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52/I





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# ARTICLES AND STUDIES



## ANAMORPHOSIS IN ARCHAEOLOGY. ASPECTS OF PHENOMENOLOGY AND PERCEPTION IN CULTURAL CHANGE AND CULTURAL TRANSFER. A CASE STUDY OF THE LATE COPPER AGE AND EARLY BRONZE AGE BURIAL MOUND BEARERS OF THE EASTERN CARPATHIAN BASIN

TIBOR-TAMÁS DARÓCZI

**Abstract:** It might be argued that the creation and manipulation of anthropogenic material culture start with an idea, therefore it would seem fitting to start the depiction of the mechanisms at this, phenomenological, level. The construct employs the concepts and relations of *noema* and *noesis*, from the individual cultural change, to the interactions of individuals within a group, but also between two or more groups. Through this analysis, aspects of cultural change and cultural transfer might be portrayed in a way these are linked to anthropogenic material culture. Two or more groups of human individuals create different goods, but interaction does not end at this stage. Through the transmission of ideas and objects and their implicit agency, they influence each other. This means that aspects of cultural change and transfer are reflected in the entanglement of goods of different origins. More importantly, this entanglement, if interpreted from the proposed view, might transcend the limits of the usual attributions of so-called archaeological cultures, enabling us to highlight past identities and their interactions. Entanglements of material culture and phenomenological perception (grave goods, burial habits, funerary architecture, and choice of sites) of Late Copper Age II and Early Bronze Age I burial mounds of the Eastern Carpathian Basin are analysed and compared. In the final step, identities based on the phenomenological interpretation of appropriation of foreign idioms are outlined and the contact zones discussed.

**Keywords:** cultural change; phenomenology; Late Copper Age; Early Bronze Age; Eastern Carpathian Basin.

**Rezumat:** Întrucât constituirea, precum și manipularea culturii materiale antropogene pornesc de la o idee, descrierea mecanismelor culturale ar trebui să aibă ca punct de plecare nivelul fenomenologic. Abordarea folosește conceptele de *noema* și *noesis*, dar și relațiile dintre acestea, pornind de la schimbarea culturală individuală, prin interacțiunile indivizilor din grup, până la reciprocitățile dintre două sau mai multe grupuri. Prin această analiză, aspecte ale schimbărilor culturale și ale transferurilor culturale ar putea fi interpretate într-o manieră din care să reiasă legătura lor cu cultura materială antropogenă. Două sau mai multe grupuri de indivizi creează bunuri diferite, dar interacțiunea lor nu se termină în acest stadiu. Prin transmiterea ideilor și a obiectelor, aceste grupuri se influențează reciproc, iar efectele schimbărilor și transferurilor culturale sunt reflectate în interferarea bunurilor de origine diferită. Aceste interferări, interpretate din punctul de vedere propus, ar transcende constrângerile și paradoxurile culturilor arheologice, permițând evidențierea identităților din trecut și interacțiunile dintre ele. Sunt analizate și comparate interferările culturii materiale și a percepției fenomenologice (inventar funerar, comportament funerar, arhitectură funerară, și amplasarea siturilor) a tumulilor cunoscute în estul Bazinului Carpatic datând din epoca Târzie a Cuprului II și epoca Timpurie a Bronzului I. În final, identitățile definite pe baza interpretării fenomenologice a însușirilor de idiomuri străine sunt discutate, fiind schițate zonele de contact.

**Cuvinte cheie:** schimbare culturală; fenomenologie; epoca Târzie a Cuprului; epoca Timpurie a Bronzului; estul Bazinului Carpatic.

## Cultural change, phenomenological identities and the “contact zone”

The present study<sup>1</sup> is a test of theory against archaeological realities of what previously were termed “the X group identity” and the cultural change resulting from the individual noetic cultural change<sup>2</sup>. This particular case study was suggested by a positive review on this previously published cultural theory.

The individual cultural change might be described from a phenomenological perspective as the dialectic of noetic perception and noetic embodiment. This involves the changing of our social environment through the alteration of the material or immaterial objects (Pl. II/1). The noetic perception is the input and analysis of information from the surrounding environment of individuals. One might view this as the act of perceiving the environment through the full spectrum of receptors specific to humans, e.g. hearing, seeing, smelling, balance, temperature. This sensory perception results in the creation of the noema, which in fact is the object of perception or thought. The “analysis” of the noema is the noesis, which is seen as a process or an act of perceiving or thinking<sup>3</sup>. The result of the noetic perception is the noetic embodiment, which creates the altered noema, that is the altered “idea” of the actual object. E.g. the idea or “picture” of an apple in the mind of a painter that she/he was looking at, just before brushing the first lines on a canvas. In a final stage the alteration of the surrounding environment or objects is referred to as the motory embodiment (Pl. II/1), i.e. the painting of the apple. A detailed account of the phenomenological approach and its theoretical background in archaeology is discussed in the literature<sup>4</sup>.

Identities, especially in prehistoric archaeology, present the researchers of humanities with a paradox, which is the essential fallacy of most archaeological research methods. This paradox is that the rhetoric of archaeologists requires “identities” to discuss the research results, but in the same time it is the very goal of the same research. Problems originating from an inadequate use of terms in regards of pottery or metal groups, i.e. “culture”, “group”, “aspect”, “complex”, were pointed out for the wider south eastern European Bronze Age<sup>5</sup>. The above described individual cultural change (Pl. II/1) alters the anthropogenic material culture, which in turn is used to interact with other individuals. This duality of perception and alteration of the material anthropogenic culture, in case of archaeology, results in the relation of individuals to each other. It can be stated that the sense of belonging to a group is condition by the noetic interaction, that is alteration of the surrounding anthropogenic material culture<sup>6</sup>. From a phenomenological perspective, being part of a group or an identity depends on whether the perception of the anthropogenic material culture is

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for the comments and suggestions received at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Thracology, Târgoviște, 10–14 September 2013, on a previous presentation of the present study. Furthermore, I would like to thank Lolita Nikolova and János Dani for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts.

<sup>2</sup> Daróczy 2011, 20–23, Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Husserl 1913, 193–197.

<sup>4</sup> Moran 2000; Barrett, Ko 2009, 276–279; Daróczy 2015, 14–16.

<sup>5</sup> Boroffka 1999, 124–125; Boroffka 2000; Müller 2000, 415–418; Smirnov 2003; Heyd 2011, 540.

<sup>6</sup> Daróczy 2011, 22–23.



more than the alteration of this, or vice-versa in the case when not being part of this group (Pl. II/2). If similar “objects”, in the phenomenological sense of the target of perception, are used in similar manner by different individuals they can be described as belonging to a group or identity, which is directly proportional with the number of similarly used “objects”. “Objects” and individuals are manifold and this creates a complex and vast network of human interactions and relations. In turn, in case of alteration of a single ‘object’ the process of chipping off from the group of the individual starts (Pl. II/2). In the same time, from a phenomenological perspective, this is the very essence of ingenuity and invention.

Phenomenological, territorial and temporal limits of any identity are never clearly and sharply delimited, but are rather entangled, broad and long. The recognition of such identities meeting in all of these dimensions, especially from an archaeological perspective, is very difficult. However, relying solely on material objects is not possible, since identities only partially are negotiated through them. In this reasoning, an identity delimited only by group/s of material “objects” is an incomplete and very inaccurate approach. If the groups of the material “objects” are related to environmental variables and viewed from a phenomenological perspective they start to take shape. At their edges they entangle and interact giving birth to the “contact zone”. The “contact zone” has been defined as a “social space where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery”<sup>7</sup>. Two important characteristics of the contact zone might be singled out which can be related to archaeological features and finds.

- Autoethnography is seen “as selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror”<sup>8</sup>.

- Transculturation, which involves a “process whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture”<sup>9</sup>.

Starting at the noetic level, where the alteration of the anthropogenic material culture begins and by this the very birth of an identity as well, it is possible to eliminate the above indicated methodological fallacy of archaeology. This approach allows for the primary grouping of characteristics of material culture that takes into account environmental variables as well, in order to define identities, without the use of erroneously coined pottery, metal or funerary architectural groups as identities, i.e. “culture”, “group” etc. A good discussion, sustained by strong examples of this problem is presented by Volker Heyd<sup>10</sup>, where he rightfully questions the cultural attribution, i.e. identity of the buried individuals, of burial mounds of alleged north-pontic bearers containing ceramic funerary goods of LCA II and EBA I date of the Alföld and Apuseni mountains.

<sup>7</sup> Pratt 1991, 33.

<sup>8</sup> Pratt 1991, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Ortiz 1987, 93, 96-97; Pratt 1991, 34.

<sup>10</sup> Heyd 2011, 540.

## Identities and “contact zones” during the LCA II – EBA I of the Eastern Carpathian Basin

The Eastern Carpathian Basin (ECB) presents a geographic region that can be defined clearly, for the purpose of the present case study, as the space enclosed by the Carpathian arch and the Tisa/Tisza river. The analysed period is the LCA II and EBA I (Pl. I)<sup>11</sup>, which can be placed roughly in the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium and the first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE<sup>12</sup>. Lastly, the analysed archaeological finds and materials are the funerary habits of these past identities.

During the LCA II in the region two main types of grave construction are documented: plane and tumular; this does not change during the EBA I either (Pl. III/1-2). Tumular burial sites are more common and they tend to be organised in groups of at least two burials, i.e. burial grounds, either in the same tumulus or in an adjacent one. Contrary to this, plane funerary sites have a balanced grouping between burial grounds and single burials during the LCA II, while the number of EBA I sites with just a single burial is double as much as those of the burial grounds (Pl. III/1-2). Single burials of the EBA I can be seen as the innovative and specific grouping type of graves for plane funerary sites, while tumular ones clearly prefer in both analysed periods burial grounds. It is interesting to note that the LCA II burial mounds are located mostly along the Tisa/Tisza, especially in the area north of the Criş/Körös and Crişul Repede/Sebes Körös and to some extent along the Someş/Szamos and Mureş/Maros rivers (Pl. V/1). Meanwhile plane funerary sites are in the more hilly and mountainous areas and along tributaries of the main rivers, especially of Transylvania (Pl. V/1). This picture changes by the EBA I, burial grounds are located in Transylvania and Banat, and their built is different from the earlier ones (Pl. V/2). The EBA I tumuli are smaller with capes completely or just partially of stones and with no wood-lined grave-pit below the mound<sup>13</sup>. In an inversion of scenarios most of the plane funerary sites of this period are located on the course of the Barcău/Berettyó or just to the north and at the mouth of the Mureş/Maros rivers (Pl. V/2).

Funerary sites during the LCA II show a clear differentiation in choices in micro-location of sites. Plane sites are mostly on first terraces, caves and in some isolated cases hill tops and knolls, while tumular ones are almost exclusively found on knolls and to a lesser extent on first terraces ridges and promontories (Pl. III/3). In a wider geographic region tumular sites are located in the area of lowlands, in regions with the main water-systems of the ECB and plane ones in the slightly more isolated and hilly areas of the wider region, in valleys of secondary tributaries (Pl. VI/1). By the EBA I plane funerary sites next to the previously documented micro-locations appear in large numbers on knolls and to some extent on hill tops, ridges and promontories, while tumular ones are almost exclusively found on high features, mostly ridges and hill tops (Pl. III/4). Mounds on high features during the earliest Bronze Age are almost in all instances located on the eastern, southeastern and northeastern slopes of the Apuseni mountains, along secondary river and stream valleys, while plane funerary

<sup>11</sup> Parzinger 1993, 25–40, esp. 46, 269–270; Maran 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Parzinger 1993, 290; Nikolova et alii 1999, 183–198, 212–215, 217–224.

<sup>13</sup> Ciugudean 2011, 23.

sites are dominating the northern part of the Alföld and south-eastern Transylvania (Pl. VI/2). Caution must be exercised with these, last, pictures since this is only the present research stance, central Transylvania and Banat have very little systematic research that targets this specific period.

In terms of body treatment encountered in burials, inhumation is the most common in the LCA II, though isolated instances of incineration do occur both in plane and tumular funerary sites (Pl. III/5). Inhumation and incineration only appear in the same burial ground at the tumular, funerary site of [181] Debrecen - *Szántay-halom*<sup>14</sup>. Incineration is documented in a single plane burial ground at [387] Medieşul Aurit - *Şuculeu-La Leşu*<sup>15</sup> and in the tumular sites of [211] Domnin - *Dealul Barcului*<sup>16</sup> and [411] Moldova Veche - *Kalinovăţ*<sup>17</sup>. It is interesting to note that incineration only occurs in the northeastern and southeastern parts of the study region, and regardless of the type of grave-construction, in areas of mid-level altitude (Pl. VII/1). Animal burials, two dogs, were documented at the tumular site of [174] Debrecen - *Mátai telekhalom*<sup>18</sup>, which is quite relevant to advocate transhumance of at least some individuals buried in the LCA II tumuli of the Alföld<sup>19</sup>. Though it must be noted, that the estimated travelled distance during this seasonal mobility is severely restricted by a recent study, which draws upon modern ethnographic parallels<sup>20</sup>, a restriction that is elegantly questioned by more detailed observations of similar source<sup>21</sup>. Skull burials are found alongside complete inhumations at the plane funerary site of [647] Szentes - *Nagyhegy-Kovácsshalom* in graves 2 and 3<sup>22</sup>. The number of incineration increases by the EBA I, they mostly occur as single plane burials and inhumations are encountered in almost all tumular burial grounds (Pl. III/6). Incinerations in burial mounds are documented at the sites of [262] Gornea - *Bulfeccea*<sup>23</sup> and [409] Moldova Veche - *Humca/Sotrov/Ostrovul Decebal/Ostrovul Mare*<sup>24</sup>. Furthermore, two tumular burial sites of Transylvania contained disarticulated individuals at [495] Petreştii de Sus - *Pă Grădini*<sup>25</sup> and [556] Sănduleşti - *Dealul Suliheghi* and *Dealul Căcăniş*<sup>26</sup>. Incinerations tend to be present in the Alföld and southeastern Transylvania during the EBA I, while tumular sites are very common in areas with hills, mostly of inner Transylvania (Pl. VII/2).

Most of the burials of LCA II burial mounds are in contracted position (Pl. IV/1) though particularities do occur, as well. A single instance of pithos burial at [685] Tiszaeszlár - *Potyhalom*<sup>27</sup>, a stretched burial at [180] Debrecen - *Pipások*<sup>28</sup> and

<sup>14</sup> Zoltai 1928, 48, 52; Kalicz 1968, 20-21, no. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Dumitraşcu 1972.

<sup>16</sup> Bejinariu 2005, 61, 63, no. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Roman 1976, 32.

<sup>18</sup> Zoltai 1926, 8; Kalicz 1968, 20, no. 17.

<sup>19</sup> Gerling et alii 2012a, 1106-1109; Gerling et alii 2012b, 173-174; Dani 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Horváth 2014, 14-15, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Dani 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Banner 1956, 89-90.

<sup>23</sup> Dragomir 1981, 463-464.

<sup>24</sup> Roman 1976, 32, Pl. 8/19a-d.

<sup>25</sup> Lazarovici, Kalmar-Maxim 1988, 998, no. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Lazarovici, Meşter 1995, 87-89, Pl. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Csallány 1958, 89, no. 3; Ecsedy 1979, 15, no. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Zoltai 1911, 36.

incinerations in pit at [181] Debrecen - *Szántay-halom*<sup>29</sup> and in urn at [411] Moldova Veche - *Kalinovăț*<sup>30</sup> are documented in burial mounds. A unique feature, to plane burial sites of the LCA II, are the stone cists (Pl. IV/1), which were documented at [424] Nandru - *Peștera curată/Peștera de Jos/Peștera Mare*<sup>31</sup> and [564] Sânmartin - *vatra satului*<sup>32</sup>. In the latest Copper Age, areas with low features are dominated by burial mounds, while the slightly higher regions of inner Transylvania by other types of funerary constructions and more varied body treatment practices (Pl. VIII/1). During the EBA I contracted burials still remain the main type of body treatment in burial mounds (Pl. IV/2), though in one instance a stone cists is recorded at the site of [556] Săndulești - *Dealul Suliheghi* and *Dealul Căcăniș*<sup>33</sup>. Plane funerary sites during the mentioned period show a balanced variety in terms of body treatment both in burial grounds and single burials, though incinerations in urn are the most commonly encountered practices (Pl. IV/2), mostly in the regions of the Alföld and the western slopes of the Apuseni (Pl. VIII/2). Cist burials are rare in plane burial grounds, but nevertheless present at the sites of [155] Crizbav - *Pe deal*<sup>34</sup> and [727] Turia - *Judet/Vármegye*<sup>35</sup>.

A very important aspect is the placement in the environment of these funerary sites. The archeco-zones have been defined for the ECB and represent a combination of variations of geomorphology, hydrology, lithology, climate, flora and fauna<sup>36</sup>. The regional distribution of these sites takes shape if compared against these archeco-zones. LCA II tumuli are mostly located in the archeco-zones E1 and E2 and to some extent in the flood-plains of the Tisa/Tisza (Pl. IX/1). Both archeco-zones are slightly higher located than the neighbouring regions and are exposed less to risks of floods, have sandier soils and in this period have a vegetation that is specific to steppes or wooded steppes. Similar conclusions were reached by other studies, as well<sup>37</sup>. During the EBA I tumular burial grounds are mostly located in archeco-zones C1 and C2 (Pl. IX/2), which can be defined as a region with a subalpine climate, with a flora of dense woods, that offers a chance for mild winters.

For each of the above described periods two main groups of burial habits and choices in funerary sites can be recognised. One is specific for the tumulus bearers regardless of periods and the other for groups with plane funerary sites, that in the EBA I are described as mostly with incinerations. The individuals buried in these graves tell a very interesting story. The macroscopic analysis of the buried human remains, based on the Penrose data, shows that the individuals of the LCA II were not “local” based on the traits of their preserved skeletons, but they also did not significantly influence or change the composition of the ECB populations<sup>38</sup>. This was not the

<sup>29</sup> Zoltai 1928, 48, 52; Kalicz 1968, 20-21, no. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Roman 1976, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Roska 1942, 200, no. 97, Fig. 241.

<sup>32</sup> Székely 2002, 2006.

<sup>33</sup> Lazarovici, Meșter 1995, 87-89, Pl. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Vasiliev, Seres 1967, 425, 428.

<sup>35</sup> Székely 1983, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Daróczy 2012b, 44-45; Daróczy 2012a, 41.

<sup>37</sup> Gerling et alii 2012a, 1099.

<sup>38</sup> Zoffman 2004, 131.

case for eastern Romania, where through the same method significant connections were shown to exist with the populations raising burial mounds to the north<sup>39</sup>.

It was suggested that the decline in rainfall on the north Pontic steppes and transhumance could have been the motive for the immigration<sup>40</sup>. The phenomenon of the climate becoming slightly dryer was also seen in the Tisza lowland in the earlier part of the Subboreal and with  $\sim 3\text{--}5^\circ\text{C}$  colder during the warmest month of the year<sup>41</sup>, though wetter than in southwestern Transylvania, and also becoming wetter all around from the begging of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE<sup>42</sup>. This could have been the reason why the earliest mounds appeared in the northern part of the ECB, and only later during the EBA I in the southern, hilly parts of Transylvania. This suggests two main ‘waves’ of penetration of the Carpathian arch at slightly different periods, as opposed to the possibility that only one of these ways was used<sup>43</sup>: one through the passes of Slovakia and southeastern Ukraine, while the other slightly later on through the Iron Gates of the Danube.

The results of a recently published research come to serve as evidence autoethnography, where in the LCA II burial mound of Sárrétudvari – Órhalom two main stages of burials, both with several individuals, were recognised<sup>44</sup>. One might be dated to the LCA II and the other to the EBA I period<sup>45</sup>. The second wave of burials indicated isotopes of strontium and oxygen that are specific to an alpine environment, most likely the Apuseni mountains, that these individuals were exposed to, most likely in their childhood<sup>46</sup>. The different values of isotopes for the individuals from the Apuseni mountains are confirmed by a recent pilot study, which also suggests a reduced mobility for them<sup>47</sup>. Opposed to these, the first wave of burials was characterised as “local”, based on the same type of isotope analysis<sup>48</sup>. Since individuals have spent their childhoods in significantly different environments and were found buried later in mounds similar to their “childhood-environments”, albeit different in construction technique and burial practices, a strong case of selective “appropriation of idioms of a dominant culture” can be stated. The individuals of the second wave have adopted funerary site placements, slightly different body treatment practices of the “local” populations. Furthermore, the fact that they were buried in burial mounds that were built initially in the LCA II period suggests transculturation as these monuments were the dominant anthropogenic feature at the start of the EBA I of the Alföld<sup>49</sup>.

Due to this newest research traits of a “contact zone” could be recognised in the ECB. These traits were not only specific to individual artefacts that are seldom in burial mounds of this period, but in choices of funerary site placements, appropriations of idioms and characteristics of other identities. Interactions between at least

<sup>39</sup> Zoffman 2009, 495, Fig. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Heyd 2011, 549; Gerling et alii 2012a, 1098–1099.

<sup>41</sup> Daróczy 2012b, 38–39, 41, 43, Figs. 2, 6.

<sup>42</sup> Daróczy 2015, Fig. 25.

<sup>43</sup> Heyd 2011, 538–539.

<sup>44</sup> Dani 2011, 29–33.

<sup>45</sup> Szántó et alii 2006.

<sup>46</sup> Gerling et alii 2012a, 1107–1108; Gerling et alii 2012b, 173.

<sup>47</sup> Gerling, Ciugudean 2013, 191, 193, 195, Fig. 10.

<sup>48</sup> Gerling et alii 2012a, 1105–1106; Gerling et alii 2012b, 172.

<sup>49</sup> Heyd 2011, 546.



these two main groups of the Alföld mound-bearers and the eastern Apuseni mound-bearers, although diachronic, are nevertheless clear. At least further two such groups are recognisable. One is represented by the plane funerary sites of the LCA II, that are found mostly in regions with no tumular presence, and the other in the same category of sites mostly of the EBA I, characterised by incineration in the Alföld. Incineration might have developed locally in Transylvania as a separate body treatment practice, though in the region of the Alföld these practices might have also been representative of “non-locals” of the EBA I date.

The final question that arises is that of the identities present in this period at this demographically and culturally very active social crucible. Judging from the funerary record “non-locals” appropriated “foreign” funerary habits without the significant alteration of these. By this standard, the individuals of the second wave of burials at Sárretudvari – Órhalom burial mound can be seen as taking up the identity, albeit somewhat altered, of the first wave of buried individuals. Further research that analyses origins of buried individuals based on their physical and genetic traits, but also over their diet in a dialectic with methods of landscape archaeology could help recognise and define phenomenological identities and “contact zones” of the ECB.

### List of LCA II and EBA I funerary sites of the Eastern Carpathian Basin<sup>50</sup>

[10] Almaşu Mare – *La Cruce*, RO; [13] Ampoiţa – *Dealul Dosciorului*, RO; [29] Băcăia – *Juca Manilie plot*, RO; [35] Băile Herculane – *Peştera Hoţilor*, RO; [38] Balmazújváros – *Árkusmajor-Kettőshalom*, HU; [40] Balmazújváros – *Kárhozott-halom*, HU; [41] Balşa – *Dumbrăiţa*, RO; [48] Bashalom – *Nagyhalom*, HU; [65] Berea/Foieni – *Miriştea Csányi-Pășunea Foienului/Fényi legelő*, RO; [83] Bodo – *Movila lui Cardoso*, RO; [86] Boghiş – *Izvorul Porcului, Dealul Malu, Dealul Corhanului*, RO; [88] Brad – *Dealul Lia*, RO; [97] Bucerdea, RO; [98] Budeşti – *La stânci*, RO; [99] Buj – *Feketehalom*, HU; [100] Călăţea, RO; [103] Cămin – *malul Crasnei*, RO; [105] Câmpia Turzii – *Gilmea pe Şes*, RO; [123] Cetea – *La Băi/La Pietri/Petriş/La Piciuata/Ticuiata*, RO; [125] Cetea – *Prăgşorul Mic*, RO; [126] Cetea – *Vârf*, RO; [128] Cib – *Cheile Cibului-Picui*, RO; [131] Cipău – *zona gării*, RO; [138] Cluj-Napoca – *Făget-Valea Lingurarilor*, RO; [140] Cluj-Napoca – *Pădurea Tăuţ-între Valea Sf. Ion şi Valea Tăuţ, Valea Racilor*, RO; [148] Colţeşti, RO; [154] Craiva – *Piatra Craivii*, RO; [155] Crizbav – *Pe deal*, RO; [157] Császárszállás – *Névtelenhalom*, HU; [159] Cucerdea – *Podet/Dealul Podet-Via lui Turcu*, RO; [165] Debrecen – *Bajnokhalom*, HU; [166] Debrecen – *Basahalom*, HU; [167] Debrecen – *Dinnyéshalom*, HU; [168] Debrecen – *Dunahalom*, HU; [169] Debrecen – *Fenehalom*, HU; [170] Debrecen – *Halászlaponyag*, HU; [171] Debrecen – *Heverőlaponyag/Képhalom*, HU; [172] Debrecen – *László-halom*, HU; [173] Debrecen – *Ludashalom*, HU; [174] Debrecen – *Mátai telekhalom*, HU; [178] Debrecen – *Ormóshalom*, HU; [179] Debrecen – *Papegyháza*, HU; [180] Debrecen

<sup>50</sup> Catalogue numbers after Daróczi 2015.

- *Pipások*, HU; [181] *Debrecen - Szántay-halom*, HU; [186] *Derekegyház - Ibolyásdomb*, HU; [197] *Dévaványa - Barcé-halom*, HU; [199] *Dévaványa - Csordajárás*, HU; [203] *Dévaványa - Templomdomb*, HU; [211] *Domnin - Dealul Barcului*, RO; [218] *Egyek - Csípő-halom*, HU; [223] *Elep - Lelőhely 25*, HU; [231] *Endrőd - Szujókereszt/Lelőhely 38*, HU; [243] *Gáborján - Csapszékpart*, HU; [245] *Gălășeni - Peștera de la Gălășeni/Peșteroaia*, RO; [246] *Galații Bistriței - Hrube*, RO; [249] *Gávavencsellő - Katóhalom*, HU; [251] *Geoagiu de Sus - Cuciu*, RO; [252] *Geomal - Măgura*, RO; [262] *Gornea - Bulfecea*, RO; [269] *Hajdúnánás - Tedej-Lyukas-halom*, HU; [274] *Hăpria - Capul Dosului*, RO; [287] *Hódmezővásárhely - Gorzsa-Cukor-major*, HU; [289] *Hódmezővásárhely - Gorzsa-Kovácsstanya*, HU; [304] *Hortobágy - Pipáshalom II*, HU; [307] *Huseni - Dealul Culmea*, RO; [317] *Izbucu Topliței*, RO; [318] *Izvoarele - Gruitul Roșu*, RO; [319] *Izvoarele - La Cruce*, RO; [320] *Izvoarele - La Furci*, RO; [321] *Jabuka - Tri humke*, SB; [324] *Karcag - Bugyogói-halom*, HU; [328] *Kétegyháza*, HU; [340] *Kunhegyes - Nagyállás-halom*, HU; [354] *Létavértes - Peremartoni Nagy Móric Kastély*, HU; [357] *Livezile - Baia*, RO; [358] *Livezile - Cărpiniș*, RO; [359] *Livezile - Dealul Sârbului*, RO; [363] *Lunca Ampoitei*, RO; [364] *Lunca Meteșului*, RO; [366] *Magyarcsanak - Bökény*, HU; [371] *Makó - Vöröskereszt*, HU; [380] *Masivul Pădurea Craiului - Peștera 3*, RO; [387] *Medieșul Aurit - Șuculeu-La Leșu*, RO; [390] *Merești - Almáser Höhle*, RO; [394] *Meteș - Dealul Toaca-La Meteșel*, RO; [395] *Meteș - Pleașa înaltă*, RO; [402] *Micești - Țiclă, Pe Costi*, RO; [406] *Mokrin - Aradjanska humka*, SB; [409] *Moldova Veche - Humca/Ostrov/Ostrovul Decebal/Ostrovul Mare*, RO; [411] *Moldova Veche - Kalinovăț*, RO; [418] *Nagyhegyes - Elep-Mikelapos*, RO; [419] *Nagykálló - Nagykorhány*, HU; [424] *Nandru - Peștera Curată/Peștera de Jos/Peștera Mare*, RO; [428] *Novi Kneževac - Japina Koliba*, SB; [432] *Nyírkársz - Garahalom*, HU; [455] *Oros - Belterület*, HU; [456] *Oros - Nyírjes-Névtelen-halom*, HU; [462] *Otomani - Cetate*, RO; [465] *Padej - Barnahat humka*, SB; [466] *Pančevo - Vojlovica humka*, SB; [485] *Perlez - Batka C*, SB; [486] *Perlez - Vuna*, SB; [494] *Petreștii de Jos - La Moara Spartă*, RO; [495] *Petreștii de Sus - Pă Grădini*, RO; [498] *Pișcolt - Nisipărie/Homokosbánya*, RO; [505] *Poiana Aiudului - Cheile Aiudului-Bogza Poienarilor*, RO; [507] *Poiana Aiudului - Cheile Aiudului - Țăcul Mare*, RO; [526] *Püspökladány - Kincsesdomb*, HU; [532] *Râmet - Curmătura*, RO; [533] *Răscruci - Dealul Prunilor and Dealul Prodăi and Dealul Crișenilor*, RO; [534] *Răscruci - Gâlmee*, RO; [538] *Reci - Telek*, RO; [539] *Ribicioara - Peștera Cizmei*, RO; [540] *Rimetea*, RO; [542] *Roșia - Peștera Vacii - La Țarină*, RO; [553] *Sălciua de Jos - Crucea Sârbului*, RO; [554] *Sălciua de Jos - Vărtop*, RO; [556] *Săndulești - Dealul Suliheghi and Dealul Căcăniș*, RO; [564] *Sânmartin - vatra satului*, RO; [581] *Sárrétudvari - Balázshalom*, HU; [582] *Sárrétudvari - Őrhalom*, HU; [588] *Sfântu Gheorghe - vis-à-vis the Veres Mill*, RO; [594] *Silvașu de Jos - Dealul Țapului*, RO; [597] *Șimleu Silvaniei - Brijigă, Coasta Vântului, Corlata, Cuzupei, Dealul Husasău*, RO; [599] *Șimleu Silvaniei - Observator*, RO; [602] *Șincai - Cetatea Păgânilor*, RO; [605] *Skorenovac*, SB; [609] *Srpski Krstur - Slatinska humka*, SB; [617] *Șuncuiș - Peștera Izbândișului/Győzelem Barlang*, RO; [629] *Szarvas - Bolza mansion*, HU; [640] *Szentes - Besenyőhalom*, HU; [647] *Szentes - Nagyhegy-Kovácsalom*, HU; [650] *Szepespuszta - Szabó Miklós halmái*,

HU; [653] Tămășasa - *La trei țate*, RO; [665] Tășnad - *Sere*, RO; [671] Țelna - *Dealul Chicerii*, RO; [672] Țelna - *Rupturi*, RO; [673] Țelna - *Sălășele*, RO; [679] Tiszacsege - *Homokbánya*, HU; [685] Tiszaeszlár - *Potyhalom*, HU; [701] Tiszaroff - *Nagyhalom*, HU; [713] Tiszavasvári - *Deákhalmi dűlő*, HU; [715] Tiszavasvári - *Gyepáros*, HU; [722] Totești - *Movile*, RO; [723] Troaș, RO; [725] Tureni - *La Furci/Acăstăi*, RO; [727] Turia - *Județ/Vármegye*, RO; [731] Uivar - *Gomila*, RO; [735] Uljma - *Itebejac humka*, SB; [740] Vadu Crișului - *Peștera cu Apă/Vizes-barlang*, RO; [744] Valea lui Mihai - *zona gării C. F. R.*, RO; [745] Valea Sângeorgiului - *Dealul Dânarului/Denkhegy*, RO; [748] Vălișoara - *Gruia Darului*, RO; [749] Vălișoara - *La Strungă*, RO; [755] Vatin, SB; [765] Vajkovac - *Straža humka*, SB; [773] Zăbala - *Movila Tătarilor*, RO; [776] Zau de Câmpie - *Dispensarul medical uman*, RO; [777] Zimandu Nou, RO; [778] Zlaști - *Vârtope/Vârtoape*, RO; [779] Zlatna - *Dumbrăvița*, RO; [780] Zlatna - *Zăpode*, RO; [785] Békéscsaba - *Alvégi legelő, majorok*, HU; [788] Berettyóújfalú - *Nagy-Bócs-dűlő*, HU; [791] Debrecen - *Köntöskert, Bezerédj-Imre út 30 sz.*, HU.

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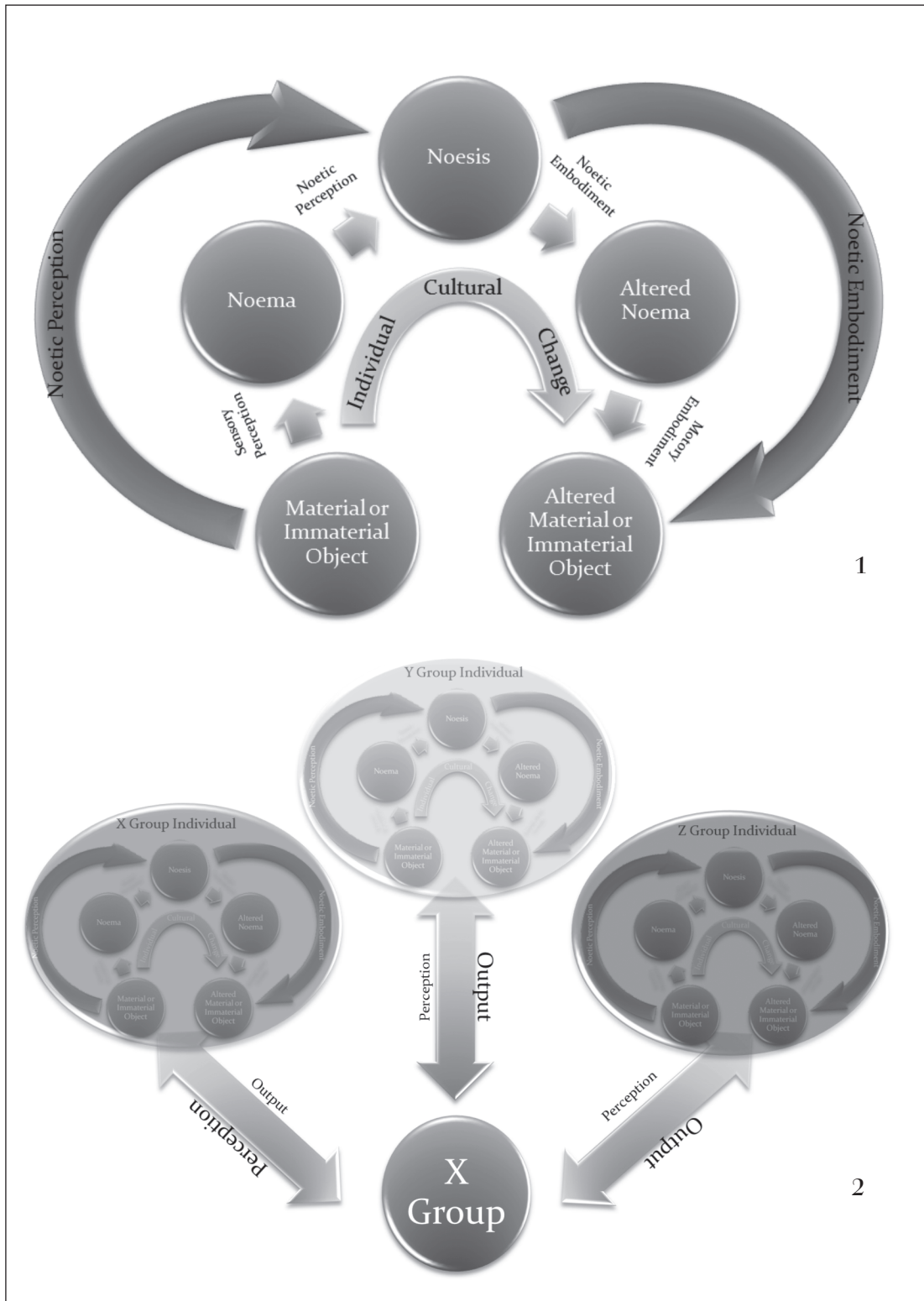
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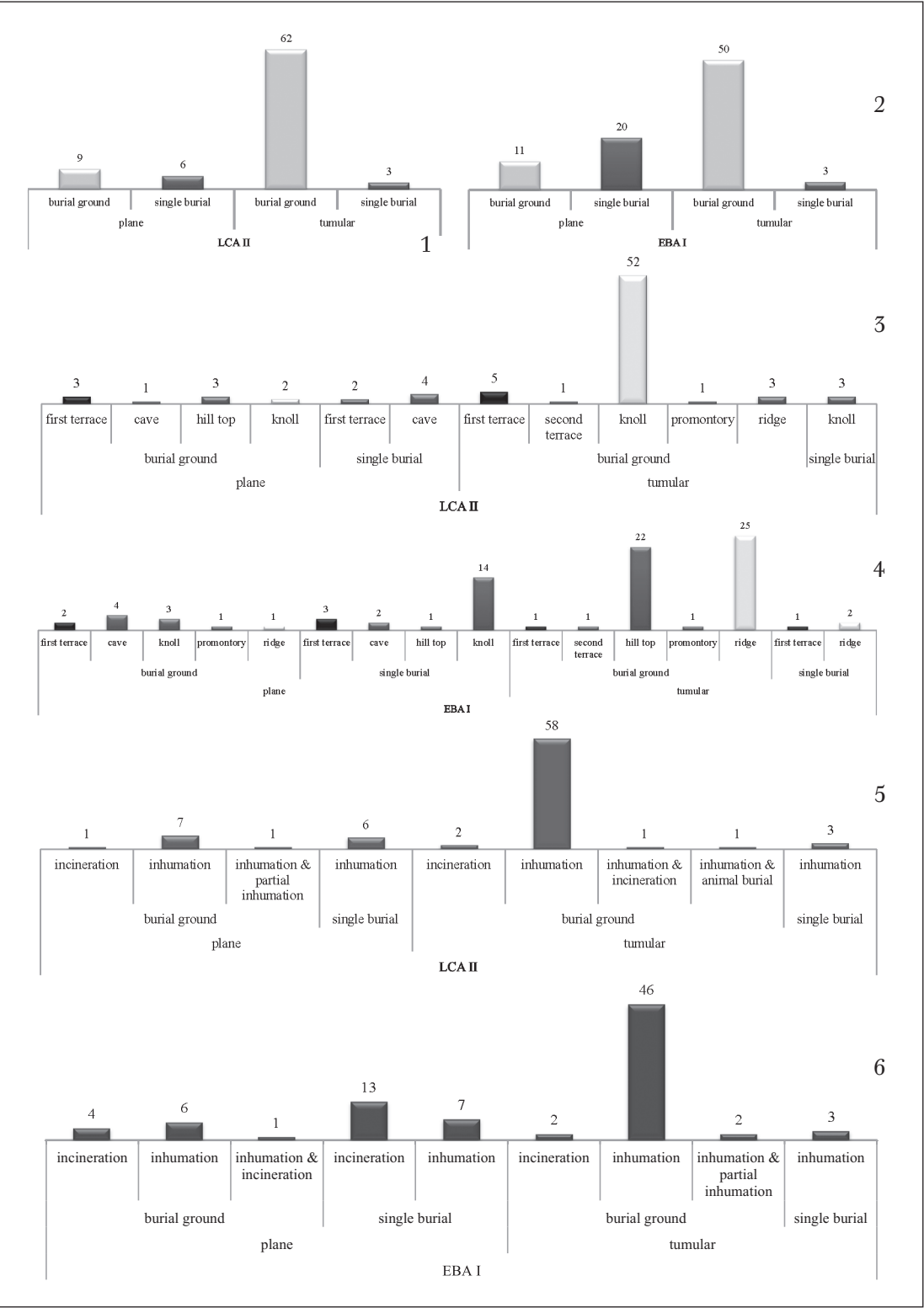
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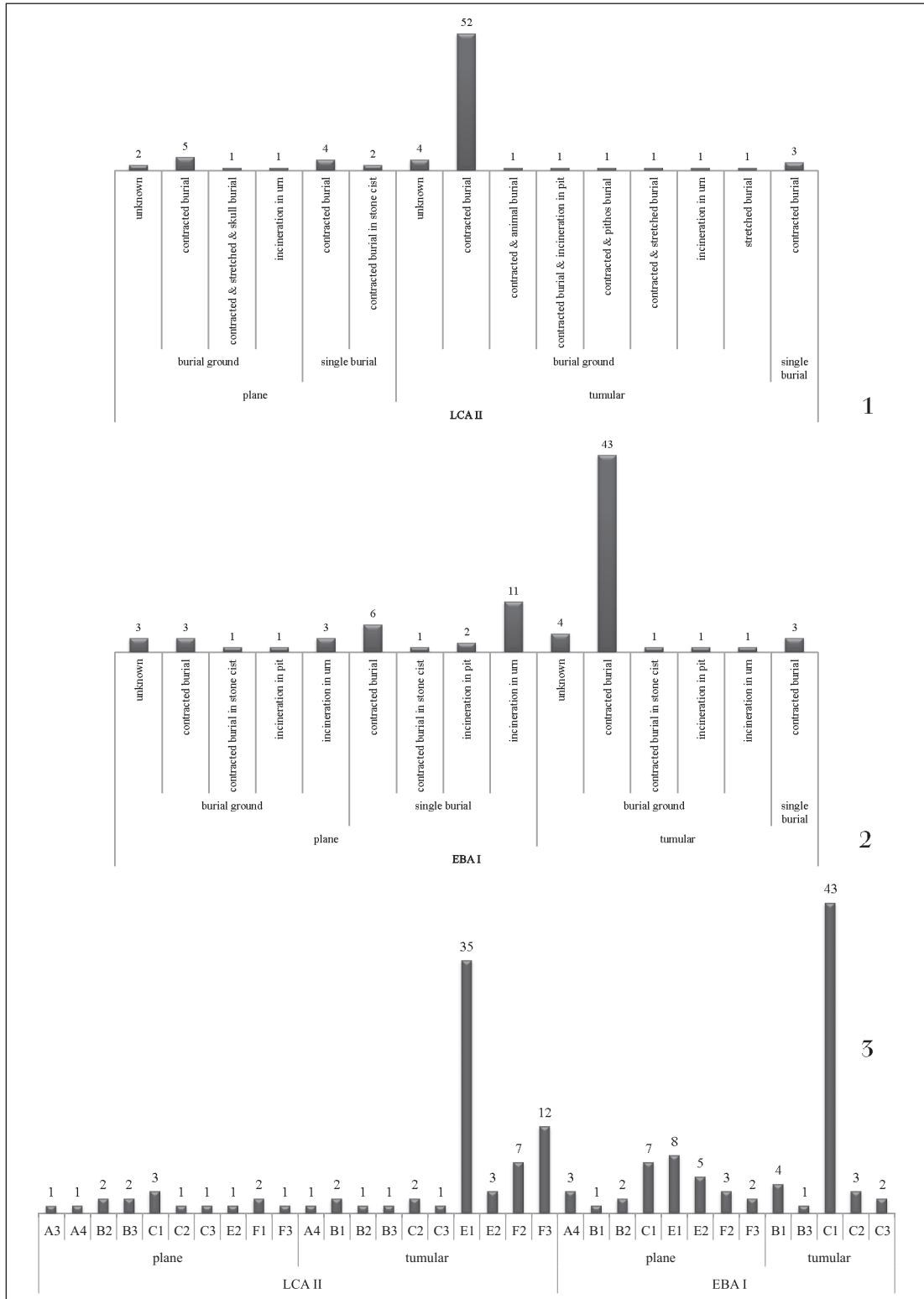




Pl. II. 1. Individual cultural change (noetic perception and noetic embodiment);  
 2. Cultural change mechanism and phenomenological identities.

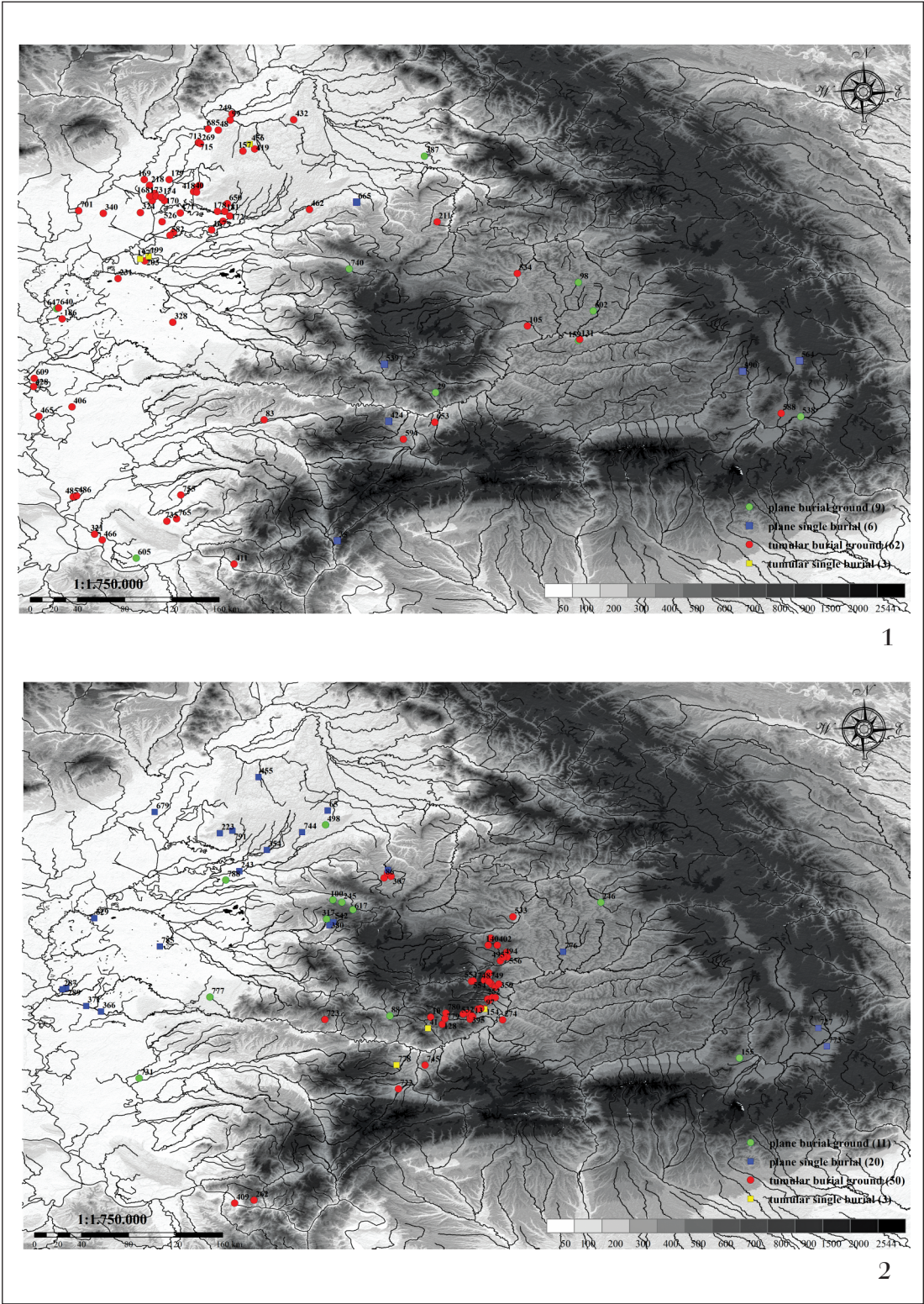


Pl. III. 1-6. Statistics of LCA II and EBA I burial sites of the Eastern Carpathian Basin.



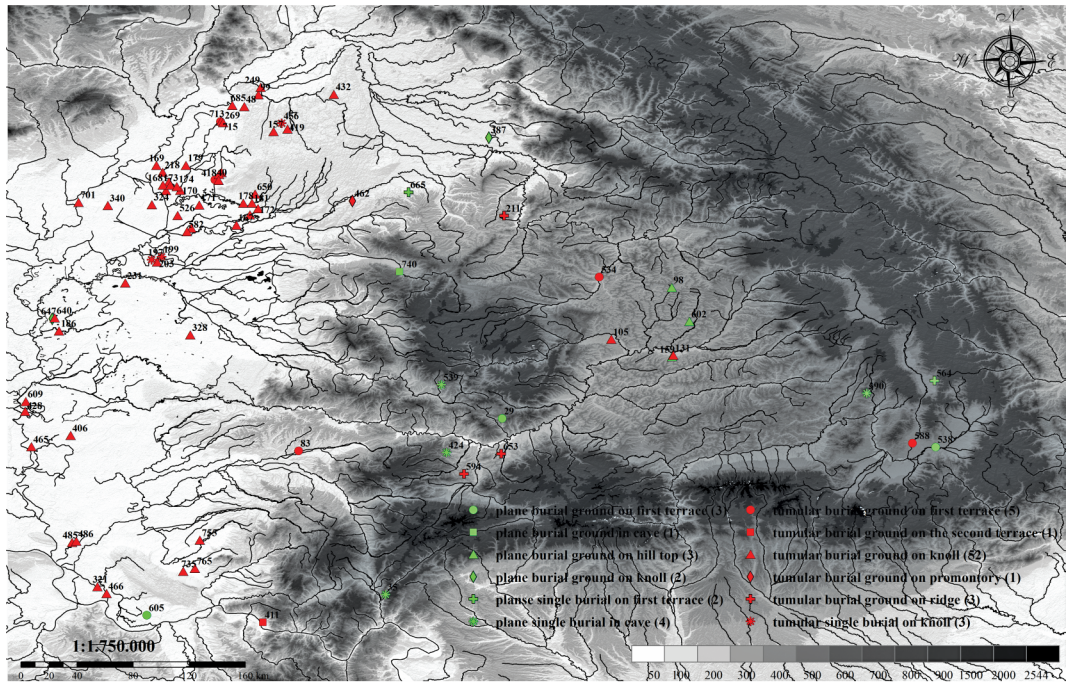
Pl. IV. 1-3. Statistics of LCA II and EBA I burial sites of the Eastern Carpathian Basin.



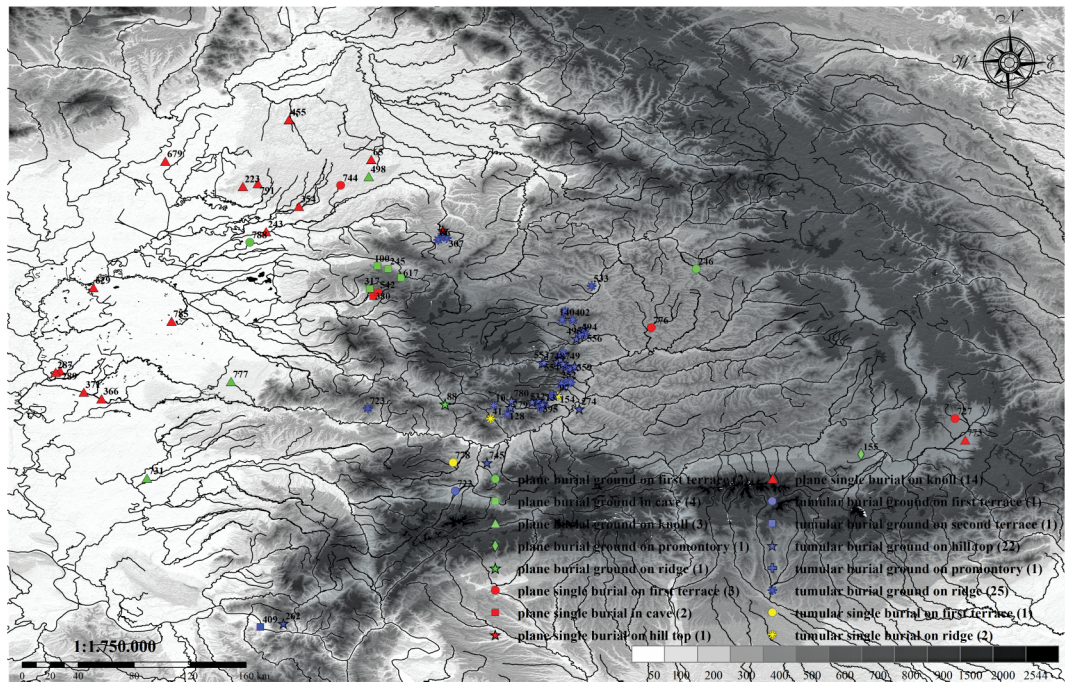


Pl. V. 1. Grouping and types of LCA II burials; 2. Grouping and types of EBA I burials.





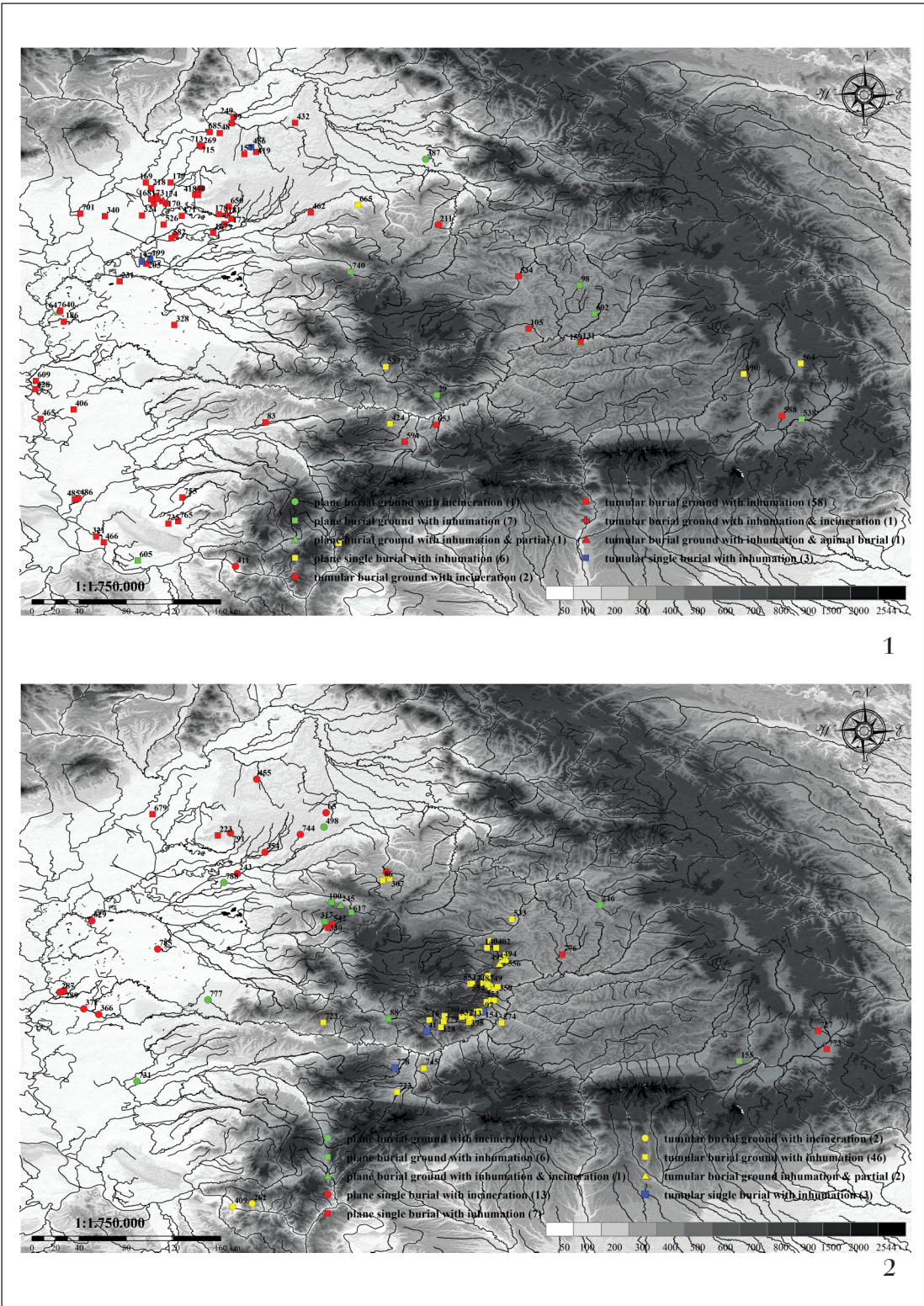
1



2

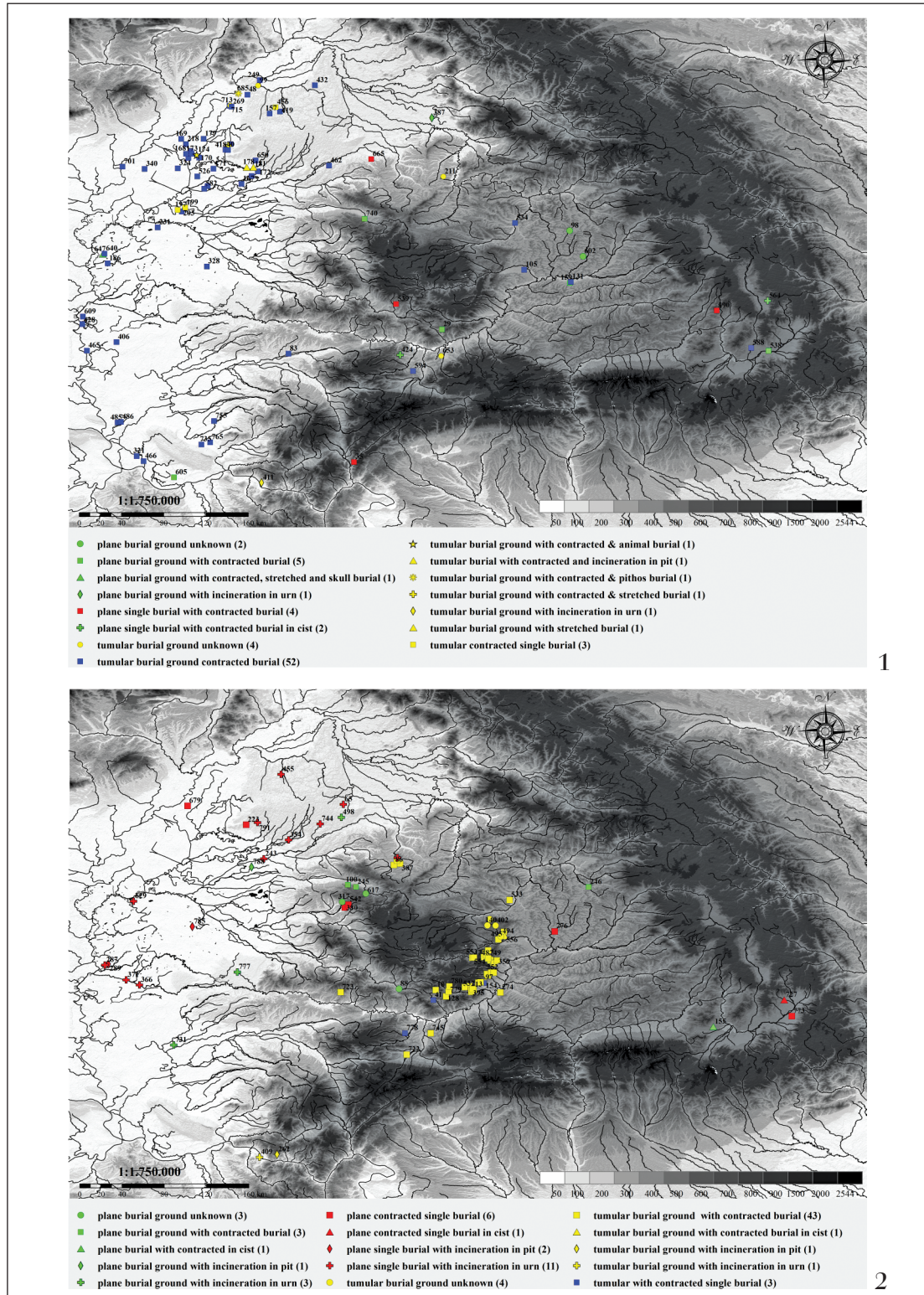
Pl. VI. 1. Grouping, types and micro-locations of LCA II burials;  
2. Grouping, types and micro-locations of EBA I burials.





Pl. VII. 1. Grouping and types of LCA II burials with body treatment;  
2. Grouping and types of EBA I burials with body treatment.





Pl. VIII. 1. Grouping and types of LCA II burials with detailed body treatment;  
2. Grouping and types of EBA I burials with detailed body treatment.





Pl. IX. 1. LCA II burial types and their distribution in archeco-zones;  
2. EBA I burial types and their distribution in archeco-zones.

## FAUNAL DETERMINATIONS FROM THE DACIAN FORTRESS IN JIGODIN

DIANA BINDEA

**Abstract:** The archaeological excavations in Jigodin were performed on the spot called “Câmpul Morii” during 1980–1988 and 1998–2006. The analysed faunal material does not consist of numerous items. I have determined 254 bone remains belonging to species commonly encountered in Dacian settlements (Table 1). Several fragments were found in three complexes (Fig. 1). The blacksmith’s dwelling has revealed the most numerous fauna remains from cattle, caprovid and swine. The bone material from the other two dwellings is practically insignificant. Domestic species represent 99.56% of all remains considering the number of items and 97.29% considering the minimum number of individuals from the entire determined lot. Wild species only feature sporadically. A single fragment was attributed to a red deer. Similarly, domestic fowl are represented by a single hen tibia. Domestic cattle form the majority based on the number of remains, with a frequency of 45.69%. Domestic swine came second, with a percentage of 28.44%. Caprovid, represented by both genera (sheep and goat) reach 15.95%. Horse remains represent 6.03% of the identified material and dog remains represent 3.01%. From the perspective of the minimum number of individuals, swine were the most numerous, with 37.84%, followed by small horned animals, with 27.03% and very closely by large horned animals, with 24.32%.

**Keywords:** archaeozoology; bones; La Tène; Dacian; Jigodin.

**Rezumat:** Săpăturile arheologice de la Jigodin au fost efectuate în punctul „Câmpul Morii” între anii 1980–1988 și 1998–2006. Materialul faunistic analizat este redus numeric. Au fost determinate 254 resturi osoase aparținând unor specii întâlnite în mod obișnuit în așezările dacice (Tabel 1). Câteva fragmente provin din trei complexe (Fig. 1). Locuința „fierarului” a furnizat cele mai multe resturi faunistice provenite de la bovine, ovicaprine și suine. Materialul osos din celelalte două locuințe este practic neglijabil. Speciile domestice reprezintă 99.56% după numărul de resturi și 97.29% după numărul minim de indivizi din totalitatea materialului determinat. Speciile sălbatice apar sporadic. Un singur fragment a fost atribuit cerbului. La fel și păsările domestice care sunt prezente printr-o tibie atribuită găinii. Bovinele domestice sunt majoritare sub raportul numărului de resturi, frecvența acestora fiind de 45.69%. Cu un procentaj de 28.44% suinele domestice ocupă locul secund. Ovicaprinele, reprezentate prin ambele genuri (oaie și capră), înregistrează 15.95%. Calului îi revine 6.03% din materialul identificat, iar câinelui 3.01%. Din punct de vedere al numărului minim de indivizi ponderea o dețin porci-nele, cu 37.84%, urmate de cornutele mici, 27.03% și foarte aproape de cornutele mari, 24.32%.

**Cuvinte cheie:** arheozoologie; oase; La Tène; dacic; Jigodin.

The Dacian settlement in Jigodin is located in Harghita County, on the right bank of River Olt, in the eastern part of that branch of Harghita Mountains that delimitates Ciucului Depression. Archaeological excavations were performed on the spot of “Câmpul Morii”<sup>1</sup>. The analysed faunal material was uncovered during archaeological

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<sup>1</sup> Crișan 2000, 45–48.

excavations performed between 1980–1988<sup>2</sup> and 1998–2006<sup>3</sup>. The Dacian fortress “Jigodin I”, which provided the archaeozoological material analysed here, is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>4</sup>. The lot of bones is not very numerous. I have determined 254 bone remains from species commonly encountered in the Dacian settlements.

Species	Culture layer	Blacksmiths' dwelling trench 17-18 1984	Dwelling trench 12 1984	Dwelling trench 1 1998	Total			
					NR	%	MNI	%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	102	3		1	106	45.69	9	24.32
<i>Sus scrofa domesticus</i>	59	6	1		66	28.44	14	37.84
<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	31	5		1	37	15.95	10	27.03
<i>Equus caballus</i>	13	1			14	6.03	1	2.7
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	7				7	3.01	1	2.7
<i>Gallus gallus domestica</i>	1				1	0.44	1	2.7
<b>Domestic species</b>	213	15	1	2	231	99.56	36	97.29
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	1				1	0.44	1	2.7
<b>Wild species</b>	1				1	0.44	1	2.7
Total determined remains	214	15	1	2	232	100	37	100
Ribs of large-size animals	8	3			11			
Ribs of small-average-size animals	6	5			11			
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>254</b>		<b>37</b>	

Table 1. Material distribution according to species<sup>5</sup>.

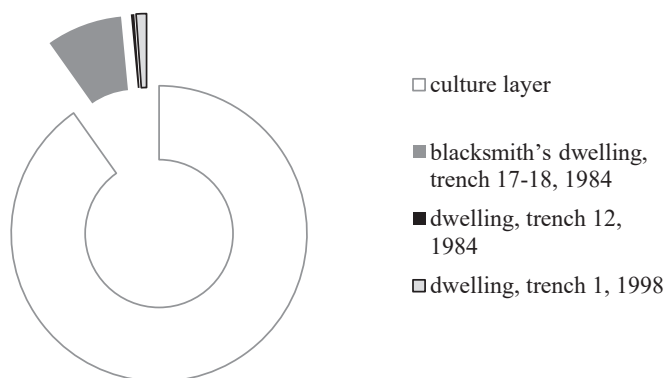


Fig. 1. Distribution of the faunal material according to complexes / culture layer.

<sup>2</sup> The team was coordinated by dr. Petre Roman.

<sup>3</sup> The team was coordinated by dr. Viorica Crișan, whom I thank for the faunal material she has entrusted me for archaeozoological analysis.

<sup>4</sup> Crișan, Gheorghiu, Popescu 2004, 117.

<sup>5</sup> NR = number of faunal remains; MNI = minimum number of individuals.



The majority of bone remains were discovered inside the culture layer. Several fragments were found in three complexes (Tabel 1; Fig. 1). The “blacksmith’s” dwelling has revealed the most numerous faunal remains from cattle, caprovid and swine. The bone material from the other two dwellings is in fact insignificant.

## I. Presentation of the material from the culture layer

### 1. *Bos taurus* (cattle)

In the culture layer 102 bone remains from domestic cattle have been identified. The distribution of these fragments according to anatomical elements is balanced. The large number of teeth and their strong chipping irrelevantly increase this anatomical category. The minimum number of estimated individuals is 6, one in each age group category<sup>6</sup>: under 1 year; 1–1½ years; 1½–2 years; 3–3½ years; 4–4½ years; 4½–5 years. Such a distribution suggests the fact that the population exploited domestic cattle both for meat and secondary products, while some of the animals also ensured reproduction.

On the basis of an entire metacarpus I was able to estimate the gender and size of an adult individual. The indicators calculated (cf. Matolcsi index, 1970)<sup>7</sup> on the basis of the sampled metric data show a female individual measuring 113.6 cm in height at the shoulders.

One proximal metapodium fragment was mostly burnt to black.

### 2. *Sus scrofa domesticus* (swine)

Domestic swine, holding a significant proportion in the culture layer and consisting of 59 bone remains, are mostly represented by jaw fragments and isolated teeth. The jaw and maxilla with *in situ* dentition are the main indicators of the age when the animals had been sacrificed (through tooth eruption and wear) and have allowed for the estimation of a highest number of individuals as compared to cattle. The 10 estimated swine individuals were sacrificed under 1 year (3 individuals at 2–3 months, 7–8 months and 9–12 months, respectively), at 1½–2 years (3 individuals), at 2–2½ years (2 individuals), at 2½–3 years (1 individual) and at 3½–4 years (1 individual, probably male).

Also, on the basis of the morphology of the canine or isolated teeth I have noted a possible preponderance of male individuals.

Swine metapodia have provided extra pieces of information. Thus, one entire metacarpus IV has indicated a height at the shoulders of 70.66 cm (cf. Teichert index, 1990)<sup>8</sup>. Another metacarpus III had been processed, through polishing, on the cranial facet, stronger towards the proximal extremity, where four transversal cuts have also been performed. Another metapodium, from an individual sacrificed at less than 2 years of age (nonepiphyseal distal) has been polished in the proximal half of the diaphysis.

<sup>6</sup> Silver 1963, 252–253.

<sup>7</sup> Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 86.

### 3. *Ovis aries* / *Capra hircus* (caprovid)

The faunal material belonging to caprovid, though less numerous (31 fragments), is well represented from the perspective of the minimum number of individuals. The 6 individuals were sacrificed at the following ages: 6 months - 1 year (1 individual), 1-1½ years (1 individual), 1½-2 years (1 individual), and over 3 years (3 individuals). The species could be identified in the case of bones pertaining to adult individuals. Thus two entire metacarpal bones belonged to sheep (2 individuals), and two welded bones, cubitus and radius, were attribute to a goat<sup>9</sup>.

The two entire *Ovis aries* metacarpal bones have provided two values for the size of the sheep in Jigodin: 54.91 cm and 65.13 cm (cf. Teichert index, 1975)<sup>10</sup>.

One distal radius fragment displayed traces of burning.

### 4. *Equus caballus* (horse)

13 faunal remains discovered in the culture layer have been attributed to this species and they apparently belonged to the same individual, dead older than 3½ years.

### 5. *Canis familiaris* (dog)

Remains from the skull and neck area of a dog (the first two atypical vertebrae - atlas and axis) were also found. The body of the axis is ossified and osteophytes, measuring ca. 5 mm, had developed on the inner side of the caudal articular surface (Pl. I/2). Such osteophytes feature preponderantly in senile individuals and indicate a sub-pathological state with possible symptoms that would have had a negative impact on the animal's mobility.

The skull is fragmentarily preserved, consisting of fragments from the parietal, temporal and occipital regions. The following measurements<sup>11</sup> could be taken of the discovered item:

Greatest breadth of the foramen magnum = 17.8 mm

Greatest breadth of the occipital condyles = 35.5 mm

Height of the foramen magnum = 17.4 mm

Height of the occipital triangle = 42.5 mm

Greatest neurocranium breadth (Greatest breadth of the braincase) = 61.1 mm

Greatest mastoid breadth (Greatest breadth of the occipital triangle) = 66.2 mm

Skull height = 50 mm

I have also attributed to dogs three rib fragments that can be determined (with the proximal extremity present), with the costal tuberosity detached from the articular head.

### 6. *Gallus gallus domestica* (domestic hen)

Birds are represented in the faunal sample by an entire tibia attributed to a domestic hen. The item had the following metric values: maximal length 114.9 mm; proximal width 16.8 mm; diaphysis minimal width 8 mm and distal width 11.4 mm.

<sup>9</sup> Boessneck, Muller, Teichert 1964.

<sup>10</sup> Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 97.

<sup>11</sup> Driesch 1976, 42-45.



### 7. *Cervus elaphus* (red deer)

The only bone fragment from a wild animal identified in the archaeozoological sample is a proximal radius from a deer that was older than 18 month at the time it was hunted.

One notes two other bone fragments with traces of human intervention, that could not be identified specifically, discovered inside the culture layer. The diaphysis of a long bone from an average-size animal (of the caprovid type) show polished areas (item length – 54.2 mm) and another fragment, probably from the diaphysis of a large animal, was burned, with calcined areas.

## II. Presentation of the material from the dwellings

### 1. Dwelling – trench 17-18 (1984)

This complex, also called “the blacksmith’s dwelling”, has revealed 23 faunal remains attributed to domestic species (Tabel 1). The number of individuals estimated for each species inside this dwelling is large by comparison to the number of corresponding remains.

Cattle are represented by 3 fragments from a juvenile individual (one very small metacarpus) and an adult. Swine are represented by 6 fragments from 3 individuals sacrificed at 1-1½ years, 2-2½ years (female) and one mature individual. From the latter I have identified one mandibular fragment with sub-pathological modifications (Pl. I/1). In the alveoli the fragment preserves the premolars and molar 3 with unequal, oblique wear down to the level of the roots that are partially uncovered on the inner side. The bone tissue on the outer side, by cuspid 3, has been destroyed, resulting in a deep excavation. One possible cause is periodontitis accompanied by a tooth abscess that had prevented mastication, leading to pathological deformities and wear. I have attributed to caprovid 5 remains from 3 individuals: one juvenile, aged 4-5 months, one sheep and one goat older than 1 year. A single fragment was attributed to a horse.

### 2. Dwelling – trench 12 (1984)

Only two bone fragments were found in this dwelling: one distal nonepiphyseal swine metapodium and a diaphysis remain from a large size animal (undetermined species).

### 3. Dwelling – trench 1 (1998)

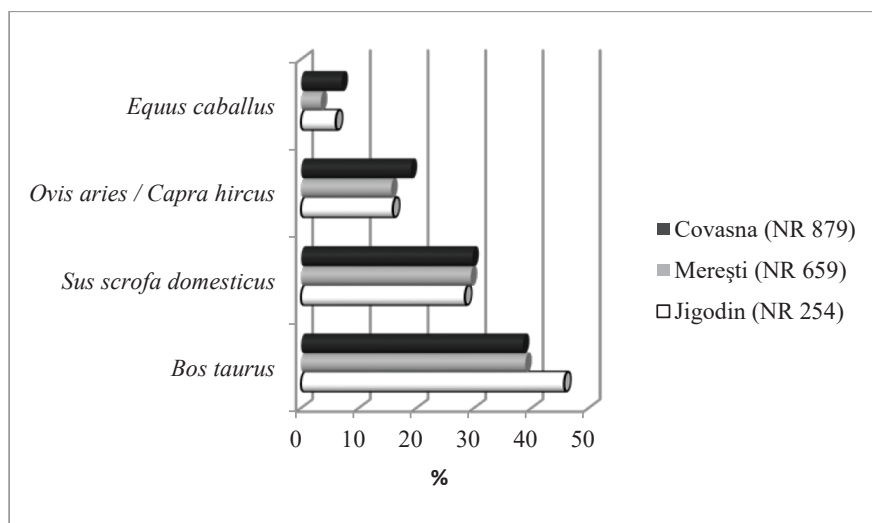
Two remains have been determined, belonging to two species (besides several unidentified flakes): one fragmentary cattle coxa and one isolated inferior molar 3 from an adult caprovid.

## III. Synthesis of archaeozoological data. Conclusions

Domestic species represent 99.56% according to the number of remains and 97.29% according to the minimum number of individuals out of the entire determined

material. Wild species feature sporadically. A single fragment was attributed to red deer. Similarly, domestic birds are present in the analysed lot through a tibia attributed to a hen. Domestic cattle are majoritarian from the perspective of the number of remains and their frequency is 45.69%. With a percentage of 28.44% domestic swine held the second place. Caprovid represented by both genera (sheep and goat) represent 15.95%. Horse bone remains represent 6.03% of the identified material and dog bone remains represent 3.01%. From the perspective of the minimum number of individuals, swine hold the highest percentage, 37.84%, followed by small horned animals 27.03% and very closely by large horned animals 24.32%.

This distribution reveals the fact that the local communities were oriented towards animal husbandry, while hunting was negligible. The species are those common in the Dacian settlements from south-eastern Transylvania and their proportion, according to the number of identified remains, is also very similar (Figs. 2–3). Thus, by comparing the lot under discussion here with the archaeozoological samples analysed from the neighbouring sites of Merești<sup>12</sup> (dating: the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; faunal sample – 659 determined bones) and Covasna<sup>13</sup> (dating: the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; faunal sample – 879 determined bones) one notes very small differences among the percentages of domestic mammals used for food. Furthermore, according to the minimum number of individuals, swine held the first position on all three sites under consideration.



**Fig. 2.** Proportion of domestic mammals in Dacian settlements from south-eastern Transylvania (considering the number of remains).

One notes differences among the proportions of hunting in the three settlements. Thus, while hunting almost did not exist in Jigodin, in Covasna wild species represent 5.01% and in Merești 12.45%.

<sup>12</sup> Bindea 1999, 83.

<sup>13</sup> Bindea 2005, 182.

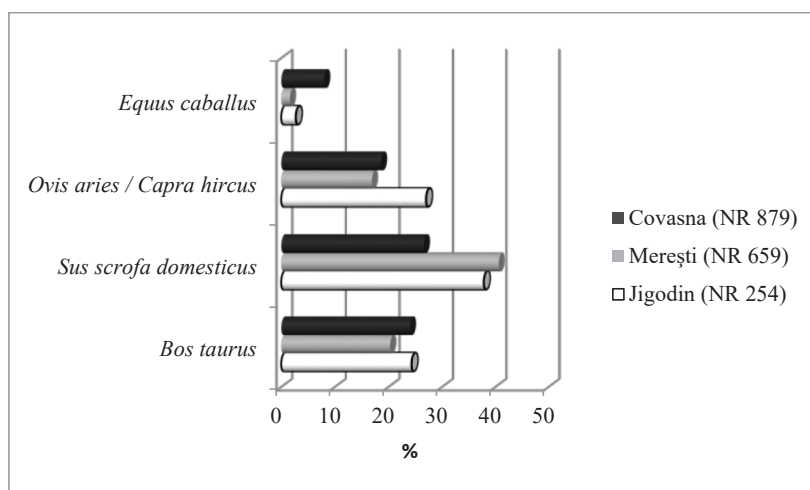


Fig. 3. Proportion of domestic mammals in Dacian settlements from south-eastern Transylvania (considering the minimum number of individuals).

Osteometric data<sup>14</sup> (Annex) have provided information on the size of some of the items sacrificed in Jigodin. The height of a *Bos taurus* female has been estimated to 113.6 cm at the shoulders. This value is relatively high for cattle during the Dacian period that are at the lower limit of the variability interval even for the cattle raised by the Romans. It is important to mention the fact that archaeozoological analyses for the Roman period show an induced increase in the size of bovines, on average with 20 cm, leading to a significant increase in the meat they provided<sup>15</sup>. It was not possible to estimate the female individuals from Covasna and Merești; the three values – 105 cm (Covasna), 117.2 cm (Covasna) and 123 cm (Merești) – correspond to a male individual and two castrated males.

Two sizes have been estimated for the sheep in Jigodin: 54.91 cm and 65.13 cm. These values are at the extremes of the variability intervals established for the settlements in Merești – 56.47–66.9 cm – and Covasna – 55.11–63.15 cm<sup>16</sup>.

The only value estimated for the size of the swine in Jigodin is 70.66 cm. It matches the variability intervals from Covasna (66.74–77.1 cm) and Merești (66.74–74.25 cm)<sup>17</sup>.

The indices used to calculate the height at withers, in the case of Jigodin, Merești and Covasna, were: for bovines, the indices of Matolcsi (1970)<sup>18</sup>; for sheep, the indices of Teichert (1975)<sup>19</sup> and for pig, the indices of Teichert (1990)<sup>20</sup>.

Dental-osseous pathology is rarely identified in archaeozoological samples. It is thus remarkable that four items with sub-pathological modifications have been identified in all three Dacian sites from south-eastern Transylvania: Jigodin, Merești<sup>21</sup> and

<sup>14</sup> Driesch 1976.

<sup>15</sup> Gudea 2007, 233.

<sup>16</sup> Bindea 2008, 151–152.

<sup>17</sup> Bindea 2008, 163.

<sup>18</sup> Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 79.

<sup>19</sup> Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 97.

<sup>20</sup> Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 86.

<sup>21</sup> Bindea 1999, 100.

Covasna<sup>22</sup>. Furthermore, there were pigs with the mandible affected by periodontitis on all three sites. Such afflictions, but also other types of pathologies have been mostly stressed on a series of Bronze Age sites<sup>23</sup>.

The archaeozoological analysis of the bone lot from Jigodin, thus quantitatively unsatisfying, has suggested several characteristics of food economy and has revealed similarities with contemporary populations from the vicinity.

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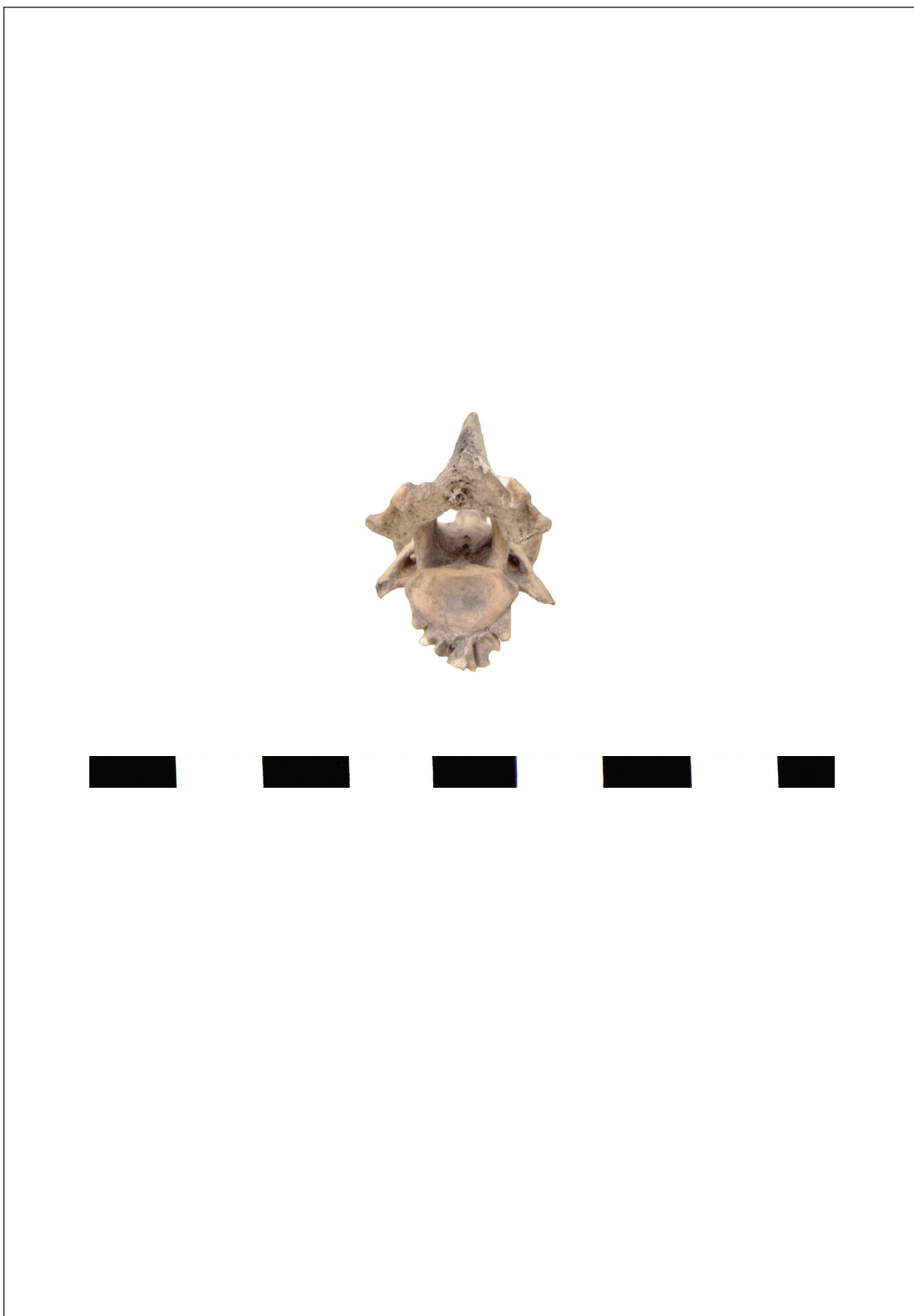
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<sup>22</sup> Bindea 2005, 176.

<sup>23</sup> Haimovici, Hrisanidi 1969, 216-223.



Pl. I. *Sus scrofa domestica*, mandible with periodontitis.  
1. Dorsal view. 2. Lingual view. 3. Lateral view.



**Pl. II.** *Canis familiaris* (dog), axis with osteophytes (caudal view).

## Annex. Osteometric data (mm)

	<i>Bos taurus</i>			<i>Sus scrofa domestica</i>						<i>Ovis aries / Capra hircus</i>		<i>Equus caballus</i>	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>
Bd	60*						36.4	36.3	37.1		28.7°	30.1°		
BT				28.1*			27.8	31.2	29.2		27.3°	28°		
APDd							36	40.1	36.7		23.9°	25.5°		
Radius														
Bp	83.8	78*		26							32.3°			56.5
BFp	75.4										30.7°			53.6
APDp	42.3			18.7										32.7
Bd											28.8*			
APDd											20.3*			
Cubitus														
BPC	43.4	48		19.8	19.5	31.2	17.9*	16.2						
DPA				33.8	32.4	36.3					26.6°			
LO				52							43.5°			
SDO				24.4							23.8°			
Metacarpus														
GL	188.4									112.3°	133.2°			
Bp	53.3	49.3	47.2	51						20.1°	23°	22.2°		
APDp	34.5	31.3	28.6	32						14.9°	16.9°	15.4°		
SD	28.8									12.5°	13.5°	12.3°		
APDdf	21.8									9°	9.9°	8.9°		
Bd	54.5									23.3°				
APDd	28.4									14°	16.2°			
Index 1 (Bp × 100 / GL)	28.29									17.9°	17.3°			
Index 2 (SD × 100 / GL)	15.28									11.1°	10.1°			





	<i>Bos taurus</i>		<i>Sus scrofa domestica</i>							<i>Ovis aries / Capra hircus</i>			<i>Equus caballus</i>	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>
		53													
GLm															
DI	32.5														
Dm		29.4													
Metatarsus															
Bp		37.3													
APDp		38.1													
APDd	25.1														
Metatarsus III															
Bp							15.5								
SD							13.1								
Metapodiu															
Bd													51		
APDd													38.6		
Phalanx I															
GL	54.4														
Bp	22.9												57		
BFp													47.8		
Dp													41.2		
SD	19.8														
Bd	22.6														
Phalanx III															
MBS	18.1														
LF	27.3														
BF	19														
Atlas															
H							45							27.3	

	<i>Bos taurus</i>		<i>Sus scrofa domestica</i>					<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>		<i>Equus caballus</i>	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>
BFcr			52.1								38.2	
BFcd											30.5*	
GB											30*	
Axis												
H											41.5*	
B dens	35.4											
LCDe											47.6	
BFcr											27.9	
BFcd											18	
SBV											19.4	

\* - approximate metric values

o - *Ovis aries*

c - *Capra hircus*

p - mandible with periodontitis

APDd - Antero-posterior diameter of the distal end; APDdf - Antero-posterior diameter of the diaphysis; APDp - Antero-posterior diameter of the proximal end; Bd - Breadth of the distal end; B dens - Breadth of the dens; BF - Breadth of the dens; BFcd - Breadth of the Facies articularis; BFcd - Breadth of the Facies articularis caudalis; BFcr - Breadth of the Facies articularis cranialis; BFd - Breadth of the Facies articularis distalis; BFp - Breadth of the Facies articularis proximalis; BG - Breadth of the glenoid cavity; Bp - Breadth of the proximal end; BPC - Breadth across the coronoid process; BT - Breadth of the Trochlea; DC - Depth of the Caput femoris; D1 - Depth of the lateral half; Dm - Depth of the medial half; Dp - Depth of the proximal end, DPA - Depth across the Processus anconeus; GB - Greatest breadth; GL - Greatest length; GLl - Greatest length of the lateral half; GLm - Greatest length of the medial half; H - Height; Hm  $P_2$  - Height of mandible in front of  $P_2$ ; Hm  $M_1$  - Height of mandible in front of  $M_1$ ; L C alv. - Length of the canine alveolus; LCDe - Length in the region of the corpus including the dens; L dp<sup>2</sup>-dp<sup>4</sup> - Length of the upper deciduous premolar row; L dp<sub>2</sub>-dp<sub>4</sub> - Length of the lower deciduous premolar row; L dp<sub>4</sub> - Length of the lower deciduous 4<sup>th</sup> premolar; L  $P_1$ - $M_3$  / L  $P_2$ - $M_3$  - Length of the lower cheektooth row; L  $P_2$ - $P_4$  - Length of the upper premolar row; L  $P_1$ - $P_4$  / L  $P_2$ - $P_4$  - Length of the lower premolar row; L  $M^1$ - $M^3$  - Length of the upper molar row; L  $M_1$ - $M_3$  - Length of the lower molar row; L  $M^3$  - Length of the upper 3<sup>rd</sup> molar; L  $M_3$  - Length of the lower 3<sup>rd</sup> molar; LA - Length of the acetabulum; LF - Length of the Facies articularis; LO - Length of the olecranon; LS - Length of the symphysis; MBS - Middle breadth of the sole; SBV - Smallest breadth of the vertebra; SD - Smallest breadth; SDO - Smallest depth of the olecranon; SLC - Smallest length of the Collum scapulae.



## EIN GEBET FÜR DIE NYMPHEN AUS GERMISARA\*

IOAN PISO

**Résumé:** Lors des fouilles systématiques entreprises en 1986-1987 par Adriana et Eugen Pescaru dans les thermes de GERMISARA ont été trouvés trois morceaux d'une stèle en calcaire portant une inscription presque illisible à cause des dépôts. Ce n'est qu'après le nettoyage qu'on a pu distinguer les 32 lignes de l'inscription. Il s'agit d'une prière adressée à la nymphe ou aux nymphes des eaux thermales de GERMISARA par C. Sentius Iustinus, centurion de la *legio V Macedonica*. Les lignes 1-16 et 31-32 sont en latin, les lignes 17-30 en grec. La prière contient les lignes 1-30 et est composé en hexamètres parfois imparfaits. Le texte a été combiné à l'aide de morceaux d'œuvres littéraires et religieuses pour la plupart perdues. On fait mention d'autres divinités aussi, comme Asklépios, Artémis et Hypnos. Un élément incitant est l'épithète *Odrysta*, portée par la nymphe.

**Mots-clé:** *Nymphae; Odrysta; Asklepios; Artemis; Hypnos; centurio; numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum; GERMISARA; Cigmău; territorium.*

**Rezumat:** În cursul săpăturilor sistematice efectuate în anii 1986-1987 de către Adriana și Eugen Pescaru în termele din GERMISARA au fost găsite trei fragmente ale unei stele de calcar purtând o inscripție aproape ilizibilă din cauza depunerilor. De-abia după curățirea piesei au putut fi citite cele 32 de rânduri ale inscripției. Avem de-a face cu o rugăciune adresată nimfei sau nimfelor băilor termale din GERMISARA de către C. Sentius Iustinus, centurion al legiunii *V Macedonica*. Rândurile 1-16 și 31-32 sunt în limba latină, iar rândurile 17-30 în limba greacă. Rugăciunea cuprinde rândurile 1-30 și este compusă în hexametri uneori incorecți. Textul a fost combinat din elemente din opere literare și religioase pierdute între timp în cea mai mare parte. Sunt amintite și alte divinități, ca Asklepios, Artemis și Hypnos. Un element incitant este epitetul *Odrysta*, purtat de nimfă.

**Cuvinte cheie:** *Nymphae; Odrysta; Asklepios; Artemis; Hypnos; centurio; numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum; GERMISARA; Cigmău; territorium.*

GERMISARA, heute Geoagiu, liegt in der Nähe des reichen Mureștal und gehörte laut den epigraphischen Texten zum Territorium der colonia Sarmizegetusa<sup>1</sup>. Der

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\* Eine kritische Durchlesung des Manuskriptes und wertvolle Ratschläge verdanke ich Johannes Nollé. Besonderer Dank gebührt den Kollegen Adriana und Eugen Pescaru aus Deva, sowie der heutigen Direktion des Museums von Deva, die mir den Stein (Inv. 37338) zur Publikation überlassen haben. Jahrelang konnte ich mit dem Stein nichts anfangen, denn das Inschriftsfeld war infolge der Ausfällungen des Thermalwassers mit einer Schicht Kalksinter überdeckt. Dass heute die Inschrift im Großen und Ganzen wieder lesbar ist, verdanke ich dem Sachverstand und der Arbeit des Restaurators des Museums von Cluj, Sabin Grapini. Leider wurde 2011 der Restaurierungsprozess von der damaligen Direktion des Museums in Cluj eingestellt, so dass einige Stellen noch schwierig lesbar sind.

<sup>1</sup> Ein Amtsträger von Sarmizegetusa, ein gewisser Aurel(ius) Iulianus, [... *col(oniae) Sarmizegetusae metrop(olis)*] (AE 1967, 415 = IDR III/3, 249), liegt in GERMISARA, das heißt auf seinem eigenen Grund, begraben. Das ist aber ein Hinweis dafür, dass sich dieser Grund innerhalb des Territoriums von Sarmizegetusa befand; siehe denselben Gedankengang für Noricum bei G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London - Boston 1974, 97. Aufgrund des Epithetons *metropolis* ist diese Inschrift in die Zeit ab Severus Alexander zu datieren. Auch andere Amtsträger von Sarmizegetusa und einer aus Apulum erscheinen in Inschriften aus GERMISARA. Für die Zugehörigkeit von GERMISARA zu Sarmizegetusa siehe schon Th. Mommsen, CIL

Name *Germisara* (Γερμίζερα<sup>2</sup>, *Germisera*<sup>3</sup>, *Germigera*<sup>4</sup>) wurde von W. Tomaschek als „Warmwasserort“ gedeutet<sup>5</sup>. Diesen Namen verdankte die Ortschaft den Thermalbädern<sup>6</sup>. *Germisara* hatte aber auch eine militärische Bedeutung. In unmittelbarer Nähe, bei Cigmău<sup>7</sup>, war der *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum* stationiert<sup>8</sup>. Die *pedites Britanniciani* waren aus den *pedites singulares* der Garde des britannischen Statthalters aufgestellt und im Zusammenhang mit den dakischen Kriegen nach Obermoesien gebracht. Seit 106 befanden sie sich in Dakien. 146 heißt die Truppe *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum*<sup>9</sup>, 179 *vexillatio peditum singularium Britannicianorum*<sup>10</sup>, und kurz darauf, unter Septimius Severus, erscheint sie als *numerus* organisiert<sup>11</sup>. Unter *Britannicianus* ist nicht unbedingt *Britannicus*, sondern eine Person zu verstehen, die zu Britannien eine Beziehung hatte<sup>12</sup>, in unserem Fall Soldaten die aus Truppen aus Britannien stammen<sup>13</sup>. Wie weiter ersichtlich, werden manchmal *Britannicus* und *Britannicianus* miteinander verwechselt. Eine Ara an die Nymphen wurde von einem T. Fabius Aquileiensis, *trib(unus) n(umeri) s(singularium) B(ritannicianorum)*, unter Septimius Severus geweiht<sup>14</sup>. Das heißt, dass der *numerus* im Augenblick der Weihung des Denkmals einer *cohors milliaria* gleichgesetzt war und dass ihr Befehlshaber eben die zweite Stufe der *militia equest-ris* bekleidete.

Im römischen Dakien waren drei wichtige Kurorte bekannt: Aquae (Υδατα bei Ptolemaeus<sup>15</sup>, beim heutigen Călan)<sup>16</sup>, Băile Herculane (Herkulesbad im Banat,

III, S. 225; C. Patsch, RE VII/1 (1910) 1263–1264; N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 97; neulich I. Piso, *EphEp* 5, 1995, 78–79 = I. Piso, *Nordgrenze*, 288–289.

<sup>2</sup> Ptol. 3, 8, 4; siehe D. Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 103. Wie unten ersichtlich, sind die Formen Γερμίζερα, Ζερμίζερα und Ζερμίζερα korrumpiert.

<sup>3</sup> Tab. Peut. 8, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Geogr. Rav. 4,7.

<sup>5</sup> W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, Wien 1893, 88; für -sara siehe noch D. Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 422; mit W. Tomaschek übereinstimmend N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 88, Anm. 7; I. I. Russu, *Die Sprache der Thrako-Daker*, Bukarest 1969, 139; siehe noch I. Duridanov, *Thrakisch - Dakisch - Pelasgisch*, in M. Ofitsch - Ch. Zinko (Hrsg.), *Studia Onomastica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für F. Lochner von Hüttenbach*, Graz 1995, 45–57, bes. 47; D. Dana, S. Nemeti, *Classica et Christiana* 9/1, 2014, 113–114. Die perfekte Parallele für *Germisara* ist *Deusara* in den Westkarpaten (CIL III, S. 928–929 TabCer 2 = IDR I 32, TabCerII); siehe schon Th. Mommsen, CIL III, S. 921.

<sup>6</sup> TIR, L 34, 60; das Wichtigste darüber bei N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 88–90; IDR III/1, S. 211–212, 227–228; I. A. Oltean, *Dacia*, 153–154, 189–190.

<sup>7</sup> TIR, L 34, 47; siehe N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 92–96; IDR III/1, S. 211–212, 227–228; I. A. Oltean, *Dacia*, 155, 158. Hier wurden in den Jahren 2000–2002 von A. Pescaru und E. Pescaru Ausgrabungen durchgeführt (CCA 2000 (2001) 88; CCA 2001 (2002) 142–143; CCA 2002 (2003) 131–132).

<sup>8</sup> I. Piso, D. Benea, *ZPE* 56, 1984, 292–293 = I. Piso, *Nordgrenze*, 138–139; C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, 129–130.

<sup>9</sup> W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 191, 2014, 169–272, Nr. 1.

<sup>10</sup> RMD II 123 = AE 1987, 843.

<sup>11</sup> Ep. Anh. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Zum Beispiel, ist ein *negotiator Britannicianus* (CIL XIII 8164a = ILS 7522 = AE 1953, 269 = AE 2004, 967; CIL XIII 8793 = AE 1973, 370; AE 1975, 651 = AE 1982, 724; AE 1983, 722) jemand, der mit Britannien Handel treibt.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. den *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum* von Orăştioara de Sus; siehe C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*, 131, mit der Literatur.

<sup>14</sup> Ep. Anh. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Ptol. 3, 8, 4.

<sup>16</sup> TIR, L 34, 29–30; IDR III/3, S. 20.

vielleicht Ad Mediam<sup>17)</sup> und Germisara. Jede dieser Heilquellen unterstand einer spezifischen Heilgottheit oder identifizierte sich mit dieser. Welche Gottheit für die Thermalquelle in Aquae zuständig war, ist unbekannt. In Herkulesbad galt als Hauptheilgottheit *Hercules invictus*<sup>18</sup> und in Germisara eine oder mehrere Nymphen<sup>19</sup>. In den allermeisten Fällen befanden sich die Quellen unter dem Schutz der Nymphen und waren dadurch heilig: *nullus enim fons non sacer*<sup>20</sup>.

Dreizehn Denkmäler wurden in Germisara den Nymphen<sup>21</sup> und eines einer einzigen Nymphe geweiht<sup>22</sup>: [*Hanc ti]bi marmoreo caesam de monte d[icavi]*, / *regina undarum, Nympha, decus nemoru[m]*, / *vo]to damnasti perfecta quem prece Bassus / moenitae propter moenia Germisarae* („Diese aus marmornem Berge herausgehauene Ara (oder eher Statue) habe ich Dir, Nymphe, Königin der Wellen, Zierde der Wälder, geweiht, den Du nach der Erfüllung seiner Bitte dazu gebracht hast, sein Gelübde zu erfüllen, ich Bassus bei den Mauern des befestigten Germisara“). Unter den *moenia moenitae Germisarae* dürfte das Kastell von Cigmău zu verstehen sein, das anscheinend denselben Namen wie die Thermalbäder trug<sup>23</sup>. Es ist auffällig, dass hier nur eine einzige Nymphe erwähnt wird, was für die folgende Diskussion von Bedeutung sein kann. Bezeichnend ist auch, dass die Nymphen von Germisara Epitheta wie *Augustae*<sup>24</sup>, *salutiferae*<sup>25</sup>, *sanctae Augustae*<sup>26</sup> oder *sanctissimae*<sup>27</sup> tragen und dass Widmungen an sie *pro salute Imperatoris* seitens der Statthalter gemacht wurden<sup>28</sup>. Deren Bedeutung in Dakien kann vielleicht mit jener der *Dea Nympha Brigantia* in Britannien<sup>29</sup> verglichen werden.

Neben den Nymphen werden in zwei oder drei Fällen Aesculapius und Hygia<sup>30</sup> und einmal Hygia<sup>31</sup> allein erwähnt. Es ist klar, dass man in medizinischen Angelegenheiten nicht auf die erstrangigen Spezialisten verzichten konnte<sup>32</sup>. Auch Artemis/Diana konnte bestimmte medizinische Funktionen innehaben<sup>33</sup> und zwischen

<sup>17</sup> TIR, L 34, 24; IDR III/1, S. 76.

<sup>18</sup> Siehe IDR III/1, 57–68. Über die Beziehung des Hercules zum Thermalwasser siehe neulich A. Buonopane, M. F. Petracchia, in *Cura, preghiera e benessere*, 222–223.

<sup>19</sup> Über die Beziehung der Nymphen zu den Heilquellen siehe J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 5, 8–10; M. F. Petracchia, M. Tramunto, in *Aquae salutiferae*, 175–179; A. Buonopane, M. F. Petracchia, in *Cura, preghiera e benessere*, 222–223; W. Speyer, E. Enß, RAC 26, 2015, 11; für die Nymphen aus Germisara siehe N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 90–91; I. Ghinescu, *EphNap* 8, 1998, 124–132; I. Nemeti, *AMN* 36, 1999, 136–138, 141.

<sup>20</sup> Serv., *Aen.* VII 84.

<sup>21</sup> Ep. Anh. 2–14.

<sup>22</sup> Ep. Anh. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Siehe schon Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III, S. 225; N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 92.

<sup>24</sup> Ep. Anh. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Ep. Anh. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Ep. Anh. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Ep. Anh. 6–8.

<sup>28</sup> Ep. Anh. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* VII 875 = ILS 9317 = RIB I 2066 (Brampton).

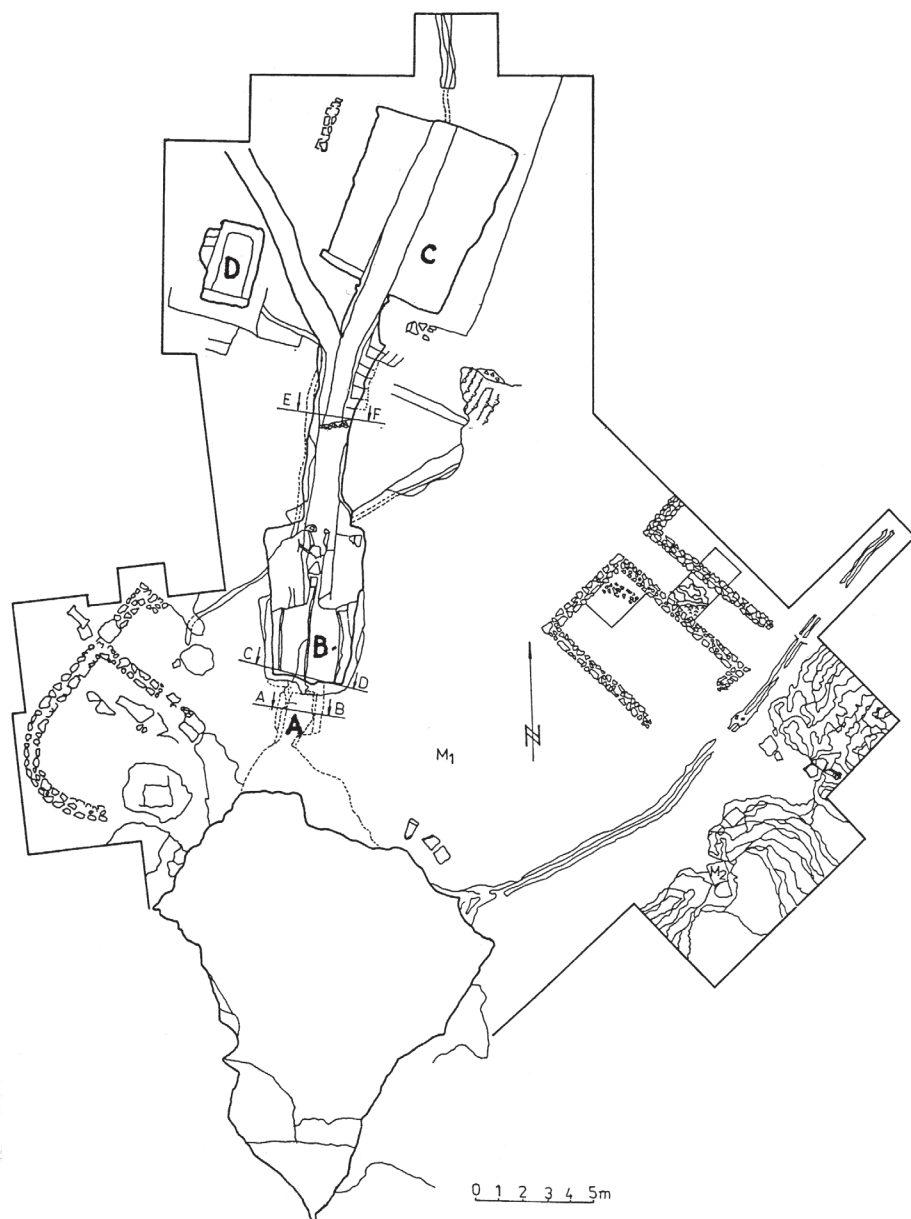
<sup>30</sup> Ep. Anh. 14–16.

<sup>31</sup> Ep. Anh. 17.

<sup>32</sup> Über den gemeinsamen Kult des Asklepios und der Nymphen siehe H. Herter, *RE* XVII/2 (1931) 1551–1552; neulich A. Buonopane, M. F. Petracchia, in *Cura, preghiera e benessere*, 221–222, 224–225; eine wichtige epigraphische Quelle dazu bei F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1962, Nr. 152; darüber J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 205.

<sup>33</sup> Ep. Anh. 5, 18.





**Abb. 1.** Der Plan der Thermen von Germisara  
(nach A. Rusu, E. Pescaru, in *Politique édititaire*, 205, Abb. 3).

ihr und den Nymphen von Germisara bestand auch dadurch eine enge Beziehung, dass sich die Quellen in einer gebirgigen und bewaldeten Gegend befanden<sup>34</sup>. Gerade diese Beziehung wird durch die folgende Widmung zum Ausdruck gebracht<sup>35</sup>: *Nymphi[s]*

<sup>34</sup> Siehe auch R. Hošek, in *Limes IX*, 316–317; I. Ghinescu, *EphNap* 8, 1998, 132; eine verschiedene Ansicht bei J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 107–110.

<sup>35</sup> Ep. Anh. 5. *Diana* wurde im Rumänischen zu *zână* (Fee) (DLR 19, 2010, 117) und *Sancta Diana* zu *Sânziiana* (DELR 9497). Die *Sanctae Dianae* (Sânziene) sind im rumänischen Volksglauben zu Beschützerinnen der Ernte geworden. Am 24 Juni, wenn die Sânziene gefeiert werden, bringt man Kornähren in die Kirchen und die Ackerfelder werden geweiht. *Dianaticus* (jemand, der von Diana

*sanctis / August(is) simul et / tibi, sancta Deana, / fontiq(ue) vestro* („Den heiligen Nymphen Augustae und zugleich Dir, heilige Diana, und Eurer Quelle“).

In den achtziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts wurden die römischen Thermen aus Germisara von Adriana und Eugen Pescaru vom Museum Deva ausgegraben<sup>36</sup>. Den eigentlichen Ausgrabungen waren Bauarbeiten vorausgegangen, bei denen zwölf Goldplättchen von den Arbeitern entdeckt und sofort gestohlen wurden. Sie konnten aber wiederbeschafft werden und befinden sich jetzt im Museum von Deva<sup>37</sup>. Der von den beiden Archäologen rekonstruierte Plan der Thermen ist ziemlich kompliziert (Abb. 1)<sup>38</sup>. Ihr Hauptteil besteht aus einer Höhle mit einer oberen Öffnung von 18 × 12 m und 7 m tief. Die Quelle entsprang vom Boden und das Wasser war hinauf mit Hilfe eines Rollensystems gebracht, woher es durch Kanäle in mehrere Becken floss. Man hat auch die Fundamente mehrerer Heiligtümer erkannt.

Von den 12 Goldplättchen (Abb. 2) sind 7 beschriftet<sup>39</sup>. Unter diesen sind drei ausdrücklich den Nymphen (Abb. 2/2, 4 und 5)<sup>40</sup>, eines der Diana (Abb. 2/6)<sup>41</sup> und eines der Hygia<sup>42</sup> geweiht. Unter den nichtbeschrifteten stellt eines die drei Nymphen, den Chariten ähnlich, in einem Tanz dar (Abb. 2/3)<sup>43</sup>. Einen Kommentar verdient folgender Text<sup>44</sup>: *Nymf/is Dece/balus Lu/ci(i) posuit* (Abb. 5/5). In diesem *Decebalus Luci (filius)* haben wir einen Daker peregrinen Status zu sehen. Er könnte eine Art Bindeglied zwischen dem dakischen Kult der Thermalquelle und dem neuen römischen Nymphenkult bilden<sup>45</sup>.

Aus dem, was wir bisher wissen, ergibt sich, dass die Thermalquelle aus Germisara unter dem Schutz einer bzw. mehrerer Nymphen stand und dass mit ihnen die Heilgötter Aesculapius und Hygia sowie Artemis/Diana verbunden werden konnten.

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besessen ist) bildete die Grundlage für das rumänische Wort *zănatec*, „albern“, derjenige, der an widersinnige Sachen glaubt (DLR 19, 2010, 79); ein ähnlicher Begriff war im Altertum *nymphaticus* (νυμφόληπτος), „von Nymphen besessen“; siehe für diesen H. Herter, RE XVII/2 (1931) 1553.

<sup>36</sup> A. Rusu, E. Pescaru, in D. Alicu, H. Boegli (Hrsg.), *Politique éditiale dans les provinces de l'Empire Romain, II<sup>ème</sup> – IV<sup>ème</sup> siècles après J. C.*, Cluj-Napoca 1993, 201–215; E. Pescaru, A. Rusu-Pescaru, *Sargetia* 26/1, 1995–1996, 325–339; A. Rusu Pescaru, E. Pescaru, in *Studii de istorie antică. Omagiu profesorului Ioan Glodariu*, Cluj-Napoca 2001, 439–447.

<sup>37</sup> I. Piso, A. Rusu, RMI 59/1, 1990, 10–14, Nr. 1–7; A. Rusu, E. Pescaru, in D. Alicu, H. Boegli (Hrsg.), *Politique éditiale dans les provinces de l'Empire Romain, II<sup>ème</sup> – IV<sup>ème</sup> siècles après J. C.*, Cluj-Napoca 1993, 201–215, Abb. 16–23; R. Ardevan, S. Cociș, in *Graecia, Roma, Barbaricum*, 317–318, Nr. 1–3; dazu noch C. Ciongradi, AMN 50, 2013, 125–156 (langer und nichtssagender Aufsatz). Die letzten drei Plättchen, unter denen zwei beschriftet und ein anepigraphisches, wurden unlängst im Privatbesitz gefunden. Aus Quellen der Polizei weiß man, dass sie nicht aus Abrud, sondern ebenfalls aus Germisara stammen; anders C. Ciongradi, a. a. O.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe E. Pescaru, A. Rusu-Pescaru, *Sargetia* 26/1, 1995–1996, p. 336, Abb. 5; A. Rusu-Pescaru, D. Alicu, *Templele romane din Dacia I*, Deva 2000, 65–75, Abb. XXI.

<sup>39</sup> Ep. Anh. 11–145, 17–18; R. Ardevan, S. Cociș, in *Graecia, Roma, Barbaricum*, 315–318, Nr. 1, 3; C. Ciongradi, AMN 50, 2013, 144–146, Nr. 9–11.

<sup>40</sup> Ep. Anh. 11–13.

<sup>41</sup> Ep. Anh. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Ep. Anh. 17.

<sup>43</sup> E. Pescaru, *Sargetia* 21–24, 1988–1991, 663–667, fig. 2; über die Beziehung zwischen den Nymphen und den Charites siehe H. Herter, RE XVII/2 (1931) 1546, 1548.

<sup>44</sup> Ep. Anh. 13.

<sup>45</sup> I. Piso, A. Rusu, RMI 59/1, 1990, 12 = ILD 325; siehe auch I. Ghinescu, EphNap 8, 1998, 134–135; S. Nemeti, *Sincretismul religios în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 2005, 197–198; D. Dana, in *Orbis antiquus*, 438; ders., *Onomasticon Thracicum*, 116.



Abb. 2. Sieben Goldplättchen von Germisara (MCDR, Deva).



Somit ist es gerechtfertigt anzunehmen, dass unter den Heiligtümern, die neben der Thermalquelle identifiziert wurden, eines dem Aesculapius und der Hygia und ein anderes der Diana angehörte.

Während der erwähnten Ausgrabungen wurden auch drei Fragmente einer Stele aus Kalkstein entdeckt. Leider fehlt ein Stück aus der Mitte des Inschriftfeldes. Insgesamt misst die Stele 160 × 60 × 15 cm. Sie ist zu schmal, um eine Statue zu tragen und wurde vermutlich allein zu dem Zweck errichtet, einen Text bekannt zu machen bzw. zu dedizieren. Das Inschriftsfeld war infolge der Ausfällungen des Thermalwassers mit einer Schicht Kalksinter überdeckt (Abb. 3-4) und erst nach einem ersten Restaurierungsvorgang lesbar (Abb. 5-6).



Abb. 3. Die Stele von Germisara, ursprünglicher Zustand, Detail.



Abb. 4. Die Stele von Germisara, ursprünglicher Zustand, Detail.





Abb. 5. Die Stele von Germisara, heutiger Zustand.

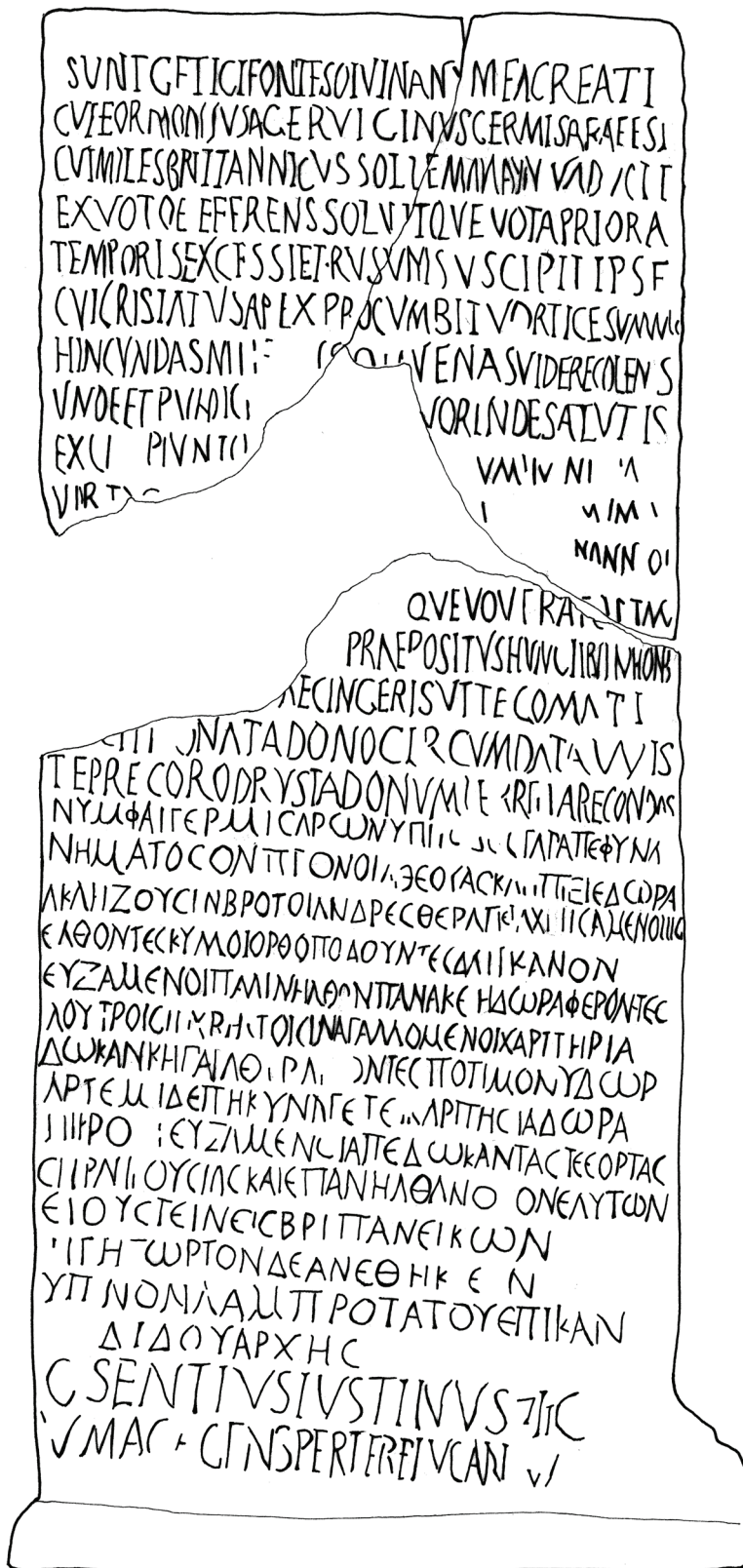


Abb. 6. Die Stele von Germisara, Zeichnung des Textes.



Der Text umfasst 32 Zeilen. Davon sind die Z. 1-16 und 31-32 (die letzten) auf lateinisch und die Z. 17-30 auf griechisch verfaßt. Der lateinische und der griechische Text wurden von verschiedenen Händen geschrieben. Die Z. 1-30 enthalten ein Gebet an die Nymphe, während die Z. 31-32 uns den Namen und die Stellung des Dedikanten bekannt machen. In diesen zwei letzten Zeilen wurde kein Metrum benutzt, denn jeder diesbezüglicher Versuch wegen der Einschaltung des Namens zunichte gemacht worden wäre.

Eben mit diesen zwei letzten Zeilen werden wir die Analyse des Textes beginnen. Der Name des Dedikanten ist leicht zu lesen: *C(aius) Sentius Iustinus*. Die Buchstaben sind, besonders in Z. 32, sehr schmal und zusammengepresst. Man hat auch versucht, eine bei der Beschriftung bereits vorhandene Beschädigung des Steines in der rechten unteren Ecke zu umgehen. Daraus erklärt sich die ungewöhnliche Abkürzung LG statt LEG für *leg(ionis)*. Der Dedikant war ein (*centurio*) *l(e)g(ionis)* / *V Mac(edonicae)*. Es folgt *agens per*. Die nächsten Buchstaben sind schwierig zu lesen. Es gibt hier zwei Möglichkeiten. Man kann an eine Person denken, die als Mittel der Handlung erscheint. In solchen Fällen würde man aber eher Ausdrücke wie *curante*, *curam agente*, *instante* oder Ähnliches verwenden und nicht die Präposition *per* mit dem Namen im Akkusativ. Mir ist jedenfalls kein solcher Fall bekannt<sup>46</sup>. Die zweite Möglichkeit ist, dass *per* in Bezug auf einen Raum verwendet wird. Dafür gibt es Beispiele aus Tarraco: *agens per Hispanias V c(um) p(rovincia) T(ingitana)*<sup>47</sup> und aus Cirta [*vices agens per*] *Africam*<sup>48</sup>. Wenn man die vier Buchstaben nach der Präposition genau ansieht, erkennt man, wenn auch nur schwer lesbar, die Buchstaben TERR. Dann lauten die letzten drei Wörter *per terr(itorium) Lucanum*. In Z. 3 ist es von einem *miles Brittannicus* die Rede. Iustinus ernennt sich selber *Brittannicus*, nicht weil er aus Britannien gekommen wäre<sup>49</sup>, sondern weil er den *numerus Britannicianorum* vertritt. In der Z. 13 der Inschrift erscheint er tatsächlich als *praepositus*, was man ins Griechische durch Βριττανεικῶν ἡγήτωρ (Z. 27-28) übersetzt hat. Es war nicht ungewöhnlich, an die Spitze einer Auxiliareinheit einen Legionscenturio zu stellen, wenn diese Einheit weniger als 500 Mann betrug<sup>50</sup>. Das Problem besteht darin, dass unter Septimius Severus<sup>51</sup> und unter Caracalla<sup>52</sup> der *numerus Britannicianorum* von einem *tribunus* befehligt war, was eine Stärke von 1000 Mann nahelegt. Wir wissen aber nicht, wie die Stärke eines *numerus* im Laufe von Jahrzehnten variieren konnte<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Einige würden den in Sarmizegetusa Regia gefundenen Stempel *Decebalus per Scorillo* als Beispiel anführen (C. Daicoviciu, SCIV 6/1-2, 1955, 200-204, Abb. 8-9; AE 1977, 672). Ich bin aber, wie schon C. Daicoviciu, davon überzeugt, dass wir es mit einem dakischen Text zu tun haben, wo *per* Sohn heißt.

<sup>47</sup> CIL II 4107 = RIT 97 = HEp 16, 548 (Tarraco).

<sup>48</sup> CIL VIII 7068 = ILAlg II/1, 653 (Cirta).

<sup>49</sup> Ein gewöhnlicher Name wie *C. Sentius Iustinus* kann über die Herkunft seines Trägers nichts aussagen.

<sup>50</sup> A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*<sup>2</sup>, Köln-Graz 1967, 108; W. Enßlin, RE Suppl. VIII (1956) 548-552; E. Birley, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929-1986*, Amsterdam 1988, 221-231 und bes. 229-230; G. Cupcea, *Professional Ranks in the Roman Army of Dacia*, Oxford 2014, 87.

<sup>51</sup> Ep. Anh. 10.

<sup>52</sup> AE 2003, 1513.

<sup>53</sup> Unter Caracalla wurde der *numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium* von einem römischen Ritter der dritten Militia befehligt, ILS 9472 = IG XII/II 1, 146: ἐπαρχος εἰλης ἀριθμοῦ Παλμυρηνῶν Πορολυσσηνῶν Ἀνω(νινιανῶν) befehligt. Unter demselben Kaiser stand aber derselbe *numerus* unter dem Kommando eines



Eines der Merkmale eines *numerus* war eben, dass seine Stärke nicht fest war wie bei einer Ala oder einer Cohors. Als Aufgabe war dem C. Sentius Iustinus und der von ihm befehligten Truppe die Aufsicht über ein *territorium* bestimmt worden. In Dakien sind schon ein *territorium Sucidavense*<sup>54</sup> und ein *territorium Arcobadarens*<sup>55</sup> belegt. Ein *territorium Lucanum* kannten wir bisher nicht und man kann sich fragen, warum es *Lucanum* und nicht *Germisarense* hieß. Der Einwand fällt, wenn wir uns klarmachen, dass Germisara sich auf dem Gebiet einer colonia befand und deshalb keine militärische Aufsicht brauchte. Dann sollte man das *territorium Lucanum* vielleicht im Goldschürfgebiet zwischen Germisara und Ampelum suchen, das ganz sicher militärischer Aufsicht und Schutzes bedurfte<sup>56</sup>. Sicher bleiben der Name des Dedikanten, seine Centurionen-Stellung und seine Aufgabe, die *pedites Britannici* zu befehligen. Der Frage, ob er auch der Dichter des Gebetes war, werden wir erst später nachgehen.

Ganz offensichtlich wollte der Autor für sein Gebet Hexameter verwenden, doch sind diese nicht immer völlig gelungen. In der Z. 19 ist der Vers heptametrisch: ἄ κλήζουσιν βοροτοὶ ἄνδρες θεραπείᾳ χρῆσάμενοι περ. Ebenso heptametrisch ist die Z. 22, wenn wir ihr das erste Wort der Z. 23 hinzufügen: λουτροῖσιν χρῆστοῖσιν ἀγαλλόμενοι χαρι<σ>τήρια / δῶκαν. Die Z. 27–28 bilden ein Heptameter: εἰ οὐς τείνεις, Βριττανεικῶν / ἡγήτωρ τόνδε ἀνέθηκεν und die Z. 29–30 bilden ein Pentameter: ὕπνον λαμπροτάτου ἐπὶ Καν|δίδου ἀρχῆς. Die Quantität der Silben wurde weder im Lateinischen, noch im Griechischen streng eingehalten. Das kann nicht nur mit der Ungeschicklichkeit des Dichters erklärt werden, sondern hat auch damit zu tun, dass in der Umgangssprache die Quantität schon weitgehend verschwunden war. Die betreffenden Stellen wurden im endgültigen Text (S. ...) markiert und bedürfen keines weiteren Kommentars. Der griechische Text ist keine Übersetzung, sondern eine Fortsetzung des lateinischen. Man kann dem Dichter vorwerfen, dass er abschnittsweise in kleinen Partien denkt, die selten miteinander verbunden sind und am Ende keine geschlossene Einheit darstellen. Gründe dafür werden am Ende diskutiert.

(1) *Sunt Getici fontes divina nympha creati.*

„Die getischen Quellen wurden von der göttlichen Nymphe geschaffen“.

Im Allgemeinen verwendeten die Autoren den Begriff „dakisch“ für Siebenbürgen und das Banat und „getisch“ für die wallachische Ebene und die Dobroudja<sup>57</sup>. Hier ist „getisch“ eher archaisierend und poetisch zu verstehen<sup>58</sup>. Es geht in den ersten Zeilen um eine einzige Nymphe, was im Widerspruch zu den νόμφοι Γερμισαρών aus

Centurio der *legio V Macedonica*, AE 1980, 755: *n(umerus) Pal(myrenorum) sagit(tariorum) - - cura agente T(ito) Fl(avio) Saturnino (centurione) le[g](ionis) V Mac(edonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis)*.

<sup>54</sup> AE 1914, 122; IDR II 190.

<sup>55</sup> AE 2007, 1190; grundlegend über die *territoria* aus den Donauprovinzen S. Nemeti, *Finding Arcobadara. Essay on the Geography and Administration of Roman Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 86–99; über die *territoria* in der Provinz Dakien siehe noch ders., in *Dacia Augusti provincia*, 279–284.

<sup>56</sup> Auf dieselbe Weise kontrollierte der *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum* von Orăştioara de Sus aus das riesige Gebiet des Sebeş Gebirges, wo sich einst die Burgen der dakischen Könige befanden. Laut N. Gostar, *Sargetia* 3, 1956, 92–93, sollen die *pedites Britannici* die Straße, die nach Süden, zu den dakischen Burgen des Şurianu Gebirges führte, kontrolliert haben.

<sup>57</sup> Siehe die Diskussion bei H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*, Cluj 1972, 25–42.

<sup>58</sup> Siehe auch Verg. *Aen.* 3, 35: *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis* und ein herrliches Hexameter aus der colonia Sarmizegetusa (SEG 25, 1971, 823 = IDR III/2, 400 = CIGD 108): Ἐνθάδε Χρυσόκομαν Γετική χθὼν ἀμφικαλύπτει.

der Z. 17 steht. Rein technisch wäre es kein Problem gewesen, den Ablativ *nymphis* statt *nymphā* zu verwenden, denn der Fehler, nämlich die kurze Silbe (*-phā* oder *-phis*), wäre derselbe gewesen. Wir haben es eher mit zwei verschiedenen Traditionen zu tun: im lateinischen Text mit einer einzigen Nympe, eigentlich der alten einheimischen Gottheit (darüber auch im Kommentar zur Z. 16), und im griechischen Text mit der griechisch-römischen Tradition, laut der die Nymphen zumeist eine Dreiergruppe bildeten<sup>59</sup>. Aus dieser Beobachtung ergibt sich ganz von selbst die Frage, wie der Text zustande gekommen ist und ob er die Arbeit einer einzigen Person war.

(2) *cui formonsus ager vicinus Germisarae est.*

„Deren schönes Gebiet Germisara benachbart ist“.

*Cui* ist vor Konsonanten oft einsilbig<sup>60</sup>. Warum *ager*? Weil die Nymphen nicht nur die Herrinnen der Quellen, sondern auch der rings um gewachsenen Bäume, eines Gartens oder einer grünen und gut bewässerten Wiese waren<sup>61</sup>. Das Adjektiv *formonsus* statt *formosus*, obwohl von Grammatikern verpönt, wurde auch in anderen Gedichten benutzt<sup>62</sup>. In diesem Vers finden wir einen neuen Beleg für den Ortsnamen *Germisara*, im Gegensatz zum Genitivus Pluralis Γερμισαράων aus der Z. 17. Dieser deutet daraufhin, dass auch der lateinische Pluralis *Germisarae*, *-arum* möglich wäre. Die Stellung des *ager* der Nympe gegenüber *Germisara* scheint anzudeuten, dass für Iustinus das eigentliche Germisara das Kastell von Cigmău war.

(3) *cui miles Britannicus sollemnia annua ducit,*

(4) *ex voto efferens solvitque vota priora*

(5) *temporis excessi et rusum suscipit ipse,*

„Für sie (für die Nympe) führt der britannische Soldat die jährlichen Feiern durch, er die aus seinem Gelübde herleitet und während er die früheren Gelübde der vergangenen Zeit erfüllt, legt er selbst noch einmal eines ab“.

Unter *miles Britannicus*<sup>63</sup> ist der *numerus Britannicianorum* als Ganzes zu verstehen (*pars pro toto*). Selbstverständlich wurden die sakralen Handlungen im Namen der *milites Britanniciani* von dem kommandierenden Offizier durchgeführt. Herausgestellt wird hier die obligatorische Alternanz der wohlbekannten zwei Akte der Gelübde: *votum nuncupare* und *votum solvere*<sup>64</sup>. Bezeichnend ist auch das enge Verhältnis zwischen einer militärischen Einheit und dem benachbarten Heiligtum. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass die Nymphen aus Germisara mit dem Kaiserkult verbunden waren<sup>65</sup>. Hervorzuheben ist auch die altlateinische Form *rusum* statt *rusum* („wiederum“, „von neuem“).

(6) *cui cristatus apex procumbit vortice summo.*

„Vor der sich (vor der Nympe) die mit einem Büschel versehene Helmspitze dort beugt, wo der Strudel am stärksten ist“.

Hier ist *cristatus apex* als *pars pro toto* zu verstehen: nicht nur der Helm, sondern

<sup>59</sup> Siehe I. Ghinescu, EphNap 8, 1998, 130; J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 121-198; W. Speyer, E. Enß, RAC 26, 2015, 6.

<sup>60</sup> Siehe M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, 478.

<sup>61</sup> Orph. Hymn. 51: πολυανθείς, - -, εὐώδεις, - - - εἰαροθερπεῖς; siehe H. Herter, RE XVII/2 (1931) 1538.

<sup>62</sup> Siehe Thes. l. L. VI 1110-1111.

<sup>63</sup> Für *Britannicus* statt *Britannicus* siehe Thes. l. L. II 2195.

<sup>64</sup> Siehe, zum Beispiel, W. Eisenhut, RE Suppl. XIV (1974) 964-973.

<sup>65</sup> Ep. Anh. 2; siehe für dieses Verhältnis R. Hošek, in *Limes IX*, 316-319.

auch der Soldat, der ihn trägt. Gemeint ist aber nicht jedweder Militär, sondern der Befehlshaber, der im Namen seiner Einheit der Göttin gegenüber Ehrfurcht bezeugte. Angespielt ist also auf die *crista transversa* des römischen Centurio<sup>66</sup>.

Durch *vortex* (archaisch für *vertex*) *summus* versteht man nicht „Scheitel“, sondern die Stelle, an der das Thermalwasser entsprang, und damit der Ort der Epiphanie der Gottheit. Dabei verschwimmen die Gottheit und das Element miteinander<sup>67</sup>. Es folgen Stellen, die nicht mehr wiederzugewinnen sind:

(7) *Hinc undas mile[s] convenas videre solens*

(8) *unde et pu[..... ae?] quor inde salutis*

(9) *excipiunt* - - -

(10) *virtus* - - -

(11) [- - -]

Die Lesung *mile[s]* ist unsicher. Der Sinn scheint folgender zu sein: „Der Soldat (?) pflegte von hier aus die sich vereinigenden Wellen<sup>68</sup> zu betrachten, woher sie zurückgetrieben ...*aequor* – ins Freie kommen“. Man bemerkt sofort, dass die vorletzte Silbe von *videre* kurz und nicht lang ist. Das Prädikat *excipiunt* könnte mit *salutis [vota]* in Beziehung stehen. Es dürfte auf einen Ort hingewiesen werden, wo man Gelübde ablegte und erfüllte. Mit *virtus* (Z. 10) könnte die Heilkraft des Wassers gemeint sein.

Ende der Z. 12 kann man - - -*que voverat portam* lesen: „und eine Tür gelobt hatte“. Wie wir weiter sehen werden, hat die Tür in einem *nymphaeum* eine gewisse Bedeutung.

In der zweiten Hälfte der Z. 13 liest man [- - -] *praepositus hunc tibi* [- - -]. Die letzten Wörter sind unklar. Es geht jedenfalls um ein Geschenk, das der *praepositus*, das heißt C. Sentius Iustinus, der Nymphe macht. Worum es geht, wird im Folgenden deutlich.

Problematisch ist die zweite Hälfte der Z. 14. Zuerst hatte ich *cingeris* (recingeris?) *Vite Comati* oder *Utte Comati* gelesen und dachte an einen Peregrinus, der *Vitus* (*Bithus*?)<sup>69</sup> *Comati*<sup>70</sup> oder *Uttus*<sup>71</sup> *Comati* geheißen hätte. Er soll als Priester bekränzt worden sein. Eine solche Deutung hätte aber den Gesamttext unverständlich gemacht, so dass ich mich für folgende Lösung entschied: „Du bist mit reicher Weinrebe umkränzt“, wobei das Subjekt die Nymphe, beziehungsweise ihr Bild ist. *Vitis*, *is* heißt „Weinrebe“ und *comatus*, *a*, *um* heißt nicht nur „behaart“, sondern, wie Catullus 4, 11 bezeugt, auch „belaubt“<sup>72</sup>. Man würde den Ablativus *viti comata* erwar-

<sup>66</sup> Siehe M. Junkelmann, *Die Legionen des Augustus. Der römische Soldat im archäologischen Experiment*, Mainz am Rhein 1986, 171–174, Taf. 34–36, 50; M. C. Bishop, J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 2006, 173, 177, Taf. V.

<sup>67</sup> Siehe H. Herter, RE XVII/2 (1931) 1534.

<sup>68</sup> Für *aquae convenae* siehe Thes. I. L. IV 820.

<sup>69</sup> Für den thrakischen Personennamen *Bithus*, *Vithus*, *Vitus* siehe D. Detschew, *Sprachreste* 65–68; D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum*, 40–58. *Vitu-* erscheint auch im Keltischen, K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition*, 298.

<sup>70</sup> Die κομῆται waren dakische Adlige niederen Ranges (Dio 68, 9, 1); siehe D. Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 252. Jedoch sind die Namen *Comatus*, *Comato*, *Comatius* im keltischen Kontext verbreitet, siehe OPEL II 69–70; zum Namen siehe J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul (DAG)*, Ann Arbor 1949–1951, 244; K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition*, 175–176; E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford 1967, 185.

<sup>71</sup> *Utta*, *Utto*, *Uttu*, im keltischen Raum verbreitet, OPEL IV 188.

<sup>72</sup> Zu vergleichen mit τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη von Hom. *Od.* 13, 102; für Kränze als Opfergaben für die Nymphen siehe Varro, *Ling.* 6, 22.

ten, aber den Ablativus *vite* finden wir auch bei Martialis 8, 51, 12 und *comati* könnte hier der III. Deklination angehören.

Die Idee setzt sich in Z. 15 fort: ...*o nata dono circumdata uvis* („von Trauben umgeben“). Gemeint ist wahrscheinlich die Statue der Nymphe. Eine solche Statue wurde in der ägyptischen Hermoupolis folgendermaßen geehrt: Καῦμα δ' ἄρ' ἐκ ληνοῦ Βάκχου πόμα καὶ στέφανόν σοι / ἐκ σταφυλῆς - -<sup>73</sup> („Die Sommerhitze bringt dir aus der Butte des Bacchus Trank und Traubenkranz“). Weinrebe und Wein sind die Attribute des Dionysos. Zu diesem sind die Beziehungen der Nymphen doppelt. Zum einen gab es eine alte Kameradschaft zwischen ihnen und den Satyren; damit gehörten auch sie zur Gefolgschaft des Dionysos. Zum anderen, wurde Dionysos als Kind von Hermes an die Nymphen übergeben, damit sie ihn beschützen und erziehen<sup>74</sup>.

Am Spannendsten ist Z. 16: *Te precor, Odrysta, donum terrena(?) recondas*. Der Ablativus *terrena* ist nicht ganz sicher, denn gerade hier ist der Stein beschädigt. *Terrena* dürfte in der Volkssprache Boden bedeuten; daraus wird das rumänische țărănă hergeleitet<sup>75</sup>. Die übrigen Elemente sind sicher. Dann dürfte die Übersetzung folgendermaßen lauten: „Ich flehe Dich an, Odrysta, das Geschenk in den Boden zu befestigen (oder im Boden befestigt zu behalten)“. Wenn es um eine Statue, wie weiter ersichtlich, oder um die Stele mit dem Text geht, scheint der Satz verständlich zu sein. Was bedeutet aber *Odrysta*? Es ist hervorzuheben, dass am Stein *Odrysta* und nicht etwa *Odrysia* zu lesen ist. Das T kann als sicher gelten. Da das Gebet an die Nymphe adressiert ist (siehe *tibi* in Z. 13), würde es heißen, dass *Odrysta* der dakische Name oder das dakische Epitheton der Nymphe ist. Man kennt die Ὀδρῦσαι (Sing. Ὀδρύσης oder Ὀδρυσίτης), einen thrakischen Stamm am Hebros. Ich führe D. Detschew an: „Unter Berufung auf *Dru-geri* teilt Jokl ERL 13, 285 Ὀδρῦσαι in *o-dru-s* und deutet demnach den Namen als „Waldbewohner“, indem er *o-* als Präposition auffaßt“<sup>76</sup>. Es handelt sich um eine indogermanische Wurzel, die in griechisch δρῦς, δόρυ, δρυμός, deutsch *Flie-der*, *Holun-der*, *Wachol-der*, englisch *tree* usw. vorkommt<sup>77</sup>. Man muss auch davon ausgehen, dass dakisch und thrakisch eng verwandt waren<sup>78</sup>. Ein thrakischer Import nach Germisara ist in unserem Fall nicht nachzuweisen und auch nicht nötig, da alles darauf hindeutet, dass die indogermanische Wurzel auch im Dakischen verwendet wurde<sup>79</sup>. Das Gebet beginnt, wie wir bereits gesehen haben, mit der Feststellung, dass es sich bei den Quellen um getisches Wasser handelt (*Getici fontes*, Z. 1). Wir haben es also mit einer Art dakischen Δρυάς zu tun, wobei auch die innige Beziehung zwischen Nymphe und Baum oder Wald zum Ausdruck kommt. Es ist jedenfalls das erste Mal, dass der Name oder das Epitheton einer dakischen Gottheit in einer Inschrift vorkommt. Die Schwierigkeit,

<sup>73</sup> E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*, Paris 1969, 342–356, Nr. 86–87; J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 191–193; zum Weinopfer für die Nymphen siehe F. T. van Staten, *Hiera Kala*, 91–92.

<sup>74</sup> Siehe dazu J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 92–96, mit literarischen und skulpturellen Belegen; A.-Fr. Jaccottet, *Choirs Dionysos* I, bes. 190–192, II, bes. 290–291, Nr. 174.

<sup>75</sup> W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1935, 718.

<sup>76</sup> D. Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 336–338.

<sup>77</sup> Siehe J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I*, Bern-München 1959, 214–215.

<sup>78</sup> Für die Geschichte dieses Problems und für den aktuellen Stand der Forschung siehe das wichtige Buch von D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum*, XII–XLIV.

<sup>79</sup> Für den Toponym *Drubeta* (*Drobeta*) siehe D. Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 158.



auf die mich Dan Dana aufmerksam gemacht hat, ist, dass das Suffix *-ta*, wie im griechischen *-της*, für männliche Namen verwendet wird.

(17) Νύμφαι Γερμισαρών ὑπνώδεις γὰρ ἀπέφυνα[v].

„Denn die Nymphen von Germisara sind von Natur her schlafbringend“<sup>80</sup>.

Der Schlaf, den die Nymphen von Germisara bringen sollen, bezieht sich auf die *incubatio* (ἐγκοίμησις), eine Praxis die den Menschen mit der Gottheit durch den Traum in Verbindung bringt und ihm Hinweise auf eine wirksame Therapie seiner Krankheit gibt<sup>81</sup>. Generell wurden dem Wasser, das aus den Tiefen der Erde kam, mantische Fähigkeiten zuerkannt<sup>82</sup>. Der Orakelpriester von Klaros musste, bevor er seine Orakel gab, aus einer heiligen Quelle trinken<sup>83</sup>.

Dieselbe Idee finden wir, wenn auch weniger klar ausgedrückt, in der Z. 18: Νῆμα τόσον προνοία θεοῦ Ἀσκληπίειε δῶρα. Der zweite Buchstabe des ersten Wortes ist zwar beschädigt, muss aber ein η sein. Somit ist das erste Wort νῆμα („Schicksalsfaden“) und nicht νᾶμα („Flüssigkeit“ oder „Quelle“) zu lesen. Die etwas freie Übersetzung, falls ich den Satz richtig verstanden habe, lautet folgendermaßen: „Ein solches Geschick zählt durch die Vorsorge des Gottes zu den Geschenken des Asklepios“. Der Gott (θεός) ist wahrscheinlich Asklepios selbst; benutzt ist die Form Ἀσκληπίειε statt Ἀσκληπίεια<sup>84</sup>.

(19): Ἀ κλήζουσιν βροτοὶ ἄνδρες θεραπείᾳ χρησάμενοί περ. („Das rühmen die sterblichen Menschen, wenn sie sich der Behandlung bedienen“). Bemerken wir das Wort βροτός (für μοτός, sogar μορτός = *mortalis*), das besonders bei Homer, aber auch bei den athenischen Klassikern vorkommt<sup>85</sup>. Die Z. 19 kann man mit den Z. 20–23 verbinden:

(19) Ἀ κλήζουσιν βροτοὶ ἄνδρες θεραπείᾳ χρησάμενοί πε[ρ]

(20) ἐλθόντες κυλλοὶ ὀρθοποδοῦντες δαί ικανόν

(21) εὐξάμενοι πάλιν ἦλθον πανακέῃ δῶρα φερόντες

(22) λουτροῖσιν χρηστοῖσιν ἀγαλλόμενοι χαρι<σ>τήρια

(23) δῶκαν· κηπαίᾳ θύρᾳ [φερ]όντες πότιμον ὕδωρ.

Man findet hier folgende ungewöhnliche Formen: Z. 20: δαί statt δή<sup>86</sup>; Z. 21: πανακέῃ statt πανακεῖ; Z. 22: den homerischen Dativus λουτροῖσιν χρηστοῖσιν. Λουτρόν („Bad“, „Waschwasser“) kann auch als poetisches Wort gelten<sup>87</sup>, das Adjektivum χρηστός (nützlich) aber nicht. Endlich, aus χαρι<σ>τήρια (Z. 22) scheint das σ gefallen zu sein. Übersetzung (Z. 20): „Nachdem sie (die βροτοὶ ἄνδρες) krumm (durch Gicht gekrümmt oder gelähmt) gekommen sind, gehen sie jetzt ganz (hinreichend) gerade“. Die Stelle erinnert uns an die Quellen, die am Ätna entspringen und die lahmen

<sup>80</sup> Dieser Sinn von ὑπνώδης, ες bei Theophr. 9, 11, 5: τῶν γὰρ στρύχων ὁ μὲν ὑπνώδης, ὁ δὲ μανικός. Unter στρύχων versteht man ein Kraut, „der Nachtschatten“, wovon eine Sorte Schlaf, eine andere Raserei verursacht.

<sup>81</sup> J. Pley, RE IX/2 (1916) 1256–1262.

<sup>82</sup> Siehe L. Bloch, *RoschLex III*, 1897–1909, 514–515; H. Herter, RE XVII/2 (1931) 1552; J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 11–20; W. Speyer, E. Enß, RAC 26, 2015, 7, 11–14; über die ὀνείρου αἰτησις siehe K. Preisendanz, RE XVIII/1 (1939) 446–448.

<sup>83</sup> Tac. Ann. II 54; die Erklärung zu dieser Praxis bei M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten. Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Leipzig 1921, 83.

<sup>84</sup> Siehe Thes. G. I. II 22190–22191.

<sup>85</sup> Ein schönes Beispiel aus Homer (II 19, 1–2): Ἠὼς μὲν κροκοπέπλος ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ρόαων / ὤρνυθ' ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι φῶς φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖσιν.

<sup>86</sup> Thes. G. I. III 851: δαί = δή.

<sup>87</sup> Bei Homer λουτρά, ὦν, G. Autenrieth – A. Kaegi 203; Lfgre II 1991, 1709; für λουτρόν siehe St. Busch, *Versus balnearum* 29.



Füße einer Kranken geheilt haben; diese hat den Nymphen ihren Stock als Andenken zurückgelassen (νύμφαις δ' ἔλειπε βάκτρον)<sup>88</sup>.

Z. 21: „Nachdem/Weil sie ein Gelübde getan hatten, kamen sie nochmals um der Heilerin Geschenke zu bringen“. Unter πανακή ist hier wieder eine einzige Nymphe zu verstehen.

Z. 22: das Medium ἀγάλλομαι wird mit dem Dativus wie bei Homer, Hesiod und Herodot<sup>89</sup> verwendet: Λουτροῖσιν χρηστοῖσιν ἀγαλλόμενοι χαρι<σ>τήρια / δῶκαν – (Z. 22/23) „Hocherfreut über die nützlichen Bädern gaben sie Dankgeschenke“<sup>90</sup>. Aus den hellenistischen Epigrammen wissen wir, dass die Geschenke an die Nymphen hauptsächlich aus Milch, Öl, Früchten, Wein, Räucherwerk und Blumen bestehen<sup>91</sup>. Die Trauben wurden schon erwähnt.

Z. 23: κηπαία θύρα [φερ]όντες πότιμον ὕδωρ – „indem sie durch das Gartentor Trinkwasser brachten“. Reines Wasser war auf allen Stufen des Rituals oder der medizinischen Behandlung nötig zur Waschung, zum Opfer<sup>92</sup> und zum Trinken vor der *incubatio*<sup>93</sup>. Da das Thermalwasser von Germisara nicht trinkbar war, musste man Quellwasser von außen bringen. Warum hat man auf die κηπαία θύρα („Gartentor“) bestanden? Zahlreiche Gärten (κῆποι) sind aus der Literatur neben den Nymphenhöhlen gut bekannt<sup>94</sup>. Blumen und alte Bäume, zum Beispiel Pappeln (αἰγίποι<sup>95</sup>) fehlen daraus nie. Schon bei Homer besitzen die Nymphen und ihre nächste Umgebung ihre charakteristischen Züge<sup>96</sup>. Der Garten neben der Höhle der Nymphen in Ithaka besaß zwei Tore<sup>97</sup>: das nördliche (πρὸς βορέαο) konnte von Menschen betreten werden, das südliche (πρὸς νότου) nur von Göttern. Solche Tore spielten die Rolle der *ikonostasis* in der heutigen östlichen Kirche, nämlich den heiligen von dem weltlichen Bereich zu trennen. Auch die hellenistische sowie die spätere Literatur sind voll Beschreibungen solcher Nymphengärten und bei Pollux, der unter den späten Antoninen tätig war, finden wir sogar die κηπαία θύρα<sup>98</sup>. Die Lesung ist also sicher.

Die Z. 24–26 beziehen sich auf Artemis und auf den Abzug der Nymphenverehrer:

(24) Ἄρτεμι δέ πη κυναγέτει καρπήσια δῶρα

(25) [μι]κρὸ[v] εὐξάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τάς τε ἐορτάς

(26) σήραγγ[ι] θυσίας καὶ ἐπανῆλθαν ὁ[δ]ὸν αὐτῶν.

Als Dativ von Artemis ist hier Ἄρτεμι statt Ἀρτέμιδι verwendet, wie zum Beispiel in einer Inschrift aus Apulum<sup>99</sup>. Πη ist hier enklitisch und δέ πη<sup>100</sup> wurde benutzt, um

<sup>88</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6, 203, 5–11.

<sup>89</sup> G. Autenrieth – A. Kaegi 2.

<sup>90</sup> Χαριστήρια (δῶρα) statt χαρίεντα (δῶρα); für χαριστήρια siehe Thes. G. I. IX 1343–1344.

<sup>91</sup> J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 193, 230.

<sup>92</sup> Aus Varro (bei *Schol. Dan. eclog.* 7, 21) wissen wir, dass den Nymphen *aqua et lacte* geopfert wurde; siehe H. Herter, *RE* XVII/2 (1931) 1556.

<sup>93</sup> Siehe J. Pley, *RE* IX/2 (1916) 1261; A. Buonopane, M. F. Petracchia, in *Cura, preghiera e benessere*, 217–218. Laut Varro (Plin., *NH* 31, 12), wurden denjenigen, die aus einem gewissen Fluß aus Kilikien Wasser tranken, die Gefühle feiner (*sensus subtiliores fieri*).

<sup>94</sup> Siehe J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 27–28.

<sup>95</sup> Siehe, zum Beispiel, Hom., *Od.* 9, 140–141; 17, 208; siehe J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 26–27, 75.

<sup>96</sup> J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 20–21, 122–123.

<sup>97</sup> Hom., *Od.* 13, 109–112; siehe J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 24–25.

<sup>98</sup> Pollux, 1, 76, 9, 13.

<sup>99</sup> *AE* 1983, 807 = *IDR* III/5, 51.

<sup>100</sup> Siehe G. Autenrieth – A. Kaegi, 268.

den zweiten Fuß zu bilden; δέ sollte aber lang sein<sup>101</sup>. Das Femininum κυναγέτις ist dorisch, statt κυνηγέτις. In diesem Vers sollte aber die Silbe να lang sein. Καρπήσιος, α, ον könnte ein noch unbelegtes Adjektiv zu καρπός sein. Von Früchtengaben für die Nymphen war oben die Rede. Möglich, aber nicht wahrscheinlich, könnte auch eine zweite Deutung sein. Καρπήσιον ist ein aus Asien stammendes Gewürzholz<sup>102</sup>. Der erste Teil des Satzes (Z. 24/25) ließe sich folgendermaßen übersetzen: „Artemis aber, der Jägerin, (brachten sie dar) Geschenke von Obst“.

Τάς τε έορτάς und θυσίας werden vom selben ἀπέδωκαν regiert. Anfang der Z. 26 treffen wir das seltene Wort σήραγξ, αγγος<sup>103</sup> = *antrum*, *specus*. Damit wird endlich auch das *antrum* oder *specus Nympharum*, die Höhle der Nymphen, erwähnt<sup>104</sup>. Der Dativus σήραγγι wird hier mit νη und nicht mit γη geschrieben. „Nachdem sie lange Zeit gebetet hatten, hielten sie in der Höhle Festfeiern und Opfer ab und traten ihren Rückweg an“. Es ist bekannt, dass nach einem Orakelspruch ein zweites Opfer notwendig war<sup>105</sup>. Die für die Nymphen üblichen Opfer waren eine Ziege oder ein Schaf<sup>106</sup>. Die Geschenke wurden in der Höhle deponiert. Dort werden sich auch die oben besprochenen Goldplättchen befunden haben<sup>107</sup>.

Bisher hat sich C. Sentius Iustinus damit begnügt, das gesamte Vorgehen im Nymphaeum von außen zu betrachten. Jetzt, in den Z. 27–30, erscheint er selber auf die Bühne, allerdings in der dritten Person:

(27) Εἰ οὖς τείνεις, Βριττανεικῶν

(28) ἡγήτωρ τόνδε ἀνέθηκεν

(29) Ὑπνον λαμπροτάτου ἐπὶ Καν-

(30) δίδου ἀρχῆς.

„Wenn Du (O, Nymphe) das Ohr dahin richtest, hat der Befehlshaber der Britannen diesen Hypnos unter der Regierung (der Statthalterschaft) des Candidus aufgestellt“. Gebet und Musik, das sollte die Nymphe, die irgendwo in der Höhle oder in der Quelle gut versteckt war, hören. Ἠγήτωρ (Befehlshaber) ist wieder ein von Homer bevorzugtes Wort<sup>108</sup>. Das Demonstrativpronomen τόνδε zeigt, dass die Statue des Schlafgottes am selben Ort wie die Stele gestellt war – eher daneben als darauf. Es ist nicht mehr notwendig, auf die Rolle des Hypnos in der Inkubation hinzuweisen. Von Ovid wissen wir, dass Hypnos in einer Höhle lebte oder schlief<sup>109</sup>. Dann wird er in Germisara den passenden Ort gefunden haben.

<sup>101</sup> Schwierig könnte man hier δέπη lesen, denn δέπας hat den Dativ Singular δέπει und den Nominativ Plural δέπα; siehe G. Autenrieth – A. Kaegi 82; LfgrE II 249–251. Vorsicht ist aber geboten, denn den Nymphen schenkte man auch Trinkbecher; siehe W. Speyer, E. Enß, RAC 26, 2015, 15.

<sup>102</sup> Thes. G. I. V 977. Das Adjektiv war bisher nicht bekannt. Vgl. Orph. Hymn. 51, 1: Νυμφῶν, θυμιάνα ἀρώματα – -.

<sup>103</sup> Thes. G. I. VII 197–198.

<sup>104</sup> Siehe die Beschreibung des Νυμφῶν ἄντρον bei Longus, *Daphnis et Chloe* 1, 4; dazu noch Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthom.* 6, 468–492 und Porphir., *De antro nymph.* 12.

<sup>105</sup> J. Pley, RE IX/2 (1916) 1262.

<sup>106</sup> Die gewöhnlichen Opfer waren eine Ziege oder ein Schaf, F. T. van Staten, *Hiera Kala*, 91–92; M. True et alii, *ThesCRA I*, Los Angeles 2004, 15–16, Nr. 97–98; J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 230.

<sup>107</sup> Nachdem man im Amphiaraiosorakel geheilt worden war, musste man in die Quelle Gold oder Silber werfen; siehe J. Pley, RE IX/2 (1916) 1262. Was eine solche Höhle enthalten konnte, geht aus der Inschrift des Pantalkes von Pharsalos (SEG 1923, I 247–248) hervor; siehe Larson, *Greek Nymphs*, 16–18, mit Anm. 48.

<sup>108</sup> LfgrE II 891–892.

<sup>109</sup> Ovid., *Met.* 11, 592–615.

Dieser Candidus ist mit L. Vespronius Candidus Sallustius Sabinianus zu identifizieren, der die drei Dakien ungefähr in den Jahren 183–185 verwaltete<sup>110</sup>. Er ist auch sonst nicht unbekannt. Laut *Historia Augusta* beteiligte er sich 193 als *vetus consularis* an der Delegation des Senates, die versuchte, die Soldaten des Septimius Severus von einem Einfall nach Norditalien abzuhalten. Dazu bemerkt noch der Epitomator über Vespronius Candidus: *vetus consularis, olim militibus invisus ob durum et sordidum imperium*<sup>111</sup>. Die Soldaten, die ihn hassten, konnten nur jene aus dem dakischen Heer gewesen sein, die Septimius Severus nach Italien begleiteten und sich zehn Jahre früher unter seinem Kommando befunden hatten. Dank den Z. 29–30 ist uns das Datum der Weihung von Germisara bekannt: die Jahre zwischen 183–185.

Sollten wir den C. Sentius Iustinus auch als den Autor des Gebetes sehen? Nicht unbedingt.

Versuchen wir jetzt das, was wir bisher ermitteln konnten, zusammenzufassen. Obwohl die Wurzeln des Nymphenkultus von Germisara, mitsamt den Quellen, lokalen Ursprungs sind<sup>112</sup>, werden wir im Gebet einzig und allein mit griechisch-römischen Traditionen konfrontiert. In Germisara treffen wir auf ein auch von anderen Militärstationen her bekanntes Naheverhältnis zwischen einer römischen Einheit und einem benachbarten wichtigen Heiligtum. Bemerkenswert ist, dass man in Germisara imstande war, lateinische und griechische Dichtungen für ein Publikum zu schreiben, das offensichtlich fähig war, bis zu einem gewissen Punkt die Feinheiten eines Hexameters zu verstehen. Ganz überraschend ist die Fülle von verschiedenartigen Elementen, die in diesem Gebet angesammelt sind. Man findet in ihm archaische lateinische Wörter, Ausdrücke und Verbindungen aus Homer und Hesiod, dorische Formen, aber auch zeitgenössische Phrasen, die nicht immer auf die glücklichste Weise zusammengeschmiedet sind. Soll der Centurio Iustinus all diese sprachliche Kompetenz in sich vereint haben? Soll er in seinem Kastell von Cigmău eine Fachbibliothek besessen haben, die ihm das Schmieden solcher Verse ermöglichte? Man sollte eher in eine andere Richtung suchen.

Obwohl der Text von Germisara bisher als Gebet angesehen war, ist es nicht einfach, ihn einer bestimmten Kategorie zuzuteilen. Ein Hymnus scheint er nicht zu sein, denn ein solcher hat einen allgemeinen Charakter. Darin sollte keine einzige Person eine hervorragende Rolle spielen, während unser Text stark personalisiert ist. Außerdem wird ein Hymnus von einem Chor gesungen<sup>113</sup>. Ein eigentliches Bittgebet ist es auch nicht<sup>114</sup>, denn Iustinus erscheint nicht als Bittsteller, obwohl er in der Zeile 16 das Verbum *precor* verwendet<sup>115</sup> und in den Zeilen 21 und 25 von den εὐξάμενοι die Rede ist. Dass auch er sich von den Nymphen Gesundheit erhoffte, ist selbstverständlich. Um ein *votum* geht es auch nicht<sup>116</sup>, denn die eigentlichen *annua vota* werden

<sup>110</sup> Siehe die Quellen und Literatur über ihn bei I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae. Die senatorischen Amtsträger*, Bonn 1993, 141–144.

<sup>111</sup> *HA, Vita Iuliani* 5, 5–6.

<sup>112</sup> Siehe auch F. Heichelheim, RE XVII/2 (1931) 1591: „Indessen gehört auch einheimischer Ursprung bei Nymphenverehrern in vielen lateinischen Provinzen nicht zu Seltenheiten“.

<sup>113</sup> Hor., *Carmen saec.* 1–8; siehe Fr. Hickson Hahn, in *Companion to Roman Religion*, 235–248.

<sup>114</sup> Für die Merkmale eines „petitionary prayer“ siehe Fr. V. Hickson, *Roman Prayer Language*, 4–11.

<sup>115</sup> Für *precor* und verwandte Ausdrücke siehe Fr. V. Hickson, *Roman Prayer Language*, 16.

<sup>116</sup> Für *votum* siehe ebenfalls Fr. V. Hickson, *Roman Prayer Language*, 91–105.

in den Zeilen 3–5 erwähnt. Es geht also vielleicht um eine Huldigung, die mit der Weihung einer Statue gepaart ist und Elemente eines Gebetes enthält.

Der vorliegende Text ist nicht das erste Gedicht, das wir aus Germisara kennen. Das Distichon des Bassus<sup>117</sup> weist viele Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Gedicht des Iustinus auf. Beinahe könnte man vermuten, dass daran derselbe Texturheber gearbeitet hat. Die Inschrift des M. Aurelius Theodotus<sup>118</sup> enthält ebenfalls vier Daktylen und einen Spondeus. Ist das ein Zufall? Eher ist es zu vermuten, dass bei solchen rituell-kultischen Vorgängen die Dichtung und die Musik eine wichtige Rolle spielten. Da die Nymphen mit den Grazien manche Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen, dürften in ihrem Kult eine betont künstlerische Vorgangsweise gefordert gewesen sein<sup>119</sup>. Die Einheit von Dichtung und Musik ist im Altertum als Axiom zu betrachten. Ob nur die Dichtung oder auch die Musik original sein musste, kann man nicht wissen. Leider sind wir über die Musik im Altertum, die das Niveau der Dichtung erreicht haben dürfte, sehr schlecht informiert<sup>120</sup>.

Dank der Heilquellen ist Germisara zu einem mondernen Kurort geworden. Damals wie auch heute zieht so ein Ort nicht nur Kranke, sondern auch allerlei Elemente an, die dort hofften, finanziellen Gewinn und ihr Glück zu machen. Darunter dürfte man Steinmetze und allerlei kleine Künstler, Verkäufer von den verschiedensten Gaben für die Nymphen, Bettler, Gauner und nicht zuletzt professionelle Dichter und Musiker zählen. Diese standen den heilsuchenden Kunden mit Alben zur Verfügung, die eine große Mannigfaltigkeit von Texten enthielten. Daraus bastelten sie für jedermanns Geschmack und Mittel mehr oder weniger gelungene Werke. Einige Elemente des Gebetes erlauben die Annahme, dass solche Alben auch bezeichnende Werke der klassischen und der hellenistischen Dichtkunst enthalten haben, die inzwischen verloren gegangen sind<sup>121</sup>. Das Verdienst des C. Sentius Iustinus ist nicht, dass er das Gebet selbst gedichtet hätte, sondern dass er auf die Idee gekommen ist, ihn auf dem Stein zu verewigen. Dafür hat er einen oder auch mehrere „Dichter“ gefunden, die aus Versatzstücken mehr oder weniger gut sakrale Poesie geschaffen haben.

Dieses Poem konfrontiert uns nicht nur mit einer persönlichen religiösen Handlung, sondern auch mit einem Zeitphänomen. Wenn in einem so unbedeutenden Nest wie Germisara die Ansprüche so hoch waren, dass man den dort verehrten Göttern gleichermaßen mit lateinischen und griechischen Versen aufwarten musste, kann man sich vorstellen, welche Ansprüche an die Dedikanten auf dem Kapitol oder an der *ara Augusti* von Sarmizegetusa gestellt waren. Man soll nicht vergessen, dass wir uns im 2. Jhdt. n. Chr. befinden, in einer Zeit der Renaissance der griechischen Kultur und der alten religiösen Traditionen. Die Weihung von Germisara macht deutlich, dass die Bewegung der sogenannten zweiten Sophistik weiter über die Städte hinaus sogar in den ländlichen Raum hineinwirkte.

<sup>117</sup> Ep. Anh. 1.

<sup>118</sup> Ep. Anh. 5.

<sup>119</sup> Für die Beziehung der Nymphen zu Musik und Dichtung siehe Fr. Fless, K. Moede, in *Companion to Roman Religion*, 252–262; W. Speyer, E. Enß, RAC 26, 2015, 13; siehe noch St. Busch, *Versus balnearum* 131–152.

<sup>120</sup> Siehe W. A. Johnson, BASP 37, 2000, 17–36, der ein Inventar der musikalischen Noten aus dem Altertum aufgestellt hat und neue Quellen aus Ägypten publizierte.

<sup>121</sup> Siehe eine Liste von verlorenen Werken über die Nymphen bei W. Speyer, E. Enß, RAC 26, 2015, 2–3.

Der Text:

- Sunt Getici fontes divina nympha creati,  
cui formonsus ager vicinus Germisarae est,  
cui miles Britannicus sollemnia annua ducit  
ex voto effereus solvitque vota priora  
5 temporis excessi et rusum suscipit ipse,  
cui cristatus apex procumbit vortice summo.  
Hinc undas miles(?) convenas videre solens,  
unde et pu[..... ae?]quor inde salutis  
excipiunt - - -  
10 virtus - - -  
- - - - -  
- - -que voverat portam  
- - - praepositus hunc tibi - - -  
- - - re cingeris vite comati  
15 - - -o nata dono circumdata uvis;  
te precor Odrysta donum terrena(?) recondas.  
Νῦμφαι Γερμισαράων ὑπνώδεις γὰρ ἀπέφυνα[v]·  
νῆμα τόσον προνοία θεοῦ Ἀσκληπίειε δῶρα  
ἃ κλήζουσιν βροτοὶ ἄνδρες θεραπείᾳ χρησάμενοι πε[ρ]  
20 ἐλθόντες κυλλοὶ ὀρθοποδοῦντες δαῖ ἱκανόν,  
εὐξάμενοι πάλιν ἦλθον πανακέη δῶρα φερόντες,  
λουτροῖσιν χρηστοῖσιν ἀγαλλόμενοι χαρι<σ>τήρια  
δῶκαν, κηπαία θύρα [φερ]όντες πότιμον ὕδωρ·  
Ἄρτεμι δέ πη κυναγέτει καρπήσια δῶρα  
25 [μι]κρὸ[v] εὐξάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τάς τε ἐορτάς  
σήρανγ[ι] θυσίας καὶ ἐπανῆλθαν ὁ[δ]ὸν ἑαυτῶν.  
Εἰ οὕς τείνεις, Βριττανεικῶν  
ἡγήτωρ τὸνδε ἀνέθηκεν  
Ὑπνον λαμπροτάτου ἐπὶ Καν-  
30 δίδου ἀρχῆς.  
*C(aius) Sentius Iustinus (centurio) l(e)g(ionis)  
V Mac(edonicae) agens per terr(itorium) Lucanum.**

## Epigraphischer Anhang

1. - CIL III 1395; CLE 864; IDR III/3, 239: *[Hanc ti]bi marmoreo caesam de monte d[icavi] / regina undarum Nympha decus nemoru[m] / vo]to damnasti perfecta quem prece Bassus / moenitae propter moenia Germisarae.*

2. - AE 1971, 386 bis; IDR III/3, 241: *Nymphis Aug(ustis) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Titi / Ael(ii) Hadr(iani) Anto[?]nini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriae) / M(arcus) Statius Pris(cus leg(atu)s Aug(usti) p[r(o) pr(aetore)] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*



3. – CIL III 7882; IDR III/3, 240: *Nymphis / M(arcus) Stati[u]s / Priscus / legatus /<sup>5</sup> Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
4. – CIL III 1397; IDR III/3, 242: *Nymphis salutife/ris sacrum / M(arcus) Lucilius Lucili/anus Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) pro /<sup>5</sup> salute sua et / L(ucii) Antisti(i) One/simi Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
5. – AE 1992, 1484; ILD 326: *Nymphi[s] sanctis / August(is) simul et / tibi sancta Deana / fontiq(ue) vestro / retulit sua vo/ta libens salu/ti ter refirmatus / aquis Germis(arensibus) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Theodo/tus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) / Comm(odo) [Fe]lice c(onsule) VI VIII Kal(endas) / Comm(odas)*.
6. – CIL III 1396; IDR III/3, 243: *Nymphis / sanctissimis / P(ublius) Aelius Marce/llinus signifer /<sup>5</sup> et quaestor n(umeri) Brit(annicianorum) / mortis periculo li-/ber(atus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Imp(eratore) Comm(odo) Aug(usto) / Felice V et Glabrione /<sup>10</sup> II co(n)s(ulibus)*.
7. – AE 1993, 1341; ILD 319<sup>122</sup>: *Nymphis / sanctissi/mis M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Mossianus /<sup>5</sup> opt(io) p(rimi) p(ili) leg(ionis) / XIII Gem(inae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.
8. – AE 1992, 1485; ILD 327: *Nym[phis] / sanc[tissimis] / C(aius) Siro[n(ius) - -] / IIIIviri[is] mu]/<sup>5</sup>nicipi(i) Aur(elii) A[pul(ensis)] / pro salute s[ua] / et suoru[m] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*.
9. – AE 1992, 1496; ILD 328: *Nymphis / sacr(um) / L(ucius) Livius Mar/cellus IIVI/ral(is) col(oniae) pro / fili(i)s ex vi/so l(ibens) m(erito)*.
10. – AE 1992, 1487; ILD 329: *Nymphis / T(itus) Fab(ius) Aquilei/sis / trib(unus) n(umeri) s(ingularium) B(ritannicianorum)*.
11. – AE 1992, 1481; ILD 323: *Nymp(his) / Baebius / Ingen(uus)*.
12. – AE 1992, 1482; ILD 324: *Nymph/is Lici(nia) / Cale*.
13. – AE 1992, 1483; ILD 325: *Nymf/is Dece/balus Lu/ci(i) posuit*.
14. – IDR III/3, 230: *Aesculapio / - - - - -*.
15. – IDR III/3, 231: *Numini / Aesculapio / et Hygiae / Aurelius /<sup>5</sup> Chrestus / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit) m(erito)*.
16. – AE 1944, 59; IDR III/3, 232: *Aesculapio / et Hygiae / sacrum / P(ublius) Furius /<sup>5</sup> Saturninus / leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*.
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<sup>122</sup> Die bisherige Lesung war in den Zeilen 4–6 falsch: *Nymphis / sanctissi/mis M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Mosianus /<sup>5</sup> opti(o) l(eg(ionis)) / XIII Gem(inae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

- Companion to Roman Religion*  
*Cura, preghiera e benessere*  
*Dacia Augusti provincia*  
 D. Dana,  
*Onomasticon Thracicum*  
 DELR  
 D. Detschew,  
*Sprachreste*  
 DLR  
*Graecia, Roma, Barbaricum*  
 Fr. V. Hickson,  
*Roman Prayer Language*  
 A.-Fr. Jaccottet,  
*Choisir Dionysos*  
 J. Larson,  
*Greek Nymphs*  
 LfgrE  
*Limes IX*  
 I. A. Oltean, *Dacia*  
*Orbis antiquus*  
 C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia*  
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## FRAGMENT EINES MILITÄRDIPLOMS AUS DER ZEIT NEROS VIELLEICHT AUS DEM JAHR 59 (?)

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

**Abstract:** A fragmentary Roman military diploma dated in the first part to the year 59 is published here. It is one of the earliest diplomas known so far, copied after an imperial constitution issued by Nero in that year.

**Keywords:** Roman military diploma; Nero; *civitas Romana*; C. Fonteius Capito.

**Rezumat:** Este publicat un fragment de diplomă militară romană, care ar putea data din prima parte a anului 59. Este una dintre cele mai timpurii diplome militare cunoscute până acum, copiată după o constituție imperial emisă de Nero în acel an.

**Cuvinte cheie:** diplomă militară romană; Nero; *civitas Romana*; C. Fonteius Capito.

Die erste bekannte kaiserliche Bürgerrechtskonstitution, die durch ein Militärdiplom bezeugt ist, stammt aus dem Jahr 52 n.Chr., also noch aus der Zeit des Claudius. Doch bis zum Jahr 68, als unter Galba für die Soldaten der legio I Adiutrix offensichtlich sehr zahlreiche Diplome ausgegeben wurden<sup>1</sup>, und bis zum Beginn der Regierung Vespasians sind nur sehr wenige weitere Dokumente dieser Art bezeugt. Sie stammen:

aus einem Jahr vor 54: CIL XVI 2,  
aus dem Jahr 54: CIL XVI 3,  
aus dem Jahr 61: CIL XVI 4 und RMD III 202,  
aus dem Jahr 64: CIL XVI 5,  
aus dem Jahr 65: RMD II 79, sowie  
aus einem unbekannten Jahr zwischen 54 und 68: CIL XVI 6.

Das lässt darauf schließen, dass die Ausgabe von Diplomen auf Bronze damals wohl noch relativ selten war und vielleicht unregelmäßig erfolgte, weshalb auch nur so wenige Exemplare überliefert sind.

Umso interessanter sind weitere Zeugnisse aus dieser frühen Zeit. Eines kann hier vorgelegt werden, das freilich nur in einer sehr fragmentarischen Form erhalten blieb.

Es handelt sich um ein Fragment aus tabella II, das in zwei anpassende Teile zerbrochen ist und auf dem nur relativ wenig Text steht. Auf der Außenseite ist links ein kleiner Teil des markanten Rahmens, am rechten Rand auch ein Streifen deutlich zu sehen, auf dem einst die Siegel angebracht waren, die mit einer Metallkappe geschützt wurden. Die Schrift ist auf beiden Seiten sehr klar und deutlich eingegraben.

Maße: Höhe 4,2 cm, Breite 10 cm, Dicke 1 mm, Schrift innen 6, außen 6 mm. Gewicht: 28 Gramm.

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<sup>1</sup> CIL XVI 7–9 und RMD III 136.



Abb. 1.



Abb. 2.

Folgender Text ist lesbar:

*Außenseite:*

C IVLI  
C LICINI

*Innenseite:*

[---]  
AVT SIQVI CAELIBES E[SSENT CVM IIS QVAS]  
POSTEA DVXISSENT D[VMTAXAT SINGVLIS]  
SINGVLAS A D I[--- ]  
[--- FONTEIO [--- COS]  
[---]

Das Fragment weist mit einigen äußeren Merkmalen auf die Frühzeit der Ausgabe von Diplomen hin. Das zeigt zum einen der markante Rahmen, ferner die sehr klare Schrift, vor allem die auf der Innenseite. Damals war es offensichtlich noch



für die Produzenten der Diplome klar, dass die Innenseite die rechtlich relevante darstellte, weshalb sie auch gut lesbar sein musste. Entsprechend wurde die schriftliche Form auf der Innenseite gestaltet. Später änderte sich das deutlich. Zu prüfen ist, ob andere Hinweise diese Vermutung stützen können.

Von der Konsulatsangabe ist ein kleiner Teil zu lesen. Die Lesung TEIO ist sicher; hinzukommt noch vor dem T am oberen Rand ein Rest eines Buchstabens, der von einem I oder einem N stammen kann. Unter den bekannten Konsuln findet sich diese Buchstabenfolge nur bei den Namen Ateius, Fonteius und Insteius<sup>2</sup>. Doch der als Suffektkonsul bekannte C. Ateius Capito amtierte, als noch keine Diplome ausgegeben wurden; ein M. Insteius Bithynicus bekleidete das Amt im Jahr 162, also in einer Zeit, die für diese Art von Diplom viel zu spät ist. Dagegen findet sich der Name Fonteius mehrmals innerhalb des Zeitraums, in den das Diplom gehören könnte<sup>3</sup>. Wir kennen folgende Senatoren:

- M. Fonteius Agrippa, *suffectus* im Mai/Juni 58,
- C. Fonteius Capito, *ordinarius* von Januar bis Juni 59, und einen (Fonteius) Capito, *ordinarius* in den ersten Monaten 67<sup>4</sup>.

Alle drei Konsuln amtierten also unter Nero, in einer Zeit, in die das Diplom nach den äußeren Kriterien bestens passt. Ein zwingendes Argument, welcher dieser drei Senatoren in dem Diplom genannt war, gibt es nicht. Ein gewisses Gewicht aber hat wohl die Beobachtung, dass Fonteius in diesem Diplom an zweiter Stelle genannt ist; denn in dieser frühen Zeit werden in den Diplomen normalerweise Tag, Monat und Konsuln des Publikationsdatums kontinuierlich hintereinander geschrieben; das muss auch hier der Fall gewesen sein, da nach *a(nte d(iem) I[-])* noch genügend Platz vorhanden ist, dass dort der Name des *consul prior* stand, der vielleicht erst am Anfang der folgenden Zeile endete, wo in der Lücke vor *[C. Fo]* noch Platz für rund sieben Buchstaben vorhanden ist. Wenn diese Annahme zutrifft, dann kommt am ehesten der *ordinarius* des Jahres 59 in Betracht. Denn er erscheint in einer Reihe von Dokumenten an zweiter Stelle nach seinem Kollegen C. Vipstanus Apronianus, so jedenfalls in AE 1968, 35; 2002, 342; Fonteius ist hier also wohl als *consul posterior* genannt, was freilich kein absolutes Argument ist, da die Reihenfolge auch wechseln kann, selbst in so offiziellen Dokumenten wie den Diplomen. Auch Fonteius Agrippa, *suffectus* 58, sollte wohl an zweiter Stelle genannt worden sein, weil er neben einem *ordinarius* amtierte. Dagegen steht der (Fonteius) Capito als *ordinarius* des Jahres 67 im einzigen Dokument, in dem er erscheint, an erster Stelle<sup>5</sup>. Man kann die Konstitution damit zwar vielleicht dem Jahr 59 zuweisen, doch bleibt das unsicher. Sicher ist aber, dass wir bisher aus keinem dieser drei Jahre eine Bürgerrechtskonstitution bezeugt haben. Damit ist klar, dass das Fragment eine neue Konstitution bezeugt, und sicher unter Nero. Damit sind für ihn insgesamt fünf Konstitutionen bekannt.

Weiteres lässt sich dem Text nicht entnehmen, auch nicht ob die Konstitution für die Flotte oder für Auxiliartruppen bestimmt war, obgleich eine Bestimmung für

<sup>2</sup> Siehe die Stichwortliste der PIR: <http://pir.bbaw.de/stichwortliste/stichwortliste-suchmaske>.

<sup>3</sup> Abgesehen wird hier von dem Fonteius Capito, der zusammen mit Germanicus Konsul im Jahr 12 n.Chr. Konsul war, PIR<sup>2</sup> F 470.

<sup>4</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> F 466; 467; 471.

<sup>5</sup> CIL X 5405 = InscrItal XIII 1, 15.



die letzteren wahrscheinlich ist. Lediglich für Prätorianer kann sie nicht bestimmt gewesen sein.

Auf der Außenseite stehen die Gentilnomina zweier Zeugen: eines C. Iulius und eines C. Licinius. Während zahlreiche Gaii Iulii aus der Zeit bis 73/74 als Zeugen bekannt sind, fehlt unter ihnen bisher ein C. Licinius<sup>6</sup>.

Der Text des Diploms lässt sich damit in folgender Form rekonstruieren:

*[Nero Claudius divi Claudii f(ilius) Germanici Caesaris n(epos) Ti(beri) Caesaris Au(gusti) pron(epos) divi Aug(usti) abn(epos) Caesar Aug(ustus) German(icus) pont(i-fex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) V? imp(erator) --- co(n)s(ul) III?*

*equitib(us) et peditib(us)? qui milit(ant) in alis? --- et coh(ortibus)? --- quae appell-  
lantur --- et sunt in --- sub ---, qui quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerant, quorum  
nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium  
cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data] aut, si qui caelibes e[ssent,  
cum iis quas] postea duxissent, d[umtaxat singuli] singulas a(nte) d(iem) I[---C(aio)  
Vipstano Aproniano(?), C(aio) Fo]nteio [Capitone co(n)s(ulibus)] etc.*

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<sup>6</sup> Siehe RMD V, p. 936.

## NEUE *DIPLOMATA MILITARIA* AUS DER ZEIT VON HADRIAN UND ANTONINUS PIUS

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

**Abstract:** Three fragmentary Roman military diplomas, one from the time of Hadrian, the two others from the time of Antoninus Pius, are published in this paper. The first diploma was copied after an imperial constitution issued for a single unit, the *cohors I Lepidiana c. R.*, stationed in Moesia inferior or in Asia. The second diploma belonged to a veteran of an unknown unit, also stationed in Moesia inferior. The third diploma belongs to an imperial constitution issued by Antoninus Pius for the auxiliary units of Noricum in the year 157.

**Keywords:** Roman military diplomas; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius; Moesia inferior; Asia; Noricum; *civitas Romana*.

**Rezumat:** În acest articol sunt publicate trei fragmente de diplome militare romane, două din timpul împăratului Hadrian și una din timpul împăratului Antoninus Pius. Prima diplomă a fost copiată după o constituție imperială acordată unei singure trupe, *cohors I Lepidiana c. R.*, care a staționat în Moesia inferior sau în Asia. A doua diplomă a aparținut unui veteran al unei trupe necunoscute din aceeași provincie, Moesia inferior. A trei diplomă a fost copiată după o constituție imperială acordată de Antoninus Pius trupelor auxiliare din provincial Noricum în anul 157.

**Cuvinte cheie:** diplome militare romane; Hadrian; Antoninus Pius; Moesia inferior; Asia; Noricum; *civitas Romana*.

### 1. Eine Konstitution für eine einzige Kohorte aus der Provinz Moesia inferior oder Asia unter Hadrian

Kleines Fragment aus der linken oberen Ecke einer tabella I (Abb. 1-2), die mit einer zweifachen flach eingravierten Linie umrahmt ist. Der Rand ist oben und links erhalten. Die Buchstaben vor allem der Außenseite sind sehr sauber eingraviert worden.

Maße: Höhe 3,6 cm, Breite 3,2 cm, Dicke 0,5 mm; Buchstabenhöhe innen 5 mm, außen 4 mm; Gewicht 2,77 Gramm.



Abb. 1-2.

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

*Außenseite tabella I* (Abb. 1):

IMP CAESAR [DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI FIL DIVI]  
 NERVAE N[EPOS TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG]  
 PONT MAX [TRIB POTES --- COS III? --?]  
 PEDITIB ET E[QVITIB QVI MILITAVER IN COH I]  
 LEPIDIAN[A C R QVAE EST IN ---]

*Innenseite* (Abb. 2):

IMP CAE[SAR DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI FIL DIVI]  
 NERVA[E NEPOS TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG]  
 PON M[AX TRIB POTES --- COS III? --?]

Das Diplom geht auf eine Konstitution zurück, die von Hadrian ausgestellt wurde. Eine nähere Eingrenzung der Zeit scheint nicht möglich; da Hadrian aber bereits im Jahr 119 seinen dritten Konsulat bekleidete, darf man mit erheblicher Wahrscheinlichkeit *cos. III* ergänzen. Ob in der Titulatur danach noch etwas stand, etwa *p(ater) p(atriae)* oder *proco(n)s(ul)* muss offen bleiben.

Der Text beginnt nach der Kaisertitulatur mit *peditib(us) et e[quitib(us)]* wonach sich sogleich *qui militaver(unt)* angeschlossen haben muss. Dann aber bleibt, wenn man nicht beim gesamten Text nach *equitib(us)* mit extremer Abkürzung rechnen will – worauf auch nichts hindeutet – nur noch so wenig Platz, dass im verlorenen Teil von Zeile 4 nach *in coh.* auf keinen Fall noch die sonst übliche Aussage *qui appellan-tur* gestanden haben kann. Das aber wäre nötig, wenn im Diplomtext nach der *cohors I Lepidiana* noch weitere Einheiten genannt gewesen wären. Somit muss mit der *cohors I Lepidiana c. R.* die einzige Einheit gemeint sein, die in dem Diplom überhaupt genannt ist, weshalb der sonstige Hinweis auf die Benennung der Einheiten hier überflüssig war.

Die Zahl der kaiserlichen Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen, die nur für eine einzige Auxiliareinheit erlassen wurden, ist nicht groß. Bisher kennen wir folgende Fälle:

Provinz	Datum	Einheit	Beleg
Macedonia	120	<i>ped(itibus), qui mil(itaverunt) in coh(orte) I Fl(avia) Bessor(um)</i>	CIL XVI 67
Dacia superior	121	<i>iis, qui militant in ala Ulpia contariorum mil(liaria)</i>	AE 2008, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752; AE 2010, 1858
Cilicia	121	<i>peditib(us) et equitib(us), qui militaverunt in cohort(e) IIII Gallor(um)</i>	RGZM 19
Dacia superior	123	<i>equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui militaver(unt) in coh(orte) II Flavia Commagenor(um) et peditib(us) Britann(icianis)</i>	RGZM 22
Mauretania Caesariensis	128	<i>pe[ditibus], qui militaveru[nt i]n coh(orte) I Fl(avia) Mus(ulamiorum)</i>	AE 2005, 1724

Provinz	Datum	Einheit	Beleg
Lycia-Pamphylia	138	<i>pedit(ibus) et equit(ibus), qui [milit(averunt) in coh(orte) I] Musulam(iorum)]</i>	RMD III 161
Moesia inferior oder Asia (siehe unten)	Hadrian	<i>peditib(us) et e[quitib(us), qui militaver- unt in coh(orte) I] Lepidian[a c(ivium) R(omanorum)]</i>	das neue Diplom
Pannonia superior	140	<i>[pedit(ibus) et equi]t(ibus), qui milit(averunt) in coh(orte) I Ulpia [Pannonior(um) (milliaria)]</i>	AE 2005, 1718
Asia	148	<i>pedit(ibus), q(ui) m(ilitaverunt) in coh(orte) I Raet(orum)</i>	RMD II 100
?	Pius	<i>[peditibus qui militaverunt in coh(orte) -]rum</i>	AE 2012, 1954
Lycia-Pamphylia	162	<i>[equitibus et peditib]us, qui militaverunt [in cohorte prim]a Flavia Numidarum</i>	RMD I 67 = AE 2010, 1457
Lycia-Pamphylia	165/166	<i>[ped]itibus et equi[tibus, qui mili]taverunt in coh[orte I Flav(ia) Numida]rum</i>	RMD V 438
Lycia-Pamphylia	178	<i>peditibu(s) et equitibu(s), qui militaverunt in cohorte I Flavia Numidar(um)</i>	CIL XVI 128

Die meisten Konstitutionen, die nur für eine einzige Kohorte ausgestellt wurden, waren, wie die Liste zeigt, für Provinzen bestimmt, in denen auch nur eine einzige Auxiliareinheit stationiert war. Das gilt für Macedonia, Cilicia, Asia und Lycia-Pamphylia; für diese letzte Provinz sind sogar drei Diplome dieser Art bekannt, was angesichts der statistischen Wahrscheinlichkeit des Überlebens von Diplomen sehr beachtlich ist. Denn notwendigerweise können von Konstitutionen, die nur für die beschränkte Zahl von entlassenen Soldaten, zudem aus einer einzigen Einheit, ausgegeben wurden, nur wenige Exemplare die lange Zeit überdauert haben. Neben diesen Provinzen mit nur einer Einheit sind mit Dacia superior, Mauretania Caesariensis und Pannonia superior allerdings auch Provinzen vertreten, in denen sehr viele *auxilia* stationiert waren. Auch dort konnte es geschehen, dass aus einem speziellen Grund eine Konstitution nur für eine einzige ausgestellt wurde.

Bei dieser Sachlage überrascht das neue Diplom nicht weiter; allerdings stellt sich hier das Problem, in welcher Provinz die *I Lepidiana* zum Zeitpunkt der Ausstellung der Konstitution gestanden hat. Unter Hadrian ist sie wie schon unter Traian in Moesia inferior nachweisbar<sup>1</sup>, wo sie in den Diplomen nur bis zum Jahr 127 erscheint, allerdings in fünf verschiedenen Konstitutionen. In den nach 127 bekannten drei Konstitutionen Hadrians für diese Provinz wird sie allerdings nicht mehr angeführt<sup>2</sup>. So wurde auch schon vermutet, sie könnte nach 127 für einige Jahre in die Provinz Asia versetzt worden sein<sup>3</sup>, wo ein *optio* dieser Einheit in Smyrna von seiner Frau bestattet wurde<sup>4</sup>. In Asia war normalerweise nur eine einzige Einheit stationiert, was, wenn man den Befund der oben präsentierten Liste berücksichtigt, durchaus

<sup>1</sup> Siehe F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia inferior*, Bukarest, 2010, 218. Wir danken Florian Matei-Popescu, dass er uns auf die Möglichkeit, Asia als Provinz in Betracht zu ziehen, hingewiesen hat.

<sup>2</sup> CIL XVI 78, 83; AE 2008, 1723; AE 2010, 1852; ZPE 198, 2016, 218.

<sup>3</sup> Matei-Popescu (Anm. 1).

<sup>4</sup> CIL III 12251 = ILS 2590.

dafür sprechen könnte, dass in das hier fragmentarisch überlieferte Diplom man eben diese Provinz einsetzen könnte. Da freilich keine genauere Datierung erreicht werden kann, muss man es offen lassen, in welcher Provinz die Einheit zum Zeitpunkt des Erlasses der Konstitution gestanden hat: in Asia oder in Moesia inferior. Warum es, wenn diese Konstitution für Moesia inferior bestimmt war, zu einem Erlass allein für diese Kohorte gekommen wäre, lässt sich wie in den Fällen von Pannonia superior, Mauretania Caesariensis und Dacia superior nicht sagen. Gleiches gilt für die Konstitution, die für nur zwei Soldaten in Cappadocia, die allerdings zwei verschiedenen Einheiten angehörten, erlassen wurde<sup>5</sup>. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist die Möglichkeit, dass bei einer Bürgerrechtsverleihung für alle oder die meisten der Auxiliareinheiten die Soldaten einer Einheit vergessen worden waren (was in der Provinz, aber genauso in Rom geschehen konnte), was dann nachgeholt wurde. Falls Asia die Provinz gewesen war, braucht man nicht weiter nach einem speziellen Grund zu fragen.

Da nur wenig von dem Text erhalten ist, lässt sich nur Folgendes rekonstruieren:

*Imp(erator) Caesar [divi Traiani Parthici fil(ius) divi] Nervae n[epos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) [trib(unicia) potest(ate) --, consul III?--?] peditib(us) et e[quitib(us), qui militaver(unt) in coh(orte) I] Lepidian[a c(ivium) R(omanorum), quae est in Moesia inferiore?/Asia? sub ---] etc.*

## 2. Eine Konstitution des Antoninus Pius für die Truppen von Moesia inferior

Fragment aus der Mitte der linken Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 3–4). Links ist der Rand erhalten, wo auch zu sehen ist, dass die Tafel von einer nicht sehr tief eingegrabenen Doppellinie eingerahmt war. Eines der Bindungslöcher ist noch erhalten.

Maße: Höhe 4 cm, Breite 3,1 cm, Dicke 0,75 mm; Buchstabenhöhe außen 4 mm, innen 4 mm; Gewicht 8 Gramm.



Abb. 3.

<sup>5</sup> W. Eck – A. Pangerl, *Eine Bürgerrechtskonstitution für zwei Veteranen des kappadokischen Heeres. Zur Häufigkeit von Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen für Auxiliarsoldaten*, ZPE 150, 2004, 233–241.





Das Diplom stammt aus der Zeit des Pius, nicht vor 142, da bereits auf die 2. imperatorische Akklamation verwiesen wird. Eine weitergehende Eingrenzung der Zeit ist noch dadurch gegeben, weil am Beginn der Privilegierungsformel vor den Namen der Einheiten nur die Zahl der Alen angeführt sein kann: *in al(is) V*, während die Zahl der Kohorten erst nach den Namen der Alen eingefügt wurde. Diese Veränderung in der Formel ist erst ab dem Ende des Jahres 153 bezeugt. Damit kann diese Konstitution nicht vor diesem Zeitpunkt ausgegeben worden sein.

Die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, wurde für die Provinz Moesia inferior ausgestellt. Das ergibt sich aus der Nennung der *ala I Gallorum Aetorigiana*, die mindestens seit domitianischer Zeit in dieser Provinz stationiert war<sup>6</sup>. Da diese Einheit identifiziert ist, lässt sich zumindest in der folgenden Zeile die *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* erschließen, die ebenfalls zu den Alen in Niedermösien gehörte. In zahlreichen Diplomen aus der Zeit des Pius sind in Moesia inferior fünf Alen bezeugt; außer den beiden genannten sind dies noch die *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, die wohl vor der *I Flavia Gaetulorum* gestanden hat, und die *I Gallorum et Pannoniorum* sowie die *II Hispanorum Aravacorum*, von denen die eine fast immer als erste genannt ist, während die andere an letzter Stelle der berittenen Einheiten erscheinen müsste<sup>7</sup>. Allerdings kennen wir trotz der nunmehr sehr zahlreichen Diplome für Moesia inferior aus den letzten Jahren des Pius von 153/154 bis 161 nur ein einziges, bei dem die Reihenfolge der Alen fast sicher ist: RMD I 50. Dort lautet die Reihenfolge:

*[q]ui militaver(unt) in al(is) V / [quae appel(lantur) I Ga]ll(or)um et Pann(oniorum) et I Gall(or)um Ate/[ctor(igiana) et II Hispan(or)um] Arvac(or)um et I Vespasia(na) Dar(danorum) / [et I Fl(avia) Gaet(ulorum)]*<sup>8</sup>.

Die Einheiten sind hier also anders angeordnet als in dem neuen Diplom; damit können beide Diplome jedenfalls nicht auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückgehen. Auch mit den anderen Diplomen aus dem Zeitraum lässt sich keine Korrelation herstellen. Doch ob durch das Diplom eine neue Konstitution für Moesia inferior bezeugt ist, muss offen bleiben.

Die Teilrekonstruktion des Textes ergibt Folgendes:

Außenseite:

*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traiani Parthic(i) nep(os) divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(i)fex max(imus), tribun(icia) potest(ate) --, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriciae) equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui militaver(unt) in al(is) V, quae appel(lantur) I Gall(or)um et Pann(oniorum) et I Gall(or)um Aetorigiana) et I Vespasia(na) Dar(danorum) et I Fl(avia) Gaet(ulorum) et II Hispan(or)um Arvac(or)um et coh(ortibus) XI --- et sunt in Moesia) infer(iore) sub --- leg(ato) quinq(ue) et vigint(i) stip(endii)] dimiss(is) hon[esta missione,*

<sup>6</sup> O. Tentea – F. Matei-Popescu, AMN 39–40, 2002–2003, 268.

<sup>7</sup> Siehe z.B. AE 2007, 1236.

<sup>8</sup> Die fünfte Einheit, die *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*, wurde in RMD I 50 nicht rekonstruiert. Es muss sich jedoch in Analogie zu Diplomen aus der Zeit vor 153–154 um diese Einheit gehandelt haben.

quorum no]min(a) subscr[ipta sunt, civitatem Roma]nam, qui eoru[m non haber(ent) dedit et co]nub(ium) cum uxo[rib(us), quas tunc habuissent, cum est civit[as is data aut cum is, quas poste]a duxi[ssent dumtaxat singulis] etc.

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadr]jiani f(ilius) di[vi Traiani Parthici nep(os) divi Nervae] pronep(os) T(itus) A[elius Hadrianus Antoninus] Aug(ustus) Pius p[ont(i-fex) max(imus), tribun(icia) potestat(e) --, imp(erator)] II, co(n)[s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriciae)

equ(itibus) et ped(itibus), qui mi]lit(averunt) in al(is) V, [quae app(ellantur) I Gall(orum) et Pannon(iorum) et I G]all(orum) Atecto[rigiana et I Vespasiana Darda]no(rum) et I Fl(avia) G[aietulo(rum) et II Hispan(orum) Arvac(orum) et coh(ortibus) X]I I [Bracar(orum) --- et sunt in Moes(ia) infer(iore) sub --- leg(ato) --] etc.

### 3. Eine Konstitution des Antoninus Pius für Noricum aus dem Jahr 157

Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte der tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 5–6). Der Rand ist nur oben erhalten, wo auch noch eine relativ breite, aber sehr einfache Doppellinie als Rahmen erkennbar ist. Die Oberfläche ist an manchen Stellen etwas zerstört, ohne dass aber die Lesung wesentlich beeinträchtigt würde. Sehr charakteristisch ausgeprägt ist das lange ausgezogene Schwänzchen des Q.

Maße: Höhe 6,2 cm, Breite 4,0 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe innen 4–5 mm, außen 3–4 mm; Gewicht 20,32 Gramm.



Abb. 5.



Abb. 6.

Folgendes ist zu lesen<sup>9</sup>:

*Außenseite tabella I* (Abb. 5):

[IMP CAES D]IVI HADRIANI F D[IVI TRAI]  
 [ANI PARTH]IC NEP DIVI NERV[AE PRON T]  
 [AELIVS HAD]RIANVS ANTONIN [AVG PIVS]  
 [PONT MAX] TR POT XX IMP II CO[S IV P P]  
 [EQVIT ET PE]DIT QVI MILIT IN A[LIS TRIBVS]  
 [QVAE APP I] COMMAC ∞ SAG E[T I AVG THR]  
 [AC ET I PAN]NON TAMPAN ET [COH VI I AST]  
 [EQ ET V BRE]VCOR ET I<sup>10</sup> FLAV B[RITTON ET II]  
 [THRAC ET II] BATAV∞ VEX C R [ET I AELIA]  
 [BRITTON ET S]VNT IN NORICO S[VB --]  
 [-- PR]OC QVINQ ET VIG[INTI STIPEND]  
 [EMERITIS DI]MISS HONEST MI[SSION IN MAVR]  
 [TING QVOR N]OMIN SVBSCRIPT [SVNT CIVIT]  
 [-- ●] ● [---]

*Innenseite* (Abb. 6):

APP I COMM[AG]++++ ET I [AVG THRAC ET I PANN]  
 TMP ET C O H V I I A S T [ET V BREVC ET I FL BR] (!)  
 ET II THRAC ET II BAT ∞ V[EX C R ET I AEL BRITT]  
 ET SVNT IN NORICO S[VB ---]  
 PROC XXV STIP EM +++[--- QVOR NOM]  
 ●  
 SVBSCR SVNT CIV R[OM Q EOR NON HAB DEDIT]  
 [-]+[--]+++[---]++[-]+[---]

<sup>9</sup> Für die ausführliche Diskussion der Probleme der Lesung danken wir sehr Peter Weiß.

<sup>10</sup> Die Zahl ist offensichtlich nachträglich in ganz kleiner Form eingefügt worden.



Das Diplom geht auf eine Konstitution zurück, die Antoninus Pius während seiner 20. tribunizischen Gewalt erlassen hat, also zwischen dem 10. Dezember 156 und dem 9. Dezember 157. Präziser lässt sich das Datum nicht fassen, weil die genaue Zeitangabe mithilfe der Konsuln nicht erhalten ist. Der Erlass galt für die Hilfstruppen der Provinz Noricum, die damals noch von einem Präsidialprokurator geleitet wurde; sein Name ist allerdings verloren. Ob in der Lücke vielleicht der Name des Ulpius Victor stand, der etwa in diesen Jahren die Provinz leitete<sup>11</sup>, lässt sich nur vermuten, aber nicht sichern. Noch wahrscheinlicher könnte Usenius Secundus sein, der jedenfalls im Jahr 158 als *procurator provinciae Norici* tätig war<sup>12</sup>.

Die Konstitution wurde für Veteranen von drei Alen und sechs Kohorten ausgestellt. Die drei Alen lassen sich aus dem erhaltenen Text ermitteln, in Kombination mit AE 2012, 1080, einem Diplom, das um 158 ausgegeben worden sein muss: *in alis III [quae appell(antur) I Commagenor(um)] (milliaria) sag(ittaria) et Aug(usta) [Thrac(um) et I Pannonior(um)] Tampian(a)*. Von den Kohorten sind die *I Asturum*, die *V Breucorum*, die *Flavia Brittonum*, die *II Thracum* und die *II Batavorum* aus dem erhaltenen Teil des Diploms zu entnehmen. Die 6. und letzte Kohorte müsste wohl die *I Aelia Brittonum* sein, die ebenfalls in AE 2012, 1080 erscheint.

Diese Konstitution des Jahres 157 wurde zu einer Zeit ausgestellt, als kurz vorher Einheiten aus den beiden Pannoniae, aus Moesia inferior und aus Noricum in Mauretania Caesariensis und anschließend zumindest zum Teil auch in der Tingitana eingesetzt waren. Aus Noricum waren das eben die drei Alen, die auch in diesem Diplom erscheinen: *[item I Co]mmag(enorum) (milliaria) sag(ittaria) et I Aug(usta) Thrac[um et I Pann]on(iorum) Tampian(a), quae sunt in / [Norico]*<sup>13</sup>. Dieser Bezug ist vielleicht deswegen von Bedeutung, weil sowohl in den Zeilen 12–13 der Außenseite als auch in Zeile 5 der Innenseite die Formelteile *stipendis emeritis dimissis honesta missione* und *quorum nomina* nicht direkt aufeinander folgen können, vielmehr stand zwischen diesen beiden Formelteilen noch eine weitere Aussage. Dieses Phänomen hat man bisher nur in den Fällen, dass Truppen einer Provinz in einer anderen eingesetzt waren und während der Zeit des Einsatzes Soldaten in den Veteranenstatus versetzt wurden. Dies kennt man gerade aus Diplomen, die Auxiliareinheiten, fast ausschließlich Alen, erwähnen, die in den Jahren zwischen ca. 149 und 156 zunächst in der Mauretania Caesariensis, dann auch in der Tingitana eingesetzt waren. Die Formel, die dabei – in der Langform meist auf der Außenseite – erscheint, lautet z.B.

in RGZM 32: *dimis(sis) ho/[nest(a) missione(e) per Va]rium Clem/[entem pro]c(uratorem), cum ess(ent) in exp[edit(ione) M]aur(etaniae) Cae]/sar(iensis), quor(um) nomin(a) subscripta sunt*, oder

in AE 2006, 1213<sup>14</sup>: *dimissis hon[esta missione per Fla]/vium Flavianum [proc(uratorem) Mauretan(iae) Tingitan(ae)], /cum essent in exp[editio]ne Mauretaniae Tin]/gitan(ae), quorum no[mina subscripta sunt...]*.

<sup>11</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> V 868.

<sup>12</sup> Siehe CIL III 5166 aus dem Jahr 158; sein Name muss allerdings nach AE 2012, 1080 zu Usenius Secundus verbessert werden (so dann auch in PIR<sup>2</sup> V 1016, wo noch Us(i)enus erscheint).

<sup>13</sup> RGZM 32. Dazu W. Eck – A. Pangerl, *Eine Konstitution aus dem Jahr 152(?) für niedermösische und britannische Truppen, abgeordnet nach Mauretania Tingitana, mit einer Appendix von Paul Holder*, ZPE 199, 2016, 187 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Zur genaueren Ergänzung siehe P. Holder in der in Anm. 13 genannten Arbeit.



Ein so langer Einschub ist in den Lücken außen und innen nicht unterzubringen. Auf der Außenseite fehlen etwa 12 Buchstaben:

[EMERIT DI]MISS HONEST MI[SSION ---]  
[--- QVOR N]OMIN SVBSCRIPT [SVNT CIVIT].

Auf der Innenseite sind es ca. 10 fehlende Zeichen:

PROC XXV STIP EM +++[--- QVOR NOM]  
SVBSCR SVNT CIV R[OM Q EOR NON HABER].

In der Lücke hat wohl auf beiden Seiten ein Hinweis gestanden, dass die Außerdienststellung der Soldaten anderswo stattgefunden hat, ohne dass dort aber noch angegeben sein kann, wer diese durchgeführt hat, wie das in den eben zitierten Beispielen der Fall ist. Geht man also davon aus, dass die Außerdienststellung in Mauretania Tingitana erfolgt war, wo wahrscheinlich die drei Alen (oder Teile von ihnen) zuletzt eingesetzt gewesen waren, dann bietet sich an, in der Lücke zu ergänzen: *in Maur. Ting.* Dies passt jedenfalls für die Außenseite perfekt. Auf der Innenseite ergibt sich allerdings ein Problem. Denn am Ende von Zeile 5 stehen Zeichen, die nicht klar lesbar sind. Erwarten müsste man dort nach STIP EM noch DIM HON MISS. Ob man freilich die beiden vorletzten Zeichen als ein halbes D, das mit einem I verbunden ist, ansehen kann, worauf ein M folgte, ist unklar. Dann hätte man die normale Abfolge *stipendis emeritis dimissis honesta missione* (natürlich stark abgekürzt). Dann allerdings müsste man annehmen, dass in der nachfolgenden Lücke außer dem postulierten IN MAVR TING auch noch QVORVM NOMINA gefolgt ist. All das würde nur in maximaler Verkürzung dort Platz finden<sup>15</sup>. Deshalb scheint es wahrscheinlicher, dass der Hinweis auf die Entlassung dort vergessen wurde, und die letzten Zeichen der Zeile 5 doch eher als IN M zu lesen und die letzte Passage so zu ergänzen: *in M[aur(etania) Ting(itana) quor(um) nom(ina)]*, womit die Zeile analog zu den vorausgehenden gefüllt wäre.

Wie auch immer die Innenseite zu ergänzen ist, auf der Außenseite passt ein Hinweis auf die Entlassung in einer anderen Provinz, eben in Mauretania Tingitana, vom Umfang und von der allein bezeugten Sache her perfekt in die Lücke.

Treffen diese Überlegungen zu, dann wäre damit eine neue Formel wahrscheinlich gemacht. Zu hoffen ist, dass ein vollständiges Diplom die hier rekonstruierte Situation klären kann.

Damit ergibt sich folgende Rekonstruktion:

Außenseite:

*[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) d]ivi Hadriani f(ilius) d[ivi Traiani Parth]ic(i) nep(os)  
divi Nerv[ae pronepos T(itus) Aelius Had]rianus Antonin(us) [Aug(ustus) Pius  
pont(ifex) max(imus),] tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XX, imp(erator) II, co(n)[s(ul) IV,  
p(ater) p(atriae)  
equit(ibus) et pe[dit(ibus), qui milit(averunt) in a]lis tribus, quae app(ellantur) (I)*

<sup>15</sup> Vielleicht in der Form DIM [H M IN MAVR TI QV NOM].

*I] Commag(enorum) (milliaria) sag(ittariorum) e[st (2) I Aug(usta) Thrac(um) et (3) I Pan]non(iorum) Tampian(a) et [coh(ortibus VI (1) I Ast(urum) eq(uitata) et (2) V Bre]ucor(um) et (3) I Flav(ia) B[ritton(um) et (4) II Thrac(um) et (5) II] Batav(orum) (milliaria) vex(illatio) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [et I Aelia Britton(um) et s]unt in Norico s[ub Usenio Secundo? pr]oc(uratore) quinq(ue) et vig[inti stipend(iis) emerit(is) di]miss(is) honest(a) mi[ssion(e) in Maur(etania) Ting(itana)?, quor(um) n]omin(a) subscript(a) [sunt, civitatem Romanam, qui ---] etc.*

Innenseite:

*[--- quae] app(ellantur) (1) I Comm[ag(enorum)]+++ et (2) I [Aug(usta) Thrac(um) et (3) I Pann(oniorum)] T(a)mp(ian(a) et coh(ortibus VI (1) I Ast(urum) [et (2) V Breuc(orum) et (3) I Fl(avia) Br(ittonum)] et (4) II Thrac(um) et (5) II Bat(avorum) (milliaria) v[ex(illatio) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (6) I Ael(ia) Britt(onum)] et sunt in Norico s[ub Usenio Secundo?] proc(uratore) XXV stip(en-diis) em(eritis) in M[aur(etania) Ting(itana)?, q(uorum) nom(in)a] subscr(ipta) sunt, civ(itatem) R[om(anam), q(ui) eor(um) non hab(erent), dedit---] etc.*

oder für die letzten Zeilen:

*stip(endiis) em(eritis) dim(issis) [h(onesta) m(issione) in Maur(etania) Ting(itana)?, q(uorum) nom(in)a] subscr(ipta) sunt, civ(itatem) R[om(anam), q(ui) eor(um) non hab(erent), dedit---] etc.*

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## *(DII) MAIORES* IN TEURNIA? ANMERKUNGEN ZU LUPA-8483

MANFRED HAINZMANN

**Abstract:** For the votive formula of an inscription on an altar found in Teurnia one hundred years ago a third reading solution is being proposed. It is about a dedication to *Dii Maiores*, whose plural form makes its first appearance on Norican inscriptions. The consequences of the new reading are highly significant for the discovery spot and for other aspects.

**Keywords:** Teurnia; dedicatory inscription; *Dii Maiores*; healing deities.

**Rezumat:** Pentru formula votivă a unei inscripții de pe altarul descoperit la Teurnia cu o sută de ani în urmă este propusă o a treia soluție de lectură. Avem de-a face cu o dedicație către *Dii Maiores*, acest plural nefiind până acum cunoscut în Noricum. Consecințele noii lecturi pentru locul de descoperire și pentru alte aspecte sunt foarte semnificative.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Teurnia; dedicație; *Dii Maiores*; divinități tămăduitoare.

Bereits im Jahre 1916 veröffentlichte Rudolf Egger den als Spolie in der spätantiken Friedhofsmauer von Teurnia eingemauerten marmornen Weihealtar, auf dessen Schaft er eine Widmung an *ATVNI* zu erkennen glaubte<sup>1</sup>. Peter Scherrer misstraute als Erster diesem Befund und korrigierte das Votivformular zu *MARTT*<sup>2</sup>. Diese Lesart aufgreifend ließ Franz Glaser<sup>3</sup> die nur zu zwei Drittel der Originalgröße erhaltene Ara gemeinsam mit anderen Göttersteinen fortan im Ausstellungsraum des Rötermuseums Teurnia unter Weihungen für MARS aufstellen, wo sie der Besucher noch heute vorfindet. Im Zuge der Erhebung der örtlichen Steindenkmäler für die Datenbank *ubi-erat-lupa*<sup>4</sup> stellte schließlich Ortolf Harl ein gut ausgeleuchtetes Foto ins Netz, mit dessen Hilfe Friederike Harl letztendlich zu einer verbesserten dritten Lesart gefunden hat, die neben dem Votivformular in Ansätzen auch einen Stifternamen enthält:

*Maiorib(us) / [T]urboni / [-----] / [-----] / [-----]*

Dieser Text ist bislang nur unter der Lupa 8483 einzusehen. Da es sich um den ersten Beleg für die *Dii Maiores* auf norischem Boden handelt, möchte ich hier die Gelegenheit ergreifen, einigen Fragen dieser Weihinschrift nachzugehen.

Zunächst einige Bemerkungen zum stark abgewitterten und lückenhaften Buchstabenbestand:

<sup>1</sup> Egger 1916, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Scherrer 1984, 286, Nr. 16 (hier noch unter dem Lemma „Atunis?“) und Scherrer 1986, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Glaser 1992, 49-50, Nr. 8.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/>.



Abb. 1. Votivara aus Teurnia (© Lupa 8483).

[Dis (vel) Dibus] (?)  
 Maiorib(us)  
 [T]urboni-  
 [u]s +4?+  
 [et?] Tur[boni]-  
 [us (vel) a ---]  
 -----

vv. 1–3: Fr. Harl hat hier den Text zweifellos korrekt wiedergegeben bzw. restituiert. Da mit Sicherheit von einem zweigliedrigen Stifterformular (Gentil- plus Beiname) ausgegangen werden darf, ist in Zeile 3 noch die Endsilbe *-us* hinzuzufügen, zumal sich in der Inschrift aus Grödig<sup>5</sup> die gleiche Silbentrennung für *Turboni/us* findet wie in unserem Zeugnis.

vv. 3–5: Ab der dritten Zeile sind die Buchstabenreste nur mehr schemenhaft auszumachen. Eine vollständige Restitution des Textes scheint hier kaum mehr möglich, obwohl man versucht wäre, hinter den Gravuren in Zeile 4 einen zweiten Stifter namens [T]ur[boni-] zu erkennen.

Der Vergleich mit den sieben übrigen epigraphischen Evidenzen für *Dii Maiores* (s. unten Tabelle 2 und die Verbreitungskarte) lässt Zweifel darüber aufkeimen, ob das Votivformular unseres Weihesteines nur aus dem erhaltenen Qualifikativ *Maiorib(us)* bestanden, nicht aber auch ein Gottheitsdeterminativ – *dis* vel *dibus* – aufgewiesen haben soll. Gerade weil hier eine Variante mit dem Qualifikativ *sanctis* als auch mit einem abschließenden *sacrum* auszuschließen ist, scheint mir diese Kurzversion eher unwahrscheinlich. Deshalb möchte ich eine Ergänzung des Gottheitsdeterminativs direkt über dem Altarschaft vorschlagen, wo auf der Vorderseite des verhältnismäßig breiten Abakus große Teile weggebrochen sind. Dabei kann auf eine Reihe von Beispielen für eine solche Positionierung von Teilen des Votivformulars auf dem Oberteil einer Ara verwiesen werden<sup>6</sup>.

### Der/ Die Stifter

Dass wir es hier mit einem gentilen Stifternamen mit Endung auf *-ius* und mit einem zweigliedrigen Namenformular zu tun haben, das legen schon die acht norischen Namenbelege für *Turbonii* nahe<sup>7</sup>, die sich auf drei Municipalterritorien (Tabelle 2, Spalte 3) verteilen.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe unten ILLPRON 1058.

<sup>6</sup> Aus dem norischen Inschriftenfundus beispielsweise ILLPRON 0379 und ILLPRON 1255.

<sup>7</sup> Kakoschke 2012, 197 (GN-437).



Tabelle 1: Turbonii in Noricum

I.1	T(itus) Turbonius Blastus $\infty$	(ager Solvensis) – Löffelbach	ILLPRON 1285
I.2	Turbonia Fusca		
I.3	> T(itus) Turbonius Callistus		
II.4	[..] [T]urboni[us] Fuscinus	(ager Iuvavensis) – Grödig	ILLPRON 1058
III.5	Turbonia Nigrina	(Flavia Solva) – Seggauberg	ILLPRON 1356
IV.6	M(arcus) T[urbonius?] (---?)		
IV.7	$\infty$	(Flavia Solva) – Seggauberg	ILLPRON 1411
IV.8	Turbonia Suadra > Turbonius Successus		
		Neuer Beleg	
V.9	[T]urboni[u]s [---]	(Teurnia)	Lupa 8483

Erwähnenswert ist, dass auch *Turbonius Fuscinus* (Nr. II.4) in seiner Eigenschaft als Beneficiarius der 2. Italischen Legion eine Weihinschrift hinterlassen hat, mit Widmung an *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* sowie alle übrigen Götter und Göttinnen. Dank der Konsulangabe steht auch das Jahr ihrer Aufstellung – 202 n. Chr. – fest.

ILLPRON 1058, Grödig, Iuvavum (Noricum):

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [et] D(iis) D(eabusque) o(mnibus) / [- T]urboni- / [us] Fuscinus / [b(ene)f(iciarius)] co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) / [II It(alicae)] p(iae) f(ide-  
lis) pro se / [et suis] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / [dom]inis nn(ostris) / [Severo]  
III et / [Antoni]no / [co(n)]s(ulibus).

Solange das Namenformular der Teurnienser Götterweihe nicht zur Gänze entziffert ist, muss offen bleiben, ob es sich hier um die Stiftung einer weiteren gleichnamigen Person oder um ein Mitglied der oben in Tabelle 1 genannten Familien handelt. In beiden Fällen erhöht sich die Anzahl der Gesamtevidenzen für das römische Gentiliz auf nunmehr neun Personen. Woraus Kakoschke die Erkenntnis gewinnt, es handle sich bei dem genannten Personenkreis (Nr. I.1-IV.8) um Einheimische, bleibt mir aufgrund der fehlenden Begriffsdefinition verborgen<sup>8</sup>. Fest steht, dass nur das Cognomen *Suadra* eindeutig als keltischsprachig<sup>9</sup> gilt.

### Wen umschreiben die *Dii Maiores*?

Mit den lediglich durch zwei lateinische Determinative – Gottheitsdeterminativ plus Qualifikativ – umschriebenen ‘Götternamen’ verbanden die jeweiligen Stifter, darüber besteht kein Zweifel, konkrete Göttergestalten des mediterranen – also griechisch-römischen – Pantheons. Selbiges dürfte auch auf die *Dii Magni, Boni* u.a. kollektive Attribute aus vergleichbaren lateinischen Götterformularen zutreffen, für die Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel den Terminus „theonymische Stellvertreter“ geprägt

<sup>8</sup> Kakoschke 2012, 197 im Kommentar: „In allen Fällen sicher Einheimische (aus Noricum bzw. dem Raum *Flavia Solva*)“.

<sup>9</sup> Delamarre 2007, 172.

hat<sup>10</sup>. Da wir den *Dii Maiores* an anderer Stelle eine umfassende Untersuchung<sup>11</sup> widmen, sei hier lediglich eine Übersicht über die bislang vorliegenden Votivformulare (Tabelle 2) für die solcherart ‚anonymen‘ Gottheiten gegeben sowie auf einen Aufsatz von Géza Alföldy aus dem Jahre 1997 verwiesen, in welchem er das zur Diskussion stehende Götterkollektiv einerseits mit den „römischen Hauptgöttern“ gleichsetzt und zudem postuliert, dass die *Dii Magni* nicht mit den *Dii Maiores* identisch seien<sup>12</sup>.

Dass ihm die Identifizierung mit den dahinter stehenden konkreten Gottheiten nicht gelang, ist allein auf die Tatsache zurückzuführen, dass die dakische Weihinschrift aus Sarmizegetusa (Nr. 1) noch unediert war. Eben dort finden sich mit *Domnus* und *Domna* (!) genau jene beiden Attribute, die zum einen auf ein zweigeschlechtliches Götterpaar hindeuten und zum anderen eine Benennung der *Dii Maiores* mit ΑΣΚΛΕΠΙΟΣ / *Asclepius*, *Aesculapius* und der ΥΓΙΕΙΑ / *Hygia*, *Salus* erlauben (Abb. 2)<sup>13</sup>. Das nachstehende Verzeichnis der bisher bekannten epigraphischen Zeugnisse für *Dii Maiores* umfasst acht Monumentalinschriften. Die Votivformulare für *Domnus* und *Domna* allein (vgl. Anm. 13) sind hier nicht berücksichtigt!

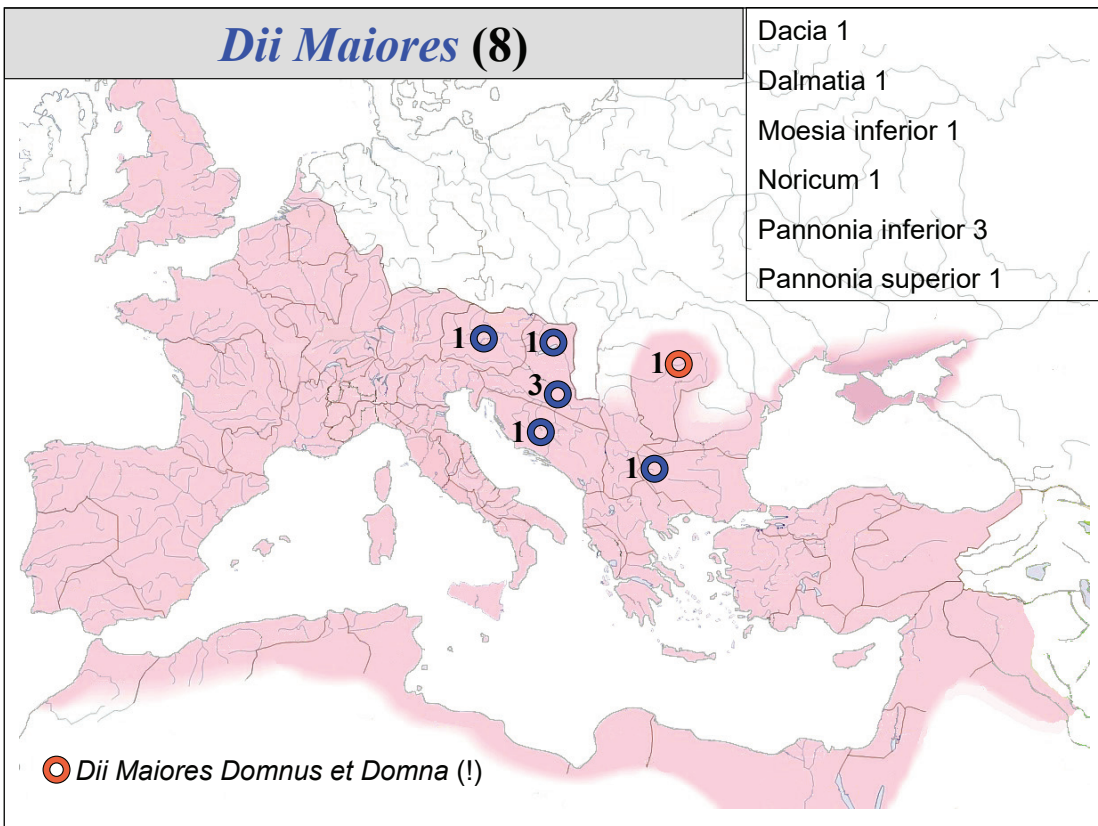


Abb. 2. Verbreitungskarte *Dii Maiores*.

<sup>10</sup> CFNor, Teil 1, Kap. 1 mit Anm. 6., mit einem weiteren Beispiel in Teil 1, Kap. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Hainzmann, ms.

<sup>12</sup> Alföldy 1997, 229.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. die stadtrömische Weihung CIL VI 17 an *Aesculapio et Ygiae Dominis*! Aus Gorsium (Tac) kennen wir eine Widmung an *Dom(n)o Domn(a)e*, die wir wohl gleichfalls mit den nämlichen Heilgottheiten in Verbindung setzen dürfen (RIU VI 1523b = EDCS-17800037).

1. AE 2010, 1383 = EDCS-59500075 (Sarmizegetusa / Burgort / Várhely – Dacia):  
*Dis Maiorib(us) / Domno et / Domnae / C(aius) Post(umius) Pansa ((centurio)) / leg(ionis) III Italic(ae) v(otum) s(olvit)*.

2. CIL III 14983 = Zović, Kurilić 2015, 130 = EDCS-32700559 (Ivosevci / Burnum – Dalmatia):  
*Maioribus / sa(crum vel -nctis?) v(otum) / s(olvit) i(bens) (!) m(erito)*.

3. ISM I 298 = AE 1984, 797 = EDCS-11800328 (Histria / Istros – Moesia inf.)<sup>14</sup>:  
*Maioribus / sanctis Sul(picianus) / Timocrati / ex voto po(suit) pro se et / suos (!)*.

4. Lupa 8483 (St. Peter im Holz / Teurnia – Noricum):  
*[Dis vel Dibus] (?) / Maiorib(us) / [T]urboni/[u]s +4?+ / [et?] Tur[boni]/[us (vel) a --] / -----*.

5. CIL III 3468 = TitAq I 209 = EDCS-28600358 (Budapest / Aquincum – Pannonia inf.):  
*Maioribus / sanctis L(ucius) Nae(vius) Campanus / kast(rensis) (!) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) / pro salute sua et / suorum v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

6. ILJug I 279 = EDCS-10000350 (Novi Banovci / Burgenae – Pannonia inf.):  
*Di[b]us / Maioribus / sacrum / Aur(elius) Valen(tinus) pro se / et s(uis) mo(nitus) somn(io) / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*.

7. CIL III 3292 = CIL III 10274 = ILS 4011 = EDCS-28600275 (Popovac / Baan / Antiana – Pannonia inf.):  
*Sacrum / Dis Magnis / Maioribus et / Sanctissimae / Sanctitati / v(oto) l(ibens) p(osuit) M(arcus) F(---) F(---)*.

8. CIL III 3939 (p. 1740) = ILS 4013 = AIJ 503 = EDCS-26600417 (Topusko / Ad Fines – Pannonia sup.):  
*Dibus / Maioribus / Aurelius / Secundinus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

**Tabelle 2:** Votivformulare für *Dii Maiores*

<i>Dibus</i>	<i>Maioribus</i>	8
<i>Dis</i>	<i>Maiorib(us) Domno et Domnae (!)</i>	1
<i>sacrum Dis Magnis</i>	<i>Maioribus et sanctissimae Sanctitati</i>	7
<i>Di[b]us</i>	<i>Maioribus sacrum</i>	6
<i>[Dis (vel) Dibus] (?)</i>	<i>Maiorib(us)</i>	4
	<i>Maioribus sa(crum/nctis?)</i>	3
	<i>Maioribus sanctis</i>	2
	<i>Maioribus sanctis</i>	5

<sup>14</sup> Für eine Assoziation mit den *Dii Manes* bzw. *Dii parentes* – so die Deutung von Pippidi 1977, 108–109, Nr. 10; ISM I 298 – besteht meines Erachtens kein Grund.

Im Übrigen halten auch die norischen Weihinschriften für die großen griechischen Heilgottheiten einige Zeugnisse bereit – drei aus dem Virunenser und eines aus dem Iuvavenser Stadtterritorium:

1. ILLPRON 624 = CIL III 7472 = Lupa 4998 (Toeltschach / Virunum):

*[Aesculapio (vel) Apollini] et Hyg[iae] / [---]nia Nici[---] / [---]ia Troph[ime] (!) /*

-----.

2. ILLPRON 1126 = CIL III 11758 (p. 2199) = Lupa 6592 (Grödig / Iuvavum):

*Asclepio / Aug(usto) / Q(uintus) Sabinius / Onesimus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

3. ILLPRON 467 = Lupa 9018 (Sankt Peter am Wallersberg / Virunum):

*Asclepio (!) / Auc(usto) (!) sac(rum) / Vol(usius?) Ursus / vot(um) sol(vit) m(erito).*

4. ILLPRON 436 = Lupa 5749 (Sankt Georgen am Weinberg / Virunum):

*Aesculapio / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / C(aius) Mar(ius) / Lucanius / Priscus dec(urio) et / Iivir iur(e) dic(undo) Cl(audio) Vir(un)o / et Cominia Q(uinti) f(ilia) / Celsinio cum Lucaniis / Maximiano Avet(o) / Spectato et Prisco / filis (!) ex voto posuer(unt) / l(aeti) l(ibentes) m(erito).*

In der erstgenannten, bruchstückhaften Inschrift(tafel) aus Virunum fehlt leider der Name des Parhedros der *Hygia*. Angesichts der vielen Parallelen würde man meinen, es käme dafür ohnehin nur *Aesculapius* in Betracht. Doch gilt es hier auf zwei Widmungen aus dem oberpannonischen Brigetio hinzuweisen, in welcher zum ersten und einzigen Mal *Apollo* als ihr Partner bezeugt ist:

CIL III 3649 = RIU II 377 = EDCS-26600569 (Komarom / Komorn / Brigetio – Pannonia sup.):

*Apollini et Hygiae / Q(uintus) Ulp(ius) Felix Aug(ustalis) m(unicipii) / Brig(etionis) porticum / a portis II ad fon/tem Salutis a / solo inpendis (!) / suis fecit et / ad epulas privileg(io) colleg(ii) centon(ariorum) / haberi iussit praef(ecto) Iul(io) Sabino / q(uinnale) Pr(a)esente et Extric(ato) co(n)s(ulibus) Noni(s) No(vembribus).*

RIU III 773 = AE 1944, 110 = EDCS-09900151 (Esztergom / Solva – Pannonia sup.):

*[Apollini et H]yg[iae] san[ctis] / [simis] Q(uintus) Ulp(ius) [Felix] / [Aug(ustalis) mun(icipii) B]reg(etionis) temp[lum] / [impensiss]uis fecit [Imp(eratoribus)] / [Aur(elio) Anto]nino Aug(usto) II et Sept(imio) [.*

Selbst wenn wir es bei der Virunenser Inschrifttafel mit einer Götterweihung aus Teurnia zu tun hätten, müsste man *Apollo* in die engere Wahl ziehen, wird er doch dort von dem Stifterehepaar *Lollius Trophimus* und *Lollia Probata* über eine identificatio Graeco-Romana vel indigena<sup>15</sup> mit dem keltischen Heilgott *Grannos*

<sup>15</sup> De Bernardo Stempel 2008 und 2014 sowie Hainzmann 2012 mit mehreren Beispielen für dieses Modell der sog. *interpretatio Romana*. Vgl. ferner De Albentis Hienz, De Bernardo Stempel 2013, 99–100.

geglichen<sup>16</sup>. Was aber gerade Teurnia als eine Art norisches Kurzentrum erscheinen lässt, sind die beiden hierorts entdeckten und aus Kleinasien importierten Oinophoren, eine davon mit den Reliefdarstellungen des *Asklepios* und der *Hygieia* (Abb. 3)<sup>17</sup>. Diese seltenen und wertvollen Kultgefäße<sup>18</sup> scheinen mir ein untrügliches Indiz dafür, dass auch der/die hiesigen *cultor/es Deorum Maiorum* besagten Heilern ihre Reverenz erwiesen. Grundlage für die örtliche Verehrung der genannten Heilgottheiten bildeten zweifellos die örtlichen Quellen, deren Wasser gewiss schon in vorrömischer Zeit mit besonderen Heilkräften in Verbindung gebracht wurde.



Abb. 3. Oinophoros aus Teurnia (©Archiv: Landesmuseum Kärnten).

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<sup>16</sup> CFNor 91 = AE 1978, 595: [Nav]alem / [Gra]no (!) Apollini / Lol(lius) Trophi[m]us et Loll[ia] Pro- / b[at]a / ex voto f[eceru]nt // N[avalem] / Grano (!) A[pollini] / Lo[l]li[us] Troph[im]us [et Lo]ll[ia] Pro- / bata / [ex] voto f[ecerunt]. Hainzmann, im Druck, mit ausführlichem Kommentar zur keltisch-römischen Gottheit.

<sup>17</sup> Glaser 1978, 70; Glaser 1992, 65–66. Für den Hinweis auf diesen bedeutsamen Fund bin ich Frau Gostenčnik zu Dank verpflichtet.

<sup>18</sup> Für Teurnia kommt ein funerärer Fundkontext mit Sicherheit nicht in Betracht. Die Tatsache, dass Oinophoren (auch) als Grabbeigaben auftauchen, erlaubt es nicht, eine Verwendung solcher Gefäße im Götterkult kategorisch auszuschließen.



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## RELECTURE D'UNE INSCRIPTION GRECQUE CURSIVE SUR UN VASE TROUVÉ À BERZOVIA (SEG LVIII 736)

DAN DANA

**Abstract:** This notice concerns a Greek cursive inscription, incised on a vase found in the *canabae* of the fort at *Berzovia*, occupied during the reign of Trajan by the *legio IV Flavia Felix*. In 2008, the first editors read as the *cognomen* of the legionary soldier a very rare name, *Auxilius*. In reality, the rereading of the graffito reveals a banal onomastics of the soldier, whose name of Roman citizen was *Valerius Maximus*. It is however astonishing to find such kind of cursive script, normally present on papyri, on a ceramic support. It further testifies about the omnipresence of writing and epigraphic practices on perishable supports, especially in military milieu.

**Keywords:** epigraphy, graffito, Hellenophones, onomastics, Roman Dacia.

**Rezumat:** Această notiță privește o inscripție greacă cursivă, incizată pe un vas găsit în zona de *canabae* a castrului de la *Berzovia*, ocupat pe timpul domniei lui Traian de *legio IV Flavia Felix*. În 2008, primii editori au citit drept *cognomen* al legionarului un nume foarte rar, *Auxilius*. În realitate, recitirea acestui graffito ne face să cunoaștem onomastica banală a militarului, al cărui nume de cetățean roman era *Valerius Maximus*. Prezența acestui fel de scriere cursivă, de obicei întâlnită pe *papyri*, pe un suport ceramic, poate stârni mirare. El dovedește însă omniprezența scrisului și a practicilor epigrafice pe suporturi perisabile, cu precădere în mediul militar.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** Dacia romană; elenofoni; epigrafie; graffito; onomastică.

En 2006, des morceaux d'un vase en terre cuite orangée (imitation locale d'un bol de *terra sigillata*, sans doute Drag. 37)<sup>1</sup> ont été découverts de manière fortuite dans la région des *canabae*, à env. 500 m de la *porta praetoria* du camp légionnaire de Berzovia<sup>2</sup>. Deux de ces fragments, déjà brisés à l'époque antique, et qui ne sont pas jointifs, comportent un graffite en grec, qui avait été gravé avant cuisson (*ante cocturam*) sur l'anse du vase, dans la pâte molle; après cuisson, cette pâte est devenue très friable. Il convient d'insister dès l'entrée de jeu sur le caractère cursif de l'écriture, ce qui explique la nécessité de la relecture. Les deux éditeurs ont en effet donné la lecture suivante: +[---]πιος Αὐξίλιος. Cet anthroponyme fort rare, rencontré aussi bien comme gentilice et comme *cognomen* (OPEL I<sup>2</sup> 106), a été repris tel quel dans les instruments de référence (SEG, AE, ILD), étant même commenté par un excellent connaisseur de

<sup>1</sup> Ruscu, Flutur 2008, avec photo (Fig. 1) et dessin (Fig. 3); lecture reproduite dans AE 2008, 1169 et reprise dans SEG LVIII 736 et ILD II 875. Pour des renseignements sur la découverte du vase et d'autres photos, je suis extrêmement reconnaissant à Alexandru Flutur (Timișoara). Les négociations destinées à faire entrer cet objet dans les collections du Musée National du Banat de Timișoara n'ont malheureusement pas abouti, le vase étant à présent confisqué par la police. Dimensions du vase (incomplet): diam. pied 12 cm; diam. bouche 26 cm; ht. 13.2 cm.

<sup>2</sup> Jadis Jidovin, aujourd'hui rebaptisé Berzovia (dép. de Caraș-Severin). Sur la forme de ce toponyme dace, voir à présent Dana, Nemeti 2016, 68-77. Sur les fouilles récentes dans le camp légionnaire, voir Flutur 2006.

l'onomastique grecque et latine comme s'il s'agissait de la graphie grecque attendue du nom latin *Auxilius*<sup>3</sup>.

Ce nom n'a pourtant pas lieu d'être. Il se trouve que le ductus très cursif<sup>4</sup> du graffite (Fig. 1-3), du moins pour certaines lettres, a manifestement trompé les premiers éditeurs. À la place des successions *alpha ypsilon* et *lambda iota*, on reconnaît en effet la même lettre, à savoir un *my* cursif, tel qu'on le retrouve sur les papyrus d'époque impériale, avec le détail qu'au début du *cognomen* on reconnaît après *my* un petit *alpha* cursif. Certaines lettres, dont la hauteur oscille entre 0.5 et 0.8 cm, ont été gravées en plusieurs temps, précisément comme sur un papyrus: *alpha*, *my*, *xi*, *omikron* (et sans doute *bêta*, au début de la l. 2). Le *sigma* est, comme attendu, lunaire. On note aussi l'élégance du *xi*, beaucoup plus grand (2.5 cm), qui assure au *cognomen* une certaine symétrie.



Fig. 1. Photo du vase fragmentaire et du graffite (cliché Milan Șepețan).



Fig. 2. Photo d'un fragment du vase (fin du gentilice et *cognomen*) (cliché Milan Șepețan).

<sup>3</sup> Solin 2011, 145, prend cet exemple de Berzovia pour un gentilice employé en tant que *cognomen*.

<sup>4</sup> Au sujet de l'écriture (latine) cursive en Dacie romaine, voir Gudea, Cosma 1992 et Voloșciuc 2007. Pour un exemple récent de ductus cursif d'une marque de propriété en latin (lettres P, R, S et notamment D), sur un vase du camp auxiliaire d'*Arcobara/Ilișua* (Dacie Porolissensis), voir Dana, Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2012: *Prisci dupl(icarii)* (AE 2012, 1201 = ILD II 1021).

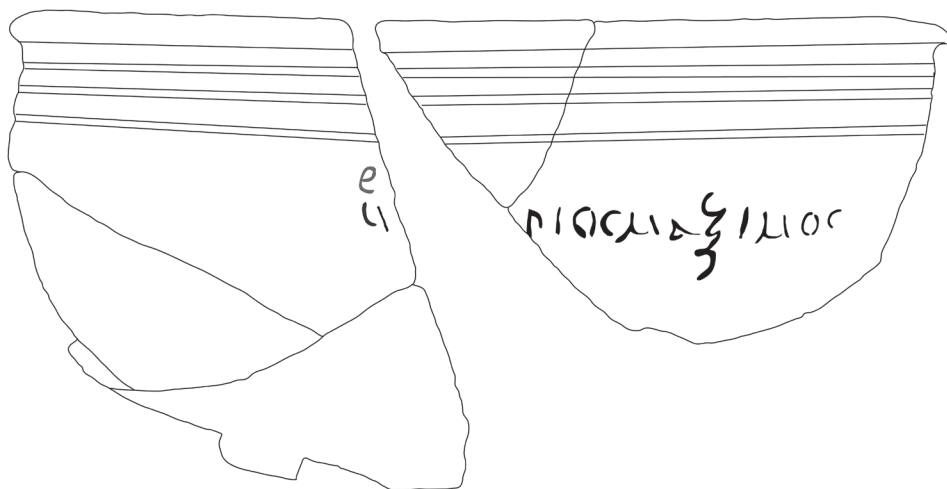


Fig. 3. Fac-similé du graffite (Dan Dana).

Sur la première ligne, on aperçoit peut-être le tracé d'une lettre, sans doute un *rhô* (ou un *thêta*?). À la ligne suivante, la première lettre, plutôt qu'un *omikron* maladroite, est un *bêta* cursif. Il convient donc de lire:

Β[---] (?)

Β[αλέ]ριος Μάξιμος.

La lecture Β[αλέ]ριος Μάξιμος de cette marque de propriété nous fait ainsi connaître un légionnaire hellénophone, en service dans la *legio IV Flavia Felix*. Il porte une onomastique banale, typique des militaires dont l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine était récent<sup>5</sup>: quoi de plus banal pour un militaire que *Valerius Maximus*<sup>6</sup>? Qui plus est, dans l'éventualité d'une attestation de la même personne dans une inscription latine, qui aurait pu deviner que sous ce nom fort banal de *Val. Maximus* se cache un hellénophone<sup>7</sup>?

Pour rester dans ce cadre, signalons un exercice d'écriture sur une brique d'Apulum (découverte dans le *praetorium* du gouverneur): il s'agit d'une liste bilingue (grec-latin) de noms, en écriture cursive, sur laquelle on retrouve la paire Μάξιμος/*Maximus* (IDR III/6, 312 = CIGD 28).

L'intérêt premier du graffite cursif fragmentaire de Berzovia est offert par son support, céramique, ainsi par la langue grecque utilisée dans le milieu militaire d'une province latinophone. Cela indique que le potier, également graveur du graffite, ainsi que le propriétaire du vase, étaient des hellénophones. On connaît en effet un certain nombre de vases ou tessons inscrits en grec en Dacie romaine, la plupart présents dans le corpus régional CIGD<sup>8</sup>; en voici les exemples les plus pertinents:

<sup>5</sup> Quelques exemples chez Dana 2011, 56-57. Le même gentilice *Valerius* était déjà envisagé par les premiers éditeurs (Ruscu, Flutur 2008, 108 n. 11).

<sup>6</sup> Le *praenomen* reste pourtant inconnu, car il n'était pas précisé. Voici quelques homonymes en Dacie romaine: *Val. Maximus*, héritier d'un soldat à Micia (CIL III 1381 = IDR III/3, 169); *C. Val. Maximus, pegmarius*, à Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (IDR III/2, 321); *Val. Maximus*, vétéran à Potaissa (ILD I 511).

<sup>7</sup> Pour les porteurs de *cognomina* latins attestés en graphie grecque en Dacie romaine, voir Ruscu, Flutur 2008, 109 et n. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Un fragment de vase avec une inscription grecque fragmentaire, du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C., découvert sur le

- à *Porolissum*, sur un pichet: ΠΥΡ+[---]<sup>9</sup>;
- à *Arcobara/Ilișua*, sur un vase découvert en 1875: [---]ετίων (plutôt que ΕΤΙΩΝ)<sup>10</sup>;
- à *Tibiscum*, sur le fragment d'un pot: [---]ΠΥΡ+<sup>11</sup>;
- à *Romula*, où les graffites grecs sur céramique sont assez nombreux<sup>12</sup>, un vase qui porte le nom iranien Γαδατης<sup>13</sup>;
- enfin, à Slăveni (dép. d'Olt), un nom inscrit en grec, [Μ]αρτεῖνος, peut-être propriétaire d'un atelier dans la région des fours de céramique, près des thermes du camp<sup>14</sup>.

Sur d'autres supports dans la catégorie *instrumentum*, citons, entre autres, deux exemples de Romula: un exercice d'écriture sur la guerre de Troie<sup>15</sup>; une copie sur tuile, en écriture cursive, du début d'une lettre (officielle?), traduite en grec, dans la seconde moitié du II<sup>e</sup> s.: Ἀρριος Ἀντωνῖνος | ὑπατικός Δακῶν | καὶ ὑπατικός Δαλματῶν | Ἐλουῖφ Περτένακι τῷ τιμ (ιωτάτω χαίρειν κτλ.)<sup>16</sup>.

Le vase inscrit de Berzovia constitue un témoignage précieux sur la présence d'hellénophones dans l'armée de la nouvelle province, que ce soit dans les troupes auxiliaires, ou bien, comme dans le cas présent, dans une légion<sup>17</sup>. La légion *IV Flavia Felix*, stationnée en Dacie sous le règne de Trajan, dans l'armée d'occupation de la nouvelle province, allait partir de nouveau à Singidunum après la disparition de l'*Optimus Princeps*<sup>18</sup>. On dispose de peu de données exactes sur ses sources de recrutement à cette époque<sup>19</sup>, mais l'exemple qui nous intéresse ici nous renseigne sur une recrue de l'Orient hellénophone. Cette recrue se cache certes sous une onomastique purement latine (Βαλέριος Μάξιμος/*Valerius Maximus*), mais dont la banalité suffit à trahir l'accès récent à la citoyenneté romaine, obligatoire pour un recrutement dans une légion. D'autres recrues vraisemblablement originaires de l'Orient grec sont connues dans cette légion grâce aux inscriptions de Singidunum: *T. Aur. Atticus* (IMS I 16), les *contirunculi Aur. Demetrius* et *Aur. Eumenes* (IMS I 28; les enfants du premier s'appellent *Aur. Diogenia* et *Aur. Diogenianus*), *Ae(lius) Dionysius* (IMS I 35), *M. Aur. Glyconianus* (AE 1997, 1303), *Aur. Papia* (IMS I 29), *C. Val. Valens* (IMS I 42; mentionné avec sa femme *Vale(ria) Elpis* et sa fille *Valeria Apphion*). Entre 205-211 fut érigée la dédicace à Jupiter Optimus Maximus des *Cilices*, définis comme [*co*]ntirones [*D*]ex<*t*>ro et *Prisco co(n)s(ulibus)* (IMS I 3), à savoir un contingent de cette légion

site romain d'Ocnița (Ocnele Mari, dép. de Vâlcea), sera publié par Ion Tuțulescu et l'auteur de ces lignes.

<sup>9</sup> Gudea, Cosma 1992, 219, n° 116 (dessin p. 245, Fig. 116); CIGD 66.

<sup>10</sup> CIL III 8077,13 = CIGD 56.

<sup>11</sup> Gudea, Cosma 1992, 213, n° 60 (dessin p. 237); CIGD 130.

<sup>12</sup> IDR II 403 = CIGD 89; IDR II 406 = CIGD 90; IDR II 407 = CIGD 91; IDR II 408 = CIGD 92.

<sup>13</sup> SEG XXVI 843 = CIGD 88 = ILD I 141.

<sup>14</sup> Popilian 1976, 130 (n° 19) et 145 (dessin Pl. LXXX).

<sup>15</sup> IDR II 390 = CIGD 85.

<sup>16</sup> IDR II 391 = CIGD 86; voir en dernier lieu Mitthof 2015 (avec une meilleure édition et le commentaire).

<sup>17</sup> Sur les hellénophones en Dacie romaine, voir quelques considérations dans Dana 2014, 93-94; Dana 2015, 117-119. Pour le mélange démographique en Dacie romaine, cf. Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011.

<sup>18</sup> Sur cette légion en Dacie, voir Glodariu 1966, Benea 1983 et Piso 2000, 208-211; en Mésie Supérieure, cf. M. Mirković (dans IMS, I, 1976, 28-30) et Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, 239-242.

<sup>19</sup> Sur les origines indiquées pour des militaires de la *legio IV Flavia Felix* (très peu originaires des provinces balkaniques, et aucun exemple connu de l'Orient grec), voir Forni 1953, 222-223; voir aussi Forni 1992, 45 et 96-97, sur les légionnaires originaires de l'Orient enrôlés sous les Flaviens et Trajan.



regroupant les recrues originaires de la même province et appartenant au même *dilectus*, celui de l'an 196<sup>20</sup>. Enfin, des inscriptions en grec nous renseignent sur la présence d'hellénophones à Singidunum, sans que le milieu militaire soit ici concerné<sup>21</sup>.

Encore plus important est de reconsidérer l'apport de ce document dans le domaine de l'« épigraphie mineure », qu'elle soit grecque ou latine. Si des supports périssables (papyrus, bois, tablettes de cire, parchemin, cuir) ont disparu à jamais, cet exemple d'écriture très cursive sur céramique *ante cocturam* nous permet d'entrevoir l'omniprésence de l'écrit dans le milieu militaire, en latin ou en grec, dans un contexte officiel ou bien privé, comme dans ce cas précis.

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<sup>21</sup> IMS I 70, 71 et 84.

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## CLASP-BUCKLE BELTS IN ROMAN DACIA

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**Abstract:** The clasp-buckle belts represent the last identified type of 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD broad belts. The three copper alloy plates of clasp-buckles known in Dacia were discovered at Sucidava, Porolissum and Ilişua. Even if their sizes present a certain degree of standardization, their functional features, i.e. the number and disposition of the T-shaped apertures and fixing rivets of studs and also their decoration are dissimilar. Consequently it is unlikely that all the army of the province was supplied with this type of buckles from a single manufacturing center. Anyway, if the cast pieces from Sucidava and Ilişua seem to have been produced in specialized workshops, the crude Porolissum buckle looks like an ad hoc improvisation locally made. The small number of clasp-buckles recorded so far in the Empire is due to the relatively short period of time of being used in the Roman army simultaneously with the more fashionable rectangular and ring-buckles and additionally to the difficulty to identify the fragmentary examples. However, despite their rarity, this type of buckles is attested on a very large area: the Danube frontier, Germania Superior, Syria, Mauretania Tingitana. The discussion of Dacian examples offered the opportunity to deal with some general topics as the production, distribution and typology of clasp-buckles all over the Empire.

**Keywords:** clasp-buckles; belts; typology; Dacia; 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

**Rezumat:** Centiroanele cu catarama-copcă reprezintă ultimul tip identificat de centiroane late din secolul al III-lea p. Chr. Cele trei plăci de catarama-copcă din Dacia lucrate din aliaj de cupru au fost descoperite la Sucidava, Porolissum și Ilişua. Chiar dacă dimensiunile lor prezintă un oarecare grad de standardizare, caracteristicile lor funcționale, adică numărul și dispunerea orificiilor în formă de T și a niturilor sau butoanelor de fixare, ca și decorul lor, sunt diferite. Prin urmare este improbabil ca întreaga armată a provinciei să fi fost aprovizionată cu acest tip de catarama dintr-un singur centru de producție. Oricum, dacă piesele turnate de la Sucidava și Ilişua par a fi fost lucrate în ateliere specializate, catarama rudimentară de la Porolissum arată ca o improvizație ad hoc executată local. Numărul redus de catarama-copcă cunoscute în prezent în imperiu se datorează în primul rând faptului că ele au fost utilizate în armata romană într-o perioadă de timp relativ scurtă, concomitent cu mai frecvențele catarama dreptunghiulare și inelare, dar și dificultăților de identificare a exemplarelor fragmentare. Totuși, în ciuda rarității sale, acest tip de catarama este atestat pe o arie foarte extinsă: frontiera danubiană, Germania Superior, Syria, Mauretania Tingitana. Discutarea exemplarelor din Dacia a oferit prilejul de a aborda și subiecte mai generale ca producția, răspândirea și tipologia cataramelor-copcă în întregul imperiu.

**Cuvinte cheie:** catarama-copcă; centiroane; tipologie; Dacia; secolul al III-lea p. Chr.

The clasp-buckle belts were identified in 1969 by H.-J. Ubl on the sculptural representations of Roman soldiers from Noricum and Pannonia and a few years later J. Oldenstein correctly assign two leather mounts from Niederbieber to the broad belts dated c. AD 180–260<sup>1</sup>. After more than two decades, Th. Fischer published a set of belt-mounts discovered in a cremation grave from Regensburg-Grossprüfening and synthesized the characteristics of this particular type of belts<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ubl 1969, 240–243 = Ubl 2013, 133–134; Oldenstein 1976, 221, nos. 1070, 1072.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer 1990, 78, 224, Pl. 108 B/1–3; Fischer 2012, 126; Fischer 2015, 38.

The buckles of this type of 3<sup>rd</sup> century broad belt consisted of two large overlapping rectangular openwork plates attached to the ends of the leather belt by means of at least four rivets. The upper plates had T-shaped projections on the rear side matching the T-shaped apertures on the lower plates, the ensemble making a link between the ends of the belt. As the lower plates had one or two rows of two or three apertures, they were adjustable in two or three different positions. In one case, at Grossprüfening, the buckle was found in association with an openwork circular mount<sup>3</sup>. Besides the ordinary clasp-buckle belts, there were some luxurious ones, the most exceptional being one example discovered at Abritus in Moesia Inferior, which was provided with a set of gilded-silver pieces: a fort-gate shaped buckle, openwork belt mount and strap terminal<sup>4</sup>. Thus it is certain that this belt type included among its metal fittings not only the outstanding buckles but, at least sometimes, also usual 3<sup>rd</sup> century openwork leather mounts and strap terminals.

Out of all the clasp-buckles published so far, those from Niederbieber fort, Grossprüfening and Dura Europos could be dated more precisely. Niederbieber fort was used between AD 185–192 and c. AD 260, but it is a reasonable assumption that the examples originating in this site were later than the foundation time, and those from Dura Europos, discovered near the *agora*, were probably deposited in the last years preceding the destruction of the city in AD 255–256<sup>5</sup>. Also the grave from Grossprüfening, containing a funeral assemblage composed of the belt mounts, some coarse pottery and a *sigillata* plate from Rheinzabern, was dated AD 180–260<sup>6</sup>. Therefore these buckles were undoubtedly utilized during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, but the dates of their coming in and out of fashion cannot be specified. Significantly their chronology is consistent with that of sculptural representations and the general trend in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD to use broad belts.

Synthesizing the data offered by the funerary monuments, Ubl already stated in 1969 that the clasp-buckle belt (Koppelschlosscingulum) was part of the equipment of the centurions, *signiferi* (and other *principales*) and private soldiers from legions, praetorian guard and auxiliary cohorts<sup>7</sup>. As on a sculpture from Putacevo in Dalmatia, dated towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, this belt is worn by a horseman, he suggested its possible inclusion in the uniform of the cavalrymen from *alae*<sup>8</sup>. Besides, the presence of the clasp-buckles in Niederbieber fort garrisoned by *numerus exploratorum Germanicianorum Divitiensium* and *numerus Brittonum*<sup>9</sup> attest the use of the respective belts also by the soldiers from the *numeri*.

The depiction of two soldiers on a gravestone from Aquincum, one having a clasp-buckle belt and the other a ring-buckle belt certify the contemporary utilization of both types of belts in the Roman army<sup>10</sup>.

In Roman Dacia I know three copper alloy plates of clasp-buckles, none of each being identified as such.

<sup>3</sup> Fischer 1990, 224, no. 3, Fig. 108 B/3.

<sup>4</sup> Radoslavova 2014, passim.

<sup>5</sup> Niederbieber: Schönberger 1985, 477, E 29; Dura Europos: James 2004, 99–100, nos. 361–362, 364.

<sup>6</sup> Fischer 1990, 78, 224, Pl. 108 B.

<sup>7</sup> Ubl 1969, 241–242 = Ubl 2013, 133–134.

<sup>8</sup> Ubl 1969, 241, n. 98 = Ubl 2013, 133, n. 98.

<sup>9</sup> Schönberger 1985, 477, E 29.

<sup>10</sup> Ubl 1969, 241, nos. 73, 75 = Ubl 2013, 133, nos. 73, 75.

No. 1 was found in the Byzantine layer of the Roman fortress at Sucidava, but as Tudor already asserted, it is an older item brought by chance in a more recent context. Consequently there are no valid stratigraphic data for its chronology.

Even if only a quarter of it survived, one can reliably restore the shape and size of the complete object, which had the length of about 5 Roman *digiti* and the width of almost 4 *digiti*. It is a cast copper alloy rectangular plate decorated with a central band of openwork ivy leaf motifs delimited by two incisions. Along either side of the central openwork plate there is one row of three T-shaped apertures and another incision runs at 3–4 mm distance from each of the horizontal borders. The vertical borders are decorated by angle-cuts made with a file. On the corners of the rear side there were large fungiform-headed studs with thick shanks among which one is still preserved.

The closest parallels to the example from Sucidava originate in Lentia (Linz) and Dambach<sup>11</sup>. These cast silvered copper alloy mounts have identical rows of three T-shaped apertures, decoration, attaching studs and almost the same size. Other pieces from Grossprüfening and Dura Europos, made of a thin sheet of copper alloy, also have two rows of three T-shaped apertures placed on each side of the central band of ivy leaf motifs but not the accompanying incisions and instead of studs they are provided with rivets<sup>12</sup>. Besides, at Volubilis a lead test-casting of a similarly decorated item was found<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, at Dura Europos it was discovered an undecorated plate with the usual two rows of three T-shaped apertures<sup>14</sup>.

No. 2, originating in Porolissum or less probably Tihău, is a rectangular plate made of a thin sheet of copper alloy. As it is heavily distorted, it was not possible to measure its length accurately. However, its size is almost 5 × 3 *digiti*. In the front part of the piece there is one row of two T-shaped apertures along each side of the long axis. The back part is openwork decorated with a ring motif made of small circular piercings. The plate was attached to the leather belt by six rivets with flattened heads, among which three are still preserved. The washers of the rivets, one hexagonal and two rectangular, are quite irregularly shaped. The crude craftsmanship and the poor decoration of the plate suggest the fact that it is a cheap item.

One parallel of piece no. 2 is met at Niederbieber<sup>15</sup>. This fragmentary rectangular plate has in its front part two rows of two T-shaped apertures placed in the same position as on the item from Porolissum and in the back part an openwork decoration consisting of two lotus bud motifs inside a rectangle. Originally it also had six rivets, but two of them were lost together with the end of the back part of the object, where they were fixed.

No. 3 was unearthed in the auxiliary fort at Ilişua, quartered by *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*<sup>16</sup>. Unfortunately it could not be dated due to the lack of any published information on the circumstances of its discovery.

<sup>11</sup> Lentia: Ployer 2005, 993, Fig. 8; Dambach: Selke 2014, 275, nos. 1461, 1462, 1464, Pl. 41/1461, 1462, 1464.

<sup>12</sup> Grossprüfening: Fischer 1990, 224, Pl. 108 B; Dura Europos: James 2004, 100, no. 362, Fig. 46/362.

<sup>13</sup> Boube-Piccot 1980, 158, no. 203, Pl. 52/364.

<sup>14</sup> James 2004, 100, no. 364, Fig. 46/364.

<sup>15</sup> Oldenstein 1976, 221, no. 1072, Pl. 81/1072.

<sup>16</sup> Gudea 1997, 53–4; Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu, 1997, 77–8, Pl. VIII.



Only the front part of the plate is preserved and so its length is unknown, but significantly it has the width of three *digiti*, virtually the same as no. 2. It is a rectangular item with openwork terminals of curvilinear design, making two adjoining identical ornaments composed of a central peltate motif and two lateral small ivy leaf piercings. In the front part of the rectangular plate there are two parallel slots perpendicular on each side of the central axis. Towards the middle of the piece a T-shaped aperture is centrally placed, flanked by two rectangular openings filled with curved strips. Between these ornaments and the borders there is a horizontal slot. As attested by the buckle from Abritus, in these slots there were some rivets for additional attachment to the leather belt<sup>17</sup>. Anyway, the pieces with a rich decoration or the T-shaped apertures positioned in the front part needed a firm fastening to the leather and in fact they had extra pairs of rivets or studs toward the middle of the horizontal borders. On a buckle plate having only one a central row of T-shaped apertures, similar to the item no. 3, where a supplementary fastening was even more necessary. On the horizontal borders, near the corners, the item from Ilişua has two disc-headed studs with thick shanks.

A plate with only one row of centrally placed T-shaped apertures, flanked by two rectangular openings filled with ivy stalks motifs, originate in Niederbieber<sup>18</sup>. At variance with no. 3 it has a fungiform-headed stud placed on the middle of the vertical border of the front part.

The small number of recorded clasp-buckles in Dacia, as in the entire empire but for the military *vicus* at Dambach where 7 examples are recorded<sup>19</sup>, is due mainly to the relatively short period of time, the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, of its being used in the Roman army simultaneously with the more fashionable rectangular and ring-buckles. Moreover the fragmentary examples, especially of the upper plates, are difficult to identify. However despite their rarity, so far they are attested in Germania Superior (Niederbieber), the Danubian frontier provinces from Raetia (Dambach) to Dacia and Moesia Inferior, Syria (Dura Europos), Mauretania Tingitana (Volubilis). The explanation for the diffusion of this type of buckles on a very large area consists in the almost permanent transfer during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century of the *vexillationes* from one frontier to another, which also allowed the circulation of the military equipment items.

The width of the Dacian examples presents a certain degree of standardization: the pieces from Porolissum and Ilişua, 3 *digiti*, and the one from Sucidava, 4 *digiti*. Yet their functional features i.e. the number and disposition of the T-shaped apertures and of the fixing rivets or studs, differ from one another. As also their decoration is dissimilar, it is unlikely that all the army of the province was supplied with this type of buckles from a single manufacturing center operating for a relatively short period of time. Anyway, if the cast nos. 1 and 3 seem to have been produced in specialized workshops, the crude buckle from Porolissum looks like an ad hoc improvisation locally made.

At Volubilis, a town surrounded by forts quartered by auxiliary units among which an *ala*, representing more than a third of the garrison of the entire province<sup>20</sup>,

<sup>17</sup> Radoslavova 2014, 154, Fig. 4 b.

<sup>18</sup> Oldenstein 1976, 221, no. 1070, Pl. 81/1070.

<sup>19</sup> Selke 2014, 275, nos. 1459-1465, Pl. 41/1459-1465.

<sup>20</sup> Euzennat 1967.

is attested the only workshop producing such items. Here, besides the lead test-casting of a standard item similar to Sucidava one, was found a richly decorated copper alloy plate of a buckle<sup>21</sup>, meaning that differently ornamented pieces were probably manufactured in the same workshop according to customer's demands or fashions. And in the same workshop may have been produced part of the big number of military equipment and horse harness objects found at Volubilis<sup>22</sup>.

No. 3 originating in Ilişua fort attests that the clasp-buckles were worn by cavalrymen of *alae*. Its rich decoration is in agreement with the higher status and pay of the owner, compared to the soldiers of all other auxiliary units.

The clasp-buckles are remarkably diverse but the ordinary rectangular examples can be divided into three variants according to the number and position of the T-shaped apertures of the lower plates. The pieces of the first variant have two rows of three T-shaped apertures disposed all along the horizontal borders. Among this variant there is a group of standardized items characterized by their common ornamentation consisting of a central band of openwork ivy leaf motifs, sometimes delimited by two incisions. The pieces included in the second variant have two rows of T-shaped apertures disposed in the front part of the plate followed towards the central and back part by an openwork decoration. The third variant is made up of examples with only one row of centrally placed T-shaped apertures, flanked by two rectangular openings filled with different decorative motifs. The item from Sucidava and the parallels are representatives of the standardized group of variant 1, Porolisum and parallel of variant 2, and Ilişua and parallel of variant 3. Besides, there is a category of luxurious belt mounts including buckles, difficult to be classified, spectacularly represented by the splendid Abritus set.

The three items published in this paper attest the contemporary use during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century of all types of broad belts by the garrison of Roman Dacia. Moreover, the discussion of Dacian pieces offered also the opportunity to deal with more general topics as the production, distribution and typology of clasp-buckles all over the empire.

## CATALOGUE\*

The catalogue numbers correspond to the numbers of the illustrations of the pieces. All the measurements are made in mm and grams respectively. Abbreviations: L = length; W = width; T = thickness; Wt = weight.

1. Lower buckle-plate. Sucidava (Celei, Corabia Town, Olt county). Unearthed in the late Roman fortress during the excavations led by D. Tudor in 1942-1945. Copper alloy. Incomplete, only a corner representing approximately one quarter of the plate is left. After

<sup>21</sup> Boube-Piccot 1980, no. 202-203, Pl. 52/202-203.

<sup>22</sup> Boube-Piccot 1980, 91-186, nos. 67-324, mostly harness items; Boube-Piccot 1994, 244-50, index of the military equipment.

\* I am grateful to Horea Pop (Zalău) for the dimensions and photographs of the buckle from Porolisum, to Corneliu Gaiu (Bistriţa) for the permission to use his unpublished drawing of the the piece from Ilişua and to Viktor Kumanov (Köln) for the bibliography concerning the example from Abritus. I am also indebted to Georgiana Ducman (Bucureşti) for the drawings of the items and to Cristina Mitar (Deva), for computerizing the illustration of the paper.

its first publishing two small fragments from the upper part were lost; they are represented in the illustration detached from the main body of the item. L: 51; W(initial): 45; W(actual): 41; T: 1-2; Wt: 19.8. The calculated dimensions of the entire plate: L: c. 90; W: c. 70; Wt: c. 75. Muzeul Național de Antichități-București (National Museum of Antiquities from Bucharest), inv. no. III 417. Transferred to Muzeul Național de Istorie a României - București (Museum of National History of Romania from Bucharest), inv. no. 16673; Tudor 1945-1947, 190-2, fig. 41/21; Amon 2004, 222, no. 33, Pl. 36/4.

2. Lower buckle-plate. Probable findspot Porolissum (Moigrad, Merșid parish, Sălaj county) where most of the items of the Wesselényi-Teleki Collection originate. Yet a few pieces of the collection came from Tihău, another Roman fort in the region, but since the inventory of the collection was lost the exact findspot can no longer be stated. Copper alloy. Incomplete, fragments from the upper and lower parts are missing; distorted. Dimensions after H. Pop: L: c. 91.2; W: 54.6; T: 0.9; Wt: 27.06. Former Wesselényi - Teleki Collection. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă - Zalău (History and Art Museum from Zalău), inv. no. cc179/1958; Gudea 1989, 641, no. 4, Pl. 205/4.

3. Lower buckle-plate. Ilișua (Uriu parish, Bistrița-Năsăud county). Unearthed in the fort during the archaeological excavations in 1978-1995. Copper alloy. Incomplete, only one end of the plate is left. Dimensions after the drawing: L: c. 34; W: c. 54; T: c. 2-2.5. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud (County Museum from Bistrița-Năsăud); Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, Pl. 77/2.

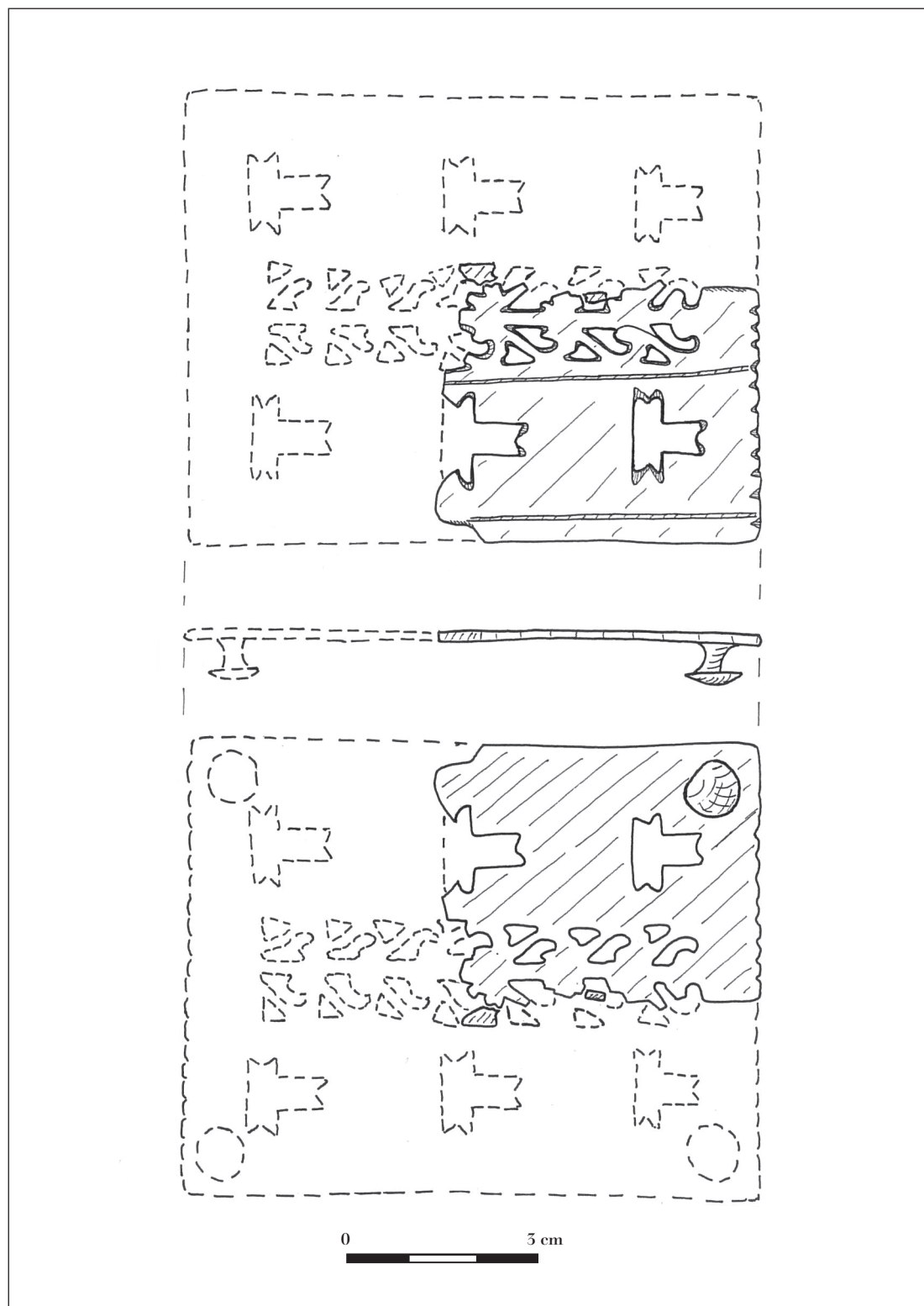
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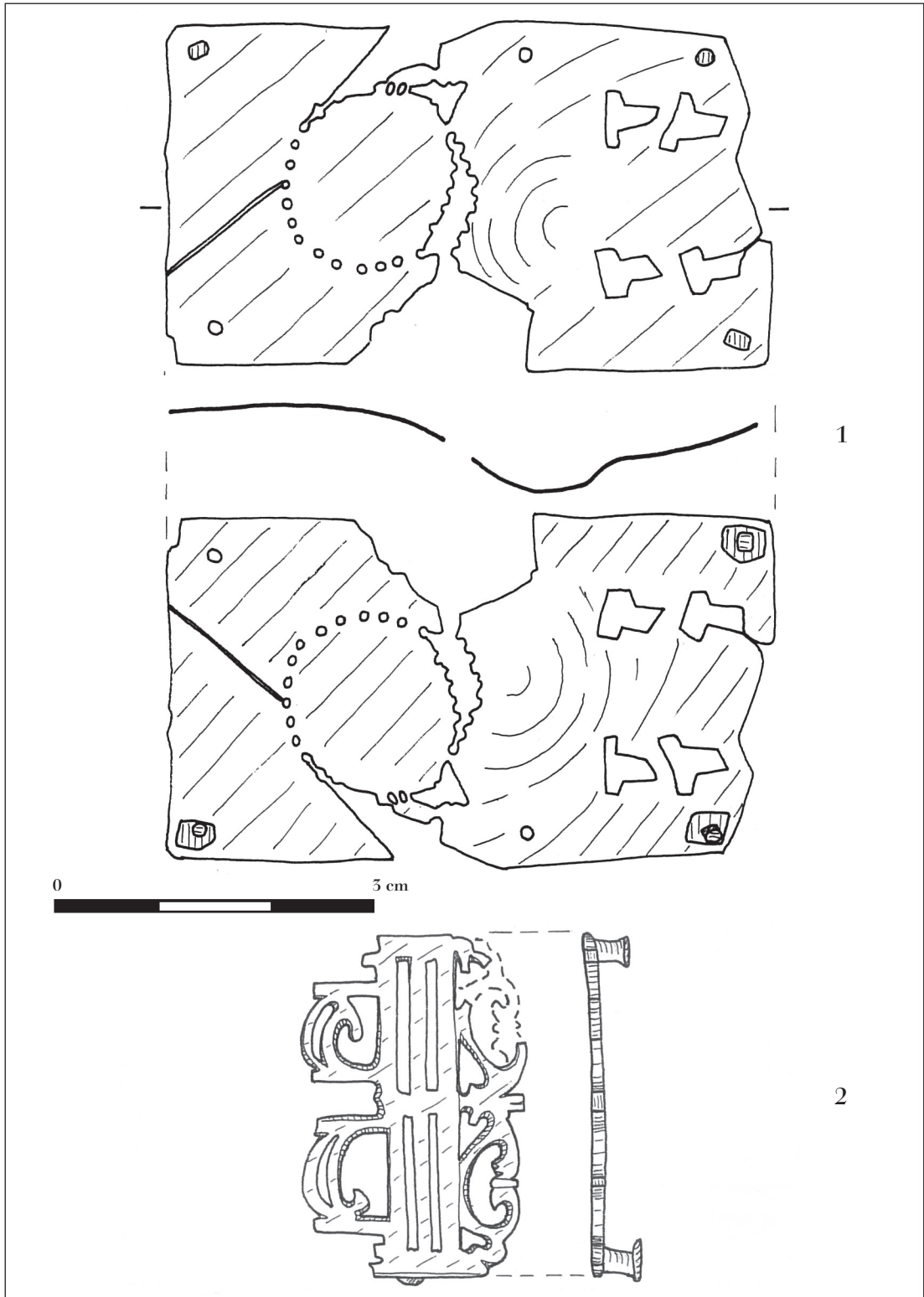
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Pl. I. Sucidava. Copper alloy. Scale 1:1.





**Pl. II. 1.** Porolissum. Copper alloy (drawing made by L. Petculescu after an unpublished photo of H. Pop; drawing made by N. Gudea); **2.** Ilișua. Copper alloy (unpublished drawing, made by C. Gaiu). Scale 1:1.



## WHY THERE? THE PRELIMINARIES OF CONSTRUCTING THE ROMAN FRONTIER IN SOUTH-EAST DACIA

OVIDIU ȚENȚEA, FLORIAN MATEI-POPESCU

**Abstract:** Which are the reasons for which the forts in north-west Muntenia were built under Trajan?

Over the course of several historical periods, it could be noted that one of the most important deposits of Transylvania and the hill area south the Carpathian Mountains was the salt. This resource on the territory of the Dacians was most definitely one of the important parts of the trade with the Roman Empire. The hoard finds in the Teleajen valley area and nearby are very significant to this effect, even though they belong to a rather broad chronological interval. This corridor enters in an area with many salt resources, being one of the communication routes with south-east Transylvania, at its turn rich in salt exploitation.

We believe that Trajan's policy concerning some of the nomad populations, namely the Sarmatians, was to ban migration in their economically vital areas. This, as seen, had serious consequences on the relations with the Iazyges and then with the Roxolani.

During the process of pacification of the entire north-Danube area, Hadrian withdraws some legions, rethinks the defensive system in affected provinces and brings, in a series of key points, auxiliary units of which excel those very mobile, due to their cavalry units. In addition, the emperor chooses the specialised irregular units. Adaptability to the circumstances in Dacia, detailed thinking of strategic and, why not, economic solutions are noteworthy. The maintenance of the new units was cheaper, as they were more adaptable, likely less pretentious to the conditions existent in the newly established province.

Nevertheless, the Roman control over Muntenia did not cease, as the fortifications along the *transalutanus* line, most of which built only at the beginning of the Severan period, and the presence of *vexillationes* of the *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* from Durostorum at Pietroasele during Caracalla's reign, fully attest. The above mentioned agreements probably allowed the nomad Sarmatian tribes to come to spend the winter in the nearby of the Roman Lower Danube frontier, without crossing some demarcation lines like the one built in Galați area and to have free pass over the Bărağan area. Therefore, one can easily label the Roman frontier from north-west Muntenia as an open-frontier, since the Roman policy towards the region was shaped by Rome's interactions with the nomad Sarmatian tribes settled there by the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

**Keywords:** Frontiers; Dacia; Lower Moesia; Muntenia; Sarmatians.

**Rezumat:** Care sunt motivele pentru care au fost construite castrele din nord-vestul Munteniei în timpul lui Traian?

În decursul mai multor epoci istorice a putut fi observat faptul că unul dintre cele mai importante zăcămintele din Transilvania și din zona colinară de la sudul Munților Carpați a fost sarea. Această resursă de pe teritoriul dacilor a fost cu siguranță una dintre componentele importante ale comerțului cu Imperiul roman. Descoperirile de tezaure din zona Văii Teleajenului și din împrejurimi sunt foarte semnificative în acest sens, chiar dacă aparțin unui interval cronologic destul de larg. Acest culoar pătrunde într-o zonă cu numeroase resurse de sare, reprezentând una dintre căile de comunicare cu zona de sud-est a Transilvaniei, la rândul ei bogată în exploatarea de sare.

Credem că politica lui Traian față de unele populații nomade, anume față de sarmați, a fost aceea de a le interzice migrarea în zonele lor vitale din punct de vedere economic. Acest fapt, după cum am văzut, a avut consecințe grave asupra relațiilor cu iazigii și apoi cu roxolanii.

În cursul procesului de pacificare a întregii zone nord-dunărene, Hadrian retrace unele legiuni, regândeste sistemul defensiv în provinciile afectate și aduce, într-o serie de puncte cheie, trupe auxiliare, dintre care excelează cele foarte mobile, datorită efectivelor de cavalerie. De asemenea, acesta optează pentru trupe neregulate specializate. Se remarcă adaptabilitatea la situația Daciei, gândirea în detaliu a unor soluții strategice și, de ce nu, economice. Întreținerea noilor trupe era mai ieftină, acestea fiind adaptabile, probabil mai puțin pretențioase la condițiile existente în provincia nou creată.

Cu toate acestea, controlul asupra Munteniei nu a încetat, după cum o arată construirea în mai multe perioade a unor fortificații de-a lungul liniei transalutane, respectiv prezența unor  *vexillationes*  ale legiunii  *XI Claudia pia fidelis*  de la Durostorum la Pietroasele în timpul domniei lui Caracalla. Acordurile menționate mai sus, probabil, le-au permis nomazilor sarmați să poată ierna în preajma frontierei romane Dunărea de Jos, fără a traversa unele linii de demarcație, cum ar fi cea construită în zona Galați și să aibă trecere liberă peste zona Bărăganului. Prin urmare, se poate eticheta cu ușurință frontiera romană din nord-vestul Munteniei ca o frontieră deschisă (nomadă), deoarece politica romană față de această regiune a fost determinată de prezența în acest areal a populațiilor nomade.

**Cuvinte cheie:** frontiere; Dacia; Moesia Inferior; Muntenia; sarmați.

## Introduction

Much has been written on the annexation of Dacia and the subsequent organization of the conquered territory into a Roman province, being a topic of choice recurrent in the scientific debate<sup>1</sup>. By the exceptional number of the involved forces, the Roman army's effort in the Dacian campaigns most likely exceeded that of the famous Jewish War. The narrative of the Dacian campaigns, though lacking the detailed account of Flavius Josephus, was offset by the fierce debate among the Romanian historians<sup>2</sup>. Our attempt herein is to synthesise the state of the archaeological research of the forts in north-west Muntenia. We shall discuss the area under the authority of the governor of Moesia Inferior during Trajan, emphasizing the reasons underlying the location of the Roman fortifications at Draja de Sus, Mălăiești, Târgșor, Pietroasele or Voinești. In our arguments, we shall avoid including, inasmuch as possible, the results of the archaeological research of the most recent years, which, nevertheless, shaped some of our conclusions.

The conquest of Decebalus' kingdom and its subsequent change into a Roman province led to significant mutations on a vast area stretching north of the Lower Danube<sup>3</sup>. The inclusion of such territory was atypical, should we bear in mind the previous extensions of the Roman borders. The control over the Carpathians was regarded as a strategic necessity in order to force out a powerful opponent, thus safeguarding the provinces of Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, Thracia and Macedonia<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The best overview is still Strobel 1984, with the addition Strobel 2006. See also Strobel 2010, 218–303, with Fl. Matei-Popescu's review, *Dacia*, N. S., LV, 2011, 203–206.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler 2010, 1187.

<sup>3</sup> On the organization of the Dacia province see Piso 2008, with the older literature.

<sup>4</sup> Zahariade 1997, 603–608. The making of this “defence-in-depth strategy”, by the inclusion of Dacia, also meant considerable material resources, perceived as evidence to a “long-term strategic planning”. The economic principle of the cost-benefit analysis of certain conquests originates in the “preclusive defence” concept (“preclusive defence” 30 BC – AD 284, then “defence-in-depth” as of AD 284) defined by Luttwak, as a novel strategy designed to ensure stability and maximize profit. C. R. Whittaker (2004) rejects

The Roman army's campaigns north of the Danube during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD were interpreted as designed to impose a client status over the populations dwelling these areas, occasions with which a so-called "*security area*" or "*buffer zone*" was established, by banning further establishment of civil settlements<sup>5</sup>. This discussion should not dismiss the desire of some of the governors to win the "glory of the extension of their province"<sup>6</sup> and, implicitly, provide the emperors with the arguments of carrying out campaigns deemed successful at Rome, especially in their first reigning years. One should not exclude either the fact that Trajan was at his turn in this situation. The propaganda of the victory against the Dacians was exceptional, to the extent of the war which the emperor prepared against the Parthians<sup>7</sup>.

We start from the premise that under the Principate, Roman borders were interaction rather than division lines, since the economy of the empire depended to a large extent on the trade relations with the neighbouring populations and tax collection<sup>8</sup>. Literary texts report on how important the imperial frontiers and the populations nearby them were in the political ideology of the empire. These texts account at length on invasions and aspects related to the political views of the emperors to the detriment of economy or the relations with the communities living in border areas. The results of the archaeological investigations provide a multitude of data regarding the interaction with the barbarian world, especially in the border areas of the empire<sup>9</sup>. Ensuring border control and not defence along or behind them supposed the allotment of considerable financial and human resources. We place this in the context of trade exchanges with the neighbouring populations, directed by the Romans to the well defended border areas where, beside the many units, custom stations and extensive economic activities are recorded.

The way that modern historians cartographically transposed literary, epigraphic or archaeological information was most often influenced by interpretations, calculations and estimates based on modern maps<sup>10</sup>, which led to a different approach than the

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the cost-benefit consequence theory, which would have played an important role in the Roman frontier extension strategy, practically lacking the sustainability limits of such decisions (chapter "Where are the frontiers now?"). Wheeler 2010, 1185-1227; Wheeler 2011, 191-219. See also Petolescu, Matei-Popescu 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Pârvan 1926, 733; Syme 1971, 148-149; Pippidi 1967, 306. This might have been the stake of placing outposts on the left bank of the Danube (Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1981, 4). We shall not resume here the entire discussion on the views of the historians who deemed that the goal of Roman campaigning north the Danube was to establish a "safety area".

<sup>6</sup> TAC. Ag. 14.2: *fama aucti officii*. Domitian's campaign against the Chatti (Strobel 2010, 78-87), carried out with a considerable military effort, yet which also resulted in a modest expansion east the Rhine in the Wetterau area, was regarded from this view. The recurrent change of the northern border of the province of Britannia was placed on the account of the governors' ambitions.

<sup>7</sup> See Speidel 2002 and Strobel 2010, 218-303.

<sup>8</sup> Schallmayer 2006, 9-10: "Im Wesentlich dienten die Limeslinien in Britannien, an Rhein und Donau, in den Karpaten, am Euphrat und in Nordafrika als wirtschafts- und gesellschaftspolitisches Steuerungsinstrument der römischen Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung. Indem es durch die Sperranlagen gelang, Handelströme und Bevölkerungsbewegungen auf ganz bestimmte Limesdurchgänge zu leiten, schuf sich der römische Staat die Möglichkeit, einerseits den aus den einzelnen Provinzen ausgehenden und in das Reich hineinführenden Handel zu kontrollieren, ordnend einzugreifen Zölle zu erheben, andererseits den Zuzug ganzer Bevölkerungsgruppen je nach internem Bedarf zu regulieren".

<sup>9</sup> Isaac 1990; Whittaker 1994.

<sup>10</sup> See the discussion in Tentea 2014, 143-148.



reasoning of the Roman decision-making factors<sup>11</sup>. Borders were a rather transition space, reason for which their classification into “natural” and “artificial” was inherently replaced with the terms of “division areas” or “connection areas”<sup>12</sup>. The design of campaign approach strategies was thus made by reference to the populations the Romans came upon and, implicitly, the territories they occupied and not the reverse.

The biggest issue of the Roman army, similar to the modern ones, was supply, as road transport was slow and expensive, while ensuring necessary goods to a large number of soldiers compactly positioned was difficult. Over time, the optimal strategic solution was to disperse the units in areas where local resources could be fully exploited. The risk of locating smaller units in several fortifications was counterbalanced by the establishment of an infrastructure and logistics network, by which they could communicate efficiently. A second advantage of dispersing the army within the territory was the possibility to monitor and better guard both the territory as well as the access routes. The efficiency of their distribution within the territory was given by secured transport and minimized convoy movements. The preserved location of certain forts on their original spot for a long time suggests both the reason for which they were originally set in respective places and the fact that from some point on, units no longer changed garrison<sup>13</sup>. The defeat of the enemy also implied moving the fortifications on the novel operation theatres, which became new borders. Fortifications – as reinforcement points of certain positions – were useful during the warfare, while after the defeat of the adversaries, respective fortifications played the role of protecting the previously opposing populations included<sup>14</sup>.

### The forts in north-west Muntenia

Returning to the subject herein, we raise the following question: if the role of the forts was explained to a certain extent for the military circumstances during the Dacian campaigns<sup>15</sup>, what was their purpose in north-west Muntenia after hostilities ceased?

These forts drew the attention of the scholars due both to their short use interval as well as their peculiar location. Based on archaeological surveys and excavations, correlated with epigraphic and literary sources, it was argued these Roman fortifications at *Drajna de Sus*, *Mălăiești*, *Târgșor* and *Voinești* functioned for a short period of time between the end of Trajan's Dacian campaigns and early Hadrian's reign<sup>16</sup>. The fortifications, as well as the buildings in the attached settlements, were archaeologically

<sup>11</sup> Ancient maps were schematic guidelines presented in the form of road itineraries or geographic descriptions. They contained explicative notes of certain sites, for the use of soldiers and traders, not rendered from a geographic or political view, since the borders, as limits of the empire, were not outlined – Whittaker 2004, 11, 82.

<sup>12</sup> Isaac 1990, 128.

<sup>13</sup> Dobson 1986, 18–19, stressing that the legions did not change permanently their province after Marcus Aurelius; see also Dobson 2009, 31–32.

<sup>14</sup> Dobson 2009, 31–32. The Roman army was not exclusively a foreign policy tool, its main function being that of provincial garrison (Isaac 1990).

<sup>15</sup> Diaconescu 1997; Opreanu 1998; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1981; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1997; Stefan 2005; Petolescu, Matei-Popescu 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Ștefan 1948, 141–142; Florescu 1960, 226–227. Based on the material yielded by the archaeological

investigated, though unequally. The forts at Târgșor, Mălăiești and Drajna de Sus are aligned along Teleajen valley, on a 50 km-distance, namely at an interval of one march day each<sup>17</sup>, while the fort at Voinești lies along the Râul Târgului valley, on the route of the future *limes transalutanus* and undoubtedly, in direct relation with the fortification at Rucăr and those from south-east Transylvania. We shall include herein also the fort at Pietroasele<sup>18</sup>, situated near the Buzău valley, another important entry corridor towards south-east Transylvania, respectively the access to important salt resources.

The interpretations regarding the role of these Roman fortifications were included in various scenarios regarding the advance of the army of Moesia Inferior to the north of the Danube during the Dacian campaigns.

Gr. Tocilescu assumed the existence of the *shortest access way* on route Sexaginta Prista, Bucharest, Ploiești, Drajna and, from there, towards the south-eastern area of Transylvania<sup>19</sup>.

V. Pârvan adopted this idea, developing an entire scenario on the occupation and defence of Muntenia. The area would have been monitored, according to above author, from the tall bank of Moesia Inferior, from the legionary fortresses at Novae, Durostorum and Troesmis. Other routes would have started at Barboși, on the Siret, the Buzău and the Ialomița<sup>20</sup>.

A few more recent date studies, which examined several aspects related to the Dacian campaigns and the period in their aftermath, expressed a number of hypotheses on the corridors that the Roman army followed north the Danube, respectively the areas which it surveilled for a certain period of time. The units which belonged to the Moesia Inferior province, and which crossed the Danube in order to participate in the Dacian campaigns, were deemed as part of a secondary column, termed (according to the departure point, namely *castra aestiva* from Izlaz), the Islaz-Cetatea Vedeia group<sup>21</sup>. It was believed this column crossed the Danube, very likely from the legionary fortress at Oescus, aided by the ships of *classis Flavia Moesica* or a bridge of vessels built between Vadin and Orlea. A concentration point north the river is the place where later was built the town at Sucidava, visible in the field by a large-sized trapezoid enclosure<sup>22</sup>. Other two troop columns displaced from Moesia Inferior would have crossed the Danube in front the legionary fortresses at Novae and Durostorum<sup>23</sup>,

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research of the baths or the fort at Pietroasele, it was chosen a date starting by mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century (*LEG XI CL ANT*), included (Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981, 60, n. 62).

<sup>17</sup> The first proper archaeological research was carried out by Gh. Ștefan in the fort at Drajna. Gh. Ștefan made a very interesting note, namely that the fortification, identified with Ramidava, did not close only the Drajna valley to Tabla Buții, but also ensured communication by Ogretin to the Buzău valley (Ștefan 1948, 144); Mălăiești (Zagoriț 1940; Florescu, Bujor 1955); Târgșor (Ciupercă, Măgureanu, Anton 2015, 771-780); Drajna (Ștefan 1948; Zahariade, Dvorski 1997, 7-23, 50, 62, 63-65, 67); Bogdan-Cătănciu, 1981, 5, 9-10, 21, 26, 40, and n. 59, 66, 68-70; Petolescu 1986, 510-514; TIR L35, 39, 41, 50, 58.

<sup>18</sup> Stăicuț 2010, 211-238; Stăicuț 2011, 96-97; Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu 2015, 91-120.

<sup>19</sup> Tocilescu 1900, 127. Gh. Ștefan believed possible that the Romans had used a previous route (Kahrstedt 1937, 127, apud Ștefan 1948), although it had been less likely left defenceless on a distance of approximately 150 km.

<sup>20</sup> Pârvan 1923, 140-142.

<sup>21</sup> Zahariade, Dvorski 1997, 60.

<sup>22</sup> Petolescu 2001, 349-350; Petolescu 2007, 40-41.

<sup>23</sup> Petolescu 2001, 349-354; Petolescu 2007, 40-41. Further, Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006 = Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2009.

although there is no direct proof of the presence of the *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* in the Durostorum fortress before the end of the *bellum Dacicum*, since it occupied the former fortress of the *legio V Macedonica* at Oescus<sup>24</sup>.

Large fortifications that might have accommodated significant military strengths may be recorded north the Danube at Sucidava, Islaz-Verdea<sup>25</sup> or Poiana (former Flămânda)<sup>26</sup>. This concentration is located approximately in the same area of the fortifications at Oescus and Novae.

There is no archaeological evidence pointing to the routes of the Roman armies to the hill area from north Muntenia. They might have been, for instance, temporary Roman fortifications. A possible route was suggested along the Ialomița valley. At Filipești (Brăila), on the Buzău valley a temporary fort was built<sup>27</sup> (340 × 500 m), supposed in connection with the fortification at Barboși or Durostorum<sup>28</sup>. However, at present, there is still no evidence to support such assumptions.

C. C. Petolescu supposed that the fortifications on the Teleajen valley, alike other supposed in Moldova area, likely fulfilled the role of blocking all valleys which were access ways to Transylvania, thus removing any possible surprise attacks of the Dacians after the first Dacian campaign of emperor Trajan (AD 101/102)<sup>29</sup>.

Following the analysis of the tile stamps discovered at Drajna de Sus and Târgșor, M. Zahariade argued that respective fortifications marked the route of the Roman army during the first campaign against the Dacians of AD 101–102, subsequent to the annihilation of most important Dacian fortifications in this area<sup>30</sup>. The building phase where the tile stamps were found belongs to the period when respective area was under the control of Moesia Inferior. According to Ioan Piso, the production of bricks and tiles was not possible in a territory which was not yet a province<sup>31</sup>, the production starting thus after the complete pacification of AD 106.

<sup>24</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 133–134, 261–264.

<sup>25</sup> At approximately 20 km south Slăveni, nearby the Olt interflow with the Danube, was identified the fortification at Islaz-Verdea (340 × 120 m, partially damaged by the river) (Tudor 1978, 279; Vlădescu 1983, 81, no. 6; Vlădescu 1986, 29–30; Gudea 1997, 82, no. 66; Gudea 2005, 492, no. VII. B. 1; Marcu 2009, 212, no. 56. Tudor 1978, 266, no. 3; Vlădescu 1983, 114–115). The archaeological research reported the existence of the fortification and its dating to the Principate (Tudor 1978, 279). From the Islaz-Racovița fortification survived the north-western corner (75 × 105 m – Tudor 1978, 279; Gudea 1997, 82, no. 67; Marcu 2009, 212, no. 56).

<sup>26</sup> The fort at Poiana (former Flămânda) lies on the Danube bank in the area where the so-called “*trans-Alutanus line*” starts, in the part comprised between the forts at Oescus and Novae, located south the Danube. The fortification was strongly damaged by the river erosion. The fort sizes (350 × 390 m – Tocilescu 1900, 122, Fig. 72; Tudor 1978, 286; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1980, 658–659; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981; Vlădescu 1983, 119; Vlădescu 1986, 87; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 42–43; Gudea 1997, 70, no. 47), allowed the camping of significant strengths and its temporary use, mirrored by the archaeological research, led to the supposition it was a temporary fort which served to disembark units involved in the Dacian campaigns (Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 43).

<sup>27</sup> Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981, 9, 62, n. 66.

<sup>28</sup> Christescu 1937, 111.

<sup>29</sup> Petolescu 1986, 510–514.

<sup>30</sup> These stamps record the name of three legionary vexillations and one auxiliary troop vexillation as part of the army of the province of Moesia Inferior: *legio I Italica*, *legio V Macedonica*, *legio XI Claudia* and *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum*, all recorded at Drajna, and only the last two recorded in the fort at Târgșor – Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127, Fig. 5 e-f.

<sup>31</sup> Piso 2000, 213; Piso 2001, 18.

Currently, it is difficult to endorse any scenario on the distribution of the stamped tile material in this area, be it only owing to the conflicting views maintaining in the specially literature regarding the significance of such artefact discoveries. Samples taken from identical stamp types discovered in different sites are still under study in order to obtain data on their production place (origin of the used raw material), after which pertinent conclusions may be drawn.

An interesting thing worth underlining within this context is the fact that the record of the military units of Moesia Inferior north the Danube was made by stamps marked on building materials identified exclusively in hill and sub-mountain areas. Records on the *transalutani* line confirm the same, finds being reported at Voinești<sup>32</sup> and Rucăr<sup>33</sup>.

### Entry and surveillance corridor

The detailed analysis of the displacement of the Roman army during the campaigns against the Dacians evidences several moments. Prior the establishment of the new province, the former Decebalus' kingdom was, legally and administratively, the competence field of the legate of Moesia Superior. The army displaced in certain areas from the space comprised between the Olt valley, north-west Muntenia and south-east Transylvania was the competence area of the legate of Moesia Inferior<sup>34</sup>.

The military diplomas discovered in the recent years had the merit of clarifying overall the number and composition of these auxiliary units, especially the fact that under Domitian their number increased significantly due to the organization measures the emperor took<sup>35</sup>. For a long time, such measures were ascribed to activities under Trajan, for the preparations of the Dacian expedition. Most important troop displacements from other provinces were noted in the second part of the first Dacian campaign of Trajan, in connection with the supplemented military strength required both after the campaign to the north of the Danube as well as especially due to the losses incurred during the warfare south the Danube in the winter of AD 101<sup>36</sup>.

The decisive event to significantly change the development of the first Dacian campaign was the attack over the Roman garrisons south the Danube in the winter of AD 101-102, firstly by the Sarmatian Roxolani, at the time Dacian allies<sup>37</sup>. The

<sup>32</sup> Petolescu, Matei-Popescu, Dumitrescu 2015, 254.

<sup>33</sup> Bogdan-Cătănciu 1974, 277-288; IDR II 607; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, Fig. 81/1-2.

<sup>34</sup> During Trajan's Dacian campaigns there existed several autonomous commands, like that of Longinus (Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus, *vir consularis* - Piso 1993, 1-4), former governor of the provinces of Moesia Superior and Pannonia, that of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (AE 1934, 176 = IDRE II 381; Piso 1993, 23-29, no. 4) or likely Laberius Maximus, Matei-Popescu 2015, 410, n. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 264-269; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006a, 75-120.

<sup>36</sup> Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006b, 56-65.

<sup>37</sup> According to Cassius Dio (LXVIII, 10, 3) the Sarmatian Iazyges adopted a neutral position, different than that of the Roxolani, allies to the Dacians. See also Mócsy 1974, 94 or more recently Bărcă 2006; Bărcă 2013a. The hypothesis of Trajan's involvement in Moesia to hold back the Sarmatian and Dacian attack was expressed for the first time by Radu Vulpe based on the scenes of Trajan's Column (Vulpe 1964, 211-223). Opreanu believed that the moment when Moesia Inferior was raided, Sarmizegetusa was not under attack, which explains why Decebalus risked getting involved in this campaign, as the frieze on Trajan's Column would show (scenes XXXI and XXXII). This raid would have forced Trajan to cease attack in the mountain area and rush to the south-Danubian area in Moesia Inferior (scenes XXXIII-XXXV).

so-called “Decebalus’ Moesian diversion”<sup>38</sup> is rather a historiographic metaphor based mainly on the narrative interpreting of the frieze on Trajan’s Column. The presence of the Dacians beside the Sarmatians in respective scenes, but also the restoration of the inscription text from Tropaeum Traiani, may be regarded rather as expressions of contextualised episodes of *bellum Dacicum Traiani*, of which obviously the Dacians could not lack. Moreover, the historiographic view according to which Decebalus was a great king of the Dacians, ascribed him a distinctive strategic vision, which, alike the operations in the “Moesian diversion”, we do not believe to have belonged to him<sup>39</sup>. We believe that still from this view were interpreted the too many directions of the Roman army attack over the “Dacian kingdom”.

The Sarmatian Roxolani were not involved in Trajan’s second campaign, which may be related to an agreement after the first campaign<sup>40</sup>, of which only the payment of *stipendia* to the Roxolani<sup>41</sup> is known. Cessation of hostilities in this area maintains over the course of Trajan’s reign.

The Roman units under the command of the governor of Moesia Inferior were concentrated as known from many examples of other operations, in a territorially well delimited area (*task-force*), in our case the Oescus-Novae area. The attack of the Sarmatian Roxolani in the winter of AD 101–102 did not occur there by chance. Their mission, as allies of the Dacians, was to pillage the territories of the province of Moesia Inferior lying to the right of the Danube. These attacks would peak with the attack of the Roman armies amassed in the north-west of the province, between Oescus and Novae, as underlined by the most important battle fought nearby, at Nicopolis ad Istrum, where later the Roman town would be built. In the same area could be noticed also the measures to supplement the units by the end of AD 101, when *legio XI Claudia* and *legio I Minervia* – the latter led by Hadrian and auxiliary units from Germania Inferior<sup>42</sup> arrived. We may also believe that at that time the front of Moesia Inferior

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The first battle was fought at Nicopolis ad Istrum (AMM. MARC. 31, 5, 16: *Nicopolis quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator*), the final battle of the Moesian campaign being given at Tropaeum Traiani (Opreanu 2006). Since in the inscription from Epidaur (IDRE II 370) Trajan’s name contains the epithet *Germanicus*, but not also that of *Dacicus* (awarded in AD 102), C. C. Petolescu believes its text refers to the “victory in Moesia over the Dacians and the Sarmatians in the winter of 101/102” (Petolescu 1995, 223–226).

<sup>38</sup> See more recently Petolescu 2010, 140, respectively Petolescu 1991, 54, n. 265. Their attack may be reconstructed based on the representations on some scenes on Trajan’s Column (Cichorius 1896–1900, scenes XXXI–XXXII, XXXVII) and the inscription text at Tropaeum Traiani – [*devicto exercitu D[acorum et Sarmata]rum*] (CIL III 12467 = AE 1965, 276; IDRE II 334; ISM IV 5. The reading of lines 8–9 [*devicto exercitu D[acorum et Sarmata]rum*], suggested by Emilia Doruțiu-Boilă and adopted in his argumentation by C. C. Petolescu (1991, 54, n. 265; Petolescu 1995a, 224) was suggested by comparison with the text of another inscription discovered in the ruins of the triumphal monument (IDRE II 335). Brief indications are found also with Ammianus Marcellinus, Jordanes, respectively an inscription from Epidaurus, recording the victory of Trajan in Moesia (IDRE II 370). C. C. Petolescu interprets this inscription text as evidence that Trajan himself was present in the campaign of the winter of AD 101–102 against the Roxolani and Dacians who attacked the area south the Danube in Moesia Inferior – Petolescu 1991, 64–66; Petolescu 1995a, 223–226.

<sup>39</sup> Țentea 2014, 136–137.

<sup>40</sup> Opreanu 1994, 207.

<sup>41</sup> SHA *Hadr.* 6, 6–8.

<sup>42</sup> The presence of *I Minervia* at Novae was recorded by tile stamps discovered in archaeological contexts dated by early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (of type *LEG I M P F* – *valetudinarium*). Ti. Claudius Vitalis’ promotion



lay at the hands of the Sarmatians, whose incursion on the right bank of the Danube must have commenced on the territory of Dobrudja. Not by chance, after the peace of AD 102, the reinforcement measures of the Danube border are notable<sup>43</sup>.

The moment when the strengths of *I Italica* and *V Macedonica* (or only their vexillations) were involved in the Dacian campaigns cannot be established for certain over the course of AD 101. It is clear that *XI Claudia* and certain units of *I Minervia* were involved starting with AD 102. *Legio V Macedonica*, respectively *XI Claudia* were displaced to Troesmis, respectively Durostorum, sometime between the two Dacian campaigns of Trajan, or more likely by the end of the *bellum Dacicum*<sup>44</sup>. The actions of the legions involved starting with the end of the AD 101 to the north of the Danube thus started in the forts at Oescus and Novae<sup>45</sup>, on two distinct directions, the alignment of the Olt to Buridava, respectively the road on the *transalutani* line, reaching the pass towards south-east Transylvania.

from the *legio I Italica* to the *legio I Minervia* (CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656 = IPD<sup>4</sup> 794 = IDRE I 3) may date to the time of these campaigns, Strobel 1987; Matei-Popescu 2010, 41.

<sup>43</sup> Until that time, Roman fortifications on the right bank of the Danube are unknown between the naval bases at Sexaginta Prista (Ruse) and Noviodunum (Isaccea), monitoring this route being the responsibility of a *praefectus classis Flaviae Moesicae et ripae Danuvii* (M. Arruntius Claudianus, *praefectus classis Moesicae et ripae Danuvii* – AE 1972, 572). According to the archaeological and epigraphic sources under Trajan, most likely from the period between the two Dacian expeditions – 102–105 (Matei-Popescu 2010; Oprea 2006, 241) were built the forts at Carsium, in 103, Rasova-*Flaviana* (105–108?), as well as part of a road, according to the milestone found at Sacidava (Muzait, Dunăreni), set by *cohors IV Gallorum*, between 103–105 (ISM V 94, p. 120–121; Rădulescu, Bărbulescu 1981, 586–588, Fig. 2, no. 1, 353–356. See also the discussions Matei-Popescu 2004, 208–210; Oprea 2006, 237–242; Matei-Popescu 2010, 32; Țentea 2013, 146). We believe that such fortifying activity of the lower course of the Danube is an expression of the agreement with the Sarmatians, materialized in the field by clear territorial delimitation.

<sup>44</sup> The displacement of the *legio XI Claudia* in the Lower Danube area occurred in the second half of AD 101, together with the displacement of other auxiliary units from Germania Inferior (Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006b). Likely, the first place where the legion stationed in Moesia Inferior, between the two Dacian expeditions of Trajan, was Oescus (ILB 62 and tile material), from where dates the earliest evidence on the presence of the legion by the Lower Danube. Sometime, between AD 102–105, the legion is set at Durostorum, where it stations until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and even in the Roman period. We do not agree with the classical view that the involvement of this legion in operations north the Danube must be related to its stationing at Durostorum.

M. Zahariade argued there has been a communication corridor from Durostorum. The stationing of the *legio XI Claudia* at Durostorum could be documented by certain data no earlier than 106, which excludes the existence of this route at least until Trajan's second Dacian campaign. See the discussion on the displacement of the *legio XI Claudia*.

<sup>45</sup> As early as Vespasian until the commencement of the first Dacian expedition of Trajan, at Oescus was stationed the *legio V Macedonica*, and the *legio I Italica* at Novae. The *legio V Macedonica* would be involved in the Dacian campaigns, being moved sometime between AD 103–105 at Troesmis. At Oescus was brought from Vindonissa, *legio XI Claudia*. It would be moved after the end of the second Dacian expedition at Durostorum. *Legio I Italica* or only some units displaced from Novae to the north of the Danube was replaced by a vexillation from Bonna or possibly the entire *legio I Minervia* (Matei-Popescu 2007, 290). Their displacement from Germania Superior, respectively Germania Inferior, beside other auxiliary units (Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2006b, 56–65) aimed at reinforcing a vulnerable area, respectively compensate the losses suffered following the attacks of the Sarmatians in the winter of AD 101–102. We may not know for certain if during AD 101, strengths from Moesia Inferior would have been involved in operations north the Danube or whether this decision would have been taken the subsequent year. It is important to specify that the involvement of the armies of Moesia Inferior did not occur concurrently with those of Moesia Superior or Pannonia. Without deeming it a secondary action front (Zahariade, Petolescu), it is much more likely these units had been massively involved in operations north the Danube after the Sarmatians' attack.

The *transalutanus* line, known as *Limes Transalutanus*, is a road starting from the area of the forts at Novae and Oescus, crossed the Plain of Muntenia to the hilly area, from where it made the connection with south-east Transylvania by the Rucăr-Bran pass. In the southern area, this road was protected eastwards by a palisade, along which, at variable distances, towers and fortifications were distributed. The exact date when this line of fortifications was built is still controversial in the specialty literature, most visible opponents being Ioana Bogdan-Cătănciu (who argued in favour of the dating starting with Hadrian) and C. C. Petolescu (who chose a dating no earlier than Septimius Severus)<sup>46</sup>. The construction of the various fortifications set along the *transalutanus* line is related to local strategic reasons and not necessarily the existence of an entire defensive system: *Mapping and dating forts without considering the road-network is an unstructured procedure which cannot lead to an understanding of the system*<sup>47</sup>.

The fortifications on this line were thus lying along a road connecting the Danube in the Poiana (former Flămânda) area (Oescus) with the passes ensuring communication with the intra-Carpathian area. In most cases, only a timber-and-earth phase was identified<sup>48</sup>. Special circumstances were recorded in the case of the fortifications at Săpata de Jos (brick ramparts) and Câmpulung-Jidova (stonewalls). Amid the fortifications on the *transalutanus* line comprised between the Danube and Câmpulung there is no epigraphic evidence recording the stationing of any troop. In the fort at Câmpulung Muscel I a *graffito* was discovered which seems to record a soldier of *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum*<sup>49</sup>. At Voinești, located north Câmpulung, tile stamps belonging to cohort *I Flavia Commagenorum*<sup>50</sup>, in association with stamps of the *legio XI Claudia*, were found, which rather points to an earlier dating of this fort, as well

<sup>46</sup> Ever since the publication in the inter-War period of the coin hoard discovered in the brick fort at Săpata de Jos, it was hypothesized that the construction of the *transalutanus* line started with the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211), while its functioning was established until AD 245, view agreed by most specialists (Christescu 1934, 73). The so-called *limes transalutanus* was firstly discussed by Schuchhardt (1885), investigated by Gr. Tocilescu between the Danube and Roșiorii de Vede and crossed on its entire length by P. Polonic. The approach of the entire issue of the *limes* was made rather theoretically by D. Tudor, Cr. M. Vlădescu, Ioana Bogdan-Cătănciu and C. C. Petolescu. Archaeological excavations were performed at Jidava, Săpata de Jos, Băneasa, Rucăr, Urluieni, Poiana (Flămânda), Voinești, Isbășești, Putineiu and Gresia. For a synthesis of most recent views see Petolescu 2010, 182 sqq.). Ioana Bogdan-Cătănciu maintained on several occasions that the line was built more than a half a century earlier (Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997). A dating attempt to two distinct chronological moments belongs to R. Florescu: a first stage would be the period of the Dacian war of Trajan, the principal evidence being the *castellum* at Rucăr (Florescu 1978, 55-61), and the second would be the time of the proper construction of the *limes* under Septimius Severus.

<sup>47</sup> Isaac 1990, 128.

<sup>48</sup> Flămânda (350 × 390 m), Putineiu (53 × 53 m), Băneasa I (130 × 126 m), Băneasa II, Roșiorii de Vede (50 × 51 m), Valea Urluii (48 × 72 m), Gresia (50 × 60 m), Ghioca (com. Crâmpoia) (75 × 102 m), Urluieni I (105 × 123 m), Urluieni II (85 × 112 m), Fălfani (63 × 93 m), Săpata de Jos I (125 × 90 m), Săpata de Jos II (35 × 46 m), Albota (56 × 81 m), Purcăreni (160 × ? m), Câmpulung Muscel I (123 × 100 m), Câmpulung Muscel II (50 × 60 m), Voinești, Rucăr (60/55 × 47/42 m) – Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981; Vlădescu 1983, 119-122; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981, 8; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, Fig. 76; Gudea 1997, 72-81, no. 49-65. Worthy of note is also the interpreting of the so-called *geminari castra*, Marcu 2005, 706.

<sup>49</sup> There was discovered a *graffito* which seems to record a soldier of *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* -, [ - - ]ITULCAI (ILD 164; Petolescu 2002, 96-97).

<sup>50</sup> Bădescu 1981, 292, Fig. 2; Zahariade, Lichiardopol 2006, 127, Fig. 5/g.

as of the baths<sup>51</sup>. In the small *burgus/praesidium* in the shape of an almost rectangular shape at Rucăr stamp tiles belonging to *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* were discovered<sup>52</sup>. The presence of a mixed unit composed of detachments of the *legio XI Claudia* and *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* at Voinești proves without any shadow of a doubt that the road on the future *transalutanus* line was already in function under Trajan.

The Olt River was not an important communication route at that time, the Cozia Massif being a very difficult obstacle to cross by any army, reason for which we believe that the advance very likely stopped in the hill area of Buridava. There is no epigraphic evidence recording units from Moesia Inferior involved in the Dacian campaigns north the Cozia Massif<sup>53</sup>. With one exception<sup>54</sup>, the fortifications mapped and researched between Boița (lying by the entry into the Olt gorge) and Buridava (Stolniceni?, Sâmbotin?) are small-sized<sup>55</sup>. Owing to their reduced sizes, the units in garrison were of *numeri* type<sup>56</sup>. The alternate road, along the Olt, through the eastern area of Cozia Massif, seems to have been completed a few decades later, as suggested by the inscriptions discovered in the fortifications at Călimănești-Bivolari (Arutela?)<sup>57</sup> and Rădăcinești<sup>58</sup>, built by *Suri sagittarii* under T. Flavius Constans (AD 138), respectively at Copăceni (Praetorium I?)<sup>59</sup>, built by *numerus burgariorum et veredariorum* (AD 140)<sup>60</sup>. The fortifications on the *transalutanus* line are not elements of a coherent, well defined defensive system; not all these fortifications were contemporary over the entire operation of the road along which they were set. The fact that the small fortification at Rucăr functioned under Trajan points to the use of this communication way on the “*transalutanus*” route as early as that period<sup>61</sup>. Further evidence to this effect,

<sup>51</sup> See n. 32.

<sup>52</sup> See n. 33.

<sup>53</sup> Zahariade, Dvorski (1997, 60) believed there are no attestations north Buridava. We considered though the find of a tile stamp in the fortification at Arutela (IDR II 579), which might date to the same period.

<sup>54</sup> The fortification at Racovița (Praetorium II?) is sized 112 × 101 m.

<sup>55</sup> The fortifications are approximately square or with a very close length-width ratio, with sizes comprised between 45 and 65 meters. Boița (45 × 50 m), Copăceni (64 × 64? m), Titești (56 × 48 m), Călimănești-Bivolari (Arutela - 61 × 61 m), Rădăcinești (63 × 56 m), Stolniceni (Buridava? - 60 × 60 m). It is worth mentioning that their sizes appear with slightly different values within publications. On the fortifications at Căineni (Pons Vetus?), Râul Vadului, Perișani, Jiblea and Sâmbotin (Castra Traiana?) it is known that they are small-sized, yet values are unspecified.

<sup>56</sup> Gudea 1997, 92-93, no. 89-91.

<sup>57</sup> CIL III 12601 a = 13793 = IDR II 575; CIL III 12601 b = 13794 = IDR II 576.

<sup>58</sup> CIL III 12604 = IDR II 584; CIL III 12605 = IDR II 585.

<sup>59</sup> TIR L 35, 35; Tudor 1978, 287-288; Gudea 1997, 93, no. 81.

<sup>60</sup> CIL III 13795 = ILS 8909 = IDR II 587; CIL III 13796 = ILS 9180 = IDR II 588; Petolescu 2002, 128-129. The inscription records for the first time the term of *burgarii*, that of *burgus* being recorded slightly later (Visy 2009). Their role was to monitor certain key-points. Vegetius, for instance, advised the construction of a *burgus* for the protection of water sources, impossible to control from town walls. An inscription from Thracia, at Pizus (Dimitriev, Bulgaria - IGBR III 2, 1690 = SEG 45.845) evidences that the natives supplied garrison units, *burgarii*, and supplies for these garrisons which were the imperial post service (Isaac 1990, 180, n. 101). An inscription of AD 152 from Panëevo mentions *praesidia*, *burgos* et *phruria* for the protection of the province of Thracia by the care of the authorities (AE 1927, 49, p. 404). Increased attention is awarded to the safety of the internal roads of the mentioned province under Antoninus Pius: [...] *praesidia n(umero) IIII burgi n(umero) XII phruri / n(umero) CIX* (AE 1957, 279 = ILB 211 = AE 2000, 1291). One may infer from these phrases that *praesidia* were larger fortifications as only 4 were recorded compared to 109 *phruria* (Isaac 1990, 180).

<sup>61</sup> It seems that the road was also used in the pre-Roman period - Bogdan-Cătănicu 1981, 8.

even though indirect, is the association of the units recorded on the stamps discovered at Voinești frequently found under Trajan<sup>62</sup>. Furthermore, some fortifications came into existence at a later date, their functioning period being different from one case to another. Some of the fortifications along this road may be functionally interpreted as similar to those very well recorded in Egypt, termed *praesidia*<sup>63</sup>. Ancient sources frequently used also the alternate terms like *praesidium*, a general term for watch post or garrison, respectively *phrourion*, used for *castellum* (Engl. *fort*, germ. *kastellum*)<sup>64</sup>. A series of inscriptions from Pannonia, discovered between Aquincum and Intercisa, mention the construction of certain *praesidia* under Commodus<sup>65</sup>. A century later, the epigraphic records regarding the fortification of the Lower Danube by many *praesidia*, contain the same stereotype phrase: *post debellatas hostium gentes confirmata orbi suo tranquillitate pro futurum in aeternum reipublicae praesidium constituerunt*<sup>66</sup>. The same term designated under Augustus the fortifications built by Lentulus subsequent to the pushed back Dacian attack (*praesidia constituta*)<sup>67</sup>, as well as the mentioned record of the displacement of cohort *I Hipanorum veterana* in AD 105 north the Danube: *Piroboridavae in praesidio*<sup>68</sup>. It may thus be noted that the terminology of the fortifications was rather varied, which was due to both the evolution of denominations over the time as well as to the regional peculiarities.

As noted also in the case of the three forts on the Teleajen valley, the road protected by the *Transalutani*, alike that which might have temporarily functioned between Galați and Brețcu<sup>69</sup>, lead to the same direction – south-east and centre of Transylvania, not by chance incorporated in the province of Dacia Inferior, whose territory covered an area mainly located south the Carpathians.

<sup>62</sup> Petolescu, Matei-Popescu, Dumitrescu 2015, 254.

<sup>63</sup> In Egypt, the term of *praesidium* refers to fortifications used for rest and exchange of horses, provided with a small garrison comprising a few soldiers, beside whom lived civilians (including women). The soldiers in these *praesidia* belonged to a cavalry troop or had cavalry strengths stationed in a fort in respective area. The *praesidia* played a monitoring role, ensured security (including of water reserves) and escort, respectively post service. In-between *praesidia* were recorded the so-called signal towers (*skopeloi*). Their command was exercised by a *praefectus praesidiorum et montis Beronices* – CIL IX 3083 = ILS 2699. Based on the *ostraca* discovered in the fortifications lying along the road Koptos – Myos Hormos or Berenike, Helene Cuvigny showed that *praefectus montis Berenicidis* was an official post which belonged to an equestrian officer. This prefect, who was likely stationed at Koptos, ensured the command of all military units displaced on the road between Koptos and Berenike (Cuvigny 2004, 295–305).

<sup>64</sup> Richardson 2004, 35–50. The discussions are yet much more nuanced depending on some peculiar cases. The term of *praesidium* is found by early Principate in the writings of Titus Livius as garrison to designate a certain type of fortifications *quibus opportuna imposuerat praesidia, impetum dedit* (Titus Livius, III, 5; III, 3: ... *Relicto itaque castris praesidio egressi tanto cum tumultu inuasere fines Romanos*); III, 60: (... *relinquitur magis castris praesidium quam satis uirum ad certamen*).

<sup>65</sup> RIU 1129 – Intercisa: [...] *ripam omnem burgis [a / solo extractis item praesidiis per loca opportuna ad clandestinos / latruncolorum transitus oppositis munivit [...]*.

<sup>66</sup> Zahariade 1997, 229–230; Kovács 2008, 133. The term refers for that time to the fortifications at Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca, Durostorum, Halmyris, with sizes similar to auxiliary troop forts during the Principate.

<sup>67</sup> FLOR. II, 28; Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur: PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1379. Ioana Bogdan-Cătănciu believed that the fortifications were built previously this event (Bogdan-Cătănciu 1981, 4).

<sup>68</sup> Fink 1971, 217–227, 222–223, no. 63 II 21: *apsentes: ... Kas(t)rae in praesidio*. It is interesting why a *praesidium* was built at Soza in the Bosporus, Crimea: “as the temper of the people was uncertain” (TAC. *Ann.* 12. 16).

<sup>69</sup> Pârvan 1913, 14–27.



## Why there?

Which are the reasons for which the forts in north-west Muntenia were built under Trajan?

1. The construction and short term operation of the fortifications at Târgșor, Mălăiești, Drajna de Sus and Pietroasele must be regarded within the same context with those at Rucăr and Voinești<sup>70</sup>. Differently to the traditional historiography, we believe that the construction of the fortifications in the mentioned points (*locations*) should rather be related with the exploitation of highly important resources for the Roman army. It is this way one should understand also the location of certain units in the fort at Pietroasele, respectively Buridava. Thus, the displacement of the army in these points corresponds firstly to logistic reasons.

Over the course of several historical periods, it could be noted that one of the most important deposits of Transylvania and the hill area south the Carpathian Mountains was the salt. This resource on the territory of the Dacians was most definitely one of the important parts of the trade with the Roman Empire. The hoard finds in the Teleajen valley area and nearby are very significant to this effect, even though they belong to a rather broad chronological interval. This corridor enters in an area with many salt resources, being one of the communication routes with south-east Transylvania, at its turn rich in salt exploitation.

The rich salt resources on the territory of Dacia were precious due both to the impressive quantity of the deposit and the fact that solid salt lacked from an expansive territory (Pannonia, the Balkan Peninsula or the north of the Black Sea)<sup>71</sup>. Salt must have been one of the components of the trade relations between the Dacians and the Sarmatians<sup>72</sup>, as it was highly necessary to a nomad population, whose economy was mainly centred on cattle breeding. As indicated by the epigraphic data, the salt mines in the future province of Dacia were part of the imperial estate, leased to *conductores pascui et salinarum*, who also had the right to sell the salt<sup>73</sup>.

In the support of the arguments above, we shall mention only one further example, which belongs to a different period though, namely the Bulgarian control of the salt resources of Transylvania in the early medieval period, which is no longer a novelty, underlined in several more recent studies<sup>74</sup>.

2. Another reason for the arrangement of the Roman units in this area was identified based on parallels with a situation very similar in the north of the border

<sup>70</sup> Although the fort there was not yet found, the archaeologists who excavate the Roman baths there related the functioning of this edifice to an extant fort nearby.

<sup>71</sup> Benea 2007a, 99; Benea 2007b, 41. For the salt mines in Dacia see also Glodariu 1977, 960f.; Wollmann 1996, 411ff. In Antiquity, beside mine or surface exploitation, salt was also obtained from sea water, in coastal areas or, in inland areas, from salted waters or lakes (PLIN. *Nat.* 31. 82). At this moment, yet, there is no estimate of the proportion in the domestic demand that could be covered by salt exploitations from sea water (Marzano 2013, 124, 141). Interpretations on the value of salt were sometimes exaggerated, as it was deemed more valuable to the Roman Empire than the gold in Dacia, being “a key argument for the conquest of the Dacian state” (Medeleț 1995, 285–301).

<sup>72</sup> Bărcă 2006, 270.

<sup>73</sup> Piso 2007, 179–182; Benea 2007a, 91–111. These *conductores* either paid a lease tax for salt extraction or collected the taxes due to the state by other mine owners.

<sup>74</sup> Madgearu 2001, 280; Madgearu 2005, 111; Ciupercă 2010a, 289 = Ciupercă 2010b, 628; Yotov 2012, 326, Fig. 5, 330.



in Pannonia Superior. *Historia Augusta* noted that Marcus Aurelius had wished to establish a new province in the north<sup>75</sup>. Although in AD 175, the Marcomanni, Quadi and Iazyges were Roman allies, three years later, the presence of the units stationed among the Quadi and the Marcomanni was designed, according to Cassius Dio, to impede respective tribes to carry out a normal economic life, namely to hinder the free movement specific to nomad populations<sup>76</sup>. *This way (Marcus) wished not to seize their land, but to punish them!* Over the last three decades were researched and published many data indicative of a special dynamics of the Roman armies, noticeable from the spatial distribution of the Roman fortifications north the Danube in the Vindobona and Kelamantia segment, datable starting with the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>77</sup>.

We believe that Trajan's policy concerning some of the nomad populations, namely the Sarmatians, was to ban migration in their economically vital areas. This, as seen, had serious consequences on the relations with the Iazyges and then with the Roxolani.

During the process of pacification of the entire north-Danube area, Hadrian withdraws some legions, rethinks the defensive system in affected provinces and brings, in a series of key points, auxiliary units of which excel those very mobile, due to their cavalry units. In addition, the emperor chooses the specialised irregular units. Adaptability to the circumstances in Dacia, detailed thinking of strategic and, why not, economic solutions are noteworthy. The maintenance of the new units was cheaper, as they were more adaptable, likely less pretentious to the conditions existent in the newly established province.

*Historia Augusta*<sup>78</sup> is unclear whether the Roxolani attacked or not Moesia Inferior during the crises of AD 117-118<sup>79</sup>. Hadrian's arrival in Moesia Inferior was firstly due to the negotiations with the Roxolani<sup>80</sup>. The displacement of garrisons gave access to the Sarmatians to key areas for their nomad economy. The entry of the Sarmatians in these territories does not seem significant in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>81</sup>, which may be explained either as a result of their nomad economy or a temporary conclusion owed to the current state of research.

<sup>75</sup> SHA *Marc.* 24, 5-6 and 27, 10. Based on Cassius Dio some reject any emperor's intention to create a new province, Instinsky 1972.

<sup>76</sup> CASS. DIO LXXI 20.

<sup>77</sup> The directions of certain operations during the Marcomannic wars could be established also by identifying temporary forts north the Danube (Rajtár 1997, 475, Fig. 6.75, 76; Tejral 1997, 534, Fig. 6.101).

<sup>78</sup> SHA *Hadr.* 6, 6-8.

<sup>79</sup> Analysing literary sources, C. C. Petolescu rejects the existence of a Sarmatian attack of the Roxolani (Petolescu 1993, 161-162).

<sup>80</sup> The main elements of these negotiations were seemingly the continuation of *stipendia* grant (Opreanu 1994, 207) and the award of the *rex amicus populi Romani* status to their chieftain (identified in an inscription from *Pola*, under the Roman name *P. Aelius Rasparaganus* - CIL V 32; Opreanu 1994, 207; Opreanu 1998, 53). Territorial clauses must have regarded the resolution of inconveniences caused by the displacement of certain Roman units on the territory of Muntenia.

<sup>81</sup> For views on the starting date of the Sarmatian entry in the Plain of Muntenia see Bichir 1977, 191; Niculescu 2003, 184-186; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 140, 142; Diaconu 1980, 284; Oța 1999, 887; Oța 2007, 51; Oța, Sîrbu 2009, 178-196; Sîrbu et alii 2014, 122-133; Opreanu 1998, 63-64; Sîrbu, Bârcă 1999, 93-94; Bârcă 2013a, 117-119; Bârcă 2013b; Bârcă 2015. For the Sarmatian advance and inhabitancy in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC - 1<sup>st</sup> century AD on the east-Carpathian territory see Bârcă 2006; Bârcă 2013a, 99-119.

In the case of Muntenia one may speak of the withdrawal/displacement of units from certain strategic areas (either economically and/or militarily) which had had the role of hindering the access of the Sarmatian tribes to certain vital resources for pastoralism. In this case, these areas are beneficial for winter spending and salt mining<sup>82</sup>. Therefore, there is no case of occupation of Muntenia and south Moldova and neither of a later withdrawal from a vast territory. The so-called occupation, respectively abandonment of a vast territory (the Plain of Muntenia and south Moldova) must be regarded rather as a displacement of units from a few key positions (military occupation), subsequent to constraints to which some of the nomad populations were subjected to, and not at as a significant loss of a territory not intended for colonisation. This space, generally described by modern names (East Oltenia, Muntenia, south Moldova), was not incorporated in the province of Moesia Inferior, the governor of this province bearing authority only over army controlled areas. This is how the lack of data on the colonisation of the newly-conquered area may be explained. In fact, even though legally, these territories were defined as *intra provinciam* (the Hunt papyrus), one should not forget that *provincia* was the competence field of a magistrate and not the proper territorial expression. Thus, territories were part of the competence field of the governor of Moesia Inferior, however since specific civil structures did not emerge, one may not speak of a territorially established province. In fact, this is not the single case when the authority of the governor of Moesia Inferior exceeds the proper limits of the province, the Roman control over the northern region of the Black Sea being indicative to this effect.

3. All these hypotheses open the discussion on the collocations defining the conquest of Muntenia and south Moldova and the integration of these territories in the province of Moesia Inferior, respectively the withdrawal of the Roman army from this vast territory. They were given historical value by association with Hadrian's decision to "abandon these territories", the "similar" situations in Assyria and Mesopotamia, within a strategic vision likely based on Augustus's policy, that of affixing empire borders along natural barriers. The conquest, respectively withdrawal of the army from the territory of Muntenia and south Moldova became paradigms in the historical context where the military operations of the Romans north the Danube under Trajan aimed at encircling the Dacian kingdom (seen as centralized structure, well organized administratively and militarily).

Furthermore, we shall mention that in the case of Muntenia there is no evidence of Roman colonisation or of any intention recording this could have happened. The extended Dacian campaigns and the arrangement within the territory of the Roman units seem to indicate that the authority of the governor of Moesia Inferior was exercised only over areas where the effective presence of the Roman army may be argued. Compared to the general situation, whereby the *provincia* might have inferred only the area where the consular legate exercised its *imperium*<sup>83</sup>, we may argue that the territory controlled by the Romans in Muntenia was rather restricted.

<sup>82</sup> It is possible that in some sub-Carpathian areas the salt exploited at surface might have also been mined by private entrepreneurs.

<sup>83</sup> Piso 1993, 3.

## Conclusions

To conclude, similar with the Roman Eastern frontier, the area between Orontes and Tigris (the so-called *desert frontier* or *Steppengrenze*<sup>84</sup>), one can easily imagine that something pretty similar must have been into place in the north-west Muntenia, namely an area which, due to the geographic layout of this territory, namely the Bărăgan area (virtually a deserted area, a no man's land, only colonised by the Romanian state by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), was only under Roman control, but never part of the Empire. The region which was *intra provinciam*, as mentioned in the Hunt papyrus was the Olt valley, the core of the Dacia Inferior province. Therefore, Hadrian only withdraws the units from the above mentioned *praesidia*, due to some agreements reached with the nomad Sarmatian tribes and, in the same time, organized the Dacia inferior province in the region which was part of the Moesia inferior province, i.e. the region between Jiu and Olt Rivers and south-east Transylvania.

Nevertheless, the Roman control over Muntenia did not cease, as the fortifications along the *transalutanus* line, most of which built only at the beginning of the Severan period, and the presence of *vexillationes* of the *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* from Durostorum at Pietroasele during Caracalla's reign, fully attest. The above mentioned agreements probably allowed the nomad Sarmatian tribes to come to spend the winter in the nearby of the Roman Lower Danube frontier, without crossing some demarcation lines like the one built in Galați area<sup>85</sup> and to have free pass over the Bărăgan area. Therefore, one can easily label the Roman frontier from north-west Muntenia as a *nomad frontier*, since the Roman policy towards the region was shaped by Rome's interactions with the nomad Sarmatian tribes settled there by the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

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<sup>84</sup> Sommer 2005, 33-47.

<sup>85</sup> Țentea, Oltean 2009.

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## ESERCITO E SOCIETÀ NELLA DACIA ROMANA. GLI ILLIRI IN AMBIENTE MILITARE

IRINA NEMETI

**Abstract:** A large number of persons of Illyrian origin are documented in the inscriptions of Dacia (origin proved by the names of these people or by their kinship with others wearing Illyrian names). Most of the Illyrian community of Dacia lived in Alburnus Maior, where Dalmatian miners were settled. Inscriptions in which Illyrian names occur also come from the great cities of the province of Dacia, from the so-called *vici militares*, and from the rural area. The detailed interpretation of the epigraphic corpus certifies a close connection between these people and the Roman army, with reference to soldiers, veterans and their families. This group of people indicates – by name, social status, religious preferences – a certain degree of Romanization. Our study attempts to clarify this specific aspect of the provincial society by the investigation of the Illyrians from the army of Dacia and of their acculturation.

**Keywords:** Illyrians; society; onomastics; colonization; acculturation; army.

**Rezumat:** În inscripțiile descoperite în Dacia apare un număr mare de persoane de origine iliră (origine demonstrată de numele purtate sau de relațiile de rudenie cu alte persoane cu nume ilire). Cea mai mare parte a comunității ilire locuia la Alburnus Maior, acolo unde au fost colonizați mineri dalmatini. Inscripții în care apar nume ilire provin însă și din marile orașe ale provinciei Dacia, din *vici militares* și din mediul rural. Interpretarea detaliată a corpusului epigrafic certifică o strânsă legătură între aceste persoane și armata romană, fiind vorba de soldați, de veterani și de familiile acestora. Acest grup de persoane indică – prin nume, statut social, preferințe religioase –, un anumit grad de romanizare. Studiul nostru încearcă să clarifice acest aspect specific al societății provinciale analizând ilirii din armata din Dacia, precum și aculturarea lor.

**Cuvinte cheie:** iliri; societate; onomastică; colonizare; aculturație; armată.

La conquista del territorio a nord del Danubio e la creazione della provincia Dacia all'inizio del II sec. d. C. attirarono una moltitudine di coloni dalle zone più diverse dell'Impero Romano. Le fonti letterarie ci trasmettono informazioni insufficienti sulla portata della colonizzazione, e il materiale epigrafico, scultoreo e archeologico prova l'esistenza, nella provincia, di alcuni gruppi etnici con diversi livelli di romanizzazione. Il processo di acculturazione dei peregrini dei territori barbari conquistati prima da Roma continua anche in Dacia. È possibile osservare uno spostamento organizzato di alcune comunità dalle provincie di Dalmazia, Pannonia e Noricum, mentre la dislocazione delle truppe ausiliarie condusse alla comparsa di alcuni gruppi etnici venuti da zone più lontane. Gli elementi tracici, celtici occidentali, siriaci, iberici, come pure quelli dal nord-ovest dell'Africa, arrivano nella nuova provincia utilizzando lo stesso meccanismo della dislocazione delle truppe militari e l'immigrazione delle comunità collegate agli interessi di queste truppe. Il commercio a grande distanza conduce alla comparsa di mercanti da Siria, Asia Minore, Egitto, ma anche dalle regioni della Gallia orientale e renana. In questo amalgama, le comunità etniche interagiscono



assumendo livelli diversi della cultura classica, utilizzando la lingua comune, il latino, e generando complessi processi di acculturazione. Nella costruzione di alcune identità di gruppo, linguistiche ma anche religiose nello stesso tempo, alcune comunità manifestano tendenze conservatrici: continuano a utilizzare la lingua materna, l'adorazione della divinità della madrepatria, e i riti funebri tradizionali. Sotto l'influenza di questo ambiente caratteristico della civiltà tradizionale divengono ombreggiate e gradualmente alterate, giungendo all'integrazione, conseguenza dell'adattamento.

La colonizzazione degli Illiri nella Dacia romana si concentra, in particolare, nella zona aurifera dei Carpazi Occidentali. Le scoperte archeologiche degli ultimi anni ad Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană, provincia di Alba) hanno rilanciato il dibattito sulla presenza dei minatori dalmati nella regione aurifera della Dacia<sup>1</sup>. Gli scavi archeologici più recenti hanno portato nuove informazioni sui tipi di abitato, sul rito funerario e sulla vita religiosa degli Illiri, in seguito alla scoperta di nuovi insediamenti di tipo civile, di necropoli a incinerazione e di edifici di culto. Le nuove scoperte epigrafiche, inoltre, hanno aggiunto nuove informazioni relative all'onomastica degli abitanti, ma anche sul tipo di organizzazione delle comunità di Alburnus Maior.

Finora, le diverse *gentes* venute dalla Dalmazia, appaiono organizzate in forme proprie. La colonizzazione di questi minatori dalmati, specialisti nell'estrazione dell'oro, aveva probabilmente un carattere organizzato, dal momento che i coloni furono qui condotti in gruppi compatti, con proprie istituzioni (*kastella*, *principes* etc.)<sup>2</sup>. Oltrepassando la regione aurifera, non si può osservare nessun'altra comunità illirica nel territorio della provincia. La colonizzazione degli Illiri nella Dacia sembra essere più connessa alle iniziative personali di individui originari della Dalmazia, mentre l'esercito fu sicuramente una delle strutture che consentirono la mobilità delle persone da queste regioni verso la nuova provincia<sup>3</sup>.

Uno studio attento sugli individui di origine illirica rileva il reclutamento all'interno di truppe ausiliarie diverse: *Ala Batavorum*, *ala II Pannoniorum* (Gherla), *ala I Illyricorum* (Brâncovenesti), *ala I Brittonum c. R.* (Gherla), *ala Bosporanorum* (che prima servì nel *numerus Illyricorum*) *cohors III Campestris* (Drobeta, Porolissum), *cohors II Hispanorum*, *Numerus M(aurorum)* a Micia, *Numerus Singulariorum* (*Britannicianorum?*) e le due legioni - *Legio XIII Gemina* e la *V Macedonica*. Essi erano *milites* (2), *equites* (2), *tubicen*, *signifer*, *centurio*, *beneficiarius*, *decuriones* (2), *veterani* (3)<sup>4</sup>. Tutti erano giunti in Dacia dalle provincie vicine - Moesia Superior, Dalmazia, le Pannonie e dalle regioni abitate da popolazioni illiriche.

### Gli Illiri. Le persone e l'onomastica

Le iscrizioni della Dacia raccolgono un numero assai grande di persone (140), identificabili come Illiri per i nomi e le relazioni di parentela. La maggior parte di essi si concentra nel centro minerario di Alburnus Maior, mentre gli altri provengono dalle città di Apulum, Ampelum, Potaissa, Napoca, Drobeta, Romula, Tibiscum e soltanto

<sup>1</sup> Piso 2003, passim; Damian 2003, passim; Ardevan 2004, passim; Ciongradi 2009, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Daicoviciu 1958, passim; Nemeti, Nemeti 2010, 111-114.

<sup>3</sup> Per l'analogue vedi Stanley Jr. 1990, 250-260.

<sup>4</sup> Protase 1978, 500-503; Petolescu 2002, 64, 65, 74, 78, 92, 113.

alcuni da regioni rurali - Brădeni, Bretea, Gârbău, Slatina, Zegaia, o da *vici* militari - Brâncovenesti, Bologa, Cigmău, Gherla, Ilișua, Micia, Pojejena. Per la nostra analisi sulla presenza degli Illiri nell'ambiente militare, abbiamo preso in considerazione un numero maggiore di persone, non soltanto quelle che appaiono chiaramente nelle iscrizioni come militari o veterani. Abbiamo quindi esteso l'area della nostra interpretazione, includendo anche le persone attestate epigraficamente nei *vici* militari e nelle città in cui sono attestate truppe militari.

Questo gruppo di persone presenta, sulla base dei nomi attestati, un certo livello di romanizzazione. Ché anzi, è possibile distinguere quattro categorie principali all'interno del gruppo di genti illiriche attestate nelle iscrizioni daciche: ogni categoria, infatti, illustra una fase d'acculturazione riflessa nel sistema onomastico.

La prima categoria è quella degli Illiri che non adottano il sistema onomastico romano. Essi appaiono nelle iscrizioni come portatori di nomi di origine illirica o, portano, seguendo il sistema onomastico barbaro, un nome personale e un patronimico di origine illirica. Alla prima categoria appartiene Bato, Bedarus, Bricena (?), Dasius, Glavida (?), Panianus (Rep. 5, 14, 17, 19, 24). Il secondo gruppo è rappresentato da persone come Dasas Scenobarbi, Scenobarbus Dasi, Temaius Dasi, Liccaius Vinentis (Rep. 4, 6, 10, 23).

Questi sono gli Illiri che portano i loro nomi barbari articolati secondo il modello latino, alcuni assumendo proprio forme latinizzanti come Panianus dal Panes. Essi rappresentano la categoria più conservatrice di fronte alla romanizzazione, e ciò era probabilmente dovuto anche a limiti culturali e sociali imposti dalla loro condizione sociale generalmente modesta (peregrini, schiavi). Essi adottarono sicuramente la cultura materiale di fattura romana; conoscevano la lingua latina, in parte, come ci mostrano i testi delle iscrizioni che elevano. Questi testi sono generalmente modesti, ma scritti, senza eccezione, in latino.

La seconda categoria illustra una fase più avanzata di romanizzazione, costituita da nomi combinati, illiri e romani, nomi che non rispettano il sistema onomastico romano dei *tria nomina* fatto che indica, generalmente, persone con statuto giuridico di peregrini non cittadini.

Si osserva l'uso errato di alcuni elementi - *nomen gentile* al posto del *praenomen* etc., o la combinazione di un *praenomen* latino con un patronimico illirico: Bersius Ingenus, Trosius Crispus, Tutor Silvani, Crescens Platoris, Linda Severus, Serena Licconis, Senecius Surus, Plicia (?) Vari Capitoni, Sabina Labrionis (Rep. 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 27).

La terza categoria è rappresentata da individui portatori di nomi che rispettano perfettamente il sistema onomastico romano dei *tria nomina* (nel caso degli uomini), ma con *cognomina* che tradiscono l'origine illirica: M. Aurelius Dassius, L. Dasumius Priscus, C. Iulius Tato, T. Scervius Vitalis; in alcuni casi i *praenomina* non sono più menzionati: Aurelius Epicatius, Aurelius Dasius, Aurelius Calanus, Iulius Scenobarbus, Aelius Tato, Ulpius Dassius, Iulius Scenobarbus (Rep. 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26). Alcuni di essi provengono da famiglie ben romanizzate, come Aurelius Epicatius da Potaissa, che porta un cognomen illirico mentre i suoi fratelli hanno nomi romani: Aurelius Viator e Aurelius Corbulo. Negli altri casi ci troviamo di fronte ad alcune famiglie miste, come dimostrano altre due iscrizioni sempre da Potaissa - Iulius

Scenobarbus, fratello di Iulius Zeno (cognome greco) e Iulius Gaius, e poi Aurelius Dasius, fratello di Aurelius Bassianus e Aurelius Aulucentus (cognome tracio).

Tutti sono, per la maggioranza, cittadini romani e appartengono a famiglie perfettamente romanizzate. Un altro gruppo di persone è costituito dai veterani alcuni dei quali ricevettero la cittadinanza al compimento del servizio militare: M. Aurelius Dasius, L. Dasumius Priscus, C. Iulius Tato. Dal punto di vista del livello di romanizzazione, non esistono differenze rispetto alla categoria seguente, quella degli Illiri con nomi romani, che non possono essere identificati come Illiri soltanto in base al nome. Si tratta di persone ben integrate nella società romana, che, generalmente ricevettero la cittadinanza romana e probabilmente parlavano ancora la loro lingua barbara nello spazio privato, e il cui tradizionalismo traspare a volta nei *cognomina* dati ai discendenti.

L'ultima categoria comprende individui con nomi la cui origine illirica può essere presunta da altri dettagli forniti dai testi epigrafici: l'indicazione dell'*origo*, *domo*, o le relazioni di parentela. Per il militare Aelianus[...] il testo della diploma militare specifica la sua origine - *Dalmata*. Nel caso delle spose degli Illiri, la stessa origine etnica non è, beninteso, obbligatoria, ma può essere presunta. Aelia Kara è la moglie del veterano Ulpius Dasius. In una interpretazione inversa, Aelius Maximinus e Aelius Maximus, Aelius Ursinus, persone con onomastica latina, sono rispettivamente il marito e i figli di Serena Licconis. Anche altre associazioni di persone nelle iscrizioni possono indicare la possibilità che i portatori di nomi romani, sebbene associati con Illiri, siano anch'essi Illiri. Aelius Iulianus è il suocero e l'erede di Aelius Tato, mentre Silvana è la moglie di quest'ultimo. Vibius Rufinus, signifer legionis XIII Geminae erige il monumento funerario, come erede, per Crescens Platoris (*flio*). Ulpius Pulcher è il genero di Plicia (?) Vari Capitonis (Rep. 1, 2, 11, 13, 25, 27).

È molto probabile che, in Dacia, esistessero molte altre persone di origine illirica, che non possono però essere identificate facilmente.

Per quanto riguarda la loro provenienza, dobbiamo rilevare che il maggior numero di militari illiri proviene da Potaissa e poi da Apulum. La situazione è normale, a giudicare dalle dimensioni di questi centri urbani e delle truppe militari qui di stanza.

### La religione. L'integrazione religiosa

Sono troppo poche le iscrizioni per sostenere una discussione sulla religione degli Illiri in ambiente militare. Delle 27 epigrafi del nostro repertorio, soltanto tre sono votive, mentre il resto è composto da iscrizioni funerarie e una diploma militare.

Le iscrizioni votive sono dedicate a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Conservator, Hercules Invictus<sup>5</sup> e Deus Aeternus. Nessun elemento riconduce alle credenze e alle divinità illire. IOM e Hercules sono divinità classiche frequentemente adorate dai militari. La dedica per Deus Aeternus, associata all'immagine di un'aquila con il *fulmen* negli artigli, indica probabilmente lo stesso Iuppiter (I. O. M. Aeternus)<sup>6</sup>. In questo caso, possiamo osservare un piccolo dettaglio che ci porta di nuovo in ambiente illirico: la formula dedicatoria, con il nome del dedicante prima di quello della divinità,

<sup>5</sup> Popescu 2004, 94-98.

<sup>6</sup> Nemeti 2005, 286; Popescu 2004, 143-144.

e non al contrario, come invece appare nel modello classico, è troppo frequente nelle iscrizioni erette dagli Illiri di Alburnus Maior.

### Gli Illiri in ambiente militare

Analizzando tutti i dettagli dei monumenti epigrafici eretti dagli Illiri in ambiente militare, e confrontando la situazione con il resto delle iscrizioni della Dacia, possiamo osservare un grado più alto di romanizzazione nel caso dei primi. Il gruppo degli Illiri colonizzati ad Alburnus Maior si presenta chiaramente più conservatore, sul piano onomastico ma anche su quello votivo, mentre gli Illiri sparsi nel territorio della provincia, nelle truppe e nei *vici*, ma anche nelle città collegate alle truppe, possono essere collocati su un gradino superiore nel processo di romanizzazione. L'adozione dell'onomastica romana, il prestito di nuove forme religiose è parte integrante di un processo complesso di acculturazione che porterà, alla fine, all'assunzione di una nuova identità culturale di questi illiri. L'appropriazione della lingua e dell'onomastica latina, così come l'adozione delle divinità romane, è uguale, in termini storici, alla loro romanizzazione.

#### I militari di origine illirica

No.	Luogo di scoperta	Nome	Truppa	Grado militare	Tipo d'iscrizione	Fonti
1	Dacia meridionale	[...] <i>Aelianus</i> [...] <i>f(ilio) Dalmat(ae)</i>			Diploma militare	ILD 19.
2	Drobeta	<i>Liccaius Vinentis</i> <i>Linda Severus</i>	<i>Coh. III Campestris</i>	<i>beneficiarius heres</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 14216; IDR II 45.
3	Bretea (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa)	<i>L. Dasumius Priscus</i>	<i>Leg. XIII Gemina</i>	<i>veteranus</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 1476; IDR III/ 2, 405.
4	Micia	... <i>Dassius</i>	<i>Numerus Maurorum Miciensium</i>		Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 7872; IDR III/3, 176.
5	Apulum	<i>Dasas Scenobarbi</i> <i>Bersius Ingenuus</i>	<i>Ala Batavorum, Numerus singulariorum;</i> <i>Numerus singulariorum</i>	<i>eques</i> <i>decurio</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 7800; IDR III/5, 522.
6	Apulum	<i>Crescens Platoris</i> <i>Vibius Rufinius</i>	<i>Leg. XIII Gemina?</i> <i>Leg. XIII Gemina</i>	<i>signifer</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 1192; IDR III/5, 521.
7	Apulum	<i>Tutor Silvani</i>	<i>Ala Bosporanorum, Numerus Illyricorum</i>	<i>eques</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 1197; IDR III/5, 585.

No.	Luogo di scoperta	Nome	Truppa	Grado militare	Tipo d'iscrizione	Fonti
8	Brâncove-nești	<i>Ulpus Dassius</i>	<i>Ala Illyricorum?</i>	<i>veteranus, decurio</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	Protase, Zrínyi 1992, 99, no. 5.
9	Potaissa	<i>Aurelius Calanus</i>	<i>Leg. V Macedonica?</i>	<i>miles</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 1604.
10	Potaissa	<i>Dasius</i>	<i>Leg. V Macedonica</i>	<i>miles?</i>	Iscrizione militare	Bărbulescu 1994, 53; Bărbulescu 2012, 63-65.
11	Potaissa	<i>Trosius Crispus</i>	<i>Leg. V Macedonica</i>	<i>centurio</i>	Iscrizione votiva, Hercules	Russu 1936-1940, 325-330.
12	Napoca	<i>T. Scervius Vitalis</i>	<i>Coh. III Campestris</i>	<i>tubicen</i>	Iscrizione votiva, IOM	Daicoviciu 1969, 213, no. 2.
13	Gherla	<i>Scenobarbus Dasi</i>	<i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i>	<i>eques</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	Protase 1968, 340.
14	Gherla	<i>Glavus Navati f(ilio)</i>	<i>Ala Brittonum c. R.</i>	<i>eques</i>	Diploma militare	IDR I, DiplD VII.
15	Gârbău	<i>M. Aurelius Dasius</i>		<i>veteranus?</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 851.
16	Bologa	<i>Aelius Tato</i>	<i>Coh. II Hispanorum</i>	<i>decurio</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 843.

#### Iscrizioni trovate nei vici militari

No.	Vicus	Nome	Tipo d'iscrizione	Fonti
1	Pojejena	<i>Glavica?</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	IDR III/1, 17.
2	Tibiscum	<i>Temaius Dasi</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	IDR III/1, 169.
3	Cigmău	<i>C. Iulius Tato</i>	Iscrizione votiva, Deus Aeternus	CIL III 7880; IDR III/3, 216.
4	Bologa	<i>Bato?, Batonis</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 843.
5	Ilișua	<i>Serena Licconis</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	Protase 1957, 319-320.

#### Iscrizioni trovate nelle città (in cui sono attestate truppe militari)

No.	Città	Nome	Tipo d'iscrizione	Fonti
1	Romula	<i>Plicia? Vari Capitonis</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 8036 = 1595; IDR II 354.
2	Drobeta	<i>Sabina Labrionis Senecius Surus</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 14216, 14; IDR II 60.
3	Potaissa	<i>Bedarus, Bricena?</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 917.
4	Potaissa	<i>Aurelius Dasius</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 918.
5	Potaissa	<i>Aurelius Epicius</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 920.
6	Potaissa	<i>Panianus</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	Téglás 1902, 82.
7	Potaissa	<i>Iulius Scenobarbus</i>	Iscrizione funeraria	CIL III 13671.



## Il repertorio delle iscrizioni

### Origine sconosciuta (Dacia meridionale)

1. *Aelianus filio Dalmatae*. Origine sconosciuta (Dacia meridionale).

Eck et alii 2002-2003, 34-37, no. 2; ILD 19.

...[*L. Vitrasio Flamini*]no / [*alae/coh(ortis)*]...cui praest / [...]Aelianus/ [...] f(ilio) Dalmat(ae)...

### Romula

2. *Plicia*?<sup>7</sup> Varri Capitonis. Reșca (Romula), dipart. Dolj.

CIL III 8036 = 1595; Kerényi 1941, no. 1745; per Varro vedi Katičić 1963, 278-279; IDR II 354.

...Pliciae / Var(i?) / Capitonis / Ulpus / Pulcher / ciner b(ene)m(erentibus).

### Drobeta

3. Sabina Labrionis e L. Senecius Surus. Drobeta-Turnu Severin (Drobeta), dipart. Mehedinți.

CIL III 14216, 14; Kerényi 1941, no. 1663, 1715, 1719; Russu 1944, 202, no. 48; per Labrio vedi Russu 1969, 218; per Surus vedi Mayer 1957, 327; Russu 1969, 250-251; Rendić-Miočević 1956, 42-43; IDR II 60.

[*S*]abina Labrio/nis v(ixit) a(nnis) L. Sen/ecio Suri v(ixit) a(nnis) XX.

4. Liccaius Vinentis e Linda Severus. Drobeta-Turnu Severin (Drobeta), dipart. Mehedinți.

CIL III 14216; Kerényi 1941, no. 1668, 1756; Russu 1944, 203, no. 52, 207, no. 116; per Liccaius vedi Mayer 1957, 210; Russu 1969, 221; per Vinens vedi Russu 1969, 264; per Linda vedi Russu 1969, 222; IDR II 45.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Liccaius / Vinentis / mil(es) coh(ortis) / Cam(pestis), b(ene)ff(icia)rius trib(uni) / mil(itant) annis XL / Linda Se/verus / h(eres) b(ene)m(erenti) p(osuit).*

### Pojejena

5. Glavica? Pojejena, dipart. Caraș-Severin.

Téglás 1911, 506-507; Russu 1949, 285-286; per il nome vedi Mayer 1957, 151; Russu 1969, 213-214; IDR III/1, 17;

*D(is) M(anibus) / Glavica (?) / an(norum) XXX Va(leria?) / Vell/(?)a(?)via (?) con/iugi (?) be(ne)mer(enti).*

Lettura incerta.

### Tibiscum

6. Temaius Dasi. Jupa (Tibiscum), dipart. Caraș-Severin.

Daicoviciu 1929, 315; Kerényi 1941, no. 1642; per Temaius vedi Mayer 1957, 333; Russu 1969, 253; per Dasius - Krahe 1929, 37-38; Mayer 1957, 96; Russu 1969, 195-199; Katičić 1963, 26, 8; IDR III/1, 169.

<sup>7</sup> Il Professore I. Piso proporre la lettura [*Sim*]/pliciae.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Temai Dassi f(ilio) / an(norum) XX...*

### **Territorium di Sarmizegetusa**

7. L. Dasumius Priscus. Iscrizione vista a Bretea, Păclîşa e Orăştie, dipart. Hunedoara. CIL III 1476; Kerényi 1941, no. 1644; Russu 1944, 202, no. 38; per Dasumius vedi Mayer 1957, 113; Russu 1969, 194–199; IDR III/2, 405.

*...item L(ucio) Dasumio / Prisco vet(erano) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) vix(it) an(nis) IX.*

### **Micia**

8. ...us Dassius. Veţel (Micia), dipart. Hunedoara.

CIL III 7872; Russu 1944, 202, no. 35; Kerényi 1941, no. 1641; IDR III/3, 176.

*[D(is)] M(anibus) / [...i]o Dassi / [...] N(umeri) M(aurorum) M(iciensium) / [mil. an...] vixit / [ann..] h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

### **Cigmău**

9. C. Iul(ius) Tato. Cigmău, dipart. Hunedoara.

CIL III 7880; Kerényi 1941, no. 1729; Russu 1944, 206, no. 95; per Tato vedi Katičić 1963, 282, 284; Rendić-Miočević 1993, 124; Falileyev 2007, 142; IDR III/3, 216.

*C(aius) Iul(ius) Tato D(eo) / Et(e)rno v(otum) p(osuit).*

### **Apulum**

10. Dasas [S]cenobarbi et Bers(ius) [I]ngenu(u)s. Alba Iulia (Apulum), dipart. Alba.

CIL III 7800; Kerényi 1941, no. 1707, 1637; Russu 1944, 201, no. 31, 204, no. 81; per Scenobarbus vedi Russu 1969, 234; Mayer 1957, 312; Katičić 1963, 274; IDR III/5, 522.

*...Dasa(n)ti [S]ceno/barbi eq(uiti) alae / Ba[t]a/vorum / ex n(umero) sing(ularium) st[ip]endiorum) / V? [a]n(norum) XXXI Ber(sius) / [I]ngenu(u)s de[c(urio) / ex n(umero) eodem (h) e[r] / res posuit.*

11. Crescens Platoris. Alba Iulia (Apulum), dipart. Alba.

CIL III 1192; Kerényi 1941, no. 1697; Russu 1944, 204, no. 77; per Plator vedi Katičić 1963, 282; Rendić-Miočević 1993, 123; IDR III/5, 521.

*...Crescenti / Platoris / fi[l(io)] vix(it) an(nis) / XXXV / Vibius Ru/fi(n)us si[g(nifer)] / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / h(eres?) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

12. Tutor Silvani. Alba Iulia (Apulum), dipart. Alba.

CIL III 1197; Kerényi 1941, no. 1742; Russu 1944, 206, no. 103; Russu 1969, 259; per Tutor vedi Krahe 1929, 121.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Tutor Silvan[i] / eq[ue]s alae Bos[ph(oranorum)] / ex n(umero) Illyri(orum) sti[p]endiorum) / XXIII vix(it) ann(is) XLIII h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)].*

### **Brâncovenesti**

13. Ulpius Dassius. Brâncovenesti, dipart. Mureş.

Protase, Zrínyi 1992, 99, no. 5, Pl. 5.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(ia) Kara / vix(it) an(nis) XL / Ulp(ius) Dassius / [vet(eranus)] ex dec(urione) / [coni]ugi pien(tissimae) / [b(ene)] m(erenti) f(ecit).*

### Potaissa

14. Bedarus e Bricena; è possibile supporre l'origine illirica anche per Aia Nandonis e Andrada Bituvantis. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 917; Russu 1944, 200-201, no. 19; Kerényi 1941, no. 1616; per Bedarus vedi Mayer 1957, 73; per Bricena vedi Krahe 1929, 24; Mayer 1957, 97; per Aia Nandonis e Andrada Bituvantis vedi Rusu 1944, 285, 286; Russu 1969, 163, 227; Falileyev 2007, 34, 111, 58.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aia Nandonis vixit / annis LXXX Andrada / Bituvantis vix(it) an(n)is / LXXX Bricena vixit an(n)is / XLL Iusta vixit an(n)is XXX / Bedarus vixit XII pos(t) obitum ei Herculanus libertus patrone benemer(enti).*

15. Aur(elius) Calanus<sup>8</sup>. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 1604; Bărbulescu 1994, 53.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius Calanus vix(it) an(nos) L/I et militavit XXV/I.*

16. Aur(elius) Dasius. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 918; Russu 1944, 201; Kerényi 1941, nr. 1637; Bărbulescu 1994, 53.

*D(is) M(anibus) Au(relius) Auluc(entus) / v(ixit) d(iem) I m(enses) VI an(nis) XXXV / Aur(elii) Basianus et D/asius [be]nem(erenti) et / s(ibi) m(emoriam) fa(ciendam) curarunt.*

17. Dasius (Dassius?). Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

Bărbulescu 1994, 53; Bărbulescu 2012, 63-65; AE 2012, 1203.

a. ... s[schol]a(e? m?) ... / Vitalis... / ...Das[sius?]

b.... Iulian(us) / ...Antiochus / [...An?]t(onius) Valentin(us) / ...Valens / ...Quintilianu[s].

18. Aurelius Epicatius. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 920; Kerényi 1941, no. 1652; Russu 1944, 202, no. 46; per *Epicatius* (*Epicadus*) vedi Krahe 1929, 47, 49, 155; Mayer 1957, 139; Katičić 1962, 100-102; Russu 1969, 208-210.

*D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Epicatiu[s] / vixit ann(is) LII / Aur(elius) Viator VI[...] / vixit annis X / Aur(elius) Corbulo / vixit annis XII.*

19. Panianus<sup>9</sup>. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

Kerényi 1941, no. 1126; Russu 1944, 203, no. 61; Panianus forma latinizzata di Panes, vedi Mayer 1957, 255; Russu 1969, 231; Katičić 1963, 271.

*[D(is)] M(anibus) / [...]ianus vix(it) ann(is) / [...] Panianus / [...]ei...*

20. Iulius? Scenobarbus. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 13671; Kerényi 1941, no. 1711; Russu 1944, 205, no. 85; Bărbulescu 1994, 53.

<sup>8</sup> Lettura I. Piso, IDR IV (manoscritto) - *Gaianus* o *Caianus*.

<sup>9</sup> Lettura I. Piso, IDR IV (manoscritto) - *[Cam]panianus*.

*[D(is)] M(anibus) [Iul(ius) S]cenobarbus vixi(t) [an(nis)...] Iul(ius) Ze/[no vix(it)] an(nis) XI / [Iul(ius)...] vix(it) an(nis) /...[Iul(ius)] Ioas / [vix(it) an(nis) Iul(ius) Gai(ius) vix(it) an(nis)...] / Iul(ius) M[...] /... (vi)x(it) an(nis) I /...pias /...co(n)i[ugi]...*

21. Trosius Crispus. Turda (Potaissa), dipart. Cluj.

Russu 1936–1940, 325–330; Russu 1944, 206, no. 102; AE 1950, 15; Bărbulescu 1994, 53; per *Trosius* vedi Rendić-Miočević 1971, 166.

*Herculi Invicto / sacrum / Trosius Crispus / (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / p(iae) c(onstantis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

### Napoca

22. T. Sc[e]rvius Vitalis. Cluj-Napoca (Napoca), dipart. Cluj.

Daicoviciu 1928–1932, 59–60; Kerényi 1941, no. 1226, 1261, 2548; Russu 1944, 205, no. 86; AE 1934, 14; AE 1977, 700; AE 2013, 1291; Piso 2013, 169, no. 5; per Scervius – CIL III 8242 – Scerviaedus Sitaes;

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / conserva/tori T(itus) Sc/[e]rvius Vita/lis trib(unus) coh(ortis) / III Camp(estris) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

I. Piso – *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)*; Scervius – *nomen gentile italicum*; forme vicine – Scarus (CIL V 1430), Scarius (CIL XII 3270).

### Gherla

23. Scenobarbus Dasi. Gherla, dipart. Cluj.

Protase 1968, 340; Russu 1969, 244; per Scenobarbus vedi Krahe 1929, 11, 154; Russu 1969, 234; Mayer 1957, 312; Alföldy 1969, 289.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Scenobar/bus Das(i) f(ilio) vix(it)....*

### Bologa

24. Bato. Bologa, dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 7649; Russu 1944, 200, no. 18; Kerényi 1941, no. 1609; per Bato vedi Mayer 1957, 80–82; Russu 1969, 175–177.

*Bato[...]/nis s(it) est...*

25. Ael(ius) Tato. Bologa, dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 843; 1941, no. 1728; Russu 1944, 205–206, no. 94.

*D(is) / M(anibus) / Ael(ius) Tatoni / dec(urio) coh(ortis) II His(panorum) / vix(it) an(nis) X[...] Ael(ius) / Iulianus so/cer et her/(edes) Silvana con(iugi) / be(ne)m(erenti) f(ecit) c(uravit).*

### Gârbău

26. M. Aurelius Dassius. Gârbău, dipart. Cluj.

CIL III 851; Kerényi 1941, no. 1643; Russu 1944, 202, no. 37.

*D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Dassius / vixit annis LXXX / [A]ur(eis) vi(xit)....*

## Ilișua

27. Serena Licconis. Ilișua, dipart. Bistrița.

Protase 1957, 319–320, Fig. 1; Russu 1969, 222; per Licco vedi Katičić 1963, 284.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Ae(ius) Maximi/nus vix(it) ann(is) / VL et Aeli(us) Maxi/mus vix(it) ann(is) VII / Ursinus vix(it) / ann(is) IIII; Serena / Licconis co(n)i(ugi) / et filis b(ene) m(erentibus) p(osuit).*

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## ABOUT THE GREEKS AND THE GREEK LANGUAGE IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES FROM ALBURNUS MAIOR

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**Abstract:** This paper is an overview of the Greek epigraphic sources from Alburnus Maior, as well as the Latin ones attesting Greeks or Hellenophones. The study reveals the existence of 28 persons having names of Greek origin. This number represents a percentage of over 15% of the population attested here. The contracts discovered in this area document various activities, e.g. employments, sales, loans and other activities. Some of the characters attested in these documents, such as Iulius Alexander, are known for their status of businessmen. Latin texts reveal Greek lexical interferences, for instance the terms *apochatus*, *danistaria* or *peganinum*. The study itself contains an annex, in which all individuals from the study are indexed.

**Keywords:** Greeks; Hellenophones; Alburnus Maior; interferences; hapax; Greek language.

**Rezumat:** Lucrarea de față este o trecere în revistă a surselor epigrafice grecești de la Alburnus Maior, precum și a celor latine care atestă greci sau elenofoni, din care rezultă că există 28 de persoane cu nume de origine grecească, ceea ce reprezintă un procent de peste 15% din populația acestei așezări. Din contractele descoperite aici aflăm de existența unor activități – de angajare, de vânzare-cumpărare, activități de cămătărie și altele –, câteva dintre personajele atestate în mai multe documente, cum ar fi Iulius Alexander, fiind cunoscute pentru statutul lor de oameni de afaceri. Unele texte latine dezvăluie interferențe lexicale grecești, de exemplu termenii *apochatus*, *danistaria*, sau *peganinum*. Studiul propriu-zis conține o anexă sub formă de tabel, în care sunt repertoriate toate persoanele avute în vedere în analiză.

**Cuvinte cheie:** greci; elenofoni; Alburnus Maior; interferențe; hapax; limba greacă.

The Roman settlements from Dacia reveal the existence of an ethnically mixed population, which usually consisted of Italic, Celtic, Illyrian, Greek, micro-Asian, Oriental, and other people; some residents had the status of Roman citizens, others were peregrines. Most of the population of Alburnus Maior was Illyrian, a fact that was highlighted by a study in which I. Piso<sup>1</sup> concluded that out of the 177 people registered in the study more than 51% were of Illyrian origin<sup>2</sup>.

From the epigraphically attested population in Alburnus Maior, over 15% consisted of Greeks and Hellenophones. One knows of 28 people, of which one had an uncertain name, preserved on a fragmentary altar<sup>3</sup>. Of these, only three were women: Domitia Chlone<sup>4</sup>, a Roman citizen having a Greek cognomen, mentioned in a funerary text, Pyrra Trophima<sup>5</sup>, a Roman citizen with Greek nomen and cognomen, also

<sup>1</sup> Piso 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Piso 2004, 273.

<sup>3</sup> Amonius (?) (IDR III/3, 394 = HD 046102). The reading Antonius Maxi(mus) (?) is given in Ciongradi 2009, 44, no. 12, Taf. 10, but the text is not clearly preserved, thus the reading remains uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> CIL III 1267 = IDR III/3, 419 = HD 018979.

<sup>5</sup> CIL III 7831 = IDR III/3, 433 = HD 046179.

mentioned in a funerary inscription as deceased, and Theudote<sup>6</sup>, a slave from Crete, whose name was written in a sale contract. Among those indexed here, seven had the status of Roman citizens. Thus, besides the two women mentioned above, also Aelius Dionysius, Aurelius Parthenius (?), Claudius Philetus, Iulius Alexander, Iulius Macedo had Roman citizenship, and all of them had Greek cognomina. Among the people with Greek names from Alburnus Maior 14 were peregrines, some carrying Greek *nomina* – Alexander Caricci<sup>7</sup>, Alexander Gai<sup>8</sup>, Δίων Λο(υκ)ιανοῦ<sup>9</sup>, Δημήτριος Ἀρζάκει<sup>10</sup>, others having Greek patronymic – Adiutor Macari<sup>11</sup>, Bellicus Alexandri<sup>12</sup>, Ingenuus Callisti<sup>13</sup>, Memmius Asclepi<sup>14</sup>, Valerius Niconis<sup>15</sup>, while a third category is that of people having Greek names and patronymics, such as Alexander Antipatri<sup>16</sup>, Artemidorus Apolloni<sup>17</sup>, Hermes Myrini<sup>18</sup>, Offas Menofili (!)<sup>19</sup>, and Socratio Socratonis<sup>20</sup>.

The legal status of some of these characters remains undetermined, because of the poor conservation of some sources<sup>21</sup>.

The investigated material<sup>22</sup> consists of 80 votive epigraphic monuments, 21 funerary epigraphic monuments, and 25 wax tablets, the latter discovered in the Roman mines. The lithic material (four funerary inscriptions and seven altars) attests a number of 11 people with Greek names, other 17 being attested by the wax tablets. The altars are dedicated I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) by Amonius (?) – uncertain reading, Neptuno Aug(usto) by Val(erius) Nic[o(nis)], which has a Greek patronymic, Silvano Aug(usto) by Hermes Myrini, with both names of Greek origin, Δεῖ Ναρηνῶ by Δημήτριος Ἀρζάκει, a Hellenophone with Greek nomen, Δεῖ Σιττακωμικῶ by Δίων Λο(υκ)ιανοῦ and Δεῖ Κιμιστηνῶ by Μύρων.

Analyzing these dedications, it becomes visible that some of the persons having names of Greek origin maintained their tradition and offered, in their own language, monuments to the ancestral deities, while others dedicated inscriptions to the classical deities of the Roman pantheon, in the language of the state.

In what regards the wax tablets, they are testimonies of private, economic, social life, and also of issues concerning the Roman law. They represent either work

<sup>6</sup> CIL III, p. 959, 25 = IDR I 38 = CIGD 9 = EDCS-31800206.

<sup>7</sup> CIL III, p. 934, 5 = IDR I 35 = EDCS-11201148.

<sup>8</sup> AE 1978, 679 = IDR III/3, 412 = HD 014016.

<sup>9</sup> AE 1944, 26 = IDR III/3, 409 = CIGD 7.

<sup>10</sup> AE 1944, 23 = IDR III/3, 399 = CIGD 4.

<sup>11</sup> CIL III, p. 948, 9 = IDR I 40 = EDCS-11201153.

<sup>12</sup> CIL III, p. 940, 7 = IDR I 37 = EDCS-11201150.

<sup>13</sup> CIL III, p. 944, 8 = IDR I 39 = EDCS-11201152.

<sup>14</sup> CIL III, p. 948, 10 = IDR I 41 = EDCS-11201154.

<sup>15</sup> CIL III, p. 924, 1 = ILS 7215 a = IDR I 31 = EDCS-11201144.

<sup>16</sup> CIL III, p. 959, 25 = IDR I 38 = CIGD 9 = EDCS-31800206.

<sup>17</sup> CIL III, p. 924, 1 = ILS 7215 a = IDR I 31 = EDCS-11201144.

<sup>18</sup> IDR III/3, 405.

<sup>19</sup> CIL III, p. 924, 1 = ILS 7215 a = IDR I 31 = EDCS-11201144.

<sup>20</sup> CIL III, p. 948, 9 = IDR I 40 = EDCS-11201153; CIL III, p. 948, 10 = IDR I 41 = EDCS-11201154.

<sup>21</sup> See the annexed table, where each of the 28 persons is presented based on multiple criteria – origin of name, filiation, status, function and so on.

<sup>22</sup> I also included in the repertory two inscriptions from Bucium, because the place is very close to Alburnus Maior and it is located in the mining area (AE 1944, 20 = IDR III/3, 432 = CIGD 8 – votive altar in Greek; CIL III 7831 = IDR III/3, 433 = HD 046179 – fragment of a funerary stela, documenting the Greek name of the deceased, Pyrr[a Tro]phima).

contracts<sup>23</sup>, or they concern the employment of workers for temporary activities by a tenant; others are sale contracts<sup>24</sup>, or loan agreements<sup>25</sup>; another document is a protocol for the establishment of an association, *societas danistariae* (or *danistaria*)<sup>26</sup>, while yet another mentions the interruption of certain activities within another association<sup>27</sup>.

From these texts one knows of 17 characters with Greek names, some of which had quite an important role in society or were influent persons in everyday life.

Artemidorus Apolloni, a peregrine with a Greek patronymic, was *magister collegii Iovis Cerneni*, (Gr. Ἀρτεμίδωρος – the ending *-us* indicates Latinization; Gr. Ἀπολλώνιος); Valerius Niconis and Offas Menofili (!) were *qu(a)estores* of the same *collegium*. *Collegium Iovis Cerneni*<sup>28</sup> was a religious association, the responsibilities of which included the task of organizing funeral services when some of its members passed away. Due to the lack of funds, since members of the college had not paid their dues and did not participate in meetings, this activity was stopped. However, the text does not clearly state that the religious college was dissolved, but that it could no longer handle the funerals of the deceased members: “*ut si quis defunctus fuerit ne putet se collegium (h)abere aut ab eis aliquem petitionem funeris abiturum*”<sup>29</sup>. The college was composed of Romans, Greeks and Illyrians, having a cosmopolitan character, three of its leading figures – mentioned above – having Greek names.

Another character known from four wax tablets, Iulius Alexander, was a businessman who concluded loan agreements, in which he was either borrower (once he borrowed 140 dinars from an Illyrian woman<sup>30</sup>) or creditor (he gave Alexander Caricci 60 dinars, and Lupus Carentis 50 dinars); in another document<sup>31</sup> he is attested as cofounder of an association (*societas danistariae*, or *societas danistaria*), a loan companionship, to which he contributed with a capital of 500 dinars.

In what regards the language analysis, one shall note that Greek names transcribed into Latin sometimes reveal features of the Greek language. As an example, the form Asclepius for Aesculapius – the healing deity –, cited in three inscriptions from Alburnus Maior<sup>32</sup>, shows the influence of Greek.

<sup>23</sup> CIL III, p. 948, 9 = IDR I 40 = EDCS-11201153; CIL III, p. 948, 10 = IDR I 41 = EDCS-11201154; CIL III, p. 949, 11 = IDR I 42 = EDCS-11201155.

<sup>24</sup> CIL III, p. 940, 7 = IDR I 37 = EDCS-11201150; CIL III, p. 959, 25 = IDR I 38 = CIGD 9 = EDCS-31800206; CIL III, p. 944, 8 = IDR I 39 = EDCS-11201152.

<sup>25</sup> CIL III, p. 930, 3 = IDR I 33 = EDCS-11201146; CIL III, p. 934, 5 = IDR I 35 = EDCS-11201148; CIL III, p. 949, 12 = IDR I 43 = EDCS-11201156.

<sup>26</sup> CIL III, p. 950, 13 = IDR I 44 = EDCS-11201157.

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, p. 924, 1 = ILS 7215 a = IDR I 31 = EDCS-11201144.

<sup>28</sup> Iuppiter Cernenus: possibly a divinity from Galatia, with a unique attestation in the wax tablet from Alburnus Maior. For a complete description and interpretation see Nemeti 2005. See also Piso 2004, 299, n. 204; Piso, ms. Concerning the mentioned college, see Ardevan 1998, 295–296.

<sup>29</sup> Meaning: *se habere* = takes place; *ne putet collegium se habere* = not be considered that the college still meets. *Ab eis* (we shall understand here the members of the college) instead of *ab collegio* (collective noun).

<sup>30</sup> ... *probos recte dari f(ide) r(ogavit) Anduenna Batonis d(ari) f(ide) sua promisit Iulius Alexander: quos eae reddere debet* (CIL III, p. 930, 3 = IDR I 33 = EDCS-11201146) – *eae* is a corrupt form of *ei* (referring to the singular dative, feminine gender) (remark made by C. Fenechiu), which suggests that Anduenna Batonis is a woman. For the same interpretation, see Archivu pentru filologia si istoria, no. VI, 1 iuliu 1867, p. 117.

<sup>31</sup> CIL III, p. 950, 13 = IDR I 44 = EDCS-11201157.

<sup>32</sup> CIL III 7820 = IDR III/3, 382 = HD 046009: [As]clepi[o] – fragmentary altar, missing the dedicator's

A reverse interference, this time of Latin into Greek (especially in the epigraphic Greek language), is the word τὸ κολλήγειον attested by two Greek inscriptions from Alburnus Maior, where the college was the one to offer the epigraphic monuments to the deities – Διὶ Ναρηγῶ, Διὶ Σαρνενδενῶ.

The term in question, referring to the notion of college or association, along with the word ὁ κολλήγας, meaning fellow (for example, fellow in a political position), are two words taken from Latin: *collega*, respectively *collegium*<sup>33</sup>. One should also note the form Δεῖ in inscriptions IDR III/3, 399, IDR III/3, 409, and IDR III/3, 432, found in the structures Δεῖ Ναρηγῶ, Δεῖ Σιττακωμικῶ and Δεῖ Κιμιστηνῶ, where the dative Δεῖ is used instead of the usual Δί. The form with ε is used in the Aeolic dialect, spoken in central Greece, but in these inscriptions it could rather be the influence of the Latin *deus*, *i*. The word Ὀκτωβρίος, α, ον (< Lat. *October*, *bris*, *e*), adj., which concerns October, of Latin origin, in the structure εἰς [τὴν δ'] κ. Ὀκ[τω]βρίας (δ' = τέταρτην)<sup>34</sup> also indicates the use of the calendar date (in a Greek text), following the structure of the Roman calendar.

The vocabulary of the tablets is different in terms of structure, information, and lexis from those contained by the votive, funerary, and honorific monuments. Thus, in these texts, some special words deserving deeper analysis have been identified<sup>35</sup>.

The first term in question is *apochātus*, *a*, *um* < Gr. ἀποχή (< ἀπέχω = to receive full payment), meaning “a receipt proving the payment”. According to the Oxford Latin Dictionary<sup>36</sup>, the word is an adjective and means “in respect of which a receipt of payment has been given”. In the Latin-French dictionary of Quicherat and Daveluy<sup>37</sup> more terms from this word family are given: s.v. *apōcha*, noun, receipt (at Ulpianus); *apōchāticus*, adj., which concerns a receipt (in *Notae Tironis*<sup>38</sup>); *apōchāre*, vb., to give a receipt (in *Codex Theodosianus*, the 5<sup>th</sup> century). Thus, the form *apochatus*, which is the past participle of *apochare*, would mean “registered or acknowledged in a receipt”. It seems that outside literary sources (which in this case are later in time than the epigraphic ones), there are only few texts in which the term appears. In Dacia, there are two wax tablets (sale contracts) which contain the expressions *a[po]chatum*; *apoc(h)atum pro unci(i)s duabus* (IDR I 37) and *apochatam pro unci(i)s duabus* (IDR I 38 = CIGD 9); there are two other attestations in the Empire, one in Rome (CIL VI 1785) – *apoc(h)is*, and another one in Latium et Campania, Regio I (AE 1968, 118 b = AE 2006, 15) – *apoc(h)arum*. It seems that the use of participle of *apochare* at Alburnus is unique in the epigraphic sources of the Empire.

The attestation of this word in the epigraphic material is important because it is earlier than the examples attested in the literary sources: Ulpianus, a Roman jurist

name; AE 2003, 1493 = ILD 403 = HD 017354: Asclepio – the dedicators are M(arcus) Ul(pius) Cle(mens?) and Ael(ius) Mes(...); ILD 903: Asclepio Aug(usto) – dedicator is the Illyrian Fronto Plarentis. For the alternation Asclepius – Aesculapius, see also Beu-Dachin 2010, 181–198.

<sup>33</sup> Lat. *collega* (conl+lego+a), respectively Lat. *collegium* (conl+lego+ium) are the basis for the two Greek words mentioned in the text above. See also OLD 1968, s.v. *collega*, s.v. *collegium*.

<sup>34</sup> CIL III, p. 933, 4 = IDR I 34 = CIGD 10.

<sup>35</sup> See also Beu-Dachin 2014, 231–260.

<sup>36</sup> OLD 1968, s.v. *apochatus*.

<sup>37</sup> Quicherat, Daveluy 1887.

<sup>38</sup> A system of abstract symbols created by Tiro, Marcus Tullius Cicero's slave.



from Tyr, whose texts contain the word *apocha*, was active at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD; on the other hand, the well-known *Codex Theodosianus* attesting the verb *apochare* (to give a receipt) dates from the year 439 AD, when it came into force; it comprises a set of imperial decrees. The verbal form attested at Alburnus Maior appears more than two and a half centuries earlier than this codex. Ulpianus' works (*Ad Sabinum*, a commentary on *ius civile*, and *Ad edictum*) are part of Iustinianus' *Digestae*.

The first of the two wax tablets attesting the word (IDR I 37) is dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> of May 142 AD (all three tablets of the triptych are preserved at the Museum of Blaj, Alba county). The document is the sale contract of a child slave, *puerum Apalaustum*, of Greek origin. The buyer is an Illyrian, Dasius Breuci, and the seller is Bellicus Alexandri, a peregrine with Greek patronymic. Out of the three sale contracts of slaves (IDR I 36, 37, 38), two are written using the same model. The buyers are in one case an Illyrian peregrine (IDR I 37) and in the second one (IDR I 38) a Roman citizen – Claudius Iulianus, soldier in the XIII Gemina Legion. In both cases, however, sellers have names of Greek origin and the slaves for sale are a Greek and a Cretan.

Both texts contain the structure *apochatum pro unciis duabus* respectively *apochatam pro unciis duabus*, which actually means that registering the sale and issuing a receipt costed two ounces. The contracts were signed at Apulum, in the *canabae* of the legion. The first contract is dated on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May 142 AD, and the second one on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 160 AD, 18 years apart. The person(s) (?) who drafted the tablets may have been of Greek origin; one must bear in mind that the seller's name is of Greek origin and that in the second tablet the name of a witness was written in Greek characters. One can also consider the structure *apochatum pro unciis duabus* as an expression probably used by a person of Greek origin. The writing of the receipt was done surcharge, the two ounces representing the cost itself of this action. One knows from Ulpianus that the *apocha* was issued only after the whole payment was made<sup>39</sup>.

The other agreement (IDR I 38) dated on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 160 AD (Triptych I, II, III – Blaj, Alba county) refers to the sale of a slave, Theudote, from Crete. Claudius Iulianus, the buyer – *emptor*, paid 420 dinars for her and 2 ounces (12 ounces = 1 ace) for the receipt: *mulierem Theudotem ... apochatam pro unci(i)s duabus*. This time also the seller was a Roman citizen with Greek cognomen, Claudius Philetus; the contract was written in the presence of Alexander Antipatri, *fideiussor*. The document was drafted in the *canabae* of the legion from Apulum, where the sale took place. It is interesting that the two documents written 18 years apart use the same expression that seems unique in the epigraphic texts, and the value of drafting (registering in receipt = *apochare*) is the same.

Considering that the vendors have names of Greek origin, and sold slaves of similar provenance, it is likely they requested a *scriptor* (writer) who knew Greek. The latter introduced into the text words of Greek origin, which were Latinized. Sometimes the Greek alphabet was used for writing Latin words and this also shows a case of Greek interference into Latin. Among the signers of the second contract one finds

<sup>39</sup> Ulpian *Dig.* 46.4.19: *Inter acceptilationem et apocham hoc interest, quod acceptilatione omni modo liberatio contingit, licet pecunia soluta non sit, apocha non alias, quam si pecunia soluta sit.*

*Alexandrus Anti[p]atri sec<u=O>(n)d[us] au<c=K>tor s<i=E>gnavi*. This part of the contract's text was rendered in Greek letters (Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀντι[π]ατρὶ σεκοδο αὐκτωρ).

Another peculiar word occurs in the syntagm *societas danistariae* (IDR I 44). On the basis of the reading (CIL; IDR), the term appears as a noun in the genitive case resulted from the masculine noun *danista, ae*, of Greek origin, which means “moneylender”. The derived form could be a feminine noun *danistaria, ae* (?), that would mean “money lending activity”; thus, *societas dani[st]ariae* would be a “loan association, kind of loan bank”, or simply an agreement between the two persons from the contract, regarding money lending. On the other hand, it could also be an adjective which designates this type of activity (*danistarius, a, um*). However, this form is a hapax. In Latin epigraphy, the term *danista* occurs also in an inscription from Latium et Campania, Regio I (AE 1984, 161) and is dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The last term I will refer to turns up in a list (IDR I 46), grouped into two parts, one registering some amounts collected and the other part containing words that *inter alia* designate types of food, purchased with those amounts of money – *agnos, porcellum, panem candidum, thus prim(um)*<sup>40</sup>, *peganinum, ... salem et cepam*. From this list, I'll highlight the noun *peganinum, i\** (?) (< Gr. τὸ πηγάνιον, -ου), a hapax which means rue. This is a plant of Mediterranean origin, whose bitter leaves are used both in therapy and in Mediterranean cuisine, for the preparation of salads, and to flavor various dishes based on meat or cheese. The form πηγάνιον is actually a diminutive of the noun τὸ πήγανον, -ου, the plant which in Latin is known as *rūta, ae* (f.) and is attested in the work of Pliny. The modern scientific name of the plant is *Ruta graveolens*. In ancient times, it was also used to make a special wine flavored with rue: πηγανίτης οἶνος<sup>41</sup>. It is also known in the compound form τὸ πηγανέλαιον, -ου, which refers to an oil of rue. Despite the fact that there is a word that designates rue in Latin, the author of this list used a Greek word for the plant. This indicates his possible Greek origin and his preference for using the Greek term, transcribed in Latin letters, instead of *ruta*, either because he did not know the Latin word or because *peganinum* was the used form in his family or environment.

In conclusion, one can say that despite the fact that there is a small number of Greek inscriptions in Dacia (a total of about 150 inscriptions, of which just seven from Alburnus Maior, plus a Latin document in which a small part of the text is rendered in Greek characters), representing less than 4% of the total number of epigraphic texts from the province, however some interesting issues arising from these sources can be highlighted. For linguistics, a very interesting and important task is the study of Greek names rendered in Latin. Neologisms of Greek origin also present special interest.

When analyzing the inscriptions from this region, one can notice that the society in Alburnus Maior was cosmopolitan, with people of different provenances living together as neighbors, borrowing from each other different ideas, words, and attitudes, and their languages which came into contact usually influenced each other.

<sup>40</sup> First quality incense.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bailly 1933.

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Table containing the Greek or Hellenophone characters' names from Alburnus Maior<sup>42</sup>

No.	Character	Origin of name	Filiation	Bibliography	Social status	Function, role	Type of inscription	Dating	Obs.	Other characters
1	Adiutor Macari	<Μάκαρος (Solin 814; Ruscú 1998, 169; LGPN I 38997, 40462, 40541)	Greek patronymic	IDR I 40	peregrine	<i>scriptor</i>	TC, work contract	23 (?) Oct. 163	“ <i>rogatus [co]ram ipso pra[e]senti L(ucio) Ulpio Valerio</i> ”; “ <i>ex [ha]c [d]ie in I[di]us / sequentes anno uno   (denarios) [septu-] aginta (?)</i> ”	L(ucius) Ulpius Valerius – worker; Socratio S[ol]-c(r)ati-(on)is – tenant
2	Ael(ius) Dionysius	<Διονύσιος (Solin 302 sqq.; Ruscú 1988, 161; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 4762 entries)	Greek surname	IDR I 38	c. R.	<i>vet. leg. XIII G.</i> , witness	TC, sale contract of a slave	4 Oct. 160	3 Greeks: Aelius Dionysius, Alexander Antipatri, Claudius Philetus	7 witnesses; 6 c. R., one of them being Aelius Dionysius
3	Alexander Antipatri	<Ἀλέξανδρος (Solin 186 sqq.; Ruscú 1998, 150; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 2359 entries); <Ἀντίπατρος (Solin 21 sqq.; Ruscú 152; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 640 entries)	Greek name and patronymic	IDR I 38	peregrine	<i>fideiussor</i>	TC, sale contract of a slave	4 Oct. 160	–the price of the slave: “ <i>(denarius) quadringentis / viginti</i> ”	Claudius Iulianus – <i>emptor</i> ; Theudote, n(atone) <i>Cretica</i> – <i>serva</i> ; Cl(audius) Philetus – <i>venditor</i>
4	Alexander Caricci	<Ἀλέξανδρος (vide supra no. 3)	Greek name	IDR I 35	peregrine	debtor	TC, loan contract	20 Oct. 162	any Greek or Hellenophone witness	Iulius Alexander – creditor

<sup>42</sup> In this table, the following abbreviations have been used: TC = *tabula cerata*; c. R. = *civis Romanus (Romana)*.

No.	Character	Origin of name	Filiation	Bibliography	Social status	Function, role	Type of inscription	Dating	Obs.	Other characters
5	Alexander Gai	<Ἀλέξανδρος (vide supra no. 3)	Greek name; Latin patronymic	AE 1978, 679 = IDR III/3, 412	peregrine	deceased	funerary stela	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD		
6	Amonius (?)	<Ἀμόνιος (Solin 379; Ruscú 1998, 152; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 208 entries)		IDR III/3, 394			altar dedicated IOM		incomplete text; -uncertain reading	
7	Apalaustus	<Ἀπόλαυστος (Solin 861 sqq.; Ruscú 1998, 153; LGPN IIIA, VA, 13 entries)	<i>n(atione) Gr(a)ecus</i>	IDR I 37	slave		TC, sale contract	16 May 142	-any Greek witness; -“ <i>apocatum/apochatum pro unciis duabus / (denariis) DC</i> ”	Dasius Breucus/Breuci - <i>emptor</i> ; Bellicus Alexandri - <i>venditor</i>
8	Artemidorus Apolloni	<Ἀρτεμίδωρος (Solin 27; Ruscú 1998, 154; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 1702 entries); <Ἀπολλώνιος (Solin 275; Ruscú 1998, 154; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 4028 entries)	Greek name and patronymic	IDR I 31	peregrine	<i>magister collegii Iovis Cerneni</i>	TC, agreement for dissolving a funerary association	9 Febr. 167	witnesses: 5 c. R., 1 Illyrian peregrine	Valerius Niconis; Oftas Menofli (!) - <i>qu(a)estores collegi(i)</i> ; Iulius Iuli - <i>commagister</i>
9	Aur(elius) P[ar]thenius (?)	<Παρθένιος (v. Piso 2004, 277, n. 41); Παρθένιος (LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 58 entries)	possibly Greek name	IDR I 54	c. R.	witness (?)	TC, fragmentary	ante 167 (Piso 2004, 277)	only two names preserved	T(itus) Iulius Saturninus
10	Bellicus Alexandri	<Ἀλέξανδρος (vide supra no. 3)	Greek patronymic	IDR I 37	peregrine	<i>venditor</i>	TC, sale contract	16 May 142	any Greek witness	Dasius Breucus/Breuci - <i>emptor</i> ; Apalaustus - <i>servus</i>



No.	Character	Origin of name	Filiation	Bibliography	Social status	Function, role	Type of inscription	Dating	Obs.	Other characters
11	Claudius Philetus	<Φίλητος (Solin 888; Ruscú 1988, 172; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 154 entries)	Greek name	IDR I 38	c. R.	<i>venditor</i>	TC, sale contract of a slave	4 Oct. 160	-slave's price: "[denarius] quadringentis / viginti"	Claudius Iulianus - <i>emptor</i> ; Theudote, n(atione) Cretica - <i>serva</i>
12	Demet[ri:]	<Δημήτριος (LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 3325 entries)		AE 1979, 511 = IDR III/3, 426	peregrine (?) <sup>*</sup>		funerary column	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD		
13	Δημήτριος Ἀρζάκει	Δημήτριος (LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 3325 entries)	Greek name and Iranian patronymic	AE 1944, 23 = IDR III/3, 399 = CIGD 4	peregrine	dedicator	votive altar in Greek; Δεῖ Ναγνῶ	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD		
14	Δίων Λο(υ)κτανού	Δίων (Solin 227; Ruscú 1998, 161)	Greek name, Latin patronymic (?)	AE 1944, 26 = IDR III/3, 409 = CIGD 7	peregrine	dedicator	votive altar in Greek; Δεῖ Σιρτακω-μικῶ	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	The character has Greek name, but the patronymic is Roman, Lucianus, frequently used in the Oriental area of the Empire	
15	Domitia Chlone	<Χλόνη (v. Ruscú 1998, 158)	Greek surname	CIL III 1267 = IDR III/3, 419	c. R. <sup>**</sup>	deceased	funerary monument			
16	Hermes Myrini	<Ἑρμῆς (Solin 342; Ruscú 1998, 167; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 414 entries); <Μύρινος (Solin 1099; Ruscú 1988, 170; LGPN II, IIIA, 4 entries)	Greek name and patronymic	IDR III/3, 405 = HD 046107	peregrine	dedicator	monument offered Silvano Aug(usto)	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD		

No.	Character	Origin of name	Filiation	Bibliography	Social status	Function, role	Type of inscription	Dating	Obs.	Other characters
17	I(...) Nicom(...)		Greek (?) origin	IDR I 33		witness	TC, loan contract	20 June 162	140 dinars with interest	Iulius Alexander - debitor; Anduenna Batonis - creditor
18	Ingenuus Callisti filius	<Κάλλιστος (Solin 670; Ruscú 1988, 157; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 138 entries)	Greek patronymic	IDR I 39	peregrine	inhabitant (neighbor) “ <i>in vico Phrusterum</i> ”	TC, sale contract of a half house	6 May 159	price 300 dinars	Andueia Batonis - <i>emptor</i> ; Veturius Valens - <i>venditor</i>
19	Iulius Alexander	<Αλέξανδρος (vide supra no. 3)	Greek surname	IDR I 33; IDR I 35; IDR I 43; IDR I 44.	c. R.	-debitor; -creditor; -creditor; founder	TC, loan contract	-20 June 162, -20 Oct. 162, -29 May 167, -28 March 167.	-borrows 140 dinars with interest from Anduenna Batonis; -gives Alexander Caricci 60 dinars; -gives Lupus Carentis 50 dinars; -founder (together with Cassius Frontinus) of a “ <i>societas danistariae</i> ”	
20	Iulius Macedo		Greek surname (?)	IDR I 32	c. R.	<i>fideiussor</i>	TC, loan contract?	17 Sept. 159		
21	Memmius Asclepi	<Ἀσκληπιός (Solin 355 sq.; Ruscú 1988, 155; LGPN I, IIIA, IV, VA, VB, 17 entries)	Greek patronymic	IDR I 41	peregrine	worker	TC, work contract	20 May 164	witnesses: an Illyrian, Socratio Socratonis - a Hellenophone, and Memmius Asclepi	Flavius Secundinus - <i>scriptor</i> ; Aurelius Adiutor - tenant

No.	Character	Origin of name	Filiation	Bibliography	Social status	Function, role	Type of inscription	Dating	Obs.	Other characters
22	Μόρων	(Solin 1151; Ruscu 1998, 170; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 120 entries)	Greek name	IDR III/3, 432 = CIGD 8			altar dedicated Δεῖ Κιμισσηῖ (Bithynian divinity)	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> centuries AD	from Bucium, Alba county	
23	Offas Menofli (I)	<Ὀφφας (cf. Ruscu 1998, 171-hapax); <Μηνόφιλος (Solin 108; Ruscu 1998, 170; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 596 entries)	Greek name and patronymic	IDR I 31	peregrine	<i>qu(a)estor collegii Iovis Cerneni</i>	TC, agreement for dissolving a funerary association	9 Febr. 167		Valerius Niconis - <i>qu(a)estor collegii</i> ; Artemidorus Apolloni, Iulius Iuli - <i>magistri collegii</i>
24	Pyrra Trophima	<Πύρρα (Solin 556; Ruscu 1988, 174; LGPN I, II, IV, VA, VB, 9 entries); <Τρόφιμος (Solin 990; Ruscu 1988, 176; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 384 entries)	Greek name and surname	IDR III/3, 433	c. R.	deceased	fragment of a funerary monument			
25	Socratio S[o]-c(r)a-ti(on)is		name and patronymic of Greek origin	IDR I 40; IDR I 41	peregrine	-tenant; -witness	TC, work contracts	23 (?) oct. 163; 20 May 164	-“ <i>ex [ha]c [d]ie in [d]us</i> ” / <i>sequentes anno uno</i>  ( <i>denarios</i> ) [ <i>septu</i> ]- <i>aginta</i> (?)”; -“ <i>ex ha[c] die [in] Idus Novembres</i> / <i>prox[s]imas</i>  ( <i>denarios</i> ) <i>se[pt](u)aginta</i> ”	L(ucius) Ulpus Valerius - worker; Adiutor Macari - <i>scriptor</i> ; -Aurelius Adiutor - tenant - <i>conductor</i> ; Memmius Asclepi worker; Flavius Secundinus - <i>scriptor</i> .

No.	Character	Origin of name	Filiation	Bibliography	Social status	Function, role	Type of inscription	Dating	Obs.	Other characters
26	Theudote, n. Cretica	<Θεόδωρος (Solin 71; Rusc 1988, 175; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 580 entries)	Greek	IDR I 38	<i>serva</i>		TC, sale contract of a slave	4 Oct. 160	“ <i>apochatam pro unci(i)s duabus ((denariis) quadringentis / viginti</i> ”	Claudius Iulianus – <i>emptor</i> ; Theudote, n(atione) Cretica – <i>serva</i> ; Cl(audius) Philetus – <i>venditor</i> .
27	Val(erius) Ni- c[ <i>o</i> (nis)]; Valerius Niconis	<Νίκων (Solin 837; Rusc 1998, 171; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 801 entries)	Greek patronymic	-AE 2003 1507 = ILD 393 = HD 043802; -IDR I 31	peregrine	-dedicator; - <i>qu(a)estor collegii Iovis Cerneni</i>	-altar dedicated <i>Neptuno Aug(usto)</i> ; -TC, agreement for dissolving a funerary association	TC = 9 Febr. 167		TC: Offas Menofli – <i>qu(a)estor collegii</i> ; Artemidorus Apolloni, Iulius Iuli – <i>magistri collegii</i> .
28	Zosi-(m)os	<Ζώσιμος (Solin 819; Rusc 1988, 177; LGPN I, II, IIIA, IIIB, IV, VA, VB, 1373 entries)	Greek	AE 1990, 847 = ILD 381		dedicator		votive altar	fragmentary	

\* It may be a name accompanied by a patronymic or it may be the name of a Roman citizen, which contains at least one Greek component.

\*\* Domitiae Chlon(a)e – dative, or Domitiae Chlonēs – genitive (if it's the first declension in Greek).





# IVPPITER OPTIMVS MAXIMVS DOLICHENVS E IL SUO CULTO. RIFLESSIONI STORICO-RELIGIOSE RELATIVE AI DOCUMENTI EPIGRAFICI E ICONOGRAFICI RINVENUTI IN DACIA (CON UNA *DIVAGATIO* IN MOESIA INFERIOR)\*

ENNIO SANZI

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magistris carissimis  
sacrum*

**Abstract:** The Dacian documentation of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is remarkably rich, and on some inscriptions the god is named also *Commagenus*. A full analysis of them proves that this name emphasizes only the special character of this Syrian god, who becomes in the Roman world a universal deity, protector of the emperor and of the State itself. Despite its exotic features and the obvious Oriental origin of its clergy, the supreme god of Doliche would have been gradually Romanized and officially introduced in the religious life; however, he will never be completely identified with the main deity of the Roman religion. All these trends occur in the monuments of Roman Dacia (and Lower Moesia too), a remarkable starting point for an historical-religious research about this god and his cult.

**Keywords:** Jupiter Dolichenus; Commagenus; protector of the State; emperor; Dacia; type “Porolissum”; theology; supreme god; Syrian.

**Rezumat:** Monumentele dedicate lui Iupiter Dolichenus în provincia Dacia sunt numeroase. Pe unele dintre acestea, zeul este, de asemenea, numit *Commagenus*. O analiză completă a acestora din urmă demonstrează că această epicleză scoate în evidență doar caracterul special al acestui zeu siriac, care a devenit o zeitate cu valențe universale în lumea romană, protector al împăratului și al Imperiului, zeul suprem din Doliche a fost, pas cu pas, romanizat, fiind astfel introdus oficial în viața religioasă. Totuși el nu va fi niciodată identificat complet cu cea mai importantă zeitate a religiei romane. Toate aceste tendințe sunt înregistrate și de monumentele din Dacia romană (și din Moesia Inferior), realitate care se constituie într-un punct de plecare remarcabil pentru o cercetare istorico-religioasă despre acest zeu și cultul lui.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Iupiter Dolichenus; Commagenus; protector al statului; împărat; Dacia; tipul „Porolissum”; teologie; zeitate supremă; siriac.

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Tra i seppur tenui indizi dei quali possiamo disporre al fine di tracciare un profilo storico-religioso di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus e del culto a lui dedicato<sup>1</sup>, alla luce della pressoché totale assenza di testimonianze letterarie, il patrimonio epigrafico (in particolare le formule cultuali e le epiclesi del dio<sup>2</sup>) e plastico costituisce un inequivocabile terreno d'elezione.

Dalla Dacia proviene un gruppo di iscrizioni di sicuro rilievo nelle quali Iuppiter Dolichenus a volte è invocato come *Commacenus*, mentre in altre parrebbe essere affiancato da un generico *Deus Commacenus* non altrimenti qualificato.

Riportiamo di seguito le epigrafi che costituiscono tale gruppo:

1. CCID 146 (Ampelum, Dacia, altare con iscrizione): *Deo [aeter-]/n(o) [C]omm/ac(eno) Dul(ceno) / [---]*.

2. CCID 147 (Ampelum, Dacia, colonna con iscrizione): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Commagenorum (a)e/terno Ma/rinus Ma/rian(i) Bas(us opp. sus) / sacerdos I(ovis) / o(ptimi) m(aximi) D(olicheni) pro s(alute) s(ua) / suorumque o(mnium) v(otum)*.

3. CCID 148 (Ampelum, Dacia, colonna con iscrizione): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et / deo Com/maceno / Aurel(ius) / Marinus / et Adde / Barseme/i et Ocea-/ nus So/cratis sa/cerdotes / v(otum) l(ibentes) p(osuerunt)*.

4. CCID 152 (Apulum, Dacia, iscrizione frammentaria; CIL III 779 = IDR III/5, 223): *[----] / Co[m]mageno? / [s]ac(rum) per An/thiochu(m) sa/cerdos (sic) loci*.

5. CCID 160 (Micia, Dacia, altare con iscrizione): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) C(ommageno) / Iul(ius) Troph/im(us) vo(vit)*.

6. CCID 162 (Săcădate, Sibiu, Dacia, altare con iscrizione): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] / Do(licheno) / Com[m]ageno / [.JV[---]]*.

Ci troviamo di fronte ai seguenti tipi di attestazione:

a) il titolo di *Commacenus* è giustapposto a quello di *Dolichenus* nelle iscrizioni nn. 1, 4?, 5, 6;

<sup>1</sup> Per una presentazione storico-religiosa di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus e del culto a lui riservato, oltre al sempre fondamentale Merlat 1960; cfr. Hettner 1877; RE V, 1, 1903, s.v. *Dolichenus*, 1276-1281 (Cumont); Demircioglu 1937; Hörig 1984; Speidel 1978; Bellelli, Bianchi 1997; Turcan 2004, 156 ss.; Blömer, Winter 2012; Sanzi 2013. Per una raccolta del patrimonio plastico ed epigrafico cfr. Kan 1943; Merlat 1951; CCID.

<sup>2</sup> Oltre all'appellativo di *Augustus* proprio dell'imperatore, le iscrizioni fanno registrare: *aeternus*, ἄγιος, *conservator*, *conservator totius mundi*, *conservator totius poli*, *Commagenus*, *deus Commacenus*, *deus paternus Commagenus* e *deus magnus Commagenus*, ἐπίκοος, *exsuperantissimus*, ὑψιστος, κύριος, μέγιστος, *praestantissimus*, *sanctus*. Cfr. CCID, I. *Epigraphischer Index*. 2. *Götter, Priester, Heiligtümer und Kultgerät*. a) *Iupiter Dolichenus. Beinamen oder charakteristische Begriffe, die Dolichenus zugeordnet sind*. Sulla base di questi appellativi si può ritenere che Iuppiter Dolichenus nel secondo ellenismo abbia oramai raggiunto le dimensioni di un dio sommo dalle prerogative universali e si presenti ai suoi fedeli quale principio divino regolatore e garante dell'ordine cosmico.

- b) il dio non è qualificato da un genitivo epicorico riferito direttamente a lui ma da un genitivo di appartenenza nell'iscrizione n. 2;  
 c) il dio è "affiancato" da un *deus Commacenus* nell'iscrizione n. 3.

Iniziamo dal sottogruppo b). Bisogna innanzitutto notare come il genitivo *Commagenorum* sia inserito tra *maximus* e *aeternus*, e che, pertanto, esso finisca col costituire una parte integrante della titolatura del dio. Se si dovesse tradurre l'*incipit* di questa iscrizione si potrebbe procedere dicendo: "A Giove Ottimo Massimo, proprio dei Commageni, eterno". È lecito pensare che in questa iscrizione non si stia facendo riferimento a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, ma a Iuppiter Optimum Maximus Dolichenus del quale si intende sottolineare il legame patrio con i dedicanti e, forse, con la comunità dei fedeli residenti *in loco*. Infatti, bisogna considerare che questa rogatoria *pro salute* è recitata da un sacerdote il cui nome potrebbe nascondere un'origine siriana; in più, si tenga conto come il nostro officiante non esiti a ricordare che il dio del quale è al servizio è proprio *Optimus* e *Maximus* come quello dei *Commageni* a cui è stato dedicato l'*ex voto*.

Nessun dubbio che la doppia titolatura *Dolichenus Commacenus* del sottogruppo a) = nn. 1, 4?, 5, 6 - dove nella n. 1 la divinità è qualificata con il titolo di *aeternus* -, sia riferita a un'unica divinità. Qui, evidentemente, *Commacenus* è un'ulteriore affermazione della dimensione epicorica del dio; è come se si volesse dire: "Giove Ottimo Massimo Dolicheno, proprio quello della Commagene".

Rimane da analizzare il sottogruppo c). Da mettere subito in evidenza l'inserimento della congiunzione *et*, quasi che Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus e il supposto Deus Commacenus si volessero intendere come giustapposti; così a una prima lettura. Tuttavia, se continuiamo la nostra analisi storico-religiosa, non si potrà non notare come si finisca col trovarsi di fronte a un *ex voto* posto da sacerdoti i nomi dei quali rivelano un'origine orientale. Questa constatazione potrà tornare utile.

Il fatto che la presenza di uno o più sacerdoti che svolgono il ruolo attivo di donatori e/o consacratori dell'*ex voto* di turno sia attestata in due delle tre epigrafi pervenute per intero, e cioè le nn. 2, 3, nonché in una delle tre frammentarie, e cioè la n. 4 (pur considerando che essa rimane comunque *sub iudice*), ci permette di supporre che i dedicanti, in quanto "specialisti" del culto, abbiano avuto presente la *qualitas* teologica del dio, particolarmente nel momento di mantenere una promessa fatta proprio a lui.

Vediamo ora le altre iscrizioni rinvenute in zone dell'impero diverse dalla Dacia e che attestano ugualmente la presenza di un Deus Commacenus nel patrimonio epigrafico dolicheno.

7. CCID 208 (Acumincum, Pannonia Inferior, due basi con la medesima iscrizione): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et deo paterno / Comageno M(arcus) Aur(elius) Ap(ollinaris) dec(urio) m(unicipii) Mur(selensium) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

8. CCID 376 (Roma, *Dolocenum* sull'Aventino, sala C, *tabula ansata* con iscrizione): *B(ona) [F(ortuna)] / Ex praecepto I(ovis) o(ptimi) m(aximi) D(olicheni)*

*a(eterni) [cons(ervatoris)] / totius mundi, Aur(elius) Mag[nesi]/us, candid(atus) et patronus hu[uius] / loci pro salute sua et Aur[eli] / Sarapiaci, patroni huius [loci] / et suorum omnium, maceria s[ae]/psit loc(um) sacr(um) dei (sic) magno Comma[g(enorum) vel -ceno] / per M(arcum) Aur(elium) Hoinopionem Acacium / sacerdotem et patre[m] candidator[um].*

9. CCID 433 (Roma, base con iscrizione): *C(aius) Iulius Dionysius miles [classis] / pr(aetoriae) Misenatium natione Surus pater[no deo] / Comogeno / Aquila fili(us) et sacerdos Sabeo / votum / sol[verunt].*

Nella prima iscrizione di questo secondo gruppo, cioè la n. 7, ritroviamo la formula presente già nell'iscrizione n. 3, e caratterizzata dall'inserimento della congiunzione *et* tra l'attestazione di Iuppiter Dolichenus e quella del Deus Commacenus, quest'ultimo ricordato anche nella sua qualità di *deus paternus*. Non è da sottovalutare il fatto che la medesima iscrizione sia stata ripetuta su due basi distinte che dovevano sorreggere delle statue del Dolichenus: due basi per due statue, una titolatura doppia ripetuta su entrambe e, almeno apparentemente, due divinità affiancate in forza della congiunzione *et*.

La seconda epigrafe di questo gruppo, cioè la n. 8, è particolarmente interessante dal momento che, oltre a essere stata rinvenuta in uno dei *Dolocena* più importanti, ricorda addirittura un lavoro di miglioramento delle strutture del santuario, a seguito del quale quest'ultimo sarebbe stato dotato di un recinto costruito a secco; il tutto per rispondere a un ordine impartito da uno Iuppiter Dolichenus sentito quale *deus aeternus* e *conservator totius mundi*. Alla luce del luogo di rinvenimento, del tipo di *ex voto* ricordato e delle titolature che accompagnano il dio da Doliche, sembra lecito pensare che l'iscrizione sia stata posta quasi a "certificazione" del merito che la comunità aventiniana doveva riconoscere alla fedeltà di un devoto così pronto nel rispondere a quanto ordinatogli da un *deus aeternus* e *conservator totius mundi*.

L'ultima iscrizione del gruppo, cioè la n. 9, si legge su di una base ovale che doveva sostenere una statua. Varrà la pena notare come tra i fedeli che sciogliono la promessa fatta al loro dio ci sia un sacerdote e come uno dei dedicanti si definisca *natione Surus*.

A nostro giudizio non si dovrebbe ritenere il deus Commacenus attestato nelle iscrizioni nn. 3 e 7 una divinità distinta da Iuppiter Dolichenus quanto piuttosto una sua esplicitazione; più semplicemente una sottolineatura capace di coglierne in maniera specifica il retroterra epicorico. Alla luce di quanto fin qui analizzato sembrerebbe maggiormente lecito pensare che la doppia titolatura voglia riferirsi da un lato all'aspetto di Iuppiter Dolichenus quale dio sommo, *Optimus* e *Maximus* appunto, e dall'altro voglia evocare la connotazione vicino orientale di questo erede dell'antico Wettergott Teshub<sup>5</sup>.

Si consideri, inoltre, proprio l'epigrafe n. 8, e si faccia particolare attenzione al luogo di ritrovamento e all'occasione in essa ricordata. Qui l'epiclesi *deus magnus Commagenorum* o *deus magnus Commacenus* utilizzata per designare il dio titolare del *Dolocenum* sull'Aventino sembra essere, da una parte, una scelta stilistica, quasi

<sup>5</sup> Per il rapporto tra Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus ed i suoi antenati vicino-orientali cfr. Bunnens 2004, utile anche per delle indicazioni bibliografiche.

una *variatio* volta a evitare la ripetizione del nome del dio, e dall'altra una precisa volontà di ribadirne, oltre all'assimilazione con lo Iuppiter romano, anche la specificità dovuta all'inequivocabile origine commagenica. A tal proposito si pensi all'iscrizione n. 2 dove significativamente un sacerdote, il cui nome lascia trapelare un'origine orientale, sente l'esigenza di chiamare il Dolichenus Iuppiter Optimus Maximus *Commagenorum aeternus*, quasi a volere evidenziare che questa divinità eterna è propria, quasi specifica, di coloro che vengono dalla Commagene. La stessa riflessione vale per l'iscrizione n. 9 dove ancora un sacerdote con un nome orientale e un membro della flotta di stanza a Miseno che ha tenuto ad affermare il fatto di essere *natione Surus* sentono l'esigenza di sottolineare che il dio che ha esaudito una loro preghiera non solo sia *Comagenus* ma anche *paternus*.

L'eco di queste riflessioni ci riporta di nuovo in Dacia e precisamente ad Apulum da cui proviene l'iscrizione n. 4 per la quale si può proporre un'integrazione *ad sensum* seguendo anche le riflessioni dell'Angyal e del Balla<sup>4</sup>. Infatti, se andiamo a vedere le altre epigrafi sicuramente dolichene rinvenute nella medesima città, non sarà difficile notare, da un lato, la presenza di fedeli che si definiscono *Suri negotiatores*, dall'altro l'attestazione unica nell'intero patrimonio epigrafico dolicheno di una Dea Suria Magna Caelestis a cui si rivolge un *sacerdos* di Iuppiter Dolichenus di nome Flavius Barhadadi<sup>5</sup>. In più, se teniamo conto anche di quelle iscrizioni rinvenute nelle vicinanze della medesima città o comunque a essa riconducibili, veniamo a sapere dell'esistenza in loco di un *Dolocenum*<sup>6</sup>, nonché che il *numen* di Aesculapius ha scelto di mostrarsi in sogno a un veterano per ordinargli di fare un'offerta al dio da Doliche<sup>7</sup>. Si tratta di un'insieme di elementi che ci lasciano intuire come proprio ad Apulum ci fosse non solo la presenza di militari e veterani di origine orientale, magari siriana, ma anche di civili della medesima provenienza impegnati in attività commerciali. Sembrerebbe plausibile, allora, che, in un clima tale, nell'iscrizione n. 4 si sia voluta sottolineare ulteriormente la dimensione epicorica di Iuppiter Dolichenus tramite la giustapposizione dell'epiteto *Commagenus*.

È naturale che riflessioni storico-religiose di tal genere ci rimandino non solo in senso generico alla Commagene, ma specificamente a Dülük Baba Tepesi e cioè alla città e al santuario per eccellenza, il luogo per antonomasia dal quale proviene la nostra divinità<sup>8</sup> e da cui il suo culto si diffonderà secondo tempi e modalità diverse una volta posta in essere l'assimilazione con lo Iuppiter Optimus Maximus eterno difensore della *Res publica* e del suo *regere imperio populos*<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cit. da CCID, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. CCID 154; infra, nota 67.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. CCID 156.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. CCID 158; Sanzi 2007b.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Schütte-Maischatz, Winter 2004; Winter 2011 (a entrambi si rinvia per ulteriori indicazioni bibliografiche). Va altresì ricordato che dal 2001 questo sito archeologico è stato oggetto di scavo e di studio da parte della missione archeologica tedesca della Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität di Münster dal 2001. I risultati dei lavori della missione archeologica sono degni di un rilievo assoluto e vengono pubblicati con mirabile sistematicità nella serie AMS, nonché nello specifico sito internet [www.doliche.de](http://www.doliche.de) dove è possibile trovare una bibliografia dettagliata dei resoconti di scavo e degli studi aggiornati su Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. Sanzi 2013, part. 109 ss.





Fig. 1. Stele dolichena (Blömer 2011, Fig. 1).

Certo, vogliamo asserire tutt'altro che un'avvenuta completa spersonalizzazione del dio da Doliche una volta posta in essere l' "assimilazione" con lo Iuppiter Optimus Maximus garante della *prorogatio in aevum* dell'*Vrbs* e dell'*Orbis*, compito epocale a cui la stessa Roma sovrintende e con il quale si identifica. Crediamo che, di volta in volta, l'elemento "nazionale" ben attestato dall'appellativo epicorico e la portata cosmica e universale sottesa al grande dio del pantheon romano ma non sconosciuta da un *Wettergott* quale Teshup, antenato della nostra divinità, vadano colti in chiave dialettica. Siamo piuttosto portati a ritenere che nel suo affermarsi nei territori dominati da Roma Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus veda ripensato il legame con la terra d'origine per avvertire una maggiore sottolineatura delle proprie prerogative di *deus summus* ed *exsuperantissimus*, grazie alle quali può essere invocato per il mantenimento, l'ottenimento, e il ri-ottenimento della *bona salus* di portata intracosmica dei singoli, militari o civili che siano, dell'imperatore e dell'*imperium Romanum*. La

portata di tale ripensamento andrà calibrata caso per caso. Una prova in tal senso può esser colta nella portata iconografica della coppia divina per come essa appare in un reperto rinvenuto nel 2007 nel corso degli scavi condotti nel sito del santuario dolicheno “patrio” a opera della missione della Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität di Münster, conservato nel Museo Archeologico di Gaziantep e pubblicato dal Blömer (Fig. 1)<sup>10</sup>.

Lo spazio maggiore della rappresentazione è riservato alla coppia divina. Il dio, stante su di un toro *vittatus*, indossa una lunga veste allacciata in vita e un copricapo di ascendenza vicino-orientale in forza delle corna che lo abbelliscono (di eguale ascendenza vicino orientale sono i tratti del viso e la lunga barba); con la sinistra impugna un fascio di folgori, la destra, danneggiata, doveva ostendere la classica bipenne. Di fronte e su un quadrupede, probabilmente un cervide, la sua paredra indossa una lunga veste stretta in vita e un mantello che le copre le spalle; con la destra tiene uno specchio e con la sinistra un elemento circolare di difficile identificazione, forse un melograno. Nella parte inferiore del bassorilievo sono rappresentati due personaggi stanti presso un altare sul quale arde del fuoco e colti nell’atto di attendere a un sacrificio: “Vergleichbare Darstellungen von Opfernden mit spitzen Kappen und Zweigbündeln sind in der römischen Lokalkunst Nord- und Mittelsyriens weit verbreitet. Es handelt sich stets um Priester indigener Kulte”<sup>11</sup>. Per il Blömer la stele dovrebbe datarsi alla metà del I sec. d.C. e sarebbe una testimonianza della continuità del culto riservato a un Hadad locale che aveva addentellati con l’antico *Wettergott* hitito-hurrita. Lo studioso confronta questa rappresentazione con una scena effigiata su un bassorilievo dolicheno di provenienza aventiniana e datato alla fine del II sec. d.C.: la disposizione dei personaggi e alcuni particolari presentano delle forti analogie con quanto riprodotto sulla stele appena presentata. A sinistra Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus su di un toro marciante verso destra, sulla testa del dio una probabile tiara a tronco di cono cinta con una stoffa che fluttua dietro a lui, i capelli terminano in una lunga treccia, brandisce folgore e bipenne a forma di piccozza; a destra Iuno Regina su di un cervo, i capelli sono raccolti in una lunga treccia che fuoriesce da un diadema, uno specchio nella destra e la sinistra raccolta sul petto. Al di sotto di questa figura, un gruppo composto da un toro con le zampe ripiegate condotto da un personaggio stante colto nell’espletamento di una funzione religiosa giacché porta sul capo una tiara troncoconica, mentre con la destra tiene una patera e con la sinistra stringe la giogaia dell’animale. Sulla parte superiore e inferiore della cornice: *Iussu Iovis O(ptimi) M(aximi) Dolecheni / P(ublius) Albius Euhelpistus / libert(us) Aniceti d(onum) d(edit) o d(e)d(icavit) / sacer(dote) Apollinare et Lucius. B(ona) F(ortuna)* (Fig. 2)<sup>12</sup>.

Questa volta la rappresentazione del dio appare più distante rispetto a quella vicino-orientale, tuttavia il copricapo a forma di tiara tronco-conica nonché i capelli raccolti a formare una treccia si rifanno alla medesima area geografica. Sarà interessante notare come l’onomastica del dedicante ne palesi un’origine orientale, e questa constatazione potrebbe, in qualche modo, giustificare la presenza dei particolari

<sup>10</sup> Blömer 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Blömer 2001, 74.

<sup>12</sup> CCID 371; cfr. Krumeich 2001, part. 76 ss.



Fig. 2. Bassorilievo dolicheno (CCID 372, Tav. LXXXI, 371).

dell'abbigliamento del dio appena ricordati, senza tuttavia arrivare a far dimenticare che la titolatura con la quale lo stesso viene invocato è proprio quella completa di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. Siamo all'interno di quel santuario che ha fornito delle testimonianze di assoluto rilievo per quanto riguarda l'indagine della portata teologica del dio. È da questo *Dolocenum*, infatti, che provengono diverse dediche nelle quali il Dolichenus è appellato come *aeternus*<sup>15</sup>, *conservator*<sup>14</sup>, *deus magnus Commagenus*<sup>15</sup>, *praestantissimus*<sup>16</sup>, *sanctus*<sup>17</sup>. Quanto e in che modo le due testimonianze considerate, in particolare l'ultima, possano essere ricondotte al retroterra millenario nel quale affonda le radici il prototipo di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus è un problema storico-religioso che deve tenere bene in conto l'analogia storica delle caratteristiche del reperto di volta in volta investigato e la relativa ineludibile contestualizzazione. Se nel caso della testimonianza appena presentata i nomi dei dedicanti possono rinviare a un retroterra vicino-orientale e possono legittimare le particolarità del bassorilievo in forza del concetto del senso di appartenenza etnico, allo stesso tempo si deve pensare che sempre dal *Dolocenum* sull'Aventino provengono statue e rilievi di divinità classiche rappresentate *classico more* quali Ercole, Artemide

<sup>15</sup> CCID 373, 376, 381, 384, 385.

<sup>14</sup> CCID 373, 376, 385.

<sup>15</sup> CCID 376.

<sup>16</sup> CCID 383.

<sup>17</sup> CCID 383.

e Apollo<sup>18</sup>, a dimostrazione di quanto le divinità del pantheon classico non solo non fossero state escluse ma continuassero a vedere riconosciuta la loro *dignitas*. In ogni caso, riteniamo che la dimensione che lega il Dolichenus allo Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, nel senso della convergenza delle qualità che li caratterizzano, non debba essere sottaciuta, in particolare laddove è lo Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus a essere invocato *apertis verbis* per la *salus* dell'imperatore e dei suoi congiunti, dell'*imperium Romanum* e dell'esercito.

Proprio da Doliche provengono dei sigilli nei quali è rappresentata o la *dextrarum iunctio* tra il dio della città e l'imperatore, oppure la stessa divinità è colta nell'atto di offrire la corona del trionfatore all'imperatore medesimo; si datano dall'età giulio-claudia al principato adottivo, esattamente ad Antonino Pio (Fig. 3)<sup>19</sup>.



Fig. 3. Sigilli dolicheni (Blömer 2012, Fig. 8-13).

Qui sembra evidente quanto il dio effigiato contribuisca a sottolineare la *potestas* specifica dell'imperatore, e come sia innegabile un collegamento tra quest'ultimo e la divinità rappresentata, nonché una lettura "politica" della gestualità ricordata. Alla notazione di Speidel il quale sostiene che "obviously, a seal with this message could be devised by the city of Doliche only if the emperor had made a political or religious gesture towards the sanctuary"<sup>20</sup>, il Blömer risponde in questo modo: "Das impliziert allerdings kein persönliches Engagement des Kaisers im Kult oder eine Aufnahme in die Kultgemeinschaft. Naheliegend sind Privilegien, die dem Heiligtum eingeräumt wurden. Hier bedarf es allerdings weiterer, aussagekräftigerer Belege, die diese Annahme stützen. Bessere Kenntnisse über Art und Ursache der besonderen

<sup>18</sup> CCID risp. 358, 380, 361; cfr. Sorrenti 1997, *ad loc.*

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. Önal 2011, part. 255 ss.; Blömer 2012, 71 ss.

<sup>20</sup> Speidel 1978, 3.



Verbindung von römischem Kaiser und dem lokalen Gott von Doliche würden sicherlich entscheidende Hinweise auf die Gründe für die Ausbreitung des Kultes geben können”<sup>21</sup>. A ogni buon conto non andrà dimenticato come tale immagine faccia il paio con la medesima soluzione iconografica ben attestata dalla numismatica imperiale dove è senz’altro Iuppiter Optimus Maximus a stringere la destra dell’imperatore. Ad esempio, degli aurei fatti coniare da Settimio Severo nel 194 dopo la vittoria riportata su Pescennio Nigro mostrano uno Iuppiter Optimus Maximus stante che stringe la destra del vincitore che è abbigliato come un *imperator*<sup>22</sup>. E a dimostrazione del fatto che sia proprio lo Iuppiter romano a “intronzare” Settimio Severo basterà ricordare un’altra emissione di aurei dello stesso anno dove, al di sopra della *dextrarum iunctio* tra l’imperatore e il dio, è rappresentato un globo, simbolo dell’orbe terracqueo se non del cosmo (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Aureo di Settimio Severo  
(Fears 1981, Tav. VII, Fig. 52).

A proposito di tale emissione il Fears nota: “Jupiter welcomes his warrior viceregent to a partnership of rule. The *aurei* of 194 had proclaimed Septimius as Jupiter’s warrior viceregent. Septimius carefully used the coinage to emphasize his unique relationship with Jupiter. After 196 AD only Septimius issued Jupiter typus; Geta and Caracalla were not permitted to do so”<sup>23</sup>. Alle importanti riflessioni del Blömer, dunque, possiamo aggiungere un’altra considerazione. La migliore conoscenza del sito archeologico di Doliche, così attentamente scavato e studiato dalla missione dell’università di Münster, potrà di certo giovare del rinnovarsi degli studi sulla diffusione del culto di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus sia a livello dei *realia* che a livello di approfondimento storico-religioso. In tal senso il rapporto tra il culto dolicheno e la religione ufficiale non deve essere lasciato in secondo piano; e questo soprattutto in zone dove, da una parte, la confluenza di fedeli provenienti da luoghi diversi e distanti del dominio imperiale romano abbia propalato culti altrettanto diversi, ma, dall’altra,

<sup>21</sup> Blömer 2012, 80.

<sup>22</sup> Ad es. BMC V, 31 n. 67.

<sup>23</sup> Fears 1981, 115; cfr. Turcan 1978, 1028 ss.



sia rimasto sempre ben saldo l'impianto della religione ufficiale, come nel caso di *castra, coloniae* e *municipia*.

Se nel passare in rassegna le testimonianze epigrafiche e plastiche legate all'ambito militare teniamo presente, da un lato, il concetto di *imperium Romanum* appena analizzato e, dall'altro, il fatto che nella realtà marziale romana siano sempre le divinità tradizionali e gli imperatori divinizzati a occupare una *positio princeps* nell'ambito religioso ufficiale, si potranno sottolineare ricorrenze non casuali. Ad esempio nel *Dolocenum* di Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior è stata rivenuta una base recante la seguente epigrafe: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolicheno / pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris) / Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Commo(di) / Aug(usti) C(aius) Spurius / Silvanus c(entu-rio) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) / et Val(eria) Digna / v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)* (Fig. 5a)<sup>24</sup>. Alla luce delle titolature con le quali è ricordato Commodo l'offerta deve datarsi tra il 180 e il 183 d.C., dal momento che questi prese il *praenomen* di Marcus solo nel 180, mentre quello di Pius (che non compare nelle titolature in epigrafe) nel 183. Il dedicante è arruolato nella *legio X Gemina*, un'unità militare gloriosa entrata a far parte dell'esercito di Ottaviano dopo la battaglia di Azio e impiegata in seguito nelle province della Pannonia Inferior e Superior, della Hispania e della Germania Inferior<sup>25</sup>.

Sembra interessante notare che dallo stesso *Dolocenum* proviene una rappresentazione di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus nella quale il toro è ridotto ad "attributo" e i tratti del dio evocano quelli dello Iuppiter Optimus Maximus *tout court* (Fig. 5b)<sup>26</sup>.

Lo stesso Merlat, sempre così attento al retaggio vicino orientale del dio, nota: "Cette statue qui figure Dolichenus sans son taureau marque le terme d'une évolution iconographique ... il ne reste de l'ancien *Baal* syrien que la bipenne et le foudre, ce dernier attribut étant d'ailleurs aussi celui des Zeus et des Jupiter occidentaux, et l'on peut dire que le dieu de Doliché apparaît ici presque entièrement latinisé, jusque dans son attitude grave et sereine"<sup>27</sup>.

Possiamo immaginare che sia stata un'analoga volontà a determinare la richiesta della *salus* dell'imperatore che leggiamo sull'altare che oggi fa da base alla statua e a enfatizzare i tratti "occidentali" di Iuppiter



Fig. 5. Statua e altare dolicheni (CCID, Tav. XLIV, 323/24).

<sup>24</sup> CCID 223. Per l'altare sul quale compare l'iscrizione riportata cfr. la figura immediatamente successiva: il reperto è utilizzato come base della statua riprodotta.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. RE XII, 1925, s.v. *Legio*, 1186-1837 (Kubitschek, Ritterling, Schulten) ad loc.; Gómez-Pantoja 2000 (con bibliografia).

<sup>26</sup> CCID 224.

<sup>27</sup> Merlat 1951, 108.

Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. Quasi un'attestazione di *fides* nei confronti del capo supremo dell'esercito inteso quale garante terreno della *prorogatio in aevum* dell'*Urbs* e dell'*Orbis*, e una sottolineatura della *potestas* di una divinità sentita come *conservator totius mundi* e in tal senso capace, allo stesso tempo, di assicurare i militari e le loro famiglie e di custodire provvidenzialmente quello stesso *Orbis* che le truppe romane e il loro comandante supremo erano chiamate a difendere e/o ad ampliare. Non si dimentichi, da una parte, che nel 180 a Commodo era stato riconosciuto il diritto di celebrare il trionfo e, dall'altra, che i reperti considerati sono stati ritrovati all'interno di un *Dolocenum*, e cioè in un luogo dove la "teologia" dolichena non poteva non essere nota e condivisa. Pertanto la casualità della rappresentazione non sembrerebbe una giustificazione cogente alla luce di quanto appena espresso. Anche dal *Dolocenum* di Porolissum in Dacia provengono delle rappresentazioni di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus che devono essere considerate; si tratta del cosiddetto "Typus Porolissensis", una modalità iconografica nella quale la componente vicino-orientale sembrerebbe comporsi nell'orbita di quella *naturaliter* romana<sup>28</sup>. Siamo di fronte, infatti, a una soluzione iconografica nella quale il toro è scomparso e dell'antico *Wettergott* rimane soltanto la bipenne sollevata nella destra, oltre al berretto frigio che copre il capo del dio. Per il resto, sia l'abbigliamento da *imperator* che il fascio di folgori, nonché l'aquila che specificamente si accompagna a questa divinità, finiscono per sottolinearne una maggiore vicinanza con Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus  
"Typus Porolissensis" (Gudea 2003, Fig. 6).

Va altresì considerato che da questo santuario proviene anche un altare iscritto dedicato da alcuni sacerdoti a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus *pro salute et incolumitate*

<sup>28</sup> Gudea 2003; cfr. Gudea, Tamba 2001, 27 ss.

dell'imperatore Gordiano III e della coorte *III Campestris*: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno / pro salute et [incolu]/mitate imp(eratoris) C(aesaris) M(arci) [Antonii] / Gordiani Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) / et coh(ortis) III Campestris M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Fla(v)us IIIIvir m(unicipii) S(eptimii) P(orolissensis) M(arcus) Ant(onius) Max(imu)[s] / vet(eranus) et dec(urio) of(rnat)us ornam(entis) IIIIvir(alibus) / m(unicipii) s(upra) s(cripti) et Aur(elius) Fla(v)us dec(urio) m(unicipii) vegesi[m]a[r(ius)] / sacerdotes dei et coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae) [t]em[p]l[um cum] / tabernis (a)ere suo fecer[unt]* (Fig. 7)<sup>29</sup>.



Fig. 7. Altare dolicheno (Piso 2001, Fig. 2 a-b).

È possibile, quindi, che la soluzione plastica proposta in *loco* per il dio da Doliche, così capace di avvicinarlo “visivamente” a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus e all'*imperator*, sia il risultato della volontà di sottolineare in maniera esplicita la fedeltà dei dedicanti nei confronti dell'imperatore e la conseguenza del desiderio di ribadire la fiducia in quell'esercito romano sempre chiamato, almeno a livello di identità collettiva, a difendere ed estendere i confini dell'*Vrbs* e dell'*Orbis*, compito al quale proprio l'imperatore sovrintende, ma sotto l'egida di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus.

A sostegno della nostra argomentazione si rivela molto interessante un altare iscritto proveniente da Leptis Magna in Tripolitania: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolicheno / pro salute et victoria domi/norum nostrorum Augg[ustorum]] / et [[C(aii) Fulvii Plautiani pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) c(larissimi) viri]] / [[et necessari Auggg(ustorum) e]]t redi/tu [i]mpp(eratorum) in urbem [s]uam / T(itus)[Fla]vius [M]a- rinus (centurio) leg(ionis) / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*; sul lato sinistro: *D(e)d(icitum) III idus Apriles*<sup>30</sup>. La data di questa dedica oscilla tra l'11 aprile del 208 e l'11 aprile del 210, ovvero sia tra la partenza di Settimio Severo per condurre personalmente la

<sup>29</sup> Gudea, Tamba 2001, 25 ss., ma la lettura proposta è quella da Piso 2001, part. 225 ss. per il quale si tratterebbe di un altare trasformato in una base per una statua; cfr. AE 2011, 1707.

<sup>30</sup> CCID 615a.

spedizione contro i Britanni, avvenuta in primavera, e il 4 febbraio 211, data della morte dell'imperatore. Nel 208, infatti, delle ostilità di poco conto vennero utilizzate da Settimio Severo come *casus belli* per una campagna militare di rilievo: l'intera famiglia imperiale, assieme a Papiniano, si recò in Britannia e fece stanza a Eburacum. L'imperatore e suo figlio Caracalla condussero due spedizioni in Caledonia con la professata intenzione di sottomettere l'intera Britannia; la vittoria venne dichiarata nel 210 e Settimio Severo poté fregiarsi del titolo di *Britannicus*<sup>31</sup>.

La conquista della Britannia, operazione militare considerata quanto mai difficile e rischiosa (che già nel *De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae* di Tacito aveva finito con il rappresentare un banco di prova incontrovertibile per Agricola che si era dimostrato capace di condurre al meglio una spedizione di tal genere perché il suo *modus vivendi* era ben radicato nel *mos maiorum*<sup>32</sup>) continua ad assurgere a simbolo di ratificata eccezionalità per chi si rivela capace di portare a termine questa missione anche nel *De errore profanorum religionum* di Firmico Materno. A chiusura del trattatello, infatti, il polemista neo-convertito, per legittimare ulteriormente la violenta campagna contro i pagani operata dai figli di Costantino il grande, proprio rivolgendosi a quest'ultimi non esita ad asserire: *Post excidia templorum in maius dei estis virtute provecti. Vicisti hostes, propagatis imperium et ut virtutibus vestris gloria maior accederet, mutato ac contempo temporum ordine – quod nec factum est aliquando nec fiet – tumentes ac saevientes undas calcastis Oceani. Sub remis vestris incogniti maris unda contremuit et insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit. Quid amplius? Virtutibus vestris victa elementa cesserunt*<sup>33</sup>. Il fatto che in questo passo si faccia riferimento non a un'autentica campagna militare quanto si alluda a un veloce passaggio di Costante in Britannia nel 343 per organizzare un servizio di spionaggio a danno dei Caledoni, se da una parte mette a nudo la piaggeria posta alla base della composizione del *De errore profanorum religionum*, dall'altra fornisce una prova del modo di intendere una campagna militare contro i Caledoni a livello di immaginario collettivo. In relazione alle parole con le quali si chiude il brano il Turcan esplicitamente nota: "L'allitération fait valoir ici le thème de l'empereur vainqueur des éléments déchaînés, en même temps que des peuples ennemis ou réfractaires"<sup>34</sup>. Di certo, con Firmico Materno siamo già di fronte all'attestazione della superiorità assoluta dell'imperatore nei confronti dell'*Orbis* che governa non più dall'*Vrbs* ma da Costantinopoli "nuova Roma", visione già ben presente nella *Mathesis*, trattato di astrologia redatto qualche anno prima dallo stesso polemista non ancora convertito e dedicato a Egnazio Lolliano Mavorzio nella speranza di mantenere i privilegi ottenuti se non di incrementarli. Quando redige il trattato, l'autore è ancora un sicuro pagano in sintonia con il mondo culturale dell'epoca al punto da dichiarare il neo-platonico Plotino *vir singularis*<sup>35</sup> e *noster* il discepolo Porfirio<sup>36</sup>; le conside-

<sup>31</sup> Sulla campagna in Britannia di Settimio Severo, oltre a RE II A, 1923 s.v. *Severus* 13, 1940-2002 (Fluss) ad loc., cfr. da ultimo Spielvogel 2006 (con bibliografia).

<sup>32</sup> TAC. *Vit. Agr.* passim.

<sup>33</sup> Firm. Mat. *De err. prof. rel.* 28, 6 (ed. Turcan).

<sup>34</sup> Turcan 2002, 347.

<sup>35</sup> Firm. Mat. *Math.* I 7, 14: *Ad te nunc singularem virum, Plotine, veniemos, ut allegationes nostras recentium exemplorum patrociniis muniamus.*

<sup>36</sup> Firm. Mat. *Math.* VII 1, 1: *Apud Pythagoras etiam et noster Porphyrius religioso putant animum nostrum silentio consecrari.*



razioni teologiche sul *fabricator mundi deus*, in nome del quale il nostro autore invita il dedicatario dell'opera a prestare giuramento e che servono da introduzione al libro VII, sono ascrivibili alle speculazioni enoteistiche della filosofia dell'epoca<sup>37</sup>; allo stesso modo, anche la preoccupazione di conciliare la responsabilità morale con il potere sovrano degli astri si ritrova negli scritti filosofici contemporanei<sup>38</sup>. Probabilmente, per lui valgono gli stessi criteri del sacrificio incruento di cui è portavoce la speculazione neo-platonica: gli dèi e il sommo dio si adorano in spirito e non con sacrifici<sup>39</sup>. Inoltre, varrà la pena far notare come anche nel passo del *De errore profanarum religionum* riportato si esaltino gli imperatori per avere ampliato il dominio di Roma e si riproponga l'esatta espressione *propagatum imperium* che campeggiava nella dedica dell'arco trionfale innalzato in omaggio a Settimio Severo<sup>40</sup>; tutto questo a dimostrazione della

<sup>37</sup> Firm. Mat. Math. VII 1, 2: *Vnde et ego horum virorum leges insecutus convenio te iureiurando, Mavortii decus nostrum per fabricatorem mundi deum... qui Solem formavit et Lunam, qui omnium siderum cursus ordinesque disposuit, qui maris fluctus intra certos terrae terminos coartavit, qui ignem ad sempiternam substantiam divinae perpetuitatis inflamat, qui terram in medio collocatam aequata moderatione sustentat, qui omnes homines, feras, alites, et omnia animantium genera divina artificii maiestate composuit, qui terram perennibus rigat fontibus, qui ventorum flatus cum quidam facit necessitatis moderatione variari, qui ad fabricationem omnium quattuor elementorum diversitate composita, ex contrariis et repugnantibus cuncta perfecit, et ortum occasumque † terrae motum omnium <...> per descensum ascensumque animae, per immortalem aeternae perpetuitatis ordinem.*

<sup>38</sup> Su questa problematica rimane valido Bouché-Leclercq 1899, part. 593 ss. Sull'astrologia nel mondo antico, oltre a Boll, Bezold, Gundel 1966; Gundel, Gundel 1966; ora cfr. Burton 1994; Luck 1999; Beck 2007; Hegedus 2007; i numerosi contributi apparsi nelle varie annate della rivista MHNH. Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas, Málaga.

<sup>39</sup> Relativamente alla condanna del sacrificio cruento nel mondo antico e per delle indicazioni bibliografiche cfr. Sfameni Gasparro 2009, 21 ss. C'è da notare come nell'opera l'astrologia sia spesso comparata a cerimonie misteriche: l'introduzione alla prima come la partecipazione alle seconde purifica l'anima e rivela cose altrimenti inconoscibili. È proprio in Math. II 30 ss. che il nostro autore presenta un ritratto dettagliato del perfetto astrologo: lui che parla sugli dèi proprio con quegli dèi che gli hanno riservato un trattamento privilegiato in forza di un'irreprensibile condotta di vita basata sull'imitazione delle divinità, non ha niente di quei tratti foschi e ambigui che connotavano tradizionalmente la figura dell'indovino. Come l'imperatore, l'astrologo presentatoci dal nostro autore venera la somma divinità solare; espone pubblicamente i propri responsi e si rifiuta di rispondere a questioni di natura illecita o immorale; non dirà mai nulla in merito al destino della *res publica* dell'imperatore dal momento che solo quest'ultimo, in quanto *orbis totius dominus* alla cui *potestas* soggiace l'intero universo, non solo non è sottomesso alle influenze astrali, ma addirittura si trova annoverato tra quegli dèi ai quali la divinità prima ha affidato il compito di fare e custodire ogni cosa. Dal punto di vista del *modus vivendi* l'astrologo di Firmico Materno ripropone in qualche modo il *topos* del perfetto *civis Romanus*: deve avere una casa, una moglie e degli amici onesti con i quali condividere un'esemplare condotta di vita; deve mostrarsi in pubblico e tenersi lontano dai contenziosi; non deve intraprendere attività che possano rivelarsi nocive, ma seguire il "giusto mezzo" e fuggire sempre le *seditiones* e i *turbulenta certamina*; la sua coscienza non deve lasciarsi mai neppure sfiorare dall'infedeltà, dal desiderio del denaro, dallo sfruttamento delle disgrazie altrui. Non è concepibile, infatti, che le divinità che l'hanno prediletto così tanto vengano coinvolte in sordidi affari personali. In proposito cfr. De Giovanni 1989, part. 60 ss.

<sup>40</sup> CIL VI 1033 = CIL VI 31230 = CIL VI 36881 = AE 2003, 267: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Lucio Septimio M(arci) fil(io) Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug(usto) patri patriae Parthico Arabico et / Parthico Adiabenico pontific(i) maximo tribunic(ia) potest(ate) XI imp(eratori) XI co(n)s(uli) III proco(n)s(uli) et / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio L(uci) fil(io) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio Felici tribunic(ia) potest(ate) VI co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) p(atr) p(atr)iae et / P(ublio) Septimio Getae nobiliss(imo) Caesari / <<optimis fortissimisque principibus>> / ob rem publicam restitutam imperiumque populi Romani propagatum / insignibus virtutibus eorum domi forisque s(enatus) p(opulus) q(ue) R(omanus).* Per la nostra argomentazione sottolineiamo come l'arco sia stato dedicato a Settimio Severo e ai suoi due figli, Caracalla e Geta, dal senato e dal popolo di Roma uniti, perché, grazie alle loro *virtutes*, da una parte, la *Res publica*, e cioè lo stato, è tornata ad affermarsi, e dall'altra, l'*imperium Romanum*, e cioè il dominio di Roma (dominio che fa parte del dover



pervasività del *mos maiorum* anche e ancora all'interno di una realtà che aveva iniziato a mutare le coordinate costitutive in forza delle scelte religiose di Costantino e dei suoi figli. Non si dimentichi, in ogni caso, come Costantino in persona, nell'elevare l'antica Bisanzio a capitale dell'impero, non aveva esitato a strutturarla dal punto di vista della planimetria del potere proprio come l'*Vrbs*, adornandola di un circo e di una *domus* imperiale che riproducevano il nesso tutto romano tra il Circo Massimo e il Palazzo imperiale sul Palatino, né a chiamarla "nuova Roma" con l'intento di sottolineare la continuità piuttosto che la novità nei confronti di una città e di una storia imponenti<sup>41</sup>.

Sembra plausibile, dunque, che nell'epigrafe riportata a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus si chiedano allo stesso tempo la vittoria dell'imperatore impegnato in una campagna militare che per tradizione è sinonimo di rischio e di difficoltà e il ritorno nell'*Vrbs* qualificata dell'attributo *sua*; quell'*Vrbs* nella quale si celebrano i trionfi dei generali che hanno contribuito alla grandezza della stessa e del suo impero e che sono chiamati a rimettere il frutto della vittoria riportata sotto l'egida di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Non si dimentichi che il diritto di celebrare il trionfo era completamente legato al voto espresso dal popolo al momento dell'inizio della campagna militare e al permesso accordato dal senato al generale una volta rientrato a Roma<sup>42</sup>. D'altronde che esistesse un forte legame tra l'imperatore e l'esercito è cosa nota, e ancor più è conosciuto quanto tale legame in alcuni momenti della storia di Roma sia stato determinante per deciderne le sorti. A tal proposito, sarà utile riportare due iscrizioni dolichene che ben sottolineano questo rapporto. La prima si legge su di un altare rinvenuto a Condercum in Britannia: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo) Dolic]he/no et numinibus / Aug(usti) pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris) / Caesaris T(iti) Aeli(i) Hadr(iani) / Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) / et leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) / M(arcus) Liburnius Fron/to c(enturio) leg(ionis) eiusdem / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*<sup>43</sup>. Si tratta di un'epigrafe dalla datazione diciamo così "alta" (138-161) nella quale si mette bene in evidenza il fatto che alla *salus* dell'imperatore si accompagna quella della legione alla quale si ascrive il dedicante e che entrambe, in ordine diremmo gerarchico, vengano affidate alla *potestas* di Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus e al provvido *numen Augusti*. Un'altra iscrizione rinvenuta a Gerulata in Pannonia Superior sottolinea ancora una volta lo stretto legame tra l'imperatore e l'esercito: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / Dol(icheno) [pro] / sal(ute) Aug(usti) [et] / Alae I Ca[n(nanefatium] / dec(urio) dupli(carius) [ - - ]*<sup>44</sup>. L'elemento più interessante di questa epigrafe è la datazione proposta, e cioè il IV sec.; tale datazione aiuta a dimostrare come ben oltre l'età

essere del *civis Romanus*) è stato propagato. Entrambi i valori, e cioè la difesa della *Res publica* e la propagazione del dominio di Roma, trovano qui una profonda e incontrovertibile legittimazione nel *mos maiorum*.

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. Bauer 1996; Bianchi 2009; Bowersock 2009; Cameron 2009. Sulla figura e l'opera di Costantino cfr. ora Melloni 2013.

<sup>42</sup> RE VII A, 1948, s.v. *Triumphus*, 493-511 (Ehlers); Bonfante Warren 1970; Versnel 1970; Lemosse 1972; Bonfante Warren 1974; Künzl 1988; Rüpke 2006; Beard 2007; Krasser, Pausch, Petrovic 2008. Su questo argomento dal 28 al 30 gennaio 2013 a Roma, presso l'Istituto danese, ad opera della Carlsberg Foundation si è tenuto l'importante incontro di studio *Roman Republican Triumph: Beyond the Spectacle*, agli atti del quale rinviando per una messa a punto della problematica, nonché per un aggiornamento bibliografico.

<sup>43</sup> CCID 564.

<sup>44</sup> CCID 235.

Severiana (192-325), età dell'oro non solo per le manifestazioni religiose riservate a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus ma per tutti i cosiddetti "culti orientali"<sup>45</sup>, la devozione nei confronti di questo dio *exsuperantissimus* non avesse smesso di esistere, stante anche la sua vicinanza "costitutiva" con lo Iuppiter Optimus Maximus garante del successo eterno dell'*Vrbs*.

In tal senso varrà la pena riportare un'epigrafe che si rivela di particolare interesse e che ci sembra rafforzare l'ipotesi formulata. Da Ampelum in Dacia proviene un altare votivo iscritto: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) / pro salute / imp(erii) perpetui / M(arci) Antoni(i) / Gordiani / Augusti / Aur(elius) Ga(ius) b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) / v(otum) p(osuit) m(erito)* (Fig. 8)<sup>46</sup>.



Fig. 8. Altare dolicheno (CCID, Tav. 30, n. 150).

Appare interessante notare come in questo caso si invochi non semplicemente la *salus* di Gordiano III (238-244), ma quella del suo *perpetuum imperium*, quasi che la funzione ricoperta dall'imperatore sia superiore a lui stesso. Si può ritenere che l'iscrizione sia stata posta durante gli ultimi anni del regno di Gordiano, ovvero tra il 242 e il 244, cioè in occasione della campagna contro i Sasanidi preparata e organizzata dall'imperatore stesso assieme a Timesiteo e, dopo la morte di questi, a Marco Giulio Filippo detto "l'Arabo"<sup>47</sup>. Si è messo in luce che tra le prerogative della gestione del potere da parte di Gordiano III ci sia stata quella di voler ritornare alla "politica severiana" come risposta agli eccessi di Massimino Trace<sup>48</sup>. In questo senso, allora, alla campagna organizzata contro i nemici giurati dell'*Vrbs* e dell'*Orbis Romanus* può essere stato "affidato" il compito di divulgare l'idea che il governo del giovane

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. Sanzi 2015, part. 29 ss. utile anche per delle indicazioni bibliografiche.

<sup>46</sup> CCID 150.

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. Popescu 2006, il quale basa la sua analisi su Gudea - Tamba 2001.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. Lorient 1975, part. 724 ss.; Dietz 1980, Kettenhofen 1982, part. 19 ss.

imperatore procedeva secondo i dettami del *mos maiorum*. Sarà interessante, pertanto, riportare la seguente iscrizione proveniente da Hatra in Mesopotamia e datata proprio agli anni della campagna di Gordiano III contro i Parti: *Erculi* (sic) *sanct(o) / pro salute do/mini nostri Au[g(usti) Q(uintus) / Petronius Qu[in]/tianus dom(o) [Nu]/midia, trib(unus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) I P(arthicae), trib(unus) coh(ortis) IX / Gordianae Genio coh(ortis)*<sup>49</sup>. Se pensiamo, da una parte, che la dedica è stata posta durante la campagna *Parthica* del giovane imperatore del quale la coorte (*cohors IX Maurorum Gordiana*<sup>50</sup>) di appartenenza del dedicante porta il nome e, dall'altra, che Hatra occupava un posto di eccellenza avanzato tanto importante per la difesa delle posizioni romane quanto rischioso, esposto com'era ai ripetuti attacchi dei nemici giurati dell'impero, sarà legittimo ritenere che la *salus* richiesta a Ercole per l'imperatore, in forza del ruolo da questi rivestito *quo talis* alla luce dell'inevitabile costitutivo compito di cooperazione con Iuppiter Optimus Maximus per la *prorogatio in aevum*, finisse col coincidere anche con quella del dedicante, della coorte di appartenenza e dell'esercito tutto.

Anche in forza di una comparazione con l'iscrizione da Hatra, l'epigrafe dolichena sopra riportata permette di ipotizzare che l'*ex voto* sia il risultato di un'invocazione indirizzata a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus al fine di vedere garantita quella *stabilitas* che l'imperatore in quanto tale, al di là della persona fisica, assicurava ai territori posti sotto il dominio di Roma, e cioè a quell'*Orbis* che allo stesso tempo era anche *Vrbs*. Né sarà da sottovalutare il fatto che da Ampelum in Dacia provengano altre tre epigrafi dolichene delle quali abbiamo parlato dove della divinità invocata si enfatizza sempre la provenienza epicorica dal momento che oltre a far riferimento a Doliche si ricorda anche la Commagene. Si può ribadire che la doppia titolatura di Dolichenus e Commagenus attribuita a questo Iuppiter "orientale", oltre a evidenziare la patria di origine del dio, allo stesso tempo ne rafforzi la portata di *deus exsuperantisimus* capace di ergersi a *conservator* del cosmo nella sua interezza. Un tale sentimento deve essere colto anche in due altari iscritti rinvenuti a Dura Europos e datati tra il 251 e il 253<sup>51</sup>. In relazione alla dedica che connota entrambi i reperti, e cioè Διὶ μεγίστῳ καὶ θεῷ Δολιχίνῳ, si è sostenuto: "Die übliche Formel ist Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, die hier getrennt ist in *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus et deus Dolichenus*. Dabei ist aber sicher an keine Trennung der beiden Gottheiten gedacht, sondern eher an eine Wendung wie «Iuppiter Maximus, der auch dolichenischer Gott heißt»"<sup>52</sup>. Già il Bianchi, facendo un riferimento specifico a queste due iscrizioni così come ad altre testimonianze epigrafiche relative non solo al Dolichenus ma anche all'Heliopolitanus, è arrivato a sostenere che "le nom divin inscrit en deuxième position après le *et/καὶ* élargit l'aire géographique indiquée par le nom divin situé en première position"<sup>53</sup>. A questo punto, ribadita l'identità - o almeno l'equivalenza - tra le due divinità invocate, e cioè il fatto di trovarsi davanti a un unico Iuppiter Optimus Maximus

<sup>49</sup> Maricq 1957, *ad loc*; AE 1958, 240 = 1983, 935.

<sup>50</sup> AE 1958, 239: *Deo Soli Invicto / Q(uintus) Petr(onius) Quintianus / trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Part(hicae) / trib(unus) coh(ortis) IX Maur(orum) / Gordianae / votum re/ligioni lo/ci posuit*.

<sup>51</sup> CCID 33, 34.

<sup>52</sup> CCID, p. 37.

<sup>53</sup> Bianchi 1997, 602.

*deus* Dolichenus, possiamo cercare di fare un passo in avanti arrivando a immaginare l'ellissi di un nesso relativo prima della congiunzione. Se così fosse, gli altari non sarebbero stati dedicati semplicemente a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus ma a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus che è anche Iuppiter Dolichenus. Tale lettura rafforzerebbe ulteriormente il legame tra Iuppiter Optimus Maximus e il dio da Doliche, dove il primo finirebbe quasi per sussumere il secondo, alla luce del ruolo *princeps* da lui rivestito proprio a Dura Europos come ben dimostrato dal notissimo *Feriale Duranum*, un "calendario" conservato su papiro rinvenuto a Dura Europos e databile entro il 227 d.C., e cioè al regno di Alessandro Severo, dove si elencano le festività da osservarsi in ambito militare<sup>54</sup>. Benché relativo alla *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, il fatto che tale *feriale* sia stato redatto in latino e che non contenga festività strettamente "locali" ha messo gli studiosi in condizione di sostenere che ci si trovi di fronte ad un documento ufficiale vigente in ogni parte dell'impero. Esso contiene diverse festività in onore degli dèi, in particolare quelli della triade capitolina, nonché celebrazioni dedicate agli imperatori ed ai loro familiari divinizzati<sup>55</sup>. A tal proposito sono da riportare le parole del Fishwick: "Collectively the above corpus of inscriptions strongly supports the view that the dates of imperial and other festivals were known and consciously chosen as the occasion of dedications or other activities worth recording on stone with their precise date. When so many of these coincide with the list preserved on the Dura papyrus, the conclusion is hardly avoidable that they echo an earlier, contemporary or later version of a similar calendar. By the large, the epigraphical evidence presented weighs heavily in favour of the standard view that the *Feriale Duranum* is after all just one example of the canonical festival list issued to and observed by Roman troops everywhere"<sup>56</sup>.

Il dio da Doliche, legittimato ulteriormente perché sussunto da Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, un dio commagenico "passato" a sostenere le parti della città chiamata a *regere populos*, viene invocato come Iuppiter Optimus Maximus dai soldati di stanza a Dura Europos, una città di confine opposta al nemico per antonomasia dell'impero, nel pieno della vigilia della sua distruzione definitiva avvenuta nel 256 a opera degli eserciti guidati da Shapur I<sup>57</sup>.

L'iscrizione di Ampelum, dunque, potrebbe essere letta in questo modo: Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, dio sommo, si erge a garante dell'*imperium* dell'*imperator*, proprio perché quest'ultimo, attraverso l'autorità conferitagli ufficialmente dal senato, si erga a custode in terra del *regere populos*, compito al quale Roma è fatalmente predestinata. D'altronde, se sentimenti di tal genere non fossero stati ben presenti a livello di coscienza collettiva nei territori che a mano a mano finivano con l'essere ricondotti sotto l'egida dell'*Vrbs*, risulterebbe difficile da comprendere sia il proliferare dei *Capitolia* nelle varie province durante il II e il III sec. d.C., sia l'attenzione specifica che in particolare a Iuppiter Optimus Maximus veniva riservata negli ambienti militari. E ciò, sostiene Bianchi, "si spiega quando si consideri come, per

<sup>54</sup> Cfr. Fink - Spencer Hoey - Fifield Sneyder 1940 e nota immediatamente successiva.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. ora Gros Lambert 2009 e Huet 2011, part 226 ss. (entrambi utili per indicazioni bibliografiche).

<sup>56</sup> Fishwick 1988, 361.

<sup>57</sup> Per la storia di questa città "militare" rimane fondamentale Cumont 1926, part. XII ss.; cfr. Sommer 2005, part. 270 ss.



gli abitanti delle province, il culto capitolino rappresentasse, più che un elemento di religiosità personale, il culto ufficiale dell'Impero. Le sue manifestazioni significarono atto pubblico di omaggio alla religione nazionale e all'Imperatore, sia che si dedicasse un *Capitolium*, sia che durante le persecuzioni si imponesse ai cristiani di sacrificare in tali templi agli dèi di Roma, sia che si ponesse a nome della città una semplice iscrizione votiva alla triade capitolina. Ben più ampia fu nelle province la penetrazione del culto imperiale ... infatti, mentre il culto della triade capitolina sopravviveva solo per virtù di una tradizione nazionale-religiosa, particolarmente viva nell'esercito, il culto della persona imperiale, della quale in ogni occasione si riaffermava la presenza e la provvidenzialità, si imponeva agli abitanti delle province con maggiore evidenza<sup>58</sup>. Finalmente arriviamo a ricordare un'epigrafe di rilevante interesse incisa su di un altare rinvenuto ad Apulum in Dacia e di cui si è già fatto cenno: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et Deae / Suriae Magnae / Caelesti pro salu/te perpetui imperi(i) / Romani et leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae) Flavius Bar/hadadi s(acerdos) I(ovis) D(olicheni) ad / leg(ionem) s(upra) s(criptam) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit)* (Fig. 9)<sup>59</sup>.



Fig. 9. Altare dolicheno (CCID, Tav. XXX, n. 154).

È da mettere in evidenza il fatto che questa volta un *sacerdos* di Iuppiter Dolichenus, il cui nome lascia trasparire un'indubitabile origine orientale, invochi Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus e la sua paredra non per la *salus* dell'imperatore

<sup>58</sup> Bianchi 1950, 384.

<sup>59</sup> CCID 154. Ringraziamo Florian Matei-Popescu per averci segnalato la lettura proposta da I. Piso, IDR III/5, 221 secondo la quale *ad legionem* deve essere inteso come *ad canabas legionis*. CCID legge: "*aed(ituus) leg(ionis)*".



ma per quella dell'*imperium Romanum* e della *legio XIII Gemina*. L'ipotesi, dunque, acquisterebbe maggior valore se si potesse definitivamente dimostrare che proprio alla luce della formula *pro salute imperi(i)* l'altare sia stato dedicato in occasione della visita di Caracalla in Dacia avvenuta tra la fine del II e l'inizio del III sec. d.C.<sup>60</sup>.

Di fatto la mole documentaria proveniente dalla Dacia finisce con l'eclissare quella rinvenuta in Moesia Inferior. A ogni buon conto c'è da dire che anche lo studio dei reperti di questa provincia legittima quanto fin qui asserito. Nella maggior parte dei casi si tratta di offerte con funzione profilattica nei confronti degli imperatori come lascia ben intendere la formula *pro salute* / ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας che le qualifica. Esse sono datate soprattutto all'età dei Severi. La più significativa è una colonna rinvenuta a Niculițel, tra Noviodunum e Troesmis, datata tra il 27 febbraio 212 e l'8 aprile 217, e recante la seguente iscrizione: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolichen(o) / pro salute / imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aureli(i) / Antonini Pii / Aug(usti) et Iuliae Do/minae matris / castrorum / Polydeuces / Theophili et / Lucius Kapito / et Flavius Re/[gi]nus sacer/dotes Iovis Dolicheni vo/tum posuerunt / l(ibentes) m(erito)*<sup>61</sup>. È evidente come si riproponga una condizione analoga a quella attestata dall'epigrafe dacica appena presentata e che sollecita la ricerca storico-religiosa *stricto sensu*. La distinzione delle titolature del dio, *optimus* e *maximus*, quando invocato *pro salute imperatoris*, ma "semplicemente" *Dolichenus* per ciò che è inerente la dimensione cultuale, ci sembra ancora una volta rubricare da un lato gli aspetti universalistici e allo stesso tempo *Romani* della nostra divinità, in forza dei quali, questo antico *Wettergott*, poté essere assimilato allo Iuppiter Optimus e Maximus che dal *Capitolium* per antonomasia così come dai *Capitolia* su questo modellati garantiva la *prorogatio* dell'*Vrbs* e dell'*Orbis*, e dall'altro gli aspetti squisitamente "orientali" in forza dei quali questo Iuppiter di Commagene, anche alla luce della specifica epicoresi *Dolichenus*, continuava, almeno in alcuni casi, ad assolvere una funzione catalizzatrice di identità etnica in senso lato per tutti quegli orientali come lui così presenti nel mondo imperiale romano.

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<sup>60</sup> Cfr. Popa, Berciu 1978, 6.

<sup>61</sup> CCID 60.

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## MEDICAL INSTRUMENTS IN ROMAN DACIA: A SURVEY BEYOND TYPOLOGY AND FUNCTIONALITY

TIMEA VARGA

**Abstract:** Although a relatively large quantity of the medical instruments found in Roman Dacia have been published in various articles throughout the years, they were confined strictly to a typological and functional perspective, omitting any social meanings that could emerge from their archaeological contexts, the association with other artifacts or a particular decoration. Corroborating information from various literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources has led to the conclusion that both a noble confection material like silver, or a particular decoration, were meant to increase the doctor's prestige in the eyes of a patient, inspiring likewise more confidence in its medical qualities, in a period when medical procedures, due to a lack of antiseptics and anesthetics, seemed a measure of last resort. Of particular interest are votive images that suggest the placement of medical instruments under the auspices of a divinity and implicitly set the physician under a healing god's patronage. The archeological contexts of the medical instruments can also provide us additional information regarding the social implications derived from the use of medical instruments i.e. finding them in refuse pits or funerary contexts can reveal us some of the perceptions of the ancients regarding medical instruments and their association with disease and death, while finding them in religious contexts can help us realize the faint line that existed between rational, magical and respectively sacerdotal medicine.

**Keywords:** medical instruments; healing images; archaeology of medicine; social archaeology; Roman Dacia.

**Rezumat:** Deși diferite articole de specialitate publicate de-a lungul anilor au tratat o cantitate relativ mare de instrumente medicale descoperite în Dacia, ele s-au mulțumit să o facă doar din perspectivă tipologică și funcțională, omițând conotațiile sociale care se desprind din contextele lor de descoperire, asocierea cu alte artefacte sau modul particular de decorare. Coroborarea informațiilor oferite de diverse surse literare, epigrafice și arheologice a dus la concluzia că atât un material de confecție mai nobil, ca argintul, sau un decor specific erau menite să mărească prestigiul unui medic în ochii pacientului, inspirând totodată mai multă încredere în calitățile medicale ale acestuia, într-o perioadă în care antisepticele și anestezicele erau ca și inexistente. Contextele de descoperire ale instrumentelor medicale ne pot oferi informații adiționale privind implicațiile sociale comportate de acestea. Astfel, descoperirea lor în gropi de gunoi sau în contexte funerare poate reflecta modul în care oamenii au perceput instrumentele medicale și asocierea lor cu boala și moartea, în timp ce contextele religioase ne pot ajuta să apreciem linia subțire care exista între medicina rațională, cea teurgică și cea sacerdotală.

**Cuvinte cheie:** instrumente medicale; imagini vindecătoare; arheologia medicinei; arheologie socială; Dacia romană.

In 2003 S. Cociș estimated that the number of the medical instruments discovered in the territory of the Roman province of Dacia would reach up to nine hundred pieces, out of which around four hundred discovered in military contexts<sup>1</sup>. However,

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<sup>1</sup> Cociș 2003, 63.

to the best of my knowledge, a thorough search of the relevant literature would yield at most half of this estimated number. In addition, if we rule out all the pieces with uncertain interpretation i.e. various types of spoons, more likely used for domestic purposes, some of the spatulas, used for decorating pottery, small-sized tweezers, used for cosmetic purposes etc. we would only be able to sum up around three hundred pieces published in the specialty literature<sup>2</sup>.

Typologically speaking, we encounter almost the whole spectrum of the Roman classical medical instruments, with the exception of dental ones, around a quarter of them having double functionality. This is the case of the probes (Lat. *specillum*), with one end shaped like a spoon (*cyathiscomele*<sup>3</sup>) or a spatula (*spathomele* < Gr. σπαθομήλη) and the other shaped like an olive (Gr. πυρήν<sup>4</sup>), which were used for spreading various ointments, and also to mix, chop and apply medicine, or to investigate injuries or cauterize wounds by heating in advance the olivary end etc. Occasionally, we also encounter medical probes with both ends under the form of spatulas (Lat. *spatha* < Gr. σπάθη)<sup>5</sup>, perhaps used as tongue depressors, or for elevating a bone and casting a plaster. More often encountered are scalpels with spatula (Lat. *scalpellum*), the most standard type, used for cutting, incising, dissecting and cauterizing a wound. Additionally tweezers (Lat. *vulsella* or *volsella*) provided with a spatula or a hook can also be seen among the medical instruments found in Dacia.

Other medical instruments that are often encountered among the small finds of Dacia are the probes used for the investigation and cleaning of the ears (*specillum oricarium*), while paramedical tools like ointment bone or stone slabs, used for grinding and mixing different ointments are fairly common as well. Various categories of tweezers have also to be taken into account. It is clear that the ones with large arms, serrated extremities, retaining ring or one hook shaped extremity are undoubtedly medical instruments, but smaller tweezers could also be used for medical purposes, to remove a foreign body from the eye or nose for example.

Regarding the decoration of the pieces, most of them show humble ornaments that consist in successions of rings or/and nodules, sometimes having the extremity shaped like a chess pawn. Some of them however, show geometric/abstract motifs i.e. rhomboid decorative portions, zigzag or lattice patterns, striations, spirals, gutiform extremities etc., vegetal motifs i.e. the ivy or vine leaf pattern or zoomorphic representations, real or fantastic i.e. wolf (?) or gryphon depictions.

In an overwhelmingly proportion, more than three quarters of them are made out of bronze, but we also encounter diametrically opposed versions regarding the

<sup>2</sup> A full bibliography regarding the medical instruments found in Roman Dacia would be too vast to cite. Articles dedicated exclusively to this subject include: Igna 1933-1935, 223-227; Dumitrașcu 1983, 111-114; Alicu, Cociș 1989, 223-236; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 249-291; Cociș 1993, 241-249; Stanciu 2000, 457-470; Pribac, Timoc 2002-2003, 164-171; Cociș 2003, 63; Bondoc 2005, 138-147; Flutur, Flutur 2007, 75-83; Gui 2011, 115-130; Tamba 2015, 239-248.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously taken by scholars as the Latin equivalent for the "spoon probe", this is in fact Milne's invention and not the ancient name of the instrument: Milne 1907, 61-63.

<sup>4</sup> This is the most frequently used term in Greek medical literature for the probes with one or both ends enlarged in an ovular or round shape. Its literal translation would be that of a seed or pit of fruit. Its equivalent in Latin is hard to guess because Latin authors usually refer to it in periphrastic ways. Theodorus Priscianus names it *baca/bacula*, meaning berry: Theodorus Priscianus, *Euporiston*, 1.37, 44.

<sup>5</sup> Bliquez believes this is the most likely candidate for the tool's name: Bliquez 2014, 123.

confection material i.e. medical instruments made out of bone versus ones made out of silver. The blades of the scalpels, razors and skin cleansing devices are made out of iron or steel, bonded with copper and lead.

### Aesthetic medical instruments as promoters of the skilled physician

Lucian of Samosata recalls the use of medical instruments made out of ivory, gold and silver, a brief mention accompanied by the ridicule of the incompetent doctors that allegedly would have owned and used them<sup>6</sup>. Paradoxical as it may seem, we cannot reproach Lucian with trying to kill a mockingbird through this juxtaposition of expensive tools – medical malpractice, because he is merely reflecting upon the reality of that time, obviously under the form of his already well-known satire.

The reality is that back in his time (the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) antiseptics and anesthetics were at least ineffective if not quasi-non-existent, making thus medical procedures seem a measure of last resort. Unfortunately that also meant that although doctors were good theoreticians, they lacked some significant qualities that could only be achieved through a genuine medical practice<sup>7</sup>. But how could they even obtain that, one might naturally ask, if they frequently raised suspicion among commoners. It did not help either when this suspicion was further more augmented by the opprobrium of more eminent figures like Plinius the Elder, who accused doctors of unethically experimenting on patients, without apprising them of the risks involved and refusing to take any kind of blame in case of a failure<sup>8</sup>.

In fact if we compare various medical literary sources from the imperial time, we will notice the prevalence of two antagonistic perceptions regarding the use of rational medicine. On the one hand we have Celsus, the one who actually introduced this very term, who was against the assignment of a divine origin to any kind of disease or the deposition of *ex vota* in the temples of the healing gods<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand we have other prominent physicians like Galenus<sup>10</sup> and Rufus<sup>11</sup>, that assure us in their writings that medical treatments conducted through the *incubatio* ritual in *Asklepieia* were still of great interest and even of great efficiency during Imperial time. Obviously one should bear in mind that Rufus practiced medicine in Ephesus, while Galenus lived the majority of his life in Pergamum, both well-known religious centers for the cult of Aesculapius and for practicing the *incubatio* ritual inside its temples. Nonetheless this still proves that rational medicine was still not unanimously accepted as being the most appropriate solution to someone's disorder or disease.

In this context, we should not be surprised by what might seem an unusual preoccupation of the Roman doctors for the aesthetics of their medical instruments, especially if we compare them with the ones used nowadays that seem rather dull, because

<sup>6</sup> Lucianus, *Adversus Indoctum*, 29: While satirizing an ignorant book-collector, he compares it to a physician that owns expensive tools but does not even know how to hold them in his hand.

<sup>7</sup> Galenus, XIV, 649–650.

<sup>8</sup> PLIN. *Nat.* 29. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Celsus, *De Medicina*, Proemium.

<sup>10</sup> Galenus, *Subfiguratio empirica*, X, 78.

<sup>11</sup> Oribasius, *Collectiones Medicae*, XLV, 30, 10–14; passage taken from Rufus.

as Bliquez pointed out in a recently published study, both a more noble confection material like silver, or a particular decoration, were meant to increase the doctor's prestige in the eyes of a patient, inspiring likewise more confidence in its medical qualities<sup>12</sup>.

There are no medical instruments made out of gold so far found in the Roman province of Dacia, but we encounter a few that are either made out of silver, either decorated with it. Two of the ear probes found in Dacia are made entirely out of silver, one found in the amphitheater of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa<sup>13</sup>, the other one in a house from Alburnus Maior, next to a fragment of a silver mirror, two fibulae and one bronze coin<sup>14</sup>.

Although made out of bronze, a scalpel with leaf shaped dissector found in the auxiliary fort of Gilău (Pl. I/1), has the rectangular handle decorated with *niello* inlays in silver, portraying a vegetal motif, either ivy or vine leaves<sup>15</sup>. This motif seems to have been exclusively assigned to scalpels, as the findings seem to indicate so far, thus to an instrument linked to a painful operation that could endanger the patient's life, making us therefore return to our sub-title's idea, that the more aesthetic was a surgical instrument, the more it raised the patient's confidence that such a risky operation will be a success.

Similar scalpels decorated with ivy or vine leaves were found in Germania Inferior at Köln<sup>16</sup> (Pl. I/6), in Germania Superior at Hofheim<sup>17</sup> (Pl. I/10) and Rheinzabern<sup>18</sup> (Pl. I/12), in Gallia Belgica at Trier<sup>19</sup> (Pl. I/13) and Reims<sup>20</sup> (Pl. I/2), in Moesia Inferior at Dionysopolis<sup>21</sup> (Pl. I/3-4), in Thracia at Karanovo<sup>22</sup> (Pl. I/5, 7-8), plus one from Asia Minor<sup>23</sup> (Pl. I/9) and another from Dalmatia<sup>24</sup>, without the precise find spot. A slight variation can be noticed at the scalpels decorated with grape vines and clusters, found in Britannia at Cramond<sup>25</sup>, in Germania Inferior at Xanten<sup>26</sup> (Pl. I/14) and in Noricum at Traismauer<sup>27</sup> (Pl. I/11).

### Healing images. Placing instruments under the auspices of a healing divinity

By adding this silver decoration to the scalpel, not only has the metalworker increased its material value, but it has also charged the instrument with a suggestive

<sup>12</sup> Bliquez 2014, 19.

<sup>13</sup> Nicolaus 1981, no. 134; Alicu, Cociș 1989, 227, no. 2, Pl. I/2.

<sup>14</sup> Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2010, 372, 378, Cat. no. 2, Fig. 17/2.

<sup>15</sup> Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 57-58, no. 19, Fig. 3/19.

<sup>16</sup> Künzl 1986, 504, C1, Abb. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Künzl 1982, 61, Abb. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Kirova 2006, 542, Abb. 7, 2b.

<sup>19</sup> Künzl 1984, 160, B1, Taf. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Künzl 1983b, 63, Fig. 36/25, 30.

<sup>21</sup> Kirova 2006, 538-539, Nr. 4, 5, Abb. 3, 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Kirova 2006, 537-538, Nr. 1-3, Abb. 2, 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> Künzl 2002, 28, B3, Taf. 17.

<sup>24</sup> Giunio 2010, 67, no. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Gilson 1983, 387-389.

<sup>26</sup> Künzl 1986, 493, 1, Abb. 2.1, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Kirova 2006, 542, Abb. 7, 2 a.



symbolic value. Pliny the Elder labels ivy as *medicatissima*, mentioning that this very powerful healing plant can be administered orally in combination with wine or as a plaster in various medical treatments<sup>28</sup>. In addition, Bliquez suggests that due to its vigorous growth ivy could play in fact the role of a metaphor for life and survival<sup>29</sup>.

What seems at first sight another vegetal decoration, the so called “knotty limb” motif that appears on some of the Roman surgical tools (Pl. II/6–7), has been recognized by various scholars as a stylized depiction of the club of Hercules<sup>30</sup>. Based on the fact that it usually appears on surgical tools that cause intense pain, Bliquez believes that the “knotty limb” pattern was meant to act as some sort of apotropaic device, raising the patient’s endurance to the pain of the operation<sup>31</sup>.

Although Hercules is not a medical figure in mythology, he is sometimes sur-named in votive inscriptions *Salutaris* / *Salutiferus*<sup>32</sup>, while some of the healing spring sanctuaries proved to enjoy his patronage<sup>33</sup>. Nonetheless, Bliquez claims that his occurrence on surgical tools is the reflection of his image as a “paragon of endurance and resolute suffering”<sup>34</sup>, rather than that of a healing god, and in this matter he provides examples of medical instruments portraying either the club of Hercules ended under the form of a lion’s head<sup>35</sup> or a fist<sup>36</sup> (Pl. II/7), either the bust of Hercules itself, wearing the skin and the head of the Nemean lion (Pl. II/8)<sup>37</sup>.

The Hercules / knotty club motif is closely paralleled by that of Aesculapius / snake or rooster motif that also appears on some of the Roman medical instruments. The rooster motif<sup>38</sup> can be seen on a stirring rod found at Augst (Pl. II/2)<sup>39</sup>, while the snake one is more frequent and appears on a medical box<sup>40</sup> or as a decorative part on the handles of various medical instruments like tweezers (Pl. II/3), medical hooks and lancets, *specilla* (Pl. II/4) and uterine *specula*<sup>41</sup>. Aesculapius’ standing figure decorates an ivory medical box found at Jena<sup>42</sup> and a bronze one from Xanten<sup>43</sup>, while the extremity of a stirring rod found at Ephesus takes the form of the god himself (Pl. II/1)<sup>44</sup>. He even appears accompanied by Hygia on a bronze medical box from

<sup>28</sup> PLIN. *Nat.* 24.75–80, 28.79.

<sup>29</sup> Bliquez 2014, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Hassel, Künzl 1980, 407; Riha 1986, 82; Bliquez 1992, 36–50; Bliquez, Jackson 1994, 99–106.

<sup>31</sup> Bliquez 1992, 44.

<sup>32</sup> ILS 3445, 3664, 7315; RIU II 392.

<sup>33</sup> In this matter see the healing springs from Deneuvre: Moitrieux 1987, and Băile Herculane: CIL III 1572 = IDR III/1, 64; Bărbulescu 1977, 228–230.

<sup>34</sup> Bliquez 1992, 44.

<sup>35</sup> Künzl 1983b, 45, Fig. 15; Bliquez 1992, 36, B1, Fig. 2.

<sup>36</sup> Bliquez 1992, 36, E, Figs. 4–5.

<sup>37</sup> Bliquez 1992, Figs. 6–8; Bliquez, Jackson 1994, 99–106; Bliquez 1999, 296–297.

<sup>38</sup> For the presence of the rooster motif on medical instruments, due to it being one of the sacred animals of Aesculapius, pleads a terracotta figurine found in a tomb from Bonn, together with an ointment slab and an oculist stamp: Künzl 1983b, 86, Figs. 61–62.

<sup>39</sup> Riha 1986, no. 116, Taf. 66/116.

<sup>40</sup> Sobel 1991, Abb. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Milne 1907, Pl. XII/2, 4; Künzl 1983b, Abb. 7, 18/8, 80/1; Künzl 1984, Taf. 8/D2; Taf. 28/M6; Künzl 1994, Taf. 59/67.

<sup>42</sup> Künzl, Zimmermann 1994, no. 82, Taf. 64.

<sup>43</sup> Sobel 1991, Abb. 3; Künzl 1996, 2634, Abb. XXXII/2.

<sup>44</sup> Künzl 1983b, Abb. 17/1; Künzl 1999, Taf. 16/1.

Herculaneum<sup>45</sup> (Pl. II/5) and an ivory one from Sion (Switzerland)<sup>46</sup>, while another ivory medical box kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington portrays a seated Hygia<sup>47</sup>.

Unfortunately none of the two motifs can be found so far on the medical instruments found in Dacia, but hopefully their brief mention can prove useful in the event of future similar finds. Another particular decoration found in the Danubian province i.e. the so called “mouse-shaped handle”<sup>48</sup>, has been claimed to imply a symbolic value as well. Two of these unusual small finds have been initially published in the specialty literature as instruments with possible medical use (Pl. III/7–8)<sup>49</sup>. Gudea and Bajusz mentioned briefly in their article that according to Künzl’s researches this particular iconography would equal with their placement under the auspices of Apollo Smintheus and Asklepios Soter<sup>50</sup>.

Künzl suggested that these instruments must have a direct link with Apollo surnamed Smintheus, a healing divinity worshipped mainly in Asia Minor<sup>51</sup>. This divinity was associated by the Greeks initially with mice and implicitly with disease<sup>52</sup> and worshipped eventually for driving away plague<sup>53</sup>. His idea was not new however, bronze mouse statuettes of this type being associated to Apollo Smintheus at least from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, idea grounded mostly on the fact that one of them had the inscription *sacrum Secund(i)* on its back (Pl. III/1)<sup>54</sup>.

This unique iconographic analysis was assumed as well by other prominent researchers from the field of the history of medicine e.g. R. Jackson<sup>55</sup>, L. J. Bliquez<sup>56</sup>, P. Baker<sup>57</sup>. Nobody seemed to dare to challenge it, till more recently, when in an article entitled *The Bronze Mice of Apollo Smintheus*, Ph. Kiernan raised some serious questions regarding its validity<sup>58</sup>.

His opposition brought forth some solid arguments i.e. the lack of a religious context and their spreading all over the Roman Empire, and not just in Asia Minor where Apollo Smintheus was venerated.

More importantly, if we look at the analogies we will notice that none of the pieces can be undisputedly attributed with a medical functionality, on the contrary

<sup>45</sup> Sobel 1991, Abb. 2; Künzl 1996, 2634, Abb. XXXII/1.

<sup>46</sup> Sobel 1991, Abb. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Sobel 1991, Abb. 27a.

<sup>48</sup> Two of them, one from Porolissum, the other somewhere from Transylvania, were initially published as handles belonging to medical instruments: Gudea 1989, Pl. CCXLVIII/8; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 252; Cociş 1993, no. 28, Pl. 1/8; Ţeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, no. 160; another small bronze statuette, very similar to the others, was found at Apulum: Ţeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, no. 159, Pl. 77; Petculescu 2003, 125, no. 133. More recently the statuettes from Apulum and Porolissum made the object of a study that discussed their interpretation as decorative features affixed on bronze lamp lids: Egri 2015, 225–230.

<sup>49</sup> Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 252; Cociş 1993, no. 28.

<sup>50</sup> Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 252.

<sup>51</sup> Künzl 1983a, 111–116.

<sup>52</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 1, 36–42.

<sup>53</sup> Aelianus, *De natura animalium*, 12.5.

<sup>54</sup> Kiernan 2014, 118.

<sup>55</sup> Jackson 2014, 217–231.

<sup>56</sup> Bliquez, Jackson 1994, 102. However in his more recent studies Bliquez has not mentioned this theory again, although he did not contest it either.

<sup>57</sup> Baker 2013, 83.

<sup>58</sup> Kiernan 2014, 601–626.

they are more likely decorations attached to bronze oil lamps, candelabra, lamp stands or furniture (Pl. III/2-5), referring to a rather common problem in Roman time, that of mice gnawing at wicks and drinking the lamp oil<sup>59</sup>. More recently this theory has been validated for the pieces found in Dacia as well, in M. Egri's article entitled *One little mouse, two little mice...*<sup>60</sup>. Although she omitted one piece from her analysis, she concluded that the two mice found at Apulum (Pl. III/6) and Porolissum (Pl. III/8) were more likely decorative features affixed on bronze lamp lids<sup>61</sup>.

Although the theory of placing these instruments under Apollo Smintheus' divine power had to be dismantled, another of Künzl's ideas revolves around a similar association, that of Apollo Lykios / Medicus and the wolf motif on medical instruments<sup>62</sup>.

One of the scalpels found in Dacia at Micia (Pl. II/9) has been published as having the bone handle decorated with two animal heads, the wolf with a question mark being given in parenthesis as a possible identification<sup>63</sup>. If this is indeed the case, we might have a surgical instrument invested with Apollo's healing powers to ease the pain and assure the patient of the success of the operation, by hinting to the fact that the physician is under the patronage of the god. Similar representations can hardly be found and include a bronze scalpel handle from Augst<sup>64</sup> (Pl. II/10), a ring that holds bathing utensils from Pompei<sup>65</sup> (Pl. II/11) and a handle belonging to an indeterminate medical instrument (Pl. II/12)<sup>66</sup>. However, the first two were identified as dog depictions and since the dog is known to be one of the animal companions of Aesculapius<sup>67</sup> we might have in fact surgical instruments invested with Aesculapius' healing powers instead of those of Apollo.

### Medical instruments as a gate towards the mindset of the ancients regarding healing, disease and death

This transfer of divine or magical figures on medical instruments can work as a mirror through which we can easily enter into the mentality of the ancients. It can help us understand how in the eye of a patient empirical therapies mingled with medico-magical performances or healing cult practices, forming a harmonious single unit that was perceived, generically speaking at least, simply as medicine. Thus there was no need for making a real distinction between the conventional or the alternative therapies engaged, as the modern signification of the word would demand it.

This faint line between rational, magical and respectively sacerdotal medicine can be spotted in the literary or epigraphic sources of the time as well. However when it is also archaeologically attested through medical instruments it transforms into palpable

<sup>59</sup> Kiernan 2014, 608-616.

<sup>60</sup> Egri 2015, 225-230.

<sup>61</sup> Egri 2015, 229-230.

<sup>62</sup> Künzl 1993, 99-100, apud Bliquez 2014, n. 89; Künzl 1996, 2608-2609, Abb. XVII/3.

<sup>63</sup> Alicu, Cociş 1993, 121, no. 149, Pl. XVI/4.

<sup>64</sup> Riha 1986, Taf. 11/87, 65/87.

<sup>65</sup> Riha 1986, Abb. 1; although quintessentially toiletry objects, Bliquez has demonstrated that according to various literary sources *strigilia* were used for medical purposes as well: Bliquez 2014, 146-147.

<sup>66</sup> Künzl 1996, 2608-2609, Abb. XVII/3.

<sup>67</sup> FEST. 110 M.

information regarding the Roman physician and his need to adapt to his patients, for some of whom rational medicine was more likely still a rather questionable thing.

Therefore we can imagine that placing a medical instrument under divine auspices was meant first of all to transfer a religious legitimacy upon the physician and thus to confer a certain closeness between him and his patient. D. Aparaschivei draws attention onto the fact that although there are sources that question the quality of physicians, sacerdotal medicine is nowhere properly incriminated<sup>68</sup>. Thus, a medical instrument with a healing divine figure or attribute was meant to drive away any suspicion regarding the physician's efficacy by hinting to the fact that he owes his healing abilities to Aesculapius' patronage for example, therefore in the healing process he is merely the god's instrument.

The same perception develops in an inscription found in Rome. Although dedicated to Aesculapius for a successful healing, it also mentions the doctor's name, adding as well *qui curam mei diligenter egit secundum deos*<sup>69</sup>. By this, the inscription seems to suggest that the physician is just a supporting actor in the healing process, while the leading role still belongs to Aesculapius.

Masked under the form of a general act of veneration this inscription can be in fact a testimony regarding the existence of a dual belief system, suggesting that a patient would have more likely understood his cure to be the result of the joint efforts of his physician on one hand and Aesculapius and Hygia on the other. For Ido Israelowich this shows that "From the patients' point of view, all the practitioners were operating within the same health care system, with a shared medical language, and this included healers who were both human and divine"<sup>70</sup>.

In fact some of the medical instruments discovered in Dacia have been found in religious contexts, outlining again this strong bond between religion and healing. Various types of bronze *specilla* were found in the *Asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa<sup>71</sup>. This seems to indicate, in correlation with the epigraphic sources, that the miraculous healings occurred during the *incubatio* ritual did not rely solely on theurgic elements, but approached empirical medicine as well<sup>72</sup>.

Even though we cannot confirm for sure the double function of a physician-priest of Aesculapius, we could however suspect that, some of them at least, played the role of *therapeutae*, as it is indicated in some of the literary sources as well e.g. Galenus and Aelius Aristides<sup>73</sup>. If this is the case however, if we take into consideration the relatively small number of the medical instruments, the temple would have been more likely reserved merely for medical consultations, while the actual medical procedures took place elsewhere.

From this same statistic reason, another theory might be more accurate i.e. their presence in the temple not due to their use as medical instruments, but as *ex vota* offered to Aesculapius. Arguments pleading in this regard can be found in the inventories that

<sup>68</sup> Aparaschivei 2016, 148.

<sup>69</sup> ILS 2194 = CIL VI 19.

<sup>70</sup> Israelowich 2015, 52.

<sup>71</sup> Alicu, Cociş 1989, no. 9, 12-14.

<sup>72</sup> For the *incubatio* ritual in the *Asklepieia* of Dacia see Varga 2015, 241-251.

<sup>73</sup> Meier 2003, 55.

list the dedications from the *Asklepieia* of Athens, Piraeus and Delos that include various medical instruments in their records e.g. cupping vessels, scalpels, surgical probes, cauterizing instruments etc.<sup>74</sup>. Although they refer to the Hellenistic period we can imagine that this custom would have propagated in the Roman period as well.

This act of veneration, made by physicians in honor of their patron god, worked more likely as part of a symbiotic relationship i.e. on one hand through the doctors' acts of beneficence it increased the wealth of the *Asklepieia*<sup>75</sup>, but on the other hand it also assured an increased prestige and visibility for the physician.

Another double ended bronze *specillum* was found in the perimeter of a Roman temple from Cioroiul Nou<sup>76</sup>, while a bone handle believed to have been part of a medical instrument was discovered in the temple of Malagbel from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa<sup>77</sup>.

More interesting is perhaps the placement of a magical figure on a medical instrument, usually on a *collyrium* stamp, like the one found at Augst that shows a hawk holding a circular object in its beak, perhaps a ring, next to a frog, alluding to the use of an amulet with the same iconography, used for curing a large range of affections from hemorrhage and vomiting of blood to jaundice and stings or bites of venomous animals<sup>78</sup>.

Véronique Dasen believes this iconography would not only add a magical value to the instrument, but it could even allude to a parallel procedure used by the physician, imagining that the oculist that used it would have utilized both medical and magical procedures e.g. rings kept in a vessel together with a green lizard<sup>79</sup>, creating thus the image of a medicine man, rather than one of a physician. Indeed Künzl, studying various tombs belonging to physicians, has remarked upon the presence of both amulets and silver *phylacteria* among the funerary inventory that associated with standard medical equipment form a rather unusual surgeon's kit<sup>80</sup>.

Finding medical instruments among funerary inventories can reveal us some of the perceptions of the ancients regarding medical instruments and their association with disease and death. Several medical instruments have been found in the necropolis of Sucidava: one ear scoop (*specillum oricularum*) (Pl. IV/1), found in an inhumation burial, placed on the chest of the deceased, together with a double-handled pitcher and a coin bearing the effigy of Constantine the Great<sup>81</sup> and two ointment slabs found in cremation burials (Pl. IV/5), one of them associated with two double-handled pitchers, a glass vessel, a fragmentary fibula and three bronze coins, among them one bearing the effigy of Hadrian and another that of Diadumenian<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Aleshire 1989, III.34.a, IV.84.a, V.155.c, V. 161.c; Wickkiser 2006, 36.

<sup>75</sup> Prominent physicians like C. Stertinus Xenophon, doctor of the emperor Claudius and Galenus, doctor of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, both felt the need to accentuate their close relationship to Aesculapius, either through lavish dedications in *asklepieia*, either through stories that emphasized their close bond: Wickkiser 2008, 56–57.

<sup>76</sup> Tudor, Diaconescu, Popilian 1967, 598, Fig. 4/4; Bondoc 2005, 140, no. 4, Fig. 4.

<sup>77</sup> Alicu, Nemeş 1982, Pl. IV/6; Alicu, Cociş 1993, 121, no. 146, Pl. XI/5.

<sup>78</sup> Dasen 2014, 186, Fig. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Dasen 2014, 186.

<sup>80</sup> Künzl 1996, 2464–2473.

<sup>81</sup> Popilian, Bondoc 2012, 22, Pl. CXCV/4.

<sup>82</sup> Toropu, Tătulea 1987, 90; Popilian, Bondoc 2012, 67, Pl. CXCV/3.



During the XXII<sup>nd</sup> edition of the International Congress of History of Medicine, held at Constanța - Bucharest in 1970, a medical set formed out of a *specillum* (*non vidi*) and an ointment slab has been presented together with a similar one found at Potaissa<sup>83</sup>. The instruments discovered at Sucidava were described as being part of the funerary inventory of a double grave with two sarcophagi, one destined for a woman and the other for a man, the last one being the one that contained the instruments. Based on the coins and the analogies the instruments were dated in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Another four medical instruments were found in the necropolises of Potaissa as well. Among them is the already mentioned set of a bronze double ended *specillum* (Pl. IV/3) and an ointment slab, discovered together in a brick tomb from the southern necropolis of Potaissa, tomb that have been thought to belong to a physician, because the instruments were deposited together inside a wooden box<sup>84</sup>.

From another brick tomb discovered in the southern necropolis comes a *specillum* with spherical head, found together with two pottery sherds and some bone fragments<sup>85</sup>, while a bronze double ended *specillum* (Pl. IV/4) has been recorded in I. Téglás' notes among the funerary inventory found in another brick tomb, but this time in Valea Sândului<sup>86</sup>.

Besides these we have to mention another bronze double ended *specillum* (Pl. IV/2) discovered in a funerary context, in the necropolis found at south of the fort and settlement of Porolissum<sup>87</sup>.

All of them show traces of usage from none to a small degree and from this particular motif we have to raise a new set of questions, namely what conception lays behind the deposition of medical instruments in funerary contexts and whether we can see them as "impure" after being used in a failed medical operation or after entering in contact with a disease or death.

This whole idea of a "pollution" of the medical instruments emerges again at Porolissum, where several medical instruments have been found in the refuse pit from Coasta Viei<sup>88</sup> (Pl. V/3, 5-6), while others were recovered from a disaffected water tank<sup>89</sup> (Pl. V/1-2, 4, 7-10), turned into a refuse pit during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>90</sup>, between them being two scalpels<sup>91</sup> and one surgical forceps with jagged ends<sup>92</sup>, therefore instruments with a strong medical character. A similar situation can be seen at Vindonissa as well, where 62 out of the 326 medical instruments found here came from a flooded area, considered a rubbish deposit<sup>93</sup>. The fact that most of them are in very good condition, determined P. Baker to see them as ritual depositions of medical

<sup>83</sup> Wolski, Hamparțumian 1972, 309-310 apud Künzl 1983b, 55.

<sup>84</sup> Milea, Hopârtean, Luca 1978, 203-205, Figs. 3-4.

<sup>85</sup> Luca, Hopârtean 1980, 118-121, Fig. 4/1.

<sup>86</sup> Bajusz 2005, 628-629, 24/86/3.

<sup>87</sup> Gudea 1989, 680, IX C/7, Pl. CCXXV, 1; Gudea-Bajusz 1992, 257, no. 5, Pl. IV/5.

<sup>88</sup> Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 255, no. 3, 259, no. 11, 262, no. 10, 266, no. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, nos. 5-6, 256, no. 6, 258, no. 6, 14, 259, no. 1, 268, no. 4.

<sup>90</sup> Gui 2011, 125.

<sup>91</sup> Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, nos. 5, 6, Pl. I/5, 6.

<sup>92</sup> Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 1, Pl. VI/1.

<sup>93</sup> Baker 2004, 9-11.

instruments considered perhaps contaminated after entering in contact with the disease or the death of its owners / patients.

## Conclusions

As I have stated before, a great percentage of the medical instruments discovered in Roman Dacia has yet to be published, while some of those already published lack unfortunately vital information i.e. their archaeological context. In these conditions I will refrain myself to draw some, perhaps cautious, but to my belief pertinent conclusions.

The great majority of the medical instruments found in Roman Dacia are made out of bronze and show humble to none decorations. Some of them however reveal the preoccupation of the Roman doctors for the aesthetics of their medical instruments, either through the confection material, either through a particular design.

This is the case of the two silver ear probes found in Dacia, one at Alburnus Maior, the other at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, and the scalpel found at Gilău. Certainly only reputed physicians had the financial means to purchase such instruments, so obviously a noble confection material increased the doctor's prestige in the eyes of a patient, inspiring likewise more confidence in its medical qualities.

Other medical instruments show gutiform or chess pawn shaped extremities, geometric, abstract, vegetal or zoomorphic motifs. In some of these cases, by adding these decorations, not only has the metalworker increased their material value, but it has also charged the instrument with a suggestive symbolic value. This is the case of the scalpel found at Gilău decorated with ivy or vine leaves. This decoration did not work only as an indication of the physician's prestige, but it also worked as an apotropaic device. Due to its vigorous growth ivy could play in fact the role of a metaphor for life and survival and numerous medical treatments used in antiquity employed its use.

One of the scalpels found in Dacia at Micia has been published as having the bone handle decorated with two animal heads, possibly a wolf or a dog's. Künzl associated the wolf representations on medical instruments with Apollo Lykios' healing powers, while the dog is known to be one of the animal companions of Aesculapius. Either way we might have a medical instrument placed under the divine auspices of Apollo or Aesculapius. In an epoch when scientific and sacerdotal medicine were barely split by a faint line, these images were meant first of all to drive away any suspicion regarding the physician's efficacy, by hinting to the fact that he owes his healing abilities to Aesculapius' patronage.

The archeological contexts of the medical instruments can also provide us additional information regarding the social implications derived from the use of medical instruments. Some of the medical instruments discovered in Dacia have been found in religious contexts, outlining again this strong bond between religion and healing. Interesting are the four bronze *specilla* that were found in the *Asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. They could have either been used during the *incubatio* ritual, either they were in fact *ex vota* offered to Aesculapius.

Ten medical and paramedical tools, all showing traces of usage from none to a small degree, were found in funerary contexts at Sucidava, Potaissa and Porolissum,

while eleven were found in refuse pits at Porolissum. These make us question whether we can see them as “impure” after being used in a failed medical operation or after entering in contact with a disease or death.

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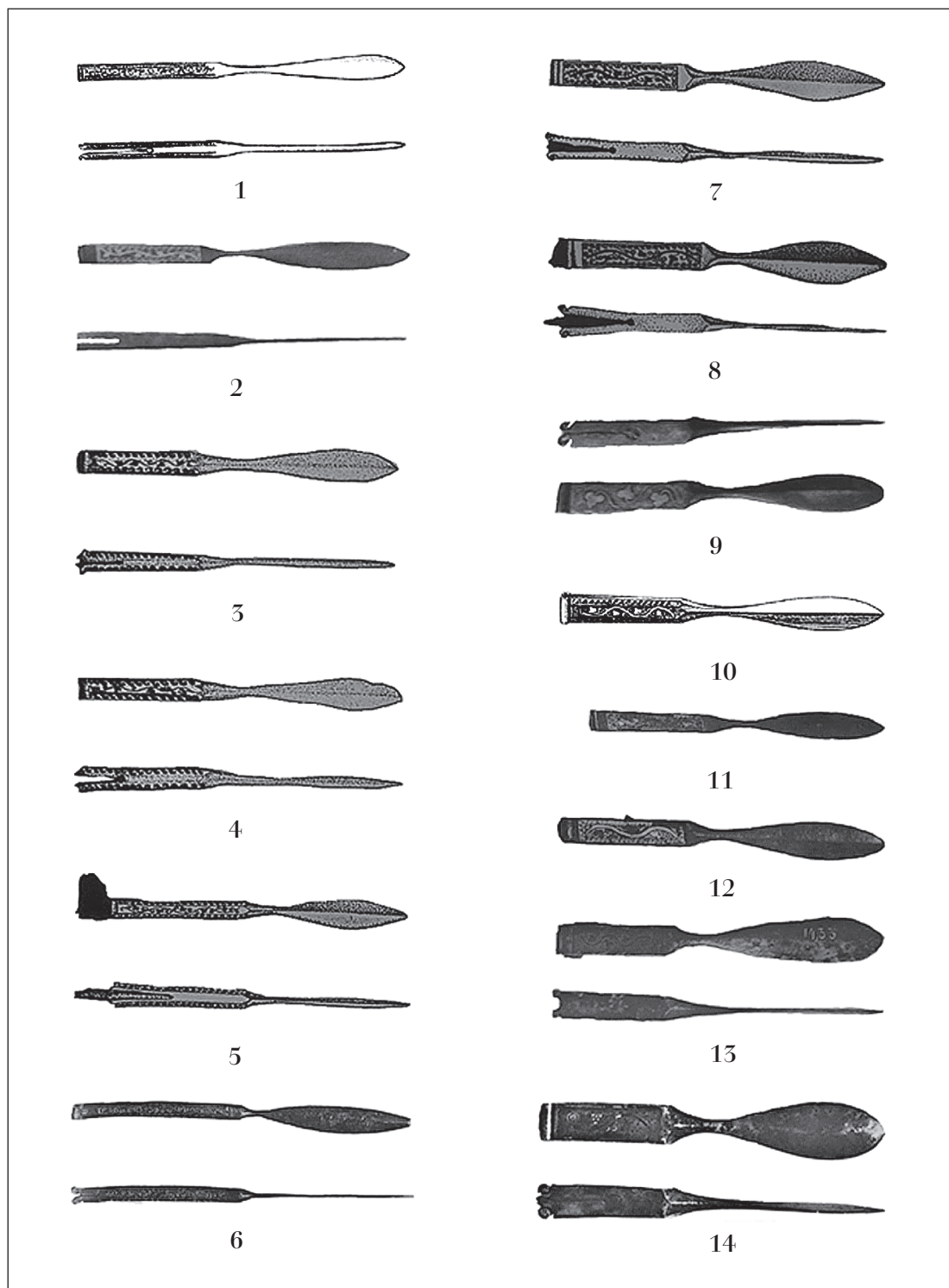
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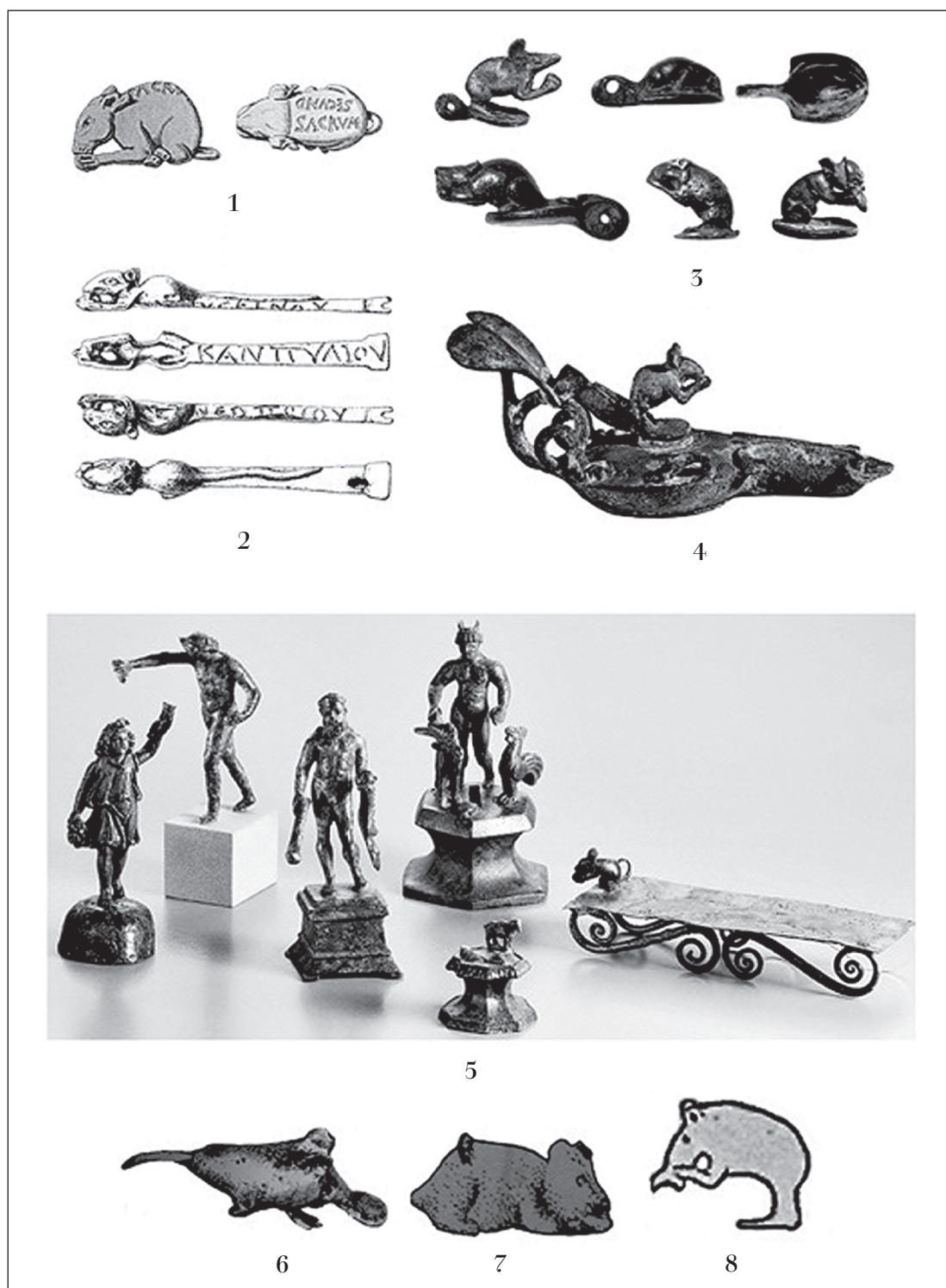
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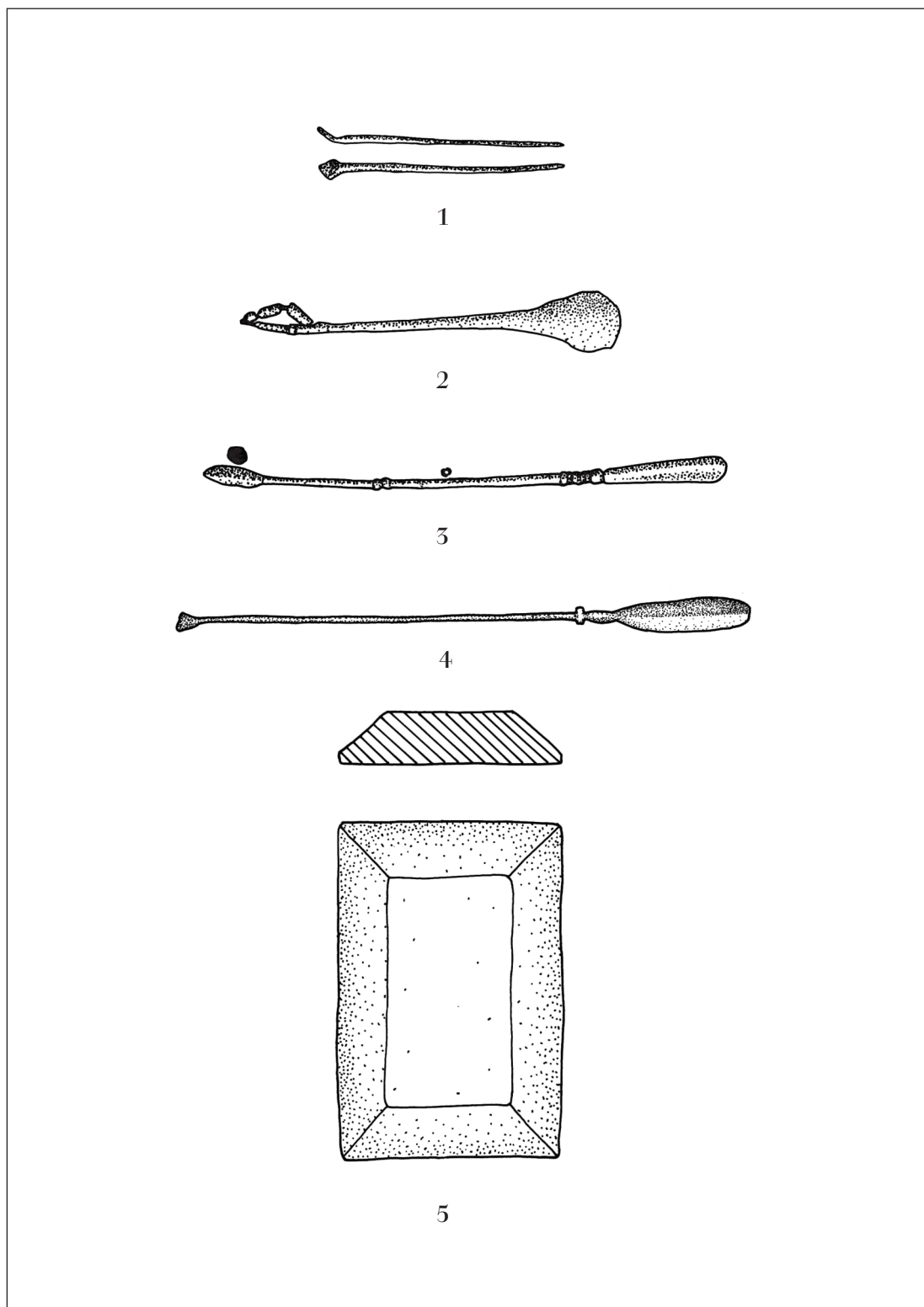
**Pl. I.** Scalpels with handles decorated with ivy or vine leaves. **1.** Gilău (after Gui 2011, Pl. I/2); **2.** Reims (after Künzl 1983, Fig. 36/30); **3-4.** Dionysopolis (after Kirova 2006, Abb. 3, 1-2); **5, 7, 8.** Karanovo (after Kirova 2006, Abb. 2, 1-3); **6.** Köln (after Künzl 1986, Abb. 9); **9.** Asia Minor (after Künzl 2002, Taf. 17); **10.** Hofheim (after Künzl 1982a, Abb. 4); **11.** Traismauer (after Kirova 2006, Abb. 7, 2a); **12.** Rheinzabern (after Kirova 2006, Abb. 7, 2b); **13.** Trier (after Künzl 1984, Taf. 6); **14.** Xanten (Künzl 1986, Abb. 2.1, 6).



**Pl. II.** Medical instruments placed under the auspices of a healing divinity. 1, 4. Ephesus (after Künzl 1983, Abb. 17/1; Abb. 18/8); 2. Augst (after Riha 1986, Taf. 66/116); 3. Trier (after Künzl 1984, Taf. 8/D2); 5. Herculaneum (after Sobel 1991, Abb. 2); 6-7. Mainz (after Bliquez 1992, Fig. 5); 8. Pompeii (after Bliquez 1992, Fig. 7); 9. Micia (after Alicu, Cociș 1993, Pl. XVI/4); 10. Augst (after Riha 1986, Taf. 11/87); 11. Pompeii (after Riha 1986, Abb. 1); 12. Mainz (after Künzl 1996, Abb. XVII/311).

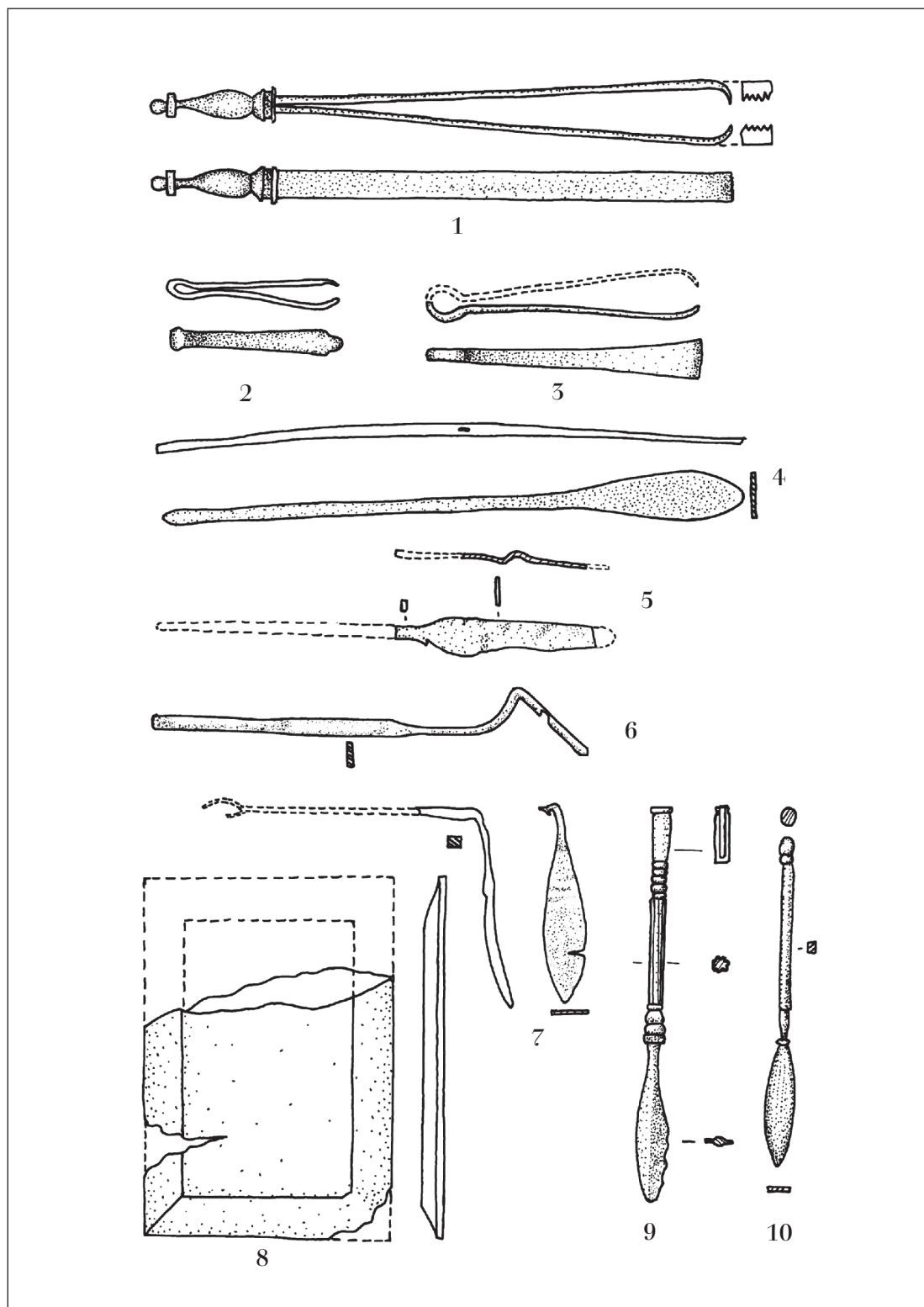


**Pl. III.** The so called medical instruments connected to Apollo Smintheus. 1. Barone collection (after Kiernan 2014, Fig. 5); 2. Mainz (after Künzl 1982b, Fig. 1); 3. Pompeii and other unknown proveniences (after Kiernan 2014, Fig. 13); 4. Asia Minor (after Kiernan 2014, Fig. 12a); 5. Augusta Raurica (after Kiernan 2014, Fig. 9); 6. Apulum (after Țeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, Pl. 77); 7. Dacia - with unknown provenience (after Cociș 1993, no. 28, Pl. 1/8); 8. Porolissum (after Gudea 1989, Pl. CCXLVIII/8).



**Pl. IV.** Medical instruments from Dacia found in funerary contexts. 1, 5. Sucidava (after Popilian, Bondoc 2012, Pl. CXCIV/3, 4); 2. Porolissum (after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. IV/5); 3-4. Potaissa (after Milea, Hopârtean, Luca 1978, Fig. 4; Bajusz 2005, 24/86/3).





**Pl. V.** Medical instruments found at Porolissum in the refuse pits from Coasta Viei 3, 5-6. Coasta Viei (after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pls. II/3, V/11, VIII/10); 1-2, 4, 7-10. The disaffected water tank (after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. I/5, 6, Pl. III/6, Pl. IV/14, Pl. V/6, Pl. VI/1, Pl. XV/4).

# REVIEWS



Mihai Bărbulescu, *Arta romană la Potaissa* / Roman Art in Potaissa, Editura Academiei Române, Editura Mega, București – Cluj-Napoca 2015, 308 pages.

*Arta romană la Potaissa* [Roman Art in Potaissa] is Mihai Bărbulescu's latest book focusing on this Roman city, after the monographs dedicated to the Fifth Macedonica Legion and to the city, the volume dedicated to the fifth-century German princely tomb and the volume dealing with the inscriptions discovered inside the fort. In fact, this brief enumeration of Mihai Bărbulescu's books focusing on Potaissa indicates how a historian of Antiquity must be today, i.e. mastering all the auxiliary disciplines of history, as all these fields of study continuously provide sources for the better knowledge of a past era. Archaeological, figurative, epigraphic and numismatic sources are all pieces of a puzzle that a historian of Antiquity must be able to use in order to reach solid conclusions and to render a picture of a past society as close as possible to *how it really was*.

After a brief foreword presenting the reasons behind writing the book, the author's intentions and the chosen direction of study, the first part, i.e. I. Orașul și oamenii [The City and its People], describes the ancient city of Potaissa, as Mihai Bărbulescu envisages it. A provincial city, small on the scale of the Empire, cosmopolitan, dominated by the military atmosphere, a city with rich people who acquired artworks. The brief description of Potaissa is a pretext to stressing the role and the place of art and artisanal products in the city, in public and private spaces, in the daily life of the inhabitants.

The book is not and was not designed as a complete catalogue of all artistic monuments in Potaissa, but it does discuss all art and artisan fields, from stone sculpture, ronde-bosse and relief (religious, funerary, decorative), bronze sculpture, refined crafts, glyptic, coroplasty and architectural decoration. That is, everything connected to aesthetics, to the artistic expression of beauty. And art objects were not few in Potaissa. One can note the *genius* from the Museum in Aiud and the statue of a matron with child from the Museum in Cluj. Exceptional pieces, unfortunately fragmentarily preserved, were also discovered during archaeological excavations performed on Dealul Cetate, such as the head of god Serapis and the torso of Hercules.

Beautiful ex-votos from Potaissa probably decorated a temple of Dionysos excavated sometime during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One notes the heads of Liber and Libera, carved in marble, once part of a statuary group, two bas-reliefs and fragments from Dionysiac groups (a Maenad, two Sileni).

The votive items are statistically few in the entire artistic production. Ancient temples are probably still under ground in the areas free of modern constructions on the slopes of Dealul Cetății, in Valea Sândului and on Dealul Zânelor, waiting to be discovered in the future.

The case of the funerary monuments is completely different. Mobile since Antiquity, they were moved and reused, as building materials among other things. Numerous funerary *stelae*, *aedicula* walls and altars are known from the territory

of Turda. Mihai Bărbulescu analyzes them in details in this book in a sub-chapter in which the archaeologist steps back and the art historian takes over. To the accurate descriptions of the monuments he adds subtle observations of stylistic resemblances, similar models employed and portraiture analyses. The author of *Interferențe spirituale* [Spiritual Interferences]<sup>1</sup> goes from artistic to religious and analyzes the funerary symbols contained by these reliefs that render consecrated scenes of the funerary repertoire, such as the funerary banquet, *Attis tristis*, *Lupa capitolina*, but also rare scenes such as the moira Clotho implored by a girl, a matron having her coiffure made by a *pectinatrix* or Apollo following the nymph Daphne.

The analysis of the artistic fields continues with statuettes made of bronze. Some of the most beautiful such items in the province are known from Turda, most of them imports, crafted during the 1<sup>st</sup> century of our era: Mars, Oriental Venus, Iupiter fulminans, Liber, or items such as the candle holders in the shape of an acrobat and a Silen displaying a refined craftsmanship. Jewelry items, glyptic items, coroplasty goods and architectural decorations complete this inventory of the artistic fields, completing the modern image over the arts in Potaissa. A consistent analytic chapter is entitled III. Artizani și ateliere [Artisans and workshops]. Attentive to details, the author attempts to and succeeds in identifying groups of monuments with shared technical and stylistic characteristics. As for the possibility of establishing the existence of certain *officinae* or the circulation of models through pattern books, Professor Mihai Bărbulescu is rather skeptical. He also identifies local products, including most of the funerary sculptures from Potaissa, and imports such as the marble plate with Hercules and Mercurius with the Norican kyma above their heads.

The final chapter, V. Soarta monumentelor de artă din Potaissa [The Fate of the Art Monuments from Potaissa] is an interesting chapter that abandons the research of monuments as art works, approached from an aesthetic perspective, and passes onto the realm of detective work. It envisages the life of the monuments from Turda since Antiquity until today, from the destructions of the post-Antique work to those of the medieval and modern periods and even of today. Destruction, but also reuse, storms, anthropic factors and natural causes are all elements that have threatened the artistic production of the former Roman city and continue to threaten it today. Collections that have disappeared, lost monuments, people's ignorance and evil intentions have all led to the reduction in numbers of the art monuments from the former Potaissa. The repertory of items on which modern people test their erudition would have been otherwise, undoubtedly, richer.

I have intentionally approached last the penultimate chapter entitled simply, like the book, IV. Arta romană la Potaissa [Roman Art in Potaissa]. There, under the pretext of defining the concept of provincial art, Mihai Bărbulescu discusses the issue of Romanization in the context of the post-modern cultural relativism that, in his opinion, also touches the historical studies focused on Antiquity. This is much more than a terminological debate and in this chapter one can observe, in filigree, the author's historical vision. Bărbulescu rightfully notes that the replacement of the term Romanization invented by Th. Mommsen with the term Creolization and the

<sup>1</sup> M. Bărbulescu, *Interferențe spirituale în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 1984, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2003.



use of concepts such as imperialism and colonialism in regard to the Roman Empire are phenomena generated by the new ideologies. The author believes that the desire to demolish the old concepts / myths simply originates in the adoption of the new in the detriment of the old. In fact, each historian is the prisoner of his own social and cultural environment, of the *Zeitgeist*, and therefore today the resistance in face of Romanization is more significant than Romanization itself, the few local sherds are more important than the mountains of common Roman pottery fragments and the *limes* no longer divides, but it unites. For this reason the process of acculturation in provincial art is bi-directional according to some: not only the provinces adopted the Roman canon as much as they were able, but also the art of Rome became provincial. The author recommends moderation and common sense with the words of Marcus Aurelius: let us change what should be changed and preserve what should be preserved and let us have the wisdom to differentiate between the two situations.

In the end one must evaluate this book that is not only for specialists but can be read by any person of culture. It is a book of cultural history and the text is not charged with the anesthetizing jargon of professional art historians. It is a polemical book where Mihai Bărbulescu expresses with clarity his choices on how historical writing should be, on the one hand, and how it must redirect society, at its different levels, in regard to the cultural heritage of Antiquity.

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**Ze'ev Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, Routledge, London and New York 2014, 500 pages, 104 figures.**

The book entitled *The Economy of Roman Palestine* was first time published in 1994 and it brought the prize Yad Ben-Zvi for the author.

Chronologically the research was focusing on the Land of Israel during the Roman period, from the destruction of the second Temple (70 AD) until the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The most important sources of the present work consist of Talmudic texts, the scholar trying to restore their value as historical sources. He emphasizes the unique character of this literature, given by the fact that it emerged mostly in a rural community, in opposition to the Roman literary sources, which reflect the experience of the aristocracy, those people associated with the imperial and urban establishment. The rabbinic sources are the only literary sources from the Roman period (excepting some Egyptian papyri) which refer to the native population of a land, and were very lightly influenced by the imperial culture and by the religion. This fact has a particular importance in enlarging our perspectives on the economical activities in the rural areas of other frontier provinces, as Roman Dacia.

However, the author accepts that some non-rabbinic Jewish sources (Flavius Josephus, Philon, evangelists of the New Testament, Qumran texts) can offer some help in reconstructing the economy of the Roman Palestine, but this kind of sources does not have such an importance in the research. The most important aspect of the book is that this corroborates different types of sources. Archaeological evidences and inscriptions have been integrated in the research, sources that prove the economic reality depicted by the Talmudic sources. For instance, synagogue inscriptions reveal the custom described in the rabbinic literature. The author emphasizes that the rabbinic literature does not present a uniform stereotypical picture about the power and influence of the rabbis in the society, fact that increases the credibility of these sources.

The structure of the book is clear and easy to follow. A List of the figures used in the book, followed by Acknowledgements and Abbreviations, were set up at the beginning of the work. The introduction represents a review of the main questions arising from the topic, sketching methods and perspectives followed in the research. The main questions raised from the subject were organized in six main chapters, which were divided in several well pointed out topics.

**1. Settlement patterns.** Classification of settlements; The polis; The town; The village; The villa; Spatial structure.

The author established three types of settlements in the Roman Palestine: the polis (*kerakh*), the town, the village and the villa.

The chapter dedicated to the polis (*kerakh*) makes a review of the evolution of Palestinian cities from the Hellenistic to the early Arab period based on the geo-political criteria. The author pointed out that from the geographic point of view there are three general characteristics of urbanization: (1) the foundation of new cities; (2) the

growth of existing cities; (3) a selection process. He agrees with the importance of the road networks (natural cities), but political criteria must have also a great importance in the rapid urbanization (artificial cities). This point of view can be divided into three basic categories: coastal cities (Greek colonies), cities belonging to the mountain regions (eg. *Samaria* – the future *Sebaste*, Jerusalem) and cities of the inner plan (e.g. *Geba*, *Pegai*).

The author establishes the characteristics of the Palestinian cities: large population, institutional structure, and control over the neighboring region, architecture, social stratification, larger than the rural settlement, sources of employment, local mercantile center, and Hellenistic population. The most important official person in the economic sphere was the *agoranomos* (*astinomos*), mentioned quite often in the Talmudic literature. He was in charge of caring for the supply of goods for the city, of setting prices, of certifying weights and measures, of checking the quality of produces and of supervising the activity of market places.

The towns in the Roman Palestine, called *ʾyr* in Hebrew and *krtʾ* in Aramaic, represented a continuation of the Israelite and Hellenistic period settlements. Until the *Bar-Kochba* revolt the population was entirely Jewish, therefore most of the Talmudic literature was acquainted in those towns. Regarding the extension of a town Safrai's opinion is that any settlement less than 100–120 males of military age can be considered a village (100–250 families), while a large town can host more than 1000 small families. Large archaeological excavations undertaken in several towns (Capernaum, Um Riham) reveal data about the external form of a town. The basic building in the property of a family is the “courtyard” including residential and non-residential rooms and an open courtyard. They were often built very close to the others and the more external courtyards seemed to form a wall.

Usually the Romans granted a large autonomy for the Jewish towns, excepting occasional periods of political or religious oppressions. The community was lead by the council of “seven town elders” which controlled the finances of the town. The local town assembly elected the institution of the three “archons” led by a mayor. Unlike the *poleis* the residents of Jewish villages could be elected regardless of social and economic position. It is an important aspect that the towns supported the entire infrastructure of the education of the children. The elementary level was obligatory and the more advanced level of education took place at the synagogue or even in separate school buildings. This education system expresses the unique nature of the ancient Jewish society, creating an educated and enlightened workforce.

The Talmudic sources state that the Jewish towns had a well-organized infrastructure (construction of roads, inns and cisterns, lighting of public buildings and of dark streets, bathhouses and lavatories, the service of a doctor etc.).

The village distinguishes from the town in two main aspects. The village had no municipal institutions and no services; however there are some cases which indicate a certain degree of communal services (building of roads to satellite villages in the vicinity of village Thulth, Samaria). The village was dependent of the towns in terms of trade and commerce (market days and large seasonal markets in the town). The traveling salesman (*rochel*) represented the most important commercial link between the town and the village. He is acting in those areas, where was no economic justification

for the establishment of a permanent store. The *rochel* dealt especially with expensive merchandise, such as perfumes and spices, selling mostly for women. The sources indicate that he traveled on foot only with a small box.

The owner of a *villa* was usually a rich man who lived mostly in the polis and had usually non-Jewish origins, connected to the Hellenistic culture. The farmstead was of great importance in the economic life of a region. The owners used the latest innovations in technology and in planning the agricultural strategy. Many of the *villas* had aqueducts, drainage system, bridges and roads and other installations used to increase the agricultural potential. There were, however, Jewish estate owners such as Rabbi Judah, the Prince who received estate from the emperor. The author makes an extensive review of the existing *villas* in the different regions of Palestine (Lod, Judaea, Galilee) based on Talmudic and Christian sources, as well as on archaeological excavations.

Regarding the spatial structure, the scholar pointed out that the Roman Province of Judaea was characterized by a variation of different geographical, historical and ethnical make-up. Pagan, Samaritan and Jewish settlements were often located quite close to each other. In this chapter, Safrai presents a descriptive model of a regional structure in the village sphere (see Figure 31), which consists of a central *polis* surrounded by suburbs, agricultural territory, several townships, offshoot settlements and villas, connected by roads with other regions. The structure is modular and totals the geographic, historical and ethnic factors of each region.

**2. Modes of production.** Agriculture; Crafts and industry; Services; Appendix: grain consumption in the Jewish farmstead system.

The author widely discusses the relationship between the agriculture in Judaea and the economy in general. The approach is based on statistics, calculation of costs and profit depending on the consumption and the dining customs of the period. He concludes that the agriculture of the ancient Palestine was self-sufficient, but occasionally the imported products can be taken into account, such as spices or wheat, in the time of droughts or during the Sabbatical Year.

The most important and profitable agricultural products were wheat, olives (for oil), grape (for wine), flax, dates and balsam. The last one is a luxury perfume plant which made Palestine famous in the whole Roman Empire. The only region within the Empire in which the balsam was cultivated was the Jordan Valley, which made the groves expensive.

Fishing and grazing were of great importance in the economy of the Roman Palestine. Fish was considered part of the Sabbath meal, therefore was a widespread industry in the coastal settlements, but fish were grown in special pools or in fishpond attached to reach villas. Regarding the grazing, the author pointed out that in Palestine the majority of sheep were grown for wool and milk. Even if the *halachah* forbade the raising of the sheep in the Land of Israel, this activity was largely practiced in areas bordering the desert (Judean desert, southern part of the mount Hebron). Further, Safrai discuss extensively a large variation of agricultural products, as well as their ads to the economical system: the raising of doves, fowls, peasant, the produce of honey, salt supply etc.

In the chapter dedicated to crafts and industry, the various categories of labor were grouped in the context of their economical application. 1. Farm produce labors; 2. Export industry; 3. Local industry; 4. Services.

The basic farm produces such as flour, oil and vine imply specific technical installations such as mill, olive and vine press which can be studied thanks to the archaeological investigations.

The industries producing for import were widely discussed too in the book. The textile industry was depending on raising and flax growing. Safrai mentions several cases which prove that the workers and factories were organized in “guilds”, in Roman Palestine, too. The scholar pointed out that one of the most important quarries of sand was situated in the Acco Valley, and provided the raw material for the production of glass in Sidon. Many Talmudic sources refer to glassmakers in Palestine, to their utensils and to the type of vessels produced. Furnaces had been excavated in Beth Shearim. Regarding the industry of pottery, it is remarkable that the Talmudic sources mention over 120 different types of pottery. Even if Palestine seems to be self-sufficient in its basic pottery, the archeological remains prove that luxury pottery vessels were imported especially from east (Cyprus and Syria), but some came from Italy, too. According to Safrai, the most important question the future researches should answer to is the numerical relationship between the importee wares and the local ones. Other types of industries, such as the metal industry, the papyrus industry, the mat or the stone industry had been of secondary importance in the economy of Roman Palestine.

It is clear that the Jewish towns, but sometimes also small villages, were self-sufficient regarding the provision and services for the residents. Talmudic sources mention many types of artisans, which mean that the farmer did not have to undertake all labors by himself, but that he was supported by the service system of the settlement (bakers, slaughters, carpenters etc.).

**3. Trade in Land of Israel in the Roman period.** Trade in Land of Israel in the Roman period during the Second Temple period; Local trade in the rural settlement; Regional commerce; Regional markets and fairs; The nature of regional trade; Inter-regional and international trade; The transportation system; Trade arrangements; Means of payment; Customs; The economic utopia of Rabbinic thought; The ethnic background of merchants; Appendix 1: the wheat trade; Appendix 2: trade during the Sabbatical Year.

The following chapter examines the structure of the trade during the Roman period. This is one of the most extensive and complex part of the book. The local trade in the rural settlement was undertaken by farmers, who were selling their surplus products on the market. Every town had at least one store which was possible to rent or to hire. Sometimes the stores were doubled with a restaurant where processed food had been served. In a small town the merchant or a shopkeeper could act as a money-changer. A large-scale merchant, called *tagar*, acted especially in wheat trade.

A village settlement needed a trade-network in order to be able to market the surplus and buy produces for their necessities. The road network could show a spider model or a net model, the last one being predominant in the Roman Palestine. The major inter-village and inter-regional trade was based on donkey or camel caravans.



Some Talmudic sources mention a regional market taking place on Mondays and Thursdays, however it seems that their laws (for ex. a virgin was wed on Wednesday) referred to the earlier (Hellenistic) period.

The scholar analyzes the characteristic of fairs and its religious implication, as well as the phenomenon of tax reductions or exemptions. Since the fairs in the Roman Empire were dedicated to pagan divinities (Fortuna, Tyche) the rabbis forbade having benefit from a market and the merchandise purchased there had to be destroyed. The author, through a review of fairs in the Land of Israel (*Gaza, Hamat Gader, Ascalon, Ptolemais, Tyre, Beth Gubrin, Bet Shean, Emmaus*, Fig. 53), discusses about the geographic significance, the economical, religious as well as the social gathering and amusement of this forum of trade.

The regional and inter regional trade was undertaken by a chain of professional middlemen, for transporting the produce to the market. This aspect, connected with a performed transportation system (road network, see Figures 55–66) was largely discussed in the book. The author emphasizes the importance of understanding the form of the road system (cluster analyzes) which influenced a number of issues regarding the economic structure: settlement hierarchy and the level of commercial development. The book is dealing with the means of transport, the road services (inns), and the function of the moneychangers in the society. In Safrai's view, the negative attitude of the Talmudic sources regarding the commerce don't reflect the reality, rather a rabbinic view of a closed economic system with no buying and selling of agricultural produces.

**4. The organization framework of farming.** Agrarian structure; The influence of the Roman army in Judaea; Taxes; The rural economic system; The structure of the farm system; The economy of the polis; The balance of the trade; The currency.

The fourth chapter is giving an overview on the different aspects of the economic structure in Roman Palestine. In the author's view, it is very important to establish the different types of landowners (imperial estates, private estates: urban, church, reach landowners and small farmers), while the numerical relationship between them determined not only the whole agrarian process but the social structure too.

Safrai pointed out that the taxes for supporting army represented an important inflow of capital in the provinces. The consumption of the large army is one of the most significant frameworks of the economy in this small province.

However, taxes were an important component of the gross national product, the scholar emphasizing that it is almost impossible to determine how much taxes were paid by the inhabitants of Palestine and what was the percentage of contributions in cash or in agricultural produce.

Based on crop and price calculations, as well as on the actual size of the agricultural holdings, Safrai establishes that the minimum of land necessary to support a family was around 20 dunams (20.000 square meters). On these grounds, the Jewish farm was an agricultural unit characterized by small-scale, private, intensive, highly professional and dependent on self-labor production. It is clear also that the agriculture in Israel was based on the specialization of each region (grain and grapes – Judaea, olives, flax, grazing, fishing – Galilee).

The scholar dedicated a chapter for the numismatic evidence, which has a primary importance regarding the external trade of the Roman Palestine. His approach is based on publications, as well as on direct examination of coins kept in the Eretz Israel Museum of Tel Aviv. Out of the 3000 city coins (provincial issues), 42% was from the land of Israel, 28% from Phoenicia, 8% from Transjordan, 10% from cities in Syria and 16% from Alexandria. This picture, of course, is problematical, since the collection is eclectic and new excavations could significantly change the statistics.

Based on numismatic evidence, the trade of land of Israel had two directions: trade with neighbors, trade with foreign cities – Alexandria, Antiochia etc. However, the picture offered by the examination of the city coinage cannot be complete due to the fact that these coins were minted from copper and low denominations are not totally representative of trade which was conducted to a great extent with gold and silver coins.

The book cannot give a complete picture on currencies in Roman Palestine; he is rather sketching tendencies regarding coin circulation. There were relatively few coins in the province between 70 AD to 284 AD, then the number of coins increased dramatically in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD and clearly slowed down in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, that is a general tendency in the eastern part of the Empire. The theoretical debate regarding increase and decrease of currency (reflecting inflation or economic development) is only partially touched in the book, without a final solution for this topic.

**5. Open or closed economy in the Land of Israel during the Roman period?** The problem; Surplus production; Branches of industry; Service network; Appendix: price index of Judaea in the Roman period (methodology).

This chapter represents the key question of the study, which was answered in the entire book through the examination of all the aspects of the economic structure in its high complexity. In order to prove that the Land of Israel was a province which was part of a much larger economic system, the scholar recapitulates the arguments exposed extensively in the former chapters: the surplus production of vine and oil in the specialized regions, the import of wheat, the branches of industry with wide scope of production of linen, wool, glass etc.

**6. Demographic multiplication and economic growth.** Economic growth; Conclusions.

Based on archaeological survey, the Figures 102 and 103 show a clear-cut increase of settlements in Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine period, which indicates a demographic multiplication, too. The increase of settlements starting from the Roman period was explained by two parallel processes which were intertwined: economic growth and demographic multiplication. The intensification of agricultural production was possible thanks to new settlements in abandoned regions, to the establishment of satellite settlements, to intensive cultivation, to the introduction of new crops, and of new labor techniques, of hydro-technical innovations and to the development of the new area of craftsmanship (e.g. “the flax revolution”).

This work is completed with two appendixes. The Appendix 1, representing a very useful lexicon of the rabbinical literature, explains the most important terms

and concepts (Talmud, Midrash, Halachah, Torah, Rabbi etc.) sustained by different rabbinic schools (*batei midrash*) between the 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The Appendix 2 contains the abbreviations used in the book for rabbinical texts.

The bibliography is divided in two parts; the first part is dedicated to the ancient sources used in the book, and the second one to the modern literature. The book is completed by an index of quoted places and subjects.

The importance of this book for the knowledge concerning ancient economy and especially Roman Palestine is indubitably. The approach of professor Ze'ev Safrai is useful not only for the historians of economy but for everybody who wishes to understand different processes in ancient history. The book exposes in a theoretical approach patterns, without giving a generalized or schematic view of the reality. The study always takes into account the relativity of the sources (literary, numismatic or archaeological ones).

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at [http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles\\_fr.pdf](http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf).

AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timișoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.).
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
ActaMN (AMN)	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
AIHACluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIJ	V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien</i> , Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, Boston.
Alba Regia	<i>Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis – Alba Regia</i> . A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	<i>Aluta</i> . Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
AMS	Asia Minor Studien. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> . Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin – New York.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des alten Orients und des Alten Testament, Kevelar/Neurkirchen-Vluy, Münster.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Археологія	Археологія. Спілка археологів України, Київ.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
ArhHung	<i>Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Archaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae</i> , Budapest.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BHAUT	<i>Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis</i> , Timișoara.
BMC	H. Mattingly, R. Carson (eds.), <i>Coins of the British Museum</i> , London 1923.

CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al Municipiului București.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI</i> , Leyden 1989.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> , EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii</i> , Leyden 1985.
CFNor	M. Hainzmann, <i>Corpus F.E.R.C.AN. Fontes epigraphici religionum Celticarum antiquarum</i> , I, 2, Die epigraphischen Testimonien, im Druck.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, <a href="http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf">http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf</a> .
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1828-1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum</i> , HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863 sqq.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , I-II, The Hague 1956, 1960.
Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
Classica et Christiana	<i>Classica et Christiana</i> . Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis</i> , Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuvinorum</i> , I-II, Leiden 1969-1976.
CommArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Române, București.
Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> . Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> .
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
Cumidava	<i>Cumidava</i> . Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
DA	Ch. V. Daremberg, Ed. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments, Paris 1877-1919.
Dacia (N. S.)	<i>Dacia</i> - Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia - Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Debrecenensis de Friederico Déri nominate</i> , Debrecen.
DissPann	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i> , Budapest.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, I-III, Roma 1895-1922.
Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).
Drobeta	<i>Drobeta</i> , Drobeta-Turnu Severin.



EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby ( <a href="http://www.manfredclauss.de/">http://www.manfredclauss.de/</a> ).
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici</i> , Budapest.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Belgrade.
GLIA	S. Mitchell, D. French, <i>The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)</i> , I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbenk Heidelberg, <a href="http://www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de">edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de</a> .
A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati</i> , Miskolc.
Hierá	<i>Hierá</i> . Collana di studi storico-religiosi, Cosenza.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTÉ	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, I-XXII, Deva 1880-1913.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , I-III, Bucureşti – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, Bucureşti 1996, 2000.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGB	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I-V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956-1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)</i> , Bordeaux – Paris 1997.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate</i> , Bucureşti 1976.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I, Sofia 1989.
ILD	C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , Bucureşti 2005.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1882-1916.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I-VI, Beograd 1976-1982.
InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937.
ISM	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , Bucureşti 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology, <a href="http://jsa.sagepub.com/">http://jsa.sagepub.com/</a> .

<b>Journal of Military History</b>	Journal of Military History, Lexington (VA).
<b>krisis/crisi</b>	<i>krisis/crisi</i> , Roma 2012.
<b>KSK RBS</b>	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
<b>KunArchiv</b>	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtschaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle, Berlin.
<b>KVHAA</b>	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
<b>LGPN</b>	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, <a href="http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/">http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/</a> .
<b>Libyca</b>	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
<b>LIMC</b>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981 sqq.
<b>L&amp;S</b>	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, A new Latin Dictionary, New York – Oxford 1891.
<b>Lupa</b>	<i>Ubi erat lupa</i> , <a href="http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org">www.ubi-erat-lupa.org</a> .
<b>MAL</b>	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
<b>Marisia</b>	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
<b>Marmatia</b>	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
<b>MCA</b>	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
<b>Medicina nei secoli</b>	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.
<b>MelBidez</b>	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933–1934).
<b>Memoria Antiquitatis</b>	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
<b>MGH. AA</b>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , Hannover – Berlin 1826 sqq.
<b>MMM</b>	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.
<b>Montana II</b>	V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov (eds.), <i>Епиграфски паметници от Монтана и района</i> , София 1994.
<b>Musaios</b>	<i>Musaios</i> , Muzeul Județean Buzău.
<b>OLD</b>	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
<b>OPEL</b>	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I–IV, Budapest 1994–2005.
<b>ORA</b>	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
<b>Oriens et Occidens</b>	<i>Oriens et Occidens</i> . Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben, Stuttgart.
<b>Ősrégészeti Levelek</b>	Ősrégészeti Levelek. Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest.
<b>PamátkyArch</b>	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
<b>PAS</b>	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
<b>PAwB</b>	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
<b>PBF</b>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
<b>Peuce</b>	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale “Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea.
<b>PIR</b>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , Berlin 1897–1898.
<b>PIR<sup>2</sup></b>	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani<sup>2</sup></i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.

PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I-III, Cambridge 1971-1992.
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	<i>Potaissa</i> . Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasilev, I. Winkler, Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj, Cluj-Napoca 1992.
RevBistriței	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
Revista de Istorie	Revista de istorie. Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România. Secția de Istorie și Arheologie, București.
RevMuz	Revista Muzeelor, București.
Revue Roumaine d'Histoire	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, București.
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.
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.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, London 1985-1993.
RMI	Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București.
Romanian Journal of Archaeology	Romanian Journal of Archaeology, <a href="http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm">http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm</a> .
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar - 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.
SA	<i>Studia Archaeologica</i> , Roma.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SCIV(A)	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie - since 1975), București.
SCN	Studii și cercetări numismatice, București.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923 sqq.
Situla	<i>Situla</i> . Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani - <i>Dissertationes Musei Nationales Labacensis</i> , Ljubljana.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
SMSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.
Social History of Medicine	Social History of Medicine, Oxford.

<b>Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei</b>	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Mitteilungen der Museen des Komitates Somogy, Kaposvár.
<b>StComSatuMare</b>	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
<b>SympThrac</b>	<i>Symposia Thracologica</i> . Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
<b>Terra Sebus</b>	<i>Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis</i> , Sebeș.
<b>ThesCRA</b>	M. Greenberg (ed.), <i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles 2004.
<b>Thraco-Dacica</b>	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
<b>TIR</b>	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
<b>Tisicum</b>	<i>Tisicum</i> . A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
<b>TitAq</b>	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> , Budapest 2009 sqq.
<b>Transylvanian Review</b>	Transylvanian Review. Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.
<b>Tyragetia</b>	<i>Tyragetia</i> . Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
<b>Ziridava</b>	<i>Ziridava</i> . Complexul Muzeal Arad.
 <b>MCDR</b>	 Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.