

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE  
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « V. PÂRVAN »

# D A C I A

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE  
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LVIII

2014



EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

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ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE  
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE «V. PÂRVAN»

**DACIA LVIII, 2014**

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE  
JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY  
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ARCHÄOLOGIE UND GESCHICHTE DES ALTERTUMS  
ЖУРНАЛ АРХЕОЛОГИИ И ДРЕВНЕЙ ИСТОРИИ

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# A FUNERARY *AEDICULA* WALL FROM ȘOIMENI (CLUJ COUNTY)

SORIN NEMETI\*, FELIX MARCU\*\*

**Keywords:** Roman Dacia, *Napoca*, *aedicula*, sculpture workshop, *villa rustica*.

**Abstract:** It is presented the right side lateral wall of a funerary *aedicula* accidentally found during ploughing on a terrace of the Borșa valley, not far from the Roman town of *Napoca*. The wall is fine decorated on both sides with figural scenes, one with the figure of Herakles and the other with a man riding a horse. The artistic features indicate a “workshop mark”.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** Dacia romană, *Napoca*, *aedicula*, atelier roman de sculptură, *villa rustica*.

**Rezumat:** Este prezentat peretele lateral dreapta al unei *aedicula* funerare, descoperită accidental în timpul lucrărilor agricole de pe o terasă a văii Borșei, nu departe de orașul roman *Napoca*. Peretele este fin decorat pe ambele părți cu scene figurative, una reprezentându-l pe Hercule, iar celalată un călăreț. Stilul artistic indică o “marcă de atelier”.

## Introduction

The monument was discovered on the first terrace north of the village of Șoimeni (part of the settlement of Vultureni, Cluj County), near the flow of Valea Șoimenilor into Valea Borșei, in an area known as “Râțul Braniștei”.<sup>1</sup> The site was thus located at the intersection of two natural routes of economic and strategic importance ever since prehistoric times. The natural relief is varied, part of the hilly region of Cluj and Borșa; the soils are extremely fertile and from an agricultural perspective the north-south corridor connects Valea Nadășului (Cluj-Napoca) through Chintău with the area of Așchileu, Panticeu, Recea, Bobâlna (Cluj County) and Hășmaș (Sălaj County), and the east-west corridor between Valea Someșului Mic and Valea Almașului, on the direction of Râscruci – Sutoru (where the ancient *Optatiana* has been localized). Though there were rather numerous discoveries of items dated to various prehistoric eras, there were few remains of Roman settlement. The most important discoveries on the above mentioned routes are the *villae rusticae* from Ciumăfaia,<sup>2</sup> located ca. 10 km. eastwards, and Chinteni,<sup>3</sup> close to *Napoca*, located ca. 20 km south of Șoimeni.

There were very few Roman discoveries north of Șoimeni,<sup>4</sup> since the settlement was located along the same line as the Roman fort in Sutoru, approximately 25 km east of it, at mid distance between the two main routes used during the Roman time that connected *Napoca* with the forts along the northern

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<sup>1</sup> The *aedicula* wall was identified during plowing works in the spring of 2012 by David Vasile, whom we express our gratitude. Prof. S. Chita offered the most precious help in signaling the discovery to us and preserving the item in the museum of the school in Vultureni.

<sup>2</sup> Székely 1969, p. 155-184.

<sup>3</sup> Alicu 1998, p. 127-160.

<sup>4</sup> Roman pottery fragments were discovered in Recea-Cristur (Cluj County) (Roska 1926-1927, nr. 27), ca. 15 km northwards, and the remains of two Roman farms on the road leading towards the fort in Tihău, Călacea and Gârbou (Sălaj County) (Torma 1880, p. 89-91).

*limes*. The first route started from *Napoca*, continued through Gherla (approximately 20 km from Răscruți), leading towards the forts of Cășeu (*Samum*) and Ilișua (*Arcobadara*), while the second route connected *Napoca* and Moigrad (*Porolisum*), passing through Sutoru (*Optatiana*). The site is located ca. 35 km south of the northern border of the Roman province.

Roman finds, though imprecisely located, were also mentioned to the south-west of the village of Chinteni and in the Borșa area (Cluj County).<sup>5</sup> I. Suciș and especially S. Chita accurately located Roman pottery fragments discovered in Șoimeni<sup>6</sup> and its surroundings, in the settlements of Băbuțiu<sup>7</sup> and Vultureni<sup>8</sup> (Cluj County). Two Roman altars were recently discovered in Cristorel (the settlement of Așchileu, Cluj County), ca. 7 km west of Șoimeni.<sup>9</sup> The only archaeological elements that could be dated were coins found during the 19<sup>th</sup> century around the village of Vultureni, issued during the reigns of Vespasian and Gordianus III.<sup>10</sup>

Taking into consideration the geological and morphological features of the area, we can suspect the existence of several Roman farms, insufficiently researched as yet, in direct connection to *Napoca*, the nearest metropolis.

### Description

Right side lateral wall of a funerary profiled *aedicula* “in antis”, partially preserved (the upper half of the wall); yellowish limestone. Dimensions: 1.05 x 0.90 x 0.17 m. The wall is decorated on both sides with figural scenes, while vine tendrils decorate its edge<sup>11</sup>.

The outer side of the wall is decorated with a mythological scene, namely one of the Twelve Labors of the Greek hero Herakles, his fight against the lion of Nemea (**Pl. I a, Pl. II a**). The hero is depicted as a young man, lacking a beard, leaning to his right and grasping the lion’s neck with his right arm. The character is leaning forward, supporting the weight of his body with his bent left leg and keeping balance with the extended right leg, in a posture suggesting effort. The right arm’s biceps is suggested by a sketched line; the artist attempted to render the physical effort with reduced means. In a similar fashion, the hero’s neck is depicted extended, tense, with the tendon stressed. The hero’s gaze lacks expressivity; he is looking down, towards the animal’s back. The lion is well rendered, touching the ground with its hind legs and raising its head in the grasp of Herakles’ right arm. The animal is depicted with a rich mane but sketchily rendered ribs, suggested by six wide stripes. Its front left paw rests on the hero’s thigh. One can note that the iconographic canon was closely followed, combining close, nature-like anatomical depictions (the hero’s body, the lion’s legs and mane) and sketchy details in stressing the details (the hero’s right arm biceps, the lion’s ribs). One first observes the technique of trough-shaped carving of the *aedicula* wall, so that the relief is located in the deeper area and the margins are less worked out, a technique typical to provincial craftsmanship from the workshops in *Napoca*<sup>12</sup>.

The inner side of the monument is decorated on two registers and on the right margin of the scene one notes the wide stripe where the central wall of the *aedicula* would have been placed (**Pl. I b, Pl. II b**). Only the upper edge of the lower register has been preserved. In the left half one only sees the head of a male character, depicted in front view, while a hand holding a lance is all that has been preserved from the right side. In this case the character might be identified with a horse groom (*calo*) tending the rider depicted in the upper row.

<sup>5</sup> Crișan et alii 1992, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> The discoveries made on a terrace of creek Fancica, south-west of the village and ca. 1.7 km. away from the discovery site of the *aedicula* wall consisted of mix pottery fragments that can be dated to various eras, from the Neolithic to the Roman Era; the latter ones were identified in the upper part of the terrace, Chita 2005, p. 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> Several pottery fragments were also collected from the area of “Valea Puturoasă”, info. I. Suciș.

<sup>8</sup> The Roman pottery fragments were discovered east of the village, at the exit towards Ciumăfaia; another item was discovered there, i.e. the crown of a funerary monument decorated with a depiction of Medusa framed by two lions; see Chita 2005, p. 20-21.

<sup>9</sup> The monuments, currently preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, were identified during excavation works for a well, but onsite archaeological excavations did not identify traces of antique habitation.

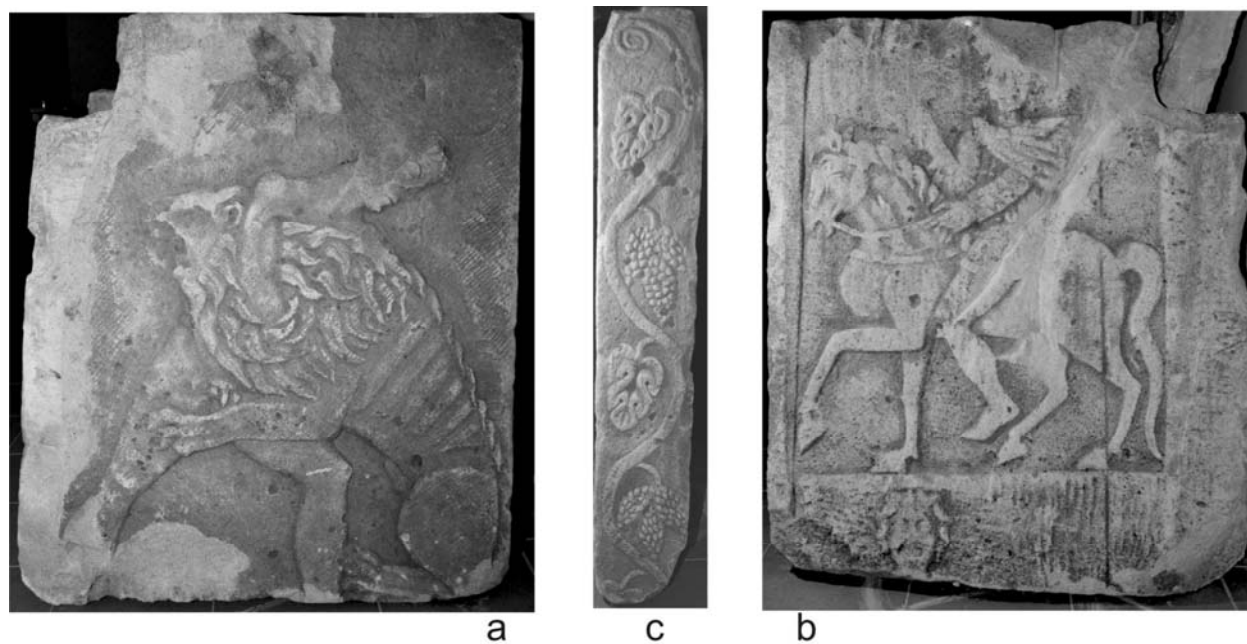
<sup>10</sup> Hodor 1837.

<sup>11</sup> For *aediculae* in Dacia: Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 4-52; Gramatopol 1982, p. 147-149; Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, p. 33-36, p. 198-222, nr.1-111; Ciongradi 2007, p. 73-83, 214-226.

<sup>12</sup> Bodor 1985-1986, p. 194-197.



Pl. I



Pl. II

The upper register (with a sculptural field measuring 0.80 x 0.66 m) depicts a character on horseback (*heros equitans*) leading his horse at a walk to the left. The character's body is depicted in profile, turned to the left; he looks ahead and in his raised right hand, bent at the elbow, holds an unidentified object or makes the *benedictio Latina* gesture, while holding the reins with his left. The upper part of the *aedicula* wall is only partially preserved so that one can no longer decide if the rider's head was uncovered or if we wore a bonnet. As in the case of the character from the lower register, the rider's facial traits are inexpressive and conventionally rendered. He wears a *tunica manicata* fastened around the waist with a belt and hanging over his waist and upper thighs. The rider also wears a draped *chlamys* fastened on his right shoulder with a fibula. One cannot discern if he wears trousers (*bracae*) or

not and there is no clear rendering of his footwear. The depiction of the foot nevertheless suggests that the character wore shoes with pointy tips. The man is depicted proportionately, relatively correctly from an anatomical perspective (especially the stressed muscles of the left leg). One notes the unnatural pose of the right arm and the anatomical disproportions in the rendering of his left hand that holds the reins. The horse is depicted out of proportion (too small) when compared to the rider. The animal is seen walking to the left, raising the left foreleg (bent and brought forward), while the right foreleg is stretched, leaning on the ground. The artist followed the correct rendering of the horse's anatomical details (the lines of the body, details of the animal's ears and hoofs), except for the exaggeratedly full chest and oversized eye. The mane is rendered through six curls and the tail, slightly raised, displays fine grooves that suggest hair tresses. Tack elements are depicted carefully, with stripes indicating the harnesses in the area of the horse's head, chest, and behind the saddle.

Along the edge, the monument bears vegetal decoration consisting of a vine branch (probably springing from a *kantharos* depicted in the lower half that is now lost) (Pl. I c, Pl. II c). One can also note two grape bunches, two leaves, and a tendril in the upper part. The leaves are carefully rendered, with their lobes and veins, in the style of vine leaves decorating the two pilasters from *Napoca*<sup>13</sup>.

### Hercules and the lion of Nemeea

The first labor of the hero, the fight between Hercules / Herakles and the lion from Nemeea,<sup>14</sup> in the form it appears on the *aedicula* from Șoimeni, belongs to the type in which the two opponents are depicted standing, face to face, a popular type during the Roman period. The Roman type depends on the classical model, with Herakles pressing the lion's head to his chest (type IBIII in the typology of W. Felten). Two variants were known during the Roman Era, mostly according to the type of sculpture employed (*ronde-bosse* or relief). From a typological perspective, the relief from Șoimeni belongs to Roman variant 4 d (4. Herakles stands to wrestle with the lion, d. Herakles at left, arms as before, the lion's head pressed against Herakles' chest). The basic composition was developed during the Augustan era and used throughout Antiquity. The closest iconographical analogy is a scene depicted on a silver plate from Constantinople, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>15</sup>

The hero's first labor also features on other monuments from Dacia, votive monuments such as the relief discovered in Cioroiu Nou<sup>16</sup>, a very close iconographic analogy of the relief from Șoimeni. The hero is depicted nude, without a beard, in front view, while the lion is depicted in profile. The scene was also employed on narrative reliefs from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*<sup>17</sup> and *Tibiscum*<sup>18</sup> that illustrate the twelve labors, with the hero depicted without a beard and in profile view.

Until now, Hercules' fight against the lion from Nemeea appears in Dacia on four funerary monuments. In an artisan variant, the scene is depicted in the corner of a fronton from a funerary construction from Moigrad<sup>19</sup> and a *stela* from *Apulum*.<sup>20</sup> A scene belonging to a different type, with the beardless Hercules raising a club in his right hand, is depicted on one of the lateral sides of an altar from Geoagiu<sup>21</sup>. A similar association to that on the relief from Șoimeni is known on another *aedicula* wall preserved in the collection of the Deva Museum (discovered somewhere in Transylvania), with the field divided in two registers<sup>22</sup>. Only the lower part of the upper register has been preserved, still showing the horse's legs and the rider's foot, while in the upper part of the upper row one still sees the confrontation between Hercules and the lion of Nemeea. The hero and the lion are depicted in profile view; Hercules is

<sup>13</sup> Buday 1916, p. 81-82, fig. 22.

<sup>14</sup> LIMC V. 1. 1990, s.v. *Herakles*, p. 16-34 (Wassiliki Felten).

<sup>15</sup> LIMC V. 1, 1990, p. 33-34, cat. no. 1959-1969.

<sup>16</sup> Tudor, Diaconescu, Popilian 1967, p. 601, fig. 8 (presumed to have been produced in *Moesia inferior*, on the basis of an analogy from that province).

<sup>17</sup> Bărbulescu, Nemeș 1974-1975, p. 317-319, fig. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Bărbulescu 1981, p. 455-457.

<sup>19</sup> Bărbulescu 1977, p. 187-188, nr. 79, pl. IX/1.

<sup>20</sup> Florescu 1930, p. 104, no. 47, fig. 2; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 119, S67, pl. VIII.

<sup>21</sup> Bărbulescu 1977, p. 187, nr. 77, fig. V/1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 12, nr. 23, fig. 34; Bărbulescu 1977, p. 88, nr. 84.



without a beard and he presses the lion's head against his chest (Roman type 4d, after W. Felten). Mythological cycles are not often depicted on funerary monuments from Dacia.<sup>23</sup> besides the above mentioned cases that illustrate the fight between Hercules and the Nemean lion (Moigrad, Geoagiu, *Apulum*, the *aedicula* wall from the Deva Museum), one can also mention the abduction of Europa on a funerary relief from Micia<sup>24</sup> and the myth of Apollo and Daphne on a monument from *Potaissa*,<sup>25</sup> one Amazonomachy on an *aedicula* wall from *Apulum*<sup>26</sup> and Perseus killing Medusa on a marble frieze also from *Apulum*.<sup>27</sup>

### **Heros equitans**

On the *aedicula* wall from Șoimeni the mythological scene depicting Hercules' first labor is associated with that of the Rider Hero, associated in the lower part with the depiction of a military servant (*calo*).

Typologically, the scene follows variant A. 2. Heros on horseback: a. "in epiphany", alone, holding the horse's reins (LIMC, II. A. I. 1. No. 68-82), used on several *stelae* and *aedicula* walls in *Dacia superior* and *Dacia Porolissensis*.<sup>28</sup> In Dacia, stone carving workshops favored this type, with the rider alone, leading his horse at walk, just like those from Pannonia,<sup>29</sup> and not the type showing a hunter rider, of south-Danubian origin, or the warrior rider who kills an enemy, frequently encountered on funerary monuments from the Rhine region.

Considering the artistic model reproduced on the *aedicula* wall from Șoimeni, can be observed that the artist used a less frequently encountered model among the workshops in *Dacia Porolissensis*, i.e. one with the horse at a walk, with the foreleg significantly rose at an angle of almost 90 degrees, with a lowered muzzle, pointy ears, and raised tail. This model also features on two *aedicula* walls from Gherla<sup>30</sup> and a *stela* from Gilău<sup>31</sup>. The rider wears *tunica manicata*, *chlamys*, *bracae*, and undetermined kind of footwear. One notes a detail, visible on the *aedicula* from Șoimeni and the *stela* from Gilău: the tips of the shoes are pointy and upturned. The *stela* from Gilău is the closest analogy for the rider scene on the *aedicula* from Șoimeni, even if its artistic level is much lower. Despite the stylistic differences, it can be pointed out that the same model was used both for the monument from Gilău, where the rider goes towards the *calo* who is depicted standing, holding a lance, and for the monument from Șoimeni where the *calo*, depicted in the same manner, is placed in the lower register.

### **The workshop from Napoca**

The funerary monument recently discovered in Șoimeni allows one to reopen the discussion of stone carving workshops from *Napoca*. The analysis of stylistic details points to the conclusion that this funerary monument was carved in one of the workshops from *Napoca*, since the scene contains several "workshop marks":

1. The concave, trough-like shape of the outer wall depicting the scene with Hercules and the Nemean lion. As A. Bodor has demonstrated starting from the *aedicula* walls discovered in *Napoca*, stone carvers started by giving the slabs of funerary monuments a trough-like shape, against which the figures would stand out. As examples one could mention the *aedicula* walls from *Napoca*, one *aedicula* wall preserved in the collection of the National history Museum of Transylvania and the *aedicula* wall from Luncani.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Bărbulescu 1996, p. 141-146) presents the mythological scenes that feature on various types of monuments in Dacia.

<sup>24</sup> Floca 1968, p. 122-123.

<sup>25</sup> Téglás 1910, p. 355-356.

<sup>26</sup> Băluță 1989, p. 251-252.

<sup>27</sup> Ota 2009, p. 459-464.

<sup>28</sup> Nemeti 2003, p. 297, Cat. no. 3, 3 bis, 13, 15-21 a, b, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31.

<sup>29</sup> Bianchi 1985, p. 123-124.

<sup>30</sup> Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 24, no. 72, fig. 91; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 68; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 82, III. 3. f. 2/ 2, pl. XXX/2.

<sup>31</sup> Florescu 1930, p. 88, no. 18, fig. 15; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, S 109.

<sup>32</sup> Bodor 1985-1986, p. 194-197, fig. 1-4.



Fig. 1

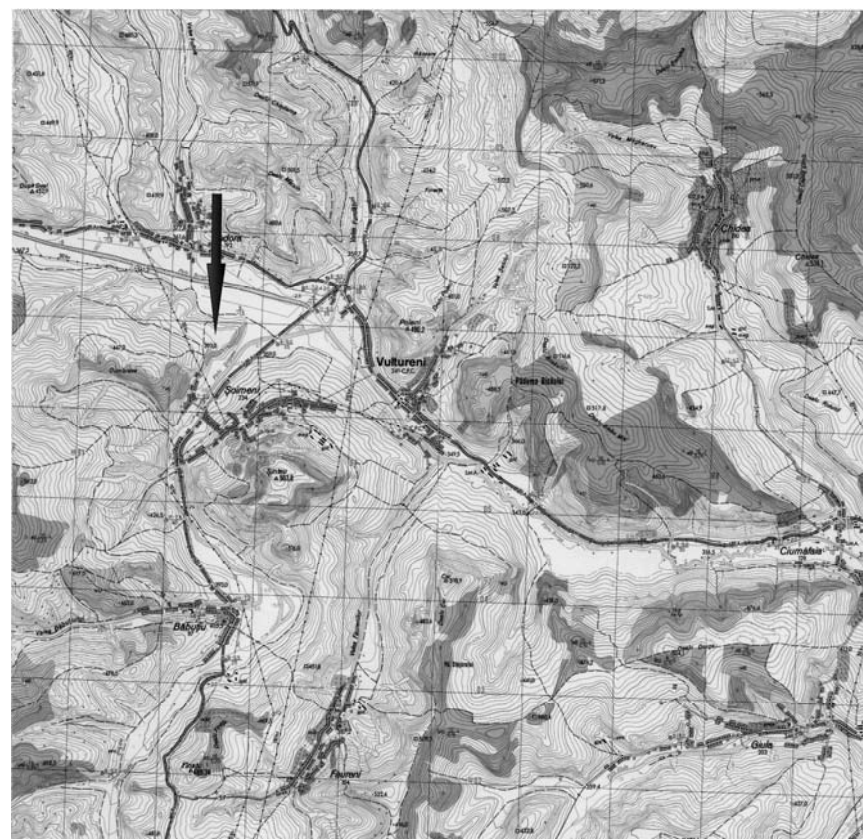


Fig. 2

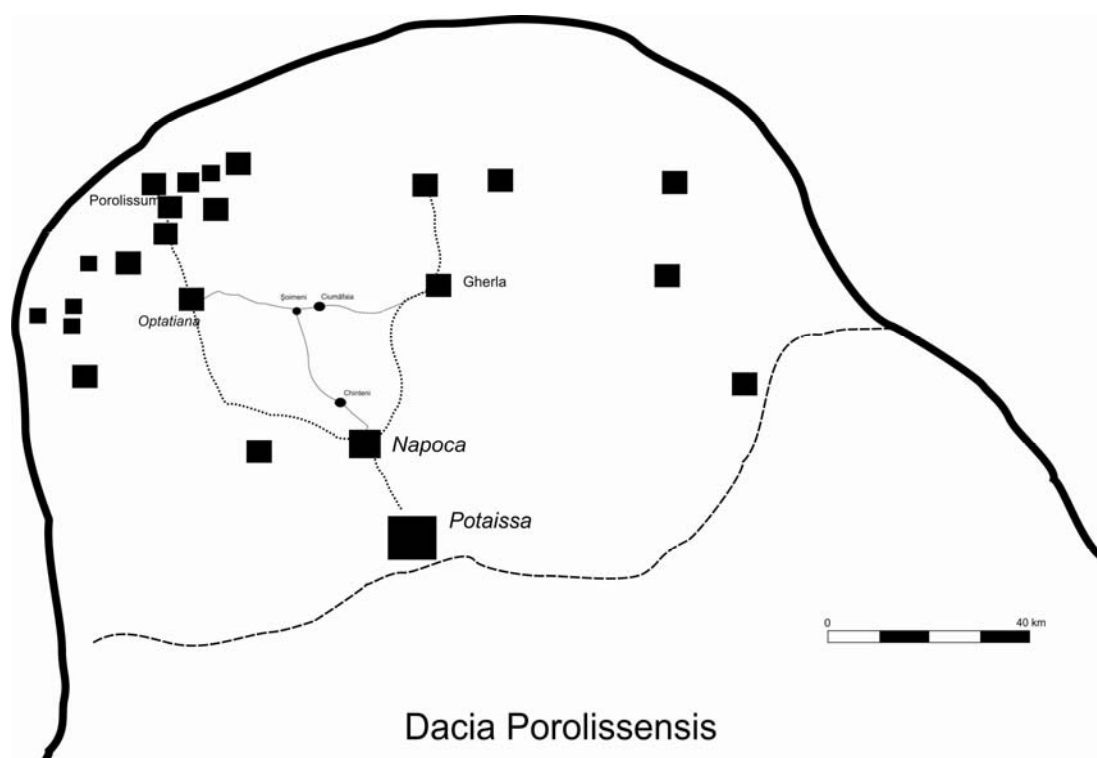


Fig. 3

2. The depiction of pointy ended shoes. Besides the *aedicula* wall from Șoimeni and the already mentioned *stela* from Gilău, this detail in rendering the characters' feet / shoes also features on a funerary *stela* with a depiction of the funerary banquet from Gilău that has been labeled as illustrative for the "Napoca style".<sup>33</sup> There is also a fragmentarily preserved *aedicula* wall depicting a female figure, discovered in Cluj-Napoca on Petöfi Sandor Street and an *aedicula* wall from Gârbău.<sup>34</sup>

3. Another distinctive detail supporting the hypothesis that the *aedicula* wall from Șoimeni was carved in one of the workshops in Napoca is the shape of the vine leaves decorating the wall's edges. Referring to the vegetal decoration of funerary monuments, Gr. Florescu noted that during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., especially during its first half, vine leaves looked more natural, with fleshy, lively shapes, while during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century they became simpler.<sup>35</sup> In Șoimeni one must note, on the one hand, the naturalist manner in depicting the vine branch, but especially the shape of leaves, resembling those of the ivy, with five lobes and four perforations separating the lobes. Vine leaves almost identical in shape can be seen on a pilaster with divinities (Liber Pater, Hercules, Mercurius) that was discovered in Napoca, where two vine branches feature in the upper register behind Liber Pater.<sup>36</sup> The same shape can also be found on the decoration of another pilaster, also discovered in Napoca, with vine branches, one grape bunch, one kantharos, and an acanthus leaf placed in two superposed registers.<sup>37</sup> Another analogy is to be encountered on a pilaster of the same type recovered from Ostrov, near *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*,<sup>38</sup> that might have served as model for the pilasters from Napoca.

Concluding, the stylistic details considered "workshop marks" allow us to attribute the *aedicula* wall from Șoimeni to a workshop from the artistic center of Napoca. As for the dating of the monument, i.e. establishing the period in which this style flourished, there are few available hints. One can note that the stylistic detail of pointy ended shoes features on two monuments from Gilău that depict the scene of

<sup>33</sup> Bodor 1960, p. 41-54 (p. 44-47 the Napoca style).

<sup>34</sup> Bodor 1960, p. 46-47, fig. 6-7.

<sup>35</sup> Florescu 1930, p. 146-147.

<sup>36</sup> Buday 1916, p. 81-82, fig. 22; Pop 1968, p. 480-482, fig. 2; Bărbulescu 1976, p. 267-274.

<sup>37</sup> Pop 1968, p. 479-482, no. 1, fig. 1a-b; Bărbulescu 1976, p. 270-271.

<sup>38</sup> Wollmann, 1975, p. 206, no. 5, fig. 6 a-b.

the Moesian funerary banquet (with several characters on the klinè). According to L. Bianchi, the *stelae* and *aediculae* containing this motif appeared late in the funerary sculpted repertoire of *Dacia Porolissensis*, after the arrival of *legio V Macedonica* in *Potaissa* from *Troesmis* in 169/170 A. D.<sup>39</sup> The pillar from *Napoca* – with two registers of vine decoration contains in the upper part a tendril that stems from behind an acanthus leaf and not from a *kantharos* as in the lower part. The acanthus is rendered sketchy, in a geometric fashion, according to the style of Corinthian capitals from the forum in the *colonia* of *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, dated to the reign of Severus Alexander.<sup>40</sup> Taking into consideration these indications, one can presume that the *aedicula* wall from Șoimeni was carved during the Severan period, sometime in the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or the first decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

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<sup>39</sup> Bianchi 1974, p. 170; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 48; Bianchi 1985, p. 100-102.

<sup>40</sup> Diaconescu, Bota 2009, p. 158-159, fig. 38.

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## ABRÉVIATIONS

- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia  
 ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest  
 ArchRozhledy – Archeologické rozhledy, Praga  
 ACMIT – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București  
 ActaMN (AMN) – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj  
 ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău  
 AD – Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. Μελέτες, Athina : Tameio Archaiologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.  
 AÉ – Année Épigraphique, Paris  
 AEM – Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien  
 AEMTh – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη  
 AIIA – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași  
 AION Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Napoli  
 AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj  
 AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston  
 AJPH – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore  
 AMNG I.1 – B. Pick, *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.1. Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1898.  
 AMNG I.2 – B. Pick, K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.2. Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1910.  
 Anali – Anali. Spisania za istorija, clasičeska kultura i iskustvoznania, Sofia  
 AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden  
 AnnBolland – Annalecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles  
 ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Berlin – New York, 1972–1998  
 Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia  
 ArchWarszawa – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa  
 ArchAnz – Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin  
 ArchBulgarica – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia  
 ArchÉrt – Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest  
 ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz  
 ArhMold – Archeologia Moldovei, Iași  
 Arkheologiya (Kyiv) – Arkheologiya. Natsional'na akademiya nauk Ukraini. Institut Arkheologii, Kyiv.  
 ArhPregled – Arheološki Pregled, Belgrad  
 ArheologijaSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija i Muzej, Sofia  
 ASGE – Arheologičeskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, Leningrad.  
 AÚSNitra – Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra  
 Balcanica – Balcanica. Annuaire de l'Institut des Études Balkaniques, Bucarest  
 BAR Int. Ser. – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford.  
 BBKL – *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 20 vols., Herzberg, 1975–2002  
 BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes, Paris  
 BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București  
 BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main  
 BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara

Dacia N.S., tome LVIII, Bucarest, 2014, p. 381-384

- BMC – H. Mattingly, *Coins of Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 6 vol., 1923–1962
- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BNSR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BNF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
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- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BS – *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vol., Roma, 1961–1970
- BSAcad. – Buletin Științific al Academiei Republicii Populare Române. Seria Științe istorice, filologice și economico-juridice, București
- BullÉp (BÉ) – Bulletin Épigraphique, Paris
- ByzZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- CArch – Cahiers Archéologiques, Paris
- CCG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
- Cercetări Arheologice – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CIMRM – J. M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, 2. vol., 1956–1960.
- CIRB – V. V. Struve et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*, Leningrad, 1965
- CJ – The Classical Journal, Athens
- CN – Cercetări numismatice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- ClAnt – Classical Antiquity, Berkeley, California
- CRAI – Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris
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- Dacia – Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, București
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
- DACL – *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 15 vols., Paris, 1899
- DECA – *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien*, Paris, 1990
- DHA – Dialogues d'Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
- DNP – Der neue Pauli, Stuttgart
- DID – *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, București, 1965–1971
- DissPann – Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenienties, Budapest
- DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, București, 1976
- DHGE – *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 29 vols, Paris, 1912–2008
- Dolgozatok – Régészeti Dolgozatok Dissertationes Archaeologicae, Budapest
- EDR – *Ephemeris Dacoromana*. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma
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- EphemNap (EN) – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
- FHDR I – II – *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, București, 1964–1970
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Județean Bistrița Năsăud, Bistrița
- EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), București, 1994
- ED – Ephemeris Daco-Romana, Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, București–Roma
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religion orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
- FHG – C. Müller (ed.), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 6 vol., Paris, 1855–1878
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Județean Bistrița Năsăud, Bistrița
- FÖ – Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien.
- GGM – C. Müller (ed.), *Geographi Graeci minores*, Paris, 1882
- GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Duke.
- IDR – *Inscripțiile Daciei romane*, 1977–2001
- IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996–2000



- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IG VII – W. Dittenberger (éd.), *Inscriptiones Graecae VII : Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin 1892.
- IGR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris
- IGUR – *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Rom
- IK – *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989
- ILD – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, București, 2010
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- INHA – Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris
- ISM – *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, București, I (1983), II (1987), III (1999), V (1980)
- ISTA – Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut, Sofia
- IzvestijaŠumen – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej, Šumen
- JAMÉ – A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeums von Nyíregyháza, Nyíregyháza
- JGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- JÖAI (ÖJh) – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- KSIIMK – Kraskie Soobščeniija Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva – St. Petersburg
- KSIAU – Kraskie Soobščeniija Instituta Arheologii Ukrainy, Kyiv
- LEC – *Les Études Classiques*, Bruxelles
- LGPN – *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford
- MAN – Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institut, London
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetari Arheologice, București
- MitrArd – *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Sibiu
- MRR – E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885–1886.
- Mühlhäuser Beiträge – Mühlhäuser Beiträge, Mühlhausen
- NK – Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
- ODB – *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., New York–Oxford, 1991
- OPEL – *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Wien
- OrChrPer – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- QTNAC – Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità classiche, Lugano
- PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
- Pest Megyei múzeumi füzetek, Szentendre
- Peuce – Peuce, Tulcea
- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993.
- PIR – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig.
- RB – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița Năsăud
- RA – Revue archéologique, Paris
- RE – Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893 sqq.
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques, Paris
- REL – Revue des Études Latines, Paris
- RevBistriței – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIR – Revista istorică română, București
- RIU – Römische Inschriften Ungarns, Budapest
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006.
- RN – Revue Numismatique, Paris
- RPAN – Revista de preistorie și antichități naționale, București
- RRC (Crawford) – M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vol., Cambridge, 1974  
Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–

- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie, București  
 Sargetia – Acta Musei Devensis, Deva  
 SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie vecie (și arheologie), București  
 SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București  
 SCȘ Cluj – Studii și cercetări științifice, Cluj  
 SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979–1980, Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–.  
 SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne  
 SP – Studii de Preistorie București  
 Specimina Nova – Specimina Nova. Dissertationes ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Ianno Pannonio nominatae, Pécs  
 SNGCop – *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen 1944–2000.  
 SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne  
 Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași  
 StCl – Studii Clasice, București  
 StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Pitești  
 StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări, Sibiu  
 StTeol – Studii Teologice, București  
 Studien und Forschungen – Studien und Forschungen, Offenbach am Main  
 TAM – Tituli Asiae Minoris, Wien  
 TD – Thraco-Dacica, Institutul de Tracologie, București  
 TGF – A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, editio secunda, Teubner, Leipzig, 1926  
 TIB – *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Wien, 1976; 1991, 2008  
 TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*  
 TLG – *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*  
 TRE – *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin-New York, 1977-2002  
 Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău  
 VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva  
 VigChr – Vigiliae Christianae, Leiden  
 Xenia – Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Konstanz am Bodensee  
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 ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn  
 WiadArch – Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Warszawa  
 WN – Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, Warszawa