ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS

62/I

MINISTERUL CULTURII
MUZEUL NAȚIONAL DE ISTORIE A TRANSILVANIEI

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS 62/I

PREHISTORY-ANCIENT HISTORY-ARCHAEOLOGY

CLUJ-NAPOCA
2025

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ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS PREISTORIE-ISTORIE VECHE-ARHEOLOGIE Publicaţie editată de Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei Orice corespondenţă se va trimite la adresa: Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, 400020, Cluj-Napoca, RO str. Constantin Daicoviciu, nr. 2, Tel: 0040 264 595677 Fax: 0040 264 591718 email: secretariat@mnit.ro email: amn@mnit.ro	ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS PREHISTORY-ANCIENT HISTORY-ARCHAEOLOGY Publication edited by the National Museum of Transylvanian History. Any correspondence will be sent to the address: National Museum of Transylvanian History, 400020 Cluj-Napoca, RO Constantin Daicoviciu St. no. 2, Tel: 0040 264 595677 Fax: 0040 264 591718 email: secretariat@mnit.ro email: amn@mnit.ro

ISSN 1454–1513

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

MIHAI ROTEA, DINU BERETEU, ANGELO BULBOACĂ, SABIN BĂDĂRĂU, MIRCEA RĂCHITĂ, MONICA BODEA, DANA ALEXANDRA VALEA, OANA GÂZA, MARIA ILIE, DORU PACESILA, CRISTIAN MĂNĂILESCU
Landscape and memory: Prehistoric traces at the Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii* site 9

MALVINKA URÁK
Chasing a wild goose? Contributions to the research history of the earliest excavations at the Late Bronze Age eponymous site of Suciu de Sus 21

BORIS KAVUR, MALVINKA URÁK
The many faces of a helmet. The history of an exceptional archaeological discovery: The Celtic "Grave" from Silivaş (II) 35

BERTA-CASIANA ŞTEFAN
Statut civil et condition juridique des enfants en Dacie romaine 53

RADU ZĂGREANU
The Roman funerary medallions in Dacia Porolissensis 93

SORIN NEMETI
Napoca. Epigraphy and society 127

PAUL-FLORIN CHIOREAN
Archaeological aspects regarding civil habitation in Potaissa during the Roman period 191

SORIN NEMETI, PAUL-FLORIN CHIOREAN
New epigraphic discoveries from Potaissa (I) 219

FELIX MARCU, RĂZVAN MATEESCU
Roman temporary camps in the area of Sarmizegetusa Regia 231

MONICA GUI, VALENTIN VOIŞIAN
A deposit of segmental armour from Colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa (I) 249

DÁVID PETRUȚ
"The Italian connection". Notes on an Early Imperial Roman pottery lamp collected by pioneer archaeologist Károly Torma from Anzio (Antium) 285

ALPÁR DOBOS
A 5th-century assemblage from Pădureni 299

NOTE

ÁDÁM SZABÓ
Addendum to "The *Codex Csiksomlyoviensis* – Codex MS 43/Tq-136h". The watermark of the codex and additional data on its historiography 333

IN MEMORIAM

STEPHEN MITCHELL (26.05.1948–30.01.2024) (by **Radu Ardevan, Annamária-I. Pázsint**) 339

GHEORGHE LAZAROVICI (13.09.1941–03.02.2025) (by **Florin Gogâltan**) 349

Abbreviations 353

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 9–20

LANDSCAPE AND MEMORY: PREHISTORIC TRACES AT THE CLUJ-NAPOCA–*PĂDUREA COCINII* SITE

MIHAI ROTEA, DINU BERETEU, ANGELO BULBOACĂ, SABIN BĂDĂRĂU, MIRCEA RĂCHITĂ, MONICA BODEA, DANA ALEXANDRA VALEA, OANA GÂZA, MARIA ILIE, DORU PACESILA, CRISTIAN MĂNĂILESCU*

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.01

Abstract: The archaeological site of Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*, first identified during surface surveys conducted in 2008, reveals human activities associated with the Coțofeni culture (phase III) and the Copăceni group. Excavations carried out in the autumn of 2024, under the aegis of the National Museum of Transylvanian History (MNIT), included a small test trench, which revealed a single cultural layer containing a variety of archaeological materials (pottery fragments, lithic artifacts, daub fragments, grinding tools), but few in number. The distribution of both earlier and recent finds, along with the presence of burial mounds, suggests an area of complex and multifunctional use, spanning a temporal sequence that includes Early Bronze Age Ic (Coțofeni culture, phase III) and IIb (Copăceni group, phase II), this latter date is supported by radiocarbon (^{14}C) results obtained from two animal bone samples, which were collected in 2018.

Keywords: Early Bronze Age Ic and IIb; Coțofeni culture; Copăceni group; radiocarbon dating (^{14}C).

Rezumat: Situl arheologic de la Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*, identificat pentru prima dată în urma cercetărilor de suprafață din anul 2008, indică activități umane preistorice asociate culturii Coțofeni (faza III) și grupului Copăceni. Cercetările din toamna anului 2024, proiect desfășurat sub egida Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei (MNIT), includ un mic sondaj arheologic care a relevat un singur strat de cultură în care au fost identificate materiale arheologice variate (fragmente ceramice, artefacte litice, chirpici, râșnițe), dar reduse numeric. Distribuția descoperirilor mai vechi și a celor recente, coroborată cu prezența tumulilor, indică o zonă cu o funcționalitate complexă și diversificată, cu o desfășurare cronologică ce include Bronzul Timpuriu Ic (cultura Coțofeni, faza a III-a) și IIb (grupul Copăceni, faza a II-a), această din urmă datare fiind susținută de rezultatele analizelor radiocarbon (^{14}C), obținute în urma examinării a două probe osteologice de origine animală, prelevate în anul 2018.

Cuvinte-cheie: Bronz Timpuriu Ic și IIb; cultura Coțofeni; grupul Copăceni; datări ^{14}C.

* We extend our sincere thanks to Mr. Mircea Bulboacă, engineer and founder of the CONA company, for his generous sponsorship of the research, to Mr. Radu Badiu for his valuable support during the course of the investigations, and to Mr. Daniel Szekely for granting approval to carry out investigations within a protected natural area. The radiocarbon dating was supported under Research Programme Partnership in Priority Areas PNII MEN-UEFISCDI, contract PN 23210102 and PN 23210201. Experiments were carried out at the 1 MV Tandetron™ accelerator from "Horia Hulubei" National Institute for R&D in Physics and Nuclear Engineering (IFIN-HH) and were supported by the Romanian Government Programme through the National Programme for Infrastructure of National Interest (IOSIN).

The archaeological site of Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*, dating from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, was identified in early March 2008 during a surface survey.[1] It is located approximately 6.5 km southwest of the center of Cluj-Napoca, on the plateau of an elongated promontory oriented roughly north-south and sloping gently to the north, bounded to the west by the Gârbău Valley and to the east by the Cocinii Stream (Pl. I/1-2). Following its registration in the National Archaeological Record, the site was assigned the code RAN 54984.226. Moreover, it benefits from additional protection due to its inclusion within the boundaries of the Natura 2000 protected natural area "Făgetul Clujului – Valea Morii". This study presents preliminary results of archaeological investigations at the site, including a test trench conducted in November 2024 and a preliminary analysis of the material remains.

The archaeological complex at *Pădurea Cocinii* consists of an area with prehistoric human presence of diverse character, along with a corresponding tumular necropolis. Ceramic fragments found on the surface, especially on the eastern slope of the plateau, indicated from the moment of the site's discovery the presence of two culturally and chronologically successive components: the Coțofeni culture (phase III) and the Copăceni group.[2] The artifact-bearing area is bounded to the north by a large tumulus, from which five additional mounds extend in a linear arrangement toward the south. To the west and east of this zone lie several small terraces; however, at this stage of research, it remains unclear whether prehistoric human activity extended to these areas as well.

The archaeological materials on the eastern slope of the plateau are unusually abundant, consisting primarily of ceramic fragments – most of them characteristic of the Copăceni group and, more rarely, of the Coțofeni culture (phase III) – as well as daub fragments, lithic tools, and animal bones.[3] Additionally, at the base of this slope, approximately aligned with the large tumulus, there are two massive blocks of local limestone (locally known as "Cluj limestone"), shaped like thick slabs. One of these exhibits, on its narrow side, a transverse groove, likely made with a harder stone chisel to facilitate its splitting into two thinner slabs.[4]

In November 2024 (between 7 and 12 November), a test trench was conducted to assess the stratigraphy of the settlement, near the eastern edge of the plateau. For this purpose, a trench (conventionally designated as S I/2024) measuring 4 × 1 m was opened, oriented NW-SE, between the forest road crossing the plateau and its eastern edge, approximately 35 m southeast of the large tumulus (Pl. I/2).

The stratigraphy (Fig. 1) is as follows:

1. a topsoil layer (loose, dark forest soil), 10–18 cm thick, containing a few ceramic and daub fragments;

2. a cultural layer (compact brownish soil), 18–38 cm thick, containing ceramic and daub fragments, as well as lithic pieces;

3. a clay lens (located between meters 0.85 m and 2.80 m along the trench's longitudinal axis), composed of dense yellowish clay soil, with a maximum thickness of 35 cm, devoid of archaeological materials (possibly a natural deposit or intentional fill);

[1] Bereteu, Timofte 2011, 79–95.

[2] Bereteu, Rotea 2022, 15–16, Pls. I–XI.

[3] Bereteu, Rotea 2022, 15–16, Pls. I–XI.

[4] Bereteu, Rotea 2022, 16, 33, Figs. 15–16.

4. compact brownish-grey soil, archaeologically sterile, with intercalations of yellowish-grey soil lenses and native limestone bedrock at the edges. The maximum depth reached was 75 cm.

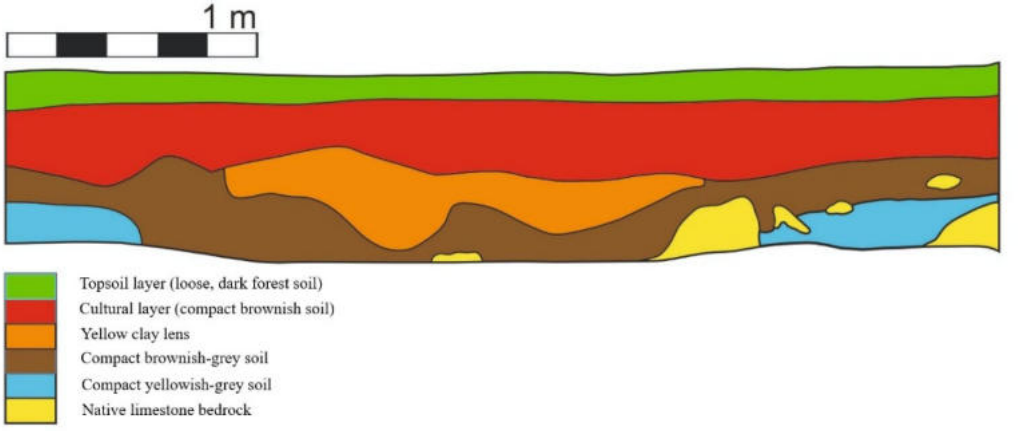


Fig. 1. Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*. SI/2024 stratigraphic profile.

The recovered archaeological artifacts consist of a small number of ceramic fragments, generally of small size, only one of which is characteristic of the Copăceni group (Pl. II/1); small pieces of daub, some bearing impressions of branches; a flint flake (Pl. II/4); another of obsidian (Pl. II/3); a quartz grinder (Pl. II/2); a fragment of a grinding stone made from a grey rock, heavily burned on the active surface (Pl. II/5); as well as additional fragments of another grinding stone made of a reddish, friable rock (Pl. II/6). Noteworthy is the relatively high number of lithic items found within such a small excavation unit, as well as the diversity of rocks used.

From a stratigraphic perspective**,** based on the distribution of surface finds, we would have expected the presence of two distinct occupational horizons, clearly delineated in the stratigraphy: one associated with late Coțofeni materials and the other with the Copăceni-type assemblage. The presence of a single stratigraphic layer may be accounted for by two hypotheses: either the two occupation phases did not fully overlap spatially, and the excavated trench does not capture the complete extent of the site, or the human presence occurred in two relatively brief and successive episodes, without a stratigraphically discernible hiatus between them. A definitive conclusion can only be reached following more extensive excavations. In this context, the richness of archaeological materials on the eastern slope cannot be attributed solely to natural colluvial processes, but more likely reflects the collapse of the plateau edge, which displaced and redeposited the remains of archaeological features downslope.

Discussions and concluding remarks

The complex archaeological site at *Pădurea Cocinii*, comprising two episodes of spatial use – the first associated with the Coțofeni culture and the second with the Copăceni group – as well as a necropolis consisting of six tumuli, was subject to an archaeological assessment carried out on the occasion of the publication of the second volume dedicated

to the Copăceni group. This also provided the opportunity to analyze the rich assemblage of archaeological material recovered during surface surveys.[5]

The particular significance of the site served as the premise for initiating intrusive investigations, the results of which constitute the subject of the present study. Limited in both spatial extent and placement – constrained by the legal status of the land – the excavations did not yield a substantial quantity of artifacts. Moreover, the stratigraphic context documented in the field did not allow for a definitive attribution of the archaeological material to either of the two cultures. Nonetheless, based on specific ceramic characteristics (fabric, firing technique, and surface treatment), the fragment recovered can, with a reasonable degree of probability, be attributed to the Copăceni group. As for the lithic tools (hand-mills fragments, obsidian and flint flakes), uncertainties persist regarding cultural assignment, as these artifacts show analogies both with the Coțofeni culture and with the Copăceni group, without allowing for a conclusive attribution at this stage of the research.

With regard to the character of the site's non-funerary area – the only part investigated on this occasion and previously documented through multiple surface surveys – we consider that the most appropriate term is episodes of space use. By this we mean manifestations of human presence with variable characteristics – from simple passages, cultic activities, or isolated deposits, to incipient or irregular forms of dwelling – without necessarily implying the presence of a true settlement or organized habitat structures. This approach is prioritized in characterizing the site, given that the research is in an early phase. Attributing precise features, such as the presence of dwelling structures or the occurrence of extensive activities, cannot be substantiated in the absence of more conclusive data, especially in the context of the two distinct major chronological phases and their relationship with the chronology of the tumulus necropolis, analyzed as a whole.

The complexity of the site raises several fundamental questions: does the excavated area and the results of prior surface surveys reflect traces of habitation structures, or merely ritual or other types of deposits (isolated, occasional presences)? What is the precise cultural attribution of each identified prehistoric manifestation? When were the tumuli constructed: do they represent a phenomenon associated with the Coțofeni culture and/or the Copăceni group? Were the tumuli erected over an earlier occupation zone belonging to the Coțofeni culture, or, conversely, are the Coțofeni artifacts the result of relocation by Copăceni communities? Which subphase of the Coțofeni III stage is attested at the site? Can a direct relationship be observed between the distribution of the tumuli and the stratigraphic presence or absence of archaeological material associated with the Coțofeni and Copăceni cultural groups? Furthermore, can functional and/or chronological differences between individual tumuli be identified – for instance, some serving strictly funerary purposes, while others also fulfilling a symbolic or ritual function of spatial delimitation? In the case of an attribution to the Copăceni group, with which of its phases can these tumuli be correlated?

An essential step in clarifying some of these interpretative hypotheses is represented by the results of radiocarbon (^{14}C) analyses conducted on two samples retrieved from a Copăceni-type archaeological context at *Pădurea Cocinii*. The absolute dating was carried out at the "Horia Hulubei" National Institute for R&D in Physics and Nuclear Engineering

[5] Bereteu, Rotea 2022, 15–16, Pls. I–XI.

(IFIN-HH), providing relevant chronological benchmarks for framing a phase of site use. The samples were collected in 2018 during surface investigations on the eastern slope of the promontory, in an area affected by erosion and landslides, where numerous ceramic fragments attributed to the Copăceni group had previously been identified and reported.[6]

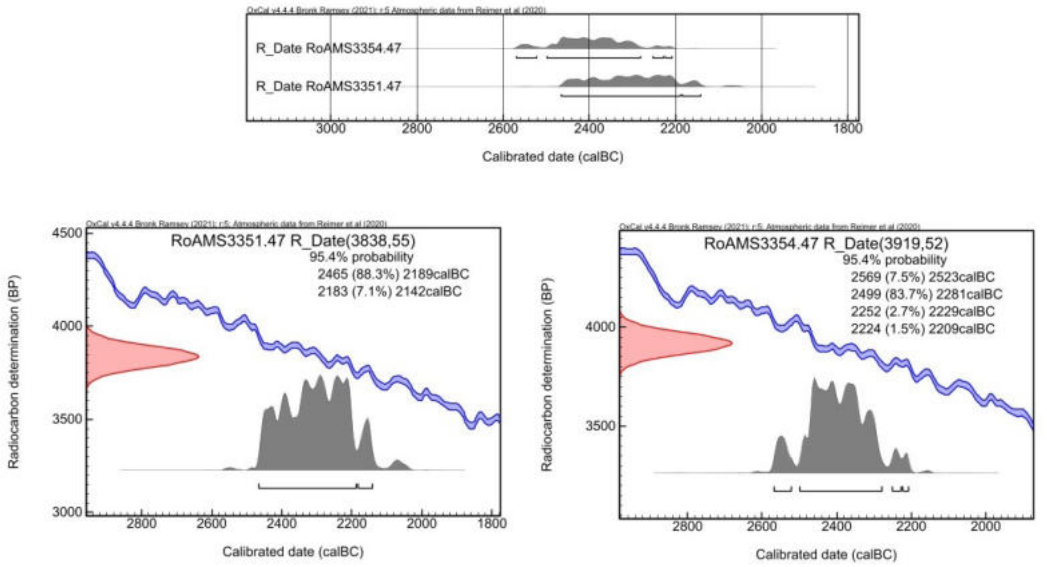


Fig. 2. Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*. Results of radiocarbon dating for the samples RoAMS 3354.47 and RoAMS 3351.47 (calibrated with OxCal v.4.4.4 based on atmospheric data from Reimer et alii 2020).

The two radiocarbon-dated samples yielded almost identical results (RoAMS 3354.47: 3919 ± 52 BP and RoAMS 3351.47: 3838 ± 55 BP) (Fig. 2), allowing for several significant observations. First, the concordance of the values indicates high quality of the analyzed material (animal bone fragments not attributable to a specific species) and largely rules out contamination or other disruptive factors in the dating process. This match also confirms the reliability of the applied method and increases confidence in the accuracy of the obtained dates.[7] Second, the closeness of the results suggests the samples are broadly contemporary, supporting the hypothesis that they belong to the same phase of human activity. This observation is particularly important, as the samples may originate from stratigraphically distinct contexts, yet ones that are closely related both spatially and chronologically. Finally, the correlation of these two results contributes to a more precise delimitation of the chronological interval associated with the investigated occupational phase, providing a solid reference point for the temporal framework of the analyzed archaeological context.

Although both samples clearly fall within the second half of the third millennium BC, RoAMS 3354.47 appears slightly earlier – its main probability peak centering around 2500–2300 cal BC – while RoAMS 3351.47 is marginally later, with its main calibrated

[6] Bereteu, Rotea 2022, Pls. I–XI.

[7] For the analysis method, see: Sava et alii 2019, 649–658.

range between 2500 to 2200 cal BC. Nevertheless, the significant chronological overlap between the two strengthens their interpretive value and supports the notion of a shared temporal horizon, which can be attributed to the Copăceni II phase (EBA IIb).

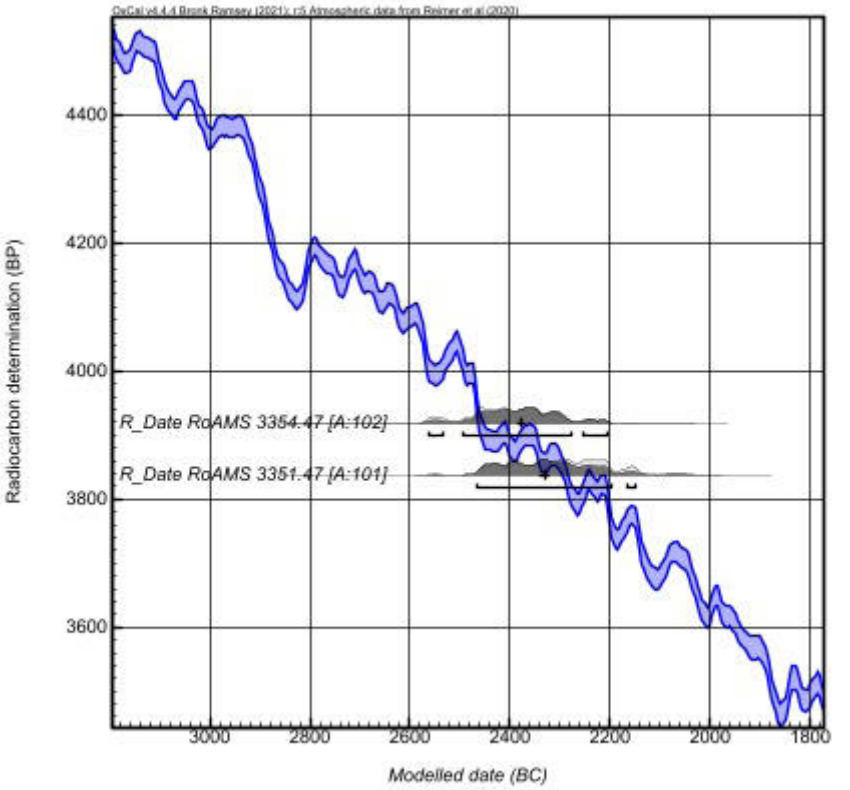


Fig. 3. Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*. Bayesian modelling – calibration curve (calibrated with OxCal v.4.4.4 based on atmospheric data from Reimer et alii 2020).

The Bayesian model (Fig. 3)[8] for the Copăceni II context refines the chronological framework by integrating the two radiocarbon determinations and stratigraphic information.[9] The model indicates that the phase likely began around 2691–2300 BC. The end of the phase is modeled with a median at 2188 BC, most likely between 2433–2028 BC (68.3%); the latter tail is considered less plausible due to lower probability density, as well as the archaeological context from which the samples were collected. While the calibrated 2σ (95.4%) intervals provide statistically valid ranges, their breadth often exceeds what is archaeologically plausible (Fig. 4); therefore, the 1σ (68.3%) intervals may offer more meaningful constraints for aligning radiocarbon results with the archaeological record. The modeled duration of the Copăceni II context is notably short, with a median of 55 years, and 95.4% of the distribution suggesting a duration between 0–242 years. This compressed timespan, together with the steep boundary curves, points to a relatively short-lived occupation or activity phase.

[8] For the data processing, we would like to thank our colleague F. Drașovean.

[9] For more Bayesian modelling of EBA in Transylvania, see: Ciugudean et alii 2025; Valea 2025.

Therefore, the results of both radiocarbon dates place us within the second developmental phase of the Copăceni group, corresponding to the interval 2500–2200 cal BC (Early Bronze Age IIb).[10] Consequently, the artifact horizon identified on the eastern slopes of the site can be dated to Copăceni II. It is worth noting that a burial from Tumulus 1 at Floreşti–*Polus*, located in the Someşul Mic floodplain not far from the investigated site, has been dated to the same chronological interval.[11] This synchronicity may suggest that at least part of the tumulus alignment extending along the ridge of the Pădurea Cocinii hill could be attributed to this phase in the evolution of the Copăceni group. Supporting this hypothesis are also the clear constructive analogies observed between the ring of worked limestone blocks that delimits the large tumulus (the first in the *Pădurea Cocinii* sequence)[12] and similar structural features documented in the Floreşti–*Polus* necropolis.[13]

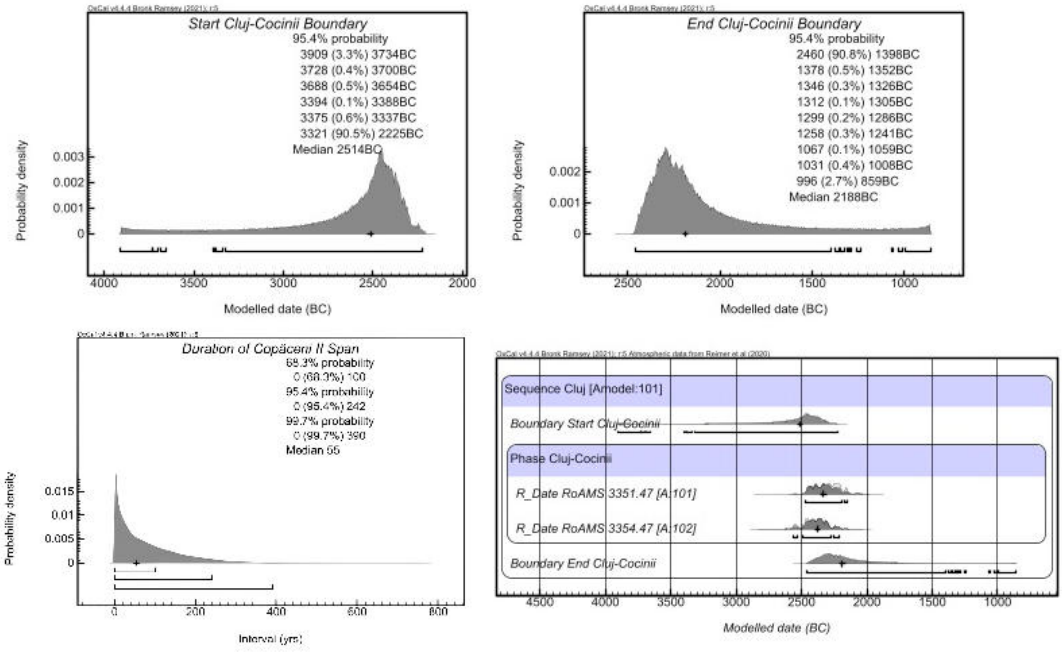


Fig. 4. Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*. Bayesian modelling (calibrated with OxCal v.4.4.4 based on atmospheric data from Reimer et alii 2020).

However, recent radiocarbon dates obtained for Tumulus II in the Floreşti–*Polus* necropolis also indicate the presence of an earlier phase, corresponding to Copăceni I (Early Bronze Age IIa), suggesting that the origins of these monumental funerary constructions may be placed as early as the initial stage of the group's development.[14] Consequently, although the exact attribution of the tumuli at *Pădurea Cocinii* remains uncertain in the

[10] Rotea et alii 2023, 34.

[11] Rotea et alii 2023, 34.

[12] Bereteu, Rotea 2022, Fig. 12.

[13] Rotea 2009, 14–17, Fig. 6; Rotea et alii 2014; Rotea et alii 2023, Pls. XIII–XVII.

[14] Unpublished results obtained during the course of this year as part of the MNIT–IFIN-HH collaborative project will be presented in due course.

absence of additional data – particularly due to the lack of a direct correlation between the dated activities and the explicit funerary function of the monuments – it is possible, with a reasonable degree of probability, to assign the main component of the large tumulus and, at least partially, other tumuli in the alignment along the promontory ridge to the second phase of the Copăceni group (EBA IIb).[15] This hypothesis is supported by the radiocarbon results, as well as by architectural analogies and the close chronological and spatial proximity to relevant discoveries at the Floreşti–*Polus* site.

The current interpretations are inevitably limited by the absence of well-defined archaeological features or closed contexts. Future investigations – such as planned palynological analyses to reconstruct the prehistoric vegetation, petrological studies of the raw materials used, and the stratigraphic probing of one of the tumuli, and new radiocarbon (^{14}C) datings – are expected to provide a more nuanced and contextualized understanding of both the settlement and funerary dynamics at the site. These preliminary results, while limited, underline the potential of the *Pădurea Cocinii* site to shed light on settlement and funerary dynamics during the Early Bronze Age I and II in northwestern Transylvania. Further interdisciplinary research is essential to clarify the cultural relationships and temporal sequencing of the site's occupation and tumular components.

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[15] The radiocarbon samples were collected from surface contexts outside the tumuli, with no direct stratigraphic association with the funerary monuments. Therefore, the attribution remains a well-founded hypothesis but cannot be confirmed with absolute certainty.

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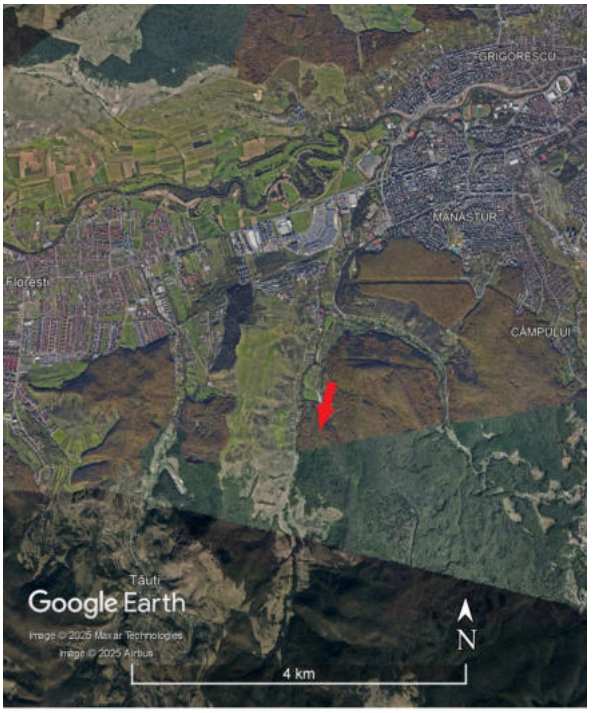
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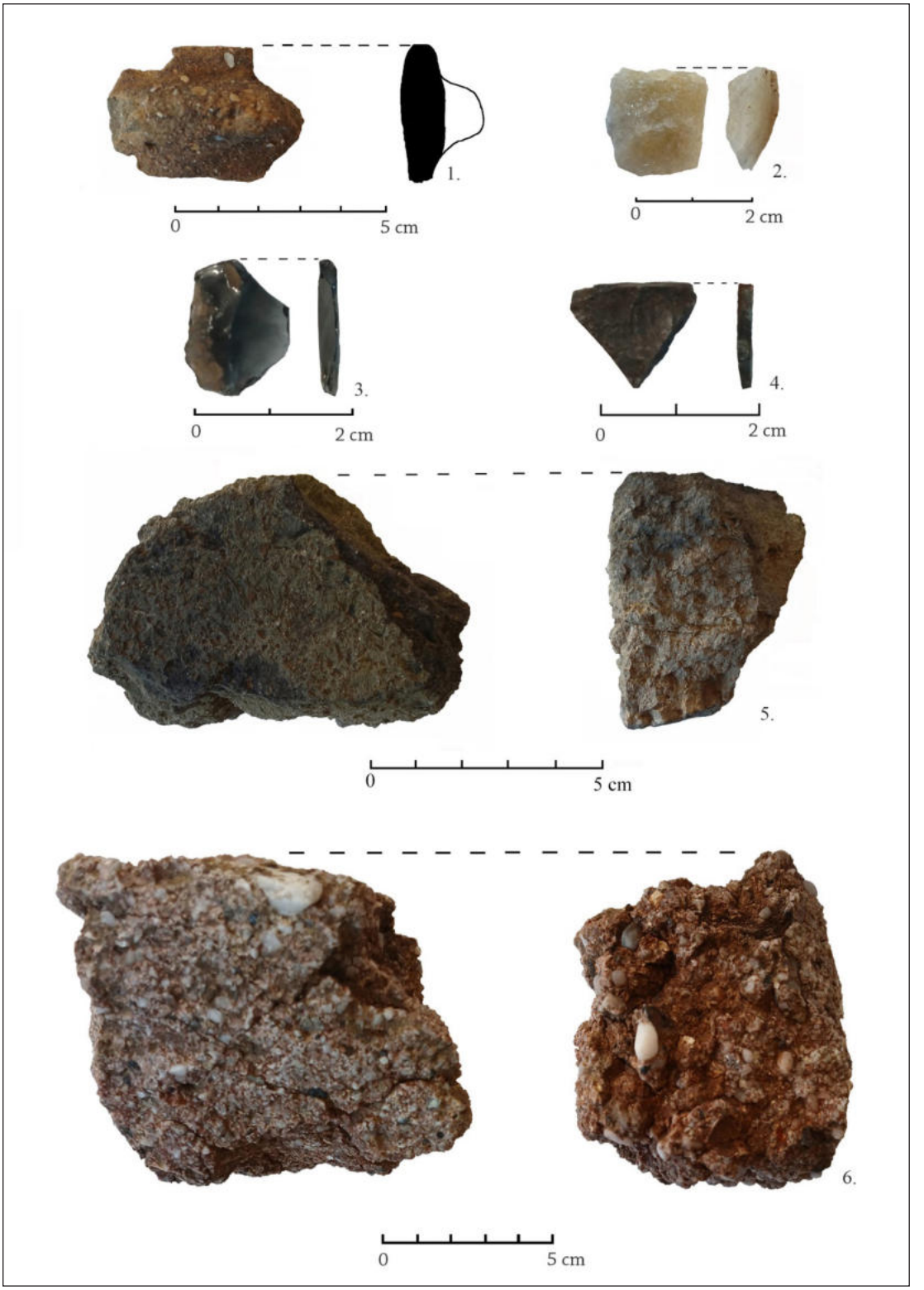


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Pl. I. Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*. **1.** Location of the site in the landscape; **2.** The elevation and terrain context of the site (large tumulus – red arrow; archaeological test trench SI/2024 – black arrow).



Pl. II. 1–6. Cluj-Napoca–*Pădurea Cocinii*. Archaeological finds from section SI/2024.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 21–34

CHASING A WILD GOOSE? CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RESEARCH HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST EXCAVATIONS AT THE LATE BRONZE AGE EPONYMOUS SITE OF SUCIU DE SUS

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.02

Abstract: The Late Bronze Age cremation cemetery of Suciu de Sus (Maramureș County) is the eponym of a pottery style that spread across northwestern Romania, eastern Hungary, parts of Slovakia, and Ukraine. Yet, the early history of its investigation remains fragmented and unclear. This paper revisits the initial excavations, from the unstructured explorations of Count Domokos Teleki to the professional campaign led by Márton Roska in 1913. Using archival documents, museum reports, newspaper articles, and scattered artefacts, it reconstructs the sequence of events, identifies the leading figures involved, and traces the changing custody of the finds. Particular attention is given to ownership disputes, the dispersal of collections, and the unresolved question of the cemetery's location, which is linked to conflicting toponyms and oral testimonies. By situating these episodes within the fragile context of early 20th-century Transylvanian archaeology, the study highlights both the risks of loss and misattribution, as well as the importance of archival research in restoring context to sites and their material legacies.

Keywords: cremation cemetery; Suciu de Sus; Count Domokos Teleki; Márton Roska; Transylvanian Museum Society; research history; archival research.

Rezumat: Necropola plană de incinerație din Epoca Târzie a Bronzului de la Suciu de Sus (Județul Maramureș) dă numele unui stil ceramic care s-a răspândit în nord-vestul României, estul Ungariei, părți din Slovacia și Ucraina. Cu toate acestea, începuturile cercetării acesteia rămân fragmentare și neclare. Lucrarea de față reexaminează primele săpături, de la explorările nesistematice ale contelui Domokos Teleki până la campania calificată condusă de Márton Roska în 1913. Pe baza documentelor de arhivă, a rapoartelor muzeale, a articolelor de presă și a artefactelor dispersate, studiul reconstituie succesiunea evenimentelor, identifică principalele personalități implicate și urmărește traseul schimbător al custodiei descoperirilor. O atenție deosebită este acordată disputelor privind proprietatea, dispersării colecțiilor și chestiunii nerezolvate a localizării necropolei, legată de toponime contradictorii și mărturii orale. Prin integrarea acestor episoade în contextul fragil al arheologiei transilvănene de la începutul secolului XX, cercetarea evidențiază atât riscurile de pierdere și atribuire eronată, cât și importanța studiului de arhivă pentru restabilirea contextului siturilor și al moștenirii lor materiale.

Cuvinte-cheie: necropolă de incinerație; Suciu de Sus; contele Domokos Teleki; Márton Roska; Societatea Muzeului Ardelean; istoria cercetărilor; cercetare arhivistică.

Introduction

The late 19th century marked a turning point in archaeology, as the field gradually shifted from antiquarians' pursuits to a more disciplined scientific practice. Throughout Europe, however, these developments occurred unevenly. Professional scholars and enthusiastic amateurs often worked side by side, their contributions ranging from pioneering insights to poorly documented collections.[1]

In Transylvania, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, archaeology developed within the framework of local museum societies and university chairs founded in the late 19th century. Many sites were first identified through the efforts of local priests, teachers, or landowners, whose motives combined curiosity with a desire for prestige and recognition. Their work cannot be dismissed, but their practices often fell short of emerging standards and artefacts were removed from their context, leaving collections susceptible to loss or fragmentation. Archaeology in Transylvania during this period thus reflected both the potential and the fragility of an emerging discipline.[2]

Within this broader context, the Late Bronze Age sites at Suciu de Sus (Felsőszőcs), Maramureș County (Pl. I), are both important and challenging. The ceramics uncovered here define a distinct phase within the Late Bronze Age, known as the Suciu de Sus pottery style.[3] First recognised on these premises, extending to northwestern Romania, it was later confirmed in northeastern Hungary, as well as in the southeastern parts of Slovakia and the southwestern parts of Ukraine.[4] However, the early research history of the site is clouded by fragmentary reports, uncoordinated excavations, and the subsequent dispersal of finds.

Efforts to reconstruct this history and locate the associated flat cremation cemetery intensified during the second half of the 20th century, through surveys and numerous publications that shed light on scattered assemblages.[5] More recently, renewed interest in reopening the excavation has led to coordinated initiatives by three institutions: the County Museum of History and Archaeology Maramureș, the Satu Mare County Museum, and the National Museum of Transylvanian History. These efforts, which combined non-destructive surveys (magnetometry) with new test excavations, provided the opportunity for the present study.

Drawing on archival letters, institutional reports, press articles, and surviving artefacts, this paper aims to clarify the timeline of the earliest excavations, identify the figures involved, and examine the institutional factors that shaped the fate of the finds. By situating these events within the broader history of early 20th-century archaeology and the activities of the Transylvanian Museum Society, it explores how fragile institutional contexts contributed to the dispersal of documentation and artefacts from Suciu de Sus.

[1] For a general overview, see Trigger 1989; Díaz-Andreu 2007. For Transylvania and Romania, see, for example, Szabó 2017; Bărbulescu 2022.

[2] For the most recent overview of the history of archaeology in Romania, see Bărbulescu 2022.

[3] Roska 1940, 140.

[4] For an overview, see, for example, Kalicz 1960; Bader 1972; Pop 2005; Kacsó 2021; Major 2025.

[5] The number of publications on the Suciu de Sus archaeological materials is quite extensive. Here, only those papers are listed that focus on reconstructing the chronology of earlier excavations and the provenance of dispersed materials originating from these sites: Bader 1976; Kacsó 2008; Kacsó 2023; Kacsó 2025.

Early Discoveries and Amateur Excavations

When discussing the earliest excavations, the various locations examined in Suciu de Sus cannot be considered separately due to the absence of detailed reports or brief mentions that frequently omit site names, merely noting that excavations occurred and eventually referencing the recovered materials.

One of the earliest researchers linked to the excavations at Suciu de Sus was Károly Torma,[6] a prominent and highly regarded expert of his era.[7] However, no additional evidence has been found to substantiate this claim thus far. The earliest excavation to leave written records occurred in 1887, led by János Szendrei, secretary of the National Society of Archaeology and Anthropology in Budapest, on behalf of the Hungarian National Museum. This excavation took place at a site known as Trioan (Traján), a plateau on the north-eastern side of the village, identified by its Bronze Age burial mounds.[8] The artefacts recovered during this excavation were later housed in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest.[9]

Count Domokos Teleki[10] is a notable figure whose activities are closely associated with the site's earliest investigations, exemplifying the era's blend of amateur enthusiasm and scholarly ambition. His well-known passion for antiquities and archaeology,[11] along with his family ties – particularly in this case, since after the death of his father, Count Géza Teleki, his mother remarried Baron György Bánffy, who owned properties in the village of Suciu de Sus – shaped his interest in the region.[12] The precise timing of his excavations remains uncertain, as does the number of occasions, since no formal report has been published so far. Based on indirect evidence, including Endre Orosz's testimony, Teleki must have been active in these areas before 1898, when he was still under 18.[13]

His relationship with professional archaeologists was complicated. He contributed to the Transylvanian Museum Society, the leading cultural institution in Cluj at that time, donating valuable artefacts and forming a somewhat professional relationship with its experts. However, his amateur methods and selective collecting drew criticism. His stance reflected the ambiguities of an era when wealthy collectors held both influence and suspicion within the scholarly community.[14]

Professional Excavations

The limitations of amateur research eventually led the Transylvanian Museum Society to commission a professional investigation. In the annual report for 1913 and proposals for the year 1914, submitted to the National Inspectorate of Museums and Libraries, Béla Pósta,[15] serving both as the director of the Coins and Antique Collection and as an official

[6] Orosz 1900, 26; Orosz 1915, 5.
[7] Téglás 1905.
[8] Szendrei 1887, 378.
[9] Hampel 1888, 175.
[10] Kacsó 2023, 13, n. 4; Urák, Kavur 2024, 11.
[11] Orosz 1915, 5; Paulovics 1944, 86.
[12] Vasárnapi Újság 1889, 14, 228.
[13] Orosz 1915, 15.
[14] Urák, Kavur 2024, 11.
[15] Vincze 2014; Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2017, 40; Szabó 2018.

museum inspector, requests 500 crowns to conduct archaeological excavations at Suciu de Sus the following year, either through the financial support of the Transylvanian Museum Society or the National Museum in Budapest. These excavations are to be carried out on behalf of Szolnok-Doboka County's Literary, Historical, and Ethnographic Society, based in Dej, whose collections were relocated due to inadequate storage conditions and are now stored in the repositories of the Transylvanian Museum Society. According to this official report, Pósta plans to commence systematic excavations in the future, focusing on two significant sites: the prehistoric settlement of Suciu de Sus and the Roman fort of Căşeiu (Alsókosály). Work is intended to be conducted annually at each location.[16]

Once the request for financial support was approved, Márton Roska[17] was appointed as the excavation leader at the site from Suciu de Sus, in addition to his ongoing ethnographic fieldwork in the region, which had been initiated years earlier. Intending to verify and authenticate the unsystematic and undocumented works of Count Teleki, Roska undertook a short-term archaeological excavation from September 22 to 25, 1913. Assisted by nine workers[18] (Appx. 2, Pl. II), his excavation covered a surface area of 19.5 × 5.25 m, which belonged to Ioan Bizo and was in the process of being parcelled out and sold. The research yielded notable results. The cremation rites of the graves were confirmed. Eleven urn graves and two funerary pyres were documented, with mentions that the graves extend across the field road. His archaeological excavation and ethnographic survey yielded approximately 300 photographs, detailed field notes, and a preliminary report, which he submitted to Director Béla Pósta on December 31, 1913. The archaeological artefacts discovered were catalogued in the Szolnok-Doboka County Literary, Historical and Ethnographic Society's collection, under inventory numbers D. 3603–3772.[19]

Ownership Disputes and the Fate of Finds

Documented through letters, official minutes, and testimonies, a dispute centred around the archaeological materials once owned by Count Teleki Domokos emerged in the early decades of the 20th century, lasting from 1919 to 1932, a period during which the fate of the involved institutions changed multiple times, with some parties involved in the ownership issue being replaced or passing away.[20] The main concern was the Count's valuable prehistoric and antique bronze and iron collection, consisting of 82 items. At his request, these artefacts were moved from his castle in Gornești to the repositories of the Coins and Antique Collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society in Cluj, for safekeeping during the uncertain final days of the First World War.[21] In addition to requesting this fine assemblage, somewhat annoyed, the Count also asked for the return of the Suciu de Sus materials that had been lent for study and publication, only to prove to be a stagnant endeavour.[22]

[16] B. Pósta's annual report and proposal to the National Inspectorate of Museums and Libraries, no date, Colecția MNIT, C1 2004/38 a-b.

[17] Vincze 2005; Vincze 2014, 158–167; Vincze, Vincze 2021.

[18] Presence sheet of workers and list of witnesses at Roska's 1913 excavation in Suciu de Sus, Colecția MNIT, C1 2246/6.

[19] M. Roska's report to B. Pósta, dated December 31, 1913, Colecția MNIT, C1 2246/2.

[20] Urák, Kavur 2024, 18.

[21] For a detailed presentation of the events, see Urák, Kavur 2024, 15–18.

[22] Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Árpád Buday, dated August 30, 1919, Colecția MNIT, C1 3752/1.

Regarding his bronze and iron artefacts, after years of dispute, it was concluded that, since he donated rather than loaned those items[23] – information conflicting with what the Count recalled and claimed had been discussed and settled with the late Béla Pósta[24] – they cannot be returned to him because they became the property of the state institution. The dispute was settled with a statement signed by Teleki on February 25, 1932, with Márton Roska and Sándor Ferenczi,[25] both employees of the Institute of the Classical Studies, as witnesses. In this declaration, he states that he has withdrawn his Suciu de Sus materials, provides a brief list of the finds, and affirms that he has no further claims, thereby bringing the 14-year-long dispute to an end. To date, this is the only record of what this archaeological assemblage from Suciu de Sus comprised. This assemblage includes one mug missing its handle, twenty-one other mugs with intact handles, one incomplete mug, two plates, three medium-sized plates, two urns, and two unopened wooden chests filled with potsherds (Appx. 3, Pl. III).[26]

The tension from this dispute probably widened the rift between the Count and the former employees of the Coins and Antique Collection, leading to their estrangement. This is indicated by a hint of disappointment in one of the Count's letters, where he admits that his bronze antiquities will not be returned and states that his initial plan was to donate his entire collection to the Transylvanian Museum Society after his and his wife's deaths, but until then, he would like to have the chance to admire his own collection.[27]

Regrettably, his entire collection ended up as collateral damage of the Second World War and its aftermath. György Bözödi, the assistant at the University's Library in Cluj, reports to the Transylvanian Museum Society after returning from his December 1944 mission to Szeklerland. His task was to take necessary steps to safeguard cultural collections—such as libraries, archives, and paintings – at risk of destruction. During his visit, he discovered that Count Domokos Teleki's castle in Gornești was missing most of its doors and was empty of furniture. The once grand corridor, where the valuable collection was on display, now lies filled with rubble and debris, marking the site of the former private museum. Some smaller items had been stored in boxes because they didn't fit in the cabinet; however, these too had been discarded and smashed, as people believed treasures were hidden among them.[28] The part of the collection that had not been destroyed in this manner ultimately ended up being partly lost and scattered by the villagers.[29] The artefacts that were saved were the 82 bronze and iron objects transported to Cluj in 1918, and the assemblage that entered the collections of the Mureș County Museum in the mid-20th century, but they are only a small remnant.[30]

The materials thoroughly excavated, collected, documented, and inventoried by Márton Roska have not fared any better. After the dissolution of the Szolnok-Doboka

[23] Official address submitted to the director of the Transylvanian Museum Society in 1931, Colecția MNIT, C1 3752/11.

[24] Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Árpád Buday, dated January 11, 1921, Colecția MNIT, C1 3752/2.

[25] Urák, Kavur 2024, 16, 18.

[26] Count Domokos Teleki's declaration, signed in front of Sándor Ferenczi and Constantin Daicoviciu as witnesses, Colecția MNIT, C1 3752/14.

[27] Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Árpád Buday, dated January 11, 1921, Colecția MNIT, C1 3752/2.

[28] Jakó 1994, 124–125.

[29] Bicsok, Orbán 2019, 499.

[30] Bader 1976, 39.

County Literary, Historical, and Ethnographic Society's small museum, its collection was transferred to Cluj. Neither the 'D' register, Roska's documentation, nor the materials have reappeared, raising doubts about whether they still exist. According to our current best knowledge, the only information available about this collection is scattered across the annual reports submitted to the directorial board of the Transylvanian Museum Society by Béla Pósta at the end of each year.

A clue to the extent of the collections held by the Szolnok-Doboka County Literary, Historical, and Ethnographic Society's Museum is given by the 1914 official report, in which Pósta briefly reviews their progress in museology, particularly regarding exhibition arrangements. After waiting 12 years for a new museum building, they gradually came to accept that it might never be constructed. They began creating an exhibition in rented premises on Bástya utca (now known as Daicoviciu Street, No. 2, the current museum building). The second floor was used for the pinacotheca, while the ground floor displayed architectural and sculptural works, with only the first floor dedicated to archaeological exhibitions. The first eight rooms are briefly described, noting that the following rooms, apart from one containing the Szolnok-Doboka County Literary, Historical, and Ethnographic Society's collection, are mainly used for organising the collection of Torma Zsófia.[31] The traces of this collection fade into mist after this mention, highlighting the vulnerability of regional initiatives. Political decisions, financial constraints, and administrative reorganisations could erase entire bodies of material.

Conflicting toponyms and the question of the cemetery's location

Identifying the flat cremation cemetery is further complicated not only by the lack of documentation and clear information on the individuals behind the archaeological investigations at Suciu de Sus, including their timing, location, and frequency, but also by the inconsistent use of place names (toponyms) by different authors over the years.

Among the various locations explored, two toponyms stand out as the most likely candidates designating the location of the sought cemetery. One is a site known by multiple spellings over the centuries, first recorded in 1743 as "La Motsira" in a Latin inventory list of the Teleki family's properties, being associated with agricultural land, situated *in Inferiori Versura* parts of the locality.[32] The monograph on Szolnok-Doboka County mentions the versions of "Mocsina"[33] among the border areas of the locality, as attested since 1743, while, in the same volume, just a page later, the toponym "Mocsika" is mentioned, as a place about the location where Count József Teleki sourced some artefacts for his impressive collection in Budapest.[34] Without intending to engage in etymological debates regarding the origins of the term, it should at least be noted that all toponym versions resemble the word "mocirlă", meaning a swampy, water-logged area.[35]

What may link the cemetery to such a toponym – or at least suggest that Domokos Teleki may have conducted excavations in the area – are indirect pieces of evidence. A

[31] Pósta 1915, 32.
[32] Szabó T. 2007, 236–237.
[33] Kádár 1903, 500.
[34] Kádár 1903, 501, n. 4.
[35] Ștef 2023, 274.

newspaper article detailing the Count's famous private museum, located on the castle's first-floor west wing corridor on the ground floors of his castle in Gornești,[36] describes the contents of each of the eight showcases. It mentions that the third display contains 'urns and other relics' from the Bronze Age cemetery site at "Moczira" in Suciu de Sus.[37] This toponym, spelt differently as "Mocira" this time, finds further support from a still-intact handwritten label on a pottery fragment from the Count's private museum that survived a tumultuous history before becoming part of the Mureș County Museum's collection.[38]

According to Roska, Teleki must have excavated in at least four, if not five, different points of the village, at "Troian", "Valea Groșilor", "Sesu" and "Podini pe Coaste"[39]. The localisation of these toponyms is problematic; it cannot be ruled out that some might represent a different denomination of the same archaeological site. Still, what is curious is that Roska never mentions the place name of Moczira, neither in connection with the Counts' excavation, nor in general.

Instead, he chose to conduct his excavations at "Poduri pe coaste" – "Poduri pé kaszta" in an adequate spelling for the Hungarian language text – influenced by two factors: the visible remnants of Teleki's earlier trenches and the recollections of a local villager who had assisted the Count. This toponym, spelt this time as "Podini pe coaste" comes up when Roska discusses grooved-decorated pottery from Transylvania and mentions some objects in the Count's private collection, which were recovered during its works at Suciu de Sus.[40] What is even more intriguing is that when discussing Szendrei's excavations, he recalls the same toponym.[41]

The term "Podur", in the form of "Also Podurok", the lower Podurs, is recorded for the first time in 1833, this time in a Hungarian text, where it is mentioned as a place located within the boundary "Az Also Forduloba", meaning in the lower turn or lower parts of the locality. This is a Hungarian expression equivalent to the Latin "In Inferiori Versura", already encountered in association with "Moczira". Some very suggestive names are listed as also situated in the "Also Podurok" border, such as "Lunka", which means a meadow, riverside or waterside, and the place over the shallow, over the ford, "a gázlon tul valo rész".[42]

The conflicting toponyms associated with the flat cremation cemetery at Suciu de Sus – most notably "Moczira/Mocira/Mocsina/Mocsika" and "Poduri/Podini pe coaste" – likely reflect overlapping micro-toponyms designating the same floodable sector of the locality. While it cannot be ruled out that they denote distinct findspots, the recurrence of swamp-related terminology, the references to similar boundary areas ("In Inferiori Versura/ Also Podurok"), and the reliance on oral recollections in later excavations suggest that variations in naming practices, rather than multiple cemeteries, underlie the discrepancies. It is therefore plausible that Teleki, Szendrei, and Roska all explored different parts of a single extensive cemetery, remembered under different names over time.

[36] Bíró 1938, 63.
[37] Az Újság 1912, 18.
[38] Bader 1976, 39.
[39] Roska 1914, 143; Roska 1940, 125.
[40] Roska 1940, 124; Roska 1942, 90.
[41] Roska 1940, 125; Roska 1942, 91.
[42] Szabó T. 2007, 237.

Final thoughts

The case of the flat cremation cemetery from the eponymous site in Suciu de Sus emphasises both the importance of archival research in reconstructing the history of archaeological sites and the challenges of aligning archival evidence with archaeological topography. While many issues remain unresolved – notably the precise identification of the cemetery and the current location of the materials excavated by Roska – the archival record sheds light on how archaeology operated in early 20th-century Transylvania. Amateur collectors and professional archaeologists worked within a fragile institutional framework, where collections were vulnerable to dispersal and records were easily lost. Understanding this history is not merely of antiquarian interest. For modern archaeologists, it provides vital context for assessing earlier findings, helps in efforts to locate dispersed materials, and highlights the importance of systematic documentation and institutional stability.

The recently published documents related to Suciu de Sus add essential pieces to this picture. They enable us to gauge the extent of the archaeological material recovered by Count Teleki, and, despite the missing registry book, they reveal the number of artefacts and the inventory number under which Roska's finds were registered.

A seemingly minor but previously unknown detail concerns the land selected for digging by Roska in 1913, which Ioan Bizo owned at the time. Since most villagers bore the Bizo family name and the name Ioan offered no specific clue, a helpful hint is that the land was subject to division and sale at that very moment, which limited the extent of the excavation and hindered its continuation in the following year. Such details can assist in narrowing down the search when cross-referencing cadastral records, detailed registers, and sketches preserved at the Lăpuș land registry office.

This case illustrates how archival fragments, when carefully pieced together, can provide direct support for future fieldwork. After corroborating evidence from unexplored archives, nobiliary inventories, and boundaries, as well as topographical surveys and cadastral documents, modern techniques such as geophysical prospecting should eventually reveal the location of the long-lost cemetery.

APPENDIX

1. Presence sheet of workers and list of witnesses at Roska's 1913 excavation in Suciu de Sus, Colecția MNIT, C1 2246/6.

Daily or weekly schedule
At the Szolnokdoboka County Lit., Hist. and Ethn. Society's excavations

Name of the worker

1. Kămărás Sándor
2. Kămărás Teofil
3. Ifj. Bud Dumitru
4. Nyikorek Nyikoláje
5. Lesa Filip
6. Ungur Mihály
7. Pop Gavrila

8. Bude Dumitru
9. Bud Filip

In front of (the witnesses)
Bizo Aranka
özv. Bizo Gáborné (the widowed wife of Bizo Gábor)

2. Count Domokos Teleki's declaration, signed in front of Sándor Ferenczi and Constantin Daicoviciu as witnesses, Colecția MNIT, C1 3752/14.

D E C L A R A Ț I E

Subsemnatul Dominic Teleki dr. declar prin aceasta că am primit dela Institutul de StudiiClasice ale Universității din Cluj următoarele obiecte arheologice predate de mine spre studiere Muzeului de origine din Suciul desus:1ciaşc: 1 ciaşcă fără toartă, 21 cești cu toartă, 1 ciaşcă necompletă, 2farfurii, 3 farfurii de mărime mijlocie, 2 urne, 2 lăzii nedesfăcute cu cioburi nelipite.

Prin aceasta declar că nu am nici o altă pretențiune asupra obiectelor dela Suciul de sus.

C l u j, 25 Ianuarie 1932.
Ca martori *Dr. Dominic Teleki*
(semnătura lui Roska)
(semnătura lui Ferenczi)

DECLARATION

The undersigned Dominic Teleki, PhD, hereby declares that I have received from the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of Cluj the following archaeological objects handed over by me to the Museum for study, originating from Suciu de Sus: 1 cup without a handle, 21 cups with a handle, 1 incomplete cup, 2 plates, 3 medium-sized plates, 2 urns, 2 unopened boxes with unattached shards.

I hereby declare that I have no other claim on the objects from Suciu de Sus.

Cluj, 25 January 1932.
As witnesses, *(signature of) Dr. Dominic Teleki*
(signature of) M Roska
(signature of) Al. Ferenczi

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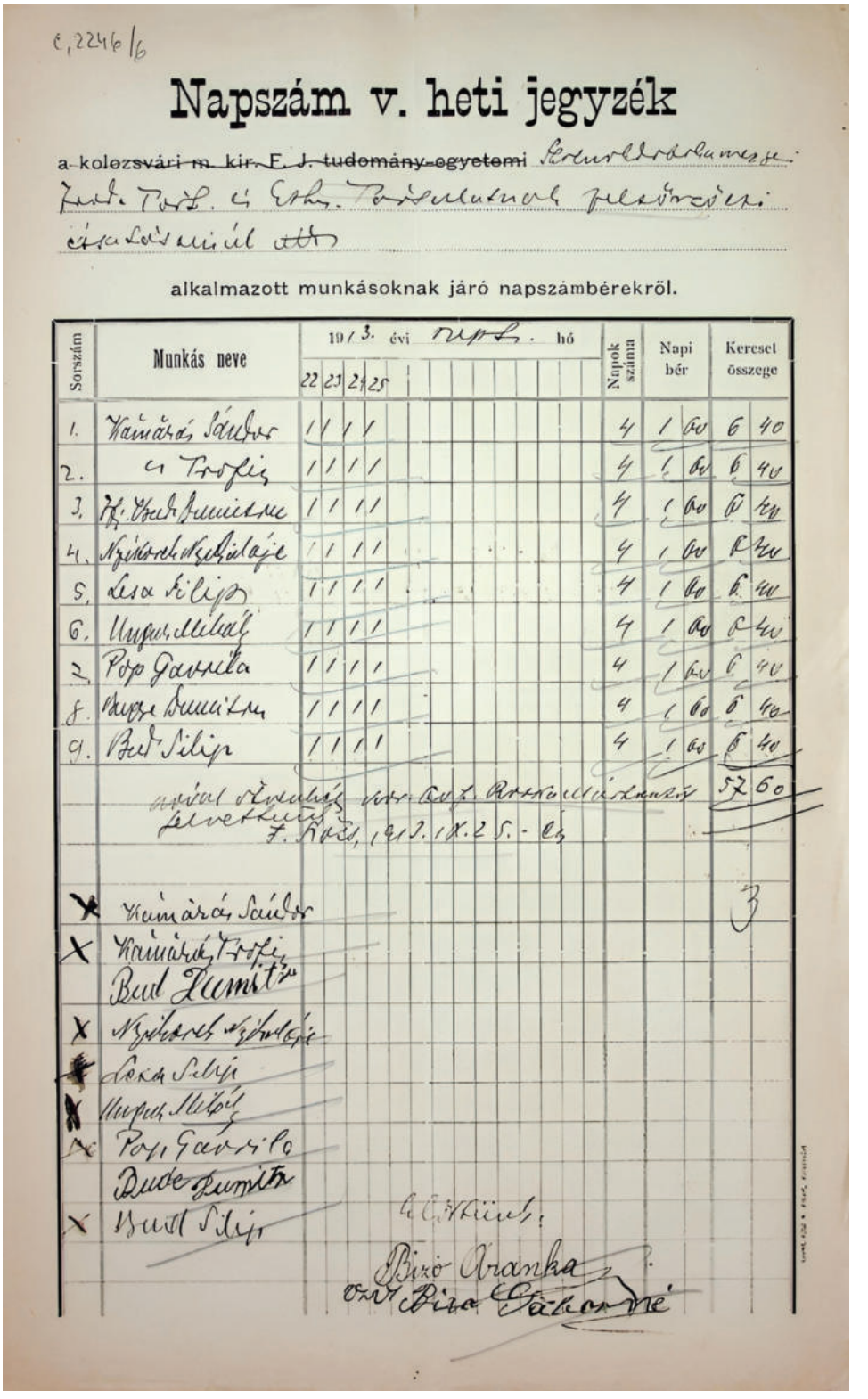
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Pl. I. General overview of Suciu de Sus and the site of the 2025 fieldwork, coloured in yellow.



C, 2246/6

Napszám v. heti jegyzék

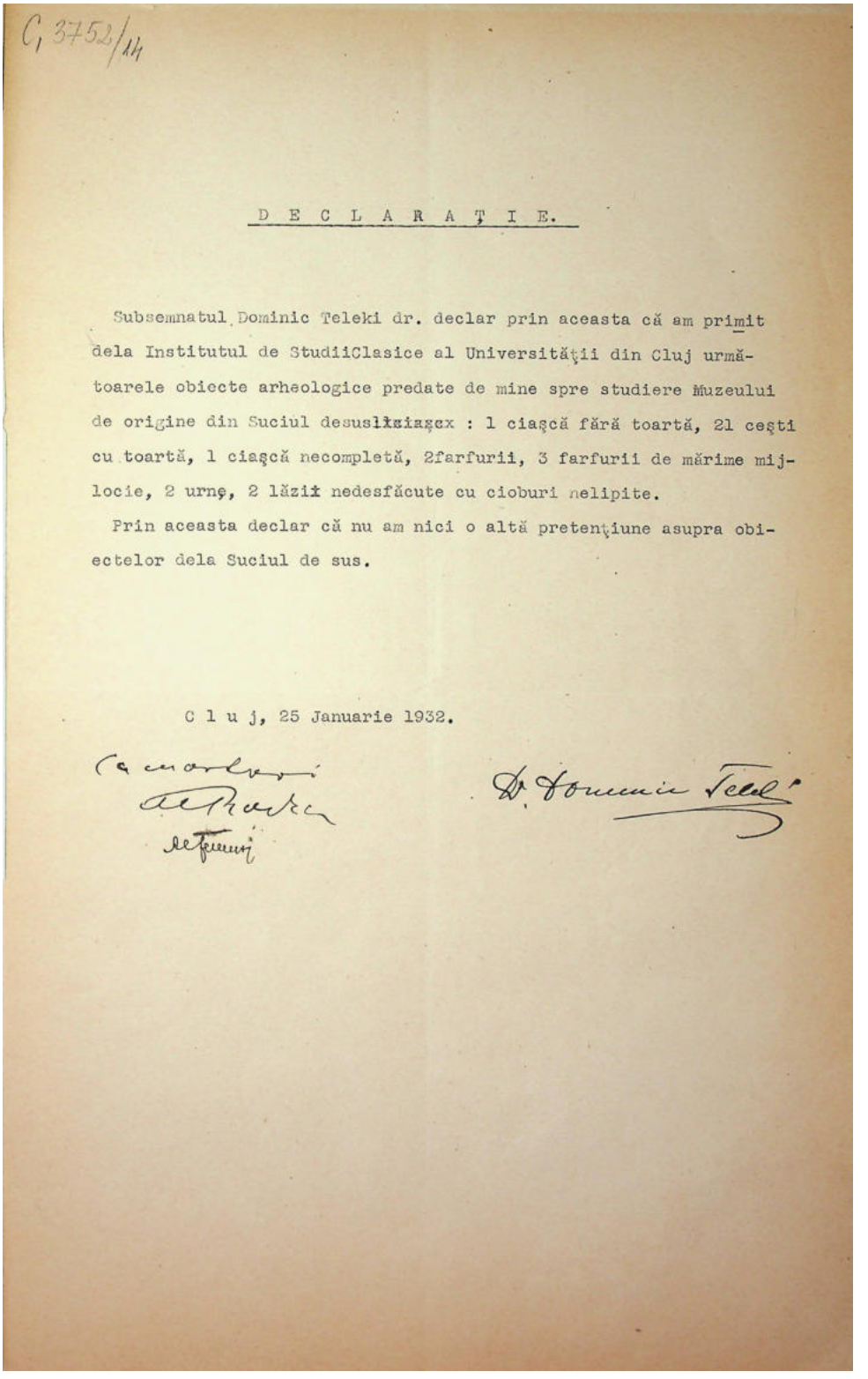
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Szab. Tud. Cs. Orsz. Történelmünk feltárására
czéljaira

alkalmazott munkásoknak járó napszámbérekről.

Sorszám	Munkás neve	1913. évi Augusztus hó 22	23	24	25	Napok száma	Napi bér	Kereset összege
1.	Kaiuára Sándor	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
2.	a Trofin	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
3.	K. Vasile Dumitru	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
4.	Nyisztor Miklósné	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
5.	Loka Silip	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
6.	Ungur Mihály	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
7.	Pop Gavrila	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
8.	Varga Dumitru	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
9.	Bud Silip	1	1	1	1	4	1 60	6 40
	mind összesen kifizettetett a Kolozsvári Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület pénztárából. F. Roska, 1913. IX. 25. - Cs							52 60
X	Kaiuára Sándor							3
X	Kaiuára Trofin							
	Bud Dumitru							
X	Nyisztor Miklósné							
X	Loka Silip							
X	Ungur Mihály							
X	Pop Gavrilo							
	Bude Dumitru							
X	Bud Silip							

A fentiekhez:
Biró Aranka
özv. Biró Lászlóné

Pl. II. Presence sheet of workers and list of witnesses at Roska's 1913 excavation in Suciu de Sus – Colecția MNIT, C1 2246/6.



C, 3752/14

D E C L A R A Ţ I E.

Subsemnatul Dominic Teleki dr. declar prin aceasta că am primit dela Institutul de StudiiClasice al Universităţii din Cluj următoarele obiecte arheologice predate de mine spre studiere Muzeului de origine din Suciul desusIxxiaşcx : 1 ciaşcă fără toartă, 21 ceşti cu toartă, 1 ciaşcă necompletă, 2farfurii, 3 farfurii de mărime mijlocie, 2 urne, 2 lăzii nedesfăcute cu cioburi nelipite.

Prin aceasta declar că nu am nici o altă pretenţiune asupra obiectelor dela Suciul de sus.

C l u j, 25 Januarie 1932.

Ca martori
Alexandru
Petrenj

D. Dominic Teleki

Pl. III. Count Domokos Teleki's declaration, signed in front of Sándor Ferenczi and Constantin Daicoviciu as witnesses – Colecţia MNIT, C1 3752/14.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 35–52

THE MANY FACES OF A HELMET. THE HISTORY OF AN EXCEPTIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERY: THE CELTIC "GRAVE" FROM SILIVAŞ (II)

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.03

Abstract: This paper investigates the biography of one of the most notable Celtic artefacts from Transylvania – the Late Iron Age helmet from Silivaș. Aside from its unusual design and decoration, the helmet's importance lies in its discovery history, its treatment within scholarship, and its visual legacy. First published in 1925 as part of a supposed warrior's grave, the find has been frequently referenced in discussions on Celtic migrations, weapon typologies, and art, while also raising questions about the integrity of the assemblage. By analysing a century of publications, from the original drawing to contemporary photographs, we demonstrate how the helmet's meaning has been continually reshaped by shifting archaeological paradigms, restoration efforts, and the reproduction of its images. The helmet thus functions not only as a remarkable piece of early Celtic art but also as a reflection of 20th-century archaeology in South-Eastern Europe, where material culture, political contexts, and scholarly practices intersect.

Keywords: Silivaș "grave"; iron helmet; Celtic occupation of Transylvania; visual representation.

Rezumat: Acest articol investighează biografia unuia dintre cele mai cunoscute artefacte celtice din Transilvania – coiful din cea de-a doua Epocă a Fierului, de la Silivaș. Pe lângă aspectul și decorul său neobișnuit, importanța coifului rezidă în istoria descoperirii sale, abordarea sa în cadrul cercetării științifice și moștenirea sa vizuală. Publicată pentru prima dată în 1925 ca parte a unui presupus mormânt al unui războinic, descoperirea a fost frecvent menționată în discuțiile despre migrațiile celtice, tipologiile armelor și artă, ridicând în același timp întrebări cu privire la integritatea ansamblului. Analizând un secol de publicații, de la desenul original la fotografiile contemporane, demonstrăm modul în care semnificația coifului a fost continuu remodelată de schimbarea paradigmelor arheologice, eforturile de restaurare și reproducerea imaginilor sale. Coiful servește astfel nu numai ca o piesă remarcabilă a artei celtice timpurii, ci și ca reflecție a arheologiei secolului al XX-lea în sud-estul Europei, unde cultura materială, contextele politice și practicile științifice se intersectează.

Cuvinte-cheie: „mormântul" de la Silivaș; coif de fier; prezența celtică în Transilvania; reprezentare vizuală.

* First of all, we would like to thank Dr. Katharina Ulmschneider for her help and information regarding the Paul Jacobsthal Archive. In the end, we also have to thank the two anonymous reviewers of the paper whose suggestions helped us to improve our manuscript.

Introduction

The current essay explores one of the most intriguing discoveries in Celtic archaeology in South-Eastern Europe – the Late Iron Age helmet from Silivaş. First published a century ago as part of a warrior's grave, it has been frequently analysed, revised, and reinterpreted over time. Its unusual design, remarkable decoration, poor preservation, and remote site of discovery, far from the core of the Celtic world, have made it one of the most iconic artefacts of Celtic presence in Transylvania. Despite its artistic magnificence, it remains one of the most overlooked examples of Celtic art in Europe. However, the artefact's significance extends beyond its appearance; it embodies the story of its discovery and its journey through the turbulent history of South-Eastern Europe in the 20th century, acting as a powerful metaphor for the political and intellectual currents of its time.[1] To properly evaluate its importance for Celtic archaeology, a century after its initial publication, we need to reconsider both the history of its publications and the circulation and development of its imagery.

Introducing it to the world

Being one of the most renowned Celtic "burials" from Transylvania, the assemblage of artefacts, mainly referred to as the "grave" from Silivaş, has appeared repeatedly in literature. However, it has been discussed in detail only a few times. Its frequent mention in various topics mainly stems from its extraordinary composition, notably the presence of a fragment of an iconic sword type and the decorated helmet.

The initial publication treated the assemblage as the demonstration of the Celtic migration to the East.[2] Its presentation included a short description of each object, which, from the beginning, was a bit more focused on the sword and the helmet than the rest of the inventory. It is essential to note that Márton Roska, when discussing the helmet, considered the neck-guard to be attached to the front of the helmet, serving as a peak.[3] This consideration, together with the preservation and the fact that the piece was decorated, influenced his decision on how to position the artefact on the illustration.

It took 50 years for the perception of Celtic archaeology to shift; greater emphasis was placed on analysing the finds, which revealed problems with the assemblage's coherence. This was not only due to the development of archaeological knowledge and methodology, but also, and most importantly, to the increase in the number of Celtic sites and finds in the Transylvanian region. In the 1970s, the first analysis dedicated to interpreting the assemblage was published, presenting arguments that questioned its coherence and integrity. The author, using data from the museum's inventory book as well as older literature, was Ion H. Crişan.[4] In his discussion, he presented the major publication on the earliest Celtic presence in Transylvania, debated its chronology in particular, and provided an extensive catalogue of known sites. Most significant was the departure from the practice of reproducing illustrations from the original publication and the introduction of the first modern visual illustrations of the helmet.[5]

[1] Fábián 2019; Urák, Kavur 2024.
[2] Roska 1925, 210.
[3] Roska 1925, 212.
[4] Crişan 1973, 45.
[5] Crişan 1973, Fig. 4b.

Decades later, the assemblage drew the interest of Aurel Rustoiu, who revisited the context, placed individual finds within a broader cultural framework, and, most importantly, presented these results to the international scientific community.[6] Regarding the reliability of the assemblage, he cited the assumptions of a museum curator at the National Museum of Transylvanian History that some mixing might have occurred during the registration of the finds and that the finds might not have originated from Silivaş at all. Conversely, he convincingly demonstrated that the material does not constitute a culturally and, most importantly, chronologically coherent entity, indicating that the assemblage presented in the original publication as the inventory of a single burial should not be regarded as such.[7]

Mentioning the helmet

After M. Roska's publication, the assemblage was discussed in detail only by I. H. Crişan and A. Rustoiu; however, in broader discussions, it held a prominent position and frequently appeared in the literature. Generally, by observing when the find is mentioned, the argument structures, and the artefacts selected from the assemblage that different authors discuss, we can divide the texts into three main groups of archaeological narratives. The first and most numerous are publications that mention the discovery when talking about the earliest Celtic occupation of Transylvania and/or Romania. Mainly authored by local specialists and published locally, these publications do not explore the finds in detail but instead interpret their historical significance. Silivaş is one of the most frequently referenced sites in overviews of Celtic occupation in Transylvania, Romania, and South-East Europe. In the decades following its publication, it became a prominent argument for the migration of Celts, characterised by their distinctive material culture and burial rites, at the end of the Early La Tène period,[8] and it has remained so ever since.[9]

The second group consists of publications discussing the weaponry in the assemblage, especially the Hatvan-Boldog-type sword. Here, the focus broadens slightly but remains limited to interpreting material culture within the context of broader regional historical processes. After I. H. Crişan's review in the early seventies, the rhetoric became more specific. When analysing the material culture in the assemblage, the preserved chape-end of the Hatvan-Boldog-type sword – an iconic piece of global importance for early Celtic weaponry – was often used as a metaphor for the spread of Celtic sword bearers during their migrations.[10] Furthermore, it was indirectly proposed to designate the sword type henceforth as the Hatvan-Boldog-Silivaş type.[11]

The third, and least numerous, group includes publications discussing Celtic art, particularly in the context of helmets. These publications, authored and published by specialists worldwide, emphasise the importance of helmets and their decoration in Celtic creativity. They are fewer in number than the previous two groups but are more diverse

[6] Rustoiu 1994; Rustoiu 2012b; Rustoiu 2013; Rustoiu 2018.

[7] Rustoiu 1994; Rustoiu 2013.

[8] Márton 1933, 123–124; Nestor 1933, 153; Nestor 1937–1940, 179; Popescu 1944, 644; Hunyady 1944, 50; Hunyadi 1957, 226; Berciu 1966, 80.

[9] Szabó 1991, 161; Dietrich, Dietrich 2006, 16; Dunca 2011, 113.

[10] Zirra 1973, 802; Ferencz 2007, 124; Măndescu 2012, 344–345; Repka 2014, 586–587; Henţ 2019, 43; Stöllner 1998, 170.

[11] Rustoiu 2008, 102–103, Fig. 47; Rustoiu 2012a, 363–364, Fig. 6.

in their structure and focus. Notably, these publications have evolved in their narrative – initially centred on the extent of the widespread use of Waldalgesheim-style decorated items during Celtic migrations,[12] they shifted their focus to questions concerning how ideology and identity were expressed through the consumption and manipulation of decorated weaponry.

Reproductions of the helmet

In the history of archaeology, there have been few exceptional finds that were reproduced so frequently and for such an extended period in the form of illustrations prepared for the initial publication. The image of the helmet, which we can rightfully call standard, is based on drawings prepared by Albert Manz, the Transylvanian Museum Society's official draftsman, under the guidance of M. Roska for the initial publication. The helmet was reproduced at a scale of 1:3, with side buttons shown on each side at a scale of 2:3. The neck-guard below was also reproduced at a 2:3 scale.[13] The helmet was presented in a side view – highlighting its form, demonstrating the position of the decorated button, and emphasising the better-preserved part of the neck-guard in the foreground. The decorated button on the top of the helmet was clearly visible, but not enlarged as a standalone drawing. The calotte had a prominent corrosive hole facing the observer and a smaller hole on the right side. Through the large hole, one could see the inner side of the calotte, while the small hole showed that nothing was behind it, indicating that the back part was missing at that spot. The U-shaped, decorated band encircling the edge of the helmet ran from below the right decorative button to the middle of the neck-guard. Its decoration was clearly visible on both illustrations.

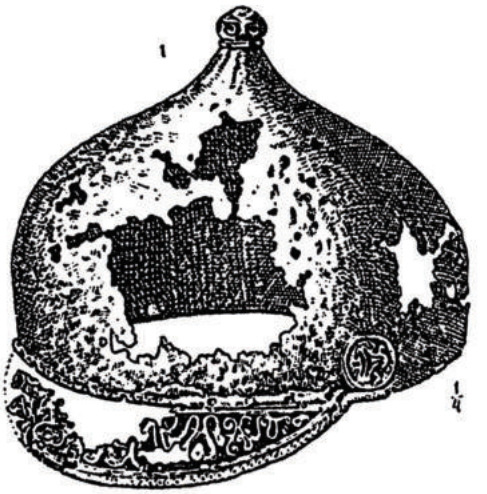


Fig. 1. Drawing of the helmet after Roska 1925, 211, Abb. 2.

[12] Szabó 1991, 161–162; Berecki 2008, 55.

[13] Roska 1925, 211, Abb. 2.

The author later reproduced the same illustration several times. The first Romanian-language publication in Arhivele Olteniei, in 1926, featured this illustration, but the reproduction was sharper than in the first publication.[14] Many other authors used and reproduced the illustration in its original form. It must have been considered an important piece of archaeological evidence since it was included in the works of others immediately after its publication. It appeared in numerous publications, although even in cases where the assemblage from Silivaș was not even mentioned in the text, for example, in publications such as Georg Wilke's text in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, published already in 1928.[15] It was also featured in publications by Vasile Pârvan[16] and reproduced several times by Lajos Márton.[17] It remained used as such for more than half a century.[18]

According to available copying technology, some authors reproduced the photograph of the original drawing, while others may have had access to the original drawing itself. When Mircea Rusu reproduced the standard drawing of the helmet as per M. Roska, the reproduction was of superior quality, never seen before in any other publication.[19] It seems that, later, some authors, although citing M. Roska, actually used the illustration published by M. Rusu, as in Ulrich Schaaf's typology.[20] In Celtic Art, perhaps the most well-known was the reproduction of M. Roska's drawing in Paul Jacobsthal's book on Early Celtic Art, published in 1944 and reprinted in 1969,[21] and the most circulated was Ulrich Schaaf's inclusion of helmets with attached neck-guard in the typological division.[22]

In recent decades, the appearance of the standard illustration from M. Roska has increasingly served as a representation of the historical legacy, highlighting the antiquity of the debate surrounding the find. For example, A. Rustoiu included the original illustrations multiple times in his discussions, as did several other authors later.[23]

At the start of the forties, the first photographs of the helmet were published. In 1942, Ilona Hunyady included a picture of the right side of the helmet and the separated neck guard in her illustrative review of Celtic finds in the Carpathian Basin.[24] The helmet's orientation follows the perspective established in M. Roska's drawing. The photo highlights the poor preservation of the item, revealing a large corrosion hole in the calotte. Now, for the first time, we can observe the reverse side of the calotte, where it is evident that the back of the helmet is broken off, and several parts of the decorative band with visible holes for rivets are still preserved and attached to the calotte. The missing section of the decorative band is visible on the detached neck-guard. Additionally, the U-shaped decorative band is preserved on the right side of the neck-guard.

[14] Roska 1926, 51, Fig. IIa; Roska 1942, 210, no. 33, Fig. 249; Roska 1944, 70, Fig. 89.
[15] Wilke 1927–1928, Taf. 38.
[16] Pârvan 1926, Fig. 2; Pârvan 1937, 120, Fig. 52.
[17] Márton 1933, 50, Fig. 10; Márton 1933–1934, Tab. LVII.
[18] Vulpe, Popescu 1960, 235; Rusu, Bandula 1970, Pl. XIX; Schaaf 1974, 169, Abb. 21; Rustoiu 1994, 299, Abb. 1.
[19] Rusu 1969, 287, Abb. 9.
[20] Schaaf 1974, 169, Abb. 21.
[21] Jacobsthal 1969, Pl. 82/142.
[22] Schaaf 1974, 169, Abb. 21; Bottini, Egg, von Hase, Pflug, Schaaff 1988.
[23] Rustoiu 1994, 299, Abb. 1; Rustoiu 2013, 220, Fig. 1; Rustoiu 2018, 77, Abb. 129; Ferencz 2007, Lp. LX; Repka 2014, 587, Obr. 6, A, 1; Repka 2015, 172, Obr. 93, A.
[24] Hunyady 1942, Pl. XLVIII/1–2.



Fig. 2. Photography of the helmet after Hunyady 1942, Pl. XLVIII/1–2.

The most significant publication for the broader international dissemination of the helmet appeared in 1944. P. Jacobsthal included it in his monumental overview of *Early Celtic Art in Europe*. His selection of illustrations clearly reflected his intent. Besides the M. Roska-published drawing of the helmet, which was chosen as the ideal representation of the entire object, he focused on the decorative details. As a result, he reproduced a large photograph of the right decorative button and a picture of the neck guard, both from the same perspective as Roska's drawing.[25] Furthermore, it is worth noting that the pictures reproduced in the book are no longer found in the P. Jacobsthal Archive at the University of Oxford. However, there are two additional photographs of the helmet and a letter from M. Roska, listing all previous publications of the find.

Half a century after the initial illustration was published, and a quarter of a century after detailed photographs became available, it was time to make significant changes to its presentation. On one side, this resulted from shifts in standards for archaeological illustrations – ideas about how artefacts should be displayed evolved, as did reproduction technologies. Photographs allowed for more accurate depictions, especially when focusing on opulently decorated items. Conversely, the condition of the helmet itself also changed – reconstructed and with missing or damaged parts replaced through modern interventions.

According to the documentation held in the archive of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, the helmet was proposed for "cleaning, preserving (as well as completing)" on December 6, 1966. During this procedure, a substantial original iron component, the U-shaped band running along the edge of the neck-guard and the calotte, fixing them together, well preserved according to the photographs and intricately decorated, was removed and subsequently lost. In the helmet's history, this is not just an unfortunate

[25] Jacobsthal 1969, Pl. 82/142.

moment of functional intervention but a tragic one, since the original part was replaced with a modern one that was not decorated in the same manner. It consequently changed the visual image of the helmet significantly.

In 1973, in his revision of the Silivaș discovery, I. H. Crișan[26] reproduced for the first time a photograph of the reconstructed helmet and neck-guard. The helmet was photographed from the right side, from below.[27] Despite the poor quality of the photograph, it is clearly recognisable that a smoother mass now fills the hole in the calotte visible in previous depictions, and the neck guard is attached as well as encompassed by an added U-shaped band. Additionally, the part of the original U-shaped band depicted in earlier illustrations and photographs is now missing, replaced by a modern version whose details are not visible. The image was also reproduced almost 40 years later by Mihai Dunca.[28]



Fig. 3. Photography of the helmet after Crișan 1973, 74, Fig. 4.

An image of the same side of the helmet was also included in the museum's 1998 exhibition guide leaflet.[29] In this picture, the helmet, strongly tilted forward, suggests that the photographer followed M. Roska's idea and viewed the neck-guard as the helmet's frontal peak. Despite the inappropriate position and the relatively low quality of the reproduction, it remains one of the images in which the original decoration of the neck-guard is clearly visible. This image also allows us to evaluate, for the first time, the extent of the unfortunate replacement of the U-shaped band that connects the calotte and the neck-guards, as its inadequacy and difference from the original decoration are now more than clearly visible.

Modern standards of photographic documentation were established approximately 20 years ago, when Mariana Egri captured a series of helmet photographs, which appeared in various publications over the following decade. Initially, it was Iosif Vasile Ferencz who published the rear view of the helmet and a magnified image of the neck-guard.[30] Both photographs show a symmetrical image, highlighting the ornament, and the relationship between the originally preserved and reconstructed sections is evident from differences in surface smoothness and shine.

[26] Crișan 1973, 74, Fig. 4.
[27] Crișan 1973, 74, Fig. 4a.
[28] Dunca 2011, 120, Fig. 5a.
[29] Iaroslavschi, Crișan, Gheorghiu 1998, 5, Fig. 2.
[30] Ferencz 2007, Pl. LXI/1–2.



Fig. 4. Photography of the helmet after Ferencz 2007, Pl. LXI.

This was followed by the reproduction of the right-side view of the helmet that Sándor Berecki published.[31] Showing it in a horizontally balanced position, he noted that A. Rustoiu had provided him with the photos. However, since it is reproduced on a small scale, it does not allow for detailed observation. Later, Dominik Repka published two views of the helmet – quoting only Ferencz, he used the full back view published by I. V. Ferencz, as well as, without reference, the right-side view from S. Berecki.[32]

A. Rustoiu published the largest images.[33] The first depicted a general view of the right side, with the helmet not positioned horizontally.[34] Because of the photograph's high quality, it is clearly visible where, during the restoration process, missing parts were replaced and reconstructed – most notably the U-shaped band along the edge. The same photo in reduced size was also used multiple times on maps showing the distribution of helmets with attached neck-guards.[35] Meanwhile, the left side of the helmet, unfortunately depicted very small, was reproduced only once by A. Rustoiu and S. Berecki.[36]



Fig. 5. Photography of the helmet after Rustoiu 2013, 221–222, Figs. 4–6.

[31] Berecki 2010, 73, Figs. 5–6.
[32] Repka 2015, 77, Obr. 32.
[33] Rustoiu 2013, 221–222, Figs. 4–6.
[34] Rustoiu 2013, 221, Fig. 4.
[35] Rustoiu 2013, 223, Fig. 7; Rustoiu 2015, 18, Fig. 11; Rustoiu 2018, 80, Abb. 132.
[36] Rustoiu, Berecki 2019, 162, Fig. 6/2; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2019, 48, Fig. 6.

Over the past twenty years, the helmet has been displayed in major exhibitions in Germany and Italy, showcasing the archaeological heritage of the Celts from Romania. Both exhibitions were accompanied by lavishly illustrated catalogues that depicted the helmet. In the *Roms unbekante Grenze* catalogue, two new photographs, taken by Stefanie Friedrich, were used to illustrate the text written by A. Rustoiu.[37] Once again, the right side was photographed, but this time the helmet was positioned vertically. The second photograph showed the back of the helmet with the decorated neck-guard. Unfortunately, both images were reproduced at a small scale, making any detailed observation beyond the helmet's pure form impossible.

In the second catalogue, *Dacia: L'ultima frontiera della romanità*, the photograph of the helmet covers the entire page.[38] On the left side, the size and quality of the reproduction indicate that the calotte was restored. Moreover, the small section of the original neck-guard stands out due to its different surface texture, making the reconstructed part and the modern band clearly distinguishable.

Reproductions of the neck guard

The most significant element of the helmet, the decorated neck guard, has its own history of publications. In the initial article in which M. Roska presented the helmet, he later highlighted the most decorated yet poorly preserved part by reproducing it at a larger scale than the entire helmet. To improve its visibility, he projected the drawing but did not align it symmetrically with the whole piece; he positioned the preserved part in the centre of the page.[39]

Below the helmet and buttons was reproduced the magnified and straightened image of the neck-guard, reproduced in ½ of the original size. The image was also off-centred, tilted slightly to the right, to place the better-preserved side, with all its details, in the foreground as much as possible. The author intended to present as clearly as possible the better-preserved part of the decoration. And in doing so, with his attention to detail, he also revealed numerous details about the helmet's construction. On the upper right-side edge, it is visible that the decorative band, which covered the joint of the calotte and the neck-guard, was only partly preserved. It is depicted between the holes of the missing 2nd and 3rd rivet on the right side. It is also visible that the attached sheet metal of the calotte extends a bit further above the band and the holes. The profiled edge decoration of the neck-guard is clearly visible, and only on the right side is the decorated U-shaped band, which encloses and fixes together the edges of the calotte and the neck-guard.

This illustration allowed viewers to examine its decorative details for over fifty years and also revealed the artefact's condition. As a result, it was considered one of the most important pieces of Celtic visual art. It was reproduced in P. Jacobsthal's influential work, guiding the interpretation of early Celtic art,[40] and later featured in overviews of Celtic iron helmet typology across Europe.[41]

[37] Rustoiu 2018, 80, Abb. 131.

[38] Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2023, 99.

[39] Roska 1925, 51, Fig. IIa.

[40] Jacobsthal 1969, Pl. 82/142.

[41] Schaaf 1974, 169, Abb. 21; Bottini, Egg, von Hase, Pflug, Schaaff 1988.



Fig. 6. Drawing of the neck-guard after Roska 1925, 51, Fig. IIa.

The first photograph of the neck-guard was published in 1942 by Ilona Hunyady. Not as a projection, but shown as a side view, the picture emphasises the preserved part in the foreground. The photography of the neck guard was, contrary to the above positioned photography of the helmet, of amazing quality and sharpness, allowing the detailed observation of the decorated part. Nonetheless, there is a colour variation; a darker patch suggests that the fragment of the decorative D-shaped band on the upper right side between the rivets, still visible in M. Roska's illustration, might be absent in the photograph.[42]



Fig. 7. Photography of the helmet after Hunyady 1942, Pl. XLVIII/1–2.

The second most important piece of documentation for the item was the 1944 photograph. It was P. Jacobsthal who, alongside M. Roska's drawing, added a detailed, high-quality reproduction photograph of the neck guard and a large image of the right decorative button. In the pictures, we can clearly observe the changes, indicating the deterioration in condition between the first illustration and the photograph taken a quarter of a century later. The photo of the neck guard was taken from the same angle as seen in M. Roska's original publication drawing.[43] From notes in the P. Jacobsthal archive and his correspondence with M. Roska, we learn that it was the later that provided the photos. Therefore, we should again thank M. Roska for the clarity of the image and the perspective, and for highlighting the preserved, decorated part of the neck guard. By tilting it slightly forward and masterfully lighting it, the shadows were enhanced, creating contrasts in the profiled decoration, making the photograph much more illustrative. Showing the plate's decorations and the band along its edge was the most important reproduction of the original decoration, which comprised two construction elements. On the right side, between the

[42] Hunyady 1942, Pl. XLVIII/1–2.

[43] Jacobsthal 1969, Pl. 82/142.

second and third rivet hole, it is clearly visible – due to the different colour of the patina – that the fragment of the decorative D-shaped band shown in the first illustration was now missing. Based on the shading in Hunyady, we could assume that the part had already been lost before. Additionally, it is worth noting that the images reproduced in the book from the Jacobsthal Archive at the University of Oxford are not preserved. However, two extra photographs of the helmet are available there.



Fig. 8. Photography of the helmet after Jacobsthal 1969, Pl. 82/142.

A few years after Jacobstahl's second publication, in 1971, Vlad Zirra created a drawing of the helmet's neck-guard as a "reconstruction attempt".[44] In this, he depicted the now-reconstructed item and focused on the decoration to create a symmetrical ornament. His drawing also omitted the once-important decorative elements – the decorated D-shaped band above and the U-shaped band along the edge. Both were initially designed to connect the helmet components – the calotte and the neck guard – and were richly decorated with intricate patterns. Sadly, the original U-shaped band was removed during restoration at the end of the sixties and replaced with a new band. Since then, the trace of the original, which was clearly visible and well preserved in early reproductions, has disappeared. Unfortunately, the new band was adorned with a simplified ornament, deviating significantly from the original, thereby severely altering and diminishing the item's artistic complexity and value.

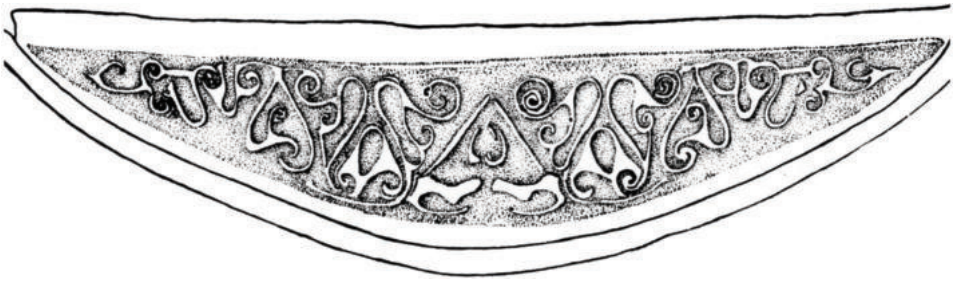


Fig. 9. Drawing of the neck-guard after Zirra 1971, 184, Abb. 4.

A few years later, I. H. Crișan also presented photographs of the reconstructed neck guard, detailing its new appearance.[45] For the first time, the perspective changed. Following the illustrations published by V. Zirra, the object was photographed from above and in a central, symmetrical position. Unfortunately, due to the poor quality of the photograph, it is unclear what is original and what was added during reconstruction. The picture also

[44] Zirra 1971, 184, Abb. 4.

[45] Crișan 1973, 74, Fig. 4b.

contains another difficult-to-explain detail – the helmet photo shows the neck guard attached. In contrast, the photo of the neck guard appears to have been taken before it was connected back. This might also be assumed because of the clearly visible decoration, consisting of oblique lines and points, on the decorated U-shaped band along the edge of the helmet. In contrast, this decoration is absent on the edge of the neck guard. Furthermore, on the preserved upper right side, a section with rivet holes that was later covered by a new D-shaped band is still visible, while the reconstructed left side is covered with an undecorated band. Therefore, we can assume that this is a photo of the neck guard taken during the restoration and reconstruction process, after it was reconstructed and before it was attached to the calotte with the new decorative bands. The image was also reproduced on a small scale nearly 40 years later by M. Dunca.[46]



Fig. 10. Photo of the neck guard after Crișan 1973, Fig. 4b.

To enhance the clarity of the decoration, V. Zirra's illustration was later redrawn in publications focused on Celtic art, most notably in the compendium of decorated swords in the Carpathian Basin authored by Miklós Szabó and Éva Petres (Fig. 11).[47] Although mainly based on V. Zirra's illustration, the image was slightly refined, with several lines emphasising the key features of the ornament. The band along the edge was marked but left undecorated. Additionally, in the caption of the illustration, they did not cite V. Zirra, from which they obviously took the base for their illustration, but referenced the 1974 publication by U. Schaaf that included the original M. Roska drawing.[48] The additional value of the created image, although only barely visible to a careful observer, is that the right, preserved side of the neck-guard is drawn with slightly stronger, darker lines, creating a depiction that is more emphasised on the right side.

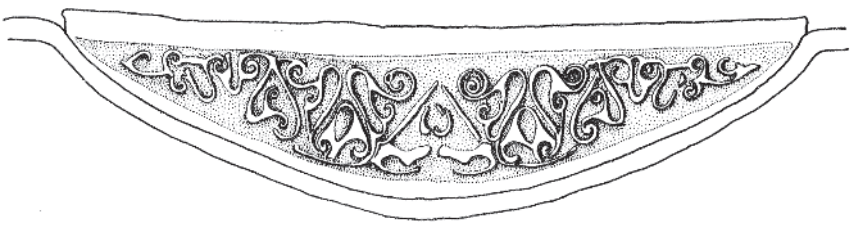


Fig. 11. Drawing of the neck-guard after Szabó, Petres 1992, 21, Fig. 5.

[46] Dunca 2011, 120, Fig. 5a.
[47] Szabo, Petres 1992, 21, Fig. 5.
[48] Schaaf 1974, 169, Abb. 21.

An interesting reconstruction of the ornament, and perhaps the most detailed from the later period, was published by I. V. Ferencz in 2007 (Fig. 12).[49] It was not intended as a reproduction of the helmet's part, but as an aesthetic decoration, finishing every chapter of his book. The image was rotated, with the distal part now being positioned at the top, and all the details, such as the band, were omitted, though emphasising the artistic value of the complex composition.



Fig. 12. Drawing of the neck-guard after Ferencz 2007, 18, 26, 36, 52.

Finally, Felix Müller later redesigned the illustration of the decoration in a reduced form in his extensive overviews of Celtic Art (Fig. 13).[50] It was transformed into a flattened black-and-white line art image, with the ornaments filled in black to make them more visible. At the end of its transformation, the image of the reconstructed neck-guard became an idealised reconstruction of the ornament. Slightly thicker lines on the right side suggest that the base used to create the image was the drawing by M. Szabó and É. F. Petres.



Fig. 13. Drawing of the neck-guard after Müller 2009, 281/60; Müller 2012, 299, 406.

But in the most important publications in the last decades, the illustrations were replaced by nearly centrally positioned, large-scale colour photographs of the neck guard. They were reproduced for the first time by I. V. Ferencz[51] and subsequently used also by A. Rustoiu[52] and A. Rustoiu and S. Berecki (Fig. 14).[53] On them, one can clearly observe the state of preservation of the item – this is the difference in the structure of the weathered original right side and the reconstructed smooth left side. Especially, A. Rustoiu attempted to document in detail the state of the helmet, adding a second photograph, focusing on the left side of the neck guard,[54] the section that was mainly reconstructed. Reaching a broad international audience, the photo was incorporated into the *Lexicon zur keltischen*

[49] Ferencz 2007, 18, 26, 36, 52.
[50] Müller 2009, 281/60; Müller 2012, 299, 406.
[51] Ferencz 2007, Pl. LXI/2.
[52] Rustoiu 2012b, 1710; Rustoiu 2013, 222, Fig. 5.
[53] Rustoiu, Berecki 2019, 162, Fig. 6/2.
[54] Rustoiu 2013, 222, Fig. 6.

Archäologie[55] and has been referenced several times later by Athanasios Sideris in his discussions of the palmette motif.[56]



Fig. 14. Photo of the neck-guard after Ferencz 2007, Pl. LXI/2; Rustoiu 2012b, 1710.

Concluding remarks

The iron helmet from the assemblage of artefacts coming from Silivaș is not just one of the most important discoveries of Early Celtic art in Transylvania and Romania, but also in Europe. As such, it deserves an overview of its appearances in archaeological literature, from the initial to the latest publications. In a previous discussion, we demonstrated how the peregrination of the collection can be used to illustrate the turbulent political circumstances in 20th-century Europe and the development of institutions and of archaeology as a scientific discipline within them in Transylvania. In this discussion, we not only present the history of publications but also demonstrate the development of archaeological standards and documentation trends, as illustrated by the depictions of the helmet and neck guard. Although biased, the first drawing documented the item's initial state of preservation and, as such, became an important document illustrating Celtic Art in Transylvania. Subsequent drawings changed, especially after they tried to reconstruct the item's visual appearance, omitting information about its preservation and focusing on its artistic expression. This trend led to a gradual reduction in detail and an emphasis on the form of the decoration.

But by observing the publications, we witnessed how, in the middle of the last century, photography was positioned as an alternative to archaeological illustration. And it was precisely through the reproduction of photographs that we were able to observe how the helmet underwent a significant restoration, with large portions of the decorated neck guard added. Even worse, parts of the original helmet, such as the U- and D-shaped, decorated iron bands that once held the individual parts together, were removed during the restoration, subsequently lost, and replaced with new, incorrectly decorated elements, fundamentally changing its appearance. Although the restoration helped to slow its natural decay, it created a false sense of completeness in the helmet.

Unfortunately, due to technological limitations, photographic depictions and reproductions were unable to present detailed visual information about the form and

[55] Rustoiu 2012b, 1710.

[56] Sideris 2021, 39, Fig. 17e; Sideris 2024, 69, Fig. 15e.

decoration of the helmet for a long time. Consequently, due to its narrative clarity, the initial illustration published by M. Roska remained in use by archaeologists for decades. As one of the most often depicted original illustrations, it is living a life of its own as a historical document of the development of archaeology. Its "long life" in archaeological literature testifies to its initial quality – the visual clarity and its potential for archaeological interpretation. It took considerable time and an intellectual shift within archaeology, as well as changes in the standards and quality of illustrations in archaeological publications, for the image to become partly obsolete as a primary source of visual information and to be replaced by photography.

The major shift in documentary standards took place only in recent decades, when colour photographs were reproduced in larger sizes and higher quality in publications and began to be considered a proper replacement for illustrations. Unfortunately, numerous circulating photographs do not conform to modern principles of archaeological documentation. Many images of the helmet are unbalanced and lack perspective, failing to document its form and typology accurately. Still, it is these photographs that take us back to the beginning, enabling us to recognise and observe the original preserved portions of the helmet.

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Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 53–91

STATUT CIVIL ET CONDITION JURIDIQUE DES ENFANTS EN DACIE ROMAINE

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.04

Abstract: CIVIL STATUS AND LEGAL CONDITION OF CHILDREN IN ROMAN DACIA. The main purpose of this article is to examine the civil status and legal condition of children in Roman Dacia, because people did not have a uniform legal regime, as their statuses varied from case to case. Regarding children, their legal condition was determined by the legal status of their parents as well as by the type of marital union between them. Based on this research, it is found that all three forms of marriage were present in the province of Dacia; however, the children born from these unions inherited a specific status, which they derived from the mother (in cases where the marriage was not legally recognized) or from the father (if the marriage was legally valid). The study highlights the main categories found in the province of Dacia, also focusing on particular cases encountered there. This research is mainly based on the study of funerary inscriptions and primary sources.

Keywords: civil status; Roman law; child; funerary inscriptions; forms of marital union.

Résumé: Le présent article a pour principal objectif l'étude du statut civil et de la condition juridique des enfants en Dacie romaine, en tenant compte du fait que le régime juridique des individus n'était pas uniforme, ceux-ci ayant des statuts différents selon les cas. En ce qui concerne les enfants, leur condition juridique est déterminée par celle de leurs parents, mais aussi par l'union conjugale contractée entre ces derniers. À partir de ces recherches, il apparaît qu'en Dacie, les trois formes de mariage reconnues par le droit romain ont été pratiquées, mais les enfants issus de ces unions avaient un statut déterminé, celui-ci était hérité de la mère (si le mariage n'était pas légalement reconnu), ou du père (dans le cas d'un mariage légal). L'étude mettra en lumière les principales catégories rencontrées dans la province, tout en soulignant également certains cas particuliers. Cette recherche se base principalement sur l'étude des inscriptions funéraires et des sources primaires.

Mots-clés: statut civil; droit romain; enfant; inscriptions funéraires; formes d'union conjugale.

Rezumat: Scopul principal al articolului de față este cercetarea statutului civil și a condiției juridice a copiilor în Dacia romană, ținând cont de faptul că regimul oamenilor nu era uniform, ei având statute diferite de la caz la caz. În ceea ce îi privește pe copii, condiția lor juridică este determinată de condiția juridică a părinților, dar și de uniunea conjugală încheiată între ei. Pe baza acestor cercetări se constată faptul că în provincia Dacia au fost încheiate toate cele trei forme de căsătorie, însă copiii rezultați aveau un anumit statut, pe care îl moșteneau de la mamă (în cazul în care căsătoria nu este recunoscută din punct de vedere legal) sau de la tată (în cazul în care căsătoria este legală). Cercetarea va reliefa principalele categorii întâlnite în provincia Dacia, punând accent și pe cazurile particulare. Această cercetare are la bază în special studiul inscripțiilor funerare și al surselor primare.

Cuvinte-cheie: statut civil; drept roman; copil; inscripții funerare; forme de uniune conjugală.

Avec la conquête de la Dacie et sa transformation en province romaine, le processus de romanisation a commencé et de nouvelles normes économiques, sociales et juridiques ont été imposées pour réguler la vie sociale et familiale. La population était diverse, composée de citoyens (eux-mêmes de statuts variés: colons, vétérans, affranchis), de pérégrins, de populations autochtones et d'esclaves. La société était bien structurée, et certains groupes ont été étudiés séparément, bien qu'ils aient vécu dans les mêmes communautés, et même si certains n'avaient pas un rôle politique. Il est donc important de noter que ces groupes se distinguaient non seulement sur le plan juridique, mais aussi social et économique. Par exemple, les pérégrins ou les esclaves se trouvaient souvent à la base de la pyramide sociale, mais cela ne signifiait pas nécessairement qu'ils étaient inférieurs. Juridiquement, ils ne jouissaient pas de tous les droits, ce qui représentait une limitation, toutefois, socialement, leur statut pouvait parfois s'avérer avantageux dans certaines situations[1].

Les sources épigraphiques constituent l'outil primordial dans ce type de recherche. Une analyse attentive de tous ces groupes révèle une société très diversifiée. Toutefois, ces sources doivent être analysées de manière critique, car seules certaines personnes pouvaient se permettre de faire ériger des épitaphes[2]. En effet, les citoyens romains sont plus fréquemment attestés (qu'ils aient acquis la citoyenneté à la naissance ou ultérieurement), ce qui peut parfois induire en erreur, car plusieurs facteurs doivent être pris en compte. De nombreuses inscriptions sont fragmentaires, et il est souvent impossible de déduire la relation entre la personne qui a érigé l'inscription et celle à laquelle elle est dédiée. À partir de l'année 212, tous ont reçu la citoyenneté, de nombreuses inscriptions provenant également de cette période.

En droit romain, le statut juridique des enfants dépendait toujours de celui des parents et de l'union conjugale qui les liait[3]. Les familles en Dacie étaient souvent mixtes: entre un citoyen et une pérégrine, entre un pérégrin et une citoyenne, entre un esclave et une citoyenne, et inversement. La qualité de citoyen romain était essentielle, tant dans l'Empire qu'en Dacie, car elle garantissait dans la majorité des cas l'accès à l'ensemble des droits, facilitant l'ascension sociale. La citoyenneté était accordée à celui qui appartenait à une *gens* (famille romaine), et l'existence du droit au mariage assurait la citoyenneté aux enfants à naître. Ainsi, les citoyens étaient appelés „les enfants de leur père", car eux seuls avaient légalement un père[4].

Cependant, il faut noter que le statut civil de citoyen romain ne signifiait pas nécessairement une égalité juridique parfaite, les citoyens eux-mêmes pouvaient avoir des régimes juridiques différents. Par exemple, un affranchi héritait de la condition de son ancien maître. Si ce patron était citoyen romain, l'affranchi obtenait aussi la citoyenneté, mais jamais tous les droits (*ius honorum*). Il restait soumis à des obligations envers son

[1] Varga 2014, 45.

[2] Ardevan 1998, 12.

[3] Gai. *Inst*. I 56: *Iustas autem nuptias contraxisse liberosque iis procreatos in potestate habere cives Romani ita intelleguntur, si cives Romanas uxores duxerint vel etiam Latinas peregrinasve, cum quibus conubium habeant: Cum enim conubium id efficiat, ut liberi patris condicionem sequantur, evenit, ut non solum cives Romani fiant, sed et in potestate patris sint.*

[4] Mommsen 1987, 51.

patron, à qui il devait obéissance *obsequium*, et ne pouvait pas l'attaquer en justice[5]. Une différence existait entre les affranchis et leurs descendants, ces derniers étant mieux intégrés dans la société[6].

Les enfants ont déjà été classés comme légitimes ou illégitimes[7], mais le problème soulevé ici est lié à leur condition juridique (*spurius filius* / *notus*)[8]. Il est pourtant difficile de soutenir que ces enfants ne connaissaient pas leur père. Dans de nombreux cas, la mère et le père portent le même gentilice, et l'absence du nom du père sur une inscription ne signifie pas nécessairement que les enfants sont nés hors mariage. Il existe donc plusieurs interprétations possibles[9].

On observe une nette différence entre le statut des parents et celui que les enfants acquièrent, en fonction des formes d'unions conjugales, de plus en plus diverses. L'illégitimité d'un parent ne signifie pas forcément que l'enfant hérite de ce statut. On le constate notamment chez les militaires, qui s'engagent pour obtenir certains privilèges. Un militaire pérégrin, même sans la citoyenneté, possède néanmoins sa propre citoyenneté[10], et après le service militaire, il obtient des privilèges pour lui-même et sa famille. Les enfants jouissent alors d'un statut comparable à celui d'un enfant né de parents citoyens romains. Ces enfants peuvent profiter de tous les droits fondamentaux que le parent non citoyen n'avait pas (droit de vote, droit d'être élu magistrat)[11].

En Dacie on trouve également des enfants de pérégrins, mais les inscriptions mentionnant des mariages entre eux sont peu nombreuses. Par ailleurs, nous ne savons rien des enfants des populations autochtones. Au fil du temps, il semble que leur statut civil et juridique ait été modifié, d'abord considérés comme pérégrins déditices, leur statut a évolué, leur permettant ensuite de s'enrôler dans l'armée[12]. Les enfants des pérégrins ne bénéficiaient pas des mêmes privilèges, notamment en matière de biens, car un militaire non citoyen pouvait faire un testament et transmettre ses biens à ses descendants[13]. De tels cas sont attestés en Dacie, où un soldat désigne souvent un camarade comme héritier, car il est plus difficile de désigner ses enfants comme tels[14].

Concernant l'institution matrimoniale, elle a subi plusieurs transformations au fil du temps, le *contubernium* et le concubinage restant des unions non reconnues légalement[15]. L'absence de consentement entraînait la non-reconnaissance du mariage. Peu importe que les partenaires soient *sui iuris* (juridiquement indépendants) ou *alieni iuris* (juridiquement dépendants), un accord était nécessaire, soit entre les deux, soit de la part des parents[16]. En théorie, très peu de personnes pouvaient être considérées comme citoyens romains à part entière, car les membres d'une famille étaient soumis à l'autorité du *pater familias*,

[5] Andreau 2001, 165–169.
[6] Andreau 2001, 175.
[7] Stănescu 2003, 33.
[8] Stănescu 2003, 38.
[9] Voir IDR III/3, 185.
[10] Varga 2014, 15.
[11] Varga 2009, 22–23.
[12] Ardevan 2017, 76–77.
[13] Hanga 2010, 225.
[14] Voir IDR III/1, 87.
[15] En ce qui concerne les formes d'union conjugale, voir Stănescu 2000, Stănescu 2004.
[16] Paraschiv 2011, 104–108.

seul détenteur de la pleine capacité juridique[17]. Ainsi, dans de nombreuses familles, le grand-père exerçait l'autorité sur ses enfants et petits-enfants.

I. Citoyens

a) Enfants citoyens nés d'un mariage légal (ils prennent la condition du père)

IDR II 13: *T(ito) Ael(io) T(iti) Ael(ii) Zeuxi fil(io) Pa[p(iria) (tribu)] / Aeliano IIviro fla[mini] / patrono col(onia) Drob(etensium) eq[uestrem] / [statuam pos(uit). Ho]nore c[ont(entus)] / [sumptum remisit].*

L'inscription est dédiée à Titus Aelius Aelianus par la colonie de Drobeta, dont il était le patron au moment de l'érection de la statue équestre. Titus Aelius Aelianus provient d'une famille de citoyens romains de l'élite de la colonie, comme l'indiquent les charges locales qu'il occupe. Il est duumvir et également flamine. L'inscription mentionne sa filiation et montre qu'il a hérité du *gentilicium* et du *praenomen* de son père. Elle mentionne également la tribu à laquelle il appartient, ce qui est un critère propre aux citoyens romains. Titus Aelius est un fils légitime d'un étranger non-citoyen romain (Titus Aelius Zeuxis) qui a servi dans une troupe auxiliaire et a reçu la citoyenneté par un diplôme militaire, ce qui lui a permis d'acquérir le droit de mariage pour lui et sa famille.

IDR II 34: *D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae Gratae / filiae Iuli(us) Strato / (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII Fla(viae) et Aelia / Adaucta par(entes) fec(erunt).*

L'inscription funéraire présente la situation d'une jeune fille, dont la mère est citoyenne, tandis que le père est un militaire, plus précisément centurion dans la légion IV Flavia. Il s'agit d'une situation particulière, car à première vue, il semblerait que Iulia Grata soit un enfant qui devrait hériter de la condition de la mère, les parents n'ayant pas le *ius conubii*, ce qui la ferait considérer comme une enfant illégitime[18]. Toutefois, les descendants des centurions et des décurions des troupes auxiliaires recevaient la citoyenneté dès la naissance[19], ce qui signifie que Iulia Grata a été une enfant légitime.

b) Enfants citoyens romains nés d'une union illégale (ils prennent la condition de la mère)

IDR III/3, 365: *D(is) M(anibus) / Syrillioni / aedituo / qui vix(it) a(nnis) LXXXVIII / Liberalis Aug(ustorum duorum) / lib(ertus) a com(mentariis) / et Ael(ia) Victoria / patri b(ene) m(erenti).*

L'inscription ci-dessus est dédiée à Syrillio par ses deux enfants, Liberalis, qui est un affranchi, et Aelia Victoria, qui est une citoyenne romaine. Il est certain que les deux sont demi-frère et sœur, car ils ont des statuts juridiques distincts. En premier lieu, Liberalis est le résultat d'une union illégale (*contubernatus*) car il est affranchi, donc ancien esclave, ainsi, on peut affirmer que sa mère était également esclave, et que Syrillio était lui-même esclave, peut-être affranchi plus tard, mais il est peu probable que cela soit arrivé avant la naissance de Liberalis, qui est né esclave. Mais a néanmoins pris le statut de sa mère, devenant plus tard citoyen romain une fois affranchi. En second lieu, sa sœur, Aelia

[17] Lewis 2015, 127.

[18] Stănescu 2003, 46.

[19] Phang 2001, 79.

Victoria a le statut juridique de sa mère, à savoir celui de citoyenne romaine. Cependant, elle est une fille illégitime, car l'union entre ses parents était illégale juridiquement. Ainsi, on constate que les deux enfants sont citoyens romains, l'un dès la naissance, l'autre ayant reçu la citoyenneté une fois affranchi, étant finalement demi-frère et sœur. Si Liberalis est à la naissance parmi les *liberi naturales*, Aelia Victoria peut être considérée comme une *nota*, un enfant né hors mariage mais qui connaît son père. Cette inscription est intéressante également parce qu'elle indique plusieurs „mariages" possibles[20], ce qui signifie qu'il y avait des dissolutions de mariages en province, probablement pour des raisons physiques, et non nécessairement morales.

IDR III/2, 386: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(i)o Cimion(i) (?) / qui vix[it] ann(os) [---] m(enses) VI d(ies) XI / Synda (?) [scr]iba t[abu]/lari(i) filio dulcissi/[mo] et pientissimo p(osuit).*

L'inscription est érigée pour le fils d'un esclave, Synda. Toutefois, l'enfant ne reprend pas la condition de son père, ce qui signifie que sa mère possédait la citoyenneté romaine, compte tenu également du nom de l'enfant, Aurelius Cimio. Même si le nom de sa mère n'est pas mentionné, elle s'appelait très probablement Aurelia, étant donné que l'enfant a repris le *gentilicium*. Il convient également de mentionner que Synda ne possède aucun droit, de sorte que lui et sa compagne n'ont pas contracté une union légale d'un point de vue juridique. Aurelius Cimio est un enfant illégitime, ayant le statut de *notus*. Ce n'est pas un *spurius filius*, même s'il n'est pas reconnu par son père, mais un *notus*, comme nous l'avons appelé, car il connaît son père.

[20] Voir aussi d'autres inscriptions CIL III 804, 805, 808.

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
1.	IDR III/3, 347	Romanus affranchi impérial	Aurelia C(hreste) citoyenne romaine (cf. IDR III/3, 319)	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Ianuaria **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ampelum
2.	IDR II 645	Aurelius Gratus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Gratus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		?
3.	IDR II 646	-	Iulia Procula citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium* / *concubinatus*	Iulia Saturnina Iulius Diomedes **citoyens romains, fils illégitimes**	funéraire	Nous ne pouvons pas affirmer avec certitude la légitimité des enfants; le père peut porter le même gentilice	?
4.	IDR II 157	Caius Quintinius Victor citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Quintinius Iunior **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Afumați
5.	IDR III/5.1, 52	Titus Flavius Italicus citoyen romain	Statilia Lucia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Flavius Statilianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive	161–180	Apulum
6.	IDR III/4, 8	Titus Flavius Rufus citoyen romain vétéran	Iulia Maxima citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Flavia Venusta Flavius Maximus Flavius Rufinus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Apulum
7.	IDR III/5.1, 6	Publius Aelius Rufinus citoyen romain décurion du municipe	Ulpia Helpidia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Urbanus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Apulum
8.	IDR III/5.1, 7	Publius Aelius Syrus affranchi, *Augustalis*	Valeria Severa citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Syra **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	votive	-mention du *municipium Septimium* – 197–270	Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
9.	IDR III/5.1, 21	Caius Iulius Frontonianus citoyen romain vétéran de la Ve légion Macedonica Pia	Carteia Maxima citoyenne romaine	mariage legal *iustum matrimonium*	Iulia Frontina **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	votive	180–211	Apulum
10.	IDR III/5.1, 365, 195	Lucius Annius Italicus Honoratus citoyen romain *legatus Augusti*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Annius Italicus Annius Honoratus Annia Italica **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive	-Le père est *legatus legionis XIII Geminae Antoninianae* 215–217	Apulum
11.	IDR III/5.1, 203	Titus Flavius Flavianus affranchi, *Augustalis*	Aelia Vindia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Flavius Restutus Flavius Flavinus Flavius Ianuarius Flavius Flavianus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive		Apulum
12.	IDR III/5.1, 242	-	Petronia Celerina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super Marcus Comatius Exsuperatus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive	212–230	Apulum
13.	IDR III/5.1, 253	Titus Flavius Longinus citoyen romain vétéran de l'*ala II Pannoniorum*	Claudia Candida citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Flavius Longinus Flavia Clementina Flavia Marcellina **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive	117–180	Apulum
14.	IDR III/5.1, 388	Caius Iulius Valens citoyen romain	Quinta… citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Iulius Valens Caius Iulius Pasinicus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive		Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
15.	IDR III/5.1, 350	Marcius Victor Felix Maximillianus citoyen romain	Pullaiena Caeliana citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Marcius Victor Maximillianus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive	Ils font partie de l'ordre sénatorial, le père est *legatus Auggustorum legionis XIII Geminae* 198–209	Apulum
16.	IDR III/5.1, 323	Marcus Antonius Chrestus citoyen romain	-	mariage legal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Antonius Florentinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Apulum
17.	IDR III/5.1, 366	Lucius Iulius Leuganus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Iulius Paternus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Apulum
18.	IDR III/5.1, 397	Caius Valerius Salvius affranchi, *Augustalis*	Flavia Syra citoyenne romaine	mariage legal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Valerius Flavianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Apulum
19.	IDR III/5.2, 481	Publius Aelius Proclus citoyen romain vétéran	Aelia Claudia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius Proclinus Aelia Procla **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Apulum
20.	IDR III/5.2, 556	-	Floria Ingenua citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Mociuncius Valentinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
21.	IDR III/5.2, 574	Caius Sentius Flaccus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Sentius Flaccinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
22.	IDR III/5.2, 606	Ulpius Congonius citoyen romain	Aelia Valeria citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Ulpia Constantina **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
23.	IDR III/5.2, 613	Publius Urbicius Spectatus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Urbicius Condunus Urbicia Ingenua Urbicius Senilis **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Apulum
24.	IDR III/5.2, 483	Publius Aelius Silvanus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Fabia Lucilla **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire	Le père fait partie de l'ordre équestre	Apulum
25.	IDR III/5.2, 599	-	Verzovia Saturnina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Nummius Certus **citoyen romain, fils légitime** chevalier romain	funéraire		Apulum
26.	IDR III/5.2, 576	-	Sertoria Felicla citoyenne romaine, d'Aequum	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Vaternius Primigenius **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
27.	IDR III/5.2, 474	Aelius Crescens citoyen romain, ancien pérégrin	-	union non légale *contuberantus*	Ulpius Lupus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime** ***notus***	funéraire		Apulum
28.	IDR III/5.2, 489	Aemilius Hermes affranchi	Plotia citoyenne romaine?	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aemilia Plotia **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
29.	IDR III/5.2, 537	-	Ianuaria Titia citoyenne romaine	union non légale *contubernatus*	Ianuarius Romulus Ianuaria Pupa **- citoyens romains, fils illégitimes** ***spurii filii***	funéraire	Il est possible qu'il y ait aussi des enfants légitimes, mais l'absence du père dans l'inscription indique plutôt une illégitimité.	Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
30.	IDR III/5.2, 607	-	Ulpia Flava citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Herennia Lucia Herennia Secundina **citoyennes romaines, filles légitimes**	funéraire		Apulum
31.	IDR III/5.2, 528	Fabricius Iucundus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Fabricius Iucundus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
32.	IDR III/5.2, 495	Caius Antonius Valentinus citoyen romain décurion	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Antonius Agrippinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
33.	IDR III/5.1, 192	Caius Iulius Iustus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Iulius Octavianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Apulum
34.	IDR III/5.2, 563	-	Pontia Asia citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Pontia Sy..usa **citoyenne romaine, fille illégitime *spuria filia***	funéraire		Apulum
35.	IDR III/5.2, 581	Lucius Valerius Montanus citoyen romain *primus pilus*	Spedia Severa citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Valeria Montanilla **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
36.	IDR III/5.2, 591	Caius Valerius Silvanus citoyen romain vétéran	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Titus Flavius **Valerius Valens citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Apulum
37.	IDR III/5.2, 594	Longinus	Valeria Rufina citoyenne romaine		Longinianus	funéraire		Apulum
38.	IDR III/5.2, 612	Caius Iulius Iulianus citoyen romain vétéran	Ulpia Victorina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Iulia Ursula **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
39.	Lupa 23332	Marcus Granius Stabilianus citoyen romain	Attlia Paulina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Granius Stabilianus Grania Sabina **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Apulum
40.	IDR III/2, 449	-	Ulpia Opiava citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Ulpius Tertius **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Călan
41.	IDR III/3, 16	Caius Aurelius Dedalus citoyen romain	Valeria Cara citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Tetula Aurelia Augusta Caius Aurelius Carus Caius Aurelius Valerianus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Călan
42.	IDR III/3, 11	Caius Ianius Ianuarius citoyen romain	Caia Marcia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Ianius Marcianus Iania Ianuaria **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Călan
43.	IDR III/4, 216	-	Aurelia Procula citoyenne romaine		Aurelius Iulianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime / illégitime**	funéraire	Nous savons avec certitude dans ce cas, que le fils est citoyen, mais nous ne pouvons pas affirmer sa légitimité, il peut même s'agir d'un *spurius filius*	Călugă-reni
44.	ILD 783	Aurelius Titus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Gemelina **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ad Samum
45.	IDR III/3, 250; AE 2015, 2	Flavius Moesicus citoyen romain	Cassia Sura citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Flavius Iulianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Germisara

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
46.	ILD 968	Aurelius Maximus citoyen romain décurion	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Manes Aurelius Musaeus Aurelius Maximus Aurelius Faustinus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Napoca
47.	CIL III 866	Aurelius Babus citoyen romain ancien pérégrin	Aurelia Aurelia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Marinianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Napoca
48.	CIL III 867	Publius Aelius Dacianus citoyen romain décurion et édile	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius Traianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire	Publius Aelius Liberus *alumnus*	Napoca
49.	CIL III 873	Aelius Siro citoyen romain	Aelia Sura citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Saturninus Aelius Valentinus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Napoca
50.	ILD 557	-	Valeria Valentina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Claudius Valentinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Napoca
51.	ILD 566	Aurelius Marcianus citoyen romain	Aurelia Provincia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Marcellinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Napoca
52.	ILD 567	Aurelius Iulianus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Lucius **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Napoca
53.	IDR III/4, 138	Marcus Fabius… citoyen romain vétéran	Aelia? citoyenne romaine	union non légale *contubernatus* qui devient *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius M… Publius Aelius Quintus Aelia Dionysia **citoyens romains, fils illégitimes (nés avant que leur père ne devienne citoyen romain)**	funéraire		Cristești

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
54.	IDR II 135	Iulius Herculanus citoyen romain	Iulia Vivenia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Iulius Marcianus Iulius Marcellinus Iulia Marcia Iulia Eraclia **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Drobeta
55.	IDR II 39	Caius Valerius Mercurialis citoyen romain vétéran	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Calliroe **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Drobeta
56.	IDR II 46	Publius Aelius Diophantus citoyen romain vétéran	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Ammis **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire	Aelia Eutychia affranchie	Drobeta
57.	IDR II 42	Marcus Victorius … anio citoyen romain	Victoria Gemina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Valerius Longinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Drobeta
58.	IDR II 47	Primus Aelius Ionicus citoyen romain	Iulia Priscilla citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Iulianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Drobeta
59.	IDR II 34	Iulius Strato centurion	Aelia Adaucta citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Iulia Grata **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire	Le père est centurion de la IVe légion Flavia Felix, de 171 à 230. 171–230	Drobeta
60.	IDR II 37	Publius Aelius Iada citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius Viator **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Drobeta
61.	IDR III/3, 248	Marcus Aurelius Crescens affranchi impérial	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Flora **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Germisara

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
62.	IDR III/3, 251	-	Ingenuvia Marcella citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus* / mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Quintus Ingenuvius Attio **citoyen romain, fils illégitime *spurius filius***	funéraire		Germisara
63.	ILD 585	Aurelius Dines citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Ditugentus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Gherla
64.	CIL III 1608	Aelia Secundus citoyen romain	Aelia Deccia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Secundina Aelia Crispina **citoyennes romaines, filles légitimes**	funéraire		Gherla
65.	CIL III 847	Aurelius Reburrus citoyen romain vétéran	Fabia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Fabius **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Gilau
66.	CIL III 804	Aurelius Themaes citoyen romain vétéran	Aelia Iulia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Pupula **citoyenne romaine, fille illégitime** Aurelius Thementianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire	La fille est née avant la mise à la retraite du père.	Ilişua/ Arcoba-dara
67.	CIL III 811	Caius Valerius Vitalis citoyen romain décurion de l'*ala Frontiniana*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Valerius Vitalianus Valerius Saturninus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Arcobadara
68.	IDR III/1, 156	Aelius Sebl…er militaire	Aelia Sa…	union non légale *contubernatus*	Aelius Valens **citoyen romain, fils illégitime**	funéraire	Le père est mort avant sa mise à la retraite.	Tibiscum
69.	IDR III/1, 161	Aurelius Barbarcas citoyen romain	Aelia Artimidora citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Barsemia **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Tibiscum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
70.	IDR III/4, 96	Marcus Ulpius Sabinus citoyen romain décurion	Ulpia Sabina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Ulpius Maximus Maximianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Crăciune-lu de Sus
71.	IDR III/1, 85	Aurelius Peditus citoyen romain	Aurelia Pedata citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Peditianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ad Mediam
72.	IDR III/1, 71	Lucius Iulius Bassus citoyen romain décurion	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Iulius Iulianus Iulius Bassus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ad Mediam
73.	ILD 190	Quintus Canius Restitutus citoyen romain décurion	Ulpia Admata citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Canius Respectus Cania Atticilla **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ad Mediam
74.	ILD 700	-	Aelia Nice citoyenne romaine		Aelius Vitalianus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime *spurius filius***	funéraire		Poro-lissum
75.	IDR III/1, 26	Piperas esclave	Aelia Epictesis citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Publius Aelius Aelianus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime *notus***	funéraire		Moldova Nouă
76.	ILD 420	Caius Antonius Capito citoyen romain vétéran de la IVe légion Flavia Felix	Antonia Primitiva affranchie,citoyenne romaine		Antonius Paternus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire	101–150	Ohaba
77.	CIL III 1603	Aurelius Ci..iunus citoyen romain centurion de la Ve légion Macedonica	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Ascia Aurelia Marcellina **citoyennes romaines, filles légitimes**	funéraire		Petreștii de Jos

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
78.	ILD 627	Aelius Iulianus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Silvana **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Poieni / Resculum
79.	IDR II 352	Aelius Valerianus Aelius Titianus citoyens romains, frères, vétérans	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Valerianus Aelius Candidinus Aelius Veteranus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Romula
80.	IDR II 350	Claudius Montanus citoyen romain *immunis*?	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Claudia Amba **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Romula
81.	IDR II 357	Aelius Iulius Iulianus citoyen romain décurion	Valeria Gemellina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	**citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Romula
82.	CIL III 7643	Antonius Eros citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Antonia Iulia Antonius Eros **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Romita
84.	IDR III/3, 421	probablement pérégrin	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Plaetoria Maxima **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime/ illégitimes**	funéraire	Lavius, fils de Verzon oncle pérégrin	Alburnus Maior
85.	IDR III/3, 424	Andes pérégrin	Valeria Terentia citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Caius Valerius Viator **citoyen romain, fils illégitime *-notus***	funéraire		Alburnus Maior
86.	ILD 374	Bato pérégrin	Aelia? citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Aelius Scenobarbus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Alburnus Maior
87.	IDR III/2, 420	Quintus Iulius Secundinus citoyen romain vétéran	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Quintus Iulius Secundus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
88.	IDR III/2, 387	Carpion affranchi impérial	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Aurelius Oncsimus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
89.	IDR III/2, 366	Publius Aelius Septimius Audeo citoyen romain vétéran	Cornelia Antonia citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Septimius Romanus Septimia Septimina **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
90.	IDR III/2, 369, 370	Publius Aelius Theimes citoyen romain vétéran	Aelia Phamenis citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius Bericio Publius Aelius Zabdibol **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
91.	IDR III/2, 371	Cominius Celerinus citoyen romain vétéran (chevalier)	Aelia Adiuta citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Cominius Quintus Cominia Sperata Cominia Caecilia **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
92.	IDR III/2, 379	Publius Antonius Super citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Antonius Publius Antonius Super Antonia Bonosa **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire	Aurelius Constantius -gendre	Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
93.	IDR III/2, 419	Caius Iulius Valens citoyen romain *duumvir iure dicundo*	Cominia Florentina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Iulius Sabinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
94.	IDR III/2 432	-	Maria Secundina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Saturnina Aurelius Ingenuus (militaire dans la XIIIe légion Antoniniana) **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire	211–222	Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
95.	IDR III/2 452	Lucius Valerius Rufus citoyen romain veteran *duumvir*	Ulpia Procilla citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Valerius Rufinus Valerius Proculeianus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
96.	IDR III/2 372	Aelius Macrinus Epidianus affranchi *Augustalis*	Macrinia Marcia affranchie	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Andena **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
97.	IDR III/2 375	Lucius Antonius Priscus citoyen romain décurion	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Antonius Rufus Antonia Priscilla **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
98.	IDR III/2 376/ IDR III/2 440	Lucius Antonius Rufus citoyen romain *duumvir*	Quintinia Magnilla citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Lucius Antonius Priscus Luciua Antonius Rufus Lucius Antonius Rufinus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
99.	IDR III/2 377		Terentia Hermione citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Antonius Ursinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
100.	IDR III/2 413	Quintus Ianuarius Agathangelus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Quintus Ianuarius Zosimus Ianuaria Candida **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
101.	IDR III/2 3	Marcus Procilius Niceta citoyen romain *duumvir*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Procilius Regulus **citoyen romain, fils légitime chevalier**	honorifique	180–192	Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
102.	IDR III/2 404	Marcus Cornelius Primus *Augustalis*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Cornelia Victorina **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
103.	IDR III/2 448	Marcus Ulpius Restutus citoyen romain *duumvir*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Ulpia Marcellina Ulpia Restuta **citoyennes romaines, filles légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
104.	IDR III/2 418	Marcus Aurelius Helico citoyen romain	Iulia Gemellina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Aurelius Maximus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
105.	IDR III/2, 380	-	Antonia Sisiata citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Iulius Rusticinus Caius Iulius Rusticus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
106.	IDR III/2, 394	Bubalus affranchi impérial	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Procula **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
107.	IDR III/2, 436	Papirius Quintinus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Papiria Quintilla **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		U Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
108.	IDR III/2, 439	Publius Pontius Pontianus citoyen romain	Valeria Blandina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Pontius Secundinus Publius Pontius Blandus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
109.	IDR III/2, 188	Herennius Gemellinus citoyen romain	Aelia Saturnina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Herennius Ursus Herennius Gemellinus Herennius Super Herennius Saturninus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
110.	IDR III/2, 386	Synda esclave	-	union non légale *concubinatus*	Aurelius Cimio **citoyen romain,** **fils illégitime** ***notus***	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
111.	IDR III/2, 389	Titus Aurelius Vitalis affranchi *Augustalis*	Aurelia… affranchie	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Titus Aurelius Candidus **citoyen romain,** **fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
112.	IDR III/2, 390	Claudius Timocrates affranchi impérial	Aurelia Ireni citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Volusianus **citoyen romain,** **fils illégitime** ***notus***	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
113.	IDR III/2, 451	Ulpius Gemellinus citoyen romain	Ulpia Dubitata citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Ulpius Dubitatus **citoyen romain,** **fils légitime**	funéraire		U. T. Sarmize-getusa
114.	IDR III/2, 398	Lucius Cassius Marcio Vitalis affranchi *Augustalis*	Cassia Rufina affranchie	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Cassia Cassiana **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
115.	IDR III/2, 153	Caius Mettius Cassianus citoyen romain *duumvir*	Aelia Flora citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Mettius Protenus Mettius Cassianus Mettia Flora **citoyens romains,** **fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
116.	IDR III/2, 190	Marcus Procilius Aphrodisius affranchi *Augustalis*	Seximia Hermione citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Procilia **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
117.	IDR III/2, 374	Sextus Annius Pannonius affranchi *Augustalis*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Annius Macrinus **citoyen romain,** **fils légitime**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
118.	IDR III/2, 249	Valerius Ianuarius citoyen romain	Flavia Crescentina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	**citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	votive		U. T. Sarmize-getusa
119.	IDR III/1, 118	Publius Aelius Ariortus citoyen romain *quattuorvir annualis*	Ulpia Digna citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius **citoyen romain, fils légitime** Publius Aelius Valens Publius Aelius Audarus **citoyens romains, petit-fils légitimes**	funéraire		Slatina
120.	ILD 952	Crescens pérégrin	Iulia Saturnina citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Iulius **citoyen romain, fils illégitime *notus***	funéraire		Potaissa
121.	CIL III 906	Aelius Primus citoyen romain	Viria Quarta citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Vitalis **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Potaissa
122.	CIL III 907	Aelius Bolhas citoyen romain vétéran	Aelia Domestica citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelia Tiiadmes Palmura **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	funéraire		Potaissa
123.	AE 2018, 1336	Aurelius Celsus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Celsinianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Potaissa
124.	CIL III 910	Marcus Statius Priscinus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Statius Priscianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Potaissa
125.	CIL III 913	Claudius Hiero citoyen romain	A… Sabina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Claudia Sabina Claudius … **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire	Attestation du municipium, 211–222	Potaissa
126.	CIL III 919	Aurelius Bonosus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Viatorinus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Potaissa

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
127.	ILD 511	Publius Aelius Tertius citoyen romain vétéran	Valeria Maximilla citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Terentius Valeria Maximianus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Potaissa
128.	ILD 514	Aurelius Proculus citoyen romain vétéran	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Proculus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Potaissa
129.	IDR III/3, 64	Pergamianus pérégrin	-	union non légale *concubinatus*	Aelia Bassa **citoyenne romaine, fille illégitime *notus***	funéraire		Micia
130.	IDR III/3, 157	Publius Aelius Aelianus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Ianuarius **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Micia
131.	IDR III/3 178	Caius Iulius Sosipater citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Caius Iulius Antipater Caius Iulius Valentinus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Micia
132.	IDR III/3, 185	-	Ulpia Maxima citoyenne romaine		Ulpius Sabinus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime *spurius filius***	funéraire	Il peut s'agir d'un enfant légitime, l'absence du père dans l'inscription ne prouve pas clairement son illégitimité.	Micia
133.	IDR III/3, 166	Aurelius Maturus citoyen romain vétéran	Aurelia Surilla citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelius Primanus Aurelius Surus Aurelia Eustin **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Micia

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
134.	IDR III/3, 162	-	Antonia Quaeta citoyenne romaine		Antonia Valentina Antonius Valentinus **citoyens romains, fils illégitimes** ***spurii filii***	funéraire	L'absence du père dans l'inscription ne prouve pas clairement illégitimité.	Micia
135.	IDR III/3, 156	Publius Aelius Cassianus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius Ianuarius Publia Aelia Dionisia Publius Aelius Germanus Publius Aelius Dionisius **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Micia
136.	IDR III/3, 181	Lucius Mattavius Blastus citoyen romain	Mattavia Laeda citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Blaste **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime?**	funéraire		Micia
137.	ILD 757	Aurelius Bassus citoyen romain	Aelia Prisosta citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aurelia Bassina Aurelius Denzi **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Zimbor
138.	IDR III/3, 288	Zmaragdus affranchi impérial	Aurelia Urbica citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Matrona **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	votive		Ampelum
139.	IDR III/3, 344	Aurelius Marcianus citoyen romain	Valeria Valentina citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ampelum
140.	IDR III/3, 354	Publius Helvius Primus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Helvius Primanus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ampelum
141.	IDR III/3, 340	Publius Aelius Provincialis citoyen romaindécurion		mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publius Aelius Iulianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ampelum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscr.	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
142.	IDR III/3, 351	Claudianus affranchi?	-		Claudius Maximus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime** ***notus***	funéraire		Ampelum
143.	IDR III/3, 353	-	Claudia Vera citoyenne romaine		Claudia Tertullina **citoyenne romaine, fille illégitime** ***spuria filia***	funéraire	L'absence du père dans l'inscription ne prouve pas clairement illégitimité.	Ampelum
144.	IDR III/3, 352	Capito affranchi de Tritus pérégrin	Claudia Pia citoyenne romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Claudius Firminus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime** ***notus***	funéraire		Ampelum
145.	IDR III/3, 337	Publius Aelius Gaius citoyen romain	Aelia Ingenua citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Aelius Gaianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	funéraire		Ampelum
146.	IDR III/1, 4	Quintus Vibius Amillus *Augustalis*	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Iulianus **citoyen romain, fils légitime**	votive		Ad Mediam
147.	IDR III/2, 163	Publius Flaccinius Felix citoyen romain décurion	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Lucilla **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	votive		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
148.	IDR III/3, 5	-	Umbria Africana citoyenne romaine		Umbrius Villanus **citoyen romain, fils illégitime** ***spurius filius***	funéraire	L'absence du père dans l'inscription ne prouve pas clairement illégitimité.	Lupeni

II. Pérégrins

IDR II 134: *… / interfecta a latro(nibus) / et vindicata. / Ulcudius Baedari / et Sutta Epicadi / p(arentes) p(ientissimae) fil(iae) tit(ulum) p(osuerunt). / D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus). Ulcudius / B(ae)dari v(ixit) an(nis) L.*

Ulcudius et Sutta, les parents d'une fillette, érigent un monument à sa mémoire. Son nom n'apparaît pas, l'inscription étant fragmentaire, mais on peut déduire qu'elle est un enfant illégitime, étant donné que les deux parents sont des pérégrins, ce qui implique qu'ils n'ont pas contracté un mariage légal, du point de vue juridique. Les deux noms respectent le système onomastique des noms pérégrins (*nomen* et nom du père au génitif), *Baedari* et *Epicadi*, d'origine illyrienne. Au même endroit, où la fillette est déposée, repose également son père, âgé de 50 ans, de sorte que la stèle et l'épitaphe illustrent une famille de non-citoyens.

IDR III/4, 91: *D(is) M(anibus) / Cotu Successi f(ilia) / cives Norica vix(it) / an(nos) LX. Cl(audius) Latinus / posuit coniugi ben/emerenti h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*

L'inscription est dédiée à Cotu, épouse de Claudius Latinus. Cotu est fille de Successus et vient de Noricum. Elle a le statut juridique de non-citoyenne, fait démontré par son nom, mais aussi par l'indication de la citoyenneté. On ne peut pas affirmer avec certitude que Claudius Latinus était déjà citoyen romain, mais il provenait lui aussi du Norique, d'une communauté dotée du droit latin[21].

Cependant, le mariage entre les deux n'est pas un *iustum matrimonium* romain, ainsi les enfants de ceux-ci, dans le cas où ils ont eu [des enfants] ayant la citoyenneté de la mère. Selon le droit romain, l'enfant d'une pérégrine avec un citoyen naît pérégrin, en revanche, si la mère était citoyenne et le père pérégrin, celui-ci serait né citoyen, mais ne serait pas sous la *potestas* du père[22]. Dans les conditions exposées, l'enfant (s'il a existé) a le statut juridique d'un pérégrin, plus exactement c'est un enfant illégitime, qui a acquis la citoyenneté de la mère.

IDR III/3, 420: *D(is) M(anibus) / Maximae / Luri(i) vixit / ann(is) XXV / Rufus et / Tertia fil(iae) / piissim(ae) / [b(ene)m(erenti) pos(uerunt)].*

L'inscription funéraire illustre une situation différente. Les dédicants, Rufus et Tertia, érigent une stèle funéraire en l'honneur de leur fille, décédée à l'âge de 25 ans. Maxima est d'origine pérégrine, elle n'est pas citoyenne romaine, mais sa filiation est indiquée: elle est la fille d'un certain Lurius. Cependant, dans l'inscription, le père est nommé Rufus. Il est très probable qu'il vivait avec sa mère, qu'il était l'époux de Tertia, mais qu'il n'était pas le père biologique de la fille. Lurius, son père naturel, avait le statut juridique de pérégrin, tout comme Maxima, sa fille, ce qui signifie que sa mère avait également le même statut. Dans d'autres conditions, si Tertia avait eu la citoyenneté romaine, Maxima aurait hérité de sa condition, même si son père, Lurius, était un pérégrin.

[21] Ardevan 2007, 61–62.

[22] Gai. *Inst.* I 78: *… nam remota ea lege diversam condicionem sequi debebat, quia ex eis, inter quos non est conubium, qui nascitur, iure gentium matris condicioni accedit.*

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscription	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
1.	IDR II 134	Ulcudius (Baedari) illyrien	Sutta (Epicadi) illyrienne	pérégrin, illyrien	funéraire		Zegaia
2.	IDR III/1, 87	Aurelius Surus pérégrin, nom d'origine romaine	Quintina pérégrine, nom d'origine romaine	Surilleo, Quintinus, Sura pérégrins /citoyens (si datés aprés 212)	funéraire		Mehadia
3.	IDR III/1, 152	Zabdibolus pérégrin, d'origine palmyréenne		Aelius Borafas pérégrin, d'origine palmyréenne. Il est possible qu'il ait obtenu la citoyennete romaine.	funéraire	Inscription fragmentaire	Tibiscum
4.	IDR III/1, 167	Ierheus pérégrin, nom d'origine palmyréenne		Neses Malchus Ierheus pérégrins, palmyréens	funéraire	*numerus Palmyrenorum*	Tibiscum
5.	IDR III/5.2, 559	Brasus Mucatralis pérégrin, d'origine thrace		Mucatra Mucapor (ami et héritier) nom d'origine thrace	funéraire	*numerus Palmyrenorum*	Apulum
6.	IDR III/2, 315			Hilarus pérégrin noms d'origine romaine Alexander pérégrin, nom d'origine grecque	votive		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
7.	IDR III/2, 347	Euhemerus pérégrin, nom d'origine grecque		Antoninus pérégrin noms d'origine romaine	votive		Ulpia Traiana Sarmize-getusa
8.	IDR III/5.2, 538	Gaius pérégrin nom d›origine romaine		Ingenuus Gaius Apollodorus peregrins noms romains, le dernier grec	funéraire	II s.? Ingenuus est le fils Gaius, et Gaius et Appolodorus sont les fils de Ingenuus	Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscription	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
9.	IDR III/5.2, 614			Lupula, Ursulus pérégrins, noms d'origine romaine	funéraire		Apulum
10.	CIL III 907	Aelius Bolhas Bannaei citoyen romain	Aelia Domestica Citoyenne romaine	Rufina ne possède la citoyennete romaine	funéraire	-décède avant la fin du service militaire de son père	Potaissa
11.	ILD 906	Bizo illyrien		Panes pérégrin, illyrien	funéraire		Alburnus Maior
12.	ILD 798	Aelius Maximinus citoyen romain	Serena (Licconis) nom romain, filiation illyrienne	Aelius Maximus Aelius Ursinus pérégrins, d'origine illyrienne	funéraire		Arcobadara
13.	ILD 563		Quieta Pérégrine, nom d›origine romaine	Victorina pérégrine, nom d›origine romaine	funéraire		Napoca
14.	ILD 391	Turus pérégrin, d'origine celtique		Platius pérégrin, d'origine illyrienne	votive		Alburnus Maior
15.	ILD 392	Daeicus pérégrin, d'origine illyrienne		Beucus pérégrin, d'origine illyrienne	votive		Alburnus Maior
16.	ILD 395	Implaius pérégrin, d'origine illyrienne		Plator pérégrin, d'origine illyrienne	votive		Alburnus Maior
17.	IDR II 158	Ianuarius pérégrin,d'origine illyrienne		Discorsius pérégrin, nom d'origine grecque	votive		Galicea Mare
18.	IDR II 193	Domitius pérégrin, nom d'origine romaine		Valens pérégrin, nom d'origine romaine	votive		Sucidava
19.	IDR II 349	Nicanoris pérégrin, nom d'origine grecque		Antonius pérégrin, nom d'origine romaine	funéraire		Romula

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscription	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
20.	IDR III/1, 154	Iiddeus pérégrin, nom d'origine palmyréenne		Aelius Guras pérégrin,militaire (21 ans),	funéraire	Est décédé avant d'obtenir la citoyenneté	Tibiscum
21.	IDR III/1, 163	Aulusanus pérégrin, nom d'origine thrace		Brisanus pérégrin, nom d'origine thrace	funéraire		Tibiscum
22.	IDR III/1, 167	Ierheus pérégrin, nom d'origine sémitique		Neses Malchus Ierheus pérégrins, noms d'origine sémitique	funéraire		Tibiscum
23.	IDR III/1, 169	Dassius pérégrin, d'origine illyrienne		Temaius pérégrin, nom d'origine grecque	funéraire		
24.	IDR III/3, 299	Barsemeius (père 1) (nom d'origine sémitique) Socrates (père 2) (nom d'origine grecque) pérégrins		Adde, nom d'origine sémitique, (fils 1) Oceanus, nom d'origine romaine, (fils 2) pérégrins	votive		Ampelum
25.	IDR III/3, 341	Alexandrianus pérégrin, citoyen bithynien	Lucia Pérégrine, port un nom d'origine romaine	Tatius Lucius possible citoyen romain, enfant illégitime Antoninus, Iulius, Lucilianus pérégrins, citoyens bithyniens	funéraire		Ampelum
26.	IDR III/4, 185	Epicadus pérégrin d'origine illyrienne	-	Mavida pérégrine d'origine illyrienne	funéraire		Agnita
27.	IDR III/5, 302	Alexandre pérégrin	-	Arodius pérégrin	votive		Apulum

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscription	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
28.	IDR III/5.2, 521	Plator pérégrin	-	Crescens pérégrin	funéraire		Apulum
29.	IDR III/5.2, 571	Cupitus pérégrin	-	Seccia peregrine, nom celtique	funéraire		Apulum
30.	IDR III/5.1, 386	Chrestus pérégrin	-	Demosthene pérégrin	votive	-par testament	Apulum
31.	IDR III/3, 423	Baezus pérégrin	-	Planius pérégrin d'origine illyrienne	funéraire		Alburnus Maior
32.	IDR III/3, 423	Verzo (père de la fille) Plator (père du fils) pérégrins	-	Platino Rufus pérégrins d'origine illyrienne, époux et épouse	funéraire		Alburnus Maior
33.	IDR III/3, 412	Alexander pérégrin	-	Caius pérégrin d'origine illyrienne	funéraire		Alburnus Maior
34.	IDR III/4, 196	Aelius Talanus Dugionis (fils de Dugio) pérégrin d'origine illyrienne	Candida Maximi (fille de Maximus) pérégrine d'origine celto-pannonienne	pérégrins	funéraire		Sighişoara
35.	IDR III/4, 197	Cusionus pérégrin	-	Dantica pérégrine	funéraire		Sighişoara
36.	IDR III/4, 198	Senecio pérégrin	Sabina Dasmeni (fille de Dasmenus) pérégrine	Prinada, Surilla, Surinius, Sanilis pérégrins	funéraire		Sighişoara
37.	IDR III/3, 371	Terentius pérégrin	-	Victorinus pérégrin	funéraire		Ampelum

III. Esclaves

On retrouve souvent les esclaves dans les inscriptions votives, mais il existe aussi, attestés pour la province de Dacie, des cas d'unions conjugales entre esclaves ou entre esclaves et citoyens. Ils ne détenaient pas le *ius conubii*, l'union conjugale étant considérée comme un concubinage[23]. En ce qui concerne les enfants issus de ces unions, on observe que leur statut diffère, avec certaines particularités de droit privé.

IDR III/2, 402: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Cl(audiae) Turpillae vix(it) a[n(nis) ---] / item / Caro Caes(aris) n(ostri) [v(ernae?) vix(it) an(nis) ---] / Herculanus Aug(usti) n(ostri) adiut(or) [tab(ulari)] / uxori et filio benemerenti(bus) / fecit.*

L'inscription est funéraire, dédiée à une mère et à son fils. Le dédicataire est Herculanus, le mari et père des deux défunts. Le texte de l'inscription indique une situation intéressante, plus précisément une exception[24]. Herculanus est un esclave, ce qui signifie qu'il n'est pas un sujet de droit. Sa femme, Claudia Turpilla, est citoyenne. De leur union est né Carus. Dans des conditions normales et conformément à la loi, Carus aurait dû naître citoyen, car sa condition juridique était transmise par la mère, même si le mariage de ses parents n'était pas légal. S'il avait hérité de la condition de sa mère, il serait né citoyen et aurait eu le statut de *notus*. Cependant, la situation est tout à fait différente. Carus a hérité de la condition de son père, celle d'esclave, devenant ainsi un *liberus naturalis*. Toutefois, il est important de noter ici que son père est un esclave impérial, statut qui lui confère certains avantages sociaux que n'aurait pas un citoyen ordinaire. Ces exceptions se retrouvent généralement dans le cas des esclaves impériaux, observant que lorsqu'il y a une union conjugale entre une citoyenne et un esclave faisant partie de la *familia domestica*[25], l'enfant héritait de la condition de la mère, citoyenne romaine, avec le statut juridique de *notus*[26]. De tels cas se rencontrent aussi dans l'Empire. Dans la littérature spécialisée, ces cas sont expliqués comme étant des adoptions possibles ou un remariage du père[27].

IDR III/2, 373: *D(is) M(anibus) / Alliano aug(usti) n(ostri) ser(vo) / vern(ae) vix(it) an(nis) VI m(ensibus) IX / dieb(us) XXII / Constantianus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) adiut(or) tabul(ari) / pater.*

Le défunt est un enfant d'environ sept ans, dont le père est un affranchi. On remarque qu'Allianus est mort, étant un enfant né esclave, donc un *liberus naturalis*. Sa mère était très certainement une esclave qui vivait avec Constantianus dans une union illégale (*contubernus*). Il est également possible que ce dernier ait été affranchi après la mort de son enfant, mais cela n'est pas pertinent car, dans tous les cas, Allianus a hérité de la condition de sa mère, qui n'apparaît pas dans l'inscription, mais dont nous pouvons affirmer avec certitude qu'elle était esclave.

[23] Fiori 2011, 223.
[24] D'autres exemples similaires IDR III/2, 453.
[25] Tudor 1957, 13.
[26] Voir IDR III/1, 26.
[27] Weaver 1972, 144.

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscription	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
1.	CIL III 968	Lucius Aelius Hylas affranchi	Apuleia esclave	Horientis esclave	votive		Acidava
2.	ILD 991	Martinus esclave	esclave	Cleopatra esclave	funéraire	union des parents- *contubernium*	Porolissum
3.	IDR III/3, 362	-	esclave	Scaurianus Fuscianus esclaves impériaux	funéraire		Petreștii de Jos
4.	IDR III/2, 453	Valentinus esclave impérial	Cassia Rogata citoyenne romaine	Valentina esclave impérial	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa
5.	ILD 512	-	Bona esclave impérial / grand- mère	Timocles esclave impérial	funéraire		Potaissa
6.	IDR III/5.1, 355	Gorgias esclave	-	Hermes esclave	votive		Apulum
7.	IDR III/3, 405	Myrinus esclave	-	Hermes esclave impérial	votive		Alburnus Maior

IV. L' adoption

D'un point de vue juridique, selon Gaius, le processus d'adoption pouvait se réaliser de deux manières: soit avec l'approbation du peuple, soit par l'*imperium* d'un magistrat. Dans le premier cas, seuls ceux qui étaient *sui iuris*, c'est-à-dire qui n'étaient pas sous la *potestas* (autorité paternelle de quelqu'un), pouvaient être adoptés. Chaque partie était interrogée à tour de rôle pour savoir si elle adoptait la personne nommée, et si cette dernière consentait et acceptait d'être adoptée, à la fin, le peuple approuvait ou non. Dans le second cas, plus fréquent sous l'Empire, les adoptés étaient intégrés dans une nouvelle famille en tant que fils ou fille, et parfois comme petit-fils ou petite-fille. Dans les provinces, l'adoption se faisait généralement devant le gouverneur[28]. Les enfants adoptés entraient sous la *potestas* de la famille adoptive et sortaient de celle de la famille d'origine, ce qui signifie clairement qu'ils devenaient aussi les héritiers légaux de leur nouvelle famille.

Pour la province de Dacie, les inscriptions attestant du processus d'adoption sont très rares. Après analyse, on ne peut parler d'adoption que dans six inscriptions[29] (dont deux concernent la même personne), et la mention claire de l'existence de ce processus ne figure que dans une seule inscription.

IDR III 5/2, 441: *Publiae Aeli/ae Iulianae / Marcellae s(plendidissimae) p(uellae) / fil(iae) P(ublii) Ael(ii) Iuliani / eq(uitis) R(omani) flam(inis) et IIvi/ral(is) col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et ad/optiu(a)e P(ublii) Ael(ii) Mar/celli v(iri) e(gregii) ex pr/aef(ecto) legg(ionum) VII Cl(audiae) / et I Adiut(ricis) Dades / et Filetus actor(es).*

L'inscription funéraire ci-dessus est érigée pour Publia Aelia Iuliana Marcella et présente le cas d'une jeune fille adoptée. Elle est la fille biologique d'un chevalier romain, Publius Aelius Iulianus, et la fille adoptive de Publius Aelius Marcellus. Il n'est pas seulement mentionné qu'elle est „adoptée" (elle est entrée dans une nouvelle famille et se trouve sous la *potestas* de P. A. Marcellus), ce fait étant également démontré par l'ajout du *cognomen* Marcella à son nom, *cognomen* repris de son père adoptif. On ne peut pas affirmer avec certitude s'il existait un lien de parenté entre Publius Aelius Iulianus et Publius Aelius Marcellus, mais on sait avec certitude qu'ils provenaient de familles illustres de rang équestre, des familles dans lesquelles l'adoption est fréquente et semble être une pratique[30]. L'inscription est d'autant plus intéressante qu'elle illustre un cas rare dans l'Empire: l'adoption d'une femme. En général, les femmes n'étaient pas adoptées car elles ne pouvaient pas transmettre le nom familial[31]. Dans cette situation, en ce qui concerne le statut civil et la condition juridique de la jeune fille, ceux-ci sont restés inchangés, puisque le père biologique et le père adoptif ont le même statut, ainsi, dans tous les cas, Publia Aelia Iuliana Marcella est une citoyenne romaine, enfant légitime.

IDR III/2, 438: *D(is) M(anibus) / …… / Pomponi[ae Seve]/rae fil(iae) an[….et] / Anclarenia[e Mar]/cellinae pr[ivi]g/nae an(norum) XVIII / M(arcus) Pomp(onius) Severus / coniug(i) carissim(a)e / cum filis.*

[28] Gai. *Inst.* I 98–106.

[29] Voir IDR III/1, 72; IDR III/2, 428, 451; IDR III/3, 420; IDR III/5.2, 441; IDR III/5.2, 483.

[30] IDR III/5.2, 439.

[31] Riggsby 2010, 183.

Le dédicant, Marcus Pomponius Severus est le père des deux défuntes. Pomponia Severa est sa fille légitime, née d'un mariage légal, ce qui est également démontré par la transmission du nom par l'enfant. La deuxième fille est adoptée et ne porte pas le gentilice du père, mais il est possible que le nom de l'épouse fût similaire, Anclarenia Marcellina étant un nom dérivé probable. Tant Pomponia Severa qu'Anclarenia Marcellina sont des citoyennes, filles légitimes de Pomponius Severus. Cependant, nous mentionnons que malgré le fait que le nom de la fille adoptée soit dérivé du nom de la mère, celle-ci ne pouvait jamais l'adopter, car elle était une femme et n'avait pas la *patria potestas*[32].

IDR III/2, 451: *D(is) M(anibus) / Ulpiae Dubita[t]ae vixit / ann(is) XL et Ulpi(io) Gemellino / vixit ann(is) LX [p]arent[i]b(us) / et Iust[i]ae Ingenuae v(ixit) a(nnis) XXX / coniugi et Iustiae Sextiliae / fil(iae) / Ulpi(i) Dubitatus et Gemelli[n(us)].*

L'inscription funéraire ci-dessus met en évidence plusieurs relations de parenté, étant un autel dédié à plusieurs défunts. Tout d'abord, Ulpius Dubitatus est le fils légitime, né d'un mariage légal entre Ulpia Dubitata et Ulpius Gemellinus.

Deuxièmement, nous remarquons que leur fils, Ulpius Dubitatus, s'est marié avec une citoyenne romaine, Iustia Ingenua, avec laquelle il a eu deux enfants, Ulpius Gemellinus et Iustia Sextilia. En effet, il n'est pas mentionné qu'Ulpius Gemellinus est son fils, mais on peut le déduire, étant donné la transmission de la condition du père et la réception du nom de son grand-père. En même temps, Ulpius Gemellinus pourrait être le frère d'Ulpius Dubitatus, et non son fils, cependant l'inscription indique que le monument a été élevé pour l'épouse et la fille, ce qui rend très probable qu'Ulpius Gemellinus était le fils d'Ulpius Dubitatus et d'Iustia Ingenua. Il est intéressant de noter que la fille des deux a repris la condition de sa mère, puisqu'elle s'appelle Iustia Sextilia. Dans ces conditions, on peut affirmer qu'Ulpius Dubitatus n'était pas son père biologique, mais un père adoptif. Iustia Sextilia est née d'une union illégale de sa mère, si bien que son père biologique était d'origine pérégrine, raison pour laquelle elle n'a pas hérité de sa condition juridique[33].

IDR III/1, 72: *D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Septi(mius) Bitus et Septim(ia) / Valentina vixerunt / annis LIIII pos(u)er/unt Septim(ius) Bas(sus) et Aur(elius) / Vale(n)s patris bene/merentis.*

L'inscription est érigée pour Septimius Bitus et Septimia Valentina par leurs deux fils, Septimius Bassus et Aurelius Valens. On constate que les deux n'ont pas le même gentilice, ce qui peut s'expliquer soit par le fait que l'un d'eux a été adopté, soit parce que Septimius Bitus, avant d'être relocalisé en Dacie, s'était établi en Pannonia ou en Noricum, dans une ville à statut latin, qui lui aurait conféré la citoyenneté romaine, ce qui expliquerait que les fils portent des gentilices différents[34]. Toutefois, dans les deux cas, les deux enfants sont les fils légitimes de Septimius Bitus et de son épouse, tous deux héritiers légaux.

[32] Gai. *Inst.* I 104: *Feminae vero nullo modo adoptare possunt, quia ne quidem naturales liberos in potestate habent.*

[33] ILD 891.

[34] Ardevan 2006, 122–123.

Nr.	Référence	Père / Statut légal / filiation	Mère / Statut légal / filiation	Union conjugale	Enfant/ Statut légal	Type d'inscription	Observation / Datation	Lieu de découverte
1.	IDR III/5.2, 441	Publius Aelius Iulianus (père biologique); Publius Aelius Marcellus (père adoptif) citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Publia Aelia Iuliana Marcella**citoyenne romaine, fille légitime, adoptive**	honorifique	IIIe siècle	Apulum
2.	IDR III/1, 72	Septimius Bitus -nom d'origine thrace, citoyen romain	Septimia Valentina-nom d'origine romaine, citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Septimius Bassus **citoyen romain, fils légitime** Aurelius Valens **citoyens romains, fils adoptif**	funéraire	IIIe siècle	Ad Mediam
3.	IDR III/2, 428	Marcus Pomponius Severus citoyen romain	-	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Pomponia Severa **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime,** Anclarenia Marcellina **citoyenne romaine, fille adoptive**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmizege-tusa
4.	IDR III/2, 451	Ulpius Dubitatus citoyen romain	Iustia Ingenua citoyenne romaine	mariage légal *iustum matrimonium*	Iustia Sextilia **citoyenne romaine, fille illégitime-la fille adoptée par** Ulpius Dubitatus Ulpius Gemellinus **citoyens romains, fils légitimes**	funéraire		Ulpia Traiana Sarmizege-tusa
5.	IDR III/5.2, 483	Publius Aelius Silvanus citoyen romain ordre équestre	-		Fabia Lucilla **citoyenne romaine, fille légitime**	honorifique	IIIe siècle	Apulum
6.	IDR III/3, 420	Lurius (père biologique) Rufus (père adoptif) pérégrins	Tertia pérégrine nom romaine	union non légale *concubinatus*	Maxima **pérégrine, nom d'origine romaine**	funéraire		Alburnus Maior

V. Pupilles

Les pupilles sont ces enfants qui n'ont pas atteint la puberté et qui, en l'absence des parents, ont besoin d'un tuteur ou *curator*. Pour la province de Dacie, le nombre de mentions est très faible. Jusqu'à présent, seules cinq inscriptions ont été découvertes, dont deux désignent des enfants avec la qualité de pupilles, tandis que les autres mentionnent les tuteurs, et d'une seule inscription on peut déduire que celle qui a érigé la pierre funéraire est une fillette[35]. Évidemment, en raison de leur jeune âge, ces enfants ne jouissaient pas de certains droits sans la surveillance d'une autre personne, compte tenu de leur incapacité juridique. Les tuteurs avaient l'obligation de les surveiller jusqu'à l'âge où la personne était légalement et physiquement capable de jouir des droits et obligations qui lui revenaient. En règle générale, le garçon cessait d'avoir un tuteur une fois arrivé à la puberté, tandis que les filles restaient sous tutelle[36]. Pendant la République, les pupilles étaient des personnes avec une incapacité partielle ou totale. Ils étaient classés en deux groupes: les *infantes* (âgés de sept ans ou moins, avec incapacité totale) et les *impuberes* (âgés de huit à vingt-cinq ans, avec capacité partielle)[37]. Par ailleurs, du point de vue légal, le mariage entre un tuteur ou même son fils et la pupille était interdit, même après l'atteinte de l'âge requis[38].

IDR III/3, 1: *[---]A[---] / [---] Aug(ustalis?) [---] / [---]ITRIB[-]II[------ // ------] et Germ[anus? ---] / [her]edes per Co[rnelium? ---] / et Calp(urnium) Clau[dianum?] / [tu]tores (?) [---? // ---]N[---]*

IDR III/5.2, 498: *[---] / [vix(it) an]nis LX / [---] Atilius / [---p]upill(us) / [--- c?]um BEL / [---]T / [---].*

IDR III/5.2, 527: *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Fabio Iblio/maro domo / Augus(ta) Treve[r(orum)] / quond(am) dec[ur(ioni)] / [k]anabar(um) vix(it) / annis LX / Fabii Pulcher / Romana Aqui/leiensis per tu/tores suos pos(uerunt).*

CIL III 7650: *D(is) M(anibus) / T(iti) Ael(i) Vet(---) T(iti) Aeli / Pauli vet(erani) ex dec(urione) / fil(i) vix(it) ann(os) XLII / Val(erius) Festiv(u)s pupil(lus) / b(ene) m(erenti) pos(uit) h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

La présence des tuteurs, ainsi que celle des pupilles, comme nous l'avons vu, est assez rarement attestée en Dacie, et dans deux cas, les inscriptions sont assez fragmentaires. Toutefois, dans l'inscription IDR III/5.2, 527, l'existence des tuteurs est mentionnée. Fabius Pulcher, Fabia Romana et Fabius Aquileiensis[39] sont les enfants légitimes de Titus Fabius Ibliomarus. Tous les individus mentionnés ont le statut de citoyens romains. Malgré l'absence de la mère dans l'inscription, on sait que cette famille d'immigrés, devenue citoyenne, a progressivement gravi l'échelle sociale. De plus, lorsque Titus Fabius Ibliomarus est décédé,

[35] IDR III/5.2, 584.

[36] Gai. *Inst.* I 145: *Itaque si quis filio filiaeque testamento tutorem dederit, et ambo ad pubertatem pervenerint, filius quidem desinit habere tutorem, filia vero nihilo minus in tutela permanet: Tantum enim ex lege Iulia et Papia Poppaea iure liberorum a tutela liberantur feminae. Loquimur autem exceptis virginibus Vestalibus, quas etiam veteres in honorem sacerdotii liberas esse voluerunt: Itaque etiam lege XII tabularum cautum est.*

[37] Stănescu 2004, 218–219.

[38] Borrelli 1997, 365.

[39] Voir ILD 329.

ses enfants étaient encore en bas âge, ce qui justifie la présence de tuteurs, probablement désignés par testament.

Titus Fabius Ibliomarus, d'origine celtique, était décurion des canabae, exerçant ainsi une fonction locale. À sa mort, les trois enfants étaient impubères, mais ils ont tout de même réussi à gravir les échelons sociaux: les deux fils, Fabius Aquileiensis et Fabius Pulcher[40], sont parvenus au rang de chevaliers romains (*equites Romani*), ce dernier ayant même exercé une fonction procuratorienne[41]. Très probablement, les tuteurs devaient être des personnages importants occupant des fonctions élevées au sein de la légion XIII Gemina, ou peut-être des concitoyens originaires de Trèves.

Dans une dernière inscription, on peut également déduire le jeune âge de Valerius Festivus, citoyen romain, enfant légitime. Dans ce cas aussi, un tuteur est mentionné probablement Titus Aelius V…,un tuteur désigné par testament.

IDR III/5.2, 584: *Tuticiae Adrastillae / vixit ann(is) XVIII m(enses) II d(ies) XX / Tuticia Victoria fil(ia) / et heres matri / karissimae.*

L'inscription est dédiée à Tuticia Adrastilla par Tuticia Victoria, sa fille. L'enfant hérite de la condition juridique de sa mère: elle est citoyenne romaine, mais enfant illégitime. On ne peut pas affirmer avec certitude s'il s'agit d'une *nota* ou d'une *spuria filia*, mais il est très probable qu'il s'agisse de la seconde hypothèse, l'enfant ne connaissant pas son père. Il convient également de remarquer l'âge au décès de la défunte, environ 20 ans, ce qui implique que sa fille est en très bas âge et, par conséquent, n'a pas la capacité juridique, dépendant donc d'un tuteur. Tuticia Victoria est également héritière, ce qui signifie que sa mère a laissé un testament en sa faveur. À la date du décès de sa mère, elle pouvait être considérée comme une pupille, n'ayant probablement pas plus de sept ans. De nombreuses inscriptions montrent que les femmes se mariaient très jeunes, phénomène que l'on observe aussi bien dans les provinces que dans d'autres parties de l'Empire. Par exemple, une inscription mentionne que Minucia Suavis était mariée à Publius Sextilius Campanus avant de mourir à l'âge de 14 ans, 8 mois et 23 jours[42].

Dans ce cas, le tuteur de la fillette a été désigné par testament: il s'agissait donc d'un *tutor dativus*[43]. Si Tuticia Victoria avait connu son père, elle aurait pu avoir un tuteur sans que sa mère ne laisse de testament, un *tutor optivus*, c'est-à-dire un agnat, tuteur légal des enfants, donc un tuteur légitime[44].

[40] Voir IDR III/5.1, 363.

[41] Ardevan 2010, 125.

[42] Edmondson 2014, 9–10.

[43] Gai. *Inst.* I 154: *Vocantur autem hi, qui nominatim testamento tutores dantur, dativi, qui ex optione sumuntur, optivi.*

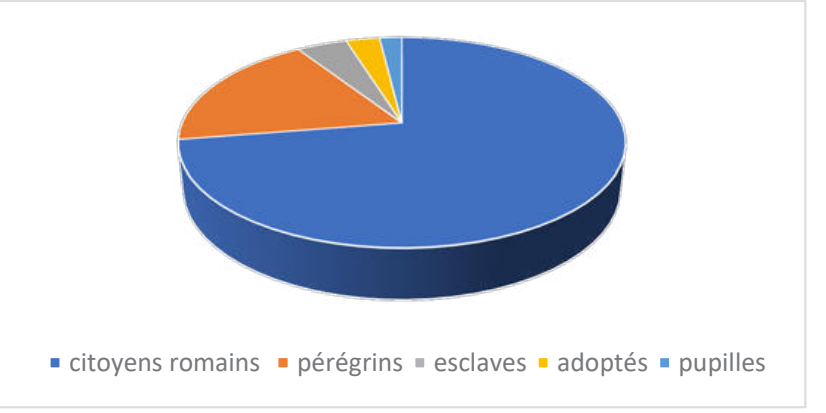
[44] Gai. *Inst.* I 155–156: *Quibus testamento quidem tutor datus non sit, iis ex lege XII tabularum agnati sunt tutores, qui vocantur legitimi. 156. Sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione iuncti, quasi a patre cognati, veluti frater eodem patre natus, fratris filius neposve ex eo, item patruus et patrui filius et nepos ex eo. At hi, qui per feminini sexus personas cognatione coniunguntur, non sunt agnati, sed alias naturali iure cognati. Itaque inter avunculum et sororis filium non agnatio est, sed cognatio. Item amitae, materterae filius non est mihi agnatus, sed cognatus, et invicem scilicet ego illi eodem iure coniungor, quia qui nascuntur, patris, non matris familiam secuntur.*

Conclusions

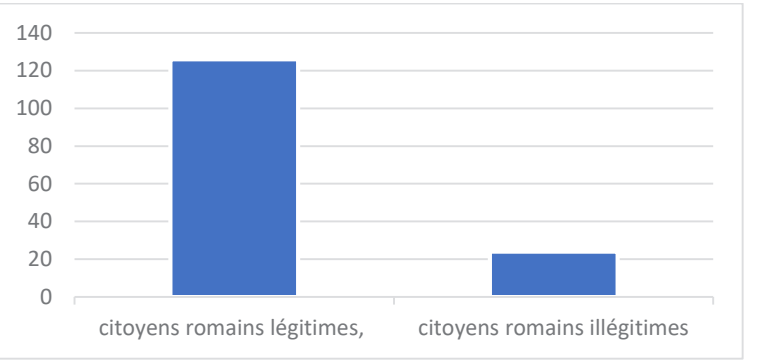
Le matériel épigraphique dont nous disposons est assez abondant pour la province de Dacie, même si certaines catégories de personnes ne sont pas aussi fréquemment attestées; cela ne signifie pas pour autant qu'elles constituaient une minorité. En matière de droit privé, on constate que les lois ont été appliquées, ce qui montre que la société s'était conformée aux nouvelles règles et normes imposées par l'Empire romain. Il existe toutefois certaines particularités, du moins dans le cas des enfants dont les parents étaient des esclaves impériaux. La classification de ces enfants en fonction de leur statut civil qu'ils avaient est importante, car chaque union conjugale produit des effets juridiques dans le domaine des successions.

Par ailleurs, dans certaines familles, le statut des enfants est différent, même s'ils sont frères, ce qui démontre qu'il y a eu des dissolutions de mariages et que les enfants sont issus de plusieurs relations, ce qui explique leur statut différent, hérité d'ailleurs de leur mère.

En ce qui concerne la catégorisation de ces enfants, il faut tenir compte du fait qu'ils sont égaux dans la grande majorité des cas, même si leurs parents sont des colons, des citoyens romains ou des affranchis. Les différences d'ordre juridique concernent surtout les parents, et non les descendants.



On constate que la majorité des enfants de la province avaient le statut de citoyens romains légitimes, ce qui démontre que la société s'était rapprochée autant que possible du modèle de l'Empire romain. Sur le total des inscriptions analysées (207), les enfants citoyens légitimes sont attestés dans 126 inscriptions, représentant enfants nés d'un mariage reconnu en droit privé. En effet, la condition des parents n'est pas la même, mais on ne peut pas toujours observer la fonction ou l'origine exacte de l'un des parents. De plus, une partie significative des inscriptions provient des grands centres urbains (Sarmizegetusa et Apulum), beaucoup moins venant des zones autour des villes. Les enfants illégitimes apparaissent dans 24 inscriptions, avec un nombre total de 30 enfants, dont 17 connaissent leur père, tandis que 13 ne le connaissent pas ou peut-être que le père n'apparaît pas dans les inscriptions. Nous avons 3 attestations d'Apulum, 4 d'Ampelum, 2 d'Alburnus Maior, 2 de Sarmizegetusa, 3 de Micia, et un cas chacun à Porolissum, Germisara, Călugăreni, Arcobadara, Crișești, Lupeni, Tibiscum, Moldova Nouă et Potaissa.



Le nombre d'enfants non-citoyens est assez réduit et beaucoup plus faible par rapport à celui des citoyens romains. Les enfants des pérégrins étaient inférieurs aux enfants des citoyens du point de vue juridique, car ils ne jouissaient pas de tous les droits, je fais ici référence au droit d'accéder à des fonctions publiques ou au droit de vote. Toutefois, une partie d'entre eux avaient des pères citoyens romains, mais ils ont hérité de la condition de leur mère d'origine pérégrine. Ils sont attestés dans 38 inscriptions (55 enfants), et plus de la moitié d'entre eux proviennent d'Alburnus Maior (7 inscriptions), d'Apulum (7 inscriptions) et de Tibiscum (6 inscriptions). Nous avons encore une inscription à Mehadia, Zegaia, Agnita, Romula, Sucidava, Galicea Mare, Napoca, Arcobadara, Potaissa, Șeica Mică et trois inscriptions chacune à Sighișoara et Ampelum.

En ce qui concerne le nombre d'enfants esclaves, le nombre d'inscriptions est très réduit, les deux parents étant mentionnés seulement dans 3 inscriptions sur un total de 9 (10 enfants esclaves sont attestés, dont 6 sont des esclaves impériaux). En ce qui concerne l'union conjugale des parents, on constate que parfois nous avons une forme de concubinage (lorsqu'un des deux parents est citoyen romain ou affranchi), et d'autres fois nous rencontrons un *contubernium* (ILD 991, IDR III/2, 373; IDR III/3, 405; IDR III/5.1, 356).

La situation est similaire dans le cas des enfants adoptés ou des pupilles. Les attestations épigraphiques sont réduites, mais ce fait ne détermine pas la situation réelle en Dacie. Nous avons 10 inscriptions, dont 6 concernent des cas d'adoption, deux venant de Sarmizegetusa, deux d'Apulum, une de Băile Herculane et une d'Alburnus Maior. Toutefois, il faut tenir compte du fait que tous ne pouvaient pas se permettre d'élever des inscriptions, comme c'est parfois le cas des esclaves qui n'ont pas encore été libérés. Le plus souvent, on les rencontre dans les inscriptions votives, plus rarement dans les inscriptions funéraires.

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Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 93–125

THE ROMAN FUNERARY MEDALLIONS IN DACIA POROLISSENSIS

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.05

Abstract: The article attempts to carry out an analysis regarding the use and spread of this type of funerary monument on the territory of the province of Dacia Porolissensis. The number of discoveries is not large, and the vast majority of the monuments is fragmentarily preserved. In the current context of the level of research, it is noted that this type of funerary monument appears in the necropolises of the military centers of Potaissa and Porolissum, but also at the auxiliary forts Gilău, Gherla, Arcobara/Ilișua, Romita, Tihău. From a stylistic point of view, they are varied both in terms of quality and iconography, from carefully carved pieces to some modest achievements, from the representation of a single character to the busts of eight characters. Typologically they belong to a single type – free-standing medallions; this model of North-Italic influence penetrated Dacia Porolissensis through the Noric-Pannonian branch.

Keywords: medallion; funerary monument; deceased; Dacia Porolissensis; Roman art.

Rezumat: Articolul încearcă să analizeze utilizarea și răspândirea acestui tip de moument funerar pe teritoriul provinciei Dacia Porolissensis. Numărul descoperirilor nu este unul foarte mare, marea majoritatea a monumentelor fiind păstrată fragmentar. În contextul actual al evoluției cercetărilor se observă faptul că acest tip de monument funerar apare în necropolele centrelor militare Potaissa și Porolissum, dar și în zona castrelor auxiliare Gilău, Gherla, Arcobara/Ilișua, Romita, Tihău. Din punct de vedere stilistic, ele sunt variate atât calitativ, cât și iconografic; categoria cuprinde o gamă largă, de la piese îngrijit sculptate la unele realizări modeste, de la reprezentarea unui singur personaj până la cea în care sunt redate busturile a opt personaje. Tipologic ele aparțin unui singur tip – medalioane de sine stătătoare; acest model de influență nord-italică pătrunde în Dacia Porolissensis pe filieră norico-pannonică.

Cuvinte-cheie: medalion; monument funerar; defunct; Dacia Porolissensis; artă romană.

The funerary medallion is one of the funerary monuments present in Dacia Porolissensis. These are stone monuments, and their main feature is a large disk on which the portraits of the family of the deceased were carved. They probably originated in the *imagines clipeatae* of Noricum and Pannonia, from where they spread throughout the Empire.[1] Winkes believes that these *imagines clipeatae* must be associated both with the idea of cultural heritage, and with the idea of *pompa triumphalis*,[2] since the 1st century AD. The depiction of the busts of the deceased in a circular register, taking into account their *post mortem* heroisation, has become a real funerary symbol, with the image of the deceased in a clam-shell niche or surrounded by a laurel *corona*.

[1] Frova 1961, 567–569.

[2] Winkes 1969, 81–83.

The dimensions of a medallion vary between 1.20–0.75 m in height and 0.75–0.48 in diameter and between 0.30–0.12 m in thickness.[3] The figurative part of the medallions consists of the portraits of the deceased in the form of busts. The number of busts displayed ranges from one to seven. If several busts appear, they are represented in different registers: the parents are in the upper part, larger in size. They appear as a circle or a concave niche surrounded by a circular frame, a pseudo-cornice. The upper part is decorated with a trapezoidal acroterion on which the pine cone or the sitting lion is fixed. The lower part has a foot for fixing to a pedestal.

The funerary medallion enjoyed particular attention among the researchers. Gr. Florescu,[4] embracing Schober's thesis,[5] which placed the origin of this type of funerary monument in Noricum, considered here as local production, which derived, as mentioned above, from *imagines clipeatae*. The medallion was imported from northern Italy, from a center with long sculptural tradition, such as Altino (Altinum), where the *imago clipeata* decorated the superior registers of the funerary steles.[6] The most active centers were Virunum[7] and Flavia Solva.[8] Around the 60's, the problem was resumed by D. Protase, who published a number of 23 medallions, besides those already known.[9] He called this type of medallion a stand-alone medalllion, "Freishtehendes Rundmedallionen", on which he noted the association with lions, fairly interpreted by him as a specific form for Dacia Superior. He established the following classification:

1. medallions with a gable;
2. simple medallion, without annexed architectural elements;
3. medallion associated with *genius* figures;
4. medallion associated with apotropaic lions.

Starting from the finds in Noricum, stand-alone medallions appear mainly in its south-eastern area (Flavia Solva, Noreia, Virunum), and in Pannonia, gravitating mainly towards Pannonia Inferior, including the first three types, with a relative chronology established for them[10]. The medallion with a gable is the initial form, but it was out of fashion when Dacia was incorporated in the Empire,[11] as researcher E. Walde points out when analyzing the issue of the funerary medallion in Noricum. The independent medallion, widespread in Upper Dacia, Noricum, and Pannonia, would later be joined by *genii* in Pannonia and apotropaic lions in Dacia, under the influence of regional factors. This latter phenomenon dates back to the beginning of the 3rd century BC. With the publication of another 8 artifacts, C. Pop, Al. Aldea, I. Chifor, and V. Lucăcel, resume the discussion.[12] Analyzing the spreading area of the medallionss produced in Dacia, the authors established Apulum (9 items), Porolissum (one item) and Cristeşti (4 items)

[3] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 31.
[4] Florescu 1930, 123–128, 136.
[5] Schober 1923, 209.
[6] Scarpellini 1987, 40.
[7] CSIR Österreich, II/2, nos. 106–121.
[8] Schober 1923, nos. 335–349.
[9] Protase 1960, 324–331, see also 329, n. 2; Protase 1961, 133–140.
[10] Protase 1960, 324–331, see also 329, n. 2; Protase 1961, 133–140.
[11] Walde 2005, 138.
[12] Pop et alii 1968, 413–420.

as distribution centers of this type to other localities. D. Protase proposed the following classification, by merging groups 3 and 4:

a. medallions with gable;

b. simple medallions;

c. composed medallions.[13]

Later, in 1972, L. Ţeposu Marinescu, resumed the discussion, in a wider context, adding to the 31 known items, another 6.[14] Based on D. P. Dimitrov's works,[15] she enlarges the area of spread of these types of funerary monuments in eastern, north-eastern and southern Macedonia,[16] while, at the same time, she remarks the presence of a medallion associated with lions at Aque.[17] The author accepts the Noric-Pannonian origin of the stand-alone medallion from Dacia Superior. She dated the medallions with a shell-shaped niche in the first half of the 2nd century and established Apulum as the spreading center of this type. The originality of the Dacian medallions consists, according to the author, in addition to the association with lions, in the presence of the *corona*, as well as in the large number of represented characters, and the enrichment of some already established types, as Gr. Florescu notes.[18] C. Pop, V. Moga, Al. Aldea will conduct another study on the funerary medallion, discussing a total of 43 items.[19] As for the origin of this type, they maintain the same line as their predecessors, making an extensive list of the settlements in Pannonia, Noricum, Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia Inferior, where such funerary medallions are found.[20]

L. Ţeposu Marinescu will bring further clarifications on the issue of funerary medallions. If until now each province had a specific local variant (in Noricum, the medallion with front, in Pannonia the one with *genii*, in Dacia with lions, in Macedonia with the border ornamented with vines, pearls and egg-shapes), the origin of all is deduced from the Norican form, considered as primary. Although the north of Italy was unanimously recognized as the starting point of the various types of funerary monuments in the western provinces, the specially worked medallion was nevertheless regarded as an invention from Noricum, derived directly from *imagines clipeatae*. G. Sena Chiesa published the artifacts from Altina,[21] radically changing some previous suppositions, so that now it can be said that the stand-alone medallion with the shell-shaped niche is a creation of the workshop at Altina.

By analogy with discoveries from Noricum and northern Italy, as well as the existence of protuberances on the lower parts of the monuments, L. Ţeposu Marinescu concludes that most of them were fixed on altars or funerary columns.[22] They seem to be unitary throughout Dacia, giving the feeling of a homogeneous type of funeral construction,

[13] Pop et alii 1968, 419–420.

[14] Ţeposu Marinescu 1972, 218–220.

[15] Dimitrov 1947, 135.

[16] Ţeposu Marinescu 1972, 218, n. 23.

[17] Veličković 1961, 93–100.

[18] Florescu 1930, 143.

[19] Pop et alii 1972, 503–516.

[20] Pop et alii 1972, 515.

[21] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 34–35; Sena Chiesa 1954, 21–28, nos. 21–28; Sena Chiesa 1960, 622.

[22] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 32.

while emphasizing a series of elements such as niches or profiles that differentiate them. Consequently, the medallions in Dacia were divided by L. Ţeposu Marinescu, according to a firmer criterion, Noric-Pannonian or North-Italian inspiration, in:

a. medallions with shell-shaped niche;

b. medallions with smooth niche.

The differentiation criterion applied was that of the presence or absence of the *corona*, distinguishing three variants for each.[23] Thus, for medallions with a *corona* decorated with vegetal elements, she distinguished three groups:

type A – medallions with a heavily profiled shell-shaped niche;

type B – medallions with a barely sketched shell-shaped niche;

type C – medallions with a niche with a flat bottom.

For medallions with no decoration on the profile, she distinguished also three groups:[24]

type A – medallions with a profiled shell-shaped niche;

type B – medallions with a barely sketched shell-shaped niche;

type C – medallions with a niche with a flat bottom.

C. Ciongradi resumed the issue of the funerary medallion in Dacia dealing with the spreading, typology and chronology of this type of funerary monument in Dacia Superior. The clarifications she makes points out that, in the typology of medallions, the decorative elements such as the leaf wreath and the shell-shaped niche cannot be taken into account, because they are not structural elements and have no influence on its structure.[25] Also, the canopy of the medallion cannot be considered a dating criterion, since in the majority of cases it is not worked from the same piece as the medallion. Following the analysis of this type of monument in Dacia, she used the following classification:

1. stand-alone medallions;

2. medallions associated with lions.[26]

In a recent article, C. Ciongradi noted that Dacian medallions are clearly distinct from those of Noricum[27] due to the absence of the gable, the depth of the niche, and the different dimensions. G. Kremer distinguished two distinct types in Noricum:[28] small medallions with frieze and medallions of significant size with gable and pediment. Ciongradi remarked once again the north-italic influence on this type of funerary monument in Dacia.[29] E. Pochmarski[30] notes for Noricum that the main influence for the medallions here comes from northern Italy, from Altino.

Regarding the free, stand-alone medallions, C. Ciongradi pointed out that they represent the majority of the medallions in Dacia, with important centers at Apulum and Micia. In a round and concave niche, sometimes in the shape of a clam, which can be surrounded by a crown of leaves, the busts of the deceased are placed, in some cases on a railing and on two rows. A chronological evolution can only be determined on the basis

[23] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 33.
[24] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 33.
[25] Ciongradi 2007, 93.
[26] Ciongradi 2007, 94.
[27] Ciongradi 2004, 398.
[28] Kremer 2001, 345.
[29] Ciongradi 2003, 534.
[30] Pochmarski 1991, 126.

of decorative and stylistic elements. Thus, the earliest ones are those with a shell-shaped niche and without a crown of leaves.[31] For this type of medallions, an influence has been proposed from northern Italy and from Noricum. Stand-alone circular medallions exist also in Pannonia, in eastern and southern Macedonia, in Thrace and Moesia Inferior.[32] Both the medallions of Moesia Inferior and Macedonia, and the small ones of Noricum probably have a direct origin in the medallions of the Venetian[33] region in northern Italy.

The medallions in Noricum usually show only two characters in the niche. Those in Dacia do not have a roof, and in the niche up to seven people can be represented.[34] This mode of representation is met in Macedonia,[35] where up to nine people can appear in the medallion. The Noricum medallions are also remarkable due to the lack of a pedestal and they have much larger dimensions than those in Pannonia. The ones found in Moesia Superior were dated to the 3rd century AD, but they are much less numerous than those in Noricum. A particular situation was recorded in Dalmatia, where they are dated pretty late, as they are considered as takeovers from the Pannonian world or Dacia.[36] In Moesia Inferior and Thracia the appearance of this type of funerary monument is accidental, and only two copies for each are known.[37] Instead, it is quite popular in Macedonia, with important centers such as the Thessalonica region, where about 7 items were found.[38] Regarding the province Moesia Superior, a recent study identified about 7 items as coming from its territory.[39] From the point of view of their dimensions, they are similar to those in Dacia and Noricum. Typologically, they were divided into three categories: medallions with portraits, shell-shaped medallions and medallions with a pedestal with facing lions.[40] Recently, Migotti concluded that the funerary medallion originated in Noricum spread towards Pannonia in two main directions: 1) by various routes towards southwestern Upper Pannonia; 2) via the river Danube towards the towns Carnuntum, Aquincum and Intercisa in northern Pannonia, to proceed further towards Lower Pannonia, and the province's southern stretches.[41]

In Dacia, the circular medallions appear mainly in the cemeteries of the forts of Dacia Superior, such as Apulum, Micia and Cristeşti, whose troops come from Pannonia, so one can assume their origin in the Noric-Pannonian space, the medallions in Dacia representing a local evolution of the Pannonic type, brought here by the first Roman colonists.[42] L. Bianchi remarks that in Dacia the busts are not arranged in registers one above the other, but staggered on two planes.[43]

[31] Ciongradi 2007, 94.
[32] Ciongradi 2007, 94.
[33] Ciongradi 2007, 95.
[34] Schober 1923, 144.
[35] Ciongradi 2007, 95.
[36] Pilipović 2010, 498.
[37] Dimitrov 1947, 11–13, Fig. 13.
[38] CSIR Griechenland, III/1, nos. 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 68, 97.
[39] Pilipović 2010, 492–496; Pilipović 2012, 103–107.
[40] Pilipović 2012, 500.
[41] Migotti 2020, 71.
[42] Ciongradi 2007, 96.
[43] Bianchi 2006, 284.

Circular medallions with lion-shaped pedestals only appear in Apulum and Micia. They consist of a circular medallion with a trapeze-shaped acroterion, which at the bottom ends with a base consisting of two back-to-back lions on a plinth.[44] In literature, this type is presented as a local creation that was born in Dacia in the 3rd century AD.[45] The evolution of the type in Dacia consists of the block layout, the space between the lions disappears, the medallion rests on the back of the lions, and is surrounded by a leaf crown.[46] For the medallions in Apulum and Micia a dating was proposed in the second half of the 2nd century AD.[47]

Regarding the functionality of this type of monument, researchers have issued a series of hypotheses. Many of them have holes in the back, and Gr. Florescu concluded that they were framed in the walls of funerary buildings.[48] M. Gramatopol compared them with the medallions from the stelae of Hispania, which are finished in the upper part with a medallion cut in the same slab with the inscription and connected by a peduncle to it.[49] The discovery of a medallion with a funerary column at Micia[50] led L. Ţeposu Marinescu and L. Mărghitan to the conclusion that they were exposed or on an altar, like the Camporosso medallion,[51] or on a column.

A medallion located on such a column was found in Rome.[52] In an eloquent study, O. Harl treats the issue of the funerary medallion's belonging to the funerary altar based on the analysis of *Avillia Leda*'s Camporosso (Sainfnitz) monument.[53] Analyzing 12 medallions and several inscriptions, the author concludes that this type of monument can only occur if the inscription is linked to a medallion in which a couple of spouses are represented. But he fails to identify a monument that is definitely composed of two clear elements: an altar and the corresponding medallion. He thus puts forward the idea that such a funeral monument cannot be said to have existed with certainty in Noricum, and that the two pieces were glued together sometime later. The author concludes that the medallions were placed on square stone bases located near the foundation of the grave. G. Kremer reprises this issue and brings a series of arguments about dimensions, fixing holes and comparisons with medallions from neighboring provinces, so she concludes that this type of altar with medallion existed undoubtedly both in Noricum and in Pannonia, Moesia or Dacia, but with some modifications.[54] She identifies as the main distribution centers of this type of funerary monument Virunum and Flavia Solva. Thus, the attempt to reconstruct the artifact from Micia may be correct;[55] columns with funerary inscriptions have been discovered at Apulum,[56] where the largest number of funerary medallions in Dacia is

[44] Ciongradi 2007, 96.
[45] Protase 1960, 323.
[46] Ciongradi 2007, 96.
[47] Ciongradi 2007, 96.
[48] Florescu 1930, 143.
[49] Gramatopol 2000, 229.
[50] David, Mărghitan 1968, 133, Fig. II, no. 44.
[51] Schober 1923, 133, Fig. 144.
[52] Ciongradi 2007, 96.
[53] Harl 1991, 32–34.
[54] Kremer 2001, 344–347.
[55] David, Mărghitan 1968, 133, Fig. II, no. 4.
[56] IDR III/5.2, 489, 516, 526, 544, 559, 570, 650.

found. B. Migotti, considering those pieces whose lower sections have survived partially or even completely, testify that all of them were equipped with a device for fixing them to a pedestal of some kind, with two possible restorations: in one case there was a tongue-like prominence acting as a kind of tenon; the other, with a truncated-pyramidal base (rarely prismatic), containing a central socket along its entire height, to fit onto a pedestal, with a corresponding fitting device.[57] In addition to a hypothetical joining to altartype pedestals and similar stone blocks, some funerary medallions were found in contexts suggestive of their connection to funerary enclosures, either through walling or abutting the enclosure walls.[58]

Based on analogies with Noricum and the north of Italy, we believe that most of them were fixed on altars and funerary columns. The circular medallions with lion-shaped pediment also suggest the possibility of displaying stand-alone medallions, namely on a pediment consisting of two back-to-back lions (Pl. I/2).[59] They could thus be exposed on the wall of a funeral enclosure, a method suggested also for a medallion from Flavia Solva.[60]

L. Țeposu Marinescu identified, in 1982, about 43 monuments in Dacia,[61] and in 2007 C. Ciongradi catalogued 17 pieces in the sculptural center Apulum,[62] and 6 in Micia.[63] Some recent discoveries of this type of funerary monuments come from Alburnus Maior[64] and Apulum.[65]

In Dacia Porolissensis we know about 12 funerary medallions (Pl I, Fig. 1). Of these, 6 have been preserved almost entirely, and two fragments are missing. From a typological point of view, they belong to type I – stand-alone medallions.

Potaissa

From Potaissa, from the necropolis at the entrance to Mihai Viteazu village,[66] comes a very well-preserved funerary medallion (Potaissa M1 – Pl. II/1). It is a special medallion, with a diameter of 69 cm. In a niche there are two characters in the form of busts, husband and wife, the man on the right and the woman on the left. The medallion consists of a concave niche, decorated with a laurel *corona*, tied with a *taenia*, visible at the bottom of the item, and held by a rosette at the top. The man's face is damaged, one can still see the rich

[57] Migotti 2020, 56.

[58] Schober 1923, 180; Harl 1991, 33–34; Palágyi 1991, 287; Boppert 1997, 58–59; Kremer 2001, 345; Walde 2005, 131; Pochmarski 2011, 22–23.

[59] Ciongradi 2007, 97.

[60] Harl 1991, 34.

[61] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 188–198.

[62] Ciongradi 2007, 252–257.

[63] Ciongradi 2007, 257–259.

[64] Ciongradi, Bârcă 2007, 273–275; see also Ciongradi 2009, 102–104.

[65] Bolog 2011, 153–162.

[66] Russu, Milea 1964, 31, no. 19, Fig. 19; Bărbulescu 2016, 88–89, Fig. 80. Unfortunately, the monument has disappeared from the History Museum in Turda, and only a series of photographs of it have been preserved. For this article, I used the photograph recently published by M. Bărbulescu in the work *Potaissa. L'arte romana in una città della Dacia*, Roma 2016, 80 (Pl. II, Fig. 3) and a photograph from the local museum's archive, received from Mariana Andone-Rotaru to whom I thank on this occasion (Pl. II, Fig. 4). Since none of the preserved photos are of very good quality, we preferred to use both of them, for a better visualization of the monument.

beard, the short hair, and the ears. His *tunica* is well-rendered, with wide folds. The cloak worn over it is clasped on the right shoulder with a round fibula. Olso we can notice that the cloak has a tassel (or metal weights) attached to the ends over the left shoulder, so that the drapery falls as elegantly as possible.[67] The woman, whose face is equally damaged, has a "Melonenfrisur" hairstyle.[68] She wears a *tunica*, and over it a *palla* whose end she holds with her left hand. In the lower part there was a trapezoidal support with a rectangular hole, with the sides of 3 cm and a depth of 7 cm, which was used to fix the monument. In the upper part, one can see the remains of a pine cone. It is one of the best renderings in Dacia Porolissensis, with some artistic qualities. Based on the stylistic criteria, it was dated in the second half of the 2nd century AD.

This monument features all the elements specific to the Noric-Pannonian medallions. They have an embedded front. They also had a peduncle by which they were attached to a flattened funerary construction, on a monolithic or segmented stela, thick enough to bear the burden. The vast majority of these separately made medallions have two peduncles on the vertical axis: one with which they were attached to the upper side of the slab with inscription of the stela or the altar and the other that held the canopy, such as the monument from Gilău (Gilău M1). Analogies in Dacia for these types of medallions are at Apulum and Micia.[69] The independent medallion does not appear in Dacia Inferior and only one item is known in Moesia Inferior, at Oescus.[70] Large numbers occur in Noricum, at Virunum and Flavia Solva,[71] and they are also found in Pannonia,[72] eastern and northeastern Macedonia,[73] Thrace[74] and Moesia Inferior.[75] A possible source of inspiration for the Potaissa medallion is a medallion from Virunum,[76] also with a rich vegetal decoration on the *corona*. The one who carves the monument's *corona* uses a special vegetal motif similar to what appears on the border of the field of the relief of a funerary stela that also comes from Potaissa.[77] This decoration cannot be found on other monuments in Dacia Porolissensis. Even the characters' clothing is different, especially the male character's cloak, which has a tassel or a round metal weight on each of the two corners of its edge. The same type of cloak appears also on a fragment of an *aedicula* wall from Potaissa;[78] the custom of trimming the lower edge of the cloak with fringes or metal balls at the corners is known in Noricum, Pannonia and Illyricum.[79] It is certain that the medallion discovered at Mihai Viteazu is the sculpture of a skilled craftsman, which was probably carved at a moment before or soon after the arrival of the Legio V Macedonica into the area. We assume that this type of monument, specific to the Pannonic world,

[67] Bărbulescu 2015, 80.
[68] Bărbulescu 2016, 89.
[69] Ciongradi 2007, 252–253, M/A1, Taf. 113; 257–258, M/M1, Taf. 114.
[70] Dimitrov 1945, 50, Fig. 37.
[71] Schober 1923, 144–148.
[72] Schober 1923, 144–151; Schober 1935, 91.
[73] Rütsch 1969, 59, 184, M 1–24.
[74] Dimitrov 1947, 135–136.
[75] Conrad 2004, 459, Taf. 139.
[76] Schober 1923, 144–145, no. 329, Abb. 164.
[77] Bărbulescu 2015, 190, no. 33.
[78] Bujor 1967, 198, no. 13, Fig. 5/4.
[79] Čremošnik 1964, 761.

was no longer preferred by the military contingents brought to the area, which had other tastes. Since it is a funerary monument that is not excessively expensive, it is possible that an important figure of the pre-urban settlement commissioned the construction of such a monument in his memory. However, the dating of the necropolis, based on the coins found in the discovered sarcophagi,[80] places its chronological start sometime after the Legion arrives in the area. This does not exclude the fact that the monument belonged to an earlier period of the necropolis, and those who arrived in the area used at first a place already "consecrated" as a burial space.

Porolissum

Two funerary medallions have been preserved from Porolissum, while other monuments that could have been fragments belonging to this type of funerary monument no longer exist and there are no photographs of them, only a few brief pieces of information.[81]

The first monument (Porolissum M1 – Pl. III/1) is fragmentary, with the edge of the medallion completely broken, and the original circular shape is not noticeable. Under these conditions, the only clue suggesting that this is a funerary medallion is the convex shape of the back of the medallion. It presents the busts of 8 people, thus being the funerary monument with the largest number of persons represented in Dacia.

It is a particular medallion of indeterminate type. The relief is relatively well preserved, only the faces of the deceased are damaged. Within the niche the eight-member family is represented. The busts of the eight are arranged in three rows. In the upper register are the busts of the parents, the man on the right, probably wearing a *sagum*, and the woman on the left dressed in a *palla*. Both have their heads broken. In the middle row there are four children: three girls and one boy on the right. The first girl on the right seems to wear a *palla*, and the boy wears a *paenula* over the *tunica*. The hairstyle of the girls is also individual: the first and the third girl have two loops above the ears, and the second seems to have one loop. In the third row two younger children are represented: a girl on the right, and probably a boy. The children seem to wear *tunicae*. The representations of the deceased seem to be individual in all respects (figure, hair, clothing), which brings this relief closer to the portrait technique.[82] The convex back of the piece is the main argument that the medallion is a special one.

The large number of busts on the medallions from *Dacia* is considered a special feature of the funerary art of this province.[83] As only a part of the relief field is preserved, we are not able to make any specification about the typological framing of the Porolissum fragment. As for the chronological classification, some stylistic elements and aspects of the carving technique are eloquent from this point of view. It is noteworthy that the corners of the eyes and the mouths of the characters were worked with the drill, indicating a dating of the artifact in the 3rd century. The placement of the artifact in the 3rd century is also reinforced by the *Iulia Domna* hairstyle of the girl on the left of the third row. The fact that it is a child, the chronological value of the hairstyle is higher

[80] Ţigăra 1960, 211.

[81] Tóth 1978, 40, nos. 2–5; Gudea 1989, 788, nos. 100–103.

[82] Petruţ 2010, 114–115.

[83] Kremer-Molitor 2006, 91.

than in the case of representations of adults or elderly people,[84] therefore we consider that a dating in the first decade of the 3rd century is viable. The arrangement of those represented is done on three overlapping levels, and there can be no confusion between the family members.

In Dacia there are quite a few medallions made with several characters in the niche. Usually only three characters are represented, with the exception of two medallions from Micia,[85] possible analogies for the Porolissum monument. The number of figures on the south-Danubian medallions varies frequently between 7 and 9. This shows the North-Italic influence that exists in this monument. It entered Dacia Porolissensis through the South Danube branch. This type of funerary medallion is the earliest and seems to have a short existence. An analogy comes from Apoldul de Sus,[86] where four children were represented in the inferior register, or from Ampelum,[87] where three rows of characters are represented. Perhaps the closest analogy is the medallion from Ghirbom,[88] which contains 7 busts with adults and one child in the middle, and four other children in front.

The second monument (Porolissum M2[89] – Pl. III/2, a-b) is almost complete, missing only the lower part of its pedestal. At the top, it ends with a trapezoid-shaped acroterion. A 3,5 × 3,5 cm and 4 cm deep fixing hole is kept on its flattened upper part. Inside the niche the busts of three characters represented on two registers are preserved: in the upper one there is the bust of a male character and a female character, and in the lower one the bust of a child. All three characters are represented in the pose of busts. In the case of the male individual one can observe a distinctive hairstyle, with the hair combed forward in symmetrical strands rendered as parallel stripes descending above the ears and covering the entire skull. Just beneath the narrow forehead, one can distinguish facial features with prominent eyebrows, producing a grimace that betrays a slight depression around the eyes and nose. The corners of the eyes are marked by deep incisions. The eyes are exophthalmic and round, with pupils and irises represented by concentric circles. The thin nose, rendered straight, has been heavily damaged since antiquity. The individual has a full, well-shaped beard, created through fine incisions made with a chisel. He wears a tunic rendered with parallel stripes perpendicular to the collar area. On his right shoulder he wears a cloak depicted with concentric parallel folds, placed somewhat anachronistically, as it does not appear on the left shoulder. The umbo that resulted while sculpting the folds – depicted in the same manner – was intended by the craftsman, based on his limited artistic knowledge, to suggest that the character was wearing a toga. One can also notice the stripe (*clavus*) on his left shoulder. The female figure's face is sculpted approximately identically, with only a subtle thinning of the cheek and chin. Her hair is tied with a ribbon, schematically suggested by a lace pattern, which is very difficult to distinguish from her hair. Since the carving is primitive, it cannot be ruled out that she may actually be wearing a bonnet.[90] It

[84] Ciongradi 2007, 31.

[85] Ciongradi 2007, 258, M/M 3, Taf. 114; 258–259, M/M 4, Taf. 114.

[86] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 188, no. M2, Pl. XXXI.

[87] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 191–120, no. M16, Pl. XXXI.

[88] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 193, no. M21, Pl. XXXIII.

[89] See Zăgreanu, Iov 2025, 269-277.

[90] Boișteanu 2024, 47, type four.

seems that the ribbon or bonnet reveals the contours of the hairstyle underneath. She wears a schematically rendered *stola* and *palla*. The female character in the lower register has a similarly sculpted face, with a deeply rendered nose and forehead. The hairstyle is rendered in a primitive manner, with a parting in the middle, and strands carved parallel to each other. He wears a tunic with a deep collar.

According to the typology proposed by C. Ciongradi,[91] the item belongs to the category of free-standing medallions, which present a circular niche surrounded by a wreath of leaves tied with a *taenia*, having a rosette in the upper part and on the maximum diameter. Regarding the chronological framework, some stylistic elements and aspects of the sculpting technique are eloquent. Some features worth noting may shed light on the matter: a) the eyes and mouths are circular, the globular eyes seemingly created as if with a compass; b) the orbits of the eyes are deeply set, with prominent pupils; c) the cheeks are modeled to appear somewhat "chubby," and the noses are rendered almost geometrically; d) the beard of the male figure is sculpted symmetrically, in contrast to the disproportionate yet also symmetrical ears. All these characteristics are stylistic features that suggest dating around the middle of the 3rd century AD. The technique used here arranges the individuals in overlapping levels, ensuring that there can be no confusion between family members, with the children placed in front and the parents slightly behind in the "picture". The monument seems to be a late version of this funerary model at Porolissum, an achievement without artistic valences, in contrast to the other medallion from Porolissum. The schematicism and the way hair and volumes are rendered remind us of other sculptural monuments from Dacia Porolissensis, with similarities to an aedicule wall from Gherla,[92] or one of the funerary medallions from Gilău.[93]

Gilău

Two funerary medallions have been, fortunately, preserved from Gilău. They are both free-standing medallions, but with certain differences in the applied sculptural technique.

The first of these (Gilău M1 – Pl. IV/1) is better preserved. The monument is from the category of free-standing medallions, with a clam-shaped niche.[94] The busts of a couple are represented in the medallion. To the right, the man wears a *tunica*, rounded at his neck, and a *sagum* fastened on his right shoulder with a round fibula. The hair is very schematically rendered through a row of parallel waves; he wears a rich beard; the eyes are rendered almond-shaped. On the left, the woman wears a *tunica* and probably a *palla* over it. The folds are neatly rendered, but highly stylized. She has a simple hairstyle, parted on the middle and tied at the back. The niche is very flattened, missing the shell ribs. The medallion is decorated on the edges with a laurel leaf *corona*, lacking its usual *taenia*, but decorated with four rosettes. This last element is executed with great care, in a rather pronounced relief. Some editors of the monument considered that this vegetal ornament on the *corona* could be interpreted in connection with *donum militare*,[95] a common motif on the funerary

[91] Ciongradi 2004, 398–405.

[92] Protase et alii 2008, 82, no. 2, Pl. XXX/2; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 253–254, no. 17, Pl. II/1.

[93] Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 118–119, no. 2, Fig. 2.

[94] Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 116–118, no. 1, Fig. 1; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 190, no. 11, Pl. XXX.

[95] Pop et alii 1968, 416.

monuments belonging to the military, and that it would prove the character's belonging to the military world, which is quite possible. At the top of the monument there is a pine cone without scales, 36 cm high, and at the bottom, carved in the same block, is the remain of the implantation foot. The item appears to have been painted with red-orange *minium*.

The specialized literature mentions three medallions with a shell-shaped niche from Dacia Porolissensis: from Gherla,[96] Ilișua[97] and Porolissum (see above). All of them have North-Italian inspiration with a highly profiled niche and were dated in the first half of the 2nd century AD. This medallion from Gilău is, however, one that departs from the original model, being much more schematic, although it was done neatly. It is a later creation,[98] when this type of funerary monument loses its popularity, suggesting a certain evolutionary stage of it in the province. It is not the craftsman's incompetence that creates this idea of schematism, but rather the fact that there is already a more simplistic, faster-to-achieve model, and which does not necessarily require the hand of a specialized craftsman. It should be underlined that this is the only medallion in Dacia from which the upper part and the pine cone have been preserved. It seems pretty rough, such canopies must have been on the other medallions on the province's territory.

The second medallion[99] (Gilău M2 – Pl. IV/2) presents in a niche the busts of two characters, a man on the right and a woman on the left. The garments are reproduced through several disordered and unnatural incisions. The hair of the man is suggested by a series of parallel strips, while his ears are deformed. The female character wears a bonnet specific to the Noric-Pannonian world, from where she must have originated. In this form of the Norican bonnet, the main band of cloth is now folded in arched layers over the head instead of horizontal, rendering the wedges over the ears (Rothe type H.1.1.2).[100] The faces have been heavily corroded so that the contours of the eyes, or the nose, are barely distinguishable. Later the figures were mutilated by piercing round holes in the eyes and mouth. The medallion is decorated with a *corona* of laurels, tied with a *taenia*, visible especially at the bottom of the item. On some portions, there are traces of *minium* painting. From a typological point of view, the medallion is distinguished by a smooth niche and it resembles that of Potaissa (Potaissa M1), but it seems to be a later, extremely schematically sculpted variant. It lacks the suppleness of the volumes and the vegetal decor of the *corona*. It is a typical representation that appears on the Noric-Pannonian medallions, but it is a rather rudimentary rendering.

The two medallions from Gilău are products of the local workshop, being reminiscent of a funerary art type that is at the end. They are trying to imitate, but more schematically, the monuments known by the veterans of the ala Siliana from the Pannonian environment, and which, adapted to the local environment and to the knowledge of the local stone-cutters, have led to the appearance of mediocre monuments. It is noticed that, for the craftsmen who made the two items, the art of the portrait was known only from the models they applied on the funerary stelas. By the bonnet of the female characters from

[96] Zăgreanu, Săsărman 2008, 191, no. 6, Fig. 13.
[97] Dănilă 1973, 605–609, Figs. 1–2.
[98] Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 118.
[99] Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 118–119, no. 2, Fig. 2; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 190, no. 12.
[100] Rothe 2012, 200.

Gilău M2 the monument can be dated into the period from the reign of Trajan to the early Severan period.[101]

Gherla

From Gherla we know two fragments of funerary medallions, one of which is lost. Unfortunately, their fragmentary state prevents us from making a more consistent analysis of them. The first of these (Gherla M1 – Pl. V/1), recently recovered,[102] proposes a crown of laurel leaves that adorns the niche with the usual *taenia*, most likely in the middle. The niche contains the head of a female character with a simple hairdressing, parted on the middle and gathered at the back, with two globular earrings in the ears. The physiognomy of the face is rendered fairly realistic. To the right, the man has very schematically rendered hair through a series of parallel strips, but half of his face is destroyed. A good analogy for our fragment is an item found at Orheiul Bistriţei[103] (O M1). Certainly, on the right side there was another character. Typologically the item belongs to the group of stand-alone, particular medallions, with a *corona* and a circular niche. It is difficult to be tightly dated, but medallions with three characters in the upper row of representation are extremely rare, in Dacia being known for the moment only two such items, one from Sarmisegetuza[104] and the one from Ghirbom mentioned above, dated in the 2nd century AD.

The second (Gherla M2 – Pl. V/2), now disappeared, has a crown of leaves that adorns the niche, from which a lot of ribs radiate. It contains a fragmentarily preserved woman's bust, the face fairly well rendered, her hair combed. The placing of the relief far to the right of the niche attests to the fact that the artifact was much larger and it probably represented another deceased on the right side of the woman. The placement far to the right of the niche, not in the middle of it, as well as the wide opening of the medallion, prove the existence of a richer sculptural scenery that is now gone. It is one of the only medallions in Dacia Porolissensis with a niche, which mimics the clamshell inside the niche. The most suitable analogies come from Apoldul de Sus[105] and Pătrângeni.[106] Although preserved only in a photo, the monument must have been of good quality. Based on analogies, the monument must be dated in the middle of the 2nd century AD. The inspiration source for the workshop in Gherla is rather the models in the Dacia Superior area, but given the fragmentary state of the medallions, we are cautious about discovering the certain influence of some workshops in the province.

Ilişua

From Ilişua, although fragmentary, comes one of the best made medallions in Dacia Porolissensis. The oval shape of the medallion[107] is obvious (Ilişua M1 – Pl. V/3). The medallion was placed on a pedestal and attached to it on an almost square iron peg, whose trace is partly visible in the monument's support. In the upper part, also scraped at the left

[101] Isac, Diaconescu 1980.
[102] Zăgreanu, Săsărman 2008, 191, no. 6, Fig. 13.
[103] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 189, no. M6.
[104] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 189, no. M5, Pl. XXX.
[105] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 189, no. M10, Pl. XXXI.
[106] Ciongradi 2007, 253–254, M/A4, Taf. 113.
[107] Dănilă 1973, 605–609, Figs. 1–2.

corner, is visible the almost square place, where a small iron bar with a square shape was fixed, above which it is very likely that the usual pine cone was placed, the trace of which can be distinguish in the rupture of the stone block. The medallion is bordered around by a slightly protruding border, but with a smooth background. In the clam-shaped niche of the medallion, gradually deepening from the border towards the center, are the portrait-busts of three people, in a serious, solemn, but quite expressive position. The characters are rendered from the front, slightly inclined towards the center of the picture. The man has the cloak attached to his right shoulder with a round fibula. He seems to have rich hair and short beard, specific to the late Anthoninian period. The woman, whose face is damaged today, wears a hairdo specific to the late Anthoninian-early Severian period. The woman's hair is arranged in short curls, and in the middle of her forehead forms an angle. The hair of the child and of the man is cut short, forming several strands in the face. The man has a beard and long moustache. Their clothing is simple. The woman holds her right hand raised to the chest, coming out of her coat. The figure of the child is less excellent, but it seems to be eroded. The characters have a rustic expression, and the craftsman has been pretty skillful, achieving a fairly good work.

The monument was dated in the second half of the 2nd century – early 3rd century AD. From a stylistic point of view, it is closer to the craftsmanship seen on the medallion from Mihai Viteazu, being different from the other monuments in the area. Though fragmented, it shows the hand of a more skillful stone-mason, who tries to give a little bit of realism to the figures of the deceased. It is closer to the mid-2nd century creations, when the Noric-Pannonian influence is more prominent. A good analogy with regard to the representation of the deceased is the Ampelum medallion,[108] where the deceased are also accurately rendered and observing the details of their faces, being the work of craftsmen familiar with the technique of the portrait in a niche. Another possible analogy is the medallion from Târnava.[109]

From I. Marţian's photographic archive there is the photo of a medallion (Ilişua M2 – Pl. V/4) from a group of monuments from Ilişua. The oval shape of the medallion is obvious. In the photo one can still distinguish a little from the physiognomy of two characters, one male and one female. The male character has wavy hair, one can see the mouth with full lips, the round nose and the almond-shaped eyes. The woman's face is only partially preserved, but it has the same manner of rendering. From the photo we can see that the nose has been broken. One can also distinguish the shoulders of the woman and her left hand, holding something, perhaps a glass. Although the artifact is not preserved, we can notice the superior quality of the sculpture, with the attempt of the craftsman to render the volumes using a thin chisel. A possible dating would be the beginning of the 3rd century AD, according to the manner of rendering of the characters' physiognomy. Given that the preserved photo is not one of a very good quality, any comment is useless.

Both medallions belong to the type of free-standing medallions, with a smooth niche. These seem to be monuments of good artistic quality, much better realized than those in a nearby center, like Gherla.

[108] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 191–192, no. M 16.

[109] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 196, no. M35, Pl. XXXIII.

Orheiu Bistriţei

An interesting story is that of the following funerary medallion which was taken out in 1954 by N. Someşan from the wall of I. Marţian's house in Năsăud (Orheiu Bistriţei M1 – Pl. VI/1), where it had been embedded in the plaster for decorative reasons. It was found at Sângeorz-Băi and later brought to Năsăud. The stone from which it comes is similar to that used in the sculptural and epigraphic monuments of Ilişua, being published as having this place of discovery. According to C. Gaiu,[110] the monument comes from the Roman fort from Orheiu Bistriţei, from where Marţian bought it. In the bibliography it was recorded as coming from Ilişua,[111] but without being properly analyzed.

The medallion (Orheiu Bistriţei M1 – Pl. VI/2), has a shell-shaped niche surrounded by a laurel crown with two symmetrical rosettes. In a niche there are two characters in the bust, one man on the right and one woman on the left, in front of them there is a child. The faces of the characters are damaged. From the man's bust we still see the rich hair, the beard, the flappy ears; he wears a tunic, the volume of which is rendered by overlapping folds, and on the shoulders, he seems to be wearing a cloak, pinned with a fibula on the right shoulder. The feminine character has a similar hair style, but is less well-dressed, in a *palla*. In their front is an extremely damaged child wearing a *tunica*. Very interesting is the unique way of rendering the corona with that classic vegetal motif, which has a ribbon that wraps around and encompasses both sides of the crown. We have an identical model on the corona of the funerary medallions that come from Micia[112] and Ghirbom.

The emergence of this monument in the eastern extremity of the province is unexpected, given that information on the necropolis of fort from Orheiul Bistriţei is missing. Between this and the medallion from Ilişua there are clear stylistic differences. For the medallion at Orheiul Bistriţei the best analogy comes from Micia,[113] which was dated in the first half of the 2nd century AD. We also tend to date the medallion from Orheiul Bistriţei to the middle of the 2nd century AD. Although the faces are damaged, the hairstyle of the characters reminds a lot of the hairstyle of some of the characters that appear on the funerary medallions from Micia,[114] and the craftsman who made the medallion may be from this area. Perhaps the monument belonged to a wealthy military from *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria* stationed in this fort.[115]

Tihău

The fragmentary medallion discovered at Tihău (Tihău M1 – Pl. VII/1) was difficult to be properly framed typologically.[116] Only two pieces of the monument were initially published, hence the confusion in interpreting its iconographic representation. Recently, reviewing the archaeological collection of the former local professor Gh. Both[117] from

[110] To whom we thank for this necessary rectification, the monumet was sold to Marţian from a local from Ragla, the nearby village from Orheiu Bistriţei.

[111] Protase 1956, 133.

[112] Ciongradi 2007, 258, no. M/M4, Taf. 114.

[113] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 193, no. M23, Pl. XXXIII.

[114] Ciongradi 2007, 253–254, M/A4, Taf. 113.

[115] Marcu 2009, 86.

[116] Wollmann, Both 1974, 438, Fig. 7 a-b.

[117] In the collection of Gh. Both from Tihău, we also found the drawing with the reconstruction proposed

Tihău, I identified two more pieces that appear to be part of this funerary monument. A segment is ornated on the edge with a stylized garland that shows a man's head. He wears a beard and has highly individualized features (Pl. VII/2a). The other fragment renders the legs of an animal, also with a garland on the edges (Pl. VII/2b). A newly identified fragment comes from the continuation of the fragment with the head of the male figure, with the same beautifully carved vegetal decoration (Pl. VII/2c). From somewhere on the left side of the medallion comes a fragment with the representation of a horseman, from which his body is still preserved with a tunic fastened at the waist, and a sagum on his shoulders, fastened with a fibula and hanging on his back. He has his right hand raised to his chest, in which he probably held the reins of the horse and his bare right leg can still be distinguished. From the horse's body, the belly and the right front leg seem to be still recognized (Pl. VII/2d).

The monument is difficult to reconstruct, possibly being a medallion with a more elaborate scene, where in addition to representing a deceased person, there is a scene with the heros hunting accompanied by a dog. The head is rendered frontally, the same way as on other medallions, but the horseman and the legs of the animal are sculpted from the profile, indicating the direction of movement to the right. The decor of the *corona* is unusual, with a highly elaborate and well-carved vegetal motif. Unfortunately, the fragmented state has a negative effect on the composition of the monument, being difficult to complete precisely the iconographic field, but it must have been an interesting representation of quite important dimensions.

This type of iconographic representation with the hunting scene next to the representation of the deceased is new, but similar representations could be found only on two funerary medallions. The first is a medallion from Laskarevo[118] (Macedonia province) with the representation of a horseman in a frontal position holding the reins of his horse and holding a staff in his right hand. Behind him is the servant. The monument was dated at the end of the 3rd century BC. A medallion from Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, Pannonia Inferior) depicts a hunting scene in a profiled frame, a big horseman, followed by a smaller horseman, below a dog and hare.[119] This iconographic depiction is new in Dacia on funerary monuments, as no model of this type have been identified in a study regarding the iconography of *Heros Equitans* in Dacia Porolissenis.[120] It is possible that this iconographic type is a local adaptation and a creation of the local workshop from Tihău.

Romita

From Romita comes a fragmentary funerary medallion (Romita M1 – Pl. VIII/1). It is the lower part of the item, with the pivot that was thrust into a block in which it was fastened. The dimensions of the pivot are 20 × 22 × 15 cm. Three characters can still be distinguished. The heads are fractured. The dress of the characters cannot be described because of the erosion of the stone. It is the only medallion of this type in Dacia Porolissensis.

in the article published in 1974. It can be seen that the authors included only two pieces of the monument in their study.

[118] Dimitrov 1947, 7, no. 6, Fig. 8.

[119] Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, no. 18, Taf. 7/1; https://lupa.at/1787.

[120] Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 242–244.

The back of the monument resembles that of the recently republished funerary medallion from Ploiești,[121] which belongs to a consular beneficiarus. But the monument from Romita does not preserve the form, characterized by a round blade with two symmetrically placed "eyes" in the center and a long tip with an oak or button-shaped end as of the shape of the beneficiarus lance.[122] Because of its precarious conservation status, it is difficult to be stylistically analyzed and chronologically framed. It must have been a modest attempt by a local craftsman to imitate such a funerary monument based upon those from Porolissum.

Conclusions

The funerary medallions in Dacia Porolissensis represent types specific to the Dacian provinces, under the evident influence of the neighboring provinces. A series of representative models will appear, busts of the deceased in a round niche surrounded by a wreath that will also be found on the funerary stelae. Of these, only five have been preserved almost intact, and two fragments are missing. From a typological point of view, these fall into a single category of free-standing medallions. The arrangement of the portraits of the deceased usually keeps the same order, with the woman on the left and the male character on the right, the order being reversed only once (Porolissum M2). The majority shows family busts with two characters (Potaissa M1, Gilău M1, Gilău M2), three characters with a child in front (Porolissum M2, Ilișua M1, Orheiu Bistriței M1, probably Romita M1), or up to eight characters in three rows as on Porolissum M1. Their clothing is simple, men usually wear a *tunica manicata*, with a mantle folded on the chest (Porolissum M1, M2, Gilău M1, Ilișua M1), or hanging on his back (Tihău M1). In one case, we can notice that the cloak has a tassel (or weights of metal) attached to the ends over the left shoulder, so that the drapery falls as elegantly as possible (Potaissa M1). Female characters usually wear a *stola* covered by a *palla*, in one case with earings in the eyears (Gherla M1). The Norican bonnet could be identified on two monuments (Porolissum M2, Gilău M2), sometimes the coiffure of Melonenfrisur type (Potaissa M1) or *Iulia Domna* type being clearly rendered.

Only three monuments end with a trapezoid-shaped acroterion (Potaissa M1, Porolissum M2, Gilău M1), one having at the top of the monument a pine cone without scales. Usually the nice is flat (Potaissa M1, Porolissum M2, Gilău M1, Gherla M1, Ilișua M1, Ilișua M2, Orheiu Bistriței M1, Tihău M1) or sheel-shaped as on three monuments (Porolissum M1, Gherla M2, Ilișua M1).[123] The wreath of the *corona* is adorned with stylized palmettes, with laurels with rosettes placed among the leaves especially on the upper parte, or with the ribbon twined round several times on the lower part of the corona and sometimes its trail can be seen laterally (Orheiu Bistriței M1).[124]

The most intriguing iconographic representation is found in the medallion from Tihău, where, next to the representation of the deceased, there is a hunting scene, which is a premiere for provincial art in Dacia. The chronology of the monuments, as far as it could be determined, falls between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the first part of the 3rd century AD.

[121] Alexandrescu 2020, 23.
[122] Alexandrescu 2020, 24.
[123] See Pl. VIII, Fig. 18.
[124] See Pl. VIII, Fig. 19.

Unfortunately, the exact function of this type of funerary monument remains unclear until a funerary enclosure with a monument in situ is discovered. This type of funerary monument certainly appears only in the military environment. It is currently absent from the area of the urban center of Napoca.

If we try to correlate the presence of this type of funerary monument with the spread of funerary stelas with medallions, we will be able to observe that only in a few cases do these centers overlap. Thus, in what funerary stelas with medallions regard, there are three monuments at Porolissum – two with the representation of a couple,[125] and one with a single character in the medallion,[126] two at Gilău,[127] with a single character, and one in the Gherla area, also with a single character.[128] The most numerous monuments of this type of funerary stela with medallions are known from the sculptural center of Napoca, where at least four monuments[129] come from, with representations in which there are three characters in the medallion.

The lack of inscriptions for this type of funerary monuments makes the attempts of an ethnic attribution extremely risky. Only some elements of clothing or accessories of the hairstyles of the female characters can suggest some information in this regard. The fragmentary state and clumsiness of most of the representations do not help us make a pertinent association regarding a definite ethnic attribution to the deceased represented on the funerary medallions from Dacia Porolissensis.

Catalogue

Potaissa
M1 (Pl. II/1–2)
Sandstone; well preserved; 92 × 12 cm, diameter 69 cm.
In a niche, two figures are represented in bust, husband and wife, a man on the right and a woman on the left. The medallion consists of a concave niche, decorated with a laurel wreath, tied with a *taenia*, visible at the bottom of the piece, with a rosette attached at the top. In the lower part, there is a trapezoidal support, with a rectangular hole which was used to fix the monument. In the upper part, a remnant of the pine cone can also be seen.
Second half of the 2nd century AD.
Potaissa, from the necropolis located at the entrance to the village of Mihai Viteazu.
It was located in MIT, inv. no. 1852 (lost today).
Ţigăra 1960, 208; Russu, Milea 1964, 31, no. 19, fig. 19; RR, 260, G 160; Civiltà, 247, G 101; Pop et alii 1972, 510, no. 29; Jude, Pop 1972, 15, no. 21, Pl. XII/1; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 193, no. 22, Pl. XXXIII; Bianchi 2006, 288, Fig. 33; Bărbulescu 2015, 190, no. 33; Bărbulescu 2016, 88–89, Fig. 80.

[125] Petruţ, Zăgreanu 2011, 203–204, no. 7, Pl. 2/7, no. 8, Pl. 2/8.
[126] Zăgreanu, Iov 2014, 10–15, Pl. I.
[127] Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 119, no. 3, Fig. 3; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 249, Pl. III/4.
[128] Zăgreanu, Meşter 2005, 64, no.1, Fig. 1.
[129] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 111, no. 37; Hica 1999, 104, Pl. I, Fig. b; 120; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, no. 71, Pl. VIII; 139, no. 157.

Porolissum

M1 (Pl. III/1)

Limestone; only the central part of the monument was preserved; 35 × 55 × 23 cm.

Inside the niche there is a family of eight members. The busts are arranged in three rows. In the upper register the busts of the parents are placed, in the middle row there are four children – three girls, and a boy on the right edge, and two small children in the bottom row.

Early 3rd century AD.

It was discovered in the fort on Pomet hill in Porolissum – sector A.

MJIAZ, inv. no. 215.

Pop et alii 1968, no. 1, 417–418, no. 9, Fig. 6; Pop et alii 1972, 510, no. 30; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 42, no. 137; Miclea, Florescu 1980, 95, no. 223, Fig. 223; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 194–195, no. 27, Pl. XXXII; Rusu-Bolindeţ 1994, 146, no. 106; Petruţ 2010, 114–115, no. 15, Pl. 18.

M2 (Pl. III/2 a-b)

Limestone; incomplete in the lower part; 84 × 50 cm, diameter 114 cm.

Inside the niche the busts of three characters represented on two registers are preserved: in the upper one there are the busts of a male and a female character, and in the lower one the bust of a child.

3rd century AD.

Porolissum necropolis.

MJIAZ, without inv. no.

Zăgreanu, Iov 2025, 269–277.

Gilău

M1 (Pl. IV/1)

Limestone; well preserved; 120 × 68 × 23 cm.

The medallion depicts the busts of a couple. This is decorated on the edge with a laurel wreath, lacking the usual *taenia*, but adorned with four rosettes. At the top of the piece there is a pine cone, without scales, 36 cm high, and at the bottom, carved from the same block, is the stump of the implanting leg. The piece was apparently painted with red-orange lead.

Second half of the 2nd century AD.

Unknown.

MNIT, inv. no. v15809 (IN 1322).

Pop et alii 1968, 509, no. 1; Pop et alii 1972, 415; Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 116–118, no. 1, Fig. 1; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 190, no. 11, Pl. XXX; Lupa 12319.

M2 (Pl. IV/2)

Volcanic tuff; well preserved; 72 × 66 × 25 cm.

In a niche, two figures are represented in bust, a man on the right and a woman on the left. Later, the figures were mutilated by making round holes in the eyes and mouth. The medallion is decorated with a laurel wreath, tied with a *taenia*, visible especially in the lower part of the piece. On some parts, it still retains traces of painting with minium.

Second half of the 2nd century AD.

Unknown.

MNIT, inv. no. v15847 (I 6908).

Schober 1911, 276, no. 2, Fig. 2; Florescu 1930, 127, no. 88, Fig. 74; Pop et alii 1972, 509; Isac, Diaconescu 1980, 118–119, no. 2, Fig. 2; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 190, no. 12; Lupa 12345.

Gherla

M1 (Pl. V/1)

Volcanic tuff; a fragment from the upper left part; 31 × 43 × 21 cm.

A laurel wreath adorns the niche with the usual *taenia*. It contains the head of a female figure.

2nd-3rd century AD.

It was recovered from the collection of the "Ana Ipătescu" School in the locality, without any other information.

MIG, inv. no. 3764.

Zăgreanu, Săsărman 2008, 191, no. 6, Fig. 13.

M2 (Pl. V/2)

Grey sandstone; only the upper right part of the original piece is preserved; 37 × 40 × 21 cm.

It contains an incompletely preserved bust of a woman.

2nd-3rd century AD.

Discovered in the Roman fort of Gherla, in the last century.

It belonged to the collection of the former Armenian Museum in the locality, where it had the inv. no. 541, currently lost.

Pop et alii 1968, 415, no.7, Fig.4; Pop et alii 1972, 509, no. 24; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 188, no. 4; Protase et alii 2008, 85, no. 2, Pl. XXXIV.

Ilişua

M1 (Pl. V/3)

Limestone; the corners of the medallion and the head of the female figure are slightly damaged, missing a good part of both lateral edges; 60 × 38 × 15 cm.

In the medallion's niche, shell-shaped in appearance, gradually deepening from the border towards the center, the bust-portraits of three people are represented, in serious, solemn, but quite expressive positions. The medallion was placed on a pedestal and fixed to it with an almost square iron pin, the trace of which is partially visible in the monument's support.

Second half of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century AD.

Discovered by V. Bătinaş, from the village of Cristeştii Ciceului, in the area of the Roman fort at Ilişua, in 1950. It was later built into a wall of the stable of his household, from where it was recovered.

MJBN, inv. no. 5113.

Pop et alii 1972, 510, no. 28; Dănilă 1973, 605–609, Figs. 1–2; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 196, no. 34; Nemeti 2010, 422, no. 69; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 100–101, no. III.1.1, Pl. XIV/III.1.2.

M2 (Pl. V/4)

Limestone; the corners of the medallion and the head of the female character are missing, it is slightly damaged, missing a good part of both lateral edges; unknown.

From the photograph, we can still make out a little of the physiognomy of two characters, one male and one female.

Possibly the beginning of the 3rd century AD based on the way the characters' physiognomy is rendered.

It appears in the I. Marţian photographic archive.

Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 101–102, no. III.1.2, Pl. XIV/III.1.2.

Orheiu Bistriței
M1 (Pl. VI/1–2)
Limestone; pretty good, the characters' figures are quite eroded; 23 × 23 × 18 cm, diameter 58 cm.
The medallion has a shell-shaped niche and two figures are represented in bust, a man on the right and a woman on the left, and in front of them there is a child.
Second half of the 2nd century.
MGN, inv. no. 267.
Marțian 1934, 4; Protase 1956, 133; Pop et alii 1972, 510, no. 28; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 189, no. M6.

Tihău
T. M1 Medalion independent (Pl. VII/1–2)
Limestone; broken in four pieces; diameter 75 cm.
Two new pieces found, one fragment representing a deceased person; there is also a scene with the heros hunting accompanied by a dog.
Second half of the 2nd century.
Tihău; private collection.
Wollmann, Both 1974, 348, Fig. 7 a-b.

Romita
Ro. M1 (Pl. VIII/1)
Limestone; fragmentary, only the lower part was preserved, together with the fixing pin, 70 × 45 × 58 cm.
Three characters can be distinguished. Their heads are missing.
2nd-3rd century AD.
MJIAZ, inv. no. 1733.
Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, 40, no. 128, Fig. 128.

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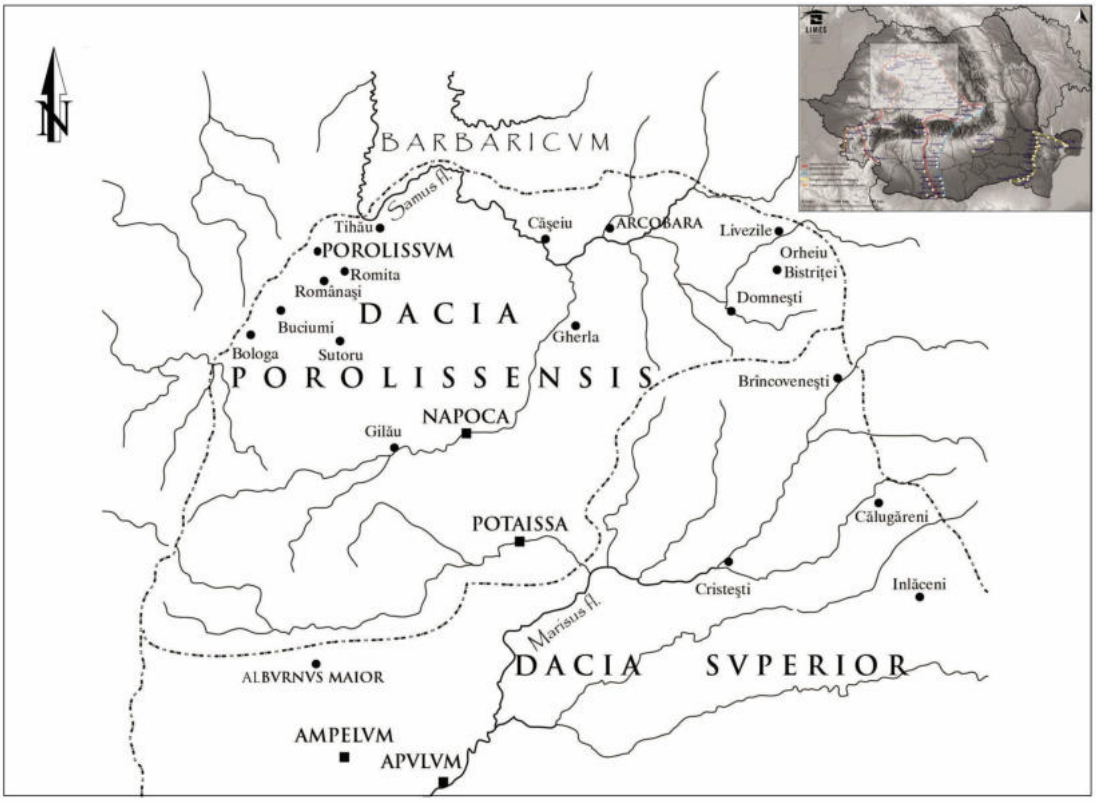
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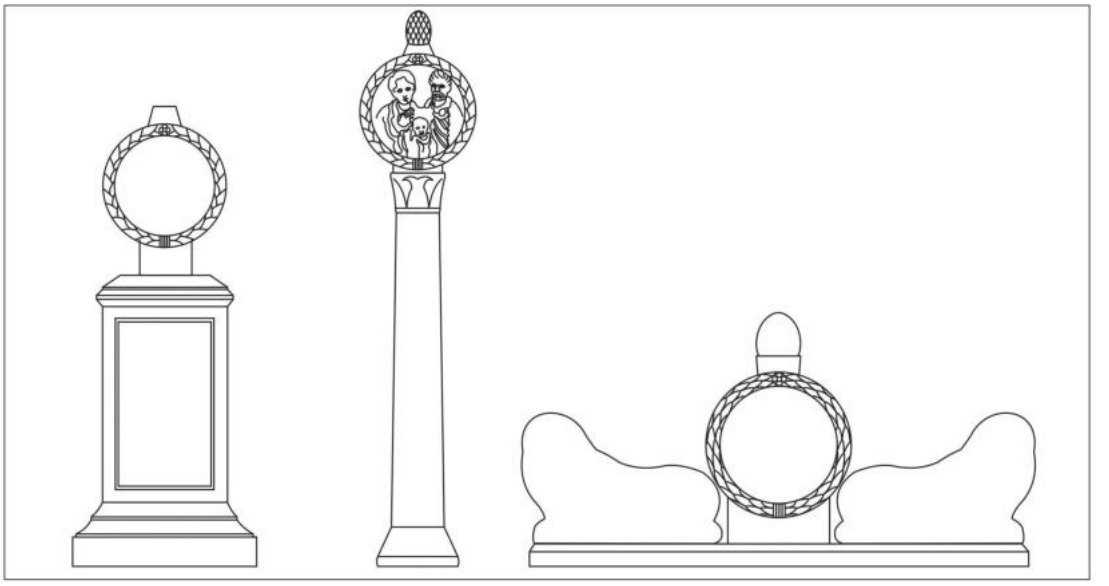
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Pl. I. 1. Distribution of the funerary medallions in Dacia Porolissensis; **2.** Reconstruction proposals.



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Pl. II. Funerary medallion from Potaissa. **1.** Photo from Bărbulescu 2016, Fig. 80; **2.** Photo from the Turda History Museum archive.



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Pl. III. Funerary medallions from Porolissum: **1.** Porolissum M1; **2. a-b.** Porolissum M2.

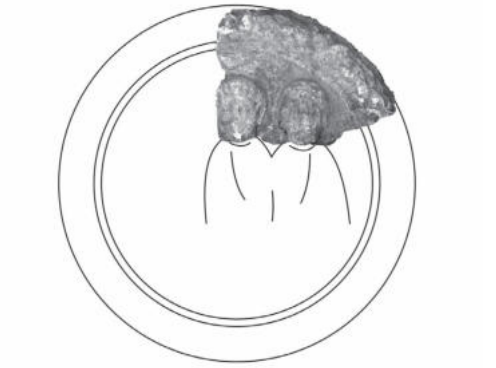


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Pl. IV. Funerary medallions from Gilău: **1.** Gilău M1; **2.** Gilău M2 (MNIT Photo Archive).



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Pl. V. Funerary medallions from Gherla and Ilişua: **1.** Gherla M1; **2.** Gherla M2; **3.** Ilişua M1; **4.** Ilişua M2.



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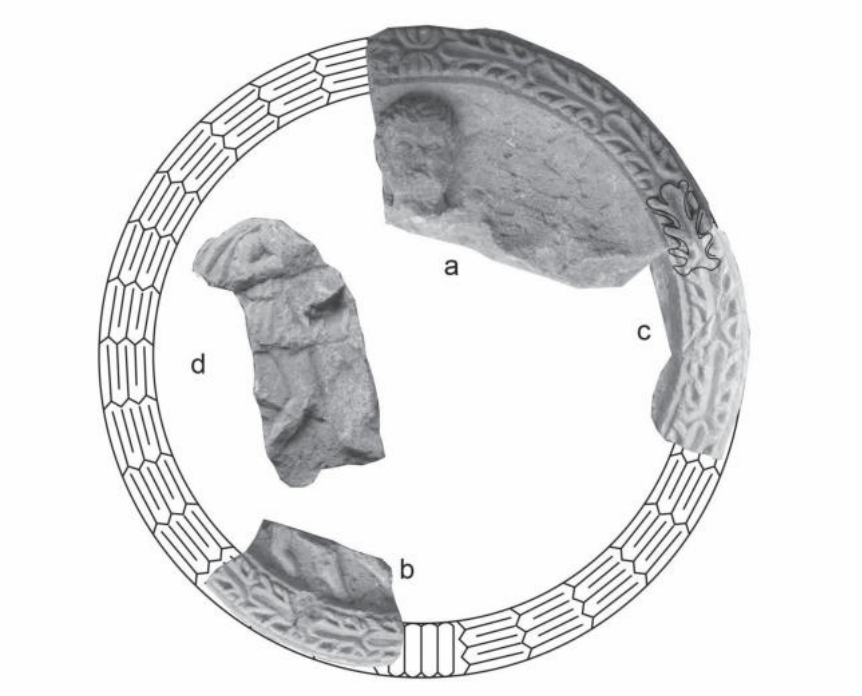


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Pl. VI. Funerary medallion from Orheiul Bistriței: **1.** Orheiul Bistriței M1 (inserted in the wall – archive I. Marțian); **2.** Orheiu Bistriței M1.



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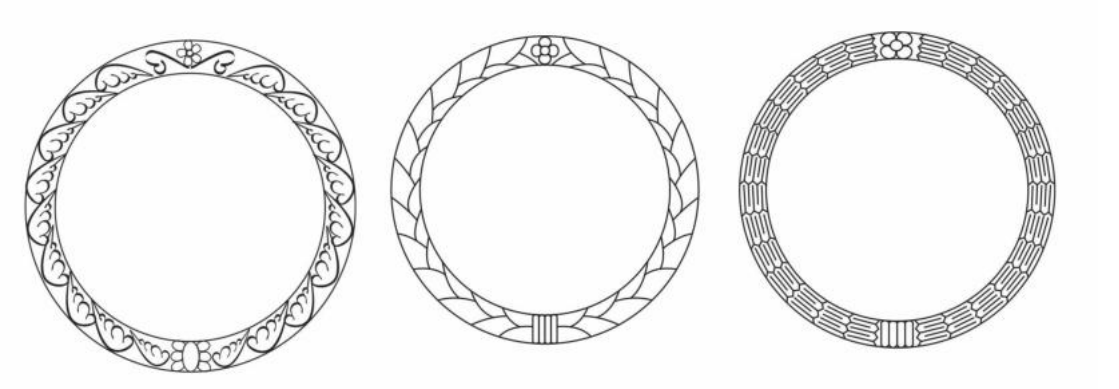
Pl. VII. Funerary medallion from Tihău: **1.** Tihău M1 (archive Gh. Both); **2.** Tihău M1.



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Pl. VIII. 1. Funerary medallion from Romita – Romita M1; **2.** Niche types; **3.** Corona types.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 127–189

NAPOCA. EPIGRAPHY AND SOCIETY

SORIN NEMETI

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.06

Abstract: The epigraphic evidence from the Roman city of Napoca, located in Dacia Porolissensis, offers insight into the development of a typical provincial community in the Danubian region. The inscriptions discovered in and around Napoca trace its transformation from an early Roman settlement to a *municipium* and later a *colonia*. A Roman presence existed by AD 108, as shown by the Aiton milestone, when Napoca was already known by its indigenous name. Under Emperor Hadrian, amid conflicts with the Iazyges and subsequent administrative reforms, Napoca was elevated to the status of *municipium civium Romanorum*, with several local peregrines gaining Roman citizenship. Members of the *Publii Aelii* families, who were recently granted citizenship, formed the core of the city's emerging elite, a group that maintained influence through both municipal and colonial phases.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, likely following the Marcomannic Wars, Napoca was granted colonial rank, becoming *colonia Aurelia Napoca*. This promotion occurred without major institutional restructuring, as the city preserved its duumviral constitution. The installation of the *procurator* of Dacia Porolissensis in Napoca further enhanced its administrative and political importance. Epigraphic sources attest to several equestrian procurators and subordinate officials, possibly linked to the *officium* of the consular governor, confirming Napoca's role as a provincial administrative hub.

Socially, Napoca's structure reflected that of a typical Roman provincial town. The *ordo decurionum* and *plebs urbana* are well represented in inscriptions, while the *ordo Augustalium* appears less prominent than in other cities. The notable absence of *collegiati* – members of professional associations with civic responsibilities – distinguishes Napoca from many other provincial centers. However, the discovery of an *album collegii* consisting of peregrines indicates a distinct demographic balance between citizens and non-citizens.

Onomastic analysis indicates a predominance of Latin names, with only limited traces of Greek, Thracian, Dacian, or Celtic *cognomina*. This evidence challenges earlier assumptions of a large-scale integration of local Dacians or Danubian Celts into the citizen body of *municipium Aelium Hadrianum Napocensium*. Both the personal names and religious dedications point to a thoroughly Romanized community composed largely of veterans from auxiliary units and other settlers, alongside a continuing peregrine population – particularly colonists from Asia Minor – recorded well into the 3rd century AD.

Keywords: Dacia; epigraphy; Napoca; population; society.

Rezumat: Datele epigrafice provenite din orașul roman Napoca, situat în Dacia Porolissensis, oferă o imagine asupra evoluției unei comunități provinciale tipice din regiunea danubiană. Inscripțiile descoperite în oraș și în împrejurimile sale permit reconstituirea transformării așezării dintr-o comunitate romană timpurie într-un *municipium* și, ulterior, într-o *colonia*. Prezența romană este atestată încă din anul 108 p. Chr., prin miliariul de la Aiton, care menționează deja numele indigen Napoca. Sub domnia împăratului Hadrian, în contextul conflictelor cu iazygii și al reorganizării administrative ce a urmat, Napoca a fost ridicată la rangul de *municipium civium Romanorum*, iar un număr de *peregrini* de origini diverse au primit cetățenia romană. Din rândul

noilor cetățeni, *Publii Aelii* au constituit nucleul elitei urbane, vizibilă epigrafic pe tot parcursul perioadelor municipale și coloniale.

În timpul lui Marcus Aurelius, probabil în urma războaielor marcomanice, Napoca a fost ridicată la rangul de *colonia Aurelia Napoca*. Această promovare s-a produs fără schimbări instituționale majore, orașul păstrându-și constituția duumviralã. Instalarea procuratorului Daciei Porolissensis la Napoca a sporit importanța administrativă și politică a orașului. Sursele epigrafice atestă mai mulți procuratori ecvești și funcționari subordonați, posibil membri ai *officium*-ului guvernatorului consular, confirmând rolul orașului Napoca drept centru administrativ provincial.

Structura socială reflectată în inscripții este caracteristică unui oraș provincial roman. *Ordo decurionum* – elita municipală – și, într-o anumită măsură, *plebs urbana*, sunt bine reprezentate epigrafic, în timp ce *ordo Augustalium* pare mai puțin activ decât în alte orașe. Absența *collegiati*-lor, membri ai asociațiilor profesionale, care adesea îndeplineau roluri civice, este notabilă. Totuși, descoperirea unui *album collegii* alcătuit din *peregrini* sugerează o structură demografică diferită, cu un raport distinct între cetățeni și non-cetățeni.

Analiza onomastică indică predominanța numelor de origine latină, cu puține exemple de *cognomina* grecești, tracice, dacice sau celtice. Aceste date contrazic teoriile mai vechi privind o presupusă acordare pe scară largă a cetățeniei romane dacilor locali sau coloniștilor danubieni (norico-pannoni) care ar fi constituit nucleul noii fundații municipale, *municipium Aelium Hadrianum Napocensium*. Numele și preferințele religioase ale locuitorilor reflectă o comunitate profund romanizată, compusă în principal din veterani ai unităților auxiliare și alți colonișți, alături de un nucleu de *peregrini* – în special colonișți originari din Asia Mică – atestați epigrafic până în secolul al III-lea p. Chr.

Cuvinte-cheie: Dacia; epigrafie; Napoca; populație; societate.

Introduction

The ancient city of Napoca,[1] located in Dacia Porolissensis, was subsequently overbuilt by the medieval settlement of Koloszvár / Klausenburg and the modern city of Cluj-Napoca. Medieval and modern constructions have largely concealed the ancient remains, rendering the planimetry and stratigraphy of the ancient habitation difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, the foundation trenches of medieval and modern buildings, together with earlier and more recent public works, have led to the discovery of numerous epigraphic and sculptural fragments, which have contributed substantially to shaping the modern image of this ancient city.

Under the influence of various ideologically motivated constructions within Romanian and Hungarian historiography,[2] a number of interpretative ideas have become embedded in this historical reconstruction. These require re-evaluation in light of the current documentation and a critical reassessment of the epigraphic data – the principal internal written sources available for reconstructing the history and society of a Roman city.

The indigenous name of the Roman settlement, Napoca, has long suggested a significant presence of the local Dacian element within the newly established Roman civil structure of northern Dacia. To counterbalance this notion – which became almost dogmatic in the post-war period – another theory gained prominence towards the end of the last century, proposing a nucleus of Norico-Pannonian colonists as the founders of

[1] Bărbulescu et alii 2021, 156–162.

[2] Nemeti, Dana 2019, 7–25.

the *municipium*, established at the beginning of Emperor Hadrian's reign. The rectangular enclosure has repeatedly prompted discussions regarding the possible existence of an earlier legionary fortification dating to the Dacian Wars of conquest.[3]

Other recurrent hypotheses that merit reconsideration include the presumed foundation of the *municipium* in AD 124, possibly associated with an imperial visit; the simultaneous elevation of Napoca, Drobeta, and Romula to municipal rank in the context of the reorganisation of the Dacian provinces; and the supposed dependency of the vicus Potaissa upon Napoca until the transfer of *legio V Macedonica*.

For the purpose of reconstructing the epigraphic landscape of ancient Napoca, I have catalogued 108 inscriptions on stone and bronze belonging to the category of major epigraphy (that is, building, honorific, votive, and funerary inscriptions). Of these, 82 items were discovered within the ruins of the ancient city and 26 within its *territorium*, in various *villae rusticae* whose owners were residents of the city. The finds from Gilău were excluded, as there was probably a distinct administrative entity there – an auxiliar *vicus* with its own territory, formed in the vicinity of the fort of *ala I Siliana*.[4]

Historiography of the city

Despite its status as an important urban centre in northern Dacia, Roman Napoca has never benefited from a comprehensive monographic study that integrates the historical, geographical, epigraphic, and archaeological data. The existing literature consists of a limited number of studies and monographic chapters, spanning from the late 19th to the early 21st century. Consequently, historiographical production concerning Napoca remains relatively modest, despite the city's significance, the richness of its archaeological record, and the fact that modern Cluj became home to an archaeological school specialising in Roman antiquities.[5]

A broad treatment of the epigraphic data and archaeological contexts revealed by earlier public works can be found in the chapter on the Roman period in Jakab Elek's monograph *Kolozsvár története* (1870).[6] The principal information regarding the ancient city was then concisely summarised by Theodor Mommsen in 1873 in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (vol. III/1), in the introductory note to the inscriptions from Napoca.[7] The German scholar thus settled the 19th century debate – reflected in the writings of Johann Michael Ackner, Torma Károly, and Jakab Elek – concerning the localisation of *Colonia Napoca* (whether at Turda, Cluj, or Gherla), definitively identifying it with Cluj.

In the first half of the 20th century, epigraphic evidence was discussed in a synthetic entry by Max Fluss, who examined the etymology of the city's name, its history, municipal institutions, religious life, and economy, primarily on the basis of epigraphic sources.[8] In the post-war period, a precise and well-documented study of the inscriptions from Napoca

[3] Diaconescu 1997, 14–16.
[4] Isac 1997.
[5] Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2017; Bărbulescu 2022, 238–241.
[6] Jakab 1870, 116–167.
[7] CIL III/1, p. 169: *VIII. MVNIC., postea COL. NAPOCA (Kolosvár sive Klausenburg).*
[8] RE, XVI/1, 1935, s.v. Napoca, c. 1692–1696 [Fluss].

was published by Bodor András,[9] who, in the following decades, also dealt with the city's stone sculptural monuments.[10]

A concise outline of the history and territory of the city, based on archaeological and epigraphic data and drawing upon the works of Fluss and Bodor, appears in D. Tudor's synthesis of the urban and rural landscape of Dacia.[11] A particularly significant moment – associated with the protochronist commemorations typical of that era – was 1974, when Cluj officially adopted the Dacian element Napoca in its name, marking 1850 years since "its elevation to municipium", on the occasion of an alleged "imperial working visit of great importance" by Emperor Hadrian.[12]

Two synthetic studies appeared at that time – by I. I. Russu[13] and H. Daicoviciu – the latter published in a monographic volume[14] and later translated in a widely circulated series.[15] The most comprehensive analysis of the municipal institutions, magistrates, and associative structures of Napoca can be found in R. Ardevan's synthesis on municipal life in Roman Dacia.[16] The city's population, as inferred from epigraphic data, was examined by Adela Paki in her unpublished doctoral thesis[17] and in a related article.[18]

During a subsequent anniversary of the *municipium*, the volume "Napoca – 1880 de ani de la începuturile vieții urbane" was published, calculating the elevation to *municipium* from AD 119. Several contributions in that volume addressed various aspects of the city's history.[19] Synthetic articles focusing mainly on the distribution of archaeological remains and the city's planimetry appeared in collective works in the early 2000s.[20] The most recent comprehensive treatment is the chapter dedicated to the city's history in the study of Roman pottery from Napoca.[21]

This brief historiographical overview highlights the absence of a genuine monograph addressing the history of the city in its various dimensions, while integrating all categories of evidence – particularly epigraphic and archaeological. Considerable debate has surrounded the extent, layout, and fortification of the Roman city. Although recent archaeological investigations in Cluj-Napoca have been incorporated, the problem of the city's planimetry remains unresolved. Other issues under discussion include the development of municipal institutions and the composition of the population, for which current interpretations remain tentative.

Of the material unearthed within the territory of the Roman city, only ceramics and stone sculpture have received more in-depth analysis. There are no monographic studies

[9] Bodor 1957, 78–111.

[10] Bodor 1985–1986; Bodor 1987–1988; Bodor 1994.

[11] Tudor 1968, 222–242.

[12] Pascu 1974, 1461.

[13] Russu 1974.

[14] Daicoviciu 1974.

[15] Daicoviciu 1977.

[16] Ardevan 1998, 61–65, 86–88, 147–148, 183–186, 264–266, 288.

[17] Paki 1998.

[18] Paki 1998a.

[19] Protase, Brudașcu 1999, 64–83 (Ioana Bogdan Cătăniciu), 97–104 (Ioana Hica), 215–220 (Constantin Pop), 226–234 (Dumitru Protase), 234–238 (Dorin Ursuț).

[20] Voișian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000; Diaconescu 2004.

[21] Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 68–96.

of the city's necropoleis (particularly that on Plugarilor Street, where only partial data have been published),[22] nor is there a *corpus* of inscriptions or sculptural monuments, and other categories of material remain unpublished. Archaeological research is disseminated sporadically, generally through brief excavation reports. In recent years, a thematic issue of the Cluj-Napoca Museum Yearbook, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, has been devoted to recent archaeological investigations within the city, marking a notable step forward in the study of Napoca's ancient past.[23]

Historiography of the epigraphy of the city of Napoca

The majority of inscriptions discovered in Napoca and its surrounding area are included in several modern *corpora*, published beginning in the second half of the 19th century. The first scholarly collection is that of J. M. Ackner and Fr. Müller, published in 1865.[24] These inscriptions were later revised and expanded within the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (volumes III/1, III/2, III Suppl. 1)[25]. As new inscriptions continue to appear, they are recorded in the series *Année Épigraphique*, and, in Romania, by C. C. Petolescu in *Cronica epigrafică a României* (republished in two volumes under the title *Inscripții latine din Dacia*).[26] A national corpus within the series *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane* (IDR) dedicated to inscriptions originating from the former Roman city of Napoca has not yet been compiled.

Several inscriptions from Napoca were built into the medieval fortifications of the 15th century. Those placed near the gates (*porta pontina*, *porta superiore*) had already been seen and transcribed since the Renaissance. Some inscriptions were known through the works of Mezerzius, Lazius, Verantius, and Zamosius, and were later incorporated into subsequent *corpora*, preserving their readings. A votive altar built into the tower of the "Bridge Gate" was transcribed in the 16th century by Mezerzius, Taurinus, Reichersdorffer, Lazius, and Lescalopier, and later reproduced by Bongars, Troester, and Gruterus, eventually entering modern epigraphic *corpora* (**34**). Although in line 2 one can still read today the local epithet of Jupiter, Tavianus, several 16th- and 17th-century authors recorded it as Traianus. In the same gate there was also a funerary monument dedicated by a decurion and aedile of the colony to his son (**52**). In the versions of Mezerzius and Lazius, the name of the deceased is P. Aelius Traianus, a reading maintained by Mommsen in the CIL, while the father's name appears as P. Aelius Dacianus. However, Katancsich, Seivert, and Neigebaur transcribed P. Aelio Daciano as the name of the deceased son. The decurion Dacianus and his son Traianus became an important argument – alongside the inscription from Lambaesis – for the theory of a significant native component within the municipal organization under Hadrian. Whether the *cognomen* in the first line was Traianus or Dacianus can no longer be verified, as the stone has not survived. The actual existence of such names remains uncertain, as they may have resulted from the humanists' preference

[22] Hica 1999, 97–104; Benea, Hica 2004, 116–153.

[23] *Acta Musei Napocensis* 49/I, 2012.

[24] Ackner, Müller 1865, 152–157, nos. 722–746 (Klausenburg/Patavissa).

[25] CIL III/1, p. 169–172, nos. 853–874; CIL III/2, p. 1014, nos. 6252–6254; CIL III. Suppl. 1, p. 1380–1382, nos. 7659–7669.

[26] ILD I 540–595; ILD II 960–974.

for historically charged onomastics and for correlating epigraphic evidence with events described in literary sources.

Unlike the votive altar dedicated to *I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) Tavianus*, which is preserved in the collections of the Cluj museum,[27] the funerary monument has disappeared, and the early modern readings can no longer be verified. As in other Renaissance inscriptions grouped by Mommsen under the category *tituli falsi*, one may note the tendency to identify the name Traianus and to create inscriptions or interpretations related to episodes from the Dacian wars, as known from literary sources (especially Cassius Dio).[28] A similar issue concerns a funerary inscription seen by Mezerzius, where the name of the deceased woman was read as Aurelia Marina (a reading preserved in the CIL), but as Aurelia Aurel(iana) by Lazius and Seivert (**51**). Since the son's name is Marinianus and the accuracy of the monogram *o(pto) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* – attested also in the funerary inscription of Claudius Valentinus (**64**)– is confirmed, it is likely that the woman's name was Marina.

Three other inscriptions built into the fortifications or into medieval houses in Cluj were recorded by Zamosius and led to the early identification of medieval Cluj with ancient Napoca – an association forgotten until the 19th century. As I. I. Russu observed, Zamosius did not mention any inscription from Cluj in his *Analecta lapidum*.[29] Although originating from the Someș region, Zamosius seems to have spent little or no time in Cluj before leaving for Padua. Mommsen knew only the *Analecta* and at times confused him with the Polish chancellor Jan Zamoyski (*Ioh. Zammosii Polonorum…*, CIL III, p. 157)[30]. In his *Hebdomadae*, Zamosius gathered additional inscriptions relevant to the history of Transylvania – unknown to him in 1593 – and on this occasion commented on three inscriptions from Napoca: an honorary altar located *in vestibulo aedium Petri Barat, proxime ad Basilicam parieti coaedificatus* (**7**); a votive altar dedicated to *Fortuna Augusta* built into the inner side of the city wall (*in moenibus intus*, according to Chishull) (**16**); and the funerary monument of the *augustalis M. Aurelius Papia*, also embedded in the wall (*in moenibus intus*, according to Chishull, or *a porta superiore*, according to Verantius) (**54**). All three inscriptions contained the abbreviation *COL NAP*, expanded by Zamosius as *col(oniae) Nap(ocae)*, leading him to the correct conclusion that the ruins of the ancient city of Napoca lay beneath the medieval Cluj of his day: *Ex quibus satis apparet, Romanorum coloniam Napucam fuisse, cujus urbis Ptolemaeus in civitatibus Daciae meminit….*[31] This identification was adopted by contemporary scholars and reappeared in the works of Sponius[32] and Reinesius,[33] though it was ignored by many antiquarians and erudites of 17th- to 19th-century Transylvania. Mommsen included these inscriptions in the CIL following Chishull and Verantius and reaffirmed the identification of Cluj with Napoca

[27] MNIT, v31809.

[28] Dragostin 2015, 117–118.

[29] Russu 1960, 218.

[30] Russu 1960, 217–218.

[31] Zamosius (1603) 1877, 81.

[32] Sponius 1679, 168–169: *Colonia Napuca à Ptolemaeo in Dacia memoratur, quae nunc vulgò Clauzenbourg hoc est Claudiopolis in Transsylvania, & Kolosvvar Hungaris audit.*

[33] Reinesius 1682, 185, CLXIIX: *Reliqua interpretor Magister Augustalis, vel Sevirorum Augustalium primus, in Colonia Napucensi. Haec enim hodierna Claudiopolis Transilvaniæ.*

in 1873.[34] The passage from *Hebdomadae* concerning Napoca was copied by Wolfgang Bethlen in his *Historia de rebus Transsylvanicis*, without citing Zamosius, leading Rácz M. (1898) to erroneously attribute the discovery to Bethlen. I. I. Russu later revisited the issue, confirming Zamosius's priority in formulating this identification.[35]

Through manuscripts and correspondence exchanged among humanists, several inscriptions from Napoca entered the major epigraphic collections of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as those of Iacobus Sponius (1679), Thomas Reinesius (1682), and Ian Gruterus (1707). Some were also recorded and described by travelers like Bongars, Lescalopier, and Chishull. In the travel journals of Jacques Bongars and Pierre Lescalopier, only the inscription built into the Bridge Gate – namely, the altar dedicated to IOM Tavianus – is mentioned, in both cases with the erroneous reading "IMM Traiano" (**34**). This version had already been noted by Taurinus and Reichesdorffer. Lescalopier claimed that the inscriptions had been shown to him by an Italian farmer from the Calvaria monastery, and he listed several of the false inscriptions known from Renaissance collections.[36] More credible, however, is the account of Edmund Chishull, who, on his way back from Turkey to England, passed through Cluj. The English traveler briefly described the city:

> "It is a fair city with broad and straight streets, but still retains on the houses and churches the marks of a dreadful fire, which about five years since almost entirely consumed it. It is seated upon the first branch of the river Samos, and is entirely surrounded with an ancient thick wall, on the inside of which I was shown the two following inscriptions, the latter of which has the characters beautifully cut".[37]

He transcribed a votive altar dedicated to the goddess Fortuna Augusta by the veteran Ulpius Masculinus (**16**) and the funerary monument of the *augustalis* M. Aurelius Papia (**54**), both previously recorded by Zamosius and Verantius. The altar dedicated to Fortuna was rediscovered by Buday Á. in 1913, embedded in the wall of a house on Memorandumului Street no. 8 (Unió utca 6), though missing the final lines containing the consular date.[38] The monument was seen in this same form by Chishull,[39] and Mommsen included it in volume I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.[40] The reconstruction of the final lines – *dedicata / Kal(endis) Septem(bribus) / Cilon/e II et / Libone co(n)s(ulibus)*, providing a date of AD 204 – was proposed by Th. Mommsen in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (*Additamenta secunda ad corporis vol. III*), based on the manuscripts of Verantius.[41]

From the 18th century onward, the number of inscriptions transcribed in various works dealing with the ancient history of this region increased considerably.

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[34] CIL III, p. 169.

[35] Bodor 1957, 78; Russu 1960, 213–222.

[36] Cernovodeanu 1960, 458: «Vng italien fermier du monastere de Colosvar…me bailla les inscriptions cy apres transcriptes (…)».

[37] Chishull 1747, 96.

[38] Buday 1913a, 101–102, Fig. 2.

[39] Chishull 1747, 97.

[40] CIL III 854.

[41] EE IV, 62, no. 134.

Alongside the counterfeit inscriptions produced by antiquarians, new genuine inscriptions also appeared. J. Fridvaldszky, in *Inscriptiones Romano Transilvanicae*, mentions only the inscriptions CIL III 860 and 874,[42] whereas J. Seivert, in *Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum in Dacia Mediterranea*, lists six inscriptions from the city and the milestone from Aiton.[43] The inscriptions are cited according to the subject matter: thus, A. Bartalis, in *Ortus et occasus Imperii Romanorum in Dacia Mediterranea*, refers only to the one dedicated to *Numen Augusti* (**7**),[44] while A. Huszti, in *Dacia Mediterranea id est Transilvania vetus*, includes both this inscription and the one built into the Bridge Gate, dedicated to *I.O.M. Tavianus* (**34**).[45] St. Weszprem, in *Succinta Medicorum Hungariae et Transilvaniae Biographia*, lists several inscriptions from Napoca, some of which were new at that time, seen by him in the *villa suburbana* of Mihály Pap Szathmári.[46]

In 1827, Katancsich published his synthesis on the geography and history of the Danubian provinces, where he enumerated eleven inscriptions from Napoca, one of which was false.[47] During the first half of the 19th century, few new inscriptions were published. Worth mentioning is a bronze inscription published by H. von Hornmayr[48] and later republished by M. J. Ackner.[49] By the mid-19th century, the Prussian consul J. F. Neigebaur, in his synthesis on the antiquities of Dacia, knew of nineteen inscriptions from Napoca and the milestone from Aiton.[50] Of these nineteen, two were *tituli falsi*, and the one dedicated to the god *Mercurius* by Messianus was later proven to have originated from Turda.[51]

In 1865, the first modern epigraphic corpus of the inscriptions of Dacia was published in Vienna by M. J. Ackner and Fr. Müller, under the title *Die römischen Inschriften in Dacien*. Drawing on Neigebaur's *corpus* and on inscriptions published in various periodicals, they presented twenty-three inscriptions.[52] During the 1860s, several inscriptions were studied and published by Torma Károly in Hungarian-language periodicals.[53] Inscriptions, together with valuable information on their findspots and topographical context, were included in the monographic work of Jakab Elek.[54] Further additions were made by O. Hirschfeld, Torma Károly, and Finály Henrik;[55] these were incorporated into various volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL).[56]

[42] Fridvaldszky 1767, CVI (the funerary inscription), CVII (IMN Taviatio).

[43] Seivert 1771, XXII (IOM Taviano), CXIV (P. Aelio Daciano), CLV (*maggistri Augustales*), CLXXII (C. Aurelius Atilianus), CCVII (the funerary inscription), CCCLVII (Aurelia Aureliana), IX (the milestone from aiton).

[44] Bartalis 1787, 57.

[45] Huszti 1791, 21, 24.

[46] Weszprem 1787, 415, 416–417, 419–422.

[47] Katancsich 1827, XV, XXXVI, CXIV, CXVIII, CXXX, CCX, CCXVI, CCLXXII, CCCIX, CCCXXV, CCCXXXIX.

[48] von Hornmayr 1825, 322.

[49] Ackner 1856, 34–35.

[50] Neigebaur 1851, 221–227, nos. 1–19.

[51] Russu 1959, 880–881, no. 14 (following the manuscript of Pap Szatmári).

[52] Ackner, Müller 1865, 152–157, nos. 722–746.

[53] Torma 1865; Torma 1866.

[54] Jakab 1870, 121–126, 131, 136–137, 140–141, 147, 152, 155.

[55] Hirschfeld 1874; Torma 1879; Finály 1898.

[56] CIL III/1, p. 169–172, nos. 853–874; CIL III/2, p. 1014, nos. 6252–6254; CIL III Suppl. 1, p. 1380–1382, nos. 7659–7669.

The publication of inscriptions from Napoca in German and Hungarian periodicals continued into the early decades of the 20th century, until the unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania. The pieces held in the collections of the Transylvanian Museum were published by R. Münsterberg and J. Oehler,[57] Pósta Béla,[58] and especially by Buday Árpád,[59] who also authored a university textbook on Latin epigraphy.[60]

During the interwar period, members of the newly established Institute of Classical Studies of the University of Dacia Superior in Cluj published in the Institute's Yearbook various inscriptions from Napoca and its surroundings. Among these, C. Daicoviciu stands out,[61] alongside his colleagues M. Macrea[62] and O. Floca.[63] Under the Hungarian administration following the Second Vienna Award, two articles by J. Nóvak, with epigraphic contributions regarding the ancient Napoca, appeared in the journal *Közlemények*.[64]

The frequency of epigraphic discoveries in Cluj between 1850 and 1940 is remarkable, a period during which the central part of the city underwent massive urban redevelopment. The large Baroque and eclectic buildings of the 19th-20th centuries had deep foundations that penetrated the Roman layers, leading to the discovery of numerous epigraphic and sculptural pieces. After the Second World War, construction activity concentrated more in the city's peripheral neighborhoods and less in the central area overlapping the ancient city of Napoca. Nevertheless, even before 1989, several monuments were published that had been unearthed during archaeological interventions or found among demolished medieval and modern structures.

Although Cluj developed a prestigious national school of Latin epigraphy – represented by figures such as C. Daicoviciu, I. I. Russu, I. Piso, M. Bărbulescu, and R. Ardevan – no comprehensive synthesis of the epigraphic evidence from Napoca has been produced, as local scholars have focused on other major urban centers of Dacia that yielded more abundant material, such as Ulpia Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, or Potaissa. In the postwar period, I. I. Russu[65] published new inscriptions and additional data on previously known ones, being also concerned with the history of epigraphic research in Napoca.[66] Incidental finds from the ancient ruins were published by M. Bărbulescu[67] and I. Piso.[68] Inscriptions unearthed during archaeological excavations in the city were included in the reports of I. Mitrofan,[69] while those discovered in the Roman necropolis on Plugarilor Street were studied in several stages by R. Ardevan.[70] After 1989, urban redevelopment in central Cluj and infrastructure work in its rural periphery led to the discovery of new epigraphic

[57] Münsterberg, Oehler 1902, Beibl. 98, nos. 3, 100, no. 7.
[58] Pósta 1901, 301.
[59] Buday 1911, 260–268; Buday 1913, 255–257; Buday 1913a, 101–102, Fig. 2.
[60] Buday 1914.
[61] Daicoviciu 1933, 59–60, 2 a, e, f; Daicoviciu 1941, 313, nos. 1–3.
[62] Macrea 1933, 109–110, nos. 1–2; Macrea 1949, 297–301; Macrea 1949a, 249–254.
[63] Floca 1933, 105–107, no. 3.
[64] Novák 1941, 109–111; Novák 1944, 88–89.
[65] Russu 1959, 876–877, nos. 7–8; Russu 1968, 465–466, no. 11.
[66] Russu 1960, 213–224.
[67] Bărbulescu 1973.
[68] Piso 1980.
[69] Mitrofan 1964; Mitrofan 1976.
[70] Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986; Ardevan 2000; Ardevan, Hica 2000; Ardevan 2004–2005.

monuments, which were published by C. Opreanu,[71] I. Piso[72] (who also produced several re-readings),[73] as well as by C. Ciongradi[74] and E. Beu-Dachin with various collaborators.[75]

NAPOCA – *MUNICIPIUM* AND *COLONIA*

The year 124: The supposed imperial visit and the granting of municipal status

In 1974, the authorities celebrated 1850 years since the granting of municipal status for Napoca, which was thought to have become *municipium Aelium Hadrianum Napocensium*. The year 124 for the establishment of the *municipium* was proposed by C. Daicoviciu, reflecting the level of documentation available at the time. The elevation of the rural settlement of Napoca to *municipium* rank was then (and still is) linked to the reorganization of the north-Danubian territories conquered by Trajan and to the creation of a province north of the Mureș and Arieș rivers, known as Dacia Porolissensis.

Older scholarship assumed that Dacia Porolissensis was created only in AD 158.[76] However, in 1961, C. Daicoviciu and D. Protase published a military diploma discovered at Gherla, dated 2 July 133 (*ante diem VI Nonas Iulias, Quinto Flavio Tertullo Quinto Iunio Rustico consulibus*), which mentions that the discharged soldiers belonged to units stationed *in Dacia Porolissensi*. The attestation of Dacia Porolissensis as early as 133 led the authors to reassess the date of the province's establishment and, implicitly, of Napoca's municipalization. Knowing that Dacia Superior and Dacia Inferior already existed in 118/119, Daicoviciu and Protase proposed that Dacia Porolissensis was created sometime after 120 (and certainly existed by 133).

Drawing on W. Weber's 1907 monograph, which hypothesized an imperial journey of Hadrian in the Balkan-Danubian region in 124,[77] the two authors suggested a visit to Dacia – although no ancient source attests it. They wrote in 1961:

> "Nous croyons ne pas risquer une hypothèse trop hasardée en mettant cette nouvelle création d'Hadrien en rapport avec l'inspection qu'il fit en Dacie et dans le Danube inférieur à l'an 124"[78].

Weber had merely suggested the possibility of such a journey, based on the fact that Drobeta and Napoca became *municipia* during Hadrian's reign.[79] His hypothesis, however,

[71] Opreanu 2009.

[72] Piso, Tecar 2013.

[73] Piso 2013; Piso 2013a.

[74] Ciongradi 2006; Ciongradi 2010; Ciongradi, Bota, Voișian 2010.

[75] Cociș, Beu-Dachin, Voișian 2002–2003; Beu-Dachin, Roman, Pupeză 2015; Nemeti, Beu-Dachin, Cociș 2020; Beu-Dachin, Cupcea, Cociș 2021; Beu-Dachin, Cupcea 2023.

[76] Ardevan 2010, 281–282.

[77] Weber 1907, 153.

[78] Daicoviciu, Protase 1961, 68–69.

[79] Weber 1907, 153 ("*Vielleicht* kam er über Oescus (C.I.L. III, S. 7427 u. 14414) und Drobeta, das von ihm neu konstituirert wurde. Auf einer, *vielleicht* von hier aus anzunehmenden Reise nach Dacien wurde Napoca zum municipium erhoben (C.I.L. III, S. 14465: Aelium Hadrianum)").

was not retained by later scholarship.[80] The theory linking municipal foundations to imperial visits along the Danube has also been criticized in more recent Romanian historiography.[81]

In 1974, I. I. Russu published a second diploma from Gherla, discovered in 1971, attesting Dacia Porolissensis on 10 August 123 (*ante diem IIII idus Augustas, Tito Salvio Rufino Minicio Opimiano Cnaeo Sentio Aburiano consulibus*). The text of the diploma shows that Dacia Porolissensis was established sometime between the mission of Q. Marcius Turbo on the Danube in 118/119 and the year 123.[82] From that moment on, the theory of Hadrian's visit, and the concomitant establishment of Dacia Porolissensis and municipalization of Napoca, became obsolete.

Although the year 124 continued to appear sporadically in the literature,[83] after 1974 scholars generally reverted to the earlier view that Napoca obtained its municipal status during Q. Marcius Turbo's Danubian campaign at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, around 118/119.[84] This reconstruction – commemorated by a colloquium and a conference volume in 1999, marking 1880 years of urban life in Napoca – remains the most widely accepted. On that occasion, D. Protase wrote:

> "…historical research of the past century has demonstrated peremptorily that Hadrian's visit to Dacia in 124 can no longer be upheld, not even as a hypothesis. In reality, Napoca became a municipium in the years 118–119, when the well-known political and administrative reorganization took place…".[85]

Municipium Aelium Hadrianum Napocensium

The ancient name Napoca appears in Latin and Greek literary and cartographic sources. In Justinian's Digests, which cite a passage from Ulpian, the term *Napocensis colonia* is mentioned in the context regarding the granting of *ius Italicum* to cities in Dacia.[86] The name of the locality appears in the illustrated itinerary known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP 8.2) and in the Cosmography of the Anonymous geographer from Ravenna (Rav. Annon. 4.7) in Latin, in the form Napoca. In Ptolemy's *Geography*, the form Νάπουκα is mentioned (Ptol., *Geogr*. 3.8.7). The name is referenced in several inscriptions from Dacia[87] or from other provinces.[88] In epigraphy, the form *Napoca* predominates, but there are some occurrences that attest to the pronunciation *Napuca*.[89] The toponym preserved in the Roman era is indigenous, with a possible parallel for the root found in the hydronym

[80] Halfmann 1986, 190–192 (Hadrian, being in Greece and Asia, could not have been in the Danubian provinces in 124); Birley 1997, 151–161 (during Hadrian's journey to Bithynia, no Balkan-Danubian itinerary is mentioned).

[81] Cîrjan 2010, 25.

[82] Russu 1974a, 155–176; Russu 1978.

[83] Macrea 1969, 122; Grelle 1972, 211, occasionally, and also in more recent studies: Voișian, Bota, Ciongradi 2000, 261.

[84] RE, XVI, 1935, s.v. Napoca, c. 1693 [Fluss].

[85] Protase 1999, 5.

[86] Ulp. *De cens. I*, cf. Dig., 50.15.1.9.

[87] CIL III 912, 1141, 1627, 7804, 827 = 7633, 854 = 7657, 862, 869 = 7665, 963 = 7726, 1100, 1633, 10 = 8075, 26, 7710, 14468, 7006; ILD 547, 479; AE 1944, 39.

[88] IDRE II 330, 322, 323, 447, 453, 454; IDRE I 29, 38.

[89] Dana, Nemeti 2019, 302–303.

Naparis (Hdt. 4.48). It is part of a series of indigenous toponyms suffixed with the particle *-ca*, as are those recorded by Ptolemy: *Alboca*, *Cauca*, *Rataca*.[90]

A locality named Napoca is first attested in northern Dacia between December 10, 107 and December 10, 108 AD by the milestone discovered at Aiton (**2**), where Emperor Trajan holds the tribunician power for the twelfth time (*tribunicia potestate XII*).[91] It is unknown what status it had at that time, but it is believed to have been a rural community without self-administration, of the *vicus* type. The expression on the milestone from Aiton, *a Potaissa Napocae*, was interpreted by Th. Mommsen as "Potaissa of Napoca", and he formulated the theory that Potaissa was a *vicus* dependent on Napoca, a view accepted by many authors following him.[92] The issue was resolved by C. Müller, who demonstrated that it is a typical contrived formula for milestones to indicate the distance between two localities:[93] *viam quae a Nora ducit Bitiae*.[94] At the beginning of Hadrian's reign, it became a *municipium*, with a duumviral constitution, as indicated by several older or more recent inscriptions.[95] The city was elevated to the rank of colony during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[96]

From the available data, the exact moment of elevation to municipal rank cannot be precisely determined. In Romanian literature, the years 118/119 are circulated in connection with the mission of Q. Marcius Turbo in Dacia and Pannonia Inferior. An important clue was found in the inscription CIL VIII 18805 discovered at the camp of Lambaesis, where 19 of the 63 soldiers mentioned indicate Napoca as their place of origin (*origo*). The soldiers were recruited in *legio III Augusta* when they were citizens, as indicated by their names. All have *tria nomina* and are *Publii Aelii*, meaning they were recruited from a community of Roman citizens. Based on an interpretation by E. Ritterling, who considered the inscription to date from 144 AD,[97] estimating 25 years of military service from the year 119, the presumed year of recruitment of these soldiers from Napoca,[98] it has been suggested that Napoca received municipal status during Turbo's mission in the years 118/119 AD.[99] D. Tudor is reserved regarding the acceptance of the year 119 AD as the moment of elevation to municipal rank for Napoca, based on E. Ritterling's dating of the Lambaesis inscription in 144 AD, indicating a circular argument.[100]

The date proposed by H. Daicoviciu for the granting of municipal privileges is sometime between the end of 117 and the first half of 118 AD,[101] a date reiterated by C. Pop.[102] For Al. Diaconescu, the Lambaesis inscription is from the middle of the 2nd century AD, and we can only know that the soldiers were recruited in the third decade

[90] Dana, Nemeti 2016, 89–90.
[91] CIL III 1627: *a Potaissa Napocae m(ilia) p(assum) X*.
[92] Russu 1974, 1479, with bibliography.
[93] Müller 1883, 446.
[94] CIL X 7996,7.
[95] CIL III 14465, 6254; Nemeti, Beu-Dachin, Cociș 2020, 88–93.
[96] AE 1956, 230; CIL III 963 = 7726.
[97] RE, XII.2, 1925, s.v. Legio, c. 1500 [Ritterling].
[98] Paki 1995, 493–498.
[99] Russu 1980, 38.
[100] Tudor 1968, 225.
[101] Daicoviciu 1977, 921.
[102] Pop 1993, 65.

of the 2nd century, thus "municipal status was granted under Hadrian in the early 120s".[103] Radu Ardevan does not comment on the date, noting that the *municipium* of Napoca was established by Hadrian.[104]

In conclusion, there are currently no sources that allow for the establishment of the precise date when Napoca was granted municipal status. Thanks to a recently published military diploma,[105] we know that Turbo's mission in Dacia was ongoing on November 12, 119. I. Piso, interpreting the internal chronology of the source *Vita Hadriani*, presumes that between November 12 and December 23, 119, Q. Marcius Turbo was appointed *praefectus praetorio*.[106] If this interpretation is correct, then Dacia Porolissensis, first attested in 123, was probably organized before Turbo's departure from Dacia before the end of 119. The chronology of Turbo's mission and the reorganization of Dacia does not resolve the issue of when Napoca received *municipium* status, as relating the three events is artificial.

***Aurelia Napoca*. The date of colonial foundation**

It is unknown when Napoca was elevated to the rank of colony. The first attestation of colonial status dates from the time of Emperor Commodus, specifically between 191–192 AD. In the inscription dedicated by T. Flavius Ianuarius and T. Flavius Germanus, Emperor Commodus holds the epithets Pius Felix and the *cognomen devictarum gentium* such as *Sarmaticus*, *Germanicus Maximus*, and *Britannicus* (**8**). The *terminus post quem* for dating the statue base is the *cognomen ex virtute Britannicus*, assumed only in 184, along with the titles *Pius* from 182/183 and *Felix* from 185 AD.[107] Based on imperial nomenclature (L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus), A. Stein dates it to the years 191–192 AD.[108] Three inscriptions attest to the colony with the epithet Aurelia,[109] indicating elevation to the status of colony during Marcus Aurelius' reign, as assumed by H. Daicoviciu and R. Ardevan.[110] All other inscriptions containing dating elements and mentioning the colony of Napoca are spread over a range from the end of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century AD. In two inscriptions, decurions of the colony of Napoca are associated with magistrates of the *municipium* Potaissa, founded at the beginning of Septimius Severus' reign (197 AD).[111] A *duumvir* of the colony of Napoca is a decurion of the *colonia* Apulum and the *municipia* Apulum and Porolissum, as well as *flamen* of the colony Drobeta and the *municipium* Dierna.[112] Since Drobeta is the *colonia Septimia* and Apulum, Dierna, and Porolissum are *municipia* founded by Septimius Severus, it is very likely that this inscription was raised sometime in the early decades of the 3rd century, if not later. The *colonia Aurelia Dacica Napoca* is also mentioned in an inscription from Oescus, where a person of equestrian

[103] Diaconescu 2004, 117.
[104] Ardevan 1998, 65.
[105] RMD V 351.
[106] Piso 2013b, 74.
[107] Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 140–143.
[108] Piso 2013b, 263: "zwichen etwa Ende August des Jahres 191 und 31. Dezember 192…"; Kienast, Eck, Heil 2017, 148.
[109] CIL III 963 = 7726; CIL VI 269; IDRE II 322.
[110] Daicoviciu 1974, 25–26; Daicoviciu 1977, 925; Ardevan 1998, 65.
[111] CIL III 7804; ILD 479.
[112] CIL III 14468.

rank, Aelius Faventinus, *procurator publici portorii vectigalis Illyrici*, has a career dated post 196 AD. Other inscriptions mentioning the colony of Napoca are dated in the first half of the 3rd century AD, with consular dating (in 204 and 239 AD) (**16**)[113] or with imperial titles during the time of Gordianus III and Philippus Arabs (**21**, **11**, **12**). If on the altar dedicated by P. Aelius Maximus (**17**), the *colonia Sarmizegetusa* has the epithet *metropolis*, the inscription should also be dated in the first half of the 3rd century AD. The colony Napoca is further attested in 13 inscriptions that do not contain certain dating elements. Most of the dedicators or beneficiaries of the inscriptions have imperial *nomina*: Ulpius (**7**) or Aelius (**52**).[114] *Nomina* like Aurelius (**71**, **54**)[115] or Septimius (**102**) would indicate a later dating towards the end of the 2nd century and into the 3rd century AD. In conclusion, the dated inscriptions attesting the title of colony for Napoca are spread between 191–192 and 244 AD, but the epithet *Aurelia* suggests the granting of colonial status during the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus.

An indication for a more precise dating of the moment of granting colonial status to the city of Napoca is contained in the inscription of the altar of P. Ael. P. f. Fabianus, a decurion in three cities of Dacia, *pontifex*, and *augur* in Sarmizegetusa and *augur* in Napoca.[116] The inscription is only noted by Thalson, and the discovery site indicated is the Partoș area in Alba Iulia, where *municipium Aurelium* appears, followed by *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*. Despite the place of discovery, I. Piso prefers to consider that the *municipium Apulense* mentioned is *municipium Septimium* and to date the inscription after 197 AD, considered the probable year of establishment of this new *municipium*.[117] If we take into account the other possibility, that P. Aelius Fabianus is a decurion in *municipium Aurelium* from Partoș, then it is plausible that Napoca became a colony before Apulum, also a *colonia Aurelia*. This would rather indicate the years at the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' reign.[118]

Napoca – Seat of the imperial administration in Dacia Porolissensis

It is a legitimate question whether this major event did not take place, as in the time of Hadrian, in the context of a complicated military situation that affected northern Dacia during the Marcomannic Wars, and which led – under the first consular governor of the unified Dacias – to the administrative reorganization of the years 169–170 AD. As H. Daicoviciu noted, the *procuratores praesidiales* of Dacia Porolissensis, attested in military diplomas between the years 123–164 AD, have left us no epigraphic testimony at Napoca.[119] It is very likely that during this period the *praetorium procuratoris* was located at Porolissum, the city that gave its name to the province.[120] The administrative reorganization during the governorship of M. Claudius M. fil. Quir. Fronto changed this situation, and the new administrative districts – Dacia Porolissensis, Apulensis, and Malvensis – were placed under the authority of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore Daciarum trium*.

[113] CIL III 854.; CIL III 827.
[114] ILD 457; ILD 707.
[115] CIL III 912.
[116] CIL III 1141.
[117] IDR III/5, 330, p. 261.
[118] RE XVI.2, 1935, 1694; Bodor 1957, 86–87; Daicoviciu 1974, 25–26.
[119] Daicoviciu 1974, 30.
[120] Petolescu 1986, 131–138; Piso 1993, 82–93.

During this period, a series of *procuratores Augusti* are attested at Napoca, where they dedicated votive altars or were mentioned on honorary monuments.[121] As early as 1894, J. Jung knew of six such procurators, one of them with an identifiable *cursus honorum*, P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus of Ancyra (**31**), and the other five known only from inscriptions at Napoca: M. Cocceius Genialis (**38**), Aelius Constans (**8**), C. Aurelius Atilianus (**15**), Valerius Catullinus (**25**), and C. Publicius Antonius Probus (**24**).[122] These same figures are also listed in A. Stein's prosopography,[123] which notes that they were no longer *procuratores praesidiales* and governors as in the earlier period, but rather financial procurators. In his opinion,

> "die Funktion als Quasistatthalter dieses Distriktes (i.e. Apulensis, Porolissensis, Malvensis) übte ja der Legat der Legio Macedonica aus".[124]

This idea has been maintained in historiography to the present day, as in the recent work of I. Piso, who also adds M. Aurelius Apollinaris (**40**), the dedicator of a votive altar to *Salus*, published after Stein's study.[125] Two altars published in recent years complete the list of procurators attested at Napoca with Valerius Nemesianus (**28**)[126] and Aurelius Annianus (**41**).[127]

In conclusion, epigraphic monuments from Napoca attest nine individuals bearing the title *procuratores Augusti* and belonging to the equestrian order (some specifying in the inscription *vir egregius*). Of the thirteen financial procurators of Dacia Porolissensis, nine are attested at Napoca, either through votive altars dedicated by them or for their health, or on a base of an imperial statue. For the localization of their headquarters, the *praetorium procuratoris*, I. Piso and E. Beu-Dachin analyze the findspots of the monuments that mention them and, although many are in secondary positions – built into the medieval enclosure or into later buildings – they conclude that these monuments cluster near the northern gate, towards the Someș River, of the ancient Roman city.

I. Piso does not accept the identification of M. Aurelius Apollinaris of Napoca with the one known as *praeses* of Thrace and *agens vice praesidis* in Macedonia,[128] nor the identification of the procurator with the producer of tegular material stamped *VAL CAT* from Napoca and Chinteni.[129] Except for P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus, the other procurators are unknown from other sources and, for this reason, difficult to place chronologically and to determine the years of their procuratorships in Dacia Porolissensis. There is likewise no information about an *officium* of these officials.

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[121] Ciongradi 2014, 161–186.

[122] Jung 1894, 44, 45–49, nos. 8, 14–18.

[123] Stein 1944, 83–86.

[124] Stein 1944, 83.

[125] Piso 2013b, 259–273, nos. 112–115, 118–120.

[126] Piso 2013, 165–166.

[127] Beu-Dachin, Roman, Pupeză 2015, 147–165; the individual is also known as the dedicator of a votive relief with inscription at Ulpia Sarmizegetusa – IDR III/2, 250.

[128] Piso 2013b, 271–272.

[129] Piso 2013b, 274.

Additional evidence for the presence at Napoca of the headquarters of these *procuratores* consists of brick stamps with the text *Fisc(i)*, discovered in archaeological excavations within the city, and others with the text *Ex(ercitus) D(aciae) P(orolissensis)*. The majority of the EXDP stamps come from Napoca, Gilău, and Potaissa, and recent opinions tend to date them after 168 AD,[130] not to the period when Dacia Porolissensis was governed by *procuratores praesidiales*, as M. Macrea had previously claimed.[131]

Municipal institutions

The preserved inscriptions provide satisfactory documentation of the municipal institutions.[132] Far more data survive from the period when the city held colonial status, and only three inscriptions containing information on municipal realities cannot be attributed specifically either to the *colonia* or to the *municipium*.

From evidence known since the 19th century, it was clear that the *municipium* of Napoca had a duumviral constitution. There was even an attempt to identify *quattuorviri* at Napoca as well, regarded as the typical magistrates of *municipia*. H. Daicoviciu mentions a hypothetical reading proposed by I. Piso in lines 4–5 of a fragmentary stele, where the numeral IIII was read as *IIII[vir mun(icipii) Napo]ca(e)*, although it should probably indicate the number of years lived.[133] However, an altar attests two *duumviri quinquennales municipii*: C. Numerius Decianus and Iulius Ingenuus (**29**). Accepting the epigraphic evidence, R. Ardevan lists numerous other *municipia Aelia* with a duumviral constitution, some even in the Danubian area.[134]

Among the priestly offices of the *municipium*, one *flamen* is known, P. Aelius Probus (**59**). Only one *decurio* of the *municipium* is attested, T. Flavius Longinus,[135] and a single *augustalis*, Iulius Arphocras (**101**). There is also mention of a *pontifex*, a *decurio*, and an *augustalis* who cannot be securely assigned to either the municipal or colonial period. All other inscriptions that contain municipal data refer to the *colonia*.

The relatively short period during which the city held the status of *municipium* – about half a century – compared with the longer period as a *colonia*, may explain the smaller number of municipal inscriptions dating from that earlier phase. On the other hand, the later documents were still in use when the province was abandoned, unlike those from the second century, which had been dismantled or reused. Two *duumviri* of the *colonia* are known: L. Iulius Bassinus[136] and Antonius Valentinus,[137] as well as a *duumvir quinquennalis*, P. Aelius Maximus (**17**). Another decurion, L. Laelius Terentianus, served as *praefectus (quinquennalis)*, exercising the duties of *duumvir* in place of Emperor Gordian III, who had been elected honorary *duumvir* (**21**).

Among the *decuriones* were chosen the patrons of the *colonia*: T. Flavius Ianuarius (**8**) and another anonymous individual holding the same title (**58**). Among the lower

[130] Piso, Marcu 2014, 65–67.
[131] Macrea 1964, 147.
[132] Ardevan 1998, 147–148.
[133] Daicoviciu 1974, 27, n. 16.
[134] Ardevan 1984, 103–104, n. 100.
[135] CIL III 1100.
[136] CIL III 14468; IDR III/5, 14.
[137] AE 1939, 246; IDRE II 330.

magistracies, we know three *aediles*: the same L. Laelius Terentianus (**21**), P. Aelius Dacianus (**52**), and M. Valerius Valentinus.[138] The list of magistrates attested at Napoca is completed by those who held priestly offices: P. Aelius Maximus was *flamen coloniae*; P. Aelius Fabianus, *augur*,[139] and C. Iulius Constans held the office of *pontifex* (though the inscription does not specify whether of the *municipium* or the *colonia*) (**26**).

In the inscriptions known so far, fourteen *decuriones* of the *colonia* are attested. The majority of the members of this municipal elite bear the imperial gentilicium *Aelius*, but other imperial *nomina* such as *Iulius*, *Flavius*, *Vlpius*, or *Septimius* are also present (**Table I**). Among the *apparitores*, only one is known – a *scriba coloniae*, a certain Aurelius Marcianus (**71**). There also existed at Napoca a secondary elite, composed of wealthy freedmen grouped in the *ordo Augustalium*. A fragmentary inscription is dedicated *pro salute ordinis Augustalium*, while others attest *magistri Augustales*: M. Ulpius Caecilius, Bassianus, and Calisthenes (**7**), or simple *Augustales* such as M. Aurelius Papia (**54**). The *Augustalis* Aurelius Secundus[140] is probably to be dated to the colonial period, on account of his gentilicium *Aurelius*.

From this brief survey of the institutions and members of the municipal elite, two important conclusions emerge. Napoca was founded by Emperor Hadrian as a *municipium* with a duumviral constitution, like other *municipia* founded by this emperor, who – unlike Trajan, the founder of several *coloniae deductae* – preferred this formula of granting municipal rights to local communities.[141]

The analysis of the municipal elite does not suggest that its initial nucleus consisted of native Dacians, but rather of Romanized provincials of diverse origins. *Nomina* such as *Laelius*, *Numerius*, *Valerius*, or imperial *nomina* such as *Iulius*, *Flavius*, and *Vlpius* already attest to families of provincials who had obtained citizenship in the 1st century or early second century AD. The large contingent of *Publii Aelii* indicates collective grants of citizenship, but there is no evidence that these were given to local Dacians.

Since the city was founded in the context of the reorganization of the province of Dacia following the war of Q. Marcius Turbo against the Iazyges, it is very probable that this contingent of *Publii Aelii* – from which the elite of the new urban community would arise – consisted of auxiliary soldiers demobilized at the end of that conflict and their families. Their sons were probably later incorporated as legionaries in *legio III Augusta* and sent to Lambaesis.[142]

Aside from P. Aelius Dacianus (whose name is known only from a Renaissance transcription) and C. Numerius Decianus (bearing a possibly Dacian-sounding name constructed with the particle *deki-*),[143] there is no clear indication of the presence of natives among this municipal elite of Napoca. The transition from *municipium* to *colonia* took place without major constitutional changes: we find the same magistracies (*duumviri*, *aediles*) and the same priestly offices (*pontifex*, *flamen*, and *augur*) as well as a large number of *decuriones*. Some of them belonged to the higher provincial elite, holding multiple

[138] CIL III 7804; IDR III/5, 495.
[139] CIL III 1141; IDR III/5, 330.
[140] CIL III 912; IDR IV/1, 203.
[141] Boatwright 2000, 38–42 (11 *coloniae*, 21 *municipia*).
[142] Dana 2019, 224; Gămănuț 2024, 204–205.
[143] Dana 2011, 75–76.

decurionates and serving as magistrates in other urban communities such as Ulpia Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, or Potaissa. Few new families, such as those bearing the names *Septimius* or *Aurelius*, penetrated this municipal elite, which already appears fully formed in the first decades of Napoca's existence as an urban community.

Society

An analysis of the social structure of the urban community of Napoca, based on epigraphic evidence, reveals a typical provincial community, characteristic of the Danubian provinces during the Imperial period. The epigraphic habit allows the observation primarily of the privileged categories (*honestiores*), those who dedicate epigraphic monuments. Nevertheless, due to the widespread practice of erecting simple funerary monuments such as stelae or pillar-type monuments, many individuals belonging to the middle class (Roman citizens forming the *plebs urbana*) are also represented in the corpus of epigraphic data.

A list of members of a Dionysiac college[144] from the year 235 AD includes the names of forty-five individuals of peregrine status, which significantly affects the statistics and the ratio citizens – peregrines in a provincial Roman city. Other examples of persons from the lower classes (*humiliores*) are those of non-free legal status, freedmen, and slaves. A few freedmen belonging to the *ordo Augustalium* and their family members appear in the epigraphic sources, but the presence of slaves is negligible. This constitutes the most important limitation of epigraphic data analysis for the study of Roman provincial society: the fact that it illustrates primarily the privileged strata – the "urban liberal bourgeoisie" of M. Rostovtzeff – and the middle class formed by the upper layers of the *plebs urbana*.

A notable absence is that of professional *collegia* of the *collegium fabrum*, *dendrophorum*, or *centonarium* type,[145] whose members elsewhere often assumed social roles similar to those of *vigiles*. An altar from Gherla refers to *nocturni* and has been interpreted as evidence for the existence, in the nearby colony of Napoca, of *nocturni* acting as *vigiles* or firefighters.[146] The only attested *collegium* is a religious one, a *spira*, a Dionysiac association composed exclusively of *peregrini* worshippers of Dionysus/Bacchus.

This does not imply that the numerous citizens identifiable in the inscriptions who do not inform us about their social position could not have been members of such *collegia*; rather, these associations are simply not attested in the epigraphic documentation currently available, which is relatively limited for an urban community of the importance of Napoca.

Among the privileged categories, particular attention must be given to those belonging to the *ordo equester* and the *ordo decurionum*. Within the local elite of Napoca, no individual belonging to the *ordo senatorius* is attested. Members of the equestrian order must, however, be treated separately. On the one hand, there were imperial officials, *procuratores*, who resided temporarily in the city for the duration of their missions. They did not form part of the local elite, though some occasionally assumed honorary membership in the local *ordo decurionum*, as in the case of Aelius Constans, *procurator*

[144] Jaccottet 2002, 137–138, no. 71.
[145] Ardevan 1998, 288.
[146] Ardevan 1982, 287–290.

Daciae Porolissensis, or C. Iulius Pacatianus, *praefectus alae I Silianae*, during the final years of Commodus' reign (191–192 AD).[147]

For the other *procuratores* attested in the epigraphic record, there is no direct evidence of their interaction with the municipal elite of Napoca, although they resided *intra muros* and frequented the same public spaces. Most are known through votive altars dedicated by them – or for their health – in consecrated urban spaces to divinities such as Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Salus, Fortuna, Silvanus, Mithras, or Iupiter Dolichenus (**24**, **25**, **28**, **40**, **15**, **41**, **38**, **31**). Their votive gestures reveal, on the one hand, adherence to Roman religious values through dedications to the supreme deity of the Roman state or to personified abstractions such as Salus or Fortuna, and on the other hand, personal religious choices and integration into local religious communities, as shown by the dedication to Deus Sol Invictus (Mithras) by M. Cocceius Genialis (**38**).

Although the *procuratores* did not belong to the local elite, through their patronage and participation in communal religious life they temporarily became part of the provincial urban society, and their role cannot be ignored. Most of them belonged to the higher social order – the *ordo equester* – a status also accessible to some members of the municipal elite formed by the *decuriones*.

Among those who belonged to the provincial elite and were members of the *ordo decurionum* of Napoca, we should mention individuals belonging to families from Apulum, such as C. Antonius Agrippinus[148] and L. Iulius Bassinus.[149] The son of Aurelius Secundinus, a *decurio* of the colony of Napoca, M. Aurelius Secundus, later entered the *ordo equester*.[150] All these provincial aristocrats probably owned estates within the territory of the colony of Napoca and therefore exercised magistracies or held the status of *decurio*.

From the strictly local elite, the only known figure belonging to the equestrian order is P. Aelius Maximus (**17**, **23**, **88**), son of the former centurion Aelius Iulius (**86**, **87**, **89–92**), owner of the estate at Ciumăfaia. He held important provincial offices, serving as *sacerdos Arae Augusti*, *coronatus Daciarum trium*.

The municipal elite was composed of members of the *ordo decurionum* and their families. Inscriptions also attest to several women, such as Aelia Proba (**59**) and a certain [---] Valentina (**58**). R. Ardevan observes that the proportion of veterans within the *ordo* is relatively small compared with other cities, concluding that in Napoca the military factor did not play a decisive role in the formation of the municipal elite.[151] Overall, military presence in the city was limited.

Several veterans are attested primarily through funerary monuments – ordinary soldiers or officers of the nearby units – such as Iulius Pacatianus, *praefectus alae Silianae* from Gilău (**8**), T. Scarvius Vitalis, *tribunus cohortis III Campestris* from Porolissum (**30**), P. Aelius Fabianus, *beneficiarius consularis legionis XIII Geminae* (**27**), and an anonymous soldier from a *cohors milliaria* (**73**). A fragmentary inscription records an anonymous

[147] R. Ardevan puts forward the hypothesis that the procurator and the prefect of the ala may have held office simultaneously and were both rewarded with the honorary decurionate at the same time – Ardevan 1998, 184, n. 8.

[148] CIL III 7804; IDR III/5, 495.

[149] CIL III 14468; IDR III/5 14.

[150] CIL III 7996; IDR III/1, 133.

[151] Ardevan 1998, 185.

soldier of *legio XIII Gemina*, *exceptor legati Augusti*, together with M. Valerius Maximinus, *actarius* of a cohort whose name is lost in a lacuna (**68**). The presence of the *beneficiarius consularis* and of these *exceptor* and *actarius* may indicate the existence within the city of members of the *officium* of the consular governor.[152]

The lower classes (*humiliores*) are less visible in the epigraphic record. Several individuals bearing the *tria nomina* are attested, and thus were Roman citizens, yet in most cases they do not specify their social position. Only one individual is explicitly identified as belonging to the category of *apparitores*, the auxiliary personnel in the service of municipal magistrates. Aurelius Marcianus, who dedicated a funerary monument to his mother and wife, includes the title *scriba coloniae* in his inscription (**71**).

The category of *collegiati* cannot be identified at Napoca, where there is no evidence of professional associations (*collegia*)[153] that elsewhere usually brought together the wealthier segment of the *plebs urbana*. From the inscriptions of Napoca, fifty-eight full or fragmentary names have been reconstructed, belonging to Roman citizens who do not specify their social status. Of these, several – such as Aurelius Umbrianus (**48**), Aurelius Balbus (**51**), T. Aelius Longinus (**78**), Aelius Iulius (**86**, **87**, **89–92**), Aurelius Maximus (**50**), and Firminius Bellicus (**103**) – are known to have been veterans, former officers (*optiones*), or simple soldiers. They settled in the city with their families or owned rural estates within its territory.

For others, we know nothing beyond their Roman citizenship. Some, such as Flavia Ursula (**65**), Aelius Iulianus (**93**), and P. Aelius Cornelianus (**13**), were likely persons of means, slave owners for whom dedications were made by their dependents: Flavia Caemina, a freedwoman (**65**), Securus, probably a *servus villicus* (**93**), or Clodianus, possibly a slave (**13**).

In total, fifty-four single-name individuals have been identified who may be attributed *peregrine* status.[154] The majority (forty-five) are preserved in the list (*album*) of members of the Dionysiac college known as the *spira Asianorum* (**5**). An inscription from the time of Antoninus Pius attests to *Galatae consistentes municipii* (**34**), possibly indicating a nucleus of peregrine residents (*consistentes*) originating from Asia Minor.

Epigraphic evidence from the Roman Empire allows us to identify under the name *spira* (in this case led by Germanus, *spirarches*, and Epipodia, *mater*) a Dionysiac religious association.[155] Remarkably, these individuals retained their peregrine status[156] as late as 235 AD, after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The accidental survival of this *album collegii*, containing many names of *peregrini* (and less likely of servile origin), results in a citizen – peregrines ratio of less than 2:1. In other Dacian communities, the ratio citizens – peregrines, based on names preserved in inscriptions, is approximately 4:1 in favor of citizens, as at Ulpia Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, or Arcobara,[157] while a 1:1 ratio has been observed only in rural inscriptions from eastern Dacia.[158]

[152] Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 548.

[153] Ardevan 1998, 288.

[154] Varga 2014, 67–86 (on peregrine onomastics).

[155] Jaccottet 2002, 137–138, no. 71.

[156] Considered citizens, despite the use of a single name, by Ardevan 1998, 288; Onofrei 2008, 174 and Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 153; they are not listed in Varga's catalogue also – Varga 2014.

[157] Alicu, Paki 1995, 49–91; Piso 2005, 209–229; Nemeti 2014, 105.

[158] Paki 1996, 285.

In one inscription, the *ordo Augustalium* is mentioned, and five *Augustales* are attested in the epigraphic record – M. Ulpius Caecilius, Bassianus, Calisthenes, Iulius Arphocras, and M. Aurelius Papia (**7**, **101**, **54**) – together with the wife of an *Augustalis*, Aurelia Bona (**54**). Flavia Caemina is recorded as the *liberta* of her *domina*, Flavia Ursula, and in this capacity she erected her mistress' funerary monument (**65**). The status of C. Iulius Marcus, who dedicated a votive altar for the health of the *pontifex* C. Iulius Constans (**26**), remains uncertain. It is possible that the aristocrat was his patron, especially since the dedicator bears a *praenomen*, Marcus, used here as a *cognomen*.

Aelius Liber is described as the *alumnus* of the *decurio* P. Aelius Dacianus and is the beneficiary of a joint funerary monument with Dacianus' son, P. Aelius Traianus (**52**). His *cognomen* might suggest servile origin, but it is also possible that he was an *alumnus* received into the family as an *ingenuus*, since at the time of his death Aelius Liber was only three years old.[159]

Actual slaves are almost invisible in the inscriptions. Securus, who dedicated in the rural area of Dezmir an altar to Silvanus for the health of Aelius Iulianus, may, for instance, have been a *servus* (**93**). Similarly, an individual named Fortunatus – attested in a fragmentary inscription (**96**) – was likely of servile status, given the typically servile character of his name.

Families

Various family relationships are attested through Latin expressions designating kinship ties: *pater*, *mater*, *filius*, *filia*, *frater*, but also *coniux* and *maritus*. In one case, a *socer* (father-in-law) is also mentioned. Where the term *frater* or *fratres* occurs, it may represent a generic designation referring to soldiers, as in the case of Aurelius Firmus and Aurelius Iulianus (**75**). On the other hand, Aurelius Claudius and Aurelius Nepotianus, who dedicated a monument to the goddess Dea Syria for the health of Caracalla in a public space, were likely actual brothers (**46**). It is also possible that Ulpius Paternus and Ulpius Iustinus (**32**) were brothers, though they could equally well have been co-freedmen or two unrelated citizens sharing the same imperial *gentilicium*.

Kinship relations are more difficult to discern in votive epigraphy, where acts of devotion are generally personal gestures, and are more commonly observed in funerary inscriptions, where members of the same family appear on a single monument. Within the local elite, genealogical lines or multiple generations cannot be clearly identified: we know that P. Aelius Maximus, *duumvir quinquennalis* and member of the equestrian order (**17**, **23**, **88**), was the son of the veteran Aelius Iulius, a former centurion and owner of the villa at Ciumăfaia (**86**, **87**, **89–92**). P. Aelius Traianus was the son of P. Aelius Dacianus, who also adopted Aelius Liber, an *alumnus* who may have been of free birth (**52**). The municipal *flamen* P. Aelius Probus dedicated a stele for himself and several members of his family, among whom are preserved the names Aelia Proba and P. Aelius Ingenuus (**59**). Owing to her *cognomen* derived from that of her father, Aelia Proba was very likely his daughter, while P. Aelius Ingenuus was probably his son.

Among ordinary citizens, an imposing pilaster-type monument was erected by four sons for their father, Aurelius Maximus, a veteran and former *decurio* of an unidentified

[159] Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2004, 35–36.

ala (probably *ala I Siliana*) (**50**). Two of the sons followed a military career: Aurelius Manes was a *centurio*, and Aurelius Musaeus a *vexillarius*. The other two sons, Aurelius Maximus and Aurelius Faustinus, were probably minors at the time the funerary monument was dedicated. Another veteran, Aurelius Balbus, dedicated a monument to his young wife, Aurelia Marina or Aureliana, who died at the age of 17, and to their son, Aurelius Marinianus, who died at one year and four months (**51**). The family of Aelius Siro was likewise struck by tragedy: the monument is dedicated to his wife, Aelia Sura, aged 30, and to their twin sons, Aelius Saturninus and Aelius Valentinus, who died at only three years of age (**56**). Three generations are mentioned only on the monument dedicated by Aurelius Marcianus, *scriba coloniae*, where appear the names of his mother, Aurelia Marcia, his wife, Aurelia Provincia, and his young son, Aurelius Marcellinus (**71**). Among peregrine families, only one case is known, where a mother, Quieta, buried her daughter, Victorina (**61**).

Population and onomastics of the inhabitants

Two main ideas emerge from the bibliography concerning the population structure of the city of Napoca, reflecting both the period in which they were formulated and the ideological constraints of their time. In 1957, A. Bodor distinguished three groups that constituted the city's population: indigenous Dacians, the first colonists, and veterans. To illustrate the presence of native Dacians, he cited the so-called "Thraco-Dacian names," as understood in the onomastic studies of that period – namely, Aurelius Babus, Dizo, Eptala, Mucianus, Tzinto, Tzinta, Aurelius Duda, and Aelia Muciale.[160] A concise analysis of the population's structure can also be found in H. Daicoviciu's synthetic article published in 1974. The author noted the presence of colonists of diverse origins, with those most visible epigraphically being Asians mentioned in inscriptions dedicated to national deities (*IOM Tavianus*), *Galatae consistentes municipii*, or in the *album collegii* of 235 AD (*nomina Asianorum*). Aurelius Babus, mentioned in an inscription transcribed by Mezerzius, where the *cognomen* may have been Balbus, was also considered of Asia Minor origin. In the list of Asians, Daicoviciu also included names then regarded as Thracian, such as Dizo, Eptala, Tzinta, or Tzinto. From an inscription of uncertain reading, he retained the Thracian name Aurelius Duda.[161] In the spirit of the time, the Dacian component was emphasized: "undoubtedly, part of the inhabitants … were autochthonous." However, he was unable to provide many examples – only the *decurio* P. Aelius Dacianus, noting that the name was seen and transcribed only by Mezerzius. On the other hand, he considered that the *Publii Aelii* recruited into the legion at Lambaesis, bearing *cognomina* such as Bitus, Iunio, Nigrinus, or Donatus,

> "must have been the sons of native notables from the territory of Napoca, granted Roman citizenship by Hadrian".[162]

A later analysis of the onomastics preserved in the same *corpus* of inscriptions reached different conclusions. The soldiers recruited from Napoca into the *legio III Augusta* were, in

[160] Bodor 1957, 95.
[161] Bodor 1957, 95.
[162] Daicoviciu 1974, 34.

fact, sons of colonists who had resided in Napoca for only about a decade. The onomastics of these colonists, according to Adela Paki, suggests a Norico-Pannonian origin. Among the bearers of *cognomina* indicative of such provenance – based on the regional popularity of certain Latin names – she enumerates P. Aelius Iunio, P. Aelius Securus, Aelius Siro, P. Aelius Succesus, Aelia Succesa, Firminius Bellicus, as well as the peregrines Acceptus, Curinio, Iustinus, Revocatus, and Suriacus.[163] This hypothesis of a Norico-Pannonian nucleus of colonists was later correlated with the archaeological finds from the city excavations, where certain categories of artifacts labeled "Norico-Pannonian" (fibulae or pottery) appeared to support the onomastic argument.[164] At the same time, Adela Paki also identified Thracian names (Mucatra, Bitus, Eptala), groups of Asians based on previously mentioned inscriptions, and Syrian names (Babus, Marina, Marinianus).[165]

Ultimately, analyzing 160 *cognomina*, she reached the following statistics:

- 93 Latin *cognomina* (58%)
- 32 Celto-Roman or purely Celtic *cognomina* (20%)
- 14 Thracian *cognomina* (approx. 9%)
- 13 Greek *cognomina* (approx. 8%)
- 7 Syrian and one Egyptian *cognomen* (approx. 5%).[166]

In this new statistical assessment, native Dacians are absent, although in a previous article – based on the names of soldiers from Lambaesis originating from Napoca – she had maintained that:

> "on peut dire que les recrues de Napoca, enrôlées dans la *legio III Augusta* sont, d'un côté des pérégrins daces qui, suite au recrutement, ont reçu la citoyenneté romaine, d'un autre côté, des fils des colons déjà citoyens venue probablement de Pannonie".[167]

Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț adopts Paki's hypothesis of a sizable Norico-Pannonian group of colonists, derived from a personal method of onomastic analysis based on the interplay between Latin and Celtic names and on the identification of provincial origins through the regional popularity of certain Latin names in Celtic-speaking areas. She also notes the interpretative novelty – fashionable after 1989 – namely that "we do not at all know the proportion of autochthons among the settlement's inhabitants".[168]

The correct principle in ancient onomastic analysis is that one can establish the origin of the name, not the origin of the person. Provincial *cognomina* from the onomastic stocks of non-Latin populations integrated into the Empire can sometimes be illustrative, but not in an absolute sense. Names of Greek origin were borne by Easterners from Hellenized regions, or they may indicate servile origin (Greek names being popular among slaves). More indicative for establishing provincial provenance are *gentilicia* derived from peregrine

[163] Paki 1998a, 136–137.
[164] Cociș 1995; Cociș 2004 (fibulae); Husar 2003 (cemeteries, pottery).
[165] Paki 1998a, 139.
[166] Paki 1998, 142.
[167] Paki 1995, 496.
[168] Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 77, 79.

names. Some *cognomina* exhibit a provincial distribution – such as Succesus or Respectus in the Norico-Pannonian area, or Donatus and Optatus in North Africa – but these are ultimately Latin *cognomina*, and a provincial could bear such a name anywhere in the Empire, including Dacia.

Identifying native Dacians or Norico-Pannonian colonists – both groups hidden under Latin names – is ultimately futile and merely reflects ideological conditioning: a postwar scholarly consensus according to which the inhabitants of Dacia were Daco-Romans, i.e. Romanized Dacians in the urban and rural milieu of the province, and a post-1989 scholarly trend of the opposite sign, emphasizing the absence of Dacians in the province and privileging, in the new historical discourse, the "Romanizing" colonists (in this case, Norico-Pannonians). The onomastic repertoire of individuals residing in or originating from Napoca does not explicitly indicate either the presence of autochthons or the predominance of Norico-Pannonian colonists. In addition to the inherent limitations of onomastics for determining personal origins, there are also chronological constraints: very few inscriptions are datable, so we lack an accurate perspective on the evolution of this urban population across different stages. The ratio between citizens and peregrines likely changed over time; however, we have no alternative but to regard the sample of individuals recorded in the epigraphic data as if they were contemporaneous and coexisted throughout the entire period under study. It is impossible to determine the population of the *vicus* of Napoca, of the *municipium*, or of the *colonia*. Most of our epigraphic evidence probably belongs to the colonial period, which spans almost a century (c. 170–270 AD), yet even this encompasses at least three generations.

We shall therefore analyze this human group based on onomastic data. Among the members of the equestrian order residing in the city, there are nine *procuratores* and two young *equites* at the beginning of their *militiae equestres*. Most bear Latin *cognomina*, with the exceptions of Lycinus and Apollinaris, who have Greek *cognomina*. P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus and C. Publicius Antonius Probus each have two *nomina*, which could indicate an *adoptio*, a phenomenon better known among elite circles. Some *nomina* are relatively rare, such as Scarvius or Cocceius, but we also encounter two Valerii and several bearers of imperial *nomina*, such as Iulius, Aelius, or Aurelius (**Table I**). It is noteworthy that, of the nine *procuratores*, only P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus is known from other sources; the others are attested solely through inscriptions discovered in Napoca. These may perhaps point to their provincial extraction, belonging to the municipal elite who acceded to the *ordo equester*.

Most members of the municipal elite were citizens bearing imperial *nomina* (Iulius, Flavius, Ulpius, Septimius) and Latin *cognomina*. The most numerous among them were the Aelii, who had *cognomina* such as Antoninus, Fabianus, Florentinus, Ingenu(u)s, Marcianus, Maximus, Peregrinus, and Probus. A similar situation can be observed in the case of the Flavii (Ianuarius, Germanus, Longinus), the Iulii (Constans, Ingenuus, Marcus, Proculinus), or the Ulpii (Sabinus). Other *nomina* recorded among members of the *ordo decurionum* or the municipal magistrates include Valerius (Saturninus, Victor), Antonius, or Numerius (see **Table I**).

The overwhelming predominance of the Aelii and the absence of the Aurelii from the onomastic repertoire of the elite of Napoca reflect its formation during the municipal

phase,[169] from the contingent of colonists granted citizenship under Hadrian, as well as a certain degree of social impermeability during the 3rd century AD, when the *nomen* Aurelius became increasingly common. The pattern identified among the elite is replicated in the analysis of ordinary citizens. Once again, we note the large number of *Publii Aelii*, bearing Latin *cognomina* such as Cornelianus, Fabianus, Florus, Firmus, Iulius, Iulianus, Proba, Saturninus, and Valentinus. *Cognomina* of other origins are rare: Thracian (Mammosa, Muciane), Celtic (Siro, Sura), or Greek (Cal<i>ope).

A significant number of *Publii Aelii* are also attested in the list of soldiers recruited from Napoca into the *legio III Augusta* stationed at Lambaesis. They too bear predominantly Latin *cognomina* such as Donatus, Iunio, Nigrinus, Securus, and Victor, alongside a few of other origins – Thracian (Bitus, Mucatra, Tarsa) or Greek (Eutiches). Where only the *cognomina* of these soldiers are preserved, they are likewise Latin (Catus, Clemens, Dignus, Placentus).

Within the urban middle class (*plebs urbana*), the Aurelii appear in large numbers, also bearing Latin *cognomina* such as Avita, Balbus, Capito, Claudius, Faustinus, Firmus, Gemellinus, Iulianus, Lucius, Marcellinus, Marcia, Maximus, Nepotianus, Provincia, Titus, Umbrianus, and Vitalianus. Occasionally, Aurelii have Greek (Alexander, Musaeus, Manes), Semitic (Marina, Marinianus), or Thracian (Mucapor) *cognomina*. Other *nomina* are rare among the general population and are usually accompanied by Latin *cognomina*, as in the cases of Claudius Valentinus, Q. Cominii Pius and Pudens, Flavia Ursula, C. Iulii Marcus and Proculinus, Ulpii Iustinus, Maximus and Paternus, Valerii Valentina and Valerianus, Victorii Gallicanus, and Septimius.

The use of *praenomina* and *nomina* as *cognomina* – such as Lucius, Titus, Marcus, Iulius, Claudius, Septimius – indicates the peregrine origin of these individuals.

Among slaves and freedmen, we find exclusively imperial *nomina* (Aelius, Aurelius, Flavius, Iulius, Ulpius) combined with Latin and Greek *cognomina*. Among the Latin ones, we may note Bassianus, Caecilius, Caemina, Bona, Felicissima, Liber, Secunda, Succesus, and Succesa, while the Greek examples include Arphocras and Callisthenes.

The chance discovery of that *album collegii* from the 3rd century AD allows for the identification of a significant segment of the peregrine population in the city[170]. A total of fifty-five personal names of peregrines are attested in several inscriptions, making it possible to analyse their onomastic composition. Latin names predominate, such as Agrippinus, Augusta, Carus, Crescens, Quirinus, Fortunatus, Germanus, Graeca, Hilara, Iustinus, Iustina, Longina, Longinianus, Marcia, Maximina, Nepos, Paula, Quieta, Rufina, Securus, Tiberina, Ulpianus, Valentina, Valerianus, Vera, and Victorina. One *praenomen* (Gaius) is found used as a *cognomen*, alongside several *nomina* (Cornelia, Cornificia, Iulius, Ulpius, Valerius). Among the peregrines, a higher frequency of Greek and Oriental names is noticeable, particularly since many of them belonged to members of that Dionysiac college (*spira Asianorum*): Asclepiodote, Epipodia, Hermes, Hermescus, Hyus, Zoilus, and Zoilianus. There are also a few Thracian names (Dizo, Eptala, Mucianus), Dacian ones (Tzinta, Tzinto), and a Microasian name (Tattario).

[169] Ardevan 2023, 96–99.

[170] For comparison, see two *alba collegii* from Ulpia Sarmizegetusa, dated to the IIIrd century (IDR III/3, 484; AE 2011, 1085) and Cioroiul Nou (AE 2019, 1293).

Thus, abandoning the practice of inferring personal origins from the provincial frequency of Latin *cognomina* or from phonetic resemblance, we can establish the following statistical distribution based on the analysis of 175 preserved *cognomina*:

- 140 Latin *cognomina* (80%)
- 17 Greek and Asia Minor *cognomina* (9.71%)
- 10 Thracian and Dacian *cognomina* (5.71%)
- 4 Semitic *cognomina* (2.28%)
- 4 Celtic and Illyrian *cognomina* (2.28%)

This onomastic analysis does not reveal the presence of bearers of Dacian or Celtic (Norico-Pannonian) names except incidentally and as isolated cases. Consequently, neither of the two older theories – the one postulating a substantial native (Thracian-Dacian) component in the municipal population of Napoca, nor the one suggesting a nucleus of Norico-Pannonian colonists – can be argumented today. The onomastic evidence reflects, in our opinion, a well-Romanised provincial society.

The predominance of imperial *nomina* and the occasional imperfect manipulation of certain Latin onomastic elements betray the peregrine background of their bearers and their recent Romanisation. The analysis of the *cognomina* attested in Napoca does not point to any specific group of peregrines (either indigenous or colonists) that might have constituted the core of the town's population.

Most probably, the principal contingent of citizens at the foundation of the municipality consisted of auxiliary soldiers and their families who had been settled there after being discharged following Turbo's war against the Iazyges.[171] These auxiliary units included Thracians and Danubian Celts, as well as other categories of peregrines from regions that had long been under Roman influence – a fact that is reflected in their marked preference for Latin onomastics.

These *Publii Aelii* thus formed the elite of the new municipal structure, as attested by the epigraphic evidence preserved to this day.

Religious life reflected in epigraphic sources

In order to discuss the religious preferences of the inhabitants, iconographic sources must also be taken into account. Based on the epigraphic evidence, we shall attempt to outline the main tendencies of religious life, to observe to what extent they correlate with the onomastics of the population. The only identifiable nucleus of peregrines in Napoca consists of the *Galatae* and *Asiani*, colonists from Galatia and Asia Minor. During the reign of Antoninus Pius, some are designated as *Galatae consistentes* (**34**), while the list from 235 AD records the *nomina Asianorum* (**5**). Two altars are dedicated to divinities from their homeland – Iupiter Tavianus (**34**) and Iupiter Erusenus (**33**).[172] The dedicator of the altar to Erusenus bears a Greek *cognomen*, Alexander. The Dionysiac *collegium* is identified as

[171] This seems to have been a practice of Emperor Hadrian, who did not establish *coloniae deductae* for citizens from the legions, but rather numerous *municipia* where legionary veterans or new citizens from the auxiliaries were settled following their *honesta missio*.

[172] Nemeti 2019, 263–264.

a *spira*, a type of association known in the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire, including Asia Minor, from where these *Asiani* most likely originated.

The inscriptions from Napoca illustrate a religious life strongly marked by the traditions of the Roman state religion, centered on the civic cult of Rome and the imperial cult. The official religion of the Roman Empire during the imperial period emphasized the traditions of the Capitoline cult, dedicated to the supreme deity of the Roman state, Iupiter Optimus Maximus, associated with the goddesses Iuno and Minerva in the Capitoline triad, as well as with the gods of the first circle of the functional-familial pantheon, the so-called *dii consentes*. The emperors, seen as the earthly representatives of Iupiter Optimus Maximus, were honored through votive or honorific monuments. Votive altars were dedicated to the divine component of the living emperor, the *genius* or *numen Augusti*. One altar, datable to the colonial period, was dedicated by three *magistri Augustales* to the *numen* of an unnamed emperor (**7**).[173]

In the public spaces of Napoca – most probably in the *atrium* of the *forum* – stood statues dedicated to emperors. Among the surviving bases, we know of a statue of Emperor Commodus, erected by decree of the *decuriones* sometime between 191–192 AD (**8**), a statue of Caracalla dedicated in 214 AD, probably on the occasion of the imperial visit (**9**), a statue of Gordian III (**10**), and two statues of Philippus Arabs and his wife, Marcia Otacilia Severa (**11**, **12**). Several emperors of the 2nd century AD, including those who conferred municipal status upon the city – Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius – must also have been represented by public statues.

A single altar is dedicated to the Capitoline triad, by a *decurio*, L. Laelius Terentianus (**21**). A woman, Aelia Caliope, dedicated an altar to the goddess Iuno Regina (**20**). Aelius Iulius, the owner of the villa at Ciumăfaia within the territory of Napoca, dedicated altars to Iuno Regina and Minerva (**89**, **91**). It is highly probable that an altar to Iupiter also existed, though it has not yet been discovered. *Procuratores*, *decuriones*, and soldiers dedicated altars to the supreme god, Iupiter Optimus Maximus, likely as an expression of loyalty to imperial authority and as part of their official duties (**22–30**, **94**).[174] Among the *dii consentes*, Hercules (**18**, **19**), Venus (**48**), and, in the rural territory, Apollo and Diana (**86**, **99**) were worshiped.

Both within the city and in the surrounding rural areas, popular deities are attested, such as Aesculapius (**13**, **85**), Dis Pater and Proserpina (**84**), Liber Pater (**35**, **98**), and Silvanus (**28**, **41–45**, **92**, **93**, **97**, **100**, **102**, **108**), as well as personified abstractions associated with health and prosperity, such as Fortuna (**15**, **16**), Salus (**40**), or Terra Mater (**47**).[175]

Among the Oriental cults – typically spread by soldiers – those of Mithras (**36–39**),[176] Iupiter Dolichenus (**31**, **32**), Bonus Puer (Azizos) (**14**, **103**), and Dea Syria (**46**)[177] are represented. From the western provinces, we should note Hercules Magusanus (**88**)[178] from the Batavian area, and perhaps an inscription of uncertain reading dedicated to the

[173] Fenechiu 2008, 230–242.

[174] Bărbulescu 1985, 21–47; Socaciu 2023, 93–135.

[175] A synthetic overview of Greco-Roman cults in Dacia – Bărbulescu 1985; Bodor 1989, 1077–1164.

[176] Mithraic monuments from Dacia in Sicoe 2014.

[177] Sanie 1981, 36–89 (Iupiter Dolichenus), 117–121 (Bonus Puer), 106–113 (Dea Syria).

[178] Macrea 1949a, 2226–232; Husar 1999, 234–237; Nemeti 2019, 147–149.

collective Germanic deities, the (Matronae) Gesahenae (**17**).[179] A particularly unusual find is a Greek-language altar dedicated to the two Nemeseis (**107**), worshiped in the same manner as in Smyrna.

No cult building has been securely identified in Napoca. The only inscription that may be interpreted as a construction plaque of a sanctuary (**1**) was found in secondary use, reused in the medieval fortress at Calvaria. The temple was dedicated to unnamed gods *ex imperio*, "by their command". Based on a Mithraic inscription discovered in the extramural area (**36**), the existence of a *mithraeum* has been hypothesized, though this remains highly uncertain.

In our opinion, the religious preferences reflected in the epigraphy depict the same image of a well-Romanized provincial society, firmly attached to traditional Roman values. The worship of the Anatolian deities (Tavianus, Erusenus, Nemeseis) complements the information regarding the presence of settlers from Asia Minor in the city, while the veneration of Oriental divinities popular among soldiers – such as Mithras, Dolichenus, and Bonus Puer – is due to a widespread religious trend throughout the Empire.

Conclusions

The epigraphic landscape of the Roman city of Napoca in Dacia Porolissensis presents the image of an ordinary provincial society from the Danubian area. The evolution of this community can be partially traced through the inscriptions discovered here, whose analysis reveals developmental stages common to many provincial communities. Little can be said about the rural organization of the Roman settlement on the Someș River, other than that, in AD 108 – the date of the milestone from Aiton (**2**) – there already existed a Roman settlement bearing the indigenous name Napoca. In the context of the conflicts with the Iazyges in the Tisza Plain and the provincial reorganization under Hadrian, the local community was granted the status of *municipium civium Romanorum*, and a certain number of peregrines of diverse origins have received Roman citizenship. From among these Publii Aelii arose the urban elite of Napoca, whose presence remains visible throughout the municipal and colonial period. Probably during the Marcomannic Wars and the subsequent reorganization of Dacia under Marcus Aurelius, Napoca attained the rank of *colonia*. Many of the inscriptions discovered in the city and its surrounding territory belong to this phase in its existence – the *colonia Aurelia*. The transition to colonial status occurred without major institutional changes, the city preserving its duumviral constitution. An important element in its development was the establishment at Napoca of the seat of the *procurator* of Dacia Porolissensis. Several such Roman equestrians are attested in inscriptions from Napoca, together with subordinate officers who may have belonged to the *officium* of the consular governor.

The social structure reflected in the inscriptions is typical of provincial urban communities. The *ordo decurionum* – the municipal elite – and, to a considerable extent, the *plebs urbana* are both epigraphically visible. An *ordo Augustalium* existed, though it appears less active than in other cities, while the absence of *collegiati*, members of professional associations who often assumed civic responsibilities, is striking. The discovery of an *album*

[179] Macrea 1949a, 249–254; Husar 1999, 241–242.

collegii composed of peregrines indicates a different ratio of citizens to non-citizens than that seen in other urban centers of the province.

The onomastic analysis of the inhabitants reveals a predominance of names of Latin origin, with only a few examples of *cognomina* of Greek, Thracian, Dacian, or Celtic provenance. This onomastic evidence does not support earlier theories of a massive admittance to Roman citizenship of local Dacians or Danubian Celts (Norico-Pannonian settlers) forming the principal nucleus of citizens in the new municipal foundation, *municipium Aelium Hadrianum Napocensium*. The names and religious preferences of the inhabitants alike portray a well-Romanized provincial society, comprising citizens of diverse backgrounds – primarily veterans of auxiliary units – and a persistent peregrine nucleus, epigraphically attested up to the 3rd century AD, represented by colonists originating from Asia Minor (*Galatae*, *Asiani*).

For a fuller reconstruction of this urban community, future research should also consider the archaeological remains – the traces of the city walls and civil buildings, sculptural pieces, funerary zones, and even the elements of material culture.

Repertory of inscriptions

TITVLI OPERVM PVBLICORVM

1. ILD 556; Piso 1980, 125, no. 3, Fig. 3b. Plaque, limestone; 44 × 24 × 17 cm. The plaque has a molded frame. Discovered in the 1978 excavations in the medieval fortress of Calvaria.
Dis [Paternis(?)] / ex im[perio …] / P(ublius) Ae[l(ius) …] / v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)].

Aiton (Cluj County)
2. CIL III 1627; ILD 536; Seivert 1771, IX; Weszprem 1787, 415; Hene 1836, 2; Winkler 1982, 80–84; Ardevan 1998, 448; Fodorean 2002, 60–64. *Columna miliaria…rep. in pago Ajton prope Thordam, deinde Claudiopoli in villa suburbana Michaelis Pap Szatthmari…* (CIL).
Imp(erator) / Caesar Nerva / Traianus Aug(ustus) / Germ(anicus) Dacicus / pontif(ex) maxim(us) / (!) pot(estate) XII co(n)s(ul) V / imp(erator) VI p(ater) p(atriae) fecit / per coh(ortem) I Fl(aviam) Ulp(iam) / Hisp(anam) mil(iariam) c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitatam) / a Potaissa Napo/cae / m(ilia) p(assuum) X.
108 AD.

Mera (Cluj County)
3. ILD 608 = 98; AE 2011, 1075; Daicoviciu 1933a, 48–53, Figs. 2–3; Fodorean 2002, 64–66; Piso 2011, 321–323, no. 1, Fig. 1. Milestone, limestone; 2.25 × 43 cm; discovered in 1932 on the edge of the road leading from Napoca to Porolissum. MNIT, v 15784.
Imp(erator) Caes(ar) [M(arcus) Aurelius] / Antonin[us Aug(ustus) Arm(eniacus)] / p(ontifex) m(aximus) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) X[VIII/X(?) imp(erator) II/IV? co(n)s(ul) III et] / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) [L(ucius) Aurelius] / Verus Aug(ustus) [Arm(eniacus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) IV/VI imp(erator) II/IV] / co(n)s(ul) II fecer[unt a Napoca(?)] / m(ilia) p(assuum) V[IIII] // Imp(eratore) Cae[s(are) M(arco)] / Aur(elio) An[to]/nino [Aug(usto)].
166 AD.

Suceagu (Cluj County)

4. ILD 605; AE 1993, 1330; Paki 1989–1993, 293–295, no. 2, Pl. II/3–4. Fragment of milestone, limestone; 11.5 × 8.6 cm, reconstructed diameter – ca. 34 cm; discovered at Suceagu in archaeological research in a household pit from the 4th century AD.
[I]mp(erator) […] / […]II m(ilia) p(assuum).

5. CIL III 870; ILS 4061; Neigebaur 1851, 225,11; Ackner, Müller 1865, 744; Jakab 1870, 123; Bodor 1963, 229–234; Ardevan 1998, 431; Onofrei 2009, 171–178; Piso 2013a, 167–169, no. 4, Fig. 6. Limestone plaque; 83.5 × 58 × 12.5 cm; discovered at the Romanian church on Prahovei Street and later built into the wall of an annex building. Zwei Altarfragmente, neben der griech. Kirche gefunden, jetzt im Gubernialgebäude. / rep. A. *1801 ad ecclesiam Graecam, ubi extat parieti infixa.* MNIT, IN 21697.
Severo et Quintiano co(n)s(ulibus) / nomina Asianorum
Germanus spirar(c)hes / Tattario / (H)ermes / Dizo / Gaius / Hyius / Zoilus / Valerius / Zoilianus / Crescens / Eptala / Ulpius / Mucianus / Carus / m(agister?) / Suri / Tzinto / Longinianus / Ulpianus / Iulius / (H)ermescus / Nepos / Agrippinus / Valerianu[s] / Curinu[s] / Rev[ocatus(?)] / Ce[…] / O[…]
Epipodia mater / Valentina / Augusta / Asclepiodote / Tiberina / Maximina / Tzinta / Iustina / Cornificia / Long(in)a / Cornelia / Vera / Hilara / Gr(a)eca / Rufina / Victorina / Paula / […]
Zoilianus scripsit.
Piso, l. 25: *Curinu[s] = Quirinus*, l. 27: *Ce[…].*
235 AD.

6. CIL III 7668; AE 2013, 1290; ILD 966; Hirschfeld 1874, 379, no. 6; Torma 1879, 97, no. 23; EE II, 303, no. 379; Piso 2013a, 168–169, Figs. 7–8. Plaque fragments, marble; 17 × 18 × 2 cm. Gefunden … in den sog. Bornyúmáler Weingärten (Torma). Discovered in 1872 on "Mâloasă" Street (Borjumál), behind the Astoria Hotel. MNIT, 4386.
[…] / Zoil[iani] / Marc[ia] / Longin[a] / […].

TITVLI HONORARII

7. Zamosius (1603) 1877, 81; Sponius 1679, 168–169; Reinesius 1682, 185, CLXIIX; Seivert 1771, CLV; Bartalis 1787, 57; Huszti 1791, 21; Katancsich 1827, 231, CXIV; Neigebaur 1851, 223, 3; Ackner 1857, 79; Ackner, Müller 1865, 735; CIL III 862; Jakab 1870, 152; Ardevan 1998, 433. *…in vestibulo aedium prope basilicam.*
Numini Aug(usti) / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Caecil(ius) / Bassianus / […] Callisth(enes) / magg(istri) / Augustalis (!) / col(oniae) Nap(ocae) / d(onum) d(ederunt).
Seivert, Neigebaur, Ackner, Müller, l. 4: *M.AVG (Maximus Augur)*; Huszti, l. 4: *mag. augustalis*

8. CIL III 865; Torma 1865, 14–15, no. 5; Jakab 1870, 121; Daicoviciu 1974, 31; Daicoviciu 1977, 926–927; Ardevan 1998, 431–432. Statue base; limestone; 60 × 58 × 43 cm; *…in arce vetere Óvár dicta a. 1791…* (CIL); in 1943 it was in the garden of the Horvath (Rutska) house on Magyar Street (Magyar u.). MNIT, VI 3481 = v 15890.
Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Aelio / Aurel(io) Commodo / P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) Sarm(atico) Ger/manic(o) max(imo) Brit{t}(annico) / ob honorem dec(urionatus) / Ael(i) Constantis / proc(uratoris) eius et Iul(i) Pa/[c]atiani quondam / [praefe]cti T(itus) [Fl(avius?)] Ianua/[rius pat]r(onus) col(oniae) et / [T(itus)] Fl(avius) Germanus / dec(urio) col(oniae) quod dec(uriones) / alares promise/runt pecunia su/a posuerunt [l(ocus)] d(atus) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).
185–192 AD.

9. Pósta 1901, 301 (mentioned); Münsterberg, Oehler 1902, 100, no. 7. Plaque, limestone; 54 × 59 × 13 cm; discovered in Cluj, in the south-east corner of the house where King Matthias Corvinus was born. MNIT, v 15854.
Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / M(arco) Aur(elio) An/ton(ino) Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriae) / pontif(ici) max(imo) / trib(uniciae) potes/tatis XVII […] / […].
Pósta – dated to 163 AD.
214 AD.

10. CIL III, 37*; Neigebaur 1851, 201; ILD 540; Macrea 1949, 297–301, Fig. 1; AE 1950, 17; Ardevan 1998, 433. Slab, limestone; 50 × 60 cm; known from Steinbüchel's copy, rediscovered built into the building of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, 2 C. Daicoviciu Street.
Imp(eratori) Caesari / Marco Anto/nio Gordiano / Pio Felici In/victo Aug(usto) p[on]/tif(ici) max(imo) [trib(unicia)] / p[ot(estate)…resp(ublica) col(oniae)] / [Nap(ocensis) dicatissima] / [numini maiestati]/[que eius].

11. AE 1944, 39; ILD 960; Daicoviciu 1941, 313, no. 1, Fig. 11; Ardevan 1998, 432. Base of an imperial statue, limestone; 138 × 43 × 52 cm. Discovered in the cellar of Al. Galgózi's house, 3 Museum Square (formerly Carolina Square). MNIT, v 15807.
Imp(eratori) C[aes(ari)] / M(arco) Iul(io) [Phi]/lippo [P(io) F(elici) In]/vict[o Aug(usto)] / pont[ifici] / max(imo) [trib(unicia)] / pot(estate) c[o(n)s(uli)] / res p[ubl(ica)] / col(oniae) N[apoc(ensis)].
244 AD.

12. AE 1944, 40; ILD 961; Daicoviciu 1941, 313, no. 2; Ardevan 1998, 452. Base of an imperial statue, limestone; 138 × 42 × 50 cm. Discovered in the cellar of Al. Galgózi's house, 3 Museum Square (formerly Carolina Square). MNIT, VI 4346 = v 15887.
Marc[iae] / Otac[iliae] / Sever[ae] / sanct[iss(imae)] / Augus[tae] / d(omini) n(ostri) mat[ri Phi]/lippi n[obilis]/simi Ca[es(aris)] / et ca[str(orum)] / res p(ublica) col(oniae) [Nap(ocensis)].
244 AD.

TITVLI SACRI

13. Beu-Dachin, Cupcea 2023, 99–105, Pl. I/1–3. Altar, limestone; 42 × 15 cm; built into a wall of the cellar of the Mauksch-Hinz house (Unirii Square, no. 28).
Ae[scul(apio)] / pro [salu]/te P(ubli) [Aeli?] / Cor[neli]/ani […] / Clo[dian(us)] / v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]?

14. Mitrofan, 1964, 207; Sanie 1981, 266, no. 57, Pl. IV/6; Ciongradi 2010, 125–132, Figs. 1–2. Altar, sandstone; 49.5 × 15 × 14 cm; discovered during terracing works behind the House of Industry and Commerce (formerly the Partizanul and Astoria Hotels). MNIT, IN 20200.
Puero / Bono / Arim/o v(otum) l(ibens).
Ciongradi, l. 3–4: *Art<e>mo? / Art<a>mo?*

15. CIL III 853; Lazius 1598, 931; Troester 1666, 454; Gruterus 1707, LXXIII,11; Seivert 1771, CLXXII; Neigebaur 1851, 224,4; Ackner, Müller 1865, 734; Jakab 1870, 122. *In civitate Coloswariensi in vetusto muro apud Dominicanos* (Mezerzius). Today in a wall on 25 Street Ferdinand.
Fortunae / Aug(ustae) / C(aius) Aurelius / Atilianus / proc(urator) Aug(usti).

16. Zamosius (1603) 1877, 82; Chishull 1747, 97; CIL III 854 = CIL III 7657; EE IV, 62, no. 134; Ardevan 1998, 433. *Clausenburgi in moenibus intus* (Chishull).
Fortunae Aug(ustae) / Ulp(ius) Mascu/linus vet(eranus) ex / signif(ero) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) / et dec(urio) col(oniae) Nap(ocae) pro / sa(lute) sua et suor(um) p(osuit) / dedicata / Kal(endis) Septem(bribus) / Cilon/e II et / Libone co(n)s(ulibus).
EE, IV, l. 5: *Nap(ocae).*
204 AD.

17. ILD 554; Macrea 1949a, 249–254, Fig. 2; AE 1969–1970, 548; AE 1971, 395; AE 1999, 1279; Daicoviciu 1967, 469–470; Piso 1980, 125–127, no. 4, Fig. 4b; Ardevan 1998, 434; Szabó 1999, 355–361, Fig. 3. Altar, marble; 61 × 30 × 28 cm; discovered in 1943 at 22 Libertății Square. MNIT, v 15835.
[Gesahe]nis pro / [se et suis P(ublius) A]el(ius) Maxi/[mus (duum)vir q(uin)]q(uennalis) et fla/[men col(oniae) Nap(ocensis)] a militiis / [sacerdos ar]ae Aug(usti) n(ostri) / [coronat(us) Dac(iarum) I]II dec(urio) col(oniae) / [metropoli]s / [v(otum) l(ibens)] s(olvit).
Macrea, l. 1: *[Ma(tronis) Gesah(enis)]*, AE, l. 1: *[…]nis*, *[Diis mag]nis*; Daicoviciu, AE, l. 1: *[Gen(io) ordi]nis*; Piso, l. 1: *[Gesah]enis*; Szabó, l. 7: *[metropoli]s*.

18. Ackner, Müller 1865, 732; CIL III 6253 Altar von Muschelkalk, im Bar. Josika'schen Garten. / *in hortis baronis Iosika.*
Hercul(i) / Centi Aur(elius) / Capito / votu(m) fec(it).
Nemeti, l. 2: *Invicti?*

19. ILD 548; Piso 1980, 123–124, Fig. 1 a-b. Altar, limestone; two fragments: 32 × 57 × 42 cm; 21 × 26 × 18 cm. From the first fragment a piece of a capital decorated with a pediment featuring a rosette and vegetal motifs is preserved. Discovered in 1978 within the enclosure of the medieval fortress Calvaria. MNIT.
Herculi // […]lis / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito).

20. ILD 546; Buday 1916, 78–79, no. 5, Fig. 5. Altar, sandstone; 50 × 42 × 25 cm. Discovered during the paving of Rudolf Street, in the filling material.
[Iunoni Regi]n[ae] votu/m solvit Ae/lia Cal<i>op/e pro se et s/uis [l(ibens)] m(erito).
Buday, l. 2: *[Dia]n[ae]?*

21. CIL III 858; Reinesius 1682, 54, XXVI; Katancsich 1827, 218, XXXVI; Neigebaur 1851, 226, 17; Ackner, Müller 1865, 729; Jakab 1870, 140; Ardevan 1998, 433. *Claudiopoli effossa mense maio 1633.*
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iunoni Reginae / Minervae / pro salute d(omini n(ostri) / M(arci) Ant(onini) Gordiani / P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) et Sabinae / Tranquillinae / Augustae / L(ucius) Laeli(us) Terentia/nus dec(urio) col(oniae) aed(ilis) praef(ectus).
Reinesius, l. 9–10: *L. LAEL. TERENTIA/NVS*; Nemeti, l. 9–10: *P(ublius) Ael(lius) Terentia/nus.*
244 AD.

22. ILD 541; AE 1960, 225; Russu 1959, 876, no. 7, Fig. 9. Slab, limestone; 40 × 40 cm; built into a wall facing the courtyard of the house on Jokay (Iorga) Street, seen in 1930 and 1953.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)?] / [pro s]alute / [do]minor(um) / [no]stror(um) / [Seve]r(i) et An/[toni] ni impp(eratorum) / et [[Getae]] N(obilissimi) [[Caes(aris)]] / […].

23. CIL III 855; Neigebaur 1851, 224,9; Ackner, Müller 1865, 722; Torma 1865, 14, no. 4; Jakab 1870, 123. Altar, limestone; 1.2 × 29 cm; discovered in 1845 on Monostor Street; In der Monostorgasse, jetzt in Schütz'schen Garten. (Neigebaur) / *rep. in foro, extat in hortis Schützianis.* By 1865 it was in the collections of the Transylvanian Museum.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ex visu / P(ublius) Aelius / Maximus.

24. CIL III 856; Weszprem 1787, 416–417; Katancsich 1827, 247, CCX; Neigebaur 1851, 226,18; Ackner, Müller 1865, 723; Jakab 1870, 140, *in hortis Szathmarianis.*
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) Publici/us Anto/nius Pro/bus proc(urator) / Augg(ustorum) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

25. CIL III 857; Neigebaur 1851, 225, 12; Ackner, Müller 1865, 724; Jakab 1870, 137. 1847 im garten des ehemaligen Gouverneurs Grafen Joseph Teleki (jetzt Museumsgarten) / *effossa Claudiopoli, extat in hortis suburbanis comitis Iosephi Teleki gubernatoris Transilvaniae.*
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Valerius / Catulli/nus / proc(urator) Aug(usti).

26. CIL III 6253 a = III 7658; Jakab 1870, 125–126; Ardevan 1998, 434. *Prope Clausemburgum rep., dum via ferrata sternitur.* On the northern edge of the city, on the left bank of the Nadăș stream, during the construction of the railway station building (Jakab).
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [p]ro salute / C(ai) Iul(i) Con/[s]tantis / [p]ontif(icis) C(aius) Iul(ius) / Ma[r]cus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

27. ILD 544; Piso 1980, 124–125, no. 2, Fig. 2b. Fragmentary altar, limestone; 42 × 16 × 26 cm; discovered in 1978, reused within the precinct of the Calvaria fortress. MNIT.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) / [P(ublius) Aelius? F]abi/[anus b(ene)]f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) / [leg(ionis) XIII] Gem(inae) / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)] m(erito).

28. ILD 545 = 963; AE 1976, 576; Mitrofan 1976, 200, Pl. III; Piso 2013a, 165–166, no. 3, Fig. 4. Altar, limestone; 148 × 80 × 49 cm. The capital is decorated with acroteria, volutes, and a flower in the center of the tympanum. Discovered in 1975 between Gh. Doja and Cotită streets, beneath the Central (Universal) department store. MNIT, v 25497.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Silvano / ceterisque / d{e}is deab(us)q(ue) / conservator(ibus) / Valer(ius) Nem[e]si/anus v(ir) e(gregius) pr[oc(urator)] / [Aug(usti?)] / […]VN[…].
Mitrofan, AE, l. 6–8: *P(ublius) Aeri[…] / anus […] / […]n[…].*

29. Finály 1898, 467–468; CIL III 14465; Ardevan 1998, 434. *Napocae rep.* vor dem Josika-Hause auf dem Hauptplatze. Seen in 1898. Votive altar, limestone; 50 × 52 cm.
[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Cons(ervatori) mu/nic(ipii) Aeli / Hadr(iani) Napoc(ensis) / cura (duum)vir(orum) q(uin)q(uennalium) / C(ai) Numeri Deci/ani et Iuli Ingenui / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

30. ILD 543 = 962; AE 1934, 14; AE 1977, 700; Daicoviciu 1933, 59–60, no. 2a, Fig. 1; Speidel 1977, 631–633, Fig. 1; Piso 2013a, 169–170, no. 5, Fig. 9. Altar, limestone; 1.10 × 52 × 52 cm. Discovered in 1902 in the foundation of the Hubay house in Piața Muzeului (formerly Carolina). MNIT, v 31811.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Conserva/tori T(itus) Sca/rvius Vita/lis trib(unus) coh(ortis) / III Camp(estris) c(ivium) [R(omanorum?)] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
AE, l. 3–4: *S[e]rvius?*; Speidel, ILD, l. 3–4: *Sc/ruius*, Piso, l. 3–4: *Sca/rvius*.

31. CIL III 7659; Hirschfeld 1874, 377, no. 2; EE II, 302, no. 373. Altar, limestone; 46 × 55 cm; …war mit der Inschriftseite in dem Hause von des Baron Apor eigenmauert (Hirschfeld). *Ara quadrata. Clausenburgi in domo baronis Apor* (Benndorf).
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolic(heno) / pro salute / Ael(i) Lycini / proc(uratoris) Augg(ustorum) / […].

32. CIL III 7660; Jakab 1870, 141; Hirschfeld 1874, 377, n. 1; EE II, 302, no. 374. Altar; 32 × 37 cm. Found built into the northern wall of the Old Town.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolic(h)en[o] / Ulp(ii) Pater[nus] / et Iustin(us).

33. CIL III 859; ILS 4083; Weszprem 1787, 419–422; Katancsich 1827, 261, CCCIX; Neigebaur 1851, 225,13; Ackner, Müller 1865, 728; Jakab 1870, 140. In der Nähe von Klausenburg (Neigebaur) / *in territorio Claudiopolitano ad ripam fluvioli Nádos rep.*
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Eruseno / Aur(elius) Alex/ander / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).
Neigebaur, Ackner, Müller: l. 2 – *Pruseno*; CIL – *Eruseno.*

34. CIL III 860; ILS 4082; Taurinus (1519) 1947, 56. Reichersdorffer 1550, 13; Lazius 1598, 931; Troester 1666, 453; Gruterus 1707, XI, 3; Lescalopier 1574, *apud* Cernovodeanu 1960, 459; Bongars 1600, 627; Seivert 1771, XXII; Fridvalsky 1767, CVII; Huszti 1791, 24; Katancsich 1827, 214, XV; Orelli 1828, 1285; Neigebaur 1851, 223,1; Ackner, Müller 1865, 727; Jakab 1870, 155; Münsterberg, Oehler 1902, 98, no. 3; Ardevan 1998, 433; Altar, sandstone; 96 × 57 × 64 cm. MNIT, v. 31809. *Clausenburgi in porta pontina…* (Mezerzius); *ad portam Portinam* – Reichersdorffer; *Colosvarii ante portam Pontinam* – Bongars; Schon 1519 am Brückenthor eingemauert (nach A. Taurinus); A la porte de Colosvar dans ung marbre gris (Lescalopier); A Hid-Kapunál (Huszti).
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Taviano / pro salu[te] / Imp(eratoris) Anto/nini et M(arci) / Aureli Caes(aris) / Gal[at]ae con/sistentes / municipio / posuerunt.
Reichersdorffer, Lescalopier, l. 1–2: *I.M.N. Traiano*; Gruterus, Orelli, l. 2: *Traiano*; Huszti, l. 2: *Faviano*; Seivert, l. 2: *Taviano*; Fridvalsky, l. 2: *Taviatio*; Reichersdorffer, Gruterus, Seivert, Orelli, Neigebaur, Ackner, Müller: l. 7–9 – *milites con/sistentes/municipio*; Torma, Jakab, CIL, l. 7 – *Gal[at]ae*.

35. AE 1966, 310; ILD 547; Novák 1941, 109–111; Ardevan 1998, 434; Bodor 1963, 217, n. 40, no. 4, Fig. 8. Altar, limestone; 75 × 40 × 34 cm. Found in 1941 on the left bank of the Someș river, at Ilona-utca no. 8; the capital is decorated with a triangular pediment featuring vegetal motifs, a rosette, and acroteria. MNIT IV 6341.
Libero Pa/tri deo / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Mar/cianus dec(urio) / col(oniae) Napoc(ensis) / pro sua salute et / suorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

36. AE 2010, 1369; ILD 965; Opreanu 2009, 127–140, Fig. 1–2; Piso 2013a, 171–172, no. 6, Fig. 11. Fragmentary altar; 42 × 47 × 16 cm. The capital is decorated with a triangular pediment with vegetal motifs, a rosette, and acroteria. Found in the courtyard of the Pop family residence, 21 Crișan Street.
Deo Soli / Inv[ic]to / Mi[thrae s]acr(um) / M(arcus) A[ur(elius)…]a/na[…] / […].
Opreanu, l. 3–5: *al(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / Ma[ximini]a/na […]*; Nemeti, l. 3–4: *M(arcus) A[ur(elius) Iuli]a/nu[s?..].*

37. AE 1934, 16; Daicoviciu 1933, 60, no. 2f. Altar, limestone. MNIT.
Deo / Invict(o)

38. CIL III 7662; Jakab 1870, 141; Hirschfeld 1874, 377, no. 3; EE II, 303, no. 375. Im Brückenthor (CIL); war mit der Inschriftseite im Brückenthor eingemauert, daher ist die linke Seite etwas abgemeisselt. (Hirschfeld)
[D]eo Soli / [I]nvicto / pro salute sua / et suorum / M(arcus) Cocc(eius) Genia/lis v(ir) e(gregius) proc(urator) / Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) / prov(inciae) Dac(iae) Poro(lissensis) / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit).

39. Finály 1898, 468; CIL III 14466 = CIMRM II 1917; Ardevan 1998, 434. Altar; 38 × 33 cm. Discovered in the cellar of the so-called *Tivoli House* during the arrangement of the Roman Catholic parish square. Napocae rep. bei dem Baue der röm.-kath. Kirchengemeinde auf dem Hauptplatze.
Soli Invic/to Mythr[ae] / [p]ro salut[e] / [or]dinis Aug[ustalium…].

40. ILD 553; AE 1974, 544; Bărbulescu 1973, 171–179. Block, limestone; 74 × 38 × 22 cm. Found in 1972 in the modern enclosure wall of the Franciscan Church, opposite the former Customs House of Cluj. MNIT, IN 24121, IN 24122.
Salu[ti] / M(arcus) Aur[e]/lius Apo[l]/lina[ris] / proc(urator) Aug(usti) cum suis.

41. AE 2015, 1170; Beu-Dachin, Roman, Pupeză 2015, 147–165, Pl. V. Altar, limestone; 44 × 22.5 × 19.5 cm. Discovered in 2013 during a preventive excavation on Șt. O. Iosif Street. MNIT, v 64178.
Silvan/o Dom(estico) / Aureli(us) / Annia/nus pr(ocurator).

42. ILD 549; AE 1934, 15; Daicoviciu 1933, 60, no. 2e. Altar, sandstone; 42 × 20 cm. Found in 1906 in Cluj. MNIT, I 6165 = v 15846.
Silvano / Domestico / A[u]r(elius) Titus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

43. ILD 550; AE 1967, 387; Mitrofan 1964, 203–204, Fig. 6. Altar, limestone; the crowning element decorated with acanthus leaves, rosettes, and acroteria; 45 × 24 × 19.5 cm. Discovered in Museum Square, near the obelisk. MNIT.
Silvan(o) / Domes(tico).

44. ILD 551; AE 1976, 575; Mitrofan 1976, 197, Pl. I. Altar, limestone; 55 × 30 × 24 cm. The capital is decorated with a rosette and acroteria. Found in 1968 on King Ferdinand Boulevard (formerly Gheorghe Doja Street), no. 17. MNIT, IN 21690.
Silvano / Domes(tico) Va/ler(ius) Vale/rianus v(otum) s(usceptum) l(ibens) s(olvit).

45. ILD 552 = 964; Cociș, Beu-Dachin, Voișan 2002–2003, 235–239; Piso 2013, 45, no. 9, Fig. 9. Altar, limestone; 54 × 29 × 23 cm. The crowning element is moulded; the triangular pediment bears a rosette and acanthus leaves. Found in 2001 during an excavation on V. Deleu Street. MNIT, v 64232.
[Si]lv/ano Do/m[e]stico / ex voto po/sui(t) Epi(dius) Tot(i)(?).
Piso, l. 5: *epitot(eon)?*

46. ILD 542 = AE 1960, 226; Buday 1913, 255–257, no. 5; Russu 1959, 876–877, no. 8. Stone slab; 0.60 × 0.50 × 0.10 m. Discovered on Memorandumului (Unio) Street, no. 6. MNIT.
Deae Syriae pro salu[te d(omini) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Pii Fel(icis)] / Aug(usti) Pa[rt(hici)] ma[x(imi)] Brit(annici) max(imi) G[er(manici) max(imi) et Iuliae matri d(omini) n(ostri)] / et castrorum senat[usque ac patriae curante(?) L(ucio) Mario] / Perpetuo

co(n)s(ulari) Dac(iarum) II[I …] / Aureli Claudi Nepo[tiani …] / fratres empto [loc]o[…] / sive ab eis quos ipsi […] / […] d[ecret(o) decurionum? …] / Messa[la et Sabino co(n)s(ulibus)].
214 AD.

47. Beu-Dachin, Cupcea, Cociș 2021, 169–174. Altar, limestone; 44 × 29 × 25 cm. Found between 2019 and 2020 during excavations on King Ferdinand Boulevard (Híd utca / Gheorghe Doja Street). MNIT, v 64849.
Terr(a)e M[a]/tri G(aius) Iul(ius) / Proc(u)lin[us] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

48. CIL III 864 = 7663; Torma 1865, 14, no. 2; Jakab 1870, 124. Altar; 76 × 31 cm. Discovered in 1863 on Turzii Street, in the house of Schütz József, no. 123 (belső-torda utca – Torma; Torda utca – Jakab); *Clausenburgi in aedibus n. 123.*
Veneri / Victrici / Aur(elius) Vmbri/anus vet(eranus) e[x] / dec(urione) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

TITVLI SEPVLCRALES

49. AE 2005, 1294; ILD 969; Ardevan 2004–2005, 189–194, Figs. 1–2. Fragmentary funerary stele, limestone; 101.5 × 65 × 21.5 cm. Found in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, reused in a sarcophagus near house no. 20.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / […Vict]orino / […] vixit ann(is) / […Oc]tavia / […soc]rui / [optim]o fecit.

50. AE 2013, 1293; ILD 968; Piso, Tecar 2013, 33–36, Figs. 1–2. Funerary *cippus*, limestone; 170 × 96 × 62 cm. Discovered in 2012 southeast of the Gheorgheni district, on the left bank of the Becaș stream. MNIT.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Aurel(ius) M[axi]/mus ve[t(eranus) ex] / dec(urione) vix(it) / annis L[.] / Aurelii M[a]/nes (centurio) Mu/saeus vex(illarius) / Maximus / [F]austinus fili(i) / pat(ri) pie(ntissimo).

51. CIL III 866; Lazius 1598, 931; Seivert 1771, CCLVII; Katancsich 1827, 264, CCCXXXIX; Neigebaur 1851, 224,7; Ackner, Müller 1865, 741; Jakab 1870, 122; Daicoviciu 1936, 195–196, Fig. 2.
Colosvari MEZ. In lapideo sarcophago cum ossibus et vase fictili…
D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelia Aurel(iana) / vix(it) ann(is) XVII Aur(elius) / Marinianus fil(ius) / eius vix(it) anno I / m(ensibus) IIII Aur(elius) Balbus / vet(eranus) pater p(osuit) / o(pto) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).
Lazius, Seivert, l. 2: *Aureli(ana).* CIL, l. 2: *[Ma]r[in]a*
CIL – *In fine monogramma servant Acc. Vind. soli.*

52. Lazius 1598, 930; Troester 1666, 454; Seivert 1771, CXIV; Katancsich 1827, 232, CXVIII; Neigebaur 1851, 223,2; Ackner, Müller 1865, 738; CIL III 867; Ardevan 1998, 434–435. *Colosvari Mez. In porta qua ad pontem itur…*
D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Ael(io) Traiano vix(it) / an(nos) XXVIII fil(io) et / Ael(io) Libero alumno / v(ixit) a(nnos) III P(ublius) Ael(ius) Daci/anus / de[c(urio)] et aed(ilis) col(oniae) / f(aciendum) c(uravit).
Lazius, l. 1, CIL: *P. Aelio Traiano*; Katancsich, Seivert, Neigebaur, l. 1: *P. Aelio Daciano.*

53. CIL III 868; Neigebaur 1851, 225; Torma 1865, 14, no. 3; Hirschfeld 1874, 379; EE II, 303, no. 379; Ardevan 1998, 435. Fragmentary block; 29 × 23 cm. Found in 1845–1846 in the courtyard of the Royal Government Office building. *Rep. 1884, area duo fragmenta, in Monasterio antiquo Iesuitarum.*

[…]iae / […]o dec(urio?) / [//] / et Aurel(ius) […]/anus A[…].
Jakab, l. 1: *[…]niae*, l. 3: *[…]ae Aurel[…].*

54. Zamosius (1603) 1877, 82; Sponius 1679, 168; CIL III 869 = CIL III 7665; Chishull 1747, 97; EE IV, 62, no. 135; Ardevan 1998, 435. *Clausenburgi in moenibus intus* (Chishull). *…in muro urbis intorsus lapis elaboratus* (Opit.).. *a porta superiore* (Verantius).
D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Papia Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Nap(ocae) / vixit annis LX / Aurelia Bona coniu(n)x ma/rito perficiendum cu/ravit.

55. CIL III 872; Neigebaur 1851, 226,14 (nach Graf Jos. Kemény's Mscpt.); Ackner, Müller 1865, 742; Jakab 1870, 137.
D(is) M(anibus) / A[e]lia […] L ARV / vixit an[nos …] / creavi[t fili]/os VII posuit […] / […]va Viator / [opti]ma[e …] / [pi]entis[simae].
Nemeti, l. 2: *Aelia [Ia]nuaria?*

56. CIL III 873; Neigebaur 1851, 226, 16; Ackner, Müller 1865, 740; Jakab 1870, 137. In der Wohnung des früheren Gubernialrathes Gebbel. Kirchgasse. *…in aedibus Gebelianis olim nunc Hinianis.*
D(is) M(anibus) / Aelia Sura / vix(it) an(nos) / XXX et / Aelius / Saturni/nus vix(it) / an(nos) III et / Ael(ius) Vale/ntinus / vix(it) an(nos) / III Aelius / Siro fi(liis) / et coniu(gi) / pientis/simis.
Neigebaur, Ackner, Müller, l. 8: *an(nis) LI*; Ackner, Müller, l. 13: F. F. *f(ilio) f(ratri).*

57. CIL III 874; Fridvaldsky 1767, CVI; Seivert 1771, CCVII; Katancsich 1827, 256, CCLXXII; Neigebaur 1851, 224; Ackner, Müller 1865, 736; Jakab 1870, 147. *Ad finem plateae Candia externe transversum positus, sed lateraliter fractus…*(LIB. MAG.), *Claudiopoli in Óvár* (FRIDV.)
[D(is) M(anibus) / AM[…]AMM / [vi]xit [a]nn(is) X / RII[…]DVDA / NVI[…] Aurel(…) / VA vixit an(nis) […] / et Iustino / IIN[…]VNO / SVS[…]V Z / [bene mer]entibus / posuit.
CIL l. 7: *et Iustino*, l. 10: *[bene mer]entibus.*

58. CIL III 6252; ILD 570; AE 2000, 1241; Torma 1866, 148; Ardevan 1998, 435; Ardevan 2000, 113–117, Fig. 3. Fragmentary funerary stele, limestone; 57 × 63 cm. Found built into a house on Brückengasse (CIL); later in the courtyard of the Pákei house on Hídutca no. 282, in a wall of the old fortifications (*Óvár*); …eingemauert in einem Hause der Brückengasse (CIL);
[…] / […fla]m[en col(oniae)] / [Nap(ocae) d]ec(urio) et patro[n(us) col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) v] ixit anni[s …] / [Val]entina mar[ito suo] / [f]aciendum [curavit].
Ardevan l. 1: *[…fla]m[en col(oniae)].*

59. CIL III 7664; Jakab 1870, 141; Hirschfeld 1874, 378, no. 5; EE II, 303, no. 377; ILD 564; Ardevan 1998, 435; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 551–552, Fig. 6. *Rep. 1867 in der Zigeunergasse, nunc in aedibus parochi Graecorum* (CIL); gef. 1867 in der Zigeunergasse, jetzt in der griech.-katholischen Pfarrei in der Mauer. (Hirschfeld); Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu, p. 501: derrière le bâtiment de la Maison de l'Instituteur…
[…] XXXV Aelia Proba vix(it) an[n(is) …/ m(enses) …d(ies)…]XI P(ublius) Aelius Ingenu(u)s vix(it) [ann(is)…] / [P(ublius) Ae]lius Probus flamem (sic) muni[cipii Nap(ocensis)…] / […filliis] pientissimis et sibi viv[(o) fec(it)…].
Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu, l. 4: *et sibi viv[(o) fec(it)…].*

60. CIL III 7666; Torma 1879, 97, no. 24. Clausenburgi rep. a. 1866 bei der Abtragung des sogenannten Pulverthurmes (Finály). Lost.

D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Victorio Gal/licano vix(it) an(nos) / XX M(arcus) Victori(us) / Sep(…) INI[…].

61. CIL III 7667; ILD 563; AE 1987, 842; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 550–551, no. a. Bei Ausgrabung des Fundamentes für den Forstpalast auf dem Trentschinplatz. Ardevan Hica-Cîmpeanu, p. 550: dans les fondements de l'ancien Palais Forestier (ultérieurement la Maison de l'Instituteur)… Funerary stele. *Protomae viri et mulieris.*
[D(is)] M(anibus) / V[i]ctorina / v[i]x(it) [a]nnis XVI / posuit Qu[iet]a / mat[e]r b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) curavit.
Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu, l. 4: *Qu[iet]a.*

62. CIL III 7669; Torma 1879, 97–98, no. 25. Clausenburgi rep. In dem Garten des Herrs Josef Boytha and des györgyfalvaer Strasse; *postea in aedibus n. 33* in der Königsgasse als Dachrinne (Torma).
Funerary stele, limestone; 145 × 52 cm.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / […]us / […]ius / [an]n(os) XX // […]IMA / [pienti]ssim(a?) / […ƒ]acien/[dum cur]avit.

63. Florescu 1930, 146, Fig. 77; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 108, no. 24. Funerary stele, limestone; 124 × 95.5 × 19.2 cm. The stele has a pediment decorated with a kantharos placed in the center and flanked by two peacocks; outside the pediment are two hippocamps. Found in Cluj. MNIT, I 4487 a.
D(is) M(anibus) / Aelia Muciane / vix(it) ann(os) XXVII Ael(ius) / […]orus vix(it) ann(os) / […] Firmus / Ael[i…].

64. ILD 557; AE 1976, 577; AE 1988, 945; IGLR 436; Covaciu 1926–1928, 218–223; Daicoviciu 1936, 198–200, Fig. 3; Protase 1985, 332–337, Fig. 1. Parallelepiped block (*cippus*) from a funerary monument of pilaster type, with inscription; limestone; 152 × 90 × 83 cm. Discovered in 1927 in the Roman necropolis on Avram Iancu Street (formerly Petöfi), no. 20 (possibly 30), reused as a sarcophagus. MNIT, IN 1 = v 15772.
D(is) M(anibus) / Cl(audius) Valentinus / vix(it) annis XX / Valeria Valenti/na filio piissim(o) / opto s(it) t(erra) l(evis).

65. ILD 558; AE 1987, 840; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 542, no. 1, Fig. 1 a-b. Funerary stele, limestone; 151 × 80 × 17 cm. Found in 1973 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb no. 7. MNIT, IN 24126 d = v 13959.
D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(aviae) Vrsulae / v[ixi]t ann[is] / LXXXII[I] Fl(avia) Cae/mina lib(erta) pro / pietate patr/on(a)e suae po/suit bene me/renti.

66. ILD 559; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 542–544, no. 2, Fig. 2. Fragment of funerary stele, limestone; 25.5 × 30 × 25 cm. A fragment of the right edge of the inscription field is preserved. Discovered in 1974 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb no. 25. MNIT, IN 24128.
]T / […]LI / […]TER / [

67. ILD 560; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 544, no. 3, Fig. 3 a-b. Fragment of funerary stele, limestone; 65 × 40 × 23 cm. Discovered in 1985 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb no. 34. MNIT, v 35460.
]us / […]useta

68. ILD 561; AE 1987, 841; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 544, no. 4, Fig. 4 a-b. Fragment of funerary stele, limestone; 53 × 30 × 18 cm. Found in 1985 during the demolition of a house at 5 Plugarilor Street. MNIT, v 35461.
[…]VA[…] / mil(es) leg(ionis) X[III G(eminae) ex]/cept(or) legati [Aug(usti)] / vix(it) ann(is) XX[…] / M(arcus) Val(erius) Max[i]min(us) / actar(ius) coh(ortis) […].

69. ILD 562; Ardevan, Hica-Cîmpeanu 1985–1986, 548, no. 5, Fig. 5 a-b. Plaque, limestone; 30 × 17 × 15 cm. Found in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb M. 38/1985. MNIT, v 35462.
]VIO[

70. ILD 565; AE 2000, 1242; Ardevan, Hica 2000, 243–245, no. 1, Fig. 1 a-b. Fragment of funerary *cippus*, limestone; moulded frame decorated with vegetal motifs; 61 × 102 × 22 cm. Found in 1987 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb no. 59. MNIT, v 36430.
D(is) M(anibus) / Tu qui reciprocam se/mitam voto subis / morare paulum. Vitam / cognoscis tuam. / Hic sumus expositi mor/talia munera functi / […].

71. ILD 566; AE 2000, 1243; Ardevan, Hica 2000, 245–246, no. 2, Fig. 2 a-b. Funerary stele, limestone; 146 × 70 × 18 cm. Found in 1987 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb no. 66. MNIT.
[D(is) M(anibus)] / [Au]relia [M]arci/[a] vix(it) [anno]s L / [Au]relia [P]rovin/[ci]a vix(it) a[n] n(os) XXX / [Aur]el(ius) Ma[rcel]li/[n]us [vix(it) ann(os) …]II / [A]urel(ius) [Ma]rci/[a]nus s(criba) c(oloniae) m[a]tri / [d]ulcissim(a)e et / [c]oniugi karissi/[m](a)e et filio faci/[en]dum curavit.

72. ILD 567; AE 2000, 1244; Ardevan, Hica 2000, 246–247, no. 3, Fig. 3 a-b. Fragmentary funerary stele, limestone; 49 × 52 × 14 cm. Found in 1987 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb M V 5. MNIT, v 36434.
[D(is) M(anibus)] / Aurel(ius) Lu[ci]/us vixi[t] / annis X[…] / Aurel(ius) Iu[li]/anus p[ater] / filio po[s(uit)].

73. ILD 568; AE 2000, 1245; Ardevan, Hica 2000, 247–248, no. 4, Fig. 4 a-b. Plaque, limestone; 28 × 34 × 12 cm. Found in 1987 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb M X. MNIT, v 36426 a-c.
[…]nn(…) domo […] / [… coh(ortis) …] (milliariae) A[e]l(ia) Avi[ta marito] / [incompara]bili et sib[i viva fec(it)].

74. ILD 569; AE 2000, 1246; Ardevan, Hica 2000, 248, no. 5, Fig. 5 a-b. Plaque, limestone; 26 × 31 × 10 cm. Depicting a funerary banquet. Discovered in 1987 in the necropolis on Plugarilor Street, tomb M 74. MNIT, v 36436.
D(is)] M(anibus) / […]

75. ILD 967; Daicoviciu 1941, 314, no. 3; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 108, no. 25. Funerary stele, limestone; 210 × 61 × 24 cm. Decorated with acroteria and a pediment with acanthus leaves. Found in 1934–1935 in the Roman necropolis on 60 Avram Iancu Street. MNIT, IN 20203.
D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Firmus / vix(it) ann(os) XXX / Aur(elius) Iulianus / frater / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

76. Pop 1968, 482, no. 2, Fig. 4; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 162, no. 6. Altar, limestone; 125 × 57 × 57 cm. The capital is decorated with a triangular pediment with acanthus leaves, a central rosette, and

acroteria. Discovered in 1935 on Gheorghieni Street (formerly Oășanu, previously Cassianu), near house no. 21. MNIT, v 15785.
D(is) M(anibus)

77. Mitrofan 1964, 208, no. 10, Fig. 10. Fragment of funerary stele, limestone; 48 × 29 cm. Found on Báthory Street, behind the Polytechnic Institute, during the demolition of a house. MNIT, IN20201.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / M[…] / ARI[… vix(it) an(nis)] / IIII […] / CA[… vix(it) an(nis)] / XXX […] / […].

78. Novák 1944, 88–89. Fragments of stele, limestone; 30 × 51 × 13 cm. Found in 1943 in Cluj, 14–16 Báthory Street. MNIT, VI 3482 = v 15888.
T(itus) Aelius Lon/ginus vet(eranus) ex…

FRAGMENTA TITVLORVM INCERTAE INDOLIS

79. CIL III 871; von Hornmayr 1825, 322; Neigebaur 1851, 226,19; Ackner 1856, 34–35; Ackner, Müller 1865, 745; Jakab 1870, 131; Nemeti, Beu-Dachin, Cociș 2020, 94–95, no. 2 (AE 2020, 1035). Kupfertafel mit Buchstaben in Silber, gegen den Felek hin gefunden. *…pars tabulae aereae litteris argenteis. Rep. in ipso fere vertice montis Felek prope Clausenburgum.* Bronze tablet, slightly convex, with silver letters; height 23.7 cm. Discovered at the foot of the Feleac Hill, in a marshy area (Jakab).
[…]us Ael[…] / […]formis[…] / […]ratioc[…] / [l(ocus)] d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
Ackner, l. 2: *[…]rormis […].*

80. Nemeti, Beu-Dachin, Cociș 2020, 88–93, no. 1, Pl. I (AE 2020, 1034). Fragment of a bronze plaque; 9.2 × 5.4 × 0.2 cm. Found in 2016 during a preventive excavation at 4 Museum Square.
[Imp(erator) Caesar Traianus Ha]dria[nus Augustus pont(ifex) max(imus) tribun(icia) pot(estate) …] / […]SIO AD[…] / […civitatem nostra destit]uta (?) def[essa?….] / […] et res pu[blica…] / […] CVM DI[…]

81. ILD 575; AE 1979, 503. Gold ring with inscription.
Decuri(…)

82. Neigebaur 1851, 225.10; Ackner, Müller 1865, 747. Zwei Altarfragmente im Gubernialgebäude.
[…]IAE / […] DEC […] / TEAVRE […] / ANVS A[…].

TERRITORIVM NAPOCENSE

Apahida (Cluj County)
84. CIL III 7656; Hirschfeld 1874, 376, no. 1; EE II, 302, no. 372. Apahidae prope Puszta Sz. Miklós. …der Stein liegt in der Strasse… (Hirschfeld)
Diti Patr(i) / et Pr{r}ose/rpina(e) / […] E […].

Căianu (Cluj County)
85. CIL III 7655; Torma 1879, 97, no. 22. Altar, limestone; 60 × 30 × 12 cm. Discovered in 1878 at the site called *La Feredeu*, in the village of Căianu. MNIT
Numin(i) / Asclep(ii)/ p(ro) s(e) M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Vitalian(us) / v(otum) s(olvi) l(ibens) m(erito).
Torma, l. 3: *p(ro) s(alute)*

Ciumăfaia (Cluj County)
86. ILD 580; Buday 1911, 264, no. 3, Fig. 3. Altar, limestone; 95 × 45 × 40 cm. The crowning is decorated with a pediment with acanthus leaves and acroteria. Found in 1911 near the ruins of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, II 5911 = v 15885.
Apollini / Ael(ius) Iulius / vet(eranus) ex (centurione) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

87. ILD 584; Buday 1911, 261–262, no. 1, Fig. 1. Altar, sandstone; 94 × 50 × 25 cm. The crowning is decorated with a rosette and acroteria. Found in 1911 near the ruins of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, II 5909 = v 15884.
Dibus Deabus(que) / et Fortunae Con/servatrici / Ael(ius) Iulius / vet(eranus) ex (centurione) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

88. ILD 582; Buday 1911, 266–267, no. 6, Fig. 6. Altar, limestone; 121 × 50 × 45 cm. The crowning is decorated with a pediment with acanthus leaves and acroteria. Found in 1911 near the ruins of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, II 5914 = v 15886.
Deo Invicto / Herculi Magu/sano pro salu/te sua et suorum / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Maximus / a mil(itiis)/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

89. ILD 578; Buday 1911, 263–264, no. 2, Fig. 2. Altar, sandstone; 120 × 42 × 24 cm. Found in 1911 near the ruins of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, II 5912 = v 15882.
Iunoni Rae/ginae (sic!) *Ael(ius) Iu[l]/[ius] veter(anus) ex (centurione) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

90. ILD 581; Buday 1911, 264–265, no. 4, Fig. 4. Altar, sandstone; 91 × 60 × 21 cm. Found in 1911 near the ruins of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, v 15881.
Mercurio / Ael(ius) Iulius vet(eranus) / ex (centurione) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

91. ILD 579; Buday 1911, 265–266, no. 5, Fig. 5. Altar, sandstone; 65 × 48 × 18 cm. Found in 1911 near the ruins of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, II 5913 = v 15883.
M[inervae] / Ael(ius) I[ulius] / vet(eranus) ex (centurione) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

92. ILD 583; Szekély 1969, 177, Fig. 4.9, 5. Altar, sandstone; 75 × 40 × 40 cm. Found in 1944 at Ciumăfaia, in room 11 of a *villa rustica*. MNIT, VI 4347 = v15889.
S(ilvano) / Domestico / Ael(ius) Iulius vet(eranus) / ex (centurione) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Dezmir (Cluj County)
93. CIL III 863 = 7661; Torma 1865, 13, no. 1; Jakab 1870, 136. *Dezmér prope Clausenburg rep. 1863 inter aedificorum Romanorum vestigia.* Altar, limestone; 58 × 26 cm. Found in 1863 in the ruins of a Roman-period building at Dezmir.
D[e]o / Silvano / pro salu/te Ael(i) Iulia/ni Securus / posuit.

Florești (Cluj County)
94. ILD 981; AE 2010, 1379; Ciongradi, Bota, Voișan 2010, 212–213, no. 1, Fig. 5. Altar, limestone; 64.5 × 31 × 21 cm. Found in 2007 during preventive excavations for the construction of the Polus (Vivo) Shopping Center. MNIT, v 66336.
Io(v)i Optimo / M/[a]ximo / Aurelius / [I]ulianus ex / [v]oto pos(ui)t.

95. ILD 982; AE 2010, 1371; Ciongradi, Bota, Voișan 2010, 213–214, no. 2, Fig. 6. Altar, limestone; 84 × 43 × 32 cm. Found in 2007 during preventive excavations for the construction of the Polus (Vivo) Shopping Center. MNIT, v 66337.
H[erculi(?)] / C(aius) […] / […ˉ…] / v(otum) s(olvit) / [l(ibens) m(erito)].
Ciongradi, Bota, Voișian, l. 1: *H[erculi?] H[ygiae?].*

Gheorgheni (Cluj County)
96. ILD 539; AE 1971, 398; Russu 1968, 465–466, no. 11, Fig. 17; Ardevan 1998, 475. Limestone fragment; 28 × 24 × 21 cm. Found in 1948 in Gheorgheni (Cluj County).
[…]itui? […/…] mun(icipium) […/ …? Fortu/natu[s…]

Măcicașu (Cluj County)
97. ILD 577; AE 1933, 20; Floca 1933, 105–107, no. 3, Fig. 3. Altar, sandstone; 58 × 28 × 20 cm. The upper part bears a relief of Silvanus accompanied by a dog; only the lower part of the relief is preserved. MNIT, v 15788.
Silvano Si/lvestri po/suit For/tunatus / Theupropi / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Mera (Cluj County)
98. ILD 606; AE 1933, 21; Macrea 1933, 109–110, no. 1, Fig. 1; Ardevan 1998, 434. Altar, limestone. Found on the crest of Orat Hill, Mera village.
Lib(ero) Pat(ri) / M(arcus) Valer/{ir}ius V[i]/ctor dec(urio) / col(oniae) v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) m(erito).

99. ILD 607; Macrea 1933, 110–111, no. 2, Fig. 2. Block, limestone. Found on the crest of Orat Hill, Mera village.
[Dia]na(e) verae / et bonae / [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) M

Sânnicoară (Cluj County)
100. ILD 980; AE 2006, 1136; Ciongradi 2006, 213–224, no. 6, Fig. 4 a-c. Altar, limestone; 120 × 26 × 19 cm. The capital is decorated with two acroteria and a *foculus*. Found in 2003 during an archaeological excavation in Sânnicoară, Cluj County. MNIT, v 66335.
Silva/no ara(m) / posuit / Carago / b(…)

101. CIL III 6254; Torma 1866, 147; Finály 1898, 468, n. 1; Ardevan 1998, 436.
Puszta – Szent – Miklós. Fragmentary funerary stele, limestone; 80 × 60 cm. The relief depicts the bust of a bearded man. *Protome viri barbati* (CIL).
Iul(io?) Arphoc[rae …] / Aug(ustalis) mun[icipi(i)] / Ael(i) H[adr(iani) Napoc(ensi)] / mar[ito(?) …] / [bene mere]nt[i] / B[
Finály, l. 2–3: *mun[icipi(i)] / Ael(i) H[adr(iani) Napoc(ensi)]*; Nemeti, l. 5: *[bene mere]nt[i].*

Sânpaul (Cluj County)
102. Cupcea et alii 2019, 158–160, Pl. XXVI/1–2 (AE 2019, 1256). Altar, limestone; 70 × 40 × 33 cm. The crowning is decorated with a pine cone, acroteria, and vegetal motifs. Discovered during a preventive excavation in a sanctuary of a Roman rural settlement. MNIT, v 66329.
Silvano / Gemino / Sep(timius) Veri/nus d(ecurio) co/l(oniae) N(apocensis) pro sa/lute mea.

Suceagu (Cluj County)
103. CIL III 7652; Torma 1879, 96, no. 19; Sanie 1981, 266, no. 56. Altar, limestone (*Muschelkalk*); 59 × 22 cm. Formerly in the possession of the Evangelical pastor Josef Kónya of Suceagu.
Bono Pue/ro Firmi/nius Bellic/us vet(eranus) ex c(ustode) [a(rmorum?)] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
Torma, l. 4: *ex c(orniculario? centurione?*).

104. CIL III 852; Torma 1863, 9, no. 1.
[D(is) M(anibus)] / Au[relius Muca]/por vix(it) an[nos] / LXX Aur(elius) Geme[lli]/nus vix(it) an(nis) […] / Aurelia Re[sp(ecta)?] / vix(it) an(nos) […] / […].
Torma, l. 3–4: *vix(it) an[nis] / XXIX.*

105. CIL III 7653; Torma 1879, 96, no. 21. Funerary stele, limestone (*Muschelkalk*); 1.21 × 63 cm. Found in 1877 in a field west of the village.
D(is) M(anibus) / Quint/us Comi(nius?) / Pius vix(it) / an(num) I et d(ies) / IIII P[..]PVD / ES [..] pat(er).

106. CIL III 7654; Torma 1879, 96, no. 20. Fragmentary funerary stele, limestone (*Muschelkalk*); 1.35 × 27 cm. Formerly placed in front of the house of Téglás István in the village.
[…]AN / […]SV / [coni]ugi / […]MVNI […] / […m]ari/[to bene]me/[renti].
Torma, l. 4: *muni/[cipii Napocae?].*

Vâlcele (Cluj County)
107. Mitrofan 1980, 91–97, Fig. 2; CIGD 73. Altar, limestone; 63.5 × 49 × 18.7 cm. Found in 1978 at Vâlcele, in the *Săliște* area, within a zone containing ruins. MNIT, v 25488.
Βωμὸς / Νεμέσε/ων.

Vișțea (Cluj County)
108. ILD 609; AE 1960, 224; Russu 1959, 875–876, no. 6, Fig. 8; Fragmentary altar, limestone; 62 × 23 × 25 cm. A grape cluster is still visible in the capital's decoration. Found in 1948 at the *Palota* site, north of the village.
[Si]lva(no) Do/[m(estico) T(itus)?] Val(erius) Du/[bit]atus / […]IMIS (?).

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Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
	Procurators				
1	Aelius Constans	*procurator*	CIL III 865	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 73; Kerényi 1941, 6, no. 35
2	P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus	*procurator*	CIL III 7659	CivR	Greek – Lycinus – OPEL III, 41; Russu 1977, 358; Sempronius – OPEL IV, 64.
3	Aurelius Annianus	*procurator*	AE 2015, 1170	CivR	Latin – OPEL I, 118; Kerényi 1941, 32, no. 348.
4	C. Aurelius Atilianus	*procurator*	CIL III 853	CivR	Latin – OPEL I, 199
5	M. Aurelius Apollinaris	*procurator*	ILD 553	CivR	Greek – OPEL I, 145; Ruscu 1998, 153.
6	M. Cocceius Genialis	*procurator*	CIL III 7662	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 164; Kerényi 1941, 58, no. 651; Cocceius *nomen* – OPEL II, 67.
7	Iulius Pacatianus	*praefectus (alae)*	CIL III 865	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 119.
8	C. Publicius Antonius Probus	*procurator*	CIL III 856	CivR	Latin – Publicius – *nomen* – OPEL III, 170; Antonius *nomen* – OPEL I, 131–132; Probus – OPEL III, 164.
9	T. Scarvius Vitalis	*tribunus (cohortis)*	ILD 543	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 176–177; Scarvius – Illyrian – Russu 1977, 359 (Scirvius?).
10	Valerius Catullinus	*procurator*	CIL III 857	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 44–45.
11	Valerius Nemesianus	*procurator*	ILD 545	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 97 (Nemesinus)
	Roman citizens				
12	M. Aelius Antoninus	*decurio coloniae*	ILD 479	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 161; OPEL, I, 151; Kerényi 1941, 4, no.16; Paki 1998, 152.
13	Aelia Cal<i>ope		ILD 546	CivR	Greek – Calliope – Solin 1982, 389; Ruscu 1998, 158.
14	P. Aelius Cornelianus		Beu-Dachin, Cupcea 2023, 99–105.	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 76
15	P. Aelius Dacianus	*decurio coloniae, aedilis*	CIL III 867	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 203; OPEL II, 91; Kerényi 1941, 6, no.42; Paki 1998, 152–153; Decianus? – Dana 2011, 75–76.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
16	P. Aelius Fabianus	*decurio coloniae augur*	CIL III 1141	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 146; OPEL II, 132; Kerényi 1941, 6, no. 42; Paki 1998. 154.
17	P. Aelius Fabianus	*beneficiarius cos.*	ILD 544	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 132
18	Aelius Florentinus	*decurio coloniae*	AE 1956, 230	CivR	Paki 1998, 155; OPEL II, 148.
19	Aelius? Florus		Florescu 1930, 146;	CivR	Paki 1998, 155.
20	Aelius? Firmus		Florescu 1939, 146.	Civ R	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 68; OPEL II, 142–143; Paki 1998, 154–155.
21	P. Aelius Ingenus (sic)	*decurio municipii?*	CIL III 7664	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 194; Kajanto 1965, 314; Kerényi 1941, 9, no.70; Paki 1998, 156.
22	Aelius Iulius (5)	*veteranus ex centurione*	Buday 1911, 261–266, nr. 1–3, 5; Szekély 1969, 163.	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 200–201; Kerényi 1941, 10, no.82; Paki 1998, 156.
23	Aelius Iulianus		CIL III 7661 CIL III 863	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 199; Kajanto 1965, 35; Kerényi 1941, 9, no.73; Paki 1998, 156.
24	P. Aelius Marcianus	*decurio coloniae*	ILD 547	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 150; OPEL III, 55–56; Paki 1998, 159.
25	Aelia Mammosa		AE 1956, 230	CivR	Thracian? – Paki 1998, 158.
26	P. Aelius Maximianus	*augur? coloniae*	AE 1910, 132.	CivR	Latin – Paki 1998, 159.
27	P. Aelius Maximus (3)	*duumvir quinquennalis, flamen coloniae*	ILD 554 CIL III 855 Buday 1911, 263–264, nr. 2.	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 71–72; Kerényi 1941, 11, no.97; Paki 1998, 159–160.
28	Aelia Muciana		Florescu 1930, 146.	CivR	Thracian – OPEL III, 89; Paki 1998, 160 (Muciale); Dana 2004, 442.
29	Aelius Peregrinus	*decurio coloniae*	AE 1956, 230	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 81; OPEL III, 132; Paki 1998, 161–162.
30	Aelia Proba		CIL III 7664	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 164; Kerényi 1941, 19, no.184; Paki 1998, 162.
31	P. Aelius Probus	*flamen municipii*	CIL III 7664	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 165; Kerényi 1941, 13, no.110; Paki 1998, 162.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
32	T. Aelius Longinus		Novák 1944, 88–89.	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 31; Paki 1998, 158.
33	Aelius Saturninus		CIL III 873	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 52; Kerényi 1941, 14, no. 124; Paki 1998, 162.
34	Aelius Siro		CIL III 873	CivR	Celtic? – OPEL IV, 85; Kerényi 1941, 146, no. 1716; Paki 1998. 164.
35	Aelia Sura		CIL III 873	CivR	Celtic? – OPEL IV, 101; Kerényi 1941, 147, no. 1723; Paki 1998, 165.
36	Aelius Thema(…)	*decurio coloniae?*	ILD 707	CivR	Palmyrenian – Paki 1998, 165; Paulsen, Hutton 2024, 159–163.
37	P. Aelius Traianus		CIL III 867	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 157; OPEL IV, 128; Kerényi 1941, 15, no.136; Paki 1998, 165–166.
38	Aelius Valentinus		CIL III 873	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 140–141; Kerényi 1941, 16, no.144; Paki 1998, 166.
39	Aelius Villanus	*decurio coloniae*	AE 1965, 230	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 170; Kajanto 1965, 312
40	Aelia (…)iaru		CIL III 872	CivR	? Paki 1998, 167.
41	P. Aelius…		ILD 556	CivR	? Paki 1998, 167.
42	Aelius….orus		Florescu 1930, 146.	CivR	? Paki 1998, 167–168.
43	Aelius….		Florescu 1930, 146.	CivR	? Paki 1998, 168.
44	C. Antonius Agrippinus	*decurio coloniae*	AE 1939, 246	CivR	Latin – OPEL I, 58–59; Paki 1998, 168.
45	Aurelius Alexander		CIl III 859	CivR	Greek – OPEL I, 74–76; Solin 1982, 186 sqq.; Ruscu 1998, 150–152; Paki 1998, 168–169.
46	Aurelia Avita		ILD 568	CivR	Latin – OPEL I, 232
47	Aurelius Balbus	*veteranus*	CIL III 866	CivR	Thracian?/ Microasiatic?/ Latin – OPEL I, 257 (Babus), 264 (Balbus); Paki 1998, 169; (Babus) – Dana 2004, 434.
48	Aurelius Capito		CIL III 6253	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 33; Kerényi 1941, 33, no. 359; Kajanto 1965, 235; Paki 1998, 170.
49	Aurelius Claudius		ILD 542	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 60–62 (nomen).

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
50	Aurelius Faustinus		ILD 968	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 136
51	Aurelius Firmus		ILD 967	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 142–143; Paki 1998, 171.
52	Aurelius Gemellinus		CIL III 852	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 163; Kerényi 1941, 37, no.398
53	Aurelius Iulianus (3)		ILD 567 ILD 967 ILD 981	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 199; Paki 1998, 171.
54	Aurelius Lucius		ILD 567	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 36
55	Aurelius Marcellinus		ILD 566	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 54
56	Aurelia Marcia		ILD 566	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 55
57	Aurelius Marcianus		ILD 566	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 55–56
58	Aurelius Manes	*centurio*	ILD 968	CivR	Microasiatic – Zgusta 1964, 287–290.
59	Aurelia Marina		CIL III 866	CivR	Latin / Celtic/ Semitic – OPEL III, 58; Kerényi 1941, 47, no. 518; Kajanto 1965, 308; Paki 1998, 171–172.
60	Aurelius Marinianus		CIL III 866	CivR	Latin / Celtic/ Semitic – OPEL III, 58; Paki 1998, 172.
61	Aurelius Maximus	*veteranus ex dec.*	ILD 968	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 71–72
62	Aurelius Maximus		ILD 968	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 71–72
63	Aurelius Mucapor		CIL III 852	CivR	Thracian – OPEL III,88; Kerényi 1941, 37, no.42; Dana 2004, 441.
64	Aurelius Musaeus	*vexillarius*	ILD 968	CivR	Greek – OPEL III, 91; Solin 1982, 420.
65	Aurelius Nepotianus		ILD 542	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 98; Kajanto 1965, 304.
66	Aurelia Provincia		ILD 566	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 168
67	Aurelia Re[sp(ecta)?]		CIL III 852	CivR	Latin – Kerényi 1941, 47, no. 525; OPEL IV, 26.
68	Aurelius Titus		ILD 549	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 125–126 (cognomen); Paki 1998, 173.
69	Aurelius Umbrianus		CIL III 864	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 181; Kerényi 1941, 43, no. 471; Paki 1998, 174.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
70	M. Aurelius Vitalianus		CIL III 7655	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 176; Kerényi 1941, 45, no. 500; Paki 1998, 174.
71	Aurelius …anus		CIL III 868	CivR	? Paki 1968, 174–175.
72	Aurelius Va(…)		CIL III 874	CivR	? Paki 1998, 174.
73	Claudius Valentinus		ILD 557	CivR	Latin – Kerényi 1941, 57, no. 634; OPEL IV, 140–141.
74	Q. Cominius Pius		CIL III 7653	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 251; OPEL III, 143–144; Paki 1998, 175–176.
75	Q.? Cominius Pudens		CIL III 7653	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 264; OPEL III, 171; Paki 1998, 176.
76	Firminius Bellicus	*veteranus*	CIL III 7652	CivR	Latin / Celtic– Schulze 1933, 167 (nomen); OPEL I, 285–286; Paki 1998, 176–177 (cognomen).
77	T. Flavius Ianuarius	*patronus coloniae*	CIL III 865	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 189–190; Paki 1998, 179.
78	T. Flavius Germanus	*decurio coloniae*	CIL III 865	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 201; OPEL II, 166; Paki 1998, 178–179.
79	T. Flavius Longinus	*decurio municipii*	CIL III 1100	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 231; OPEL III, 31; Paki 1998, 179–180.
80	Flavia Ursula		ILD 558	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 187; Kajanto 1965, 330; Paki 1998, 180–181.
81	C. Iulius Constans	*pontifex*	CIL III 7658	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 73; Kajanto 1965, 258; Paki 1998, 182.
82	Iulius Ingenuus	*duumvir quinquennalis municipii*	CIL III 14465	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 194; Paki 1998, 182.
83	C. Iulius Marcus		CIL III 7658	CivR/L?	Latin – OPEL III, 57 (cognomen); Kajanto 1965, 173; Paki 1998, 182–183.
84	C. Iulius Proculinus		Beu-Dachin, Cupcea, Cociș 2021, 169–164.	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 177; OPEL III, 166.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
85	L. Laelius Terentianus	*decurio coloniae, aedilis, praefectus*	CIL III 858	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 16 (Laelius); OPEL IV, 112 (Terentianus); Schulze 1933, 186; Paki 1998, 183.
86	C. Numerius Decianus	*duumvir quinquennalis municipii*	CIL III 14465	CivR	Latin – OPEL II, 94; Schulze 1933, 164; Paki 1998, 184–185; Dana 2011, 75–76.
87	Septimius Verinus	*decurio coloniae*	AE 2019. 1256	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 254; OPEL IV, 158.
88	Ulpius Iustinus		CIL III 7660	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 252; OPEL II, 209–210.
89	Ulpius Masculinus	*veteranus/ decurio coloniae*	CIL III 854	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 63; Kajanto 1965, 307; Paki 1998, 188.
90	Ulpius Maximus		CIL III 963=7726	CivR	Latin – Paki 1998, 189.
91	Ulpius Paternus		CIL III 7660	CivR	Latin – OPEL III, 127–128; Paki 1998, 189.
92	Ulpius Sabinus (2)	*decurio coloniae*	CIL III 963=7726	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 186; OPEL IV, 40; Paki 1998, 189.
93	Ulpius (…)anus		CIL III 963=7726	CivR	Paki 1998, 190.
94	M. Valerius Maximinus	*actarius cohortis*	ILD 561	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 114; OPEL III, 69–70; Paki 1998, 185–186.
95	Sex. Valerius Saturninus	*decurio coloniae?*	CIL III 845	CivR	Latin – Kajanto, 1965, 18, 25, 54; OPEL IV, 53; Paki 1998, 186.
96	Valeria Valentina		ILD 557	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 28, 46, 47; OPEL IV, 140–141.
97	Valerius Valerianus		ILD 551	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 35, 157; OPEL IV, 141–142; Paki 1998, 186.
98	M. Valerius Victor	*decurio coloniae*	ILD 606	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 11, 18; OPEL IV, 167–168; Paki 1998, 186.
99	M. Victorius Gallicanus		CIL III 7666	CivR	Latin – OPEL IV, 169 (Victorius); OPEL II, 159 (Gallicanus); Kajanto 1965, 15, 195; Paki 1998, 187–188.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
100	M. Victorius Sep(timius)?		CIL III 7666	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 74 (Septimius); OPEL, IV, 169 (Victorius); Paki 1998, 187.
101	?	*decurio et patronus coloniae, flamen*	CIL III 6252	CivR	
102	…Valentina		CIL III 6252	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 28, 46, 47; OPEL IV, 140–141.
103	…Viator		CIL III 872	CivR?	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 96; OPEL IV, 164; Paki 1998, 192.
	Freedmen, slaves				
104	Aelia H.…		CIL III 6254	Lib.?	?
105	Aelius Liber	*alumnus*	CIL III 867	Lib.?	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 280; OPEL III, 25; Kerényi 1941, 10, no.83; Paki 1998, 157–158.
106	Aelia Secunda		CIL VIII 3021	Lib.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 292; OPEL IV, 60–61; Paki 1998, 162–163.
107	P. Aelius Successus		CIL VIII 3021	Lib.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 356; OPEL IV, 97; Paki 1998, 164.
108	Aelia Successa		CIL VIII 3021	Lib.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 356; OPEL IV, 97; Paki 1998, 164–165.
109	Aurelia Bona		CIL III 869	Lib.?	Latin – OPEL I, 311; Kajanto 1965, 274; Paki 1998, 169–170.
110	Aurelia Felicissima		CIL III 912	Lib.?	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 273; OPEL II, 137; Paki 1998, 171.
111	M. Aurelius Papia	*augustalis coloniae*	CIL III 869	Lib.	Latin/ Microasiatic – OPEL III, 123; Paki 1998, 172–173.
112	Aurelius Secundus?	*magister augustalis*	CIL III 912	Lib.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 292; OPEL IV, 60–61; Paki 1998, 173.
113	Flavia Caemina		ILD 558	Lib.	Latin / Celtic? – Kajanto 1965, 142; OPEL II, 18 (Caemianus); Paki 1998, 177–178.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
114	Iulius Arphocras	*augustalis municipii*	CIL III 6254	Lib.	Greek – Solin 1982, 380; Ruscu 1998, 154; Paki 1998, 181–182.
115	M. Ulpius Caecilius	*magister augustalis*	CIL III 862	Lib.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 18, 35 (Caecilianus); OPEL I, 17; Paki 1998, 188.
116	M. Ulpius Bassianus	*magister augustalis*	CIL III 862	Lib.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 142; OPEL I, 274
117	M. Ulpius Callisthenes	*magister augustalis*	CIL III 862	Lib.	Greek – OPEL II, 24; Ruscu 1998, 157 (Callistus); Paki 1998, 190.
118	Securus		CIL III 863	Serv.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 280; OPEL IV, 61; Paki 1998, 203.
	Soldiers in Lambaesis				
119	Aelius Bitus	*optio leg. III Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Thracian – Paki 1998, 152.
120	P. Aelius Donatus	*tubicen leg. III Aug*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 298; OPEL II, 107; Paki 1998, 153–154.
121	P. Aelius Eutices		CIL VIII 3021	CivR	Greek – OPEL II, 128 (Eutyches); Paki 1998, 154.
122	P. Aelius Iunio	*miles leg. III Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 164; OPEL II, 208 (Iunius); Paki 1998, 156–157.
123	P. Aelius Mucatra	*optio leg. III Aug.*	CILVIII 18085	CivR	Thracian – OPEL III, 89; Paki 1998, 160; Detschew 1957, 317; Dana 2004, 441.
124	P. Aelius Nigrinus	*miles leg. III Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 228; OPEL III, 102; Paki 1998, 161.
125	P. Aelius Securus (2)	*miles leg. III Aug.*	CIL VIII 2787 CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 280; OPEL IV, 61; Paki 1998, 163–164.
126	P. Aelius Victor		CIL VIII 3021	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 11, 18; OPEL IV, 168–169; Paki 1998, 166.
127	T. Flavius Tarsa	*miles leg. VIII Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Thracian – OPEL IV, 108; Detschew 1957, 492–494; Paki 1998, 180; Dana 2004, 443.
128	L. Licinius Maximus	*miles leg. VIII Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Schulze 1933, 108, 142, 191; Kajanto 1965, 29, 30; Paki 1998, 183–184.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
129	(…) Catus	*miles leg. VIII Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 326; Paki 1998, 190–191.
130	(…) Clemens	*miles leg. VIII Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 263; Paki 1998, 191.
131	(…) Dignus	*miles leg. VIII Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 280; Paki 1998, 191.
132	(…) Placentus	*victimarius leg. VIII Aug.*	CIL VIII 18085	CivR	Latin – Paki 1998, 191–192.
	Peregrini				
133	Agrippinus		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 26, 113; OPEL I, 58; Kerényi 1941, 21, no. 214; Paki 1998, 194.
134	Arimo		Ciongradi 2010, 125–132.	Per.	Iranian? – OPEL I, 168; Russu 1944, 224.
135	Augusta		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 61; OPEL I, 228; Paki 1998, 194.
136	Asclepiodote		CIL III 870	Per.	Geek – OPEL I, 183; Ruscu 1998, 155; Paki 1998, 194.
137	Carago		ILD 980	Per.	Celtic – OPEL I, 34 (Caracus, Caraco); Holder 1961, I, 764.
138	Carus	*magister*	CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 284; OPEL II, 39; Paki 1998, 195.
139	Cornelia		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Schulze 1933, 412 (nomen); Paki 1998, 195.
140	Cornificia		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL II, 78; Schulze 1933, 417 (nomen); Paki 1998, 195.
141	Clo[dian(us)]		Beu-Dachin, Cupcea 2023, 99–105.	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 32, 144; OPEL II, 64.
142	Crescens		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 20, 26, 29; OPEL II, 83–84; Paki 1998, 196.
143	Curinus (Quirinus)		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL IV, 19 (Quirinus); Paki 1998, 196.
144	Dizo		CIL III 870	Per.	Thracian – OPEL II, 103; Detschew 1957, 135; Kerényi 1941, 141, no. 1650; Paki 1998, 196; Dana 2004, 439.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
145	Epidius Totii		ILD 552	Per.	Celtic / Illyrian – OPEL II, 120 (Epidius cognomen); OPEL IV, 137 (Totius).
146	Epipodia	*mater collegii*	CIL III 870	Per.	Greek – OPEL II, 120; Solin 1982, 151; Ruscu 1998, 163; Paki 1998, 196–197.
147	Eptala		CIL III 870	Per.	Thracian – OPEL II, 121; Detschew 1957, 168; Paki 1998, 197; Dana 2004, 440.
148	Fortunatus		ILD 539	Per. / Lib.?	Latin– Kajanto 1965, 13, 14; OPEL II, 150–151; Paki 1998, 198–199.
149	Fortunatus Theupropi		ILD 577	Per.	Latin / Greek – OPEL II, 150–151 (Fortunatus); OPEL IV, 120 (Theupropus); Solin 1982, 1018; Ruscu 1998, 176.
150	Gaius		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL II, 158; Paki 1998, 198.
151	Germanus	*spirarches*	CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 12, 51; OPEL II, 166; Paki 1998, 198.
152	Gr(a)eca		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL II, 169–170; Kajanto 1965, 204; Paki 1998, 198.
153	(H)ermes		CIL III 870	Per.	Greek – OPEL II, 179; Solin 1982, 342; Ruscu 1998, 167–168; Paki 1998, 197.
154	(H)ermescus		CIL III 870	Per.	Greek – OPEL II, 179 (Hermaiscus); Ruscu 1998, 168; Paki 1998, 197.
155	Hilara		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL II, 182; Kajanto 1965, 260; Paki 1998, 198.
156	Hyus		CIL III 870	Per.	Greek – Pape 1870, 1577; Ruscu 1998, 169; Paki 1998, 199.
157	Iulius		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin- OPEL III, 200 (cognomen); Paki 1998, 199.
158	Iustina		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL II, 209–210.
159	Iustinus (2)		CIL III 874 CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 252; OPEL II, 209–210; Paki 1998, 191, 199.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
160	Longina (2)		CIL III 7668 CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 231; OPEL III, 31; Paki 1998, 184 (Marcia Longina), 200 (Longa).
161	Longinianus		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 149; OPEL III, 31; Paki 1998, 200.
162	Marcia		CIL III 7668	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 27 (Marcius); OPEL III, 55.
163	Maximina		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL III, 69–79; Paki 1998, 200–201.
164	Mucianus		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin / Thracian? – Kajanto 1965, 18, 32; OPEL III, 89; Paki 1998, 202; Dana 2004, 442; Dana 2011, 69.
165	Nepos		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 21, 79; OPEL III, 98; Paki 1998, 202.
166	Octavia?		ILD 969	Per.?	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 74 (Octavius); OPEL III, 110.
167	Paula		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 28, 37 (Paulus); OPEL III, 129–130; Paki 1998, 202.
168	Quieta		CIL III 7667	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 18, 69 (Quietus); OPEL IV, 17; Paki 1998, 202.
169	Rev(ocatus?)		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 135; OPEL IV, 28; Paki 1998, 202–203.
170	Rufina		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 27, 28 (Rufinus); OPEL IV, 33–34; Paki 1998, 203.
171	Surus		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL IV, 102; Paki 1998, 203 (?Suriacus).
172	Tattario		CIL III 870	Per.	Microasian – OPEL IV, 109; Zgusta 1964, 505–506 (Tatarion); Paki 1998, 204; Dana 2004, 436.

Nos.	Names	Functions	Bibliography	Civic status	Cognomina/Nomina
173	Tiberina		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 114, 175 (Tiberinus); OPEL IV, 121; Paki 1998, 204.
174	Tzinta		CIL III 870	Per.	Dacian – OPEL IV, 136; Paki 1998, 204; Dana 2004, 444; Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 153–155.
175	Tzinto		CIL III 870	Per.	Dacian – OPEL IV, 136; Paki 1998, 204–205.
176	Ulpius		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL IV, 179 (cognomen); Paki 1998, 207.
177	Ulpianus		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 159; OPEL IV, 179; Paki 1998, 206–207.
178	Valentina (2)		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 28, 46, 47; OPEL IV, 140–141; Paki 1998, 205.
179	Valerius		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL IV, 141; Paki 1998, 205–206.
180	Valerianus		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 35, 157; OPEL IV, 141–142; Paki 1998, 205.
181	Vera		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 20, 22 (Verus); OPEL IV, 156; Paki 1998, 206.
182	Victorina (2)		CIL III 870	Per.	Latin – OPEL IV, 168–169; Paki 1998, 206.
183	Victorina		CIL III 7667	Per.	Latin – OPEL IV, 168–169.
184	Victorinus?		ILD 969	Per.?	Latin – Kajanto 1965, 278; OPEL IV, 168–169.
185	Zoilus		CIL III 870	Per.	Greek – OPEL IV, 191; Solin 1982, 817; Ruscu 1998, 177; Paki 1998, 207.
186	Zoilianus (2)		CIL III 870 CIL III 7668	Per.	Greek – OPEL IV, 191; Ruscu 1998, 177; Paki 1998, 207.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 191–218

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASPECTS REGARDING CIVIL HABITATION IN POTAISSA DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.07

Abstract: This paper presents the results of the rescue archaeological excavations carried out at the end of 2018, as well as an archaeological monitoring project, conducted at the beginning of 2019. The research was undertaken in the civil area of *municipium Potaissense* and led to the discovery of a Roman building comprising at least four rooms and exhibiting multiple construction phases. The building is located on Augustin Bunea Street, in the center of the town of Turda. Previous discoveries suggest that the excavated area is located near the north-eastern necropolis of ancient Potaissa.

Keywords: Potaissa; civil habitation; preventive archaeological research; ancient topography.

Rezumat: Articolul prezintă rezultatele unei cercetări arheologice preventive, realizate la finalul anului 2018, precum și cele ale unei supravegheri arheologice desfășurate la începutul anului 2019. Cercetarea s-a efectuat în spațiul civil al municipiului Potaissa și a dus la descoperirea unei construcții romane cu minim patru încăperi și mai multe faze de construire. Edificiul se află situat pe strada Augustin Bunea, în centrul orașului Turda. Descoperirile anterioare indică faptul că zona care a fost supusă cercetării preventive se află în apropierea necropolei nord-estice a Potaissei antice.

Cuvinte-cheie: Potaissa; locuire civilă; cercetare arheologică preventivă; topografie antică.

Introduction

The spread towards north-east of the civil Roman settlement has been archaeologically recorded in the area bordered by the main streets Dr. Ioan Rațiu, General Dragalina, and the neighbouring streets Augustin Bunea, Pictor T. Aman, and Vasile Alecsandri. Given the location of the area subjected to the rescue archaeological excavations at the north-eastern extremity of the civil settlement of Potaissa, the archaeological topography of the area is also characterized by funerary discoveries, including graves and funerary monuments.[1]

In the close vicinity of the area, especially around Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street, traces of habitation specific to the civil environment were recorded, particularly from the early 20th century. At 16 Rațiu Street, a pavement made of hexagonal and eight-shaped tiles was identified, measuring 2.90 meters in length, which belongs to the interior of a room[2] (Pl. I/2). The absence of walls may be linked to the interventions for extracting and selling stone material, a phenomenon commonly encountered in the Turda area at the beginning of the last century.[3] Substructures which belong to a building were identified at no. 25 on

[1] Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 88.
[2] Bajusz 2005, 860.
[3] Bajusz 2005, 878.

the same street. It is testified that during the construction works of the house, carried out in 1910, the corner of a Roman building was uncovered at a depth of -1.30 m.[4] The discovered substructures are oriented east-west, with the building extending to the east (Pl. I/4).

Through archaeological monitoring undertaken in 2023, the substructure of a wall was revealed, together with a demolition level and a culture layer belonging to the Roman period, along the central axis of Pictor T. Aman Street, in front of building no. 2. The wall's substructure was outlined at a depth of -0.90 m. Stratigraphic observations revealed the existence of a single culture layer extending over a distance of 10 meters from the identified wall, both to the east and west of the street. Different ceramic and building materials come from this culture layer, as well as a denarius issued by Emperor Antoninus Pius.[5] The coin, discovered near the wall, at a depth of -1.40 m, provides a *terminus ante quem*, thus placing the Roman culture layer after the second half of the 2nd century AD.[6]

Possible traces of the same water drainage system were also discovered on Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street, at numbers 2–16[7] and 42.[8] Various works carried out at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century led to the discovery of two segments of a drainage channel. At both locations – 2–16 and 42 – the channel segments are oriented north-south, with walls built in the *opus incertum* technique, plastered with a 5 cm-thick layer, and a base made of bricks bonded with mortar. The distance between the points where these segments were identified is 270 meters. Given the similarities in construction technique and orientation, these sections may belong to a single drainage channel that crosses Rațiu Street on its eastern side, with a north-south orientation (Pl. I/3).

The archaeological topography of the area is further enriched by the discovery of six graves located in close proximity to the building under research. At the beginning of Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street, without a precisely known topographic location, a brick-built grave was identified at the beginning of the 20th century, discovered at a depth of -2 meters.[9] The funerary inventory consisted of a jug disposed on the eastern side of the grave.[10] The funerary topography is complemented by five graves, discovered in the area of Titulescu Street. Of these five graves, three used stone sarcophagi and two were built using bricks.[11] The distance between the funerary area represented by the graves on Titulescu Street and the building archaeologically investigated at 23 Augustin Bunea Street is between 160 and 200 meters to the southeast (Pl. I/5).

On Augustin Bunea Street, in the year 1900, without a currently verifiable topographic location, substructures of walls, *tegulae*, pantiles, and bricks were discovered on the property of Katona Mihály.[12] Additionally, in front of the same house, beneath the fence of the flower garden, other Roman-style walls were identified.[13]

[4] Bajusz 2005, 863.
[5] MIT, inv. no. 26590.
[6] Original research, Paul Chiorean.
[7] Bajusz 2005, 859.
[8] Bajusz 2005, 864.
[9] Téglás 1908, 360.
[10] Téglás 1908, 361.
[11] Cociș 2015, 60.
[12] Bajusz 2005, 876–877.
[13] Bajusz 2005, 877.

New archaeological research on 23 Augustin Bunea Street

The archaeological topography of the north-eastern civil area has been further enriched by the discovery of a building, following a preventive excavation conducted in 2018 and archaeological monitoring in 2019.[14]

The rescue archaeological excavations consisted of two perpendicular trenches: Sp 1/2018 measuring 10 × 5 m, with a north-south orientation, and trench Sp 2/2018 measuring 8 × 5 m, oriented east-west. These trenches revealed a building of which two rooms and a possible hallway could be fully investigated. The building has an east-west orientation (Pl. II/1).

Room 1 was uncovered in the eastern part of the excavation. It is square in shape, measuring 4 × 3.5 m. Of the entire structure, only the south-western wall was preserved, on a length of 2.5 m and with a width of 0.60 m, built in *opus incertum* technique. The partially preserved wall was outlined at a depth of -1.10 m, with the imprints of the other walls identified at -1.30 m. The Roman cultural layer inside the room varied in depth, identified between -1.25 and -1.40 m. The sterile layer was reached at -1.40/-1.45 m.

Room 2 is positioned as an extension of Room 1, rectangular in shape, with the following sizes: 8.5 × 3.5 m. Only the imprints of the walls were identified, and in the southern area, the closing wall was completely destroyed by a modern cellar. The cultural layer inside the room was found at a depth of -1.20 m. At the western end of Trench Sp 2/2018, at a distance of 2 m from the western closing wall of Room 2 and parallel to it, a wall built in *opus incertum* technique was discovered, possibly forming a hallway. This wall was identified over a length of 1.2 m and a width of 0.50 m. The sterile layer was reached at a depth of -1.40 m (Pl. II/2).

As part of the same investment project, at the beginning of 2019, archaeological monitoring of the same area was also carried out, leading to the discovery of new structural elements within the building.

Thus, the eastern closing wall of the first room was revealed to extend 5 m to the south. Starting from the second meter of this wall extension – extending westward from the wall that closes Room 1 – a new wall was identified, built of river stone, measuring 4.5 m in length and 0.5 m in width. At the end of this river stone wall, between it and the intersection of the southern walls of Rooms 2 and 3, a circular structure was discovered – possibly a well. The circular structure has an interior diameter of 0.90 m and was built from four stone courses. The sterile layer inside the structure was identified at a depth of -0.45 m (Pl. III).

Another room within the building was discovered at the 5-meter point along the extended wall closing Room 1 on the eastern side, at a depth of -1.40 m. A trapezoidal-shaped room was identified, oriented north-south, with 4.5 × 2 m in dimensions. It was partially destroyed by a modern cellar. The discovered walls were built using the *opus incertum* technique, with a thickness of 0.45 m. Considering the trapezoidal shape, orientation, and the construction method of the substructures, this room may belong to a different habitation phase of the building (Pl. IV/1). The archaeological material does not provide sufficient data to determine the chronological framework of this phase of habitation.

[14] Preventive archaeological research report, Paul Chiorean.

Archaeological material

The archaeological material identified during the rescue excavation and monitoring at 23 Augustin Bunea Street is quantitatively limited. In addition to common and fine ceramics, it includes only a bronze handle with zoomorphic decoration, four bone hairpins, two gaming tokens, and two iron items representing a spoon and a lock.

The architectural elements consist of two pieces: a fragmentarily preserved column shaft and a colonette base. The column shaft was found inside Room 2 and it is plain, made of conglomerate stone. The colonette base is rudimentary in appearance, quadrilateral in shape, and was discovered outside the second room. The *torus* is heavily corroded, with a diameter of 12 cm. According to Vitruvian norms, the resulting height of the colonette could not have exceeded 90 cm. Given its small size and crude execution, the piece is difficult to classify, but a possible origin might be linked to a *lararium* (Pl. IV/2).

The bronze handle is omega-shaped and features zoomorphic decoration. Based on analogies, this type of handle comes from a *balsamarium*-type vessel.[15] The fragmentary piece, 7 cm long, shows a representation of a swan. The beak is marked at the end of the gripping section, and the plumage is depicted in the middle section through incised lines. Such zoomorphic handles are typical for both anthropomorphic *balsamarium* vessels and those with bodies decorated in relief (Pl. VI).[16]

Among the iron artifacts, a spoon and a possible lock were identified. The spoon is fragmentary and corroded, made of wrought iron, with a round and deep bowl. Only a 5.6 cm rod from the handle has been preserved.[17] Another utilitarian item is a heavily corroded lock, made of two components: the first shaped as a circular sleeve with a fastening ring, and the second as an omega-shaped iron rod. The discovery was made inside Room 2 (Pl. VII/1–2).

From the category of typically feminine items, four bone hairpins were recovered.[18] Two of them are fragmentary, preserving only the body, making detailed classification impossible. One hairpin, measuring 7 cm, has a spherical head and fits Riha Type 16. The second preserved pin has a plain, flat-cut head, not separated from the shaft (Pl. VII/3–6).

Two gaming pieces were also discovered. These are made from ground ceramic fragments, the firing is oxidizing, with a reddish slip visible. Analogies for this type of object are primarily found in military contexts, especially in the fortress of Legio V Macedonica, located on the Fortress Hill (Pl. V/1–3).[19]

Pottery

The ceramic assemblage analyzed consists of 38 vessels, including both coarse pottery and fine wares, locally produced. According to their functionality, the vessels could be grouped into *vasa escaria*, *vasa potatoria*, *vasa coquinatoria*, and vessels used for storing and pouring liquids.

[15] Braun 2001, 13.

[16] Mustață 2017, 144.

[17] Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 213, 7, Pl. LXXXVII, 21.

[18] Vass 2010, 130.

[19] Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 217.

The category containing the most numerous examples is represented by *vasa escaria*, with 22 vessels, accounting for 57% of the total. Within this category, three main forms were identified: plates, platters, and bowls. There are eight plates, with the main types being Curle 15, Drag. 32, and one LuTx-type vessel. Bowls are the most widespread vessels in terms of number, with the primary types identified being Drag. 44 and Drag. 37.

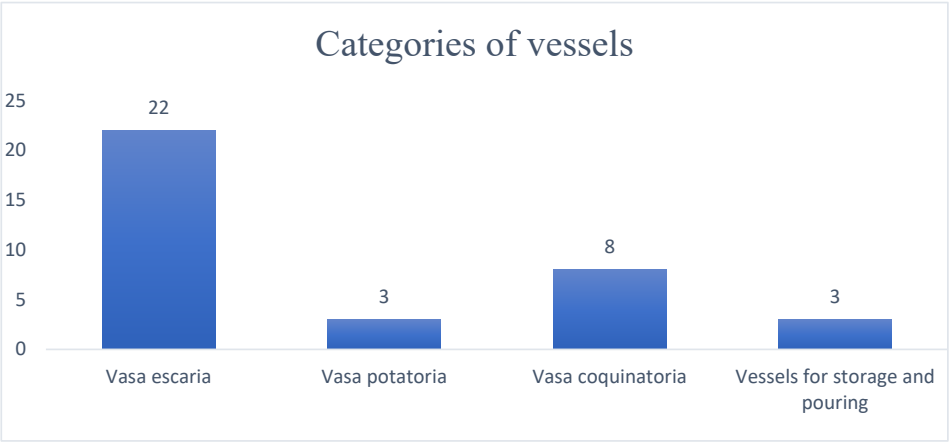


Fig. 1. Categories of ceramic vessels.

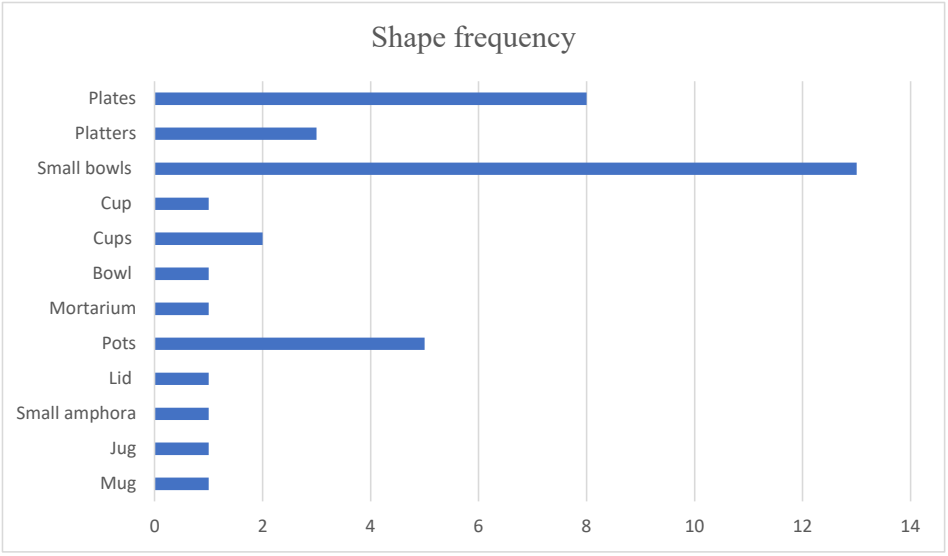


Fig. 2. Shape frequency of ceramic vessels.

The *vasa potatoria* category includes three vessels, comprising two main forms: drinking glasses and a cup. Their number is small and represents 7.8% of the total.

Another group identified in the research is the *vasa coquinatoria* category. The main forms in this group include bowls, pots, *mortaria*, and a lid. This category includes eight vessels, accounting for 21% of the total.

The final category consists of vessels used for storing and pouring liquids. Three main forms were identified: an *amphoriskos*, a jug, and a mug.

The analyzed ceramics are of local manufacture, with oxidizing firing used for all identified product categories. The most frequently encountered types are the Drag. 44 and Drag. 37 bowls.

The spatial distribution of the ceramic tableware identified within the building is predominantly concentrated along the eastern side of the first room, in grid squares 2–3B, and along the northern side of the second room, in grid squares 6–10A. Out of the total of 38 vessels identified, 19 fragments originate from the first room, and 13 from the second room – most of them belonging to the category of locally produced ceramics used for serving (Pl. XV).

Conclusions

The Roman building at 23 Augustin Bunea Street is important for defining the area of the civil habitation in the north-eastern part of the *municipium Potaissense*. The issue of northern and north-eastern territorial extension is complex, made more so by the contemporary settlements overlapping ancient ones, and by the presence of both civil and funerary discoveries within a limited area.

Based on the analysis of *in situ* findings, the north-eastern civil area can be delimited by the structures identified on Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street and in the streets immediately to, the north and south of it. The funerary discoveries found near the building fall into two categories: funerary monuments and graves. While the origin of the funerary monuments remains uncertain, as they were discovered in secondary contexts, the graves identified *in situ* allow the outlining of a northwestern funerary area. Taking into account the graves uncovered in the 20th and 21st centuries, the burial ground can be defined as lying between Titulescu and Libertății Streets, an area situated around 500 meters north-east of the site under research.

Judging by the construction techniques employed, the materials used, and the orientation of the building, it appears that the structure underwent two main phases of construction, during which three rooms, two potential hallways, and a possible well were added. However, due to the significant level of modern destruction and the limited presence of special archaeological materials, it remains difficult to provide a precise chronological framework for these structures.

Catalogue

Architectural fragments

1. **Colonette base**

MIT, inv. no. 24322.

Colonette base with plinth, rudimentarily crafted. The plinth is quadrilateral in shape.

Dimensions: Plinth length = 28 × 28 cm; *Torus* diameter = 12 cm; Height = 12 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square 6A, depth = -1.45 m (Pl. V/1).

2. **Column shaft**

MIT, inv. no. 24323.

Plain (smooth) column shaft, fragmentarily preserved.
Dimensions: Length = 30 cm; Width = 20 cm; Diameter = 20 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square 6C, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. V/2).

Bronze artifacts

3. **Handle**

MIT, inv. no. 24308.
Bronze handle from a *balsamarium*-type vessel, featuring zoomorphic decoration, fragmentarily preserved. The representation is of a swan. The beak is marked at the end of the grip shaft, and the plumage is incised in the middle section.
Dimensions: Length = 7.2 cm; Width = 1.6 cm; Thickness = 0.2 cm (fragmentary).
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square 7D, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. VI/1).

Iron tools and utensils

4. **Lock**

MIT, inv. no. 26625.
Heavily corroded iron lock. The object is composed of two parts: a circular sleeve and an S-shaped iron rod.
Dimensions:
Sleeve: Length = 9.6 cm; Diameter = 3.8 cm,
Rod: Length = 12 cm; Thickness = 0.8 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square 7D, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. X/1).

5. **Spoon**

MIT, temporary inv. no. Ş. 46/2018.
Fragmentarily preserved spoon with an oval, deep bowl. The handle is partially preserved as an iron rod. Made of wrought iron, preserved in four fragments, affected by corrosion.
Dimensions:
Bowl: Length = 6.8 cm; Height = 3.3 cm; Thickness = 0.4 cm,
Handle: Length = 5.6 cm; Width = 1.3 cm; Thickness = 0.7 cm
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square C2, depth = -1.30 m (Pl. VII/2).

Accessories

6. **Hairpin**

MIT, inv. no. 24305.
Fragmentary bone hairpin with spherical head, classified as Riha type 16. Made of bone, yellowish-brown in color. The tip is broken.
Dimensions: Length = 7 cm; Head diameter = 0.5 cm; Shaft diameter = 0.4 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 1/B, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. VII/3).

7. **Hairpin**

MIT, inv. no. 24306.
Fragmentary hairpin, preserving only the shaft. Made of bone, yellowish-white in color.
Dimensions: Length = 5.3 cm; Shaft diameter = 0.4 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 1/B, depth = -1.60 m (Pl. VII/4).

8. **Hairpin**

MIT, inv. no. 24304.
Fragmentary hairpin, only the shaft preserved. Made of bone, yellowish-brown in color.
Dimensions: Length = 5.1 cm; Shaft diameter = 0.5 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 3/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. VII/5).

9. **Hairpin**

MIT, inv. no. 24302.

Fragmentary hairpin with a plain, flat-cut head not separated from the shaft. Made of bone, yellowish-white in color; tip is broken.

Dimensions: Length = 5.4 cm; Head diameter = 0.6 cm; Shaft diameter = 0.5 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square 1C, depth = -1.30 m (Pl. VII/6).

Tokens of board games

10. **Token**

MIT, inv. no. 24572.

Circular token, fully preserved, produced by grinding a ceramic wall sherd. Fine reddish paste, Munsell 7.5 YR 8/6.

Dimensions: Diameter = 5.3 cm; Thickness = 0.9 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, monitoring, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. VIII/1).

11. **Token**

MIT, inv. no. 24301.

Circular token, fully preserved, produced by grinding a ceramic wall sherd. Fine reddish paste, Munsell 5 YR 6/8.

Dimensions: Diameter = 4.2 cm; Thickness = 0.6 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, square 6E, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. VIII/2).

12. **Token**

MIT, inv. no. 24307.

Circular token, fully preserved, produced by grinding a ceramic wall sherd. Fine reddish paste, Munsell 7.5 YR 8/6.

Dimensions: Diameter = 4.4 cm; Thickness = 0.8 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 4A, depth = -1.20 m (Pl. VIII/3).

Coarse ware

13. **Small amphora**

MIT, inv. no. 24268.

Fragment of a horizontal rim with three grooves and an attached handle. Oxidizing, uniform firing; coarse fabric with small inclusions, Munsell 5YR 7/6.

Rim diameter: 15 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 1–4/A–D, depth = -1.45 m (Pl. VIII/4).

14. ***Mortarium***

MIT, inv. no. 24321.

Rim fragment of a *mortarium*, undecorated. Fine fabric, oxidizing firing, Munsell 5YR 8/4; even texture, secondary burning traces on the rim. The rim is strongly profiled with a rib.

Rim diameter: 40 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, squares 4–5/A, depth = -1.20 m (Pl. VIII/5).

Fine local ware

15. **Platter**

MIT, inv. no. 26626.

Rim and body fragment of a platter. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 2.5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric with red slip, glossy exterior. The rim continues smoothly from the wall without demarcation.

Rim diameter: 26 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 1/C, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. IX/1).
16. **Platter**
MIT, inv. no. 26630.
Rim fragment of a platter. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy on both sides. The rim continues from the wall, without separation.
Rim diameter: 22 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 6–10/A, depth = -1.30 to -1.40 m (Pl. IX/2).
17. **Platter**
MIT, inv. no. 26635.
Rim fragment of a platter. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy on both sides. The rim is separated from the body by a groove.
Rim diameter: 22 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 6–10/A, depth = -1.30 to -1.40 m (Pl. IX/3).
18. **Small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 24287.
Fragment of a Drag. 44 small-bowl. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 8/4. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy all over. Rim is rolled from the wall, rounded profile.
Rim diameter: 28 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 6–10/A, depth = -1.30 to -1.40 m (Pl. IX/4).
19. **Small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 26629.
Fragment of a Drag. 44 small-bowl. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 6/4. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy surface. Rim rolled from the wall with a rounded profile.
Rim diameter: 12 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 1B, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. IX/5).
20. **Small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 24317.
Fragment of a Drag. 44 small-bowl. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 2.5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy surface. Rim rolled from the wall, rounded profile.
Rim diameter: 14 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 1C, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. X/1).
21. **Small-bowls**
MIT, inv. nos. 24315; 26636.
Fragments of Drag. 44 small-bowls with oblique rim and a groove on the shoulder. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 2.5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy all over.
Rim diameter: 22 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, squares 3–5/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. X/2).
22. **Small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 26621.
Fragment of a Drag. 44 small-bowl with a horizontal rim decorated with three grooves. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/3. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy exterior.
Rim diameter: 16 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 7–10/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. X/3).
23. **Stamped small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 24310.
Fragment of a stamped Drag. 37 small-bowl with a rounded, profiled rim marked by two grooves.

Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 8/4. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy surface. The stamp features a medium-sized lunula motif (1.6 cm), opening upwards.
Rim diameter: 16 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 5/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. X/4).

24. **Small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 24290.
Fragment of a Drag. 44 small-bowl with a straight, slightly pronounced rim, separated from the body by a groove. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy over the entire surface.
Rim diameter: 26 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, monitoring, squares 10/F–J, depth = -1.40 / -1.60 m (Pl. X/5).

25. **Small-bowls**
MIT, inv. nos. 24293; 24291.
Fragments of Drag. 37 small-bowls with a rounded rim separated from the body by a groove. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy surface.
Rim diameter: 26 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 4–5/C–D, depth = -1.20 / -1.30 m (Pl. XI/1).

26. **Small-bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 24319.
Fragment of a Drag. 37 small-bowl with a rounded rim, separated from the body by a groove and a rib on the body. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 10 R 5/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy across the entire surface.
Rim diameter: 26 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 2/2018, square 1/C, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. XI/2).

27. **Small-bowl**
Fragment of a Drag. 37 small-bowl with a straight, round-profiled rim, separated from the body by three grooves. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 2.5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, red slip, glossy surface, undecorated.
Rim diameter: 24 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, no. 23, Sp 1/2018, squares 5/D–E, depth = -1.25 m (Pl. XI/3).

28. **Bowl**
MIT, inv. no. 26624.
Fragment of a bowl with a straight rim and three grooves. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric.
Rim diameter: 28 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, square 1/B, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. XI/4).

29. **Mug**
MIT, inv. no. 26628.
Fragment of a mug with a laterally grooved rim and handle. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5 YR 7/8. Fine fabric, no slip.
Rim diameter: 14 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, squares 3–5/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. XII/1).

30. **Jug**
MIT, inv. no. 24311.
Fragment of a jug preserving the rim and part of the body, decorated with three grooves. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 7/1. Reddish glossy slip on the exterior.
Rim diameter: 9 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, squares 5–6/D–E, depth = -1.40 / -1.50 m (Pl. XII/2).

31. **Cup**

MIT, inv. no. 26632.

Fragment preserving the rim and part of the body, decorated with two grooves. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 6/1. Reddish glossy slip on the exterior.

Rim diameter: 18 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 1/2018, squares 7–9/D–E, depth = -1.50 / -1.60 m (Pl. XII/3).

32. **Plates**

MIT, inv. nos. 24296, 26633, 26634.

Fragments of Curle 15-type plates, with rim and part of the body preserved, decorated with a groove near the neck. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 8/4. Reddish glossy slip on the entire surface.

Rim diameter: 28 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, monitoring 2019, square 20, depth = -1.30 / -1.70 m (Pl. XII/4).

33. **Plate**

MIT, inv. nos. 24318, 26622.

Fragments of Drag. 32-type plates, preserving the rim and adjacent body section, decorated with a groove on the rim. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 7/8. Reddish glossy slip on the exterior.

Rim diameter: 22 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, square 1-C, depth = -1.50 m (Pl. XII/5).

34. **Plate**

MIT, inv. no. 24321.

Fragment of a plate with a rounded rim and wall, continuing smoothly from the body, decorated with two grooves. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 2.5YR 8/4. Reddish glossy slip on the entire surface.

Rim diameter: 22 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, square 1-B, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. XIII/1).

35. **Plates**

MIT, inv. nos. 24314, 26623.

Fragments of LuTx-type plates, preserving the rim and part of the body, decorated with a groove. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 7/8. Reddish glossy slip on the entire surface.

Rim diameter: 22 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, square 1-B, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. XIII/2).

Cooking ware

36. **Pot**

MIT, inv. no. 26627.

Fragment of a pot with a horizontal rim, decorated with three grooves on the rim and one on the body. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 8/4, without slip.

Rim diameter: 22 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 1/2018, squares 1–3/A–B, depth = -1.30 m (Pl. XIII/3).

37. **Pot**

Fragment of a pot with a horizontal rim, decorated with two grooves on the rim. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 10R 5/6, no slip.

Rim diameter: 18 cm.

Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, monitoring, square 20, depth = -1.30 / -1.70 m (Pl. XIII/4).

38. **Pot**

MIT, inv. no. 24309.

Fragment of a pot with a simple rim, slightly flaring outward, decorated with nine grooves on the body. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 5/1, no slip.
Rim diameter: 14 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, square 5/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. XIII/5).

39. **Pots**
MIT, inv. nos. 24292, 26637.
Fragments of two pots with a simple, slightly flaring rim, decorated with one groove on the body. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 7/8, no slip.
Rim diameter: 12 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 1/2018, squares 6–10/A, depth = -1.30 / -1.40 m (Pl. XIV/1).

Drinking vessels

40. **Cup**
MIT, inv. no. 24295.
Fragment of a cup with an oblique rim, decorated with a groove. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 2.5YR 7/8. Reddish slip, glossy over the entire surface.
Rim diameter: 12 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 1/2018, squares 6–10/A, depth = -1.40 / -1.55 m (Pl. XIV/2).

41. **Cup**
MIT, inv. no. 24320.
Fragment of a cup with an oblique rim, decorated with a groove. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 7/8. Reddish glossy slip-on entire surface. The body features four incised bands separated by undecorated spaces.
Rim diameter: 14 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 2/2018, square 1B, depth = -1.55 m (Pl. XIV/3).

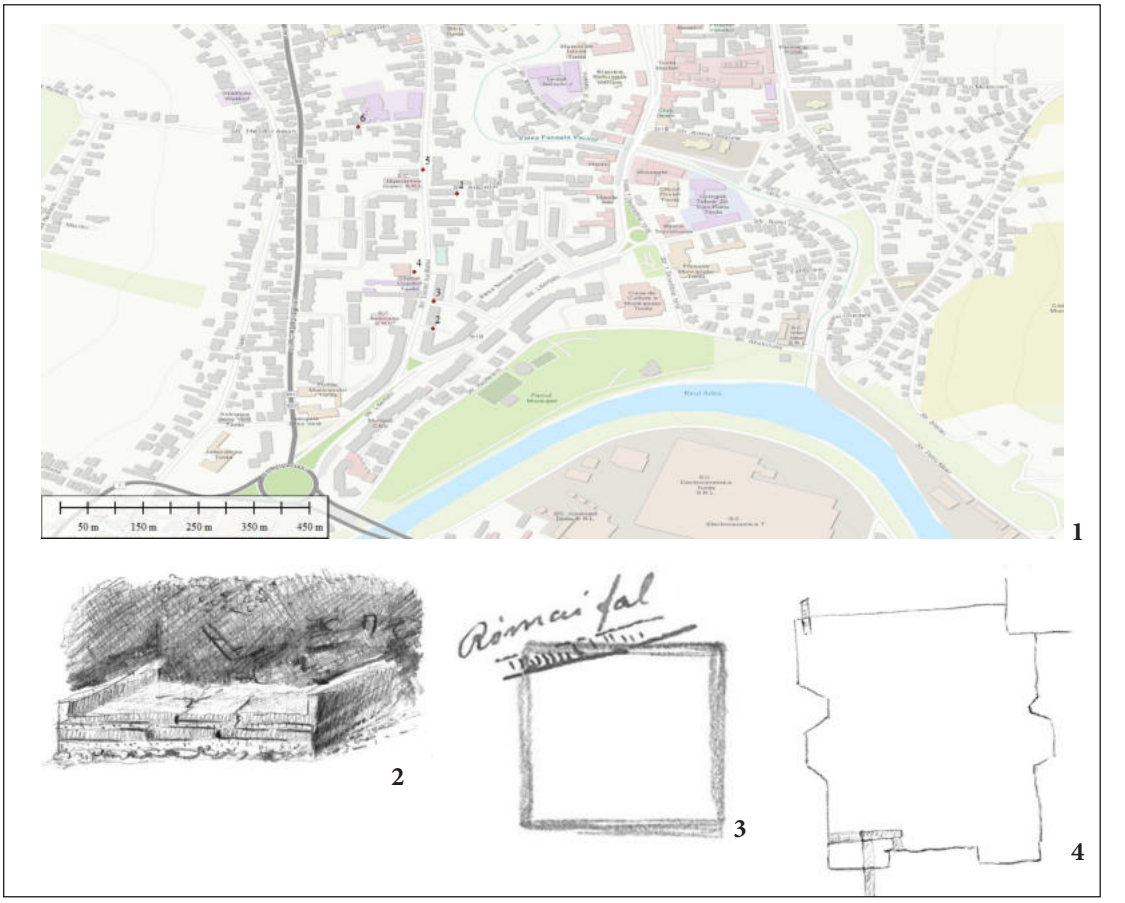
Lid

42. **Lid**
MIT, inv. no. 24297.
Fragment of a lid with a button handle, preserving the rim and part of the body. Oxidizing, uniform firing, Munsell 5YR 7/8. No slip, semi-fine paste. Traces of secondary burning are visible on the rim.
Rim diameter: 12 cm.
Findspot: Augustin Bunea Street, Sp 1/2018, squares 7–10/A, depth = -1.40 m (Pl. XIV/4).

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1–4



5

Pl. I. 1. Map showing the discovery of civil structures, in the central area of the city; **2.** Pavement identified at 16 Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street; **3.** Plan of the drainage channel identified at 2–16 Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street; **4.** Substructures identified at 42 Dr. Ioan Rațiu Street; **5.** Map showing the funerary discoveries.



1



2

Pl. II. 1. Building investigated on 23 Augustin Bunea Street; **2.** 3D model of the building investigated on 23 Augustin Bunea Street.



1

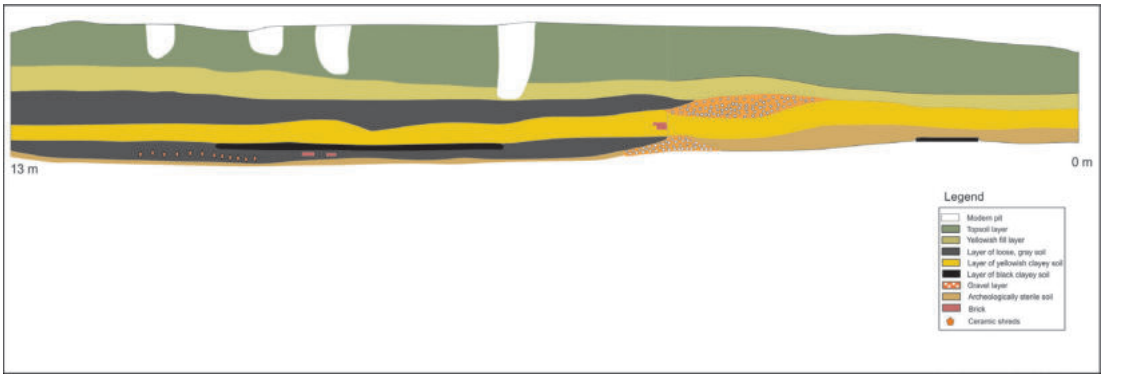


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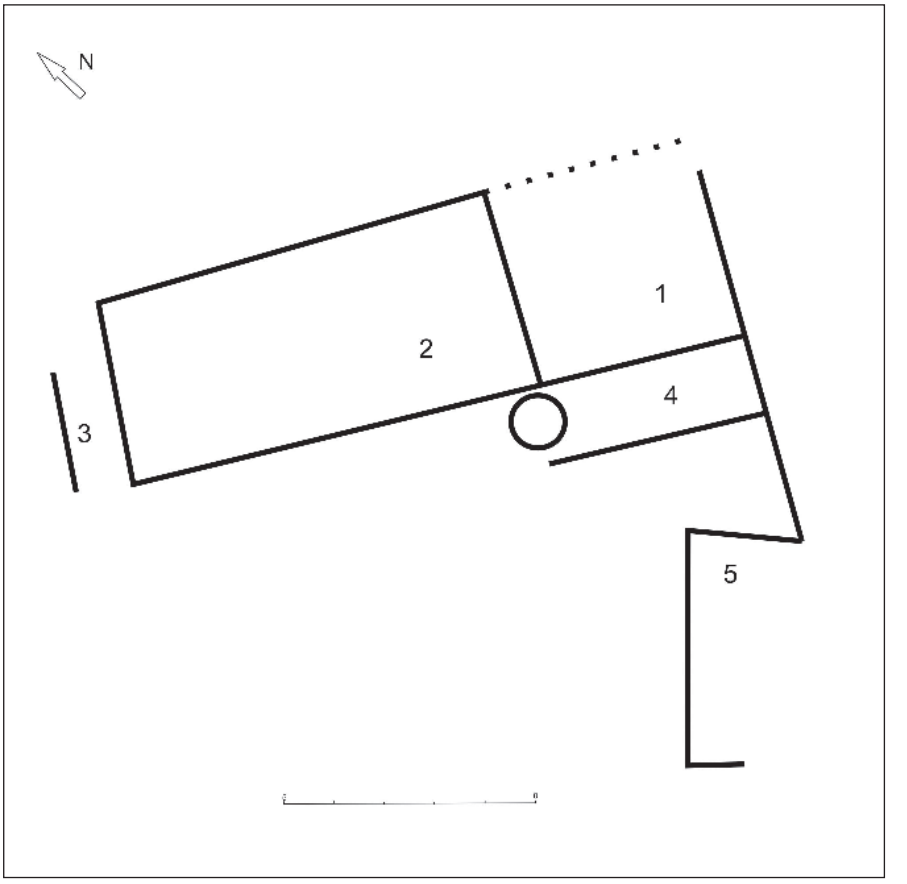


3

Pl. III. 1–2. Building identified during the preventive excavation on 23 Augustin Bunea Street; **3.** Structures revealed during archaeological monitoring.

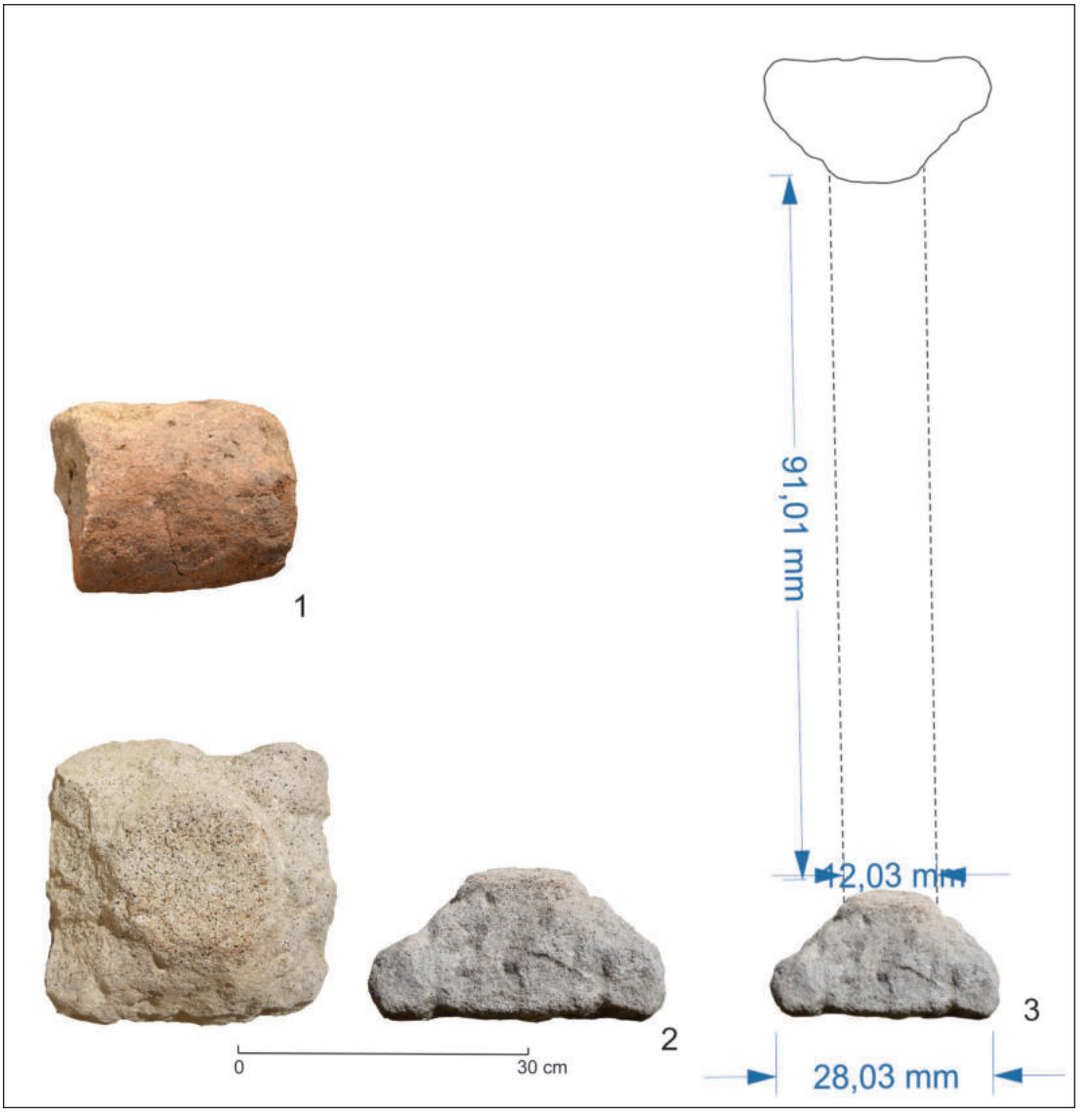


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Pl. IV. 1. Stratigraphic drawing – eastern profile of the building; **2.** Plan of the investigated building.



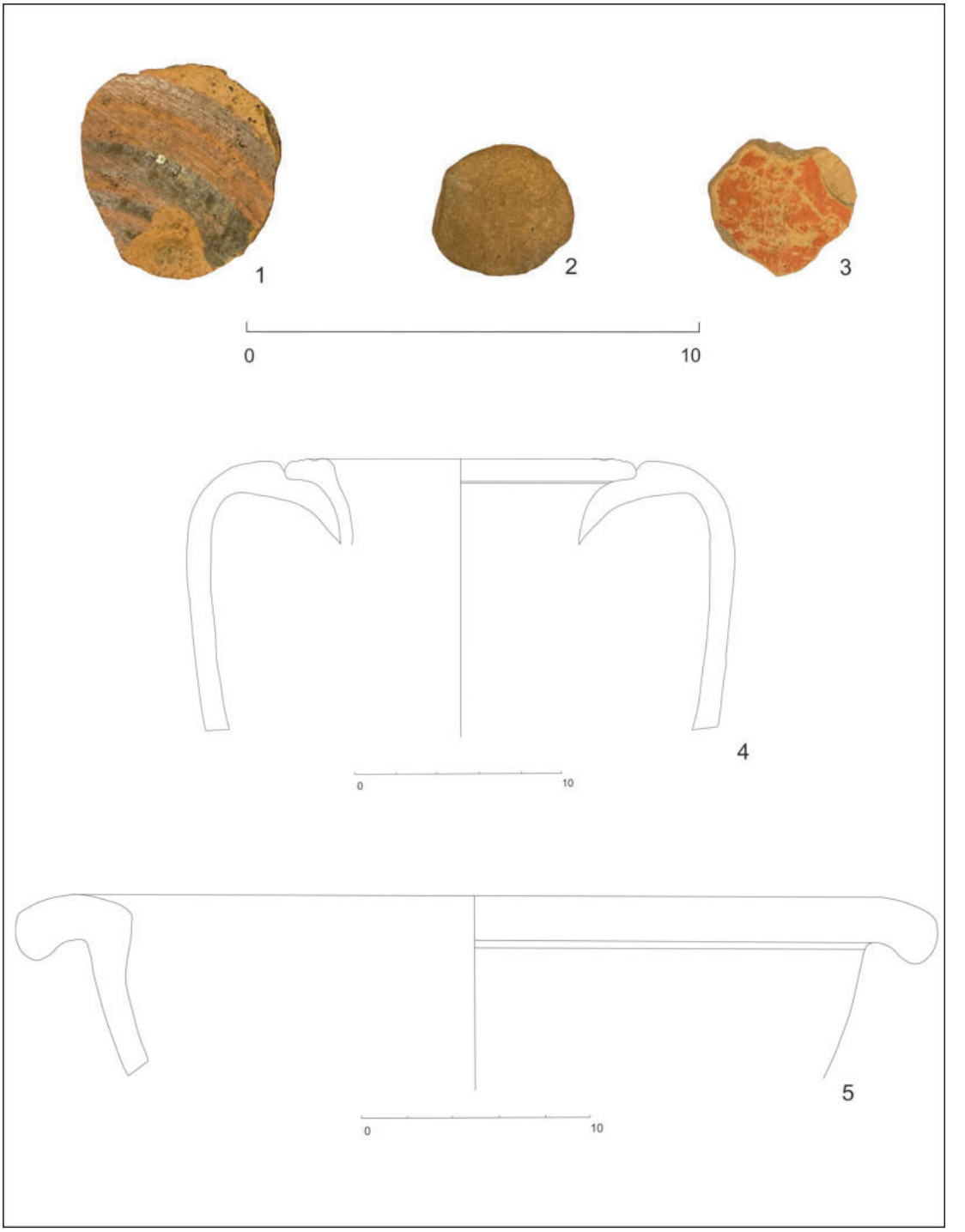
Pl. V. Archaeological material. **1.** Column shaft; **2.** Colonette base; **3.** Proposed reconstruction of the colonette.



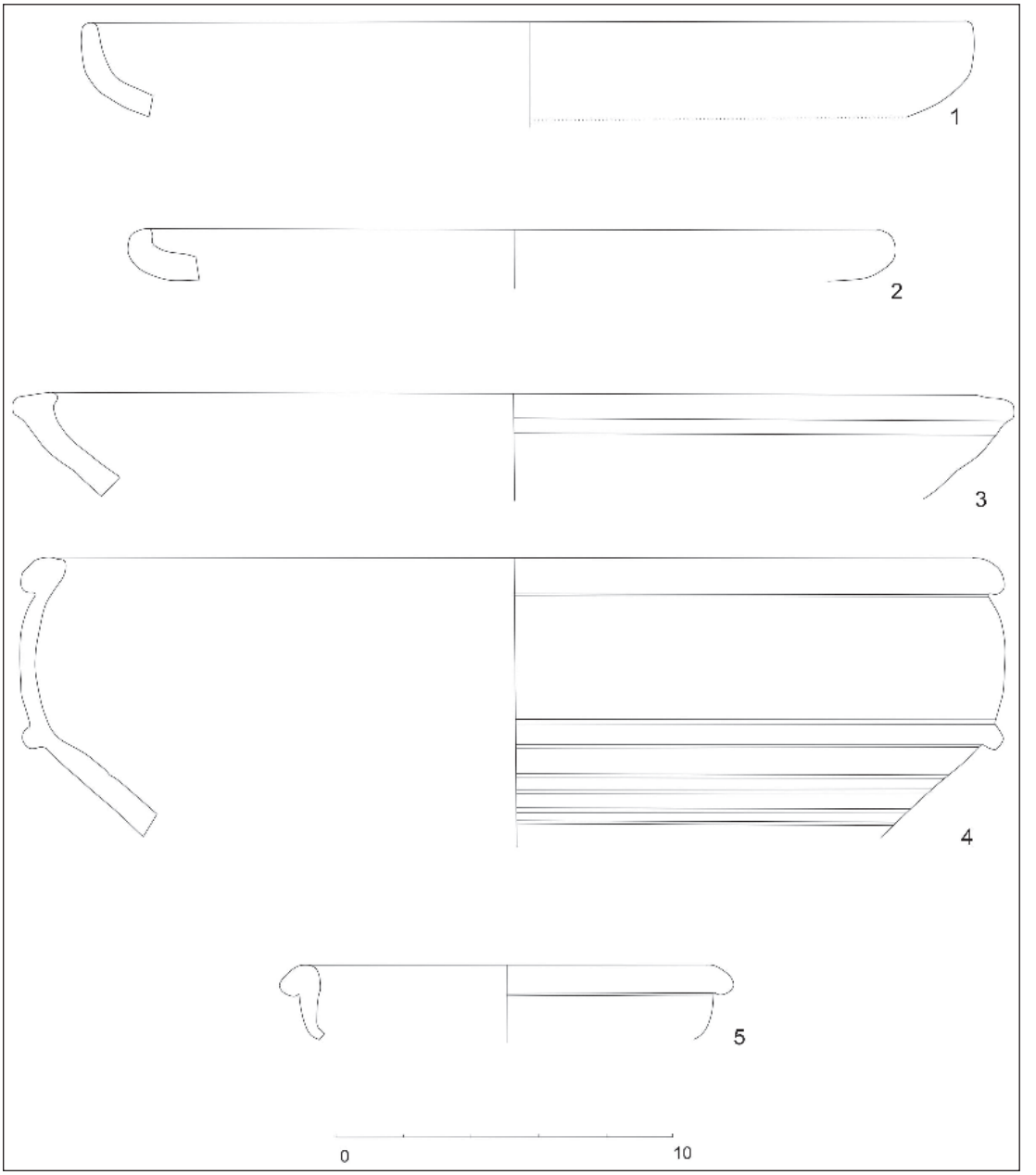
Pl. VI. 1. Bronze handle of a *balsamarium*-type vessel; **2.** Analogy – *balsamarium* with globular body from Augusta Traiana (after Nenova-Merdjanova 1995, 53, Fig. 2a); **3.** Analogy – anthropomorphic *balsamarium* from Zavoi, Bulgaria (after Nenova-Merdjanova 1995, 55, Fig. 3).



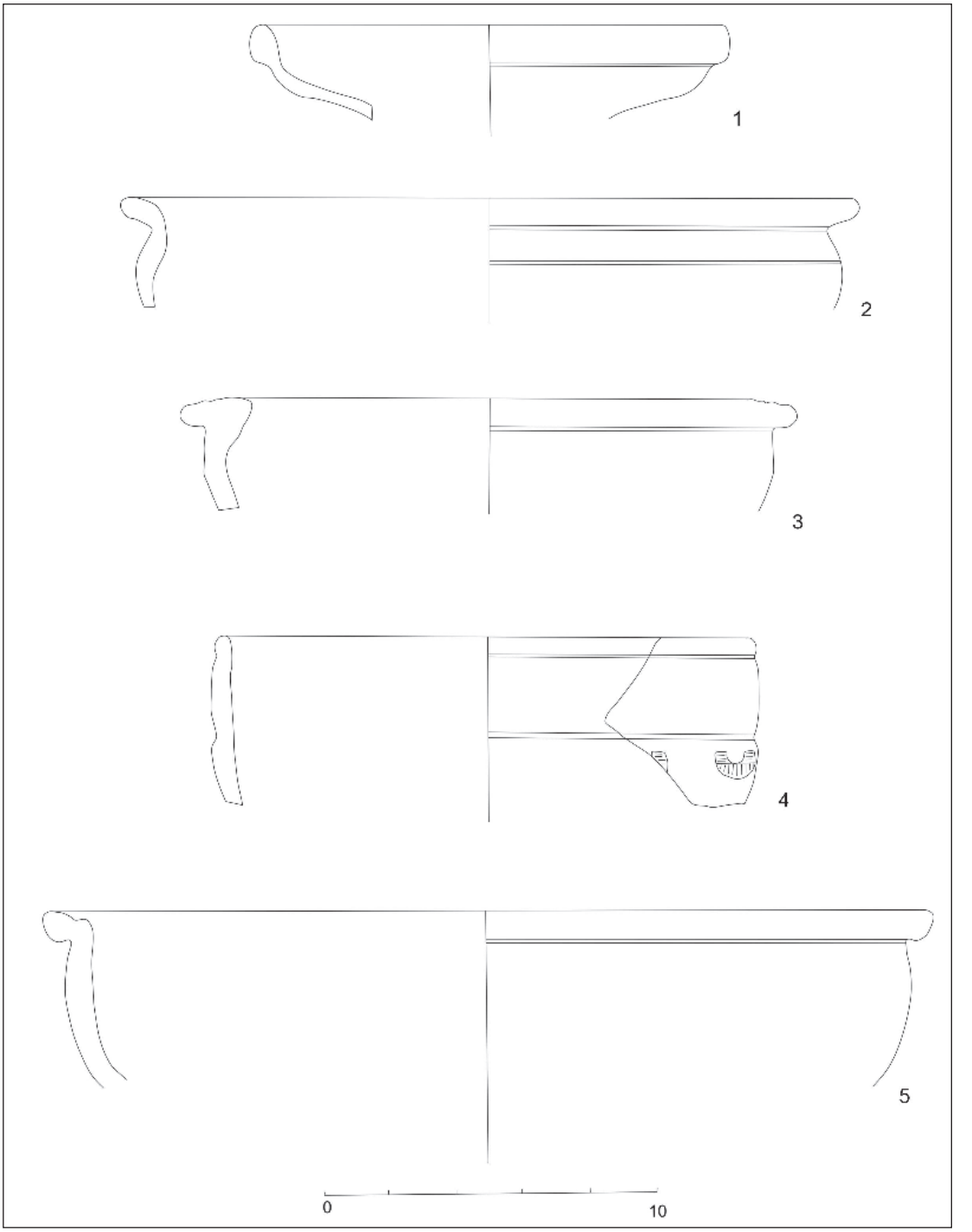
Pl. VII. 1–2. Iron tools and utensils; **3–6**. Hairpins.



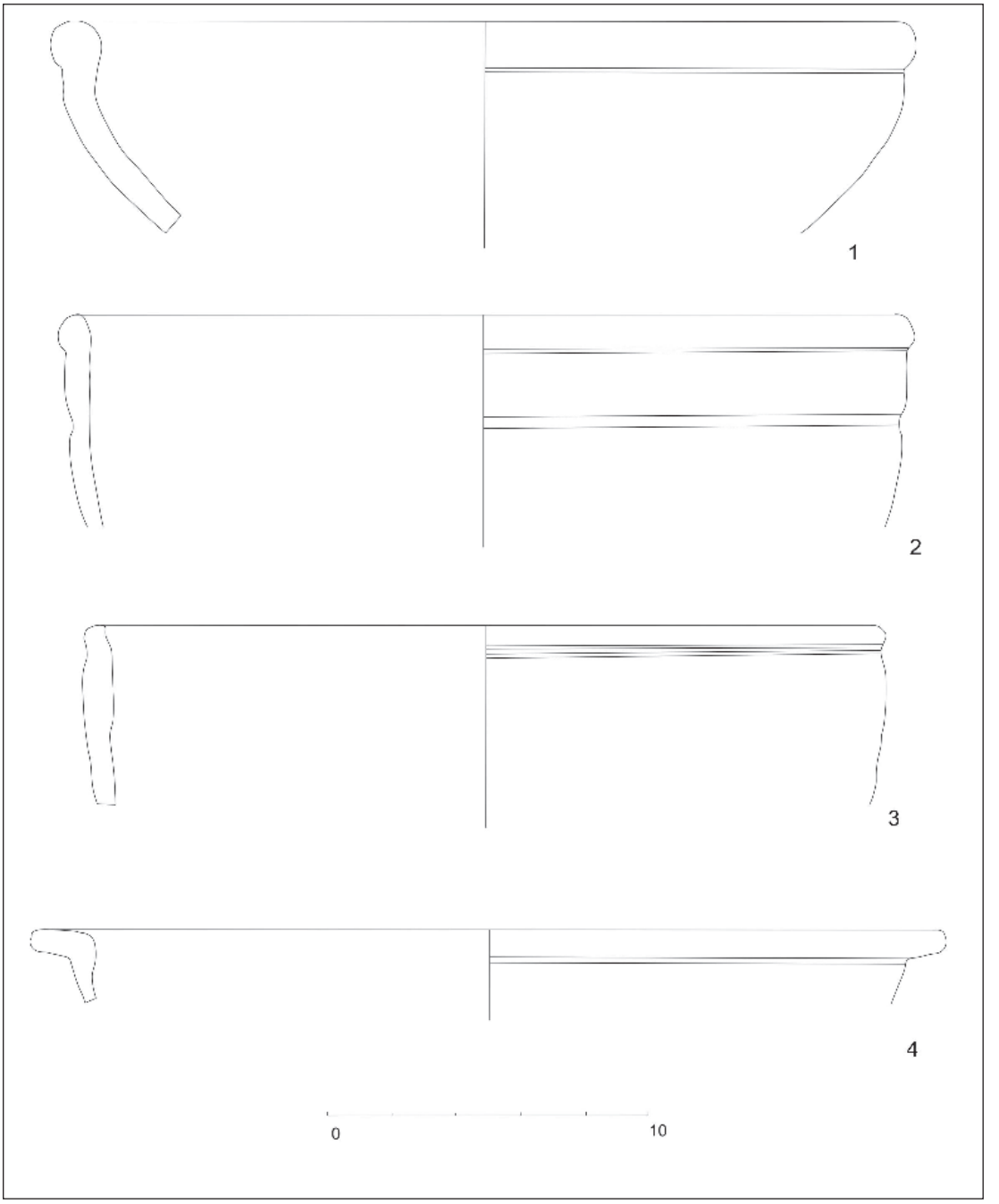
Pl. VIII. 1–3. Ceramic tokens; **4.** Coarse ware: *amphoriskos*; **5.** Coarse ware: *mortarium.*



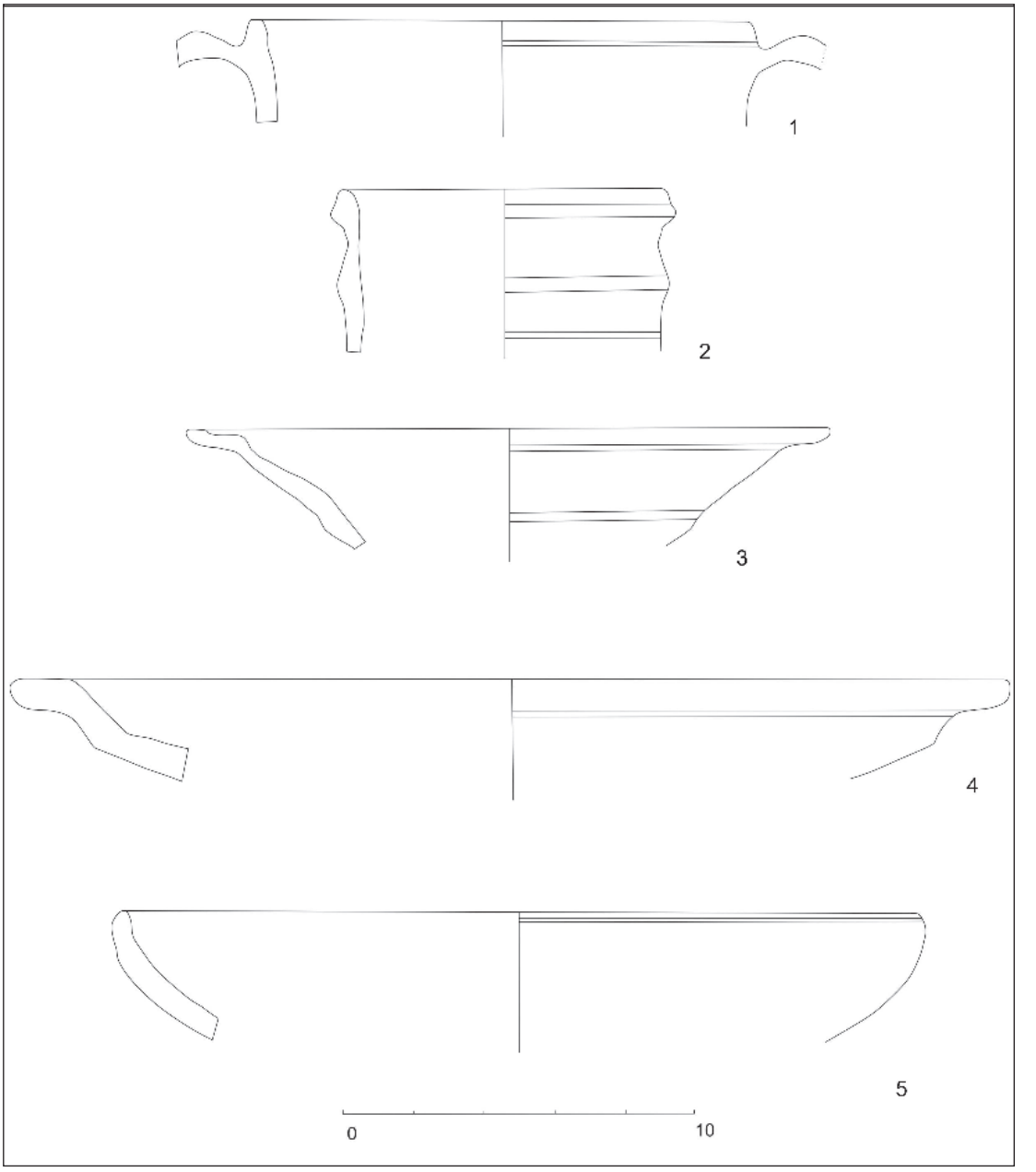
Pl. IX. Coarse ware: **1–3.** Platters; **4–5.** Small-bowls.



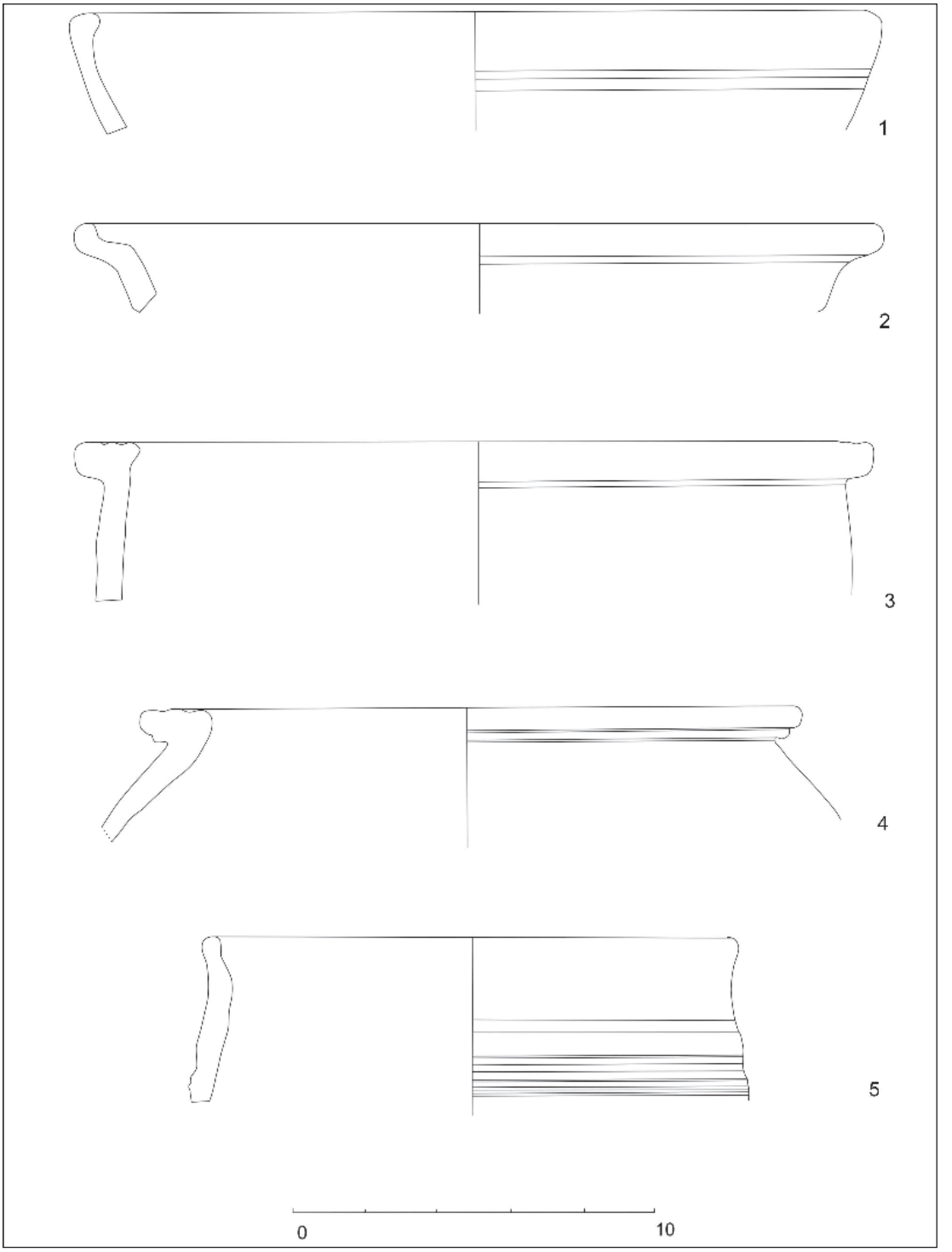
Pl. X. 1–5. Coarse ware: Small-bowls.



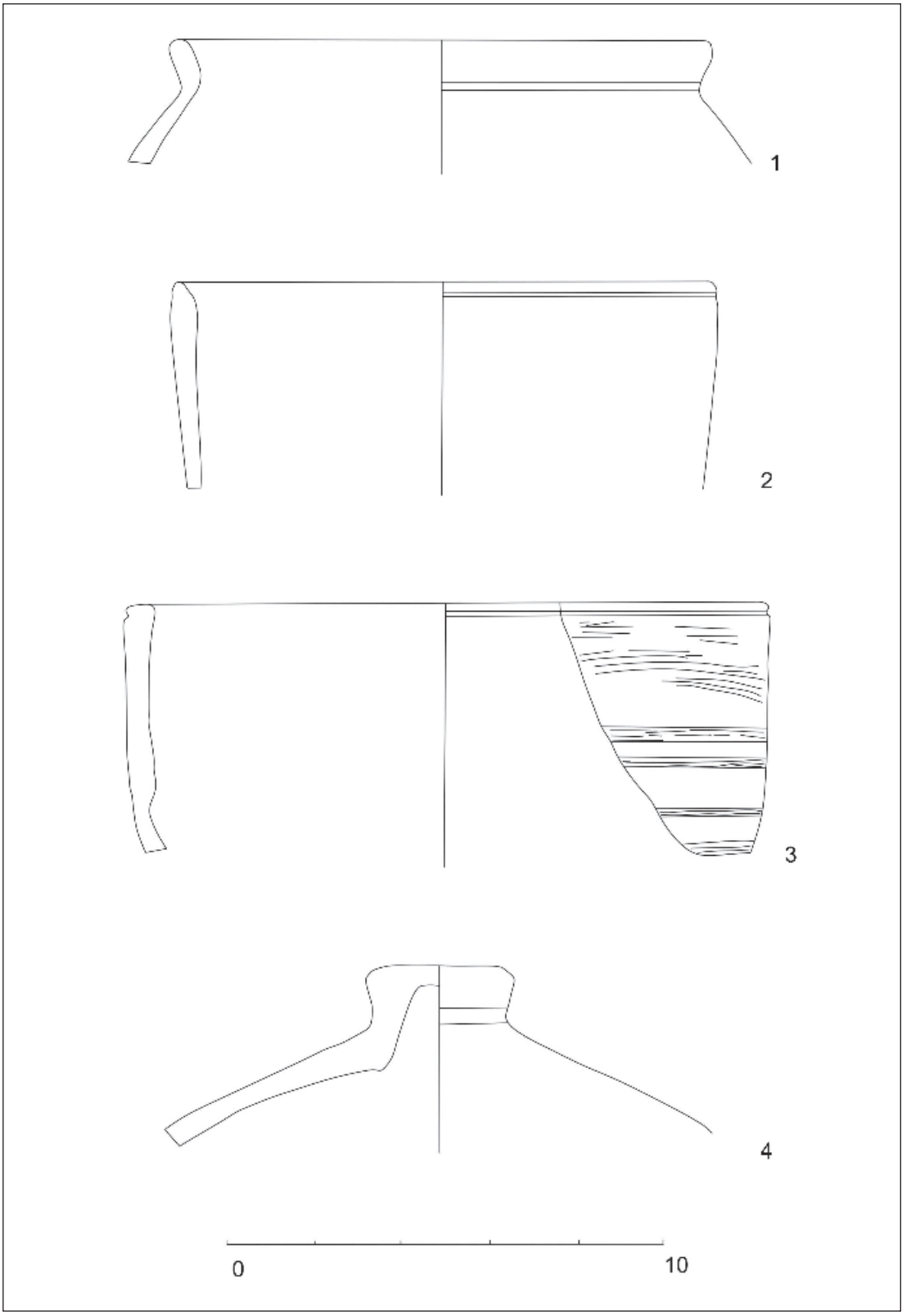
Pl. XI. Coarse ware: **1–3.** Small-bowls; **4.** Bowl.



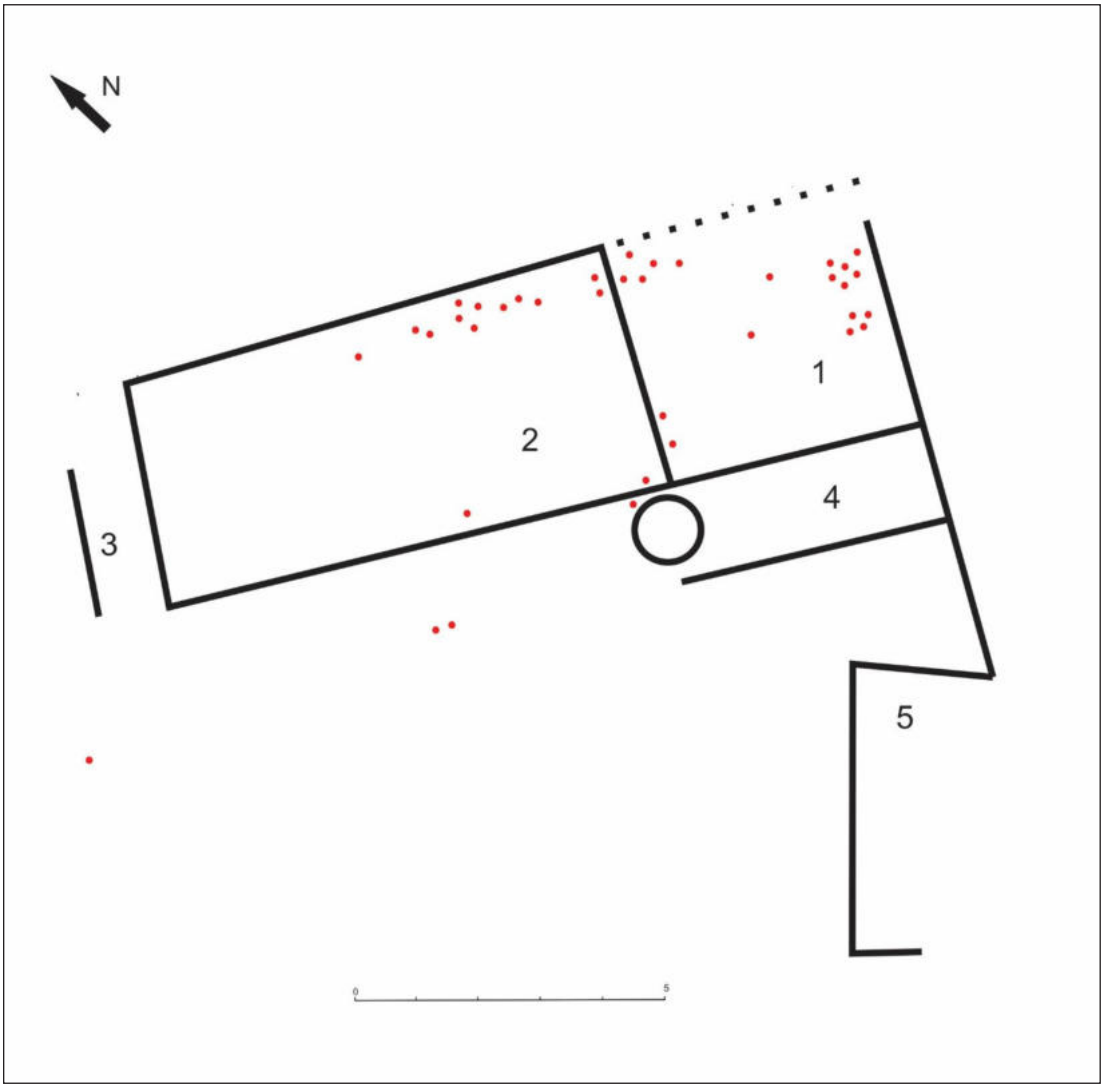
Pl. XII. Coarse ware: **1.** Mug; **2.** Jug; **3.** Cup; **4–5.** Plates.



Pl. XIII. Coarse ware: **1–2.** Plates; **3–5.** Pots.



Pl. XIV. Coarse ware: **1.** Pot; **2–3.** Cups; **4.** Lid.



Pl. XV. Spatial distribution of the ceramic fragments.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 219–229

NEW EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES FROM POTAISSA (I)

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.08

Abstract: This article presents some recent epigraphic discoveries from the ancient Roman city of Potaissa (modern-day Turda). Several Latin inscriptions have been found, including a votive altar dedicated to Jupiter by an *aquilifer* (standard-bearer) of the *V Macedonica* Legion. Other fragments include funerary stelae and building inscriptions, providing insights into military, religious, and funerary practices in Potaissa. These discoveries enrich the epigraphic and onomastic records of the area, though some texts are fragmentary and require careful interpretation.

Keywords: Dacia; epigraphy; funerary inscriptions; Potaissa.

Rezumat: Acest articol prezintă câteva descoperiri epigrafice recente din orașul roman Potaissa (azi Turda). Au fost descoperite mai multe inscripții latine, printre care un altar votiv dedicat lui Iupiter de către un *aquilifer* (purtătorul acvilei) al Legiunii V Macedonica. Alte fragmente includ stele funerare și inscripții publice, oferind informații despre practicile militare, religioase și funerare din Potaissa. Aceste descoperiri îmbogățesc datele epigrafice și onomastice din zonă, deși unele texte sunt fragmentare și necesită o interpretare atentă.

Cuvinte-cheie: Dacia; epigrafie; inscripții funerare; Potaissa.

Since the end of the Middle Ages and up to the present, numerous Latin inscriptions have been discovered on the territory of the former Roman city of Potaissa. Some have entered private collections, while others were incorporated into medieval and modern buildings, drawing the attention of antiquarians who transcribed and published them.[1] Stone inscriptions, in particular, were often reused as construction material during the Middle Ages and the modern era, found in secondary contexts. A significant group of inscriptions from Potaissa was published at the end of the 19th century in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and various articles.[2] Those discovered during the 20th century were edited by the renowned historian and epigraphist from Turda, I. I. Russu.[3] Inscriptions found during systematic excavations in the V Macedonica Legion's camp on the Cetății Hill were monographically published by their discoverer, Mihai Bărbulescu.[4] Recently, these inscriptions were revisited and published in a new volume of the *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* series by Ioan Piso.[5] Through this note, we aim to add newly discovered Latin inscriptions to complement the epigraphic record of Potaissa.

[1] Bărbulescu 2011, 221–230.

[2] CIL III 875–932; CIL III 7670–7707; ILD I 462–530; ILD II 942–959.

[3] Russu 1959; Russu 1968; Russu 1977; Russu, Milea 1964; Russu, Milea 1976.

[4] Bărbulescu 2012.

[5] Piso 2024.

1. Fragmentary votive altar, limestone. MIT, inv. no. 26640. Dimensions: 56 × 30 × 25 cm; epigraphic field dimensions: 30 × 30 cm; letter dimensions: 3.5–5.5 cm. Ligatures: AVR, in line 2. The capital is partially destroyed; the base has moldings on the front side but not on the lateral sides (Pl. I/1–2). Discovered on September 13, 2024, during plowing on Cetății Hill in the civilian settlement area (*canabae*), alongside a fragment of a molded altar base measuring 24 × 23 × 19 cm.

IOM
AVR IVST
AQVIL
LEG V M
V L P

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Aur(elius) Iust(---)
aquil(ifer)
leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae)
v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit).

The altar, discovered by chance in the *canabae*, is dedicated to the supreme god of the Roman pantheon, Jupiter, with the standard epigraphic formula, bearing the epithets *Optimus* and *Maximus*. The dedicator is an *optio* of the V Macedonica Legion, holding the rank of *aquilifer*, the bearer of the legion's eagle. In line 2, the dedicator's name is given, with the imperial *gentilicium* Aurelius and a *cognomen* abbreviated as IVST, which could be completed as Iustus[6] or Iustinus,[7] both common Latin *cognomina* in the Roman Empire's Latin provinces. The absence of a *praenomen* and the *nomen* Aurelius suggest a dating to the 3rd century AD, after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The legion's name is abbreviated as LEGVM, a common feature in stone epigraphy and also attested on brick material.[8]

The *aquilifer* is the highest rank among the *principales*, and such an officer could be promoted directly to centurion. The prestige of the position stems from the symbolic importance of the legion's eagle, with soldiers appointed to this role due to acts of bravery.[9] In the V Macedonica Legion, as well as in Dacia, Aurelius Iustus (-inus) is the first epigraphically attested *aquilifer* to date.[10]

Potaissa is an urban community that emerged near the legionary camp and in close relation to the V Macedonica Legion.[11] The altar dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus by this *aquilifer* adds to a total of 40 votive altars dedicated to the supreme god of the Roman pantheon, discovered in various locations within the modern city of Turda. In 34 cases, the name and/or function of the dedicator are preserved, allowing insights into the

[6] OPEL II 210.
[7] OPEL II 209–210.
[8] Nemeti 2019; Nemeti 2022.
[9] Cupcea 2014, 22.
[10] Cupcea 2014, 26–41.
[11] Nemeti, Nemeti 2014; Nemeti 2024.

worship of Jupiter in the *municipium Septimium* or the *canabae* (Table). The municipal elite is poorly represented among the dedicators: only two altars belong to *duumvirales* of the *municipium*, C. Iulius Priscus and M. Ulpius Magnus. Possibly Manlius, with a *nomen* used as a *cognomen*, is a *quaestor* in the *canabae*. A fragmentary inscription found in Potaissa's territory is dedicated by P. Aelius Maximianus, an *augur* or *augustalis* of an unnamed colony. Aelius Super is an *augustalis* of the *municipium* and also dedicates an inscription to Liber Pater in Potaissa.

A significant part of Jupiter's dedicators in Potaissa consists of military personnel, including officers, *optiones*, and soldiers. Many with imperial *gentilicia*, such as Ulpius Lucanus, Aelius Fronto, P. Aelius Mucianus, Aurelius Aelianus, Aurelius Felix, Aurelius Florus, Aurelius Lucifer, and Aurelius Rusticus, are likely soldiers. Very few explicitly mention their status as *miles* in the dedication: Aurelius Quietus, Drebias, and a third soldier whose name is lost in a lacuna. Among the officers, notable mentions include Iulius Maximianus, *tribunus militum*, Aurelius Valentinus and Optatus, *praefecti castrorum legionis*, and the centurions M. Pollius Hispanus and Cassius Severinus. *Optiones*, like Aurelius Iustus, the *aquilifer*, also dedicate altars to Jupiter, including Iucundius Iuvenalis, *cornicularius legati*, Aurelius Ulpianus, *adiutor officii cornicullariorum*, Aurelius Sedatus, *immunis librarius*, and Aurelius Victor, *beneficiarius*. Generally, a militarized society of provincial origin is observed, dominated by imperial *nomina* (Iulius, Ulpius, but especially Aelius and Aurelius), with few Italic *nomina* such as Carvilius, Petronius, or Pollius,[12] mainly borne by officers. The dedicator of this altar adds to the list of *optiones* with the imperial *nomen* Aurelius.

2. Fragmentary votive altar, limestone. MIT, inv. no. 26639. Dimensions: 46 × 50 × 36 cm; epigraphic field dimensions: 20 × 42 cm; letter dimensions: 6 cm; no ligatures; the numeral is marked with a *macron* above the numeral V. The altar's base is molded. Only the last line of the inscription is preserved (Pl. I/3–4). The altar was discovered during archaeological monitoring of construction work at 1, Mircea cel Bătrân Street, along with a shaped stone block measuring 54 × 40 cm (with a 13 × 6 cm fastening hole). The two fragments were found on the northern side, 1 m from the current street, at a depth of -1 m. Nearby is the wall of the medieval fortification, which incorporates reused Roman monuments.[13]

[…]
[…]V[.]
HAST · LEG · V M

[…]
[…]u[s …]
hast(atus) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae)

[12] Schulze 1933, 139, 209, 424.
[13] Weisz 2025, 153–155, Pl. 24, 36.

This is a medium-sized votive altar, likely belonging to type IX, the most commonly attested at Potaissa.[14] The deity to whom it was dedicated is unknown. On the penultimate line, the trace of a letter V remains, likely the end of the dedicator's *cognomen*. Thus, we learn that the dedicator was a *centurio hastatus* in the V Macedonica Legion. The legion's name is simply abbreviated, without an epithet. Notably, the numeral V is written with a *macron*, a feature absent in Potaissa's stone inscriptions but found on early types and variants of brick material. The V with a *macron* is typical of the legion's epigraphy from the Oescus I and Troesmis periods, both in stone inscriptions and brick material, suggesting an earlier dating for this altar.[15]

From the time the V Macedonica Legion was stationed at Potaissa, 73 centurions are known.[16] Most known centurion names come from fragmentary marble plaques found in the *basilica* and adjacent spaces, representing dedications to Caracalla and Iulia Domna by the *centuriones universae legionis V Macedonicae Antoninianae*.[17]

Regarding the anonymous centurion attested by this inscription, we know only that he held the third position in the centurion hierarchy, that of *hastatus*, without specifying whether he was *prior* or *posterior* in the manipulus.[18] After *hast(atus)*, a mark is visible, possibly an *interpunctio* or the symbol for *posterior*.

3. Fragmentary funerary stele with inscription, limestone; only a fragment of the epigraphic field is preserved, embedded in the northeastern buttress of the Reformed Church in B. P. Hașdeu Square. Some letters were scraped off during medieval incorporation into the masonry (Pl. II/1–2).

D [M]
[…] IVLIAN[…]
[…]TINA […]
[…]NIS IX […]
[…] PISI[…]
[…]N C F̣[…]

D(is) [M(anibus)]
[Aur(elio)?] Iulian[o].
[Ius]tina [vix(it)]
[an]nis IX? [cum]
[eo]. Pi(i)s(s)i[mo?]
[co]n(iugi) c(uravit) f(aciendum).

This is a fragment from the epigraphic field of a funerary stele, from its central part, but the text can be fully restored. The deceased likely had the Latin *cognomen* Iulianus[19]

[14] Nemeti, Zăgreanu 2025.
[15] Nemeti 2019, 138.
[16] Bărbulescu 1987, 68–70; Cupcea 2014, 102–103; Petolescu 2021, 120–123.
[17] Bărbulescu 2012, 101–152; Piso 2015, 81–91; Bărbulescu 2020, 250–255, Pl. C-CII.
[18] Cupcea 2014, 79–84.
[19] OPEL II 199–200.

and lived, together with his wife, probably for nine years. The monument was dedicated, as suggested by the last two lines, by his wife, whose *cognomen* may have been Iustina. In another buttress of the Reformed Church, another fragment of a funerary stele was observed, bearing the name of a deceased Aurelius Iulianus, dedicated by his sons.[20] It is worth emphasizing that the form *pisi(mo)* is rendered instead of the gramatically correct *piissimo*, and the formula *c(uravit) f(aciendum)* is used with the verb in the first position, contrary to most occurences.

4. Fragment of a monument with inscription, limestone. A fragment of the stele's epigraphic field is preserved (Pl. II/3–4). Observed and photographed in 2004 near the wall of the Reformed Church in Luncani (Luna commune, Cluj County), where other epigraphic and sculptural fragments embedded in the medieval monument's walls have been published.[21]

[…] ANIS […]
[…]NO CON[…]
[…] MARI CA[…]
[…] DE SOMP[…]

[…vix(it)] an(n)is […]
[…]NO con[iugi…]
[…]mari(to)? ca[ris(simo)…]
[…] de s(uo) o(b) m(erita) p(osuit) […]

A few preserved sequences suggest a funerary inscription: *[vix(it)] an(n)is*, *con[iux, -gi]*, possibly *marito carissmo*, and the final formula *de s(uo) o(b) m(erita) p(osuit)*. The formula *ob merita posuit* appears in the conclusion of some funerary inscriptions,[22] suggesting that this fragment likely belongs to a stele, like most monuments embedded in the Luncani church. The formula *ob merita posuit* is also known in Potaissa's epigraphy, appearing on the funerary monument of Aurelius Celsus and Aurelius Bassus.[23]

5. Fragment of a monument with inscription, limestone. MIT, inv. no. 26638. Dimensions: 14.2 × 9.6 × 12.3 cm; letter dimensions: 3.3 cm; only a small fragment from the right extremity of the monument is preserved (Pl. II/5–6). Discovered in the camp, in the spoil heap from old excavations, during the monitoring of works for the leveling for the rehabilitation project (2022).

[…]
[…]VS RFE[…]
[…] T […]

[20] Săsărman 2011, 361–364; IDR IV/1, 200.
[21] Sălăşan 2005, 465–470; Piso 2013, 39–51.
[22] CIL III 102; AE 2003, 931; CIL III 9093.
[23] CIL III 908; AE 2018, 1336; IDR IV/1, 195.

[…]
[?portic]us r(e)fe(cit) […]
[…] T […]

The preserved letters are carefully crafted, and their size suggests a public construction inscription, a *titulum operum*. The letters VS could be the end of a nominative word (*porticus*), an accusative plural (*cum aditibus*), or simply the end of a *cognomen* ending in -us (*Faustus*, *Iustinus*, or similar). The reconstruction *r(e)fe(cit)* is likely, though not the only possibility. Traces of letters from a second preserved line are visible, including the letter T. This inscription fragment may represent a record of the restoration of a portico in one of the camp's buildings.

The five stone epigraphic monuments, whole or fragmentary, add new information to the epigraphic and onomastic repertoire of Potaissa. Two of the monuments are votive, illustrating the practice of votive dedications by the legion's officer corps, an anonymous *centurio hastatus* and an *aquilifer*.[24] The prosopographic repertoire is enriched with the names of Aurelius Iustus (or Iustinus), *aquilifer*, and the deceased Aurelius Iulianus and his wife Saturnina?, where Iulianus was likely a legion soldier.[25] The fragmentary inscriptions may belong to funerary stelae or a construction inscription. Their highly fragmentary nature and the limited preserved text call for caution in interpretation.

Table. Dedicators of altars to Jupiter in Potaissa

No.	Name	Function	Bibliography
1	[I]ul(ius) Maximi[a]nus	*trib(unus) mil(itum)*	CIL III 895
2	Ulp(ius) Lucanus		ILD I 472
3	M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Magnus	*(duum)viralis*	CIL III 7678
4	[M(arcus?) U]lp(ius) …vi	?	Bajusz 2005, 788, Fig. 27/161
5	P(ublius) Ael(ius) Maximia/nus	*augu(r) col(oniae)*	ILD I 604
6	P(ublius) Aelius Mucia/nus		CIL III 7674
7	Ael(ius) NDN …		ILD I 476
8	Aur(elius) (A)elia[n]us		ILD I 468
9	Aur(elius) Felix		CIL III 891
10	Aur(elius) Floru[s]		CIL III 880
11	Ael[ius?] Fronto		CIL III 7673
12	Ael(ius) Super	*aug(ustalis) muni(cipii) Sept(imi) <M> [Pot(aissensis)]*	ILD I 466
13	(A)el(ius) Theubropes		ILD I 467
14	Aur(elius) Lucifer		CIL III 883

[24] On the religious life in Potaissa and the role of the soldiers see Nemeti, Nemeti 2019, 284–296.
[25] On the population of the Roman town – Nemeti, Nemeti 2018, 163–175.

15	Aur(elius) Qui/etus	*mi(les?)*	CIL III 7675
16	Aurel(ius) Rusticus		CIL III 884
17	Aur(elius) Sedatus	*im/m(unis) lib(rarius)*	CIL III 885
18	Aurel(ius) Ulpianus	*adiutor offici(i) corni/culariorum*	CIL III 894
19	Aurelius Valentinus	*[p]r[a]efec(tus)*	CIL III 886
20	Aur(elius) Vic[t]or	*b(ene)f(iciarius)*	CIL III 893
21	C(aius) Iul(ius) Priscus	*(duum)viral(is) m(unicipii) S(eptimii) P(otaissensis)*	ILD I 465
22	L(ucius) Carvilius Statius		ILD I 469
23	M(arcus) Pollius M(arci) f(ilius) Ouf(entina tribu) Hispanus Med[iola]no	*(centurio) l[eg(ionis) V] p(iae) c(onstantis)*	ILD I 464
24	Cassius Severin(us)	*centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) [p(iae) f(idelis)] S[e]v(erianae)*	IDR III/4, 83a
25	Com(inius?) Ce[l]sus?		CIL III 7677
26	Iucundius Iuvenal[i]s	*cor(nicularius) leg(ati)*	CIL III 887
27	Petron(ius) Marcian(us)		ILD I 470
28	Va(lerius) Rom(anus?)		CIL III 891
29	P(ublius) S (…) C (…)		CIL III 890
30	Drebias	*m(iles) leg(ionis) I Ita(licae)*	CIL III 889
31	Dius		Bajusz 2005, II/2, 793, no. 28/88–89
32	Manl(ius)	*quaes(tor?)*	CIL III 888
33	Optatus	*praef(ectus) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) c(onstantis?)*	CIL III 892
34	-	*miles leg(ionis)V M(a)cedonic(ae) pi(ae) c(onstantis)*	ILD I 475

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1



2



3



4

Pl. I. 1–2. Photo and drawing of inscription no. 1 (by S. Nemeti); **3–4.** Photo and drawing of inscription no. 2 (by S. Nemeti).



1



2



3



4



5



6

Pl. II. 1–2. Photo and drawing of inscription no. 3 (by S. Nemeti); **3–4.** Photo and drawing of inscription no. 4 (by S. Nemeti); **5–6.** Photo and drawing of inscription no. 5 (by S. Nemeti).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 231–247

ROMAN TEMPORARY CAMPS IN THE AREA OF SARMIZEGETUSA REGIA

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.09

Abstract: The specific archaeological landscape of the Orăștie Mountains is an exceptional one, comprising both the vestiges of Dacian fortresses and settlements, as well as numerous Roman fortifications. An archaeological expression of some of the most important confrontations of European antiquity, the temporary camps in the area of the Dacian capital, Sarmizegetusa Regia, have been known in specialized literature for over two centuries. Owing to the support offered by new technologies and archaeological topographical surveys undertaken in recent years, the number of identified camps has constantly increased. The primary objective of this paper is to introduce into the scientific circuit three camps recently discovered in the Sarmizegetusa Regia area.

Keywords: Sarmizegetusa Regia; Dacian fortresses; Roman temporary camps; Dacian-Roman wars; archaeology.

Rezumat: Peisajul arheologic specific Munților Orăștiei este unul excepțional, el cuprinzând atât vestigiile cetăților și așezărilor dacice, cât și numeroase fortificații romane. Expresie arheologică a unora dintre cele mai importante confruntări ale antichității europene, castrele temporare din zona capitalei dacice, Sarmizegetusa Regia, sunt cunoscute în literatura de specialitate de peste două secole. Datorită suportului oferit de noile tehnologii și activităților de topografie arheologică întreprinse în ultimii ani, numărul castrelor cunoscute a crescut constant. Obiectivul principal al lucrării de față este introducerea în circuitul științific a trei castre descoperite recent.

Cuvinte-cheie: Sarmizegetusa Regia; cetăți dacice; castre romane temporare; războaiele daco-romane; arheologie.

In the majority of the works written by modern and contemporary historians who have studied the Dacian-Roman wars from the beginning of the 2nd century AD, it is noted that Trajan's military success came after difficult confrontations, the conquest of the Dacian Kingdom and, especially, of the complex of fortresses around Sarmizegetusa Regia (Grădiștea de Munte) which represented a major challenge for the Roman army, from many points of view.[1]

The placement of the aforementioned fortifications and other military constructions (ramparts, isolated towers) in a mountain setting contributed substantially, along with their density and scale, to increasing the defensive capacity of the Dacians. The use of the natural environment to maximize resistance against an attack is still easily visible today in the case of the fortresses at Bănița and Luncani-Piatra Roșie, built on the peaks of rocky massifs.

[1] Among the numerous works regarding Trajan's Dacian Wars, we mention: Daicoviciu 1972, 287–341; Diaconescu 1997, 13–52; Stefan 2005, 545–704; Strobel 2022, 333–404.

The configuration of the terrain had an essential role in the dynamics of the conquest of the Dacian capital, as attested by ancient sources. Thus, passages from the work of Dio Cassius referring to the events of the first war are frequently cited, in which the expression "mountains fortified with walls"[2] admirably illustrates the previously noted characteristic of the ensemble of Dacian fortifications in the Orăştie Mountains, or where the Roman advance towards Sarmizegetusa Regia is described, in the version preserved in one of the epitomes of book LXVIII: "But when he undertook to ascend the heights themselves, captured one crest after another amid dangers and approached the capital of the Dacians, while Lusius, attacking in another quarter, slew great numbers and captured still more alive, then Decebalus sent as envoys the noblest of the cap-wearers and through them besought the emperor; he was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made."[3]

In turn, multiple scenes on Trajan's Column depict the advance of Roman troops and a series of confrontations in a mountain landscape. Another aspect derived from the analysis of the Column, eloquent in the context of the present paper, is that actual battles appear less frequently than scenes that depict the building of structures, military or civil, and shaping the landscape.[4] Among these, a significant number belong to Roman fortifications, with researchers identifying over 40 camps.[5]



Fig. 1. Excerpt from the map made in 1769 under the coordination of Müller Ignác https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/HTITerkeptar/409/.

[2] Cass. Dio LXVIII. 9. 3: "Trajan seized some fortified mountains and on them found the arms and the captured engines, as well as the standard which had been taken in the time of Fuscus. Decebalus, because of this, coupled with the fact that Maximus had at this same time captured his sister and also a strong position, was ready to agree without exception to every demand that had been made – not that he intended to abide by his agreement, but in order that he might secure a respite from his temporary reverses".

[3] Cass. Dio LXVIII. 9. 3 (*Dio's Roman History*, with an English translation by E. Cary, in 9 volumes, VIII, London – New York 1925).

[4] Stephenson 2013, 79.

[5] Coulston 1988, 138; Wolfram Thill 2010, 33–34.

The constructive effort of the Roman army is confirmed archaeologically by the discovery of an impressive number of temporary camps in the Orăștie Mountains. The primary objective of this paper is to introduce into the scientific circuit three camps recently discovered in the Sarmizegetusa Regia area.

Roman temporary camps in the Orăștie Mountains

In addition to the Dacian fortresses whose walls were built using a Hellenistic influence technique,[6] starting from the middle of the 1st century BC, numerous fortifications have been discovered in the Orăștie Mountains whose constituent elements are represented by ramparts and ditches, sometimes with associated gate structures (*tituli, claviculae*). Due to their specific planimetry, in most cases they can be certainly attributed to the Romans, but there are also fortifications whose exclusively Dacian or Roman character remains a subject of debate.[7]

Some of them have been reported since the 18th century; the map finalized in 1769 under the coordination of military cartographer Müller Ignác[8] marked the presence of quadrilateral fortifications at Comărnicel and Vârful lui Pătru (Fig. 1).[9] Following the discovery of the ruins of the Dacian fortresses and settlements at Grădiștea de Munte and the surrounding area in the early 19th century, information about the fortifications scattered on the mountain peaks became more numerous.[10]

Up to now, no fewer than 12 fortifications recorded as marching or temporary camps were known in the specialized literature in the area of the Dacian fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains, inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2024. These are: Jigoru Mare (1), Petroșani-*Dealul Botanilor* (2), Vârful lui Pătru (3), Comărnicel I (4), Comărnicel II (5), Comărnicel III (6), Dealul Șesului (7), Muntele Bătrâna (8), Muncelu-*Lăutoarea* (9), Luncani-*Târsa* (10), Muncel (11), Vârtoape-*Cornu Pietrii* (12) – (Fig. 2).[11] To these are added other fortifications which either had a different role compared to the camps listed above, or are uncertain / insufficiently documented. We refer here primarily to Costești-*Cetățuie* (14) where a camp linked to the siege of the Dacian fortress located in the upper part of the hill was identified as early as the middle of the last century,[12] and to the fortifications at Pui

[6] Regarding the Hellenistic influence technique for erecting the walls of the Dacian fortresses, see: Glodariu 1983, passim; Gheorghiu 2005, 107–115.

[7] See the example of Muncelu: Glodariu 1974, 155; Glodariu et alii 1988, 171–172; Glodariu 2000, 111.

[8] Müller 1769.

[9] Regarding the scope of the cartographic endeavor coordinated by Müller Ignác, see Suba 2000, 52–55; the digital version of the map can be consulted at https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/HTITerkeptar/409/view/?pg=8&bbox=221,-2580,6856,2059.

[10] In the report from the summer of 1803, the procurator of the Hunedoara Fiscal Domain, Paul Török, provides a summary description of the fortification on the Luncani Plateau-Târsa, in which context he notes that he saw a similar fortification at Puru (the northern extension of Vârful lui Pătru) and that they are considered places where, in antiquity, fairs were organized: Jakó 1966, 115; Jakó 1971, 442; Glodariu 1974, 153, n. 11.

[11] Téglás 1914, 521–525; Davies 1917, 77; Daicoviciu 1941, 311–312; Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, 43–44, 48–49; Daicoviciu 1964, 117–118; Glodariu 1974, 153–155; Ferenczi 1981, 409–411; Ferenczi 1982–1983, 179–200; Gheorghiu 1996, 19–25; Stefan 2005, 287–319; Oltean, Hanson 2017, 435–438; Marcu, Szabó 2020, 67–75; Țentea, Călina 2024, 127–165.

[12] Crișan 1973, 74–75; Stefan 2005, 283–284, 595–599.

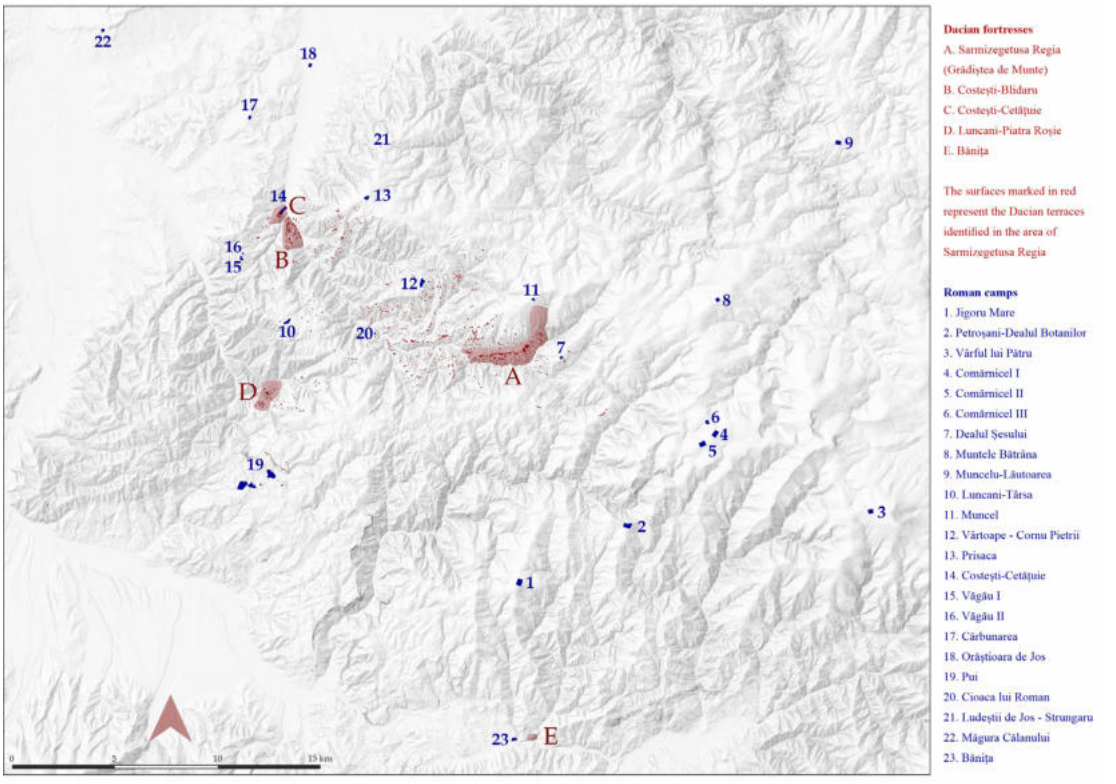


Fig. 2. Dacian and Roman vestiges in the Sarmizegetusa Regia area.

and Cioclovina-*Ponorici* which, most likely, indicate the stationing of troops in a battlefield (the data currently available lead to a scenario in which both the Dacians and the Romans fortified multiple peaks and slopes of the hills over a total area of approximately 350 ha, in the context of one of the most important confrontations during the Dacian-Roman wars).[13] For the second category we list here the fortifications at Orăștioara de Sus (Bucium – 18),[14] Prisaca (13),[15] Cărbunarea (17),[16] Ludeștii de Jos-*Strungaru* (21),[17] Măgura Călanului-Sântămăria de Piatră (22)[18] and Bănița (23).[19]

During the archaeological and topographical field surveys carried out by the members of the research team of the Dacian Fortresses in the Orăștie Mountains,[20] new fortifications were identified; their discovery offers new information about the dynamics of the Dacian-Roman wars from the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

[13] Marcu 2023, 4–7; Marcu 2024, 439–446.

[14] Daicoviciu, Glodariu 1973, 79; the presence of a marching camp at Orăștioara de Sus was proposed following the identification of a ditch from a phase prior to the stone-walled fort.

[15] Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, 46; Gostar, Daicoviciu 1959, 381; Daicoviciu 1964, 120.

[16] Gostar, Daicoviciu 1959, 384–385; Daicoviciu 1964, 112–113.

[17] Marcu, Szabó 2020, 75–78.

[18] Mateescu et alii 2021, 47.

[19] It is a recently discovered camp near the Dacian fortress at Bănița, which is currently being documented.

[20] Nogyi et alii 2025, 226, n. 17.

The fortlet at *Cioaca lui Roman*[21]



Fig. 3. Roman fortlet at *Cioaca lui Roman* seen from the west (2024).

The hill on which the fortification is located is near the confluence of the Aninești River and the Apa Grădiștei, on its left bank.[22] The hill itself branches off from the south-eastern edge of the Luncani Plateau and is separated, almost entirely, by two small watercourses. Its position allows for excellent visibility along the Apa Grădiștei Valley, as well as towards Vârtoape, Sub Cununi, and Muncelului Hill.

The name currently used by locals to designate this place is *Cioaca lui Roman*, but the toponym does not appear in the archaeological literature, even though, as discussed below, a series of ancient vestiges were identified in that area as early as the middle of the I[st] century.

The area came to the attention of specialists with the publication of a first archaeological repertory carried out by Constantin Daicoviciu and Alexandru Ferenczi following excavations and numerous field surveys undertaken within the interwar period, during and in the first years after the Second World War. Thus, in the context of describing the ancient vestiges identified along the Apa Grădiștei, in the sector between Blidaru and Grădiștea Muncelului, Daicoviciu noted possible elements of fortification on Lupoaia[23] and Măgureanului Hill.[24]

Almost two decades later, Hadrian Daicoviciu mentioned in the "surroundings of the Aninești forest train station" several points of archaeological interest: Cugereanului Hill /

[21] Following primary information received from one of the authors of this article, the fortification here was mentioned summarily in a recent paper, under the name of Grădiște-*La Școală*: Țentea, Călina 2024, 131.

[22] Administratively, the place is situated within the Boșorod commune.

[23] In the text, there is no reference to the presence of Dacian constructions with a military character on Lupoaia Peak, but, on the attached sketch, the symbol used to mark the presence of an "isolated tower" appears for this location – Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, 29; the strategic importance of the place, linked to the ancient road that would have followed the Apa Orașului Valley up to Sarmizegetusa Regia, is underlined by Ștefan Ferenczi: Daicoviciu, Ferenczi, Glodariu 1989, 68.

[24] Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, 42.

Alunului Peak, Lupoaia, Poiana Frasinului.[25] According to the data available in the archaeological bibliography and the related topographic sketches,[26] the latter location can be associated with *Cioaca lui Roman*, especially since there are several terraces whose characteristics (dimensions, orientation, grouping), although modified in the modern and contemporary times, indicate that they were made in Dacian antiquity.[27]

The northern and eastern slopes of the hill in question, those descending towards the Apa Grădiștei, are steep and, as such, difficult to access. The only more "accessible" slope part (~25^0) is the south-western one, where a small saddle allows passage to the upper level of the Luncani Plateau (Figs. 3, 4).

The fortlet is located on this part, with the north-eastern side largely occupying the ridge of the hill. The "fortification" has an internal area of almost 2500 m² and the shape of a quadrangle with rounded corners, to which an "annex" is added to the south (Figs. 5–7).[28]

The earthen ramparts on the south-eastern and north-western sides of the fortification are better preserved, the other two being more flattened and affected by various factors, both natural and anthropogenic. The north-eastern side, located right on the ridge, was more exposed to erosion and landslides, while the opposite side was partially affected by various interventions related to agricultural activities.[29]

On the south-eastern side, two parallel ramparts are visible, noted on the plan as V 1 and V 2. The inner rampart (V 1) has a length of approximately 50 m, a width at the base of 8.5 m, and a height of approximately 1 m. In front of it is a ditch with an opening of approx. 2.5 m, followed by a second rampart (V 2), with a length of approximately 58 m (75 m when including segments which partially double the north-eastern and south-western ramparts), a width at the base of 5.5 m, and a height of 0.5–0.6 m. The distance between the two ramparts, measured from crest to crest, is approx. 10 m.

The south-western rampart (V 3) has been partially preserved, for the reasons outlined previously, the visible segments having a total length of approx. 35 m. In antiquity, its length must have been around 50 m, with the mention that it is possible that the entrance was arranged on this side.

The north-western rampart (V 4) has a length of approximately 45 m, a width at the base of 5–6 m, and a height preserved on some segments of 1.5–2 m. In front of it, a ditch with an opening of 3.5–4 m is visible.

The rampart on the north-eastern side (V 6) follows the ridge of the hill, so its route is not rectilinear. It has a length of approx. 60 m and a height of 0.5–0.7 m.[30]

[25] Daicoviciu 1973, 84–85.

[26] Daicoviciu et alii 1989, 190, 257, Fig. 44.

[27] Hadrian Daicoviciu noted, however, that although "the glade represents a very advantageous location for a settlement" and despite information from locals that ceramic fragments had been found here, the archaeological soundings did not have the expected results – Daicoviciu 1973, 84.

[28] The field verification was conducted together with colleagues Ștefan Vasilache and Edmond Nogyi.

[29] Currently, the area is not inhabited, but the perusal of 18th-century maps and subsequent ones reveals that a few households existed here during both the modern and contemporary periods, until recently. The site where the fortification is located is now a small orchard, but previously it was used as a hayfield. The connection between the households located on the western side of the hill, including on the saddle mentioned in the text, was made by means of a road that passed through the lower part of the fortification, which partially affected the south-western side.

[30] The noted dimensions were recorded according to the LiDAR data and after an initial field verification; a detailed measurement is anticipated which will certainly provide a much more precise plan, especially as new processing of the LiDAR images indicates the presence of other defensive structures as well.

The "annex" has a quasi-triangular shape (30 × 45 × 47 m) and an internal area of almost 250 m². The ramparts on its sides are preserved at an uneven height, reaching approx. 0.7–0.8 m.

The doubling of the rampart on the south-eastern side and the presence of the "annex" are very likely correlated with the only easier access route to and from the Luncani Plateau. From below, from the Apa Grădiștei Valley, access to the fortification is much more difficult.



Fig. 4. Roman fortlet at *Cioaca lui Roman* seen from the northwest (2025).

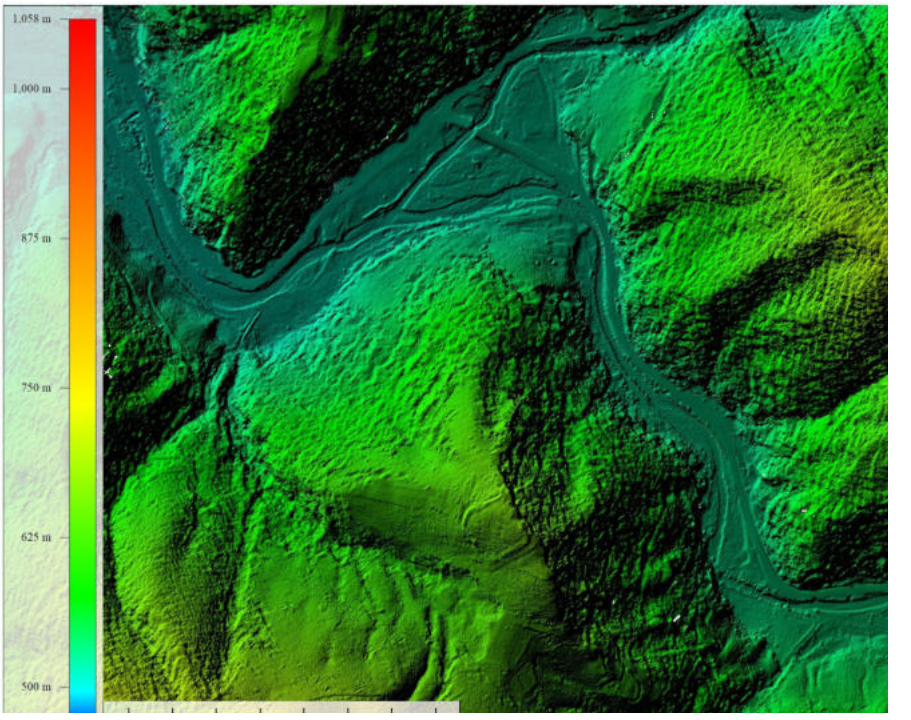


Fig. 5. Roman fortlet at *Cioaca lui Roman* – LiDAR image (processed after ANCPI data).

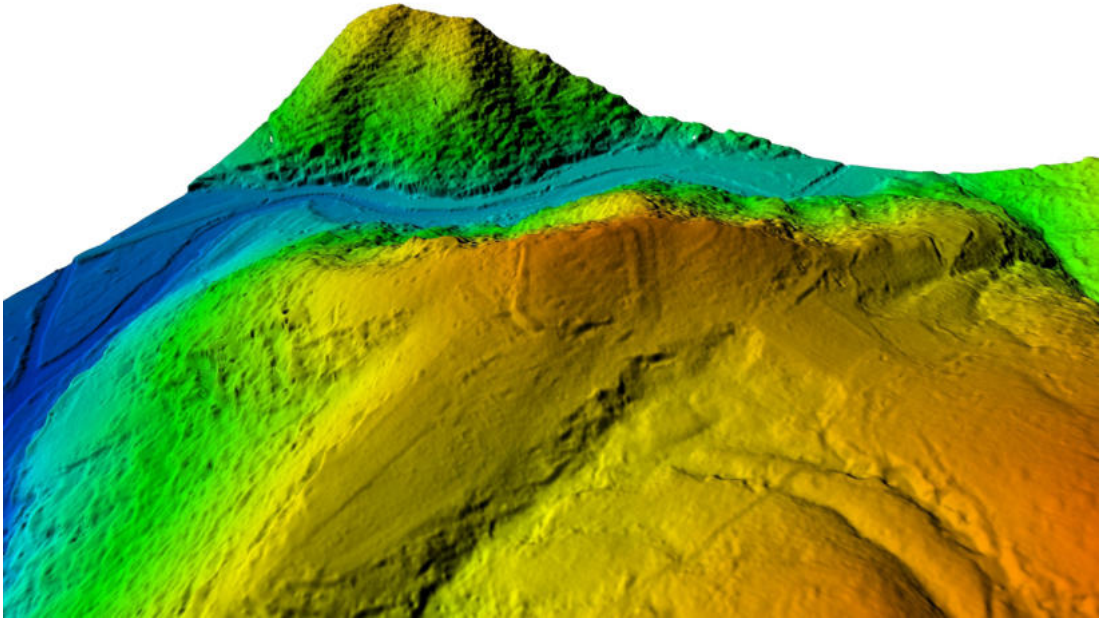


Fig. 6. Roman fortlet at *Cioaca lui Roman* – LiDAR image (processed after ANCPI data).

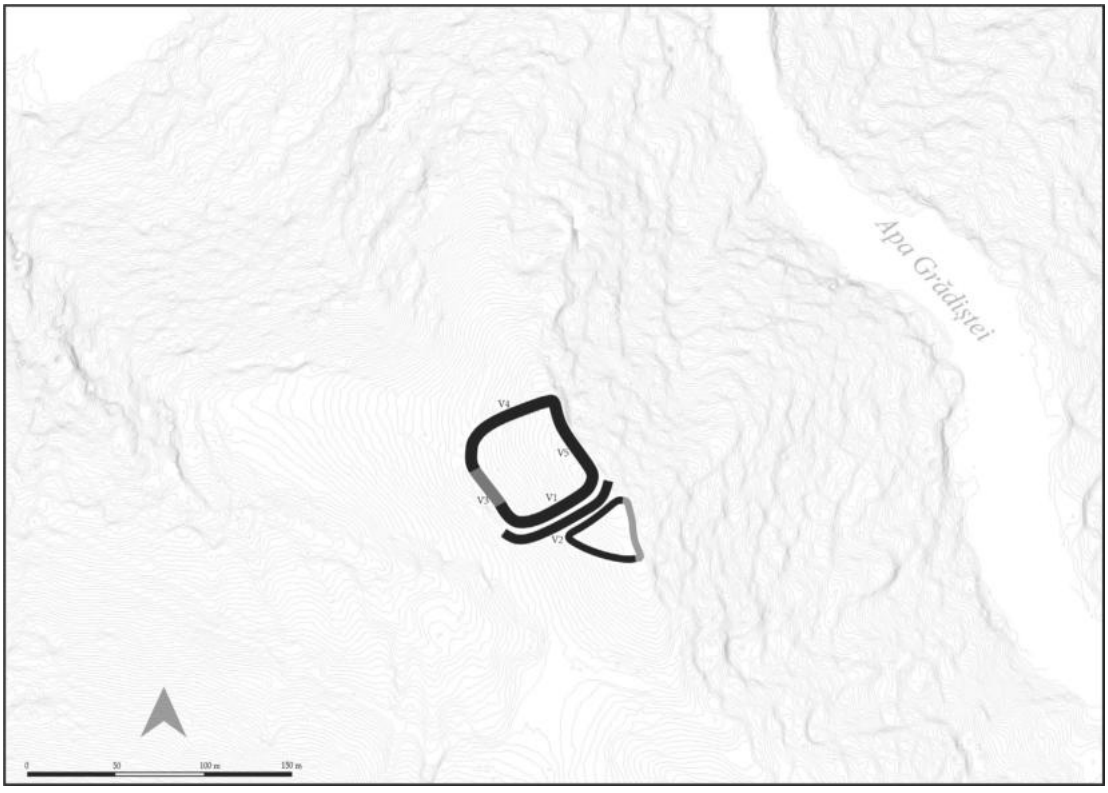


Fig. 7. Plan of the Roman fortlet at *Cioaca lui Roman*.

Camps on Văgău Peak / Merișori Hill[31]

The fortifications were recently identified in the northern area of the Luncani Plateau, on the upper part of Merișoara Hill (Figs. 8–11).[32]

The first of them is located on Văgău Peak (785 m altitude),[33] the name given to a mamelon located at the junction between the aforementioned hill and Mlaca Hill. From the vicinity of the peak, one of the springs that flows into Faeragului Stream, a tributary of the Apa Grădiștei, which reaches the base of the Costești fortress hill, starts towards the south. To the west of Văgău is the Stupăriei Valley, which entered Romanian archaeological literature with the publication of a report on the survey undertaken by D. M. Teodorescu in the "Hunedoara Mountains". Drawing on the information from the 19th century,[34] Teodorescu noted that here "the traces of an earth rampart with pre-Roman remains can be seen, as well as the traces of a road that seems to lead towards Piatra Roșie."[35]

The camp has the shape of a heptagonal polygon and an area of approximately 2.4 ha. It includes both the peak itself and part of the saddle towards Merișori.

Beginning the enumeration with the western side, the longest (~ 195 m), the other sides have the following dimensions: approx. 75 m (northern side), approx. 69 m, and 109 m respectively (north-eastern sides), approx. 54 m, and 68 m respectively (eastern sides), and approx. 112 m (southern side). The ramparts on the south, west, and north sides have been severely affected by the construction of a forest road with multiple branches, which is frequently used even today. The ramparts are flattened, with their height of 0.9–1 m and width of approx. 4–5 m being recordable only on some segments. In front of them is a ditch, almost completely filled in, with a current opening of 1–1.5 m.

On the southern side, the rampart is interrupted for a distance of about 5 m, which likely indicates the location of one of the gateways. Another "opening" was observed at the junction of the eastern sides, but the location of a gate in this area is problematic, as the "access" leads to a secondary ridge with very steep slopes. A particular situation is recorded in the case of the north-eastern sides, with LiDAR data showing that the ramparts' extremities do not intersect but overlap for a distance of approx. 6 m.

The existence of a gate (also) on the northern side can be assumed to allow access to the second fortification identified at a distance of approximately 90 m, at the end of the Merișori Ridge.

[31] In the *National Archaeological Repertory*, these camps were introduced, based on record sheets compiled by the authors, under the names of Văgău I and Văgău II, precisely to emphasize that they are very close to each other; see https://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?descript=bosorod-bosorod-hunedoara-castrul-de-mars-de-la-bosorod-varful-vagau-i-cod-sit-ran-88458.03 and https://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?descript=bosorod-bosorod-hunedoara-castrul-de-mars-de-la-bosorod-varful-vagau-ii-cod-sit-ran-88458.04

[32] On the map from the *Josephine Topographical Survey*, the toponym "Dial Merișori" appears, still used by locals today, sometimes with the variant "Merișoara"; on the Romanian *Topographical Survey Maps (1970–1980)*, the toponym appears in the form of "Dealul Merișoara". We note here that the first field verification of the presence of a fortification here was conducted together with colleagues Despina Măgureanu and Sorin Zgăvîrdean.

[33] The existence of a camp in this area was hypothesized in an article published almost a decade ago: Teodor et alii 2013, 17–18.

[34] Fodor 1847, 359; Neigebaur 1851, 95.

[35] Teodorescu 1923, 23; the presence of fortification elements in the Stupăriei Valley was refuted during subsequent field surveys carried out by Alexandru Ferenczi: Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, 52; Daicoviciu, Ferenczi, Glodariu 1989, 196.

The second camp has the shape of a quadrangle with rounded corners and an area of 0.54 ha. Its ramparts are very flattened, being almost imperceptible on the ground. According to LiDAR data, the south and north sides have lengths of approx. 76–78 m, and the east and west sides have lengths of approx. 72 m. The entrance was most likely located on the southern side, where an interruption of the rampart is also recorded.



Fig. 8. Văgău Peak and Merișoara Ridge seen from the southwest (2025).

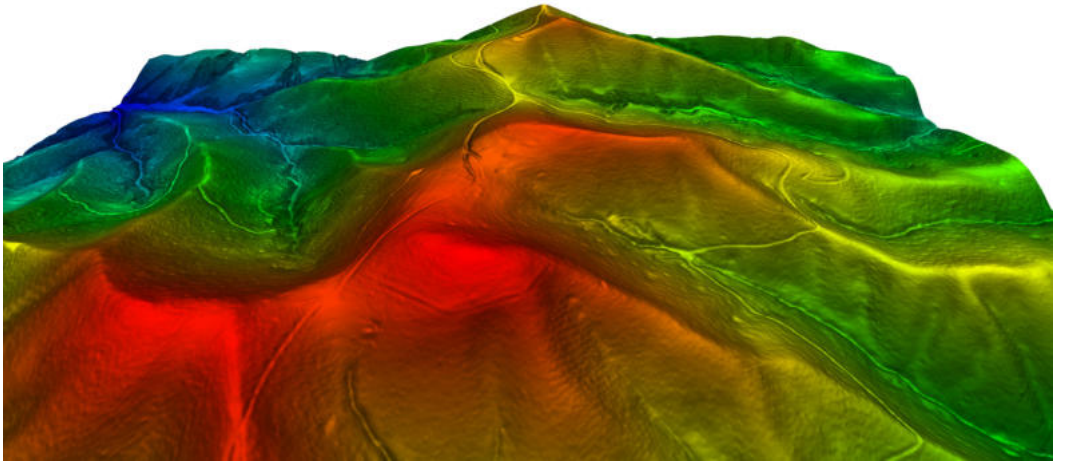


Fig. 9. Văgău I and II Roman camps – LiDAR image (processed after ANCPI data).

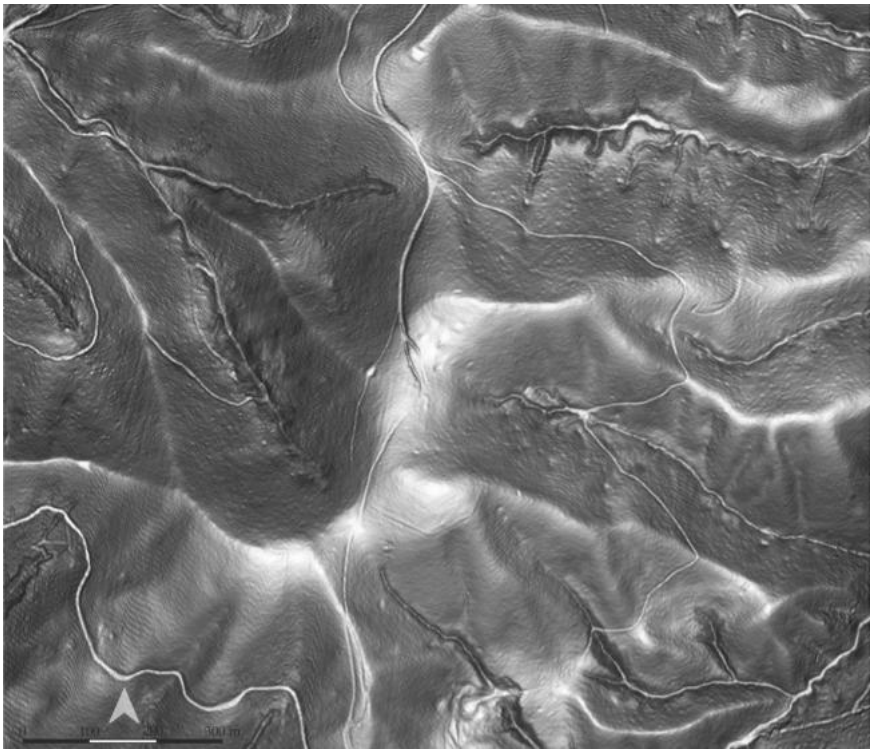


Fig. 10. Văgău I and II Roman camps – LiDAR image (processed after ANCPI data).

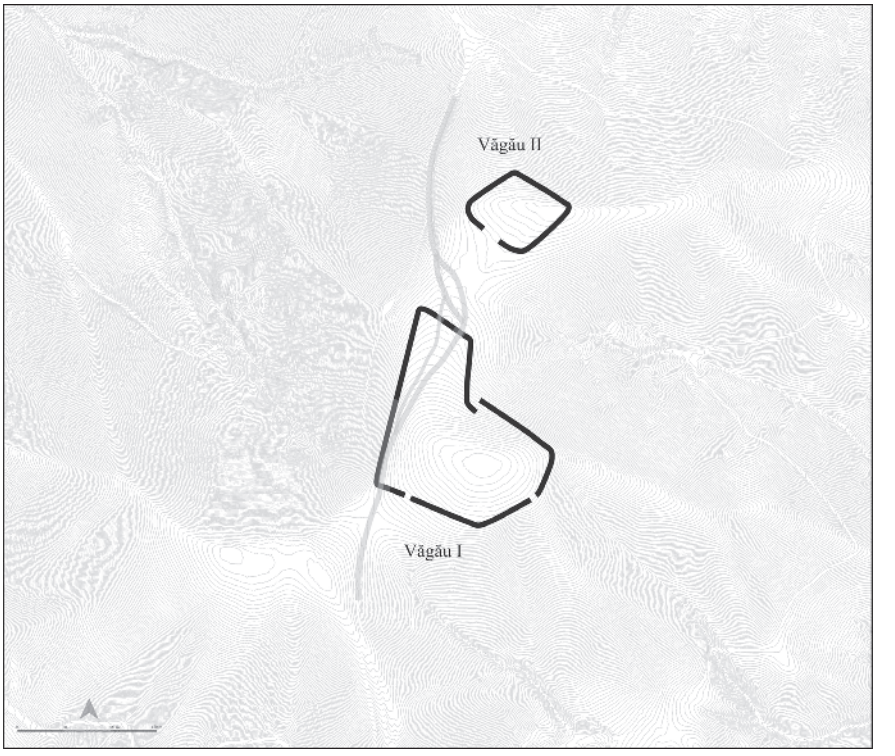


Fig. 11. Plan of the Văgău I and II Roman camps.

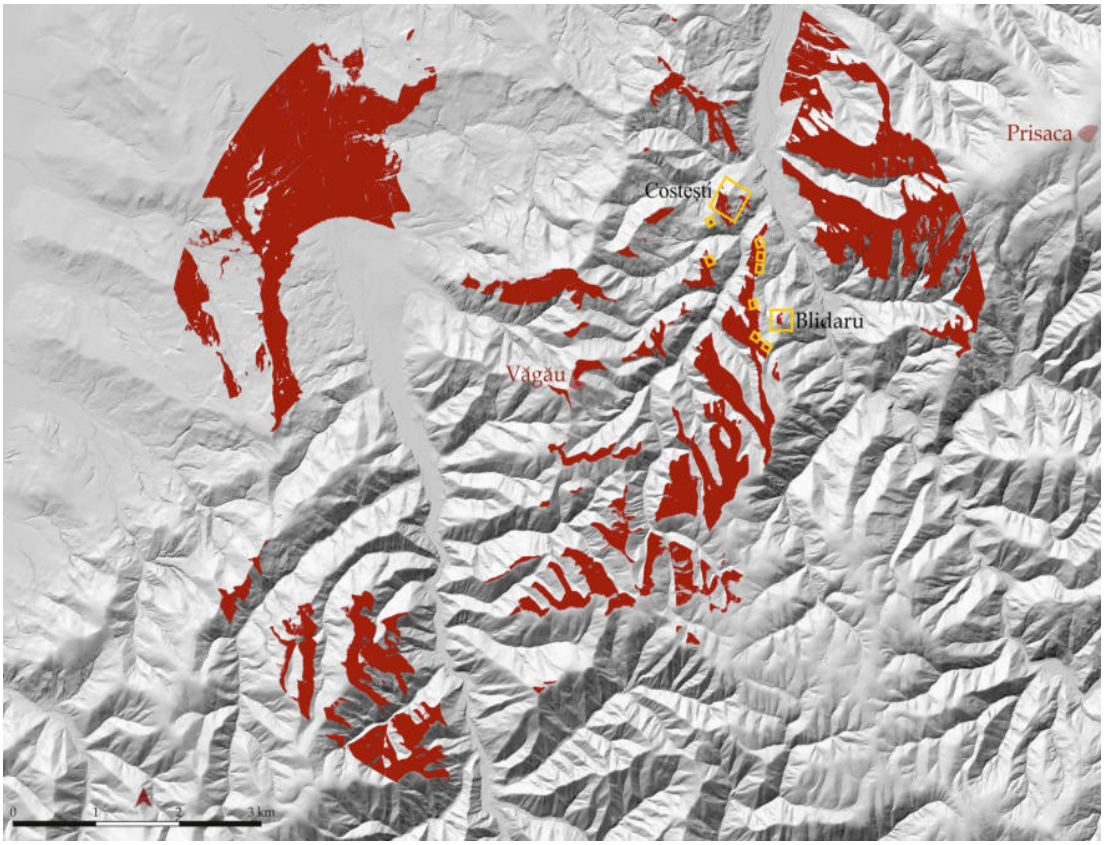
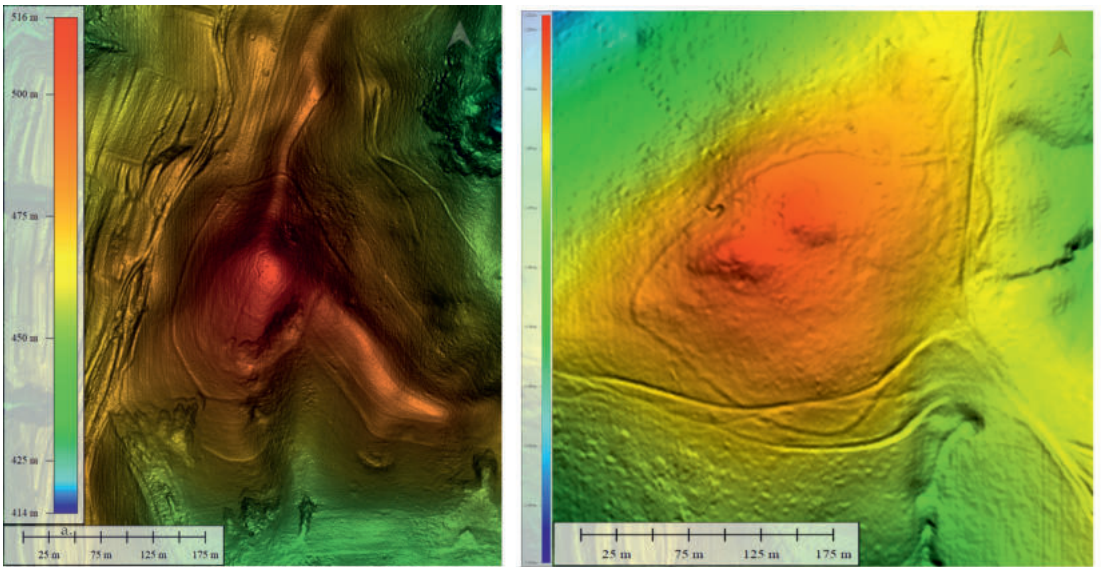


Fig. 12. Simulation of the visibility area of an ancient observer located in the Vădău I Roman camp.



a. **b.**

Fig. 13. a. Fortification from Cărbunarea; **b.** Fortification from Prisaca – LiDAR images (processed after ANCPI data).

The location of the two camps provided excellent visibility towards the Luncani Plateau, as well as towards the Apa Grădiștei Valley and the Luncani Valley. Significantly, the visibility analysis reveals that an observer from the camp on Văgău Peak[36] could have seen the Dacian fortifications at Costești and Blidaru, located at a distance of approximately 2.5 km, as well as nine of the isolated towers around them (Fig. 12).[37]

Considerations regarding the newly identified camps

The identification of the camps described herein substantially modifies the image of the Roman presence on the Luncani Plateau during the confrontations with the Dacians at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, previously, only the camp at Târsa having been known.

Their discovery offers additional reference points regarding the dynamics of the Roman troops' advance towards Sarmizegetusa Regia and allows for a (re)discussion of aspects related to the nature of some fortifications reported in the archaeological literature, but about which contradictory opinions have been expressed. We refer here to the fortifications at Cărbunarea (Fig. 13a) and Prisaca (Fig. 13b), located east and west respectively of the Apa Orașului (the name of the Apa Grădiștei for the segment between Costești and the confluence with the Sibișel).[38]

The planimetry of these fortifications is particularly interesting: some are irregular in shape and of larger size, while others are small with a rectangular, almost square form and prominent earthen ramparts and ditches. It is clear that we are dealing here with troops of a different configuration compared to those that built the typical marching camps (with *claviculae* and *tituli*), and that the role of these camps was, in some way, different. This diversity in form and size likely reflects the varied requirements of the Roman military tactics – from short-term observation posts to more substantial positions designed to control key access routes.

The fortification at *Cioaca lui Roman* resembles a fortlet in terms of size and its prominent earthen ramparts and ditches, similar to the one recently discovered near Ludeștii de Sus.[39] Its strategic location near the confluence of the Aninești River and Apa Grădiștei suggests a role in controlling movement along the valley.

Due to their positioning, the camps at Văgău I and Văgău II also provide arguments for recording the two mentioned circumvallations as Roman fortifications. They not only mark the directions of the Roman advance from the Mureș Valley towards the Dacian capital but also suggest the tactics used to attack and monitor the Dacian fortifications, settlements, and roads along the Apa Orașului (Apa Grădiștei) Valley.[40]

[36] For the visibility analysis, the observer's height was set at 1.6 m, the visual range at 5 km, and for the observed areas the ground level (0 m) was taken into account, to avoid obtaining data that would not be close to the ancient reality, although the parameters could have been set to values much more "convenient" for the ancient observer; if we extend the visual range to 15 km, then the reason for choosing this location for building the two camps becomes even easier to understand, as the camps at Prisaca and Muncel, located at a distance of 6.5 km and 14 km in a straight line respectively, as well as much towards the Mureș Valley, can be seen from them; for visibility analyses in archaeology, see: Oltean, Fonte 2021, 9–12 (for the area of the Orăștie Mountains); Verhagen 2018, 18–19; Karmowski 2022, 520–535.

[37] We are referring here to the towers on Ciocuța and Cetățuia Înaltă, near the Costești fortress, to the three towers on *Muchia Faeragului*, to the towers in *Curmătura Faeragului*, *Poiana Popii*, *Poiana lui Mihu*, and *La Vămi.*

[38] Daicoviciu, Ferenczi, Glodariu 1989, 175.

[39] Marcu, Szabó 2020, 75–78.

[40] Between Cărbunarea and Văgău one can arrive by following only the ridge of the hills, along a route

The intervisibility relations between them and their arrangement relative to the Dacian fortifications and settlements, easily observable in the mapping shown in Fig. 2, are arguments that support the hypothesis that the camps located north-west of Sarmizegetusa Regia and the one at Dealul Șesului were constructed during the same campaign.[41] Their main role was that mentioned above, rigorously marking the Dacian fortifications and settlements (highlighted by the clusters of terraces).

The growing number of Roman temporary camps identified in the Orăștie Mountains underscores the scale and complexity of Trajan's military operations in Dacia. Future research, including systematic archaeological excavations and further LiDAR analysis, will undoubtedly refine our understanding of the chronology and function of these fortifications, as well as their place within the broader strategy of the Roman conquest.

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which has been hypothesized to represent one of the roads used in Dacian antiquity for transporting limestone pieces extracted from the quarry at Măgura Călanului towards the fortresses; see Mârza 1995, 204–225.

[41] From the camp on Dealul Șesului it was possible to observe the fortification, the sanctuary, and extensive parts of the civilian quarters; following an in-depth analysis, Ioana Oltean and João Fonte remark regarding the camps around Sarmizegetusa Regia that "their visual complementarity could indicate that they had acted as a tandem": Oltean, Fonte 2021, 10.

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Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 249–283

A DEPOSIT OF SEGMENTAL ARMOUR FROM COLONIA ULPIA TRAIANA DACICA SARMIZEGETUSA (I)

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To the memory of Professor Alexandru Diaconescu

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.10

Abstract: The study analyses a lot of segmental armour found during archaeological excavations in the Trajanic forum of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa, which was deposited sometime in the first decades of the 2nd century AD. The assemblage comprises both pieces of segmental body armour (*lorica segmentata*) and segmental limb armour (*manica*), as well as other weapons and implements. An overview of the deposit is offered, and possible interpretations are put forward, especially based on the composition and state of the armour. The most important conclusions are that more than one segmental cuirass and one armguard are represented, that some of these items were not complete, and that many present signs of wear and repair. A detailed analysis and catalogue of the exceptionally well-preserved *manica* fragments are also provided, to be followed by a similar report on the *lorica segmentata* parts in a future study.

Keywords: Roman military equipment; segmental armour; *manica*; *lorica segmentata*; Dacia.

Rezumat: Studiul de față analizează un lot de armură segmentată descoperit în timpul cercetărilor arheologice la forumul traianic al Coloniei Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa, lot care a fost depus în primele decenii ale secolului al II-lea p. Chr. Acesta include atât componente de armură pentru corp (*lorica segmentata*), cât și pentru membre (*manica*), alături de diverse alte arme și unelte. Studiul oferă o privire de ansamblu asupra descoperirii, avansând posibile interpretări, pornind în primul rând de la compoziția și starea articolelor de armură. Printre cele mai importante concluzii se numără faptul că mai mult de o cuirasă și apărătoare de braț sunt reprezentate, nu toate piesele erau complete, iar multe dintre acestea prezintă semne de uzură și reparații. Studiul include și o analiză detaliată și un catalog al fragmentelor de *manica*, excepțional păstrate, urmând ca un articol similar să fie dedicat componentelor de *lorica segmentata*.

Cuvinte-cheie: echipament militar roman; armură segmentată; *manica*; *lorica segmentata*; Dacia.

Introduction

This paper examines a deposit of segmental armour[1] discovered in the early 1990s[2] during the French–Romanian archaeological campaigns (1988–1994) at the site of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa, Hunedoara County), coordinated

[1] Since then, the artefacts remained in processing at the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca (MNIT). Considering the excavations protocols in effect at the time, we understand they were to ultimately enter the collections of the Museum of Roman and Dacian Civilization in Deva (MCDR). There was, however, no official record until the beginning of 2025, when an agreement (MNIT no. 187/20.01.2025, MCDR no. 01/21.01.2025) between the two institutions finally acknowledged and officialised the existence of these artefacts and set a schedule for their orderly transfer to Deva, to minimise the risk of damaging the extremely fragile material.

[2] Étienne et alii 1994, 152.

by R. Étienne together with I. Piso and Al. Diaconescu.[3] As noted in the 2004 general report, the finds, intended for the annexe of a future monograph, were divided among team members,[4] with the armour specifically assigned for publication to Al. Diaconescu and V. Voișian.[5] While only the inscriptions appeared in the 2006 monograph,[6] other materials such as weapons,[7] coins,[8] or architectural elements,[9] were published separately. The armour, however, proved particularly challenging due to its condition and volume.[10]

Recognising its far greater value for public display, Diaconescu initiated the restoration of the armour lot. Yet the sheer number of iron fragments and limited funding stalled and eventually halted progress. Diaconescu's increasing academic commitments and Voișian's ongoing fieldwork further delayed publication. Selected items were shown in some of Diaconescu's and Voișian's presentations and showcased for the first time during the *LIMES* temporary exhibition (2020–2022) at the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca. On this occasion, Al. Diaconescu once more expressed his determination to publish the finds and hoped that, as retirement approached, he would finally have the time to do so.[11] Sadly, his regrettable and unexpected death in 2021 meant that this was never achieved. The present paper begins a series aimed at completing the long-overdue publication of this important assemblage.

Inevitably, much contextual information was lost over the 35 years since the discovery. Only two early photographs survive (Pl. I), and no in-situ documentation could be found. Unlike the Corbridge hoard, block extraction and subsequent lab unearthing and documentation was not attempted. The largest armguard fragments were heavily restored, with no records of their initial condition. While some restoration choices may be questioned, they ultimately preserved these items for study and display, thanks to Diaconescu's initiative. Most cuirass components, however, remain unrestored. The deposit thus includes dozens of large and medium, and hundreds of small *lorica segmentata* fragments, the conservation of which will pose immense challenges. Nevertheless, detailed analysis can yield significant insight into both the armour and the circumstances of its deposition. This paper offers an overview of the assemblage and a focused study of the *manicae*, with subsequent papers to address the cuirass elements.

[3] For the excavations, see Étienne et alii 1994; Étienne et alii 2004; Piso 2006.

[4] Étienne et alii 2004, 59; the materials were assigned as follows: "les inscriptions sur pierre et sur metal: Ep. (I. Piso); les estampilles tégulaires: Tg. (I. Piso); l'architecture en marbre: ArM.; en calcaire: ArC.; en gres ArG. (A. Diaconescu, E. Bota, R. Cotorobai); les sculptures: Sc. (A. Diaconescu); les monnaies: Mo. (R. Ardevan, C. Găzdac); les objets en or: Au., en argent: Ag. et en bronze: Br. (A. Diaconescu, C. Găzdac); les objets en fer: Fe. (V. Voișian)."

[5] Étienne et alii 2004, 73, n. 16.

[6] Piso 2006.

[7] Voișian 1997.

[8] Găzdac, Cociș 2004.

[9] Diaconescu, Bota 2009.

[10] The situation is by no means unparalleled: the famous Corbridge hoard, containing a significant lot of segmental armour, was discovered in 1964 but was fully published only in 1988; see Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988.

[11] In 2020, Al. Diaconescu announced to the editors of *Acta Musei Napocensis* his intention to publish the finds, together with V. Voișian, in the following issue of the journal.

Site of discovery

The assemblage comprising segmental armour and other items came to light during archaeological excavations in the Trajanic *forum* (the so-called *forum vetus*) of the Colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa,[12] a city founded by emperor Trajan a few years after the conclusion of his second Dacian campaign, in AD 108 at the earliest.[13] The interpretation of the initial phases of the site gave rise to opposing theories, which will be briefly summarised, as they are relevant for pointing to possible circumstances for the deposition event.

The inter-war excavations in the central area of the ancient city revealed a large stone edifice interpreted as the *Aedes Augustalium*.[14] Based on the initial shape, size and layout of the *colonia*,[15] some scholars argued that the site had been originally a legionary base, and the central edifice its *principia*.[16] The French-Romanian team that excavated there between 1988 and 1994 permanently put to rest the hypothesis of the "Palace of the Augustals", proving beyond doubt that the structure served as *forum*. Moreover, the excavators revealed the plan of a smaller timber edifice underneath (Pl. II). They maintained that both the timber and the subsequent stone construction represented successive phases of the *forum*, unrelated to any kind of military installations.[17] Yet, others were not convinced of this explanation and took the timber structure for the *principia* of a legionary fortress.[18] Until decisive evidence, this issue remains a point of contention.

Regarding the controversy, an aspect that is worth mentioning is the striking quantity and variety of military equipment recovered from the *colonia*, which was variously interpreted.[19] Notwithstanding the contradictory views, an early military presence at the site was always recognised. Numerous tiles bearing the stamp of the legion *IIII Flavia Felix* have been found there,[20] attesting the involvement of detachments in raising several of the public buildings.[21]

Archaeological context and dating

Based on the published archaeological reports, the items originate from a single context situated in the north-western part of the *forum* (Pl. II). This area seems to have been marginally touched by C. Daicoviciu's excavations in the 1920s.[22] As he focused on

[12] This was the initial *forum*, conventionally called *vetus* to distinguish it from the later Antonine *forum* built to the south, see Étienne et alii 2004, 59.

[13] On the dating of the foundation, see Piso 2006, 73–74; see also Diaconescu 2004, 97; Opreanu 2006, 58–59.

[14] Daicoviciu 1924, 242–249; Daicoviciu 1932, 518–537.

[15] For the topographic plan of the first enclosure of the city, see now Eck, Lobüscher 2001, Abb. 2–3.

[16] Alicu 1980; Bărbulescu 1987, 156–157, n. 105, 167, n. 131.

[17] Étienne et alii 1994; Diaconescu 2004, 89–103; Étienne et alii 2004, 86–91; Piso 2006, 37–39, 72–76.

[18] Opreanu 2006, 61–62; Opreanu 2016; see also Băeștean 2012.

[19] For some of the items of military equipment found inside and outside the enclosure of the *colonia*, see Ilieș 1981; Alicu 1983; Voișian 1997; Étienne et alii 2004, 74–75, Pls. IX–XVII.

[20] For the tiles, see Protase 1967, 59–60; Piso 2006, 315–320. For the history of the legion and its activity in Dacia see Protase 1967; Opreanu 2006.

[21] Diaconescu 2004, 89–103; Piso 2006, 74–75; Opreanu 2006, 60; Alicu (1980, 24) considered the site to be the legion's first base in Dacia, prior to establishing its permanent fort at *Bersobis*, on the western *limes*.

[22] Daicoviciu 1924, 242–243, Fig. 8; Daicoviciu 1932, 522–527, Figs. 1, 5, 9.

unearthing the walls, it is not clear if and to what extent the area of interest was affected at that time.[23]

In the interpretation of the results of 1988–1994 archaeological campaigns, the deposit would belong to a transitional phase between the timber and stone forums. According to the excavators, the timber forum was demolished in several stages. Its essential structures were kept in place and in function while work was ongoing at the stone forum, which was completed only under Hadrian.[24] In the preliminary report it was noted that layer 5 in trench F3/1990, which seemed to correspond to the demolition of the timber structures, contained items of military equipment, among which an almost complete *lorica segmentata*.[25] In the 2004 general report and in the 2006 monograph of the *forum vetus*, the deposit was assigned to trench S2, to a context (cx. 192) said to belong to an advanced phase of the construction of the stone *forum*, but when some of the timber structures were apparently still in place.[26] The archaeological context cx. 192 was described as a 20 cm thick layer of charcoal covering an area of 5 × 5 m, which could be seen only on the surface of the trench, but missing from the sections.[27] It can be deduced that the layer was located in the western half of trench S2.[28] As there is no illustration of the context and no stratigraphic matrix is provided, it is not possible to work out the exact relation between context cx. 192 and the rest in the area. Even so, the description of the archaeological contexts observed in S2 suggests that cx. 192 overlaid or was dug into cx. 180, the latter representing a levelling layer (Pl. III). The possibility that cx. 192 was actually levelled by cx. 180 cannot be completely excluded either. All these were then covered by successive levelling and/ or construction layers (cx. 180, cx. 13,[29] cx. 191/190). Finally, they were covered by cx. 9, which was explained as a levelling layer spread over much of the stone *forum* courtyard and lateral galleries.[30]

Two important facts derive from the archaeological situation described above: 1) in keeping with the stages of dismantling the timber edifice and constructing the stone forum advanced by the authors of the excavation, the deposit may be connected to a demolition event (either originating from the levelled timber phase, or from an intermediate phase between the timber and stone); 2) it predates layer/ context 9. It is important to make the last distinction because layer 9 was filled with numerous pieces of military equipment.[31] The controversial interpretation of that particular context, namely that it does not

[23] A photograph taken during the archaeological campaigns in an immediately adjacent area shows a rather deep excavation, see Daicoviciu 1932, 523, Fig. 5.

[24] Étienne et alii 2004, 70–74; Piso 2006, 65–69.

[25] Étienne et alii 1994, 152, Fig. 1; in Piso 2006, Fig. II/1, 177, trench F3 is called T3 and layer 5 in T3 is described in similar terms, but there is no mention of military equipment.

[26] Étienne et alii 2004, 73; Piso 2006, 67.

[27] The description of the contexts and the relations between them is taken from Étienne et alii 2004, 70–73 and Piso 2006, 65–67, 177–191.

[28] Although note that the finds are assigned to trench T3 in Étienne et alii 1994, 152.

[29] Context/ layer 13 in Étienne et alii 2004, 72, Pl. VIII/2 is labelled perhaps by mistake as '113' in Piso 2006, 66, Fig. II/25. Since cx. 13 could no longer be seen in the illustration, in Piso 2006, 67 it was added that it was visible only on the surface and missing in section, which was not the case in Étienne et alii 2004, 73.

[30] Étienne et alii 2004, 70; Piso 2006, 65.

[31] Voișian 1997; Étienne et alii 2004, 71, 74–75, Pls. IX–XVII.

originate from the site but was brought from elsewhere,[32] has thus little bearing on the finds discussed here.

The transitional phase (II A) was dated to the Trajanic period.[33] Temporal indications for the deposition of the segmental armour (cx. 192) are provided by the coins recovered from layers 13 and 9, which postdate it. The latest of the few coins recovered from layer 13 was an issue of Trajan dated to AD 99. Many more coins were found in succeeding layer 9, including two small coin hoards, considered pocket money. The latest coins in this context were issues of Trajan dated to AD 103–107/111. More than half of the 17 coins issued by Trajan could be dated in the interval between AD 101 and 102. Regarding the composition of the hoards, one was closed by an 81 AD issue of Domitian, while the other by issues of Trajan dated to AD 101–102.[34] Although these coins only provide a *terminus post quem* for layers 13 and 9, based on the stratigraphic sequence and general dating of the site, they indicate that the armour in cx. 192 ended up in the archaeological record sometime during the first two decades of the 2nd century AD, probably earlier than later in this interval.

The assemblage and its significance

The discovery was tentatively defined as a workshop deposit, containing various tools, as well as items awaiting repair. According to the excavators, the military nature of the finds was not curious, given that the stone *forum* had been built by a detachment from *legio IIII Flavia Felix*.[35] Factoring in similar deposits that were thoroughly analysed, most notably those from Corbridge and Carlisle, can add some nuances to this interpretation and provide further insight. The following key issues will be considered and compared: a. the composition of the assemblage; b. the state of the items when deposited; c. the circumstances of deposition. Since, as mentioned before, the assemblage could not be published in one go and had to be divided between multiple papers, the main observations will only be summarised here; all, however, will be detailed when discussing the individual pieces.

a. In the 1988–1994 report, the deposit was said to contain items of military equipment, such as a sword, spearheads and an almost complete *lorica segmentata*.[36] In later publications, its composition is described in more detail: large parts of a *lorica segmentata*, an almost complete *manica*, a sword, spearheads, a *dolabra* fragment, together with a hoe, iron brackets, a plate with two rivets, a hemispherical container, four chisels, a file, a hinge and fragments from a partly calcinated marble *mortarium*.[37] Although we only had for analysis the segmental armour lot, we identified among the iron fragments parts from the poorly preserved hemispherical vessel, a heavily corroded ferrule, a handful of nails of various sizes, an iron plate with a nail driven through it, and a copper alloy lunate pendant. It is thus important to stress that the assemblage consisted of a wide range of items. This situation finds its best parallel in the Corbridge hoard, which, apart from several

[32] Étienne et alii 2004, 74–86; Diaconescu 2004, 96–97; Piso 2006, 69–72; for a critique of this reasoning and an alternative interpretation, see Opreanu 2006, 64–66.

[33] Étienne et alii 2004, 96; Piso 2006, 90.

[34] Găzdac, Cociș 2004, 16, 22, 42–43, hoard nos. 4, 6; Găzdac 2009.

[35] Étienne et alii 2004, 73; Piso 2006, 67.

[36] Étienne et alii 1994, 152.

[37] Étienne et alii 2004, 73; Piso 2006, 67.

segmental cuirasses, also included miscellaneous items, such as numerous spearheads, tools, furniture fittings, nails, vessels, gaming counters, glass panes and even wax tablets and papyrus fragments.[38]

Considering specifically the segmental armour, it is clear the initial assessment of the assemblage underestimated the number of components. Unfortunately, due to their cursory extraction and heavy fragmentation, it is no longer possible to provide an exact figure, but some inferences can still be made. The *manica* fragments indicate the presence of at least two armguards, comparable with the deposit at Carlisle, where no less than three were represented.[39] The cuirass components, all pointing to the Corbridge type, are much more difficult to gauge. While the plates originating from the lower unit (i.e. girth hoops) appear at first to support the idea of a single *lorica segmentata*, the much more fragmented upper unit elements (i.e. collar plates and shoulder guards) paint a different picture. The sheer number of lobate hinges and their great variety in terms of shape and size, a situation also paralleled to a certain extent by the decorative washers, undoubtedly attest their provenance from several cuirasses. Two possibilities arise from this: there was either a complete cuirass together with parts from others, or various parts from several incomplete cuirasses.[40] Similar observations were made in the case of the Corbridge hoard, which did not contain complete sets of armour, even though at least six *loricae* were represented.[41]

b. There are several indications that, when deposited, the armour was not in a good condition, with damage resulting both from use, and from storage. This is more apparent in the case of the cuirass fragments, as the restoration of the armguards probably obscured some of the evidence to this effect. Concerning wear and maintenance, re-leathering may have taken place in the case of the *manicae* (see below). As for the cuirass(es), the most common repair observed involves failed hinges, leading to the riveting of the plates instead (Pl. IV/1, 3). Some pieces even exhibit multiple repairs of this kind.[42]

Damage caused by storage may not always be discernible from post-depositional deterioration. Consequently, in several unnaturally bent, twisted, and torn *lorica* and *manica* plates (Pl. IV/7–8), it is difficult to determine the exact cause. In one fragment, for instance, the hinged plates are tightly packed and completely parallel to each other, which could not have occurred in a functional cuirass (Pl. IV/2). The forcibly compressed girth hoops, however (Pls. I/1, IV/4), are certainly the result of a deliberate measure, likely taken in view of economical storage. This action must have caused the tearing or stretching of the leather straps on which the plates were articulated, to the point where they would have required re-leathering.[43]

[38] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 9–86.

[39] Bishop 2009, 694–700.

[40] Gui, Voișian in preparation.

[41] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 100–102; but see now Bishop 2014, 80–81 for the possibility of using mismatching halves of armour.

[42] Gui, Voișian in preparation.

[43] Bishop 2002, 83; for further examples of such treatment, see Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 102; Niblett 2002; Bishop 2004, 25.

The relative frailty of segmental armour accounts for the numerous traces of wear and tear, as well as the multiple quick fixes or crude repairs encountered in many cases.[44] Most significantly, the state of armour in the Corbridge hoard and the Carlisle deposit led to the conclusion that they were basically scrapped, after having been repaired and/or used as spare parts.[45] As outlined above, the Sarmizegetusa deposit seems to conform to the same pattern.

c. The discovery context of the deposit was described as a 20 cm thick layer of charcoal covering an area of 5 × 5 m.[46] Going through all the hundreds of iron fragments, we found small traces of charcoal and some instances in which the fragments were blackened, presumably having been affected by fire. Conversely, the quantity of mineralised wood was striking, smaller or larger fragments adhering to virtually all the pieces (Pl. IV/2, 4–6). The notable exceptions were the two large *manica* parts (Mnc1–2), but this is likely due to the restoration they underwent, as the smaller armguard fragments also had wood adhering to them (Pls. IX/2, XII–XIII). The mineralisation of organic remains is known to happen precisely in contact with a large quantity of iron. The corrosion products cover the organic materials, thus preserving their shape and structure even if the respective materials have completely decayed.[47] The same process led to the exceptional preservation of some of the leather straps pertaining to the armour in the Sarmizegetusa assemblage (Pl. VIII/4–5).

The presence of mineralised wood on nearly all the armour is consistent with the demolition context described by the excavation reports. There is, however, another possibility that should be taken into account. Due to the hindsight of the British archaeologists, we know that the Corbridge hoard had been neatly packed in a wooden chest (Pl. XIV/1) thereafter buried, parts of which mineralised.[48] Similarly, even though the finds from Carlisle originate from an accumulated layer, they may have been associated with three small wooden boxes set in the floor of a building.[49] A cache of equipment, including segmental armour, found in the central range of the fort at Zugmantel also showed traces of mineralised wood, which may have originated from a wooden container, if not from debris.[50] Based on the available evidence, a similar situation can be envisioned for the Sarmizegetusa deposit. The exceptional preservation of the *manicae* may be a further argument for the provision of some storage arrangements (see bellow).

There are several other assemblages containing segmental body and limb armour, such as a small votive deposit found in a temple on the Weinberg near Eining-*Abusina* dating from the first half of the 3rd century,[51] the finds recovered from the so-called "Waffenmagazin" at Carnuntum,[52] and from a well (Pit 1) in the Antonine *principia*

[44] Bishop 2002, 81–83.

[45] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 109; Bishop 2009, 704–705.

[46] Étienne et alii 2004, 73; Piso 2006, 67, 188.

[47] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 6; Bishop 2002, 78.

[48] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 5–6, 95–96.

[49] Bishop 2009, 688.

[50] Bishop 2004, 23.

[51] Bishop 2004, 15–22, Figs. 3–6.

[52] von Groller 1901, 100–116, Taf. XVII/Figs. 21–25; Taf. XIX/Figs. 45–56, 60–62, Taf. XX/Figs. 6–10; for the rampart-back building, see von Groller 1901, 39–44, Taf. III, V (building VI).

courtyard at Newstead,[53] or the lot found in a warehouse in the *retentura* of the legionary fortress at León-*Legio*, dated to the end of the 3rd century.[54] Except for the last, all these discoveries were made at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century, which means that any information on dating or find circumstances is rather coarse. Therefore, also in view of the time frame, the best analogies for the cache of segmental armour, weapons, tools and miscellaneous implements from Sarmizegetusa remain the Corbridge and Carlisle assemblages.

At Corbridge, the hoard was buried in AD 122–138, between the road immediately east of the headquarters and a neighbouring building, probably a storeroom.[55] Similarly, the finds at Carlisle, associated with the second timber fort (AD 125–140/150), came from a building just across the road from the *principia*, which saw some industrial activity around the time of the deposition.[56] The pieces of segmental armour recovered from both sites showed numerous signs of damage, multiple repairs, replacements and use as spare parts. Especially the cannibalisation evidenced by some of these evokes the pressure to quickly put together functional armour in a combat situation.[57] As such, they represented a stock of damaged equipment, piling up after an entire sequence involving collection, repair, reuse, recycling, and triage. Kept in storage with the purpose of being repaired and/or reused, the material must have been ultimately appraised as disposable when time came to leave a certain site.[58]

Considering all the similarities outlined above, the Sarmizegetusa deposit can be though of in much the same way. This does not deny the original interpretation of the assemblage as a "workshop deposit" but suggests that it likely represented the end point of an entire process. The fact that such analogous situations occur from Britannia to Dacia cannot be a coincidence, pointing instead to a standard military procedure in the treatment of equipment. Given the historical background, the finds must reflect to a certain degree the kit worn during the Dacian campaigns by legionaries, likely from the ranks of the *IIII Flavia Felix* legion.

Since the armour and the rest of the items from the Sarmizegetusa assemblage appear to have been purposedly collected and stored, this raises the question as to how and why they entered the archaeological record. One possibility, as already suggested by the Corbridge and Carlisle material, is that they may have became unwanted scrap. As unlikely as this may seem given the worth of the metal, that value was relative and varied according to circumstances is indicated, for instance, by the great quantity of military equipment discarded in a series of wet dumps connected to military installations on the Lower Rhine.[59] Another possibility is that the deposit was sealed by a destructive event, as may be inferred from the burnt context of discovery. Ultimately, the issue of why this deposit was left behind remains open to interpretation.

[53] Curle 1911, 156–158, Figs. 11/8, 13; for the pit, see Curle 1911, 116–117; Bishop 1999, 31–33, Fig. 7.
[54] Aurrecoechea 2004, 52; Aurrecoechea et alii 2008.
[55] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 5–6, 109; Bishop, Dore 1989, 133, Fig. 71 (building b).
[56] Bishop 2009, 687–688; Zant 2009, 218–221, 235–237.
[57] Bishop 2009, 704–705; Bishop 2014, 82–83.
[58] Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, 109; Bishop 2009, 688, 704–705.
[59] Hoss 2018.

The segmental armour

The armguards

Segmental armguards were worn by infantrymen on their sword arm. They consisted of a set of long and narrow plates, made either from copper-alloy or ferrous metal. The plates were articulated on several internal leather straps, which ran parallel to the arm and perpendicular to the plates, with the help of copper-alloy rivets (Pl. XVI/2). They overlapped upwards, from wrist to shoulder (Pl. XVI/3), and their length decreased the further down the arm they were located.[60] *Manicae* did not encase the entire circumference of the arm and did not cover the back of the arm and the elbow but the front of the arm and the inside of the elbow joint.[61] In order to be effective, they required some kind of padding to be worn underneath.[62]

After carefully examining all fragments, it is clear that more than one *manica* is represented in the Sarmizegetusa assemblage. The largest fragment (Mnc1) consists of an almost complete armguard, making it perhaps easy to overlook that it is, in fact, heavily reconstructed. This is proven both by direct examination, and by one of the original photographs (Pl. I/2), which is telling for its very fragmentary state when extracted. Since any information prior to and during restoration is missing, some of the peculiarities exhibited by this piece should be viewed with caution. As the pieces are very fragile, we relied greatly on X-ray and CT-scan imaging to determine dimensions and construction details, at the same time minimising handling.[63]

Mnc1. A minimum of 31 ferrous plates survive in Mnc1 (Pls. V–VII), but due to the lacunae and the filling material used to complete them, as well as the occasional extreme overlap (Pl. V/3), it is difficult to match precisely the plates visible on one side with those on the other. The topmost plate (n. 31) is the largest in width, measuring 5.3 cm. Its upper edge is rolled inwards and turned outwards (Pl. V/1). The rest have a consistent width of circa 3 cm, except for the last (n. 1), which is 2.7 cm wide. The individual plates have a roughly trapezoidal shape. Where still present, their ends are oblique, wider towards the top, with rounded corners. Very few plates are preserved in their entirety. Their length appears to increase from around 25 cm towards the top to 28 cm halfway between the top and the flexing point, after which it shortens to 26 cm in the last measurable plate, n. 3 (Pl. VII). This variation in size creates a visible bulge (Pl. VI/2–3), which is not evidenced by other *manicae*,[64] and was very likely not part of the original design. Overall, the length of the plates is similar to that noted in the brass *manica* from Till-Steincheshof.[65] The plates could well protect an average-sized male arm covered by a padding, based on the values calculated by von Groller.[66]

[60] Bishop 2002, 69.

[61] Bishop 2002, 71–72, Fig. 8.5; Bishop 2022, 39.

[62] Bishop 2002, 69–70.

[63] We are grateful to dr. Marius Călin for the CT-scan, which proved very useful for being able to virtually rotate and slice the artefact, aiding our understanding of its construction.

[64] A *manica* from León displays a similar bulge, but in the area of the forearm, see Aurrecoechea et alii 2008, 258.

[65] Among the few completely preserved plates, the shortest measured around 23 cm and the longest 28 cm, see Brüggler et alii 2013, 131, Tab. 1.

[66] von Groller 1901, 115.

Four copper alloy leathering rivets are located along the lower edge of each plate, two at the ends and two more in the median area. A total number of 68 rivets could be seen on the X-ray (Pl. XI/1), but it must be noted that poorly preserved ones may not be clearly distinguishable. Accordingly, the arrangement of the rivets, as well as the mineralised traces of leather, indicate that four roughly parallel leather bands ran across the preserved part of the *manica* (Pl. X/1). This leathering scheme is analogous to that noted in the case of the Carlisle and Newstead armguards; in both, the leather bands were ultimately reduced from four to three towards the wrist (Pl. XIV/2).[67] Based on the leather remains, the straps were around 2 cm wide, comparable to those noted on the Carlsile *manica* A.[68] *Manica* Mnc1 likely underwent some repair during its period of use, as evidenced by the discontinuity seen in the course of the median leather straps. In the area of the "biceps" bulge, the copper-alloy rivets follow a noticeably different alignment than in the rest of the fragment (Pl. X/3–4). Moreover, as noted before, the plates are longer in this area. It could be the case that components from two different armguards were put together to obtain a functional *manica*. The same situation was noted in the case of the Carlisle armguard A.[69] However, because the restoration process remains a big unknown, a modern intervention cannot be completely excluded, even though the "biceps" appears to integrate quite seamlessly in the rest of the fragment. It is clear that a lot of filling material has been used in that particular section. Another sign of an ancient fix involving re-leathering may be represented by the three copper-alloy rivets placed on the same plate (n. 2), next to each other, along the lower edge of the plate (Pl. X/2), unless actually connected to the fastening of the *manica* on the arm. A small loose *manica* fragment from the same lot (FrMnc10) displays two leathering rivets next to each other on the same plate, but this time one above the other (Pls. XII, XIII).

A distinct feature of the Sarmizegetusa *manica* Mnc1 is the large copper-alloy tie-loop (or hook?) riveted at the middle of the top plate, on its outer face (Pls. V/1, VII). This is identical to the tie-loops used on the girth hoops of the Corbridge type *lorica segmentata* (Pl. IV/4, 6), only it appears to be slightly more solid than the tie loops present in the assemblage under discussion. So far, this method of attaching the *manica*, either to the upper unit of a *lorica segmentata*, or to a sort of harness, to prevent if from rotating on the arm,[70] is unique. Considering the way the armguard was worn, the tie-loop would have been located approximately in the underarm area. A similar method of attachment was noted on the Carlisle *manica* C, where a vertical hook, similar to vertical fasteners on segmental body armour, was riveted to the interior of the top plate.[71] This may also be the case of an armguard from Eining.[72] Conversely, one or two copper-alloy rings seem to have been employed for the same purpose on the Carlisle *manica* A.[73]

Beyond sheer size, the Sarmizegetusa *manica* is exceptional because it appears to retain the shape of a human arm flexed at the elbow. Admittedly, it is slightly flattened, especially towards the top (Pl. V/2), but not manifestly so. Conversely, other armguards are

[67] Bishop 2002, 69.
[68] Bishop 2009, 696.
[69] Bishop 2009, 695–696.
[70] Bishop 2022, 38.
[71] Bishop 2009, 698–699, Fig. 286.
[72] Bishop 2004, 19, Figs. 5, 22.
[73] Bishop 2009, 696.

usually found severely deformed and/or flattened by the weight of the collapsed ruins or archaeological layers. While significant interventions during the restoration of Mnc1 were noted, the most serious damage appears to consist of longitudinal cracks, which must have occurred when the plates had already become fused together and the iron brittle. Visual inspection confirms that many plates have maintained to a great degree their original curved shape. To a certain extent, this is also valid for another large fragment, Mnc2, which will be discussed later. The preservation of the original form of the *manica* may be due to chance, but the storage in a wooden chest, as has been proposed above, could have contributed to this fortunate situation. The elbow flexing is plausible, as the leather straps would have been the most stretched in that area, so the armguard was prone to bend like that. However, this may be misleading. One of the Carlisle armguards, which was likely complete when deposited, comprised around 30 plates.[74] So if the Sarmizegetusa *manica*, consisting of at least 31 plates, was really bent in the elbow area, it would mean that about a third of it is still missing, which is quite much.[75] Moreover, some of the plates that overlap almost completely (Pl. V/3) suggest that the piece may have been compressed. In any case, that Mnc1 is incomplete is demonstrated by the fact that the lowest plate (n. 1) is not a terminal plate, and also by the presence of four leather straps (Pl. X/1), which would have been difficult to maintain all the way down to the wrist. Interestingly, two terminal plates (FrMnc1) were identified among the loose *manica* fragments, but whether they belonged to Mnc1 or not cannot be determined.

Mnc2. Another large fragment, Mnc2, comprises 13 plates, and it appears to originate from a different armguard (Pls. VIII, IX/1). It is impossible to fit it to Mnc1, as the missing plates from the latter should progressively decrease in length. The situation of Mnc2, however, is much more complicated. In this instance, we suspect that two, and quite possibly even three *manica* fragments that do not belong together were combined during the modern restoration. First of all, it is improbable that plates n. a-e visible on one side continue any of the plates n. 1–13 visible on the other (Pl. IX/1), on account of their very different appearance and forced joining (Pl. VIII/1, 2, 4). Also, while the width of plates n. a-e is of 3 cm, plates n. 1–13 vary more widely, measuring between 2.6 and 3 cm. Variation in width between plates, sometimes even considerable, has been noted in other cases[76] but such discrepancy in a single plate seems unlikely, although not impossible.[77] We consider that the two sets of plates (n. a-e and n. 1–13) were very likely glued together by the restorer simply to render some volume to the artefact. Moreover, although plates n. 1–13 appear to form a coherent fragment, direct observation, X-ray and CT-scan images (Pl. XI/3, 4) all point to the fact that, again, two different units were probably combined. Alternatively, this may have happened as result of the *manica* being compressed. Unfortunately, we do not know whether they were indeed found in association, or what informed the decision to join the pieces together. The misalignment of leathering rivets between plates n. 1–8 and n.

[74] Bishop 2002, 69; Bishop 2009, 697.

[75] The total number of plates in a *manica* is estimated at around 36, see Bishop 2002, 69.

[76] Aurrecoechea et alii 2008, 258 (León); Brüggler et alii 2013, 131, Tab. 1 (Till-Steincheshof); Bishop 2009, 694 (Carlisle – *manica* A).

[77] In case of the Carlisle *manica,* A, a 0.2–0.3 cm variation in the width of the same plate has been noted, see Bishop 2009, 695.

9–10, which corresponds to the two mentioned units, is clearly visible (Pl. X/5). Therefore, if the incongruities seen in plates n. 1–13 were not caused by the restoration, the only conclusion is that they are due to an ancient repair. On the backside of plates n. a-e, a part of a leather strap is exceptionally well preserved in mineralised form (Pl. VIII/5), clearly showing that the width of the straps measured 2 cm.

FrMnc1–17. Apart from Mnc1 and Mnc2, there are numerous smaller fragments, which are clearly identifiable as *manica* plates (Pls. XII, XIII), although they are too fragmented to be able to piece them together at this point. The only one that can be more precisely located on an armguard is FrMnc1 (Pl. IX/2, XII), which undoubtedly represents the terminal section, based on the length of the plates. It is admittedly less wide than the terminal plates from León[78] and Eining,[79] but similar to the one on the Carlisle armguard C.[80] What immediately attracts attention is the pair of large domed copper-alloy rivets visible on the exterior face that served to rivet the two plates together. The direct riveting of the last two plates was observed in the case of the Eining and León *manicae*,[81] and appears to be also the case of the mentioned Carlisle piece.[82] It was suggested that this solution was probably not by design but represented a quick fix.[83] In case of FrMnc1, the flat circular copper-alloy rivets visible on the back of the fragment are not part of the domed copper-alloy rivets, but represent the leathering rivets (Pls. IX/2, XII). Moreover, one of the flat rivets seems to hold two overlapped straps, which may indicate some repair. FrMnc 4 (Pls. IX/2, XII) may represent another wrist terminal plate, as suggested by the rounded corner of the first plate (n. 1) and the fact that, unlike the following plate (n. 2), its corresponding leathering rivet is not placed on the lower edge but towards its middle. The fragment is, however, too small to be certain.

It is not possible to determine if the fragments (FrMnc 1–17) belonged to Mnc1, Mnc2, or to another armguard. Moreover, among the entire lot of segmental armour, there are numerous tiny ferrous metal plate fragments with copper-alloy rivets still attached to them, which may also originate from *manicae*. It is important to note that all exhibit smaller or larger traces of mineralised wood adhering to them (Pls. IX/2, XII–XIII). Therefore, it is likely that the absence of wood on Mnc1 and Mnc2 is rather due to the cleaning performed during restoration. We did not observe traces of textiles or other organic materials, apart from leather and wood, on any of the pieces. We may therefore conclude that, while the Sarmizegetusa *manicae* were clearly articulated when deposited, they were probably not accompanied by the lining or padding presumed based on practical purposes and organic traces found in other specimens.[84]

It remains unclear how the Sarmizegetusa *manicae* were secured onto the arm and how the internal padding was attached to the armour. As opposed to the Carlisle A, B,[85]

[78] Aurrecoechea et alii 2008, 258, Figs. 4–5.
[79] Bishop 2002, Fig. 8.4; Bishop 2004, 19–20, Fig. 6.
[80] Bishop 2009, 698, Fig. 346.
[81] Bishop 2002, 69, Fig. 8.4.
[82] See Bishop 2009, 698, Fig. 346.
[83] Bishop 2004, 19.
[84] See Bishop 2002, 69–70.
[85] Bishop 2002, 69–71, Fig. 8.3; Bishop 2009, 695, Fig. 344.

Newstead,[86] and Carnuntum[87] armguards, there appear to be no punched holes alongside the rivets on the ends of the plates (Pls. V–VII). These holes likely served for lacing and/or attaching a textile doubling.[88] Perhaps in the lot of *manicae* from Sarmizegetusa not all plates were provided with holes or other fastening devices, just a limited number, which were not preserved. Mnc1 is missing after all many plate ends, but the same situation is encountered in other larger or smaller fragments, such as Mnc2, FrMnc2, 3, 5 (Pls. VIII, IX/1, XII, XIII). In the case of a 3rd century armguard from León, the place of a possible fastening strap was identified in one of the plates located towards the wrist area.[89] We may wonder whether the two extra rivets seen on plate n. 2 of Mnc1 (Pl. X/2) could have served to attach a strap for fastening. Unfortunately, the other end of that plate is not preserved to be able to check for similar arrangements. The late 1st – early 2nd century *manica* from Till-Steincheshof does not exhibit holes or fastening devices either and it has been suggested that the padding was somehow attached to the internal leather straps or applied separately to the arm.[90]

When the Sarmizegetusa *manicae* were found, these were rare finds. Since then, enough armguards have been discovered to suggest their wider use in the Roman army than previously thought,[91] spanning from the middle of the 1st until at least the latter part of the 3rd centuries AD. The earliest depiction can be seen on a couple of legionary funerary monuments from Mainz.[92] Later, their employment in the Dacian campaigns is supported by the prominent representations of soldiers equipped with *manicae* on the metopes of the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamclisi[93] (Constanța County), in Moesia Inferior (Pl. XIV/6). The sole illustration of a *manica* from the province of Dacia dates from the Severan period and is found on a funerary statue from Apulum (Alba Iulia, Alba County), the base of the legion *XIII Gemina* (Pl. XIV/4).[94] Together with a depiction on the arch of Severus at Leptis Magna,[95] these seem to be the latest sculptural representations of *manicae*. It is noteworthy that, while none of the soldiers shown with *manicae* wear segmental cuirasses on the *Tropaeum* metopes, but scale or mail, the statue from Alba Iulia provides a direct association between body and limb segmental armour.

On the abovementioned monuments armguards are associated with legionary troops but actual finds present a more mixed image, as some have been found in auxiliary forts. While the presence of legionary vexillations in some of these sites cannot be excluded, it is possible that armguards were also worn by auxiliaries.[96] The earliest examples date from the first decades of the 2nd century, while the latest were found in late 3rd century contexts.

[86] Bishop 2002, 69–70, Fig. 8.2.
[87] von Groller 1901, 116, Taf. XX/6, 10.
[88] Bishop 2002, 69–70.
[89] Aurrecoechea et alii 2008, 259–260.
[90] Brüggler et alii 2013, 136–137.
[91] Bishop 2009, 703.
[92] Bishop 2002, 68, Fig. 2.8; Bishop 2022, 34–35.
[93] Florescu 1965, 479 (metope 12), 482 (metope 17), 484 (metopes 19–20), 485 (metope 21), 487 (metope 23), 489 (metope 26), 501 (metope 43).
[94] Coulston 1995; Diaconescu 2012, 185, cat. M 38, Fig. 38; see also Bishop 2002, 62–65.
[95] Bishop 2022, 35.
[96] Brüggler et alii 2013, 138.

Most pieces were made from ferrous metal, but copper-alloy specimens constructed in the exact same way are also known:

1. Till-Steincheshof (Germany) – brass armguard (18 plates preserved) found beneath the floor of a barracks in the auxiliary fort, dated between the last third of the 1st until the first third of the 2nd centuries AD; plate length between 22.9 and 28.2 cm; plate width around 3.2–3.3 cm, but maximum width reaches 4.7 cm; clipped corners; copper-alloy leathering rivets;[97]

2. Carlisle A (England) – iron armguard (almost complete, missing lower part, around 20 plates preserved), discovered in a layer inside a building adjacent to the *principia* belonging to the 2nd timber fort (AD 125–140/150); top plate: width 4.5 cm; plate width between 3.1 and 3.6 cm; clipped corners; punched holes for padding; copper-alloy leathering rivets;[98]

3. Carlisle B – iron armguard (more than 10 fragmentary plates), same context as A; plate width between 2.8 and 3.3 cm; punched holes for padding; copper-alloy and iron leathering rivets;[99]

4. Carlisle C – iron armguard (likely complete when deposited, although not all plates were preserved, totalled around 30 plates), same context as A; top plate: 6.8 cm wide; plate width varies between 2.8 and 3.4 cm; iron leathering rivets;[100]

5. Newstead 1 (Scotland) – iron armguard (11 fragments) found in association with *lorica segmentata* fragments, in a well deposit (Pit 1) in the *principia* courtyard, dated to the Antonine period; plate width around 3.5 cm;[101]

6. Newstead 2 – copper-alloy armguard (14 plates – reconstructed) found on the floor of a chamber in the *principia*; top plate: length 25.8 cm, width 9 cm (reconstructed dimensions); plate width between 2.7 and 3 cm; clipped corners; punched holes for padding; copper-alloy leathering rivets;[102]

7. Carnuntum (Austria) – iron armguard (10 fragments) found in a deposit layer inside the so-called "Waffenmagazin", a rampart-back building in the legionary fortress probably dated to the Antonine period; plate width between 2.3 and 2.9 cm; clipped corners; punched holes for padding; copper-alloy leathering rivets;[103]

8. Eining (Germany) – iron armguard (fragments) found in association with *lorica segmentata* fragments and other military items in a small temple on the Weinberg, in a burnt layer dated around the middle of the 3rd century AD; terminal plates riveted together; trapezoidal wrist plate, the length of which decreases from circa 5 to 3.5 cm, 4.5 cm wide; copper-alloy leathering rivets;[104]

[97] Brüggler et alii 2013.

[98] Bishop 2009, 694–696, Fig. 344, Pl. 212; see also Bishop 2002, 71, Fig. 8.3.

[99] Bishop 2009, 696–697, Fig. 345.

[100] Bishop 2009, 697–699, Fig. 346.

[101] Curle 1911, 156–158, Fig. 11/8, 13; for the pit, see Curle 1911, 116–117; Bishop 1999, 31–33, Fig. 7.

[102] Curle 1911, 159, Pl. XXIII (interpreted as scale armour); Robinson 1975, 185–186, Pls. 502–504 (interpreted as thigh guard); Bishop 2002, 68–70, Fig. 8.2.

[103] von Groller 1901, 115–116, Taf. XX/6–10; Bishop 2002, 69, Fig. 8.1.

[104] Bishop 2004, 19–20, Fig. 6; see also Bishop 2002, Fig. 8.4.

9. León (Spain) – iron armguard (11 plates preserved – forearm and wrist) found in association with *lorica segmentata* fragments in a late 3rd century context, in a storage facility within the legionary fort of *legio VII Gemina*; larger width of plates, varying between 4.5 and 8 cm; rounded corners; copper-alloy leathering rivets;[105]

10. Other sites: armguards plates have also been identified at Richborough and Corbridge.[106]

The steady increase of discoveries has contributed to a better understanding of the dating, manufacture, use, repair and discard of *manicae*. The armguards from Sarmizegetusa can be added to those situated closer to the beginning of the interval of use. They have many common features with the rest of the finds, such as the overall design and construction, as well as some peculiarities. With the brass *manica* from Till-Steincheshof they share the lack of punched holes for attaching a padding, but the number of finds is too small to determine if this detail has any chronological relevance;[107] with the late finds from Eining and León, they have in common the solution to ultimately rivet together the terminal plates. While a hook was used to secure in place a *manica* from Carlisle and possibly another one from Eining, Mnc1 is the only one to employ an actual tie-loop, previously known only on segmental body armour (*lorica segmentata*). The fact that at least two *manicae* are represented, of which one may have been complete (Mnc1) and the other incomplete (Mnc2), sheds further light on the nature of the assemblage. Not lastly, Mnc1 is the best preserved *manica* to date, which makes it a spectacular showpiece.

Catalogue[108]

Mnc1 (Pls. V–VII, X/1–4, XI/1–2)
Large fragment of an iron *manica*, flexed; plates towards wrist are missing; restored, with fairly large parts reconstructed with filling material.
L along outer edge = 49.5 cm; L through middle = 29.5 cm; L along inside edge = 21.5 cm; opening in the area of plates n. 28–29: diam. max. (horizontal) = 10 cm; diam. min. (vertical) = 6.5 cm; opening in the area of plates n. 19–20: diam. max. (horizontal) = 10 cm; diam. min. (vertical) = 7.7 cm; opening in the area of plates n. 14–15: diam. max. (horizontal) = 8.2 cm; diam. min. (vertical) = 6.5 cm; opening in the area of plates n. 2–3: diam. max. (horizontal) = 9.4 cm; diam. min. (vertical) = 6.8 cm.
At least 31 plates are visible, overlapping from bottom (wrist) to top (n. 31), but possibly 34 plates are represented (uncertain plates are marked with ‘ or ‘’ on drawing); some plates are visible on one side of the armguard, but missing from the other, due to deterioration and/or extreme overlap.
Top plate (n. 31): L pres. = 18.5 cm; w = 5.3 cm; the top edge is folded inside and rolled outwards; a copper-alloy tie-loop is riveted across the middle of the plate. Tie-loop: L pres. = 5 cm (measured on CT scan); min. w = 0.7 cm; max. w = 1.65 cm; the tie-hoop is fixed on the plate with two copper-alloy rivets with circular head (approx. diam. = 0.7 cm); broken off loop, with rectangular

[105] Aurrecoechea et alii 2008.
[106] Bishop 2002, 68.
[107] Brüggler et alii 2013, 137.
[108] The following abbreviations were used: L = length; w = width; L pres. = preserved length; w pres. = preserved width; diam. = diameter; dim. = dimensions; h = height; fragm. = fragment; n. = plate number. The numbering sequence of plates follows the order of overlap, i.e. the first plates are towards the wrist and the last towards the shoulder.

cross-section (0.32 × 0.46 cm). Plates appear to have an increasing length towards the middle of the armguard, creating a bulge (roughly between n. 15–16 and n. 22), after which the length decreases progressively. Few plates are well-preserved on both sides to allow an accurate measurement of length: approx. L n. 27 = 25 cm; L n. 20 = 28 cm; L n. 19 = 26.5 cm; approx. L n. 3 = 26 cm; almost all plates other than n. 31 that could be measured have w = 3 cm, with the exception of n. 1, with w = 2.7 cm. Plates have rounded corners and the small edges are cut slightly oblique. Four straps of leather ran throughout the entire armguard fragment, two along the small edges of the plates and two towards the interior, fixed with four copper-alloy rivets on each plate: where preserved, all plates exhibit a circular copper-alloy leathering rivet with flat circular head (diam. = 0.7 cm) on each of the lower corners, as well as two other rivets of the same type towards the middle (distance between corner rivet and middle rivet is around 6–8 cm, where measured); no traces of perforation could be observed on the upper corner of plates; middle rivets are misaligned with the rest in the area corresponding to the bulge (roughly between plates n. 15–16 and n. 22), which may suggest a repair/ reuse of a part from another *manica*; in one corner, plate n. 1 exhibits three copper-alloy rivets next to each other, along the length of the plate; a total of 68 preserved rivets were counted on the X-ray. Based on mineralised traces, the leather strips had an approx. w = 2 cm.

Mnc2 (Pls. VIII, IX/1, X/5, XI/3–4)
Medium-sized fragment from an iron *manica*; incomplete; restored, with some parts reconstructed with filling material. It is possible that three parts that did not originally belong together (plates n. 1–8; n. 9–13 on one side and plates n. a-e on the other side) were glued during restoration.
L along middle of best-preserved part = 16 cm; opening in the area of plate n. 6/b: diam. max. (horizontal) = 12.6 cm; diam. min. (vertical) = 6.2 cm.
The armguard comprises 13 overlapped plates on one side (n. 1–13) and 5 overlapped plates on the other (n. a-e), but no individual plate could safely be matched between the two sides; L n. 6/b = 31 cm (but it is unlikely that plate n. 6 continued with n. b or any other on that part); w appears consistent in plates n. a-e, at 3 cm; width appears to vary in plates n. 1–13: w n. 5, 10, 13 = 2.6 cm, w n. 8, 12 = 3 cm. Only plates n. b-e have original small edges preserved, which exhibit rounded corners.
Four straps of leather apparently ran throughout the entire armguard, two along the small edges of the plates and two towards the interior, fixed with four copper-alloy rivets on each plate (approx. diam. of circular rivet head = 0.7 cm). Only plates n. b, c, d preserve corner rivets, and only n. b preserves one middle rivet (distance from corner to middle rivet around 7.5 cm); plates n. 8–13 preserve first row of middle rivets or traces of middle leather strap and plates n. 10–12 also second row of middle rivets or traces of middle leather strap; rivets/ straps on plates n. 5–8 are sharply misaligned with rivets/ straps on plates n. 9–13; a total of 16 copper-alloy rivets were preserved. Based on mineralised traces, the leather strips had an approx. w = 2 cm.

FrMnc1 (Pls. IX/2, XII)
Two overlapped riveted iron plates, with blackened areas and traces of mineralised wood on both sides, which represent wrist terminal plates; n. 1: L = 6.5 cm; w = 2.6 cm; preserves one lower corner, clipped; riveted to the next plate (n. 2) with two copper-alloy rivets with domed head, visible on the font side (diam. = 1–1.1 cm; h rivet = 0.45 cm); n. 2: L = 6.5 cm; w = 3 cm; on back side presents two circular copper-alloy leathering rivets (diam. = 0.7 cm) with traces of leather around (one with two layers of leather); domed copper alloy rivets were driven right next to the flat leathering rivets.

FrMnc2 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Five fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the visible plates present traces of mineralised wood (some

partially charred?) on both sides and wedged between; the plates overlap oddly and some forced compression is likely; n. 1: 2.3 cm × 2 cm; n. 2: L pres. = 4.2 cm; w pres. = 2.5 cm; one copper-alloy rivet with leather traces partially visible on the backside (?); n. 3: L pres. = 4.5 cm; w = 2.5 cm (?); n. 4: fragment almost completely under neighbouring plates; L pres. = 4.5 cm; w = 3 cm; does not preserve small edges; n. 5: L pres. = 4.5 cm; w = 3 cm; rounded corner and oblique small edge; small copper alloy rivet visible on backside, at the lower edge, 2.5 cm from the rounded corner.

FrMnc3 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Five fragmentary overlapped iron plates; all plates present traces of mineralised wood on both sides; some black areas may indicate burning (?); n. 1: L pres. = 3.5 cm; w pres. = 2.3 cm; probably preserves top long edge; n. 2: L pres. = 5.6 cm; w = 2.9 cm; one original small edge preserved, rounded corners, slightly oblique edge; n. 3: L pres. = 6 cm; w = 3 cm; one original small edge preserved, one corner is rounded, one missing, slightly oblique edge; small copper alloy rivet head visible on backside at lower edge, towards end of plate; n. 4: fragment almost completely covered by n. 3 and n. 5; lower exterior corner bent upward; n. 5: L pres. = 4.3 cm; w = 3 cm;; does not preserve small edges; small copper alloy rivet head visible on backside, at the lower edge, towards end of plate.

FrMnc4 (Pls. IX/2, XII)
Two fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present some traces of mineralised wood on both sides; n. 1: L pres. = 6 cm; w = 3 cm; on front side it presents a small iron plate (2 × 1 cm), possibly with an iron rivet; on the backside it presents a small copper-alloy rivet around the middle of the short side; the corner with the rivet appears rounded, but uncertain; n. 2: L pres. = 6.5. cm; w pres. = 2 cm; at the bottom of the long edge, it presents a circular copper-alloy rivet (diam. = 0.7 cm) with traces of mineralised leather around it.

FrMnc5 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Two fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present blackened areas on both sides; n. 1: L pres. = 2.5 cm; w pres. = 2.6 cm; n. 2: L pres. = 5.5 cm; w = 2.9 cm; oblique short edge, rounded corners.

FrMnc6 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Fragmentary iron plate made from two glued fragments, with small traces of mineralised and charred wood on both sides; slightly curved; L pres. = 6.2 cm; w pres. = 3 cm; rivet hole partially preserved at one end.

FrMnc7 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Four fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present some traces of mineralised wood on the front side and some black areas on the back side; n. 1: L pres. = 3 cm; w pres. = 2.7 cm; n. 2: L pres. = 3.8 cm; w pres. = 3.5 cm (?); n. 3: L pres. = 4.5 cm; w pres. = 2.8 cm; n. 4: L pres. = 3.5 cm; w pres. = 1.5 cm.

FrMnc8 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Four fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present some traces of mineralised wood on both sides; n. 1: dim. fragm. = 4.2 cm × 3 cm; does not preserve edges; small copper alloy rivet head visible on front side, at the middle of the fragment: n. 2: completely overlapped by n.1; n. 3: dim. fragm. = 4 × 4 cm?; small copper alloy rivet head visible on backside, at the middle of the fragment; n. 4: dim. fragm. = 3 × 4 cm; small copper alloy rivet head visible on backside, with traces of leather.

FrMnc9 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Two fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present some traces of mineralised wood on both sides; n. 1: L pres. = 4 cm; w pres. = 2 cm; n. 2: L pres. = 4 cm; w = 2.5 cm (?); does not preserve small sides.

FrMnc10 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Four fragmentary oddly overlapped iron plates; the plates present some black areas on both sides; n. 1: L pres. = 2.7 cm; w = 2.8 cm; traces of a copper alloy rivet visible on front side; n. 2: L pres. = 3 cm; w = 3 cm; preserves two circular copper-alloy rivets (diam. = 0.7 cm) next to each other, holding a leather band of only 1.17 cm in width; n. 3: L pres. = 3.4 cm; w = 2.4 cm (?); preserves a circular copper-alloy rivet (diam. = 0.7 cm) with traces of leather on lower edge; n. 4: dim. fragm. = 1.8 cm × 1.6 cm.

FrMnc11 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Fragmentary iron plate; L pres. = 3.3; w = 2.9 cm; on the back side preserves a circular copper alloy rivet (diam. = 0.6 cm) on the lower edge.

FrMnc12 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Three fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present some traces of mineralised wood on the front side; n. 1: L pres. = 3.3 cm; w = 3 cm; n. 2: L pres. = 3.2 cm; w pres. = 2.8 cm; presents a circular copper-alloy rivet (diam. = 0.67 cm) with traces of leather on back side; n. 3: L pres. = 3 cm; w pres. = 2 cm.

FrMnc13 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Four fragmentary extremely overlapped iron plates, only top edge preserved; the plates present some traces of mineralised wood on the front side; n.1: L pres. = 3 cm; w pres. = 2.5 cm; n. 2: L pres. = 4 cm; w pres. = 2.5 cm; n. 3: L pres. = 3.4 cm; w pres. = 3 cm; n. 4: dim. fragm. = 3.5 × 1 cm.

FrMnc14 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Fragmentary iron plate with blackened areas and traces of mineralised wood on the back side; L pres. = 3 cm; w = 3 cm.

FrMnc15 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Two fragmentary overlapped iron plates; the plates present small traces of mineralised wood on front side; n. 1: L pres. = 3.7 cm; w = 3 cm; presents a circular copper alloy rivet (diam. = 0.65 cm) with leather traces on back side; n. 2: L pres. = 4 cm; w pres. = 1.8 cm; presents a circular copper alloy rivet (diam. = 0.7 cm) with leather traces on back side.

FrMnc16 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Two fragmentary oddly overlapped iron plates; the plate edges are not parallel; they present small traces of mineralised wood on both sides; n. 1: L pres. = 4 cm; w pres. = 2 cm; possible traces of a copper alloy rivet on back side; n. 2: L pres. = 3.5 cm; w = 3 cm; traces of a copper alloy rivet visible on the front side, leather traces on back side.

FrMnc17 (Pls. XII, XIII)
Two fragmentary overlapped iron plates with traces of mineralised wood on both sides, slightly bent; n. 1: L fragm. = 3.3 cm; w = 3.1 cm; rounded corners; n. 2: L pres. = 3 cm; w pres. = 1.5 cm.

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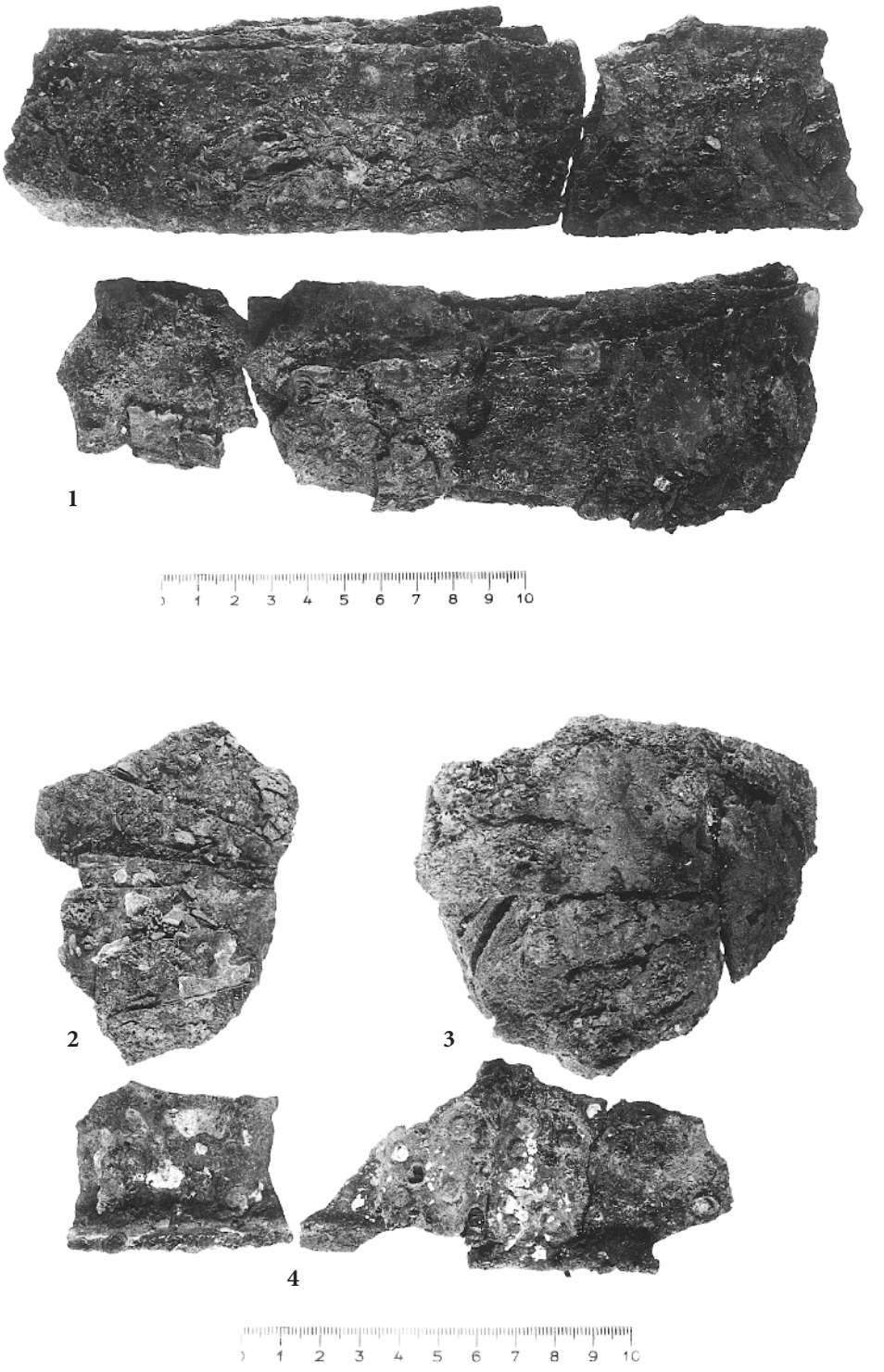
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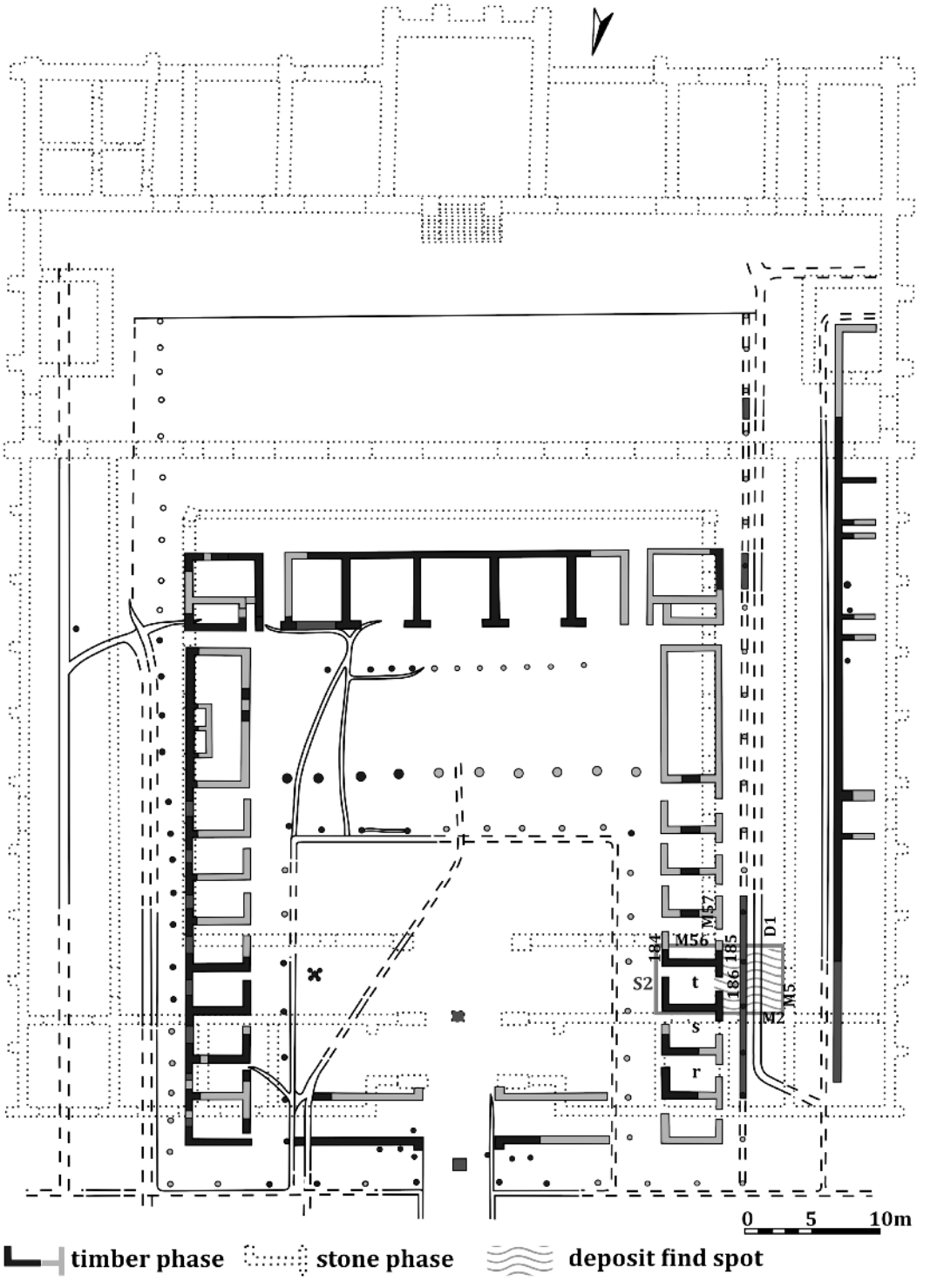
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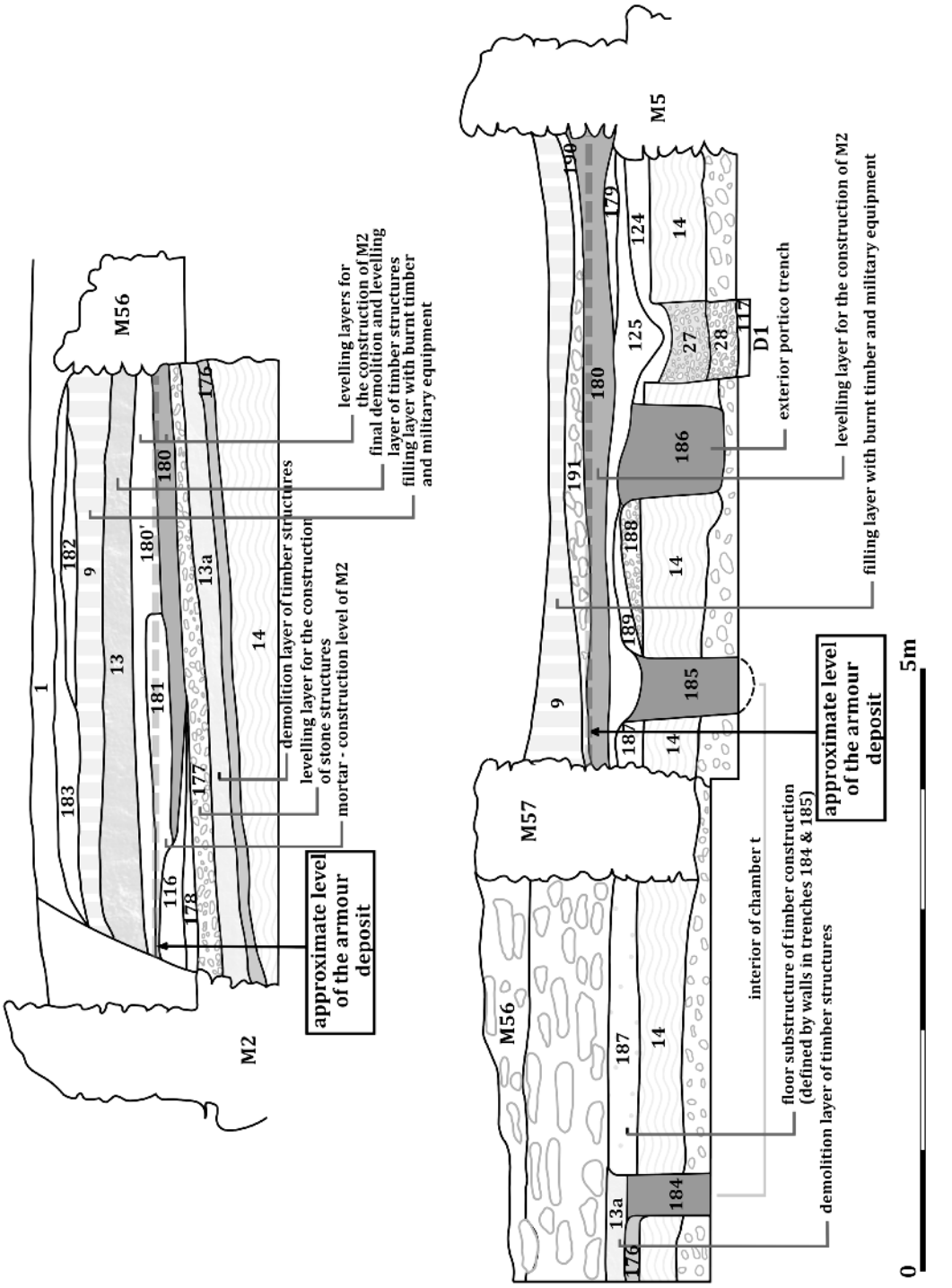
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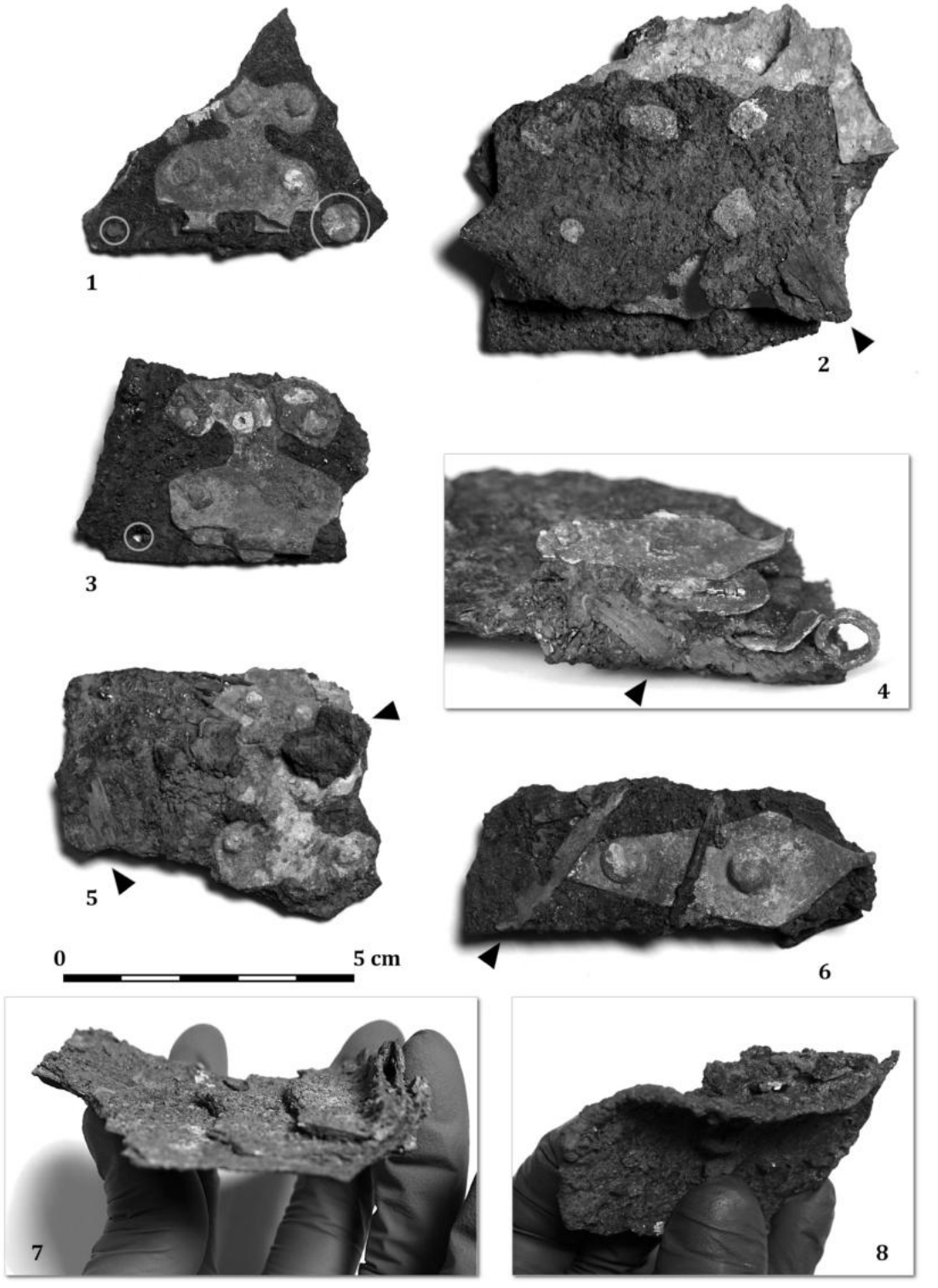
Pl. I. Early photographs of part of the segmental armour: **1.** *Lorica segmentata* girth hoops; **2.** Fragment from *manica* Mnc1; **3.** *Manica* fragment (?); **4.** Parts from *lorica segmentata* collar assembly (photos by Al. Diaconescu).



Pl. II. The location of the deposit in relation to the timber and stone edifices (based on Piso 2006, Fig. II/1, 4, 34).



Pl. III. Stratigraphic relation of the deposit with the stone and timber phases (after Piso 2006, Fig. II/26).



Pl. IV. Selection of pieces exhibiting damage and repair: **1–3, 5.** *Lorica segmentata* lobate hinges; **4, 6.** *Lorica segmentata* tie-loops; **7–8.** Miscellaneous plates. Circles indicate rivets or rivet holes; arrows point to mineralised wood (photos by M. Gui).



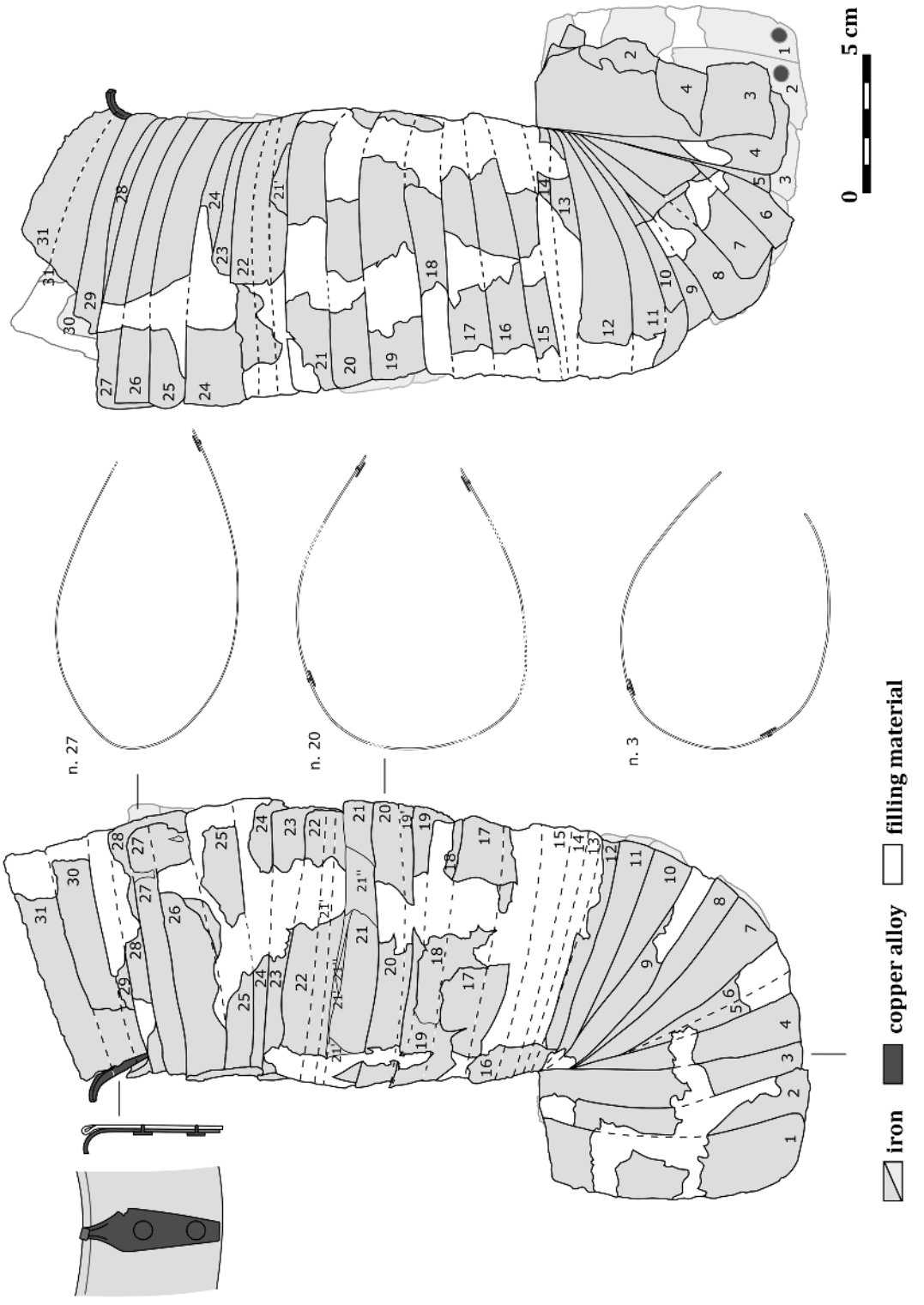
Pl. V. *Manica* Mnc1. Details: **1.** Tie-loop; **2.** Top section; **3.** Extremely overlapped plates (photos by A. Rădulescu).



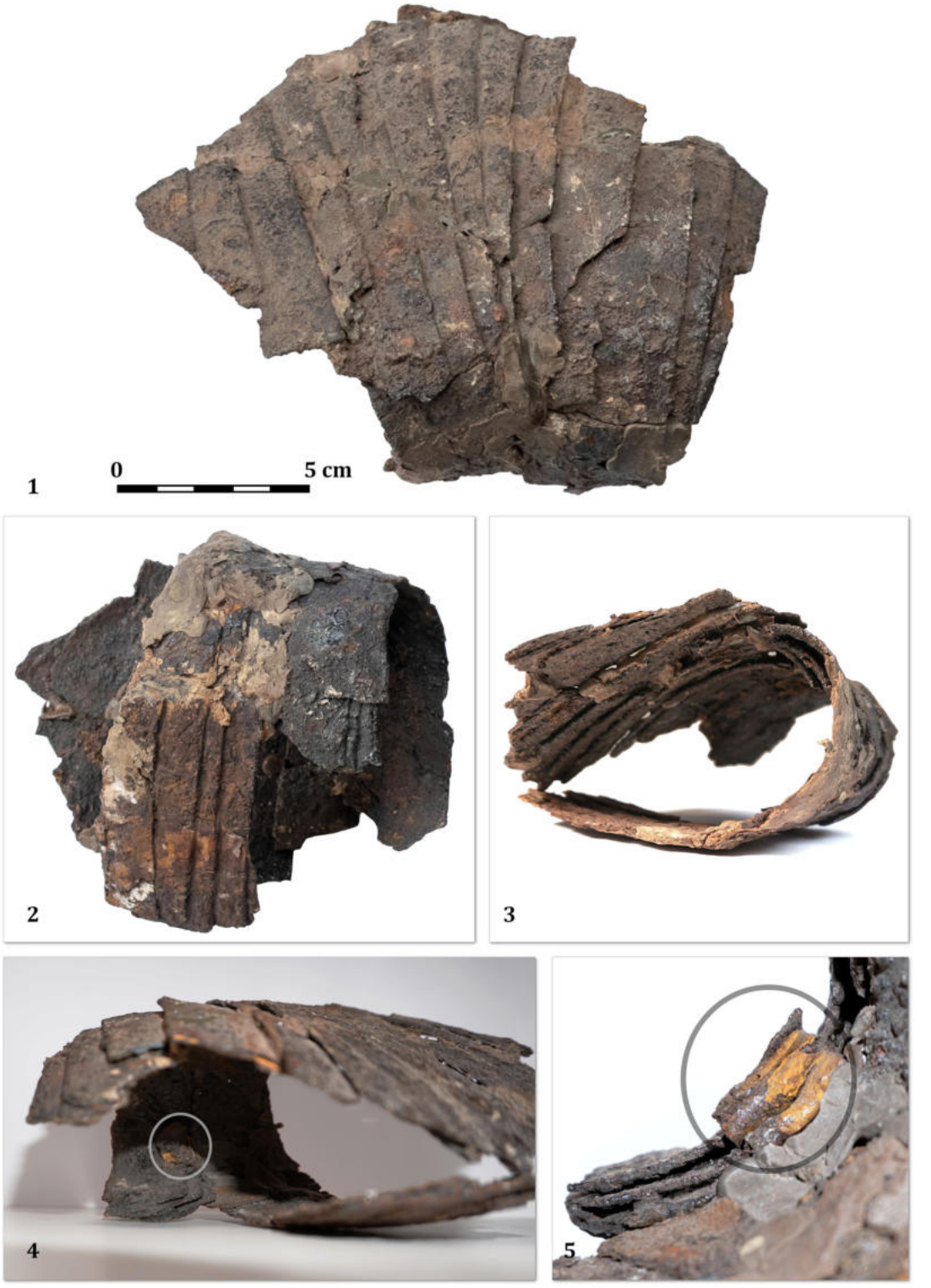




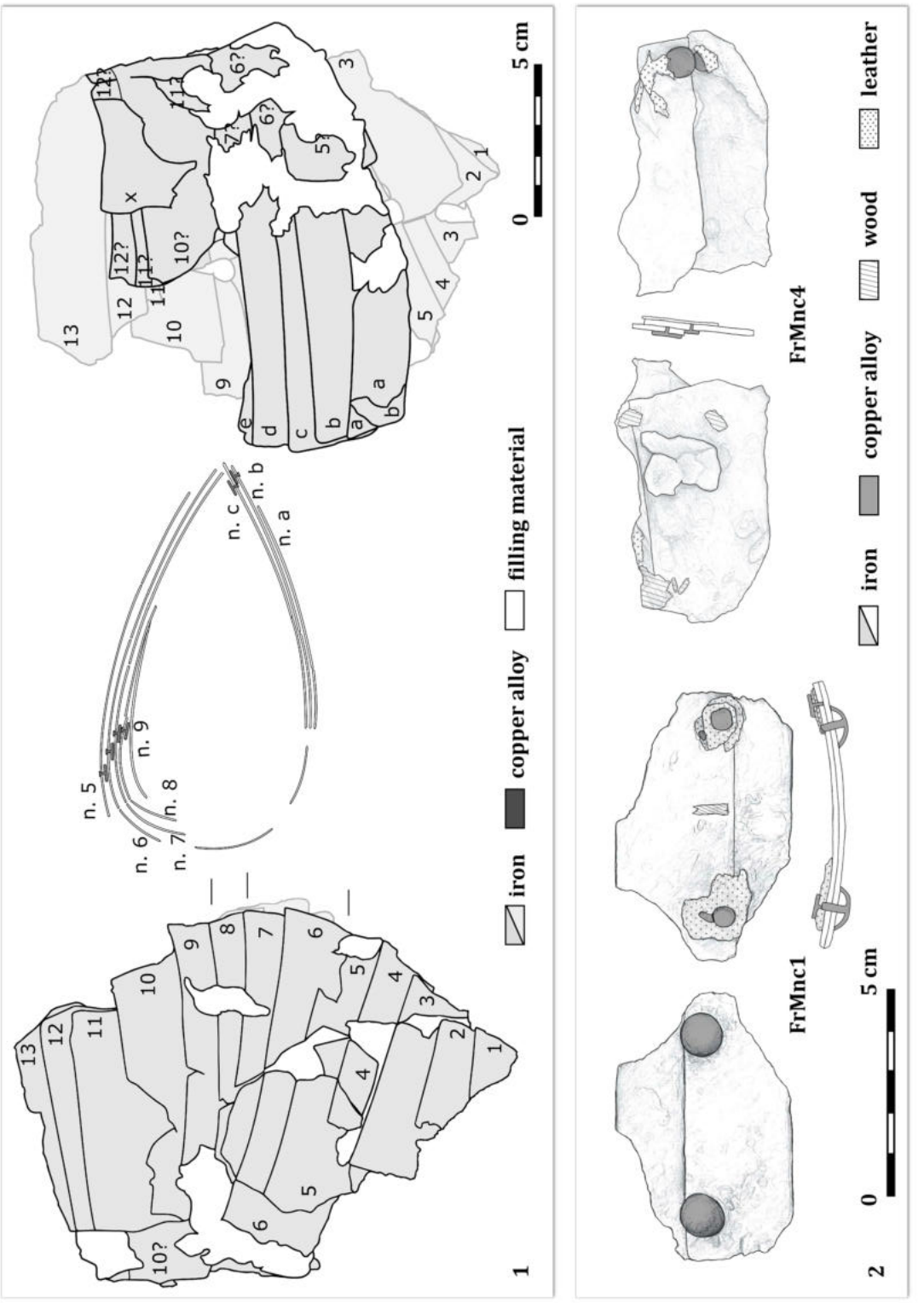
Pl. VI. *Manica* Mnc1 (photos by A. Rădulescu).



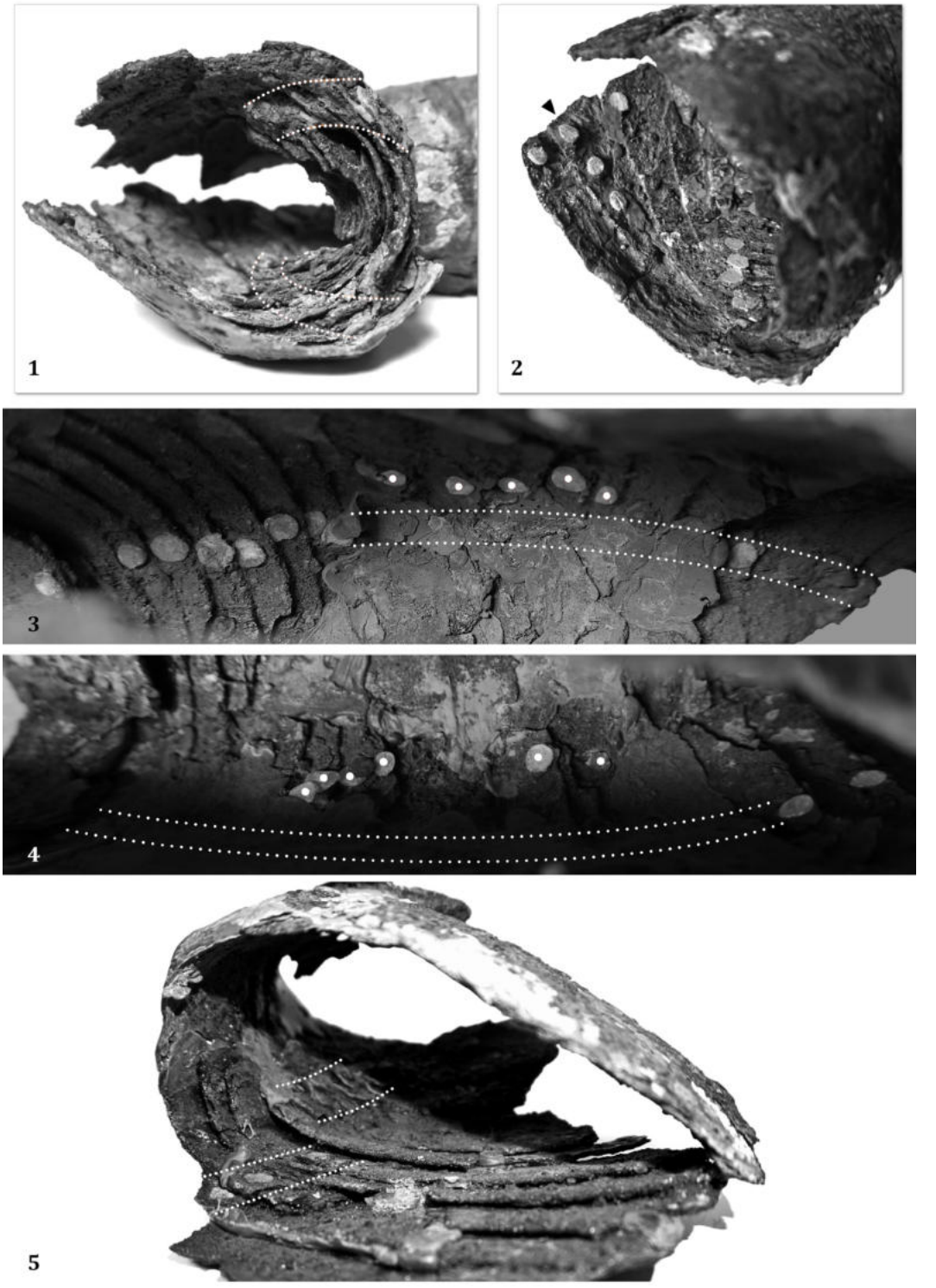
Pl. VII. *Manica* Mnc1 (drawing by M. Gui).



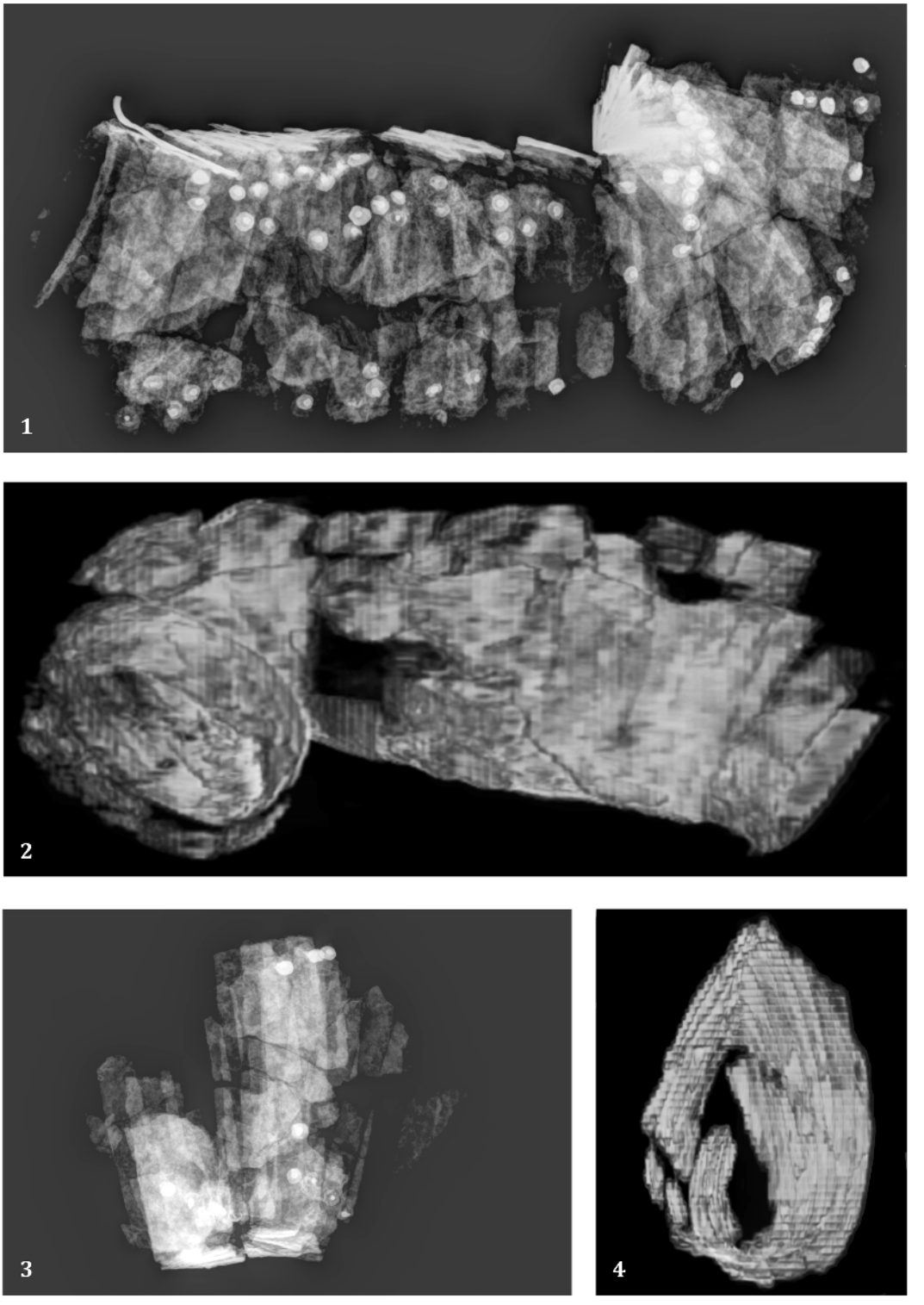
Pl. VIII. *Manica* Mnc2. Circles in **4–5** point to mineralised leather straps (photos by A. Rădulescu and M. Gui).



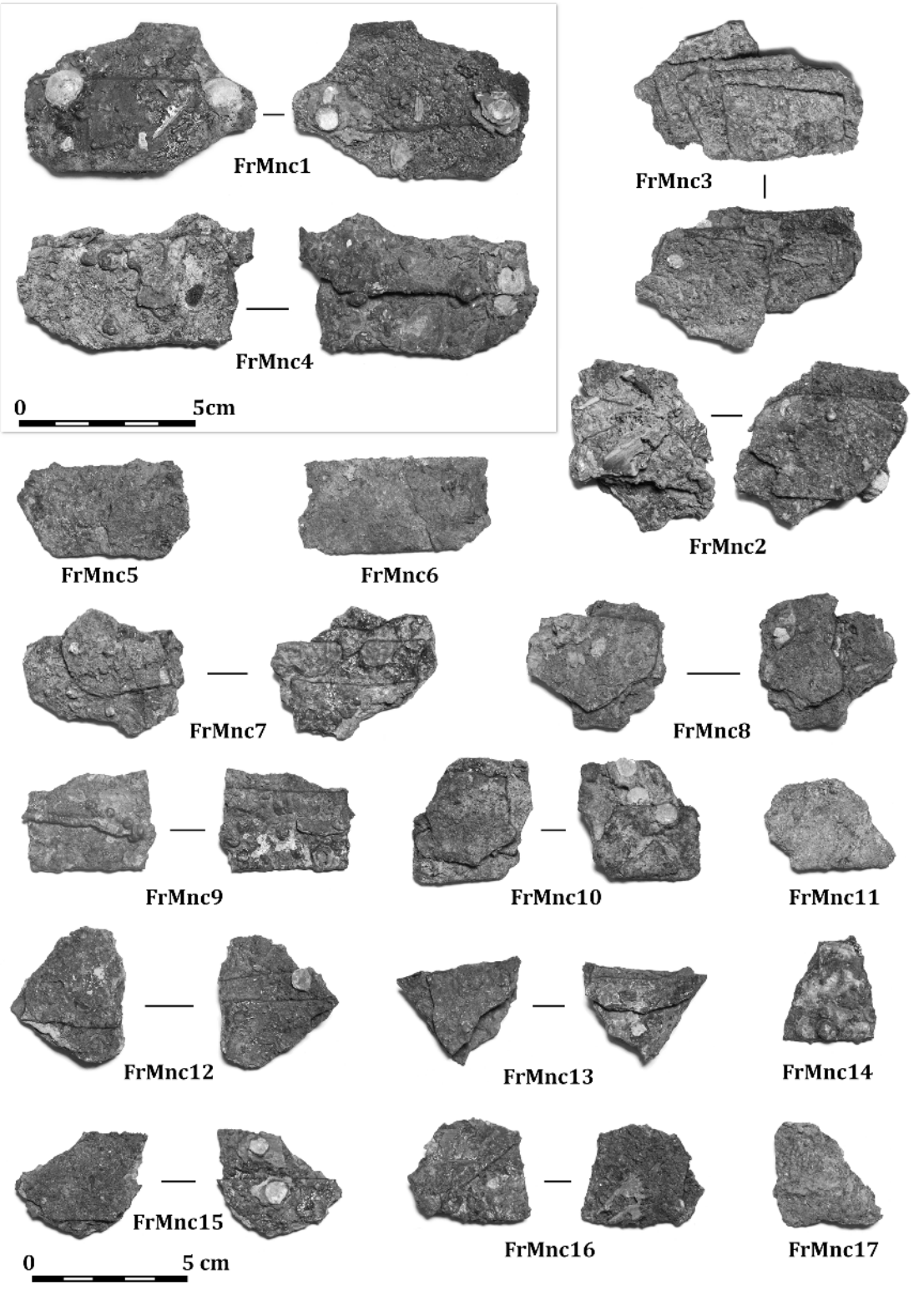
Pl. IX. 1. *Manica* Mnc2 (drawing by M. Gui); **2.** Loose armguard plates (drawing by A. Bâlc, digitisation by M. Gui).



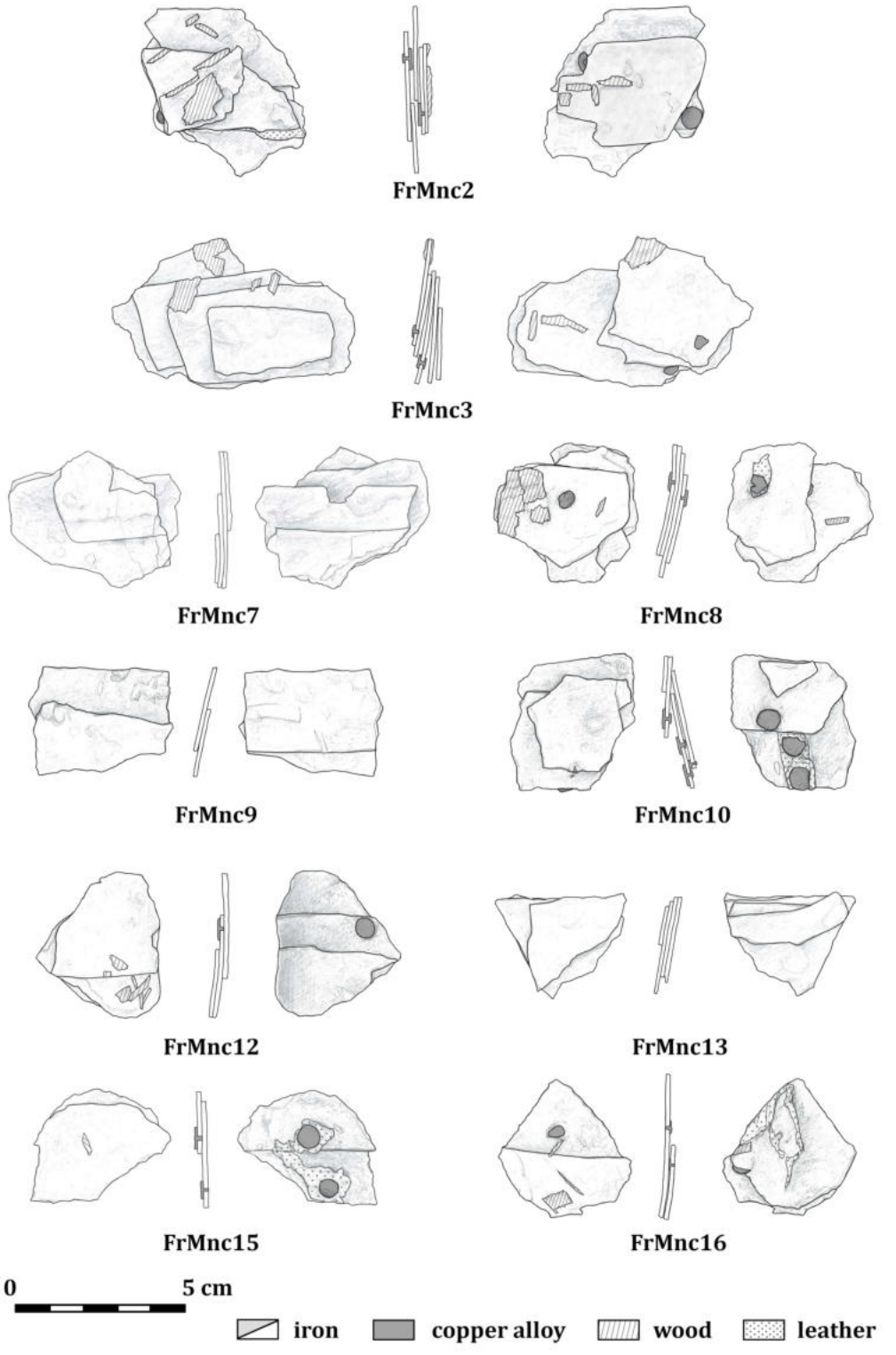
Pl. X. Mnc1 leathering details: **1.** Median leather straps indicated by dotted lines; **2.** Arrow indicates extra rivets; **3.-4.** Inside view: dotted lines indicate the normal alignment of leathering rivets and white dots mark the excentric rivets; **5.** Mnc2 leathering details: dotted lines indicate the disconnected leathering straps (photos by M. Gui).



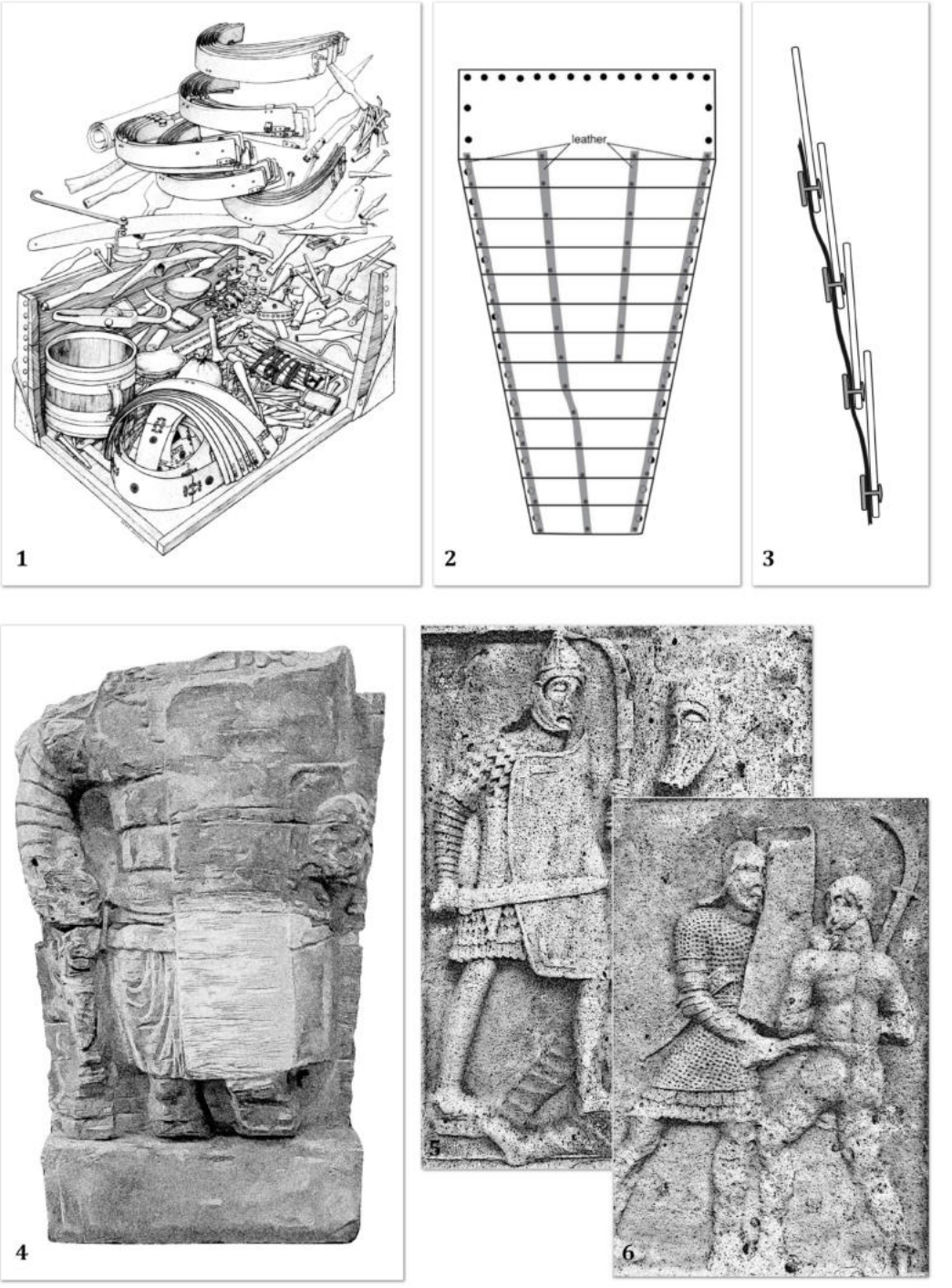
Pl. XI. 1–2. X-ray and CT scan of Mnc1; **3–4.** X-ray and CT scan of Mnc2.



Pl. XII. Loose armguard plates (photos by M. Gui).



Pl. XIII. Loose armguard plates (drawing by A. Bâlc, digitisation by M. Gui).



Pl. XIV. 1. The Corbridge hoard (Allason-Jones, Bishop 1988, Fig. 8, drawing by P. Connolly); **2.** Armguard internal leathering scheme (Bishop 2022, 35, drawing by M. Bishop); **3.** Upward plate overlap (drawing by M. Gui); **4.** Statue from Alba Iulia – National Museum of Unification in Alba Iulia; **5-6.** *Tropaeum Traiani* metopes 21 and 23 – "Tropaeum Traiani" Museum Complex in Adamclisi (illustrations by M. Gui).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 285–297

"THE ITALIAN CONNECTION". NOTES ON AN EARLY IMPERIAL ROMAN POTTERY LAMP COLLECTED BY PIONEER ARCHAEOLOGIST KÁROLY TORMA FROM ANZIO (ANTIUM)*

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.11

Abstract: The Roman pottery lamp under scrutiny here has recently emerged by chance in the collections of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca, being hitherto unpublished. The inventory registers have rather surprisingly revealed that the artefact was not discovered in Roman Dacia but comes from Italy and was donated to the museum by well-known 19th century Transylvanian archaeologist Károly Torma (1829–1897), who spent his final years in Italy, passing away in Anzio on 28 February 1897. According to the registry entry the artefact belongs to a larger assemblage of finds collected by Torma in Italy during the 1890s and donated to the Transylvanian Museum Society. The collection seems to have only been inventoried in 1899, and according to the entry it comes from various places in and around Anzio (ancient Antium), such as Nero's imperial palace, Cicero's villa or the environs of the so-called "Sepolcro di Coriolano". The lamp's exact place of discovery is impossible to pinpoint accurately. While a comprehensive analysis of Torma's entire Italian collection is certainly called for in the near future, the present paper focuses on this interesting pottery lamp, as well as on the story of its discovery in the context of Torma's Italian years (1890–1897), a period of his life which unfortunately is still insufficiently known.

Keywords: Roman Antium; Roman pottery lamps; history of archaeology; antiquarianism; Károly Torma.

Rezumat: Opaițul ceramic prezentat în articolul de față a fost identificat recent, din întâmplare, în colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei din Cluj-Napoca, fiind o piesă inedită până în prezent. Registrele de inventar au dezvăluit în mod surprinzător că artefactul a fost donat muzeului de către celebrul arheolog transilvănean din secolul al XIX-lea Károly Torma (1829–1897), care și-a petrecut ultimii ani din viață în Italia, decedând la Anzio pe 28 februarie 1897. Conform registrului de inventar, artefactul aparține unui lot mai mare de descoperiri colectate de Torma în Italia pe parcursul ultimului deceniu al secolului al XIX-lea și donate Societății Muzeului Ardelean. Colecția a fost inventariată abia în 1899, și pare să provină din diverse puncte ale orășelului italian Anzio (anticul Antium), precum palatul imperial al lui Nero, vila lui Cicero sau așa-numitul „Sepolcro di Coriolano". Locul exact al descoperirii opaițului este imposibil de stabilit cu exactitate. O analiză cuprinzătoare a întregii colecții italiene a lui Torma este cu siguranță necesară în viitorul apropiat, însă prezenta lucrare se concentrează asupra acestui interesant artefact ceramic, precum și pe povestea sa în contextul perioadei petrecute de Torma în Italia (1890–1897) care, din păcate, este încă insuficient cunoscută.

* I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Irina Nemeti (National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca) for her invaluable help in tracing down the artefact, to Adrienn Székely (Transylvanian Museum Society, Cluj-Napoca), for her kind help with the archival sources included in the paper, and to my former student Béla Barabás-Ágoston for the drawing included here. I am also grateful to Dr. Béla Santa for his valuable comments and suggestions.

Cuvinte-cheie: Antium; opaițe romane ceramice; istoria arheologiei; colecționism; Károly Torma.

The context surrounding the artefact

The pottery lamp under scrutiny here has recently emerged by chance in the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca (hereafter NMTH), being hitherto unpublished. The inventory registers have rather surprisingly revealed that the artefact was not discovered in Roman Dacia but comes from Italy and was donated to the museum by famous 19th century Transylvanian archaeologist Károly Torma (Pl. I/1) who spent his final years in Italy, passing away in Anzio on 28 February 1897. According to the registry entry the artefact belongs to a larger collection containing 146 finds collected by Torma in Italy during the early 1890s and donated in 1892 to the Transylvanian Museum Society (hereafter TMS),[1] forerunner of today's NMTH. The records of multiple assemblies of the TMS held in 1892 and 1893 mention at least two different batches of Italian antiquities sent by Torma from Italy, the first of which arrived in Cluj/Kolozsvár sometime during the first part of 1892.[2] According to the documents Torma requested the reimbursement of the postage expenses as well as some additional financial aid for the continuation of his research. The administrative board of the organization, assembled on 1 June 1892, voted to pay 400 Forints to Torma (in addition to the postage expenses) for the first batch of antiquities, as well as for Torma's lifetime service to the TMS (Pl. III/3).[3] According to the report of the curator of the Coins and Antiquities Collection of the TMS Henrik Finály (1825–1898) delivered in the following year's general assembly, Torma's Italian assemblage consists of "nothing more than Roman and prehistoric fragments whose value resides mainly in the places they were collected from, but in themselves hold very little historical significance".[4] Finály's unfavorable assessment of the assemblage is somewhat consistent with the period's view on the historical value of archaeological artefacts (especially anepigraphic finds), but could also be connected to the unsystematic manner in which the collection was put together.[5] The Italian finds were not the first archeological artefacts donated by Torma to the TMS, in fact by that time the "Torma collection" held by the organization amounted to around 1900 mostly Roman artefacts, originating from numerous sites within Transylvania, including the material from the scholar's first excavation carried out in and around the Roman auxiliary fort of Arcobara (Ilișua, Alsóilosva) on the northern *limes* of Dacia between 1858 and 1863.[6] It seems that a part of the collection was donated throughout the latter part of the 1860s, probably in

[1] The Transylvanian Museum Society (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet/Societatea Muzeului Ardelean) founded in 1859 operated one of the largest collections of antiquities in East-Central Europe, see Petruț 2017, 43–45.

[2] See TMS 5th BDA 1892, 39; TMS 6th BDA 1892, 43.

[3] TMS 5th BDA 1892, 39. The sum was sent to Torma shortly after the assembly, see TMS 6th BDA 1892, 42. The financial records also show that the second batch also arrived shortly and was paid for by the society, see TMS 7th BDA 1892, 44.

[4] TMS GA 1893, 17, my translation.

[5] This hypothesis can only be tested through the comprehensive investigation of the collection.

[6] See Torma 1865a. For a general view on the Torma collection see Hica-Cîmpeanu 1980. Various parts of the collection were published throughout the years, see notes 7 to 16 of the aforementioned publication.

1867 and 1868,[7] although at least one similar donation was undertaken a decade earlier, in order to aid the foundation of the TMS (see below).

The Italian assemblage seems to have only been inventoried in 1899, and according to the entry it comes from various places in and around Anzio (ancient Antium), such as Nero's imperial palace, Cicero's villa or the environs of the so-called "Sepolcro di Coriolano". The lamp's exact place of discovery is however impossible to pinpoint accurately. While a comprehensive analysis of Torma's entire Italian collection is certainly called for in the near future, the present paper focuses on this interesting pottery lamp, as well as on the story of its discovery in the context of Torma's Italian years (1890–1897), a period of the great archaeologist's life which unfortunately is still insufficiently known.

Anzio, situated some 52 km south of Rome on the Tyrrhenian coast, was the site of ancient Antium (Pl. I/2), one of the most important Volscian cities founded in the 5th century BC. Following an unsuccessful uprising against Roman rule in 338 BC, a colony was established here. From the 2nd century BC onward, various representatives of the Roman elite, such as Cicero and certain members of the *gens Iulia* acquired estates in the town and *ager* of Antium.[8] Emperor Nero, who was born at Antium (as was Caligula before him), would found a second colony consisting of veterans of the Praetorian Guard.[9] The town and its environs flourished under Nero, who built a new port as well as an imposing imperial villa by the sea, which would be used and expanded by numerous emperors up to Septimius Severus. The complex was by all accounts imposing, its construction employed a sophisticated system of terraces and cryptoportici.[10] Ancient Antium was therefore an important seaside urban settlement during the Republican period and the Principate, which, partly due to its vicinity to Rome, became a resort of the Roman social elite, moreover of the imperial family.

The scholarly interest in Italian antiquities can look back on a centuries old tradition throughout Europe (and indeed the entire world), being intertwined with the phenomenon known as "Grand Tour" which gained traction especially from the late 17th century onward, further rising in popularity after the spread of the railway throughout the continent.[11] With regard to the activity of Transylvanian antiquaries in Italy during the 19th and early 20th century, the recent publication of the catalogue of Greek and Etruscan pottery in the collection of the NMTH has shed light on the massive scale of the phenomenon.[12] Notable local antiquarians such as Count Lajos Gyulai (1800–1869), Countess Klára Rhédey (1809–1868), Countess Ottilia Wass (1829–1917) and well-regarded orientalist and scholar of Semitic languages Count Géza Kuun (1838–1905), just to name a few, were known for their frequent trips to Italy as well as for their collections acquired there.[13] Among the artefacts donated to the TMS by them and their fellow antiquarians, one can also find four Roman

[7] Hica-Cîmpeanu 1980, 653–654.

[8] Haas et alii 2011, 136–137.

[9] PECS (Perseus), ANTIUM (Anzio), Italy. https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0006%3Aentry%3Dantium (28.02.2025)

[10] Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1984, 259.

[11] See Jokilehto 1986, 82–83; Mazzocca 2021, 6–9.

[12] See Greek and Etruscan pottery.

[13] See Mitu 2022, 5–22.

lamps from Italy succinctly published throughout the past thirty years.[14] The present lamp is a new addition to this group.

About Károly Torma (1829–1897), the figurehead of 19th century Transylvanian and Hungarian archaeology

Károly Torma was the central figure of the fledgling archaeological movement centred on Transylvania's Roman and prehistoric past, his field research and epigraphic contributions setting the academic agenda at these early stages. Torma was born in Transylvania on 13 October 1829 in today's Bistrița-Năsăud County, Romania, in a Hungarian family with a strong tradition in antiquarianism. His family estate included the Roman fort at Arcobara (Ilișua/Alsóilosva) situated on the limes of Roman Dacia.[15] His father József Torma (1801–1864), was also a notable antiquarian, undertaking archaeological research in and around the Roman fort. His children, future archaeologists Károly and Zsófia Torma (1832–1899),[16] were involved from a very young age in their father's antiquarian pursuits. K. Torma would go on to earn a law degree in Cluj, but would eventually start his own archaeological endeavours following Theodor Mommsen's visit in Transylvania in the autumn of 1857.[17] In the subsequent years he became one of Mommsen's closest collaborators in this part of Europe, especially with regard to the work on volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL III). His excavation in the Roman fort and *vicus* of Arcobara carried out between 1858 and 1863 can be regarded as the first proper archaeological field research undertaken in Transylvania. The extended report of the *balneum* excavation published in 1865 can be viewed as the first archaeological monograph of a Transylvanian site.[18]

Shortly before his acquaintance with Th. Mommsen, in 1856 he donated his personal library together with his coin and antiquities collection to the TMS, which would be officially founded in Cluj/Kolozsvár in 1859. His correspondence with the society's founding president and future governor of Transylvania, Count Imre Mikó (1805–1876) is testament to the significant contribution by which Torma offered his support for the creation of this important organization.[19] During the 1860's he would go on to publish numerous studies regarding the epigraphic sources and the *limes* of Roman Dacia,[20] and in 1880 would publish the first monograph on the limes of Roman Dacia.[21] Between 1879 and 1889 he was professor of archaeology at the University of Budapest, undertaking numerous excavations on the territory of Roman Aquincum, most notably investigating the civilian amphitheatre.[22] In 1890 he settled in Italy planning to continue his work

[14] Lychnus et lampas, nos. 49, 187, 189, 208. See also Băluță 1996, 110, nos. 105 (Pl. VI/8), 106 (Pl. VII/2).

[15] Téglás 1905, 1–3. See also Hica-Cîmpeanu 1980, n. 1.

[16] With regard to Zs. Torma see Santa 2017.

[17] See Petruț 2017, 44–45.

[18] Torma 1865a.

[19] See Egyed, Kovács 2009, no. 56, 210–211, no. 58. 212–213.

[20] See Torma 1861; Torma 1863a; Torma 1863b; Torma 1863c; Torma 1863d; Torma 1865b; Torma 1865c; Torma 1866. The list comprises only a small selection of Torma's publications regarding Roman Dacia.

[21] Torma 1880.

[22] Torma 1881.

from there. He spent his first two years in Rome, but moved to Anzio in 1892.[23] Not much is known about this period of his life, but according to his correspondence he was planning on undertaking excavations in the town. Unfortunately it appears that this did not come to pass. Still, there are numerous mentions of his intervention with the Italian government to stop a public development project that threatened the integrity of the site of Nero's imperial villa.[24] It seems that his intervention was successful. Up to now, there is no direct information regarding any archaeological investigation undertaken by Torma in and around Anzio, although based on the evidence of the lamp presented here, and the information regarding his archaeological collection, it seems likely that he pursued some kind of field investigations during his years spent in Italy. At any rate, this subject deserves a comprehensive investigation of its own. K. Torma died in Anzio on 28 February 1897, battling numerous physical ailments, homesickness and poverty.[25] He was probably the most important figure of 19th century archaeology in Transylvania and in Hungary, and was the first true scholar of Roman Dacia.

Description and analysis of the lamp

The lamp is part of the archaeological collection of the NMTH in Cluj-Napoca (inventory number v19181/7566). It is mouldmade, its dimensions can be described as average (diameter: 70 mm, height: 30 mm, thickness of the basin walls: 2 mm), the fabric is fine with traces of colour-coating, its brownish grey colour indicating that it was fired in a reduced atmosphere (Pl. II/1–3). The piece is unfortunately incomplete, the tip of the nozzle being broken and missing, as is most of the discus. Even so, it is possible to note the high quality of its production and finishing. Because of the missing nozzle tip, the exact typology is difficult to assess, however certain morphological features eventually allow such an assessment, as it will be shown below. The overall shape of the lamp is circular, the basin is moderately high, with a pronounced taper towards the base. The base is marked by a simple circular groove and is unstamped. The shoulder is quite wide, plain on the outside, grooved on the inside, displaying a strong slope lending the lamp a biconical appearance. The discus is concave, sinking deep into the basin and is separated from the shoulder by three circular rills (Loeschcke shoulder form V). No handle or V-shaped channel is present on the lamp, however, the air hole was clearly marked (without piercing the discus), furthermore, no knobs or volute ends can be noticed at the base of the nozzle, which means that certain well-known types can be ruled out (Loeschcke I, III and IV). The most interesting feature is the presence of two side-lugs, more precisely two swallow-tailed ear handles on each side connected to the shoulder. The multiple types and shapes of side-lugs/lug, handles/ear handles (e.g. knucklebones, rectangular, voluted, bow shaped, etc.) are very likely remnants of the Hellenistic lampmaking tradition, from which "Roman lamps" were born during the late Republican period, i.e. the 1st century BC.[26] The birthplace of this new style of lamps is considered to be the Tyrrhenian coast of

[23] Téglás 1905, 21–24.
[24] Téglás 1905, 23.
[25] See Torma's published correspondence: Kanozsay, Banner 1964.
[26] Bussière, Lindros Wohl 2017, 57–64.

Central Italy, especially Latium.[27] The combination of the abovementioned morphological elements point to a certain variant of Loeschcke V, i.e. Deneauve type V E.[28] Loeschcke type V/Bailey type C lamps[29] belong to the wider category of volute-lamps, and stand out due to their simplified volutes with single knobs often referred to as "shoulder-volutes" ("*Schultervolute*" in Loeschcke's terminology), or so-called "semi-volutes",[30] this being the main difference with Loeschcke's type IV.[31] Similarly to Loeschcke type III and IV, these lamps have rounded nozzles. The swallow-tailed ear handles are most often (although not exclusively) found on this type of lamps, although overall this combination is rare, the known examples are dated to the 1st century AD. The few analogies available in the publications are often only partial, as some of the pieces have handles and/or V-shaped channels at the base of the nozzle. Perhaps, the closest analogy comes from the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection.[32] The respective lamp was manufactured in the Southern Anatolian region, it has a rilled shoulder and no handle, but in contrast to "Torma's lamp" it has the V-shaped channel. According to the authors, this type was produced in both the eastern and western provinces,[33] although it was previously asserted that they seem to be missing from the repertoire of the large Rhenish and Danubian 1st century factories.[34] A very similar find was published much earlier by J. Deneauve from Carthage (Pl. III/1).[35] D. M. Bailey while dealing with this type, has asserted that Italian examples are always fitted with handles, and very rarely antedate the mid-1st century AD.[36] J. Bussière and B. Lindros Wohl have since disproven this notion, emphasizing that often these lamps present features that are characteristic to an early production, i.e. the first half of the 1st century AD.[37] The lamp from Carthage and the one from the Getty Collection both belong to Deneauve type V E, sharing a multitude of common features (swallow-tailed ear-handles, rilled shoulders, discrete shoulder volutes and no handles). The lamp from Antium most likely belongs to this type. Notwithstanding the lack of the nozzle tip, the ends of the shoulder volutes seem to be slightly visible on the base of the nozzle. The main difference seems to be the lack of the V-shaped channel present in both cases.

A second, somewhat more distant group, seems to be composed of a lamp from the Athenian agora (Pl. III/2),[38] and one in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz.[39] Both seem to have been manufactured in Italy and share multiple common features, such as the presence of a handle and the shoulder separated from the discus by a simple groove (shoulder form Loeschcke VIIb), rather than the somewhat complex series of rills as in the case of the earlier group. Their proposed dating is the middle or second

[27] Pavolini 1987, 144–148.
[28] See Deneauve 1969, 158, no. 637 ("Lampes à simples volutes et à ailerons latéraux").
[29] Loeschcke 1919, 41–44; Bailey 1980, 184–198.
[30] Perlzweig 1961, 79.
[31] Bailey 1980, 184; Bussière, Lindros Wohl 2017, 165.
[32] Bussière, Lindros Wohl 2017, 181, no. 267.
[33] Bussière, Lindros Wohl 2017, 181.
[34] Bailey 1980, 184–185.
[35] Deneauve 1969, 158, no. 637, Pl. LXIV.
[36] Bailey 1980, 184.
[37] Bussière, Lindros Wohl 2017, 166.
[38] Perlzweig 1961, 79, no. 80, Pl. 4.
[39] Menzel 1969, 46, no. 244, Abb. 20, 1.

part of the 1st century AD. A third example of this group rather surprisingly comes from Roman Dacia, a province established during the first decade of the 2nd century. The find from Roman Ampelum (Zlatna, Alba County)[40] seems to be identical to the previous two, and was probably brought over by a soldier or civilian settler who was relocated to the newly founded province at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. From the limited information available it seems as though the first variant (Deneauve type VE) is earlier, lamps belonging to this type being generally dated to the first half or the middle of the 1st century AD, while the second variant was in production during the latter half of the same century. The emergence of the find from Ampelum, in Dacia, seems to further corroborate this notion.

Similar swallow-tailed ear-handles have also been noted on lamps belonging to other types; however, their occurrence is somewhat rare, e.g., a Loeschcke type VIII lamp from Cologne[41] or a Bailey type B example from the British Museum.[42] In the case of the present lamp, such an association can be safely ruled out due to the lack of the knobs (the volute ends) at the base of the nozzle.

To conclude, the lamp from Antium can only be ascribed to the first group described above, i.e., the so-called Deneauve type V E. It was most likely manufactured in Italy, probably in one of Latium's lamp workshops. Regarding the chronology of the lamp, a series of morphological elements indicate an early date, i.e., the first half of the 1st century AD. The elaborately rilled shoulder is one of the indicators, while the use of the swallow-tailed ear-handles, widely considered to be remnants of Hellenistic lamp production, further corroborates the proposed early dating.[43] However, the use of similar side-lugs has been noted on later lamps as well (see above).

Concluding remarks

As it was shown above, this interesting and quite rare pottery lamp was discovered or acquired by Károly Torma in Anzio, the site of ancient Antium. It was certainly part of a larger collection of Roman period artefacts from the area. The exact circumstances and time of its acquisition are not known, we known however that it was sent from Italy by Torma together with numerous other similar artefacts in early 1892. Torma had previously donated large collections of archaeological artefacts during the late 1850s and late 1860s, as well as his personal library, intending to support the work of the TMS, of which he was a founding member. His donation of Italian antiquities towards the end of his life should be seen as a continuation of his lifelong efforts to develop this important institution which is the forerunner of todays's National Museum of Transylvanian History. A future comprehensive investigation of the entire "Torma collection" is needed in order to fully appreciate the scale of Károly Torma's contribution to Roman archaeology in the Carpathian Basin and beyond.

[40] Lychnus et lampas, 65, 118, no. 153.
[41] Loeschcke 1919, 54, Abb. 8/3.
[42] Bailey 1980, 155–156, Q 849.
[43] Bussière, Lindros Wohl 2017, 57–64.

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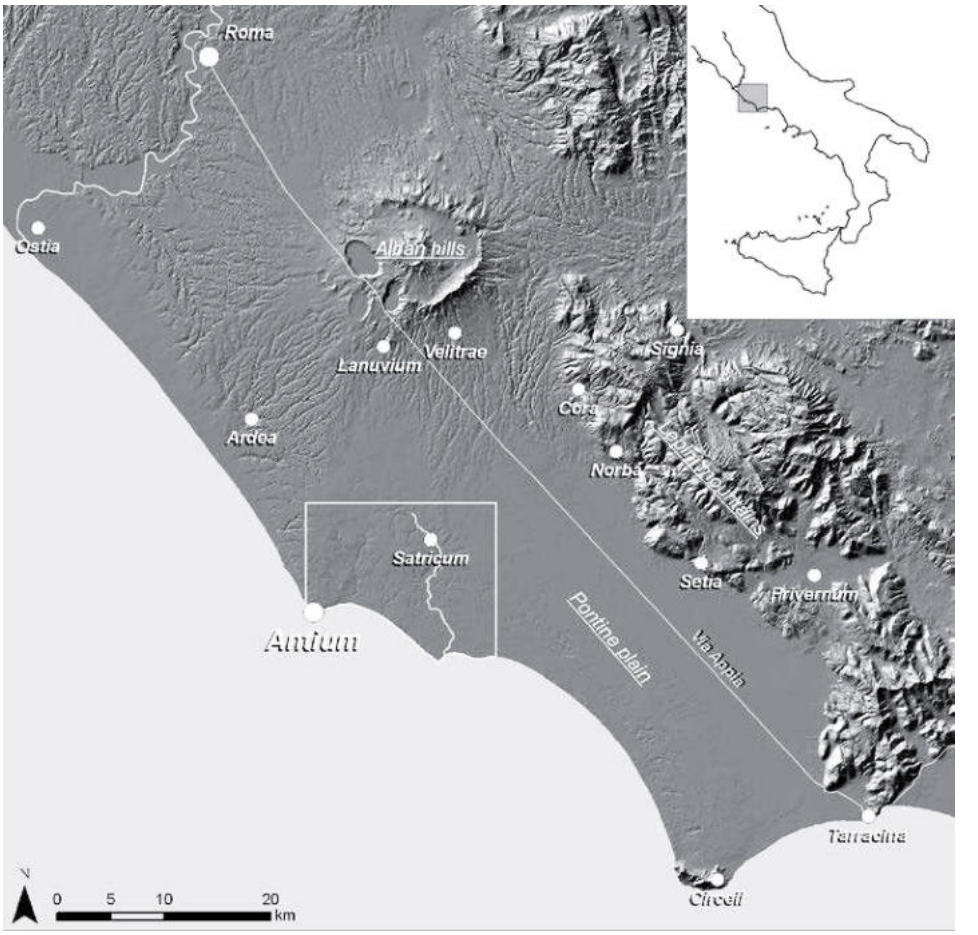
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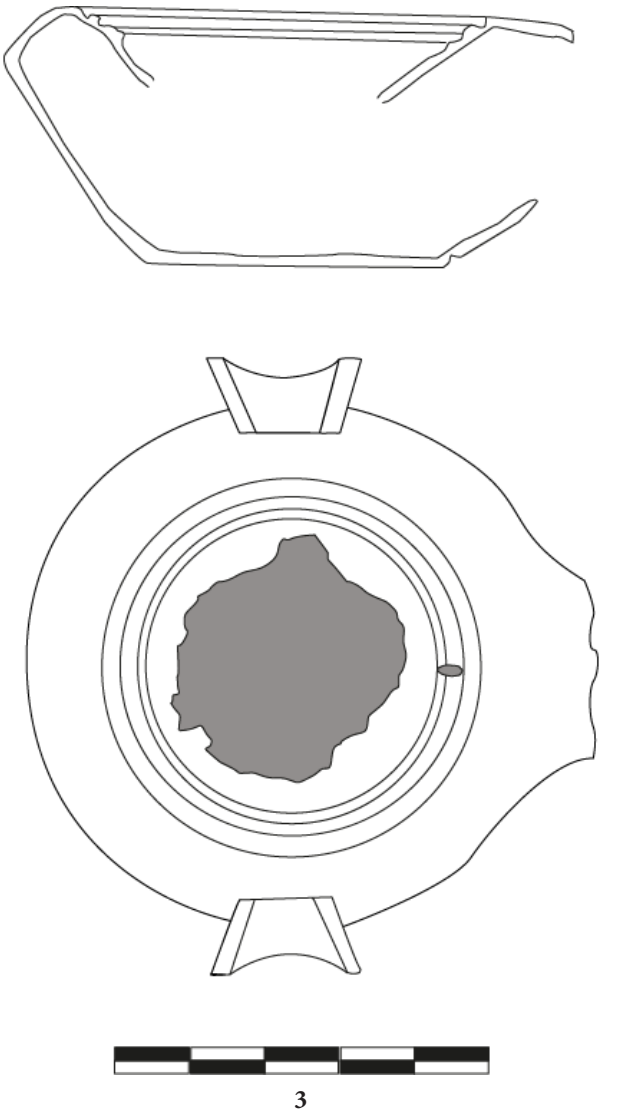
Pl. I. 1. Károly Torma (1829–1897) (cf. Bisztray et alii 1941, 200); **2.** Antium and its ager in Central Italy (cf. Haas et alii 2011, 112, Fig. 1).



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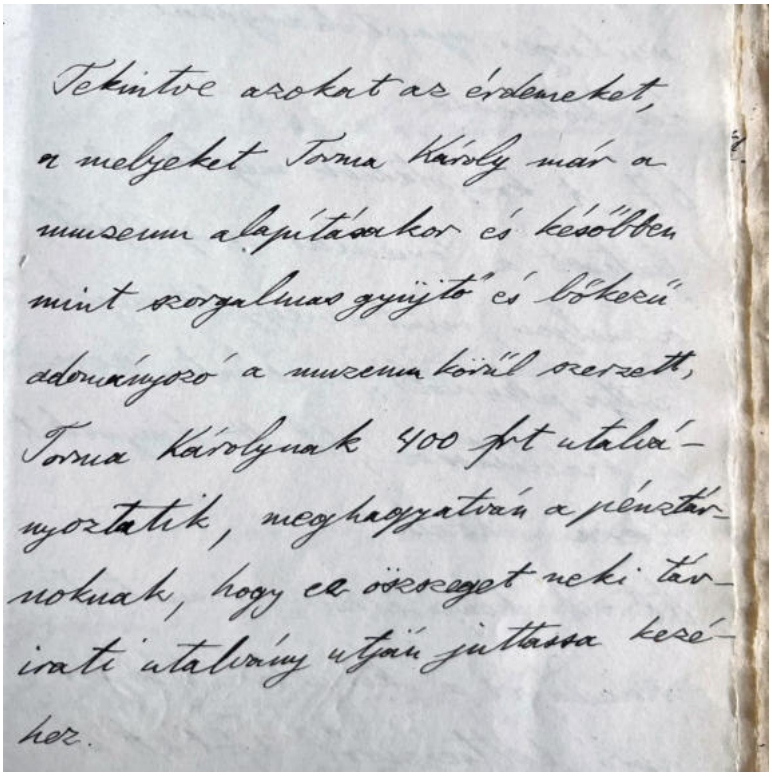
Pl. II. 1–2. Photo (D. Petruț); **3.** drawing (B. Barabás-Ágoston).



1



2


Tekintve azokat az érdemeket,
a melyeket Torma Károly már a
museum alapításakor és később is
mint szorgalmas gyüjtő és bőkezü
adományozó a museum körül szerzett,
Torma Károlynak 400 frt utalvá-
nyoztatik, megbizatván a pénztár-
nokunk, hogy ez összeget neki táv-
irati utalvány utján juttassa kezé-
hez.

3

Pl. III. 1. Deneauve type V E lamp from Carthage (Deneauve 1969, 158, no. 637, Pl. LXIV); **2.** Deneauve type V E lamp from the Athenian agora (Perlzweig 1961, 79, no. 80, Pl. 4); **3.** excerpt from the records of the BDA acknowledging Torma's lifelong services to the organization and instructing the treasurer to transfer the sum of 400 Forints to Torma in Italy (TMS 5th BDA 1892, 39).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 299–329

A 5TH-CENTURY ASSEMBLAGE FROM PĂDURENI

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DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.12

Abstract: In 2018, six objects made of gold and silver, discovered at Pădureni (Cluj County) with a metal detector, were handed over to the National Museum of Transylvanian History. To verify the context of the find, a small-scale archaeological excavation was carried out in 2019, which did not identify any archaeological features or additional objects. The artefacts can be dated to between the mid-5th and early 6th centuries and appear to be part of an assemblage that has likely not been entirely recovered. The limited information regarding the find circumstances and the original composition of the assemblage significantly hinder the interpretation. The group of objects could have easily been grave-goods; however, the topography of the findspot and the absence of any grave traces do not support this presumption. Based on the available data, hypothetically, an interpretation as a deposit seems more plausible.

Keywords: Pădureni; 5th century; gold and silver objects; deposit; Transylvania.

Rezumat: În anul 2018, șase obiecte de aur și argint descoperite la Pădureni (județul Cluj) cu ajutorul unui detector de metale au fost predate Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Pentru verificarea contextului descoperirii, în anul 2019 s-a efectuat un sondaj arheologic, prin care, însă, nu s-a identificat niciun complex arheologic și care nu a dus la descoperirea altor artefacte. Obiectele pot fi datate între mijlocul secolului al V-lea și începutul secolului al VI-lea p. Chr. și par să fi făcut parte din același ansamblu, care, cel mai probabil, nu a fost recuperat în întregime. Informațiile limitate referitoare la circumstanțele descoperirii și la componența originală a ansamblului îngreunează considerabil interpretarea. Deși grupul de obiecte ar putea fi interpretat ca inventar funerar, topografia locului descoperirii și absența oricăror urme de mormânt nu susțin această ipoteză. Pe baza datelor disponibile, la nivel ipotetic, o interpretare mai plauzibilă este aceea a unui depozit.

Cuvinte-cheie: Pădureni; secolul al V-lea; obiecte de aur și argint; depozit; Transilvania.

Introduction

In the spring of 2018, six objects made of gold and silver, discovered using a metal detector, were handed over to the National Museum of Transylvanian History. According to the finders, the objects were discovered in a forest near the village Pădureni (Hu. Fejérdi fogadók), commune of Chinteni, Cluj County, approximately 10 km north of Cluj-Napoca.

* I would like to express my gratitude to dr. Eszter Horváth for her valuable insights on the determination of the inlays, to dr. Eszter Istvánovits for providing information regarding the finds from Tiszanagyfalu and Nyíregyháza–Oros, and to dr. Gergely Szenthe for granting me access to the manuscript of his monograph on the Telki deposit. I am also thankful for dr. Beatrix Magó for the microscopic photographs. The field research was carried out by the National Museum of Transylvanian History. I am grateful to my colleagues Ciprian Ciobanu, dr. Mátyás Bajusz, and dr. Paul Pupeză for their participation in the fieldwork alongside the author of the present paper.

The reported findspot lies west of the village, on the eastern slope of the Dealul Nucului ("Walnut Hill"), situated between Chinteni and Pădureni (Pl. I). In this area the slope of the hill is rather smooth. According to the finders, the objects were recovered next to a tree (Pl. II/1) at shallow depth (approx. 0.1–0.25 m). They were not gathered in a single group, but rather dispersed across an area of approximately 5 × 3 m.

To verify the site, a small-scale archaeological excavation was carried out in autumn 2019 by archaeologists of the museum. Initially, two trenches were opened (trench 1: 4 × 3 m; trench 2: 4 × 2.85 m) that were subsequently united in the north-eastern part (Pl. II/2). During the excavation, traces of the holes made during the initial metal detection were visible. The area was also surveyed using a metal detector. Unfortunately, no additional objects and no archaeological features were identified during the field research.

Description of the finds

1. Cast silver buckle with oval loop. The massive, club-shaped tongue has a triangular cross-section, its base is decorated with three parallel ribs, and its end is strongly bent. The fastening loop of the tongue is broken and partially missing. The surface of the tongue was gilded; in the central area it shows intense signs of wear. L loop: 1.82 cm; W loop: 2.3 cm; Th loop: 0.4 cm; L tongue: 2.45 cm; W tongue: 0.74 cm; Weight: 7.98 g. Inv. no. v66400 (Pls. III/1; IV/1).[1]

2. Oval buckle with mobile plate. The loop is cast from a silver-based alloy and has an oval cross-section. The gold tongue is flattened and strongly bent at the end. The gold plate is kidney-shaped and is divided into three fields with a central circular mount. The inlays (the circular one in the middle and the two crescent-shaped ones on its two sides) have fallen off, only a small fragment of gold sheet and one of a red garnet plate have been recovered. On the frame of the plate there are three gold rivets with hemispherical heads. L: 4.31 cm; W loop: 3.12 cm; Th loop: 0.83 cm; W plate: 2.56 cm; H plate: 1 cm; Weight: 55.68 g. Inv. no. v66404 (Pls. III/2; IV/2).

3. Drop-shaped gold mount. Along the edge, it is decorated with a pseudo-pearl string. The mount features a slightly convex inlay made of dark red garnet. The inlay shows several cracks and surface scratches. On the backside, approximately in the centre, the mount has a circular hole, most likely intended for fastening. L: 2.92 cm; W: 1.8 cm; H: 1.25 cm; Weight: 10.92 cm. Inv. no. v66405 (Pls. III/3; IV/3).

4. Small belt distributor composed of a ring and a fragmentary mount attached to it. The circular ring is cast from a likely silver-based alloy and is divided into three sections on the inside. The front side is decorated with a ribbed ornament. Only the base of the cast silver fitting is preserved. It has a faceted body, a gilded surface, and is decorated at the base with two pseudo-pearl strings. The mount is attached to the ring by means of a loop and a rivet. It is identical to another fully preserved mount (no. 6 – see below). Dm ring: 2.32 × 2.25 cm; Th ring: 0.37 cm; L fitting: 2.3 cm; W fitting: 0.95 cm; Th: 0.4 cm; Weight: 8.29 g. Inv. no. v66401 (Pls. III/4; IV/4).

5. Circular ring of a belt distributor, identical to the previous one. Dm: 2.35 × 2.3 cm; Th: 0.38 cm; Weight: 5.45 g. Inv. no. v66402 (Pls. III/5; IV/5).

[1] The following abbreviations are used: L – length, W – width, Th – thickness, H – height; Dm – Diameter, Inv. no. – inventory number.

6. Gilded silver mount in the shape of a bird's head. On the front, the neck is faceted and decorated at the base and below the head with two pseudo-pearl strings. The round eye is rendered with a flat, red garnet inlay framed by a pseudo-pearl string. At the base of the neck, a silver rivet with a hemispherical head was used to fix the mount. The lower part of the mount is identical to the fragment preserved on belt distributor no. 4 and therefore it most likely belonged to one of the two such objects (no. 4 or 5). The fastening loop used for attaching it to the ring is broken. L: 2.75 cm; W: 0.78–1.55 cm; Th: 0.5 cm; Weight: 2.76 g. Inv. no. v66403 (Pls. III/6; IV/6).

Analysis of the finds

Oval buckle (Pls. III/1; IV/1)

The oval buckle without plate, having a club-shaped tongue with a triangular cross-section, was a relatively common type during the 5th-6th centuries. The ribbed decoration at the base of the tongue is somewhat rarer.[2] This feature appears on several buckles with plate dated around the mid-5th century or slightly later. In these examples, the tongues are usually more elaborate, sometimes imitating an animal head.[3] The specimen from Pădureni can be considered a simpler, more schematic variant, where the eyes are no longer marked.

Given its small size, it is likely that the buckle from Pădureni was not used for a waist belt, but rather for a narrower strap, such as a weapon belt, purse, or footwear. The intense signs of wear visible on the gilded surface of the tongue suggest a prolonged use over time.

Buckle with plate (Pls. III/2; IV/2)

Although the inlays of the mobile plate are missing, some cautious conclusions can still be drawn regarding the manufacturing technique of the buckle. During cleaning, a small gold foil and a fragmentary, loose garnet were found inside the circular and one of the crescent-shaped settings of the plate. The foil is deformed and has a flat, undecorated surface with numerous scratches. It was most likely used as a back foil for the inlay. The garnet fragment is thin and flat, being polished on both sides. It has not yet been analysed using archaeometric methods; however, microscopic images reveal several mineral inclusions (Pl. V/1). Similar inclusions have been observed in other 5th-century garnets whose provenance has been traced to Sri Lanka.[4] Thus, until further investigations, a similar origin may be hypothetically proposed for the garnet from Pădureni.

The oval loop of the buckle is made of a silver-based alloy, whereas the tongue and the plate are made of gold. This combination suggests that the original loop may also have been made of gold and subsequently replaced with a less valuable metal.

From a typological point of view, the specimen from Pădureni belongs to the broad category of buckles featuring a mobile, kidney-shaped plate, decorated with cloisonné, a

[2] E.g Szolnok–Szanda (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, Hungary), grave 30: Bóna 2002, 206, Taf. 33/30.3, Taf. 96/11; Sighișoara (Mureș County), stray find: Csallány 1961, 198, Taf. CCXIV/11.

[3] E.g. Szolnok–Szanda, grave 118: Bóna 2002, 217, Taf. 44/118.1, Taf. 102/5; Gyulavári (Békés County, Hungary): Nagy 2005, 66, Taf. 12/1a–c; Taf. 69/3.

[4] Personal communication: Eszter Horváth. For similar mineral inclusions, defined as anisotropic crystals in one of the Gepidic Age loose garnets from Hajdúnánás-Fürj-Halom-dűlő, see Horváth, Bendő 2011, 26, Fig. 9/e, Fig. 10.

type that was widely used during the 5th century. A detail of chronological relevance is the placement of the three rivets, which are situated on the frame of the plate and not outside of it. The latter variant is considered earlier, generally dated to the Hun Age, whereas the former is somewhat later.[5] The plate of the buckle from Pădureni is divided in three fields: a central circular one and two crescent-shaped fields flanking it. The buckles with similar "tripartite" layout were included in type I.1.A in Michel Kazanski's classification.[6] Albeit few in number, such buckles have a wide distribution area. Due to their occurrence in the Mediterranean region (e.g. Syria, Asia Minor), it has been suggested long ago that they have their origin in this area.[7]

The type comprises buckles both with circular and drop-shaped central inlays; in some cases, the crescent-shaped inlays are further subdivided. In terms of plate design, the closest parallel to the Pădureni buckle is a bronze specimen from Syria, with no closer findspot (Pl. VI/2).[8] Another small, gold buckle with a similar arrangement of the plate, was discovered in the double grave from Kerch-Glinishche in the Crimea (Pl. VI/3), and most likely served as a shoe buckle.[9] A somewhat different design is displayed on a gold buckle with unknown provenience, currently held by the Hungarian National Museum. In this case the central cell is semicircular and has wavy walls.[10]

This buckle type was generally dated to the late 5th century to the early 6th century (the so-called "Chlodvigzeit").[11]

Gold mount with inlay (Pls. III/3; IV/3)

At present, the inlay set into the large gold mount has only been examined using a portable digital microscope. The surface characteristics indicate that it is a garnet,[12] but in the absence of archaeometric analysis, its precise provenience cannot be determined.

Objects featuring a large cabochon made from different row materials are known from several 5th-century assemblages across Europe. These objects may have served various functions, which are sometimes difficult to establish, particularly when it comes to finds that were not discovered in a funerary context. In the case of the mount from Pădureni, only its structural features and published analogies can provide clues regarding its potential function.

[5] Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 85.

[6] Kazanski 1994, 138–139.

[7] Werner 1966, 288; Kazanski 1994, 139; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 90.

[8] Werner 1966, Abb. 2/7; Kazanski 1994, 139, no. 6, Fig. 1/5, Fig. 3/3.

[9] It belonged to the male individual: Werner 1956, Taf. 15/12.

[10] Bóna 1991, 287, Farbtaf. XXXVI/11. This detail connects it to the group of buckles with cloisonné decorated plate where the mounts have wavy walls, known mainly from Germanic elite graves from the second half of the 5th century (Tournai, Apahida, Blučina etc.). These are considered to be products of Byzantine workshops, different from the ones that produced the simpler variants, like the buckle from Pădureni; see Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 91. This group includes several buckles, which, in terms of design, are related to the specimen from Pădureni. Among these, the closest ones are the small buckle from the first princely grave at Apahida (Cluj County): Finály 1889, 316, no. 7, V. tábla, and the buckle from Gyulavári–Tisch sandpit (Pl. VI/4): Csallány 1961, 111, Taf. CXCI/2. More distant variants are represented by the shoe buckles from Childeric's grave at Tournai (Hainaut Province, Belgium): Quast 2015, 168, nos. 7–8, Taf. 2/3–4, and those from the elite burial at Blučina (Brno District, Czech Republic): Tihelka 1966, 414, Fig. 6/3–4.

[11] Kazanski 1994, 139; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2009, 91.

[12] Personal communication: Eszter Horváth.

Cabochons set in oval settings are known from a few small brooches from the period; however, such occurrences are rather rare.[13] This function can be ruled out for the piece from Pădureni, given the absence of a spring and catch-plate on the reverse. Similar mounts, but generally of smaller dimensions, are also known from prestigious gold necklaces from the 5th century.[14] Nonetheless, such a function is again unlikely for the Pădureni mount, as the necklace elements feature a flat backplate without any orifice and are equipped with side hooks for linkage to other components. Another category of jewellery worth considering is that of finger rings with oval bezel and a cabochon inlay.[15] Although this possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, the dimensions of the mount from Pădureni make this function less probable.

A few comparable specimens are known from other 5th-century assemblages, some lacking a clear archaeological context. While these mounts share a more or less similar setting, the different layout of the backplate may suggest that they did not necessarily have the same function. A well-known example is a large (3.5 × 2.6 cm) gold mount with a reused Roman cameo from the Landriano (Province of Pavia, Italy) assemblage.[16] The oval setting, framed by a pearled wire at the base, is quite similar to the one from Pădureni; however, the backplate is flat, without any trace for fastening. Another oval gold mount with a garnet cabochon and pearled wire at the base comes from Oros (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary).[17] Its construction is nearly identical to that of the Pădureni mount, except for the backplate, which features three small orifices, most likely for rivets, suggesting a different fastening method.[18]

In the Carpathian Basin, a further oval-shaped gold specimen was discovered in the well-known hoard from Szeged-Nagyszéksós. In this case, the inlay is missing.[19] The piece features a pearled wire at the base and two small orifices for fastening on the reverse. Similar mounts are known from several 5th-century assemblages, distributed across a large territory, mainly in the northern Black Sea region, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. The most elaborate examples are decorated at the base with one or two beaded wires,[20] while the more modest ones are composed of a simple setting and a convex stone or

[13] Marti 1990, 49–52; Eger 2012, 193–195.

[14] E.g. Dunapataj-Bödpuszta (Bács-Kiskun County, Hungary): Bóna 1991, 293, Farbtaf. XXIX; Desana (Province of Vercelli, Italy): here the chain contains mounts of different dimensions, in the largest one (2.2 × 1.8 cm) an amethyst gem is set: Bierbrauer 1975, 269, Taf. XVII/1, 1a–b; Reggio Emilia (Province of Reggio Emilia, Italy): Bierbrauer 1975, 306–307, Taf. XXXV/1.

[15] E.g. Morskoi Chulek (Rostov Region, Russia), grave 1: Zasetskaya et alii 2007, 160, cat. no. 4–6, Tabl. I/3, 5–6; Kerch–Glinishche, double burial: Werner 1956, Taf. 15/10.

[16] Bierbrauer 1975, 286, Taf. XXV/3.

[17] Published erroneously with the find place Németkér (Tolna County) in the initial publication: Kovrig 1957, 211, Pl. III/10–10a.

[18] The mount was considered as being part of the decoration of a sword or seax scabbard by Kovrig 1957, 225. By contrast, I. Bóna suggested a relation with the circle of the diadem from Berezovka: Bóna 1991, 289. Due to the arrangement of the three holes on the backside, the possibility of a brooch has also been arisen: Marti 1990, 50.

[19] Schmauder 2002, II, 67, No. 28, Taf. 129/28–28a.

[20] E.g. Morskoi Chulek, grave 2: Zasetskaya et alii 2007, 166–167, cat. no. 19–20, Tabl. VIII/1–2; Shamsi (Chüy Region, Kyrgyzstan): Kožomberdieva et alii 1998, 457, Abb. 10/5–6; Arzhan-Buguzun in the South-Eastern Altai: Kubarev 2010.

glass inlay.[21] The archaeological contexts of some of these finds (e.g. Neyzats, Solonchanka, Shamsi) clearly indicate their use as harness decoration. Judging after their geographical distribution, it has been proposed that these items were produced in Central Asian workshops.[22] Most of these mounts are fixed with two rivets, similar to the piece from Szeged-Nagyszéksós; the specimens fastened with only one central rivet are substantially smaller in size.[23]

To my knowledge, the closest analogy for the mount from Pădureni comes from the warrior grave discovered at Beja (Alentejo region, Portugal). The oval gold mount, framed by a pearled wire along the upper part, features an inlaid convex garnet cabochon (Pl. VI/6). The dimensions are somewhat smaller than that of the specimen from Pădureni (L: 1.8 cm; W: 1.55 cm; H: 1.2 cm). The most important similarity between the two pieces is their nearly identical backplate, displaying a circular orifice in the centre.[24] Unfortunately, the find circumstances of the burial, discovered at the end of the 19th century, are rather obscure. According to the available data, it seems that the grave was constructed of bricks or roof tiles, and belonged to the late antique cemetery of the ancient city of Pax Iulia. Almost certainly, the grave-goods were only partially recovered, consisting of a spatha with an inlaid crossguard, two gold buckles with garnet inlays, and the aforementioned gold mount.[25] Consequently, the archaeological context does not allow for definite conclusions regarding the function of the mount.

The most widely accepted interpretation is that proposed by Hermann Dannheimer, who argued that the mount was originally used as a sword pendant. In accordance, it would have been set into a base made of different material and fastened with a loop that today is missing.[26] Such pendants are mainly known from the Hun Age and slightly later contexts, and generally consist of a circular mount, sometimes with inlays on the top, attached via a loop on the reverse that was inserted into a large bead.[27]

In contrast to the objects from Beja and Pădureni, most sword pendants with garnet inlays are crafted using the cloisonné technique. A somewhat simpler specimen with a garnet cabochon, made of gilded silver, comes from grave 52 at Horb-Altheim (Baden-Württemberg, Germany). In this case, the loop on the reverse is still preserved (Pl. VI/7).[28]

[21] E.g. Neyzats, grave 114 and Kerch, crypt 175 in Crimea: Khrapunov, Kazanski 2015, 177, Ris. 5/1–7, Ris. 9/4; Zasetskaya 1993, 87, no. 321, Tabl. 57/321; Solonchanka I (Orenburg Region, Russia), burial mound 1: Lyubchansky, Tairov 1999, 10, Ris. 24/2–5; Shamsi: Kožomberdieva et alii 1998, 461, Abb. 10/1–4.

[22] Zasetskaya et alii 2007, 80; Kazanski 2020, 63.

[23] E.g. the mounts from Kerch with diameters between approx. 0.7–1.3 cm: Andrási 2008, 46–47, Cat. nos. 29/A, C, E, F, I–K, 30, Pl. 19–20. Given the lack of the find circumstances, these could have equally had another function.

[24] In the early literature, the mount from Beja was known from a partially erroneous drawing published by Nils Åberg (Åberg 1922, Abb. 299). Later, it was identified in the Museo Etnológico in Lisbon-Belém by Hermann Dannheimer, who published the first correct description, drawing, and photograph of the object (Dannheimer 1961, 467, Abb. 1/3a–c, Abb. 2/1a–c).

[25] For the find circumstances and identifying the grave goods, see: Raddatz 1959, 142; Rummel 2007, 342–343.

[26] Dannheimer 1961, 467. In the earlier literature the mount was erroneously interpreted as sword pommel: Åberg 1922, 206–207; Raddatz 1959, 144–146.

[27] See e.g. Werner 1956, 26–37, Taf. 21/1–6; Taf. 50; Anke 1998, 113–114, Taf. 74.

[28] Beilharz 2011, 295, Abb. 90, Taf. 37/3b.

However, the pendant from Horb-Altheim was discovered in the area of the belt and the seax, and has therefore been interpreted as associated with the scabbard or the fastening belt of the seax.[29]

Taking all the above into account, the function of the mount from Pădureni cannot be determined with certainty. It most closely resembles the specimen from Beja, considered to be, most likely, a sword pendant. Due to the uncertainties surrounding the find circumstances as well as the atypical find combination for the region, the ethnic and social interpretation of the Beja grave has sparked numerous scientific debates. Without entering into details, one can notice that some scholars argued for a barbarian (Vandal, Visigoth or Alan) background of the buried individual, while others opted for an explanation based more on social aspects, believing that the special grave goods are the expression of a high military status rather than ethnic identity.[30] In any case, the grave from Beja displays significant connections with the Middle Danube and Black Sea regions, particularly through the spatha with a massive cloisonné decorated crossguard. Such weapons are exceedingly rare in Western Europe, with the southern Portuguese example representing the westernmost occurrence identified to date.[31] The typological link between the pendants from Beja and Pădureni strengthens these, yet only partially understood interregional connections.

Strap-distributors (Pls. III/4–6; IV/4–6)

The assemblage contains fragments of at least two strap-distributors. The two wheel-shaped rings, made of a silver-based alloy, are divided into three sections, indicating that they originally had three fittings for straps attached to them. A fragmentary fitting is preserved on one of the rings, showing the fastening system, and another is preserved separately. On these grounds, two tri-partite strap-distributors with bird head-shaped fittings can be reconstructed.

Comparable strap-distributors are extremely rare in the archaeological material of the Carpathian Basin. A bronze specimen was discovered through field-walking at Aparhant (Tolna County, Hungary), in Transdanubia (Pl. VII/2). In this case, the ring is markedly different, consisting of a central loop surrounded by three additional loops to which the fittings were attached. The design of the bird head is similar to that of the specimen from Pădureni, but is simpler in detail.[32] All the post-Roman finds from Aparhant, discovered during the same field walking campaign as the strap-distributor, were dated to the 5th century, primarily to the Hun Age.[33] A very similar bird head-shaped fitting is known

[29] Beilharz 2011, 143–145. The grave also included a spatha with a polyhedral bead pendant made of rock crystal, but the two pendants were found in separate places and had nothing to do with each other.

[30] For an overview of the different opinions, see Rummel 2007, 342–351; Pinar, Ripoll 2008, 116–118 (both with further references).

[31] For their geographic distribution, see Kazanski 1996, Fig. 8. This situation does not necessarily mean that the spatha from Beja must have been produced in one of these areas; however, there is no consensus regarding this matter in the archaeological literature (for the suggestion that it could equally have been a late Roman weapon, see Rummel 2007, 350; for a possible role of Byzantine workshops in producing such spathae, see Kazanski 1996, 119–121; Kazanski 1999, 294–298; for a possible Danubian origin, see Pinar, Ripoll 2008, 117–118).

[32] Ódor 2000, 181, 3. kép/1.

[33] Ódor 2000, 182–184, 3. kép. Even though the artefacts were found on the surface, they probably belonged together, as it is indicated by their chronology as well as by the fact that they clustered on a well delimited area.

from Tiszanagyfalu (Pl. VIII/9).[34] The lower end is broken, making the fastening system difficult to reconstruct. However, the profile of the object and the orifice on the lower end suggest rather that it was part of a small buckle of the Mözs type (see below).

Most of the analogies originate from the Ryazan-Oka region. These were recently catalogued and analysed by Ilya R. Akhmedov.[35] In cemetery 2 at Borok (Ryazan Region, Russia) two burials contained strap-distributors. Grave 124 yielded four bronze specimens consisting of a simple ring and three or four stylized bird head-shaped fittings featuring faceted neck (Pl. VII/5). The deceased in grave 525 was furnished with three bronze strap-distributors, each with a simple ring to which three or four bird head-shaped fittings with ribbed neck were attached (Pl. VII/4). Both burials contained only one piece with four fittings.[36] Other stray-finds from the same region are known from the surroundings of the Borok 2 cemetery and the nearby Undrich burial ground. These are simple variants made of bronze.[37] Within the chronology of the Ryazan-Oka region, burials containing strap-distributors with bird head decoration were included in phases 3A–3B, which correspond roughly to periods D2 and D3 of the Central European chronology.[38]

Another burial with similar finds is known further to the north-east, in the Middle Volga region: in grave 5 at Bezvodnoe (Nizhny Novgorod Region, Russia), two bronze strap-distributors with bird head-shaped fittings and a fragment of a similar fitting were discovered alongside two small bronze buckles with bird head-shaped terminals (Pl. VII/3).[39] Both the form of the rings and the design of the bird heads resemble the specimen from Aparhant.

In terms of raw material and craftsmanship, the closest parallel to the pieces from Pădureni is the four-prong strap junction from the hoard from Sjörup (Scania, Sweden), made of partially gilded silver and decorated with chip-carved spiral motifs (Pl. VII/8).[40] An almost identical piece with unknown provenience was sold at online auctions.[41] Despite the problematic find circumstances and the heterogeneous composition of the Sjörup hoard, the moment of its deposition could be dated around the third quarter of the 5th century.[42]

In addition to the analogies discussed above, a few more distant parallels with different forms of the bird head can be listed. A distinct variant is represented by the specimen from Podvyaz'e (Nizhny Novgorod Region, Russia), grave 8, featuring a wheel-shaped ring divided into six sections, to which three bird-shaped fittings with oval body are attached. This object was considered a local variant by Akhmedov.[43] Possibly, two similarly shaped silver fragments from the disturbed grave no. 3 at Bezvodnoe also belonged to a similar

[34] Istvánovits, Kulcsár 1994, Fig. 4/7. The object is kept in the Hungarian National Museum. The find circumstances are unknown; it was registered together with other objects from Tiszanagyfalu dated between the Late Iron Age and the Sarmatian Period; however, it is not sure that these formed an assemblage. Personal communication: Eszter Istvánovits.

[35] Akhmedov 2007a; Akhmedov 2019.

[36] Akhmedov 2007a, Fig. 1/1–3, 5–6, 9–11; Akhmedov 2019, Ris. 4/6, Ris. 5/3.

[37] Akhmedov 2019, 296–298, Ris. 6/1–2.

[38] Akhmedov 2007b, 149, 151–152.

[39] Krasnov 1980, 136, Ris. 40/11–12.

[40] Arrhenius 1987, 464, Nr. 9/e, Taf. 76/XI,9.e.

[41] Fabech, Näsman 2017, Fig. 3.

[42] Fabech et alii 2017, 83.

[43] Akhmedov 2019, 290, Ris. 1/II,1a.

strap-distributor.[44] A bronze strap distributor from Gondorf (Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany) consists of a central disc surrounded by four rings and three fittings with rectangular inlays and bird head-shaped terminals (Pl. VII/6). The fourth mount and the inlays are missing.[45] Another specimen, decorated with inlays in cloisonné technique, is a stray find from Mărițeia (Suceava County) (Pl. VII/7), discovered together with a mount.[46]

Despite the geographical distribution of the strap-distributors with bird head-shaped fittings, which predominantly cluster in the Volga-Oka region, these objects are considered to be of Middle-Danubian origin. They are thought to have reached this area in the aftermath of the collapse of Attila's Hun Empire. The primary argument in the favour of this theory was the appearance of several new elements – among them the discussed strap-distributors – in the material culture of the Ryazan-Oka region during this period. These items have formal analogies in Central Europe, which would indicate not only cultural interactions, but also population movements.[47]

Be that as it may, bird head depictions similar to those on the strap-distributors were indeed popular in the Middle Danube area throughout the 5th century.[48] One should mention in the first place the mid-5th century small bronze buckles used as part of shoe-sets, weapon belts or purses. These were divided typologically into two groups: the Jánoshida type, characterized by a short beak, large round eye, and rectangular body with inlay (Pl. VIII/1–5); and the Mözs type, with a longer, strongly curved beak, smaller eye and often ribbed decoration on the neck (Pl. VIII/6–11).[49] Except for the specimen from Gondorf,[50] all the strap-distributors resemble the Mözs type buckles. In grave 5 at Bezvodnoe, the strap-distributors were discovered alongside two such buckles (Pl. VIII/11), most likely, forming a set.[51] Less frequently encountered are the buckles of Kaliakra type, with a triangular plate ending in a bird head with a narrow and strongly curved beak (Pl. VIII/12–13). These cluster in the Lower Danube area, south of the river. All the specimens are stray-finds; thus, their dating remains uncertain.[52]

A similar design to the discussed strap-distributors and the Mözs type buckles can also be observed on a small group of bow brooches from the mid-to-late 5th century,[53] whose

[44] Krasnov 1980, 135, Ris. 42/15, 20.

[45] Schulze-Dörrlamm 1990, 49, Nr. 425, Taf. 19/7a–c, Taf. 83/11.

[46] Later, a second strap-distributor of the same type was found in the surroundings, which subsequently has been lost: Harhoiu 1998, 179, Nr. 53, Taf. LXXVI/C.1.

[47] Akhmedov 2007b, 151–152; Akhmedov 2019, 312.

[48] Only the most significant artefact types that resemble on the bird head-shaped mount from Pădureni will be succinctly mentioned; for a detailed overview of such objects, see Pinar et alii 2006.

[49] Nagy 2002, 364. For the geographical distribution of the small buckles with bird head, see Bóna 1991, 248, Abb. 34; Nagy 2002, 370–371, Fundliste 1, Abb. 16.

[50] For its morphological connection with the Jánoshida type buckles, see Schulze-Dörlamm 1990, 92–93, Abb. 4.

[51] Krasnov 1980, 136. A small bronze buckle with bird head was found at Aparhant, too (Pl. VIII/6): Ódor 2000, 181–182, 3. kép/2. However, due to the find circumstances, it is not clear whether this buckle and the strap-distributor belonged together.

[52] On formal and stylistic grounds, L. Vagalinski argued for a late dating between the second half of the 6th – first half of the 7th century: Vagalinski 2018, 515–516. Contrary, M. Nagy considered them transitional variants between the mentioned small buckles and the 'classic' eagle-head buckles of the Gepidic period: Nagy 2002, 364–365.

[53] Harhoiu 1998, 103; Rácz 2014, 205.

footplate ends in a stylised bird head with a large eye (in most of the cases marked with a round inlay), strongly curved beak and ribbed decoration on the neck (Pl. VIII/14–19). Up to date, these brooches are known from the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin and are considered local products. Bird heads also appear on other artefacts, such as scabbard fittings. In terms of design, the closest to the strap-distributors is the one with ribbed decoration from grave 3 at Velika Bakta, in Transcarpathian Ukraine.[54] Simpler fittings with bird head terminals are also known from other graves from the middle third of the 5th century.[55] Another category includes the so-called 'solar' brooches of discoidal shape with four or six radially arranged bird heads. Different variants are known from Western Europe, Italy, the Balkans, and the Caucasus area, mostly from contexts dated between the second half of the 5th century and the early 6th century.[56] A related fitting of similar shape can be mentioned from Danilo-Gradina (Šibenik-Knin County, Croatia).[57] The eyes of the four birds were marked by rivets that suggests a possible function as strap-junction.

Throughout the 5th century, bird depictions appeared not only on bronze and silver artefacts, but also on high-quality gold objects with garnet inlays,[58] which likely served as prototypes for the simpler pieces. Of particular relevance for the finds from Pădureni are four discoidal mounts from the second princely grave at Apahida (Cluj County).[59] These exhibit two different, but structurally similar layouts (two pieces each), featuring a circular central part and three radially displayed bird heads. They have generally been interpreted as part of the harness. Judging after the position of the three rivets under the neck of the birds, it is possible that they could serve as strap junctions. On these grounds, it has recently been proposed that they could have belonged to a shoe set.[60]

The series of metal objects, and not only, which are decorated with bird heads could be completed with many further examples. It is obvious that during the 5th–6th centuries, the bird motif was among the most popular ornamental elements from Western Europe to the Caucasus, certainly carrying a symbolic significance. The artefacts listed above represent the closest analogies in terms of design and form to the specimen from Pădureni. Their distribution in time and space supports the theory of a Middle Danubian origin of the strap-distributors with bird head-shaped fittings around the mid-5th century or slightly later, as already proposed in connection with the Ryazan-Oka finds (see above).

From a technical point of view, the strap-distributor from Pădureni stands out in comparison with the other specimens. The preserved fittings are made of gilded silver, whereas – aside from the piece from Sjörup and the auctioned one of unknown provenience – all others are cast in bronze. It is also the only one where the eye is marked with a garnet inlay (Pl. V/2), encircled at the base by a pseudo-pearl string. Less sophisticated designs

[54] Cherkun 1994, 94, Ris. 7/1.

[55] E.g. at Szirmabesenyő (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary) or Tarnaméra – Urak dűlője (Heves County, Hungary): Megay 1952, XXV. tábla/1b; Bóna, Szabó 2002, 241, Taf. 57/1, Taf. 110/6. However, these are not specific for the Middle Danube region, but are part of a widely spread military fashion between Western Europe and the Caucasus: Kazanski et alii 2002, 167, Fig. 7, Fig. 10/4, 6.

[56] Kazanski, Mastykova 1999, 551–554.

[57] Uglešić 2007, 274, Fig. 1.

[58] For relevant examples, see Pinar et alii 2006, 431–432.

[59] Horedt, Protase 1972, 186, nos. 29–30, Taf. 46/1–4.

[60] Akhmedov, Vasiľeva 2025, 210.

of the lines at the base of the head and of the beak are observed on the pieces from Sjörup (Pl. VII/8), the one with unknown provenience, Aparhant (Pl. VII/2), Tiszanagyfalu (Pl. VIII/9), and Bezvodnoe (Pl. VII/3).[61] Given the higher technical level and more detailed design of the Pădureni fitting, the simpler bronze variants might represent local copies of similar items.

The function of the strap-distributors from Pădureni remains uncertain. Given the circumstances of their discovery, only the parallels presented above might help bring us closer to solving the issue. Unfortunately, only a few of them have a clear archaeological context. As previously mentioned, both specimens from the Carpathian Basin – the one from Aparhant and the possible fragment from Tiszanagyfalu – are stray finds. Thus, the only pieces with secure archaeological contexts come from the Middle Volga–Oka region.

Interestingly, in both graves of the Borok 2 cemetery, the strap-distributors were discovered on the skull.[62] This positioning suggests that they were components of a headdress, the structure of which can be reconstructed relatively well based on the *in situ* position of the finds. Each assemblage contained strap-distributors featuring both four and three bird head-shaped fittings, with the former serving as the central element of the headdress. Additionally, a small buckle was also part of the set.[63]

Another way of wearing was identified in grave 8 at Podvyaz'e, were two strap-distributors were placed on the chest, and two others under the skull and the right scapula, respectively. Each had three fittings. According to Ilya Akhmedov, these were part of a shoulder strap-set.[64] Unfortunately, grave 5 at Bezvodnoe was disturbed; thus, the strap distributors were discovered in a secondary position at the bottom of the grave.[65] Most likely, the two buckles with bird head, found in the same grave, were part of the same set as the strap-distributors.

Although the function of the strap-distributors as part of headdress appears unambiguous at Borok, the same role cannot be taken for granted for the pieces from Pădureni due to the limited number of certain finds and the considerable geographical distance. Therefore, alternative functions must also be considered. One possibility is that they were part of horse harness, particularly of the bridle;[66] however, the small dimensions and the less massive construction of the strap-distributors make this presumption less probable.

Strap-distributors of similar structure, but with different fittings, generally round or leaf-shaped, belonged to footwear in several graves, mainly dated to the Hun Age. Most such burials were discovered in the northern Black Sea region (Tanais, Luchistoe (Pl. IX/1), Phanagoria).[67] The strap-distributors were typically discovered in the area of the

[61] These might be the antecedents of the later large eagle-headed buckles of Transylvanian and Danubian types, where two perpendicular ribbons are depicted on the upper neck and at the base of the beak. In Margit Nagy's view these might be related to tamed eagles used for hunting: Nagy 2002, 365–366.

[62] Akhmedov 2019, 293–296, Ris. 4/1, Ris. 5/1.

[63] Akhmedov 2007a, 263, Fig. 1/1–11 and Fig. 1/A–B (reconstruction); Akhmedov 2019, 301, Ris. 4/6, Ris. 5/3, Ris. 9/1.

[64] Akhmedov 2019, 298–299, Fig. 9/2.

[65] Krasnov 1980, 136.

[66] See e.g. the 'hoard' from Bar (Vinnitsya Region, Ukraine): Levada 2011, Fig. 6, Fig. 10/1–5 or the deposit from Sirok (Heves County, Hungary): Marczel 2023, 163, Cat. nos. 5–6, Fig. 6, Fig. 8/5–6.

[67] Khairedivona 2003, 129, Ris. 3/1, 3, 7; Strokov 2013, 259, Ris. 1/7.

ankles alongside small buckles. Up to date, only one such footwear set coming from well-documented archaeological excavation is known from the Carpathian Basin, namely from Nyíregyháza-Rozsrétszőlő (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary), Site 215, grave 69/01 (Pl. IX/2).[68] Additional potential finds are known from other areas across a broad geographical range,[69] although, in most cases, their identification as parts of footwear is based on their size and association with small buckles.[70]

Gold strap-distributors with garnet inlay are known from elite burials in the Northern Caucasus region, at Brut (Republic of North-Ossetia–Alania, Russia)[71] (Pl. IX/3–4) and from the assemblage found near Lake Yalpuh in the Danube Delta region (Odesa Oblast, Ukraine).[72] Even if none of these were discovered in the area of the feet, it seems highly probable that they were components of the footwear.[73] Based on the position of the individual items and the composition of the sets, various reconstructions have been proposed (Pl. IX/7–9). Generally, the strap-distributors are thought to be situated in the area of the ankle.[74]

Taking all the above into consideration, it is highly possible that the strap-distributors from Pădureni, perhaps together with the small oval buckle, were part of a shoe-set; however, other possibilities should not be excluded either. There are only few small tripartite strap-distributors known in the archaeological material of the period from the area. Besides the already cited specimens from Aparhant and Nyíregyháza–Rozsrétszőlő, two other possible finds can be mentioned from the Carpathian Basin. One of them is a

[68] Pintye 2014, 277–278, Pl. III/7–9.

[69] For the geographical distribution up to the early 2010s, see Strokov 2013, Ris. 4.

[70] In a female grave at Likhachevka in the Dnieper-region, parts of a possible shoe set (two buckles, two strap-distributors, and a fragmentary strap-end) were found in the area of the right elbow (Komar 2010, 97, Ris. 3/1–5; Strokov 2013, 262, Ris. 2/9–12). A set of strap-distributors was discovered together with small buckles in grave 44 of the Komintern II cemetery (Republic of Tatarstan, Russia) at the confluence of the Volga and Kama Rivers (Pl. IX/5). Similarly, these were situated in the area of the right forearm (Kazakov 2021, 18, Ris. 46/6–7). The possibility of a shoe set (Komar 2010, 97) cannot totally be ruled out, although, the composition (four pieces with three and one piece with four mounts) resembles on that of the headdress sets from Borok II, graves 124 and 525 (see also Akhmedov, Vasil'eva 2025, 209 considering it a shoulder strap set). Male grave 141 of the already mentioned cemetery at Bezvodnoe contained three small silver buckles, silver strap-distributors and two small strap-ends, placed on the chest of the deceased (Krasnov 1980, 178, Ris. 41/9–14). Although the publisher of the cemetery considered these items to belong to a bridle, other scholars favored the interpretation as a shoe set deposited separately in the grave, similarly to the situation at Likhachevka (Komar 2010, 97; Strokov 2013, 262). Another possible find can be mentioned from the catacomb grave 389 at Klin-Yar in the northern Caucasus. No skeleton was discovered in the burial chamber, which contained several artefacts, among them a small silver strap-distributor and three small gold buckles: Härke et alii 2023, Fig. 2/3, Fig. 3/5–7. Since the grave is only known from a preliminary publication, for the moment it is not clear if the mentioned items could belong to a shoe set. Even more uncertain is the interpretation of the strap-distributors from Samson, grave 10 (Böhme 1974, 297, Taf. 98/21, considered to be part of a shoe set by Khairedinova 2003, 129 and Strokov 2013, 262–263).

[71] Burial mounds 2 and 7: Gabuev 2014, 9–10, 23, Ris. 8/1–3, Ris. 27/1–8, Ris. 56/2–3, Ris. 62/6–8.

[72] Kazanski 2018, Fig. 1 (bottom right corner).

[73] Gabuev 2014, 56.

[74] For different reconstructions, see Khairedinova 2003, 133–134, Ris. 3/Ia–Ib. (In Elzara Khairedinova's classification the shoe sets with strap-distributors belong to type 1–3); Komar 2010, 108, Ris. 3/6; Gabuev 2014, 56–57, Ris. 9.

stray-find discovered with metal detector at Nyíregyháza–Oros–Úrcsere, composed of a small iron ring and three round bronze fittings.[75] The other possible item was discovered in grave 1 at Fântânele–Dâmbul Popii (Bistrița-Năsăud County), grave 1 (Pl. IX/6). The disturbed burial contained three kidney-shaped bronze fittings with glass inlay, which might have been part of a tri-partite strap-distributor.[76]

Discussion

Due to the lack of detailed information regarding the find circumstances, only a few preliminary conclusions can be drawn about the character of the Pădureni assemblage. Since all existing data rely on the finders' description, these conclusions remain highly hypothetical.

Based on the typological analysis, the objects can be roughly dated between the middle of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century. Both the find circumstances and the chronology of the items indicate that they belong to a single assemblage. However, it cannot be assumed with certainty that the assemblage was recovered in its entirety.

Although possibly incomplete, the composition of the group of objects suggests that it could plausibly have formed part of a funerary assemblage. However, neither the findspot, nor the circumstances of discovery support this hypothesis. According to the finders, the objects were found at shallow depth and no bones were observed. The control excavation did not reveal any traces of a grave shaft or human remains either. Consequently, an alternative interpretation, namely as a deposit, appears more plausible.

This interpretation is supported not only by the shallow depth at which the objects were uncovered, but also by the topography of the findspot (Pls. I–II). Similar situations are known from other sites where late 4th- and 5th-century deposits were placed in less accessible and somewhat isolated hillside locations. From the D1 period, one may cite the deposit at Valea Strâmbă–Kápolnaoldal (Harghita County), found on a relatively steep slope,[77] as well as the recently discovered assemblage from Sirok, situated under the top of a narrow ridge.[78] Comparable examples from the "classic" Hun Age include the well-known hoards from Șimleu Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó, Sălaj County)[79] and Pietroasele (Buzău County)[80], along with more recent finds from Telki (Pest County, Hungary)[81] and Diósjenő–Magashegy (Nógrád County, Hungary).[82] While the composition of these finds varies considerably and therefore cannot be treated as a homogeneous group, their topographical locations reveal a reoccurring pattern. This situation strongly suggests a conscious choice of places for deposition.[83]

[75] Unpublished, personal communication: Eszter Istvánovits.

[76] Since no ring was found in the grave, the interpretation of the fittings as belonging to a strap-distributor remains uncertain: Dobos, Opreanu 2012, 16–17, 64–65, Pl. 5/1.2–4, Pl. 36/5–7.

[77] Gáll et alii 2016, 332–333, Fig. 1–2.

[78] Marczel 2023, 159, Fig. 1.

[79] Kiss 1999; Harhoiu 2013, 119, Abb. 6/B; for the identification of the findspot, see Acsádi, Kiss 1995.

[80] Schmauder 2002, II, 49, Abb. 13.

[81] Szenthe et alii 2019, 9–10, Fig. 2–3; Szenthe 2021; Szenthe forthcoming.

[82] Hajnal, Ódor 2021, 502–503, Fig. 1/d.

[83] This aspect has been underlined by several recent works: e.g. Harhoiu 2013, 119; Gáll et alii 2016, 339; Szenthe 2021, 570; Marczel 2023, 175–176; Szenthe forthcoming.

The deposits or hoard finds dated between the late 4th and the second half of the 5th century have played a central role in the archaeological research of the period. The large amount of gold and elaborate artefacts that formed most of these hoards as well as the dynamic political changes of the period, determined most of the archaeologists dealing with the issue to connect them to crisis episodes documented in written sources.[84] For a long time, this crisis-oriented view dominated scholarly discourse. Exception is made by the so-called 'sacrificial deposits' of the Hun Age, which are generally understood as part of the funerary rituals of the steppe nomadic elite.[85]

However, deposition practices seem to be more complex in the period than suggested by former research, involving the coexistence of diverse cultural traditions.[86] When examining the composition of these deposits – marked by a deliberate selection of object types –, their topographical location, the methods of deposition etc., it becomes possible to identify certain recurring patterns, even if these are not always clear-cut.

Among the various deposit types, large cauldrons represent a distinct category, which will not be addressed here.[87] Another group is represented by the already mentioned 'sacrificial deposits', which consist mainly of male dress accessories, weapons, and harness items. Similar to the cauldrons, these appear no longer after the Hun Age.[88]

By contrast, another group comprises assemblages containing predominantly, but not exclusively, female dress accessories and jewellery. Such deposits were mainly associated with Germanic ethnic groups,[89] primarily due to the frequent occurrence of plate bow-brooches considered to be representative for the Eastern Germanic female costume.[90] This interpretation has also chronological reasons. The "Germanic" type deposits extend over a longer period, from the D1 phase through the second half of the 5th century, a time marked by the ascendancy of various Germanic groups following the collapse of the Hun Empire.

Further differentiation within the "Germanic" type is possible based on factors such as the presence or absence of coins or metal vessels, the quantity of the objects, and the time span over which the items were accumulated. Whereas two of the richest assemblages, the hoards from Șimleu Silvaniei and Pietroasele, show a high level of complexity and can likely be interpreted as royal treasures,[91] some simpler deposits, according to their composition, could have easily formed a funerary assemblage belonging to a female burial.[92] Examples of the latter include e.g. the finds from Diósjenő-Magashegy[93] and possibly Rábapordány

[84] Quast 2022, 127 (with further references).

[85] Tomka 1986, 467–475; Bóna 1991, 189–195.

[86] For a detailed discussion, see Szenthe 2021, 566–572; Szenthe forthcoming.

[87] For a comprehensive study, see Masek 2017 (with further references).

[88] Up to date, the only possible exception is the deposit from Telki, whose moment of deposition might be dated slightly after the middle of the 5th century: Szenthe et alii 2019, 13; Szenthe 2021, 564–565, Fig. 2.

[89] For the 'Germanic' type of deposits, see Quast 2011; Szenthe 2021, 570; Szenthe forthcoming.

[90] In the archaeological literature, a similar gender-based differentiation can also be observed in connection with the funerary finds. Whereas the steppe nomad component has been identified mainly in male assemblages, the most impressive female burials are considered Germanic due to the presence of the plate bow-brooches. See e.g. Bierbrauer 2008, 48–55; Tejral 2011, 330–338.

[91] Quast 2011 (with further references).

[92] Quast 2011, 136.

[93] Hajnal, Ódor 2021.

(Győr-Moson-Sopron County, Hungary)[94] from the Hun Age, as well as those from Cluj-Someșeni (Cluj County)[95] and Aquincum (Óbuda, Hungary)[96] dated to the second half of the 5th century.

In lack of secure archaeological context, it is impossible to place the Pădureni assemblage more closely within the wide range of deposit types from the Migration Period. Nevertheless, the location of the find in a forested hilly area resembles the "Germanic" style deposits.[97] The oral information regarding the position of the finds, not confirmed by archaeological research, suggests that the objects were not found in a group, but dispersed across a small area. While there are only few deposits for which the internal spatial arrangement of the objects has been recorded,[98] where such information exists, it clearly points to intentionality. These arrangements vary significantly, indicating different cultural traditions. Unfortunately, the limited information available for the Pădureni site does not allow for firm conclusions about the structuring of the assemblage.

Even if likely not fully recovered, the assemblage seems to have been small. Its preserved composition resembles that of contemporary graves, which is characteristic for most of the contemporary deposits. Although some similarities with the 'Germanic' type deposits could be identified, the find from Pădureni cannot be associated with the female gender.[99]

As already underlined, these observations must remain hypothetical due to the find circumstances. All additional contextual data have been irretrievably lost, and therefore any further conclusions about the nature of the assemblage would be purely speculative.

Nonetheless, irrespective of the precise interpretation, the Pădureni assemblage can be placed within the broader category of elite-related finds from the second half of the 5th century. During this period, a new power centre emerged in the valley of the Someșul Mic River, as evidenced by the two princely graves at Apahida, the hoard from Cluj-Someșeni, and an elite female burial at Florești–Polus Center. Additionally, several cemeteries have been identified in the area, none of which have earlier, Hun Age antecedents. Regardless of how these finds are interpreted ethnically, the Apahida–Someșeni circle, along with

[94] The assemblage from Rábapordány is generally treated as a grave in the archaeological literature; for its interpretation as a hoard, see Bóna 1991, 272; Szenthe forthcoming.

[95] Horedt, Protase 1970.

[96] Nagy 1993, 356–357, 4–6. kép, V–VI. tábla.

[97] Szenthe 2021, 570.

[98] Such examples are: the deposit from Telki, where the objects were deposited in groups, aligned on a N–S axis: Szenthe et alii 2019, 10–11, Fig. 4; Szenthe 2021, 564, Fig. 1; the deposit from Debrecen (Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary), where highly damaged artefacts were arranged in two different groups placed on top of one another, and deposited in a wooden container that was dug into a circular ditch of a Sarmatian grave: Wieszner, Nagy 2021, 260, 278–281, Fig. 3–6; the deposit at Sirok, where the objects were placed on a rectangular platform in a deliberate order and packed with stones: Marczel 2023, 160–161, 176, Fig. 2–5.

[99] The assemblage does not contain definite gender-specific objects. The buckles could have been equally used by both male and female individuals. Shoe-sets with strap-distributors are known predominantly, but not exclusively, from male graves: five out of the seven listed specimens by Anton Strokov come from male burials: Strokov 2013, 264. The finds published later from Nyíregyháza–Rozsrétszőlő (Pintye 2014) and Brut (Gabuev 2014) also belong to male assemblages. The strap-distributors with bird-shaped fittings from the Volga–Oka region were also discovered in male burials: Akhmedov 2007b; Akhmedov 2019. If one accepts the function of the gold mount as sword-pendant, as proposed for the closest analogy from Beja, it also suggests a male character.

evidence of demographic growth after the mid-5th century can be explained in the context of the newly emerged Gepidic Kingdom. The means of self-representation of the elite continued several traditions of the Hun Age well into the late 5th century. The assemblage from Pădureni may represent one of them.

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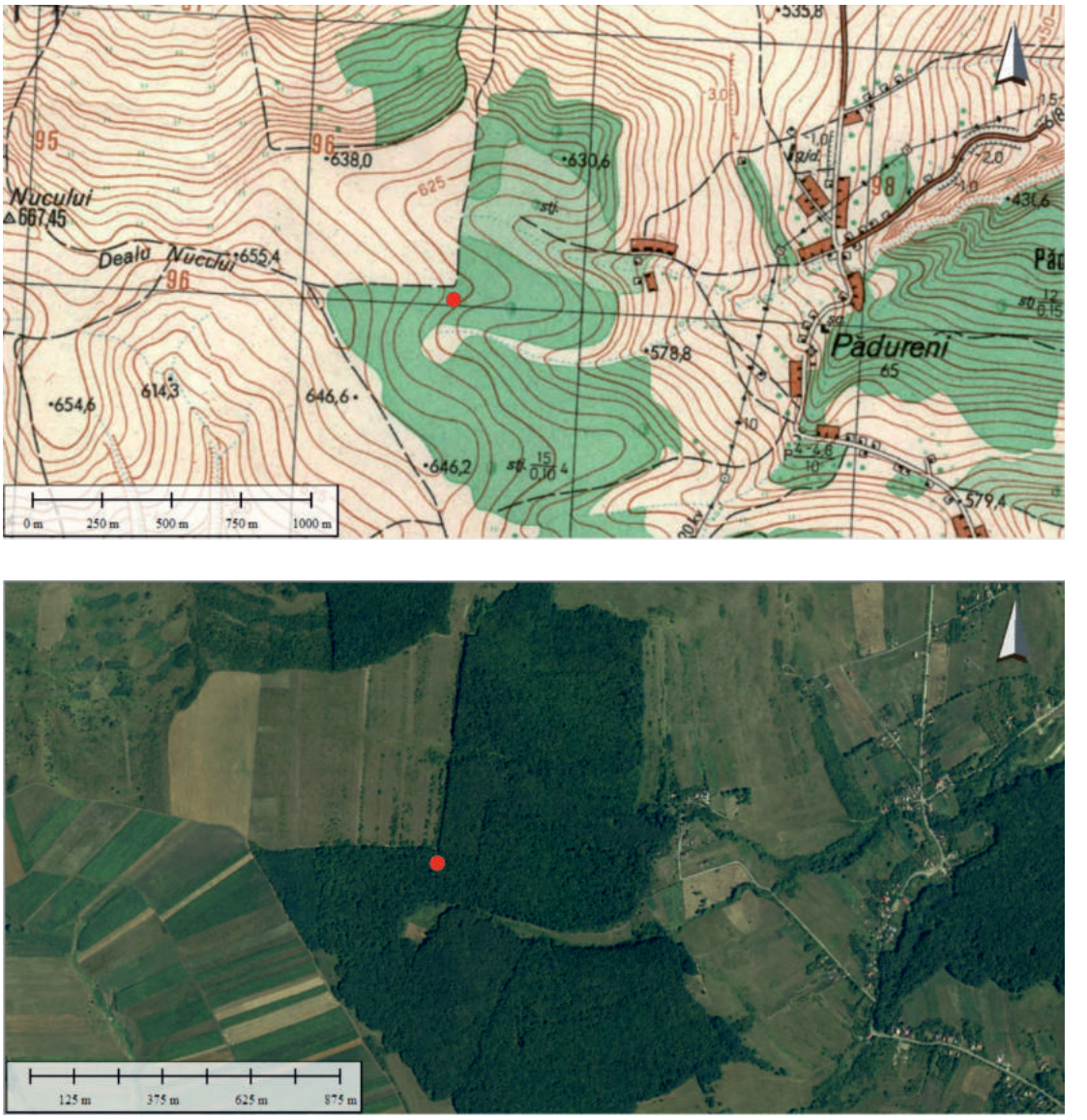
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Pl. I. The location of the site.



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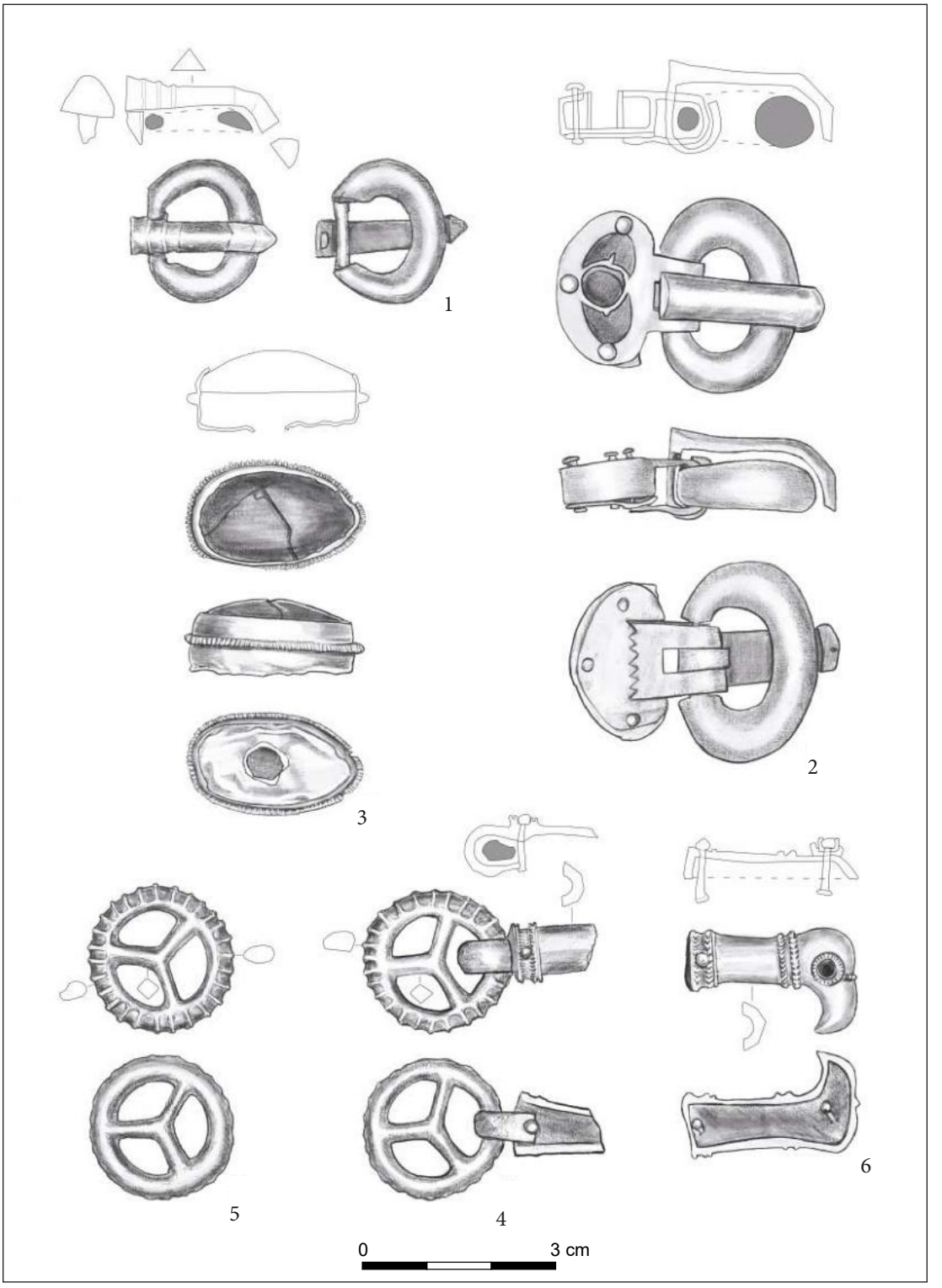


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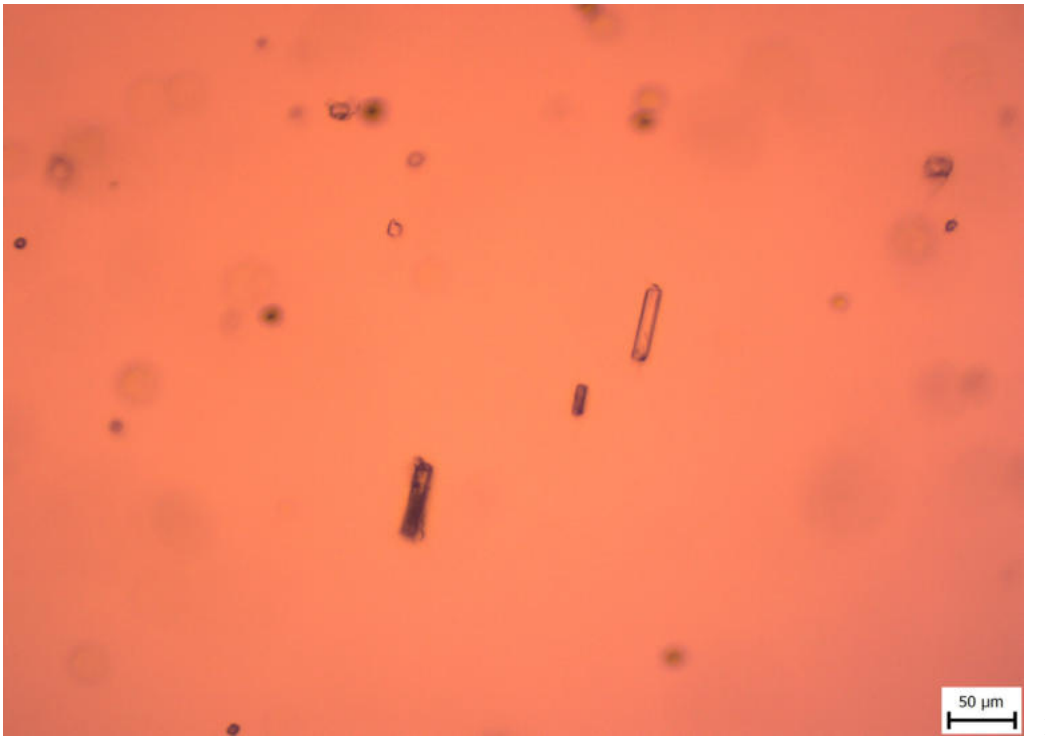
Pl. II. 1. The findspot indicated by the finders before the excavation (photo by Ioniță Petiș); **2.** The findspot during excavation (photo by Alpár Dobos).



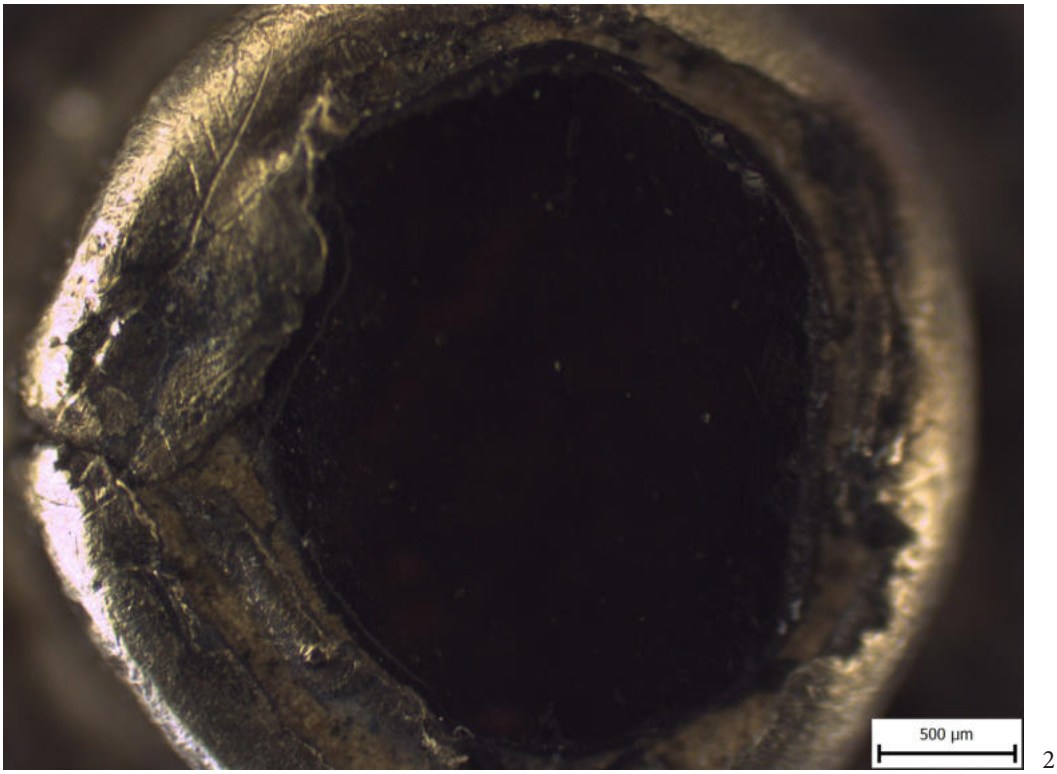
Pl. III. The objects discovered at Pădureni: **1.** oval buckle (cat. no. 1); **2.** oval buckle with kidney-shaped plate (cat. no. 2); **3.** drop-shaped mount with inlay (cat. no. 3); **4–6.** elements of three-partite strap distributors with bird head-shaped fittings (cat. nos. 4–6) (photos by Sergiu Odenie).



Pl. IV. The objects discovered at Pădureni: **1.** oval buckle (cat. no. 1); **2.** oval buckle with kidney-shaped plate (cat. no. 2); **3.** drop-shaped mount with inlay (cat. no. 3); **4–6.** elements of three-partite strap distributors with bird head-shaped fittings (cat. nos. 4–6) (drawings by Dana Gheorghe Șerban).

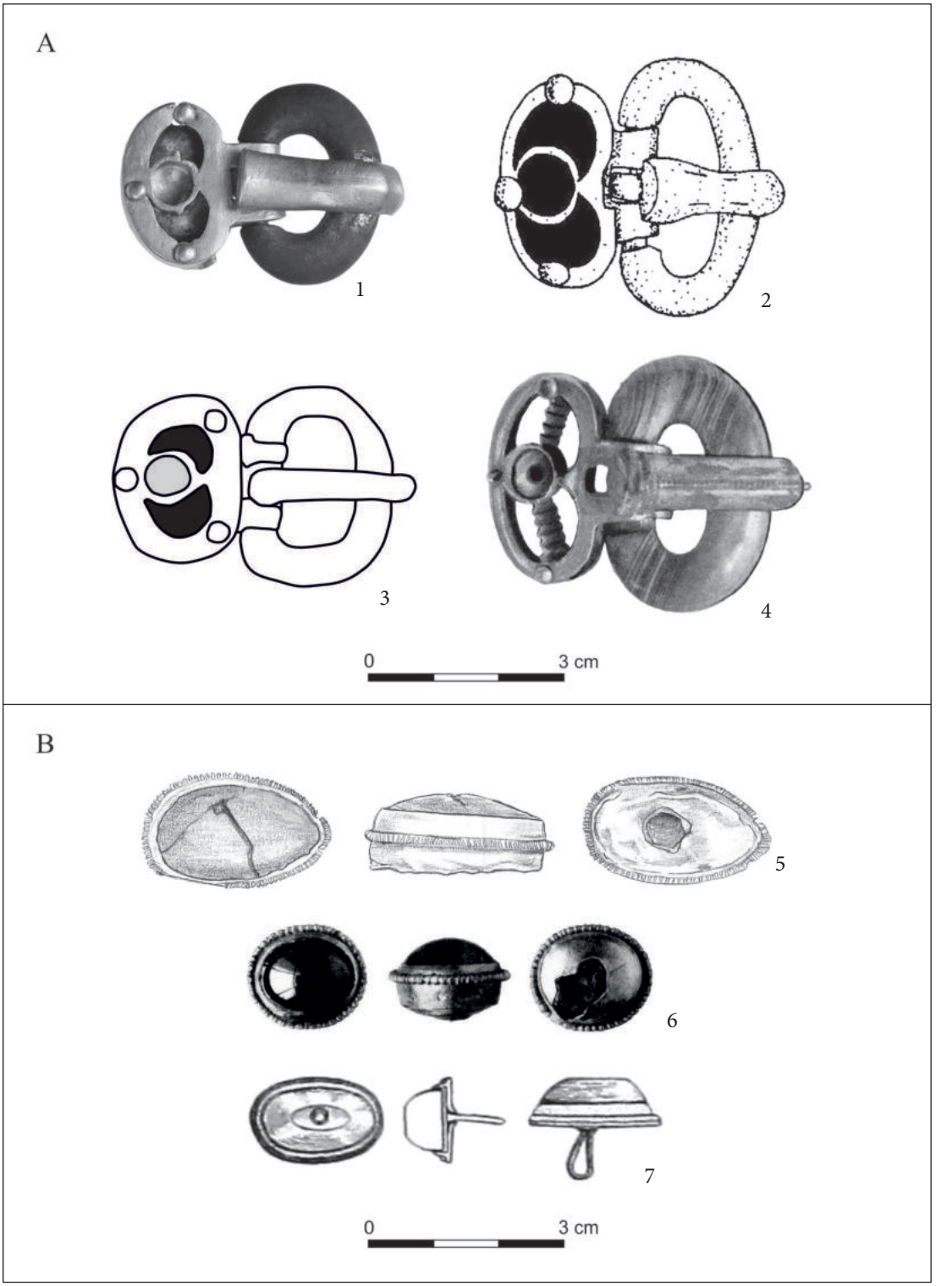


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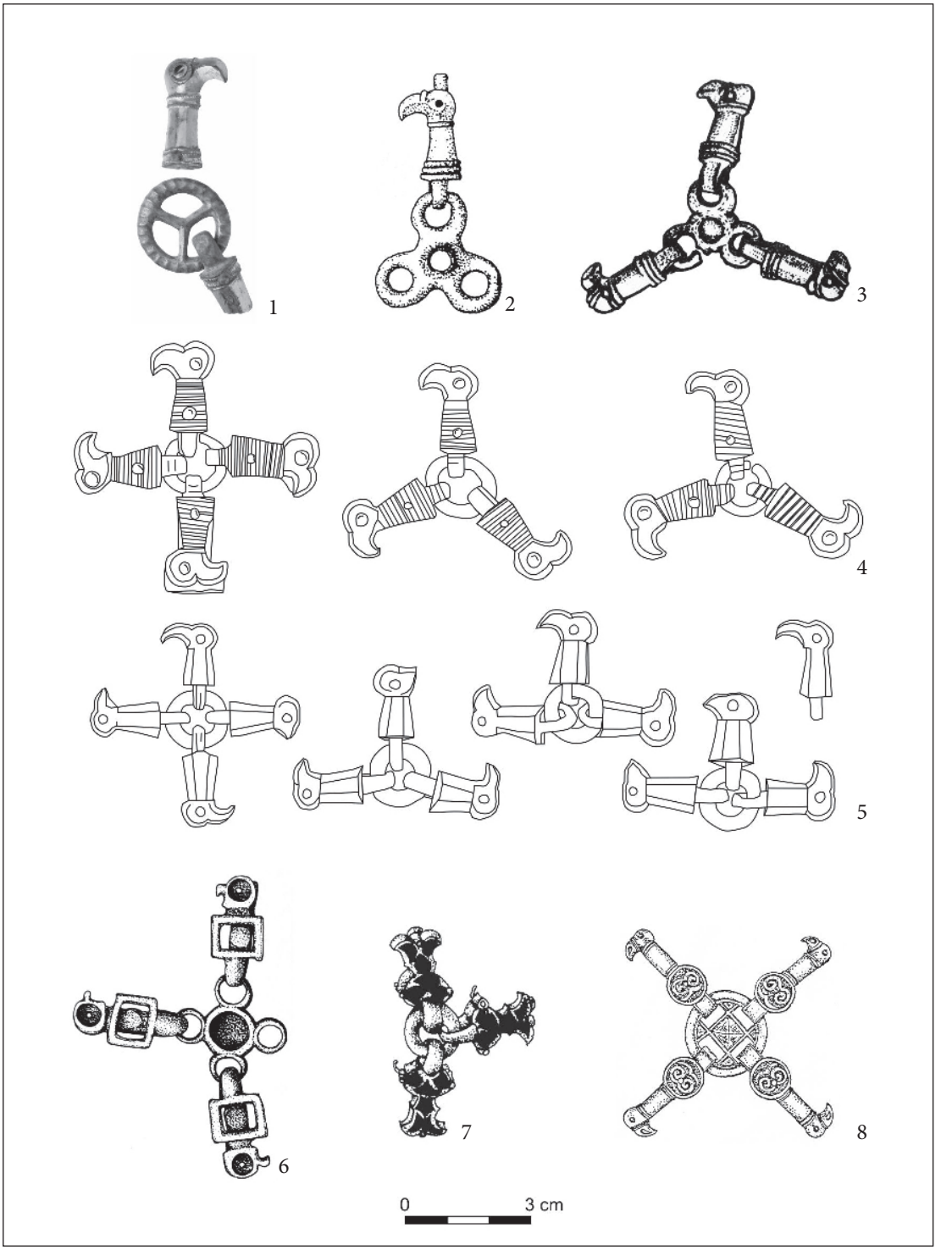


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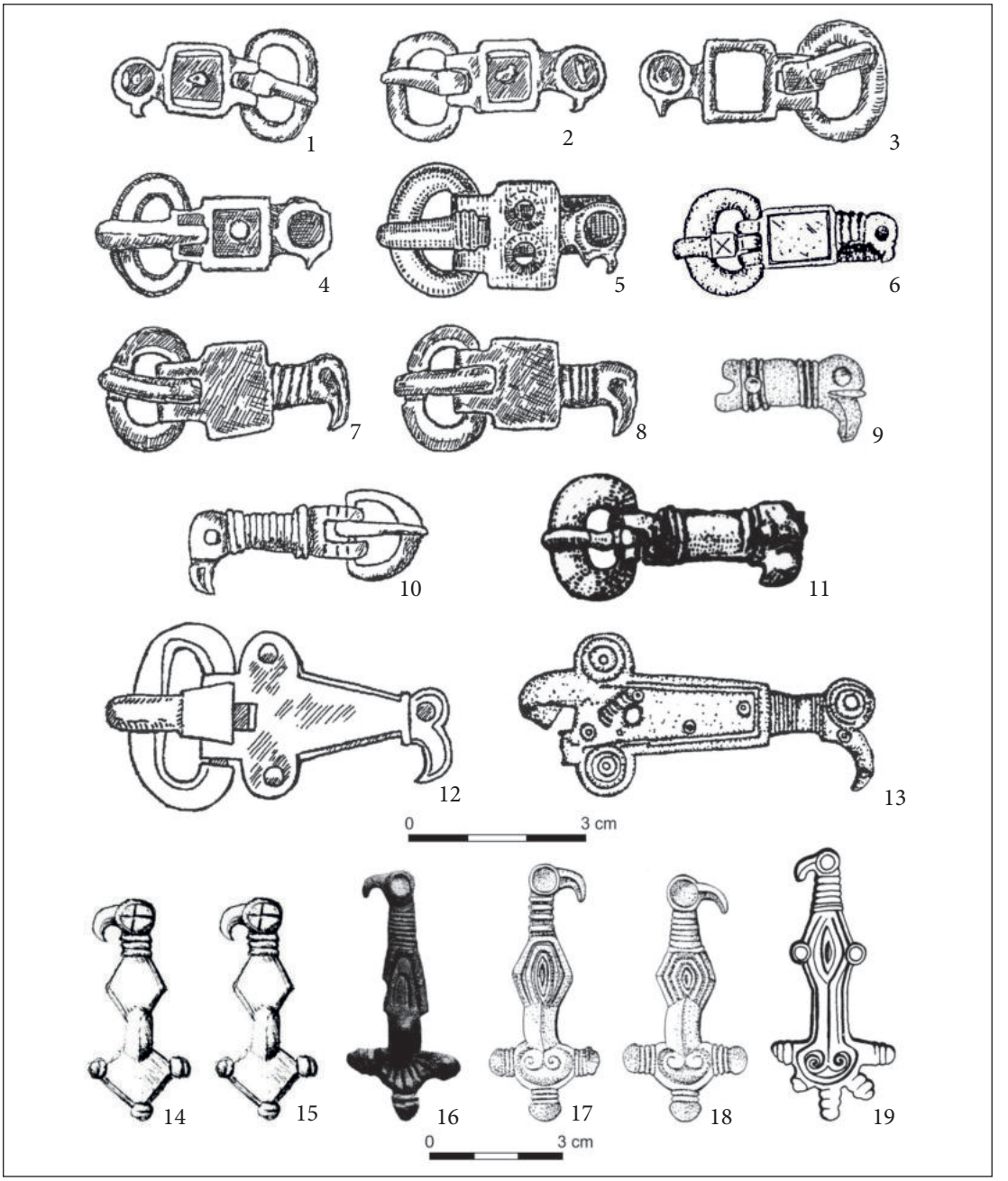
Pl. V. 1. Microscopic photograph of the loose garnet inlay found inside the plate of the buckle (cat. no. 2); **2.** Microscopic photograph of the round garnet plate marking the eye on the bird head-shaped fitting (cat. no. 6) (photos by Beatrix Magó).



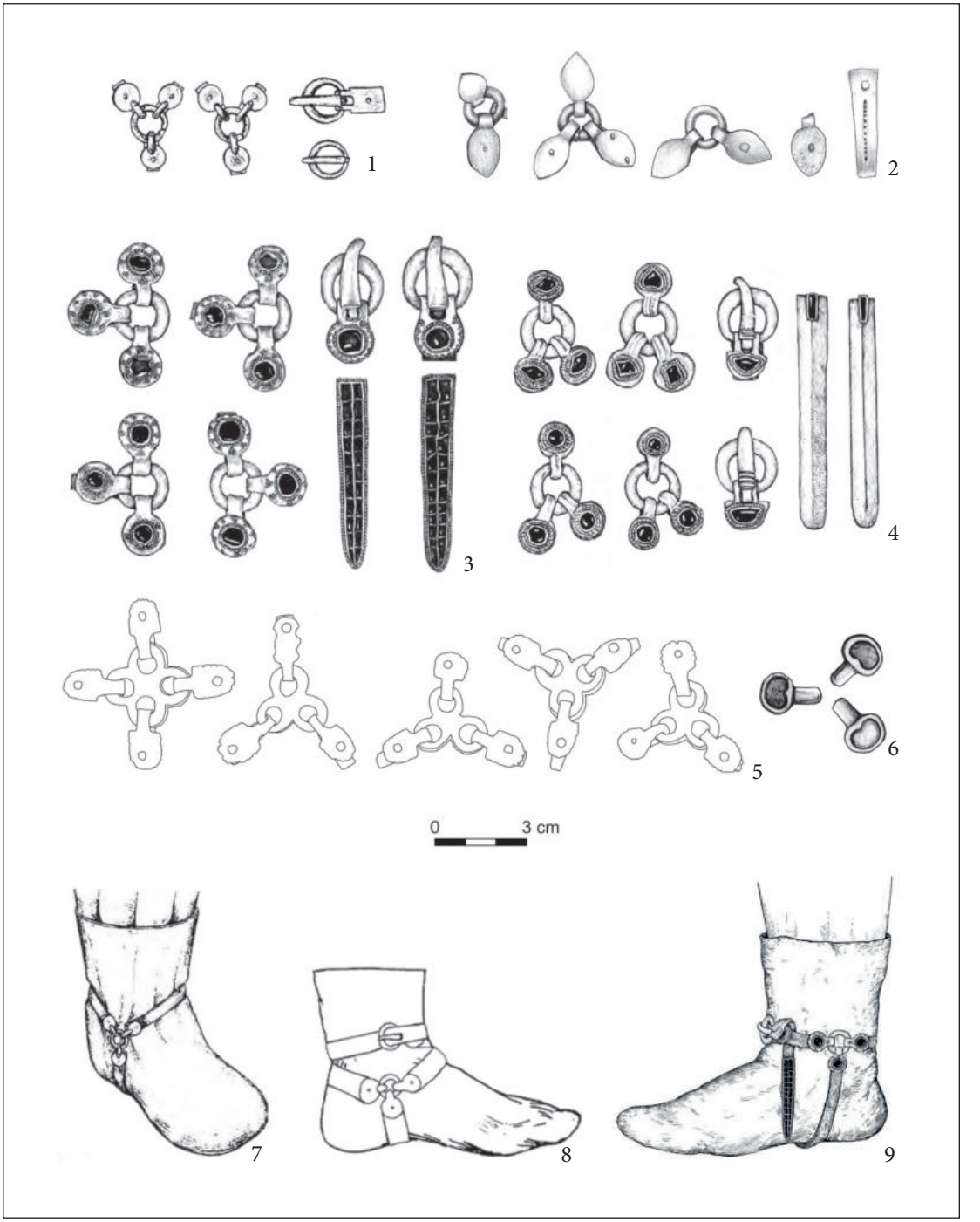
Pl. VI. A. Buckles with oval loop and mobile kidney-shaped plate: **1.** Pădureni; **2.** Syria (after Kazanski 1994, Fig. 1/5); **3.** Kerch-Glinishche, double burial (redrawn after Werner 1956, Taf. 15/12); **4.** Gyulavári–Tisch sandpit (after Csallány 1961, Taf. CXCI/2); **B.** Mounts with cabochon: **5.** Pădureni; **6.** Beja (after Dannheimer 1961, Abb. 1/3a–c); **7.** Horb–Altheim, grave 52 (after Beilharz 2011, Taf. 37/3b).



Pl. VII. Strap-distributors with bird head-shaped fittings: **1.** Pădureni; **2.** Aparhant (after Ódor 2000, 3. kép/1); **3.** Bezvodnoe, grave 5 (after Krasnov 1980, Ris. 40/11); **4.** Borok 2, grave 525 (redrawn after Akhmedov 2019, Ris. 4/6); **5.** Borok 2, grave 124 (redrawn after Akhmedov 2019, Ris. 5/3); **6.** Gondorf (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1990, Taf. 19/7a); **7.** Mărițeia (after Harhoiu 1998, Taf. LXXVI/C.1); **8.** Sjörup (after Ódor 2000, 5. kép/4).



Pl. VIII. 1–13. Buckles with bird head-shaped plate: **1–5.** Jánoshida type: **1–2.** Jánoshida (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/3–4); **3.** Esztergom (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/8); **4.** Magyarcsanád–Bökény (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/7); **5.** Wien–Leopoldau, grave 3 (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/10); **6–11.** Mözs type: **6.** Aparhant (after Ódor 2000, 5. kép/2); **7–8.** Mözs, grave 11 (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/13–14); **9.** Tiszanagyfalu (after Istvánovits, Kulcsár 1994, Fig. 4/7); **10.** Italy (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/17); **11.** Bezvodnoe, grave 5 (after Krasnov 1980, Ris. 40/12); **12–13.** Kaliakra type: **12.** Kerch (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/19); **13.** Kaliakra (after Nagy 2002, Abb. 1/20); **14–19.** Bow-brooches with bird-head shaped terminal: **14–15.** Hajdúnánás, grave 183/213 (after Rácz 2014, 2. kép/4–5); **16.** Magyartés (Bökénymindszent) (after Csallány 1961, Taf. CIX/10); **17–18.** Slimnic (after Harhoiu 1998, Taf. XC/E.4–5); **19.** Subotica (after Mrkobrad 1980, Taf. XXXVI/4).



Pl. IX. 1–4. Shoe sets with strap-distributors: **1.** Luchistoe, vault 88, burial 5 (after Khairedinova 2003, Ris. 3/1–4); **2.** Nyíregyháza-Rozsrétszőlő, Site 215, grave 69/01 (after Pintye 2014, Pl. III/7–10); **3–4.** Brut, burial mounds 2 and 7 (after Gabuev 2014, Ris. 8/1–3, Ris. 37/1–8); **5.** Strap distributors from Komintern II, grave 44 (after Kazakov 2021, Ris. 46/6–7); **6.** Fittings from a possible strap distributor from Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii, grave 1 (after Dobos, Opreanu 2012, Pl. 5/1.2–4); **7–9.** Footwear reconstructions with strap distributors based on grave finds: **7.** Luchistoe, vault 88, burial 5 (after Khairedinova 2003, Ris. 3/Ib); **8.** Likhachevka (after Komar 2010, Ris. 3/6); **9.** Brut, burial mound 2 (after Gabuev 2014, Ris. 9).

NOTE

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 333–336

ADDENDUM TO "THE *CODEX CSIKSOMLYOVIENSIS* – CODEX MS 43/TQ-136H".

The watermark of the codex and additional data on its historiography

ÁDÁM SZABÓ

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.62.13

Abstract: This note adds some information to the article published under the same title in the previous issue of this journal. Thus, analysis of the watermark in the Șumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó) Codex indicates that the paper was manufactured in Lucca (Italy) in the first half of the 15th century.

Keywords: c*odex Csiksomlyoviensis*; historiography; Lucca watermark.

Rezumat: Prezenta notă aduce câteva completări la articolul publicat cu același titlu în numărul precedent al acestei reviste. Astfel, analiza filigranului din Codicele de la Șumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó) indică faptul că hârtia a fost fabricată la Lucca (Italia), în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea.

Cuvinte-cheie: *codex Csiksomlyoviensis*; istoriografie; filigran de Lucca.

In the previous number *of Acta Musei Napocensis. I*, a preliminary report on the *codex Csiksomlyoviensis* has been published. Since then, I have continued to work on the topic, collecting data on the codex and studying it in detail at the Teleki-Bolyai Library in Târgu Mureș with the aim of preparing a collection of studies, followed by a facsimile edition of the manuscript.

The watermark of the codex

Upon re-evaluating the codex, I was able to identify the watermark, which had previously been only partially observed and reported as such. It appears only once, on one of the pages of Frontinus' book: codex f. 124 recto / verso, in the middle of the inner margin. The watermark (dm. 17 mm) consists of the Gothic minuscule letter *n* with a vertical stem extending from its middle, framed in a circle with a single line contour (Fig. 1). It can be easily identified based on analogies, the most common being the one shown in Briquet's illustration (Fig. 2).[1] According to this, it can be stated that the paper of the codex was made in Lucca, in the second quarter of the 15th century. The watermark confirms György Aranka and Adrian Papahagi's dating suggestion for the 15th century (see below). Previously, I had suggested dating the codex to the end of the 14th century, a period closer to that in which the paper was manufactured, and, following the advice of specialists, I also mentioned the possibility of its dating to the Anjou period and its manufacture in Soissons.

According to C. M. Briquet's collection, the Gothic minuscule *n* watermark was attested in Bologna in 1310, and in the second half of that century also in France, drawn with double lines. Then, it appeared in northern Italy in a single-line representation, and

[1] Briquet 1923, 454, no. 8440.

in 1472, also in Bologna. A more complex version of the minuscule *n* watermark, which appears in various places over a large area, is one in which the letter is framed by a circle or one that represents a cross placed on a circle.[2] The place of manufacture of the paper does not reveal where it was used, but it extends the previously suggested region of southern France and also makes northern Italy a possible region of origin.

With regard to the historiography of the codex, it should be noted that Charles Reginald Shrader's PhD thesis, defended in 1976,[3] and a summary of it published in 1979,[4] both mention the existence of the codex, its place of custody, and its donator. However, I would like to point out that the dating proposed by the author – before 1300 – cannot be accepted. Subsequently, Paul Oskar Kristeller mentioned the codex in the 1989 volume of his monumental series.[5] Finally, Adrian Papahagi published relevant basic information related to the codex in 2015,[6] then, together with his co-authors, in 2018.[7]

The above mentioned historiographical sources do not change my conclusion that the codex was unknown until 2024 in the field of Ancient Studies. Otherwise, it would not have been possible, for example, that, in specialized literature referring to the Medieval Period or in codicology – considering the period after 1976 – Book II of Vegetius' *De re militari*, mistakenly inserted at the beginning of the codex, would appear as an independent work by a so-called, but non-existent, Pseudo-Cicero.

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[2] Briquet 1923, nos. 453–454, nos. 8419–8442.
[3] Shrader 1976, 314, no. 243.
[4] Shrader 1979, 296, no. 182.
[5] Kristeller 1989, 474.
[6] Papahagi 2015, 42.
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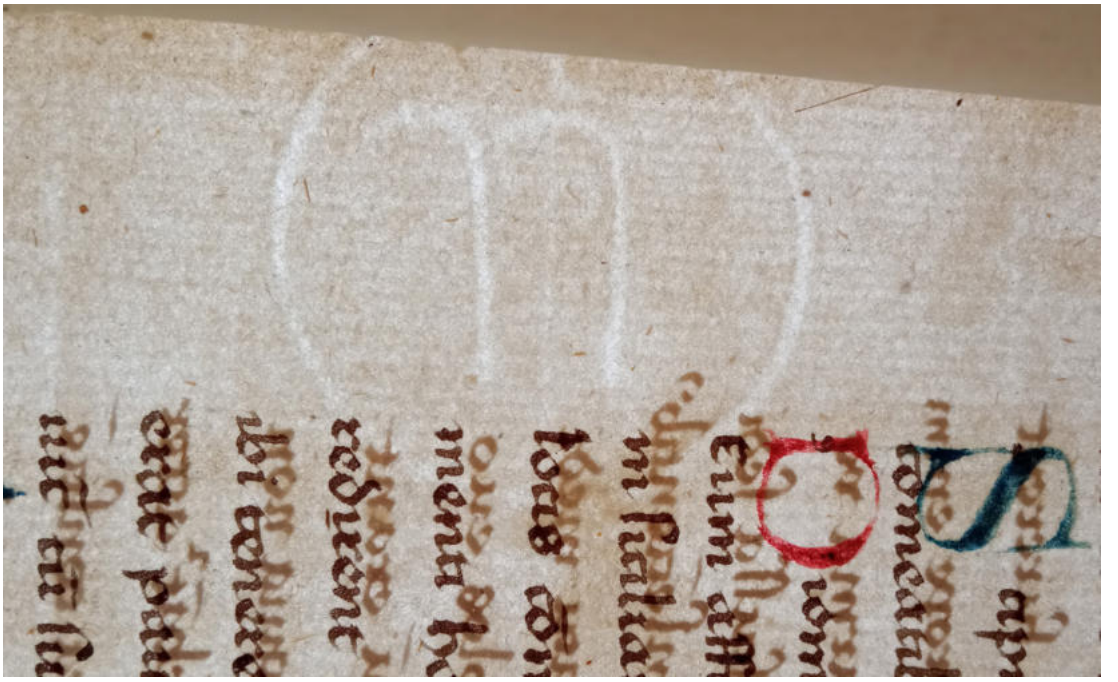


Fig. 1. The 15th-century watermark of the *codex Csíksomlyoviensis* (photo by Ádám Szabó).

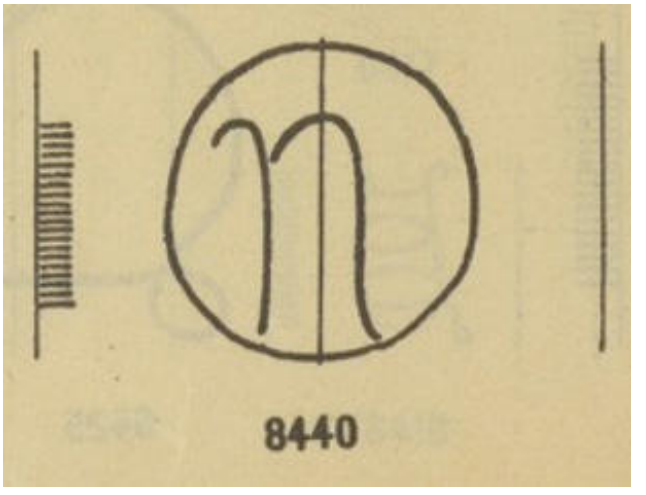


Fig. 2. Lucca watermark from 1451 (after Briquet 1923).

IN MEMORIAM

Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 339–347

STEPHEN MITCHELL
(26 May 1948, Oxford – 30 January 2024, Berlin)



On 30 January 2024, the renowned British scholar and professor Stephen Mitchell, a distinguished representative of the sciences of Classical Antiquity, left this world. The news saddened wide academic circles in numerous countries. For the world of the humanities, the loss is great and extremely painful. From now on, we will be deprived not only of a leading specialist, universally recognised and appreciated on an international scale, but also of a great, generous soul, full of empathy for those around him and enlightened by a vast culture.

The future scholar was born in 1948, in Oxford, into a family of distinguished intellectuals; both parents were faculty members at the renowned university, the father David in philosophy (at Worcester College), and the mother Barbara (born Davies) in ancient history (at St. Anne's College). Stephen was the first of the couple's four children (Stephen, Charles, Nicholas, Corinna), and he grew up right next to the well-known Ashmolean Museum. An outstanding student, he excelled not only in the humanities but also proved to be a good athlete – and later his physical fitness would greatly assist him in his field research. He finished secondary school at 17, but before enrolling at university, he spent a year on various archaeological sites in the United Kingdom, Italy, and the Middle East to gain experience in the field he wished to pursue. It was then that he already began to develop an interest in the antiquities of Anatolia.

After outstanding studies in ancient history and archaeology at the university in his hometown (1966–1970), St. Mitchell continued his training with a doctoral thesis

on ancient Galatia (defended in 1974), under the supervision of Ewen L. Bowie and Eric W. Gray. However, the work covered more than the title suggested, demonstrating a good knowledge of the history and cultures of ancient and medieval Anatolia, up to the Ottoman conquest. He also presented an innovative approach (today we would call it "holistic"), making extensive use of all categories of sources (literary, epigraphic, numismatic, glyptic, archaeological, or even ethnographic and from the natural sciences). In fact, even then he specified both his main area of interest (the civilisation of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity) and the working principles to which he would always remain faithful. It is not without significance that the young researcher regularly travelled to Turkey, took part in field explorations, and moreover had learned Turkish well. It was also during the period of writing his thesis that he started his own family. In 1972 he met in Turkey his future wife, Matina Weinstein, to whom he married in 1974. The couple has three sons: Lawrence, Daniel, Samuel and a granddaughter (Layla-Mae).

His first position was at the University of Bristol (1973–1974). He then secured a permanent post at the University of Swansea, where he rose to the rank of full professor (1993). In 2002, he became a professor at the University of Exeter, specialising in Hellenistic culture. Here he established a centre for the study of Hellenistic and Greek-Roman culture and society. A dedicated professor, St. Mitchell worked hard to properly equip the department, and at one point even converted his own office into a library to house the specialist books that the administration wanted to discard. It should also be emphasised that, both at Bristol and at Swansea, he founded the periodic academic publication in the field, which continues to this day. He also remained in everyone's memory as an exceptional educator, a mobiliser of energies, and a role model for those fortunate enough to be his pupils. He knew how to grant them the respect and appreciation they deserved; alongside the regard he always maintained for his former teachers.

Dissatisfied with the neglect of humanistic pursuits within the system, he ran again in 2008 for the head of the department, intending to halt its decline; he was unsuccessful. He worked in Exeter until 2012, when he retired two years early to care for his ailing mother. Initially based in Sheffield, he continued to write and conduct research in the field. Then, in 2015, he moved to Berlin, where he deepened his study of early Christianity in Anatolia and beyond. In fact, he continued his work and maintained a significant presence in the academic community right up until the very end.

Stephen Mitchell's scientific work is noteworthy both for its volume and, above all, for its high quality. From the outset, he proved to be a tireless field researcher, a connoisseur of classical archaeology and the realities of ancient Anatolia. He researched the late ancient civilization of the region using all categories of sources, and above all by always viewing each investigated object in a broad context – natural and social – in constant evolution. He was a pioneer in the application of interdisciplinary methods, which were innovative at the time. As a result, he succeeded in bringing many unexpected aspects to light and enriching our understanding of regional history.

He focused his first field investigations on Galatia, which was still largely unexplored at the time. The promising results encouraged him to extend his interest to another neglected region, Pisidia, where he conducted extensive research on its main ancient cities, Antioch, Cremna, and Sagalassos (all published in monographs). However, he always advocated for

the comprehensive study of rural areas surrounding urban centres and even conducted field investigations in this regard. It must be said that his ideas proved to be correct, but only contemporary technology now allows for the satisfactory completion of such research. It should be remembered that for all these objectives he established and coordinated major complex research projects, some of which are still ongoing today, involving teams of many British and foreign researchers.

Occasionally, he also worked in other parts of the peninsula, together with various colleagues. In addition to archaeological excavations, he was very concerned with the proper storage of discoveries and the preservation of Anatolia's rich historical heritage, work for which Turkish society remains deeply grateful.

But Stephen Mitchell also excelled like few others in epigraphy, a field to which he made remarkable contributions; the scholarly world knew and appreciated him especially in this capacity. He studied and published a huge number of Greek and Latin inscriptions from Asia Minor, and his interpretation of them was of the highest standard in the field. Alongside several collections of ancient inscriptions, he also published in-depth studies – made possible only by epigraphy – on the society, institutions, and especially the religions of this essential part of the classical world, works that proved to be extremely thorough. In fact, it was precisely his proven expertise in ancient religions that earned him an honorary doctorate from Humboldt University in Berlin in 2006, in the field of theology. A prominent member of the British Epigraphic Society (its president from 1999 to 2002), he was also elected to the committee of the International Association of Greek and Latin Epigraphy and served as president of this association from 2008 to 2012. He was the main organiser of the 13th International Epigraphic Congress (Oxford, 2007).

It is only natural that the distinguished British professor was also involved in large-scale international projects: *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (coord. R. Talbert), *Encyclopaedia of Ancient History* (ed. R. Bagnall et alii), or *Epigraphic database of ancient Asia Minor* (ed. H. Halfmann). But he himself initiated and inspired numerous collaborations between specialists of different nationalities. He was also a visiting professor at Princeton (1983–1984) and Göttingen (1990–1992) and spent frequent research periods in Turkey (a whole sabbatical year between 2007–2008). He became a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute (1996) and an associate member of the "Center for Early Christianity" at Humboldt University in Berlin (2008); in 2020, he received the "Gustave Schlumberger" prize from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris. Since 2018, he has also been an honorary member of St. John's College, Oxford. A long-time collaborator of the British Institute in Ankara, he also became its vice-president (2023). But his highest distinction was undoubtedly his election to the British Academy (2002), a position from which he has firmly defended academic principles and humanist values.

He wrote extensively, and his contributions appeared in books and various publications across different fields. However, his remarkable modesty prevented him from ever compiling a list of his works. As a result, even the universities where he worked do not have a complete list of his contributions. What we can present here is only a selective bibliography, extracted from the online sources available to us. Even so, it is sufficient to outline the professional profile of an exceptional scholar.

A special dimension of Professor Stephen Mitchell's efforts materialized in the initiation and consolidation of human relations between specialists in the field, from various cultures and nations. His erudition, pedagogical tact, and personal charm have combined on this level to build new bridges of contact. This is attested to by his numerous foreign students and collaborators, as well as by the recognition of his important role in strengthening friendly, scientific, and other ties between the United Kingdom and Turkey. His door and heart were always open to anyone interested in the humanities, and he was a supportive mentor and talented teacher, guiding and helping young professionals in their professional development. But he did not limit himself to circles of specialists in the field; the couple also stood out socially, showing kindness, empathy, and support; more specifically, they were deeply involved in a series of important educational projects for disadvantaged young people in countries such as Ukraine, Syria, and Kenya. In addition, after moving to Berlin, the couple hosted refugees and helped asylum seekers. He was truly a big-hearted and generous soul, who not only studied classical antiquity, but also lived by the major humanistic principles conveyed by its culture.

A telling illustration of these principles is the fact that he donated a large part of his deceased parents' valuable books to Oxford students and gave others to the University of Reading to be used in master's programs for classical studies. In 2015, before moving to Berlin, he donated most of his own library, and that of his mother, to the Centre for Roman Studies at Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. This special donation made the library of the Centre for Roman Studies one of the best specialized libraries in the country (if not the best), for which we are deeply grateful. Along with the entire academic community, his colleagues in Romania knew and cherished Stephen Mitchell, benefiting from his erudition and generosity. His passing leaves a deep sorrow and profound gratitude in our hearts. May his memory be eternal and bright!

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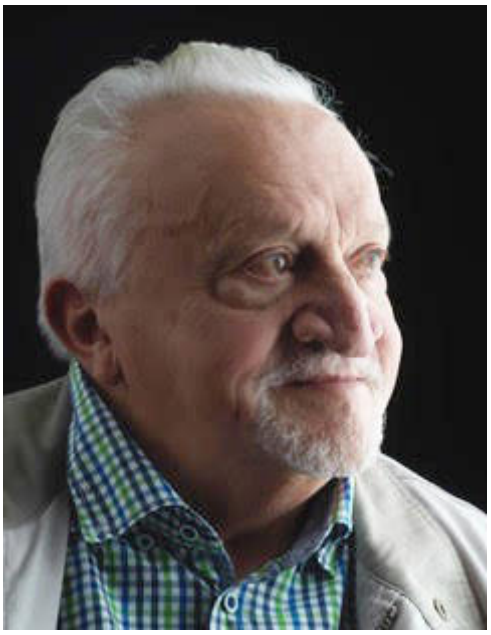
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Acta Musei Napocensis, 62/I, 2025, p. 349–352

GHEORGHE LAZAROVICI
(13 September 1941–3 February 2025)



Gheorghe Lazarovici was born on 13 September 1941 in Milcoveni (Berlişte commune, Caraș-Severin County). His biological parents were Nicolae and Maria Balmez, and he was later adopted by the family of Sava and Aurora Lazarovici. He completed his primary education (1948–1955), vocational school (1955–1958), and high school studies (1958–1962) in Reșița. He initially worked as an electrician and laboratory technician at the Reșița Machine-Building Plant (1960), where he came into contact with a group of archaeology enthusiasts who introduced him to the world of the newly established museum. Participating in his spare time with great enthusiasm and dedication in excavations at Bocșa-Colțani, Zorlențu Mare, Ramna, Berzovia, and Surduc, he was subsequently employed as a restorer at the Reșița Museum (1962–1963).

He began his university studies in 1962 at the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj and graduated in 1968. Noticed by his professors during his student years for his interest in researching the past, he was employed as a guide at the Turda Museum, the only position available at the time. In the summer of the same year, he organized an archaeological survey at Bădeni (Moldovenești commune, Cluj County), at a site that would later prove to be important for understanding the Bronze Age realities of western Transylvania.[1]

[1] Lazarovici, Milea 1976.

From the autumn of that year, he was transferred to the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj (MNIT), which became his workplace for the next 30 years. There, he progressed through all stages of his professional career: guide-instructor (1968–1970), curator (1970–1976), senior curator (1976–1985), head of the Prehistory Department (1985–1990), deputy director (1991–1993), senior researcher I (1993), and general director (1994–1997).

Between 1992 and 1997, in addition to his museum activity, he also became a senior researcher II at the Romanian Institute of Thracology (Bucharest) and scientific secretary of the same institution (1993–1994). At the same time, he taught his first official courses at the Universities of Cluj-Napoca and Alba Iulia (1993–1994).

From 1997, following a competitive examination, he held the position of professor at "Eftimie Murgu" University in Reșița (1997–2012). Between 2002 and 2016, he coordinated doctoral programs and worked as an associate professor at the Lucian Blaga University in Sibiu. Reluctantly, he retired at the age of 75, in order to have more time to write a few more books.

His professional formation, however, is closely linked to the years spent at the National Museum Transylvanian History (MNIT). Benefiting from the support of this institution – alongside that of the Reșița Museum and the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj – starting in the spring of 1968 he organized several excavation campaigns at various sites in the area of Gornea (Sichevița commune, Caraș-Severin County). Within a few years, together with friends and colleagues, he permanently placed this village in the Danube Gorge on the European archaeological map, through discoveries ranging from the Paleolithic to the Late Medieval period.[2]

His research during the early years of his career focused primarily on Neolithic sites in Banat, a subject on which he defended his doctoral dissertation in 1979, under the supervision of Professor Kurt Horedt.[3] In addition to the research at Gornea, he conducted excavations over several campaigns at Zorlențu Mare,[4] Balta Sărată,[5] Parța,[6] and others, all of which were concluded, sooner or later, with monographs that have become mandatory bibliographic references for the Neolithic of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkan Peninsula.[7]

His archaeological research was not limited to Banat alone. The prehistory of Transylvania was enriched by the numerous discoveries brought to light by Gheorghe Lazarovici and his collaborators. Particularly noteworthy are the excavations at the settlement and cemeteries of Iclod (Cluj County), begun in 1972 and carried out over the course of more than 25 systematic archaeological campaigns.[8]

The resumption of the excavations initiated by Nicolae Vlassa at Gura Baciului made possible a reinterpretation of the presence of the earliest Neolithic communities in Transylvania.[9] Equally spectacular were the systematic investigations in the Turda

[2] Lazarovici 1977; Țeicu, Lazarovici 1996.
[3] Lazarovici 1979.
[4] Lazarovici 2021.
[5] Lazarovici 2020.
[6] Lazarovici et alii 2001.
[7] Lazarovici 2025.
[8] Lazarovici 1991.
[9] Lazarovici, Maxim 1995.

Gorge (Cheile Turzii), which also led to the discovery of a gold-processing workshop approximately 6,000 years old.[10]

His collaboration with Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici, a distinguished researcher at the Institute of Archaeology in Iași, resulted in the publication of several monographs dedicated to the Cucuteni culture,[11] as well as to Neolithic and Copper Age architecture in Romania.[12]

His scientific interests also encompassed a number of fields related to archaeology. His name is associated with the first ethnoarchaeological investigations[13] and the first archaeometric studies in Romania.[14] He also revolutionized Romanian archaeological research through the use of computerized analysis of discovered artifacts, creating software programs and databases for the storage and management of information.[15]

Gheorghe Lazarovici was a visionary, a founder of an archaeological school, and not least a man who left all of us who knew him with the feeling that life must be lived as intensely as possible. He left behind not only a scientific legacy upon which future archaeological research in Romania will be built, but also a memory that will not fade with the cold day of 3 February 2025.

"Safe journey, Boss, toward immortality!"

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[10] Lazarovici et alii 2023.
[11] Lazarovici et alii 2009; Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2012.
[12] Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006; Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2007.
[13] Lazarovici, Kalmar-Maxim 1992; Lazarovici, Ardeț 2015.
[14] Dragomir et alii 1992; Lazarovici, Piciu 1992.
[15] Lazarovici 1998; Lazarovici, Micle 2001.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.archeo.ens.fr/IMG/pdf/annee_philologique_abrev_revues.pdf

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timişoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timişoara.
ABL	C. H. E. Haspel, Attic black-figured lekythoi, Paris 1936.
ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic black-figure vase-painters, Oxford 1956.
ACD	*Acta classica Universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis*, Debrecen 1968-.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secţiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
Acta Carnuntina	*Acta Carnuntina*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, Carnuntum.
ActaMN	*Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	*Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău.
ActaTS	*Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, 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	*Acta siculica*. Muzeul Naţional Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888-.
Aegaeum	*Aegaeum*. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP, Liège.
AEM	Archäeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
Aetas	*Aetas*. Journal of history and related disciplines, Budapest.
Agora 32	The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 32: J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, Princeton 2008.
AGRW	R. S. Ascough, 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 Jugoslavien, Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.

AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
Alba Regia	*Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis – Alba Regia*. A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	*Aluta*. 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.
Anatolia Antiqua	*Anatolia antiqua*. Revue internationale d'archéologie anatolienne, Istanbul.
Anatolian Archaeology	Anatolian Archaeology. Atatürk University, Erzurum.
Angustia	*Angustia*. Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
Annales HSS	*Annales*. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin – New York.
AO (S. N.)	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	*Apulum*. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Aquila Legionis	*Aquila legionis*. Cuadernos de estudios sobre el Ejército Romano, Universidad de la Rioja.
Arrabona	*Arrabona*. A Győri Múzeum évkönyve. Győr.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.
Археологія	Археологія. Спілка ароехеологів України, Kiev.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Archaeologia Bulgarica	*Archaeologia Bulgarica*, Sofia.
Archeologia	Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, Warszawa.
ΑρχΔελτ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Αθήνα.
ArchHung	*Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Arcaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae*, Budapest.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
Argesis	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Județean Argeș.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arheologia (Sofia)	Arheologija. Organ na Archeologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia.

Arheologie și Studii Clasice	Arheologie și Studii Clasice, București.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
ARYS	ARYS. Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades, Instituto de Historiografía "Julio Caro Baroja", (UC3M), Madrid.
Ausgrabungen und Funde	Ausgrabungen und Funde: Nachrichtenblatt der Landesarchäologie, Berlin 1956–1995.
Avram, PPEE	A. Avram, *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa*, Colloquia Antiqua 8, Louvain – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2013.
Balcanica	Annual of the Institute for the Balkan Studies, Belgrad.
Banatica	*Banatica*, Reşiţa.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCEN	Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, Paris 1888.
BHAUT	*Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis*, Timișoara.
BMC	H. Mattingly, R. Carson (eds.), Coins of the British Museum, London 1923.
BSAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București.
Bulgaria	I. Jordanov, Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 1: Geographical names, Agato, Sofia 2003; Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 2: Family names, Agato, Sofia 2006; Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 3: SOCASTO, 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.), Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 1990.
CBC	*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, W. Herwig (ed.), Vienna 1979.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI*, Leyden 1989.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.

CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), *Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, *Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii*, Leyden 1985.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf.
CIA	Kircchoff et alii (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berlin 1873 sqq.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I–IV, Berlin 1828–1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum*, HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863 sqq.
CILA	J. González (ed.), Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía, Sevilla 1989–1991, I–III.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, I–II, The Hague 1956, 1960.
Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*.
Classica et Christiana	*Classica et Christiana*. Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CLE	F. Buecheler (ed.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Leibniz 1895–1897.
CMG	*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*.
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, *Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis*, Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, *Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuvinorum*, I–II, Leiden 1969–1976.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice, București.
CNT	*Corpus Nummorum Thracorum*: https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/
Coll. Antropol.	*Collegium antropologicum*, School Of Biological Anthropology, Zagreb.
CommArchHung	*Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae*, Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Romîne, București.
CPL	*Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*.
Crisia	*Crisia*. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani.*
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
Cumidava	*Cumidava*. Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.

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.)	*Dacia* – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
Diacronia	Diacronia. http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/journal/about
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. *Annales Musei Debreceniensis de Frederico Déri nominate*, Debrecen.
DissPann	*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Budapest.
DIVR	D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României*, București 1976.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichita romane, I–III, Roma 1895–1922.
DO	Ph. Grierson et alii, Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Wittemore Collection, I–V, DO Research Library, Washington D.C. 1966–1999.
Dobrudža	Dobrudža. Études Éthno-culturelles, Sofia.
Documenta Praehistorica	*Documenta Praehistorica*, Ljubljana.
Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).
Drobeta	*Drobeta*, Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
EAIVR	Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României, București 1994-.
Early Christianity	Early Christianity, Zürich – New Haven – Chicago – Berlin.
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	*Ephemeris Dacoromana*. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma, Roma.
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyvei, Kolozsvár [Cluj] 1859 sqq.
EN	*Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	*Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum*, 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-Egyesűletnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Ἔργον	Ἔργον 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	*Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest.
FPA 1–7	P. Kovács (and B. Fehér 1–2) (ed.), *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae*, 1–7, Budapest 2003–2013.
Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.
GED	W. Ph. Lehmann, Gothic Etymological Dictionary, Leiden 1986.
Gephyra	*Gephyra*: 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, Griechische Vers-Inschriften. 1. Grab-Epigramme, Berlin 1955.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbenk Heidelberg, edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de.
Heritage Turkey	Heritage Turkey. British Institute at Ankara, Ankara.
A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. *Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati*, Miskolc.
Hierá	*Hierá.* 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	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, I–III, Bucureşti – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie, I–II, Bucureşti 1996, 2000.
IEW	J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1–2, Bern – Munich 1959, 1969, 2005[5].
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGB	G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, I–V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956–1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure), Bordeaux – Paris 1997.

IGLR	Em. Popescu, Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în româneşte, însoţite de indici şi comentate, Bucureşti 1976.
IGLS	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Paris 1929 sqq.
ILAf	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Châtelain, Inscriptions latines d'Afrique, Paris 1923.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, I, Sofia 1989.
ILCV	Ernst Diehl: *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, Berlin 1925–1967.
ILD	C. Petolescu, Inscripţii latine din Dacia, Bucureşti I, 2005; II, 2016.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, *Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices*, Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I–IV, Berlin 1882–1916.
IMS	Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, I–VI, Beograd 1976–1982.
INMV	Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej – Varna, Bulgaria.
InscrItal	*Inscriptiones Italiae*, Roma 1937.
ISM	Inscripţiile din Scythia Minor greceşti şi latine, Bucureşti 1980 sqq.
Istros	*Istros*. Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JAHA	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology. The journal of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.
Journal of Democracy	Journal of Democracy, Washington DC.
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology, http://jsa.sagepub.com/.
Journal of Military History	Journal of Military History, Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	Journal of Religion and Health, Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Budapest.
KρXρον	Κρητικά Χρονικά, Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	*krisis/crisi*, Roma 2012.
KSK RBS	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtscaftlichen 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 deli Studi di Milano, Milano.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/.

Libelli Archaeologici	*Libelli Archaeologici*, Budapest.
Library & Information History	Library & Information History, Edinburgh University Press.
Libyca	*Libyca*. Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 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	*Ubi erat lupa*, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.
MAL	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
Madrider Mitteilungen	Madrider Mitteilungen. Deutches Archäeologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	*Marisia.* Studii şi materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Judeţean Mureş, Târgu Mureş.
Marmatia	*Marmatia*, Baia Mare.
Masson, OGS	Masson, OGS = O. Masson, *Onomaslica Graeca Selecta I–II*, Paris 1990.
MCA	Materiale şi cercetări arheologice, Bucureşti.
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	*Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis*, Piatra Neamţ.
MGAH	*Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae*, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.
MGH AA	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, Hannover – Berlin 1826 sqq.
MGH SRG	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*.
MGH SRM	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Hannover 1896.
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in Folio)*.
Michmanim	Michmanim.The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Haifa University.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.
Musaios	*Musaios*, Muzeul Judeţean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. *Acta Comparitionis Litterarum Universalis*, Budapest.
Novensia	*Novensia*: badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warsawa.

OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OnomThrac	D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum. Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie*, 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, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, I–IV, Budapest 1994–2005.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
Orghidan	V. Laurent, La collection Orghidan, Paris 1952.
Oriens et Occidens	*Oriens et Occidens.* 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	*Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum*, Cluj-Napoca.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
PECS	R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, M. Holland McAllister (eds.), The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, Princeton University Press 1976.
Peuce	*Peuce*. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea.
PF 5	U. Mandel, Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die "Oinophorengruppe" und Verwandtes, Pergamenische Forschungen 5, Berlin – New York 1980.
Phil.-Hist. Klasse	Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Berlin.
Phoenix	*Phoenix*. Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PG	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, Harvard University 1857.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Berlin 1897–1898.
PIR^2	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*^{2}, Berlin 1933 sqq.
P. Lond	F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell (eds.), Greek Papyri in the British Museum, London 1893–1917.
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris (eds.), Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I–III, Cambridge 1971–1992.
P. Mich.	Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection.
Pontica	*Pontica*. Studii şi materiale de istorie, arheologie şi muzeografie, Constanţa.

Potaissa	*Potaissa*. Studii şi Comunicări, Turda.
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
Probleme de Muzeografie	Probleme de Muzeografie, Bucureşti.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RAN	Repertoriul Arheologic Național, http://ran.cimec.ro/
RB	Revista Bistriţei, Bistriţa.
RCRF Acta	*Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta.*
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – *Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis*, *Acta Nova Musei Nationalis*, 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
ReDiva	Revista Doctoranzilor în Istorie Veche și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
Religion	Religion, http://www.tandfonline.com/.
Religious Studies	Religious Studies. An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge.
Rheinisches Museum	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Köln.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Cluj, Cluj-Napoca 1992.
RepHargita	V. Cavruc (ed.), *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Harghita*, Sfântu Gheorghe 2000.
Revista Arheologică	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău.
Revista Fundațiilor Regale	Revista Fundațiilor Regale: revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală, București.
Revista de Istorie	Revista de istorie. Academia de Ştiinţe Sociale şi Politice a Republicii Socialiste România. Secţia de Istorie şi Arheologie, Bucureşti.
RevMuz	Revista Muzeelor, Bucureşti.
Revue Roumaine d'Histoire	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Bucarest.
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Brill series.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, I–II, Mainz – Bonn 2004.
RIB	The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Oxford 1965 sqq.
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage, 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, Bucureşti.
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. Szentléleky, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, Budapest 1971.
SA	*Studia Archaeologica*, Roma.
SAA	*Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, Iaşi.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Saldvie	Saldvie: Estudios de prehistoria y arqueología. Open Access Journal.
Sargetia	*Sargetia*. Buletinul Muzeului Judeţean Hunedoara, Deva.
Savaria	*Savaria*. A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője, Szombathely.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wiessenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft.
SCIV(A)	Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche (şi arheologie – since 1975), Bucureşti.
SCN	Studii şi cercetări de numismatică, Bucureşti.
Scriptorium	*Scriptorium.* International Review of Manuscript Studies, Paris.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923 sqq.
Silber und Salz	R. Slotta, V. Wollmann, I. Dordea, Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum « Das Gold der Karpaten – Bergbau in Roşia Montană » vom 27. Oktober 2002 bis zum 05. August 2003, IV (Einleitende Aufsätze, Reiseberichte sowie geologische und mineralogische Literatur), Bochum 2002.
Situla	*Situla.* Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani – *Dissertationes Musei Nationales Labacensis*, Ljubljana.

SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra.
SMMIM	Studii şi materiale de muzeografie şi istorie militară, Bucureşti.
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	*Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Institutis Historiae Antiquae et Archaeologiae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*, Pécs.
StComBrukenthal	Studii şi comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
StComSatuMare	Studii şi comunicări, Satu Mare.
Studii de Preistorie	Studii de Preistorie, http://arheologie.ro.
Studi ellenistici	Studi ellenistici. American Academy in Rome, https://www.aarome.org/studi-ellenistici.
SympThrac	*Symposia Thracologica.* Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, Bucureşti.
TabCerDac	I. I. Russu, *Tabulae Ceratae Dacicae*. In: IDR, I, 1975, 165–256.
TED'A	Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona.
Terra Sebus	*Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, Sebeş.
ThesCRA	M. Greenberg (ed.), *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles 2004.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
Thraco-Dacica	*Thraco-Dacica*. Institutul de Tracologie, Bucureşti.
TIR	*Tabula Imperii Romani*.
Tisicum	*Tisicum*. A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
TitAq	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, *Tituli Aquincenses*, 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, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum*, Budapest-Bonn 2005.
Tyragetia	*Tyragetia*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn.
Zentraleuropäische Archäologie	Zentraleuropäische Archäologie. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
Ziridava	*Ziridava*. 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.
MGN	Muzeul Grăniceresc Năsăudean, Năsăud.
MIR	Muzeul de Istorie Roman.
MIT	Muzeul de Istorie Turda.
MJERGC	Muzeul Județean de Etnografie și al Regimentului de Graniță Caransebeș.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MJSM	Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MNM = HNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum = Hungarian National Muzeum, Budapest.
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia.
MȚC	Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
NMB	Bardo National Museum = Musée National du Bardo, Tunis.