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ARTICLES AND STUDIES

A BURIAL WITH WEAPONS NEAR THE LATE IRON AGE FORTRESS OF PIATRA CRAIVII

ALIN HENȚ

Abstract: The present paper presents four pieces kept in the collections of the Gherla History Museum (Cluj County). These four objects were briefly mentioned in the archaeological literature from Romania, and one of them was discussed and analysed in detail almost a decade ago. Most likely, the pieces were part of a funerary inventory dated in the Late Iron Age period and discovered near the fortress of Piatra Craivii (Alba County). The main purpose of this paper is therefore to bring these objects to the attention of the researchers who have as subject of study the Northern Balkan area in the Late Iron Age period.

Keywords: Late Iron Age; burial; weapons; Padea Panagjurski Kolonii; brooches.

Rezumat: Articolul de față prezintă patru piese păstrate în colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie din Gherla (jud. Cluj). Aceste patru obiecte au mai fost amintite sumar în literatura arheologică din România, iar una dintre ele a fost discutată și analizată în detaliu acum aproximativ un deceniu. Cel mai probabil, piesele au făcut parte dintr-un inventar funerar datat la sfârșitul epocii fierului, descoperit în apropiere de fortificația de la Piatra Craivii (jud. Alba). Scopul principal al acestei lucrări este așadar acela de a aduce obiectele în atenția cercetătorilor care au ca subiect de studiu spațiul nord-balcanic în perioada de sfârșit a epocii fierului.

Cuvinte cheie: sfârșitul epocii fierului; mormânt; arme; Padea Panagjurski Kolonii; fibule.

Gherla History Museum (Cluj County) is a small museum in the cultural landscape from Romania. However, this public cultural institution has a rich and diverse heritage that is waiting to be explored by the general public eager to get in touch with the material remains of the human past or to be brought to the attention of researchers. While in regard to the first issue, the doors of the museum are wide open, in respect to the second one, the present paper aims to be a new step in the scientific publication of the museum's heritage.

Four objects preserved in the collections of the Gherla History Museum under the inventory number 3728, were most probably, part of the inventory of a funeral context dated to the Late Iron Age period. The discovery was briefly mentioned in the archaeological literature in Romania and one of the pieces of the inventory was discussed and analysed in detail by Aurel Rustoiu and Gabriela Gheorghiu.¹ About a decade ago, the mentioned authors noted that a cremation burial was accidentally discovered near the Late Iron Age fortress of Piatra Craivii (Alba County). Its inventory was composed of two brooches, an iron spearhead and a slightly curved small knife. According to the authors, the burial could have also included a long sword of Late La Tène type, which is nowadays lost.²

¹ Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010.

² Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 447–448.

The fortress of Piatra Craivii is a well-known objective in the archaeological landscape of the Late Iron Age fortifications from Romania,³ both through the recovered archaeological material,⁴ but especially due to the building technique of the fortification walls.⁵ However, the settlement of Piatra Craivii developed initially as a civilian settlement on the terraces near the massive rock that is dominating the surrounding landscape through its altitude (1083 metres above sea level). The archaeological material that was recovered from these terraces is rich and diverse. Among the finds, imported bronze vessels and other bronze objects⁶ are worth mentioning because they speak of the refined taste of the local inhabitants and their predilection for Mediterranean cultural and social patterns. In the latest years, from the same terraces, the activity of treasure hunters has led to the discovery of military equipment and weapons which are, most probably, coming from destroyed funerary contexts as well.⁷ To these, we can also add older discoveries dating from the end of the 19th century,⁸ recontextualized more recently from cultural and chronological points of view.⁹ All these finds represent arguments in support of the existence of a necropolis near the Late Iron Age fortress of Piatra Craivii. Moreover, in some cases, there were some attempts for the exact identification of this funerary space,¹⁰ and more recent archaeological excavations are focusing particularly on this area.

Most probably, the four objects that are kept in the collection of Gherla History Museum are coming from a funeral context as well:

1. An iron spearhead (Pl. I/1). Forged in iron, this offensive weapon has a maximum length of 35.3 cm, of which the tip has 24 cm. The socket is 11.3 cm long and has a maximum diameter of 2 cm. The maximum width of the tip is 4.1 cm and is lenticular in profile.

2. A small knife, slightly curved (Pl. I/2). The object has a total length of 12.1 cm, out of which the blade has 9.5 cm. In the upper part, the blade has a channel with a constant width of 0.3 cm. Most likely, this channel has the role of assuring the increased wear resistance of the blade. The tongue of the handle has 2.6 cm in length and is provided with a rivet.

3. An iron variant of the Jezerine-type brooches (Pl. II/1). With a total dimension of 12.2 cm, the brooch was forged out of a single piece of iron. The bilateral spring is made out of four spires and it has an internal chord. The bow is rectangular in section, present longitudinal grooves and is separated from the foot by two transversal, embossed nervures. The foot is rhombic in section, while the catch plate is triangular and shaped like a frame.¹¹

4. A Vinkovci-type brooch (Pl. II/2). Only a small part of the brooch is preserved. More exactly, 3.6 cm from the top of the piece, which includes one of the bilateral spring

³ Berciu, Popa, Daicoviciu 1965; Macrea et alii 1966, 45–57; Berciu, Popa 1971; Moga 1981.

⁴ Berciu, Moga 1974; Moga 1979; Moga, Rustoiu 1997; Plantos 2006; Plantos 2009a; Plantos 2009b.

⁵ The latest theories saw in this wall a version of *opus Africanum* – Bodó 2001; Ștefan 2005, 250–252. An interesting opinion in Spânu 2016, 88, who considered it a local variant of *Pfostenschlitzmauer*, also known as *murus Gallicus* of the Kelheim type.

⁶ Glodariu 1976, 196, no. 11; Rustoiu 2005a, 53–93.

⁷ Plantos, Ciută 2015; Plantos, Ciută 2016.

⁸ Herepey 1901, 76–77, Pls. 21/228–233, 22/246; Both, Pârvan 1926, 505, and Nestor 1933, 154, n. 637 considered them *Celtic* objects.

⁹ Rustoiu 2007; Popa 2008.

¹⁰ Rustoiu 2015, 358–359, Fig. 8.

¹¹ Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 448.

and a part of the bow. The bow features two longitudinal concentric circle motifs on the edges.

Ever since the moment that this discovery was mentioned in the archaeological literature,¹² the objects were included in the Padea Panagjurski Kolonii group as defined by Zenon Woźniak.¹³ More than 40 years ago, the Polish scholar noted the fact that in the Late Iron Age funerary inventories (both flat graves and burial mounds) from the Northern Balkans area (South-Western Romania and North-Western Bulgaria) the same combination of weapons appears frequently: iron spearheads, long swords of the Late La Tène type, curved knives of the *sica* type¹⁴ and iron shield-bosses. In some cases, this panoply is completed by horse gears, especially *Thracian* horse bits (Werner type 16)¹⁵ and less often spurs.

In a first phase the concept of Padea Panagjurski Kolonii group was taken with a grain of salt by the Romanian and Bulgarian historiography,¹⁶ but starting with the second half of the 90's and more exactly after 2000's the term is used as a synonym for these burials with weapons noticed in the Northern Balkan area.¹⁷ Meanwhile, over time more and more discoveries were added to the Padea Panagjurski Kolonii group, some of them which far exceed the previously known area of this group (North-Western Bulgaria, North-Eastern Serbia and South-Western Romania). We can mention in this context, the discoveries from South-Western Transylvania or the Upper Tisza Basin.¹⁸ Today, the majority of scholars consider that the funerary inventories noticed on the both sides of the Danube include different ethnic identities, an inference that is also suggested by the contemporary existence of different burial rites. However, some scholars who work under the cultural-historical framework, considered that in the aforementioned funerary discoveries we should see *Dacians*.¹⁹

A preliminary analysis of Late Iron Age funerary discoveries from the Northern Balkans area, that contained weapons and military equipment, has shown that the iron spearheads are the most widespread weapon. Spearheads have been retrieved from 53 contexts north of the Danube and 83 contexts south of the river.²⁰ More rarely, small knives can also be found in these funerary inventories. Besides our example from Piatra Craivii, we can mention the discoveries from: Cepari²¹ (Argeş County), Chomakovtsi²² (Pleven Province), Dubova²³ (Mehedinţi County), Hunedoara – *Grădina Castelului* – complex no. 12,²⁴ Kostolac²⁵ (Municipality of Kostolac), Mala Vrbica – *Ajmana* –

¹² Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 451.

¹³ Woźniak 1974; Woźniak 1976.

¹⁴ In the Bulgarian archaeological literature the curved knife is called *makhaira*.

¹⁵ Werner 1988, 81–101.

¹⁶ See especially Zirra 1976; Babeş 1988; Sîrbu 1993; Theodossiev 2000.

¹⁷ Sîrbu, Rustoiu 1999; Rustoiu 2005b.

¹⁸ Rustoiu 2005b; Budinský-Krička, Lamiová-Schmielová 1990.

¹⁹ Sîrbu 2011, 253–254; Sîrbu, Borangic 2016, 47.

²⁰ Henţ 2019.

²¹ Popescu, Vulpe 1982, 90, Fig. 8/1, 3.

²² Woźniak 1974, 187.

²³ Spănu 2001–2002, 84, Fig. 1/4.

²⁴ Sîrbu et alii 2007, 24, Fig. 35/8.

²⁵ Theodossiev 2000, 120, No. Cat. 113.

tomb 1²⁶ (Municipality of Mladenovac), Pleven,²⁷ Tărnava – tumulus 4²⁸ (Vratsa Province) and Turburea-Spahii²⁹ – tomb 17 (Gorj County).

Brooches are also rare among the aforementioned discoveries but this fact could be easily explained by the quality of the research and the recovery of the archaeological information – the majority of the discoveries are accidental and were not accompanied by archaeological rescue excavations.

Since one of the brooches from the funerary inventory from Piatra Craivii was already presented, we will only make some short mentions. As it has already been demonstrated, the brooch is a hybrid form, the shape of the spring and bow is characteristic for Jezerine-type brooches, while the foot and the catch plate are typical for Late La Tène brooches.³⁰

The Jezerine-type brooches enjoyed a great popularity in the Late Iron Age period, from Western Mediterranean area, throughout temperate Europe and all the way to the Baltic Sea.³¹ Given the high frequency of discoveries, this type of brooches often enjoyed attention from scholars and researchers.³² In the last half of the century, the Jezerine-type brooches were dated from a chronological point of view, from the middle of the 1st century BC to the end of the first three decades of the 1st century AD.³³ The latest paper in this aspect includes them in the LT D2 phase which ends around the beginning of the middle Augustan period.³⁴

Until quite recently, the appearance of the Jezerine-type brooches in the Northern-Balkan Peninsula was regarded in close connection with the presence of Roman military troops that arrived in this area in the last decade of the 1st century BC and at the beginning of the 1st century AD.³⁵ However, the last chronology places them between 40 and 15 BC, which basically means before the increased Roman presence in Pannonia.³⁶ Taking into account this information, it is more likely to assume that the Jezerine-type brooches arrived in this area as a result of trading activities, from Northern Italy through the Sava and Drava rivers, which were the main commercial routes. Trade also seems to be an explanation for the presence of these types of brooches in the Late Iron Age fortress and fortified settlements from present-day Romania.³⁷ In Late Iron Age Romania, these items were discovered in the fortresses and fortified settlements of Cetățeni (Argeș County), Divici (Caraș-Severin County), Grădiștea (Brăila County), Ocnița (Vâlcea County) and

²⁶ Stalio 1986, 33, Fig. 40.

²⁷ Woźniak 1974, 190, Fig. 8/8.

²⁸ Woźniak 1974, 191.

²⁹ Gherghe 1978, 17, 13/1.

³⁰ Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 448.

³¹ Drnić 2013, 46.

³² Adam, Feugère 1982; Feugère 1985 (Type 12), 253–258.

³³ Adam, Feugère 1982, 167; Feugère 1985, 258.

³⁴ Božić 2008, 146–148.

³⁵ Adam, Feugère 1982, 152.

³⁶ Drnić 2013, 48; Based on a suggestion made by Mitja Guštin, Aurel Rustoiu and Gabriela Gheorghiu considered that these items could have arrived in Late Iron Age Romania with the Roman troops who fought in the Lower Danube region in 29 and 27 BC against the *Dacians* and *Bastarnae* – Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 449.

³⁷ Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 449.

Popești (Giurgiu County).³⁸ Aurel Rustoiu considered that these items arrived in Late Iron Age Dacia in the last decades of the 1st century BC, being contemporaneous to continental Gaulish “Unguiforme” and Alesia types.³⁹ Even if until now their number is small, a complete analysis of Italian bronze vessels that followed the same commercial routes, confirms this scenario.⁴⁰

The second brooch from Piatra Craivii is a Late La Tène type and resembles in form and characteristics to the Vinkovci-type brooches, defined and analysed by Marko Dizdar⁴¹ and Nives Majnarić-Pandžić.⁴² This sort of brooches present a low triangular or leaf-shaped bow. The unperforated foot is either rectangular or trapezoidal and it is bent in the lower part to function as a catch plate. The spring is made out of four coils connected with an internal or external chord. At the end of the bow are two groups of either two or three perpendicular grooves. The most recent typology divides them in three different variants, based on the decoration of the bow: (a) undecorated; (b) with engraved lines along the edge of the bow; (c) with incised concentric circle motifs.⁴³ In general, they were casted in bronze or forged in iron and are small in size, having around 5 cm in length.

The Vinkovci-type brooches are similar in shape and decoration to the Nauheim brooches but scholars believe that they were adjusted to suit the taste of local population, namely the *Scordiscians*.⁴⁴ This idea is reinforced by their map of distribution that is limited to the Vinkovci area (especially in the fortified settlement of Blato) and wider *Scordiscian* area near the bank of the Danube – Sotin, Zemun or Gomolava.⁴⁵ Until now, the northernmost discoveries are the brooches from Oberleiserberg (Austria),⁴⁶ while the brooch from Piatra Craivii is the easternmost known example. It is possible that other discoveries from Late Iron Age Romania are in fact brooches of Vinkovci-type.⁴⁷

As stated above, the Jezerine-type brooches were of great interest at the end of the Iron Age period, while the Vinkovci-type brooches were somewhat limited to the wider *Scordiscian* area. If in the first case it is safe to assume that the artisan from Piatra Craivii copied and modified an item of ‘international’ popularity, the second brooch deserves more attention. One possible explanation for the presence of the Vinkovci brooch near the Late Iron Age fortress of Piatra Craivii could be trade and connections between the *Scordiscian* and the *Dacian* areas. Another explanation could be found in the cultural context of the discovery, the Padea Panagjurski Kolonii group. As the majority of scholars consider, under this term we should see different ethnic identities that, most likely, were the main instruments through which these items were spread. They also seem to be responsible for the diffusion of a funerary fashion, the burial with weapons, military objects and horse gears. This ‘fashion’ was also of great interest in the Northern-Balkan area in Late Iron Age

³⁸ Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 448–449 with further bibliography.

³⁹ Rustoiu 1997, 78–79; Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 449.

⁴⁰ Rustoiu 2005a.

⁴¹ Dizdar 2001, 110; Dizdar 2003; Dizdar 2016, 37; Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 52–53.

⁴² Majnarić-Pandžić 2009, 238–240.

⁴³ Dizdar 2016, 37.

⁴⁴ Dizdar 2003, 342–343; Dizdar 2016, 37; Majnarić-Pandžić 2009, 238–240; Drnić 2016, 51.

⁴⁵ Dizdar 2016, 37; Dizdar, Tonc 2013, 52–53.

⁴⁶ Karwowski 2009, Fig. 8; Karwowski 2016, 70, Fig. 2; Drnić 2016, Fig. 7.

⁴⁷ See especially Rustoiu 1997, Fig. 34/8–9.

period. Contrary to ‘popular’ opinion, it is possible that not all of these graves belonged to élites or warriors; different social identities could be ‘hidden’ in these burials – individuals whose martial activity was either limited or partial or even children. However, a complete and detailed analysis of these graves could provide these long-awaited answers.

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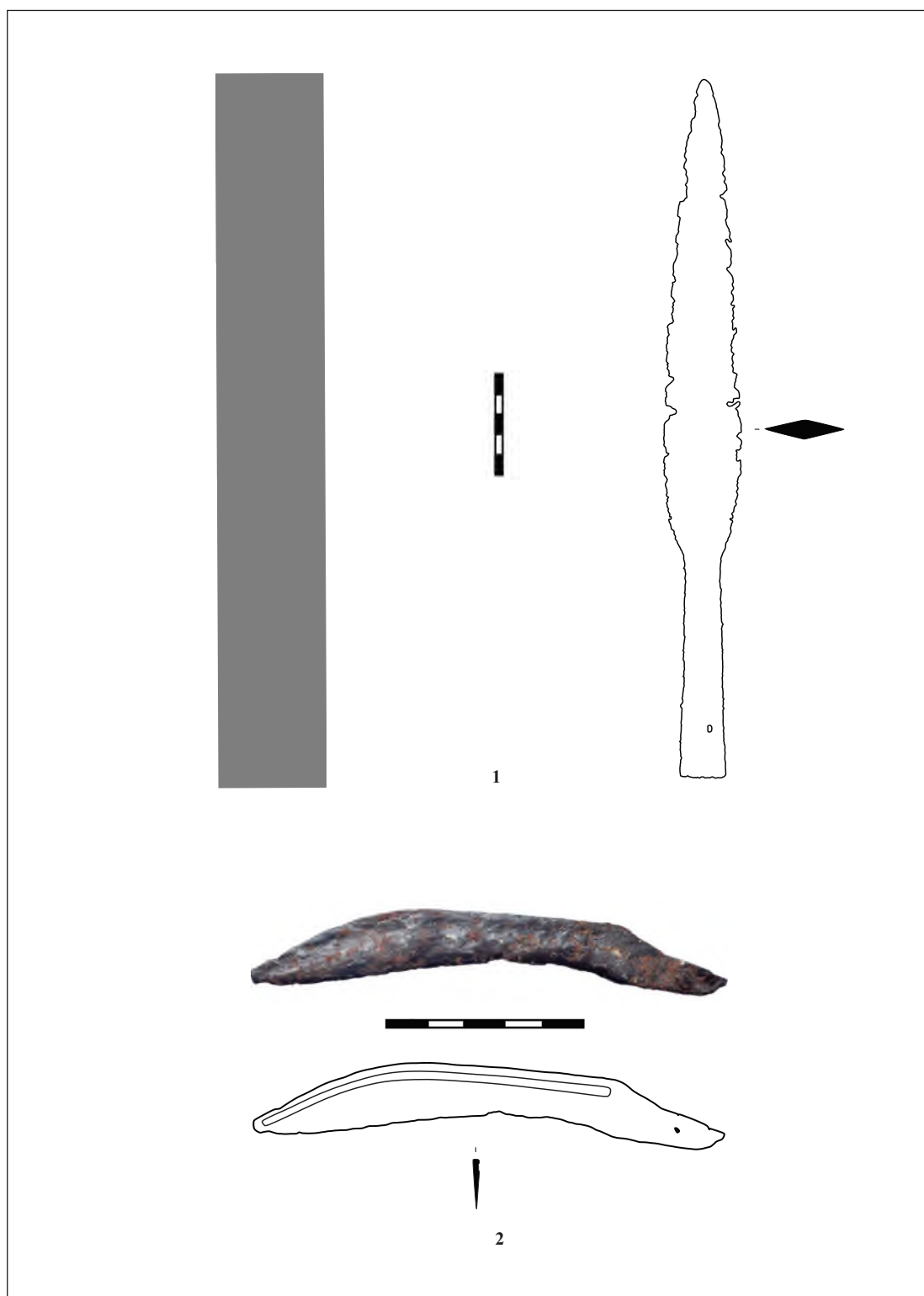
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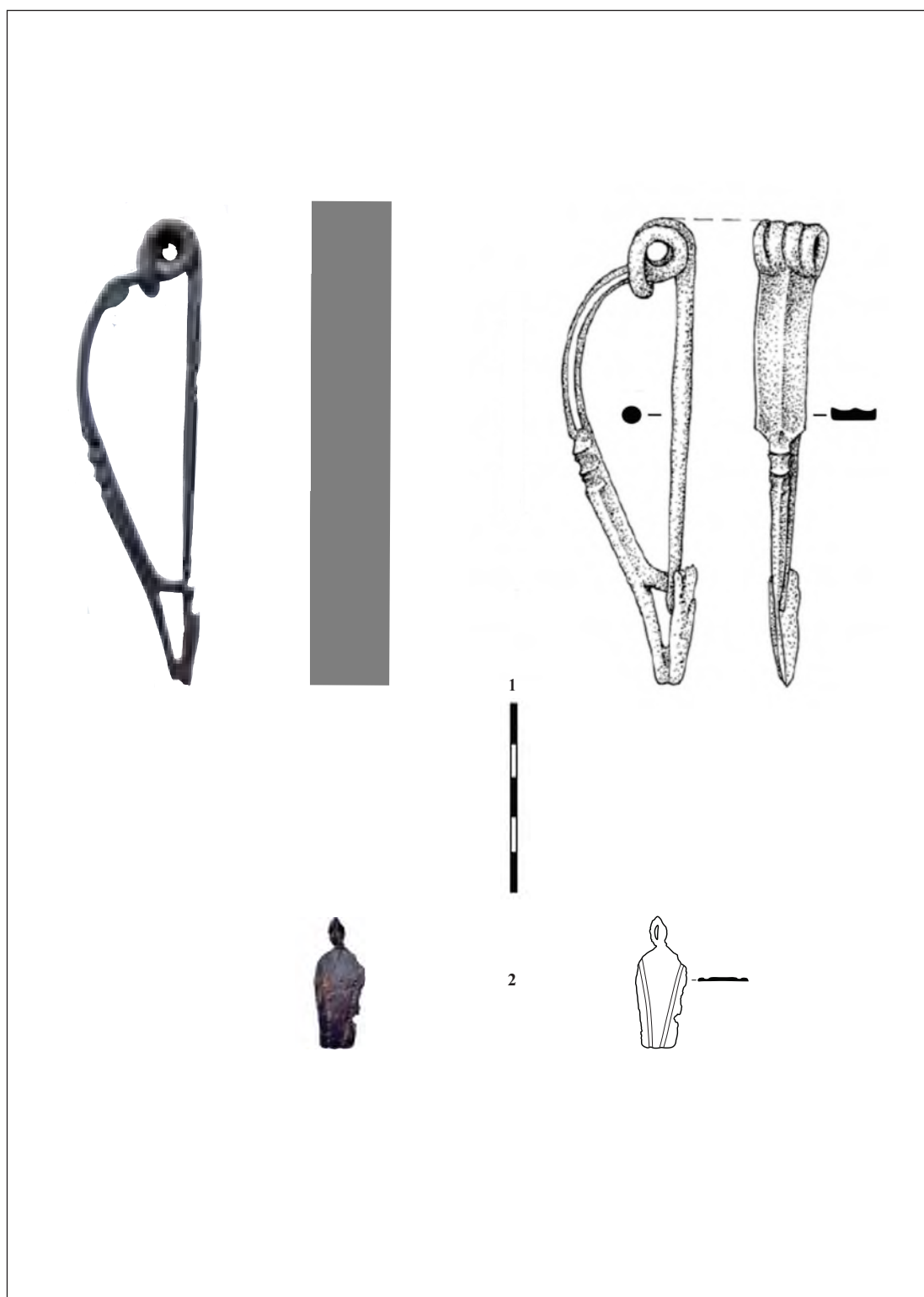
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Pl. 1. Iron spearhead; 2. Small knife.



Pl. II. 1. Iron variant of the Jezerine-type brooches (the draw after Rustoiu, Gheorghiu 2010, 454, Ill. 1); **2.** Vinkovci type brooch.

YOKE FITTINGS OF PRE-ROMAN DACIA

CRISTIAN DIMA

Abstract: During the Late Iron Age, draft animals, both oxen and horses, mules or donkeys, were harnessed on the transport vehicle by a double yoke that transmitted the traction power to the wagon through which it was fastened. Certain metallic parts were attached on these double wooden yokes, some of them having a functional role, and others an ornamental one. Such metal parts were also discovered in pre-Roman Dacia, most of them coming from fortunate discoveries, illegal detection and less in clear archaeological contexts. Some of the pieces presented in this article have been discussed and featured typologically and chronologically, but a number of differences and sub-variants require a re-discussion of these. Also in this article will be discussed other yokes known in pre-Roman Dacia which will be typologically and chronologically framed.

Keywords: La Tène; yoke fittings; terret; pre-Roman Dacia; yoke attachments.

Rezumat: În perioada celei de-a doua vârste a fierului, animalele folosite pentru tracțiune, atât boii cât și caii, catării sau măgarii, erau înhamate la vehiculul de transport printr-un jug dublu care transmite puterea de tracțiune spre căruța prin oiștea de care era fixat. Pe aceste juguri duble realizate din lemn erau atașate câteva piese metalice, unele cu rol funcțional, iar altele doar cu rol ornamental. Astfel de piese metalice au fost descoperite și în Dacia preromană, cele mai multe dintre ele provenind din descoperiri întâmplătoare, braconaje ilegale și mai puțin în contexte arheologice clare. Unele dintre piesele prezentate în acest articol au fost discutate și încadrate tipologic și cronologic, însă o serie de diferențe și sub-variante, fac necesară o rediscutare a acestora. De asemenea în acest articol vor fi discutate și alte piese de jug cunoscute în Dacia preromană care vor fi încadrate tipologic și cronologic.

Cuvinte cheie: La Tène; piese de jug; distribuitoare de frâu; Dacia preromană; atașe de jug.

Introduction

During the Late Iron Age, draft animals, both oxen and horses, mules or donkeys, were harnessed on the transport vehicle by a double yoke that transmitted the traction power to the wagon through which it was fastened. Only for the Roman period there is an evidence for the use of only one horse that was harnessed to the wagon by a simple yoke and a pair of rods, while the horse harnesses without yoke appeared in the Middle Ages. In European Late Iron Age several wooden double yokes have been discovered in Kt. Neuchâtel (Switzerland), Ezinge (Netherlands), Uterlütbe (Linde Minden, Germany), Bredmose of Lundgaardshede (Denmark), Kelheim (Germany), plus some with uncertain dating.¹ Same type of yoke must have been used as well in Dacian milieu taken into consideration the similarities of metal yoke fittings with Central European space. The power of draft animal is transmitted from the yoke to the draught-pole, while with the help of some terrets fixed on the yoke, the reins gets from the bridle of the horse to the charioteer's hands. As a rule,

¹ Schönfelder 2000, 241–242.

during the La Tène period, these dispensers are bronze casted and are almost exclusively decorated with a specific motif in a rhombic or triangular shape, located on the mounting side of the piece on the yoke. These were made of bronze and decorated because they are visible pieces, which have not only a functional role but also an ornamental one.² These bronze casted terrets, of different types, are numerous in the Celtic and Thracian milieu as well, but also in the Roman world.³

Within the intra-Carpathian space several yoke pieces were discovered by chance or in archaeological contexts and were dated between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. Most of them were typologically classified⁴ according to the two major types established by M. Menke.⁵ This simple division was based on a first type (A), in which pieces with a rectangular, semi-circular and oval shaped part were included, and a second type (B) which differs from the first type through the larger ring and by ornamentation. In both the Central European and the Carpathian Basins, the typology proposed by M. Menke in 1968 seems to be insufficient, the differences in the same type being obvious, and resulting in a number of subdivisions made by some researchers. For the typological framing of Dacian spaces, some authors considered whole series as sub-variants of the two types.⁶ More recently, several yoke fittings belonging to the La Tène period were reclassified by M. Schönfelder in a more detailed typology, defining several types that are named after the site where the type was first discovered.⁷ As not all of the yoke elements from Dacian milieu are properly known, several of them were not included in this new typology. This research aims to discuss the terminology and the typology of the Dacian yoke elements but also to concentrate on the chronology and the archaeological context.

Terminology

A yoke fitting very common in archaeological context of the La Tène period, including the Dacian space, serves to distribute the reins from the horse's bit to the hands of the charioteer. This artefact is known in Romanian archaeological literature under the name "inel de jug" (yoke ring) coming from the French term "anneau de joug". In German literature several terms were used to name this fitting as "Zügelring" (rein-ring) or "Zügelführungsring" (rein guiding ring)⁸ while other authors consider more appropriate the term of "Führungsring" (guiding ring).⁹ In British literature a specific term is used – terret, but also the term "rein-ring" is found. Taken into consideration that the functionality of these fittings is to distribute the reins which is used for guiding the horse, the terms of guiding ring or yoke ring are not the most suitable. This yoke fitting has four component parts and the guiding ring is just one of these parts, thus the most appropriate term in the

² Rustoiu 1996, 157.

³ Rustoiu 1996, 157; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231–242; Schönfelder 2000, 245–272; Hanemann 2014, 307–312; Ignatov 2018, 45–46.

⁴ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

⁵ Menke 1968, 60–64.

⁶ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231–233.

⁷ Schönfelder 2000, 241–272.

⁸ Hanneman 2014, 307.

⁹ Schönfelder 2000, 245.

Romanian literature should be “distribuitor de frâu” (rein distributor), while for the British literature the term “terret” seems to be the most suitable.

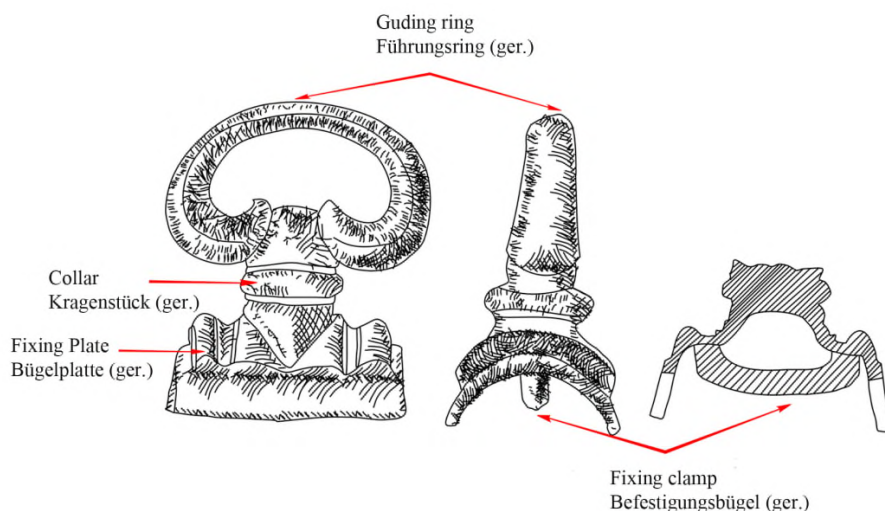


Fig. 1. Component elements of a La Tène terret.

The terrets are made up of four elements (Fig. 1), present on almost all of this kind of fittings. The ring of oval or circular shape, through which the reins pass from the bit of the horse to the charioteer, is actually the guiding ring of the piece (Germ. Führungsring). The piece is attached to the yoke through a rectangular curved plate – fixing plate (Germ. Bügelplatte), semi-circularly curved, and usually decorated with triangles or diamonds. Below this plate there is a semi-circular fastening clamp (Germ. Befestigungsbügel) attached to the plate, which serves to fix the yoke through a slit in it and then connected most likely to a string. This type of fastening permits for the rein distributor some flexibility required in the case of brusque handling of the reins in order not to affect the wooden yoke. The fourth element of the terret is a collar (Germ. Kragenstück) through which the guide ring is connected to the fixing plate (Fig. 1).

Yoke fittings of pre-Roman Dacia

A terret discovered in the Dacian fortress from Ardeu (Hunedoara County) (Fig. 2/1)¹⁰ was included in the first type defined by Menke (Menke A)¹¹ and could be included in the Bechtheim type defined by M. Schönfelder.¹² This terret has a simple guiding ring attached by a narrow collar to the rectangular and curved semi-circular fixing plate. A similar rein distributor was discovered recently by treasure hunters coming most likely from the fortress of Luncani-Piatra Roşie (Hunedoara County) (Fig. 2/2) and could be framed in the same type. This type of artefacts are chronologically framed in La Tène D and were discovered in the Celtic milieu both in *oppida* settlements and in funerary contexts at Bechtheim

¹⁰ Andriţoiu, Mărghitan 1972, Fig. 28; Rustoiu 1996, 157, Fig. 97/2; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 281, Fig. 1/1.

¹¹ Menke 1968, 60–64; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

¹² Schönfelder 2000, 250–251, Fig. 175, Tab. 32.

(Germany),¹³ Manching (Germany),¹⁴ Bratislava/Dévin (Czech Republic),¹⁵ Mesnil-Aubry (France),¹⁶ La Chaussée-Tirancourt (France),¹⁷ Mels/Castels (Switzerland),¹⁸ Oberursel – Oberstedten/Heidetranke (Germany),¹⁹ Púchov (Slovakia),²⁰ Stradonice/Hradišti (Czech Republic),²¹ Wattens/Himmelreich (Austria).²² The terret coming from Ardeu fortress was fortunate discovery while the one from Luncani-Piatra Roşie was discovered due to illegal detection and for none of them can be provided any chronological date, but based on analogies the one from Ardeu was dated in the 1st century BC.²³

A terret kept in the Severeanu collection at MNIR Bucureşti coming probably from Grădiştea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia (Fig. 2/3),²⁴ was framed in Menke type B²⁵ and could be framed in type Kappel²⁶ from M. Schönfelder typology. This type is defined by the triangles applied on the collar, one with the tip up towards the guide ring and the other with the point down towards the fastening plate, forming together a rhombic figure separated by a circular groove on the collar.²⁷ This type of terret have similarities with Estinnes and Grabenstetten type²⁸ in the shape of the guiding ring the main differences consisting in the dimension and the way in which the fixing plate was realised.



Fig. 2. Terrets of Bechthheim and Kappel type: 1. Ardeu (after Andriţoiu, Mărghită 1972, Fig. 28); 2. Luncani-Piatra Roşie (photo C. Borangic); 3. Grădiştea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia (D. Părvulescu).

The difference from Bechthheim guiding rings that form a continuous ring is that they are formed by a broken ring at the bottom, forming an arched tube with open ends that engage the collar, usually triangular, that connects with the fixing plate. Terrets of

¹³ Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/1.

¹⁴ Van Endert 1991, 67, Pl. 18/335–340, 344; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/2–11.

¹⁵ Pieta 1996, 186, Fig. 3/3; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/12.

¹⁶ Guadagnin 1983, 202, Fig. 6; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/13.

¹⁷ Brunaux, Fichtl, Marchand 1990, Fig. 15/8–9; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/14–15.

¹⁸ Menke 1968, 61, Fig. 2; Nagy 1996, Fig. 1/16; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/16.

¹⁹ Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe 1977, 47, Fig. 3/10; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/17.

²⁰ Pieta 1982, 257, Fig. 15/15; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/18.

²¹ Pič 1906, Fig. 26/1; Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/19.

²² Schönfelder 2000, 251, Fig. 175/20.

²³ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

²⁴ Gramatopol 1982, 265–266, Pl. 28/24; Ferencz, Bodó 2000, 175; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

²⁵ Menke 1968, 60–64; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

²⁶ Schönfelder 2000, 250, Fig. 177, Tab. 34.

²⁷ Schönfelder 2000, 250.

²⁸ Schönfelder 2000, 250.

these three types were chronologically framed in La Tène D being specific for the Celtic milieu of the Central European space and were discovered mainly in *oppida* settlements. The best similarity for the rein distributor coming from Sarmizegetusa Regia is a terret found at Kappel (Germany),²⁹ other ones coming from Manching,³⁰ Judenburg (Austria),³¹ Slavkon u Brna (Czech Republic),³² Rhein bei Mainz (Germania),³³ Jüchsen (Germany),³⁴ Staré Hradisko (Czech Republic),³⁵ Biebertal-Fellingshausen/Dünsberg (Germany),³⁶ Wörschlach (Austria).³⁷ The terret from Sarmizegetusa Regia kept in the Severeanu collection has no known archaeological context and was initially dated in the Roman period, later corrected between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.³⁸

As it has already been argued, some terrets coming from Piatra Craivii fortress (Alba county) (Fig. 3/1–3)³⁹ but as well as two of those discovered in the Dacian fortress of Luncani-Piatra Roşie (Fig. 4/1–2)⁴⁰ are slightly different from the Menke type B guiding-rings. The terrets of Menke type B have as their dispersion area mainly in the Danube's Upper Basin and the Rhine, and the ones from Dacian milieu would rather be a subvariant that finds the closest analogies in the Carpathian basin area,⁴¹ such as the terrets coming from Orešak (Croatia).⁴²



Fig. 3. Terrets of Orešak type: 1–3. Piatra Craivii (Alba County) – MNUAI, photo C. Dima.

M. Schönfelder establishes a new type for these terrets, type Orešak,⁴³ type in which he includes one Luncani-Piatra Roşie guiding-ring (Pl. I/8), known better in the Romanian

²⁹ Fischer 1959, Pl. 6/6,7; Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/1.

³⁰ Jacobi 1974, Pl. 52/814–816; Van Endert 1991, Pl. 18, 351–353; Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/2–4.

³¹ Menke 1968, 61, Pl. 1/1; Behm-Blancke 1971, 250, Fig. 3b; Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/5.

³² Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/6.

³³ Wegner 1976, 83, Pl. 73/2; Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/7.

³⁴ Behm-Blancke 1971, 250, Fig. 3a; Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/8–9.

³⁵ Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/10.

³⁶ Jacobi 1974, Pl. 3/9; Schönfelder 2000, Fig. 177/11.

³⁷ Kramer 1994, 55, Pl. 37–5; Schönfelder 2000, Tab. 34.

³⁸ Ferencz, Bodó 2000, 175; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

³⁹ Berciu, Popa 1970, 281, Fig. 12/5–6; Ferencz, Rustoiu 2002, 231, Fig. 1/3–5.

⁴⁰ Daicoviciu 1954, 88, Pl. XVI/1; Rustoiu 1996, 157, Fig. 97/3; Ferencz, Bodó 2000, 175, Pl. II/2; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231, Fig. 1/2, 6.

⁴¹ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

⁴² Schönfelder 2000, Figs. 180/3, 188; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

⁴³ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180, Tab. 37.

literature.⁴⁴ Also the terret discovered by illegal detection on the same site (Fig. 4/1), and also the ones from Piatra Craivii (Fig. 3/1–3) could be included in this type. These terrets are different from the previous ones and they can be distinguished by the shape of the guiding ring, the very obvious interruption of the arched tube at the mounting part with the collar of the piece, as well as the ornamentation of the two-rib fixing plate on one side and the other of the triangular specific decoration. The terrets of this type were dated to the La Tène D and are coming only from the eastern area of the Celtic space between Karlstein⁴⁵ (Germany) and the Dacian space with the discoveries from Luncani-Piatra Roşie and Piatra Craivii. Other terrets of this type are coming from Magdalensberg (Austria),⁴⁶ Orešak,⁴⁷ Celje (Slovenia),⁴⁸ Carpathian Basin.⁴⁹ There must be noticed that the terret coming from illegal detections in the area of Luncani-Piatra Roşie fortress is slightly different from the other ones. The fixing yoke clamp is missing while the presence of small perforations in the corners of the fixing plate indicates that the piece could be fixed to the yoke by nails.⁵⁰ A similar piece is coming from Magdalensberg,⁵¹ which has the same type of perforations, and the yoke holder is lacking. These terrets are coming from the Celtic milieu from the middle Danube⁵² area due to the closest analogies and could be dated beginning with the end of the 2nd century BC.



Fig. 4. Terrets of Orešak type: Luncani-Piatra Roşie (Hunedoara County) – 1. MCDR – Deva, photo C. Bodó; 2. MNIT – Cluj-Napoca – V 394, photo C. Dima.

A few terrets from the Dacian milieu could not be typologically framed so far, being considered as a particular type of terrets and based on the decor coming from the Celtic milieu, most likely from the Scordistic space.⁵³ In a more detailed analysis, they would appear to be a variant that could be included in the Kappel or Orešak type. Initially, this particular type was defined starting from a single piece found in a fragmented state.

⁴⁴ Daicovicu 1954, 88, Pl. XVI/1; Rustoiu 1996, 157, Fig. 97/3; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231, Fig. 1/2.

⁴⁵ Menke 1968, Fig. 1/3; Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180/1.

⁴⁶ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180/2.

⁴⁷ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180/3.

⁴⁸ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180/4.

⁴⁹ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180/6.

⁵⁰ Ferencz, Bodó 2000, 175, Pl. II/2.

⁵¹ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 180/2.

⁵² Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231.

⁵³ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231, Fig. 1/7.

The terret was discovered in the Dacian fortress from Divici (Caraş-Severin County) (Fig. 5/1) and was described as having an ornamented fixing plate with incised lines and filled with enameled circles, and the upper part, ornamented, also having a triangular shape.⁵⁴



Fig. 5. Terrets: 1. Divici (Caraş-Severin County) (after Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, p. 231, Fig. 1/7); 2–3. Cugir (Alba County), MNUAI, photo C. Dima.

Recently, some artefacts from the inventory of the main tomb of the yet unpublished tumulary necropolis from Cugir (Alba County)⁵⁵ were presented in an exhibition at Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia. Two rein distributors similar with the one from Divici were identified belonging to this inventory (Fig. 5/2–3). Both pieces have a similar decoration and shape, also in fragmentary state, with a series of ruptures observed both at the top of the piece and at the top of the fixing plate. On the two terrets from Cugir there can be noticed the presence of the circular fixing clam but also two perforations on each side of the fixing plate.

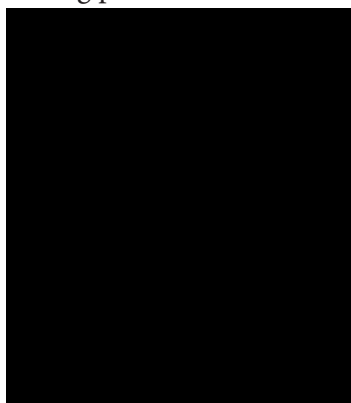


Fig. 6. Proposal for the reconstitution of the terret from Divici, Caraş-Severin County.

The guiding rings of the terrets which belong to the Kappel, Estinnes, Grabenstetten and Orešak types⁵⁶ have interrupted ends and they are made of a single arched tube that was attached later to the collar formed by two opposite triangles. Considering this, it can be assumed that the guiding ring of the pieces from Divici and Cugir was not preserved. The upper side of these terrets, triangular in shape, is rather part of the collar from which it continued with the guiding ring, broken and lost (Fig. 6). The terret from Divici was fortunate discovery in the area of the site, the archaeological context being unknown, but it was considered that it belongs to the earlier levels being framed in the

⁵⁴ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231–232, Fig. 1/7.

⁵⁵ Crişan 1980, 84; Rustoiu 2002, 52; Spănu 2002, 127; Popa 2004, 120; Rustoiu 2008, 161–162; Moga, Plantos 2007, 20; Rustoiu 2009, 33; Popa 2011, 335; Teleagă 2014, 308; Teleagă et alii 2014, 321; Rustoiu 2015, 359.

⁵⁶ Schönfelder 2000, 250–251.

1st century BC.⁵⁷ The main tomb of the Cugir tumular necropolis was dated in the first half of the 1st century BC, based on the funerary inventory, in particular of an Eggers 20 type *situla*.⁵⁸ More recently, it was stated that the correct dating of the context would be somewhat earlier, somewhere in the second half of the 2nd century BC (160–95 BC), based on a C14 dating.⁵⁹

A terret coming from Piatra Craivii fortress (Alba County) (Fig. 7/1) is different from all the known Late Iron Age types, as the item was relatively simply manufactured; one can notice a slight resemblance to the terrets of Verna type.⁶⁰ However, the terret from Piatra Craivii has neither a fixing plate nor a collar, and the fixing clamp has a perpendicular arrangement on the axis of the guiding ring, a situation which is not encountered by any of the terrets known in the Celtic milieu. A. Rustoiu includes in a first type only this terret, while the rest of the rein distributors are included in a second type.⁶¹ The author, in collaboration with I. V. Ferencz, returns to the analysis of the yoke fittings, using this time the typology defined by M. Menke, but the terret from Piatra Craivii was not included in this typology probably due to the lack of ornamentation.⁶² In a typology dedicated to the terrets dated to the Iron Age and the Roman Age from Britain, some pieces are slightly similar with the one from Piatra Craivii. Those do not have the fixing clamp perpendicular on the guiding ring, but in what regards the one from the Dacian fortress the fixing plate and the collar are also missing. This type of terrets casted in bronze is coming from Roman sites dating from the 1st to the 3rd century AD, and was considered an influence from the Empire. Two terrets with the rectangular-shaped fixing clamp arranged perpendicular to the axis of the guiding ring are coming from a Roman age Thracian tomb from Nova Zagora.⁶³ One of them is similar to the one from Piatra Craivii; the only difference is that the item from Bulgaria has the fixing plate. Thus, the terret from Piatra Craivii may be considered of Roman influence, even if identical exemplars are yet unknown, but they could represent a sub-variant of such kind of terret. Within the Dacian settlement of Sighișoara-Wiettemberg a terret was discovered (Fig. 7/2),⁶⁴ with analogies belonging to the Roman period. The piece has an ellipsoidal guide ring with a button on the top. This ring is attached to a rectangular and curved fixing plate, decorated with four parallel grooves, and the fixing clamp was made of a rounded transverse bar. More details on this piece cannot be seen from the illustration and the artefact was not been identified so far in the collections of the history museum in Sighișoara. Two similar terrets were discovered at Mangalia – 2 Mai in a tumular chariot tomb dated to the 2nd century AD.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231–232.

⁵⁸ First, dated at the middle of the 1st century BC (Crișan 1980, 84; Rustoiu 2002, 52); Spănu 2002, 127; Popa 2004, 120; Rustoiu 2008, 161–162; Moga, Plantos 2007, 20; Rustoiu 2009, 33; Popa 2011, 335; Rustoiu 2015, 359.

⁵⁹ Teleagă 2014, 308; Teleagă et alii 2014, 321.

⁶⁰ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 181, Tab. 38.

⁶¹ Rustoiu 1996, 157.

⁶² Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 231–242.

⁶³ Ignatov 2018, Cat. 34, Fig. 25/6.1.3.1–2.

⁶⁴ Horedt, Seraphin 1971, Fig. 61/8; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 232.

⁶⁵ Harțușche 1967, 235, Fig. 5/3–4, 6/6–7; Sirbu, Oța 2004, 407, Fig. 4/1.

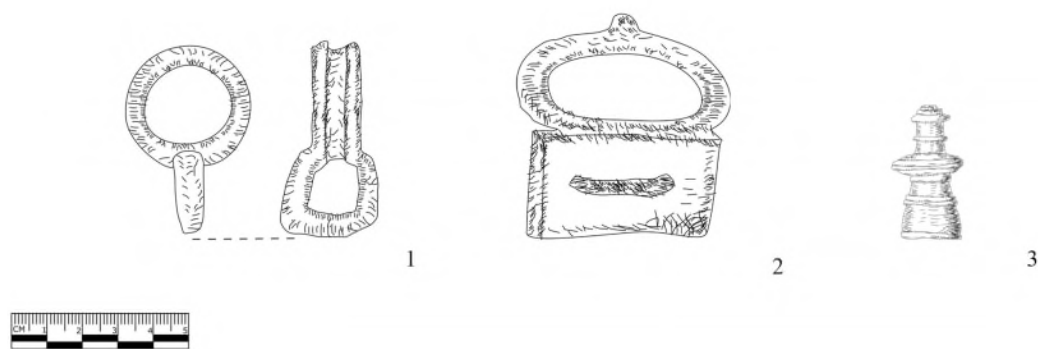


Fig. 7. Terrets: **1.** Piatra Craivii (after Gheorghiu 2005); **2.** Sighișoara – Wiettemberg (drawing after a photo in Horedt, Seraphin 1972, Fig. 61/8, by C. Dima); **3.** Piatra Craivii (after Berciu, Popa, Daicoviciu 1965, Fig. 33/14).

A fragmentary piece discovered in older excavations at Piatra Craivii fortress was interpreted as pendant (Fig. 7/3).⁶⁶ The piece is a button with the dimensions of 3.8×2 cm; it is casted in bronze, pine-shaped, and decorated with several mouldings. This could represent in fact a part of a rein distributor of Hoppstädten type⁶⁷ or a part of the Titelberg yoke attachments.⁶⁸

In this last type – Titelberg, four yoke attachments found in the Dacian settlement of Brad (Bacău County) can be framed (Fig. 8/1–4).⁶⁹ The functionality of the Titelberg type parts is not very clear, but due to the analogy with other yoke pieces, they are also considered as parts attached to the yoke, maybe with an ornamental role. These yoke attachments have, at the top, a pine cone-shaped button ornamented with two or three mouldings, attached to an elongated semi-circular band in the shape of a horseshoe that is trapped on the wooden yoke. Inside the semi-circular part there was an iron bar with a circular link at the end. This bar is not present in the yoke attachments of Titelberg type known in the Central European space, while in the case of Brad fortified settlement, only two of them preserve the iron element. Probably this bar with circular link had the role of supporting the attachment on the yoke, its position being probably in the middle of the yoke, most likely fixing the draught-pole to the yoke. Two yoke attachments of this type resembling to those of Brad were identified alongside the yoke pieces at Orešak.⁷⁰ In this type there were also included some fragmentary pieces discovered in funerary context and in *oppida* settlements at Titelberg (Luxemburg), Mont Beuvray/Croix de Rebout Grab (France), Mont Beuvray – Bibracte (France), Besançon (France), Saint-Just-en-Chaussée “Le Rossignol” (France), Baarburg (Switzerland), Magdalensberg, Gracarca (Austria), Liptovská Mara (Slovakia).⁷¹ Another piece in a horseshoe shape (Fig. 8/5),⁷² with slightly widened and rounded ends,

⁶⁶ Berciu, Popa, Daicoviciu 1965, Fig. 33/14; Berciu, Popa 1970, 283, Fig. 14/11.

⁶⁷ Scönfelder 2000, 263, Fig. 184, Tab. 39.

⁶⁸ Scönfelder 2000, 267–270, Fig. 189, Tab. 42.

⁶⁹ Ursachi 1995, 147–148, Pl. 50/2–4,6, Fig. 248/1–4.

⁷⁰ Scönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 188.

⁷¹ Scönfelder 2000, 267–270, Fig. 189, Tab. 42.

⁷² Ursachi 1995, 148, Pl. 50/5, 248/5.

each with a thread of bronze nail was found in the same archaeological context from Brad, but due to its differences it cannot be included in the Titelberg type.



Fig. 8: 1–4. Yoke fittings of Titelberg type; 5–9. Yoke attachments from Brad (Bacău County), photos MIR (inv. nos. 15169, 15176, 15167, 15164, 15168, 15178, 15179, 15165, 15196).

In the same archaeological context from the fortified settlement of Brad several pieces were also interpreted as parts of chariot elements, most likely as yoke attachments. For these, no analogies have been found so far and their functionality is unknown. Two of them are oval-shaped appliques, with a semi-circular shaped attached to each side⁷³ (Fig. 8/6–7). Two other yokes were made of bronze, with slightly widened ends and a curved middle, one of which was fastened by a brass and iron clamp provided with two rivets and a fastening link (Fig. 8/8–9).⁷⁴

Several ornamental attachments placed in the ends of the yoke (Jochendebeschläg) were framed in another Orešak type (Jochendebeschläg Typ Orešak)⁷⁵, discovered at Orešak along with the other yoke pieces already mentioned⁷⁶ and in Dacian milieu at Luncani-Piatra Roșie fortress (Fig. 9/1)⁷⁷ and the Dacian settlement from Berindia (Bihor

⁷³ Ursachi 1995, 148, Pl. 17/1, 2, 247/6, 15.

⁷⁴ Ursachi 1995, 148, Pl. 50/1, 7, 247/13, 14.

⁷⁵ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 188.

⁷⁶ Schönfelder 2000, 259, Fig. 188.

⁷⁷ Daicoviciu 1954, 88, Pl. V/3; Rustoiu 1996, 157, Fig. 97/3; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 232, Fig. 3/3; Gheorghiu 2005, Pl. 191/5.

County) (Fig. 9/2).⁷⁸ This type of yoke attachments were bronze casted and decorated with vegetal motifs. The piece is made up of a pin shaped button with deep grooves, attached to a perforated strip for attaching the nails to the yoke, encompassing lanceolate plant motifs. The ornament on the end of the pieces is also found on the yokes of Liptovská Mara framed in the Titelberg type.⁷⁹ These ornamental yoke pieces probably date back to the 1st century BC. They were fixed on the ends of a yoke, similar to the one found in Annaberg (Poland),⁸⁰ which has instead of a button a “horn” on which these pieces can be mounted.

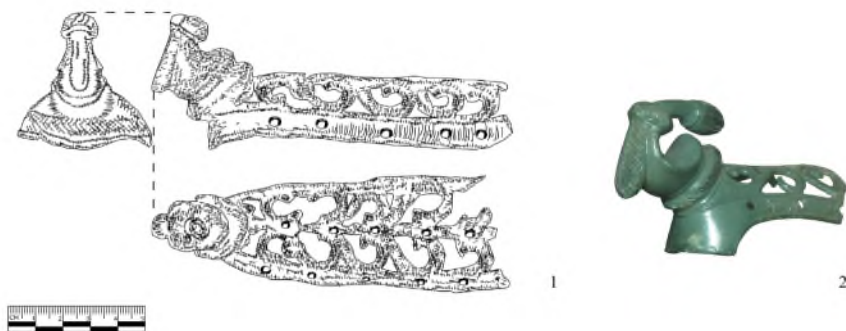


Fig. 9. Yoke attachments of Orešak type. 1. Lunca-Piatra Roșie, Hunedoara County (after Daicoviciu 1954, 88, Pl. V/3); 2. Berindia, Bihor County, photo S. Bulzan, MȚC Oradea, inv. no. 4059.

A bronze fitting discovered at Poiana (Galați County) (Fig. 10/1) was firstly interpreted as sword handle.⁸¹ Later the artefact was interpreted as chariot fitting that would have served to secure the wagon-box to its own hound.⁸² The piece is made of bronze with symmetrically antithetic horse heads and in the middle the piece has a perforation in which another piece of metal was probably fixed. According to the morphology of the item, two analogies may offer two different functionalities to the piece in question. In the first case, the artefact discovered in the Dacian settlement could be a Strap holder (Ger. Gurthalter, Fr. Suspension de caisse) known for Roman chariots in several provinces of the Empire. This type of fittings was fastened to the top of two curved beams attached to the hound, beams that continued on both sides of the wagon-box. A strap was fastened to these pieces and supported the carriage-box, providing a suspension so that the passenger would have not felt the road's unevenness. Several pieces similar items, but with two antithetic water-birds instead of horse are known in NBM Tunis,⁸³ in the territory of the Roman provinces of Germania Krefeld-Gelelep, Belgica at Ulmen, Nerdlen, Reims, in Aquitania and in Thracia at Brestovica.⁸⁴ Another fitting, much more closer as analogy is coming

⁷⁸ Dumitrașcu, Ordentlich 1973, 67, Fig. 18; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 232, Fig. 3/4.

⁷⁹ Scönfelder 2000, 267–270, Fig. 189/9, Tab. 42; Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 232, Fig. 3/1, 2.

⁸⁰ Scönfelder 2000, 241, Fig. 171/8.

⁸¹ Vulpe et alii 1951, 202, Fig. 22/2.

⁸² Rustoiu 1996, 157.

⁸³ Röring 1983, 164–165.

⁸⁴ Röring 1983, 165–167, Pl. 18, Fig. 2.

from the province of Thracia in Pastuscha (Bulgaria).⁸⁵ It has two antithetic horse heads, but unlike the one from Poiana, the heads of the animals are preserved only from the neck up and the representation of the horses is a bit more faithful.



Fig. 10. 1. Yoke/chariot fitting, Poiana, Galați County, drawing after photo (Vulpe et alii 1951, 202, Fig. 22/2); 2. Terret – Manching (after Jacobi 1974, 201, n. 817, Pl. 53/817).

Since the fitting from the Dacian settlement from Poiana does not have a fixing tube on the wooden or iron support that came under the carriage, as it is present in similar fittings, but only one hole, the fitting from Poiana could have as well a different functionality. It can be assumed that this could represent a yoke fitting, either as a yoke attachment or as part of a terret. A yoke attachment morphologically similar with the fittings mentioned above, that presents antithetic water-birds but which has in the inferior part a fixing plate for the yoke is known from Mramora (Bulgaria).⁸⁶ A zoomorphic terret composed by three elements was also discovered at Manching (Fig. 10/2)⁸⁷ is very similar with the one discovered at Poiana. The upper part of the item consists in two symmetrical antithetic heads of an animal with horns, and a second part, arranged perpendicularly, shows two other bird heads in a symmetrical and antithetic position, placed on a third element represented as a conical base. Considering these analogies, the fitting discovered at Poiana might rather be a terret similar to this one, considering as well the dimension of the fittings.

Conclusion

The known yoke fittings of pre-Roman Dacia are not very numerous and all of them are bronze casted. Without any doubt almost all the yoke fittings discovered in the space occupied by the Dacian civilisation are coming from the Celtic area due to commercial relations on the Mureș valley.⁸⁸ Only the exemplar from Sighișoara and one of the terrets from Piatra Craivii are Roman imports. Even that there are not so many discoveries, it can be noticed that almost all known types are covered by the Dacian fittings.

⁸⁵ Röring 1983, 167; Mercklin 1933, 122–123, Fig. 40.

⁸⁶ Ignatov 2018, Fig. 27/6.6.1.4.

⁸⁷ Jacobi 1974, 201, n. 817, Pl. 53/817.

⁸⁸ Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 232.

The yoke fittings of pre-Roman Dacia were discovered in funerary context but also in fortresses or fortified settlements. There is a fact that all the chariot components discovered in Dacian milieu are coming mainly from fortresses, fortified settlements or funerary context.⁸⁹ In what regards the discovery in a funerary context, yoke fittings, including all the metallic parts of a ceremonial cart, are known in the tumular grave from Cugir (Alba County). One of the terrets discovered due to illegal detection, coming from Luncani – Piatra Roşie could be part of a funerary context as well, due to the association with other artefacts from the same recovered lot.⁹⁰ Two inedited terrets were also discovered in a funerary context at Costeşti – “Cetăţuie” fortress.⁹¹ From a dwelling context one can refer to yoke fittings from the Dacian settlement of Brad (Bacău County) or the yoke attachment from tower B from Luncani – Piatra Roşie fortress and the terret from tower 4. The other yoke fittings are coming from fortunate discoveries or illegal detection. Even if many of the discussed fittings are coming from fortunate discoveries, the area of the discovery is centred near or within the Dacian hillforts. Due to their decoration and the fact that were bronze casted and discovered in funerary context or within the Dacian fortresses it was suggested that the presence of this fittings prove the existence of fastidious chariots for showing the aristocratic prestige.⁹²

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⁸⁹ Dima 2018, 114–134.

⁹⁰ Egri, Ferencz 2017; Dima, Borangic 2018, 28–29.

⁹¹ Inf. R. Mateescu.

⁹² Rustoiu, Ferencz 2002, 232.

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DACIAN GRAFFITI FROM COVASNA – CETATEA ZÂNELOR

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Abstract: Six graffiti from the time of the Dacian Kingdom were discovered at Covasna – Cetatea Zânelor (Fairies Fortress). Four vessels with graffiti can be associated with a building having the roof supported by three rows of wooden pillars. Two signs were made before firing and other four after burning, on good quality vessels, preserved in a fragmentary condition. The main issue is whether these graffiti are simple scratches or graphic signs.

Keywords: graffiti; Dacian Kingdom; Covasna; pottery; cursive letters.

Rezumat: În situl de la Covasna – Cetatea Zânelor au fost descoperiți șase graffiti datând din perioada Regatului Dac. Patru exemplare pot fi asociate cu un edificiu cu acoperișul susținut de trei rânduri de stâlpi din lemn. Două semne au fost făcute înainte de ardere, celelalte patru fiind incizate după ardere, pe vase de bună calitate, păstrate fragmentar. Problema care se pune este dacă acești graffiti sunt simple zgârieturi sau sunt semne grafice.

Cuvinte cheie: graffiti; Regatul Dacic; Covasna; ceramică; litere cursive.

Covasna – Cetatea Zânelor

The archaeological site Covasna – Cetatea Zânelor (“Fairies Fortress”) is located in south-eastern Transylvania, in the vicinity of the town of Covasna, on Dealul Cetății (“Fortress Hill”) (Pl. I/1, 2). Most of the artefacts found here are Dacian, but also from the Early Iron Age and the Middle Ages.

The Dacians strongly fortified the hill with walls made of irregular and summary processed stones. The ramparts defended and sustained an acropolis and at least six terraces (I–VI) (Pl. I/3). The remains of dwellings, workshops and temples have been discovered inside the fortified area. The first construction phase started at the end of the 2nd century BC or at the beginning of the 1st century BC. The fortress was destroyed by the Romans during the Dacian wars, at the beginning of the 2nd century AD.¹

A square tower was erected at the junction of Terraces II and III. Near the tower, two edifices with the roof sustained by three rows of wooden pillars were found (Pl. I/4).² Edifice I, north – east to the tower, was delimited on three sides; it had (at least) 27 wooden pillars. Edifice II, north – west to the tower, was also delimited on three sides; it has (at least) 19 wooden pillars. Since these buildings were not entirely investigated and their inventory is still under study, their functionality remains to be discussed. The edifices could

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¹ Székely 1969, 99–122; Székely 1972, 201–214; Sirbu, Crișan 1999, 71–81; Crișan 2000, 33–36; Crișan 2009, 59–64; Crișan, Sirbu 2010, 266–285; Crișan, Sirbu, Popescu 2013, 22–26; Crișan, Sirbu, Pupeză 2016, 19–41.

² Crișan et alii 2017, 49–50; Crișan et alii 2018, 30–31.

be rectangular temples, of the column alignments type, but other functionalities cannot be excluded. Most likely the structures are dated in the 1st century BC or at the beginning of the 1st century AD.

The materials associated with these features are numerous and diverse (ceramic vessels, animal bones, whetstones, clay, silver, bronze and iron objects). The following Dacian potsherds with graffiti have been found in the usage / filling levels of Edifice I:

1. *Jug / vessel with elongate neck* (Pl. II/1). Fragments from the upper side were found. The vessel has a curved shape, cylindrical neck and an everted rim. It is wheel-thrown, made of a fine grey fabric and it was fired in a reducing atmosphere. On the outside, it has a dark-grey varnish and two horizontal lines incised on the body. The graffiti were made after firing, on the outside wall. On the neck there are two arches, of different sizes, horizontally arranged one above the other (length of the lower arch = 4.5 cm). On the body, between the two horizontal lines, two other arches were incised, arranged vertically, one next to the other (height = 2.8 cm).

2. *Jug / bi-conical vessel* (Pl. II/2). Only one wall fragment was found, from a medium size vessel. It is wheel-thrown, made of a fine reddish fabric and it was fired in an oxidation atmosphere. The graffito was made after firing, on the inside wall: a small circle (diameter = 2 cm).

3. *Fruit bowl* (Pl. II/3). Three fragments from the cup were found. The fruit bowl has a wide everted rim. It is wheel-thrown, made of a fine grey fabric and it was fired in a reducing atmosphere, with a dark-grey varnish. The graffito was made after burning, on top of the rim: three incised straight lines, joining in one point (length = 1.4 cm).

4. *Fruit bowl* (Pl. II/4). Only one fragment from the cup was found. The fruit bowl has a wide everted almost horizontally rim. It is wheel-thrown, made of a fine grey fabric and it was fired in a reducing atmosphere, with a dark-grey varnish. The graffiti was made after firing, on top of the rim: two straight lines crossing approximately through the middle (height = 5 cm).

The fragments with graffiti belong to Dacian vessels made of a quality fabric, well fired, used for liquids or for serving food. All these signs were made after burning. A single graffito was made on the inside wall (no. 2), the other being placed on visible areas of the vessel (when it was in use).

The shapes of the graffiti are similar to some Latin or Greek letters. The signs from the jug with elongated neck (no. 1) are similar to the Latin letter C or the Greek letter C (*lunate sigma*). The circle made on the inside wall (no. 2) is similar to the Latin letter O or the Greek letter O. The three incised straight lines joining in one point (no. 3) are similar to the Latin letter Y or the Greek letter Y. The two straight lines crossing approximately through the middle (no. 4) are similar to the Latin letter X or the Greek letter X.³

Dacian graffiti

During the Dacian Kingdom, the incised letters or letter-like signs were found mainly in the Orăștie Mountains, area of the capital Sarmizegetusa Regia. The graffiti from here were made on ceramic vessels, limestone blocks and metal objects. For the rest of the Dacian Kingdom, the signs were made mostly on ceramic materials.

³ Thompson 1912, 1–7; Guarducci 2005, Allegato 1, 2.

Among the graffiti found at Covasna, the X-like one is the most common in pre-Roman Dacia. In some cases, the signs look more like a cross, with lines that intersect in right angles. Such signs have been incised on different types of vessels, of different sizes: on the bottom (Grădiştea,⁴ Grădiştea de Munte,⁵ Mala Kopanya,⁶ Racoş,⁷ Răcăţău,⁸ Sprâncenata⁹), on the body (Brad,¹⁰ Borduşani,¹¹ Grădiştea,¹² Mereşti¹³, Ocniţa¹⁴, Pietroasele¹⁵, Răcăţău¹⁶), on the rim (Căscioarele,¹⁷ Greaca¹⁸), on the handle (Ocniţa¹⁹) or on the buttons of the lids (Barboşi,²⁰ Grădiştea de Munte²¹) and jars.²²

Rarely, incised signs were made on fruit bowls. Two X-like signs were made on a fruit bowl rim from Căpâlna.²³ An X and a cross were incised on a miniature fruit bowl pedestal from Grădiştea.²⁴ At Pecica, a fruit bowl has a sign similar to the letter M (Greek or Latin) or to the letter Σ;²⁵ the size of the sign is almost the same as the sign on a fruit bowl from Covasna (no. 4).

X-like signs were made on other clay objects, such as game pieces (*tesserae*)²⁶ (including one from Covasna²⁷), spindle whorls,²⁸ firedogs,²⁹ lasts³⁰ and figurines.³¹ Rarely, such signs appear on bone objects.³² There are X-like countermarks on coins that circulated in pre-Roman Dacia.³³ Alone or in combination with other letters, the X was incised on the limestone blocks from the Orăştie Mountains.³⁴

⁴ Sîrbu 1996, 52, Fig. 12/10, 49/1.

⁵ Daicoviciu et alii 1953, 166; Crişan 1969, 155; Glodariu 1974, 166; Florea 2000, Fig. 2/1; Cristescu 2012, Fig. 3/18, 24/a; Cristescu 2014, Pl. 2/2.

⁶ Kotyhoroshko 2015, Pl. 16/4.

⁷ Costea, Savu, Bălos 2008, 159, Pls. II, III.

⁸ Căpitanu 1994, Pl. VII/3.

⁹ Preda 1986, Pl. 15/9.

¹⁰ Ursachi 1995, 200, Pls. 74/1, 275/4.

¹¹ Trohani 2006, 32, Pl. 178/119.

¹² Sîrbu 1996, 52, Figs. 70/9, 72/6.

¹³ Crişan, Ferenczi 1994, Pl. 28/5.

¹⁴ Berciu 1981, Pls. 92/13, 93/3.

¹⁵ Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 67, Fig. 94/1, 2.

¹⁶ Căpitanu 1987, Fig. 27/3.

¹⁷ Trohani 1999, Fig. 56/8.

¹⁸ Sîrbu et alii 1996, 67, Fig. 107/8.

¹⁹ Berciu 1981, Pl. 15/3.

²⁰ Sanie 1988, Pl. 20/8.

²¹ Glodariu 1974, 166; Gheorghiu 2005, Fig. 118/2; Cristescu 2012, Fig. 17/11; Cristescu 2014, Pl. 12/6.

²² Crişan 1969, 208, Pl. CV/8, CVIII/3; Trohani 1999, 62, 81, 105, Figs. 4, 98/1, 126/3.

²³ Glodariu, Moga 1989, 90, Fig. 65/5.

²⁴ Sîrbu 1996, 52, Fig. 68/8.

²⁵ Berzovan 2015, 395, Fig. 2.

²⁶ Sîrbu 1993, Figs. 20/15, 16, 21/4, 5, 22/2–4; Teodor 2011, Fig. 14/2; Berciu et alii 1983, Fig. 1/1, 2/4.

²⁷ Crişan, Sîrbu 1999, Fig. 1/2.

²⁸ Vulpe, Teodor 2003, Fig. 63/1, 8.

²⁹ Costea 2006, Fig. 138/3, 4.

³⁰ Glodariu, Moga 1989, Fig. 73/1.

³¹ Sîrbu 1987, Fig. 8/3.

³² Vulpe, Teodor 2003, Fig. 84/1.

³³ Preda 1973, 397.

³⁴ Glodariu 1997, Figs. 4/23, 5/33.

The other graffiti identified at Covasna appear rarely on Dacian vessels. A sign similar to the letter Y was incised on a vessel from Cetățeni³⁵ and one from Grădiștea de Munte.³⁶ At Grădiștea, two signs similar to the letter X and two similar to the letter Ψ appear in succession on a miniature vessel; one of the latter is more similar to the letter Y.³⁷ The letter Y appears rarely on pottery³⁸ or the limestone blocks³⁹ from the Orăștie Mountains.

A sign similar to the letter C appears on a vessel from Pecica, alongside other signs.⁴⁰ More commonly, incised horizontal arches occur on vessels⁴¹ similar to those from Covasna (no. 1). Letter C appears on some limestone blocks from the Orăștie Mountains, alone or alongside other letters,⁴² the situation with the letter O is the same.⁴³

It is difficult to uniformly explain the utility of Dacian graffiti. The materials on which they are made, the type of objects, the incision sizes, the location on the objects, the discovery contexts, and their chronology are significantly different. Depending on these factors, the interpretation of the signs may differ from one case to another.

An example of this diversity is that of X-type signs. In some cases, this incised sign might be a simple decorative motif. On some vessels, incised X-shaped lines were arranged horizontally or vertically, on the rim and body.⁴⁴ Similar polished decorations, forming a net, were placed on drinking vessels.⁴⁵ A sign similar to the letter X appears on a vessel fragment from Poiana, framed by incised lines;⁴⁶ it could be a part of an elaborate decoration.

X-like signs incised on vessels could be part of a complex figurative composition. Such signs often appear on vessels inside a circle, whether if they are incised, applied⁴⁷ or painted⁴⁸ motifs. The cross inside a circle was considered to be a solar symbol. Many of the objects decorated in this manner were found in cult features or in so-called “magic kits”.⁴⁹ As a result, the signs incised in the central area of ceramic bottoms or those incised on circular buttons were interpreted in this way as well. But the existence of a Dacian solar cult is uncertain. However, the possibility that these signs may be part of a figurative composition should be taken into consideration.

On the bottom of a cup from Ocnița, an X was incised on one side and on the other side a straight line; the walls were decorated with incised fir trees.⁵⁰ It could be an example of a complex figurative composition in which the signs on the bottom should be interpreted

³⁵ Măndescu 2006, 59, Pl. 16/14.

³⁶ Cristescu 2012, 107, no. 268, Fig. 8/4 (considered to be a “T”).

³⁷ Sîrbu 1996, 52, Fig. 40/12.

³⁸ Cristescu 2012, Fig. 8/4, 28/268.

³⁹ Glodariu 1997, Fig. 6/81.

⁴⁰ Berzovan, Olteanu, Pădureanu 2009, Fig. 1/1. We are cautious in what regards this vessel and the interpretation of the signs on it.

⁴¹ Crișan 1969, Pl. CVII/6.

⁴² Glodariu 1997, Figs. 4/18–20, 6/69, 79.

⁴³ Glodariu 1997, Fig. 5/14, 15, 25, 26; 6/70, 71, 76.

⁴⁴ Buzilă 1970, Fig. 3/2; Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, Fig. 94/1.

⁴⁵ Crișan 1969, Pl. CXIV/4.

⁴⁶ Beldiman 1990, 149, Fig. 4/19.

⁴⁷ Casan-Fraga 1967, 7–35.

⁴⁸ Florea 1998, 193–194.

⁴⁹ Sîrbu 1993, 129–175.

⁵⁰ Berciu et alii 1984, Fig. 8.

along with the decoration on the walls. Obviously, it is difficult to determine the meaning of a singular X-shaped sign without understanding the whole figurative representation (if it has been preserved).

The jug from Covasna was incised on the neck with two horizontal arches (no. 1). It is possible that the two C-like signs located on the curved wall have the same (unknown) meaning. The two C-like signs could be two other arches, of similar sizes, but arranged and rendered slightly differently. Or, all these (different) representations could be part of a figurative composition that includes the entire vessel. Incised arches arranged horizontally (2–4) were found in other Dacian sites, often associated with other incised motifs (Bâtca Doamnei,⁵¹ Ocnița,⁵² Sânsimion,⁵³ Sprâncenata⁵⁴). Most likely, their interpretation should take into account the entire repertory of motives represented on those vessels.

If the graffiti are in fact graphic signs, their reading is difficult.⁵⁵ Whether they are Greek or Latin letters, the language behind these graphic signs is uncertain: Dacian, Latin or Greek. At the same time, the authors of these signs are difficult to identify. The actual presence of Greeks or Romans in the Dacian sites is easily to assume but difficult to prove.

The presence of Greek or Latin letters in the Dacian world fits the general context of the period, with many connections between the Dacian Kingdom and the Pontic and Mediterranean spaces. In the case of the Covasna site, these connections are reflected by the discovery of both Greek and Roman materials.⁵⁶ Some of these imported materials come from the same archaeological context as the graffiti (Edifice I).

Some of these graffiti might be monograms or names' initials. It is difficult to establish if these names were Dacian, Latin or Greek, especially if it is just one letter.⁵⁷ Some vessels with graffiti discovered in Dacian sites are of Greek origin or imitate Greek forms (Brad,⁵⁸ Merești,⁵⁹ Ocnița,⁶⁰ Pietroasele⁶¹). The presence of Greek vessels does not automatically indicate the presence of Greeks in these sites. But some of these vessels may have arrived in Dacian sites already incised with graffiti.

The graffiti on Dacian pottery can be considered to be potter's marks.⁶² That means manufacture of serial products, special vessels or even unique pots. At Covasna, vessels almost identical (shape, fabric, firing) to those marked with signs were found in the same context (Edifice I). Moreover, similar incised vessels were not discovered in other features of the site. Therefore, the signs from Covasna are unlikely to be potters marks.

Monograms or initials incised on vessels could indicate property.⁶³ The graffiti from Covasna were found in a most likely public edifice. There are many examples in the Greek

⁵¹ Buzilă 1970, Fig. 23/5.

⁵² Berciu 1981, Pl. 82/3.

⁵³ Beldiman, Szoncz 1992, 259–260, Pl. III/3.

⁵⁴ Preda 1986, Pl. XIV/5.

⁵⁵ Glodariu 1974, 166; Florea 2000, 274.

⁵⁶ Pupeză, Găzduc, Zăgreanu 2009, 64–67; Crișan, Sirbu 2010, 272, Pl. 9.

⁵⁷ Florea 2000, 274–275.

⁵⁸ Ursachi 1995, 200.

⁵⁹ Crișan, Ferenczi 1994, Pl. 28/5.

⁶⁰ Berciu 1981, Pl. 92/13.

⁶¹ Dupoi, Sirbu 2001, 67, Fig. 94/2.

⁶² Glodariu 1974, 166; Florea 2000, 277; Cristescu 2018, 15–33.

⁶³ Florea 2000, 276–277; Cristescu, Suci-Mateescu 2016, 24.

and Roman world where, in public buildings, differentiation between users was made by such graffiti.⁶⁴ The Dacian fruit bowls of large sizes were “table-vessels” probably used by several table-companions.⁶⁵ The fruit bowls with graffiti from Covasna have the cups diameter of 28 cm (no. 3) and 46 cm (no. 4). At least the larger one was probably use for several table-companions.

If Edifice I is a temple, the signs might suggest the name of the devotee or the name of the divinity to which the dedication was made.⁶⁶ It is worth mentioning that at Covasna, in usage / filling levels of Edifice I, there were many fruit bowls of the same types and sizes of those with signs (no. 3 and no. 4). Only marking the two distinguishes them from the others.

The pottery fragments with graffiti were interpreted in the Greek world as *ostraka*. One graffito from Covasna was made on the inside wall (no. 2), most likely after the vessel was broken. Probably not coincidentally, the sign occupies the centre of the fragment. Similar fragments, with signs on the inside of the vessels, were found in other Dacian sites, too.⁶⁷ But the sizes of the fragments with graffiti from Covasna are relatively large. The two fruit bowl fragments (no. 3 and no. 4) are about 20 × 10 cm. The jug wall (no. 2) is about 15 × 8 cm. Moreover, the upper part of the vessel with elongate neck (no. 1) has been preserved almost entirely. The pottery fragments used as *ostraka* in the Greek world are considerably smaller in size and frequently have whole names incised.⁶⁸ Anyway, we lack strong evidences of such practices in the Dacian world.

Some Greek and Latin letters can have numerical values. In the Roman system, X = 10 and C = 100. There are two ways for Greeks to assign numeric values to letters: acrophonic (decimal, Attic) and alphabetical (Milesian). In the acrophonic system X = 1000. In the alphabetical system C = 3, O = 70, X = 600, and Y = 400. Greek letters were also used in the price system, where C = a half obol and X = an eighth of an obol.⁶⁹ If such notation were used in the Dacian Kingdom, it is difficult to determine what these numbers represented: capacities, weights or prices.⁷⁰ For the vessels from Covasna, the contents and capacities are unknown (given the fragmentation state in which they were found).

A *tamga* sign

In the area of Edifice I, another potsherd with an incised sign was found,⁷¹ which only partially belongs to the aforementioned category:

5. *Bi-conical vessel* (Pl. II/5). Only one fragment was found, from a small size vessel, with curved walls and an everted rim. It is wheel-thrown, made of a fine grey fabric and it was fired in a reducing atmosphere. The sign was made before firing, under the rim:

⁶⁴ Lang 1976, 51–52; Stolba 2002, 234; Guarducci 2005, 359–378.

⁶⁵ Cristescu, Suciu-Mateescu 2016, 24.

⁶⁶ Lang 1976, 52–55; Stolba 2002, 229; Guarducci 2005, 254–258; Florea 2000, 277.

⁶⁷ Dupoi, Sirbu 2000, 67, Fig. 95/2, 3.

⁶⁸ Lang 1976, 16–17; Guarducci 2000, 232–236.

⁶⁹ Thompson 1912, 91–92; Lang 1976, 21–23, 55–81; Stolba 2002, 234–236; Guarducci 2000, 84–87.

⁷⁰ Glodariu 1974, 166; Florea 2000, 275; Cristescu, Suciu-Mateescu 2016, 25.

⁷¹ We want to thank our colleague Vitalie Bărcă for the analogies found for this sign and for the suggestions regarding their interpretation.

two vertical lines curved at the lower ends, with an arch in between at the upper ends (height = 2.3 cm).

The incised sign is most likely a *tamga*.⁷² Similar but not identical signs were discovered at Dumbrava⁷³ and Holboca⁷⁴, dated in 3rd – 4th centuries AD. In these cases (a clay vessel and a bronze mirror, both Sarmatian), the signs have two lines curved at the lower ends with a straight line in between uniting the upper ends. The sign also appears in the composition of more elaborated *tamga* signs from Dacian sites.⁷⁵

Signs of this type are relatively rare in the Sarmatian sites.⁷⁶ On the iron spears from Rozwadów⁷⁷ and Zadovitse,⁷⁸ this kind of sign is represented alone or as part of other *tamgas*. When appearing in elaborate compositions, the sign is also represented upward, resembling some horns.⁷⁹ In the case of the Zadovitse spear, the sign is in the same position as the one from Covasna, having on the upper part a fir tree (which is often found in the Dacian world). Most likely, this type of *tamga* in the Sarmatian world indicates property, sometimes in a very restrictive way.

In the Sarmatian world, there are signs similar to the letter O, X (cross) or Y as well, on various materials including ceramics.⁸⁰ Sometimes these *tamga* signs have one or all arched extremities. An incised X-like sign with two arched ends was made on a Dacian jug from Jigodin.⁸¹ A similar sign with only one arched extremity was discovered at Pecica.⁸² Also, a sign similar to the letter Y, but with an arched lower end was found at Sânsimion⁸³.

The presence of *tamga* signs in the Dacian world can be a result of the connections with the Sarmatian space. Most of the *tamga* signs were discovered in the eastern part of Dacia.⁸⁴ The presence of *tamga* signs at Covasna and its surroundings (Cernat,⁸⁵ Jigodin,⁸⁶ Sânsimion⁸⁷) could be related to the location of this area, a link between the Carpathian Basin and the East Carpathian space.

The most *tamga* signs found in the Dacian sites were incised on Dacian vessels. It is difficult to determine if these signs had the same utility as in their origin area or the signs acquired new meanings in the Dacian world.⁸⁸ In the case of simple signs (as O, X or Y), it is not certain if they are part of the same phenomenon. For example, X-like letters incised in a circle were discovered in the Sarmatian world,⁸⁹ but also in the Celtic world (including

⁷² Sirbu, Oța 2019.

⁷³ Sanie, Sanie 2011, Fig. 12/11.

⁷⁴ Beldiman 1990, Fig. 5/17.

⁷⁵ Beldiman 1990, Fig. 1.

⁷⁶ Solomonik 1959, 168; Drachuk 1975, Tab. V, VI; Yatsenko 2001, Fig. 3, 5–7.

⁷⁷ Solomonik 1959, 44, Pl. VIII; Drachuk 1975, Tab. XIX; Yatsenko, Dobzhan'ska 2012, Fig. 2/1.

⁷⁸ Yatsenko, Dobzhan'ska 2012, Fig. 2/2.

⁷⁹ Solomonik 1959, 21.

⁸⁰ Solomonik 1959, 169; Drachuk 1975, Tab. II, III, XI; Yatsenko 2001, Fig. 5/ 47, 60.

⁸¹ Crișan, Gheorghiu, Popescu 2004, Pl. 17/2.

⁸² Grumeza 2018, Fig. 1/1b, Pl. 1/1, 2/1–4.

⁸³ Beldiman 1990, 149, Fig. 4/10.

⁸⁴ Beldiman 1990, 139–151.

⁸⁵ Crișan 2000, Pl. 68/2.

⁸⁶ Crișan, Gheorghiu, Popescu 2004, 116–118, Pl. 17/2.

⁸⁷ Beldiman, Szoncz 1992, 259–266.

⁸⁸ Beldiman 1990, 139–151; Sirbu, Oța 2019.

⁸⁹ Drachuk 1975, Tab. IX/ 809, 810, XX/125, 126.

here the Carpathian Basin discoveries⁹⁰). Such signs were also found on the bottom of Bastarnic vessels found east of the Carpathians.⁹¹

A very close analogy for the incised sign from Covasna appears on a Dacian painted vessels from Grădiștea de Munte. On the fragment of a pyriform vessel, such a representation was painted in red, under the rim, using double lines and dots.⁹² Similar paint decorations appear on other vessels from the site, as well.⁹³

Cursive writing?

In the 1943 campaign from Covasna, another fragment with incised signs was found, but its exact discovery context is not certain:

6. *Jug / bi-conical vessel / amphora* (Pl. II/6). A few fragments from a medium size vessel with slightly curved walls were found. Some potsherds (possible from the same vessel) bear the print of a handle. It is wheel-thrown, made of a fine reddish fabric, and it was fired in an oxidation atmosphere. The fabric and colour are not typical for the Dacian pottery found at Covasna. It might be a particular case of a Dacian vessel, but it might be also an imported vessel (Roman amphora?). The signs were made before firing, on the exterior of the wall: points and straight, oblique or curved lines (height: 0.30–1.30 cm).

The signs seem to be part of a partially preserved inscription. No signs were found on the fragments of the respective recipient. The position of the inscription on the vessel appears to be approximately horizontal, taking as a mark the fingers traces from the manufacturing process on the inside wall of the fragment.

The inscription seems to be made with cursive Latin letters.⁹⁴ From left to right, the first sign is a line curved at the ends that could be the letter *S*. After this sign, it seems that a point was incised (*interpunctus*?). It follows a sign similar to the first, which could also be considered as *S*, even if it is interrupted by 2 (3?) points. The two oblique unequal lines (?) could be the letter *e* or *a*. The following sign, a slightly curved line at the bottom, can be read as the letter *l*. The last preserved part of the inscription is difficult to read: the two oblique lines (?) could be the letter *a* or *e*. In the upper side of the last sign, a thin line was incised. Its shape is similar to that of the sign considered to be the letter *l*. The depth and thickness of the line are different than the other signs. If it's also a letter, it might be a previous, subsequent or different writing.

The best known inscription with Latin letters from Dacia was found at Grădiștea de Munte: the vessel with the stamps DECEBALVS PER SCORILO.⁹⁵ In the same site, another inscription with Latin letters was discovered on a Dacian bowl. Incised after firing, the text is in cursive Latin and was read as a *tria nomina*: P LABI RVFINI (*Publius Labius Rufinus*).⁹⁶ Groups of Latin letters (REB, BVR) were incised on Dacian vessels at

⁹⁰ Zirra 1978, Fig. 6/30.

⁹¹ Babeș 1993, Taf. 10/117, 46/5.

⁹² Florea 1998, 161–162, Pl. 42, 58/8, 9; Gheorghiu 2005, Fig. 141/1; Cristescu 2012, Fig. 15/6; Cristescu 2014, Pl. 10/1, 2.

⁹³ Florea, Palko 1991, 42–52, Pl. II/1, 4; III/1.

⁹⁴ CIL III 2, Tab. A; IDR I, fig. 79. We want to thank our colleagues Eugenia Beu-Dachin, Sorin Nemeti, Dan Dana and Florian Matei-Popescu who saw the inscription and gave us suggestions for its reading.

⁹⁵ Daicoviciu et alii 1955, 201–202, Fig. 8, 9.

⁹⁶ Florea 2001, 183–185, Pl. 2/3; ILD I 303.

Ocnița.⁹⁷ At Divici, a Latin inscription was made on the rim of a Dacian lid.⁹⁸ On a fruit bowl from Piscul Crăsani a possible name was incised with Latin letters, SILVAN SAX (*Siluanus Saxa*).⁹⁹ An inscription with Latin letters is mentioned to be found at Cladova, on a spindle whorl¹⁰⁰. It is worth mentioning here, given the location (south-eastern Transylvania, as the site of Covasna) the discovery of a pottery fragment incised with the Latin letter R from Leliceni.¹⁰¹ In the same area, at Cuciulata, a Dacian jug was found, incised after firing with a sign similar to the Greek letter Λ (*lambda*).¹⁰²

A vessel from Ocnița bears an inscription with Greek letters made before firing: BACIA[---] ΘΙΑΜΑΡΚΟC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (*Basil[eôs] Thiamarcos epoiei*).¹⁰³ An inscription made before burning on a Dacian vessel from Cârломănești seems to be similar. The inscription is partially preserved: [---]leôs B[---].¹⁰⁴ Groups of Greek letters were incised on Dacian vessels found at Cetățeni,¹⁰⁵ Grădiște,¹⁰⁶ Grădiștea de Munte,¹⁰⁷ Pietroasele¹⁰⁸ or Pecica.¹⁰⁹

Following these examples, we can assume that a name was incised on the vessel from Covasna. The letter S could be an abbreviation of a first name. The other part of the inscription could be completed with names like *Sele(ucus/ucia)* or *Sele(ne)*. However, some features of the signs make their unitary reading difficult. The letters seem to be cut (overlaid) by a series of deep dots, arranged in a relatively straight line. The most obvious case is that of the second letter S. The role of these dots cannot be specified (a separation of rows?). The signs do not have the same depth. The upper part of the letter l is thinner than the lower part. A similar sign, just as thin, appears above the last letter (another letter?).

The missing discovery context of the vessel, its exact form or content and the lack of clarity of some signs make all our assumptions only hypothetical.

Graphic signs or just signs

The graffiti found at Covasna are part of a wider phenomenon. The materials with incised signs are diverse and relatively numerous in Dacia. In some cases, the graffiti were probably simple signs, with a decorative role; others play a part in large figurative compositions that are difficult to decipher. Some graffiti could be in fact letters. But we lack important details to determine their meaning (authors, alphabet, content or capacity of the vessels). Often the discovery contexts of the materials with graffiti are unknown; so their chronology is uncertain.

⁹⁷ Berciu 1979, 488–496, Figs. 4/1, 2, 4; 5/1, 2; 6/1–4. These discoveries should be treated with caution because their authenticity was questioned.

⁹⁸ Gumă, Luca, Săcărîn 1987, 213–214.

⁹⁹ Conovici 1981, Fig. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Boroneanț 1978, 142, Pl. 8/1.

¹⁰¹ Berciu 1979, Fig. 8/2.

¹⁰² Bichir 1969, 134, Fig. 7/1, 8/5.

¹⁰³ Berciu 1979, 481–487, Fig. 1, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Babeș et alii 2004, 76–77, Fig. 16; Matei 2009, 96, 100.

¹⁰⁵ Măndescu 2006, 59, Pl. 16/17.

¹⁰⁶ Sîrbu 1996, 52, Fig. 91/4,5; 95/4,5.

¹⁰⁷ Florea 2000, Fig. 4/3.

¹⁰⁸ Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 67, Fig. 95/2, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Berzovan, Olteanu, Pădureanu 2009, 274–284.

In the particular case of Covasna, additional information about the graffiti will be provided when the research in Edifice I will be finished. The material associations, the chronology and especially the functionality of the feature are key elements in the interpretation of the graffiti found here.

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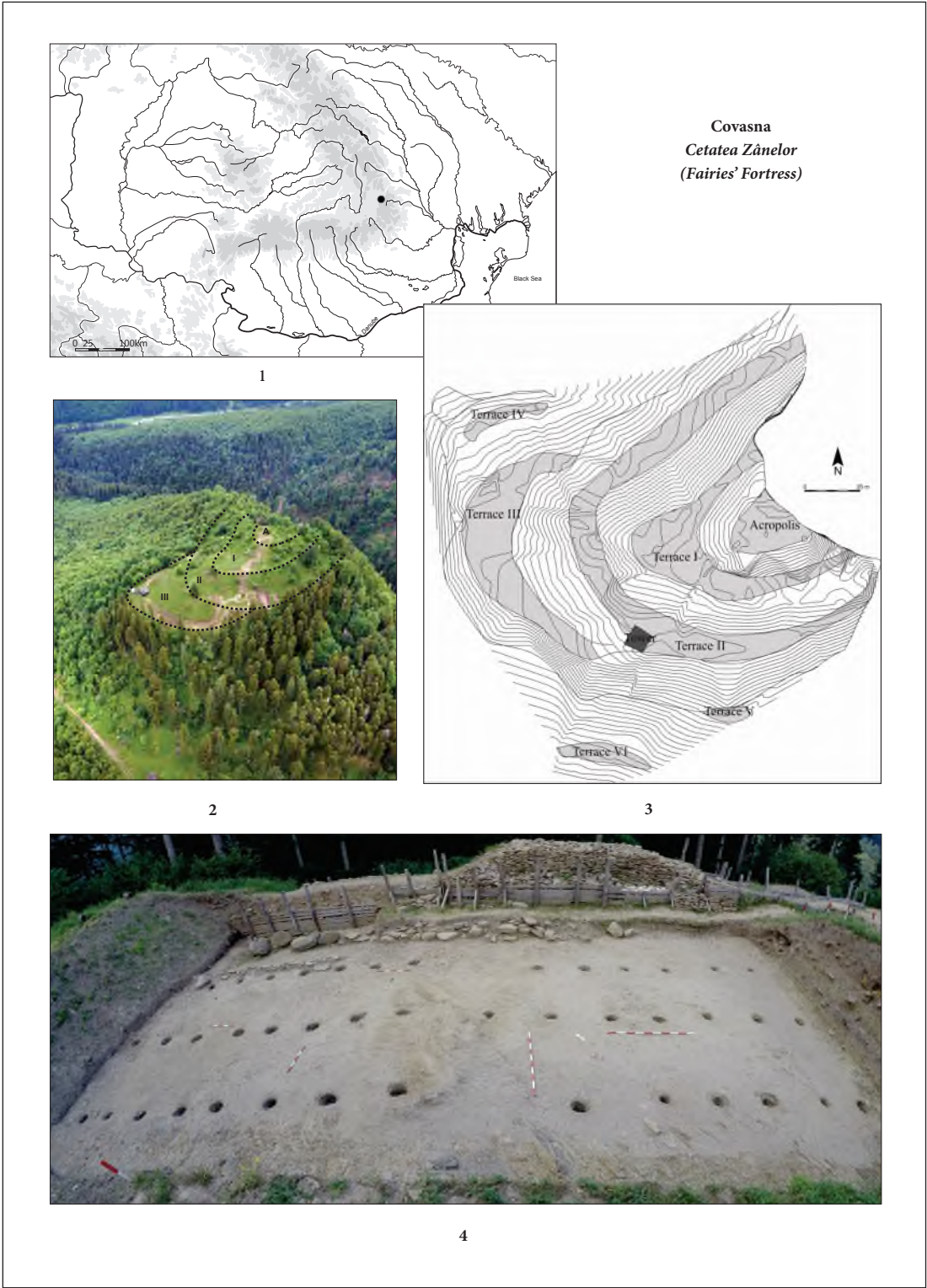
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Pl. I. Covasna – Cetatea Zânelor – the site. **1.** Location; **2.** Arial view (after D. Ștefan); **3.** Topographical map (made by Z. Bede); **4.** Edifices with wooden pillars (photo by the authors).

FRAGMENTARISCHE MILITÄRDIPLOME AUS DER ZEIT VON DOMITIAN BIS COMMODUS*

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

Abstract: A total of thirteen fragments of *diplomata militaria* are published. They date from the period between Domitian and Commodus: one each from the reign of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Commodus, and two each from the reign of Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. But five alone date back to Hadrian, including the first he issued for the army of Egypt. There are two each for the troops of Moesia inferior and Pannonia superior, one each for Dacia inferior, Aegyptus and either for an Italian fleet or the Praetorians. Six more are for auxiliary troops, but remain unknown for which province.

Keywords: *Diplomata militaria* for Pannonia superior, Moesia inferior, Dacia inferior, Aegyptus; *auxilia*.

Zusammenfassung: Insgesamt dreizehn Fragmente von *diplomata militaria* werden publiziert. Sie stammen aus der Zeit zwischen Domitian und Commodus: je eines aus der Regierungszeit von Domitian, Nerva, Traian und Commodus; je zwei wurden unter Pius sowie unter Marcus und Verus ausgestellt. Allein fünf aber gehen auf Hadrian zurück, darunter das erste, das für das Heer von Ägypten bestimmt war. Je zwei sind für die Truppen von Moesia inferior sowie Pannonia superior bestimmt, je eines für Dacia inferior, Aegyptus sowie entweder für eine italische Flotte oder die Prätorianer. Sechs weitere gelten für Auxiliartruppen, doch bleibt unbekannt für welche Provinz.

Schlüsselwörter: *Diplomata militaria* für Pannonia superior, Moesia inferior, Dacia inferior, Aegyptus; *auxilia*.

Rezumat: Sunt publicate aici treisprezece fragmente de diplome militare. Ele datează din perioada dintre Domițian și Commodus: câte una de pe vremea domniei lui Domițian, Nerva, Traian și Commodus, iar câte două din timpul domniei lui Pius, Marcus Aurelius și Lucius Verus. Doar cinci datează de pe vremea lui Hadrian, inclusiv prima pe care a emis-o pentru armata Egiptului. Sunt două pentru trupele Moesiei inferior și Panoniei superior, iar câte una pentru Dacia inferior, Egipt și una fie pentru o flotă italiană, fie pentru pretorienii. Încă șase sunt destinate trupelor auxiliare, dar nu știm pentru ce provincii.

Cuvinte cheie: diplome militare pentru Pannonia superior, Moesia inferior, Dacia inferior, Egipt; *auxilia*.

1. Konstitution Domitians für eine unbekannte Provinz aus dem Jahr 96.

Fragment aus der linken Mitte einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links erhalten; den Rahmen bildet eine dreifache Linie. Die Stelle, an der die Schutzhülle für die Siegel angelötet war, ist deutlich sichtbar.

* Für hilfreiche Hinweise danken wir Paul Holder und Florian Matei-Popescu.

Maße: Höhe: 10 cm, Breite 10.2 cm, Dicke: 1.5 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 6 mm, innen: 5 mm. Gewicht 86 Gramm.

Folgendes ist lesbar (Abb. 1 und 2):



1



2

Innenseite:

[EMERITIS STIPENDIIS QVORVM NOMINA SVB]
 [SC]RIPTA SV[NT IPSI]S LI[BERIS POSTERISQVE]
 EORVM CIVITATEM DEDI[T ET CONVBIVM CVM]
 VXORIBVS QVAS TV NC H[ABVISSENT]
 CVM EST CIVITAS IIOS D[ATA AVT SI QVI]
 CAELIBES ESSENT CVM I[IS QVAS POS]
 TEA DVXISSENT DV[MTAXAT SIN]
 GVLI SINGVLAS

vacat

A	D	VII	ID [--]
[Q]		FABIO	[POSTVMINO]
[T]		PRIFERNIO	[PAETO COS]
--]DELMATARVM	[CVI PRAEST]
--]SERVI	[LIANVS]
--		EXPE]DITE	● [--]
--]S[--]	

Außenseite:

--]	●
--]	
--]LI	[--]
P CAVLI	[--]
Q IVLIANI	[--]
L PVLLI	[--]
P ATINI	● [--]
--]	

Die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, wurde von Domitian erlassen. Das zeigt der Rest der Namen der beiden Konsuln Q. Fabius Postuminus und T. Prifernius Paetus, die im Jahr 96 vom 1. Mai bis zum 31. August amtierten, wie die Fasti Ostienses zeigen.¹ Das genaue Datum des Diploms lässt sich allerdings mit dem allein erhaltenen *a(nte) d(iem) VII id(us)* nicht ermitteln; es könnte innerhalb der vier Monate der 9. Mai, der 7. Juni, der 9. Juli oder der 7. August sein.

Vom Namen des Diplomempfängers ist in der letzten Zeile der Innenseite nur ein S (kaum ein O) zu lesen; er hatte in einer Einheit gedient, die den Namen *Delmatarum* trug, deren Kommandeur das Cognomen Servi[lianus] führte. Der Präfekt ist bisher unbekannt.

In dem Zeitraum, in den das Diplom gehört, sind mehrere Kohorten mit dem Namen *Delmatarum* bekannt; es sind folgende:

Name	Provinz	Beleg
I Delmatarum	Britannia	Spaul 302 f.
II Delmatarum	Britannia	Spaul 304
III Delmatarum	Germania superior	Spaul 305
IIII Delmatarum	Britannia	Spaul 307
V Delmatarum	Germania superior	Spaul 309
V Delmatarum	Mauretania Tingitana	Spaul 308
I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum	Germania inferior	RGZM 9; AE 2013, 2192

Nur eine einzige, die *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum* kann nicht mit der auf dem Diplom genannten identisch sein; denn der Platz vor [--]elmatarum reicht nicht aus, um dort, wie es nötig wäre, *coh. I Pannoniorum et* unterzubringen. Doch ergibt sich aus dem erhaltenen Text offensichtlich kein Kriterium, um das Diplom einem Soldaten aus einer der anderen Einheiten zuzuweisen. Die Zuweisung an eine Provinz muss damit unterbleiben.

Es sind mehrere Siegelzeugen bekannt, die Gentilizia tragen, wie sie auf der Außenseite erhalten sind; doch lässt sich allein mit dem Gentile keiner mit Sicherheit identifizieren, da sowohl P. Caulii als auch L. Pullii und P. Atinii mit verschiedenen Cognomina in den Diplomen dieser Zeitepoche erscheinen.² Man könnte aber, wie uns Paul Holder schrieb, folgende Überlegungen hinsichtlich der Identifizierung anstellen:

P. Caulius Gemellus (93–105) oder P. Caulius Vitalis (94–123) eher als P. Caulius Restitutus (97?–107?)

L. Pullius Speratus (79–100); L. Pullius Trophimus (96–112) oder L. Pullius Verecundus (79–129) eher als L. Pullius Epaphroditus (98–99) und L. Pullius Heracla (94).

P. Atinius Amerimnus (82–113) oder P. Atinius Trophimus (99–114) eher als P. Atinii mit den Cognomina Crescens (115–121), Florus (118–114/129), Hedonicus (103) oder Rufus (74–84).

Der Text der Innenseite lässt sich so rekonstruieren:

¹ Die Reihenfolge der Konsuln in diesem Diplom entspricht der in den Fasti Ostienses; in RMD I 6 findet man die umgekehrte Reihenfolge: *a(nte) d(iem) III Idus Iulias / T(ito) Prifernio Paeto Q(uinto) Fabio Postumino co(n)s(ulibus)*.

² Siehe RMD V 939 ff.

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Vespasiani f(ilius) Domitianus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XV, imp(erator) XXII, co(n)s(ul) XVII, censor perpetuus, p(ater) p(atriciae)]

equitibus et peditibus qui militant in alis? -- et cohortibus -- et -- Delmatarum --, quae sunt in -- sub --, qui quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerunt, item dimissis honesta missione emeritis stipendiis, quorum nomina sub/sc[r]ipta su[nt, ipsi]s lib[eris posterisque] / eorum civitatem dedi[t et conubium cum] / uxoribus, quas tunc h[ab]uissent, / cum est civitas iis d[ata aut, si qui] / caelibes essent, cum i[is, quas pos]tea duxissent, du[m]taxat sin]guli singulas. / A(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) [-- / Q(uinto)] Fabio [Postumino / T(ito)] Prifernio [Paeto co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) --] Delmatarum, [cui prae(e)st / ---] Servi[lianus / expe]dite / [--]S[--].

Außenseite:

[--]li [--]; / P(ubli) Cauli [--]; / Q(uinti) Iuliani [--]; / L(uci) Pulli [--]; / P(ubli) Atini [--].

2. Eine weitere Kopie aus einer Konstitution Nervas für das Heer von Moesia superior aus dem Jahr 97.

Von tabella II eines Diploms sind zwei kleine nicht aneinander passende Fragmente erhalten. Beide sind ringsum gebrochen.

Maße: Das größere Fragment: Höhe 4.7 cm, Breite 3.7 cm; das kleinere Fragment: Höhe 3 cm, Breite 2.7 cm; Dicke 1 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 6 mm, innen 5 mm. Gewicht zusammen 17.9 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 3 und 4):





4

Außenseite:

[? C DOMITI] REST[ITVTI]
 [--] AGAT[HOPI]
 [TI CLAVDI HERM]ETIS

Innenseite:

[SINGVLI SINGVLA]S AD V[-- ID] IANVAR
 [IMP NERVA CAESARE] A[VG III L] VERGIN[IO RVFO III COS]

Das Diplom, das unter Nerva ausgegeben wurde, lässt sich über den Namen des L. Verginius Rufus, der zusammen mit Nerva die *fascēs* führte, – in Kombination mit den Zeugen – ins Jahr 97 datieren, und zwar in den Zeitraum vom 6.–9. Januar. Denn eine Zeitangabe im Januar mit *A(nte) d(iem) V* kann sich nur auf die Iden beziehen, da bei Bezug auf die Nonen maximal die Ziffer IV stehen könnte.

Die Cognomina von drei Zeugen sind partiell lesbar: Restitutus, Agathopus und wohl Hermes. Sie stimmen mit dem überein, was von den Zeuggenamen in CIL XVI 41 erhalten ist: *[Ti. Claudi] Proti*;³ / [--] *Restituti*; / [--] *Agathopi*; / [--] *Hermetis*; / [--] *Nymphodoti*.

Einige dieser Zeuggenamen in CIL XVI 41 und in dem neuen Diplom lassen sich vervollständigen: *Restituti* könnte am ehesten mit *C(ai) Domitii Restituti* zusammengehen, bezeugt in RMD III 142 aus dem Jahr 100, oder, weniger wahrscheinlich, mit *P(ubli) Cauli Restituti*, angeführt in mehreren Diplomen aus dem Jahr 105.⁴ *Hermetis* erscheint ebenfalls in RMD III 142 von 100 n.Chr., dort als *Ti(beri) Claudi Hermeti(s)*. Der Name *Agathopi* ist auch in einem Diplomfragment vom Jahr 98 zu lesen, allerdings ohne Gentile (ZPE 209, 2019, 254).

³ In CIL XVI 41 wird nur *Pro[--]* gelesen, doch ist das Cognomen deutlich als *Proti* zu erkennen, wie das Photo bei EDCS–12300245 zeigt. Der volle Name dürfte *Ti(beri) Claudi Proti* lauten; denn Protus kommt sonst nur noch einmal in RMD III 142 aus dem Jahr 100 eben in dieser Verbindung vor.

⁴ So z.B. in RMD I 9 = RGZM 12, ebenso in CIL XVI 50.

Auch CIL XVI 41 ist in den Januar 97 datiert: [--] Ianuar(ias) / [Imp(eratore) Nerva Caes(are) Aug(usto) II]I, L(ucio) Verginio Rufo III co(n)s(ulibus). Da in dieser Zeit die Zeugen nur bei Diplomen derselben Konstitution identisch sind, geht das neue Diplom auf dieselbe Konstitution wie CIL XVI 41 zurück; es wurde für Moesia superior ausgestellt, wie es vor einiger Zeit vorgeschlagen wurde.⁵ Dort ist Iulius Marius Celsus als Statthalter genannt, der damit auch in dieses Fragment integriert werden muss.

Der Text lässt sich somit auf der Innenseite folgendermaßen rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Nerva Caesar Augustus pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestat(e), co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae)

equitibus et peditibus, qui militant in alis -- et cohortibus --, quae appellantur ---, quae sunt in Moesia superiore sub Iulio Mario Celso,

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 essent, cum iis, quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singula]s.

A(nte) d(iem VII[--] Ianuar(ias) / [Imp(eratore) Nerva Caes(are) Aug(usto) III, L(ucio)] Vergini[o Rufo III co(n)s(ulibus)].

Außenseite:

[--]; / [Ti. Claudii Proti]; / [? C(ai) Domitii] Rest[ituti]; / [--] Agat[hopi]; / [?Ti(beri) Claudii Herm]etis; / [--] Nymphodoti].

3. Eine Konstitution Traians für die Truppen von Moesia inferior vom 13. Mai 105.

Erhalten ist die rechte Hälfte einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist oben, rechts und unten erhalten. Eine einfache Doppellinie umrahmt die Tafel auf der Außenseite.

Maße: Höhe 13.3 cm, Breite 7 cm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 5 und 6):



5



6

⁵ Siehe Fl. Matei-Popescu, Eph. Napocensis 16/17, 2006/7, 39 ff. und W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 177, 2011, 259 ff.; auch P. Weiß, ZPE 171, 2009, 231 ff. hat Moesia superior, wenn auch zögernd für möglich gehalten.

Außenseite:

[TI IVLI] VRBANI
 [Q POMPEI] HOMERI
 [P CAVLI] RESTITVTI
 [P ATINI] AMERIMNI
 [M IVLI] CLEMENTIS
 [TI IVLI] EVPHEMI
 [P CAVLI] VITALIS

*Innenseite:*

[ET CONVBIVM CVM VX]ORIBVS QVAS TVNC ●
 [HABVISSENT CVM EST C]IVITAS IIS DATA AVT
 [SI QVI CAELIB ESSEN]T CVM IIS QVAS POS
 [TEA DVXISSENT DVMTA]XAT SINGVLI SINGV
 [LAS A D I]II ID MAI
 [C IVLIO] BASSO
 [CN AFRANIO] DEXTRO COS
 [ALAE GALLORVM FLAVI]ANAE CVI PRAEST
 [--] PRIMVS
 [-- GREGALI/EXGREGALE]
 [--]+RI F BESSO
 [--]LIAE VXORI EIVS
 [ET --]F EIVS
 [ET --]F EIVS
 [ET--]FILIAE EIVS
 [DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNIT]VM EX TABVLA AE
 [NEA QVAE FIXA EST RO]MAE *vacat*
 [] *vacat*
 [] *vacat*

Das Diplomfragment lässt den Konsulat von C. Iulius Bassus und Cn. Afranius Dexter, Suffektkonsuln im Jahr 105 erkennen, ebenso das Tages- und Monatsdatum, kurz vor den Iden des Mai. Diese Daten finden sich in einer Reihe anderer Diplome; es sind folgende:

CIL XVI 50	Moesia inferior
RMD I 8	Moesia inferior
AE 2004, 1256 = RMD VI 514	Moesia inferior
RGZM 10 = RMD VI 512	Moesia inferior
RGZM 11 = RMD VI 513	Moesia inferior
AE 2008, 1720 = RMD VII 691	Moesia inferior
CIL XVI 51	Britannia

Fast alle betreffen Moesia inferior und zeigen als Datum *a.d. III idus Maias*, was mit dem Rest des Monatsdatums des neuen Diploms übereinstimmt. In allen Diplomen

für Moesia inferior erscheinen dieselben Zeugen: *Ti(beri) Iuli Urbani*; *Q(uinti) Pompei Homeri*; *P(ubli) Cauli Restituti*; *P(ubli) Atini Amerimni*; *M(arci) Iuli Clementis*; *Ti(beri) Iuli Euphemi*; *P(ubli) Cauli Vitalis*. Die Cognomina in dem neuen Diplomfragment stimmen mit diesen Zeuggennamen überein. Damit gehört das Fragment ebenfalls zu einer der drei Konstitutionen vom 13. Mai 105, in denen als Statthalter A. Caecilius Faustinus angeführt ist. Denn die oben angeführten sechs Diplome betreffen zwar alle das Heer von Niedermösien, doch verteilen sie sich auf drei gleichzeitig ausgegebene Konstitutionen.

Das aktuelle Diplom wurde für die *ala Gallorum Flaviana* ausgestellt; es gehört damit zu der Konstitution, auf die auch CIL XVI 50 zurückgeht. Kommandeur der *ala* war ein Präfekt, von dessen Namen nur das Cognomen Primus noch auf dem Fragment steht. Er ist unbekannt.⁶

Der Text lässt sich folgendermaßen rekonstruieren:⁷

Innenseite tabella I:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) VIII, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae)]

equitibus et peditibus, qui militant in alis tribus et cohortibus septem, quae appellantur I Claudia Gallorum et I Vespasiana Dardanorum et Gallorum Flaviana et I Flavia Commagenorum et I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica et II Lucensium et II Flavia Bessorum et sunt in Moesia inferiore sub A(ulo) Caecilio Faustino, qui quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerunt, item dimissis honesta missione,

quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit / et conubium cum ux]oribus, quas tunc / [habuissent, cum est c]ivitas iis data aut, / [si qui caelibes essen]t, cum iis, quas pos/[tea duxissent, dumta]xat singuli singu/[las.

Ante) d(iem) I]II Id(us) Mai(as) / [C(aio) Iulio] Basso, / [Cn(aeo) Afranio] Dextro co(n)s(ulibus). /

[Alae Gallorum Flavi]anae, cui praefuit / [--] Primus / [gregali oder exgregale] / [--]+ri f(ilio) Besso / [--f]iliae uxori eius / [--] f(ilio) eius / [--] f(ilio) eius / [--] filiae eius. /

[Descriptum et recognit]um ex tabula ae/[nea, quae fixa est Ro]mae.

Außenseite:

[Ti(beri) Iuli] Urbani; [Q(uinti) Pompei] Homeri; [P(ubli) Cauli] Restituti; [P(ubli) Atini] Amerimni; [M(arci) Iuli] Clementis; [Ti(beri) Iuli] Euphemi; [P(ubli) Cauli] Vitalis.

4. Kopie der Konstitution Hadrians für die Truppen von Dacia inferior aus dem Jahr 122.

Großes aus zwei aneinanderpassenden Teilen bestehendes Fragment aus der rechten Hälfte einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist außer auf der linken Seite überall erhalten. Den Rahmen bildet eine doppelte recht klare Linie.

Maße: zusammen Höhe 13.2 cm, Breite 9.2 cm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 7):

⁶ Siehe alle Präfekten dieser ala in H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium*, hg. S. Demougin – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Leuven 2001, 14.

⁷ Auf der Basis von CIL XVI 50.



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Außenseite:

[--] VRBANI
 [--] IVSTI
 [--] FLORI
 [--] DAPHNI
 [--] FESTI
 [FEL]ICIS
 [--] ● HERMETIS

Innenseite:

[ENT DVMTAXAT SI]NGVLI SINGVLAS ●
 [A D] XVI K AVG
 [TI IVLIO] CAPITONE COS
 [L VITRASIO] ● FLAMININO
 [---]]CVI PRAEST
 [--]] L+V L E V+
 [EX--]
 [--]] F BESS
 [--]] F EIVS
 [--]] F EIVS
 [--]] F EIVS
 [--]] FIL EIVS
 [] vacat

Das Fragment wird durch die beiden Konsuln Ti. Iulius Capito, dessen vollständiger Name Ti. Iulius Alexander Capito lautet,⁸ und L. Vitrasius Flamininus ins Jahr 122 datiert; das genaue Datum *a(nte) d(iem)] XVI k(alendas) Aug(ustas)* entspricht dem 17. Juli.

Mit diesem Datum sowie den beiden Konsuln sind bereits zwei Konstitutionen durch mehrere Diplome bezeugt, eine für Britannien, eine weitere für Dacia inferior:

AE 2008, 800	<i>XVI [Kal(endas) Aug(ustas) Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone L(ucio) Vi]trasio Flamin[ino co(n)s(ulibus)]</i>	Britannia
CIL XVI 69	<i>XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas) Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone L(ucio) Vitrasio Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	Britannia
AE 2004, 1900	<i>XV[I K(alendas) Aug(ustas)] Ti(berio) Iulio [Capitone] L(ucio) Vitr[asio Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)]</i>	Britannia
AE 2003, 2042	<i>XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas) [T(ito) Iulio Capito]ne [L(ucio) Vitrasio Flaminini]no co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	Dacia inferiore(?)
RMD V 361 ⁹	<i>[X]VI K(alendas) Au[g(ustas)] Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone L(ucio) Vitrasi]o Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	Dac(ia) infer(iore)
RGZM 20	<i>XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas) Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone L(ucio) Vitrasio Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	Dac(ia) infer(ior)
AE 2013, 2194	<i>XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas) [Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone] L(ucio) Vitrasio [Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)]</i>	?
neues Diplom	<i>XVI k(alendas) Aug(ustas) [Ti(berio) Iulio] Capitone [L(ucio) Vitrasio] Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)</i>	

Für dieses neue Diplom und das von AE 2013, 2194 ist die Provinz bisher unbekannt. In der Konstitution für Britannien waren 17 Alen und 37 Kohorten angeführt, wofür sehr viel Platz nötig war; ein solch langer Text hatte auch noch in der Zeit Hadrians zur Folge, dass ein Teil der Privilegierungsformel erst auf der Innenseite von tabella II endete. Bei den drei Diplomen für Britannia aus dem Jahr 122 beginnt der Text auf tabella II mit diesen Worten:

Beleg	Beginn des Textes auf tab. II intus	Provinz
AE 2008, 800	<i>[q]uorum [nomina sub]scripta sun[t ipsis liberis pos]terisque eorum¹⁰</i>	Britannia
CIL XVI 69	<i>nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisqu(e) / eorum civitatem ded(it) et</i>	Britannia
AE 2004, 1900	<i>dimissis honesta missione per Pompei]um Falconem q[uorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis] liberis posterisq(ue)</i>	Britannia

⁸ So nach einer Inschrift aus Scythopolis, in der der Senator als Statthalter von Iudaea ca. 126–129 erscheint.

⁹ Auch RMD V 360 ist eine Kopie dieser Konstitution, von der jedoch das Datum nicht erhalten ist.

¹⁰ Tab. I intus endet: *di]mis[sis honesta] mission[e per Pompeiu]m Fa[lco]ne[m]*

Obwohl der Text auf tabella II intus in allen drei Exemplaren unterschiedlich beginnt, ist stets ein wesentlicher Teil der Formel erst dort zu finden. Bei den Diplomen für Dacia inferior ist dies deutlich anders:

Beleg	Beginn des Textes auf tab. II intus	Provinz
AE 2003, 2042	<i>[dumtaxat singuli singulas ---]</i> ¹¹	Dacia inferior (?)
RMD V 361	<i>[data aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis, quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas]</i> ¹²	Dacia inferior
AE 2007, 1759 ¹³	<i>si qui caelibes essent, cum is, quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.</i>	Dacia inferior
RGZM 20	<i>[a(nte) d(iem) XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas)---]</i> ¹⁴	Dacia inferior

Auch hier ist der Beginn auf tabella II zwar unterschiedlich. Aber einmal beginnt dort der Text bereits mit dem Datum, einmal sind noch drei Worte auf die tabella II herübergezogen, zweimal noch die letzte Phrase des privilegierenden Textes über noch nicht Verheiratete, aber auch dies ist wesentlich weniger als bei den Diplomen für Britannien.

Beim neuen Diplom sieht der Befund so aus:

Beleg	Beginn des Textes auf tab. II intus	Provinz
neues Diplom	<i>ss//[ent dumtaxat si]nguli singulas.</i>	

Dies lässt sehr deutlich erkennen, dass das neue Diplom sicher nicht auf die Konstitution für Britannia zurückgeht, Dacia inferior dagegen ist sehr wohl möglich. Dass dieses nicht auf Britannia bezogen werden kann, wird auch durch den Befund bei den Zeugen bestätigt. Denn in beiden Diplomen unterscheiden sich diese deutlich:¹⁵

XVI 69; AE 2004, 1900	neues Diplom	AE 2013, 2194
<i>Ti. Claudii Menandri</i> <i>A. Fulvi Iusti</i> <i>Ti. Iuli Urbani</i> <i>L. Pulli Daphni</i> <i>L. Noni Victoris</i> <i>Q. Lolli Festi</i> <i>L. Pulli Anthi</i>	<i>[Ti. Iuli] Urbani</i> <i>[A. Fulvi] Iusti</i> <i>P. Atini] Flori</i> <i>[L. Pulli] Daphni</i> <i>[Q. Lolli] Festi</i> <i>[--] Felicis</i> <i>[C. Vettieni] Hermetis.</i>	<i>[--]</i> <i>Q. Lolli [Festi]</i> <i>P. Fabi [--]</i> <i>C. Vettieni [Hermetis]</i>
Britannia	Dacia inferior	

In der Zeit vor der Fixierung des Zeugenkollegiums Ende der hadrianischen Regierungszeit findet man dasselbe Kollegium fast ausschließlich bei den Diplomen, die auf die Konstitution für eine Provinz zurückgehen. Für Britannia ergibt sich die Gültigkeit dieses Prinzips eben im Jahr 122 durch die zwei Diplome XVI 69; AE 2004, 1900; es sind jeweils dieselben Zeugen.

¹¹ Tab. I intus endet: *quas postea [d]ux[issent]*

¹² Tab. I intus endet: *habu/[issent cum est civit(as) i(i)s]*

¹³ Dieses Diplom gehört auch zu der Konstitution von 122; allerdings ist dort das Datum nur erschlossen.

¹⁴ Tab. I intus endet: *duxissent dumtaxat sin[guli singulas]*.

¹⁵ Zu dem Prinzip: gleiche Zeugen für die Kopien einer Provinz siehe die Beispiele bei P. Holder in RMD V p. 926 f. App. IV.

Die beiden hier verwendeten Kriterien führen allerdings bei AE 2013, 2194, dem letzten Diplom, das dasselbe Datum ausweist, zu einem anscheinend sich widersprechenden Befund. Denn einerseits könnte das Zeugenkollegium mit dem des neuen Diploms identisch zu sein; jedenfalls ist die fünfte und siebte Position identisch, auch an sechster Stelle darf man annehmen, dass es sich um einen P. Fabius Felix handelt.¹⁶ Doch der Befund bei der Verteilung des Innentextes auf tabella I und II zeigt ein Ergebnis, das eher den Britanniadiplomen ähnelt:

Beleg	Beginn des Textes auf tab. II intus	Provinz
AE 2013, 2194	<i>sunt, ipsis liberi[s posterisqu(e) eorum civitat(em)] dedit et conub(ium) [cum uxoribus, quas tunc] habuiss(ent), cum est [civitas iis data, aut,] / si qui caelib(es) ess[ent, cum iis, quas post(ea) du]/xissent, dumta[xat singuli singulas]</i>	?

Denn es ist fast derselbe Anteil des Privilegierungstextes, der hier noch auf tabella II erscheint, wie bei den oben behandelten drei Kopien für Britannien. Gewichtet man allerdings die beiden Argumente, dann ist das zuletzt angeführte schwächer als das mit den Zeugen. Denn die Schreibweise der einzelnen Graveure variiert sehr oft sehr stark, wie viele Diplome zeigen. Tatsächlich ist der Text auf AE 2013, 2194 auf der Innenseite sehr großzügig eingraviert mit erheblichem Abstand zwischen den einzelnen Zeilen; wenn dies auf der Innenseite von tabella I ebenso geschehen war, dann ist es fast logisch, dass viel Text auf die andere Tafel herübergezogen wurde. Im Gegensatz dazu ist das Prinzip, dass alle Diplome derselben Konstitution durch dieselben Zeugen gesiegelt wurden, weitgehend eingehalten worden, wenn auch nicht durchgehend.¹⁷ Tendenziell wird man damit auch AE 2013, 2194 mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit der Provinz Dacia inferior zuweisen, anders als dies in der Erstpublikation geschah.¹⁸

Damit darf man zunächst den Text von AE 2013, 2194 in dieser Weise korrigieren:
Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Augustus pontifex maximus tribunicia potestate VI co(n)s(ul) III proco(n)s(ul)

equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus), q(ui) mil(itaverunt) in al(is) III et coh(ortibus) V, q(uae) app(ellantur) -- G]all(orum) Cap(itoniana) et Gall(orum) Atect(origiana) / [et -- I] Br(acar) aug(ustanorum) et II Fl(avia) Numidar(um) et II Fl(avia) Bess(orum) et III Gall(orum), quae sunt in Dac(ia) infer(iore) sub Cocceio Nasone, qui quin(is) et vic(enis) plur(ibusve) stip(endii)s emer(itis) dim(issis) hon(esta) miss(ione),

quorum nomina subscripta] sunt, ipsis liberi[s posterisqu(e) eorum civitat(em)] dedit et conub(ium) [cum uxoribus, quas tunc] habuiss(ent), cum est [civitas iis data, aut,] / si qui caelib(es) ess[ent, cum iis, quas post(ea) du]/xissent, dumta[xat singuli singulas].

A(nte) d(iem) XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas) [Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone] / L(ucio) Vitrasio [Flaminino co(n)s(ulibus)].

¹⁶ Ein P. Fabius ist bisher unter den Zeugen der Periode vor 138 nicht bekannt, ein Q. Fabius erscheint nur im Jahr 120. So darf man P. Fabius wohl mit Felix verbinden.

¹⁷ Zu Ausnahmen siehe P. Weiß, Auxiliardiplome für die dakischen Provinzen, Pannonia superior und eine provincia inermis, ZPE 181, 2012, 183 ff., bes. 185.

¹⁸ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Neue Diplome mit den Namen von Konsuln und Statthaltern, ZPE 187, 2013, 273 ff., hier 283 f.

Außenseite:

[Ti(beri) Iuli Urbani; A(uli) Fulvi Iusti; P(ubli) Atini Flori; L(uci) Pulli Daphni;] / Q(uinti) Lolli [Festi]; / P(ubli) Fabi [Felicis]; / C(ai) Vettieni [Hermetis].

Beim neuen Diplom aber kann man den Text der Innenseite von tabella II so rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Augustus pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestate VI, co(n)s(ul) III, proco(n)s(ul)

equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus), q(ue) mil(itaverunt) in al(is) III et coh(ortibus) V, q(uae) app(ellatur) Gall(or)um Cap(itoniana) et Gall(or)um Atect(origiana) / et -- I Br(acar) aug(ustanorum) et II Fl(avia) Numidar(um) et II Fl(avia) Bess(or)um et III Gall(or)um, quae sunt in Dac(ia) infer(iore) sub Cocceio Nasone, qui quin(is) et vic(enis) plur(ibusve) stip(endiis) emer(itis) dim(issis) hon(esta) miss(ione),

quorum nomina subscripta / sunt, ipsis liberis posterisqu(e) eorum civitat(em) / dedit et conub(ium) cum uxoribus quas tunc / habuiss(ent), cum est civitas iis data, aut / si qui caelib(es) essent cum iis, quas post(ea) du/xissent, dumtaxat si]nguli singulas. /

[A(nte) d(iem)] XVI k(alendas) Aug(ustas) / [Ti(berio) Iulio] Capitone / [L(ucio) Vitrasio] Flaminio co(n)s(ulibus).

[Alae/Coh(ortis)--- cui praest / ---] VLEV / [ex-- / --] f(ilio) Besso / [--] f(ilio) eius / [--] f(ilio) eius / [--] f(ilio) eius / [--] fil(iae) eius.

Außenseite tabella II:

[Ti(beri) Iuli] Urbani; [A(uli) Fulvi] Iusti; [P(ubli) Atini] Flori; [L(uci) Pulli] Daphni; [Q(uinti) Lolli] Festi; [Ti(beri) Iuli] Felicis; [C(ai) Vettieni] Hermetis.

5. Eine Konstitution Hadrians für eine unbekannte Provinz aus dem Jahr 127.

Fragment aus der linken unteren Hälfte einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links und unten erhalten. Eine nicht sehr tief eingravierte Doppellinie bildet den Rahmen.

Maße: Höhe 7.1 cm, Breite 4.2 cm, Dicke 0.5 mm, Höhe der Buchstaben außen 6 mm, innen 5.5 mm, Gewicht 12 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 8 und 9):



8



9

*Innenseite:**vacat*

Q TIN[--]

vacat

COH [--]

vacat

FIR[--]

*vacat**Außenseite:*

+ M[--]

TI IVLI [--]

C CAESI [--]

P ATTI [--]

C VETT[--]

Das Diplom stammt bereits aus einer Zeit, in der auf der Innenseite von tabella I die gesamte Privilegierung stand, so dass der Text auf der Innenseite von tabella II mit dem Datum begann. Diese Erscheinung beginnt in der Mitte der hadrianischen Regierungszeit.¹⁹ Bei diesem Diplom sind Tag und Monat in der ersten Zeile verloren, dann folgt der Anfang des Namens des ersten Konsuls: Q. Tin[--]. Andererseits stammt das Diplom aus einem Jahr, als das Zeugenkollegium noch variabel war, also vor dem Jahr 138.²⁰ Von den erhaltenen Gentilnomina der Zeugen ist C. Caesius das am wenigsten in den Diplomen erwähnte und kann deshalb chronologisch am ehesten bedeutsam sein. Es erscheint in mehreren Diplomen, zunächst im Jahr 126 in RMD I 27. 28 = ZPE 208, 2018, 256;²¹

Ti(beri) Iuli Urbani; / C(ai) Caesi Romani; / L(uci) Vibi Vibiani; / L(uci) Pulli Daphni; / L(uci) Equiti Gemelli; / Q(uinti) Lolli Festi; / C(ai) Vettie[ni] Hermetis,
sodann im Jahr 127 in CIL XVI 72 in folgender Zeugenreihe:

L(uci) Vibi [--]; / Q(uinti) Lolli [--]; / C(ai) Caesi [--]; / M(arci) Tetti [--]; / Ti(beri) Claudi [--]; / L(uci) Pulli [--].

Zum dritten Mal steht der Name in CIL XVI 74 und AE 2005, 691 aus dem Jahr 129:

Ti(beri) Iuli Urbani; / C(ai) Caesi Romani; / Ti(beri) Claudi Menandri; / C(ai) Vettieni Modesti; / L(uci) Attei Atteiani; / L(uci) Pulli Verecundi; / C(ai) Vettieni Hermetis.

Da in zweien der Diplome das Cognomen Romanus mit Caesius verbunden ist, könnte dieser Zeuge auch schon im Jahr 118 in CIL XVI 166 angeführt sein:

[Ti(beri) Iuli] Urbani; / [C(ai) Caesi] Romani; / [L(uci) Vibi] Vibiani; / [P(ubli) Cauli] Vitalis; / [L(uci) Atini] Flori; / [--] Leonae; / [P(ubli) Atini] Crescentis.

Jedenfalls weist sein Name in die hadrianische Zeit zwischen 127 und 138, wie es die Textverteilung bereits annehmen ließ. In dieser Zeit ist ein Q. Tineius Rufus *consul* im Jahr 127, zusammen mit M. Licinius Celer Nepos, vielfach auch in Diplomen belegt:

¹⁹ RMD V p. 922.

²⁰ RMD V p. 924.

²¹ Auch AE 2012, 1929 ist in dieser Weise zu rekonstruieren, siehe P. Holder, ZPE 208, 2018, 256 f.

1. in einer Konstitution für Germania inferior, und zwar *a(nte) d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres)*,²²

2. in einer Konstitution für Britannia, ebenfalls *a(nte) d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres)*,²³

3. in einer Konstitution für Moesia inferior, erneut *a(nte) d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres)*²⁴ und schließlich

4. in einer Konstitution für Pannonia inferior ohne genaues Datum.²⁵

Damit ist sicher, dass das Fragment ein Diplom aus dem Jahr 127 repräsentiert. Ungeklärt ist jedoch, für welche Provinz es ausgestellt wurde. Es sollte mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit von einer der vier bekannten Konstitutionen abhängen. Dabei darf man davon ausgehen, dass alle Diplome aus der Konstitution für eine Provinz von denselben Zeugen gesiegelt wurden. Allerdings sind die für das neue Diplom bekannten Zeugen keine Hilfe; denn für die schon bekannten Konstitutionen sind sie nur für Moesia inferior belegt (RMD IV 241; RGZM 23; AE 2008, 1755): *Ti(beri) Iuli Vibiani; / L(uci) Vibi Vibiani; / L(uci) Pulli Daphni; / Q(uinti) Lolli Festi; / C(ai) Vettieni Hermetis; / Q(uinti) Orfi Parati; / Ti(beri) Claudii Menandri*.

Diese stimmen nicht mit den Zeugen des neuen Diploms überein, so dass nur ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass das Fragment zu der Konstitution für Moesia inferior gehört.

Folgender Text lässt sich damit auf der Innenseite rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) maxim(us), tribun(icia) potest(ate) XI, co(n)s(ul) III equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui militaver(unt) in / alis -- et coh(ortibus) --, quae appell(antur) --.]

A(nte) d(iem) XIII k(alendas) Sept(embres)?] / Q(uinto) Tin[eio Rufo, M(arco) Licinio Celere Nepote co(n)s(ulibus)] /

Coh(ortis) [--, cui prae(e)st / --- / expedite] / Fir[--/--].

Außenseite:

[--]; / [-] M[--]; Ti(beri) Iuli [Urbani?]; / C(ai) Caesi [Romani]; / P(ubli) Atti [Severi?]; / C(ai) Vett[ieni? Hermetis/Modesti]

6. Diplom für einen Auxiliar wohl aus der zweiten Hälfte der Regierungszeit Hadrians.

Fragment aus der rechten oberen Ecke einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist oben und rechts erhalten. Die Tafel wird von einem markanten Rahmen eingefasst. Für die Datierung ist es ein wichtiger Hinweis, dass auf der Innenseite unter dem letzten Namen der Privilegierten noch viel Platz frei ist und dass dort auch nicht mehr der Vermerk steht, der Text sei nach dem der in Rom publizierten Tafel kontrolliert worden. Dies ist seit spätraianischer Zeit und insbesondere unter Hadrian zahlreich bezeugt. Somit sollte das Diplom etwa in diese Jahre gehören.

²² RMD IV 239; RGZM 24; AE 2010, 1865, 1866.

²³ RMD IV 240.

²⁴ RMD IV 241; RGZM 23; AE 2008, 1755.

²⁵ AE 2009, 1830.

Maße: Höhe 8.5 cm, Breite 8.5 cm, Dicke 1.5 – 2 mm, Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 5 mm, innen: 4–4.5 mm, Gewicht 77 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 10 und 11):



10



11

Außenseite:

[--] VRBANI
[--] EVTYCHI
[--] PRIMI
[--] MODESTI
[--] ITI

Innenseite

[COH -- C]VI PRAEST
[--] ANTONINVS
[EX PE]DITE
[--]NI F COLAP
[VX]ORI IEVS COLAPIAN !
[-- E]T SATVRNINO F EIVS
[-- ET]VALENTI F EIVS
[-- ET] BALOSO F EIVS



vacat

vacat

Der Text des Diploms, soweit er erhalten ist, gibt keinen direkten Hinweis zur Datierung. Mehrere formale Hinweise aber machen eine Datierung unter Hadrian und zwar in die zweite Hälfte seiner Regierung sehr wahrscheinlich. Zum einen dürfte der Text auf der Innenseite von tabella II wohl direkt mit dem Datum begonnen haben; denn wenn man über dem erhaltenen Text zwei oder drei Zeilen für das Datum hinzurechnet, dann muss die Innenseite bereits gefüllt gewesen sein. Dass die Innenseite mit dem Datum begann, ist

ein Phänomen, das wir etwa seit dem Jahr 127 kennen.²⁶ Ferner ist nach dem Namen der Privilegierten unten der gesamte Raum nach dem zweiten Bindungsloch unbeschrieben, wobei auch auf die *descriptum*-Formel verzichtet wird, was seit spätraianischer Zeit und dann vor allem unter Hadrian bekannt ist.²⁷ Dazu passen auch die Namen der Siegelzeugen, die in Diplomen zwischen ca. 100 und 129 angeführt sind. Damit sollte das Diplom mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit aus der Zeit Hadrians stammen, am ehesten um das Jahr 127. Genauer lässt sich das Dokument nicht datieren.

Der Diplomempfänger stammte wie seine Frau aus der *civitas Colap(h)ianorum*, die im Nordosten der Provinz Dalmatien oder im Süden der Provinz Pannonia superior lag.²⁸ Auch in RMD IV 250 (aus dem Jahr 134) ist ein Soldat aus diesem Stamm bezeugt. Insgesamt meldete der Veteran sechs Söhne an, die ebenfalls das Bürgerrecht erhielten. Je zwei Namen waren in den drei Zeilen genannt, die auf den Namen der Frau des Veteranen folgten; ob sie die Mutter aller angeführten Kinder war, lässt sich nicht sagen. Die Namen der Kinder sind der Herkunft nach gemischt; neben den lateinischen Namen Saturninus und Valens steht der einheimische Name Balosus, der auch in AE 1997, 1219, einer Inschrift aus Virunum im südöstlichen Noricum, bezeugt ist. Der Präfekt, der die Einheit des Veteranen damals kommandierte, ist nur noch durch sein Cognomen Antoninus greifbar; er scheint unbekannt zu sein.

Weitere Details lassen sich dem Fragment nicht entnehmen. Der Text der Innenseite lässt sich so wiederherstellen:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nerv(ae) / nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) potest(ate) --, co(n)s(ul) III, --? equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis -- et cohortibus --, quae appell(antur) --- cum iis, quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas.

--- /

Coh(ortis) ---, c]ui prae(e)st / [--] Antoninus / [exped]dite / [--]ni f(ilio) Colap(iano) / [et ----ux]ori r ei \ us Colapian(ae) / [et - f(ilio) eius e]t Saturnino f(ilio) eius [et -- f(ilio) eius et] Valenti f(ilio) eius / [et -- f(ilio) eius et] Baloso f(ilio) eius.

Außenseite:

[-- / Ti(beri) Iuli] Urbani; / [C(ai) Iuli?] Eutychi; / [--] Primi; / [C(ai) Vettieni?] Modesti; / [C(ai) Iuli] Iti.

7. Die erste Konstitution Hadrians für die Truppen von Ägypten.

Kleines Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nur oben erhalten. Vom Rahmen ist nichts sichtbar.

Maße: Höhe 2.8 cm, Breite 3.2 cm.

Folgendes ist lesbar (Abb. 12):

²⁶ Siehe bereits oben zu Nr. 5.

²⁷ Siehe RMD I 14 aus dem Jahr 114; AE 2012, 1128 aus dem Jahr 115; RMD I 17 aus dem Jahr 120, ebenso CIL XVI 68 und AE 2007, 1762; CIL XVI 69 aus dem Jahr 122; CIL XVI 76 aus dem Jahr 133; RGZM 27 aus dem Jahr 135 und W. Eck – Andreas Pangerl, Tullius Varro als Statthalter in Moesia superior in einer Konstitution des Jahres 135, ZPE 203, 2017, 227–235.

²⁸ Siehe auch IGLS VI 2781.



12

Außenseite:

[IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI] PARTHICI F DI[VI NER]
 [VAE NEPOS TRAIANVS HAD]RIANVS AVG [PONT]
 [MAX TRIB POTES] COS II[--]
 [EQVITIB ET PEDITIB QVI MILITA]V IN ALIS [-- ET]
 [COHORTIB – QVAE APPELLANTVR] +++ [--]

Innenseite:

ET II[-- ET SVNT]
 IN AEGY[PTO SVB -- QVINIS ET VICENIS]
 PLVR ST[IPEND EMERIT--]

Das Diplom bezeugt erstmals eine Konstitution Hadrians für das Auxiliarheer der Provinz Ägypten. Wann sie ausgestellt wurde, ist nicht näher zu erkennen, da von den datierenden Elementen der Titulatur nur *cos. II* zu lesen ist; es könnte auch *cos. II[I]* sein. Sicher ist nur, dass in der Lücke nach dem Konsulat maximal noch *p(ater) p(atriae)* gestanden haben kann, aber nicht *proco(n)sul*, da dafür der Platz nicht ausreicht. Damit sind die Jahre 117–121, 125–128 und 133–138 als Ausstellungszeit möglich. Mehr als der Standardtext lässt sich nicht erkennen.

[*Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani*] *Parthici f(ilius) di[vi Ner/vae nepos Traianus Had]-*
rianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / max(imus), trib(unicia) potest(ate) --], *co(n)s(ul) II[--- /*
equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui milita]v(erunt) in alis [-- et / cohortib(us) --, quae
appellantur --- et II[--- et sunt] / in Aegy[pto sub -- quinis et vican(is) plur(ibusve) st[ipend(iis)
emerit(is) ----] etc.

8. Konstitution Hadrians(?) für die Truppen von Pannonia superior.

Kleines, ringsum gebrochenes Fragment aus der unteren Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rest eines Bindungsloches ist oben links noch sichtbar. Der Rand ist nirgends erhalten.

Maße: Höhe 2.7 cm, Breite 3 cm; Gewicht 5 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 13 und 14):



13



14

Außenseite:

[
 [● [●]
 [HABVISS C]VM EST CIV[IT IS DATA AVT SI]
 [QVI CAEL] ESSENT CVM [IS QVAS POSTEA]
 [DVXISS] DVMTAXAT [SINGVLI SINGVLAS]
 [A D] IIII NON[--]

Innenseite:

[--]● ET I CA[--]
 [--]GAES ∞ S[--]
 [--]T IIII VO[--]
 [--]COR LVC[--]

Das Fragment enthält weder direkte Aussagen über die Provinz, für die die Konstitution bestimmt war, noch für die Zeit der Ausstellung des Erlasses.

Die Konstitution muss ergangen sein, bevor Antoninus Pius spät im Jahr 140 grundlegende Änderungen bei der Privilegierung vornahm. Denn seitdem erscheint im Formular der Diplome stets der Hinweis auf die Verleihung der *civitas Romana*, und nicht mehr schlicht der *civitas*. Da der Platz für die veränderte Form fehlt, muss das Fragment in die Zeit davor fallen. Da andererseits auf der Innenseite, aber – wie es scheint – auch auf der Außenseite bereits deutliche Abkürzungen erscheinen, sollte der Text eher erst nach ca. 114 n.Chr. formuliert worden sein. Denn von da an, werden die Abkürzungen mehr und mehr üblich. Damit sollte die Konstitution am ehesten von Hadrian erlassen worden sein, obwohl man Traian und ebenso Antoninus Pius nicht völlig ausschließen kann.

Die Provinz lässt sich aus den Einheiten erschließen, die auf der Innenseite identifiziert werden können. Sicher ist der Name der *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria sagittariorum* zu erkennen. In der Zeile darunter ist die *cohors IIII Voluntariorum* genannt. In Zeile 1 ist in den Zeichen I CA[--] mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit der Rest des Namens der

ala I Cannanefatium zu sehen. Alle drei Einheiten waren in hadrianischer und antoninischer Zeit in Pannonia superior stationiert. Alle drei sind auch zusammen in drei Diplomen für diese Provinz genannt: In RMD IV 250 = RGZM 26 sowie ZPE 197, 2016, 217–227²⁹ aus dem Jahr 134 und in CIL XVI 96 aus dem Jahr 148. Das passt mit der Zeit Hadrians zusammen, der am ehesten Aussteller der Konstitution, wie oben beschrieben, war.

Allerdings kann das Fragment nicht eine weitere Kopie von RMD IV 250 = RGZM 26 (und ZPE 197, 2016, 217–227) aus dem Jahr 134 sein. Denn wenn man in die dort vorhandene Liste der Innenseite die im Fragment erhaltenen Reste der Einheiten einsetzt, dann ist es nicht möglich, sie so anzuordnen, dass sie in etwa der gleichen Weise untereinander stehen wie in dem Fragment. Das gilt vor allem für die *cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium*.³⁰ Das aber heißt, dass wir offensichtlich eine weitere Konstitution für das Auxiliarheer von Pannonia superior vor uns haben, vermutlich ausgestellt durch Hadrian.

Bei diesen Prämissen lässt sich der Text in etwa so rekonstruieren:

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

equitib(us) et peditib(us), qui militaver(unt) in alis -- et coh(ortibus) --, quae appell(antur) --] et I Ca[nnan(efatium) et I Hisp(anorum) Arav(acorum) et III Aug(usta) Thr(acum) et I Aelia] Gaes(atorum) ∞ s[ag(ittariorum) et I Ulp(ia) Pann(oniorum) ∞ et I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Alpinor(um) et IIII volunt(ariorum) et -- et V Callae]cor(um) Luc[ens(ium) et -- et sunt in Pann(onia) super(iore) sub --- quinque et viginti stipend(iis) emer(itis) dimiss(is) honest(a) mission(e),

quor(um) nomin(a) subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisq(ue) eor(um) civit(atem) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxorib(us), quas tunc / habuiss(ent), c]um est civ[it(itas) iis data, aut, si / qui cael(ibes)] essent, cum [i(i)s, quas postea / duxiss(ent),] dumtaxat [singuli singulas / A(nte) d(iem)?-]IIII non(as) [--- co(n)s(ulibus)] etc..

9. Diplom des Antoninus Pius aus dem Jahr 141 für die Truppen von Pannonia superior.

Fragment aus der Mitte der oberen Hälfte einer tabella I eines Diploms; es ist auf allen Seiten gebrochen. Auf der Außenseite sind die Buchstaben tief eingraviert, auf der Innenseite wurden die Zeilen mit weitem Abstand geschrieben, ebenso ist der Abstand zwischen den stark abgekürzten Worten sehr groß.

Maße: Höhe 2.4 cm, Breite 2.2 cm, Dicke 0.5 mm; Buchstaben außen und innen 4 mm. Gewicht 2.4 Gramm.

Folgendes kann gelesen werden (Abb. 15):

²⁹ W. Eck, Diplomfragmente aus Carnuntum und aus Abusina/Eining, ZPE 197, 2016, 217 ff.

³⁰ Das würde etwa so aussehen:

*[eq et ped qui mil in al V et coh VI quae app I Ulp]
[con et I Thr vict] et I Ca[n et I Hisp Arav et III Aug]
[Thr et I Aelia] Gaes ∞ s[ag. et I Ulp Pann ∞ et I Thr]
[c R et II Alpinor e]t IIII vo[luntar et XVIII vol c R]
[et V Calae]cor Luc[ens---]*



15

Außenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI HADRIANI FILIVS DIVI TRAIANI]
 [PARTHICI NEP DIVI NERVAE PRONEP T AELIVS]
 [HADRIANVS A]NTON[INVS AVG PIVS PONT MAX]
 [TRIB] POT IIII [COS III P P]
 [EQVITIB] ET PEDITIB [QVI MILITAV IN ALIS -- ET]
 [COH ----]I QVAE APP[ELLAN I VLP CONTAR ∞ ET I]
 [THRAC] VICTR E[T --]

Innenseite:

[EQV ET] PED Q [M IN A – ET COH – Q APP I VLP CON
 [∞ ET I T]HR ET +[--]
 [ET I V]LP PAN E[T ---]
 [--]VRIV+[--]

Die Konstitution wurde von einem Kaiser in seiner 4. tribunizischen Gewalt erlassen. Datierendes Element sind auch die Abkürzungen, die sicher nicht vor ca. 114 n.Chr. auftreten. Diese sind aber auf der Innenseite so deutlich, dass diese eher für die Zeit des Antoninus Pius sprechen als für Hadrian. Das endgültige Argument aber sind die drei Buchstaben, die in der ersten erhaltenen Zeile der Außenseite zu lesen sind: TON. Diese können nur zu Antoninus gehören, was eben auf Antoninus Pius verweist. Dass kein späterer Kaiser mit dem Namensselement Antoninus gemeint sein kann, zeigt der Anfang der Privilegierungsformel *equitibus et peditibus*, die seit der Spätzeit des Pius nicht mehr möglich ist, da diese dann getrennt voneinander erscheinen. Damit gehört das Diplom in das Jahr 141, als Pius die *tribunicia potestas IIII* in seiner Titulatur führte.

Einige der Einheiten, die identifizierbar sind, erlauben die Bestimmung der Provinz, für die die Konstitution ausgestellt worden war. Eine der Einheiten, eine *ala*, führt den Beinamen *Victrix*. Die einzige Einheit, die in den Diplomen mit diesem Beinamen erscheint, ist die *ala I Thracum vixtrix*, die in sehr zahlreichen Konstitutionen genannt ist;

seit hadrianischer Zeit ist sie in Pannonia superior stationiert.³¹ Auf der Innenseite ist auf jeden Fall eine Einheit mit dem Namen *Ulpia Pan(noniorum)* zu identifizieren. In fast allen Diplomen, in denen die *I Thracum Victrix* erscheint, ist auch diese *cohors* mit der Ziffer *I* vertreten: *cohors I Ulpia Thracum*. Die Provinz ist damit eindeutig bestimmt. Die Konstitution ist neu; denn bisher hatten wir für diese Provinz keinen Bürgerrechtserlass im Jahr 141. Zwar wurde von G. Alföldy und B. Lörincz, ZPE 139, 2002, 211 ff. = AE 2002, 1147 = RMD V 391 ein Fragment diesem Jahr zugewiesen, jedoch nur auf Grund eines nicht sicher gelesenen neuen Statthalters, der auf Grund seiner Laufbahn etwa in dieser Zeit amtiert haben sollte. Doch ist dies nicht nur zeitlich zu hypothetisch gewesen; inzwischen darf man auch an dem Namen des Statthalters zweifeln, der kaum *[Cae]sernius Sta[tianus]* gelautet hat, wie die beiden Autoren annahmen, sondern eher als Sergius Paullus verstanden werden darf, der seinerseits durch einige Diplome in den Jahren 139 und 140 als Statthalter von Pannonia superior bezeugt ist.³² Ob er auch noch im Jahr 141 dort amtierte, lässt sich nicht verifizieren, weshalb er nicht in den Text dieses Diploms eingesetzt wird.

Von den anderen Einheiten, die in der Konstitution erwähnt waren, lässt sich keine eindeutig bestimmen. Sehr wahrscheinlich ging in der Liste der Alen der *I Thracum Victrix* eine *I Ulpia contariorum miliaria* voraus, wie das in hadrianischer und antoninischer Zeit in mehreren Diplomen bezeugt ist:

CIL XVI 76 – Jahr 133	RMD IV 250-Jahr 134	CIL XVI 84 Jahr 138	CIL XVI 96 – Jahr 148
<i>I Ulpia contariorum</i> ∞ <i>I Thracum Victrix</i> <i>I Cannanefatium</i> <i>I Hispanorum Aravaco-</i> <i>rum</i>	<i>I Ulpia contariorum</i> ∞ <i>I Thracum Victrix</i> <i>I Cannanefatium c.R.</i> <i>I Hispanorum Aravaco-</i> <i>rum</i>	<i>[I Ulpia contariorum</i> <i>∞]</i> <i>I Thracum Victrix</i> <i>I Cannanefatium c.R.</i> <i>I Hispanorum Aravaco-</i> <i>rum</i>	<i>I Ulpia contariorum</i> ∞ <i>I Thracum Victrix</i> <i>I Hispanorum Aravaco-</i> <i>rum</i> <i>I Cannanefatium c.R.</i>
<i>III Aug. Thracum</i> <i>I Ael. Gaesatorum</i> ∞ <i>sag.</i> <i>I Ulp. Pannoniorum</i> ∞ <i>I Thracum c. R.</i> <i>II Alpinorum</i> <i>V Callaecorum Lucen-</i> <i>sium</i>	<i>III Aug. Thracum sag.</i> <i>I Ael. Gaesatorum</i> ∞ <i>sag.</i> <i>I Ulp. Pannoniorum</i> ∞ <i>I Thracum c. R.</i> <i>II Alpinorum</i> <i>III voluntar. c.R.</i> <i>V Callaecorum Lucen-</i> <i>sium</i>	<i>[--]</i> <i>I Thracum c. R.</i> <i>I Ulp. Pannoniorum</i> ∞ <i>III voluntar. c.R.</i> <i>XVIII voluntar. c.R.</i>	<i>III Aug. Thracum sag.</i> <i>I Ulp. Pannoniorum</i> ∞ <i>I Ael. Gaesatorum</i> ∞ <i>sag</i> <i>XVIII voluntar. c.R.</i> <i>III voluntar. c.R.</i> <i>I Thracum c. R.</i> <i>V Callaecorum Lucen-</i> <i>sium</i> <i>II Alpinorum</i>

Wie man sieht, bleibt die Reihenfolge dieser beiden Einheiten stets dieselbe. Welche der anderen Einheiten noch eingeschlossen werden könnten, lässt sich nicht mit einiger Sicherheit entscheiden; deshalb wird hier von einer Komplettierung der Liste verzichtet. Ob in der vierten Zeile der Innenseite ebenfalls eine Einheit genannt ist, muss wegen der unsicheren Lesung offen bleiben.

³¹ Siehe J. Spaul, Ala², Andover 1994, 226 f.; seit der Publikation dieses Buches sind neue Diplome bekannt geworden, die leicht in der Datenbank Clauss gefunden werden können.

³² F. Beutler, ZPE 172, 2010, 271 ff. (vom 18. Juli 139); W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 152, 2005, 250 ff. = AE 2005, 1718 (aus dem Jahr 140); W. Eck – A. Pangerl, RÉMA 1, 2004, 75 ff. = AE 2004, 1903.

Der Text der Außenseite lässt sich so ergänzen:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani filius divi Traiani / Parthici nep(os) divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius / Hadrianus A]nton[inus Aug(ustus) Pius pon(tifex) max(imus), / trib(unicia)] pot(estate) IIII, [co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae) / equitib(us)] et peditib(us), [qui militav(erunt) in alis – et / coh(ortibus) --]I, quae app[ellan(tur) I Ulp(ia) contar(iorum) (miliaria) et I / Thrac(um)] victr(ix) e[t ---].

Die Innenseite:

[equ(itibus) et] ped(itibus), q(ui) [m(ilitaverunt) in a(lis) – et coh(ortibus) --, q(uae) app(ellatur) I Ulp(ia) con(tariorum) (miliaria) et I T]hr(acum) et I? [-- et – et – et I U]lp(ia) Pan(noniorum) e[t -- / ---] VRIV+ [--].

10. Auxiliardiplom für eine unbekannte Provinz unter Antoninus Pius.

Fragment aus der linken oberen Ecke einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist oben und links erhalten. Ein Loch auf der Höhe des dritten Zeugen hat das Gentilnomen SENTILI zerstört.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 16 und 17):



16



17

Außenseite:

M SERVILI	[GETAE]
L PVLLI	[CHRESIMI]
M [SENTILI	IASI]
TI IVLI	[FELICIS]

Innenseite:

vacat

BATONI N[--]

vacat

DESCRIPT ET RE[COGNIT EX TABVLA AER]

QVAE FIXA EST [ROMAE IN MVRO POST]

TEMPL DIVI [AVG AD MINERVAM]

Die Zeugnennamen ermöglichen die ungefähre Datierung. Sie sind in dieser Reihenfolge durch Diplome zwischen Juli 148 und Ende 160 bezeugt.³³ Die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, ist also von Antoninus Pius ausgestellt worden. Da auf der Innenseite von tabella II auch der Descriptum-Vermerk wieder erscheint, ist der terminus post quem das Ende von 153.

Der Empfänger des Diploms trägt den Namen Bato, der bereits mehrmals in Diplomen bezeugt ist: in RMD IV 250 wird ein Veteran mit der *origo Colapianus* (aus Pannonia oder Dalmatia) als Sohn eines Bato genannt; in AE 2010, 1857 erscheint ein Ulpus Bato, der aus Sirmium in Pannonia inferior stammte, in AE 2004, 1907 ein Aelius Batonis filius Dassius, ein Pannonius, und in AE 2014, 1638 ist ebenfalls ein Batonis filius als Veteran bezeugt. Der Name ist auch sonst vor allem in Dalmatien und Pannonien bezeugt.³⁴ So dürfte der Veteran wohl aus einer der beiden Provinzen rekrutiert worden sein. Die Stationierungsprovinz ist dadurch nicht zu erschließen; doch ist eine der Donauprovinzen sehr wahrscheinlich.

Vom Text lässt sich die Innenseite so rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadrian(i) f(ilius) divi Traiani Parthici nep(os) divi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) --, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriciae) equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis...

Coh(ortis) / Alae --- cui praest --- / ex---] / Batoni N[--- f(ilio) --].

Descript(um) et re[cognit(um) ex tabul(a) aer(ea)], / quae fixa est [Romae in mur(o) post] / templ(um) divi [Aug(usti) ad Minervam]

Außenseite:

M(arci) Servili [Getae]; / L(uci) Pulli [Chresimi]; / M(arci) [Sentili Iasi]; / Ti(beri) Iuli [Felcis]; / C(ai) Belli Urbani; / C(ai) Pomponi Statiani; / P(ubli) Ocili Prisci].

11. Eine Konstitution des Jahres 162(?) für eine unbekannte Provinz.



18

Zwei fast unmittelbar aneinanderpassende kleine Fragmente aus der tabella I eines Diploms sind erhalten. Der Rand ist überall verloren.³⁵

Maße: Höhe 3.5 cm, Breite 2.4 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Buchstaben außen und innen 4 mm. Gewicht 6 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 18 und 19):

³³ Siehe RMD V p. 924.

³⁴ OPEL I² 115.

³⁵ Wir danken Paul Holder für freundliche Hilfe bei der Lesung.



19

Außenseite:

[--- ET CO]
 [NVBIVM CV]M VXOR[IBVS QVAS TVNC HAB]
 [VISSENT CV]M EST CIV[ITAS IIS DATA AVT]
 [CVM IS QVAS P]OSTEA D[VXISSENT DVM]
 [TAXAT SINGVLI]S AD [--]
 [M INSTEIO BIT]HYNICO [COS]
 [COH -----]ACORVM [CVI PRAEST]
 [--]P/R[--]

Innenseite:

[---]R ET SVNT IN [--- SVB –
 [QVIN]QVE ET VIGIN[TI STIPENDIS EMERITIS]
 [DIMI]SS HONEŞ [TÀ MISSIONE QVORVM NOMI]
 [NA SV]BSCRIP[TÀ SVNT CIVITATEM -----]

Auf der Außenseite ist das Cognomen eines *consul suffectus* erhalten: *[Bit]hynico*. Bisher kennt man zwei Senatoren, die dieses Cognomen tragen, einen M. Insteius Bithynicus, der in einem Diplom von Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus erscheint, das ins Jahr 162 gehört (CIL XVI 118); der Name des anderen Konsuls ist in dem Zeugnis verloren. Der zweite Senator ist ein Ti. Claudius Bithynicus, der lediglich als Prokonsul von Lycia-Pamphylia bekannt ist. Seit dem Ende der Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius ist der Statthalter dieser Provinz ein Prokonsul – mit einer kurzen Unterbrechung unter Marc Aurel. Ob er zu einem Konsulat gekommen ist, bleibt unsicher.

Sicher ist, dass dieses Fragment nicht zu derselben Konstitution gehören kann, auf die CIL XVI 118 zurückgeht; denn dieses Diplom wurde an einen Soldaten der Provinz Raetia ausgegeben, wo jedoch keine Einheit stationiert war, deren Name auf *[-]-acorum* endete; so aber lautet das Ende des Namens der Einheit, in der der Empfänger dieses Diploms gedient hatte.

Einheiten, deren Namen im Genitiv Plural auf *-acorum* auslautet, sind folgende:

ala I Aravacorum

ala II Aravacorum = II Hispanorum et Ar(a)vacorum

ala I Ulpia Dacorum

cohors I Ulpia Dacorum

cohors I Aelia Dacorum (miliaria)

II Aurelia Dacorum

II Dacorum

cohors II Mattiacorum

Die Vielzahl der Möglichkeiten, den Namen zu vervollständigen, schließt eine definitive Klärung aus, weil dafür zumindest ein weiterer Anhaltspunkt nötig wäre. Dass aber der Name des Konsuls am ehesten M. Insteius Bithynicus gelautet hat, ist relativ wahrscheinlich; damit kann man – wenn auch mit Fragezeichen – Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus als Aussteller einfügen.

Der rekonstruierte Text könnte deshalb, gemischt aus Außen- und Innenseite, auf der Grundlage von CIL XVI 118, datiert auf Grund der *tribunicia potestas* beider Kaiser etwa so lauten:

[?Imp(erator) Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestat(e) XVI, co(n)s(ul) III et Imp(erator) Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus tribunicia potestat(e) II, co(n)s(ul) II divi Antonini filii divi Hadriani nepotes divi Traian(i) Parthici pronepotes divi Nervae abnepotes,

equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis --, quae appellantur – et coh(ortibus) --]r(um) et sunt in [-- sub -- quin]que et vigin[ti stipendi(i)s emeritis / dimis]s(is) hones[ta missione,

quorum nomi/na su]bscrip[ta sunt, civitatem Romanam, qui eorum non haberent, ded(erunt et conubium cu]m uxor[ibus, quas tunc hab/uisent, cu]m est civ[itas iis data aut / cum iis, quas p]ostea d[uxissent, dum/taxat singuli]s.

A(nte) d(iem) [-- / M(arco) Insteio? Bit]hynico, [-- co(n)s(ulibus). /

Coh(ortis)/Alae --]acorum, [cui prae(e)st --]P/R[--].

12. Konstitution von Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus aus dem Jahr 166, unsicher für welche Truppe.

Fragment aus der linken oberen Ecke von tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links und oben erhalten. Den Rahmen bilden zwei einfache Linien.

Maße: Höhe: 4.4 cm, Breite: 5.1 cm, Dicke 0.75 mm; Buchstaben außen und innen: 2–3 mm. Gewicht: 14.5 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 20 und 21):



20



21

Außenseite:

IMP CAESAR M AVR[ELIVS ANTONINVS]
 AVG ARMENIAC[VS PONT MAX TRIB]
 POT XX IMP[III COS III ET]
 IMP CAESAR L AVR[ELIVS VERVS AVG AR]
 MENIACVS PART[HICVS MAX TRIB POT]
 VI IMP III COS II PROC [DIVI ANTONINI F DI]
 VI HADRIANI NEPO[TES DIVI TRAIANI PAR]
 THICI PRO[NEPOTES DIVI NERVAE ABNEPOTES]

Innenseite:

IMP CAE[S M AVRELIVS ANTONINVS AVG]
 ARMENI[ACVS PONT MAX TRIB POT]
 XX IM[P III COS III ET]
 IMP CAES L A[VRELIVS VERVS AVG ARME]
 NIACVS [PARTHICVS MAX TRIB POT]
 VI IMP [III COS II PROC DIVI AN]
 TONINI F [DIVI HADRIANI NEPOTES]
 DIVI TR[AIANI PARTHICI PRONEPO]
 TES DIV[I NERVAE ABNEPOTES]

Das Fragment bezeugt eine Konstitution von Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus aus dem Jahr 166; darauf führt die 20. *tribunicia potestas* Marc Aurels sowie die 6. des Verus. Dazu passt auch die dritte Imperatorenakklamation, die in der Titulatur des Verus steht. Damals befand sich Verus noch im Osten, weshalb auch der Titel *proc(onsul)* in der Konstitution gestanden hat. Wenn der Triumph am 12. Oktober 166 in Rom stattgefunden hat, muss Verus spätestens im September wieder in Italien gewesen sein. Damit sollte auch die Konstitution spätestens im August formuliert worden sein. Aus dem Jahr 166 sind bereits einige Konstitutionen bekannt, die durch folgende Diplome bezeugt sind:

RMD III 179 vom 16. April 166 für die Prätorianer.

CIL XVI 121 März/April 166 für die Provinz Rätien.

CIL XVI 122 vom 30. April 166 für die *classis Misenensis*. In diesem Diplom können, da dort das genaue Tages- und Monatsdatum im Text erhalten ist: *a(nte) d(iem)] II*³⁶ *K(alendas) Maias* auch die Namen der Konsuln eingefügt sind: *[M(arco) Vibio Liberale, P(ublio) Martio Vero co(n)s(ulibus)]*. Diese stehen auch in den beiden anderen schon genannten Diplomen; sie und CIL XI 1924 zeigen, dass beide im März und April als *suffecti* amtierten.

Der Text auf dem neuen Fragment ist nicht sehr dicht geschrieben, sondern, vor allem auf der Innenseite, relativ großzügig. Konstitutionstexte für die Prätorianer und die italischen Flotten sind weniger lang als die üblichen Texte für Auxiliartruppen einer Provinz mit teilweise langen Truppenlisten. Damit könnte es sein, dass dieses Fragment eine weitere Kopie einer der beiden Erlasse für die Flotte oder die Prätorianer darstellt. Entscheiden lässt es sich nicht.

Zu rekonstruieren ist nur die Titulatur der beiden Kaiser:

Außentext:

Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Aur[elius Antoninus] / Aug(ustus) Armeniac[us pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia),] / pot(estate) XX, imp(erator) [III, co(n)s(ul) III et] / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aur[elius Verus Aug(ustus) Ar]/meniacus Part[hic(us) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / VI, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) II, proc(onsul) [divi Antonini f(ilii) di]/vi Hadriani nepo[tes divi Traiani Par]/thici pro[nepotes divi Nervae abnepotes] etc.

Innenseite:

Imp(erator) Cae[sar M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Aug(ustus)] / Armeni[acus pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / XX, im[p(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) III et] / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) A[urelius Verus Aug(ustus) Arme]/niacus [Parthic(us) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / VI, imp(erator) [III, co(n)s(ul) II, proc(onsul) divi An]/tonini f(ilii) [divi Hadriani nepotes] / divi Tr[aiani Parthici pronepo]/tes div[i Nervae abnepotes] etc.

13. Diplom aus der Zeit des Commodus oder des Septimius Severus.

Erhalten ist die rechte obere Hälfte von tabella II eines Diploms, zerbrochen in zwei aneinander anschließende Fragmente, mit dem originalen Rand oben und rechts. Die Schrift der Außenseite ist besonders sorgfältig geschrieben.

Maße zusammen: Höhe 7.8 cm, Breite 9.5 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe außen 7–10 mm; innen 5 mm. Gewicht: 56.6 Gramm.

³⁶ Es ist nicht ganz klar, ob die Ziffer II sicher ist oder ob ein Teil in der vorausgehenden Lücke verloren gegangen ist.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 22 und 23):



22



23

Außenseite:

[L PVLLI]	MARCIONIS
[C PVBLICI]	LVPERCI
[M IVNI]	PII
[TI CLAVDI]	IVLIANI
[---]	

Innenseite:

[--]LA vacat?
 [DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGN]ITVM EX TABVLA AEREA QVE
 [FIXA EST ROME IN MVRO P]OSTEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MI
 [NERV]AM

Zur Lesung: Durch das zweite I in Marcionis ist eine schräge Haste graviert. Das End-I in Pii ist mehr als doppelt so hoch wie die vorausgehenden Buchstaben.

Von dem Diplom ist nur ein minimaler Teil des Innentextes von tabella II erhalten, der keinerlei weitere Informationen gibt als die Erklärung, der Text sei kontrolliert abgeschrieben worden. Dennoch ist über die Zeugen eine ungefähre Datierung des Fragments möglich.³⁷ Erhalten sind die Cognomina der ersten vier Zeugen des Diploms. Die ersten drei erscheinen bereits in einem Diplom vom 23. März 178, dort allerdings noch an vierter, sechster und siebter Stelle.³⁸ Sie erscheinen erneut in einem Diplom aus der Regierungszeit des Commodus, dort bereits an dritter, vierter und fünfter Stelle,³⁹ sodann in Diplomen vom Jahr 192 (16. März und 11. August),⁴⁰ dort in der Reihenfolge wie auch in diesem neuen Diplom:

³⁷ Siehe die Zusammenstellung der Zeugnisse in RMD V p. 924 f.

³⁸ CIL XVI 128; RMD III 184; IV 293.

³⁹ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, ZPE 163, 2007, 229 = AE 2007, 1790.

⁴⁰ CIL XVI 133; RMD V 446.

L PVLLI	MARCIONIS
C PVBLICI	LUPERCI
M IVNI	PII
TI CLAVDI	IVLIANI

Diese Reihenfolge findet sich erneut in einem Diplom vom 20. Dezember 202 sowie einem Diplom, das nur ungefähr zwischen 192 und 204/206 zu datieren ist,⁴¹ und schließlich noch am 25. Januar 206.⁴² In diesen Diplomen sind allerdings die Positionen fünf bis sieben mit anderen Zeugen belegt als in denen von 192. Da in dem Fragment die Namen von der fünften bis zur siebten Position verloren sind, kann das Diplom entweder noch in die letzten Jahre des Commodus gehören bzw. in die Regierungszeit von Septimius Severus bis zum Anfang des Jahres 206, allerdings nicht später. Denn schon am 22. November 206 ist Ti. Claudius Iulianus nicht mehr tätig, an seine Stelle tritt ein Ti. Claudius Cassander.⁴³

Für wen die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, bestimmt war, lässt sich nicht genauer bestimmen, entweder für eine der italischen Flotten oder für das Heer einer Provinz. In beiden Fällen waren dieselben Zeugen verantwortlich.

Der knappe rekonstruierbare Text der Innenseite lautet:

[--- /

Descriptum et recognitum] ex tabula aerea, que [fixa est Rome in muro p]os(t) templum divi Aug(usti) ad Mi[nerv]am.

Die Reihe der Zeugen lautet entweder:

[L(uci) Pulli] Marcionis; [C(ai) Publici] Luperci; [M(arci) Iuni] Pii; [Ti(beri) Claudi] Iuliani; [L(uci) Pulli Benigni; C(ai) Fanni Arescontis; C(ai) Fanni Rufi] oder

[L(uci) Pulli] Marcionis; [C(ai) Publici] Luperci; [M(arci) Iuni] Pii; Ti(beri) Claudi Iuliani; [Ti(beri) Claudi Cassandri; L(uci) Pulli Benigni; Ti(beri) Iuli Dativi].

Im ersten Fall wäre das Diplom zwischen den letzten Jahren des Commodus und vor dem 20. Dezember 202 ausgestellt worden, im zweiten Fall nach dem 16. März 192 und vor dem 22. November 206.

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⁴¹ RMD V 449 und IV 304.

⁴² W. Eck, Septimius Severus und die Soldaten. Das Problem der Soldatenehe und ein neues Auxiliardiplom, in: *in omni historia curiosus*. Studien zur Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit. Festschrift für Helmuth Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag, hg. B. Onken – D. Rohde, Wiesbaden 2011, 63 ff.

⁴³ RMD III 189.

DIPLOME DER KAISER DES 3. JH. FÜR PRÄTORIANER – AUSSER SEVERUS ALEXANDER

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

Abstract: In contrast to the 1st and 2nd centuries, diplomas for praetorian soldiers became very frequent in the 3rd century. There are 13 new diplomas published here from the decades between Septimius Severus and Philippus Arabs; 16 diplomas from the time of Severus Aexander are excluded, which are published elsewhere. There are five diplomas of Septimius Severus, one of Caracalla, two each of Maximinus Thrax and Philippus Arabs; for three diplomas, the emperor cannot be determined. On the outside of a diploma the text for a praetorian is engraved, and on the inside, for the soldiers of one of the Italian fleets.

Keywords: *diplomata militaria*; Septimius Severus; Caracalla; Maximinus Thrax; Philippus Arabs.

Zusammenfassung: Im Gegensatz zum 1. und 2. Jh. werden im 3. Jh. die Diplome für Prätorianersoldaten sehr zahlreich. Hier werden 13 neue Diplome aus den Jahrzehnten zwischen Septimius Severus und Philippus Arabs publiziert; 16 Diplome aus der Zeit des Severus Alexander sind ausgenommen, die an anderer Stelle veröffentlicht werden. Es sind fünf Diplome des Septimius Severus, eines Caracallas, zwei jeweils des Maximinus Thrax und des Philippus Arabs; für drei kann der Kaiser nicht bestimmt werden. Bei einem Diplom steht auf der Außenseite der Text für einen Prätorianer, auf der Innenseite für den Soldaten einer der italischen Flotte.

Schlüsselwörter: *diplomata militaria*; Septimius Severus; Caracalla; Maximinus Thrax; Philippus Arabs.

Rezumat: Spre deosebire de secolele I și II, diplomele pentru soldații pretorieneni au devenit foarte frecvente în secolul al III-lea. Există 13 noi diplome publicate aici din perioada cuprinsă între Septimius Severus și Filip Arabul; sunt excluse 16 diplome din timpul lui Severus Aexander, care sunt publicate în altă parte. Există cinci diplome de la Septimius Severus, una de la Caracalla, două de la Maximinus Thrax și Filip Arabul; pentru trei diplome, împăratul nu poate fi determinat. Pe exteriorul unei diplome este gravat textul pentru un pretorian, iar pe interior, pentru soldatul uneia dintre flotele italiene.

Cuvinte cheie: diplome militare; Septimius Severus; Caracalla; Maximinus Thrax; Philippus Arabs.

In Athenaeum 100, 2012, wurde der Versuch unternommen, die Abfolge der Diplome, die für Prätorianer (und urbaniciani) überliefert sind, zusammenzustellen und insbesondere die Kopien des 3. Jh. zu analysieren (einschließlich der damals noch unpublizierten, aber partiell schon bekannten)¹. Dabei ergab sich folgende Verteilung der

¹ W. Eck, *Diplomata militaria* für Prätorianer, vor und seit Septimius Severus. Eine Bestandsaufnahme und ein Erklärungsversuch, Athenaeum 100, 2012, 321 ff. besonders 328. – Wir danken Florian Matei-Popescu für wertvolle Hinweise.

Diplome von Septimius Severus bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, zu dem das letzte dieser Dokumente überliefert ist. Dies war – und ist auch heute noch – das Jahr 306. Die Diplome verteilten sich in dieser Weise auf die einzelnen Herrscher (ohne die aus dem Beginn des 4. Jh.):

Herrscher	Insgesamt	davon unpubliziert
Septimius Severus	15	4
Caracalla	2	
Elagabal	10	
Severus Alexander	40	14
Maximinus Thrax	2	3
Gordian	4	1 ²
Philippus Arabs	17	
206–250?	1	
Valerian-Gallienus	2	
Gallienus	2	
3. Jh.	3	3
	99	

Inzwischen sind weitere Diplome publiziert worden:

Zeit	Name des Empfängers	Herkunft	Einheit	Beleg
198–209	M. Aurel[ius	---	--	AE 2014, 1629
222	--	--	--	Archaeologia Bulgarica 13, 2009, 56
248	[?M. Aurelius M.] f. Victor	[--]idis	Philippiana	Campbell, Metrop. Museum
224/225	M. Aurel[ius--]	Pa[--]	--	AE 2014, 1630
234	M. Aurelius M. f. Silvinus	Aug. Vindelico	III pr. Alexandr.	AE 2009, 1799
236	--	--	--	AE 2014, 1631
238/244	--	--	--	Beutler, Annona Epigr. 41, 2018, Nr. 102
244	[Sev]erus	[Aelia Mur]s[a]		AE 2013, 1252

Zusammen mit zwei weiteren Prätorianerdiplomen aus der Zeit des Severus Alexander, die in ZPE 211, 2019 erscheinen, sind das bisher 108 Diplome für die *cohortes praetoriae*, die aus dem 3. Jh. bekannt sind.

Diese Zahl kann hier nochmals durch weitere Dokumente aus der Zeit von Septimius Severus bis Philippus erhöht werden. Es sind folgende Diplome:

² Das Diplom, das nach dem Erscheinen des Artikels im Athenaeum in AE 2011, 1799 angezeigt wurde, ist durch AE 2014, 1632 unter Gordian ins Jahr 244 datiert.

1. Diplom des Septimius Severus aus dem Jahr 204.

Vollständige tabella I eines Diploms mit einer schwach eingravierten Doppellinie als Rahmen. Die Zeilen 13 bis 18 sind ziemlich beschädigt, so dass nicht bei jedem Wort ganz sicher ist, ob es voll ausgeschrieben oder ein wenig abgekürzt ist, ohne dass dies aber am Gesamttext etwas ändert. Auch die letzten beiden Zeilen sind in der rechten Hälfte ziemlich beschädigt. Der Name der Kohorte und der des Empfängers sind mit Buchstaben geschrieben, die etwa dreimal so hoch sind wie die in den vorausgehenden Zeilen. Auf der Innenseite ist die Lesung im rechten Drittel erschwert, weil das der Lesung zugrundeliegende Photo dort sehr dunkel ist. Auch hier ist aber der richtige Wortlaut dadurch nicht beeinträchtigt. Die Bindungslöcher wurden gebohrt, als der Innentext bereits geschrieben war. Deshalb sind in Zeile 7 und 14 einige Buchstaben verschwunden.

Folgendes kann gelesen werden (Abb. 1–2):





2

Außenseite:

IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SARM FIL DIVI
 COMMODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PII NEP DIVI HADRIA
 NI PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
 L SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS PIVS PERTINAX AVG ARAB ADIAB
 PARTHIC MAX PONTIF MAX TR POT XII IMP XI COS III P P ET
 IMP CAES L SEPTIMI SEVERI PII PERTINACIS AVG ARAB
 ADIAB PARTHIC MAX FIL DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM
 SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEP DIVI HADRIANI
 ABNEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHIC ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
 M AVRELIUS ANTONINUS PIVS AVG TR POT VI IMP III COS
 NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVNT IN COHORTIBVS
 PRAETORIS DECEM I II III IIII V VI VII VIII VIII X

PIIS VINDICIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA FVNCTI
 SVNT IVS TRIBVIMVS CONVBI DVMTAXAT SINGVLIS ET
 PRIMIS VXORIBVS VT ETIAMSI PEREGRINI IVRIS FEM
 INAS IN MATRIMONIO SVO IVNXERINT PROINDE LIBEROS

TOLLANT AC SI EX DVOBVS CIVIBVS ROMANIS NATOS
 A D PR IDVS MARTIAS
 L FABIO CILONE II M ANNIO LIBONE COS
 COH VI PR P V
 T GAIO T F VLP MAXIMO NICOPOL
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AEREA QVAE FIXA
 EST ROMAE IN MVRO POSTEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM

Innenseite:

IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SARM FIL DIVI
 COMMODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PII NEP DIVI HADRIANI
 PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
 L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PERTINAX AVG ARAB ADIAB PAR
 TH MAX PONT MAX TR POT XII IMP XI COS III P P ET
 IMP CAES L SEPTIMI SEVERI PII PERTINACIS AVG ARAB
 ADIAB PARTHIC MAX F DI● M ANTONINI PII GERM !!
 SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEP DIVI HADRIANI
 ABN DIVI TRAIANI PARTHIC ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG TR POT VI IMP III COS
 NOMINA MILIT QVI MILITAVERVNT IN COH PR DECEM
 I II III IIII V VI VII VIII VIII X PIIS VINDICIBVS
 QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA FVNCTI SVNT IVS CO
 NVBI TRIBVIMVS DVM●XAT CVM SINGVLIS ET PRI !!
 MIS VXORIBVS VT ETIAMSI PEREGRINI IVRIS
 FEMINAS IN MATRIMONIO SVO IVNXERINT PRO
 INDE LIBEROS TOLLANT AC SI EX DVOBVS
 CIVIBVS ROMANIS NATOS

Das Diplom geht auf eine Konstitution zurück, die bisher bereits durch zwei Diplome bezeugt war. Beide sind fragmentarisch erhalten: RMD IV 302. Das Datum dieses Diploms ist durch die Konsuln bekannt: [--] *Idus Martias* / [*L(ucio) Fabio Cilone II*] *M(arco) Annio Libone co(n)s(ulibus)*, die im Jahr 204 amtierten. Das zweite Diplom RMD V 452 ist durch die *tribunicia potestas XII* des Septimius Severus ins Jahr 204 datiert.

In Zeile 13 des neuen Diploms lautet der Text: QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA FVNCTI; diese Lesung ist nicht zweifelhaft, obwohl andere Teile von Zeile 13 nicht völlig sicher lesbar sind. Damit gibt es eine kleine Diskrepanz zu dem Diplom RMD V 452; denn dort steht: QVIBVS PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA FVNCTIS. Diese Diskrepanz ist offensichtlich durch Unachtsamkeit bei der Gravur entstanden; denn beide Diplome gehen auf dieselbe Konstitution zurück (siehe dazu noch weiter unten bei Nr. 3).

Das Tagesdatum RMD IV 302 ist durch das neue Diplom auf [*a(nte) d(iem) pr(idie)*] *Idus Martias* = 14. März zu vervollständigen. Im späteren 3. Jh. sind alle Prätorianerdiplome auf den 7. Januar datiert. Das ist fast bis zum Ende der Herrschaft des Septimius Severus noch nicht der Fall, das Datum ist vielmehr noch variabel; im Jahr 202 ist es der 30. April (RGZM 46), im Jahr 206 der 22 Februar (RMD III 188; IV 303), 207 der 30. März

(RGZM 48), 208 der 22. Januar (RGZM 49. 50). Mit einem Dokument aus dem Jahr 210 (RMD III 191) beginnt nach unseren jetzigen Kenntnissen die lange Reihe der Diplome für Prätorianer, die generell das Datum 7. Januar tragen.

Dieses Diplom wurde an einen Soldaten der *cohors VI praetoria* ausgegeben, dessen Name Titus Gaius Titi filius Maximus lautet. Gaius ist ein weitverbreitetes Praenomen, das aber auch öfter als Gentile bezeugt ist.³ In der Kombination mit dem Praenomen Titus findet es sich nur in CIL XI 352 bei einem Veteranen in der *classis Ravennas*: T. Gaius Eminens sowie dessen Sohn T. Gaius Iul(ianus).⁴ Der Soldat führt die Pseudotribus Ulpia wie auch viele andere Prätorianer des 3. Jh., wie etwa in RMD V 455: *L(ucio) Mario L(uci) f(ilio) Ulp(ia) Maximo Nicop(oli)* aus dem Jahr 212, oder in RMD II 135: *L(ucio) Septimio L(uci) f(ilio) Ulp(ia) Purula Nicopoli* aus dem Jahr 208, siehe ferner RGZM 49. 50. 51. In diese Reihe gehört auch dieser Soldat aus Nicopolis, das, wie die griechischen Namensformen zeigen, Ulpia als Beinamen führte (siehe z.B. IGBulg II 617. 622. 625).

Der Text der Außenseite lautet:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(ius) divi / Commodi frater divi Antonini Pii nep(os) divi Hadria(ni) pronep(os) divi Traiani Parthici abnep(os) divi Nervae adnep(os) / L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) Adiab(enicus) / Parthic(us) max(imus) pontif(ex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XII, imp(erator) XI, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) et /

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Arab(ici) / Adiab(enici) / Parthic(i) max(imi) fil(ius) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) / Sarm(atici) nep(os) divi / Antonini Pii pronep(os) divi Hadriani / abnep(os) divi Traiani Parth(ici) et divi Nervae adnep(os) / M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Pius Aug(ustus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) II /

nomina militum, qui militaverunt in cohortibus / praetori(i)s decem I II III IV V VI VII VIII VIII X / piis vindicibus, qui pie et fortiter militia functi / sunt, ius tribuimus conubi dumtaxat cum singulis et / primis uxoribus, ut, etiam si peregrini iuris fem(inas) in matrimonio suo iunxerint, proinde liberos / tollant ac si ex duobus civibus Romanis natos. /

A(nte) d(iem) pr(idie) idus Martias / L(ucio) Fabio Cilone II, M(arco) Annio Libone co(n)s(ulibus). /

Coh(ors) VI pr(aetoria) p(ia) v(index) / T(ito) Gaio T(iti) f(ilio) Ulp(ia) Maximo Nicopol(i). /

Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aerea quae fixa / est Romae in muro pos(t) templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

Der Text der Innenseite lautet:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(ius) divi / Commodi frater divi Antonini Pii nep(os) divi Hadriani / pronep(os) divi Traiani Parthici abnep(os) divi Nervae adnep(os) / L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus)

³ Siehe H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim² 1994, 85, für Caius S. 44.

⁴ Das Cognomen wird in EDR106382 und EDCS-20401802 als Iul(io) aufgelöst; doch liegt Iulianus als Cognomen näher.

Arab(icus) Adiab(enicus) Par/thic(us) max(imus) pont(ifex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XII, imp(erator) XI, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae) et /

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Arab(ici) / Adiab(enici) / Parthic(i) max(imi) f(ilius) di[vi] M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) / Sarm(atici) nep(os) divi Antonini Pii pronep(os) divi Hadriani / abnep(os) divi Traiani Parthic(i) et divi Nervae adnep(os) / M(arcus) Aurel(lius) Antoninus Pius Aug(ustus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul) II /

nomina milit(um), qui militaverunt in coh(ortibus) pr(aetoriis) decem / I II III IV V VI VII VIII VIII X piis vindicibus, / qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt, ius co/nubi tribuimus dum[ta]xat cum singulis et pri/mis uxoribus, ut, etiam si peregrini iuris / feminas in matrimonio suo iunxerint, pro/inde liberos tollant ac si ex duobus / civibus Romanis natos.

2. Ein weiteres Diplom des Septimius Severus aus dem Jahr 204.

Fragment aus drei aneinanderpassenden Teilen aus der linken unteren Hälfte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links und unten erhalten; zwei kaum mehr sichtbare Linien bildeten den Rahmen. Die Schrift der Innenseite ist, entgegen der allgemeinen Tendenz dieser Zeit, relativ gut lesbar.

Maße: Höhe ca. 8 cm, Breite ca. 5 cm, Dicke: 1.2 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 5 mm, innen 4 mm. Gewicht 33 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 3 und 4):





4

Außenseite:



[NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVNT IN]
 [COHORTIBVS PRAETO]RIS DECEM [I II III IIII V VI]
 [VII VIII VIII X PIIS VIND]ICIBVS QV[I PIE ET FOR]
 [TIT MILIT FVNCTI SVNT] IVS CONV[B [TRIBVIMVS]
 [CVM SINGVLIS ET PRI]MIS V[XORIB VT ETIAMSI]
 [PEREGRI IVR F]EMINAS M[ATRIMO SVO IVNXER]
 [PR]OINDE LIBERO[S TOLLANT AC SI EX DVOB CIVI]
 BVS ROMANIS NA[TOS A D PR IDVS MARTIAS]
 L FABIO CILONE [II M ANNIO LIBONE COS]

CO[H -- PR P V]

M AVRELIO M [F --]

DESCRIPTVM ET R[ECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AEREA QVE FI]
 XA EST ROME IN M[VRO POSTEMPLVM DIVI AVG AD MINER]
 V[AM]

Zeile 3 und 4 können auch so ergänzt werden (siehe schon oben zu Nr. 1):

[VII VIII VIII X PIIS VIND]ICIBVS QV[IBVS PIE ET]
 [FORTIT MILITA FVNCTIS] IVS CONV[B [TRIBVIMVS]

Innenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SA]RM FIL DIVI
 [COMMODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI] PII NEP DIVI HA
 [DRIANI PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI] PARTHICI ABNEP
 [DIVI NERVAE ADNEP L SEP]TIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS
 [PERTINAX AVG ARAB A]DIAB PARTHIC MAX PON

[TI MAX TRIB POT X●]II IMP XI [COS III P P ET]
[IMP CAES L SEPTIMI SE]VERI PI[I PERTINACIS]

Das Diplom stellt eine weitere Kopie der Konstitution von 204 dar wie schon oben die Nr. 1. Die Datierung ist wieder durch die Konsulatsangabe gesichert. Der Empfänger trägt das Gentile Aurelius wie zahlreiche andere Prätorianer in dieser Zeit.

Rekonstruktion des äußeren Textes:

[--- / nomina militum, qui militaverunt / in cohortibus praeto]ri(i)s decem [I II III IV V VI / VII VIII VIII X piis vind]icibus, qu[i pie et for/tit(er) milit(ia) functi sunt,]

oder: vind]icibus, qu[ibus pie et / fortit(er) milit(ia) functis]

ius conub[i tribuimus / dumtaxat cum singulis et pri]mis u[xoribus, ut, etiam si peregrini iur(is) f]eminas <in> m[atrimonio suo iunxer(int), / pr]oinde libero[s tollant ac si ex duob(us) civi]bus Romanis na[tos.

A(nte) d(iem) pr(idie) idus Martias] / L(ucio) Fabio Cilone [II, M(arco) Annio Libone co(n)s(ulibus)]. /

Co[h(ors)--pr(aetoria)p(ia)v(index)] / M(arco) Aurelio M(arci) [f(ilio)--]. / Descriptum et r[ecognitum ex tabula aerea que fi]/xa est Rom(a)e in m[u]ro pos(t) templum divi Aug(usti) ad Miner]/v[am].

Rekonstruktion des inneren Textes:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sa]rm(atici) fil(ius) divi / [Commodi frater divi Antonini] Pii nep(os) divi Ha/[driani pronep(os) divi Traiani] Parthici abnep(os) / [divi Nervae adnep(os) L(ucius) Sep]timius Severus Pius / [Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) A]diab(enicus) Parthic(us) max(imus) pon/[ti(fex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) X]II, imp(erator) XI, [co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) et /

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(uci) Septimi Se]veri Pi[i Pertinacis] / etc.

3. Ein drittes Diplom des Septimius Severus aus dem Jahr 204.

Fragment aus der linken unteren Hälfte der tabella I eines Diploms, dessen Rand links und unten erhalten ist. Den Rahmen bilden, wie fast stets in dieser Zeit, zwei einfache Linien.

Maße: Höhe 4.9 cm, Breite 5.2 cm, Dicke 1.5 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 5 mm, innen 5 mm. Gewicht 27.1 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 5 und 6):



5



6

Außenseite:

[.] D [--]
 L FABIO [--]
 M ANNIO [--]
 COH X[--]
 M AVRELIO M F[--]
 DESCRIPT ET RECOGNI[--]
 ROME IN MVRO POSTE[--]

Innenseite:

M AVRELLI[--]
 NOMINA MILI[--]
 DECEM I II III I[III --]
 PIE ET FORTIT[ER --]
 TRIBVIMVS DV[--]
 AM SI PEREGR[--]
 SVO IVNXERIN[--]
 EX DVOBVS CIVI[--]

Das Diplom geht auf dieselbe Konstitution zurück wie Nr. 1 und 2. Die Datierung ergibt sich wiederum aus der Nennung der beiden Konsuln. In der Verleihungsformel stand wohl nicht *qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt, ius conubii tribuimus*, sondern wie auch in RMD V 452: *quibus pie et fortiter militia functis ius etc.*, was auch deswegen notwendig erscheint, weil sonst die Zeile 4 der Innenseite weit länger gewesen sein müsste als alle anderen Zeilen.

Der Diplomempfänger ist erneut ein *M. Aurelius Marci filius* [--], der also wie auch der Veteran von Nr. 2 bereits vor der constitutio Antoniniana das Gentile führt, das dann inflationär geworden ist. Er hat in der *cohors X praetoria* gedient; seine origo, die nach dem Namen angeführt war, ist verloren gegangen.

Der Text des Diploms der Außenseite lautet damit:

[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(ius) div(i) Commodi frater divi Antonini Pii nep(os) divi Hadriani pronep(os) divi Traiani abne(pos) divi Nervae ad(nepos) L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) Adiab(enicus) Parthic(us) max(imus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XII, imp(erator) XI, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) et ----*]

[*A(nte)*] *d(iem)* [*pr(idie) idus Martias*] / *L(ucio) Fabio [Cilone II,] / M(arco) Annio [Libone co(n)s(ulibus)].* /

Coh(ors) X [pr(aetoria) p(ia) v(index) / M(arco) Aurelio M(arci) f(ilio) [--]. /

Descript(um) et re[cognit(um) ex tabula aerea que fixa est] / Rom(a)e in muro pos(t) t[emplum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam].

Die erhaltene Partie der Innenseite lautet:

[---] / *M(arcus) Aurelli[us Antoninus Pius Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII, co(n)s(ul)]* /

nomina mili[tum qui militaverunt in cohortibus praetori(i)s] / decem I II III I[III V VI VII VIII VIII X piis vindicibus, quibus] / pie et fortit[er militia functis ius conub(ii)] / tribuimus du[m]taxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus, ut, eti]/am si peregr[ini iuris feminas in matrimonio] / suo iunxerin[t, proinde liberos tollant ac si] / ex duobus civi[bus Romanis natos.]

Von dieser Konstitution sind somit bisher folgende Diplome bekannt:

Name	cohors	origo	Beleg
---	---	---	RMD V 452
[-- Q]uir(ina) Maximus	cohors [--]II	Scupi	RMD IV 302
T. Gaius T. f. Ulp. Maximus	cohors VI	Nicopolis ad Istrum	Nr. 1
M. Aurelius M. [f. --]	---	---	Nr. 2
M. Aurelius M. f.[---]	cohors X	---	Nr. 3

4. Diplom des Septimius Severus aus einem unbestimmten Jahr.

Fragment aus der oberen Mitte von tabella I eines Diploms; der Rand ist nirgends erhalten. Die Lesung vor allem auf der Innenseite ist im Detail nicht absolut gesichert.

Maße: Höhe 3.7 cm, Breite 3.5 cm, Dicke 0.75 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 4 mm, innen 4 mm. Gewicht 4.8 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 7 und 8):



7



8

Außenseite:

[SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEPO]S D[IVI HADRIANI]
 [ABNEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHI]C ET DIV[I NERVAE ADNEP]
 [M AVRELLIVS ANTONINV]S PIVS AVG TR[IB POT -- COS III]
 [NOMINA MILITVM] QVI MILITAVE[RVNT IN COHORTIBVS]



9



10

Außenseite:

[--]IL DIVI

[--]I HADRIAN

[--]ADNEP

[--]B ADIAB

[--]II COS III PP

Innenseite:

[--]

[--]

+[--]++[--]

[--]DVOB[--]

Die Filiation zusammen mit den Resten der Titulatur führt auf ein Diplom aus der Regierungszeit des Severus; ferner führt er eine Imperatorenakklamation, deren Ziffer am Ende zwei Senkrechte aufwies: [--]II. Da er bereits im Jahr 195 als *imp. VIII* akklamiert wurde, als er offiziell den Beinamen *Adiabenicus* noch nicht führte, muss es sich entweder um die Imperatorenakklamationen *VIII* oder *XII – XIII* handeln. Da er aber auch nur kurz *imp. VIII* war, da die 10. Akklamation schnell darauf folgte, ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass er im Diplom als *imp. XII* oder *XIII* titulierte ist. Das führt in die Zeit ab 205 n. Chr. Damit ist auch klar, dass Caracalla ebenfalls im Diplom genannt war. Theoretisch könnte man zunächst auch an Geta denken, der z.B. in dem Diplom RMD III 191 aus dem Jahr 210 neben Vater und Bruder erscheint. Doch ist dies deswegen ausgeschlossen, weil Septimius Severus nicht den Titel *procos.* trägt, der üblicherweise am Ende der Titulatur angefügt wurde, wenn der Kaiser Rom und Italien verließ. Da Severus aber bereits 208 nach Britannien aufbrach, Geta aber erst danach als Augustus auf den Diplomen erscheint, ist seine Nennung fast mit Sicherheit ausgeschlossen. Umgekehrt führt diese Beobachtung in die Jahre vor dem Aufbruch, wodurch sich die Zeitspanne für die Ausstellung des Diploms

auf den Abschnitt nach der Annahme der Akklamation *XII* im Verlauf des Jahres 205 und dem Frühjahr 208 eingrenzen lässt, als Severus die Reise nach Britannien antrat.

Damit kann man den Anfang des Diploms folgendermaßen wiederherstellen:

[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) f]il(ius) divi / [Commodi frater divi Antonini Pii nepos div]i Hadrian(i) / [pronep(os) divi Traiani Parthici abnep(os) divi Nervae] adnep(os) / [L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) Ara]b(icus) Adiab(enicus) / [Parthic(us) max(imus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) -- imp(erator) X]II oder XI]II co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriae) /*

[*et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) Parthic(i) max(imi) fil(ius) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) nep(os) divi Antonini Pii pronep(os) divi Hadri(ani) abnepos divi Traian(i) Parthic(i) et divi Nervae adnepos M(arcus) Aurell(ius!) Antoninus Pius Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) -- imp(erator) II oder III co(n)s(ul) III] etc.*

Unsicher muss bleiben, für wen das Diplom bestimmt war. Das späteste Diplom für Auxiliare kennen wir bisher aus dem Jahr 206.⁵ Für Flotten⁶ und für die *equites singulares*⁷ sind auch noch lange nach der severischen Zeit Diplome bekannt bzw. möglich; dennoch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass das Dokument für einen Prätorianer bestimmt war, erheblich größer angesichts der Vielzahl von Diplomen, die gerade seit severischer Zeit für die *cohortes praetoriae* erhalten sind.⁸ In diesem Einzelfall muss die Entscheidung dennoch offen bleiben.

6. Diplom Caracallas, vielleicht für einen Prätorianer.

Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte der tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nirgends erhalten.

Maße: Höhe 3.6, Breite 3.0 cm; Dicke 1.8 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben 4 mm. Gewicht 5.1 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 11):

Außenseite:

[--]+IC M[--]

[--]EP DIVI[--]

[--]ABNEPOS[--]

[--]AE ADNEPO[--]

[--]NINVS PIVS[--]

[--]++[--]



11

⁵ W. Eck, Septimius Severus und die Soldaten. Das Problem der Soldatenehe und ein neues Auxiliardiplom, in: *in omni historia curiosus*. Studien zur Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit. Festschrift für Helmuth Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag, hg. B. Onken – D. Rohde, Wiesbaden 2011, 63 ff.; ders., Das letzte Diplom für einen Auxiliarsoldaten aus dem Jahr 206 n.Chr. – der Text der Innenseite, ZPE 208, 2018, 237 ff.

⁶ RMD I 73; III 189; V 449.

⁷ RMD V 453. 454.

⁸ Eck, *Athenaeum* 100, 2012, 321 ff.

Innenseite:

[--]+++[--]

[--]SARM N[EP--]

[--]NI ABN[--]

[--]ANTO[--]

Die Reste der Titulatur sowie die Reste des Namens Antoninus im Nominativ machen es sicher, dass es sich um ein Diplom aus der Zeit Caracallas handelt. Eine genauere Eingrenzung der Zeit scheint nicht möglich, auch sind alle Elemente, die auf den Truppentyp schließen ließen, für den die Konstitution bestimmt war, verloren. Am wahrscheinlichsten bleibt freilich, dass es an einen Prätorianerveteranen gegangen ist. Doch muss sich die Rekonstruktion auf die Titulatur des Kaisers beschränken.

Die Titulatur ergibt bei Berücksichtigung der Reste von Außen- und Innenseite zusammen folgenden Text:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Septimi Severi Pii Arabici Adiab(enici) Part]hic(i) m[ax(imi) Brit(annici) max(imi) fil(ius) divi M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici)] Sarm(atici) nep(os) divi [Antonini Pii pronep(os) divi Hadria]ni abnep(os) [divi Traiani Parthic(i) et divi Nerv]ae adnepo[s M(arcus) Aurellius Severus] Antoninus Pius [Felix Aug(ustus) Parthic(us) max(imus) Brit(annicus) max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) -- imp(erator) -- co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae)] etc.

7. Ein Prätorianerdiplom des Maximinus Thrax aus dem Jahr 236.

Fragment aus der rechten unteren Ecke von tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist rechts und unten erhalten; die Rahmung besteht aus zwei sehr schwach eingeritzten Linien, über die rechts und unten hinweg geschrieben wurde. Die Zeichen auf der Innenseite sind wegen der sorglosen Schreibweise und wegen der noch vorhandenen Verkrustungen kaum zu lesen; vermutlich steht dort der Anfang des Innentextes, was sich aber nicht verifizieren lässt.

Maße: Höhe 5.0 cm; Breite 4.2 cm; Dicke 1.5 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 6, innen 4 mm. Gewicht 20.5 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 12 und 13):



12



13

Außenseite:

[--]++[--]

[AF]RICAN[O COS]

[--]XIMINIAN[A P V]

[--]I DINENTI

[--] *vacat*

[--]EX TABVLA AEREA

[--]MVRO POS TEMPL

[--]ERVAM

Innenseite:

Wohl Reste von vier Zeilen.

Der Beiname der Einheit *[Ma]ximinian[a]* zeigt, dass das Diplom unter Maximinus Thrax ausgegeben wurde, und zwar im Jahr 236 n. Chr.; denn in der vorausgehenden Zeile ist noch der Rest des Cognomens des zweiten Konsuls erhalten: *[Af]rican[o]*, was auf den *consul ordinarius* M. Pupienus Africanus führt, der in diesem Jahr zusammen mit Maximinus Thrax die *fascēs* am 1. Januar übernommen hatte. Das Konsulatsdatum ist damit in der Form *[Imp(eratore) Caes(are) G(aio) Iulio Vero Maximino Pio Felice Aug(usto), M(arco) Pupieno Af]rican[o co(n)s(ulibus)]* zu rekonstruieren. Aus diesem Jahr sind bereits zwei Diplome publiziert:

AE 1972, 503 = RMD I 77 und AE 2014, 1631. Alle drei Diplome gehen auf dieselbe Konstitution zurück, wozu auch noch das folgende Diplom und zwei weitere unpublizierte gehören.⁹

Vom Namen des Diplomempfängers ist das Cognomen lesbar: *Dinenti*. Dinens ist z. B. auch durch CIL III 13044 aus Salona für einen Valerius Dinens, *vir egregius*, bezeugt, ferner in minimal veränderter Form in zahlreichen weiteren Texten.¹⁰ Die origo, die in der nächsten Zeile stand, ist verloren, ebenso die Nummer der Kohorte, in der der Soldat gedient hatte.

Der Text kann in folgender Weise rekonstruiert werden:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) II, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriciae), proc(onsul)

nomina militum, qui militaverunt in cohortibus praetori(i)s Maximinianis decem I II III IIII V VI VII VIII VIII X piis vindicibus qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt ius tribui conubii dumtaxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus, ut, etiam si peregrini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo iunxerint, proinde liberos tollant ac si ex duobus civibus Romanis natos.

A(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Ian(uarias) Imp(eratore) Caes(are) G(aio) Iulio Vero Maximino Pio Felice Aug(usto) M(arco) Pupieno Af]rican[o co(n)s(ulibus).

Coh(ors) -- pr(aetoria) Ma]ximinian[a p(ia) v(index) / --] Dinenti / [--].

[Descript(um) et recognit(um)] ex tabula aerea, / [quae fixa est Romae in] muro pos(t) templ(um) / [divi Aug(usti) ad Min]ervam.

⁹ Das eine ist uns durch eine freundliche Mitteilung von Peter Weiß bekannt, das andere, das mit einer Konstitution des Severus Alexander verbunden ist, muss separat publiziert werden.

¹⁰ D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum* (OnomThrac). Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie, Athen 2014, 135 f.

8. Ein weiteres Prätorianerdiplom des Maximinus Thrax aus dem Jahr 236.

Fragment aus der unteren rechten Ecke der tabella I eines Diploms. Rechts und unten ist der Rand erhalten. Eine einfache Linie rahmt die Tafel ein.

Maße: Höhe 4.5 cm, Breite 4.2 cm, Dicke 1.5 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 6 mm, innen 4 mm. Gewicht 16.5 Gramm.

Folgendes ist lesbar (Abb. 14 und 15):



14



15

Außenseite:

[--]ENO AFRICANO COS

[--]AXIMINIAN P V

[--] M F DIZA

[--]RDICA

[--]GNIT EX TABVLA

[--]ST ROMAE IN MV

[--]G AD MINERVAM

Innenseite:

[PIIS VINDICIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITIA]

[FVNCTI SVNT IVS TRIBVI CONVBII DV]MTAXAT

[CVM SINGVLIS ET PRIMIS VXORIBVS V]T ETIAM

[SI PEREGRINI IVRIS FEMINAS IN MA]TRIMONIO

[SVO IVNXERINT PROINDE LIBEROS TOLL]ANT AC

[SI EX DVOBVS CIVIBVS ROMANIS N]ATOS.

Die einzelnen Teile der Buchstaben auf der Innenseite sind zwar sehr klar zu sehen, doch ist es schwierig, einzelne Buchstaben eindeutig zu identifizieren. In der letzten Zeile sollte man einen Teil des Wortes NATOS lesen können; von da kann man versuchen, die Zeichen einzelnen Worten, die man an dieser Stelle erwarten kann, zuzuweisen. Doch bleibt die Lesung recht unsicher.

Mit dem Fragment liegt eine weitere Kopie der Konstitution des Maximinus Thrax für die Prätorianertruppen aus dem Jahr 236 vor.¹¹ Das Jahr 236 ergibt sich wie schon bei der vorausgehenden Nummer durch die, hier nur fragmentarisch erhaltene Nennung der Konsuln: M. Pupienus Africanus neben dem Kaiser.

Die Einheit, aus der der Empfänger des Diploms stammt, ist nicht erhalten, wohl aber sein Cognomen Diza. Da der Soldat Marci filius genannt ist, trug er wohl auch, wie jedenfalls die Mehrheit der Prätorianer in dieser Zeit, das Gentile Aurelius; dazu passt auch die Herkunft aus Serdica, das im nördlichen Teil der Provinz Thracia lag, von wo nicht wenige Prätorianer kamen.¹² Auch der Soldat, der als Diplomempfänger aus derselben Konstitution bekannt ist, Marcus Aurelius Marci filius Ulpia Vellicus, stammte aus dieser Stadt.¹³ Soldaten mit dem Namen M. Aurelius Diza sind mehrfach bezeugt, so z. B. bei den Vigiles in Rom im Jahr 210,¹⁴ ferner ein *veteranus M. Aurelius Marcellinus qui et Diza* in einer stadtrömischen Grabinschrift,¹⁵ vier Prätorianersoldaten mit dem Namen M. Aurelius M. f. Diza, die alle aus Philippopolis stammen,¹⁶ ein gleichnamiger Soldat aus der Region von Nicopolis in Moesia inferior,¹⁷ zwei weitere Soldaten dieses Namens aus Pautalia,¹⁸ ein Soldat der legio II Parthica aus der Zeit des Severus Alexander, der keine Herkunft angibt,¹⁹ ein L. Aurelius L. f. Diza, der ebenfalls aus Serdica stammte und in der *coh. VI pr. Antoniniana* gedient hatte; er verstarb aber noch in Rom bereits mit 34 Jahren vor seiner Emeritierung.²⁰ Schließlich erscheint ein M. Aurelius Diza als Zeuge in einem Diplom, das auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückgeht wie dieses Diplom.²¹ Alle diese Aurelii Dizae sind zwar aus Rom bekannt, doch kann man von keinem dieser Soldaten wahrscheinlich machen, dass er mit dem Diza des Diploms identisch sein könnte.

Der Text der Außenseite lässt sich folgendermaßen wiederherstellen:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) C(aius) Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) II, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriciae), proc(onsul)

nomina militum qui militaverunt ...

A(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Ian(uarias) / Imp(eratore) Caes(are) C(aio) Iulio Vero Maximino Pio / Felice Aug(usto) M(arco) Pup(i)eno Africano co(n)s(ulibus). /

[Coh(ors) --- pr(aetoria) M]aximinian(a) p(ia) v(index) / [M(arco) Aurelio?] M(arci) f(ilio) Diza / [Ulp(ia) Se]rdica. /

[Descript(um) et reco]gnit(um) ex tabula / [aerea qu(a)e fixa e]st Romae in mu/[ro pos(t) templ(um) divi Au]g(usti) ad Minervam.

¹¹ In dem Artikel in *Athenaeum* 100, 2012, 328 sind irrtümlich 5 Diplome für Maximinus Thrax angeführt.

¹² Siehe die Liste bei Eck, *Athenaeum* 100, 2012, 333 ff.

¹³ RMD I 77 = RMD V p. 705.

¹⁴ CIL VI 1057 = 31234. Ein weiterer *vigilis* dieses Namens in einer ostiensischen Inschrift: CIL XIV 4397 = D. 2158.

¹⁵ CIL VI 2694.

¹⁶ CIL VI 2799 = 32543.

¹⁷ CIL VI 2933.

¹⁸ CIL VI 32624.

¹⁹ CIL VI 37261.

²⁰ AE 1983, 50.

²¹ RMD I 77. Zum Namen siehe Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum* (Anm. 10) 146–151 (einer der häufigsten thrakischen Namen).

9. Ein Prätorianerdiplom der Philippi aus dem Jahr 246.

Fragment aus der linken unteren Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms. Es beginnt mit der Zeile, in der die Bindungslöcher standen, wovon eines erhalten ist. Ringsum gebrochen außer am linken Rand. Die Zeichen auf der Innenseite machen den Eindruck, dass diese nur den Eindruck vermitteln sollen, sie sei beschrieben, ohne dass damit aber konkrete Buchstaben gemeint waren.

Maße: Höhe 5.9 cm. Gewicht: 17,02 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 16 und 17):



16



17

Außenseite:

[---]++[---]

vacat ●[---] ●

IN MATRIMONIO [SVO IVNXERINT PRO]

INDE LIBEROS TO[LL AC SI EX DVOB CI]

VIBVS ROMANI[S NATOS A D VII ID IAN]

C BRVTIO PRES[ENTE C ALLIO ALBINO COS]

COH II [PR PHILIPPIAN P V]

[--]++[---]+[---]

Das Diplom wurde, wie der fragmentarische Text unmittelbar erkennen lässt, für einen Veteranen der Prätorianerkohorten ausgestellt. Die gesamte Gestaltung der Außenseite, vor allem der mit sehr großen Buchstaben geschriebene Verweis auf die *coh(ors) II* weist auf das dritte Jh. Von den Konsuln, durch die das Diplom datiert wird, ist der Name eines Bruttius Praesens zu lesen. Im 3. Jh., in das das Diplom gehört, sind Konsuln dieses Namens als *consules ordinarii* im Jahr 217 und im Jahr 246 bekannt. Hier kann es sich nur um den Konsul des Jahres 246 handeln, da in den Diplomen unter Caracalla noch nicht diese Verwirrung auf der Innenseite anzutreffen ist, wohl aber zum Teil unter den Philippi.²² C. Bruttius Praesens amtierte zusammen mit einem C. Allius Albinus. Mit dieser Datierung ist sicher, dass das Fragment eine weitere Kopie der Konstitution darstellt,

²² Siehe z.B. ZPE 176, 2011, 243 ff. = AE 2011, 1793–1797.

die von Philippus zusammen mit seinem Sohn im Jahr 246 erlassen wurde; sie ist schon durch die Kopien von CIL XVI 150 und 151 sowie RMD III 199 und V 472 bekannt, also insgesamt durch fünf Exemplare.

Der Text dürfte ungefähr so gelautet haben:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Iulius Philippus Pius / Fel(ix) Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) M(arcus) Iulius Philippus nobilissim(us) Caes(ar) /

nomina militum qui militaverunt in cohortibus pr(a)etori(i)s Philippianis --- ut etiamsi peregrini iuris feminas] in matrimonio [suo iunxerint pro]inde liberos to[ll(ant) ac si ex duob(us) ci]vibus Romani[s] natos.

A(nte) d(iem) VII Id(us) Ian(uarias)] / C(aio) Bruttio Pr(a)e[sente, C(aio) Allio Albino co(n)s(ulibus)]

coh(ors) II [pr(aetoria) Philippian(a) p(ia) v(index) / ---] etc.

10. Ein Prätorianerdiplom der Philippi.

Fragment aus der rechten unteren Ecke der tabella I eines Diploms, bei dem der rechte und untere Rand erhalten ist. Von der Rahmung ist nichts mehr zu sehen. Die Rückseite ist so korrodiert, dass nichts mehr zu erkennen ist.

Maße: Höhe ca. 5 cm, Breite ca. 6 cm, Dicke 2 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 5 mm, innen 5 mm. Gewicht 24.6 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 18 und 19):



18



19

Außenseite:

[--]

[COH – PR PHI]LIPPIAN P F

[--]ATTIAN

[--]QVINQ

[DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX] TABVL AER QVE FIXA

[EST ROME IN MVRO POS TE]MPL DIVI AVG A[D MI]

[NERVAM]

Das Fragment gehört zu einem Diplom, das auf eine Konstitution von Philippus Arabs zurückgeht; das Jahr kann nicht bestimmt werden. Der Empfänger ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit ein M. Aurelius, der aus Aquincum in Pannonia inferior stammte. Die Schreibweise AQVINQ findet sich auch in CIL VI 1057 = 1058 = 31234 für einen *P(ublius) Aelius ... Romulus Aquinq(o)*.

Der rekonstruierte Text lautet:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Iulius Philippus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) --, co(n)s(ul) --, p(ater) p(atriciae)

nomina militum qui militaverunt in cohortib(us) praetor(iis) Philippianis decem ---

Coh(ors) -- pr(aetoria) Ph]ilippiana p(ia) v(index) / [? M(arco) Aureli(o) M(arci) f(ilio)] Attian(o) / [-- A]qinꝛo.

[Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex] tab(ula) aer(ea) qu(a)e fixa / [est Romae in muro pos(t) tem]pl(um) divi Aug(usti) a[d Mi/nervam].

11. Fragment eines Prätorianerdiploms.

Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte der tabella I eines Diploms, bei dem auf keiner Seite der Rand erhalten ist. Die Buchstaben sind auf der Außenseite sehr tief eingegraben, auch auf der Innenseite sind sie relativ gut lesbar.

Maße: Höhe 3.5 cm, Breite 3.5 cm, Dicke 1 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen: 4 mm, innen: 4 mm. Gewicht 6.8 Gramm.

Folgendes ist lesbar (Abb. 20 und 21):



20



21

Außenseite:

[---]I IIII V VI VII VIII[---]

[---]E ET FORTITER [---]

[---]RIBVI CONVBII D[---]

[---]LIS ET PRIMIS VX[---]

[---]REGRINI IVRIS [---]

[--]● ●[--]

Innenseite:



[--]PIIS VINDI[--]

[--]A FVNCTI[--]

[--]XAT CVM S[--]

[--]VS VT ETIAM[--]

[--]EMINAS[--]



Das Verbum *tribui* zeigt, dass die Konstitution von einem einzigen Kaiser ausgestellt wurde, also von Caracalla, Elagabal, Severus Alexander, Gordian oder von Maximinus im Jahr 236, als sein Sohn in den bekannten Diplomen noch nicht erscheint (siehe oben Nr. 7 und 8). Es ist nur der Privilegierungstext zu rekonstruieren:

[*Imp(erator Caesar ---*

nomina militum, qui militaverunt in cohortibus praetori(i)s --- decem I II II]I IIII V VI VII VIII [VIII X piis vindicibus, qui pi]e et fortiter [militia functi sunt, ius t]ribui conubii d[umtaxat cum singu]lis et primis ux[oribus, ut, etiamsi pe]regrini iuris [feminas in matrimonio suo iunxerint,] etc.

12. Prätorianerdiplom eines unbekannten Kaisers.

Fragment aus der linken Mitte der tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links erhalten.

Maße: Höhe 3.1, Breite 2.9 cm; Dicke 0.7 mm; Höhe der Buchstaben außen 4, innen 4 mm. Gewicht: 5 Gramm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 22 und 23):



22



23

Außenseite:

TER M[ILITIA FVNCTI SVNT IVS TRIBVI/MVS CONVB]



BII DVMTAX[AT CVM SINGVLIS ET PRIMIS VXORIB]

VT ETIAM [SI PEREGRINI IURIS FEMINAS MATRI]
MONIO SV[O IVNXERINT --]

Innenseite:

[--]AC SI[--]

[--]ANIS [--]

Ob der Text auf einen oder zwei Kaiser zurückgeht, lässt sich nicht erkennen.

Nur ein Teil des Standardtextes ist auf den beiden Seiten zusammen zu rekonstruieren:

[qui pie et forti]/ter m[ilitia functi sunt, ius tribui/tribuimus conu]bii dumtax[at cum singulis et primis uxoribus,] ut etiam, [si peregrini iuris feminas in matri]monio su[o iunxerint, proinde liberos tollant] ac si ex duobus civibus Rom]anis [natos].

13. Ein Diplomfragment: auf der Außenseite für Prätorianer, auf der Innenseite für Flottensoldaten.

Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte der tabella I eines Diploms; der Rand ist nirgends erhalten. Die Buchstaben sind tief und deutlich eingraviert.

Maße: Höhe 1.5 cm; Breite 2.3 cm.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 24 und 25):



24



25

Außenseite:

[--]

[PIVS] FEL AVG PON[T MAX TR POT – COS -]

[NOMI]NA MILIT[VM QVI MILITAUERVNT]

[IN CO]HORTIBV[S PRAETORIS --]

Innenseite:

[--]LLAE V[--]

[--]ILVAN+ [--]

[--]METRI[--]

[--]+E IN + [--]

Die Außenseite verweist eindeutig auf eine Konstitution, die für Prätorianersoldaten bestimmt war. Es könnte sich um ein Diplom des Severus Alexander handeln oder, wie Paul Holder annimmt, des Philippus Arabs. Doch das, was auf der Innenseite lesbar ist, lässt sich, soweit wir erkennen können, mit keiner Formulierung verbinden, wie sie aus den kaiserlichen Konstitutionen, jedenfalls für Prätorianersoldaten, bekannt ist. Man könnte daran denken, es sei eine Tafel verwendet worden, auf der viele Namen genannt waren, wie es auf den vollständigen *tabulae in muro post templum divi Augusti* der Fall war. Diese wurden, wie nunmehr öfter bezeugt, für Diplome wiederverwendet. Doch spricht gegen eine solche Annahme, dass die Buchstabenhöhe und deren Form sich in keiner Weise von der Außenseite dieses Diploms unterscheiden. Sie sollten also zum selben Zeitpunkt graviert worden sein.

Die Lösung hat u.E. Paul Holder gefunden, wofür wir ihm sehr dankbar sind. Er schlägt vor, die erhaltenen Teile als Reste einer *tabella II* anzusehen, und zwar von einem Diplom, das für einen Flottensoldaten ausgestellt wurde. Denn bei diesen wurde auch noch im 3. Jh. Frau und Kinder in die Privilegierung eingeschlossen. Dass bei der Herstellung der *tabellae* für ein Diplom nicht zusammengehörige Texte eingraviert wurden, die vielmehr für unterschiedliche Einheiten oder für verschiedene Soldaten derselben Einheit bestimmt waren, ist inzwischen mehrfach bezeugt.

So steht auf der Außenseite einer *tabella I* eine Konstitution des Severus Alexander für die *equites singulares* aus dem Jahr 232, während auf der Innenseite eine Konstitution des Maximinus Thrax aus dem Jahr 236 für eine Flotte zu lesen ist.²³ In einem weiteren Diplom erscheint auf der Außenseite eine Konstitution des Maximinus Thrax, während innen eine des Severus Alexander steht, allerdings hier in beiden Fällen für Prätorianer bestimmt;²⁴ doch die Texte hätten natürlich nicht in einem Diplom vereinigt werden dürfen. Das Gleiche gilt bei einem neuen Flottendiplom des Antoninus Pius, bei dem *tabella II* von einem Diplom stammt, dessen Empfänger ein anderer war, als der auf *tabella I* außen genannte: Der eine ist ein *Ti. Claudius Secundi f. Masculus Boius*, der andere ein *A. Antistius Auspicati f. Euphronius Cotiaeus ex Phryg*.²⁵

Etwas Ähnliches ist also auch hier eingetreten. Der Graveur hat bei der Herstellung eines Diploms für einen Prätorianer vermutlich eine *tabella* verwendet, auf der bereits der Text der Innenseite der *tabella II* eines Diploms für einen Flottensoldaten eingraviert war. Dabei hat man, als die *tabella I* mit der – hoffentlich richtigen – *tabella II* für einen Prätorianer zusammengefügt wurde, vielleicht den Irrtum nicht bemerkt, und dann zwei *tabellae* irrtümlich als zusammengehörig gesiegelt. Denkbar ist aber auch, dass man zwar den Irrtum bemerkte, aber dennoch die *tabellae* zusammenband, weil man davon ausging, dass der Text der Innenseiten ohnehin realiter nicht weiter wichtig war, weil außen alles gelesen werden konnte.

Geht man von diesem Verständnis des Fragments aus, dann ergibt sich folgender Text:

²³ RGZM 64 und P. Weiß, ZPE 134, 2001, 273 ff.

²⁴ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Prätorianerdiplom des Maximinus Thrax aus dem Jahr 236, kombiniert mit einer Konstitution des Severus Alexander aus dem Jahr 235(?), ZPE 211, 2019, 249–254.

²⁵ F. Beutler, Ein Militärdiplom der *classis Misenensis* (AE 2008, 1111) mit zwei Rezipienten?, ZPE 211, 2019, 237–246.

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) – Pius] Felix Aug(ustus) po[ntif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) --, co(n)s(ul) --, p(ater) p(atriciae)

nomi]na milit[um, qui militaverunt in co]hortibu[s praetoriis ---decem -- ius tribui conubii, dumtaxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus, ut, etiamsi peregrini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo iunxerint proinde liberos tollant ac si ex duobus civibus Romanis natos.]

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) – iis, qui militaverunt in classe praetoria -- quae est sub -- praef(ecto) octonis et vicens stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione -- civitatem Romanam dedit et conubium – dumtaxat singuli singulas. /

-- / et --]llae V[-- fil(iae) uxori eius / et S]ilvano [f(ilio) eius. / Descriptu]m et r[eg]e[cognit(um)]²⁶ ex tabula aerea qu(a)e fixa / est Rom]ae in m[uro pos(t) templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam].

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²⁶ Dieser Schreibfehler findet sich auch in CIL XVI 3.

TOPONYMS IN INSCRIPTIONS FROM DACIA (I)*

SORIN NEMETI

Abstract: The epigraphy of Dacia illustrates different types of communities without municipal status, *canabae*, *vici*, *pagi*, *kastella* and forms of organization of the rural territory of the *territoria* and *regiones* types, centered on settlements of the *vicus*, *pagus*, and *kastellum* types. Some inscriptions, older or more recent, also provide data on rural settlements and their names. The inscriptions have been discovered in Dacia, but it is possible that the toponyms they record indicate settlements from other provinces. I have selected three cases of *lectio difficilior* where the full name of the settlements cannot be reconstructed due to the fragmentary state of the monuments, to lacunae, or simply to modern ignorance. The three fragmentary sequences are APAL.NIS (CIL III 7728), KISUGI (ILD I 513) and VICI [...].NI (AE 2012, 1237).

Keywords: toponymy; epigraphy; Dacia; rural; settlements.

Rezumat: Epigrafiile dacice ilustrează diferite tipuri de comunități fără statut municipal, *canabae*, *vici*, *pagi*, *kastella* și forme de organizare a teritoriului rural de tip *territoria* și *regiones*, care au drept centre asemenea localități de tip *vicus*, *pagus*, *kastellum*. Unele inscripții, mai vechi sau mai recente, aduc informații despre așezările rurale și numele lor. Inscripțiile sunt descoperite în Dacia, dar este posibil ca toponimele menționate să desemneze localități din alte provincii. Am ales trei cazuri de *lectio difficilior* unde numele complet al localităților nu poate fi reconstituit din cauza stării fragmentare a monumentelor, a lacunelor sau, pur și simplu, din cauza ignoranței moderne. Cele trei secvențe fragmentare sunt APAL.NIS (CIL III 7728), KISUGI (ILD I 513) and VICI [...].NI (AE 2012, 1237).

Cuvinte cheie: toponimie; epigrafie; Dacia; rural; așezări.

Little is known on life in the rural environment of the Roman province of Dacia in general, despite the fact that, as Mihail Macrea remarked: “the largest part of the province’s population ... lived ... naturally, in villages”.¹ The names of the settlements lacking urban status that are attested through epigraphy are also few and one faces difficulties in connecting the toponyms attested by the geographic and cartographic sources with the archaeological remains identified in the field.² As compared to other provinces, especially Moesia Inferior, in Dacia the number of inscriptions that mention village names or the forms of organization of rural communities (*vicus*, *pagus*, *kastellum*, *canabae*) is extremely small.³

Out of the secondary agglomerations born near the legionary and auxiliary forts, only the *canabae* in the proximity of the fort of the XIIIth Gemina Legion in Apulum are attested

* This paper is a result of the research project PN-III-ID-PCE-2016-4-0186, funded by UEFISCDI.

¹ Macrea 1969, 145.

² List of toponyms from epigraphy and cartographic sources: Tomaschek 1980, 53–88; Pârvan 1926, 255–278; for archaeological remains of rural settlements and villas see Gudea 2008.

³ Macrea 1969, 145–147; Tudor 1969, 319–328; Glodariu 1977, 953–955; Ardevan 1998a, 45–55.

epigraphically.⁴ The existence of the *canabae* of the Vth Macedonica Legion in Potaissa has been presumed, but for now there is no epigraphic mention of them. The inhabitants of such *canabae* are mentioned by two inscriptions from Potaissa, where they are mentioned as *cives Romani*,⁵ by which one should understand *c(ives) R(omani) consist(ent)es kann(abis) leg(ionis)* like in Apulum⁶ and elsewhere.⁷

Among the *vici militares* of Dacia only *Cumidava* is epigraphically recorded, by an inscription from Râșnov where the toponym features an epithet of the cohort camped in the fort in question,⁸ and *Ad Batavos*, in the corrupt transcription of *Ad Vatabos*, for the settlement near the fort in Războieni-Cetate.⁹ A *praedium*, a rural property owned by a certain Optatus, gave its name to the civilian settlement formed in the vicinity.¹⁰ The latter, *Optatiana*, is attested both by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and in epigraphy, on inscriptions and stamps, as an epithet of the Moorish numerus stationed in the neighboring fort (*Numerus Maurorum Optatianensium*).¹¹

Other rural settlements, born in the vicinity of auxiliary forts or along commercial roads, were probably autonomous, the centers of *territoria* and *regiones*. Though the inscriptions only attest cases of this kind sporadically, such settlements were in fact *vici* or *pagi*, led by *magistri* and with an *ordo* consisting of *curiales*. This is the case of Arcobara, Samum, Micia, Sucidava, and Bassiana.¹²

Among the *pagi* of Dacia the preserved sources only mention *pagus Miciensis*,¹³ inhabited by *cives Romani et veterani*¹⁴ and *pagus Aquensis*,¹⁵ in the territory of Ulpia Traiana, where a decurion of the colonia was *praefectus*.¹⁶ The term *vicus* features three times in the epigraphy of Dacia, once to indicate a neighborhood of Alburnus Maior, *vicus Pirustarum*,¹⁷ and twice to indicate rural settlements the names of which have not been preserved (lacunal parts of inscriptions): a *vicus Au[---]* features on the mile marker in Almașu Mare¹⁸ (reconstructed in the old literature as *vicus Anartorum*)¹⁹ and a *vicus [---]ni* can be found in the recently published inscription from Jebucu.

Kastella form a special category of rural settlements, typical to the area of Illyrian colonization in the Apuseni Mountains. Existing inscriptions attest *kastella* in Dalmatia

⁴ IDR I 37; IDR III/5, 527, 74, 438, 240, 253.

⁵ ILD I 487, 500; Bărbulescu, Cătinaș 1993, 49–64; Bărbulescu 1994, 37–39 (a *conventus civium Romanorum* before the arrival of the legion, but also *cives Romani* inhabiting the *canabae*); Piso 2014, 73 (*canabae*).

⁶ IDR III/5, 438.

⁷ Avram 2007, 93–97.

⁸ Macrea 1941–1943, 235–227, 245; IDR III/4, 221.

⁹ IDRE II 411; Popovici, Varga 2010.

¹⁰ Arnaud 1998, 201–224; Dana, Nemeti 2016, 77–81.

¹¹ CIL III 7695 (funerary inscription); CIL III 1633 = 8074, 27 (tile stamps); Panaitescu 1932, 91–103.

¹² Nemeti 2014, 79–99.

¹³ IDR III/3, 69, 80, 83; Tudor 1968, 120–129.

¹⁴ IDR III/3, 82, 84.

¹⁵ Tudor 1968, 115–119.

¹⁶ CIL III 1407; IDR III/3, 10; Ardevan 1998, 394; Dudău 2011, 268–269.

¹⁷ IDR I 39, TabCerD IX.

¹⁸ Piso 2011, 323–324.

¹⁹ Patsch 1937, 140–141; first reading was *vico Af(icae)* – Torma 1879, 92.

and in Dacia, such as *kastellum Ansis*, *kastellum Avieretium*, *kastellum Artum*, *kastellum Starva* and *kastellum Baridustarum*.²⁰

In conclusion, the epigraphy of Dacia illustrates different types of communities without municipal status, *canabae*, *vici*, *pagi*, *kastella* and forms of organization of the rural territory of the *territoria* and *regiones* types, centered on settlements of the *vicus*, *pagus*, and *kastellum* types.

Other inscriptions, older or more recent, also provide data on rural settlements and their names. The inscriptions have been discovered in Dacia, but it is possible that the toponyms they record indicate settlements from other provinces. I have selected three cases of *lectio difficilior* where the full name of the settlements cannot be reconstructed due to the fragmentary state of the monuments, to lacunae, or simply to modern ignorance, to the lack of similar toponyms in the epigraphic and literary material available today.

APAL.NIS

In this context one must discuss the reading of the inscription on altar CIL III 7728, that an anonymous saw in Doștat (Alba County), on the property of the Lugács family (*curia seu domus nobilitaris Lugacensium* according to Seivert) on July 16th 1723 (Pl. I/1). According to C. Gooss, the altar was seen together with two other monuments (*zwei Statuen*).²¹ Though traces of Roman habitation do exist in Doștat, on the spot called *La zid (bei der Mauer)*,²² specialists believe that this monument entered Gustav Teleki's collection in Doștat from elsewhere, ending up on his Cunța (*Konza*) property. Seivert and then C. Gooss saw the Mithraic relief dedicated by L. Aelius Hylas in the collection from Cunța.²³ The similar formulary of the dedication²⁴ supports the hypothesis that both monuments entered the collection at the same time and had been part of the same *mithraeum*. The quality of L. Aelius Hylas' relief has led historians to the hypothesis that this was a *mithraeum* from a more important center, such as Apulum or Ulpia Traiana,²⁵ and not a rural settlement such as the one in Doștat *La Zid*. G. Sicoe's recent stylistic analysis indicates the fact that L. Aelius Hylas' relief *very likely* (*höchstwahrscheinlich*) originated in Sarmizegetusa.²⁶ Its dimensions (1.43 × 0.89 × 0.21 m) and iconographic details indicate that the relief was the central piece of a *mithraeum*, the cult's icon. Cautus holds a bucranium in his left hand and Cautopates holds a scorpion, while the bull's tail ends in an ear of wheat, thus following the rules of celestial orientation (Mithras between the Equatorial constellations of *Taurus* and *Scorpio*, with the wheat ear as *Spica, lucida* from the constellation of *Virgo*).²⁷ The inscription certifies this: the dedicator L. Aelius Hylas, *vicessimae libertus*, dedicated the relief (*signum numinis*) to his own health, that of his wife Apuleia and his son Horiens,

²⁰ Nemeti 2014, 81–83.

²¹ Gooss 1877, 117.

²² Moga, Ciugudean 1995, s.v. *Doștat*, 91, no. 2.

²³ CIL III 968 = 7728; IDR III/2, 306a; IDR III/4, 30; CIMRM 2008.

²⁴ *Io(vi) S(oli) invi(cto) deo genitori r(upe) n(ato)* on L. Aelius Hylas' altar and *[Invic]to S[oli] deo / ge[nitori]* on Artemidorus' altar; CIMRM 2006–2007, 2008, 2009.

²⁵ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 138.

²⁶ Sicoe 2014, 227–228, no. 188, pl. 71.

²⁷ Beck 1988, 20–21; Beck 2006, 194–195.

probably also contributing to the mithraeum's *cella*: *signum ... cum (cella) absidata*.²⁸ I believe that the same *mithraeum* is also mentioned in the inscription of Artemidorus, *sacerdos* and *adventor huius templi*.

The monuments should be rather dated to the first half of the 2nd century: L. Aelius Hylas was an imperial freedman, *libertus* of L. Aelius Caesar, while the *nomen* of Artemidorus, fallen into a lacuna, was initially read as Flavius. A certain Flavius Artemidorus, a Greek-speaking Oriental and a slave with a Greek mythological cognomen the son of whom was baptized Horiens, are the right people to initiate a Mithraic community in the capital of the new province.

Lines 4 and 5 on the altar of Artemidorus pose reading problems, as they hide one or two toponyms. I. I. Russu adopted the reading from CIL (and only partially Franz Studniczka's reading²⁹) and envisaged there the formula *sacerdos creatus a Palm[yre]/nis do(mo) Macedonia*. In the published photograph one can note the ligatures R+E and A+T+V of the word *creatus*, which have led to diverging readings over time: Gooss read *sacer(dos) c(ivium) R(omanorum) natus...*,³⁰ Mommsen read *sacer(dos) c[o]r[o]natus a[r]a[e]...*,³¹ while Studniczka's reading *sacerdos creatus...*³² became generally accepted. All three scholars have recognized in the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 a toponym (*eine Ortsname*) that they were unable to complete: *natus Apalanis* for Goos, *sacerdos creatus apala[.]nis* with the variant APALAMNIS for Studniczka and *coronatus arae A...nis* for Mommsen. Domaszewski has introduced the reading *sacerdos creatus a Palm(yre)nis*,³³ that Russu, Vermaseren, and all subsequent authors have adopted.³⁴ The reading is implausible for epigraphic reasons: one or two letters at most (in ligature) could fit in the space ending on the edge of the altar and the *Palmnis* abbreviation of *Palm(yre)nis* is bizarre. Furthermore, the epigraphic practice of the Mithraic inscriptions contains these formulae that validate the *sacerdotium*: a Mithraic *pater* makes reference to the place where he had been *made* a *pater* (through initiation?) using the formula *sacerdos factus, creatus*. For example, the inscribed relief from London, dedicated by a certain Ulpius Silvanus, *emeritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)*,³⁵ ends with the expression *factus Arausione*, where Vermaseren translated *factus* as *appointed, confirmed*, thus a Mithraic *pater* "reborn" in Arausio.³⁶ The case is similar to that of Artemidorus who was a *creatus pater*³⁷ in a settlement from Dacia or elsewhere and whose name is written in lines 4 and 5 of the inscription. The toponym

²⁸ IGL Messina 7a: *ossa hic in cella absidata sunt*.

²⁹ Studniczka 1884, 50–51.

³⁰ Gooss 1887, 119.

³¹ EphEp, IV, 1881, 65, no. 142; CIL III 968.

³² Studniczka 1884, 51.

³³ CIL III 7728.

³⁴ CIL III 968 = 7728; IDR III/2, 306a; IDR III/4, 30; CIMRM 2008; Vermaseren 1962, 65, 69; Cumont read *de[orum?] sacerdos creatus a Pal[myr]enis, domo Macedonia et adven[tor] huius templi* and compared it with Apul. Met. XI, 26 (Lucius, initiated in Greece, was received in Rome in the great temple from the Field of Mars, *fani quidem advena, religionis autem indigena*). Cumont's conclusion seems senseless: "It looks like this Macedonian made a priest in a colony of Palmyrians for their national gods (Bel, Malachbel etc.) was received in Dacia by Mithras' initiates as an adept of their religion" (Cumont 2008, 286, n. 39).

³⁵ CIMRM 810.

³⁶ Vermaseren 1974, 29–31.

³⁷ On the use of *pater* – *sacerdos* in the Mithraism of the western provinces see Nock 1937, 109.

is difficult to reconstruct: the comparison with Arausio suggests that *creatus* should be followed by a toponym in ablative; letters NIS preserved in the beginning of line 5 indicates an ending in *-is*, the ending of the plural ablative. The lacuna thus presumably contains a toponym in plural of the Ad Palmas type (At the Palm Trees) or any other that would form the ablative in *-is*. In line 4 one also notes letters A+P in ligature, and not A+D that is written differently in the end of line 5, in the word *adventor*. The first ligature is followed by A+L in ligature, then an area where a letter or two are missing, and the end of the toponym in line is NIS. The reconstructable series that hides the name of a toponym is APAL[.]NIS.

In line 5 Th. Mommsen suggested the reading *dom(o) Cedonia*, presuming the fact that Artemidorus lived near Apulum, in Cedonia, a settlement mentioned on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and in the Cosmography of the Anonymous from Ravenna (4.17).³⁸ In the photograph one still notes an *interpunctio* between D and M, so that the likeliest reading is *d(omo) Macedonia*, indicating the province in northern Greece. The mention of the toponym Cedonia is thus very improbable.

K(ASTELLO) ISUGI

Another epigraphic monument that should be analyzed from this perspective is a funerary stela from Potaissa (Pl. I/2). The large limestone stela (2.05 × 0.77 × 0.17 m) was discovered at the feet of Dealul Zânelor, probably in a secondary position. In the upper part the monument displays a triangular gable, with a vegetal ornament in the tympanum. The upper row depicts the scene of the funerary banquet, with three characters. A man wearing a *tunica manicata* and holding a chalice in his hand is depicted on a *kline* with an arched backrest and a sculpted foot. Near him one can see another character, smaller, also holding a chalice, while a woman holding a chalice in one hand and a grape bunch in the other is depicted to the left, on a cathedra. A *mensa tripes* is rendered in front of the seated characters. The table has a round top and is depicted as seen from above, supporting various foods that cannot be identified.³⁹ The lower part of the sculptural field holds the beginning of the inscription: *D(is) M(anibus)*. The inscription continues in the epigraphic field and several attempts of reading it have been made – though everyone agreed that the name of the deceased woman was *Valeria Dulae (filia)(?)*.⁴⁰ Under close scrutiny the item reveals the fact that the name Valeria is in nominative, but the patronym ends in the diphthong AE, that indicates a genitive. The third letter of the patronym is not L, but T, so it should be reconstructed as DVTAE.⁴¹ The deceased was Valeria Dutae, Valeria the daughter of Duta, where Duta should be a Thracian or Illyrian personal name.⁴²

Only C. C. Petolescu saw a possible name in lines 3–4, with question mark, *ITTV/IVN (?) pos(uit)*,⁴³ while most of those who published or republished the inscription

³⁸ EphEp, IV, 1881, 65, no. 142.

³⁹ Bărbulescu 2016, 83–84, 300, no. 34, Figs. 71–72.

⁴⁰ Téglás 1915, 47, Fig. 6; Jude, Pop 1973, 7, Pl. II. The inscription: *D(is) M(anibus) / Valeria Dulae (filia?) / vix(it) an(nis XXXI / Titu/lun pos(uit) Volus(ius) / Titianus co(n)iugi pie/[ntissimae...et] b(ene) m(erenti)*, with the remark: “The letters K I S V G I from the last row of the inscription have not been read”.

⁴¹ Suggestion made by D. Dana, whom I want to thank here, after a direct autopsy of the monument.

⁴² Dana 2014, 171 (Dutua?, Doutouros, Dutuboris, all from Moesia Inferior); see also the occurrences of the feminine personal name Duta in Canusium (CIL IX 349; AE 1987, 275) and Macedonia (CIA 148 = LIA 159).

⁴³ ILD I 513.

recognized the formula *titulun pos(uit)*, an erroneous spelling of *titulum posuit*. The name of the character in question was Volus(ius) Titianus and peregrine woman Valeria Dutae was his pious wife (*pie*, for *pie*) who was well worth it: *b(ene) m(erenti)*.

Six more letters can be seen in line 6, the final line of the inscription, before the letters BM for *b(ene) m(erenti)*, obviously connected to the end of line 5, *coniugi pi(a)e b(ene) m(erenti)*. The six enigmatic letters have been interpreted as part of a presumable *pientissimae*⁴⁴ or remained simply unexplained.⁴⁵

The first of the six letters is a K with the stems rendered close together and short. The second letter is I, the third is a reversed S, the fourth a V, the fifth a letter that resembles a G (but with the stem longer than that of the G in *coniugi*), and the sixth letter is another I. An *interpunctio* can be noted between this final I and the B in *bene merenti*, just like between B and M. The intention was, clearly, to indicate the abbreviation BM and to set it apart from the previous word. In my opinion, the final line contains the family's *origo*, or possibly only that of Volusius Titianus alone. Since K is generally the abbreviation for *K(astellum)*, the toponym itself is left with the letters ISVGI. The *-i* ending seems to suggest the genitive of a second declension proper noun, male, of the Isugus type, thus the reading should be *k(astello) Isugi*, instead of the ablative *k(astello) Isugo*. The use of the genitive ending is encountered even in Potaissa, like for example *domo Zigali* in P. Raecius Primus' inscription.⁴⁶

There are two reading variants of this toponym:

- if the third letter is a reversed S, one can read Isugi and find as analogy the local Celtic *gentilicium* Isugius, the name of a municipal magistrate from Passy (Alpes Graiae), Aulus Isugius Vaturus.⁴⁷
- if the third letter is an L inspired by cursive writing, like on the altar from Benic dedicated to Liber Pater,⁴⁸ then the reading is Ilugi. Ilugo is encountered in epigraphy, as the name of a Hadrianic *municipium* from Hispania Citerior (in Santistéban del Puerto): *municipium Ilugonense*.⁴⁹

The issue of the family's origin remains to be discussed. Where was this *kastellum* located?

The Thracian name of the deceased woman, the iconography of the banquet with three characters, and the *titulum posuit* formula rather point to Moesia Inferior (its part in Dobrudja) as the area of origin of this family.

The name *titulum* for the funerary monument can be encountered a few times in Dacia as well, most often abbreviated. The formula *titulum posuit/posuerunt* features in Dacia on three monuments⁵⁰ and abbreviated as TP on three others.⁵¹ On the other hand it is frequent in Moesia Inferior, featuring unabbreviated, like in Potaissa, on funerary stelae with the depiction of the funerary banquet (or the banquet and the knight hero). Several

⁴⁴ Jude, Pop 1973, 7.

⁴⁵ ILD I 513.

⁴⁶ ILD I 463.

⁴⁷ CIL XII 2349.

⁴⁸ IDR III/4, 61.

⁴⁹ CIL II 3239.

⁵⁰ ILD I 313; IDR III/1, 269; IDR III/5, 598.

⁵¹ IDR III/4, 196–198.

examples can be mentioned, from Capidava,⁵² Topalu (Constanța County),⁵³ Ulmetum,⁵⁴ Cius (in the municipality of Gârliciu, Constanța County),⁵⁵ Troesmis,⁵⁶ and Niculițel.⁵⁷ The patronym Duta, of Thracian origin, the formula *titulum posuit* that is often encountered in Moesia Inferior, and the iconography of the banquet with three characters indicates the Moesian origin of this family.⁵⁸ The scene of the banquet with three characters is isolated in Potaissa, where the local workshops developed a more complex iconographic pattern, with 4–6 characters. All these elements support an earlier dating of the monument and the fact that it should be connected to the first colonists who arrived in Potaissa from Moesia Inferior. Only future researches can decide if this mentioned *kastellum* should be searched there or if it makes reference to Volusius Titianus' place of origin (in Dacia, Dalmatia or even Hispania or Africa).

VICANI VICI [...]NI IN CON

The third monument that should be analyzed is the recently published base of a limestone statue found in Jebucu (Sălaj County) (Pl. I/3). The authors of the publication have suggested a reading variant with the end of the settlement's name only in the beginning of line 5 and have completed it as *Rucconium* (*vicani vici Rucconii*), a settlement mentioned by Ptolemy in the western part of Dacia.⁵⁹

This was their suggested reading:⁶⁰

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo)
[et Geni]o dd[[d]](ominorum) nn[[n]](ostrorum) Sev(eri)
[et Ant(onini) A]ugg(ustorum) [[et Getae C(aesaris)]]
[c(ives) R(omani) et] vicani vici
[Rucco]ni im[p](ensis) com(munibus)
[devoti?] sacrum p[os](uerunt)].

Several solutions to the completion of the inscription are possible, as a fragment is missing from the left side of the altar.

Only two letters D are still visible in line 2, from *trium dominorum*, while the latter has been erased. Before the final D one can still see the rounded end of a letter, smaller than D, interpreted as an O. Thus, the reading could be *Iovi Optimo Maximo et Genio trium dominorum nostrorum*, so the statue was dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Genius of the three emperors from the house of the Severi. In this case it cannot be the base of a statue, but an altar. Even thus one faces difficulties in interpreting a Genius (singular) and three emperor names, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, when each of them should have had their own *genius*. The solution can be simpler if one accepts that

⁵² ISM V 29–31.

⁵³ ISM V 55.

⁵⁴ ISM V 79.

⁵⁵ ISM V 117.

⁵⁶ ISM V 184.

⁵⁷ ISM V 250.

⁵⁸ Bianchi 1974, 159–181; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 47–49.

⁵⁹ Ptol. *Geogr.* III.8.6 (Roukkonion 46.30, 48.10).

⁶⁰ Ardevan, Zăgreanu 2012, 73–83.

the rounded letter belongs to an *interpunctio* or a *hedera distinguens* and the dedication in lines 1–4 might thus be rendered in the following way:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [pro sal(ute)] (hedera) (trium) d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Sev(eri) / [et Ant(onini) A]ug(ustorum duorum) [[et Getae C/aes(aris)]]].

Things are thus simplified: the text is a dedication to the supreme god of the civic pantheon, of the Roman state, for the health of the emperors of that time,⁶¹ by the representatives of a rural community in the name of its inhabitants, called generically *vicani*. After the year 211, after Geta's assassination and the decree that abolished the memory of him,⁶² his name and elements of titulature were erased (and this is a good indication of the fact that the inscription was still on display in a public place). The beginning of line 4 might be interpreted as the letters AES from Geta's titulature, or something else, that I am unable to reconstruct. It is unlikely that two *magistri* were simply mentioned, but not named. Lines 4–5 mention the settlement, a *vicus*, preserving only the final two letters, NI. Around four letters are missing and this could even be a shorter predial toponym like *vicus Augustanius*, *Secundinius*, *Florentinius*, *Herculanius*, *Matrinus*, *Rufranius*, *Segusinius*,⁶³ in order to mention as examples only the *vici* attested through epigraphy. C. C. Petolescu suggested *vicus Ulpianum*,⁶⁴ relating it to Ptolemy's reference to the settlement of Ulpianum, in the western part of Dacia. The inscription continues with an *interpunctio* and another group of five letters: IN, space, and then CON.

Adopting the first variant, R. Ardevan and R. Zăgreanu have reconstructed IM, a P fallen into a lacuna, and COM, reading *imp(ensis) com(munibus)*, in the sense of expense from shared funds. In *Année Épigraphique* is preserved the reading, with one adjustment: *imp(ensa) com(muni)*.⁶⁵ The formula is indeed encountered on votive, honorific and especially funerary inscriptions, but always as *communi impensa*,⁶⁶ *de communi impensa*⁶⁷ or *communis locum et impensam*.⁶⁸

Furthermore, one can note in this inscription that the letters in line 5 are NN and not MM. I suggest the completion *in con/[ciliab(ulo)] sacrum p[o]s(uerunt)* or even *fece(runt)*, where *conciliabulum* was the meeting place of several rural communities in the area.⁶⁹ It is improbable that letters IN CON belong to the toponym, as such *vici* with two names, a toponym derived from an anthroponym and a topical toponym, are not attested epigraphically.⁷⁰

I have discussed three inscriptions discovered in Dacia that contain toponyms designating rural settlements. Two should be probably located in other provinces (one in

⁶¹ Nemeti 2015, 251–262.

⁶² Kienast 1990, 166.

⁶³ Tarpin 2002, index.

⁶⁴ ILD II 985.

⁶⁵ AE 2012, 1237.

⁶⁶ CIL VIII 15051; XIII 1580; XII 324; XIV 4865.

⁶⁷ AE 1903, 256.

⁶⁸ CIL VI 13850 = 34075.

⁶⁹ RE IV, 1, 1900, s.v. *conciliabulum*, c. 799–801 (Schulten).

⁷⁰ Tarpin 2002, index.

Macedonia, the other possibly in Moesia Inferior) and the third in the western part of Dacia. There are also other inscriptions that contain fragments of toponyms in Trajan's province, but the names are often difficult or impossible to reconstruct. These are not singular cases, as it is difficult to identify the names of rural settlements in the entire Roman Empire. The geographic and cartographic sources mention few such names, while the local toponyms record proper or common nouns in various idioms spoken throughout the vast Roman Empire.

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Pl. I. 1. Drawing after IDR III/4, 30 (= CIL III 7728); 2. Funerary stela from Potaissa (© MIT); 3. Base of a statue from Jebucu, Sălaj County (photo D. Deac).

THE VERBS “TO WRITE” AND “TO READ” IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF DACIA*

CARMEN FENECHIU**

Abstract: The paper analyzes the uses of the verbs meaning “to write” and “to read” in the Latin inscriptions of Dacia, in order to discern what they can reveal about literacy and the attitudes toward it in this province of the Roman Empire. The verbs denoting the writing ability that are epigraphically attested are the following: *scribere*, *conscribere*, *describere*, *proscribere*, *subscribere*, and *scire*, the latter in the syntagm *litteras scire*. Out of these aforementioned verbs, *scribere* is the most frequently employed, with more than sixty occurrences, and it is found in different types of inscriptions, while its derivatives *conscribere*, *describere*, *proscribere*, and *subscribere* are each attested only once. *Litteras scire* is found thrice and exclusively in the wax tablets from Alburnus Maior, in the phrase *se litteras scire negavit*, a statement expressing the lack of knowledge of writing. On the other hand, only the verb *legere* is used to express reading and it is encountered just twice, both times in funerary inscriptions. As the occurrences of verbs denoting the writing ability exceed so overwhelmingly the ones denoting the reading competency, it is evident that the inscriptions stress and express one facet of literacy (writing) to the almost exclusion of the other (reading).

Keywords: inscriptions; Dacia; to write; to read; literacy.

Rezumat: Articolul analizează întrebuințările verbelor “a scrie” și “a citi” în inscripțiile latine din Dacia cu scopul de a distinge ce ar putea acestea indica despre abilitățile de a scrie și a citi, precum și despre atitudinile față aceste capacități în această provincie romană. Inscripțiile latine selectate atestă folosirea următoarelor verbe exprimând competența de a scrie: *scribere*, *conscribere*, *describere*, *proscribere*, *subscribere* și *scire*, cel din urmă în sintagma *litteras scire*. Dintre verbele menționate, *scribere* este cel mai frecvent întâlnit, fiind atestat de peste șaizeci de ori în diferite tipuri de inscripții, în timp ce verbele derivate *conscribere*, *describere*, *proscribere* și *subscribere* sunt fiecare dintre ele utilizate doar o singură dată. Sintagma *litteras scire* este atestată de trei ori în tăblițele cerate descoperite la Alburnus Maior, în structura *se litteras scire negavit*, indicând, așadar, lipsa abilității de a scrie. Pentru a exprima competențele de citire este folosit verbul *legere*, care apare doar în două inscripții funerare. Deoarece ocurențele verbelor însemnând “a scrie” depășesc coplesitor numeric cele două atestări ale verbului “a citi” devine evident faptul că inscripțiile latine exprimă și consemnează competențele de scriere aproape până la excluderea celor de citire.

Cuvinte cheie: inscripții; Dacia; a scrie; a citi; competențe (de scriere și citire).

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In general studies dedicated to ancient literacy the writing and reading competencies were usually linked to class and gender and researched accordingly with an emphasis on literacy as a marker of elite privilege and as the preserve of high-class male citizens. In one of the most complex and complete studies on literacy in classical antiquity, published in 1989, William V. Harris considered that in Italy in the late Republican and high Imperial period the degree of alphabetization for men was under 20–30% and the one for women was below 10%¹, while concluding that “the written culture of antiquity was in the main restricted to a privileged minority”.² It is worth noting, however, that the same author pointed out in the beginning of his book that, even if there was no mass literacy and the majority of people was illiterate, “there was without a doubt a vast diffusion of reading and writing ability in the Greek and Roman worlds”.³

The validity of this latter statement was since confirmed in numerous studies. Thus, in response to Harris’ study, a collective volume was published in 1991, in which eight authors brought their own perspectives to the problem of literacy in the Roman world. While “the contributors have hardly challenged Harris’ basic point, that levels of literacy in Graeco-Roman antiquity were never high”,⁴ they did bring more diversified and nuanced views, and they underlined the social and cultural diversity and complexity of the phenomenon. The multifacetedness of ancient literacy was since widely researched and is now an accepted given.

The social diversity of those possessing the reading and writing skills is now well acknowledged, along with the various degrees of their competencies. As can be observed from various ancient sources, the levels of literacy were very different, extending from a category of semi-literate persons, who could not or could barely write and who could read only simple texts, to a small group of persons who could write, read, comprehend, and even produce difficult and complicated texts. This latter category of literacy competencies was almost exclusively reserved to men from the elite classes, as the literary texts document.

For most of the epigraphic sources a complex research regarding the writing and reading competencies is difficult due to the stereotypical character of many of the texts and to their syntactic simplicity, but diverse facets of the phenomenon can still be determined. A positive aspect is constituted by the fact that more diverse social categories are represented in the epigraphs and, even more important, they were presenting themselves the way they saw themselves or, more accurately, the way they wanted to be seen. The literary texts offer mostly a portrait of the elite, while the other categories were rarely included and were mostly depicted from the perspective of writers coming from the upper class. In this context, the unusual, unsterotypical, more complex and linguistically rich inscriptions become all the more important. Another issue is that, most of the times, we do not know if the person who was ordering an epigraphic monument did or did not have the necessary knowledge to write and to read herself / himself the text inscribed on it. The existence of an epigraphic monument does not, therefore, imply the writing and reading competencies

¹ Harris 1989, 259.

² Harris 1989, 337.

³ Harris 1989, 13.

⁴ Humphrey 1991, 5.

of the one(s) whose name(s) is (are) incised there. It is even most probable that some of the individuals mentioned epigraphically were not literate.

As a step in investigating the literacy competencies and habits of the inhabitants of Dacia, this article researches the uses of the Latin verbs that express the action of writing and that of reading, analyzing the type of epigraphic text in which they appear, the syntagm, and, when possible, the person possessing those competencies. The paper uses as source material the inscriptions found in Dacia, with the exception of the military diplomas (since they were not written in Dacia), and published in the well-known *corpora*, CIL, ILS, IDR, ILD, AE; the texts were, in addition, verified against the Heidelberg (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home>) and Manfred Clauss (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/>) databases. The *Lexicon Epigraphicum Daciae*⁵ was also of valuable assistance in this research.

The examined inscriptions attest, for Dacia, the use of the following verbs relating to writing ability: *scribere*, *conscribere*, *describere*, *proscribere*, *subscribere*, and *scire* (in the syntagm *litteras scire*).

Out of the abovementioned verbs, the base verb denoting “to write” (**scribō, ere, scripsī, scriptum**) is the most frequently attested and it is encountered in various epigraphic texts, which were divided in two subcategories due to differences in the material used for holding the writing, the format of letters used, and the type of text (usually) contained in them:

a. different types of inscriptions, written on hard materials, mainly stone (see below, table 1);

b. *tabulae ceratae*, private legal documents, discovered in Alburnus Maior (see below, table 2).

This distinction was also necessary because the wax tablets, written in cursive letters, required a different set of knowledge and skills from their writers and readers, and because they demanded a higher level of literacy as the texts are more elaborate and have a more complex syntax. Even more, their intended readership was significantly reduced as they were private juridical documents, unlike the inscriptions of type a., which were written in more easily readable capital letters and were mainly intended for public display and, therefore, for as many readers as possible.

a. Different types of inscriptions

Table 1

No.	Expression	Type of Inscription	Find Place	Literature
1.	<i>scripsit Aurelius Iulianus milis co(ho)rtis prima(e)</i>	manufacturing inscription incised on a brick	Drobeta	AE 1939, 19 = IDR II 107
2.	<i>c(o)ho(rtis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	votive	Drobeta	AE 2004, 1222 = ILD 53 = AE 2006, 1125
3.	<i>s(upra) s(criptis)</i>	funerary	Răcari	IDR II 163
4.	<i>[sub supra scripta] condicione</i>	funerary – legal	Sucidava	CIL III 14493 = IDR II 187

⁵ Piso et alii 2016.

5.	<i>ita u[t s(upra) s(criptum) e(st)]</i>	funerary – legal	Sucidava	CIL III 14493 = IDR II 187
6.	<i>s[upra scriptarum vinearum]</i>	funerary- legal	Sucidava	CIL III 14493 = IDR II 187
7.	<i>[n(umeri)? s(upra)?] s(cripti)</i>	votive	Tibiscum	IDR III/1, 136 = AE 1983, 795
8.	<i>quo[rum nomina infra] s(cripta) sunt⁶</i>	dedicatory	Sarmizegetusa	IDR III/2, 65, 484 = AE 2011, 1085
9.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	honorific	Sarmizegetusa	AE 1933, 248 = IDR III/2, 113
10.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	honorific	Sarmizegetusa	CIL III 1486 = AE 1957, 196 = AE 1966, 309 c = IDR III/2, 128
11.	<i>coll(egium) s(upra) s(criptum)</i>	funerary	Sarmizegetusa	CIL III 1505 = IDR III/2, 417
12.	<i>eq(uitum) s(upra) s(criptorum)⁷</i>	votive	Micia	CIL III 1343 = AE 1977, 705 = IDR III/3, 77 = AE 2014, 1094
13.	<i>coll(egii) s(upra) s(cripti)</i>	votive	Apulum	CIL III 1016 = ILS 7229 = IDR III/5, 80
14.	<i>hi s(upra) s(cripti)</i>	votive	Apulum	CIL III 7756 = ILS 3007 = AE 1980, 734 = IDR III/5, 136
15.	<i>mun(icipii) s(upra) s(cripti)</i>	votive	Apulum	CIL III 1083 = ILS 7143 = IDR III/5, 204
16.	<i>ad leg(ionem) s(upra) s(criptam)</i>	votive	Apulum	AE 1965, 30 = AE 1972, 460 = AE 1979, 719 = IDR III/5, 221
17.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	votive	Apulum	CIL III 1114 = IDR III/5, 356
18.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	votive	Apulum	CIL III 1115 = ILS 3174 = IDR III/5, 364
19.	<i>n[om(ina)? quor(um) in]fr(a) scrip(ta) [sunt]</i>	dedicatory (list within the text)	Apulum	CIL III 7741 = CIL III 14479 = AE 1901, 154 = IDR III/5, 426
20.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	honorific	Apulum	CIL III 1181 = IDR III/5, 439
21.	<i>col(oniae) [et m] unicipi(i) s(upra) s(criptorum)</i>	honorific	Apulum	CIL III 7805 = ILS 7145 = AE 1996, 1276 = IDR III/5, 446
22.	<i>coloniae s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	funerary	Apulum	CIL III 1207 = IDR III/5, 483
23.	<i>coll(egii) s(upra) s(cripti)</i>	funerary	Apulum	CIL III 1210 = IDR III/5, 486
24.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	funerary	Apulum	CIL III 1217 = IDR III/5, 599

25.	<i>col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	funerary	Apulum	AE 1997, 1289 = IDR III/5, 715
26.	<i>leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	identification / verification of a <i>pondus</i>	Potaissa	AE 1894, 99 = CIL III 12645
27.	<i>leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	identification / verification of a <i>pondus</i>	Potaissa	ILD 523 = AE 2012, 1227
28.	<i>[quor(um) nom(in) infra] sc[ripta sunt]</i>	honorific	Potaissa	AE 2012, 1204
29.	<i>[quorum] n(omina) s(cripta) sun[t]</i>	dedicatory	Potaissa	AE 2012, 1212
30.	<i>leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	funerary	Potaissa	CIL III 906
31.	<i>s(upra) s(cript-)</i>	funerary	Potaissa	ILD 518
32.	<i>leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	funerary	Potaissa	AE 2013, 1301
33.	<i>Zoilianus scripsit</i>	list of members of <i>spira Asianorum</i>	Napoca	CIL III 870 = ILS 4061
34.	<i>[col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae)]</i>	funerary	Napoca	CIL III 6252 = ILD 570 = AE 2000, 1241
35.	<i>a(lae) s(upra) [s(criptae)]</i>	funerary	Ilişua (Arcobadara)	CIL III 811
36.	<i>m(unicipii) s(upra) s(cripti)</i>	votive	Porolissum	AE 2001, 1707 = ILD 683 = AE 2006, 1124 = 2006, 1125
37.	<i>coh(ortis) s(upra) s(criptae)</i>	votive	Porolissum	AE 2001, 1707 = ILD 683 = AE 2006, 1124 = 2006, 1125

⁶ A new reading of this inscription, in which *subscripta sunt* was replaced by *infra scripta sunt*, was offered by O. Ţentea and I. Piso in their paper “Noutăţi privind templul palmyrean din Sarmizegetusa”, delivered at the abovementioned conference (see n. 1).

⁷ I preferred to keep the reading proposed by Th. Mommsen in CIL for the SS abbreviation, although Ioan Piso proposed a different lecture for these two letters in an article published in 2014; Piso 2014, 224: “Les lettres SS ont été lues *s(upra) s(criptorum)* et se rapporteraient aux soldats de l’*ala I Campagonum*. Ce serait une spécification inutile, car des l. 8–9 il ressort clairement que Iulius Terentianus ne pouvait être que le commandant de cette aile. Dans ce cas, les SS se rapportent à la liste des troupes qui commence dans la ligne 10 et peuvent être développées *s(ub)s(criperunt)*. Le sens est que toutes les troupes mentionnées se sont assumé du point politique et financier la construction du monument.” Mommsen’s reading seems to me more plausible because the letters SS are used in numerous inscriptions for abbreviating *supra scriptus*, *a*, *um* (see this table, but also table 2), while this would be the only occurrence in Dacia where the letters are used for *subscribere*. Even more, this verb, apart from the military diplomas, occurs only once, in an editor’s reconstruction discussed below. Abbreviating *subscribere* seems odd, especially since in each of the other inscriptions where derivatives of *scribere* are attested, the verbs are written in their entirety (see below). The use of *scribere* seems to underline a propensity for accuracy and precision of meaning, as shown in many inscriptions from this table where SS is encountered in a very similar structure; for instance, to cite only some, no.2: *sacer(dotes) c(o)ho(rtis) s(upra) s(criptae)*, nos. 26 and 27 – *optio leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)*, no. 30 – *[t]ub(icen) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)*, no. 32 – *vet(eranus) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)*, no. 35 – *dec(urio) a(lae) s(upra) [s(criptae)]*.

As can be seen from the above table, *scribere* is attested thirty-seven times in thirty-four inscriptions, including those few in which the verb is to be found due to editorial restoration, but where its presence is highly probable. Concerning their type, most of these inscriptions are funerary (12), followed by the votive (10), the honorific (5), and the dedicatory ones (3). The monuments on which the texts were incised come mainly from Apulum (13), followed by Potaissa (7), and Sarmizegetusa (4).

In almost all the texts the verb *scribere* is encountered in the perfect participle form *scriptus*, *a*, *um*, either single, or, more rarely, accompanied by the verb *esse*. The verb is usually modified by an adverb, commonly by *supra* (30 attestations), more rarely by *infra* (3).

Most of the occurrences attest the use of the perfect passive participle in the syntagm *supra scriptus*, *a*, *um*, abbreviated as SS. The participle is usually in the genitive singular (*supra scriptae* or *supra scripti*) and modifies a noun denoting a military unit (*ala*, *cohors*, *numerus*, *legio*), an urban settlement (*colonia*, *municipium*), or a *collegium*. These uses are stereotypical and do not offer much information concerning the literacy of the inhabitants, but rather they are a testament of their sense of practicality and of the epigraphic conventions in use, as SS is an abbreviation easy to carve, providing greater precision of meaning, while economizing space on the monument and also effort for the stonecutter.

The perfect participle of *scribere* in an analytic verbal structure, accompanied by *esse*, is attested five times and it functions as predicate in a subordinate sentence: once in a modal sentence, introduced by the conjunction *ut*: *ita u[t s(upra) s(criptum) e(st)]* (CIL III 14493 = IDR II 187), four times in a relative, introduced by *quorum*: *quo[rum nomina infra] s(cripta) sunt* (IDR III/2, 65, 484 = AE 2011, 1085); *n[om(ina)? quor(um) in]fr(a) scrip(ta) [sunt]* (CIL III 7741 = CIL III 14479 = AE 1901, 154 = IDR III/5, 426); *[q(uorum) n(omina) infra] sc[ripta s(unt)]* (AE 2012, 1204); *[quorum] n(omina) s(cripta) sun[t]* (AE 2012, 1212). It is worth noting that in the case of the relative sentences with *scribere* as predicate, the verb is used only in plural (*scripta sunt*) and it is usually accompanied by the adverb *infra*, thus anticipating a list of names recorded in the inscription.

More relevant for the study are the two occurrences where *scribere* is attested in the 3rd person singular of the perfect active indicative, because they preserve and pass on the name of the person having the writing skill.

The first of the texts attesting the verbal form *scripsit* is incised on a brick, dating from the first half of the 3rd century A.D., that was found in the *frigidarium* of the baths from Drobeta: *Aurelius Me/rcurius milis c(ohor)/tis p(rimae) Sagitt(ariorum) in figlinis / super milites L(?)X scripsit / Aurelius Iulianus / milis co(ho)rtis prima(e)* (IDR II 107).

The letters were incised in the soft paste of the brick before firing and, in the first publication of the inscription, they were described as cursive and the brick dated in the 2nd century A.D.⁸ The letters are capitals⁹ combined with elements of cursive script and, for the

⁸ Bărcăcilă 1937, 26: "the inscription, incised in the raw paste of the brick before firing, uses the same cursive alphabet as the one from the receipts and contracts found in the gold mines of Alburnus Maior, which dates, as our inscription, from the 2nd century." The same description of the letters as cursive appears in Gudea 1987, 111, no. 97, in his detailed study dedicated to the inscriptions on bricks and tiles from in Dacia, which contains a rich catalogue of 132 items.

⁹ See Macrea 1945–1947, 279, n. 5: "il faut noter encore que l'inscription n'est pas écrite, comme les tablettes de cire, en cursive, ainsi que l'affirme Al. Bărcăcilă, mais bien en capitale." In his article Macrea is also

first six lines and the first word of the seventh line (i.e. the name of the one writing the text, Aurelius), they are written in a well-formed handwriting. In the last two lines, however, as the writing space runs out, the letters of the last words are scrawled and legible only with difficulty. Concerning the correctness of the Latin language used, one can notice the use of the form *milis* instead of the classical one *miles*.¹⁰ This proof of literacy in a military environment is not surprising, considering that all over the Roman Empire the military is a “more literate world than the civilian”.¹¹ What is worth noting is that the person with the knowledge and ability to write, Aurelius Iulianus, is a common soldier in an auxiliary unit. Unusual also is the topic of the sentence, the predicate *scripsit* being placed in the first place, before its subject, Aurelius Iulianus. This precedence of the predicate can be interpreted as connected to the desire of the soldier to display and emphasize his writing knowledge, a cause of pride and increased prestige. As literacy was a means to advance in the army’s ranks, his writing competency could also mark the soldier’s will and readiness to rise in the military hierarchy.

The second occurrence of *scripsit* is to be found on a slab set up in 235 A.D. and discovered in Napoca (Cluj). This inscription contains *nomina Asianorum*, i.e. a list of the names of the persons forming a *spira Asianorum*, a cult college honoring Dionysos in a form specific for the province of Asia.¹² The part of the text of interest for our research is written vertically on the right side of the frame of the inscription field and consists of the words: *Zoilianus scripsit* (CIL III 870 = ILS 4061). This cognomen is Greek and can indicate a Graeco-Oriental origin,¹³ but, since the monument was set up after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, it is probable that Zoilianus was a Roman citizen. The text is written in good Latin, without mistakes. That erecting an epigraphic monument was often connected to the desire of that person / those persons to adhere to what was considered an important feature of the Roman way of life and to mark this appropriation and integration of Roman values through the adoption of the epigraphic custom is a well-researched and established fact. The inscription from Napoca is very interesting in this aspect, as it records a triple identity for Zoilianus: his broader identity as Roman (by adhering to Roman epigraphic customs), his narrower identity as a member of a particular cult college, and his professional identity. By using the verb *scribere* instead of a more technical and precise one like *inscribere* or *sculperere*, Zoilianus managed to convey to the potential reader not only his own profession as lapicide, but also his literacy, more precisely, his writing competency.

correcting some of the errors in reading he identified in the first publication of the inscription by Al. Bărcăcilă; for instance, the reading of the number of cohort as *I* instead of *P(rimae)*. Al. Bărcăcilă’s reading *c(ohor)tis I* is still preserved in IDR II, although in the photo provided at the back of this volume the letter *P* is clearly visible.

¹⁰ See Beu-Dachin 2014, 56, with a more detailed analysis of the text offered on the same page, in n. 128.

¹¹ Bowman 1994, 112.

¹² Piso 2013, 167–168.

¹³ Piso 2013, 168: “On a le droit de se demander si toutes les personnes de la liste de Napoca proviennent d’Asie et s’il n’y a parmi elles d’anciens habitants de Napoca, qui ont tout simplement embrassé la forme asiatique du culte de Dionysos.”

b. *tabulae ceratae Alburno Maiore repertae*

Table 2

No.	Expression	Content	Literature
1.	<i>in quo scriptum erat id / in quo scriptum erat id</i>	disbandment of a funerary association	IDR I 31
2.	<i>quod i(nfra) s(criptum) est / quot i(nfra) s(criptum) est</i>	disbandment of a funerary association	IDR I 31
3.	<i>ex collegio s(upra) s(cripto) / ex collegis s(upra) s(criptis)</i>	disbandment of a funerary association	IDR I 31
4.	<i>cum usuris s(upra) s(criptis) / cum [usu]ris s(upra) s(criptis)</i>	loan agreement	IDR I 33
5.	<i>Anduenna s(upra) s(cripta) / An[du]enna [s(upra) s(cripta)]</i>	loan agreement	IDR I 33
6.	<i>(denarios) LX q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) / (denarios) LX q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) [sunt]</i>	loan agreement	IDR I 35
7.	<i>d(ie) s(upra) s(cripta)</i>	loan agreement	IDR I 35
8.	<i>puella quae s(upra) s(cripta) est</i>	contract of sale of a slave girl	IDR I 36
9.	<i>proque eo puero q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est / proque eo puero q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) [est]</i>	contract of sale of a slave boy	IDR I 37
10.	<i>emptorem s(upra) s(criptum)</i>	contract of sale of a slave boy	IDR I 37
11.	<i>emptori s(upra) s(cripto) / emptori s(upra) s(cripto)</i>	contract of sale of a slave woman	IDR I 38
12.	<i>emptorem s(upra) s(criptum) / emptorem s(upra) s(criptum)</i>	contract of sale of a slave woman	IDR I 38
13.	<i>mil(es) s(upra) s(criptus) / mil(es) s(upra) s(criptus)</i>	contract of sale of a slave woman	IDR I 38
14.	<i>inque eam mulierem quae s(upra) s(cripta) est / inque eam mulierem quae s(upra) s(cripta) est</i>	contract of sale of a slave woman	IDR I 38
15.	<i>Adiutor Macari scripsi rogatus</i>	labor contract	IDR I 40
16.	<i>Flavius Secundinus scripsi rogatus</i>	labor contract	IDR I 41
17.	<i>conductori [s(upra) s(cripto)]</i>	labor contract	IDR I 41
18.	<i>[---]cus scripsi rogatus</i>	labor contract	IDR I 42
19.	<i>conductori s(upra) s(cripto)</i>	labor contract	IDR I 42
20.	<i>summam s(upra) s(criptam)</i>	agreement to start a money lending association	IDR I 44
21.	<i>Valerius Firmus s[cripsi rogatus]</i>	contract	IDR I 48

As can be seen in table 2, the structures containing the verb *scribere* in the eleven wax tablets are similar to the ones present in table 1: the most frequently documented is also the perfect participle form *scriptus*, *a*, *um*, with or without the verb *esse*. The perfect passive participle alone is used exclusively in the syntagm *supra scriptus*, *a*, *um*, abbreviated as

SS. However, unlike the previous examples, where the genitive was prevalent, the cases are more diverse in this category: nominatives singular, datives singular, accusatives singular, as well as ablatives singular and plural are to be found in the wax tablets, but not a single genitive. The participle is modifying a noun in all these examples, and they are, apart from *collegium*, semantically different from the ones in the type a. category, namely: *usura*, *dies*, *puella*, *emptor*, *miles*, *conductor*, *summa*.

As the texts are syntactically more complex, we encounter six instances (or eleven, if we count the doublet text that is preserved in some of the tablets) where *scribere* functions as predicate in a subordinate relative sentence: *in quo scriptum erat id quod i(nfra) s(criptum) est* / *in quo scriptum erat id quot i(nfra) s(criptum) est* (IDR I 31); *(denarios) LX q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt)* / *(denarios) LX q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) [sunt]* (IDR I 35); *puella quae s(upra) s(cripta) est* (IDR I 36); *proque eo puero q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est* / *proque eo puero q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) [est]* (IDR I 37); *inque eam mulierem quae s(upra) s(cripta) est* / *inque eam mulierem quae s(upra) s(cripta) est* (IDR I 38). The relative pronouns are more diverse as pertaining to gender and case than the genitive plural *quorum* attested for all the relative sentences from the first category of inscriptions. One can note the same propensity for accuracy in expression and, as the formula is abbreviated in the SS form, for economy of effort, even when the materials are not so difficult to write on as the stone used for the first category.

The indicative perfect is also attested, this time at the 1st person singular *scripsi*, in four labor contracts from Alburnus Maior: *Adiutor Macari scripsi* (IDR I 40), *Flavius Secundinus scripsi* (IDR I 41), *[---]cus scripsi* (IDR I 42), *Valerius Firmus s[cripsi]* (IDR I 48). They were all responsible for writing out the contracts, as clerks working probably for the administration of the mines.¹⁴ Concerning their juridical status, *Adiutor*, son of *Macarius*, was a peregrine, while *Flavius Secundinus* and *Valerius Firmus* were Roman citizens. The missing name in IDR I 42 was restored as *[Mar]cus* by I.I. Russu¹⁵, who considered that the scribe was either a slave or freedman, whereas I. Piso¹⁶ suggested that he may have been a peregrine and the name could have been *[Beu]cus* or *[Breu]cus*. The texts clearly state for the first three of them, and most probable for the fourth one too, that they were writing being asked (*rogatus*) by the miners who were hiring out their labor and who did not possess the competency to write (see below).

While *scribere* is to be found so many times in epigraphs from Dacia, its four abovementioned derivatives occur each only once. Thus, the verb **conscribō**, **ere**, **scripsi**, **scriptum** is attested in an honorific inscription, carved on a statue base discovered in Apulum, which runs as follows:

AE 1910, 84 = ILS 9106 = IDR III/5, 438: *M(arco) Ulpio / Apolli/nari / praef(ecto) cast(rorum) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / conscribti(!) / et c(ives) R(omani) consist(entem) / kan(abis) leg(ionis) eiusd(em) / ex pec(unia) publ(ica)*.

¹⁴ Mrozek 1968, 318: “Quant aux noms de *Adiutor Macari* et *Flavius Secundinus*, exécuteurs de contrats de travail, c’étaient probablement des employés de l’administration des mines. Leur fonction répond au rôle de προγεγραμμένος des contrats de travail d’Égypte.”

¹⁵ IDR II, 236–237.

¹⁶ Piso 2004, 279, no. 65.

The meaning of the verb in this epigraph is “to write together in a roll or list”, “to inscribe”¹⁷, which is frequently attested in Latin literature in the phrase *patres conscripti* and which in this provincial context denotes the decurions¹⁸ of the *canabae*. This text documents a somewhat uncommon use in inscriptions of the passive perfect participle, which is employed as a noun (not as a verbal adjective, as in many of the above inscriptions) and is coordinated through the copulative conjunction *et* with *cives (Romani)*: “the ones inscribed on the decurional list (i.e. the decurions) and the Roman citizens dwelling in the *canabae* of the same legion (set up this statue) from public funds”. Both nouns function as subjects for a predicate that was not inscribed, but can easily be introduced, for instance, *posuerunt*. Worthy of notice is also the fact that the form *conscripti* was used instead of the correct one *conscripti*, due to the similarity of the two sounds marked by the letters P and B, but also perhaps to the influence of the present stem.¹⁹

A wax tablet from Alburnus Maior includes the derivative **describō, ere, scripsī, scriptum**, with the sense “to transcribe, to copy out”, in the passive perfect participle form. As can be seen in the following lines, the verb is, this time, correctly written, which is to be expected since this text is the product of a professional of writing: IDR I 31: *descriptum et recognitum factum ex libello, qui propositus / erat Alb(urno) Maiori ad stationem Resculi* (“copied and checked against the notice which was set up in Alburnus Maior at *statio Resculum*”).

The influence of the official public documents can easily be identified and acknowledged, as the text resembles, both semantically and syntactically, the one found in the military diplomas: *descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae, in muro post templum Divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam* (“copied and checked against the bronze tablet which has been set up in Rome, on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus near Minerva”).

A funerary slab, found in 1822 near Mehadia and, unfortunately, immediately smashed into pieces, gives evidence for the use of another derivative of *scribere* in Dacia, namely, **proscribō, ere, scripsī, scriptum**. The inscription was copied, but with errors, thus the reading is uncertain in some of the places, but not concerning *proscriptus*:

CIL III 8011 = IDR III/1, 89: *D(ecimus?) Baebatius (C)hrysan/tus Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Zermi/cegetusae(!) vix(it) ann(os) / LXVI h(ic?) s(itus) e(st) proscrip/tus per Baebatiam / Gam[i]cen co(n)i(ugi?) et co... (?) / et com(h)eredibus IIII.*

In the Oxford Latin Dictionary²⁰ the meanings offered for *proscribere* are the following: 1. “to announce publicly in writing, post up; to record in writing”, 2. “to publish a written notice announcing the sale of, advertise as for sale or similar disposal”, 3. “to publish the name of, in a list of outlaws, proscribe, outlaw”.

This funerary monument, dedicated to an *Augustalis* of Sarmizegetusa by his wife, seemed to contain a quite standard epitaph, except for the use of the participle *proscriptus* in the masculine, which is probably referring to *titulus*, as proposed in CIL. The association

¹⁷ Lewis & Short 1891, s.v. *conscribo* I.

¹⁸ IDR III/5, 337.

¹⁹ See Beu-Dachin 2014, 86–87, explaining the same phenomenon in the case of the derivatives of *labor*, *labi*, *lapsus sum*.

²⁰ OLD 1968, s.v. *proscribo*.

of *titulus* and *proscribere* is attested in Latin literary texts, for instance, in Petronius 38, with the difference that in these examples *titulo* is in the ablative case; 38.10: *itaque proxime cenaculum hoc titulo proscripsit* (“he recently published his attic for lease in a written notice”) and 38.16: *hoc titulo auctionem proscripsit* (“he announced in a notice an auction”). The appearance of *proscribere* in a funerary inscription is very unusual and, as the verb, when associated with *titulus* or *tabula*, as above in Petronius or in Cicero (Q. fr. 2.4.5: *tabulam proscripsit se familiam Catonianam venditurum*), is commonly connected to commercial activities, one might wonder if this occurrence may be hinting to the couples’ mercantile background. The sense of *proscriptus* in the context of this inscription is the first one proposed in OLD and the closest translation of the phrase *proscriptus per Baebatiam Gamicen* would be “the epitaph was recorded in writing through the agency of Baebatia Gamice”, or, in a looser one, “the epitaph was put up by Baebatia Gamice”.

One of the honorary epigraphs cut on an opisthographic plaque, whose fragments were discovered in the *principia* of the castrum from Potaissa, might attest, through the editorial restoration of I. Piso, the use of **subscribō, ere, scripsī, scriptum** (“to write below, to inscribe below”): [*evo*]cati qu[orum nomina subscripta sunt] (AE 2012, 1210).

Since this monument was set up in a military camp and since this formula is identical to the one encountered in the military diplomas (*quorum nomina subscripta sunt*), the reconstruction of the text is entirely possible. It is worth noting, on the other hand, that the inscriptions of Dacia seem to favor the use of *quorum nomina infra scripta sunt* for introducing a list of names (see supra table 1, nos. 8, 19, 28).

Three labor contracts from Alburnus Maior attest the use of **litteras scire** (“to know one’s letters”, “to know how to write (and to read)”). These are the only attestations for *litteras scire* and in every one of them *scire* is subordinated to the verb *negavit*, denoting the lack of literacy, more precisely, as it is made evident from the presence of *scripsi*, the lack of writing skills. The miner hiring out his work declared, in this way, that he did not know to write (in literal translation, “he denied knowing his letters”): *Adiutor Macari scripsi rogatus [co]ram ipso pra[e]senti L(ucio) Ulpio Valerio, quia s[e] litteras scire negavit* (IDR I 40), *Flavius Secundinus scripsi rogatus a Memmio Asclepi, quia se lit[ter]as scire negavit* (IDR I 41), [---]cus scripsi rogatus per --- m Restitutum agnom(ine) Senioris quia se litter[a]s scire negavit (IDR I 42). It is possible that a similar structure was also inscribed in IDR I 48, but it was not preserved: *Valerius Firmus s[cripsi rogatus ab] Verzone Beusantis quod(?) di---s nu---*. Concerning the juridical status of the miners, it can be noted that Lucius Ulpus Valerius was a Roman citizen and possibly [---]s *Restitutus*²¹ as well, while Memmius, son of Asclepius, was a peregrine.

Unlike the previously discussed verbs, the syntagm *litteras scire* is ambiguous and ambivalent, because it can refer to both abilities, to write and to read, or only to writing. In the wax tablets, as shown above, it is the writing ability that is denied, but we do not know if the miners had (some) reading skills: if they were able, for instance, to read the capital

²¹ See IDR II, 237. E. Pólay, on the other hand, is of the opinion that *Restitutus* is a peregrine; Pólay 1984, 260: “Der Arbeiter besaß einem lateinischen Namen: *Restitutus*, dessen Beiname *Senior* war (vielleicht um ihn von seinem jüngeren Bruder oder von seinem Sohn oder von einem Namenverwandten zu unterscheiden). Seinem Namen nach musste er ein Peregriner unsicherer Herkunft (der lateinische Name sagt so viel wie nichts) sein.”

letters used for the inscriptions on stone, like the freedman Hermeros from *Satyricon* (Petronius 58.7 – *lapidarias litteras scio*).

For expressing the reading ability, the Latin inscriptions from Dacia document the use of the verb **legō, ere, lēgī, lectum** (“to read”), which is attested only in two occurrences, both to be found in funerary inscriptions. The first inscription was cut on a marble slab, whose fragments, found in Drobeta, do not preserve the complete text. The letters were carefully carved up and it is clear from the preserved characters that the epitaph was more than the simple and stereotypical one; IDR II 72: ---]LOS[---] / [---]IN PO[---] / [---]N[---]/ *qu[i titulum?]* / *[meu]m legit od[---] / [infe?]ri manes r[---] / [mise]ros em[---] / [---] fr[---]*. The form *legit* can be distinguished, maybe in the phrase *qu[i titulum?] meum legit*, signifying thus an appeal to the traveler walking by the funeral monument to read the epitaph.

The second inscription is preserved in its entirety and it is a complex one, written partly in prose and mainly in verse (lines 5–14). It was incised on the principal face of a sarcophagus found near Romula, on the old Roman road along the Olt river. Its text, inscribed in a *tabula ansata*, runs as follows:

AE 1957, 334 = IDR II 357: *D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Iul(io) Iuliano dec(urioni) quaestoric(io) / aedilic(io) col(oniae) Romul(ensis) Valeria Ge(mellina) marito b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit): / Coniugi pro meritis quondam karissimo coniunx / hanc Iuliano domum flendo fabricavi perennem / frigida qua membra possint requiescere morti. / Quattuor hic denos vixit sine culpa per annos / et sua perfunctus vidit cum gloria honores. / Ecce Gemellina pietate ducta marito / struxi dolens digno sedem cum liberis una / inter pampinea virgulta et gramina laeta / umbra super rami virides ubi densa ministrat. / Qui legis hos versus, opta leve terra, viator.*

The sarcophagus was, thus, set up by Valeria Gemellina, together with her children, to her husband, Aelius Iulius Iulianus, *decurio, quaestoricus* and *aedilicius coloniae Romulensis*. The desire to pay homage and to appropriately mourn the deceased, to prolong his memory, to glorify his honors, but also to further the name and the virtues of the dedicator, along with the intention to mark their high social status, all played an equally important role in setting up this funerary monument. And, in order to achieve these goals, it needed to reach as large an audience as possible, thence its placing on the main road. The sheer monumentality of the sarcophagus played a big part in attracting the attention of the passer-by, but it was also crucial to keep this attention and to impart the information contained in this uncommon epitaph. It is a complex narrative about class and privilege, social achievement, responsibility, duty, worthiness, loyalty, family, and last but not least about grief and loss. The hexameters chosen by Valeria Gemellina to convey this multilayered message are as important as its content, since they disclose her wish to be associated with the highly literate elite, capable of enjoying the highest form of literature, the epic. The key role in receiving the message she wanted to communicate was played by the passer-by, curious enough to read the lines and who needed high reading competency to fully comprehend and appreciate the verses. Hence the epitaph was invoking, in the 2nd person singular, the traveler walking by the monument, who was, however, relegated to the final line. In a direct invocation the reader was exhorted to wish a peaceful rest for the deceased: “you, traveler, who are reading these verses, wish a light earth (upon

the deceased)”. The reader became thus part of the narrative and her / his act of reading, especially if done aloud, became in turn an invocation of the deceased Aelius Iulius Iulianus and, at the same time, of the dedicator, Valeria Gemellina. Whoever the poet who composed the hexameters may have been, it is evident that his Latin was not without flaws. For example, in this last line (*qui legis hos versus, opta leve terra, viator*), the accusative desinence (-m) is missing, *leve terra* appearing instead of *levem terram*.

In conclusion, by analyzing the verbs denoting writing and reading skills that are attested in the Latin inscriptions from Dacia, the following observations can be made: the most encountered verb is *scribere*, particularly accompanied by the adverb *supra* and usually in the passive participle form *scriptus*, *a*, *um*. Four of its derivatives *conscribere*, *describere*, *proscribere*, and *subscribere* are each only once attested, the latter, through editorial restoration. The syntagm *litteras scire* is also used for denoting writing, in an *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction subordinated to *negavit* (*se litteras scire negavit*) and therefore expressing the lack of this ability. The writing competency is thus expressed in six different verbs and it is recorded more than seventy times in this province, while, for expressing the reading competency, only the verb *legere* is used, which is recorded just twice. Six persons acknowledged, through *scripsi* or *scripsit*, that they knew how to write and all of them were men: four were probably Roman citizens (Aurelius Iulianus, Zoilianus, Flavius Secundinus and Valerius Firmus), one was a peregrine (Adiutor Macari), while the juridical status of [---]cus is uncertain. Regarding their professions, one was a soldier, one was a lapicide and four were writers of legal contracts, probably clerks in the administration of mines. Of the three miners declaring that they didn't know to write, Lucius Ulpus Valerius and possibly [---]s *Restitutus* were Roman citizens, whereas Memmius Asclepi was a peregrine.

Even allowing for the hazard of discovery and the chance of preservation such evident disparity in the number of occurrences denoting the writing competency (or lack thereof) versus the two ones denoting reading clearly shows that the inscriptions record one facet of literacy (the writing) to the almost exclusion of the other (the reading). It is also to be noted, for all types of inscriptions, but especially for the private legal texts, the search for accuracy and precision of expression, and the influence of public legal documents on private ones.

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SALT EXPLOITATION IN ROMAN DACIA. MODERN SOURCES AND NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS*

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Abstract: The author presents the information of 18th century sources on salt exploitation in Roman Dacia, followed by own archaeological surveys in the salt exploitation areas of Dacia. The results lead to the necessity of systematic archaeological investigations in the researches areas.

Keywords: salt exploitation; Roman Dacia; Roman administration; archaeological surveys.

Rezumat: Autorul prezintă informațiile din secolul XVIII referitoare la exploatarea de sare din Dacia romană, urmate de propriile cercetări arheologice de teren în zonele exploatărilor de sare din Dacia. Rezultatele obținute reclamă necesitatea realizării unor cercetări arheologice sistematice în zonele investigate.

Keywords: exploatare de sare; Dacia romană; administrație romană; periegheze arheologice.

1. Introduction

The conquest of Dacia means also the exploitation of subsoil resources. Trajan organizes immediately these exploitations, at least the gold mines districts, like an inscription proves.¹ Even if the organization of salt mines and salt exploitation is not attested by texts, it doesn't mean that salt was not extracted, even more so because for the Dacian period there are archaeological evidences of such activities.

The inscriptions attesting the salt exploitations are quite late; the archaeological evidences of such activities in Roman period are also scarce. However, I shall present the main results of the archaeological investigations, as well as the modern literary mentions (18th century) on salt resources in Transylvania, attributed to the Roman period.

2. The mentions of Fridwaldszky

The mineralogist J. Fridwalsky let us a treaty about the mineralogy of Transylvania. He mentions the main salt resources and exploitation which existed under Habsburg rule. Among them the exploitation of Turda is seen like the most important and the author underlined its importance in Roman time.² Other salt exploitations are those from Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna, Salzburg),³ Cojocna (Kolos),⁴ Sic (Szék),⁵ Dej (Dées-Akna),⁶ Praid

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¹ IDR III/3, 366.

² Fridwaldszky 1767, 159–162.

³ Fridwaldszky 1767, 163.

⁴ Fridwaldszky 1767, 163.

⁵ Fridwaldszky 1767, 164–166.

⁶ Fridwaldszky 1767, 166–169.

(Paraid).⁷ Fridwaldszky offers some information on previous exploitation (in the 15th century), but also on Roman time (at Turda).⁸

3. Fichtel's map

The mineralogist I. E. von Fichtel let us the first modern map of salt deposits in Transylvania (1780).⁹ The purpose of his work was both political and economic, and it was meant to systematize the salt resources for a better exploitation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Fichtel included the salt exploitation from Moldavia and Wallachia, too. This map was recently analyzed by D. Moscal.¹⁰ Moscal observed that Fichtel indicated not only the salt deposits and the salt mines, but also the salt springs.¹¹ He identified all the German toponyms with the actual ones in Transylvania, but he did not insist on the permanence of salt exploitation from Roman times, even if he noticed the importance of these mines in the aforementioned period.¹² The study of Moscal is very useful, because he put into attention the salt resources the Habsburgs intended to exploit. Fichtel's list contains some toponyms which are clearly related with exploitation in the Roman period, according to the information from the epigraphic record. The sites of Transylvania and the ones from Oltenia (Little Wallachia) correspond to the territory of Roman Dacia. I mention here not only the big salt works where Roman inscriptions related to the exploitation or Roman traces of salt exploitation activities (especially epigraphic ones) were found (like Turda, Praid, Sic, Cojocna, Ocna Dejului, Ocna Sibiului, Ocnele Mari),¹³ but also the salt deposits (Sânpaul-Homorod, Sovata)¹⁴ or salt springs (Mărtiniș, Dej, Sărățel, Ocnele Mari)¹⁵ related to information coming from the Roman period. It is very interesting that almost all the sites where evidences of pre-Roman salt exploitation activities were found appear on Fichtel's map (Blăjenii de Jos, Figa, Caila, Dumitra, Pinticu Tecii – salt springs,¹⁶ Mărtiniș – salt deposits,¹⁷ Orșova – salt deposits and salt spring¹⁸). In my opinion, this information strengthens the hypothesis that, even if in the Roman time there were not really systematic exploitations of salt sources in the area, the people used the sources more for their personal needs than on a larger scale.

4.1. Sânpaul – Ocland – Mărtiniș

The fort of Sânpaul (Harghita County) is situated on the stream Varcaba, next to Vlăhița pass.¹⁹ It is rectangular with round corner towers. At Ocland there is a fortlet

⁷ Fridwaldszky 1767, 169–171.

⁸ Fridwaldszky 1767, 162.

⁹ Fichtel 1780.

¹⁰ Moscal 2018, 1–11.

¹¹ Moscal 2018, 7–9.

¹² Moscal 2018, 1.

¹³ Moscal 2018, 8.

¹⁴ Moscal 2018, 8.

¹⁵ Moscal 2018, 8–9.

¹⁶ Moscal 2018, 8–9.

¹⁷ Moscal 2018, 8.

¹⁸ Moscal 2018, 9.

¹⁹ See especially Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, 13, with bibliography.

(20 × 20 m), provided with a ditch and a *vallum* of earth.²⁰ It is possible that it served as a *statio beneficiarii*, if one takes into account the inscription attesting a *beneficiarius*, which was found in a village belonging to the commune of Ocland.²¹ In the same area, at Băile Homorod, another fortlet was found. It was rectangular with round corners. At south-west, a small complementary fortlet was investigated. All the materials were dated to the Roman period.²²

Even if the surveys made by Harding and Kavruk did not registered the existence of Roman pottery, the presence of the troops in the area proves that the territory was inhabited in Roman period and therefore the salt springs were undoubtedly used.

At Petreni (commune of Mărtiniș), a salt spring was used until the modern era (Pl. I/1–2). Taking into account the Roman findings in the area, it is possible that Romans have used the salt resources. My advice is that archaeologists should start intrusive investigations (if it is possible), in order to collect pottery samples or other objects which can better indicate a chronology of the site's occupation.

I have made a survey at Sânpaul (Pl. I/3) in May 2019, together with my colleagues Andrei Asăndulesei and Felix Tencariu.²³ The salting is still visible and there are also wooden structures which can prove an ancient gallery (Pl. I/4; Pl. II/1). I do not know to which period these structures belong: they can even be dated to the modern one. We have found many modern shards and one pottery fragment from the Bronze Age (Pl. I/1; Pl. II/2). The proximity to the camp, the inscription erected by a freedman of C. Iulius Valentinus, *conductor salinarum*,²⁴ corroborated with this find, indicate, in my opinion, that at Sânpaul the salt exploitation has functioned in the Roman period. This is also suggested by A. Chiricescu, who has seen the salting, too.²⁵ Another salt spring is situated next to the camp and it was used until modern times: now it is no more in use.

I suggest that one can start archaeological excavations in the area (if not a systematic one, at least some short investigations).

4.2. Olteni

In Olteni area (Covasna County) are nowadays many functional salt springs.²⁶ First of all, in the site A both Iron Age and post-Roman pottery was found.²⁷ It is surprising that no evidence of Roman habitation was found, but I do not exclude the use of salt springs under the Roman period, in the same circumstances I mentioned in the case of Băile Figa. In the site situated at Olteni Nord – Carieră, the authors do not exclude a Dacian habitation, alongside a post-Roman one, like it certainly appears in the site Olteni Est – Canton C. F. R.²⁸

²⁰ RAJH, 167. See also Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, 13.

²¹ IDR III/4, 256. See also Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, 13.

²² RAJH 244; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2016, 13. <https://limesromania.ro/ro/articole/situri-arheologice/?page=1>, accessed May 2nd 2019.

²³ I would like to thank once again Andrei Asăndulesei and Felix Tencariu for their help.

²⁴ IDR III/4, 248.

²⁵ Chiricescu 2006, 220.

²⁶ Buzea, (Chiricescu) Deák 2008, 47–53.

²⁷ Buzea, (Chiricescu) Deák 2008, 55–58.

²⁸ Buzea, (Chiricescu) Deák 2008, 54–65.

In my opinion, the lack of Roman pottery does not exclude the use of salt springs in Roman time.

The main argument for my hypothesis is made by the surveys and excavations made in the Roman camp. Despite a bad conservation of the monuments, the walls were visible. The camp is situated in the northern side of the actual village, on a terrace next to the Olt river. Z. Székely excavated a gate (in the south) and two bastions, a tower in the east, another gate with two towers in the west.²⁹ The material is exclusively dated to the Roman period.³⁰ Some Roman lamps coming from Olteni were separately published by R. Zăgreanu.³¹

So, the presence of Romans is beyond doubt at Olteni. The role of the military units which were accommodated there was not only to survey the right bank of the river Olt, but also to keep safe the salt exploitation in the area. That is why I believe the salt springs were fully used in Roman time, even if the Roman pottery in the sites investigated next to the camp is missing.

4.3. Livezile

The fort of Livezile (Bistrița-Năsăud County) was geophysically prospected by a team led by A. Popa.³² The dimensions of the fort are 166 × 120 m. The archaeologists have found Roman pottery, tile fragments and two sesterces dated under the Emperors Hadrian and Lucius Verus.³³ Popa and the collaborators are prudent in expressing their conclusions: it is not excluded that the fort could have been a “civil” station, but the possibility of the existence of a marching camp remains still open.³⁴ In the area, there are three salt springs: two of them are silted (one is situated in the place called Hâga – Pl. II/3, the other just in the proximity of the camp – Pl. II/4; Pl. II/1), and the third is still in use (Pl. III/2–3). I have noticed the rests of some wooden structures, probably modern (Pl. III/4). Even if the field surveys have revealed only modern materials next to the springs, the proximity of the camp does not exclude the possibility that Romans have used the springs. Like in the case of the salting from Sânpaul, I strongly recommend that intrusive archaeological investigations start in the signalled areas.

4.4. Sărățel

In this place was found the inscription of Atticus, slave of P. Aelius Marius.³⁵ A salt spring was noted in the proximity of the village Sărățel (Bistrița-Năsăud County) (Pl. IV/1–2). On Făget hill, not very far from the inscription's spot, a small lake was formed as a consequence of salt exploitation (Pl. IV/3). According to I. Chintăoan³⁶ and D. Ichim,³⁷ this phenomenon was provoked by a Roman exploitation. R. Zăgreanu from the Bistrița

²⁹ Székely 1993, 279–282. See also Székely 1993, 279–282, and Buzea, (Chiricescu) Deák 2008, 62.

³⁰ Buzea, (Chiricescu) Deák 2008, 62.

³¹ Zăgreanu 2011, 170.

³² Popa et alii 2010, 104–105.

³³ Popa et alii 2010, 104.

³⁴ Popa et alii, 104–105. See also Popa, Gaiu, Cociș 2009, 101–113.

³⁵ ILD 804.

³⁶ Chintăoan 2002, 137–138.

³⁷ Ichim 2017, 210.

County Museum confirmed that the Museum have received more than 30 years ago some Roman pottery samples coming from the indicated area.³⁸

4.5. Ocna Dejului – Sic – Gherla

M. Alexianu and V. Kavruk recently noticed the existence of a salt spring and salt fountain 2 km away from the town of Gherla, in the direction of the camp.³⁹

The same researchers have identified a silted salt spring at Dej.⁴⁰ It could have been used also in the Roman time; unfortunately, no survey research was done so far. In any case, the salt exploitation at Ocna Dejului was the most used by the Roman army.

At Sic, where salt exploitation is certainly attested in the Middle Ages, Roman materials were found in the field surveys.⁴¹ Recent geochemical analysis set three anthropogenic saline horizons, in which one belongs to the Roman period (2nd–3rd centuries).⁴²

5. Conclusions

As one can see, the findings concerning salt exploitation dating from Roman times are extremely scarce. It is true that researches or surveys have not been made so far. I shall discuss in another chapter the existence of military camps or forts next to salt resources. Except the archaeological investigations in military areas situated close to salt springs or salt works (Sânpaul, Ocland, Băile Homorod, Olteni), no other research put into our attention evidence of Roman settlements in the salt-rich zones. The Roman presence in this area shows that the salt springs were used also in Roman times, but there were no sites next to them. The Roman exploitation is suggested by epigraphic texts, which I shall discuss with other occasion. However, the exploitations in the pre-Roman period seem to me very important. At Băile Figa, the salt production started in the 16th–15th centuries BC, continued in the 14th–13th centuries BC, until the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. Then an Iron Age exploitation is attested, followed by another one in the post-Roman period.⁴³ The techniques were those of digging shafts onto the rock salt, in order to extract lumps of rock, and of collecting brine from the stream, in order to obtain by evaporation. In any case, the Dacians have used the site and exploited it. Even if there is no evidence of Roman exploitation, the re-using of the salt springs in post-Roman time suggests that the inhabitants used the old structures for salt production or they collected the salt directly from the stream: the production was probably less significant than before. The site noted by A. Harding and V. Kavruk in the Mărtiniș – Ocland area contains traces of salt production from the Iron Age:⁴⁴ the corroboration of this piece of information and the epigraphic file from Sânpaul is relevant to suggest a salt exploitation under Roman rule. The other sites investigated by Harding and Kavruk in Bistrița-Năsăud and Mureș

³⁸ I would like to thank once again R. Zăgreanu for the information.

³⁹ Many thanks to M. Alexianu, who provided me the information and the coordinates.

⁴⁰ Information M. Alexianu.

⁴¹ Jakab et alii 2018, 189.

⁴² Jakab et alii 2018, 201.

⁴³ On the chronology, see also Kavruk 2018, 22–24.

⁴⁴ Harding, Kavruk 2013, 44–47.

Counties provide a scarce material, dated to the Bronze Age (Săsar, Caila, Blăjenii de Jos),⁴⁵ or not dated at all (Sărățeni – Iocul, Pinticul Tecii, Dumitra, Orșova).⁴⁶

I. E. Fichtel's map is very interesting, because it provides salt resources which were exploited from prehistory: Blăjenii de Jos, Figa, Caila, Dumitra, Pinticu Tecii, Mărtiniș, Orșova. At these spots can be added the sites already known for salt exploitation in the Roman period: Turda, Ocna Dejului, Dej, Sic, Cojocna, Ocna Mureș, Ocnele Mari.

My suggestion is that surveys and researches can be achieved in the areas where actual salt resources (especially salt springs) are still exploited. The discovery of the inscription from Domnești (attesting Omucio, *actor* of C. Iulius Valentinus, *conductor pascui et salinarum*)⁴⁷ next to a salt spring indicates that archaeological investigations should be made in these areas, too.

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⁴⁶ Chiricescu 2006, 164–165; Harding, Kavruk 2013, 143–144.

⁴⁷ IDR III/4, 248.

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Pl. I. 1. The salt spring of Petreni (photo A. Asăndulesei); **2.** The salt spring at Petreni (photo A. Asăndulesei); **3.** Sânpaul – view from the salting (photo L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba); **4.** Salting with wooden structures at Sânpaul (photo L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba).



Pl. II. 1. Detail with a piece of the wooden structures at Sânpaul (photo A. Asăndulesei); 2. Bronze Age shard found at Sânpaul in the salting (photo L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba); 3. Silted salt spring at Livezile – Hâga (photo L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba); 4. Silted salt spring at Livezile – not far from the camp (photo L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba).



Pl. III. 1. Silted salt spring at Livezile – next to the camp. Rests of wooden structures; **2–3.** Salt springs still in use at Livezile; **4.** Rests of some wooden structures near the salt spring at Livezile (photos L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba).



Pl. IV. 1–2. Salt spring and salting at Sărățel; 3. Small lake in the former Roman exploitation at Sărățel (photos L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba).

A SANCTUARY OF SILVANUS IN THE RURAL TERRITORY OF NAPOCA*

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Abstract: The A3 motorway (Brașov – Tg. Mureș – Oradea) archaeological diagnosis, from 2016, has revealed an important number of unknown archaeological sites in the rural area north of Cluj-Napoca. Out of these, one of the most complex was site no. 9, excavated in the summer of 2017. Remains of at least three historical ages have been discovered (Bronze, Roman and Early Migration), some of the archaeological features giving us remarkable results. Out of these, the most relevant, datable in the Roman times, were a sanctuary, an altar dedicated to Silvanus, bearing an unusual attribute and other structures apparently related to the presumed cultic place.

Keywords: Roman rural settlement; sanctuary; *fanum*; Silvanus; Napoca.

Rezumat: Lucrările de diagnostic arheologic efectuate pentru construcția Autostrăzii A3 (Brașov – Tg. Mureș – Oradea) au scos la iveală, în 2016, un număr important de situri arheologice necunoscute până atunci, în zona rurală de la nord de Cluj-Napoca. Dintre acestea, unul dintre cele mai complexe a fost situl nr. 9, cercetat în vara anului 2017. Au fost descoperite vestigii aparținând a cel puțin trei epoci istorice (bronz, roman și epoca timpurie a migrațiilor), unele dintre complexele arheologice oferindu-ne rezultate remarcabile. Dintre acestea, cele mai relevante, databile în epoca romană, au fost un sanctuar, un altar dedicat zeului Silvanus, purtând un epitet neobișnuit și alte structuri în legătură cu presupusul loc de cult.

Cuvinte cheie: așezare rurală romană; sanctuar; *fanum*; Silvanus; Napoca.

I. Introduction. General remarks on the site

I. 1. Site identification. Location in accordance with the A3 motorway project

The A3 motorway sector Nădășelu – Topa Mică (km 8+240 to 25 + 500), stretches on the territory of the Gârbău and Sânpaul communes, in the County of Cluj (Pl. I/1–2).

The archaeological diagnosis in this sector was carried out in 2016 by the Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj-Napoca, and consisted of sections of variable lengths (7–10 m), mechanically excavated.¹ Site no. 9 was identified in July 2016, in the territory of Sânpaul village, being located at approx. 650 m northwest from the exit of the European road E81 to Zalău. Seventeen diagnosis trenches were conducted in the site area, to identify and

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¹ Cociș et alii 2016.

define the site (S230-S247), eleven of these in its perimeter.² Within the motorway project, Site 9 ranges between km 17+560 – 17+880, its estimated area being of approx. 22676 sqm (Pl. I/3).

I. 2. Geographic framework (Pl. II/1–2)

The area where the site was detected is characterised by a generous terrace of the Valea Mare Stream, a rivulet flanking it on the eastern side. To the North and South, the plateau is bordered by Cozopăi Creek, respectively the Usturiș Valley, while to the West rises the Usturiș Hill (477 m), with a maximum declivity of 15%. Another small affluent of the Valea Mare splits the terrace into two slightly disproportionate halves.

Site 9 is located in the southern, lower and smaller part of the terrace. At the maximum extension it measures approx. 200 × 200 m, both parallel (N-S axis) and perpendicular (E-V axis), relative to the main water course and the slope of the hill. The terrace rises to approx. 10–15 m above the Valea Mare meadow, having an average declivity of 4–5%, on the W-E direction. We can note that the angle difference between the hill and the terrace favours the deposition of alluvium on the latter.

Respecting the perimeter of the motorway project, Site 9 was contoured at the foot of the Usturiș Hill, from the last meters of the slope extending eastwards on the smooth terrace that descends towards Valea Mare, in the same direction increasing the concentration of archaeological features.

I. 3. Archaeological research. The campaign of 2017

The rescue excavations were carried out by The National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca. The field works took place between May and July 2017. The zonal relief configuration has determined that more than half of site's surface required successive stripping excavations – two, three and even four on specific portions – until the complete archaeological discharge of the land, in respect to the different levels whereon the features have been formed, even within the same culture or phase. Alluvial deposits, visible in dark shades on satellite imagery, are consistent even in just one rain season, phenomenon observed also in the summer of 2017 (Pl. III/1).

More than 358 archaeological features (abbreviated as Cx) have been identified, belonging to different historical periods (Pl. III/2): the overwhelming majority of them – 309 – fall in the sequence of Bronze Age *in extenso*, from its early stages up to the latest; followed, both chronologically and in number – 46 – by the features belonging to the Roman Age; finally, the last three features are Early Migration Age burials.

The Roman features can be classified by two generic terms, in regard to functionality (Pl. III/3). A part of them have constructive elements that indicate the presence of some stone or wooden structures: stones (Cx45, Cx69, Cx387), post holes (Cx7, Cx9, Cx20, Cx21, Cx69, Cx75, Cx387), iron nails, fire place inside a large feature (Cx9). Their dimensions, starting at 3.5 up to 12 m, are also an indicator for the idea of “built structures”, from simple annexes (Cx7?, Cx75?) or places for various occupations (Cx9, Cx387 – hut, seasonal shelter?) to small worship features (Cx45, Cx69), pointing out assorted activities. The layout is particularly interesting in some cases: the rectangular stone structure of Cx45 or

² Cociș et alii 2016, 19, 40–41, 107–109, 182.

the plan of Cx9, with Cx20 and Cx21 “portico”. Altogether there are six points on the site that revealed construction features: Cx7, Cx9 (with Cx20, Cx21), Cx45, Cx69, Cx387 and probably Cx75 (with Cx89–93).

For the rest of the features, diverse functionalities were observed. Cx26 is a surface deployed feature, while Cx29 is a pit shaped one, both connected probably with the ‘worship’ area of Cx45. Other features are in fact parts (like post holes) of larger organised ‘built structures’: Cx89, Cx90, Cx91, Cx92, Cx93 (connected with Cx75). But mainly, the features of this group are pits, meeting various needs, either for everyday use or rather with cultic role, in the area of larger features and related to them. Their diameter varies from 0.6 m to 2.3 m, but most of them have a width of 0.7 to 1.5 m.

The way the features are located on the site stimulates the following assumption: the rise of feature concentration can be observed in the eastern and southern halves of the site, as the decreasing slope of the hill becomes a terrace.

Even if the excavated area of the highway perimeter ends abruptly in this direction, the area of archaeological interest certainly extends on the generous terrace that stretches eastwards (see Pl. II). At least the Roman and Bronze Age features seem to continue in this direction. However, it can be accepted that even the isolated sepulchral Migration Age discoveries may have an extension in this direction, as they are only to 17 m away from the unexcavated edge.

II. Description of the main Roman features

Cx9 (Pl. IV): dim. $3.9 \times 2.9 \times 0.5$ m. Irregularly shaped feature, with three post holes on the western end, and a fireplace. Two other features, Cx20 and Cx21, are related to it, these also being post holes with the same functionality as the first. The presence of the fireplace, observed since the outlining, supports the hypothesis of a temporary sunken dwelling.

Inside, we found a compact dark brown-grey clay filling, Roman pottery fragments and animal bones.

Cx26 (Pl. V): dim. 7.5×3 m. In the close vicinity of the sanctuary represented by the feature Cx45, at circa 1.50 m to the south-west, Cx26 has been revealed. With an approximately rectangular shape, it stretched over a length of 9 m towards the mentioned direction (Pls. III/2–3). Irregularly shaped feature, possibly only a layer containing numerous pottery fragments. The presumed filling is a dark brown-grey earth, rather loose and with no intrusions.

It was characterised by a consistent layer of Roman Age pottery, both wheel-thrown and handmade, scattered over the entire surface, at times mixed with Bronze Age pottery.

The repertoire of Roman pottery shapes recovered from this feature includes fine wheel-thrown ware, as well as handmade coarse ware. The fine ware comprises the category of *vasa escaria*, represented by the same shapes of bowls imitating similar vessels from the *terra sigillata* category, namely the Drag. 37 (Pl. VI/1) and Drag. 44 (Pl. VI/2–6) types.³ The specimens discovered in this feature were made both from a fine oxidised fabric

³ For analogies, see below the description and typological classification of the ceramic material from Cx45.

(Pl. VI/4–6) and a reduced fabric (Pl. VI/1–3), which is more rarely encountered in the case of fine ware, preponderantly fired in an oxidising atmosphere. The vessels for pouring, transporting and storing liquids are also included among the fine ware pottery. These are represented by pitchers with horizontally inclined rim marked by three grooves, wide and tall neck, dished body and annular bottom with an *umbo* in the centre, provided with two handles (Rusu-Bolindeț type CC 15B)⁴ (Pl. VII/7–8). The coarse ware pottery includes cooking vessels (*vasa coquinatoria*). These were wheel-thrown – platters with rounded, slightly inwards turned rim, convex wall and flat bottom (Rusu-Bolindeț type CC 1 B6) (Pl. VII/9)⁵ – as well as handmade – storage jars with outwards turned rim, more or less rounded (Pl. VII/10–12), with the rim inclined almost to an angle (Pl. VIII/13), or with an inner groove (Pl. VIII/14) for better accommodating the lid, dished body and flat bottom. This ceramic category, conventionally called of Late La Tène tradition or Roman Age native or Dacian pottery, was employed throughout the Roman period as cooking pottery, since it was thermo-resistant and was suited inclusively for placing directly on the fire, as proven by traces of secondary burn seen on their exterior surface and rims.⁶ Although present in relatively small percentages among the pottery used in the Roman period in comparison to wheel-thrown vessels, it seems that this category was favoured primarily for preparing food, being discovered in all types of sites (cities, forts, rural settlement, and cult places).⁷

From the surface of feature Cx26 two iron objects were also recovered, a fragmentary hook (Pl. VIII/15) and a spike (Pl. VIII/15), a few glass vessel fragments and animal bones.

A fragmentary amphora originating from Sinope, of the B Sn II type (according to Kassab Tezgör's typology)⁸ used to transport wine, is the only imported piece found in Cx29. The dating of this type of amphora between the 2nd and first half of the 3rd centuries AD⁹ presents us with an additional chronological point of reference for dating the Roman features discovered here.

Cx29 (Pl. IX): dim. 4.32 × 3.7 × 0.8 m. Situated at 18 m NNE from the cult edifice (Cx45) and 9.50 m N from feature Cx26, it took the shape of a relatively circular pit. When first outlined it was identified as a single feature (Cx29), but following the excavation two features were delineated, Cx29 (to the south) and Cx29a (to the north); the latter, however, proved to be just a level of material on the surface, without ultimately having a distinctly outlined cut. The filling of the pit comprised black, compact soil, pigmented with charcoal, adobe, burn marks and cinders. This was filled with ceramic materials similar to the ones

⁴ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 426, type 15B, catalogue no. 630, Pl. CIII; Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, type v2 storage vessel, catalogue no. 366, Pl. 44/730.

⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 404, type CC 1 B6, catalogue no. 546, Pl. XCI.

⁶ For the discussion regarding the pottery of Late La Tène tradition from Roman Dacia, especially with reference to the site at Napoca, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 101–137 and Pls. XIV–XIX. Also, for the situation of handmade pottery from the Roman age site at Suceagu-Rădaia, see Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, 70–73, Figs. 71–75. For the difference between the Dacian handmade pottery of the classical period of the Dacian Kingdom and that from the Roman period, with special reference to the pottery found in the auxiliary fort at Cășeu, see Pupeză, Cupșa 2020, 2–4, Figs. II–III, in print.

⁷ See Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 102–103, 116–118, 120–121 and diagrams 1–4; Pupeză, Cupșa 2020, 5–8, in print.

⁸ Kassab Tezgör 2010, 126, Pl. 15/2a-b.

⁹ Kassab Tezgör 2010, 126–127.

found in the area of the sanctuary and of feature Cx26, as well as other artefacts. In addition, there were also charcoal and burn pigments present in the entire fill (Pl. IX/1–3).

The ceramic material makes up the majority of the artefacts found there. As with the other features, it comprises approximately the same fine ware pottery categories. *Vasa escaria* includes vessels that imitate the shapes known from the *terra sigillata* repertoire, namely the Drag. 32 (?) (Pl. X/1)¹⁰ and Drag. 44 (Pl. X/3) type bowls, as well as a particular type of hemispherical bowl with almost vertically heightened rim, rounded on the outside and provided with a groove for the lid on the inside (Pl. X/2). The drinking vessels (*vasa pota(to)ria*) are represented by two types of cups provided with two handles, imitations of thin-walled pottery. One of these has a rounded and slightly inwards inclined rim and lightly dished body (Pl. X/5), while the other has a vertically raised rim, rounded and marked on the outside by two grooves, as well as a dished body (Pl. X/6);¹¹ both types have a reddish slip on the outer surface and on the inside of the rim. A type of beaker with slightly inclined rounded rim (though not profiled) and elongated body (Pl. X/4) is also included in the category of drinking vessels. The vessels for pouring, transporting and storing are represented by pitchers (Pl. X/7) and small amphorae with grooved rim and two handles, ovoid body and tall annular bottom with a central *umbo* (Pl. XI/8–11). In many of the cases these vessels exhibit a painted decoration on the neck and body (Pl. XI/9–10), sometimes also on the handles. In addition, the jars with the rim rounded on the inside, highly inclined and well-delineated on the outside, unmarked neck and dished body, made from a fine fabric fired in an oxidising atmosphere¹² (Pl. XI/18) can also be included here, being used to store foodstuff.

Among the serving vessels, coarse ware is represented by a cup with slightly rounded rim and ovoid body (Pl. XI/12) and a miniature bowl (dish) with the rim slightly inclined and rounded on the outside, hemispherical body and two fine mouldings in the area of the maximum diameter (Pl. XI/13); both were made from a coarse fabric fired in an oxidising atmosphere (it is a rare case for these vessels to be made from such fabric). The cooking ware is represented by wheel-thrown jars made from semi-fine and coarse fabric mostly fired in a reducing, more rarely oxidising atmosphere, whose types are frequently encountered in Roman Dacia, implicitly also in Napoca and its territory. These are jars with more or less outwards inclined rim, provided with a groove for the lid, with the neck marked by the rim inclination, ovoid body, grooved on the outer surface and on the rim (Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, type CC 10 F) (Pl. XI/14–15, 17)¹³ or jarss with rounded outwards inclined rim, short neck and dished body (Pl. XI/16). Also included in this category are the handmade storage jars manufactured from a coarse fabric, with outwards inclined rim cut at the extremity and elongated, undecorated body (Pl. XII/19)¹⁴ or the type with inclined rim, unmarked neck and elongated body, decorated with alveolae impressed with the finger on the unfired fabric on the rim and neck (Pl. XII/20).

¹⁰ A possible analogy at Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, 218, type c32 bowl, catalogue no. 539, Pl. 66/3553.

¹¹ Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, 245, type o13 pot, catalogue no. 692, Pl. 83/2314, however, without handles.

¹² A good analogy also at Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, 219, type o15 pot, catalogue no. 546, Pl. 67/3545, made from a fine fabric fired in an oxidising atmosphere.

¹³ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 412, type CC 10B, catalogue no. 577–578, Pl. XCVI.

¹⁴ Possibly of type 1.1 E, but with early dating, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 108, catalogue no. 22, Pl. XVI.

Other categories of artefacts discovered in Cx29 were made from iron and are represented by a curbed fragmentary billhook¹⁵ (Pl. XII/21), edging of a fragmentary artefact (Pl. XII/22), a highly corroded spearhead (Pl. XII/23), an almost complete ring (Pl. XII/24) and a spike (Pl. XII/25).

Cx45 (Pls. III/2–3; XIII): dim. 4.6×3.5 m. In the course of the archaeological excavations carried out in Site 9, a rectangular construction raised from walls bound with earth and paved with large slabs of various types of stone was discovered approximately in the central part of the researched area. The edifice is oriented to the ESE-WNW having the northern and western parts completely preserved (Pls. XIII; XIV/1). The rest are only partially preserved, the southern one on a length of 3.10 m and the eastern one only on a length of 1.22 m in the NE corner and on a length of 0.64 m towards the SE corner (this was the most damaged part, probably because of the emplacement of the building on a slope). The maximum width of the perimetral walls is of around 0.45–0.50 m, the varying dimensions owing to the construction material, i.e. yellowish limestone, occasionally sandstone, bound with yellowish brown clay (Pl. XV).

Inside, the edifice exhibits a partition wall (sized 2.45×0.45 m) which delineates a possible corridor (?) with a width of 0.60 m, emplaced parallel to the western wall (Pl. XIII/1–2; XIV/1). On this portion, as well as on a limited area on the southern side (measuring 0.30×0.45 m) the limestone slabs and rocks making up the pavement of the building are absent. Also on the inside, the building was provided with a 2.70×2.50 m pavement which appears precisely in the perimeter delineated by the partition wall to the west and by the perimetral walls to the north, south and east. The pavement was built from large-sized limestone slabs emplaced mainly in the eastern half of the building and along its northern and southern sides respectively. In the central part, the pavement was built from yellowish pink limestone rocks which were smaller and rather brittle.

Because of the poor state of preservation of the western side, the entrance into the edifice could not be outlined *in situ*. However, it is possible that it was located on this side because of the orientation and building plan, as well as of the slope inclination.

The transverse section oriented N-S and measuring 4.42×0.70 m, which sectioned the interior of the building and also the foundations of the eastern and western walls revealed the fact that the foundation had only two rows of stone bound with clay (Pl. XV). The same is true for the pavement of the edifice, which was built from a single row of large-sized limestone and sandstone slabs (Pls. XIV/1; XV/1).

From a stratigraphic point of view it was noted that the Roman layer in which the sanctuary was raised has a thickness of 0.48 m and comprises yellowish-brown clay sporadically pigmented with pottery fragments (Cx1). The sanctuary overlapped a prehistoric level pertaining to the Bronze Age. This layer was 0.34 m thick and presented here and there small fragments of adobe and pottery. The natural soil untouched by human activity is represented by a layer of yellow clay (Pls. XIV/2; XV/1).

Consequently, the abovementioned edifice had a single construction phase. The surface research and the stratigraphy did not point to any successive phases, repairs or interventions meant to repeatedly modify or destroy the structure (Pl. XV). The lack of

¹⁵ Gui 2016, 41, catalogue no. 17, Pl. 35/17.

any tegular material for the roof cover (tiles and pantiles) determines us to hypothesise about the construction of the edifice: it appears to be a building with stone foundations and timber elevation, with the roof probably made from light materials.

The artefacts¹⁶ discovered inside are scarce and mainly consist of a few very fragmentary Roman pottery vessels made from a fine fabric. The prehistoric fragments, which can be attributed to the Late Bronze Age and to Hallstatt A1, are fewer still. An iron nail and a spike were discovered outside, on the northern side, and the iron ring from a key (Pl. XXV/2), a fragmentary copper-alloy knife blade (?) (Pl. XXV/3), and a fragmentary whetstone (Pl. XXV/1) came to light from the exterior of the western side.

Conversely, a few fragments of Roman pottery belonging to the category of fine tableware were found in the area of this archaeological feature. The ceramic repertoire of both this feature and of the ones associated to it is extremely unitary and repetitive. The best analogies are to be found in the local production from Napoca¹⁷ and in the similar discoveries from the Early Roman age settlement at Suceagu-Rădaia.¹⁸ For this reason, the presentation of the ceramic material discovered in the site at Sânpaul will follow an already existing typology devised for the aforementioned settlements.

As such, the fine pottery discovered in the area of the analysed sanctuary (Cx45) is represented by four main groups. The first is that of the vessels for eating and serving at the table (*vasa escaria*) and includes local imitations of *terra sigillata* forms, i.e. Drag. 37 type bowls (Rusu-Bolindeț CC Dr 37 type)¹⁹ (Pl. XVI/3) and Drag. 44 type (Rusu-Bolindeț CC Dr 44 type)²⁰ (Pl. XVI/1–2). The category of drinking vessels (*vasa po(ta)toria*) is represented by cups – imitations of thin-walled shapes²¹ (Pl. XVI/4–5). The vessels for pouring, transporting and storing include jugs with vertical, rounded, slightly outwards projecting rim, marked by a pronounced exterior groove, tall and narrow neck, provided with a handle (Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, CC 13 D type)²² (Pl. XVI/8), those with a wider mouth, almost vertical rim with triangular section and a relatively tall neck (Rusu-Bolindeț CC 13 B1 type)²³ (Pl. XVI/7), and the vessels with vertical rim delineated on the exterior by a marked groove (Rusu-Bolindeț CC 13 G1 type)²⁴ (Pl. XVI/6). A rim fragment with

¹⁶ Since the quantity of archaeological materials recovered from the area of the *fanum* and its associated archaeological features (Cx9, 26, 29, 69, 387 etc.) is significant (more than 2000 artefacts, especially pottery) for the present paper we have selected only the most representative. Their exhaustive presentation will be carried out in the monograph dedicated to Site 9 at Sânpaul, which will be published in the next two years.

¹⁷ For the typology of the ceramic shapes from Napoca according to the phases of evolution of the site, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, Pls. CVI–CXI.

¹⁸ For the typology of the Roman pottery found at Suceagu-Rădaia see Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, 79–93, Figs. 91–96, 99.

¹⁹ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 383, catalogue no. 454, Pl. LXXXV; Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, c32 type bowl, catalogue no. 156, Pl. 18/572.

²⁰ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 384, catalogue no. 486, Pl. LXXXVII; Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, c16 type bowl, catalogue no. 156, Pl. 18/572.

²¹ Considered however by the authors as a bowl, not a cup – Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, c13 type bowl, 153, catalogue no. 163, Pl. 19/630. Also c26 type bowl – 179, catalogue no. 312, Pl. 36/796.

²² Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 424, catalogue no. 609, Pl. XCIX.

²³ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 423, catalogue no. 606, Pl. XCIX.

²⁴ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 424, catalogue no. 618, Pl. C.

triangular section originating from a *dolium* (Rusu-Bolindeț CC 16B type)²⁵ (Pl. XVI/9) illustrates the storage pottery.

Cx69 (Pls. XVII–XVIII): dim. 12.4 × 8 m.

Large-sized archaeological feature with irregular shape exhibiting a multitude of alveolae (Pls. XVII; XVIII/4). The filling consists of compact and clayish dark greyish brown earth (Pl. XVIII/1). The inventory recovered from the interior includes a very large amount of pottery, both fine and coarse (it predominates from a quantitative point of view in the Roman features found in the site), animal bones (several unprocessed horns) and a few large-sized nails. It is very important to mention an altar dedicated to Silvanus, which was found inside, with the text facing down, discussed lower (Pl. XVIII/2–3). The presence of sandstone and limestone fragments could point to the existence of a structure, at most raised from timber with a roof made from perishable materials (Pl. XVIII/2).

The ceramic material discovered in the fill of this interesting feature comprises the same fine and coarse ware categories, with a few additional shapes. Thus, among the fine ware, the table ware (*vasa escaria*) includes in this instance plates imitating the Curle 15²⁶ (Pl. XIX/1), Curle 23, LuTb variant²⁷ (Pl. XIX/2) and Drag 18/31²⁸ (Pl. XIX/3) types, alongside Drag. 37 and Drag. 44 type bowls (Pl. XIX/9–10; XX/11–12, 14–15) (the most frequently encountered in the repertoire of shapes that imitate *terra sigillata*, both in the features of the site under analysis and in various sites across Roman Dacia).²⁹ This feature yielded undecorated Drag. 37 bowls with a dark red/cherry-red slip on both sides, which come very close to the *terra sigillata* prototypes they imitate (Pl. XIX/7–8), and also the same type of bowls, only with a stamped decoration. Of the latter, the most well-preserved specimen, a small-sized bowl (Pl. XIX/4),³⁰ appears to have the decoration organised just as the *terra sigillata* vessels. It displays a row of ova on the upper part, surrounded by a semi-circle with the opening at the top, decorated with striations, with the interior divided by two vertical lines (possibly C.1.254 or 258 type ova from the repertoire of pottery from Napoca).³¹ Underneath there are two snakes running towards the base of the vessel, with wavy body and scales rendered with slightly oblique striations, suggesting very well the idea of motion. Between the moving snakes, the following were stamped: to the right – a composite vegetal motif consisting of two long leaves with oblique striations, one

²⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 431, catalogue no. 636, Pl. CIV; Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, v7 type *dolium*, 215, catalogue no. 520, Pl. 63/1331.

²⁶ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 207, 226, catalogue no. 203, Pl. XLIII, with the according analogies.

²⁷ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 207–209, 227, catalogue no. 206, Pl. XLIV.

²⁸ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 198, 220, catalogue no. 157, Pl. XXXVI.

²⁹ On the shapes of fine ware bowls imitating the Drag. 37 and Drag. 44 types, as well as on the situation of their production in Dacia, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 203–204, catalogue no. 178–185, Pl. XXXIX–XLI, 205–206 and catalogue no. 191–198, Pl. XLII–XLIII respectively. Such bowls are also included in the coarse ware category, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 383–384, catalogue no. 454–460, Pl. LXXXV–LXXXVI (Drag. 37 type bowls) and Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 384–386, catalogue no. 479–491, Pl. LXXXVI–LXXXVIII (Drag. 44 type bowls), with the entire discussion on their production, dating and analogies.

³⁰ For the type 3DR 37 from the repertoire of stamped pottery from Napoca, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 252, Pl. LXVI.

³¹ See Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 276, catalogue no. 254 or 258, Pl. LXXI; see also Rusu-Bolindeț, Botiș 2016, 54, catalogue no. 6, Fig. 53/6 (only for the type of ova).

stamped with the tip pointing up, the other pointing down, a rosette (?) marking their junction point; to the left – probably a large-sized leaf, of which only very little of the upper part was preserved. Of the other stamped bowl, also small-sized (Pl. XIX/5), only a fragment from the upper part of the body survived. This too appears to be of the Drag. 37 type and is organised in a similar fashion to the first, by using registers and decorative motifs borrowed from the *terra sigillata* repertoire. Accordingly, the upper register of the decoration is delineated by simple ova with a central line (of the C.1.241 type from the repertoire of stamped pottery from Napoca),³² under which a single register survived, composed of alternating vegetal motifs: stylised triangular-shaped leaves with marked outline and veins rendered by oblique lines and well-marked stem (of the B3 171 type from the repertoire of stamped pottery from Napoca)³³ and rosettes with the interior marked by several concentric circles. Another bowl fragment representing a small part of the body towards the base was stamped with a decorative motif consisting of semicircles with the opening to the right (Pl. XIX/6). The stamped pottery described above is similar to the one produced in the pottery centre at Napoca in terms of shapes and arrangement of the decoration; however, the combinations and even some of the decorative motifs are original. On the other hand, even though the repertoire of fine ware on the analysed site is varied, stamped pottery is only very poorly represented.³⁴

Regarding the Drag 44 type bowls, these were made from a fine fabric fired in an oxidising atmosphere and often covered in slip. There were also examples of very good quality fired in a reducing atmosphere, with dark-coloured slip imitating *terra nigra*, their fabric becoming more resilient compared to the pottery fired in an oxidising atmosphere, which is soapy and whose surface exfoliates more easily. Two body fragments belonging to the same bowl, probably of the Drag. 44 type, preserved traces of slip lines that extended towards the base of the vessel after it was bathed in slip (Pl. XX/14–15).

Fine ware for pouring, transporting and storing liquids is represented by jugs with vertical rim marked by a deep groove on the outside, concave on the inside, with tall and narrow necks, provided with a handle (Rusu-Bolindeţ type CC 13 G) (Pl. XX/16),³⁵ pitchers with smooth rim inclined horizontally, wide mouth and neck, equipped with either one or two handles (Rusu-Bolindeţ type CC 14 C) (Pl. XX/17),³⁶ or small amphorae with horizontally inclined rim, decorated with two marked grooves, splayed mouth, tall narrow neck, with two handles positioned under the rim and above the maximum diameter (Rusu-Bolindeţ type CC 15 B-C)³⁷ (Pl. XXI/18–19).

Coarse ware is represented by wheel-thrown cooking pottery, of which two categories were discovered: jars and lids. The former include pots with thickened rim, inclined towards the exterior, narrow neck and dished body (Rusu-Bolindeţ type CC 10 A) (Pl. XXI/20),³⁸

³² Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 275, catalogue no. C.1. 241, Pl. LXXI.

³³ Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 272, catalogue no. B3 171, Pl. LXXI.

³⁴ The situation is somewhat similar to the one of the stamped ceramic material from the Roman age settlement at Suceagu-Rădaia, where the number of specimens discovered total 31 – Rusu-Bolindeţ, Botiş 2016, 53–60, Fig. 53–57.

³⁵ Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 424, catalogue no. 616–618, Pl. C.

³⁶ Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 425, catalogue no. 625–626, Pl. CIII.

³⁷ Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 426, type CC 15 B and C, catalogue no. 630–631, Pl. CIII.

³⁸ Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, type CC 10 A, 410, catalogue no. 568, Pl. XCV.

as well as several variants of a particular type of jar characterised by a rim strongly inclined towards the exterior and much widened, provided with a groove for the lid on the inside, short neck marked by the rim inclination and very dished body (Pl. XXI/22–24). This type also presents a smaller-sized variant, with inclined rim, but also blunt on the outside (Pl. XXI/21). Two types of lids with moulded knobs, only fragmentarily preserved (Pl. XXI/25–26), belonged to these particular types of pots. The analysed cooking vessels (jars and lids) display strong traces of secondary burning, proof of their intensive use in contact with fire.

The last ceramic category represented in Cx69 comprises the *dolia* type vessels used for storing supplies. The specimens discovered here have a wide rim, inclined horizontally towards the exterior and also slightly towards the interior, marked shoulder and dished body (Rusu-Bolindeț type CC 16A) (Pl. XXII/27–29).³⁹ In most of the cases these vessels, made from a fine oxidised fabric, have the body and sometimes the rim painted with scarlet, dark brown or other shades of paint that contrast with the fabric. Usually, the painted motifs consist of horizontal and vertical bands, striations, waves and other geometrical motifs (Pl. XXII/29).

Cx387 (Pls. XXIII–XXIV): dim. $6.9 \times 4.8 \times 1.5$ m.

Large-sized archaeological feature with irregular shape, exhibiting several alveolae. The filling consists of compact and clayish dark greyish brown earth with spots of yellow clay. The inventory recovered from inside comprises wheel-thrown pottery, a spindle whorl, two hairpins, large-sized nails and unburned animal bones. It is possible that its function was similar to that of Cx69.

The ceramic material is fairly rich considering that this feature was impossible to research completely. From the point of view of the categories represented in the previous archaeological features, it is repetitive and has the same characteristics concerning the fabric of the vessels, the surface treatment and the firing (predominately in an oxidising atmosphere for the fine ware and reducing for the cooking ware). Thus, fine ware includes the following categories: *vasa escaria* (bowls imitating the Drag. 37 and Drag. 44 *terra sigillata* shapes); vessels for pouring, storing and transporting liquids (jugs, pitchers and small amphorae, in most cases painted on the neck, body and handles). Coarse ware comprises *vasa coquinatoria*, represented by wheel-thrown pots, which include both the types frequently encountered in the sites at Napoca and Suceagu-Rădaia (see above the description for Cx26, 29, 45 and 69) and different variants of the particular type with strongly outwards inclined rim, much widened, with a groove on the inside for the lid, short neck marked by the rim inclination and a very dished body (see Pls. XIX–XX/23–25). Among the shapes more rarely seen in the other features, we can mention for the fine ware a platter covered in Pompeian red, a Curle 11 type *mortarium* and a fragment from a bowl or cup with excised decoration (in the ‘cut glass’ technique).

Among the other artefacts discovered in Cx387, it is worth mentioning an almost complete narrow belt plate with openwork decoration representing a dolphin with its tail

³⁹ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, type CC 16 A, 426, catalogue no. 637, 639, Pl. CIV.

ending in an ivy leaf (Pl. XXV/7).⁴⁰ Identical pieces are known from Apulum,⁴¹ from the old collection of the National Museum of Unification, and also from *Barbaricum*, from the settlement at Mătăsar. ⁴² A very good analogy originates from Novae.⁴³ The dating of this piece, in use in the second part of the 2nd century AD, presents us with an important chronological reference for the dating of the Roman age archaeological features discovered on Site 9 at Sânpaul.⁴⁴

From the same feature there are two miniature hairpins, one made of copper alloy (complete) (Pl. XXV/6) and the other of bone (fragmentary) (Pl. XXV/5), as well as a fragmentary whetstone (Pl. XXV/4).

Some final remarks regarding the recovered archaeological material

Most of the archaeological material discovered in Roman Age features is represented by pottery. A first characteristic of this material is that no ceramic categories usually associated with cult places, such as *turibula*, lamps, terracotta, *ex-voto* pieces or vessels with *graffiti*, were found.⁴⁵

Specifically, the pottery discovered here is unexceptional, both from the point of view of the ceramic categories represented and of their function. The vessels fired in an oxidising atmosphere predominate; included here are the categories of fine ware – in general, tableware but also vessels for storing, pouring and transporting liquids, as well as supply vessels. Conversely, the cooking vessels (platters and especially jars), were made from a coarse fabric, fired especially in a reducing atmosphere. This was also wheel-thrown, but in most of the cases handmade (so-called pottery of Dacian or Late La Tène tradition).

The fabric from which the vessels belonging to the fine ware category discovered on the site at Sânpaul were manufactured is of very good quality, with fine calcite, quartz, iron oxides and sporadically mica inclusions, but it is very soapy/chalky. Because of this peculiarity, even though the firing was of very high quality, the slip is not so well preserved on some of the vessels. The shades of the fabrics fired in an oxidising atmosphere range from pink (Munsell 5YR 7/3, 7/4; 2.5 YR, 8/3 and 8/4) to light orange (Munsell 2.5 YR 7/3 and 7/4) and yellowish (Munsell 10YR 8/6, 8/8, 7/6, 7/8). In the case of the pottery fired in a reducing atmosphere, the shades of the fabric can range from light grey (Munsell 2.5 Y 7/1) to darker grey (Munsell 10YR 6/1), as well as tones of brownish-grey (Munsell 10YR 6/3 and 6/4). The handmade pottery fired in an oxidising atmosphere presents various shades of reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 5/3 and 5/4) and yellowish brown (Munsell 10 YR 4/4 and 4/6).

The slip of the fine pottery appears to be of the same colour as the fabric, but in many cases darker, even contrasting shades are preferred, for instance dark reddish brown (Munsell 5YR 3/3 and 3/4).

⁴⁰ The identification of the piece was made by Monica Gui, whom we would also like to thank here.

⁴¹ Unfortunately without any archaeological context, see Ciugudean 2017, 350, no. 7; 376, catalogue no. 14, Pl. II/5.

⁴² Petculescu 1999, 896, Pl. 1/9. The same author mentions unpublished pieces from Buciumi and Stolniceni.

⁴³ Gencheva 2009, 17, Fig. 4/4.

⁴⁴ Petculescu 1999, 896; Ciugudean 2017, 350.

⁴⁵ See Plumier 2004.

On the contrary, there are many vessels with painted decoration employing the same dark shades as those for the slip – large-sized vessels with extensive body surface were preferred – jugs/pitchers, cups, small amphorae, *dolia* – on which one can paint especially geometric motifs (lines, waves, dots, striations, bands etc.). The painting was applied on the neck, body (predominantly) and also on the handle of the vessels.

The types of fabric defined for the pottery discovered in the area of the sanctuary at Sânpaul are different from those produced in the pottery centre at Napoca.⁴⁶ The former are characterised by the fine, soapy, good quality fabric. They appear to resemble more closely the fabrics of the vessels discovered in the Early Roman settlement at Suceagu-Rădaia.⁴⁷ The ceramic shapes are almost identical in all of the three analysed sites, though the fabrics differ. This fact could prove the existence of some local workshops on the territory of Napoca, possibly branches of the pottery centre therein, which produced all the possible pottery categories for the inhabitants of the rural area.

The cultic character of the site can be inferred from the plan of the edifice – particular in the religious architecture of Roman Dacia –, as well as on the basis of the inscription dedicated to Silvanus Geminus; however, there are no other associated architectural elements (e.g. a *peribolos* or annexes etc.). Regarding the archaeological material/furniture characteristic for a cult place, it is possible that at least two of the features discovered close to the *fanum* – Cx26 and especially Cx29 – represent probably *favissae* which kept the material used during ritual processions, thereafter thrown for various reasons in places more or less designated for this purpose. Judging from the categories of artefacts discovered in the area of the presumed sanctuary discovered at Sânpaul, it would appear that the material rather represents the result of periodic cleaning of the sacred area in which ceremonial banquets took place. It is the function of the discovered pottery vessels – i.e. preparing and serving meals, as well as keeping and storing foodstuff (solid and liquid) – that supports this supposition. Such a phenomenon is confirmed by similar discoveries in some rural sanctuaries in Roman Gaul, such as the *fanum* from Nécý.⁴⁸

III. The altar for Silvanus (Pl. XXVI)

The piece in discussion is a limestone altar, discovered in the Roman settlement, in the context named Cx69. It is made from local limestone, from the presumed exploitation of Viștea and it shows decorations on top, guidance lines in the epigraphic field and some traces of red paint in the letters.

Dimensions: 70 × 40 × 33 cm.

Letters: 4–6 cm.

Preserved text:

⁴⁶ See Ionescu, Ghergari 2007, 434–462, Fig. 1*–20*, Pl. I*–II*.

⁴⁷ See the presentation of the types of fabric, surface treatment and firing and the connection between these and the pottery categories discovered at Suceagu-Rădaia in Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociș 2016, 63–79.

⁴⁸ Besnard–Vauterin et alii 2013, 29–37, Fig. 19–22.

SILVANO
 GEMINO
 SEP VERI
 NVS D CO
 5 L N PRO SA
 LVTE MEA

Silvano / Gemino / Sep(timius) Veri/nus d(ecurio) co/l(oniae) N(apocae) pro sa/lute mea

Translation: “To Silvanus Geminus, Septimius Verinus, decurion of the colony of Napoca, in my health.”

Recent discoveries improve the data on the cult and role of Silvanus in the Roman rural environment and beyond. His traditional epithets (*Augustus*, *Silvester*, *Domesticus* etc.)⁴⁹ are always connected to the Roman *villa* and the activities surrounding it,⁵⁰ but also to the landowners and landownership.⁵¹ Even if most of his attributes fall in the former category, every part of a Roman farming enterprise having its own *Silvanus*,⁵² recent studies have pointed towards a deity concerned also with land ownership and property limits, especially natural boundaries.⁵³

The epithet attested here is completely non-typical for Silvanus and we know it only from another inscription, of Volsinii, Italy.⁵⁴ It attests a *collegium* of Silvanus, amongst the very few in the Empire (probably having also funerary responsibilities), bearing an epithet never before seen until the present discovery. *Geminus*, more typical to Janus,⁵⁵ may allude to its double nature (human and divine) or, like in the case of Janus, to project its influence both in the outside and in the domestic space.⁵⁶ In this particular case, it may also be an attempt to concentrate or associate two local divinities into one, taking from one the name and from the other the epithet.

The dedicator is a member of the local elite, more precisely Septimius Verinus, a decurion of the colony of Napoca, 25 km away from the finding spot. He bears a Latin name,⁵⁷ not so often attested in Dacia.⁵⁸ In short, Napoca became officially an urban settlement in the time of Hadrian, as *municipium Aelium*. Its rank was raised to *colonia* most probably by M. Aurelius and finally, Severus granted it also *ius Italicum*. The *colonia* has eighteen decurions attested until now, of whom eleven are attested in the city and seven in its surroundings (*territorium*).⁵⁹

⁴⁹ Perinić 2016, *passim*.

⁵⁰ Dorcey 1989, 293–295; Dorcey 1992, 54.

⁵¹ Grüll 2019, 4.

⁵² Pilipović 2015, esp. 48–49.

⁵³ Grüll 2019, 1–5 with all the sources.

⁵⁴ CIL XI 2721, funerary altar: *D(is) M(anibus) / Iulio / Hermeti / col(legium) / Silvani / Gemini / fec(it)*.

⁵⁵ See, amongst others, Nemeti 2004, esp. 96–98.

⁵⁶ Dorcey 1992, 31–32.

⁵⁷ *Septimius*: Latin imperial *nomen*, after Sept. Severus, bore especially by newly made citizens (Kakoschke 2011, 171–172). *Verinus*: Latin *cognomen*, related to features of the body and mind, derived from *Verus*, meaning ‘honest, sincere’ (Kajanto 1965, 254); used especially in Celtic environment (Kakoschke 2011, 637).

⁵⁸ Other *Verinii* in Dacia: M. Vibius Verinus: AE 2012, 1239–1240, Apulum: *evocatus leg. XIII Geminae*, on a relief and votive statuette to Nemesis, together with a *salariarius*.

⁵⁹ Ardevan 1998, 61–64 (the city’s history in short); 86–88 (on Napoca’s *territorium*).

The particular final formula of the inscription, *pro salute mea* is a rarely used alteration of the universally consecrated one *pro salute sua / suorumque / et meorum* ... strengthening the personal nature of the dedication.⁶⁰

The cult of Silvanus is particularly popular in Napoca and its surroundings, as it can be observed from the dedications discovered so far.⁶¹ The discovery of this inscription in Sânpaul follows the series of dedications made by the elite of Napoca in their countryside residences or farms.⁶²

IV. Interpretation and conclusions

IV.1. The settlement

Following the rescue archaeological excavation on Site no. 9 at Sânpaul, a series of features that can be attributed to the Roman period have been identified (Pl. III/2–3). The number of Roman features does not exceed 12% of the total, and only the most significant ones have been summarized above. We chose to present only the most relevant ones (Cx9, 26, 29, 45, 69, 387) since the rest are generally pits of various dimensions that were attributed to the Roman period through archaeological finds, generally pottery fragments.

In the case of Cx9, which presents several adjacent post holes and a hearth, we assumed that its functionality would be that of a temporary sunken dwelling, which had a roof made of perishable material supported on a system of beams. In the case of Cx387, only partially identified, because its limits exceeded the territory of the future highway, we can say that it has similarities with Cx69. Although it has less archaeological material than the former, probably because of its partial research, it is equally relevant, because of the similar dimensions, shape and inventory.

In addition to dimensions and part of the identified archaeological material, the two features (69 and 387), with an irregular shape and alveolae, had the elevation (if any) probably of a wooden structure, bound with clay. Moreover, such a structure could only support a roof of perishable material, Roman tiles being too heavy. Most likely, the sandstone and limestone fragments found in Cx69 could serve as the basis for such a timber-earthen structure. The large nails were most likely used to join the beams that supported the roof. It should be mentioned that in Cx69 and 387 no fireplaces were discovered.

The total surface occupied by the settlement was probably much larger than revealed by the archaeological excavation (the uncovered surface with attested Roman features measures around 7000 sqm). However, the ceramic material found is of good quality, made from fine paste, the stamped pottery (mostly red) and the painted one standing out among the discoveries. It should also be mentioned that tableware represent a significant part of the ceramic batch discovered. The mentioned features, although of considerable dimensions,

⁶⁰ In this form, it is seldom used: AE 1992, 1770 and 1771 (*pro sal(ute) mea et coniugis meae*); CIL II 4442 (*pro sa[lu]te mea*); CIL III 3474 (*pro salute{m} mea{m} et omnium meorum*); CIL III 4293, AE 1983, 310 (*pro salute mea et meorum*).

⁶¹ CIL III 863; AE 2013, 1289 and 2015, 1170 (by procurators); AE 1934, 15; AE 1967, 387; AE 1976, 575; AE 1933, 20; ILD 600; AE 2006, 1136. The total number of dedications to Silvanus from Dacia surpasses 140.

⁶² AE 1933, 20, Măcișu: Silvanus Silvester – slave; ILD 578–584, Ciurăfaia: Juno, Minerva, Apollo, Mercurius, Silvanus Domesticus, Fortuna, Hercules magusanus – veteran, equestrian *a militiis*; AE 1910, 132, Agârbiciu: Jupiter Optimus Maximus Fulgurator – *augur coloniae*; AE 1933, 21, Mera: Liber Pater – *decurio coloniae*. AE 1960, 219: Viștea: Silvanus Domesticus.

have a very simple structure (wood and earth with perishable roofing material), which is somewhat in contrast to the ceramic material discovered, first and foremost qualitative.

In the rural area of Roman Dacia, there are several types of settlements, with structures ranging from sunken to stone dwellings.⁶³ These can be rural settlements of commercial type / craftsmen,⁶⁴ settlements that have been attributed more or less to the native population during the Roman period⁶⁵ and *villae rusticae* / *fructuariae*.⁶⁶

The settlement at Sânpaul, although only partially researched, does not seem to fit any of the types listed above and specific to Dacia. We believe, however, that it must be connected first of all with one or more villas. We are thus presented with several options: 1. Sânpaul was not a permanent settlement, and the presence of a sanctuary/*fanum*, as well as of an inscription dedicated to Silvanus, lead us to the assumption that its functionality should have been other than that of a craft or even agricultural settlement – a cult place/rural sanctuary; 2. Sânpaul is the periphery of a rural settlement adjacent to a *villa*, possibly owned by the decurion who made the dedication to Silvanus (Septimius Verinus), even if, specific tools for agricultural work were not discovered during the archaeological excavations.

In particular, the edifice discovered seems to contain a *cella* with stone foundations and pavement, probably with walls and roof made of light material (timber). On its eastern edge, it presents a narrow unpaved corridor (a small portico?) and in its vicinity at least two *favissae* (Cx26 and 29) containing large amounts of Roman finds.⁶⁷ The pottery found there is mostly table ware, useable also for storage, but also cooking ware (previously presumed native), together with few small metallic finds.

In order to establish the functionality of the settlement we must see what discoveries attributed to the Roman period we have nearby and whether they can be related to Silvanus (Pl. XXVII). Thus, we have traces of a Roman dwelling in Viştea, where, following archaeological excavations, it was established the existence of a *villa rustica*,⁶⁸ Mera⁶⁹ and Şardu,⁷⁰ where the reported discoveries, including construction materials, indicate the existence of two other such constructions. The Roman road⁷¹ is still visible on the ground in the Şardu area, exiting the village, up until the fort of Sutoru. We can also mention

⁶³ Gudea 2008, 29; Blaga 2016, 182–200 for a wider discussion regarding the functionality of rural settlements from Dacia.

⁶⁴ Micăsasa – see Mitrofan 1990, 129–138; Crişteşti – see Man 2011.

⁶⁵ Protase 1966, 70.

⁶⁶ Oltean, Hanson 2007, 113–137; Blaga 2016, 186–192 for the most recent analysis of the published data.

⁶⁷ The name *fanum* we attributed to the discovered edifice (Cx45) may be considered inappropriate, given that its plan does not comprise all of the elements characteristic for such a cult place (apart from the *cella*, the Gallo-Roman *fana* also presuppose a surrounding gallery), see Fauduet 1993; Fauduet 2010; Besnard–Vauterin et alii 2013, 24–29, Fig. 3, 15–18; Paez-Rézende, Adrian 2014, 254–263, Fig. 3–11 and tab. 1 (with comparable dimensions of some of the sanctuaries from Gaul); see more recently the study of L. Carpentier who reconsiders the denomination of *fanum* in the specialised literature and discusses the function of the constituent sacred spaces, Carpentier 2015, *passim*.

⁶⁸ Opreanu, Cociş 2004, 275–282; Gudea 2008, 80, nr. 44; Lăzărescu, Opreanu, Cociş 2016, 106–110 for a wider discussion regarding the discoveries of the area and a defining map.

⁶⁹ RepCluj, Mera (nos. 7–8).

⁷⁰ RepCluj, Şardu.

⁷¹ Fodorean 2006, 137–138.

that during the field investigations another Roman settlement was also encountered in the Șardu area⁷², as well as a small Roman necropolis in Topa, both on the future route of the highway. Unfortunately, the last two were not investigated due to the cessation of the works.

The second issue raised by our approach is the connection between the above and the dedication to Silvanus and the *fanum*/the rural sanctuary from Sânpaul. Recent discoveries contribute with new data on the cult and the role Silvanus had in the field of rural space and beyond. We can see that the epithets that accompany the name of the deity are generally related to the *villa rustica* and their adjacent activities,⁷³ even to that of the land owners.⁷⁴ Both *pars urbana* and *pars rustica* (*campus, ager, hortus, silva*) had a separate Silvanus (Silvanus Domesticus, Campester, Agrestis etc). Moreover, the god could have been mentioned on monuments that delineated and set boundaries between properties, implicitly attesting periodic festivals (5 times a year) in honour of Silvanus, of the road (*via Rosalia*) and of the imperial house. In the opinion of T. Grüll, based on a comprehensive analysis that includes literary and epigraphic sources, Silvanus must be seen as a tutelary deity of property and their boundaries that were surrounded by nature.⁷⁵

Even if the epithet of Silvanus from our inscription (*Geminus*) still appears in a single epigraph⁷⁶ in Italy, where the god is the tutelary deity of a funeral college, and without speculating on the ethnicity of the devotees or other data related to the worship of Silvanus, we find the contrast interesting, between the seasonal structure indicated by the investigated features and the presence of a *fanum*, an inscription mentioning a decurion and good quality pottery, all discovered in the immediate presence of the road attested in Șardu.

The settlement can also be considered as a seasonal meeting place, as we have seen in other areas (see above), to honour *Silvanus, the roads and the emperor*. Similarly, without speculating on the existence of clear religious practices, the presence of Silvanus and a *fanum* means that this hypothesis cannot be excluded from the discussion. The dedication however, seems to be quite personal, considering the formula *pro salute mea*, very seldom used in inscriptions and always in a personal manner.

IV.2. The sanctuary

The denomination *fanum*, attributed to some Roman Age cult places is also known from two inscriptions originating from the province of Dacia. The first, discovered at Iaz, at circa 1.5 km from Tibiscum, was dedicated to Apollo, to the emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, as well as to the governor of the three Dacian provinces, L. Octavius Iulianus, by Septimius Diomedes, tribune of the *cohors I Vindelicorum*. He repaired the sanctuary, which was in an advanced state of degradation (*[?fanum] / vetustate con[lapsum] / restituit fel[iciter]*).⁷⁷ The sanctuary dedicated to Apollo, situated along the imperial road

⁷² Cociș et alii 2017, 14, 22–23, 56.

⁷³ Dorcey 1989, 293–295; Dorcey 1992, 54.

⁷⁴ Grüll 2019, 4.

⁷⁵ Grüll 2019, 1–5 for literary, epigraphic examples and the whole discussion.

⁷⁶ CIL XI 2721.

⁷⁷ Piso, Rogozea 1985, 211–215; Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 42, 45 and inscription C.I.8; Boda, Timoc 2016, 49–50; Opreanu 2016, 91–101, Pl. V/1.

going from Tibiscum to Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, was archaeologically researched and published. Its plan is relatively simple, being constituted from a rectangular *cella* flanked by a courtyard, which in its turn is flanked by a chamber on its northern and southern sides respectively. Inside the courtyard of the edifice an altar base was found, around which there were fragments of another inscription dedicated to Apollo, as well as the inscription attesting the repair of the edifice.⁷⁸ It seems that the sanctuary of Apollo at Tibiscum was built in the Severan period and had two construction phases attested both epigraphically⁷⁹ and archaeologically.⁸⁰ The atypical plan of the discovered feature determined the publishers to consider the construction a *fanum*, a term that would correspond to the one attested in the inscription occasioned by its repair, even though they do not offer any analogies to further support their claim.⁸¹ The reconstructed plan of the *fanum* of Apollo at Tibiscum does not fit in the classical definition of the Gallo-Roman edifices of this type, though obviously one can take into consideration other particular ways in which such sanctuaries were built in the Roman provinces. Taken as a term of comparison from an architectural point of view for the cult edifice discovered at Sânpaul, it has a different plan and is more complex than the latter.

The second inscription, dedicated by the only sculptor whose name is known from the province of Dacia, Mestrius Martinus, was discovered at Apulum. It attests the building of a *fanum Dominar(um)*, thus a sanctuary dedicated to some divinities of Celto-Germanic origin by the aforementioned person.⁸² His *nomen* also appears to be derived from a name of Celtic origin (*Mesta* or *Mesto*), which would justify the dedication to such divinities and the adequate use of the name for the sanctuary dedicated to them, *fanum*, unanimously accepted as a Gallo-Roman sanctuary.⁸³ Unfortunately, the context of this inscription, which went missing after publication, is lacking.

On the other hand, if the cult edifice at Sânpaul is a sanctuary/*fanum* dedicated to Silvanus, then we must take note of the situation known from Dacia and the other Roman provinces, where the cult of this divinity was attested epigraphically and archaeologically. The situation in Dacia was analysed in either special or synthesis works concerning the cults of the rural environment⁸⁴ or of the entire province.⁸⁵

If the small sanctuary discovered at Sânpaul represents a private cult that belonged to a family (that of the decurion Septimius Verinus), then, on the basis of the situations observed in other places of the Empire, its period of activity would have been limited to two-three generations, for as long as the mentioned family owned and used it.⁸⁶ Even if

⁷⁸ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 42–49, Pls. X–XI.

⁷⁹ Boda, Timoc 2016, 49–50; Opreanu 2016, 91–101.

⁸⁰ Alicu 2000; Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 42–49, Pls. X–XI.

⁸¹ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 48.

⁸² CIL III 1005 = IDR III/5, 66.

⁸³ IDR III/5, 66 and p. 56, with the analysis of I. Piso; see also Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 141.

⁸⁴ Bărbulescu 1998, 202–203; Pop 1998, both focusing on the epigraphic and sculptural attestation of the divinities worshiped in the rural milieu of Dacia; Popa 2001, 101–102; Szabó 2018, 168–174.

⁸⁵ Bărbulescu 2003, 179, who underlines the popularity enjoyed by Silvanus in Dacia, where over 90 inscriptions and 30 artistic representations have been found; see at the same author the discussion regarding the religion of the individual, with different association between Roman divinities and others of non-Roman origin in the inscriptions discovered in Dacia, among which also Silvanus (Bărbulescu 2003, 190–230 etc).

⁸⁶ Scheid 1995, 58.

the religious obligations were passed on to the next owner or owners who were not part of the founding community, it is less likely for the same rite to have continued and been celebrated in the same way.

Private cults which belong to a family or to a small group have the tendency to evolve rapidly, whereas public cults, celebrated in the same place for centuries and backed and supervised by town authorities, have a slower evolution in the course of time. This is the reason why it is important to estimate the period of activity/existence of the catalogued sites and cults.⁸⁷

The synthesis study of M. L. Dészpa regarding the transformation and adaptation of the cult of Silvanus in the Danube provinces throughout the 1st–4th centuries AD⁸⁸ contains very useful information to this effect, updating all the information on the cult of Silvanus from Dacia.⁸⁹ If judging from epigraphic and sculptural monuments the cult is very well attested in this province, from an archaeological point of view, however, the cult edifices that could have been built by his worshipers are almost non-existent. With the exception of the edifice attributed to Silvanus at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (building EM 19)⁹⁰ and of a possibly new edifice discovered more recently at Napoca,⁹¹ no sanctuaries or other cult places have been found, not even in the rural environment, where the cult of this divinity is very well attested. The opinion that Silvanus was not worshiped in temples in the rural environment, but in smaller sized cult places (such as *fana* or *capelae*) or in temples dedicated to other divinities, like in the abovementioned case at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa where he was associated with Liber Pater,⁹² seems to hold true also for the cult edifice discovered at Sânpaul. For the moment we can say that it represented a small rural sanctuary/*fanum* with a particular planimetry which, from an architectural perspective, does not have analogies in Dacia or in the rest of the Roman world. It definitely functioned at the end of the 2nd and during the first half of the 3rd centuries AD (see the inscription), a dating also confirmed by the local pottery characteristic to this period and the amphora imported from Sinope.

⁸⁷ Scheid 1995, 58–59.

⁸⁸ Scheid 1995, 59.

⁸⁹ Dészpa 2012, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Dészpa 2012, 14–70, 235–287.

⁹¹ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 119–122, Pl. XIV, Fig. 28 and 30; Dészpa 2012, 49–51, Taf. 6, D 10; for the worship of Silvanus in the temple of Liber Pater during its early phase (up to the Marcommanic wars), see Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 56–58, Pl. XIV; Dészpa 2012, 47–48, Taf. 6, D 9.

⁹² Beu-Dachin, Roman, Pupeză 2015, *passim*. The authors do not postulate the idea of a cult edifice dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus, although the inscription was discovered *in situ* on an altar built from bricks, but consider the possibility that the unearthed construction elements were part of the headquarters of the financial procurator of Dacia Porolissensis.

⁹³ Rusu-Pescaru, Alicu 2000, 122; Bărbulescu, 1998, 121.

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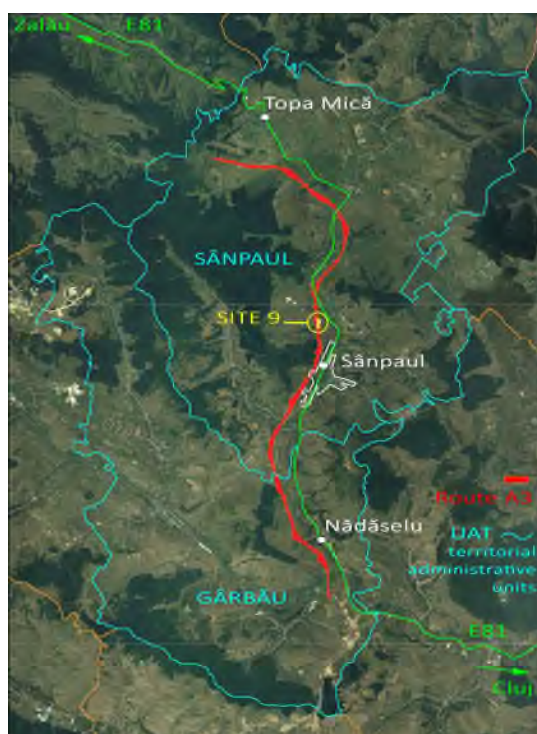
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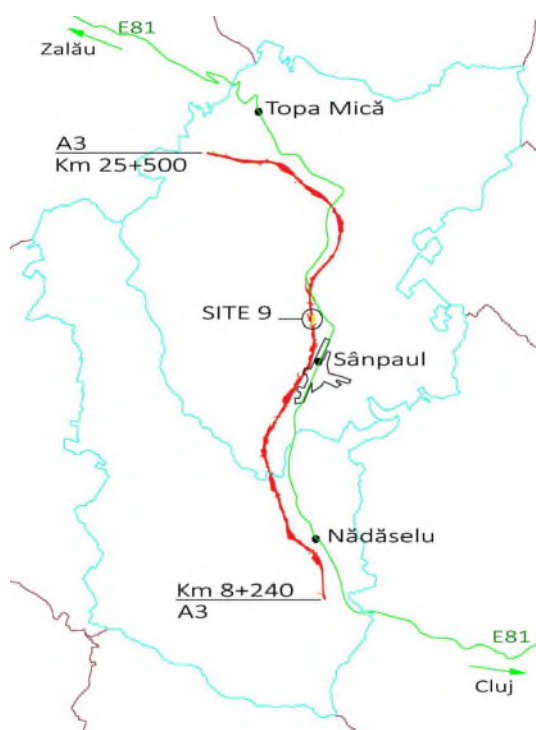
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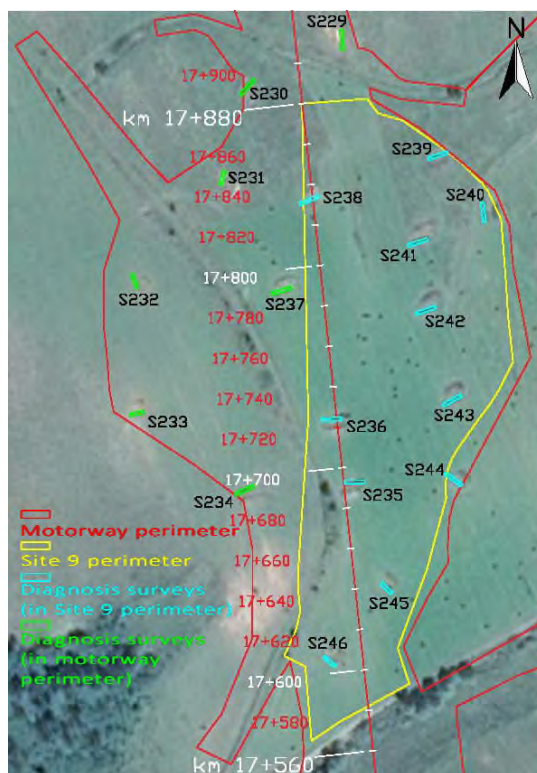
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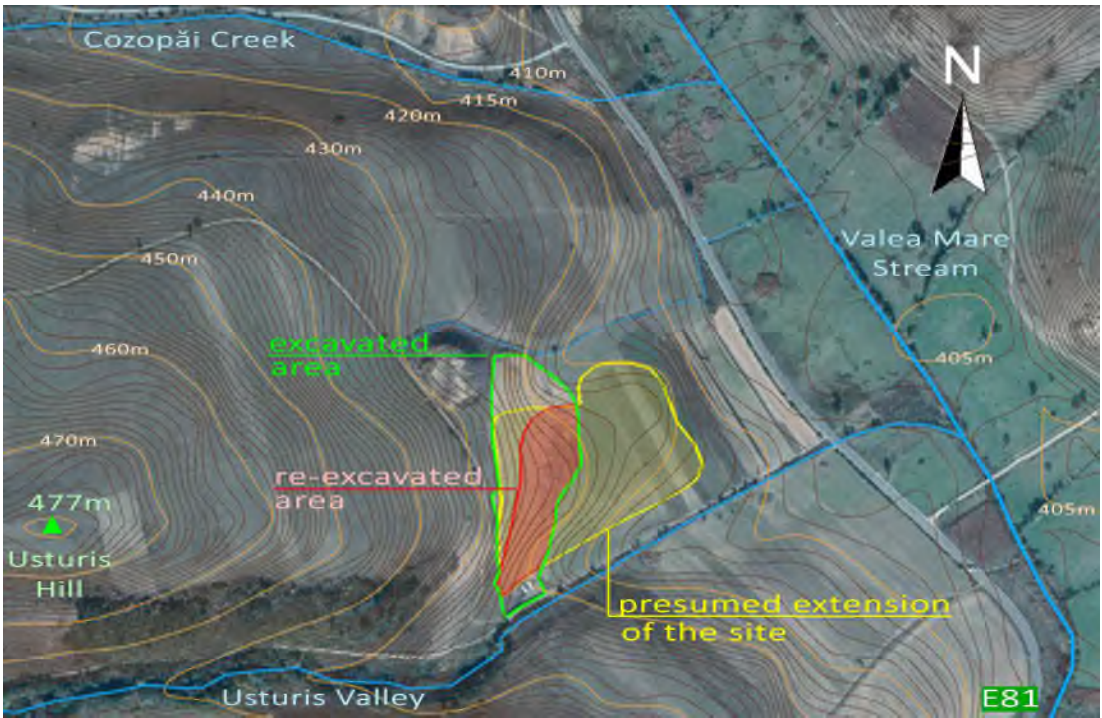


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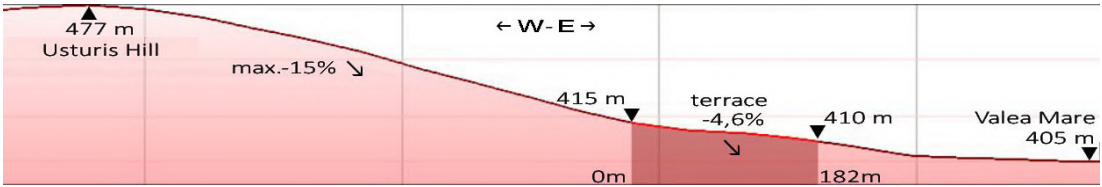


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Pl. I. 1. The County of Cluj (UAT Map); 2. The communes of Gârbău and Sânpaul (UAT Map); 3. The A3 Motorway. Sector Nădășelu – Topa Mică (km 8+240 to 25 + 500); 4. Site no. 9 perimeter. Diagnosis trenches (designed and processed by I. Petiș).

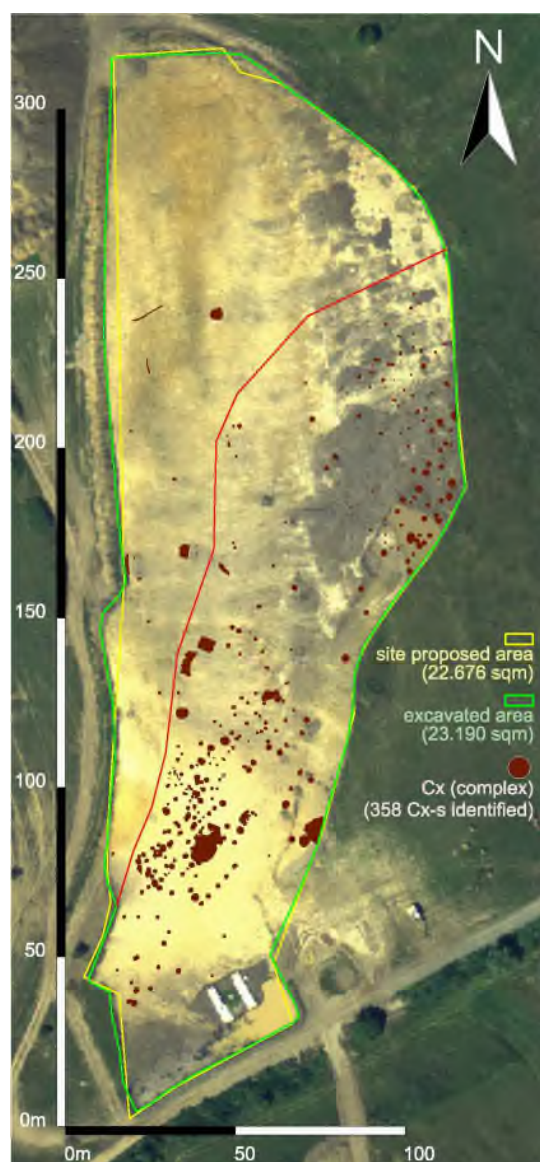


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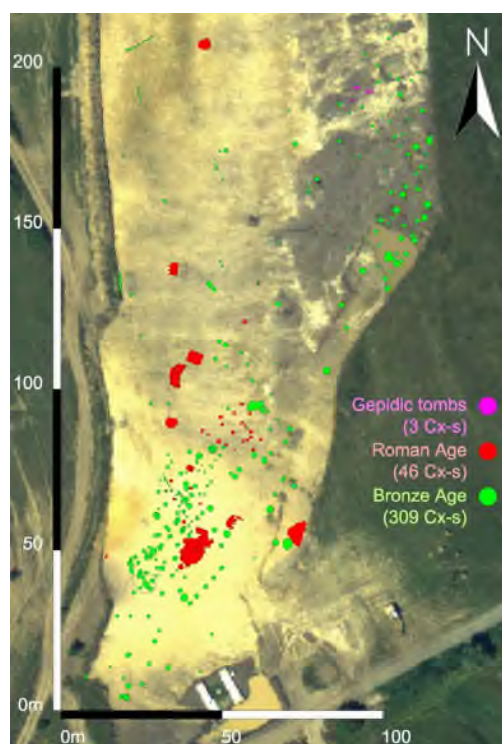


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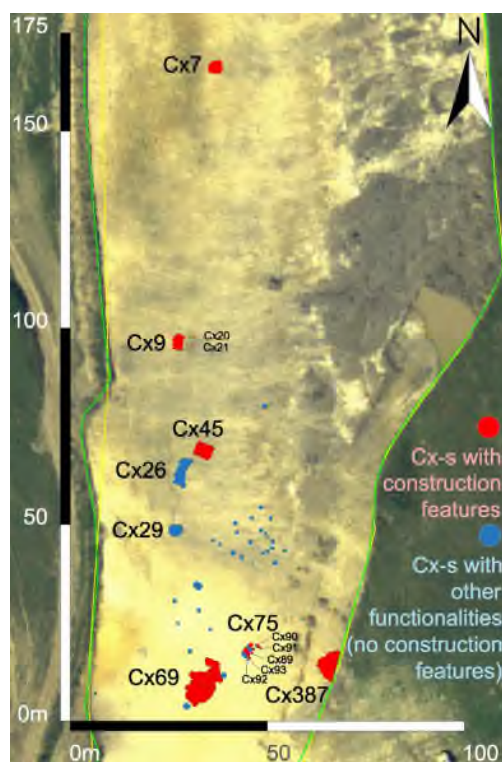
Pl. II. Site no. 9 area: 1. Geographic framework; 2. Terrain profile (designed and processed by I. Petiș).



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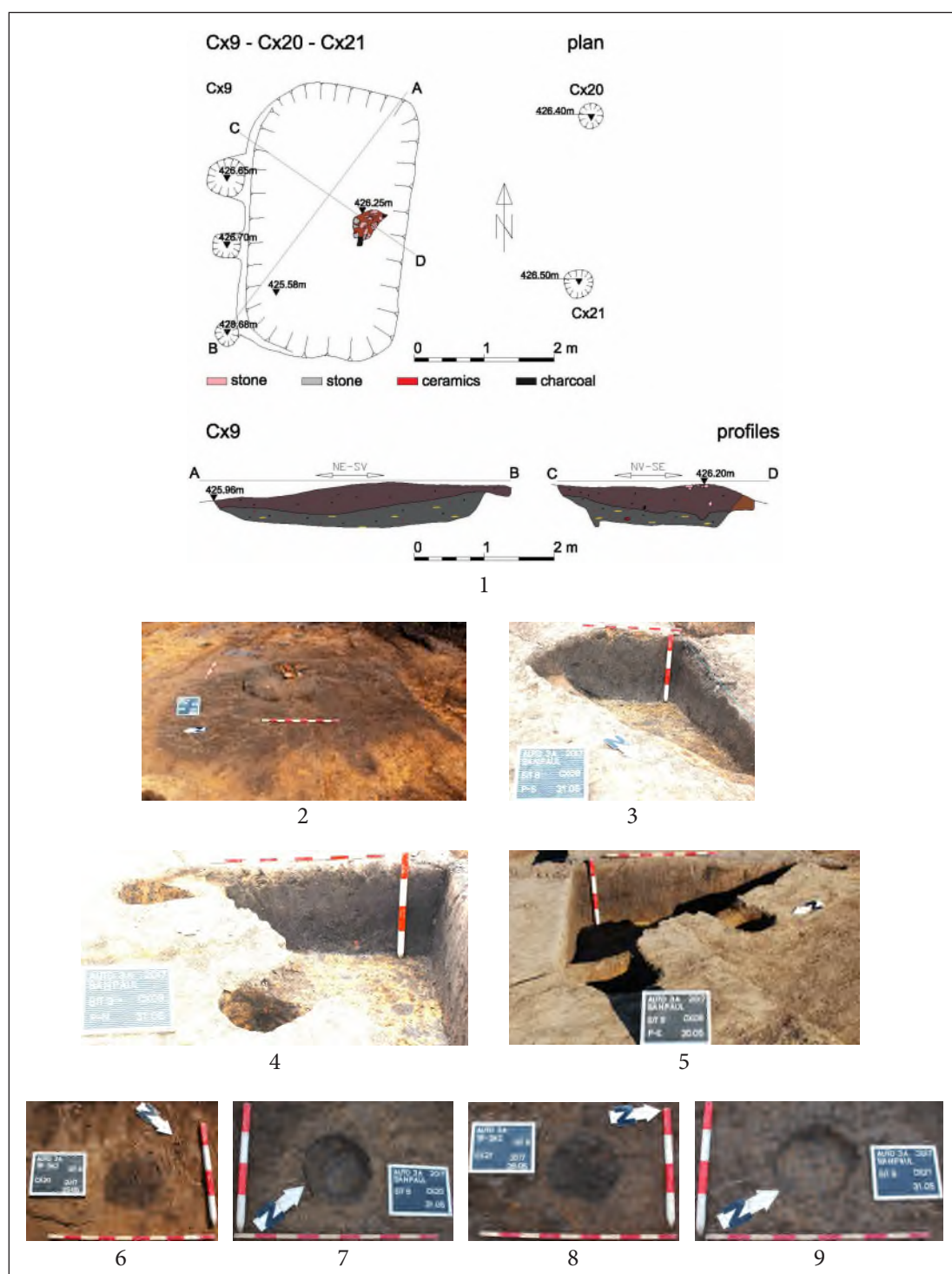


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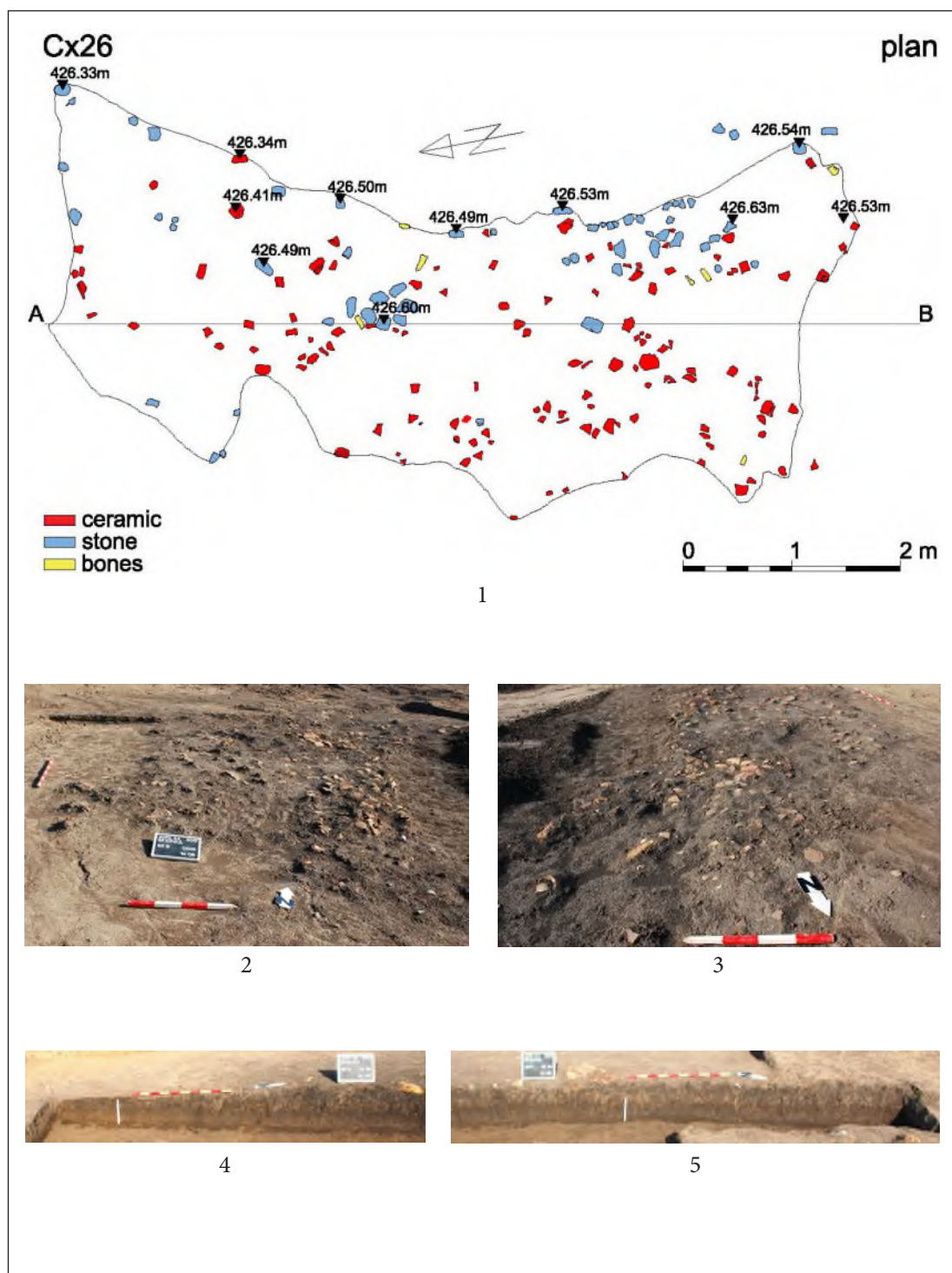


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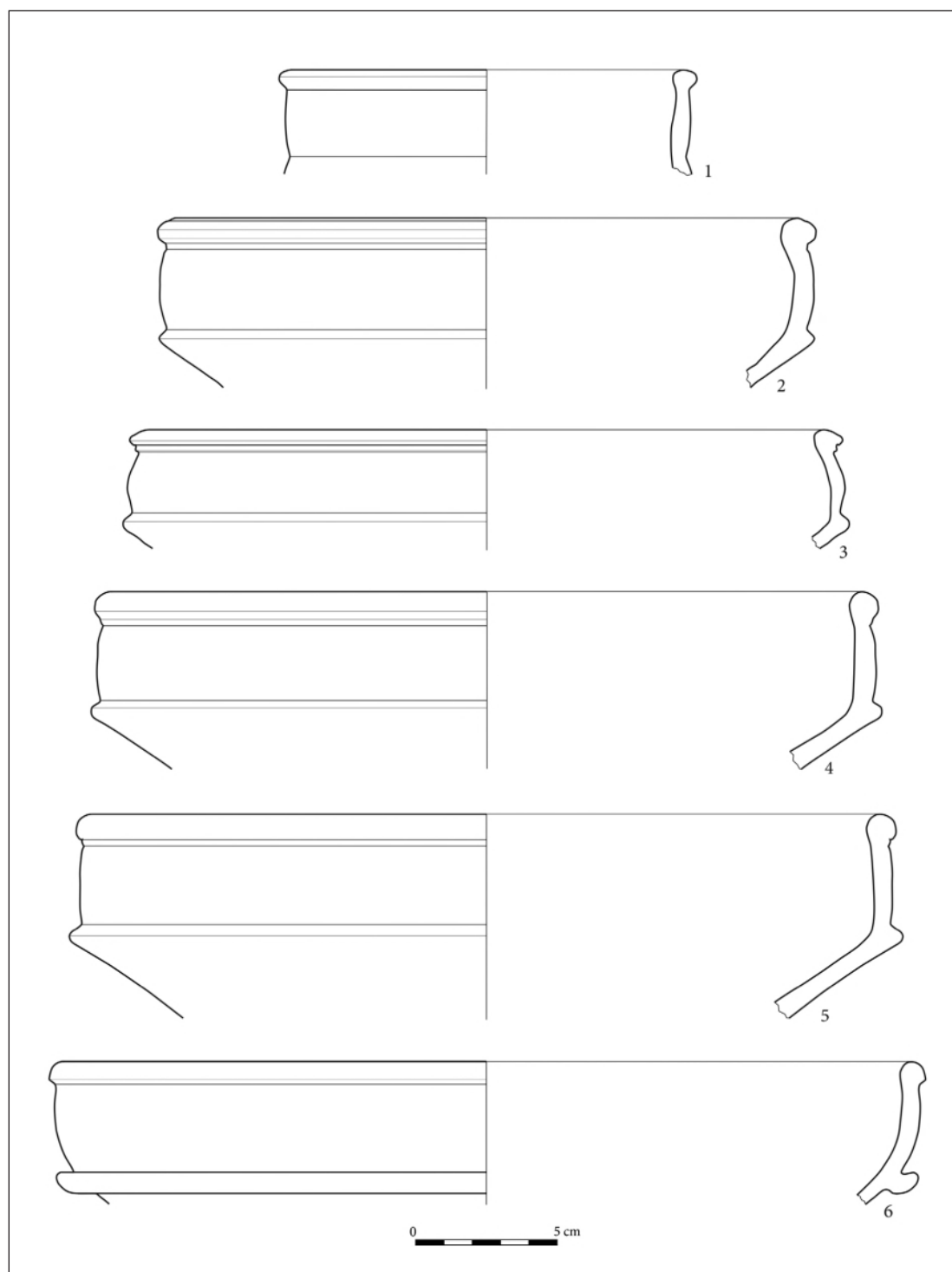
Pl. III. Site no. 9: **1.** The plan of the archaeological excavations; **2.** Chronological classification of the features; **3.** Distribution of the Roman features (designed and processed by I. Petiş).



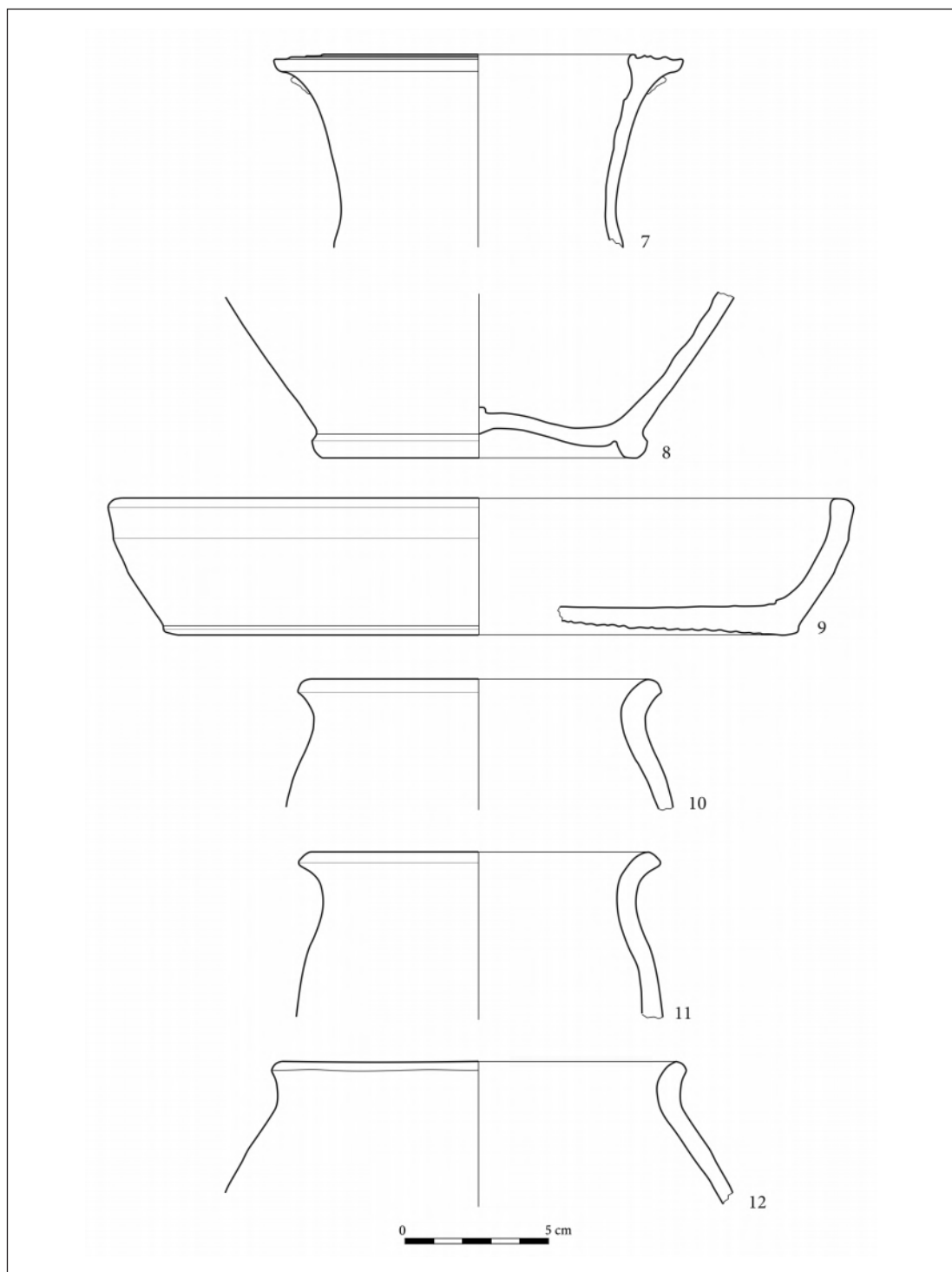
Pl. IV. 1. Plan of Cx9, Cx20, Cx21 and transversal section profiles of Cx9; **2.** Contour level of Cx9 (view from east); **3.** Cx9, transversal section (view from south-west); **4.** Cx9, transversal section profile (view from south); **5.** Cx9, transversal section profile (view from west); **6.** Contour level of Cx20; **7.** Final ground level of Cx20; **8.** Contour level of Cx21; **9.** Final ground level of Cx21 (drawings and digitisation I. Petiș, photos B. Ursu).



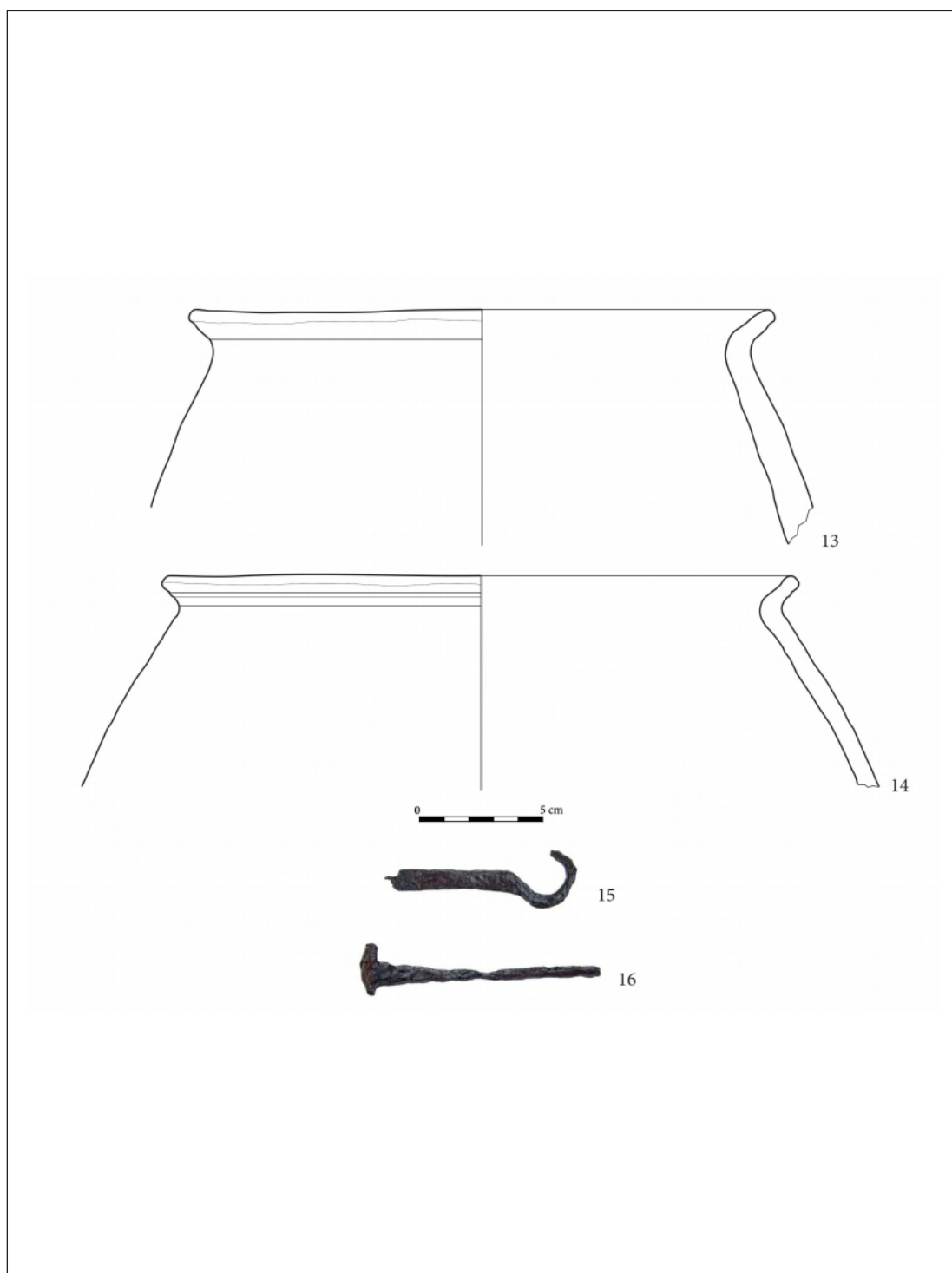
Pl. V. Cx26: 1. Plan (drawing M. Gui, digitisation I. Petiș); 2–3. Contour level (views from south, respectively north); 4–5. First and second halves of the transversal section profile (photos B. Ursu, digitisation I. Petiș).



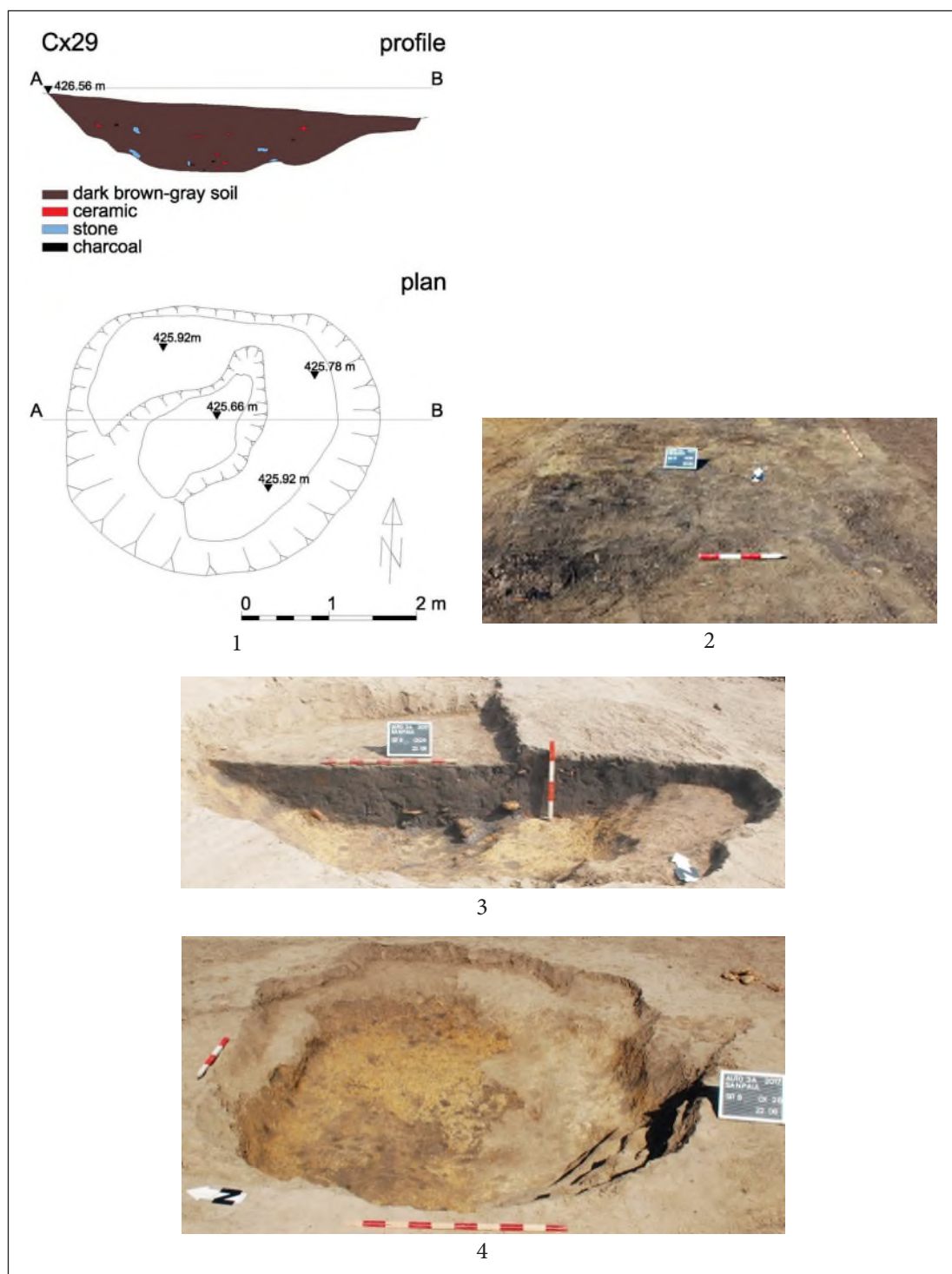
Pl. VI. Archaeological material found in Cx26 (possible *favissa*?). Fine ware: *vasa escaria*: **1.** Imitation of a Drag. 37 type *terra sigillata* bowl; **2–6.** Imitations of Drag. 44 type *terra sigillata* bowls (drawings and digitisation A. Bâlc).



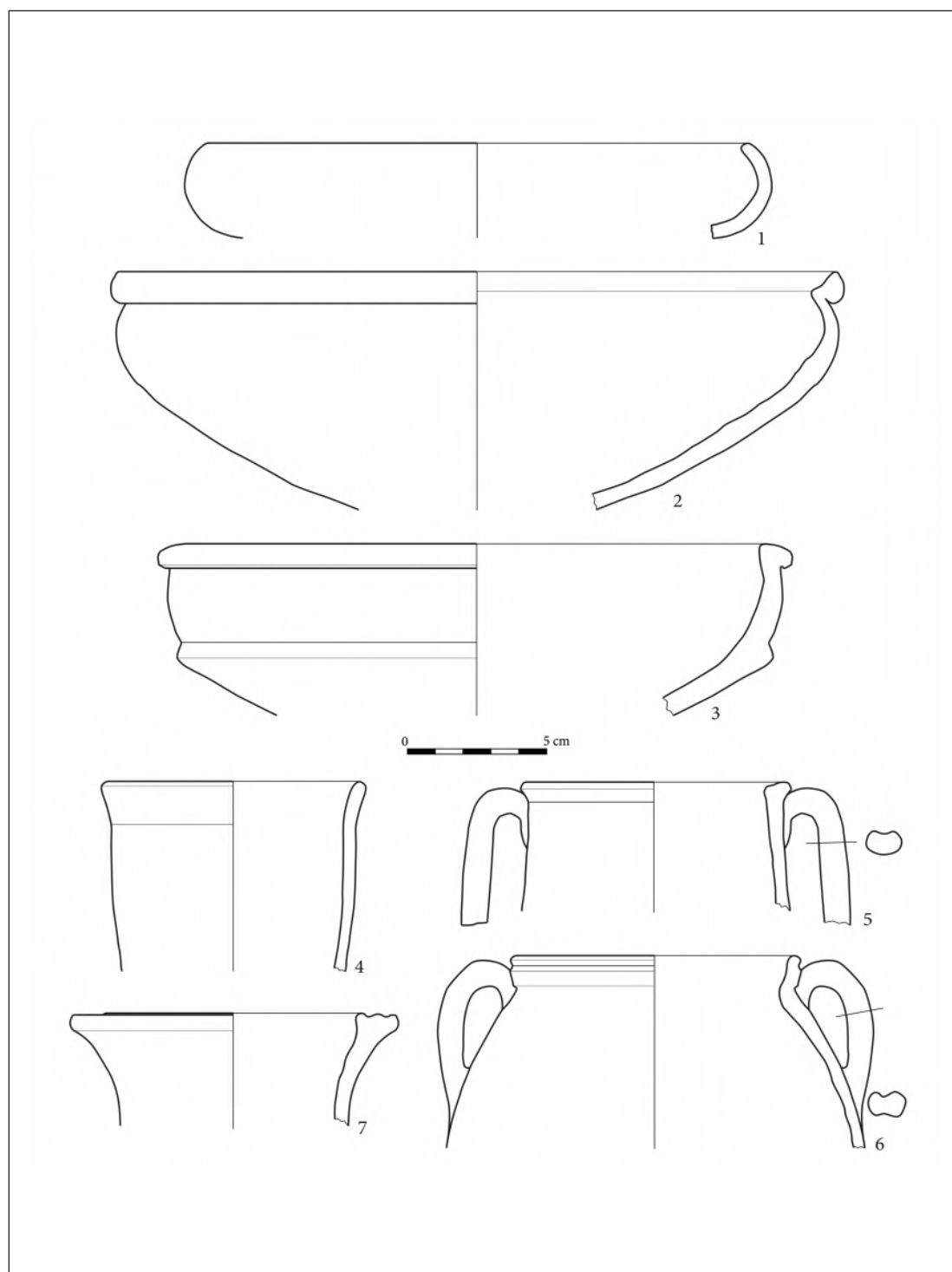
Pl. VII. Archaeological material found in Cx26 (possible *favissa*?). Vessels for pouring, storing and transporting liquids: 7–8. Pitchers. Coarse ware: *vasa coquina(to)ria*: 9. Platter; 10–12. Handmade jars (drawings and digitisation A. Bâlc).



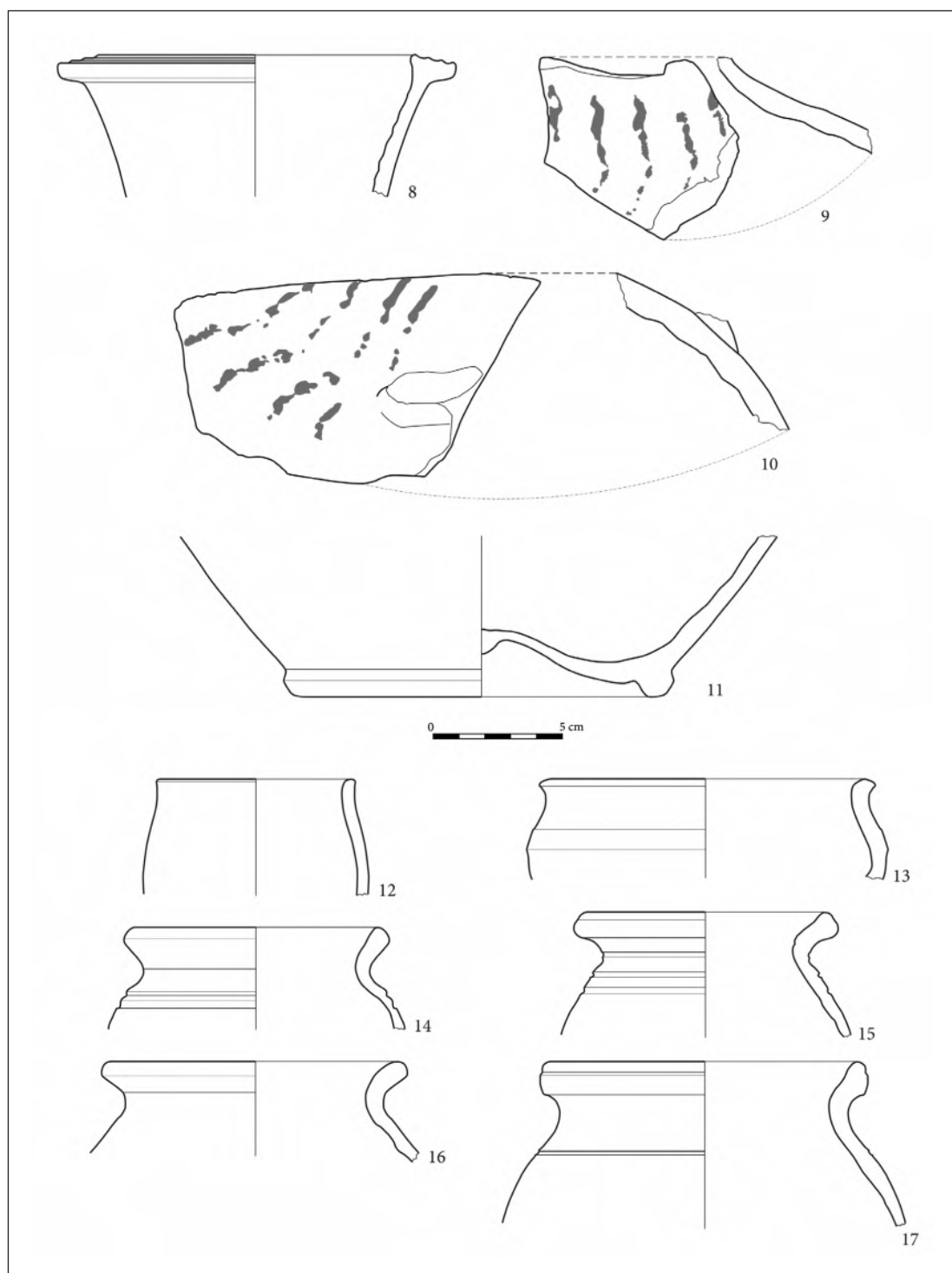
Pl. VIII. Archaeological material found in Cx26 (possible *favissa*?). Coarse ware: **13–14**. Handmade jars; metal artifacts; **15**. Fragmentary iron hook; **16**. Iron spike (drawings and digitisation A. Bâlc, photos S. Odenie).



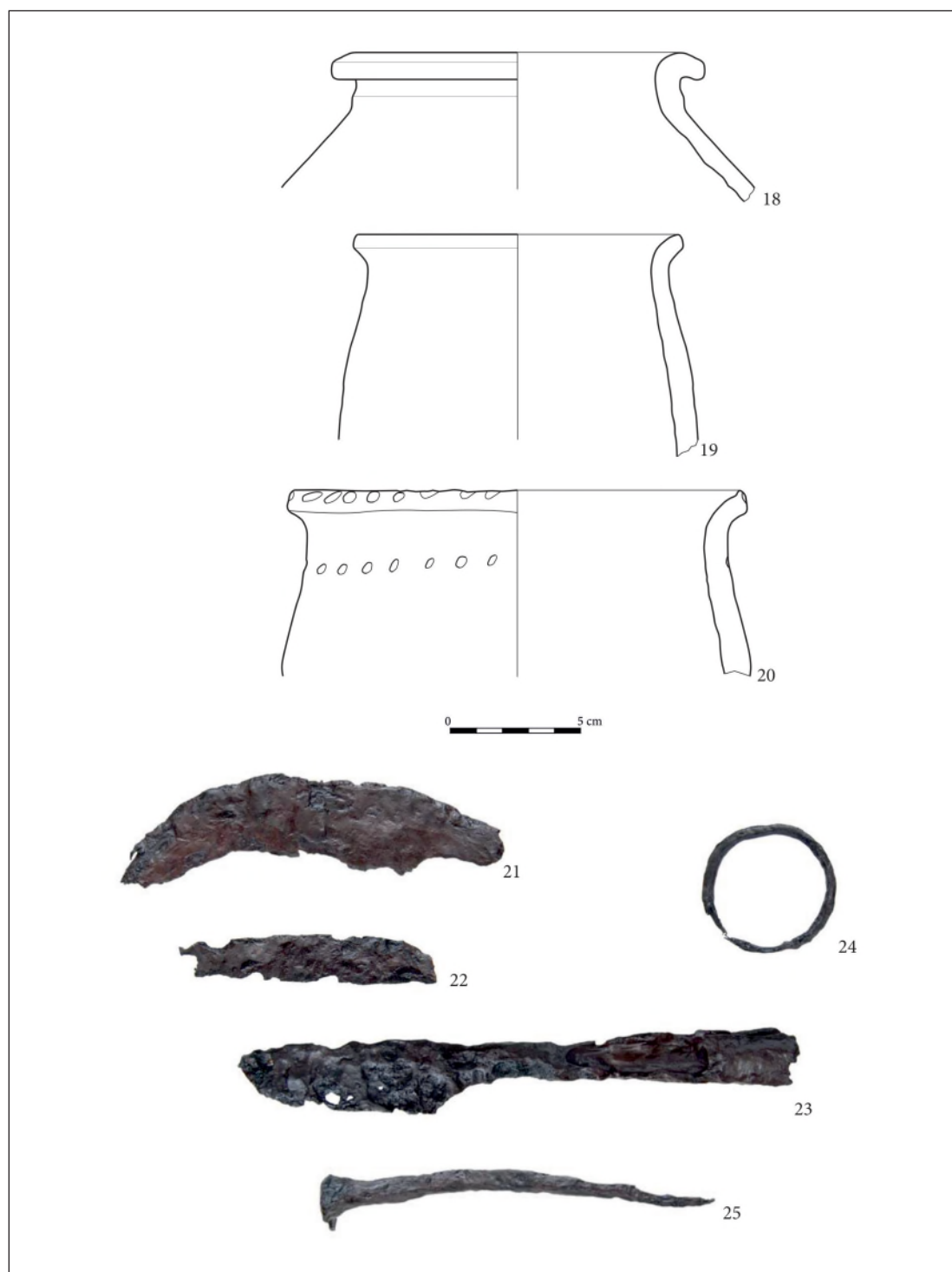
Pl. IX. Cx29: 1. Plan and transversal section (drawings M. Gui, digitisation I. Petiș); 2. Contour level (view from south); 3. Transversal section profile (view from south); 4. Final ground level (view from west) (photos B. Ursu, digitisation I. Petiș).



Pl. X. Archaeological material found in Cx29 (possible *favissa*?). Fine ware: *vasa escaria*: imitations of *terra sigillata* shapes: 1. Drag 32 type bowls; 2. Large-sized bowl, local imitation of the Drag. 32 *terra sigillata* shape (?) bowl; 3. Drag. 44 type bowl. *Vasa po(ta)toria*: 4. Beaker; 5–6. Cups with two handles, imitations of thin-walled vessels; vessels for pouring, storing and transporting; 7. Pitcher (drawings and digitisation A. Bâlc).



Pl. XI. Archaeological material found in Cx29 (possible *favissa*?). Fine ware: vessels for pouring, storing and transporting liquids; 8–11. Pitchers. Coarse ware: *vasa po(ta)toria*: 12. Beaker. *Vasa escaria*: 13. Small-sized bowls; 14–17. Wheel-thrown jars (drawings and digitisation A. Bălc).



Pl. XII. Archaeological material found in Cx26 (possible *favissa*?). Coarse ware: **18.** Wheel-thrown jar; **19–20.** Handmade storage jars. Irons artefacts: **21.** Fragmentary billhook (?); **22.** Edging of a fragmentary artefact; **23.** Javelin head; **24.** Ring; **25.** Spike (drawings and digitisation A. Bâlc, photos S. Odenie).

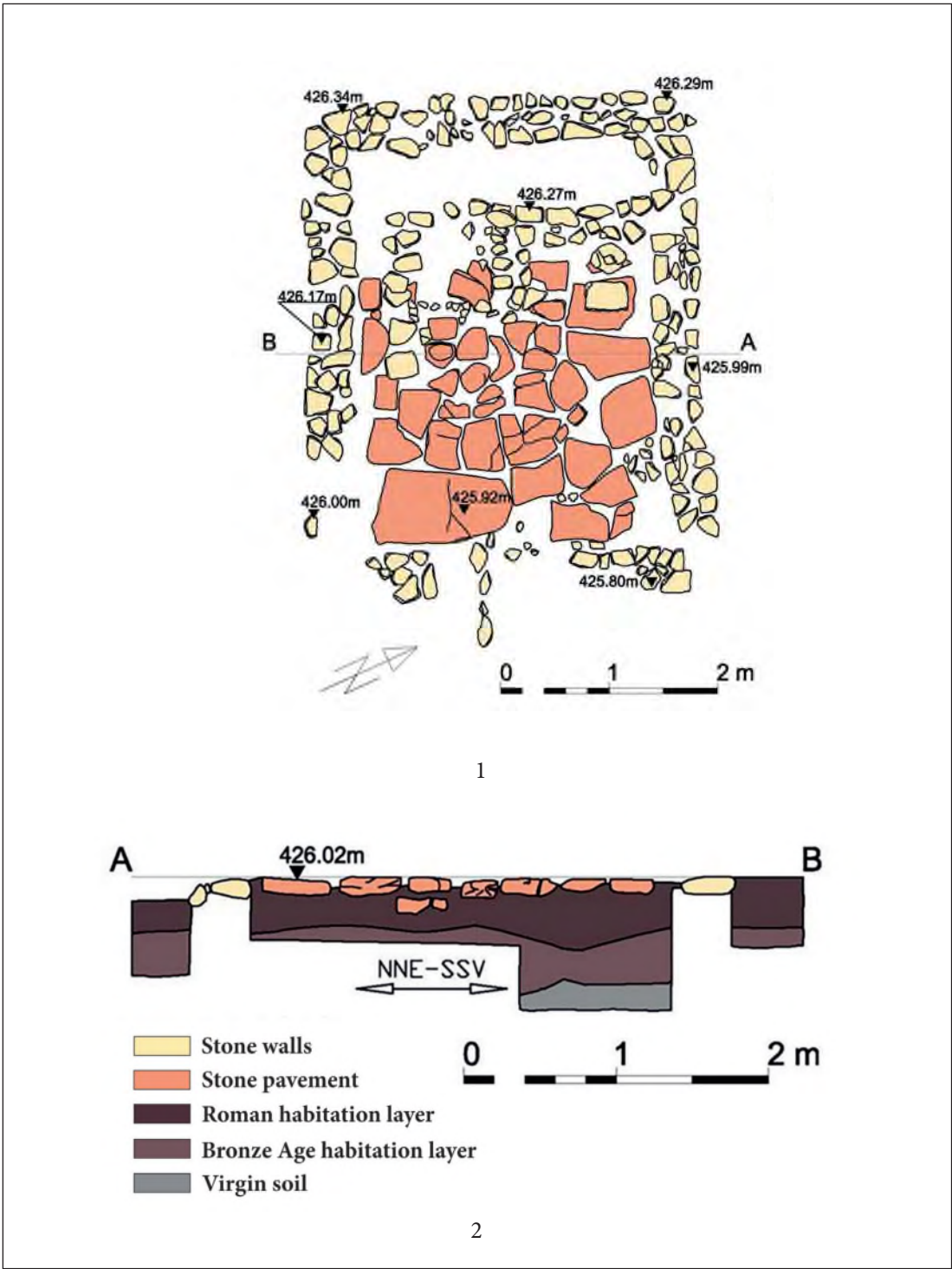


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Pl. XIII. Cx45: 1. Aerial view of the *fanum* plan (Cx45) (drone photograph from the south); 2. Overview (photograph from north-east, by V. Rusu-Bolindeț).



Pl. XIV. 1. General plan of the edifice (Cx45) (drawing M. Gui, digitisation I. Petiș); 2. Transversal section profile (north-east – south-south-west) for verifying the foundations (drawing by F.-O. Botiș, digitisation I. Petiș).

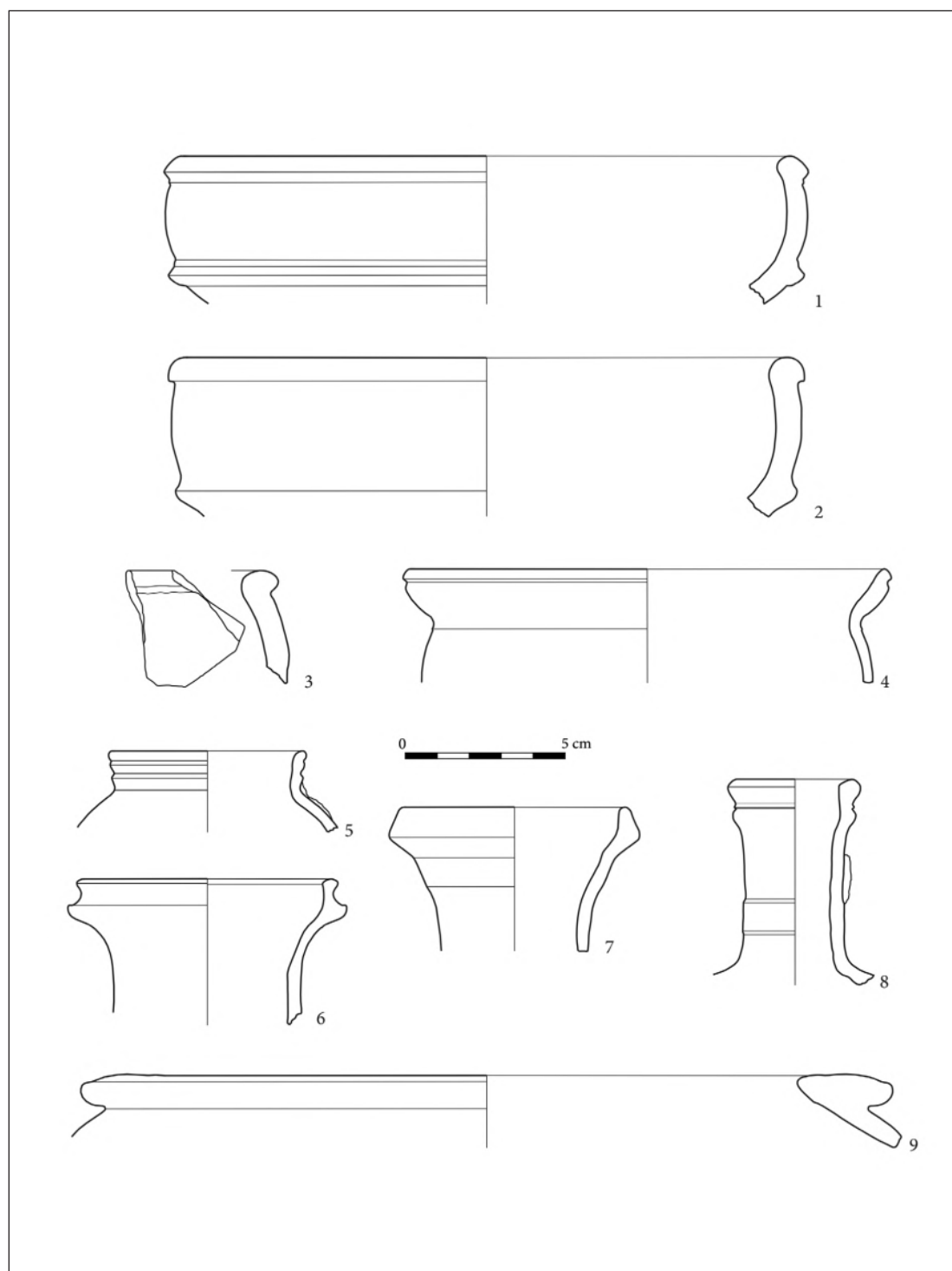


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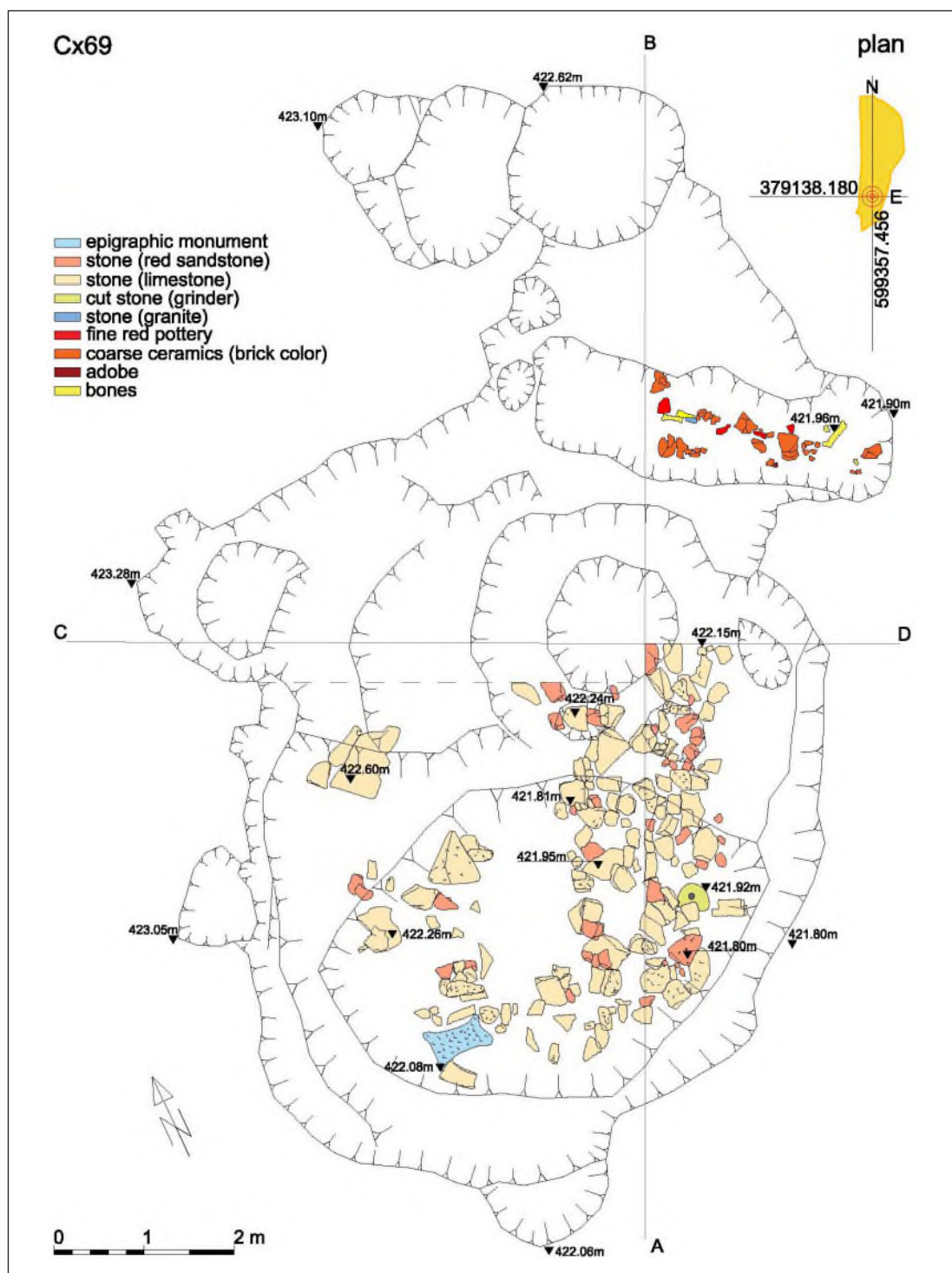


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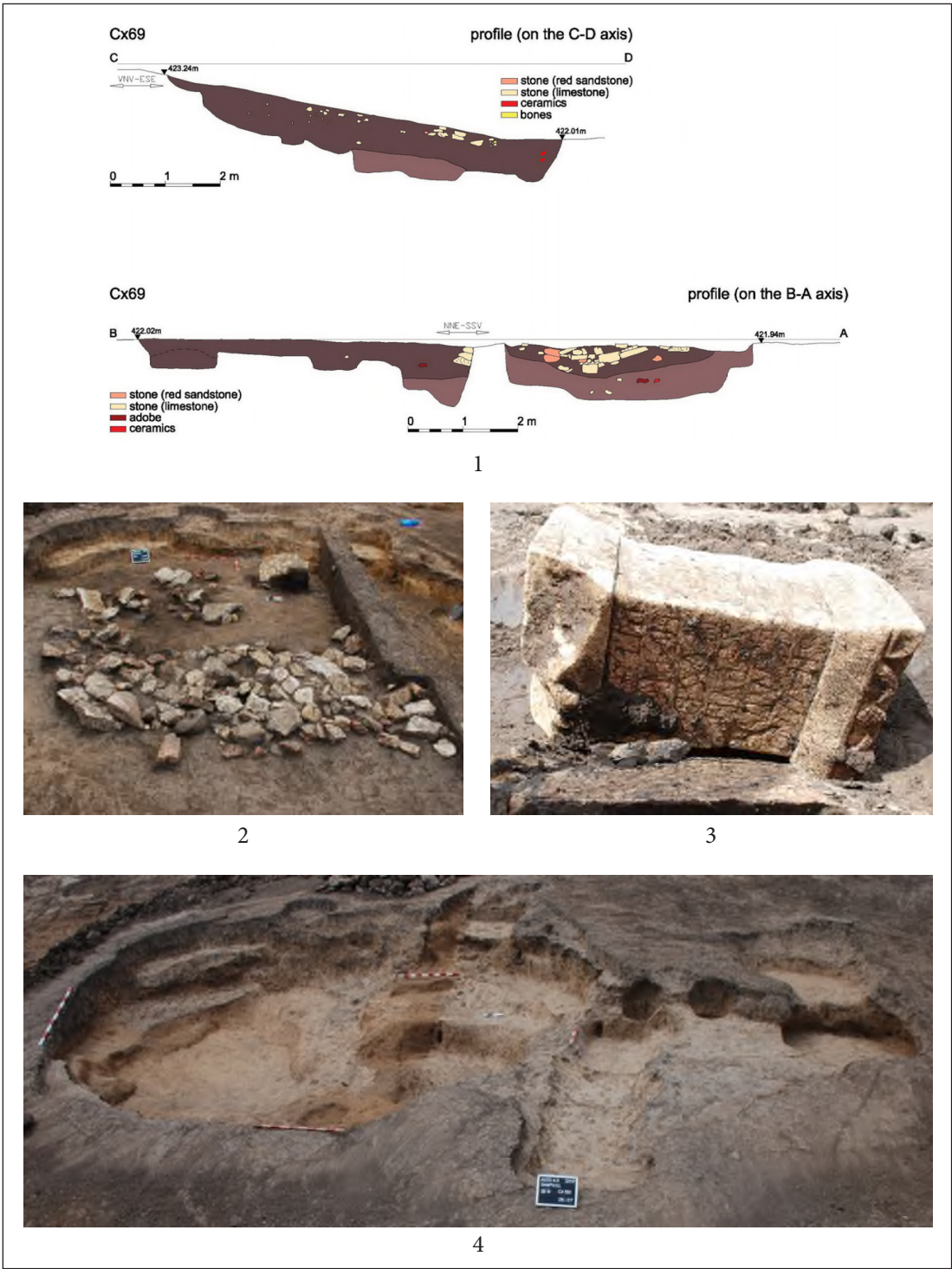
Pl. XV. 1. Detail of the *fanum* (Cx45) after the north-south transversal sectioning (view from the west); 2. Detail with the sectioning of the southern perimetral wall and the pavement (view from the north) (photos V. Rusu-Bolindet).



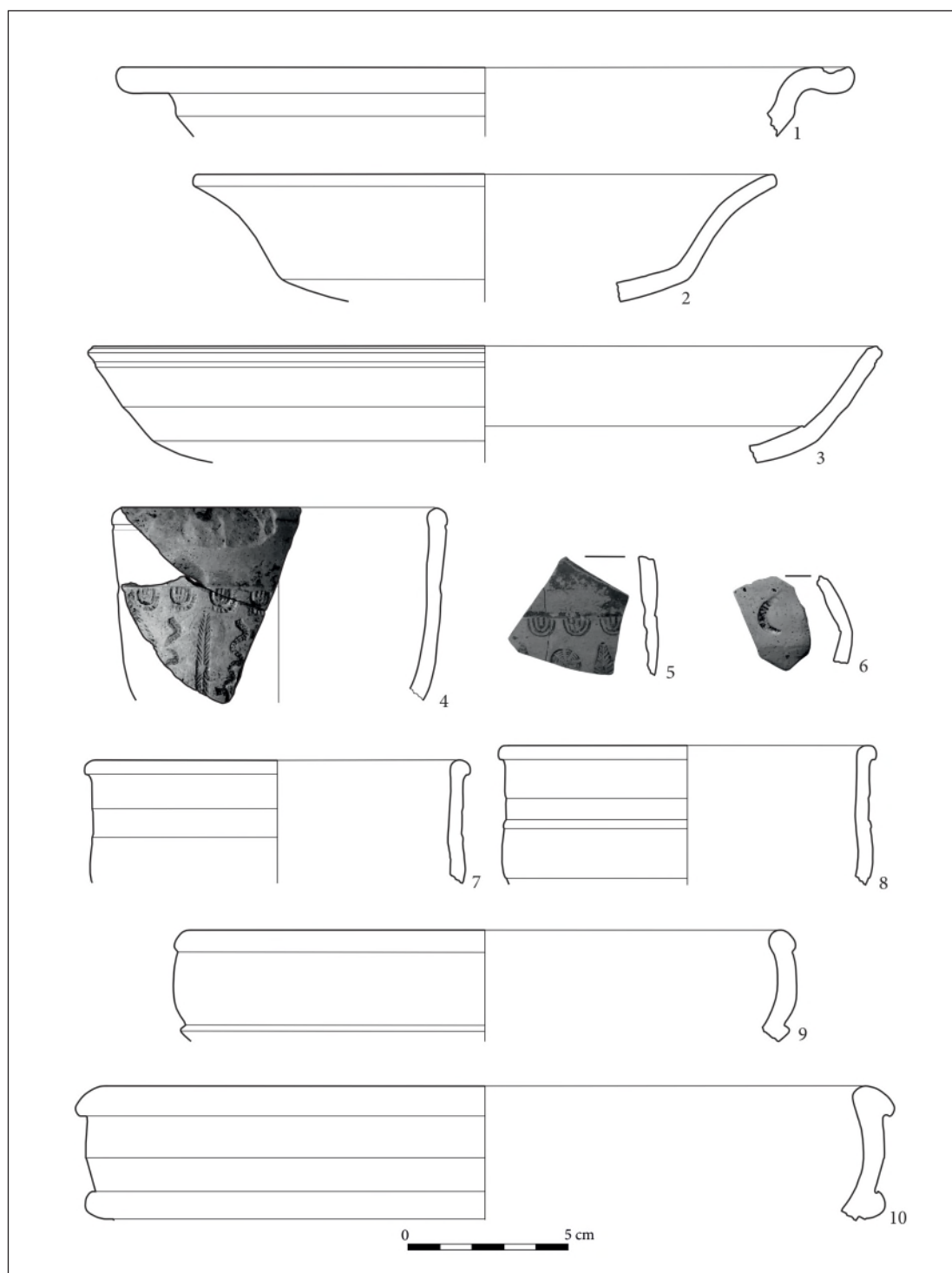
Pl. XVI. Archaeological material discovered in the area of the *fanum* (Cx45). Fine ware: *vasa escaria*: 1. Imitation of a Drag. 37 type *terra sigillata* bowl; 2–3. Imitations of Drag. 44 type *terra sigillata* bowls. *Vasa potatoria*: 4–5. Cups, imitations of thin-walled vessels; vessels for pouring, storing and transporting liquids: 6–8. Jugs; vessels for storing: 9. *dolium* fragment (drawings and digitisation A. Bâlc).



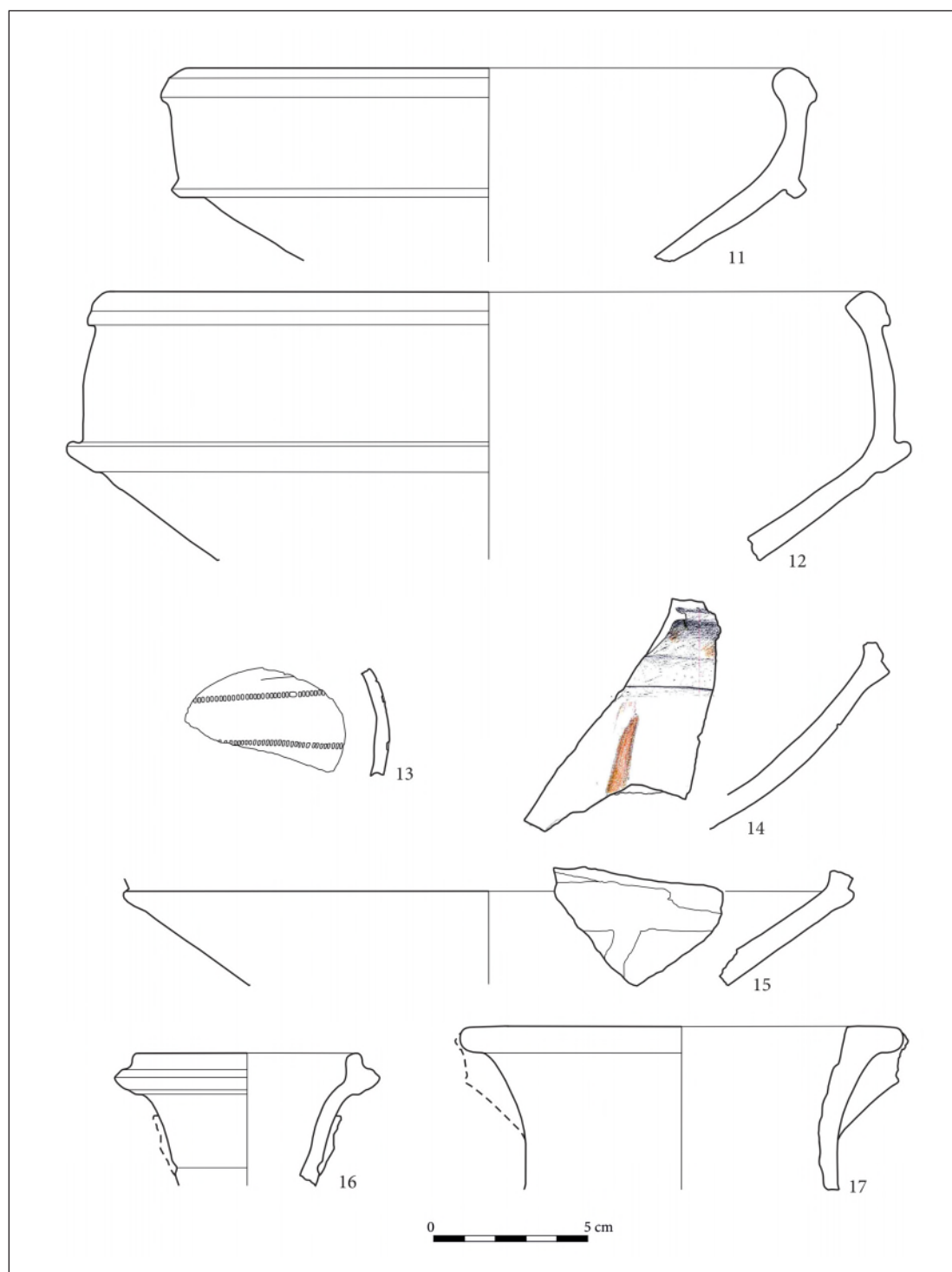
Pl. XVII. Plan of Cx69 (drawing and digitisation I. Petiș).



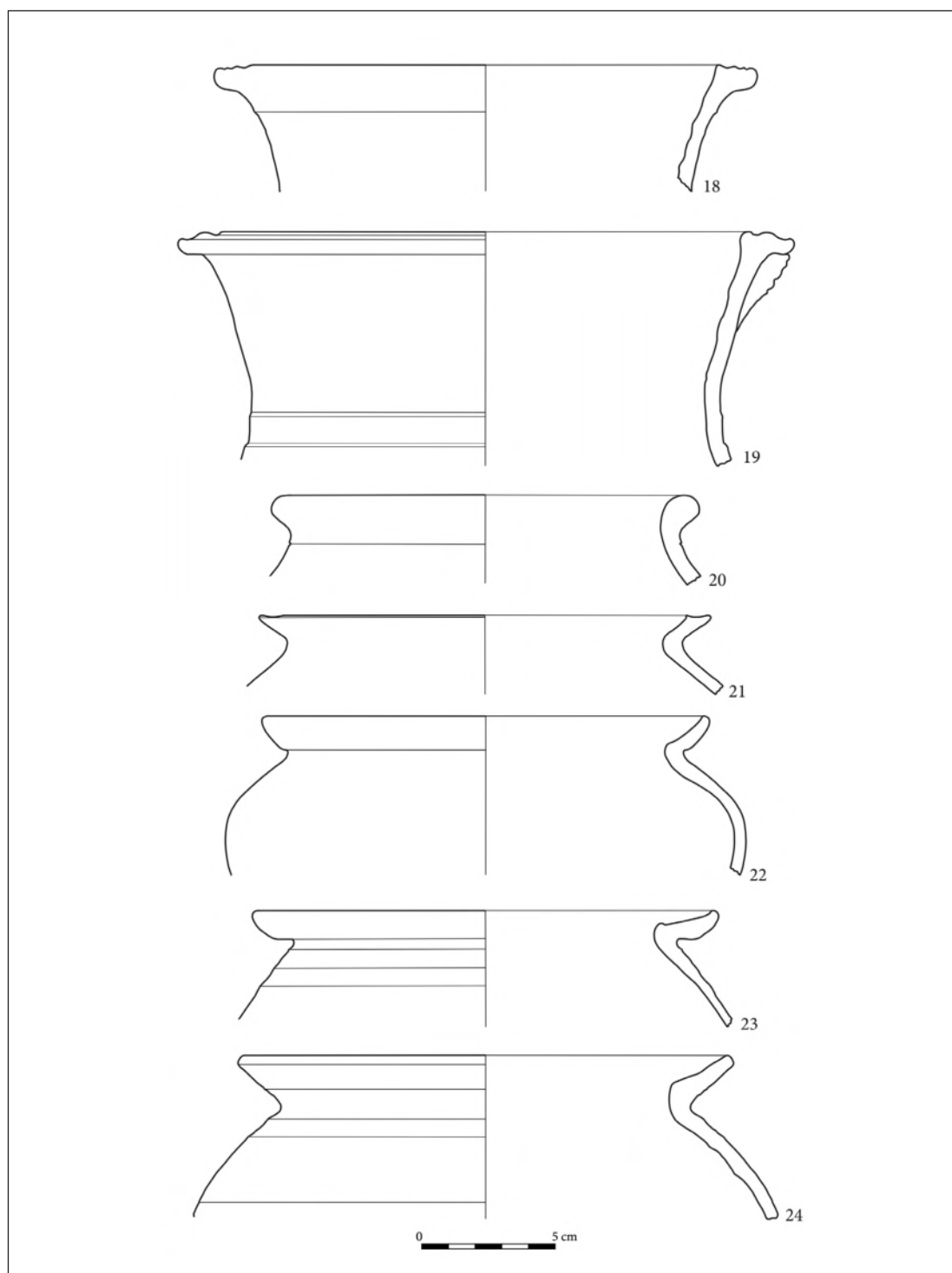
Pl. XVIII. Cx69: 1. Transversal section profiles (drawing C. Cordoș and L. Grumeza, digitisation I. Petiș); 2. Detail (view from east); 3. Altar dedicated to Silvanus; 4. Final ground level (view from east) (photos B. Ursu, digitisation I. Petiș).



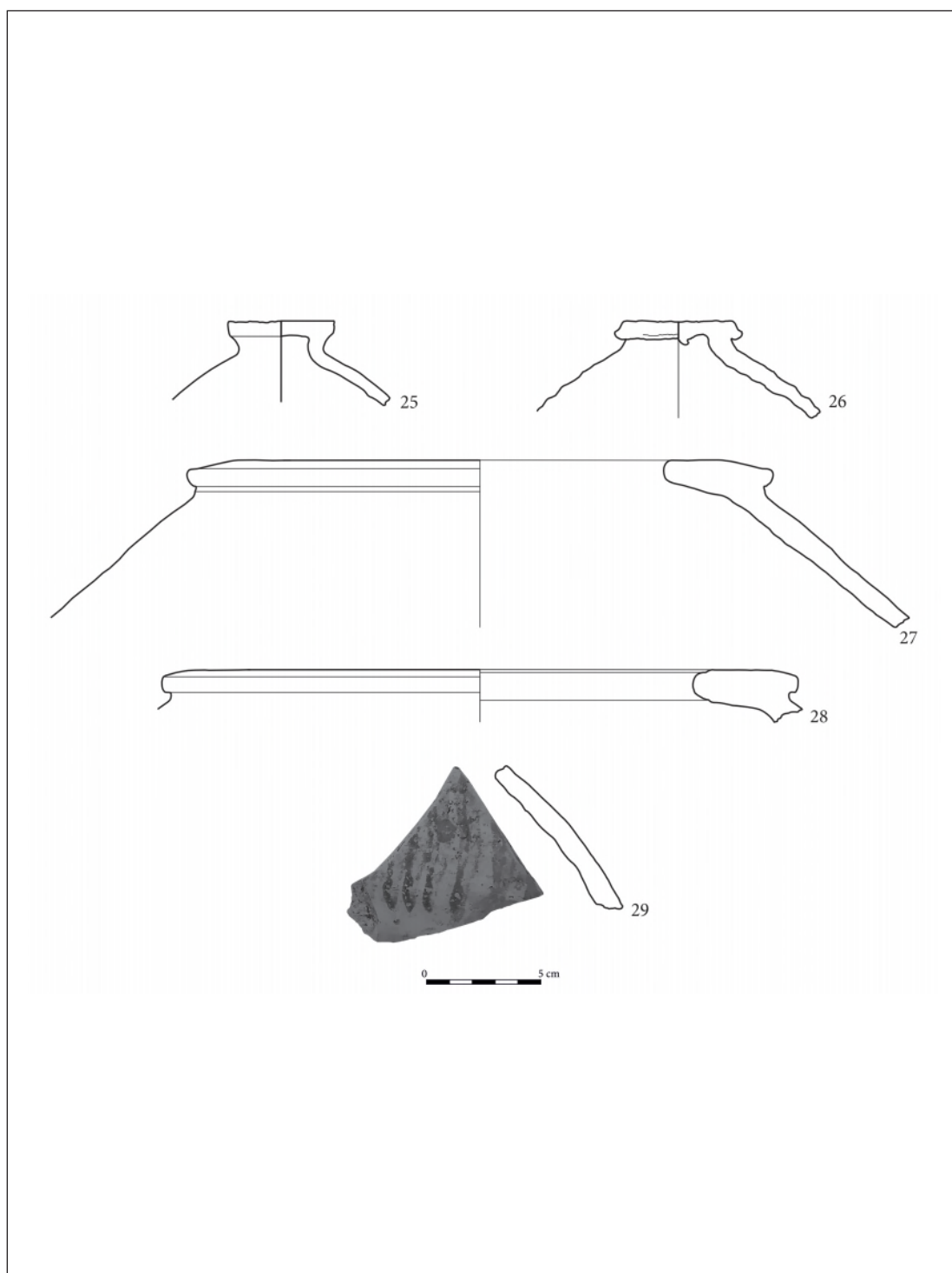
Pl. XIX. Archaeological material found in Cx69. Fine ware: *vasa escaria*: imitations of *terra sigillata* shapes: 1–3. Curle 15/ Lud Tg, Curle 23 and Drag. 18 type dishes; 4–6. Fragmentary Drag. 37 type bowls with stamped decoration; 7–8. Drag. 37 type bowls; 9–10. Drag. 44 type bowls (drawings A. Bâlc, digitisation I.-A. Iliescu).



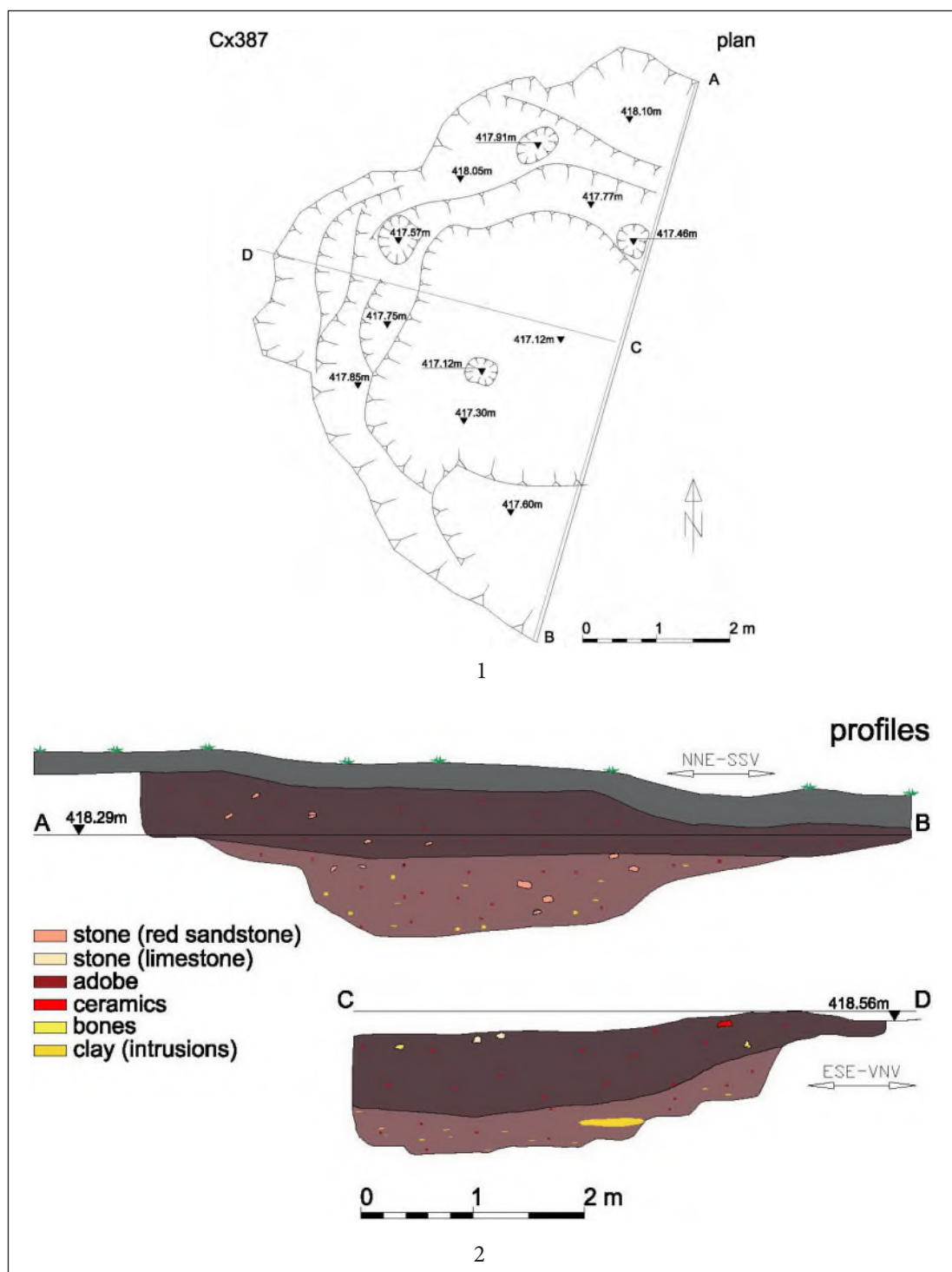
Pl. XX. Archaeological material found in Cx69. Fine ware: *vasa escaria*: imitations of *terra sigillata* shapes: 11–12. Drag. 44 type bowls; 13. Cup fragment rouletting decorated; 14–15. Fragmentary bowls with painted decoration; vessels for pouring, storing and transporting liquids: 16. Jug; 17. Pitcher (drawings A. Bălce, digitisation I.-A. Iliescu).



Pl. XXI. Archaeological material found in Cx69. Fine ware: vessels for pouring, storing and transporting liquids: **18–19**. Pitchers; coarse ware: cooking ware: **20–24**. Jars (drawings A. Bălc, digitisation I.-A. Iliescu).



Pl. XXII. Archaeological material found in Cx69. Coarse ware: cooking ware: 25–26. Lids; fine ware vessels for storing: 27–29. *dolia* (drawings A. Bâlc, digitisation I.-A. Iliescu).



Pl. XXIII. Cx387: 1–2. Plan and transversal section profiles (drawing and digitisation I. Petiș).



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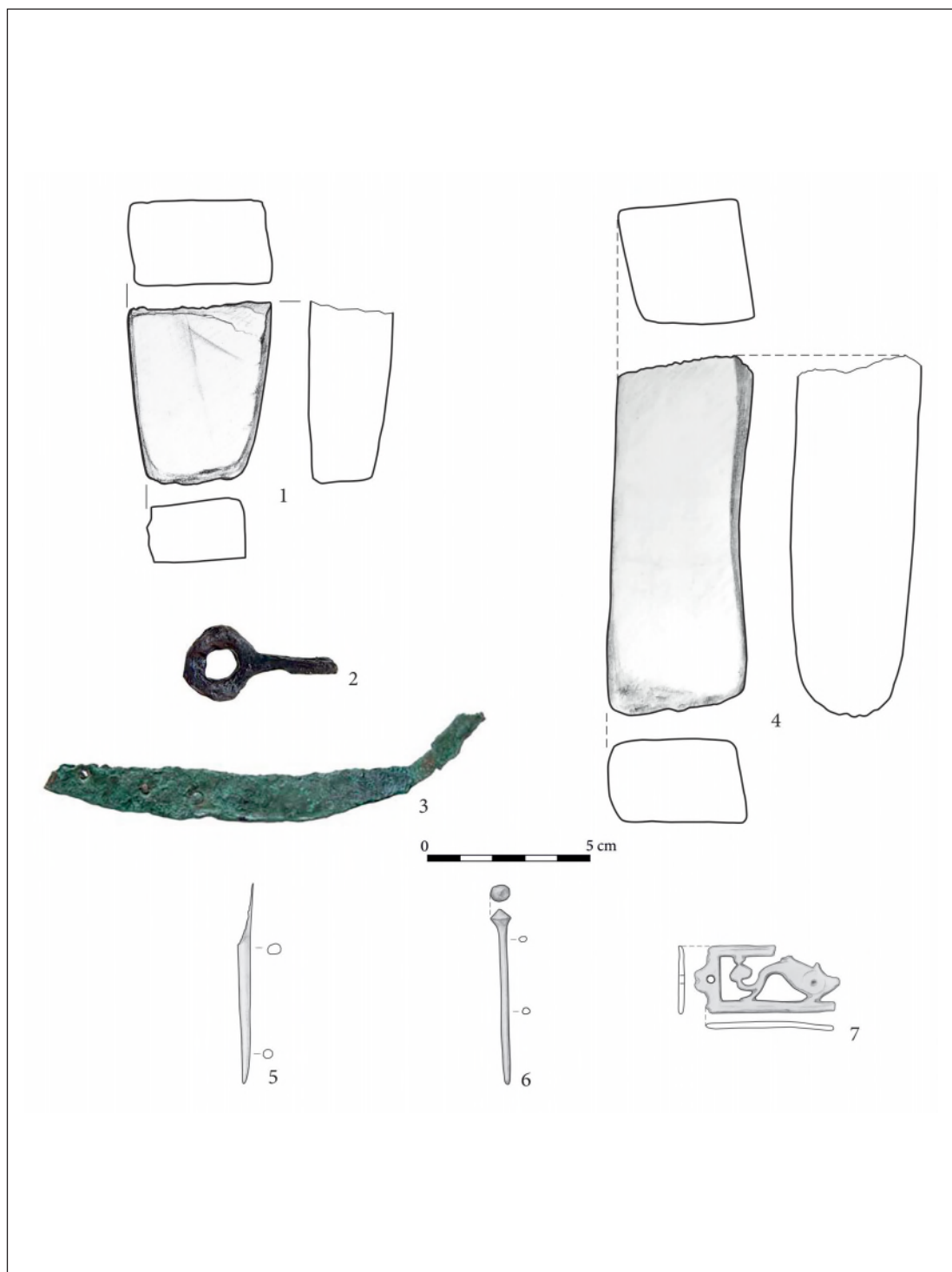


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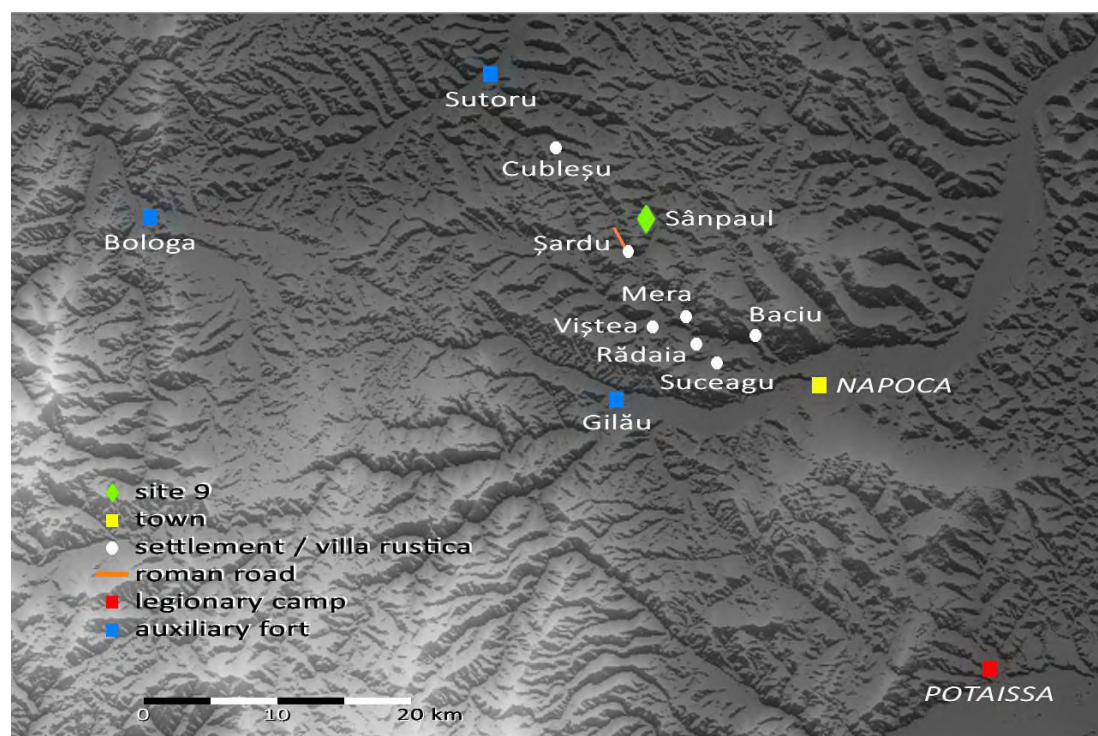
Pl. XXIV. Cx387: 1. Contour level; 2. Transversal section profile (north-north-east – south-south-west); 3. Final ground level (views from west), (photos B. Ursu, digitisation I. Petiș).



Pl. XXV. Metal, stone and bone archaeological materials found in: Cx45: 1. Fragmentary whetstone; 2. Iron key finger ring; 3. Copper alloy knife blade (?); Cx387: 4. Fragmentary whetstone; 5. Fragmentary bone hair pin; 6. Miniature copper alloy hair pin; 7. Copper alloy belt plate (photos S. Odenie, drawings A. Bâlc, digitisation I.-A. Iliescu).



Pl. XXVI. Altar dedicated to Silvanus: 1. Photo; 2. Drawing (G. Cupcea).



Pl. XXVII. Site no. 9. Nearby discoveries attributed to the Roman period. Map on DEM by SRTM image (designed and processed by I. Petiș).

A VOTIVE INSCRIPTION FROM SAMUM SET BY PUBLIUS AELIUS CAERIALIS*

EUGENIA BEU-DACHIN, ADRIANA ISAC**

Abstract: A votive monument discovered in the summer of 2010 in the military *vicus* of Samum (Cășeu) attests a new officer of *cohors I Britannica*, the *decurio* Publius Aelius Caerialis. The monument was found in a secondary position, abandoned since ancient times. It was dedicated to a group of five deities of the Roman pantheon and it could be linked to a temple.

Keywords: Samum; *cohors I Britannica*; *decurio*; votive inscription.

Rezumat: Un monument votiv descoperit în vara anului 2010 în *vicus*-ul militar de la Samum (Cășeu) atestă un nou ofițer al *cohors I Britannica*, un decurion pe nume Publius Aelius Caerialis. Monumentul s-a aflat în poziție secundară, abandonat fiind încă din antichitate. Este dedicat unui grup de cinci divinități din panteonul roman și ar putea fi pus în legătură cu un templu.

Cuvinte cheie: Samum; *cohors I Britannica*; *decurio*; inscripție votivă.

During the systematic archaeological researches of the year 2010, performed on the site at Samum (Cășeu), the research team planned to rediscover the older surveys (A1-A5) carried out in 1989 in the military *vicus*,¹ which, due to errors of topographic measurements had not been placed on the site plan with precision.

For this purpose, a section of 10 × 1.5 m, conventionally labelled S 36, was performed. It was not possible to identify any of the initial surveys; however, at the eastern end of the section, at a depth of –1.5 m, in a brownish-gray layer with poor archaeological traces, a votive monument was discovered. Apart from indications for the existence of an ancient ground level (i.e. the presence of a linear layer that contained ceramic pigments, coal and some rocks), no other traces of habitation have been identified.²

At the time of discovery, the monument was face down. The capital had been cut since ancient times, and the item was probably abandoned here in Antiquity. Its presence in this area could be explained in relation to a temple.³

* This paper is a result of the research project PN-III-ID-PCE-2016-4-0186, funded by UEFISCDI.

** The monument was discovered by Dan Isac, and the graphic illustration, the photograph of the monument, as well as the transcription of the text belong to him. We would like to thank our colleagues Dan Dana, Sorin Nemeti and Florian Matei-Popescu for their suggestions.

¹ For explanations concerning the syntagm *vicus militaris*, as well as the civilian spaces usually developed around forts and fortresses and in particular around the one located at Samum (Cășeu), see Nemeti 2014, 79 sqq.

² Isacu, Isacu, Socol 2012, 39, no. 11.

³ Isacu, Isacu, Socol 2012, 39, no. 11.

Description of the monument

Preserved height: 79 cm.

Length: 33 cm.

Width: 34 cm.

Epigraphic field: 50 × 33 cm.

Base: 27 × 40 cm.

Material: volcanic tuff from Dej, Cluj County.

Letters: l. 1: 5 cm; l. 2–11: 4 cm.

Ligatures: l. 2 – possibly [NI]; l. 3: TI, MI, NE.

Grammatica quaedam: *e* instead of *ae* and *tt* instead of *t* in *Brittannic(a)e*, and *ae* instead of *e* in *Caerialis*.

Incorrect hyphonation: *Br/ittannic(a)e*.

Obs. The Roman numeral I is represented with a horizontal bar above.

Inv. no.: V 61334, MNIT.

The upper part of the item ends suddenly, since the capital was cut. As for the lower part, it shows traces of damage, with at least two fragments detached from the base. On the back side one can notice traces of chisel; the lateral ones are more processed, and sometimes irregular incisions can be observed on the surface (such an incision crosses diagonally the field of the inscription; it is not clear, however, whether the incisions are contemporary with the inscription or not).

Inscription:

♠ *I(oui)* ♠ *O(ptimo)* ♠ *M(aximo)* ♠

♠ *Iuno[ni♠?] Reg(inae)* ♠

♠ *Marti* ♠ *Miner-* ♠

♠ *vae* ♠ *Her-* ♠

cul(i) ♠ *sac(rum)* ♠

♠ *P(ublius)* ♠ *Ael(ius)* ♠ *Cae-* ♠

♠ *rialis (!)* ♠ *dec(urio)*

♠ *coh(ortis)* ♠ *I* ♠ *Br-* ♠

♠ *ittannic(a)e (!)* ♠

♠ *v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)* ♠

Translation:

Dedicated to the gods Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno Regina, Mars, Minerva and Hercules. Publius Aelius Caerialis, decurion of the first Britannica cohort, kept his promise willingly and deservedly.

The votive text was engraved on a fragmentarily preserved monument. The inscription field is intact and contains the first 11 lines of the text. The last line, with the votive closing formula put between two *hederae distinguentes*, is placed on the base of the monument. Some letters are poorly preserved: P and A in line 6. The capital letters are beautifully

engraved, and the free endings of the bars are thickened. The text of the inscription was entirely preserved.

The votive monument was dedicated to a group of five deities: the Capitoline Triad – Iuppiter bearing the epithets Optimus Maximus, Iuno with the epithet Regina, and the goddess Minerva –, as well as two other deities of the Greek-Roman pantheon, Mars, which is part of the group of *dii consentes*, and Hercules, from the group of deities who entered the Olympus later.⁴

The pair Iuppiter – Iuno, with the aforementioned epithets, is frequently attested in Dacia.⁵ The Capitoline Triad is also recorded in a number of inscriptions,⁶ but the formula in the text from Cășeiu, in which the Triad is accompanied by Mars and Hercules, was not noted in the province so far. Within this group, the presence of Mars and Hercules probably intends to include military and heroic divine features, which could be aimed at obtaining the support of the gods in military situations.

Publius Aelius Caerialis bears a surname unattested so far in Dacia in this hypercorrect rendering, with the diphthong *ae* used instead of *e*.⁷ The hypercorrect use of the diphthong is quite common and is found both at the beginning of the word and inside or at the end of it (especially in the genitive and singular dative cases, first declension).⁸ However, it is hard to appreciate if the form Caerialis is rendered incorrectly or was already standardized in this variant, due to longer use.

The surname Cerialis⁹ can be found in all regions of the Roman Empire, from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD, both in high-ranking and socially inferior people; the frequency of this variant is larger than the one rendered Cerealis.¹⁰ In Dacia, this surname is attested few times: on two potters' stamps from Apulum,¹¹ and another one from Sântămăria Orlea.¹² The suffixes *-alis*, *-aris* are used in the sacred language, here the term representing a form derived from the name of the divinity Ceres (> Cerialis).¹³ The suffix *-alis* is common for theophoric *cognomina*, and names such as Cerialis, Apollinaris derive from their adjectival correspondents.¹⁴ Besides Cererus = Cererius, Cerialis is derived from the name of the goddess of agriculture, of the crops, and, in the general sense, of the vegetal world.¹⁵

⁴ Bărbulescu 1985, 19 sqq.

⁵ IDR II 18, Drobeta; IDR III/3, 94, Micia; IDR III/4, 247, 249, Mărtiniș, Harghita County; IDR III/5, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, Apulum; CIL III 7627, Arcobadara.

⁶ IDR III/3, 118, Ampelum; IDR III/5, 195, 196, 197, 198, Apulum; ILD I 195, Tibiscum; CIL III 858, Napoca.

⁷ The surname of a man of letters, Lucius Aelius Caerialis from Saguntum, Hispania, who was *magister artis grammaticae*, demonstrates the circulation of the name in hypercorrect rendering, as well as its registration as such, possibly also in official documents (CIL II 3872 = ILS 7765 = HD 025223, the second half of the 2nd century AD). In any case, it is a rare form.

⁸ Beu-Dachin 2014, 59–60.

⁹ Schulze 1904, 487; OPEL II 51.

¹⁰ For this, the database Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de> (August 2019) was searched.

¹¹ IDR III/6, 373: *Cerialis* and IDR III/6, 373a: *Ceriali/s*.

¹² CIL III 8076, 9: *Ce[r]ia/lis*.

¹³ See also OLD, s.v. *Cerealis* (*Ceri-*, *Caer-*).

¹⁴ Kajanto 1965, 107: the author also mentions some *cognomina* which do not have adjectival correspondents.

¹⁵ Kajanto 1965, 211: over 180 attestations in the case of male names, and 12 in women names.

Many Publii Aelii are known in the province Dacia, and most of them held military or public offices.¹⁶ Almost half of them are registered in the area of Apulum, and 10% in the area of Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa. Others are mentioned in inscriptions from Tibiscum, Napoca, Potaissa, Drobeta etc.

Before arriving in Dacia, *cohors I Britannica* was garrisoned in some other provinces.¹⁷ The form *Brittannica*, with the geminate consonant *tt* used instead of the simple voiceless alveolar stop *t*, might also be due to a contamination, caused by the confusion between the ethnicon *Brittoni* (*-um*) and the adjective *Britannica*. Although there is a clear distinction in the name of the troops, as the adjective refers to the origin of the troop, the place of its formation, and the ethnicon to the composition of the troop, its members being mainly of the respective ethnic group, however confusions and therefore graphic errors could take place easily, given the existence of different spellings for terms that come practically from the same word family. Thus, *cohors I Britannica* and *cohors I Brittonum* are two different troops, but on the other hand *cohors II Britannorum* is sometimes called *cohors II Brittonum*.¹⁸ The gemination of consonants *t* and *n* in different words having the same root could be a problem for a simple person.

Before *cohors I Britannica*, *cohors II Britannorum miliaria* was garrisoned in Cășeu, the one who built up the earth-and-timber fort during Trajan's reign.¹⁹ Starting with Hadrian, the place of this cohort was taken by *cohors I Britannica*,²⁰ the one who will build the stone fort and remain here until the abandonment of the province.

*Cohors I Britannica*²¹ was mentioned in several military diplomas from the provinces of Pannonia, Moesia Superior, Dacia and Dacia Porolissensis,²² as well as on stamps on tiles – (*cohortis*) *I B(ritannicae)* – or on votive or funerary monuments. The cohort had been mentioned so far in Cășeu in the inscriptions: AE 1929, 1 = ILD I 764, a honorary inscription dedicated to Iulia Augusta, *mater sanctissima piissimaque Antonini Augusti et castrorum senatusque ac patriae*, where it appears with the epithet Antoniniana, then in

¹⁶ Official positions such as *duumviralis coloniae*, *decurio municipii sive coloniae*, *aedilis coloniae*, *decurio collegii fabrum*, *patronus collegii fabrum*, *pontifex*, *flamen*, *sacerdos arae Augusti*, *augur* are attested in the epigraphic sources; among the military offices the existence of the following positions can be noticed: *centurio*, *optio*, *praefectus cohortis*, *primus pilus*, *beneficiarius consularis*, and also the presence of simple soldiers – *milites*.

¹⁷ Petolescu 2002, 86–87.

¹⁸ In order to designate the second cohort of Britons, the ethnicon *Brittonum* is often used (see Isac 2003, 35). See also CIL XVI 46, Pannonia Superior, Siscia: ... *II Brittonum* |(miliaria) *c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)*. The same denomination can be found in the military diploma from Gherla: *cohors II Britton(um)* (miliaria) (RMD I 35 = IDR I 11). For stamps of COH II BR in Dacia, see also Isac 1987, 175–180.

¹⁹ Isac 2003, 33.

²⁰ About *cohors I Britannica* in Dacia, see also Isac 2003, 38 sqq.

²¹ The adjective is derived from the toponym *Britannia*, which is also known in the variants *Brittannia*, as well as *Brittania* or *Britania* (cf. OLD). By analogy, the forms *Britannicus*, *a*, *um*, or *Brittannicus*, *a*, *um* may be postulated for the adjective derived from this noun. For example, in an inscription dedicated to Iuppiter Fulgurator the name of the cohort is as follows: *c(o)ho(rs) / prima Britta/n(n)ica* |(miliaria) (CIL III 821, Samum). Interesting to mention here is the rendering of the ordinal numeral that determines the noun *cohors*.

²² Spaul 2000, 193–194; Petolescu 2002, 86–87; Isac 2003, 38; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, 274–275; Matei-Popescu, Țentea 2018, 39, no. XIV.

CIL III 821 – *c(o)ho(rs) / prima Britta/n(n)ica |(miliaria)*²³ –, as well as in ILD I 782, which is the funerary inscription of Aurelius Respectus, *mil(es) c(ohortis) I Br(itannicae) [...]*; the troop is also attested in ILD I 786, the funerary inscription of another veteran of the same cohort. Furthermore, it is mentioned in the military diploma from Cășeu under the name *I Brit(annica) |(miliaria)* (AE 2001, 1705 = RMD V 404).

As for the officers of this cohort, several veteran officers are attested,²⁴ as well as two centurions and an *optio*.²⁵ The decurion attested by the new inscription discovered at Cășeu, Publius Aelius Caerialis, was in office when he dedicated the monument to the group of deities. He commanded one of the *turmae* of *cohors I Britannica miliaria equitata civium Romanorum*. We do not know anything about the origin of Publius Aelius Caerialis or about his recruitment area. For the *I Britannica* cohort, there are very few testimonies regarding the area of military recruitment.²⁶ In the funerary inscription of Publius Aelius Tertius from Apulum (IDR III/5, 484), its origin is mentioned *dom(o) Cl(audia) Virun(o)*.

We do not know whether Publius Aelius Caerialis continued his military career, as he was not attested in other inscriptions so far.

The name of the troop, *cohors I Britannica*, without the indication *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, may be considered a clue for dating, even if it is not exact. In the attestations between 80 and 119, the troop bears the indication *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, then in the military diplomas of 123, 124/128, 133, 154, the name is registered without this indication.²⁷ Considering that the indication *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* in the name of the troop is missing, for the dating of the monument we can refer to the period of the second quarter of the 2nd century, but with caution. A more accurate dating criterion would be the onomastic one. As the character bears the name Publius Aelius we must consider that he is the descendant of somebody who got citizenship from the emperor Hadrian.

²³ CIL III 821 = HD 048407: *Iovi Fulg(uratori) / pro salute / dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) [[[---]]] / [[[-----]]] / [[[---]]] Augu(storum) c(o)ho(rs) / prima Britta/n(n)ica |(miliaria) / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*, see photo at <http://lupa.at/15264>.

²⁴ See, for example, the inscription from Partoș of a former centurion of *cohors I Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum*, IDR III/5, 484, Apulum: *D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Ael(io) Tertio / dom(o) Cl(audia) Virun(o) / vet(erano) ex |(centurione) coh(ortis) I Brit(annicae) / |(miliariae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitatae) an[n(or)] LX / Ael(ia) A[e]stiv[a] con(iunx) / et heredes pos(uerunt)*.

²⁵ Cupcea 2010, 387. The two *centuriones principes* are mentioned in an inscription from Cășeu, CIL III 830: *[Ge]nio s[c(h)o]l(a)es (!) ordi(natorum) / suc(!) c(uragentibus) L(ucio) Cilio / [A]eliano [et] / Tib(erio) Aurel(io) / Ro[---] / princ(ipibus) / pos(uerunt)*.

²⁶ Petolescu 2002, 87.

²⁷ Petolescu 2002, 86–87. For the absence of this indication under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, see also Isac 2003, 43.

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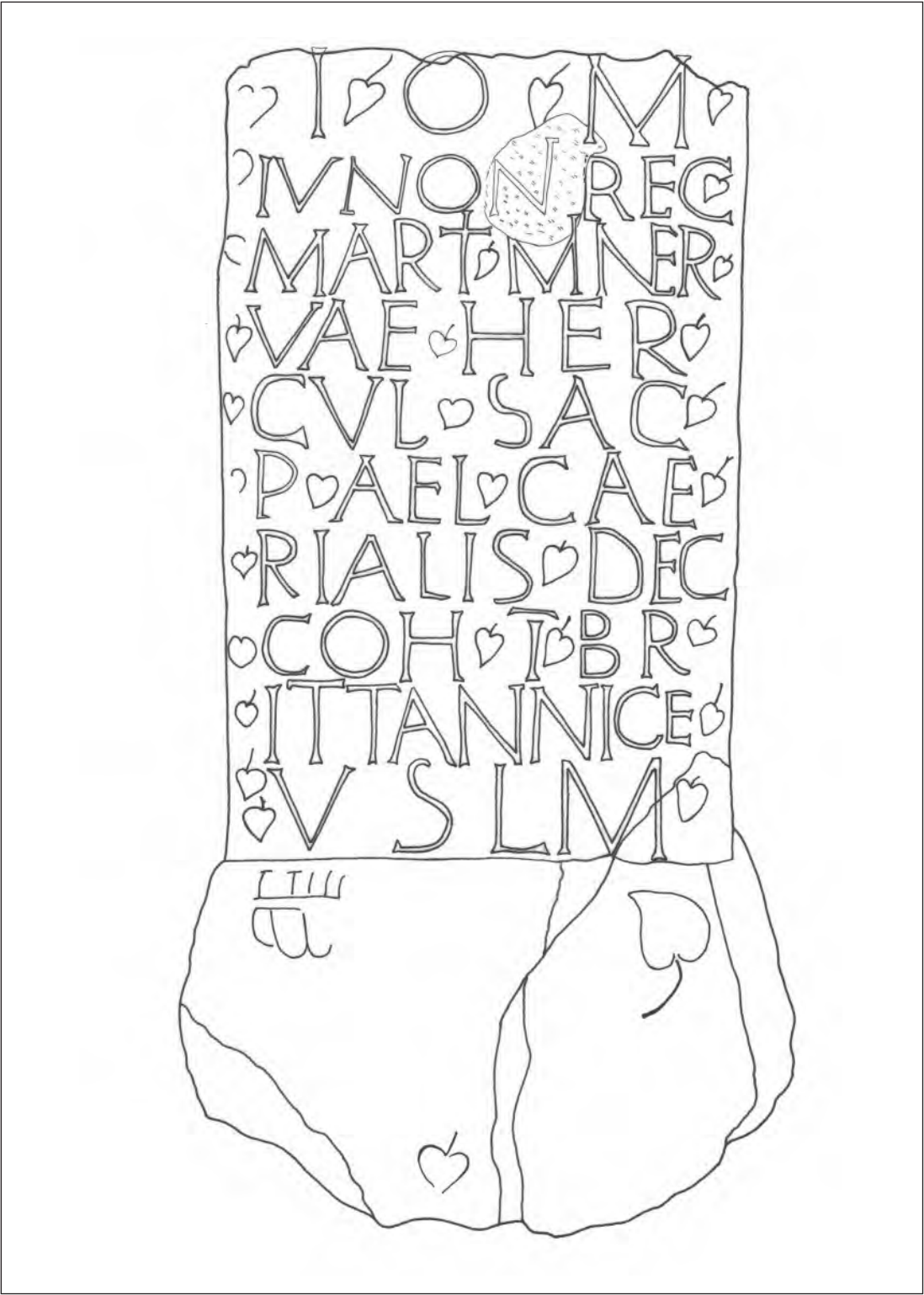
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1. The votive monument of Publius Aelius Caerialis (photo Dan Isac).



2. Drawing of the monument (Dan Isac).



3. Photograph of the monument taken during the excavation (Dan Isac).

COHORS I AELIA GAESATORUM IN A LATIN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT BOLOGA MEDIEVAL CASTLE

COSMIN ONOFREI, ZSOLT CSÓK

Abstract: Over the course of 2018 the extended archaeological excavations at the site of the medieval fortress of Bologa unveiled multiple areas of interest that are the target of a rehabilitation and cultural valorization process. Amid the large slabs and carved stone blocks emerged a fragment of a Roman altar, having on one of its faces a part of a Latin inscription. The fragment is most likely the lower third of the monument, featuring a clean stone workmanship.

Keywords: *cohors*; inscription; Gaesati; Bologa.

Rezumat: În urma unor săpături arheologice de amploare desfășurate în anul 2018 la Cetatea Medievală din Bologa au fost dezvelite mai multe zone de interes ce fac obiectul reabilitării și punerii în valoare a monumentului. Printre blocurile și pietrele de mari dimensiuni a fost descoperit și un fragment de altar roman. Din el se păstrează, cel mai probabil, treimea inferioară, monumentul fiind lucrat destul de îngrijit.

Cuvinte cheie: *cohors*; inscripție; Gaesati; Bologa

Over the course of 2018 the extended archaeological excavations at the site of the medieval fortress of Bologa unveiled multiple areas of interest that are the target of a rehabilitation and cultural valorization process.

From the many discoveries identified by the complex archaeological excavations of the site, we will focus on a structure identified through the debris of the northeastern tower of the Citadel. Its clearing unveiled a corner of an earlier fortification, the Inner Tower. Amid the large slabs and carved stone blocks emerged a fragment of a Roman altar, having on one of its faces a part of a Latin inscription. The piece, re-used in the stonework of the medieval monument, is only partially preserved, because for the medieval builders, its shape was more important than its artistic and documentary value. The fragment is most likely the lower third of the monument, featuring a clean stone workmanship.

Type of object: Altar

Material: Sandstone

Dimensions: 23 × 33 × 29 cm

Inscription field: 24 cm preserved height

Site: Bologa Medieval Castle

Find date: 2018

Location/Institution: National History Museum of Transylvania

Document type: Dedicatory

Text:

[---]T (or E+T?) coh(ors/ortis?) I Aelia(e?) / Gaes(atorum) libens / posuerunt



1. Photograph of the monument.



2. Drawing.

On a closer look upon the epigraphical data the inscription provides, it is apparent that the main problem resides in the beginning of the preserved text. The only clearly visible letter is a T, but it is also possible the letter is in a ligature: E+T. Due to this uncertainty, we will present various ways of completing the text and implicitly, more variants of the text.

[---] [mili]t(es) (or [mili]te(s)?) coh(ortis) I Aeliae / Gaes(atorum) libens / posuerunt

In this case we can argue in favor of a collective dedication of the soldiers from this unit. The subject opens a larger discussion as, statistically, the collective inscriptions erected by auxiliary units name their commander first. In an analysis on the collective dedications of the auxiliary units stationed in Dacia, L. S. Chappell noticed a series of key elements which define this type of inscriptions.¹

The author noticed that the collective dedications, from one or more auxiliary units, is far from being a rare occurrence. Moreover, 84.3% of these types of inscriptions are set through the care of the commander unit (in most cases a *praefectus*). Unlike the legionnaires, among the auxiliary units, the high-ranking officers are the main dedicators (84.3%) on the inscriptions.² In the case of these collective votive monuments set by the auxiliary units led by their commanders, the inscriptions are dedicated to the emperors or to the gods of the classic pantheon, with a clear prevalence for IOM and Mars. Comparatively, the individual dedications of auxiliary soldiers are far less numerous and they are usually dedicated to non-classical deities.³

Thus, we believe that for the proposed version is more plausible that the inscription features the prefect together with the unit's soldiers, even if both versions support the plural formula at the end (*libens posuerunt*).⁴

[--- coh(ors/ortis?) ---] / E+T? coh(ors/ortis?) I Aelia(e?) / Gaes(atorum) libens / posuerunt

The other version proposed argues that the *et* ligature could hint at the mention of another military unit on the inscription. In this case, we can assume that at least two units were mentioned in the inscription. Although the great majority of the collective dedications are from only one auxiliary unit, there are also exceptions, where more than one unit is mentioned.⁵ But in this type of dedications to IOM, or other gods of the classic pantheon,

¹ Chappell 2010, 101–105 with a series of conclusive tables.

² Chappell 2010, 101; Popescu 2004–2005, 208–209, 220.

³ Chappell 2010, 103–104; Popescu 2004–2005, 202–207 (for Jupiter and Mars); See also: Wilmott 2001, 112–119 for the inscriptions erected by *cohors I Aelia Dacorum*.

⁴ In what the form *libens* instead of *libentes* concern, it can be stated that this is rather a case of disagreement in number than an abbreviation. See the case of *M. Ulpius Gaddas sex(vir) col(oniae) Aq(uinci)* and of his spouse, *Ulpia Victorina (votum libens posuerunt)* (RIU 2, 356). See also ILS 2439 (*libens posuit/erunt*). But we can also have a confusion with the form *libenter*, see: AE 2005, 1690 (Hammam Darradji / Bulla Regia-Africa Proconsularis) *Isidi Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / P(ublius) Aelius Priva(tus) et Cocceia / Bassa uxor eius / aram ex vot(o) / liben(te)s animo / poseur(unt) et / ded(icaverunt)*.

⁵ CIL III 1343 = IDR III/3, 77 (Veșel/Micia – Dacia), CIL VII 987 = RIB 1216 and CIL VII 988 = RIB 1217 (Risingham/Habitanicum – Britannia), CIL VII 383 = RIB 827 (Britannia). *L. Cammius Maximus* appears on two other inscriptions dedicated to IOM (CIL VII 384 = RIB 827 and CIL VII 385 = RIB 829), but as *praefectus* of *cohors I Hispanorum*. Here it might be the case of the commander's transfer to another unit, CIL XIII 7411 = AE 2008, 980 (Grosskrotzenburn / Germania Superior). *Cohors IIII Vindelicorum*. *Cohors I c.R. eq. P.F.* is further attested at Grosskrotzenburg through inscriptions (CIL XIII 7410; CIL XIII 7415; CIL XIII 7419) and tile stamps (CIL XIII 12471, 2–10) as part of the army of Germania Superior. Later, through another inscription, it can be found in Germania Inferior, at Brohl (CIL XIII 7706; Holder 1999, 241), RIB

the dependent genitive is common. This fact excludes the possibility that the dedicatory formula refers to the two auxiliary units that make the direct dedication to a deity, being expressed in the nominative as dedicators. The final dedicatory formula is plural, which normally implies a minimum of two dedicators.⁶

As for the time the monument was erected, we should take a short look into the history of the unit clearly mentioned in the inscription. The unit is *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum*,⁷ one of the two units accommodated in the nearby Roman fort of Bologa.⁸ Most likely its first recruits come from Raetia and Gallia, the latter, famous for using the *gaesum*, the heavy iron-throwing spear. The cohort might have been recruited during the reign of Hadrian, as indicated by the imperial epithet *Aelia*, or even earlier, under Trajan, as proven by a military diploma from AD 126 (Pannonia Superior).⁹ In the Pannonian diploma, the cohort is one thousand-strong (*milliaria*) and is later attested in Dacia through a number of inscriptions¹⁰ and military diplomas.¹¹ But, starting with AD 164, the cohort narrows down its numbers to a *quingenaria*, and is placed under the command of a *praefectus*.

*Cohors II Hispanorum equitata*¹² was sent to Bologa sometime towards the end of Hadrian's reign, a fact supported by the contemporary extension works of the initial fort.¹³ Its presence is confirmed both through tile stamps found in the fort¹⁴ and through a series of inscriptions¹⁵ and military diplomas¹⁶ across Dacia Porolissensis. We can presume that,

1125 (Coria/Cortopitum – Britannia) legions VI *Victrix Pia Fidelis* and XX *Valeria Victrix* on an altar erected for *Concordia*; see also: Chappell 2010, 96–100 (This dedicatory practice of two military units to erect a single monument being attested in different areas of the Roman Empire).

⁶ See supra RIB 1125 (Coria/Cortopitum – Britannia); RIB 3459 (Luguvalium/Carlisle – Britannia) legions II *Augusta* and XX *Valeria Victrix* on an altar erected for *Concordia*.

⁷ Spaul 2000, 479; Petolescu 2002, 103–104 (with the bibliography).

⁸ Marcu 2009, 26–36.

⁹ Holder 1998, 258 (with the bibliography). The author analyses the problem with the *Aelia* epithet and makes the case for an earlier initial recruitment, even in the times of Trajan; Gudea 1997, 41; Marcu 2009, 27. The *terra sigillata* discovered in the last building phase of the fort from Bologa, dated in the 3rd century AD originates in Raetia and eastern Gaul.

¹⁰ AE 1972, 474–475, here, the unit bears the name Gordiana, CIL III 7648; Gudea 1972a, 707–711 the unit's praefectus, *P. Candidius Petruinus*, is mentioned; for the tile stamps that confirm the unit's presence in the Bologa fort, see: CIL III 8074; Gudea 1972, 421.

¹¹ Lőrincz 2001, 169, no. 40 (July 1st 126 – Pannonia Superior) and 172, no. 49; AE 1962, 255 = RMD I 35 = IDR I 11 (2nd of July 133 – Gherla); Gudea 1996, 90 (151 – Cășei); CIL XVI 110 = RMD I 47 = IDR I 17 (27 September 154 – Domașnea); AE 1994, 1487 = Eck et alli 1994, 577–591 with the full discussion (26th of October 161 – Gilău). In all these diplomas, the unit is mentioned as *milliaria*. In the diplomas from the 21st of July 164 from Gilău, AE 1957, 199 = RMD I 64 = IDR I 18; Palatovo CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19; Cășei, AE 1959, 37 = RMD I 63 = IDR I 20, the cohort is no longer a *milliaria*. Most likely a part of the unit is detached to Pannonia Superior, where, in a diploma from 160/161 (RMD III 176) is mentioned as a 1st cohort (see the entire discussion in Holder 1998, 258. See also Marcu 2009, 34 as the author argues that the unit could have become a *quingenaria* sometime before 164, between 154–160/161, when it is temporarily detached to Pannonia.

¹² Spaul 2000, 129–130; Petolescu 2002, 113 (with the bibliography).

¹³ Marcu 2009, 35. See also: Marcu 2005, 133–153.

¹⁴ CIL III 8074; Gudea 1972, 419–420.

¹⁵ CIL III 843 mentions a *decurio*, which suggests the unit was an *equitata*; Gudea 1972, 414, nos. 2–4, where the unit bears the imperial epithets *Antoniniana* and *Gordiana*.

¹⁶ CIL XVI 110 = RMD I 47 = IDR I 17 (27th of September 154 – Domașnea) here also named *scutata Cyrenaica*; AE 1957, 199 = RMD I 64 = IDR I 18 (21st of July 164 – Gilău); CIL XVI 185 = IDR I 19 (21st of July 164 – Palatovo); AE 1959, 37 = RMD I 63 = IDR I 20 (21st of July 164 – Cășei).

at this point, *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum* becomes *quingenaria*, as the fort's new size could hold two cohorts *quingenariae* (one of which is *equitata*), but is insufficient for a *cohors milliaria* plus a *quingenaria*.¹⁷

Following the evidence regarding the military units in Dacia, *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum* should be a *milliaria*, as attested by the military diplomas that mention the unit until AD 161. But the detail is missing from the unit's name on the inscription. Also, it is missing the imperial epithet *Gordiana*.¹⁸ Starting from these details, we can generally narrow down the dating of the monument between AD164 and the times of Gordian III (238–244). The imperial name bestowed upon the troops should be linked with the troubled events unfolding under his reign, which also reached the Dacian boundaries. In this period, following the ongoing conflicts from the years 238–239 and 242–243, multiple units receive the Imperial epithet.¹⁹

Since an important part of the inscription is missing, we chose to present two versions of completing the text. Keeping these in mind, the problem of the collective dedications of the auxiliary units and the particular case of the votive monument from the medieval fortress in Bologa remains open, until further evidence can shed more light on this piece of provincial history.

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¹⁷ Marcu 2009, 36. The author argues the *coh II Hispanorum equitata* could be camped in the eastern half of the fort, while the *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum* quarters could occupy the western half, a separation that could be applied also to the commanders' headquarters and the granaries.

¹⁸ See above notes 17–18.

¹⁹ Benea 2004–2005, 175–177 (with the bibliography).

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NOTES ON A FRAGMENT OF A CERAMIC VESSEL WITH GRAFFITO FROM GILĂU

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Abstract: The published ceramic fragment was discovered in the fort of *ala Siliana* in Gilău, during the researches from 1999–2000, when the rooms of a wooden building from the *retentura sinistra* were investigated. Here, previous research (1981) had indicated the existence of a *stabulum*. The text on the vessel was inscribed *post cocturam*, and it was rendered in a position almost perpendicular to the bottom.

Keywords: the auxiliary fort from Gilău; graffito; Latin; Dacia Porolissensis.

Rezumat: Fragmentul ceramic publicat a fost descoperit în castrul de la Gilău, ocupat de *ala Siliana*, în cursul cercetărilor din anii 1999–2000, ocazie cu care au fost investigate încăperile unei clădiri de lemn din *retentura sinistra*, unde cercetările anterioare (1981) indicaseră existența unui *stabulum*. Textul a fost inscripționat *post cocturam* pe peretele vasului, în poziție aproape perpendiculară față de baza acestuia.

Cuvinte-cheie: castrul auxiliar de la Gilău; graffito; latină; Dacia Porolissensis.

The ceramic fragment discussed here was discovered on the occasion of the resumed archaeological excavations at the fort of *ala Siliana*¹ in Gilău in the autumn of 1999, respectively the spring of 2000. The main goal of the new researches was to clarify the functionality of the buildings from the *retentura*, which had already been investigated in 1981 by two cross-sections, labelled S XIX and S XX.² The researches were carried out by delimiting the surfaces 1 and 2, the first overlapping the former section S XIX, and the second being located south-west to the surface 1, in a previously unsearched area.³ The here published item comes from the surface 2a, from the depth of –1.2 m.

On the surface number 2, three rectangular rooms (3.5 × 3 m) of a wooden building⁴ belonging to the phase Gilău II have been identified.⁵ The resulting archaeological material was very rich. It consisted of large quantities of pottery (common ware, but also *terra sigillata*), bronze objects, coins, and so on.⁶

In the *retentura sinistra* from Gilău, the existence of constructions meant to play the role of a *stabulum* was archaeologically proved. This interpretation was supported

* We thank our colleagues Dan Dana, Sorin Nemeti, Radu Ardevan, and Florian Matei-Popescu for their suggestions and observations.

¹ For the history of *ala Siliana* in Dacia, see Isac 1979, 39–67; Isac 1983, 187–205; Petolescu 2002, 76–78.

² Isac 2001, 90–91, no. 72.

³ Isac 2001, 90–91, no. 72.

⁴ Isac 2001, 90–91, no. 72.

⁵ From 117/118 AD until the end of the 2nd century.

⁶ Isac 2001, 90–91, no. 72.

by the discovery of alveolar grooves containing a white powder similar to the chalk, in which the presence of nitrates and phosphates was determined. This dust resulted from horse manure.⁷

Description of the ceramic fragment:

Preserved dimensions: 9.9 × 6 cm. Thickness of the wall: 3.7 cm.

Letters: in the order of engraving: 10.6 mm, 15.8 mm, 5 mm, 17.7 mm, 22.4 mm, 19 mm. Cursive E, semi-cursive A.

Inv. no.: V 46744, MNIT.

Colour determination: slip along the inner wall of the vessel: Munsell 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; external slip: Munsell 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow; paste: Munsell 5YR 7/5 reddish yellow.

Text:

SECAT[---]

The preserved fragment comes from the wall of a ceramic vessel, probably a bowl, made of fine, smooth, reddish yellow coloured paste. Traces of the slip are still visible, partly on the outside, and almost entirely on the inside of the vessel. The writing was done *post cocturam*, almost perpendicularly to the horizontal ring traces left by the potter's wheel. The incision starts from the bottom to the top of the vessel.

The first sign visible on the here presented fragment is a little larger than 1 cm, measured in height, and it should be considered accidental. Another accidental line, occurred when tracing the middle part of the letter S, which is extended to the right, slightly cutting the letters E and C. This is due to the slip of the writing instrument. The letter S is rendered by angular loops, and the loop of C is also slightly broken to the left. The letter E is rendered by two parallel vertical bars, representing the cursive E, and A by oblique bars that bend slightly in the middle, having a central stem, parallel to the right lateral bar, between them. This rendering looks semi-cursive. The writing indicates that engraving has been difficult because of the resistance of the writing support.

Texts incised on vessels sometimes contain personal names, which does not seem to be the case here. Since we did not find a name Secat[us]?, we need to assume a different reading of the text.

A possible interpretation could refer to a form *secat[---]*, belonging to the verb *seco*, *secare*, *secui*, *sectum*, which means “to cut, scratch, amputate, divide, carve, decide, and so on”. The preserved letters could belong to many forms of the verb.⁸

⁷ Isac 2001, 90–91, no. 72; Isac 1997, 45 sqq.

⁸ In the active voice: the present indicative, third person, singular – *secat*, and the second person plural – *secatis*; the present imperative, second person, plural – *secate*; the future imperative, second and third persons singular – *secato*, and second person plural – *secatote*; the future infinitive – *secaturum*, *-am*, *-um* (*secaturos*, *-as*, *-a*) *esse*, and the future participle *secaturus*, *-a*, *-um* (*secaturi*, *-ae*, *-a*). The supine mode of the verb is *secatum*. In what the passive voice concerns, the following forms have the theme *secat-*: the present indicative, third person, singular – *secatur*; the perfect indicative – *secatus*, *-a*, *-um* *sum*, *es*, *est*, in the singular, and *secati*, *-ae*, *-a* *sumus*, *estis*, *sunt* in the plural; pluperfect indicative – *secatus*, *-a*, *-um* *eram*, *eras*, *erat*, in the singular, and *secati*, *-ae*, *-a* *eramus*, *eratis*, *erant* in the plural; future II indicative – *secatus*, *-a*, *-um* *ero*, *eris*, *erit*, in the

In any case, one should take into consideration also the possibility of interpreting the last letter as a cursive R, instead of T. Even so the letters preserved on the fragment from Gilău could fit to some of the forms of the same verb *secare*.

In the epigraphic attestations, the sequence of letters SECAT is registered in some inscriptions, always in forms of the word *secare*, mainly in *carmina epigraphica*, and especially in funerary texts.⁹ Literary sources are more generous in terms of number of attestations, and again the sequence of these letters can be noted in different forms of the same verb *secare*.¹⁰

However, it is difficult to explain the presence of this word on a ceramic vessel for common use. It seems anyway that there is only one row of text, at least on the preserved face of the bowl, suggesting that it was not very long.

Finally, we mention the possibility, quite limited, but not to be ignored, to see in this sequence a possible intention to write the word *secale*, -is,¹¹ meaning rye, a kind of cereal. The last letter, incompletely preserved, can raise different ideas of interpretation. Given the mix of capital letters and cursive ones, we do not know exactly what kind of writing was chosen for the last letter. If so, then the word would have been engraved in order to make reference to the content of the vessel. In any case, it is not used in epigraphic texts, and in literary ones is very rare, since it can be found exclusively in Gaius Plinius Secundus' work.¹²

singular, and *secati*, -ae, -a *erimus*, *eritis*, *erunt* in the plural; the perfect subjunctive – *secatus*, -a, -um *sim*, *sis*, *sit*, in the singular, and *secati*, -ae, -a *simus*, *sitis*, *sint* in the plural; the pluperfect subjunctive – *secatus*, -a, -um *essem*, *esses*, *esset*, in the singular, and *secati*, -ae, -a *essemus*, *essetis*, *essent* in the plural; the future imperative – *secator*, in the second and third persons singular; the perfect infinitive – *secatum*, -am, -um (-os, -as, -a) *esse*; supine – *secatu*; future infinitive – *secatum iri*; perfect participle – *secatus*, -a, -um (-i, -ae, -a). If the word inscribed on the fragment is *secare*, then it is difficult to decide which of the forms could be. In any case, among the forms presented above, some are rarely used even in literary texts, so it is hard to believe that they could have been inscribed on a bowl.

⁹ Vindolanda 337 = EDCS-39700574, Britannia: ... *non secatur* ...; IHC 74 = EDCS-74200232, Hispania Citerior: ... *in medio cursu stamina parca secat* ... (*carmen*, *titulus sepulchralis*); CIL VI 2305, Roma: *vicea pabular(is) / secatur*; CLE 1335, Roma: ... *colla secata* ...; CIL V 5049, Venetia et Histria: ... *pabula saepe sect[a]* ...; AE 2005, 1124, Germania Superior: ... *et illam requis / adsecet ut nusquam sana si[t] / quomodo Galli se secarunt / sic ea(m?) velis nec secet* ... (*defixio*); CIL VI 30112 = CLE 543, Roma: ... *medici male membra secarunt* ...; CIL VI 37337 = CLE 2140, Roma: ... *mors subita / eripuit anima inno/centissima quem / medici secarunt / et occiderunt* ..., etc.

¹⁰ The classical Latin literature records the use of both the simple form of *secare* and its derivatives, created with the help of prepositions: *circumsecare*, *desecare*, *dissecare*, *exsecare*, *insecare*, *persecare*, *resecare*, *subsecare*, in the works of the authors Cato, Plautus, Catullus, Cicero, Varro, Vergilius, Celsus, Columella, Horatius, Lucanus, Manilius, Ovidius, Plinius Secundus, Quintilianus, Seneca, Valerius Flaccus, Iuvenalis, Martialis etc.

¹¹ See OLD, s.v. *secale*, and also its synonymous, s.v. *asia*.

¹² Plin. *HN*, 1.18a.54: *secale sive asia*; 18.140.5: ... *quod secale ac farrago appellatur, occari tantum desiderat* ...; 18.141.1: ... *secale Taurini sub Alpibus asiam vocant*

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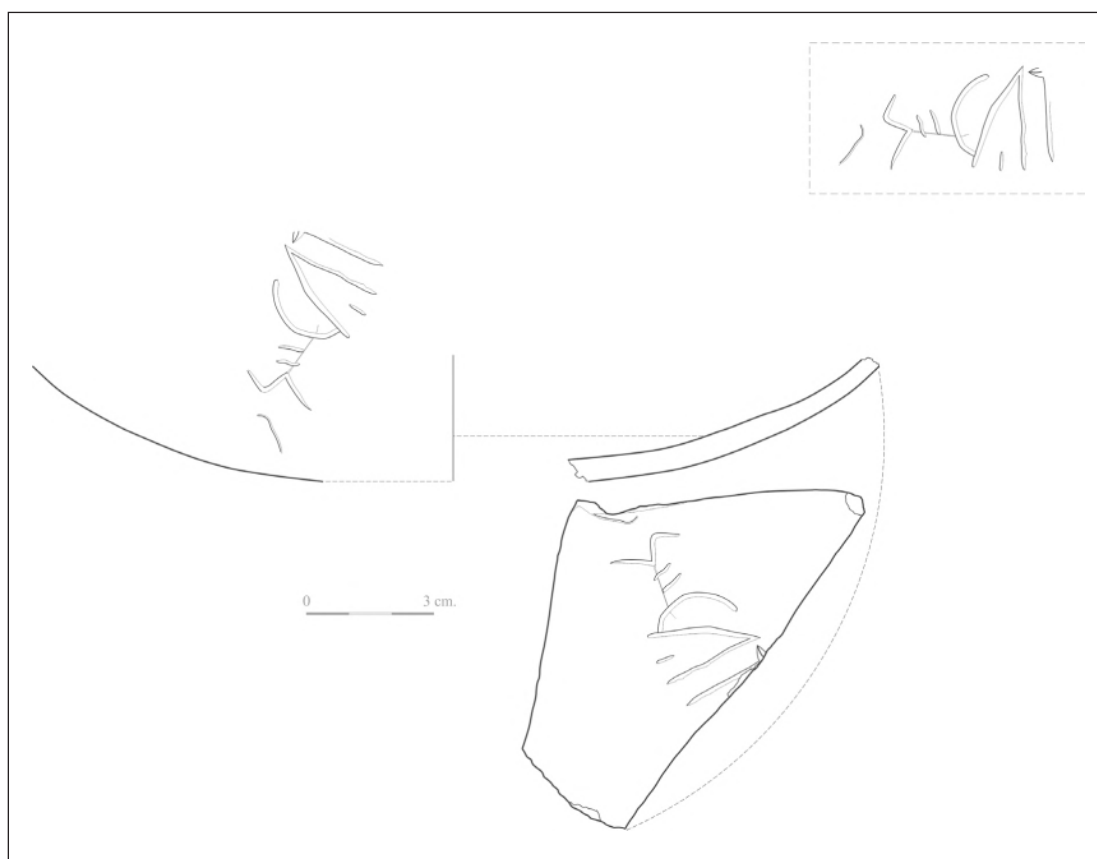
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Pl. I. 1. Ceramic fragment with graffito from the auxiliary fort of Gilău (photo by S. Odenie);
2. Detail of the graffito (photo by S. Odenie).



Pl. II. Drawing of the ceramic fragment (A. Bâlc).

SAXES DISCOVERED IN THE AVAR GRAVES FROM TRANSYLVANIA AND THE ROMANIAN BANAT

CĂLIN COSMA

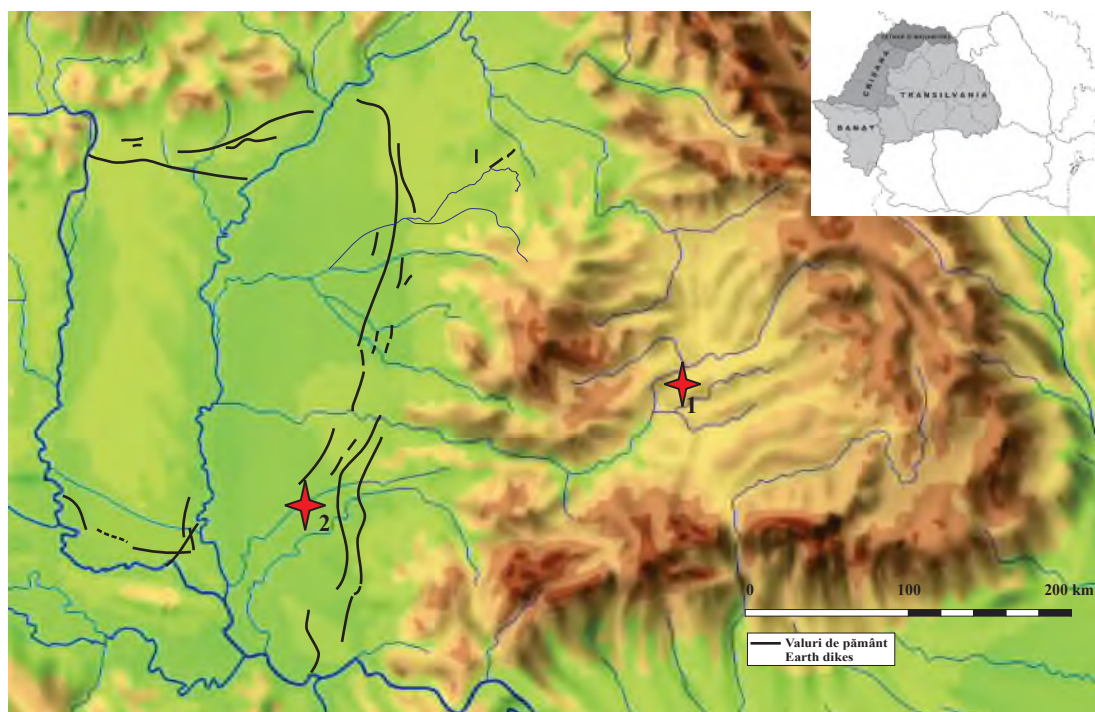
Abstract: The objects were discovered one in the cemetery at Șpălnaca – Șugud (Transylvania) and the other at Timișoara – Modoș Bridge (Romanian Banat) (Map 1). Both artefacts have been identified in the professional papers as daggers, when, in fact, they are saxes. Both saxes have been found inside graves of Avar men. The grave from Șpălnaca – Șugud which contained the sax is dated from the end of the Middle Avar period (680–710/720), whereas the other from Timișoara – Modoș Bridge is dated from the second part of the Late Avar period (760–810/830). The two saxes can be recognized as the first (I) Csiky, defined for the finds discovered in the Avar cemeteries from the Carpathian basin. The occurrence of the two saxes in the Avar graves from the Transylvanian plateau and the Romanian Banat widens the geographic area where the saxes are known to have been used by the Avars, including the eastern Carpathian basin. However, they are only a few compared to the total number of Avar graves from Western Romania, thus indicating that the sax wasn't a weapon employed on a large scale by the Avar warriors that entered this area. The saxes from Șpălnaca – Șugud and Timișoara – Modoș Bridge were probably used as weapons. At the same time, it is possible that they were only ceremonial weapons.

Keywords: Transylvania; Avars; graves; weapons; ceremonial weapons.

Rezumat: Obiectele au fost descoperite în cimitirul de la Șpălnaca – Șugud (Transilvania), respectiv la Timișoara – Podul Modoș (Banatul românesc) (Harta 1). Ambele artefacte au fost identificate în literatura de specialitate ca fiind pumnale, când, de fapt, ele sunt sax-uri. Cele două piese provin din morminte avare aparținând unor bărbați. Mormântul de la Șpălnaca – Șugud în care s-a descoperit un sax datează din perioada avară mijlocie (680–710/720), în timp ce cealaltă piesă descoperită la Timișoara – Podul Modoș se datează în a doua jumătate a perioadei avare târzii (760–810/830). Cele două sax-uri pot fi recunoscute ca primul tip Csiky (I), definit pentru piesele descoperite în cimitirele avare din Bazinul Carpatic. Ocurența celor două sax-uri în morminte avare din Depresiunea Transilvaniei și Banatul românesc mărgesc aria geografică în care sax-urile au fost cunoscute ca fiind utilizate de avari, incluzând și estul Bazinului Carpatic. Totuși, sunt doar câteva piese, în comparație cu totalul numărului mormintelor avare din vestul României, ceea ce indică faptul că sax-ul nu a fost o armă folosită pe scară largă de avarii care au pătruns în această zonă. Sax-urile de la Șpălnaca – Șugud erau probabil utilizate ca arme. Totodată, este posibil ca ele să fi fost doar arme de paradă.

Cuvinte cheie: Transilvania; avari; morminte; arme; arme de paradă.

The following lines discuss two objects discovered in two Avar graves from two different cemeteries, one situated in Transylvania and the other in the Romanian Banat. They were found in the cemeteries at Șpălnaca – Șugud (Transylvania) and respectively Timișoara – Modoș Bridge (Romanian Banat) (Map 1). The artefacts have been previously wrongly presented in the specialized studies as daggers. It will emerge from the following that in fact they should be identified as saxes.



Map 1. Cemeteries from the 7th–8th centuries in which the saxes were discovered: 1. Șpălnaca – Șugud; 2. Timișoara – Podul Mодоș.

Description of the finds

Șpălnaca – Șugud, Alba County (Transylvania)

Iron sax with traces of wood from the scabbard (Pl. I/1). It was found inside the grave of an Avar warrior from the Gepid-Avar cemetery at Șpălnaca – Șugud (Grave no. 19). It was placed next to the right knee of the deceased. The same grave contained one spearhead, two stirrups, one bit, one buckle and one strike-a-light, all made of iron.

The blade of the sax is straight and single-edged. Towards the end of the blade, the cutting edge tapers to a pointed tip. At the other end, the blade is separated from the hilt by a circular ring. The hilt has a rectangular cross-section and ends in a crescent pommel with a central rivet.

Dimensions of the find: $L_{\text{total}} = 23.5$ cm; $L_{\text{blade}} = 18.4$ cm; $W_{\text{blade}} = 1.8$ cm; $L_{\text{hilt}} = 5.2$ cm; $W_{\text{hilt}} = 1.2$ cm. MNUAI, inv. no. F. 10240.

Chronology of the find: it was found in a grave that dates from the end of the Middle Avar period (680–710/720).

Bibliographical references: mentioned in Cosma 2017, 76/M. 19/2, Pl. 41/7.¹

¹ Due to a serious misidentification, the artefact is signaled in Cosma 2017, 76/M. 19/2, Pl. 41/7 as dagger. In this paper I wish to correct the error and prove that the find is in fact a sax.

Timișoara – Mодоș Bridge

Iron sax with traces of wood from the scabbard (Pl. I/2). It was found inside an Avar grave from the cemetery at Timișoara – Mодоș Bridge (Grave no. 4). It was placed next to the right femur. The grave contained other costume accessories (iron and bronze buckles, bronze appliqués and pendants) as well.

The blade of the sax is straight and single-edged. The width of the blade is the same until near the end, where the cutting edge and the back taper to a pointed tip. The scabbard has an iron rivet attached at the hilt. The hilt has a rectangular cross-section. The end where the pommel is usually attached was not preserved.

Dimensions of the find: $L_{\text{total}} = 23 \text{ cm}$; $L_{\text{blade}} = 20.2 \text{ cm}$; $W_{\text{blade}} = 2 \text{ cm}$; $L_{\text{preserved hilt}} = 2.3 \text{ cm}$; $W_{\text{hilt}} = 1.7 \text{ cm}$. MNaB.

Chronology of the find: it was found in a grave that dates from the second half of the Late Avar period (760–810/830).

Bibliographical references: Bejan 1983, 489, 491, Fig. 1/14; Mare 1998, 292, Pl. IX/14; Mare 2004, 126, Pl. XLII/19 (all of these papers describe the find as dagger).

Typological observations

The morphology of the blade indicates that the two finds above described (Pl. I) are not what the previous publications suggest, namely daggers. The dagger has a completely different shape compared to the two artefacts. It is a double-edged white weapon whose blade has convergent edges, which begin to taper just after the hilt, thus forming a long and very sharp tip.²

At the same time, the length of the artefacts (23–23.5 cm) distinguishes them from the usual knives, already known in numerous Avar graves from the Avar Khaganate, which are no longer than 15–16/17 cm.³

The artefacts from Șpălnaca – Șugud and Timișoara – Mодоș Bridge are by both the dimensions and shape of the blade comparable with the weapons defined as saxes. The sax is a weapon with a straight single-edged blade, 20 to 45/60 cm long.⁴ This type of weapon was used during the Early Middle Ages preponderantly by the Germanic populations from Western Europe, the area from where the sax originates.⁵ The Avar warriors adopted the saxes after their people settled in Pannonia.⁶

The blade length, width, and shape of the saxes discovered both at the Germanic sites from Western Europe and in the Avar cemeteries from the Carpathian basin have been widely discussed by a series of researchers, who elaborated a typology based on dimensions

² Pinter 2007, 18.

³ See for example: Horedt 1958, 70; Tomka 1971, 27–75; Winkler et alii 1977, 273; Sós, Salamon 1995, 56–58; Balogh 2016, 261–264.

⁴ See for example: Szameit 1987, 164–165; Zábojník 1978, 193–195; Wernard 1998, 747–787; Stadler 2005, 150; Pinter 2007, 19–20; Csiky 2009, 139–141; Csiky 2012, 373–376.

⁵ See for example: Szameit 1987, 164–165; Zábojník 1978, 193–195; Wernard 1998, 747–787; Stadler 2005, 150; Pinter 2007, 19–20; Csiky 2009, 139–141; Csiky 2012, 373–376; Zábojník 2015, 150–151.

⁶ See for example: Zábojník 1978, 193–195; Csiky 2009, 136–151; Csiky 2012, 371–393; Szőke 2002, 65–87.

and morphology.⁷ Compared to the saxes already published by the specialized studies from Europe, the length and shape of the two weapons from Șpălnaca – Șugud and Timișoara – Mодоș Bridge have no particularities that could distinguish them as a new type.

Amongst the finds discovered in the Avar cemeteries from the Carpathian basin, the sax from Șpălnaca – Șugud (Pl. I/1) can be recognized as the first (I) Csiki type.⁸ The type is characterized by a 20 cm, minus or plus 2–3 cm, long blade. G. Csiky notes that saxes of this type occur on the right side of the Danube in the graves suggesting connexions with the Merovingians.⁹ The same researcher mentions the presence of such weapons in the Gepid environment in Transylvania, exemplified by the Germanic grave from the cemetery at Noșlac.¹⁰

The sax from Șpălnaca- Șugud was placed in one of the three graves identified in the Gepid-Avar cemetery at the site as belonging to Avars.¹¹ The saxes of Csiky's first type are associated especially with graves of adult males, but teenagers as well.¹² Likewise, the deceased buried in the Grave no. 19 at Șpălnaca – Șugud was an adult.

In the funerary complexes on the right side of the Danube, the sax is accompanied by the sword, as a secondary weapon.¹³ At Șpălnaca – Șugud, on the other hand, the sax was found together with a spearhead and harness elements¹⁴. This is the first distinguishing trait of the find from Șpălnaca – Șugud compared with the right side of the Danube.

A second difference refers to the chronology. Whereas G. Csiky dates the saxes discovered on the right side of the Danube exclusively to the first half of the Early Avar time,¹⁵ the stirrups found in the same grave as the sax from Șpălnaca – Șugud¹⁶ date towards the end of the Middle Avar and during the following period.¹⁷ The younger date of the sax from Șpălnaca – Șugud, indicated by the chronology of the stirrups, could be explained in the following manner. The Gepid community at Șpălnaca – Șugud continued to exist until towards the end of the 7th century when the Avar warriors began to use the stirrups with a flat, inward bent tread. During that time, the three Avar warriors arrived at Șpălnaca and were subsequently buried along the Gepid deceased at the site named by the local people today Șugud. It is likely that the Avar warrior (Grave 19) adopted the sax after he arrived in Transylvania and lived with the Gepid community at Șpălnaca – Șugud.

The length of the blade and the morphology of the sax from Timișoara – Mодоș Bridge illustrate the characteristics of the same Csiky I type defined for the saxes discovered in the Avar cemeteries from the Carpathian basin.¹⁸ In the grave no. 4 from Timișoara – Mодоș Bridge, which contained the above-discussed sax, there were no weapons, only

⁷ See for example: Wernard 1998, 748–784; Csiky 2009, 139–142; Csiki 2012, 371–374.

⁸ Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

⁹ Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

¹⁰ Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

¹¹ Cosma 2017, 75–76, Pl. 41.

¹² Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

¹³ Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

¹⁴ Cosma 2015, 76–77.

¹⁵ Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

¹⁶ Cosma 2015, 77, Pl. 41/1–2.

¹⁷ On the chronology of the type of stirrup discovered at Șpălnaca – Șugud see: Čilinská 1966, 190, 192, Fig. 22/IV/7; Kiss 1996, 243; Cosma 2002, 143, 10.1.2.

¹⁸ Csiky 2009, 142; Csiky 2012, 377.

costume items (buckles and appliqués), and household objects.¹⁹ Altogether, the funerary inventory of Grave no. 4 at Timișoara – Modoș Bridge dates from the Late Avar period.²⁰

Remarks on the geographic context of the saxes

Summing up, there are only two saxes in the entire western part of Romania occupied by the Avars during the 7th–8th centuries²¹ (Map 1). The two weapons discovered at Șpălnaca – Șugud (Transylvania) and Timișoara – Modoș Bridge (Romanian Banat) have almost no significance for a statistic on the number or presence of this type of weapons in the Avar cemeteries from the geographical area mentioned, particularly when compared with the situation of the finds from the Avar Khaganate.

G. Csiky counts a total number of 68 saxes from 44 archaeological sites on the territory of the Avar Khaganate from the Carpathian basin.²² The list is completed by J. Zábajník.²³ Regardless of type, the saxes were discovered in Avar cemeteries situated in the Pannonian plain, on the right side of Tisa, and especially on the right side of the Danube and in Southern Slovakia.²⁴ The discoveries from Șpălnaca – Șugud and Timișoara – Modoș Bridge aren't included in any of the lists. However, their absence from the two lists is understandable, considering that at the time of their elaboration the sax from the Avar warrior grave (no. 19) from Șpălnaca – Șugud was unpublished and the other from Timișoara – Modoș Bridge was misidentified in publications.

Final remarks

The occurrence of the two saxes in the Avar graves from the Transylvanian plateau and the Romanian Banat widens the geographic area where the saxes are known to have been used by the Avars, including the eastern part of the Carpathian basin. However, they are only a few compared to the total number of Avar graves from Western Romania, thus indicating that the sax wasn't a weapon used on a large scale by the Avar warriors that entered North-Western Romania, Transylvania and the Romanian Banat.

The deceased warrior probably used the sax from Șpălnaca – Șugud as a weapon. At the same time, it is possible that the sax was only a ceremonial weapon, fixed to the belt with a chain that was attached to the sax by the rivet preserved at the end of the hilt.

At Timișoara – Modoș Bridge, the deceased buried with the sax wasn't a warrior, but he was, according to the funerary furniture, part of the Avar political elite. In this case, it can be supposed that the sax was a ceremonial weapon. Just as in the case of the sax from Șpălnaca – Șugud, the weapon was attached to the belt with a chain, a fact evidenced by the rivet preserved on the wooden scabbard.

¹⁹ Bejan 1983, 489, 491; Mare 1998, 292; Mare 2004, 126–127.

²⁰ Bejan 1983, 489, 491; Mare 1998, 292; Mare 2004, 126–127; Cosma et alii 2013, 87–89.

²¹ Cosma 2015, 268–271; Cosma 2015, 268–271; Cosma 2017.

²² Csiky 2009, 136; Csiky 2012, 371–372.

²³ Zábajník 2015, 152–157.

²⁴ Csiky 2012, 377–384, Abb. 5–7; Zábajník 2015, 150–151, Karte 1.

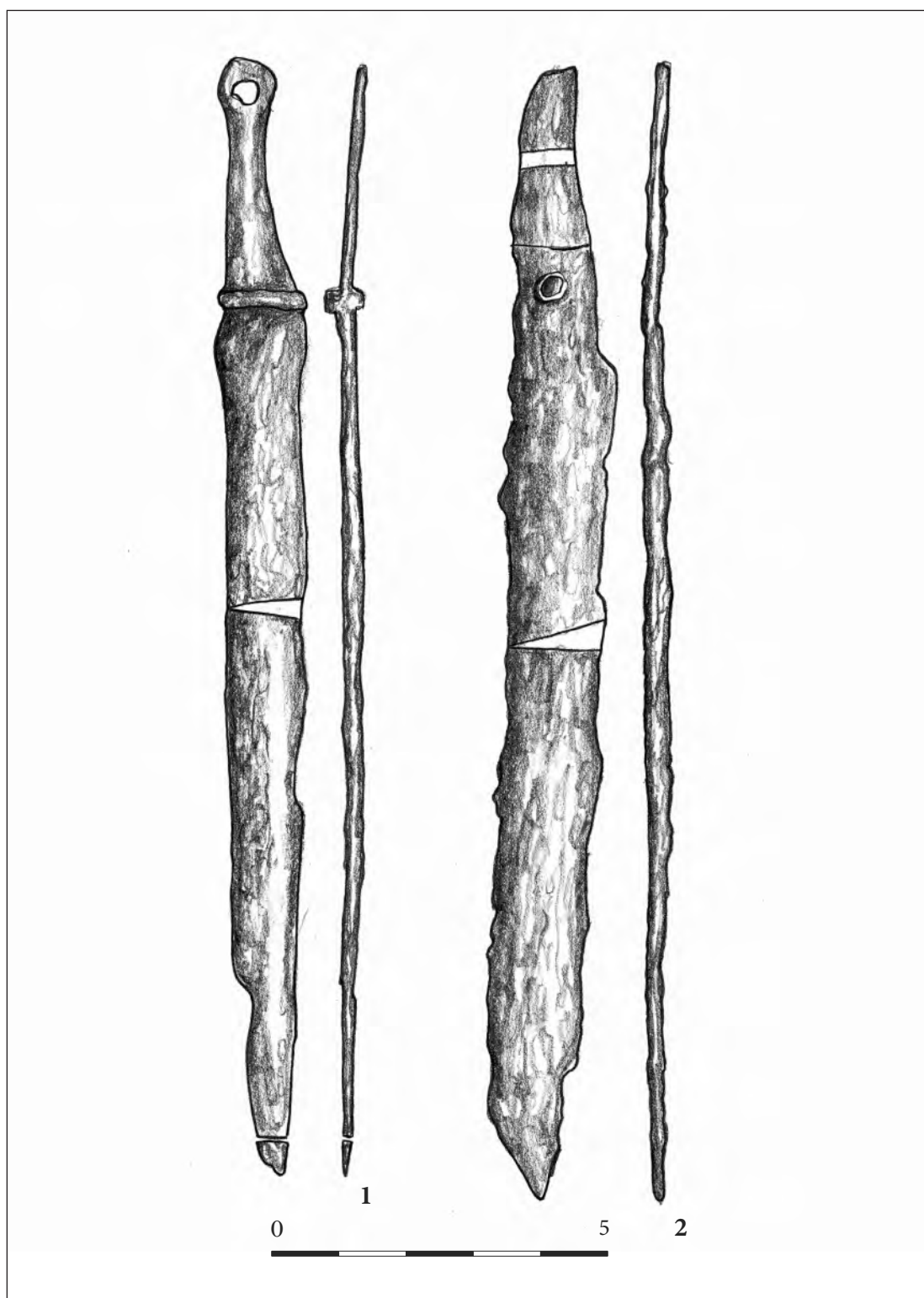
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REVIEWS

Stefanie HOSS (ed.), *Latrinae. Roman toilets in the Northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 31, 2018, 154 p. ISBN 978 1 78491 725 8.

The book edited by S. Hoss deals with an uncommon subject, namely Roman era toilets. The matter is of interest for the social history of the Roman provinces, as it reveals otherwise obscured aspects of everyday life, regarding habits and mentalities. The contributions are mainly based on talks given at a conference in Radbound, in May 2009, on toilets of the Northwestern province.

The volume hosts 16 articles, plus the editor's introduction, structured into five parts: the 1st part comes as contextualization, presenting toilets from the Mediterranean area, the 2nd part presents channel toilets, the 3rd part, cesspit toilets, the 4th part focuses on 'portable' toilets (chamber pots) and the last article deals with a matter of terminology, focusing on written sources (unlike the rest of the book, where archaeological data holds predominance).

The first part consists of G. Jansen's article on the sewers and cesspits of Pompeii (p. 5–18). Gemma Jansen is an authority of the field, being the first one who research the topic of Roman toilets in details. In the present article, she tries to establish if Romans from the Mediterranean area preferred sewers or cesspits. During the modern era, people got to the conclusion that sewers are more hygienic than cesspits, due to the discovery of bacteria and their role in contracting disease which occurred in the 19th century. Obviously, Romans were not aware of these pathogen factors and in Pompeii, each private house hosted a cesspit toilet, with the basin of differing depths and shapes. Most of the times the toilets were placed in the kitchen. But the choice between sewers and cesspits was definitely dictated, first of all, by environment factors. Thus, whereas in Pompeii the porous subsoil and sloping streets made cesspits manageable and with little effort rainwater and wastewater could be directed out of the city, in Ostia, situated in the Tiber Delta, with a high level of ground water, sewers were preferred from the beginnings of the city. The chapter ends with an exhaustive catalogue of the cesspits discovered in Pompeii.

The second part of the book presents channel toilets and sewers from various locations of the Northwestern provinces. D. Breeze documents the sewage latrine annexed to the bathhouse of the fort of Bearsden (p. 19–22). Interestingly, the food remains from the sewage were analysed and they pointed towards a strongly vegetarian diet, against common believes. N. Zielsing writes about an interesting installation coming from Xanten (p. 23–27), which presented an overflow with a flushing mechanism. The toilet, with approximatively 70 seats, was as well connected to the public bathhouse of the *colonia*. Also adjoined to bathing complexes, but this time to the thermal baths of Aachen, are three latrines described by A. Schaub (p. 29–34); here, plaster was discovered, indicating that the walls were painted polychromatic. Another situation comes from the *vicus* of Bonn and is researched by J.-N. Andrikopoulou, M. Fiedler and C. Höpken (p. 35–41). A latrine shaft with wooden lining – quite rare, only partial analogies were found in other places of the German world – was discovered on the plot of a strip-house. When abandoned, vessels

were thrown in, and as we are dealing with whole, fine wares, it can be assumed that the deposit was the result of an intentional gesture. These pots date the latrine into the 2nd – mid 3rd century. While this was a private instalment, a public toilet from the same city is published by G. White (p. 43–46). Operating during the 2nd half of the 2nd century, this was an open facility, situated at the junction of two streets and at the ending of the bathhouse building. S. Hoss brings forth a case-study from the *vicus* of Sumelocenna (p. 47–54), where a public toilet was placed on the plot between strip houses, sitting on top of the main sewer of the city, with convenient entrance from the street. The building accommodated 35–54 seats and was decorated with columns, wall paintings and a stone basin. A very comprehensive and useful study is signed by M. Dodt and deals with an overview of the latrines connected to bathhouses in Germania Inferior (p. 55–75). He inventories four latrines adjoined to public bathhouses and seven to private baths within *villae rusticate*. No channel latrines were identified in military environments, as they weren't necessarily connected to the baths in forts and camps (such are the cases of Oberaden and Nijmegen). The author remarks that all have flushing channels, most fed by wastewater from the pools and, in order to avoid smells, there was no direct access from the *frigidarium*, but from a corridor or the *apodyterium*. The contribution details on each latrine, presenting their exhaustive archaeological documentation.

The third section of the book focuses on case-studies of cesspit toilets identified in the area of interest. E. N. A. Heirbaut documents the cesspits of Oppidum Batavorum and Ulpia Noviomagus (p. 77–88); here, toilets were generally placed between plots and may have been used by two households. While the Tiberian period was marked by cesspits indoor, they were covered and voided at the beginning of the Claudian era, when toilets moved outside. After the Batavian revolt, the centre of the habitation shifts west, to Ulpia Noviomagus, but toilets remained outside, built on the same structure and principles as in Oppidum Batavorum. In a different area of the Empire, namely in Arlon, D. Henrotay (p. 89–94) documents a series of private toilets, each serving one house from a 3rd century quarter. M. Dodt details on the contents of a latrine near St. Kolumba in Cologne (p. 95–101), where a channel system coexisted with cesspit latrines. One of them, apparently abandoned around 100 AD, had its filling analysed, revealing *terra sigillata* bowls, as well as some remarkable pigment balls most probably used as cloths dye. V. Jauch presents the latrine pits from the *vicus* of Vitodurum (p. 103–118), settlement functional up to the early medieval period. It seems that here there was a standard location for latrines (in a line in the backyard, about 26–30 m behind the residential buildings) and they had wooden seats, roofs and flushing systems. The filling was analysed as well and seeds of food plants (grain, legumes, vegetables, nuts, fruits), pottery, bones and other refusal materials were discovered. A very special case comes from Carnuntum and is documented by B. Petznek (p. 119–126). The filling of a latrine cesspit, used for a short time, revealed 240 lead commercial tags; these were basically price tags, containing the name of the owner, name of commodity – clothes, fulling, dyeing, etc. – and price, thus very important documents for the economic history of the area.

The fourth section of the volume comprises two studies on chamber pots. The first, signed by B. Petznek, is an overview of this type of artefacts (p. 127–135). They were generally large pottery vessels of oval shape, not always correctly identified as chamber

pots in the Danubian provinces, but with analogies in Germania, Gallia, Pannonia, Italy. They mainly come from civilian settlements, as communal latrines were more frequent in military encampments. Typologically, two primary types of vessels are attested: the *trulla*, not very deep, with a long handle, and the *lasanum*, a large, high bowl, of different shapes and sizes. The article ends with a very useful map with the discoveries distribution and an appendices listing all chamber pots discovered in the Roman provinces. B. Bienert's article presents the case-study of a 'toilet bowl' from Speicher (p. 137–142). The artefact comes from a private collection and was dated, in the context of the said collection, during the 4th–5th century AD. It is a *lasanum* and it might have been placed under a perforated chair – *sella pertusa*. Only recently it has been pinpointed, based on analogies, as a chamber pot and will be displayed in the local museum of Speicher.

The last part of the book presents itself in the form of K. Juntunen's contribution (p. 143–151) on the meaning of *stercus* in Roman military papyri. The debate around the term concerned its exact significance, of either dung or human faeces. Analysing the literary and epigraphic evidence (presented in whole in the appendices of the article), the author demonstrates that the term seems to have explicit value as waste in general, not necessarily faeces, but it never denominated the container where waste was deposited.

Concluding, the current book is a valuable contribution, adding to a less researched aspect of life in the Roman Northwestern provinces. Also worth mentioning is the fact that all articles have images, plans, maps, reconstructions, pictures and drawings of the complexes and artefacts, which makes them very easy to use and reference. Focusing on a niched matter, all information available in the volume, as well as the general picture it offers, are welcomed contributions, with the potential of being relevant in future researches.

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Ioan Carol Opriș, Alexandru Rațiu, *Capidava II. Building C1 – Contributions to the history of annona militaris in the 6th century. With contributions by Andrei Gândilă, Tomasz Ważny, Peter I. Kuniholm, Charlotte L. Pearson, Adriana Rizzo and Choi Mak*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2017, 207 p., ISBN 978–606–543–912–2.

It has been felt during the last decades that the Romanian historical and archaeological literature was in need of comprehensive studies and monographs capable of bringing together information from different aspects of material culture, epigraphy and general chronology, the result of more than a few campaigns in a single archaeological site. This interconnection should be able to provide more thorough observations and premises, allowing for a deeper understanding of, for example, a late Roman settlement. Such is the case of the study we aim to review.

Published in the series of the *LIMES* National Research Project, this book presents a complex study which begins with a seemingly ordinary excavated building, but it is of particular interest when describing the process of trying to establish its purpose and chronology, using both historical and interdisciplinary methods and tools. In the authors' own words: "...although during early excavations Building C1 did not raise any extraordinary expectations, once the research was completed, along with several archaeological and topographical surveys, this edifice assumes a clear paradigmatic value" (p. 22). Beyond the usual description of the digging methods, planimetrics and architectural aspects, the drawing and presentation of the artifacts uncovered, this study insists on using all the means at its disposal, including analysis of preserved wooden beam fragments and residual contents of amphorae. All of this in order to offer an "x-ray" of an urban settlement from the Danube frontier of the province of *Scythia*.

Written in English, this book can be seen as having a twofold structure. The first part is composed of chapters 1–5, starting with an Introduction, aiming to bring the reader up to speed regarding the location, history and research done until the present at *Capidava*, a Roman fortification which withstood six centuries of peace and conflict at the bend of the Danube, from the reign of emperor Trajan to the end of the Heraclian dynasty. After that there was a short comeback during the Middle Byzantine period when a group of *stratiotai* defenders are attested archaeologically, albeit in a much smaller enclosure than the now visible fortification. Ever since its discovery, or better yet, rediscovery in 1924 by Grigore Florescu, the area has been researched almost uninterrupted, and is now under the scientific care of one of the authors, prof. I. C. Opriș.

The second chapter is entirely dedicated to Building C1, focusing on a particular 3-roomed building inside the fortification that seems to have had a role in the Roman economic mechanism of *annona militaris*, organizing and supervising the supply of local soldiers with wine and/or olive oil. This deduction came after realizing that Building C1 is aligned with the *horreum* situated to the south-west, built in the same period, and also due

to several *dolia* and late Roman amphorae types known to have been used exclusively in supplying the army, such as LRA 1, LRA 2 and Kuzmanov XVI.

Chapter III explains the *modus operandi* when determining the chronological period in which the building was used, in different stages. Although not beyond reasonable doubt when it comes to the building of this small edifice, it functioned between the 5th and 6th centuries AD, based on the coins and ceramics discovered. Furthermore, burnt wood samples were subjected to tree-ring analysis, indicating 577 AD as earliest *terminus post quem*. The authors consider this data as relevant proof to attacks reported by Theopylact Simocatta and John of Ephesus in the final quarter of the 6th century, when several Roman fortifications near the Danube were severely damaged.

The forth chapter contains a functional analysis of Building C1, nuancing the commercial role stated previously. After analyzing the entire assemblage included in the catalogue, the authors reach a conclusion based on analogies at both *Histria* and *Tropaeum Traiani*. Thus, the small edifice represents a retail shop that provided both luxury (such as the African Red Slip wares or LRA 4 Gaza wine amphorae) and *annona* products, featured a warp weighted loom and a scale tray used for weighting coin, most likely.

Chapter V represents the catalogue of discovered objects, featuring 184 items divided in several categories: structural remains/building materials, pottery, lamps, glass objects, bronze vessels, military equipment fragments, personal items, household utensils, tools and implements, miscellanea, epigraphic finds and finally the pottery from the medieval context. The catalogue looks carefully done, as explicit as possible, with illustrations (drawings and grayscale photographs) after each category and where it was possible, a map with the location of each object discovered inside each of the rooms of Building C1. The part discussing ceramics is especially lengthy and carefully done, not surprising considering that I. C. Opriș also published more than a decade ago his study on late Roman and early Byzantine ceramics from *Capidava*.

The second part of this study comprises three annexes or individual studies on very specific topics that helped shape the conclusions of this book. The first annex, written by A. Gândilă, is an analysis of the 6th century hoard discovered in 2008–2009, on the doorstep between Rooms I and III of Building C1. Found alongside amphorae fragments and lamps, under debris and burnt remains of a wooden container, were 51 copper coins that “reflect the nature of the monetary economy on the Lower Danube frontier, as well as wider hoarding patterns in the Balkans” (p. 161).

Annex no. 2, authored by T. Ważny, P. I. Kuniholm and C. L. Pearson, is a dendrochronology study made on several wood samples representing burnt structural timbers of a collapsed roof, one of them being a complete joist, a very rare find. These had been taken from the profile along wall Z6 inside Room III of Building C1. By examining the charcoal pieces it was determined that the construction date suggested is around 582 AD, similar to what the hoard analysis revealed. Also, the recovery of several well preserved timber fragments is crucial for the general knowledge of Early Byzantine history and dendrochronology, serving as base data for comparison.

The final annex is a short, albeit complex analysis of an organic sample taken from the inside walls of a wine amphora discovered in Room III. This sample of a black pitch-like substance were subjected to Fourier transform infrared micro-spectroscopy (micro-FTIR)

and gas chromatography-mass spectrometry (GC-MS) techniques (p. 183), in order to identify the substance and to better understand the chemical components. Thus, it was discovered that the substance was a tar from the wood of the *Pinaceae* family. Similar pitch compositions were reported in waterproofing/caulking materials on ships and in Roman amphorae from Monte Poro (p. 187).

Apart from the occasional typing error and the unfortunate decision to show grayscale pictures of objects, especially regarding ceramics, the book is a solid example of good use of interdisciplinary research methods that can be used effectively in an archaeology study when you have too many questions, but only a handful of them are answerable by “traditional” history methodology.

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Elena CALIRI, *Praecellentissimus rex. Odoacre tra storia e storiografia*, Pelorias 25, Arbor Sapientiae Editore – Roma, Messina 2017, 193 p., ISBN 978–88–940218–8–2.

Elena Caliri's book dedicated to the barbarian king Odoacer is a classical historical reconstruction work starting from the analysis of the literary sources in context. Odoacer's life is approached chronologically, along its various stages, according to how he features in the main or secondary written sources.

The first chapter, *L'irreversibile crisi dell'istituzione imperiale*, deals with the premises of the historical investigation into Odoacer's person and rule. The method that the author employs in this initial chapter stands throughout the book. The analysis *per se* is two-fold, as the subtitle states: on the one hand Caliri presents the historical events in their historiographic context, enumerating the multitude of opinions published over time by modern authors regarding debatable issues, while on the other hand she pays special attention to the sources that she analyzes comparatively, with philological rigor.

In this part of the book the author thus presents the reigns of the emperors who ruled between the death of Valentinian III (455 AD) and the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476 AD. Petronius Maximus, Avitus, Maiorianus, Libius Severus, Anthemius Procopius, and Julius Nepos belong to a long line of *patricii* and *magistri militum* elevated to the imperial purple (acknowledged or not in the East) through the political games of barbarian leaders such as Ricimer and Genseric. A certain *patricius* Orestes united around him those unhappy with Julius Nepos and attributed the purple to his own son, Romulus Augustulus. Odoacer arrived in Italy in this political and administrative chaos, with ephemeral emperors alternating with periods of throne vacancy.

In the second chapter, *Odoacre prima del 476*, by analyzing the sources regarding the Danubian area, Caliri attempts to clarify the origin of this character who became king of Italy in front of a heterogeneous coalition of Danubian barbarians. Little is known on Odoacer / Odovacar's family, but he was certainly the son of Hun nobleman Edecon (Edeco), part of Attila's entourage until the leader's death. Odoacer's brother Onoulf (Onoulphus) became leader of the Scirii, then *magister militum per Illyricum* and subsequently, in 488, led Odoacer's expedition against the Rugii. Odoacer's tribal origin is thus uncertain: he was considered a Hun because he was Edecon's son and because of his name, but other sources record the fact that he was a Scirian, a Rugian, a Turcilingian, or a Goth. The same situation can be encountered in the case of the nobleman buried in Apahida I grave (Cluj County), whose golden ring features the name Omaharus. Modern historians thought him first an Ostrogoth, then a Gepid, an Alan, and a Scirian, in the absence of historical sources making reference to his origin or that of the Barbarians which he led in central Transylvania. His name, Omaharus, has been interpreted as being of Sarmatian origin.

Odoacer reappears in a famous episode, meeting in Noricum Ripensis Severinus, a Roman nobleman who was subsequently sanctified. Euggipius' *Vita Sancti Severini* (7. 197–198) records how on his road to Italy Odoacer took a detour in order to meet the holy man. A brief description pictures a barbarian dressed in furs (*vilissimo...habitu, ...vilissimis*

nunc pellibus copertus), so tall (*statura procerus*) that he had to bow to enter the holy man's cell. The source mentions two of Severinus' prophecies regarding the royal future of the young barbarian (*Vita* 7. 198; 32.2, 262).

In the third chapter, *Il rovesciamento di Oreste*, the author analyzes the events of 476 AD and the beginnings of Odoacer's adventure in Italy. She briefly mirrors the Western perspective captured by the *Consularia Italica* (a series of chronographs such as *Fasti Vindobonenses*, *Continuatio Havniensis Prosperi*, and *Excerpta Valesiana Pars Posterior*) and the Eastern perspective presented by the chronicle of Marcellinus *comes*. In all of these sources Odoacer features as a good manager, diplomatic in his relations with the peninsular aristocracy and the Eastern imperial court, and a skilled military man (*Auct. Havn, Ordo Prior a. 476: ...regem creant nomine Odoacrem...hominem et aetate et sapientia gravem et bellicis rebus instructum*).

Chapter four details the data regarding the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, as they are included in the *Excerpta Valesiana Pars Posterior* or *Theodoricianiana*. These texts narrate how, after Orestes was killed, Odoacer spared Romulus Augustulus and allowed him to live in Campania, granting him a sum of 6000 solidi (*Anon. Val. II. 38*). There are several possible explanations for this, but the author interestingly settles upon the following solution: according to Germanic criminal law, the 6000 solidi compensation that Odoacer payed Romulus Augustulus was a *weregeldum*, payment for the blood spilled in killing Orestes and Paulus. Procopius' testimony (Chapter 5) attributes Odoacer's choice to Orestes' rejection of the demands of the barbarian militias, namely one third of Italy's lands. They thus elected one among them, namely Odoacer, who satisfied this demand (*Proc. Goth. 1, 1, 4–8, 2, 4–5*). Victor Vitensis' work focusing on the prosecutions in Vandal Africa narrates that after Valentinian's death Genseric granted Odoacer Sicily *tributario iure* through a treatise (*Vict. Vit. 1, 14, 104*). Caliri presents the different ways in which this paragraph can be interpreted, detailing the argument according to which the Vandals, as *domini*, preserved a kind of virtual «sovereignty» over Sicily and that according to it Odoacer should have payed *tributum*, part of the income obtained by the exploitation of the island's lands.

Caliri analyzes Odoacer's inner and outer policy after 480 on the basis of scattered pieces of information regarding the conquest of Dalmatia (*Auctarium Havniense*), a presumed alliance with Illus, a general from the East (*Ioh. Ant. Frg. 306*), and the war against the kings of the Rugii, Feva and Federicus. The first conflicts started in 482, after the death of Saint Severinus, and the campaign's army was led by Onoulf, Odoacer's brother. Another main character at Odoacer's court, *comes* Pierius, was charged with evacuating the province of Noricum and moving the Romans living there to Italy. Thus, in 488, these exiles from Noricum were settled in *varias sedes per diversas Italiae regiones*.

The above mentioned Pierius, *comes domesticorum*, also features subsequently during an episode illustrated by a source that is essential to the administration of the barbarian kingdoms: the Tjäder 10–11 papyrus. The papyrus contains a letter that records Odoacer's donation to Pierius consisting of lands in Sicily, in the area of Syracuse. The funerary monument of Pierius, who died in 490 AD in the context of the conflict with Theodoric, is preserved in St. Stefano church in Garlate. This significant letter, *pagina regiae largitatis* in the Tjäder 10–11 papyrus, tells how Odoacer «...diriga concretamente la

machina organizzativa di ciò che un tempo era stato l'impero occidentale, conceda terre, nomini e deleghi funzionari, uniformandosi pienamente alle procedure del diritto romano. E lo fa in qualità di capo dell'amministrazione romana, attento a che non si ledessero gli interessi del fisco, ma con la qualifica di *rex*, priva, tuttavia di determinazione di popolo e di luogo» (p. 149).

Chapter VIII, *Le idi di Marzo del 493*, ends Odoacer's royal adventure with Theodoric's intervention in Italy. The latter left Moesia Inferior to Italy in the autumn of 488 AD leading a multitude of Goths (Proc. *Goth.* 1, 1, 12, 2, 5). The atmosphere of this conflict is similar to that of a historical novel – Tufa, Odoacer's *magister militum*, betrayed his king successively, many died in the decisive battle of August 11, 490, including Pierius *comes*, Ravenna was besieged for three years, and Levila, *magister militum*, fled and was killed. After offering his own son Tela as hostage, Odoacer concluded an accord with Theodoric and only asked for his life. The sources disagree on the terms of this settlement. Some sources record that the two leaders divided Ravenna and Italy between them. Hearing about a plot and an imminent betrayal, Theodoric invited Odoacer for dinner and killed him, *manu sua*. All of the men in Odoacer's army were also killed on that day, together with their families (Anon. Val. II 56,16), «un massacro, che ha i tratti di una scena nibelungica».

As no official history of Odoacer was written in Antiquity and preserved until today, one has to reconstruct the “novel” of his Italian adventure from scattered fragments. Preserved general mentions only refer to the major events (Odoacer's election as king, Oreste's removal, the conflicts with Feva and Theodoric, the siege of Ravenna) and other, more explicit sources, feature Odoacer as a secondary character (*Vita Sancti Severini*, Victor Vitensis, Procopius' *Bellum Gothicum*). These sources allow one to reconstruct the epic life of the first barbarian king of Italy. Elena Caliri's book is a monograph that follows Odoacer's life episodes not only from such an epic perspective, but one that attempts to reconstruct the era's political and social context as well. Everything is based on her good knowledge of the preserved ancient sources and her exemplary erudition regarding modern historiography that is often heterogeneous in nature and includes contradicting solutions. Elena Caliri selects, with erudition and critical thinking, the most plausible of these solutions and generates a veridic profile of the barbarian king Odoacer that stands out against the background of the little-known 5th century AD.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.archeo.ens.fr/IMG/pdf/annee_philologique_abrev_revues.pdf

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timișoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
Acta Carnuntina	<i>Acta Carnuntina</i> . Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, Carnuntum.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrens</i> , Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology, Bordeaux – Moscow.
Acta Siculica	<i>Acta siculica</i> . Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
Aegaeum	<i>Aegaeum</i> . Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP, Liège.
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
Agora 32	The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 32: J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, Princeton 2008.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIA Iași	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași.
AIJ	V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.
Alba Regia	<i>Alba Regia</i> . <i>Annales Musei Stephani Regis – Alba Regia</i> . A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	<i>Aluta</i> . Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
American Anthropologist	American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association.
AMS	Asia Minor Studien. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
Angustia	<i>Angustia</i> . Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin – New York.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Altens Orients und des Alten Testament, Kevelar/Neurkirchen-Vluyn, Münster.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Aquila Legionis	<i>Aquila legionis</i> . Cuadernos de estudios sobre el Ejército Romano, Universidad de la Rioja.
Arrabona	<i>Arrabona</i> . A Győri Múzeum évkönyve, Győr.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.
Археология	Археология. Спілка археологів України, Kiev.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Archaeologia Bulgarica	<i>Archaeologia Bulgarica</i> , Sofia.
ΑρχΔελτ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Αθήνα.
ArchHung	<i>Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Arcaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae</i> , Budapest.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
Argesis	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Județean Argeș.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arheologia (Sofia)	Arheologija. Organ na Archeologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia.
Arheologie și Studii Clasice	Arheologie și Studii Clasice, București.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
ARYS	ARYS. Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades, Instituto de Historiografía "Julio Caro Baroja", (UC3M), Madrid.
Ausgrabungen und Funde	Ausgrabungen und Funde: Nachrichtenblatt der Landesarchäologie, Berlin 1956–1995.
Balcanica	Annual of the Institute for the Balkan Studies, Belgrad.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCEN	Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
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.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
Caiete ARA	Revistă de Arhitectură, Restaurare și Arheologie, București.
Carpica	Revista anuală a Complexului Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu”, Bacău.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al Municipiului București.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CBI	E. Schallmayer et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier–Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart 1990.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI</i> , Leyden 1989.

CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> , EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii</i> , Leyden 1985.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf .
CIA	Kircchhoff et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , I–IV, Berlin 1828–1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum</i> , HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863 sqq.
CILA	J. González (ed.), <i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> , Sevilla 1989–1991, I–III.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , I–II, The Hague 1956, 1960.
Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
Classica et Christiana	<i>Classica et Christiana</i> . Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i> .
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis</i> , Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuviorum</i> , I–II, Leiden 1969–1976.
CNT	<i>Corpus Nummorum Thracorum</i> : https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/
Coll. Antropol.	<i>Collegium antropologicum</i> , School Of Biological Anthropology, Zagreb.
CommArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Romîne, 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, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments</i> , Paris 1877–1919.
Dacia (N. S.)	<i>Dacia – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne</i> , București.
Diacronia	Diacronia. http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/journal/about
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Debreceniensis de Frederico Déri nominate</i> , Debrecen.
DissPann	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i> , Budapest.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), <i>Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane</i> , I–III, Roma 1895–1922.
Documenta Praehistorica	<i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana.

Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).
Drobeta	<i>Drobeta</i> , Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
EAIVR	Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României, București 1994-.
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/).
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge.
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	Ephemeris Epigraphica: <i>Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
Erdély	Erdély Honismertető Folyóirat. Az Erdély Kárpát-Egyesületnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Έργον	Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici</i> , Budapest.
Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrade.
GLIA	S. Mitchell, D. French, The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de .
A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati</i> , Miskolc.
Hierá	<i>Hierá</i> . Collana di studi storico-religiosi, Cosenza.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTÉ	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, I–XXII, Deva 1880–1913.
IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , I–III, București – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I–II, București 1996, 2000.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGBulg	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I–V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956–1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)</i> , Bordeaux – Paris 1997.

IGLR	Em. Popescu, <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate</i> , București 1976.
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris 1929 sqq.
ILAf	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Châtelain, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</i> , Paris 1923.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I, Sofia 1989.
ILD	C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București I, 2005; II, 2016.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I–IV, Berlin 1882–1916.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I–VI, Beograd 1976–1982.
InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937.
ISM	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , București 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
Journal of Democracy	<i>Journal of Democracy</i> , Washington DC.
JSA	<i>Journal of Social Archaeology</i> , http://jsa.sagepub.com/ .
Journal of Military History	<i>Journal of Military History</i> , Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	<i>Journal of Religion and Health</i> , Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	<i>Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiség-tárából</i> , Budapest.
ΚρΧρον	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά</i> , Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	<i>krisis/crisi</i> , Roma 2012.
KSK RBS	<i>Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands</i> , Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	<i>Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtschaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle</i> , Berlin.
KVHAA	<i>Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien</i> , Stockholm.
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/ .
LIA	U. Ehlig, R. Haensch, <i>Die lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien</i> , Bonn 2012.
Libelli Archaeologici	<i>Libelli Archaeologici</i> , Budapest.
Libyca	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981 sqq.
L&S	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, <i>A new Latin Dictionary</i> , New York – Oxford 1891.
Lupa	<i>Ubi erat lupa</i> , www.ubi-erat-lupa.org .
MAL	<i>Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche</i> , Roma.
Madrider Mitteilungen	<i>Madrider Mitteilungen</i> . Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.

Marisia	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
Marmatia	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
Medicina nei secolii	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.
MelBidez	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933–1934).
Memoria Antiquitatis	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis</i> . <i>Acta Musei Petrodavensis</i> , Piatra Neamț.
MGH. AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , Hannover – Berlin 1826 sqq.
Michmanim	Michmanim. The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Haifa University.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.
Musaios	<i>Musaios</i> , Muzeul Județean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. <i>Acta Comparitionis Litterarum Universalis</i> , Budapest.
Novensia	<i>Novensia</i> : badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warsawa.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OpArch	Opvscvla Archaeologica Radovi Arheološkog zavoda -Opuscula Archaeologica Papers of the Department of Archaeology, Zagreb.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I–IV, Budapest 1994–2005.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
Oriens et Occidens	<i>Oriens et Occidens</i> . Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben, Stuttgart.
ORL	ORL. Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches.
Ősrégészeti Levelek	Ősrégészeti Levelek. Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest.
PamátkyArch	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PAT	<i>Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
PECS	R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, M. Holland McAllister (eds.), The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, Princeton University Press 1976.
Peuce	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale “Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea.
PF 5	U. Mandel, Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die “Oinophorengruppe” und Verwandtes, Pergamenische Forschungen 5, Berlin – New York 1980.
Phoenix	<i>Phoenix</i> . Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , Berlin 1897–1898.
PIR²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> ² , Berlin 1933 sqq.
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I–III, Cambridge 1971–1992.

P. Mich.	Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection.
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	<i>Potaissa</i> . Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
Probleme de Muzeologie	Probleme de Muzeologie, București.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RCRF Acta	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta.
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – <i>Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis, Acta Nova Musei Nationalis</i> , 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
RÉMA	Revue des Études militaires anciennes, Paris.
Religion	Religion, http://www.tandfonline.com/ .
Religious Studies	Religious Studies. An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge.
Rheinisches Museum	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Köln.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj, Cluj-Napoca 1992.
RepHargita	V. Cavruc (ed.), Repertoriul arheologic al județului Harghita, Sfântu Gheorghe 2000.
Revista Arheologică	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău.
RB	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
Revista Fundațiilor Regale	Revista Fundațiilor Regale: revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală, București.
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, Bucarest.
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.
Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia	Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, Milano.
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, http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm .

RPC I	A. Burnett et alii, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69)</i> , London, Paris 1992.
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar – 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.
RSS	A. Mócsy, T. Szentlélek, <i>Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria</i> , Budapest 1971.
SAA	<i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Iași.
SA	<i>Studia Archaeologica</i> , Roma.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
Savaria	<i>Savaria</i> . A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értésítője, Szombathely.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft.
SCIV(A)	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie – since 1975), București.
SCN	Studii și cercetări 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.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
SMSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.
Social History of Medicine	Social History of Medicine, Oxford.
Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Mitteilungen der Museen des Komitates Somogy, Kaposvár.
SpecNov	<i>Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Institutis Historiae Antiquae et Archaeologiae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis</i> , Pécs.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
StComSatuMare	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
Studii de Preistorie	Studii de Preistorie, http://arheologie.ro .
SympThrac	<i>Symposia Thracologica</i> . Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
TED'A	Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona.
Terra Sebus	<i>Terra Sebus</i> . <i>Acta Musei Sabesiensis</i> , Sebeș.
ThesCRA	M. Greenberg (ed.), <i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles 2004.
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
Tisicum	<i>Tisicum</i> . A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
TitAq	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> , Budapest 2009 sqq.
Transactions Philadelphia	University of Pennsylvania. Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia.
Transylvanian Review	Transylvanian Review. Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.

TRHR	P. Kovács, <i>Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum</i> , Budapest-Bonn 2005.
Tyragetia	<i>Tyragetia</i> . Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava</i> . Complexul Muzeal Arad.
MCDR	Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
MIR	Muzeul de Istorie Roman.
MIT	Muzeul de Istorie Turda.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia.
MȚC	Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
NMB	The National Bardo Museum, Tunis.