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60TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

The dramatic events of the 1848-1849 Revolution in Transylvania led to the destruction of many libraries and archives, that drew attention, more than ever, to the necessity of creating an academic institution with a museum profile at the national level. On the one hand, it was meant to bring together the already existing private collections and, on the other, to watch over the Transylvanian historical heritage. Thus, such an institution was established in 1859, the Transylvanian Museum Society (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet). This was the second museum-type institution within the Transylvanian province, following the Brukenthal Museum, founded in 1817 in Sibiu based on the project of Baron Samuel Brukenthal.

The Society's statutes mention its main aims: to support and develop the material resources of the Transylvanian Museum Society, the scientific processing of its collections, the cultivation of science, the promotion of the country's knowledge, and, in general, of the scientific phenomena.

The establishment of the Transylvanian Museum Society was received with interest by the entire Transylvanian public. At the founding meeting of the Transylvanian Museum Society, Count Imre Mikó emphasised that the newly created institution aimed to represent, on a cultural level, all the ethnic and social groups of Transylvania. Romanian personalities such as Andrei Șaguna, Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu, and Timotei Cipariu contributed financially to the support of the society. Later, in 1861, when the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People (ASTRA) was founded in Sibiu, leading members of the Transylvanian Museum Society – Count Mikó himself, for example – were also among those who contributed to the cause of the Romanian culture.

Acta Musei Napocensis (ActaMN) first appeared in 1964, shortly (two years) after the official establishment of the History Museum, the successor of the museum activities of two other cultural institutions in Cluj: the Transylvanian Museum Society, already mentioned, and the Institute of Classical Studies of the “King Ferdinand” University (1929). The Society and the Institute had published under their aegis scientific journals: *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából*, starting with the year 1916, and *Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice*, from 1932. *Acta Musei Napocensis* has reached 60 published issues and is distributed in over 250 national and international libraries.

The founder of ActaMN and the first director of the editorial board was the Academician Prof. PhD Constantin Daicoviciu, also one time Director of the History Museum in Cluj and Rector of the “Babeș-Bolyai” University. Over time, highly established names in academia also became editorial board members: H. Daicoviciu, I. Ferenczi, I. Kovács, M. Macrea, Șt. Pascu, G. A. Protopopescu, I. I. Russu, N. Vlăsa, later adding N. Cordoș, I. Glodariu, Fr. Pap, E. Glodariu, D. Alicu, Șt. Matei, E. Iaroslavschi, or N. Gudea, mentioning here only those who are no more.

The journal covers a wide thematic area of history in general, along with archaeology, art history, classical studies, museography, conservation, and restoration.

Starting with issues 26–30 (1989–1993) published in 1994, the journal has been reorganised, with two separate volumes currently being published, one for the Prehistory – Ancient History – Archaeology (I) section, the other for the History (II) section, making it more user-friendly and logical. There are so many research institutions worldwide whose specialists no longer deal with the whole of history but focus on a particular period: institutes of classical studies, archaeology, medieval history, etc. I myself have seen in their libraries how some of the voluminous issues of the scientific journals were practically reorganised and separated into two parts to fit in with specialist libraries.

Since 1998 (issue 35/I), the journal has been published in international languages, attracting a large number of foreign scholars who publish their research results here, which is significant for the quality of the publication. The rush, sometimes due to the obligations imposed on researchers, to publish a greater number of journals, for which indexing is compulsory (if possible, by the Institute for Scientific Information – ISI), is not always warranted. Thus, publications are often produced in a hurry, in an online format, of course, with generally mediocre articles, in order to meet the requirements in the researchers' job descriptions. I believe that, in Romania, the journals that existed before the Revolution were sufficient, most of them containing good-quality articles. Their publication in foreign languages, which should be generalized, is essential for the access of foreign specialists to Romanian research. There are well-known international journals that do not focus on indexing and on artificial scores, but on the scientific content of their journals. Indexing is more appropriate for journals in non-humanistic fields. In Romania, the evaluation of journals is formal rather than based on scientific value. This leads to a strong competition for their inclusion in various national and international databases.

For reasons semi-imposed in the Romanian research policy, we have also indexed ActaMN in international databases, but in some more suitable for the humanities: ERIH PLUS, SCOPUS, and currently pending evaluation for Web of Science. Doubtlessly, there are also benefits, such as a wider accessibility due to DOI (Digital Object Identifier) registration and the effort to publish an annual journal issue because of conditions imposed by these indexations, which was not always accomplished before. Open access is also provided via the dedicated website: <https://amn.mnit.ro>.

The following articles are published in particular: summaries, archaeological analyses, and important discoveries in context, avoiding simple archaeological research reports and analyses without scientific arguments. All articles are reviewed, anonymously and voluntarily, by prestigious researchers whom I gratefully acknowledge. I extend my gratitude to the authors who contributed to the creation and recognition of this journal, to the members of the Scientific Board of the journal, and especially to the editors, as the effort of the colleagues who have been part of the editorial staff in recent years goes beyond the simple task of revision.

PhD Felix Marcu

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

BEWARE OF BLUE EYES? ABOUT A STRING OF MYSTERIOUS IRON AGE EYE BEADS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

MALVINKA URÁK*

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Abstract: The National Museum of Transylvanian History is a cultural institution with a history spanning over a century. It houses an impressive archaeological collection, which includes glass beads from the Iron Ages. Unfortunately, these finds lack proper documentation about their provenance, making it difficult to interpret and display them accurately. The beads have not been properly presented despite being referenced in previous works on La Tène period discoveries in the region. This paper intends to reintroduce these unique and often overlooked jewellery pieces in the scholarly debate. It has the ambition to better classify the artefacts by using formal analogies and building on the research on Iron Age glass beads in Europe. This will improve the typo-chronological analysis. The cultural background of the findings will also be investigated, and their potential meanings and significance will be analysed by referring to properly documented discoveries in the region and historical sources.

Keywords: growth of Collection; glass eye beads; Iron Ages; stray finds; typo-chronology; apotropaic.

Rezumat: Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei este o instituție culturală cu o istorie de peste un secol. Găzduiește o colecție arheologică impresionantă, care include mărgelile de sticlă din epoca fierului. Din păcate, acestora le lipsește documentația adecvată și informațiile legate de condițiile de descoperire, ceea ce face dificilă interpretarea lor. În ciuda faptului că au fost menționate în lucrările anterioare despre descoperirile din epoca La Tène din regiune, mărgelile nu au fost prezentate adecvat. Această lucrare își propune să reintroducă în circuitul științific aceste bijuterii unice și adesea trecute cu vederea. Ne propunem să oferim o clasificare mai bună a artefactelor, utilizând analogii formale, bazându-ne pe cercetările privind mărgelile de sticlă din epoca fierului din Europa. Aceasta va îmbunătăți analiza tipo-cronologică. Fondul cultural al descoperirilor va fi, de asemenea, investigat, iar potențialele lor semnificații vor fi analizate prin referire la descoperirile din regiune documentate corespunzător, precum și la sursele istorice.

Cuvinte-cheie: dezvoltarea colecției; mărgelile de sticlă cu „ochi”; Epoca Fierului; descoperiri sporadice; tipo-cronologie; apotropaic.

Introduction

The 19th century witnessed a rising interest in cultural heritage and history. Associations were created to protect their region's heritage and recover the artefacts destined to perish

* I am grateful to Alina Mușat Streinu and the Bucharest Municipality Museum for the information and permission to use the picture of the bead with inv. no. 28169 (height: 3.3 cm; bead diameter: 3 cm; perforation diameter: 1.4 cm), discovered at Drăguș, Brașov County (Pl. II/2).

– Transylvania was no exception. The nowadays National Museum of Transylvanian History, located in Cluj-Napoca, can trace its roots back to the mid-19th century, when a group of aristocrats and scholars founded the Transylvanian Museum Society.¹ From its foundation, it aimed to preserve the tangible heritage of the region and make culture accessible to everyone.² Even with numerous challenges, this cultural establishment survived for nearly a hundred years and expanded its range of collections until the two World Wars, when, due to administrative changes and transformations, it ceased to exist. Sadly, this also resulted in discontinuing its Coins and Antiquity Collection.

Nonetheless, its impressive heritage is the foundation for Cluj's most significant museums. During its early years, the Collection primarily expanded through donations from aristocrats and intellectuals, especially acquisitions from regional antiquarians. However, in the late 19th century, excavations carried out through specialized institutions became more frequent, especially after 1899, when Béla Pósta, the founder of the Cluj School of Archaeology, took over the management of the Coins and Antiquity Collection.³ After his passing, the managerial and custodian duties fell on his students. Amongst them was Márton Roska, who revised the current collections and, until the end of the Second World War, succeeded in recording all the inventoried discoveries.⁴

As a result of the undertaken assessment, we now know that during the first sixty years of existence, the Coins and Antiquity Collection received as donations forty-three Iron Age glass beads from various locations in Transylvania.

In 1875, the archaeologist Károly Torma donated a sizeable turquoise bead with stratified eyes and rows of yellow prunts (Appendix. no. 40; Pl. I/1.40, 2.a; Pl. II/1). There is contradictory information in the registry book regarding where the bead was found, resulting in incorrect attribution of the place of the discovery. Fortunately, clarification comes from Roska himself,⁵ accordingly to whom the colloquially known “Șieu Odorhei bead” comes, in fact, from the nearby village, Șirioara (Sajósárvár), both located in Bistrița-Năsăud County (Pls. III/1, V/1).

It is uncertain when the Collection of 30 yellow and two greenish-blue layered glass eye beads came into the possession of the Collection (Appendix nos. 4–12; 14–27; 29–37; Pls. I/1.4–1.12, 1.14–1.27, 1.29–1.37). It was donated by the kindness of Mária Eresztvényi and Károly Torma, and the registry book notes that the beads were discovered in Karatnavolál, a small village now part of Turia (Torja), Covasna County (Pl. III/3).

As a third donation occurred sometime between 1875 and 1877, when three complete and one fragmentary glass eye beads have been donated (Appendix no. 28; Pl. I/1.28) by József Spányik, a physician from Deva. Nowadays, only a single bead is preserved, with a brownish-yellow core and layered eyes. However, the exact location of the discovery in Hunedoara County is not mentioned (Pl. III/4).

The following item, a larger eye bead of yellow base colour (Appendix no. 2; Pl. I/1.2), was donated in 1877 by József Rosenbaum, a resident of Sibiu, who found the artefact near Mediaș (Medgyes/ Mediasch), Sibiu County (Pl. III/5), in a gravel layer at a depth of 1.2 m.

¹ Szabó T. 1942, 26.

² EME Jegyzőkönyv 1859, 4–8; EME Alapszabályai 1905, 3, §1.

³ Vincze 2009; Vincze 2014, 35.

⁴ Vincze 2009, 99.

⁵ Roska 1944, 67, list 109.

Zsófia Torma,⁶ a self-taught archaeologist and the first female scholar of this field in Eastern Europe, significantly contributed to the research of Transylvania's prehistory and established a private collection of over 10000 archaeological artefacts.⁷ After her 1899 passing, her extensive assembly was moved from her home in Orăştie to the Coins and Antiquity Collection repository in Cluj.⁸ Her Collection primarily comprises pottery and animal bones from the prehistoric settlement site of Turdaş (Tordos), Hunedoara County. However, discoveries from four other sites, dated to different periods, were included in the Collection. Among them are four yellow eye beads discovered on the territory of Turdaş (Pl. III/6), out of which only three have been preserved (Appendix nos. 13, 38–39; Pl. I/1.13, 1.38–1.39). Interestingly, in identifying and determining the age of the beads, Zsófia Torma received assistance from the German prehistorian Otto Tischler, with whom she corresponded.⁹

The last joined the group in 1915,¹⁰ a bead of considerable size and yellow core colour (Appendix no. 1; Pl. I/1.1), originating from Şimişna (Semesnye) in Sălaj County (Pl. III/7), which was discovered at the cave entrance above the village and donated by Sámuel Borbély, a passionate collector of antiquities. After his passing, his descendants bequeathed his private Collection, which included nearly 500 cultural artefacts and a remarkable library, to the Coins and Antiquity Collection.¹¹ His name is closely associated with the discovery of the Celtic chariot burial from Cristuru-Secuiesc.¹²

The majority of the here discussed beads were initially presented in Roska's 1944 Repertoire of Celtic discoveries from Transylvania. In that work, the author presented the drawing¹³ of a necklace totalling a larger assemblage from Turia (Pl. I/2d) and the individual beads from Şirioara (Pl. I/2a), Mediaş (Pl. I/2b) and Şimişna (Pl. I/2c). As unrelated finds, a handful of beads from Zsófia Torma's Collection (Pl. I/2e) were also presented on the pages of the same repertoire.¹⁴ Today, the Collection comprises 39 stratified eye beads attributed to more than one bead type. Upon closer comparison with the 1944 drawings (Pl. I/1–2), one can observe that today's formal central piece is unattached to the string, replaced with the bead separately illustrated in the original drawing. Furthermore, four more beads from the already mentioned Collection of Zsófia Torma have also been added to the string.

Although their artistic and aesthetic worth remains intact, the origin of these objects is shrouded in mystery. The only recorded information pertains to the donor's name and the place of discovery, as listed in the inventory books or the annual reports of the Transylvanian Museum Society. Details regarding their context were never recorded, and their discovery conditions have been long forgotten. With this limited information, it is only possible to piece together a partial image of their history.

⁶ Gyulai 1972; Coltofean 2014; Coltofean 2017.

⁷ Roska 1941, 5.

⁸ Vincze, Vincze 2021, 132.

⁹ MNIT Archive, Collection of Modern History, inv. no. M 9854, letter dated 31.03.1881, signed by Otto Tischler from Königsberg.

¹⁰ MNIT Archive, Collection of Contemporary History, inv. no. C1 2396/1–39, correspondence between the head of the Coins and Antiquity Collection and the descendants.

¹¹ Borbáth 1978, 105; Kelemen 2005, 15.

¹² Roska 1929, 89.

¹³ Roska 1944, Fig. 22.

¹⁴ Roska 1944, Fig. 53.

Argumentation

Nowadays, the archaeological context is essential in determining artefacts' legal authenticity and historical significance – it helps to understand and interpret them. Once the information about the context is lost, their ability to tell their story is hindered. Sadly, stray finds are usually pulled from the ground or accidentally discovered without proper excavation and documentation, and together with artefacts from old collections, form a large assembly of “cultural orphans”. Despite these factors, these rare and exotic glass artefacts are worth considering. Analysing their significance within the context of glass production and consumption during Iron Age Europe can provide valuable insights into their lost cultural background.

They represent a relatively rare artefact type in these eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin, unlike other European regions, where glass items are more often encountered. The state of the research and insufficient published findings may account for this disparity. Consequently, the archaeological literature in this field has only surfaced in the past few decades for Transylvania.¹⁵ Secondly, there has been substantial scholarly research on pre- and protohistoric glass in western and central Europe or the Black Sea regions. Notable works by Th. E. Haevernick, K. Kunter, N. Venclová or M. Alekseeva¹⁶ are essential in classifying and mapping these trinkets and jewellery items across the European territory. These scholars' contributions, supplemented with the compositional analyses executed in the latest decades, have made considerable progress in classifying and interpreting these glass items' provenance, distribution, and lifetime. By using their observations, we can analyse the items in our Collection in an attempt to determine more precisely the period when these beads were created and used, but most importantly, we can formulate assumptions about their imaginable significance.

Stratified eye beads and their classification

Beads are amongst the earliest artefact types created by humans. Ostrich eggshell beads, found in various Middle Palaeolithic sites in Africa and the Near East, are considered to be used for many purposes, such as symbolising ideas or communicating with others.¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, beads are one of the earliest object types created from glass, too.¹⁸ Their close connection to humans, portability, and durability make them vital for studying interactions and cultural exchange between regions, understanding connections between social and political elites, or exploring anthropological inquiries about their importance. These items can support various interpretations based on their shape and intricacy. Nevertheless, the significance and meaning of each item can vary depending on the individual who wears and owns it.

Eye beads made of glass were present in the Mycenaean world as early as the 16th century BC, imported from the Near East and/or Egypt, and it is assumed that by the 13th century BC, locally produced ones appeared, too, linked to the Tiryns workshop.¹⁹

¹⁵ Némethi 2000; Rustoiu 2015a; Rustoiu 2021; Pop, Cășălean 2022.

¹⁶ Haevernick 1972; Haevernick 1974; Kunter 1995; Venclová 1983; Venclová 1990; Venclová 2016; Alekseeva 1975; Alekseeva 1978; Alekseeva 1982.

¹⁷ Bednarik 2001.

¹⁸ Henderson 2013, 8.

¹⁹ Panagiotaki et alii 2005.

About the 12th to 11th century BC, an early version of stratified eye beads, having only two layers of the eye, appeared in northern Italy and Central Europe.²⁰ Starting with the 6th to 5th century BC, eye beads had become the dominant form in the Mediterranean area, Persia, South Russia and Central Europe, and it is assumed that at the same time beads of local production also existed in Europe, but with a style that matched the imported ware.²¹ Deviation from the original models can also be observed, resulting in a plethora of diverse decoration styles.

It is known that various production methods were in use during this period. However, research has shown that for the types being discussed, the manufacturing process involved winding glass around a clay core, resulting in a textured surface on the walls of the perforation channel.²² Stratified eye beads of the first millennium BC were predominantly decorated with eyes alone, although there were some early examples of combining eyes with trails of glass or prunts.²³ For creating these eyes, layers of glass of decreasing size were applied one after the other directly onto the body of the bead while it was still hot.

The term 'eye' refers to a decorative element consisting of a central dot optically encircled by one or more layers of glass, which may be of a glass with the same or different colour and/or quality.²⁴ The eye beads from the first millennium had more eyes and rings per bead than those made in the previous ones,²⁵ resulting in a more three-dimensional but abstract representation of the eye symbol. Eye spots were typically dark violet-blue or deep dark blue, with the former being expected in the Near East, Mediterranean, and Persia. At the same time, the latter was more prevalent in central Europe, and they rarely had more than six eye layers.²⁶ Speaking of the beads' core colour, in the Mediterranean region, light bluish-green and ochre yellow were the most common colours for the bead matrix, while central Europe preferred the latter.²⁷ In terms of their shape, while eye beads of the earlier times were predominantly flattened, starting with the 6th to 3rd centuries BC, they tended to be spherical or slightly flattened spheres.²⁸

These laboriously crafted stratified eye beads, known for their intricate appearance, peaked in production and distribution around the end of the Early and beginning of the Late Iron Age in Southern and Central Europe.²⁹ Around the 3rd century BC, a technological shift reached the Mediterranean, and eye beads made with the cut-cane method replaced those made with the stratified technique.³⁰ This change has also affected other regions, as evidenced by the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica from the Black Sea coast. Yellow core layered eye beads were common in this location from the 6th to the 4th century. However, starting from the 3rd century, they were replaced by beads with blue cores of different shades

²⁰ Spaer 1987.

²¹ Venclová 1983, 16.

²² Venclová 1990, 75; Råhlander 2020.

²³ Spaer 2001, 83.

²⁴ Venclová 1983, 12.

²⁵ Spaer 1987, 2.

²⁶ Venclova 1983.

²⁷ Haevernick 1974, 151; Spaer 1987, 5.

²⁸ Spaer 2001, 81.

²⁹ Venclová 1990, 83.

³⁰ Spaer 1987, 3.

and cut-cane eyes, suggesting a shift in the manufacturing process.³¹ With the rise of mosaic beads, both eye bead techniques fell out of fashion, first in the eastern Mediterranean and gradually in other regions.³²

Based on all the presented attributes, the layered or stratified eye beads, often encountered in the older literature as peacock-eye beads, present a wide range of types, variants and subvariants. When conducting a formal and macroscopic analysis of these beads, it is crucial to consider multiple attributes such as their shapes, colours, patterns, the method used to create the core, and the different layers of the eyes or the level of translucency or opaqueness of the glass. Considering this, it is optimal to use the classification proposed by N. Venclová,³³ who provides typological definitions and morphological descriptions based on all these criteria.

According to this typology, the discussed necklace from the National Museum of Transylvanian History contains seven types of beads that fall into two main groups. The first group, that of the common stratified eyes, includes beads with blue-white eyes on a yellow or greenish-bluish core. The second one comprises beads with blue-white layered eyes and rows of prunts displayed on the yellow, respectively turquoise core. Each type is distinguished by the number of the eyes' layers, the number of eyes on the bead, the core colour, respectively the number of rows in which the prunts are displayed.

Common stratified eye beads

According to N. Venclová, type 509 is characterised by a low cylindrical, potentially barrel shape, made of ochre yellow opaque glass, with four blue-white eyes of four layers.³⁴ Over half of the beads from the discussed Collection, 24 specimens, belong to this type, and all are part of the assemblage discovered at Turia (Appendix nos. 4–6, 8–12, 15–25, 29–33; Pl. I/1.4–1.6, 1.8–1.12, 1/1.15–1.25, 1/29–1.33).

Beads belonging to group 519 are low, cylindrical, or possibly barrel-shaped, made of opaque yellow glass with four pairs of blue-white eyes formed by four layers.³⁵ This is the second largest group, consisting of five beads from Turia (Appendix nos. 26, 35–37; Pl. I/1.26, 1.35–1.37). Additionally, a bead from an unknown location in Hunedoara County represents a subvariant between this type and the previous one (Appendix no. 28; Pl. I/1.28).

Two beads from the Turia assemblage (Appendix nos. 14, 27; Pl. I/1.14, 1.27) belong to type 522, characterised by irregular, low cylindrical, possibly barrel shape, made of greenish-blue opaque glass, decorated with four pairs of blue-white eyes made of four layers.³⁶

Type 528 is a low cylindrical or sometimes rounded bead made of ochre yellow opaque glass with four blue-white eyes of six layers.³⁷ Two beads discovered at Turdaş belong this type (Appendix nos. 2, 13; Pl. I/1.2, 1.13).

³¹ Chacheva 2018.

³² Spaer 1987, 11.

³³ Venclova 1983; Venclová 1990; Venclová 2016.

³⁴ Venclová 1990, 69.

³⁵ Venclova 1990, 70.

³⁶ Venclova 1990, 72.

³⁷ Venclova 1990, 72.

Type 530 beads are made of opaque yellow glass. They have a segmented body, each part ornated with four blue-white eyes of six layers.³⁸ Two beads from Turia show this characteristic (Appendix nos. 7, 34; Pl. I/1.7, 1.34).

Type 533 is a low cylindrical or barrel-shaped bead made of yellow opaque glass, with four pairs of blue-white eyes, each having six layers.³⁹ Two specimens in our Collection represent this bead type, one from Mediaş (Appendix no. 2; Pl. I/1.2) and one from Turdaş (Appendix no. 38; Pl. I/1.38).

Type 539 is an opaque yellow bead with four blue-white eyes of eight layers,⁴⁰ and a specimen from Turdaş shows these characteristics (Appendix no. 39; Pl. I/1.39).

Stratified eye beads with prunts

This group comprises only one type of bead, represented by two specimens, one from Şimişna (Appendix no. 1; Pl. I/1.1) and one from Şirioara (Appendix no. 40; Pl. I/1.40). This is type 548, characterised by a large, cylindrical body with seven blue-white eyes of six layers and 28 yellow prunts displayed as double rows on both edges of the bead, made of opaque glass⁴¹ of yellow, respectively turquoise core colour.

Layered eye beads between the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Atlantic

The Carpathian Basin has a diverse cultural history, with many different influences intersecting in the region, where the settling populations often found themselves at the crossroads of changes coming from all directions. It has been an important meeting point for diverse cultural influences and the 'retail market' of various production areas. Transylvania, the easternmost part of this rather cultural than geographical unit, exemplifies the blending of diverse populations and customs. On this land, the timespan between the mid-7th and mid-5th centuries BC is defined, from an archaeological point of view, by the so-called Ciumbrud group.⁴² Approximately 300 graves are known from this period,⁴³ but in contrast to the previous phase of the Early Iron Age, when most of the discoveries were hoards and settlement finds, the information on the settlements is lacking. The nomadic nature of the inhabitants explains this since the traditional view considers these Ciumbrud-type discoveries as the archaeological remains of the nomadic intruders from the east, ethnically associated with the Scythians or the Agathyrsi. In this narrative, the local population, assumed to be the Thracian one, was subdued by these intruders, who, around the 4th century BC, mysteriously vanished only to make place for the newcomers, the Celts, and starting with the 2nd century, for the Dacians.⁴⁴ Recent radiocarbon dating has led to a revision of the previous assumptions regarding the border between the Early and Late Iron Age in Transylvania. The new evidence suggests that the previous one cannot be traced back later than the mid-5th century, while the first authentic La Tène discoveries

³⁸ Venclova 1990, 72.

³⁹ Venclová 1990, 72.

⁴⁰ Venclová 1990, 73.

⁴¹ Venclova 1990, 86.

⁴² For an understanding of the term, see Vasiliev 1980; Vulpe 1970.

⁴³ Ghenghea 2014, 78.

⁴⁴ Vasiliev 2004, 470.

date back to the mid-4th century,⁴⁵ leaving a gap of a century that current research has not yet been able to explain.

Regardless of their presumed origin, all inhabitants preferred colourful accessories. Glass beads on both sides of these chronological borders, that of the Early and Late Iron Age, support this. For the common stratified eye beads, most of the parallels are provided by features attributed to the Ciurbrud group, equivalent in the Pannonian Region to the Szentes-Vekerzug culture as defined by M. Párducz,⁴⁶ or the Alföld group after T. Kemenczei,⁴⁷ all belonging to the so-called 'Skythenzeit'. This horizon, especially its Ha D phase, is known for its graves that contain glass beads as funerary inventory, often found together with kaolin paste and amber beads,⁴⁸ such as the graves from Budești – *Fânațe*,⁴⁹ Ciurbrud – *Podireu*,⁵⁰ Ozd⁵¹ or Simeria.⁵² However, only a few sites in this region have produced analogies consistent with the common stratified eye beads – the most important are three.

Twenty-five layered eye beads, part of a necklace, were found in an inhumation grave that was destroyed in 1894 at Batoș, near Reghin, in Mureș County (Pl. III/8). 13 of them are decorated with double rows of layered eyes (types 519 and 533, as well as a type that does not appear in her typology, having only two layers of eyes), eight with a single row (types 528 and 539), one is a segmented eye bead (a variant of type 551), all having yellow core colour. Three beads display a single row of eyes on a greenish-blue core (type 529). The assemblage was dated to the end of the 6th, more probably throughout the 5th century BC.⁵³ We lack information regarding the sex of the deceased or the position of the beads displayed.

In 1958, an inhumation grave was unintentionally destroyed during infrastructure works in Sfântu Gheorghe, Covasna County (Pl. III/9). The excavation led to the discovery of numerous beads among the retrieved items. Among them, 36 intact and five partially damaged beads had yellow cores decorated with double rows of blue-white eyes (types 519 and 533), 31 items had a single row of eyes on yellow core colour (types 509, 528 and 539), and ten beads had double rows of eyes on greenish core colour (types 521 and 529). Melon-shaped and amber beads were also discovered in the assemblage, all part of a necklace, dated, based on the metal finds, to the 6th–5th centuries BC.⁵⁴

From a recent unearthed grave at Băcăinți, Alba County (Pl. III/10), during an excavation in 2016, nine glass beads, three with yellow cores and layered eyes (type 509), were discovered on the chest area of an approximately 50-year-old male. The dating of

⁴⁵ For the recent radiocarbon dates, see Rustoiu, Egri 2020, 453–454; Berecki 2021, 15; Berecki 2023. For a detailed discussion on the complex dynamics of the late Early Iron Age population groups in Transylvania, the arrival of the Celts and the emergence of the Dacians, please refer to Rustoiu 2008; 2015b; Rustoiu, Egri 2020.

⁴⁶ Párducz 1973.

⁴⁷ Kemenczei 2009.

⁴⁸ Vasiliev 1980, 101.

⁴⁹ Dănilă, Marinescu 1984.

⁵⁰ Ferenczi 1965; 1966; 1967; 1969; 1971; Vasiliev 1980; Vulpe 1984.

⁵¹ Vasiliev, Zrinyi 1974.

⁵² Roska 1913.

⁵³ Vasiliev 1966.

⁵⁴ Székely 1960, 374–380, Fig. 3/2–7.

the grave was possible based on the metal inventory, suggesting a timeframe between the second half of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC.⁵⁵

Eye beads are not unknown from the next horizon, the so-called Celtic one, either, being found in the cemetery located at Sanislău – *La Capelă*,⁵⁶ at the settlement from Ciumești – *Bostănărie*⁵⁷ or in some graves from Fântănele – *Livadă*⁵⁸ or in a settlement feature from Mediaș – *Teba*, Sibiu County.⁵⁹ A. Rustoiu provided an overview of this horizon's glass beads in a recent publication.⁶⁰ However, these beads belong to a different group of eye beads than the one in the discussion. Finds matching those in our interest are known only from a few sites. Yellow core variants are known from the North-Western part of present-day Romania, a geographical unit more connected with the Upper Tisza Valley than the Transylvanian Basin.

Here, in the cemetery from Pișcolt – *Nisipărie* from Satu Mare County (Pl. III/11), they occur in the second and third horizons of burials with a maximum use in the second one (types 519 and 533), the LT B2, according to the central European chronology.⁶¹ Another analogy type (519) is known from the Celtic settlement of Hotoan – *Grădina Fermei* (Pl. III/12).⁶² During the excavation of the 3rd–1st century settlement in Berindia – *Dealul Sindrioara*, at the junction of the Western Plains of Romania and the Apuseni Mountains (Pl. III/13), a layered eye bead (type 533) was found in a sunken feature in 1967.⁶³

From the latest, the Dacian horizon, parallels are known from the fortified hilltop settlement from Cehei – *Măgura Șimileului* (Pl. III/14), with a possible dating in the 2nd–1st century BC (type 533),⁶⁴ or from Solomon, Gârbou commune (Pl. III/15) with a broader dating between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC (type 533).⁶⁵ However, unfortunately, both finds were discovered randomly. At the cemetery from the hill named Măgura in Moigrad (Pl. III/16), glass beads were also discovered among the grave inventories, some decorated with layered eyes (type 528). The graves have been dated to the 2nd–1st centuries BC.⁶⁶

It is important to note that these bead types have been found in most investigated Lower Danube and Moldavian sites. Examples are known from a sunken house in the settlement of Tariverde, near the Greek colony of Histria on the Black Sea coast (Pl. III/17), from the archaic layer dated to the 6th century BC, found together with Rhodo-Ionian pottery (type 509).⁶⁷ The 7th–5th century BC cemetery from Ferigile, Vâlcea County (Pl. III/18), provided four yellow layered eye beads (type 509 and 519) and 66 light blue

⁵⁵ Balteș et alii 2017.

⁵⁶ Némethi 2000, 167, Pl. I/2.

⁵⁷ Némethi 2000, 167.

⁵⁸ Crișan 1975, Fig. 3/1–8, 10.

⁵⁹ Horedt 1965, 56, Abb. 8/10.

⁶⁰ Rustoiu 2021.

⁶¹ Némethi 2000, 166–167, Pl. I/1; 3; Pl. II/3.

⁶² Némethi 2000, 167, Pl. II/1.

⁶³ Dumitrașcu, Ordentlich 1973, 52, 67, Fig. 19.

⁶⁴ Pop, Cășălean 2022, 46, Fig. 16.

⁶⁵ Pop, Cășălean 2022, 50, Fig. 18.

⁶⁶ Macrea et alii 1962, 488, Fig. 8/10.

⁶⁷ Berciu, Preda 1961, 277, Fig. 5/5.

beads, monochrome and polychrome (type 510 and 520), too.⁶⁸ Layered eye beads were present in grave 22 of the 5th–4th century BC bi-ritual cemetery of Stelnica, Ialomița County (Pl. III/19) (type 533)⁶⁹ or in two of the graves (type 519) from the 5th–4th century necropolis of Zimnicea – *Câmpul Morților*, Teleorman County (Pl. III/19).⁷⁰ In the 4th century BC settlement from Mănăstioara, Vrancea County (Pl. III/21), two yellow core layered eye beads were discovered (type 528).⁷¹ At Mălăiești de Jos – *La Mornel*, Prahova County (Pl. III/22), in a cremation grave dated to the turn of the 4th to 3rd century (type 519)⁷² or at Murighiol – *I*, Tulcea County (Pl. III/23), for instance, in the bi-ritual cemetery dating back to the late 4th century and early 3rd century (type 509 and 533).⁷³ At the 4th–2nd century BC fortified settlement of Bunești – *Dealul Bobului*, Vaslui County (Pl. III/24), the yellow and blueish-greenish core layered beads were numerous, just like the pottery imported from the Greek regions (type 509).⁷⁴ In the 3rd century BC bi-ritual necropolis from Enisala – *Valea Netului*, Tulcea County (Pl. III/25), these stratified eye beads with yellow or blueish-greenish cores were also present in the flat and barrow graves (type 509 and 519).⁷⁵

The list of glass beads in these regions, inside and outside the Carpathian Mountains, could go on. Acknowledging their abundance and potential for absolute dating is important, and incorporating them into scientific and historical interpretations could provide new insights into their circulation and distribution. These regions, whether associated with Scythians, Celts, Thracians, or Getae populations, extending beyond Central Europe, had connections with the steppe and forest-steppe areas of the north-western Black Sea, as well as with the Greek Pontic cities, and may have served as a link between the prehistoric cultures of Europe and Mediterranean civilisations at the time.

Providing a large-scale overview of the common layered eye beads' distribution exceeds the aims and limits of the paper. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that although not evenly distributed, these beads are present in the Carpathian Basin with a high concentration in the Middle Danube and Middle Tisza valleys in the Szentes-Vekerzug area. A high concentration was observed in central Europe in Bohemia, northern Bavaria, and France's Champagne region. Still, they are present in the Netherlands, the most northern point, and to the west, they spread to Spain and Britain, and in the east, they are present in the north coasts of the Black Sea. Many of these beads have been concentrated in Italy and the South-Eastern parts of the Alps, e.g., Slovenia and Croatia. In the Mediterranean region, eye beads are found in high concentrations in areas such as the Aegean and Cyprus. However, they were also present in the Near East, Egypt, and Carthage, and it is likely that the trend spread from there (Pl. IV).⁷⁶ As the southernmost discovery, a layered eye bead unearthed in a context dated in a 7th–5th-century BC interval, at the site Nin-Bèrè 3, Mali,

⁶⁸ Vulpe 1967, 72, fig. 22/6–9.

⁶⁹ Conovici, Matei 1999, 138, Fig. 38/3.

⁷⁰ Alexandrescu 1980, 28–29; 33; Fig. 52/11; 53/10–11.

⁷¹ Bobi 1999, 183, Pl. CIX/3, 5.

⁷² Paveleț 2006, 68, Fig. 3/1; Fig. 5/1.

⁷³ Bujor 1958, 135, Abb. 7/5, 9.

⁷⁴ Bazarciuc 1980, 167, Fig. 12/1.

⁷⁵ Simion 1971, 126, Fig. 32; Simion 1976, 151, Fig. 8/1.

⁷⁶ Venclová 1974; Venclová 1990, 82; Kutner 1995, 131–169, Karten 1.

dramatically expands the distribution area of these artefacts, and it suggests a very early indirect contact between sub-Saharan Africa and the Mediterranean Basin.⁷⁷

However, this is not the case for the second group of beads, to which type 548 beads belong. According to the last comprehensive overview published almost three decades ago, there are around 700 recorded examples of layered eye beads with prunts,⁷⁸ and their number has been growing since then. These beads have many variants and subvariants, which explains the significant overall number. However, type 548, having seven eyes and double rows of prunts, is rare among them (Pl. V). A close parallel is found in the Collection of the Bucharest Municipality Museum, discovered in Drăguș, Brașov County, Transylvania (Pls. II/2, V/3). The resemblance between this bead and the one from the necklace is remarkable in style and technology. The two specimens have highly similar core colour, layered eye execution, and glass texture despite experiencing different weathering conditions while buried in the soil. Unfortunately, the discovery condition of the find is unknown, which makes it impossible to determine its exact age. From the territory of nowadays Romania, a second bead, discovered in the 3rd century BC grave of the bi-ritual necropolis from Enisala – *Valea Netului*, Tulcea County (Pl. V/4), having a light green core and prunts of yellow and white colour is mentioned in the literature.⁷⁹ Still, due to the partial preservation of the bead, caution should be exercised regarding its classification.

Upon expanding our search outside modern state borders, we found many eye beads with prunts in the Middle Tisza Valley of the Great Hungarian Plain. At Mezőtúr – *Újváros* (Pl. V/5), from a destroyed inhumation grave dated to the 5th century BC, 13 well-preserved yellow core colour beads were rescued, all part of a possible necklace.⁸⁰ Not far from that site, at the 6th–5th century cemetery of Törökszentmiklós – *Surján* (Pl. V/6), grave 35, unearthed in 1960, provided such a large bead,⁸¹ while in the cultural groups' name-giver cemetery, at Szentes – *Vekerzug* (Pl. V/7), grave no. 34 solely provided nine such specimens.⁸²

Although not in large amounts, this bead type also occurs in other parts of the Carpathian Basin and central Europe. At the Velem – *Szent Vid* settlement (Pl. V/8), a fragment of a bead belonging to this type was encountered but in an atypical, translucent light green core colour with yellow prunts.⁸³ From grave 118 of the Dürrenberg necropolis from Austria (Pl. V/9), dated to the LT A, a blue core bead with seven layered eyes is published.⁸⁴ From Bohemia, yellow core beads with prunts of the same colour are known from the settlement site from Holubice (Pl. V/10) and the burial mound near Lechovice (Pl. V/11), both dated to the interval of 550–380 BC,⁸⁵ or at Vícenice (Pl. V/12), from where six such beads are known, dispersed today in three museums, but which could have then

⁷⁷ Giachet et alii 2019.

⁷⁸ Kunter 1995, 169.

⁷⁹ Simion 1976, 151, Fig. 8/1.

⁸⁰ Kisfaludi 1983.

⁸¹ Csalog, Kisfaludi 1985, 311, Abb. 2/24.

⁸² Párducz 1954, 32., X. t. 1–8; 12.

⁸³ Miske 1907, 66, Taf. XLIII/30.

⁸⁴ Rabsilber et alii 2017, 222, Abb. 17.

⁸⁵ Zlámlová Cílová et alii 2022, Tab. 1.

formed a necklace or been part of a hoard.⁸⁶ Perhaps the youngest examples could be the two fragments of the same bead from Staré Hradisko oppidum in Moravia (Pl. V/13), with yellow core colour and yellow prunts, from the 2nd–1st century BC.⁸⁷ From the LT B1-C1 horizon, the type is known from the cemetery of Maňa in Slovakia (Pl. V/14), from the child's grave, labelled with no. 4, where a yellow core colour variant with blue-violet eyes and yellow prunts was unearthed.⁸⁸

Beads of this type are abundant in the North Pontic area and are believed to be made locally. From Kerč (Panticapaeum) (Pl. V/15), at least four specimens are mentioned in the literature: one with a dark core, one with turquoise, one greenish and one with a blue core colour.⁸⁹ Two more beads are known from Olbia Pontica (Pl. V/16) and Nadlimanskoye (Pl. V/17). They are made of translucent turquoise with white prunts, respectively dark blue core glass with white and yellow prunts,⁹⁰ while from Maikop (Pl. V/18), a specimen with a blue core colour is registered, having double rows of white and yellow prunts.⁹¹

The turquoise bead with yellow prunts, unearthed at the 3rd century BC burial from Mal-tepe tumulus near Mezek, in south-east Bulgaria (Pl. V/19), seems to present the second youngest parallel.⁹² However, the dating of the tumuli and its graves is highly controversial.⁹³

The bead type is present in several places in the Mediterranean and Adriatic regions. From Spain, four beads are known from two sites. One from Cueva de Sa Madona (Pl. V/20) has a blueish-green core and yellow prunts, while from Ibiza (Pl. V/21), three beads with a yellow core colour and white, blueish-green, respectively yellow prunts were signalled.⁹⁴ In Italy, it was documented at Montefortino (Pl. V/22), in the female grave no. IX,⁹⁵ recently re-dated to the mid-4th century BC⁹⁶ or at the temple area of Palestrina (Pl. V/23), from where a yellow bead with turquoise prunts is published.⁹⁷ Stray finds are also known from this region, such as the turquoise core colour bead housed in the Collection of the Louvre.⁹⁸

In Stična, Slovenia (Pl. V/24), amongst the inventory of child burial no. 2 from barrow no. V, a bead with a greenish-blue core colour and yellow prunts, was part of a necklace made of beads with wavy lines, melon-shaped beads and other types of beads with layered eyes and prunts.⁹⁹ Two blueish green core colour variants with yellow prunts are known from the Boetia region (Pl. V/25) and the island of Euboea (Pl. V/26) from Greece.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁶ Holzer 1999.

⁸⁷ Meduna 1961, 52, Taf. 12/11–12.

⁸⁸ Benadik 1983, 13, Taf. III/8.

⁸⁹ Alekseeva 1978, 56, Tab. 32/67, 71–72; Kunter 1995, 250, Taf. 6/5, 8; Arveiller-Dulong, Nenna 2005, 208/14.

⁹⁰ Alekseeva 1978, 56, Tab. 32/67, 71–72.

⁹¹ Kunter 1995, 250, Taf. 6/4.

⁹² Filov 1937, 31, фиг. 80.

⁹³ Emilov, Megaw 2012; Tzochiev 2014.

⁹⁴ Kunter 1995, catalogue 1901/3, 1963/3–5.

⁹⁵ Brizio 1899, 672, Tav. VII/4.

⁹⁶ Landolfi, Piana Agostinetti 2020.

⁹⁷ Kunter 1995, catalogue 860/5.

⁹⁸ Arveiller-Dulong, Nenna 2005, 96, 160/31.

⁹⁹ Kunter 1995, 368, Taf. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Kunter 1995, 316, Taf. 7/7.

A greenish-blue bead discovered in a grave during an excavation in Amathus, Cyprus (Pl. V/27), is currently housed at the British Museum.¹⁰¹

Discussion

All previous examples indicate that vitreous layered eye beads were not limited to a specific time or place, and the observation is further substantiated when viewed on a broader scale. Speaking of the common stratified eye beads from our limited research area, present-day Romania, they appeared as early as in the 6th century BC and were present until the 2nd–1st century BC. Nevertheless, their majority could be dated to the interval between the 6th and 4th centuries (Pl. II/4). In the Early Iron Age, they appeared with almost no exceptions as necklaces or strings of beads, often together with amber beads and/or cowrie snails. In the graves of the 4th–3rd centuries, they were often associated with mask and monochrome beads; however, they were also discovered in domestic features. In the last centuries of the Late Iron Age, most known finds are from settlement sites, discovered as individual finds. This observation coincides with the one made in central Europe, where common stratified eye beads were usually found in complete necklaces in the 6th–5th century BC, while individual specimens appeared from the 4th to 2nd centuries, and some fall into the 1st century.¹⁰² It was noted in Bohemia that the earliest necklaces exhibited a consistent typological structure. The largest strings consistently featured types 519, 522, 528, 530, 533, and 539, always including types with pairs of eyes.¹⁰³ The same typological constant can also be noticed in the necklaces from Transylvania (Pl. II/3).

Additionally, at least one pair of greenish-blue core-coloured beads must be present on these strings of beads, such as in the case of Batoș or Sfântu Gheorghe. In the case of the Turia assemblage, the presence of double-eyed and greenish-blue core-coloured beads suggests that they were arranged into a necklace, possibly for use in a funerary context. Observing the modest sample from the analysed territory, we found that types 528 and 533 have a longer lifespan than other types (Pl. II/4), while 519 and 533 are the most frequently occurring (Pl. II/3). This latest peculiarity is valid for Moravia's La Tène period glass beads.¹⁰⁴

The situation of the layered eye beads with rows of prunts is far more complex. These beads are mostly encountered as individual pendants or as part of a necklace that includes various beads. Their distribution area, generally speaking, coincides with that of the common stratified eye beads, and they are often found in association with them, appearing as grave inventories, predominantly in female or child burials. They are present starting with the 6th century, possibly until the 3rd–2nd century BC. However, they are most frequent in the Ha D – LT A phases. Two subtypes can be identified based on their colour: those with different prunt colours from the core and those with the same colour for the core and prunts. The first one, also called the Vîcenice type, having an ochre yellow core and prunts, is dated to the 6th–5th century.¹⁰⁵ Around 90% of the yellow core beads with yellow prunts

¹⁰¹ Kunter 1995, 430.

¹⁰² Venclová 1983, 14.

¹⁰³ Venclová 1990, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Čižmarová 2022, 212.

¹⁰⁵ Frána et alii 1987, 83.

originate from the lower and middle Danube region and eastern Central Europe, with 30 beads traced explicitly to the Vekerzug culture (Pl. V/5–14).¹⁰⁶ A variation of this subtype, displaying yellow core colour and prunts of different hues, is known from the Balearic islands and the Apennine Peninsula (Pl. V/20, 23). The second subtype refers to beads that have different core and prunt colours. Beads of dark core (dark brownish-purplish black) and prunts of one or two different hues are restricted to the North Pontic region (Pl. V/15, 17). A more significant number is exhibited by beads with a core colour that falls between green and blue, with a turquoise hue. The differences between the observed variations can be partly attributed to the various ways of describing and observing the core colours. They are present in the Balearic Islands, actually the broader Mediterranean areas (Pl. V/20, 23, 25–27), Thrace (Pl. V/19), around the Alps (Pl. V/8–9, 24), and the Black Sea region (Pl. V/16, 18), but completely lacking from the territories where the dominant one is the Včenice type.

Despite their ubiquity, there is still much debate about the origins and provenance of these jewellery items, and scholars have approached the question in various ways over the years. Approaching the topic, M. Dušek suggested the layered eye beads were of Aegean origin, not excluding the possibility that the Thracians and Scythians could have obtained the beads through Greek mediation.¹⁰⁷ J. Chochorowski suggests that there may be a connection between the beads found in the Carpathian Basin and the eastern region, specifically the Vekerzug culture and the middle Dnieper area, where similar beads have been discovered. He believed that these beads were primarily imported to the Carpathian Basin and that their prevalence can be attributed to the influence of the South-East Hallstatt, Illyrian, and Northern Italian cultural milieu, as well as that of the Black Sea coast.¹⁰⁸

In her ample analysis and classification of these beads, N. Venclová provided special attention to the types with additional rows of prunts. Comparing this bead type from central Europe to those from glass workshops in Italy or the east Alpine region, observed that although decorative patterns like those on bead type 546 are typical of beads from the south-eastern Alpine region, these patterns are usually found on smaller beads, making larger beads such as type 548 less common. Therefore, she suggests that one of the glass workshops in the classical glass-producing areas, such as Carthage or Egypt, should be considered. She has also raised the possibility that the beads may be a simplified imitation or derivation of the 'south-Russian mask beads' produced in an unidentified workshop in Europe or the Black Sea area.¹⁰⁹ K. Kunter thoroughly mapped their occurrence in Europe and adjacent areas and observed their high concentration in the Dolenjska region of Slovenia, Bohemia, Northern Bavaria, and Champagne in France. Through statistical observations, she discovered that the Dolenjska region, which includes sites such as Magdalenska Gora and Stična, had a higher proportion of eye beads with prunts, around 30–35%. Additionally, the Dürrenberg cemetery also had a high occurrence of these beads. These observations led her to conclude that these beads most likely came from the

¹⁰⁶ Chochorowski 1985, 53.

¹⁰⁷ Dušek 1964a, 288; Dušek 1964b, 68; Dušek 1966, 33–34.

¹⁰⁸ Chochorowski 1985, 125.

¹⁰⁹ Venclová 1990, 87.

hinterland of the Adriatic, specifically the Dolenjska region. As the distance from this area increased, the number of beads decreased exponentially.¹¹⁰

In his analysis of the Late Bronze Age in northeastern Hungary, T. Kemenczei noted that glass beads with layered eyes were first crafted in the middle of Italy during the 8th century BC. The knowledge of this craft then spread to the Eastern Alpine and Central European Hallstatt cultures. However, he has pointed out that eye beads have also been discovered in the archaeological remains of the Scythian culture of the steppe and forest-steppe region dating back to the 6th–4th centuries BC and assumed that these beads were made in northern Pontic workshops with Greek mediation. Due to the high concentration of this type of bead in the Middle Tisza Region, he suggested that the trend of using stratified eye beads originated from this area and was then adopted in Transdanubia and beyond.¹¹¹ M. Ljuština came to a similar conclusion during the revision of the Stubarlija necropolis from Serbia, dating the graves to an earlier phase than proposed by P. Medović, based on the Certosa type fibulae, more precisely to the 5th century BC. In her interpretation, the beads, found as part of necklaces combined with monochrome beads, may have originated from the Tisza region as the result of interregional contact,¹¹² contrary to the opinion shared by P. Medović, suggesting that the layered eye beads found with grave goods such as cowry snails and Certosa-type fibulae could have come from the Alpine region, from Dolenjska.¹¹³

In recent decades, there has been an increase in archaeometric investigations aimed at understanding the origin of raw glass materials and the technology used to create beads. This approach challenges the theory that these artefacts originated solely in Egypt and the Near East, which was based on typology. Instead, there is increasing evidence that at least some of them were locally produced in Europe. The archaeometric study of blue-green glass beads from Iron Age Central Italy, amongst which the green-core ring-shaped beads with bulging, spiralling eyes are present, indicates that local glass working may have existed during the Early Iron Age in addition to the previously known from the Late Bronze Age.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the recent identification of a glass workshop from Nĕmčice in Bohemia supports the previous theories of these beads' local production, at least for the later centuries.¹¹⁵

A recent analysis of prehistoric glass from Slovenia concluded that the glass for the production of yellow core layered eye beads of the final Early Iron Age Certosa horizon from the cemeteries of Stična and Mokronog, 5th century BC, was likely made in workshops in the Levant based on the high strontium and low zirconium content considered to be characteristic of the Levantine glass.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, encouraging signs point to local bead, if not even glassmaking workshops in Novo Mesto in Slovenia.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ Kunter 1995.

¹¹¹ Kemenczei 2009, 88–89.

¹¹² Ljuština 2019, 129–131.

¹¹³ Medović 2007, 72.

¹¹⁴ Yatsuk et alii 2023.

¹¹⁵ Venclová 1990, 84.

¹¹⁶ Šmit et alii 2020.

¹¹⁷ Križ, Guštin 2012, 51; Franjić et alii 2022.

For a long time, the theory of workshops in the north Black Sea region has been supported by the abundance of finds, glass waste, and the higher occurrence of a particular type of bead (such as 548). Lately, a workshop that may have been involved in the working of glass is presumed in the Pontic region at Apollonia Pontica (present-day Sozopol) in Bulgaria.¹¹⁸ This town imported several goods, including glass jewellery, from the Near East or Rhodes, as the chemical composition of some glass beads from the necropolis of the colony, dated to the 5th–3rd centuries, has shown.¹¹⁹ Moreover, sand-core vessel of the entire Black Sea area points to the links between the Pontic colonies and the Greek production centres, among which Rhodes, where the local glass production seems to have begun in the last quarter of the 6th century BC, had a prominent position. Opaque core-formed vessels, opaque rod-formed, head-shaped and figurine-pendants and multi-coloured beads of similar manufacture were produced here.¹²⁰ Among the excavated debris, eye beads were the most commonly found bead.¹²¹

Links pointing to the Black Sea littoral glass working have been recently observed in various European places. The archaeometric analyses of a larger sample of beads from modern-day Poland concluded that while the white glass used to obtain the zig-zag and wavy line decoration of the beads was opacified and coloured with calcium antimonate, the white part of the eye beads was obtained with the help of tin oxide, observed in the white glass of the eye-beads from the 7th to 6th century BC of the northern Black Sea littoral.¹²² The latest analysis of Early Iron Age glass beads from Bohemia has shown that raw glass from several primary workshops has been used for producing the investigated beads, thus elucidating their provenance based on compositional trace elements being disconcerted. Nevertheless, it was concluded that from the technological point of view, the common stratified eye beads and the stratified eye beads with prunts were produced with the same technology. It pointed out that the prunts were applied and not squeezed with pliers or scissors from the core material.¹²³ These beads present a solid stylistic and technological resemblance to the beads discovered in the Middle Tisza Region, Hungary, which have been investigated in the past years in the framework of the archaeometric study. The Scythian period eye beads were compared with the bobbin and simple eye beads dated to the Celtic period, unearthed from the same geographic area. It has been determined that they share similar chemical compositions and colourants. Comparing the compositional data of the Apollonia Pontica glass beads with the layered eye beads with prunts and bobbin beads, included in the investigation, it can be concluded that they were made using similar recipes and/or sourced from the same places. Therefore, it can be assumed that they represent a technological continuity in the production of raw materials used or the continuity of imports from the same centres and cannot be attributed to accidental coincidence.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Boțan, Chiriac 2016.

¹¹⁹ Lyubomirova et alii 2014.

¹²⁰ Triantafyllidis 2003, 131.

¹²¹ Weinberg 1969, 145.

¹²² Purowski et alii 2012; Purowski et alii 2014.

¹²³ Zlámlová Čilová et alii 2022.

¹²⁴ Osváth 2017; Osváth et alii 2017; Osváth et alii 2018.

Conclusion

The 'composed' necklace discussed here is a historical assemblage of forty colourful glass beads from various regions of Transylvania. It is part of the National Museum of Transylvanian History's Collection and embedded in two cultural trends. The first trend is the late 19th and early 20th-century historical process that led to the creation of museum collections, of which the current assemblage is a part. Acknowledging and monitoring the post-discovery handling of artefacts is essential as it strongly influences their biographies. These beads, originating from six different sites, were strung on a string for display and illustration. However, they were often treated as a single unit, referred to as 'the Celtic necklace' from an unknown place in Transylvania. It is worth noting that these artefacts most likely date back to the 6th–4th centuries rather than to the so-called 'Celtic' horizon. From a curatorial perspective, they should be presented as individual entities or groups of beads, as recorded in the inventory books, and not as a necklace.

The second trend sketched through these artefacts is the past technological and economic processes of production and manipulation with glass beads. These beads found from the Early to Late Iron Age are fascinating as they span over a considerable amount of time, during which they have undergone several technological and aesthetic changes, deviating from their original form and use. The origin and spread of the trend of layered glass eye beads are still uncertain despite numerous publications, although they might have a common origin in the beads crafted in the Mediterranean and potentially in the North-Pontic region as early as the 7th century BC. However, it is clear that during the Iron Age in Europe, there were various possibilities for production and numerous communication and transportation routes available for long-distance trade with them. These routes not only survived the disintegration of the Early Iron Age societies but also persisted into the turbulent epoch of the so-called Celtic migrations¹²⁵ and the formation of new stylistic demands.

As a raw material in the hands of skilled craftsmen, glass is very versatile and can be combined to create stunning colours like blue, purple, turquoise, green, yellow, red, black, and white. This makes it a highly eye-catching material perfect for being disposed of and conveying a message. The visibility of the beads and their colours, patterns, and bodily placement can be essential to creating culturally recognised and acceptable aesthetics. Glass beads, like other types of beads, have significant roles in past societies' language, art, and symbolism. These colourful and fragile trinkets are accessories worn around the neck, waist, and arms, attached to clothing,¹²⁶ or used as headpieces.¹²⁷ They play a crucial role in expressing individual and group identities, but their significance can vary depending on the context. They can serve as a protective charm, symbolise friendship or alliances, indicate social status, and represent family heritage. Considered almost as valuable as silver and gold and highly esteemed like precious stones,¹²⁸ the frequency of their occurrence shows their affordability and value.

¹²⁵ Kavur, Blečić Kavur 2018, especially 159, 160–161.

¹²⁶ Alekseeva 1975, 10.

¹²⁷ Jerem 1973.

¹²⁸ Sherratt 2008.

Initially, they were discovered as a part of necklaces disposed of as grave goods, and due to their strong association with females and children's burials, it appears that besides the esthetical role and that of reflecting social status, they might also serve an apotropaic role. However, in later periods, they were found as individual items and sometimes even in domestic features. The mutual occurrence of the common layered eye beads and that of the one with prunts, as presented by some graves from the cemeteries of Dürrenberg in Austria or Stična in Slovenia, makes us assume that although different types might have had different starting points or could have been in use for different periods, they came together in the great redistribution centres of Iron Age Europe where they were contemporary, they were worn together and were serving, presumably, the same purpose, conveying a universal message that transcended regional, cultural and presumably ethnic boundaries.

Post festum

The term 'eye beads' was recently developed after more than a century of archaeological research. Archaeologists from the early days of the field to current analysts have noticed that the blue dots on these beads look like human eyes. This might reflect how much importance humans place on the power of eye contact, the ability to convey thoughts and the allure of beauty. Throughout history, the symbol of the eye has been significant in magical beliefs and practices. Eye beads were commonly used to safeguard against the evil eye, which was believed to be caused by the envy and jealousy of the eye's possessor. The glare with evil intentions cast the curse of the evil eye, often made subconsciously, and those who received the glare experienced headache, dizziness, disorientation, or even bad luck. Women and children were considered particularly vulnerable to this glare. As a result, the human eye was thought to have the power to cause harm and required protection.¹²⁹

Many historical writers approach the topic of evil glare in works on the theory of human vision. Formulated simplistically for the sake of exemplification, Empedocles, for instance, proposed that we see objects because rays of light come out of our eyes and touch the objects.¹³⁰ However, Aristotle contradicted this theory and claimed that light is reflected by objects and transmitted into the eye.¹³¹ Regardless of the approach, they believed that gazing into blue eyes should be avoided. According to Aristotle, babies can have blue eyes due to weakness and illness, which they gradually overcome as they become healthier and stronger. However, some people with blue eyes may have a fluid imbalance in their brain, which can cause health issues such as glaucoma, grey hair, and indigestion. As a result, he strongly advises against befriending people with blue eyes.¹³² Plutarch suggests that those best at delivering the curse were blue-eyed¹³³ the only way to counteract the power of a staring eye is to have another blue eye staring back at it, meaning that blue eyes cannot curse if they are staring back at blue eyes.

¹²⁹ Jahn 1855; Elworthy 1895; Potts 1982.

¹³⁰ O'Brien 1970, 140; Ierodiakonou 2005.

¹³¹ Wadel 1998, 640.

¹³² Arist. *Gen. an.* V.1.779–26–34 (About the colour of the eye); Arist. *Hist. an.* 19, 491b34–492 12 (about the characteristics of body parts and the impudent nature of that who stares).

¹³³ Plut. *Mor.* 680C–F; Doroszewska 2019, 162.

Could it be that blue-eyed beads were made to protect against the harmful stares of blue-eyed people? Could Greeks and people living in Mediterranean areas, where blue eyes are not as common, hence representing otherness, produce and wear these beads as protective necklaces or pendants? Could this trend later on spread to the north, and the higher occurrence of eye beads correlate with the higher number of people with blue eyes? Could the original message transmitted by these layered eye beads be that of Beware of blue eyes?

Appendix

1. **Şimişna**; max. diam.: 3.7 cm; perf. diam.: 1.5 cm; height: 2.7 cm; type: Venclová 548; Literature: Roska 1944, 68, no. 112, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: IV 2601/P 7836 (Pl. I/1.1).
2. **Mediaş**; max. diam.: 2.5 cm; perf. diam.: 1 cm; height: 1.5 cm; type: Venclová 533; Literature: Roska 1944, 64, no. 79, fig. 22b; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 10070/Ø (Pl. I/1.2).
3. **Turdaş**; max. diam.: 2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.8 cm; height: 1.2 cm; type: Venclová 528; Literature: Roska 1944, 71–72, no. 135, fig. 53; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: V 9611/P 783 (Pl. I/1.3).
4. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 1.2 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.4).
5. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.4 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 1 cm; Type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.5).
6. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.4 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 1 cm; Type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.6).
7. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 1.5 cm; type: Venclová 530; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.7).
8. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.8).
9. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.9).
10. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.7 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.10).
11. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.11).
12. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.12).

13. **Turdaş**; max. diam.: 1.4 cm; perf. diam.: 0.6 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 528; Literature: Roska 1944, 71–72, no. 135, fig. 53; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: V 9613/ P 7836 (Pl. I/1.13).
14. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.9 cm; Type: Venclová 522; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.14).
15. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.6 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.15).
16. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.6 cm; height: 0.6 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.16).
17. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.8 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.17).
18. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.18).
19. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.3 cm; height: 0.8 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.19).
20. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.3 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.20).
21. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.21).
22. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.22).
23. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.6 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Horedt 1965, 70; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.23).
24. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.8 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.24).
25. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.25).
26. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.8 cm; type: Venclová 519; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.26).
27. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 522; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.27).
28. **Hunedoara County**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 509, 519; Literature: Roska 1944, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: 118/ P 45574, 117/ P 23674 (Pl. I/1.28).

29. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.6 cm; height: 0.8 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.29).
30. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 519; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.30).
31. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.6 cm; height: 0.6 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.31).
32. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 0.7 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.32).
33. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.1 cm; perf. diam.: 0.3 cm; height: 0.8 cm; type: Venclová 509; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.33).
34. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 1.5 cm; type: Venclová 530; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.34).
35. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.2 cm; perf. diam.: 0.5 cm; height: 1 cm; type: Venclová 519; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.35).
36. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.3 cm; perf. diam.: 0.4 cm; height: 1.1 cm; type: Venclová 519; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.36).
37. **Turia**; max. diam.: 1.5 cm; perf. diam.: 0.7 cm; height: 0.9 cm; type: Venclová 519; Literature: Roska 1944, 59–60, no. 45, fig. 22; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No. 117/P 23674 (Pl. I/1.37).
38. **Turdaş**; max. diam.: 1.8 cm; perf. diam.: 1 cm; height: 1.3 cm; Type: Venclová 533; Literature: Roska 1944, 71–72, no. 135, fig. 53; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: V 9612/P 7836 (Pl. I/1.38).
39. **Turdaş**; max. diam.: 2.5 cm; perf. diam.: 0.9 cm; height: 1.4 cm; type: Venclová 539; Literature: Roska 1944, 71–72, no. 135, fig. 53; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 124; Inv. No.: V 9610/P 7836 (Pl. I/1.39).
40. **Şirioara**; max. diam.: 3.6 cm; perf. diam.: 1.4 cm; height: 2.6 cm; type: Venclová 548; Literature: Roska 1944, 67, no. 109, fig. 22a; Horedt 1965, 70; David 2018, 74, no. 123–124; Inv. No.: 116/P 7838 (Pl. I/1.40, 2.a; Pl. II/1).

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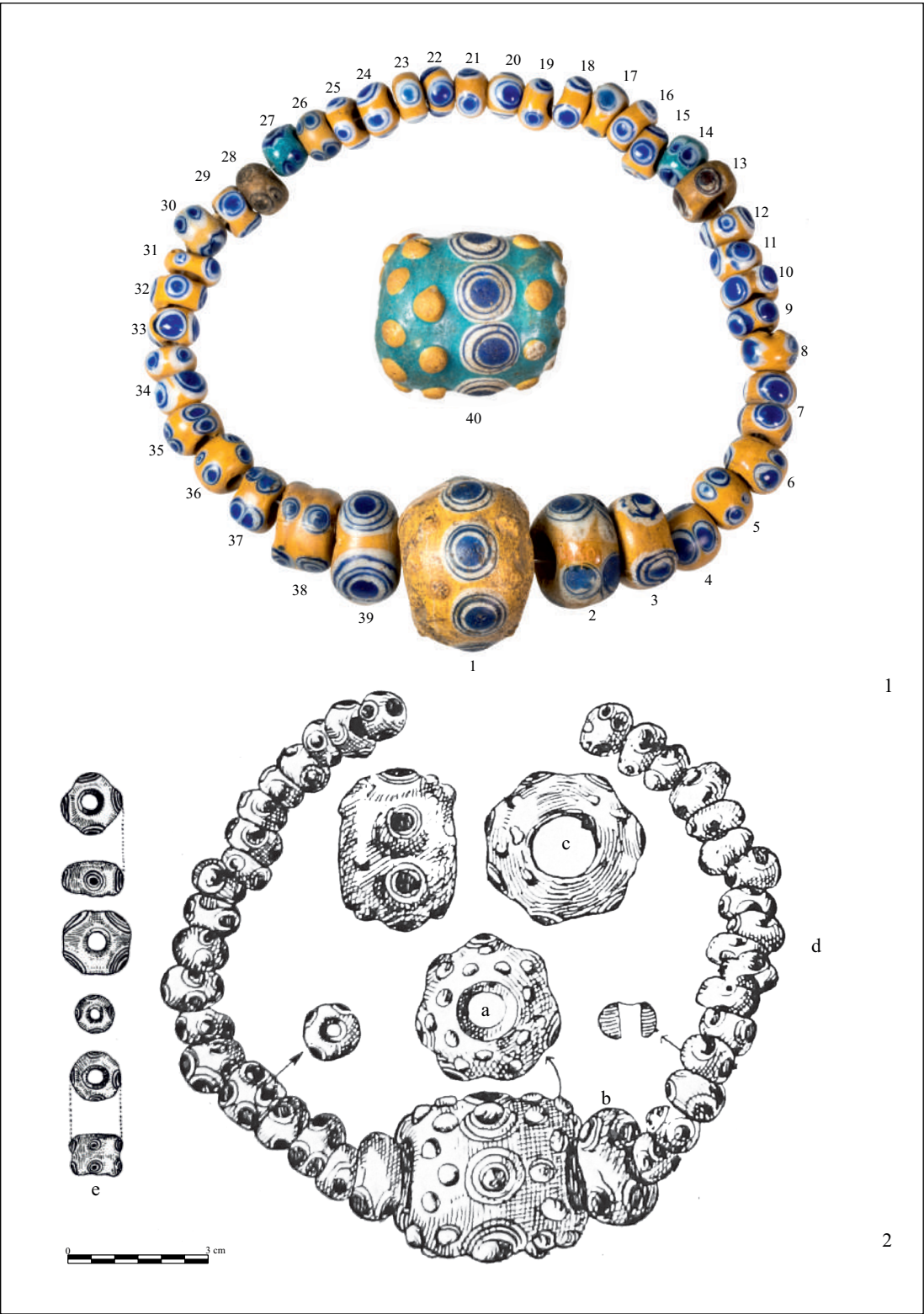
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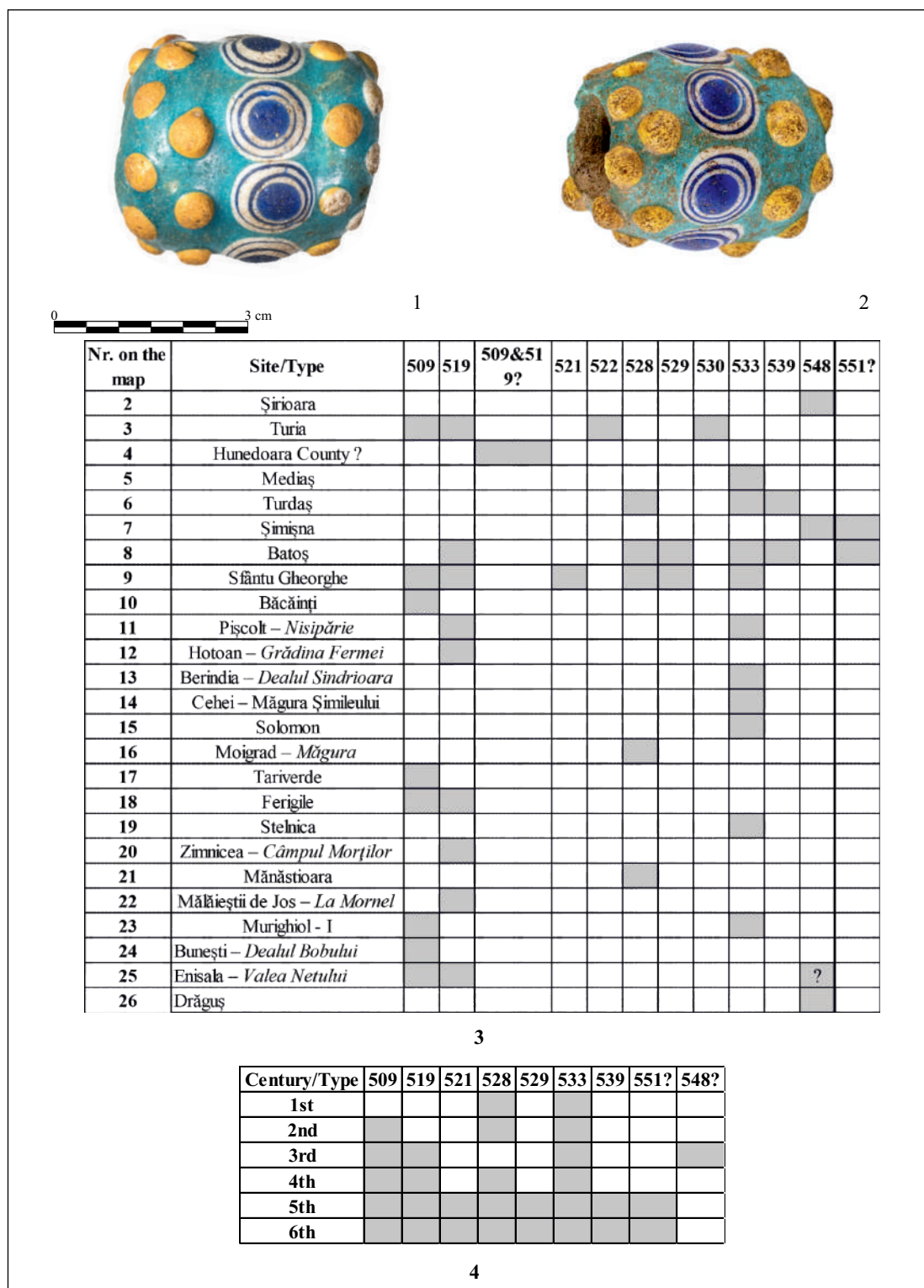
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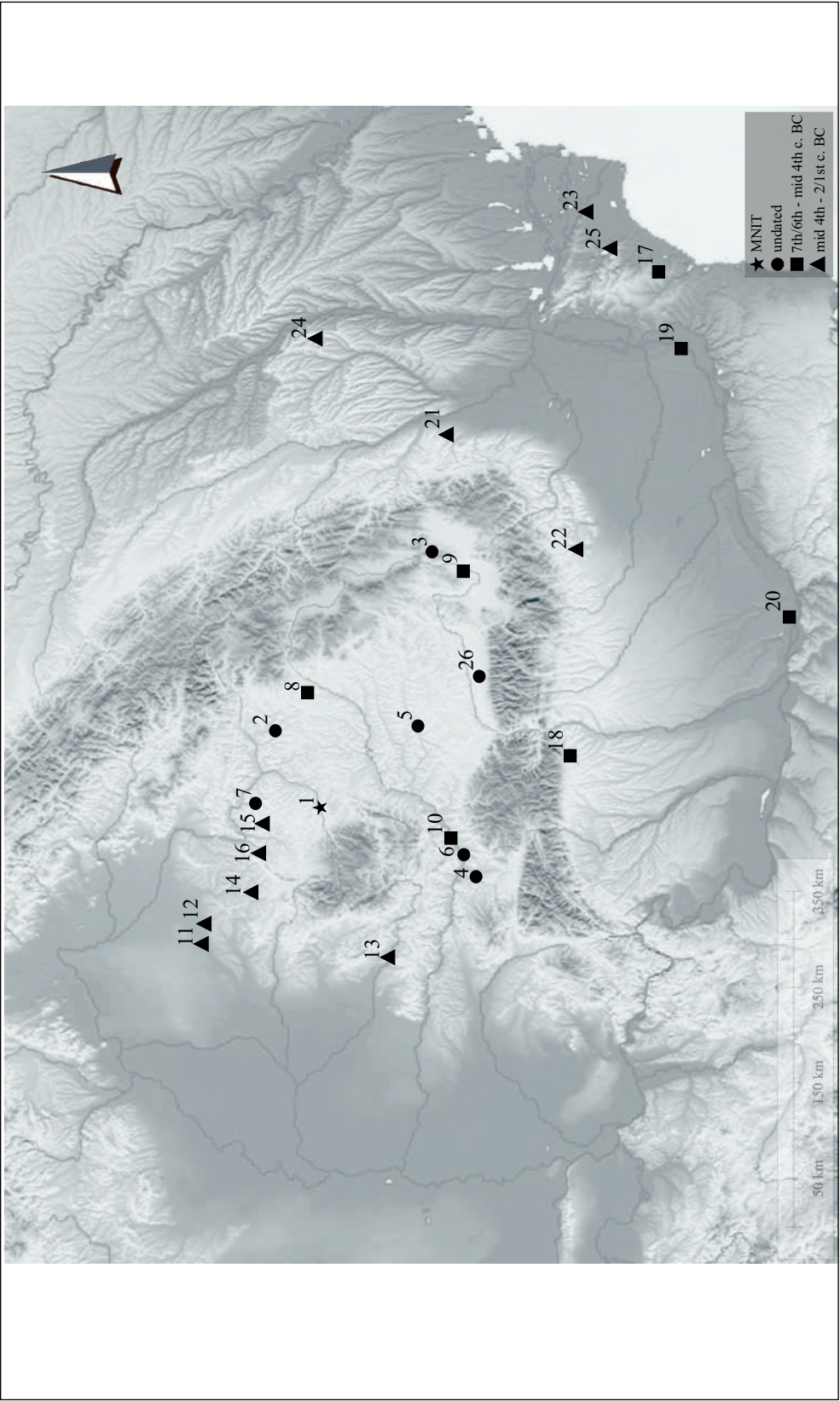
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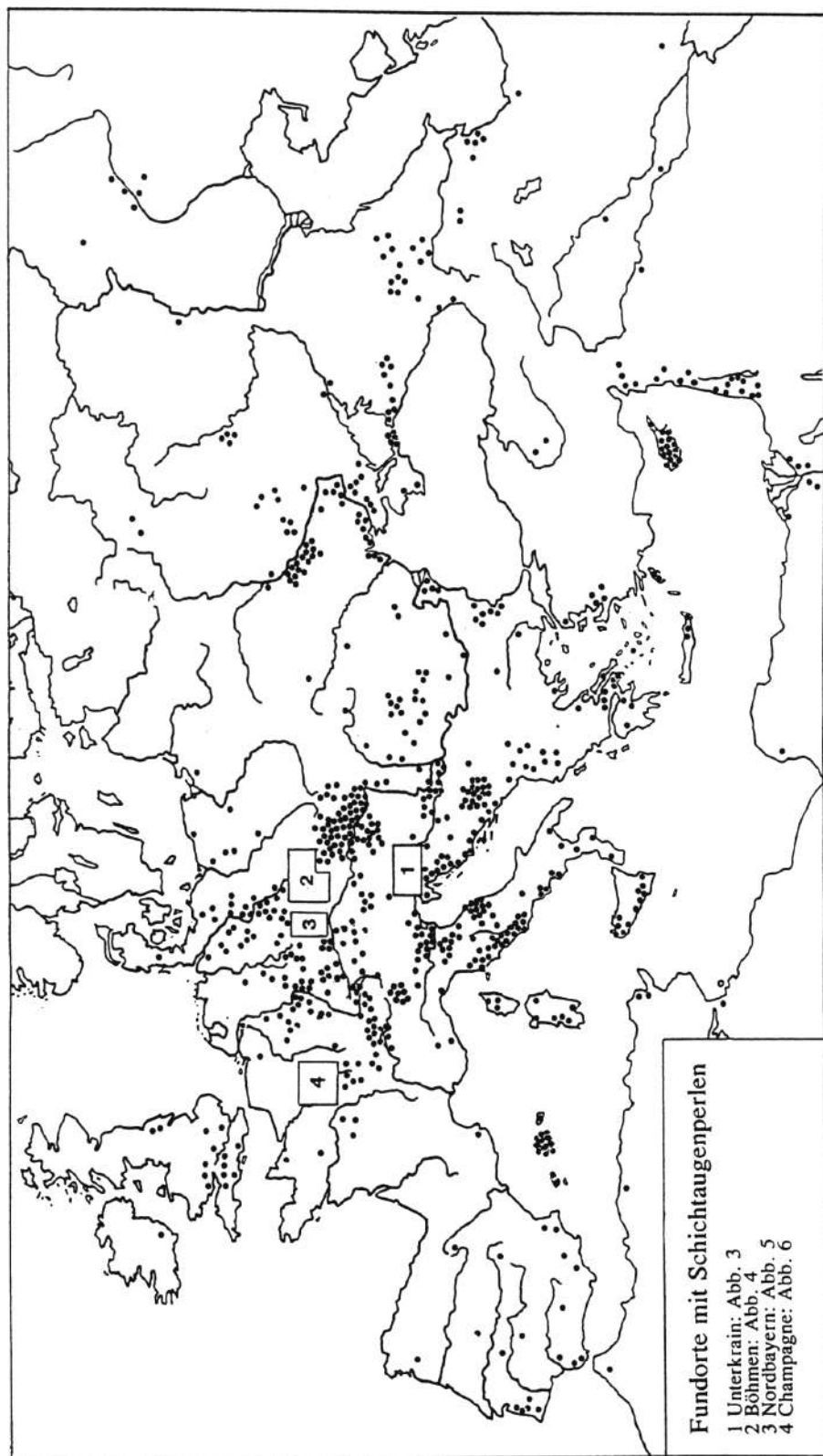
Pl. I. 1. Photo of the discussed beads (by Cristina Rădulescu); **2.** Drawing of the discussed beads (after Roska 1944).



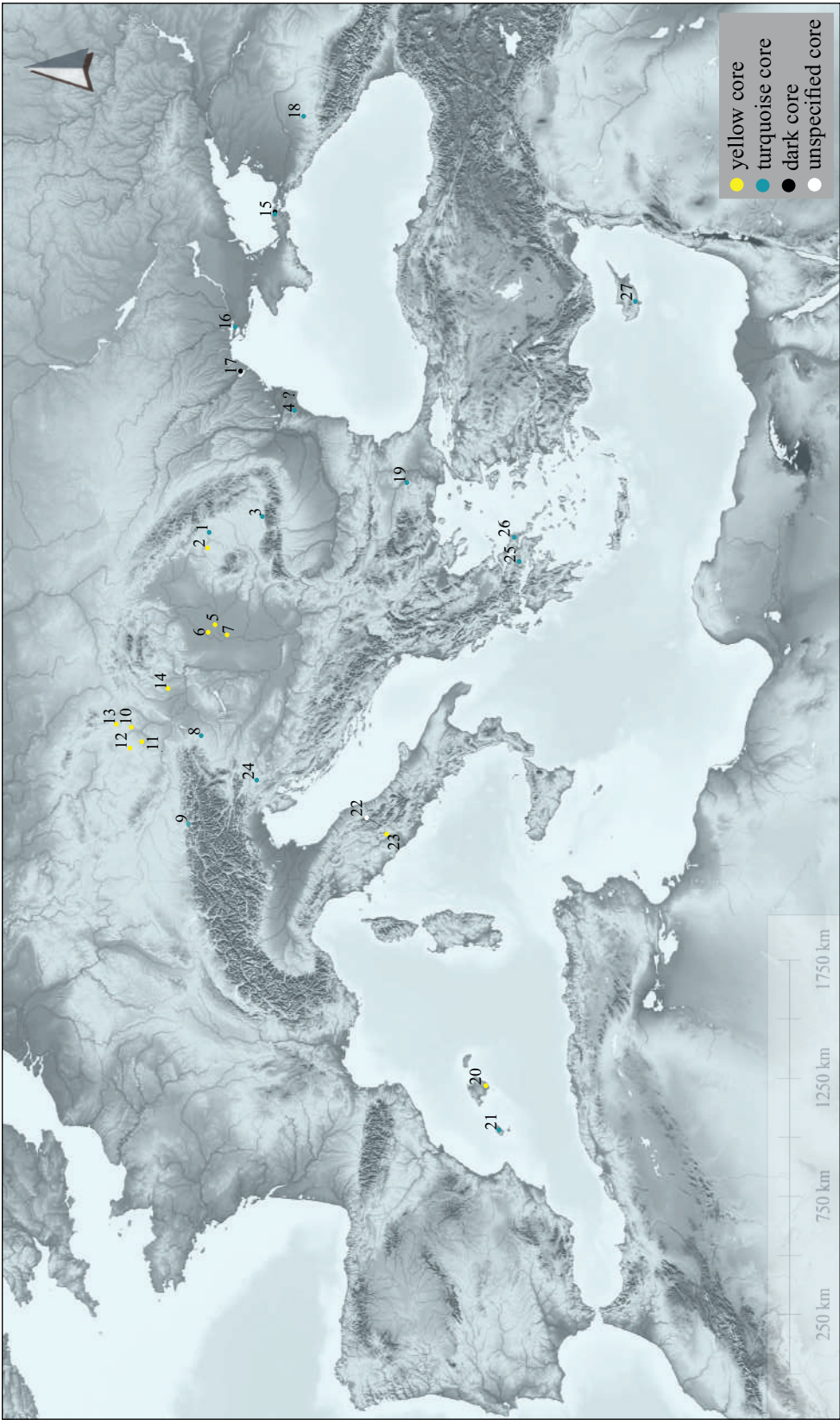
Pl. II. 1. Photo of the bead from Șirioara (by Cristina Rădulescu); **2.** Photo of the bead from Drăguș (©MMB); **3.** The types of layered eye beads encountered in the mentioned sites from Romania; **4.** Dating of the mentioned bead types encountered in sites from Romania.



Pl. III. Map of localities from Romania mentioned in the text: 1. Cluj-Napoca; 2. Șirioara; 3. Turia; 4. Hunedoara County; 5. Mediaș; 6. Turdaș; 7. Șimișna; 8. Batoș; 9. Sfântu Gheorghe; 10. Pișcolt; 11. Băcăinți; 12. Hotoan; 13. Berindia; 14. Cehei; 15. Solomon; 16. Moigrad; 17. Tariverde; 18. Ferigile; 19. Stelnică; 20. Zimnicea; 21. Mănăstioara; 22. Mălăiești de Jos; 23. Murighiol; 24. Bunești; 25. Enisala.



Pl. IV. Distribution of the layered eye beads according to Kunter 1995.



Pl. V. Sites with type 548 beads mentioned in the text: 1. Şirioara; 2. Şimişna; 3. Drăguş; 4. Enisala?; 5. Mezőtúr; 6. Törökszentmiklós; 7. Szentes; 8. Velem; 9. Dürrnberg; 10. Holubice; 11. Lechovice; 12. Vicénice; 13. Staré Hradisko; 14. Maňa; 15. Kerč; 16. Olbia Pontica; 17. Nadlimanskoye; 18. Maikop; 19. Mezek; 20. Cueva sa Madona; 21. Ibiza; 22. Montefortino; 23. Palestina; 24. Stična; 25. Euboeia? 26. Amathus.

A DACIAN *TORQUES* FROM THE EASTERN CARPATHIAN BASIN

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Abstract: A Dacian *torques* was recently found in the Eastern Carpathian Basin. Given the manner in which the find was made – using a metal detector – the exact context of the discovery has not been established. However, the morphology and metal composition of the necklace provide important information.

Keywords: Dacians; *torques*; silver; Siculeni; metal detector.

Rezumat: Un *torques* dacic de argint a fost descoperit recent în estul Bazinului Carpatic. Dată fiind maniera în care s-a făcut descoperirea, cu ajutorul unui detector de metale, contextul descoperirii nu a putut fi stabilit cu exactitate. Cu toate acestea, morfologia și analizele metalice ale colierului oferă informații importante.

Cuvinte-cheie: Daci; *torques*; argint; Siculeni; detector de metale.

The (possible) site

Following a recreational field survey using a metal detector, a silver necklace was found. According to the discoverer, the object was found in the area of the village Siculeni, Harghita County, in the eastern Carpathian Basin (Pl. I/1–2).¹ The alleged place of discovery was on the southwest slope of *Dealul Bogat* / *Câmpul Cetății* (Rich Hill / Fortress Field), near *Pârăul Cetății* (Fortress Stream), a tributary of the Olt River which flows nearby. Today *Dealul Bogat* has relatively steep slopes but also areas with flat man-made terraces (Pl. I/3–5).

An archaeological field survey took place in the area.² South of an anthropic terrace used today for agriculture, at a distance of approx. 6–7 m, near some cliffs, a small pit was found (Pl. I/4–5). The pit had a diameter of approx. 15 cm and the depth of approx. 15–20 cm.³ The pit was emptied, and no other objects were found.

¹ The Harghita County Culture Department (Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură Harghita) received the object in 2017 along with topographical coordinates given by the finder. The same topographical coordinates were then given to the National Museum of Transylvanian History from Cluj-Napoca, where the object was legally deposited. The necklace received the inventory number vD 4048.

² Information about the results of the archaeological surface survey were given to us by A. Kosza (Harghita County Culture Department), to whom I thank once again. He was the one responsible for taking the necklace into custody. Over time, he made several archaeological field surveys in the area of the villages Siculeni and Racu, Harghita County.

³ There is no solid evidence that the indicated pit is the true discovery point of the necklace, but the only information we have is based on the statement of the discoverer.

Nearby, three iron arrowheads were found, most likely dating to the migration period or to the Early Middle Ages.⁴ As a result, the archaeological field survey was extended to a larger area. Pottery fragments dated to the Bronze Age were discovered 60–120 m east of the small pit near the cliffs. About 250 m south-east of the same pit, in the *Pârăului Cetății* meadow, some pottery fragments from the Early Iron Age were found, and about 130 m east an ore extraction pit was identified, most likely dated in the 16th–17th centuries.⁵

No other archaeological materials were discovered on *Dealul Bogat* so far. North-east of the hill there is a small promontory on which a Dacian fortress was built and also materials from the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age or Roman Period were found; a medieval chapel functioned here, as well.⁶ West of *Dealul Bogat*, towards the sources of *Pârăul Cetății*, another Dacian fortress was found, over which a medieval fortress was later built.⁷ On the right bank of the Olt River, north of *Dealul Bogat*, a Dacian settlement⁸ and a medieval settlement⁹ were identified. In fact, the ancient settlements were mainly concentrated on the right bank of the Olt River, where materials from the Bronze Age, Dacian Kingdom period and Migration period were found.¹⁰

Given the small dimensions of the pit in which the necklace was supposedly found, no observations concerning the archaeological context can be made.¹¹ The reason behind the intentional/unintentional placement of the object under the soil cannot be established either. If the necklace was intentionally buried, the slope would have offered a certain protection. Also, the presence of the cliffs could represent a landmark for a possible later recovery. However, the slopes can be also considered an argument for interpreting the situation as the result of an unintentional action. Due to the dimensions of the pit, it is difficult to fit the necklace in a horizontal context; most likely it was found in an oblique or even vertical position. All this may indicate that the necklace has slipped into the position in which it was found, perhaps even from the terrace above.¹²

The necklace

The necklace weighs 206.6 g and has a relatively round shape (16.5 × 15.9 cm) (Pl. II/1–3; III/1). It was made of a partially twisted bar with bent ends. The unfolded length of the bar is approx. 45.8 cm.

The bar was initially rectangular in cross-section and it was deeply incised in the middle of all four sides but not on the entire length. Afterwards, the bar was twisted several

⁴ The arrowheads were found by the same discoverer, in the same day. These objects were also deposited at the National Museum of Transylvanian History from Cluj-Napoca (inv. nos. v 64992–64994).

⁵ Information given by A. Kosza.

⁶ The site Racu – *Dealul Bogat* (Ferenczi 1938, 274–283; Székely 1970, 304–305; Crișan 2000, 64; Kavruc 2000, 214).

⁷ The site Racu – *Cetatea păgânilor* (Ferenczi 1938, 283–290; Székely 1969, 103; Crișan 2000, 65; Kavruc 2000, 215).

⁸ The site Racu – *Dealul cu terase* (Crișan 2000, 65; Kavruc 2000, 215).

⁹ The sites Siculeni – *Donát-kert* and Racu – *Donát-kert* (<http://ran.cimec.ro/>).

¹⁰ The sites Siculeni – *Kicsi-mező*, Racu – *Kicsi-mező*, Cseger – *Kicsi-mező*, Gârciu – *Rákos martja*, Racu – *Ignác útnál* and Gârciu – *Kövecses* (<http://ran.cimec.ro/>).

¹¹ Archaeological investigations were considered to be made in the area, but, for various reasons, these have not been performed so far.

¹² These assumptions belong to A. Kosza and were made based on the information on the field.

times.¹³ By twisting, the appearance of four intertwined threads has resulted. The torsade represents approx. 2/3 of the neckless; its unfolded length is 27.2 cm. The maximum thickness of the torsade is 1.3 cm. The untwisted part of the bar was rectangle shaped; the dimensions are approx. 0.3 × 0.5 cm. The open ends were given a particular form and were bent (Pl. IV/3–5).

The edges of two twisted threads were decorated with rows of triangular impressions probably made with a punch. Some impressions are deeper and appear larger, others are shallower; they have approx. 0.5–1 mm in length (Pl. III/2–3; Pl. IV/17–21).

On the outside, between the torsade and the bent ends, the necklace was decorated with straight or oblique incised lines arranged in pairs and forming a zig-zag pattern (Pl. II/2–3; Pl. III/1; Pl. IV/15–16). Also, the bent ends have parallel incised lines, items resembling stylized zoomorphic protomes (snake? bird?). The bent ends are 1.5 cm and 1.3 cm in length (Pl. III/1; Pl. IV/1–2).

A macroscopic analysis of the surface reveals cracks resulted probably from twisting, some relatively large in size, having 1.5–2 mm in length (Pl. IV/11–14). In the central area of the torsade, such a crack was probably repaired by tapping (Pl. IV/11). In fact, most similar cracks are in the central area of the torsade, where the tension is the highest when the necklace is put on or taken off. It is possible that some cracks were the result of using the necklace over time. Also, the edges of the twisted threads appear blunted from wear rather than a deliberate tapping (to keep them from being sharp).

Under the microscope,¹⁴ traces of the manufacturing process are visible. Small, parallel, shallow incised lines were probably the result of finishing strokes, cleaning and polishing the necklace with a slightly abrasive object. Other irregularly shallow incised lines appear to be the result of using the necklace, by rubbing it against textile or harder materials (Pl. IV/6–10).

To determine the metallographic composition of the necklace, measurements were performed on the torsade and towards the ends (Pl. V).¹⁵ The results were almost the same: approx. 94% silver alongside small amounts of copper (3–4%), tin (2%) and zinc.

The Dacian torques

In the absence of an archaeological context, based only on morphology and metal composition, it can be presumed that the necklace is a *torques*¹⁶ used during the Late Iron Age, in the Dacian Kingdom. The origin of the Dacian *torques* is uncertain. A link between the Dacian *torques* and those discovered in the same area dated to the Early Iron Age is difficult to establish.¹⁷ In the same period, populations in the vicinity of the Dacian Kingdom also used such twisted necklaces.¹⁸

¹³ Chidioșan, Sășianu, Beladan 1978, 29–30, fig. 2; Rustoiu 1996a, 89; Spănu 2012, 55; Toma 2013, 158.

¹⁴ Three microscopes were used to take detail photographs: Dino-Lite Edge Digital Microscope, Olympus CX33 Digital Microscope and Mic-Fi – VIS/IR/UV Digital Microscope.

¹⁵ A Portable EDXRF Elva X Prospector 3 MAX spectrometer with large SDD detector area was used.

¹⁶ DIVR, s.v. *torques*, 579 (S. Dumitrescu); EAIVR, I, 1994, s.v. *colan*, 328–329 (I. H. Crișan); Propuneri 1997–1998, 213.

¹⁷ Popescu 1948, 59; Rusu 1967, 95–99; Popescu 1971, 32; Horedt 1973, 139; Rustoiu 1992, 1085–1088; Spănu 2012, 163–164.

¹⁸ DA, V, 1892, s.v. *torques* (S. Reinach); RE, VI, 1852, s.v. *torques* (W. Rein); Kruta 2000, 843–844; Kull 2002, 189–223; Guștin 2009, 477–486.

From the ancient iconographic representations and literary sources, it is quite obvious how the *torques* were worn: attached to the neck and less often to other parts of the body.¹⁹ The discovery in the same context of Dacian *torques* of different diameters suggests that several necklaces could be worn at once.²⁰ Some necklaces, especially the massive ones, were closed only by elasticity and did not require any hooks.²¹

Twisted necklaces were worn both by gods (in depictions) and mortals, men and women alike.²² But, based only on sizes or weights, no obvious distinctions can be made on this manner, at least not for the Dacian Kingdom Period. The necklace was probably a status indicator in the Dacian world, the same morphological type being produced of different metals. But, a direct connection between a type of metal and a certain social category of the Dacian Kingdom cannot be made for certain.²³

Some *torques* probably had more than an ornamental function, since they were associated with specific deities. The presence of some zoomorphic protomes at the ends could also be invested with a special significance.²⁴ In this context, it is difficult to determine whether the twisting itself had only a visual effect or was also invested with a special significance.

The *torques* from Siculeni belongs to a special type of Dacian twisted necklaces with zoomorphic protomes at the open ends.²⁵ Dated to the end of the 1st century BC and especially during the 1st century AD,²⁶ similar *torques* were found at Colțești (Sânger),²⁷ Marca,²⁸ Moroda,²⁹ Moțăței,³⁰ Poiana (Rovinari)³¹ or Târpești.³² For other similar *torques* we have no information concerning the find spot.³³ Towards the ends, necklaces of this

¹⁹ DA, V, 1892, s.v. *torques* (S. Reinach); RE, VI, 1852, s.v. *torques* (W. Rein); Kruta 2000, 843–844.

²⁰ Rustoiu 1992, 1087–1088; Spânu 2012, 53, 126.

²¹ Rustoiu 1992, 1080; Spânu 2012, 53.

²² DA, V, 1892, s.v. *torques* (S. Reinach); RE, VI, 1852, s.v. *torques* (W. Rein); Kruta 2000, 843–844.

²³ Rustoiu 1992, 1085–1088; Rustoiu 1996a, 89–91; Spânu 2012, 121–137.

²⁴ Rustoiu 1992, 1087–1088; Spânu 2012, 102–103, 118.

²⁵ Horedt 1973, 138, type C1b; Mărghită 1976, 21; Florescu, Mică 1979, 10; Rustoiu 1992, 1080–1081, type C1; Rustoiu 1996a, 89, type C; Spânu 2012, 55–56, type 3.1.1, fig. 11.

²⁶ Rustoiu 1992, 1083–184; Spânu 2012, 138–145.

²⁷ Hampel 1893, 366; Téglás 1903, 304; Popescu 1941, 198; Fettich 1953, 149–150, 152, Abb. 18/1, 19/1; Pl. XXI/2; Horedt 1973, 163; Rustoiu 1992, 1081; Mărghită 2008, 39–41, 139; Spânu 2012, 221–222, Pl. 35, 36/1; Oanță-Mărghită 2013, 395.

²⁸ Romer 1886, 388; Popescu 1941, 200; Horedt 1973, 163; Florescu, Mică 1979, 23–24, fig. 13–15; Pop 2008, 48, Fig. 40a, b; Mărghită 2008, 76–77; Spânu 2012, 228, pls. 72, 73.

²⁹ Romer 1886, 389; Popescu 1941, 200; Horedt 1973, 164; Florescu, Mică 1979, 24, fig. 16, 17; Mărghită 2008, 85–86; Spânu 2012, 230, pl. 84.

³⁰ Popescu 1941, 200; Horedt 1973, 164; Mărghită 2008, 86; Spânu 2012, 230, pl. 85, 86/1; Oanță-Mărghită 2013, 399.

³¹ Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1941, 203–205, Fig. 2/a-b; Popescu 1941, 201; Horedt 1973, 164; Mărghită 1976, 41–45; Rustoiu 1992, 1081, Fig. 2/4, 5; Mărghită 2008, 105–108; Spânu 2012, 239, Pl. 103/1, 2; Oanță-Mărghită 2013, 402.

³² Marinescu-Bîlcu 1962, 111–114, Fig. 1; Horedt 1973, 165; Rustoiu 1992, 1081, Fig. 2/3; Mărghită 2008, 163–164; Spânu 2012, pl. 150/10.

³³ 1. Unknown, probably Transylvania: Fettich 1953, 159, Pl. XXXIII/1, 2; Rustoiu 1992, 1081; Spânu 2012, 250, pl. 168/1. 2. Unknown, probably Transylvania: Fettich 1953, 159, Pl. XXVI/1–5; Spânu 2012, 250, Pl. 168/2. 3. Unknown, probably Transylvania: Florescu, Mică 1979, 24–25, Fig. 18c; Spânu 2012, 250–251, Pl. 169/1. 4. Unknown, probably Transylvania, wrongly considered to be from Gherla, Cluj County: Popescu 1941, 194,

type have the cross-section of the bar round (Colțești, Moroda), rectangular (Colțești) or even flat (Colțești, Rovinari, Târpești). Some were decorated between the torsade and the ends (Colțești, Marca, Moțăței), other on the twisted threads (Colțești, Marca, Moțăței, Rovinari, Târpești). A few have counter-faced protomes at the ends (Colțești, Moroda).³⁴ In terms of size and weight, the *torques* from Siculeni belongs to the medium category of twisted necklaces with open ends.³⁵

Of the Dacian necklaces, the twisted ones represent the majority, and of these the ones with open ends are the most numerous.³⁶ Regarding the diffusion area, many Dacian *torques* have been discovered within the Carpathian Arch (Transylvania), with fewer finds south of the Carpathians (Muntenia, Oltenia), and are almost entirely absent east of the Carpathians (Moldavia).³⁷ A single twisted necklace was discovered east of the Carpathians (Târpești) and it was considered an import from the west.³⁸

Considering the finds made so far, the *torques* from Siculeni is the most eastern discovery from the Carpathian Basin and the only one from the depressions in the area (Ciuc Depression and Tg. Secuiesc Depression especially).³⁹ The closest similar discoveries are from the Târnave Basin or the Middle Mureș Basin.⁴⁰ However, in the Eastern Transylvanian depressions other types of Dacian necklaces were found,⁴¹ like the ones made of a flat bar (Peteni⁴²) or a simple round bar (Cehețel,⁴³ Covasna,⁴⁴ Medișorul Mare⁴⁵). Also, numerous Dacian silver objects were discovered in the area, some isolated, some in hoards.⁴⁶ Overall, there is a high concentration of Dacian settlements and fortresses in the Eastern Carpathian Basin, including the banks of the Olt River,⁴⁷ so the discovery of a *torques* in this place is not random.

Fig. 13/5; Florescu, Micla 1979, 72, nr. 478; Rustoiu 1992, 1081; Spănu 2012, 252, Pl. 181; Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 394. 5. Unknown, probably Transylvania, the Orăștie Mountains: Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 393.

³⁴ Spănu 2012, 55–56.

³⁵ Spănu 2012, 54. Colțești – D: 13.9 cm, W: 204 g. Colțești – D: 14.2 cm. Marca – D: 15.6 cm, W: 194 g. Marca – D: 15.1 cm, W: 164 g. Moroda – D: 12.7 cm, W: 90 g. Moțăței – D: 16.6 cm, W: 72 g. Moțăței – D: 14.5 cm, W: 32 g. Poiana/Rovinari – D: 16.8 cm, W: 182 g. Poiana/Rovinari – D: 12.6 cm, W: 60 g. Unknown (1) – D 19 cm. Unknown (2) – D: 17.3 cm. Unknown (3) – D: 15.7, W: 89 g. Unknown (4) – D: 15.3 cm, W: 134.9 g. Unknown (5) – D: 19.8 cm, W: 205.2 g.

³⁶ Rustoiu 1992, 1084. Spănu 2012, 53.

³⁷ Rustoiu 1992, 1084; Spănu 2012, 149, fig. 54.

³⁸ Rustoiu 1992, 1084.

³⁹ Another *torques* may have been found in the area, at Moacă, Covasna County, but the necklace was lost and no details are known about it (Téglás 1911, 533; Rustoiu 1992, 1082; Mărghitu 2008, 82–83; Spănu 2012, 255).

⁴⁰ Rustoiu 1992, 1084; Spănu 2012, 149, fig. 54. The *torques* from the Târnave Basin belong to another type of necklaces, with a closing system. Those from the Middle Mureș Basin are of the same type as well as the ones with open ends.

⁴¹ Rustoiu 1992, 1080–1082; Spănu 2012, 54–55.

⁴² Székely 1965, 67, Fig. 6/6; Horedt 1973, 164; Rustoiu 1992, 1082; Crișan 2000, 61; Mărghitu 2008, 98–100; Spănu 2012, 232, Pl. 91/3.

⁴³ Székely 1965, 55, Fig. 5/6–8; Horedt 1973, 163; Rustoiu 1992, 1080; Crișan 2000, 28–29, Pl. 115/1, 2; Mărghitu 2008, 23–25; Spănu 2012, 219–220, Pl. 21/1, 2.

⁴⁴ Crișan et alii 2017, 49.

⁴⁵ Székely 1976, 232, Fig. 3/9; Crișan 2000, 53–54, 139, Pl. 112/4.

⁴⁶ Spănu 2012, 154–155.

⁴⁷ Crișan 2000, *passim*.

The metal(s)

The relatively small number of Dacian objects investigated, the different methods used to identify the composition or the lack of collaboration between archaeologists and physicists made the metallographic analyses less relevant.⁴⁸ However, it is worth mentioning here some metallographic analyses made using the same method and device as for the *torques* from Siculeni.⁴⁹

A Dacian *torques* of the same type as the one from Siculeni, with zoomorphic protomes at the open ends, probably from Transylvania,⁵⁰ was made of silver (95%), copper (2–3%), tin (1–2%) and zinc. A similar *torques* from Colțești (Sânger)⁵¹ was made of less silver (92%), alongside copper (4.5%), tin (2.5%) and zinc. Of different type, with a hook and a loop fastening system,⁵² a Dacian *torques* of uncertain provenance⁵³ had approximately the same proportions of metals as the one from Siculeni: silver (95–96%), copper (2–3%), tin (1–2%) and zinc.

Other metallographic analyses have the same results regarding Dacian objects: a large amount of silver, alongside small quantities of copper and tin, together with zinc and, rarely, other metals.⁵⁴

The significant amount of copper and tin may indicate an intentional alloying with silver. One hypothesis is that the two elements were introduced together as bronze alloy, which would also explain the presence of zinc.⁵⁵ However, the amount of copper and tin from the *torques* is close in value, which is not the case with the bronze objects from the Dacian Kingdom. Also, a significant amount of lead, frequently found in bronze objects of the period, is missing from the alloy.

Another hypothesis is that the copper and tin could have been introduced separately in the alloy.⁵⁶ However, the direct alloying of silver with tin is a complicated metallurgical process, as the two metals tend to separate in the reaction.⁵⁷

Regardless of how it was made, the addition of a significant amount of copper and tin to silver provided the necklace with higher rigidity. A less amount of those metals made the alloy more malleable, for example being more suitable for decoration.⁵⁸

Regarding the metallographic composition, some Dacian *torques* have a core different from the outer shell. For such necklaces, prior to side incising and twisting, a silver sheet

⁴⁸ Spânu 2004, 87–89; Spânu 2012, 90–91.

⁴⁹ Several Dacian objects from MNIT were analysed; they will be the subject of an extended study.

⁵⁰ Above mentioned as unknown (4), probably Transylvania, wrongly considered to be from Gherla, Cluj County: Popescu 1941, 194, fig. 13/5; Florescu, Miclea 1979, 72, nr. 478; Rustoiu 1992, 1081; Spânu 2012, 252, pl. 181; Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 394; MNIT, inv. no. V427 (1802).

⁵¹ Téglás 1904, 174–175; Popescu 1941, 201; Fettich 1953, 152, Pl. XXII; Popescu 1971, 29, Fig. 39; Rustoiu 1992, 1081; Spânu 2012, 222, Pl. 38; Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 395; MNIT, inv. no. v 431 (1809) / v 442 (I 7319).

⁵² Horedt 1973, 138, type C 3a; Rustoiu 1992, 1081, type C3; Spânu 2012, 56, type 3.1.2.c.

⁵³ Romer 1886, 391–392, Fig. 4; Popescu 1941, 189, 193–194, Fig. 9/2. 13/3; Popescu 1971, 30, Fig. 44; Rustoiu 1992, 1081; Mărghitu 2008, 43; Spânu 2012, 249, Pl. 163/2; Oanță-Marghitu 2013, 395; MNIT, inv. no. v 452 (MIC 97).

⁵⁴ Spânu 2004, 87–89; Spânu 2012, 90–91, with the bibliography.

⁵⁵ Rustoiu 1996a, 45–46; Iaroslavschi 1997, 80–87.

⁵⁶ Rustoiu 1996a, 45–46; Iaroslavschi 1997, 14–15, 76–80.

⁵⁷ Constantinescu et alii 2016.

⁵⁸ Iaroslavschi 1997, 82; Spânu, Cojocaru 2009, 102; Spânu 2012, 91; Vasilescu et alii 2015, 27, 33.

was probably applied on the rectangular bar.⁵⁹ The relatively large cracks identified on the *torques* from Siculeni are not deep enough to make visible a possible different core. Also, the metallographic analysis made in the area of the largest crack had almost the same result as the other analysed areas.

The vast majority of metal analyses were performed only on the surface of Dacian objects. As a result, it is mostly unknown if the core has the same elements as the outer shell. This is also the case with the *torques* from Siculeni.

Conclusion

The *torques* from Siculeni fits on the general map of Dacian finds from the area. However, in the absence of an archaeological context, the reason behind the intentional/unintentional burial cannot be established. The presence near the alleged finding spot of Dacian settlements and fortresses rises a question mark regarding its exact place of discovery; assigning the objects to one area or another remains problematic.⁶⁰ The fact that it is the only *torques* from a region where other types of necklaces were found only complicates matters rather than clarifying them; we don't have a new secure point on the map. Regardless of these uncertainties, the *torques* remains extremely valuable for understanding the Dacian civilisation.

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⁵⁹ Glodariu 1968, 415; Chidioşan, Ordentlich 1973, p. 98; Rustoiu 1996b, 51; Iaroslavschi 1997, 84; Toma 2013, 158.

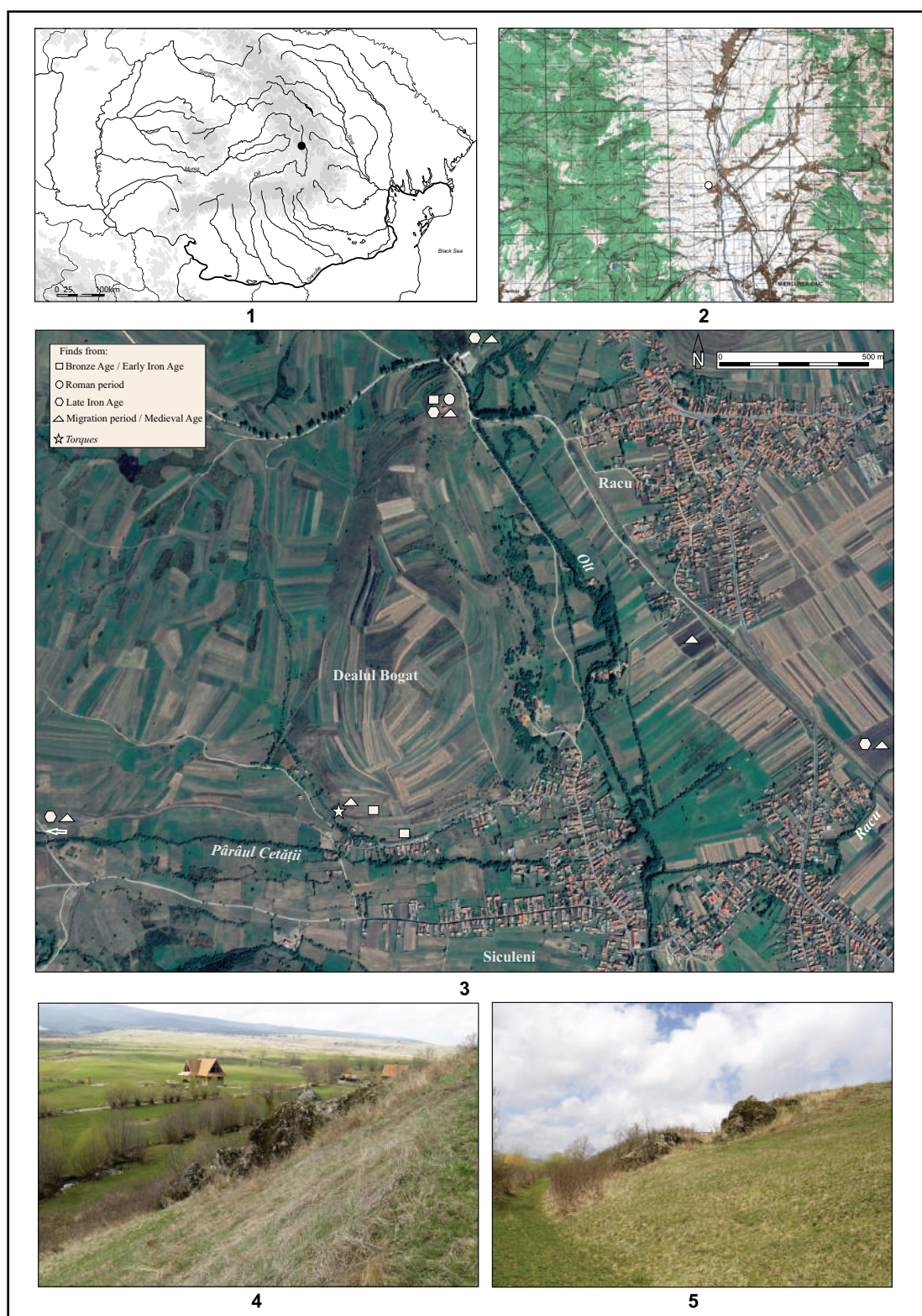
⁶⁰ Because of these doubts, a general title for the study was preferred.

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Pl. I. The site. 1-2. Siculeni, Harghita County; 3. „Dealul Bogat”, nearby finds; 4-5. Google Earth capture (after RAN) and the alleged discovery place of the torques (photos by A. Kosza).



1



2

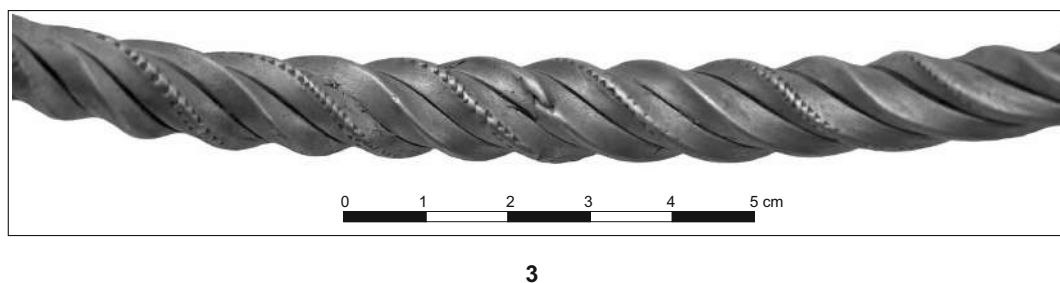
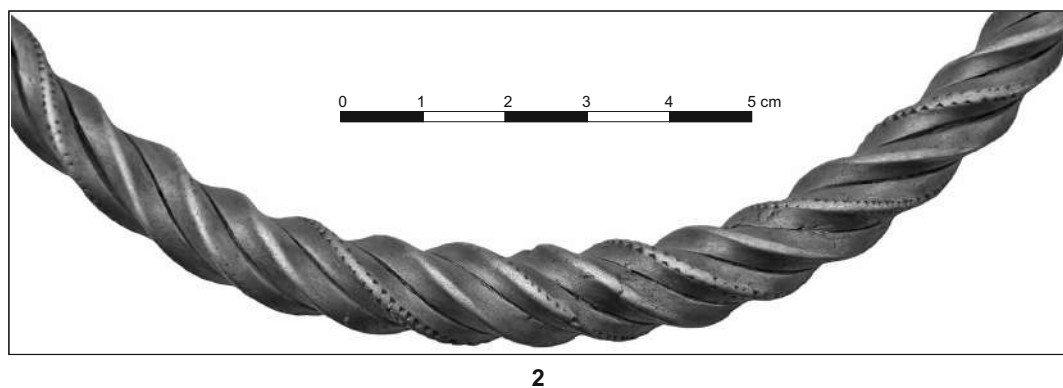
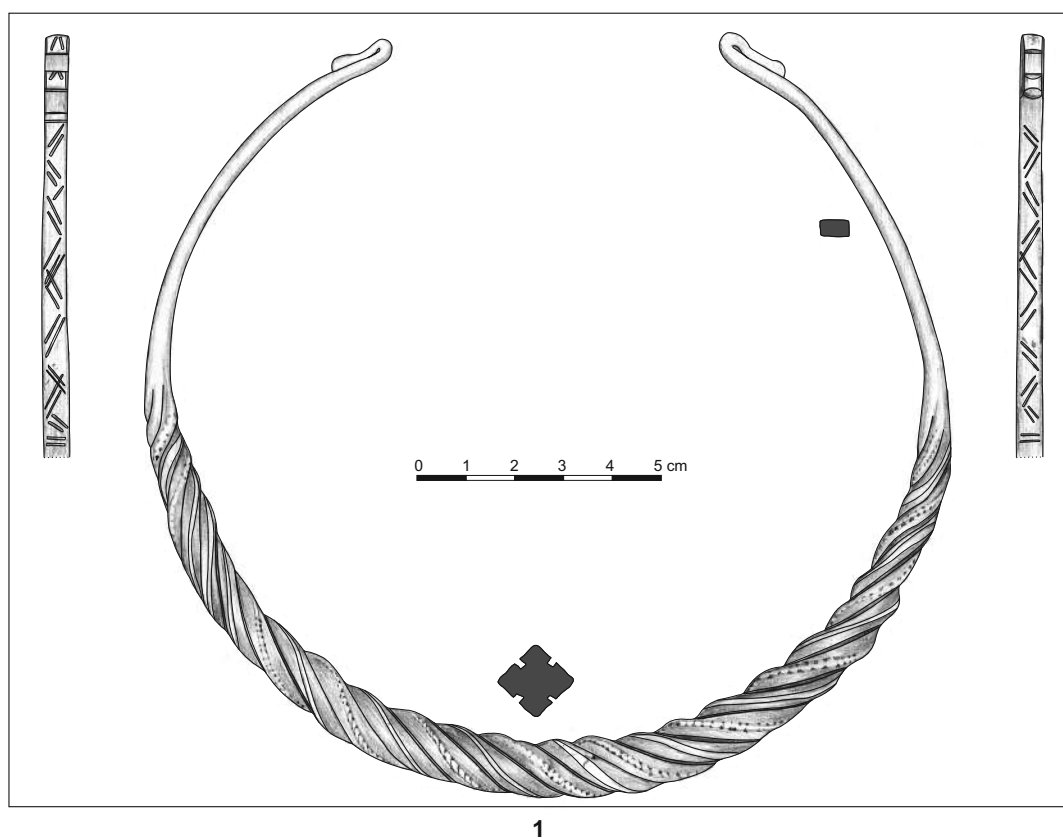


3

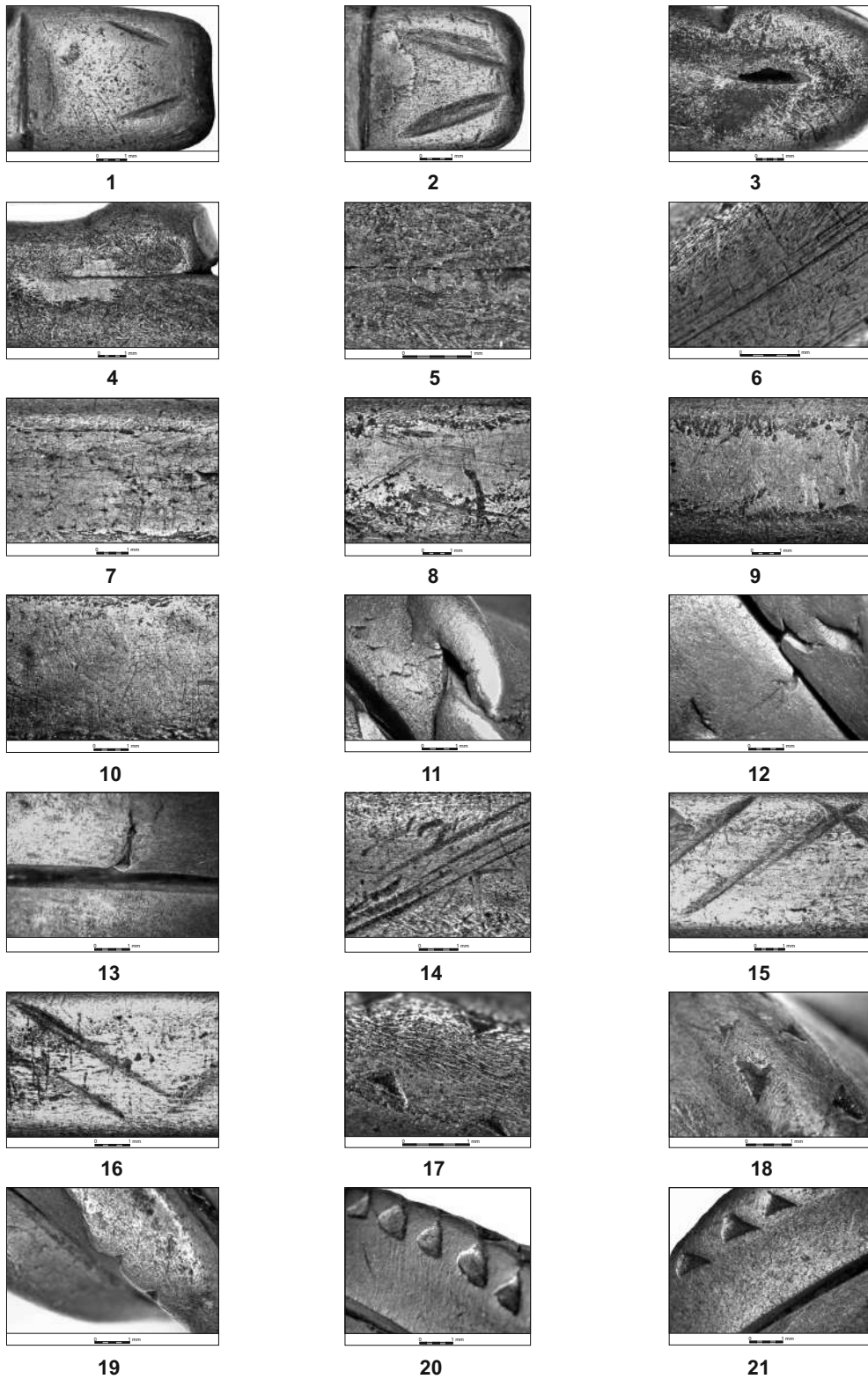


4

Pl. II. The necklace. 1. Front view; 3. Back view; 2, 4. The ends (photos by S. Odenie).



PL. III. The necklace. 1. Drawing (D. Gheorghe Șerban); **2-3.** Details of the torsade (photos by S. Odenie).



Pl. IV. 1-21. The necklace. Microscopic details (photos by A. B. Magó).



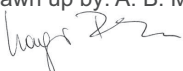
Nr. 41/25.04.2023

Buletin de analiză / Analysis bulletin

- 1. Denumire obiect / Object name:**
Torques
- 2. Locul de proveniență / Place of origin:**
Siculeni (jud. Harghita/Harghita County)
- 3. Deținător / Owner:**
Muzeul Național de Istorie al Transilvaniei / The National Museum of Transylvanian History
- 4. Număr inventar / Inventory number:**
VD 4048
- 5. Număr probe prelevate pentru analize / Number of samples taken for analysis:**
3
- 6. Denumirea încercărilor / The name of the tests:**
Identificarea materialelor / Identification of materials
- 7. Metoda de analiză / Analysis method:**
Spectrometrie / Spectrometry (Spectrometru EDXRF portabil Elva X Prospector 3 MAX cu detector SDD de arie mare / Portable EDXRF Elva X ProSpector3 MAX Spectrometer with large SDD detector area)
- 8. Rezultate / Results:**

Nr. / No.	Denumire probă / Sample name	Identificare / Identification	Caracterizare / Reference	Zona analizată / The analysed area
1.	Torques - P1	Argint / Silver	Ag: 94.07±0.21% Cu: 4.0±0.30% Sn: 1.90±0.30%	
2.	Torques - P2	Argint / Silver	Ag: 94.36±0.12% Cu: 3.24±0.15% Sn: 2.35±0.19% Zn: 0.05±0.11%	
3.	Torques - P3	Argint/Silver	Ag: 93.50±0.70% Cu: 4.30±0.70% Sn: 2.14±0.18% Zn: 0.02±0.09% Pd: 0.01±0.04%	

Data / Date:
25.04.2023

Întocmit / Drawn up by: A. B. Magó


Pl. V. The metallographic analysis bulletin (A. B. Magó).

ZUR DATIERUNG EINIGER SUFFEKTCONSULN IM 2. JH.

WERNER ECK

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.60.03

Abstract: In order not to overload a new list of all consuls from the Triumvirate period to the end of the 3rd century AD with too many detailed arguments, the discussions on the dating of individual consuls are dealt separately. This article deals with the suffect consuls in the 2nd century AD, such as: Maximus/Appius Santra under Trajan, Appius Annius Gallus under Antoninus Pius, the suffect pair [---]tus and Q. Laberius Licinianus in 144, finally about the succession of the *suffecti* in 179. In the end, it will be demonstrated that Gavidius Fortis had not been consul, but only *decurio* in Praeneste.

Keywords: *Fasti consulares; consules suffecti* of the 2nd century; Gavidius Fortis.

Zusammenfassung: Um eine neue Liste aller Konsuln von der Triumviratszeit bis zum Ende des 3. Jh. n.Chr. nicht zu sehr mit Detailargumenten zu belasten, werden die Argumente zur Datierung einzelner Konsuln separat bearbeitet. In diesem Beitrag geht es um Suffektkonsuln im 2. Jh., um Maximus/Appius Santra unter Traian, um Appius Annius Gallus unter Antoninus Pius, um das Suffektpaar [---]tus und Q. Laberius Licinianus im Jahr 144, um die Abfolge der Suffecti im Jahr 179. Am Ende wird gezeigt, dass Gavidius Fortis nicht Consul, sondern nur *decurio* in Praeneste gewesen ist.

Schlüsselwörter: *Fasti consulares; consules suffecti* des 2. Jh.; Gavidius Fortis.

Rezumat: Pentru a nu încărca cu detalii lista tuturor consulilor din perioada triumvirală până la sfârșitul secolului al III-lea, argumentele pentru datarea unor consuli sunt prezentate separat. Această contribuție are în vedere câțiva consuli din secolul al II-lea, cum ar fi Maximus/Appius Santra din perioada lui Traian, Appius Annius Gallus din timpul lui Antoninus Pius, perechea consulară [---]tus și Q. Laberius Licinianus din anul 144, precum și succesiunea consulilor sufecti din anul 179. La sfârșit, va fi demonstrat că Gavius Fortinis nu a fost consul, ci doar *decurion* la Praeneste.

Cuvinte-cheie: Fastele consulare; consuli sufecti din secolul al II-lea; Gavidius Fortis.

Die *Fasti consolari* von Atilio Degrassi waren lange Zeit das entscheidende Referenzwerk für die Datierung der Konsuln in der Kaiserzeit.¹ Wegen zahlreicher neuer Dokumente und nicht wenigen prosopographischen Untersuchungen zu einzelnen Konsuln oder Konsulngruppen in verschiedenen Zeitabschnitten entspricht das Werk an zahlreichen Stellen nicht mehr unserem Wissensstand. Um die geplanten neuen *Fasti consulares* von der Zeit des Triumvirats bis zum Ende des 3. Jh. n.Chr. nicht allzu sehr mit Details zu überfrachten, werden hier, wie schon in einigen bereits publizierten Beiträgen,²

¹ A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Rom 1952. – Für kritisches Durchsehen des Manuskripts danke ich Dirk Koßmann.

² Siehe u.a. W. Eck, *Miscellanea prosopographica zu den Jahren 192–194*, ZPE 221, 2022, 242–247; ders., *Korrekturen und Präzisierungen zu Daten von Konsuln vom 1. -3. Jh.*, ZPE 223, 2022, 207–217; ders., *Korrekturen*

Überlegungen zur genaueren Datierung einzelner Suffektkonsuln vorgelegt, deren Ergebnisse schließlich in die zusammenfassenden Fasti eingehen werden.

1. Ein konsularer Befehlshaber Maximus, der im Partherkrieg Traians gefallen ist.

Cassius Dio berichtet 68, 30, 1, Traian habe, als im besetzten parthischen Gebiet im Jahr 116 massive Revolten ausgebrochen seien, einen (Lusius) Quietus und einen Maximus beauftragt, die Aufständischen niederzukämpfen, was auch noch vor dem Tod Traians im August 117 gelang. Maximus sei in einer Schlacht geschlagen worden und dabei umgekommen. Auf dieselbe Person beziehen sich nach übereinstimmender Ansicht der Forschung auch drei Hinweise in Schriften von M. Cornelius Fronto. Er berichtet in den *Principia historiae* (p. 212 van den Hout) von einem Appius Santra – in der Entzifferung durch Hauler als unsichere Lesung gekennzeichnet: *Appiūṣ Ṣanṭra*³ – Folgendes: *Bello Parthico utroque consulares viri duo exercitum utrique ducentes obtruncati .. Appiūṣ Ṣanṭra vero, cum praesens Traianus Euphrati et Tigridis portoria equorum et camelorum tribularet, retro ad Balcia Tauri ab Arsace caesus est.*⁴ Auch p. 206 van den Hout berichtet Fronto von einem *fortissimi imperatoris Traiani ductu legatus cum exercitu caesus*, und schließlich heißt es in Frontos *De bello Parthico* (p. 220 van den Hout): *nonne a Parthis consularis vir in Mesopotamia trucidatus?* Dieser konsulare Befehlshaber sollte danach unter Traian, vielleicht sogar vor 116, zum Konsulat gekommen sein (dazu aber noch unten). Und da Dio und Fronto jeweils konkret auf nur einen Befehlshaber verweisen, trug dieser zweifellos das Cognomen Maximus, das bei Dio sicher überliefert ist; mit diesem Cognomen müsste sodann *Appiūṣ Ṣanṭra* bei Fronto verbunden werden.

Schon E. Groag hatte PIR² A 950 aus Dio und Fronto den Namen Appius Maximus Santra rekonstruiert, und sogleich auch darauf hingewiesen, es könne sich bei dem Konsular um einen Sohn von A. (Bucius)⁵ Lappius Maximus, *cos. II* im Jahr 95, handeln. Degraasi ist dieser Spur gefolgt⁶ und auch R. Syme hat diese Möglichkeit aufgegriffen, gleichzeitig freilich auch auf T. Iulius Maximus Manlianus, *cos. suff.* 112, verwiesen,⁷ eine Identifikation, die sich allerdings nur mit der Nachricht bei Cassius Dio, nicht mit dem Namen bei Fronto vereinbaren lässt. Bei Fronto ist allerdings nur Appius überliefert, nicht Lappius. Das ist noch kein Grund, die Nachricht bei Fronto zu übergehen. Appius kann durchaus ein im Laufe der Überlieferung entstandener Fehler für Lappius sein. Denn der Name Appius war geläufig, im Unterschied zu dem Gentile Lappius, das bei dem Konsul von 86 erst durch die epigraphische Überlieferung gesichert wurde. Bezeichnenderweise

und Präzisierungen zu Daten von Konsuln vom 1.-3. Jh. – Teil II, ZPE 224, 2022, 280–290; ders., *Zur Datierung von Suffektkonsuln im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert der Kaiserzeit*, Latomus 2023 (im Druck).

³ Auf die Unsicherheit der Lesung weist R. Syme, JRS 43, 1953, 158 = Roman Papers II 259 hin. In der Ausgabe von van den Hout wird dies nicht vermerkt.

⁴ Dazu U. Hartmann, Th. Gerhardt, *Ab Arsace caesus est. Ein parthischer Feldherr aus der Zeit Trajans und Hadrians*, Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft 3, 2000, 125–142, zu Appius Santra 127 ff.

⁵ RMD I 4 und andere Diplome.

⁶ Degraasi (Anm. 1) 112.

⁷ R. Syme, JRS 43, 1953, 158 = Roman Papers I, Oxford 1979, 249.

steht der Name des Vaters Lappius Maximus in der Manuskriptüberlieferung zu Plinius ep. 10, 58, 6 als Prokonsul von Pontus-Bithynia in der Form *L. Appium*.⁸

Wenn der Maximus bei Cassius Dio ein Sohn des domitianischen *consul II* sein sollte, und wenn auf ihn der Hinweis auf den konsularen Rang bei Fronto auf ihn zutrifft, dann muss man fragen, wann er zum republikanischen Oberamt gekommen sein könnte. Sicher ist nur, dass er es in der traianischen Regierungszeit erhalten haben muss.⁹ Lappius Maximus, der Vater, war *cos. suff.* 86 und ein knappes Jahrzehnt später *cos. II*, im Jahr 95. Der Sohn eines Suffektkonsuls im Jahr 86 kann rund 20 bis 25 Jahre vorher geboren sein; dann hätte er zwischen ca. 100 und 106 das Alter für den Konsulat erreicht.¹⁰ Unter Traian sind von 109–116 alle Suffektkonsuln bekannt, nicht jedoch in den Jahren zwischen etwa 100 und 108. Freilich sind das insgesamt nicht sehr viele freie Stellen und für diese relativ wenigen gibt es eine Reihe sicherer Anwärter. Berücksichtigt man all das, dann sind nur sehr wenige Plätze überhaupt noch für einen Lappius Maximus frei. Angesichts dieses Engpasses gewinnt der Vorschlag von R. Syme, den dionischen Maximus mit T. Iulius Maximus Manlianus, *cos. suff.* 112, zu identifizieren, durchaus eine gewisse Attraktivität. Doch ein Argument, um zwischen beiden Möglichkeiten zu entscheiden, fehlt bisher.

Schließlich könnte man noch eine dritte Möglichkeit erwägen, wann der dionische Maximus konsularen Rang erreicht haben könnte. Dio berichtet nicht nur von einem Maximus, sondern auch von (Lusius) Quietus; beide habe Traian mit dem Kampf gegen die Aufständischen in Mesopotamien beauftragt. Lusius Quietus fungierte später als konsularer Legat von Iudaea; sein Konsulat kann nicht früher als ins Jahr 117 datiert werden.¹¹ In der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahres fehlen noch die Namen der ersten beiden *suffecti*. So scheint es zumindest theoretisch möglich, dass auch der Maximus bei Dio, wenn er mit dem Lappius Santra bei Fronto eine Person ist, eben erst in dieser Zeit zum Konsulat kam;¹² dann wäre er kurz darauf in der Schlacht umgekommen. Dass die Kämpfe sich ins Jahr 117 erstreckten, ist anzunehmen.

2. Appius Annius Gallus, *consul suffectus* Mai-Juni 139?

Im *s.c. de postulatione Cyzicenorum* wird ein Appius Annius Gallus als *consul designatus* bezeichnet (CIL III 7060 = ILS 7190).¹³ Der Beschluss selbst erging noch im Verlauf der zweiten Hälfte des Jahr 138, nach dem Tod Hadrians (10. Juli 138). In diesem Zeitraum sind die *consules suffecti* von Oktober bis Dezember bekannt,¹⁴ nicht jedoch die,

⁸ Siehe die Oxfordausgabe von R. A. B. Mynors p. 319. Auch in der Epitome de Caesaribus 11, 10 wird der Name in der Überlieferung teilweise als Appius, teilweise als Lappius angegeben.

⁹ K. Strobel, *Kaiser Traian*, Regensburg 2019, 39. 445. 452 f. geht ohne Zweifel von diesem Namen aus, ebenso M. P. J. van den Hout, *A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto*, Leiden 1999, 483.

¹⁰ Wobei natürlich grundsätzlich auch mit der Geburt in etwas höheren Alter des Vaters gerechnet werden muss.

¹¹ PIR² L 439.

¹² Siehe die Bemerkung zur Geburt in Anm. 9: Lappius Maximus, der Sohn könnte dann auch erst in den 80er Jahren geboren sein.

¹³ Zu den Konsuln der Jahre 138/139 siehe insgesamt G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, Bonn 1977, 137 ff.

¹⁴ RMD V 385: 10. Oct.; CIL VIII 11451 = 23246: 15. Okt.; AE 2009, 995: 14. Nov.-1. Dez.; CIL VI 40528: 13. Dez.

die von Juli bis September amtierten. Allerdings sollte ein anderes Paar, von dem nur das Cognomen Priscus des *consul posterior* erhalten ist, noch in dieses Jahr gehören, obwohl das Jahr 139 für ihn nicht ausgeschlossen ist.¹⁵ Theoretisch könnte Appius Annius Gallus dessen Kollege gewesen sein. Doch ist es mehr als unwahrscheinlich, dass Annius Gallus als Patrizier¹⁶ im Jahr 138 erst nach dem Suffektpaar Vindius Verus und Pactumeius Clemens, die beide nicht-patrizischen Ranges waren, seinen Konsulat erhalten hat.

Weit wahrscheinlicher ist es, dass er wegen der höheren Stellung seiner Familie innerhalb des *ordo* das Amt im Mai/Juni 139 erhielt, als Antoninus Pius und C. Bruttius Praesens einen zweiten Konsulat bekleideten. Man darf kaum davon ausgehen, dass Antoninus Pius, wie bisher angenommen, bereits am 13. Januar 139 von seinem Konsulat zurückgetreten ist, auch wenn nicht wenige Kaiser im Verlaufe ihrer Zeit einen iterierten Konsulat oft schon so früh im Jahr beendet haben. Es liegt weit näher anzunehmen, dass Pius, da er zum ersten Mal als Kaiser den Konsulat übernahm, länger im Amt blieb, um zu zeigen, wie gewichtig das republikanische Oberamt für ihn auch in seiner neuen Stellung war. Zu vergleichen ist etwa Nerva im Jahr 97, der als *consul III* wohl zwei Monate im Amt blieb, oder Traian, der im Jahr 98 sogar sechs Monate als Konsul amtierte. Im Jahr 100 führte er, nach der Rückkehr aus den Provinzen, die *fascies* ebenfalls mindestens bis Ende Februar.

Für eine längere Dauer des Konsulats des Pius im Jahr 139 spricht aber vor allem das Argument, das sich aus IGR IV 1397 ergibt. Denn dort heißt es: *act(um) VI Idus April(es) Romae Caes(are) Antonino II et Praesente II co(n)s(ulibus)*, was dem 8. April entspricht. Diese Datum steht am Ende eines Schreibens aus der kaiserlichen Kanzlei; in solchen Dokumenten aber darf man in dieser Zeit durchaus noch davon ausgehen, dass, wie in den kaiserlichen Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen, die jeweils amtierenden Konsuln angegeben werden und nicht einfach die *ordinarii*, die das Jahr eröffneten und dann für das gesamte Jahr namengebend werden konnten. Wenn der Befund in diesem Schreiben ernst genommen wird, dann endete der zweite Konsulat des Kaisers erst nach dem 8. April, also wohl am Ende dieses Monats. Damit aber würde der Patrizier Appius Annius Gallus auf Konsuln folgen, die im Rang höher standen als er, nicht wie die *suffecti* Vindius Verus und Pactumeius Clemens im Jahr davor. Gallus, dessen Konsulatskollege noch unbekannt ist, hätte dann für zwei Monate die *fascies* geführt, bevor am 1. Juli Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus und Claudius Proculus, die am 18. Juli und 22. August 139 bezeugt sind,¹⁷ ebenfalls für zwei Monate im Amt waren wie auch die beiden anderen Paare, die ihnen folgten. Die recht kurze Amtszeit dieser *suffecti* von nur zwei Monaten ist eine typische Erscheinung zu Beginn der Herrschaft eines neuen Kaisers, da so neben den Senatoren, die wegen ihrer Laufbahn in diesen Jahren einen Konsulat erwarten konnten, auch noch besonders eng mit dem neuen Herrscher verbundene Mitglieder des Senats in die senatorische Elitegruppe aufgenommen werden konnten.

So sollte die Abfolge der Konsuln in diesem Jahr so lauten:

¹⁵ AE 2006, 1260; dazu W. Eck, ZPE 223, 2022, 214 f.

¹⁶ Siehe W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin 1896, 619: nur Quästur und Prätur vor dem Konsulat genannt, nicht aber eine Funktion als *tribunus plebis* oder *aedilis*.

¹⁷ CIL XVI 175, 176; AE 2010, 1262: 18. Juli; AE 2007, 1786: 22. August.

139	Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius II	C. Bruttius Praesens Fulvius Rusticus II (<i>RMD I</i> 38: 13. Feb.; <i>IGR IV</i> 1397: 8. April)
(k. Mai.?)	Appius Annius Gallus?	---?
(k. Iul.?)	L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus	L. Claudius Proculus ¹⁸ (<i>CIL XVI</i> 175, 176; <i>AE</i> 2010, 1262: 18. Juli; <i>AE</i> 2007, 1786: 22. Aug.)
(k. Sept.?)	[---]	[C. Iulius] Scapula (<i>RMD IV</i> 261; <i>V</i> 386: 30. Okt.; <i>identisch mit C. Iulius Scapula in IGR</i> <i>III</i> 151 = <i>Mitchell-French, Ankara I</i> 37–40)
(k. Nov.?)	M. Ceccius Iustinus	C. Iulius Bassus (<i>CIL XVI</i> 87: 22. Nov.)

3. Ein Diplomfragment mit Konsuln aus dem August/September 144 n.Chr.

Von einem kleinen Fragment der tabella II eines Diploms, das in Pfatter in der Provinz Rätien gefunden wurde, konnte Bernd Steidl unter sorgfältiger Abwägung aller Möglichkeiten folgenden Text publizieren:¹⁹

Innenseite:

[---] Sept[embres]

[--- L]icin[iano(?) co(n)s(ulibus)]

Außenseite;

[---]

[C(ai) Iuli] Sily[ani]

Auf der Außenseite der tabella ist der untere Rand erhalten. Da der Rest des Zeugnennamens unmittelbar über dem unteren Rand steht, nimmt der dortige Zeuge im damals siegelnden Kollegium den letzten Platz ein. Sily[---] muss Teil eines Cognomens sein, weil die Textpartie im rechten Teil der Außenseite steht. Da es außer einem Silvinus im Jahr 74 nur noch einen Silvanus unter den Zeugen für Auxiliardiplome gibt, der mit vollem Namen C. Iulius Silvanus heißt und von 134 bis 154 bezeugt ist,²⁰ ist hier zweifellos dieser Name zu ergänzen. Dieser Zeuge erscheint innerhalb des ab 138 in einer fixierten Ordnung angeführten Kollegiums eben ab diesem Jahr an letzter Stelle und zwar bis zum Jahr 146, danach rückt er in der Hierarchie vor, was zum ersten Mal zum Jahr 148 bezeugt ist.²¹ Somit lässt sich das Fragment in den Zeitraum zwischen 138 und 146/148 datieren. Auf der Innenseite der tabella II ist ein Teil des Datums erhalten: Sept[embres/embribus], was auf den Zeitraum zwischen dem 14. August und dem 13. September verweist. Damit muss der Konsul, von dessen Namen [---]icin[---] erhalten ist, im August/September zwischen 138 und 146/148 amtiert haben. Der Namensrest kann nicht zu einem Gentile, sondern nur zu einem Cognomen gehören, da seit späthadrianischer Zeit nur noch die Cognomina der Konsuln, nicht mehr ihre vollen Namen angeführt werden, die aber weiterhin auf der

¹⁸ Zur möglichen Identifizierung mit L. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus siehe Alföldy, Konsulat (Anm. 13) 138f.

¹⁹ B. Steidl, *Militärdiplome aus dem neuen raetischen Donaukastell von Pfatter*, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 70, 2005, 133–152, hier 145–149; *AE* 2005, 1151.

²⁰ *RMD V* 946, 947, 948

²¹ Steidl (Anm. 19) 146.

Außenseite von tabella I zu lesen waren.²² Da ferner das Fragment aus der rechten Hälfte der tabella stammt, gehört das Cognomen dem an zweiter Stelle genannten Konsul. In der weit überwiegenden Zahl aller Konsulatsangaben werden die Konsuln in der offiziellen Abfolge, in der sie nach der Wahl verkündet worden waren, angeführt; deshalb darf man davon ausgehen, dass beim Zitieren dieses Paares [---]icin[---] üblicherweise zum Cognomen des consul posterior gehört hat, also auch in diesem Beispiel.

Die folgende Liste zeigt, in welchen Jahren zwischen 138 und 147 die *suffecti* im August/September bekannt sind:

138:

1. Juli-30. Sept. ²³	[---]	[---]us Priscus?
---------------------------------	-------	------------------

139:

1. Juli-31. Aug.	L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus	L. Claudius Proculus ²⁴ (<i>CIL XVI 17</i> ,. 176 = <i>AE 2018, 1957; AE 2010, 1262</i> : 18. Juli; <i>AE 2007, 1786</i> : 22. Aug.)
1. Sept.-31. Okt.	[---]	[C. Iulius] Scapula (<i>RMD IV 261; V 386</i> : 30. Okt.; <i>identisch mit C. Iulius Scapula in IGR III 151 = Mitchell-French, Ankara I 37–40</i>)

140:

1. Juli-31. Aug.?	[---]	Iulius Crassipes (<i>RMD I 58 = RMD II 95 u. IV p. 383</i> : a. d. V[---]) ²⁵
1. Sept.-31. Okt.?	---	---

141:

1. Juli-31. Aug.	---	---
1. Sept.-31. Okt.	[---]	T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Statianus Memmius Macrinus (<i>RMD V 391</i>)

142:

1. Juli- 31. Aug.	M. Cornelius Fronto	C. (L. <i>RMD IV 264</i>) Etrilius Regillus Laberius Priscus (<i>RMD IV 264; V 392</i> : 1. Aug. cf. 394)
1. Sept.-31. Okt.	L. Tusidius Campester	Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus (<i>RMD II 106</i> , cf. <i>RMD V p. 702; V 395; AE 2014, 1621, 1640</i> : 6. Okt.; cf. <i>RMD V 396; AE 2018, 1983; CIL III 12546 = ZPE 217, 2021, 192</i>)

143:

1. Juli-30. Sept.?	Q. Iunius Calamus	M. Valerius Iunianus (<i>RMD IV 266</i> : 7. Aug.)
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144:

1. Juli-30. Sept.?	[--]tus ²⁶	Q. Laberius Licinianus (<i>RMD V 397; AE 2004, 1065</i> : 7. Sept.; <i>identisch mit [L]icin[--]?</i> , <i>AE 2005, 1151</i> : Aug./Sept.)
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²² Zusammenstellung der Zeugnisse bei W. Eck, *Die Veränderungen in Konstitutionen und Diplomen unter Antoninus Pius*, in: *Militär diplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004*, hg. M. A. Speidel, H. Lieb, Stuttgart 2007, 87–104, hier 102–104.

²³ Siehe W. Eck, *ZPE 223, 2022*, 214–215.

²⁴ Zur möglichen Identifizierung mit L. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus cf. Alföldy (Anm. 13) 138f.

²⁵ Unsicher ob Juli/August oder September/Okttober im Amt: P. Weiß, *Chiron 36, 2006*, 357 ff.

²⁶ Siehe dazu unten.

145:

(k. Iul.?)	Q. Mustius Priscus	M. Pontius Laelianus (<i>CIL VI 24162</i> : 3. Aug.; <i>pr. non. Aug.</i> = 4. Aug.)
(k. Sept?)	L. Petronius Sabinus	C. Vicrius Rufus (<i>CIL XVI 91</i> : 14. Sept./15. Okt.; <i>RMD I 44</i> ; <i>AE 2008, 1111</i> = <i>ZPE 211, 2019, 237 ff.</i> = <i>AE 2019, 1222</i> : 26. Okt.; <i>cf. AE 2005, 1719</i>)

146:

(k. Iul.?)	Cn. (L.: <i>CIL X 6587</i>) Terentius Homullus Iunior	L. Aurelius Gallus (<i>RMD V 401</i> ; <i>AE 2004, 1906</i> ; <i>CIL XVI 178</i> ; <i>RMD IV 269</i> = <i>AE 2001, 2155</i> ; <i>AE 2011, 1791</i> : 19. Juli; <i>RMD V 401</i> : 11. Aug.)
(k. Sept?)	Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus	C. Annianus Verus (<i>AE 2015, 1888, 1889</i> : 11. Okt.)

147:

(k. Iul.?)	[–] Cupressenus Gallus	Q. Cornelius Quadratus (<i>AE 2012, 1183</i>)
(k. Oct.?)	Sex. Cocceius Severianus Honorinus	Ti. Licinius Cassius Cassianus (<i>AE 2016, 2023</i>)

Nicht in allen Jahren sind alle *suffecti* bekannt, die zwischen Mitte August und Mitte September die fasces geführt haben, doch nur in den Jahren 140 und 141 könnte theoretisch ein *suffectus* mit dem Namenselement [---]icin[---] als consul posterior noch Platz finden, was aber in den Jahren 138, 139, 142 bis 147 ausgeschlossen ist, da in diesen Jahren die Konsuln im August und September alle bekannt sind. Doch gerade im Jahr 144 ist durch *RMD V 397* ein Konsul mit einem Cognomen bezeugt, mit dem der Namensrest [---]icin[---] im Diplomfragment aus Pfatter verbunden werden kann: ein Q. Laberius Licinianus, der am 7. September bezeugt ist, und zwar als consul posterior:

RMD V 397: a(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Sep[t(embres) / ---,] Q(uinto) Laber(io) Licinian[o co(n)s(ulibus)]

Dasselbe Konsuln paar dürfte auch in einem weiteren Diplom genannt sein, *AE 2004, 1065*, das beim Kastell Künzing gefunden wurde, also ebenso wie *AE 2005, 1151* in der Provinz Rätien. In diesem Fragment ist vom Konsulatsdatum Folgendes zu lesen:

a(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Sep(tembres) / [---]to / [---]iano co(n)s(ulibus).

Das Ausstellungsdatum ist wie in dem vorausgehenden Beispiel der 7. September. In allen mehr als 1300 Diplomen, die bisher bekannt geworden sind, findet sich dieses Tages/Monatsdatum nur in diesem Fragment und in *RMD V 397*. Da auch das Ende des Cognomens [---]iano mit *Licinian[o]* in *RMD V 397* übereinstimmt, kann es kaum einen Zweifel geben, dass beide Diplome durch dasselbe Konsuln paar datiert werden. Damit ist das Datum in *AE 2004, 1065* so zu ergänzen:

a(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Sep(tembres) / [---]to / [Q(uinto) Laberio Licin]iano co(n)s(ulibus). Umgekehrt ist in *AE 2005, 1151* vom Cognomen des consul prior die Endung [---]to einzusetzen.

Angesichts der gegebenen Zeugnisdichte für die Konsuln in den frühen Jahren des Antoninus Pius spricht sodann aber auch alles dafür, dass der Senator [---]icin[---] in dem

Diplomfragment aus Pfatter mit dem Q. Laberius Licinianus identisch ist und auch hier die Datumzeile in dieser Weise ergänzt werden darf.

Mit der genauen Datierung kann in dem Diplomtext von AE 2004, 1065 und AE 2005, 1151 zum einen die Titulatur, die Antoninus Pius im Jahr 144 geführt hat, ergänzt werden, ebenso aber auch der Name der Provinz. Beide Diplome, deren jeweilige Konstitution am selben Tag in Rom publiziert wurden, stammen aus Grabungen an Kastellstandorten, in diesem Fall in Rätien. Diplome, die an solchen Standorten gefunden wurden, waren größtenteils für Soldaten ebendieser Provinzen bestimmt, die sich als Veteranen am ehemaligen Standort niedergelassen hatten. Das gilt besonders für Rätien; denn mehr als in den meisten anderen Provinzen stammten die Soldaten eben aus dieser Provinz selbst, nicht aus anderen Regionen des Reichs. Dies ist auch bei dem Soldaten, für den AE 2004, 1065 ausgestellt worden war, der Fall. Als seine origo wird im Diplom der Stamm der Runicates angegeben, die zu den Stämmen Rätiens gehörten, nicht anders als die Helvetii, auf die die origo der Frau verweist: *H^reh^hvet(ia)*. Beides spricht zusätzlich dafür, dass der Veteran eben aus der Provinz stammte und nach der Entlassung auch dort geblieben ist.

Zu überlegen ist noch, ob der Konsulatskollege des Laberius Licinianus, von dessen Name nur [---]tus erhalten ist, vielleicht identifiziert werden kann. Dieser Senator sollte in den Jahren unmittelbar vor 144 ein Amt bekleidet haben, das ihn normalerweise zum Konsulat qualifizierte: also Legat in einer prätorischen kaiserlichen Provinz, Prokonsul in einer prätorischen Senatsprovinz oder vielleicht Präfekt in einer der stadtrömischen Präfecturen. Oder er könnte vielleicht unter denen sich finden, die bald nach 144 ein konsulares Amt übernommen haben, deren Konsulat aber bisher unbekannt war. Doch unter all diesen Amtsträgern der Zeit des Pius zwischen ca. 138 und 144 oder bald nach 144 findet sich unter den Personen, die bei Alföldy gesammelt sind, nur ein einziger, dessen Cognomen entsprechend endet: ein Pacatus, von dem aber nur bekannt ist, dass er unter Pius prätorischer Statthalter der Lugudunensis gewesen ist.²⁷ Es ist durchaus möglich, dass er der unbekannte Kollege des Licinianus gewesen ist. Allerdings ist von ihm nicht einmal bekannt, ob er jemals zum Konsulat zugelassen wurde. Angesichts so vieler Unsicherheiten, die hier vorliegen, sollte man seinen Namen eher nicht in die beiden Diplome einsetzen.

Treffen diese Überlegungen zu, dann lassen sich die beiden Fragmente in der folgenden Form rekonstruieren:

AE 2004, 1065:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadrian(i) f(ilius), divi Traian(i) Parth(ici) nepos, divi Nervae pronepos T(itus) Ael(ius) Hadr(ianus) Antonin(us) Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) /

equ(itibus) et ped(itibus), qui mil(itaverunt) in --- et sunt in Raetia sub --- civitatem Romanam, qui eorum non haber(ent) dedit et c]onu[bium / cum uxorib(us), quas tunc habuis]s(ent), cum / [est civit(as) iis data, aut cum iis, q]uas post(ea) / [duxiss(ent), dumtaxat singulis].

A(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Sep(tembres) / [--]to / [Q(uinto) Laberio Licin]iano co(n)s(ulibus) / [---, c]ui prae(e)st / [--- G]alba / [---] / [---] Runic(ati) / [---fil(iae) ux(ori) ei]us H^reh^hvet(iae). /

²⁷ PIR² P 8.

[Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex ta]bul(a) aenea, / [quae fixa est Romae in] m[uro post] / [templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Mine]rvam.

Der Text von AE 2005, 1151 lautet entsprechend:

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadrian(i) f(ilius), divi Traian(i) Parth(ici) nepos, divi Nervae pronepos T(itus) Ael(ius) Hadr(ianus) Antonin(us) Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) / equ(itibus) et ped(itibus), qui mil(itaverunt) in --- et sunt in Raetia sub ---. A(nte) d(iem) VII id(us)] Sept[embres / ---to et L]icin[iano co(n)s(ulibus)].

Außenseite:

[P(ubli) Atti Severi; / L(uci) Pulli Daphni; / M(arci) Servili Getae; / L(uci) Pulli Chresimi; / M(arci) Sentili Iasi; / Ti(beri) Iuli Felicis; / C(ai) Iuli Silv[ani].

Auf den Konsul Laberius Licinianus ist in der Literatur zum Teil auch ein fragmentarischer cursus honorum aus Praeneste bezogen worden,²⁸ dessen Text in der etwas korrigierten Version in EDR110532 (= CIL XIV 2927) in Kapitälchen so lautet:

[L]ICINIANO CONSVL[I ---]
[TRIB MIL LEG --- VICT]R Q`VAE`S[T]ORI PROVINC[IAE ---]
[TRIB PLEB PRAET LEG IMP A]NTONINI AVG PII P P LE[GIONIS ---]
[LEG AVG PR PR] PROVINCIAE AQV[ITANICAE ---]
[---]T VIGI[---]

In der Laufbahn des Senators, der jedenfalls zum Konsulat gekommen ist, gibt allein das Legionskommando einen datierenden Hinweis, da er dieses Amt von Antoninus Pius erhielt. Danach übernahm er die prätorische Statthalterschaft der Provinz Aquitania. Nach diesem Amt folgte, wie es bei den meisten prätorischen kaiserlichen Statthalterschaften üblich war, meist direkt oder sehr kurz danach der Konsulat. Wenn man also das Legionskommando in die Jahre frühestens zwischen ca. 138 und 140 und danach von ca. 141–143/144 das Amt in der aquitanischen Provinz setzen würde, dann wäre damit ein Konsulat im August/September durchaus vereinbar. Dann könnte dieser Senator mit dem Q. Laberius Licinianus identisch sein. Für die Gleichsetzung des Konsuls von CIL XIV 2927 spricht darüber hinaus die Beobachtung, dass wir im 2. Jh. sonst keine Senatoren bezeugt haben, die dieses Cognomen Licinianus tragen und auch als Konsuln bekannt sind.

4. Zur Abfolge der Konsuln im Jahr 179.

Im Jahr 179 amtierten Commodus und M. Martius Verus als ordentliche Konsuln, beide führten die *fasces* zum zweiten Mal, was häufig dazu führte, dass die Inhaber das Amt relativ bald wieder abgaben, so dass früh im Jahr *suffecti* an ihre Stelle traten.²⁹ Dass

²⁸ Alföldy (Anm. 13) 193; bei Degraßi (Anm. 1) 128 war er als Licinianus unter den *consoli di età meno certa* eingereiht.

²⁹ Hier gilt also nicht die Beobachtung, die oben für das Jahr 139 angeführt wurde, als Pius seinen ersten Konsulat als Augustus angetreten hat.

dies auch 179 so geschehen ist, scheint ein Diplom für das Heer in Ägypten zu zeigen, deren Konstitution am 23. März in Rom publiziert wurde,³⁰ als T. Flavius Claudianus und L. Aemilius Iuncus die *fasces* führten. T. Flavius Claudianus ist nicht weiter bekannt, Aemilius Iuncus stammte dagegen aus einer senatorischen Familie, die schon in dritter Generation konsularen Rang erreicht hatte. Ob ihr Konsulat noch im Februar oder erst im März begann, lässt sich allein aus dem bezeugten Datum des 23. März nicht entscheiden. Diese Frage hat aber anscheinend ein weiteres Diplom geklärt. Denn ein Bürgerrechtserlass für die Truppen von Dacia superior trägt das Datum: *Kal(endis) Aprilibus [M(anio)] Acilio Faustino, L(ucio) Iulio Proculiano co(n)s(ulibus)*,³¹ was dem 1. April entspricht. Das aber führt zu der fast sicheren Schlussfolgerung, dass die beiden *ordinarii* wohl spätestens Ende Januar vom Amt zurückgetreten sein müssen, damit die Amtszeit der beiden *suffecti* Claudianus und Iuncus zumindest zwei Monate dauern konnte. Möglich ist das wohl. Wie lange sodann Acilius Faustinus und Iulius Proculianus als Konsuln agieren konnten, bleibt unklar, ebenso, ob die relativ kurze Amtszeit der ersten *suffecti* sich auf die Länge der anderen Suffektkonsulate ausgewirkt hat.

Was allerdings in der Abfolge dieser beiden Paare stört, ist der Rang des M. Acilius Faustinus, der von Piso und Benea klar beschrieben wurde. Er war nicht nur konsularer Herkunft, sondern gehörte auch zu der patrizischen Familie der Acilii Glabrones; sein älterer Bruder M. Acilius Glabrio erhielt zwar auch nur einen Suffektkonsulat, allerdings aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wohl im Jahr 173, als zwei *ordinarii* den Konsulat zum zweiten Mal bekleideten.³² Ihnen gegenüber zurückzustehen und nur *consul suffectus* zu werden, war manchmal nötig, wenn man andererseits *suo anno* zum Konsulat kommen wollte. Die Gesamtsituation aber war im Jahr 179 doch deutlich anders. Zwar führten die beiden *ordinarii* ebenfalls zum zweiten Mal die *fasces*, zudem war Commodus einer der beiden *ordinarii*. Aber M. Acilius Faustinus folgte mit seinem Kollegen, wenn die oben gegebene Interpretation zutrifft, eben nicht auf die beiden *ordinarii*, sondern auf zwei *suffecti*, deren Familien im Sozialprestige deutlich hinter den Acilii rangierten. Das ist zumindest überraschend und führt zu der Überlegung, ob die beiden Dokumente, die diese Konstellation geschaffen haben, in jeder Hinsicht richtig verstanden werden können. Denn hinzukommt, dass mit dieser Abfolge vom ersten zum zweiten Suffektpaar auch die Struktur der folgenden Konsulnpaare nicht so leicht vorstellbar ist. Wie lange blieben Acilius Faustinus und Iulius Proculianus im Amt? Man würde erwarten bis Ende Juni. Dann wären sie aber länger Konsuln gewesen, als die beiden vorausgehenden. Oder waren die *ordinarii* schon so frühzeitig aus dem Amt geschieden, dass die ersten *suffecti* bereits an den Iden des Januar das Amt übernahmen? Dies scheint die wahrscheinlichste Lösung zumindest für die Dauer der Konsulate in diesem Jahr zu sein. Denn dann könnte man in der zweiten Jahreshälfte mit zwei weiteren Paaren rechnen, die wie Faustinus und Proculianus drei Monate Konsuln waren. Die Frage, wie man die Abfolge mit dem familialen Prestige der beteiligten Konsuln in Einklang verstehen kann, bleibt damit aber weiter offen.

5. C. Gavidius Fortis, kein Mitglied des Senats, sondern *decurio* in Praeneste.

³⁰ C. Römer, *Diplom für einen Fußsoldaten aus Koptos vom 23. März 179*, ZPE 82, 1990, 137 = RMD III 185.

³¹ I. Piso, D. Benea, *Das Militärdiplom von Drobeta*, ZPE 56, 1984, 263–295 = RMD II 123.

³² Siehe Alföldy, *Konsulat* (Anm. 13) 187.

Attilio Degrassi hat unter den *consoli di età meno certa* auch einen C. Gavidius Fortis aufgeführt,³³ der in einer Inschrift auf einem Sarkophag aus Praeneste mit diesem Amt genannt sein soll. Der Text lautet so:

	CIL XIV 2923 <i>Diis Manibus</i> <i>C(aio) Gavidio</i> <i>Forti</i> <i>cons[---]</i> <i>Q[---]</i> <i>[---] et</i> <i>m[uneri]bus</i> <i>senatoriis</i> <i>perfuncto</i> <i>patri dulcissimo</i> <i>[---]i[---]nus filius</i> <i>mon[---]</i>
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Im Eintrag der EDR166619 von C. Ricci (14-09-2019) findet man den Text in derselben Form; ergänzt wird nur am Ende *mon[umentum?]*.

In der PIR, die alle Senatoren einschließt, hat diese Person allerdings keinen Eintrag gefunden.³⁴ Offensichtlich haben Artur Stein und Leiva Petersen, die in Band IV den Buchstaben G betreut haben, die Person nicht als konsularen Senator angesehen, da er andernfalls in dem Band hätte erscheinen müssen. Dass er zufällig nur vergessen worden wäre, kann man ausschließen. Das wird dadurch bestärkt, dass schon in Band III der sonst obligatorische Verweis auf das Cognomen Fortis fehlt. Das zeigt, dass auch Groag, der für die Senatoren in diesem Band zuständig war, zu dem Urteil gekommen war, Gavidius Fortis sei kein Mitglied des Senatorenstandes gewesen. Auffällig ist auch, dass es keinen einzigen Beleg gibt, in dem ein Mitglied des *ordo senatorius* das Cognomen Fortis trägt. Und auch das Gentilnomen Gavidius findet sich nur einmal bei einem männlichen Angehörigen des Standes, bei einem P. Tebanus Gavidius Latiaris, in neronischer Zeit; sein Hauptgentile lautet allerdings Tebanus.³⁵

Natürlich liegt es zunächst einmal nahe, die Buchstabenfolge CONS nach einem dreiteiligen Namen mit dem Begriff *consul/consularis* zu verbinden. Doch kein Senator der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit hat jemals von sich gesagt oder in einer öffentlichen Inschrift von sich behaupten lassen, er habe *m[uneri]bus senatoriis perfunctus*.³⁶ Entweder wird der *cursus honorum* angeführt, oder allein der Konsulat; denn dieses Amt genügt jedem Leser

³³ A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero Romano*, Rom 1952, 125.

³⁴ Zum Nicht-Erscheinen des Senators in der PIR siehe auch M. G. Granino Cecere, *Gli ordini senatorio ed equestre*, in: *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 90, 2017/18, 351–377, hier 352 Anm. 190 “--- dall'iscrizione, letta già in condizioni di estrema frammentarietà ---, sembra si possa desumere che egli abbia rivestito più funzioni senatorie, forse anche il consolato. Ma del personaggio non è fatta menzione nella PIR, né dalla Andermahr nel suo lavoro sulle proprietà senatorie.”

³⁵ PIR² T 49.

³⁶ Nur in Inschriften spätantiker Angehöriger des Senats findet sich der Ausdruck *perfunctus*, wie etwa in CIL VI 1725 = D 1284; CIL VI 1725 = D 1284; IALg I 2162 = 4011.

zu erkennen, dass der in der Inschrift Genannte die dem Konsulat vorausgehenden Ämter des republikanischen cursus in der einen oder anderen Weise vorher übernommen hatte, falls er nicht durch adlectio erst nach diesen Eingangsamtern in den Senat aufgenommen worden war. Deshalb war es völlig überflüssig noch durch eine *perfunctus*-Formel darauf verweisen, man habe seine frühen senatorischen Verpflichtungen erfüllt.

Diese *perfunctus*-Formel aber ist eine typische Aussage in den Inschriften von Munizipalmagistraten. So heißt es von einem Bürger aus Misenum, der in Rom bestattet wurde:

*M(arco) Antonio M(arci) filio Claudia Terenti oriundo civitate Miseni, omnibus muneribus et honoribus patriae suae perfuncto ...*³⁷

In Fabrateria Vetus wird von einem Flavius Proculianus festgestellt:

*quinq(uennalicio) viro m(unicipii) F(abrateriae) v(eteris), cur(atori) kal(endarii) novi cur(atori) Formi(anorum), omnibus muneribus rei p(ublicae) perfuncto ...*³⁸

Die noch weit üblichere Formel *honribus/muneribus functus* hat dieselbe Bedeutung. Alle diese festgefügtten Aussagen verweisen sehr deutlich auf Personen, die in den munizipalen Kontext gehören.³⁹

Freilich wird in der praenestischen Inschrift von *m[uneri]bus senatoriis perfunctus* gesprochen. Das könnte natürlich auf den stadtrömischen Senat verweisen, was Deglassi wohl auch angenommen hatte. Bedenkt man aber, dass die Inschrift aus Praeneste kommt, dann überrascht die Wortwahl keineswegs. Denn der Stadtrat von Praeneste nannte seit den Zeiten der Republik seine Beschlüsse gerne *s(enatus) c(onsulta)* oder *s(enatus) s(ententiae)*.⁴⁰ Und das setzte sich auch in der Kaiserzeit fort. So wird in einem Text aus Praeneste etwa in hadrianischer Zeit von einem M(arcus) Scurreius Fontinalis gesagt, er sei *sacerdos Fortunae Primig(eniae) lectus ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)*, natürlich nicht durch den stadtrömischen Senat, sondern den Senat von Praeneste.⁴¹ Gleiches findet sich in einem weiteren Text dieser Stadt.⁴² Schließlich wird bei einem M. Cominius Bassus in frühtrüberischer Zeit daraufhingewiesen, er sei *quinquennalis ordine ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)*.⁴³

Onomastik wie auch das gesamte Formular der Inschrift sprechen somit sehr eindeutig gegen eine Zugehörigkeit des verstorbenen Gavidius Fortis zum *ordo senatorius*. Was aber könnte dann CONS am Anfang von Zeile 4 bedeuten? Eindeutig beantworten lässt sich das nicht, weil die Zeilen 4–6 fast vollständig verloren sind. Eine, nicht sehr fern liegende Annahme ist jedoch, der Verstorbene habe nicht nur ein, sondern zwei Cognomina getragen. Das war auch in Praeneste nicht unüblich wie verschiedene Beispiele zeigen. Angeführt sei z.B. das Ende einer Statuenweihe für Traian:⁴⁴

³⁷ CIL VI 33887 = D 7481.

³⁸ CIL X 5654.

³⁹ Das gilt auch für die einzige mir bekannte Inschrift, in der von einem *vir clarissimus* gesagt wird: *omnibus honoribus functus*: CIL VIII 5356 = 17494 = ILAlg I 283. Der Text stammt aber erst aus der Zeit ab Diocletian (!).

⁴⁰ CIL XIV 2990, 3000, 3002, 3026.

⁴¹ CIL XIV 3003 = D 6255.

⁴² EDR164206. Siehe M.G. Granino Cecere, *Manifestazioni peculiari del culto di Fortuna Primigenia nelle iscrizioni prenestine*, in: *Praeneste tra archeologia ed epigrafia*, hg. M. Horster, M. G. Granino Ceccere, Berlin 2021, 275–304, hier 297–299.

⁴³ CIL XIV 2964.

⁴⁴ Eph. Epigr. IX 767.

... *dedicata XIII K(alendas) Oct(obres) / Ti(berio) Claudio Attalo Mamiliano, / T(ito) Sabidio Sabino Ilvir(is).*

Und in einer weiteren Inschrift lautet der Text:⁴⁵

*C(aio) Valerio C(ai) fil(io) Men(enia) / Dolutio Marciano / VVir(o) Aug(ustali),
dec(urioni), / omnibus / honoribus, / curiis, muneribus / functo...*

Bei ihm wird sogar für drei municipale Aufgabenfelder betont, er habe seine Pflichten gegenüber der Gemeinde Praeneste erfüllt.

Um CONS zu ergänzen, könnte man z.B. an Constans denken oder auch an Consus oder Constitutus.⁴⁶ Entscheiden lässt sich das nicht. Sicher ist aber, dass der verstorbene C. Gavidius Fortis nicht dem Senat des *populus Romanus* angehört hat, sondern nur dem Stadtrat des alten Praeneste vor den Toren der Stadt Rom.

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⁴⁵ CIL XIV 2888.

⁴⁶ Siehe H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Berlin 1988 (1994²), 317. Aus Praeneste in CIL XIV 2959: Constans.

A SMALL COIN DEPOSIT FROM THE ROMAN TOWN OF NAPOCA

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Abstract: The coin deposit was discovered in 2021 during a rescue excavation conducted in the basement of a building from the historic centre of Cluj-Napoca, 3 Iuliu Maniu Street. The findspot is located in the southeastern part of the former Roman town of Napoca. The deposit consists of 28 coins – 27 denarii, 1 as – ranking from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius. The archaeological context shows a levelling layer with traces of burning (charcoal spots), most likely connected to the dismantling of two nearby hearths. Since the coins have traces of melting and were found stuck together, they were possibly kept or hidden in the hearths' area.

The deposit value exceeds the everyday payments / transactions, which leads to the conclusion that we deal here with something more valuable than pocket money. Furthermore, based on the purchasing power of 27 denarii during the 2nd century AD, this coin deposit may be interpreted as a small saving or money destined for a specific transaction.

Keywords: coin deposit; rescue excavation; Roman Napoca; burnt coins; value of money.

Rezumat: Depozitul monetar a fost descoperit în anul 2021 în timpul unei săpături de salvare efectuate la subsolul unei clădiri din centrul istoric al oraşului Cluj-Napoca, Strada Iuliu Maniu nr. 3. Locul de descoperire este situat în partea de sud-est a fostului oraş roman *Napoca*. Depozitul este format din 28 de monede (27 de denari şi 1 as), reprezentând emisiuni din vremea împăratului Vespasian şi până în timpul lui Marcus Aurelius. Contextul arheologic al descoperirii îl constituie un strat de nivelare cu urme de arsură (pete de cărbune), cel mai probabil legate de demontarea a două vetre situate în imediata apropiere. Deoarece monedele prezintă urme de topire şi fuseseră sudate între ele în urma oxidării, este posibil ca acestea să fi fost păstrate ori ascunse în zona vetrelor.

Valoarea depozitului depăşeşte plăţile / tranzacţiile zilnice, ceea ce duce la concluzia că avem de-a face cu ceva mai valoros decât banii de buzunar. Mai mult, pe baza puterii de cumpărare a 27 de denari în timpul secolului al II-lea p. Chr., acest depozit de monede poate fi interpretat ca o mică economisire sau bani destinaţi unei tranzacţii anume.

Cuvinte-cheie: depozit monetar; săpătură de salvare; Napoca romană; monede arse; valoarea banilor.

GENERAL CONTEXT

Roman Napoca

Napoca is among the first Roman settlements attested in Dacia, appearing on a milestone dated to AD 108.¹ At that moment, it must have been no more than a *vicus*,

¹ CIL III 1627.

situated along the imperial road from Potaissa to Porolissum.² The name is surely Dacian, but all the evidence points to an entirely new settlement of colonists, which adopted a local toponym.³ The *vicus* had a fairly rapid growth, becoming a *municipium* under Hadrian and *colonia* under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus.⁴ After the provincial reorganisation in the time of Marcus Aurelius, Napoca became the seat of the financial procurator of Dacia Porolissensis.⁵ What sets it apart from most Roman towns in Dacia is that it was a purely civilian settlement which did not develop next to a military base.⁶ Despite numerous stray finds and archaeological excavations over the years (Pl. I/1), many aspects of Napoca remain uncertain, since it has been completely overbuilt by the medieval and modern town (Kolozsvár / Cluj-Napoca).

The research carried out so far (Pl. I/2) has indicated the core of the initial settlement to the north of the later *municipium*, on the southern bank of the Someşul Mic River, close to a supposed bridge.⁷ There, three or four timber phases were noted, followed by stone phases after the middle of the 2nd century.⁸ The exact surface occupied by the town has been more recently estimated to around 22–25 hectares,⁹ based on the few spots where the ramparts were discovered. The eastern limit has not been identified, only inferred from the density of Roman traces.¹⁰ The wall was built either when Napoca became a *municipium*,¹¹ or *colonia*.¹² Supposing the medieval wall exactly followed the northern and western sides of the ancient fortification¹³ generated the reconstruction of a very regular, square shape of the Roman precinct, which does not seem very convincing.¹⁴ The forum appears to have been to the north of the Gothic church of St. Michael, as old reports claim to have come across marble pavements and fragmentary columns.¹⁵ The discovery of street segments and buildings pertaining to an *insula* close to the river confirms the general orientation of the street grid.¹⁶ The headquarters of the financial procurator of Dacia Porolissensis must have been somewhere in the northeast.¹⁷ Some residential areas have also taken shape, but it is believed that many of the notable citizens actually lived in countryside villas, which would explain the relatively small size of the town.¹⁸ The best delineated are the funerary areas, which lie to the south, along the imperial road entering the town.¹⁹ The presumed

² Diaconescu 2004, 117.

³ Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 264; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 68–74, with extensive bibliography.

⁴ *Municipium Aelium Hadrianum Napocensium* (CIL III 14465, 5254); *Colonia Aurelia Napoca* (CIL III 953, 7726).

⁵ Beu-Dachin, Roman, Pupeză 2015, 150–152.

⁶ See Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 80–82.

⁷ Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 265–266; Diaconescu 2004, 117–118.

⁸ Cociş et alii 1995; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 89–91.

⁹ Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 267–268; Diaconescu 2004, 119–120.

¹⁰ Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 268; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 83–85.

¹¹ Ardevan 1998, 63; Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 268.

¹² Diaconescu 2004, 120.

¹³ For a review of the data and a well-argued critique of this assumption, see Lupescu 2018, 103–104.

¹⁴ Ardevan 1998, 62–63.

¹⁵ See Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 269; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 88.

¹⁶ See Cociş et alii 2017a–b.

¹⁷ Beu-Dachin, Roman, Pupeză 2015, 150–152, Pl. I.1.

¹⁸ Diaconescu 2004, 120.

¹⁹ See Ursuţ 1997, 600–604, Fig. 1.

eastern limit of the town is lined by a handful of discoveries that suggest the existence of a production area (see below).²⁰

We must note, however, that the existing plans of Napoca are largely ‘ideal’,²¹ based on informed hypotheses (Pl. II/1), but not what one would expect given the number of archaeological excavations that took place (Pl. I/1). Reports of Roman finds uncovered during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century omitted crucial data, such as descriptions or plans. Rescue excavations in the 1950s–1980s did not produce proper documentation. Those made starting with the 1990s, with improved methodology and quality of documentation, remained mostly unpublished; at best, a brief report is available. The biggest problems for understanding the topography of the ancient town are, therefore, the failure to accurately record the location of the Roman features in the past and the lack of a way to easily archive and access such information nowadays. The absence of an accurate topographical plan leads to significant difficulties in interpreting any new finds, mainly since the scale of archaeological excavations is greatly limited in built areas.

Archaeological context

The coins published here were discovered in 2021, during a rescue excavation in the basement of a building located in the historic centre of Cluj-Napoca, on no. 3 Iuliu Maniu Street (Pl. I/1–2). Concerning Roman Napoca, the location is in the southeastern part of the town, some 50 m inwards from the presumed eastern limit. Right across the street, at no. 4, a pit with pottery, including a significant number of wasters, was found, pointing to a pottery production in the area, at an unspecified date.²² At approximately 100 m to the northeast, traces of a metal-processing workshop were found. As it was not possible to provide an accurate chronology, researchers suggested an early dating, probably the first half of the 2nd century.²³ At circa 120 m to the southwest, a brooch workshop was excavated, which functioned at the beginning of the 2nd century. It was established that it ceased production during Hadrian’s reign, when it was presumably moved outside the precinct of the new *municipium*.²⁴ Unfortunately, due to various reasons (disturbed stratigraphy, limited sections etc.), it is unclear how long this area remained an artisanal quarter nor what happened here afterwards.

When the building on no. 3 Iuliu Maniu Street (Szentegyház utca) was constructed between 1898 and 1901,²⁵ it completely obliterated any archaeological features above a certain level without leaving any documentation. The basement level (3 m below the existing street surface) turned out to be an intermediate Roman level. The 2021–2022 rescue excavation, totalling a researched area of 98.5 sq. m, recorded several Roman period habitation layers (Pl. II/2). The earliest phase, dated to the first half of the 2nd century, contained traces of timber structures. The next one, probably from the middle of the same century, presented traces of timber, stone and mortar constructions. The most important

²⁰ Ciongradi, Voişian, Bota 2012, 112; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 50; Cociş 2019, 19.

²¹ E.g. Voişian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, Abb. 1; Diaconescu 2004, Fig. 4.17; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, Pl. II; Cociş 2019, Pl. 3.

²² Mustaţă et alii 2008, 110–111.

²³ Ciongradi, Voişian, Bota 2012.

²⁴ Cociş 2019, 18–28.

²⁵ Gál 2021, 215–234.

feature was a large-sized floor or pavement substructure uncovered over a surface of at least 50 sq. m. In the first stone phase, a street having the aspect of a gravel road (*via glarea*) was constructed, probably over a dirt road from a previous phase. Oriented north-south, this is one of the *cardines* of the town. Two rows of massive slab stones were arranged parallel to the street, one immediately next to it, the other at circa 20 m to the east, sometime after the middle of the 2nd century. The slabs roughly correspond to the current basement level. Initially, a gravel surface was set up between the slab rows. In the following sub-phase, two hearths functioned. In the second stone phase, possibly dating from the beginning of the 3rd century, a large building was constructed between the two slab stone rows, of which only the foundations were preserved. Interestingly, a large pit was open by the western side of the road at the beginning of the 3rd century. The pit filling contained construction debris, an important amount of pottery, and a few traces of glass processing (slag and glass droplets).²⁶

The coin deposit was recovered from a levelling layer (Pl. III/1a; Pl. III/2a) identified on top of a walking surface and immediately above the two abovementioned open hearths (Pl. III/1b; Pl. III/2b). The levelling layer (context 70) consisted of greyish earth mixed with charcoal pigments and pebbles. Another presumed walking level of sand, gravel, and cobbles topped it. This stratigraphic succession marks the decommissioning of the fire installations and the refurbishing of what appears to be an open space that unfolded west of the stone slabs located at the eastern end of the basement. It also shows that the area was constantly maintained after the middle of the 2nd century.

THE COIN DEPOSIT

The state of preservation of the coins

Most of the coins were found welded together by oxidation (Pl. IV/1). Their close grouping and preservation state at the moment of discovery suggests they ended up in that particular context all at once. On all 28 coins, traces of burning can be distinguished after restoration.²⁷ The black and yellow spots, visible both on the obverse and the reverse, are indications that the pieces have passed through intense fire.²⁸ The letters are partially melted on some coins and on coin no. 3 the effects of high temperature appear on the emperor's face (Pl. IV/2).

The structure of the coin deposit

Out of the 28 coins, 27 are of good quality silver, none showing signs of silver plating. The 27 denarii are issues from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius and cover a time range of about 100 years. The most circulated coin is evidently an issue of Vespasian because it remained in circulation for 100 years. The structure of the 'hoard' is typical for small monetary deposits from the second half of the 2nd century AD (Pl. V/1).

²⁶ For a preliminary excavation report, see Toda et alii 2022, 498–504. This preliminary chronological frame may be amended following the complete processing of the archaeological material.

²⁷ The professional restoration of the coins was made by Radu Cordoş from the National Museum of Transylvanian History. We express to him our gratitude.

²⁸ We thank for the photos to Sergiu Odenie, photographer of National Museum of Transylvanian History.

The dating of the deposit is clear, the earliest coin is a denarius struck under Vespasian, and the last one was issued by Marcus Aurelius between 167–168 AD (Catalogue no. 27). The pieces offer a *terminus post quem* for dating the context in which the deposit had been discovered. Most coins are issues of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (16 pieces total). The coins of the 1st century AD (8 pieces from Vespasian to Nerva), being of good quality silver, remained in circulation for an extended period. The deposit can be considered a monetary assemblage that reflects the currencies in circulation during a time period. An interesting aspect is the presence of a bronze denomination (as) in the set of silver coins. Upon discovery, the as was welded together with the silver pieces by oxidation and also bears traces of fire damage (Pl. IV/1). Although mixed coin assemblages (bronze and silver pieces) from the 2nd century AD are quite rare,²⁹ the present deposit was such an exception.

‘Barschaft’/ ‘pocket money’/ or transaction money?

In the interpretation of F. Berger ‘pocket money’³⁰ are three or more coins found together, without other dispersed coins being nearby. These coins represent the money that a single person carries on them at a given time. ‘Pocket money’ is not intentionally deposited / hidden coins. They occur in archaeological contexts that indicate their loss in various everyday circumstances, for example, during construction works, or during a battle etc.³¹ As for the number of pieces, it generally amounts to less than 10 coins. Such assemblages consisting of several bronze or silver coins were discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, ‘hoard’ no. 2, 4, 6, 7,³² but also in other archaeological sites in Dacia.³³

In our opinion, coin finds over 20 denarii cannot be considered accidentally lost pocket money. We can instead define these discoveries as transaction money or small savings.³⁴ They represent a specific value in everyday life, which is not carried daily for current payments.³⁵ Being of medium value for a modest individual, it is evident that he is taking care of them. These coin deposits are well-kept in various perishable or non-perishable containers.³⁶ They can be considered money paid for military or civilian services,³⁷ small savings set aside for a specific purpose, or even stolen money. Their non-recovery may be related more to personal events (sudden death) or a local event (fire) and less to a significant historical event. Such a local incident was documented in the case of the hoard in House I at Carnuntum. 50 silver coins (47 follei and 3 argentei) dating from the period of the First Tetrarchy were discovered between the pillars of the *hypocaustum*. The archaeological context indicated a strong fire in the *prae-furnium* area, probably caused by a malfunction of the heating system. The money hidden under the floor could not be recovered. Clearly,

²⁹ See the online database of the Coin Hoards from the Roman Empire Project, <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>.

³⁰ In the numismatic studies the term used in German is ‘Barschaft’, in English ‘Pocket Money’.

³¹ Berger 2000, 15–16; Găzdac, Cociş 2004, 15.

³² Găzdac, Cociş 2004, 16.

³³ At the northern border of the province of Dacia, at the military site of Porolissum were discovered two small 7-piece ‘hoards’, one of them in a small ceramic vessel. Dealing with pocket money it is not surprising that among them were both silver and bronze denominations. Găzdac, Gudea 2006, 21–22.

³⁴ Găzdac, Gaiu, Marchiş 2011, 10.

³⁵ See below the discussion on the value of the coin deposit from Napoca.

³⁶ In Râmnicu Vâlcea (Romania), in a modest Roman house destroyed by a fire, a ceramic moneybox with only 23 denarii was discovered! Dumitraşcu 1996, 95–96; Purece 2015, 90.

³⁷ Găzdac, Gaiu, Marchiş 2011, 11.

those who later rebuilt the house and levelled the fire area knew nothing of the existence of these coins.³⁸

There are numerous other finds where the well-documented archaeological context provides clear evidence of the intentional deposition / concealment of these medium-value sums. For example, hoard no. 5 from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, containing 21 denarii from Vitellius to Septimius Severus, was discovered in an underground cellar behind a brick. C. Găzdac suggests that it could be stolen money or an amount hidden for other personal reasons.³⁹ Another similar discovery comes from a Roman building located on the outskirts of Maastricht (Netherlands). The 20 denarii from Vitellius to Marcus Aurelius were discovered among the fragments of a pot in which they were probably kept. The small monetary deposit was hidden in a pit at a depth of 50 cm below the level of the room, in a corner opposite the *praefurnium*. The hole dug to hide the pot was later filled with rubble and levelled. This context shows that despite the relatively small amount, the owner gave great attention to keeping the amount as safe as possible!⁴⁰

Value of the coins

- The value of the deposit of 27 denarii and 1 as calculated in sestertii is 108 sestertii and 1 as.
- The deposit value of 27 denarii and 1 as calculated in asses is 433 asses.

The value of a sum of money is given by its purchasing power, determined by the ratio between product prices and wage earnings in the same chronological segment.⁴¹ The living standards of different social groups can be strongly differentiated. Income depends on several factors, such as whether the workers are active in a rural or urban area, are skilled or unskilled, are hired by the state or are privately employed.⁴²

As for prices and wages in Dacia in the second half of the 2nd century AD, we are fortunate because the wax tablets discovered at Alburnus Maior recorded both prices and wages in an area only 120 km away from ancient Napoca. They have been dated approximately in the same period as the monetary deposit studied in the present paper,⁴³ their hiding being linked to troubling times in the context of the Marcomanic Wars.

Wax tablet no. XVI from Alburnus Maior contains a list of agricultural product purchases, probably for organising a *collegium* banquet. It mentions that 166 denarii were paid for several products, including 5 lambs for 18 denarii and 1 piglet for 5 denarii.⁴⁴ Starting from this evidence, it can be easily calculated that, in the second half of the 2nd century AD, the 27 denarii of the Napoca coin deposit could have paid for 7.5 lambs or 5.4 piglets. We agree with C. Găzdac that for a large part of the society in Dacia (even in the contemporary period), 27 denarii could have been a small fortune (sic!).⁴⁵

³⁸ Găzdac, Humer 2013, 50–51.

³⁹ Găzdac, Cociş 2004, 16.

⁴⁰ Boersma 1964, 39–40.

⁴¹ Găzdac, Neagoe 2018, 5.

⁴² Rathbone 2013, 299.

⁴³ The wax tablets are dated between 131–167 p. Chr. IDR I, p. 175.

⁴⁴ IDR I, p. 243–246.

⁴⁵ Găzdac, Gaiu, Marchiş 2011, 10.

The triptychs from Alburnus Maior provide us with accurate data on salaries during the second half of the 2nd century AD. Wax tablets nos. IX, X, and XI represent labour contracts by which miners are employed for a certain period in exchange for a fixed sum.

<i>Tabula cerata</i> IX	388 working days	90 denarii = 360 sesterces
<i>Tabula cerata</i> X	179 working days	70 denarii = 280 sesterces ⁴⁶

Unfortunately, the triptychs do not mention at which interval (daily, monthly, or the whole amount at once) the salaries were paid. However, to have a term of comparison on the value of labour and purchasing power, we find it helpful to calculate, in a purely theoretical way, the salary of a miner for 30 days.⁴⁷ Thus, the worker from wax tablet no. IX earned in one month approximately 6.958 denarii, equivalent to 27.835 sesterces. The miner from *tabula cerata* X earned slightly better. The monthly salary was about 11.731 denarii, calculated at 46.927 sesterces. When corroborated by information from the mines on Mons Claudianus in Egypt, these results may reveal interesting aspects. The inscribed potsherds, dating from about the same period as the Alburnus Maior tablets, record the wages of hundreds of mine workers. H. Cuvigny points out that most workers had a salary of 47 drachmae per month,⁴⁸ which is surprisingly close to the average monthly earnings of 46.927 sesterces of the miner contracted in wax tablet no. X from Alburnus Maior.⁴⁹ The lowest wage on Mons Claudianus, 28 drachmae (probably apprentices or slaves), is very close to the wage of the worker from *tabula cerata* no. IX, more exactly 27.835 sesterces. In this context, H. Cuvigny's hypothesis about a centralised administration of mines seems convincing and could indicate an integrated economy at the level of the Empire.⁵⁰

When compared to the salaries of the miners from Alburnus Maior and Mons Claudianus in Egypt, it becomes evident that the monetary deposit discovered in Napoca represented a considerable amount of money. The sum could have covered the living costs of a civilian with a modest income in a rural area of Roman Dacia over several months. Thus, the sum of 27 denarii for the worker in the wax tablet no. X was an income for almost 4 months, and the miner in *tabula cerata* IX earned that amount in 2.3 months! Even if it can be admitted that there may be considerable regional variation in living standards⁵¹ between rural (Alburnus Maior) and urban (Napoca) areas, 27 denarii were not an amount that a labourer could afford to lose.

Another benchmark for determining the value of the coin deposit from Napoca could be the salaries of the soldiers. Written sources attest that a legionary soldier received 12,000 sesterces per year during Domitian's time, meaning a monthly income of 100 sesterces. According to sources from the Egyptian papyri, the quarterly salary of an auxiliary soldier

⁴⁶ Cuvigny 1996, 142.

⁴⁷ H. Cuvigny claims that monthly or longer wages are lower than daily wages, and salaries for a longer period are not the result of a daily salary multiplication, but are based on a different calculation. Cuvigny 1996, 144.

⁴⁸ H. Cuvigny points out that the miners on Mons Claudianus had a better salary than the average civilian salary in other areas of Egypt (about 25 drachm). Cuvigny 1996, 141.

⁴⁹ The equivalence of sestertii with drachmas and tetradrachms or staters is accepted in general by researchers, Cuvigny 1996, 143, n. 1.

⁵⁰ Cuvigny 1996, 145.

⁵¹ Rathbone 2013, 316.

in the time of Domitian was 297 drachmas, corresponding with 297 sesterces.⁵² Calculated per month, this represents an income of 74.25 sesterces. A simple computation shows that the deposit of 27 denarii is equivalent to 108 sestertii. This amount is slightly more than the monthly income of a legionary soldier and about 30% more than the monthly income of an auxiliary soldier!

Even if the purchasing power of a professional soldier in the Roman army was much higher than that of a simple civilian, surely none of them would have been happy to lose a purse with 27 denarii. Following this logic, the Napoca deposit can be interpreted as transaction money or a small saving, not as pocket change.

In conclusion, we can argue that in the case of the coin deposit from Napoca, even if we have no archaeological indication of an intentional deposit / concealment of the pieces, we cannot exclude this hypothesis. Since the coins have traces of melting and were found grouped in a levelling layer with hints of burning (charcoal spots), it is possible they were kept/hidden in the hearths' area, and their non-recovery was related to the dismantling of the hearths and the reorganisation of the surrounding space.

The value of the coins exceeds the amount used for everyday payments, so in this case we cannot talk about pocket money, which used to be lost in various everyday activities. However, based on purchasing power of 27 denarii, the deposit from the Roman town of *Napoca* can be interpreted as a small saving or money destined for a transaction.

⁵² Speidel 2009, 350–351, tab. 1, tab. 2. We do not know exactly the amount paid to legionary soldiers in the second half of the 2nd century AD. It is certain that during Septimius Severus the salary doubled compared to the period of Domitian, so it reached 2,400 sestertii per year.

CATALOGUE

Vespasian

1. Denomination: denarius Mint: Roma Dating: 70 AD Material: silver Diameter: 17.48 × 16.73 mm; Weight: 3.15 gr; Axis: 5 Obverse: [IMP CAE] SAR VESPASIANVS AVG Head of Vespasian, laureate, right Reverse: COS ITER [TR POT] Mars naked, advancing right, holding spear and trophy with <i>aquila</i> Reference: RIC II. 1, 23 Inv. no.: N 99891	
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Domitian

2. Denomination: denarius Mint: Roma Dating: 88–89 AD Material: silver Diameter: 17.15 × 17.95 mm; Weight: 3.35gr; Axis: 5 Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT [AVG] GERM P M TR P VIII Head of Domitian, laureate, right Reverse: IMP XIX COS XIII CENS PPP Minerva advancing right, holding spear and shield Reference: RIC II. 1, 667 Inv. no.: N 99898	
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Domitian

3. Denomination: denarius Mint: Roma Dating: 90–91 AD Material: silver Diameter: 18.72 × 18.05 mm; Weight: 3.20 gr; Axis: 7 Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P X Head of Domitian, laureate, right Reverse: IMP XXI, COS XV CENS PPP Minerva standing right on prow, brandishing spear, holding shield on left arm, owl at foot right Reference: RIC II. 1, 153 Inv. no.: N 99894	
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Domitian

4. Denomination: denarius

Mint: Roma

Dating: 90–91 AD

Material: silver

Diameter: 18.72 × 18.05 mm; Weight: 3.20 gr; Axis: 7

Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P X

Head of Domitian, laureate, right

Reverse: IMP XXI, COS XV CENS PPP

Minerva standing right on prow, brandishing spear, holding shield on left arm, owl at foot right

Reference: RIC II. 1, 720

Inv. no.: N 99902

**Domitian**

5. Denomination: denarius

Mint: Roma

Dating: 92–93 AD

Material: silver

Diameter: 17.90 × 17.12 mm; Weight: 3.45 gr; Axis: 7

Obverse: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XII

Head of Domitian, laureate, right

Reverse: IMP XXII, COS XVI CENS PPP

Minerva advancing right, holding spear and shield

Reference: RIC II. 1, 739

Inv. no.: N 99906

**Nerva**

6. Denomination: denarius

Mint: Roma

Dating: 97 AD

Material: silver

Diameter: 18.12 × 16.97 mm; Weight: 2.95 gr; Axis: 7

Obverse: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR POT

Head of Nerva, laureate, right

Reverse: COS III PATER PATRIAE

Priestly implements: *simpulum*, *aspergilium*, *jug*, *lituus*

Reference: RIC II. 1, 24

Inv. no.: N 99892



Nerva

7. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 97 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 19.18 × 17.32 mm; Weight: 3.00 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS III PP
 Head of Nerva, laureate, right
 Reverse: LIBERTAS PVBLICA
 Libertas, draped, standing left, holding *pileus* in right hand and short scepter
 Reference: RIC II. 1, 19
 Inv. no.: N 99896



Nerva

8. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 97 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 17.98 × 17.66 mm; Weight: 2.90 gr; Axis: 7
 Obverse: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR POT II
 Head of Nerva, laureate, right
 Reverse: COS III PATER PATRIAE
 Priestly implements: *simpulum*, *aspergilum*, jug, *lituus*
 Reference: RIC II. 1, 34
 Inv. no.: N 99899



Trajan

9. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 98–99 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.88 × 17.09 mm; Weight: 3.25 gr; Axis: 8
 Obverse: IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM
 Head of Trajan, laureate, right
 Reverse: P M TR P COS II PP
 Victory seated left holding patera and palm
 Reference: RIC II. 2, 10
 Inv. no.: N 99912



Trajan

10. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 103–111 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.80 × 16.60 mm; Weight: 3.30 gr; Axis: 8
 Obverse: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER [DAC P M TR P]
 Head of Trajan, laureate, right
 Reverse: COS V P P SP[QR O]PTIMO PRINC
 Victory, standing left on shields holding wreath in right hand and palm in left
 Reference: RIC II. 2, 129
 Inv. no.: N 99916



Hadrian

11. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 124–125 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.61 × 18.45 mm; Weight: 2.85 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: [HADRI]ANVS AVGVSTVS
 Head of Hadrian, laureate, right
 Reverse: COS III
 Diana standing facing, head right, holding bow and arrow
 Reference: RIC II. 3, 729
 Inv. no.: N 99893



Hadrian for Sabina (Augusta)

12. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 130–133 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.31 × 17.76 mm; Weight: 3.00 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP
 Bust of Sabina, diademed, wearing stephane with hair in queue, draped, right
 Reverse: CONCORDIA AVG
 Concordia seated left, holding patera and resting arm on Spes, below throne *cornucopiae*
 Reference: RIC II. 3, 2501
 Inv. no.: N 99895



Antoninus Pius

13. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 145–161 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.08 × 16.06 mm; Weight: 3.15 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: ANTONINVS AVG [PIVS P P]
 Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right
 Reverse: TR PO[T COS IIII LIB IIII]
 Liberalitas standing, left holding *vexillum* in right hand
 and *cornucopiae* in left
 Reference: RIC III 156
 Inv. no.: N 99903



Antoninus Pius

14. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 145–161 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 17.14 × 18.28 mm; Weight: 3.20 gr; Axis: 7
 Obverse: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP
 Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right
 Reverse: TEMPLVM DIVI AVG REST / COS IIII in
 exergue
 Octastyle temple with standing statues before the two
 outer columns, containing seated statues of Divus
 Augustus and Diva Livia
 Reference: RIC III 143 var.
 Inv. no.: N 99908



Antoninus Pius

15. Denomination: as
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 155–156 AD
 Material: bronze
 Diameter: 25.09 × 23.74 mm; Weight: 10.75 gr; Axis: 11
 Obverse: [ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP IMP II]
 Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right
 Reverse: [TR POT XIX COS] IIII / [SC] in exergue
 Annona seated right, *modius* at foot, holding
cornucopiae with both hands
 Reference: RIC III 956
 Inv. no.: N 99911



Antoninus Pius

16. Denomination: denarius

Mint: Roma

Dating: 156–157 AD

Material: silver

Diameter: 16.77 × 17 mm; Weight: 3.20 gr; Axis: 6

Obverse: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P IMP II

Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right

Reverse: TR POT XX COS IIII

Annona standing right, left leg on the prow of ship, holding rudder and *modius*

Reference: RIC III 260

Inv. no.: N 99914

**Antoninus Pius**

17. Denomination: denarius

Mint: Roma

Dating: 158–159 AD

Material: silver

Diameter: 16.28 × 17.02 mm; Weight: 3.15 gr; Axis: 6

Obverse: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP

Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate, right

Reverse: VOTA SV[SCEP] DECENN III / COS IIII in exergue

Antoninus Pius standing left, sacrificing over tripod altar

Reference: RIC III 293 var.

Inv. no.: N 99909

**Antoninus Pius for Faustina I (diva)**

18. Denomination: denarius

Mint: Roma

Dating: 141–161 AD

Material: silver

Diameter: 18.30 × 17.07 mm; Weight: 3.20 gr; Axis: 7

Obverse: DIVA FAVSTINA

Bust of Faustina I, draped, right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top

Reverse: AVGVST[A]

Ceres standing, head right, holding corn ears in right hand and long scepter in left

Reference: RIC III 360

Inv. no.: N 99905



Antoninu Pius for Faustina I (diva)

19. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 141–161 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.10 × 15.89 mm; Weight: 3.05 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: DIVA FAVSTINA
 Bust of Faustina I, draped, right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top
 Reverse: AVGVSTA
 Vesta standing left by altar, head right, holding patera in right hand and palladium in left
 Reference: RIC III 370
 Inv. no.: N 99917

**Antoninus Pius for Faustina II (Augusta)**

20. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 145–161 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 17.95 × 18.32 mm; Weight: 3.25 gr; Axis: 8
 Obverse: FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL
 Bust of Faustina II, bare-headed, hair waved and fastened in a bun on back of head, draped, right
 Reverse: PVDICITIA
 Pudicitia standing left, holding out cloak with both hands, right hand holds it high
 Reference: RIC III 507a
 Inv. no.: N 99910

**Antoninus Pius for Faustina II (Augusta)**

21. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 157–161 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 17.93 × 15.64 mm; Weight: 3.15 gr; Axis: 7
 Obverse: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA
 Bust of Faustina the Younger, bare-headed, with hair waived and coiled on back of head, draped, right
 Reverse: AVGVSTI PII FIL
 Venus standing left, holding Victory on right hand and resting left on round shield set on helmet on ground
 Reference: RIC III 495a
 Inv. no.: N 99904



Antoninus Pius for Marcus Aurelius (Caesar)

22. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 154–155 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 16.2 × 16.82 mm; Weight: 2.90gr; Axis: 12
 Obverse: AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII FIL
 Draped, bare-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius, right
 Reverse: TR POT VIII COS II
 Minerva standing front, head to left, holding owl in her right hand and spear and shield in her left
 Reference: RIC III 463b
 Inv. no.: N 99907

**Antoninus Pius for Marcus Aurelius (Caesar)**

23. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 154–155 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 17.61 × 16.60 mm; Weight: 3.50 gr; Axis: 5
 Obverse: AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII FIL
 Draped, bare-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius, right
 Reverse: TR POT VIII COS II
 Minerva standing left, holding owl in right hand, resting left on shield and spear
 Reference: RIC III 463b
 Inv. no.: N 99915

**Marcus Aurelius**

24. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 161 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 17.46.18.25 mm; Weight: 2.80 gr; Axis: 12
 Obverse: IMP M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG
 Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right
 Reverse: PROV DEOR TR P XV COS III
 Providentia, draped, standing left, holding up globe in right hand and *cornucopiae* in left
 Reference: RIC III 23
 Inv. no.: N 99897



Marcus Aurelius

25. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 163–164 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 16.92 × 17.35 mm; Weight: 3.20 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: ANTONINVS AVG ARMENIACVS
 Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right
 Reverse: PM TR P XVIII IMP II COS III
 Mars standing right, holding reversed spear and leaning on shield with left hand
 Reference: RIC III 92
 Inv. no.: N 99913



Marcus Aurelius

26. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 164–165 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.32 × 17.64 mm; Weight: 2.90 gr; Axis: 6
 Obverse: ANTONINVS AVG AR[MENIA]CVS
 Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right
 Reverse: TR P XIX IMP II COS III
 Annona standing left, right foot set on prow (?), emptying *cornucopiae* with both hands into *modius* before her
 Reference: RIC III 125
 Inv. no.: N 99918



Marcus Aurelius

27. Denomination: denarius
 Mint: Roma
 Dating: 167–168 AD
 Material: silver
 Diameter: 18.38 × 17.38 mm; Weight: 3.05 gr; Axis: 7
 Obverse: M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX
 Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, right
 Reverse: TR P XXII IMP IIII COS III
 Providentia, draped, standing left, pointing wand in right hand at globe at her feet and holding vertical scepter in left hand
 Reference: RIC III 176
 Inv. no.: N 99901



Marcus Aurelius for Faustina II (augusta)

28. Denomination: denarius Mint: Roma Dating: 161–175 AD Material: silver Diameter: 18 × 17.73 mm; Weight: 3.05 gr; Axis: 1 Obverse: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA Bust of Faustina II, bare-headed, hair waved and fastened in a bun on back of head, draped, right Reverse: SEACVLI FELICIT Pulvinar, draped, on which are infants Commodus and Antoninus Reference: RIC III 711 Inv. no.: N 99900	
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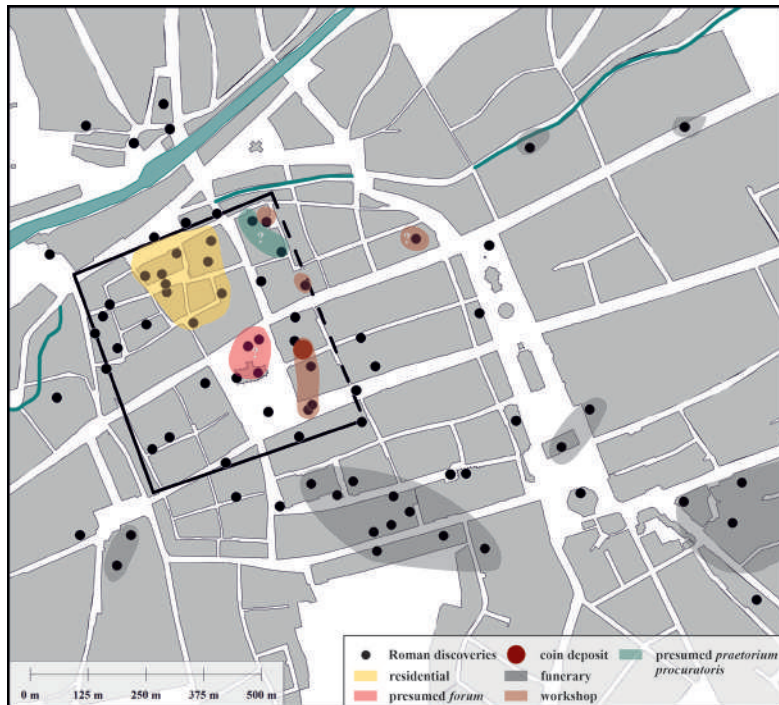
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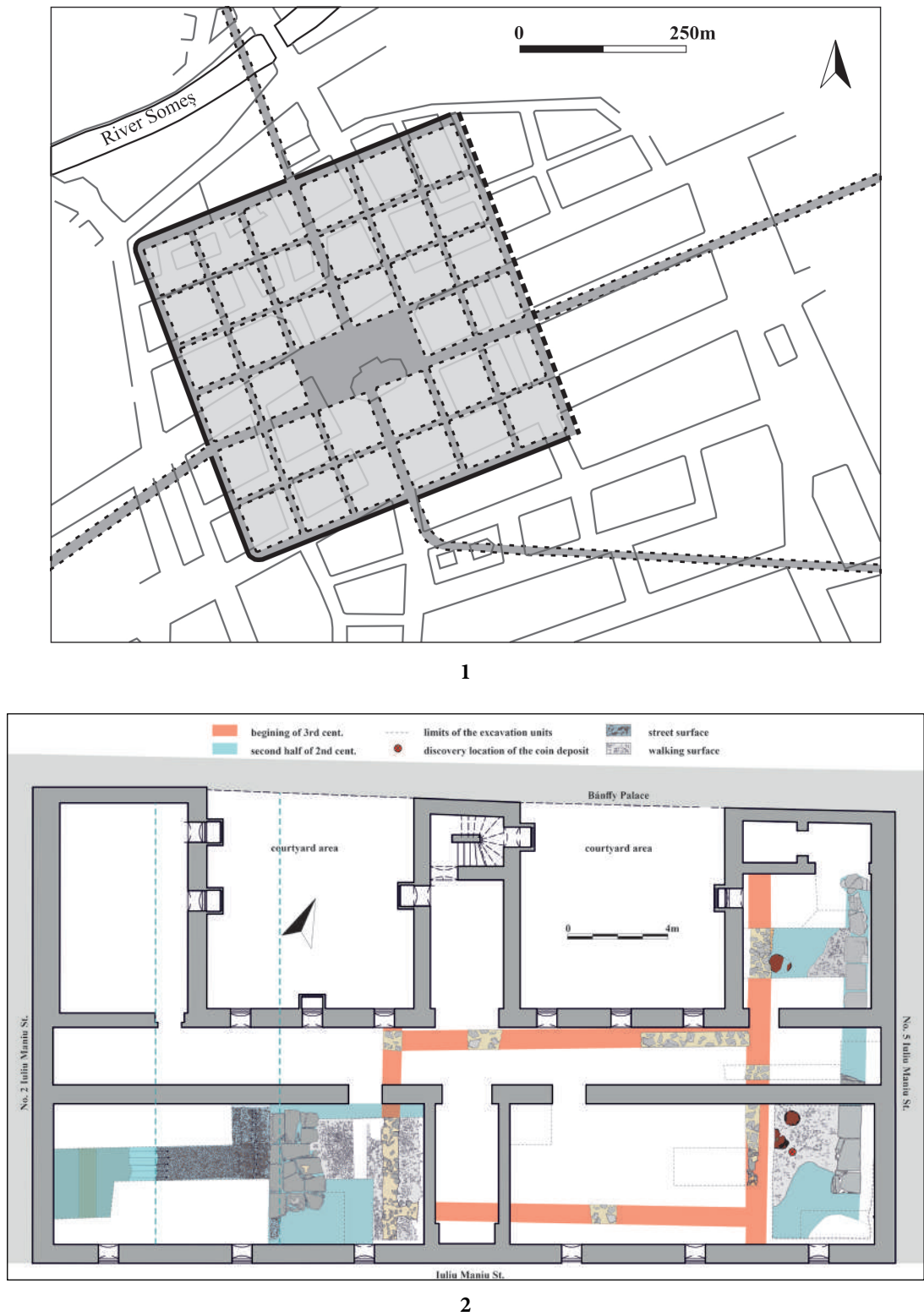


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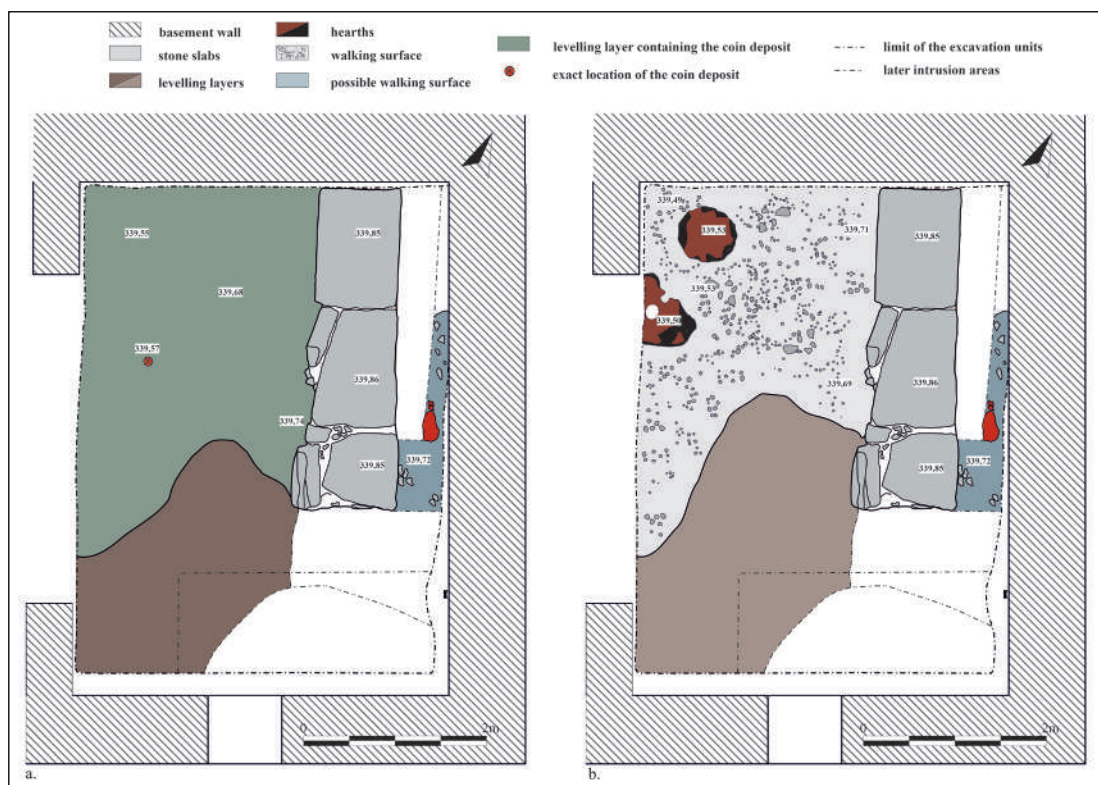


2

Pl. I. 1. Spatial distribution of the Roman discoveries in the historical centre of Cluj-Napoca; **2.** General interpretation of the discoveries related to the Roman town of Napoca.



Pl. II. 1. Ideal plan of Napoca (redrawn after Diaconescu 2004, Fig. 4.17); 2. Ground plan of the Roman stone phases from no. 3 Iuliu Maniu St.



1



2

Pl. III. 1. The discovery context of the coin deposit (a) and the hearths underneath (b); 2. The levelling layer containing the coin deposit (a) and the hearths and walking surface underneath (b).



1



2

Pl. IV. 1. The coins' state of preservation upon their discovery; **2.** Silver denarius with traces of melting, Catalogue no. 3.



1

Issuer	Nr. coins	Coefficient nr. coin / year of reign
Vespasian	1	0.1
Domitian	4	0.26
Nerva	3	1.5
Trajan	2	0.1
Hadrian	2	0.09
Antoninus Pius	11	0.47
Marcus Aurelius	5	0.26
TOTAL	28	

2

Pl. V. 1. General graph of no. coins / reign; 2. Coefficient no. coin / year of reign.

A FRAGMENTARY ROMAN INSCRIPTION EMBEDDED IN THE BASEMENT WALL OF THE MAUKSCH-HINTZ HOUSE IN CLUJ-NAPOCA*

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.60.05

Abstract: The monument was embedded in the basement wall of the Mauksch-Hintz house in Cluj-Napoca. For almost two centuries it held the historical pharmacy of the Mauksch-Hintz family and currently holds the History of Pharmacy Collection, which is part of the National Museum of Transylvanian History. The fragmentary Roman votive monument was built into the wall on the eastern side of one of the medieval buildings dated to the 15th–16th centuries subsequently unified for the erection of the Mauksch-Hintz house.

Keywords: Latin; votive inscription; Cluj-Napoca; Mauksch-Hintz House.

Rezumat: Monumentul în discuție a fost încastrat în zidul subsolului casei Mauksch-Hintz din Cluj-Napoca. Timp de aproape două secole a găzduit farmacia istorică a familiei Mauksch-Hintz, iar în prezent găzduiește Colecția de Istorie a Farmaciei, parte componentă a Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Monumentul votiv roman păstrat fragmentar a fost zidit în peretele de pe latura sudică a uneia dintre construcțiile medievale databile în secolele XV-XVI, unificate ulterior în vederea construirii casei Mauksch-Hintz.

Cuvinte-cheie: Latină; inscripție votivă; Cluj-Napoca; casa Mauksch-Hintz.

The monument was embedded in the basement wall of the Mauksch-Hintz house,¹ a building located at the intersection of 1 Regele Ferdinand Blvd. and 28 Unirii Square in Cluj-Napoca. The basement and ground floor of this building, both partially vaulted, currently house the History of Pharmacy Collection, part of the National Museum of Transylvanian History. The building has been registered as historical monument;² it was constructed sometime in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.³ The basement walls were made of river stone, seldomly alternated with blocks of dressed stone.

The fragmentary Roman votive monument was built into the wall on the eastern side of one of the medieval buildings dated to the 15th–16th centuries subsequently unified for the erection of the Mauksch-Hintz house (Pl. II/2). Only the left half survived.

* We thank our colleagues Ana-Maria Gruia for various information on the monument, Florian Matei Popescu and the article reviewers for their suggestions, and the architect Endre Ványolós for the digital plans of the building at various historical stages. We also thank the team of archaeologists who carried out the preventive research at this site, under the coordination of Zsolt Csók.

¹ Mihály 2010; Ványolós 2022, 213–224.

² Monument code CJ-II-m-B-07495.

³ Ványolós 2022, 215.

Description of the monument

Preserved height: 42 cm.

Preserved width: 15 cm.

Depth: unable to determine.

Letters height: 4 cm.

Distance between lines: 1.5 cm.

Material: limestone.

Epigraphic field: the left margin of the epigraphic field, represented by an incised line 5 cm from the edge of the monument, is visible for almost the entire length of the piece. It results that there was at least one other line in the upper part of the epigraphic field, which is no longer visible today. The base of the monument is missing, and the capital, of which 9 cm remain, is damaged on the front side, due to the levelling done to integrate the piece into the wall.

The state of preservation of the monument is extremely poor, with only 5 lines of the half-preserved 7-line inscription partially visible.

Palaeography: the spelling of the letter L in l. 6 suggests a later period, probably not before the 3rd century AD.⁴ Letters are generally represented by triangular-headed stems.

Inscription

AE[---]

PRQ [· ---]

TE · P · [---]

COR[---]

ANI [---]

CLO[---]

V [---]

Aē[scul(apio)]

prq · [salu]

te · P(ubli) · [Aeli?]

Cor[neli]

anī [---]

Clo[dian(us)]

γ(otum) [· s(olvit) · l(ibens) · m(erito)]?

Translation:

To Aesculapius, in the health of Publius [Aelius?] Cornelianus. [---] Clodianus? willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

The letters A and E of the first line, and V of the last one, are partially visible. The text has the following structure: the name of the deity in the dative, the dedicatory formula *pro*

⁴ Mrozewicz 2010, 83, 97.

salute, the *tria nomina* of the beneficiary in the genitive case, the name of the dedicant in the nominative, and the dedication formula, which is probably *votum solvit libens merito*. In the case of private dedications, the official titles of the persons are not always mentioned, as is the case here.

In the first line, the remains of two letters are visible. The lower part of the first one, slightly tilted to the right, suggests letter A. It is centred above the letters P and R from the second row. The other letter is hardly visible, but on the surface traces of the letter E can be distinguished.

It is a dedication to the god Aesculapius,⁵ honoured in the area of Napoca⁶ on a votive monument discovered by the locals at Căianu, in the area called “La Feredeş”.⁷ The name of the god is rendered in the Greek form Asclepius.⁸ To the god of medicine several monuments were dedicated at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Germisara, Ampelum, and not only. The monument under discussion here is the first dedicated to Aesculapius in the city of Napoca itself.

Aesculapius is among the first Greek deities worshipped in Rome. Besides public worship, private worship gained ground, since the god brought comfort to all in need,⁹ being a deity who has a personal relationship with individuals. He is invoked not only in situations of major, public crisis, but for various personal health problems. Dedications to Aesculapius could be issued in places other than his temples, such as the headquarters of various professional associations, commercial complexes, or military camps, but also in sacred places belonging to other deities.¹⁰ Thus, a dedication to Aesculapius does not necessarily need to be associated with a temple, as dedications may consist of small altars placed in private spaces.¹¹ Since the item was not discovered *in situ*, it would be speculative to attempt to determine the place of provenance.

From the beneficiary’s *tria nomina* only the abbreviated *praenomen* P(ubli) has been preserved, while the *nomen*, which must have been abbreviated, is completely missing, and the *cognomen* is engraved on two lines, Cor[neli]/ani. In line 5, the abbreviated *praenomen* and *nomen* of the dedicant were probably engraved after the *cognomen* of the beneficiary of the inscription. On the other hand, it is possible that the dedicant’s *praenomen* was not expressed.

The beneficiary of the dedication is Publius Aelius? Cornelianus.¹² Several Publii Aelii are attested in Dacia (at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Tibiscum, Napoca¹³ etc.). Some of those from Napoca were public officials: Publius Aelius Maximus¹⁴ was a *duumvir quinquennalis* and *flamen* of the colonia Napoca, *sacerdos arae Augusti*, but also *decurio* of

⁵ On the cult of Aesculapius, see DA, I, 1, 123–125, s.v. *Aesculapius* (F. Robiou); van der Ploeg 2018, and for Dacia, see Igna 1935; Bărbulescu 1985, 105–112.

⁶ CIL III 7655.

⁷ RepCluj, s.v. Căianu, no. 3, p. 78.

⁸ For the variants Aesculapius/Asclepius in the inscriptions of Dacia, see Beu-Dachin 2010, 181–198.

⁹ Renberg 2006–2007, 88–89.

¹⁰ Renberg 2006–2007, 91, 93, 109, 114–115, 137.

¹¹ For the case of Rome, see Renberg 2006–2007, 104.

¹² Kajanto 1965, 144; OPEL II, 76.

¹³ ILD 547, dedication made by Publius Aelius Marcianus, *decurio* of the colonia Napoca.

¹⁴ AE 1969/70, 548 = AE 1971, 395 = AE 1999, 1279 = ILD 554.

the colonia, Publius Aelius Marcianus¹⁵ was *decurio* of the colonia Napoca, Publius Aelius Fabianus¹⁶ was a *beneficiarius consularis* of the legion XIII Gemina, and Publius Aelius Dacianus¹⁷ was *decurio* and *aedilis* of the colonia. In Dacia, the *cognomen* Cornelianus appears on an *album* from Apulum – Maxi(mius) Corn[elianus],¹⁸ and in two votive inscriptions from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, too – Cornelius Cornelianus.¹⁹

As for the name of the dedicant, only the *cognomen* can be restored – Clo[dian(us)?].²⁰ His servile origin is very likely.

As research carried out during the restoration of the Mauksch-Hintz house shows, at the lower part of the foundation, parts of the walls of a Roman construction are preserved (Pl. II/1). This *votum privatum* discovered and reused in the medieval wall of the house could have come from the courtyard of such a building. It could have been deposited either in a sacred, or in a public or private space.

In the vicinity of the area under investigation, various Roman remains have been discovered over the years during construction, consolidation or installation works. Thus, at 21 December 1989 Boulevard no. 5 (Sora Shopping Centre) archaeological research has uncovered two kilns that belonged to a metalworking workshop,²¹ in the courtyard of the Art Museum the burnt remains of a Roman building, and a Roman road were found,²² in the area of the “Central” Store a villa (*domus*) built in the 3rd century was excavated,²³ and Roman altars were also found here, as well as structures of a building with a *hypocaustum* and eight column shafts.²⁴ Not far from the “Central” Store, at 29 King Ferdinand Street, the remains of a large Roman building have been revealed.²⁵

The monument dedicated to Aesculapius probably comes from an area not far from where it was embedded in the wall.

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¹⁵ AE 1966, 310 = ILD 547.

¹⁶ ILD 544.

¹⁷ CIL III 867.

¹⁸ IDR III/5, 451.

¹⁹ CIL III 12581 = AE 1912, 308 = IDR III/2, 279 and CIL III 1438 = IDR III/2, 314.

²⁰ Clo[dian(us)?]: Kajanto 1965, 32, 144; OPEL II, 64. See also Schulze 1904, 150 for names such as Clotinianum or Clotrius. For the name *Clodius* see OPEL II, 65.

²¹ Ciongradi, Voişian, Bota 2012, 109–124.

²² Antal, Pupeză 2012, 83–108.

²³ Diaconescu et alii 2012, 129–131.

²⁴ Mitrofan 1976, 199–201.

²⁵ Rusu-Bolindeţ, Popescu 2012, 237, 259–262.

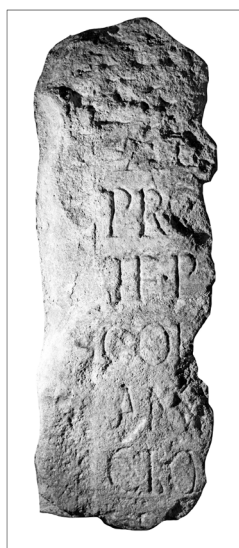
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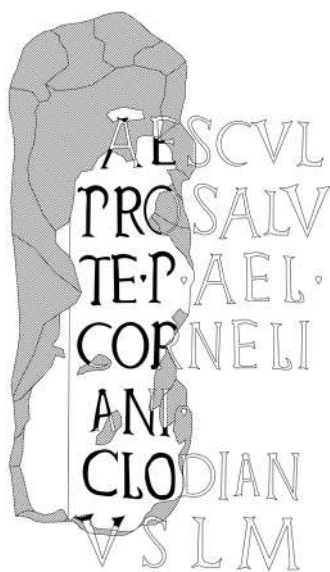
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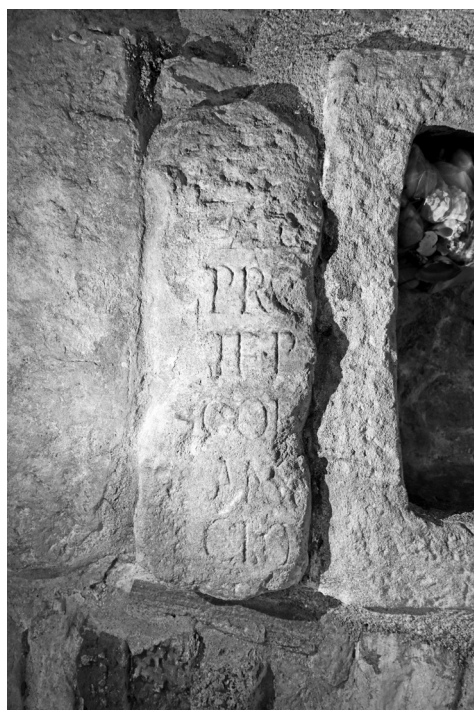
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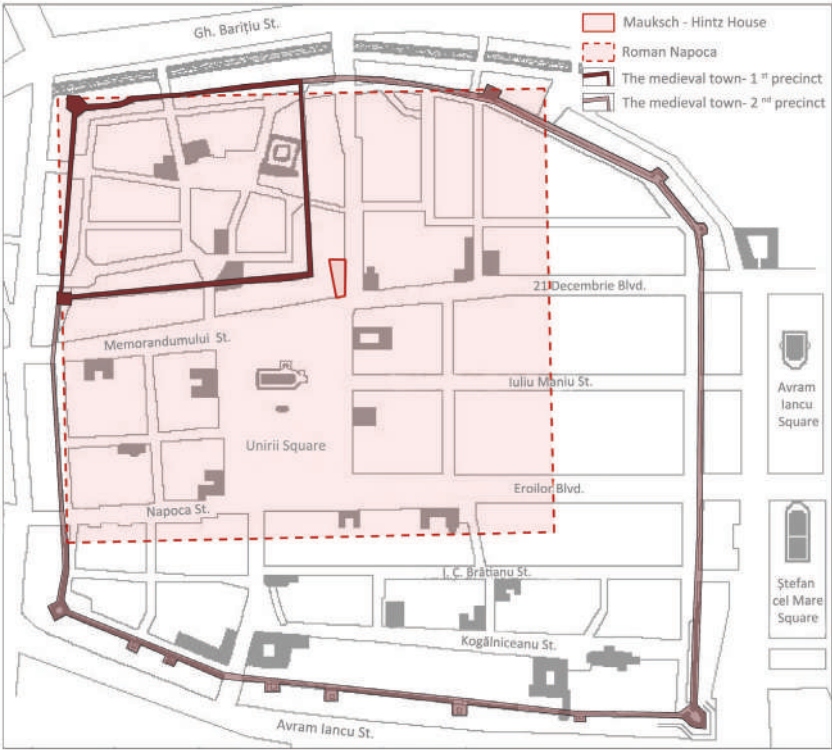
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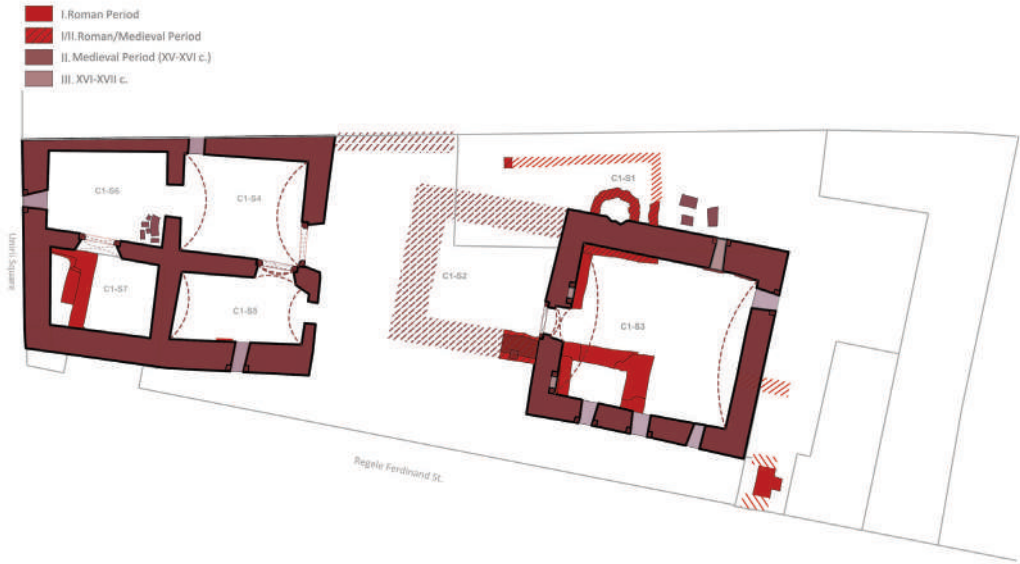


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Pl. I. 1-3. Fragmentary votive monument embedded in the Mauksch-Hintz House wall
(Photo and drawing by G. Cupcea).



1



2

Pl. II. 1. Plan of the area; **2.** The Mauksch-Hintz house basement plan (by E. Ványolós).

A MINIATURE SPEARHEAD BALDRIC FASTENER FROM THE FORTRESS OF POTAISSA

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Abstract: The discovery of a so-called *beneficiarius* badge during the research carried out in 2021 in the fortress of the Legion V Macedonica at Potaissa (Turda) was the reason for the resumption of the inventory of this type of artefacts discovered in the province of Dacia and in its vicinity, in *Barbaricum*. The piece discovered at Potaissa completes the discussion dedicated to this type of badges.

Keywords: *beneficiarius* badge; miniature spearhead; *balteus* fastener; Potaissa; *Legio V Macedonica*.

Rezumat: Descoperirea unei așa-numite insigne de beneficiar în cursul cercetărilor efectuate în anul 2021 în Castrul legiunii V Macedonica de la Potaissa (Turda) a constituit argumentul reluării repertoriului acestui tip de artefacte descoperite în provincia Dacia cât și în proximitatea acesteia, în *Barbaricum*. Piesa descoperită la Potaissa completează discuția dedicată acestui tip de insigne.

Cuvinte-cheie: insignă de beneficiar; lance miniaturală; închizătoare de *balteus*; Potaissa; *Legio V Macedonica*.

During the preventive archaeological investigations carried out in the fortress of the legion V Macedonica at Potaissa within the framework of the a restoration and tourist development project,¹ several points inside the site were archaeologically investigated. In 2021, during the month of August, while supervising the excavation of the trench for the relocation of a water pipe, in front of the entrance of the *porta decumana*, several artefacts were discovered (Pl. I). Among the material discovered there is a particular piece, unique to date among all the pieces of military equipment found in the fortress. It is a miniature spearhead-shaped *beneficiarius* badge with openwork decoration.²

The piece is fragmentarily preserved, completely missing the tip and parts of the blade. The rounded blade has two large circular holes in the central area, symmetrically arranged on either side of the shaft. On the bottom side, two small, symmetrically arranged, semi-circular projections are partially preserved, forming a *pelta*-shaped decoration with the opening facing upwards. The lower end of the shaft is decorated with a slightly rounded double profile suggesting the socket of the spear.

¹ POR Project – „Restaurarea, punerea în valoare și introducerea în circuitul turistic a Castrului legiunii V Macedonica, Potaissa-Turda”. [“Restoration, valorisation and introduction into the tourist circuit of the Fortress of the Legion V Macedonica at Potaissa-Turda”].

² Place of preservation: MIT (23/2021).

On the back side, the object has a circular attachment ring with rectangular section. The shaft has neither rivets on the back, nor holes that would have helped fasten rivets to the leather belt. The ring has only one analogy among the similar pieces found in Dacia. This detail indicates the functionality of the piece, namely that of a *balteus* fastener.

The badge is made of gilded bronze, with traces of gilding partially preserved on the surface of the artefact.

The preserved dimensions are: H 5.2 cm, W 4.3 cm, Th 0.2–0.35 cm. The loop has the following dimensions: maximum diameter 2 cm; thickness 0.3–0.4 cm (Pl. II/1, 2). Comparing with the pieces that were found intact in Dacia, we note that the heights are between 8 and 10 cm. When intact, the beneficiary badge from Potaissa probably had a height of around 8 cm.

From a typological point of view, the piece belongs to the type of open-shaped pieces with openwork *pelta* decoration, included in the group with the decoration above and under the miniature blade (Petculescu 2). A good analogy is a *balteus* fitting from Micia which has the same blade shape and the same type of decoration but without the attachment ring on the back.³ A *balteus* fastener found in a weapons cache from Vimose (Denmark), in *Barbaricum*, is similar in shape but with a more elaborate decoration.⁴

The piece is dated between 170–271 AD, the period when the Legion V Macedonica was stationed at Potaissa. The context of the find does not provide elements that would allow a narrower dating.

In Roman Dacia and in the vicinity of the province twelve such miniature spears are known to date, one of which is a belt end, all the others being belt accessories.⁵

The pieces discovered in the province come from Drobeta-Turnu Severin (Drobeta),⁶ Slăveni,⁷ Răcari,⁸ from the Oltenia region (the exact find spot is not known but they

³ Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 5, fig. 1/5.

⁴ Pauli Jensen 2014, 374–376.

⁵ Petculescu 1993, 181–186; Ciugudean 2017, 366–368; Gaiu 2013, 56; Ioniță, Matei-Popescu 1994, 216–218.

⁶ Tudor 1976, 131, no. 57, pl. 10/3; Petculescu 1993, 196, no. 8, fig. 2/8.

Drobeta – miniature spear-shaped belt fitting: the blade is decorated with two circular openwork motifs arranged symmetrically, above and below of which a small triangular motif is placed. The decoration above the blade is not preserved and the decoration under the blade consists of two circular projections arranged symmetrically on either side of the shaft. The latter is profiled. One of the fastening rivets is preserved on the back. H: 5.8 cm; FS: fortress?; PL: MNA, inv. no. III597.

⁷ Petculescu 1993, 186, fig. 2/9; Amon 2004, 150, pl. XXXIX/2; Tudor et alii 2011, 195, 272, pl. LIX/272.

Slăveni – miniature spear-shaped belt fitting, openwork. The blade, with a central shaft, has a circular hole on the semi-circular sides. There is no decoration above the blade and two slightly curved semi-rounded projections, resembling half a *pelta*, are symmetrically placed on either side of the shaft. On the back there are parts of the three rivets used to fasten the piece. H: 9 cm; FS: fort; PL: MO, inv. no. I25263.

⁸ Tudor 1965, 246, 247, fig. 7/14; Tudor 1978, 295, fig. 83/24; Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 1, fig. 1/1; Amon 2004, 149, 243, no. 37, pl. XXXIX/3; Bondoc, Gudea 2009, 217, no. 567, pl. CI/567.

Răcari – miniature spear-shaped, openwork belt fitting: the blade is decorated with two circular openwork motifs arranged symmetrically and is linked to the decoration above and below it. Above the blade there are two *pelta*-shaped openwork decorations, symmetrically placed, and below, on a rectangular surface, there are four such patterns. The lower end of the shaft is profiled, with a knob-shaped terminal. Two fastening rivets are preserved on the back of the piece. H: 7.7 cm; FS: fort; PL: MNA, inv. no. III236.

may possibly come from Slăveni, Răcari or Romula),⁹ Feldioara,¹⁰ Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa),¹¹ Vețel (Micia) – two specimens,¹² Alba Iulia (Apulum),¹³ Moigrad-Porolissum (Porolissum).¹⁴ These localities are now joined by Turda (Potaissa). As is only natural, most of them come from fortresses (Drobeta, Slăveni, Răcari, Micia, Potaissa). Two other specimens come from a temple (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa) and from the vicinity of a temple (Apulum).

⁹ Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 2, fig.1/2; Amon 2004, 149.

Oltenia – from the former Papazoglu collection (possibly from Răcari, Slăveni or Romula). The blade is decorated with two circular openwork motifs arranged symmetrically and is linked to the decoration above and below it. These parts, decorated with *pelta*-shaped motifs, are now broken. The lower end of the shaft is profiled. Two rivets are preserved on the back of the piece. H: 8.2 cm; FS: unknown; PL: MNA, inv. no. 08111.

¹⁰ Ioniță, Matei-Popescu 2022, 216–217.

Feldioara (Brașov county) – miniature spear-shaped, openwork balteus clasp: the blade is decorated with two circular openwork motifs arranged symmetrically and is linked to the decoration above and below it by two stylized dolphin shaped links on each side. Above and under the blade there are four openwork *pelta*-shaped projections, symmetrically placed on a rectangular surface. The lower end of the shaft is profiled. A circular attachment ring and two fastening rivets are preserved on the back of the piece. H: 11 cm; FS: rural settlement?

¹¹ Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 3, fig. 1/3.

Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa – miniature spear-shaped, openwork belt fitting: the blade is decorated with two circular openwork motifs arranged symmetrically and is linked to the decoration above and below it. The decoration above the blade is not preserved, and underneath, on a rectangular surface, there are four *pelta*-shaped openwork holes. The lower end of the shaft is profiled with a knob-shaped terminal. One of the fastening rivets is preserved on the back of the piece. H: 6 cm; FS: temple of Silvanus; PL: MNIT, inv. no. v28803.

¹² Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 4, fig. 1/4; Petculescu 2003, 177, no. 337; Gui 2021, 22.

Micia – a belt fitting (or balteus clasp) in the form of a miniature spear, openwork, partially preserved. The blade has two large circular holes, arranged symmetrically. Above the blade there was a decoration composed of *pelta*-shaped elements, mostly broken. Below the blade are two *pelta*-shaped projections with an openwork decoration consisting of two *pelta* motifs and a quasi-triangular motif. The ends of the shaft are profiled and end in a knob-shaped decoration. Two rivets are preserved on the back. H: 10.5 cm; FS: Vețel (Micia); PL: MNIT, inv. no. v826.

Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 5, fig. 1/5.

Micia – a miniature spear-shaped openwork, partially preserved belt fitting. The blade has two large, symmetrically arranged circular holes. The decoration above the blade is not preserved. Below the blade there are two openwork, *pelta*-shaped projections (partially preserved). The end of the shaft is profiled. One of the fastening rivets is preserved on the back of the piece. H: 6.4 cm; FS: Vețel (Micia); PL: MNIR.

¹³ Bounegru et alii 2011, 100, no. 172; Ciugudean 2017, 366–368, no. 19, pl. VII/13.

Apulum – miniature spear-shaped belt fitting. The blade has two large circular holes, symmetrically arranged. Above the blade there is a small decoration in the form of two semi-circular projections symmetrically arranged on either side of the shaft. Under the blade there are two extremely open, downward-facing, *pelta*-shaped projections. On the back, the shaft has three semi-circular rivets. H: 9 cm; FS: north of the temple of Liber Pater; PL: MNUAI, inv. no. R9468.

¹⁴ Petculescu 1993, 196, no. 10, fig. 2/10.

Porolissum – belt terminal, stylized miniature spear shape, elongated, openwork. The elongated trapezoidal clasping part supports a stylised spear with a long downward-facing tip, which has two circular holes arranged laterally. H. 6.2 cm; FS: fort, *latus sinistrum*, C4, h. 0.35 m.

Two beneficiary miniature spearheads have been discovered in *Barbaricum*, at Mătășaru¹⁵ and Medieșu Aurit.¹⁶ Their presence outside the province has been interpreted as probably being due to war booty or the phenomenon of imitation.¹⁷ The possibility of being worn by beneficiaries on missions undertaken outside of the border cannot be excluded either.¹⁸

The pieces inventoried are relatively unitary from a typological point of view.¹⁹ Except for the piece from Porolissum which constitutes a belt end, all the other artefacts are belt fittings, as illustrated by the fastening rivets preserved on some of them, as well as by the rivet holes. In the case of the find from the fortress of Potaissa, the ring present on the dorsal side of the shaft assigns the piece from the category of *balteus* clasps.²⁰

Analysing the repertoire of miniature beneficiary spears from Dacia and the vicinity of the province known until 1993, L. Petculescu established two main types according to the decorative patterns used. The first type includes pieces with *pelta*-shaped openwork decoration and the second type those decorated with other types of motifs. Depending on the way the decoration is arranged, the artefacts are grouped into four groups, included in the two types mentioned above.²¹

The first group (Petculescu 1) comprises pieces with a decoration composed of two *pelta*-shaped motifs above the blade and a rectangular band below the blade that includes four *pelta*-shaped openwork holes. The decorated rectangular lower part brings the artefacts closer to the image of a *vexillum* (Ephesos/Flobecq type). Both the upper and lower parts of the decoration are attached to the blade. This group includes artefacts from Răcari, Oltenia (with an unknown find spot), Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Feldioara. The second group (Petculescu 2) includes pieces with the bottom decoration consisting of a simple or composite *pelta*-shaped motif. These pieces probably have the same Ephesos/Flobecq prototype, the bar under the blade decorated with *pelta*-shaped motifs being

¹⁵ Bichir 1976, 303, fig. 10/3; Bichir 1984, 58, pl. LII/8, LIII/4; Petculescu 1993, 195, no. 7, fig. 2/7; Amon 2004, 150.

Mătășaru – belt fitting in the shape of a miniature spear, openwork. The blade has two large circular holes symmetrically arranged in the central area, above and under which a triangular motif is placed. Above the blade there is a rectangular element surmounted by a small circular projection. Under the blade are two open *pelta*-shaped open-work projections (partially preserved). Three rivets are preserved on the back of the piece. H: 9.1 cm; FS: Mătășaru, settlement; PL: MJA, inv. no. 827/1071.

¹⁶ Dumitrașcu, Bader 1967a, 121, pl. III/3; Dumitrașcu, Bader 1967b, 40, fig. 20, pl. XVI/8; Petculescu 1993, 196, no. 6, fig. 2/6.

Medieșu Aurit – miniature spear-shaped belt fitting, openwork. The blade has two large circular holes symmetrically arranged in the central area, above and under which a triangular motif is placed. Above the blade is a rectangular element surmounted by a small circular projection. Under the blade there are two open, *pelta*-shaped open-work projections (partially preserved). The end of the shaft is profiled. The edges of the piece are decorated with small parallel incisions. One of the fastening rivets is preserved on the back of the piece. H: 8 cm; FS: Medieșu Aurit, settlement; LP: MJSM, inv. no. 9166.

¹⁷ Gaiu 2013, 56.

¹⁸ According to L. Petculescu, the numerous Roman artifacts discovered at Mătășaru belong to a vexillation that was temporarily stationed outside the province to supervise a settlement in the period after the Marcomannic Wars until around the year 250 – Petculescu 1993, 183.

¹⁹ Petculescu 1993, 182.

²⁰ Another *balteus* clasp was discovered at Feldioara. According to L. Petculescu it is possible that one of the pieces from Micia (inv. no. v5821) is a *balteus* clasp.

²¹ Petculescu 1993, 182–183.

replaced by two *pelta*-shaped elements. Included in this group are two artefacts found at Micia and, in addition, the new find from Potaissa. The third group (Petculescu 3) includes miniature spears with elongated blades. The blade is decorated with two circular holes arranged centrally, above and below of each a relatively triangular openwork decoration is placed. A small rectangular decoration is placed above the blade. A similar, larger element is placed below the blade, which is decorated with open *pelta* motifs. This group includes two extremely similar artefacts found at Medieşul Aurit and Mătăsar. An intermediate group between the third and fourth groups would be represented by a piece with a blade similar to the pieces of the third group but with simple semi-circular projections under the blade. The artefact comes from Drobeta. For simplicity, we consider that the piece can be included in the Petculescu group 3. The pieces seem to be stylized reproductions of the small *vexilla* that were attached to the *signa militaria* of the auxiliary troops. The fourth group (Petculescu 4) is represented by a simplified miniature spear with circular holes in the central area of the blade as the only decoration. Two symmetrical, approximately arched projections are placed below the blade. The piece comes from Slăveni.²² Another example, discovered at Apulum and published later, can be added to this.²³

From both a formal and decorative point of view, there is a gradual simplifying evolution in the decoration of these pieces, from the first to the fourth group.

As far as the dating of most of the artefacts is concerned, it can be placed within the 170–271 interval, when the use of military accessories in the shape of miniature spears is generally dated²⁴ or, according to L. Petculescu, more narrowly, in the 245–270 period when the fortifications or settlements from which they came were destroyed or abandoned.²⁵ The fitting from Apulum has been dated between the last quarter of the 2nd century and the middle of the 3rd century AD.²⁶

The variety of types and the regional specificity of miniature spears probably derive from the fact that in each province the *legati* used their own variant.²⁷ Most probably, these accessories were produced in workshops in the province of Dacia, just as they were locally produced in other provinces. C. Petculescu considered that an example discovered at Zugmantel, in Germania Superior, completely different from other fittings discovered in that area but similar to the pieces from Mătăsar and Medieşu Aurit, must have come from Dacia.²⁸

Military accessories in the shape of a beneficiary spear have been found in the frontier provinces of the Roman Empire: Britannia, Germania, Raetia, Pannonia, Dacia, Syria, Mauretania Tingitana, Chersonesos, as well as near the *limes*, in *Barbaricum*²⁹.

²² Petculescu 1993, 182.

²³ Ciugudean 2017, 368.

²⁴ Oldenstein 1976, 156–157.

²⁵ Petculescu 1993, 183.

²⁶ Ciugudean 2017, 368; the author attributes it to a *beneficiarius consularis*.

²⁷ Oldenstein 1976, 153; Kovács 2005, 957.

²⁸ Petculescu 1993, 190.

²⁹ Oldenstein 1976, 152–157, no. 353–387, Taf. 38–40; Petculescu 1993, 187–190 (with bibliography); Kovács 2005, 959–961; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 31, 159, 182, 184, Kostromichyov 2005, pl. 10/1; Radman-Livaja 2008, 302–304, fig. 71–76; Mráv 2011, *passim*; Hoss 2014, 64, no. A.882, Taf. 23, 283–285, no. H.329–365, Taf. 82; Pauli Jensen 2014, 374–376; Raviv, Zissu 2021, 456, no. 1, Pl. I/1, 458.

The *hasta* is an *insigne* with complex meanings whose symbolic use spans the whole of Roman history from the Kingdom to the Late Antiquity. The symbolism of the artefact is religious, implies royal/imperial power and is assimilated to the authority of the Roman state, legal and obviously military.³⁰

Beneficiary spears are a special group of spear-shaped *insignia* distinct from other similarly shaped objects from the *signa*, *vexilla* or *dona militaria* category. From a formal point of view they are decorated miniature spears. The broad-shouldered blade has two circular holes and/or an oblique incision. The shape of the blade is usually triangular with rounded corners or cordiform, but may also be double, open, circular, rectangular or elongated. Above and below the blade there are transversal bars or *tabulae ansata* with various decorative elements. The socket is solid, with a rounded end or with a knob or palmette-shaped terminal.³¹ From a functional point of view, they can be fibulae, buckles, belt ends and *balteus* terminal plates, *balteus* fittings and clasps that were affixed to the leather as an accessory, belt fittings associated with ring-pommel shaped pendants. They were made of bronze or silver (Pl. II/3).³²

The significance of these accessories is that of an official badge usually worn by beneficiaries, but also by other *immunes* in the governor's service such as *frumentarii* or *speculatores*.³³

These miniature spear-shaped objects had more than an ornamental role. Since the beneficiary spears had a symbolism that was well known to the civilian population of the Empire, the spear-shaped *insignia* are miniature replicas of the former. The spear as an attribute represents imperial power,³⁴ which is why it was assumed that spear *insignia* were worn by people representing this power on behalf of the emperor. The governors who held this authority had a number of subordinates to whom they entrusted various tasks, and the *insignia* were distributed to attest the authority with which they were invested.³⁵

The beneficiary badge from Potaissa completes the provincial repertoire, fitting into the already-known typologies. The piece must have belonged to a member of the military staff of the *officium consularis* sent to Potaissa.³⁶

³⁰ DA III, 1, Paris, 1900, 38–43, s.v. *Hasta* (E. Beulier, E. Cuq); Alföldy 1959, passim; Kovács 2005, 955.

³¹ Kovács 2005, 955.

³² Oldenstein 1976, 153; Petculescu 1993, 181, 190; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 182, 184; Kovács 2005, 955–956; Mráv 2011, 39–54.

³³ Ritterling 1919, passim; Oldenstein 1976, 152; Eibl 1994, 278–297; Rankov 1999, 23–31; Bishop, Coulston 2003, 152–154; James 2004, 51, 64–65; Hoss 2014, 302; Cupcea 2014, 21–22; Piso 2019, 117; Ioniță, Matei-Popescu 2022, 217–218; L. Petculescu considers that these accessories had an apotropaic role and were worn by the horsemen of the auxiliary troops – Petculescu 1993, 190, 192–193.

³⁴ Alföldy 1959, 2.

³⁵ Oldenstein 1976, 153; Opreanu 1994, 74.

³⁶ After Raviv, Zissu 2021, 457–459 these *insignia* could also be worn by *beneficiarii legati legionis*.

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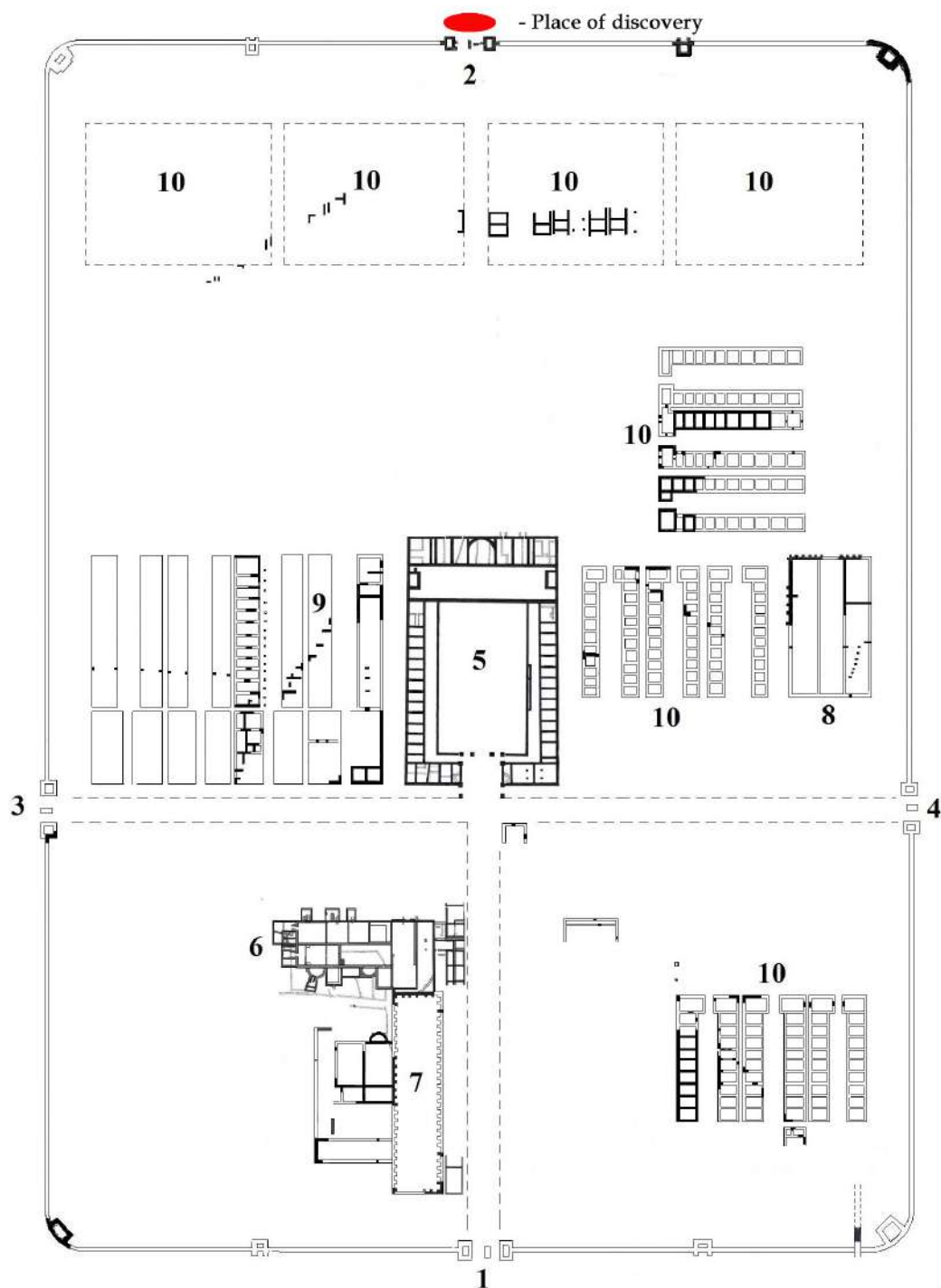
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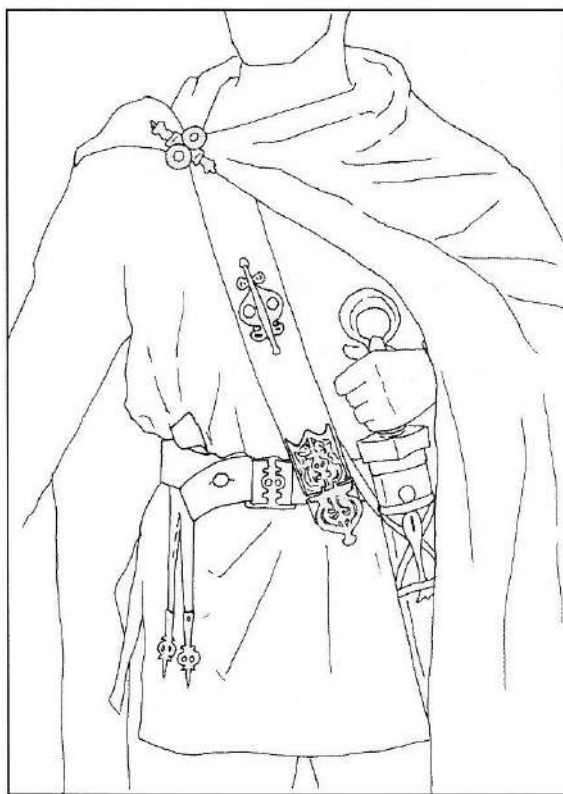
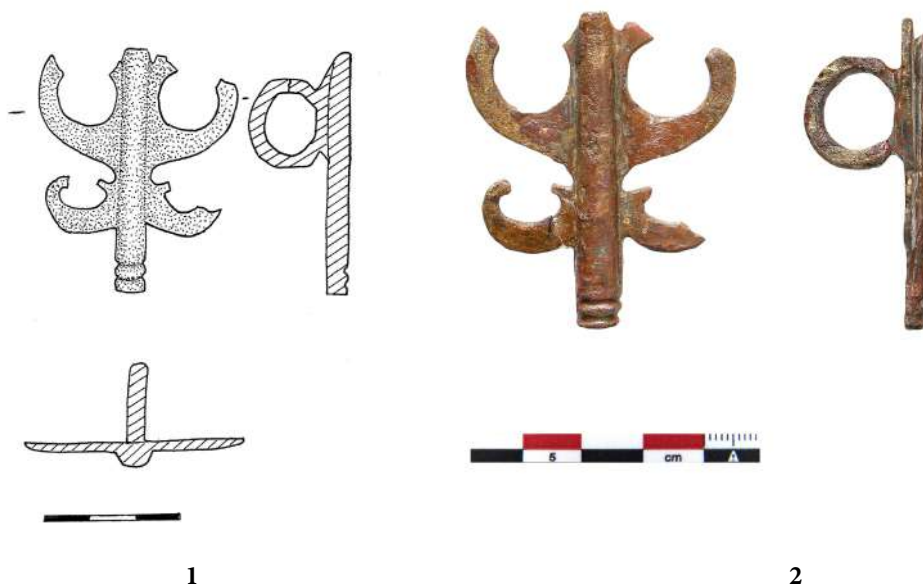
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Pl. I. The fortress of the V Legion Macedonica (after Bărbulescu 2019, 14, fig. 2) with the place of discovery. 1. *Porta praetoria*; 2. *Porta decumana*; 3. *Porta principalis dextra*; 4. *Porta principalis sinistra*; 5. *Principia*; 6. *Thermae*; 7. *Palestra*; 8. *Horrea*; 9. *Cohors miliaria*, 10. *Cohors quingenaria*.



Pl. II. The *beneficiarius* miniature spearhead from Potaissa; 1. Drawings by D. Gheorghe Șerban
2. Photos by S. Odenie; 3. Accessories of *principales* costume – after Mráv 2011, 42, Abb. 18.

TWO LATIN DEDICATIONS TO SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS DISCOVERED AT SAMUM/CĂȘEIU

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Abstract: This epigraphic note analyses two Latin inscriptions on limestone plates which decorated statue bases. The two monuments were discovered during the last century at Samum (Cășeiu, Cluj County). Even if they are fragmentary, both can be dated during the reign of Septimius Severus, thus doubling the number of dedications addressed to this emperor in the area of the northern frontier of Roman Dacia.

Keywords: Septimius Severus; Latin epigraphy; Roman Dacia; Roman army.

Rezumat: Această notă epigrafică analizează două inscripții latinești ale unor plăci din calcar ce decorau baze de statui. Cele două monumente au fost descoperite în secolul trecut la Samum (Cășeiu, județul Cluj). Chiar dacă sunt fragmentare, ele pot fi datate în vremea domniei lui Septimius Severus, dublându-se astfel numărul de dedicații adresate acestui împărat în zona frontierei nordice a Daciei romane.

Cuvinte-cheie: Septimius Severus; epigrafie latină; Dacia romană; armata romană.

This paper analyses two plates with Latin inscriptions honoring the emperor Septimius Severus, found in the auxiliary military fort at Samum (Cășeiu, Cluj County).¹ Constantin Daicoviciu briefly mentioned them, informing about the circumstances of their discovery, the dimensions of the fragments, and subsequently offering a diplomatic transcription of the texts and attempting to date the fragments.² The first fragment was dated by Daicoviciu under Septimius Severus. He suspected that it was a pendant of another statue base

¹ For details related to the fort, see Isac 2003. The latest epigraphic evidence on stone discovered here includes three altars: one found in a sacralized space dedicated to Ceres, which is in connection with a *horreum* located inside the auxiliary fort (Isac, Isac 2010, 355–358, no. 3 = ILD II 994 = AE 2010, 1364), another one consecrated by a *beneficiarius consularis* to Liber Pater and Libera (see further Piso 2019, for the *beneficiarii* and their dedications, esp. 110–112 for the mentioned monument = AE 2019, 1251), and the last one dedicated by a *decurio* of the *cohors I Britannica* named Publius Aelius Cerialis to Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Minerva and Hercules (see further Beu-Dachin, Isac 2019 = AE 2019, 1254). To these is added the reinterpretation of the text from the profiled funerary stela CIL III 7635 (Dana, Zăgreanu 2013 = ILD II 995 = AE 2013, 1283).

² According to the same author, these were found by Márton Roska in 1912 and were brought to the current National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca; see further Daicoviciu 1928–1932, 60, no. 2b respectively no. 2c. The third fragment, which could not be identified in the repository of the museum, is found at no. 2d (old inv. II, 6742). Daicoviciu's paper was republished with no significant modifications (Daicoviciu 1969, 213, b and 213–214, c and 214, d). All these fragments were included in the corpus of stone sculptural monuments by Radu Zăgreanu (see further Zăgreanu 2014, 516, C. I. O. 2–4, pl. CC.XVIII/C. I. O. 2–4).

dedicated to Julia Domna and Caracalla, found in the auxiliary fort by Emil Panaitescu in 1930, while for the second one he presumed that it dates during Caracalla's reign.³

In the northern part of Dacia dedications honoring Septimius Severus, alone or together with his son Caracalla, are scarce.⁴ For instance, on the frontier area, in the *principia* of the local auxiliary fort at modern-day Buciumi, a limestone plate of a statue base erected by the local military unit – *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*⁵ – honors the emperor and his oldest son, Caracalla, through the governor of the *tres Daciae*, whose identity is still under debate.⁶ At Porolissum, just recently, a fragmentary limestone plate was found; it was dedicated to the health of the two members of the Imperial house: Severus and his oldest son, Caracalla.⁷ Leaving the frontier and moving more inland in the former Dacia Porolissensis, two monuments involving the military are known from the legionary fortress from Potaissa, where the *legio V Macedonica* was camped.⁸ In the civilian milieu of the region, other monuments are known at Potaissa,⁹ Napoca,¹⁰ and in its rural countryside.¹¹

³ Daicovicu 1928–1932, 60. The pendant inscription in question is published in AE 1929, 1 = ILD I 764 with references.

⁴ The bibliography on different topics related to Septimius Severus and Dacia is vast but at this point quite outdated (cf. Ardevan, Zerbini 2007, 60–64). In the former province of Dacia Porolissensis, now, during the reign of Severus, one of the financial districts of the *tres Daciae*, the importance of the emperor's benefactions is highlighted by the granting of the municipal status to two of its major military centers, namely Porolissum and Potaissa, raising the number of urban settlements to three, together with *colonia Aurelia Napocensis* (Ardevan 1998, passim; it still remains the most important historiographic landmark for the subject of urbanization in Dacia). In recent years, the colonial status of Potaissa, presumably granted under Severus, was questioned by recent scholarship (Nemeti, Nemeti 2014 and Piso 2014).

⁵ For this military unit see latest Petolescu 2021, 196–198, no. 28.

⁶ ILD I 633 with references; all authors read the name of the governor as L. Marius Perpetuus (212/213 to 215? AD) and consider that the text was written during the reign of Caracalla, portraying Severus as a *divus* (Piso 1993, 171, no. 38, 9). However, Al. Diaconescu has convincingly argued that the names and titles of both Severus and Caracalla in this text are specific for the period before Severus' death (Diaconescu 2004, 206–207, no. 26) suggesting the governor's identity in the person of Caius Iulius Maximus, who governed Dacia between 208–210? AD (for Maximus, see Piso 1993, 166–168, no. 36). Other fragments found during the excavations of the *principia* might belong to other honorific inscriptions dated to the reign of Septimius Severus, i.e. Chirilă et alii 1972, 116, no. 8 = Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 24–25, no. 42, fig. 42 = Zăgreanu 2014, Bu. I.O.7, pl. CCXVIII / Bu. I.O.7.

⁷ Piso, Opreanu 2019 = AE 2019, 1243. The previous authors conclude on page 296: „Für Porolissum ist dieser Text bisher die erste sichere Inschrift aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus.”

⁸ These are a limestone column shaft found in the courtyard of the *principia* (see further Bărbulescu 2012, 56–59, no. 2, fig. 13; Piso 2013, 43, no. 7, fig. 7, a-b = AE 2012, 1202; ILD II 943) and a construction plate made by Septimius Geta, the governor of *tres Daciae*, through Claudius Claudianus, commander of the *legio V Macedonica* around 195–196 AD (see further CIL III 905, + p. 1014; Piso 1993, 150, no. 31, 3; also Piso 2013a, 62–63, no. 69).

⁹ A consecration to Vulcanus was made by the members of the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium Septimium Potaissense* in which both Septimius Severus and Caracalla were honored (ILD I 533).

¹⁰ A fragmentary limestone statue base dedicated to the health of the emperor and his sons (AE 1960, 225 = ILD I 541).

¹¹ A limestone statue base found in the modern-day village of Jebucu was consecrated to Jupiter and the *genius* of the imperial family (Severus and his sons) by the *vicani* of an unknown village (see further Piso, Deac 2019, 256–258, no. 2, fig. 2, a-b). For a slightly different interpretation see Nemeti 2019, 115–116. Another fragmented monument is walled in the modern church of Dretea, Cluj County, mentioning the governor Mevius Surus (see further CIL III 7647 and Piso 1993, 157, no. 32, 5).

1. Limestone plate decorating the front of a statue base. It preserves about a third of the top left side of the plate, the beginning of the first six lines being readable. Dimensions: height = 35 cm; width = 21 cm. Letters height = 4 cm; N+E in ligature. National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. v 15877 (= II 6737) (Figs. 1–2).



Fig. 1. Photo of the first fragment (© S. Odenie, MNIT Cluj-Napoca).



Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the upper side of the plate decorating the statue base (© authors).

- Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari) divi Mar-]
 ci An[tonini Pii]
 Ger(manici) S[armat(ici) filio]
 divi Cō[mmodi fra-]
 5 tri diy[i Anton(ini) Pii]
 nepot[i] [divi Hadriani]
 [pronep(oti) divi Traiani]
 [Parthici abnep(oti)]
 [divi Nervae adnep(oti)]
 10 [L(ucio)Septimio Severo Pio]
 [Pertinaci Aug(usto) Ara-]
 [bico Adiabenico]
 [Parthico max(imo) trib(unicia)]
 15 [pot(estate) ---]
 [---].*

2. Limestone plate decorating the front of a statue base. It preserves the central lower side of the plate, on which one can read fragments of the central part of four lines. Dimensions: height = 20 cm; width = 18 cm. Height of letters = 4 cm; N+E in ligature. The horizontal stroke of H in the last preserved line is visible but considerably thinner than usual. National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, inv. v 15878 (= II 6739) (Figs. 3–4).



Fig. 3. Photo of the second fragment
 (© S. Odenie, MNIT Cluj-Napoca).

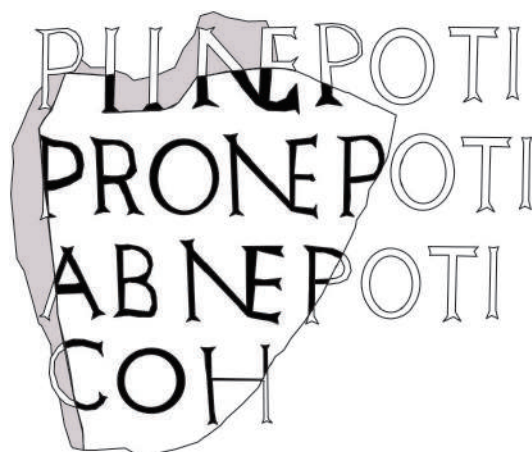


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the plate decorating
 the statue base (© authors).

- [----- divi]
 [Antonini]Pii nep[oti divi]
 [Hadriani] pronep[oti divi Traiani]
 [Parthici] abnep[oti divi Nerv(ae)]
 [adnepoti] coh(ors) [I Britann(ica)?].*

Undoubtedly, we are dealing with two distinct monuments. At least the first inscription dates after the Summer of 195 AD when the fictitious adoption of Septimius Severus by Marcus Aurelius first occurs in the epigraphic evidence.¹² Several reasons set forward the idea that the second inscription also dates during the reign of Septimius Severus. For example, both follow the same epigraphic pattern and are cut into similar stones. They were found roughly in the same spot, have letters of the same height, similarly crafted, and both texts bear the same ligatures between the letters N and E. Overall, one can state that we are dealing with two distinct statue bases decorated with limestone plates honoring through their texts emperor Septimius Severus. At least the second one, if not both, were erected in the auxiliary fort from Samum most likely by *cohors I Britannica milliaria c. R. equitata*.¹³ With these two new monuments, the number of finds of this sort from the northern frontier of Dacia now doubles.

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¹² Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 149.

¹³ See latest Petolescu 2021, 188–190, no. 24. This unit replaced *cohors II Britannorum milliaria* (for this latter military unit see Cupcea, Deac, Zimmermann 2022) sometime during the early Hadrianic period and presumably remained at *Samum* until the abandonment of the province.

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UNE *TESSERA MILITARIS* D'APULUM*

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Abstract: A perfectly preserved bronze *tessera militaris*, in the form of *tabula ansata*, found most likely at Apulum (Upper Dacia), gives *en pointillé* the name of a certain Maximus from the *centuria* of Publius, probably an auxiliary soldier.

Keywords: Apulum; bronze; ownership mark; Roman army; *tessera militaris*.

Résumé: Une *tessera militaris* en bronze, parfaitement conservée, en forme de *tabula ansata*, provenant le plus probablement d'Apulum (Dacie Supérieure), porte en pointillé le nom d'un certain Maximus de la centurie de Publius, sans doute un soldat auxiliaire.

Mots clés: Apulum; armée romaine; bronze; marque de propriété; *tessera militaris*.

Rezumat: O *tessera militaris* din bronz, în formă de *tabula ansata*, provenind cel mai probabil de la Apulum (Dacia Superior), este înscrisă în pointillé cu numele unui Maximus din centuria lui Publius, care pare a fi un soldat auxiliar.

Cuvinte-cheie: Apulum; armata romană; bronz; însemn de proprietate; *tessera militaris*.

Ces dernières années, le patrimoine du Musée National de l'Union d'Alba Iulia, dont la plupart des collections archéologiques provient d'Apulum (Dacie Supérieure), a été enrichi par une série de pièces confisquées par la police roumaine. Parmi les nombreux objets en cours de restauration et d'enregistrement se trouve une plaquette en bronze en forme de *tabula ansata*, entrée dans la custodie du musée en 2014, avec un lot considérable de pièces (le « lot Străjan ») dont on sait qu'elles proviennent en grande partie du quartier Partoș de la ville d'Alba Iulia, qui superpose le premier établissement romain devenu municipe sous Marc Aurele et puis *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis* sous Commode, mais aussi du secteur des *canabae legionis XIII Geminae*, municipalisé par la suite¹.

La lamelle (2,2 × 4,8 cm; poids: 3,83 gr.) a été taillée dans une feuille en bronze (ép. 0,45 mm); il existe une légère asymétrie du corps central (lg. 3,2 cm) comme des deux queues d'aronde (lg. 0,9, respectivement 0,7 cm). Les marges sont en partie éreintées; les divers accidents trahissent l'usure fonctionnelle et la conservation ultérieure de la pièce. Paradoxalement, son état de conservation est très bon, avec une patine noble sur la majeure partie de la surface, sans des traces visibles d'oxydation. Grâce à un examen tracéologique attentif, la zone de jonction entre les queues d'aronde et le corps central présente des traces

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¹ Puisque le lieu précis de découverte reste inconnu, on utilisera le terme générique « Apulum » pour sa provenance. La pièce fait partie d'une collection constituée sur une longue période, plusieurs objets étant achetés « en groupe ».

d'usure (d'arrondissement), indices donc de l'emploi d'un matériau textile ou organique (peau), mais en excluant le métal, qui aurait laissé des traces de frottement plus prononcées. Ce détail explique l'absence des trous circulaires percés d'habitude dans les queues d'aronde, afin d'attacher ce genre de pièces inscrites à l'équipement militaire des soldats occupant les baraquements des camps auxiliaires ou légionnaires. Nous donnons ici deux photos et un fac-similé de l'inscription².



Fig. 1. Photo de la pièce (C. Șuteu).



Fig. 2. RTI de la pièce (C. Șuteu).

> PVBLI
 v MAXI
 v MI
 (centuria) Publi, | Maxi|mi.

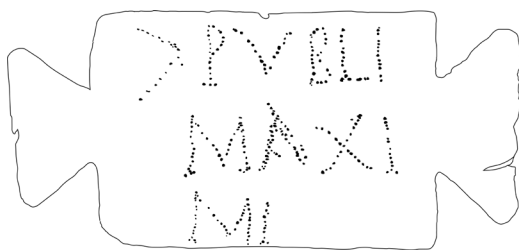


Fig. 3. Fac-similé (D. Dana).

Une inscription sur trois lignes, en pointillé, a été réalisée avec le même soin que la mise en page; ht. variable des lettres: 0,35–0,55 cm. L'artisan a poinçonné les lettres, dont certaines pourvues d'*apices*, par de très nombreux points minuscules; l. 2, les deux hastes du A ont été tracées par deux fois. Abréviation > pour *centuria*.

Comme d'habitude, on reconnaît deux niveaux d'information³: l'identification par la centurie (ou la turme, dans le cas des ailes), respectivement l'identité du soldat; le troisième niveau (nom de l'unité militaire) manque dans notre cas. L'onomastique fournie par ce nouveau document est des plus banales: *Publius* pour le centurion, *Maximus* pour le soldat. L'absence des gentilices, alors que l'espace ne manquait pas, du moins pour le soldat⁴, exclut en principe la légion sur place (*XIII Gemina*) et oriente plutôt en faveur d'auxiliaires de statut

² Les photos et la RTI ont été réalisées par Călin Șuteu (Gigapixel Art SRL), que nous remercions.

³ Pour ces pièces inscrites avec l'identité militaire des soldats, voir à titre d'exemple Nuber 1972, en partic. 504–507 (catalogue de 65 marques de propriété); Oldenstein 1976, 190–193 (Pl. 60–61); Eck, Pangerl 2015, 113–126 (textes repris dans AE 2015, 1905–1927).

⁴ Sauf si l'on suppose, pour une date après 212, l'omission d'un gentilice impérial comme *Aurelius* et donc l'appartenance à la légion d'Apulum (suggestion de Florian Matei-Popescu, que nous remercions). Pourtant, l'absence du gentilice, d'autant plus si l'on prend en compte la banalité d'un *cognomen*, serait surprenante.

pérégrin⁵, dont certains sont attestés ou se sont établis à Apulum (d'après les inscriptions et les diplômes militaires), lieu probable – mais non assuré – de provenance de notre texte⁶.

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⁵ On préfère écarter la possibilité d'avoir uniquement l'indication d'un centurion, qui serait le seul nommé, *Publi* voire *Publi(li) Maximi* (hypothèse également envisagée par Werner Eck, que nous remercions).

⁶ Plusieurs dizaines de *tesserae militares* découvertes en Dacie romaine, dont de nombreux inédits et des pièces récemment connues (Dana, Gaiu 2014; Deac 2018), et d'autres marques de propriété des soldats, seront publiées prochainement dans un corpus préparé par Dan Dana et Dan Deac; en dernier lieu, voir un disque en bronze trouvé à Porolissum, inscrit en pointillé avec le nom thrace *Muco* (Deac, Dana 2022).

A NEW *BENEFICIARIUS CONSULARIS* FROM ABRUD, 'AHEAD OF HIS TIME'

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Abstract: Knowledge on the Roman period in the area of the town of Abrud, Alba County, is still scarce, even if assumptions of a Roman fortlet have always been made, but only partially confirmed by research. Recent restoration works of the Unitarian church in the city centre have revealed several architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic monuments dating from the Roman period. Even if most of them are fragmented, erased and almost impossible to read, one particular altar, dedicated by a *beneficiarius consularis*, has drawn our attention.

Keywords: altar; *beneficiarius consularis*; inscription; Jupiter; governor.

Rezumat: Cunoștințele despre epoca romană în jurul orașului Abrud, jud. Alba sunt încă precare, în ciuda faptului că o mică fortificație romană a fost presupusă de ceva vreme și doar parțial confirmată de cercetările arheologice. Lucrările recente de restaurare a Bisericii Unitariene din centrul orașului au scos la iveală mai multe fragmente arhitectonice, sculpturale sau epigrafice. Chiar dacă majoritatea sunt fragmentare, distruse și aproape imposibil de descifrat, un altar ne-a atras atenția în mod special, dedicat fiind de un beneficiar al consularului.

Cuvinte-cheie: altar; *beneficiarius consularis*; inscripție; Jupiter; guvernator.

Roman archaeology in Abrud

The existence of a Roman fortlet was presumed to the west of the centre of Abrud, on an elevated plateau locally called *Cetățuia* (transl. 'Fortress'), at the confluence of the Cernața Stream and the Abrud River. After sporadic and limited archaeological excavations, the fort was identified in 1977–1978 (Pl. I/1–2). The dimensions of the fortification are 50 × 40 m; therefore, it falls into the category of small garrisons: *castellum*, *burgus* (fortlet). Like all fortifications of this kind, the *burgus* at Abrud had defensive installations built of earth and timber, in the form of a rampart and ditch system (Pl. II/1–2).¹

The rampart and ditch are still preserved only on the north-west side of the fortlet. The maximum height of the rampart is 1.90 m and the ditch was 1.75 m deep and 2.50 m wide. On an upper level, traces of a wall have been discovered, which is preserved in the form of a stone foundation bound with clay, but this appears later, from a period when the Roman fortification no longer existed.²

¹ C. Daicoviciu claimed that the ditch was still visible on a total length of 300 m, Daicoviciu 1941, 300; Moga, Mesaroș 1980, 141–142. In reality the precise position of the fortification is unclear. Only the north-western side is visible, in the form of a prominent earthen rampart and ditch, which has the appearance of a later fortification, perhaps from the medieval period, with a possible overlapping of defensive elements.

² Moga, Mesaroș 1980, 142.

Finds from the excavations include bronze buckles, common pottery, arrow and spear heads and an *Aucissa*-type fibula produced in Italy in the late 1st century AD.³ We have no indication about the military units that garrisoned the fortification, but older information suggests a category of irregular troops, *burgarii* or *speculatores*, with duties in guarding the roads in the gold-mining area of the Apuseni Mts.⁴

The evidence increased recently, when stone architectural fragments and even Roman inscriptions have been found in various stages of restoration in the present-day town.⁵

Material	Limestone, white-greyish
Dimensions	H max. = 77 cm Frag. 1: H = 36.5 cm, W = 36.5 cm Frag. 2: H = 37 cm, W = 35 cm
Epigraphic field	H = 36.5 cm
Letter height	5.5 cm (l. 1), 5 cm (l. 2), 4 cm (l. 4–5), 3 cm (l. 6)
Ligatures	l. 3 – NI, l. 4 – BF
Findspot	Unitarian Church of Abrud
Storage	National Museum of the Unification, Alba Iulia
Date	AD 163
Illustration	Pl. III/1–2

	Transcript	Reconstructed text
	I O M	<i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)</i>
	P AE LON	<i>P(ublius) Ae(lius) Lon-</i>
	GINAN	<i>gin[i]an[u]-</i>
	S BF COS EX	<i>s b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex</i>
5	VOTO POS	<i>voto pos(uit)</i>
	PASTORE COS	<i>Pastore co(n)s(ule)</i>

The altar was discovered during the restoration works of the Unitarian Church of Abrud, conducted in the last couple of years. It is cut in half, in two almost identical fragments, reused as building material for the church. The original place of discovery is unknown, as well as for the other such finds from Abrud.

The piece shows rudimentary decorations that are not centred or very thoroughly executed. It presents vegetal motifs on the crown and a simple triangle marking on the base. On the top and bottom, it received some further carvings, from which only the upper

³ Moga, Mesaroş 1980, 145–148.

⁴ Moga, Mesaroş 1980, 148–149. Doubtful, perhaps detachments from *legio XIII Gemina* are more probable. The only tile stamp is unfortunately blurry, Daicoviciu 1941, 300. The only other soldiers attested in Apuseni Mountains area, on some altars at Zlatna (Ampelum), are the ones of the *numerus Maurorum Hisp.* (see Petolescu 2002, 137–138).

⁵ The other two monuments are heavily affected by erosion and still need to be restored and scanned in order to make the writing visible. C. Daicoviciu has published long time ago some other monuments which were in the collection of a public school, considering them as being brought from the neighboring Roşia Montană (Alburnus Maior), Daicoviciu 1941.

ones seem to be original. On the top we can notice a rectangular carving of 18 × 16 cm, with a centred drill hole 2 cm in diameter and 14 cm in depth. These could be traces for fixation of a statue or, more probably in the present case, a mobile, metal-made altar.

Also, the **stone cutter** of the inscription did not correctly estimate the allocated space, thus resorting to peculiar annotations, as the small size of the letter 'O' in l. 2, 4 and 5,⁶ the abbreviation *Ae(lius)* in l. 2 or the presumed ligature (*NI* in l. 3). The abbreviation of the *nomen*, as *Ae(lius)*, instead of the more commonly used *Ael(ius)* is something that can be explained through the doubling of the letter 'L' in the text, that would both add confusion to the reader and take up precious writing space, but is also frequent in epigraphy.⁷

Not last, for the consular dating, the craftsman only found place on the lower decoration of the altar, but nevertheless mentioned it correctly. The entire writing is executed correctly and presents elegantly inscribed lapidary capitals. Otherwise, the piece is in line with the other such monuments found in the region and all-around Dacia, outside the consecrated large urban areas of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Apulum.

The dedicator, P. Aelius Longinianus is a *beneficiarius consularis* of the legion *XIII Gemina*, the only legion present in Dacia at that time (i.e., AD 163). He bears a rather common Latin name, the *nomen* Aelius pointing towards the fact that he or his family first obtained citizenship under the emperor Hadrian. The *cognomen* Longinianus is met in Rome and the Western Latin provinces:⁸ Italia, Africa (and Numidia⁹), Hispania, Dalmatia,¹⁰ Pannonia, Lower Moesia¹¹ and even Dacia. It is a *cognomen* related to a particular feature of the human body, in this case the height.¹²

In Dacia, the name appears in two inscriptions. The first is a funerary monument dedicated by a *beneficiarius consularis* Longinus, to his wife Valeria Rufina (dead at 20) and his son Longinianus (dead at 4).¹³ The second instance is a simple Longinianus, on the list of the *Asiani* discovered in Napoca.¹⁴

Finally, it's worth mentioning a military unit bearing this name, *ala Longiniana*, attested at Bonn and in Gaul, in the first half of the 1st century AD. It was probably recruited some time under the Julio-Claudians and disappeared in AD 69.¹⁵

⁶ For a similar engraving of the letter 'O' in inscriptions from Dacia, see more recently Nemeti, Cupcea, Csók 2022, 175–176.

⁷ Analogies are met everywhere in the Empire, but mostly in Africa, Dalmatia, Lower Moesia and Dacia: AE 2019, 1252, Samum; CIL III 6249, Porolissum; IDR III/2, 571, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa; CIL III 915, Potaissa; IDR III/3, 120, Micia; AE 1988, 958, Ampelum and on several tile-stamps from Apulum or Salinae.

⁸ OPEL III, 31.

⁹ In Lambaesis, the centurion Iul. Longinianus is mentioned on four funerary monuments (CIL VIII 2905, 2906, 2923, 2967) and another one, Aur. Longinianus, dedicated a temple to the emperor Aurelian (CIL VIII 2676).

¹⁰ CIL III 2679, Tragurium: *Aurelio Longiniano dec(urioni) col(oniae) Drobeten(sium)*.

¹¹ Among them, C. Valerius Longinianus (CIL III 7599) is a *flamen*, *quaestor*, *aedilis* and *Ilvir* of the *municipium* of Troesmis, on a dedication made by his son-in-law, also an *aedilis*.

¹² Kajanto 1982, 149, 231.

¹³ IDR III/5, 594, dated until now after AD 168, because of the title *consularis* of the *beneficiarius*.

¹⁴ CIL III 870, Napoca.

¹⁵ Spaul 1994, 156–157.

The title of the dedicator is obvious and traditionally inscribed, *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)* and very common for Dacia and elsewhere. Nevertheless, a disagreement occurs when the title is associated to **the date** of the inscription. The date is suggested very clear, by mentioning a single consul, A. Iunius Pastor, who was in office as *consul ordinarius* in AD 163, along with M. Pontius Laelianus.¹⁶ From all the epigraphic attestations, this is the only one where he is appearing as the single consul.¹⁷

The problem arises when we take into consideration that in AD 163, Dacia was still not a consular province. At this time, the only legion garrisoned in Dacia was *XIII Gemina*, at Apulum, after *IIII Flavia* left at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, thus leaving the legate of the single-remaining legion, the acting governor of the province, on a praetorian rank.¹⁸ This does not mean that the acting governor did not have an *officium*, extracted from the military units under his command, as a regular consular governor would have had. On the contrary, the legionary legate/governor, did not have an *officium legati* anymore, but an *officium* of the governor, regularly called *consularis*. There is no evidence of two *officia*, one of the legionary legate and the other of the governor, functioning simultaneously in a one-legion province.¹⁹ The obvious example is the splitting in half of the number of staff appointments between the proconsul of Africa and the legate of *III Augusta*, in AD 39, when the latter became acting governor of Numidia.²⁰ Furthermore, the evidence clearly points out that until the middle of the 2nd c. AD, each *officialis* refers to himself on inscriptions by rank and name of the governor whom he serves. By the Antonine period it becomes common that the governor's name is replaced with the simple term *consularis*, used as an noun in the genitive and meaning simple 'of the governor', regardless if he was of consular or praetorian rank.²¹

One last option would be to consider Longinianus as belonging to the army of a neighbouring province, but this system of appointment applies only in provinces where there is not a single legion garrisoned.²²

From this perspective, it is only natural that P. Aelius Longinianus would call himself *beneficiarius consularis*, as he was detached on a mission at Abrud as part of the *officium* of the governor.²³ The dedication of the altar marked the successful completion of the mission of Longinianus, in AD 163, when the governor in office (simultaneously *legatus legionis XIII*

¹⁶ A. Junius Pastor L. Caesennius Sospes (PIR², I 796) is mentioned in at least 13 inscriptions in the Roman Empire, from which CIL VI 41126, from Rome records his career (he even served as a *tribunus militum leg. XIII Geminae*, surely in Apulum and finally became governor of Gallia Belgica before reaching consulship in AD 163) and IDR I 40, from Alburnus Maior is a wax-tablet recording a labour contract. See also Gregori 2014, 560–562.

¹⁷ For the consular dating of Roman inscriptions, see Salomies 1995, esp. 271–272, 275, 278–279.

¹⁸ Thomasson 1991, esp. 52 and Piso 1993, 30–41, esp. 35–37.

¹⁹ For the discussion, see Ott 1995, 26–27 (arguing that there could be) and Nelis-Clément 2000, 114–115.

²⁰ Rankov 1999, 23 and n. 58 (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.48 and Cassius Dio 59.20.7).

²¹ Rankov 1999, 20 and n. 39, with the bibliography.

²² See above, n. 20 and Ott 1995, 82–85.

²³ Further examples are CBI 724 vs. CBI 725, from Arabia, and the 30 *beneficarii consularis* from AE 1992, 1871 = CBI 784 at Lambaesis. In this context, perhaps the dating of the dedications of the other *beneficarii consularis* of Alburnus Maior could be reconsidered (ILD 360 = CBI 544; ILD 370 = CBI 545; ILD 373 = CBI 546; ILD 359 = CBI 547). *Contra*, Piso 2019, 199, dates all the *beneficarii consularis* from Dacia after AD 169/170, because of the title 'cos'.

Geminae) would have most probably been P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus, succeeding immediately the famous P. Furius Saturninus.²⁴

The context

As it has been mentioned in the opening part of the paper, there is still missing knowledge on the Roman period in Abrud. Even if the results of the excavations also revealed a Roman layer, most of the Roman activity here is assumed and correlated to Roşia Montană (Alburnus Maior), less than 10 km away.

Over there, we have attestations of four other *beneficarii consularis*, all dedicating altars to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, at the completion of their service in the area.²⁵ Two of the altars are dedicated by the same person C. Calpurnius Priscinus, and have the exact same dedication, meaning that he probably had two missions at Alburnus Maior.²⁶

As for a presumed *statio* of *beneficarii* in Alburnus Maior, knowledge is still scarce, despite the epigraphic evidence. Of course, one must assume that the governor is interested in overwatching such an important place in the economy of the province and the Empire, but to what extent the officers charged with missions here would be involved in gold-mining or actual supervision of the activities related to it, is difficult to argue.²⁷ Second, even if not in every case where a *beneficiarius consularis* is attested, one must immediately assume a *statio*,²⁸ in the case of Alburnus Maior and the surroundings, we think it's safe to say that the quantity and cyclicity of the evidence shows reasonable potential for such an installation here or even at Abrud considering its strategic position.²⁹

Last, concerning the dating of the *statio* and of the dedications, the current monument needs to reopen the discussion for the dating of the *statio* at Alburnus Maior³⁰ and especially for the general title of the members of the *officium* of the provincial governor.

²⁴ Piso 1993, 75–77.

²⁵ ILD 360 = CBI 544; ILD 370 = CBI 545; ILD 373 = CBI 546; ILD 359 = CBI 547. To these, we can add the one attested in Ampelum, IDR III/3, 597 = CBI 567, but dated much later, under the reign of Gordian III.

²⁶ CBI 544 and 546. His *cognomen* and function are further attested on an altar of another *beneficiarius consularis* in Micia: IDR III/3, 86 = CBI 563.

²⁷ Even if a relation between their presence and security of the economic areas belonging to the imperial revenue has been suggested. See Piso 2019a, 118 and the references.

²⁸ For an attempt on the identification of all the *stationes* in Dacia, see Ott 1995, 94–95 and Nelis-Clément 2000, 164–167. The first author argues that every attestation means automatically a *statio*, the second attempts a classification according to functionality. See *supra*, n. 20. For a detailed discussion on the *beneficarii consularis* in Dacia, in the context of their service in the governor's staff, see Cupcea 2014, esp. 42–48.

²⁹ The only fortlets we know for sure up to now in Apuseni Mountains area are those from Ighiu (Macrea, Protase 1959; Marcu et alii 2021) and Trâmpoiele (Bălan et alii 2019), which are in Abrud direction, along the main artery from *Apulum* to *Ampelum* and *Alburnus Maior*.

³⁰ Dated in the 2nd century AD. Ott 1995, 152.

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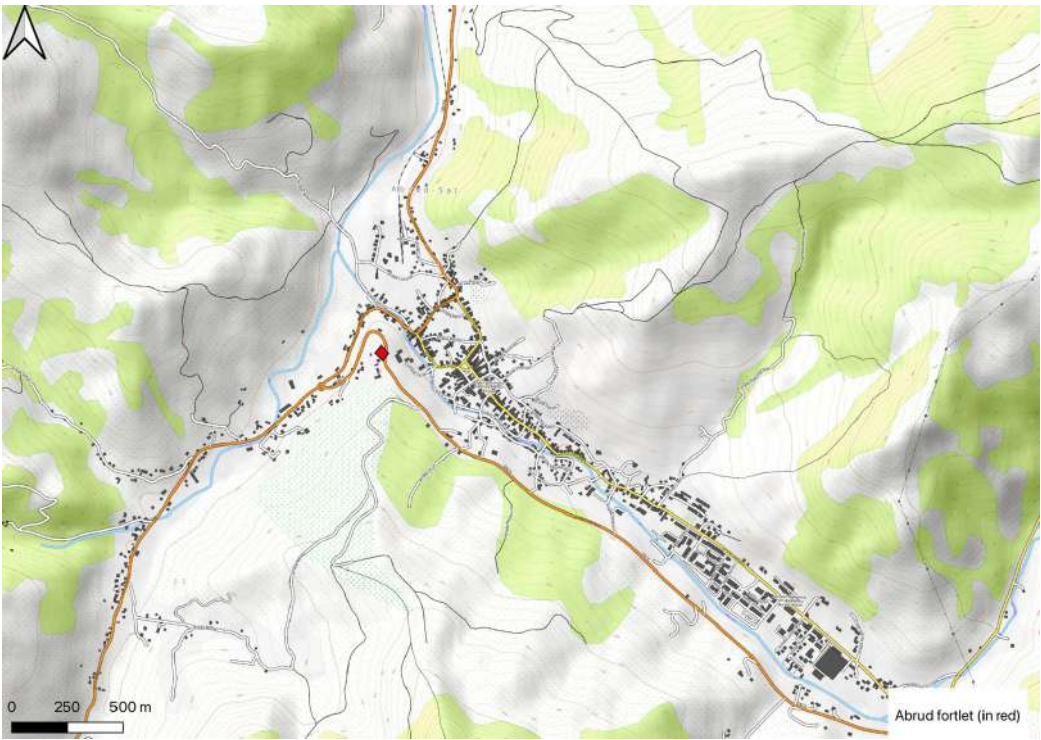
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Pl. I. 1. Abrud fortlet on the map; 2. Abrud fortlet on Google Earth.



1



2

Pl. II. 1. Abrud fortlet marked on the LiDar; **2.** Aerial view of the fortlet, towards E.



1



2

Pl. I. 1-2. Photo and drawing of the monument (by G. Cupcea).

SOUNDS FROM SARMIZEGETUSA: POETRY AND PERFORMANCE IN THE PROVINCE OF DACIA*

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Abstract: This paper gathers all verse and rhythmical inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa. Focusing on a historical analysis, the aim of this study is to identify the profiles of people involved in the dedications, explore all the communicative settings, and finally, to outline the specific poetic fingerprints of the first *colonia* of the province Dacia.

Keywords: *carmina epigraphica*; funerary inscriptions; ritual performance; cults; Sarmizegetusa.

Rezumat: Această lucrare reunește toate inscripțiile versificate și ritmice din Sarmizegetusa.

Concentrat pe o analiză istorică, scopul acestui studiu este de a identifica profilurile persoanelor implicate în dedicații, de a explora toate cadrele comunicative și în final, de a evidenția amprente poetice specifice primei *colonia* din provincia Dacia.

Cuvinte-cheie: *carmina epigraphica*; inscripții funerare; ritual; culte; Sarmizegetusa.

Introduction

One of the traits that characterises the presence of Roman culture in the Empire is the diffusion of Latin (and Greek) poetry. It seems to be a widespread pattern that in the new provinces of the Roman Empire the first forms of epigraphic poetry appear at the same time as the soldiers settling along the *limes*. However, the diffusion of Latin epigraphic poetry is not a homogeneous phenomenon: regions and centres can be distinguished from one another by specific poetical fingerprints, depending on local taste, linguistic substrate, or social context. Especially in the case of Roman Dacia, the local production of verse inscriptions differs from any other Roman province in the variety of typology of texts, dedicators and occasions.¹

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¹ See Piso 2023, 309–324. This will be further explored in forthcoming papers within the MAPPOLA Project.

The verse inscriptions from this province have not been studied as a *corpus* so far,² unlike others. A preliminary analysis of the verse epigraphic material from Roman Dacia was conducted in July 2021 and has allowed the recognition of some new possible rhythmical and metrical inscriptions.³ Out of the circa 27 verse inscriptions from the province, five of them come from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, the first Roman *colonia* in Dacia.

These inscriptions are addressed in this study and analysed from a historical perspective in the broader context of the production of rhythmical texts. These include also the fragment of some *vota extraordinaria* for the emperor, whose function as a prayer that mixes archaic rhythmical devices with contemporary ones will be explored. The only religious inscription and the four funerary ones (middle of the 2nd – middle of the 3rd century AD) show a remarkable structural, linguistic and content variety. The main aim of this paper is thus, to identify the profiles of people involved in the dedications, explore all the communicative settings, and, finally, to outline the specific poetic fingerprints of the first *colonia* of the province Dacia.

Religious landscape

1. Ritual performance

The epigraphic landscape of Sarmizegetusa is peculiar under many aspects, some of which allow close parallels with the epigraphic production of the city of Rome. In particular, a strong link with the centralised imperial power can be seen in the existence of one unique inscription, which is connected with ritual performance and the production of rhythmical texts. It is a fragment of a *votorum nuncupatio* – which could be more precisely identified as *vota pro salute principis* (Fig. 1) – inscribed on a marble slab, found in 1964 during excavations north of the amphitheatre. After the discovery, the text was published by L. Mărghită and C. C. Petolescu in 1974⁴ and republished by the same authors in 1976.⁵ In the same year of the first edition the inscription was edited also by I. Piso,⁶ who included his edition in the volume of IDR dedicated to the inscriptions of Sarmizegetusa, published in 1980.

We reproduce here the edition of IDR III/2, 241 with a few changes. The *lacunae* have been supplemented on the basis of the *vota* recorded in the *acta fratrum Arvalium*, preserved in Rome, in particular CIL VI 2074 = ILS 5035 = IDRE I 4, which contains the *vota extraordinaria pro salute, reditu et victoria* of Trajan, as he left Rome for the first Dacian war in March 101.⁷

² The only exception is the publication of the funerary verse inscriptions by Sămărghiță 2003.

³ For a fragment of a text which might have been in verse see Cenati, González Berdús, Hobel, Kruschwitz, Murzea 2021.

⁴ Mărghită, Petolescu 1974.

⁵ Mărghită, Petolescu 1976.

⁶ Piso 1974 (= Piso 2005, 39–50).

⁷ On the *vota extraordinaria*, which were pronounced next to the regular ones, see Scheid 1990, 294–298, 312–316.



Fig. 1. IDR III/2, 241, © MCDR, photo C. Cenati.

-
- [- - - astu ea ita faxis, tunc tibi bovem cornibus auro decoratis]
 [v]ovem[us esse futurum. Iuno Regina quae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem
 cornibus auro]
 decorat[is vovimus esse futurum, quod hodie vovimus, astu ea ita faxis, tunc]
 tibi in ead[em verba bovem cornibus auro decoratis vovimus esse futuram].
- 5 Minerva, qu[ae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem cornibus auro decoratis
 vovimus esse futurum],
 [q]uod hodie vov[imus, astu ea ita faxis, tunc tibi in eadem verba bovem corni]-
 [bu]s auro decorati[s vovimus esse futuram. Salus publica p(opuli) R(omani)
 Q(uiritium), quae in ver]-
 [ba] I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bov[em cornibus auro decoratis vovimus esse futurum],
 [q]uod hodie vovim[us, astu ea ita faxis, tunc tibi in eadem verba bo]-
- 10 [ve]m cornibus auro [decoratis vovimus esse futuram. Invicte]
 [Ma]rs Pater Gradive, [quae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem cornibus]
 [auro] decoratis vov[imus esse futurum, quod hodie vovimus, astu ea]
 [ita fa]xis, tunc tibi in e[adem verba taurum cornibus auro decoratis]
 [vove]mus esse futur[um. Fortuna Redux (?), quae in verba I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)]
- 15 [bovem] cornibus au[ro decoratis vovimus esse futurum, quod hodie]
 [vovim]us, astu ea i[ta faxis, tunc tibi in eadem verba bovem]
 [corni]bus au[ro decoratis vovimus esse futurum - - -]

The invocation to Mars Gradivus and perhaps to Fortuna Redux had led to the interpretation of the main inscription not as the regular *vota* pronounced for the health of the emperor at the beginning of the year, but as *vota extraordinaria* related to some military expedition.⁸ This has been identified by I. Piso, in his first publications as the *expeditio*

⁸ For the gods invoked in the *vota extraordinaria* cf. Scheid 1990, 347.

Parthica of Trajan, which recurs several times in Dacian inscriptions; subsequently by S. Nemeti.⁹

Recently Nemeti has identified a fragment of one inscription (IDR III/2, 242 = AE 1978, 666: *[De]dicatum epulo Iovis / X K(alendas) Iun(ias) / [Av]iola et Severo co(n)s(ulibus)*) from the church of Breazova – to where many stones from Sarmizegetusa were transported and reused – as belonging to IDR III/2, 241.¹⁰ The inscription contains a date to the 23rd of May and the year is expressed through the names of two consuls.¹¹ Nevertheless, the measures of the fragment do not seem to be compatible with the inscription containing the *vota*. As Nemeti already pointed out, IDR III/2, 241 is 1 cm thicker than IDR III/2, 242.¹² The letters of IDR III/2, 242 are 6 cm high, while those of IDR III/2, 241 measure only 1.5 cm. Even admitting the possibility of a difference in the lettering size between two parts of the inscription, this would be extreme, especially since we are dealing with a dating containing neither an emperor's name nor an imperial titulature. Moreover, the few palaeographic similarities between these two inscriptions cannot be considered a decisive argument for the identification. Finally, the content of the text would also differ from what we expect from some *vota extraordinaria*. If we assume that this text was the exact copy of an original that was provided by Rome and spread to the provinces (s. below), then we should expect a simple date referring to the day when the *vota* were pronounced, like in CIL VI 2074, and not a statement that the object was dedicated on a precise day, which is more suitable for a votive inscription or a dedication of an honorific monument like a statue *pro salute* of an emperor.¹³

Inscriptions containing *votorum nuncupationes* are in general very rare. Parallels can be found in the *Feriale Duranum* (P. Dura 54 = ChLA VI 309 = RMR 117), a unique text that attests the festivities of the Roman calendar prescribed to the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum equitata* stationed in Dura Europos and probably to the whole Roman army at that time.¹⁴ The *Feriale* is dated between 223 and 227 AD and it contains the usual *vota pro salute principis* pronounced at the beginning of the year (the 3rd of January). Further fragments of *vota* for the *princeps* have been found in Cyrene, Ptolemais¹⁵ and in Augusta Firma.¹⁶ In

⁹ Nemeti 2015, 260. Piso 2005, 50 shows his scepticism regarding dating this inscription to the reign of Trajan only based on palaeography.

¹⁰ Nemeti 2015.

¹¹ If the fragment reused in the church of Breazova was originally really part of the slab containing the solemn proclamation of a vote (González-Rodríguez, Ortiz-de-Urbina 2017, 261) the inscription should then reproduce with certainty some *vota extraordinaria*, which were pronounced in conjunction with a particular event that was taking place at the end of May. This cannot coincide with Trajan's departure for the Parthian war, which should have taken place in autumn (Halfmann 1986, 184). Aviola and Severus do not appear as consuls together. Their consulships should in any case be framed, around the middle of the 2nd century AD. A M. Acilius Aviola is *consul ordinarius* in 122 AD, while a T. Statilius Severus is *consul ordinarius* in 171 AD. It is possible that two homonymous Aviola and Severus were respectively *suffecti* in one of these years.

¹² IDR III/2, 241: 17.5 cm; IDR III/2, 242: 16.5 cm.

¹³ According to Piso, the dedication of a monument on the occasion of the *epulum Iovis* in Sarmizegetusa has to be related to the dedication of the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitolium (Piso 1978, 179–182). For more about the Capitolium, see Piso, Marcu, Țentea, Cupcea, Varga 2012.

¹⁴ Herz 1975, 87–93.

¹⁵ Reynolds 1962 and Reynolds 1965.

¹⁶ Saquete Chamizo, Ordóñez Agulla, García-Dills de la Vega 2011.

all these cases we are dealing with *vota extraordinaria*, like in Sarmizegetusa. These contain exactly the same formulas preserved in the *acta fratrum Arvalium* in Rome. It is therefore possible that the *vota* consisted of a text centrally produced in Rome and then sent as imperial propaganda to the main cities of the Empire, a text that had to be pronounced in Latin¹⁷ and in the exact same way in the provinces, where it was engraved on stone and publicly displayed.

We have therefore to expect that the *votorum nuncupatio* from Sarmizegetusa was the version recorded on stone of an official text produced in the capital that was meant to be displayed in a public space of the *colonia*, exactly like the *nuncupationes* contained in the *acta fratrum Arvalium*. In the first edition, Mărghită and Petolescu had suggested that the *vota* of Sarmizegetusa were originally exposed on the *ara Augusta*, and had to be connected to an official ritual performed by the *sacerdos arae Augustae*,¹⁸ who was in charge of the imperial cult in the province. This hypothesis is also shared by Piso,¹⁹ who had previously not excluded a smaller context for this inscription, considering it a dedication by the *duumviri* of the *colonia*.

In Sarmizegetusa a further, much more fragmentary, text has been found. Piso identified four fragments of a (perhaps) votive inscription (CIL III 7986 = IDR III/2, 352) as the *vota* pronounced on the occasion of an imperial expedition, which, according to him, included the visit of the northern part of Dacia and Porolissum.²⁰ The first fragment of the inscription clearly contains the name of Porolissum (l. 1) and the word *conserves* (l. 2). This word is attested in epigraphy only in the *nuncupationes* contained in the *acta* of the *fratres Arvales*, more precisely, in the prayer to the gods to keep the emperor safe and unharmed.²¹ The rest of the text is much harder to interpret because of its fragmentary conditions and needs a revision and new edition. Also the attempt to read the phrase [*reduce*]m vic[torem facias] in fragment b, which we would expect after *conserves* in a *votorum nuncupatio*, has to be discarded after the autopsy of this fragment.²² In general, the appearance of the only two preserved fragments²³ differs from IDR III/2, 241: the slab on which the inscription is carved is much thinner (4.5 cm compared to the 17.5 of IDR III/2, 241). This size is compatible only with a revetment of a wall or base. The letters are also substantially bigger than IDR III/2, 241 (2.5 cm).²⁴ We should therefore expect a much larger inscription, which was applied on a building or on a monument.

¹⁷ Latin was not only the language of administration and the army, but also the language of prayers. Therefore, the *vota* had to be pronounced loudly and clearly in Latin, also in the Greek speaking provinces, like Cyrenaica.

¹⁸ On the *sacerdos arae Augustae* in Sarmizegetusa see IDR III/2, 217 = AE 1977, 689 and cf. Szabó 2001.

¹⁹ Piso 1974, 723–733 = Piso 2005, 39–50.

²⁰ The emperor to whom the *vota* are dedicated might have been Caracalla, who passed by Dacia in 214 AD. See Halfmann 1986, 223. Nevertheless, the visit of Caracalla to Porolissum is an object of great debate, for which see Opreanu 2015 and more recently, Cupcea 2023 (forthcoming), with bibliography.

²¹ Cfr. CIL VI 2034 = 32348: "... *salvom incolu*]/[*m*]enque (!) *conserves* ..." and CIL VI 2074 = 32371: "... *eum conserv[es eumque reduce]m incolumem victoremq(ue) / primo quoq(ue) tempore in urbem Romam sis[ta]s* ...".

²² Fr. b reads as follow: - - - - - / [- - -]DEL+[- - -] / [- - -]a am[- - -] / [- - -]mulc[- - -] / [- - -]MIN+ [- - -] / - - - - -.

²³ The fragments a and b are kept in the depot of the Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane in Deva (inv. 2036), while fragments c and d are lost.

²⁴ In IDR III/2, 241 they are 1.5 cm.

The fragment of the *votorum nuncupatio* from Sarmizegetusa has been included in this paper as the *vota* take the form of a prayer that should have accompanied the sacrifices *pro salute principis*. Prayers were an integral part of sacrifices and they were directed to single gods. As an essential part of the oral ritual, they directly expressed the request to the divinity to accept the sacrifice.²⁵ Prayers were spoken out loud with a clear voice and a solemn tone. They contained repetitive and perhaps rhythmical formulas and were accompanied by music, which played a fundamental role in Roman cultural life in many aspects and was an important element of the ritual of sacrifices.²⁶ This could have been only instrumental²⁷ or sung by soloists and choirs,²⁸ like perhaps in the case of the *carmen saliare* and *carmen arvale*.²⁹ Exactly like prayers, the *nuncupationes* from Dacia and Cyrenaica contain the repetition of formulas addressed in the same manner to different gods one by one. It has to be assumed that these repetitive formulas had a rhythm, oscillating between metrical sequences and rhythmical prose, which is impossible for us to capture. This could be assimilated to the first verses of Latin poetry, the *saturnii*, whose structure is today still obscure, despite all attempts of clarification.³⁰ In *saturnii* not only were the first Latin literary texts and verse inscriptions composed, but also prayers, like the *carmen arvale*³¹ and the *carmen saliare*.³² It is possible that the rhythm of these archaic or archaistic compositions was based neither on quantity nor on accent, but on a particular structure characterised by the combination of different factors, like parallel or opposed binary elements, tripartite schemes (like in the *carmen arvale*),³³ alliterations and anaphoras, short words followed by long ones, sequences consisting of the same number of words, and semantic sequences.³⁴

In particular, in the *votorum nuncupatio* from Sarmizegetusa no rhythmical scheme is recognisable, but the rhythm – which is intrinsic in every language³⁵ – is here obtained through the repetition of single words (*verba / in eadem verba*) and of whole phrases (“*vovimus esse futurum*” / “*vovemus esse futurum*” / “*quod hodie vovimus*”). This is sometimes achieved through the rhetorical figure of the polyptoton in verbs (*vovimus*, *vovemus*, *vovimus*) and pronouns (*quae / quod*). Further rhetorical elements can perhaps be recognised in the alliteration *tunc tibi*, which could nevertheless not be intentional. It must be kept in mind that this text reproduces archaic features, but it has very likely been

²⁵ Scheid 2007.

²⁶ Wille 1967, 26–27.

²⁷ A common musical instrument used to accompany sacrifices was the *tibia* (see Wille 1967, 27–29).

²⁸ On the repetition of a prayer by an individual and then by a crowd see Sarullo 2014, 329.

²⁹ Wille 1967, 43–46.

³⁰ For a synthesis see Kruschwitz 2002, 18–23 and 199–200 for new observations. Different approaches are presented in Sarullo 2014, 16–19.

³¹ For a comment on the *carmen arvale* see Kruschwitz 2002, 211–220.

³² For a correspondence between the fr. 3 of the *carmen saliare* and the first verse of the *Odusia* by Livius Andronicus see Sarullo 2014, 19.

³³ *Carmen descendentes tripodaverunt in verba haec*. See Scheid 2007, 442–443.

³⁴ Prosdocimi 1992, 406 defines the Italic rhythm as the product of an interaction of several rhythmic factors and writes “si partirà dai principi ritmici già individuati negli studi precedenti – isocolia, cola bimembri, parallelismo dei membri, allitterazione, coppie polari, coppie sinonimiche, sequenze privilegiate tra cui i cola crescenti come forma e la climax come semantica, etc. – ma se ne tenterà una composizione nel loro interagire, e ciò secondo il principio che il ritmo è formato non da essi singoli ma precisamente dal loro interagire”. See also Guittard 2001.

³⁵ Prosdocimi 1992, 370.

written at the beginning / in the first half of the 2nd century AD. The language is not archaic, with the exception of a few words (*as tu, faxis*),³⁶ whose only function is to underline the sacrality of the document. The attempt to reproduce an archaic rhythm mixes with the use of quantitative rhythms in the time when the text was produced. Dactylic clauses can perhaps be recognised in the expressions “*vovimus esse futurum*” / “*vovemus esse futurum*” / “*quod hodie vovimus*”, which were repeated throughout the inscription and close sentences.

Because of its clear nature of a prayer characterised by a rhythmical cadence and very likely accompanied by instrumental music, Piso defined the text found in Sarmizegetusa in a very appropriate way as a *votorum carmen*. The word *carmen* from the root of *cano*, ‘to sing’, designates originally all those texts that share the basic characteristics of having rhythm and some musicality³⁷ and it is used only later to indicate poetic compositions. As we have seen, religious oral performances were also labelled as *carmina* in antiquity. These were, for example, the archaic *carmen arvale* and *carmen saliare* or the *carmen saeculare* composed by Horace on the occasion of the *ludi saeculares*. Even if slight differences can be highlighted,³⁸ *carmina* and prayers are linked to each other and are connected to rhythmical and musical performances.

To sum up, it has been confirmed that the fragment IDR III/2, 242 does not belong to the slab containing the *vota extraordinaria*, whose dating could coincide with an expedition of Trajan or Hadrian. This inscription reproduced exactly a text that was provided by Rome in a form of imperial propaganda. The repetition of the same archaic formulas in an archaic language – here as in the *acta* preserved in Rome – belongs to the oral ritualised language of prayers, acclamations and magic spells, which had to be spoken out loud with a rhythmical cadence, which mixed archaistic and contemporary patterns, and some kind of musical accompaniment. Although this is clearly not a poetic text, it sheds some light on the rhythmical performances that took place in Rome as well as in the provinces.

2. The cult of Caelestis

Besides the astonishing fragment studied in the previous section, yet another piece dealing with the world of religious offerings and ritual performance in Sarmizegetusa has been preserved. This ‘abundance’ is noteworthy by itself, since it provides us with many details about a fundamental part of the Roman identity that often remains in the dark and how it was spread throughout the provinces. Whereas the previous inscription was a prime example of public religion and it was connected at its core with central administration, this next instance offers us a glimpse into the private offerings carried out by the procurators and their entourage.

In this case, the text is set on a marble altar (Fig. 2) which measures 74 × 36.5 × (25) cm and it deals with the cult to the goddess Caelestis although it is not a votive inscription *stricto sensu*. The piece was found at an undetermined date between 1977 and 1981 during

³⁶ See also *faxsit* in the Law of the Twelve Tables (*Tabula XII*, 2a–b).

³⁷ Wille 1967, 39; Guittard 2001; Scheid 2008; Sarullo 2014, 14.

³⁸ In particular, Scheid has pointed out the differences between a prayer and the *carmen arvale* and *saeculare*. These two were not meant to accompany rituals, but they were pronounced at the end, when rituals, for example sacrifices, were concluded. He underlines at the same time that *carmen* and prayer are not in opposition to one another. See Scheid 1989 and Scheid 2007. On the role of the *carmen saeculare* as an integral part of the rites of the *ludi saeculares*, see Schnegg 2020, 247–264.

the archaeological excavations carried out in the *area sacra* of the *praetorium procuratoris* of Sarmizegetusa and as of today stands as the only verse inscription to come out of that particular spot.³⁹ It is currently preserved at the courtyard of Muzeul de Arheologie (inv. no. 1341A), where we had the chance to study it in July 2021. The piece can be dated to the middle of the 3rd century AD based on its similarity with the support of other inscriptions from the settlement, particularly an altar consecrated to Cora by the procurator Marcus Lucceius Felix and his wife Hostilia Faustina (AE 1983, 840, dated between 242 and 244 AD)⁴⁰ in the time period in which the cult to this divinity found its biggest spread throughout the Empire.⁴¹



Fig. 2. Altar of Caelestis, © MCDR, photo C. Cenati.

The text is written in the form of an elegiac couplet and it refers to the cult of Dea Caelestis, identified with the Carthaginian Tanit,⁴² which is also attested in several inscriptions coming from Sarmizegetusa and Apulum.⁴³ Even though in this particular case the text is quite short and apparently simple, its interpretation has been problematic. The inscription reads as follows:⁴⁴

³⁹ For a study of the inscriptions found at the *praetorium*, see Piso 1983; Piso 1998.

⁴⁰ Piso 2013, 226, no. 100 suggested that both inscriptions had been manufactured in the same workshop and proposed that it could have been Lucceius himself who donated the monument and composed its poem.

⁴¹ On the spread of this cult in the oriental provinces see Toutain 1984, 2203–2223; Bărbulescu 1994; Nemeti 2005, 119–120; Szabó 2022, 106.

⁴² See RE III 1 s.v. *Caelestis*, 1247–1250 (Cumont); Halsberghe 1984; Cordischi 1990; Lancellotti 2010.

⁴³ From Sarmizegetusa, IDR III/2, 17 and 192. They belong to Caelestis' own temple in the settlement and can be dated slightly earlier. From Apulum, CIL III 992; 993; IDR III/5.1, 38.

⁴⁴ The piece has been studied in Daicoviciu, Alicu 1984, 172, fig. 74 (SCIVA 37, 4, p. 348, no. 330 (Petolescu)); Piso 1993 (SCIVA 45, 4, p. 350, no. 621 (Petolescu)); AE 1993, 1345; Bărbulescu 1994, 1321; ILD I,

Caelestis mul-
sa · propria
placabitur ara
hac divis aliis
 5 *tura merumq(ue)*
damus.

The piece was first discussed by I. Piso at a conference in Cluj in 1982 and later on published by H. Daicoviciu and D. Alicu.⁴⁵ Besides providing some specifics about its exact find spot, they already pointed out the versified nature of the inscription, which they described as “very interesting” and translated it as “the goddess Caelestis will be appeased with the prescribed wine mixed with honey. On this altar we offer to the other deities incense and unmixed wine”. However, the first to point out the different interpretations of the text and the issues each of them presented was Piso.⁴⁶

To summarise the issue, there are a couple of possible analyses, depending on where the syntactic pause is placed.⁴⁷ On the one hand, if one accepts a syntactic pause after *ara* (l. 3) and that, therefore, this matches the end of the verse, the text must be translated as H. Daicoviciu and D. Alicu had already proposed. The main problem would then be that one would have to understand that the altar was not consecrated to Caelestis, but to the rest of divinities.⁴⁸ As Piso also noted, it does not seem logical either to specify the particularities of the cult to Caelestis in an altar that was not really dedicated to her. J. Velaza, who deemed this interpretation more likely, suggested that the *ara* referred to in the inscription was that within Caelestis’ own temple in Sarmizegetusa, outside of the *praetorium*.⁴⁹ On the other hand, one could place the syntactic break either after *placabitur* (l. 3) or after *hac* (l. 4). In the first case, the text would translate as “Caelestis will be appeased with her own mead. On this altar we give to the other gods incense and wine”.⁵⁰ Following Piso, this would mean that both Caelestis and the other divinities could be worshipped there. The only difference would be in the emphasis added by the use of *placabitur*, which would mark the offering of *mulsa* to Caelestis as mandatory. In turn, if we move the syntactic break after *hac*, the translation would not differ from the previous one but from the emphasis put on the fact that the altar belonged to Caelestis and that the goddess was to receive her characteristic *mulsa* there. As noted by Velaza, both of these analyses force us to accept a very strong enjambement between the two verses.

In any case, it seems logical to accept the direction already hinted at by Piso, that is, that the poem’s purpose was not to relegate the cult to Caelestis to another *ara*, but to simply highlight its particularity. In contrast to the traditional offering of incense and wine,⁵¹ the

282; Nemeti 2005, 336, no. 80; Ciongradi 2006, 221, no. 5; Schäfer 2007, 260, H XII 25; Velaza 2008; Piso 2013, 223, no. 15; Piso 2023, 317–318; González Berdús 2023 (forthcoming); HD043765; <http://lupa.at/13225>.

⁴⁵ Daicoviciu, Alicu 1984, 172, fig. 74.

⁴⁶ Piso 1993.

⁴⁷ A new analysis of the piece is discussed in the forthcoming González Berdús 2023.

⁴⁸ Piso 1993, 223.

⁴⁹ Velaza 2008, 1536.

⁵⁰ Piso 1993, 224.

⁵¹ On its use and meaning see e.g. ThesCRA I, 204–205 (V. Huet, F. Prescendi). Naturally, the sequence *tura*

cult of Caelestis required something different.⁵² This would also fit with the central position of *ara* in the poem, as all the offerings would have taken place in the same spot. Something that has not been sufficiently stressed so far in this context is that this is the only extant testimony of *mulsa* being a specific religious offering for Caelestis.⁵³ Although this could seem an arbitrary choice at first, a closer look into the archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence allows us to see that this practice must have been perceived as in perfect alignment with the nature of the goddess.

Thus, the poem not only presents an opposition between Caelestis and the other gods based on the different offerings they must be given, but also between the presents themselves, specifically between the *mulsa* and the *merum*. This point is of the utmost importance and has been traditionally either overlooked or not explored with the necessary depth. In order to provide some clarity, we must have a clear understanding of what *mulsa* is. Indeed, it is quite tempting to identify it with the οἶνόμελι of the Greek tradition, that is, the mixture of wine and honey, as the opposition between this and the *merum*, unmixed wine, would be clear. However, the word for that particular beverage in the literary and epigraphic tradition is conventionally *mulsum*.⁵⁴ We can discard this being the term used in the *carmen* from Sarmizegetusa in a hypothetical accusative plural because of the use of the passive voice in *placabitur*. In any case, if the author of the couplet really had meant *mulsum*, they could have easily employed *mulso*, which would not have affected the metrical scheme. Perhaps the most relevant parallel to fully appreciate how the Roman distinguished *mulsum* from *mulsa* is Plin. Nat. 26, 70, 7 (*alvum solvit radice vel foliis vel suco in mulso aut aqua mulsa drachmis quattuor*).

Indeed, *mulsa* (the Greek ὕδρόμελι, often referred to as *aqua mulsa* in Latin) was a fermented mixture of honey and rainwater, thus different from *mulsum*.⁵⁵ In our opinion, the key to the interpretation of the text lies in this point. As mentioned, Dea Caelestis was the result of the Roman assimilation of the Carthaginian Tanit. This divinity represented female fecundity and had a marked celestial and lunar character attached to her.⁵⁶ During Roman times this divinity was often assimilated to Juno and thus it is common to find inscriptions dedicated to Juno Caelestis, particularly in the north of Africa, where Juno

merumque had a very prolific use in literary texts. In this case, the role models are undoubtedly Ov. *Fast.* 1, 171–174; *Epist.* 21, 91–92 and *Ars* 1, 638.

⁵² On this issue and how the context of the *area sacra* must have played a role in the need to make such a clarification, see González Berdús 2023.

⁵³ As also pointed out by Lancellotti 2010, 80.

⁵⁴ See RE XVI s.v. *mulsum*, 513.49–53 (Aug. Hug.); TLL 8, 1579.68–1580.17 s.v. *mulsus* (Ustrnul). On its elaboration, see also RE XV s.v. *met*, 1299.44–1300.61 (Schuster).

⁵⁵ See e.g. *per se facienda erit optimo melle aqua mulsa. Haec autem non uno modo componitur. Nam quidam multos ante annos caelestem aquam vasis includunt, et sub dio in sole habent*, Colum. 12, 11, 2–12, 1. For other testimonies about its elaboration and uses see RE XV s.v. *met*, 1299.1–43 (Schuster); TLL 6, 1580.26–35 s.v. *mulsus* (Ustrnul).

⁵⁶ See, among others, RE IV A2 s.v. *Tanit*, 2178ff. (Preisendanz); Cordischi 1990, 162. For the archaeological finds see García y Bellido 1967, 149ff., and also Oria Segura, Escacena Carrasco 2016. This character is also highlighted by literary authors such as Herodian: τῆς Οὐρανίας τὸ ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο, σεβόντων αὐτὸ ὑπερφυῶς Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην (...) Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες (5, 6, 4–5; “and sent for the statue of Urania who is worshipped widely among the Carthaginians (...) The name used by Libyans for the goddess is Urania, by the Phoenicians Astroarche; they would also have it that she is the moon goddess”).

also received the same kind of epithets.⁵⁷ Besides this, Tertullian, born in Carthage in the second half of the 2nd century AD, called *Caelestis pluviarum pollicitatrix* (*Apol.* 23, 2), emphasising her power over atmospheric weather. Thus, it can be easily seen how making an offering to Caelestis made out of an element that only she could provide and that is crucial for the appearance and development of life would have been understood as the ultimate sign of respect.⁵⁸ In the light of this, one could even go a step further and consider that basing the analysis of the offerings to all the gods, on one side, and Caelestis, on the other, on the pairing ‘unmixed, pure’ versus ‘mixed’ could have been perceived as somewhat degrading to the goddess.

Funerary landscape

If we look at the type of verse inscriptions that were spread across the Roman Empire, the vast majority are funerary. The province of Dacia, and Sarmizegetusa in particular is no exception to this, as funerary verse inscriptions make up the bulk of it.

The place of discovery and the nature of the monument of the first funerary verse inscription from Sarmizegetusa are unknown, for the inscription itself appears to be lost. Its text has been preserved through a manuscript tradition, however.⁵⁹ The text begins with the customary dedication to the Manes (l. 1), followed by a poem (ll. 2–11) commemorating one Marcellina by her husband Aelius. In absence of clear elements, the inscription can only be dated very broadly: between the middle of the 2nd (based on the *gentilicium* Aelius) and during the 3rd century AD. It reads and translates as follows:

D(is) M(anibus).
Hic pietatis honos,
haec sunt pia dona
mariti, cui multum
5 *dilecta fui ego Mar-*
cellina, pro merita:
cernis que (!) mihi
solus coniux
Aelius coque (!) post
10 *obitum memor*
amoris dicat.

⁵⁷ This identification can be clearly seen in the famous prayer that Psyche directs to Juno in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*: ‘*Magni Iovis germana et coniuga, sive tu Sami, (...); sive celsae Carthaginis, quae te virginem vectura leonis caelo commeantem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas; (...) quod sciam, soles praegnatibus periclitantibus ultro subvenire*’ (*Met.* 6, 4). Of particular interest to this point is CLE 254, a hymn to Juno dating from the 3rd century from Naraggara (Africa Proconsularis) where her celestial character and her power over atmospheric weather is praised. See particularly *tu nimbos ventosq(ue) cies. tibi, Iuno, sono[ros] / perfacilest agitare metus, nam fratre q[uieto] / intonas nubigenam terris largita mado[rem]* (vv. 2–4) and *sic pervia Phoeb[o], / sic pluviis, caelum prohibes concurrere t[errae] / cum lucis non claudas iter, nec noscere fas est / cur eadem virtus pariter contraria s[umas]* (vv. 13–16) and the commentary in ILAlg I 1135, where it is deemed as proof of the assimilation between Juno and Caelestis in the north of Africa.

⁵⁸ To this should be added that beverages elaborated with honey and water have a long tradition of being used in religious and offering contexts in different cultures in Antiquity (see RE XV s.v. *met*, 1308.25–1310.4 (Schuster)).

⁵⁹ For an overview of the manuscript tradition see CIL III 1537.

To the Spirits of the Departed.

‘This is the tribute of piety, these are the pious gifts of my husband, to whom I was much loved, I, Marcellina, for my merits: you see what only my husband Aelius, in memory of our love, dedicates to me also after my death.’

(CIL III 1537; IDR III/2, 430; CLE 597; Sămărghițan 2003, 179–180, no. 11; HD047545)

This poem introduces a female as a first-person narrator of her life: Marcellina,⁶⁰ the wife of Aelius. An interesting aspect is that there is no information concerning her age, status, perhaps the cause of death. At the same time, information about her husband is also missing. We do not even have his full name – assuming he had one – but only his *gentilicium*, Aelius. Marcellina is praised here for her domestic virtues and marital fidelity; she was a wife of a single man, devoted, respectable, who is commemorated with this epitaph. For the two spouses, the essential feature of their life was marital unity and devotion.

Concerning the *ordinatio* of the text, we cannot make any observations, for the monument is lost. What we can look into, is the prosody. The eleven lines form a poem of four hexameters.⁶¹ The first verse is a perfect hexameter (ll. 2–4, *hic pietatis honos, haec sunt pia dona mariti*), where the penthemimeres *caesura* coincides with the line break and the first hemiepes is taken word by word from Vergil.⁶² The second verse (ll. 4–6, *cui multum dilecta fui ego Marcellina*) forms a spondaic hexameter and the hiatus (*fui ego*) makes the line viable and at the same time, separates the emphatic personal pronoun from the verb. The next verse (ll. 6–9, *pro merita: cernis que mihi solus coniux*), consists of an imperfect hexameter that is short by one element and with a *brevis in longo* in *merita*. The irregularities can be found not only in the metrical scheme but also in the language. Instead of the regular ablative, is used an unusual accusative for *merita*.⁶³ This phenomenon, however, is quite common outside of literary Latin.⁶⁴ The use of *que* instead of *quae* reveals that the monophthongisation of *ae* had already happened.⁶⁵ And the last verse, (ll. 9–11, *Aelius coque post obitum memor amoris dicat*), consists of an accentuating hexameter. Here too, the use of *coque* instead of *quoque*, is a perfectly common variant.⁶⁶

What is interesting in this poem is that the further the author distances herself from Vergil, the more they approach their own way of composing verse, thus introducing some irregularities. The poetic intentionality can also be further emphasised through rhetorical traits, such as the anaphora of the demonstrative pronoun *hic... haec* and the alliteration of the letter M at the beginning of a word or in the middle of a word in very short intervals, like in *memor amoris*.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Kajanto 1965, 173 (*cognomina* obtained from *praenomina*).

⁶¹ Sămărghițan 2003, 184–185 argues for a composition with alternating rhythms: starting with a dactylic hexameter, then an elegiac distich and closing with a pentameter.

⁶² Verg., *Aen.* 1, 253: *Hic pietatis honos? sic nos in scepra reponis?*

⁶³ Beu-Dachin 2014, 155.

⁶⁴ Väänänen 1959, 120–121.

⁶⁵ Beu-Dachin 2014, 80–83.

⁶⁶ For the phenomenon that eliminates the labiovelar *qu*, see Beu-Dachin 2014, 90–91.

⁶⁷ This sequence can be found in Val. Fl., *Argon.* 4, 36–37. The same clause can perhaps be also recognised in CIL XIII 4267 from Gallia Belgica.

A second funerary poem was discovered in 1910 during the construction works of a house (no. 109) in the village Grădiște, in the close vicinity of Sarmizegetusa. For a while, the monument was preserved in the museum in Orăștie, but now it appears to be lost. The text is fragmentary and more lines from the end are missing. It was inscribed on a marble slab measuring 142 × 123 × 20 cm, and with the letter height varying from 3 cm (l. 4), 4.5 cm (ll. 5–8), 6–6.5 cm (ll. 2–3) to 14.5 cm (l. 1). The text, dated between the 2nd and 3rd century AD, reads and translates as follows:

D	ϕ	M	
HIS	TEG	TVR	TERRIS
ANTONA	~	QVAM	
GENERAT	PER	GAM	S
EXCEL	SO	MONE	SVPER
POSTA	PASC	BVS	N
ISO			
NIS	TITV	LVM	
NVS			
	D(iis)	M(anibus)	
	His	tegitur	terris
	Antonia,	quam	
	generavit	Pergamos	
	excelso	monte	super
	posita	pascibus	Niso
	nis	titulum	
	nus		

Fig. 3. Jánó 1912, 405.

D(is) M(anibus).
His tegitur terris
Antonia quam
generavit Pergamos
 5 *excelso monte super-*
posita pascibus (!) inso-
nis titulum [Anto?]-
nus [- - -]
 - - - - -

“To the Spirits of the Departed.

Under this earth lies Antonia, to whom Pergamos, set on the highest mountain, gave birth. In the soundless pastures, Antonius set up the monument ...”.

(Jánó 1912, 405; Finály 1913, 334, no. 9; IDR III/2, 382; CLE 2112; AE 1914, 108; Sămărghișan 2003, 179, no. 10; HD021008)

This poem has a similar structure to the previous one: it begins with the customary dedication to the Manes, after which the poem follows (ll. 2–8). The difference is that this poem does not preserve a female voice, for it is composed in a third-person narrative. Antonia is commemorated with a monument in Sarmizegetusa by a certain man named Antonius (?). What is missing from the poem is the information on her age, status, the circumstances of her death and the nature of the relationship with Antonius. They bore,

however, the same *gentilicium*, thus it could be assumed that they were *liberti* of the same patron.⁶⁸

The poem begins with one elegiac couplet (ll. 2–6: *His tegitur terris Antonia, quam generavit Pergamos, excelso monte superposita*), where we find out that she was originally from Pergamum, in Asia Minor. This is not uncommon, for the immigration from this area in the province of Dacia is high.⁶⁹ What is uncommon though, is the way in which the name of the city is spelled. One would expect to have Pergamon or Pergamum, which are the most frequent variants attested in epigraphy. With the feminine form, *Pergamos*, -i⁷⁰ takes a poetic shape, which further emphasises the nature of this text. Moreover, this fits perfectly with the act of giving birth, expressed with *generavit*. Besides, the image of a place rather than the parents giving birth to somebody is a common theme in *carmina epigraphica*.⁷¹

The following verse (ll. 6–8) is very unclear, caused on the one hand by its fragmentary state and on the other hand by its reading and interpretation. What B. Jánó and G. von Finály transmitted (Fig. 3), might be not accurate enough, and especially the interpretation of the lines 6–8 is open to question: in particular, the sequence that has been read as *pascibus Nisonis*. This has been corrected in the edition of IDR with *pascuis Nisonis*. However, such an intervention in the Latin text is not needed. If we assume that it was written on the stone *pascibus*, this could be corrected with *pastibus*, which has exactly the same meaning as *pascuis* and, in addition, it would form the perfect beginning of a new hexameter. This clause has been interpreted as ‘pășunile Nisoneene’, the Nisonian pastures / pastures of a Nisos, a place taking its name from a person,⁷² which could be either Antonia’s birthplace or, more probably, the place where she was buried in Sarmizegetusa. The use of the noun *pascua*, -ae, pasture / land, to indicate land ownership (such as *fundus*) is unusual, but it could be acceptable in a poetic context. What raises further questions is the mythological name *Nisos*, -us, the name of the famous king from Megara.⁷³ In epigraphic sources this is never attested, the closest Latin variant is *Nisus*, -i. It can therefore be assumed that the word *pascibus* was then followed not by the personal name *Nisonis*, but by the adjective *insonis* (from *insonus*, -i) as suggested in the CLE. The sequence *pascibus insonis* would be interpreted as “in the soundless pastures”, which would make more sense from a poetical point of view and can be referred to the silent fields of the Underworld, described in literary texts.⁷⁴

The following inscription has not been so far identified as a *carmen epigraphicum*. It is a fragment of a large marble altar (Fig. 4) that was once preserved in the Muzeul de Arheologie from Sarmizegetusa.⁷⁵ Only a part of the right side of the monument is

⁶⁸ For the presence of Lucii Antonii in Sarmizegetusa, see Piso 2001 = Piso 2005, 459–466.

⁶⁹ See, for example Petolescu 1978, 213–218.

⁷⁰ OLD s.v. *Pergamum*. Stat. *Silv.* 3, 4, 106: *Sic ait et motas miratur Pergamos aras*. In the same composition, Statius also uses the most common *Pergamum* (l. 68).

⁷¹ See, for example: CLE 407, 479; CLEHisp 82; CLEMoes 40; Zarker 59. Sometimes, this idea of *generavit* takes a step further and is expressed as the place who raises the person, as in CLE 386, l. 6: *Livia me tellus aluit*.

⁷² See the entry no. 382 from IDR III/2.

⁷³ Verg. *Georg.* 1, 404; Ov. *Met.* 8, 8.

⁷⁴ See *Aen.* 6, 264–265. Lattimore 1962, 89.

⁷⁵ We were unable to locate it during the epigraphic survey in July 2021.

preserved, measuring 93 × 18 × 31 cm and the letter height is 5.5 cm. The text reads and translates as follows:



Fig. 4. Drawing by Piso 1974–1975, 76, no. 30.

 [- - -] *t laboribus aegrum*
 [- - -] *memor esto*
 [- - -] *fratri*

“... and sick because of the efforts ... remember ... to the brother ...”

(IDR III/2, 468; Piso 1974–1975, 76, no. 30 = AE 1977, 688; HD020578)

At a first glance, this text would not appear as a poem: just six words spread over three lines. Despite its fragmentary state, this is without a doubt a poem – a poem consisting of at least three hexameters. The sequences *laboribus aegrum*, *memor esto* and *fratri* represent the last feet of three hexameters and reveal, therefore, a clear metrical cadence. Moreover, *laboribus* can be found in the fifth foot of a dactylic hexameter in the works of several ancient authors⁷⁶ as well as in *carmina epigraphica*.⁷⁷ It goes the same for *memor esto*: a frequent sequence in Roman poetry and is attested at the end of a hexameter in at least one *carmen epigraphicum*.⁷⁸

While we can provide significant information on the metrical analysis of this piece, it is not the case for its narrative, or the identity of the dedicator and the recipient. The only information available comes from the noun in dative case *fratri*, which reveals that this funerary epitaph was dedicated to a man (brother) by one or more members of his nuclear family.

Considering the dimensions of the monument (see above) and the fact that each verse was displayed on a single line, we are dealing here with a monument that was once of considerable size. At the same time, it reveals that the stonecutter and the author were both aware of the rules of prosody, as they applied them in the *ordinatio* of the text.

⁷⁶ Hor. *Epist.* 1, 18, 48; *Ov. Met.* 3, 613; 4, 35; 9, 180; *Fast.* 6, 541; *Trist.* 4, 10, 115; Val. Fl. *Argon.* 2, 285; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 199; *Silv.* 4, 4, 1, 31; 4, 8, 55.

⁷⁷ CLE 986, l. 8: *Iam bis sep[te]nos t[ib]i[i], Roma, lab[or]ibus annos praestitera[m].*

⁷⁸ AE 1993, 539b = AE 1995, 362, l. 5: *Septimiae matris castae semper memor esto.*

In Sarmizegetusa, epitaphs were composed not only in Latin, but also in Greek. The following inscription represents such a case. It is a limestone stele (Fig. 5), dated between the middle of the 2nd and 3rd century AD, and is currently preserved in the Muzeul de Arheologie from Sarmizegetusa (inv. no. 2202A). The monument measures 167 × 55 × 13.5 cm, the letter height varies from 3 to 6 cm and is divided into two registers. In the upper part there are no traces of a sculpture even though there is space for the portrait of the deceased. This could have been painted, but no traces of colour are visible. The lower part contains the text inscribed in an epigraphic field measuring 55 × 39 cm. The whole monument is very poorly preserved and worn out, which created some difficulties in the reading and interpretation of the text. It reads and translates as follows:



Fig. 5. IDR III/2, 400, © MCDR, photo C. Cenati.

Ἐνθάδ[ε]
Χρυσοκό[μαν?]
Γετικῇ χθ[ών]
Ἀμφικαλύπτει[ι].

“Here, the Getic earth hides Chrysokomas / Chrysokome.”

(IDR III/2, 400; SEG 25.823; CIGD 108; Russu 1965, no. 13;
Calder 1968, 279; HD049608)

Displayed on four lines, the text forms a short poem of one hexameter. This is, in fact, the single Greek hexameter that we have from Sarmizegetusa. The inscription provides no

biographical information on the deceased. At the same time, due to the fact that the right half of the monument is very worn out, the last letters of each line cannot be read, and thus, we cannot identify the sex of the deceased, which can be read as either Χρυσοκόμας / Χρυσοκόμη.⁷⁹

Some scholars who accepted the reading Χρυσοκόμη interpreted it not as a personal name, but rather as an epithet of Γετική χθών (with the meaning of *Dacia aurifera*), stressing the poetic character of the text and lack of testimonies of this name.⁸⁰ Following this interpretation, the whole narrative of the text would be distorted and lack the object of ἀμφικαλύπτει. Furthermore, the name Χρυσοκόμας / -η is not unattested. For instance, it appears as a *cognomen* in several Latin inscriptions from the city of Rome for both men⁸¹ and women.⁸² Finally, the natural construction of this verse would be: Ἐνθάδε[ε] (Here), followed by the name of the deceased in accusative, γαῖα / χθών and then ἀμφικαλύπτει.⁸³

An observation has also to be done on the term Γετική, which is a poetic and archaic variant that indicates the province of Dacia.⁸⁴ While in Latin inscriptions the word *Geticus*, -a appears rarely, it is never attested in its Greek equivalent. It is therefore very interesting to notice that it appears in the famous bilingual verse inscription from Germisara dedicated to the Nymphs (l. 1: *Sunt Getici fontes divina Nympha (!) creati*).⁸⁵ A common feature in funerary prose and verse inscriptions is the mention of the birthplace, as in the previous case (Antonia from Pergamum). In this case, however, only the place of death is mentioned. This expression is found exclusively in *carmina epigraphica*, perhaps as a variation on the famous pseudo- Vergilian epitaph.⁸⁶ It implicitly reveals, together with the name and the use of (Greek) language, the foreign origin of the deceased and the ways in which the new homeplace was defined.

Conclusions

In Sarmizegetusa, epigraphic poetry emerged and was formed over a short period of time: from the second half of the 2nd to the 3rd century AD, and people from all social classes – from local elite to freedmen – engaged in and with this form of art. They expressed their complex ethnic, linguistic, geographic, and religious identities in an artistic way comprehensible to all the inhabitants of the Empire, using both Latin and Greek.

The religious landscape is not notable for the abundance of the texts, but its contents. The *votorum carmen* reveals the presence in the Roman *colonia* of archaistic rhythmical texts used for religious performances all around the Empire; and the unique altar mentioning Caelestis is together with the famous dedications to the Nymphs from Germisara another testimony of the use of verse inscriptions in a religious context, which is otherwise very rare in the Roman world.

⁷⁹ For other possible reconstructions of the name, such as Χρυσοκονίδης / Χρυσοκονίδη, there are no epigraphic testimonies.

⁸⁰ Daicoviciu 1970, 130–131.

⁸¹ CIL VI 1057; CIL VI 1058; CIL VI 21807; CIL XIV 650.

⁸² CIL VI 14785.

⁸³ Calder 279; Peek 487.

⁸⁴ See for example Ov. *Trist.* 4, 8, 26; Russu 1972.

⁸⁵ See Piso 2015, 47 = AE 2015, 1186.

⁸⁶ Cugusi 1996, 199–221; Arena, Bitto 2006.

The funerary landscape offers us important information about the identities of the people engaged in and with epigraphic poetry. About the recipients of these poems, whether their voice is preserved (first-person narrative) or not (third-person narrative), we learn that almost exclusively the emphasis lies on the (self-)presentation as foreigners, whereas on the poets of these compositions we have no information. Their poetic identities can be reconstructed, however, based on the verses engraved on the stones. Their knowledge is seen not only through the rules of prosody they followed when composing certain kinds of verse, which becomes clear by looking at the *ordinatio*, the verse division and the *caesurae*, but also through their stepping away from literary standards and trying to come up with their own compositions.

The verse inscriptions that constitute the poetic landscape of Sarmizegetusa are not so numerous compared to other parts of the Roman Empire. Even so, this in-depth analysis provides important information on the way in which this cultural practice shaped the image of people.

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THE 5TH–6TH CENTURY AD SETTLEMENT FROM THE FORTRESS OF *LEGIO V MACEDONICA* AT POTAISSA

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Abstract: The *centuriae* from the *praetentura sinistra* of the fortress of *legio V Macedonica* from Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County) were excavated during 2012–2016 archaeological seasons. The stratigraphy of the Roman complex is affected by various late antique, medieval and modern destructions and interventions. In the following, archaeological material will be analysed from contexts dated to the Early Migration Period (5th–6th centuries) which overlap Barrack I. In addition to the rich archaeological material dated to the Roman period in the various sunken contexts reported (G1–G6), as well as in the rubble level located on top of the collapsed tile roof of the Roman barracks, archaeological material dated to the Migration Period was also found. We publish here a Kreisaugen decorated bow fibula and 162 pottery fragments. The ceramic material is much diversified considering the production techniques and the vessel shapes. The majority of the pottery is made of fine clay, on the fast potter's wheel, the second most popular production technique being the slow potter's wheel, while pottery made by hand is present only at a negligible scale. The large variety of vessel shapes shows their intended function, and gives a glimpse into everyday life in this period. In conclusion, the 6th century AD dwelling structures and the common-use pottery from the corresponding contexts and levels of habitation are added to the funerary finds and isolated artefacts discovered on the surface of the fortress to complete the habitation picture of the Migration Period.

Keywords: Roman fortress; settlement; Gepids; pottery; typology.

Rezumat: Complexul de *centuriae* din *praetentura sinistra* a castrului legiunii V Macedonica de la Potaissa (Turda, jud. Cluj) a fost cercetat arheologic sistematic prin cinci campanii, între anii 2012–2016. Stratigrafia complexului roman este afectată de numeroase distrugerii și intervenții antice târzii, medievale și moderne. În cele ce urmează va fi analizat materialul arheologic provenit din contexte datate în epoca migrațiilor timpurii (sec. V–VI p. Chr.) de pe suprafața barăcii I. Pe lângă bogatul material arheologic datat în epoca romană a fost găsit și material arheologic databil în perioada migrațiilor, în diferitele contexte săpate sau în nivelul de dărâmtură aflat deasupra acoperișului prăbușit al barăcii romane. Este publicată aici o fibulă cu arc decorată Kreisaugen și 162 de fragmente ceramice. Materialul ceramic este foarte diversificat din perspectiva tehnicilor de producere și a formei vaselor. Majoritatea ceramicii este din pastă fină, lucrată pe roata rapidă; a doua tehnică mai frecventă este cea a roții încete, în timp ce vasele lucrate cu mâna se întâlnesc în cantitate neglijabilă. Marea varietate a formei vaselor indică funcționalitatea lor și facilitează accesul spre viața de zi cu zi din epocă. În concluzie, structurile de habitat din secolul VI p. Chr. identificate de cercetările arheologice și ceramica de uz comun din contextele corespondente și din nivelele de locuire se adaugă descoperirilor funerare și artefactelor izolate identificate pe suprafața castrului pentru a completa tabloul habitatului epocii migrațiilor.

Cuvinte-cheie: castru roman; așezare; gepizi; ceramică; tipologie.

The fortress of *legio V Macedonica* is located in Turda on *Dealul Viilor – Cetății*, being one of the medium-sized legionary fortresses of the Roman Empire (Pl. I). Systematic archaeological investigations began in 1971 and are still ongoing. The research has been published in monographs,¹ articles and studies dealing with various materials found in the legionary fortification,² and annual archaeological reports.

The *centuriae* from the *praetentura sinistra* of the fortress of *legio V Macedonica* from Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County) were excavated during the 2012–2016 archaeological seasons.

Given the peculiar conditions of the site, we decided to carry out a stratigraphic excavation, with balk profiles, but with large 45 m² surfaces in order to gain a perspective upon the wide spaces of the uncovered buildings. In these areas, an attempt was made to apply the principle of the stratigraphic unit (“single context sheet”) and to collect material from the highlighted contexts. This excavation strategy was adopted primarily due to the simple stratigraphy of the Roman site, the large buildings and the multiple subsequent destructions and interventions on the fortress from its abandonment at the end of the 3rd century AD until the beginning of the 20th century.

The excavations have led to the partial unveiling of some *centuriae* located in the *praetentura sinistra*. There were six *centuriae* oriented *per strigas*, between an inner road parallel to the *via praetoria* and the *via sagularis*. The common configuration of a “cohort-block” is also respected here: three pairs of barracks facing each other, with the centurions’ apartments at one end. The barracks open with porticos (*roofed veranda*) onto a road that runs between two such buildings. The plan of a barrack is L-shaped, with a larger main room at the western end – the centurion’s quarters, and nine smaller rooms – the soldiers’ *contubernia*.

The stratigraphy of the Roman complex is affected by various late antique, medieval and modern destructions and interventions.³ In the following, archaeological material will be analysed from contexts dated to the Early Migration Period which overlap Barrack I of the complex of *centuriae* (Pl. II), whose surface has been almost entirely excavated.

Pit G1. Sunken dwelling with oven (Pl. III/1–4). In the eastern part of surface S01/2014, the edge of a pit (G1) was outlined at a depth of 0.75–0.90 m. As noted later, the pit continued into the adjacent surfaces (S05/2014, C01/2015). Its complete emptying led to the gathering of a large amount of archaeological material belonging to the Roman period. After the partial excavation of the balk between surfaces S01 and S05, the Roman tile layer partially covering pit G1 (at a depth of 0.80–1.10 m) was removed. On the plan it could be noted that pit G1 is in fact a large, rectangular, sunken dwelling measuring ca. 4 × 4 m, with two extensions in the south-east and south-west corners. The irregular bottom of the pit lies at a depth of 2.10–2.40 m from the modern ground level. The extension in the southeast corner corresponds to the access area of the dwelling. Within surface S10/2014, in front

¹ Bărbulescu 1987; Bărbulescu 1994, 93–103; Bărbulescu 1997; Bărbulescu 2004; Bărbulescu 2008; Pîslaru 2009; Bărbulescu 2012.

² Bărbulescu, Bărbulescu 2004, 27–33; Bărbulescu 2007, 238–241; Bărbulescu, Pîslaru 2012, 443–453; Bărbulescu 2015, 331–342.

³ Nemeti 2017, 27–30.

of this extension, a platform made of river rocks was identified at a depth of 0.75 m. The extension in the southwest corner is an oval oven, made of clay, just below the foundation of the dividing wall between two *contubernia* of the Roman building (the excavation of the oven leads to the collapse of the foundation of the Roman wall). Successive levels of ash and charcoal were found in the oven. The unit C01/2015 was opened in order to see the westward continuation of the dwelling identified during the 2014 campaign (pit G1). At a depth of 0.60 m, on either side of the dividing wall between rooms 8 and 9, the tile layer resulting from the collapse of the roof appears. The dividing wall between the rooms is made of quarry stone, has two or even three stone rows and is 0.55–0.65 m wide. It is preserved over a length of 3.40 m, up to the point where it should join the long southern wall of the barracks which is also completely excavated here, as throughout the rest of this *centuria*. The imprint of the removed wall discovered in C01/2015 was revealed at a depth of 0.70 m. The foundation trench of this wall followed a curved route here, in order to correct the direction and enclose the last rooms of the barrack. In the eastern part of the excavation unit, in the area corresponding to the interior of room 9, above the level of tile from the collapsed roof, one three-knobbed bow fibula belonging to the Berekhát variant was found, dated to the end of the 5th century AD and the first half of the 6th century AD. On the western side, in the area of the interior of room 8, the continuation of the sunken dwelling investigated in the 2014 campaign can be seen. Thus, we can state that the sunken dwelling occupied the entirety of room 8, along its width. In C01/2015, the dwelling descends to 2.60 m from the modern ground level, being dug into the sterile layer of yellow clay. Towards the south, the pit of the dwelling goes below the foundation of the southern wall, which probably still existed when the dwelling was dug. The pit of the dwelling is visible in profile at the lower limit of the post-Roman deposit layer and is sealed by the level of tile resulting from the collapse of a roof probably made of reused Roman tiles. In the eastern half of the excavation unit, as well as in surfaces S02/2015 and S03/2015, the tile level is found at the same depth, suggesting that pit G1 had already been filled at the time of the collapse of this roof. Inside pit G1, layers of successive fill, as well as a lot of pottery and animal bones, ash lenses, yellow clay and mortar can be observed, indicating a deliberate filling over time (conversion of the pit into a waste disposal site).

Similar fire installations are known in Transylvania at the Dipșa *Fundoaie* settlement (Bistrița-Năsăud County), dwellings L5, L7, L8, L10, L11, and L17.⁴ Other complexes with fire installations were discovered at Stupini *Vătaștină* (Bistrița-Năsăud County), namely L6, L9, L10, L17, L19, L22 and L26.⁵ The same archaeological feature, the fire installation within the house, is documented at Carei, house 123.⁶

Pit G2 (Pl. IV/1–2). In surface S01/2014, in room 6 of Barrack I, another pit, G2, was identified, rectangular with rounded corners, measuring 3 × 2 m, which deepens after emptying, down to 2.90 m from the modern ground level. The northern edge of pit G2 appears in S06/2013. The edges of pit G2 are marked at the level at which it was revealed

⁴ Gaiu 1993, 91–93.

⁵ Gaiu 2002, 114–116.

⁶ Gindele 2020, 56–57, pl. 35 (see also fig. 14, a map with houses with fire installations in Gepidic settlements from Transylvania).

– the depth of 0.60 m – by quarry stones, slabs and tiles from a collapsed roof, laid in a wedge, indicating that the pit was not completely filled at the time of the roof collapse. The tiles of the collapsed roof of the barrack lie across the full extent of the pit and seal it, turning it into a closed context. Roman material in a secondary context and Migration Period pottery were exclusively discovered in the pit.

Pits G4, G5, G6 (Pl. IV/3). Pit G1 was identified in squares 13–15 of surface S05/2014, near the wall separating two rooms. Three other approximately round pits of different diameters were identified on the surface near this pit. G4 is oval in shape, measuring 1.70×1.40 m, with a depth of 1.50 m from the modern ground level. G5 and G6 are intersected by profiles and have diameters of 1.10 m and 1.45 m respectively, and depths of 1.50 m from the modern ground level. At the western end, a pit was excavated, namely G3, measuring 0.60 m in diameter.

Dry stone wall (Pl. V/1). Below the balk between surfaces S06/2013–S03/2014, S01–S04/2014 and S05–S06/2014, a wall separating two *contubernia* was identified. It was noted that its route was sinuous and that it had two building levels: a Roman one, of quarry stone and mortar, and a Migration Period or Early Middle Ages one with a dry wall bonding quarry stone and tiles with earth. By removing the balks, the wall was uncovered over a length of 8.30 m. From the intersection with the long wall of the barrack, over a length of 5.50 m, the foundation of the Roman wall of quarry stone and mortar, which has a straight course, can be seen. It is superposed along its entire length by the late dry wall, made of tile, with an irregular course. The preserved part of the Roman wall and the dry wall built on top of it are interrupted at about 60 cm from the southern profile of surface S06, where the trace of the removed wall, the long wall enclosing the barrack to the south, began. This observation indicates that the dry wall with quarried stone and reused Roman tile predates the excavation of the long southern wall of the barrack.

During the 2015 season, the dividing wall between *contubernia* 7 and 8, which crossed over the oven of the sunken dwelling, was removed. The dry stone and tile wall, built in a later period over the dividing wall between *contubernia* 5 and 6, was also removed. The removal stopped on a mortar layer, which actually indicates the level of the Roman wall, base of the wooden walls of the barracks. It has now been observed that the wall between *contubernia* 6 and 7, located next to pit G2 from *contubernium* 6, is rebuilt of crumbly yellow Podeni limestone, only over a length of 3.35 m, exactly next to pit G2, which it borders. It should also be noted that this is the only place of the entire stone structure of this *centuria* where Podeni limestone has been used.

Contubernium 10 (Pl. V/2–3). In surface S01/2105 two *contubernia* were identified to the east, and thus the layout plan of a barrack with 10 *contubernia* (the centurion's room and 9 other rooms for the soldiers) was outlined. In this area, the long northern wall of the barrack, the dividing wall between *contubernia* 9 and 10 and the wall enclosing the barrack to the east were revealed. The foundation of the wall, with two stone rows, is still preserved over a length of 7.50 m, with widths varying from 0.60 to 0.75 m, being completely excavated in the north-east corner of the barrack. In the last room, a tile structure was identified.

Four groups of three overlapping tiles were laid along the northern wall, inside the room, over a length of ca. 3 m. The tiles laid next to the northern wall are at the same level as the entrance threshold (the upper part at a depth of 0.60 m), therefore they were probably laid on the ground level.

Stratigraphy (Pl. VI/2). In the southern part of surface S03/2015, some stratigraphic observations were made which may shed light upon the sequence of later interventions, in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. In general, the walls of the buildings from the fortress of Potaissa were removed starting with the 16th–17th centuries, the stone being used for the construction of the buildings in the modern town of Turda. The long wall of barrack I was apparently excavated as early as the Late Antiquity. In the southern part of *contubernium* 10, there is a pile of small quarry stones, on a 1.30 × 0.40 m area (about 0.40 m from the modern ground level). Next to this “stone pile”, on the tile level of the collapsed roof, there is a pile of large animal bones. South of the excavated wall of the barrack, among the tiles, several fragments of black pottery decorated with polished geometric motifs were found. This level, which includes the stone pile, animal bones and black pottery with polished geometric motifs, datable to the 5th–6th centuries AD, is located above the collapsed Roman roof. After the removal of the “stone pile” and the levelling to a depth of 0.65 m, the imprint of the long wall of the barracks, 0.60 m wide by 1.80 m long, was identified beneath this structure. The tiles to the south of this wall have fallen aligned, to the limit of the wall removal imprint, indicating that this stone foundation existed at the time of the roof collapse. It was excavated later, after the collapse of the roof, but before the “stone pile” superposing the imprint of the removed wall was set up. As also noted in the 2015 campaign, the remains from the 5th–6th centuries AD are above the level of the collapsed Roman roof. The previous interventions – the dismantling of the stone foundation of the southern wall of the barracks – belong to a previous phase of intervention and habitation in the abandoned Roman complex.

Archaeological material

In addition to the rich archaeological material dated to the Roman period in the various sunken contexts reported (G1–G6), as well as in the rubble level located on top of the collapsed tile roof of the Roman barracks up to the modern humus level, archaeological material dated to the Migration Period was also found.

Bow fibula (Pl. VI/1). Fibula with three knobs (two fragments). Discovered during the 2015 season, in room 9 of barrack I from the *praetentura sinistra*. It was located on the collapsed tile layer at a depth of -0.60 m; MIT, inv. nos. 21998, 21999; bronze fibula with an iron spring, produced by casting. The fibula is broken into two fragments measuring 3.4 cm and 2.7 cm respectively. The dimensions of the reconstructed fibula are 6.1 × 3.5 cm. The spring plate is more triangular rather than semi-circular in shape and presents three knobs, each decorated with two parallel grooves. The foot plate is rhomboidal in shape and has two circular protuberances decorated by hatching at the sides. The foot stem is damaged. The grooved and hatched decorations of the knobs, circular protuberances and foot stem are made by casting. The spring plate and the foot plate are cold-decorated by stippling,

resulting in the “circles and dots” motif (*Kreispunkten Verzierung*) or “circular eyes” (*Kreisaugen Verzierung*). The motif is made rather sloppily and primitively; sometimes only a few pricks appear instead of the “circles with dots”. The circular protuberances with hatched decoration replace the protuberances used to set semi-precious stones for fibulae of this type.

Three other bronze sheet fibulae, two with three knobs and one with five, *Kreisaugen*-decorated,⁷ are known from the *thermae* area. *Kreisaugen*-decorated fibulae are common in the Middle and Lower Danube Germanic area in the 5th–6th centuries. The ornamental motif can also be found in the following period in the case of the “*slawische Bügelfibeln*” of the Werner II. C type (“*Fibeln mit eigenschlagenen Punktkreisen*”), dated mainly to the end of the 6th century and during the 7th century AD.⁸ The “Germanic” fibulae are distinguished by their smaller dimensions and the fact that the knobs decorating the spring plate are of the same width and have more sides. In Transylvania similar fibulae are known from Morești.⁹

Based on the *Kreisaugen* decorated fibulae from the Tisza Plain, we have classified the *Kreisaugen* decorated fibulae from Potaissa as the *Berekhát* variant (with an undecorated spring).¹⁰ The *Berekhát* variant was only illustrated by the five-knobbed fibulae from Szentes – *Berekhát* (M. 36, M. 61) and Morești (M. 42). The three-knobbed fibulae of this group are small pieces found at Hódmezővásárhely – Gorza (M. 22), Szolnok – Szanda (M. 18) and Szentes – Nagyhegy (M. 15). For the dating of the group, the fibula of M. 15 from Szentes – Nagyhegy, associated with a “Gothic” belt buckle with a rectangular plate ending in an eagle head, is important, thus the dating would be the last third of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century AD.¹¹ K. Horedt dates the pair of *Kreisaugen* decorated fibulae from Morești towards 550 (due to the material, the primitive production technique and the link with Slavic fibulae).¹²

Pottery

I. Pit-house G1 and the surrounding area

1. Lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/2 Brown).
Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/1).
2. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray).
Decorated with parallel grooves on the neck and shoulder. Typological classification: II/d4.
Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/2).
3. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/4 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/3).

⁷ Nemeti 2008, 341–344, pl. LII/5–7, 8–10, 11–13; Nemeti 2019, 170–173, fig. 333.1–3.

⁸ Werner 1950, 160–162, pl. 39.

⁹ Horedt 1979, 183, Abb. 81/1; Protase 1999, 269, fig. 1.

¹⁰ Cseh et alii 2005, 110–112.

¹¹ Csallány 1961, 47–49, pl. XXXI, XXXII; Cseh et alii 2005, 112.

¹² Horedt 1979, 183.

4. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, oxidation firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/4 Light brown). Decorated with parallel grooves on the shoulder. Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/4).
5. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/2 Brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/5).
6. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/6).
7. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/2 Brown). Decorated with grooves on the shoulder. Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/7).
8. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/2 Very dark grayish brown). Typological classification: II/d3. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/8).
9. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/9).
10. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/10).
11. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: II/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/11).
12. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/12).
13. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/13).
14. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Decorated with grooves on the neck and shoulder. Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/14).
15. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/15).
16. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IA/p. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/16).
17. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/2 Brown). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/17).
18. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/18).
19. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/2 Brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/19).
20. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.70/-1.75 m (Pl. VIII/20).
21. Lid, fast wheel-thrown (three fragments), oxidation firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/8 Reddish yellow). Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80 m (Pl. IX/1).
22. Pot lid, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/4 Light olive brown). Typological classification: Lid II/1. Context: S01/2014, G1, h = -1.60/-1.70 m (Pl. IX/2).

23. Pot lid, fast wheel-thrown, oxidation firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste with pebbles (Munsell 5YR, 7/6 Reddish yellow). Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S05/2014, G1, oven (Pl. IX/3).
24. Lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/4).
25. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: C01/2015, G1 (Pl. IX/5).
26. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.05/-1.20 m (Pl. IX/6).
27. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S05/2014, G1, oven (Pl. IX/7).
28. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Decorated with an incised line on the shoulder. Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/8).
29. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Gray). Typological classification: II/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/9).
30. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/10).
31. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -2.1 m (Pl. IX/11).
32. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Decorated with rouletted horizontal bands. Typological classification: IA/d3. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -2 m (Pl. IX/12).
33. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1.
34. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Decorated with two parallel incised lines. Typological classification: IA. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/13).
35. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Decorated with four parallel incised lines. Typological classification: IA. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/14).
36. Pot bottom and wall fragments, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Decorated by roulette in registers of parallel lines. Typological classification: IA/d3. Context: S05/2014, G1/oven, h = -2.10/-2.20 m (Pl. IX/15).
37. Lower part of a pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p9. Context: S05/2014, G1 (Pl. IX/16).
38. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Decorated with two rouletted rows. Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -1.80/-1.90 m (Pl. IX/17).
39. Pot lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell 10YR, 6/2 Light brownish gray). Typological classification: Lid I/1. Context: S05/2014, G1 (oven) (Pl. X/1).
40. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 4/4 Brown). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1 (oven) (Pl. X/2).
41. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 2.5 Black). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -2 m (Pl. X/3).

42. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell GLEY 2, 4/1 Dark bluish gray). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -2 m (Pl. X/4).
43. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 4/1 Dark gray). Decorated with horizontal waves on the shoulder and neck. Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -2 m (Pl. X/5).
44. Pot bottom, hand-built, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 3/1 Very dark greenish gray). Typological classification: III/p1. Context: S05/2014, G1, h = -2 m (Pl. X/6).
45. Pot bottom, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: II/d4. Context: S05/2014, G1 (in the area of the oven) (Pl. X/7).
46. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1 6/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S02/2014 (Pl. X/8).
47. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 2, 6/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: S02/2014 (Pl. X/9).
48. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 8/1 Light greenish gray). Typological classification: IA/d3. Context: S02/2014 (Pl. X/10).
49. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste (Munsell GLEY 1 2.5/1 Greenish black). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S02/2014 (Pl. X/11).
50. Pot handle, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY, 5/1, Bluish gray). Typological classification: III. Context: S03/2014, c. 12–13, h = 0/-0.80 m (Pl. X/12).
51. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/2 Very dark grayish brown). Typological classification: II/d1. Context: S05/2014, c. 4–9, h = -0.40/-0.60 m (Pl. X/13).
52. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: C01/2015, h = -0.20/-0.50 m (Pl. X/14).
53. Pot lid, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: Lid II/2. Context: S10/2014, h = -1 m (Pl. XI/1).
54. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste (Munsell 7.5Y, 5/4 Brown). Typological classification: II/d2. Context: S10/2014, c. 1–8, h = -0.70/-0.85 m (Pl. XI/2).
55. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 10YR, 6/3 Pale brown). Typological classification: IB/p8. Context: balk between S05 and S10/2014 (Pl. XI/3).
56. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: II/p1. Context: S10/2014, h = -0.60/-0.75 m (Pl. XI/4).
57. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p3. Context: S10/2014, c. 7–11, h = -0.75/-0.90 m (Pl. XI/5).
58. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 6/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: II/p2. Context: S10/2014, c. 8–15, h = -0.40/-0.60 m (Pl. XI/6).
59. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: II/d2. Context: S10/2014, c. 7–11, h = -0.75/-0.90 m (Pl. XI/7).
60. Pot wall, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste with pebbles (Munsell GLEY 1, 5/1 Greenish gray). Decorated with horizontal grooves. Typological classification: IB. Context: S10/2014, h = -1 m (Pl. XI/8).

61. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, oxidation firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S10/2014, h = -1 m (Pl. XI/9).
62. Pot bottom, hand-built, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray). Typological classification: III/p1. Context: balk S10/2014, h = -1 m (Pl. XI/10).
63. Pot bottom, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray). Typological classification: II/d1. Context: S10/2014, h = -1 m (Pl. XI/11).
64. Pot bottom, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: II/p1. Context: S10/2014, h = -0.80/-1 m (Pl. XI/12).
65. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 5/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S10/2014, c. 8–15, h = -0.60/-0.75 m (Pl. XI/13).
66. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 6/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S10/2014, c.8–15, h = -0.60/-0.75 m (Pl. XI/14).

II. Storage pit G2 and the surrounding area

67. Pot lid, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste with pebbles and sand (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: Lid II/2. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.65/-2.85 m (Pl. XII/1).
68. Pot lid, hand-built, reduction firing (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/3 Olive brown). Typological classification: Lid III/2. Context: V80/7 (S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m) (Pl. XII/2).
69. Pot lid, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 6/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: Lid II/2. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m (Pl. XII/3).
70. Bowl, hand-built, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell GLEY 1, 3/1 Very dark greenish gray). Typological classification: III/bowl. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m (Pl. XII/4).
71. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; coarse paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 2.5 Black). Typological classification: II/d4. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m (Pl. XII/5).
72. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: II/d1. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m (Pl. XII/6).
73. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning on the exterior); semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 3/1 Very dark gray). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: balk between S01 and S05/2014, G2, h = -1.65/-1.75 m (Pl. XII/7).
74. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p9. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -1.60/-1.70 m (Pl. XII/8).
75. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); fine paste, with inclusions of sand and pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Decorated with a band of three incised lines on the shoulder. Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: balk between S01 and S05/2014, G2, h = -1.65/-1.75 m (Pl. XII/9).
76. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning on the exterior); coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Decorated with triangles of incised lines on the shoulder. Typological classification: II/p3. Context: V80/7 (S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m) (Pl. XII/10).

77. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning on the exterior); coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Decorated with triangles of incised lines on the shoulder. Typological classification: II/p1. Context: V80/7 (S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m) (Pl. XII/11).
78. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p3. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -1.10/-1.60 m (Pl. XII/12).
79. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -1.10/-1.60 m (Pl. XII/13).
80. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste with sand and pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/2 Very dark grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p2. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -1.60/-1.70 m (Pl. XII/14).
81. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/2 Very dark grayish brown). Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.65/-2.85 m (Pl. XII/15).
82. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/2 Very dark grayish brown). Typological classification: II/p3. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.65/-2.85 m (Pl. XII/16).
83. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 7.5YR, 7/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.65/-2.85 m (Pl. XII/17).
84. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 4/1, Dark greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m (Pl. XII/18).
85. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 7/1, Light greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/unidentified. Context: S01/2014, G2, h = -2.20/-2.30 m (Pl. XII/19).
86. Pot lid, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: Lid II/2. Context: V80/10. (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/1).
87. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p8. Context: V 80/11 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/2).
88. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Decorated with two parallel incised lines. Typological classification: IA/d3. Context: V80/10 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/3).
89. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 5/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: II/d2. Context: S01/2014 (humus) (Pl. XIII/4).
90. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: S01/2014, h = -0.10/-0.25 m (Pl. XIII/5).
91. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Decorated with grooves on the shoulder. Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: V80/23 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/6).
92. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 2.5/1 Black). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: V84/19 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/7).
93. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: V80/5 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/8).

94. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1 7/1 Light greenish gray). Typological classification: II/d2. Context: V80/17 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/9).
95. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5YR, 5/2 Grayish brown); Decorated with parallel rouletted bands. Typological classification: IA. Context: V80/9 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/10).
96. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 4/2 Brown); Decorated with parallel incised lines (comb decoration). Typological classification: IB. Context: V80/18 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/11).
97. Pot bottom, fragmentary, fast wheel-thrown; reduction firing (with traces of secondary burning on the exterior); semi-fine paste (Munsell 10YR, 5/4 Yellowish brown). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: V80/15 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/12).
98. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: V80/23 (S01/2014) (Pl. XIII/13).

III. Pit G4 and the surrounding area

99. Pot lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S05/2014, c.4–5, h = -0.40/-0.60 m (Pl. XIV/1).
100. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR 5/6 Strong brown). Typological classification: II/p1. Context: S04/2014, c. 9, h = -0.60 m (Pl. XIV/2).
101. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5YR 6/4 Light reddish brown). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S04/2014, c.8–10, h = -0.30/-0.40 m (Pl. XIV/3).
102. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR 4/3 Brown). Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S04/2014, c.8–10, h = -0.30/-0.40 m (Pl. XIV/4).
103. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IA/d3. Context: balk between S01/2014 and S06/2013, h = -0.40 m (Pl. XIV/5).
104. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: balk between S04 and S03/2014 (Pl. XIV/6).
105. Pot, hand-built, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste (Munsell 10YR, 6/4 Light yellowish brown). Typological classification: III/p2. Context: S05/2014, G4, h = -1/-1.20 m (Pl. XIV/7).
106. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/2 Very dark grayish brown). Typological classification: II/p2. Context: S05/2014, c. 4–9, h = -0.40/-0.60 m (Pl. XIV/8).
107. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1 4/1 Dark greenish gray). Decorated with grooves in parallel bands. Typological classification: IB. Context: S04/2014, c. 9, h = -0.60 m (Pl. XIV/9).
108. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 6/1, Greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S05/2014, c.1–8, h = -0.30/-0.80 m (Pl. XIV/10).
109. Pot bottom, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste with pebbles (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3, Light brown). Typological classification: II/p3. Context: S03/2014, G4, h = -1/-1.20 m (Pl. XIV/11).

110. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 2, 6/1, Bluish gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S04/2014, h = -0.55/-0.70 m (Pl. XIV/12).
111. Tray, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1 5/1 Greenish gray). Typological classification: II. Context: S04/2014, c. 14–15, h = -1.10 m (Pl. XIV/13).

IV. Contubernia 9 and 10.

112. Lid, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: Lid II/1. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.20/-0.40 m (Pl. XV/1).
113. Lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.40/-0.50 m (Pl. XV/2).
114. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S03/2015, h = -0.60/-0.75 m (Pl. XV/3).
115. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p1. Context: S03/2015, h = -0.60/-0.75 m (Pl. XV/4).
116. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S02/2015 (Pl. XV/5).
117. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste with pebbles (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.40/-0.50 m (Pl. XV/6).
118. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste with sand (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.50/-0.60 m (Pl. XV/7).
119. Cup, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.40/-0.50 m (Pl. XV/8).
120. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 4/4 Brown). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.20/-0.40 m (Pl. XV/9).
121. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 2.5/1 Black). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: S01/2015, h = -0.50/-0.60 m (Pl. XV/10).
122. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Decorated with bands of wavy lines. Typological classification: IB. Context: S02/2015, h = -0.50/-0.60 m (from the tile level of the roof) (Pl. XV/11).
123. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray). Decorated with horizontal and wavy bands. Typological classification: IB. Context: S03/2015, h = -0.50 m (Pl. XV/12).
124. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste with pebbles (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S02/2015, h = -0.30/-0.50 m (Pl. XV/13).
125. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S02/2015, h = -0.30/-0.60 m (Pl. XV/14).
126. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 4/1 Dark greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p10. Context: S02/2015 (Pl. XV/15).
127. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S02/2015 (Pl. XV/16).

128. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p8. Context: S02/2015 (Pl. XV/17).
129. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5 YR 5/6 Strong brown). Typological classification: II/p3. Context: S02/2015 (Pl. XV/18).
130. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: balk between S06/2014 and S04/2015, h = -0.40 m (Pl. XVI/1).
131. Lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: Lid I/2. Context: S04/2015, h = -0.40/-0.75 m (Pl. XVI/2).
132. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S04/2015, h = -0.35/-0.50 m (Pl. XVI/3).
133. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S04/2015, h = -0.35/-0.50 m (Pl. XVI/4).
134. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 6/1 Gray). Decorated with horizontal bands. Typological classification: IB. Context: balk between S10/2014 and S01/2015 (Pl. XVI/5).
135. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Decorated with registers of incised wavy lines. Typological classification: IB. Context: S02/2015 (Pl. XVI/6).
136. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: balk between S10/2014 and S01/2015 (Pl. XVI/7).
137. Pot bottom, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray). Typological classification: II/p1. Context: S04/2015, h = -0.50/-0.70 m (Pl. XVI/8).
138. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 3/1 Very dark greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S01/2015 (humus) (Pl. XVI/9).

V. Pits G1 and G2.

139. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 2, 5/1 Bluish gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: V73/3. (S01/2013) (Pl. XVI/10).
140. Tray, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste (Munsell 10YR 5/3 Brown). Typological classification: II. Context: S02/2013, h = -0.40 m (Pl. XVI/11).
141. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 4/1 Dark gray). Decorated with incised lines. Typological classification: IB. Context: S02/2013 (humus) (Pl. XVI/12).
142. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: V67/8 (S01/2013, c.3, h = -0.30 m) (Pl. XVI/13).

VI. Road, porticoes and area outside the Roman barracks

143. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/2 Dark grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p8. Context: S09/2014, h = -1/-1.20 m (Pl. XVII/1).

144. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5YR, 6/3 Light yellowish brown). Typological classification: IB/d2. Context: S08/2014, h = -0.45/-0.55 m (Pl. XVII/2).
145. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 4/1 Dark greenish gray). Typological classification: IA/d1. Context: S06/2013, c. 6. h = -0.40/-0.45 m (Pl. XVII/3).
146. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; fine paste (Munsell 5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IA/p. Context: balk between S05 and S06/2013 (Pl. XVII/4).
147. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 4/1 Dark greenish gray). Decorated with grooves below the lip. Typological classification: IA/d3. Context: balk between S05 and S06/2013 (Pl. XVII/5).
148. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 2, 6/1 Bluish gray). Typological classification: II/d2. Context: S03/2013 (Pl. XVII/6).
149. Pot wall fragment, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 7/1 Light greenish gray). Decorated with registers of incised wavy lines. Typological classification: IB. Context: S03/2013 (Pl. XVII/7).
150. Pot wall fragment, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 2.5/1 Greenish black). Decorated with incised wavy lines. Typological classification: II. Context: S03/2013, c.12, h = -0.75 m (Pl. XVII/8).
151. Lid, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/4 Light brown). Typological classification: Lid I/1. Context: S12/2014, h = -0.30/-0.45 m (Pl. XVII/9).
152. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: S12/2014, h = -0.30/-0.45 m (Pl. XVII/10).
153. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: S12/2014, h = -0.30/-0.45 m (Pl. XVII/11).
154. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); coarse paste (Munsell 10YR, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: II/p3. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra* (Pl. XVII/12).
155. Pot, slow wheel-thrown, oxidation firing, uniform; coarse paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 6/3 Light brown). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra*, 2016 (Pl. XVII/13).
156. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 5/2 Grayish brown). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra*, 2015 (Pl. XVII/14).
157. Pot, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell GLEY 1, 3/1 Very dark greenish gray). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra* (Pl. XVII/15).
158. Pot, fast wheel-thrown (two fragments), reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 5YR, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IB/d1. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra* (Pl. XVII/16).
159. Pot wall fragments, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform (with traces of secondary burning); semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 3/1 Very dark gray); decorated with a single wavy line. Typological classification: IB. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra* (Pl. XVII/17).
160. Pot bottom, slow wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 2.5Y, 4/1 Dark gray). Typological classification: IB/p5. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra* (Pl. XVII/18).

161. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uneven; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/2 Brown). Typological classification: IB/p4. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra*, 2016 (Pl. XVII/19).
162. Pot bottom, fast wheel-thrown, reduction firing, uniform; semi-fine paste (Munsell 7.5YR, 5/1 Gray). Typological classification: IB/p6. Context: *centuriae praetentura sinistra* (Pl. XVII/20).

Methodology and typology

At the base of the typology (Pl. VII) two criteria were merged together, the first being the production technique of the pottery and the second the relationship between the form and the function of the sherds. As in most cases of household archaeology, the ceramic material was very fragmentary.

To define the production technique of the pottery, Tivadar Vida's classification based on Avar Age pottery was used. Three main groups can be defined: I. pottery made on the fast potter's wheel, II. pottery made on the slow wheel, and III. pottery made by hand.¹³

These groups also have subgroups; such is the case of pottery made on the fast potter's wheel from this archaeological site, for which we must define two subgroups: IA – the subgroup of pottery with very fine paste, made of very finely sieved clay, relatively pure, which presents as an inclusion 5–10% sand of very fine granulation (particle size between 0.2–0.5 mm), and might also contain lime. The thickness of the walls is usually between 5–7 mm. In most of the cases, these vessels undergo reductive firing, and they are hard, not scratchable by nail, but scratchable by iron. As far as forms go, this subgroup includes drinking vessels, jugs, pots and serving cups.¹⁴ In most cases, these vessels are polished with organic material, whereas in some cases they present stamped or burnished decoration.¹⁵

The IB subgroup is represented by relatively fine pottery with inclusions such as sand, pottery fragments, lime, and mica (with the average particle size between 0.1–0.5 mm). This subgroup represents the pottery used in households. They have a gray/grayish – brown/grayish black color due to their reductive firing. The thickness of the walls may vary between 3–7 mm. The finger marks of the potter may be present on the inside and on the outside of these vessels.¹⁶ The most common forms are: pots, jugs, and in some cases drinking vessels.¹⁷ This type of vessels can be decorated with incised lines or wavy lines.¹⁸

Group II consists of the vessels made on the slow potter's wheel and can be divided in two subgroups: IIA – vessels made following the model of the vessels made on the fast wheel, and IIB – vessels made of a duller paste, with more frequent inclusions. The vessels may largely differ from the qualitative point of view, from those which can be scratched by nail, to those which can barely be scratched by iron. This type of vessels can undergo both oxidative and reductive firing.¹⁹

Group III is the group of vessels made by hand. Their paste has relatively big inclusions ($d = 3\text{--}6\text{ mm}$) consisting of sand, pottery fragments, small pebbles, lime, etc. Their color

¹³ Vida 1999.

¹⁴ Hajnal 2006, 188.

¹⁵ Vida 1999, 33–35

¹⁶ Hajnal 2006, 194.

¹⁷ Vida 1999, 42–46.

¹⁸ Hajnal 2006, 194.

¹⁹ Vida 1999, 107–110.

may vary from light yellow to black depending on their firing technique. The most frequent forms are: drinking vessels, pots, jugs, and storage vessels.²⁰

Each trait of a vessel in the process of creating it, from the selection of the raw materials, choosing the production technique, how it was fired, how it was decorated is a choice of the craftsmen. Some traditions are continued in the manufacturing process, while some are declining because of innovative solutions, permissions, or taboos of the era and culture.²¹

A vessel's form can determine its intended function.²² A vessel can have three main functions: transportation of goods (liquids or grains), processing food (as an example by cooking or brewing), and storage (e.g., grains).²³ According to Andrzej Buko and his Vessel Shape Family system theory, pottery can be classified into forms, which can further be divided into variants of the forms.²⁴

In total, 162 fragments were studied. 74.85% of the pottery is made on the fast potter's wheel (IA and IB subgroups), while 22.22% (group II) of the pottery was made on the slow wheel, and 2.93% (group III) of the fragments were made by hand.

The majority of the fragments were vessel rims (104 fragments – 60.46%), followed by bottom fragments (36–20.93%), lid fragments (16–9.30%), wall fragments (15–8.72%), and one handle fragment (1–0.58%).

Lids can be categorized according to their production technique (into the abovementioned groups I, II, and III) and by their shape into two types: 1 – lids with conically shaped sides, and 2 – lids with slightly curved sides.

Rim and bottom fragments were categorized according to their production technique and their intended shape (such as drinking vessels – marked with d, storage vessels, pots/jars – marked with p). In both cases we can differentiate the functionality of the vessels as pots, mugs, drinking vessels, and storage vessels.

More types of drinking vessels could be distinguished, such as:

IA/d1 (Hajnal 2013, IA/d₁)²⁵ – mug or small pot with a slightly rounded body, with the biggest diameter of the vessel in the lower part, with a narrow neck, and slightly splayed rim;
IA/d2 (Hajnal 2013, IA/d₂)²⁶ – tall Beutelgefäß type vessel with an elongated body, and slightly splayed rim;

IA/d3 (Hajnal 2013, IA/d₃)²⁷ – Beutelgefäß type vessel, medium height, splayed rim, the biggest diameter of the vessel being in the lower part of the body;

IB/d1 (Hajnal 2013, IB/n₃)²⁸ – mug with a short, slightly splayed rim;

IB/d2 (Hajnal 2013, IB/i)²⁹ – small Beutelgefäß with the biggest diameter in the lower part of the body;

²⁰ Vida 1999, 111–156.

²¹ Klejn 1982, 263–265.

²² Orton 1993, 76–77

²³ Rice 1987, 208–209.

²⁴ Buko 1998, 381–388.

²⁵ Hajnal 2013, 189.

²⁶ Hajnal 2013, 189.

²⁷ Hajnal 2013, 189.

²⁸ Hajnal 2013, 196–199.

²⁹ Hajnal 2013, 196–198.

II/d1 (Vida 1999, IIA/a)³⁰ – mug or pot with a short, slightly splayed rim and a rounded mouth, it has the biggest diameter in the middle of the body;

II/d2 (Vida 1999, IIA/b₁)³¹ – pear-shaped mug with a straight rim, with the biggest diameter in the lower part of the body;

II/d3 (Vida 1999, IIA/b₂)³² – pear-shaped mug, with a short slightly splayed rim, and a round body, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body;

II/d4 (Vida 1999, IIA/c) – mug or pot with a slightly splayed short rim, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body.

The pots and jars show an even wider variety than the drinking vessels:

IA/p (Vida 1999, IA/b)³³ – pot with a pear-shaped body, and with a short, slightly splayed rim;

IB/p₁ (Hajnal 2013, IB/a₁)³⁴ – mug or pot with a thick oval body, with the biggest diameter in the lower part of the body, with a conical neck and a slightly splayed rim;

IB/p₂ (Hajnal 2013, IB/b₂)³⁵ – mug or pot with a rounded body, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body, with a high, slightly splayed rim;

IB/p₃ (Hajnal 2013, IB/g₁)³⁶ – tall, oval vessel, with a short slightly splayed rim, the biggest diameter of the vessel is in the middle of the body;

IB/p₄ (Hajnal 2013, IB/g₂)³⁷ – tall, oval vessel, with a short, slightly splayed rim, the biggest diameter of the vessel being in the middle of the body;

IB/p₅ (Hajnal 2013, IB/g₃)³⁸ – vessel with a prominent shoulder, with a smaller base, and a short-splayed rim;

IB/p₆ (Hajnal 2013, IB/g₄)³⁹ – vessel with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body, with a narrowing bottom, and a short-splayed rim;

IB/p₇ (Hajnal 2013, IB/g₅)⁴⁰ – vessel with an oval body, with a small base, and a large splayed rim;

IB/p₈ (Hajnal 2005, IF/d₁)⁴¹ – vessel with a rounded body, and a short slightly splayed rim;

IB/p₉ (Hajnal 2005, IF/d₂)⁴² – vessel with a conical shoulder, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body, slightly splayed rim, with a handle for the lid;

IB/p₁₀ (Hajnal 2005, IF/g)⁴³ – pot with a rounded body, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body, and a rounded rim;

II/p1 (Vida 1999, IIA/d₂)⁴⁴ – relatively tall vessel with a short, slightly splayed rim, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body;

³⁰ Vida 1999, 108–109.

³¹ Vida 1999, 108–109.

³² Vida 1999, 108–109.

³³ Vida 1999, 35.

³⁴ Hajnal 2013, 194–195.

³⁵ Hajnal 2013, 194–195.

³⁶ Hajnal 2013, 196–197.

³⁷ Hajnal 2013, 196–197.

³⁸ Hajnal 2013, 196–197.

³⁹ Hajnal 2013, 196–197.

⁴⁰ Hajnal 2013, 196–198.

⁴¹ Hajnal 2005, 445.

⁴² Hajnal 2005, 445.

⁴³ Hajnal 2005, 445.

⁴⁴ Vida 1999, 108–109.

II/p2 (Hajnal 2005, II/d₃)⁴⁵ – vessel with a slightly splayed rim, and a rounded body, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body;

II/p3 (Vida 1999, IIA/e₂)⁴⁶ – relatively tall vessel, with a short-splayed rim, with the biggest diameter in the middle of the body;

III/p1 (Vida 1999, IIID₁/a₁)⁴⁷ – small hand-made vessel with a round body and a slightly splayed rim;

III/p2 (Vida 1999, IIID₃/b)⁴⁸ – tall vessel made by hand, with an elongated body, and a splayed rim.

The ceramic material from the fortress of *legio V Macedonica* in Turda is much diversified considering the production techniques and the vessel shapes. The majority of the pottery is made of fine clay, on the fast potter's wheel, the second most popular production technique being the slow potter's wheel, while pottery made by hand is present only at a negligible scale. The large variety of vessel shapes shows their intended function, and gives a glimpse into everyday life in this period.

As far as shapes go, the most frequent shapes are the rounded jar type of vessels and their variants usually used for food preparation, as well as different types of vessels for beverage consumption.

As far as decoration goes, at the site of the fortress of *legio V Macedonica* at Turda, Migration Period pottery presents two types of techniques: incised and stamped décor, both originating in the Gepidic era before the Avar conquest.⁴⁹ 32 fragments were decorated; the most represented decoration technique used is incision, with simple lines forming different patterns on the vessels (straight, wavy or just a single line – 27 fragments). Since incisions and wavy lines were used widely even in the Late Antiquity, they do not offer a precise dating of the ceramic material.

The second decoration technique consists of stamping with a roulette. Five fragments were decorated with stamped décor, the same tool was used for all of the vessels. The stamp is rectangular, applied in parallel lines on the vessels, a simple stamp made according to Germanic traditions. This type of stamp can also be found on vessels from the Transylvanian Basin and Hungary.⁵⁰

A specific decor type to this era can be observed on five fragments. Punched decoration using a straw, or a wooden stick-on pottery is also known at Bistrița *Stația 110 kW/Poligon* cemetery from a stray find,⁵¹ and the ceramic material from L1, *Dipșa Fundoaie* settlement.⁵²

The pottery can be dated at the beginning of the 6th century, with analogies from contemporary settlements and their decoration techniques. The closest analogy for Gepidic

⁴⁵ Hajnal 2005, 445.

⁴⁶ Vida 1999, 108–109.

⁴⁷ Vida 1999, 139.

⁴⁸ Vida 1999, 139.

⁴⁹ Barbocz 2021, 191–200.

⁵⁰ Barbocz 2021, 194.

⁵¹ Gaiu 1992, Fig. 4/12.

⁵² Gaiu 1993, Fig. 4/4; Gaiu 1993, Fig. 6/2.

habitation (and pottery) would be the site from Cluj-Napoca – Florești – *Polus Center* (Cluj County).

In the area of the former Roman city of Potaissa, on the lower course of the Arieș River and in the confluence area with the Mureș River, we find a consistent habitation in the 5th–7th centuries AD. In the area of the legionary fortress and of the Roman city, tombs and isolated finds are known⁵³ which are contemporary with the Germanic princely tomb from the *thermae* of the Roman fortress dated to the end of the 5th – early 6th century AD.⁵⁴ Some settlements are known at Aiton,⁵⁵ Cheile Turenilor (*Poderei*),⁵⁶ Cipău (*Gârle, Dealul Șeuliei*),⁵⁷ Cuci (*Hotarul Orosiei*),⁵⁸ Iernut (at the *Hulpiști, Castelul feudal, Sfântu Gheorghe* and *Pe șes* sites),⁵⁹ Luduș,⁶⁰ Sărmașu (*Secția de mecanizare*),⁶¹ Soporu de Câmpie (*Cuntenit*)⁶² and Zau de Câmpie (*Între pâraie*).⁶³ While at Aiton, Cheile Turenilor, Cuci, Sărmașu and Zau de Câmpie the habitation is only signalled by ceramic fragments found on the surface or during surveys, in the rest of the mentioned points sunken dwellings and surface dwellings were investigated. At Cipău *Gârle*, in 1952, a section identified a large sunken dwelling dated with Late Roman coins. The rescue excavations continued in 1954–1955 when three sunken dwellings and three pits were discovered: sunken dwelling no. 4 and pits *a* and *c* date from the 4th century. The two other sunken dwellings and pit *c* date from the 5th–6th centuries AD.⁶⁴ At Iernut – *Hulpiști*, pottery fragments from the 4th and 5th–6th centuries AD appeared in the sunken dwellings sectioned by the clay pits.⁶⁵ In Luduș, in the steep bank of the Mureș, M. Rusu revealed a sunken dwelling, at a depth of -0.80 m, containing ash and pottery from the 5th–6th centuries AD.⁶⁶ At Soporu de Câmpie *Cuntenit*, sunken dwellings with fire hearths from the 5th–6th centuries AD are mentioned.⁶⁷

The funerary manifestations of the 5th–7th century AD inhabitants of this area are better known. A large necropolis has been investigated in the past and recently in Câmpia Turzii on the property of N. Betegh, with tombs dating from the 5th century to the late Avar Age.⁶⁸ At Cicău, on the Săliște plateau, five inhumation tombs dated to the 6th–8th centuries AD were discovered, with an inventory of pottery, harness equipment,

⁵³ Nemeti 2008; Nemeti 2019, 168–176; Nemeti 2020, 83–90.

⁵⁴ Bărbulescu 2008, 26–61, pl. IV–XX.

⁵⁵ Rusu 1977, 202; Crișan et alii 1992, 22–23, no. 6, 8, 15; Blăjan, Cerghi 1978, 21–26, fig. 6, 1–3; 7, 1–3.

⁵⁶ Crișan et alii 1992, 98, no. 1j.

⁵⁷ Horedt 1955, 658–661, 669–671; Zrinyi 1976, 134, pl. LXVII, c.

⁵⁸ Velter 2002, 396; Zrinyi 1976, 136–137/18; Lazăr 1994, 67.

⁵⁹ Vlassa 1965, 32, no. 15 d, j; Rusu 1977, 202; Zrinyi 1976, 132, pl. LXVII a.

⁶⁰ Rusu 1962, 349–352; Rusu 1977, 202; Lazăr 1994, 174, F.

⁶¹ Lazăr 1994, 208.

⁶² Rusu 1977, 203; Velter 2002, 467, CCLXV.1; Horedt 1958 a, 93; Protase, Țigăra 1959, 381, 431; Protase 1966, 56.

⁶³ Lazăr 1994, 285, N.

⁶⁴ Horedt 1955, 658–661, 669–671; Vlassa 1965, 29–31, no. 13, l–m; fig. 8; Protase 1966, 112; Rusu 1959, 486–489; Rusu 1977, 202; Horedt 1958, 267; Zrinyi 1976, 131, pl. LXVI, a.

⁶⁵ Vlassa 1965, 32, no. 15 d, j; Rusu 1977, 202.

⁶⁶ Rusu 1962, 349–352; Rusu 1977, 202; Lazăr 1994, 174, F.

⁶⁷ Rusu 1977, 203; Velter 2002, 467, CCLXV.1; Horedt 1958 a, 93; Protase, Țigăra 1959, 431; Protase 1966, 56.

⁶⁸ Horedt 1958, 94–95; Horedt 1986, 69, 70; Crișan et alii 1992, 118, no. 4; Velter 2002, 382.

spiked spur, weapons, earrings with a star pendant.⁶⁹ At Cipău – *Gârle*, during the 1952 investigations, an inhumation grave with an inventory of a silver buckle with an eagle head decorated with almandines dated to the 6th century AD was discovered,⁷⁰ and at the *Îngrășătoaria I.C.I.A.* site, ca. 250 m from *Gârle*, twelve inhumation graves were discovered between 1953 and 1957 with inventories characteristic of the 5th–6th centuries AD (bilateral bone combs, iron and bronze buckles, iron knife, three-edged arrowheads).⁷¹ In the Arieș Valley, at Cornești, in the courtyard of Isac Palfi's house, an inhumation grave dated to the 7th century was discovered, with a bow fibula and glass paste beads.⁷² At Lechința de Mureș, in the *current cemetery*, four graves dated to the 6th century AD were found,⁷³ and at Lopadea Nouă, in the location named Șanțuri, 7th century graves were discovered in 1905,⁷⁴ An inhumation grave from the 6th–7th centuries AD is known from Moldovenești,⁷⁵ while at Noșlac a row-grave cemetery from this period was partially investigated.⁷⁶ Inhumation graves from the 5th–6th centuries AD are also known from Sopor de Câmpie⁷⁷, while at Unirea Vereșmort⁷⁸ and Valea Largă⁷⁹ 19 and 16 graves, respectively, were investigated from a row-grave cemetery dating from the second half of the 6th – first half of the 7th century AD. Isolated finds are known from Aiton (a *solidus* of Theodosius II),⁸⁰ Luduș *Ciurgău* (a silver coin from the 6th century AD)⁸¹ and Lunca Mureșului (a double-edged sword from the 5th–6th centuries AD).⁸²

In this area, settlements with sunken dwellings, sometimes with fire hearths (Sopor de Câmpie *Cuntenit*) and associated with inhumation graves arranged in rows were noticed. The pottery and the specific grave inventories date the contexts to the 5th–7th centuries AD during the period of the Morești and Band-Noșlac horizons.⁸³ The finds from Potaissa are contemporary with those reported, regarding both the types of habitat, funerary complexes, inventory elements and specific pottery converging towards a date mainly over the course of the 6th century AD. Compared to the rural settlements and cemeteries of the period, which were located on open terraces, the situation in the legionary fortress of Potaissa is peculiar but not unique. Here, dwelling elements and funerary complexes superpose the ruins of the Roman fortress. In Transylvania, a similar situation is found in the legionary fortress of Apulum⁸⁴ and a very well-documented research reveals the same habitat model

⁶⁹ Rusu 1977, 206; Winkler, Takács, Păiuș 1977, 269–283; Horedt 1986, 66–67, 91; Velter 2002, 386, LVI.2.

⁷⁰ Rusu 1959, 486–489.

⁷¹ Horedt 1954, 221–222, fig. 12; Horedt 1955, 660; Zrinyi 1976, 133.

⁷² Velter 2002, 393–393; Palkó 1972, 677–678; Rusu 1977, 205.

⁷³ Horedt 1955, 674; Horedt 1958, 267; Zrinyi 1976, 140.

⁷⁴ Velter 2002, 424–425; Horedt, 1958, 72, 101.

⁷⁵ Palkó 1972, 678; Rusu 1977, 205.

⁷⁶ Rusu 1962a, 269–292; Rusu 1977, 207.

⁷⁷ Rusu 1977, 203; Velter 2002, 467, CCLXV.1; Horedt 1958a, 93; Protase, Țigăra 1959, 381, 431; Protase 1966, 56.

⁷⁸ Roska 1934, 123–130; Horedt 1958a, 100–104; Rusu 1977, 203, 205.

⁷⁹ Velter 2002, 481; Hica 1974, 517–526; Zrinyi 1976, 150, no. 50, pl. LXXVib; Lazăr 1994, 70; Rusu 1977, 205; Lazăr 1995, 270, B, pl. CXV/A, 1–10.

⁸⁰ Horedt 1958, 39, n. 6; Winkler, Hopârtean 1972, 125, no. 1.

⁸¹ Lazăr 1995, 175.

⁸² Moga, Ciugudean 1995, 121, no. 10.

⁸³ Horedt 1986, 22–36.

⁸⁴ Heitel 1985, 223–224; Matei 2021, 115–116.

on the territory of the Late Roman town of Sirmium.⁸⁵ In conclusion, the 6th century AD dwelling structures captured in the archaeological investigations from 2012–2016 from the *praetentura sinistra* and the common-use pottery from the corresponding contexts and levels of habitation are added to the funerary finds and isolated artefacts discovered on the surface of the fortress to complete habitation picture of the Migration Period.

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⁸⁵ Pop-Lazić 2017, 25–38; Davidović 2017, 125–156.

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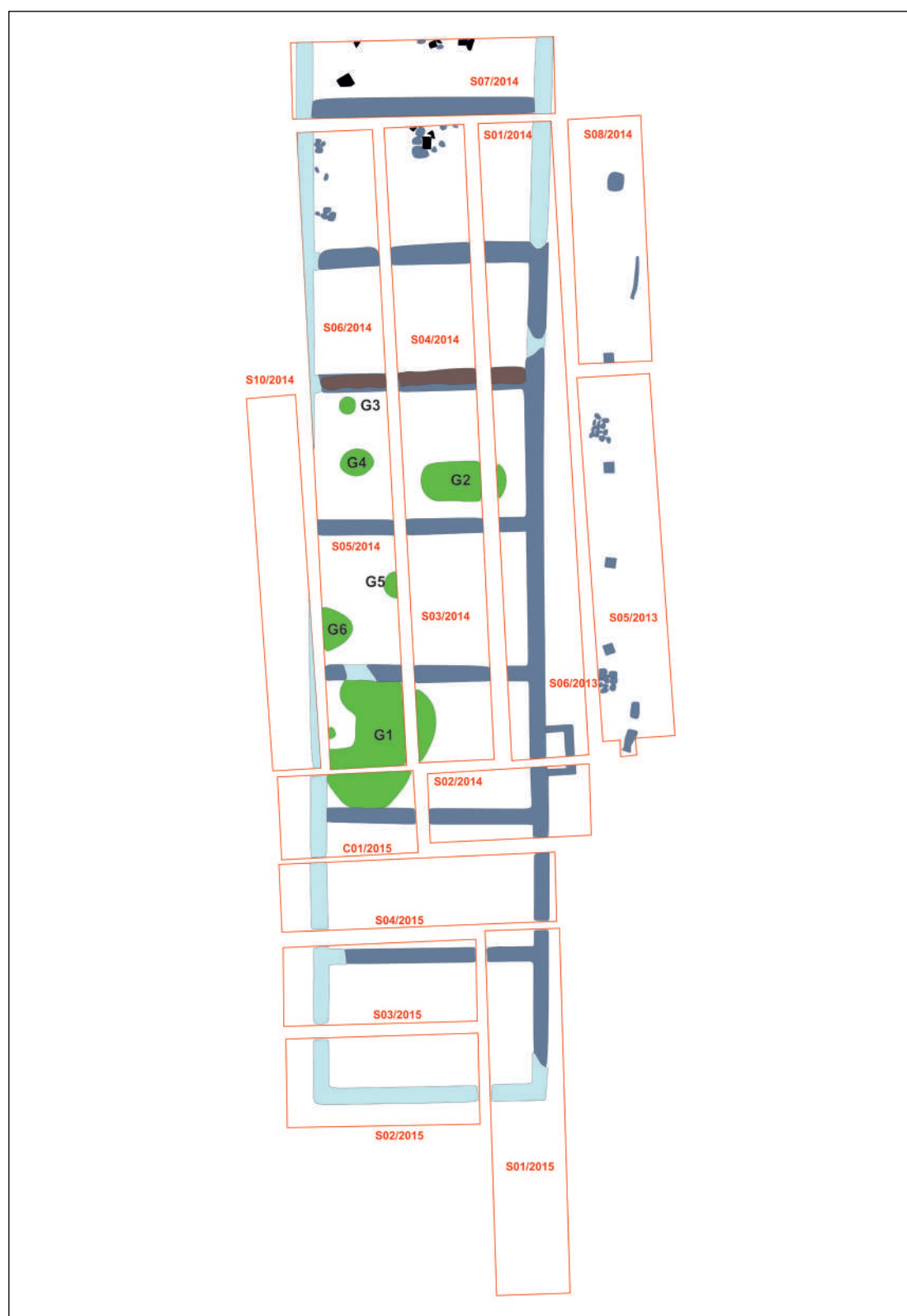
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Pl. II. Layout plan of the Barack I with Migration Period complexes.



1



2



3



4

Pl. III. The sunken dwelling with oven (pit G1) (photo S. Nemeti).



1



2



3

Pl. IV. 1–2. Pit G2. 3. Pits G4 and G3 (photo S. Nemeti).



1



2

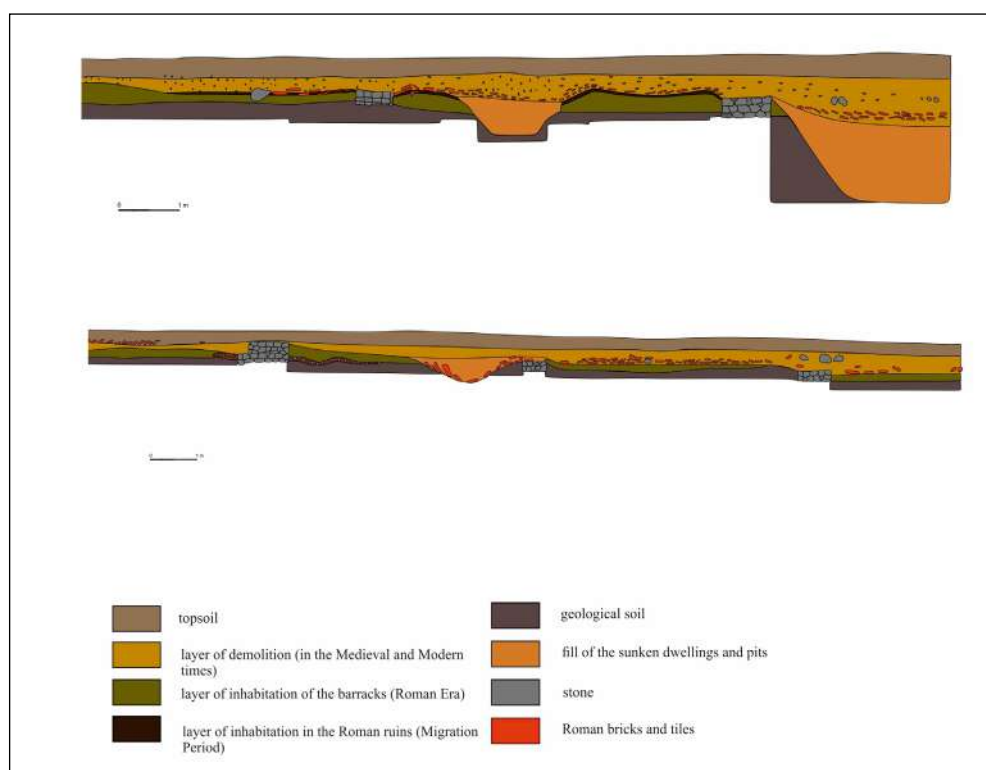


3

Pl. V. 1. Dry stone wall. 2–3. Contubernia 9 and 10 (photo S. Nemeti).



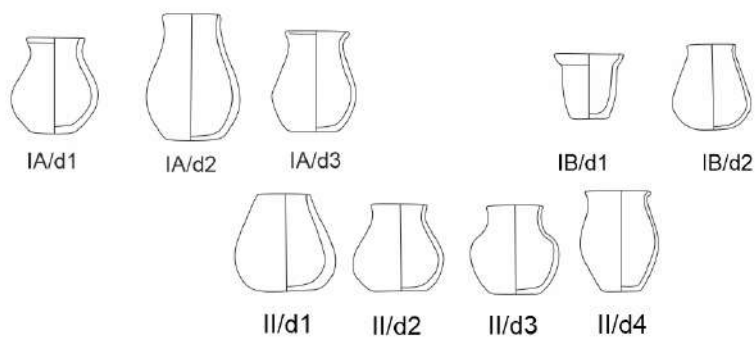
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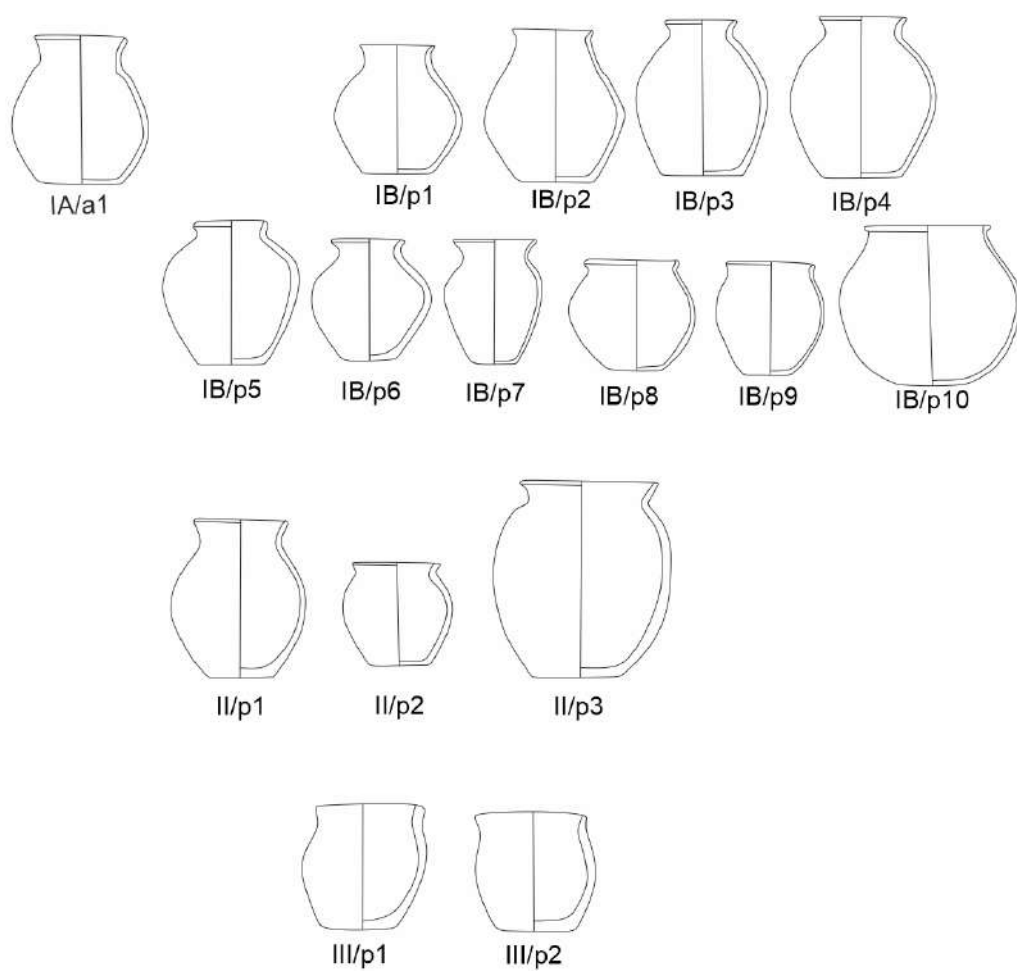
2

Pl. VI. 1. Bow fibula (photo S. Odenie). 2–3. Stratigraphic profiles.

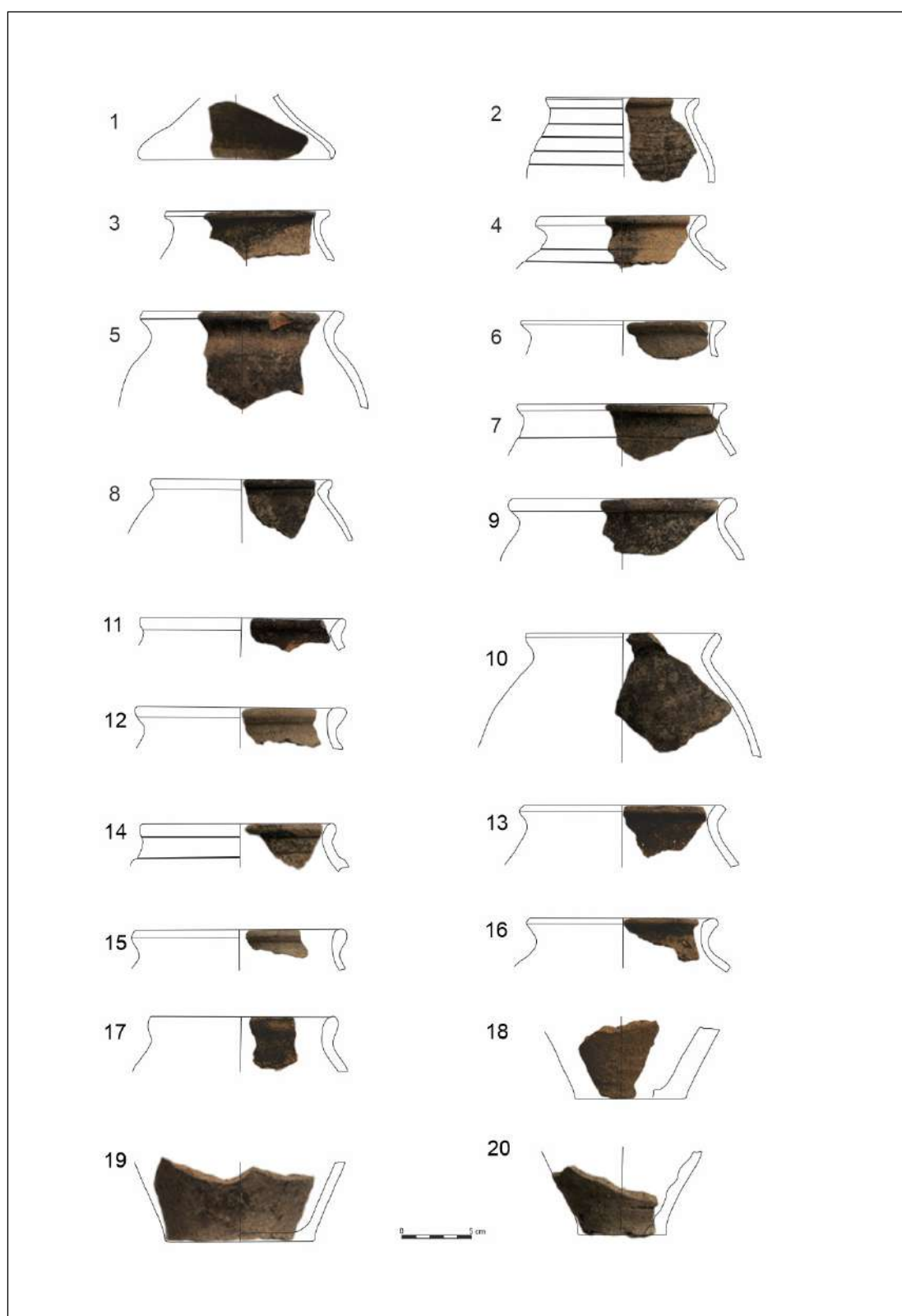
Drinking vessels



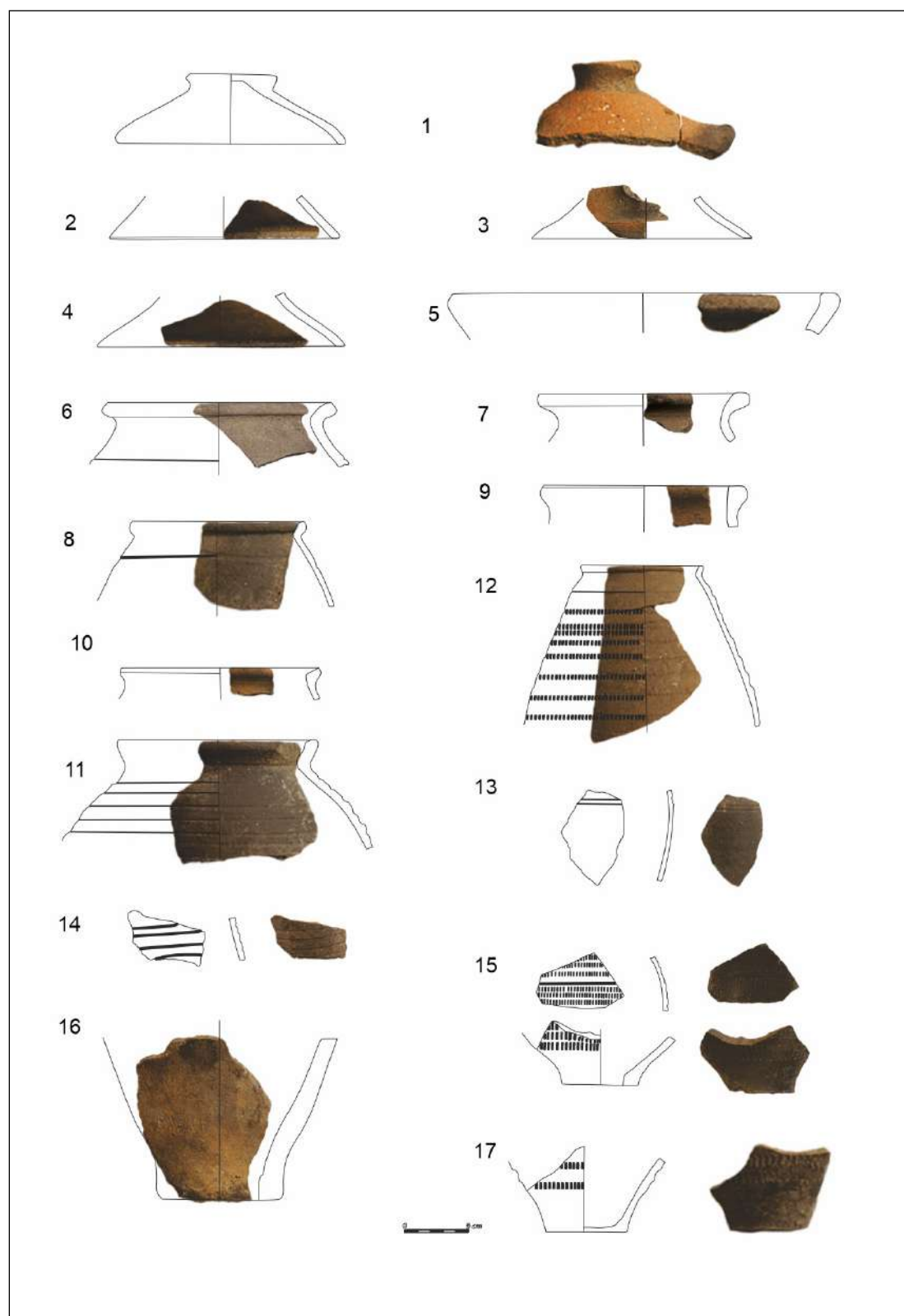
Pots and storage vessels



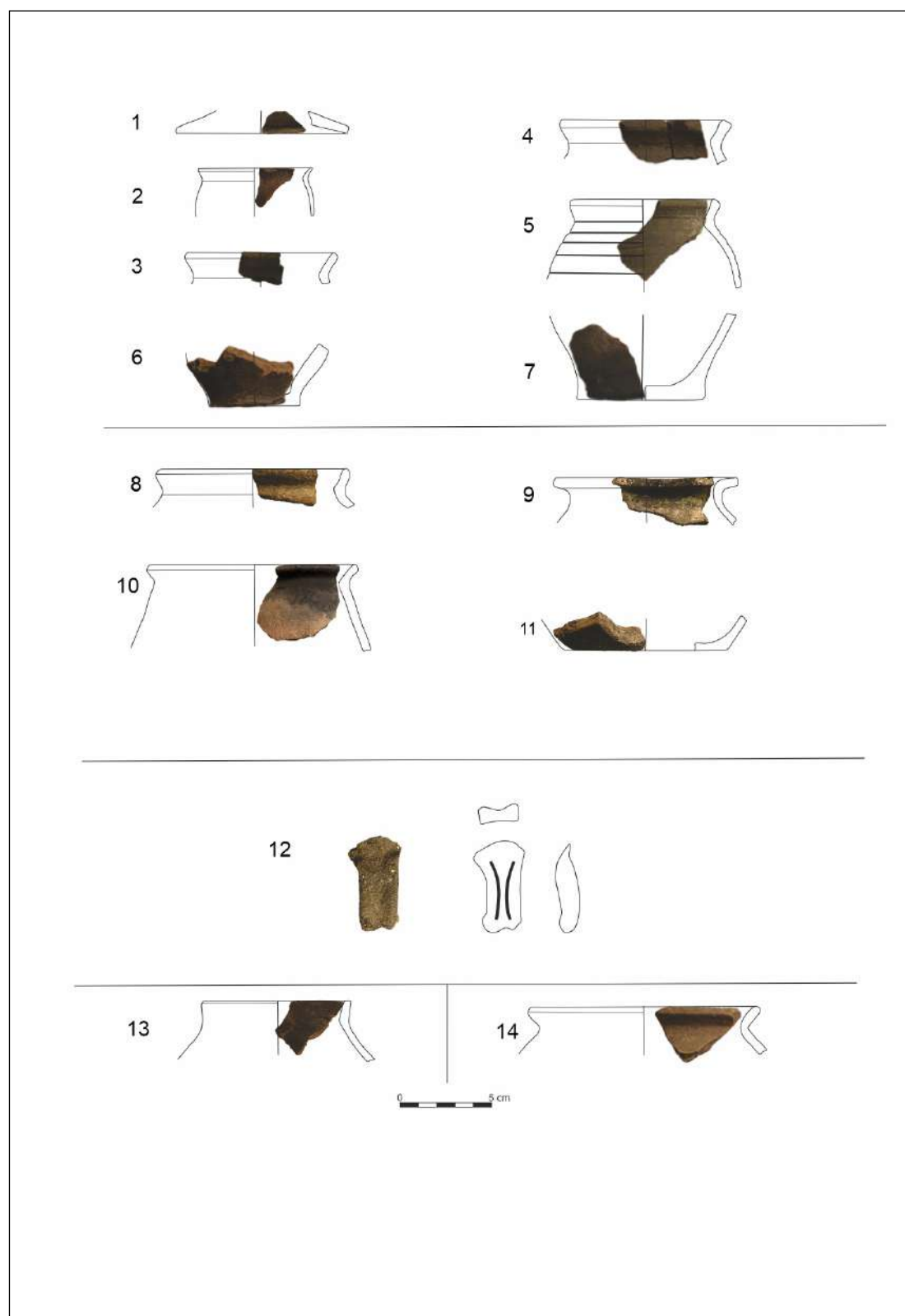
Pl. VII. Typology of the vessels.



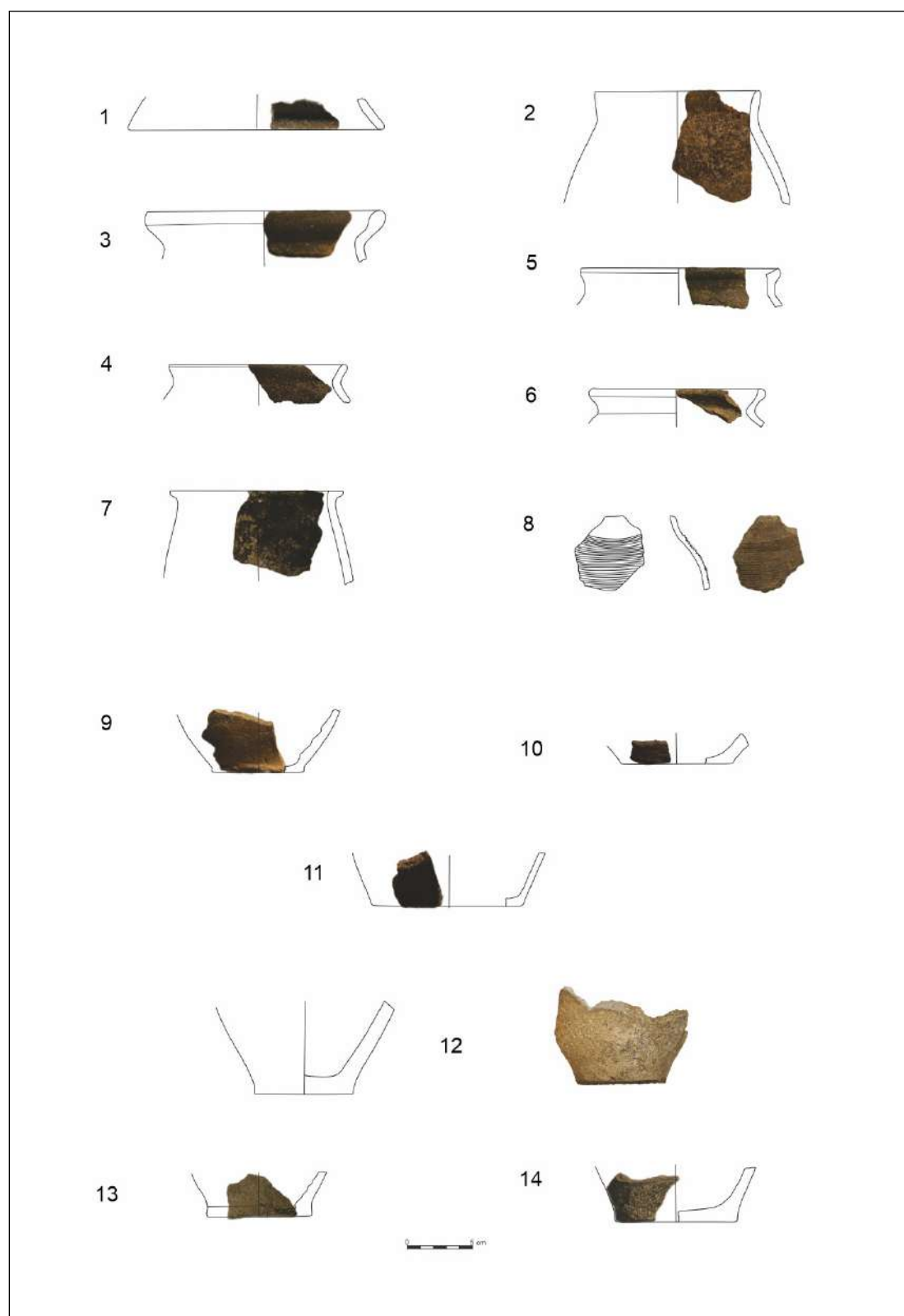
Pl. VIII. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



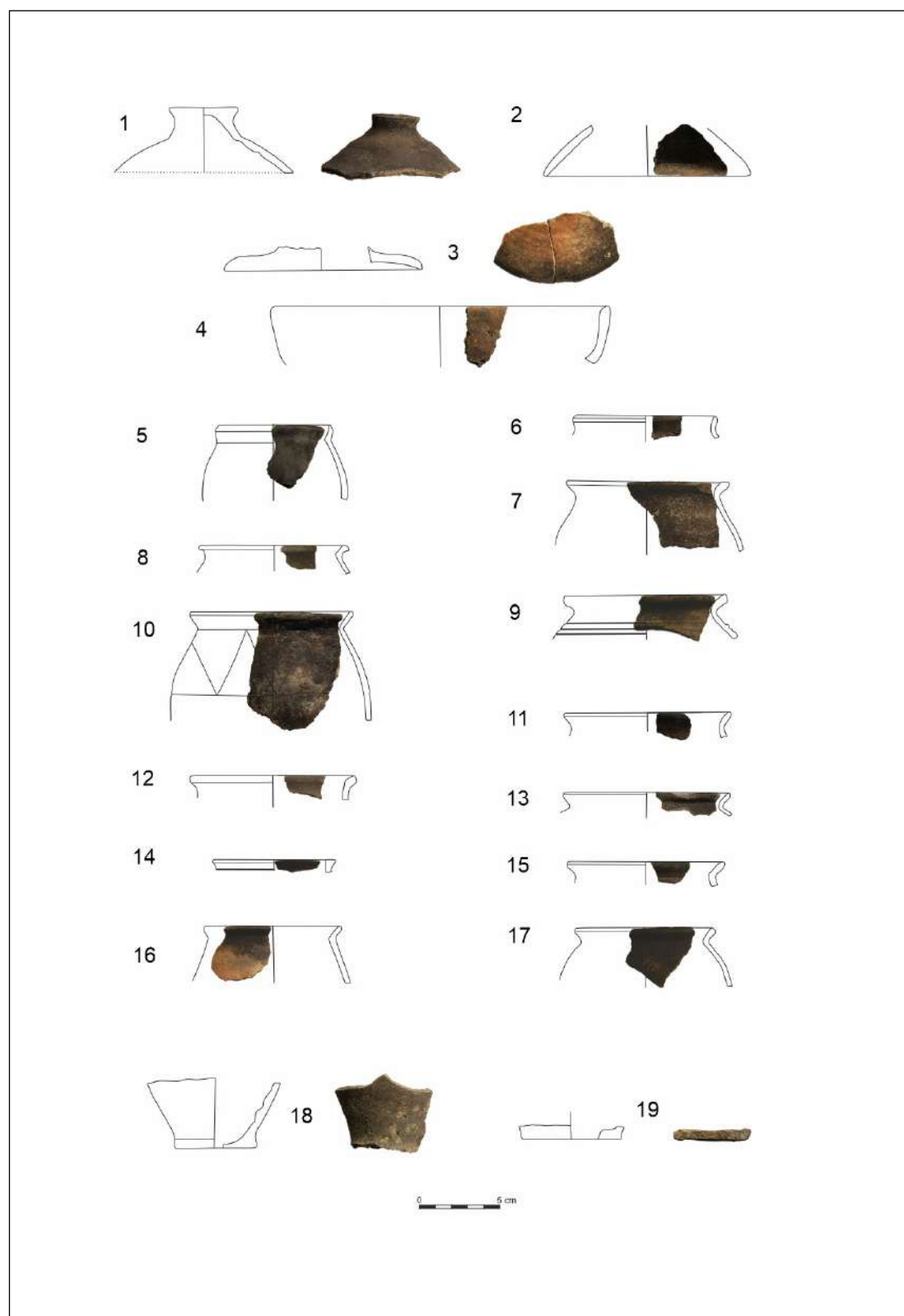
Pl. IX. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



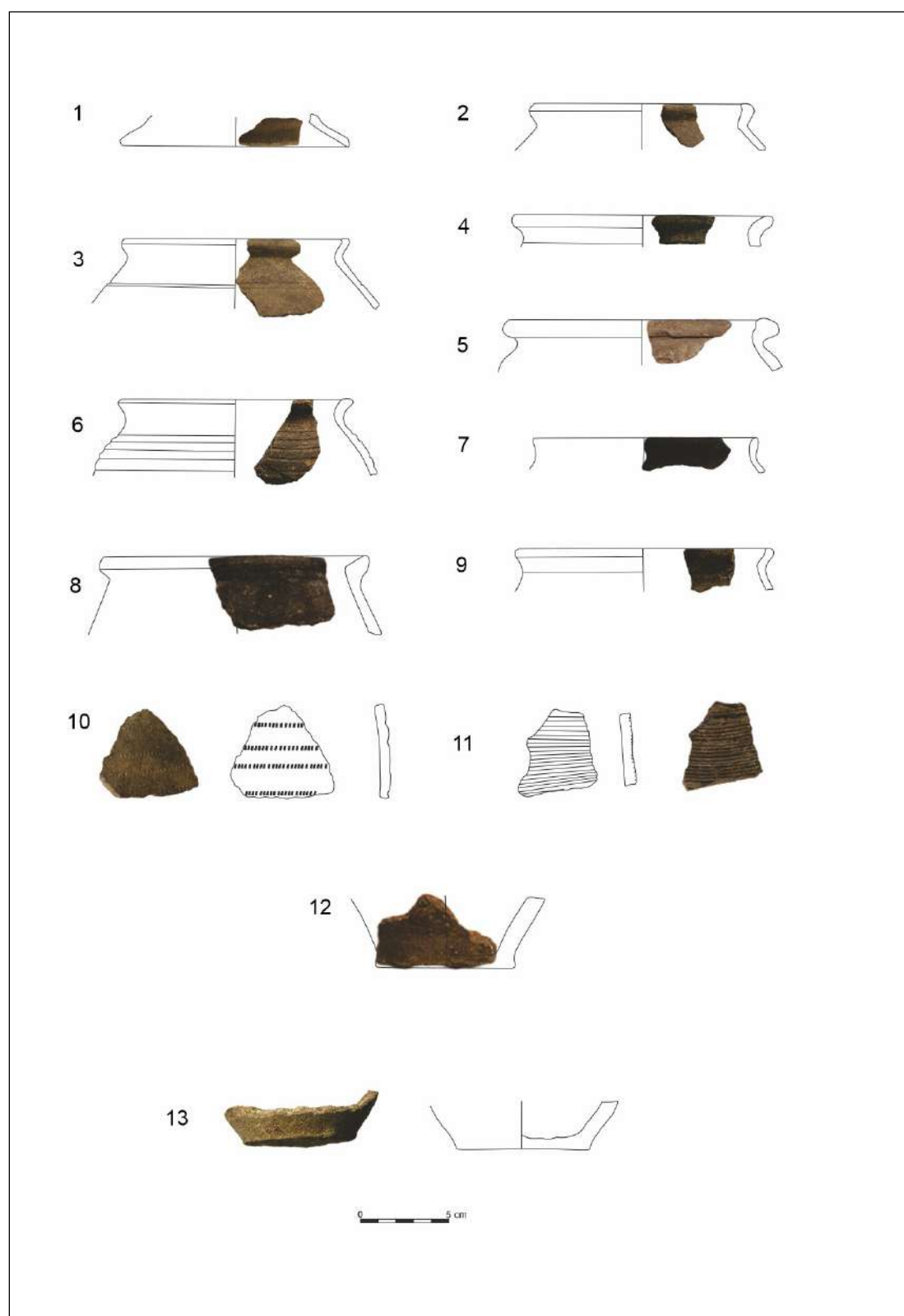
Pl. X. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



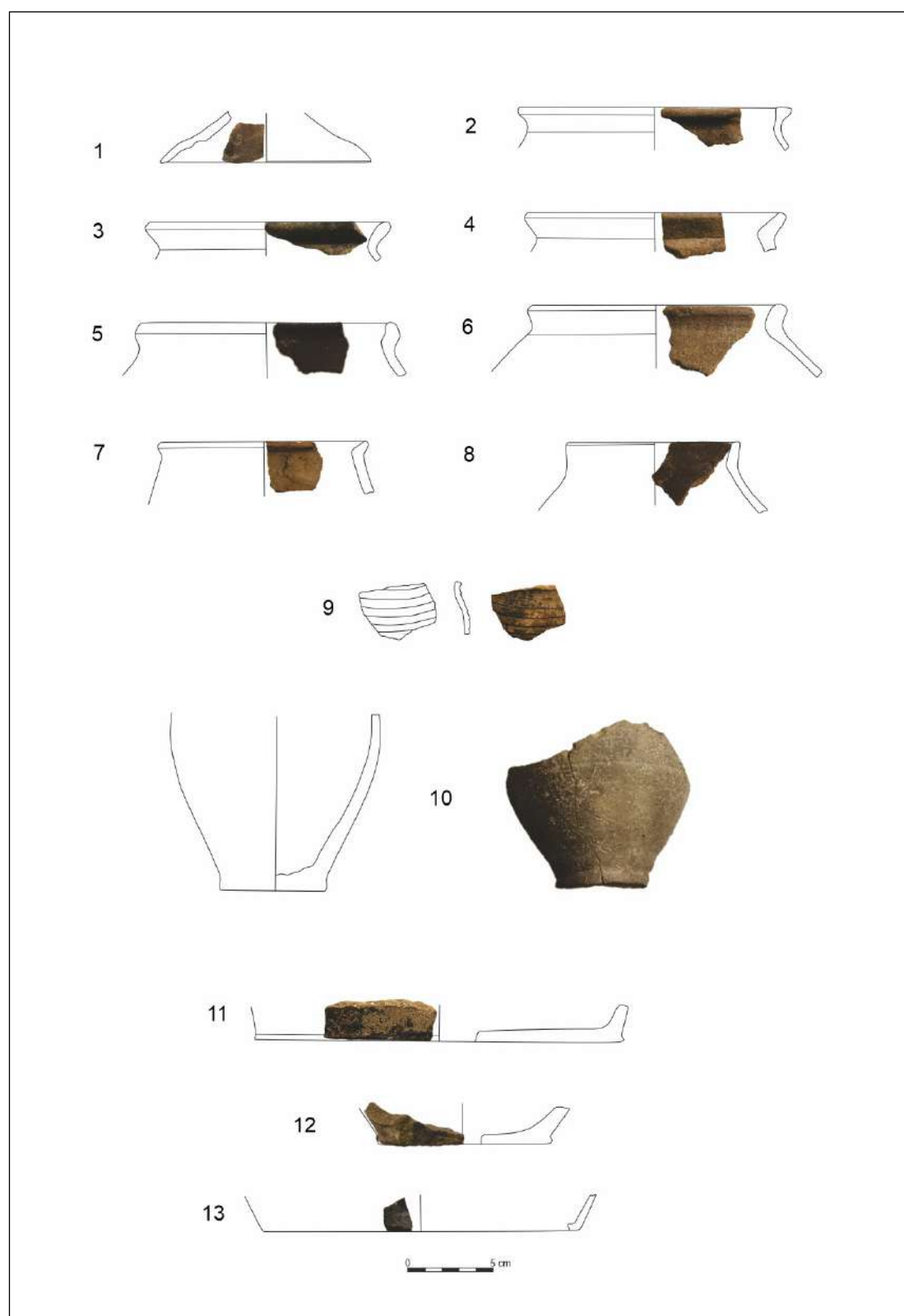
Pl. XI. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



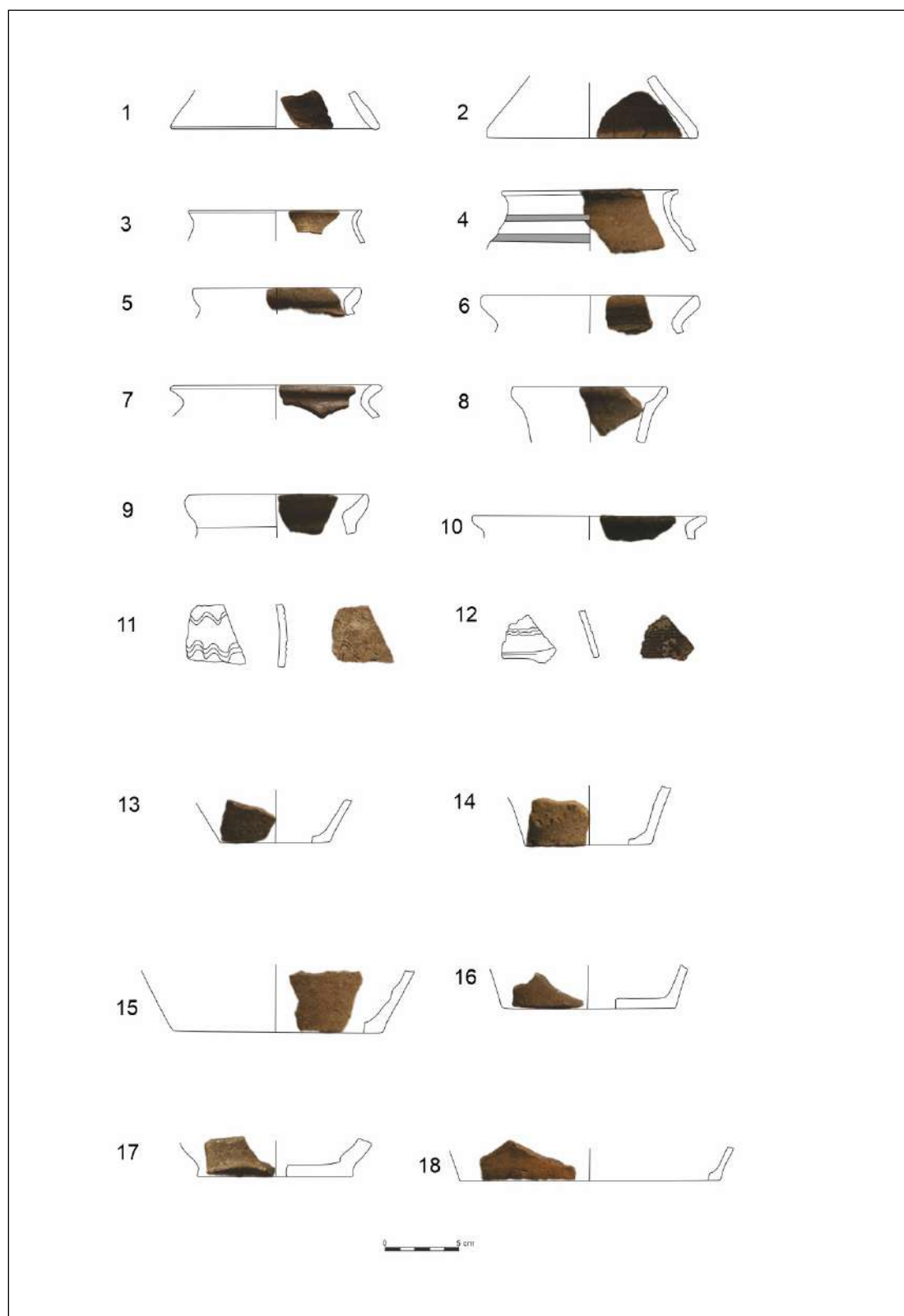
Pl. XII. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



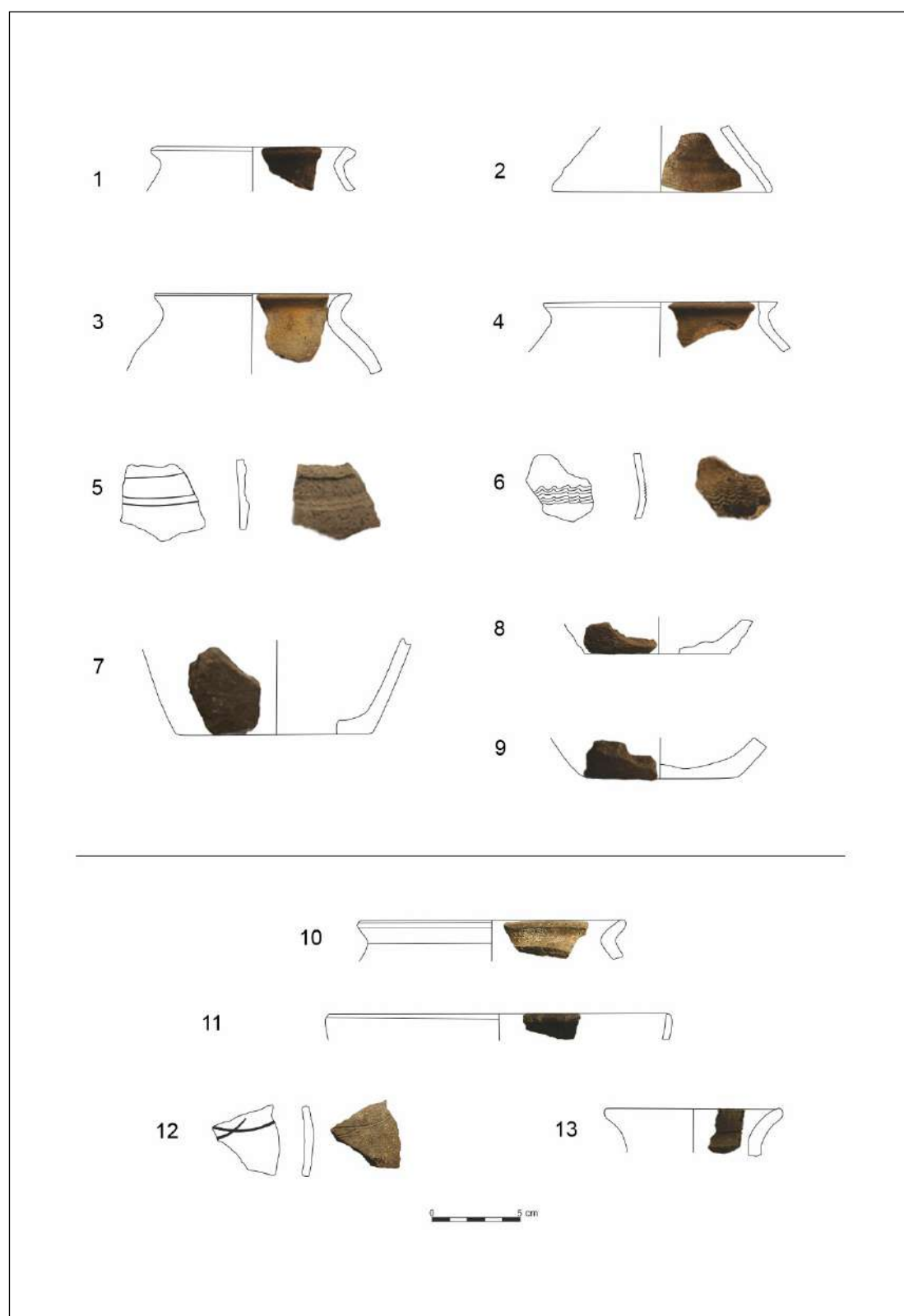
Pl. XIII. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



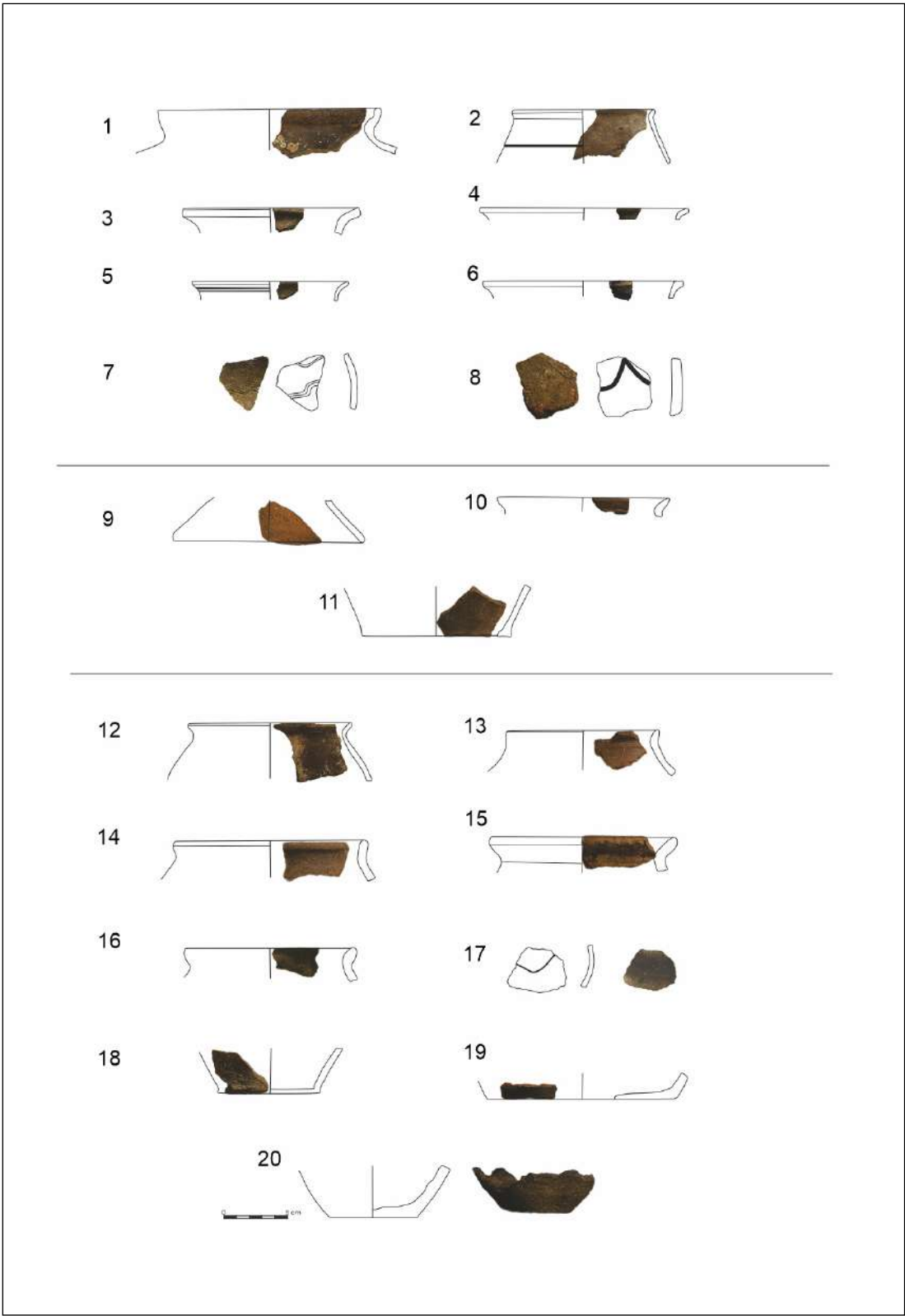
Pl. XIV. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



Pl. XV. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



Pl. XVI. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.



Pl. XVII. Pottery fragments from the Barrack I.

REVIEWS

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Sándor Berecki, *Identity in Landscape. Connectivity and diversity in Iron Age Transylvania*, Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis. Series Archaeologica XVIII / Ethnic and cultural interferences in the 1st Millennium BC to the 1st Millennium AD Vol. XXVII, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2021, 136 p., 57 figures, ISBN 978-606-020-325-4.

The title *Identity in Landscape* may appear unconventional, as it combines two seemingly unrelated concepts. Typically, the concept of identity is linked to individuals or groups of people. On the other hand, the term “landscape” refers to a spatial area shaped by geological, geographical, and biological factors, which can also be influenced by human presence. This raises the question: What is the relationship between identity and landscape?

Sándor Berecki’s latest book, *Identity in Landscape: Connectivity and Diversity in Iron Age Transylvania*, published in 2021 as part of the Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis. Series Archaeologica XVIII, Ethnic and Cultural Interferences from the 1st Millennium BC to the 1st Millennium AD, Vol. XXVII by Mega Publishing House in Cluj-Napoca, readers are guided through the various characteristics and elements that allow the connection of these seemingly distant concepts. The book begins with acknowledgements and a foreword written by A. Rustoiu. The main text is organised into chapters, with carefully selected titles that not only capture attention but also maintain an organic flow, where each chapter seamlessly leads to the next, culminating in a cohesive structure in the sixth chapter, which contains the summary. Additionally, the book includes a list of Hungarian geographic and settlement names (pages 115–116), a bibliography (pages 117–133), and a list of abbreviations (pages 135–136).

The book employs an academic tone without sacrificing its pleasant, enjoyable, and light-hearted demeanour. The author skilfully strikes a balance between employing analogies and examples, ensuring they enhance rather than impede the reading experience. The book boasts high-quality and aesthetically pleasing illustrations, featuring meticulously crafted maps, graphs, and a substantial collection of aerial photographs, most of which are the author’s original work. These visuals provide robust support for the information and ideas presented within the book.

This publication represents a significant milestone in Late Iron Age research, effectively addressing a previously existing gap in the field. While numerous publications tend to concentrate on specific artefact categories or collections from this era, and numerous studies delve into the eastern Celts and the historical processes of the Second Iron Age, what had been lacking until now was a comprehensive overview of the entire period. This book offers invaluable insights to scholars specialising in this period while also serving as an excellent entry point for newcomers to the captivating world of the Late Iron Age. In essence, it offers a profound exploration of this era’s cultural and social processes and phenomena, providing readers with a holistic perspective.

The first chapter, named *Archaeological Landscapes. Mobility And Identity in Iron Age Transylvania* (13–17) introduces the book's central theme: the interplay between human mobility, identity, and the environment during the Iron Age in Transylvania, particularly during the 4th and 2nd centuries BC. It emphasises how the movement of various groups of people in the Carpathian Basin influenced cultural, social, and economic changes. The Iron Age communities adapted external influences on their local culture while being influenced by geography, access to resources, and environmental conditions. The twofold interaction between human communities and the landscape is highlighted: conscious decisions made when settling in new areas and random influences due to environmental factors. Different communities specialised in agriculture, animal husbandry, metallurgy, or commerce based on their local surroundings, leading to heterogeneous Iron Age cultures. The question of “eastern Celts” in the Carpathian Basin from the west, driven by demographic growth, the search for new territories, and access to resources like salt, is discussed in the following. These communities coexisted with the native population, leading to cultural blending and diversity. The influence of the La Tène culture and the emergence of a new elite class is also evidenced. Trading, diplomacy, gift exchanges, matrimonial alliances, and the movement of craftsmen facilitate the continuous mobility and cultural exchanges between communities. In the 2nd century BC, significant changes occurred in Europe, resulting in different settlement patterns in the western and eastern Carpathian Basin regions. The text underscores the importance of cultural negotiation and hybridisation in the Iron Age communities, making the “Celtic period” in the eastern Carpathian Basin unique. Overall, the text explores how historical landscapes and human communities formed a complex system, with mutual influences shaping their evolution, and how these dynamics are reflected in archaeological sites.

The second chapter, *Residing the Landscape. Settlements* (19–35) discusses various aspects of settlement patterns and their relationship to the landscape in different regions of the Carpathian Basin during the Iron Age, considering factors like climate, geography, and collective identity symbolically linked to specific territories. This identity operates at both micro-regional and macro-regional levels, shaping relationships with neighbouring communities and forming a broader sense of “us”.

During the Early Iron Age in Transylvania, the region experienced significant changes in settlement development in response to shifting environmental conditions. New agricultural and pastoral communities emerged, reshaping the landscape. However, in certain areas, such as the Mureş and Târnava Rivers valleys, Ha C settlements declined due to the arrival of semi-nomadic populations. These contrasting trajectories in settlement development highlight the intricate interplay between environmental factors and human choices. The Late Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin saw the proliferation of small, village-like settlements. These communities were characterised by a diverse population, including farmers and armed aristocrats, particularly horsemen from the military elite. The arrangement of settlements reflected the interaction between social structure and economic activities, with geographic features like hillsides and river terraces often influencing settlement locations.

However, studying these ancient settlements in the Carpathian Basin has its challenges. Variations in research efforts, limited excavation data, and incomplete knowledge of

settlement structures make it challenging to construct a comprehensive picture of this historical landscape.

Regional differences in settlement patterns further complicate the narrative. Micro-regional analyses have revealed intriguing patterns. Late Iron Age settlements in different regions were often situated on distinct landforms, such as high floodplains, sand ridges, and loess ridges. These settlement choices were influenced by geographic factors and proximity to communication routes, and periods of cold and rainy weather in central Europe during the 4th century BC also affected where communities chose to settle, reflecting the nuanced relationship between humans and their surroundings.

The use of space within settlements varied, with some communities sharing their spaces with earlier or neighbouring populations while others maintained separate areas for different cultural groups. This diversity in spatial organisation suggests the complex interplay of cultural and social dynamics in these ancient communities. The chapter provides insights into communities' subsistence strategies, dietary habits, and economic systems. It highlights the importance of animal husbandry and the shift in dietary preferences over time.

In summary, studying settlement patterns in the Carpathian Basin during the Iron Age reveals a fascinating interplay between collective identity, environmental factors, and geographic considerations. It underscores how the land not only shaped how communities lived but also contributed to the formation of their identities and their relationships with one another.

Consecrating the Landscape. Cemeteries (37–66) is the title of the third chapter, which is the book's most consistent and complex part. It examines the factors that influenced the selection of cemetery locations and how these cemeteries played a role in shaping the identity of the communities that used them, focusing on the evolving burial practices, social changes, and the significance of landscape elements during the Late Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin and neighbouring regions, that witnessed profound burial practices and cultural landscape changes – this period, marked by shifts in population movements, social dynamics, and religious transformations, left a lasting imprint on the archaeological record. This chapter delves into these transformations, highlighting key developments that provide insights into the society and beliefs of the time.

One notable shift was the change in burial trends during the Late Iron Age. The text points out that after the LT C1 period, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of cemeteries and burials. This transition from large community cemeteries to smaller family graveyards suggests evolving social structures and perhaps a shift in how communities approach death and commemoration.

Population movements played a pivotal role in shaping the archaeological landscape. The expansion of groups like the Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii in the eastern Carpathian Basin led to new archaeological features, including fortifications and burial mounds with cremation graves. These changes were closely tied to increased social differentiation and religious transformations, reflecting the interplay between culture and migration. One striking feature of this period was the deliberate placement of burial mounds. These mounds, dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC in Transylvania, were strategically located near fortifications and roads. They served as burial sites and conveyed a visual

message, underscoring the ruling elite's authority and leaving a lasting impression on the cultural landscape.

Additionally, the emergence of sanctuaries within fortifications is noteworthy. These sanctuaries gained importance in the Carpatho-Danubian area by the end of the 2nd century BC, coinciding with the decline of traditional graves. This shift in religious practices and the reappearance of cremation burials in Dacian regions further highlight the complex interplay between cultural, social, and religious elements.

Lastly, the organisation of landscapes and the placement of cemeteries within them reveal deep-rooted traditions and identities of specific communities. Landscape elements, grave groupings, ditched graves, groves, and stone-packing within cemeteries served as symbolic expressions of micro and macro-regional identities, providing insight into how societies projected their social structures onto the physical landscape.

In conclusion, the Late Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin and neighbouring regions was a significant cultural and social change period. Transformations in burial practices, the impact of population movements, the role of landscape elements, and the evolving religious landscape all contributed to a rich archaeological tapestry that offers valuable insights into the dynamic societies of the time. These findings underscore the intricate connections between culture, society, and the physical environment, revealing the complexities of the Late Iron Age world.

The fourth chapter is titled *Revering the Landscape. Ritual sites* (67–79). This chapter is probably the most challenging to argue since it is hard to observe archaeologically. Ritual actions have played a fundamental role in human societies throughout history, serving as a means to strengthen collective identity and connect with the supernatural. This chapter examines the impact of these actions on Celtic culture through archaeological findings and historical accounts. Ritual actions in Celtic society were not mere superstitions but integral to forging and sustaining collective identity, often having religious undertones involving supplication, atonement, and loyalty reinforcement.

Additionally, they marked essential life events, including birth, death, and other significant occurrences. Through these rituals, individuals felt a sense of belonging to a greater whole, fostering unity and cohesion within the community. Ritual ceremonies were not solitary affairs; they were inherently social. These ceremonies followed well-defined sequences of events and served as markers for critical milestones in individuals' lives and the broader community. Collective feasts related to agriculture, cosmology, or religious events brought people together, strengthening social bonds and reinforcing shared values.

The study of ritual actions relies heavily on archaeological data, which provides valuable insights into the final products of these rituals. However, it is essential to recognise that some rituals likely involved gatherings of people at specific locations and times. In contrast, initiated individuals may have intermediated others, leaving tangible traces of their practices. Intriguingly, traces of ritual actions can be found at sites distinct from places of worship or sanctuaries traditionally associated with divinity and religion. These neutral sites, often called "ritual sites", underline the diverse ways Celts engaged with their landscapes for ritual purposes, blurring the lines between the sacred and the mundane.

Ancient literary sources provide insights into Celtic religious practices intimately intertwined with the landscape. Sacred grooves, known as "nemeta", are mentioned in

toponymy and sometimes discovered archaeologically, particularly in Western Europe. These grooves served as spaces for profound spiritual encounters, emphasising the integration of nature into Celtic spirituality. Interpreting watery depositions, such as weapons thrown into water bodies, presents a unique challenge, as their meaning varies depending on circumstances and periods. These offerings could symbolise apotropaic rites or sacrifices to river gods, seeking protection for the territory. The intricate relationship between Celts and their watery landscapes is thus unveiled. In some instances, the landscape was transformed into a cultic place, exemplified by sites like Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre in Western Europe. These locations featured ditches, pits, and offerings, including human and animal sacrifices and weapons. Such exceptional landscape shaping demonstrates the profound connection between ritual actions and the physical environment.

The Carpathian Basin offers indirect evidence of ritual or cultic landscape use, particularly in mountainous areas and caves, which diverge from the typical eastern European Celtic sites. These unique findings challenge our understanding of Celtic practices in different geographical contexts. A significant discovery in northeastern Transylvania's Bârgău Valley is a carved stone head made from volcanic tuff. Its distinct style and design suggest a ritualistic purpose, likely related to libation rituals. The head's uniqueness lies in its form, location, and features, further underscoring the connection between ritual actions and landscape.

In conclusion, the significance of ritual actions in Celtic society cannot be overstated. Deeply intertwined with the landscape, these actions played a vital role in forging collective identity, reinforcing social bonds, and establishing connections with the supernatural. By studying archaeological evidence and making comparative analyses, we can obtain a more profound comprehension of the intricate web of Celtic culture and its deep connection with the environment. Delving into their ritualistic acts gives us a glimpse into the beliefs, values, and customs of a captivating ancient society that has left a lasting impression on history.

The fifth chapter, *Controlling the Landscape. Fortified settlements and hillforts* (81–110) explore the transformation of settlement structures in central Europe during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and the emergence of fortified settlements and hillforts. The Late Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin experienced a profound transformation in how settlements and fortifications were structured, especially in the Transylvania region and its neighbouring areas. During this period, Central European populations migrated into the region, leading to significant changes in economic systems, particularly in agriculture and animal husbandry. While the middle Danube region and the Great Hungarian Plain remained relatively stable in terms of settlements and burial sites during the early and middle phases of the Late Iron Age, the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin saw a significant shift with the emergence of villages and farms associated with the newcomers. A notable characteristic of this era was the construction of fortifications, notably around the 2nd century BC. This phenomenon was not unique to the Carpathian Basin but was observed in various parts of Europe. The introduction of fortifications marked a significant change in the landscape, influenced by factors such as economic shifts, globalisation, and external influences from the Italo-Celtic and Hellenistic worlds. The term “oppida civilisation” is introduced to encapsulate this era,

and the text also briefly mentions the existence of sanctuaries and sacred sites near certain oppida and hillforts, emphasising their profound cultural significance.

One significant aspect of this transformation was the divergence in geopolitical processes between the western and eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin. In the western regions, changes in settlement patterns were a natural outcome of economic and social development, while in the eastern areas, shifts were driven by new population movements. Despite these regional differences, economic connections remained strong within the Carpathian Basin, with the exchange of various goods, particularly along the Danube, highlighting the continued interconnectedness of these regions.

In Transylvania, a notable transition occurred around the 2nd century BC, marked by the abandonment of earlier settlements and the establishment of new fortified ones. The arrival of the Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group from the Balkans played a crucial role in shaping Transylvania's destiny during this era. This group, characterised by a fusion of Thracian and Celtic cultural elements, possibly contributed to the decline of Celtic traditions in the region. What distinguishes Transylvania in this historical narrative is the purpose behind constructing these fortifications. Unlike in some other regions where fortifications were primarily responses to external or internal military threats, in Transylvania, they appeared to symbolise social change and the display of prestige. These fortifications in Transylvania can be broadly categorised into fortified hilltop settlements and hillforts, each serving distinct purposes. Hillforts, typically of larger dimensions, housed permanent troops, while hilltop settlements accommodated a more comprehensive range of activities. The origins of these fortifications in Transylvania can be traced back to aristocratic and royal residences that emerged in the 4th century BC, influenced by Greek architectural styles.

Overall, these fortifications were not just practical structures; they carried significant symbolic meaning in the Late Iron Age landscape, representing the hierarchical society of that time. The changes in settlement and fortification patterns in the Carpathian Basin during this period provide valuable insights into the complex historical development of the region.

The closing chapter, *Impact of Identities on The Landscape* (111–113), summarises how various historical and cultural processes have left their mark on the landscape. Human actions, whether intentional or accidental, significantly impact the environment. Conversely, the landscape also plays a crucial role in shaping communities. The relationship between individuals or communities and nature reflects identity in the landscape. It is worth noting that communities often share similar attitudes towards the landscape, passed down through generations and guided by specific rules. Economic considerations and resource access significantly influence settlement patterns and community relationships across an extended region.

Additionally, the chapter delves into how various regions in the Carpathian Basin developed unique settlement structures that reflect the identity and social hierarchy of the communities. The cemeteries were strategically placed, following specific guidelines that separated the world of the living and the dead. It also emphasises the significance of some cemeteries and their sacred nature in different regions. Sanctuaries, altars, and temples emerged in the Late Iron Age, further transforming the landscape. Additionally,

the Late Iron Age also witnessed the symbolic use of the landscape to express power, which is evident in the archaeological landscape.

Overall, the archaeological landscape preserves the traits of a period's identity and highlights the diversity within the homogeneous European Late Iron Age. This diversity can still be observed in the archaeological landscape today.

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Dorel Bondoc, *Castrul roman de la Slăveni II. Țigle și cărămizi ștampilate* [The Roman *castrum* of Slăveni II. Stamped tiles and bricks], Craiova 2021, 201 p., 14 figs., ISBN 978-973-0-35525-3.

Dorel Bondoc's latest book, *Castrul roman de la Slăveni II. Țigle și cărămizi ștampilate*, is a follow-up work, written ten years after the first publication of the monography dedicated to the Roman auxiliary fort from Slăveni.¹ As the previous work did not include all the archaeological finds discovered during the excavations of the said auxiliary fort, the author wishes to continue shedding light on an important group of archaeological materials, stamped tiles, and bricks.

In the Introduction the author gives us a brief description of the auxiliary fort, describing the five phases of construction and reconstruction it went through. The first phase (Slăveni 1), although not identified archaeologically, is believed to date back to the Dacian wars and until the establishment of Dacia Inferior.

The second phase (Slăveni 2), dating from 118–119 until the end of the 2nd century, had an enclosure made of an earth mound and timber rampart, as well as two defensive ditches.

Around 198 or 205 AD, the fort was rebuilt in stone, thus entering its third phase (Slăveni 3). The perimeter was widened and a third defensive ditch was added. Compared to the first two phases a lot more is known about the internal space distribution from this period: the fort had 16 barracks, 8 in *praetentura* and 8 in *retentura*; stone buildings such as *principia*, *praetorium*, and a *horreum* were located in the *latus sinistrum* as well as a *valetudinarium* in the *latus dextrum*.

During the fourth phase (Slăveni 4) the defensive system was strengthened by the addition of a second enclosure wall, around the middle of the 3rd century. This second wall, built at a distance of 6 m inwards from the first, was made out of fragments of tiles and bricks. The third defense ditch mentioned above could also date from this period.

The fifth and final phase (Slăveni 5) dates from the Late Roman period when a Christian basilica overlapped the ruins of the *principia*. A tomb was also discovered in the *aerarium*, presumably attributed to a Christian martyr.

The book is divided into three parts: *Legiones*, *Auxiliaria*, and *Varia*; each part contains information about the legionary and auxiliary troops whose stamps were found on tiles and bricks in the military settlement from Slăveni, as well as a catalog with all the tegular materials with stamps.

The first chapter of the book, *Legiones*, is dedicated to the bricks and tiles bearing the stamps of three different legions. Stamps with the legend of *Legio V Macedonica*, LVM, were found on 26 roof tiles; three broad groups were identified, based on the shape of the cartouche, all of them being part of the so-called Potaissa-type tiles. *Legio XI Claudia* is represented by one piece; it belongs to the H-type stamps category, manufactured at the

¹ D. Tudor, Gh. Popilian, N. Gudea, D. Bondoc, *Castrul roman de la Slăveni. Încercare de monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.

end of the 2nd century AD or the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Stamps belonging to *Legio XIII Gemina* were found on 42 tiles; the stamps lack the epithet *Gemina*; similar stamps discovered at Apulum are dated back to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

In the second chapter of the book, *Auxilia*, the author goes on to present the auxiliary troops whose stamps were found on the tegular material found inside the fort. No less than six different auxiliary troops were identified: *Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* (23 tiles), *Ala Claudia* (15 fragmentary tiles), *Ala Hispanorum* (15 bricks; this is the only troop whose stamps were found on bricks and not on tiles; two types were identified: AH inside a cartouche and AH without a cartouche), a *Cohors I B*, thought to be *Cohors I Britannica* (16 tiles), *Numerus Surorum* (43 tiles; the stamp N S, inside a cartouche or with no cartouch); a *Numerus* (37 tiles; only the letter N with a *sicilicus* above appear on these stamps).

The third chapter, *Varia*, is a catalog of tiles and bricks inscribed before burning with a sharp object. The majority of the inscriptions can't be read.

The book ends with an Appendix, a catalog of tiles and bricks stamped or with cursive inscriptions from Romula intended to serve as a tool for comparing the tegular materials from the two locations.

Dorel Bondoc's book is well structured, which makes it easy to read and comprehend. The language and writing style is very clear and understandable, with the appropriate amount of information a study of this kind should have. Each part begins with a quick overlook at the history of the military troop discussed and offers possible explanations as to why tegular materials with their stamps could be found at Slăveni, even though the legion or *auxilia* might have never been stationed there. A chronology of the stamped bricks and tiles found in the fort was also elaborated.

The catalog is well elaborated, with good-quality pictures and drawings of each artifact. Adding a catalog of bricks and tiles from Romula was a very well-thought idea, as it can show how relationships work between two close military settlements worked.

Overall this study is by no means a grand piece of history work, but it is what I think the author intended it to be: a study based on a category of artifacts very commonly found in military settlements, stamped bricks and tiles, objects that bear a signature of ownership and who are of big help in reconstructing the history of the place; such monographs, analyzing a very specific category of finds, are much needed and we should start to see them more.

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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 ἐξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timișoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ABL	C. H. E. Haspel, Attic black-figured lekythoi, Paris 1936.
ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic black-figure vase-painters, Oxford 1956.
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.
AFEAF	L'Association Française pour l'Étude de l'Âge du Fer, Paris.
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.
AGRW	R. S. Ascoug, P. A. Harland, J. S. Kloppenborg, Associations in the Greco-Roman World. A Sourcebook, Waco, TX 2012.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIA 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.
AnDob	Analele Dobrogei, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța.
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.
Археология	Археология. 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. Seria Istorie, 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.
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.
Bulgaria	I. Jordanov, <i>Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 1: Geographical names</i> , Agato, Sofia 2003; <i>Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 2: Family names</i> , Agato, Sofia 2006; <i>Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 3: SOCASTO</i> , Sofia 2009.
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; Carte archéologique de la Gaule 6, Les Alpes-Maritimes, Paris 2010.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CBI	E. Schallmayer et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inscriptionen 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.
CLE	F. Buecheler (ed.), <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , Leibniz 1895–1897.
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 Danuvinorum</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 Române, București.
CPL	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> .
Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> . Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> .
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
Cumidava	<i>Cumidava</i> . Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
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 – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne</i> , 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.
DIVR	D. M. Pippidi (ed.), <i>Dicționar de istorie veche a României</i> , București 1976.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), <i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane</i> , I–III, Roma 1895–1922.
DO	Ph. Grierson et alii, <i>Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Wittemore Collection</i> , I–V, DO Research Library, Washington D.C. 1966–1999.
Dobrudža	Dobrudža. <i>Études Éthno-culturelles</i> , Sofia.
Documenta Praehistorica	<i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana.

Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie, Kolozsvár [Cluj] 1910–1919, 2006–; Szeged 1925-
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/).
EDCS-J	EDCS-Journal. Open Peer-Reviewed Online Journal on the basis of EDCS Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby, Manfred Clauss, Anne Kolb, Wolfgang A. Slaby, Barbara Woitas.
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyvei, Kolozsvár [Cluj] 1859 sqq.
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, Gothic Etymological Dictionary, 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, The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
GVI	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften. 1. Grab-Epigramme</i> , Berlin 1955.
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.
HTRTÉ	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.
IGB	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	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I–VI, Beograd 1976–1982.
INMV	<i>Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej</i> – Varna, Bulgaria.
InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937.
ISM	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , București 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JAHA	<i>Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology</i> . The journal of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.
Journal of Democracy	<i>Journal of Democracy</i> , Washington DC.
JSA	<i>Journal of Social Archaeology</i> , 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.
ΚρΧρον	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.
LANX	LANX. Rivista della Scuola di specializzazione in Beni archeologici dell' Università del Studi di Milano, Milano.
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.
Madriider Mitteilungen	Madriider 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</i> . Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț.
MGAH	<i>Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae</i> , Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.
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, <i>Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra</i> , II, Bruxelles 1896.
Musaioș	<i>Musaioș</i> , Muzeul Județean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. <i>Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universalis</i> , Budapest.
Novensia	<i>Novensia</i> : badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warszawa.
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.
Orghidan	V. Laurent, <i>La collection Orghidan</i> , Paris 1952.
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, <i>Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die “Oinophorengruppe” und Verwandtes</i> , 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.
PG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , Harvard University 1857.

PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , Berlin 1897–1898.
PIR²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> ² , 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.
RAN	Repertoriul Arheologic Național, http://ran.cimec.ro/
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – <i>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.
RGRW	<i>Religions in the Graeco-Roman World</i> , Brill series.
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.
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London 1923–

RIT	G. Alföldi, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, 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, <i>Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum « Das Gold der Karpaten – Bergbau in Roșia Montană » vom 27. Oktober 2002 bis zum 05. August 2003</i> , 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.
SMSR	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.
StComBrukenthal	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
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.
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> .
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.
ICEM	Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion" Tulcea.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCDR	Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.
MIR	Muzeul de Istorie Roman.

MIT	Muzeul de Istorie Turda.
MJA	Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești.
MJERGC	Muzeul Județean de Etnografie și al Regimentului de Graniță Caransebeș.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MJSM	Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
MNA	Muzeul Național de Antichități, București.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MNM = HNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum = Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia.
MȚC	Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
NMB	The Nationam Bardo Museum, Tunis.