J. E. H. Spaul.⁸ It took part in Trajan’s Dacian wars and its soldiers received the block grant of citizenship as a reward for bravery on that occasion. After participation in the Dacian wars it was transferred to the garrison of Arrabona (Győr, Hungary), Pannonia Superior.⁹ The cavalry unit is present in diplomas of Pannonia Superior in 112¹⁰ and 113. Around 114, the *ala* may have been sent to Trajan’s Parthian campaign. This is probably why the *ala* is not attested in the complete unit list of constitution issued for Pannonia Superior in 5 July 115.¹¹ During its absence, it was replaced by another *milliaria* unit, the *ala I Batavorum milliaria c. R. p. f.* in Arrabona until c. 118/119.¹² It may have been transferred directly to Dacia from the Eastern frontier c. 117 where this *ala milliaria* has most probably fought in the war against the Sarmatian Roxolani and mainly Iazyges under Q. Marcius Turbo in 117–119.¹³ After this conflict it remained in the newly created Dacia Superior until at least the spring of 121 when it received the second block grant of citizenship, in this case from Hadrian. An extraordinary war or combat feat may have been the cause of this donation, which was a special honor. Hadrian *ante emerita stipendia* granted Roman citizenship without *ius conubii* to the still non-citizen active soldiers of the unit. He also granted citizenship to all close relatives (parents, sisters and brothers) of the whole rank and file, including the relatives of those soldiers who had already obtained the citizenship from Trajan.¹⁴ The four known diplomas together with the present one are copies of this constitution issued on 5 April 121. Between

⁷ Lőrincz 2005, 304.

⁸ Spaul 1994, 99.

⁹ Lőrincz 2001, 18–19.

¹⁰ RMD IV 223.

¹¹ Mráv, Vida 2011–2013, 107–108 (= AE 2012, 1128).

¹² Mráv, Vida 2011–2013, 107–108. This hypothesis is based on the military diploma of 5 July 115 issued for a soldier of *ala I Batavorum milliaria c. R. p. f.* The find-spot of this diploma is Pér, a Roman period settlement only 10 km far from Arrabona.

¹³ Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 281.

¹⁴ Eck 2010, 44; Eck 2016, 122; Eck 2017, 20.

121 and 126 the unit was transferred back to its permanent garrison at Arrabona. Our first known source mentioning the *ala I Ulpia contariorum* again in Pannonia Superior is a diploma of 1 July 126.¹⁵

The fifth survived military diploma also indicates that the constitution had to be copied in large numbers. In a full *ala milliaria* around 800 riders served regularly (they were sub-divided into 24 *turmae* of c. 32 cavalry soldiers each + staff).¹⁶ Even counting the bloody losses of the unit in the 117–119 war, the Roman authorities could have issued more than five hundred copies from this constitution at the same time.

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¹⁵ RMD IV 236.

¹⁶ Dixon, Southern 1992, 23–24.

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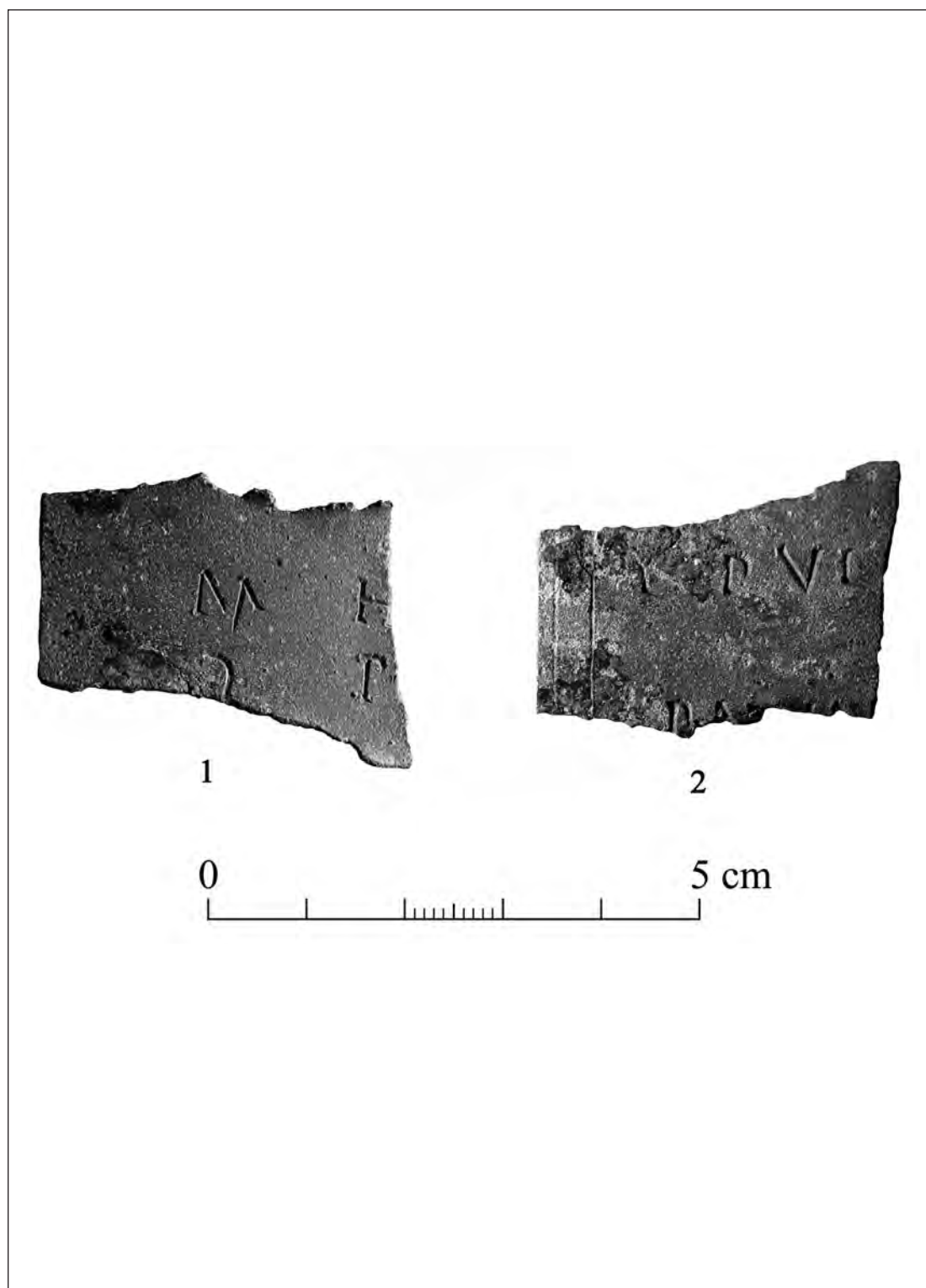


Fig. 1. The survived intus text of tabella II (1) and its extrinsecus text (2) (photo: Csaba Gedai).

DACICI MAXIMI. THE «BARRACKS EMPERORS» AND THE CONFLICTS WITH THE BARBARIANS NEAR THE FRONTIERS OF DACIA¹

SORIN NEMETI

Abstract: The main goal of this study is to establish the historical context of the introduction of the title *Dacicus Maximus* in 3rd-century inscriptions for emperors like Maximinus Thrax, Traianus Decius, Gallienus, and Aurelianus. Maximinus Thrax officially adopted the title, while for Decius, Gallienus and Aurelianus such a *cognomen devictarum gentium* is accidentally found on inscriptions and *milliaria* from distant provinces, such as Hispania, Gallia, and the North-African provinces. To this scarce epigraphic data one can add the sculptural reliefs of the so-called battle sarcophagi from Rome that depict barbarians wearing Dacian costume and Dacian weapons. The main conclusion is that, in this confused era, the imperial propaganda apparatus identified as Dacians certain new, emergent barbarians inhabiting the area of the former *Dacia Magna*.

Keywords: *Dacicus Maximus*; *Dacia Magna*; epigraphy; Roman art.

Rezumat: Scopul principal al acestui studiu este de a determina contextul istoric al introducerii titlului *Dacicus Maximus* în titulatura unor împărați precum Maximinus Thrax, Traianus Decius, Gallienus și Aurelianus, în inscripții din secolul al III-lea. Maximinus Thrax a adoptat oficial titlul, în timp ce pentru Decius, Gallienus și Aurelianus un astfel de *cognomen devictarum gentium* se găsește accidental pe inscripții și *milliaria* din provincii îndepărtate, cum ar fi Hispania, Gallia și provinciile nord-africane. La aceste date epigrafice rare se pot adăuga reliefurile sculpturale ale așa-numitelor sarcofage de luptă de la Roma care îi înfățișează pe barbari purtând costum și arme dacice. Concluzia principală este că în această eră confuză aparatul de propagandă imperială a identificat drept daci pe unii barbari din zona fostei *Dacia Magna*.

Cuvinte cheie: *Dacicus Maximus*; *Dacia Magna*; epigrafie; artă romană.

In official inscriptions or *milliaria* from distant provinces, some of the barracks emperors sometimes added a special *cognomen devictarum gentium*, i.e. *Dacicus Maximus*. Among the barracks emperors, only Maximinus Thrax adopted it officially, while Traianus Decius, Gallienus, and Aurelianus only used it unofficially. The probable chronology of these titles is the year 237 for Maximinus Thrax,² 250 for Traianus Decius, 256 or 257 for Gallienus, and 272 for Aurelianus.³ Why was this title attributed, officially or unofficially, to some of the emperors who ruled during the Military Anarchy? Specialists generally believe that the title unofficially attributed to Decius, Gallienus, and Aurelianus did not have any real basis but was the result of confusing news reaching distant provinces (Gallia, Hispania)

¹ Project PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0186, Dacii în Imperiul Roman. Construcții provinciale (The Dacians in the Roman Empire. Provincial Constructions).

² RE X, 1, 1918, s.v. *Iulius*, 526: *Iulius Verus Maximinus*, c. 867 (Hohl).

³ Kienast 1996, 205 (Decius), 219 (Gallienus), 235 (Aurelianus).

or granted to them due to their victories against the tribe of the Carpi,⁴ included by the modern authors in the great family of «Geto-Dacian» tribes who lives north of the Danube.

Several explanations are possible, but the modern interpretative drift is best illustrated by a paragraph in one of J. Wienand's recent articles: «The struggle against Gothic tribes on the Lower Danube in particular was a great success, bringing Maximinus further acclamations as imperator and the victory titles *Dacicus Maximus* and *Sarmaticus Maximus*.»⁵ Thus Maximinus, whose winter commandment was in Sirmium, close to the Sarmatians between the Middle Danube and the Tisza, fought the Goths at the Lower Danube and received the title *Dacicus Maximus*. These modern approximations are born out of ignorance and the almost complete lack of sources. Neither Herodianus,⁶ who was otherwise rather exact regarding Maximinus' Germanic wars, nor the *Historia Augusta*⁷ that copies and abstracts him mention anything about the conflicts with the Dacians. More than 100 inscriptions scattered throughout the entire Empire nevertheless call him *Dacicus Maximus*.⁸ A series of undated inscriptions have also been connected to his war at the frontiers of Dacia, i.e. those that mention an *expeditio Dacisca* or even a *bellum Dacicum*.⁹

One must state from the very beginning that in the panoply of these *cognomina devictarum gentium* the title *Carpicus Maximus* first features ten year later, in 247, associated to Philippus Arabs, while *Gothicus Maximus* was first used in 269, attributed to Claudius II.¹⁰ Among these chronological benchmarks, some emperors also used the title *Dacicus Maximus*, despite the fact that the preserved sources only mention repeated attacks of the Goths, the Carpi, and the Sarmatians. A reevaluation of the written sources, the epigraphic data, and the iconographic evidence will enrich the modern picture of the conflicts in the area of the Danube during the Military Anarchy.

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Trajan, conqueror of the Dacians, was the first to use the title of *Dacicus Maximus* (attested on more than 600 inscriptions). Hadrianus is also recorded to have used it on several inscriptions, assuming the titles of his adoptive father. Unofficially, the title also features for Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius on several isolated inscriptions. On the other hand, Maximinus Thrax officially adopted the title, as indicated by more than 100 inscriptions throughout the Empire. The title can also be encountered in isolated cases associated to Decius, Gallienus, Aurelianus, and Constantinus I.¹¹ It is clear that at least some of these emperors, i.e. Trajan and Maximinus, had conflicts with certain barbarians

⁴ Hügel 1999, 268–269, 275.

⁵ Wienand 2016, 421.

⁶ Herod. VII.2.9.

⁷ SHA, Max. duo, XIII.3.

⁸ AE 1905, 179; 1964, 220a; 1966, 217, 218; 1969–1970, 494–495; 1975, 494, 701; 1980, 951; 1986, 586; 1998, 1060; 2002, 1663; 2003, 1972; 2012, 1896; CIL II 4649 = 6201, 4696, 4731, 4756, 4757, 4788, 4816, 4826, 4834, 4853, 4858, 4870, 4874, 4886, 4907, 6228, 6243; CIL III 3708, 3722, 3732, 3736, 3740, 4630, 7612, 10639, 8076; CIL VI 1086, 40688; CIL VII 621; CIL VIII 10021, 10025, 10047, 10073 = 22031, 10075 = 22056, 10083 = 22073, 22020, 22030, 22123; CIL X 6811; CIL XI 1176, 1428; CIL XIII 6547, 11971; CIL XVI 146; CIL XVII/1, 21*, 22*, 156, 161, 188, 272, 282; CIL XVII/2, 155, 170, 312, 313, 315, 316, 484, 655, etc.

⁹ Daicoviciu 1945, 168; Daicoviciu 1965, 242; Macrea 1969, 436–440; Gostar 1975, 644–645; Piso 1982, 225–238; Suski 2013, 140–144.

¹⁰ Kienast 1996, 199 (Philippus), 231 (Claudius II).

¹¹ Gostar 1975, 643–649.

that the Romans called Dacians. In order to understand the logic behind the introduction of these titles one must ignore the modern fictional picture according to which a great family of Geto-Dacian peoples inhabited the area north of the Danube, «Free Dacians» featuring under different names in the sources (Costoboci, Carpi, «Great Dacians»). Their presence in the area around the Dacian limes is illustrated by specific «material cultures» of La Tène tradition, such as Lipița (Costoboci), Poienești – Vârteșcoi (Carpi), Chilia – Militari (Getae), or Sântana – Arad (West Dacians).¹² Though 20th-century Romanian authors believe these populations were «Free Dacians», this does not mean that the Romans believed the same. The modern idea was generated by the *Siedlungsarchäologie* methodology and by the mixed argumentation (written source and historical proof),¹³ but it does not correspond to the way the Romans envisaged this area, as one can grasp from ancient geography and ethnography.

For Agrippan geography, Dacia was a rectangle measuring 1000/1200 Roman miles in longitude and 386/396 Roman miles in latitude, located between Germania and European Sarmatia, on the one hand, and between the Danube and the Northern Ocean, on the other. This is how it features on Agrippa's map (reconstructed on the basis of Plinius Secundus and the opuscles entitled *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Demensuratio provinciarum*) and on the Tabula Peutingeriana.¹⁴ Trajan conquered part of this territory and turned it into a province. This is what Cassius Dio called «our Dacia» while relating the conflicts during the time of governor Sabinianus (Dio LXXII. 3. 3).¹⁵ Another Dacia, *Dacia Magna*, was located between this Roman province of Dacia and the Northern Ocean. It had not been conquered by the Romans and was inhabited by Dacians and other barbarians.¹⁶ Mentioning the peoples defeated by Antoninus Pius and the two Caesars, Oracula Sibyllina (XII. 180–181) recorded the *megaloi Dakoi*,¹⁷ inhabitants of that *Megalé Dacia*, besides the Britons, the Moors, and the Arabs. Thus, according to the Romans, the Dacians lived somewhere between the province of Dacia and the Ocean, therefore northwards.

Bellum Dacicum Maximini

The fact that Maximinus Thrax used *Dacicus Maximus* as an official title means that the emperor defeated some barbarians that Roman propaganda identified as Dacians. Their explicit absence from the written sources can be compensated by a conjectural reconstruction.

Herod. VII. 2. 9:¹⁸

¹² Macrea 1968, 178–199; Ioniță 2001, 407–438; Dumitrașcu 2001, 439–448; Petolescu 2010, 298–307; Harhoiu, Spănu, Gáll 2011, 22–30.

¹³ Barbarian tribes mentioned in the written sources and corresponding to archaeological cultures in Opreanu 1994, 193–220.

¹⁴ Nemeti 2011, 39–43.

¹⁵ Ruscu 2003, 136–138; Nemeti 2016, 283–285.

¹⁶ Opreanu 1998, 59.

¹⁷ Geffcken 1902, 197.

¹⁸ The Complete Works of Herodian, by Delphi Classics, 2020 (Roman History, translated by Edward C. Echols), 1046: «After taking many German prisoners and seizing much booty, the emperor, since winter had already begun, went to Pannonia and spent his time at Sirmium, the largest city in the country; there he made preparations for his spring offensive. He threatened (and was determined) to defeat and subjugate the German nations as far as the ocean.»

«πολλοὺς δὲ χειρωσάμενος αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ λείαν ἀπελάσας, χειμῶνος ἥδη καταλαμβάνοντος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Παίονας, ἔν τε Σιρμίῳ διατρίβων, τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐκεῖ πόλει δοκούσῃ, τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον ἐς τὸ ἕαρ παρεσκευάζετο. ἡπείλει γὰρ (καὶ ποιήσειν ἔμελλεν) ἐκκόψειν τε καὶ ὑποτάξειν τὰ μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ Γερμανῶν ἔθνη βάρβαρα».

Herodianus tells us that Maximinus, seeing that winter was coming, retreated to Pannonia, at Sirmium, in order to prepare for a new incursion in the following spring, threatening the barbarians that he would subdue all of the Germanic tribes as far as the Ocean. Herodianus, who described in details the wars in Germania, as though describing the triumphal images,¹⁹ is confused in this paragraph – if one interprets it by comparison to a modern map. The emperor arrived in Sirmium, at the Middle/Lower Danube, in order to prepare an expedition into Germania²⁰ that he wished to conquer as far as the Northern Ocean.

Historia Augusta, that quotes Herodianus, changed the enemy and the countries to be conquered as if to make the statement more logical: the source mentions the Sarmatians and the «*septentrionales partes ... usque ad Oceanum*»:

SHA, Max. duo, XIII.3:

«*Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo concupiens usque ad Oceanum septentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem redigere...*»²¹

Maximinus spent in Sirmium the winters of 236/237 and 237/238 and probably fought the Sarmatians and the Dacians in 236 and 237, because on January 7, 237 he already used the titles of *Dacicus Maximus* and *Sarmaticus Maximus*. His first triumph against these populations was probably celebrated in the spring of 236, at the same time his son Maximus was associated to the throne by elevation to the rank of *Caesar*.²²

The fact that Maximinus meant to submit all of the barbarians from the northern lands as far as the Northern Ocean has been interpreted as a rhetorical exaggeration on the part of Herodianus.²³ Still, one cannot ignore the similar passage from the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, according to whom Trajan «*litus totum arctoum oceanum ambulavit, quando et Dacorum regem devicit...*» (GR I.13.12) i.e. walked along the entire shore of the Northern Ocean when he defeated king Decebalus. As Susan Mattern has shown, this north to south flattened vision of the ancient world has influenced the decisions of Roman men of state.²⁴ The conquest of the known world up to its edge, namely the Northern Ocean, was a source of prestige and glory for the emperors. «*Tibi serviat ultima Thule...*» said Vergilius (Georg. I. 30) to emperor Augustus.

In a way, Maximinus' Sarmatian and Dacian war that started from Sirmium in the direction of the Northern Ocean betrays the same deformed vision of the known world. Herodianus and Historia Augusta repeated the idea that the emperor would have achieved his goal, had he lived (Herod. VII. 2. 9; SHA, Max. duo, XIII.3). The 2008 discovery of

¹⁹ Livadiotti 2015, 111–113.

²⁰ RE X, 1, 1918, s.v. *Iulius*. 526: *Iulius Verus Maximinus*, c. 860 (Hohl).

²¹ Historia Augusta, II, translated by D. Magie, Harvard Univ. Press, 1924, 340: «Germany now being set at peace, he went to Sirmium to the intention of waging war against the Sarmatians; and indeed in his heart he desired to bring all the northern regions up to the Ocean under Roman sway».

²² Drinkwater 2007, 30; Szabó 2013, 55–56.

²³ RE X, 1, 1918, s.v. *Iulius*. 526: *Iulius Verus Maximinus*, c. 860 (Hohl).

²⁴ Mattern 1999, 61.

the battlefield at Harzhorn, in Lower Saxony, between Kalefeld and Bad Gandersheim, demonstrates that ancient piece of news was not only rhetorical. During the first half of the 3rd century the Romans fought the barbarians more than 300 Roman miles away from Roman border in Germania Magna, something that could not have been envisaged before this discovery.²⁵

Where did the Roman armies clash with these Dacians? Inscriptions placed by soldiers of the I and II Adiutrix legions and legio II Italica in Pannonia and Noricum²⁶ indicate that some of the operations took place in Dacia (i.e. the Roman province of Dacia), but possibly also in the *Barbaricum*.²⁷ *Desideratus in Dacia*²⁸ and *incursu hostis Daciae decedit*²⁹ might point to events that took place in the province of Dacia, while *desideratus ad flumen Marisum*³⁰ and *bello Dacico desideratus ad castellum Carporum*³¹ could be connected either to events inside the province or its close proximity. On the other hand, mention of an *expeditio Dacisca* (*decedit expeditione Dacisca*,³² *obito in expeditione Daccisca*,³³ *obitus in expeditione Dacisca*³⁴) or even of a *bellum Dacicum* (*desideratus bello Dacico*,³⁵ *obito...bello Dacico desiderato*,³⁶ *decepto a Daciscis in bello proelio*³⁷) makes one think of operations that took place on barbarian territory, in *Dacia Magna*.

The inscriptions and to a smaller degree the written sources prove beyond doubt that there was a conflict with Dacians outside the province during the rule of Emperor Maximinus Thrax. His presence for two years in Sirmium and the start of a program aimed at restoring the roads in Dacia, the Moesias, and Thracia (9 *milliaria* are known so far in these provinces) continued by Gordianus III³⁸ are extra arguments supporting the dimensions of the troubles in the area of the Middle and Lower Danube.

Decius, Gallienus, and Aurelianus, *Dacici Maximi*?

For Maximinus the title *Dacicus Maximus* seems entirely justified in the light of the above-mentioned events. The situation is less clear for Decius,³⁹ Gallienus, and Aurelianus. Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 29.2), Zosimus (I. 23–24) (who followed Dexippus), Iordanes (*Get.* 18.101–103), and Zonaras (XII. 20) mentioned the fact that in 250–251 Decius fought Kniva's Goths and lost his life in the war.⁴⁰ Only Lactantius (*De mort. persec.* IV. 3) notes that this was an attack of the Carpi who had occupied Dacia and Moesia («...*nam profectus*

²⁵ Szabó 2013, 55; Speidel 2016, 345–346.

²⁶ Macrea 1969, 437; Gostar 1975, 644–645; Piso 1982, 228.

²⁷ Lorient 1975, 675–676.

²⁸ CIL III 3336; IDRE II 285 (Intercisa).

²⁹ CIL III 3660; IDRE II 274 (Bajna).

³⁰ CIL III 4310 = 10969 (Brigetio).

³¹ AE 1965, 223; IDRE II 286 (Intercisa).

³² AE 1909, 144; IDRE II 276 (Tatabánya).

³³ CIL III 1169; IDRE II 256 (Celeia).

³⁴ AE 1936, 84; IDRE II 246 (Karnburg).

³⁵ CIL III 10317; IDRE II 287 (Intercisa).

³⁶ CIL III 4857; IDRE II 247 (Virunum).

³⁷ CIL V 3372; IDRE I 156 (Verona).

³⁸ Bersanetti 1940, 26; Bartels 2014, 222–245.

³⁹ CIL II 4949, 4957, 4958; AE 1942–1943, 55; 1969–1970, 525; Gostar 1975, 645.

⁴⁰ Salisbury, Mattingly 1924, 17; Hügel 1999, 265.

adversum Carpos qui tum Daciam Moesiamque occupaverunt)⁴¹. For Aur. Victor (Caes. 29.2) Decius fought against unidentified barbarians beyond the Danube («*Decii barbaros trans Danubius persectantes*»). It is certain that Decius was subsequently called *restitutor Daciarum*⁴² in an inscription from Apulum, that after the middle of the year 250 he used the cognomen Traianus,⁴³ that he issues coins with the legend Dacia and Dacia Felix,⁴⁴ that in the imperial mint the personified Dacia was replaced with Pax,⁴⁵ and that a statue of gilded bronze depicting the emperor was set in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.⁴⁶ Based on all these clues P. Hügel hypothesized that Decius implemented a «restorationist» policy, a «reality with heavy makeup, a world looking for its future happiness by looking backwards.»⁴⁷

It remains unclear what *Dacicus Maximus* meant for Gallienus,⁴⁸ but the title must naturally be connected to the emperor's activity at the Danube in the company of Caesar Valerianus junior between 255 and 257 (the inscription that features the title is dated to 257).⁴⁹ P. Hügel identified an epigraphic horizon in Dacia during the second half of the year 257; the hoard in Olteni ends with coins issued in 257; and the activity of the provincial mint that issued coins of the Provincia Dacia type ceased during the same year.⁵⁰ Even if the title *Dacicus Maximus* is fictitious and not back by actual facts, these defections in Dacia followed by imperial measures and epigraphic reactions suggest a state of anxiety.

One notes that in 250–251 and 255–257 the emperors were interested in Dacia, as reflected by monetary propaganda and the epigraphic reactions of the inhabitants of the provinces. There was a Dacian topic, an interest in Dacia and the glorious past of the wars against the Dacians in the context of troubles at the borders of the province. Hence probably the introduction of the cognomen *Dacicus Maximus* for Decius and Gallienus on inscriptions.

For Aurelianus the title *Dacicus Maximus*⁵¹ is attested in 272, one year after the fights against the Sarmatians the Vandals.⁵² The emperor was only called *Carpicus Maximus* in 273,⁵³ despite the fact that the Carpi did not feature in the *pompa trimphalis* mentioned by Historia Augusta (SHA v. Aur. 33.4).⁵⁴ The situation was similar to that during the time of Maximinus: the emperor fought the Sarmatians (plus the Vandals) and was unofficially granted the title of *Dacicus Maximus* as well.

In the case of barracks emperors Decius and Aurelian, the title of *Dacicus Maximus* was not granted due to victories over the Carpi because the latter were a Dacian tribe.

⁴¹ Gerov 1977, 133 (in Dacia Inferior and Moesia Superior).

⁴² CIL III 1176; IDR III/2, 431 (year 250, *tribunicia potestas II*).

⁴³ RE XV, 1, 1931, s.v. *Messius*. 9. *C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius*, c. 1246–1248 (Fluss).

⁴⁴ Winkler 1965, 232; Christol 2006, 122.

⁴⁵ Macrea 1969, 442.

⁴⁶ Daicoviciu 1965, 243.

⁴⁷ Hügel 1999, 270.

⁴⁸ CIL II 2200; VIII 1430; Gostar 1975, 645–646; Suski 2013, 146–148.

⁴⁹ CIL II 2200: *trib. pot. IIII*.

⁵⁰ Hügel 1999, 274.

⁵¹ Gostar 1975, 646; Suski 2013, 148–150.

⁵² Homo 1904, 70–71, 89–90, n. 2; Cizek 1994, 95.

⁵³ Kienast 1996, 234–235.

⁵⁴ Kettenhofen 1987, 67–68.

The introduction of these unofficial titles in inscriptions is due to a confused reception, on the level of public opinion, of the conflicts on the borders of the province of Dacia and of the identity of the defeated barbarian enemies. On the other hand, interest in the drifting province of Dacia, with the imperial propaganda apparatus exalting the glorious past, contributed to the sporadic use of these titles. Certain barbarians were defeated near Dacia, in *Dacia Magna*, and Roman sculptural art reflected this. One mainly envisages the so-called «battle scene sarcophagi» (*Schlachtsarcophagen*, *sarcofagi di battaglia*) that include fighting scenes between Romans and barbarians. The basic pattern of these compositions stems from Greek/Hellenistic art, depicting naked barbarians, fashioned after the model of the Galatae Celts. But since official, symbolic art was strongly coded, the artists have attempted to suggest the identity of the defeated barbarians. The artworks of Trajan's Era, Trajan's Column, the Tropaeum Traiani in Adamclisi, the great Trajanic frieze,⁵⁵ and the statues depicting Dacians in Trajan's Forum, set the classical image of the Dacians: wearing *pileus*, *sica*, and sometimes the *draco* standard. The three associated symbols are essential for Dacian identity in Roman art.⁵⁶ They can be encountered, together or alone, on the series of battle sarcophagi in the Empire's capital. They have been initially dated to the end of the 2nd century and connected to the Marcomannic Wars.⁵⁷ More recently, they have been dated to the middle of the 3rd century, while in the case of the Grande Ludovisi sarcophagus, the central character was identified with Hostilianus, thus allowing for the monument to be associated with the wars of 250–251 AD.⁵⁸ The symbolic codes gradually present various barbarian populations, some precisely identified, others almost anonymous. The sarcophagus known as the Piccolo Ludovisi, for example, depicts barbarians dressed according to the pattern in Greek art (nude or only wearing *chlamys*) but with a *pileus* on their head, fighting with the curved sword, the *sica* (Pl. I). These are two of the symbols associated with the Dacians that show that the artist wished to suggest that the barbarian enemies were Dacians. The iconography is less clear in the case of the Grande Ludovisi sarcophagus, where the barbarians are depicted with oriental costumes (long shirts and wide trousers, tied around the ankles) and *pileus*, but they are not fighting with Dacian curved weapons (Pl. II). A *draco*-type standard also features in the background (Pl. III/1). Neither curved swords, nor *pileus* hats feature on the large sarcophagus known as the *sarcofago di Portonaccio*. It just includes *draco*-type standards, while the barbarians are rather depicted according to the Germanic pattern (Pl. III/2).⁵⁹

No direct connection can be established between the wars of the Barracks Emperors Period and each of the sarcophagi with battle scenes (possibly with the exception of the Grande Ludovisi sarcophagus and Decius' wars). The introduction of such monuments and the use of titles such as *Dacicus Maximus* demonstrate the existence of a Dacian topic in the era and of a certain indecision regarding the identification of the new barbarians emerging at the Lower Danube. The *Stammesbildung* process that led to the arrival of new

⁵⁵ About these monuments Gramatopol 2011, 119–307, with the bibliography.

⁵⁶ Pislaru 2012, 133–176.

⁵⁷ Faust 2012, 197–198 (the *di Portonaccio* and *Piccolo Ludovisi* sarcophagi dated to the Late Antoninian Era and the *Grande Ludovisi* sarcophagus dated to the middle of the 3rd century).

⁵⁸ Le Bohec 2009, 261.

⁵⁹ *Sarcofago di Portonaccio* was inspired by the wars against the Quadi and the Marcomanni and dates back to this period – Pardyová 2004, 55–56.

barbarians at the Rhine, such as the Alamani, the Franks, or the Saxons, also had an impact on the Danubian area.⁶⁰ There the Carpi, the Goths, the Borans, the Vandals surprised the Romans with their frequent attacks. Through a natural *reductio ad notum*, the Romans made reference to what they knew: the Dacians left outside the province of Dacia. The title *Dacicus maximus* attributed to some of the barracks emperors and the type of the Dacian barbarian on the sarcophagi with battle scenes reveal precisely this indecision in the identification of the new barbarian enemies.

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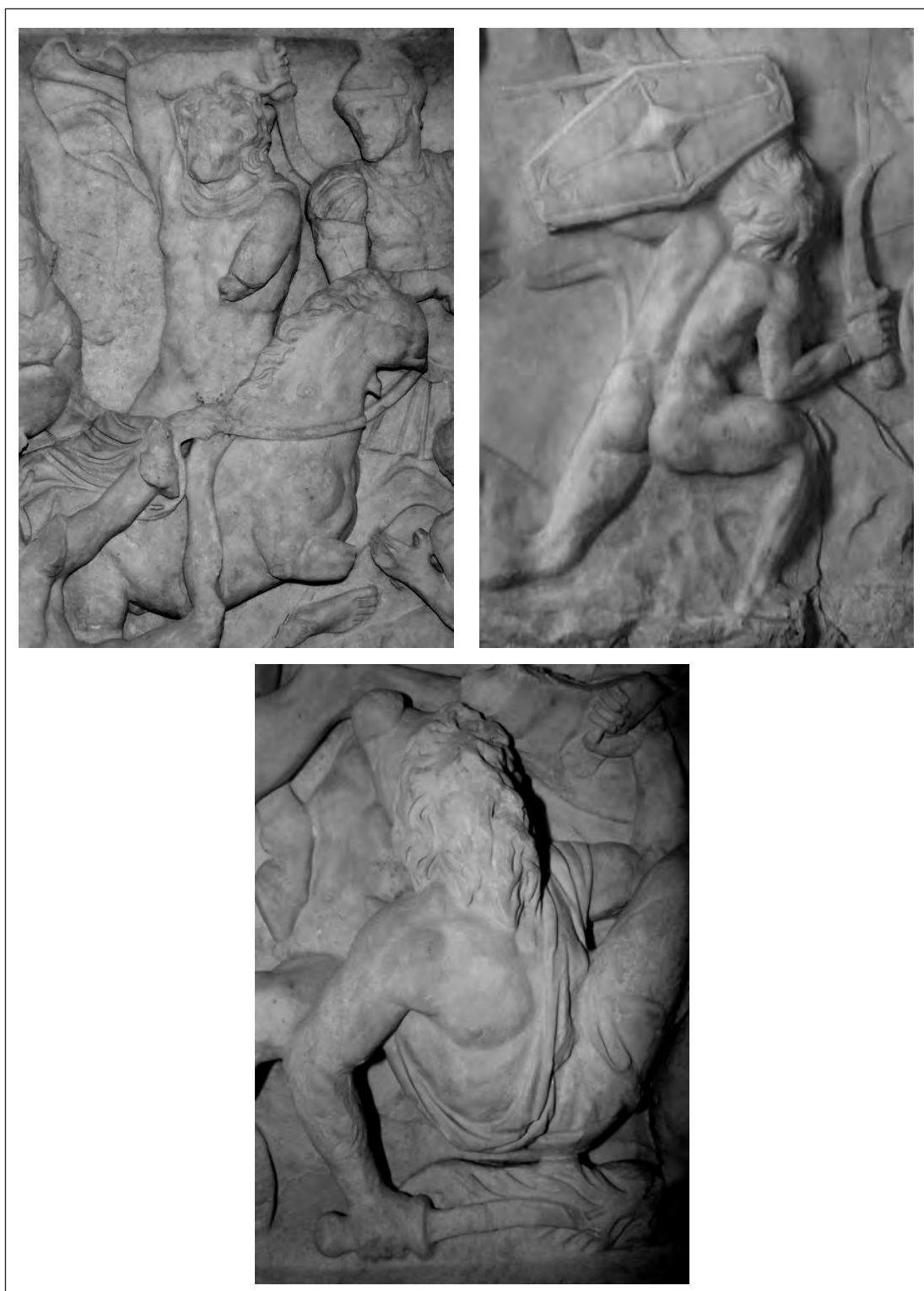
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Pl. I. The “Piccolo Ludovisi” sarcophagus. Barbarians with *sica* and *pileus*.



Pl. II. The "Grande Ludovisi" sarcophagus. Barbarians with *pileus*.



1



2

Pl. III. 1. The "Grande Ludovisi" sarcophagus. *Draco* standard; 2. The "Portonaccio" sarcophagus. *Draco* standard.

“THE POTTERY WHISPERER”. *SCHOLAE* WITHIN THE *PRINCIPIA* OF THE POTAISSA LEGIONARY FORTRESS IN THE 3RD CENTURY AD

LUCIANA NEDELEA

Abstract: Through the laborious archaeological campaigns during 1974, 1978–1989, 1994–1995, 2008–2011, a total of 1543 individual wares have been identified in the rooms of the headquarters within the Potaissa legionary fortress, as well as its courtyard. The presence of large quantities of pottery in certain rooms has excluded their functionality as *officia* or *armamentaria*, whereas others have been identified as possible *scholae* with rectangular planimetry.

Keywords: Roman pottery; *legio V Macedonica*; Potaissa; *principia*; rectangular *scholae*.

Rezumat: Prin campaniile laborioase întreprinse în anii 1974, 1978–1989, 1994–1995, 2008–2011, atât din încăperile clădirii comandamentului castrului legionar de la Potaissa, cât și din curtea acesteia, a fost recuperat un lot ceramic format din 1543 de vase individuale. Prezența ridicată a veselei în unele încăperi exclude utilizarea lor drept *officia* sau *armamentaria*, iar altele au putut fi identificate drept posibile *scholae* cu plan rectangular.

Cuvinte cheie: ceramică romană; *legio V Macedonica*; Potaissa; *principia*; rectangular *scholae*.

General overview

The headquarters (*principia*) or the so-called “Lagerfora”/“Gemeinschaftsbauten” of the Roman Empire were generally seen as the administrative and religious center of any garrison. In the military milieu, including that of Roman Dacia, groups of *collegia* would unfold their meetings in chambers known as *scholae*.¹ Up to this moment, in the legionary fortress from Potaissa, the exact location of such meeting places within the headquarters was only speculated.² However, through the careful analysis of the ceramic material identified in its inner structures, several points of interest emerge, indicating that certain rooms could have been used as *scholae*, with their additional *culinae*. Coming to support this hypothesis are other categories of artifacts, as well as the existing epigraphical evidence. Even though most *scholae* are identified due to their distinguishing shape³ – the apse situated on the opposite side of the entrance – this characteristic does not have to become a rule. There are various buildings and chambers throughout the military environment of the Roman Empire that have proven to be *scholae*, even though their planimetry was rectangle. The best examples come from the headquarters of Weissenburg (situated on the rear flank) and Eining (situated on the northern flank), where the planimetry of the inner spaces is rectangle as well.⁴

¹ Marcu 2006a, 153–164; Marcu 2006b, 259–269; Marcu 2009a, 1553–1558.

² Bărbulescu 1987, 122.

³ Sedlmayer 2015, 378–388.

⁴ Marcu 2006b, 259–269.

Even though pottery is often seen as an inferior artifact category that “does not possess any historical relevance”, this could not be further from the truth. Through the present endeavor, I hope to underline once more the importance of pottery, which, if analysed correctly, can offer just as much information as the field of an inscription. One must only know how to “read it”.

In-depth information regarding the Roman pottery used in Antiquity within the headquarters of Dacian forts and fortresses is scarce.⁵ The *principia* of the legionary fortress at Potaissa are the first structure of its kind from Roman Dacia to offer a comprehensive study regarding the use of pottery in such buildings.⁶ The laborious archaeological campaigns undergone between 1974, 1978–1989, 1994–1995, 2008–2011, have resulted in the discovery of 1543 individual wares within the rooms of the headquarters, as well as its courtyard. A total of 512 individual wares were identified in its chambers (Pl. I, Chart 1), and 348 were discovered in the area of the military forum (Forumsplatz/Lagerforum). To these quantities we add the 484 *amphorae* and 199 amphoric *opercula* identified in the eastern side of the headquarters/the northern wing (Rooms O and P), which had been transformed into a warehouse at the beginning of the 3rd century AD (Pl. II).

It is now certain that in the legionary fortress at Potaissa, the highest quantities of earthenware were not discovered in the *principia* (1543 individual wares). The biggest numbers are to be found in the *thermae* (2323 individual wares)⁷ and the *centuriae* of the fortress (5180 individual wares).⁸ Therefore, if in some areas of Roman Dacia, the headquarters seem to play a purely symbolic role, like the miniature-building from Titești, Vâlcea County (9.60×5.50 m),⁹ at Potaissa, the small quantities of pottery discovered in such a large building, underline once more the official character of the legionary *principia*, where bureaucratic activity is abundant. This building combines the administrative (*tabularia*, *officia*, *scholae*) and religious aspects (*locus gromae*, *basilica principiorum* and *aedes principiorum*), with the partial quality of being a warehouse (*armamentaria* and the northern wing on the eastern side).¹⁰

⁵ Ilișua/Arcobara: Protase et alii 1997, 41; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 39, no. cat. 82, CMB, inv. no. 15162; Orheiul Bistriței: Macrea et alii 1967, 113–120; Protase 2007, 97–107; Cășeu/Samum: Isac 2003, 122, 127; Isac 1985, doctoral thesis; Panaiteșcu 1929, 321–342; Bologa/Resculum: Gudea 1972, 121–149; Gudea 1977, 169–236; Gudea 1997b, 12–13; Macrea 1993, 197–233; Chirilă, Gudea 1973, 115–123, Fig. 2/1–11, 15–18, Fig. 3, 5–8, 11–13; Buciumi: Chirilă et alii 1972, 42, Pl. LI/4, Pl. VI/1, cat. no. 16, inv. c.c. 80/64, Pl. VI/2, Pl. XX/9, cat. no. 35; Gherla: Protase et alii 2008, 18; Rusu-Bolindeț 1999, 777–805; Moigrad-Pomet/Porolissum: Gudea 1997b; Gudea 1997c, 16–22; Opreanu, Lăzărescu 2015, 901–907; Filip 2008; Romita/Certiae: Matei, Bajusz 1997; Cupcea et alii 2018, 16–20; Tihău: Wollmann, Bot 1974, 429–440; Bumbești: Tudor 1940a, 18–32; Vlădescu 1983, 18–26; Berzovia/Bersobis: Flutur 1999–2000, 365–372; Flutur 2002, 95–100; Flutur 2006, 165–169; Flutur 2008, 120–124; Protase 2010, 33–62; Protase 2010, 33–62, Pl. 13; Mehadia/Praetorium: Macrea et alii 1993, 23–24, Fig. 5; Timoc, Timoc 2008, 75–80; Jupa/Tibiscum: Benea, Bona 1994, 44; Slăveni: Tudor 1940b, 34; Tudor et alii 2011, 11; Vlădescu 1983, 30; Răcari: Bondoc, Gudea 2009, 65–66.

⁶ The forthcoming collective volume dedicated to *The Principia of the legionary fortress of Potaissa* (M. Bărbulescu ed.) will offer a complete analysis of this material, including the *amphorae*.

⁷ Nedelea 2019, 182–248; Nedelea 2020, 89–99.

⁸ Nedelea 2017, 83–106; Cf. the authors' 2020 doctoral thesis *Vesela romană din castrul legionar de la Potaissa*.

⁹ Stanciu 1985, 223, Fig. 19; Tudor 1968, 314; Vlădescu 1986, 65–67.

¹⁰ Bărbulescu 1987, 122–163; Bărbulescu 1997, 25–32; RIB 1092: *principia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit* (Lanchester); Piso et alii 2016, 52, *armamentarium(ii)*: CIL III 1121 = IDR III/5, 285); *genio armamenta[r(ii)]*:

The layout of the *principia* at Potaissa is quite clear to this day, being formed out of the following structures (Pl. II):¹¹

- a) The Eastern Flank, divided by the entrance to the headquarters in two separate wings:
 1. the southern wing comprised of Rooms I, J, K, L, M;
 2. the northern wing comprised of Rooms N, O, P.
- b) The Western Flank. The *aedes principiorum/aerarium*, flanked by Rooms E', D', C', B' in the southern wing, and Rooms B, C, D, E on the northern wing.
- c) *Basilica*, following the length of the western side (with *tribunalia* H and G).
- d) The Northern Flank (*armamentaria*: Rooms 1 to 14).
- e) The Southern Flank (*armamentaria*: Rooms 15 to 28).
- f) The courtyard.

The quantitative and serviceable patterns of the ceramic distribution in all the chambers of the *principia* have helped to clarify their functionality. Certain rooms, especially those situated on the eastern side (towards the *via principalis*), indicate activities and functionalities which are only rarely observed in the headquarters of a legionary fortress. Also, based on the material identified in these chambers, we can now exclude their functionality as *officia* (Room E' and Rooms I, J, K, L, M) or *armamentaria* (Room 15 and possibly Rooms 25 to 28).

Therefore, the ceramic statistic indicated the following clusters (Pl. I, Chart 2):

- a) The Eastern Flank: 230 individual wares (and 484 *amphorae* and 199 *opercula*).
- b) The Western Flank: 123 individual wares.
- c) *Basilica*: 28 individual wares.
- d) The Northern Flank: 22 individual wares.
- e) The Southern Flank: 137 individual wares.
- f) The courtyard: 348 individual wares.

These statistics would not be surprising at all if we did not notice a very big difference in quantity between the southern (137 individual wares) and northern flanks (22 individual wares), which are both supposed to be *armamentaria*/the armouries of the camp, where weapons were stored. From previous research,¹² Room 14 (on the northern flank) had been considered a *schola*, as it was the largest and only chamber on the northern side provided with a heating system in the last decades of the 2nd century AD (Pl. II). It was observed that, by the beginning of the 3rd century AD, the *hypocaust* system of the room had been removed, indicating that the chamber had changed its functionality. Thus, the location of the *schola* had been moved somewhere else within the *principia*. It is quite possible that Room 14 functioned as a *schola* only until the end of the 2nd century AD. After this point it was most likely relocated on the southern flank of the *principia*, in Room 15, again, the largest and only chamber provided with a heating system on that particular side. The ceramic analysis supports this hypothesis, as no earthenwares have been discovered in Room 14, whereas Room 15, with 57 individual wares, is situated in the "top 3" rooms that yielded the biggest quantities of pottery within the headquarters, next to Room J and Room E' (Pl. I, Chart 2). Besides the above mentioned three chambers, the majority

AE 2004, 1195 = ILD 503.

¹¹ Bărbulescu 1987, 124, Fig. 23.

¹² Bărbulescu 1987, 144–145, Fig. 35.

of the pottery finds are aggregated in Room I, *tribunalium* H and Rooms O and P (only *amphorae* and *opercula*). The rest of the rooms within the *principia* showcase little to no domestic activities at all, the majority of the finds being military in nature. Therefore, from a quantitative point of view, three main areas of interest emerge (Pl. II):

- a) Rooms I, J, K, L (on the eastern flank) situated next to each other.
- b) Room 15 (on the southern flank).
- c) Room E' (on the western flank).

All these chambers have the same common characteristics: most of the pottery finds concentrate in these rooms; they were all provided with heating systems; they are all some of the largest rooms within the *principia*; the functionality of the pottery identified here indicates that it was used during communal meals or banquets (large platters, bowls, plates, pitchers, table *amphorae*, jugs etc.).¹³

This situation is an indication that at least three *scholae* could have existed in the headquarters of the legionary fortress from Potaissa, their position being ended by the middle of the 3rd century AD. It is known that all throughout the Roman Empire, during this century, buildings associated with military administration became much more spacious than before. The best example comes from the *principia* of the legionary fortress at *Novae*, whose rear flank suffered several modifications during the same period.¹⁴

Identifying *scholae* through ceramic distribution patterns

1. The Eastern Flank

With an opening in the center of the eastern flank of 19 m in between the walls, and 18 m between the buttresses, the entrance to the *principia*, a *groma*, divided the flank in two equally sized wings, with completely different functionalities.¹⁵ This flank contains the largest quantities of earthenwares of all other sides of the *principia*. A total of 230 individual wares have been identified in the southern wing, and 484 *amphorae* and 199 amphoric *opercula* have been discovered in the northern wing (Pl. I, Chart 1).

Bearing in mind the fact that, within the headquarters, the eastern side disposes of the smallest number of rooms, as well as the least organizational space (as a good part of the flank is occupied by the entrance to the *principia*), the fact that the biggest quantities of pottery are discovered exactly in this area cannot be interpreted as a chance find. Due to the fact that the eastern flank was situated in the immediate vicinity of the *via principalis*, this part of the *principia* played a very important role in the flow management of the garrison's goods. To facilitate the supply, storage, and the transport of provisions or earthenware, the legion needed a location that could have been easily accessed, and thus, the activities to be carried out with a minimum of staff and physical effort.

I was able to observe that, with very few exceptions (Room E'), the vast majority of the large capacity earthenwares discovered inside the *principia* are stockpiled on the eastern flank, right next to the entrance to the building and the *via principalis* (*amphorae* in the northern wing; *dolia*, table *amphorae*, jugs, pitchers in the southern wing).

¹³ Petrikovitz 1975, 78.

¹⁴ Sarnowski 2018, 356, Fig. 2.

¹⁵ Bărbulescu 1987, 137; Bărbulescu 1997, 27.

It is now clear that through the storage in the eastern flank of provisions needed for the "daily" rations of the soldiers, the process of dividing the goods, especially *oleum* and *posca* was therefore facilitated. Thus, the eastern flank became the logistics sector of the headquarters, in order to optimize the supply and distribution of foodstuffs needed by the legion.

Through archaeological research, it was concluded that in the 3rd century AD, a series of modifications and adjustments were undertaken on the eastern flank, when the heating system (*hypocaust*) was introduced in its southern wing (Rooms I, J, K, L, M).¹⁶ At the same time, in the northern wing, the wall between Room O (9.20×9.90 m) and Room P (10.40×9.50 m) was torn down, transforming the location into a storage hall of big dimensions (Pl. II).¹⁷ Based on the ceramic containers and the iron barrel hoops discovered in this hall,¹⁸ it can be concluded that this wing was used to storage imported and locally produced goods, such as olive oil/*oleum*, fish products/*garum*/*salsamenta* and wine/*vinum*.

The new analysis of the 484 *amphorae* discovered in the storage hall has indicated the presence of five main amphoric types (Dressel 20, Dressel 24/Zeest 90/Dyzeck 25, Dressel 24/Similis, Kapitän II, Zeest 84) and two different types of lids (199 individual *opercula*). As it was speculated in previous studies, and now proven, the main imported commodity within the legionary fortress was *oleum*.¹⁹ Wine and fish products are present here as well, but in considerably smaller quantities. The analysis of the amphoric types has concluded that the V Macedonica legion was the client of one main olive oil production center, namely Chios, an island situated in the northern Aegean Sea. From the 484 *amphorae*, 429 come from the above mentioned center.

As far as the southern wing of the eastern flank is concerned, this area was composed of Rooms I, J, K, L, M. Their proximity to the storage hall and the main access roads of the fortress (*via principalis* and *via praetoria*) turns the southern wing into an area favorable for domestic activities. Given the fact that large quantities of wares used for cooking and communal meals have been identified here, it is hard to believe that Rooms I, J, K, L, M were utilized as *officia*, as it was proposed. On the western side of the *principia*, there are heated rooms, similar to the ones on the eastern side/the southern wing, but no Roman vessels were discovered there at all, implying a different functionality for these chambers (Rooms E, D', B', B, C, D).

Therefore, the entirety of the southern wing (Rooms I, J, K, L, M) could revolve around the presence of a *schola* on the eastern flank in the 3rd century AD. All the ceramic material and other categories of artifacts indicate that the rooms were used as *culinae*, dining rooms and spaces where the officers could socialize. A marble votive plaque from Apulum reminds that a dining hall (*apparatorium(ii)*) was built by Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super and his family, most likely during the reign of Caracalla (AD 211–217).²⁰ This demonstrates the presence of such spaces in the civilian environment, and, indirectly, the possibility that they did exist in the military milieu of Roman Dacia as well. In the civilian settlement

¹⁶ Bărbulescu 1987, 139.

¹⁷ Bărbulescu 1987, 142, Fig. 28, Pl. XIV/3; Bărbulescu 1994, 101.

¹⁸ Bărbulescu 1994, 125–126, Bărbulescu 2015, 213, cat. no. 25.

¹⁹ Bărbulescu 1987, 142.

²⁰ Piso et alii 2016, 46; CIL III 1096 = ILS 5552 = IDR III/5, 242.

of Carnuntum, the “*Macellum-Thermen-Komplex*” (“*Palastruine*”) presents a *schola* in its south-eastern corner.²¹ Attached to this *schola* is a kitchen/*culina*, similar to the new finds in the *principia* of the legionary fortress of Potaissa.

Regarding the functionality of the earthenwares identified in the rooms of the southern wing of the eastern flank at Potaissa, the statistics show the following: 86 individual wares belonging to the group of vessels used for pouring and the storage of goods (*dolia*, *urcei* etc.), 75 individual wares belonging to the *vasa escaria* group (*catini* and *acetabula*), 20 individual wares belonging to the *vasa coquinatoria* group (fraying pans/cooking trays, *ollae*, *mortaria* and *opercula*), 7 individual wares belonging to the *vasa potatoria* group (*pocula*), and 6 individual wares belonging to the group of vessels in which hot coals were placed (*turibula* and *foculi*).

Out of all the flanks of the headquarters, the largest quantities of wares used for cooking and serving food were discovered in this southern wing of the eastern flank, indicating that cooking and dining were certain activities in this area. The most numerous vessels used for serving food were identified in Room J (two large platters, 21 plates, 12 large bowls and five small sized bowls; Pl. III), and Room I (30 large bowls; Pl. IV).

Also, within the *principia*, the highest quantities of jugs (25 individual wares) and pitchers (18 individual wares) have been identified in Room J of the southern wing. There are only two other rooms where these types of vessels make an appearance in larger quantities, those being Room E' (on the western side) and Room 15 (on the southern side). In the remaining chambers pertaining to the *principia*, these vessels appear in only very small numbers or at all. The presence of large quantities of pitchers and jugs in one room can be connected to the consumption of liquids, as well as hygienic reasons. Having in mind that the Romans did not use forks at that time and preferred to use their fingers instead, they made a habit of washing their hands in little bronze or clay basins in between meals. The tradition was adopted by the Romans from the Greek environment. In various reliefs and *frescoes* depicting banquets, behind the guests, the servants are holding *paterae*, bowls and pitchers filled with water, ready to help them wash their hands.²²

Besides pitchers and jugs, out of all the headquarter's chambers, the largest quantities of cooking trays have also been discovered in the southern wing, in Room J (7 individual wares) and Room I (6 individual wares). Given the fact that the rooms are situated next to each other, it is very clear that domestic activities took place here, such as cooking and serving meals. Cooking trays have only been discovered in only two other rooms of the *principia*, but in smaller quantities (one tray in Room 13 and two trays in Room E'). No *ollae* have been identified in the eastern side, their overall frequency in the headquarters of Potaissa being relatively small (only two pots in Room 15). Therefore, a preference for meals prepared by baking, grilling or frying can be singled out. This would have been possible by using portable ovens or heaters for the service of hot foods and drinks in the dining room, such *thermospodia*.

The largest quantities of *dolia* are to be found on the eastern side as well, most of the finds coming from Room J (7 *dolia*), followed by Room K (4 *dolia*) and Room L (two *dolia*). The containers identified in Room L are some of the most beautiful finds from he

²¹ Seldmayer 2015, 379, Fig. 284.

²² Khamis 2013, 95–96.

headquarters at Potaissa. Their location of discovery indicates that these two containers were placed on each side of the entrance to the chamber, on the portico. What makes them stand out is the fact that their rim was decorated, an unusual find for the fortress at Potaissa, where most of the *dolia* are plain (Pl. VI). While their rims are similarly decorated, the technique is different. However, it is certain that they were acquired by the same individual and used at the same time, for the same purpose. Based on the rim size, the containers could have stored up to 15–20 liters of liquid or foodstuffs, underlining once more the domestic aspect of the eastern flank/the southern wing.

Therefore, if until now it was believed that the heated Rooms I, J, K and L were used as offices (*officia*),²³ through the analysis of the ceramic material sufficient arguments have come to light to demonstrate that during the 3rd century AD, these rooms had completely different functionalities. At the beginning of this century, the *hypocaust* system is introduced in the chambers,²⁴ and the wall between Rooms J and K had been torn down and reconstructed, transforming Room K into a more spacious hall (4.55–4.70×9.10 m).²⁵

All the ceramic finds indicate that Rooms I (which disposes of a well in its interior) and J were utilized as *culinae*, whereas Room K and L served as dining halls.

Their large interior allowed the use of furniture such as *mensae* (tables) and *subsellia* (benches), which could have easily accommodated several tens of attendants. In fact, next to earthenware, a series of furniture fragments have been recovered from these chambers as well. A bronze furniture appliqué in the shape of a leaf was identified in Room L,²⁶ as well as several glass vessels and an *unguentarium*.²⁷ A round bronze furniture appliqué was discovered in Room J.²⁸ Room K yielded some of the most interesting finds, like the fragmentary bronze statue representing Mercurius, an *antefixum*, a part of a bronze candelabra in the shape of a dove, and most importantly, a fragmentary flute (*aulos*) utilized during banquets.²⁹ Light sources were assured through the use of *terracotta* oil lamps, as numerous such artifacts have been recovered from the eastern side of the *principia*.³⁰

The presence of the well in the extremity of the eastern side of the *principia*, in the corner of Room I,³¹ accentuates the domestic character of these chambers even further, as a source of water was of outmost necessity in the preparation of meals, as well as hygienic maintenance. It should be noted that, when it comes Roman recipes, very clear distinctions were made between the different types of water available at that time, each one of them having a different taste, property and use.

In *De re rustica*, Columella mentions that rain water/*aqua caelestis* was the best type of liquid to be used in brine recipes (*muria dura*).³² From Apicius, in *De re coquinaria*,

²³ Bărbulescu 1987, 142.

²⁴ Bărbulescu 1994, 101, Pl. IX/2.

²⁵ Bărbulescu 1987, 137, Fig. 28; Pl. XIII/1.

²⁶ MIT inv. no. 8161.

²⁷ MIT inv. no. 8217, 8218, 8220, 8222.

²⁸ MIT inv. no. 10228.

²⁹ Bărbulescu 1987, 143; Bărbulescu 2015, 286, cat. no. 68, Fig. 164; for more information regarding furniture and music instrument finds within these chambers, see the chapter signed by T. Varga in the forthcoming collective volume *The Principia of the legionary fortress at Potaissa* (M. Bărbulescu, ed.).

³⁰ Bărbulescu 1987, 142.

³¹ Bărbulescu 1987, 137; 139; Bărbulescu 1994, 101.

³² Columella, *Rust.* 12.6; Dumitrache 2014, 28.

I, 17, we find out that rain water/*aqua pluvialis* was used to preserve grapes in their best condition over larger periods of time (*uvae ut diu servantur*). Mineral water/*aqua nitrata* was used when cooking vegetables. Sea water/*aqua marina* served in the preservation of pomegranate (*ut mala granata diu durent* – I, 18), as well as the preparation of boar (*aper*) or pork meat dishes (for example the recipe for *Porcellum Traianum*). Fresh spring water/*aqua recens* was utilized to obtain dishes like *salacattabia* (aspic).

Apicius mentions fountain water/*aqua cisternina* as an ingredient in some of his dishes, like *Hydrogarata Isicia*. This dish was made by stuffing dough with minced meat, herbs and condiments. It was best served with a sauce obtained by mixing *garum* and water from a well/*aqua cisternina* (“*Hydrogarata Isicia sic facies: teres piper, ligusticum, pyrethrum minimum, suffundes liquamen; temperas aqua cisternina, dum inducet; exinanies in caccabo, et cum isicio ad vaporem ignis pones, et caleat, et sic sorbendum inferes*”).³³

Consequently, if the rooms of the southern wing/eastern flank were utilized as kitchens/*culinae* and dining halls/*triclinia*, then their presumed function as *officia* is partially pushed on the southern flank of the *principia*, especially Rooms 25 to 28, where large quantities of glass vessels used for pouring liquids were discovered. Through these finds, it is very unlikely that at least some rooms from the southern flank of the headquarters were used as *armamentaria*.

Regarding the newly found situation in the eastern flank/the southern wing of the *principia* from Potaissa, the best analogies come from the legionary fortress at *Novae*. Through the ceramic material identified in the moesian headquarters, researchers came to the conclusion that the Rooms Ez1 and Ez2 were utilized by the administrative personnel of the 3rd and 4th century AD legionary fortress at *Novae*. These chambers show strong signs of domestic and culinary activities, similar to those from Potaissa.³⁴

2. The Northern Flank (“Rooms 1–14”)

The ceramic analysis indicates that in the 3rd century AD, the northern flank of the *principia* was utilized as *armamentaria* in its entirety. This supposition is based on the fact that most of the artifacts discovered here have military connotations, and only a few wares came to light.³⁵ Of all the chambers within the *principia*, those situated on the northern flank yielded the smallest quantities of ceramic containers (22 individual wares; Pl. I, Chart I). The position of the rooms corresponds with archaeological and epigraphical evidence found throughout the Roman Empire. Sextus Pompeius Festus referred to the headquarters as “*rerum utensilium forum*”.³⁶ However, an interesting situation arises in connection to Room 14. Situated right next to the *basilica*, this chamber could have been utilized as a *schola* until the end of the 2nd century AD, as in its initial phase this space was heated. The presence of a *schola* is attested at Potaissa through a fragmentary inscription discovered in the northern surface of the *basilica principiorum*. Parts of it were scattered close to Room 14 and its portico, where it probably fell and broke.³⁷ The stratigraphical situation indicated that, at the beginning of the 3rd century AD, the *hypocaust* system was removed. Mortar

³³ Apicius, *De re coquinaria* II, 49.

³⁴ Sarnowski 2018, 356.

³⁵ Bărbulescu 1987, 143–146.

³⁶ Petrikovitz 1975, 74.

³⁷ Bărbulescu 2010, 89.

and a layer of bricks were laid over the heating installation, serving now as pavement. This room's functionality changed, becoming a storage room. The *schola* was possibly moved on the southern flank in Room 15, mirroring Room 14, or on the western flank in Room E' (a *schola* was identified at *Novae* in the exact same position of the headquarters).³⁸

3. The Southern Flank (Rooms 15 to 28)

The chambers on the southern side are numbered from 15 to 28, in continuation to those situated on the northern side.³⁹ Regarding the earthenware finds, the quantitative statistic shows that the southern flank yielded the second biggest amount of Roman pottery after the eastern flank. A total of 137 individual wares were discovered in its chambers. This is a very surprising outcome, as from a quantitative point of view, we notice a very big difference between the two flanks, south and north, both identified as *armamentaria* (Pl. I, Chart 1). Therefore, it is quite clear that human domestic activities were much more intense on the southern flank, which could indicate the existence of *officia* or a *schola*.

The quantitative statistic for each room situated on the southern flank indicated the following (Pl. I, Chart 2): 57 individual wares in Room 15; 21 individual wares in Room 28; 17 individual wares in Room 26; 15 individual wares in Room 25; 10 individual wares in Room 27; 8 individual wares in Room 22; 8 individual wares in Room 17; 1 ware in Room 24; no ceramic finds in Rooms 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23.

The chamber that stands out the most is Room 15, situated right next to the *Basilica*. Similar to Room 14, it was the only heated room of the southern flank. The *hypocaust* system was introduced to this space in the 3rd century AD. Being the largest room on this flank, Room 15 could represent a *schola* that was relocated here from Room 14. Supporting this supposition is the fact that, out of all the rooms of the southern flank, the largest quantities of Roman pottery were identified in this area. A total of 57 individual wares came to light, out of which 45 belong to the fine ware category, and only 12 individual wares belonged to the common ware category (Pl. I, Chart 2). At the same time, this is the room with the highest quantities of fine ware out of all the chambers of the headquarters, and most of these belong to the *vasa escaria* group. Next to pottery, one of the most interesting discoveries in this room is an altar dedicated to *genius armamentarii* by a *custos armorum*.⁴⁰ Similar altars were discovered at *Novae* and *Lambaesis*.⁴¹

4. The Western Flank and the *Basilica*

The western flank represents the most important part of the *principia*, as it shelters the *aedes principiorum* and the *aerarium*. The sacred objects of the fortress were guarded by on duty soldiers (*aedis custos*).⁴² At *Novae* for example, the guardians' room, the *excubitorium*, was situated on the rear flank of the *principia* (Room J, next to a corridor).⁴³ Possible *excubitoria* have been identified at *Cigămau* and *Drobeta* as well, in similar locations.⁴⁴

³⁸ Sarnowski et alii 2016, 177–203.

³⁹ Bărbulescu 1987, 146.

⁴⁰ Bărbulescu 201091, Fig. 27; Moga 1985, 90, Poetovio – *tesserarium et custodem armorum legio V Macedonicae et XIII Geminae*.

⁴¹ Bărbulescu 1987, 148; Flutur 2011, 151.

⁴² Sarnowski 2018, 356, Fig. 2.

⁴³ Petrikovits 1975, 78; Sarnowski 2018, 350–359.

⁴⁴ Marcu 2009b, 130–132, Fig. 27.

In the legionary fortress at Potaissa, the *sacellum* is flanked by three rooms and one corridor on each side (E', D', C', B' on the southern wing; B, C, D, E on the northern wing). *Tabularia*, *scholae* or *officia* were usually situated on each side of the *locus sacer*. At Wiesbaden, Ritterling suggested that the *cornicularii*, *beneficarii*, *actarii* and *librarii* activated in such rooms.⁴⁵ There are also exceptions, like the situation identified at Câmpulung-Jidova (Argeş County), where the rear flank was utilized to store weapons.⁴⁶

Based on previous research upon the western flank in the headquarters of the *legio V Macedonica*, it was determined that the chambers flanking the *sacellum* represented *officia* or *scholae*.⁴⁷ The ceramic analysis supports this supposition.

Surprisingly, even though Rooms E, C', B', A, F, B, C and corridors D' and D yielded no Roman earthenware at all, the situation identified in Room E' in the southern extremity of the flank is quite different. A total of 95 individual wares have been identified in this chamber. This is the second biggest quantity, after Room J, when it comes to the quantitative ceramic distribution for each room. Out of the 95 wares, 64 belong to the common ware group, and 31 belong to the fine ware group (Pl. I, Charts 1–2; Pl. II). Vessels used for pouring liquids and serving food are predominant in Room E', indicating the presence of domestic activities.

The most surprising aspect arises due to large quantities of table *amphorae*, jugs and pitchers being aggregated in the same room. In general, rooms with such amounts of containers used for storing and pouring liquids represent an exception in the legionary fortress at Potaissa. It is possible that some of the contents of the table *amphorae* discovered in Room E' were also utilized in religious activities connected to the *basilica principiorum*.⁴⁸ The 27 containers of this kind possess a capacity of 15 to 20 liters each (Pl. V). The analysis of all the *amphorae* discovered within the legionary fortress indicates that approximately 95% of the imported liquid goods was olive oil. Wine was locally produced.⁴⁹ At *Novae* for example, it is known that the fortress consumed cca. 2336 liters of wine per year, out of which 67% was locally produced and transported in table *amphorae*.⁵⁰

The character of any *basilica principiorum* within a legionary fortress is very well defined through field work and extensive publications. It was the location in which the commander would address his officers, communicated official announcements and officiated various religious ceremonies.⁵¹ At Potaissa, the space of the *basilica* was represented by one single yard, and two *tribunalia* identified in its extremities (Rooms H and G).⁵² The quantities of pottery discovered here are very small. Five wares were discovered in the area of the yard, while the majority of the finds come from *tribunalium* H, with a total of 28 individual wares (Pl. I, Chart 2). The most interesting aspect regarding the pottery finds from the *tribunalium* is the presence of one *dolium*, six large platters and ten cooking trays. As mentioned before, cooking trays (Pl. VII) within the headquarters are

⁴⁵ Petrikovits 1975, 78.

⁴⁶ Stanciu 1985, 219–246, Fig. 20.

⁴⁷ Bărbulescu 1987, 154.

⁴⁸ Diaconescu 1985–1986, 465–467.

⁴⁹ Cătinaş, Bărbulescu 1979, 101–126, regarding the *cella vinaria* identified in the settlement.

⁵⁰ Dyczek 2002, 689; Dyczek 2005, 70–80; Klenina 2005, 403–414.

⁵¹ Marcu 2006a, 153–164; Marcu 2009b.

⁵² Bărbulescu 1987, 150–154; Bărbulescu, Bărbulescu 2004, 27–33.

very rare and they are only found in Rooms J and I of the eastern flank (13 cooking trays in total), Room E' on the western flank (two cooking trays) and Room 13 on the southern flank (one cooking tray).

Therefore, the vast majority of the wares discovered in *tribunalium H* are related to cooking, indicating the presence of a kitchen/*culina* in this area. From what was published thus far in Roman Dacia, the only analogy close to the situation identified at Potaissa comes from the auxiliary fort at Buciumi, Room G of the *basilica*, where the discovery of a cooking pot was signaled.⁵³

At Potaissa, the large quantities of wares utilized for cooking and serving foods could be put in connection with the activities that took place in Room 15 and Room E' situated on the same side and very close to *tribunalium H*.

Conclusions

Through the careful analysis of all the pottery finds, I was able to pinpoint three *scholae* and their associated *culinae* in the 3rd century AD, in the following locations within the *principia* of the legionary fortress at Potaissa (Pl. II):

- a) On the eastern flank: Rooms K and L represent a *schola*, with an associated kitchen/*culina* unfolding in Rooms I and J.
- b) On the southern flank: Room 15 represents a *schola*, with an associated kitchen/*culina* in Room H (*tribunalium*) of the *basilica*.
- c) On the western flank: Room E' represents a *schola*, with an associated kitchen/*culina* in Room H (*tribunalium*) of the *basilica*.

Their identification as possible *scholae* and *culinae* is based on the fact that, out of all the chambers of the *principia*, the highest quantities of wares were identified in these three areas, surpassing all the other rooms by far. The functionalities of the wares, as well as the identification of furniture fragments and musical instruments in these spaces, suggests the presence of domestic and social activities.

Out of the total of 512 individual wares identified in all the chambers of the headquarters, 410 wares have been discovered only in these seven rooms (Pl. I, Chart 2): 199 individual wares in Rooms I, J, K and L (to which we add 31 wares on the portico situated in front of these rooms); 95 individual wares in Room E'; 57 individual wares in Room 15; 28 individual wares in Room H.

This leaves the rest of only 102 wares to be divided among the 35 remaining rooms of the *principia*. Therefore, the aggregation of such large quantities of pottery in the same chambers cannot represent a coincidence.

The majority of the finds from Rooms K, L, E' and 15 represent earthenware used for serving food and liquids (plates, bowls, pitchers, jugs and table *amphorae* (Pl. III-V), whereas the majority of the finds from Rooms I, J and H represent earthenware used for storing food and cooking (large platters, *mortaria*, *dolia*, frying pans/trays; Pl. VI-VII).

The ceramic analysis has indicated that the majority of the earthenwares belonging to the *vasa escaria* group represent luxury vessels. They are large wares used in communal meals (28–36 cm/rim diameter).

⁵³ Chirilă et alii 1972, 42, cat. no. 16, inv. c.c. 80/64, Pl. VI/1.

The presence of only a few Zeest 84 type *amphorae* in Rooms O and P indicated the use of *garum* and *salsamenta* within the fortress, but on a smaller scale. It was clear that this luxury was not intended for the simple *milites*, but rather the administrative personnel. These sauces could have been used during banquets to dip foods into them, or as a replacement for salt in certain meals. Also, even though wine was locally produced and the majority of the *amphorae* from the headquarters of the *principia* contained *oleum*, two Kapitän II type *amphorae* stand out for containing imported and highly qualitative *vinum*. Most likely this liquid was also consumed only by the elite of the fortress. It has to be noted that the *vasa potatoria* finds within any of the headquarters rooms are scarce (only 52 cups, beakers and mugs). Their repertoire could have been enriched by the use of glass and precious metal beakers and cups.

Therefore, the careful ceramic analysis has offered new and highly important details regarding the use of pottery and military habits within the spaces of legionary *principia* during 3rd century AD. By clarifying the functionality of certain chambers through the study of quantitative ceramic distribution and serviceability patterns, the significance of pottery studies is once more brought to light, proving its potential if given the attention it deserves.

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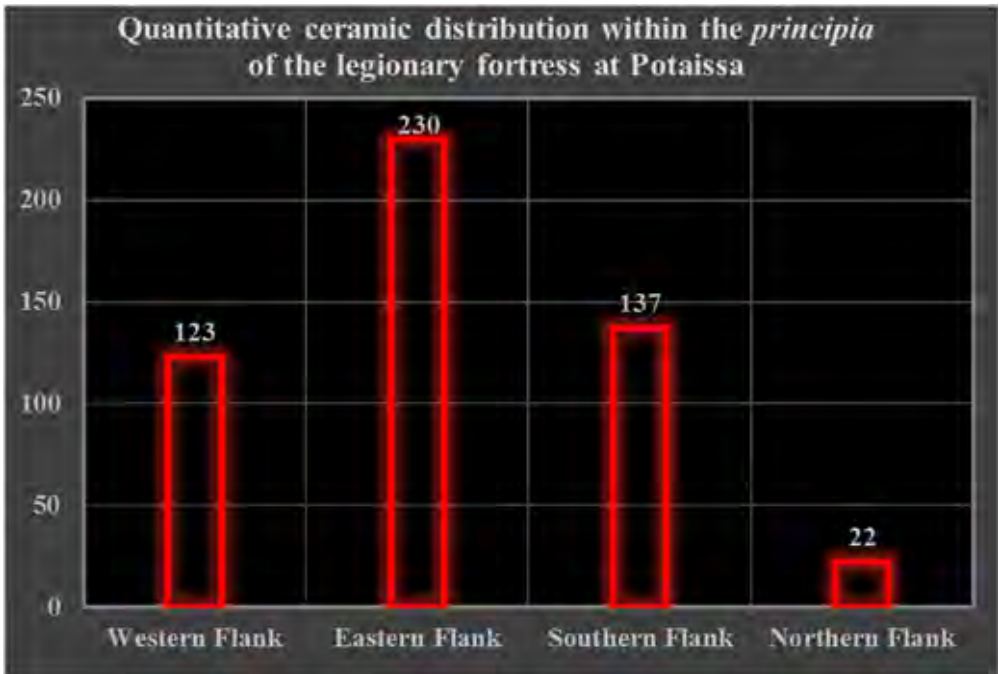


Chart 1

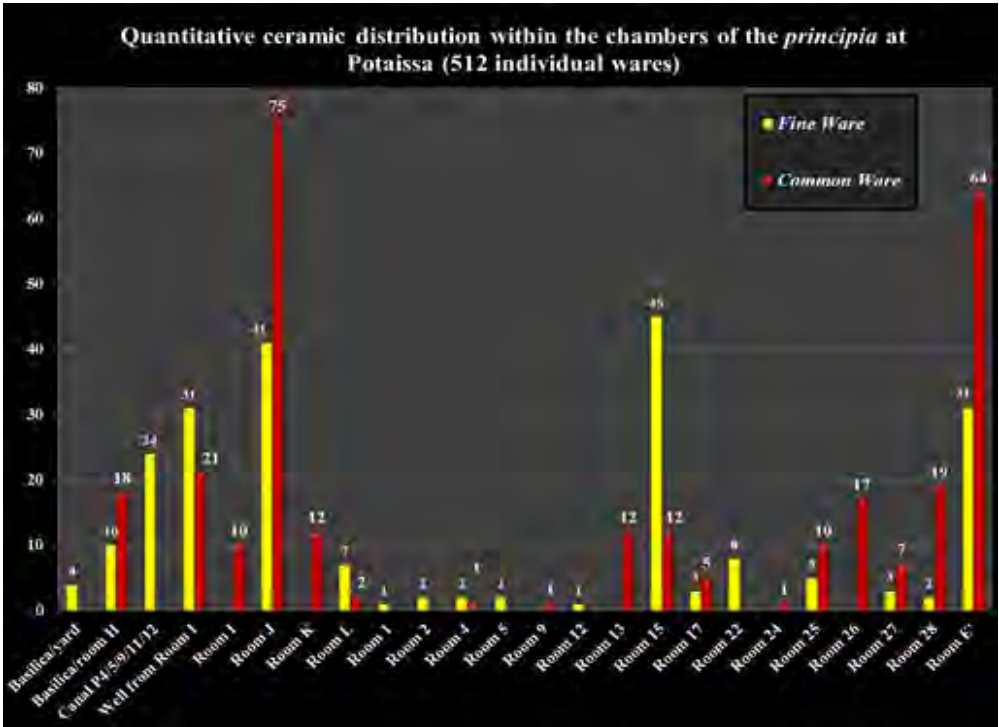
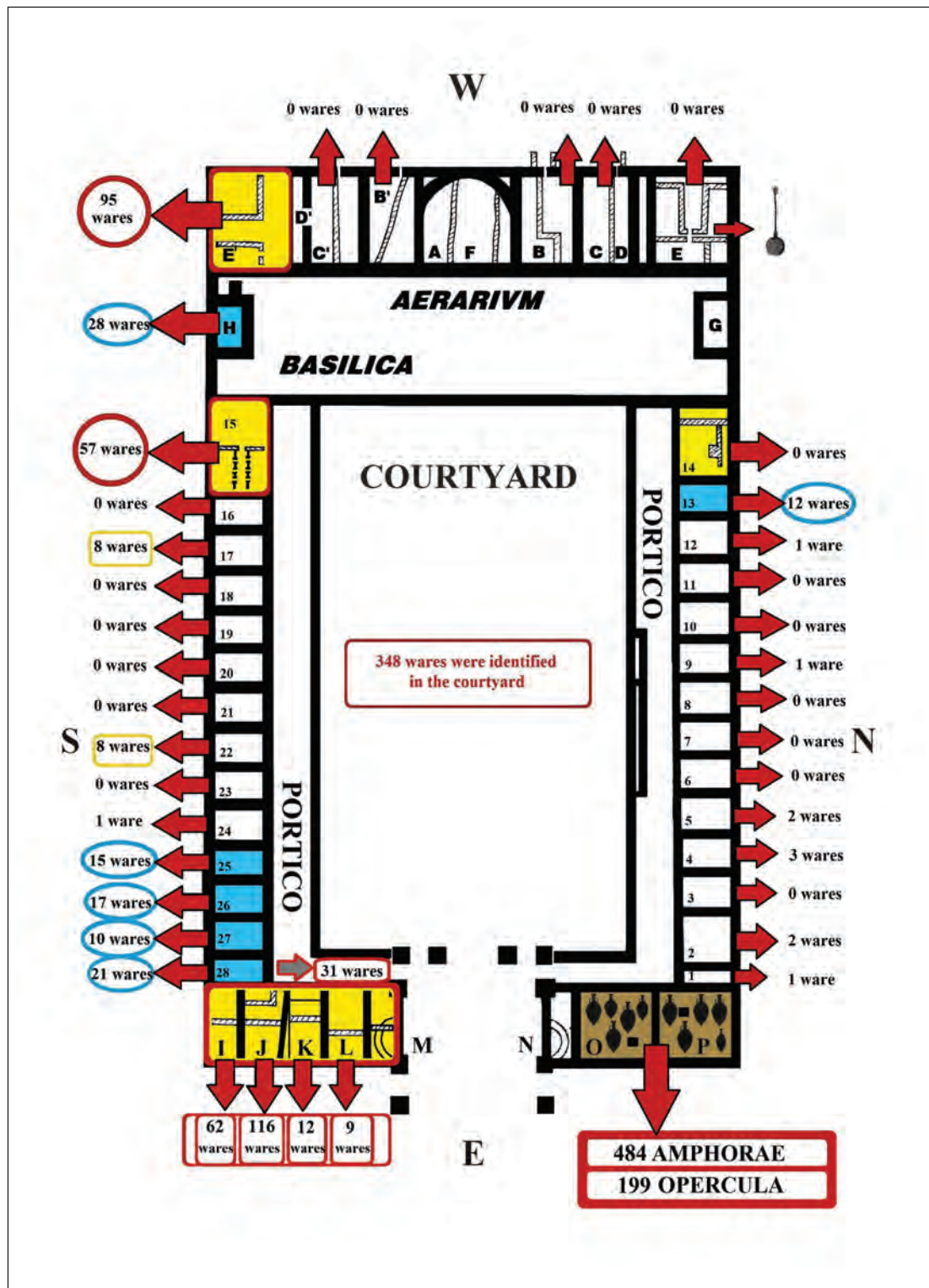
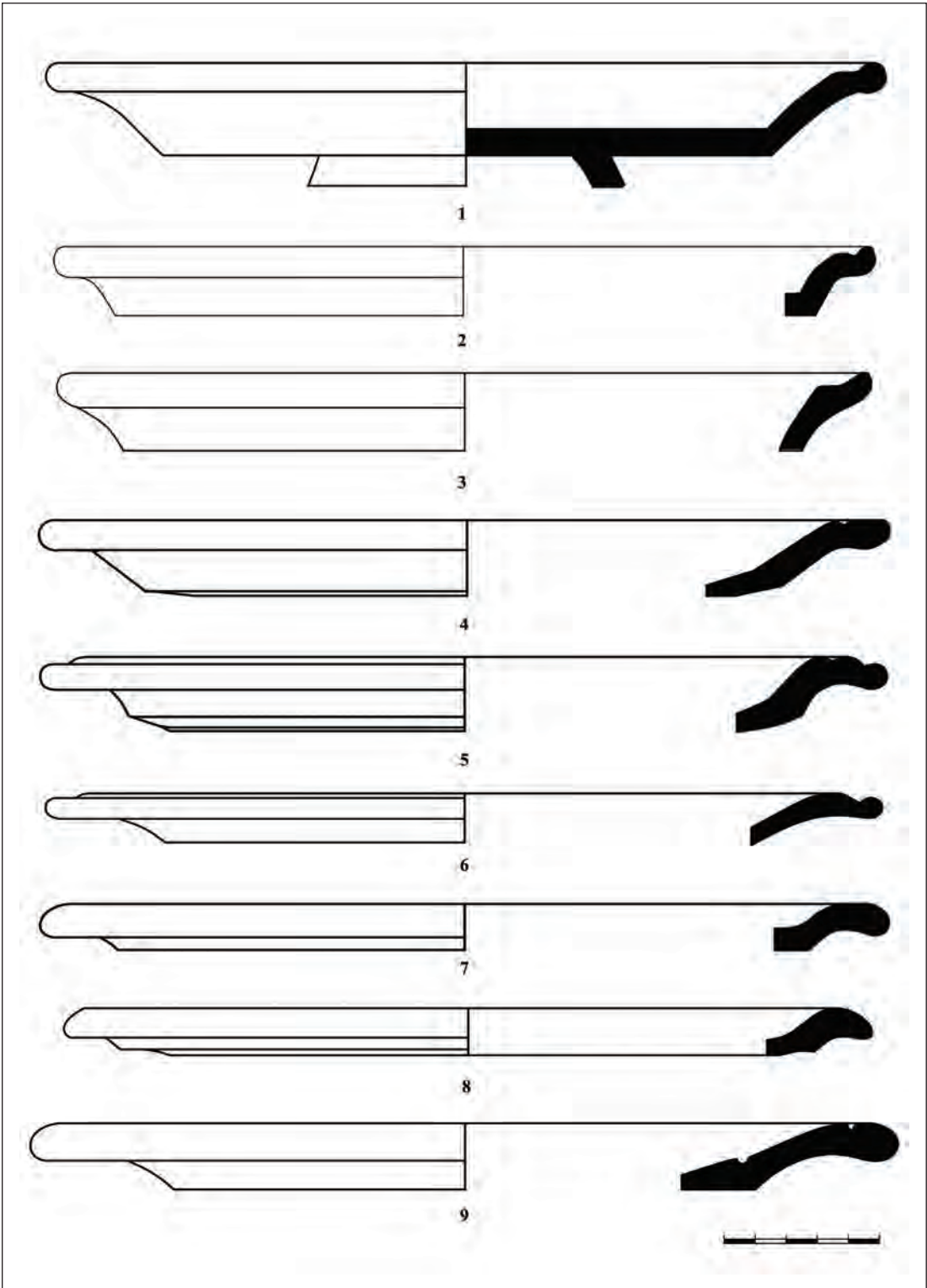


Chart 2

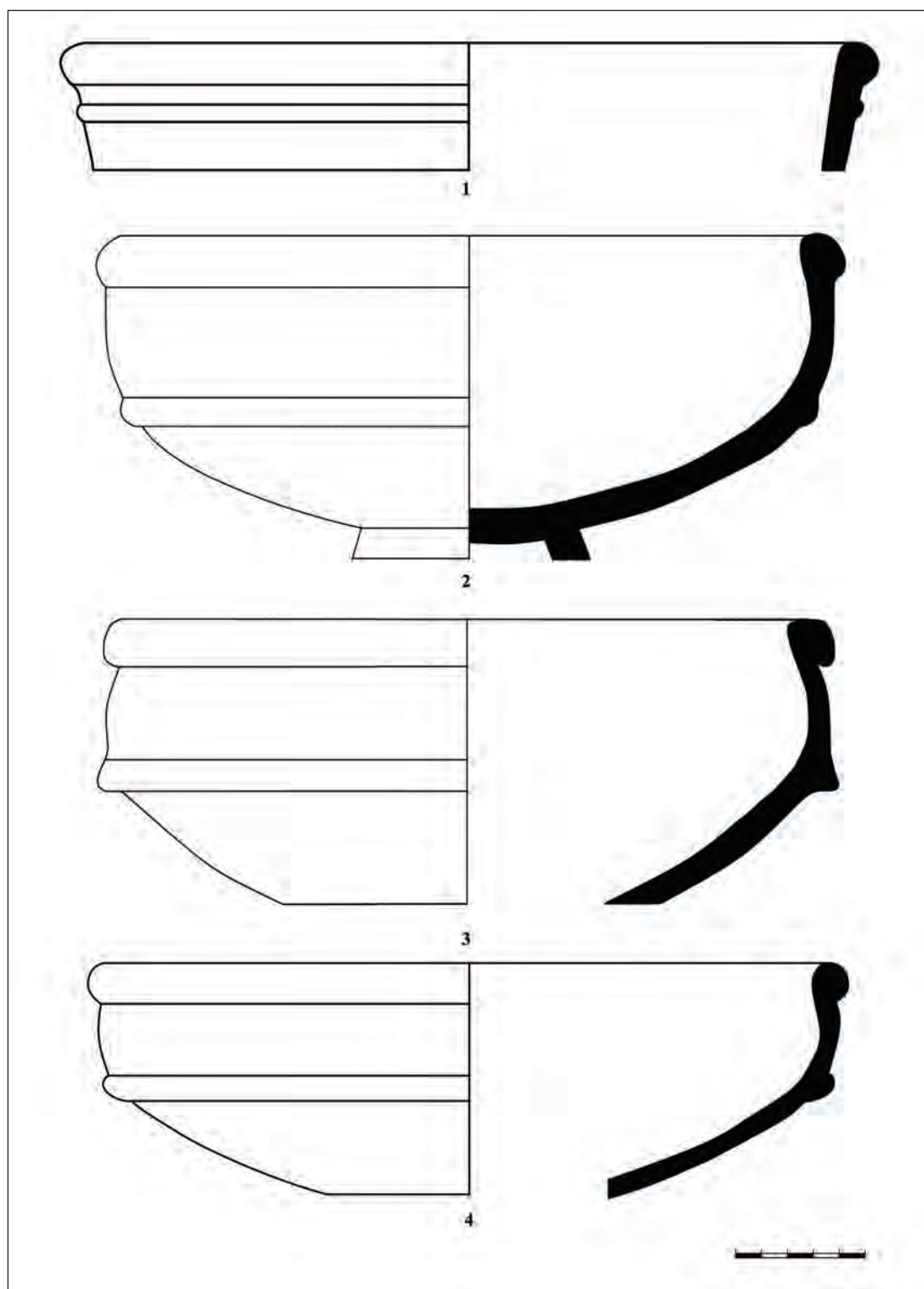
Pl. I. Chart. 1. Quantitative ceramic distribution within the *principia* of the legionary fortress of Potaissa; Chart 2. Quantitative ceramic distribution within the chambers of the *principia* at Potaissa (512 individual wares).



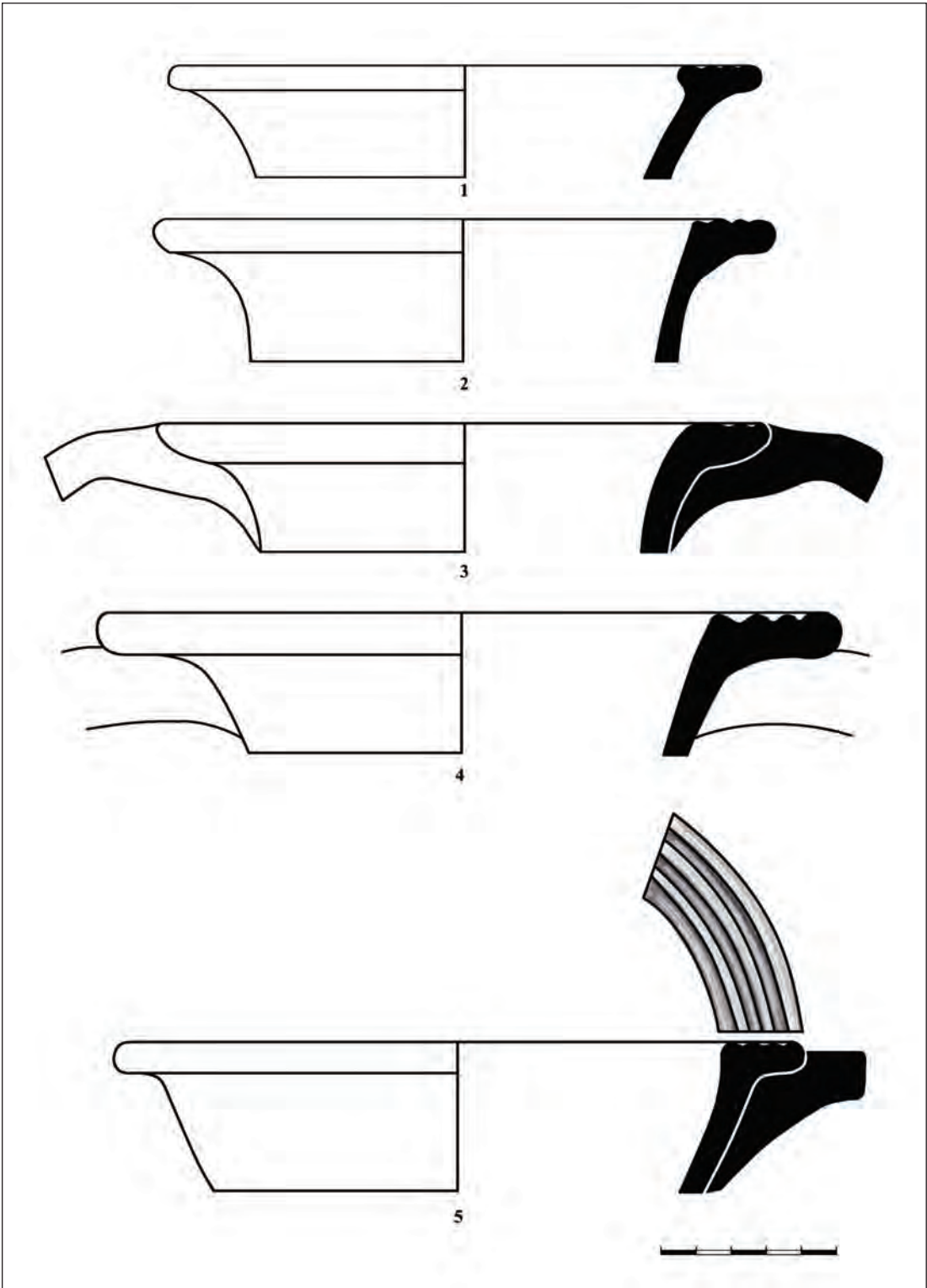
Pl. II. The legionary fortress headquarters at Potaissa with its quantitative ceramic distribution (author's work).



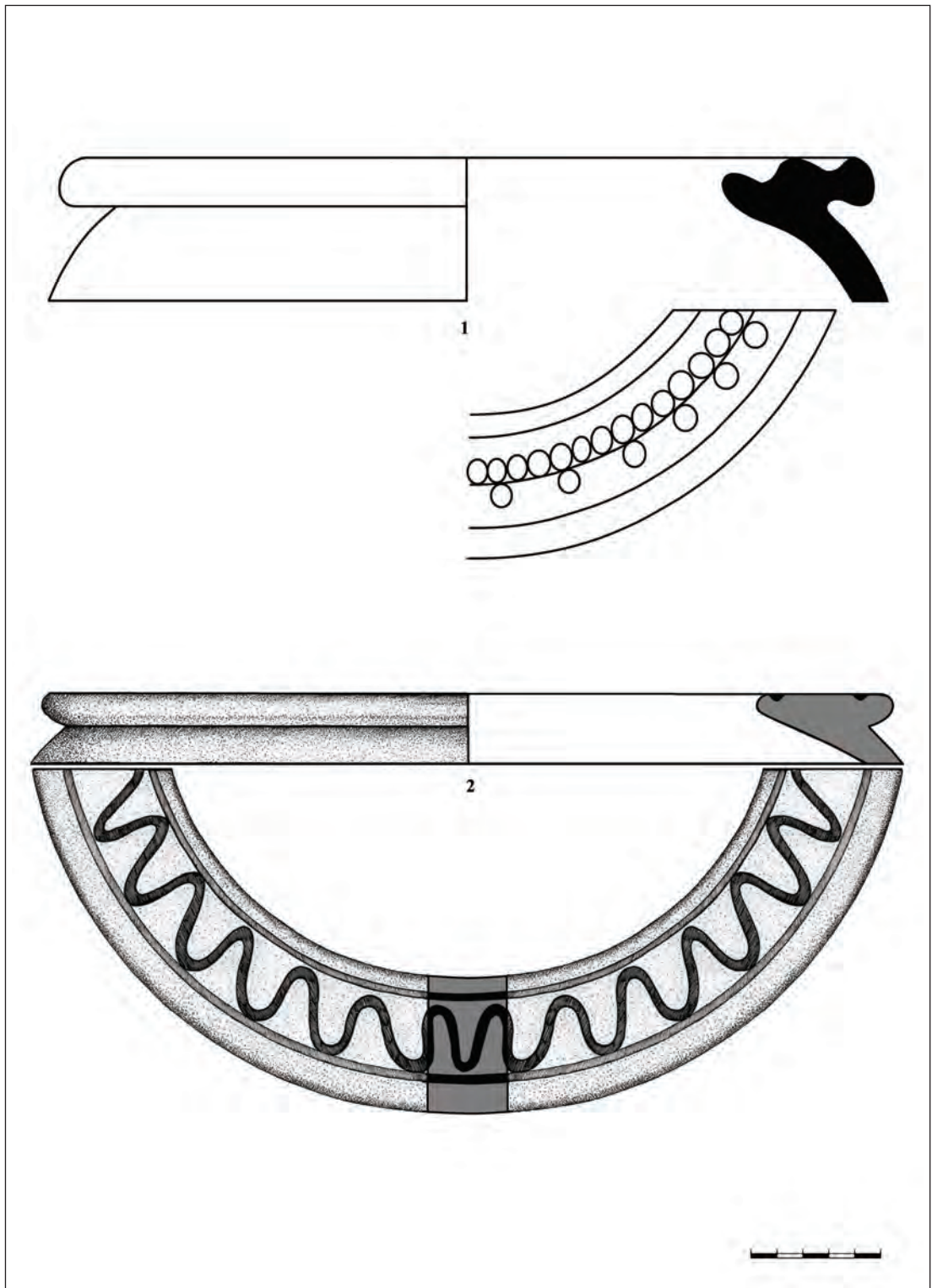
Pl. III. Plates – plain local *sigillata* from the legionary fortress at Potaissa (author’s drawings).



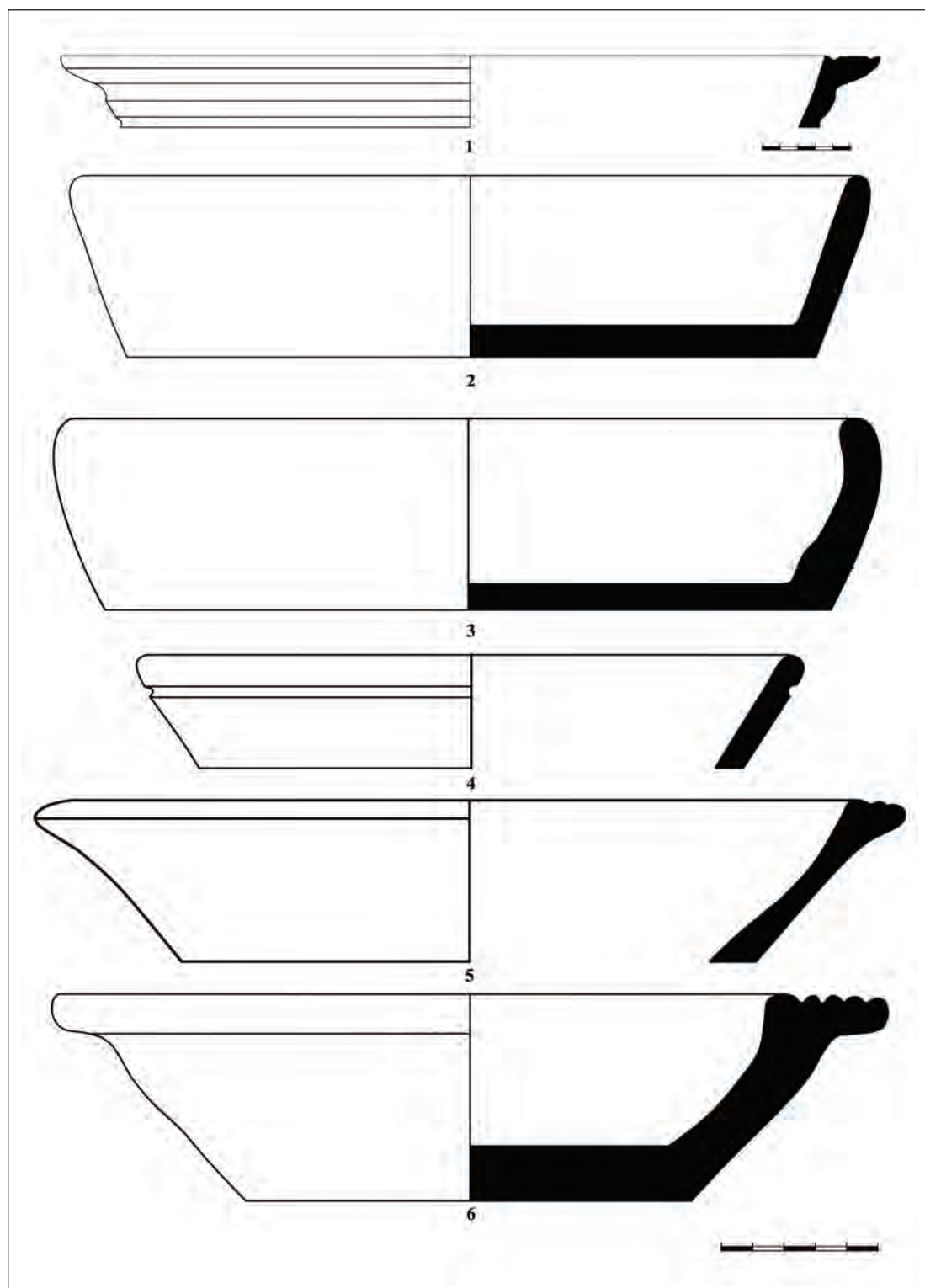
Pl. IV. Bowls – plain local *sigillata* from the legionary fortress at Potaissa (author's drawings).



Pl. V. Table *amphorae* – common ware from the legionary fortress at Potaissa (author’s drawings).



Pl. VI. *Dolia* (discovered at the entrance to Room L) – common ware from the legionary fortress at Potaissa (author's drawings).



Pl. VII. Cooking trays – common ware from the legionary fortress at Potaissa (author's drawings).

AEGRESCIT MEDENDO. SOME COMMON DISEASES AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF ROMAN DACIA

TIMEA VARGA

Abstract: This study aims to trace a possible list of ailments or diseases that the inhabitants of Dacia might have suffered of during Roman period. The corroboration of the anthropological, archaeological, iconographic and epigraphic sources suggests that eye diseases, musculoskeletal disorders, gallbladder or kidney stones, reproductive system disorders, anorectal diseases and dental problems were common medical conditions among the provincial population. Ultimately, the available sources also reveal that while some patients were willing to undergo surgery, others preferred to appeal to less invasive procedures, which involved taking homeopathic medicine, wearing magical amulets, frequenting thermal spas or *Asklepieia*.

Keywords: Roman Dacia; history of medicine; *signacula oculariorum*; anatomical *ex-votos*; diseases.

Rezumat: Acest studiu urmărește să traseze un posibil inventar al afecțiunilor și bolilor de care ar fi putut suferi locuitorii Daciei în perioadă romană. Coroborarea surselor antropologice, arheologice, iconografice și epigrafice sugerează că problemele oftalmologice, afecțiunile locomotorii, litiaza biliară sau renală, bolile sistemului reproducător, afecțiunile anorectale și stomatologice se aflau printre cele mai des întâlnite probleme medicale în rândul populației provinciale. În cele din urmă, sursele dezvăluie că în timp ce unii pacienți erau dispuși să se supună unor operații chirurgicale, alții preferau să apeleze la proceduri mai puțin invazive, care presupuneau luarea unor medicamente homeopate, purtarea unor amulete magice, frecventarea băilor termale sau ale templelor lui Aesculapius.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia romană; istoria medicinei; *signacula oculariorum*; *ex-voto* anatomice; afecțiuni medicale.

A simple phrase, mentioned by Virgil in his *Aeneid*, *aegrescit medendo*,¹ captures perhaps at best the failures of a medical system whose healers were both human and divine. Although many alternatives were available on the Roman medical market, where empirical therapies mingled with both medico-magical performances and healing cult practices, nevertheless cure often proved to be worse than the disease itself. As R. Jackson noticed, “In the Roman world numerous forms of medical treatments were available, administered by a wide range of healers. Many of the treatments were unpleasant; some were dangerous; few were predictably and consistently beneficial.”²

* The article does not claim to provide a complete list of ailments and diseases that affected the inhabitants of Dacia, but rather focuses on a few common ones for which, at least for the moment, we have more substantial evidence at our disposal. For this precise reason, the Antonine plague was not treated in this article, although Dacia was most probably no stranger to the smallpox epidemics that ravaged the Empire during the 2nd century AD. See in this sense the study of Mitrofan 2014.

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 12.46.

² Jackson 1999, 107.

The experience of Aelius Aristides in the *Asklepieion* of Pergam describes perhaps at best the emotional rollercoasters of a serious medical condition during Antiquity, with many relapses till its long-awaited recovery. Aristides, who attributed his entire work *Orationes* to Aesculapius' sacred demand, described the debut of his intense relationship with the god as a series of revelations through which he received several medical prescriptions.³ Although at the time they worked like true miracles, the prescriptions soon became temporary solutions for Aristides, who has often been described in the literature as a hypochondriac⁴ or an "outstanding example of neurasthenic with an absorbing religious complex".⁵ He finally managed to put an end to his despair by ensuring himself a 2 year stay at the *Asklepieion* of Pergam, after receiving an oneiric invitation from the healing god.⁶ His work comprises meticulous descriptions of the numerous visits he took in *Asklepieia* during a long period of 17 years, enabling the modern reader to share the perspectives of a 2nd century AD patient.⁷

Although we can only guess the emotions, anxieties and vulnerabilities felt by patients in the province of Dacia, the corroboration of the anthropological, archaeological and epigraphic discoveries helps us to trace a partial disease inventory. Apart from tracing a list of possible ailments or diseases, the great variety of the sources proves that besides approaching a physician, wearing a magical amulet, visiting an *Asklepieion* or a thermal spa were considered just as good alternatives or complementary treatment options in the mentality of the inhabitants of the province.

Eye diseases

Due to their infectious nature, trachoma and conjunctivitis were certainly among the most common and difficult to treat diseases of the Antiquity. Eye diseases were particularly worrying in the military milieu, where they could have rapidly spread in *contubernia*, seriously endangering the number of soldiers fit for front-line service. In general, these common affections were seen as an unfortunate consequence of long travels or military marches, of looking directly to the sun or entering in contact with dust, smoke and different oils.⁸ Given that the real causes of eye conditions were not yet properly understood, it is no wonder that preventive measures were not properly efficient either. Nevertheless, the medical examination given to new recruits upon their enlistment involved an ophthalmological test as well,⁹ and there is also evidence that on occasion military medical personnel could have included ophthalmologists.¹⁰ Although in Trajan's time certain concessions were made

³ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, II.2, 7, 50, III.46.

⁴ Michenaud, Dierkens 1972; Hoffmann 1998, 54.

⁵ Bonner 1937, 125.

⁶ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, II.7, 70, IV.14. For the summoning of the god, on various other occasions, see also IV.83, 103.

⁷ Horstmanshoff 2004, 278.

⁸ Birley 1992, 111.

⁹ P. Oxy, 1.39.

¹⁰ Galenus, *Comp.Med.*, 4.8 mentions Axius, *ophthalmikos* in *Classis Britannica*; A *medicus et chirurgus ocularius* could have also professed within the fortress of the VII Claudia p. f. legion at Viminacium. Besides a medical kit, his tomb also contained a bronze box with three compartments showing traces of medical substances. A *signaculum oculariorum* used for stamping saffron based ointments, confirms his identity: Dana 2016, 104.

regarding the military recruitment of men suffering from different physical disabilities,¹¹ a sharp vision remained a vital condition upon enlistment even in the 5th century AD.¹² Moreover, one of the Vindolanda tablets suggests that those suffering from eye diseases were separated from the healthy, as well as other sick or injured soldiers, probably as a means of precaution against the spread of the infection. Thus, out of the 296 men *reliqui praesentes*, 31 were declared incapable of exercising their military service, 15 out of them being sick (*aegri*), 6 injured (*volnerati*), while 10 were suffering from ophthalmological problems (*lippientes*).¹³

Eye disorders were certainly frequent medical conditions among the inhabitants of Dacia as well. A series of ophthalmological diseases are attested epigraphically, while others can be indirectly deduced from archaeological discoveries, like certain medical instruments that could have been used in different ophthalmological procedures. The main sources regarding the existence of ophthalmological diseases within the province of Dacia are the two *signacula oculariorum* discovered at Gârboiu¹⁴ (Pl. I/1) and Apulum¹⁵ that register concrete cases of conjunctival diseases i.e. *aspritudo*, *lippitudo* / *post lippitudo*, *impetum*, corneal conditions i.e. *veteres cicatrices* and eyelid disorders i.e. *genae callosae*.

At least a quarter of the ointments mentioned in the texts inscribed on *signacula oculariorum* were intended to treat inflammatory diseases of the eyes, usually marked as *lippitudo* and *aspritudo*,¹⁶ two of the disorders that were also recorded by the stamps discovered in Dacia.¹⁷ Highly common¹⁸ and problematic, *lippitudo* has been equated by Celsus either with ophthalmia or with the inflammation of the eye, which could further contribute to the development of trachoma or could appear as a result of it,¹⁹ while *aspritudo* covered a series of inflammatory affections of the eyes, from ophthalmia, trachoma and conjunctivitis, to other conditions that cause inflammations and eye secretions.²⁰

One of the recipes mentioned at Gârboiu, on the stamp of Publius Cornelius Colonus (Pl. I/1), mentions that an acidic substance (*dioxus* / *dioxum*) should be used for the treatment of trachoma and thickened conjunctiva tissue, marked here through the expression *ad aspritudines et genas callosas*. Although unprecedented in the texts of the stamps, this medical condition has been recorded in the writings of Scribonius Largus and Marcellus, that mention a *collyrium quod proprie ad aspritudinem et callositatem palpebrarum*.²¹ Mentioned in the pharmacological compendium of Marcellus Empiricus, *dioxus* was recommended for the treatment of trachoma, being composed of cadmium, burnt copper, hematite, myrrh and sticky resin.²² Although the term *aspritudo* was certainly

¹¹ Arrius Menander, *De re militari*, Dig. 49.16.4.

¹² Vegetius, *De re militari*, 1.6.

¹³ Birley 1992, 117.

¹⁴ Lenghel 1925, 391; Bologa 1925, 392–393; Orient 1926, 22–23; Bologa 1933–1935, 221–222; Lieb 1981, 208–209; AE 1982, 837.

¹⁵ CIL III 1636; Bologa 1933–1935, 219–221; Alicu, Crişan 2003, 37.

¹⁶ Jackson 1996, 2229.

¹⁷ Bologa 1933–1935, 219–222.

¹⁸ Gal. *Comp. Med. Loc.* 4.3

¹⁹ Celsus, *Med.* 1.5.1, 2.7.8, 6.6.1.

²⁰ Celsus, *Med.* 6.6.5, 6.6.27.

²¹ Scribonius Largus, *Comp.* 36.

²² Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis liber*, 8.

used for other inflammatory conditions of the eye as well, the presence of the term *genae callosae*, which could be translated as “calluses of the eyelid”, suggests that at least in this case, it refers to trachoma.

Trachoma, also known as Egyptian ophthalmia or granular conjunctivitis, is a contagious disease determined by a bacterium that causes the hardening of the inner surface of the eyelids and the inflammation of the conjunctiva, causing pain and damage to the outer surface of the cornea in complicated cases, eventually evolving to blindness. Equated by Celsus with *aspritudo*, the term trachoma derives from Greek, meaning “rough, rugged surface” and was already used by Pedanius Dioscorides in AD 60.²³ Some of the known causal factors of this eye condition are poor hygiene, household crowding, lack of access to water or contaminated water and open latrines.²⁴

In less severe cases, Celsus recommended the curettage of the inner surface of the eyelids with the help of a sharp-edged medical probe, followed by the application of ointments based on copper, sulphates and medicinal herbs.²⁵ In a similar way, Galenus recommended removing trachoma by scraping intensely the inner line of the eyelids and applying ferrous sulphate, recommendations that were followed by Arab ophthalmologists till the 13th century.²⁶ In more advanced cases, the granulomas and the hardened cysts were removed by excision and cauterization along with the edge of the eyelid and the eyelashes, and later ointments were applied to relieve the inflammation.²⁷ A man represented in one of the famous Fayoum mummy portraits of Roman Egypt, seems to owe his deformed eye precisely to such a surgical correction.²⁸ Dated in the 2nd century AD, the image appears to be the graphic correspondent of the above-mentioned descriptions, illustrating a man that has the lower right eyelid completely removed, including the eyelashes.

At Apulum, the recommendations of Titus Attius Divixtus *ad impetum lippitudinis*, *post impetum lippitudinis*, *ad impetum* suggest once again that the inflammation of the conjunctiva was among the most common eye diseases in the province of Dacia. In fact, Plato had already noticed that along with gout and fever, ophthalmia was one of the most common diseases of antiquity²⁹ and even Cicero and Pliny the Younger complained that they have suffered of *lippitudo*.³⁰ It should be noted that all the ointments used by Titus Attius Divixtus against eye inflammation contain myrrh (*diasmyrnes*, *nardinum*) and frankincense (*dialibanu*), resins with antiseptic properties that could alleviate inflammatory eye conditions. Nard was one of the most common ingredients in both expensive perfumes and medicines, *nardinum*³¹ being recommended for both the severe inflammation of the conjunctival tissue of the eyes and for the suppuration of the eyelids

²³ Pedanius Dioscorides, *Materia medica*, I.81, 176; II.114–5; Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis liber*, 8.

²⁴ Trompoukis, Kourkoutas 2007, 870–871.

²⁵ Celsus, *Med.* 6.6.27–28.

²⁶ Al-Rifai 1988, 10.

²⁷ Celsus, *Med.* 7.7.8B; Paulus Aegineta, 6.8.1.

²⁸ Johnson 2005, 31.

²⁹ Pl. *Alc.* 2.139e.

³⁰ Cic. *Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem* 2.2.1; Plin. *Ep.* 7.21.

³¹ Plinius the Elder classifies *nardinum* as an *unguentum*, while in the works of Pelagonius, Vegetius and Cassius Felix the term refers to a *collyrium*, understood either as a liquid substance or as a dry paste shaped in the form of a stick: Pardon-Labonnelie 2014, 243.

following this pathological process.³² Composed of nard, resin, myrrh and other herbs, the therapeutic indications of this ointment mentioned by more than a dozen oculist stamps correspond to the description of Paul's *nardinum* as a moderate astringent, suitable for treating ophthalmia, ulcerations and eye secretions.³³

The words *suppuraciones* and *cicatrices* are also often found in the texts of the oculist stamps, the latter being sometimes accompanied by the specification *recentes* or *veteres*. The stamp of Titus Attius Divixtus, discovered at Apulum, records such an eye condition, recommending the use of a metallic substance called *diamysus* for the treatment of old corneal scars. Less clear, but equally frequent are ointments for vision clarity (*claritas*) and those against blurred or impaired vision (*caligo*). For the treatment of these conditions the text inscribed on the stamp of Publius Cornelius Colonus (Pl. I/1) recommended applying ointments based on metal powders (*diapsoricum*) and celandine (*chelidonium*), dissolved in balsamic extract (*opobalsamatum*). Although celandine was also used to cure jaundice or dermatological problems, from Antiquity till the 16th century, the most important use of it remains that of treating vision disorders or eye diseases,³⁴ while together with *stactum*, *diapsoricum* is the most often recommended ointment in the texts of the oculist stamps in order to improve vision.³⁵ It is not an easy task however, to determine how successful these treatments actually were, especially since the chemical examination of some stamped eye salves suggests that pharmaceutical frauds might have been quite common.³⁶

Unfortunately, no medical instrument that could be attributed exclusively to ophthalmological procedures has been identified in Dacia so far, but it seems rather plausible that at least some of the multifunctional instruments e.g. tweezers or probes of different types, could have been used for these purposes as well. The usefulness of a simple medical probe in applying eye ointments is proved by Plinius the Elder, four out of five of his references to this instrument, endowing it with this precise functionality.³⁷ Instead, Galenus recommended using the scoop of a spoon probe to scrape off the ulcerations of the eyelid.³⁸ The scoop of the *cyathiscomele* would have been useful as well in supporting the eyelid during eye surgery,³⁹ while the *puren* provided at the opposite end would have proved to be suitable for fine cauterization procedures performed around the eyes.⁴⁰ Various examples of *cyathiscomele* with spoon and *puren* have been found in Dacia as well, at Cioroiu Nou,⁴¹ Romula,⁴² Potaissa⁴³ and Apulum.⁴⁴

³² Jackson 1996, 2241.

³³ Paulus Aegineta, 7.15.

³⁴ Zielińska et alii 2018, 3.

³⁵ Jackson, Leahy 1990, n. 40.

³⁶ Gourevitch 1998, 365–372.

³⁷ Plin. *HN*. 7.183, 29.115, 29.117, 32.75.

³⁸ Galen, *Comm. Hipp. Epid.* 6, 17a.902K.

³⁹ Paulus Aegineta, 6.12.1.

⁴⁰ Paulus Aegineta 6.13.1, 6.22.1.

⁴¹ Tudor, Diaconescu, Popilian 1967, 593, 598, Fig. 4/9; Bondoc 2005, 140, no. 3, Fig. 3; Bondoc 2010, no. 89a.

⁴² Tudor 1935, 123, no. 170.

⁴³ Milea, Hopârtean, Luca 1978, 203, Fig. 4. A similar *cyathiscomele*, approximately integral, was discovered in the *thermae* of the legionary fortress of Potaissa as well: Bărbulescu 2019, 285, no. 2, Pl. LXXX/2.

⁴⁴ Dumitrașcu 1983, 112, Fig. 2.

Certainly, a simple pair of tweezers would have been fit to extract a foreign body out of the eye. Furthermore, based on some ethnographic parallels, W. Morrison even proposed extending the functionality of toiletry sets beyond aesthetics, in treating trachoma and its complications.⁴⁵ In this respect, W. Morisson quotes Martial, who mentions that the physician Hyginus used to burn the eyelashes that disfigured the eye in advanced cases of trachoma.⁴⁶ Indeed, plucking out the eyelashes with tweezers or burning them with the help of a heated *puren*, could have offered a temporary improvement in the treatment of trichiasis, a permanent inflammation of the conjunctiva, caused by the deviation of the eyelashes towards the cornea that often appeared as a side effect of trachoma. Due to its reduced size and concave extremities, a forceps with chess pawn shaped handle discovered in the auxiliary fort of Buciumi,⁴⁷ could have been used in ameliorating or treating trichiasis. This rather simple instrument would have been useful either by plucking out the eyelashes, or by gripping and lifting the eyelid in order to remove excess tissue that made the eyelashes grow inward, determining the continuous inflammation of the conjunctiva.⁴⁸ Ear probes could have been used to examine the eyes and to apply medicine inside the eyelid, meanwhile nail cleaners would have been appropriate tools for scraping the inner eyelids in order to stimulate healing and relieve pain caused by trichiasis.⁴⁹ More than 40 ear probes have been discovered in Dacia⁵⁰ and perhaps some of them served such purposes as well. Finally, at least some of the many stone slabs used for the preparation of cosmetic or medical substances, would have been fit to prepare eye ointments, the most plausible examples that can be attributed to these operations being the green coloured ones⁵¹ or the ones associated with a *cyathiscomele*.⁵²

Finally, a votive inscription discovered at Apulum mentions that a veteran of the V Macedonica legion, Caius Iulius Frontonianus, erected an altar honouring the healing gods Aesculapius and Hygia, as a thank offering after receiving his eyesight after a dream, *redditis sibi luminibus (...) ex viso*.⁵³ The epigraphic formula *ex viso* seems to allude to the *incubatio* ritual, curing eye diseases through this ritual being frequently encountered

⁴⁵ Morisson 2013.

⁴⁶ Martial, X, LVI.

⁴⁷ Chirilă, Gudea, Lucăcel, Pop 1972, 81, no. 6, Pl. CX/3; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 12, Pl. V/12.

⁴⁸ Paulus Aegineta, 6.8.2.

⁴⁹ Morisson 2013, 227.

⁵⁰ Igna 1933–1935, 225, no. 2–5, Pl. X/2–5; Tudor 1945–1947, 190, no. 23, Fig. 36/9; Tudor 1953, 706, no. 14, Fig. 8/d; Rusu 1956, 697, no. 14, Fig. 5/14; Luca, Hopârtean 1980, 121, Fig. 4/1; Nicolaus 1981, no. 134; Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 58, no. 20, Fig. 3/20; Alicu, Cociș 1989, 227, no. 2–6, Pl. I/2–6; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 261, no. 1–7, Pl. VIII/1–7; Cociș 1993, 241–242, no. 2–5, 8, Fig. 1/5, 2/2, 5, 6, 3/4; Bărbulescu 1994, 149, Fig. 34/6; Mitrofan 1995, Pl. 5/3; Ciugudean 1997, 47, Pl. XXXVI/4; Gaiu, Protase, Marinescu 1997, Pl. LXXXV/1; Petică, Zrinyi 1997–1998, 357, no. 39, Pl. V/4; Petică, Zrinyi 2000, 127; Amon 2004, 224, no. 75–76, Pl. XLV/5–6; Stîngă 2005, 63, no. 5–6, Pl. XXXII/11–12; Bounegru 2007, 164, Pl. 7/9; Bozu 2008, 98, no. 303, Fig. 303; Marcu Istrate et alii 2008, 62, no. 6, Fig. 21/7; Moga et alii 2008, 24, no. 6–7, 58, no. 54, 82, no. 87; Marcu Istrate 2009, 25, no. 7–8; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2003, 372, 378, Cat. no. 2, Fig. 17/2; Man 2011, 235, Pl. CLXVIII/36; Popilian, Bondoc 2012, 22, Pl. CXCIV/4; Bărbulescu 2019, 286, no. 4, 5, Pl. LXXXX/4, 5.

⁵¹ Porolissum: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 266–268, Pl. XIII/2, 4, 6, 7, Pl. XIV/1, 3, 4, Pl. XV/1–3, Pl. XVI/1, Pl. XVI/2; Tamba 2008, 36, 1. b, Fig. 2, 39, 4. b-d, Fig. 16–18. For the association of green colored stones with eyes see: Baker 2011, 173.

⁵² Wolski, Hamparțumian 1972, 309–310; Milea, Hopârtean, Luca 1978, 203, Fig. 4.

⁵³ Crișan 1971, 342; IDR III/5, 21.

in Graeco-Roman *Asklepieia*.⁵⁴ Even though Caius Iulius Frontonianus regained his eyesight upon visiting the *Asklepieion* of Apulum, the epigraphic text does not allow us to establish clearly whether a miraculous healing occurred after performing the ritual, or on the contrary, the veteran received solely the medical prescriptions in the temple, later consulting with an ophthalmologist in order to obtain a proper healing. In this context, we should recall an episode related by Aelianus that spoke of a blind man to whom Aesculapius prescribed an ointment based on wild boar fat and vinegar.⁵⁵ Most probably, incapable of fully understanding the medical prescriptions of the god, the man contacted a physician as well, in order to explain him the logic of his treatment.

Musculoskeletal disorders

The healing or a considerable amelioration of a long-term locomotive disability could be perhaps sensed in a votive inscription discovered at Ad Mediam. The monument was dedicated by Titus B(...) A(...) to the healing gods, for the health of his wife Iunia Cyrilla, *quod a longa infirmitate aquarum numinis sui revocaverunt*.⁵⁶ The epigraphic formula suggests that the healing occurred by frequenting the thermal springs of Ad Mediam, placed under the divine powers of Aesculapius and Hygia. In fact, the thermal waters of Băile Herculane are still known today for the benefits brought in the treatment of various rheumatic and neurological diseases or post-traumatic disorders that can affect the musculoskeletal system.

Similar epigraphic formulas that make clear references to healings obtained through water therapy have been registered in other places as well. Edifying in this respect is an inscription found at Ostia,⁵⁷ which mentions that the dedicator, *liberatus numine earum gravi infirmitate*, erected the votive altar in an area adjacent to the *balnea cisiarii*, out of gratitude to the nymphs. The base of the cornice of the monument seems to work as a visual narrative, bearing the image of a man lying down, followed by the same man running – perhaps the plastic image corresponding with the healing of a serious infirmity mentioned in the epigraphic text of the altar.⁵⁸

In this regard we should recall the existence of a terracotta anatomical *ex-voto* shaped like a leg, which D. Alicu and I. H. Crișan had noticed in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca.⁵⁹ In the same context, we must also mention a forearm (Pl. I/6) and three fingers made out of clay, discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, two of them coming from the perimeter or the nearby area of the temples

⁵⁴ For the presence of the *incubatio* ritual within the *Asklepieia* of Dacia see Szabó 2008 and Varga 2015.

⁵⁵ Aelianus, *Fragmenta*, 100.

⁵⁶ CIL III 1561 = AE 1962, 233 = IDR III/1, 55.

⁵⁷ CIL XIV 4322 = AE 1921, 78.

⁵⁸ Petraccia, Tramunto 2013, 188.

⁵⁹ Alicu, Crișan 2003, 82. Other sculptural pieces have been doubtfully attributed to the same category. A gilded bronze leg, shaped like a *calceus senatorius*, was discovered in 1899 in the ruins of the Roman baths at Apulum and was attributed by A. Cserni at the time of its publication to a large statue: Cserni 1899, 62–64, VIII–IX; Cserni 1901, 305–306, Fig. 16. In a later study, dedicated to bronze and silver objects from Apulum, Al. Popa and I. Berciu doubtfully reinterpreted the piece as an anatomical *ex voto* dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygia: Popa, Berciu 1977, 230–231. A marble foot discovered at Cioroiul Nou was placed, with some doubt, in the same category: Bondoc 2005, 139, no. 2, Fig. 2.

dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygia.⁶⁰ Based on the archaeological contexts, their size and the round shape of the upper part of the forearm, the pieces have been classified as anatomical *ex-votos* and put into connection with medical procedures conducted in the temples of the healing gods.⁶¹ The existence of anatomical *ex-votos* in the *Asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa brings forth new data regarding the organization of the cult of Aesculapius in Dacia, and moreover offers us important details regarding the existence of certain ailments among the inhabitants of the province.

Generally speaking, anatomical *ex-votos* are mass produced and are often deprived of inscriptions, remaining like some sort of “mute objects” that commemorate in full anonymity the fulfilment of a *votum* that ensures the healing of the dedicator. It is rather clear however, that these representations reproduce ill organs and in this sense we might cite numerous Hellenistic *ex-votos* discovered in the *Asklepieion* of Corinth that show concrete signs of medical conditions.⁶² The real signification of this act depends however on the answer to the question when they were precisely dedicated: before the healing would have occurred, to attract the attention of a god upon the medical condition of the devotee, or after the healing, in order to thank for the divine favour. C. Roebuck believes that a partial response can be offered by some votive inscriptions, like the one of Cutius Gallus from Epidaurus.⁶³ The relief bears the image of two ears symmetrically placed inside a *tabula ansata*, with an inscription at the bottom dedicated to Asclepius. The inscription mentions that Cutius Gallus offers the replicas of his ears to Asclepius because, due to the god’s miraculous intervention, he is now *sanus ab auriculis*.⁶⁴ In this respect, C. Roebuck feels that these reliefs should be seen as gestures of gratitude, stimulated by the psychological effect generated after the healing took place.⁶⁵

Ultimately, these votive offerings speak about the mentality of the ancients regarding disease and healing. A votive relief offered in the 4th century BC in the *Asklepieion* of Athens depicts behind a kneeling woman, different anatomical *ex-votos* suspended on the walls of the temple.⁶⁶ Noteworthy is the fact that from a visual point of view, the anatomical *ex-votos* are arranged in an order that both mirrors and fragments the kneeling woman’s body. J. Hughes believes that this detail would have hit the viewers in the eye, encouraging ill patients to perceive their body as fragmented or incomplete.⁶⁷ Thus, in her opinion, on one hand anatomical *ex-votos* attracted the attention of the divinity upon the diseased body part, while on another the symbolic deconstruction of the body facilitated the reconstruction of a whole healthy body as a result of divine intervention.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Antal, Băeştean 2018, 321–330.

⁶¹ Antal, Băeştean 2018, 322.

⁶² These include an abscess on the back of one hand, a hand with the toes bent by rheumatism, a foot with swollen arteries and numerous eyes affected by different diseases: Waele 1933, 442; Chaviara-Larahaliou 1990, 135–139; Morehouse 2012, 33.

⁶³ CIL III Suppl. 1, 7266; IG IV2 1, 440; Herzog 1931, 43, W78; Van Straten 1981, 122, no. 14.2; Forsén 1996, 83, no. 13.1, Abb. 83.

⁶⁴ CIL III Suppl. 1, 7266; IG IV2 1, 440.

⁶⁵ Roebuck 1951, 117.

⁶⁶ Stampolidis, Tassoulas 2014, no. 82.

⁶⁷ Hughes 2008, 225.

⁶⁸ Hughes 2008, 233.

Locomotor affections can also be captured occasionally by studying the pathology of the skeletal remains discovered within the province of Dacia. Anthropological studies conducted on a fragmentary skeleton discovered in 1929 by Al. Bărcăcilă in the auxiliary fort of Drobeta, showed that spondylitis affected the preserved vertebrae of the deceased's spine.⁶⁹ While examining the bones of a Roman skeleton discovered at Micești (Cluj County), I. G. Rusu observed a series of bone excrescences on some of the vertebrae and on the right femur as well, which were attributed to chronic rheumatism.⁷⁰ Exostosis could be observed as well on the edge of the tibio-fibular joint of a Roman skeleton deposited in a sarcophagus at Napoca, although this time they have been seen as the consequence of ligament ruptures due to overload.⁷¹

A carnelian gemstone found in the numismatic collection of the Romanian Academy⁷² depicts the image of "Chronos the reaper" (Pl. I/8), a particular magical iconography that promised to provide the wearer with relief from rheumatic pain.⁷³ These kinds of amulets, discovered mainly in the eastern part of the Mediterranean region i.e. Syria, Palestina, Asia Minor or Egypt, bear the image of a man with bent back that cuts down wheat ears. Some of the gemstones bear on the reverse inscriptions that mention clearly the signification of these amulets: [ι]σχίον / [ι]σχίον θεραπεία, ἐργάζομαι καὶ οὐ πονῶ ("for the hips"/ "cure for the hips", "I have worked and I have not suffered").⁷⁴ The relative popularity enjoyed by these gemstones, demonstrates that people often suffered from back pain, agricultural work being considered the main cause of these affections. Of particular interest, is the fact that these gems portraying the image of the reaper have been worn by people of different beliefs, at least from the 2nd till the 6th century AD.⁷⁵

Gallbladder and kidney stones

The pain caused by the blockage of stones in the urethra was described by Plinius the Elder as the "most agonizing pain" that can affect the human body.⁷⁶ The presence of calcified vesicular stones in funerary contexts,⁷⁷ some of them even noticed in children tombs, proves that in addition to discomfort and pain, kidney stones could easily develop into more serious complications, becoming even fatal in some cases.

Ruphus⁷⁸ and Galenus⁷⁹ recorded a series of therapeutic indications, including physical exercises, a particular diet and various pharmacological recipes that sought to dissolve calculi, all in order for the patient to avoid a rather risky surgical treatment. In an article specially dedicated to lithotomy in antiquity, E. Künzl tried to identify archaeologically the

⁶⁹ Maximilian 1959, 69.

⁷⁰ Russu 1938, 38–43.

⁷¹ Russu et alii 1964, 56.

⁷² Gramatopol 1974, 77, no. 493, Pl. XXIV.

⁷³ Gramatopol 2000, 117, il. 18; Nemeti 2007, 294, Pl. I/8; Nemeti 2013, 151–152, no. 13.

⁷⁴ Bonner 1950, 71–75, no. 116–125; Delatte, Derchain 1964, 196–200, no. 261–269; Amoraï-Stark, Herschkovitz 2012, 107, Pl. 11–12.

⁷⁵ Amoraï-Stark, Herschkovitz 2012, 107.

⁷⁶ Plin. *HN*. 25.7.

⁷⁷ Éry 2001, 23; Anderson 2001, 352; Charlier et alii 2011, 1–2.

⁷⁸ Rufus, *Ren. Ves.*, 12.1, 13.7–9.

⁷⁹ Gal. *De loc. aff.* 6.4; *Comp. Med. Loc.* 10.1.

instruments involved in this delicate surgical operation⁸⁰ that was already mentioned in the Hippocratic Oath,⁸¹ although extensively described for the first time much later by Celsus.⁸² According to him, when the calculus becomes palpable, the physician opens the bladder by making an incision located in the perineum area, extracting the stone either with a hook, forceps or pliers. Celsus mentions as well that the physician did not hesitate to use an ear probe⁸³ or even his fingers directly to remove small bladder stones, while for more severe cases he recommended the use of a specialized lithotomy knife.⁸⁴ Of considerably larger size, this knife was provided on the opposite part with a bent spatula of semi-circular shape, having smooth outer surface and a rough interior that facilitated a better grip of the stone. Such scalpels were found at Marcianopolis and in South-Western Asia Minor, while a few with uncertain place of discovery are kept in the Museum of Classical Archaeology Cambridge.⁸⁵ Furthermore, their association with other unusual shaped instruments has been seen as a clue regarding the specialization of the later in the same surgical operations. Therefore, bent spatulas with rough interiors, sometimes provided on the opposite end with bifurcated hooks, olive-tipped probes or spoons, forceps endowed with serrated clamps and fixing rings, bifurcated or double hooks and elevators with striations, as well as other unusual instruments have been placed in the same category as the lithotomy knives.⁸⁶

A forceps discovered in the legionary fortress of Bersobis (Pl. I/3) had serrated and elongated arms which were equipped not only with a fastening ring, but also with a bent handle in the form of a thick, blunt hook that was provided in the upper part of the instrument.⁸⁷ Already associated with lithotomy in the specialized literature, both the fastening mechanism and the blunt hook plead for the specialization of the instrument in the removal of bladder stones.⁸⁸ In fact, the functionality of a *coudée* type forceps discovered in the lithotomy kit kept in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology was attributed by E. Künzl to the same medical procedure.⁸⁹ The byzantine physician Aëtius of Amida mentions as well the use of a forceps for dislocating and removing a stone from the tip of the urethra.⁹⁰ The forceps from Bersobis could be equated with an instrument used for removing vesicular stones, called in the text of Pseudo-Galenus λιθολάβος / *litholabos*, the ending of the word being rather suggestive for its functionality.⁹¹ The closest analogies for the instrument from Bersobis are two forceps discovered at Trier⁹² and Littleborough.⁹³

⁸⁰ Künzl 1983, 487–493.

⁸¹ Bliquez 2014, 98.

⁸² Celsus, *Med.* 7.26.2.

⁸³ Celsus, *Med.* 7.26.1C.

⁸⁴ Celsus, *Med.* 7.26.2.

⁸⁵ Künzl 1983, 489.

⁸⁶ Künzl 1983, Taf. 60/1–3, Taf. 63/2–3, Taf. 64/1–3, Taf. 65/1–2.

⁸⁷ Flutur, Flutur 2007, 75–76, Pl. I–II.

⁸⁸ Flutur, Flutur 2007, 75.

⁸⁹ Künzl 1983, Taf. 63/1.

⁹⁰ Aëtius of Amida, 11.5.92.

⁹¹ Bliquez 2014, 183.

⁹² Künzl 1984, Taf. 8/D2.

⁹³ Jackson, Leahy 1990, 271–274.

Reproductive system diseases

Out of the many altars erected by Quintus Axius Aelianus at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Pl. I/2),⁹⁴ one draws particular attention through its divine associations, offering a quick sneak peek into the real reasons that stood behind the erection of this monument.⁹⁵ By associating deities that can be grouped into three different spheres, the altar seems to suggest that the devotee was suffering from some venereal disease or perhaps infertility, each of these divine groups encoding an important message. Therefore, the gods and the divine personifications that can be placed in the sphere of love like Venus *ubique*, Salacia⁹⁶ and *Cupidines* seem to suggest the reason for his disease, while water ones Neptune, *Fontes* and *Aquae* could indicate the treatment followed by the procurator of Dacia Apulensis, most probably by frequenting some thermal springs. Ultimately however, Quintus Axius Aelianus invokes the healing divinities Aesculapius, Salus and Epione, whom he either implores or thanks for the healing.⁹⁷ Another inscription offered by the same dedicator to Apollo Grannus and Sirona⁹⁸ should be placed in the same category. We should also mention here the altars of his son Q. Axius Aelianus Iunior, two out of which are in Greek, dedicated to Apollo Grannus and Aesculapius and Hygia, surnamed here θεοί φιλάνθρωποι, “man loving gods”.⁹⁹ Finally, another altar dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygia, a Latin version this time, mentions *votum pro patris incolumitate susceptum*,¹⁰⁰ which leads us to believe that all three altars were erected by Q. Axius Aelianus Iunior for his father’s health.

The association of Venus with Aesculapius has already been reported in Dacia in the *Asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa through the deposition of six statuettes depicting the goddess of love.¹⁰¹ This phenomenon can be otherwise remarked throughout the whole Roman Empire, easily explainable by the various diseases for which Venus was held responsible. The image of Aphrodite / Venus associated with Aesculapius on gemstones was attributed to their use in order to obtain fertility, while at Kos, the temple of Venus, was placed in the immediate vicinity of the *Asklepieion*, housing two underground chambers for the treatment of venereal diseases.¹⁰²

In this context we should also mention a terracotta anatomical *ex voto* shaped like a uterus, which D. Alicu and I. H. Crişan claimed to have belonged to the collection of the museum from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa till the Second World War.¹⁰³ This could have

⁹⁴ IDR III/2, 89, 191, 206, 244; ILD 277, 278, 281.

⁹⁵ ILD 278.

⁹⁶ It remains rather unclear whether Salacia appears here as the goddess of love and fertility / protector of prostitutes or in her quality of wife of Neptune, as the goddess of the sea or the nymph of the mountain springs.

⁹⁷ It is also possible that he received the prescriptions necessary for healing in the *Asklepieion* from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.

⁹⁸ IDR III/2, 191. Most probably, the dedicator entered in contact with these gods of Celtic origin when he was the procurator of the provinces of Belgica and Germania: IDR III/2, 89.

⁹⁹ IDR III/2, 157.

¹⁰⁰ IDR III/2, 158.

¹⁰¹ Antal 2016, 126, Cat. nos. 269, 271, 272, 275, 278, 286.

¹⁰² Sakula 1984, 685.

¹⁰³ Next to it were two other clay anatomical *ex vota*, one with the representation of internal organs and another in the shape of a hand: Alicu, Crişan 2003, 82.

been dedicated in the *Asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa as a way of imploring or thanking the healing gods, for the cure of a gynaecological disease or perhaps for the successful birth of a child. In 1924, the pharmacist I. Orient reported the discovery of a fragmentary figurative terracotta, representing the head of a wrapped child, which had been discovered in his garden from Cluj-Napoca.¹⁰⁴ This kind of terracotta figurines, discovered especially in the Gallic provinces,¹⁰⁵ can either be put in connection with concerns for an increased fertility or worked as a thank offering for a successful pregnancy or an easy childbirth. According to other hypotheses however, such terracotta figurines would have been offered on the occasion of a child's recovery from an illness or at the time of his weaning.¹⁰⁶

The presence of gynaecological diseases can also be noticed on a theurgical level. Given that women were exposed to considerable dangers during pregnancy and childbirth, and many of them could have died from infections or uterine bleeding, it is not surprising that they did not hesitate to seek divine help, either through prayers addressed directly to the healing gods or by wearing various amulets or gemstones. A gemstone from the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Romanian Academy¹⁰⁷ associates the image of the leontocephal snake Chnoubis with the image of an ibis and the magical characters "dbwh" (Pl. I/9). The iconographic scheme indicates the use of this magico-medicinal amulet not only for treating stomach diseases, but also for relieving pain related to pregnancy and childbirth.¹⁰⁸ A magnetite gemstone kept in the same collection falls in the same category, bearing on one side the schematic image of a uterus placed above a key, while on the reverse an inscription engraved in Greek designates the name of Ororiouth, "the lord of the matrix"¹⁰⁹ (Pl. I/7). These gemstones, sometimes accompanied by the command "Stop (stathêti) uterus!" were often worn by Roman women in order to prevent abortions, cure uterine pain (hysteria) or relieve labor pain.¹¹⁰

Anorectal disorders

Precarious hygiene conditions and a poor diet, along with the high frequency of riding, could have easily led to a series of anorectal diseases, ulcerations, fissures or haemorrhoids being relatively common problems in Roman period. The fact that Martial dedicated one of his epigrams to a lined saddle pad used to prevent haemorrhoids, while Cato recommended sitting on a wormwood branch for the same purpose, suggests the high regularity of this medical problem in Roman times.¹¹¹

A specimen of a bronze bivalve rectal speculum discovered at Micia¹¹² (Pl. I/4) proves that such medical problems were also encountered in Dacia and that at least in some

¹⁰⁴ Orient 1924, 2–4, Fig. 1 = Orient 1925, 4, Figs. 2–3.

¹⁰⁵ Cazanove 2013; Bagley 2016, 123, n. 641; Cazanove 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Graham 2016, 253.

¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the discovery place of this gemstone, as well as the following one's, remain unknown.

¹⁰⁸ Nemeti 2007, 293, Pl. I/3; Nemeti 2013, 150–151, no. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Nemeti 2013, 150, no. 8.

¹¹⁰ Delatte, Derchain 1964, 245–258; Faraone 2011, 20. According to more recent studies, at least some of these gemstones could have been worn by men as well, as binding spells associated with erotic desire: Tsatsou 2019.

¹¹¹ Jackson 1988, 125.

¹¹² Alicu, Crișan 2003, 65, Fig. 14.

cases the patients did not hesitate to turn to a specialist doctor for treatment. This could involve either the abundant application of ointments,¹¹³ or invasive surgical methods e.g. cauterization or excision of haemorrhoids using a *scalpellus*. R. Jackson remarked that the shape of the rectal dilator remained almost unchanged until the 18th century. He considered that the lack of any substantial modification of the shape must be correlated with the high success rate of these treatments performed with the help of this medical device.¹¹⁴

The adaptation of this instrument for other medical procedures should not be ruled out entirely either. Although notable physicians such as Leonidas of Alexandria,¹¹⁵ Antyllus and Heliiodorus¹¹⁶ used these instruments to treat anorectal conditions, like many other ancient medical devices, the functionality of the speculum could be adapted for a wide range of surgeries. Thus, according to Celsus, the rectal dilator could also be used to widen the cavity of a wound or to extract arrowheads embedded in the flesh.¹¹⁷

Dental problems

In the absence of a proper oral hygiene, dental conditions must have been among the most common medical problems of Antiquity and according to Celsus, one of the major causes for the most excruciating pain ever felt by people.¹¹⁸ According to the literary sources, the use of a *dentiscalpium*, a mouthwash or various other substances intended to freshen the breath, were relatively common, although they certainly had cosmetic purposes, rather than hygienic ones.¹¹⁹ Dental extraction was generally considered a measure of last resort,¹²⁰ cavities being usually treated with analgesic substances, although the use of amulets or magical remedies is not negligible either in this case. In this regard Pliny recalls an impressive number of such magical practices,¹²¹ especially amulets representing teeth of various animals, a habit that can be mirrored in their frequent presence in funerary contexts. However, as Pliny himself remarked, such practices were difficult to be taken seriously even in Roman times¹²² and they would have functioned as long as the limits of self-induced suggestion allowed them.

Celsus offers us an extensive description of the tooth extraction process, from detaching the gum to the actual extraction with the help of fingers or pliers, noting that in the case of a more pronounced cavity, the tooth must be filled with lead in order to avoid it breaking or leaving bone chips under the gums.¹²³ According to ancient medical sources, this operation was performed with the help of an *odontagra* / *rhizagra*, which was made out

¹¹³ Scribonius Largus, *Comp.* 227; Plinius mentions the use of a simple onion in this sense: Plin. *HN.* 20.43.

¹¹⁴ Jackson 1988, 125.

¹¹⁵ Paulus Aegineta, 6.78.

¹¹⁶ Oribasius, *Coll. Med.* 44.20.66

¹¹⁷ Celsus, *Med.* 7.5.2.

¹¹⁸ Celsus, *Med.* 6.9.1.

¹¹⁹ Scribonius Largus offers a few examples of detailed recipes based on animal, vegetal or mineral ingredients, meant to clean and give shine to the teeth, recipes used by outstanding characters as well, such as Octavia or Messalina: Bliquez 2012, 1.

¹²⁰ Milk teeth, bearing traces of dental procedures, were discovered in the drainage of the military baths at Caerleon, Baker 2000, 172–173.

¹²¹ Plin. *HN.* 28.27, 31, 49, 30.7–8, 32.26.

¹²² Plin. *HN.* 30.47.

¹²³ Celsus, *Med.* 7.12.1-F.

of iron and consisted of two levers fixed on a pivot.¹²⁴ Around 30 specimens of iron pliers have been discovered in Hispania, Italia, Britannia, Gaul, Germania, Raetia, Achaia and Syria, out of which about a quarter were recovered from the famous *Domus "del chirurgo"*, from Rimini.¹²⁵

A pair of bronze pliers discovered in the legionary fortress of Potaissa (Pl. I/5), kept in the collections of the National Museum of Hungary in Budapest, has been published in 1909 by the German historian K. Sudhoff.¹²⁶ At that time, the long arms with intricately decorated handles and strong, fine-crested clamps that facilitated a good adhesion to bone tissue have been attributed to dental pliers.¹²⁷ Although Sudhoff himself noticed that bronze was an inadequate material of confection for a dental forceps, he considered it fit for extracting heavily fractured dental roots from the upper jaw. Though similar to *odontagra*, the pliers kept in the museum of Budapest proved to be in fact a bone forceps,¹²⁸ known in the ancient medical literature as *ostagra*.¹²⁹ Such instruments have strong, jagged or notched clamps that either bend in the same direction or are straight just like those of modern patent pliers. As for the clamps, analogies for our instrument can be found at Carnuntum,¹³⁰ Colophon¹³¹ and Rimini,¹³² none of them presenting however the unique vegetal decoration found on the pliers discovered in Dacia.

On one hand, the lack of dental pliers in Dacia could be attributed to the easy corrosion of the iron out of which these tools were usually made, or perhaps to their misinterpretation due to their resemblance to pliers used in metallurgy. Last, but not least, the lack of such findings could also be the consequence of limited archaeological research, although it could also reflect a reluctance felt towards these medical procedures that often emerges in the literary sources of the time. In this context, we should recall Caelius Aurelianus, who mentions several cases of fatal complications derived from simple tooth extractions, adding in the form of an anecdote that only teeth that can be moved with pliers made out of a malleable material like lead should be extracted.¹³³

Bliquez correlated this reluctance for dental extractions with the appearance of *odontikoi iatroi*, attested in the writings of Galenus and Martial,¹³⁴ who would have used other less invasive interventions. Instead of a painful tooth extraction, Scribonius Largus recommends the complete scraping of the decayed tooth portion, probably with the aid of a curette, in order to relieve the annoying *dentium dolor*.¹³⁵ Probes with sharp spoons like the ones discovered at Cioroiu Nou,¹³⁶ as well as the iron surgical knife from Porolissum that was provided on the opposite end with a curette could have been used in this particular

¹²⁴ Bliquez 2014, 239–241.

¹²⁵ Dude 2006, 110–133.

¹²⁶ Sudhoff 1909, 68–69, Taf. III.

¹²⁷ Sudhoff 1909, 68.

¹²⁸ Varga 2018, 71–72.

¹²⁹ Bliquez 2014, 241–242.

¹³⁰ Töply 1912, 151, Fig. 124.

¹³¹ Bliquez 2014, Fig. 63.

¹³² Jackson 2009, 77, Fig. 3/25.

¹³³ Caelius Aurelianus, *De morbis acutis et chronicis*, 2.4.84.

¹³⁴ Bliquez 2012, 2.

¹³⁵ Scribonius Largus, *Comp.* 53 cf. Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis liber*, 12.1.

¹³⁶ Bondoc 2005, 140, no. 3–5, Figs. 3–5.

way.¹³⁷ Some of the many medical probes discovered in Dacia could have also been used to relieve dental pain. These could have been useful for the application of drugs or oils with anti-inflammatory properties, either by pre-wrapping one end with a piece of wool soaked in these substances,¹³⁸ or by heating and applying them with the help of the *puren* directly on the painful portion.¹³⁹ The same probes, along with tweezers of larger sizes, would have been useful for extracting bone fragments resulting from tooth extractions.¹⁴⁰ A pair of tweezers that seems to have been suitable for such procedures was discovered at Apulum, having long arms, finished in the form of elongated, sharp clamps, with smooth edges.¹⁴¹

Although among the medical instruments discovered in Dacia there is no instrument specialized in dental procedures, the existence of dental problems could be archaeologically highlighted on a series of skeletal remains discovered in this province. Thus, the skeleton of a woman, discovered in 1927 in a sarcophagus from Napoca, had the molars affected by cavities.¹⁴² This rather common dental problem can be observed on one of the molars of another woman who died at Drobeta.¹⁴³ The latter one also had a missing tooth, a loss that probably occurred due to the complication of a dental condition in the absence of an adequate treatment. The same problem can be observed at the skeleton of a man deposited in a stone sarcophagus in Napoca.¹⁴⁴

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¹³⁷ Gudea-Bajusz 1992, 254, no. 3, Pl. I/3.

¹³⁸ Celsus, *Med.* 6.9.3, Scribonius Largus, *Comp.* 56.

¹³⁹ Bliquez 2014, 116.

¹⁴⁰ Celsus, *Med.* 7.12.1D.

¹⁴¹ Igna 1933–1935, 227, no. 5; Pl. XII/5.

¹⁴² Lenghel 1930, 626.

¹⁴³ Maximilian 1959, 67.

¹⁴⁴ Russu et alii 1964, 54.

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PL. I. 1. Serpentine *signaculum oculariorum* discovered at Gârbou (Photo S. Odenie, © MNIT); 2. Altar of Quintus Axius Aelianus from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, that can be put in connection with the healing of a venereal disease or perhaps infertility (Personal photo, Museum of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa); 3. Bronze lithotomy forceps discovered in the legionary fortress of Berzobis (Flutur, Flutur 2007, 75–76, Pl. I); 4. Bronze bivalve rectal *speculum* discovered at Micia (Alicu, Crișan 2003, Fig. 14); 5. Bronze pliers for bone surgery, discovered in the legionary fortress of Potaissa (Personal photo, MNM); 6. Anatomical *ex voto* shaped like an arm, discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Antal, Băeștean 2018, Fig. 1.a.1); 7–9. Gemstones from the numismatic collection of the Romanian Academy worn in order to 7. prevent abortions, cure uterine pain (hysteria) or relieve labor pain, 8. obtain relief from rheumatic pain, 9. treat stomach diseases, relieve pain related to pregnancy and childbirth (Gramatopol 1974, 398-a, 493, 395).

THE ROMAN EPIGRAPHIC COLLECTION OF 17TH CENTURY ANTIQUARIAN FERENC LUGOSSY FROM PETREȘȚII DE JOS (CLUJ COUNTY)

DÁVID PETRUȚ

Abstract: The question of Roman epigraphic and antiquities collections in Transylvania is typically associated with the antiquarian activity of the local aristocracy during the 19th century, especially the “ruin parks” set up on their country estates. The beginnings of these antiquarian endeavours however date back to much earlier times, being linked to the circle of humanist church intellectuals active in Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár starting with the 15th century. The collection founded by Ferenc Lugossy, prominent member of the Transylvanian princely court during the second half of the 17th century, can be regarded as a later manifestation of the aforementioned humanist tradition, even though it was established at his estate in Petreștii de Jos/Magyarpeterd, situated at the foot of the Turda Gorge (Cheile Turzii/Tordai-hasadék), rather than the princely capital. The sources indicate that we are dealing with one of the most important, if not the most important local Roman stone monument collections of the time. Documents also inform us that following the death of its founder – probably in 1692 – the collection swiftly began to disintegrate, and by the beginning of the 20th century it had completely ceased to exist, the monuments being either taken away or used as construction material by the locals. The present paper is an attempt to reconstruct the history and original composition of this important collection.

Keywords: Petreștii de Jos; antiquity collections; Transylvanian antiquarians; Apulum; Transylvanian Principality; Ferenc Lugossy.

Rezumat: Majoritatea publicațiilor referitoare la colecțiile de antichități din Transilvania tratează adesea doar activitatea colecționară a unor anticari locali din secolul al XIX-lea, axându-se în special pe “lapidarele” întemeiate în curțile conacelor și castelelor nobiliare. Interesul cărturăresc privind cultura materială a antichității în Transilvania are însă rădăcini mult mai îndepărtate în timp, fiind legate de cercul de ecleziaști umaniști format în scaunul episcopal catolic de la Alba Iulia în secolul al XV-lea. Colecția fondată de Ferenc Lugossy, secretar al principelui Mihai I Apafi, în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea poate fi considerată în virtutea conexiunilor fondatorului ei cu centrul politic și bisericesc al Transilvaniei din perioada respectivă ca o continuare a tradiției umaniste de la Alba Iulia. Ca notă discordantă față de aceasta, colecția a luat ființă în curtea conacului lui Lugossy de la Petreștii de Jos, aflată pe domeniul acestuia din apropierea Cheilor Turzii. Sursele indică faptul că avem de-a face cu una dintre cele mai importante colecții epigrafice din Transilvania din perioada respectivă, posibil cea mai importantă. Totodată aflăm din surse că în urma morții fondatorului, probabil în anul 1692, colecția a intrat într-un proces treptat de dezintegrare, astfel în prima jumătate a secolului al XX-lea nemairămânând niciun monument roman pe fostul domeniu Lugossy din Petreștii de Jos. Articolul de față își propune trecerea în revistă a istoriei și a componenței colecției Lugossy pe baza surselor existente în momentul de față, aducând în discuție și informații inedite.

Cuvinte cheie: Petreștii de Jos; colecții de antichități; anticari transilvăneni; Apulum; Principatul Transilvaniei; Ferenc Lugossy.

The beginnings of Roman epigraphic collections and corpora in Transylvania between the 15th and 17th centuries

Signs of increased awareness towards the material culture of Antiquity in the wider region of the Carpathian Basin can be traced back to the medieval chronicles of the 13th century.¹ The earliest information on Roman antiquity collections come from the time of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437),² while in Transylvania the first such collection seems to have been founded by local nobleman and warlord John Hunyadi (1406–1456) who ordered Roman stone monuments to be transported from the site of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa – the former metropolis of Roman Dacia – to his castle at Hunedoara/Vajdahunyad.³ Even so, a systematic effort of collecting and recording antiquities can be observed only in the latter half of the 15th century against the backdrop of the local humanist intellectual movement developed during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490).

Renaissance intellectuals viewed classical literature as the main source for unravelling the ancient world, gradually however, inscribed Roman stone monuments began to be seen as primary evidence for the material heritage of Antiquity as well as its historical context.⁴ Moreover, the stone inscriptions acquired a strong symbolic status in the European regions of the former Roman Empire, epitomizing both the artistic and cultural grandeur of the ancient world.⁵ Without doubt this process was set off by the affinity of humanists towards the ancient written record,⁶ as well as by the relatively frequent nature of inscribed stone monuments, as opposed to the scarcity of more elaborate ancient sculptural works of high artistic standards, especially outside the Mediterranean region.

During a large part of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD much of the Transylvanian Plateau was under Roman rule as the province of Dacia. The earliest indications of scholarly interest towards the local ruins and monuments of the Roman past point to the humanist clergy based in the episcopal seat of Alba Iulia during 15th century. The activity of bishop László Geréb (1452–1502) educated in Renaissance Italy, who incorporated Roman stone inscriptions into the portico of the Alba Iulia cathedral, is illustrative in this regard.⁷ Since Alba Iulia was founded on the ruins of Apulum – the most prominent military and urban centre of Roman Dacia – the emergence of Roman stone inscriptions was a frequent occurrence. According to the sources, by the late 15th century it was quite common for buildings and gardens in Alba Iulia to be decorated with Roman stone inscriptions.⁸ The first epigraphic corpus was written during this period by clergyman and antiquarian Ioannes Mezerzius (János Megyericsi, 1469/70–1517), who was also the founder of an impressive inscriptions collection in Alba Iulia.⁹ Theodor Mommsen later referred to him

¹ Vékony 2003, 16.

² Vékony 2003, 16.

³ Téglás 1897, 144; Macrea 1965, 143; Bodor 1995, 56.

⁴ Jokilehto 1986, 12; Trigger 1996, 54–55.

⁵ Bodor 1995, 56–57.

⁶ See Choay 1998, 31–31.

⁷ Balogh 1943, 52.

⁸ Kovács 1992, 26; Bodor 1995, 57.

⁹ Balogh 1943, 59; Lakatos 2004.

as the first Transylvanian epigrapher.¹⁰ The corpus drawn up by Mezerzius at the beginning of the 16th century contained – according to Mommsen's estimates – some 125 inscriptions, overwhelmingly from Dacia. Unfortunately, it was never published, only an incomplete manuscript being preserved in the Vatican Library.¹¹ The majority of the inscriptions come from Apulum (Alba Iulia, Alba county) and from various parts of southern Transylvania, especially Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa, Hunedoara county),¹² the first urban settlement (*colonia*) of the province and seat of the provincial assembly (*concilium provinciae*).¹³

Further important epigraphic corpora emerged at the end of the century, owing to the work of humanist historian and antiquarian István Szamosközy (1565–1612) who published his first work entitled *Analecta lapidum vetustorum et nonnullarum in Dacia antiquitatum* in Padua in 1593, and later in 1598, upon returning to Transylvania from his studies abroad completed a second corpus in Alba Iulia: *Inscriptiones Romanae in lapidibus antiquis Albae Iuliae et circa locorum*, which however would only be published much later.¹⁴ Altogether Szamosközy published 83 inscriptions, many of which have been since lost and are only known thanks to his work.¹⁵

During the 17th century the publication of inscriptions displayed a considerable decrease, being mostly restricted to the records left behind by foreign travellers who travelled to, or transited Transylvania.¹⁶ Conversely, the next century saw a considerable increase in the number of published epigraphic corpora.¹⁷ At any rate, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the abovementioned practice of Roman ruin parks and outdoor stone monument collections spread from the episcopal and princely seat at Alba Iulia, to the country estates of the Transylvanian nobility. The earliest known example is the collection of Ferenc Lugossy, set up at his residence in Petreștii de Jos (Pl. I). The historical sources tell us that he held the office of secretary of the Prince of Transylvania throughout the reign of Michael I Apafi (1661–1690). As it will be shown below, the founding of the epigraphic collection is directly linked to the political centre of the principality, Alba Iulia, and can thus be derived from the Renaissance antiquarian movement which developed in the episcopal court two centuries earlier.

Ferenc Lugossy (†1692)

The complete biography of Ferenc Lugossy¹⁸ is impossible to reconstruct at this time, the sources only accounting for the main chapters of his *cursus honorum*. Even so, it is clear that we are dealing with a member of the political elite during the last decades of the Transylvanian Principality, before its integration into the Habsburg Empire at the end of the 17th century. There is very little information on his personal life. He is first mentioned

¹⁰ Lakatos 2004, 737–738.

¹¹ Lakatos 2004, 742.

¹² Lakatos 2004, 742.

¹³ See Szabó 2018.

¹⁴ See the bibliography of the present paper.

¹⁵ Bărbulescu 1992, 9.

¹⁶ Russu 1975, 37.

¹⁷ See Bodor 1995, 66–72.

¹⁸ Occasionally featured as Lugosi.

as *vicecomes* of Alba/Fehér county in 1661.¹⁹ Beginning with the following year he was named secretary of Michael I Apafi, an office he would hold until the death of the Prince in 1690, furthermore, from 1685, he was a member of the princely council (*deputatio*), thus assuring his official elevation into the Transylvanian aristocracy.²⁰

Further data can be acquired from the autobiography of Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716) a contemporary and fellow member of the central government, who mentions that during the Austrian military operations in Transylvania at the end of the 1680s, Lugossy, notwithstanding his advanced age, his title of secretary of the prince, and his Catholic confession, was imprisoned for a week by Antonio Caraffa, the commander of the invading forces.²¹ We thus learn that Lugossy was Catholic, and was an elderly man by the end of the 1680s. Unfortunately, the year of his birth is not known, however according to some data we can assume that he died in 1692.²²

The collection from Petreștii de Jos (Cluj/Kolozs County)

Based on historical accounts we know that Ferenc Lugossy had a manor house and an estate in Petreștii de Jos/Magyarpeterd²³ situated at the foot of the Turda Gorge in today's Cluj County, some 75 km north-east of Alba Iulia. No direct sources have yet emerged concerning the manor house, and it seems that it was already destroyed by the beginning of the 19th century. Similarly, very few direct sources have hitherto emerged concerning the exact circumstances in which the collection was founded. Furthermore, we are informed by the same sources that following Lugossy's death, the collection began to disintegrate, as his descendants displayed total neglect in its regard. Even so, the historical and cultural context, Lugossy's links to the princely court, as well as the source of the inscriptions (as shown below), indicate a close connection with the abovementioned humanist antiquarian tradition developed earlier in Alba Iulia, which according to the available historical accounts continued to flourish throughout the 17th century, as illustrated by the collection founded by Prince Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629) in the courtyard of the princely palace, consisting mainly of monuments brought from Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.²⁴

The sources concerning the Lugossy collection from Petreștii de Jos are scarce and indirect, with no surviving accounts left by the founder. Be that as it may, owing to the Transylvanian epigraphic corpora drawn up throughout the 18th century – which were later scrupulously reviewed by Theodor Mommsen, during his research work for CIL III – as well as Károly Torma's fieldwork on the site of Lugossy's former residence in the early 1860s, a part of the collection can be reconstructed. Furthermore, based on Mommsen's epigraphic analysis of the material, the origin of some of the inscriptions can also be determined. The numerous references to the said collection found in the epigraphic corpora of the 18th century, suggests that it was very well known by the antiquarians of the time.

¹⁹ Trócsányi 1980, 186.

²⁰ Trócsányi 1980, 149–152.

²¹ Bethlen 2000, part XVII.

²² See Bethlen 1993, 658.

²³ See RepCluj, 308–309.

²⁴ Bodor 1995, 57.

The earliest reference to the collection can be found in Georg Schochter's (Georgius Soterius, †1723) manuscript entitled *De rebus Romanorum in Dacia*, which contains six inscriptions from Petreștii de Jos.²⁵ It is highly interesting that one of them²⁶ – a statue base from Apulum, currently in the Turda History Museum – was formerly part of the famous collection founded in Alba Iulia by Transylvanian chancellor Farkas Kovacsóczy (1540–1594).²⁷

Due to an interesting chain of events that unfolded at the beginning of the 18th century, further links between Alba Iulia and the collection at Petreștii de Jos can be revealed. The construction of the Vauban fortress in Alba Iulia (1714–1748) has brought to surface a large number of Roman stone inscriptions. One of the supervisors of the construction works was the Italian officer Giuseppe Ariosti, who sent detailed reports on the discovered monuments to renowned Veronese antiquarian Scipione Maffei, who in turn obtained the support of Emperor Charles VI – a keen enthusiast of Greek and Roman antiquities – for the transport of at least some of the newly discovered monuments to Vienna.²⁸ As a result, in 1723 a shipment consisting of 64 stone inscriptions – most of them discovered throughout the previous year – was sent to Vienna via the Mureș – Tisa – Danube route. Eventually only three of the four barges made it to destination, as one of them sank in the Tisa River near Szeged together with its cargo of 17 inscriptions, which have been lost ever since.²⁹

Subsequently, Ariosti compiled an extremely valuable epigraphic corpus containing 116 illustrated inscriptions, the overwhelming majority of which being copied directly by him.³⁰ The corpus comprised of the 64 inscriptions sent to Vienna (17 of which were lost on the way) as well as 52 additional inscriptions. Owing to the fact that the author recorded the place of origin of each inscription, we know that four monuments came from Lugossy's collection in Petreștii de Jos: CIL III 1092, 1214, 1600, 1602 (Pl. II). Of the four inscriptions only CIL III 1092 was left out of the Vienna shipment, and later became part of collection of Count Ádám Wass in Țaga/Cege, suggesting that it remained in place during Ariosti's operation and was not transported to Alba Iulia in 1723. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain how it eventually ended up further north from the Lugossy estate in a similar collection, albeit only founded later, probably in the 19th century. Despite not being transported to Alba Iulia, the inscription is still featured in Ariosti's corpus, which seems to indicate that the Italian antiquarian visited the collection at some point, probably at the time he was organizing the shipment, but for some reason decided to leave out this inscription from the transport. It is still open to debate why the inscription was included by Ariosti in the category of "lost inscriptions" (*Inscrizioni sperdute*). At any rate, this comes to prove once more, that the collection from Petreștii de Jos was well-known among the antiquarians of the time. Two of the three monuments from the Lugossy collection reached their destination in Vienna,³¹ the third one – probably a funerary stela – is featured in

²⁵ CIL III 1158, 1210, 1211, 1606, 1608, 1610.

²⁶ CIL III 1158.

²⁷ Bărbulescu 2010, 186.

²⁸ Bodor 1995, 68.

²⁹ Marchi, Pál 2010, 11.

³⁰ Ariosti, I–III; see also Buonopane, La Monaca 2010.

³¹ CIL III 1600, 1602.

Ariosti's corpus under the heading *Inscrizioni restate sommerse nel Tibisco a Segedino*, i.e. was lost in the Tisa together with further 16 inscriptions.³²

András Huszti's (†1765) history of Transylvania from the beginnings until 1685³³ written in 1735–1736 contains several Roman inscriptions, seven of them from Lugossy's collection.³⁴ It is important to note that Huszti's work was written approximately a decade after Ariosti's operation and possible visit to the village at foot of the Turda Gorge, and as we would expect, it does not contain the three inscriptions shipped to Vienna. It does however contain the fourth inscription (CIL III 1092) transcribed by Ariosti, but left out of the shipment. Moreover, Huszti's transcription of the text differs from that of Ariosti, clearly indicating that his variant is also based on the observation of the monument.³⁵ This fact corroborates the earlier assumption that the inscription remained in place and was only later transported to Țaga.

The most comprehensive epigraphic corpus of the 18th century, entitled *Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum in Dacia Mediterranea, Viennae 1773*,³⁶ was compiled by local German antiquarian Joannes Seivert (1735–1785). It also includes several inscriptions from the Lugossy collection, being however transcribed from other corpora.³⁷

An interesting account from the 18th century sheds further light on the history of the collection. The *Historia Domus*³⁸ of the Franciscan monastery from Turda in 1775 provides a brief account of the collection, whereby we learn that Ferenc Lugossy received the estate from Petreștii de Jos as a donation, and was such a passionate collector of antiquities that he dedicated most of his time to expanding his collection, which was the largest and most spectacular in the entire land.³⁹

The only visual representation of the collection – more precisely its remnants – comes from the early 19th century. Franz Jaschke (1775–1842) was a Silesian born landscape painter, who starting from 1807 took part on several tours of the Austrian Empire in the service of the Habsburg court.⁴⁰ In one of his paintings made during an expedition to Transylvania in 1810 alongside Archduke Rainer, several Roman stone monuments can be seen aligned and the Turda Gorge in the background (Pl. III).⁴¹ It goes without saying that the painting was made in Petreștii de Jos, and depicts the remnants of the Lugossy collection. In 1821

³² CIL III 1214.

³³ *Dacia Mediterranea. id est Transilvania vetus. A primis suis incunabulis, usque ad seculum post netivitatem Christi Domini nonum, historica deducta. Antiquitatibus Indictis-Scythis-Geticis Mustrata: Vetustissimis Romanorum monumentis incisis exornata. Omnique elegantiarum ad quamlibet historiae universalis partem necessarium apparatu adhibito. Studio et opera.* See Bodor 1995, 69.

³⁴ CIL III 1092, 1158, 1210, 1211, 1601, 1606, 1609.

³⁵ Buonopane, *La Monaca* 2010, 358; Ariosti III, 42.

³⁶ See Bodor 1995, 70–71.

³⁷ See Torma 1863, 146; Bodor 1995, 71.

³⁸ *Historia Domus, seu Residentia Thordensis ordinis minor. strict. observ. jussu A. R. P. Martini Péterffy ord. min. str. obs. Praedoct. SS. Theol. Lectoris Prov. Transsilvaniae S. r. Stephani Ministri Provinciális, ad inserendam rerum memoriam inchoata Ao. 1775. Industria Fratris Arseny Gold* (Torma 1863, 146).

³⁹ “[...] illustris residentia olim spect. ac magnifici domini Francisci Lugosi Serenissimi quondam Principis Michaelis Apafi I. secretarii fidelis donatione mediante usucapta. Antiquitatum erat tam cupidus, ut nihil non fecisset quo minus corrasis undique veterum monumentis aream et hortum ditaret; et vero favit conatui effectus, vix enim alicubi conglomeratiores videbis antiquitates s. a. t” (Torma 1863, 146).

⁴⁰ Rózsa 1978, 443.

⁴¹ Rózsa 1978, 461.

an album was published with 339 × 456 mm lithographic reproductions of the author's paintings, the piece in question being featured with the title: *Römische Denkmäler im Dorfe Peterd Thordaer Komitats – Monuments Romains au village de Peterd au Comitat de Torda*.⁴² Due to the nature of his commission, Jaschke's style can be characterized as highly realistic,⁴³ and this is perfectly showcased by his painting of the Lugossy collection.

The painting depicts six stone monuments (A, B, C, D, F, G) in addition to a seemingly undecorated stone block (E). In the centre of the composition one can notice a relief portraying a standing female figure (D), to its left and right statue bases, altars, and probably funerary stelae. The monuments on the right end of the painting (F, G), despite their somewhat schematic rendering, appear to be highly damaged. Among the three monuments represented in some detail, only the one on the left end of the composition can be identified.⁴⁴ In fact, the depiction is so precise that the first five lines of the inscription could be reconstructed based solely on Jaschke's painting. The said inscription was published by Károly Torma during the middle of the 19th century, which allowed Mommsen to include it in CIL III, however it subsequently disappeared, this being its only representation. According to the inscription we are dealing with the funerary monument of Publius Aelius Victor Plautianus decurion of *municipium Aurelium Apulense* (Apulum) erected by his wife Salvia.⁴⁵ Based on the form and decoration of the monument, it was probably either a funerary altar or the base of an aedicula. Based on its profiled frame decorated with semi-circular motifs which borders the epigraphic field, one can presume that it was a carefully executed monument. With regard to the relief portraying the standing female figure, although the exact identification of the piece is not possible, the representation is a good example of the widespread funerary motif of the waiting servant, probably employed as an epitome for the funerary banquet.⁴⁶ Although the head of the figure does not seem to be too well preserved, the long tunic unequivocally suggest a female character who holds a jug in her right hand either preparing to serve wine or to assist a banqueteer with his or her handwashing. Based on Jaschke's representation, it must have been a high-quality piece, the analogies suggesting the side-wall of an aedicula.⁴⁷

The earliest research into the Lugossy collection was carried out by Károly Torma, who visited the site in the early 1860s in search of Roman inscriptions. In his report Torma published 10 inscriptions, seven of which were previously included in the abovementioned *Historia Domus* of 1775.⁴⁸ Of the 10 inscriptions however, only seven were found on site by Torma, the other three being previously transferred to the collection of Ádám Wass in Țaga/Cege.⁴⁹ Given that the aforementioned inscriptions were featured in the *Historia Domus*, their transfer must have happened sometime after 1775. Later, probably after World War II the inscriptions were moved to the History Museum of Gherla/Szamosújvár, where they can be found today. Torma also asserted, that based on their similar material,

⁴² Jaschke 1821, Tafel 20.

⁴³ Rózsa 1978, 456.

⁴⁴ CIL III 1211.

⁴⁵ See IDR III/5, 488.

⁴⁶ Petruț, Mustăță 2010.

⁴⁷ See Petruț, Mustăță 2010.

⁴⁸ Torma 1863, 146–150.

⁴⁹ CIL III 1092, 1210, 1608.

all of the analyzed monuments must have been brought over from nearby Turda, the site of the Roman legionary base and town of Potaissa.⁵⁰ Moreover, the author also mentions that a part of the collection was transported to the manor house of the Thoroczkai family in Colțești/Torockószentgyörgy in Alba county.⁵¹

At the beginning of the 1860s the famous writer, ethnographer and historian Balázs Orbán (1829–1890) was carrying out research in the Turda Gorge area. Later in his monograph on the town of Turda/Torda and its surroundings, the author mentions the Lugossy collection, stating that its founder was a passionate antiquarian who not only collected ancient sculptures and stone monuments, but would also commission copies based on Roman finds. The author goes on by saying that following Lugossy's death, the collection was gradually dispersed, as his son and later descendants did not display any interest in it, furthermore, the manor house has also been since destroyed.⁵² According to Orbán during the 1850s a considerable number of monuments could still be found on the estate, which since were mainly used as construction material.⁵³ In fact the author found only one inscription on site,⁵⁴ which he readily included into the book. His view on the origin of the monuments is similar to that expressed by Torma, considering that these were brought over from Turda and its surroundings.⁵⁵

By the beginning of the 20th century even the remnants of the collection had been either moved or employed as construction material. Some of them were later taken to the newly founded museums in Turda and Gherla. During the 1950s prominent epigrapher I. I. Russu attempted to locate any remaining monuments on site, but was unsuccessful.⁵⁶ According to Russu, the last inscription – CIL III 1610, mentioned by Balázs Orbán almost a century earlier – was taken to Turda during the 1930s, and incorporated into the collection of the local museum in 1952.⁵⁷

During the autumn of 2019, an archaeological field survey carried out in the neighbouring village of Petreștii de Sus revealed a number of limestone monuments in the courtyard of the local parish, which upon a closer inspection were found to be copies of Roman monuments (Pl. IV). The larger altar-shaped piece (A) displays semi columns on all sides, connected by arches decorated with vegetal motifs (leaves). A further sculptural element (B) can be identified as an altar capital decorated with arched gables and acroteria on its corners. A rectangular cavity can be seen on its upper surface, possibly imitating the *focus* of a Roman sacrificial altar. The general shape and individual morphological elements as well as their arrangement indicates a clear intention to emulate a Roman stone monument. The existence of these sculptural pieces seems to corroborate Balázs Orbán's assertion whereby Lugossy was not content with just collecting antiquities, but also commissioned copies of Roman stone monuments (see above).

⁵⁰ Torma 1863, 146–147.

⁵¹ Torma 1863, 147.

⁵² Orbán 1889, 426.

⁵³ Orbán 1889, 426, n. 7.

⁵⁴ CIL III 1610.

⁵⁵ Orbán 1889, 6.

⁵⁶ Russu 1975, 57.

⁵⁷ Russu 1955, 883.

Conclusions

The exact composition of the collection from Petreștii de Jos is impossible to reconstruct due to the lack of sources, in fact only an inventory drawn up during the lifetime of Ferenc Lugossy would provide a clear picture in this regard. Based on Theodor Mommsen's review of earlier epigraphic corpora at least 18 inscriptions later included in CIL III can be affiliated with Lugossy's collection. The original number however must have been higher. The archaeological literature has thus far estimated that either 13–14⁵⁸ or 16⁵⁹ inscriptions can be linked to the collection, without taking into account its gradual decrease following its founder's death. Also thanks to Mommsen's work in eight cases we can establish the exact place of origin of the epigraphic monuments (Apulum/Alba Iulia: 6, Ampelum/Zlatna: 2), the remaining 10 cases being inconclusive in this regard.⁶⁰ The hypothesis whereby the monuments (or at least a considerable part of them) came from the nearby Roman site of Potaissa or its surroundings has so far been infirmed in all cases, confirming once more the tight connection between the collection and Lugossy's administrative and political career based in the princely court at Alba Iulia, and the humanist antiquarian tradition developed earlier there.

At present only seven of the 18 monuments can be accounted for. Three are kept in the Gherla History Museum, two in the Turda History Museum, while further two can be found in the Austrian Capital, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, built into the wall of the ceremonial hall of the former Hofbibliothek of the Imperial Court, alongside several other epigraphic monuments from Dacia.

The catalogue of the inscriptions

1. Statue base. Apulum (Alba Iulia).

CIL III 1092; IDR III/5, 235; Buonopane, La Monaca 2010, 358, Ariosti III, 42; HD 38341.

Currently found in the courtyard of the St. Anthony of Padua monastery in Gherla. During the 19th century it was part of the collection of Count Ádám Wass from Țaga/Cege.

Libero Patri / sacrum pro / salute Imp(eratoris) / Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli) / Commodi / Antonini / Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) L(ucius) / Calvisius L(uci) f(ilius) / Velina Secun(dus) Falerione / p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) d(onum) d(edit) / sub Vespron(io) [Can] / dido co(n)s(ulari) dedic[ante] / [C]aerellio Sabi[n]o l[eg(ato)]

2. Votive statue base. Apulum (Alba Iulia).

CIL III 1158; IDR III/5, 366; Torma 1863, 148–149, 6; HD 38584.

Currently found in the Turda History Museum. During the 1860s it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos, on the estate of József Lendvai (the former Lugossy estate).

Victoriae / Aug(ustae) / L(ucius) Iul(ius) L(uci) Galer(ia) / Leuganus / [Clunia vet(eranus) leg(ionis)] / [XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) v(ictricis) aedis] / [custos c(ivium) R(omanorum) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)] / [nomine suo et] / [C(ai) Iul(i) Paterni fili] / [sui d(onum) d(edit)]

⁵⁸ See Russu 1955, 883, n. 2; Bărbulescu 2010, 187; Bărbulescu 2012, 27.

⁵⁹ RepCluj, 308–309.

⁶⁰ See the catalogue of the present paper.

3. Funerary monument base. Apulum (Alba Iulia).

Torma 1863, 147, 2; CIL III 1210; IDR III/5, 486; HD 20506; Lupa 11105.

Currently found in the Gherla History Museum. During the 18th century it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on the estate of János Balogh, later, in the 1860s it was part of the collection of Count Ádám Wass from Țaga/Cege.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Valerianus / patronus et dec(urio) / coll(egii) fabrum vix(it) / an(nos) LX decc(uriones) et prin(cipales) coll(egii) s(upra) s(cripti) aere / conlato secund(um) / decretu[m ip]sor(um) / fac(iendum) cur[ave]runt

4. Funerary monument base. Apulum (Alba Iulia).

Jaschke 1821, Tafel 20; Torma 1863, 148, 4; CIL III 1211; IDR III/5, 488; HD 38857.

Currently lost. During the 18th century it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on the estate of János Balogh, later. The monument is featured on Franz Jaschke's painting of the Turda Gorge made in 1810.

D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Ael(io) Victo(ri) Plautiano / dec(urioni) muni[ci]p[i(i)] / Salvia con(iux)(?) se/cund[u]m v[o]/lunta[tem testa]/menti [arbitr(atu)] / Frontina[e] / [---]M[---]

5. Funerary monument. Apulum (Alba Iulia).

CIL III 1214; IDR III/5, 527; Buonopane, La Monaca 2010, 309, Ariosti II, 9; HD 38935.

Lost in the Tisa River near Szeged (Hungary) in 1723 during its transport to Vienna.

D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Fabio Iblío/maro domo / Augus(ta) Treve[r(or)] / quond(am) dec(urioni) / [k]anabar(um) vix(it) / annis LX / Fabii Pulcher / Romana Aquileiensis per tu/tores suos pos(uerunt)

6. Votive altar or statue base. Apulum (Alba Iulia).

CIL III 1600; IDR III/5, 251; Buonopane, La Monaca 2010, 282, Ariosti I, 29; HD 38371; Lupa 6745.

Currently in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Transported to the Austrian capital in 1723.

Marti Patr(i) / conservat(ori) et bonae / Victoriae / L(ucius)(?) Ael(ius) Rufin(us) pro se et / suos / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit)

7. Votive monument. Unknown origin.

CIL III 1601; HD 49335.

Lost. According to András Huszti it was in the Lugossy collection during the 18th century.

Sul(eviis) Mont(anis) T(itus) / Iulius lapid(arius?) / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)

8. Votive or honorary column. Ampelum (Zlatna).

CIL III 1602; IDR III/3, 311; Buonopane, La Monaca 2010, 283, Ariosti I, 30; HD 45748; Lupa 9572.

Currently in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Transported to the Austrian capital in 1723.

---] / pro sal(ute) / dom(inorum) nn[[[n(ostrorum)]]] / L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi / et / M(arci) Aur(eli) Anto(nini) et / [[[[P(ubli) Sep(timi) Getae]]] / Caes(aris) Augg[[[g(ustorum)]]] /

cult(ores) Iovis // dedic(atum) / VIII K(alendas) Aug(ustas) / Muciano et / Fabiano / co(n)s(ulibus)

9. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 149, 1; CIL III 1603; HD 49337.

Lost. During the 1860s it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on József Lendvai's estate.

*---](?) / Aur[e]lius Ci[--]iunus(?)(centurio)(?) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / vixit ann(os) LIX
posuerunt fili/ae<s> Aur[el(ia)] Ascia et Aurel(ia) / Marcel(l)ina patri pien/tissimo titulum /
[---?*

10. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 148, 5; CIL III 1604; HD 49338.

Lost. During the 1860s it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on József Lendvai's estate.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius / Calanus vix(it) an(nos) L/I et militavit XXV / [---]

11. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 149–150, 2; CIL III 1605; Russu 1975, 56–57; HD 12256.

Lost. During the 1860s it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on József Lendvai's estate.

*D(is) [M(anibus)] // T(itus) F(---) T(iti) <f>(ilius) Sera[---] / st(i)p(endiorum) III v(ixit)
an(nos) XXX[---?*

12. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

CIL III 1606; HD 49339.

Lost. According to András Huszti during the early 18th century it was kept in Petreștii de Jos.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Sicinius Luca/nus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / XIII G(eminae) mater / pientissima /
posuit*

13. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 147–148, 3; CIL III 1607; HD 49343.

Lost. During the early 1860s it was reported to be in the collection of Ádám Wass in Țaga.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Valerius Lo[ng]i/nus vet(eranus) n(umeri) C/ampestror(um) v(ix(it) ann(os)
XXXXV/III Aurel(ia) Pirusi(?) / virginio b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) / M*

14. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 147, 1; CIL III 1608; HD 49421.

Currently in the Gherla History Museum. During the early 1860s it was reported to be in the collection of Ádám Wass in Țaga.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aelia Secundi/na vix(it) an(nos) XIII / et Aelia Crispina / vix(it) an(nos) IIII /
Aeli(i) Secundus / et Deccia parent/es fil(iis) pientiss(imis) / et Ael(ius) Con[siu?]s / mar(itus)*

15. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

CIL III 1609; HD 49422.

Lost. According to András Huszti during the early 18th it was kept in Petreștii de Jos.

D(is) M(anibus) / [Ae]lia [Val]eria vix(it) / ann(os) LX et Tib(erius) [C]l(audius) / Festus vix(it) an(nos) XX / et Ael(ius) Valerius vi/[x(it)] an(nos) XVI Ael(ius) Satur/ninus Aelia Val[ent]/ina liberti patro/na[e] bene merit(ae) / posuerunt

16. Funerary stela. Ampelum (Zlatna).

Torma 1863, 149, 7; Russu 1955, 883–888; CIL III 1610; IDR III/3, 362; HD 45807.

Currently in the Turda History Museum. During the 1860s it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on József Lendvai's estate. It was transported to Turda in the 1930s, and incorporated into the collection of the local history museum in 1952.

D(is) M(anibus) / Scauriani / Caes(aris) n(ostri) ser(vus) vill(icus)(!) / vix(it) an(nos) XXIII / Fuscianus / fratri b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

17. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 150, 3; CIL III 1611; HD 49423.

Lost. During the 1860s it was reported to be in Petreștii de Jos on József Lendvai's estate.

---](?) / P[---] / Ulpianus prob[---] / coniugi / b(ene) m(erenti)

18. Funerary monument. Unknown origin.

Torma 1863, 150; CIL III 1612; HD 49424.

Lost. The inscription survived in the *Historia Domus* of the Franciscan Monastery of 1775, Torma did not manage to locate it during the early 1860s in Petreștii de Jos.

---]/canius vixit / annis XXXV / Afflicta Caesia / coniugi bene / merito / pos(uit)

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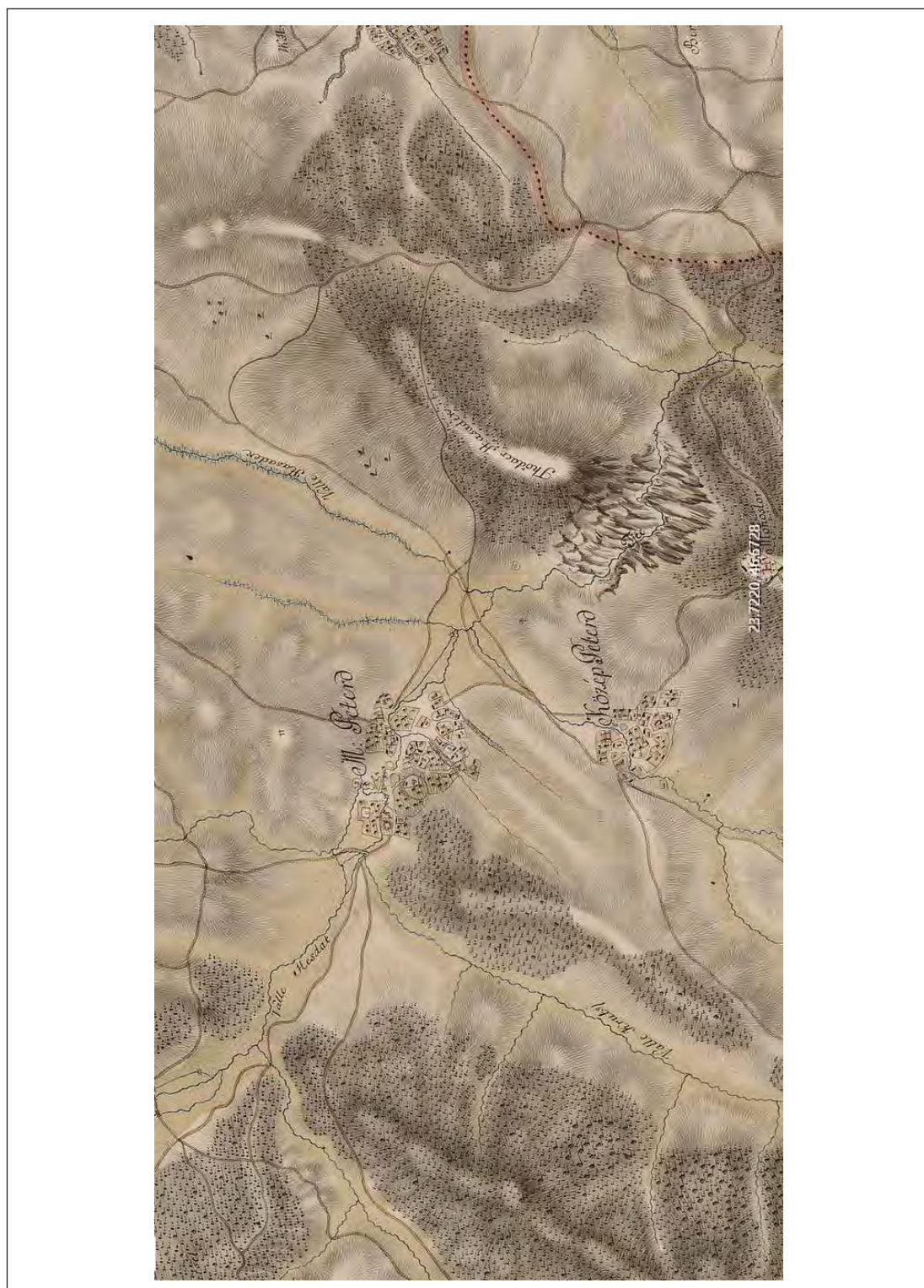
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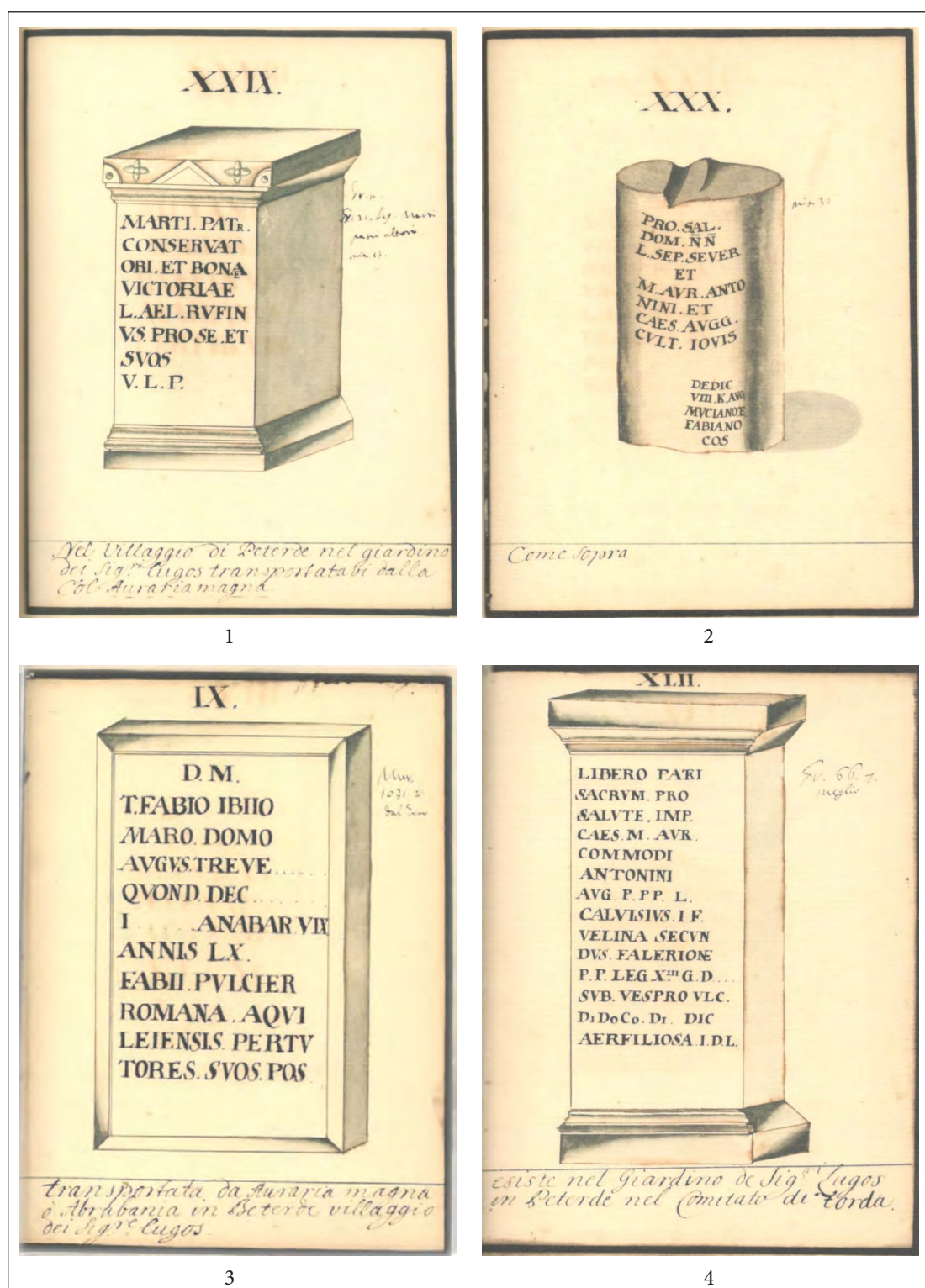
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Pl. I. Petreștii de Jos on the First Austrian Military Survey (1769–1773) (<https://mapire.eu/hu>).



Pl. II. 1–4. The inscriptions from Petrești de Jos in Giuseppe Ariosti's corpus (Ariosti, I, 29–30; II, 9; III, 42).



Pl. III. The aquarelle painting by Franz Jaschke (around 1810) illustrating the remains of the collection (Jaschke 1821, Tafel 20).



Pl. IV. Copies of Roman stone monuments in Petreștii de Sus (photo by Molnár-Kovács Zsolt).

NOTICES ÉPIGRAPHIQUES ET ONOMASTIQUES (DACIE ROMAINE) (II)

DAN DANA

Abstract: The second series of 12 epigraphic and onomastic notes amends and comments several inscriptions on stone or on other supports from the province of Dacia or pertaining to Dacia, inscriptions concerning personal names (Latin, Greek, Illyrian, Microasiatic, Semitic), a toponymic epithet and a military rank.

Keywords: epigraphy; onomastics; palaeography; Roman army; Roman Dacia.

Résumé : Cette deuxième série de 12 notices épigraphiques et onomastiques corrige et commente plusieurs inscriptions sur pierre ou sur d'autres supports de la province de Dacie ou en rapport avec la Dacie, au sujet de noms personnels (latins, illyriens, grecs, micrasiatiques, sémitiques), d'une épithète topique et d'un grade militaire.

Mots-clés : épigraphie ; onomastique ; paléographie ; armée romaine ; Dacie romaine.

Rezumat: A doua serie de 12 notițe epigrafice și onomastice corectează și comentează mai multe inscripții pe piatră sau pe alte suporturi din provincia Dacia sau în raport cu Dacia, despre antroponime (latine, ilire, grecești, microasiatice, semitice), un epitet toponimic și un grad militar.

Cuvinte cheie: epigrafie; onomastică; paleografie; armată romană; Dacia romană.

Je poursuis ici la série de notices épigraphiques et onomastiques concernant le territoire de la Dacie romaine, avec des relectures et des commentaires onomastiques ; dans la plupart des cas, ces notices sont accompagnées d'images et de fac-similés, afin de permettre la vérification des lectures¹.

13. Autour du premier exemple d'écriture cursive latine en Dacie (ILD I 303)

En Dacie, le premier exemple de lettres latines cursives² est fourni par une marque de propriété provenant de la capitale du royaume dace, Sarmizegetusa Regia : sous le pied d'un vase de fabrication indigène (pot tourné à pâte grise) (diam. 16 cm) a été incisé après

¹ La première série de ces notices est parue dans la revue de l'université de Debrecen (Dana 2016). Pour l'aide dans la documentation, l'accès aux pièces ou des photos de qualité, je remercie chaleureusement George Bounegru (Alba Iulia), Ana-Cristina Hamat (Reșița) et Răzvan Mateescu (Cluj) ; pour la relecture et des observations, je suis reconnaissant à Alexandru Avram (Le Mans) et Sorin Nemeti (Cluj). Cet article a été rédigé dans le cadre du projet PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0186 (« Les Daces dans l'Empire Romain. Constructions provinciales »).

² Voir la publication récente de divers signes sur des fragments de vases de production locale découverts dans la fortification dace de Cetatea Zânelor (Covasna), dont un graffite cursif, peut-être en latin (Pupeză, Crișan 2019).

cuisson un graffite avec le nom d'un certain P. Labius Rufinus, selon la première publication³ (Fig. 1). En plus de l'interponction apparente entre le prénom (abrégé) et le gentilice, ainsi qu'un signe à la fin des *tria nomina*, on remarque les ligatures LI et BI (dans le *nomen*), la lettre F regravée après un premier essai, et la forme cursive des lettres B et R (Fig. 2). L'inspection du graffite (ht. des lettres : 0,3–0,7 cm)⁴ permet de lire autrement le gentilice, car le troisième caractère du *nomen* est sans aucun doute possible un B cursif (Fig. 3) :



Fig. 1. Photo du pied du vase (R. Mateescu).



Fig. 2. Photo du graffite (R. Mateescu).

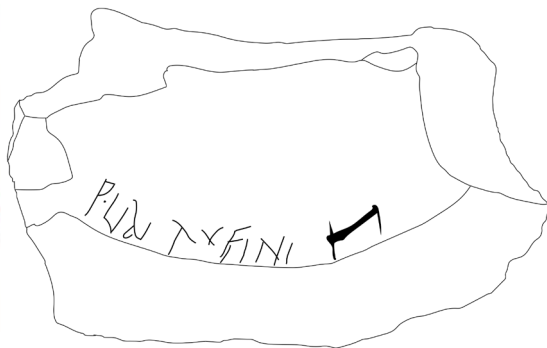


Fig. 3. Fac-similé du graffite (D. Dana).

P(ubli) · Libi Rufini (signe).

Puisque la lecture LIBI est certaine, il faut supposer la graphie *Libius* pour *Livius*, résultat de l'alternance banale -v-/-b-, par bêtacisme⁵. La marque de propriété de P. Libius (= Livius) Rufinus, au génitif, constitue la première attestation épigraphique d'un Romain

³ Voir Florea 2001, 183–185, avec un dessin p. 187, Pl. 2.3 (AE 2001, 1717 = ILD I 303), qui donne une autre lecture du gentilice (fournie par I. Piso), *Labi*, qui ne se confirme pourtant pas ; on avait également proposé *Libi* – écarté car non attesté (mais voir *infra*) – et *Lidi*. HD 43633.

⁴ Fragments découverts en 2000 (MNIT, inv. VD 2320) ; je remercie Răzvan Mateescu pour la possibilité d'inspecter cette pièce.

⁵ Pour ce phénomène, cf. Mihăescu 1978, 194–195, § 150. Entre autres occurrences de cette graphie se rapportant au gentilice banal cité (*Livius*) : *Libius Securus* à Haidra (AE 2011, 1662) ; à Rome, *Libia Eutychia* (CIL VI 18518), *Libia Faustina* (CIL VI 7577), *Libia Symphoris* (CIL VI 21435), *Libius Abascantus* (CIL VI 21380), etc.

dans la capitale du royaume dace ; le caractère en partie cursif du graffiti, et par conséquent plus difficile à tracer sur un support céramique, suggère que son rédacteur utilisait d'habitude d'autres supports plus malléables (et périssables). On sait que des artisans et divers autres spécialistes romains – en particulier des militaires – et des déserteurs se trouvaient au service de Décébale. Dion Cassius 68.9.5–6 énumère les conditions de la paix de 102, à l'issue de la première guerre dacique : le roi dace devait rendre les armes, les machines de guerre et leurs constructeurs, ainsi que les déserteurs qu'il avait accueillis ; il s'engageait à détruire ses forteresses et à abandonner le territoire conquis par les Romains lors de la guerre ; il promettait d'avoir les mêmes amis et ennemis que Rome ; enfin, il assurait ne plus recevoir de transfuges, ni attirer dans son service des soldats romains. À la veille des guerres daciques, P. Livius Rufinus était l'un des innombrables acteurs d'un centre dynamique et bigarré, à l'époque de son apogée.

14. Une inscription en pointillé de Gornea

En 1976, deux fours à briques ont été identifiés lors des fouilles archéologiques de Gheorghe Lazarovici à Gornea (commune de Sichevița, dép. de Caraș-Severin), au point Căunița de Sus. Le deuxième four, excavé en 1978, conservait encore une partie de la charge de briques, car sa voûte s'était écroulée. Sur la plaque de réverbération a été également découverte une plaquette de bronze vaguement rectangulaire (8,8 × 1,9 cm ; ép. 0,3 cm ; poids 20 g), puisque ses angles sont arrondis ; elle comporte huit orifices (diam. 0,3 cm et plus), dont un légèrement plus grand à gauche et sept quasi identiques à droite (Fig. 4–5)⁶. L'intérêt de cette plaquette réside également dans l'inscription incisée qu'elle porte (ht. des lettres : 1,2–1,5 cm) (Fig. 6), omise par le répertoire ILD :



Fig. 4. Photo du recto de la plaquette (A. C. Hamat).



Fig. 5. Photo du verso de la plaquette (A. C. Hamat).

⁶ Bozu 2008, 126, n° 423 (photo p. 223) ; Bozu 2010, 200–201 (photo p. 215, Fig. I.2). Conservée à Reșița, Musée du Banat Montan, inv. 72604.



Fig. 6. Fac-similé de l'inscription (D. Dana).

BITE

Sa brièveté d'à peine quatre lettres la rend énigmatique. Son premier éditeur, O. Bozu, pense soit à un vocatif (de *Bitus*), esclave ou affranchi en rapport avec la fabrication de briques, soit à un dérivé du verbe *bito*, *bitere* – et donc l'impératif *bite*, « vas-t'en! » ; évoquant les sept orifices, l'éditeur penchait enfin vers un message apotropaïque, « vas-t'en, démon! », « vas-t'en, mauvais esprit! ».

Loin d'une explication par la magie, on pourrait comprendre l'impératif présent *bite* (« vas-y, marche! ») comme une injonction de bon augure. La disposition des orifices sur la plaquette pourrait aussi bien laisser penser à deux pièces similaires, symétriquement réalisées, attachés sur un quelconque support (cuir, tissu), avec une inscription plus longue, par exemple la fin d'une forme verbale en *-bite*, cf. *Bibite*.

15. Le vase de Cuzdrioara : une dédicace en pointillé à Mars

Un lot de pièces métalliques fut acheté en 1928 par le musée de Cluj à un avocat de Cuzdrioara⁷, dont une manche de passoire, avec la marque d'artisan STAGLI-APROD (AE 1993, 1328)⁸, et une autre pièce inscrite, dont il sera question dans cette notice. En l'absence de tout contexte de découverte, même l'origine de la province de Dacie est douteuse, comme attire l'attention Silvia Mustață, qui vient d'analyser ce lot de manière détaillée, dans sa récente monographie sur les vases métalliques de Dacie Porolissensis. Or, une inscription sur vase métallique, publiée déjà en 1970 et signalée à plusieurs reprises⁹, est restée non signalée dans les ILD. Ce vase n'est pas une patère, comme il avait été présenté auparavant, mais un couvercle d'une cruche du type Tassinari (14,8 × 1,2 cm), d'après l'identification de S. Mustață. Sur le bord de ce couvercle se trouve une inscription en pointillé (ht. des lettres 1,2–1,5 cm) ; en plus de l'interponction systématique (dans la plupart des cas, trois points formant un triangle), les lettres du premier mot (le théonyme au datif), MARTI, sont redoublées, comme une marque d'honneur :

⁷ Dép. de Cluj, au nord de Someș, près de Cășeu.

⁸ Le producteur était donc *Staglius Ap(h)rodisius*.

⁹ C. Pop, dans *Civiltà* 199, n° E.335 ; I. H. Crișan, dans *RepCluj* 172 ; Bărbulescu 1998, 200 ; Bărbulescu, dans *ThesCRA*, I, 2004, 415, n° 712 ; Pop 2004, 315 ; en dernier lieu Mustață 2017, 118–120, n° 49, avec des commentaires très riches, un dessin (Pl. XXIX/49) et des photos (LXXVII/49a, LXXVIII/49b), avant de conclure « at least a theoretical possibility of a Celtic origin or background cannot be excluded completely ». Conservé au MNIT (inv. i 10437 = v 789).



Fig. 7. Photo du couvercle (S. Odenie, ©MNIT).

Marti · Cornelia · L(uci) · f(ilia) · Ossa · v(otum) · s(olvit) ·

Le vase du lot de Cuzdrioara, de provenance inconnue, avait été dédié dans un édifice consacré à Mars, qui plus est par une femme. Le *cognomen* de la femme est *hapax*, *Ossa*. Il n'est pas à rapprocher de l'idionyme féminin *Osa* signalé à Intercisa en Pannonie Inférieure (RIU V 1224, et OPEL III 117 ; *Os(s)a* dans la base de données EDCS), car cette affranchie s'appelle plutôt *Cosa Demunci lib(erta)*, d'après plusieurs photos (Lupa 3214 ; lecture de J. Beszédes). La question de la provenance du vase et de ce témoignage de piété reste donc ouverte.

16. Un nom micrasiatique sur une estampille tégulaire en grec d'Ulpia Sarmizegetusa (CIGD 117)

Sur trois tuiles découvertes dans l'édifice EM 23 à Ulpia Sarmizegetusa – et sur une quatrième conservée au musée local – se trouve une estampille en cartouche rectangulaire (1,5 × 6 cm), avec des lettres en relief. Ioan Piso transcrit ΑΦ ΦΟΥC, avec un petit *vacat*, et interprète la légende Αφ(---) Φουc(κ---)¹⁰, comme s'il s'agissait des *duo nomina* abrégés (e.g. le gentilice *Afinius* ou *Afranius*, suivi du *cognomen Fuscus*) d'un personnage originaire de la partie hellénophone de l'Empire. Cette interprétation, reproduite dans AE 1996, 1290 et dans SEG XLVI 915, est suivie par Ligia Ruscu (CIGD 117), alors qu'Alexandru Avram préfère lire Αφφουc¹¹. C'est manifestement la bonne solution, car aucune séparation (ni interponction) n'est visible sur le cartouche ΑΦΦΟΥC.



Fig. 8. Fac-similé du cartouche.

¹⁰ Piso 1996, 165, n° 16, dessin p. 187 (= Piso 2005, 307, n° 16, dessin p. 318).

¹¹ A. Avram, comm. dans SEG XLVI 915 (et BÉ 2006, 273, à propos de CIGD 117) ; L. Ruscu, comm. dans CIGD 117.

L'hypocoristique masculin Ἀφροῦς (var. Ἀφροῦς) fait partie de la très riche série des *Lallnamen* bâtis sur l'élément Ἀφρ- /Ἀφ(φ)-¹², si répandus en Asie Mineure, en particulier en Bithynie, où l'on rencontre la plupart des occurrences de Ἀφροῦς/Ἀφροῦς¹³. En Dacie, cette connexion bithynienne¹⁴ est illustrée par une épitaphe d'Ampelum avec un nom féminin de la même famille, *Affia* (CIL III 1324 = IDR III/3, 342) : *I(nferis) d(is) M(anibus) | Asclepius | et Asclep(iades) | cives Bithi|num (sic) vix(it) an(nos) XXX. | Affia coniunx | b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*. L'estampille d'Ulpia Sarmizegetusa, inscrite en grec dans une province latinophone, témoigne de l'arrivée dans la province nord-danubienne de groupes ou d'individus hellénophones, dans ce cas des régions ou des confins bithyniens¹⁵.

17. Le nom-fantôme *Chlone* (IDR III/3, 419) et le nom grec *Chione*

Une épitaphe d'Alburnus Maior (stèle à fronton triangulaire, 156 × 76 × 17 cm, décorée d'une rosette entre des grappes de raisins) fut publiée à plusieurs reprises¹⁶, avec ce texte : *D(is) M(anibus) | Domitiae | Chlone | q(uae) vix(it) an(nos) XXX | f(ilia?) m(atri?) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*. Le *cognomen* *Chlona/Chlone* de la défunte, *hapax*, était considéré grec – selon I. I. Russu, un nom « gréco-oriental »¹⁷. Pourtant, *CHLONE* est une lecture qui n'a pas lieu d'exister ; en effet, le *cognomen* doit être lu *CHIONE*, car la troisième lettre est sans aucun doute un I, dont le pied est gravé des deux parts – ce qui a été ignoré par les dessins antérieurs ; par ailleurs, la plupart des lettres sont ornées d'empattements¹⁸. On lira donc :

CHLONI CHIONE

Fig. 9. Fac-similés du *cognomen* (MCA & IDR ; D. Dana).

D(is) · M(anibus)

Domitiae

Chione

- 4 *q(uae) · vix(it) · an(nos) · XXX*
f(ilia?) · m(atri?) · b(ene) · m(erenti) · pos(uit).

¹² Zgusta 1964, 75–85 ; LGPN V.A 56–58 et 93–94 (par irradiation, LGPN IV 40 et 62).

¹³ Zgusta 1964, 82–84, § 66–48 ; Dubois 2010, 414–415.

¹⁴ Cf. un *collegium Ponto-Bithynorum* à Apulum (IDR III/5, 153), regroupant les personnes originaires d'une même province, *Pontus et Bithynia* ; *Al[e]xandrian(us)*, *civ[i]s Bithynus*, à Ampelum (IDR III/3, 341). Voir Avram, PPEE, 479–486 ; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2012. En Thrace, cf. l'épitaphe de Cillae de Chrysippos fils de Hedylos de Nicée, érigée par ses trois frères, dont un s'appelle Ἀφροῦς (IGBulg III/1, 1521). En Mésie Supérieure, ce même nom apparaît en latin, au datif : *Affuti Aristonis* (Smederevo, CIL III 1648 = 8120 = IMS II 94). Sur les Bithyniens dans les provinces balkaniques et au nord de la mer Noire, voir Avram 2013.

¹⁵ Sur les personnes d'origine micrasiatique en Dacie romaine, voir en dernier lieu Piso 2018.

¹⁶ CIL III 1267 (avec la transcription fautive CLONI, et dans index, p. 2386, **Clonis*) ; Russu 1959, 885–886, n° 23 (et dessin p. 885, Fig. 22) ; IDR III/3, 419 (photo et dessin, Fig. 308) ; Ciongradi 2009, n° 103 (photo Pl. 43, 103), avec l'ensemble de la bibliographie ; Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 109, n° 29 ; V. Wollmann, dans *Silber und Salz*, 2002, 61, n° 4 (photo Fig. 4) ; photo Lupa 14981 ; HD 18979 (avec deux photos de G. Alföldy). Conservée au Musée de Roșia Montană.

¹⁷ Ruscu 1998, 158 ; Dragostin 2013, 82 (parmi les noms grecs rares, difficiles à classer du point de vue étymologique).

¹⁸ Le dessin dans IDR III/3 (p. 411, Fig. 308) n'est pas fidèle.

Χιόνη/*Chione* est un nom grec mythologique (Chioné, fille de Borée et mère d'Eumolpos)¹⁹, à ajouter aux noms grecs portés en Dacie aussi bien par des ingénus (originaires ou non d'un milieu hellénophone) que des personnes d'extraction servile.

18. Une épithète topique à Berghin (IDR III/4, 41)

Un autel fragmentaire, car seule la partie supérieure droite est conservée (43 × 45 cm), découvert à Berghin (dép. d'Alba), à l'ouest d'Apulum, a été publié dans le répertoire provincial²⁰ [*I(ovi)*] *O(ptimo)* *M(aximo)* | [*Deo N*] *areno* | [---], comme s'il s'agissait d'une dédicace pour un dieu d'Asie Mineure²¹. Cette possibilité me semble toutefois exclue, non seulement parce que la dédicace est en latin et assez loin de la région minière d'Alburnus Maior²², mais aussi en raison de la disposition des deux lignes conservées (ht. des lettres : 5 cm). Dans cette épithète vraisemblablement topique de Jupiter, d'un site rural en Dacie Supérieure, on pourrait avoir un toponyme finissant en *-ara*. Il serait séduisant de reconnaître un toponyme composé de facture *dace*, dont le second membre serait *-bara*, cf. *Arcobara* (localisé depuis peu à Ilișua)²³ et Ζουπόβαρα (Ptolémée, *Geogr.* 3.8.9), ce dernier sans doute « village de Zura ». On lira donc :

[· *I(ovi)* ·] *O(ptimo)* · *M(aximo)* ·
[· ---b?] *areno* ·
[---].



Fig. 10. Fac-similés de la dédicace de Berghin (D. Dana).

19. Relecture d'un graffiti latin de Romula (IDR II 400) : un nom sémitique très rare

Un fragment d'assiette rouge, découvert en 1966 dans les ruines de la « porte de Philippe l'Arabe » à Romula, présente un graffiti (ht. des lettres : 1 cm) qui a été lu [T]VRRANIS par Dumitru Tudor ; seul un dessin en a été donné dans les publications²⁴. D. Tudor pensait

¹⁹ À Rome, dans le milieu servile, voir Solin 1996, 357.

²⁰ L'épithète a été diversement complétée : [*deo Aet*] *erno* par G. Téglás (1910) ; ---ARENO, fin d'une épithète géographique ou anthroponyme, par I. I. Russu (1965) ; [*N*] *areno* par S. Sanie (1979).

²¹ IDR III/4, 41, avec une photo et un dessin orienté (Fig. 21), figurant un N avant A à la l. 2 ; autre photo, Lupa 17285. Conservé à Sibiu, Musée National Brukenthal, Lapidarium (inv. 7204).

²² On connaît des dédicaces grecques à Alburnus Maior pour Ζεὺς Ναρηνός (IDR III/3, 398 = CIGD 3 ; IDR III/3, 399 = CIGD 4). Des réserves quant à ce développement étaient déjà exprimées par Nemeti 2005, 250 n. 145, qui penchait pour une épithète géographique.

²³ Ἀρκοβάρδα (Ἀρκοβάδα dans des mss. plus récents) chez Ptolémée, *Geogr.* 3.8.6, à émender en Ἀρκοβαρα{δα} ; dédicace d'Ilișua de l'an 246, *terri[tor(ium) A]rcoba(darensis?)* 246 (ILD I 800). Voir Dana, Nemeti 2012.

²⁴ Tudor, 1968a, SE 174 ; Tudor 1968b, 335–336, n° 8 (dessin p. 332, Fig. 6) ; AE 1969–1970, 558 (« On peut hésiter entre le nominatif ou le génitif singulier d'un nom oriental et le datif ou l'ablatif pluriel de Turranius ») ; Popilian 1976, p. 130, n° 10, Pl. LXXX.11 (dessin) ; IDR II 400 (et dessin) ; Gudea & Cosma 1992, p. 211, n° 38 (dessin p. 235, Fig. 38) : ...VRRANIS... ; HD 12277. Pop 1994, 43, en fait un propriétaire d'atelier céramique,

à un nom gréco-oriental – influencé par l'existence des noms grecs en Τυρανν- (où l'on remarque pourtant les différences), mais sans évoquer le gentilice latin *Turranius*²⁵ – qui n'est pourtant pas la bonne solution. Tel quel, le texte demeure incompréhensible. D'après le dessin, la lecture est pourtant différente, [-]VRZANIS, ce qui donne :

[A]ur(elius) Zanis.



Fig. 11. Fac-similé du graffiti (IDR).

On reconnaît donc une marque de propriété, d'un citoyen récent, après 212, *Aurelius Zanis*. Le *cognomen*, très rare, est sémitique²⁶. Il n'était attesté en latin qu'une fois, dans une épitaphe d'Arrabona, en Pannonie Supérieure (CIL III 4371 = ILS 2511 = RIU I 254)²⁷, pour un décurion de l'*ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum* : *Bargathes | Regeballi f(ilius), | eq(ues) alae Aug(ustae) | Ityraeorum, do|mo Ityraeus, an(norum) | XXV, stip(endiorum) V, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Zanis dec(urio) et Bar|amna Beliatri f(ilius) | et Bricbelus frater | heredes pos<u>erunt*.

Sans doute faut-il reconnaître sous cette formule onomastique un militaire originaire de l'espace syrien, qui aurait pu servir dans le *numerus Syrorum sagittariorum*, attesté à Romula²⁸. C'est toujours à Romula qu'on a découvert un vase portant un graffiti avec un nom iranien écrit en grec, Γαδατης (SEG XXVI 843 = CIGD 88 = ILD I 141).

20. Un nom illyrien sur un diplôme militaire (AE 2010, 1857 = ILD II 817)

Un diplôme militaire, copie d'une constitution du 24 novembre 124 pour l'armée de la Dacie Supérieure²⁹, fut octroyé *M(arco) Vlpio Gravi f(ilio) Batoni, Sirmiensi(i)*, après son service dans la *coh. III Campestris c. R.* La notice de l'AE précise « Faute du scribe : Graui au lieu de Ravi », en s'inspirant du commentaire des éditeurs, qui supposent un nom *Ravus*, apparenté au gentilice *Ravius*. En réalité, le patronyme du soldat, *Gravus*, n'a pas lieu d'être corrigé, car il s'agit d'un nom de facture illyrienne³⁰, attesté pour la première fois en latin, mais bien illustré en graphie grecque : Γραβος³¹. Dans la même série, il existe un autre nom

Turranius. Conservé au Musée de Caracal (mes demandes d'accès au tesson sont restées sans réponse).

²⁵ OPEL IV 134.

²⁶ Pour ce nom et la famille des noms en *Zan(n)-*, voir Yon 2018, 45 n. 182.

²⁷ Lőrincz 2001, 123 et 200, cat. n° 141 (époque flavienne) ; Tentea 2012, 34 et 107, n° A.IV.2.

²⁸ Petolescu 2002, 143–144 ; Tentea 2012, 76–78.

²⁹ Eck, Pangerl 2010, 248–255, n° 1 (AE 2010, 1857 = ILD II 817) (lieu de découverte inconnu).

³⁰ Terme conventionnel pour l'onomastique indigène de l'espace dalmato-pannonien.

³¹ Mayer 1957, 153 (*Grabaei* sur le Drilon, selon Plin. HN 3.144 ; le dieu *Grabovius*) et 1959, 51 (**grabas*) ; cf. Russu 1969, 214, s.v. *Grabos* (5 exemples) ; LGPN III.A 102–103 (5 occurrences) ; ce nom n'était pas encore attesté dans l'onomastique latine. Un nom illyrien différent est *Glavus* (IDR I 7 = RMD I 21, diplôme militaire pour *Glavus Navati f.*, originaire de Sirmium ; Buijnjski Rijecani, ILJug III 1852, *Temeia Glavi f(ilia)*), écrit aussi, avec simplification, *Glaus* (CIL VI 2579, *C. Iulius Glaus, mil(es) leg(ionis) II Parthic(a)e*, héritier d'un prétorien) ; cf. aussi Russu 1969, 213–214.

illyrien différemment suffixé, Γραβων (père de Φερζας)³², à Olympie en Élide, au IV^e s. av. J.-C. (IvO 695). Un des enfants du militaire libéré en Dacie s'appelle par ailleurs *Dasius*, nom illyrien très fréquent, alors que son *cognomen* (et ancien idionyme pérégrin) est l'un des noms dalmato-pannoniens les plus fréquents, *Bato* (OPEL I² 115).

21. La suffixation de quelques noms illyriens féminins (en Dacie romaine)

La richesse des témoignages épigraphiques légués par les colons illyriens de la région aurifère d'Alburnus Maior ainsi que par les militaires dalmato-pannoniens et leurs familles en Dacie romaine permet d'avoir une meilleure idée de la complexité de cette anthroponymie, à travers deux suffixes utilisés pour les noms de femmes³³. Ainsi, en Dacie romaine, on peut citer les noms féminins illyriens *Andena* (et *Anduenna*) et *Bricena* d'un côté, *Andrada*, *Mavida* et *Prinada* de l'autre. Dans ce qui suit, je donnerai les exemples de trois séries de suffixes féminins des noms illyriens, grâce aux témoignages de Dacie, ainsi qu'aux données de Dalmatie, de Pannonie et de l'Illyrie proprement-dite, croisées avec la documentation en grec³⁴ – et qui, en raison de la dispersion des données, n'est qu'une liste indicative.

A. Série bâtie avec le suffixe *-da* (variante de la série en *-ta*)

Andrada³⁵ –

DAC. (1) *Andrada Bituvantis* (CIL III 917, Potaissa), dans la même famille avec *Bricena* (*infra*) et *Bedarus* (nom illyrien)³⁶.

Mavida³⁷ –

DAC. (1) *Mavida Epicadi fil.* (CIL III 7724 = IDR III/4, 185, Brădeni) ; patronyme illyrien typique.

Prinada –

DAC. (1) *Prinada*, fille de *Sabina Dasmeni* et de *Senecio* ; les autres enfants du couple s'appellent *Surila*, *Surini*, *Sanilis* (IDR III/4, 198, Sighișoara).

Zorada –

DALM. (1) *Aelia Zorada*, ses enfants sont *Zanatis* et *Tatta* (CIL III 14620, Dobričevo).

B. Série bâtie avec le suffixe *-na*

Andena/Ανδηννα, Anduenna – dérivé féminin du nom fréquent *Andes* (OPEL I² 52 ; et dérivé féminin *Andia*, OPEL I² 52)³⁸.

³² Cf. Βερσαας et *Verzo/Varzo* (Masson, OGS, III, 161).

³³ Sur l'onomastique en Dalmatie, voir, entre autres, Alföldy 1969 et Šašel 1977 (synthèse et bibliographie). Sur les Illyriens en Dacie romaine, voir Russu 1977, 359 (liste) et, en dernier lieu, Piso 2004.

³⁴ Comme l'avait fait Masson 1993, 77–80 (= Masson, OGS, III, 160–163) pour les noms illyriens à Apollonia et Dyrrhachium.

³⁵ Pris pour un nom celtique par Falileyev 2007, 38–39. Plusieurs des noms de ma liste sont inclus à tort dans le répertoire de noms celtiques de Delamarre 2007 : *Andena* (21), ?*Andrada* (22), *Madita* (122), *Matena* (128), *Prinada* (150) ; pour la même celticité d'*Andrada*, Paki 1998, 123, n° 4.

³⁶ Ces dernières décennies, *Andrada* est un prénom féminin assez répandu en Roumanie, en particulier en Transylvanie ; après l'histoire courte « La fille de Décébale » de Carmen Sylva (la reine Élisabeth de Roumanie) et la tragédie de Gr. Ventura, V. Leonescu, « Trajan et Andrada » (Bucarest 1892), il doit sa popularité au film « Columna » (*La Colonne*, 1968), pris pour le nom de la sœur ou de la fille de Décébale ; sa fréquence peut également s'expliquer par une assonance avec le nom très prisé *Andreea*.

³⁷ Possible interprétation celtique chez Falileyev 2007, 106–107.

³⁸ Pour *Andueia* et *Anduenna* en Dacie, voir Falileyev 2007, 39–40 (noms celtiques ou illyriens).

ILLYR. (1) Ανδηνα (I. Dyrrhachion 98, Epidamnos).

DAC. (2) *Ael(ia) Andena* (CIL III 1488 = IDR III/2, 372, Ulpia Sarmizegetusa)³⁹.

Βατουνα/Βατινα – dérivé du nom très fréquent *Bato*.

ILLYR. (1) Βατουνα Ἐπικτήσιος (I. Dyrrhachion 138, Epidamnos) ; (2) Βατινα Σιμυρα (I. Dyrrhachion 137 bis, Epidamnos).

Βρικενα/Bricena⁴⁰ –

ILLYR. (1) *Βρικενα, fille du roi Bardyllis (son nom est corrompu dans la tradition manuscrite de Plutarque, *Pyrrh.* 9 : Βρικεννα, etc.).

DAC. (2) *Bricena* (CIL III 917, Potaissa), dans la même famille avec *Andrada* (*supra*) et *Bedarus* (nom illyrien).

?Dalmana/Delmanna –

MOES. SVP. (1) *Dalmana* (Horreum Margi, IMS IV 89).

DALM. (2) Cf. *Delmanna*, fille d'*Aur(elia) Scenuta* et *Aur(relius) Plares*, sœur de *Lavius*, Municipium Splonistarum (AE 1983, 742).

Dussona –

DALM. (1) *Aur(elia) Dussona* (ILJug III 1506, Karan).

Γενθηνα/Genthen – cf. le nom fréquent Γενθιος/*Gent(h)ius*⁴¹.

ILLYR. (1) Γενθηνα Πλατορος (I. Dyrrhachion 256, Epidamnos).

DALM. (2) sans doute le *cognomen* d'*Ae(lia) Cinthena*, dans une inscription ligaturée, est à lire *Genthen* (CIL III 14611 = ILJug III 1474, Municipium Malvesatium).

MAC. (3) Γενθηνα Μαγιάτου (I. Basse Macédoine II 472, Pella).

Liccana – cf. la famille des noms en *licc-* (dont les noms fréquents *Liccaeus* et *Licco*).

PANN. (1) *Cl(audia) Liccana*, mère de *Cl(audius) Calvus* (CIL III 11051 = RIU II 542, Brigetio).

Μαδηνα/Μαδινα/Madena/Matena –

ILLYR. (1) Μαδηνα (I. Dyrrhachion 43, Epidamnos) – (2) Ἀντωνία Μαδηνα (I. Dyrrhachion 111, Epidamnos) – (3) Μαδινα Πωμετείνα (I. Dyrrhachion 297, Epidamnos).

DALM. (4) *Madena Plarentis, Dermaist(a)*, femme de *Venetus Diti f., Davers(us)* (dipl. mil., CIL XVI 38) – (5) *Madena*, dans la famille du marin de la flotte de Ravenne *T. Iunius Verencundus, nati(ōne) Del(mata)* (CIL XI 68).

PANN. (6) *Matena Etdeidatis fil., Azal(a)*, femme de *Dases Liccai f., Pannon(ius)* (dipl. mil., RMD IV 223) – (7) *Madena Lasci f(ilia)* (RIU III 731, Brigetio).

Τραυζινα – cf. le nom masc. Τραυσος (I. Apollonia 158)/Τραυζος (I. Epidamnos 152, 418, 421).

ILLYR. (1) Τραυζινα Γάτου (I. Dyrrhachion 416–417, Epidamnos).

Turuna – cf. le nom masc. Τοπος/*Turus*.

PANN. (1) *Turuna*, fille de *Dases Dasmeni f., Cornac(as)*, et de *Iora Prososti filia* (dipl. mil., CIL XVI 2) – (2) [*Aelia T*]υ≥runa (RIU VI 1430 = AE 1995, 1268, Matrica, relecture de Kovács 1995, p. 253, qui le prend pour un nom celtique).

Zaimina –

ILLYR. (1) Ζαίμινα (I. Dyrrhachion 218, Epidamnos).

C. Série bâtie avec le suffixe *-ta* (variante de la série en *-da*?)

Ce suffixe est la forme féminine des noms illyriens en *-τος/-tus*, var. *-δος/-dus* cf. Πλευρατος/*Pleura*δος/*Pleura*tus (et Πρευρατος/*Preura*δος/*Proradus*).

³⁹ Une variante avec un suffixe apparenté est *Anduenna* (*Anduenna Batonis* : TabCerDac 33, Alburnus Maior) et *Andueia* (*Andueia Batonis*, sans doute la même personne : TabCerDac 32 et 39, Alburnus Maior).

⁴⁰ Possible interprétation celtique chez Falileyev 2007, 62.

⁴¹ Les deux dérivés rencontrés en Mésie Supérieure, *Aelia Gentiane* (AE 2012, 1254, Scupi) et Γενθιανή (Bousquet 1974, à Lešok, en Dardanie), sont les formes féminines du dérivé masculin *Genthanus*.

Αυδατα –

ILLYR. (1) Αυδατα, épouse illyrienne de Philippe II.

Κλενατα/Κλεβετα/Clevata – forme féminine du nom masc. *Clevatus*/Κλεβετος.

ILLYR. (1) Κλεβετα (I. Dyrrhachion 267, Epidamnos) – (2) Κλεβετα Φιλονίκου (I. Dyrrhachion 268, Epidamnos)⁴².

DALM. (3) *Clevata Clevat(i)* (ILJug III 1978, Oneum) – (4) *Clevata*, fille de *Gen() Sai f.* et de *Platura* (CIA 7 = LIA 9, Kalldrun, région de Scodra).

MAC. (5) Κλενατα (I. Basse Macédoine I 112, Miéza).

Δαζατα/Δαζετα –

ILLYR. (1) Δαζετα Γενθίου (I. Dyrrhachion 64 bis, Epidamnos) – (2) Δαζατα (I. gr. Albanie 462, Shetaj ; Δάζα Τα[---] éds.).

EXT. (3) Δαζετα (I. Gonnoi II 117, affranchie en Thessalie).

Madita –

DALM. (1) *Aur. Madita*, mère de *Aur. Lavius* et *Aur(elia) Venuco* (ILJug III 1691 = AE 1980, 698, Municipium Splonistarum).

Mandeta –

DALM. (1) *Aur(elia) Mandeta* (CIL III 14617,4, Konjic) – (2) *Mandeta* (?) *Victorina* (AE 2009, 1003, Polimlje).

Σκενετα/Scenuta–

EXT. (1) Σκενετα Τοπου et Τριτω, Ἰλλυρίαί (SEG XXX 529, Démétrias de Thessalie).

DALM. (2) *Aur(elia) Scenuta*, femme de *Aur(elius) Plares*, mère de *Lavius* et *Delmanna* (AE 1983, 742, Municipium Splonistarum).

22. Trois notules sur un *laterculus* d'Apulum (ILD II 934)

Un très intéressant *laterculus* de *dimissi* de la *legio XIII Gemina* d'Apulum (AE 2007, 1198 = ILD II 934), malheureusement fragmentaire (plusieurs fragments d'une plaque de marbre, dont certains jointifs, découverts sur le mur sud du camp légionnaire) et publié avec des dessins, sans qu'aucune photo ne soit donnée⁴³, présente des symboles des centuries légionnaires, connus sur d'autres *alba* de l'Empire, comme l'a opportunément remarqué Patrice Faure⁴⁴. L'édition de ce document mérite d'être revue après la nécessaire redécouverte des fragments⁴⁵ ; en attendant, à partir du dessin donné, je peux avancer trois suggestions de lecture.

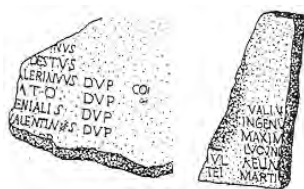


Fig. 12. Dessin de deux fragments du *laterculus* (revue Apulum).

⁴² Le nom Κλεβετα (I. Dyrrhachion 267, 268) est considéré hellénique par Masson, OGS, III, 92.

⁴³ Moga, Drimbărean 2007, 175–177 (dessin p. 177) ; C. C. Petolescu, CEPR, XXVII–XXVIII, 2007–2008, 1300 (dessin Fig. 1, dans SCIVA, 59–60, 2008–2009, 222).

⁴⁴ Dans son commentaire (ILD II 934), C. C. Petolescu omet le commentaire de Faure 2013, 61–63, résumant son article Faure 2008.

⁴⁵ Les fragments, conservés à Alba Iulia (MNUAI), sont à présent égarés.

A. Là où les éditeurs transcrivent AV[r-----]ATO DVP, la disposition centrée et les lettres plus grandes permettent sans aucun doute la restitution d'un *cognomen* de facture illyrienne, le légionnaire étant probablement originaire de Pannonie (ce gradé recevait une double solde) :

Au[r(elius) B]ato, dup(licarius).

B. Plus bas, à la place de la séquence impossible [---] VALIV[-----], la lecture est celle d'un *cognomen* latin banal :

[---] *Valen[s]*.

C. Sur le même fragment, le nom [---] *Lucini*[---] est, d'après le dessin, un nom plus fréquent :

[---] *Iucund[us]*.

23. Un *imaginifer* à Gherla

Dans les unités auxiliaires de Dacie⁴⁶, deux *immunes*⁴⁷ étaient connus dans les inscriptions⁴⁸ : à Romula, *Cl. Montanus, imm(unis) ex n(umero) Sur(or)um sag(ittariorum)* (CIL III 1593 = 8032 = IDR II 350) ; à Micia, *Catullus, imm(unis)* (CIL III 1362 = IDR III/3, 123). Il convient de supprimer de la liste des *immunes* une épitaphe mieux lue par I. I. Russu⁴⁹, dont ne subsistent que deux petits fragments jointifs⁵⁰. Publiée d'abord par J. Ornstein⁵¹, avec la lecture *[abrep]tum im[matura morte?] vixit an]nis XI* (reprise dans la monographie du camp auxiliaire)⁵², elle a été corrigée par Russu en [---]I AL(ae) II PA[nnonior]|VM IM[m(unis) vix(it) an]|NIS XL A[nomen, cogn. f.] co]NIVG[i piissi....?] – lecture qui a été reprise dans ILD I 593. Pour ce cavalier anonyme, il est préférable de restituer une autre fonction aux premières lignes conservées, à la lumière de deux autres

⁴⁶ Dans les légions de Dacie, les témoignages sont plus nombreux : *M. Aurel. Crescentinus, immu(nis) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Antonini[a]nae* (Apulum, CIL III 1038 = IDR III/5, 134) ; *imm(unis) Pere() M[---]* (Apulum, AE 2007, 1198) ; *T. Aur. Arimo, immuni[s]*, dans une *vexil(l)atio l(egionis) XIII G(eminae) Ant(oninianae)* (Micia, CIL III 12565 = ILS 3470 = IDR III/3, 39) ; *M. Vlp. Firminus, immunis librar(ius)* (Potaissa, CIL III 7684 = ILS 3380) ; *Aur. Domnio, ex im(muni) lib(rario)* (CIL III 7688) ; *Aur. Flavianus, ex im(muni) lib(rario)* (CIL III 7688) ; *Aur. Sedatus, imm(unis) lib(rarius)* (Potaissa, CIL III 885 ; le même *ex im(muni) l(i)b(rario)*, CIL III 7688).

⁴⁷ Sans bénéficier d'une meilleure rémunération, les *immunes* sont des soldats spécialisés, reconnus pour leurs compétences techniques et dispensés de tâches lourdes (munere vacantes) – une longue liste est donnée par P. Tarutienus Paternus, préfet du prétoire sous Commode (*Dig.* 50.6.7). Les *immunes* pouvaient, entre autres, travailler dans une *fabrica* ; certains spécialistes de l'armée romaine rangent parmi eux les *custodes armorum*.

⁴⁸ Un troisième est présent sur une *tessera militaris* qui sera publiée bientôt dans le corpus des inscriptions mineures laissées par des militaires en Dacie romaine (D. Dana, D. Deac).

⁴⁹ Russu 1968, 464–465, n° 10 (dessin p. 465, Fig. 10) (AE 1971, 397).

⁵⁰ Sur les stèles funéraires de Gherla, voir Zăgreanu 2014. Les deux fragments, conservés à Dej, puis à Cluj-Napoca, semblent de nos jours perdus.

⁵¹ Ornstein 1903, Bbl. 118, n° B.4 (photo Fig. 40).

⁵² Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 47, n° 23.

épitaphes de Gherla⁵³, honorant *Aelius Ana[---]*, *vet(eranus) al(a)e Pan(n)oniorum, imag(inifer)*⁵⁴, respectivement érigée par l'héritier *Brisenus imag(inifer)* (AE 2013, 1287). On lira donc :

[-----]
I al(ae) · II · Pa[nnonior]-
um, im[ag(inifer), vix(it) an]-
nis · XL · A[---]
4 [co]niug[I ---]
[-----].



Fig. 13. Photo de l'épitaphe fragmentaire (JÖAI).

24. Les *cognomina* de deux prétoriens de Dacie

Les *cognomina* fragmentaires de deux prétoriens de Dacie, gravés sur des *laterculi* de la première moitié du III^e s., ont été souvent interprétés comme étant des noms thraces/daces :

a) CIL VI 32624 d 26 = IDRE I 39 : *M. Aur. M. f. Vl[p....]sprio, Zermi(zegetusa)* ; selon I. I. Russu, qui suit ici George G. Mateescu, on aurait la fin d'un anthroponyme thraco-dace⁵⁵ ;

b) CIL VI 32536 d II 18 = IDRE I 35 : [...?De]obus, *Zerm(i)z(egetusa)*⁵⁶.

En réalité, la confrontation avec les photos aussi bien qu'avec les éventuels parallèles invite à reconnaître deux *cognomina* latins, l'un rare, l'autre très banal. Je restitue en toute confiance :

a) CIL VI 32624 d26 (il est manifeste qu'il ne manque qu'une seule lettre), dans la *coh. IV praetoria*⁵⁷ : *M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Vl(p)ia [A]sprio Zermi(zegetusa)*. Le dérivé *Asprio* est rarissime, car il n'était connu qu'une seule fois, au Nord de l'Italie (CIL V 5068)⁵⁸ ;

b) CIL VI 32536 d II 18 (deux lettres manquantes), en l'an 209 : [- --- - f(ilius) Vl(p)ia Pr]obus *Zerm(i)z(egetusa)*⁵⁹. Ce nom latin est fort banal (OPEL III 164–165).

⁵³ Pour le rôle et les fonctions de ces porteurs d'images, voir en dernier lieu Baratta 2016.

⁵⁴ Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 49, n° 34 (et notice Lupa 11360) ; cette épitaphe, perdue, figurait un cavalier.

⁵⁵ Mateescu 1923, 126 n. 9 ; Russu 1941–1943, 222, n° 37 ; Russu 1980, 40. Fac-similé IDRE I 39.

⁵⁶ Mateescu 1923, 97 et 124, inspiré par un nom thrace (cf. Detschew 1957, 127, s.v. *Deopus*), qui est, *nota bene*, un nom de femme (*OnomThrac* 123 : *Deopuis*) ; Russu 1941–1943, 220, n° 14 ; Petolescu 1980, 1056 (nom thraco-dace : [?De]obus) ; Russu 1980, 40. Fac-similé IDRE I 35.

⁵⁷ Photos : *SupplIt Imagines - Roma* 1 454 ; EDR 121561.

⁵⁸ CIL V 5068.

⁵⁹ Photos : *SupplIt Imagines - Roma* 1 175 ; EDR 121980. Pour les graphies du toponyme, qui est la capitale de la province, *Colonia Vlpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, voir Dana, Nemeti 2014, 109–114, n° 5 ; Mitthof 2014. La même graphie apparaît sur un diplôme militaire du 7 janvier 226 (RGZM 59), dont le lieu de découverte est inconnu, pour un prétorien de la *coh. IX praetoria* : *M(arco) Aurelio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(onia) Senecio Zermizegetusa [Col(lina) P]ferdehirt* et Petolescu]. Il convient de comprendre non pas la tribu *Col(lina)*,

De la même façon, le monstre onomastique [---]l() *Maupus Trimontio* dans un *laterculus* déjà cité (CIL VI 32624, col. I 9)⁶⁰, pour un prétorien originaire de Philippopolis⁶¹, est à lire plutôt *Maurus* : on peut ainsi développer [- --- - f. F]l(avia) *Maurus Trimontio* ; dans la même liste, le prétorien qui le précède est issu du territoire de la même ville de Thrace, [- --- - f. F]l(avia) *Montan(us) Trimon(tio)*. Le même *cognomen* latin est porté par un autre prétorien thrace, dans le *laterculus* CIL VI 32523 = 37184 (fr. bc, l. 16) : *M. Aur. M. f. Vlp(ia) Maurus Paut(alia)*.

INDEX

NOMINA

<i>Aurelius</i>	19, 22, 24
<i>Cornelia</i>	15
<i>Domitia</i>	17
<i>Libius</i>	13 (= <i>Livius</i>)
<i>Vlp(ia)</i>	20

<i>Prinada</i>	21
[Pr]obus	24
<i>Rufinus</i>	13
<i>Valen[s]</i>	22
<i>Zanis</i>	19

IDIONYMES et COGNOMINA

<i>Andena</i>	21
<i>Anduenna</i>	21
<i>Andrada</i>	21
Ἀφροῦς	16
[A]sprio	24
<i>Bato</i>	20, 22
<i>Bricena</i>	21
<i>Chione</i>	17
<i>Dasius</i>	20
<i>Gravus</i>	20
<i>Iucund[us]</i>	22
<i>Mavida</i>	21
<i>Maurus</i>	24
<i>Ossa</i>	15

TOPONYMES et ETHNIQUES

[---b?]ara	18
<i>Trimontium</i>	24
<i>Zermizegetusa</i>	24

DIVINITÉS

[I.] O. M. [---b?]arenus	18
<i>Mars</i>	15

UNITÉS MILITAIRES et GRADES

<i>ala II Pannoniorum</i>	23
<i>coh. III Campestris c. R.</i>	20
<i>cohortes praetoriae</i>	24
<i>legio XIII Gemina</i>	22
<i>uplicarius</i>	22
<i>imaginifer</i>	23

mais le statut de colonie, ce qui rend plus plausible la restitution *Col(onia)* sur le diplôme militaire cité.

⁶⁰ Mateescu 1923, 97 ; Detschew 1957, 287.

⁶¹ Nom parallèle de Philippopolis, d'après les trois collines, connu chez Plin. *HN* 4.11 (*nunc a situ Trimontium dicta*) et Ptol. *Geog.* 3.11.12 (Φιλιππόπολις ἢ καὶ Τριμόντιον). Ce nom descriptif et latin est également attesté pour le légionnaire *M. Aur. Dines, Trim(ontio)*, licencié en 195 de la *legio VII Claudia* de Viminacium, en Mésie Supérieure (CIL III 14507 = IMS II 53, col. I, b, l. 53), et les prétoriens *M. Septimius M. f. Vlp(ia) Maeticus Trimontium* (diplôme militaire du 7 janvier 219, CIL XVI 139) et *Aurel. Mucianus*, de la *coh. V praetoria, natus Tremontiae*, décédé en 238 à Rome (CIL VI 2566).

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A FISH-EYED MISFIT GLARING BACK FROM ANTIQUITY. THE PECULIAR FACE POT FROM THE CENTURIAE COHORTIS I MILLIARIAE AT POTAISSA

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Abstract: Between 1990–1992, as well as 2011, the archaeological campaigns within the Potaissa legionary fortress focused primarily on researching the *centuriae cohortis I milliariae* in *latus praetorii dextrum*. This endeavour led to the discovery of a total of 928 individual wares. One of the most interesting finds comes in the form of a face pot, a unique discovery so far for this legionary fortress.

Keywords: Potaissa; face pot; *latus praetorii dextrum*; *centuriae*; *cohors I milliaria*.

Rezumat: Campaniile arheologice dintre 1990–1992, respectiv anul 2011, desfășurate în *centuriae cohortis I milliariae* în *latus praetorii dextrum* al castrului legionar de la Potaissa, au scos la suprafață un lot ceramic format din 928 de vase. Printre cele mai interesante descoperiri se numără și un vas antropomorf, unic deocamdată în acest castru.

Cuvinte cheie: Potaissa; vas antropomorf; *latus praetorii dextrum*; *centuriae*; *cohors I milliaria*.

General overview

Within the fortress situated on “Dealul Cetății” (Fortress Hill) in nowadays Turda (Cluj County), the area destined to house the *centuriae cohortis I milliariae* of the V Macedonica legion has been identified to the right of the headquarters. The barracks were initially located through archaeological campaigns carried out between 1990–1992.¹ This endeavour led to the discovery of eight *centuriae*, laid out perpendicular to the *via principalis*. Afterwards, in the year 2011, concomitantly with investigations upon the military forum of the *principia*, research was resumed anew in *latus praetorii dextrum*. The planimetry of the *cohors I milliaria* was thus completed, confirming the regular manner in which Barracks I–IV were compartmentalized.² Barracks I–VIII occupied an extended area of the *latus praetorii dextrum*, being located between the *principia* and the southern fortification wall (Pl. II).³ Pseudo-Hyginus, in *De munitionibus castrorum*, described that a *cohors prima* was of double strength, and this would have reflected upon the area occupied by their *centuriae* as well: *cohors prima [...] quoniam duplum numerum habet duplam pedaturam accipiet*.⁴ The five *centuriae* of the *cohors I milliaria* at Potaissa should have occupied a total of ten barracks. However, due to the lack of space, it is possible that two of them were erected west to the structures known thus far.⁵

¹ Archaeological campaign manuscript: *Cercetări arheologice în castrul roman de la Turda: 1990–1992*.

² Bărbulescu 1997, 33, Fig. 16; Bărbulescu et alii 2012, 153–154.

³ Bărbulescu 1994, 96, Fig. 14/3.

⁴ Frere 1980, 51–60.

⁵ Bărbulescu 1997, 33.

Among various other categories of artifacts, a total of 928 individual wares have been unearthed from these barracks over the years. They were all discovered in various stages of fragmentation, a situation to which medieval interventions could have contributed as well, when there is evidence that some of the walls pertaining to the centurion houses were torn down.⁶ However, the most interesting and peculiar ceramic find within these *contubernia* is a fragmentary face pot, discovered in the barrack situated right next to the *principia*.

Context of discovery

The face pot was discovered in 1990 in Barrack I (oriented NW-SE; 12 × 1.50 m) / Room K² (*contubernium*) of *cohors I milliaria* within the legionary fortress at Potaissa. This *centuria* is situated right next to the secondary road that encircles the *principia*. It was only partially uncovered, most of the research focusing in Rooms M, L and K, situated next to each other.

A total of 101 individual wares were identified within these *contubernia* (10.88% out of the 928 individual wares discovered in *latus praetorii dextrum*); 82 individual wares belong to the common ware category, and 19 to the fine ware category.

The most interesting situation arises in the western extremity of the barrack, in Rooms M and L, where large quantities of wares utilized for pouring and storing liquids were uncovered. A surprising 26 table *amphorae* were recovered from Room M, while Room L yielded 11 table *amphorae*, bringing the total up to 37 table *amphorae* of 15 liters capacity each. To this, we add ten pitchers (2.5 liters each) and two flagons (1.5 liters each). By calculating the quantity of the contents stored in these containers, we obtain a total of 583 liters of liquids within the first two *contubernia* of Barrack I.

Even though not certain, this surprising situation could indicate a different functionality to these rooms by the middle of the 3rd century AD, other than *contubernia* (possible storage rooms?). Also, we have to note that due to the fact that these chambers were situated at the extremity of the barrack and right next to the road, supply and transportation of the liquids would have been facilitated.

A similar situation has been identified only in some of the rooms of the *principia*, which I have interpreted as possible *scholae*.⁷ One of them is Room E', situated on the western flank of the headquarters, where 27 table *amphorae*, 15 pitchers and 9 flagons were discovered (a total of 456 liters). Such aggregations of the same type of containers in the same room represent rather rare situations within the legionary fortress at Potaissa, indicating that it is not the result of coincidence.

Also, one must note the proximity of the three rooms in discussion. Rooms M and L of Barrack I (*cohors I milliaria*) are almost mirroring Room E' of the *principia*. They are only divided by a secondary road, making it likely that these two areas were connected to each other. It is very possible that the liquids stored in these rooms were utilized during social events, as well as the *basilica principiorum*, where various religious ceremonies were officiated. Wine was used in libations as offerings to the gods.

Next to the containers used for pouring and storing liquids, Barrack I yielded four additional *turibulae*, 14 large bowls (the majority of them in Room M), a small-sized bowl, fine mugs, one beaker, one frying pan, two cooking pots and one face pot (Pl. I).

⁶ Bărbulescu 1997, 33.

⁷ See Nedelea 2020b.

Description of the face pot

The most interesting ceramic find within Barrack I of *latus praetorii dextrum* at Potaissa comes in the form of an anthropomorphic container belonging to the category of the so-called face pots/*vasos de caras*,⁸ largely spread all throughout the Roman Empire.⁹

These representations are always masculine, with or without a beard, and depicted in various stages of life: teenagers, adults or elders. The characters were interpreted as divinities, but their exact identity remains unknown. The earliest Roman vessels of this kind date back to the first half of the 1st century AD, continuing their existence all throughout the 3rd century AD.¹⁰ It is believed that they most likely originated in the Rhine delta region and spread predominantly within the military milieu of the Empire.¹¹ Regarding their shape and typology, these anthropomorphic containers can take the form of beakers, mugs, pots, pitchers or *dolia*, but they all have one common characteristic: the representation of a human face in the center of the basin that does not take the shape of the whole head.

At Potaissa, only three fragments of this face pot were recovered, allowing for the reconstruction of the main, central feature, which is the male face. Due to its dimensions, shape and inclination of the walls, the container was most likely a pot with handles. The entire outer surface was covered in a diluted red slip, which is now only partially preserved. The interior of the vessel is carrinated and presents clay residues.

Based on all the characteristics, the face pot was most likely locally produced. In general, ceramic imports within the legionary fortress at Potaissa are very rare (excepting *amphorae*), and came from workshops situated in central and eastern Gaul, as well as Moesia Inferior. Out of the cca. 10.000 individual earthenwares discovered within the camp, only 120 were imported goods.¹² At Potaissa, when it comes to luxury wares, the legion focused primarily on manufacturing local imitations of plain sigillata vessels, a category which is abundant in every complex of the garrison (almost 4000 individual earthenwares).

The hypothesis that this face pot was produced in one of the local workshops¹³ is strengthened by the composition of the clay (Munsell 2.5 YR, 8/4 Pink), as well as the technique used during this process. These characteristics are similar to numerous other vessels discovered in the settlement at Potaissa, especially those with applied snakes decorations.¹⁴

The three remaining sherds piece together a very stylized face, with anatomical forms rendered freely, by hand. It is certain that no moulds were utilized in creating this particular clay vessel. Some of the elements were subsequently attached to the body of the container, with the help of barbotine. Strong traces of retouching can be observed all around the eyes, mouth and nose, where the potter tried to smooth out the surfaces. The end result has a pronounced caricatural aspect, indicating the lack of experience or talent of the potter. The masculine face is represented frontally, and it was structured around a central axe, marked by a pointy, almost triangular nose. The forehead is almost completely missing,

⁸ MIT inv. no. 11576.

⁹ Martín Hernandez 2008, 153–177; Bounegru, Varga 2019, 221–232.

¹⁰ Martín Hernandez 2008, 155.

¹¹ Carretero 2000, 536; Martín Hernandez 2008, 153.

¹² Nedelea 2019, 182–248; Nedelea 2020a, 89–99.

¹³ Andone-Rotaru, Nedelea 2018, 69–90.

¹⁴ Cătiș 1982, 41–51; Cătiș 1984, 481–503.

being covered by a continuous and prominent clay band, which seems to replace the hair or a diadem. Analogies for this type of representation can be found at Intercisa, where a similar pot with a masculine figure wearing a diadem has been identified.¹⁵

The eyebrows start at the base of the nose, and continue in a slightly arched line towards the temples. The eyes are far from the elegant, almond-shaped form of the human organ, being symbolically represented by several pronounced, concentric circles. They much rather resemble fish eyes, being nearly hemispheric, with a short axial length. The natural distance between the eyes was ignored, as they were set very far apart, and thus conferring a very grotesque aspect to the face. The mouth was represented open wide, and the lips were only suggested through an almost oval border, with the corners pointing down. Analogies for this type of representation can be found at Castra Legionis (León, Spain).¹⁶

Long stripes of clay were applied to each side of the face in an effort to create the illusion of hair and sideburns. The facial hair was symbolically rendered through concentric circles, imitating curls. If normally, the ears would be aligned in the segment situated between the eyes and the nose, in this case, they were executed in a very stylized manner right above the eyebrow line, flanking the forehead. However, based on all the characteristics mentioned above, it is certain that the face pot represents a male figure.

Due to the circular shape of the eyes, the arched eyebrows and the open mouth with its corners pointing down, the first impression one gets when looking at the clay vessel, is that of a face that expresses emotions of surprise, shock and sadness. In the Roman world, such facial expressions were regarded as behaviours normally associated with *infames* (individuals without reputation), immoral or immature creatures, being in contrast with their ideals of rationality and self-composure.¹⁷ In art, emotions were only expressed by women, children, slaves/freedmen/freedwomen, actors, musicians, prostitutes and animals.¹⁸

Therefore, we cannot help but notice that the type of representation discovered at Potaissa bears a strong resemblance to Greek tragic masks, like the famous work of art from Piraeus/Athens, executed by the sculptor Silanion of the 4th century BC. Such masks became later on known all throughout the Roman Empire as well, one of the most notable works of art being the marble sculpture representing the muse of tragedy, Melpomene, dated to the 2nd century AD (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen). In her right hand she holds a tragic mask, with features similar to the anthropomorphic vessel discovered at Potaissa. Another notable example showing an intense emotional expression is the painted theatrical mask from “Villa of the Mysteries - Room of the Great Fresco”, at Pompeii.¹⁹

Tragedy masks in the Roman period also appear in many other forms, including *antefixa* and clay appliques, like the examples discovered at Durostorum-Ostrov and dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.²⁰ As an ornamental motif, it was also incorporated in the vast repertoires of *terra sigillata* potters like Cinnamus, Severus, Bannus, Butrio, Atto (Lezoux,

¹⁵ Martín Hernandez 2008, 153, Fig. 1 (Visy 1997, Intercisa).

¹⁶ Martín Hernandez 2008, 170, Figs. 13–15; Martín Hernandez 2009, 587–606, Figs. 1–2.

¹⁷ Edwards 1993, 118; Lindstrøm 2010, 92.

¹⁸ Edwards 1997, 66–95.

¹⁹ Lindstrøm 2010, 87–96, Fig. 4.

²⁰ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 324, cat. no. 905, 325, cat. no. 906.

Westerndorf, Rheinzabern) in the 2nd century AD.²¹ Their products, including those decorated with this motif, make an appearance in Roman Dacia as well. Examples were discovered at Drobeta, Romula, Sucidava, Cioroiu Nou, Gilău, Porolissum, Buciumi etc.²²

At Potaissa, it is very possible that the potter, who created this face pot in one of the local workshops, took inspiration from the features of an *antefixum* representing a tragic mask. Supporting this hypothesis are the circular eyes, the oval shape of the mouth with its corners pointing down, as well as the facial expression representing emotions of surprise, shock and sadness.

Such tragic mask *antefixa* were indeed present at Potaissa, being depicted with the same features: big, round eyes, arched eyebrows, pronounced mouth, curly hair.²³ Three *antefixae* with similar characteristics were uncovered within the *principia* of the legionary fortress.²⁴

Aristotle considered that the origin of Greek tragedy stands closely connected with the *dithyramb*, the choral hymn sung in honour of Dionysus.²⁵ Thus, bearing in mind that the male representation could be a tragic mask, paired with the large quantities of alcohol discovered in the adjacent Rooms M and L, as well as those in Room E' of the *principia*, the face pot could have had a connection to practices within the cult dedicated to Liber Pater/Dionysos-Bacchus.

For example, a *terracotta* ritualistic mask connected to Dionysian rituals was discovered at Ilișua/Arcobara. It is believed that the mask was locally produced sometime at the end of the 2nd century AD, or as late as the early 3rd century AD. The remaining features of this mask are strikingly similar to the face pot identified at Potaissa in *latus praetorii dextrum*.²⁶ Unfortunately, there are not sufficient publications depicting this type of vessel to be able to offer more exact analogies. In Roman Dacia, anthropomorphic vessels or face pots were identified at Buciumi, Cristești, Cumidava, Draja de Sus, Micăsasa, Romula, Războieni-Cetate etc.²⁷ Some anthropomorphic pots and beakers make a direct reference to the cult of Dionysus, taking the shape of Satyrs, Silenoi or Fauni, such as those identified at Porolissum²⁸ or Romula.²⁹

Conclusions

The presence of a face pot depicting a tragic mask in Barrack I, Room K, *latus praetorii dextrum* is highly interesting, as it shows strong indications of an involvement in religious activities related to the cult of Liber Pater/Dionysus-Bacchus. This hypothesis is strengthened by the clusters of large quantities of containers used for pouring and storing wine in Rooms M and L of the same barrack, as well as Room E' of the *principia*.

²¹ Oswald, Pryce 1920, 19.

²² Popilian 1976, Pl. I/1, Pl. VI/93, Pl. VII/104, Pl. VIII/119, Pl. XI/165.

²³ Bărbulescu 2015, 204, Figs. 394–396.

²⁴ Bărbulescu 2015, 300, cat. no. 154–156.

²⁵ Tierney 1944, 331–341.

²⁶ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 45, cat. no. 100.

²⁷ Gudea 1997, 42; Man 2011, 146, 364, Pl. LXXXVI/Fig. 1; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 135, cat. no. 359; 172, cat. no. 461; Bounegru, Varga 2019, 221–232.

²⁸ RR, 221; Civiltà, 212; Miclea, Florescu 1979, no. 295; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 29, cat. no. 52.

²⁹ Bondoc, Dincă 2005, 64, no. 50; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 169, cat. no. 454.

Therefore, two propositions arise regarding the way this vessel could have been used in the 3rd century AD at Potaissa. It is very possible that the wine, as well as the face pot, were utilized during banquets and social events held by *collegia* in the *scholae* of the *principia*. The other supposition is that they were used in religious ceremonies carried out in the *basilica principiorum*, as all the rooms in discussion (M, L, K and E') are in its immediate vicinity.

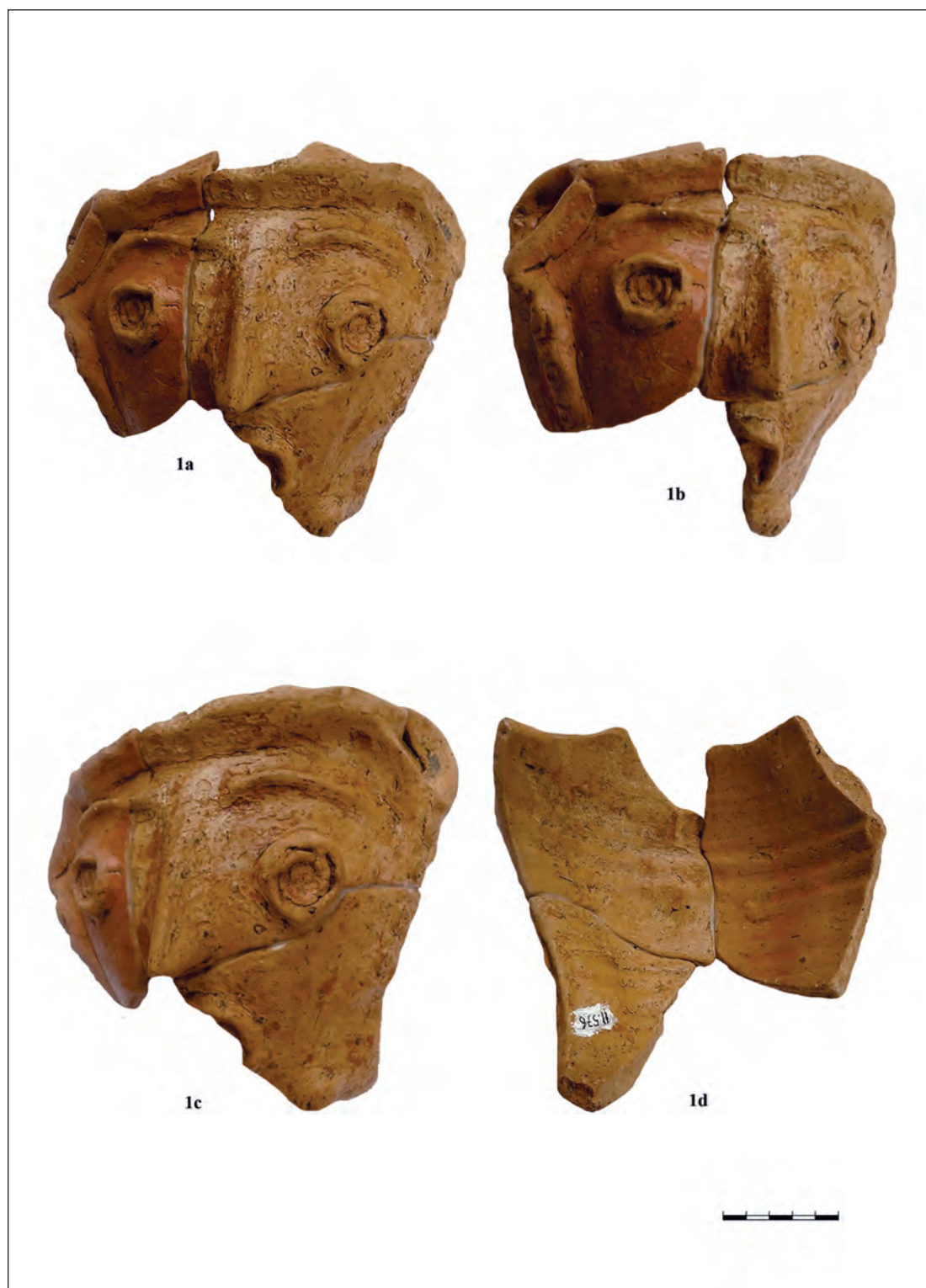
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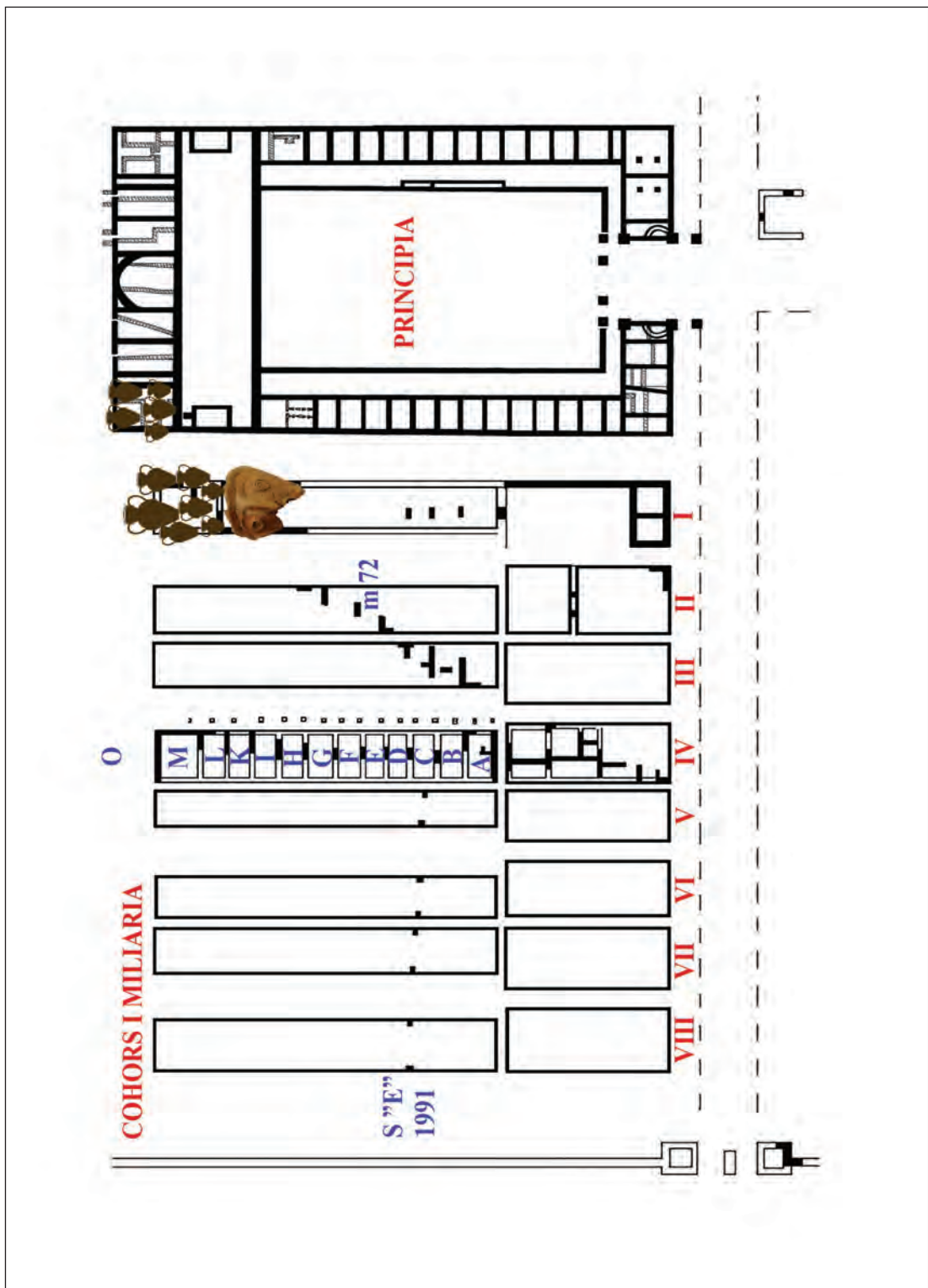
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Pl. I. 1a-d. The face pot discovered in *latus praetorii dextrum*, *centuriae cohortis I milliariae* at Potaissa (photo ©MIT).



Pl. II. Plan of the barracks situated in *latus praetorii dextrum* indicating the clusters in Room L and M, and the face pot in Room K (author's work).

A ROMAN FUNERARY AEDICULA WALL WITH AN EROTIC (?) SCENE FROM POROLISSUM¹

RADU ZĂGREANU

Abstract: During the archaeological research carried out in 1982 at the Roman auxiliary fort on the Pomăt Hill from Porolissum, in the walls near the area of the *porta praetoria*, several sculptural fragments belonging to a funerary construction of the *aedicula* type with two columns in front were reused. Although the fragments have been restored since their discovery, until recently, they were not considered as part of the same monument. The enquiry however clearly shows that the side walls do possess scenes that can be deciphered. On the inside the image of the two servants participating in the funeral banquet is revealed, while on the outside a typical scene of Roman funerary iconography is outlined, the god Attis, but also a special scene, involving two characters engaged in a scene with obvious erotic connotations. This last representation is also the one that raises the most interesting analyzes from the iconographic point of view, that scene being able to have both an erotic character, and a more likely mythological interpretation.

Keywords: Porolissum; *aedicula*; funerary art; erotic scene.

Abstract: În cadrul cercetărilor arheologice efectuate în anul 1982 la castrul roman de pe Pomăt, de la Porolissum, în zidurile din zona porții praetoria au fost descoperite reutilizate mai multe fragmente sculpturale ce provin de la o construcție funerară de tip *aedicula* cu distil. Fragmentele, deși restaurate o parte din ele încă de la descoperire, până recent nu au fost luate în considerare ca provenind de la același monument. Deși fragmentari, cei doi pereți laterali de *aedicula* prezintă un decor iconografic ce poate fi descifrat. Pe partea interioară este redată imaginea celor doi servitori participanți la banchetul funebru, iar pe exterior o scenă tipică de iconografie funerară romană, zeul Attis sprijinit în toiag, dar și o scenă deosebită, două personaje aflate angajate într-o scenă cu vădite conotații erotice. Această ultimă reprezentare este și cea care ridică cele mai interesante analize din punct de vedere iconografic, scena respectivă putând avea atât un caracter erotic, dar nu excludem și o posibilă interpretare mitologică a acesteia.

Cuvinte cheie: Porolissum; *aedicula*; artă funerară; scenă erotică.

Porolissum, established as a military auxiliary fort in 106 during Trajan's Dacian Wars, quickly grew through trade as an important settlement of the province Dacia Porolissensis. Under Emperor Septimius Severus, the city was granted municipal status.²

Porolissum represents one of the most important artistic centres of the province Dacia Porolissensis. The actual presence of a local sculptural workshop is barely researched archaeologically, but the analysis of the discovered monuments allowed the identification of

¹ In the memory of Nicolae Gudea and Alexandru Matei, two tireless archaeologists who made possible the preservation and conservation of this monument and without whose contribution the analyzed monument would have been probably lost nowadays. We also show our gratitude to Irina Nemeti for her pertinent observations and suggestions. All misjudgments and errors are however our own.

² Gudea 1986, 124–125.

such workshops and even some local artistic sculptural features. Many times, analogies and influences have been searched and identified in the art of different sculptural workshops from the neighboring or even further provinces. As time passed several researchers studied the sculptural monuments discovered here and tried to prove the existence of local sculptural workshops.³

In the necropolis numerous and various monuments have been discovered. One of the old discoveries is a fragmented *aedicula* wall, with an unusual depiction recently reconstructed. Like any other interesting discovery from Dacia, this monument has a history of its own, too. Only a few years ago, N. Gudea identified it from a photo as a discovery that was made during his excavations in the '80s at the Roman fort from Porolissum. It seems that after some years, the fragments of the monument were moved into archaeologist Alexandru Matei's deposit, where we rediscovered it. The top of the monument was completed from fragments in the moment of discovery (Pl. I/2), but we didn't realize until working on our doctoral thesis that the bottom of the monument was from the same artifact. In 2014, when the local museum of Zalău entered into a renovation process, it was moved and we had a chance to review and complete it properly. On this occasion we had the chance to identify parts of the other wall of the funerary construction, so that now it has been pieced back almost completely, depending on how much it has been preserved from the original monument. The fragmentary monument was found in the wall of a buttress, on the north-eastern side of the *porta praetoria*, approximately 20 m from the gate tower (Pl. I/1).

The left side wall is composed of two fragments (Pl. II/1). The first fragment is a portion of the central area of the wall, broken in multiple pieces that have $45 \times 45 \times 14$ cm, with the frame of the decorated field having 14,5 cm. The fragment is unpublished; the inventory number is P 82, AP M 882⁴. On the internal side of the wall the body of a male person is depicted (Pl. II/1 a), more exactly the lower part of it, the legs, of which only the right one is still visible. One can also distinguish the lower part of the tunic that he wore, ending above his knees. On the left side of the tunic there are two parallel incisions that seem to show the lower part of a towel (*mantella*) that descends from the left shoulder of the character. On the monument one can observe scattered traces of red paint. The second fragment, broken in four pieces, and representing the lower part of the wall, is the one published before,⁵ not knowing that it is part of this monument. Its inventory number, P 82, AP M 880, was recently recovered. The dimensions are $36.5 \times 21 \times 13.5$ cm. On the left side of the fragment a frame of 14.5 cm can be distinguished.

On the external side of the wall, on the first fragment mentioned above (Pl. II/1 b), we can distinguish the crossed legs of a character, of which the right leg is slightly flexed and the left one is at rest. Above the knees, the edge of the tunic worn by the character can be seen, and in the left corner of the representation, the curved end of a rod. This is a fragmentary representation of the god Attis. The exterior is worked in the low relief technique. The small fragment from below has no representation on it.

³ Gudea, Lucăcel 1975; Diaconescu 2011, 135–193; Zăgreanu, Iov 2011, 291–318; Petruț, Zăgreanu 2011, 189–211; Zăgreanu, Deac 2014, 209–211; Zăgreanu, Petruț 2014, 135–160; Zăgreanu 2016, 203–246; Zăgreanu et alii 2016, 329–342.

⁴ Fragment no. 882, monument discovered in 1982 at Pomăt fort.

⁵ Zăgreanu, Petruț 2014, 147, Ae. 13, Pl. II/Ae13.

The right side wall,⁶ which has been recently restored, has the dimensions $150 \times 46 \times 14$ cm. Only the upper half of the right side wall of the *aedicula* is preserved (Pl. II/2). Both sides are decorated. The representation on the inside was indecipherable, but after a new cleaning we have some clues about this depiction. The whole scene depicts a female person in the funerary banquet. It is a modest technical and artistic execution, typical to the provincial Roman art (Pl. II/2a). The female individual holds a barely visible flagon in the right hand. We can observe the carved fingers, excessively long and straight, suggesting rigidity, a typical feature of the local sculptural workshop.⁷ The rendering of the hand is slightly disproportionate compared to the rest of the body. The figure is depicted with an oval face, but the portrait is poorly preserved. She is wearing a tunic with a round collar around the neck, while a *palla* is covering her shoulders and right arm, and a towel (*mantella*) is hanging on her left shoulder. In certain parts the relief preserves traces of red dye.

On the external wall, one can distinguish a couple kissing tenderly (Pl. II/2 b). The female character is wearing a tunic fastened around the waist. The upper part of her head is destroyed, and one can still distinguish the long hair that flows on the shoulders and from the face only the thick lips. She rests a roughly sculpted left hand on the shoulder of the male character, while her right hand, covered by the folds of the dress, is directed towards his waist. The right leg is visible, bare to the thigh, wearing a small shoe (*calceolus*). The male seems to wear a *tunica manicata*, ending above the knee, and from his physiognomy, the lips and the chin are rendered realistically. The male figure holds his left hand on his partner's raised leg, seemingly pulling her towards him. The leg, barren from the knee down, ends in a partially preserved shoe (*calceus*), similar to that of the female character. The artist worked the exterior in low relief. Despite despite a general sense of crudeness, the complexity of the movements and care for details are noteworthy. The considerable height of the wall is surprising, as well as the abundant free space remaining below the relief. The rest of the monument is extremely damaged, further comments being superfluous.

Functionality

After the identification of the second side wall of the funerary monument, we can make some new remarks regarding its functionality and typology. Both side walls belong to the profiled wall with depictions on both sides category.⁸ However the monument is a type of *aedicula* hitherto unattested in Dacia Porolissensis: *aedicula* with two columns façade, located on the axis of the side walls. After Al. Diaconescu's typology, this type of wall represents a more evolved form of the simple aedicular funerary constructions.⁹ The *aedicula* in this case has a posterior wall flanked by two very short side walls (practically two beginnings of walls that can be interpreted even as a pair of prominent pilasters). Usually the edges of these walls are decorated with semi-columns or pilasters. On the axis of these side walls there is an independent column, which supports the roof. Normally it has a gable end roof, or in the shape of a pyramid with arched sides, a fact specific to the area of northern Italy, where this shape is predominant¹⁰.

⁶ Zăgreanu, Petruț 2014, 146, Ae. 8, Pl. I/Ae8; Eros și sexualitate 2016, 78.

⁷ Zăgreanu et alii 2014, 331.

⁸ Zăgreanu, Petruț 2014

⁹ Diaconescu 2005, 308.

¹⁰ Diaconescu 2005, 111.

Based on the dimensions of the two walls of our monument, it is obvious that those fragments belong to a similar monument, probably with a pronounced local sculptural imprint. Their width of 45 cm is much smaller compared to the average dimensions which are up to 65–70 cm. Therefore, it is certain that the walls of the monument could not support an ordinary *aedicula* roof; they must have a support column in front of them, similar to the well known monument of *Ennius Liberalis* from Šempeter.¹¹ The funerary structures of this type known from Noricum were designated as “*aedicula mit Archivolt*” by G. Kremer.¹² An additional argument regarding the existence of this type of *aedicula* at Porolissum is the existence in this sculptural centre of about twelve Syrian-type arches¹³ that fit as dimensions in the case a hypothetical reconstruction of the monument is attempted (Pl. II/3).

There are 5 side walls with similar dimensions coming from Dacia Porolissensis, which we believe that are parts of the same type of funerary *aedicula* monument. There is one monument from Potaissa,¹⁴ three monuments from Napoca,¹⁵ and one from Aghireșu.¹⁶ A clear chronological dating is quite difficult, but, based on analogies from other provinces, we consider that this type of funerary construction appears in Dacia Porolissensis, sometime in the second half of the 2nd century AD.

The iconography

From an iconographical point of view, the representations on the inside of the side walls of the funerary construction are typical to the Roman funerary iconography. We have the two servants taking part in the banquet, a male and a female with specific attributes, the towel and the flagon. On the outer side of the left wall an even more common funerary depiction appears, Attis leaning on a *pedum*. It is the first representation of this kind that appears at Porolissum, although discoveries from the Porolissum area attest the fact that this iconographic model was known in the region.¹⁷

The most intriguing representation is the one on the outer side of the right wall, which we will discuss below.

The posture of the two figures outlines a couple kissing tenderly, close to each other, the male figure holding his left hand on his partner's raised leg, which clearly suggests an intense scene of love consumed between the two characters.

Roman erotic art differs from the Greek art, as the “woman on top” position is extremely popular, seen as both empowering to the male and female and the mark of mutuality within the relationship.¹⁸ The significance of this position in Roman culture has been interpreted variously, some scholars thought it might represent the relative sexual emancipation of Roman women.¹⁹

¹¹ Kremer 2001, 27–37.

¹² For examples from Noricum see Kremer 2001, 57–134.

¹³ Zăgreanu, Petruț 2014, 149–151, no. 20–31, Pl. III/Ae20, Ae21, Ae22, Pl. IV/Ae23–Ae31.

¹⁴ Floca, Wolski 1973, 14, no. 34, Fig. 45–46.

¹⁵ Petruț, Mustață 2010, 180, no. 8, Pl. III/8; Floca, Wolski 1973, 22, no. 62, Fig. 77; Petruț, Mustață 2010, 180, no. 6, Pl. II/6.

¹⁶ Zăgreanu 2009, 76, no. 1, Pl. 1, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ Culic, Zăgreanu 2015, 231–241.

¹⁸ Clarke 2014, 528.

¹⁹ Clarke 1998, 192–193.

A similar representation on a Roman stone funerary monument was not yet identified. The only correlations we can make are with representations that appear on terracotta,²⁰ *spintriae*,²¹ molded glass dish,²² fragments of *terra sigillata* or other small finds.

Somehow a similar depiction can be found on a pair of Etruscan stone sarcophagus from Vulci, now in the Boston Museum.²³ Inscriptions on the coffins reveal the names of those once buried within – the parents in one, their son and his wife in the other. Both couples are featured in loving embrace on the lid, but the intimacy of these couples, their tender gazes, and their nudity, seen below the coverlets on their marriage beds, are unprecedented in Etruscan art.²⁴ I. Rowland, analyzing the whole story of these two monuments, concludes that the portraits above express all the life, taste, and spirit of Ramtha Vishnai (the benefactor), a woman who chose to commemorate the enduring power of love in its various forms over the equally inescapable facts of bereavement and solitude.²⁵

A monument with a much more rudimentary and crude representation, but with a similar iconography, is the stele relief with a scene of sacred marriage or holy matrimony, decorating the monument of Pozo Moro. A man on the left joins sexually a woman on the right, he reaches out his arms toward the woman for the sexual embrace. Behind the man, we see the remains of what could be a fluted column, suggesting the temple, the unique place of the meeting. The man has crossed the threshold and has access to sacred love.²⁶ The hierogamy could also have a cosmological meaning similar to that attributed to the ancient Celtic religion.²⁷ The monument is dated at the end of the 6th century BC.

Some similar depictions can be found on some terracotta from Mesopotamia and from Argolida region, or Afrati,²⁸ with the divine couple represented resting on a bed, but in a similar position. All of them were interpreted as Hieros gamos scenes, the sacred marriage that takes place between a god and a goddess, especially when enacted in a symbolic ritual (related to fertility), where human participants represent the deities.

Who are they? What kind of representation is that?

Is it the depiction of a prostitute? While men were free to enjoy sex with prostitutes and slaves, women were thought to do the same only with more discretion. The marriage is thought to be primarily about having children and making a family, therefore the most important emotion between a man and his wife was considered a deep affection. Because of the Roman emphasis on family, female sexuality was regarded as one of the bases for social order and prosperity.²⁹ Pornographic art that depicts women presumed to be prostitutes performing sexual acts may show the breasts covered by a *strophium* even when the rest

²⁰ Clarke 1998, 263, Fig. 103.

²¹ Campana 2009, 47.

²² Clarke 1998, 32, Fig. 6.

²³ Rowland 2008, 151–154, Fig. 1–2.

²⁴ Rowland 2008, 159.

²⁵ Rowland 2008, 162.

²⁶ Uroz Rodriguez 2009, 31–32.

²⁷ Almagro Gorbea 1983, 290.

²⁸ Majewski 1960, 354–357, nos. 1, 3.

²⁹ Strong 2016, 18–41.

of the body is naked. Prostitutes sometimes displayed themselves naked at the entrance to their brothel cubicles, or wore see-through silk garments. They appear in erotic art in Pompeii and Herculaneum, including wall paintings from buildings identified as brothels, in which they are often nude, except for a strapless bra (*strophium*).³⁰

As was the case for men, free women who displayed themselves sexually, such as prostitutes and performers, or who made themselves available indiscriminately, were excluded from legal protection and social respectability. Prostitutes were among those persons in Rome categorized as *infames*, enjoying little legal protection even if they were technically not slaves.³¹

This representation is somewhat a shocking appearance in the art of Dacia Porolissensis. The combination of a funeral banquet scene and an erotic one is unexpected. It is noted that the entire representation is placed on the outer side of the monument, so it is certain that the outer wall was visible from a distance. This virtuosic sexual posture of unexpected agility and dexterity delight the unoffended eye even more, so there is some reluctance to make it known.

We do not think it is a representation of a prostitute. The sculptor would have chosen a more challenging representation. Had it been the representation of *impudicitiai*, the socially accepted signs of the Roman society should have been more clear – the way she dresses, the way she portrays her appearance as someone to be found and who would not hide away.

Is it an erotic scene related to a soldier's monument? It could have been more accurate. These aspects of Roman sexual virtue – its need for publicity, its loud, attention-seeking nature – present a challenge in the military environment. The Roman soldier, like any free and respectable Roman male with a certain status, was expected to show self-discipline in matters of sex.³²

We can assume that it was a monument built by comrades for a soldier killed in action, preferring to perpetuate on this specific aspect of a lover of women. It can be interpreted as a hoax made in the spirit of comradeship. But the most plausible explanation is a local interpretation of the idea of paradise, similar to the famous inscription: *Balnea, vina, Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra, sed vitam faciunt: balnea, vita, Venus*.³³ This is the likely representation soldiers had about how they would spend the afterlife. This scene reminds the Greek idea of a *symposion*, which seems to include the *hetairai* who could be hired for *symposia*, or it could be replaced by citizen women; furthermore, sexual gratification being presented as one of the principal pleasures of the *symposion*.³⁴

The presence of Attis' representation is also relevant. The image of Attis on the funerary monuments was an image of the sadness and pain caused by death. But he was also the god who attenuated death; he was the guarantor of rebirth in the afterlife and a symbol of the paradise in which the deceased would go.³⁵

³⁰ Strong 2016, 132–140.

³¹ Strong 2016, 11, 51.

³² Collins, Ivleva 2018, 1037.

³³ CIL VI 15258.

³⁴ Bowie 2014, 318.

³⁵ Chiş 2014, 108.

The debate continues as to whether these funerary images represent the deceased in their former earthly life or anticipate the banquets of the next world and not just an idealized image of a happy dead soul. This sexual expression reflects the unique genius of an individual author, revealing also a specific cultural attitude. It can reveal sexual attitudes and behaviors, highlighting specific aspects of sexuality, like the desires of local citizens and soldiers. It tells us a great deal about the complexity of life in ancient Porolissum, a specific case in which we could understand that the community might have believed in an afterlife in which the spirits of the deceased participated in feasting ceremonies.

Could it depict a more intimate funerary banquet? The two servants are part of the relief with the funeral banquet. They seem to have only one role to perform in the ritual by providing water and towels for washing and wiping hands.³⁶ Maybe the monument tries to show us the idea of love consumed in marriage that continues even after death.

This special relationship flags the importance of the marital relations between husband and wife in Roman society, differentiating between the concepts of *pudor* and *pudicitia*, according to which *pudor* is a moral quality, while *pudicitia* describes a physical state.³⁷ That was the challenge of the men, among whom is supposed to have flourished a tradition of rivalry in the field of *virtus* (military courage and moral excellence), which is extensively documented. The general idea claimed that, even within marriage, sex should be undertaken as an expression of affection and for procreation, and not for “pure pleasure”.

It should come as no surprise that Augustan and early Julio-Claudian representations, given their context within the sphere of private entertainment and collecting practices, seem to register positive social attitudes toward sex for recreation rather than procreation – and with beautiful partners of both sexes.³⁸

We can assume that this erotic act shows us an episode of intense and intimate love between two spouses separated so tragically. Anyway, perhaps this relief is enriching our understanding of the construction of sexuality and love in this peripheral region of the Roman Empire and is offering valuable insights into Roman sexual acculturation in the military world. Everything in this scene, as rudimentary as it is, bespeaks passionate and intimate lovemaking.

But there is a critical disadvantage for this interpretation, that the scene is on one of the side walls of the monument, and in Dacia the image of the servants on *aedicula* walls appears usually on both lateral sides,³⁹ the deceased being usually represented on the central wall, often as protagonists of the funeral banquet.⁴⁰ The lack of the rear wall of the entire construction deprives us of being able to understand the whole symbolism of the representations, however the depiction of the funeral banquet, on the interior walls, further emphasizes the symbolic value of the entire monument.

³⁶ Petruț, Mustăță 2010, 173.

³⁷ Strong 2016, 19–20.

³⁸ Clarke 2014, 516.

³⁹ Petruț, Mustăță 2010, 173.

⁴⁰ Dunbabin 2003, 445–446.

A mythological depiction?

On the outer part of the left side wall we have the usual hypostasis of *Attis tristis*, in his attitude of mourning and meditating on his cruel fate. This type of representation presented on our monument leads us to believe that a mythological interpretation of the whole set of representations is probably closer to the truth.

From Alcazaba (Mérida), there are three pieces of lamps from the same workshop, having an interesting depiction.⁴¹ Unfortunately, only small parts of the disks are preserved, which have the representation of a woman, located on the right, who is penetrated by a swan at the same time as she brings her lips close to the beak of the animal, and the swan wraps one of its wings around the woman, while she lowers her left arm towards her vagina, probably to help the beast in the penetration, while wrapping with her slightly bent legs the tail of the bird.

It must be the rendering of a well-known mythological passage: the union of Leda with Jupiter, hidden in the form of a swan. As a result of this encounter, Leda would lay two eggs, from which would hatch two women and two men: Helen of Troy, Clytemnestra, Castor and Pollux, the two latter also known as the Dioscuri.⁴²

A marble sculptural composition of Leda and the swan can be found in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, of unknown Greek provenience, dated to the late 5th century BC, which is considered to be the earliest known sculpture depicting Leda.⁴³ The goddess holds and shelters a swan in her arms. The Leda and the swan sculpture from Boston precedes a similar lost sculpture of Leda and the swan, which was dated to the 4th century BC and was attributed to the sculptor Timotheos.⁴⁴

There are, up to this moment, 33 known Roman sculptures of this iconographic type, alongside many reliefs, mosaics, vases, lamps, gems etc., with this particular scene of Leda and the swan on them.⁴⁵ But the closest analogy with our depiction is a relief from Stubenberg,⁴⁶ with a nude Leda in profile, with one arm outstretched and a hand placed on the swan's neck. The swan is enormous, presented in life-size, also in profile, reaching with his beak for Leda's lips, with one foot placed on Leda's thigh.

We must presume that the *aedicula* from Porolissum reveals itself as a very abstract and developed form of this cult's iconography, narrating the mythical episodes through an extremely symbolic scene. A major drawback in this assumption is the substitution of the swan with a female character who, however, has no plausible explanation, both mythological and iconographical.

A similar posture can be traced also in a few Eros and Psyche⁴⁷ representations. A funerary relief from Öblarn,⁴⁸ with an embracing couple in half-sitting position, the man naked, with long curly hair, the woman with a coat around her leg, embracing each

⁴¹ Sabio González, Alonso 2015, 86.

⁴² The saviors gods and leaders of souls to the afterlife, Chiş 2014, 149.

⁴³ Delivorrias 1990, 35–36.

⁴⁴ Jenkins 2006, 225.

⁴⁵ See Gavrilovic 2017, 154 note 12 including the one from this article.

⁴⁶ Hudeczek 2004, 86, no. 62.

⁴⁷ LIMC VII/2, s.v. Psyche no. 121–145.

⁴⁸ Hudeczek 2004, 76, no. 53.

other tenderly, looks somewhat similar. Another representation with similarities comes from Celeia,⁴⁹ also Noricum, with Eros (Cupid) and Psyche⁵⁰ standing on a flat pedestal, hugging each other.

But the image from the Porolissum *aedicula* wall is even more problematic, if we consider the myth of Eros and Psyche. In the iconographic tradition, these gods are often depicted with butterfly wings. If we take in consideration Apuleius' story, we know that Psyche's wandering over the earth and the underworld, in search of her lost love, is doomed to a final failure, despite her terrible labours and successful efforts, because of her recurrent relapses into error. So it concords with the other funerary image, that of *Attis tristis*. Perhaps this monument should be interpreted as a mythological representation that symbolizes mutual devotion and expectation that love will continue, in an exacerbated provincial way. From Dacia there are two monuments with a similar image, one from Sibiu⁵¹ and a fragment from Porolissum,⁵² showing the two characters embracing each other.

Since we are dealing with a monument which possibly has a mythological content, so far unique in the Roman territory of Dacia, we considered useful to present a typological, iconographical, and chronological analysis. The erotic or mythological scene portrayed on this monument only suggests the little information that has been preserved about the provincial world and its unique attempts, probably extremely abstracted, in showing their artistic beliefs and tastes on how they perceive the afterlife, for those who lived at the edge of the empire. Finally this image perhaps present a genuine provincial vision of the eulogy of death, maybe referring to a historical or mythological reality, which is alluded to, by a retrospective scene. Secondly, there is an anticipation for the viewer, which is evoked by the visual abstract meaning of the representation, that will be decoded by it. Thus the entire monument seems to be easier to understand when analyzed from such a provincial point of view.

Although a clear explanation cannot be drawn for now, we consider that we are dealing rather with a symbolic scene with possible erotic connotations being very likely adjacent to the funeral banquet scene – or perhaps deriving from it.

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⁴⁹ Kremer 2001, 163.

⁵⁰ Another interpretation of the mythological scene could be that between the Dionysiac motif of the Satyr and Maenad, depicting the former teasing the latter, as on the funerary stele from Mursa, see Cambi 2005, 18–20.

⁵¹ lupa.at/17495.

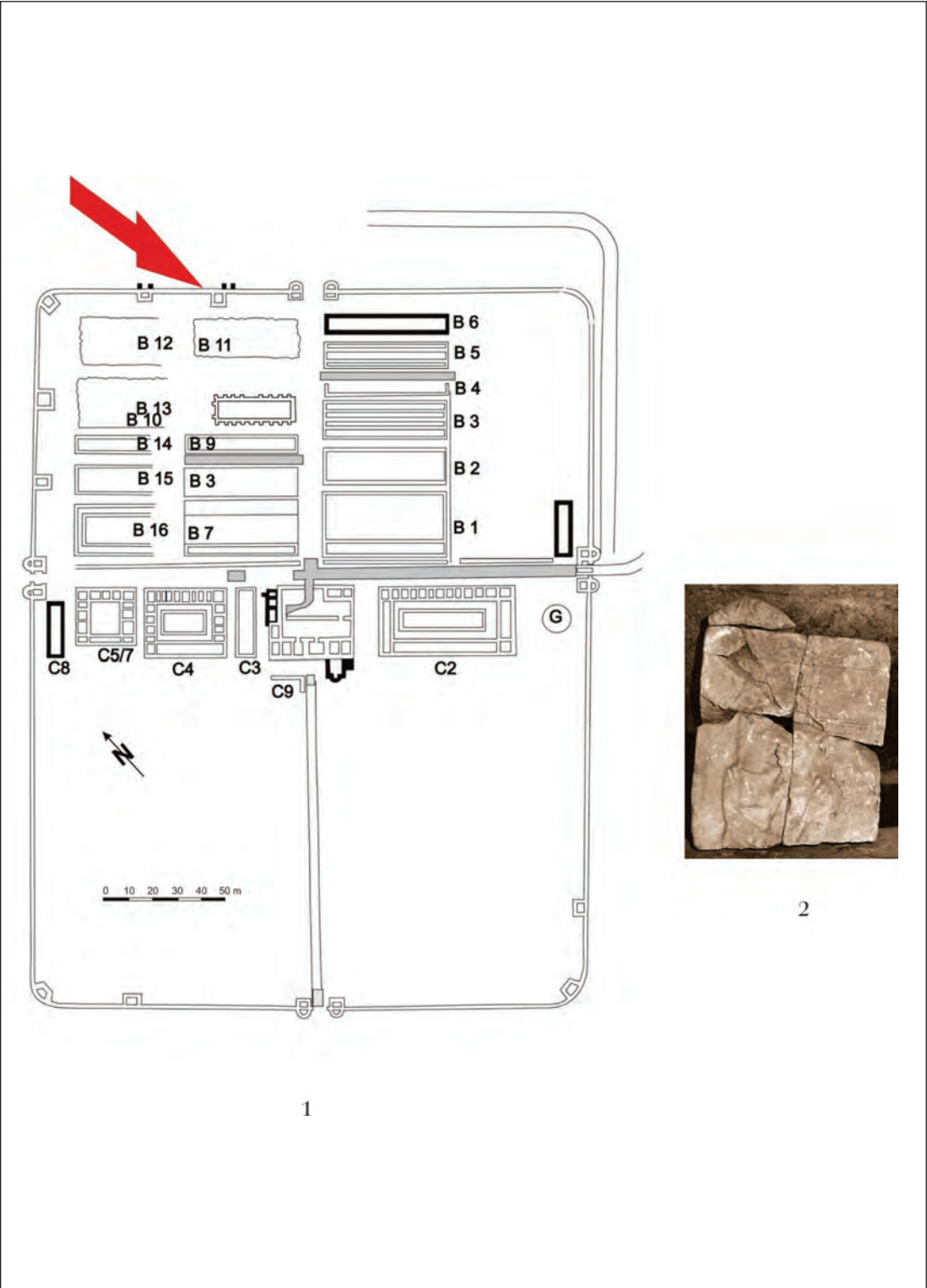
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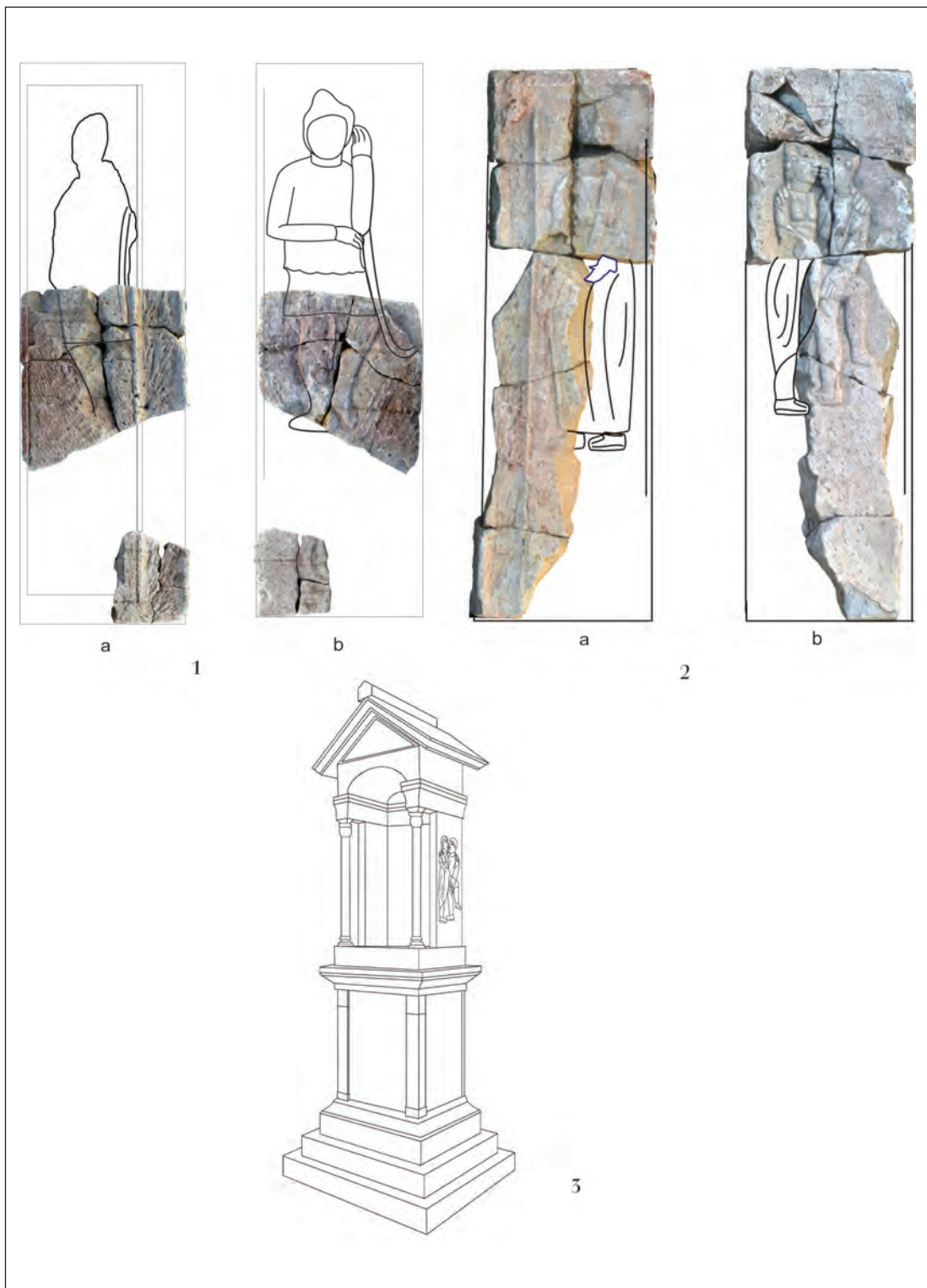
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Pl. I. 1. The plan of the Roman fort of Porolissum and the place of discovery (after Gudea 1997);
2. Photo from 1983 (Gudea archive).



Pl. II. 1a-b. The left side wall; **2a-b.** The right side wall; **3.** Hypothetical reconstruction of the monument.

PROVINCIA VALERIA MEDIA?

PÉTER KOVÁCS

Abstract: One of the most problematic issues in the study of Roman Pannonia is the fifth-century history of the province of Valeria and its abandonment, which is further aggravated by a passage in the *Ravenna Cosmography* (IV. 20), especially if combined with information provided by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.¹ One interpretation of this enigmatic passage, which has gained widespread currency, is that the Romans or, better said, Aetius, ceded Valeria to the Huns in accordance with the terms of the treaty concluded between them, and that following the province's evacuation, a new province by the name of Valeria media was created in Italy and south-western Pannonia.² This interpretation is widely accepted despite the lack of the passage's meticulous philological examination; moreover, the problems raised by the passage are manifold and several explanations seem equally feasible. Here, I shall cover the passage in question alongside a historical commentary and a separate discussion of the putative connection between the *vita Corbiniani*, Aethicus Ister and Pannonia/Valeria as well as the image of Valeria in the works of certain Humanist writers.

Keywords: *Ravenna Cosmography*; *Tabula Peutingeriana*; Valeria media; Huns.

Rezumat: Una dintre cele mai problematice teme în studiul Panoniei Romane este istoria provinciei Valeria în secolul al V-lea și abandonarea acesteia, problematică agravată și de un pasaj din *Cosmografia Anonimului de la Ravenna* (IV. 20), în special atunci când sunt asociate informații furnizate de *Tabula Peutingeriana*. O interpretare a acestui pasaj enigmatic, care a câștigat o largă apreciere, este că romanii sau, mai bine spus, Aetius, au cedat Valeria hunilor în conformitate cu termenii tratatului încheiat între ei și că, în urma evacuării provinciei, o nouă provincie cu numele de Valeria media a fost creată în Italia și sud-vestul Panoniei. Această interpretare este larg acceptată în ciuda lipsei investigației filologice minuțioase a pasajului; în plus, problemele ridicate de acest pasaj sunt multiple și mai multe explicații par la fel de fezabile. Aici, mă voi referi la pasajul în cauză, alături de un comentariu istoric și de o discuție privind legătura dintre *vita Corbiniani*, Aethicus Ister și Pannonia/Valeria, precum și imaginea provinciei Valeria în lucrările anumitor scriitori umaniști.

Cuvinte cheie: *Cosmografia Anonimului de la Ravenna*; *Tabula Peutingeriana*; Valeria media; hunii.

The Ravenna Cosmography and Valeria

The Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna strove to describe the known world in five books: following the introduction in Book I, the then known world is covered in the

¹ Katancsich 1824, 295; Miller 1887, 60; Miller 1898, 17; Gross 1913, 74–75; Miller 1916, 485; Graf 1936, 41–48; Stolte 1949, 83–84, 109; RE IX Suppl., 1962, s.v. *Pannonia*, 515–776, esp. 582 (Mócsy); Várady 1969, 549; Dillemann 1972; Tóth 1989, 197–226; Bóna 1991, 83; Šašel 1992, 588–591, 728–739; Fitz 1993, 1330; Dillemann 1997, 41–42, 100–101; Wolff 2000; Lotter 2003, 123, Anm. 444, 161–162; Wolfram 1995, 69–71; Vogel 2000, 342–344, 349; Lotter 2003, 123, 161–162; Gračanin 2006, 64; Tóth 2009, 178–180; Štih 2010, 126–127, 196; Bratož 2010, 8–9, 10; Bratož 2011, 605, Anm. 89; Gračanin 2011, 71; Gračanin 2016, 226. The manuscript has been translated by Magdalena Seleanu.

² Tóth 1989; Tóth 2009, 178–180.

next three books (II: Asia, III: Africa, IV: Europe), while Book V is a *periplus* starting from Ravenna (with the islands and the Ocean). The regional units of the known world, the *patriae*, which cannot always be equated with the Roman provinces, are described from east to west, and within that, from north to south (Fig. 1), and unlike modern maps, with an eastern orientation with east at the top (cf. the Albi *mappa mundi* from around 775, one of the sources of Books II-IV, and the references in the text itself, e.g. IV.67: *et a superiori id est orientali regionem Solentinam*).³ Pannonia (IV.19) and Valeria (IV.20) come after Saxonia (IV.17) and Albis (IV.18), and are followed by Carneola (IV.21). Similarly to the descriptions of other *patriae*, the Cosmographer follows the same pattern: 1. his sources, the names of the most important authors whose books he consulted, 2. settlement names (usually *civitates*), mostly in groups of two to five, generally along roads, 3. river names, although more rarely, and 4. concluding remarks, if there were any changes (e.g. IV.6: the arrival of the Bulgari), or if he was uncertain on one or another point, he cited a new source (as in the case of Valeria: IV.21).

The Cosmographer describes Pannonia and Valeria in the following two passages, which are philologically unproblematic (with the emendations of Joseph Schnetz, who published the text;⁴ Fig. 2):

Anon. Rav. IV.19. *Item confinales eiusdem regionis sunt patrie longe lateque dilatissime due que nominantur Pannonie, id est inferior et superior, quas patrias plurimi descripserunt phylosophi, ex quibus legi multotiens dictum Castorium et Lolianum atque Arbitionem Romanorum phylosophos, sed et super scriptum Aitanaridum et Eldevaldum atque Marcummirum Gothorum phylosophos. sed non equaliter <ipsam designaverunt patriam sed> alius sic, alius vero alio modo, sed ego secundum praefatum Marcummirum inferius dictas civitates Pannonie nominavi, in qua patria plurimas fuisse civitates legimus, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est*

<i>Confluentes</i>	<i>Taurinum</i>
<i>Idominio</i>	<i>Bassianis</i>
<i>Fossis</i>	<i>Sirmium</i>
<i>Drinum</i>	<i>Saldis</i>
<i>Bassantis</i>	<i>Marsonia</i>
<i>Mursa maior</i>	<i>Mursa minor</i>
<i>Ioballios</i>	<i>Berevis</i>
<i>Sorenis</i>	<i>Marimanus</i>
<i>Balenilo</i>	<i>Sirote</i>
<i>Cucconis</i>	<i>Lentulis</i>
<i>Sonista</i>	<i>Botivo</i>
<i>Populos</i>	<i>Aquaviva</i>
<i>Remista</i>	<i>Petaviona</i>
<i>Vincensimo</i>	<i>Ligano</i>
<i>Salla</i>	<i>Aravona</i>
<i>Savaria.</i>	

³ Here, the Cosmographer does not follow the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but a world map resembling the contemporaneous Albi *mappa mundi* (775 AD): Guckelsberger-Mittenhuber 2013.

⁴ Schnetz 1990.

Item ad aliam partem in ipsas partes Pannonie sunt civitates, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est

<i>Burgenis</i>	<i>Spaneatis</i>
<i>Ansilena</i>	<i>Cibalis</i>
<i>Certisiam</i>	<i>Lavares</i>
<i>Cuminion.</i>	

Item ad aliam partem sunt civitates, id est

<i>Siclis</i>	<i>Ecclavia</i>
<i>Saniglon</i>	<i>Persetis</i>
<i>Netabio</i>	<i>Speridium</i>
<i>Bedini</i>	<i>Necal</i>
<i>Brindia</i>	<i>Clande</i>
<i>Assino</i>	<i>Bercio</i>
<i>Serbitium</i>	<i>Fines</i>
<i>Lamatis</i>	<i>Lausaba</i>
<i>Baloia</i>	<i>Apeva</i>
<i>Sapua</i>	<i>Bersellum</i>
<i>Ibisua</i>	<i>Derva</i>
<i>Citua</i>	<i>Anderba</i>
<i>Sarminium</i>	<i>Charmenis</i>
<i>Scaladis</i>	<i>Sapua</i>
<i>Aleba</i>	<i>Suberadona</i>
<i>Asinoe</i>	<i>Clandate</i>
<i>Berginio.</i>	

Per quas Pannonias transeunt plurima flumina, inter cetera quae dicuntur id est

<i>Ira</i>	<i>Bustricius.</i>
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In qua Pannonia est lacus maximus que dicitur Pelsois, item flumina

Parsium Dravis.

20. *Item iuxta ipsam Pannoniam est patria que dicitur Valeria, que et Media appellatur Provincia, pro eo quod reiacet inter super scriptae Pannonias. <quam patriam Valeriam super scripti qui Pannonias patrias <designaverunt>,> ipsi eandem descripserunt phylosophi. sed ego secundum praefatum scriptorem Marcummirum Gothorum phylososophum civitates inferius designatas eius Valerie nominavi, in qua Valeria plurimas legimus fuisse civitates, ex quibus aliquantas designare volumus, id est*

<i>Acunum</i>	<i>Usum</i>
<i>Malatis</i>	<i>Catio</i>
<i>Cornacum</i>	<i>Alusione</i>
<i>Annama</i>	<i>Clantiburgum</i>
<i>Livori</i>	<i>Donatianis</i>
<i>Antiana</i>	<i>Lugione</i>
<i>Belsalino</i>	<i>Lumano</i>
<i>Cardelaca.</i>	

Item ad aliam partem sunt civitates, id est

<i>Sicce</i>	<i>Fines</i>
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Romula
Cruppi
Atamine.

Nomiudum
Acerbo

Quam Valeriam aliquando Marc<om>annorum gens optinuit, sicut testatur multoties super scriptus Iordanis sapientissimus chronographus. quam Valeriam finit fluvius maximus qui dicitur Saus.

21. *Item iuxta ipsam Valeriam ponitur patria quae dicitur Carneola, que et Alpes Iuliana antiquitus dicebatur.⁵ quam patriam Carnech, que Valeria patria, ipsi eandem descripserunt phylosophi.*

Translation:⁶

19. Neighbouring on this territory [sc. Albis] are two extremely long and wide provinces called Pannonia inferior and superior. The latter provinces have been described by a great many scholars, of whom I have read the afore-mentioned Roman scholars Castorius, Lolianus and Arbitio, and the afore-mentioned Gothic scholars Aitanaridus, Eldevaldus and Marcommirus. They did not describe the provinces in equal measure, all [wrote] differently, and I therefore list the following towns after the earlier mentioned Marcommirus. We read that this province has a great many towns, of which we wish to name the following:

Confluentes	Taurinum
Idominium	Bassianae
Fossae	Sirmium
Drinum	Saldae
Bassantis	Marsonia
Mursa maior	Mursa minor
Ioballios	Berevis
Sorenis	Marimanus
Balenilo	Sirote
Cucconis	Lentulis
Sonista	Botivo
Populos	Aquaviva
Remista	Petaviona
Vincensimo	Ligano
Salla	Aravona
Savaria.	

The following towns of the other part of Pannonia are named here:

Burgenis	Spaneatis
Ansilena	Cibalis
Certisiam	Lavares
Cuminion.	

The following settlements can be found in another part of the province:

Siclis	Ecclavia
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⁵ Cf. also IV.37... *qui montes dividunt... inter patriam Camium et Italiani; que iugus Carnium dicebatur [ab] antiquitus Alpis Iulia.*

⁶ Author's translation.

Saniglon	Persetis
Netabio	Speridium
Bedini	Necal
Brindia	Clande
Assino	Bercio
Serbitium	Fines
Lamatis	Lausaba
Baloia	Apeva
Sapua	Bersellum
Ibisua	Derva
Citua	Anderba
Sarminium	Charmenis
Scaladis	Sapua
Aleba	Suberadona
Asinoe	Clandate
Berginio.	

The two Pannonias are traversed by very great rivers, the following among them:

Ira	Bustricius.
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In Pannonia there is a very large lake, the Pelso, and the following other rivers:

Parsium	Dravis.
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20. Beside Pannonia is another province named Valeria, also called Media, because it lies between the named Pannonias [sc. inferior and superior, cf. IV.19]. These provinces have been described by the same scholars, but I list the following towns of Valeria after the earlier mentioned Gothic scholar, Marcommirus. We read that this province has a great many towns, of which we wish to name the following:

Acumincum	Cusum
Malata	Cuccium
Cornacum	Lussonium
Annamatia	Clantiburgum
Ad Labores	Donatiana
Antiana	Lugio
Vetus Salina	Lussomana
Gardellaca.	

The following settlements are in the other part:

Siscia	Ad Fines
Romula	Noviodunum
Crucium	Acervo
Emona.	

This Valeria was once possessed by the Marcomanni, as attested many times by the earlier mentioned most learned scholar Jordanes.⁷ This Valeria is bounded by a very large river called the Savus.

⁷ Fest. Brev. 8: *Marcomanni et Quadi de locis Valeria quae sunt inter Danuuuium et Drauum, pulsi sunt.* Jord. Rom. 217: *Marcomanni namque et Quadi in illa Valeria, quae inter Draum Danubiumque interiacet, ab eodem tunc ductore oppressi.*

21. Lying beside Valeria is the territory known as Carneola, earlier called Alpes Iuliana, Carnech and Valeria, all described by the same scholars.

Whatever other sources the Cosmographer had consulted for the description of Pannonia, he himself highlighted his reliance on Marcomir, and it seems quite certain that Mommsen's *Einquell-Theorie* can be rejected in the case of these particular *patriae*. The settlements' names were in all likelihood drawn from a source related to, but not identical with the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, given the different forms of certain toponyms (e.g. Emona-Atamine < Ad Emonam), possibly from an *itinerarium pictum* or a chorographic work or its abridgement, which the Chronographer drew from Marcomir's work.⁸ The names of the road stations are quite obviously based on information dating back to the Principate, similarly as in the case of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.⁹

In contrast, the names of the provinces do not obviously predate the 4th century, even if the names Pannonia superior and inferior are used because the province's old names were used simultaneously with the new ones of Pannonia I and II in the earlier 4th century (cf. It. Burd. 561,5, 562,8; Tab. Peut., and perhaps CIL III 4121, a building inscription) and they perhaps never became obsolete; in contrast to Savia (cf. Ostrogothic Savia), the province's new names did not survive beyond the onset of the 5th century;¹⁰ in later times, only the designation "two Pannonias" (*utraque Pannonia*) and the names Superior and Inferior were used, which, however, could have been employed in the sense of Pannonia I and II.¹¹

The Ravenna Cosmographer's text is more than a simple list of the road stations: similarly to other antique works of geography, it contains river names and the name of Lake Balaton (appearing as Pelsois, a variant of the lake's name that he probably took from Jordanes in view of the identical form: Get. LII.268, LIII.273).¹² The most striking element in the description of the two Pannonias is that the province's settlements are listed along three routes running east to west and south to north (IV.19), namely the *limes* road, the road along the Drava and the Amber Road, as well as a road along the Sava. The first stretch is the Confluentes (appearing in Tab. Peut. Seg. V.5)¹³/Taurunum-Poetovio road (It. Ant. 129,6–131,6, It. Burd. 561,4–563,13) and the Poetovio-Savaria route (It. Ant. 262,3–6) and

⁸ Mommsen 1851; Miller 1898; Schnetz 1926; Stolte 1949; Schnetz 1951; Schillinger-Häfele 1963, 238–251; Staab 1976; Schnetz 1990; Dillemann 1997; Staab 1998; Gautier-Dalché 2003; Guckelsberger-Mittenhuber 2013; Lozovsky 2020.

⁹ Tóth 1989, 202–203; Gračanin 2011, 238–239.

¹⁰ Latest mentions: Not. Dig. (Occ. I, 40, 41, 51, 87; II, 29, 32; V, 136, 138; XXXII, 1; XXXIV, 1, latest mention of Pannonia II: Suda D 1501) and Polemius Silvius's *laterculus* (Lat. 5); cf. Kovács 2019, 30–32, 41–42, 204.

¹¹ Cf. Orosius (VII.22.8 *Pannoniae*, 32.14) and Eugippius' works (Ep. Eug. 10, Comm. 1.1, 5.1), or Jordanes' writings, assuming that these authors did not draw from an earlier source: Rom. 218; Get. XXXI.161, LIII.272; Jordanes was familiar with the Gothic province of Savia/Suavia: Get. LII.273, 274, cf. also the name Pannonia II Sirmiensis: Cass. Var. III.23.2, IV.13.1, as well as Isid. Et. XIV.3.35; cf. Eggers 2006–2007.

¹² Schnetz 1926, 89, 97; Dillemann 1997, 91, 99, for a contrary view, cf. Staab 1976, 37. The Cosmographer could have estimated the size of the lake (*lacus maximus*) from Jordanes' description of the Goths' settlement territory, although it must be noted that the Cosmographer described every lake known to him as being extremely large (*maximus*: I.2, IV.30), but he rarely specifies the names of these lakes in Books II–IV.

¹³ I follow K. Miller's numbering.

¹⁷ For its course, cf. Zanni 2018, 83–102; Zanni 2017, 145–164.

other curious points: the Cosmographer (or his source) felt that the name Media called for an explanation (its location between the two Pannonias) and sensing some uncertainty, he again cites Jordanes at the end of the chapter (Jord. *Rom.* 217). In the lack of other sources, the Cosmographer could only have known about the existence of the province of Valeria and its original location from Jordanes's passage (*quae inter Draum Danubiumque interiacet*), which enabled him to associate – in part correctly – the settlements along the *limes* road with the province. It is striking that the Cosmographer was familiar with the location of the Dravus and the Savus, even though the former does not appear on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The Dravus is mentioned separately in the *Cosmography*, suggesting that the source consulted by the Cosmographer contained the name of the river, while its variant known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* did not. That this was indeed the case is indicated by the fact that in the case of the Savus, the form *Sauo fl(umen)* (Seg. V.1) appears on the map, even if as a road station and in a reverse order, while the only the abbreviation *fl(uvius)* remains of the river on the boundary of the two segments (Seg. IV.5-V.1), without a name, but in red, the customary colour for rivers.¹⁸ Another important point is that the confluence of the Dravus and the Savus is (mistakenly) located under Cusum and Acumincum, whence they flow into the sea. The occurrence of variants of the same toponyms in the two chapters – Acumincum: Acunum-Cunion, Ad Labores: Lavares-Livori – can probably be explained by the use of different sources.¹⁹ The *Cosmography* does not contain a separate hydrological list for Valeria, possibly because there was no list of this kind, although it designates the Savus as marking the province's border, most likely on the basis of a map source, although it remains uncertain whether in the north or south. The way-stations would suggest the former, but in this case, the province of Media could hardly lie between the two provinces as interpreted in the *Cosmography*.

The next chapter (IV.21) covers the *patria* of Carneola, most likely the late designation of *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*.²⁰ The Cosmographer notes that Carneola lies beside Valeria (*iuxta*, again suggesting a map as his source). The *Tabula Peutingeriana* could hardly have been the source in this case, although the inscription *Noricum* appears in this spot on it. This chapter is evidently based on 6th-century information, in all likelihood taken from Marcomir and his fellow geographers, similarly as in the case of the other Germanic *patriae*.²¹

The Supplement offers a comparison of the differing Pannonian toponyms of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Figs. 3–5) and the *Ravenna Cosmography*. Although it was quite obvious (for example from a comparison of the road stations of the Pannonian *limes*) that as in the case of the other *patriae* of the *Cosmography*, the *Tabula* contains considerably more toponyms for Pannonia too, even if some, such as Halicanum and Cibalae (whose location is merely indicated with twin towers, but without the name), only appear in the *Cosmography*. In the case of Acumincum, which appears twice in the list, we may assume that the Cosmographer drew from several sources (from at least two lists). The variants of

¹⁸ It was perhaps erased, as suggested by Weber 1976, 67, or omitted owing to the overlap between the segments, as posited by Talbert 2010, 95, 103, 127.

¹⁹ Tóth 1989, 202.

²⁰ Dillemann 1972; Šašel 1992, 588–591, 728–739; Dillemann 1997, 177–180; Wolfram 2000.

²¹ Staab 1976.

the place-names can be explained with simple linguistic phenomena (V > B dissimilation, syllable shortening), or plain misreadings (Neviodunum-Nouiodum-Nomiodum). Interestingly enough, the Cosmographer omits the preposition *ad* from several place names, while in some cases, he uses the nominative and elsewhere he does use the preposition *ad* (Emona-Atamine (ad Emonam)).²² The explanation for the latter can be found in the Burnum road section of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* where the full form is given after the original itinerary: *Ab Hadre Burno milia XIII* (Seg. V.3–5).²³

Basing his arguments on the above, E. Tóth concluded that the information on the province of Media contained in the *Ravenna Cosmography* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is closely related and should be taken at face value, meaning that the province of Valeria Media had been established along the Savus,²⁴ the broader implication being that the earlier province of Valeria ripensis had been abandoned and the population had been evacuated. In his view, this occurred at the time the province was ceded to the Huns. Although very attractive and seemingly logical, this hypothesis leaves several questions open and therefore other interpretations should by all means be considered.

One point that should set alarm bells ringing is that there is no other source on the creation of the new province (the later Valerias will be discussed below). The following issues need to be addressed in this respect.

(1) The Vindobona-Carnuntum-Brigetio and Savaria-Carnuntum roads are lacking from the description, which can hardly be mere chance (Fig. 2). Tóth argued that this can be explained by the abandonment of Pannonia's northern territories. However, this is not as straightforward as it would appear at first sight. Roman provinces were not evacuated in successive phases, and neither were two separate provinces evacuated simultaneously, involving only the abandonment of their northerly regions. The Cosmographer omitted not only the regions along the Danube in northern Pannonia, but neither does he mention Noricum and Raetia from Brigetio onwards. The latter can hardly be associated with the Huns' westward expansion. Gardellaca (in the Környe area), the northernmost settlement in the description of Valeria, lies relatively close to the Danube and farther east than Brigetio.²⁵ It seems more likely that the end-points of the two routes, Carnuntum and Brigetio, were simply omitted from Cosmographer's list or, better said, from the source he had used. Neither can it be excluded that the Vindobona-Brigetio route was listed separately in his source and that he had simply forgotten to add it. He could hardly have regarded Gardellaca as the end-point since the road continued along the Lepavista-Brigetio route. The omission of Aquincum, the other important town, from the Valeria list is also striking. The latter was perhaps only marked with twin towers or with letters of another size on the map serving as the original source, which perhaps also played a role in their omission. The reason for the omission, together with that of Raetia and Noricum, can perhaps be sought in that the Cosmographer strove to describe the early medieval states that emerged in the former Western and Central European provinces: the *patria* lying closest to the region discussed here was Albis (which perhaps also incorporated Baia, i.e.

²² The latter occurs elsewhere, too: cf. Schnetz 1942, 21.

²³ Talbert 2010, 126.

²⁴ Tóth 1989.

²⁵ Tóth 2006, 164–165.

Boiohaemum), although without any place names (IV.17).²⁶ A description of Raetia and Noricum was omitted and neither were the former Roman road stations included owing to the evacuation of these two provinces and their occupation by the Bavarians (cf. IV.37 *qui montes dividunt... inter Raeticos* [codd. *Ranicos*, Guido 5 *Retianos*], *que modo a Bauuariis dominatur*),²⁷ and a few place names of the Vindobona-Brigetio road somehow made their way into the list.

(2) Media: the enigmatic province name

The other main source covering the purported Pannonian province is the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.²⁸ The inscription MEDIA PROV(INCIA) appears in uncusumary black letters on the two sides of the Savus, between Noricum and Liburnia, in the section mentioned by the Cosmographer (Seg. V2-VI.1; Figs. 4–5). Tóth argued that the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, as an independent source, confirmed the existence of a province called Media, which in his view was called Valeria Media. However, some serious objections can be raised in this respect.

(a) The *Tabula Peutingeriana* has two provinces called Media, neither of which is Valeria media. The inscription MEDIA PROVINCIA appears in red letters, written in full, where the province of Savia should be, but on the southern side of the Alps, above the Bergomum-Verona stretch in Italy (Seg. IV.2–3). This inscription is quite certainly erroneous and there is a general consensus that it was a scribal error for Raetia.²⁹ It is an entirely different matter of why the inscription Media provincia was placed in the north Italian and southern Pannonian segment of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The error of Italy can be ascribed to later copyists, unlike in the case of Pannonia, which the Cosmographer had undoubtedly seen on a similar map. The letters MED at the beginning of the inscription could have been a misinterpretation of R(a)etia caused by misreading the letters, possibly by the early 13th-century copyist of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, who could easily have mistaken a cursive *r* for *m* and a cursive *t* for *d* when copying a presumably Carolingian roll. The earlier, most likely 5th-century copyist, or the Carolingian-period scribe, was even more liable to have misread the original inscription, probably written in 2nd- or 3rd-century cursive script, given that the letters in question could be easily mistaken for each other (cf. the minuscule *d* and the capital *T*,³⁰ and the minuscule *M* and *R*).³¹ Earlier, Pannonian Media was believed to have been a simple misreading of Savia (Katancsich's argument that Media had been the earlier name of Savia can quite certainly be rejected).³² Diverging from earlier views, Tóth claimed that the Media along the Sava was not a mistake, but a later addition in the time of Theodosius II, judging from the letters' black colour. However, this claim can be seriously challenged.

(b) The date of the inscription

²⁶ Schmidt 1941, 213–215.

²⁷ Miller 1898, 17.

²⁸ Miller 1887; Miller 1898; Miller 1916; Levi 1967; Weber 1976; Bosio 1983; Arnaud 1988; Prontera 2003; Talbert 2010; Albu 2014; Rathmann 2018. For a still useful comprehensive discussion of the Pannonian data of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* see Katancsich 1824 and Graf 1936.

²⁹ Miller 1916, 379, 485; Weber 1976, 22.

³⁰ <https://www.tabula-peutingeriana.de/download/lesehilfe.pdf>; Bischoff 1986, 113.

³¹ Thompson 1912, 338; Bischoff 1986, 64.

³² Katancsich 1824; Miller 1898, 17; Miller 1887, 60; Miller 1916, 485; Graf 1936, 41, 48.

The surviving copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* has several province names written in black with capitals (although occasionally minuscule letters are used, as for example the *E* of the Italian Media) in order to clearly distinguish them from the other larger regional units written in red such as Liburnia and Noricum.³³ The rare abbreviation of the word *provincia* does not indicate a subsequent addition, the cramming together of the place names (Servitium, Burnum and the beginning of Pannonia) simply meant that there was not enough space left for completing the word. The editor (*scriba*) simply wanted to avoid similar collisions. Thus, there is nothing to suggest that the Pannonian Media was a later addition.

True enough, a world map was emended in Theodosius II's time,³⁴ in 435, or, better said, a new one was compiled based on corrections to earlier maps, as recorded by Dicuil and in a poem of the *Anthologia Palatina* (De mens. orb. terrae 1.1, 5.4 (= Anth. Lat. Suppl. 724), see the Supplement). The preparation of the new map took many months (vv. 9–10 *mensibus exiguis*) and the drawings and inscriptions were made separately (v. 8 *famuli, dum scribit pingit et alter*). It remains controversial whether the traditional supposition of identifying this map with the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is correct,³⁵ or whether it was a copy of Agrippa's map,³⁶ or perhaps a world map that influenced another Carolingian-period T-O map (cf. the inscription of the map made by Theodulf of Orléans: *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana*, which is indeed a map made in Theodosius's time).³⁷ Whichever the case, the latter can hardly be regarded as a version of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* updated by recording a new province.

The appearance of the two Medias in roughly the same spot and with the same inscription on the two segments is very striking. Moreover, the word *provincia* is rarely added to province names (even if it is attested, for example in the case of Gaudetiulia and Africa, but the word *provincia* precedes the name, while in our case it comes after it).

Two other explanations are feasible for the name Media:

(i) The name of the province of Savia was copied incorrectly instead of Raetia.³⁸ This seems unlikely because much earlier information was used when compiling the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the reorganisation of the Danubian provinces after the Tetrarchy is not reflected on the map (I.1, see, e.g., the divided status of Pannonia and Moesia).

(ii) We are dealing with a case of dittography (which is attested elsewhere in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*³⁹), the name of the province was erroneously shown on the map together with the Italian Media,⁴⁰ given that the Cosmographer was also familiar with this information, dating from the redaction under Theodosius II at the latest.

(c) Tóth claimed that the two sources furnish sufficient proof for the existence of the province of Valeria Media because the formula *quae et* also appears elsewhere, in the case

³³ Talbert 2010, 78.

³⁴ Although possibly under Theodosius I, as argued in early scholarship: cf. Detlefsen 1906, 15.

³⁵ Weber 1976, 22; Dilke 1985, 169–170; Tóth 1989, 209; Talbert 2010, 138–139; Rathmann 2018, 25.

³⁶ Cameron 2002.

³⁷ Miller 1916, p. XXXIV–XXXV; Gautier Dalché 1994–1995, 91–08; Cameron 2002, 121–130; Salway 2005, 128–129; Traina 2013.

³⁸ Miller 1898, 17; Miller 1887, 60; Miller 1916, 485; Graf 1936, 41, 48.

³⁹ Talbert 2010, 129.

⁴⁰ Talbert 2010, 126.

of other province names too, in the *Cosmography*. However, he offered no explanation for the lone Media of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The formula *qui/quae (que) et* indeed occurs several times in the *Cosmography*, in the case of both town and province names:

- II.6: *patria que dicitur Omeritae, quae et Eudemon Arabia dicitur*
- II.10: *patria que vocatur Media Minor, quae et Gozar dicitur*
- II.16: *Mazaca, que et Cesarea Capadotie*
- III.1: *Nuchul, qui et Eger appellatur, que<m alii> Nilum vocitant*
- III.3: *patria que dicitur Ethyopia Garamantium, qui et Asbyste dicitur*
- III.7: *Mauritania quasi Rubea, que et Sitifensis appellatur*
- IV.14: *Uni, qui et Avari*
- 26: *patria Suavorum que et Alamanorum patria*
- 30: *Papia que et Ticinus*
- 32: *Fidentia que et Parma.*

The answer is not as straightforward as it might seem. At the beginning of IV.20, we read about *patria que dicitur Valeria, que et Media appellatur Provincia*, i.e. a province named Valeria, also called Media, in other words, Media is not an adjective of the province, but part of its name. In most of the similar cases, we only find the *qui/quae et* formula without a predicate; only in the description of Mauretania Sitifensis does the verb *appellatur* appear. The pronoun *provincia* does not appear anywhere, being substituted by *patria* used earlier in a similar sense. The latter can be found in the subordinate clause beginning with *quae* referring to the *patria*. It is therefore fair to conclude that Provincia is part of the name of Media and that the province's name had been copied from some other source, which in all likelihood was the common archetype of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and of the maps consulted by the Ravenna Cosmographer.⁴¹

(d) If we were to assume that the Cosmographer had used solely written sources and had not consulted maps, it could be reasonably argued that his source had introduced a road section with the inverted attributive formula *in media provincia*, which had been misunderstood, leading to the creation of a province not attested elsewhere. This formula occurs in the description of Hispania in the *Cosmography* (IV.44), in the section listing the settlements between Complutum and Lacipea. Neither is it the name of a province in Aethicus Ister's cosmography: 190,10 (Printz) *Quae Dalmatia primum media pars Graeciae, Mesia* [erroneously *Media* in the manuscripts owing to the earlier adjective] *vero quondam rege Moesio et Troiano subiacebant*.

(e) In the Cosmographer's interpretation, the adjective *media*, "middle", clearly refers to the region between the two Pannonias. In his usage, the post-classical predicate *reiacet* does not refer to a territory lying behind (as claimed by Wolff) or in-between (cf. the ensuing preposition *inter*), but simply means "extends" (as evident from several other passages: I.2, 4, 13, III.6, 9, IV.37, V.15). Thus, any claims that it refers to a province between the former Valerias (Valeria ripensis and the Italian Valeria) is simply a modern misconstrued explanation.

(f) There is no trace of a Valeria media, or a province of Media in any contemporaneous source⁴² containing the names of the late Roman provinces (*dux* of Valeria ripensis

⁴¹ Stolte 1949, 84.

⁴² Orosius (e.g. I.55, 60), the latest data in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (425–430), or Polemius Silvius' *laterculus*

Occ. I, 42, XXXIII, although it does not appear in the list of civilian governors and the name of the province was omitted from the list of dioceses: II,28, and Lat. 5), or in later sources or inscriptions.

(3) In the light of the above, there are several indications that even if the Cosmographer did not specifically use the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, he drew from a highly similar source in the case of Pannonia too:

(a) The description of Pannonia superior and inferior as very long and wide provinces. The superlative *dilatissimus* does not appear in the description of any other province in the *Cosmography* – and since it does not actually conform to reality, it only makes sense if the Cosmographer had before him a map drawn on a parchment roll resembling the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

(b) The repeated use of the preposition *iuxta* (or, in the case of Dalmatia, one of the settlement lists is *desuper*: IV.16).⁴³

(c) The use of the name Media Provincia.

(d) The location of Media Provincia (Siscia-Emona road) and the Savus as the border.

(e) The partial identification of Valeria with Pannonia inferior as far as Acumincum, based on Jordanes (see above).

(f) The inclusion of the road stations of the Servitium-Salona and Argentaria-Salona stretch in the Pannonian list.

The use of other sources is indicated by the following:

(a) River names: Ira, Bustricius.

(b) The inclusion of lacus Pelso.

(c) The use of variants of the same place name (e.g. Emona-Atamine).

(d) The mention of Carneola and the omission of Noricum (IV.21).

(e) Recurring place names (e.g. Acumincum: Acunum-Cuminion).

(f) The inclusion of Dalmatian road stations among the Pannonian settlements (owing to the slight displacements of the inscription of Dalmatia on the map).

(g) The mention of Valeria.

It seems instructive to compare the possible relation between the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Figs 3–5) and the source used by the Cosmographer. Previous studies have convincingly demonstrated that in addition to countless similarities, there are also major divergences between the two, suggesting that both can be derived from a common 5th-century archetype,⁴⁴ which can perhaps be identified with the world map compiled under Theodosius II. Blending the elements of a chorographic work and world maps as well as of Roman itineraries, the various features of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* can be linked to the use of earlier Greek and Roman sources (Agrippa, *itineraria*) as described in the above-cited poem of the *Anthologia Palatina* (Suppl. 724).⁴⁵ The *Cosmography* contains a roughly similar number of place names (5000 toponyms and 84 *patriae* or regional units, although quite a

(448–449), even if the latter reflects slightly earlier conditions; cf. also Wesch-Klein 2002, 57–88, esp. 64–66.

⁴³ Cf. Mommsen 1851, 97; Miller 1898, 143–144; Guckelsberger-Mittenhuber 2013, 298. For a general discussion, cf. Podossinov 2013, 5–23, esp. 19.

⁴⁴ Schnetz 1942, 50–65, 85–87; Stolte 1949, 82–83; Schillinger-Häfele 1963, 238–251; Staab 1976, 36–37; Weber 1976, 22; Dillemann 1997, 32–44; Gautier Dalché 2003; Salway 2005, 127; Talbert 2010, 164–165; Rathmann 2018, 20–25.

⁴⁵ Cf. Weber 1976, 23, and Rathmann 2018, 31.

few are duplicates or corrupt forms, while the distances in miles are lacking),⁴⁶ it also drew from Greek sources, and it can therefore be linked to the Padua map seen and described by Prisciani in the late 15th century (although the map itself had been made in Ravenna, most likely in the 5th century).⁴⁷ If this was indeed the case, the erroneous *Media provincia* inscriptions were adopted from the archetype of both the currently known exemplar of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Cosmography*. Similar editorial mistakes (such as the misreading of province names written in cursive and duplicates) would be typical of a later redaction.⁴⁸

What seems most likely is that the Cosmographer knew about the two Pannonias from the archetype of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, although it cannot be wholly excluded that he was also aware of the *tres Pannoniae*, a brief period lasting for a few decades after the creation of Valeria, from the 290s until the division of Pannonia superior and the establishment of Savia. The three Pannonias are mentioned by the bishop Optatus Milevitanus (De schism. Donat.II.1).⁴⁹ In this case, the Cosmographer was familiar with the province name Valeria, but the inscription Valeria on the map was confusing and he therefore conflated the two territorial units. According to the first version, he had no other sources than the map and Jordanes, and he only needed to make sense of the information on Valeria in the latter and combine it with the map, which enabled him to determine the original location of Valeria and then interpret Media as referring to the region between the two Pannonias. However, the idea of the Savus as marking the province's border does not come from Jordanes, but rather from the identification of map's Media. The reasoning behind it might have been that after the Dravus flowed into the Savus on the map, the river flowed into the sea and the Cosmographer could well have regarded it as the tributary of the Savus. He was aware of the uncertainty, explaining why he added his own interpretation of Jordanes Rom. 217, but changed the Dravus into the Savus based on the map he had consulted. Jordanes was one of the Cosmographer's primary and most important sources, as is evident from his passage on the eastern Hungarian, Dacian river names: IV.14 *tamen ipsas patrias praefatus Iordanis chronographus subtilius exposuit*.⁵⁰

In the light of the above, the following options can be considered regarding the depiction of the province of Media and the Cosmographer's Valeria Media:

(1) A province called Valeria Media had indeed been created.

(2) The inscription Media appeared on the map on which the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Cosmography* were based (most likely the one made in Theodosius II's time), which was either

(a) a dittography, in which case in addition to a northern Italian Media, quite certainly a misreading of Raetia, a Pannonian Media was erroneously added.

(b) a corrupt form of Savia.

Based on Jordanes, the Cosmographer identified the erroneous Media appearing on the archetype map of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Cosmography* with Valeria;

⁴⁶ Cf. Guckelsberger-Mittenhuber 2013, esp. 296–298, Abb. 4.

⁴⁷ Gautier Dalché 2003; Talbert 2010, 166–170; Rathmann 2018, 18.

⁴⁸ Mommsen 1851, 311–312; Talbert 2010, 129.

⁴⁹ Kovács 2019, 30–31.

⁵⁰ Schnetz 1926; Dillemann 1997, 45–47.

combining it with Rom. 217 and the map inscription led to the birth of the province of Valeria Media. In contrast to Carneola,⁵¹ this Valeria/Media cannot be linked to any 6th-century events, as is obvious from Procopius's description of the region:

Proc. Bell. Goth. I.15.25 καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἐχομένη Πρέκαλις ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ, μεθ' ἣν Δαλματία ἐπικαλεῖται, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐσπερίας λελόγισται κράτει. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Λιβουρνία τε καὶ Ἰστρία καὶ Βενετίων ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ μέχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν διήκουσα. 26 οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιθαλάσσιοι ταύτῃ ὥκηνται. ὕπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν Σίσκιοι τε καὶ Σούαβοι 'οὐχ οἱ Φράγγων κατήκοοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἕτεροὶ χώραν τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι. 27 καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτους Καρνίοι τε καὶ Νωρικοὶ ἱδρυνται. τούτων δὲ Δᾶκαί τε καὶ Παννόνες ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Σιγγιδόνον καὶ Σίρμιον ἔχουσιν, ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διήκοντες.

Describing the region in relation to the Justinian's Gothic wars (after AD 537), the Byzantine historian lists all the important provinces or regional units: 1. Dalmatia, 2. Liburnia, 3. Istria, 4. Venetia, 5. Siscia and Savia, 6. Carneola and Noricum, and finally 7. Dacia and Pannonia. One point that emerges clearly is that the name of Savia with Siscia as its seat⁵² did not change after Theoderich, as shown by Cassiodorus's *Variae*, the latter preserving several imperial edicts addressed to the province's late antique and Germanic population between 507/511–526 (Var. IV.49: Siscia vel Savia, V.14.1: Savia, V.15: Savia provincia, IX.8: Savia provincia),⁵³ as well as the title of the military governor (*comes Dalmatiarum et Saviae*),⁵⁴ while Carneola appears in the list.

It seems instructive to briefly review the *Cosmography*'s sources at this point. While 19th-century scholarship assumed that the Cosmographer used the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Miller argued that the map's author was Castorius, the most oft-mentioned source, or perhaps Pope Gregory's notary/*diaconus*, or the bishop of Rimini) and that the sources not mentioned elsewhere were fictitious,⁵⁵ research during the past decades has added many new hues to the overall picture, particularly the studies on the post-Roman conditions in former Gallia and Germania,⁵⁶ including Carneola⁵⁷ and Liburnia Tarsatica⁵⁸ that are most relevant to this study. The Cosmographer knew little of the conditions in the 7th century (as shown, for example, by the lack of any references to the Arab conquests, although he does mention the Avars and the Bulgars: I.11, IV.14, IV.6), and despite the many similarities, it seems unlikely that the map he had consulted was the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. This was the main rationale for positing a relationship between the road map of Books II–IV (which bear no resemblance to the round map of Book I,⁵⁹ and the now-lost map sharing a common ancestor with the map seen by Prisciani in Padua, which would also have been the source of the *periplus* in Book V (or, better said, its source containing the mileages). The

⁵¹ Šašel 1992, 588–591, 728–739; Wolff 2000.

⁵² Gračanin, Bilogrović 2016, 103–144, esp. 117–118.

⁵³ Kakridi 2005, 288–289, 303; Gračanin 2016.

⁵⁴ Fitz 1993, 1405–1406, nos. 1058, 1060–1061; Amory 1997, 93, 375–376, 403, 414–415; Uglešić 1990–1991, 65–78; Arnold 2016, 75–78; Gračanin 2016.

⁵⁵ Mommsen 1851; Miller 1887; Miller 1898; Miller 1916.

⁵⁶ Schnetz 1926; Schnetz 1942; Stolte 1949; Staab 1976; Arnaud 1988; Dillemann 1997; Staab 1998, 104–105; Gautier-Dalché 2003; Guckelsberger-Mittenhuber 2013.

⁵⁷ Šašel 1992, 588–591, 728–739; Wolff 2000.

⁵⁸ Turković, Basić 2011, 49–102.

⁵⁹ Schnetz 1942; Stolte 1949.

overwhelming majority, 86% of the 847 place-names appear in Books II-IV, although often in a different form.⁶⁰ It was quite plausibly suggested that the Cosmographer did not use this source directly, but had recourse to an abridged, or perhaps an updated 6th-century version (possibly the variant by Marcomir regarding the region discussed here). The data discussed in the above would confirm this, although it must also be borne in mind that in contrast to Stolte's opinion (at least regarding the chapters in question), we should assume the use of a map or a draft sketch because some of the information contained in the *Cosmography* (such as the borders of Pannonia inferior and Valeria, the use of the Dalmatian road and mileage data) only makes sense in this case. The corrupt and repeatedly used place names definitely suggest an intermediary text, one possibly written partly in Greek, which would explain the corruption owing to the multiple transliterations (Latin-Greek-Latin).⁶¹ Obviously, neither can we exclude the possibility that the interpretation attributed to the Cosmographer (such as the identification of Valeria and Media) was drawn from the source he had consulted, although this seems less likely. The Cosmographer probably drew his information from several sources: the most oft-mentioned among them – Jordanes, Isidore of Seville (the source of much information), Orosius and Ptolemy – were demonstrably consulted, while the majority of otherwise unknown authors, particularly the ones with cratylic names, can be regarded as fictitious.⁶² The use of the *Cosmography* before its 13th-14th-century manuscripts is confirmed by Guido of Pisa's *Geography* (1119), which was wholly based on it.⁶³

In the light of the above, the *Cosmography* was written sometime between AD 650 and 750, and any later information (such as the mention of Venice: IV.30) is probably an interpolation.

The "birth" of the province of Valeria media can be reconstructed as follows:

(1) The erroneous Italian and Pannonian *Media provincia* were inscribed on the archetype of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

(2) The Cosmographer drawing from both the archetype and Jordanes linked the two provinces when compiling his work.

Thus, the information in the *Cosmography* (and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*) does not, in itself, confirm the existence of a province called Valeria Media, and it is therefore prudent to take a closer look at the other possible references to the province.

The vita Corbiniani and Valeria

A certain Valeria is mentioned twice in Ardeo's *vita* of Corbinian, through which the Gallic saint passed on his second journey to Rome. Given that the Gallia-Germania-Valeria-Noricum-Italia route bypassed northern Pannonia, Tóth concluded that the saint had travelled through the province of Valeria media.⁶⁴ The issue is not as straightforward as it would appear. The toponym appears twice in Chapter 15.

Ardeo vita Corbiniani 15 *Deinde Germanorum peragrans termina Valeriam penetrans et ibidem quamdiu demoratas, verbi divini largitus est semina, quae propagata nonnullorum*

⁶⁰ The Cosmographer himself notes this: V.1.

⁶¹ Dillemann 1997, 47.

⁶² Schnetz 1926; Schnetz 1942; Dillemann 1997.

⁶³ For a detailed discussion, cf. Schnetz 1990, p. IV-XI.

⁶⁴ Tóth 1989, 210–211, 213–218; Tóth 1995; Tóth 2014.

penetraverunt corda in augmentum fidei, quia a paene in Christianitatis religione gens nostra, ut ruda adhuc fuerat, novicitate conversionis erat... Munera illi non modica contulit [sc. Theodo]; valefactum absolvit, directis ministris, qui eum cum omni honore deducerentur a finibus Valeriae atque Noricensis Cisalpina in caput Italiae; qui iussa compleverunt; sub debito honore benedictionem petentes, reversi sunt.

The long section between the passages that has been omitted here narrates the saint's sojourn in Valeria and the events involving Theodo *dux* and his son, residing in Ratisbona (cf. v. Hem. 4), a clear indication that Corbinian's Valeria could hardly have been located in Pannonia. This Valeria can be identified with Bavaria, with Raetia II, and thus the origin of this name has to be sought elsewhere, a question that has since long commanded the interest of scholars engaged in the study of the late history of Raetia and the early history of Bavaria.⁶⁵ However, the current spate of arguments, no matter how ingenious (Walchenland, Wualhogoi-Wallgau, Vallis Eni > Vallenia > Valeria, the survival of the title *Dux Valeriae*, the re-establishment of Valeria, and the fanciful revival of a long-forgotten antique toponym), are not wholly satisfactory, and in any case, no association whatsoever can be demonstrated with the Pannonian Valeria. Although a certain westward shift of the one-time Roman toponyms is attested in later periods, as in the case of Pannonia superior and Noricum,⁶⁶ this would hardly explain the "relocation" of Valeria twice, for had this been the case, it would also be recorded in sources other than Arbeo's *vita*. R. Härtel offered an ingenious explanation for the origin of the name Valeria that has some relevance for this study too.⁶⁷ In his view, Arbeo was aware of the information on Valeria in the *Cosmography*, which he conflated with the data on the Media province of Italy on the southern side of the Alps (Seg.IV.2–3), which in all likelihood was an error for Raetia,⁶⁸ the implication being that Arbeo was familiar with the archetype of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, specifically with a variant that contained the erroneous Media inscription (in both places). While the latter possibility cannot be rejected out of hand, one of the Latinising explanations seems more likely, particularly in view of the designation of the surviving provincial population as Walchen-Vlachen-Romani.⁶⁹ Whichever the case, neither provides proof for the existence of a province called Valeria Media.

On his second journey to Rome, Corbinian travelled to Valeria from Gallia through Alemannia and Germania, and thus the identification with Valeria media can be rejected. His route led him through Valeria and Noricum to Italy (*a finibus Valeriae atque Noricensis Cisalpina in caput Italiae*), through the *vallis Venusticae* (Val Venosta/Vinschgau) and

⁶⁵ Riezler 1888, 233–234; Steinberger 1916, 247–248; *Arbeonis Episcopi Frisingensis Vitae sanctorum Haimhrammi et Corbiniani*. In: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 13, B. Krusch (ed.), Hannover 1920, 141, 202–203; Reinecke 1926, 21; Heuberger 1930, 23–24; Klebel 1956, 489–490; Härtel 1979; Zöllner 1992, 245–246; Wolfram 1995, 69; Vogel 2000, 342–344; Reimitz 2000, 134; Diepolder 2001, 24; Winckler 2012, 317–318; Blei 2013, 129–130.

⁶⁶ Klebel 1956. The rationale for these shifts always had some logic to it, e.g. the Bavarian expansion into Noricum, the joint *ducatus* of Pannonia I and Noricum, Noricum was part of the Pannonian diocese; later, Pannonia inferior was identified with Hungary, while Pannonia superior was equated with Austria (Noricum); see below.

⁶⁷ Härtel 1979, 278–282.

⁶⁸ Miller 1916, 379, 485; Weber 1976, 22.

⁶⁹ Pohl 2017, 9–26.

Innetinis (Engadin) in the Inn valley (c. 15),⁷⁰ arriving to Tridentum in Italy (v. Corb. 16: *Cum autem Trigentinum castrum vir Dei pervenisset*). On his return journey from Rome, Corbinian could hardly have passed through a putative south-western Pannonian Valeria (c. 21 Papia, Trident, c. 22 pratae Rumannianae = Romagnano, 23 castrum Maiense in Bavaria: *Finem a iam Baiuvariorum ingressus, ad Maiensem usque dum veniret castrum*). In the light of the above, Corbinian had never set foot in any part of former Pannonia.

The q gospel book (Codex Valerianus – BSB Clm 6224)

Housed in Freising since at least the 10th century, the gospel book (Vetus Latina version) which has more recently come to be regarded as being of Valerian origin (given its association with Pannonia/Sirmium and Arianism), could only have been acquired in northern Italy, irrespective of whether it can indeed be associated with Corbinian, an association only posited since the Modern Age,⁷¹ even though there is nothing to prove the association with the saint. The gospel book made or copied around 600 in northern Italy, most probably in the Aquileia area, merely proves what we already know, namely that Pannonians and Sirmians still lived around Aquileia (although Dalmatia can also be considered), and the pericope added later (the feast of St. Timothy of Sirmium and the seven virgins, f. 43)⁷² can be associated with them and dated to after 600.⁷³ The remark at the end of the gospel book (f. 202^v: *Ego Valerianus scripsi*) seems less likely to refer to the scribe's Valerian origin in the case of a Pannonian refugee (for in this case it would be *Valerianis* and not *Valerianus*).⁷⁴ It seems more feasible that the name Valerianus is not a reference to the province, but one of the period's popular Christian names.⁷⁵ The name of Valerianus who made the codex and the later remark on the Pannonian martyrs written in uncials, but by another hand,⁷⁶ can only refer to the homeland of the scribe (or his family) even in the former case.⁷⁷ Thus, the gospel book hardly furnishes proof for the existence of Valeria Media.

Aethicus Ister's *Cosmography* and Valeria

Valeria is mentioned twice, while Pannonia appears separately in the fanciful cosmography, or, better said, highly imaginative literary travel narrative or *Philosophenroman* written sometime between 650 and the later 8th century, whose otherwise unknown author

⁷⁰ Vogel 2000, 345–346; Tóth 1989, 215, Abb. 6.

⁷¹ Vogel 2000, 40.

⁷² Cf. Tóth 1995 and Tóth 2014 for detailed discussion.

⁷³ Leidinger 1924, 93–102; Morin 1946, 95–102; Gamber 1978, 150–155; Gamber 1982, 79–82; Popović 1986, 27–56; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1983, 123–128; Tóth 1989, 218–220; Tóth 1995; Tóth 2014.

⁷⁴ Szádeczky-Kardoss 1983, 127–128. It must here be noted that there is no evidence whatsoever that the province of Valeria media had ever been established and that Valerianus had fled from this region after 600; we can also reject the possibility that the codex had been made in Pannonia during this period.

⁷⁵ Cf. Valerianus Cemeliensis, bishop of Cimiez, 439–460/461; the name is also attested in Aquileia and Dalmatia (e.g. the Orthodox bishop of Aquileia, and CIL V 1609–1610, 1612, 1710, Salona IV, 670); cf. Kajanto 1965, 157.

⁷⁶ White 1888, p. XVII (the first complete transcription of the codex); Glauche 2000, 32.

⁷⁷ One further elaboration of this theory has the codex made and used by Pannonian Christians living under Avar rule, a conjecture that can be relegated to the realm of fantasy: Tóth 2016, 232–234.

of uncertain origin – variously designated as Virgilius of Salzburg or as an Irish, a Frankish, a Bavarian, a Saxon or an eastern refugee – penned the narrative of a pagan philosopher by the name of Aethicus as related by his Christian translator:⁷⁸

114,3–5: *Aquitania valde et Hispania, Valeria et multas terrarum regiones habere et levius invenire non difficile ab habitatoribus vel questionariis suis.*

228,13–229,1: *Lacedemonia, Pannonia et Histria post celeberrimam Greciam, suarum generationum repetens...*

229,6–8: *Quantae clades in Lacedemonias, Norico et Pannonia, Histria et Albania, vicinae meae septentrionalium regiones...*

230,5–7:... *exercitu Romanorum avi crudilitatem arreptus Lacedemones crudeliter debellavit, Pannoniam vastavit...*

232,7–9: *Posthaec [sc. after the bloody victory in Histria] Valeriam [cod. L Valeniam⁷⁹] debellavit [sc. Romulus], urbes maritimas usque Italiae fines coepit ac tenus Mantuam urbem accedens...*

Pannonia, Lacedaemonia and Histria are repeatedly mentioned together in the excursus narrating the fictitious war between Romulus and the Franks (228,13, 229,7, 230,7), an element quite certainly taken from Isidore of Seville's *Etymology* (Etym. XIV.16–17).⁸⁰ Aethicus Ister lists all the known province names, and thus the mention of Valeria is hardly relevant. The province appears twice in the geographically rather jumbled work (114,4, 232,7), first together with Aquitania and Hispania, and then again with the Hister and the towns of Venetia after Histria, which had been supposedly conquered by Romulus. In the first case, it may be justifiably claimed that this Valeria is not a reference to the Pannonian Valeria, but to the town of Valeria in Hispania, while the second mention can be better associated with the Pannonian Valeria, even though the author apparently had no inkling of where the province actually lay, for he never mentions it as neighbouring on Pannonia.⁸¹ Yet, given the linguistic and stylistic similarities in Argeo's *vita*, it seems a fair assumption that he was familiar with Aethicus's cosmography, a highly popular work in Bavaria (or that they both drew from the same glosses) and thus the lack of an association with Pannonia can be explained by that it refers to the Bavarian Valeria.⁸² This seems to be confirmed by the author's apparent familiarity with the Danube region, of which he offers a reliable description,⁸³ as well as the repeated references to his Istrian (Italia) or Histrian

⁷⁸ d'Avezac 1852, 283; *Aethici Istrici Cosmographia ab Hieronymo ex Graeco Latinum breviarium redacta*, H. Wuttke (ed.), Leipzig 1853, p. XCLIII; Hillkowitz 1973, 5–6; Härtel 1979, 280; Prinz 1993, 114, Anm. 152, 232, Anm. 932; Herren 2011, 26, 80, n. 237.

⁷⁹ This codex, though undoubtedly one of the earliest, which could once been housed in the library of Argeo's monastery, contains numerous misspellings, and therefore its Valenia can hardly be associated with the tentative identification of Valeria with Vallis Eni, as pointed out by Tóth 1989, 218.

⁸⁰ Hillkowitz 1934, 39–40: 16 *Lacedaemonia... Pannonia ab Alpibus Appenninis est nuncupata, quibus ab Italia secernitur, regio viro fortis et solo laeta, duobus satis acribus fluviis, Dravo Savoque, vallata. Coniungitur autem cum Norico et Raetia; habentes ab oriente Moesiam, ab Euro Istriam; ab Africo vero Alpes Appenninos habent, ab occasu Galliam Belgicam, a septentrione Danubii fontem, vel limitem qui Germaniam Galliamque secernit. 17 Istriam Ister amnis vocavit, qui eius terram influit.*

⁸¹ Given that the fictitious events are restricted to the Alpine-Adriatic-northern Italian region, the Italian Valeria with Spoletum as its centre can be rejected.

⁸² Härtel 1979, 280.

⁸³ E.g. 189, 17–19: *Grecia igitur a leva Asiae, ab occiduo Dalmatiae, Histriae ac Norico ab Scithia simul*

origin (the town of Histria in Scythia minor or the Danube region in the broader sense: 88,7, 111,9–10, 153,8–13, 229,6–7, 233,6–9, 244,10). It is quite possible that he drew some of this information from the *Ravenna Cosmography*.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, whichever Valeria he had in mind, Aethicus's relevant passages do not confirm the existence of a province called Valeria Media.

Medieval Styria as Valeria

One popular view in German and Humanist scholarship after the 15th century was that Styria could be identified with the antique province of Valeria.⁸⁵ Although eventually discarded much later, this identification was first suggested by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), who was familiar with Austria and discussed the issue in several of his works:⁸⁶

Picc. Hist. Aust. 499,6: *Nam regionem hanc, quae modo Stiria dicitur, vocatam prius Valeriam et in provinciae modum redactam non est obscurum*

De Eur. I p. 27: *Styria quoque iisdem terminis continetur, Valeria quondam appellata. Hungaria uero, quamuis inferiorem Pannoniam a fluuio Leytha usque Sauum complexa est...*
21 p. 99: *Styria, quam quondam Valeriam inuenio nuncupatam*

Comm. I p. 125: *Ernestus Styrie prefuit, quae olim Valeria dicta*

Germ. p. 49: *Stiria, quam veteres Valeriam vocauerunt*.⁸⁷

Taking his cue from Piccolomini, W. Lazius embroidered this identification by depicting Valeria on his map: in his interpretation, Noricum lay in northern Styria, while the southerly regions were identical with antique Valeria: *Superior quidem Styria in Norico mediterraneo: inferior vero in Valeria situm obtinet*.⁸⁸ However, his Valeria had nothing to do with the Ravenna Cosmographer's Media. Lazius' motive can in all likelihood be explained by the survival of the names of the two Pannonias (superior and inferior), which he then combined with the information drawn from Rufus's *Breviary* and/or Jordanes that there was a province of Valeria between the Danube and the Drava (Brev. 8, Jord. Rom. 217). In the Carolingian period, up to 828, Pannonia superior was the region north of the Drava,⁸⁹ while Pannonia inferior with Siscia as its centre lay to the river's south,⁹⁰ while after 828, possibly through the re-interpretation of the antique sources, former eastern Pannonia, the region lying east of the River Rába (possibly in the wake of the Bulgar incursion in 828 or simply meaning the border of the dioceses) became Pannonia inferior or orientalis or

levaque secernens a monte Cimera mare). Aside from the text editions, cf. also Hillkowitz 1934–1973; Löwe 1951, 899–988; Peri 1984, 503–558; Gautier Dalché 1984, 175–186; Di Brazzano 2000, 749–785; Wood 2000, 197–208; Shanzer 2006, 57–86; Marone 2019.

⁸⁴ Herren 1994, 284, n. 9.

⁸⁵ Härtel 1979.

⁸⁶ *Annales Ducatus Styriae cum adjecta finitimarum provinciarum Bavariae, Austria, Carinthiae, Salisburgi, Aquilejae &c. historia, in quantum ea ad res Styriae illustrandas conducere videtur, ex antiquis historiae monumentis collecti studio et opera Aquilini Julii Caesari*, Graz 1768, 14–16.

⁸⁷ Cf. MGH SRG XIV/2, p. 499, Anm. 328.

⁸⁸ Lazius 1780, 33–35.

⁸⁹ For the border, cf. Ann. regni Franc. ad 819 (MGH SS rer. Germ. 6, p. 150).

⁹⁰ Cf. the title Liudewid dux (rector) Pannoniae inferioris: Ann. regni Franc. ad 818 (MGH SS rer. Germ. 6, p. 149), vita Hlud. 31 (MGH SS 2, p. 624); cf. also Bóna 1985; Eggers 2006, 14–15.

ulterior as far as the Dravus.⁹¹ However, the latter designated the Drava-Sava interfluvium.⁹² Conforming to the period's political borders, the western border of Pannonia superior gradually shifted westward, until the River Enns came to mark the border,⁹³ while Hungary was designated as Pannonia inferior in the later Middle Ages (and in the early Modern Age too)⁹⁴ and Austria (Ostmark) was identified with Pannonia superior.⁹⁵ In the light of the above, Piccolomini could have identified solely the Styrian region along the Drava with Valeria, an identification that became part of Humanist erudition through his writings, this being the reason for the presence of Valeria on the maps of Lazius and Ferenc Forgách made around 1570 – in other words, these maps can hardly be regarded as late evidence for the one-time existence of a province by the name of Valeria Media.

Conclusion

In the light of the above, there is no conclusive evidence that a province called Valeria media had been created in the late Roman period (or that there was ever an intention to create one), given that the contemporaneous written sources make no mention of such a province (lack of imperial decrees, lists of known provinces, Cassiodorus, the survival of Savia during the Ostrogothic rule, Jordanes's works).⁹⁶ There is nothing aside from the *Ravenna Cosmography* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, both drawing from the same source, to prove the existence of the province. Corbinian's sojourn in Valeria and the geographic name of Valeria can exclusively be associated with Raetia II and Bavarian territory, and neither do the Renaissance maps furnish conclusive evidence that Valeria media had ever existed. As we have seen, it seems more likely that the province of Valeria media is based on the erroneous inscription of the common source of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Ravenna Cosmography*, and that the province was a construct of the Cosmographer who tried to make sense of the contradictory sources, similarly as in the case of Mauritania Gaditana (I.3, III.10–11) and Mesogia Graecorum (II.16).⁹⁷ One good illustration of his combination of the information provided by the maps is the "unification" of Septimia and

⁹¹ Cf. CBC 6, 13, and the title of Brazlav dux Pannoniae ulterioris: Her, Aug. Chron. ad 892 (MGH SS 5, p. 150).

⁹² Ann. Fuld. Con. Ratisbon. ad 884: MGH SS reg. Germ. in us. schol. 7, p. 113. Cf. Bóna 1985; Eggers 2006, 15–21.

⁹³ MGH DD Lud. reg. p. 138–139.

⁹⁴ MGH SS rer. Germ. 45, p. 222, 275, 291. Cf. Klaniczay 1987–1988, 13 = Klaniczay 1993, 95–96.

⁹⁵ Klebel 1956; Härtel 1979. Cf. e.g. the Hereford mappa mundi made around 1285, on which Noricum (with the inscription *Noricus in quo Baioarii*) is immediately followed by Pannonia.

⁹⁶ The life of Antonius of Lérins is known in detail from his biography by Ennodius (PLRE II, Antonius 6), according to which he was born *circa Danubii fluminis ripas in civitate Valeria Secundino patre* (v. Ant. 7, cf. also 12–13). His homeland can hardly be located to any other province than Valeria ripensis: the emendation of the text to *in civitate Lav(o)ria(co)* is wholly unnecessary (and philologically unjustified): Lotter 1971, 265–315; Lotter 1976, 224–225, 232–233, but cf. Balogh 1929, 485–488; Bóna 1969, 286; Schwarcz 2001, 26–27; Gioanni 2007, 145–146; Bratož 2011, 606. Saint Severin's later student, who grew up in Lauriacum (v. Ant. 9), was born in the one-time Roman province around the 460s at the latest. It is an entirely different issue whether the *civitas* should be identified with Aquincum or rather with Sopianae. Whichever the case, Ennodius's biography makes no mention of another Valeria.

⁹⁷ Dillemann 1997, 87, 122; Laporte 2014, 47–87, esp. 49.

Provincia, two neighbouring southern Gaulic provinces, as Provincia Septimania (IV.29).⁹⁸ However, the Cosmographer's text, no matter how interesting philologically, is of little help regarding the abandonment of Pannonia.

Appendix

Different and repeatedly mentioned Pannonian place-names in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Cosmography*

Correct name	Tab. Peut.	An. Rav.
Acervo	Acervone	Acerbo
Acumincum	Acunum	Acunum Cuminion
Ad Arrabonem	Arrabone	Aravona
Ad Basante	Ad Basante	Bassantis
Ad Drinum (?)	–	Drinum (civ.) Drinius (river: IV.16)
Ad Labores	Ad Labores Ad Labores	Lavares Livorin
Advicesimum	Advicesimum	Vincensimo
Annamatia	Annamatia	Annama
Bolentia	Bolentio	Balenilo
Celena	Cansilena	Ansilena
Certisia	Certis	Certisia
Cibalae	– (only vignette)	Cibalis
Crucium	Crucio	Cruppi
Cuccium	Cuccio	Catio
Cusum	Cusum	Usum
Gerulata	Gerulatis	Gerbiatis (? : IV.7)
Halicanum	–	Ligano
Idiminium	Idiminio	Idominio
Iovalia	Iovallio	Ioballios
Lentulae	Luntulis	Lentulis
Lussomana	Lussomana	Lumana
Lussonum	Lusione	Alusione (ad Lusionem)
Marinianae	Marinianis	Marimanus
Malata	Milatis	Malatis
Neviodunum	Noviodum	Nomiodum
Poetovio	Petauione	Petauiona
Serenae	Seronis	Sorenis
Servitium	Servitio	Serbitium

⁹⁸ Mommsen 1851, 108; Miller 1898, 12; Dillemann 1997, 90, 108.

Serota	Sirotis	Sirote
Siscia	Siscia	Sicce
Spaneta	Ulmospaneta	Spaneatis
Taurunum	Tauruno	Taurino
Teutoburgium	Tittoburgo	Clautiburgum
Vereiae	Berebis	Berevis
Vetus Salina	Vetussallo	Belsalino
Outside Pannonia		
Emona	Emona	Atamine (ad Emonam)

Noricum as part of Pannonia

1. part of dioecesis Pannonia (Lat. Ver. 6)
2. common ducatus: *dux Pannoniae primae et Norici ripensis* (Not. Dig. Occ. I, 40; V, 138; XXXIV, 13)
3. Exc. Val. 10.45: *Cuius pater Edico dictus, de quo ita invenitur in libris vitae Beati Severini monachi intra Pannoniam, qui eum admonuit, et praedixit regnum eius futurum.*

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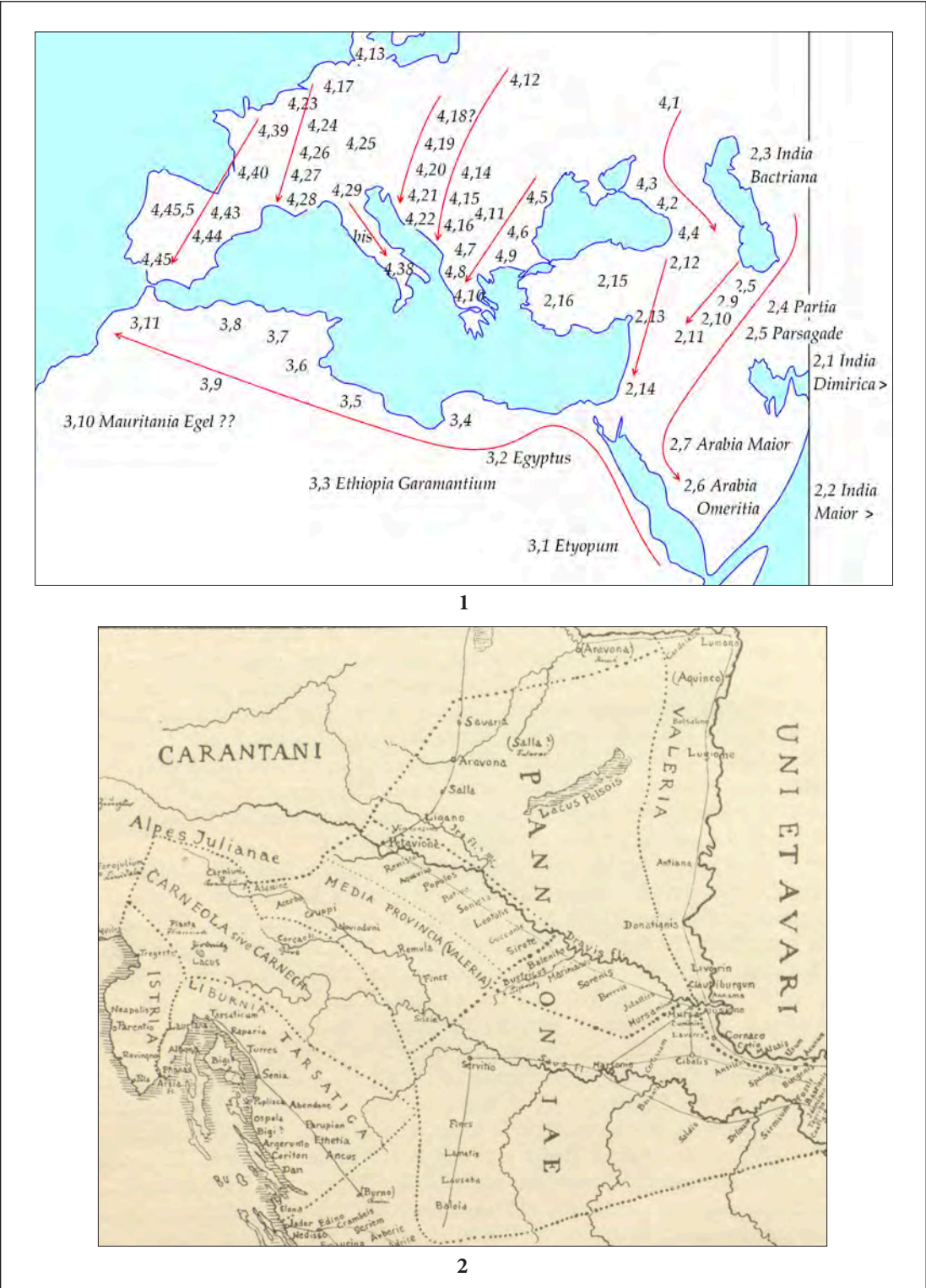
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Pl. I. 1. The structure of Anonymus Ravennas' Cosmography (after Guckelsberger-Mittenhuber 2013);
2. Anonymus Ravennas' Pannonia (after Miller 1898).

ONACHAR FROM APAHIDA (> ONACHARUS < AUNACHARUS)

ÁDÁM SZABÓ

*Bonae memoriae Attila Kiss**
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Abstract: The first Germanic princely grave in Apahida (RO, Cluj County), dated to the second half of the 5th century based on the chronology of the objects placed near the skeleton, was discovered in 1889. Among the objects there were two gold finger rings, a namering and a crossring. On the namering a Latin cross and a male personal name were engraved. The crossring contains four engraved little Latin crosses. Taking into account the archaeological context, the possible Germanic name on the namering was first read OMHAR|VS, then OM[^]AHAR|VS (C. H. Opreanu, M. Schmauder), and later also OM[^]AHAR|VG (N. Gudea). The ending is certainly the Latin -VS and not -VG, nor the V G abbreviation (C. H. Opreanu). The original name without the -us ending is a hapax and is uninterpretable. Among the Germanic names the OM beginning is unknown. But the M[^]A like ligature (nexus) is readable as N[^]A as well, which means that the reading of the name could be ON[^]AHAR too. The form ONAHAR contains a regular AU > O changing (W. Haubrichs as well), and the H represent the CH voice of the Germanic languages. The original form of this name sounds Aunachar, with the Latin ending Aunacharus, which appears in the Aunacharius and Aunarius forms as well. On the name ring the name was engraved phonetically, taking into account the pronunciation, that sounds Onachar, i.e. Onacharus [=On[^]a(c)har|us]. The existing name along with the similar names are known from the western Germanic area of the age. Considering the deposited objects and the name, Onachar could have been a western Germanic fugitive *regulus*, who was accepted by the local Gepid chief of that period, together with his escort.

Keywords: Transylvania; Apahida I. princely grave; German; name ring; cross ring; Omharus; Omaharus; Onachar; Aunacharus; 5th century; Barbaricum; *regulus*; Late Roman period; Gepidic kingdom.

Rezumat: Primul mormânt princiar germanic din Apahida (RO, judeţul Cluj), datat în a doua jumătate a secolului al V-lea pe baza cronologiei obiectelor depuse lângă schelet, a fost descoperit în anul 1889. Printre obiecte se aflau două inele de aur, unul cu un nume inscripţionat pe şaton şi altul cu cruci pe şaton. Pe inelul cu nume au fost gravate o cruce latină şi un nume personal bărbătesc. Pe celălalt sunt gravate patru cruci latine de mici dimensiuni. Ținând cont de contextul arheologic, posibilul nume germanic de pe inelul cu monogramă a fost citit mai întâi OMHAR|VS, apoi OM[^]AHAR|VS (C. H. Opreanu, M. Schmauder), iar ulterior şi OM[^]AHAR|VG (N. Gudea). Terminaţia este cu siguranţă lat. -VS şi nu -VG, nici abrevierea V G (C. H. Opreanu). Numele original, fără terminaţia -us, este un hapax şi nu este interpretabil. În cadrul numelor germanice iniţiala OM nu este cunoscută. Dar ligatura M[^]A (nexus) poate fi citită şi N[^]A, ceea ce înseamnă că numele ar putea fi citit şi ON[^]AHAR. Forma ONAHAR conţine o modificare obişnuită AU > O (W. Haubrichs), iar H redă grupul consonantic CH din limbile germanice. Forma originală a acestui

* Cf. Gáll, Szenthe, Tóth 2015, 5–18.

** This contribution uses the sign ^ to represent ligatures.

nume este *Aunachar*, cu terminație latină – *Aunacharus*, care apare și în variantele *Aunacharius* și *Aunarius*. Pe inel numele a fost gravat fonetic, luând în considerare pronunția, *Onachar*, adică *Onacharus* [=On^a(c)har|us]. Acest nume, precum și nume similare sunt cunoscute în zona germanică vestică a perioadei respective. Având în vedere obiectele depuse în mormânt și numele, *Onachar* putea fi un refugiat de neam germanic, din vest, care a fost primit de șeful gepid local din acea perioadă, împreună cu escorta sa.

Cuvinte cheie: Transilvania; Apahida; primul mormânt princiar; germanic; inel cu nume pe șaton; inel cu cruce pe șaton; Omharus; Omaharus; Onachar; Aunacharus; secolul al V-lea; Barbaricum; *regulus*; epoca romană târzie; regatul gepidic.

1. The hereunder publication was part of a lecture titled “*A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Barbaricum Gyűjteménye és a Barbaricum feliratos emlékei*”/The Barbaricum Collection of the Hungarian National Museum and Relics with Inscriptions from the Barbaricum¹ delivered at the December 2019 Budapest Ősi írások/Ancient Scripts conference. I have dedicated the lecture, and this here writing as well, to the memory of my colleague Attila Kiss, who passed away exactly twenty years ago.²

2. One of the Barbaricum texts written in original language but with the use of Latin letters is the inscription³ on one of the golden rings, the so-called “namering”⁴ in the I. Germanic princely grave in Apahida.

In compliance to the chronology of the overall grave furniture, the grave that surfaced in 1889 can be roughly dated to the second half of the 5th century,⁵ while in a narrower sense it is dated between the years 431–470, even though this seems to be unjustified.⁶ The exact location of the grave has been recently determined by a group of researchers who thus have corrected the erroneous determination provided by Kurt Horedt.⁷ Upon discovery, two signet-rings surfaced from the burial of the buried prince. On one of these, on the so-called namering, there is a Latin cross and a Latin-lettered inscription (Fig. 1a-b), while on the bezel of the next ring there are four regularly displayed Latin crosses, based on

¹ Hereby I wish to express my gratitude for having been invited by scientific consultant Prof. Dr. Bence Fehér DSc.

² Éva Garam and Attila Kiss began to select the pieces of the HNM (= MNM) Barbaricum Collection from other archaeological collections, and they have managed to transfer the greater part of the 1st–4th century objects to a distinct archive unit by 1994, by which they created the bases for the individual collection officially launched in 2011 as the Germanic-Sarmatian Collection. See Masek, Szabó 2014.

³ National Museum of Romanian History. Inv. no.: 54580. Also see Werner 1967–1968, 120–123 and IGLR 437b.

⁴ Selected bibliography: Finály 1889, 305–320; Csallány 1961, 222–223; Horedt, Protase 1972, 174–220; Kuhn, Werner, Horedt 1973, 365–367; Bóna 1986, 146–149; Harhoiu 1987; Kiss 1987; Bóna 1989, 75–83, 79–80; Cseh J. in Bóna et alii 1993, 40–41; Kiss 1995; Oanță-Marghitu 2014, 615–619; Kiss P. 2015, 89–90; Vida 2016, 47–49; Rácz 2018.

⁵ Cf. Harhoiu 2013, Abb. 15: good quality photography of all the objects in the first and second graves.

⁶ For a general approach to the written sources of the era see Halsall 2007; for an archaeological-historical insight see Kiss 1991; Bóna et alii 1999 (preface by István Bóna, studies by Ágnes B. Tóth, János Cseh, Zsolt Gallina, Károly Mesterházy, Margit Nagy); Schmauder 2002; Schmauder 2003; Prohászka 2008; Kiss P. 2015; Masek 2018; Rácz, Vida 2018; studies in the volume Vida, Quast, Rácz, Koncz 2019, with the earlier literature.

⁷ See Gáll et alii 2017, 26–27, No. 9.

which fact it can be referred to as a crossring (Fig. 2). The ring appears to be rather new, it presents no signs of wear, it has sharp contours. The owner must have most certainly only worn it to the grave. The exact and personal symbolism of the ensemble of four regularly displayed crosses on the ring has not been established yet. It must probably be related to the belonging of the deceased person to a certain trend within Christianity.

The third ring, linked to the grave only based on the literature, is a signet-ring displaying a Latin cross and a retrograde monogram (Fig. 3). In 1889, in his first publication on the grave, Henrik Finály does not mention the hardly worn monogrammed ring. The ring was delivered to the Hungarian National Museum through Alba Iulia silversmith Dávid Springer in 1897, as coming from Apahida. József Hampel recorded in the inventory the data on the place of origin with a question mark. The boar-head pendulum presented together with the ring is the only object that would somewhat link the ring to the Apahida grave I, with no definite certainty. This is why its belonging to the same grave wherefrom the other two rings surfaced cannot be taken for granted. It is rather difficult to adapt the decoded text of multiple possible interpretations on the large monogram ring, manufactured for a thumb or to be worn over a glove, to the text on the inscribed ring, yet it is not impossible from an epigraphical viewpoint. Simultaneously, this cumbersome adaptability requiring much too many explanations also fuels scepticism related to the stance viewing the rings as belonging to the same find. By accepting Apahida as a place of origin, we cannot exclude the possibility of the ring originally having belonged to the plundered grave of a further contemporary person buried on the same location.⁸ Earlier, departing from a belt buckle disharmonious with the objects of the two existing graves, István Bóna had tackled the probable existence of a third grave. Consequently, also taking into consideration the fact that from these similar graves only a single signet-ring bearing a name has surfaced, the monogram ring should be interpreted within a different, narrower Apahida context as compared to the namering.

3. In the following we will tackle the so called namering, bearing the Latin-lettered inscription.⁹ It hasn't yet been examined from an epigraphical viewpoint, thus the epigraphically relatively simple text has no precise interpretation and no decoding, either. This might be so owing to the fact that the ring surfaced beyond the limit of the Roman era and outside the perimeter of the Roman world and based on its context it belongs to the migration period. The text on the ring nevertheless is in several ways related both to the Western Roman world and to the Roman era, even if to the end of those in both cases.

Based on its average form, it cannot be dated inside the imperial era. Its surface is smooth, the ring body and ring head are cast as one. The ring head, widening out from

⁸ Hungarian National Museum. Inv. nr.: MNM N 27/1897.2. (N1), weight 54.9 g. Dimensions: Diam. 3.1–3.3 cm; top diam. 1.2–1.7 cm; ring width 1.3–0.7 cm; ring thickness 0.6–0.35 cm (special thanks to Zsuzsa Hajnal for dimensional data). The possible belonging of the ring to somewhere else, owing to unclear circumstances of its origin and the plundered state of the grave or graves at surfacing is already signalled in Gáll et alii 2017, 27.

⁹ On the topic of the texts of the two rings see: Werner 1967–1968, 120–123 (also W. Betz in Werner 1967–1968, 123, n. 24); Schmauder 1998, 67–68; Schmauder 2002, vol. II, 7–10, No. I and Taf. 1–14; Schmauder 2003, 91–92; Spier 2010, 15; most recently Opreanu 2014, 279–293, 289, Fig. 5. a and Fig. 6. a-b. Cf. also Garipzanov 2018, 147–148.

the body, forms an oval table, with letters imprinted in three neat rows across its smooth surface. The inscription was executed using the technique employed for several centuries according to the making of inscriptions staved in metal occurring everywhere in the Roman Empire. Letter lines were staved, after having staved triangular letter bottoms and tops, using tools of precise shapes and dimensions.

The text consisting of three rows of beautifully carved letters is the following (see Fig. 1):

V(ersus) 1: † (cross); the upper portion of the vertical element is incomplete owing to the wear of the ring head. Taking the wearing into consideration, the cross is a Latin or long cross.

V. 2: ON[^]AHAR; taking the ring head dimension and the existing length of the line into consideration, one cannot exclude the possibility of one letter at the end of the line having been totally worn off. The second element of the joint N[^]A letters displays an insecurity in tool handling caused by the necessity of obtaining the letter A. The letter A wasn't simply introduced between the lines of the letter M or N by carving in the cross line, but it was joined to the previous letter after having been formed as an individual letter. The ductus of its single-line right line was adapted to the left mid line *ductus* of the M or N, while its left line was assembled using two smaller lines, from among which the cross-line spreads leftward. The letter-joining (nexus) in the second letter of the inscription was first signalled by Coriolan H. Opreanu in 1995, then by Michael Schmauder in 1998, with the reading M[^]A, namely OM[^]AHAR.

V. 3: VS or VG. The bottom of the second letter is lost owing to the wearing of the ring, and instead of bellowing out according to an irregular S form as compared to the direction of the letter stalk, it is rather reminiscent of the cursive G forms, as pointed out by Coriolan H. Opreanu in 1999. Nicolae Gudea also considered this reading feasible. Nevertheless letters S were frequently carved in similarly erroneous ways, – not only into metal but also into stone carriers –, while on the other hand the centre lines of the letters in this row are bent to the right from bottom to top, thus the letter curvature which is by now lost due to wear is actually positioned more backward. The precise sound value of this letter is thus determined with regard to the rest of the inscription and the overall interpretation of the text. The majority of authors in the quoted literature deem VS to be the correct reading, which is also more probable if one considers the direction of the centre lines of the letters.

There are no interpunctuations and spaces between the letters in the second and third lines of the text displayed in three rows. The three-lines text is only structured by the lines, which does not necessarily mean that these are separate statements. Similarly, these cannot be automatically viewed as a series of abbreviations, although as long as no reasonable reading is provided, this should remain a possible interpretation.¹⁰ The text is not retrograde, meaning that the ring was not actually used for stamping, it much rather had a representative role. Based on its form, it was manufactured on the territory of the Roman Empire, while according to its content it comes from the Western Roman Empire, more precisely probably from Italy.¹¹ The strong wear on the edges of the ring head, visible

¹⁰ E.g. Gábor Vékony m.s. MNM Adattára / HNM Repository, file 164/e, individual note: *O(ptimus) M(aximus) H(unnorum) A(rdaricus) R(ex) / V(otum) S(olvit)*. I am grateful to Bence Fehér for the information.

¹¹ For rings of the era cf. e.g. Marshall 1907; Henkel 1913; Finney 1982, 383–407; Spier 1992; Spier 2007;

mostly on top of v. 1, by the end of v. 2 and on the bottom part of the end of v. 3, suggests that this object was in use for a long period of time. Epigraphically, based on the downward pointed cross hasta of the two A letters, it can be dated beginning with the first half of the 3rd century, nevertheless this letter form was frequently used in subsequent centuries as well. This is why the ring would not necessarily be contemporary with the other object in the Apahida grave, nevertheless its function and personal character both link it to its owner, so it must most probably have been manufactured in the course of the 5th century. In terms of state, this is the older of the two rings.

Providing a reading is problematic from several points of view. The personal character of the ring univocally signals that it bears the name of its owner. Judging from the character of the burial, here we are presumably dealing with a burial of the owner, wearing his ring, his rings, on his fingers. Departing from other finds related to the burial and the general context, István Bóna considered the namering and monogram ring to carry the same content. He suggested the following readings: namering - OMHAR[^]IVS and monogram ring - OMARIVΣ or AVD-OMARIVΣ. He stated that no person by that name among the Gepids was known. He traced the second part of the name back to the Old Germanic **harjaz*, and Gothic *harjis* (army) or *hairus* (sword). He synthesized the readings of the two rings and suggested the name Audomharjaz / (Aud) Omharius, as a compound similar to the name Chlot-harius (Lothar), meaning “head of the army”, “glory of the army”. He thought that the beginning OM was non-decipherable.¹²

The initial OM cannot be found in the Germanic vocabulary, as there are no known names with such beginning,¹³ hence it is non-decipherable, as István Bóna correctly assessed. There are two further reasons why the initial OM is probably not an abbreviation. The first is that from an epigraphical viewpoint, there is neither any sign nor any reason for there being an abbreviation there, while the second reason is that the group of letters to be interpreted does not read OM. On the ring itself there is no actual sign of the letter relation R[^]I suggested by István Bóna on linguistic grounds. Furthermore, there is no need for the letter I in the reading in order for the interpretation of the second element of the compound name suggested by Bóna to be true.

For a long period, the research did not take the linked second and third letters of the second line into consideration. It was in 1998, when Michael Schmauder first called attention to the existence of a link between two letters in that second line.¹⁴ An excellent insight, the nexus is quite visibly there, and he interpreted it M[^]A, correcting the reading of the line thus to OMAHAR. As for the reading of the third line, interpreting it as a two-letters abbreviation of VG in 1999, Coriolan H. Opreanu suggested *v(ir) g(loriosus)*.¹⁵ Because of the shape and direction of the last letter that has only partially survived on the ring head, one could epigraphically actually argue for it being a G. Still, this does not solve the issues around this strange name, a hapax in this form, while such an interpretation of the third line also brings up certain chronological questions. The senatorial title *vir*

Spier 2010; Garipzanov 2018 with the earlier literature.

¹² Bóna 1986, 147; Bóna 1989, 79–80; Bóna in: Bóna et alii 1993, 41. Also cf. Bóna in: Bóna et alii 1999, 8.

¹³ Cf. e.g. Köbler 2014 and Förstemann 1856, 971–972.

¹⁴ Schmauder 1998, 67–68.

¹⁵ Opreanu 1999, 926–928 = AE 2007, 1193a: *Omahar(i)| v(iro) g(loriosus)*. Also cf. Opreanu 2014, with this very same reading.

gloriosus (ἐνδοξος), used distinctly from the exclusively imperial *gloriosus*¹⁶ does appear during the early Byzantine era but not in the second half of the 5th century and nowhere earlier than that, which would be the narrowed and more precise 431–470 date of the grave in the same source. By the very end of the century, the epithet *gloriosus* does occur in other inscription sources, but used as a title, it only appears in the Byzantine Empire beginning with the 6th century.¹⁷ This recommendation for a reading and interpretation raises thus both chronological and geographical problems, even if the imperial gift found in the grave, an onion-head crossbow brooch (fibula) usually given to Barbarian princes, seems to point to the fact that the Apahida Germanic prince was an ally of the Roman Empire. In this sense he could very well sport the title of *v(ir) g(loriosus)*. But by accepting this, one would push the time of his burial well into the 6th century, while the overall context of the complete find does not support such a presumption at all, so the presumption must go.

The link in the second line might absolutely be *M^A*, nevertheless epigraphically it might just as well be an *N^A* nexus. Using the latter, the reading of the line is *ONAHAR*, so in contrast to the previous variant this one is decipherable and more probable. As opposed to *OM*, there actually are German names beginning with *ON*, but they should be looked up in the inventory at the root *AUN*.¹⁸ Whoever wrote the name down for the ring, heard the initial sound as an *O* and recorded it accordingly, so this is what the engraver engraved. This can only be the sound originally recorded using the letters *AU* elsewhere, a group that varied in utterance the same way as Austrogoth for instance turned into Ostrogoth. There are similar *AU > O* transformations in the Wulfila Gothic Bible in the era,¹⁹ so the sounding and thus writing of *AU* as *O* seems to be customary in this period; the digraph *AW* of the Wulfila writing system should also be pronounced an open *O*, thus the Gothic *AV* (*au*) letter group is similar to one uttering of the Latin letter *O*. The *ON* letter pair as it is refers to the *AUN* root anyway. After the second proofreading I happened upon a recently published paper on Gepidic names. In relation to the namering, Wolfgang Haubrichs also signals the utterance variation *AU > O*, nevertheless he discusses the name following the previously cited reading provided by Coriolan H. Opreanu and Michael Schmauder (*OM^AHAR*).²⁰

The next letter to be discussed in the second line is *H*. According to its context, this is a Germanic burial, consequently the name on the ring should most probably be Germanic as well, thus the letter *H* on the namering can only designate the *CH* of Germanic languages with an approximately close sound value. An engraver in whose mother tongue the given sound was not to be found as such, could only record the received sound with a letter *H* or with the letter *C* designating the sound *K*, depending on the utterance. The engraver, crafting the ring, must have recorded the name as it was uttered, as it sounded to his ears.

Based on the above, the original form of the phonetically recorded name in line 2 of the namering was *AUNACHAR*, adding up, together with the *VS* ending in line 3, to a Latinised form: *Aunacharus*. Inserting the earlier suggested letter *I*, the reading would practically be the same *Aunachar[i]us*. The *I* nevertheless is neither needed to write the

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Kulikowski 1998, 247–252.

¹⁷ Cf. Kazhdan 1991, 855 and Näf 1995, 21–22.

¹⁸ Cf. Förstemann 1856, 971.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Quast 2005.

²⁰ See Haubrichs 2019, 63, no. 19. *OMAHARUS* and further literature. Thanks to Tivadar Vida for pointing this volume out to me.

name down nor to interpret it, as the name itself is a compound of the Old Germanic **anô* / Gothic: *ana* (forerunner, ancestor)²¹ and the Old Germanic **harjaz* / Gothic: *harjis* (army) words, roughly signifying father of the horde. In this respect, István Bóna identified the element correctly. The name, in different variants depending on the language, is still in use today.²²

This was the name of the later consecrated 573–603 bishop of Auxerre, Aunacharius (Aunarius in a Latinised version). A contemporary (or almost) of the Apahida prince had a similarly composed name, Ragnachar (the Latinised Ragnarius cf. Hincmar *Vita Remigii* 15²³), and so had his brother Ricchar (Riccar). Ragnachar, fighting the Soisson battle (486) in 508 with the Frank king Chlodvig (Clovis, Chlodovechus, Hludowicus, 481/482–511) was felled by the king, and so was his brother. They were kinsmen of Chlodvig, we know this from Gregory of Tours (*Historia Francorum* II.42.),²⁴ and examining their fate it seems the two Frank kings building their state forced several people to flee. As a last example, one of the sons and heirs of Chlodvig had a similarly formed name: Clothar, or Chlotachar (511–561), as already stated by the afore cited István Bóna. This name form – especially with regard to its second element – occurred with several more Western Germanic personalities.

Summing up one may conclude that the name on the naming of the Apahida princely grave I. is a formally accurate Germanic name, its original form being *Aunachar*, it is phonetically recorded as “*Onachar*”, and in a Latinised version it reads *Aunacharus*, and also *Aunacharius*.

4. In the literature there appears, within the same context as the naming, a monogram ring, inducing a certain compulsion to equate the monogram it bears to the text on the naming. The circumstances of its surfacing support no relation to the naming. Provided that the two rings come from one and the same grave, a more than uncertain possible reading of the monogram might be equated to the definite reading of the naming, for instance in the following manner:

István Bóna suggested probable readings for the letters of the monogram ring, which as opposed to the naming of Western origin, contains Greek letters as well so it can be considered of Byzantine making, and these are the forms *AVDOMARIVS* and *OMARIVS*. According to the latest Latin based reading provided by Opreanu, the monogram designates *OMACAR*(?),²⁵ which is questionable owing to a repetition of letters and also to the language implied. There is no indication whatsoever that should require a

²¹ Cf. also e.g. Gothic analogues, Köbler 2014, 20 and 156: “*ana* (2)***, *an-a****, got., sw. M. (n): nhd. Ahne, Vorfahre; E.: idg. **an-* (1), Sb., Ahne, Pokorny 36 and *harjis* 2, *har-ji-s*, got., st. M. (ja): nhd. Heer, Menge; E.: idg. **koros*, **koriōs*, Sb., Heer, Krieg, Pokorny 615?, Lehmann H44” (cf. IEW and GED).

²² Cf. also Förstemann 1856, 182.

²³ Hincmar of Reims, *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis*, B. Krusch (ed.), MGH. SRM 3, Hanover 1896.

²⁴ Gregorii episcopi Turonensis, *Libri Historiarum* X B. Krusch, W. Levison (eds.), MGH. SRM I.1., Hannover 1951².

²⁵ IGLR 437a; Opreanu 1999, 926–928 = AE 2007, 1193b: *Omacar*(?). Cf. also Opreanu 2014. He compared the variant *Omacar* with the name *Odovacar* (or *Odovacer*, or *Odoacer*), which does not discuss the issue of *Omacar* / *Omahar*. The original form of the name part *Odo-* is *Audo-* (**Audawakraz* / **Audawakrs*; Gregorii episcopi Turonensis *Libri Historiarum* II. 18–19: “*Adovacrius*”), meaning that the initial *AU* has transformed into *O* owing to phonetical transcription, just like in the case here discussed Cf. e.g. Förstemann 1856, 162. The second element of the name can be interpreted in several ways.

double use of the single *A* letter when reading the text. Based on Latin and without doubling any of the letters, the retrograde monogram can only be read as a definite sequence of the letters *OMARVC*, with the slightly questionable condition of the rim of the ring head in the imprint also being the letter *O* in the monogram. The head of the *R* or *P* visible on the upper left side of the imprint cannot simultaneously be an *O*, much less an initial *O*. Thus an *O* can appear in the imprint as formed by the ring head at most, which is most unusual. A *V* incorporated into the *M* is also uncertain, but not improbable. Letters readable without the *V* and together with the rim-print of the ring head are: *OMACR*. This way, we arrive at a monogram composed of key letters, containing the issue of *M* instead of *NA*, where the letter *C*, having the sound value *K*, should stand for the letter *H* of the namer, signifying the same *CH* sound but in another pronunciation / sounding, as that. Consequently the inscriptions in the namer and the monogram ring can be equated on a Latin basis as well, even though this raises certain doubts. Nevertheless judged by its form, the monogram ring may much rather be linked to Byzantium and the Greek principle. From a Greek linguistic point of view, a *rho* and a *sigma* can be clearly separated from the rest, which basically are the same whether in Latin or in Greek script, in capital forms. Preserving the *V*, and thus without any repetition of letters, with the ring head included, the variant *OMAPVΣ* (*Omarus*) can be read, which would be a Greek copy of the text on the namer, true to the image and the letter by letter script, without the *H* being recorded. Another possibility is suggested by Jeffrey Spier, also on a Greek basis, but one out of the ordinary and using letter repetition, also omitting the rim of the ring head, *MARIAΣ* (gen.), designating the wife of the deceased “Gothic, perhaps Gepid Omharus”.²⁶ This seems highly unlikely to me: if the personal object belongs to the woman, it is buried along her side, while on the other hand there are no known individual signet-rings for women in the era and social circles in question, meaning that the custom of the age overrides such a suggestion. The dimensions of the ring also point to male and not female possible owners. Skipping the unjustified repetition of the letter *A*, this variant would yield something more like *MARIVΣ* (nom.), just as it has been noted by Bence Fehér. Hence, it was not only István Bóna to suggest the letter *I* to be included – reading *OMAPIVΣ* in his case.

Without the namer, the monogram on the signet-ring cannot be definitely deciphered to yield a reading similar to that of the text on the namer (*Om>n^a(h)arus!*), consequently the opinion concerning their belonging together depends on the reading of the namer, so it is dubitable. The monogram needs to be open to interpretation on its own.²⁷ Besides, a supposedly joint usage of two rings would point to a different “chancellery” protocol as compared to the one represented by the Germanic signet-rings containing portraits and names completely spelled out, such as for instance the rings manufactured after the image of Roman imperial rings and belonging to contemporary personalities such as I. Childerich (457/458–481/482), and II. Alarich (484–507).²⁸

²⁶ Cf. Spier 2010, 15.

²⁷ For the contemporary and later use of monogram rings in the east and west, cf. Hilberg 2000, 63–122.

²⁸ For the Childerich-ring and its context lately cf. e.g. Périn, Kazanski 1996, 173–182 with the older literature; for the II. Alaric-ring cf. lately e.g. Kornbluth 2008, 299–332, with the older literature. The signet-ring of II. Theodosius (401–450) to be found in a private collection, with its stone displaying a festive imperial portrait along with a cross, while its circumscription contains, besides the personal name, the *D(ominus) N(oster)* and *Aug(ustus)* imperial epithet and ranking name, cf. and see Spier 2007, 25–26, No. 76 and Spier 2010, 14, Pl. 3a-c.

Consequently the monogram ring should be, taking into consideration the circumstances of its surfacing, the omission of the ring head shape, only counting in individually existent letters, and independently of the reading of the namer in grave I, read as it is, on its own. Thus it probably points to a further contemporary dignitary buried in the area in Apahida. The imprint of monogram, if read from left to right on a Greek basis, as commanded by the Σ, yields several variants, for instance PAVΣ (Raus), PAVIE (Ravis), PAMVΣ (Ramus), and with an uncertain I it would probably be PAMVΣI (Ramusi) etc. By this, the monogram probably represents a fragmentarily recorded name, or rather part of a name, or a name signalled by key letters, nevertheless this can only be settled based on further research. Further readings and interpretations will only be valid if they will yield interpretable, existing, known names. A signet-ring of similar form was found on the contemporary Germanic warrior buried in the Pouan grave, differing only in the fact that the name was engraved onto the ring head with Latin letters (*HEVA*), probably also in an abbreviated form, or in a full form designating a deity, while, based on the name, one cannot exclude the possibility of the ring originally belonging to a woman.²⁹

5. So far I have found no traces in author sources or inscriptions, related to the Transylvanian territory by the second half of the 5th century, of the name *Onachar* / *Onacharus* / *Aunachar* / *Aunacharius*. Despite all this, its actual name according to the suggested reading is not hapax, and it can thoroughly be interpreted in a proper linguistic, historical context.

The characteristic feature of the name is that both in terms of form and content, it resembles names from Western Germanic, more precisely Gallic-Germanic, and Frank media. Similarly, it is a characteristic feature of the objects in the first, second and presumable third graves in Apahida³⁰ that they have parallels, besides local ones, from western Frank environments. On a general level, the first grave can only be paralleled to the contemporary grave of I. Childerich (457–481/482) deceased in 481/482.³¹ Parallels for the sabretache plates of the second grave are also known from the Childerich-grave, and from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial of East-Anglian king Readwald, dated to 625, as also stated by István Bóna in studies several times cited here.

Based on the conclusive phenomena pointing to a Western Germanic medium, one cannot exclude a strong connection between the Transylvanian existence of princely persons buried in the Apahida graves with the events of the period following the death of Attila (453), the battle of Nedao (454) and the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476), and also the battle of Soisson (486), with the impetuous formation of the Merovingian (Salian Frank) power and also with the Western connections of the Gepids. In view of the latter, the research also emphasises the Eastern connections of Western Germanic people as well, referring exactly to archaeological finds in the Carpathian Basin.³²

²⁹ Cf. Salin, France-Lanord 1956, 65–75, within this 74, Fig. 23 and CIL XIII 10024 / 321 = ILCV 936k. The name could be the name of a Germanic goddess, cf. CIL XIII 8705, Germania Inferior / Elten: *Herculi Ma[gusano et] Haevae Ulpi(us) Lupio et Ull[pia Ammava] pro natis v[otum] s[olverunt] l[ibentes] m[erito]*. The HEVA letter group also occurs on a brick seed master stamp around the archaeological site (Pouan / FR), see CAG 10, p. 450.

³⁰ Cf. Matei 1982, 387–392.

³¹ See Schmauder 1998; Quast 2015. Cf. also Opreanu 2005, 7–10.

³² Cf. e.g. Kiss P. 2015, 89–101.

Based on the above, it is questionable whether the princely person buried at today's Apahida, not signalled in any sources referring to the era and the territory, was or was not a Gepidic king. His name has an entirely different structure when compared to the names of known Gepidic kings and dignitaries, such as Ardarich, Trafstila, Trasarich, Kunimund, Gunderith, Elemund, Thorisind, Thorismuth, Ostrogotha etc.³³ Besides his name, and based on part of the personal objects buried with him, we might consider the strong possibility of him having been a Western Germanic *regulus* settled in the vicinity of today's Apahida³⁴ after having fled from Salian Franks – that is I. Childerich or his son, Chlodvig –, who was accepted by the Gepidic king in charge of the territory³⁵ together with his escort. The boar-head pendulum found in his grave, signalling his princely rank with higher certainty as compared to the namering and crossring, might be related to the system of symbols of his original medium, his place of origin. The crosses on his most personal belongings, on the rings and the onion-headed crossbow brooch point to him being a Christian, and this again link his person to the Roman territories. Besides the other objects buried by his side, his rings, as is customary for the age in question, are meant to signal his high rank,³⁶ but neither of them are regalia, they are objects of a personal character instead. In the case of such insignia, had he really been a king, as his contemporaries known to be kings were, the rank (*rex*) would have certainly been recorded on the ring. This probably is why he appears nowhere in the historical records of the age. His namering does not fit into the series of known contemporary Germanic royal signet-rings, either. The Latin text on the namering nevertheless points towards the probability of Western contacts, as the Latin or long crosses on his rings and crossbow brooch do the same. The owner had previously probably been closely related to the Western Roman Empire, possibly as a leader of a group of *foederati*. His crossbow festive fibula³⁷ stands for a position close to the top segment of the imperial administration, and could even have been paired with the patrician rank, the *magister militum* title, or such similar office. With careful research, the heritage of the escort of the princely person could probably be located among the archaeological finds along river Someş.³⁸ This heritage could contribute to the apparition in the Carpathian Basin of the archaeological horizon previously referred to as the “Eastern Merovingian culture”.

6. In consequence thus *Onachar* / *Aunachar* should not necessarily appear on the list of Gepidic kings in the Carpathian Basin, but then he had no definite place on that list so far either, nevertheless he absolutely contributes to a more nuanced image of the social structure and history of the Gepidic kingdom.³⁹

³³ Cf. also Bóna et alii 1993, 26–52; Bóna et alii 1999 and Kiss P. 2015, while various opinions are also listed by Kiss P. 2015, 90–91, note 468. For names also see Haubrichs 2019.

³⁴ Generally on the matter cf. e.g. von Welck, Wiczorek, Hermann 1996 and the studies in RPMK.

³⁵ Complementarily to the issue of various Gepidic centres also cf. Bóna, Nagy 2002–2005; B. Tóth 2006.

³⁶ Cf. Garipzanov 2018, especially 147–148.

³⁷ Cf. Tóth 2000, 201–211.

³⁸ A chronological survey of the Someşu Mic archaeological sites of the Gepidic era and a related map: Gáll et alii 2017, 136–142, map no. 3.

³⁹ I express my gratitude to Zsuzsa Hajnal (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest), Zsófia Rácz (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), Bence Fehér (Institute for Hungarian Studies, Classical Philology Research Center), Erwin Gáll (The Romanian Academy, Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest), Alpár Dobos (National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca), Péter Kovács (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba) for their help and valuable remarks.

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Fig. 1a. The naming of the I. princely grave from Apahida, Cluj County (collection of the National History Museum of Romania, inv. no. 54580), © MNIR 2020, photo: Marius Amarie.



Fig. 1b. Drawing (Ádám Szabó).



Fig. 2. The crossing of the I. princely grave from Apahida, Cluj County (collection of the National History Museum of Romania, inv. no. 54258), © MNIR 2020, photo: Marius Amarie.



Fig. 3. The signet ring with retrograd monogram from Apahida, Cluj County (collection of the Hungarian National Museum, inv. no. N 27/1897.2), © MNM 2020, photo: Zsuzsa Hajnal.

REVIEWS

Sorin Nemeti, *Le syncrétisme religieux en Dacie Romaine*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2019, 374 p., ISBN 978–606–020–112–0.

The recently published book of Sorin Nemeti, associate professor of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca is the French version of his 2005 monograph translated by Liana Lăpădatu.¹ Nemeti's original book published in Romanian was a result of his decade long doctoral studies between 1997 and 2004. As a student of Mihai Bărbulescu, doyen of the Romanian studies of Roman religion,² Sorin Nemeti follows the historiographic traditions of history of religions established in Romania by M. Eliade.³ The new French translation is slightly different from the original Romanian version, and out of the 1607 footnotes, only few has new bibliographic references after 2005.⁴ The majority of the enormous bibliography – which comprises the entire research history on Roman religion in Dacia and religious syncretism in antiquity – reflects the state of research in the end of the 1990's.

The structure of the second edition is very similar to the first one, however the French translation has a short, new preface, a new list of figures with numerous, high quality photos but it's lacking the archaeological-epigraphic catalogue of the first edition⁵ and has no English summary.⁶ The new edition has a short, general index of divinities. Except of these minor, structural changes, the recently translated book has the same content as the original, Romanian version. In the followings, I shall present the major chapters of the book and in the second part of the review, I shall reflect on the historiographic contextualization of Nemeti's work in the perspectives of the major changes occurred in the scholarship.

In the first chapter, the author presents the main argument of his book, which is based on a historical-cultural approach of religious syncretism, influenced by M. Eliade, R. Pettazzoni and the Italian school of history of religions. Nemeti starts his work with a general definition of religious syncretism, suggesting the necessity of a more detailed definition. In the argument the author suggests already what he will present in detail in the Introduction: syncretism is an empty signifier, a vague notion which needs a much more precise definition. The problematic notion of religious syncretism is presented in detail in the first major chapter of the book in four subchapters. In the first part, Nemeti shortly presents the major works of the Romanian historiography, in which the notion of religious syncretism appeared in the 20th century. Nemeti provides also a short history of research on antiquity and religious studies, focusing on the two major methodological approaches which represent the basis of his own work: religious phenomenology and comparativism.

¹ Nemeti 2005.

² On his impact see his most influential work: Bărbulescu 1984. See also: Szabó 2014.

³ The author mentions also that his work was influenced and inspired also by the school of Messina and the works of S. Gasparro.

⁴ Unfortunately, the new edition – similarly to the one from 2005 – has no bibliographic list, using an old version of citation, which makes it really hard if not impossible to follow the references and the footnotes rich in bibliography, which certainly exceed 2000 titles.

⁵ Nemeti 2005, 327–380. Many of the inscriptions mentioned in the catalogue of the first edition are mentioned in the text or the footnotes of the new book.

⁶ Nemeti 2005, 397–419.

The second chapter – almost 50 pages – deals with the problematic notion of religious syncretism. By this detailed analysis, Nemeti gives a holistic view on the history of the notion till the late 1990's, presenting also the major theoretical debates and typologies of religious syncretism in polytheistic societies of antiquity. He starts with the notion itself of syncretism in Plutarch and other ancient authors, pointing out however the anachronistic aspect of the notion used in antiquity mostly for political, administrative formations. The most important subchapter of the second part of Nemeti's book is the one in which he describes the typologies of religious syncretism and presents also his own methodology. Nemeti focuses on the typology of F. Cumont, F. Dunand, A. Motte, V. Pirenne-Delforge, M. Le Glay and R. Etienne, highlighting some major factors which might play a central role in the formation of religious syncretism. Nemeti argued then that the transformative and evolutionist factors play an important role in the development of syncretic religious communications, picking up the line of the great phenomenologist G. van der Leeuw who argued that syncretism was the transformative force of religious changes which created polytheism from polydemonism. Nemeti continues with the notion of religious ambiguity as factor in the formation of syncretism. He highlights also the constant interaction and coexistence of different ethnic and cultural groups and identities, which – after his opinion – is an essential component of syncretism. Nemeti differentiates "syncretism from without and from within", the last one focusing on the inner transformations of religious communications. The author dedicates individual subchapters for the so called *interpretatio antiqua* (called simply as "interpretatio" in the French version), which is identical in his text with the *interpretatio Graeca*, the Greek ways of religious appropriation of the "otherness" in religious communication. Nemeti presents in details the case study of Zalmoxis and the reception of the Dacian divinity in Greek textual sources. Here, the author introduced some new, more recent references, mostly based on Dan Dana's seminal works on Zalmoxis. In the following subchapters, the author presents shortly the major theoretical and literary discussions on the notion of *interpretatio Romana*, *interpretatio barbarica* and the notion of religious accumulation, henotheism and monotheistic tendencies in polytheistic societies.

The next two chapters represent the core of the book. The third chapter presents several case studies for religious syncretism of "ethnic groups" arrived in Roman Dacia, which are analyzed through their paternal, indigenous gods in transformation, "syncretism" in the new province. Nemeti enrolls several ethnic and cultural groups assuming that their cultural identity – a problematic notion in antiquity, highly debated nowadays – are concentrated around the indigenous pantheon of these groups. By presenting a list of divinities – such as the Illyrian gods, Neptune, the Nymphs, Ianus Geminus, Silvanus, Diana, Apollo, Castor, the African gods such as Saturnus, Caelestis, Aesculapius-Eshmoun, dii Mauri, the Celtic gods, the Palmyrene gods and the problem of the local, Dacian gods⁷ – Nemeti follows the traditional historiography which artificially recreated "a" pantheon of the province. Similarly to this, the fourth chapter deals with a list of divinities with cumulative and universal aspects, mostly the various forms and names of the Jupiters,

⁷ Oddly, the author discusses the so called Danubian Riders in the subchapter on the religions of the Dacians, probably by historiographic reasons, the cult being considered for a long time as an indigenous religion.

but also several case studies of henotheism (Theos Hypsistos, Deus Aeternus, Mithras Sol Invictus), monotheisms (Judaism, magical practices) and pantheisms (Isis).

Nemeti portrays each divinity or group of divinities by their larger, original history and their local aspects and manifestation in Dacia. While he presents in detail the epigraphic and iconographic material – mostly by citing an enormous amount of literature in a great number of footnotes – the third and fourth chapters are focusing almost exclusively on the divine agents of religious communication. Human agency, material tools, spaces and time, as important factors in Roman religious communication are not emphasized enough and their relationship and interaction are not clear. In this enlisted, scholarly recreated pantheon of Roman Dacia, Nemeti discusses the names of the gods and their transformation in provincial context, as a result of various types and forms of syncretism.

The fifth and last chapter is a short, five pages long Conclusion. Here the author connected the religious syncretism with the processes of Romanisation – although he preferred the use of cultural appropriation. He argued that the book is not focusing on the traditional genesis of divinities, recreating their “lives” or modern myths, but rather on the transformations within a religious group and the complex processes of religious accumulation. Finally, the author refers to the abundance of the so called anti-syncretistic movement within the recent currents of religious studies, where the notion is replaced by “accumulation, appropriation, adaptation, differentiation” and so on. He is using this old notion, however explains in each case the specific aspects of this terminology. The book ends with a list of figures, abbreviations and a general index of theonyms.

The book of Sorin Nemeti was published in 2005 and the new, French version follows the major ideas of the original work. This obviously reflects a 15 years old state of research, which can be observed not only in his methodological introduction, where he discusses the problem and terminology of syncretism,⁸ but also in numerous subchapters, such as the one focusing on Mithras, Isis or the so called Danubian Riders.⁹ The book of Nemeti focuses especially on the name of the gods and their complex mechanisms of transformation, which is presented through a phenomenological and comparative approach of religious studies, however the names of the gods – and the divine agency as such – is rarely presented as part of religious communication between human and divine agents, where materiality, space, experiences, various levels of religiosity, epiphanies, power elite, economic and even natural phenomena plays a role.¹⁰ Human actors, as important agents in the processes of syncretism are missing or rarely present in Nemeti’s book: priests, soldiers, urban and rural environments, small groups, as social agents. The author discussed the importance of the names of the gods in another book from 2012, where he clarifies why he considers this aspect so important in Roman religious communication.¹¹

The terminology and some aspects of the methodology presented in his book is debatable in the context of the contemporary discussions of Roman religious studies, however this reflects also the co-existence of numerous, different schools of religious

⁸ A contemporary example for religious syncretism and its interaction with human, material and divine agents: Frankfurter 2018.

⁹ Szabó Á. 2017. See also: Bremmer 2014.

¹⁰ Rüpke 2018. See also: Szabó 2018, 1–10.

¹¹ Nemeti 2012.

studies in European and global academia. Nemeti – following the heritage of M. Eliade, R. Pettazzoni and G. S. Gasparro represents the classical approach of history of religions, where phenomenology and comparativism are the major tools of operation and the focus of religion is on the divine agent.¹² On the other extremity are tendencies in religious studies, where gods and the divine agent are almost missing from scholarly narratives.¹³

Sorin Nemeti's book is an essential read for Romanian and foreign scholars interested in Roman Dacia,¹⁴ but also in a broader discussion on religious studies and the problematic notion of syncretism. Through its abundant literature, the large amount of archaeological and epigraphic references Nemeti gives a comprehensive introduction in the rich materiality of Roman religious communication of the Dacian provinces.

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¹² Stausberg 2016, 781.

¹³ See the critical notes of Bremmer 2018, 108–109 on Rüpke 2018.

¹⁴ The book will be a difficult read for those who are not acquainted with the general history of Roman Dacia. The book lacks also a map, which would be very useful for readers not familiar with the topography of the finds. For this, see: Haynes-Hanson 2004; Oltean 2007.

Iurie Stamati, *The Slavic Dossier. Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova: Between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2019, 306 p., ISBN 978-90-04-34258-3.

The book *The Slavic Dossier* published in the series East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, refers to the historiographic discourse regarding the role played by the Slavic peoples in the ethno-genesis of today's Moldovans. The content is mainly historiographical, dealing with the history of archaeology (its status as scientific discipline) in Moldavia, during the second half of the 20th century. After an historical overview of the Republic of Moldavia, one can find some methodological clarifications, a discussion about the sources, and some considerations about the nationalist ideology as background of the scholarly interpretation.

Chapter 1. *The Birth of a Paradigm: Moldovan Archaeology and the Slavic Problem* deals with the so-called “Moldovan Archaeology”, seen as a distinct archaeological province. Very few data can be recorded from the 18th-19th centuries for the development of the archaeological discipline or, simply, for the interest about the past and the material remains in the area between the Prut and the Dniester. D. Cantemir, I. Suruceanu, I. Halippa, N. Moroșan, are some of the intellectuals interested in the archaeological vestiges and their activity is summarily sketched by I. Stamati. Only after the Second World War, since 1946, «systematic Soviet archaeological studies of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR) began....» (p. 31).

The sources used by I. Stamati in order to reconstruct the historiographic landscape of MSSR are rich and various, containing texts published by the analyzed authors, archival documents and oral testimonies (mainly I. Stamati's interviews with the former students of G. Fedorov and I. Hîncu).

The entire book is historiographically-centered: the main goal is to analyze two archaeological discourses from MSSR, within their cultural and socio-political contexts. In this respect the author ambitiously tries to explore «the history of Moldovan archaeology, the personal profiles, *habitus* of archaeologists, their training, theoretical and ideological attachment, their place in the field of Moldovan archaeology, their relations and interactions inside and outside the field» (p. 16).

The analysis of these two archaeological discourses regarding Moldovan ethno-genesis structures the entire book around two main chapters: 2. *Georgii Fedorov and the Building of Slavic Archaeology in the MSSR* (p. 60–147) and 3. *The Indigenous Character of the Moldovans, a Singular View* (p. 148–241). The main actors of this archaeological saga are the Russian Georgii Fedorov (1917–1993) and his former Moldovan student, Ion Hîncu (1931–2003).

G. Fedorov starts from the identification of the material remains dated between the 9th and the 12th century in the territory between the rivers Dniester and Prut as the material culture of the Slavic tribes of the Uliches and the Tivertsy mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle. He even conducted archaeological excavation campaigns in the «Sunny Moldova» and became a teacher and a mentor for several Moldovan students. Using the methodological tools of the Soviet retrospective archaeology (influenced by linguist

Nikolai Marr), Fedorov searched for the beginnings of Slavic presence on Moldovan territory. The current interpretation of the Soviet archaeology was that the Zarubintsy and Cherniakhov civilizations have a Slavic character, thus pushing the beginning of Slavic history down to Classical Antiquity.

Apart from G. Fedorov's detailed biography (including his anti-Stalinist political opinions), I. Stamati explores the connections within the scholarly environment, sketching the profiles of Fodorov's colleagues and students, like Gheorghe Cebotarenco (1927–2014), Pavel Bîrnea (1930–2002), Lazar' Polevoi (1928–), Isak Rafalovich (1929–1979), and, finally, Ion Hîncu (1931–2003), but also G. Fedorov's relations with his professor Artemii Artsikhovskii or with Boris Rybakov, the head of the Archaeological Institute of Moscow.

Another prominent discourse analyzed in the book is that of Ion Hîncu on the indigenous character of the Moldovans, their aboriginality in the territory between the Dniester and the Prut. In the Moldovan scholar's opinion the archaeological cultures in the territory of MSSR should be labelled as Vlacho-Slavic and envisaged as containing three main components: the Romanized or Vlach element, the East Slavic elements, and the South Slavic element. Hîncu subsequently changed his mind and talked about the Romanized or «traditional local» element besides the South Slavic and Alano-Bulgarian elements. His theory about the indigenous Moldovans (instead of the Vlachs coming from the West, from Transylvania) and this version of the process of Moldovan ethno-genesis taking place precisely on the territory of MSSR, have not convinced his colleagues and peers. The theory is inspired by the Romanian archaeology of the time (from the Popular/Socialist Republic of Romania) and by the archaeological vision of the Dacian-Romanian ethno-genesis. I. Stamati also provides an overview of the debate in Romanian archaeological circles, mainly the controversies between I. Nestor and his school, on the one hand, and Maria Comşa, on the other, around the Dridu (Balkan-Danubian) and Bucov civilizations.

To sum up, I. Stamati tries to explain the ideological options of the Moldovan archaeologists starting from the influence of the main historiographic trends, like the Pan Slavism, the Marrist and Marxist interpretations in Soviet archaeology, the theory of Dacian-Romanian ethno-genesis and the nationalist obsession of the Romanian archaeologists. In his opinion, the attitude of archaeologists towards the Soviet scientific establishment, the interference of scientific bureaucracy (apparatchiks), and the conformism of scholars themselves or the anti-Stalinist feelings played an important role in the definition of the two opposite discourses

Iurie Stamati's book is more than a historiographical fresco of Moldovan archaeology after the Second World War. One can see the cultural dimension of a neglected discipline, i.e. archaeology, the intellectual formation and status of the archaeologists, acting in the unfavorable context of a totalitarian regime. It is a book written with talent and passion, with insights into the everyday life of the protagonists, and it sometimes reminds me of Yury Dombrovsky's *The Keeper of Antiquities*. Quoting from the personal memoirs of a close friend of the Fedorov family, he recalled how in 1945 Fedorov asked his future wife to marry him: «I love you and I will ask you for your hand right away, but first I must confess a terrible secret: I detest Stalin!»

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Daniel Spânu, Mihai Dima, Alin Frînculeasa, Steffen Kraus, Ernst Pernicka, *Tezaurul de orfevru de la Mălăieștii de Jos / The Mălăieștii de Jos Silver Craftsman's Hoard*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște 2018, 99 p., ISBN 978-606-537-409-6.

The silver hoard from Mălăieștii de Jos (Prahova County, Romania) – comprising a bronze jug, 74 coins (three of which are forming a pendant) ranging from the 1st to the 3rd century AD (the closing date being 257 AD), five bracelets and one brooch made of silver as well as two silver ingots – was discovered by chance in April 2015. The assemblage was retrieved and now it is part of the collection of the Prahova County Museum of History and Archaeology. The find was first published as an article in the journal *Dacia* (D. Spânu, M. Dima, A. Frînculeasa, *The Mălăieștii de Jos (Prahova County) Silver Craftsman's Hoard from the End of the Third Century AD*, *Dacia* N. S., 60, 2016, 237–273), followed in the same issue by the results of the chemical analyses undertaken on some of the objects (S. Kraus, E. Pernicka, *Chemical Analyses on Roman Coins and Silver Objects from the Mălăieștii de Jos Hoard, Romania*, *Dacia* N. S., 60, 2016, 275–279).

The reviewed book is a bilingual (Romanian and English) version of the above mentioned two articles, with very little further adjustments. In the *Prologue* (p. 7–8), D. Spânu makes an allusion to this, unfortunately without a concrete reference to the articles. According to this, the reason behind the second apparition is to popularize the assemblage, to make it more accessible for non-specialized readers too. While anyone can agree that the scientific journals are not meant for the larger public and thus republishing interesting finds in a more straightforward way should be general practice, publishing the same scientific article in a different language is not the best way to promote archaeology.

The first chapter of the book, *Finding, Retrieving and Establishing the Context of the Hoard* (p. 9–14), is the contribution of Alin Frînculeasa – the archaeologist who visited and swiftly researched the site of the discovery after it was reported to the Prahova County Museum of History and Archaeology. The description of the finding circumstances is very thorough and precise (with geographic coordinates, though lacking any photos of the site), but unfortunately it seems there was not too much information to gather. Based on the story of the finder, the discovery was made at 0.30–0.40 m depth, while digging a shallow trench at the back of a house. The neck of the bronze jug was found at approximately 1 m distance from its overturned body, underneath which lay the coins and the silver objects. This account already presents the hoard as a highly disturbed find. Even so, there is no information about whether the finder could observe the inner structure of the hoard, were the jewellery totally mixed with the coins or were they concentrated more on the bottom or top of the jug. The later investigation at the site (a small trial excavation was undertaken) showed no clear archaeological features there – even the cut of the pit could not have been observed, the 0.35 m thick topsoil being followed already by the natural (geological) layer. On the other hand seven sandstone slabs (gritstone? – the two languages do not exactly correspond here) were discovered around the find by the owner of the house, thus it might be possible that the spot of the deposition was specially arranged.

The next six chapters represent separate small studies of varying depth about each category of finds that constitutes the hoard, the first one being *The Coins* (p. 15–23), signed by Mihai Dima. The assemblage of 74 coins consists of 69 *denarii* ranging from Vespasian to Maximinus Thrax and 5 *antoniniani* minted under the reign of Philip the Arab, Trajan Decius and Valerian. The greatest percentage of the coins (over 62% of the entire lot) come from the time of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The author efficiently explains, in terms easily understandable even for people not knowing much about numismatics, how the silver content of the imperial coinage changed especially in the 3rd century AD and thus why were long overdue coins from the early 2nd century still very valuable after more than one hundred years. Based on the rather unusual structure of the coin assemblage, M. Dima proposes the quite probable scenario that the majority of the hoard was actually formed inside the Empire sometime at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd century and only later made its way into the Barbaricum, where not the coins as denominations but their high silver content made them exceptionally valuable. On the other hand, jumping from this theory to the idea of “attributing the Mălăieștii de Jos hoard to an itinerant craftsman who benefited from the raw material made available to him by a silent partner” (p. 23) is very farfetched.

The next chapters, with the exception of the one presenting the results of the chemical analyses and partly the catalogue, are all signed by Daniel Spănu – clearly the main author of the book. The first one of these thoroughly presents *The Bronze Jug* (p. 24–31) that was used as a recipient for the whole hoard. Jugs with the end of the handle shaped like a human foot (in this case of a right foot) are well attested and rather highly researched types of bronze vessels, produced roughly between the second half of the 1st century and the middle of the 2nd century AD, but they remained in use at least till the middle of the 3rd century. This date nicely coincides with the last coin from the hoard too. Taking into account the form of its body, the jug from Mălăieștii de Jos belongs to the “eastern” type, with the closest parallels coming from especially Pannonia. The chapter is further completed at the end of the book with an *Appendix - list of jugs with human foot decorated handle* (p. 78–81), which lists 64 finds from the Empire and the Barbaricum, though some Dacian finds for example (from Orheiul Bistriței and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa) did not make this list.

The following chapter presenting the silver brooch, *The Almgren 157 Fibula* (p. 32–41) is also very comprehensive, reaching far from the brooch itself towards the questions regarding cultural transformations that have been taking place beyond the Carpathians in the 3rd–4th century AD. This type of brooches with returned foot are well known in contexts outside of the Roman Empire and are generally dated in this region of Europe to the C2 period. D. Spănu highlights two close analogies made of bronze, one from the Târgșoru Vechi cemetery (Prahova County) and one from a dwelling from Poieniști (Vaslui County). These are not necessarily the closest analogies like the silver brooch from Bucharest - “Militari”, dwelling no. 7 which is also illustrated in this book but without presenting it in detail; on the other hand the two mentioned sites are important in the discussion of the chronology and cultural identities of extra-Carpathian communities.

Spănu’s first “case study”, the grave 147 from the 3rd–4th century cemetery at Târgșoru Vechi (p. 35–37) is a special grave inside the necropolis, having a different rite (incineration) and an unusual grave inventory (weapons) which both point towards analogies from the Przeworsk culture, thus labelling this grave as a first sign of “Germanic” intruders in

this region culminating later in the appearance of the Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov culture. This site is important also because it is located about 30 km from Mălăieştii de Jos. The second “case study” revolves around the dwelling no. 1163 (in the same feature a silver bracelet, similar to the ones in the hoard, was also found), respectively around the whole archaeological site from Poienişti (p. 37–41). This discussion is among the most important ones from the book, not necessarily from the Mălăieştii de Jos silver hoard’s perspective, but because it presents a rather extensively researched, and still not entirely published multi-layered site. Here a Roman Age necropolis was overlaid by a settlement apparently starting in the C2 phase. The cemetery was very recently published by D. Spănu himself (D. Spănu, *Poienişti. Necropola din secolele II-III*, Cluj-Napoca 2019), but about the later settlement there are some useful data presented in this book, advocating rather for the discontinuity on the site, clearly delimiting the start of the Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov culture in the extra-Carpathian territories. These types of discussions are naturally welcomed and help putting in context the artefacts present in the hoard, in this case reaching the conclusion that the Almgren 157 type of brooches are possible indicators for early Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov presence in the region, and consequently the silver hoard itself should be correlated with the early phase of the said culture.

Whereas the cultural affiliation of the brooch was amply discussed, some other aspects were somewhat neglected, namely the fibula’s iron axis, which got lost, but inside the spring iron oxides were clearly visible. An iron axis for a nicely fashioned silver brooch is highly atypical and is more frequently met in the case of repaired fibulae. If this is the case, its value is not necessarily greater than its silver weight.

The next three chapters take on the remaining object types, but in these cases their discussion resumes to a very general perspective, naming few and distant analogies, whereas exactly these objects make the hoard truly remarkable. The first of these chapters presents *The Bracelets* (p. 42–45). The five similar, though not at all identical solid silver open bracelets with widening ends – similar to the so-called *Kolbenarmringe*, though with less trumpet-shaped ends – are very rare finds in the 3rd-4th century in this region. One smaller, but rather similar silver example is known from the already presented dwelling no. 1163 from Poienişti. This aspect, already mentioned in the chapter discussing the brooch (p. 37), rather surprisingly is not brought up again in the chapter solely about the bracelets. On the other hand the reader can get an insight on the appearance of the golden variant of this rather general bracelet form in different periods and cultures, ranging from the 1st century BC to the 5th century AD. One cannot deny that there is a link between the silver bracelets from the hoard and the partly contemporary massive golden ones, interpreted as barbarous insignia, from the lavish elite graves of the 3rd century in Central Europe. Nevertheless, Spănu’s final observations about the bracelets are very important for the interpretation of the hoard, namely that they all were deformed, most plausibly so that they could fit inside the bronze jug. During this process two of the bracelets suffered irreversible damage, thus it seems highly probable that not so much the bracelets, but their silver content was targeted. This interpretation, as noted also in the book, is to be found generally in the case of *Hacksilber* hoards, though usually the objects comprising these are voluntarily chopped up into smaller pieces for an easier remelting.

The most unique object from the hoard, *The Perforated Denarii Pendant*, got the shortest presentation (p. 46–47). It comprises two Antoninus Pius and one Marcus Aurelius *denarius*, all perforated and fixed on the three sides of the same thin, doubled silver plate forming a loop on its upper end. As Spânu mentions as well, these personal ornaments are rare inside the Empire and are more frequently met in Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov type contexts, becoming highly fashionable especially in the late 4th–5th century. The way the coins are oriented clearly shows that the images represented on them had no meaning whatsoever, they are even partly covered by the silver plate, whereas on one of the coins a broken perforation can also be seen. Clearly once they got transformed into a pendant, these objects were no longer considered coins, thus we should consider them only with reservation part of the coin hoard. In this book this confusion is unfortunately present – the coins comprising the pendant are integrated into the numismatic study without further remarks, then towards the end, in a separate chapter the pendant is discussed again. This aspect is important from a chronological perspective: when interpreting the coin hoard, it was considered to have an earlier 1st–2nd century core (the *denarii*), to which later were added the 3rd century pieces (the *antoniniani*), as well as the jewellery. It does not directly say so, but through all these D. Spânu and M. Dima suggest that the pendant was made by a silver craftsman using three coins from the early coin hoard to which he had access.

The last two silver objects forming the hoard are *The Ingots* (p. 48–50). The two bars with trapezoid section, weighing 52 g and 74.66 g, bear no stamp or inscription, thus they cannot be official Roman ingots. In this chapter Spânu, after trying to compare the weights of these bars to other (official) ingots – without too much result –, while mentioning that their alloy is similar to that of the brooch, concludes that these finds are semi-products of silverwork, placed between the coins and the brooch in the process of production (i.e. zinc was added to the melted coins, thus forming the bars from which personal ornaments were then manufactured). More important than their seemingly random weight is the way these bars were produced, using single valve moulds, the form of which was also reconstructed (p. 49, Fig. 11). It is rather difficult to be entirely sure based on these, but if we turn around – basically mirror – and turn it with a few degrees one of the bars and its mould from the said figure, their bottom line nicely coincides. Thus it seems highly probable that the two ingots were produced in the same mould, the difference in their size being due to the quantity of material used. This explains also their slightly differing composition.

Having finished with the presentation of the hoard's comprising objects, a rather strange chapter follows, discussing *Remarks on the Weights of the Silver Items* (p. 51–54). In this D. Spânu presents some very creative, but less convincing calculations regarding the weights of the different items. At the base of this idea is the (slightly fragmentary!) brooch with its 8.93 g, the smallest bracelet is almost 2 times heavier, the next one 2½, the third of close to 3 times, the fourth of 4 times, while the fifth of 7⅔ times. As all items have different weights, it is possible to find a partly working pattern in regard with proportions, but one should also recognize if there is no clearly observable rule regarding the weights of the hoard's comprising objects. A more interesting comparison proposed was for the weight of coins in contrast with the jewellery, but these calculations seemed even less demonstrative. It must be admitted, that the issue of the heaviness of especially the bracelets is truly

intriguing, as they have more or less similar form, but the weight difference between them is substantial (the biggest one is almost four times larger than the smallest one).

The presence of the coin-pendant probably increases the impression that this hoard presents a situation where Roman silver coins were transformed into personal ornaments. The *Chemical Analyses* (p. 55–61), made by Steffen Kraus and Ernst Pernicka, were meant to prove this. ED-XRF type analyses were undertaken on 15 coins, on the bracelets and ingots, as well as separately on the body and the pin of the brooch, respectively the body and the handle of the jug. The results on one hand confirm the already known compositional dropping tendencies of silver content in coins from the 3rd century AD. On the other hand the personal ornaments and ingots were alloyed on a higher degree with brass. Thus, these analyses cannot answer the question whether the silver from the objects comes directly from coins, though two of the bracelets (no. 80 and 81) have lower zinc and copper percentage, so they could have been direct results of coin-melting. The rest was either further alloyed with brass or was the result of recycling of other objects. Regarding the jug, the results coincide with what is already known in general about Roman bronze-working, i.e. usually low tin bronze was used for the body as it is more malleable, and leaded bronze for the cast handle.

The final chapter – aside of the different lists from the end –, written also by D. Spânu, is dedicated to the general conclusions and to *The Significance of the Hoard Structure* (p. 62–69). The first step in the process of interpretation is ruling out that the ornaments from the hoard constitute a personal set – arguments against these are easily found looking at the uneven structure and especially the very various bracelet sizes. In Spânu's view, the hoard cannot be considered a “random accumulation of precious objects”, but rather should be regarded as a silver craftsman's hoard, consisting of coins, finished and semi-finished objects. Thus coins specially selected for their high silver content are turned into jewellery, either mechanically by forming pendants from the coins or through melting. This method is illustrated by the two “home-made” ingots too, while the bent bracelets most probably were destined to be recycled. The brooch represents the sole finished item. The book suggests these all could belong to “an itinerant silver craftsman” (p. 64).

Having in mind that the dating of the artefacts constituting the hoard can easily be separated in two groups, Spânu suggests two scenarios how it could have formed. First of all, the early (1st-2nd century) coins together with the bronze jug most probably were gathered inside the Roman Empire, the question is how was the later part added to the hoard. The first hypothesis suggests that the early core entered the Barbaricum sometime at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, possibly as a stipend for local elites and the later items were added to it here. This would mean that the lot got passed down from local elites to the early Sântana de Mureş – Černjachov population. The second hypothesis argues that the whole coin assemblage formed inside the Empire and got incidentally into the Barbaricum. The jewellery, having clear “barbarian” aspects, were quite surely added here. Spânu's final conclusion is: “Probably, the hoard was constituted by a silver craftsman in the service of a Wallachian power centre whose milieu was familiar with the power symbols in the Central European region of the 3rd century” (p. 69).

The final chapter of the book is followed by the *Catalogue* (p. 70–77), presenting the 74 coins (each with general bibliography and lacking detailed description of the obverse

and reverse) and the silver objects, respectively the jug without too much description, basically mentioning different measurements. The order of the finds in the catalogue does not correspond with the order of the presenting chapters, but actually the catalogue's arrangement seems more logical, having for example the *denarii*-pendant right after the coins. This chapter is followed by the already mentioned *Appendix*, the list of jugs with the end of the handle shaped like a human foot (p. 78–81), then the quite extensive list of *Literature* (p. 82–87) naming relevant national and international titles, and finally the *List of Figures* (p. 88–90) and the *List of Plates* (p. 91), the seven colour plates being at the very end of the book.

The appearance of the book is very elegant, mostly due to its A4 format which allows uncluttered pages, and the nice glossy paper, paired with high quality printing. This shows mostly in the case of the plates, which present colour pictures of the finds (both sides of each coin are represented). Drawings of the objects are found inside the text, at each corresponding chapter, as well as other illustrations, for example maps and analogies, tables and diagrams. The biggest shortfall regarding the illustration of the book would be the lack of a “group picture”, one photo with all of the finds represented there – not just because it is general practice to show hoards in this way but it actually helps the reader to gasp the whole assemblage. The editing is fair, though some mistakes could have been avoided, and the English terminology presents in a few cases slight errors.

Quite frequently we can hear on the news about new spectacular chance finds from different periods on the territory of Romania – much more seldom are the scientific studies about them, and even rarer whole books presenting these dedicated to other interested people too, not just for the researchers. Thus the idea of this book is truly great, and from an archaeological point of view it is totally adequate, but unfortunately it does not fulfill what was set out for it in the first place: to “disseminate more amply” the hoard. For that is not enough to publish a Romanian version of an English article, it needs to be simplified in some parts and completed in others. For example in such books targeted for the larger audience more emphasize should be put on the current legislation of Romania in regard with valuable chance finds: by constantly thanking the “good-will” (p. 7) and the negotiating skills (p. 10) of the finder one might forget about actual obligations to the state in such cases.

Even from a quick overview, the unevenness of some chapters is rather striking: about the bracelets, the ingots and the pendant regrettably less is written in contrast with the brooch or the jug. Other than this aspect, the individual object presentations are thorough and well thought. On the other hand regarding the interpretation of the hoard, I would argue against naming it an itinerant craftsman's hoard. First of all, there is no argumentation presented why would he have been itinerant, possibly the reasoning behind it being that there is no clear sign of any kind of settlement or workshop at the finding spot. But the very small trial excavation undertaken there cannot possibly guarantee that there is nothing in the nearby, and even if there is truly nothing, the hoard could have been easily hidden intentionally outside of the inhabited area. On the other hand if we accept that the brooch (with a missing iron axis) could have been also destined for repair or recycling, no clearly “finished” item remains, thus making this assemblage more comparable with the *Hacksilber*-type hoards, where the only aspect is the value of the silver and not of the

composing objects. In our case there are no signs of deliberately chopping up the objects, on the other hand the ingots can be interpreted as already recycled material, while in the case of the *denarii*-pendant it is not clear whether it should be considered a finished product or a faulty one awaiting recycling. Perhaps the explanation is not in the individual weights of the objects, but is in the total sum, 521.62 g (equalling 19 *uncia* or 1.6 *libra*) is a considerable quantity of silver, valuable for anyone, not only for silver craftsmen.

There is no doubt about the importance of the Mălăieştii de Jos silver hoard, as much as there is no doubt how much are needed small books presenting the almost regularly appearing new treasures. In this case the book generally deserves praise, it is comprehensive but not overloaded, the object presentations being well documented, especially in the case of the bronze jug and of the *Almgren 157* type brooch. While analysing the latter, the topic of cultural transformations of the 3rd-4th century outside of the Carpathians was also discussed in detail with special focus on the Poienеşti archaeological site. This excursus is most welcomed and makes the entire study even more relevant. Even though the work that was put in the research and publishing is much appreciated, I would argue against its interpretation as an itinerant silver craftsman's hoard. Of course we shall never know what kind of fate would have awaited it in different circumstances, but as it is, all we can surely admit is that it is a collection of silver objects, gathered for the value of their raw material.

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PROJECT OUTLINE

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON A FUTURE FONTES HUNNORUM

PÉTER KOVÁCS

“Die Nothwendigkeit einer Sammlung aller lateinischen Inschriften braucht nicht erst bewiesen zu werden” as Theodor Mommsen started an essay with reference to the planning of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, the biggest epigraphic corpus containing all Latin inscriptions.¹ I wish to start my present proposal concerning the history of the Huns and their written sources with the same remark. Several hypotheses and debates – pro and contra – have been arisen on the history of Huns. Numerous monographs dealing with the history of European Huns were published, some of them in Hungarian.² Archaeological material of the Huns/Hun period has been identified (cauldrons, diademata, swords, bows, harnesses, deformed skulls), and the rite of the funerary sacrifice as well; on the other hand, the ethnical identification is much debated.³ Besides Hungarian research, German⁴ and Russian⁵ scholars publish extensively on the period, for geographical and ethnical reasons. The interest is also proven by recent exhibitions in Germany and Austria, and by the catalogues dedicated to them.⁶ After Thompson’s work published in 1948, in recent years several new works were published in the English-speaking area.⁷ However, researchers dealing with the history of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire paid much attention to the relationship with the Huns, mainly in biographies of emperors (Theodosius I and II, Honorius, Arcadius and Valentinian III) and of generals (as Stilicho and Aetius).⁸ On the other hand, several studies on the history of other Barbarian peoples (primarily Germans, Alans and Sarmatians) cover the history of Huns as well.⁹ They were also examined from the point of view of the loss of Roman Pannonia.¹⁰ Attila’s person and his legends¹¹ have been always in the center of research, even if his person, historical role¹² and his death¹³ are much debated and interpreted based on the same available source material.

¹ Alföldy 1995 (1996), 292–295; Alföldy 2004, 217–245; Schmidt 2007. The project has not been supported by the Hungarian Research Fund.

² Németh 1940; Szász 1943; Bóna 1971; Bóna 1991; Bóna et alii 1993.

³ Alföldi 1932; Fettich 1940, 227–264; Fettich 1953; Werner 1956; Bóna 1991.

⁴ Wirth 1999; Stickler 2007; Hunnen; Schmauder 2009.

⁵ Shchukin, Kazanski, Sharov 2006; Гунны, готы, сарматы.

⁶ E.g. *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren*; Daim 1996; *Attila und die Hunnen*.

⁷ Gordon 1961; Maenchen-Helfen 1973; Kelly 2009; Kim 2013; Maas 2015; Kim 2016.

⁸ Güldenpenning 1885; Seeck 1921; Bury 1923; Demougeot 1951; Stein 1959; Demougeot 1979; Elia 1999; Sivan 2011; Kelly 2013; McEvoy 2014; Salisbury 2015; Mazzarino 1942; O’Flynn 1983; Zecchini 1983; Stickler 2002; Janßen 2004; Hughes 2010; Hughes 2012.

⁹ Schmidt 1941; Heather 1994; Wolfram 1979; Alemany 2000; Istvánovits, Kulcsár 2017.

¹⁰ Alföldi 1924–1926; Várady 1969; Mócsy 1974; Lotter 2003; Tóth 2009.

¹¹ Bozóky 2013.

¹² Kelly 2009.

¹³ Babcock 2005.

The existent studies are mainly based on archaeological data; in what regards historical data, sources are interpreted following E. A. Thompson's historical work.¹⁴ In the last decades, esp. following the decline of the study of classical languages (Greek and Latin), in the field of research on the Early Medieval Period of the Carpathian Basin (and of entire Central Europe) and nowadays even on the Late Roman History of Pannonia the archaeological-based research is increasingly gaining ground, however, unlike the Avarian age (with its Byzantine and Latin sources that have been elaborated¹⁵), there are a lot of available written antique and Byzantine sources of the Hun period. Even worse is the situation, and certainly erroneous, when one intends to interpret and reconstruct the history of late Roman Pannonia,¹⁶ (including the supposed continuity of the provincial population after the Roman rule) based only on the archaeological finds, without using the written sources (in the Roman period artificial archaeological periods/Stufen must not be used, if fix chronological data are available).¹⁷ The archaeological finds and their typological chronology do not help if an exact date, within decades, must be made, and their ethnological separation is almost impossible (Hun-German-Alan etc.).¹⁸

The starting point of these studies must have been the detailed analysis and edition of all written sources concerning the Huns and the entire period as it was made for instance in the case of the Alans.¹⁹ Thompson and Maenchen-Helfen knew and used these sources, but they interpreted them in their own way.²⁰ F. Altheim in his series did not examined the sources in detail, esp. in the fourth volume on the European Huns.²¹ Why would be so important the collection and edition of all these sources with translations and commentaries? In the following I intend to answer this question.

I have been working on the edition, translation and interpretation of the written sources of Roman Pannonia (including epigraphical, papyrological and numismatic documents) from the period of the occupation until the fall of the province. During my work, it has become clear that without the collection and edition of all sources, one cannot say more on the history of Pannonia than our predecessors did decades ago (that is why the modern research in most cases cannot bring us closer to the historical reality). Based on this observation, I have founded the series *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae* that intends to collect, edit, translate and interpret all written sources of the province from the occupation of the province to its abandonment. Since 2003 sources have been edited chronologically (vol. I-II – eds. P. Kovács, B. Fehér, vol. III-VII – ed. P. Kovács). Seven volumes (FPA 1–7) concerning Pannonia from the period of the conquest to the death of Constantine the Great (337 AD) have been published in Hungarian, and partly in German.²² Based on them, I have also published three monographs on the history of Pannonia until 395 AD.²³

¹⁴ Thompson 1948; Gordon 1961; Thompson 1999; Maenchen-Helfen 1973.

¹⁵ Szádeczky-Kardoss 1998; Olajos 2001; Pohl 2018.

¹⁶ See Mócsy 1974; Kovács 2016; Kovács 2019.

¹⁷ E.g. Vida 2011, 615–648.

¹⁸ Cf. Bóna 1991 and Bóna et alii 1993.

¹⁹ Velenczei 1978; Alemany 2000.

²⁰ Thompson 1948; Thompson 1999; Maenchen-Helfen 1973.

²¹ Altheim 1959–1962. The same can be observed in his earlier, almost identical work with this volume: Altheim 1951.

²² FPA 1–7; Kovács 2014a.

²³ Kovács 2014, Kovács 2016, Kovács 2019.

In the last three planned volumes the series will reflect the history of Pannonia between 337 and 433 AD.

In the second part of this period, after 376 the Huns appeared in the vicinity of the Roman Empire and played a more and more important role in the history of the Carpathian Basin and of Pannonia, and later ruled the Pannonian provinces too, except Pannonia secunda. The role of the German Odoacer and Romulus Augustulus in the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 excellently shows as their fathers Edica and the Pannonian Orestes were among the most important persons in Attila's court.

The collection of sources concerning Huns in Pannonia is partly finished and ready to be published. In what the European Huns concern a similar demarche, a *Fontes Hunnorum*, containing the sources and the history of Huns after 376, would be of interest. The period between 376 and the 6th century could be divided in three volumes, as follows:

- I. Huns in the written sources of the Principate and the Hun history between 376 and 425;
- II. The Huns under Ruga's and Attila's rule (425–453);
- III. The Hun history following Attila's death (454 - beginning of the 6th century).

Huns were recorded already in the sources of the early Imperial period, but the vast majority of the authors flourished in the 5th and 6th centuries (and later Byzantine chronicles used them). Gy. Moravcsik compiled most of these sources concerning Huns many decades ago (it is less known, as it was published only in Hungarian in 1934),²⁴ but the edition and evaluation of these passages has not been accomplished yet. Moravcsik's other work was the collection of Byzantine sources concerning the nomad peoples, and his *Byzantinoturcica* has also become very important regarding this period.²⁵ Fortunately, several new editions of the Byzantine authors of the 5th century – as Priscus Rhetor's fragments, for example – have been accomplished.²⁶ One must also consult the Byzantine epigraphical and papyrological material²⁷ of the 5th century, as the presence of Huns must be supposed. The corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions mentioning East Germans clearly shows this possibility, as for instance the Gepids' king's, Thrasarich's recently found funerary inscription in Constantinople.²⁸ In the first planned volume, the presence of Huns in Europe and their victories over Barbarians must have an important role, and in the second one, the wars between Rome, Constantinople and the Huns, esp. under Attila; the last tome will be dedicated to the decrease and the fall of the Hun Empire following the battle of Nedao. The closing date of the work (and of the Hun history in Europe) cannot exactly be defined yet. Obviously, the series cannot be finished with Attila's death or with Nedao, but it must also be examined the later history of Attila's sons until their death: Dengizik in 469, and Ernach/Irnek after 469. Inevitably, the history of other peoples in the 6th century must be studied, as some of them were also called Huns by Byzantine authors. As during the rule of Huns other small tribes settled down in the Carpathian Basin, even in Pannonia, – as, for example, the Sadagarii – their story will also be examined. It is sure

²⁴ Moravcsik 1934.

²⁵ Moravcsik 1958.

²⁶ Blockley 1981–1983.

²⁷ Diethart-Kislinger 1996.

²⁸ Çetinkaya 2009, 225–229; Fiebiger, Schmidt 1917.

that the Huns did not totally disappear from Europe and several groups lived as *foederati* in the Eastern Roman Empire (e.g. the story of Ernach/Irnek after 469). That is why it is also important to study their possible epigraphic and onomastic material, as it was mentioned above. Naturally, in my work I cannot deal with the question of supposed relationship between the Huns and the Hungarians and the Hun tradition of the Arpadian house, but the examination of all written sources can probably bring clarifications.²⁹

How could this new corpus help the study of the Hun history? First, all Latin and Greek sources will be available in the same place, with translation, commentary and bibliography of the given passage. On the other hand, I cannot foretell how this collection will change the Hun studies, but as the volumes of FPA clearly show it is almost sure that several new data will emerge. Naturally, the series cannot help to find Attila's burial place, but a more realistic picture on the history of Huns and of the entire period can be made.

Finally, I wish to examine a concrete historical problem that clearly shows how important this work is. In earlier research concerning Pannonia, a theory has widely been accepted, the theory that following the battle of Hadrianople in 378, Goth-Alan-Hun troops under the leadership of Alatheus and Saphrax invaded Pannonia, and on the basis of a *foedus* concluded with Emperor Gratian they would have settled in the province.³⁰ There have been several attempts to identify their archaeological material (as the burnished pottery in military fortifications along the Eastern Pannonian limes).³¹

Studying the sources of this event (Jord. *Get.* XXVII.140–142, Zos. IV.34.2–4), I have noticed that their story in Zosimus' account continues as follows:

2. τούτου δὲ ἡγουμένου δύο μοῖραι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Γερμανικῶν ἔθνων, ἡ μὲν ἡγεμόνι Φριτιγέρνῳ χρωμένη, ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλλόθεον καὶ Σάφρακα τεταγμένη, τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπικείμεναι κατέστησαν εἰς ἀνάγκην τὸν βασιλέα Γρατιανὸν ἐνδοῦναι σφίσιν, ἀπολιπούσαις τὰ ἐν Κελτοῖς, διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου Παιονίαν καὶ τὴν ἄνω Μυσίαν καταλαβεῖν: ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ λόγος τε καὶ σπουδὴ τέως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς συνεχοῦς τούτων ἐφόδου. 3 διαπλεύσαντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἰστρον, διανοούμενοι τε διὰ Παιονίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἠπειρον διαβῆναι, περαιωθῆναι δὲ τὸν Ἀχελῷον καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι, τροφὰς πορίσασθαι ῥῆθησαν πρότερον, Ἀθανάριχόν τε παντὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκυθῶν ἄρχοντα γένους ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μηδένα κατὰ νότου τὸν κωλύσοντα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιχείρησιν ἔχειν. 4 ἐπιθέμενοι τοίνυν αὐτῷ σὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἦν ἀπανέστησαν.³²

Translation:

“Meanwhile, the emperor Gratian sent out Vitalianus as Magister in Illyricum, a man totally inadequate to deal with the army's distressed condition. (2) During his term of command, two divisions of the German peoples over the Rhine, one led by Fritigern, the other by Alatheus and Saphrax, so threatened the Gauls that the emperor Gratian was forced to allow them to leave Gaul, cross the Danube and occupy Pannonia and Upper Moesia; he thereby hoped to be free from their continual attacks. (3) They therefore crossed the Danube with the intention of going through Pannonia to Epirus and thence across the Archelaus to

²⁹ Hóman 2010.

³⁰ Alföldy 1924–1926, 59–63; Várady 1969.

³¹ Soproni 1985, 86–93.

³² Kovács 2000; Kovács 2016a; see also Heather 1994, 310–323; Bierbrauer 2011, 114–140.

attack the cities of Greece. They decided first, however, to provide themselves with forage and to remove Athanaric, head of the Scythian royal family, so as to have no-one to hinder their plans from behind. (4) So setting on him, they easily drove him out of his kingdom”.³³

The final part cannot be used as evidence for the presence of these supposed *foederati*. On the contrary, Zosimus proves that they left the province and shows that their story continued in the Balkans. Other written sources do not confirm their settlement in Pannonia either (as the *Notitia Dignitatum*). Based on this fact, under Theodosius’ reign following the disastrous years between 378 and 380 (382), a peaceful period must be supposed in Pannonia and the final collapse can be dated after Stilicho’s death in 408 and the mission of Generidus. The mixed Barbarian troops of Alatheus and Saphrax obviously destroyed Pannonia (cf. Jord. *Get.* XVII.140: *Alatheus vero et Safrax cum residuis copiis Pannoniam petierunt*), but they left immediately the area. Without examining the available sources concerning the event (or despite of the sources), several attempts have recently been made in order to identify this Barbarian group in Pannonia.

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³³ Zosimus, *New History*. A translation with commentary by R. T. Ridley, *Byzantina Australensia* 2, Canberra 1982, 85–86.

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IN MEMORIAM

A PROFESSOR, A PARENT, A BELIEVER
NICOLAE GUDEA
(1941–2019)



How can somebody who wrote more than 450 books and articles be defined? Somebody who has always been in his office working from 6.30 in the morning *even* in the last period of his life, *even* when his illness took its tribute making him heavily suffering? Was he a workaholic as it says nowadays? Was he a positivist, following the German school of archaeology? Was he a straightforward man, sometimes even severe, as he had been described by one of his disciples? Possibly ... a little bit all of this, but, personally, I have never seen the harsh part of his personality. I became his PhD student when his hair already turned grey and I knew him being almost all the time somebody with a jovial, friendly attitude with anyone who was around with him, from the doorman of the Institute, to colleagues, students and other familiars.

He was a representative of the “old school” in the field of archaeology, for whom the most important creed was to allow scholars have access to the archaeological material. I don’t know anybody in Romania who had been so rigorous regarding publishing as much as possible from his archaeological excavations. He saw as his duty to organize, to catalogue and to interpret all kind of archaeological material, from pottery to coins and small finds, establishing a series of archaeological monographs. Among his most impressive publications, the monograph of the Roman site of Porolissum stays as a milestone not only for the Romanian archaeology but for the worldwide, too. He carried out significant investigations to many archaeological sites of Roman Dacia, continuously publishing on the limes and *castra* in the region of Banat (Teregova, Pojejena, Gornea, Mehadia, Surduc, Berzovia) and Transylvania (Râșnov, Buciumi, Feldioara, Bologa, Gherla, Răcari, Mehadia

etc.). The *castrum* in Porolissum can be seen, even today, as a landmark of the Roman fortresses in Romania, not only because of the systematic research, but also because it was the first attempt to reconstruct a gate tower of a Roman fortress in Romania. And, this was possible, also, owing to the efforts of Professor Gudea during the rough times of the communist regime in Romania.



Porolissum, the early 80's, from left to right: Nicolae Gudea; István Bajusz; the Ambassador of Canada and his wife; Eugen Chirilă; driver.

Professor Gudea was a true multicultural scholar, speaking fluently not only German but Hungarian too, as it was something normal in the good old days of Transylvania. He was born in Deva in 1941 and attended a primary school in Crasna (Sălaj County) in Hungarian language, being very proud of the “excellent” school certificate, as he related us several times. After his family moved to Zalău he frequented the secondary school, and, then, the high-school in this city. Zalău became his “real home” for his entire life. After a short foray into the world of metallurgy (in 1961 he graduated the Metallurgical Technical School in Bucharest and he was employed for two years at a metallurgical plant) he was admitted in 1963 to study history at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj. In 1968, he graduated at the Faculty of History and Philosophy and became researcher of the Institute of Archaeology in Cluj. This moment was the starting point of a brilliant academic career. Nicolae Gudea’s doctoral thesis, defended in 1978, focused on the history of the Banat region in the Roman and the post-Roman era, based on written and archaeological sources.

Besides of his rigorousness, Professor Gudea’s colleagues remember him as a very friendly person with great sense of humour. His good connections and great organising skills were fully employed and ensured the success of several academic events organised by him and his collaborators. Based on many testimonies, the 17th Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Zalău in September 1997, with hundreds of worldwide participants, remains one of the most pleasant Limes Congress ever.

Owing to his family deep faith, even in time of persecutions in the communist era, the Greek-Catholic church played a very important role from his early days throughout his life. After the fall of the Communism in Romania, in 1989, he was involved in re-opening the Greek-Catholic Theology Faculty at the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. Becoming professor of this faculty in 1990, he was teaching generations of students on early Christian archaeology. In recognition of his service to the Greek-Catholic Church in 2013, the Holy See awarded him the Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. Gregory the Great, one of the five Pontifical Orders of the Catholic Church.

Familial life was always very important to professor Gudea. His wife, Emilia (Milly, as he was caressing her), was teaching English in the high school and she was entirely dedicated to him. She was the one to ensure the environment of safeness which is the most important for a prolific scientific activity. Beside their two sons, they were also taking care of two lovely granddaughters from the early years till they became adults.

Without any doubt, Professor Nicolae Gudea remains one of the most prolific archaeologists in Romania. His scientific work, publications, conferences, are very well known abroad, too, and anyone studying Roman army, fortresses, and *limes* in Central and South-eastern Europe provinces cannot avoid reading professor Gudea's work. His membership of several prestigious institutions in Europe, such as DAI (Deutsche Archaeological Institute, Berlin), *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores* etc., have underlined professor Gudea's international scientific appreciation.

I feel grateful to prof. Gudea for his support and patient pursuing my PhD theses and scientific progress. He was a great mentor of the young generations. He had always time to make remarks on the scientific studies for anybody who wanted to work seriously. Sometimes he came home from abroad with a wad of photocopies helping us to access this way the newest bibliography in our research field. I think I can speak in the name of all his PhD students (and there were many!) that he was always open to help the young generation, never rejected our research projects, leading us without controlling. Thank you, Professor!

Ágnes Alföldy Găzdac

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.archeo.ens.fr/IMG/pdf/annee_philologique_abrev_revues.pdf

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timișoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ACD	<i>Acta classica Universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis</i> , Debrecen 1968-.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
Acta Carnuntina	<i>Acta Carnuntina</i> . Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, Carnuntum.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology, Bordeaux – Moscow.
Acta Siculica	<i>Acta siculica</i> . Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888-.
Aegaeum	<i>Aegaeum</i> . Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP, Liège.
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
Aetas	<i>Aetas</i> . Journal of history and related disciplines, Budapest.
Agora 32	The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 32: J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, Princeton 2008.
AIHA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIHA Iași	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași.
AIJ	V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
Alba Regia	<i>Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis - Alba Regia</i> . A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	<i>Aluta</i> . Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
American Anthropologist	American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association.
AMS	Asia Minor Studien. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> . Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
Annales HSS	<i>Annales</i> . Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin – New York.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Altens Orients und des Alten Testament, Kevelar/Neurkirchen-Vluyn, Münster.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Aquila Legionis	<i>Aquila legionis</i> . Cuadernos de estudios sobre el Ejército Romano, Universidad de la Rioja.
Arrabona	<i>Arrabona</i> . A Győri Múzeum évkönyve. Győr.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.
Археологія	Археологія. Спілка археологів України, Київ.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Archaeologia Bulgarica	<i>Archaeologia Bulgarica</i> , Sofia.
Archeologia	Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, Warszawa.
ΑρχΔελτ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Αθήνα.
ArchHung	<i>Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Arcaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae</i> , Budapest.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
Argesis	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Județean Argeș.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arheologia (Sofia)	Arheologija. Organ na Archeologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia.
Arheologie și Studii Clasice	Arheologie și Studii Clasice, București.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
ARYS	ARYS. Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades, Instituto de Historiografía “Julio Caro Baroja”, (UC3M), Madrid.
Ausgrabungen und Funde	Ausgrabungen und Funde: Nachrichtenblatt der Landesarchäologie, Berlin 1956-1995.
Avram, PPEE	A. Avram, <i>Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa</i> , Colloquia Antiqua 8, Louvain – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2013.
Balcanica	Annual of the Institute for the Balkan Studies, Belgrad.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCEN	Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, Paris 1888.
BHAUT	<i>Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis</i> , Timișoara.
BJU International	British Journal of Urology.

BMC	H. Mattingly, R. Carson (eds.), <i>Coins of the British Museum</i> , London 1923.
BSAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
Caiete ARA	Revistă de Arhitectură, Restaurare și Arheologie, București.
Carpica	Revista anuală a Complexului Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu”, Bacău.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al Municipiului București.
CAG	Carte archéologique de la Gaule 10, L'Aube, Paris 2005.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CBI	E. Schallmayer et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiariier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart 1990.
CBC	<i>Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum</i> , W. Herwig (ed.), Vienna 1979.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI</i> , Leyden 1989.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> , EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii</i> , Leyden 1985.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf .
CIA	Kircchoff et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1828-1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum</i> , HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863 sqq.
CILA	J. González (ed.), <i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> , Sevilla 1989-1991, I-III.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , I-II, The Hague 1956, 1960.
Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> .
Classica et Christiana	<i>Classica et Christiana</i> . Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i> .
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis</i> , Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuviorum</i> , I-II, Leiden 1969-1976.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice, București.
CNT	<i>Corpus Nummorum Thracorum</i> : https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/

Coll. Antropol.	<i>Collegium antropologicum</i> , School Of Biological Anthropology, Zagreb.
CommArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Romine, București.
CPL	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> .
Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> . Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani.
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
Cumidava	<i>Cumidava</i> . Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
DA	Ch. V. Daremberg, Ed. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments, Paris 1877-1919.
Dacia (N. S.)	<i>Dacia</i> – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): <i>Dacia</i> – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
Diacronia	Diacronia. http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/journal/about
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Debreceniensis de Frederico Déri nominate</i> , Debrecen.
DissPann	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i> , Budapest.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, I-III, Roma 1895-1922.
Documenta Praehistorica	<i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana.
Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).
Drobeta	<i>Drobeta</i> , Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
EAIVR	Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României, București 1994-.
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/).
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge.
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
Erdély	Erdély Honismertető Folyóirat. Az Erdély Kárpát-Egyesületnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Έργον	Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα.
Études et Travaux	Études et Travaux. Annual of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.

FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici</i> , Budapest.
FPA 1-7	P. Kovács (and B. Fehér 1-2) (ed.), <i>Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae</i> , 1-7, Budapest 2003-2013.
Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.
GED	W. Ph. Lehmann, <i>Gothic Etymological Dictionary</i> , Leiden 1986.
Gephyra	<i>Gephyra</i> : Journal for the Ancient History and Cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, Akdeniz University, Antalya.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrade.
GLIA	S. Mitchell, D. French, <i>The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD</i> , München 2012.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de.
A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati</i> , Miskolc.
Hierá	<i>Hierá</i> . Collana di studi storico-religiosi, Cosenza.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTE	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, I-XXII, Deva 1880-1913.
IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , I-III, București – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, București 1996, 2000.
IEW	J. Pokorny, <i>Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 1-2, Bern – Munich 1959, 1969, 2005 ⁵ .
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGBulg	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I-V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956-1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)</i> , Bordeaux – Paris 1997.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate</i> , București 1976.
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris 1929 sqq.
ILAf	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Châtelain, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</i> , Paris 1923.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I, Sofia 1989.
ILCV	Ernst Diehl: <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , Berlin 1925-1967.
ILD	C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București I, 2005; II, 2016.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.

ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1882-1916.
IMS	Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, I-VI, Beograd 1976-1982.
InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937.
ISM	Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine, București 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JAHA	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology. The journal of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.
Journal of Democracy	Journal of Democracy, Washington DC.
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology, http://jsa.sagepub.com/ .
Journal of Military History	Journal of Military History, Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	Journal of Religion and Health, Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Budapest.
ΚρΧρoν	Κρητικά Χρονικά, Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	<i>krisis/crisi</i> , Roma 2012.
KSK RBS	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtschaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle, Berlin.
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/ .
Libelli Archaeologici	<i>Libelli Archaeologici</i> , Budapest.
Libyca	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981 sqq.
LIMES	Buletin Limes. Frontierele Imperiului Roman în România. Publicație susținută de Comisia Limes România.
L&S	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, A new Latin Dictionary, New York – Oxford 1891.
Lupa	<i>Ubi erat lupa</i> , www.ubi-erat-lupa.org .
MAL	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
Madrider Mitteilungen	Madrider Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
Marmatia	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
Masson, OGS	Masson, OGS = O. Masson, <i>Onomaslica Graeca Selecta I-II</i> , Paris 1990.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
Medicina nei secoli	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.

MelBidez	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933-1934).
Memoria Antiquitatis	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
MGH AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , Hannover – Berlin 1826 sqq.
MGH SRG	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i> .
MGH. SRM	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> , Hannover 1896.
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in Folio)</i> .
Michmanim	Michmanim. The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Haifa University.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.
Musaaios	<i>Musaaios</i> , Muzeul Județean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. <i>Acta Comparitionis Litterarum Universalis</i> , Budapest.
Novensia	<i>Novensia</i> : badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warsawa.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OnomThrac	D. Dana, <i>Onomasticon Thracicum. Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie</i> , Μελετήματα 70, Athens 2014.
OpArch	Opvscvla Archaeologica Radovi Arheološkog zavoda -Opuscula Archaeologica Papers of the Department of Archaeology, Zagreb.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I-IV, Budapest 1994-2005.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
Oriens et Occidens	<i>Oriens et Occidens</i> . Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben, Stuttgart.
ORL	ORL. Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches.
Ősrégészeti Levelek	Ősrégészeti Levelek. Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest.
PamátkyArch	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PAT	<i>Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
PECS	R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, M. Holland McAllister (eds.), <i>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> , Princeton University Press 1976.
Peuce	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea.
PF 5	U. Mandel, Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die "Oinophorengruppe" und Verwandtes, Pergamenische Forschungen 5, Berlin – New York 1980.

Phil.-Hist. Klasse	Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Berlin.
Phoenix	<i>Phoenix</i> . Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , Berlin 1897-1898.
PIR²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani²</i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.
P. Lond	F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell (eds.), <i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , London 1893-1917.
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris (eds.), <i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , I-III, Cambridge 1971-1992.
P. Mich.	<i>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</i> .
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	<i>Potaissa</i> . Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
P. Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> .
Probleme de Muzeologie	<i>Probleme de Muzeologie</i> , București.
PZ	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, <i>A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis, Acta Nova Musei Nationalis</i> , 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
Religion	<i>Religion</i> , http://www.tandfonline.com/ .
Religious Studies	<i>Religious Studies</i> . An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge.
Rheinisches Museum	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> , Köln.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj</i> , Cluj-Napoca 1992.
RepHargita	V. Cavruc (ed.), <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Harghita</i> , Sfântu Gheorghe 2000.
Revista Arheologică	<i>Revista Arheologică</i> , Chișinău.
RB	<i>Revista Bistriței</i> , Bistrița.
Revista Fundațiilor Regale	<i>Revista Fundațiilor Regale</i> : revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală, București.
Revista de Istorie	<i>Revista de istorie</i> . Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România. Secția de Istorie și Arheologie, București.
RevMuz	<i>Revista Muzeelor</i> , București.
Revue Roumaine d'Histoire	<i>Revue Roumaine d'Histoire</i> , Bucarest.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , I-II, Mainz – Bonn 2004.
RIB	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , Oxford 1965 sqq.
RIT	G. Alföldi, <i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> , Berlin 1975.

RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns, I-VI, Budapest – Bonn 1972-2001.
Rivista storica dell'antichità	Rivista storica dell'antichità, Roma.
Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia	Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, Milano.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, I-V, London 1978-2006.
RMI	Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București.
Romanian Journal of Archaeology	Romanian Journal of Archaeology, http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm .
RMR	R. O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, Cleveland, Ohio 1971.
RPC I	A. Burnett et alii, Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69), London, Paris 1992.
RPMK	Th. F. X. Noble (ed.), From Roman provinces to Medieval kingdoms. Rewriting Histories, New York – Abingdon, Oxon 2006.
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar - 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.
RRE	Religion in the Roman Empire, Erfurt.
RSS	A. Mócsy, T. Szentlélek, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, Budapest 1971.
SA	<i>Studia Archaeologica</i> , Roma.
SAA	<i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Iași.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Saldvie	Saldvie: Estudios de prehistoria y arqueología. Open Access Journal.
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
Savaria	<i>Savaria</i> . A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értésítője, Szombathely.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft.
SCIV(A)	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie – since 1975), București.
SCN	Studii și cercetări de numismatică, București.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923 sqq.
Silber und Salz	R. Slotta, V. Wollmann, I. Dordea, Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum « Das Gold der Karpaten – Bergbau in România Montană » vom 27. Oktober 2002 bis zum 05. August 2003, IV (Einleitende Aufsätze, Reiseberichte sowie geologische und mineralogische Literatur), Bochum 2002.
Situla	<i>Situla</i> . Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani – <i>Dissertationes Musei Nationales Labacensis</i> , Ljubljana.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
MSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.
Social History of Medicine	Social History of Medicine, Oxford.

Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Mitteilungen der Museen des Komitates Somogy, Kaposvár.
SpecNov	<i>Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Institutis Historiae Antiquae et Archaeologiae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis</i> , Pécs.
StComSatuMare	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
Studii de Preistorie	Studii de Preistorie, http://arheologie.ro .
SympThrac	<i>Symposia Thracologica</i> . Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
TabCerDac	I. I. Russu, <i>Tabulae Ceratae Dacicae</i> . In: IDR, I, 1975, 165-256.
TED'A	Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona.
Terra Sebus	<i>Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis</i> , Sebeș.
ThesCRA	M. Greenberg (ed.), <i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles 2004.
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
Tisicum	<i>Tisicum</i> . A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
TitAq	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> , Budapest 2009 sqq.
Transactions Philadelphia	University of Pennsylvania. Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia.
Transylvanian Review	Transylvanian Review. Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.
TRHR	P. Kovács, <i>Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum</i> , Budapest-Bonn 2005.
Tyragetia	<i>Tyragetia</i> . Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn.
Zentraleuropäische Archäologie	Zentraleuropäische Archäologie. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava</i> . Complexul Muzeal Arad.

Institutions:

CEROR	Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Occident Romain, Lyon.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCDR	Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.
MIR	Muzeul de Istorie Roman.
MIT	Muzeul de Istorie Turda.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MNM = HNM	<i>Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum = Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.</i>
MNUAI	<i>Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia.</i>
MȚC	<i>Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.</i>
NMB	<i>The Nationam Bardo Museum, Tunis.</i>