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ARTICLES AND STUDIES

OINOPHORA REFLECTED IN THE PRODUCTION OF GETO-DACIAN POTTERY WORKSHOPS DURING THE 1ST CENTURY AD

MARIANA CRISTINA POPESCU

Abstract: The form and stylistic details of some vessels discovered in Brad and Răcătău settlements dated in 1st century BC – 1st century AD, known in Romanian archaeological literature as ritual vessels with zoomorphic protomes or parallelepipedic vessels with zoomorphic protomes, have none analogies in the indigenous repertory of vessels. The Hellenistic plastic vessels or, more specific, ram-shaped Knidian reliefs have been identified as source of inspiration. Another vessel discovered in Răcătău, known as the ritual barrel-shaped vessel or the rider-shaped vessel, is also suspected to have Hellenistic models as source of inspiration. The research of Hellenistic and Roman pottery that circulated north of the Danube during the period between the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD allows me to make certain observations on the presence of *oinophora* on Geto-Dacian sites and on their possible impact on local production.

Keywords: *oinophora*; workshops; local pottery; models; pre-Roman Dacia.

Rezumat: Forma și detaliile stilistice ale câtorva vase descoperite în siturile de la Brad și Răcătău, datate în secolele I a. Chr. – I p. Chr., cunoscute în literatura românească de specialitate drept vase de cult cu protome zoomorfe sau vase paralelipipedice cu protome zoomorfe, nu se regăsesc în repertoriul indigen de forme. Drept sursă de inspirație pentru ele au fost indicate vase elenistice – vase plastice sau, mai punctual, reliefurile knidiene în formă de berbec. De asemenea, un alt vas provenind din așezarea de la Răcătău, cunoscut ca vasul în formă de butoi sau vasul în formă de călăreț, este bănuat a avea ca sursă de inspirație tot vase elenistice. Studiarea veselei ceramice elenistice și romane care a circulat la nordul Dunării în perioada cuprinsă între secolele II a. Chr. și începutul secolului II p. Chr. îmi permite câteva observații privind prezența *oinophora* în siturile geto-dacice, precum și posibilul lor impact asupra producției locale de ceramică.

Cuvinte cheie: *oinophora*; ateliere; veselă locală; modele; Dacia preromană.

Introduction

The vicinity of the Greek cities on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus has facilitated the Geto-Dacians gaining access to the ideas and innovations that have circulated in the Pontic milieu and, implicitly, in the Mediterranean one. Pottery production is one of the fields in which such innovations became manifest poignantly and are today easier to identify and to research due to the much more accessible sources. As the ceramic wares dated between the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD discovered during the archaeological excavations performed so far on numerous sites north of the Danube indicate, Geto-Dacian potters came in direct contact with the varied products of Minor Asia and the Pontus and used some of them as models for their own products. In certain cases, such as the *kantharoi* and the mouldmade bowls with relief decoration, one can speak of “mass” local production¹

¹ Glodariu 1974, 143-146; Vulpe, Gheorghiiță 1976, 167-204; Popescu 2017, 31-40.

generated by the contact with the models; in other cases, such as that of the vessels decorated with barbotine motifs, one can only speak of attempts, of experiments with a new decoration technique.²

The Hellenistic plastic vessels or, more specific, ram-shaped Knidian reliefs have been identified as source of inspiration for local products known in the Romanian archaeological literature as ritual vessels with zoomorphic protomes or parallelepiped vessels with zoomorphic protomes.³ The research of Hellenistic and Roman pottery that circulated north of the Danube during the period between the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD allows me to make certain observations on the presence of *oinophora* on Geto-Dacian sites and on their possible impact on local production.

Oinophora in pre-Roman Dacia

Vessels with relief decoration modelled in two-part moulds started to be produced in the workshops of Asia Minor during the second half of the 1st century AD. Most of them are decorated with Dionysian scenes, but one also encounters mythological characters such as the Dioscuri, Aphrodite, Hermes, Asclepius, Hygeia, erotic scenes, or genre scenes. Others are in the shape of human heads, animals, or phalluses. They became known as *OINOPHORA* in archaeological literature due to the *OINOPHOROS* graffito found on the outer surface of a bottle with relief decoration modelled in a two-part mould that D. M. Robinson published in 1909.⁴

In 1988 U. Mandel published a study of vessels with relief decoration modeled in two-part moulds during the Imperial Roman Period known until then.⁵ According to her study, *oinophora* are vessels with reliefs, modelled in two-part moulds, that originate in the same workshops as the item that rendered the group its name or in contemporary workshops that were active in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Roman Imperial Era and for which a unitary use was established on the basis of typological and iconographic characteristics. Based on the stylistic and comparative analyses of the fabrics U. Mandel has identified several groups of *oinophora*, but she was only able to pinpoint the exact production centers, i.e. Pergamum and Knidos, of two such groups. She characterized their production from the perspective of shape and from a stylistic perspective and set their period of production; thus, the production center in Pergamum was active between the end of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 4th century AD, while the one in Knidos was active between right after the middle of the 1st century AD and until the 3rd century AD.

The shapes of the vessels indicate that they were mostly containers – used for storing and pouring liquids. The material employed in their making and their finishes show that such vessels were not used for long periods. They are items with thick

² Popescu 2014, 123–134.

³ Căpitanu 1986–1987, 72, 77, Fig. 2a/1–3, 2b; Sîrbu, Florea 1997, 105, Fig. 74, 80/2; Florea 1998, 138–139; Sîrbu, Florea 2011, 316.

⁴ Robinson 1909, 30–38.

⁵ Mandel 1988. The subsequent observations regarding the production of *oinophora* synthesize the results of this study.

and, in the majority of cases, porous walls, covered with poorly applied engobe and showing traces of a poor, uneven firing. Their discovery contexts indicate their use in various situations: *oinophora* were discovered in production centers (e.g.: seven mould fragments were found in Pergamum in the area of the workshops in Ketiostal); in the proximity of temples (especially of the Asclepieion in Pergamum); in various contexts of habitation (in Knidos and the northern shores of the Black Sea, in the Bosporan Kingdom); and in graves (especially in the Barbaricum, in the areas of the Sarmatians and of the Scythians in the northern part of the Black Sea).

Oinophora are mainly known from the sites in the central and the oriental area of the Mediterranean⁶ and around the Pontic Basin; the items found in the Greek cities from the northern part of the Pontus and from the neighbouring barbarian milieu are better known.⁷

The production of *oinophora* following the model of Minor Asian items is attested in North Africa during the 3rd century AD.⁸ One fragment from a two-part mould of a ram-shaped vessel discovered in Brigetio shows that the *oinophora* also had an impact on the workshops from the Danubian limes.⁹

Two *oinophora* are known so far from north of the Danube, from the area inhabited by the Geto-Dacians, both identified on the site of Poiana.

One is an anthropomorphic jug, well-known in the Romanian archaeological literature.¹⁰ One knows that Professor C. Dimitriu discovered it during surface researches performed in the settlements, though no other details are known related to the context of the discovery.¹¹ The vessel is of a flattened cylindrical shape, narrower in the central part, with a tall cylindrical neck, with grooves under the rim and in the lower part and with a vertical handle with longitudinal grooves on the outer surface (Pl. I/2a-d). As far as I was able to observe,¹² the item is made of fine fabric and is covered with reddish-brown engobe. From the perspective of style and shape, the vessel can be attributed to the group of head-jugs produced in Pergamum starting with the end of the 1st century AD.¹³ As the vine leaves on his head suggest, the depicted character could be Dionysus.¹⁴ As far I could note the item is unique through the details of its shape.¹⁵ The two marks that resemble letters (ON ?) visible today on the item on the left, above the hair and the vine leaves (Pl. I/2d), were not there on the

⁶ Salomonson 1979, 128, Fig. 3; Agora 32, 107.

⁷ Zhuravlev 2002, 248-251, Fig. 7/1-2, Fig. 8, Fig. 10; Zhuravlev 2005, 149-150; Popa 2010, 58-84; Zhuravlev 2017, 116-126.

⁸ Hayes 1972, 412.

⁹ Bonis 1977, 105-142.

¹⁰ Sanie 1973, 418-419, Pl. 3/4a-4b; Glodariu 1974, 215, no. 35, Pls. XXIII, XXXIX; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, 90, 322, no. 793, Fig. 233.

¹¹ Sanie 1973, 418.

¹² The published images of the vessel show that it has been restored several times and each restoration left its mark (Sanie 1973, 418, n. 35, Pl. 3/4a-4b; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, 90, n. 303, Fig. 233).

¹³ Mandel 1988, 25-26, 229, P 197, Taf. 20.

¹⁴ Romanian specialists have identified the character with Dionysus and have dated the vessel to the 2nd century BC - 1st century BC or during the 1st century AD (Sanie 1973, 419; Glodariu 1974, 215; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, 90).

¹⁵ See footnote 13 above.

original item. As one can see, the signs do not feature on the restored vessel published in 1973 (Pl. I/2b), but they are visible on the item published in the monograph study of the settlement (Pl. I/2d). The marks in question are most likely the product of a restoration performed sometime between the dates of the two publications.¹⁶

I have identified the second item while documenting Hellenistic and Roman pottery discovered in the settlement of Poiana preserved in the collection of the “Teodor Cincu” History Museum in Tecuci.¹⁷ It is a fragment from a representation of an animal’s head (Pl. I/1). The walls are rather thick, of ca. 1.5 cm, made of rather fine reddish yellow fabric (Munsell 7.5YR7/6), covered with reddish yellow engobe (Munsell 5YR6/8). It is difficult to identify the depicted animal due to the small preserved dimensions of the fragment. The item could be attributed with a high degree of probability to the group of animal-shaped *oinophora* produced in the workshops of Knidos during the second half of the 1st century AD.¹⁸

Local products possibly inspired by *oinophora*

Vessels created in the Geto-Dacian milieu under the possible influence of the *oinophora* have been found on the sites in Răcățău and Brad, two centers with a significant pottery production during the period between the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, in which Hellenistic and Roman models were highly appreciated. One item is a vessel known in the Romanian archaeological literature as the ritual barrel-shaped vessel or the rider-shaped vessel¹⁹ and the others are known as ritual vessels with zoomorphic protomes or parallelepiped vessels with zoomorphic protomes.²⁰

The vessel in the shape of a rider

This vessel is a unique discovery in pre-Roman Dacia (Pl. II/1a–1e). It has no stylistic analogies in the repertory of *oinophora*, but its technical characteristics – the relief depiction of the rider, the production in a two-part mould – allow me to discuss it in the context of locally produced vessels that were probably inspired by the *oinophora*. The vessel was discovered in the settlement of Răcățău;²¹ it is made of fine greenish black fabric, covered with engobe of the same color, burnished;²² it measures 12 cm in length and 11 cm in height. The anatomical traits of rider and horse are sketchily rendered and the rest of the decoration consists of incised and burnished motifs (Pl. II/1a–1e).

¹⁶ See footnote 12 above.

¹⁷ I hereby thank again Mrs. Silvia Teodor for kindly allowing me to document this material.

¹⁸ Mandel 1988, 126–133.

¹⁹ Căpitanu 1994, 124–125, Fig. 3 a, b; Sîrbu, Florea 1997, 93–94, Fig. 73, 80/1; Sîrbu, Florea 2011, 316.

²⁰ See footnote 3 above.

²¹ Căpitanu 1994, 124–125, Fig. 4–6.

²² Both this vessel and the parallelepipedic vessels discussed below have undergone various interventions of primary conservation and restoration, thus it is difficult to make accurate observations on the color of the fabric, engobe, and decorative motifs.

As for the depicted character, V. Căpitanu, the author of the discovery, believes it is a depiction of the Dionysian cult in an original manner, specific to the Geto-Dacians.²³ Analyzing the iconographic forms of expression of the sacred message, G. Florea shows that the topic of the rider is one of these forms, encountered in the Geto-Dacian milieu, with various modifications, between the 4th century BC and the Roman conquest.²⁴ In 1st century BC – 1st century AD depictions, the topic of the rider features on metal and pottery items. Among the first one can mention the *phalerae* from Lupu and the *phalera* from Surcea.²⁵ Ceramic items with depictions of rider are known from the *dava* in Răcățiu. There they feature in the figurative composition of the *kantharos* with relief decoration, on a ceramic mould,²⁶ and as a figurative depiction in the case of the rider-shaped vessel.

Parallelepiped vessels

Fragments of parallelepiped vessels were discovered in the settlements of Brad and Răcățiu during the archaeological excavations performed until 1985.

Fragments from eight parallelepiped vessels are known from the settlement of Brad.²⁷ They are made of fine grey or red fabric; five of them are decorated with painted motifs: narrow strips, oblique and vertical, and filled triangles, some prolonged²⁸ (Pl. V/1-5). One of the fragments with painted decoration was from the surface the short side on which the spout tube was placed²⁹ (Pl. V/4).

Fragments of parallelepiped vessels, three of which have been restored, were also discovered in the settlement of Răcățiu.³⁰

One of the restored vessels, with the long side measuring 12.6 cm in length and 12 cm in height, is provided on the upper surface with a cylindrical tube with a sieve at the base, measuring 2 cm in height and 4.5 cm in diameter, where liquids were poured in, and on the short opposite side it is provided with a spout tube (Pl. III/1a-1d). The protome of a ram, with a tall neck, long snout, and prominent back-curved horns, is placed on the upper surface, on the side opposite the supply tube. The vessel was modelled out of reddish yellow fabric and is covered with reddish yellow engobe. The decoration consists of dark reddish painted motifs: colored triangles are painted on the side surfaces; lines and color stripes on the upper surface; and color dots on one of the ram's horns.

Another vessel, with the long side measuring 12.6 cm, the short side measuring 7.5 cm, and having 9.5 cm in height is provided in the upper part with a cylindrical tube with a sieve at the base and a spout tube on the short side opposite the supply tube (Pl. IV/1a-1d). The item is made of reddish yellow fabric and is covered with

²³ V. Căpitanu believes that the burnished decoration flanking the rider is a schematic depiction of vine leaves (Căpitanu 1994, 125).

²⁴ Sirbu, Florea 1997, 93-94.

²⁵ Sirbu, Florea 1997, 93.

²⁶ Căpitanu 1986-1987, 126-128, Fig. 1-2.

²⁷ Ursachi 1995, 190, 205.

²⁸ Ursachi 1995, 190, 205, Pls. 169, 170/2, 318/1-4.

²⁹ Ursachi 1995, Pls. 169/1, 318/4.

³⁰ Căpitanu 1986-1987, 77-78, Figs. 2a/1-3, 2b/1a-1d, 2a-2d.

engobe of the same color. Two plaques with relief decoration have been applied to the side surfaces. A fantastic animal is depicted on the plaque applied to one of the long side surfaces³¹ (Pl. IV/1b, 1d) and an anthropomorphic character seated on a chair is depicted on the plaque applied to the side surface opposite the spout tube³² (Pl. IV/1a, 1c).

The last of the restored vessels is modelled out of grey fabric, covered with grey engobe. It measures 9.6 cm in height, its long sides measure 14.6 cm in length, and its short sides 8.4 cm (Pl. IV/2a–2b). The supply tube with a sieve at the base is applied to the upper surface and the spout tube is located on the short surface opposite the cylindrical tube. This vessel is undecorated.

Besides the restored vessels, V. Căpitanu mentions the fact that the following items were also found inside the settlement: fragments from two other parallelepiped vessels decorated with painted motifs (fir-tree motifs and color lines or stripes; triangles), fragments of parallelepiped vessels made of grey fabric covered with engobe of the same color, spout tubes, entire or fragmentarily preserved, ram horns modelled out of grey fabric and a ram's protome.³³ The latter artifact is covered with red engobe and the tube with sieve used for the filling of the vessel has been preserved above the head, between the two horns.³⁴

The shape of these vessels is also novel among the pottery items found in Geto-Dacian settlements. It is rooted neither in the repertory of local shapes nor in that of shapes from the neighboring barbarian milieu. Among the imported wares that could have been used as models, specialists have named ram-shaped *oinophora*, better known as Knidian reliefs.³⁵

Ram-shaped *oinophora* are yet unknown in the Geto-Dacian milieu north of the Danube. The discovery of the ram-shaped vessel in the settlement of Cetățeni, preserved in the collection of the Argeș County Museum, remains unconfirmed.³⁶ The discoveries of ram-shaped vessels closest to the area inhabited by the Geto-Dacians, in this case the two settlements in Siret Basin, are items found north of the Pontus, in the Greek cities and the neighbouring barbarian milieu.³⁷ One cannot ignore the possibility that ram-shaped *oinophora* reached Dacia, more precisely the *davae* along River Siret. The connection between these settlements and the North Pontic milieu can be supported through the Pontic sigillata shapes discovered in the first that have analogies in the latter.³⁸ *Kantharoi* modeled after Bosporan sigillata drinking wares, as yet unattested in Dacia,³⁹ produced in the centers of Brad and Răcătău, also support the hypothesis that ram-shaped *oinophora* might have been the source of inspiration

³¹ Sirbu, Florea 1997, 101.

³² Sirbu, Florea 1997, 95.

³³ Căpitanu 1986–1987, 78.

³⁴ In the article presenting the parallelepiped vessels discovered in Răcătău, V. Căpitanu also mentions a “bos protome ... (that) is different from the others ...” without mentioning how many “other” protomes there were (Căpitanu 1986–1987, 78).

³⁵ See note 3 above.

³⁶ Măndescu 2005, 84–87, n. 13, Fig 3.

³⁷ See above footnote 7.

³⁸ Popescu 2013, 65–77.

³⁹ Popescu 2017, 36–37, Fig. 7/a-e.

for the production of the parallelepiped vessels, even if the presence of the first is yet undocumented in the Geto-Dacian milieu. The relatively short period of time between the start of *oinophora* production in Knidos – right after the middle of the 1st century AD – and the Roman conquest of the territory north of the Danube – in the beginning of the 2nd century AD – cannot be an argument for their absence. The presence of the *oinophoron* from Pergamum in the settlement of Poiana, in the close proximity of the sites under discussion here, is documented during an even shorter period, as the *oinophora* production started in Pergamum in the end of the 1st century AD and the Roman conquest took place in the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Characteristics of the production of the two centers

The published items do not allow for a comparative analysis of the fabrics, finishes, or decorative motifs, especially of the painted ones, that could allow us to locate their production center with precision. It is tempting to hypothesize, based on the stylistic and technical diversity of the vessels discovered in Răcățău, that they were locally produced and that their presence in Brad was the result of circulation. But, in agreement with data known so far, a single possibility remains open for now, i.e. that they were produced by local masters from both centers, transposing the models into specific variants, mainly determined by the technical knowledge of such potters so that the production of each of the two centers can be characterized by a few particular details.

The production of vessels possibly inspired by the *oinophora* in the center of Răcățău is diverse from the stylistic, technical, and shape-related perspectives, and this is even more impressive considering the fact that their number does not seem to surpass one dozen.

As for the shapes, one encounters relief representations and parallelepiped vessels with or without a ram's protome. For further variation, the protomes show different approaches: some are rendered as the sole decorative/symbolic element on the longer upper surface of the vessel, opposite the spout tube, while others have a double role, decorative/symbolic and functional, with the supply tube with a sieve applied between the ram's horns.

Regarding the production technique, the vessel in the shape of a rider illustrates the use of a new technique, i.e. the vertical two-part mould. The only vessels with relief decorations modelled in vertical two-part moulds known so far in pre-Roman Dacia are *oinophora* that probably inspired the local masters. For them, the moulding of pottery vessels was not a novelty. Megarian bowls are known from the site of Răcățău⁴⁰ and so are locally-produced mouldmade bowls with relief decoration after the fashion of the Megarian bowls.⁴¹ For the potters in this center, the main result of their contact with the Megarian bowls was, from a technical perspective, learning how to produce mouldmade vessels. Thus, the use of two-part moulds suggests not so much that the potters acquired new technical knowledge, but that they adapted the previously acquired skills. The shape of the vessel with horse and rider is clumsy, far

⁴⁰ Popescu 2013, nos. 104, 113, Pls. 5, 36.

⁴¹ Popescu 2008, 93–94, synthesis 12, R 169–170; Popescu 2013, 45–48, 113, no. 104, Pls. 5, 36.

from harmonious, and the end product rather resembles a “barrel”. One can clearly see that the potter was not a master of the technique.

The parallelepiped vessels are not moulded, but made of carefully prepared clay stripes, adjusted to the desired size and very carefully attached to each other. The supply tube was most likely wheel-thrown and the sieve in the lower part subsequently attached. The ram protome was modelled in a mould. In the case of the parallelepiped vessels, as in other situations, the end products are the result of a two-fold adaptation filter: a technical one (previous technical knowledge allowing potters to render the shapes they found interesting) and a semantic one, as the potters did not copy the models, but they simplified and adapted them to particular meanings familiar to the envisaged clients. The local potters only preserved the base and from the shape of the animal they only rendered the part they found significant, i.e. the protome. The parallelepiped vessels without ram protomes suggest the fact that for local consumers the functionality of the vessels was important and not their shape, the anatomy of the animal *per se*. The fact that Geto-Dacian potters were not entirely fascinated by rendering the shape of the vessel (of the animal, in this case), but by its function is supported by the presence of the filling tube with a sieve (the sieve is present on all of the items) and by the fact that they employed various decoration techniques to embellish them, some of which they also „learned” from the Asia Minor pottery wares they came in contact with. One of the parallelepiped vessels displays appliqué decoration, a decorative technique that the potters saw on Asia Minor vessels with appliqués that reached the settlement of Răcățâu.⁴² In the case of such adaptations of the figurative rendering of the rider, the local potters did not simply copy the models, but they transposed some of “the forms of manifestation of the sacred” through a new decorative technique, in this case a fantastic animal (probably a unicorn) on one of the plaques and a seated anthropomorphic character on the other plaque. One of the reconstructed vessels and various other fragments displays painted motifs specific to the center in Răcățâu: mainly geometric motifs (filled triangles, color stripes) and rarely vegetal motifs (fir trees).

The products of the center in Brad are not as diverse as those of the center in Răcățâu. Only parallelepiped vessels are known from the first location, grey or red, simple or with painted decoration. The decorated fragments display geometric motifs: color stripes, filled triangles or successive V-shapes. V. Ursachi does not mention discovering ram protomes once part of these vessels and thus the possibility that the parallelepipedic vessels produced in the center of Brad did not have ram protomes remains open.

Uses

According to shape, these are vessels for storing and pouring liquids. The fact that in the case of the parallelepiped vessels the filling tube has a sieve and the location of the spout tube in the lower part indicate that they contained liquids that required straining and that came in a small quantity as compared to the size of the vessel and

⁴² Popescu 2013, 116–117, nos. 118–121, Pls. 8, 38.

the position of the spouting tube.⁴³ The rider-shaped vessel also can only hold a small quantity of liquid and this indicates the fact that such vessels were not meant for daily use.

The places where they were discovered, in the territory of the two settlements, with a single exception, are not very suggestive for the circumstances in which they were used. One knows that the parallelepiped vessels from the settlement of Brad were found both on the acropolis and in the civilian settlement, in the final two layers of Dacian habitation. No further data are available regarding their contexts of discovery or the materials with which they were associated.⁴⁴ In the case of the items from the settlement in Răcătău one only knows that the parallelepiped vessel decorated with relief plaques was discovered in a sealed archaeological deposit and that the ram protome with the filling tube located between the horns was discovered in section SXV, in a large ritual pit, at the depth of 5.60 m; no other details are available.⁴⁵

Due to the shape of the vessels, unusual for the Geto-Dacian environment, and their decoration, Romanian researchers believe that they were not items of daily use, but artifacts specially created for certain activities performed during various religious/cultural practices.⁴⁶

The period of production

As mentioned above, no details are available regarding the contexts in which these items were discovered and that could aid in their dating. Specialists have dated them during the 1st century BC – 1st century AD period, in the case of the items from Brad based on the decoration techniques⁴⁷ and in the case of those from Răcătău based on the stylistic analysis.⁴⁸

Admitting the fact that they were created following contacts with the *oinophora* and taking into consideration the dating of the *oinophora* production of the two centers that might have provided the models, the vessels from pre-Roman Dacia were produced in the centers of Răcătău and Brad sometime after the second half of the 1st century AD until the beginning of the 2nd century AD, when activity stopped in these settlements.

The rather limited quantity of products could be explained both by the relatively short period of time when they were produced and the limited demand for them. Through their functions, such vessels were created for a restricted group of users.

Conclusions

Two *oinophora* are documented north of the Danube, from the area inhabited by the Geto-Dacians: one vessel from the group of head jugs produced in Pergamum starting with the end of the 1st century AD and a fragment from an animal's head that

⁴³ Functional observation made by prof G. Florea.

⁴⁴ Ursachi 1995, 190.

⁴⁵ Căpitanu 1987–1988, 78.

⁴⁶ Ursachi 1995, 190; Sirbu, Florea 1997, 105; Sirbu, Florea 2011, 316.

⁴⁷ V. Ursachi believes that “the large number of vessels made of painted ceramics also indicates their period of use” (Ursachi 1995, 190).

⁴⁸ Florea 1998, 138–138; Sirbu, Florea 2011, 316.

can be most likely associated with the animal-shaped *oinophora* produced in Knidos right after the middle of the 1st century AD.

If we admit the possibility that, like other Minor Asian and Pontic products that reached the Geto-Dacian sites and were used as models for local production of pottery, the *oinophora* have had an impact on the local centers, then the local products show that the palette of *oinophora* that circulated in the Geto-Dacian milieu was more varied. Also, local products possibly inspired by *oinophora* show that potters from the two centers do not copy a particular pattern, but the models are interpreted according to specific meanings and needs.

As far as the production centers are concerned, one cannot speak of workshops specialized in the production of parallelepiped vessels for example or of workshops in which the production of such vessels predominated. According to published data, one can state that Brad and Răcățau were two production centers that created fine, varied wares that included local shapes and forms inspired by Minor Asian and Pontic models (in terms of shapes, production techniques, and decoration techniques) adapted to the local needs that also included parallelepiped vessels or vessels with figurative representations. Due to the scarce information on the discovery contexts, one cannot make punctual specifications on the chronology of local products, but if one take into account the dating of possible models and the end of the activity of the two settlements, the production/use period is fairly short, during the second half of the 1st century and the very beginning of 2nd century AD.

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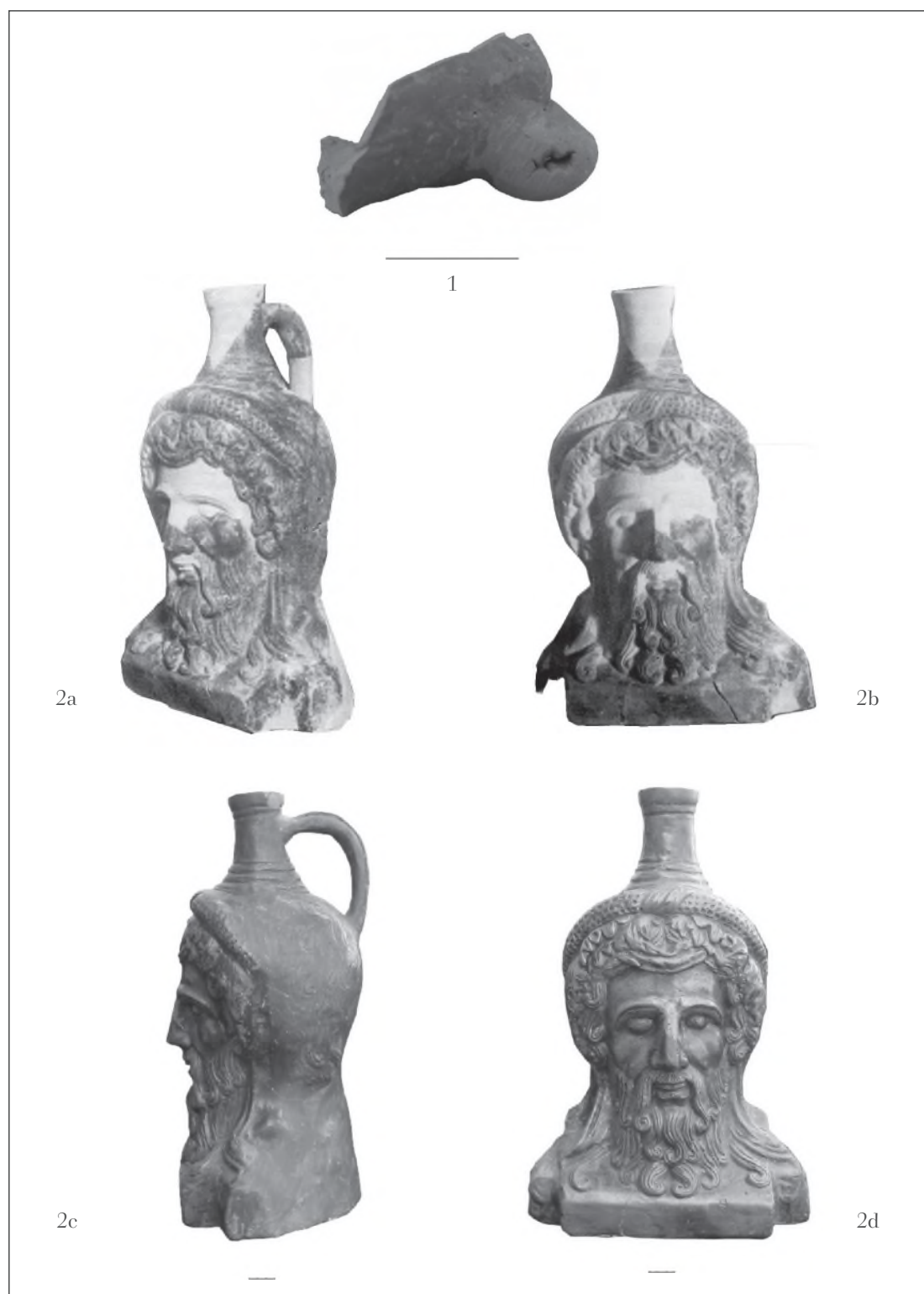
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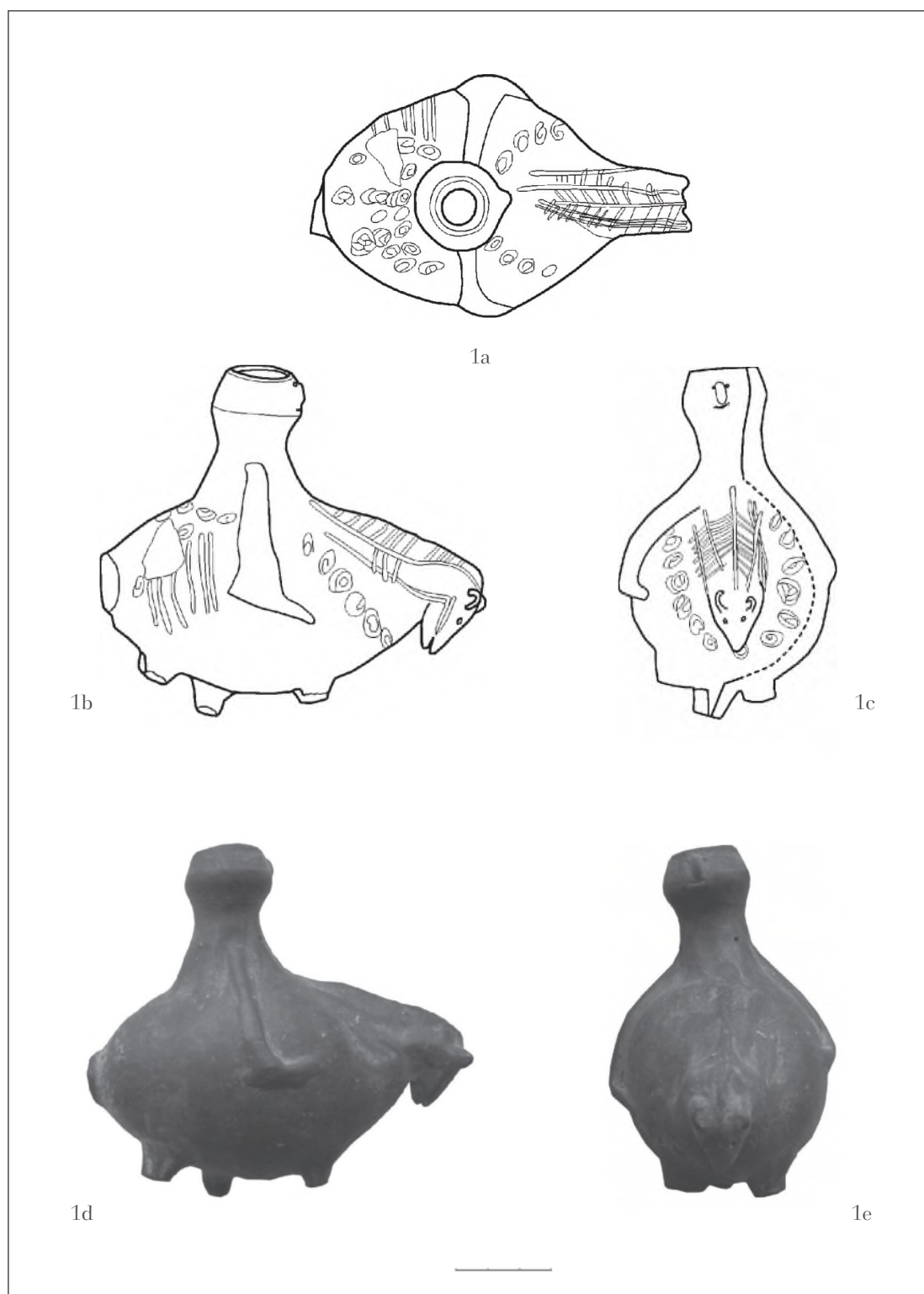
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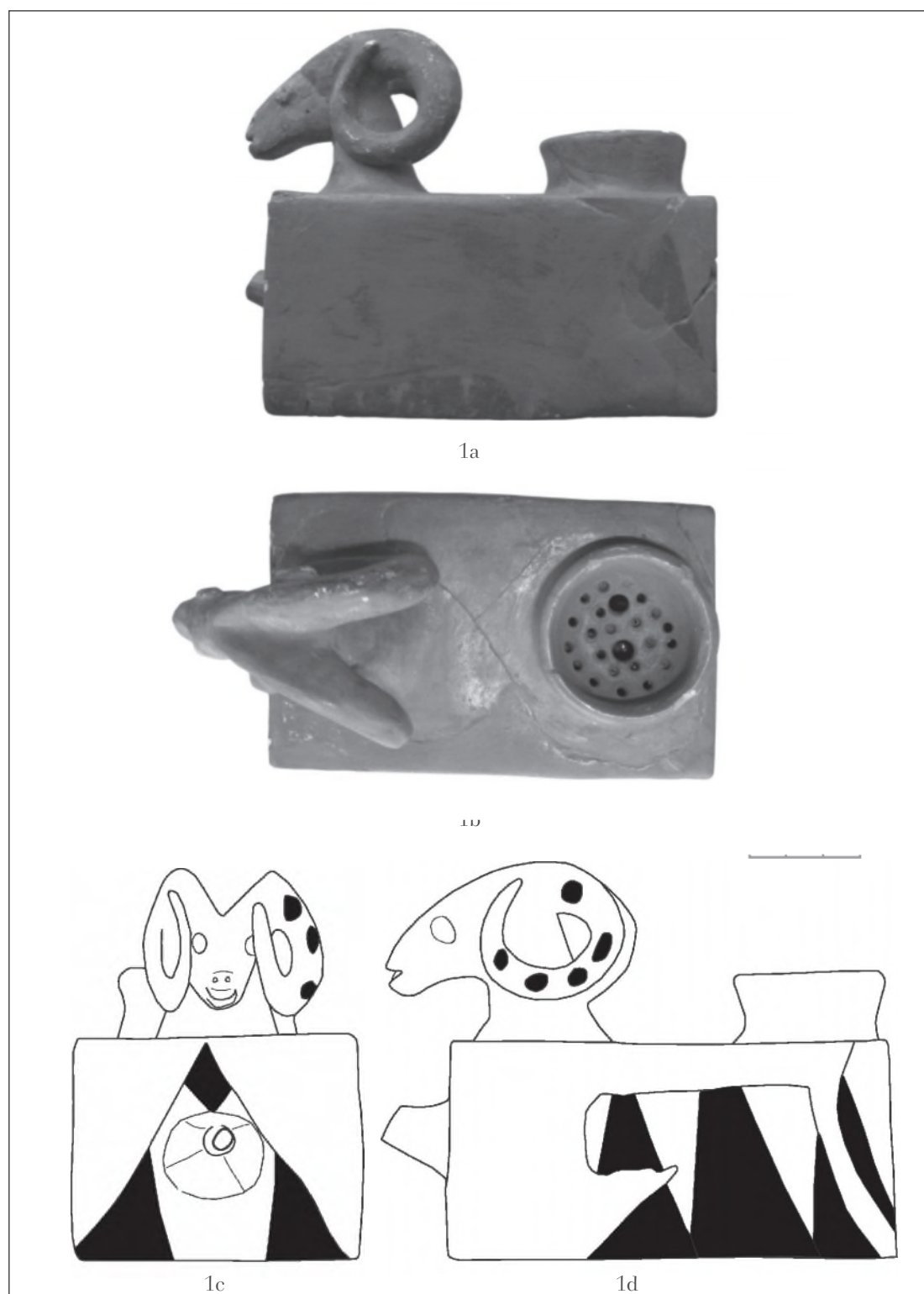
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Pl. I. *Oinophora* from the settlement of Poiana: **1.** Knidian relief (?) (photo C. Popescu, with S. Teodor's permission); **2a-2d.** Head-jug (2a-2b, after Sanie 1973, Pl. 3/ 4a-4b; 2c-2d, photos C. Popescu, with S. Teodor's permission).



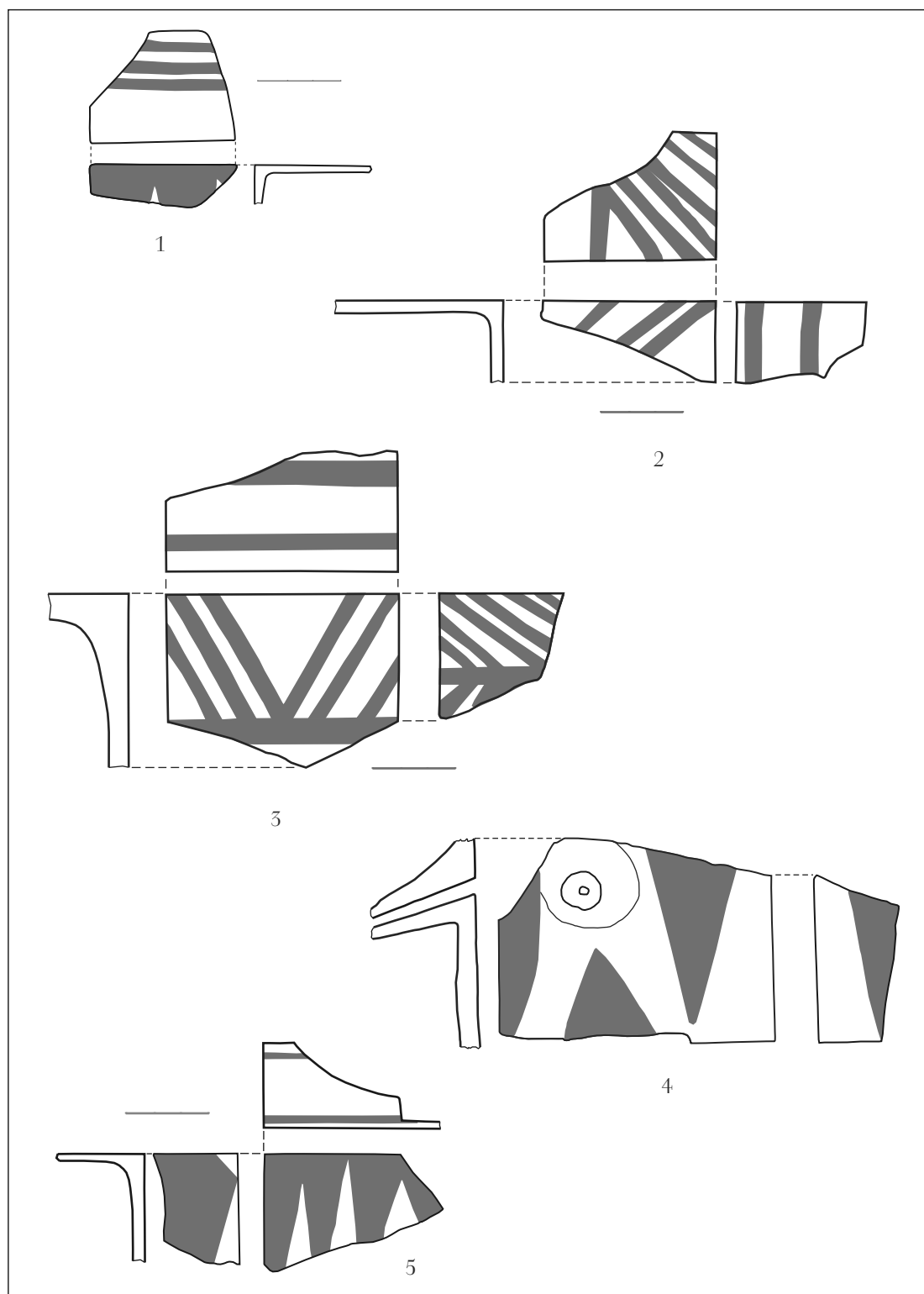
Pl. II. 1. The vessel in the shape of a rider from the settlement of Răcățău: **1a–1c** (after Sîrbu, Florea 2011, Fig. 2/6a–6c); **1d–1e** (photos C. Popescu, with V. Căpitanu's permission).



Pl. III. 1. Parallelepipedic vessel from the settlement of Răcătău: **1a–1b** (photos C. Popescu, with V. Căpitanu's permission); **1c–1d** (after Sîrbu, Florea 2011, Fig. 2/ 4a–4b).



Pl. IV. 1-2. Parallelepipedic vessels from the settlement of Răcățău: **1a-1b** (photos C. Popescu, with V. Căpitanu's permission); **1c-1d** (after Sîrbu, Florea 2011, Fig. 2/5a-5b); **2a-2b** (photos C. Popescu, with V. Căpitanu's permission).



Pl. V. 1-5. Parallelepipedic vessels from the settlement of Brad (after Ursachi 1995, Pl. 169, 170/2, 318/1-4).

NEUE DIPLOMZEUGNISSE FÜR DIE TRUPPEN IN DEN DONAUPROVINZEN AUS DEM 2. JH.

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

Abstract: In the article seven new military diplomas are published: one for the troops in Moesia inferior from 13th May 105, a second for the troops of Dacia from 17th February 110, a third for the troops of Moesia superior under the governor Prifernius Paetus, a fourth for Dacia Porolissensis from October 142, a fifth for the troops in Pannonia inferior from 151 under the governor Nonius Macrinus, a sixth for the troops of Moesia superior under the legate Curtius Rufus from 157 and a diploma for the troops of Moesia inferior under the governor Vitrasius Pollio.

Keywords: military diplomas; Danube provinces: Moesia superior, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior, Dacia, Dacia Porolissensis.

Zusammenfassung: In dem Artikel werden sieben neue Militärdiplome publiziert, die für Truppen in den Donauprovinzen bestimmt waren: Ein Diplom vom 13. Mai 105 für die Truppen von Moesia inferior, ein Diplom vom 17. Februar 110 für die Truppen von Dacia, ein Diplom aus den Jahren 110/111 für die Truppen von Moesia superior unter dem Legaten Prifernius Paetus, ein Diplom vom Oktober 142 für Dacia Porolissensis, ein Diplom aus dem Jahr 151 für Pannonia inferior unter dem Statthalter Nonius Macrinus, ein Diplom für die Truppen von Moesia superior unter dem Statthalter Curtius Rufus aus dem Jahr 157 und ein Diplom für die Truppen von Moesia inferior unter dem Statthalter Vitrasius Pollio.

Schlüsselwörter: Militärdiplome; Donau-Provinzen: Moesia superior, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior, Dacia, Dacia Porolissensis.

Rezumat: În acest articol se publică șapte noi diplome militare: una pentru trupele din Moesia inferior, din 13 mai 105, o a doua pentru trupele Daciei, din 17 februarie 110, o a treia pentru trupele din Moesia superior, sub guvernatorul Prifernius Paetus, o a patra pentru Dacia Porolissensis, din octombrie 142, o a cincea pentru trupele din Pannonia inferior, din 151, sub guvernatorul Nonius Macrinus, a șasea pentru trupele din Moesia superior, sub legatul Curtius Rufus, din 157, precum și o diplomă pentru trupele din Moesia inferior, sub guvernatorul Vitrasius Pollio.

Cuvinte cheie: diplome militare; provincii danubiene: Moesia superior, Moesia inferior, Pannonia inferior, Dacia, Dacia Porolissensis.

Die Kenntnisse über die Auxiliarbesatzungen in den donauländischen Provinzen sind in den vergangenen drei Jahrzehnten kontinuierlich durch neue Diplomata militaria vermehrt worden. Dennoch bestehen weiterhin Lücken in unseren Kenntnissen, sei es bei der Dislokation der einzelnen Einheiten, sei es bei den Statthaltern und der Länge ihrer Amtszeit, vor allem aber auch bei der Dichte der Konstitutionen, die für die einzelnen Provinzen erlassen wurden. Die nachfolgenden neuen Diplome können einige kleine Lücken in noch offenen Fragen schließen.

1. Eine zweite Kopie einer Konstitution für die Truppen von Moesia inferior vom 13. Mai 105

Fragment vom unteren Rand einer tabella I. Dort ist ein Rest des dreiteiligen Rahmens erhalten. Tief eingegrabene Buchstaben.

Maße: Höhe 1.9 cm, Breite 3.4 cm.



Abb. 1

Folgendes ist zu lesen:¹

Außenseite:

[DESCRIPTVM ET RECOG]NITVM EX [TABVLA]
[AENEA QVAE FIXA E]ST ROMAE I[N MVRO]
[POST TEMPLVM DIV]I AVG AD MIN[ERVAM].

Innenseite:

[AVGVST NERVIANA PACENSIS ∞ BRITTONVM ET I SVGAMBRORVM] VE[T]
[ERANA ET I TYRIORVM SAGITTARIA ET I HISPANORVM VETERAN]A ET I
[FLAVIA NVMDARVM ET II BRITTONVM AVGVSTA NERVIANA PA]CEN
[SIS ∞ ET VII GALLORVM ET SVNT IN MOESIA INFERIORE SVB A CA]ECILIO
[FAVSTINO QVI QVINA ET VICENA PLVRARE STIPENDIA MERVERN]T

Das Diplom zeigt offensichtlich noch keine Abkürzungen. Damit sollte es aus der Zeit vor ca. 114 n.Chr. stammen. Die genauere Bestimmung gelingt über das nomen gentile des Statthalters: Caecilius. Vom 13. Mai des Jahres 105 sind vier Diplome bekannt, die für die Truppen von Moesia inferior unter dem Legaten A. Caecilius Faustinus ausgegeben wurden: CIL XVI 50; RGZM 10 und 11; AE 2004, 1256. Sie gehören allerdings zu drei verschiedenen Konstitutionen, die jeweils drei Alen und sieben Kohorten sowie die *classici* einschlossen. Vergleicht man die wenigen Reste der Aufzählung der Truppen auf der Innenseite des Fragments, dann lassen sich genau die

¹ Die Teile, die, wie sich zeigen wird, sicher ergänzt werden können, sind bereits eingefügt. Florian Matei Popescu danken wir für seine hilfreichen Hinweise.

Namen der Auxiliareinheiten erkennen, die durch RGZM 10 bezeugt sind.² Damit ist das Fragment dieser Konstitution als zweite Kopie zuzuweisen.

Der Text der Innenseite lautet:

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

equitibus et peditibus, qui militant in alis tribus et cohortibus septem, quae appellantur

I Pannoniorum et Hispanorum et Aetectorigiana et I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis (miliaria) Brittonum et I Sugambrorum] ve[t(erana et I Tyrionum sagittaria et I Hispanorum veterana] et I / [Flavia Numidarum et II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pa]cen/[sis (miliaria) et VII Gallorum et sunt in Moesia inferiore sub A(ulo) Ca]ecilio / [Faustino qui quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerun]t etc.

Außenseite:

[Descriptum et reco]gnitum ex [tabula / aenea, quae fixa e]st Romae i[n muro / post templum div]i Aug(usti) ad Min[ervam].

2. Eine dritte Kopie der Konstitution für die Truppen von Dacia vom 17. Februar 110

Allseits abgebrochenes Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte der tabella I eines Diploms. Vor allem die Innenseite ist stark abgerieben, aber dennoch lesbar.

Maße: Höhe 3 cm, Breite 3.3 cm, Dicke 1 mm. Buchstabenhöhe außen 4 mm, innen 3–5 mm. Gewicht 5.3 Gramm.



Abb. 2



Abb. 3

² Grundsätzlich zu den Auxilia in der Provinz Moesia inferior siehe F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Bukarest 2010.

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MIL]ITAVERVN[T IN]
[ALIS DVABVS ET COHORTIBVS D]ECEM QVAE A[P]
[PELLANTVR I CIVIVM ROMANOR]VM ET I AVG
[ITVRAEORVM ET I AVG ITVRAEOR]VM SAGITTA[R]
[ET I BRITANNICA ∞ C R ET I HISP]ANORVM [P F]
[ET I THRACVM C R ET I ITVRAEOR]VM E[T I FLA]

Innenseite:

[IN DACIA SVB D T]EREN[TIO SCAVRIANO]
[QVINIS ET VICE]NIS PLVR[IBVSVE STIPEND]
[EMERITIS DIMI]SSIS HO[NESTA MISSIONE]
[QVORVM NOMI]NA S[V]BSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS
[LIBERIS POSTER]ISQ[VE---]

Der Schlüssel, um das Fragment weitgehend zu ergänzen, ist das Gentilnomen des Statthalters, *[T]eren[tio]*, dem andererseits zehn Kohorten unterstanden. Von den Einheiten, die er kommandierte, ist eine *I Augusta* sowie eine *Hispanorum* zu erkennen. Eine Suche in schon bekannten Diplomen führt schnell auf CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2, nach dem Traian im Jahr 110 Truppen, die in Dakien von D. Terentius Scaurianus befehligt wurden, *civitas* und *conubium* verliehen hat. Erfasst wurden danach zwei Alen und zehn Kohorten. Der hier erkennbare Text entspricht völlig dem, der durch das genannte Diplom bezeugt ist. Das gilt auch für die *ala I civium Romanorum*, die üblicherweise mit dem abgekürzten *c.R.* in den Dokumenten erscheint, aber auf der Außenseite von CIL XVI 57 voll ausgeschrieben ist, wie auch hier, was die erhaltene Endung *[Romanor]um* zeigt. In einer weiteren Kopie derselben Konstitution, die in ZPE 176, 2011, 221 = AE 2011, 1790 publiziert ist, wird allerdings die Abkürzung verwendet.³

Der Text des Diploms ist folgendermaßen zu rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) maximus, / tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XIII, imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae)]

equitibus et peditibus, qui mil]itaverun[t in / alis duabus et cohortibus d]ecem, quae a[p/pellantur I civium Romanor]um et I Aug(usta) / [Ituraeorum et I Aug(usta) Ituraeor]um sagittar(iorum) / [et I Britannica (miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Hisp]anor(um) [p(ia) f(idelis) / et I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ituraeor]um e[st I / Flavia Ulpia Hispanor(um) (miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Gallor(um) Macedonica et III Campestris c(ivium) R(omanorum) et IIII Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum) et VIII Raetor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et pedites singulares Britannici et sunt in Dacia sub D(ecimo) Terentio Scauriano] etc.

³ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Diplome für das Heer in Dakien, ZPE 176, 2011, 221 ff.

Innenseite:

[--- et sunt / in Dacia sub D(ecimo) T]eren[tio Scauriano / quinis et vice]nis plur[ibusve stipend(iis) / emeritis dimi]ssis ho[nesta missione, / quorum nomi]na s[ubscripta sunt, ipsis / liberis poster]isq[ue 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 singulas] etc.

Bereits am 14. Oktober 109 hatten Soldaten von drei Alen und 16 Kohorten, die demselben Statthalter Terentius Scaurianus unterstanden, die üblichen Privilegien erhalten, sie waren allerdings bereits vom Vorgänger des Scaurianus, Iulius Sabinus entlassen worden.⁴ Nach der Privilegierung vom 17. Februar 110 wurde noch im selben Jahr, am 2. Juli, eine weitere Bürgerrechtskonstitution für die Truppen, die Terentius Scaurianus in Dacia befehligte, ausgestellt, diesmal sogar für vier Alen und 18 Kohorten. Fragt man danach, welche Einheiten in welchen Konstitutionen erscheinen, dann ergibt sich folgendes Bild (die Einheiten, die in mehr als einer Konstitution genannt sind, erscheinen in Fettdruck):

RMD III 148	CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2	CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3
14. Oktober 109	17. Februar 110	2. Juli 110
in alis tribus et cohortibus decem et sex	in alis duabus et cohortibus decem	in alis quattuor et cohortibus decem et octo
I c. R. II Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittaria II Pannonior(um) veterana I Brittonum ∞ Ulpia torquata c. R. I Britannica ∞ c. R. I Ituraeor(um) I Thracum c. R. I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) I Vindelicor(um) c. R. p. f. I Pannonior(um) veterana I Montanor(um) II Gallor(um) Pannonica II Hispanor(um) II Britannor(um) ∞ c. R. p. f. II Gallor(um) Macedonica III Campestris c. R. III Cypria c. R. V Gallor(um) VIII Raetorum	I civium Romanorum I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum sagittar(iorum) I Britannica ∞ c. R. I Hispanor(um) p. f. I Thracum c. R. I Ituraeor(um) I Flavia Ulpia Hispanor(um) ∞ c. R. II Gallor(um) Macedonica III Campestris c. R. III Cypria c. R. VIII Raetor(um) c. R. pedites singulares Britannici	I Augusta Ituraeor(um) I Claudia I Britannica c. R. II Pannonior(um) veterana I Brittonum [∞ Ulpia tor]quata c. R. I Vindelicor(um) ∞ c. R. p. f. I Bri[tannica ∞ c. R.] I Flavia Hispanor(um) ∞ c. R. I Montanor(um) [I Thracum c. R.] I Cretum sagittarior(um) I Hispanor(um) p. [f.] I Panno[n]io[r(um) veter. p. f.] II Hispanor(um) II Brita[nnor(um) ∞ c. R.] p. [f.] II Gallor(um) Pannonica II Gallo[r(um) Macedonica] II Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittarior(um) [V Lingonum] V Gallor(um) VI Thracum VIII R[ætor(um) c. R.] pedi]tes Britannici

Das Ergebnis ist Folgendes. Ganz wenige Einheiten werden lediglich in einer der Konstitutionen, die im Abstand von knapp neun Monaten erlassen wurden, angeführt. Aus der Liste vom Februar 110 ist es eine einzige, die *I Aug(usta)*

⁴ RMD III 148 = AE 1987, 854 = AE 1990, 860.

Ituraeorum sagittar(iorum), aus der vom Juli 110 sind es nur vier: die *I Claudia*, die *I Cretum sagittarior(um)*, die *V Lingonum* und die *VI Thracum*. Alle anderen werden zweimal oder sogar dreimal genannt. Dreimal erscheinen die Kohorten: *I Britannica* \propto *c. R.*, *II Gallor(um) Macedonica* und *VIII Raetor(um) c. R.* Weshalb es zu einer solch schnellen Abfolge kam, lässt sich nicht im Einzelnen sagen. Es ist auf jeden Fall auffällig, dass die Abstände so kurz waren.

Auffällig ist ferner, dass die *II Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittaria* im Oktober 109 unter die Alen eingereiht ist, dagegen im Juli 110 unter die Kohorten. Vielleicht befanden sich im Jahr 109 unter den Privilegierten der Einheit nur *equites* und keine *pedites*, weshalb man die Einheit unter die Alen subsumierte; doch muss das eine nicht verifizierbare Vermutung bleiben.

3. Konstitution für die Truppen von Moesia superior unter dem Legaten Prifernius Paetus, ca. 110/111 n.Chr.

Moesia superior gehört neben Moesia inferior zu den Provinzen, aus denen besonders viele *diplomata militaria* bekannt sind. Das haben vor allem die letzten zwei Jahrzehnte gezeigt, in denen viele neue Zeugnisse publiziert wurden. Auf diese Weise ist auch die Abfolge der Statthalter wesentlich dichter geworden. So sind für die traianische Zeit zwei neue Legaten bekannt geworden, einerseits L. Tutilius Lupercus, der gegen Ende der traianischen Zeit die Provinz leitete,⁵ andererseits T. Prifernius Paetus Settidianus Firmus, der zumindest von 109 bis 112 im Amt war.⁶ Für diesen Statthalter ist nun ein weiteres Diplom bekannt geworden, das hier vorgelegt werden kann.

Es handelt sich um ein Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Das Fragment ist ringsum abgebrochen. Die Buchstaben sind einigermaßen tief eingraviert.

Maße: Höhe 3.7 cm. Gewicht 5.72 Gramm.



Abb. 4



Abb. 5

⁵ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Chiron 38, 2008, 363 ff. Nr. 10 = AE 2008, 1740.

⁶ Dazu weiter unten im Text.

Allerdings dürfte das neue Fragment eher nicht auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückzugehen wie die beiden erstmals im Chiron 2008 publizierten Diplome. Denn bei der Abfolge der Einheiten, von denen hier noch die Namen der *cohortes IIII Raetorum* und *V Hispanorum* zu lesen sind, scheint es keinen Platz mehr zu geben, um auch die *cohors Flavia*, die in den beiden Diplomen von 112 auf die eben angeführten Kohorten folgt, noch einzufügen. Damit ist das neue Fragment aber keine weitere Kopie der Konstitution von 112. Wegen der noch erhaltenen Kohortennamen, die in den anderen drei Diplomen erst am Ende der Liste erscheinen, darf man wohl davon ausgehen, dass die Liste der Einheiten, aus denen 109 und 112 Soldaten privilegiert wurden, relativ lang war oder vielleicht sogar – fast – alle Einheiten der Provinz einschloss. Dann aber ist es wenig wahrscheinlich, dass in einem der beiden Jahre 109 oder 112 nochmals eine Konstitution für sehr viele oder die meisten Einheiten ausgestellt wurde, wie es ja in dem neuen Fragment nachweislich geschehen ist. Dann aber dürfte diese Konstitution am ehesten aus einem der beiden Jahre 110 oder 111 stammen – es sei denn, Prifernius Paetus wäre schon im Jahr 108 oder noch 113 in der Provinz gewesen. Das ist nicht gerade wahrscheinlich, aber auch nicht unmöglich. Treffen diese Überlegungen zu, dann haben wir damit neben den Konstitutionen der Jahre 109 und 112 noch eine dritte, in der Prifernius Paetus als Legat von Moesia superior genannt ist.

Wie viele Einheiten genau im Konstitutionstext gestanden haben, lässt sich nicht sicher feststellen, deshalb wird hier auf eine Ergänzung verzichtet. Der Text der Außenseite lautet etwa so:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) maxim(us), tribunicia potest(ate) XIII/XV, imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae)

equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis ...et cohortibus ---, quae appellantur --- et IIII Rae]tor(um) et V Hispan[or(um) et VII Breucor(um) et sunt in Mo]esia superiore [sub T(ito) Prifernio Paeto Settidiano Fi]rmo quin[is] et [vicenis pluribusve stipendis emer]itis item cla[ssicis] senis et vicenis dimissis honesta] missione,

q[uorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberi]s posteri[sque] eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxo]ribus, q[uas tunc habuissent ---] etc.

Innenseite:

[--- quin[is] et vicenis pluribusve stipendis] emer[itis] item classicis senis et vicenis dimi]ssis hone[sta] missione,

quorum nomina subscript]a sunt, ips[is] liberis posterisque eorum civitat(em) d]edit et [conubium cum uxo]ribus, q[uas tunc habuissent ---] etc.

4. Eine weitere Kopie der Konstitution vom Oktober 142 für Dacia Porolissensis

Fragment aus der linken unteren Ecke einer tabella II eines Diploms. Der Rand ist links und unten erhalten. Der Rahmen besteht aus zwei nur leicht eingegrabenen Linien.

Maße: Höhe 6 cm, Breite 4,5 cm, Dicke 1 mm. Gewicht 16 Gramm.



Abb. 6



Abb. 7

Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[---]
P ATTI [---]
M SEN[TILI]
TI IV[LI]
C IV[LI]

Innenseite:

A D [---]
CAMPES[---]
COH [---]
SEX MIN[---]

Die Konstitution, auf die das Diplom zurückgeht, ist für ein Auxiliarheer bestimmt gewesen, wie der Hinweis auf die *cohors* zeigt, der der Empfänger angehört hatte. Allerdings lässt der Text nicht erkennen, für welche Provinz die Konstitution bestimmt war. Die Zeugen, die hier den 4.-7. Platz in der Liste einnehmen, weisen auf die kurze Epoche von 142-143 hin, in der sie die Diplome in dieser Reihenfolge beglaubigten.⁸ Dazu passt auch der Rest der Konsulatsdatierung: *Campes[tre]*. Mit diesem Cognomen ist nur ein einziger Senator bekannt: L. Tusidius Campester, der

⁸ Siehe RMD V p. 942.

zusammen mit Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus im Juli/August des Jahres 142 die *fascēs* führte.⁹ Sein Konsulat findet sich bereits in folgenden Diplomen:

AE 2014, 1621	classis praetoria Misenensis	
RMD II 106	classis	pr(idie) Non(as) Oc[t(obres)]
RMD V 395	classis	
RMD V 396	Auxilia	
AE 2014, 1640	Dacia Porolissensis	[pr(idie)] Non(as) Oct(obres)

Wenn man nicht davon ausgehen will, dass noch eine weitere Konstitution mit diesen Konsuln ausgegeben wurde (was durchaus möglich ist), dann sollte man das Fragment der Konstitution für Dacia Porolissensis zuweisen, da die andere(n) Konstitution(en) eine oder mehrere Flotten betreffen. Die Kohorte bleibt allerdings unbestimmt.

Vom Namen des Kohortenpräfekten ist noch *Sex(tus) Min[---]* zu lesen. Er scheint unbekannt zu sein.

Der Text des Diploms lautet mit den erhaltenen Teilen von tabella II folgendermaßen:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius), divi Traiani Parthici n(epos), divi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ify) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) V, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriciae) equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in ala una et coh(ortibus) V, qu(ae) appellantur

... et sunt in Dacia Porol(issensi) sub Clodio Gallo quin(que) et vici(n)is stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione,

quorum nomina subscripta sunt, civitatem Romanam dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civit(as) i(i)s data, aut cum i(i)s, quas post(ea) duxiss(ent), dumtaxat singulis]

A(nte) d(iem) [pr(idie) Non(as) Oct(obres)] / Campestre [et Senecione co(n)s(ulibus)]

Coh(ortis) [---, cui praefuit] / Sex(tus) Min[--- / ---].

[Ti(beri) Claudi Menandri; P(ubli) Atti Severi; L(uci) Pulli Daphni;] P(ubli) Atti [Festi;] M(arci) Sen[til(i) Iasi;] Ti(beri) Iul[i] Felicis;] C(ai) Iu[li] Silvani].

5. Ein Diplom mit dem Statthalter Nonius Macrinus für Pannonia inferior aus dem Jahr 151

Von der tabella I eines Diploms ist der linke obere Teil überliefert. Der Rand ist oben und links erhalten. An der rechten Bruchkante sind kleine Teile abgesplittert. Tiefe regelmäßige Schrift auf der Außenseite, ebenso auf der Innenseite. Die Zeilen sind dort mit großem Abstand geschrieben, wie es jedenfalls in Zeile 5 zu erkennen ist, während sie auf der Außenseite dicht gedrängt sind. Das verweist auf die Jahre von 143 bis 153, als innen meist ein deutlich verkürzter Text eingraviert wurde, ein

⁹ Zuletzt dazu W. Eck, in: *Studia Epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy*, hg. Werner Eck – Bence Fehér – Péter Kovács, Bonn 2013, 73.

grober Fehler gegen das Prinzip einer Doppelurkunde, der aber vor dem 26. Oktober 153 entdeckt und abgestellt worden war und danach nicht wieder vorkam.¹⁰

Maße: Höhe 5.8 cm. Gewicht 11.25 Gramm.



Abb. 8



Abb. 9

Folgender Text ist lesbar:¹¹

Außenseite:

IMP CAES DIVI [HADRIANI F DIVI TRAIANI]
 PARTHIC NEP D[IVI NERVAE PRONEP T AELI]
 VS HADRIANVS[S ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PONT]
 MAX TR POT X[IV IMP II COS IV P P]
 EQVIT ET PEDIT [QVI MIL IN AL IV ET COH XI]
 QVAE APPEL I [FL AVG BRIT ∞ ET I THR VET?]
 ET I C R ET PR[AETORIA C R ET I ALPINOR]
 EQVIT ET III BA[TAV ∞ VEXILL ET I ALPIN]
 PEDIT ET I NOR[IC ET III LVSIT ET II ASTVR]
 CALLAEC ET VII B[REVC ET I LVS ET II AVG]
 THR ET I MONT[AN ET I AVG THRAC C R]
 ET SVNT IN PAN[NON INFER SVB NONIO]
 MACR[I]NO LEG [QVINIS ET VICENIS]

¹⁰ Siehe RGZM 34; RMD V 409-411; siehe W. Eck, Der Kaiser als Herr des Heeres. Militärdiplome und kaiserliche Reichsregierung, in: Documenting the Roman Army, hg. J. Wilkes, London 2003, 55 ff.; ders., Bürokratie und Politik. Administrative Routine und politische Reflexe in Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen der römischen Kaiser, Wiesbaden 2012, 44 ff.

¹¹ Der Text wurde soweit komplettiert, wie dies auf Grund eines anderen Diploms mit Nonius Macrinus in Niederpannonien möglich ist: W. Eck - A. Pangerl, Ein Diplom für die Auxiliartruppen von Pannonia inferior vom 5. September 152 n. Chr., ZPE 171, 2009, 221 ff. = AE 2009, 1826.

Innenseite:

IMP CAES DIVI H[ADRIANI FIL DIVI TRAIANI]
 PARTH N DIV[I NERVAE PRONEP T AELI]
 VS HADRIAN A[NTONINVS AVG PIVS P M]
 TR POT XIV I[MP II COS IV P P]
 EQ ET PED Q M IN A[L IV ET COH XI Q APP]

Die Konstitution wurde für die Truppen von Pannonia inferior ausgestellt, als Pius die 14. tribunizische Gewalt in seiner Titulatur führte, die vom 10. Dezember 150 bis 9. Dezember 151 dauerte. Die Zahl der Alen betrug vier, die der Kohorten elf. In einem Diplom aus dem folgenden Jahr (mit der 15. *tribunicia potestas* des Pius), in dem ebenfalls Nonius Macrinus als Legat erscheint, wurden, wie die Formel nach *equitibus et peditibus* sagt, angeblich Soldaten aus fünf Alen und dreizehn Kohorten eingeschlossen; doch tatsächlich werden nur vier Alen und zehn Kohorten namentlich aufgeführt.¹² Die Zahl der Einheiten, die in eine Konstitution eingingen, kann natürlich variieren, je nachdem aus welchen Truppeneinheiten in jedem Jahr Soldaten zur Privilegierung anstanden. Auffällig ist jedoch beim Vergleich der beiden Diplome, dass die Abfolge der Alen deutlich variiert, während die bei den Kohorten fast gleich ist, wobei Lücken in beiden auftreten, freilich an unterschiedlichen Stellen.

neues Diplom aus dem Jahr 151	ZPE 171, 2009, 221 ff. = AE 2009, 1826 aus 152
I [FL AVG BRIT ∞]	I praetor(ia) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
[I THR VET]	I c(ivium) R(omanorum)
I C R	I Au/gust(a) Itur(aeorum)
PR[AETORIA C R]	I Aug(usta) Brit(annica) (miliaria)
[I ALPINOR] EQVIT	I Alpin(orum) equ(itata)
III BA[TAV ∞ VEXILL]	
	I Thr(acum) Germ(anica)
[I ALPIN] PEDIT	I Alpin(orum) ped(itata)
I NOR[IC]	I No/ric(orum)
III LVSIT	III Lusit(anorum)
II ASTVR CALLAEC	
VII B[REVC]	VII Breuc(orum)
I LVS	I Lusit(anorum)
[II AVG] THR	II Aug(usta) Thr(acum)
I MONT[AN]	I Mont(anorum)
I AVG THRAC C R	I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)

Eine Erklärung für die Unterschiede in den Listen ist wohl kaum zu finden. Zu den einzelnen Einheiten enthält das Diplom nichts Neues. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings, dass nach dem Namen des Nonius Macrinus seine Funktionsbezeichnung *leg(ato)* erscheint. Es ist der zweite Beleg dafür aus dem Jahr 151. Am 24. September 151 heißt

¹² ZPE 171, 2009, 221 ff. = AE 2009, 1826 (siehe oben Anm. 11).

es in einem Diplom für Dacia Porolissensis: *sub Macrinio Vindice proc(uratore)*.¹³ Noch am 20. Januar 150 fehlt diese Bezeichnung in zwei Konstitutionen (RGZM 31 und AE 2009, 1742). Auch am 1. August dieses Jahres werden die Legaten von Pannonia superior und inferior als Kommandeure der Truppen, die nach Mauretanien zum Kampf gegen die Mauren abgeordnet waren, ohne Titel genannt, wohl aber erscheint er beim Präsidialprokurator von Mauretania Caesariensis, der die Soldaten ehrenhaft entlassen hatte: *per Porcium Vetustinum proc(uratorem)*.¹⁴ Allerdings fehlt in einem gleichartigen Text vom 24. September, also am selben Tag, an dem das eben erwähnte Diplom für Dacia Porolissensis ausgegeben wurde, noch jeder Titel, obwohl der Text sachlich dem vom 1. August entspricht. Denn es werden ebenfalls die Statthalter zweier Donauprovinzen und der Präsidialprokurator von Mauretania Caesariensis, ein Varius Clemens, der Nachfolger von Porcius Vetustinus, genannt. Doch Clemens trägt den Prokuratorentitel nicht. Zwar ist das Diplom an dieser Stelle fragmentarisch, aber der Platz für *proc(uratorem)*, wie er bisher ergänzt wurde, ist nicht vorhanden.¹⁵ Der Befund ist somit nicht wirklich klar. Dennoch wird man am ehesten, wenn auch mit Vorsicht, davon ausgehen dürfen, dass das neue Diplom mit *Nonio Macrino leg(ato)* erst in den letzten Monaten des Jahres 151 ausgefertigt wurde. Danach wird die Nennung der Titulatur Standard. Dieses Diplom ist jedenfalls bisher das erste, in dem unter Pius ein senatorischer Statthalter mit seiner Amtsbezeichnung erscheint.

Man kann den Text insgesamt in folgender Weise rekonstruieren, wobei die variablen Teile fehlen.

Außenseite:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi [Hadriani f(ilius), divi Traiani] / Parthic(i) nep(os), d[ivi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aeli]/us Hadrianu[s Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius / pont(ifex)] / max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) X[IV, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriciae)] /

equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus), [qui mil(itaverunt) in alis IV et coh(ortibus) XI], / quae appel(lantur) I [Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Brit(annica) (miliaria) et I Thr(acum) vet(erana)?] / et I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et pr[aetor(ia) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Alpin(orum)] / equ(itata) et III Ba[tav(orum) (miliaria) vexill(atio) et I Alpinor(um)] / pedit(ata) et I Nor[ic(orum) et III Lusit(anorum) et II Astur(um)] / Callaec(orum) VII B[reuc(orum) et I Lus(itanorum) et II Aug(usta)] / Thr(acum) et I Mont[an(orum) et I Aug(usta) Thra(cum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)] / et sunt / in Pan[non(ia) infer(iore) sub Nonio] / Macr[fi]no leg(ato) [quinis et vicanis plur(ibusve) / stip(endis) emeritis] etc.

Innenseite:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi H[adriani f(ilius), divi Traiani] / Parth(ici) n(epos), div[fi] Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aeli]/us Hadrian(us) Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius

¹³ RMD V 404.

¹⁴ CIL XVI 99 = Dessau 9056.

¹⁵ In RGZM 32 ist die zeilenweise Rekonstruktion ganz offensichtlich unzutreffend. In Kapitälchen muss auch nach dem Photo die Verteilung in den fraglichen Zeilen 12 - 15 so ausgesehen haben:

[VICENPLVRSTIP]EMERITDIMISHO
[NESTMISSPERVA]RIVMCLEM[ENT]
[CVMESSENTINEXP]EDITM[AVRCAE]
SARQVORNOMINSVBSCRIPTASVNT

p(ontifex) m(aximus),] / tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XIV, i[mp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriae)] /

eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus), q(ui) m(ilitaverunt) in a[liis IV et coh(ortibus) XI, q(uae) app(ellantur)] / etc.

6. Eine zehnte Kopie einer Konstitution für die Truppen von Moesia superior unter dem Statthalter Curtius Rufus im Jahr 157

Fragment aus der Mitte der unteren Hälfte einer tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nirgends erhalten.



Abb. 10



Abb. 11

Folgendes kann gelesen werden.

Außenseite:

[DED ET CO]NV[B CVM VXORIB QVAS TVNC HABVISS]
 [CVM EST CI]VIT IIS DATA A[VT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA]
 [DVXISS DV]MTAX SIN[GVLIS]
 [A] D VIII K [MAI]
 [L ROSCIO] AELIANO CN P[APIRIO AELIANO COS]
 [COH II] GALLOR MAC[EDONIC CVI PRAEST]
 [--]VALERIVS [--]
 [--]PE[--]

Innenseite:

[EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILIT IN ALIS II QVAE APP]
 [ELLANTVR CL]AVD NOV[A MISCELL ET GALL FLAVIAN ET]
 [COH X V GA]LL PANN ET V [HISP ET I MONT ET I ANTIOCH]
 [SAG ET I C]RET SAG ET II[I CAMPEST C R ET II GALL MAC]
 [ET III BRIT]T VET ET I LVŞ[IT ET I PANN VET ET SVNT]

Das Tagesdatum *VIII* in Verbindung mit dem Cognomen des *consul prior* und einigen der auf der Innenseite genannten Einheiten wie der *Claudia nova Miscellanea* oder der *I Lusitanorum* macht es unmittelbar klar, dass das Fragment eine weitere Kopie einer Konstitution darstellt, die am 23. April des Jahres 157 in Rom publiziert wurde. Sie war für die Truppen von Moesia superior erlassen worden. Eingeschlossen waren Soldaten aus zwei Alen und zehn Kohorten, die dem Statthalter Curtius Iustus unterstanden. Von dieser Konstitution sind bisher bereits neun Diplome bezeugt: RMD V 418. 419; RGZM 37; Chiron 38, 2008, 286. 380. 381. 382. 383 = AE 2008, 1712. 1718. 1744–1747. Die Konstitution ist am 23. April 157 in Rom publiziert worden. Der Kaiser selbst hatte einige Zeit vorher, üblicherweise mehrere Wochen vorher die Zustimmung zur Privilegierung gegeben. Nimmt man an, dass dies spätestens Anfang April des Jahres 157 geschah, dann muss vorher die Liste der für die Verleihung des Bürgerrechts anstehenden Soldaten vom Statthalter der betreffenden Provinz nach Rom gesandt worden sein, ein Vorgang, der wiederum einige Wochen benötigte. Dann aber muss die ehrenhafte Entlassung, die der *civitas*-Verleihung vorausging, schon Anfang des Jahres 157 erfolgt sein, wenn nicht sogar schon Ende des Jahres 156. Rechnet man von da 25 Jahre zurück, dann müsste die Rekrutierung im Jahr 131/132 erfolgt sein. Wegen der hohen Zahl der Diplome, die überlebt haben, darf man auf eine hohe Zahl von Soldaten schließen, die 25 Jahre vorher als Rekruten in die Einheiten aufgenommen worden waren. Was die Ursache für diese umfangreiche Neuaufnahme in die Auxilien von Moesia superior in diesem Zeitraum war, ist nicht direkt überliefert. Doch könnte es sein, dass der damalige Statthalter – es war vermutlich Vitrasius Flamininus – in Erwartung des Besuches des Kaisers, der wohl im Herbst 131 / Winter 131/2 auf der Rückreise von Ägypten auch die Donauprovinzen besucht hat, seine Einheiten auf den Sollstand gebracht hat. Denn man kannte die Einstellung Hadrians, der aktuelle Zustand der Truppen dürfe kein Hindernis sein, stets auf aktuelle Bedrohungen unmittelbar zu reagieren. Dazu aber war der volle Mannschaftsbestand notwendige Voraussetzung. Auf diese Weise könnte man die das Normale deutlich übersteigende Zahl der Diplome erklären. Sicher ist jedenfalls, dass nicht etwa eine einzelne Truppe besonders viele Ausfälle hatte, was dann entsprechende Folgen haben konnte.¹⁶ Es sind immerhin drei Einheiten in den individuellen Teilen der Diplome genannt, aus denen Soldaten entlassen worden waren, die anschließend das Bürgerrecht erhielten.¹⁷ In den anderen Diplomen sind die entsprechenden Passagen nicht erhalten.

Der Text des Diploms, soweit er erhalten ist, lässt sich so rekonstruieren:

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadrian(i) f(ilius), divi Traiani Parthic(i) nep(os), divi Nervae pronepos T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XX, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriciae) equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt --- et sunt in Moesia super(iore) sub Curtio Iusto leg(ato) quinque et viginti stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione,

¹⁶ Siehe dazu W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Weitere Militärdiplome für die mauretanischen Provinzen, ZPE 162, 2007, 235 ff.

¹⁷ RGZM 37; AE 2008, 1718. 1747 und das neue Diplom.

quorum nomina subscripta sunt, civitatem Romanam, qui eorum non haberent, / dedit et co]nu]b(ium) cum uxorib(us), quas tunc habuiss(ent), / cum est ci]vit(as) iis data a]ut cum iis, quas postea duxiss(ent), du]mtax(at) sin]gulis.

A(nte)] d(iem) VIII K(alendas) [Mai(as) / L(ucio) Roscio] Aeliano Cn(aeo) P[apirio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) II] Gallor(um) Mac[edonic(ae), cui praeest / -] Valerius [--- / ex] pe[dite] etc.

Innenseite:

[equitibus et peditibus, qui milit(averunt) in alis II, quae appellantur Cl]aud(ia) nov[a miscell(anea) et Gall(orum) Flavia(na) et coh(ortibus) X V Ga]ll(orum) Pann(oniorum) et V Hisp(anorum) et I Mont(anorum) et I Antioch(ensium) sag(ittariorum) et I C]retum sag(ittariorum) et II[I Campestr(ris) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Gall(orum) Mac(edonica) et / III Brit]t(onum) vet(erana) et I Lus[it(anorum) et I Pann(oniorum) veter(ana) et sunt / in Moesia super(iore) sub Curtio Iusto] etc.

7. Ein Diplom für Veteranen des exercitus von Moesia inferior unter dem Statthalter T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio am Ende der Regierung von Antoninus Pius

Fragment von tabella I eines Diploms, das ringsum abgebrochen ist. Sehr tief eingegrabene Buchstaben auf der Außenseite, auf der Innenseite sind nur wenige Zeichen vorhanden, die aber nicht sicher gelesen werden können. Das angebrochene Bindungsloch macht deutlich, dass der erhaltene Rest aus der linken Mitte des Diploms stammt.



Abb. 12

Folgendes ist zu erkennen.

Außenseite:

[ET I CISIP]ADENSI[VM ET SVNT IN MOES INFER]
 [SVB VIT]RASIO POL[LIONE LEG XXV PLVRIBVS]
 [VE STIP]END EME[RITIS DIMISSIS HONESTA MIS]
 vacat ● [●]
 [SIONE] QVOR NO[MINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT CIVI]
 [TATEM R]OMAN[AM QVI EORVM NON HABER]
 [DEDIT ET CONVBIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS]

Innenseite:

Siehe oben.

Das Diplom geht auf eine Konstitution zurück, die frühestens Ende des Jahres 140 ausgestellt worden sein kann, da im Privilegierungstext von der *civitas Romana* gesprochen wird, was erst mit dem Ausschluss der Kinder bei der Verleihung der *civitas* geschehen ist. Die Konstitution betraf die Truppen einer Provinz, die damals unter dem Kommando eines Vitrasius Pollio standen. Der Senator, dessen Nomenklatur vollständig T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio lautet, war konsularer Statthalter in Moesia inferior und Hispania citerior. Für die letztere Provinz ist die hier bezeugte Konstitution sicher nicht ausgestellt, da wir für die Tarraconensis bisher keine solchen Dokumente kennen. Dagegen sind mit seinem Namen bereits mehrere Diplome bekannt, alle für die Truppen von Moesia inferior unter Antoninus bestimmt.

156	Moesia inf.	ZPE 199, 2016, 198 = AE 2006, 1213
157–8-Febr.	Moesia inf.	AE 2007, 1236; 2008, 1726
??	Moesia inf.	AE 1961, 128 = RMD I 50

Vitrasius Pollio ist in der Provinz auch durch andere Dokumente bezeugt, die seine Statthalterschaft auf die Jahre 156–159 fixieren.¹⁸ Das neue Fragment kann nicht auf die Konstitution zurückgehen, die im Jahr 156 erlassen wurde (AE 2006, 1213); diese war nur für Veteranen aus Alen bestimmt. Gleiches gilt auch für den Erlass vom 8. Februar 157; dort ist zwar wie in den oben genannten Diplomen als letzte Einheit die *cohors I Cisipadensium* angeführt wie auch in dem neuen. Doch in der Konstitution, die am 8. Februar publiziert wurde, wurden auch *classici* eingeschlossen, was in diesem Diplom aus Platzgründen in den Zeilen 2 und 3 nicht möglich ist. Damit gehört das Diplom wohl in ein anderes Jahr und bezeugt damit eine weitere, bisher unbekannte Konstitution für Moesia inferior. Möglich wäre etwa das Jahr 156, wenn man annähme, es sei dies eine Parallelkonstitution zu der schon bekannten, die aber nur für *equites* galt; die neue könnte dann entsprechend nur für die *pedites* bestimmt gewesen sein. Doch kommen genauso die Jahre 158 und 159 in Frage, in der Vitrasius Pollio als Legat dieser Provinz amtierte.

¹⁸ PIR V² 770.

Der Text der Außenseite lautet – ohne konkrete Fixierung auf ein bestimmtes Jahr – in etwa folgendermaßen:

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Hadriani f(ilius), divi Traiani Parthici nep(os), divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) ---, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriciae) equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus), qui militaver(unt) in alis --, quae appel(lantur) --- et cohortibus --- et I Cisip]adensi[um et sunt in Moesia infer(iore) sub Vit]rasio Pol[lione leg(ato) XXV stip]end(iis) eme[ritis dimissis honesta missione,]

quor(um) no[m]ina subscripta sunt, civitatem R]oman[am, qui eorum non haberent, dedit et conubium cum uxoribus---] etc.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE URBAN CENTERS OF DACIA POROLISSENSIS*

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Abstract: The current paper is an account on the prosopography of the main urban centers of Dacia Porolissensis – Napoca, Potaissa and Porolissum. The objective is detailing on the epigraphic habits of each city, as well as noting their position within the realities of Roman Dacia, from comparative and statistical points of view. Nonetheless, we will try to go beyond figures and see what lies behind the epigraphic patterns of representation, when we can talk about hazard and when we can actually see glimpses of social realities and specific mentalities. Structurally, the paper will first present the contextualized image of prosopographical data, and will then focus on a couple of specific details and case studies extracted from each city.

Keywords: epigraphic habits; social history; Napoca; Potaissa; Porolissum.

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față se axează pe prosopografia centrelor urbane din Dacia Porolissensis – Napoca, Potaissa și Porolissum. Obiectivele constau în prezentarea realităților fiecărui oraș și încadrarea lor în ansamblul practicilor epigrafice ale Daciei romane. De asemenea, vom încerca să depășim nivelul analizei statistice și să analizăm ce stă în spatele tiparelor de reprezentare, când este îndreptățit să vorbim despre hazard și când putem afirma că ne confruntăm cu mentalități și realități specifice. Ca structură, articolul va prezenta în prima parte datele statistice și contextualizarea lor, pentru ca în cea de a doua parte să se concentreze pe detalii și studii de caz extrase din fiecare oraș.

Cuvinte cheie: practici epigrafice; istorie socială; Napoca; Potaissa; Porolissum.

The three cities

The part of Dacia we are dealing with is the one most influenced by the military element (part of the north-eastern European *limes* of the province and implicitly of the Empire is included in it) and its epigraphy mirrors that. Adding to a certain note of austerity, the region lacked a marble quarry of its own (as Bucova¹ was for Dacia Superior), as well as a facile route for transportation (as the Danube was for Dacia Inferior), facts that are strongly and directly reflected by the quasi-inexistence of marble monuments and the massive use of limestone and other cheaper and not so aesthetically accomplished materials.²

The three urban centers are rather different as to history and social fabric. Napoca³ was the first urban settlement of northern Dacia, became a *municipium* under Hadrian and a *colonia* during Marcus Aurelius' reign. As the administrative

* This work was supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0021, within PNCDI III.

¹ Caraș-Severin County.

² Varga 2016, 125.

³ Unfortunately, we do not have a dedicated monograph for the settlement; for some reference points, see Ardevan 1998, 61-65; Voişian et alii 2000; Diaconescu 2004, 117-121.

center of Dacia Porolissensis, it became the capital of the province and the seat of the *procuratores*, both praesidial (118/119–168) and financial (after 168).⁴

Potaissa⁵ existed as well, as a *vicus*, since the beginning of the Roman dominion over Dacia. It flourished after the year 168, when the V Macedonica legion was garrisoned here, but it became a *municipium* only during Septimius Severus's reign and was granted the status of *colonia* by Caracalla. Its civilian life and epigraphy were highly influenced by the military presence, visible in all aspects. Nonetheless, for the purposes of the current research, we will not deal with the militaries, except when they are attested in a familial context and thus inserted in the local civilian society. The prosopography of the legion and the prosopography of the civilian settlement are surely two different things and for our enterprise it is much more important to see how the military presence impacts on the city, rather than to follow the careers and whereabouts of the military personnel.

Porolissum,⁶ the third major center of the province, is the only one entirely developed around a military fort. The garrison was established here in AD 106 and the civilian settlement around it flourished during the following decades. It became a *municipium* under Septimius Severus.

As one can see, each city was marked by specific realities which influenced its society and economic standing. As well worth noting, each city benefitted by conditions which brought along relative wellbeing: Napoca was the area's main urban center and the seat of the *procuratores*, Potaissa was home to one of Dacia's two legions and Porolissum was the most important customs point on the northern border.⁷ These pre-conditions are important for epigraphic manifestations, as surely stone epigraphy is connected with the economic status of the individual and the community he/she dwells alike.⁸

Comparative statistics

In order to make the analysis relevant and the conclusions obvious, we shall initially present the general statistics on Dacia. First of all, we want to stress once again that the present study is not an enterprise pertaining to demography, but a prosopographical research, intertwined with matters of epigraphic representativeness. Population size estimations have no relevance in this context, thus we will not linger on the complicated and multi-folded opinions on the ancient world's demographic realities.⁹

On Pl. I, one can see that Dacia Porolissensis brings forth about a quarter of the people attested in the entire province.¹⁰ Regarding the type of monuments, a very interesting feature becomes evident (Pl. II): A distinctive characteristic of

⁴ Piso 1993b, 39 and 91. Moreover Napoca was an important *conventus* centre (Piso 2013b, 6).

⁵ Bărbulescu 1997; Ardevan 1998, 55–61; Bărbulescu 2012.

⁶ Gudea 1996; Ardevan 1998, 65–67; Tamba 2008.

⁷ Opreanu, Lăzărescu 2015, 25–27.

⁸ Nemeti, Nemeti 2018, 165.

⁹ For bibliography, an overview on the matter and some estimations, see Paki 1988; Paki 1990; Piso 1993a; Bărbulescu 1994, 49–63; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2004; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2009; Varga 2014, 49–51.

¹⁰ All raw statistics are based on the romans1by1.com platform, where all people attested epigraphically in Dacia and Moesia have been registered. The general statistics based on the database will be published in 2018: Varga et alii 2018, in print.

Dacia¹¹ is the indubitable predominance of votive monuments. The situation is mostly generated by the rich urban centers of Dacia Superior and it reveals an urban culture, of relative ostentatious public display, very interested in the meta-message of a monument, public opinion and indirect self-promotion. Nonetheless, the state of facts in Dacia Porolissensis is different, as the number of funerary and votive monuments is approximately the same. The observation is valid for both Napoca and Potaissa, but presents a small – though relevant – disproportion for Porolissum, where epitaphs hold the majority. This does not seem to be the result of hazard and/or state of research, but of the deeply militarized local environment. While Napoca develops as a city from its beginnings and Potaissa is connected to the legion, which arrives here at the dawn of Dacia's best economical time span, Porolissum is solely home to *auxilia* and stands for the social and implicitly epigraphic habits of a rigid environment. The whole balance of votive: funerary monuments is atypical,¹² as urbanity is defined by a high number of votive dedications¹³ and the predomination of funerary monuments at a provincial level is given by the correlation of cities with poorer, less educated and more austere areas.

The identifiable social representativeness (Pl. IV) highlights no major surprises, but makes certain local aspects visible. For example, the militaries are well represented, being approximately a third part of the attestations at provincial level; nonetheless, one could have expected more, given that the area is the most militarized in Dacia. These relatively disproportionate manifestations are, in our opinion, a reflection of epigraphic habits and cultural environment. Roman senators and *equites* are poorly represented for obvious reasons, but the situation of the decurions is more intriguing, as they are heavily underrepresented (Pl. V); even in Napoca, the longest functioning settlement with an urban status, the number of attested decurions is basically irrelevant. At this point, we cannot fully explain the underrepresentation, as it seems atypical, but too much of a coincidence to be considered solely hazard. The senators and knights attested are generally representatives for mobility, as they are located in Dacia Porolissensis temporarily, holding a civil or military office as part of their *cursus honorum*; even if they didn't reside in the province for long, they are included in the present study as, for the time they had stationed here, they had been very important elements of the local civilian society. The most eloquent case is that of the procurators; completely different from the decurions from a statistical perspective, though not numerous, they are a third of the procurators attested in the whole province. Both *praesidial* and financial procurators are attested in important proportions and we would link these figures to their place in the community, to the fact that in this area of Dacia they often were the highest standing officials present, having more power and a greater leverage in society than they would have had in Sarmizegetusa or Apulum, for example. Nonetheless,

¹¹ In Moesia Inferior, for example, the ratio funerary: votive is almost 3:1 (Varga et alii 2018).

¹² It exists in other cities from other provinces as well (e.g. Scupi in Moesia Superior or Brigetio in Pannonia Superior), due to particular local circumstances, just as in the cases analyzed here. All figures are extracted from romans1by1.

¹³ For Dacia, for both Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, the above ratio is 1:2. In Pannonia Superior, at Poetovio, the situation is the same. All figures are extracted from romans1by1.

the displays of power are tremendously less impressive and have only a shade of the purposefulness of power shows we can clearly see in the epigraphy of the *procuratores* of Sarmizegetusa or the governors' staff of Apulum.¹⁴

The next part of our article will present, within this broad context, the epigraphic and prosopographic realities of the three urban centers. It is important to mention at this point that we will not attempt a full prosopographical reconstruction, which would more or less detail on every individual; we did not consider such an approach fit for an article and we believe it would lead to losing purpose and diluting the information too much.¹⁵ Instead, we will present an overview, the revealing aspects and focus on a number of individual case studies, relevant for understanding life and society in these cities.

Napoca

In Napoca, there are 139 persons registered, most of them citizens – with only 6 peregrines attested and no indubitable slaves. As gender balance, we have 37 women, which represent a little over 25% of the attestations (the gender balance for Dacia and Dacia Porolissensis alike is around 15% – Pl. III). Among them, 18 are members of the *spira Asianorum*,¹⁶ thus attested in a context that does not make the monument the reflection of their will or economic power and also explains the misleading overrepresentation. The only confirmed higher status is that of Epipodia, *mater* of the *spira*¹⁷ – the *mater* was not the equivalent of a *patrona*, most likely, but a member of the *collegium* with administrative and/or representative attributions.¹⁸ No female character registers a proper occupational title. The monuments dedicated by women are rather scarce and mostly pertain to the sphere of funerary dedications made in a family context (for spouse or children). An exception is the artistically beautiful (especially by local standards) epitaph of Flavia Ursula, dedicated by her freedwoman, Flavia Caemina;¹⁹ unfortunately, the only life detail offered by the monument is the age of the deceased – 83 years – and nothing on the women's social, economic or familial standing. Another interesting dedication comes from Octavia,²⁰ who erects her father-in-law's funerary monument; given the fact that she is the sole dedicator, we could deduce that the woman was also the man's sole living heir, the husband/son having died in the past.

The only *collegium* attested in Napoca is the already mentioned *spira Asianorum*, from 235 AD, listing 43 names. In the context of the *spira's album*, we have the attestation of Zoilianus – he was the *lapidus* who inscribed the monument, most probably himself member of the association. Most of the association members bear

¹⁴ On these local power displays, see Varga, Rusu-Bolindeț 2016.

¹⁵ As well, absolutely all information is available on romans1by1.com and narrating what is already exhaustive and open access seems wasteful.

¹⁶ CIL III 870; Piso 2013a, 167–169.

¹⁷ The title is not very frequent in Dacia (or elsewhere, for that matter – Hemelrijk 2008), with only four attestations: Lalu 2016, 206–208.

¹⁸ Hemelrijk 2008, 137–142.

¹⁹ AE 1987, 840.

²⁰ AE 2005, 1294.

Latin names, fact which is rather normal given the period; they are seconded by Greek and Micro-Asian names.²¹ Thracian names, such as Dizo²² and Eptala,²³ are also present, which demonstrates once again that towards the middle of the 3rd century AD, both affiliation to a (theoretically ethnical or at least regional) group and onomastics were relative and the result of a personal choice.

The attested militaries generally have ranks within their units, albeit we do not always know the troop. Sextus Valerius Saturninus was a *decurio* in ala Siliana,²⁴ Titus Scarvius Vitalis was *tribunus* of the cohorts III Campestris²⁵ and a character whose name was not preserved was *miles* of the XIII Gemina legion and *exceptor legati Augusti*. His funerary monument, dedicated by Marcus Valerius Maximinus, *actarius* of an unknown cohort, was found within context, in the area of the late necropolis of the city of Napoca.²⁶ Another interesting case is that of a military family,²⁷ with four sons dedicating for their father, Aurelius Maximus, *veteranus ex decurione*; the auxiliary regiment in which he served is not listed on the monument.²⁸ Aurelius Manes, the first son, was a centurion and Aurelius Musaeus was a *vexillarius*; we must assume that they both served in the *auxilia*, as being a legionary soldier – especially in this case, when they actually held ranks – was too big an achievement to be omitted. The possibility of them building or at least starting a career in their father's troop is a rather strong one. The last two sons, Aurelius Maximus and Aurelius Faustinus, do not list any professional status. The father died at over 50 years, but we do not know the exact age (L(--)), so they might have been still too young for recruitment.

Unlike, for example, the first *colonia* of the province (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa), where we have 91 *decuriones* attested, in Napoca we only have 6 members of the “city Senate” and one provincial governor. Among them the most complex title is held by a man whose name was not kept,²⁹ but who is *flamen coloniae Napocensis, decurio et patronus coloniae*. The monument is dedicated to his memory by his wife, Valentina, and the deceased was obviously an important man in the city, holding not only a sacerdotal role, but also the honorific title of patron. Of course, patronage implied euergetism, so he and his family were surely wealthy enough to support this position.

Interesting, especially in Napoca, are the dedications of the *procuratores*. All the attestations come from votive or honorific dedications, generally (but not exclusively) coming from the area identified as the *praetorium procuratoris*.³⁰ Among the attested characters, Valerius Catullinus³¹ might also be attested on a stamped brick from the

²¹ Onofrei 2008.

²² Dana 2014, 146–151.

²³ Dana 2014, 183.

²⁴ CIL III 845.

²⁵ AE 1977, 700.

²⁶ Today Dostoievsky – Constantin Brâncuși streets.

²⁷ Piso, Tecar 2013.

²⁸ In the original publication of the inscription, the ala Siliana from Gilău was stipulated as a strong possibility, due to geographical proximity (Piso, Tecar 2013, 34).

²⁹ AE 2000, 1241; Piso 2013a, 169.

³⁰ Today, the area of the “Central” mall; Piso 2013a, 165–167.

³¹ CIL III 857; Piso 2013b, 273–274, no. 120.

villa from Chinteni;³² of course, the temptation to attribute appurtenance of the building complex must be avoided, as too many unknown factors are involved, but the possibility that the procurator (or the procurators) from Napoca had a connection with the owners of the Chinteni *villa* does exist.

The only relevant example of mobility is Lucius Marius Perpetuus, *consularis Daciarum trium* between 212/213–215 AD and attested in numerous instances in Dacia.³³

Potaissa

In Potaissa, there is a total of 436 attested characters, among which 293 are the civilians we will mainly deal with. Regarding the juridical status, yet again, only 7 certain slaves are registered and 19 peregrines.

Regarding the gender balance, there are 54 women, representing a regular 17,36% of the total of attestations. Many of the attested women are associated with the military milieu, as wives, mothers or daughters of soldiers; equally, most of the dedications involving women are funerary and can be placed in a familial context. Unrelated to the militaries, we have a female which appears associated with her occupational status: Rufina,³⁴ a servant (*menester* on the monument, while *minister* is the correct form), slave or freedwoman, dead at the age of 20 and for whom the patrons dedicate. As well, a woman of a relative high status and independence is Bona,³⁵ *serva Caesaris*, who dedicates alone for her grandchild.

In Potaissa we find a greater occupational diversity than in Napoca: we have Aurelius Maximus,³⁶ a military architect,³⁷ Aurelius Viator,³⁸ a scribe of the *municipium*, Titus Iulius,³⁹ a *lapidarius* dedicating for rare Celtic deities – the Suleves Montanes,⁴⁰ Timocles,⁴¹ *ab instrumentis Caesaris* etc.

As already mentioned, we are not going to discuss the legion,⁴² as its prosopography is a different matter, but one single aspect of their manifestations has to be detailed: the family attestation patterns. Pl. VI represents the network of soldiers and veterans attested in Dacia alongside their wives and troops. The nodes have their color given by attribute: the units are red, the soldiers light blue, the veterans dark blue and the family members yellow. The dimensions of the nodes are given by ranking degree, which means the number of direct connections. The edges are directed from dedicator

³² AE 2011, 1077; Piso 2013b, 274.

³³ AE 2000, 1233; CIL III 1178; AE 1960, 226; ILD 633; Piso 1993b, 169–177.

³⁴ CIL III 907.

³⁵ ILD 51.

³⁶ CIL III 7688.

³⁷ We mention him here because, even if he was employed as an *immunis* in the army (Tarruntenus Paternus, *Digestae*, 50, 6.7), and thus not an independent professional, his was a function more than a rank (Cupcea 2014, 19). The nature of his job requires such specialization and training, that he would have certainly worked as an architect outside the military as well, simultaneously or subsequently.

³⁸ AE 1974, 550.

³⁹ CIL III 1601.

⁴⁰ Husar 1999, 212; Nemeti 2005, 130.

⁴¹ AE 1903, 57.

⁴² For a corpus of the inscriptions from the fortress – thus an important part of the militaries' dedications from the site – see Bărbulescu 2012. The same rather strict separation between civilian and military prosopography is made by Nemeti, Nemeti 2018.

to deceased on funerary monuments and undirected in the cases of (ex)militaries and troops, respectively people mentioned on the same monument, but in other relationships than the one noted above. Most relevant in the context of this research is the legio V Macedonica node, which one can easily note to be the largest; given the general epigraphic richness of Apulum, one would have expected for the militaries here to produce most monuments involving their families, but the data prove a different reality. Most probably connected to the later arrival of the legion, Potaissa's epigraphy reflects the transformations in expressing family relationships which marked military milieus during the 3rd century AD. While in the 1st century AD, at the scale of the Empire,⁴³ most epitaphs for soldiers were set up by comrades and/or inheritors (here we include brothers as well, as they are most often denominated not only as relatives, but also as *heredes*), during the 3rd century, the situation changes dramatically and most monuments were set up by wives or children. We believe that Potaissa reflects this exact trend and its place on the Dacian network's map is important for gripping the place of soldiers in shaping the local civilian societies they were in direct contact with.

Forty-three veterans (explicitly identified as such) are inserted in the local community – the percentage is high enough, as it comes to approximately 10% of all the attestations and 15% of the civilians, compared to Apulum, where these percentages are only of 4% and respectively 5%. Nonetheless, the large number has a rather “prosaic” explanation: 36 men come from the same dedication for *Deus Fortius*.⁴⁴ Worth noting is the fact that many veterans are known from (semi-) official dedications, and only few have been registered in socio-familial contexts. A rather interesting case is that of an ex-military family,⁴⁵ where the father and the son-in-law were both veterans – probably both from the local legion, as the lack of specification suggests.

The peregrines bring forth a case interesting not only for the city or Dacia, but for the juridical realities of the whole Roman provincial world.⁴⁶ Herculanus, a freedman, dedicated the epitaphs of his patrons: Aia Nandonis and Andrada Bituvantis, 80 years old, Bricena, 40 years old, Iusta, 30 years old (as this is the exact recorded age for all of them, we can suspect age rounding) and a boy of 12, Bedarus. The connection between the women is not obvious, albeit it was by blood, matrimonial allegiances or otherwise, but it is clear that Herculanus calls them all *patronae*. The inscription comes from a funerary construction obviously owned by a relatively rich family.⁴⁷ But this is not the most intriguing detail of the inscriptions; that would be the juridical status of the person. The women have peregrine names and by Roman law, even at this late date in the Principate, peregrine property was more factual rather than supported *de iure*. At a local level, it surely was regulated by praetorian precedents and governors' edicts. The inscription from Potaissa gives us a glimpse into these local complicated juridical realities, as we see peregrine women holding mobile property and the manumitted slave subsequently becoming a peregrine himself.

⁴³ Roxan 1989, 462–467.

⁴⁴ CIL III 7688.

⁴⁵ ILD 511.

⁴⁶ CIL III 917.

⁴⁷ Nemeti, Nemeti 2018, 170.

The attestations of the local elite are even poorer than in Napoca – expectedly, one could say – but we registered a few magistrates. With the possibility of exact dating come Caius Iulius Priscus,⁴⁸ *duumvir* of the *municipium* (193–211 AD) and a *duumvir* of the *colonia*⁴⁹ whose name was not preserved. Another man, Marcus Ulpius Magnus,⁵⁰ is a *quattuorvir municipii Potaissensis*, while Manlius is a *quaestor*,⁵¹ possibly of the *cives Romani consistentes*.

A case of inter-city mobility is offered by Marcus Aelius Antonius,⁵² who dedicates for Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. The man was *decurio coloniae Napocae* and *duumvir*⁵³ *municipii Porolissensis* – thus a decurion of Napoca and *duumvir* of the city of Porolissum. We cannot say if he resided in one of the above-mentioned cities, or had properties in both, neither if him dedicating at Potaissa is an act solely motivated religiously, or if he also had other business and connections in the city.

Two senators are attested. One of them was Iulius Maximianus,⁵⁴ who bears the same name as the governor of Dacia from 208–210 and is a tribune in the legion. It is possible that we are dealing with the governor's son at the beginning of his *cursus honorum*. The second one is Tiberius Claudius Claudianus, *legatus pro praetore* around the year 195 AD.⁵⁵

Potaissa also offers an interesting case of external mobility, through the person of Aurelius Aquila,⁵⁶ a *decurio* of Potaissa, *negotiator ex provincia Dacia*, who relocated to Salona, where he buried his wife and subsequently a son and friends.⁵⁷ Eloquent for the traders' ample and time enduring networks, one of the said friends was Aurelius Flavus, *Surus negotiator*, who had formerly dedicated for Dolichenus at Apulum⁵⁸ and also traded in Dacia.

Porolissum

In Porolissum, 110 persons are epigraphically attested. The peregrines and slaves are again underrepresented. 21 women were identified in preserved inscriptions (18.10%); among them only three are dedicators, exclusively in the context of familial tombstones.

In the occupational sphere, Eufemus,⁵⁹ the rather well known *vikarius Peregrini* is attested. His status and position are still unclear, as bibliography has stipulated both peregrine and servile status for the character – the monument is dedicated to his memory by Erastus *conservus*, leading to the conclusion that the two might have been

⁴⁸ AE 1950, 14.

⁴⁹ ILD 508.

⁵⁰ CIL III 7678.

⁵¹ CIL III 888.

⁵² ILD 479.

⁵³ Most likely, the reading is not undoubtable, as the monument was lost; older bibliography (Popa, Berciu 1978, 30) lists *iuridicus*, instead of *duumvir*.

⁵⁴ CIL III 895.

⁵⁵ CIL III 905.

⁵⁶ CIL III 2086; CIL III 2006.

⁵⁷ Broekaert 2013, 36–39; Varga 2016.

⁵⁸ CIL III 7761.

⁵⁹ AE 1944, 49.

slaves (theory supported by their names as well – names frequent in the public and private servile hierarchy). We do not consider this interpretation to be correct because *conservus* can also mean colleague, the one who works alongside somebody else (in a public function, in a religious group, etc.). Regardless of their status as free men or slaves, it is however certain that the two served as vicars (replacements in a certain function or simple employees) for a certain Peregrinus.⁶⁰ It seems obvious to us that in his case we are dealing with a character of peregrine status, based on onomastic criteria and the lack of explicit *tria nomina*.

Among the peregrines, we have the intriguing Σabidas Hutri,⁶¹ where we can only assume that the Σ stands for a peculiar form of pronunciation, as the inscription and its language are otherwise rather clean, so we wouldn't assume a lapicide mistake. Another interesting dedication, one of the very few in Greek from this area, belongs to Ἀπο<λλι>νάρης Βάσσο[υ]⁶² and comes from the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in the rural civilian settlement.

We have identified seven slaves, private or imperial. The imperial slaves have administrative positions, such as *vilicus*, as one would have expected. An example is Felix,⁶³ possibly attested in two epigraphs – which unfortunately can only be connected through the very common name and very common occupation of the imperial slave. Nonetheless, one of them can be dated, as Commodus probably appears as Caesar (probably because the name suffered *damnatio memoriae*) and so we would have a time span for the *vilicus*.

The number of attested militaries and veterans is not extremely high, given the circumstances: 21 soldiers and 10 veterans. They come from various troops: cohorts I Brittonum, legio V Macedonica, numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium, cohorts V Lingonum, cohorts III Campestris, cohorts II Nervia Brittonum Pacensis milliaria – nonetheless, with an important preponderance of the *numerus*. The situation does not replicate in the case of the veterans, where the provenience troops are not generally mentioned. Very interesting is the case where the entire cohort I Brittonum dedicates to Apollo *ex visu*.⁶⁴ It is hard to say whose dream we are dealing with, but it could be the tribune's, whose name was listed on the inscription, or a military priest's – or anybody else's, for that matter, who in a given context was considered to have had a prophetic dream.

An interesting character is Publius Aelius Marius, *conductor pascui et salinarum*. This individual seems to be attested in a multitude of dedications all over Dacia. The ones where he lists his functions of administrator of pastures and salt mines are unambiguous: one attestation at Micia (Veșel, Hunedoara County),⁶⁵ on a dedication for Silvanus Domesticus, the one (unfortunately fragmentary, but seemingly votive)

⁶⁰ Having this common noun as a name is rare, but not unprecedented: Varga 2014, 74.

⁶¹ AE 1988, 976.

⁶² AE 2001, 1706.

⁶³ AE 1944, 47; AE 1988, 978.

⁶⁴ AE 1947, 32.

⁶⁵ CIL III 1363.

from Porolissum⁶⁶ and one from Domnești (Bistrița-Năsăud County),⁶⁷ addressing Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and Terra Mater. The last mentioned one tells that Marius was not only *conductor pascui et salinarum*, but also *flamen coloniae* – without the specification of the *colonia*. The mentioning of the flamine links our character with the man attested on a Mithraic monument from Apulum⁶⁸ – Publius Aelius Marius, *flamen coloniae*. The find spot of this monument makes us suspect that Marius could have been a *flamen* of Apulum. A last attestation of probably the same character comes from Tibiscum,⁶⁹ but here only the name, with no titles or positions attached, is mentioned. The dedication is also Mithraic and it would be hard to imagine that we are dealing with a coincidence and not the same person. Worth noting that all the dedications were made by characters of lesser status, slaves or freedmen working for him, for Marius' health, thus indicating a social preference, but not a religious one, as the addressed deities were, as already seen, diverse.

The elites are present in Porolissum in moderate numbers, as in the others analyzed cities. The only senator – and governor of the three Dacias – attested is Caius Iulius Septimius Castinus (215?–217),⁷⁰ mentioned in an official dedication for the emperor.⁷¹ All the members of the equestrian order are connected to the army, serving as either a *tribunus*, or a *praefectus*. Thus, they rather represent examples of intra-provincial mobility, being part of the city's society for a short while. A few financial procurators are attested and two praesidial ones,⁷² all dedicating to the emperor, in very official manners.⁷³ The decurions, registered in reasonable numbers for the area (10 men), are generally represented through votive dedications made privately, unassociated with an official context. Eloquent for the local elites, three decurions are explicitly veterans:⁷⁴ Marcus Antonius Maximus,⁷⁵ whose career is rather rich and who obviously was an important person in local context, Valerius Them(---)⁷⁶ and Aelius Thema(---).⁷⁷

Another very interesting case, connected to northern Dacia and to the mobility of people from Porolissum, comes from Augusta Traiana, in Thracia.⁷⁸ Here, Aurelius Sabinus, son of Theophilus, a priest of Zeus Dolichenus and a *negotiator vinarius Daciscus* (thus trading in Dacia, the indicative is not an *origo*, but a business related detail), dedicates alongside Aelius Primus, *decurio* of Porolissum. Most probably,

⁶⁶ Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 28–32.

⁶⁷ AE 1930, 10.

⁶⁸ Egri et alii 2018, 268–271.

⁶⁹ CIL III 1549.

⁷⁰ Piso 1993b, 178–182.

⁷¹ AE 1980, 755.

⁷² CIL III 836; AE 1962, 255.

⁷³ AE 1988, 978; AE 1988, 977; Piso et alii 2016, 544–548;

⁷⁴ The degree of actual involvement of veterans in local administration is still under discussion. For the “minimalist” point of view, stating that veterans are only marginally attested to have held local offices, see Królczyk 2009. Martemyanov 2017 offers an overview on the veterans' situation in the Middle and Low Danube provinces and concludes that they were rather active socially and politically.

⁷⁵ AE 2001, 1707.

⁷⁶ AE 1971, 387

⁷⁷ AE 1979, 495.

⁷⁸ IGBulg III/2 1590; Matei-Popescu 2012, 88–89; Broekaert 2013, 259.

Sabinus imported wines from the region to Dacia and maybe even beyond, as Porolissum was a customs point between Dacia and Barbaricum, and the Stara Zagora region has been rich in vineyards and a relevant wine producer from antiquity up until nowadays.

Conclusions

The general and particular conclusions of this study became self evident throughout the text. First of all, we see a certain unity of the area, stronger than the particularities of each city. Although they are rich enough, the epigraphic habits remain rudimental and pay a heavy tribute to the massive military presence and to a certain provincialism which seems to have imprinted on the area.

The elites make their presence felt especially through the financial procurators, whose manifestations are prominent given the context. The militaries make themselves conspicuous as an integrated part of local society, being mostly present on dedications to the gods – official or personal – and commemorating family members. Regarding family, the legionaries from Potaissa integrate in the general pattern of the late 2nd century – 3rd century AD and frequently dedicate along and for wives and children.

The present overview allows us to integrate the cities of Dacia Porolissensis in the larger picture of the Dacian provinces, especially visible on the graphs, as well as to go deeper into the fabric of their epigraphic representativeness and habits. Through a comparative approach we could pinpoint their peculiar and quasi-rural epigraphic patterns, we were able to get a glimpse into who the local elites were and how they displayed (or did not) their power, we could clearly see the importance of soldiers' families in the local civilian settlement and we could get a better understanding of peregrine property.

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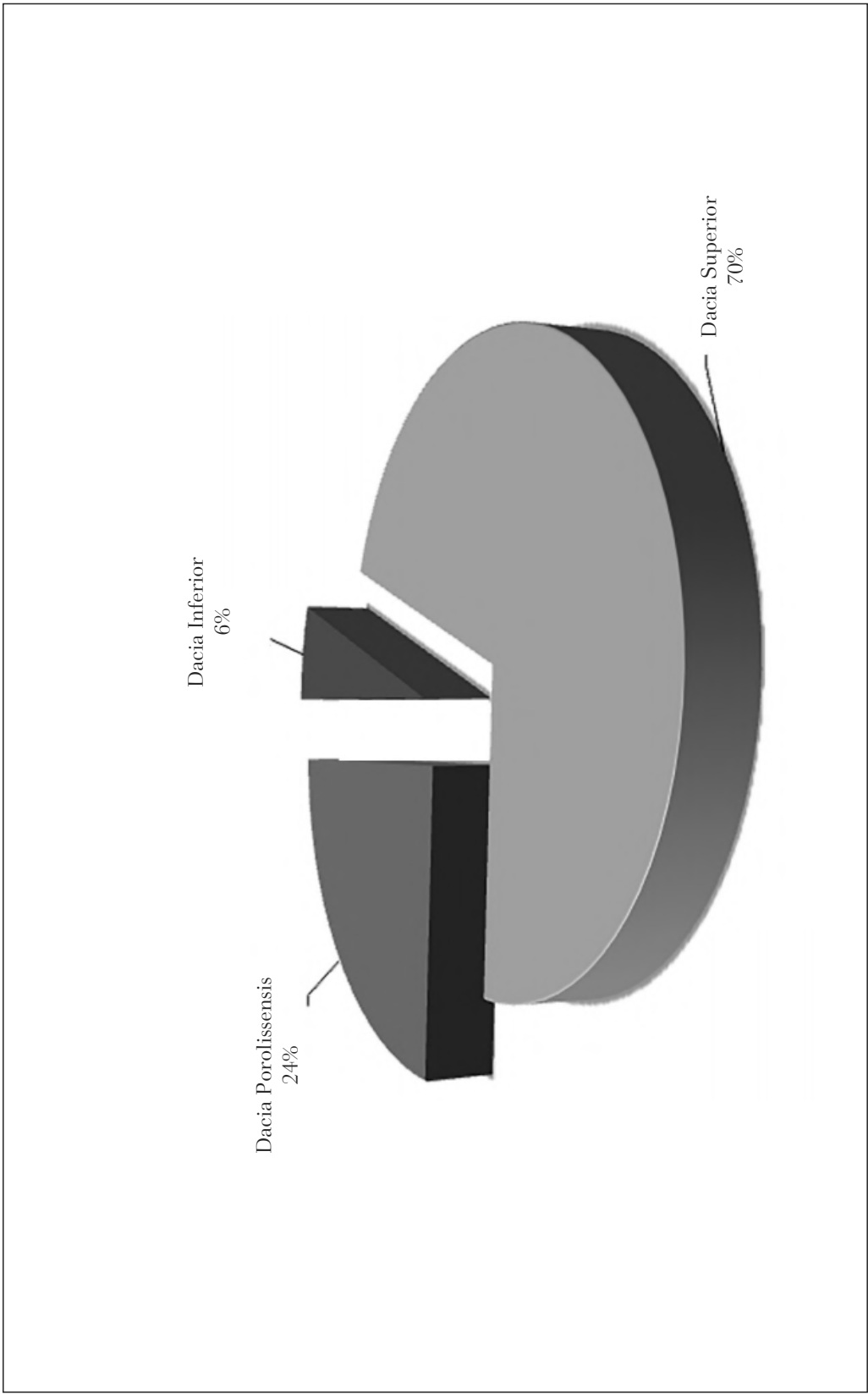
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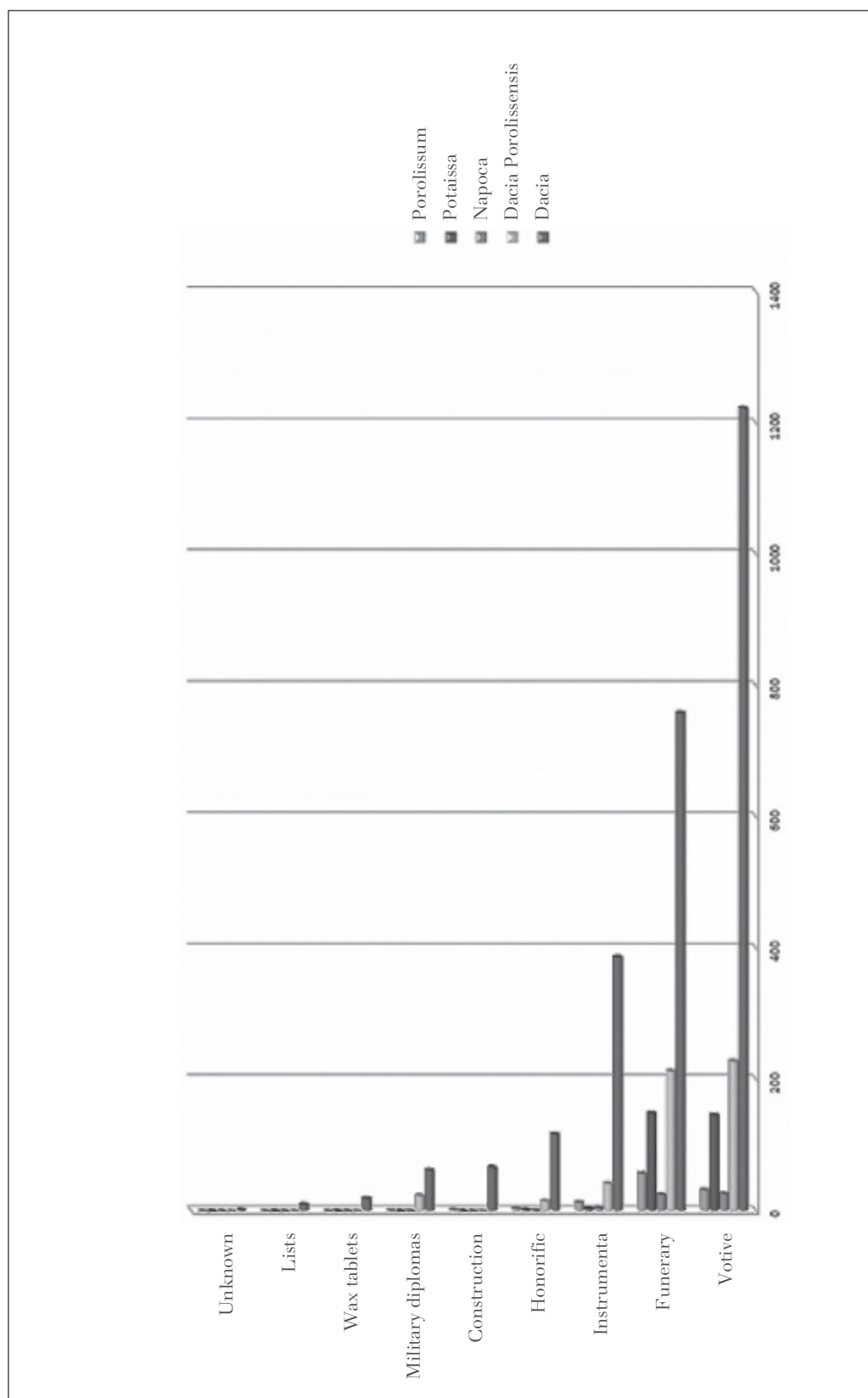
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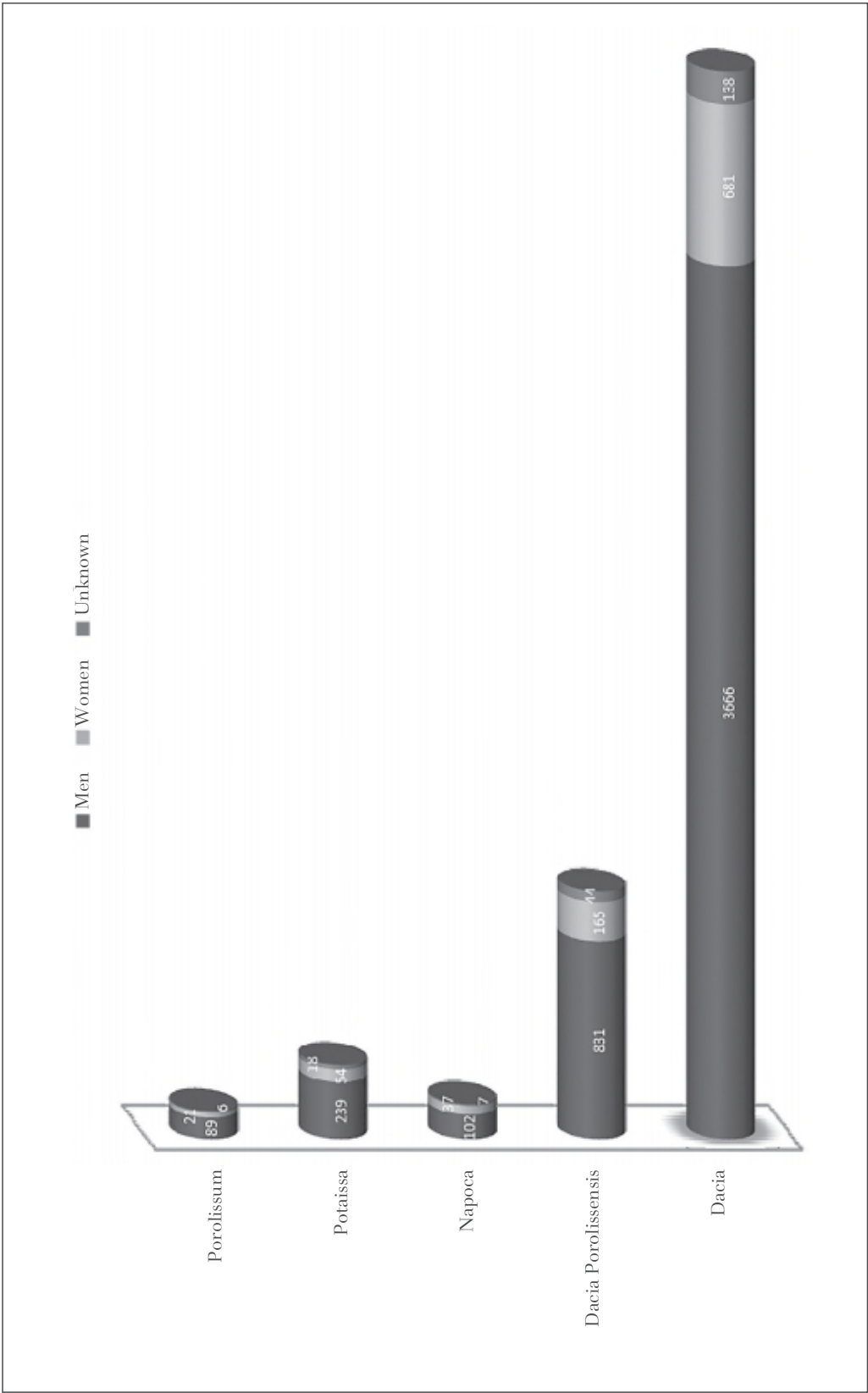
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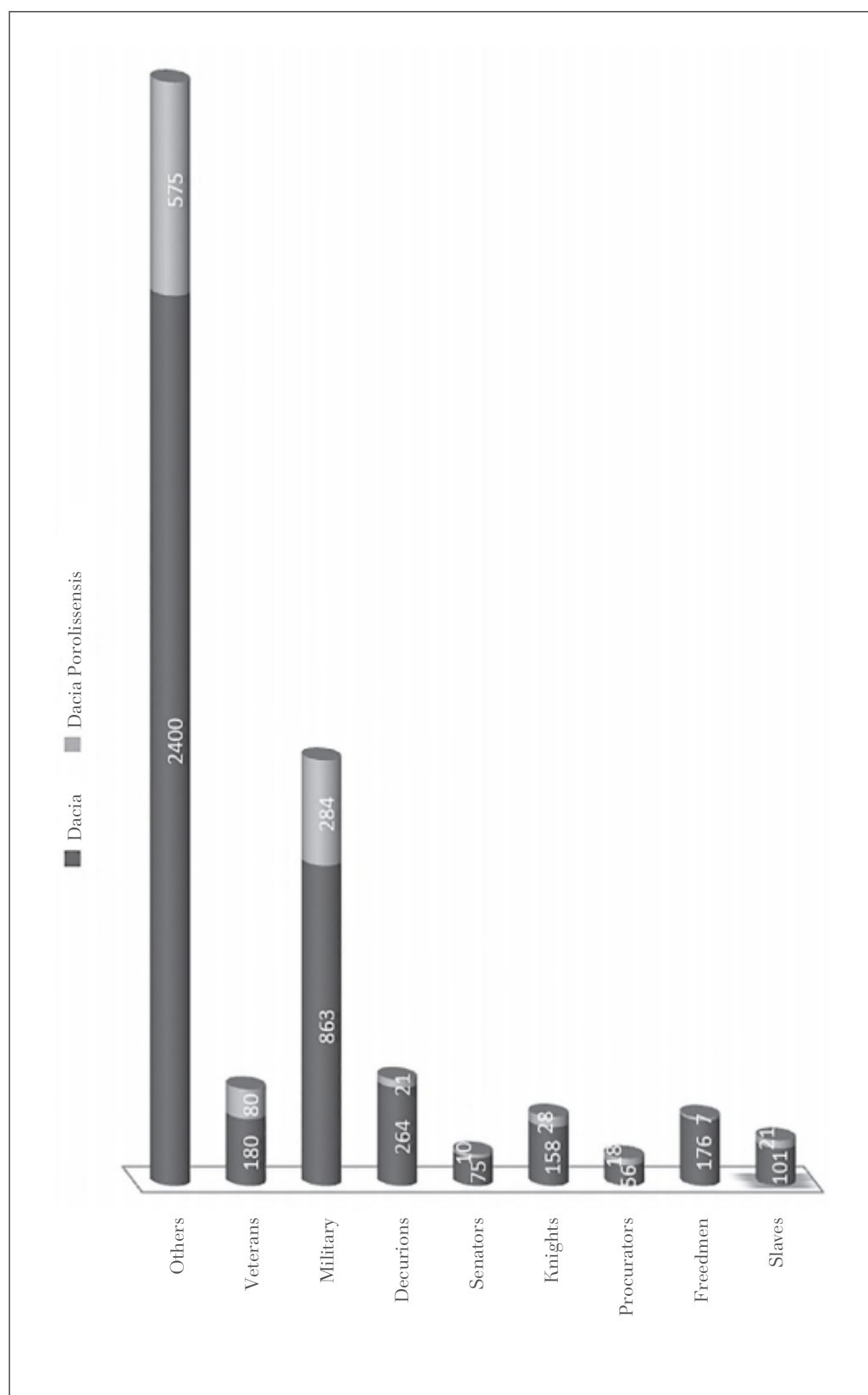
Pl. I. People attestations in Dacia.



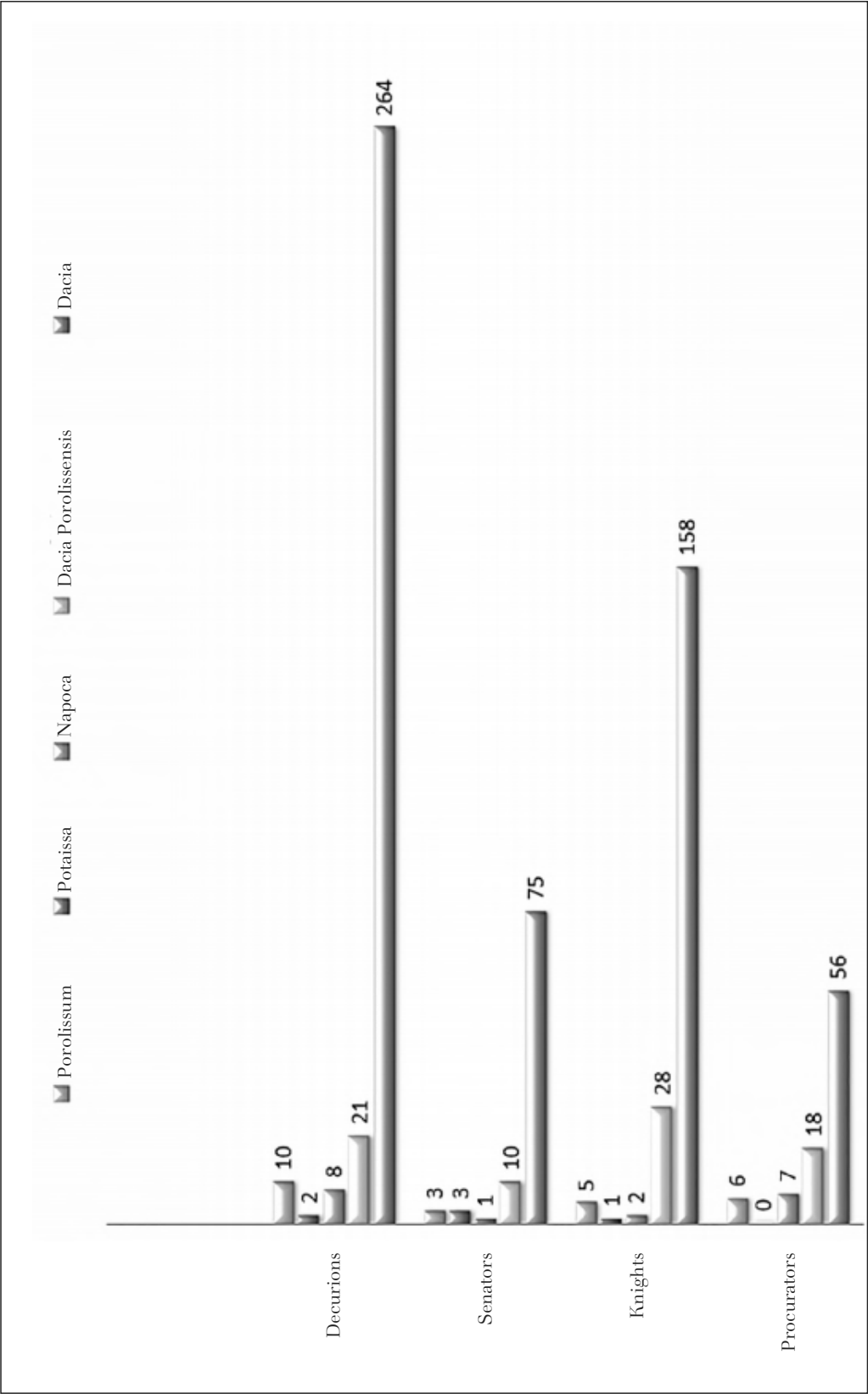
Pl. II. Types of monuments.



Pl. III. Gender representativity.



Pl. IV. Social representativeness.



Pl. V. The elites.

MEDICINE, RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN DACIA POROLISSENSIS

TIMEA VARGA

Abstract: The study aims to capture the diversity of medicine in Roman Imperial period, by investigating how people perceived illness and healing, both in medical and religious terms. First of all, the article examines some of the existent evidence for specialized medical care found in Dacia Porolissensis, in an attempt to validate the existence of specialized professional medical corps, to identify medical strategies adopted by them and ultimately to indirectly trace a list of possible ailments or diseases that the inhabitants of the province could have suffered of. Furthermore, the article tries to seize the social implications that emerge from the archaeological contexts or the particular decorations of some medical instruments. Finally, it maps a repertoire of the cult of the healing gods in Dacia Porolissensis, with a particular emphasis on their association with bathing in military contexts.

Keywords: Roman Dacia; medicine; Roman Religion; medical instruments; healing cults.

Rezumat: Studiul urmărește să surprindă caracterul multidimensional al medicinei romane în perioada imperială, investigând modul în care oamenii percepeau boala și vindecarea, atât în termeni medicali, cât și religioși. În primul rând articolul examinează o parte a instrumentarului medical specializat în încercarea de a valida existența personalului medical specializat, de a identifica tratamentele medicale utilizate și în cele din urmă de a trasa indirect o listă cu posibilele afecțiuni și boli de care ar fi putut suferi locuitorii provinciei. Articolul încearcă să surprindă și implicațiile sociale care se degajă din contextele arheologice sau modul particular de decorare a unor piese. În cele din urmă, studiul analizează și cultul zeilor vindecători în Dacia Porolissensis, accentul căzând cu precădere pe asocierea acestora cu băile militare.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia romană; medicină; religie romană; instrumente medicale; culte salutare.

In Roman Imperial times, disease was perceived as a multidimensional phenomenon that can be captured not only in what seems a fast growing medical knowledge, but also in the persistence of the healing cult practices and magical performances alongside the rational medicine.

Disposing of highly trained professional medical corps, capable of swiftly restoring a soldier's health, army certainly played a vital role in spreading rational medicine all over the Roman world. When it comes to the ideal surgeon, Celsus sees him as "youthful or at any rate nearer youth than age; with a strong and steady hand which never trembles, and ready to use the left hand as well as the right; with vision sharp and clear, and spirit undaunted; filled with pity, so that he wishes to cure his patient, yet is not moved by his cries, to go too fast, or cut less than is necessary; but he does everything just as if the cries of pain cause him no emotion".¹ In the absence

¹ Celsus, *Med.* 7. 4.

of a formalized medical training and any truly effective anaesthetics, physicians and their medical treatments frequently raised suspicion among commoners.² In this context, army seems to have been the most propitious environment for a surgeon to quickly gain experience at a relatively young age and register significant progress in the medical art. Not only that he was able to perform surgical procedures that were considered measures of last resort in civic society, but he was also able to improve his own medical knowledge, by entering in contact with unknown diseases, local medical traditions and pharmaceutical substances.³

While literary sources have sometimes caustic remarks against physicians, portraying them as ones legally permitted to kill⁴ or naming them “executioners”,⁵ sacerdotal medicine is nowhere properly incriminated. An inscription dedicated to Bona Dea with the motivation *derelictus a medicis post / menses decem bineficio(!) dominaes medicinis sanatus*,⁶ suggests that patients often saw the healing power of the gods as being complementary to that of physicians. In this context, it is of no surprise that patients would often seek help from both god and physician at the same time to ensure the treatment’s success.⁷ In any case, it was not uncommon for a sick person visiting an *Asklepieion* to seek the help of a physician afterwards for a better understanding of the prescriptions received in the temple.⁸ In fact, a votive inscription discovered in the *Asklepieion* of Pergam⁹ shows that Asclepius’ therapeutic approach is closely paralleled by medical indications encountered in the works of known physicians of the time. Many of the god’s prescriptions included a certain diet and regimen. Galenus himself argued that the best physician equalled one who was capable of healing through diet and drugs, what a less able one achieved with a knife.¹⁰

This complex nature of medicine is well reflected in Dacia Porolissensis as well, where around 150 medical or paramedical instruments have been published from the auxiliary forts or civilian settlements of Arcobadara, Bologa, Buciumi, Gilău, Gherla, Romita and Porolissum, from the legionary fortress and civilian settlements of Potaissa and from the *villa rustica* of Gârbou. Alongside these however, six votive monuments, either altars dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygia (Arcobadara, *villa rustica* of Căianu), or reliefs depicting them associated with Telesphorus (Porolissum, Potaissa) or Apollo (Arcobadara), suggest that healing practices were sometimes a good alternative or complementary treatment option in the mentality of the inhabitants of the province.

Most of the medical related items from Dacia Porolissensis have been discovered in a military context. Even though this is at least partially due to limited excavations,

² Their fear and mistrust towards physicians has been captured in various literary sources of the time: Plin. *HN*. 29. 8, 12–13, 18; Mart. 10.77; Lucianus, *Adversus Indoctum*, 29.

³ Israelowich 2015, 109.

⁴ Plin. *HN*. 29. 18.

⁵ Plin. *HN*. 29. 12–13.

⁶ CIL VI 68 = ILS 3513.

⁷ CIL VI 19; P. Oxy. 3078.

⁸ Aelianus, *Fragmenta*, 100.

⁹ Girone 1998, IV. 2, 147–150.

¹⁰ Galenus, *On examining the physician*, 10. 1., CMG Suppl. Or. 4, 116–117.

it makes us wonder whether dynamics between patient and doctor were significantly different in society at large, where patients would have been freer to choose their preferred health care provider. Perhaps this is the motif why some soldiers chose temple medicine upon becoming veterans. A votive altar dedicated to the healing gods at Apulum, was offered by Caius Iulius Frontonianus, a veteran of the *Legio V Macedonica* legion and former beneficiary of the consular governor from Apulum.¹¹ Truly remarkable is the motive for setting the altar, namely his gratitude to the god that brought back his sight after a dream, *redditis sibi luminibus (...) ex viso*.¹² The epigraphic formula *ex viso* seems to allude to the ritual of *incubatio* that he could have been subjected to in the *Asklepieion* of Apulum. Nonetheless, in order to perfect his health, after visiting the *Asklepieion* he could have consulted an ophthalmologist as well. Empirical medical care would have been certainly available to him, one of the two *signacula oculariorum* discovered in Dacia coming precisely from the *praetorium consularis* of Apulum.¹³

Evidence for specialized medical care in Dacia Porolissensis

Ophthalmological procedures

A rectangular green serpentine *signaculum oculariorum* has been discovered in the *villa rustica* from Gârbou (Sălaj County).¹⁴ Measuring 5.4 centimetres in length, the stone bears some significant data inscribed on three of its side faces (Pl. I/1).

First of all, all the inscriptions contain the name of Publius Cornelius Colonus in genitive, suggesting that he was either the physician who mixed, used or even sold these remedies, or perhaps the owner of the stamp or/and medical recipe. Second of all, the inscriptions mention different salves or medical ingredients, followed by a more vague or specific indication of the ailment for which the medicine might have been used for. The ointments used by Publius Cornelius Colonus include either plant or metal-based medical recipes. The vegetal ones contain plants with soothing or anaesthetic properties, known to alleviate the patient's suffering, rather than properly curing it. This is the case of *opobalsamatum* (juice of the Syrian balsam tree)¹⁵ and *chelidonium* (juice of celandine).¹⁶ Their frequent association with medical indications like *ad claritatem* (for visual clarity) and *ad caliginem* (for dimness of vision) suggests that these plants were used for treating a wide array of symptoms associated with eye diseases, without eliminating however the underlying cause.¹⁷

Besides the more common *opobalsamatum*, Publius Cornelius Colonus uses *ad claritatem* a metal-based drug as well. Called *diapsoricum*, this eye salve is obtained from mixing two parts of calcium carbonate with cadmia, which are then pounded

¹¹ Cupcea 2014, 33.

¹² CIL III 987 = ILS 3847 = CBI 514 = IDR III/5, 21; Crișan 1971, 342.

¹³ CIL III 1636 = ILS 8736 = IDR III/6, 431; Bologa 1933-1935, 219-221; Alicu, Crișan 2003, 37.

¹⁴ Lenghel 1925, 391; Bologa 1925, 392-393; Orient 1926, 22-23; Bologa 1933-1935, 221-222; Lieb 1981, 208-209; AE 1982, 837.

¹⁵ Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, 1. 18.

¹⁶ Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, 2. 211.

¹⁷ Salles 1982, 235-236.

into small pieces with vinegar.¹⁸ According to the inscriptions found on *signacula oculariorum*, together with *stactum*, *diapsoricum* was one the most recommended eye salves for strengthening eyesight.

One of his recipes mentions a more specific medical purpose as well, by stating that the acidic substance *dioxus* should be used for the treatment of trachoma and thickened conjunctiva tissue, marked here through the expression *ad aspritudines et genas callosas*.¹⁹

The chemical examination of stamped eye salves found at Reims, Cologne, Este, Viminacium and Lyon, has revealed that there is no close correspondence between the *collyria* named on the stamps, the ingredients mentioned in contemporary literary sources and the substances detected by analysis.²⁰ For example, *crocodes*, one of the most common eye salves mentioned on stamps, noticed by Dioscorides and Galenus for its astringent and anti-inflammatory proprieties, did not contain saffron like the written sources indicated. The yellow colour of the salve was instead provided by iron oxides. In this context, D. Gourevitch wondered whether the colour of the substance is not in fact a pharmaceutical fraud designed to eliminate the suspicion of the patient. According to her, in the mentality of the patient, the yellow colour of the eye salve could have been associated with the presence of saffron and implicitly with the promise of pain relief.²¹ In this case, we could say that the power of self-suggestion is the treatment actually received. On the other hand, R. Jackson sees this inconsistency between the name of the eye salves and their actual composition as a proof that pharmaceutical terminology must have suffered in time and space.²²

More than half of the *collyrium* stamps catalogued by J. Voinot come from the provinces of Gaul, while the majority of the ones found outside this area come from the nearby provinces of Germania Superior, Germania Inferior and Britannia.²³ The spatial distribution of the pieces made P. Baker ask herself whether eyes held a particular importance for the inhabitants of Gaul and if the deposition, type of stone, colour or decoration can hide other non-medical functions as well.²⁴ She concludes that while most certainly there was a greater concern for vision in the aforementioned areas, the archaeological contexts e.g. river sources, thermal springs and healing sanctuaries seem to indicate that *signacula oculariorum* are a form of material culture representing a distinctive local practice.²⁵ P. Baker also points out that their usual confection out of green coloured stones is of no coincidence, working most probably as a color-coding that indicated their association with eyes.²⁶ In this context it is worth

¹⁸ Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, 5. 116.

¹⁹ Although unprecedented in the texts of the stamps, this medical condition has been recorded in the writings of Scribonius Largus, that mentions a *collyrium quod proprie ad aspritudinem et callositatem palpebrarum*: Scribonius Largus, *De compos. medic. liber*, IV. 36.

²⁰ Gourevitch 1998, 365–372.

²¹ Gourevitch 1998, 368–369.

²² Jackson 1996, 2243.

²³ Voinot 1984; Voinot 1999.

²⁴ Baker 2011, 159–160.

²⁵ Baker 2011, 175.

²⁶ Baker 2011, 173.

mentioning that more than half of the ointment slabs found in Dacia Porolissensis²⁷ have this colour and could have been thus used for the confectioning of eye salves.

Another ointment slab discovered in the auxiliary fort of Bologa has been thought to belong to a *medicus oculariorum*, solely based on the fact that it has the name *Denecius* in genitive scratched on its back.²⁸ The marking corresponds most certainly with the name of the owner, but he could be a physician, just as good as a simple soldier. Similar personalized medical instruments can be observed in other places as well: two stone slabs discovered at Trier²⁹ and York³⁰ have the names *Martius* and *Candidus* marked on one of their side faces, while a medical probe from Bonn has its spatula inscribed with the name *Agapomini*.³¹

Considerably more reduced in size than any of the other tweezers with decorated handles found in Dacia, a bronze *vulsella* of only 7.8 centimetres length found in the fort of Buciumi (Pl. I/2), has its handle shaped like a chess pawn and arms that take the form of rounded, slightly folded jaws at its ends.³² According to L. Bliquez, this type of forceps could be attributed to ophthalmological procedures. His assumption is based on the fact that in the Celto-Germanic areas³³ they appear frequently associated with small octagonal shaped handles, *collyrium* stamps and needles used for cataract surgery or other eye diseases.³⁴

The forceps was discovered in one of the barracks of the military fort of Buciumi. From the same barrack comes another similarly shaped forceps, but larger in dimensions and having the arms ended with broader, dentate jaws³⁵ and two other simple tweezers, bent from a single metal bar.³⁶ The four aforementioned *vulsellae* could have formed a medical kit, together with an ointment slab,³⁷ a *specillum spatomelle*³⁸ and a *specillum oricularium*³⁹ that have been discovered in the same barrack.

Similar discoveries can also be found fairly often in Hispania,⁴⁰ Thracia⁴¹ and the Italic area,⁴² appearing occasionally in Asia Minor as well, where a similar forceps was discovered among the funerary inventory of a Roman tomb from Cyprus, together with two scalpels and a medical spatula.⁴³ As L. Bliquez had already proposed, we can

²⁷ Buciumi: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 268, Pl. XVI/1; Porolissum: Gudea, Bajusz 1992: 266–268, Pl. XIII/2, 4, 6, 7, Pl. XIV/1, 3, 4; Pl. XV/1, 2, 3; Pl. XVI/2; Tamba 2008, 36, 1.b, Fig. 2, 39, 4.b-d, Fig. 16–18.

²⁸ Gudea 1997b, 60.

²⁹ Künzl 1984, I2.

³⁰ Voinot 1984, no. 147.

³¹ Künzl 1986, 507, C9, Abb. 17.

³² Chirilă, Gudea, Lucăcel, Pop 1972, 81, no. 6, Pl. CX/3; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 12, Pl. V/12.

³³ Gallia Belgica: Künzl 1983, 61–67, Abb. 30–39; Künzl 1984, D1, D3, D16; Germania: Künzl 1983, 93–96, Abb. 74–76; Raetia: Künzl 1983, 120–121, Abb. 95–96.

³⁴ Bliquez 2014, 238, n. 672.

³⁵ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 13, Pl. V/13.

³⁶ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 258, no. 6, Pl. V/2, 6.

³⁷ Chirilă, Gudea, Lucăcel, Pop 1972, 82, no. 2, Pl. CXXIV/2.

³⁸ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 255, no. 8, Pl. II/8.

³⁹ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 261, no. 3, Pl. VIII/3.

⁴⁰ Arce, Caballero 1990, 269, 333; Bejarano Osorio 2015, Fig. 27–28.

⁴¹ Kancewa 1994, Abb. 3.

⁴² Bliquez, Jackson 1994, no. 256, Ill. 150, no. 261–264, Ill. 153–155.

⁴³ Künzl 1983, 55, Abb. 23.

imagine that this type of *vulsella* could have been employed in various ophthalmological procedures. For example in the treatment of trichiasis, holding and elevating the eyelid with this forceps, further eased the cutting of the superabundant skin that held the eyelashes orientated inner towards, determining the continuous inflammation of the conjunctiva.⁴⁴ Described by Paul as a forceps “shaped in accord with the surface of the eyelid”,⁴⁵ the *vulsella* from Buciumi seems to fit perfectly in this category due to its reduced size and concave jaws. Nevertheless, this *vulsella* could have been employed just as well in a variety of other procedures, from cosmetic, to medical ones.

The scalpel that would have been used in these delicate ophthalmological procedures has been mentioned in literary sources, but none of them offered a description of its actual form.⁴⁶ R. Jackson assumed that scalpels with small fine blades and sharp points, mounted in slender, octagonal section handles would have the most suitable form for these kinds of operations.⁴⁷ Given this information, we can presume that an octagonal shaped scalpel handle found at Porolissum (Pl. I/3; Pl. VI/8) would have also benefitted from a similar small blade, inserted in the key shaped slot that is still visible on the opposed part of the rhomboidal spatula.⁴⁸ Exceptional finds, preserving their blade intact, were found in the medical kits discovered at Wehringen and Rimini, plus one kept in the museum of Louvre.⁴⁹ They serve as good analogies for the scalpel from Porolissum, offering a better picture on how our instrument would have initially looked like.

Based on the analogies, another medical instrument found at Porolissum, initially published as a “piercing instrument”,⁵⁰ seems to have rather served as a sharp medical hook (Pl. I/5). Named ἄγκιστρον⁵¹ in Greek or *hamus/hamulus* in Latin,⁵² this kind of instrument was usually employed for piercing and elevating tissue, in order to further facilitate incisions, extirpations or surgical sutures.⁵³ In consequence it is of no surprise that they were employed in a wide array of medical procedures,⁵⁴ medical literary sources mentioning their use even during ophthalmological procedures e.g. raising pterygium and growths of the white of the eye, correcting ectropium⁵⁵ etc.

The closest analogy for our piece can be found in the funerary inventory of a physician tomb from Milos.⁵⁶ Similar types with door-knob shaped extremities, but

⁴⁴ Paulus Aegineta, 6. 8. 2.

⁴⁵ Paulus Aegineta, 6. 8. 2.

⁴⁶ Aët. 7. 71; Paulus Aegineta, 6. 8. 1; According to Leonides the procedure of treating trichiasis implied making two very shallow incisions surrounding the excessive tissue of the eyelid, the lips of the incision being afterwards sutured together: Bliquez 2014, 90.

⁴⁷ Jackson 2014, 140.

⁴⁸ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, no. 5, Pl. I/5; Deac 2018, IV.2, Fig. 11/1.

⁴⁹ Jackson 2014, Fig. 18.14/5-9.

⁵⁰ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, Pl. VI/3; Deac 2018, IV/3, Fig. 12/2.

⁵¹ Oribasius, *Coll. Med.* 45. 18. 13.

⁵² Celsus, *De medicina*, 7. 7. 4B.

⁵³ Bliquez 2014, 174.

⁵⁴ Paulus Aegineta, 6. 30. 2; Aët. 8. 38. 14-16, 8. 51. 26, , 16. 23. 16-20, 16. 108. 25-39; 16. 109. 11; 16. 112. 10; Celsus, *De medicina*, 7. 12. 2, 7. 30. 3B; Oribasius, *Coll. Med.* 44. 5. 24, 44. 11. 3, 44. 20. 65, 45. 2. 6, 45. 10. 2, 46. 29. 5 etc.

⁵⁵ Paulus Aegineta, 6. 30. 2; Aët. 7. 59. 4, 7. 62. 2-20, 7. 66. 6, 7. 71. 38-41, 7. 74. 18; Celsus, *De medicina*, 7. 7. 4B, 7. 7. 5.

⁵⁶ Künzl 1983, 40, Abb. 10/3.

different decorations can be seen in Thracia⁵⁷ and Gallia Belgica⁵⁸ as well. A hook corresponding in shape, but having the handle and the rod decorated with silver inlays can be noticed in the funerary inventory of a tomb from Tomis⁵⁹, while other examples from Asia Minor⁶⁰ and Germania Superior⁶¹ have the handle shaped like the club of Hercules.

Surgical procedures

Surgical instruments are well represented in Dacia Porolissensis by four standard type scalpels with rectangular shaped handle and shorter⁶² or longer spatula⁶³ (Pls. II/1-3, VII/1). These would have been used to pierce, incise or extrude a portion of tissue held with the help of a surgical forceps with handle and dentate jaws. In fact, five of the aforementioned forceps have been found in Dacia Porolissensis as well, in the auxiliary forts of Buciumi⁶⁴ (Pl. I/6-7), Porolissum⁶⁵ (Pl. VI/1), Arcobadara⁶⁶ and Gherla⁶⁷ (Pl. I/8). Two of them, one from Buciumi, the other from Gherla,⁶⁸ even present sliding lock-rings, an innovation that would have helped bounding in place the jaws of the forceps.

Another *vulsella* discovered at Porolissum (Pl. III/1) has been published in the archaeological literature as having the other extremity shaped like a small spoon.⁶⁹ The spoon attached to the opposite end of the forceps could be in fact a curette, a specimen of this type being discovered in Britannia, at Stanway⁷⁰ (Pl. III/2). Due to the heavy fragmentation of this spoon-shaped instrument we cannot state with certainty the exact typology of our piece, but combining a forceps with other medical device was certainly not uncommon. Similar specimens have been found at Trier as well, where two *vulsellae* have the extremities shaped like olivary ends⁷¹ (Pl. III/3, 5). Four others discovered at Aquincum, Trier (Pl. III/4), Rome and Lauriacum take the form of ear probes.⁷² At Cologne the forceps is associated with a sharp hook,⁷³ while at Milos the superior extremity of a forceps housed a medical needle⁷⁴ (Pl. III/6). Sometimes they

⁵⁷ Kancewa 1994, Abb. 3.

⁵⁸ Künzl 2002, Taf. 15, A64, 65.

⁵⁹ Bucovală 1977, 94, Fig. 1-6; Künzl 1983, 110, Abb. 87; Kirova 2006, Abb. 5.

⁶⁰ Bliquez 1992, Fig. 1-2.

⁶¹ Künzl 1983, Abb. 57, 15-17.

⁶² Potaissa: Bajusz 2005, 665, 44/70/1.

⁶³ Gilău: Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 57-58, no. 19, Fig. 3/19; Porolissum: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 253-254, no. 1, 2, Pl. I/1, 2.

⁶⁴ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 13-14, Pl. V/13-14.

⁶⁵ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 1, Pl. VI/1.

⁶⁶ Cociş 2003, no. 294.

⁶⁷ Cociş 1993, 241, no. 1, Fig. 1/1 = Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 88, no. 1, Pl. XLII/1.

⁶⁸ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 14, Pl. V/14; Cociş 1993, 241, no. 1, Fig. 1/1 = Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 88, no. 1, Pl. XLII/1.

⁶⁹ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 2, Pl. VI/2.

⁷⁰ Jackson 1997, Fig. 2.

⁷¹ Künzl 1984, 163, D12, 14, Tafel 10.

⁷² Korbuly 1934, Fig. 4/3; Künzl 1984, 163, D13, Tafel 10; Gazzaniga, Serarcangeli 1999, 223, c; Gostenčnik 2013, 99, no. 6, Abb. 2/6.

⁷³ Bliquez 2014, 233.

⁷⁴ Künzl 1983, 40, Abb. 10/1.

seem to be part of chirurgical instruments, like it seems suggested by the *vulsellae* from Aschersleben⁷⁵ (Pl. III/7), Paris⁷⁶ (Pl. III/8), Gauting⁷⁷ and Lauriacum⁷⁸ where forceps are combined with bone elevators, at Mainz and Karanovo (Pl. III/9–10), where they are mounted at the extremity of lancets⁷⁹ or in Italy (Pl. III/11–12), where two forceps have been annexed to scalpels.⁸⁰ Lastly other specimens group two *vulsellae* with different functionalities, like for example a forceps found in a tomb from Ohrid, Macedonia that shows a slender forceps combined with a *coudée* type one.⁸¹

Other variations of scalpels, with hexagonal or octagonal section handles have been found at Porolissum⁸² (Pl. I/3 = Pl. VI/8; Pl. II/6) and could have been used in a wide variety of fine surgical interventions, while another one, made entirely out of iron, has a sharp-edged spoon instead of the classical spatula⁸³ (Pl. II/4). Scalpels made entirely out of iron are definitely rare among medical discoveries, two other specimens from Asia Minor being kept in the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum at Mainz.⁸⁴ The best analogy for our piece comes however from Italy. This scalpel was noticed by R. Jackson among the approximately 40 instruments that form the largest and most famous Roman medical kit known to date, preserved at the British Museum.⁸⁵ Interpreted as a curette, the spoon of this scalpel has sharp edges, most likely serving to scrape off and remove soft tissue or diseased bone.⁸⁶

Two other scalpels discovered at Porolissum⁸⁷ (Pl. VI/10) and Potaissa⁸⁸ (Pl. II/5) present instead of the usual spatula a small round knob in the opposite part of the blade. Two similar specimens with small round knob extremities are kept in the collection of the British Museum as well.⁸⁹

Probes and spatulas are definitely the most often encountered medical instruments of Dacia Porolissensis (Pls. V/2–5, VI/2–4) and at least some of them could have been used during surgical procedures as well. Among them however, some draw special attention due to having both ends shaped like spatulas.⁹⁰ In the absence of any clear reference in the literature, L. Bliquez was only able to speculate that they could be identified with *spathe*.⁹¹ If the identification is correct, then they could have been used for the application of plaster casts and for levering bones, or perhaps even as tongue depressors. The closest analogy for our pieces is found in the

⁷⁵ Künzl 1983, 100, Abb. 80/2; Bliquez 2014, 233.

⁷⁶ Künzl 1983, 75, Abb. 51/29.

⁷⁷ Jackson 1986, 139.

⁷⁸ Gostenčnik 2013, 99, no. 5, Abb. 2/5.

⁷⁹ Kancewa 1994, Abb. 5; Künzl 2002, 32, B 35, Tafel 29.

⁸⁰ Jackson 1986, 123, Fig. 1/10, 11; Bliquez 2014, 233.

⁸¹ Künzl 1983, 108, Abb. 86.

⁸² Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, nos. 4, 5, Pl. I/4, 5.

⁸³ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, no. 3, Pl. I/3.

⁸⁴ Künzl 2002, 28, B1–2.

⁸⁵ Jackson 1986, 122–123, no. 6, Fig. I/6.

⁸⁶ Jackson 1986, 136.

⁸⁷ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, no. 6, Pl. I/6.

⁸⁸ Bajusz 2005, 653, 31/6/3.

⁸⁹ Milne 1907, Pl. V/12.

⁹⁰ Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 59, no. 21, Fig. 3/21; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 262, nos. 8, 9, Pl. VIII/8, 9.

⁹¹ Bliquez 2014, 122–123.

museum of Naples,⁹² while similar, but more elegant pieces can be seen at Bingen, Colophon, Rimini and Alliano.⁹³ Another so called spatula discovered in a building of the civilian settlement of Porolissum⁹⁴ (Pl. I/4) has raised my attention due its unusually bent form and extremity that seems to have housed the slot of another instrument. Although at first sight the published drawing of the piece resembles to a lithotomy knife endowed with a hook, the reduced size of the piece suggests that we are dealing more likely to a blunt hook that could have had another instrument mounted on the opposite side.

In an article published in 1909 in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, the German historian K. Sudhoff signalled the presence of two iron dental pliers discovered at Saalburg. In this context however, he also mentioned the existence of a third one, this time made out of bronze, which was kept in the collections of the National Museum of Hungary in Budapest⁹⁵ (Pl. IV). Interestingly, this previously unpublished instrument was acquired by the Hungarian Museum in 1886, after being discovered in a Roman camp from the Torda-Aranyos County (Turda-Arieş), at that time an administrative unit of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.⁹⁶ Although Sudhoff does not specify the name of the camp, we can assume that the piece comes either from the auxiliary camp of Războieni-Cetate (Dacia Apulensis), or more probably from the legionary fort of Potaissa⁹⁷ (Dacia Porolissensis).

Made out of bronze, the forceps has two long arms with intricately decorated handles and strong, fine-crested clamps that facilitate a good adhesion to bone tissue.⁹⁸ The handles present a thickened cylindrical section decorated with two strips of horizontal parallel lines, followed by a third which portrays a beautiful vegetal motif. Although Sudhoff noticed that bronze was an inadequate material of confection for a dental forceps, he still chose to include the piece in this precise category. His arguments were based on the shape of the clamps, which he considered adequate for extracting heavily fractured dental roots from the upper jaw.

Shortly from its publication however, R. von Töply was already drawing attention to the difficulties encountered in identifying the exact functionality of different types of medical pliers, noting that if some can be used for dental procedures, others appear to be more suitable for bone surgery.⁹⁹ Subsequently, other historians of ancient medicine have come to the same conclusion that there is no Roman pliers-like forceps that can certainly be identified with a dental one. Moreover, its functionality could easily be replaced by tweezers, elevators, hooks or medical probes.¹⁰⁰ The multi-functionality of these instruments was once again underlined by Tabanelli, which classifies three forceps

⁹² Bliquez, Jackson 1994, no. 143, Ill. 79.

⁹³ Bliquez 2014, n. 218.

⁹⁴ Tamba 2012, 36-37, 2.b., Fig. 4 = Tamba 2015, 242, 2b, Pl. 1/4.

⁹⁵ Sudhoff 1909, 68-69, Taf. III.

⁹⁶ Sudhoff 1909, 68.

⁹⁷ The existence of both of these *castra* was known at that time. See for example Téglás 1901, 198, 217.

⁹⁸ Sudhoff 1909, 68.

⁹⁹ Töply 1912, 48, Fig. 122.

¹⁰⁰ Weinberger 1948, 160-163.

types i.e. for dental extractions, for removing arrows or bone fragments after trepanation and, respectively pliers equipped with spoons for removing tumorous growths¹⁰¹.

An authority in the history of ancient medicine, E. Künzl remarked that in the case of these pieces, the material of confection could conceal their exact functionality. Thus he considers that iron pliers were typical for dental extractions, while the bronze ones were useful for extracting arrows or bone fragments and in some cases, possibly even teeth.¹⁰² So although similar to *odontagra*, the pliers found in the museum of Budapest proved to be in fact a bone forceps, known in the ancient medical literature as *ostagra*.¹⁰³ Such instruments have strong, jagged or notched clamps that either bend in the same direction or are straight just like those of modern patent pliers. As for the clamps, analogies for our instrument can be found at Carnuntum¹⁰⁴, Colophon¹⁰⁵ and Rimini,¹⁰⁶ none of them presenting however the unique vegetal decoration present on the pliers discovered in Dacia.

Archaeological contexts

Unfortunately, for the time being, the medical instruments recovered from various archaeological sites within Dacia Porolissensis, only allow us to draw a partial picture regarding the distribution and frequency of medical care in the province. On one hand this is due to the selective publishing of the pieces, sometimes only under the form of an illustration or as a brief mention, lacking other significant details like the archaeological context. On the other hand however, this is also bound to limited excavations that usually refrain to a few more important archaeological sites, avoiding for example the rural area.

Although the majority of the finds can be placed in a military context, the discovery of some medical and paramedical instruments in the civilian settlements of Porolissum¹⁰⁷ and Potaissa,¹⁰⁸ as well as in the *villa rustica* of Gârbou,¹⁰⁹ certainly seems to confirm our limited knowledge regarding the medical care within the civilian society of Dacia Porolissensis.

Nevertheless, the already published medical instruments with clear archaeological contexts can help us draw a few pertinent conclusions. In this respect, we can notice a big concentration of medical finds in the soldiers' barracks of the auxiliary camp of Buciumi.¹¹⁰ A few other medical instruments have been recorded in the barracks

¹⁰¹ Tabanelli 1956, 109.

¹⁰² Künzl, Weber 1991, 107.

¹⁰³ Bliquez 2014, 241-242.

¹⁰⁴ Töply 1912, 151, Fig. 124.

¹⁰⁵ Bliquez 2014, Fig. 63.

¹⁰⁶ De Carolis 2009, 77, Fig. 3/25.

¹⁰⁷ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, 3-4, Pl. I/3, 4; 254, no. 1, Pl. II/1; 255, no. 2, Pl. III/2; 256, no. 4, Pl. III/4; 256, no. 5, Pl. III/5; 258, no. 1, Pl. V/1; 258, no. 8, Pl. V/8; 259, no. 11, Pl. V/11; 261, no. 4, Pl. VIII/4; 262, no. 10, Pl. VIII/10; 267, no. 3, Pl. XIV/3; Tamba 2012, 1.a, Fig. 1; 3.d, Fig. 14; 4.b-d, Fig. 16-18.

¹⁰⁸ Bajusz 2005, 615-616, 29/95/3, 29/95/4; 640, 47/157; 653, 31/6/3; 665, 44/70/1; 752, 48/35/2; 747, 48/19.

¹⁰⁹ Lenghel 1925, 391; Bologa 1925, 392-393; Bologa 1933-1935, 221-222.

¹¹⁰ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 255, no. 8, Pl. II/8; 256, no. 7, Pl. III/7; 257, nos. 4, 6, 12, Pl. IV/4, 6, 12; 258, nos. 2, 10, Pl. V/2, 10; 259, Pl. V/12, 13; 259, no. 4, Pl. VI/4; 261, no. 3, Pl. VIII/3; 268, nos. 1, 3, Pl. XVI/1, 3; Chirilă, Gudea, Lucăcel, Pop 1972, 82, no. 2, Pl. CXXIV/2; no. 4, Pl. CXXIV/1.

of Porolissum and Arcobadara as well.¹¹¹ This situation can be noticed in many other fortresses and forts throughout the Roman Empire and can be explained through various scenarios.

First of all, based on the fact that the majority of the finds are almost exclusively medical probes or ointment slabs, we can imagine that they could have been used by the soldiers themselves to attend to their more minor injuries. Edifying in this respect is the discovery of a papyrus fragment from Egypt that seems to suggest that at least some of the ill soldiers could have been left to recuperate in their barracks, while their fellow comrades looked after them.¹¹² P. Baker believes that these are the ill soldiers (*aegri*) mentioned by one of the Vindolanda tablets, clearly differentiated from those suffering from eye affections (*lippiantes*) and injured soldiers (*volnerati*).¹¹³ Tacitus describes a scene where soldiers bandaged each other's wounds after the battle of Bedriacum, suggesting once again that soldiers were capable of offering first aid.¹¹⁴ Some of them could have even had proper medical training and served alongside the medical staff. This seems suggested by a funerary stele discovered at Burnum, in Dalmatia, depicting a medical box under the epigraphic text that mentions the deceased Satrius Rufus, soldier of the *XI Claudia pia fidelis* legion.¹¹⁵

Among the small finds retrieved from the barracks of Buciumi there is also a surgical forceps with handle and dentate jaws. This instrument is usually used in positioning tissue for excisions done with the scalpel, making thus plausible the idea that at least in some cases the *medicus* would have travelled to the rooms to treat the ill soldiers. This opinion is certainly backed up by the fact that no *valetudinarium* has been yet firmly identified in the province of Dacia.¹¹⁶

A few medical instruments have been found in the amphitheatre of Porolissum¹¹⁷ and could indicate either the presence of a *medicus ludi gladiatorum* or according to P. Baker that "soldiers, or perhaps civilians, had no qualms about cleaning themselves in public".¹¹⁸

More interesting prove to be however medical instruments noticed among funerary inventories (Pl. V), since they can reveal us some of the perceptions of the ancients regarding medical instruments and their association with disease and death. During the 22nd edition of the International Congress of History of Medicine, held at Constanța - Bucharest in 1970, a bronze *specillum spatomelle* and an ointment slab

¹¹¹ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 257, no. 8, Pl. IV/8; Marcu 2006, 465, n. 39.

¹¹² P. Mich. 8. 478.

¹¹³ Baker 2000, 190.

¹¹⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 2. 45. Dionysius of Halicarnassus records how soldiers applied false bandages to avoid being sent into battle: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* IX. 50. 5. For a discussion regarding the identity of the man in armour bandaging a wounded soldier in an image on Trajan's Column see Aparaschivei 2017 and bibliography.

¹¹⁵ Cesarik et alii 2016, 174, Fig. 3.

¹¹⁶ Several propositions, lacking however solid arguments, have been given for the auxiliary camps of Arcobadara and Porolissum: Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, 52; Marcu 2006, 465-466, respectively Gudea 1997a, 25.

¹¹⁷ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 256, nos. 1, 2, Pl. IV/1, 2; 257, no. 3, Pl. IV/3; 258, nos. 3, 5, Pl. V/3, 5; 261, nos. 5, 6, Pl. VIII/5, 6.

¹¹⁸ Baker 2000, 231.

have been presented as part of a medical set. The two have been discovered together in a brick tomb from the southern necropolis of Potaissa.¹¹⁹ The tomb has been thought to belong to a physician, because the instruments were deposited together inside a wooden box.¹²⁰ From another brick tomb of the same necropolis comes a probe with spherical head,¹²¹ while a bronze double ended *specillum* has been recorded by I. Téglás as part of the funerary inventory of another brick tomb, this time from Valea Sândului.¹²² Another bronze *specillum spatomelle* has been discovered in the necropolis found at south of the fort and settlement of Porolissum.¹²³

All the aforementioned instruments are in a good state of preservation, slightly damaged or with minimal trace of use. This makes us wonder whether there is a particular conception behind this depositional pattern. Are they seen as “impure” after being used in a failed medical operation or after entering in contact with a disease or death? The deposition of a significant number of medical instruments in refuse pits at Porolissum certainly seems to confirm this idea¹²⁴ (Pl. VI). A close parallel has been already signalled in the archaeological literature at Vindonissa, where 62 out of the 326 medical instruments found here came from a rubbish deposit.¹²⁵ Observing a striking difference between the high density of medical finds in tombs from Gallia and Germania as opposed to those from Rome and Italy, R. Jackson sees this phenomenon as a reflection of “varying burial practices in different parts of the empire”.¹²⁶ Furthermore, he also wonders whether a high concentration of depositions could not be in fact the direct consequence of a reduced number of physicians available in the area to whom these instruments could have been handed down.

Lastly, other archaeological contexts like roads¹²⁷ or headquarters of the forts¹²⁸ must not be seen as a direct reflection of the place where the medical treatment took place, being most probably the place of loss or final deposition of these pieces.

Decorations. Preoccupation for the aesthetics of the medical instruments

Regarding the decoration of the medical instruments, most of them show humble ornaments that usually consist in successions of rings or/and nodules. Some of the medical probes however, show geometric/abstract motifs,¹²⁹ rhomboid decorative

¹¹⁹ Wolski, Hampartumian 1972, 309–310.

¹²⁰ Milea, Hopârtean, Luca 1978, 203–205, Figs. 3–4.

¹²¹ Luca, Hopârtean 1980, 118–121, Fig. 4/1.

¹²² Bajusz 2005, 628–629, 24/86/3.

¹²³ Gudea 1989, 680, IX C/7, Pl. CCXXV, 1; Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 257, no. 5, Pl. IV/5.

¹²⁴ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, nos. 5, 6; 255, no. 3; 256, no. 6; 258, nos. 6, 14; 259, no. 1; 259, no. 11; 262, no. 10; 266, no. 1; 268, no. 4.

¹²⁵ Baker 2004, 9–11.

¹²⁶ Jackson 1990, 6.

¹²⁷ Found in the auxiliary camps of Gilău: Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 58–59, nos. 20–22, Fig. 20–22 and Porolissum: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, no. 7, Pl. I/7; 267, nos. 4, 6, Pl. XIII/4, 6; 267–268, no. 2, Pl. XV/2.

¹²⁸ Found in the auxiliary forts of Porolissum: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 255, no. 6, Pl. II/6; 267, nos. 4, 6, Pl. XIII/4, 6; 267, nos. 2, 5, Pl. XIV/2, 5 and Buciumi: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 258, nos. 7, 9, Pl. V/7, 9.

¹²⁹ A medical probe discovered at Arcobadara has the rectangular handle decorated with horizontal and x-shaped cross lines: Protase, Gaiu, Marinescu 1997, Pl. LXXV/1.

portions¹³⁰ or oblique striations.¹³¹ Out of the six *vulsellae* with handle found in Dacia Porolissensis only one has the extremity ornamented with a protruding “spine”,¹³² while the others take the classical “chess pawn” shape¹³³.

A bronze scalpel with leaf shaped dissector found in the auxiliary fort of Gilău has the rectangular handle decorated with *niello* inlays in silver, portraying a vegetal motif, either ivy or vine leaves¹³⁴ (Pl. VII/1). More common in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, scalpels decorated with similar silver inlays were also found in Germania Inferior¹³⁵ (Pl. VII/6), Germania Superior¹³⁶ (Pl. VII/10, 12), Gallia Belgica¹³⁷ (Pl. VII/2,13), Moesia Inferior¹³⁸ (Pl. VII/3–4), Dalmatia,¹³⁹ Thracia¹⁴⁰ (Pl. VII/5, 7–8) and Asia Minor¹⁴¹ (Pl. VII/9). A slight variation can be noticed at the scalpels decorated with grape vines and clusters, occasionally encountered in Britannia,¹⁴² Germania Inferior¹⁴³ (Pl. VII/14) and Noricum¹⁴⁴ (Pl. VII/11).

By adding this silver decoration to the scalpel, not only has the metalworker increased its material value, but it has also charged the instrument with a suggestive symbolic value, by hinting to the healing proprieties of these plants. Pliny the Elder labels ivy as *medicatissima*, mentioning that this very powerful healing plant can be administered orally in combination with wine or as a plaster in various medical treatments.¹⁴⁵ In addition, L. Bliquez suggests that due to its vigorous growth ivy could play in fact the role of a metaphor for life and survival.¹⁴⁶ Decoration with vine-sprays or grape clusters can be explained due to the antiseptic properties of wine, Hippocratic doctors frequently prescribing it to clean the cauterization of a wound following a surgical procedure.¹⁴⁷

A similar type of scalpel from Porolissum presents a square-shaped hollow section that probably served as a place for inserting a decorative bone plaque¹⁴⁸ (Pl. II/2),

¹³⁰ One of the double ended probes discovered in the Roman settlement of Potaissa has the spatula connected to the handle through a rhomboidal portion: Bajusz 2005, 752, 48/35/2.

¹³¹ This decorative pattern can be seen on a medical probe found in the Romita auxiliary fort: Matei, Bajusz 1997, 127, Pl. LXXXI/2 and on a *vulsella* with spatula found in the Porolissum auxiliary fort: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 2, Pl. VI/2.

¹³² This *vulsella* has been found in the auxiliary camp of Arcobadara: Cociş 2003, no. 294.

¹³³ Forceps of this type had been found in the auxiliary camps of Buciumi: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 12, Pl. V/12; Porolissum: Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 259, no. 1, Pl. VI/1; Gherla: Cociş 1993, 241, no. 1, Fig. 1/1 = Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, 88, no. 1, Pl. XLII/1.

¹³⁴ Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 57–58, no. 19, Fig. 3/19.

¹³⁵ Künlz 1986, 504, C1, Abb. 9.

¹³⁶ Künlz 1982, 61, Abb. 4; Kirova 2006, 542, Abb. 7, 2b.

¹³⁷ Künlz 1983, 63, Fig. 36/25, 30; Künlz 1984, 160, B1, Taf. 6.

¹³⁸ Kirova 2006, 538–539, No. 4, 5, Abb. 3, 1–2.

¹³⁹ Giunio 2010, 67, no. 11.

¹⁴⁰ Kirova 2006, 537–538, nos. 1–3, Abb. 2, 1–3.

¹⁴¹ Künlz 2002, 28, B3, Taf. 17.

¹⁴² Gilson 1983, 387–389.

¹⁴³ Künlz 1986, 493, 1, Abb. 2, 1, 6.

¹⁴⁴ Kirova 2006, 542, Abb. 7, 2a.

¹⁴⁵ Plin. *HN.* 24. 75–80, 28. 79.

¹⁴⁶ Bliquez 2014, 19.

¹⁴⁷ Jouanna 2012, 191.

¹⁴⁸ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 253–254, no. 1, Pl. I/1.

while another one has an octagonal grip that takes the form of a miniature column¹⁴⁹ (Pl. I/3; Pl. VI/8). An eight centimetres long bronze handle decorated with a wolf or dog head, found in the auxiliary camp of Gherla, seems to have belonged to a knife that could have served medical purposes. E. Künzl associated wolf representations on medical instruments with Apollo Lykios' healing powers,¹⁵⁰ while the dog is known to be one of the animal companions of Aesculapius. Either way we might have a medical instrument placed under the divine auspices of one of the aforementioned healing gods.

While these decorations certainly served to facilitate the practitioner's grip, they also reflect Roman doctors' preoccupation for the aesthetics of their medical instruments.¹⁵¹ As L. Bliquez has already pointed out both a more remarkable confection material, as well as a particular decoration, were meant to increase the doctor's prestige in the eyes of a patient, inspiring likewise more confidence in its medical qualities.¹⁵² If this is indeed the case we have in front of us an important clue regarding the strong bond that would have still existed between religion and healing during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. In fact numerous votive inscriptions dedicated to the healing gods in Dacia, some of them mentioning proper cases of healing, suggest that in the mentality of the inhabitants of the province healing occurred primarily due to the beneficence of the gods, while doctors were mere intermediaries in this process. Ido Israelowich believed that both human and divine healers shared the same medical language, thus patients must have saw them as part of the same health care system.¹⁵³

Alternative therapies – the cult of the healing gods

Most of the votive monuments dedicated to the healing gods Aesculapius and Hygia come from Dacia Apulensis, where the gods patronize the healing waters of Germisara¹⁵⁴ and are worshiped in their temples at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa,¹⁵⁵ Apulum¹⁵⁶ and Ampelum.¹⁵⁷ Six such votive monuments were found in Dacia Porolissensis as well and represent either votive altars dedicated to Aesculapius and/or Hygia (Ilișua, Napoca) or reliefs in which the healing couple forms a divine triad with Telesphorus or Apollo (Potaissa, Porolissum, Ilișua).

A votive relief portraying the healing triad Hygia – Aesculapius – Telesphorus, displayed in the mentioned order, has been recorded in the collection of the photographer Botár Imre from Turda (Cluj County)¹⁵⁸ (Pl. VIII/1). Unfortunately, although there is no doubt regarding its provenance from Potaissa, no additional details are known

¹⁴⁹ Gudea, Bajusz 1992, 254, no. 5, Pl. I/5.

¹⁵⁰ Künzl 1993, 99–100, apud Bliquez 2014, n. 89; Künzl 1996, 2608–2609, Abb. XVII/3.

¹⁵¹ Varga 2015b, 185–186.

¹⁵² Bliquez 2014, 19.

¹⁵³ Israelowich 2015, 52.

¹⁵⁴ IDR III/3, 230, 231, 232; Piso 2015, 47–69.

¹⁵⁵ Votive statues: Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, nos. 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; Votive reliefs: Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, nos. 2–4, 6, 9, 11; Varga 2015a, Pl. I/2, 3; Votive altars and columns, construction plaque and bronze *ex voto*: IDR III/2, 151, 153–155, 157–159, 161, 163–165, 167–169, 171–173, 175–177, 193; ILD 260, 278.

¹⁵⁶ IDR III/5, 6, 7, 13.

¹⁵⁷ IDR III/3, 280.

¹⁵⁸ Igna 1935, 62, Fig. 24; Ardevan, Rusu 1979, 390, Fig. 9; Mihăilă 2008, 21–22, no. 13; Bărbulescu 2015, 59–60, Fig. 53; Varga 2016, no. 15.

concerning its archaeological context. The relief shows the gods with an iconography typical for the Thracian space and its adjacent areas, as it seems suggested by the spatial distribution of other analogous monuments.¹⁵⁹ Indeed numerous votive reliefs or coins representing the aforementioned healing triad have been discovered solely in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, mostly at Pautalia, Batkun and Glava Panega in Thracia¹⁶⁰ and at Tomis, Odessos and Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia Inferior.¹⁶¹ However, one similar relief was found in Pannonia as well,¹⁶² while in Dacia another possible local variant has been spotted at Porolissum.¹⁶³ Besides the association of the healing gods with Telesphorus, its notable key elements feature the presence of a *pseudo-aedicula* frame and the depiction of Aesculapius with the Nea Paphos attribute,¹⁶⁴ the egg that the god feeds to the snake that climbs up his staff. We can however observe some slight changes as well, namely the low draping of the god's *chiton*, characteristic to the Chiaramonti type and quasi-constant in the iconography of Aesculapius in Dacia.¹⁶⁵ The sloppy depiction of Hygia's hands, the rigidity of her clothing's folds, the strong schematization of the snake and the unusual choice of dressing Telesphorus in a *chiton*, instead of the more typical *bardocucullus* he is usually wearing, betray the local character of our piece.

The other aforementioned relief from Dacia has been discovered at Porolissum in a poor preservation state¹⁶⁶ (Pl. VIII/2). Due to its fragmentary condition we are not able to imagine its original form hence the attribution to the Thracian pattern is by no means of utmost certainty.¹⁶⁷ Besides a very coarse execution, with disproportionate depictions and strong schematizations, the relief presents many deviations from the classic iconographical canons. Hygia and Aesculapius show no attributes whatsoever, holding each one instead a *patera* in their left hands, while Telesphoros, the only one accurately depicted, becomes the deciding element in establishing the identity of the gods.

Both pieces have dedicatory inscriptions, but unfortunately do not offer any significant details other than the dedicator's name, respectively Aurelius Aeternalis at Potaissa and Aurelius Iustus at Porolissum.

Another depiction of the healing gods can be seen on a votive altar incidentally discovered in the auxiliary camp of Arcobadara¹⁶⁸ (Pl. VIII/3). The monument was

¹⁵⁹ Varga 2016, 19–20.

¹⁶⁰ LIMC II, 1984, s.v. *Asklepios (in Thracia)*, 898–899, no. 15–20 (Z. Gočeva); LIMC V, 1990, s.v. *Hygieia (in Thracia)*, 572–573, nos. 3–5 (Z. Gočeva); LIMC VII, 1994, s.v. *Telesphoros*, 874, nos. 56–59 (H. Rühfel); Sirano 1994, Fig. 17; Alfieri Tonini 2012, Fig. 1.

¹⁶¹ Aparaschivei 2012, 164–165, 169–170.

¹⁶² Fitz 1998, 80, no. 89.

¹⁶³ AE 1960, 220; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, no. 156; Mihăilă 2008, 15–16, no. 3; Varga 2016, no. 14.

¹⁶⁴ Sirano 1994, 199–232.

¹⁶⁵ Daicoviciu 1924, 253–254, Fig. 16; Igna 1935, 62, Fig. 24, no. 4; AE 1960, 220; Piso 1974–1975, 60–61, Fig. 5 a-b; Rusu 1975, 698–702, Fig. 3/8; Daicoviciu 1976, 63; Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, nos. 1, 5, 8, 9, 11; Ardevan, Rusu 1979, 390, Fig. 9; IDR III/2, 166, Fig. 136, 170, Fig. 138; Fenechiu 2008, 215, no. 12, 220; Schäfer 2007, 148–149, H I 1; Mihăilă 2008, 3, 5, 8, 13; Bărbulescu 2009, 132; Varga 2015a.

¹⁶⁶ AE 1960, 220; Gudea, Lucăcel 1975, no. 156; Mihăilă 2008, 15–16, no. 3; Varga 2016, no. 14.

¹⁶⁷ Varga 2016, 28.

¹⁶⁸ Ardevan, Wollman 2006, 259–267; AE 2006, 1131; Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 241–243; Nemeti 2010, no. 16; Dana 2014.

initially misinterpreted as belonging to some anonymous gods, generically called by the dedicator θεοὶ χθόνιοι,¹⁶⁹ thus implicitly determining the misidentification of the divine triad displayed in the upper register of the altar. More recently, the re-examination of the dedication found in the lower part of the relief has permitted Dan Dana to correctly identify the divine figures that hid under the appellative θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι as the healing gods Hygia, Aesculapius and Apollo.¹⁷⁰ The same characterizing epithet can be noticed accompanying the healing gods on a votive altar from Apulum.¹⁷¹ In fact this quality of the healing gods is well attested in Dacia, where another votive inscription from Apulum is addressed *Auribus Aesculapii et Hygiae et Apollini et Dianae*,¹⁷² while a votive relief found in the *Asklepieion* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa has two symmetrically opposed ears flanking the epigraphic text.¹⁷³

Other two votive altars with dedication for the healing gods come from the same auxiliary camp at Arcobadara. Like the aforementioned altar, one of them has the inscription formulated in Greek and it is richly decorated.¹⁷⁴ This time however, the decorations include stars, a *bucranium* and a two-handled vase, while a snake, sacred animal of Aesculapius, is depicted above the dedicatory inscription. Based on these decorations, we can deduce that some of the divine instructions received by the worshipper after the healing occurred could have included libations and animal sacrifice.

The other votive altar discovered in the Arcobadara auxiliary fort mentions that the monument has been dedicated by the *praefectus equitum* Caius Iulius Atianus in honor of the healing gods Aesculapius and Hygia.¹⁷⁵ If the inscription has been accurately interpreted, the erection of the altar occurred on the occasion of the renovations of the *thermae*, suggesting thus the placing of the baths under the divine powers of the healing gods. As patrons of the military baths, Aesculapius and Hygia spread their healing powers over the waters, lending them curative qualities. In fact, the same situation can be noticed at Potaissa as well, where Marcus Publicianus Rhesus, *praefectus alae I Batavorum milliariae* set two votive altars in the *vestibulum balnearum* of the *thermae*¹⁷⁶ (Pl. IX/2–3). A first one was offered for Aesculapius and Hygia,¹⁷⁷ while the second bears the name of Fortuna¹⁷⁸, most probably understood here as Fortuna Balnearis, protector goddess of the *thermae*. The healing powers of Fortuna come of no surprise, being already attested in Dacia by a votive inscription from Ampelum that names her Salutaris.¹⁷⁹ We can also guess, that two other monuments dedicated to Fortuna found in the *thermae* of Arcobadara must be placed in the same context,

¹⁶⁹ Ardevan, Wollman 2006, 259–267.

¹⁷⁰ Dana 2014.

¹⁷¹ IDR III/5, 15 = CIGD 13.

¹⁷² IDR III/5, 20.

¹⁷³ Piso 1974–1975, 58–59, no. 2; Alicu, Pop, Wollmann 1979, no. 2, Pl. I; IDR III/2, 162, Fig. 133; Schäfer 2007, 149, H I 2; Mihăilă 2008, 19–20, no. 9.

¹⁷⁴ CIL III ad 786 = IGR I 537 = CIGD 55; Russu 1965, 73, no. 35; Ruscu 2003, 40, no. 55; Nemeti 2010, 407, no. 2; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 75–76, I. 2.13.

¹⁷⁵ CIL III 786; Nemeti 2010, 407, no. 1; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, 75, I. 2. 12.

¹⁷⁶ Bărbulescu 2012, 186–213; Piso 2014.

¹⁷⁷ Bărbulescu 2012, no. 23.

¹⁷⁸ Bărbulescu 2012, no. 22.

¹⁷⁹ IDR III/3, 303.

especially since one honours Fortuna Redux *ob restitutionem balinei*.¹⁸⁰ Lastly, the 35 cm high head of a limestone statue depicting Sarapis that has been discovered in the *thermae* of Potaissa¹⁸¹ (Pl. IX/1) must be linked to his reputation as an oracular healer almost equal to Asclepius. In general, the association of military baths with healing gods does not necessarily have a religious character, but rather work as a powerful visual association between water and health or healing. Nevertheless, evidence for medical care in baths can be found in various fortresses and forts throughout the Empire,¹⁸² so at least some of the monuments dedicated to the healing gods in this particular context could be the result of an efficient medical treatment received in the perimeter of the baths or due to the beneficence of hydrotherapy. As R. Jackson noticed: “In the Roman world numerous forms of medical treatments were available, administered by a wide range of healers. Many of the treatments were unpleasant; some were dangerous; few were predictably and consistently beneficial. Given this uncertainty and discomfort, it is not difficult to understand why hydrotherapy held such an appeal”.¹⁸³

Ultimately, a fourth votive altar honoring the divine powers of Aesculapius has been found in the *villa rustica* of Căianu (Cluj County) in the vicinity of some Roman building remains.¹⁸⁴

Conclusions

The article examines some of the existent evidence for specialized medical care found in Dacia Porolissensis, in an attempt to validate the existence of specialized professional medical corps. Although so far, there is no epigraphic source that could attest the existence of the latter, the presence of scalpels, hooks, large medical pincers and a bone pliers-like forceps certainly seem to back up the existence of physicians, at least in the military milieu. Nonetheless, medical probes and ointment slabs discovered in the barracks could indicate that medical instruments could have also been used by the soldiers themselves to attend to their more minor injuries.

The majority of the medical instruments found in Dacia Porolissensis come from a military context. A few medical and paramedical instruments found in the civilian settlements of Porolissum and Potaissa, confirm our limited knowledge regarding the medical care within the civilian society of this province. The presence of a *signaculum oculariorum* at Gârbou could suggest the presence in this *villa rustica* of an ophthalmologist or of a physician/healer that included ophthalmological treatments in his practice. Nevertheless, it could also be attributed to the presence of a traveling physician. The appearance of itinerant practitioners can be seen as a direct consequence of the need for health care advice and medical treatment that must have kept coming from the rural area.

Around ten percent of the medical instruments found in Dacia Porolissensis come from refuse pits or funerary contexts. These depositions patterns make us wonder

¹⁸⁰ CIL III 789-790; Gaiu, Zăgreanu 2011, I. 2. 15, IV. 1. 1.

¹⁸¹ Bărbulescu 2015, 40-43, Figs. 9-14.

¹⁸² Some examples can be found in Künzl 1986, Fig. 5; Baker 2000, 172, 229-231.

¹⁸³ Jackson 1999, 107.

¹⁸⁴ Popa 2002, 50, no. 132; Gudea 2008, 75, no.7.

whether these instruments were considered contaminated or if there was a reduced number of physicians available in the area to which these instruments could have been handed down.

Besides validating the presence of specialized medical corps, medical instruments can also indirectly help us trace a list of possible ailments or diseases that the inhabitants of the province could have suffered of. This proves especially useful given that there is a quasi-absence of anthropological studies that could determine the pathology of skeletons.

Decorations found on the medical instruments discovered in Dacia Porolissensis show that in some cases physicians were preoccupied with the aesthetics of their instruments. In general, it is believed that these decorations conceal doctors' need to inspire patients more confidence in their professional qualities. We have to take into consideration that this happened during a period in which antiseptics or anaesthetics were quasi-non-existent, while medico-magical performances or healing cult practices must have seemed more viable and friendly treatment options.

Edelstein remarked that "in sickness, people first took recourse to human physicians. The scope of their competence, however, was limited. There are cases so desperate, diseases so grave, the doctors themselves admitted, that human endeavour fights them in vain. Still, the divinity may be able and willing to help".¹⁸⁵ Perhaps some of the monuments dedicated to the healing gods in Dacia Porolissensis could be seen as a consequence of an efficient medical treatment received under the guidance of the healing gods. Nevertheless, the association of the military baths of Arcobadara and Potaissa with healing gods does not necessarily have a religious character, but rather work as a powerful visual association between water and health or healing.

Hopefully, future archaeological and anthropological researches will keep filling up the gaps in our limited knowledge about medical care in Dacia Porolissensis, offering a more detailed picture of the dynamics between patient and doctor/healer both in civilian and military environment.

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¹⁸⁵ Edelstein, Edelstein 1945, 2, 139.

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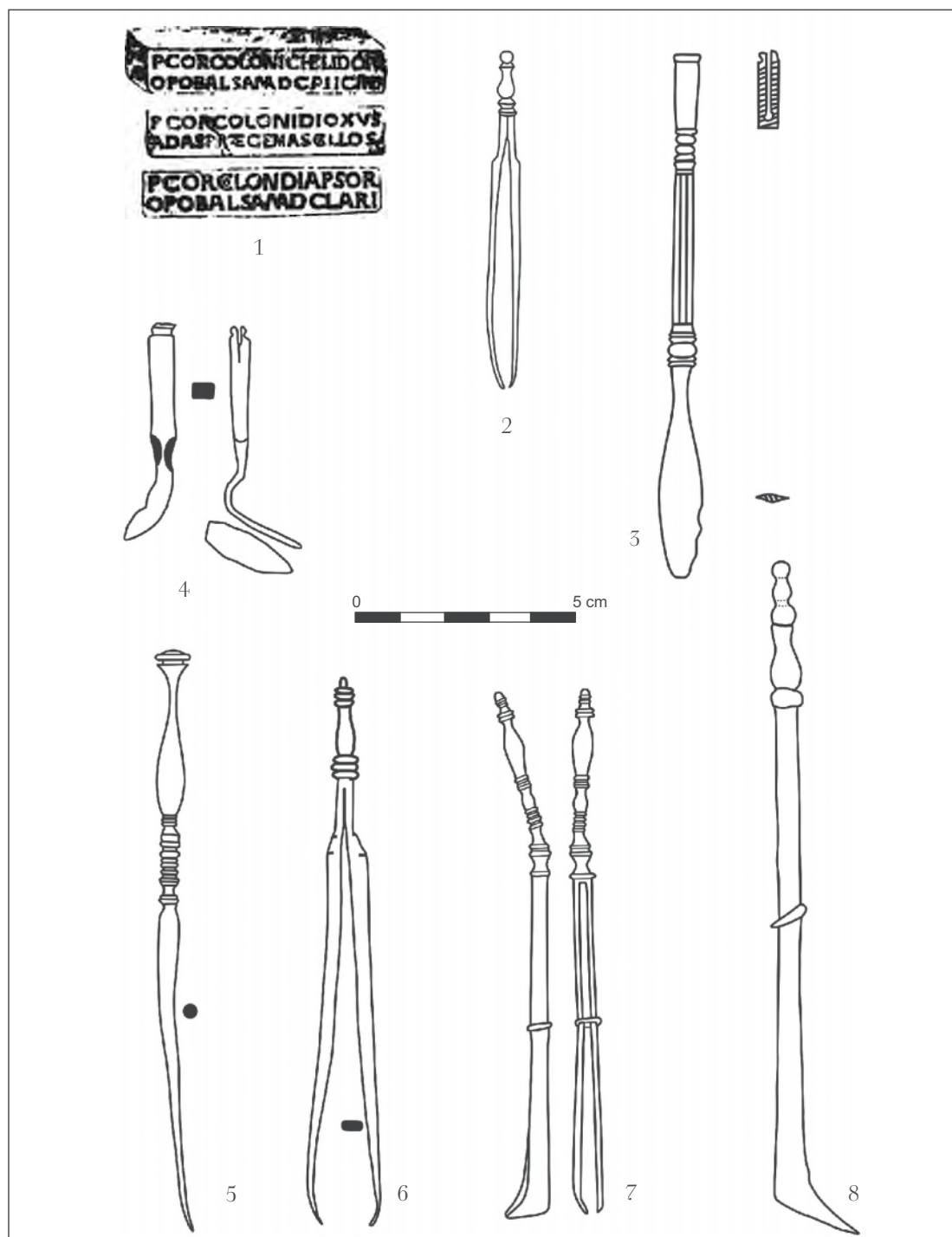
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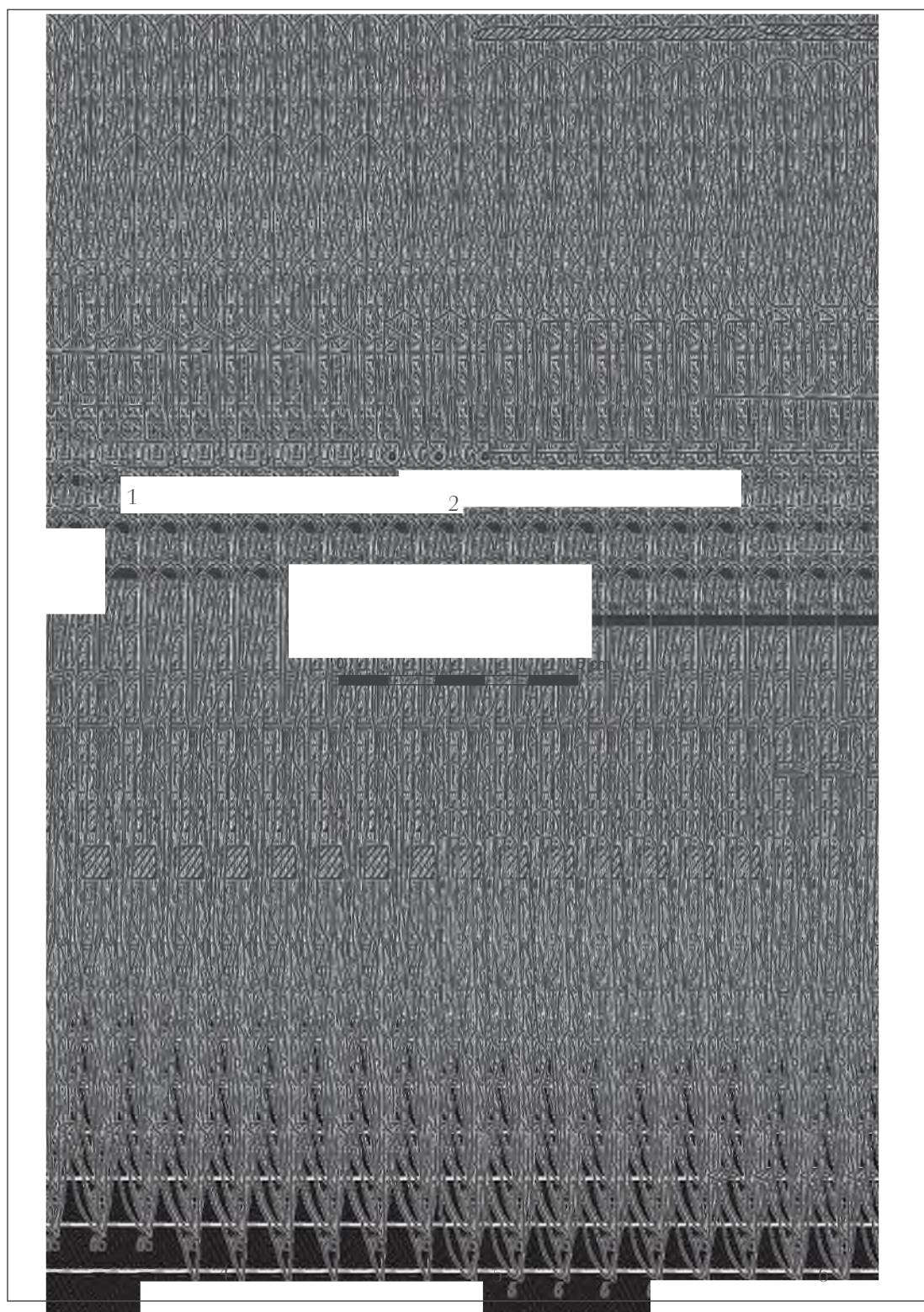
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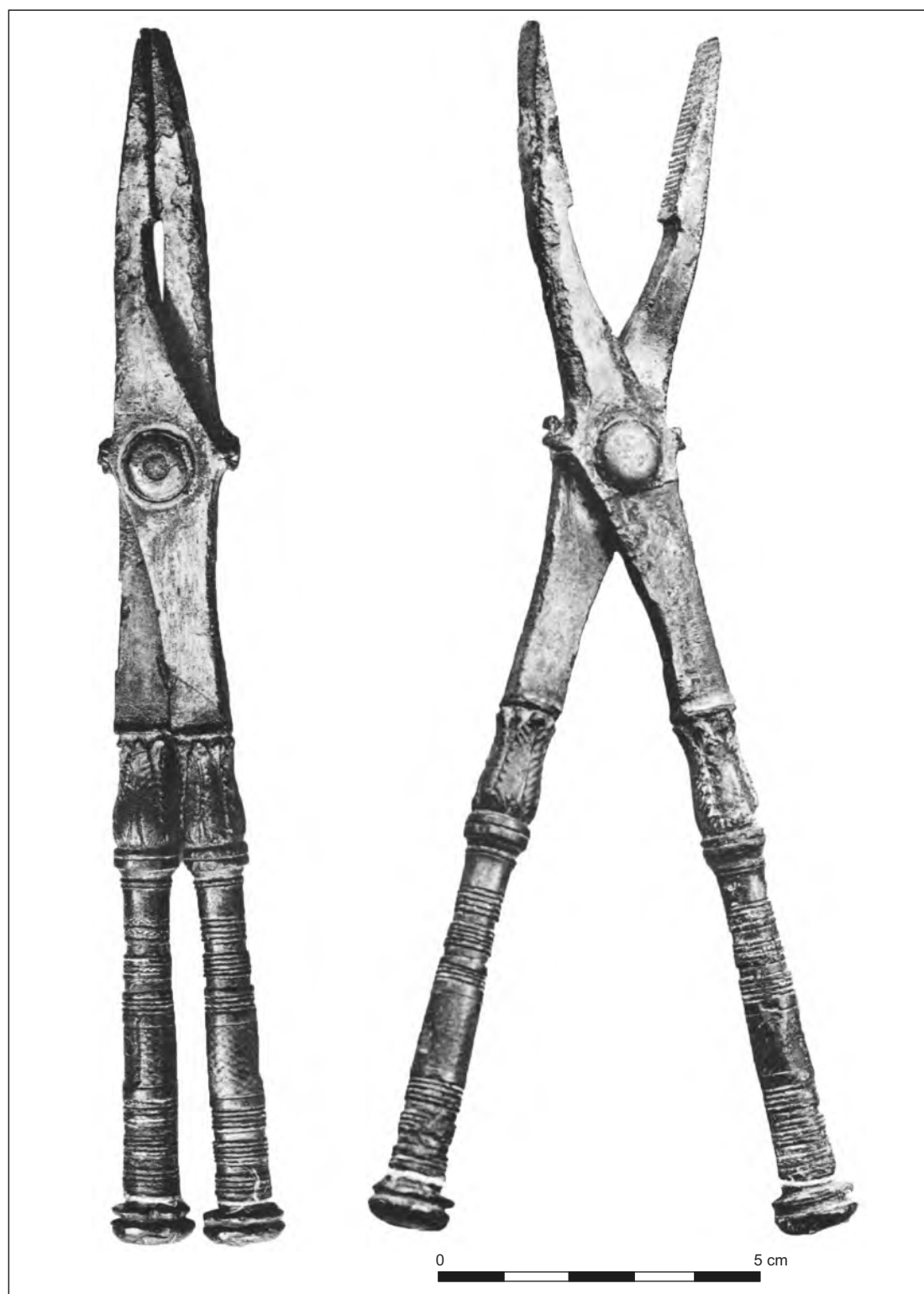
Pl. I. Medical and paramedical instruments from Dacia Porolissensis that could have been used during ophthalmological or surgical procedures: **1.** *Signacula oculariorum* from the *villa rustica* of Gâr bou (Alicu, Crişan 2003, Fig. 3); **2.** *Vulsella* from Buciumi (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. V/12); **3.** Scalpel from Porolissum (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. I/5); **4.** Blunt hook (?) from Porolissum (redrawn after Tamba 2012, Fig. 4); **5.** Sharp hook from Porolissum (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. VI/3); **6–7.** Forceps from Buciumi (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. V/13–14); **8.** Forceps from Gherla (redrawn after Cociş 1993, Fig. 1/1).



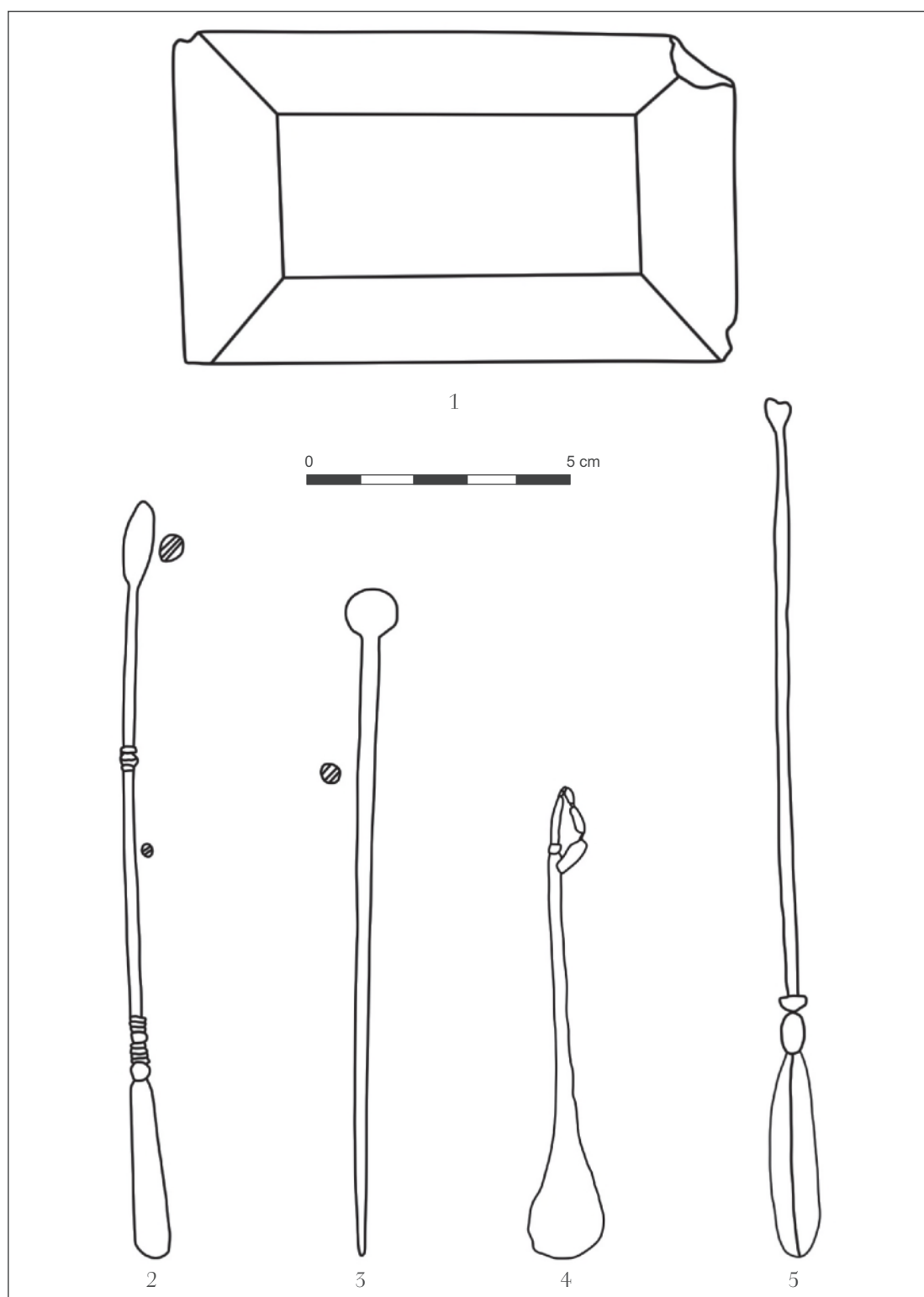
Pl. II. Different types of scalpels found in Dacia Porolissensis: 1, 5. Potaissa (redrawn after Bajusz 2005, Figs. 44/70/1, 31/6/3); 2-4, 6. Porolissum (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. I/1-4).



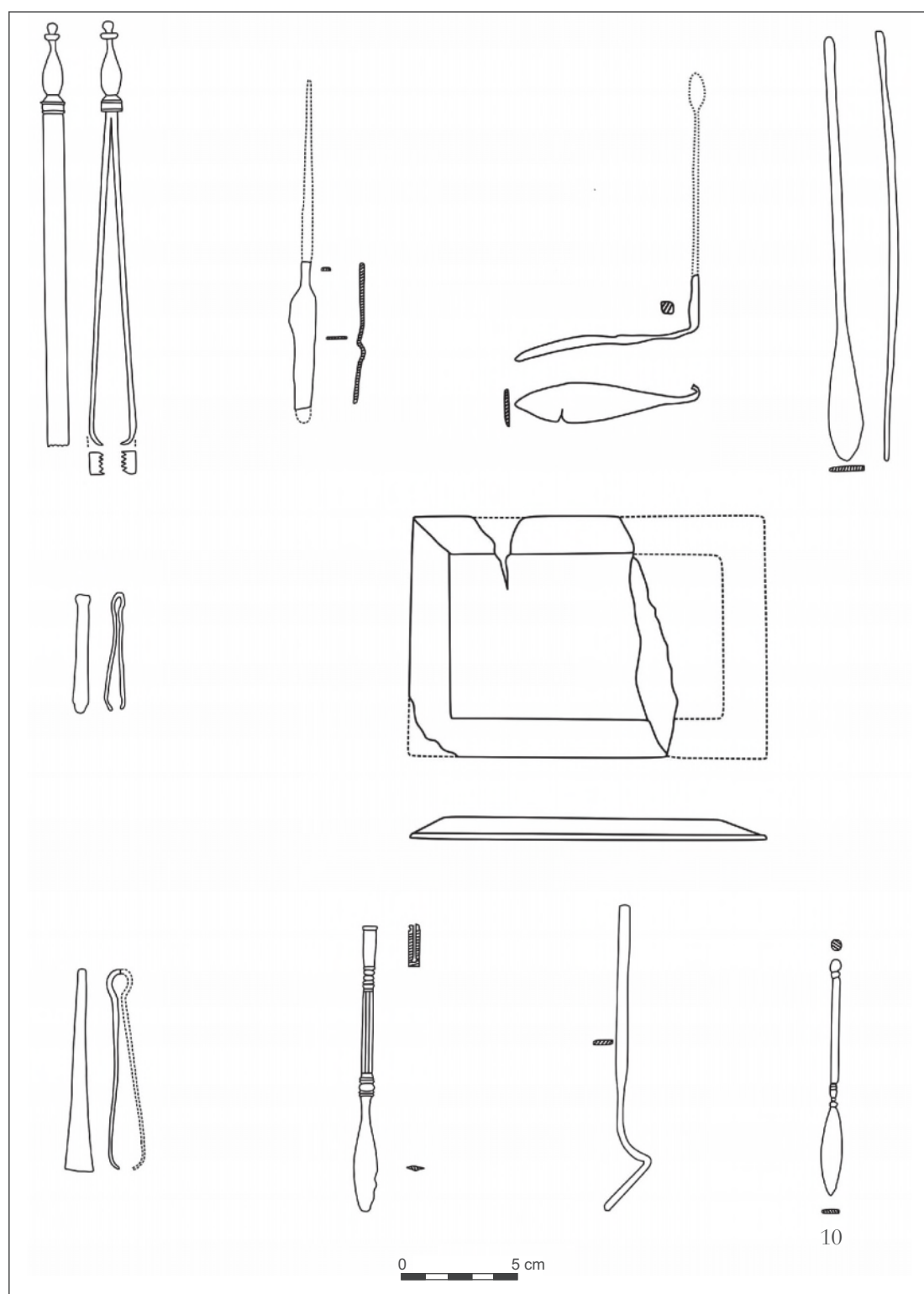
Pl. III. Multifunctional *vulsellae* (without scale): 1. Porolissum (Gui 2011, Pl. 1/8); 2. Stanway (Jackson 1997, Fig. 2); 3–5. Trier (Künzl 1984, Taf. 10/D12-14); 6. Milos (Künzl 1983, 40, Abb. 10/1); 7. Aschersleben (Künzl 1983, 100, Abb. 80/2); 8. Paris (Künzl 1983, Abb. 51/29); 9. Karanovo (Kancewa 1994, Abb. 5); 10. Mainz (Künzl 2002, Taf. 29/B 35); 11–12. Italy (Jackson 1986, 123, Fig. 1/10, 11).



Pl. IV. Bone forceps from Dacia, probably from Dacia Porolissensis (Sudhoff 1909, Taf. III).



Pl. V. Medical instruments from Dacia Porolissensis found in funerary contexts: 1-3, 5. Potaissa (redrawn after Milea, Hopârtean, Luca 1978, Figs. 3-4; Luca Hopârtean 1980, Fig. 4/1; Bajusz 2005, 24/86/3); 4. Porolissum (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. IV/5).



Pl. VI. Medical instruments found at Porolissum in refuse pits: 1–2, 7. Coasta Viei (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. II/3, Pl. V/11, Pl. VIII/10); 3–6, 8–10. The disaffected water tank (redrawn after Gudea, Bajusz 1992, Pl. I/5, 6, Pl. III/6, Pl. IV/14, Pl. V/6, Pl. VI/1, Pl. XV/4).



PL. VII. Scalpels with handles decorated with ivy or vine leaves (without scale): 1. Gilău (Gui 2011, Pl. I/2); 2. Reims (Künzl 1983, Fig. 36/30); 3–4. Dionysopolis (Kirova 2006, Abb. 3, 1–2); 5, 7, 8. Karanovo (Kirova 2006, Abb. 2, 1–3); 6. Köln (Künzl 1986, Abb. 9); 9. Asia Minor (Künzl 2002, Taf. 17); 10. Hofheim (Künzl 1982a, Abb. 4); 11. Traismauer (Kirova 2006, Abb. 7, 2a); 12. Rheinzabern (Kirova 2006, Abb. 7, 2b); 13. Trier (Künzl 1984, Taf. 6); 14. Xanten (Künzl 1986, Abb. 2. 1, 6).



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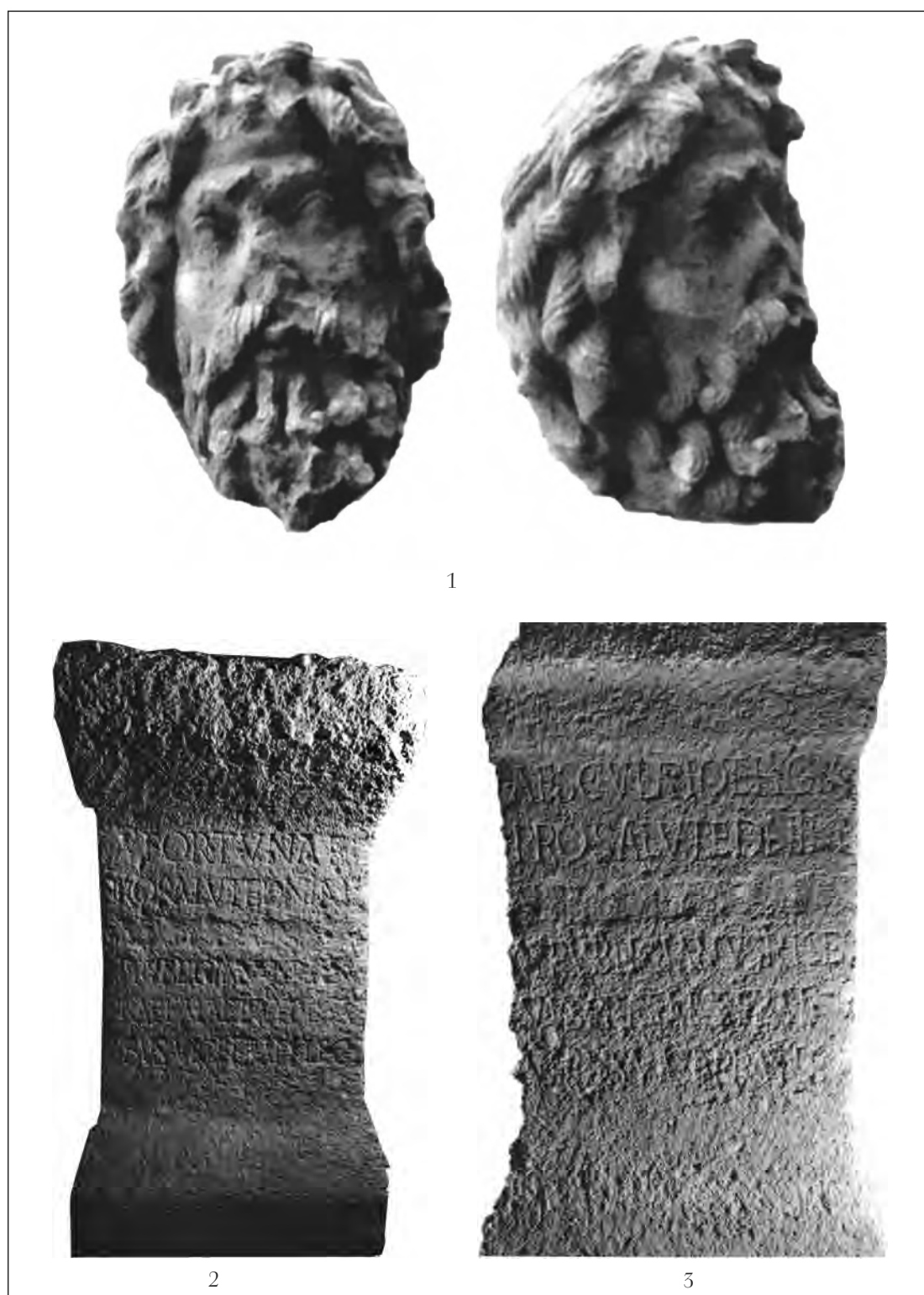


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Pl. VIII. Votive reliefs dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygia in Dacia Porolissensis at: **1.** Potaissa (Bărbulescu 2015, Fig. 53); **2.** Porolissum (Mihăilă 2008, Fig. 3); **3.** Arcobadara (Dana 2014, Fig. 1).



Pl. IX. Dedication for the healing gods found in the *thermae* of Potaissa: 1. Statue depicting Serapis (Bărbulescu 2015, Figs. 9–10); 2. Votive altar for Aesculapius and Hygia (Piso 2014, Abb. 1a); 3. Votive altar for Fortuna (Piso 2014, Abb. 2a).

A ROMAN CENOTAPH FROM NAPOCA*

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DIANA BINDEA, LUMINIȚA SĂSĂRAN**

“οὓς δὲ μὴ ἤρρισκον, κενοτάφιον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν”¹
Xen. An. 6.4.9.

Abstract: The article focuses on an interesting discovery in the immediate vicinity of the Roman city of Napoca, next to the Roman road connecting the city to the settlements located eastward, and in the context of a funerary area. The fragmentary skeleton of a lamb of 1.5–2 months was discovered within a sarcophagus with flat lid and without any decoration. It seems that we deal here with an interesting type of cenotaph. The funeral inventory was poor, consisting of two lead objects. A ceramic bowl was also deposited near the sarcophagus.

Keywords: sarcophagus; cenotaph; the eastern necropolis; Napoca; lamb skeleton.

Rezumat: Articolul este subiectul unei descoperiri interesante din imediata vecinătate a orașului roman Napoca, în apropierea unui drum roman care făcea legătura dintre oraș și așezările situate la est, în contextul unui spațiu funerar. Într-un sarcofag cu capac plan, fără decorațiuni, s-a descoperit scheletul fragmentar al unui miel de 1,5–2 luni. Se pare că avem de-a face cu un cenotaf interesant. Inventarul funerar este sărac, compus fiind din două piese de plumb, un vas ceramic fiind depus lângă sarcofag.

Cuvinte-cheie: sarcofag; cenotaf; necropola estică; Napoca; schelet de miel.

Preventive archaeological researches started in 2011 on Argeș Street no. 24² from Cluj-Napoca, where works were carried out for the construction of buildings belonging to the County School Inspectorate, and continued until the autumn of 2012. The site has revealed numerous archaeological features from Prehistory, the Roman Era, the Migrations Period, the Middle Ages, and the Modern Era. The successive historical layers accumulated over time indicate an intense habitation in the area.

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** The archaeozoological analysis of the skeleton was done by Dr. Diana Bindea (MNIT) and the geological interpretation (the origin of the material from which the sarcophagus was made) by Luminița Săsăran (MNIT).

¹ “While for those they could not find, they erected a great cenotaph, and placed wreaths upon it” (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Xen.+Anab.+6.4&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0202>) Accessed: Aug. 2018. (Translation by Carleton L. Brownson: Xenophon, *Anabasis*, books IV–VII, with an English translation by Carleton L. Brownson and *Symposium and Apology*, with an English translation by O. J. Todd, London – New York 1922, p. 219).

² The archaeological team of the excavations on the Argeș Street no. 24: Eugenia Beu-Dachin, Nagy Szabolcs, Paul Pupeză, Tiberiu Tecar (MNIT) and students from the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.

The archaeological site was located in the immediate vicinity of the “Canalul Morii”, while to the south the research area was limited by the property of the Reformed Church. The ancient city started about 500 m westwards. Brief preliminary reports were published during and immediately after the completion of the research.³

The Roman habitation layer in the area was between the depth of 0.90–1.40 m measured from the ground level, much higher than in the center of Napoca, where the Roman habitation layer was identified between 2.00 and 4.50 m from the ground level.⁴

Among the most important archaeological structures dating back to the Roman Age, we mention only those directly related to the grave in question. A 6 meter-long gravel road, with a maximum thickness of 0.40 m, surveyed over a length of 26 m (but identified over a length of 50 m),⁵ made the connection between Napoca and the settlements located eastward.⁶ To the north of the road we discovered a small funeral enclosure covering an area of approximately 100 square meters, identified at the depth of 336.20 m according to the topographic survey (Stereo 70). Several cremation graves, but some inhumation graves as well, and also an *ustrinum*, have been unearthed inside and outside the enclosure.⁷ The sarcophagus was outside the southwestern corner of the enclosure.

Among the discoveries from the funerary area, we deal here with a small Roman sarcophagus (Pls. I, II, III), composed of two pieces: the lid – a horizontal slab, without decoration – and the box with a “stone pillow” placed in the area of the head, still simple and undecorated, buried in the ground. The content of the grave was surprising, as it consisted of some fragments of a lamb skeleton, 1.5–2 months old (Pls. VI, X, XI) and a poor, but interesting inventory – two circular/round objects made of lead, with a simple decoration on the obverse.

We were not able to find any analogies of the lead objects, neither in Dacia nor in other Roman provinces. As for their functionality, they could be talismans (a kind of *bullae*). Although large enough and without perforation for suspension/hanging, they may have fulfilled an apotropaic symbolic role. A second possibility would be to interpret the objects as commercial weights. Considering their mass, the first item would be equivalent to 5 ounces and the second to 2 ounces.⁸ We did not find any direct analogies, but similar weights were used both in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.⁹

³ Bota, Nagy, Beu-Dachin, Pupeză 2012, 196–197; Bota, Nagy, Beu-Dachin, Pupeză, Tecar 2013, 157–159.

⁴ Antal, Pupeză 2012, 97, Pl. II/2: 2.50–4.80 m; Beu-Dachin, Pupeză, Bindea 2012, 72, Pl. II/1: 2.30–4 m; Ciongradi, Voișian, Bota 2012, 109: the Roman layer emerged at 1.80–1.90 m; Rusu-Bolindeț, Popescu 2012, 231–232: 2–3.60 m, etc.

⁵ Bota, Nagy, Beu-Dachin, Pupeză, Tecar 2013, 158.

⁶ Bota, Nagy, Beu-Dachin, Pupeză, Tecar 2013, 158.

⁷ Bota, Nagy, Beu-Dachin, Pupeză, Tecar 2013, 158.

⁸ Cf. OLD: ounce is a mass unit equivalent to 1/12 of a Roman pound, weighing approximately 27 grams.

⁹ Among several types of lead weights discovered during the archaeological excavations performed in Maresha (Israel) and dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a simple, round, and undecorated type was found, weighing 41 grams and having a diameter of 3.4 cm and a thickness of 0.6 cm (Korzakova 2010, 9, no. 18). We also mention the existence of similar objects registered in the online database <https://finds.org.uk>.

The presence of the lamb bone remains has a funerary symbolism, definitely linked to ancient Roman beliefs about the afterlife. A first interpretation is that the deposition in the grave of the incomplete body of a lamb was a substitute of the missing body of the deceased. The second interpretation brings into question a sacrifice, after which part of the animal could have been consumed and the other placed in the grave as a gift to the gods.

Description of the grave pit (Pls. I/1, IV/1-2):

Orientation: NE (65°) - SW (245°).
Level of identification: 335.51 m; maximum depth: 335 m (Stereo 70).
Dimensions: 2.26 × 0.95 m.
Filling: loose black soil, with small limestone fragments and pebbles.

Remarks:

The two layers, one consisting of brown-yellow soil with a loose consistency, and the second consisting of gravel, were disturbed by the grave pit, the latter constituting a good substructure for the location of the 2-ton monument.

Description of the sarcophagus (inv. no. v.64793, MNIT) (Pl. V/1-2):

Orientation: NE (65°) - SV (245°)
Level of identification: 335.80 m (Stereo 70).
Dimensions: lid - 1.82 × 0.76 × 0.26 m
box - 1.65 × 0.63 × 0.57 m; wall thickness: 0.1 m.
"stone pillow": 0.20 × 0.40 (width), inclination 25°.
maximum depth: 335 m.

Remarks:

The sarcophagus was sealed in Antiquity. On the two short sides the box was provided with holes for the insertion of metal plates for the fixing of the lid. The sarcophagus was sealed with lead poured over the joining structure.

The box was buried and the lid was placed on the ground level, only the latter being clearly visible on the surface. The ceramic vessel was placed on the ancient ground level.

We noted traces of mortar between the lid and the box especially on the northern side, probably used to bond the two components of the sarcophagus together.

On the long, southern side, between the lid and the box, we found an ovicaprid metacarpus, derived from an immature individual but without any relation to the skeleton inside the sarcophagus. The bone fragment could come from another lamb sacrificed during a funeral ceremony.

org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/742587 and included in the patrimony of Derby Museums; the artifacts do not have an exact determination, as they are dated to fairly long period - from the Roman Era to the Middle Ages; functionally they are interpreted as either commercial weights or residues from the production of alloys.

Funeral inventory:

The grave inventory consisted of two circular-shaped lead objects, one flat, but slightly bent by deformation, the other more bulging in the central area, but at the same time thicker. They could be interpreted either objects with apotropaic role or commercial weights.

1. Lead object, circular in shape. MNIT, inv. no. v.64794 (Pl. VII/1).

Dimensions: thickness = 0.90 cm; diameter: 5.85–6.10 cm; weight: 130 g.

Conservation: the item is well preserved, but with sedimentations on both sides.

Description: on the obverse the piece is decorated in the middle with a circle rendered in relief (0.20 cm thick) with a radius of 0.80 cm. The center of the circle is marked with a knob. The reverse is undecorated.

Position in the grave: 5 cm from the long, southern side and 15 cm from the short, western side.

2. Lead object, circular in shape. MNIT, inv. no. v.64795 (Pl. VII/2).

Dimensions: thickness = 0.25 cm; diameter: 5.40 cm; weight: 48 g. Conservation: due to the metal's malleability, the object was deformed at two ends.

Description: on the obverse the piece is decorated in the middle with a circle rendered in relief (0.10 cm thick) with a radius of 0.50 cm. A knob measuring 0.02 cm in diameter marks its center. The reverse is undecorated.

Position in the grave: 15 cm from the long, southern side and 38 cm from the short, western side.

Remarks: on the left side, near the sarcophagus, a ceramic bowl was deposited.¹⁰

Bowl. MNIT, inv. no. v.64796 (Pl. VIII).

Dimensions: rim diameter 19 cm; maximum diameter 19.8 cm; foot diameter 7.6 cm; height 8.5 cm; wall thickness 0.7 cm. Conservation: good.

Description: smooth surface; reduction firing; fine clay, gray (Munsell 10YR 6/1, greenish gray); black-gray, glossy slip (10YR 3/1, dark greenish gray); bitronconic shape; rounded rim, with groove.

Analogies: Popilian 1976: bowl type 2, no. 813; Popilian 2012, 47, M54 and Pl. XXII, M54; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007: bowl type CC 3E = no. 453, p. 391, Pl. LXXXV; Sultov 1985: bowl type 6, Pl. XXX, no. 3.

Position: next to the sarcophagus, placed on the ancient ground level.¹¹

Archaeozoological analysis of the skeleton (inv. no. v.64798, Pls. X-XI)

The analysis of the bone remains discovered inside the sarcophagus proves that they belong to a single species, *Ovis aries* (sheep) and to a single individual. As the discovery demonstrates, the bones were found in a position which resembles the

¹⁰ For pottery deposits outside the tombs, see Oța 2009, 113–116. The author considers that “the vessels were deposited on purpose after the burial”.

¹¹ For objects deposited outside graves, see also Gligor et alii 2009 (2010), 120.

anatomical one, as only one of the mandibles had been moved. The skeleton was incomplete. 23 bones and several bone splinters were recovered.

The cephalic segment is represented by the two mandibles, slightly damaged proximally and distally. The vertical ramus of the right mandible is missing. Deciduous premolars are complete on both fragments. Premolars 3 and 4 were completely grown, and premolar 2, in both cases, has reached about half of the final height. Lacteal teeth are not worn, and the first molars are not erupted. The morphology of lacteal premolars 3 and 4 attests that the skeleton belongs to the genus *Ovis*.¹² Based on these remarks, we estimate that the individual deposited in the sarcophagus was a lamb of about 1.5–2 months.¹³

Elements from the skeleton of the trunk are absent. Only a small costal fragment was identified among the splinters, but this is not enough to indicate that the trunk was deposited in the grave.

The appendicular skeleton is well represented. The following anatomical elements of the anterior limbs were identified: fragments of the two humeri, the left radius and cubitus, two carpals, and the two metacarpals, the latter with half of the distal epiphyses unfused. Keeping into account the fact that it is not possible to determine if the fragments considered below belong to the anterior or posterior limbs, we mention the presence of three proximal phalanges and a lateral one. From the hind legs the archaeologists recovered both femurs and both tibias in a fragmentary state of conservation, as well as the right astragal, and from the left side, the calcaneus, the centrotarsale and a fragment of the metatarsus.

Although according to international standards¹⁴ in most cases osteometric data are taken from the bones of adult specimens, we consider that in some cases, as the present one, the dimensions of certain anatomical elements from immature individuals could be relevant, as the age of sacrifice is known. There have been suggestions, some expressed even a long time ago, to provide dimensions of immature bones whose age at the time of death can be determined,¹⁵ in order to create in the future a database with limits of variability according to age.

	Values (mm)	
	left	right
Mandible		
Length of the deciduous premolar row, dp2-dp4	36.4	34.6
Length of the fourth deciduous premolar, dp4	19.2	19.8
Height of mandible behind dp4	17.7	15.6
Height of mandible in front of dp2	9.3	8.9
Humerus		
Smallest breadth of diaphysis	8.9	

¹² Hillson 1986, 101.

¹³ Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 55.

¹⁴ Driesch 1976.

¹⁵ Bolomey 1967, 30.

Radius		
Smallest breadth of diaphysis	10.1	
Metacarpus		
Greatest length without distal epiphysis	82.1	80.6
Breadth of the proximal end	21.7	22.2
Smallest breadth of diaphysis	9.5	9.1
Breadth of the distal end	21.5	
Femur		
Smallest breadth of diaphysis	10	9.2
Calcaneus		
Greatest length without tuberosity	40.2	
Greatest breadth	17.6	
Centrotarsale		
Greatest breadth	20.5	
Metatarsus		
Smallest breadth of diaphysis	8.3	
Phalanx I		
Greatest length without distal end	22.3	22.8

The incomplete skeleton can suggest an intentional partial deposition. Since the trunk of the skeleton, the neurocranium and the belts are totally missing, only the mandibles and the limbs of the animal may have been deposited. Under the action of soil factors probably some of the fragile bones, with poor ossification in the infancy stage, have disappeared. For the best evidence of the anatomical regions we have referred to the descriptive sheets suggested by Helmer in 1987,¹⁶ both in the presentation of the bones discovered (Pl. X) and to suggest their relation to the whole skeleton (Pl. XI), where the marked areas are parts identified from the deposited skeleton.

The species chosen for deposition within the analyzed sarcophagus provides an important indication of the burial season. It is known that lambs are born between February and March, and the age of the specimen from the sarcophagus, determined precisely on the basis of the dentition, i.e. about 1.5–2 months, indicates that the burial took place in spring – in March, April, or May.

Mineralogical, petrographic and paleontological study

The microscopic analysis of the lithic material was performed by studies in thin-section under transmitted polarized light. The explanation of the structure, texture, and mineral composition was done with the help of digital microphotographs.

Macroscopic description: yellowish gray color; massive and compact texture; granular structure.

Microscopic description: the rock contains predominantly incipient ooids, and their nucleus is represented in most cases by extraclasts (siltic-arenitic clasts of

¹⁶ Helmer 1987, apud Udrescu, Bejenaru, Hrișcu 1999, 152.

monomineral quartz). The cortex of the ooids is of the tangential type, which means that it had formed in high energy environments. In addition to ooids, there are lithoclasts and bioclasts. Lithoclasts have rounded shapes processed by the action of the waves. The contained bioclasts are predominantly represented by benthic foraminifera (miliolida), gastropods, and mollusc fragments. Based on micropaleontological associations, this type of rock can be dated to the Eocen, belonging to "The Coarse Lower Limestone".¹⁷

The sample corresponds to a **bioclastic oolitic limestone** (Pl. IX/1-2).

Source area: Such limestones have been extensively exploited since Antiquity at Cheile Baciului and in the quarry from Dealul Gol, Mănăştur.¹⁸ Geo-archeological studies carried out on sculptural monuments from the collections of the National History Museum of Transylvania have led to the conclusion that some of the stone workshops in Roman Napoca used lithic material extracted from the same sources.¹⁹

Conclusion

The described grave is probably a cenotaph.²⁰ Taking into account the osteological study, it seems that the lamb was not entirely deposited in the tomb. However, since the deposition was made in the sarcophagus and not in the grave pit or near the grave, we must consider the possible intention of replacing the missing body of the deceased with that of the lamb. It should also be noted that the position of the bones indicates some naturalness, in the sense that the bones of the head are above the bones of the limbs. Obviously, the idea of an offering can also be supported by the evidence.

The tomb was not robbed, as the iron seal fixed with lead was untouched. Inside the sarcophagus there was a very thin layer of earth, 4-5 cm, which covered the remains of the bones and the deposited objects. This soil is probably the result of infiltrations over time.

We must say that in the absence of direct analogies it is difficult to decipher the symbolism of the funeral rite. An analogous but not identical case has been documented in Lankhills, Winchester. The grave in question, with a wooden coffin sized for an adult, had five coins as funeral inventory. The only bone remains were those of a dog that was considered to have been deposited on the coffin.²¹ The well preserved skeleton was discovered in a position which shows that the dog was buried lying on its back.²² The tomb was considered a cenotaph.²³

As for the grave from Napoca under analysis, one should mention the fact that it was located outside the graveyard wall,²⁴ i.e. in the southern part of the western side.

¹⁷ Mutihac 1990, 379-380.

¹⁸ Băluță 1976, 24.

¹⁹ Nemeti, Săsăran, Săsăran 2015, 294.

²⁰ In classical Greco-Latin literature, the term Gk. *κενотάφιον* (*kenós* = empty, *τάφος* = burial, tomb), Lat. *cenotaphium* is used to refer to a symbolic burial in cases when the body was not found or was buried elsewhere (Paus. 2.23.3, 6.23.3; Xen. *An.* 6.4.9).

²¹ Clarke 1979, 83; Cooke 1998, 63-64.

²² Clarke 1979, 83: "It was perhaps the cenotaph of a man whose remains were not available for burial, for whom the dog stood substitute".

²³ Clarke 1979, 83; Cooke 1998, 63-64.

²⁴ For analogies of the precinct wall erected around the necropolis, see: Facsádi 2004, 23; Bounegru 2017, 85-86.

Given the lack of materials that fit into clear typological series,²⁵ we cannot establish an exact dating. The research of the entire necropolis could provide new data to help date the complex.

Why a sarcophagus as a cenotaph? Certainly this choice had a symbolic role. Burials in sarcophagi were purely functional when there were meant to protect the deceased and the objects deposited in the tomb. This is not the case here. The fact that a sarcophagus was chosen as funerary monument reflects the status of the family, its well-being, and the location next to the road is an indication of the intention to highlight the monument,²⁶ even if it was partially buried. In any case, it is an example of prestige, of importance given to both the deceased person and his/her family.

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²⁵ This rare type of bowl is analogous to another item discovered in Napoca, which may be dated back to the second century on the basis of two analogies, from Aventicum and Singidunum (see Rusu-Bolindeț 2017, 391). Given the scarcity of this type of bowl, we maintain our caution in dating the entire funeral complex based on this object.

²⁶ On the symbolism of sarcophagi, their functionality, and their location: Russell 2010, 18–19.

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1



2

Pl. I. 1-2. Roman sarcophagus (photo © E. Beu-Dachin).

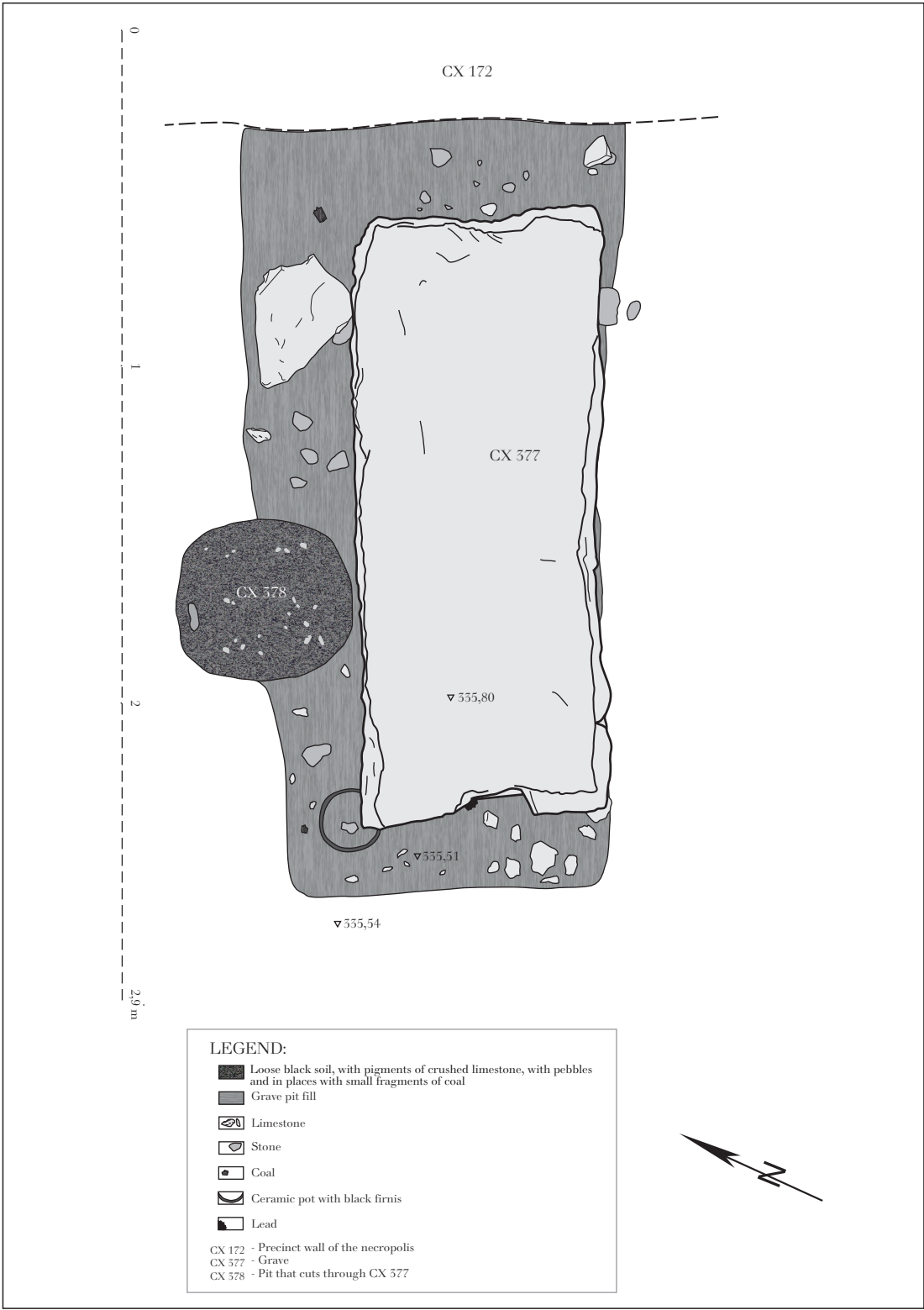


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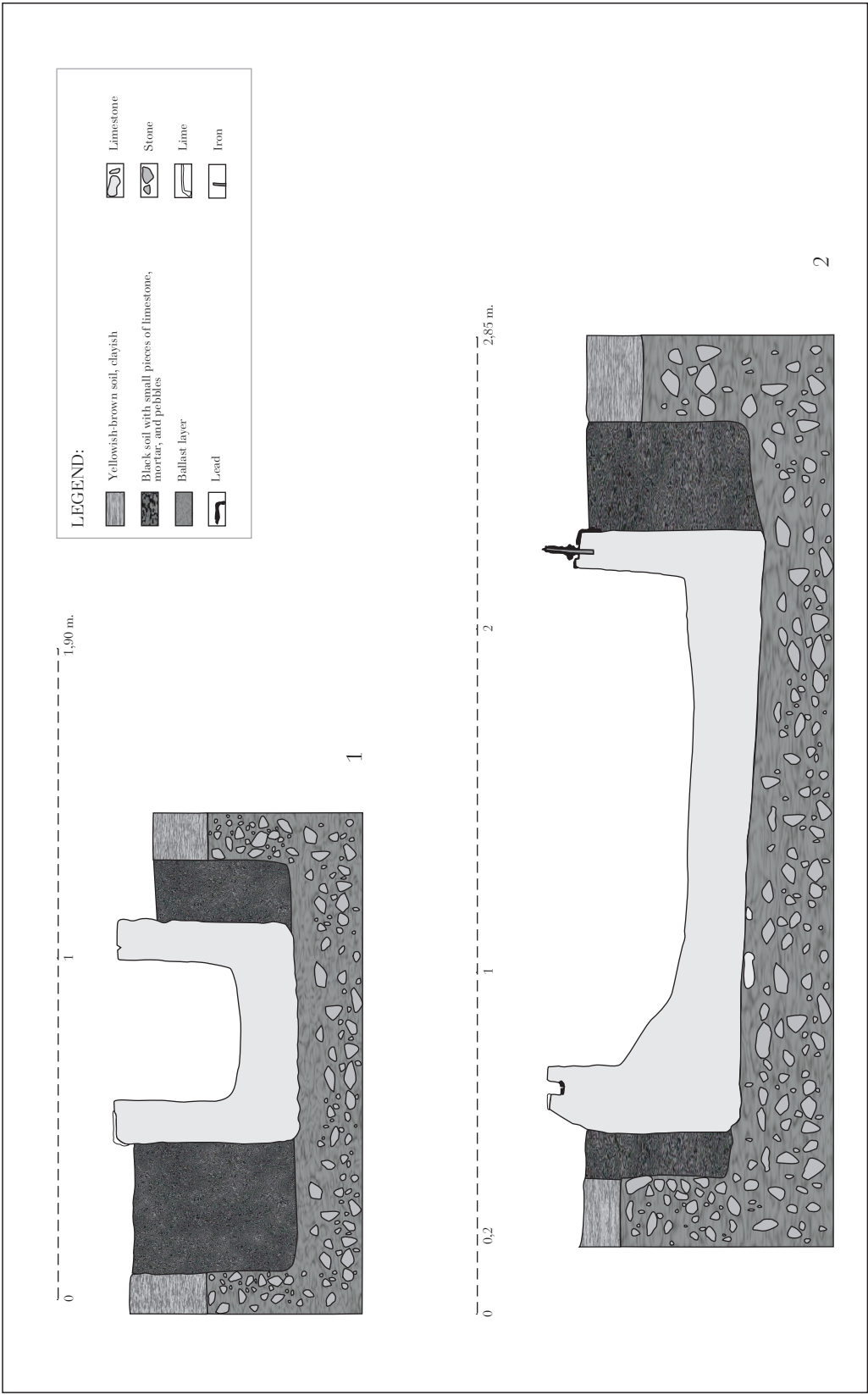


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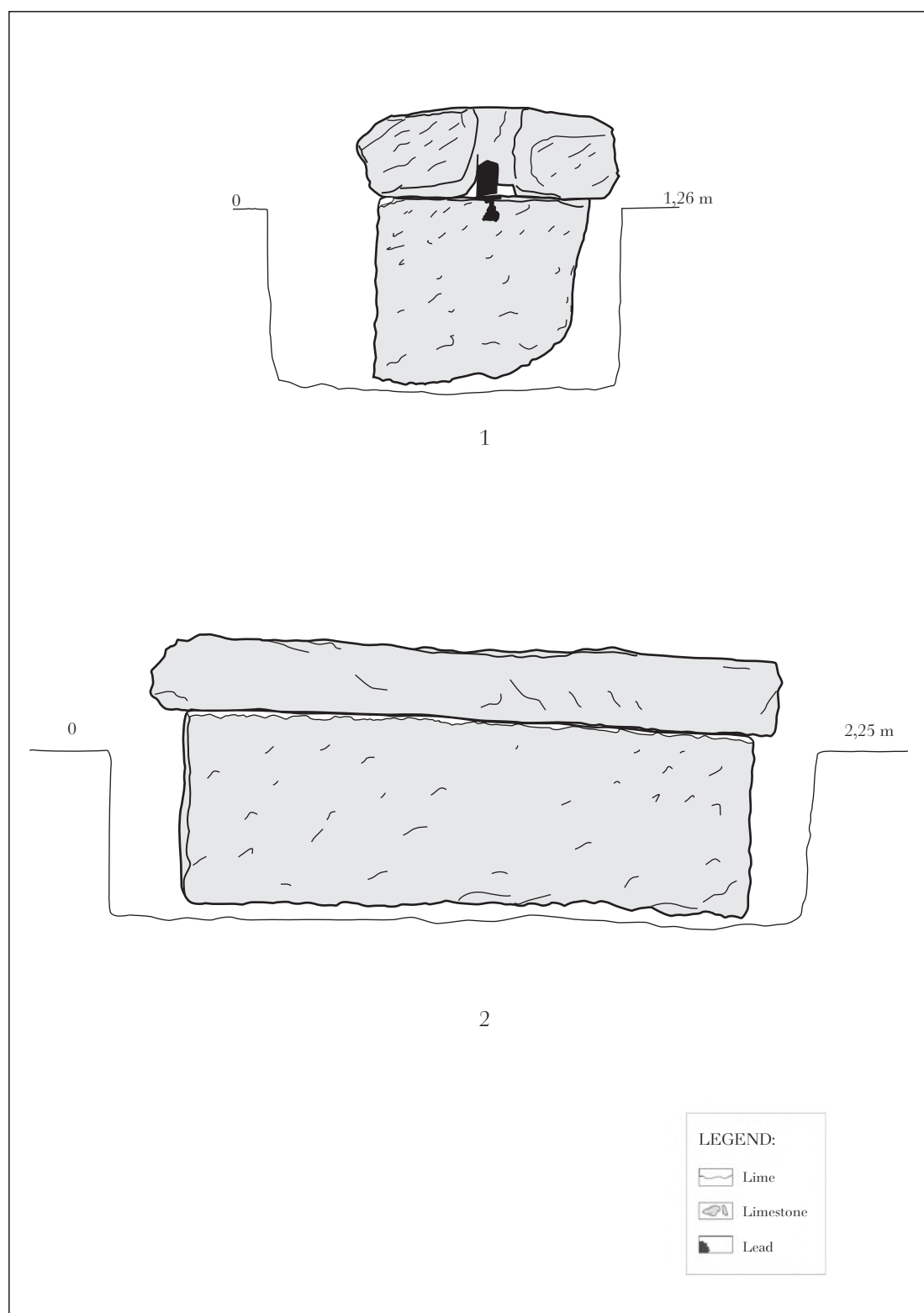
Pl. II. 1. The sarcophagus containing the skeleton and the inventory (photo © E. Beu-Dachin).
2. The current state of the monument (photo S. Odenie, © MNIT).



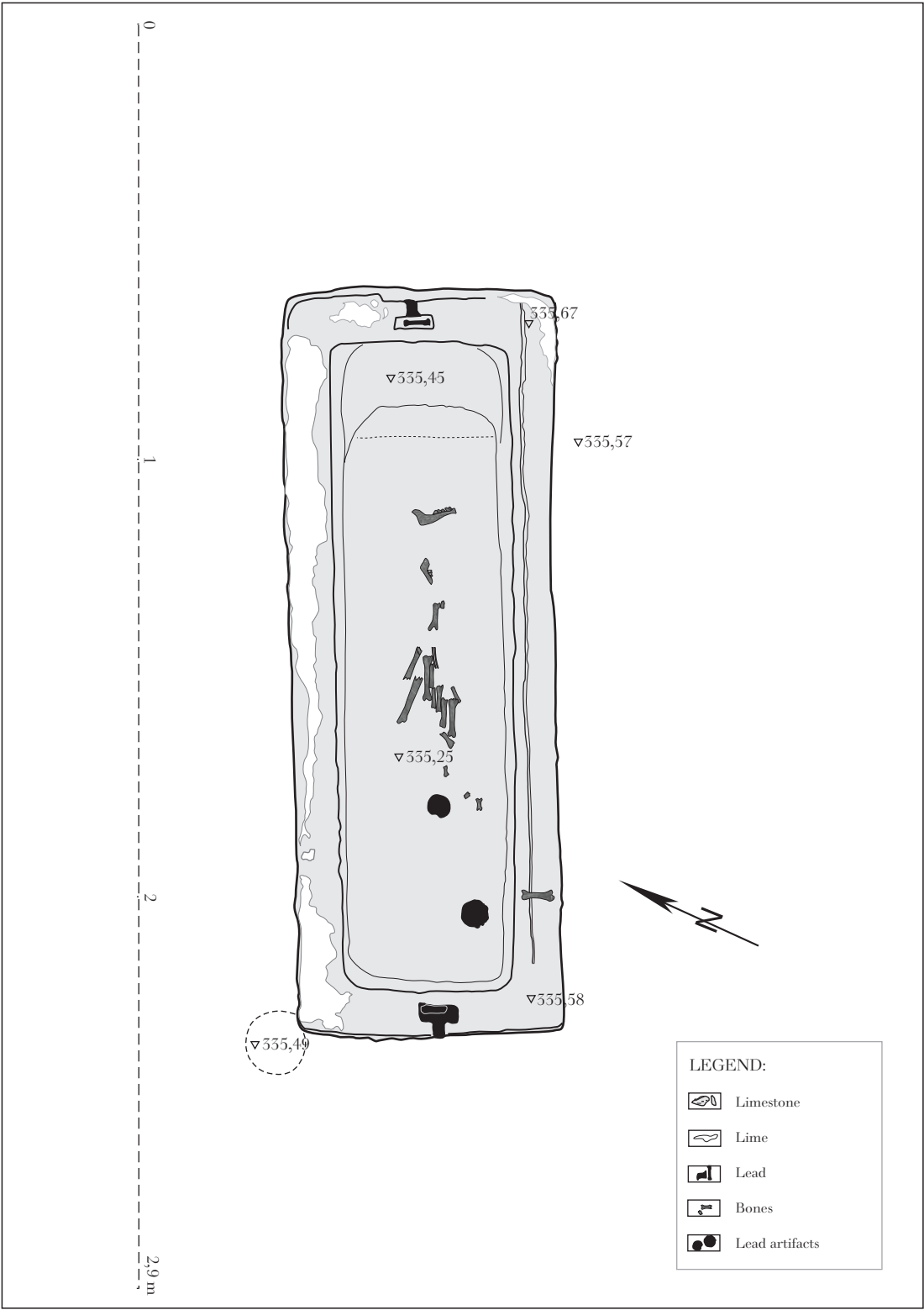
Pl. III. Plan of the grave (drawing © A. Bâlc).



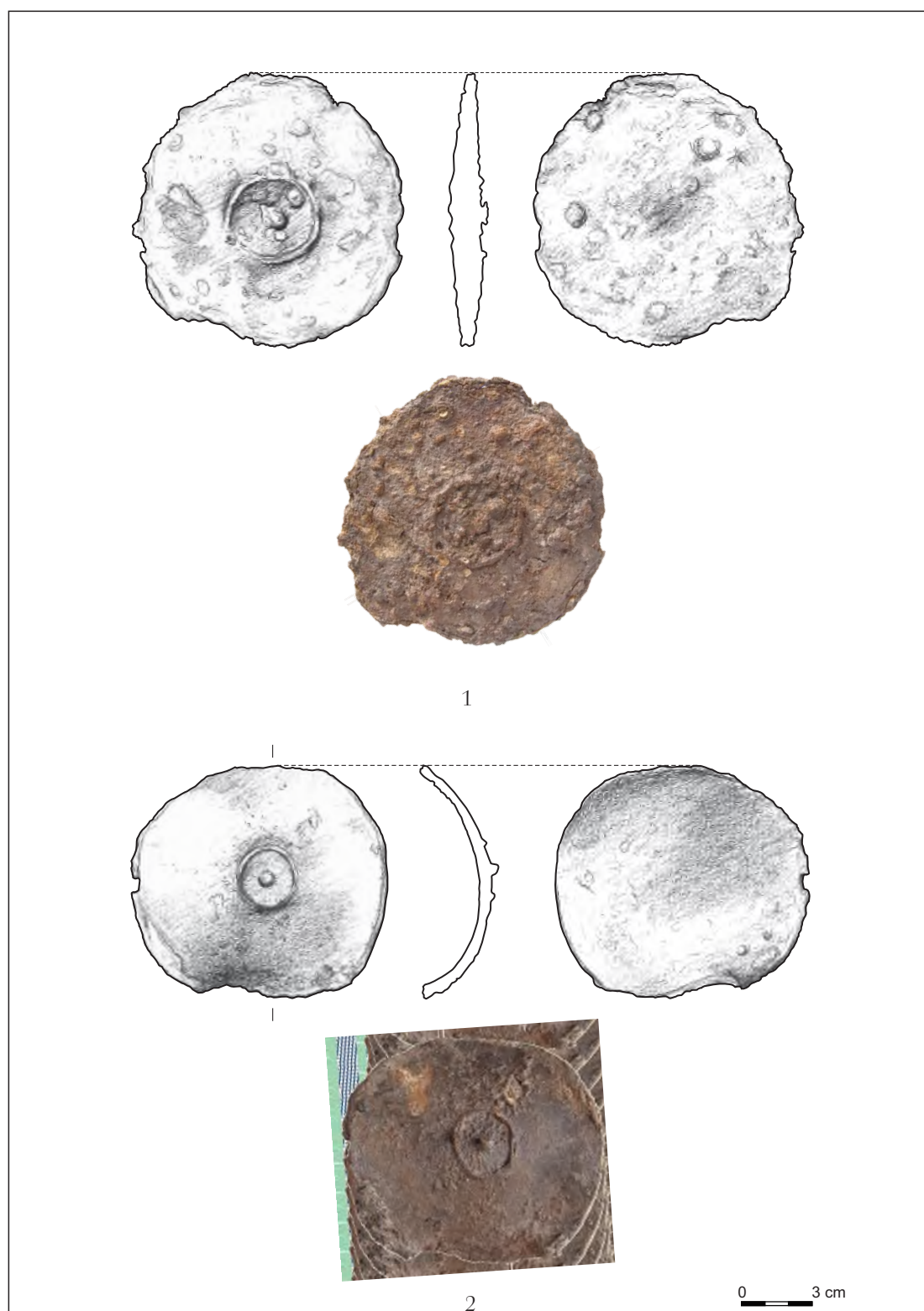
Pl. IV. Section of the pit and the grave. 1. The short side (N-S); 2. The long side (E-W) (drawing © A. Bălci).



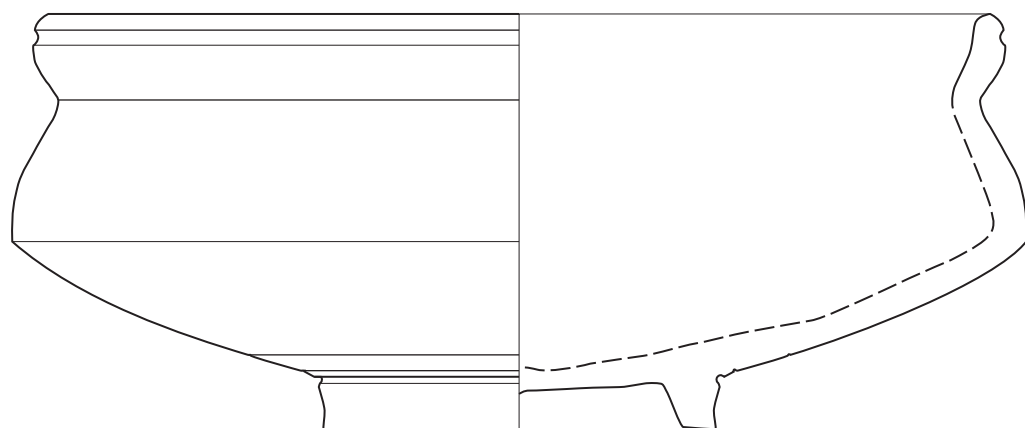
Pl. V. Graphic illustration of the sarcophagus. 1. The short side; 2. The long side (drawings © A. Bâlc).



Pl. VI. The inside of the sarcophagus (drawing © A. Bâlc).



Pl. VII. 1-2. Lead objects (drawing © A. Bâlc, photo © S. Odenie, © MNIT).

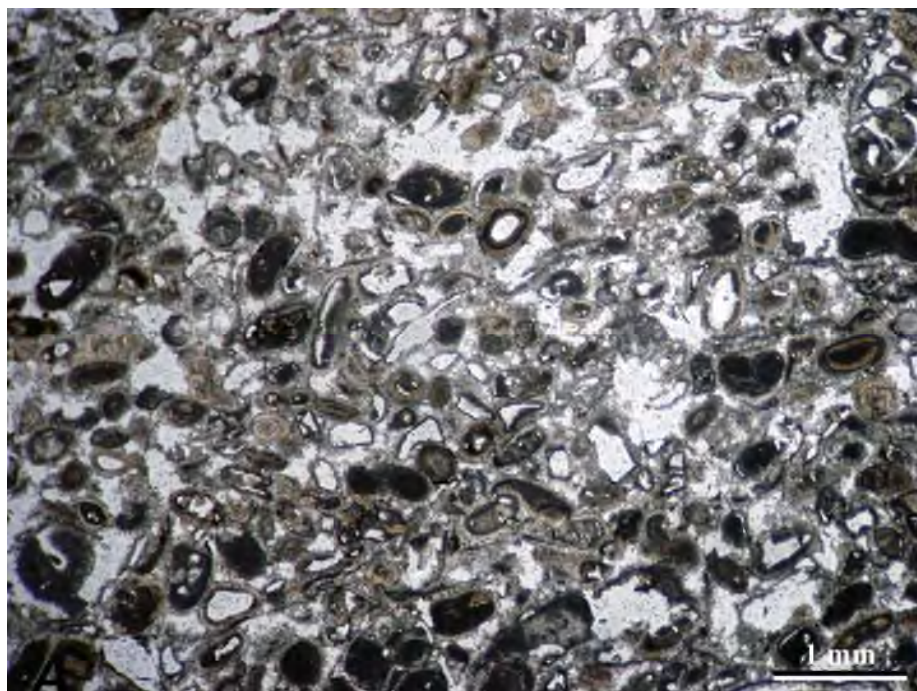


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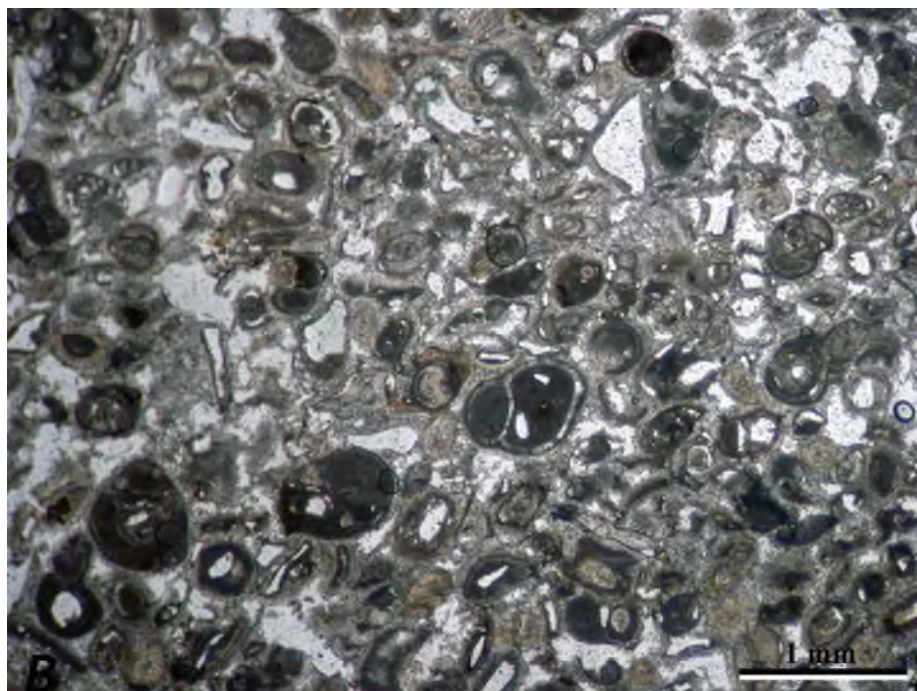


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Pl. VIII. Bowl (drawing © A. Bâlc, photo © S. Odenie, © MNIT).

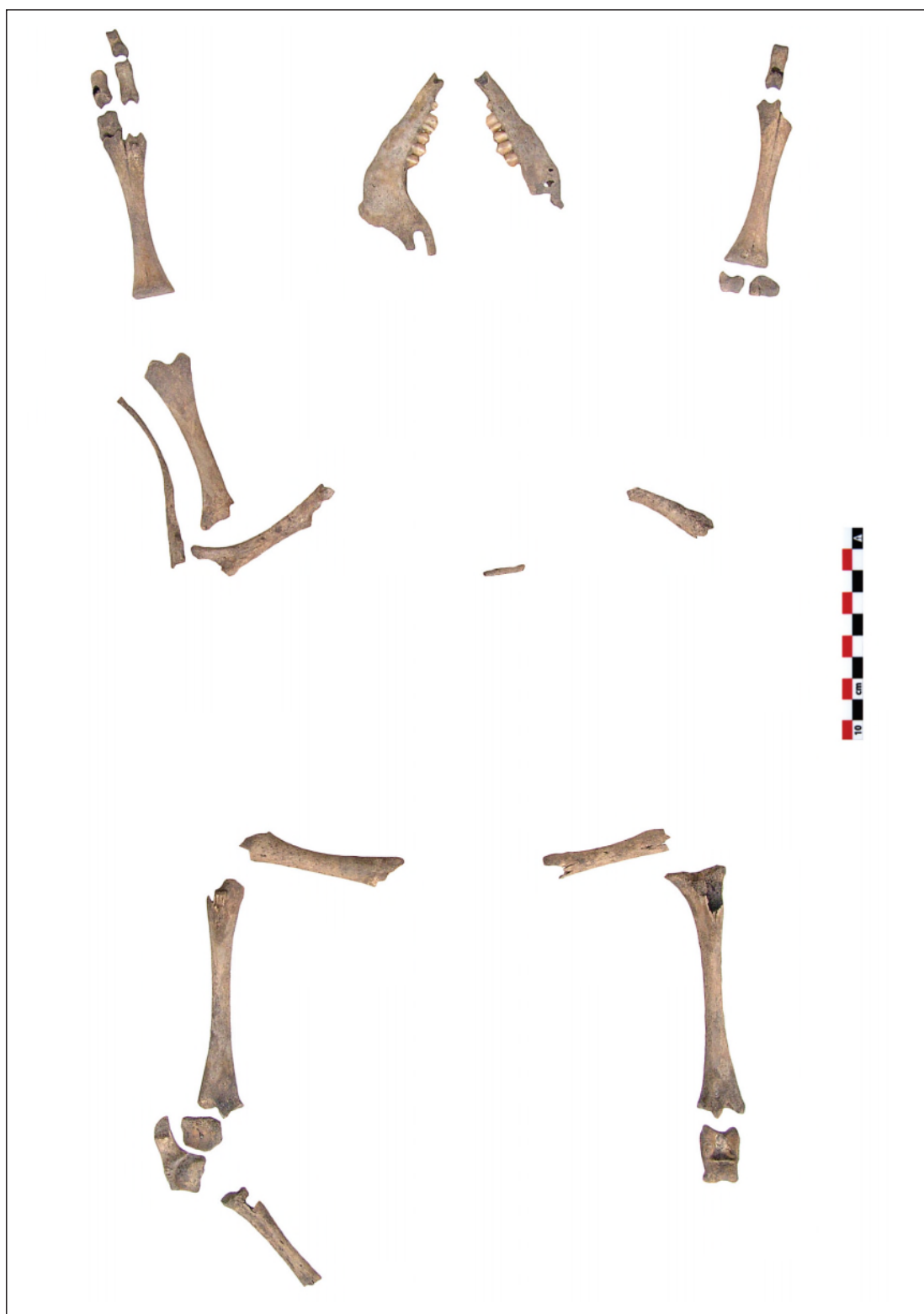


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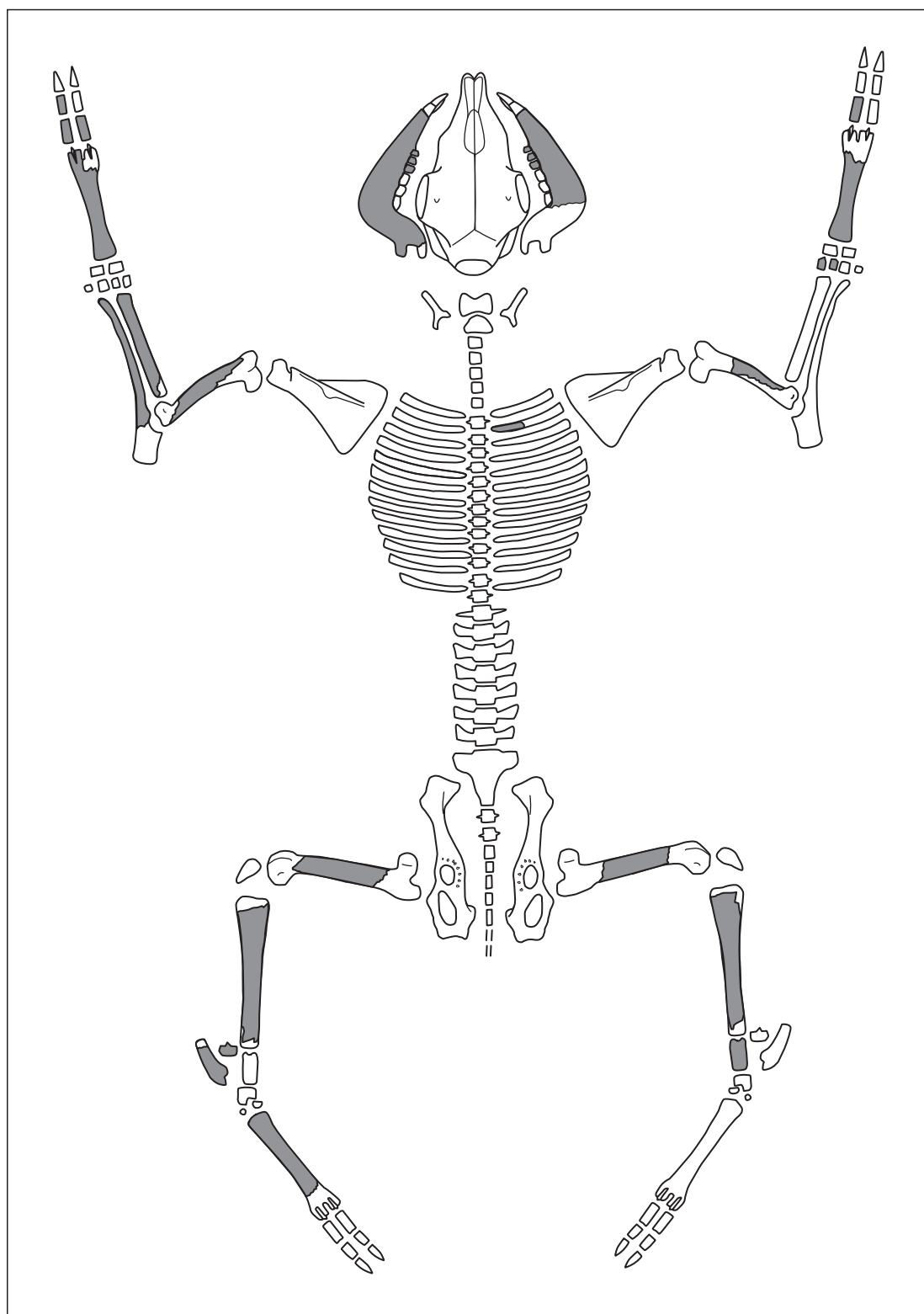


2

Pl. IX. 1-2. Oolitic limestone with ooids of varying sizes, foraminifera, gastropods, mollusc fragments, and lithoclasts. Width of the microphotograph: 1 mm (N+).



Pl. X. Remains of the lamb skeleton placed in accordance with the descriptive file of the species set by Helmer (photo © S. Odenie, © MNIT).



Pl. XI. Remains of the skeleton (marked with dark-gray). Descriptive file of the species *Ovis aries* set by Helmer.

FOCULI (FIRE POTS) DISCOVERED AT THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS OF POTAISSA. CASE STUDY: CENTURIAE FROM PRAETENTURA SINISTRA

LUCIANA NEDELEA

Abstract: Faced with a tumultuous end of the 2nd century and the harsh realities of the 3rd century AD, the Roman legionaries of Potaissa were forced to adapt to new living conditions and to overcome their daily needs by replacing and using the materials that were at hand or most convenient and easy to acquire at that time. One of the noteworthy observations here is the fact that almost no traces of heating systems have been identified. This situation raised different questions, as it is very hard to imagine how soldiers survived the harsh winters of Roman Dacia without heat sources. The answer came after a careful analysis of the ceramic material unearthed here. As a result, a new type of pottery has been identified, having bronze braziers as their precursor. It is for the first time that this type of pottery has been identified in Romania, as far as ceramic studies are concerned. In the *praetentura sinistra*, which will be the focus of this article, a total of 1621 wares were identified and analyzed, out of which 22% (218) are represented by this new type which we will call *foculus/foculi*. A number of approximately 1000 such earthen pots have been discovered in the entire Roman fortress, bearing in mind the fact that mostly rims and bases were kept during the archaeological campaigns throughout the years. We can estimate that their initial number was considerably higher.

Keywords: *foculus*; fire pots; Roman pottery; brazier; legionary fortress; Potaissa; legio V Macedonica.

Rezumat: Confrunțați cu un sfârșit de secol II tumultuos, cât și cu realitățile dure ale secolului III d. Chr., legionarii de la Potaissa au fost obligați să se adapteze unor noi condiții de trai și să răspundă tuturor necesităților de zi cu zi prin readaptarea la mediul în care își desfășurau activitatea. Unul dintre cele mai curioase aspecte legate de viața acestora în castrul de la Potaissa este faptul că foarte puține urme ale unor instalații de încălzire au putut fi identificate aici. Este foarte dificil de imaginat cum ar fi putut supraviețui acești soldați pe perioada iernilor foarte geroase din provincia Dacia fără surse de căldură. Răspunsul vine de această dată după o analiză foarte atentă a materialului ceramic scos la lumină aici. O serie de caracteristici a condus la separarea acestui tip de celelalte vase descoperite și cunoscute până acum la Potaissa, cât și în provincie. Drept urmare, un nou tip ceramic a fost identificat acum pentru prima dată, atât pentru studiul ceramicii din Dacia romană, cât și la nivelul Imperiului Roman, tip pe care îl vom numi *foculus/foculi*. Pentru barăcile cohorței *quingenaria* din *praetentura sinistra*, un total de 1621 produse ceramice au fost identificate și analizate, din care 22% (218) sunt reprezentate de acest tip nou. Un număr de aproximativ 1000 de astfel de vase a fost identificat pe întreaga suprafață a castrului, însă putem estima că numărul inițial al acestor produse era mult mai ridicat.

Cuvinte cheie: *foculus*; vase pentru cărbuni aprinși; braser; ceramică romană; castru legionar; Potaissa; legiunea V Macedonica.

Towards the end of the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century AD, the Roman Empire was faced with a murky situation and a crisis which was felt throughout all provinces, and Dacia was certainly no exception. Extreme times required adaptability skills even for the “backbone” of the Roman Empire: the legions. If not too long ago the Roman army was a symbol of rigorosity and known for adhering to very strict standards and methods, it is now that, at the outskirts of the Empire, we notice how soldiers struggle in keeping up with those high standards, most often having to use skill and artifice in order to overcome their daily needs. Not rarely, improvisation seemed to be the rule. Potaissa (Fortress’ Hill, Turda, Cluj county)¹ is one of the best examples when it comes to showing an inventive and adaptive mind. This can be very well observed through the recent discoveries made in the *praetentura sinistra* of the Roman fortress where legio V Macedonica once stationed, which will also be the focus of this study (Pl. I). As a result of five archaeological campaigns undergone between 2012–2016, a formation of six *centuriae* has been identified and partially unearthed.² The barracks are oriented *per strigas*, a common configuration of three pairs of barracks situated face to face and their porches opening towards a road that crosses in between two such buildings. The planimetry of a barrack follows the shape of the letter L, comprising nine small rooms (*contubernia*) belonging to the Roman soldiers and a bigger room at the western extremity, representing the centurion’s quarters. It is presumed that the soldiers built their own barracks, due to the fact that the angles of the rooms do not always coincide with 90 degrees, the walls are not straight and the living spaces slightly differ in size. The most important aspect in this case is the fact that no central heating systems have been identified here, such as the hypocaust system that would distribute hot air under the floors. This leads to a series of questions, but most importantly what was the climate like back in the days of Roman Dacia, and what did the Roman soldiers of the legio V Macedonica use as heat sources during winter, or even cold days throughout the year?

With temperatures that can reach minimums of -20 to -25 degree Celsius during winters in what is now the municipality of Turda, even with a warmer climate during the time when the legion stationed here, surely there had to be something that acted as small portable stoves, mobile braziers or “heaters”. We know now that the Atlantic climate ruled over both the northern and western parts of the Roman Empire.³ As far as ecological zones are concerned, for the end of the 2nd century and the 3rd century AD, the territory of nowadays Romania was characterized by a humid continental climate, with large seasonal temperature differences. Summers are very warm or hot, while winters can sometimes be severely cold. When it comes to the lifespan of the Roman legionary fortress, the years that are of interest for us are AD 169/170, the moment when the legion arrives at Potaissa, to AD 271, the year when the legion returns to Moesia Inferior.⁴ As

¹ Bărbulescu 1994, 126; Cătinaş 1997, 25; Pislaru 2014, 95–107.

² Nemeti 2017, 161.

³ Harper 2017, 8.

⁴ Doruţiu-Boilă 1972, 136; Bărbulescu 1987; Zuckermann 1988, 279–287; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 50–60; Bărbulescu 1994; Bărbulescu 1997; Piso 2000, 205–225; Strobel 2000, 515–528; Baumann 2011, 204; Bărbulescu 2015, 14.

far as the barracks from the *praetentura sinistra* are concerned, the time frame is even narrower, as it is believed that the cohort *quingenaria* left at an earlier stage to join the oriental wars in the time of Gordian III (AD 238–244) and Valerian (AD 253–260), and they never made it back to Potaissa. Therefore, from a climatological point of view, these years are a part of what Kyle Harper calls the “Roman transitional period” that characterized the time frame between AD 150–450. This period is situated between the “Roman climate optimum” (ca. 200 BC – AD 150) and “late antique little ice age” (ca. AD 450–700).⁵ In this “Roman transitional period” a cooling interval persisted from ca. AD 200 until ca. AD 290,⁶ most likely due to volcanic activity and low solar energy output.⁷ As a consequence, the north western provinces of the Roman Empire were affected as well. Considering these scientific values, we can definitely tell that heat sources during winter in that time and region was an absolute necessity. To adapt to the harsh climate that befell the Roman frontier as temperatures started to drop, a new type of pottery was born in the legionary fortress of Potaissa. In the absence of heating systems in the barracks, this new type of pottery will act as a replacement or supplement to bronze braziers. No such bronze or iron containers that were used for hot coals have been identified at Potaissa thus far, even though we cannot exclude the fact that they may have been present here, especially in buildings with a higher importance. Surely, such beautiful bronze pieces would be the first to disappear from the fortress after the legion left, whereas, to our luck, coarse pottery was of less or no interest even for the people that came after legio V Macedonica at the end of the 3rd century and early 4th century AD.⁸ The most famous bronze braziers were discovered in the public baths from Pompeii.⁹ In the Forum Baths, located behind the Temple of Jupiter,¹⁰ these containers take the form of true works of art with very elaborate shapes and sculptures that adorn their legs and exterior, which Overbeck will so carefully illustrate and immortalize in the 19th century.¹¹ In here, these containers served as mobile heat sources, but were also used in the *tepidarium* to prepare the body for the heat that was about to come when stepping into the *caldarium* or the *laconicum*, a process known as “sitting and sweating” or *ad flammam sudare* (Suet. *Aug.* 84).

At Potaissa, a number of 1621 earthenware have been identified and analyzed from the Roman barracks discovered in the *praetentura sinistra*.¹² Out of the entire ceramic lot, we were able to identify and separate 218 (Pl. XII)¹³ wares that resembled

⁵ Harper 2017, 15.

⁶ McCormick et alii 2012, 169–220.

⁷ Stothers, Rampino 1983, 6357–6371.

⁸ Bărbulescu 2007; Bărbulescu 2008.

⁹ Eschebach 1979; Fagan 1999; de Haan 2001, 41–49; de Haan, Wallat 2006, 417–422; Koloski-Ostrow 2007, 224–256; de Haan 2010.

¹⁰ Fagan 2001, 403–426.

¹¹ Overbeck, Mau 1884, 440–441.

¹² Nedelea 2017, 83–132.

¹³ MNIT (27), (30), (38), (45), (49), (59), (61), (75), (79), (151), (716), (727), (400), (405), (408), (409), (440), (441), (443), (444); MIT 17642, 17643, 17645, 17646, 17648, 17649, 17652, 17655, 17656, 17659, 17662, 17679, 17692, 17693, 17696, 17697, 17706, 17715, 18587, 18599, 18600, 18602, 18603, 18604, 18605, 18618, 18667, 18702, 18703, 21580, 21581, 21593, 21739, 21750, 21753, 21763, 21764, 21788, 21794, 21818, 21819, 21833, 21847, 21862, 21863, 21864, 21865, 21866, 21867, 21868, 21869,

bowls with thick and flat bases, similar to those belonging to *turibula*.¹⁴ Several other characteristics that describe this type of pottery asked for a separate treatment and analysis of the shards, which in the end concluded with the discovery of a completely new form and type of pottery, which we will call *foculus/foculi* (Pl. II).

At the legionary fortress of legio V Macedonica the *foculus* appears in very large quantities, with over 1000 products in the entire Roman fortress. We can only estimate that the initial number was much higher, but the image we have today regarding this type of pottery is the one that survived the process of selection throughout the archaeological campaigns, where only the rim or the foot of the earthenware were kept, most likely due to its very dull appearance that does not at first glance indicate a different functionality to that of bowls used in the cooking process, which there were already “plenty of”.¹⁵ Very often we notice how archaeologists in the past were tempted, and some still are, to attribute functionalities and names to artifacts, which derive from a baggage of information that only modern humans possess, but in most cases these functionalities are not adequate to the realities of antique times. The best example is that of the roman *turibula*, which due to their specific shape (high pedestal and a deep basin) were originally called “fruit-bowls”,¹⁶ a very inventive title that remained in use for many decades in Romanian ceramic studies, both Roman and Dacian, even though a thorough analysis of the material put in correlation with ancient written sources could have easily indicated the fact that this was not what they were used for. Unfortunately, the same error happened when the *foculi* were catalogued, receiving the conventional name of “bowls” and being generally attributed to the group of *vasa conquinatoria*, simply because their shape is similar to that of bowls. Yet again a close analysis of the material would have proven differently. Very often, bibliography associated with ceramic studies that also talk about *turibula* seem to catalogue this form under the “fine ware” category,¹⁷ which we consider to be an incorrect practice, as *turibula* should definitely belong in the “common ware” category due to its very specific characteristics.

The functionality and generalities of a *foculus* are similar to that of a *turibulum*, and therefore it is our opinion that they should form a group by themselves, with earthenware in which hot coals are placed. This group should be entirely separate from

21870, 21871, 21883, 21887, 21912, 21913, 21914, 21915, 21916, 21918, 21919, 21920, 21921, 21933, 21952, 21953, 19687, 19688, 19689, 19690, 19691, 19692, 19693, 19694, 19695, 19696, 19697, 19698, 19699, 19718, 19719, 19720, 19721, 19724, 19725, 19726, 19727, 19728, 19729, 19730, 19731, 19732, 19733, 19734, 19735, 19736, 19737, 19738, 19739, 19740, 19749, 19750, 19750, 19751, 19752, 19753, 19754, 19755, 19756, 19757, 19758, 19759, 19760, 19761, 19762, 19763, 19764, 19765, 19766, 19783, 19784, 19785, 19786, 19787, 19788, 19789, 19790, 19791, 19792, 19793, 19801, 19802, 19803, 19804, 19805, 19806, 19807, 19808, 19809, 19810, 19811, 19812, 19813, 19814, 19914, 20032, 20033, 20039, 20040, 20280, 20304, 20305, 20307, 20350, 20363, 20378, 20393, 20395, 20396, 20427, 20429, 20430, 20432, 20438, 20449, 20453, 20454, 20455, 20456, 20461, 20462, 20463, 21154, 21210, 21242, 21252, 21279, 21280, 21289, 21305, 21306, 2120, 21321, 2122, 21323, 21324, 21325, 21336, 21352, 21353, 21354, 21355, 21356, 21357, 21358, 21359, 21375.

¹⁴ Only 30 *turibula* have been identified in the barracks of the *praetentura sinistra*.

¹⁵ Cătinaş 1980, 81–114.

¹⁶ Popilian 1976, 116; Mihailescu-Birliba 1996, 97; Lipovan 1992, 179–199.

¹⁷ Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 371–374.

other groups such as *vasa escaria*, *vasa potatoria*, *vasa conquinatoria* and others. We will call this group *fire pots* to indicate their main functionality, and for Potaissa it will be in so far comprised of two forms, each with their own types:

Foculi: earthenware utilized in the process and system of raising the temperature of an enclosed space for the primary purpose of ensuring the comfort of the occupants, but also in the Roman baths in the process called “sitting and sweating” (*ad flammam sudare*) that took place in the *tepidarium*.

Turibula: their functionality is already well known and documented throughout the Empire, but also in Roman Dacia,¹⁸ and therefore no further clarification is needed.

Fire pots have been in use for thousands of years,¹⁹ and in some parts of the world they are still being utilized as heat sources during winter, as it is one of the easiest and cheapest ways to produce heat. The best examples come from India, Kashmir, where for centuries inhabitants have been using a traditional fire pot as a heat source called *kundal* especially during the months between October and January,²⁰ when temperatures in winter can reach minimums of even -8 Celsius.²¹ In this region the production of such portable braziers has become a source of income for many villagers. These small earthen pots are carried with them to different destinations during the cold seasons, most often being held inside tunic like shirts, called *pherna*. The most interesting aspect about this portable charcoal brazier is the fact that the outside is covered with wicker work in the shape of a small basket, called *kangri*, which makes it easier for people to carry them in their hands. This small basket has a high foot which offers even greater stability when placed on the ground. Inside the earthen pot there is a mixture of coal and ash that keeps a tame and slow fire burning, that can last up to 24 hours. A small wooden or iron utensil similar to a spatula is attached to the wicker basket to kindle the fire when needed, and several such earthen braziers are in use in a home at the same time (Pl. XI). In Italy such earthenware are called *scaldaletto*/*scaldino*, and they have been in use since early times.²²

If today, when so many modern options are available to generate heat, communities around the world still use fire pots or portable charcoal braziers as a heat source, then it is no surprise that even during the Roman Empire these same rudimentary and mobile heaters were put in use. As it was mentioned earlier, over 1000 *foculi* have been discovered in the entire Roman legionary fortress at Potaissa, and 218 of them were used by the cohort *quingenaria* in the barracks of the *praetentura sinistra* (Pl. II).²³ This ceramic type is at the top of the list for the most numerous and frequent pots, being surpassed in quantity at Potaissa only by local imitations of the type Dragendorff 44, a

¹⁸ Chirilă et alii 1972, 50–51; Popa 1972, 439; Popilian 1976, 116–117, 208; Cătinaş 1980, 101, 113; Bona et alii 1982, 196–200; Lipovan 1983–1984, 308; Lipovan 1992, 180–188; Alicu et alii 1994, 74–75; Lipovan 1985–1986, 510; Pribac 1999–2001, 203–212; Bird 2001, 304–305; Moga et alii 2003, 193–251; Fiedler, Höpken 2004, 510–516; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 371–374; Radu 2014, 99–14; Nedelea 2017, 126–128.

¹⁹ White 1986; Dillehay 2000.

²⁰ Kira 2011, appendix 4.

²¹ Source: <https://thewire.in/213648/kangri-still-keeps-kashmir-warm-winter>.

²² Marzinot 2007, 100.

²³ Nedelea 2017, 104.

very popular bowl among the Roman soldiers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.²⁴ From a typological point of view, the shape of a *foculus* is very close to that of Dragendorff 37 bowls, but nowhere close to their quality or beauty when it comes to the composition of the paste or surface treatment (Pl. II). These earthenware pots were produced out of coarse paste, tempered with both mineral and organic inclusions which sometimes reach even 1 cm in size (Pl. IX). Unfortunately, no fully preserved *foculi* have been discovered so far at Potaissa. The forms of the pots are very robust, with thick walls, straight or slightly curved, and smooth surfaces (as much as inclusions allow it). The foot/base of the *foculus* is always flat and very well contoured, made out of solid clay and similar to that of a *turibulum* base, with the difference that the diameter of a *foculus* foot is bigger (between 10 to 12 cm). This gives the portable charcoal brazier great stability when placed on flat surfaces, without the chance of them tipping over if left unobserved. The rim is always very broad, with a round or rectangle profile. In many cases we were able to observe iron stains right under the rims of the pots, on the exterior surface. There is no surface treatment, such as glaze or slip, and the pot was intentionally left bare. The height of the pots can reach up to 22 cm, and the diameters are also big, between 20 and 32 cm (Pls. III-VII). In most cases due to the lack of a better name for these pots they were registered and catalogued as “bowls”, even though the bad quality of the paste would not allow for food to be prepared in them, as most liquids would leak out, or the walls would grind and particles of the paste would end up in the meals. We also have to keep in mind that these pots were produced in very large quantities and that in the common ware category that was meant for serving or preparing food we do not encounter any other pots with this type of coarse paste and no surface treatment, unless they are pots which were meant to have contact with fire, such as cooking pots, trays, pans or lids.

If, for example, we compare the paste of a *foculus* to that of a *turibulum* we notice that the composition of the paste is almost identical (Pl. VIII). For this study, a microscopic analysis of the paste was undergone for five shards belonging to both common and fine ware categories (Pl. IX). In the upper row (the first two pictures) two *foculi* profiles have been exemplified to allow us a closer look into the composition of the very coarse paste, and at the same time to notice the big difference between the composition of the rest of the shards analyzed: local bowls (common ware) in which food was prepared, followed by a local imitation of the Dragendorff 44 type, and a local imitation of the Dragendorff 37 type. The mineral inclusions of the paste differ greatly in size from one form to the other, confirming the idea that the newly identified earthenware was used as a portable charcoal brazier by the Romans. The coarse paste used for these pots was not coincidental, allowing for high temperatures to be sustained in them, as the inclusions of the paste prevented the pot from breaking when high temperatures triggered transformations in the walls of the portable braziers. Fires were kindled in such pots to raise the temperatures of small enclosed spaces, but also to quickly warm up different parts of the body if needed. And indeed, in the profiles of the *foculus* we notice traces of secondary

²⁴ Nedelea 2017, 95.

burning, as well as on the inner surface of the pot, and sometimes around the rim on the outer surface (Pls. III–VII). The traces of secondary burning are not always very strong or similar to the sediments found in the inner surfaces of *turibula*, as the fire that was burning inside was slow and tame, most likely a mixture of both coal and ash, and nothing else was consumed by fire in the *foculi* (Pl. III). Ancient written sources seem to confirm this idea, as Pliny writes that hot embers were used quite often by the Romans and were some of the best combustible substances, and therefore ideal for the *foculi*.²⁵ Unfortunately, unprofessional washing of the pots makes things even more difficult, as many of these shards have been cleaned so well that almost no traces of ash or secondary burning can be found on them. Having said that, it is my belief that washing of pottery should not be an activity for untrained or unqualified people, as they can destroy precious information which only specialists can detect.

Raising the temperature in an enclosed space with the help of wood/charcoal burning in either bronze braziers or earthen *foculi* is very effective but at the same time just as dangerous. The levels of CO indoor emissions are raised considerably, which can lead to carbon monoxide poisoning. The severity of carbon monoxide poisoning is typically categorized as mild, moderate, or severe, with symptoms from headache, nausea, poor vision, vomiting, fast heart rate, convulsions, cardiorespiratory failure, and eventually death.²⁶ The most famous case regarding the Roman Empire and involving such an incident is noted by various ancient writers.²⁷ Jovian, ruling for 8 months from AD 363–364, died on February 17th, at the age of 33, very suddenly and in suspicious circumstances at Dadastana, near the borders of Bithynia. The cause of his death is widely disputed, with the majority of ancient writers being inclined to believe that the most probable cause of death was that of carbon monoxide poisoning as a result of a portable charcoal brazier being used while he was sleeping. This raises different questions as to when and how these *foculi* were put in use. The *contubernia* of the barracks from the *praetentura sinistra* at Potaissa slightly differ in size, with surfaces between 33 to 48 cubic meters, which results in 4 to 6 cubic meters left as living space per each soldier (Pl. II).²⁸ With a number of eight individuals living in the same *contubernia* we can only conclude that the Roman legionaries most likely did not use the *foculi* while they slept, due to risk of carbon monoxide poisoning or even fire. In so far, the distribution pattern of the *foculi* inside the barracks shows larger

²⁵ Plin. *HN*. XXXIII, 31. 95.

²⁶ Raub et alii 2000, 1–14.

²⁷ Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* VI. 6; Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* VII. 31 “[...] cum in cubiculum quoddam nouum sese cubitum recepisset, calore prunarum et nidore parietum nuper calce inlitorum adgrauatus et suffocatus, octauo demum mense quam imperare coeperat uitam finiuit.”; Zonar. *Epit. hist.* XIII. 14; Amm. Marc. *Res Gest.* XXV. X. 12–13. “12. Hinc quoque Iovianum celeri gradu praescriptus vitae finiendae dies exegit. cum enim venisset Dadastanam, qui locus Bithyniam distinguit et Galatas, exanimatus inventus est nocte. super cuius obitu dubietates emersere complures 13. fertur enim recenti calce cubiculi illiti ferre odorem noxium nequivisse, vel extuberato capite perisse succensione pruna rum immensa, aut certe ex colluvione ciborum avida cruditate distentus. decessit autem anno tricensimo aetatis et tertio. cumque huic et Aemiliano Scipioni vitae exitus similis evenisset, super neutrius morte quaestionem conperimus agitatam.”

²⁸ Nemeti 2017, 161.

quantities of such earthenware in Barrack II, Room 6.²⁹ Almost 100 *foculi* have been unearthed here. This is followed by Barrack III, Room 7,³⁰ with almost 20 *foculi*. It is impossible to know if any fires were really caused by such braziers in Roman fortresses, but it is not excluded.

The recent discoveries and research have also proven that the floors of the *contubernia* were most likely crafted out of wood, which means that the *foculi* were not placed directly on the ground, but had to have supports that served as a transition between the portable brazier and the floors, such as tripods (Pl. X), small tables or wicker baskets, as exemplified in the case of the *kangri* baskets used in India for such pots (Pl. XI). Most likely the *foculi* were not covered, as no lids with fitting diameters were unearthed at Potaissa.

With a number of over 1000 *foculi* it is certain that they did not all function at the same time. The large quantities discovered in the legionary fortress at Potaissa indicate that this earthenware was created in a very simplistic manner, used quite frequently and replaced just as fast (Pl. II). It was their functionality that counted the most, and not their aesthetics.

All the characteristics of the newly discovered form lead to the conclusion that this pot was used as a portable charcoal brazier at Potaissa, and thus answering the mystery of the missing heating systems in the barracks. Further research and analysis of ceramic material from Roman Dacia is still to prove if this type of earthenware was used in other Roman sites as well. At the same time, the question that arises now is if these *foculi* were used by legio V Macedonica at Troesmis too, in the province of Moesia Inferior,³¹ knowing that while moving to Potaissa they imported and continued to enjoy other ceramic traditions specific to that area as well.³²

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²⁹ Nemeti 2017, 25–26.

³⁰ Nemeti 2017, 26.

³¹ Opaît 1977–1978, 328–366.

³² Alexandrescu, Gugl 2014a, 50–57; Alexandrescu, Gugl 2014b, 289–306; Waldner, Gugl 2016, 433–444; Nedelea 2016, 185–202.

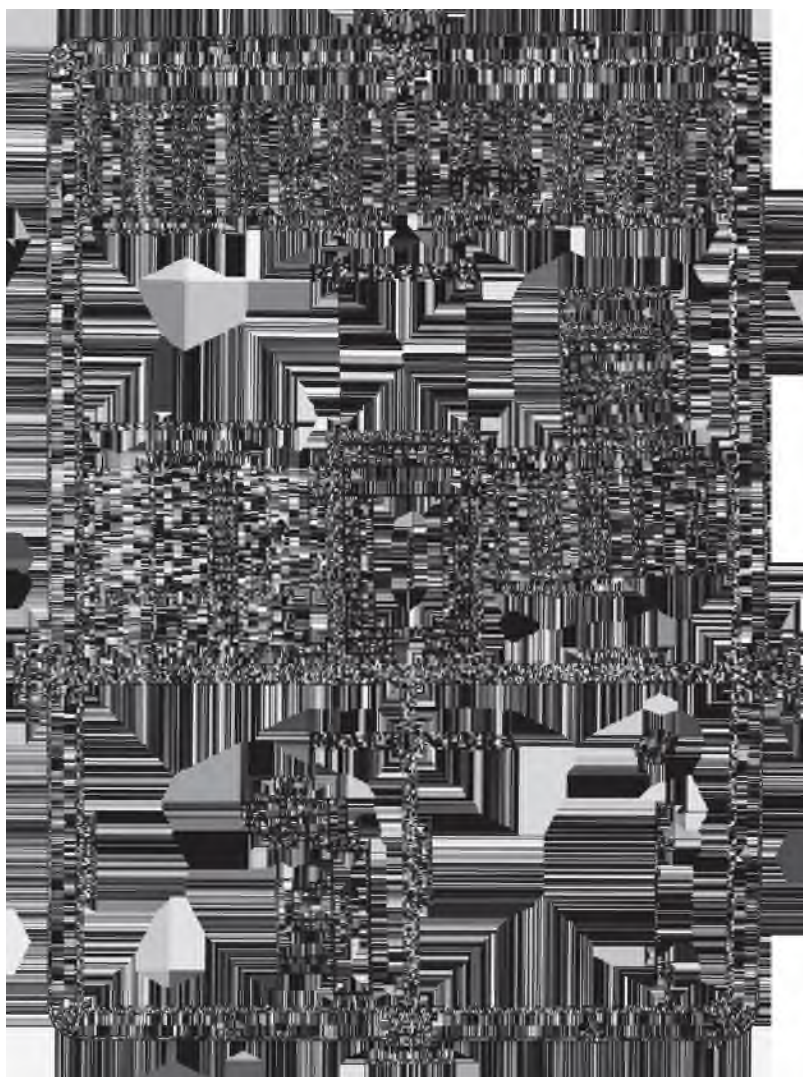
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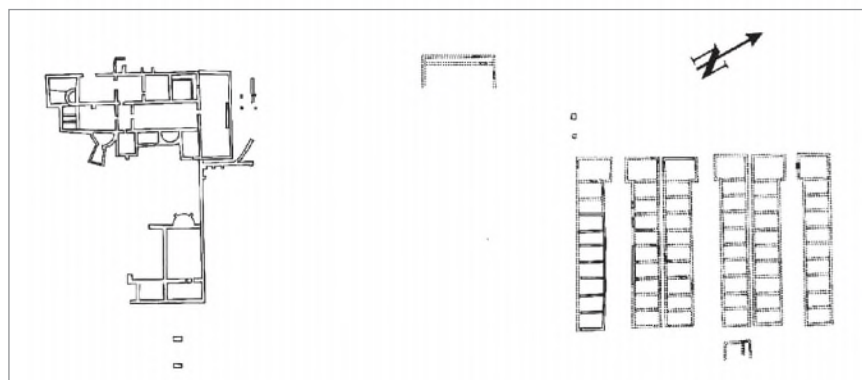
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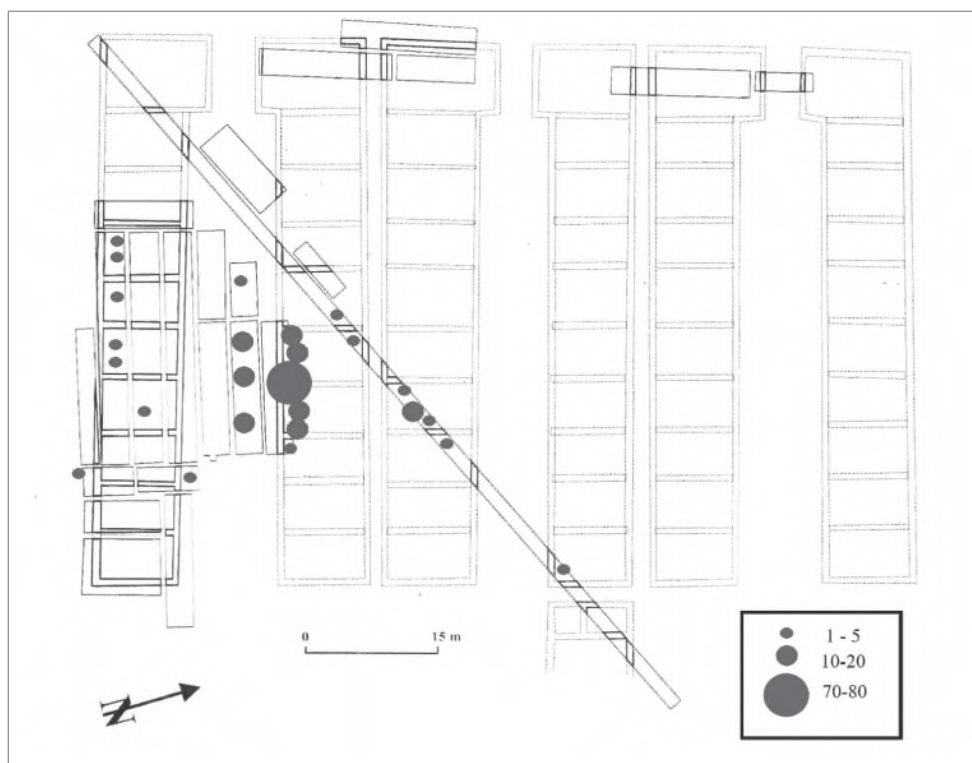


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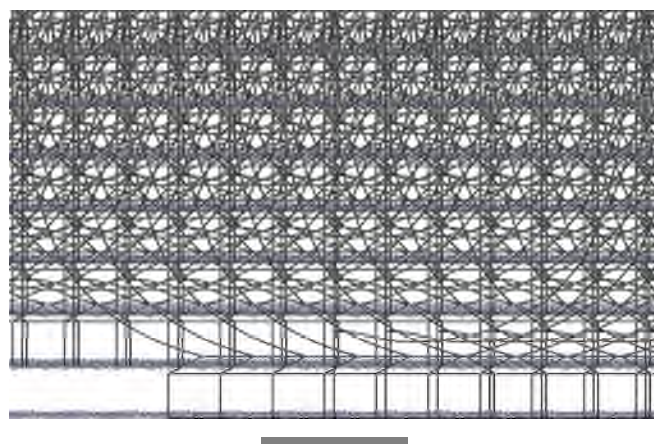


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Pl. I. 1. Plannimetry of the legionary fort of Potaissa (after Bărbulescu 2015, 248, Fig. 421);
 2. *Centuriae* from *praetentura sinistra* (after Nemeti, Nemeti 2017, 182, Pl. II).



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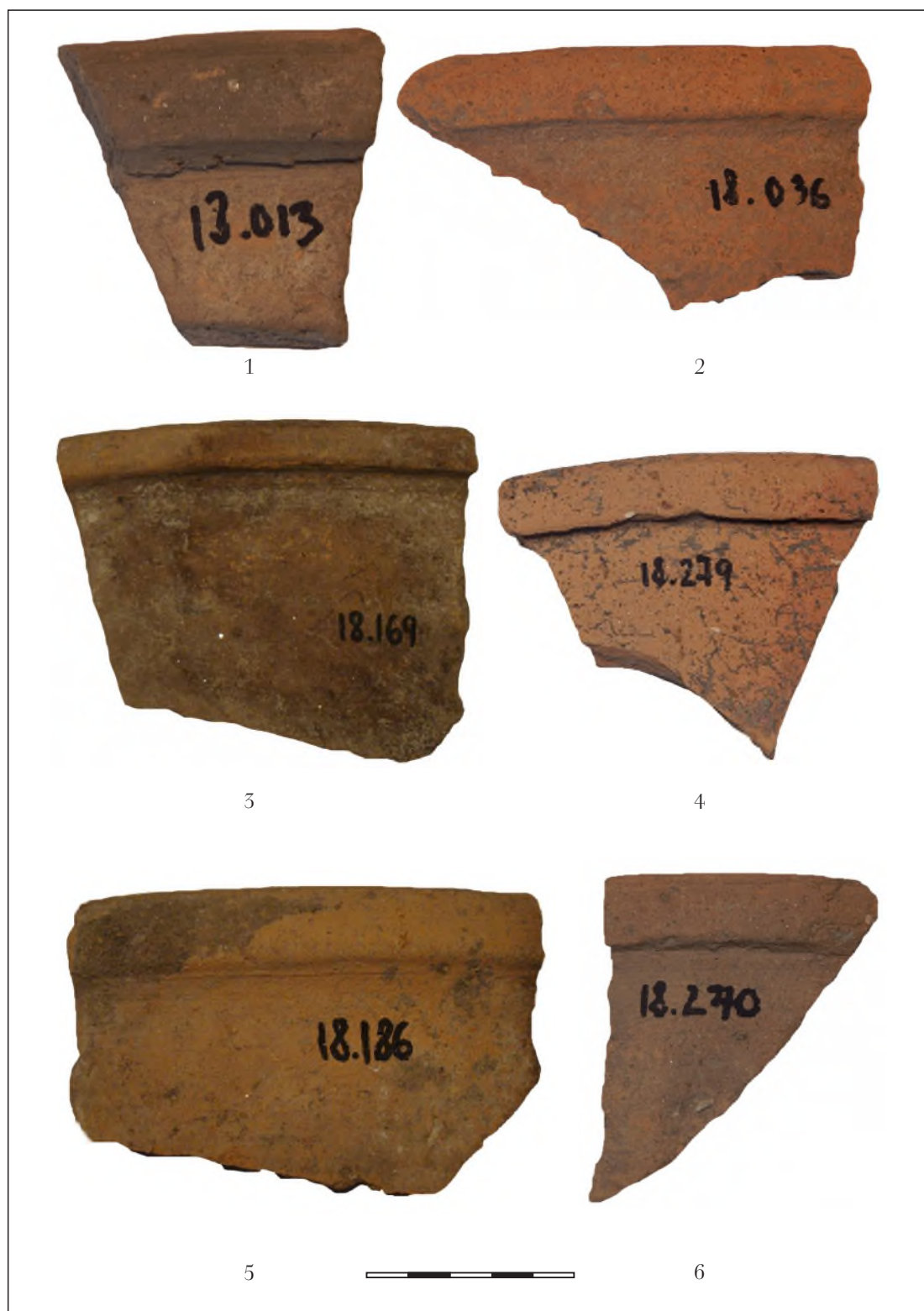
Pl. II. 1. *Centuriae* from *praetentura sinistra* with the distribution of the *foculi*; 2. *Foculus* (author's research).



Pl. III. 1-6. *Foculi* (photo © History Museum Turda).



Pl. IV. 1-3. *Foculi* (photo © History Museum Turda).



Pl. V. 1-6. *Foculi* (photo © History Museum Turda).



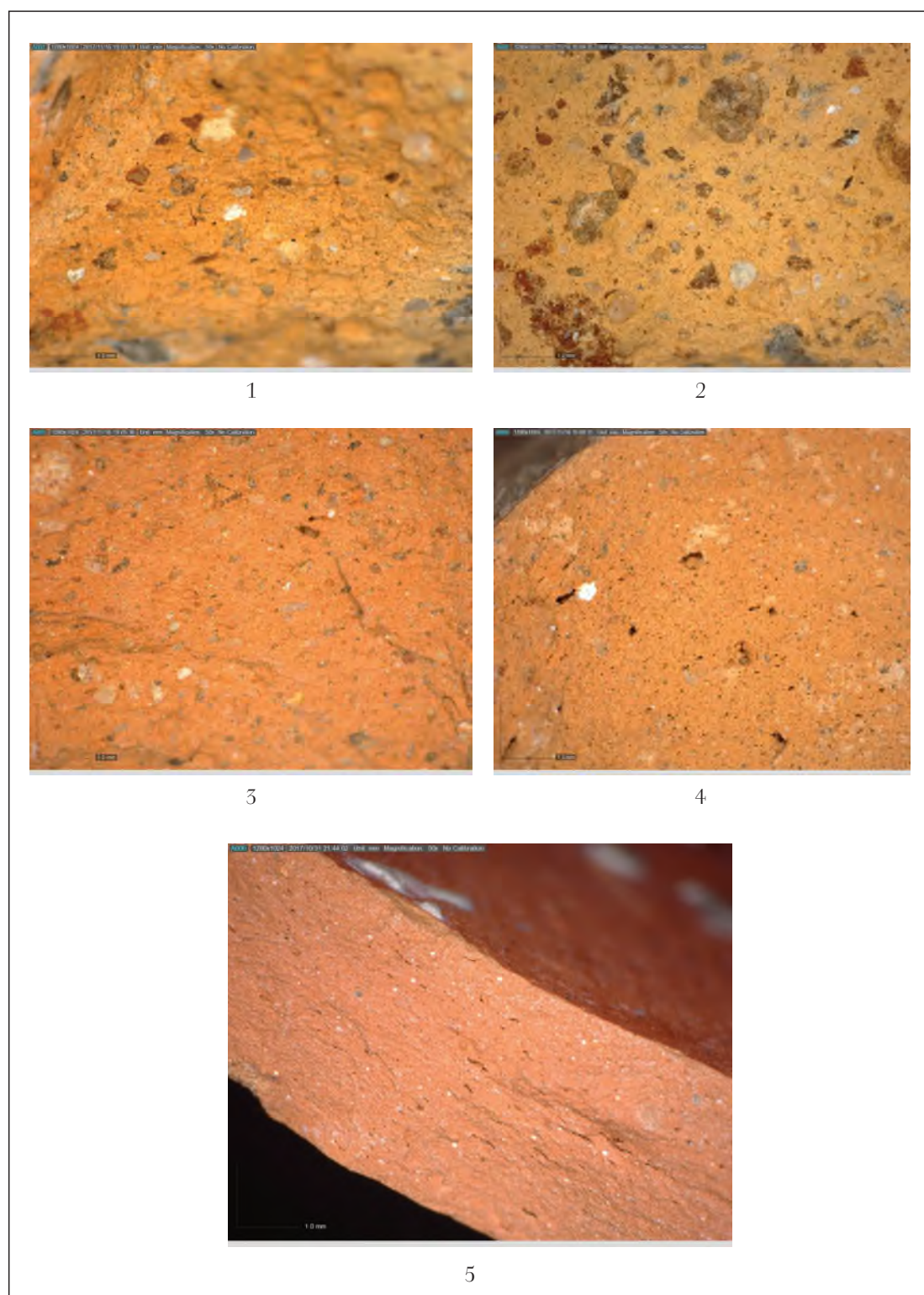
Pl. VI. 1-2. *Foculi* (photo © History Museum Turda).



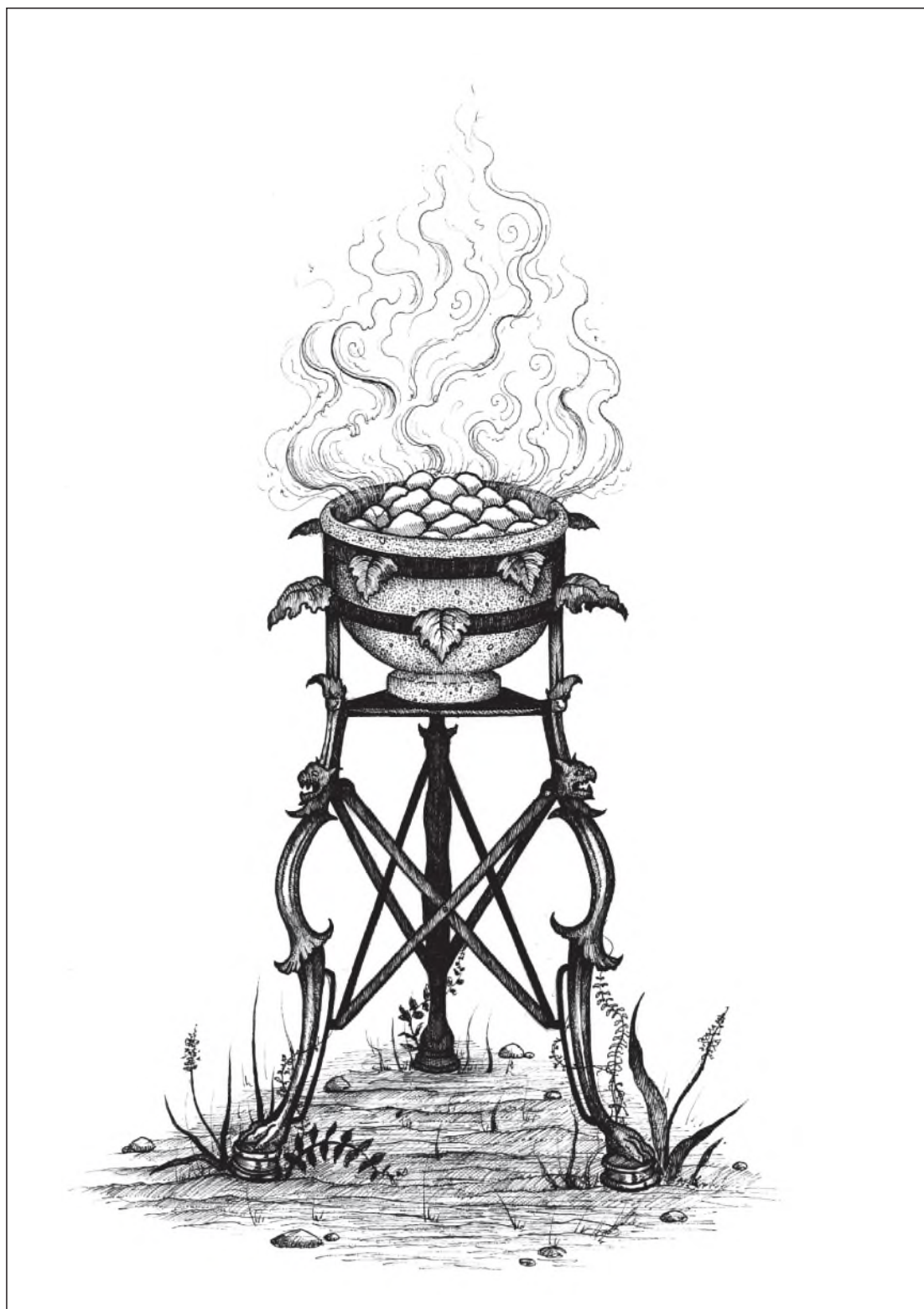
Pl. VII. 1-6. *Foculi* (photo © History Museum Turda).



Pl. VIII. Comparison between local *foculi* and *turibula*: 1. *Turibulum*; 2-4. *Foculi* (author's research; photo © History Museum Turda).



Pl. IX. Comparison of the paste composition: 1-2. *Foculus*; 3. Common ware, bowl; 4. Fine ware, local imitation of the Drag. 44 type; 5. Fine ware, local imitation of the Drag. 37 type (author's research).



Pl. X. Artistic interpretation of a *foculus* on a tripod (author's drawing).

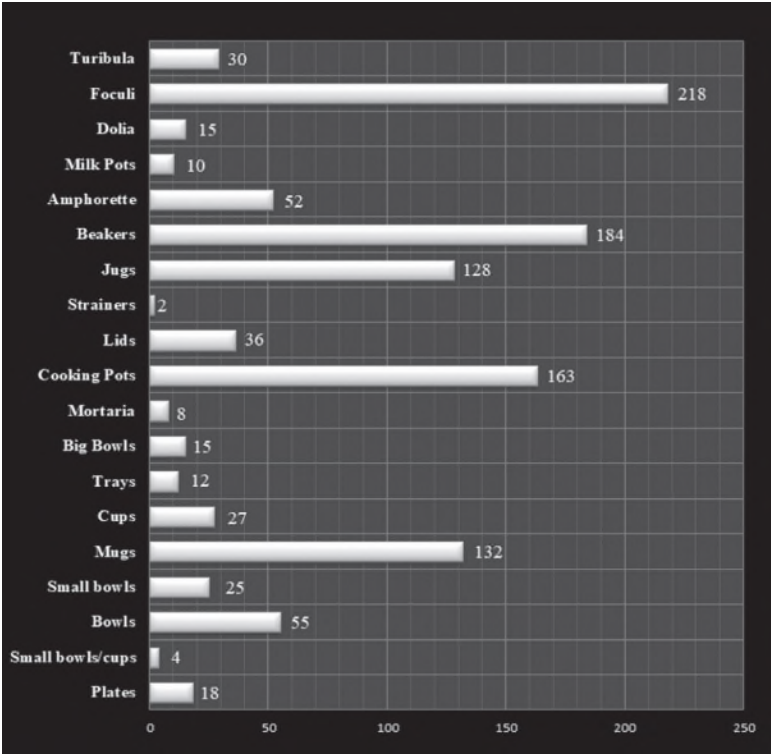


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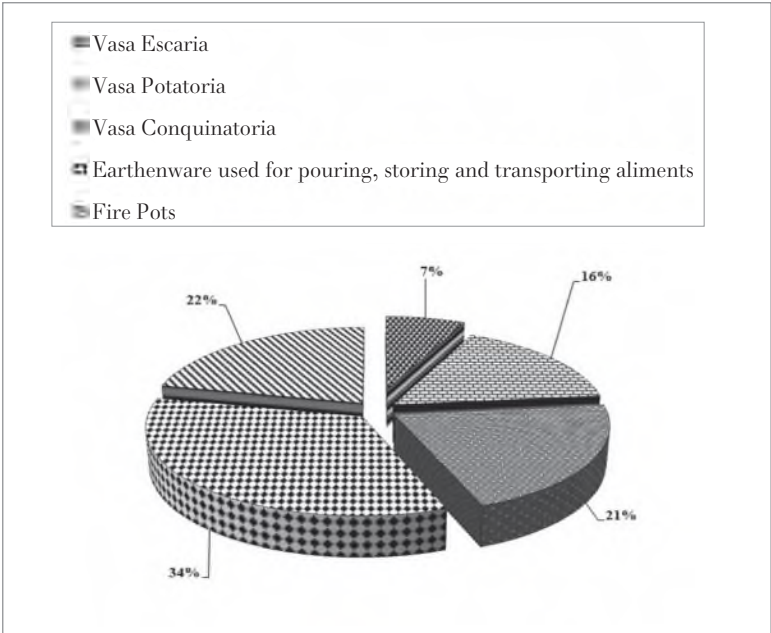


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Pl. XI. 1. Indian kundal fire pot inside a *kangri* basket (author's drawing); 2. Kashmir's *kangri* – traditional portable heaters used during the cold season (photo credit: Firstpost/Sameer Mushtaq, posted on 26 December 2017. Photo source: <http://www.firstpost.com/photos/kashmirs-kangri-how-residents-beat-the-cold-using-traditional-portable-heaters-in-the-valley-4274129.html>).



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2

Pl. XII. 1. Common ware form repartition; 2. Common ware percentage based on functionality (author’s research).

GUARDING THE EAGLE. SOLDIER MEMBERSHIP IN THE FIRST COHORT OF THE LEGION IN A REVISITED INSCRIPTION FROM POTAISSA*

GEORGE CUPCEA, RADU ZĂGREANU

Abstract: The reading of the seventh line of the inscription on a funerary monument from Potaissa (CIL III 908) has not been cleared up to this moment. Taking into account the changes in the designation process of the legionary cohorts and *centuriae* in the 3rd century AD, we propose here a new reading of the abbreviated text. It seems therefore that the soldier, who set the funerary stone for his father and uncle, had served in the first cohort of the legion in the *centuria* headed by the *primus pilus*.

Keywords: legionary cohort; Potaissa; *centuria*; *primus pilus*; first cohort.

Rezumat: Lectura celui de-al șaptelea rând al inscripției aflate pe un monument funerar de la Potaissa (CIL III 908) nu a fost clarificată până în prezent. Luând în considerare schimbările survenite în procesul de denumire a cohortelor și centuriilor legionare în secolul al III-lea p. Chr., propunem o nouă lectură a textului abreviat. Se pare că soldatul care a pus piatra funerară pentru tatăl și unchiul său a servit în prima cohortă a legiunii, în centuria primipilului.

Cuvinte-cheie: cohortă legionară; Potaissa; centurie; *primus pilus*; prima cohortă.

Potaissa has produced a large amount of funerary monuments, most of them rectangular blocks or bases that must have been part of larger, more complex funerary constructions. They are enlisted to the type of bases with funerary inscription, because of the larger dimensions than those of the funerary *stelae*. The large funerary *stelae* with double-registry are rarely found in Potaissa. From this category, only nine have the epigraphic field partially or entirely filled. Although the texts are not abundant in information, they attest the names of both civilian and military that could afford at that time the erection of some important monuments for their deceased. Most of them are collective monuments, dedicated in the memory of several family members.¹

From these, one particular monument has drawn the attention of scholars, because its inscription has no final acceptable reading and interpretation. It is a rectangular base for a funerary monument, hosted by the History Museum of Turda, CIL III 908 (inv. nr. 157, Pl. I).

Material: limestone; careful writing, lined, with locally visible red ink.

Dimensions: w = 80 cm, h = 145 cm, d = 60 cm;

Epigraphic field: 120/56 cm;

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¹ Zăgreanu 2014, 326.

Letter dimensions: 3–7 cm;

Text:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Celsus / vixit an(nos) LX / Aur(elius) Bassus / vix(it) an(nos) L Aur(elius) / Celsinianus / mil(es) c(...)h(...) I p(...) p(...) / pat(ri) et a(v)unc/ulo pient(issimis) / ob merita / p(osuit).

The meaning of the inscription is generally clear (Pl. II). The soldier Aurelius Celsinianus dedicates the funerary monument to his father, Aurelius Celsus, who lived 60 years and to his uncle, Aurelius Bassus, deceased at 50. As heir, the military is choosing an imposing monument to mark the memory of his ancestors.

Name	Status	Ethnic	Family relations
Aurelius Celsus	Unknown	Thracian?	Father of Celsinianus
Aurelius Bassus	Unknown	Thracian?	Uncle of Celsinianus
Aurelius Celsinianus	<i>miles</i>	Thracian?	Heir (son and nephew)

The persons

The names of the dedicators are entirely preserved, they share the *nomen*, Aurelius, which, on one hand, strengthens their family ties, and on the other, could date the inscription after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, AD 212.

Bassus – intensively used in Italy (36), Hispania (23), Narbonensis (12), Pannonia (19), other Latin provinces and also Dacia (9).² The name is of Latin origin, coming from the adjective *bassus*, meaning ‘thick’, but it can also be a transliteration of the Greek βάσσοϛ. In regard to origin, the opinions are divided, stating that even if Latin, it can be a sign of Eastern origin, even Semitic.³ A more recent reflection of its ‘traditional’ Thracian ascension, argues that Βασσοϛ could point out towards a Dacian origin, rather than to the transcriptions of the Latin *Bassus*.⁴

Celsus, Celsinianus – intensively used in Hispania (27), Narbonensis (18), Dalmatia (12), Italy (7), other Latin and some Balkan provinces, including Dacia (4).⁵ The name comes from the Latin adjective *celsus*, meaning ‘sublime’, ‘generous’ or ‘brave’, in any case, being a *cognomen* relating to body and mind.⁶ Another Aurelius Celsus is attested on the collective dedication CIL III 7688, dated under Valerian and Gallienus, also from Potaissa, as a veteran, former *duplicarius* of the legion. If this is the same character, then the present inscription should be dated in the second half of the 3rd century AD.

In regard to the family’s ethnic origin, it can be argued that especially the *cognomen* Bassus is used in Dacia in Thracian ethnic context, as seen in another

² OPEL I², 114.

³ Kakoschke 2007, 161–162; Kakoschke 2009, 132; Kakoschke 2011, 266–267; Kakoschke 2012, 295–296.

⁴ Dana 2014, 26.

⁵ *Celsinianus* is attested only in Pannonia (2) and Dacia (present case). OPEL II, 48.

⁶ Kakoschke 2007, 229–230; Kakoschke 2009, 145; Kakoschke 2011, 301; Kakoschke 2010, 272; Kakoschke 2012, 341.

collective funerary monument, from Sutoru,⁷ where the other family members of the *signifer* Bassus are Aelia Prisosta, Aurelia Bassina and Aurelius Denzi.⁸ In this particular situation, one could presume even the Dacian origin of the family.⁹

The unit

The second, more intriguing part of the inscription relates to the unit of the soldier that raised this monument, Aurelius Celsinianus. He is described simply as *MIL CHIPP*. No definitive solution was given on the development of this abbreviation, as the only one proposed was a *cohors I Palmyrenorum Porolissensium*, the result of the presumed transformation of the former *numerus* of Porolissum, sometime after AD 251,¹⁰ but never attested elsewhere.

In our attempt to solve this dilemma, we started from the assumption that the soldier is coming from *legio V Macedonica*, the only military unit that we know for sure that was garrisoned in Potaissa, around mid-3rd century AD. In this regard, we assume that the only possible development of the unit would have to refer to the cohort and the *centuria* of the legion.

In this matter, the 3rd century brings significant changes in the denomination of centurions and *centuriae* in the legions, connected with the tactical changes in the functioning of the legion that can be noticed beginning with the end of the 2nd century AD, but mostly in the 3rd one. One of the best places to observe this change in denomination is Romula, in inscriptions concerning the fortification works on the city, made by a detachment of *legio VII Claudia*. The working soldiers leave epigraphic traces of their activity here, including a construction plate dedicated to the Philippi emperors.¹¹ Besides this plate, another three construction blocks from Romula's enclosure wall are inscribed with the names of the *centuriae* that were working.¹² The practice of legionary detachments to name their *centuria* according to cohort and rank and not according to the name of the centurion is often encountered in this period, in the present case both *centuriae* of *hastati* from the VIIIth cohort being involved.¹³

This is a change from the common practice during the Principate, when the word '*cohors*' disappears from the centurion's title, only the numeral and the post remaining, just like in the army of the Republic: *III (tertius) hastatus prior*.¹⁴ Besides, the *centuria*, though initially named after the holder of the centurionate, begins to be identified impersonally, starting from the 2nd century.

The evolutions follow several systems: the system *II Traiana* with or without mention of the centurion: *coh(ortis) II (secundae) hast(ati) pr(ioris)*, in Egypt

⁷ AE 1932, 81 = ILD 757.

⁸ Other inscriptions attesting the name *Bassus* in Dacia: CIL III 1206; CIL III 1395; CIL III 1579; CIL III 14216⁰⁵; CIL XVI 110; CIL XVI 163; IDR III/1, 98b; IDR III/4, 308; IDR III/5, 450; IDR III/5, 224; IDR III/5, 198.

⁹ Dana 2014, 123.

¹⁰ Daicoviciu 1945, 178, apud Nemeti 1999, 195.

¹¹ CIL III 8031; Speidel 1978, 121.

¹² AE 1940, 13 and 14; CIL III 8047.

¹³ Speidel 1978, 119–120.

¹⁴ Speidel 1983, 43–44, although several academics, including Th. Mommsen, insist that the cohort continues to be mentioned.

and Britannia, or that mentions the cohort, then the sign of the *centuria* ‘>’ and the name and rank of the centurion. The second system, *II Parthica*, appears sometime at the end of the 2nd century and comes closer to the idiomatic titles of centurions: > (*centuria*) *IX (noni) prin(cipis) posteri(or)s*.¹⁵ This second variant appears mostly on monuments belonging to legionnaires from vexillations and expeditionary armies. A particular situation is encountered in Mogontiacum¹⁶ where the abbreviation is even more severe: *genio* > *II Γ*. The depersonalization of these titles appeared most likely in order to more easily distinguish between the vexillations from several legions, brought together in expeditionary detachments from the 2nd–3rd centuries.¹⁷

In this situation, we chose to consider that the abbreviation *CH* indicates not an auxiliary unit, as it is impossible to argue towards a final solution in this direction, but rather a legionary cohort. In this case, the natural development would be *mil(es) c(o)h(ortis)*¹⁸ *I (centuriae) p(rimi) p(ili)*, meaning that Celsinianus was a soldier in the most important *centuria* of the legion, that was led by the *primus pilus*. There are at least two directions of argumentation in this sense, and we will try to explore both.

First, the epigraphic analogies. Not surprisingly, we found analogies almost exclusively in the legions *II Parthica* and *II Traiana*.¹⁹ The results indicate the pinpoint of the soldier’s position in the legion according to the cohort and the *centuria*. In regard of the *centuria*, this is no longer named after the centurion, but indicating the exact position of the centurion in the legion. Therefore, the complete systematization mentioned above, according to which the term of cohort could be excluded if not written precisely, is not applicable to these cases. We must mention that all these inscriptions are dated in the 3rd century AD, the earliest ones under Caracalla. Moreover, the term *cohors* appears regularly on the so-called ‘centurion lists’, collective monuments dedicated by the entire corps of professional officers of a legion to the emperor or the Imperial family, beginning with Septimius Severus.²⁰

¹⁵ CIL III 187; Speidel 1983, 47–48.

¹⁶ CIL XIII 6681, from AD 230.

¹⁷ In Latin these titles are called *ordines*: Tacitus, *Annales* 1.44; Speidel 1983, 49, 61. An earlier parallel might be the depersonalization and standardization of the names of auxiliary troops from the time of Tiberius: they are no longer named after their commanders. The titles of *centuriae* and the mention of the cohort prove that these subdivisions were used both tactically and administratively during the Principate (Speidel 1983, 50). An essential contribution to this problem was offered by a series of inscriptions that present a number of graphical symbols that might abbreviate the titles of legionary centurions. M. P. Speidel, twice, and J. C. Mann have dealt with this problem in the end reaching similar conclusions. In his first work M. P. Speidel recognizes these signs on a number of monuments from different places in the Empire. The form and function of the centurial signs indicate they are part of a general design of the shape of the cohort on the battlefield: CIL XIII 6681 and 6683, Mainz, IDR II 326, CIL VIII 18065, Lambaesis, and one inedited inscription from the fortification from Mainz (Speidel 1986, 321–330). Contributions also in Mann 1997, 295–297. See also the most recent contributions in Moga, Drămbărean 2007, 176–177; Faure 2008, 298.

¹⁸ However the form in Ablative (*cohorte*) is also acceptable (see the addendum), as it can pinpoint the exact location and the membership of a soldier in his unit/subunit.

¹⁹ Faure 2013, 17–78.

²⁰ E.g. CIL XIII 6801, Mainz; CIL XIII 8050, Bonn; AE 2012, 1206 and 1207, Potaissa; AE 1993, 1364, Novae.

Second, the lack of any evidence for an auxiliary cohort in the area of Potaissa is also supporting this view. In spite of the traces of an auxiliary fort, explored and published about twenty years ago,²¹ the assumption of the existence of a cohort, moreover one developed from the Palmyrenian *numerus* in Porolissum is quite a slim chance.

The legionary first cohort

Sometime during the first century AD, the doubling of the first cohort was introduced. The reasons for this increase in size are many, in theory, and always a question of debate.²² It is the elite subunit of the legion, guarding the eagle and its members were drafted from amongst the tallest of the legionnaires.²³ However, it doesn't seem to have any tactical role, being not more than an administrative distribution of soldiers in barrack blocks.²⁴ This situation seems to be valid until the late second – early third century, when the increased mobility of the army, in the system of *vexillationes* uses almost exclusively legionary cohorts as tactical corps to be dispatched in the field.²⁵

In regard to the number of *centuriae* in the first cohort, the evidence is contradictory, revealing either five or six, at similar dates. The most probable configuration however, is that the first cohort had six double *centuriae*, but only five centurions, the *primus pilus* being entrusted with the command of the first two *centuriae* of *pili*. The centurionate in the first cohort is a particular distinction, the position of the *primi ordines* being privileged and reserved only to the officers coming from the equestrian order, former centurions in the cohorts of Rome or other prodigious cases.²⁶

Membership in the first cohort must have been a question of prestige and the soldiers definitely wanted to have this marked as a career peak. On the other hand, as stated above, in the third century, the identification of a soldier according to his cohort and *centuria* seems to have been the practice. Nevertheless, the protection of the legionary eagle was to be the paramount task of the legionnaires in battle and this honour was reserved to the elite first cohort.

We thus propose the following reading: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Celsus / vixit an(nos) LX / Aur(elius) Bassus / vix(it) an(nos) L Aur(elius) / Celsinianus / mil(es) c(o)h(ortis) I (centuriae) p(rimi) p(ili) / pat(ri) et a(v)unc(ulo) pient(issimis) / ob merita / p(osuit).*

²¹ See Nemeti 1999.

²² Some theoretic arguments are more reasonable than others: the gathering of all *immunes* and other technicians (Goldsworthy 1996, 15), the veteran corps (*vexilla veteranorum*) or the *lixae* of the legion (baggage train and slaves – Roth 1994, 354).

²³ Veg. *Mil.* 1.5.

²⁴ Isaac 1995, 26, 29.

²⁵ Speidel 1982, 851, 854–858.

²⁶ For detailed discussion see Cupcea 2014, 77–84.

Epigraphic addendum

AE 1993, 1572, Apamea, Caracalla: [...V]ivio Bataoni / mil(iti) leg(ionis) II Part(h)ic(a)e Anto/niniana^e Piae F(elicis) F(idelis) Aet(ernae) / coh(orte) VI princ(ip) is prioris / qui vixit an(n)is XXXX mi/litavit an(n)<e>s XVIII (h)oris / noctis II defu(n)ctus / Aegeas cuius corpus / conditum Catabolo / titulum positum Apam(e)/ae ab Aurelio Mucazano h/erede b(e)ne merenti fecit.

IDR II 325, Romula, AD 248: Leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) // [[Philippianoru]]m / coh(ortis) V / (h)astati prio(res) / et postero(res) // Ge/rm/a(niae) // su/pe/r(ioris).

AE 1902, 89, Fossa/Aveia, Italia, AD 248: Aurel(ius) Mucatra R(---) / mil(es) legion(is) s<ag>(undae) Pa(rthicae) / <F>ilip(p)ian<i> c(o)ho(rte) V / (ha)stat<o> prioris / stationarius muni/cipio Habae Inic<e>o / d{a}eo promis(s)u(m) fec(it) / lib{f}e(n)s {h}anim(o).

CIL VIII 2555, Lambaesis: Tabulari/um princ(ipis) / [c]um imag(inibus) / domus di/vinae r[e]/novatum / ab Ulpio / [A]ntonin[o] / [p]rinc(ipe) et / option[ib(us)] / coh(ortis) prim(ae) / et adiu[t(oribus)] / de suo f[e]/cerunt / M(arcus) Aureli/us Aureli/anusp(rimi)p(ili) // [Ta]bulariumprinc[is]cumim[ag(inibus)] / d[om]us divinae option[es coh(ortis) pri]mae / de suo feceru[nt] / Q(uintus) [Semp]ronius Felix p(rimi)p(ili) P(ublius) Aeli[us Macrinus] princ(ipis) / L(ucius) [Vale]rius Ianuarius has(tati) C(aius) Iu[lius Longinianus] p[ri]nc(ipis) pos(terioris) / C(aius) [Ant]onius Silvanus has(tati) pos[t(erioris)] // M(arcus) Aurel(ius) / Terentius / pr(incipis) pr(ioris) C(aius) Ma[n]il(ius) Donatus / has(tati) pr(ioris) Q(uintus) Ae[butius] Satur/ninus pr(incipis) pos(terioris) / M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Li[cini]us has(tati) / pos(terioris) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Satur/ninus C(aius) / Iul(ius) Numi/dius lib(rari) / princ(ipis).

CIL III 6592, Alexandria, AD 212–250: D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Alexandrus qu<a>ndam / signifer leg(ionis) secundae Traianae For(tis) Ger(manicae) / coh(orte) II hastati pr(ioris) natione Mace/do{n} stipendiorum XIII {annos} vixit / an(nos) XXXI Aurel(ius) Heliodorus libertus / et heres mon<i>mentum fecit dignis/simo patrono suo.

CIL III 12054, Alexandria, AD 212–250: D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elio) <C>(u)into qu<a>dam / mi(l)iti leg(ionis) II Traia(n)ae c(o)hor(te) VIII pr(incipis) poster(ioris) / heres marito / dulcissimo bene mer(enti).

CIL III 6611, Alexandria, 212–250: D(is) M(anibus) M(arcus) Titurius Cai f(ilius) mil(es) leg(ionis) II Traian(a)es(!) c(o)hor(te) III pil(i) prior/is natio(ne) Italus coniux d<l>lcissima (h)eres / b(ene) m(erenti).

AE 1925, 63, Alexandria, AD 212–250: D(is) [M(anibus)] / Aurelius Quintianus candidatus l[eg(ionis) II Traianae] / Fortis c(o)ho(rte) VIII (h)ast(ati) post(erioris) mil(itavit) ann(os) XIII vix(it) ann(os) XXX[... natione] / Cilix Aurelius Demetrius /(centuria) primi pili dis[...] / tr(ibunus?) heres posuit b(ene) m(erenti).

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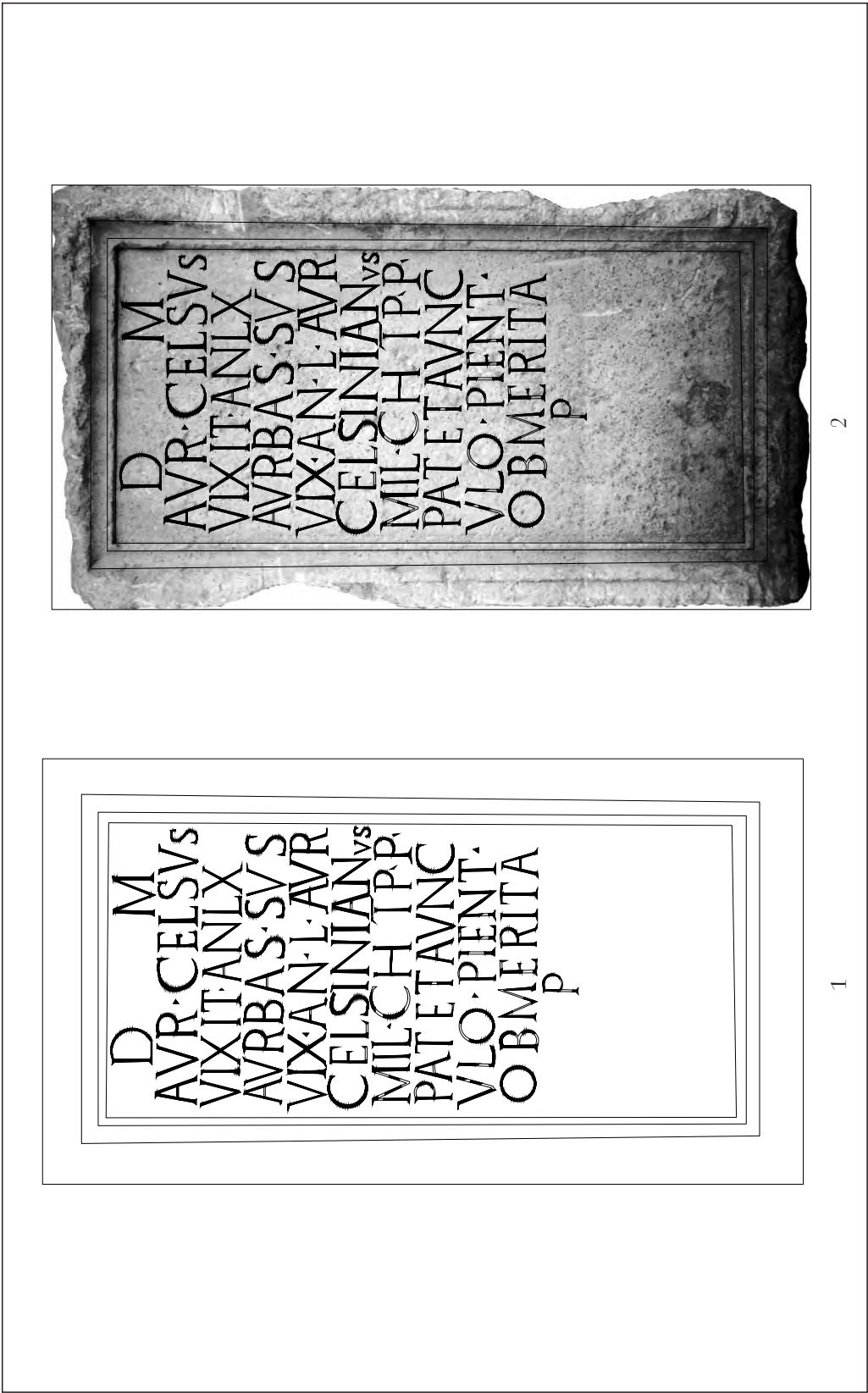
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Pl. I. Funerary monument from Potaissa (MIT, inv. no. 157; photo © G. Cupcea).



Pl. II. 1-2. Funerary monument from Potaissa (MIT, inv. no. 157; drawing © G. Cupcea).

SOME NOTES ON THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT ILLUSTRATED BY TWO 3RD CENTURY RIDER MONUMENTS FROM DACIA SUPERIOR

MONICA GUI

Abstract: The present paper discusses two funerary monuments from Alba county (Romania) depicting riders. These had been published before, but only summarily, without taking note of the details of military equipment illustrated on them. This is surprising because depictions of soldiers in full battle equipment are very rare in Dacia, not to mention that both monuments were dated to the 3rd century, a period in which such representations are scarce throughout the Empire. Therefore, the traditional art-historical approach to the study of Roman stone monuments will be by-passed and, instead of focusing on the type of monument, elements of style, workshops etc., the study will attempt to discuss at length the riders' attire and the implications for the study of Roman military equipment.

Keywords: Roman provincial iconography; Roman cavalry; Roman military equipment; Apulum.

Rezumat: Articolul de față își propune să discute două monumente funerare din județul Alba care ilustrează cavaleriști. Acestea au fost publicate doar sumar, fără a se remarca detaliile echipamentului militar redat. Faptul este surprinzător deoarece reprezentările de militari echipați complet pentru luptă sunt foarte rare în Dacia, cu atât mai mult cu cât ambele par a data din secolul III p. Chr., o perioadă în care astfel de reprezentări sunt rare în întreg Imperiul Roman. De aceea, ne vom abate de la abordarea tradițională axată pe studierea monumentelor în primul rând din perspectivă artistică. Astfel, nu vom discuta monumentele din punctul de vedere al tipologiei, al elementelor stilistice sau al atelierelor, ci vom încerca să disecăm echipamentul călăreților respectivi și să relevăm implicațiile pentru studiul echipamentului militar roman.

Cuvinte cheie: iconografie provincială romană; cavalerie romană; echipament militar roman; Apulum.

Introduction

It has long been recognised that, even despite the crudeness of some of the provincial soldier representations, in many cases they illustrate quite accurately contemporary military equipment.¹ This is because, on the one hand, arms, armour and various fittings were evidently important signifiers of the deceased's profession. On the other, the sculptors who were active in the militarised provinces had first-hand knowledge of the equipment in use.² Thus, provincial works, often discredited on the basis of the artisan's clumsiness, are most of the times more informative to this effect than official monuments illustrating military men.³

¹ Coulston 2007, 529–531.

² Bishop, Coulston 2006, 10.

³ Coulston 1990, 140; Coulston 2007, 529–530.

There are numerous funerary soldier representations from across the Empire depicting both infantry and cavalry. Most conspicuous are the (mostly) 1st century AD *stelae* originating from the western provinces. Some of these display both superior workmanship and minute attention to detail. Concerning horsemen in Rome's service, one of the most iconic 1st century representations is the so-called 'triumphant rider'. The soldier appears fully equipped, in a war-like stance, at times trampling a fallen enemy.⁴ The degree of detail can be remarkable and such monuments, corroborated with and confirmed by archaeological evidence, allowed, for instance, a very accurate reconstruction of the horse harness of the time.⁵ However, this fashion of representing soldiers faded away and battle-ready men, although not absent, are considerably rarer in subsequent centuries. In fact, the majority of 3rd century funerary monuments, rather than showcasing the full panoply, are content with representing the soldier in 'camp' uniform, with a bare minimum of elements that point to a military identity, usually involving the sword and belt.⁶ Even cavalrymen start to be represented following this convention (e.g. Pl. V/5).⁷

Set against this general trend, notwithstanding the local conditions and rate of monument survival, the very low number of (identifiable) soldier representations from Dacia is not at all surprising. With respect to riders, there is, indeed, an important number of funerary monuments depicting the deceased in the stance of the hero rider⁸ and the possibility that many of these point to cavalrymen should be borne in mind even though they lack any military identifiers.⁹ There is only a handful of stone reliefs that can be attributed without doubt to horsemen of the Roman army, either based on the inscriptions or betrayed by a number of military elements (i.e. arms) inserted in the representations.¹⁰ However, the riders themselves are never shown in armour. To my knowledge, the two monuments that will be discussed in detail below are the only ones from the territory of Dacia (Superior and Porolissensis) that display fully equipped, battle-ready Roman cavalrymen,¹¹ except for a stone from Gherla depicting a cavalryman with lance and sword (Pl. II/9)¹² which is unfortunately too damaged to allow further discussion. The fact that they both appear to be dated to the 3rd century only adds to their uniqueness.

⁴ See Schleiermacher 1984. Some of the monuments in the corpus are, of course, later than the 1st century AD.

⁵ Bishop 1988.

⁶ See Coulston 2007, 532–535; Speidel 2009, 235–239.

⁷ Coulston 1990, 140; see e.g. Speidel 1994, nos. 528–535 for some monuments of the *equites singulares*.

⁸ Nemeti, Nemeti 2014.

⁹ Gui, Petruț 2018, 126–127.

¹⁰ Gui, Petruț 2018, 123–128.

¹¹ Attention was drawn to these monuments by Gui, Petruț 2018, 127–128, with only a very brief discussion of the equipment, as the subject of the paper did not allow an in-depth analysis.

¹² Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, Pl. XXVIII/5; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, no. 16, Pl. III/2.

The two monuments

1. Monument no. 1 (Pl. 1)

Context of discovery and description

The first monument, a medium-sized limestone slab measuring $36 \times 43 \times 23$ cm, was only mentioned in an exhibition catalogue as an 'ornamental block (?)' benefitting from a very brief entry.¹³ It was dated to the 3rd century, but, lacking any other data, we can only guess that the date was based on stylistic criteria. Despite the rather small size of the preserved fragment, its funerary character seems highly likely and we are probably dealing with a left *aedicula* wall.¹⁴

No information is given about the discovery circumstances, except that it was found at Răhău (Alba county). The locality lies at circa 20 km south from Alba Iulia. Although no systematic excavations took place there, Roman traces are known from the area (structures – possibly from a *villa rustica*, sections from a road, a few funerary epigraphs – including one for a veteran of *legio XI Claudia*, coins etc.) and it appears to have been a rural site even during the Roman period.¹⁵

In the first publication, the representation is described as a rider galloping to the right, wearing a helmet, armour and a *gladius*, and carrying a long rod tentatively identified with a javelin.¹⁶ The description, despite its brevity, is not entirely correct: the rod-javelin is in fact a pair of javelins. Although rather crude, the figured stone does include a few interesting details related to military equipment.

Military equipment

What stands out first of all is the helmet with its very high, prominent crest which appears to flow. It should be noted that during the 3rd century helmets rarely appear on monuments and when they do they are not usually worn, but held in hand or laid on the ground.¹⁷ Unfortunately the stone from Răhău sustained a little damage in the area of the man's face and, in any case, the helmet is not rendered in great detail. Nevertheless, it seems to have some kind of tall peak and it encases the face. No attempt was made to delineate the cheek-pieces.

Given this apparently close-fitting face protection, a development started after the beginning of the 2nd century AD and typical for the 3rd, as well as the suggested date for the monument, several helmet candidates come to mind, such as the Niederbieber type (Pl. II/4) or others with large enveloping cheek-pieces¹⁸ (Pl. II/1–3). These were

¹³ Pop 1997, 15, no. 68, Pl. I/68; Lupa 19236.

¹⁴ I am grateful to my anonymous reviewers for their suggestions on the nature of the two discussed monuments.

¹⁵ Moga, Ciugudean 1995, 151–153.

¹⁶ Pop 1997, 15, no. 68.

¹⁷ Coulston 1990, 140, Fig. 1–2; Coulston 2007, 534.

¹⁸ For these types, see Robinson 1975, 90–92, 96–106 (especially Auxiliary Cavalry D–F); for representations of Niederbieber and other 3rd century helmets, see Ubl 2013, 19–23, especially Abb. 46–51, 53a; see also Bishop, Coulston 2006, 173–175; One should note that different authors can interpret the same helmet differently, but they all refer to 3rd century types. E.g. Lupa 3113.

considered by Robinson as auxiliary cavalry helmets, but nowadays a more universal use is postulated, since several figured monuments associate them with infantry.¹⁹

A few of the so-called 'cavalry sports' types can be proposed as well, seeing that the rich decoration displayed by some of the known surviving examples of mask-less helmets does not preclude their use in active combat.²⁰ J. C. Coulston identifies the most detailed examples of 3rd century helmet representations with the 'Heddernheim' type (or Cavalry Sports G in Robinson's classification).²¹ The best, and in H. Ubl's view the only surviving depiction of this type of helmet is that seen on the mid-3rd century sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Valens, centurion of *legio I Adiutrix* from Brigetio (Pl. II/6).²² The 'Heddernheim' helmet is characterised by a high arched crest raised from bowl and terminated in an eagle head, the pseudo-Corinthian peak decorated with a human face and the face-piece which envelopes the forehead, ears and cheeks, a part of the neck, as well as the chin (Pl. II/5, 7).²³

Comparing the mentioned representations and actual helmets with the one illustrated on the monument from Răhău reveals some differences, but the similarities are defining (i.e. the increased face protection and the prominent crest). Consequently, it seems probable that the sculptor intended to convey the impression of a 'Heddernheim' type helmet within the limitations of his skill.

Although the scales are very crudely rendered (almost like small squares), it is certain that the rider is wearing a rather shorter than expected *lorica squamata*. The lines on his arms should probably be interpreted as folds of his long-sleeved tunic.²⁴ While various types of scale armour were worn by common cavalymen (and infantrymen) throughout the 1st–3rd centuries AD,²⁵ it seems that by the 3rd century it became popular even among generals and emperors, being, alongside the muscle cuirass, a status indicator.²⁶

Regarding the rider's weapons, the sword is curiously short and one can see why it was called *gladius* in the original publication. However, it is a well-known fact that since Augustan times cavalymen were equipped with a long sword,²⁷ a weapon which, for instance, appears prominently on the 'triumphant rider' tombstones.²⁸ At the end of the 2nd and in the 3rd century AD the *spatha* came to be used by all types of troops.²⁹ As far as I know, the only other depiction of a rider with sword from Dacia is on the

¹⁹ Coulston 1990, 146; James 2004, 101–102; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 174; Ubl 2013, 30.

²⁰ See Petculescu 1990, 846–849.

²¹ Coulston 2007, 534–535; see also Coulston 1990, 140–142.

²² Ubl 2013, 21–22, Kat. Nr. 37, Abb. 49; Lupa 3243.

²³ Robinson 1975, 109–110, Figs. 130–132; 129, Pls. 376–383; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 178, Fig. 177/4.

²⁴ It should be noted that laminated arm defences are known and James 2004, 259, Pl. 13 illustrates how a Roman catapraht equipped with *lorica hamata* and such defences might have looked like based on the finds from Dura-Europos.

²⁵ See Ubl 2013, 34–40 for further representations and Coulston 1990, 147 for 3rd century artefactual evidence.

²⁶ Coulston 1990, 142.

²⁷ Bishop, Coulston 2006, 82.

²⁸ E.g. Schleiermacher 1984, nos. 6, 8, 9, 17, 20 = Lupa 15528, 15523, 15525, 20697, 15812 etc.

²⁹ Bishop, Coulston 2006, 154.

very fragmentary monument from Gherla mentioned earlier (Pl. II/9)³⁰ and this also displays a proportionately longer sword. A reasonable explanation is that the sculptor did not want to complicate his life any further and tried to fit the weapon in the small space between the man and the back of his horse. This would also explain why the sword is not straight, but very slightly bent.

As for the pair of javelins, we know from Josephus that, besides sword, lance and shield, cavalymen also carried several light spears kept in a quiver, useful in skirmishes.³¹ These spears or javelins are commonly shown on rider monuments as held by their *calones*.³² Rarely are the extra javelins carried by the riders themselves,³³ as on the monument from Răhău (the horse obstructs the quiver). There is another representation from Dacia displaying a pair of shafted weapons, which, along with the shield, were carried by the dismounted horse of an *eques* of the *ala II Pannoniorum* on his funerary monument from Gherla (Pl. II/8).³⁴ Furthermore, a mounted hunter illustrated on a *stela* from Sângătin (Sibiu County) carries two javelins in a quiver and, according to some, this detail suggests his service in a mounted troop.³⁵ Another interesting representation dated between the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries AD comes from Moesia Inferior: the funerary altar of Aelius Ingenuus, *beneficiarius consularis legionis XI Claudia*, depicts him as a galloping rider holding a lance in one hand and a shield and a pair of javelins in the other; no armour is discernible.³⁶

2. Monument no. 2 (Pls. III, IV)

Context and description

The second monument, a limestone block measuring 71 × 60 × 30 cm, was accidentally discovered in Alba Iulia, the ancient Apulum, beyond the south-western corner of the fortress of *legio XIII Gemina*. Since a couple of other funerary monuments had been found there before, including one for a *primipilarius* of the mentioned legion, the publisher concluded that either the find spot coincided with an yet unknown necropolis, or these stones were brought from elsewhere and reused as construction material.³⁷

Considering the size of the monument in question, it was believed that this was probably just a component of a larger, more complex funerary edifice.³⁸ Indeed, this may well be so. Not mentioned in the original publication, the personal examination of the monument revealed that, while its right side is finished, suggesting it was visible, the left side, the back and top appear to be unfinished. Furthermore, the top right corner of the stone exhibits a hole, meaning that something was fixed above it (Pl. IV/2, 3). I will not insist on the type of monument since this is beyond the scope

³⁰ Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, no. 16, Pl. III/2; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, Pl. XXVIII/5.

³¹ Joseph. *BJ* 3.5.5; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 78; see also Ubl 2013, 192.

³² E.g. Ubl 2013, Kat Nr. 140, Taf. 48/184; Lupa 2978.

³³ Ubl 2013, Kat. Nr. 133a, Taf. 46/176; Lupa 2596 (the rider holds the shield and two spears in his left hand).

³⁴ Piso 2013, 46, Fig. 10/a; Lupa 11349.

³⁵ Bianchi 2015, 178; Lupa 17356.

³⁶ Schleiermacher 1984, no. 114; Lupa 15311; cf. Alexandrescu 2008, 259, Abb. 3, where he is described as holding a lance in one hand and a shield and another lance in the other.

³⁷ Moga 2008, 478–479; Lupa 19234.

³⁸ Moga 2008, 480.

of the present paper. However, the fact that the remaining piece is just one of several elements might explain its unusual iconography.

V. Moga only summarily described the scene of a rider galloping towards the left, with a round shield and crested helmet, hurling a lance at a bearded enemy who also carries a lance and is placed behind the rider. The cited author concludes that the scene illustrates the hero rider who frequently appears on funerary and even votive monuments ('the Thracian rider'), a generally widespread motif in the Roman world and especially in provincial sculpture.³⁹

In fact, nothing of this scene is typical. As mentioned above, the image of the triumphant rider is very popular in the 1st century, especially on the Rhine, but is more rarely seen in later centuries. Also, the iconography is rather standard: the centre of the scene is occupied by a fully equipped cavalryman, usually depicted on the verge of spearing a fallen or imaginary enemy.⁴⁰ The latter is humiliated, usually trampled under the horse's front hooves and not standing, fighting back or attacking from behind. The posture of the rider from Apulum is unusual as well: his horse is indeed galloping towards the left, but the man's torso is turned to the right as he is fighting the enemy from behind. Turning to the Thracian rider motif, it is immediately clear that the horseman from Apulum diverges even more, because he is fully armed and armoured, in the midst of a battle. A distinctive feature of the Thracian rider is his fluttering cloak. Other typical elements such as the hound, serpent, tree or altar may appear.⁴¹ One of the few exceptions in which such a rider is spearing a fallen enemy can be seen on an *aedicula* wall found at Șeica Mică (Sibiu county), where the horseman strikes a typical 'triumphant rider' pose, even though he is not equipped for battle, but wearing a fluttering cloak instead. Scholars see in this representation a case of merger between the two aforementioned iconographic types.⁴² Thus, it becomes apparent that the rider from Apulum, engaged in a dynamic scene, is not reminiscent of either. Stretching the imagination, one can see in it a distant echo of the scenes depicted on the famous battle sarcophagi.

Military equipment

Even more interesting than the composition of the scene is the equipment displayed by the cavalryman and his mount, and even by the bearded 'barbarian'. The latter appears to be holding a shafted weapon and is wearing a garment with vertical stripes, perhaps a less fortunate attempt to render folds. Although the basis on which the monument was attributed to the 3rd century is not stated,⁴³ some equipment items do seem to point to that period.

Turning to the helmet first, the item is seen from a semi-profile, so the neck guard is not visible. The prominent crest starts from the back and extends all the way to the front. The helmet appears to encase the cheeks, leaving an open T-shaped slot for the face. The form of the peak is unclear, as well as whether a one-piece face protection was

³⁹ Moga 2008, 480.

⁴⁰ Schleiermacher 1984, 11.

⁴¹ Schleiermacher 1984, 51–54; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 42.

⁴² Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 214–215, AE no. 74, Pl. XXXVIII; Schleiermacher 1984, 54, 328, Kat. 115; Bianchi 2015, 174–178, Fig. 8; Lupa 15085.

⁴³ See Moga 2008, 478–480.

meant or tight cheek pieces. The observations made in the case of the first monument are also valid for this one. Thus the intention of rendering a 'Heddernheim' type helmet (Pl. II/5-7) should be taken into account, as well as some of the other types with tight-fitting face protection (see above), since the representation lacks the kind of detail that would make a secure identification possible.

The torso of the rider is completely obscured by his shield, but, judging by all the other equipment items, surely he was wearing some kind of body armour as well. Only the folds of a tunic (or the *pteryges* of a *lorica*?) emerge from under the shield.

Immediately noticeable is the rather small round shield with well delineated circular boss. For the imperial period, a small circular or oval shield called *parma* is usually associated with standard-bearers and musicians on representations⁴⁴ (Pl. V/1) and is archaeologically attested by a single find.⁴⁵ In addition, M. P. Speidel convincingly argued that small round shields were used by certain troops, namely those which had adopted the Moorish light cavalry fighting technique, as proven by several tombstones from Mauretania (Pl. V/2) and one from Pannonia.⁴⁶

Larger circular shields are generally regarded as a late, 4th century feature of probable German origin.⁴⁷ A good example can be seen on the Dominate period tombstone of Lepontius from Strasbourg (Pl. V/5).⁴⁸ Evidently, this comes in contradiction with the general chronology of the monument from Apulum, which cannot be later than the abandonment of Roman Dacia. However, according to H. Ubl, even before the middle of the 3rd century some cavalry troops were equipped with round shields, adopted also by the infantry towards the end of the century.⁴⁹

The best direct evidence for mid-3rd century shields comes from Dura Europos, where a number of boards and bosses have been discovered. These were grouped in two types of oval and two types of rectangular shields.⁵⁰ The oval shields with circular bosses were around 1.05 m high and 0.90 m wide.⁵¹ Being so broad, they were thought to be more similar to those represented in the Tetrarchy period and thereafter than to the earlier depictions. This development was traced back to the Severan period and illustrated with a series of tombstones in Istanbul and from Apamea, in Syria (Pl. V/3, 4).⁵² Other 3rd century representations of *legionarii* clearly depict an oval shield.⁵³

Similar in some respects to the Apulum relief is a tombstone from Noricum, found at Linz (Lentia) which represents a fully equipped soldier, with helmet and sword hanging from a baldric, holding a lance in his left hand and resting his right on a shield with a small boss (Pl. V/6). Unfortunately, on what survives of the tombstone the soldier is represented from the waist up, but the intended shield must have been circular. The dating of this monument is, however, controversial. For a long time it was regarded as

⁴⁴ Nabbefeld 2008, 21-22; see also Bishop, Coulston 2006, 182; Ubl 2013, 96.

⁴⁵ Nabbefeld 2008, 21-22, 114, Kat. no. 54, Taf. 10.

⁴⁶ Speidel 1993.

⁴⁷ Nabbefeld 2008, 24; see also Bishop, Coulston 2006, 217.

⁴⁸ Bishop, Coulston 2006, 2009, Fig. 133/1; Lupa 27828.

⁴⁹ Ubl 2013, 98.

⁵⁰ See James 2004, 159.

⁵¹ James 2004, 160.

⁵² James 2004, 168.

⁵³ See e.g. Coulston 2007, Figs. 8, 9, 12.

the singular example of a 4th century AD infantry soldier from the Danube *limes*.⁵⁴ More recently, Th. Fischer challenged this dating and considered him an auxiliary cavalry soldier of the late 2nd or 3rd centuries AD, mainly based on the helmet, interpreted as a Theilenhofen cavalry helmet.⁵⁵ This earlier dating gained acceptance in more recent years,⁵⁶ not in the least because it seems improbable that such large funerary monuments were still erected around the year 400 AD in northern Noricum.⁵⁷ So, if this is indeed a late 2nd–3rd century representation, this would be another instance of a depiction of a round shield used by cavalry. Furthermore, the tombstone of Aurelius Vindex, cavalryman of the *ala I Thracum eq. c. R.* from Brigetio, also exhibits a fairly large circular shield and was dated by H. Ubl to the mid-3rd century AD.⁵⁸

Finally, a recently published altar from Apulum dedicated by an officer of the *equites legionis* displays on each of its sides a circular shield and a spear and sword crossed behind it. The piece was securely dated to the Antonine period.⁵⁹ The fact that the spear and sword have the same length suggests that the craftsman was not very concerned with respecting size and proportion. Nevertheless, artefactual evidence regarding other types of shields in use by the Roman army suggests that, although representations are not that accurate in terms of size, they tend to be more so when it comes to actual shape.⁶⁰

The lance or spear of the rider needs no further comment, as it was one of the main weapons in use by the cavalry.⁶¹ There are numerous depictions of riders wielding this weapon or of their *calones* holding it, some of which were mentioned when discussing the previous monument.

One more interesting detail is represented by the multiple decorative straps distinguishable around the neck of the horse. This appears to be a 3rd century fashion and is illustrated by several monuments, among which a beautiful *stela* from Rome probably belonging to one of the *equites singulares* (Pl. V/7).⁶² The straps are also present on a less skilfully carved monument from Apulum,⁶³ and possibly on other monuments from Dacia.⁶⁴

Conclusion

Unfortunately, the corpus of figured rider monuments from Dacia (Porolissensis and Superior) does not include enough pieces to allow any conclusions based on

⁵⁴ Eckhart 1967; Lupa 582; Coulston 1990, 142–143, Fig. 3; for all the relevant literature and discussions see Ruprechtsberger 2004; Ubl 2013, 28 dates it to the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 4th centuries AD.

⁵⁵ See Fischer 2002; note that it was exactly the helmet, though differently interpreted, that prompted L. Eckhart to date the monument around 400 AD (see Eckhart 1967). For an in-depth discussion on the various dates and interpretations see Ruprechtsberger 2004.

⁵⁶ Coulston 2007, 534, n. 23.

⁵⁷ Traxler 2007, 68.

⁵⁸ Ubl 2013, 95, Kat. Nr. 77, Taf. 28/109–110; Lupa 3445.

⁵⁹ Cupcea forthcoming; Lupa 23329.

⁶⁰ James 2004, 168.

⁶¹ Both in representations and in archaeological materials it is nearly impossible to discern between various types of shafted weapons. See Bishop, Coulston 2006, 76–78 for the archaeological record and Ubl 2013, 198–200 for the representations.

⁶² Speidel 1994, no. 531.

⁶³ Ciongradi 2007, 185, S/A 96, Taf. 58; Lupa 11358.

⁶⁴ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 24; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 250, no. 6, Pl. I/4.

convincing statistical data, so the following lines are mainly derived from impressions. While the northern frontier of Dacia was garrisoned by numerous mounted and half-mounted troops, the impression is that the funerary monuments raised for these riders illustrate them almost exclusively in a peaceful pose, even though sometimes certain elements which allude to the military profession make an appearance.⁶⁵

On the other hand, there are several pieces originating from the area of Apulum that seem to depict the riders as warriors, although sadly these are very fragmentary.⁶⁶ Generally, the monuments cannot be dated so closely as to discern a chronological difference between the armed and unarmed representations. Their location might be relevant as well. Even though it cannot be proven, it is hard not to think of the *equites legionis* and/or *singulares* as the elite horsemen who commissioned these stones at Apulum (a complex site which included two urban centres, the fortress of *legio XIII Gemina* and the *praetorium* of the consular governor of the three Dacian provinces) to emphasise their status and military virtues.⁶⁷ Surely they had the means (financial and artistic) and motivation to do so. If any of these monuments would be related to the legionary horsemen it would make a contribution to the knowledge of the military equipment they used during the 3rd century. While it was always assumed that their attire could not have been much different from that of the auxiliaries, there are only a couple of monuments that can be associated with legionary horsemen of the time, and these only represented them in the so-called 'camp' uniform.⁶⁸

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⁶⁵ For an overview of the rider monuments more or less associated with the military, see Gui, Petruț 2018, 123–128; see also Nemeti, Nemeti 2014 for the rider monuments from Dacia Porolissensis.

⁶⁶ Ciongradi 2007, 161, S/A 11, Taf. 39; 184, S/A 89, Taf. 57; 185, S/A 96, Taf. 58; 215, Ae/A 3, Taf. 77 = Lupa 13044, 19235, 19431, 11358.

⁶⁷ A lost funerary rider *stela* from the site was set up for an *eques* of the legion (IDR III/5–2, 601; Lupa 1163), while another bears the partial inscription *ex n(umero)* ? (Ciongradi 2007, 161, S/a 12; Lupa 13028). Also recall the altar with weapons mentioned earlier in this paper dedicated by an officer of the *equites legionis* (Cupcea forthcoming; Lupa 23329).

⁶⁸ Pavković 1989, 40, 42. The author counted eight depictions of legionary horsemen from across the Empire. Most belonged to the 1st century AD and were of the 'triumphant rider' type (erroneously referred to as the 'Thracian' or 'Danubian' rider-god). Only two were dated to the 3rd century and these presented the deceased in 'camp uniform'.

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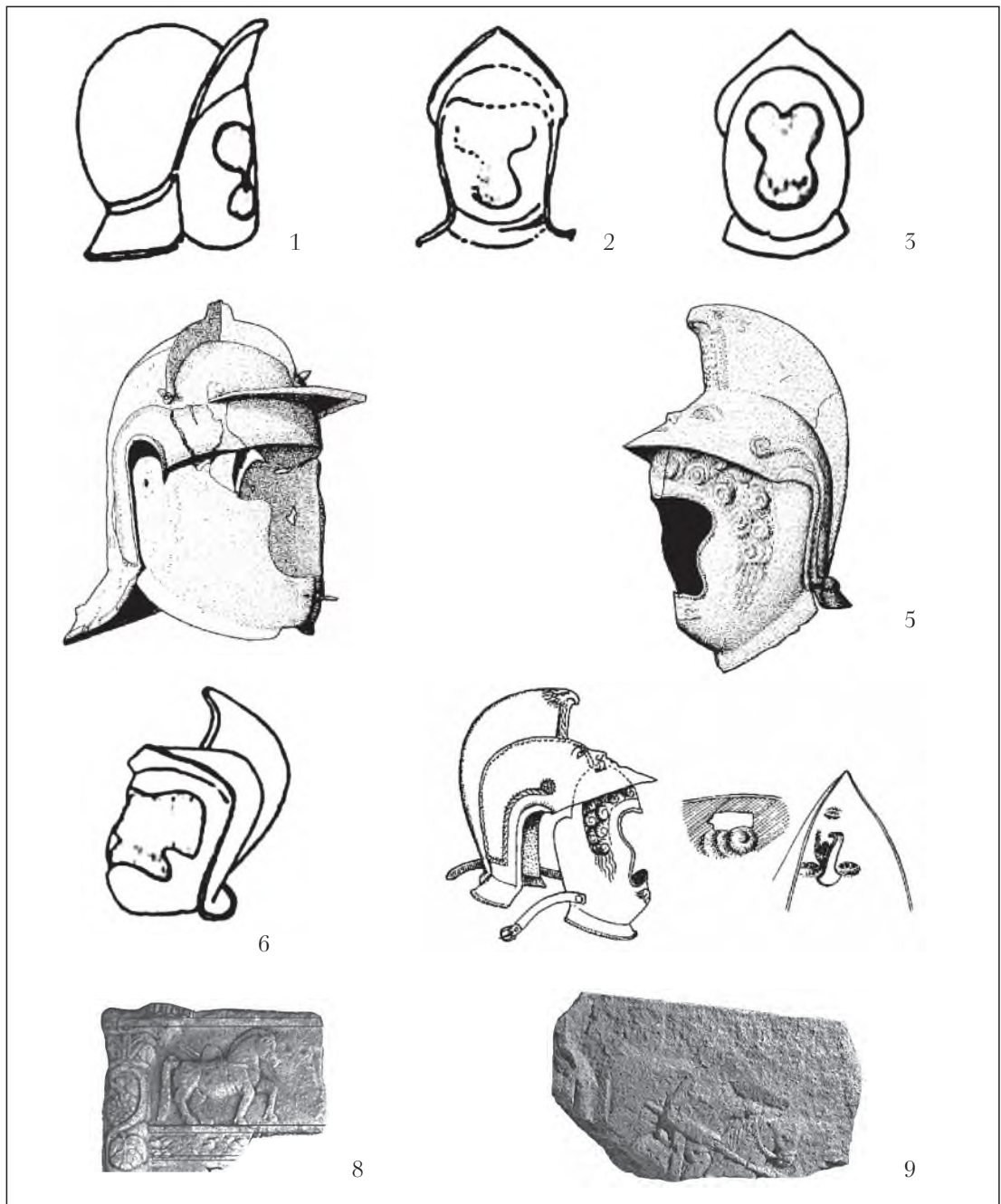


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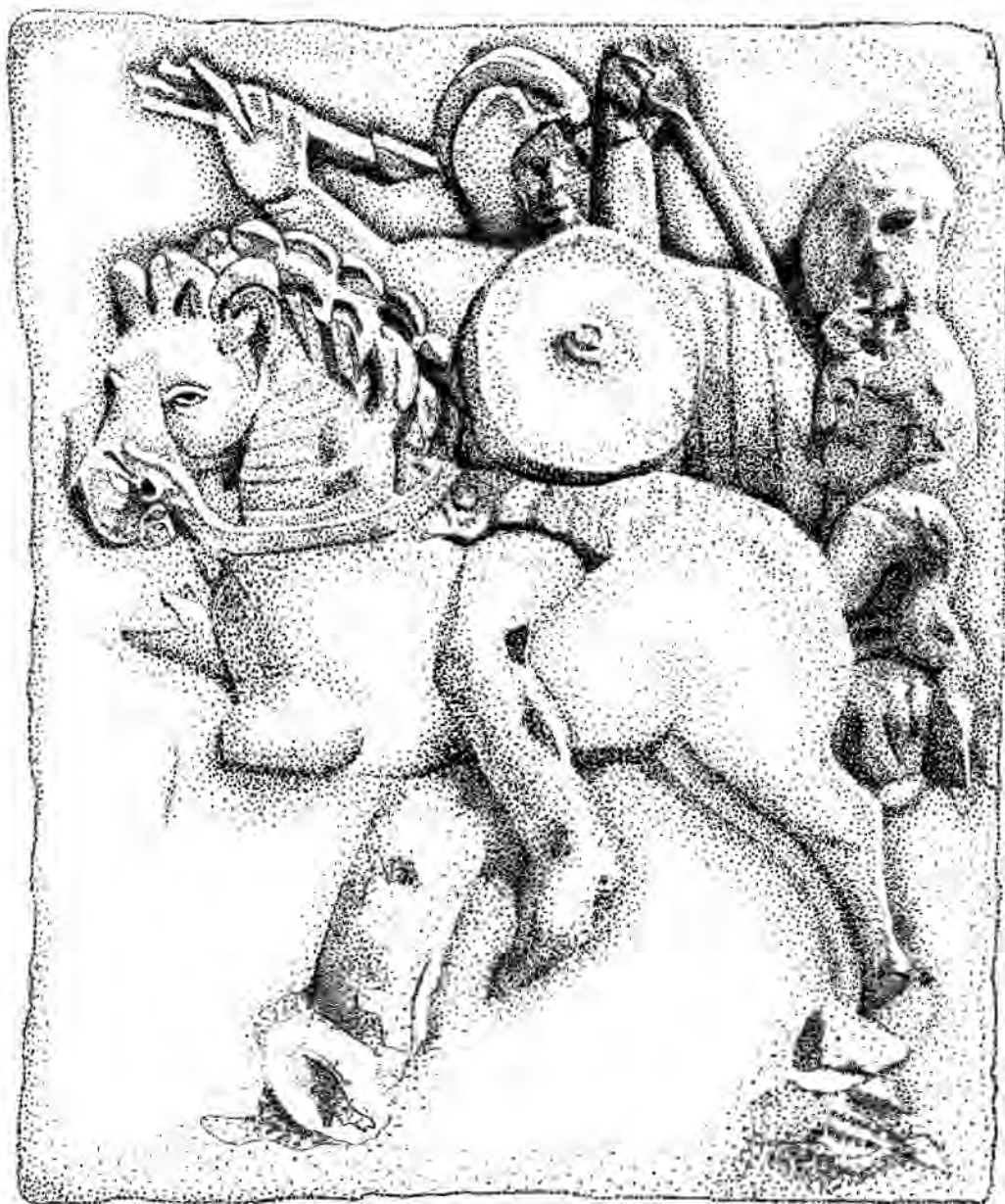


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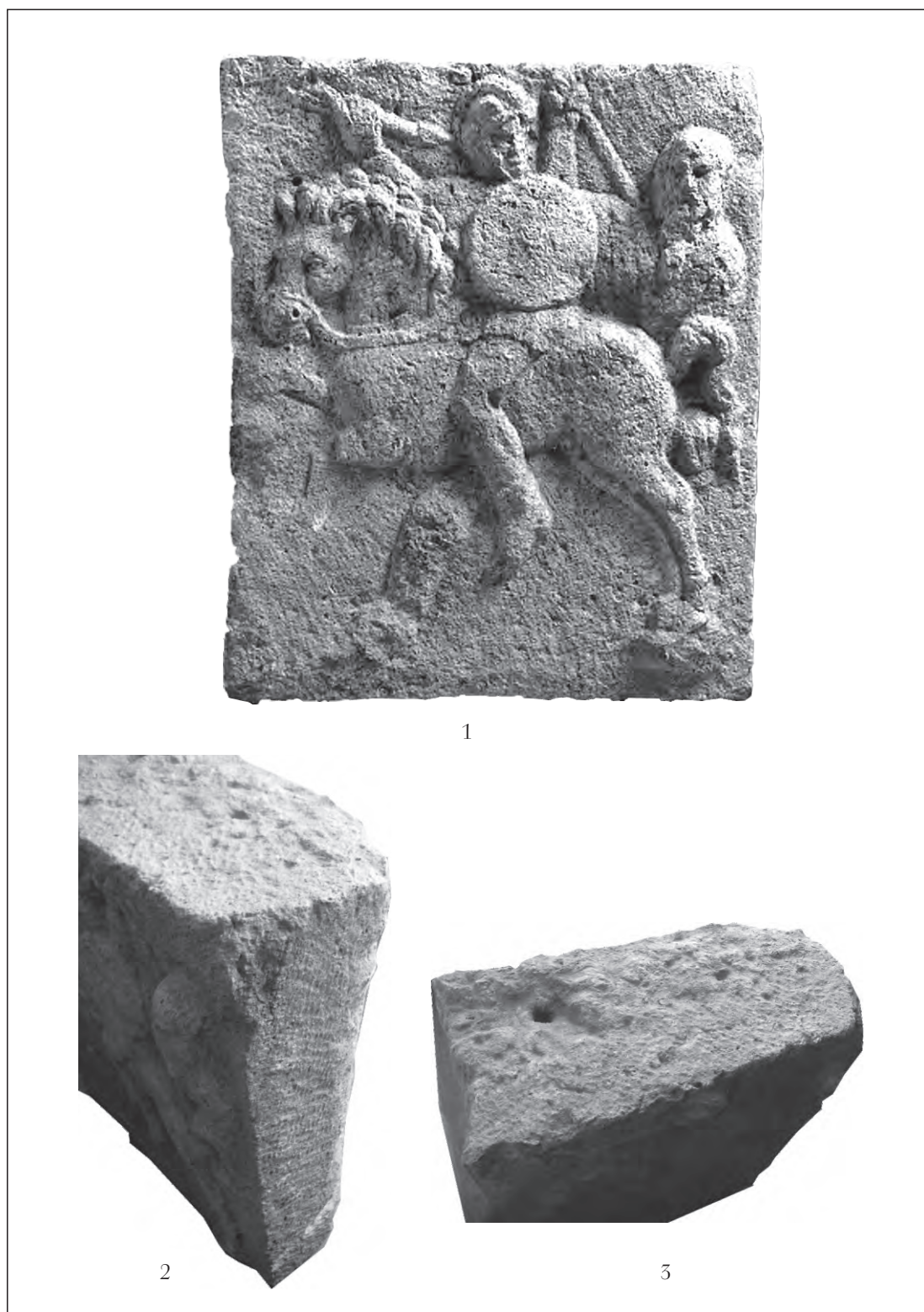
Pl. I. The monument from Răhău. 1. Drawing © M. Gui; 2. Photo © O. and F. Harl (Lupa no. 19234, © National Museum of Unification at Alba Iulia).



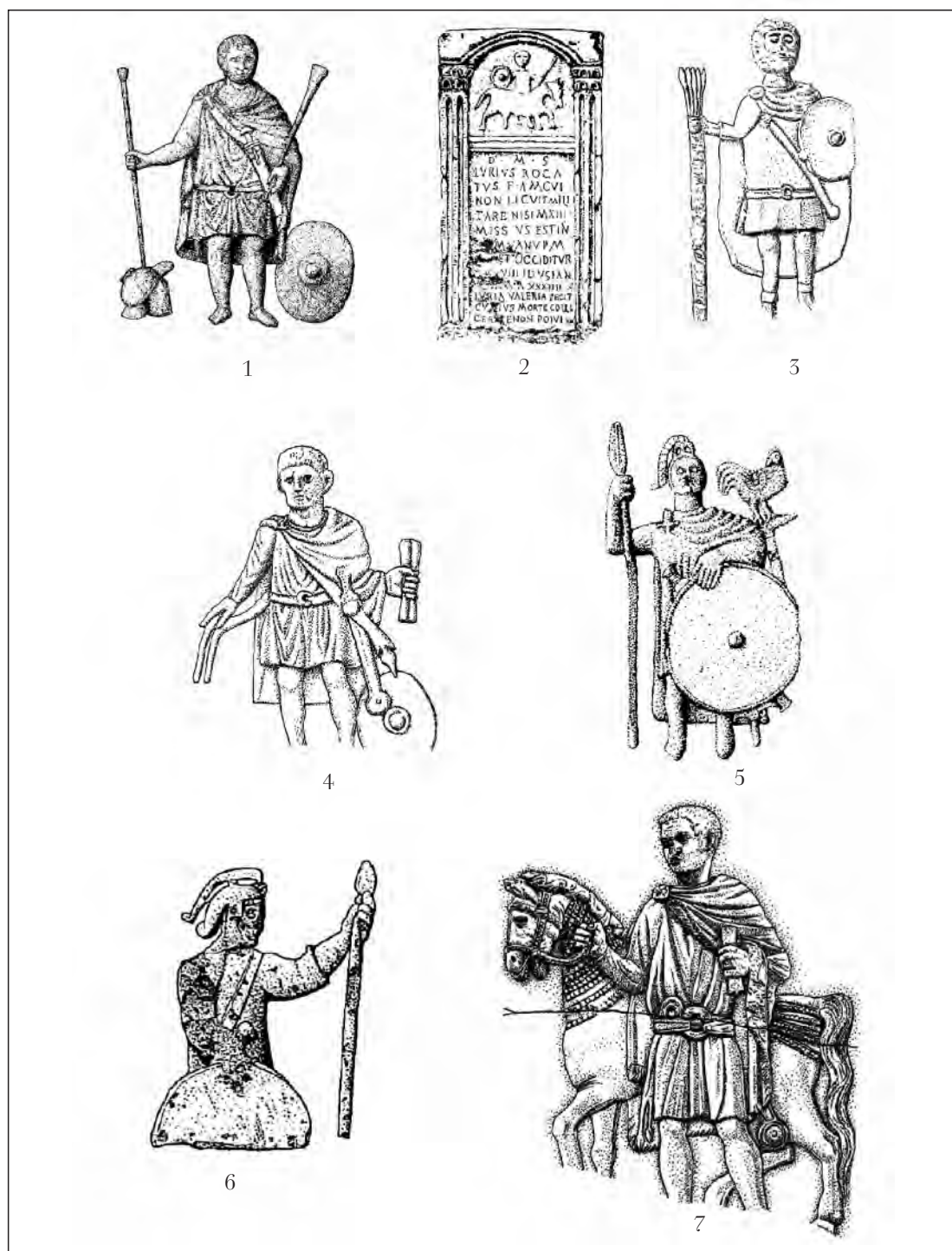
Pl. II. 1–3, 6. Illustrations of helmets on funerary monuments: 1. Aurelius Surus, bucinator of the I Adiutrix legion, Istanbul (Ubl 2013, 361, Abb. 51); 2. tombstone from Brigetio (Ubl 2013, 361, Abb. 50); 3. M. Aur. Avitianus of legio I Adiutrix, Brigetio (Ubl 2013, 361, Abb. 46); 6. helmet from the sarcophagus of M. Aur. Valens, centurion of legio I Adiutrix, Brigetio (Ubl 2013, 361, Abb. 49); 4. Niederbieber type helmet from Friedberg (Bishop, Coulston 2006, 176, Fig. 113/1); 5. Hedderneheim helmet (Bishop, Coulston 2006, 177, Fig. 114/4); 7. The mode of attaching the face-piece to the Hedderneheim helmet (Robinson 1975, Figs. 130–132); 8. Detail from the monument of an eques of the ala II Pannoniorum from Gherla (Piso 2013, 46, Fig. 10/a); 9. Monument with armed cavalryman from Gherla (Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, Pl. XXVIII/5).



Pl. III. Rider monument from Apulum (drawing © M. Gui).



Pl. IV. The rider monument from Apulum. 1. Photo © O. and F. Harl (Lupa no. 19234, © National Museum of Unification at Alba Iulia); 2-3. Right side and top (photos © M. Gui, © National Museum of Unification at Alba Iulia).



Pl. V. Soldier representations on tombstones: 1. Aurelius Surus bucinator, Istanbul (Bishop, Coulston 2006, 189, Fig. 123/2); 2. An eques from Portus Magnus (Speidel 1993, 124, Fig. 2); 3. Aur. Mucianus, discens lanchairium of legio II Parthica (James 2004, 45, Fig. 25/F); 4. Soldier from Herakleia-Perinthos (James 2004, 44, Fig. 24/E); 5. Lepontius from Strasbourg (Bishop, Coulston 2006, 209, Fig. 133/1); 6. Soldier from Linz (Coulston 1991, 143, Fig. 3); 7. Probably a horseman of the equites singulares in Rome (James 2004, 63, Fig. 32/C).

A NEW INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED IN THE APULUM LEGIONARY FORTRESS*

RADU OTA, FLORIAN MATEI-POPESCU, CRISTIAN TITUS FLORESCU

Abstract: A newly discovered inscription during the rescue excavations within the fortress of the XIII Gemina legion at Apulum is published here. The marble slab was probably set by the members of a religious *collegium* (or of a *collegium veteranorum*?) that contributed everyone with one hundred *denarii* to build something inside the fortress during the Severan period. Two of the contributors were former soldiers of the legion, while the third was somehow connected with the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium Septimium Apulense*.

Keywords: Apulum; legionary fortress; *strator*; *immunis*; *collegium fabrum*; *municipium Septimium Apulense*.

Rezumat: O inscripție descoperită în cursul unor săpături arheologice de salvare în castrul legiunii XIII Gemina de la Apulum este publicată cu această ocazie. Este vorba despre o placă de marmură, așezată de membrii unui colegiu, probabil religios (sau ai unui *collegium veteranorum*?), care au contribuit fiecare cu o sută de denari ca să construiască ceva în interiorul castrului în epoca Severilor. Doi dintre contributori fuseseră soldați ai legiunii, în timp ce al treilea va fi avut legătură cu *collegium fabrum* al municipiului *Septimium Apulense*.

Cuvinte cheie: Apulum; castrul legionary; *strator*; *immunis*; *collegium fabrum*; *municipium Septimium Apulense*.

During the rescue excavations carried out in 2017 in the Apulum legionary fortress a fragmentary inscription has been brought to light. Although only few letters are preserved, the new inscription allow us gain fresh insights in the everyday life of the soldiers in Apulum, in the second half of the 2nd century or in the first half of the 3rd century.¹

The excavation was carried on the Mitropolit Alexandru Șterca-Șuluțiu Str., no. 1, in Alba Iulia (Pl. I/1). During the Roman period in that area the *retentura sinistra* of the fortress was located, next to the *via principalis*. Slightly to the East, the building of the former Academic College founded by Gabriel Bethlen is located, nowadays the headquarters of a military regiment. To the south, the building of the former Catholic

* We thank Ioan Piso and Constantin C. Petolescu for discussions and suggestions.

¹ The fortress of the XIII Gemina legion covered approximately 21 ha, but the exact dimensions are not known, since it is almost completely overlapped by the modern town. It is located on the third terrace of the Mureș river, in the nearby of the mouths of the tributary Ampoi river. Apulum was situated in important strategic area, in the middle of the province, wherefrom the gold and salt exploitations could have been defended. Some parts of the fortress have been unveiled, such as *porta principalis dextra* (the South gate), barack-blocks, sewed system and parts of the headquarters building (*principia*). It was assumed that an early wooden phases of the fortress must have been into place, but the issue is still controversial. See Anghel 1975, 268, Fig. 7-9; Rusu 1979, 53; Heitel 1985, 215-231; Moga 1998, 46-47; Moga 1999; Moga et alii 2006-2007, 177-184; Marcu Istrate 2008; Gudea et alii 2015, 233-241; Ota, Florescu 2016, 205-234; Ota, Florescu 2017, 329-340.

Upper Gymnasium is situated, nowadays the building A of the “1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia. During the above mentioned excavations archaeological features dated to several periods were uncovered: early Roman, post-Roman, Early Middle Ages, Late Middle Ages, premodern and modern periods. To the early Roman period belong some building structures, parts of floors, made using the *cocciopesto* technique and rubbish pits (Pl. I/2).

In the section S8, square 2, at 1.40 m deep, into a premodern pit (16th-17th century) a fragment of a marble slab was uncovered. The type of marble seems to indicate that it comes from the Bucova quarries, the most important marble quarries of the Dacian provinces.² In the same trench, towards the eastern edge, a Roman wall made using the *opus incertum* technique was unveiled, badly damaged by the medieval and modern dwellings (Z55). The discovery context does not help us, since the inscription was discovered, as we already mentioned in premodern pit. The plan of the Roman building structures uncovered during the excavation does not provide us clear indication of the function of the building in the *latera praetorii*, left to the headquarters³ (Pl. II/1). The medieval and modern dwellings destroyed the previous Roman layers.

Fragment of a marble slab, broken on all sides; there are clear traces of *ordinatio*; ligature in the third line: A+B; dimensions: height: 22 cm; width 15 cm; thickness: 2.5 cm; height of letters 1.8-2.2 cm (Pl. II/2). The letters are carefully and elegantly cut. Three lines from a larger inscription are preserved as follows (in the second line there is a space left, which could let us believe that on the right there was another column):

[---]
 [--- e]x immu[n(e) (denariorum) C]
 [---] ex strator(e) (denariorum) C vac.
 [---] et fabr(um) (denariorum) C
 [---]

From the few preserved letters is clear that the fragment belongs to a list of a subscription. Two of the persons who contributed were former soldiers, among the *principales* of the XIII Gemina legion, an *immunis* and a *strator consularis*. The reading of the third line is not clear enough. The abbreviation *FABR* is typical for *faber*, especially in the plural genitive form *fabrum* (*praefectus fabrum*, *collegium fabrum*). In the front, the letter *T* is clearly preserved and the upper part of a letter which could have been the letter *E*, the reading being therefore *ET*. Before *E*, some upper parts of letter are to be seen, but it is impossible to read them (could belong to a *V* letter, but also to a *X* letter – a possible reading could be *[v]et(eranus) fabr(icae)*, but it is not elsewhere attested; there are only *fabricenses*, but by the end of the 3rd century and at the beginning of the 4th century). Since the common abbreviation for *praefectus* is *PRAEF*, the two letters must be read *et*, therefore a person that had a connection with the *fabri*: - - - *et fabr(um)*. One could think that the person, probably also a

² Müller, Piso, Schwaighofer, Benea 2012, 23-36.

³ For the internal planning of the Roman forts in Dacia province see Marcu 2009.

former soldier, was also member of the *collegium fabrum* and of another *collegium*: [*ex - - coll(egiorum) ---]et fabr(um)*. Taking into account the discovery spot, we can think that the person had been member of the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium Septimium Apulense*, located in the direct proximity of the legionary fortress. At Apulum, there are attested a *mater coll(egiorum) fabr(um) et cent(onariorum)*⁴ and a *patronus collegior(um) fabr(um) centonar(iorum) et nautar(um)*, the famous *P. Aelius Strenuus, conductor pascui et salinarum*,⁵ but both are related with the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis* and not with *municipium Septimium Apulense*. Nevertheless, the *collegium fabrum municipii Septimi Apulensis* is also attested: an *augustalis m(unicipii) S(eptimi) A(puli)*, *T. Flavius Flavianus*, was also *decurio collegii fabrum* of the same *municipium*⁶ and *C. Iulius Valentinus* is attested as *patronus* of the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium Septimium Apulense*.⁷

One of the contributors was a former *strator*, *ex strator(e)*, of the governor of the *tres Daciae*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore trium Daciarum*.⁸ This assumption seems to be strongly supported by the discovery of a brick stamp of the *ped(ites) [sing(ulares)]* in the same area of the fortress.⁹ The *stratores* were part of the *officium* of the governor, being in charge with different kind of tasks.¹⁰ Nevertheless, since the inscription was found within the legionary fortress one should think that it could be likely related with *legatus legionis*, therefore *strator legati legionis*.¹¹ The missing of the mention that he was *strator* of the governor (*strator consularis*), strongly back up this assumption. If so, it is also possible that the *pedites singulares* have been part of the guard of the *legatus legionis*.

Other five *stratores* are attested at Apulum (*C. Silius Crispinus*,¹² *Aurelius Mucianus*,¹³ *M. Ulpius Respectus*,¹⁴ *Tertius Iustus*,¹⁵ and *Iulius*, possible *Ael(ius) Ma[---]*¹⁶) and the *stratores* as a group setting an altar for the good health of the governor *G. C(- -) Hasta*.¹⁷ All the inscriptions mentioning the *stratores* in Apulum date after AD 168, with only one exception, an inscription which can be dated under Antoninus Pius, when *L. Iulius Proculus* was the governor of the Dacia superior province between 153-156/157 (interesting enough, just like in our case, he was not

⁴ CIL III 1207 = IDR III/5, 483.

⁵ CIL III 1209 = ILS 7147 = IDR III/5, 443.

⁶ CIL III 1082 = IDR III/5, 203.

⁷ CIL III 1083 = ILS 7143 = IDR III/5, 204.

⁸ Piso 1993, 82-93.

⁹ IDR III/6, 275.

¹⁰ von Domaszewski 1967, 35, no. 8 (see also CIL III 10315, *strator officii consularis* and AE 1959, 12, *strator officii eius* scil. *proconsulis provinciae Asiae*); Cupcea 2014, 21-22, 27. They were part of the *immunes* (*Digestae* 50, 6, 7).

¹¹ von Domaszewski 1967, 39, no. 23. See also *mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)*, *strator leg(ati)* (IMS IV 85, Horreum Margi), *strator leg(ati) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminiae) Severianae* (CIL III 11108, Carnuntum), *strator leg(ati) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)* (AE 1991, 1474, Amaseia) and *strator leg(ati) leg(ionis) II Parthicae* (AE 1971, 461 = 1993, 1586, Apamea ad Orontem).

¹² IDR III/5, 166.

¹³ IDR III/5, 383.

¹⁴ IDR III/5, 61, 180.

¹⁵ AE 2007, 1198.

¹⁶ AE 2007, 1198. The reading was suggested by Dan Dana, to whom we thank.

¹⁷ IDR III/5, 137.

strator consularis but *strato(r) / L(uci) Iu[l]li Procu/li [l]eg(ati) Au[g(usti)] pr(o) / pr(aetore)*).¹⁸

The other was a former *immunis* of the legion. Other three *immunes* are attested, one in Apulum¹⁹ and two at Micia.²⁰

The three persons were part of a larger *collegium*, probably a religious one (or a *collegium veteranorum*?), and they contributed to build something inside the legionary fortress, taking into account the discovery place and the form of the stone, a marble slab set probably on a wall. Although there are no direct information for the dating of the inscription, based on the entire above discussion we assume that it was set sometime during the Severan period. If they were members of a *collegium veteranorum*, an assumption back up by the very presence within the legionary fortress, it would have been one of the latest attestations across the Roman Empire from the chronological point of view.

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¹⁸ IDR III/5, 166. See also Piso 1993, 65–66, no. 15.

¹⁹ CIL III 1189 = IDR III/5, 453.

²⁰ CIL III 12565 = IDR III/3, 39; AE 2007, 1198.

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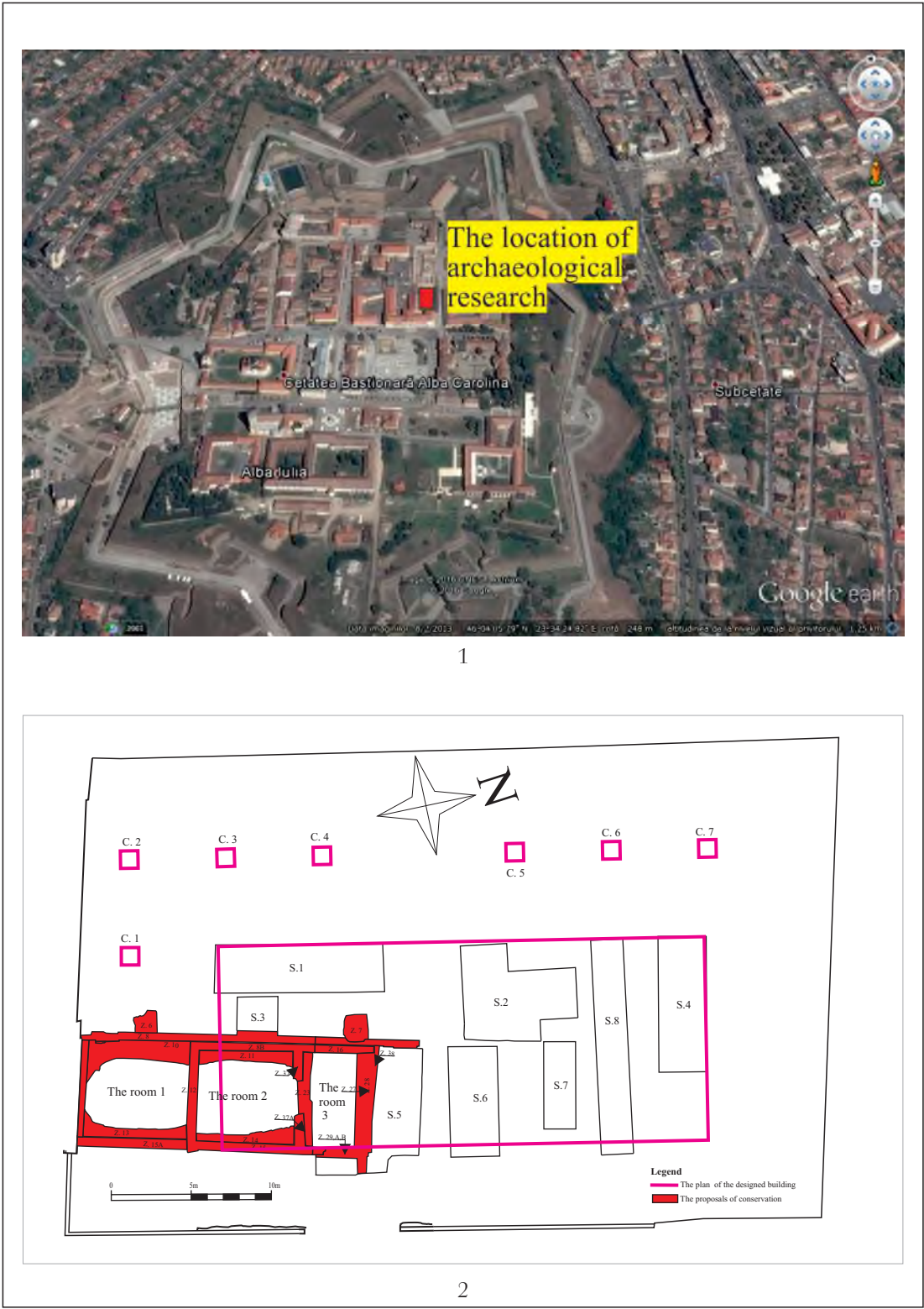
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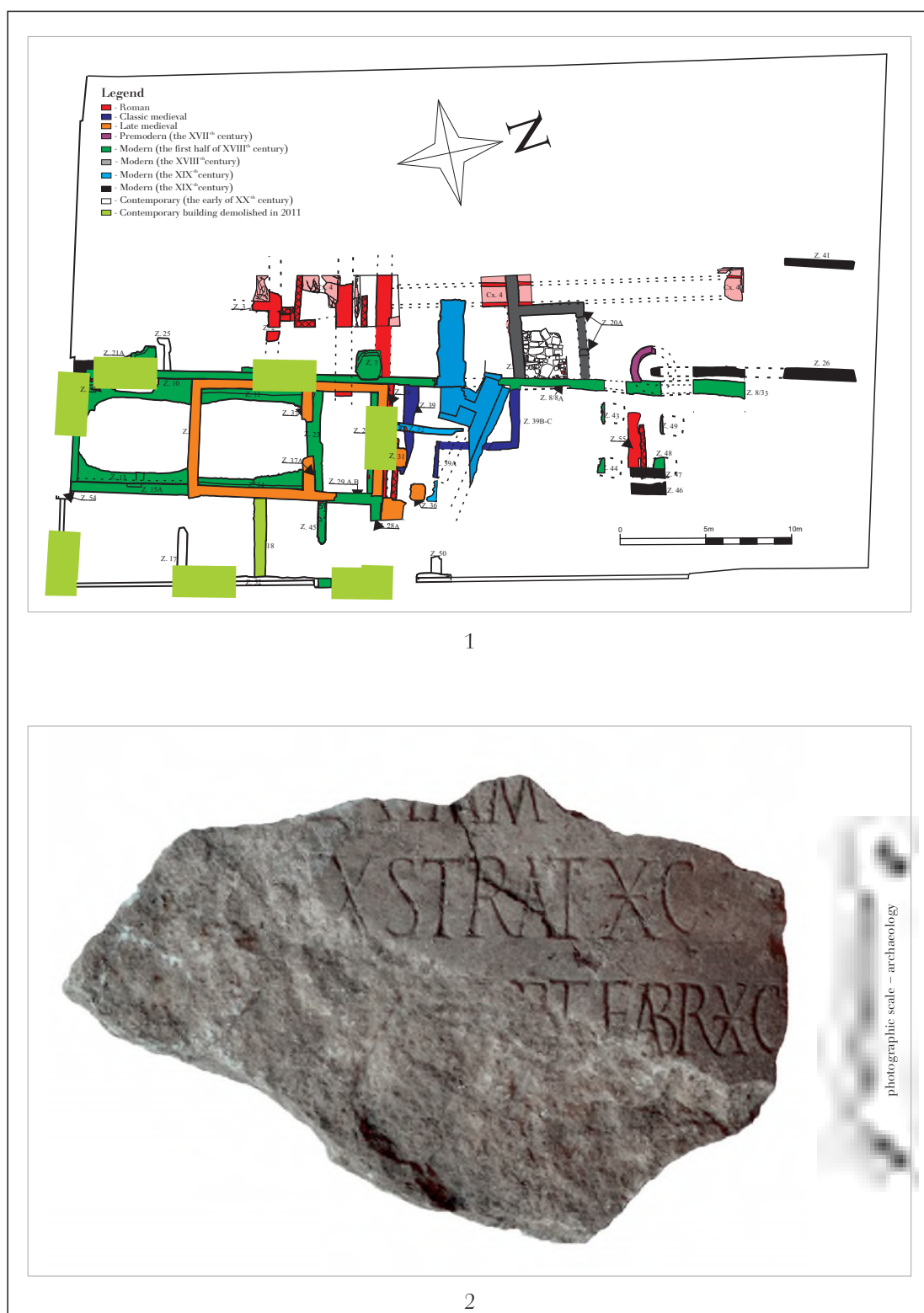
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Pl. I. 1. Location of the archaeological research; 2. Plan of the archaeological research.



Pl. II. 1. Detailed plan of the archaeological remains; **2.** The inscription discovered in the fortress of the XIII Gemina legion at Apulum.

FORUM PROVINCIAE IN SARMIZEGETUSA

SZABÓ ÁDÁM

Abstract: L. F. Marsigli represented three archaeological structures on the map of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, made in 1699 and published in 1726 – the city walls, the amphitheatre and a rectangular, double-walled building which encloses an empty space, and which has a square-shaped niche on one side (Pl. I/2). The map, compared in scale to the results of archaeological excavations and geophysical surveys shows an exact match with the currently known groundplan of the city wall, its northeastern corner and the amphitheatre. The third building may be identified as the centre of the provincial assembly (*concilium provinciae*)¹ and the provincial imperial cult, namely the *forum provinciae*, that was situated within the territory of the *Area sacra* (Pl. I/1; Pl. II), approximately 20 metres to the northwest from the location given by Marsigli. The two textual fragments previously found in the area also support the assessment of the structure of *forum provinciae*.

The dislocation of the third building on the map was presumably due to misprinting or Marsigli's field error. Today, the area is still unexplored, only future archeological excavations can justify or refute the exact characteristics, structure and periodisation of the third building depicted on Marsigli's map.

Keywords: Roman Empire; *forum provinciae*; provincial assembly; imperial cult; provincial cult; *Area sacra*; *porticus*; Marsigli; Dacia; Sarmizegetusa.

Rezumat: Pe harta coloniei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa realizată în 1699 și publicată în 1726, L. F. Marsigli a reprezentat trei structuri arheologice – zidurile orașului, amfiteatrul și o clădire dreptunghiulară, cu pereți dubli, care închide un spațiu gol și care prezintă pe o latură un patrat în formă de nișă (Pl. I/2). Harta, comparată în raport cu rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice și geofizice, arată o potrivire exactă cu planul actual cunoscut al zidului orașului, colțul din nord-est și amfiteatrul. Cea de-a treia clădire poate fi identificată drept centrul adunării provinciale (*concilium provinciae*) și al cultului imperial provincial, respectiv forumul provinciei, situat pe teritoriul zonei sacre (Pl. I/1; Pl. II), la aproximativ 20 de metri nord-vest de locația dată de Marsigli. Cele două inscripții găsite anterior în zonă susțin, de asemenea, ipoteza existenței construcției forului provincial.

Dislocarea celei de-a treia clădiri de pe hartă se datorează probabil unei erori de tipar ori unei greșeli făcute de Marsigli pe teren. Astăzi zona este încă necercetată, numai săpăturile arheologice viitoare putând confirma sau respinge ideile privind caracteristicile, structura și datarea exactă a celei de-a treia clădiri reprezentate pe harta lui Marsigli.

Cuvinte cheie: Imperiul roman; *forum provinciae*; adunare provincială; cult imperial; cult provincial; *Area sacra*; *porticus*; Marsigli; Dacia; Sarmizegetusa.

Introduction

The main idea of the following article was published in Hungarian in 2004 in the 129th volume of the journal *Archaeologiai Értesítő*. However, there are several reasons for starting a new thread in this topic. On the one hand, I had the opportunity to study the original version of the starting point in details: a map by L. F. Marsigli

¹ For the institution see Edelmann-Singer 2015.

(Marsigli 1726, Tom II, Tab. 24, Fig. XXXIII), which is slightly different from the previously used redrawn version, and allowed more accurate measurements. On the other hand, despite the fact that Marsigli usually provided reliable and accurate data, results of the interpretation of the map have hardly been represented in the scientific literature so far.² Third, the former, partial archeological research has recently been supplemented by geophysical surveys³ in the relevant part of the *Area sacra* in Sarmizegetusa, to which Marsigli's drawing had to be compared. Despite the importance of the area in question, it has not been excavated yet, so I would like to draw attention to this need as well. The exploration must be extremely careful as the structure well-seen and surveyed by Marsigli in 1699, published in 1726, definitely had not survived until 1775, when S. J. Hohenhausen published his own surveys. Thus, the ruin was presumably destroyed in the first half of the 18th century. Of the structures recorded by Marsigli some parts of the city walls and the amphitheatre were obviously seen by Hohenhausen as well, but not a building on a square layout, equipped with a square-shaped niche on its northern side. Although the area inside the city walls was marked by Marsigli as covered by ruins („*Murorum rudерibus omnia intus plena*”), he did not record any layouts, probably because he could not recognize any architectural structure on the field. Apart from the amphitheatre, a single object was recorded north of the city walls. Hohenhausen later not only saw the city walls and the amphitheatre, but also recognized several buildings or rather *insulae* within the city, some of which he interpreted by drawing. Likewise, to the south and north of the city, he recorded buildings that have not yet been identified or discovered. Hohenhausen also depicted some of the buildings known today within the territory of the *Area sacra* (Pl. I/1; Pl. II), north of the city. His map therefore provides far more details on the structures visible on the surface than Marsigli's. This is probably due to the changes in the superficies in the 18th century. In the first half of the century, local people started to mine the ruins for stone, redounding the emergence of former structures as well. In the course of this, the stone material of well-percieved buildings could have been excavated first, like the majority of the city walls. This is suggested by the fact that while Marsigli could identify every wall section, Hohenhausen did not see any of the western wall, only a short section of the northern wall, while he indicated only the lack (or the ditch) of the southern wall.

This is how the building depicted only by Marsigli in the *Area sacra* (Pl. I/2, c-d) could have been demolished as well. Presumably, most of the standing walls of the amphitheatre had a similar fate, however, Marsigli depicted them quite tall. Today, that is to say, only the foundations or at least the foundation ditches could have survived of the building seen by Marsigli within the *Area sacra*. However, the absence of visible walls and excavations does not mean that there was no building at all where Marsigli had depicted it.

² Mentioned by Boda 2015, p. 295.

³ Fiedler, Höpken 2010, 327–341, especially 334.

The map

Count L. F. Marsigli, otherwise A. F. Marsili (1658–1730), a general and engineer born in Bologna, visited the Principality of Transylvania in the 1690s.⁴ During this time, he prepared the first Modern Age map of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa,⁵ based on the piles of ruins, still covered with natural vegetation. With a simple line, he depicted the square of the wall surrounding the city nucleus, the amphitheatre situated north of the city and the plan of a square-shaped building, located east of it (Pl. I/2).⁶ He also marked the height (measured from the ground) and width of the structures (Pl. I/2, a-b, c-d, e-f). Among the structures on Marsigli's drawing, the amphitheatre and the city wall are still visible today, in fully or partially uncovered condition. The third building (c-d) is neither identified nor excavated. Researchers have scarcely taken notice of it, insomuch as it is still not included in the city maps. This may partly be due to the difficulty of converting Marsigli's scale to metres. Length scales were given by him as „(0)–50–100–200 *Passus simplices gradientis viri*”, the interpretation and metric conversion of which makes the map more valuable.

The scale

The passus may be understood as a single walking step. This interpretation has made the map uninterpretable so far, since the given distances are much shorter than the measurable reality. Marsigli, however, used the term passus as a unit of measurement, just as it was applied from the Roman Age to modernity. If we take Marsigli's passus as a double step, his map becomes reasonable. One Roman Age passus is 1,478 metres,⁷ rounded to about 150 centimetres, that is, a double step of a ca. 160–170 cm tall man. In Marsigli's era (17th/18th century), many different linear measurement units were in use in the territory of the Habsburg Empire, including several single and double steps.⁸ The latter was called a passus in that era as well. Marsigli's visit at the ruins was unofficial. When capturing the remains of the Roman city, he applied an originally Roman unit of measurement easy to use in the field without either equipment or personnel: the passus. Although he knew the size of the original Roman passus and the exact length of all steps and double steps of his age, he probably did not use any of these measurement units. That is why he marked the scale with the passus, e.g. the double steps of a simple man, thus using a relative, rather than a fixed size. The dimensions of the three structures shown on Marsigli's map (Pl. I/2) are as follows (calculated from the outer edges of the displayed walls):

- The north-south section of the city walls (a-b) is 259 passuses long, the east-west section is 300 passuses long;

⁴ For his biography, see e.g. Longhena 1930; for his Transylvanian journey see Adameşteanu 1942. For boundary markings under the direction of Marsigli after the peace of Karlowitz (1699), in addition to his own work, see Gherardi 1986.

⁵ Cf. Daicoviciu 1974, 610–655; Daicoviciu, Alicu 1984; Alicu, Paki 1995; Étienne, Piso, Diaconescu 1990, 273–296; Marcu, Cupcea 2011, 543–560 etc. with former literature.

⁶ Marsili 1726, Tom. II, Tab. 24, Fig. XXXIII.

⁷ RE XVIII, 3, 1949, s.v. *Passus*, 2099 (Becher); Walser 1983, 30.

⁸ In summary, see Bogdán 1990, 34, 568–570.

- The north-south cross section of the amphitheatre (e-f) measured between the external edges is 34 passuses long, the east-west longitudinal axis is 46 passuses long;
- The north-south and the east-west axes of the third building (c-d) are equally 34 passuses long.

Between the south edge of the amphitheatre and the north wall of the city, as well as between the north wall of the city and the south wall of the third building, 53–53 passuses were measured. 20 passuses were measured between the east gate of the amphitheatre and the west wall of the third building.

In order to find out what distance in metres has the passus covered in Marsigli's system, we need to compare it with the size of his depicted structures that are still visible and measurable *in situ*. These are the length and width dimensions of the city walls and the amphitheatre, and the distance between the northern city wall and the amphitheatre. According to more recent maps,⁹ these dimensions are: east-west sections of the city wall are ca. 620 metres long, north-south walls are ca. 520 metres long. The distance between the city wall and the amphitheatre is about 110 metres. The amphitheatre is ca. 88–89 metres long and ca. 69 metres wide.¹⁰

The man whose steps covers a distance of a Roman passus, namely ca. 150 cm, is probably 160–170 cm tall. The step of a 170–180-centimetre-tall man from one shoe's heel to the other's point is between 70–90 cm, i.e. his double step – his passus – is ca. 160 cm long.¹¹ The steps of a 180–190-centimetre-tall man are 90–110 cm long, thus his passus averages ca. 200 cm.¹²

If we compare Marsigli's scale to the currently measurable data on site we can conclude that his passuses are equivalent to the double steps of a relatively high man, namely 200 centimetres. So, 1 passus by Marsigli corresponds to (or approximates) 2 metres. According to the text of the map, he did not estimate but actually walked the distances himself. According to his rider portrait, he was a tall man indeed, thus having a two-metre long passus is quite realistic.¹³ Probably his steps were not exactly equal, therefore the sizes are generally approximate. Differences in size vary due to the larger widths of the smaller or larger piles of ruins covered by grass, and the distortions of small-size, comparable maps between each other. In the followings, I will calculate with the 200 centimetre long passus. Converting Marsigli's passus to metres we get the following data:

- The length of the north-south section of the city walls (a-b) is 518 metres, the length of the east-west section is 600 metres;
- The north-south cross section of the amphitheatre (e-f) measured between the external edges is 68 metres long, the east-west longitudinal axis is 92 metres long;

⁹ Cf. the following maps: Daicoviciu, Daicoviciu 1962, Pl. I.; IDR, III/2, 16, Fig. 2; Piso, Diaconescu 1985–1986, 163, Fig. 1; Alicu et alii 1994, 472, Pl. I; Alicu 1997, 75, Fig. 31; Ardevan 1998, 618, Fig. 7; Étienne, Piso, Diaconescu 1990, 275, Abb. 2, Nr. 4. I am grateful to C. Găzdac for letting me study a map included in his paper in press.

¹⁰ Alicu 1997, 123–125.

¹¹ Based on the double step – passus – of E. Tóth (HNM).

¹² Based on the double step – passus – of Á. Szabó (HNM).

¹³ See the painting of A. Zanchi and A. Calza about Marsigli on horseback (Museo Marsiliano dell'Università Bologna).

- The north-south and the east-west axes of the third building (c-d) are 68 metres long.

The distance between the southern edge of the amphitheatre and the northern city wall is 106 metres, as well as the distance between the northern city wall and the south wall of the third building. The distance between the east gate of the amphitheatre and the west wall of the third building is 40 metres.

Five of Marsigli's measurements and the topographic relations between two of the represented structures could be verified this way. Based on these calculations, we can accept the dimensional and topographic definitions of the entire map as well, within a few meters of possible margin of error.

Not only the comparison of the scale conversion shows a high degree of consistency between Marsigli's map and excavation results. If we bring the current layout and Marsigli's drawing to the same size (Pl. II), only a slight topographic deviation can be detected concerning the third building, which may derive from an editing or printing error - if not Marsigli's on-site mapping mistake. In reality, the third building may be located 20-21 metres farther to the northwest, as suggested by the free space left by the borders of the currently identified structures (Pl. II)

The layout of the third building

Next to the city walls and the amphitheatre, the third layout on Marsigli's map represents a square-shaped building. Marsigli depicted a thicker wall on the outside and a thinner one on the inside, running parallel to each other. In its middle third, the northern side of the building is equipped with a square-shaped niche, extending south. The size of the niche is one third of the length of the side wall. Compared to the northern city wall, the south wall of the building is roughly in line with the southern tangent of the amphitheatre, while its northern wall aligns with the northern tangent of the amphitheatre's arena.

The sides of the building are 33-34 passuses, i.e. ca. 66-68 metres long. The estimation is based on the drawing, which in reality may alter with one or two metres on both sides, due to the thickness of the pile of the ruins (cf. Pl. I/2, c-d). The drawer depicted a square-shaped niche that is 11-12 passuses, i.e. ca. 22-23 meters long and wide.

Marsigli's measures of the city walls, the amphitheatre and the distance between them is consistent with or at least very close to the dimensions of recent groundplans (Pl. II). This makes Marsigli's survey credible. Thus, the third building has to be located where it was drawn and has to measure the same dimensions as depicted - within all of possible margins of error. However, it has to be taken into account that the wider the original structure was, the larger pile of ruin it had. The ruins of the amphitheatre consisting of an 11-metre-thick and an originally much higher wall structure could have occupied a much larger area than the currently measurable, excavated walls. The phenomenon is well illustrated by the unexplored amphitheatres.¹⁴ What is more,

¹⁴ Cf. Frere, St. Joseph 1983, 159-160, the aerial photographs of the remains of Cirencester and Dorchester amphitheatre, 118-119, 143 etc. there shows Roman age fortifications covered with grass. The piles seen by Marsigli could not differ much of these.

we do not know the references of Marsigli's measurements. For such a huge pile, the currently measurable centers and edges of the walls may be a few metres shorter in reality. Thus, the real distance measured from the edge of the structure may exceed 20 passuses, i.e. 40 metres. The same can be applied to the walls of the building east of the amphitheatre.

Thickness of the walls

The dimensions of the third building are approaching the measures of the *forum vetus* of Sarmizegetusa,¹⁵ it remains barely behind the latter in length and width. Marsigli noted the height and thickness of the piles covering the ruins as well (Pl. I/2, a-b, c-d, e-f). By comparing the thickness of known walls to the length measurements, it can be stated that the passus scale does not apply to these depictions. On the other hand, it is beyond doubt that he scaled somehow the cross sections of the piles as well, which is obvious if we compare them to each other. The tallest and thickest is the pile of the wall structure of the amphitheatre. The wall structure of the amphitheatre is 11 metres thick altogether,¹⁶ the pile of course had to be larger. The pile of the 1.8-metre-thick city wall¹⁷ is much narrower than the amphitheatre's, the difference in their dimensions is clearly visible in the drawing. The drawer must have had a better insight into the extensions and the cross sections of these thinner walls, so perhaps he could estimate their measures more accurately. The cross section of the wall structure of the third building consists of two parts: an outer, narrow one and an inner, wide one (Pl. I/2, c-d). This is indicated by Marsigli on the south side of the building. According to the plan view the inner wall was thinner, which means that either he or the print designer was mistaken. It is more likely that the outer wall was thicker. The wall structure of the third building was thus formed by two walls parallel to each other, at least close to the foundation level. The joint cross-section of the two walls is almost as thick as the pile of the amphitheatre. If the latter heap covered an 11-metre-thick ruin, then the two walls of the third building, together with the space between them, must have been 7–7.5 metres thick. As the outer, thicker wall approximates the measures of the 180-centimetre-thick city wall, it can be assumed that it was originally at least 90–120 centimetres thick. The inner wall is narrower and, according to the comparisons so far, its thickness approximates 4 Roman feet, i.e. 60–80 centimetres. The space between the two walls is ca. 4.5–5 metres. This also corresponds to the calculated passus / metre ratios.

The *Area sacra*

The *Area sacra* is located to the north of the city and to the east of the amphitheatre (Pl. I/1; Pl. II). Several archaeological excavations and geophysical surveys were carried out here in the 19th–20th centuries. As a result, some of the sacral buildings, temples and shrines of the enclosed area, altogether 14 structures have become known

¹⁵ In summary, see Piso, Diaconescu 1985–1986, 161–183; Étienne, Piso, Diaconescu 1990, 273–296; Piso, Diaconescu 1999, 125–137, Fig. 1; Piso 2006.

¹⁶ Daicoviciu, Daicoviciu 1962, 53.

¹⁷ Daicoviciu, Daicoviciu 1962, 42.

so far.¹⁸ Based on the demolition layers and ground plans of buildings with the same purpose, some of the uncovered and reconstructed objects, as well as the enclosure wall of the *Area sacra* was rebuilt after the Marcomannic Wars¹⁹.

The third building and the *Area sacra*

According to Marsigli's drawing, the north-south oriented west wall of the third building is situated 20 passuses, i.e. about 40 metres to the east from the east gate of the amphitheatre. The south wall of the building is located about 53 passuses, i.e. about 106 metres far from the city wall. The western section of the *Area sacra*'s enclosure wall is located about 48–50 metres from the eastern gate of the amphitheatre, the distance changes within this difference per map. The latter represent the excavated reality, namely the wall-to-wall distance, which Marsigli had no opportunity to measure. The earth heaps covering the ruins were certainly wider than the actual wall thicknesses. The differences between the dimensions of Marsigli's map and the currently measurable data can be attributed to the size of the ruin piles, the inconsistency of the passuses, printing transformations or possible edits. Of course, Marsigli could also have made mistakes with depicting the phenomena, or with determining his own measurement direction and points of reference.

Based on the above, the third building mapped by Marsigli must have been located in the currently empty, southwestern part of the *Area sacra*, to the southwest of the Asklepieion or the Gallo-Roman sanctuary district. As a standalone building, its western wall could not be detached to the city wall, but it could be situated directly adjacent to and relatively close to it. To the southeast of its presumed southeast corner, a square-shaped structure has recently been identified, which is believed to be the foundation of a large pedestal.²⁰

According to the scaled comparison of the excavated features and the map made by Marsigli, the third building can actually be located approximately 20–21 metres northeast of where it was depicted (see Pl. II). On the aerial photograph of the given part of the *Area sacra*, a discoloration of vegetation in a single line can be seen (Pl. I/1).

The characteristics of the building

Due to its large area and structure, the third building (Pl. I/2, c-d) cannot be identified as an *aedes*. In terms of its size, square shape and dual wall structure, it can be interpreted as a space surrounded by a *porticus*, resembling a *forum*. The inner, narrow base walls could have supported the columns that carry the weight of a sloping roof. The niche that breaks the line of the north wall could be the center of the building, surrounded by the courtyard on three sides. The orientation of the building is south-north, similarly to the sanctuary buildings within the *Area sacra*.

¹⁸ Cf. Mărghită, Petolescu 1976, 84–86; Alicu 1978, 173–177; IDR, III/2, 241; Piso, Diaconescu 1985–1986, 182, n. 133; Alicu 1994, 70–72; Daicoviciu et alii 1994, 434–437; Alicu et alii 1994, 461–468; Ardevan 1998, 513–514, Fig. 7, 618, Fig. 7; Alicu, Rusu-Pescaru 2000, 32–42, 52–58, 61–65, 104–109, 111–112, 114–122; Fiedler, Höpken 2010, 327–341, especially 334; Boda 2015, 281–314.

¹⁹ Cf. Daicoviciu, Piso 1975, 159–164; Alicu 1994, 70–72; Alicu, Rusu-Pescaru 2000, as cited.

²⁰ Fiedler, Höpken 2010, 334, no. 10.

The function of the building

The fragments of two marble inscriptions were found in the southwestern part of the *Area sacra*. One of them is a tablet attached to the front of a statue platform, which was dedicated to an unknown deity and the Genius of the three Dacia by P. Aelius Antipater *sacerdos Arae Augusti*.²¹ The other is a fragment of a community and magistrate vow, so-called *votorum carmen* made during a solemn occasion.²² Based on the two inscriptions, Ioan Piso assumed that the empty space was originally occupied by the temple of the provincial Emperor's cult or the so-called third forum of Sarmizegetusa.²³ His suggestion was accepted by Radu Ardevan as well, referring to the possible existence of *Ara Augusti* instead of a temple in that given place.²⁴ However, the two statements do not exclude each other.

The statement of I. Piso is certainly correct as the center of the imperial cult could have been located nowhere else but within the *Area sacra*, situated outside the city walls, near the amphitheatre. According to the findplaces of the inscriptions, the location determined by him perfectly coincides with the structure depicted by Marsigli: a building that was erected in Roman times and was still visible in its ruins at the end of the 17th century. Based on its location and form, it is very likely that Marsigli had mapped the ruins of the centre of the Dacian provincial legislative assemblies and centre of the imperial cult, that is, the provincial forum (*forum provinciae*). The *Ara Augusti* itself, that appeared in the title of chief priests from the end of the 2nd century AD, was a separate building in close contact with the forum.²⁵ To verify this, only a couple of analogies can be found within the territory of European provinces. Centres of the imperial cult are archeologically known (in details or in a rather fragmentary way) from the following provinces: Hispania Tarraconensis and its centre, Tarraco;²⁶ Gallia Narbonensis and its centre, Narbo;²⁷ the three Gallia and their centre, Lugdunum;²⁸ Raetia and its centre, Cambodunum;²⁹ Noricum with its centre, Virunum;³⁰ Britannia with its centre, Camulodunum;³¹ Pannonia and Pannonia Superior with their centre, Savaria.³²

Based on its location and form, the just identified *forum provinciae* of Sarmizegetusa, which can be interpreted as a temple as well, is closely related to the well-known centres of provincial legislative assemblies and imperial cult.

²¹ IDR III/2, 217 = AE 1977, 689 = ILD 246 = Szabó 2007, 13–16 D5 / f.

²² IDR III/2, 241; Mărgăritan, Petolescu 1976, 84–86. Piso, Diaconescu 1985–1986, 182, n. 133.

²³ Piso, Diaconescu 1985–1986, 162, Fig 1, 182.

²⁴ Ardevan 1998, 513–514, Fig. 7, 618, Fig. 7.

²⁵ Cf. Ardevan 1998, 328–341; Szabó 2007, 222–235 with previous references.

²⁶ For a summary, see Étienne 1958, 370; Deininger 1965, 27–28, 121–123; For provincial chief priests see Alföldy 1973. For cult centers, see Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 39–40; Fishwick 1987, 150–157, 171–179; cf. TED'A 1989, 141–191.

²⁷ Gayraud 1969, 304–316; Fishwick 1987, 240–254; Lorenz 1987, 115, 129.

²⁸ Audin 1956, 149–159; Turcan 1982, 607–644; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 40–41; Fishwick 1987, 308–350; Lorenz 1987, 137–142; Süssenbach 1989, 73–96.

²⁹ Weber 1985, 230–232; Lorenz 1987, 129, 141, 144.

³⁰ Deininger 1965, 25–115; Fishwick 1987, 139–141; Lorenz 1987, 141, 146; Harl 1989, 521–598.

³¹ Deininger 1965, 111–112; Fishwick 1987, 195–213; Lorenz 1987, 129, 135–136, 162; Fishwick 1997, 31–50. Here, the Claudius temple originally located out of the city, was later “enclosed” by the settlement, as it is clearly visible on the layout.

³² Deininger 1965, 116–118; Tóth 2001, 5–33; Szabó 2003, 395–414.

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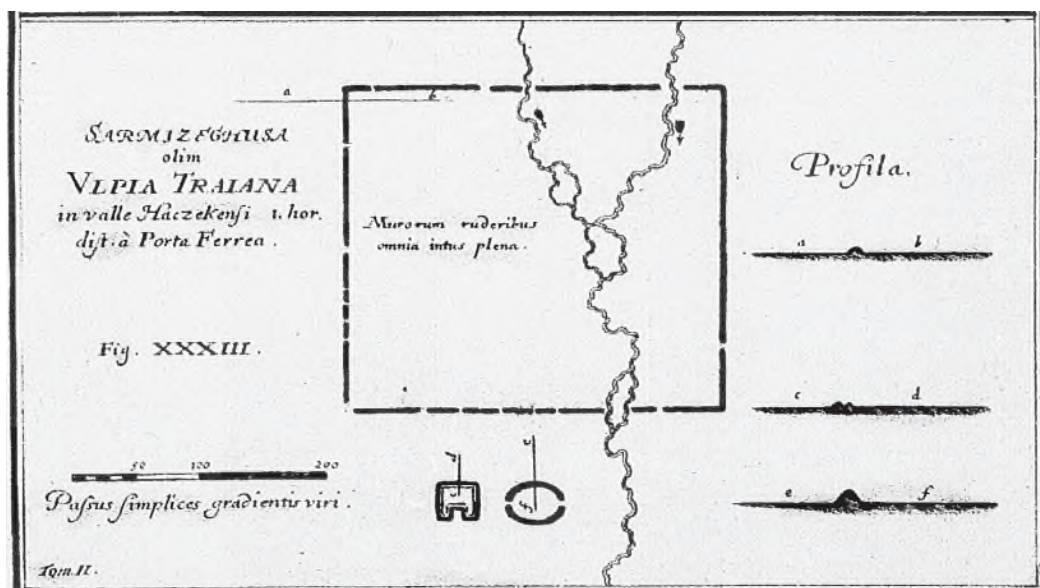
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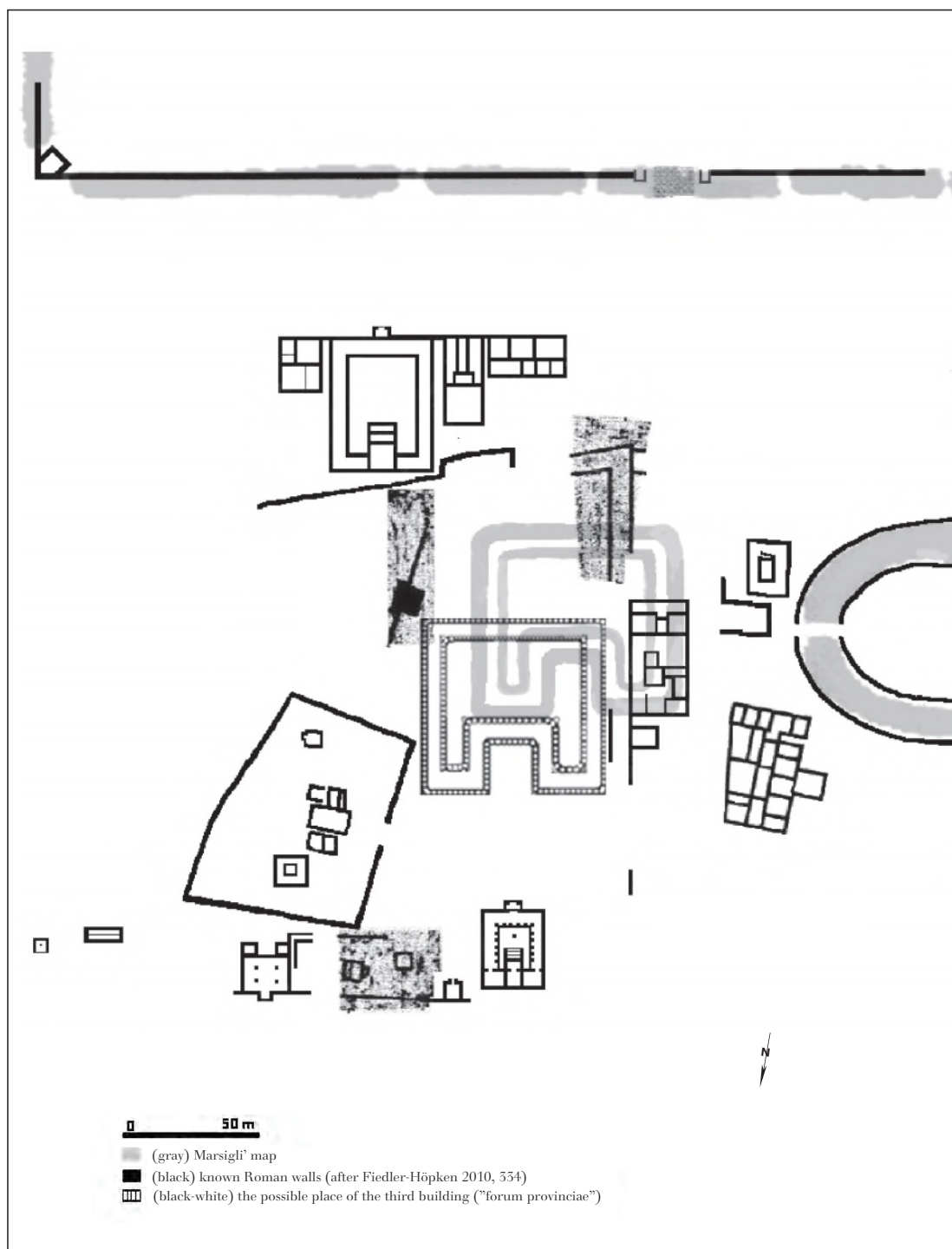


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Pl. I. 1. The *Area sacra* of Sarmizegetusa. Aerial photography, from the north (source: <https://rcrfcluj2018.mnit.roulpia-traiana-sarmizegetusa>); 2. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa on a drawing by L. F. Marsigli made in 1699, and published in 1726.



Pl. II. The topographic map of the amphitheatre and the *Area sacra* of Sarmizegetusa with buildings identified by archaeological excavations and geophysical survey, compared with Marsigli's map and the probable location of the *forum provinciae* (drawing Á. Szabó, after Marsigli 1726, Szabó 2004, and Fiedler, Höpken 2010). Black line: excavated or geophysically identified objects; light gray strip: details of Marsigli's drawing; dotted lines: the probable location of the *forum provinciae*.

SMALL FINDS FROM COLONIA DACICA SARMIZEGETUSA*

IRINA NEMETI

Abstract: The present article repertories a series of small Roman artifacts discovered by chance in the area of the municipality of Sarmizegetusa (Hunedoara County). The items are jewelry and dress accessories, toiletries, items of military equipment and harness, and items with utilitarian functions.

Keywords: Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa; jewelry; dress accessories; military equipment; utilitarian objects.

Rezumat: Articolul de față repertoriază o serie de artefacte romane mărunte descoperite întâmplător în aria comunei Sarmizegetusa (jud. Hunedoara). Obiectele constituie piese de podoabă și accesorii vestimentare, piese de toaletă, piese de echipament militar și harnașament, precum și piese cu caracter utilitar.

Cuvinte cheie: Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa; podoabe; accesorii vestimentare; echipament militar; piese utilitare.

In 2004 the National History Museum of Transylvania acquired a series of Roman artifacts that were stray finds from the area of the municipality of Sarmizegetusa (Hunedoara County). The goods were discovered in various spots during agricultural works performed in 2003 and 2004. Among them, one fragment from a bronze statue¹ has been published. The so-called “small finds” are the focus of the present article and other types of artifacts from this lot will also be published shortly.

The area of discovery is rather wide: to the north and north-east of the wall of the ancient city and west of the amphitheater, without any clear indications of the place of discovery of each artifact. The absence of localizations and of stratigraphic contexts limits our interpretative possibilities, but the items need to be published as they complete our image of the military or daily life of those living in the most important city of the Dacia province.

The artifacts are jewelry and dress accessories, toiletries, items of military equipment and harness, as well as items with utilitarian functions.

The discovered pieces of jewelry and the accessories are common-type items, with analogies throughout the province of Dacia. Their general chronological identifications are relative, as such objects could have been worn even after going out of fashion.

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¹ Alicu, Diaconescu 2008, 198–199, no. 2, Fig. 2. Two other artifacts dated to the first century AD, acquired from the same finder, originating from the area of Crivadia, were published in Opreanu, Alicu 2006, *passim*.

Out of the two discovered finger rings, the one with circular chaton (no. 1) has analogies in Dacia in contexts that cannot be dated with great precision. In other provinces, such rings were discovered in contexts dated as late as the fourth century AD.² The second finger ring (no. 2) has a simple loop and the type is generally dated in Dacia to the 3rd century AD³ while in other provinces similar artifacts are dated to the 5th century AD.⁴

Metal beads, less frequent than those made of glass, are attested in numerous settlements in the province. Only beads made of bronze are known so far from Dacia.⁵ The only item of this type from the analyzed lot (no. 3) can be dated to a chronological interval that covers the province's entire period of existence.

The discovered brooches are of the strongly profiled type (no. 4) and of the flat, cut-out body type (no. 5). Brooches type Cociș 8a2b1 = Almgren 70/73 are frequent finds in the entire Empire and especially in the Danubian provinces. In our province we find them mostly concentrated in Dacia Porolissensis and in southern Dacia and they are dated in general to the first half of the 2nd century AD. Brooches type Cociș 25 = Jobst 31 are dated in Dacia to the first decades of the 3rd century AD.⁶ The last brooch in the analyzed lot (no. 6) seems to have never been completed. Its identification with certainty is difficult as the fibula is fragmentarily preserved, but I believe that this is an unfinished dress accessory. The body of the brooch displays traces of the burr and was never finished through polishing. The perforation where the spring could be set is also missing.

As for hair pins (no. 7) and mirrors (nos. 8, 9), the discovered items are in fragmentary state and cannot be dated.

The category of military equipment and harness items consists of five appliques (nos. 10–14), two belt end tips (nos. 15, 16), a belt buckle (no. 17), a rivet (no. 18), a loop (no. 19) and a bell (no. 20). The belt appliques are of the circular type (nos. 10, 11), of the lozenge-shaped type (no. 12), and of the rectangular type (nos. 13, 14). The surface of the lozenge applique with circular protuberances (no. 12) was once decorated with enamel, but the latter has been lost. The artifacts are common objects, frequent among the archaeological discoveries from Dacia and can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.⁷

Three lead artifacts are weighing tools. One is a rectangular *pondus* and two are spherical and oblong scale counterweights. The rectangular *pondus* (no. 21) weighs three ounces. The perforations on its surface probably helped one tie together several such *pondera*.⁸ One of the weights (no. 22) has an iron ring-shaped handle (loop) inserted when hot in the mass of lead; the handle was used to hang the counterweight to the free arm of the scale. The item weighs 1210 gr, 3.6 librae. The second counterweight

² Riha 1990, 36.

³ Bounegru et alii 2011, 80, no. 117, 118.

⁴ Riha 1990, 50, Ab. 17.

⁵ Benea 2008, passim.

⁶ Cociș 2004, 50, 128.

⁷ Oldenstein 1976, 215–216; Găzdac 1995, 403–404; Dinulescu 2011, 78–79.

⁸ Paraschiv 2000–2001, 595–596.

also displayed a similar loop (no. 23), but only the fixing hole has been preserved. The item weighs 492 gr, 1.5 librae. Lead weights and counterweights usually have ring-like iron loops and are characterized by a great variety of shapes.⁹ Such artifacts have been discovered in settlements from Dacia and Moesia Inferior and can be dated to the province's period of existence.

The category of utilitarian artifacts is completed by a key (no. 24), two furniture fittings (nos. 25, 26), two fragments of vessels (nos. 27, 28), one loop (no. 29), and one spike (no. 30).

Catalogue¹⁰

Jewelry items and dress accessories

1. Finger ring with circular chaton and flat loop; the decoration consists of five small concentric circles located one in the center and the rest on the margins, alternating with four triangular incised motifs that form a cross-shaped pattern; the loop is also decorated – a circular shaped motif has been preserved on the shoulder (Pl. I/1).

Type: Guiraud 4f = Riha 2.8 = Bajusz, Isac IV; bronze; fragmentarily preserved, the ring almost entirely missing; dimensions: d. chaton 1.2 cm; w. ring 0.5 cm; inv. no. v58122.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 714, nos. 2, 3, Pl. CCXLIV/2, 3; Cociș 1994, 55, no. 39, Pl. XIII/39; Bajusz, Isac 2001, 405–406, nos. 10–12, 417, Pl. I/10–12; Bajusz 2005, 499, Figs. 31/27/1, 31/27/2, 31/27/3; Bălăceanu 2006, 151 (Micia, Porolissum, Potaissa, Drobeta).¹¹

2. Round finger ring with simple loop; the loop is flat in section, slightly convex (Pl. I/2).

Type: Guiraud 8d = Riha 34; silver; entirely preserved, slightly deteriorated; dimensions: D. 1.8 cm, d. 1.6 cm; w. ring 0.5 cm; inv. no. v58130.

Analogies: Bounegru et alii, 78, nos. 110, 79, nos. 112, 80, nos. 117, 118, 82, no. 126 (Apulum).

3. Bitronconic bead; displays an orifice performed subsequently in the central area of the body (Pl. I/3).

Type: Riha 12 = Gudea II.2 = Gudea, Bajusz II.2 = Benea VI; bronze; entirely preserved; shows small deteriorations; dimensions: D. 1.6 cm, d. 0.4 cm, h. 1.8 cm; inv. no. v58118.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 716, no. 60, 1103, Pl. CCXLIV/60; Nemeti 2004, 90, no. 8, 9, Pl. I/8, 9 (Porolissum, Războieni).

⁹ Corti, Pallante, Tarpini 2001, 298–311; DA IV, 1, Paris, 1877–1919, 548–559, s.v. *pondus* [E. Michon]; Elsen 2005, 103.

¹⁰ Abbreviations: d. – diameter, D. – external diameter, h. – height, w. – width, l. – length, th. – thickness, wt. – weight.

¹¹ Finger rings with similar form and decoration are also known from the early Middle Ages, especially from the 12th century – see Dumitriu 2001, 55 with the bibliography.

4. Strongly profiled brooch with wide and curved head (Pl. I/4).

Type: Cociş 8a2b1 = Almgren 84; bronze; fragmentarily preserved, the foot, the pin rest, the pin, and the spring are missing; dimensions: l. 2.5 cm; inv. no. v58106.

Analogies: Cociş, Nemeş 1983, 440, Pl. VI/27; Cociş 2004, nos. 127, 131 (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, Tibiscum).

5. Brooch with flat body, variant with cut-out decoration, rectangular in shape, rounded upper edge; the cut-out decoration includes a *pelta*-shaped motif in the upper part and three rectangles with rounded corners placed parallel to each other in the lower part (Pl. I/5).

Type: Cociş 25; bronze; fragmentarily preserved, missing the pin and part of the pin rest; dimensions: l. 2.7 cm; inv. no. v58105.

Analogies: Cociş 2004, 127, no. 1545 (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa).

6. Brooch (unfinished item or a scrap); slightly arched body, rectangular in section, displaying traces of the burr; it has a central knob, slightly prolonged, flanked by two small side prominences; three small hemispherical knobs are located in the lower part, above the foot, on the body (Pl. I/6).

The type to which it belongs cannot be identified; bronze; fragmentarily preserved; the closing system and the pin have not been attached; the foot and the pin rest are missing; dimensions: 5.5 × 0.55 × 0.5 cm; inv. no. v58124.

Analogies: Cociş 2004, 221, no. 1952? (unknown).

7. Hair pin (?) with round head; only the globular head is preserved; made of cast bronze, the joining area with the body is visible, but the latter has been lost (Pl. I/7).

Type: Riha 16 = Gudea, Bajusz II/6 = Bajus, Isac VI.3.1; bronze; fragmentarily preserved; dimensions: d. 1 cm; inv. no. v58129.

Analogies: Cociş 1994, 56, no. 50, Pl. XV/50; Isac, Bajusz 2001, 409, nos. 58, 59, Pl. VII/58, 59; Bounegru et alii 2011, 48, nos. 1, 2 (Micia, Porolissum, Apulum).

Toiletries

8. Mirror; mirror disk (Pl. I/8)

The type cannot be determined; white, shiny metal; small-size fragment; displays depositions and traces of corrosion; dimensions: 2.1 × 1.5 × 0.1 cm; inv. no. v58116.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 700, no. 24, Pl. CCXXXVIII/24; Bărbulescu 1994, 148, Fig. 34/2; Matei, Bajusz 1997, XCIV/2, 4; Bounegru et alii 2011, 128, no. 263 (Porolissum, Romita, Potaissa, Apulum).

9. Mirror; mirror disk; on the margins a circular strip consisting of incised lines (Pl. I/9)

The type cannot be determined; white, shiny metal; dark grey patina; small-size fragment from the mirror's edge; shows traces of corrosion; dimensions: 2.5 × 1.4 × 0.2 cm; inv. no. v58117.

Items of military equipment and harness

10. Cut-out circular appliqué slightly jagged edge; decoration placed in a circle, consisting of a series of cut-out heart-shaped motifs (Pl. II/1).

Type: Gudea - appliqué with flat disk; bronze; fragmentarily preserved, missing the fastening rivet; dimensions: d. 3.5 cm; th. 0.2 cm; inv. no. v58107.

Analogies: Bălăceanu 2006, 133, Pl. 157; Bondoc, Gudea 2009, 216, nos. 559, 396, Pl. C/559 (Drobeta, Răcari).

11. Circular appliqué with relief floral decoration; a disk in the center, surrounded by two concentric rows of round prominences, the inner one smaller in size. The four fastening rivets have been preserved on the back of the appliqué, placed symmetrically, forming a rectangle (Pl. II/2).

Type: Gudea - appliqué with flat flower-shaped head; bronze, entirely preserved, bent, the rivets slightly fragmented; dimensions: d. 3 cm, th. 0.2 cm; inv. no. v58109.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 631, no. 30, 1059, Pl. CC/30; Matei, Bajusz 1997, Pl. XCII/5; (Porolissum).

12. Lozenge-shaped appliqué with enamel and circular protuberances; the decoration is lozenge-shaped, with concave sides, consisting of a succession of three lozenges one inside the other; the deepened areas inside the lozenges were enameled (Pl. II/3).

Type: lozenge-shaped appliqué; bronze; fragmentarily preserved - the protuberances and the enamel are missing; bent; dimensions: 5 × 4 × 0.2 cm; inv. no. v58108.

Analogies: Chirilă et alii 1972, 72, 74 Pl. LXXIII/1, LXXIV/3; Gudea, Tamba 1992, 319, no. 2, Pl. XIII/1; Găzdac 1995, 413, no. 76, Pl. 9/76; Protase et alii 1997, LXXIX/2, 3; Nemeti 2004, 92, no. 43, IV/43; Isac 1997, 104, Pl. XXIII/1; Gaiu 2007, 199-202, nos. 52-62, Fig. 3/52-61; Protase et alii 2008, Pl. XLVI/4; Bounegru et alii 2011, 102, no. 178; Deac 2018, 38-39, no. 2, 41-42, no. 2, 44, Fig. 8/2 (Buciumi, Gherla, Ilișua, Gilău, Apulum, Porolissum).

13. Rectangular belt appliqué, with flat, cut-out body and the decoration consisting of four *pelta*-shaped motifs; an incised line on the short edges (Pl. II/4).

Type: Gudea V5; bronze; entirely preserved; dimensions: 2.6 × 3.1 × 0.2 cm; inv. no. v58114.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 643, nos. 32, 36, 37, 1065, nos. 32, 36, 37; Nemeti 2004, 99, Pl. 5/55; Bajusz 2005, 552, Fig. 43/95/3, 651, Fig. 31/39/4; Bondoc, Gudea 2009, 215, nos. 549, 395, Pl. XCIX/549 (Porolissum, Turda - Izvorul Lișca, Potaissa, Răcari).

14. Rectangular belt appliqué with flat body and the tip cut-out with *pelta*-shaped motifs (Pl. II/5).

Type: Gudea V5; bronze; fragmentarily preserved; one of the fastening rivets has been preserved; dimensions: 2.5 × 3.2 × 0.3 cm; inv. no. v58115.

Analogies: Bounegru et alii 2011, 109, Fig. 207; Ciugudean 1017, 374, no. 2, Pl. I/2, XI/2; Gudea 1989, 644, no. 24; Pl. CCVI/24 (Apulum, Porolissum).

15. Belt end tip with flat rectangular body made of bronze plate; one of the ends is straight, the other triangular, with the tip broken; on the body the item displays two circular orifices, for the insertion of fastening rivets (Pl. II/6).

Bronze; well preserved; one of the tips is broken; dimensions: $5.7 \times 0.9 \times 0.1$ cm; d. orifices 0.25 cm; inv. no. v58126.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, Pl. CCXLIXB/15, 16; Găzdac 1995, 412, no. 30, 421, Fig. 4/30 (Porolissum, Gherla).

16. Simple-shaped rectangular belt end tip, made of bronze plate; one notes the circular orifices through which the fastening rivets were inserted (Pl. II/7).

Bronze; entirely preserved, slightly fragmented; dimensions: $1.0 \times 0.9 \times 0.08$ cm; d. orifice 0.2 cm; inv. no. v58125.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 1071, CCXII/29; Alicu et alii 1994, 105, nos. 684, 685, Pl. 33/684, 685 (Porolissum, Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa).

17. Belt buckle with rectangular plate; the frame is cut in a semicircular shape to the outside; two other small semicircular prominences are placed in the corners (Pl. II/8).

Type: Gudea I; bronze; well preserved; missing pin; dimensions: $3.8 \times 3.2 \times 0.2$ cm; inv. no. v58110.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 675, no. 1, Pl. CCXXII/1 (Porolissum).

18. Cast rivet; the head and the fastening knob are slightly convex; the fastening knob has a small circular orifice in the center (Pl. II/9).

Bronze; entirely preserved; dimensions: d. head 1.4 cm, d. knob 1.3 cm, d. foot 0.6 cm; h. 1.75 cm; inv. no. v58123.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 704, nos. 62–65, 1098, Pl. CCXXXIX/62–65; Bărbulescu 1997, 81, Fig. 29, no. 6 (Porolissum, Potaissa).

19. Loop, rectangular in section (Pl. II/10).

Bronze; entirely preserved; dented; dimensions: D. 2 cm, d. 1.6 cm; inv. no. v58121.

Analogies: Chirilă et alii 1972, Pl. CXIII, nos. 2–23; Gudea 1989, 707–709, nos. 14–78, 710–712, nos. 1–61, Pl. CCXLI, nos. 14–78, Pl. CCXLII, nos. 1–61; Protase et alii 1997, Pl. LXXVIII/19, 20; Protase et alii 2008, 450, Pl. XLI/1–3; Fodorean 2017, 79–80, no. 55, Pl. XXXVIII/12 (Buciumi, Porolissum, Ilișua, Gherla, Potaissa).

20. Bell with semicircular ring that is round in section (Pl. II/11).

The type cannot be identified; bronze; fragmentarily preserved; deteriorated; the upper part and the ring are only preserved, partially; dimensions: $4.1 \times 3.8 \times 0.2$ cm; d. ring 0.5 cm; inv. no. v58119.

Analogies: Chirilă et alii 1972, 76, no. 67, Pl. CXV/19, 20; Gudea 1989, 694, nos. 2-3, 1091, Pl. CCXXXII/2-3; Alicu et alii 1994, 51, 107, nos. 704, 705, Pl. 35/704, 705, Pl. 36/706; Găzdac 1995, Fig. 8/72 (Buciumi, Porolissum, Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, Gherla).

Utilitarian objects

21. Rectangular *pondus*; one of the sides displays three circular orifices placed in a triangle; the front finished through polishing (Pl. III/1).

Type: rectangular; lead; entirely preserved; in a relatively good state of conservation; dents on the back; dimensions: $3.6 \times 3.5 \times 0.7$ cm; wt. 84 gr; 3 ounces, heavier than the standard by + 1.206%; d. orifices: 0.3-0.2 cm; inv. no. v58098.

Analogies: Ruscu 2010, 205; Paraschiv 2000-2001, 595, no. 1, Fig. 1, 596, no. 2, Fig. 2; Custurea 2002-2003, 440, no. 2, Fig. 2; Iconomu, Chriac 2008, 108, no. 10, Fig. 4/1; Custurea 2011, 675, no. 9, Pl. I/10 (Arcobara, Beroe, Troesmis, Crângu, Târgșor).

22. Scales counterweight, flattened spherical body, with one iron hanging loop, ring-shaped, inserted when hot to the lead body (Pl. III/2).

Type: spherical counterweight; lead, iron; entirely preserved; bent loop, dents over the surface of the body; dimensions: D. body 6.8 cm; h. maximum 4 cm; D. loop 2 cm; h. 2.7 cm; wt. 1210 gr; inv. no. v58099.

Analogies: Bajusz 2005, 666, Fig. 44/72; Gudea 2008, 227, no. 1, Pl. LXIX/1; Paraschiv 1998, 287, no. 1, Fig. 1 (Potaissa, Buciumi, Argamum).

23. Prolong counterweight, parallelepiped in shape with completely rounded edges, slightly narrower in the lower part; in the upper part it once had an iron hanging loop, inserted in the lead body; only the insertion place of the loop and traces of iron have been preserved (Pl. III/3).

Type: counterweight, prolong in shape; lead, iron; well preserved; missing hanging loop; dimensions: 4.7×3.8 cm; wt. 492 gr; inv. no. v58100.

Analogies: Bajusz 2005, 666, Fig. 44/72; Gudea 2008, 227, no. 1, Pl. LXIX/1 (Potaissa, Buciumi).

24. Key with looped end and short stem; two small outer prominences between handle and shank; flat, simple stem; decoration: a listel and linear incised motifs (Pl. III/4).

Type: Gudea II = Ilieș III; bronze; the active part is missing; dimensions: l. 4.2 cm; inv. no. v58111.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, Pl. CCXXVII/8; Ilieș 1999, 138, Pl. VI/2, 3 (Porolissum, Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa).

25. Box foot / knob-shaped handle; the foot is flared and cylindrical in shape (Pl. III/5).

Bronze; well preserved; the fastening pin is broken; dimensions: d. 2.6 cm; h. 1.7 cm; inv. no. v58112.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 694, nos. 14, 15, 30, 1091, Pl. CCXXXII/14, 15, 30; Alicu et alii 1994, 111, no. 755, Pl. 44/755; Nemeti 2001, 98, no. 32, 102, Pl. III/4; Bajusz 2005, 594, Fig. 29/99, 614, Fig. 29/94h/2, 618, Fig. 32/8/3, 716, Fig. 45/64/3 (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, Porolissum, Ilişua, Potaissa).

26. Appliqué – lock lid in the shape of a lion's head; the animal's mouth is wide open; its face is rendered very schematically, one only notes the eyes, while the mane is rendered through several parallel incisions (Pl. III/6).

Bronze; well preserved; dimensions: $1.8 \times 1.9 \times 0.2$ cm; inv. no. v58113.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 688, no. 5, 1087, Pl. CCXXVIII/5; Protase et alii 1997, Pl. LXXX/4, 5; Bajusz 2005, 614, Fig. 29/94h/2, 679, Fig. 30/87/3 (Porolissum, Ilişua, Potaissa).

27. Decorated casserole fragment; the decoration consists of a semi-baguette with vertical, parallel incisions on the body, and a row of semi-ovoli (Pl. III/7).

Type: Petrovsky V, 4; bronze; fragmentarily preserved; dimensions: $5.7 \times 3.7 \times 0.4$ cm; inv. no. v58120.

Analogies: Mustaţă 2012, 58–60, no. 3, 78, Pl. 1/3; Mustaţă 2017, 93, no. 12, Pl. XVI/12, LXII/12a–b (Arcobara).

28. *Pelta*-shaped vessel foot (Pl. III/8).

Type: Deschler-Erb's 4; bronze; fragmentarily preserved, one of the ends is broken; cast hollow on the inside; dimensions: $3.8 \times 2.3 \times 0.9$ cm; th. 0.2–0.4 cm; inv. no. v58128.

Analogies: Bajusz 2005, 729, Fig. 22/9/2; Mustaţă 2017, 162, nos. 87–91, Pl. XCIV/87–91, Pl. XLVI/87, 88 (Potaissa, Buciumi, Porolissum).

29. Loop, circular in section; the head is slightly flattened, nicely finished; as the item is fragmentarily preserved, one cannot exclude the possibility that it was a circular or semicircular handle; there are also free-end bracelets with similar body¹² (Pl. III/9).

The type cannot be determined; bronze, fragmentary; almost half is missing; D. loop 5 cm; d. body 0.45 cm; inv. no. v58127.

Analogies: Gudea 1989, 712, no. 13, 1102, Pl. CCXLIII/13; Bajusz 2005, 696, Fig. 30/n/4 (Porolissum, Potaissa).

30. Spike with hemispherical head; the shank is circular in section; the head is made of bronze and the shank out of iron (Pl. III/10).

Type: with hemispherical head; bronze, iron; fragmentary, the shank is broken, dimensions: h. 10 cm; d. 4.6 cm; inv. no. v58102.

Analogies: Alicu et alii 1994, 84, Pl. 4, no. 13; Bajusz 2005, 646, Fig. 47/185/3 (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, Potaissa).

¹² Cociş 1994, 56, no. 42, 44, Pl. XIV/42, 44 (Porolissum, Potaissa).

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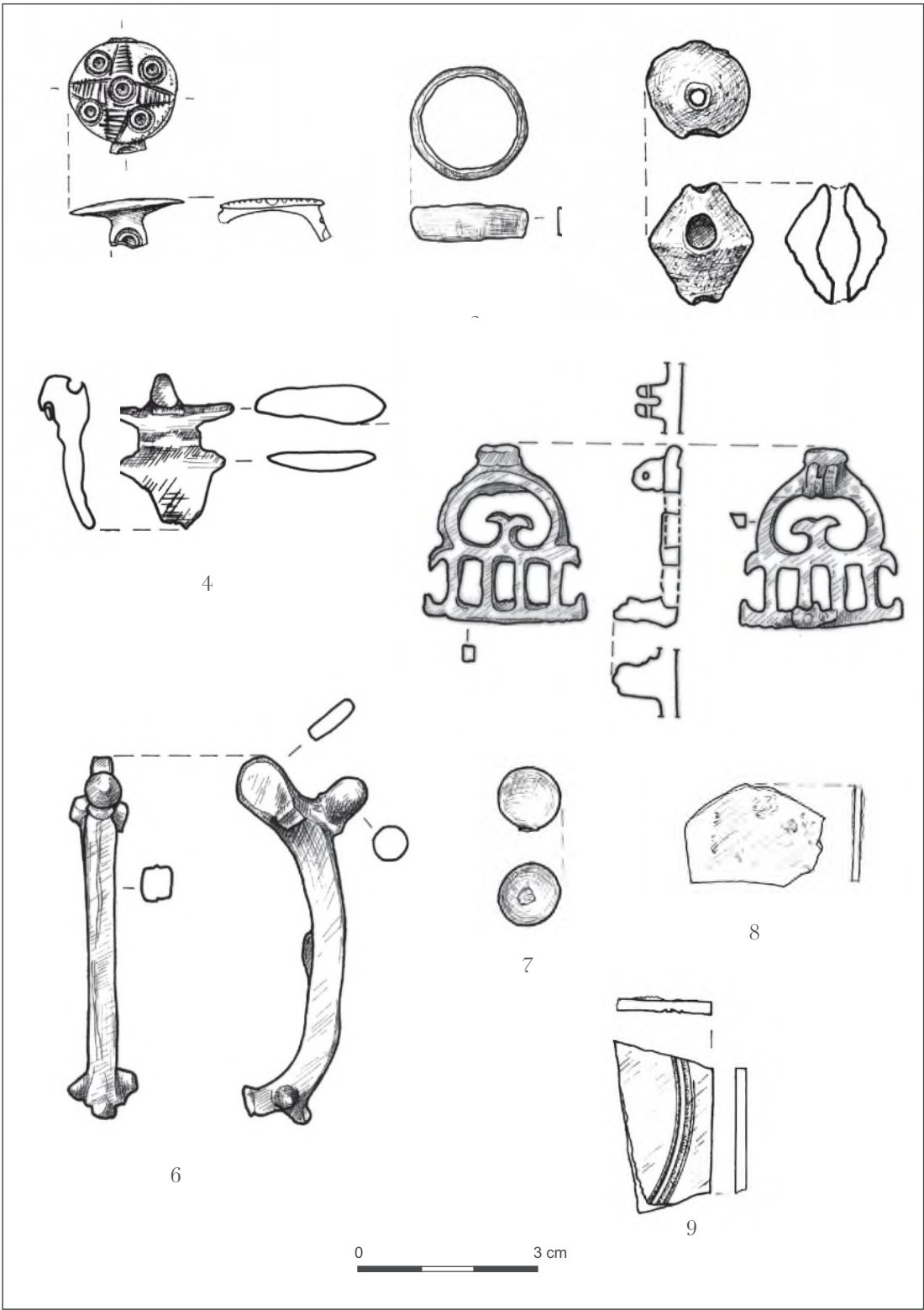
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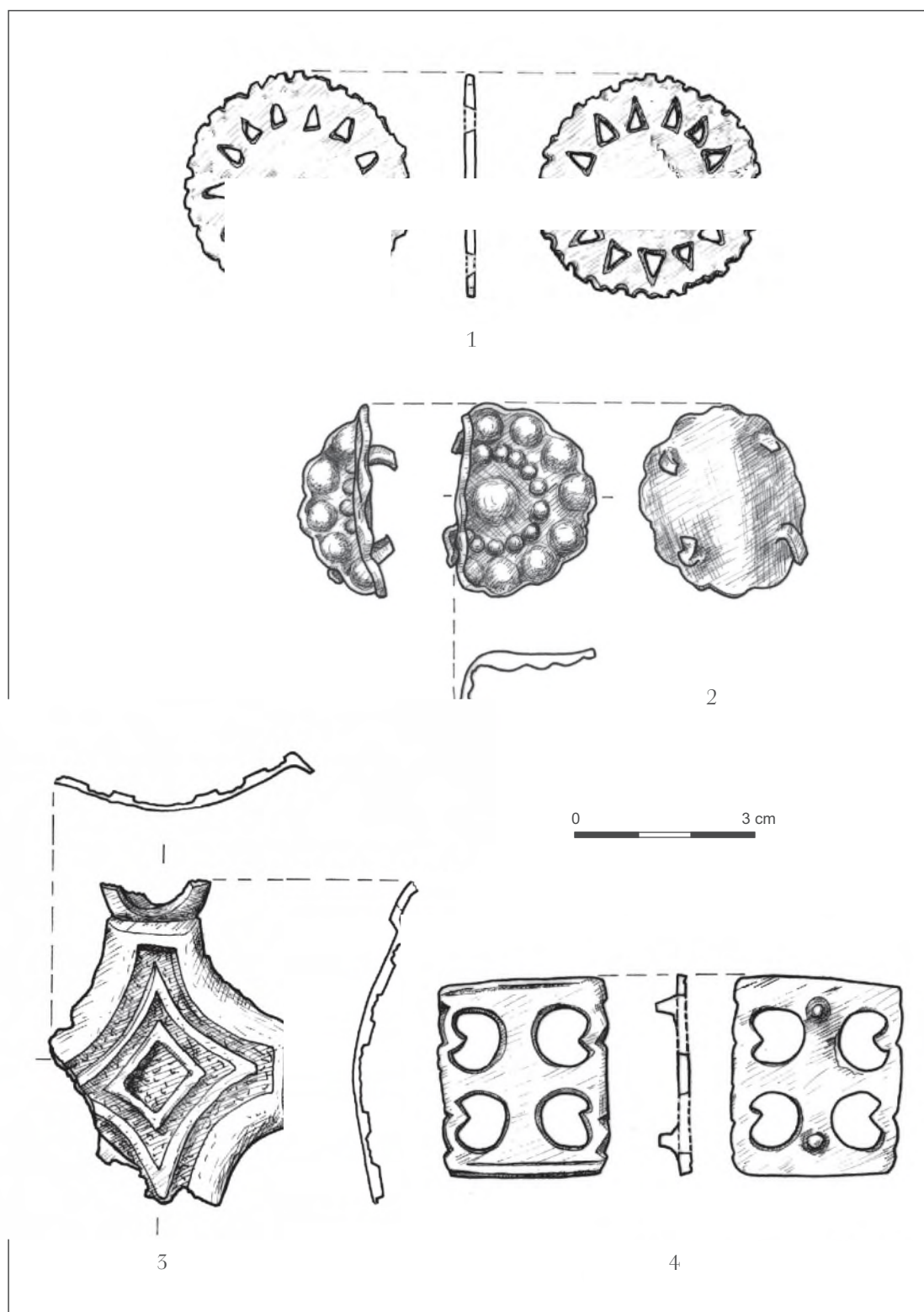
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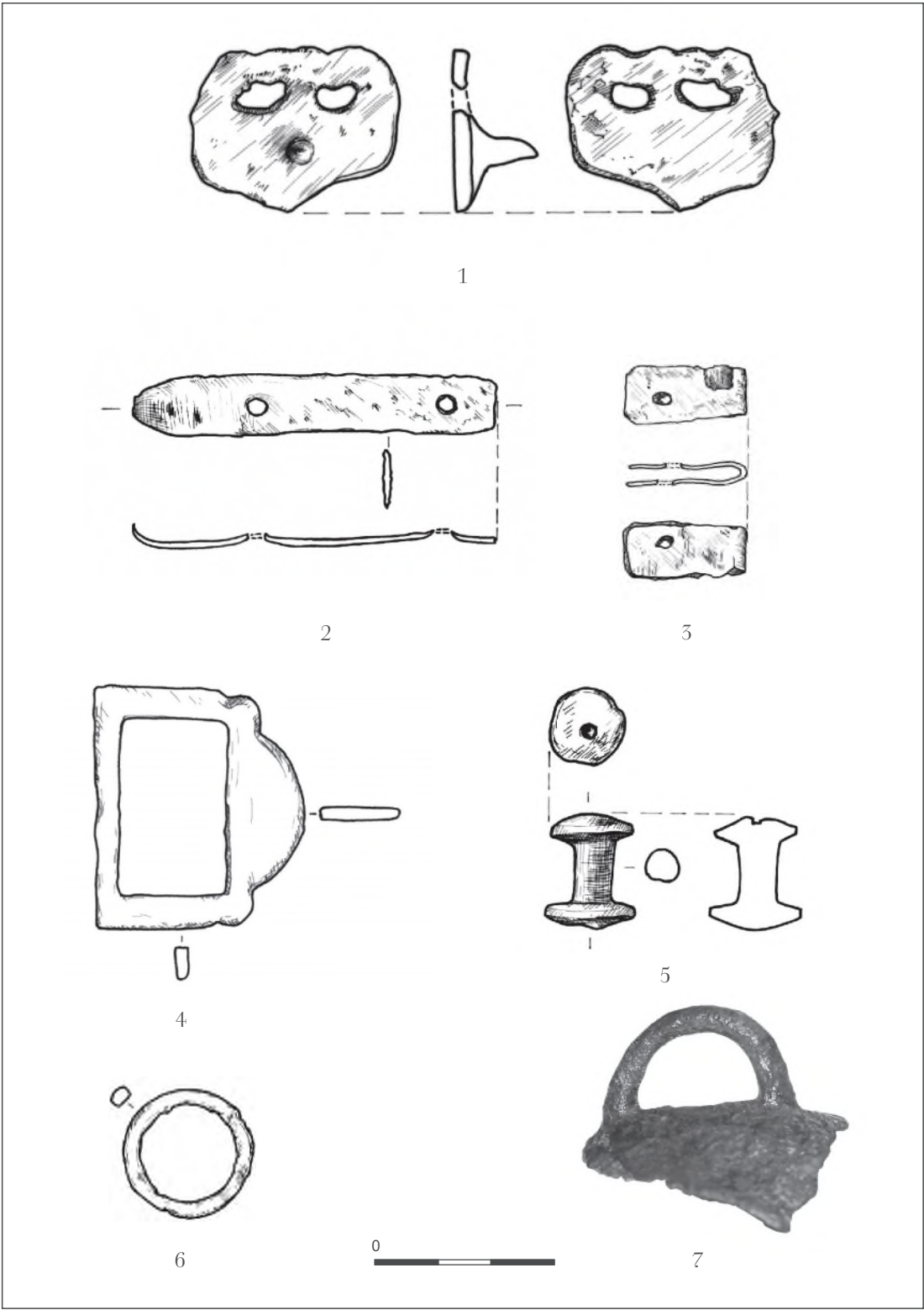
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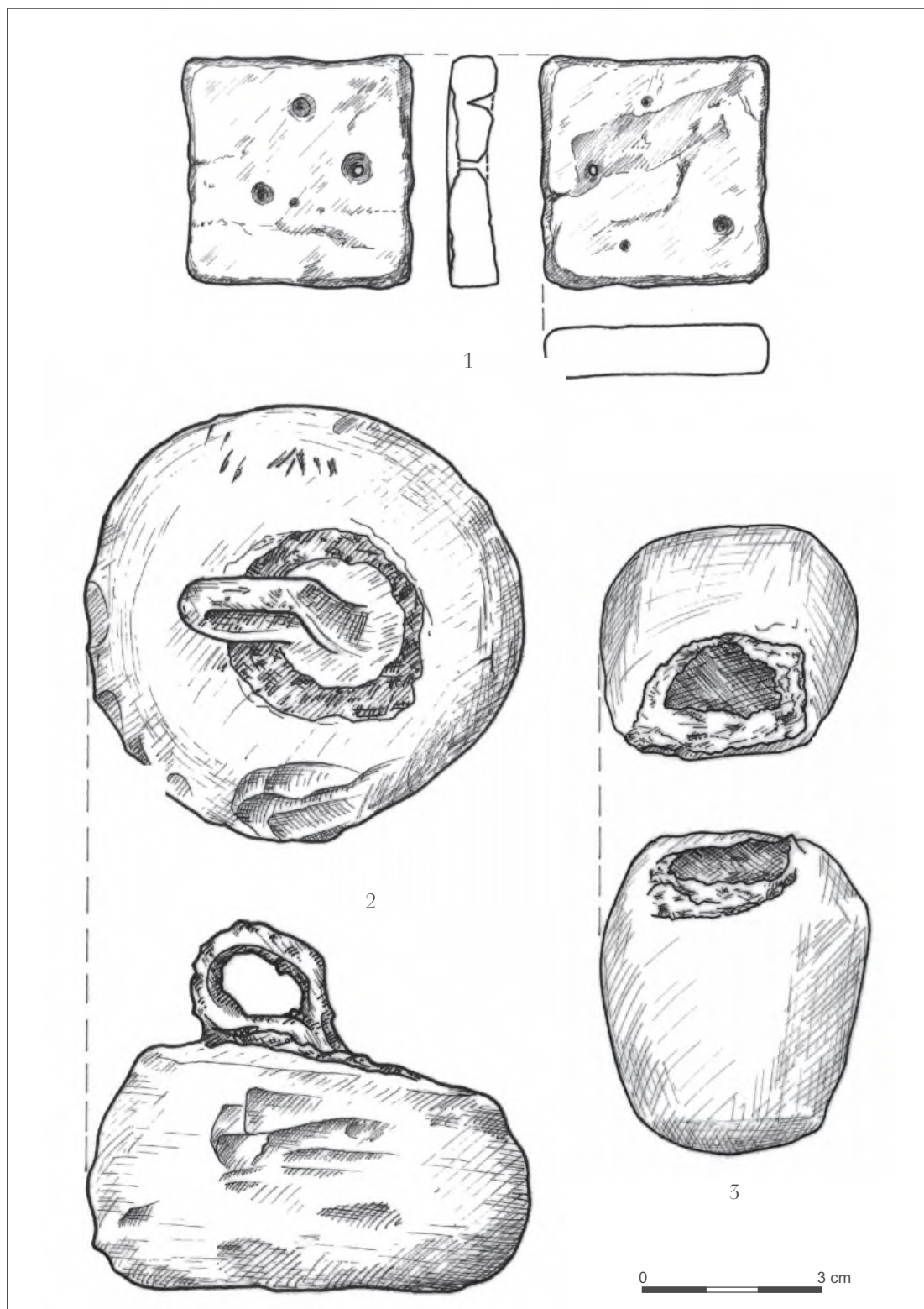
Pl. I. 1-7. Jewellery items and dress accesories; 8-9. Toiletries (drawing © A. Bâlc).



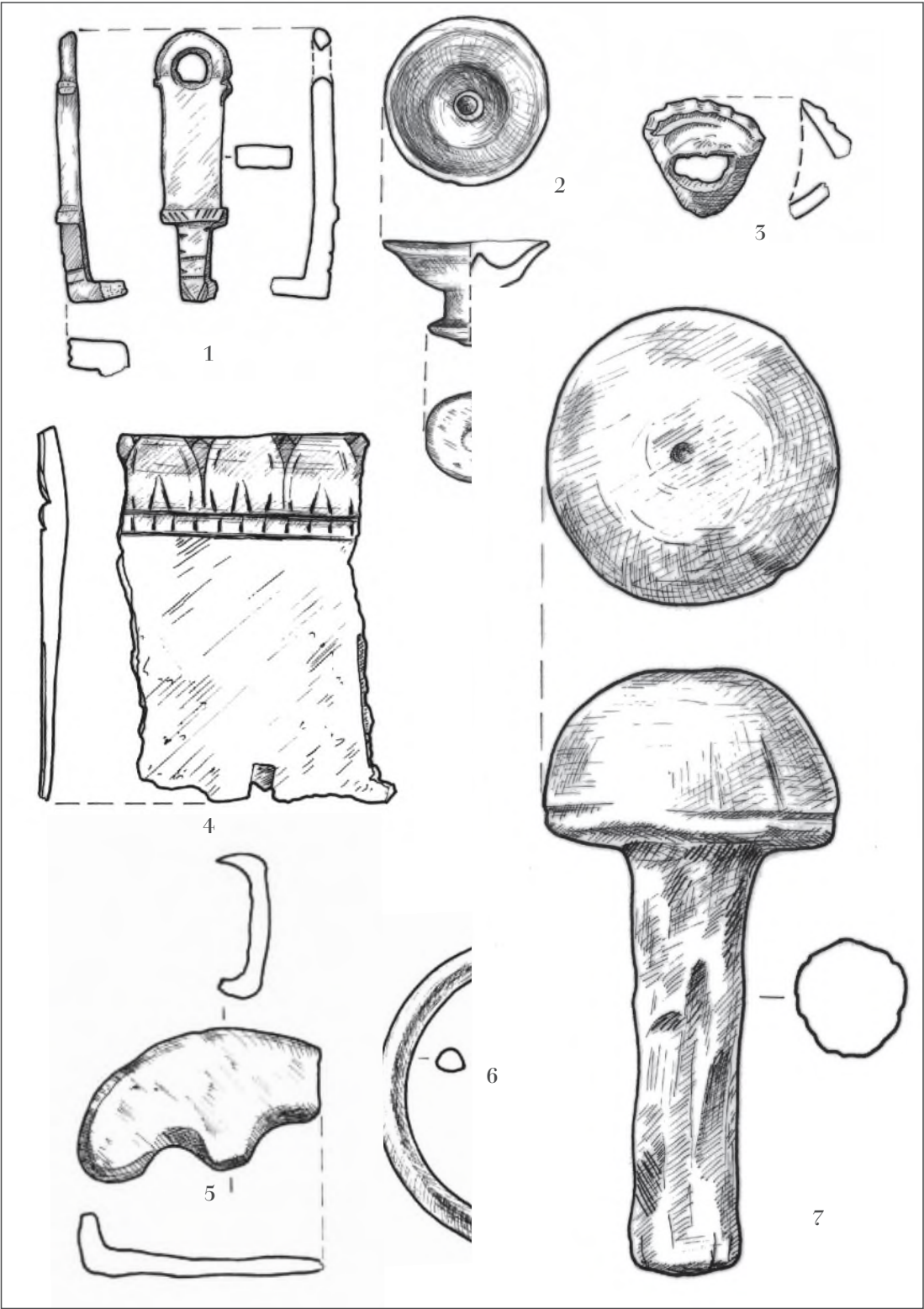
Pl. II. 1-4. Military equipment and harness (drawing © A. Bâlc).



Pl. III. 1-7. Military equipment and harness (drawing © A. Bâlc).



Pl. IV. Weights (drawing © A. Bâlc).



Pl. V. 1-7. Utilitarian objects (drawing © A. Bâlc).

THE FORT AT RÂȘNOV (CUMIDAVA) AND THE *COHORS VINDELICORUM*

FELIX MARCU

Abstract: The new research has revealed the existence at Râșnov of several forts and at least three of them partially overlap. It is clear, however, that neither the enclosures, nor the buildings are perfectly superimposed. The buildings we know belong to the final enclosure, the one with stone wall. The internal planning of the fort at Râșnov is, in this last phase, partially anomalous.

Even so, there is one fort which resembles very much the fort at Râșnov, located at a great distance from the latter, in Germania Superior. Moreover, archaeological discoveries indicate that the same troop has been built both fortifications.

Keywords: Râșnov; Arzbach; *coh. Vindelicorum*; *coh. VI Nova Cumidavensium*; Dacia; *limes*; Germania Superior.

Rezumat: Noile cercetări dezvăluie existența la Râșnov a mai multor castre, cel puțin trei fiind suprapuse parțial. Este clar însă că nici incintele, nici clădirile nu se suprapun perfect, clădirile pe care le cunoaștem aparținând ultimei incinte, cu ziduri de piatră. Organizarea internă a acestui ultim castru este parțial neobișnuită.

Cu toate acestea, există un castru situat la mare distanță de Râșnov, în Germania Superior, care seamănă foarte mult cu acesta. Mai mult, descoperirile arheologice indică faptul că aceeași trupă le-a construit pe ambele.

Cuvinte cheie: Râșnov; Arzbach; *coh. Vindelicorum*; *coh. VI Nova Cumidavensium*; Dacia; *limes*; Germania Superior.

Mentions of the fort at Râșnov date back to the 18th century. It can be seen on the first Habsburg topographical survey (*Josephinische Landesaufnahme* - 1769-1773), where an enclosure was marked with the toponym *Schantz* (Pl. I/1); at that time, the walls would have been much more visible¹. There is further information starting with the mid-19th century, with some data originally described by M. J. Ackner and afterwards by several other authors.² These early mentions were merely indicative, without remarks on the internal planning of the fortification, and, at best, comprised topographical comments, emphasising the fact that it was close to the Rucăr-Bran Pass (Pl. I/2).

The first systematic excavations were carried out by C. Daicoviciu, M. Macrea and Ioan Colan in 1939,³ but except for some brief information on the fort and the publication of an inscription,⁴ that documentation is entirely lost. Therefore, no plans

¹ For a more detailed history of the research see Dumbrăveanu 2017.

² Ackner 1856. For the entire bibliography see Gudea, Pop 1971, n. 5.

³ Although previous smaller scale investigations carried out between 1899 and 1910 are mentioned; see Dumbrăveanu 2017, 121.

⁴ Macrea 1944. However, a newspaper article reveals that the research was extended from the enclosure to the interior buildings; see Dumbrăveanu 2017, 123.

of the excavations or of the fort are available. Research was resumed only in 1969 and continued until 1974. Initially it was led by I. Mitrofan and subsequently by N. Gudea and I. Pop.⁵

M. Macrea established that the fortification at Râșnov dates back to an early phase, immediately after the Dacian wars. His argumentation was mainly based on the coins he had discovered.⁶ The monetary series published in 1971, comprising 13 pieces, starts with Galba and ends with Severus Alexander; consequently, the early date of the fort is highly likely.⁷ Following the systematic archaeological research carried out between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, N. Gudea and I. Pop considered that there were two phases of enclosure of the same fort, with slight variations in terms of size. In the end, they claimed that two of the sides of the stone wall fortification, the north-eastern and south-eastern, were built in the ditch of the previous fort, hence the difference in dimensions, 114×110 m compared to 124×118 m, with the interior space nevertheless remaining the same.⁸

However, after reanalysing the profile of the trench made on the north-eastern side, I. Bogdan-Cătănciu reasoned that there were two earth and timber construction phases, the first possibly dating from the period between the two Dacian wars,⁹ even though the evidence did not appear to be conclusive. Nevertheless, the author was right when she detected the anomalies identified by N. Gudea: first of all, the building of two sides of the last enclosure wall in a ditch pertaining to an earlier enclosure; then, the establishment of at least two phases preceding the stone enclosure, compared to only one identified by the authors of the 1960s and 1970s archaeological research. In fact, we are dealing with several distinct forts.

Recent geophysical investigations brought to light new elements (Pl. II/1) which prove the existence at the site of more than one fortification superimposing a previous one, without being contemporary. A new smaller-sized fort adjacent to the one already known is thought to be the earliest, built immediately after the conquest of Dacia.¹⁰ However, apart from this small fort whose ditch is very visible in the geophysical measurements, we believe that several elements belonging to other overlapping fortifications can also be discerned.

⁵ The results of the archaeological excavations up to 1970 were published in Gudea, Pop 1971, and subsequently in Gudea, Pop 1973 and Gudea, Pop 1975. For other interpretations of the excavations in the fort at Râșnov-Cumidava see Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 48–49.

⁶ Macrea 1944, 158. Later more coins dated to the 1st century AD were discovered. See Gudea, Pop 1971, 60.

⁷ Gudea, Pop 1971, 60.

⁸ The first ditch on the north-western and south-western sides was likewise considered as belonging to the first phase of the enclosure, Gudea, Pop 1971, 13, 15. N. Gudea claimed that, similar to other forts, the earthen rampart at Râșnov also exhibited traces of vertical stakes, including traces of crossbeams probably from a rampart shuttering, without identifying the traces of the palisade: Gudea, Pop 1973, 14; Gudea 1975, 78–9, 81.

⁹ Bogdan-Cătănciu 1969; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1997, 49 sqq. When referring to construction phases, it generally concerns the enclosure of the fortifications.

¹⁰ In the non-invasive research, only the ditch of a rectangular enclosure measuring 73×50 m is visible. The fact was confirmed by archaeological research, the ditch of the large fort superimposing the western ditch of the new fort: Țentea, Popa, Petculescu 2017.

Different phases of the enclosure, thus different superimposed forts, appeared to be indicated by the habitation traces under, in, or at the base of the earthen rampart as well, although the authors of the research had not taken them into account.¹¹ Another strange thing was the different number of ditches, depending on the side of the known fort.¹² Moreover, one can note the existence of a different number of ditches on the same side, the north-western,¹³ depending on their position relative to the *porta principalis sinistra* of the stone fort enclosure.

Consequently, we believe we can speak of the existence of at least one more fort with different dimensions, apart from the two evident in the recent research. The outermost ditch, which seems to go around the main fortification, is the only one to certainly intersect the ditch of the newly discovered small fort. However, it does not appear to belong either to the stone wall fortification, or to the previous one. The ditch is laid out much more to the exterior and off-centre from the stone enclosure. We believe that, in fact, it belongs to another enclosure and that we are dealing with four partially superimposed enclosures whose precise chronology remains unknown¹⁴ (Pl. II/2):

- Fort 1, marked with yellow, measuring approximately 170 × 175 m, partially overlapped by the one with stone enclosure;
- Fort 2, marked by a single ditch coloured in blue, measuring 73 × 50 m, recently identified by magnetometric investigations, although it is not certain it was built before fort 1;¹⁵
- Fort 3, marked by a ditch coloured in red, fairly irregular and similar in size to the first fort, with its ditch superimposing the south-western corner of fort 2;
- Fort 4, with stone enclosure, marked in light blue.

The chronology of these enclosures is unclear, as either of the first two forts could have been the earliest. If the smaller-sized one was built first, then fort 3, which superimposes it, could have been built before the fort conventionally numbered 1. Even so, the analogies from across the Empire and the fact that numerous early artefacts have been discovered on the surface of the fort with stone enclosure, thus also of forts 1 and 3, might indicate that the numbering established above is also chronologically valid, except for fort 5 (marked in cyan) if this truly existed.

¹¹ At the base of the rampart, burn streaks, hearths and archaeological materials were observed and were attributed to the period during which the stone enclosure was constructed (Gudea, Pop 1971, 14; Gudea, Pop 1973, 14; Gudea 1975, 78). However, apart from pottery, there were also bronze objects, making it hard to believe they date only from this period. In addition, it was noted that the walls of some of the buildings were constructed “directly on top of the previous habitation layer”: see Gudea, Pop 1971, 37. During the 2013 archaeological campaign, one of the researched surfaces (Sp44) was emplaced on the earthen rampart behind the enclosure wall and, “underneath the *agger*”, structures from an earlier phase were discovered: Petculescu 2014, 114.

¹² Three ditches were identified on the north-eastern side, whereas only two on the south-western: Gudea, Pop 1971, 15.

¹³ Two ditches have been identified between the *porta principalis sinistra* and the northern corner tower, while only one ditch between the gate and south-western corner tower: Gudea, Pop 1971, 15. The enclosure was crossed by three “sections” (III, IV and X): Gudea, Pop 1973, 14–15.

¹⁴ The dimensions are measured from the outermost ditch, in lack of any other concrete data.

¹⁵ In Wales fortlets were built during Hadrian’s reign in order to replace auxiliary forts once the situation was stable, as is Castleshaw (Symonds 2009, 960), the “best analogy” in the view of Țentea, Popa, Petculescu 2017, 148.

Fort 1

This fort represents a rather large fortification, sufficient for quartering a *milliaria* or *quingenaria equitata* cohort, or even an *ala* or a mixed garrison. Two and even three ditches are evident, especially in the southern corner. Alternatively, the inner outline could actually represent an *agger* better individualised by the measurements, although also in “positive”. Near the southern corner, where it intersects with the ditches of fort 3, there appears to be a break in the ditches, meaning that fort 3 also superimposes fort 1.

Towards the north-west and west the outlines fade away, probably due to the flooding in the area, a situation fairly obvious in the plan starting with the northern corner. Nevertheless, the north-western corner of this fortification can be clearly observed, although only two of the ditches are visible.

Fort 2

This is a small-sized fort, but still larger than a typical fortlet. The ditch is interrupted where the *principales* gates are presumed, because the breaks are not placed in the middle of the long sides, a fact recognised to be atypical by the authors of the research as well.¹⁶ Indeed, smaller-sized forts are usually square and lack the internal planning characteristic for an ordinary fort which follows the well-known arrangement, i.e. the placement of the headquarter building at the intersection of two roads. If it were so, then at least the *porta praetoria* must have functioned, otherwise the *via praetoria* would have had no role at all. The fact that there are breaks in the ditches only on the longitudinal sides, most likely corresponding to entrances, does not necessarily mean that the enclosure had just two gates; the ditches could have been crossed by bridges in front of the *praetoria* and *decumana* gates.¹⁷ Taking into account the dimensions and the position of the breaks in the ditches, probably in front of entrances, an administrative building (e.g. *principia*) is likely to have existed; therefore, it must be regarded as a small fort, and not as a fortlet.¹⁸

Fort 3

The rather irregular enclosure which marks fort 3 is slightly shifted to the north-east relative to forts 1 and 4. The only clearly visible ditch overlaps the southern corner of fort 1, but is somewhat narrower than the first. The ditch also overlaps the south-western corner of fort 1. Its western and south-western corners appear to have been destroyed by alluvial deposits, visible in the magnetometric images. This is also

¹⁶ Tentea, Popa, Petculescu 2017, 148.

¹⁷ Generally, if every side was provided with gates, then the ditches were interrupted accordingly, but not always, as exemplified by Valkenburg, Gelligaer, or Bearsden, unlike Hesselbach, which lacks the *porta decumana* and only here the ditch is uninterrupted: Johnson 1987, Abb. 179, 196, 199, 207. At Bologna, for instance, the situation appears to be similar, although detailed research in front of the gates has not been carried out: see Gudea 1997, 32–33. It is true that, usually, smaller-sized forts possessed two or more often only one gate: Symonds 2009, 955.

¹⁸ The difference between the two was established by S. S. Frere and St. Joseph depending on the existence or lack of administrative buildings: Frere, St. Joseph 1983, 135. On the function of such buildings inside fortlets see also Symonds 2017, 10.

precisely the reason why the number of ditches of the stone wall enclosure seemed different on the western side.

It is also interesting that, despite the fact that the ditches of forts 1 and 3 appear to be partially destroyed by alluvial deposits, the western part of the magnetometric plan displays anomalies corresponding to holes, kilns or other structures. If these date from a phase subsequent to the destruction of the first fortifications, the area must have been temporarily occupied, perhaps even by a settlement contemporary to the stone wall fort.¹⁹

Furthermore, apart from the “positive” anomalies of the enclosures described above, traces of another early enclosure, coloured in cyan on the plan, can also be partially seen. Thus, in the eastern part of forts 1, 3–4, overlapped by their enclosures, the trace of a ditch is visible. This could have belonged to a large marching camp of minimum 275 m in length. However, the possibility of its geological nature or its relation to a previous habitation cannot be excluded, since recent research have identified beneath the Roman layers traces of holes and archaeological materials attributed to the Schneckenberg culture.²⁰

Another peculiarity of fort 4, “the stone fort”, at Râșnov is the rendering of the main roads. In brief, one can observe that the axes of fort 4 and the corner and gate towers are off-centre. The entrance into the *principia* is not situated on the axis of the *praetoria* and *decumana* gates and the *via principalis* is not perpendicular to the *via praetoria*. The *via decumana* is not on the axis of the *via praetoria* either and consequently none of the gates is situated on the axis of the opposite one. Furthermore, the northern and southern corner towers are not located exactly at the corners, but shifted by a few meters in the same direction. The general impression is that the modern land survey is at fault: if we would rotate the *praetentura* or the entire fort by a few degrees to the north-east, it would result in the correct geometrical position.²¹ It is possible that the anomalous internal plan of the last fort was influenced precisely by the number of the different enclosures. The *via principalis* rather appears to be parallel to the short sides of the enclosure of fort 3, although this ditch is hardly visible, thus presuming the builders took note of the orientation of this fort and used a part of the north-eastern and south-eastern sides of fort 1 when raising the stone enclosure. However, such an anomaly, although possible, would not be characteristic for the Romans, who, in theory, started their measurements from the centre of the fort, i.e. the intersection of the two main roads. In addition, since forts 1 and 3 were not contemporary, their lateral gates could not have functioned at the same time.

It is difficult to determine the time interval between all these enclosures. Only the forts labelled 1 and 4 overlap, on the north-eastern and southern sides, without being off-centre. Taking into account the “meagre” habitation level inside²² it is probable

¹⁹ Precisely in this area the measurements did not capture the enclosure of the stone wall fort. Therefore, it is difficult to determine a chronology.

²⁰ Petculescu 2008, 257; Petculescu 2012, 117.

²¹ We cannot presume that the enclosure wall and the corner and gate towers were built in different phases because the latter are bound with the wall, cf. Gudea, Pop 1971, 19.

²² Gudea, Pop 1975, 56. Initially, the material uncovered during the archaeological research commenced

that these fortifications lasted only for a short while. It is exactly the interior space which indicates that the structures within were only briefly used. If the existence of the enclosures described above will be confirmed by archaeological excavations, it clearly means the buildings inside must have had different phases, or, more likely, different orientations. The recent archaeological research resumed in 2006 proves the existence of two more Roman habitation phases inside the fort, at least in the *praetentura sinistra* of the stone fort, and levelling layers for the last phase.²³

The internal planning of the main fort (no. 4)²⁴

Among the nine structures in the interior only some of them are readily recognisable as standard buildings inside a fort, yet most of their shapes are a mere rectangle.²⁵

The *principia* has the clearest plan and the usual dimensions of 24.50 × 21 m. Two construction phases have been identified in this case as well.²⁶ The building was not fully investigated; the most extensive research was carried out in 1971 and 1973–1974.²⁷ Ever since then it was presumed that the walls parallel to the long sides of the structure, located at ca. 4.30 m, could belong to it, thus forming some lateral longitudinal halls.²⁸ I. Stanciu corrected the published plan, differentiating between the lateral structures and the headquarters building.²⁹ Even so, the hypothesis preferred by the excavators was not ruled out. However, the ratio between the length and width of the building, 1.16, should be reversed, similar to that of the enclosure. Therefore, it is possible that these halls were *armamentaria*, just like the halls that flank the courtyards of many forts across the Empire.³⁰

All the rooms at the back of the building were provided with heating systems. The chronological relation between the two apses and the rest of the chambers remains unknown, although the one adjacent to the apse of the central chamber is off-centre, thus supposedly later.³¹

The courtyard is not typical either: with a length to width ratio of 1.95 it resembles a basilica.

Behind the headquarters building, at around 5.50 m from it, there is a chamber which was thought to have initially served as a reservoir. It measures 4.25 × 4.25 m,

in 2006 was “rather meagre”, but afterwards became increasingly richer, see Petculescu 2007; Petculescu 2008; Petculescu 2011; Petculescu 2012.

²³ See the archaeological reports in Petculescu 2007–2014.

²⁴ In what follows we will only briefly review the interior buildings; for more details see the excavation reports in Gudea, Pop 1971; Gudea, Pop 1973; Gudea, Pop 1975; Gudea 1975 and Marcu 2009, 218–224; for the newly identified buildings see Petculescu 2007–2014.

²⁵ For further details regarding all the buildings inside the fort see the excavation reports cited throughout this paper and also Marcu 2009, 218–224.

²⁶ This information, without any other details, appears only in Gudea 1997a, 66.

²⁷ Gudea, Pop 1973; Gudea, Pop 1975.

²⁸ The plan also exhibits the sections executed in order to identify the structure, without determining wall intersections, see Gudea, Pop 1975, 55–56, Figs. 1, 1a, 2.

²⁹ Stanciu 1985, Fig. 22.

³⁰ For references see Johnson 1987, 128.

³¹ It was difficult to establish the chronological relation because the main walls of the building are no longer preserved, cf. Gudea, Pop 1975, 56.

has a depth of 1.75 m and walls 0.50-0.60 m thick, covered in mortar.³² Later, its destination was altered by adding a 1 m wide entrance and filling the hole until it reached ground level.³³ On the other hand, the location of the structure, at the end of the *via decumana* is very strange.

Just as strange are the rest of the buildings inside the fort at Râșnov. If we can say that those situated on either side of the headquarters building resemble granaries, in lack of more in-depth research it is impossible to decide on their function. The same series of curious structures includes the rectangular building from the *latera praetorii*, near the *porta principalis dextra*, on whose axis several aligned hearths were discovered.³⁴ Such finds are characteristic along the longitudinal walls between the *papiliones* and *armae*, although neither the plan of the building, nor the construction technique indicates a barrack.

Even though the traces of the buildings discovered on either side of the headquarters building are very faint, some wall paths have been nevertheless identified by the archaeological research. We only learn that the buildings have a rectangular shape, with a length similar to that of the *principia* and widths of 16 and 11.80 m.³⁵

Buildings with stone walls similar to the ones from the *latus* were discovered in the *praetentura* and *retentura sinistra*, but they differed in size. Due to its location in the *retentura sinistra* and partially in the *latus*, and based on the analogy at Wallsend, it was presumed that one of them might have played the role of a hospital. Other than that, in the absence of more details, their functions cannot be determined.³⁶

The two buildings from the *retentura dextra* finally have compartments and because they were completely unearthed other data is also available.³⁷ Since the beginning, the structure with multiple apses was characterised as a bath, but the other one is unusual both in terms of location and of plan.³⁸

The main objective of the recent archaeological research was to uncover the buildings from the *praetentura sinistra*.³⁹ Consequently, two barracks were excavated, one of which was a double barrack discovered under the previously found stone building. The barrack had two successive construction phases, though following the same plan,⁴⁰ thus attesting the existence of several construction phases inside the fort as well. Furthermore, it confirms, if still required, that the *via principalis* pertaining to the second phase was oblique in relation to the barracks; clearly, the *via* initially

³² Gudea, Pop 1975, 56; Gudea, Pop 1975a, 61.

³³ A coin from Septimius Severus was found in the corresponding level, and one from Trajan in the previous level: Gudea, Pop 1975, 56. An analogy, although not identical, was found at Newcastle: Marcu 2009, 220.

³⁴ Two coins dated to the time of Antoninus Pius were employed as dating elements for these hearths; the building was described as a "lodging barrack": Gudea, Pop 1975a, 61.

³⁵ Gudea 1997a, 66; Gudea, Pop 1973, 16, although from another study (Gudea, Pop 1975, 57) we learn that despite the fact that wall remnants had been found between the *principia* and the building close to the *porta principalis dextra*, no constructions could be identified.

³⁶ Marcu, 2009, 222-223.

³⁷ Macrea 1944, 235; Gudea, Pop 1971, 30-41; Marcu 2009, 220-223.

³⁸ This is a building with four uneven compartments; in terms of construction technique, the walls between compartments are different from the perimeter wall: see Gudea, Pop 1971, 30, 33.

³⁹ See the archaeological reports in Petculescu 2007-2014.

⁴⁰ Petculescu 2009, 185; Petculescu 2011, 116.

had another course, since structures have been discovered under the mentioned road belonging to the second phase.⁴¹ The discovery of 13 dinars “mostly issued by the Severan dynasty” on the ground level of the first construction phase⁴² proves that this phase lasted for a fairly long period of time, certifying the rather late date of the fortification with stone enclosure.

The resemblance between the forts at Râșnov and Arzbach

As explained above, the internal planning of the fort at Râșnov is partially anomalous. From what we know, the ancillary buildings of the *latus* and *retentura*, as well as their location inside the fort, appear to be unique, except for one interesting analogy.

At Arzbach (Rheinland-Pfalz) in northern Germania Superior (Pl. III) there is a stone fort with an enclosure measuring 93 × 79 m (0.73 ha), surrounded by two ditches (Pl. IV).⁴³ Four buildings were investigated inside. Right at a first glance, the resemblance between the internal organisation and the plan of the buildings from this fortification and those from the fort with stone enclosure at Râșnov is striking. Even the orientation of both fortifications is identical, although this could be a coincidence since, as previously mentioned, there are several overlapping fortifications at Râșnov, probably built by different troops. We believe that the troop which raised the fort at Arzbach is the same as the one which would later build the stone fort at Râșnov.

From a constructive point of view, the most interesting building at Arzbach is the *principia*. It appears to be either an unfinished building, or one built partially from stone and partially from timber,⁴⁴ and is very similar in terms of size and plan to the *principia* at Râșnov. Proportionally though, owing to the smaller dimensions of the fort at Arzbach, its *principia* occupies twice the space as the one at Râșnov, 7.50% compared to 3.50%, another proof of the smaller number of soldiers in the fortification from Germania.

The dimensions of the buildings are slightly smaller than those at Râșnov, with the exception of the headquarters building. This measures ca. 28 × 20 m at Arzbach and 24 × 21 m at Râșnov, but the length to width ratio maintains the same principle, i.e. reversed in relation to that of the fort. There appears to be no *basilica* at Arzbach, although it is not impossible for the space in front of the backside rooms to have been divided in compartments; there is a narrow courtyard, similar to the one at Râșnov. On the other hand, the backside chambers are deeper in the former fort, although only the ones at the corners are delineated by stone walls, with the room from the south-eastern corner being almost double. The others, however, could have been less deep, leaving enough space for a basilica, admittedly with a rather strange plan, and a courtyard. In any case, the plan of the buildings is very much alike.

The ancillary buildings from the two forts appear similar, but only two are equivalent. Both at Arzbach and at Râșnov, the buildings situated in the *retentura*

⁴¹ As considered in Petculescu 2014, 114; Petculescu 2015, 62.

⁴² Petculescu 2015, 63.

⁴³ ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, Taf. II.

⁴⁴ ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, 4, Taf. II, Fig. 2.

sinistra and partially in the *latus sinistrum* occupy the strangest location, though it differs a bit. Thus, the one at Râșnov is further away from the western enclosure of the fort. The building dimensions are likewise a bit different, 17.70×9.60 m and 25×13 m, but their shape and the length to width ratio, 1.84 and 1.92, are almost identical. Related to the forts, both buildings occupy a surface of 2.3% and 2.2%. All these details are significant when building a fort and planning the structures inside. Nonetheless, they are of no help in establishing their function. Judging by shape, it could represent any ancillary buildings. However, a *horreum* should have been narrower. Judging by location, the best analogy, as mentioned before, can be found in the Wallsend *valetudinarium*,⁴⁵ although a *basilica exercitatoria* cannot be excluded either, as was supposed by “Der Streckenkommissar” A. D. Dahm more than 80 years ago.⁴⁶

Other structures that share a similar plan, but not the location, are the one from the *praetentura dextra* of the fort at Arzbach and the one from the *retentura dextra* at Râșnov, next to the small *thermae*. Their dimensions are nearly identical, 13.60×10.30 m and 13.0×10.50 m. They both have four compartments, though slightly different. It is very difficult to ascertain the role of these buildings; A. D. Dahm considered the one at Arzbach an “Offizieregebäude”.⁴⁷

The buildings labelled C and D from the *retentura dextra* of the fort at Arzbach are adjacent and resemble the buildings from the *latera praetorii* of the fort at Râșnov. They share the same unusual peculiarities in what concerns their position, since barracks should have existed there.⁴⁸

At Râșnov another building measuring 10.30×7.80 m was partially researched in the *praetentura sinistra*. This is again rectangular, similar to the other buildings, also missing any compartments.

The unit in garrison

The discovery of an inscription (IDR III/4, 221 = AE 1950, 16 = AE 1969–1970, 546 = AE 1978, 683) in the walls of building B, considered the baths of the fort at Râșnov, sparked several debates in the course of time.⁴⁹ M. Macrea developed an entire theory regarding the troop mentioned in this inscription, a theory revolving around the novel idea that it was made up from “autochthonous Dacians”, *coh. VI Nova Cumidavensium Alexandriana*, taking *Cumidavenses* as an “ethnographic indication”.⁵⁰ The first to contest M. Macrea was A. Alföldy,⁵¹ followed by I. I. Russu, who further reinforced

⁴⁵ The compartments, which should have existed considering the size, could have been built in timber. Undoubtedly, the plan of the hospital at Wallsend is much more complex (Hodgson 2003, 123–139) and its unusual location is explained as the result of being built in a phase subsequent to the raising of the first fort.

⁴⁶ ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, 3.

⁴⁷ The main argument resided in the numerous discoveries of *terra sigillata* fragments and of a good quality glass vessel, ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, 3.

⁴⁸ In terms of size, building C resembles a *horreum*, but is presumed a stable, while building D is viewed as a warehouse, without additional arguments, ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, 3.

⁴⁹ The two inscription fragments were part of a base and were reused as construction material: Macrea 1944.

⁵⁰ Macrea 1944, 255.

⁵¹ Alföldy 1943, 44.

Alföldy's theory with supplementary arguments.⁵² Afterwards, especially H. Daicoviciu, N. Gostar, J. Beneš and I. Piso nuanced the theories of their predecessors, the first two supporting M. Macrea's opinion, the last the arguments of A. Alföldy and I. I. Russu.⁵³

The hardly visible text of the inscription (Pl. V) reveals a dedication made to Julia Mamaea by the troop which appears to have been in garrison there, through the agency of the Iasdius Domitianus, the governor of the three Dacian provinces, who was in office in 230.⁵⁴ Several divergent opinions have been expressed over time, some considering that the troop was one of the *Vindellicorum* cohorts, either the first,⁵⁵ the second or the third,⁵⁶ or even a *coh. VI No[ricorum C]umidavensi[um]*.⁵⁷ The last author to support M. Macrea's reading, "... with slight differences", is C. C. Petolescu,⁵⁸ and this reading is also accepted by D. Dana.⁵⁹

- 4 [Iuliae Mameae]
[Augusta]e ma[tri]
[dom(ini) n(ostri)] sanctiss[i]-
[mi imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Severi
[[[Alexan]dri]] Aug(usti) [e]t
[castror]um sena-
[tus]que coh(ors) VI no-
8 [va C]umidavensis
[[[Ale]]]x[[an]] dr[[ia]] nae (sic)
[ex qua]estura sua
[dedicante Ia]sdio
12 [Domitiano] leg(ato)
[Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) III Dac(iarum)]

⁵² Russu 1974.

⁵³ Daicoviciu 1978, 120–123; Gostar 1969, 28–30, who identifies it with a troop of Oriental archers: Beneš 1978, 28–29; Piso 1979, 140.

⁵⁴ Piso 1993, 192–196, no. 42; Piso 2013, 40–42, no. 42.

⁵⁵ Alföldy 1943; Russu 1974, 51, 55, who claims that *coh. I Vindellicorum*, being the only one attested in Dacia, represents the main candidate for the identification of the garrison at Râșnov. Some authors continued to rely on M. Macrea's reading, Daicoviciu 1966, 169; Daicoviciu 1978, 120–123; Bogdan-Cătănicu 1969, 479; Beneš 1978, 28–29. The only known troops of *Vindelici* are the following: *coh. Raetorum et Vindellicorum*, *coh. I Vindellicorum*, *coh. IIII Vindellicorum*, only the second being connected to Dacia. Apparently, the first and the last of these troops were stationed only in Germania (the last also for a short while in Tingitana): see a brief account in Spaul 2000, 280–281, 290–291. Regarding the existence of other cohorts of *Vindelici*, numbered between I and IIII, even if in theory it would be justified, there is no proof that they lasted for longer periods of time. It is evident that they must have been created prior to cohort *IIII Vindellicorum*, which was first attested in 74 AD (CIL XVI 20), so it would be rather unlikely for them not to be attested anywhere until the 3rd century.

⁵⁶ Daicoviciu 1978, 123; Piso 1979, 139–140, who presume that, logically, it should have existed. This theory first enunciated by G. L. Cheesman (Cheesman 1914, 59–60) is contradicted by D. Kennedy (Kennedy 1983). I. Piso claimed that the troop from Tibiscum was different from that from Râșnov, taking into account that on the inscription IDR III/1, 184, re-read by him, the troop from Tibiscum must have had an epithet which was chiselled out; this epithet could have been derived from the name of a 3rd century emperor, so the troop was still stationed at Tibiscum: Piso 1983, 111.

⁵⁷ Szilágyi 1946, 20.

⁵⁸ The arguments were mostly aimed at rejecting the idea of identifying this troop with *coh. I Vindellicorum*, Petolescu 2002, 101; Petolescu 2016, 303–312.

⁵⁹ Dana 2017, 112.

- [Iuliae Mameae
 Augustae matri
 dom(ini) n(ostri) sanctissi-
 4 mi imp(eratoris) caes(aris) Severi
 Alexandri] aug(usti) [e]t
 [castror]um sena-
 [tus]que Coh(ors) Vind(elicorum)
 8 [?p(ia) f(idelis) C]umidavensi-
 [s Ale]x[an]dr[ia]na<e>
 [ex qua]estura sua
 [dedicante Ia]sdio
 12 [Domitiano l]legato
 [aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) III Dac(iarum)]

The first reading is the one based on M. Macrea's interpretation,⁶⁰ most recently corrected by C. C. Petolescu,⁶¹ while the second is the one put forward by I. I. Russu.⁶² The main problem arises at the end of line 7, where a small letter *O* appears, because the two fragments of the inscription broke off horizontally, right at the middle of this letter. Other small letters were only presumed, without being clearly visible: an *S* at the end of line 8, and an *O* at the end of line 11. It is evident that the engraver proceeded in this way due to lack of space. The first *O* is read as *D* by I. I. Russu, completing the abbreviation of the troop. However, that *D* is fairly rounded, looking more like an *O*, as also decided by C. C. Petolescu, after M. Macrea and H. Daicoviciu⁶³ before him.

Following M. Macrea, N. Gudea and I. Pop considered that this troop was created from among the autochthonous population⁶⁴ at the time of Caracalla's visit, when the *limes transalutanus* was also created, with the fort at Râşnov in Țara Bârsei as its prolongation.⁶⁵ C. C. Petolescu insinuated that the fort was created on the occasion of Caracalla's visit, which is implausible because numerous coins dated starting with the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd centuries AD have been found.⁶⁶ It is, however, true that some authors speak of a discontinuity in the occupation of the fort at Râşnov.⁶⁷ N. Gudea and I. Pop had claimed that the earthen fortification at Râşnov was built during Trajan's reign, whereas the stone one only at the middle of the 2nd century AD,⁶⁸ although it was not possible to test this chronological situation by archaeological excavations. As it turns out, the fortification with stone enclosure at Râşnov was rather late.

⁶⁰ Macrea 1944, 237.

⁶¹ Petolescu 2016, 307.

⁶² Russu 1974, 52.

⁶³ Daicoviciu 1978, 122.

⁶⁴ Gudea, Pop 1971, 66. The same theory in Petolescu 2002, 101.

⁶⁵ Petolescu 2002, 101.

⁶⁶ Gudea, Pop 1971, 60–61, 63.

⁶⁷ Gudea, Pop 1971, n. 41; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1969, 480.

⁶⁸ Gudea, Pop 1971, 63.

Regarding the disappearance or disuse of the numeral from the name of the troop, provided that it was one of the *Vindelici*,⁶⁹ possibly it did not matter anymore during the 3rd century.⁷⁰

The new evidence concerning the internal planning of the fort at Râșnov and the similarity to the fortification at Arzbach point to the fact that the troop that built the fort with stone enclosure at the former site, a troop bearing in its name the geographic indicative *Cumidava*⁷¹ and the epithet *Alexandriana*, could well be the same that built the fort at Arzbach. Given the small size of the last fort, it was presumed that a *numerus* was quartered there,⁷² although the only known tile stamps are that of *leg. XXII* and five types of the abbreviated name of *coh. IIII Vindelicorum*: *COH IIII VIN*, *COH IIII VN*, *COH IIII VINDEL*, *COH IIII VINDE* or *COH IIII VIND*, the last two in reverse.

Coh. IIII Vindelicorum is attested on several diplomas for Germania Superior and on one for Tingitana,⁷³ as follows:

IIII Vindelicorum – Germania – 74 AD (CIL XVI 20)

IIII Vindelico – Germania Superior – 90 AD (CIL XVI 36)

IIII Vindelico – Germania Superior – 116 AD (CIL XVI 62)

IV Vindelico – Mauretania Tingitana – 124 AD (CIL XVI 171)

IIII Vind – Germania Superior – 134 AD (CIL XVI 80)

It is also attested on altars (CIL XIII 7331, 7410, 7411, 7415) and on a dedicatory stone from Taragona (AE 1930, 147), on a funerary stone (CIL XIII 11947) and on a bronze plate fragment (CIL XIII 7418) from Groß-Krotzenburg and Heddernheim. In most of the cases, the abbreviation of the troop's name is *COH IIII VIND*, except for the votive plate from Groß-Krotzenburg, on which it appears as *CH IIII VIN* (CIL XIII 7410), the dedicatory stone from Taragona, *COHORS IIII VINDELICOR*, and the funerary stone from Heddernheim, where it is abbreviated as *COH IIII VINDEL* (CIL XIII 11947). The name of the troop is also abbreviated in almost 30 types of stamps found on tiles and bricks at Walldürn, Miltenberg, Obernburg, Stockstadt, Feldberg, Heddernheim, Friedberg, Rüdingen, Groß-Krotzenburg, Langenhaim,

⁶⁹ On this subject see Cheesman 1914, 59–60, Appendix II; Kennedy 1983. For comments regarding the numbering of new troops created by the Severans, with comments on the troop in garrison at Râșnov, see Daicoviciu 1978, 123 and Petolescu 2016, 310–312.

⁷⁰ There are plenty of cases where troops do not mention their numeral in inscriptions. This usually occurs on funerary stones, since the intended troop is evident, even in earlier inscriptions (AE 1966, 124 or CIL X 4862). It is true that, generally, the tradition was maintained in official inscriptions, though there are several exceptions (see IAM 2, 498; CIL III 6065; CIL II 4211; CIL VIII 20736; CIL XI 6009; ILS 2703; CIL X 6015 etc.).

⁷¹ It confirms for the first time that the name of settlement from an inscription coincides with that mentioned by an ancient source: Ptol. *Geog.* 3.8.8. S. Nemeti proved that the eastern settlements which seemed to be located by Ptolemy outside the province are, in fact, situated along its eastern border: Nemeti 2006, 276, 280; Nemeti 2014, 60–67. For further arguments and details concerning the name *Cumidava*, see Dana 2017.

⁷² ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, 5.

⁷³ During Hadrian's reign it was part of the army of Mauretania Tingitana, probably on the occasion of the revolts dealt with by Turbo, returning to Germania Superior by 134 AD: see Roxan 1983, 843, n. 39, 849–850.

Saalburg, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Holzhausen, Niedernberg and Arnsburg,⁷⁴ all these sites being close to each other (Pl. III).

It is considered that the troop was the garrison of the fort at Groß-Krotzenburg, since it is attested by five inscriptions (CIL XIII 7410; CIL XIII 7411; CIL XIII 7415; CIL XIII 7418; CIL XIII 7419) and several types of tile stamps.⁷⁵ Therefore, the troop or rather detachments from it are likely to have been stationed at Groß-Krotzenburg. It is certain that this brickyard supplied many of the neighbouring forts with tiles stamped with the abbreviation of the troop's name.

We know a centurion (CIL XIII 7410) and a *medicus* of this troop (CIL XIII 7415). The most interesting is the character who dedicated an altar to Jupiter Dolichenus (CIL XIII 7411) in 211 AD. He was *praepositus* of the mentioned troop and, at the same time, prefect of a *coh. I civium Romanorum*, dedicating for the amity (*pro concordia*) between the two cohorts.

On the other hand, the troop appears on two more inscriptions from Heddernheim,⁷⁶ mentioning two soldiers (CIL XIII 11947; CIL XIII 7331) and a centurion (CIL XIII 11947).

Consequently, it is possible for a part of the troop to have been stationed at Groß-Krotzenburg and maybe at Heddernheim, and this is the reason why the prefect of the *civium Romanorum* troop temporarily took command of detachments or of the entire troop of *Vindelici* under the title of *praepositus*.⁷⁷ The brickyard next to the former fort appears to have functioned until the end of the 2nd century.⁷⁸

Conclusions

Several forts are known at Râșnov and at least three of them partially overlap. It is clear, however, that neither the enclosures, nor the buildings are perfectly superimposed. The buildings we know belong to the final enclosure, the one with stone wall. The anomalies regarding the position and orientation of roads, corner towers and gates suggest that, nevertheless, the axes of the third fort were maintained. The fact that the previous buildings are disregarded indicates that a certain amount of time passed between each of the overlapping forts and that there was no continuous occupation; smaller-sized fort 2 could have possibly functioned during this interval, at least between forts 1 and 3. On the other hand, the partial superimposition of the fort conventionally labelled 1 with the fourth can also indicate, logically, that they

⁷⁴ CIL XIII 12471; RE IV, 1, 1900, s.v. *Cohors*, 350–351 (Cichorius).

⁷⁵ Unfortunately, there is little data regarding this fort, mainly because it was overlapped by the modern settlement; the available information comes from the research carried out at the end of the 19th century, ORL B 2a, 23. Measuring 175 × 123 m, the fort is rather large for a *coh. quingenaria*. The numerous stamps originate from the area of the kilns, close to the *vicus*. Only discoveries with *leg. XXII* are mentioned from a late, 3rd century phase: Jüngling 1983, 481.

⁷⁶ For Frankfurt a.M. – Heddernheim see ORL B, 2b, 27; Baatz 2000, 342; once more, very little is known of the fort, which was overlapped by the modern settlement. The discoveries made here point to the presence of the *ala I Flavia Gemina*, the *coh. XXXII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum* and again of the *coh. IIII Vindelicorum*.

⁷⁷ Regarding this post, see Saxer 1967; Smith 1979; Speidel 1978, 26–27.

⁷⁸ Baatz 2000, 174.

were built within a short time from each other. Yet fort 3 appears to have been built between them. The situation can only be clarified by future archaeological research.

The internal planning of the forts at Râșnov and Arzbach is very much alike, but there are aspects that differ too. First of all, the dimensions are not identical, the fort at Arzbach being slightly smaller, regarded as adequate for a *numerus*, even though inside were found tiles stamped with the abbreviation of the names of *leg. XXII* and *coh. IIII Vindelicorum*. Then, the outline of the main roads at Arzbach is regular if we take into account the location of the gates, but unusual at Râșnov. However, as we have seen, the off-centre location of the gates, corner towers and thus of the roads at Râșnov can be owed to the previous construction phases of the fortification. It is noteworthy that even the plan of the towers is similar at the two forts.

The discoveries in the fort at Arzbach indicate that it was occupied during the 2nd and until the beginning of the 3rd centuries.⁷⁹ Evidently, the troop was still in Germania because a *praepositus* dedicated in 211 AD the altar (CIL XIII 7411) discovered at Groß-Krotzenburg. Therefore, it is likely for the troop to have built the fort at Arzbach, before being moved to Groß-Krotzenburg and, maybe, to Heddernheim, unless it was stationed simultaneously in all of these forts, considering the small dimensions of the fort at Arzbach.

Conversely, the discoveries made in the fort at Râșnov indicate its occupation since the beginning of the 2nd century, as detailed above, but there are several overlapping forts here and this makes it difficult to differentiate between the habitation levels inside the buildings.⁸⁰ Therefore, it can be presumed that *coh. IIII Vindelicorum*, a *peditata quingenaria* cohort, was dislocated from Arzbach to Râșnov sometime in the beginning of the 3rd century.

Coh. IIII Vindelicorum, the garrison of the fort at Arzbach during the 2nd century, built, then, sometime in the beginning of the 3rd century a similar fort at Râșnov, its layout being decided by the commander. Nevertheless, it is difficult to conceive that the person who decided the layout of the fort at Arzbach was the same as the one at Râșnov, assuming that a longer period of time passed between the construction of the fort from Germania Superior and the one from Dacia Malvensis.⁸¹ If indeed so, then we must assume the preservation of a “constructive tradition” determined most of all by the unusual character of the ancillary buildings inside.

The number of soldiers is difficult to establish, but the troop appears to have been under strength, especially at Arzbach, where the fortification is smaller. However, it seems that both forts had only a small number of barracks;⁸² in turns, there were

⁷⁹ ORL B Bd. 1, no. 3, 5.

⁸⁰ See some general data in Gudea, Pop 1971, 65–66.

⁸¹ Because previous phases of the stone fortification at Arzbach cannot be excluded, it is possible that only a short time passed between the building of the two forts, so the commander could have remained the same.

⁸² Even though there would be spaces available for the six centuries of infantrymen of the *quingenaria* cohort, in the absence of more clear-cut details the theories are useless, especially since there are very few analogies of forts quartering *quingenariae peditatae* troops that were archaeologically researched: see Hassall 1983; or, in general, Breeze, Dobson 1969, who identify as fort-type for a *quingenaria peditata* cohort the 1.48 ha fort at Gellygaer, almost identical in size to Râșnov, but larger than Arzbach (0.734 ha). However, the same authors claim that this fort cannot actually be employed as a fort-type because stables appear to have functioned inside, the troop being part-mounted: Breeze, Dobson 1969, 18.

other ancillary buildings and it is precisely these exceptions that present us with the analogies between the two forts. They are completed by the discoveries inside the forts, especially by the tile stamps of *coh. IIII Vindelicorum* and by the inscription that proves the presence of this troop at Râșnov, admittedly dropping its numeral, probably unimportant before the middle of the 3rd century, and adding a toponym and an imperial epithet: *coh. Vindelicorum Cumidavensis Alexandriana*.

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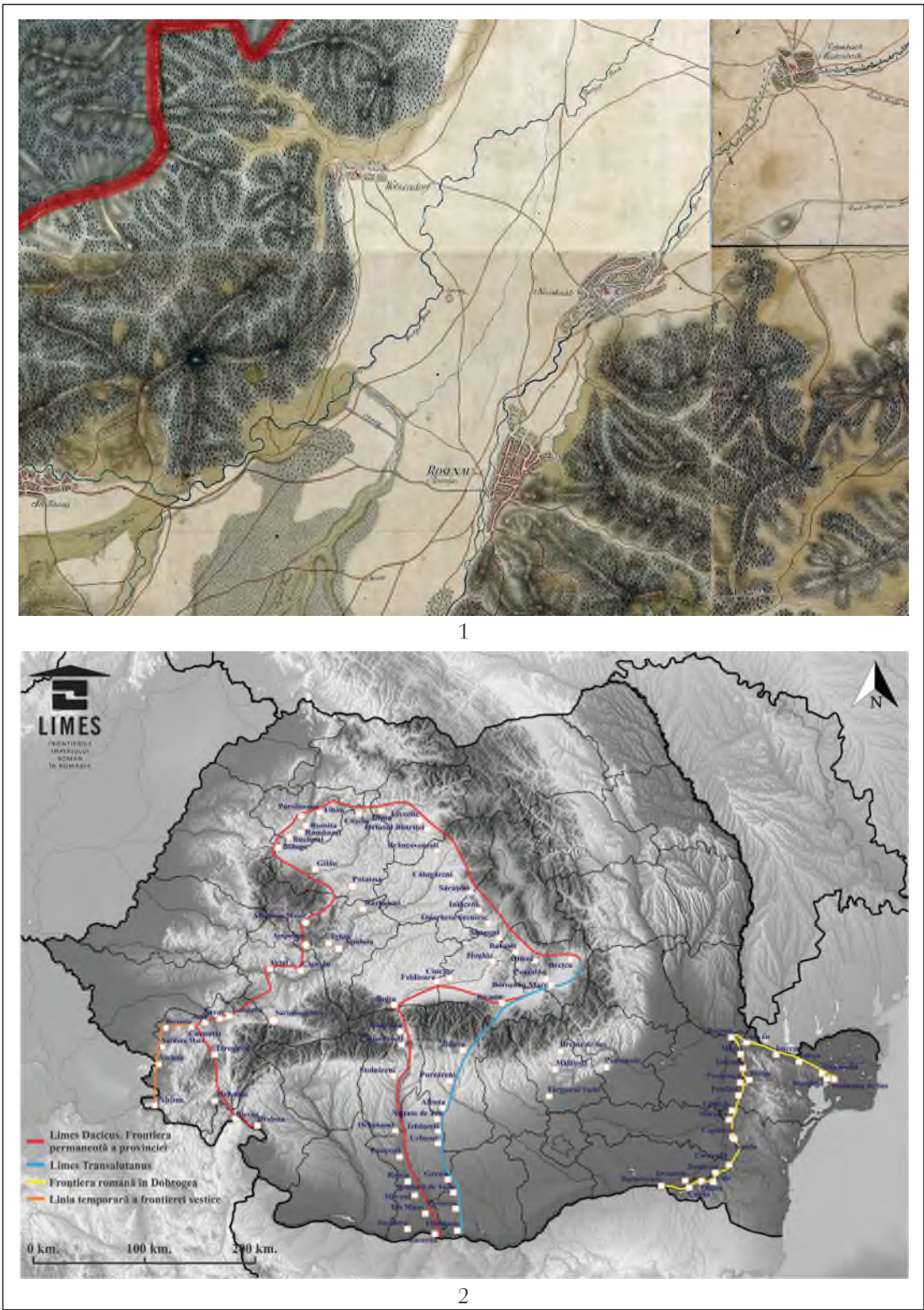
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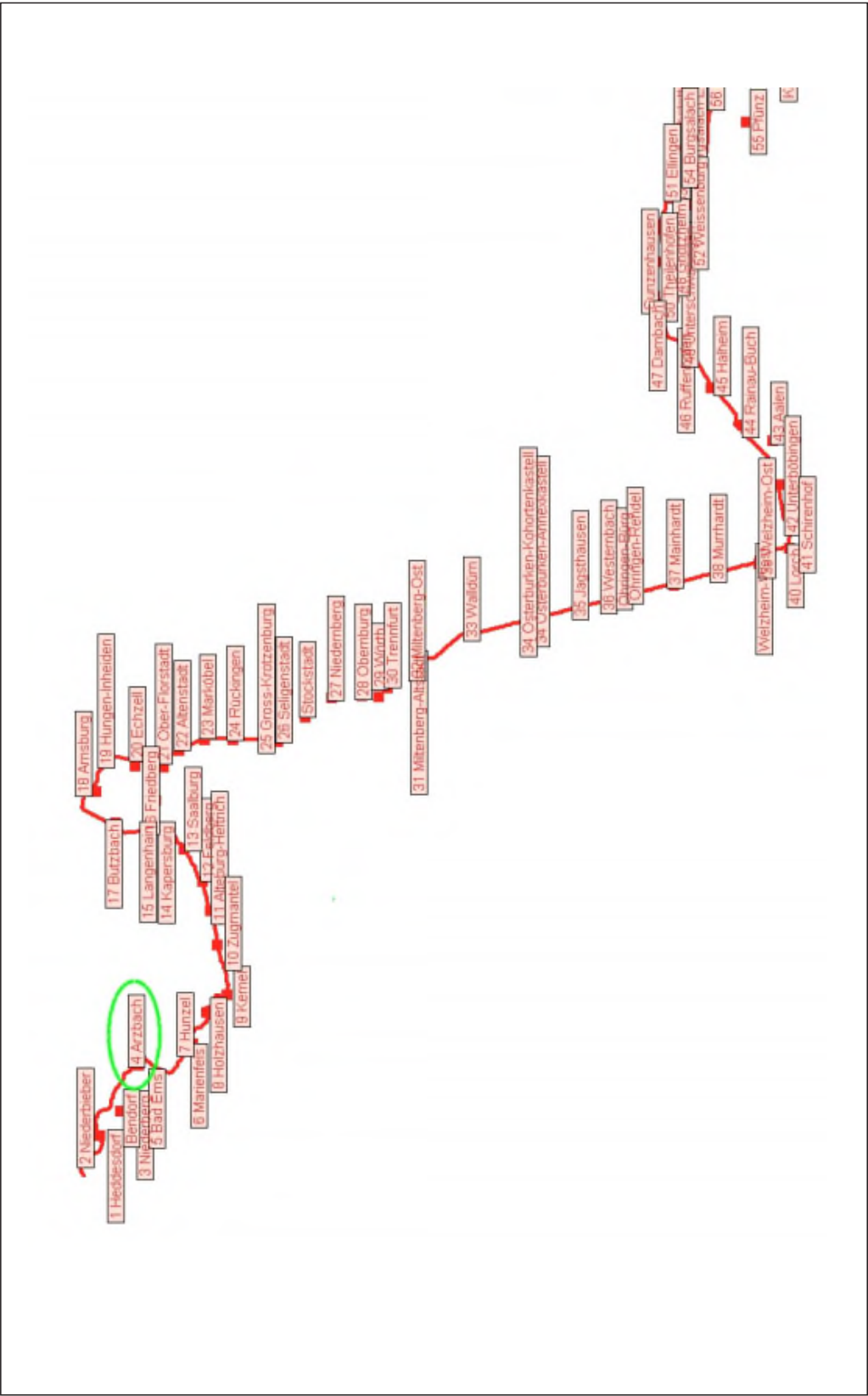
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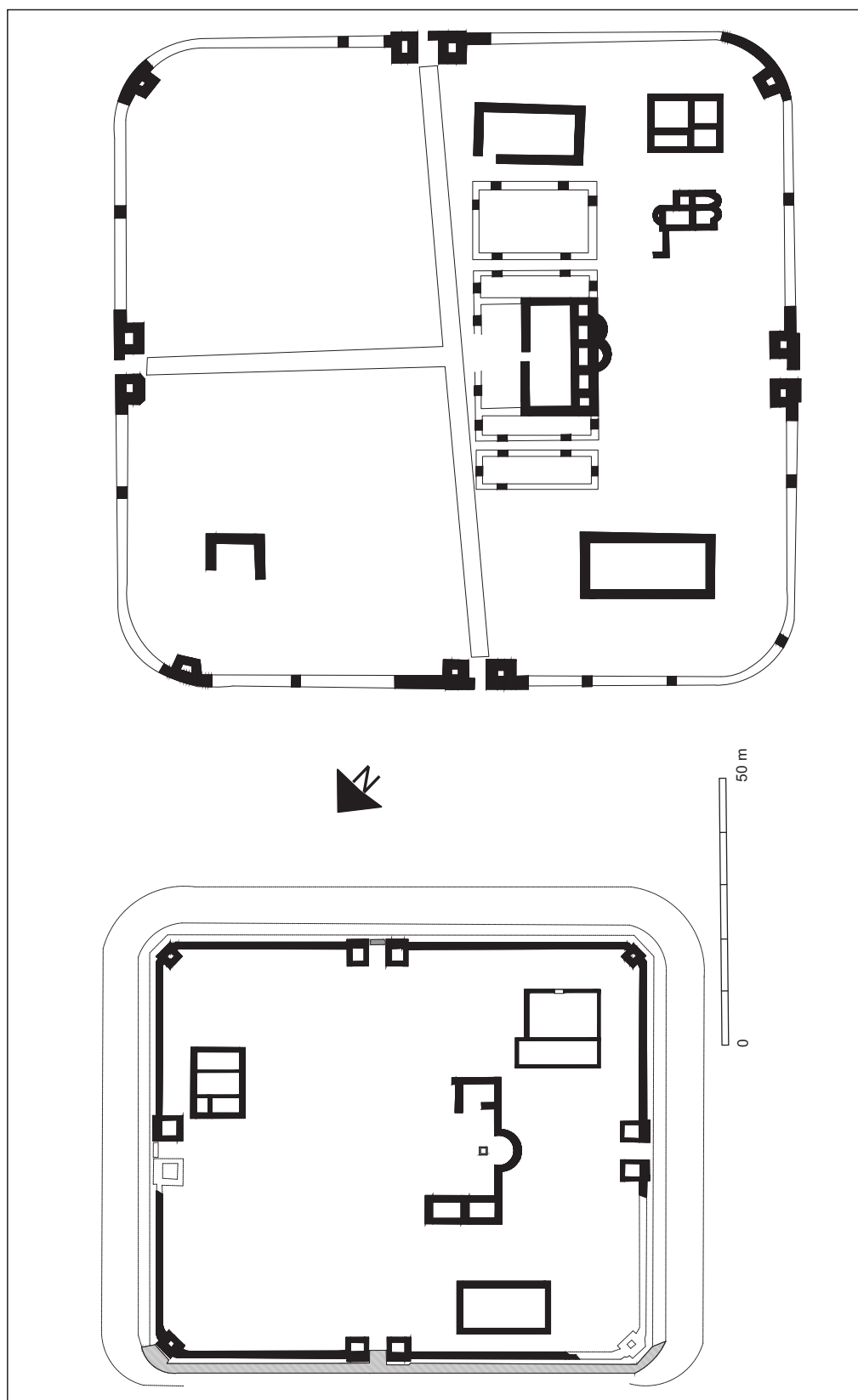
Pl. I. 1. Josephinische Landesaufnahme - 1769-1773, Braşov district, Râşnov area; 2. The Dacian Limes ©MNIT.



Pl. II. 1. The plan of the non-invasive survey at Râșnov ©Țentea, Popa, Petculescu 2017;
2. The interpretation of the non-invasive survey at Râșnov (redrawn after Gudea, Pop 1973,
 Fig. 1 and Țentea, Popa, Petculescu 2018, Fig. 4) © Felix Marcu.



Pl. III. The limes of Germania Superior © Felix Marcu, source DLK.



Pl. IV. The forts at Arzbach (redrawn after ORL B Bd. 1, nr. 3, Taf. II) and Râșnov (redrawn after Gudea, Pop 1973, Fig. 1) © Felix Marcu.



Pl. IV. The inscription discovered at Râșnov (IDR III/4, 221) (photo taken by Felix Marcu, © History County Museum Brașov).

MĂLĂIEȘTI. A TRAJANIC FORT IN MUNTENIA – THE RESULTS OF RECENT MAGNETOMETRIC SURVEYS*

OVIDIU ȚENȚEA, ALEXANDRU POPA, ANDREI CÎMPEANU

Abstract: Mălăiești Roman Fort is one of those forts abandoned by the Roman Army at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. This reference site has only a very short term occupation between 102 and 118 AD.

The research results presented here are based on the processing of the latest geophysical surveys of the site. The measurements were carried out with a 5-probe fluxgate gradiometer. The interpretation of the results was carried out in a comparative way with the research results of the last century (C. Zagoriț' plan) and also with the results of the recent excavations. The results of the surveys contribute to a better understanding of the internal planning of the Mălăiești fort. Mainly it is about the structure and configuration of the earthen wall along with the double defense trench system. Our results confirm a part of the visual observations made by C. Zagoriț before World War Two. Based on the dimensions of the fort (160×180 m) and on the number (24) and size of the barracks, it can be concluded that either a *cohors milliaria peditata* or an *ala quingenaria*, at full strength, was quartered at Mălăiești.

Keywords: Roman Army; forts; Roman Dacia; Muntenia; internal planning; magnetometric surveys.

Rezumat: castrul roman de la Mălăiești este una dintre fortificațiile abandonate de armata romană la începutul domniei lui Hadrian. Acest sit de referință a fost ocupat un scurt interval între 102 și 118 p. Chr.

Rezultatele cercetării prezentate se bazează pe prelucrarea ultimelor studii geofizice ale sitului. Măsurătorile s-au efectuat cu un gradiometru cu flux de 5 sonde. Interpretarea rezultatelor a fost efectuată în mod comparativ cu rezultatele cercetărilor din secolul trecut (planul lui C. Zagoriț) și, de asemenea, cu rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice recente. Rezultatele prospecțiunilor contribuie la o mai bună înțelegere a planificării interne a castrului. În principal, s-a evidențiat structura și configurația valului de pământ împreună cu sistemul dublu de șanțuri. Rezultatele confirmă o parte din observațiile vizuale făcute de C. Zagoriț înainte de al Doilea Război Mondial. Pe baza dimensiunilor castrului (160×180 m) și a numărului (24) și dimensiunilor barăcilor, se poate trage concluzia că la Mălăiești a staționat fie o *cohors milliaria peditata*, fie o *ala quingenaria* în efectiv complet.

Cuvinte cheie: armata romană; castru; Dacia romană; Muntenia; planificare internă; prospecțiuni magnetometrice.

Context of reasearch

Mălăiești Roman Fort is part of the group of forts built in north-western Muntenia by the Roman army during the conquest war of the Dacian territory under Decebalus' authority (Pl. I). The transformation of this part of territory into

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a Roman province resulted in significant mutations on an area spread north of the lower course of the Danube. The forts have drawn the attention of the academics due to both the short time span of their use and peculiar location. Based on archaeological sources, corroborated by the epigraphic and literary ones, it has been supposed that these Roman forts were in use for a short period of time, between the end of Trajan's Dacian campaigns and the beginning of Hadrian's rule.¹ Therefore, we believe that the Mălăiești Roman fort is a relevant model for the Roman provincial archaeology, as we are dealing with a standard fortification that functioned only for a short while. Such circumstances make it a reference point for types of buildings and archaeological artefacts, framed chronologically in the early years of the 2nd century AD.

Nowadays, the archaeological site known as the "Mălăiești Roman Fort" lies in the territory of Sfârleanca village, part of the Dumbrăvești Commune, Prahova County. Its "historical" name is given by Mălăiești commune, to which the land belonged until the 1968 administrative-territorial reorganization.

Geographically, the site is located on the plateau that the local inhabitants call *Cetate*, formed by the interflow of the Teleajen and Vărbilău rivers and oriented with the long sides approximately on a north-south direction (Pl. II/1). Altimetrically, there is an average level difference from the hill base by ca. 15 meters. The plateau's surface narrows gradually from north to south, reaching to a point where its slopes join in the shape of an edge. After a portion of approximately 30 meters, these edges break off to give place to a small plateau that ends in front of the riverbed formed by the interflow of the two rivers, Teleajen and Vărbilău. It may be noted that the location of the fort took into account the plateau's configuration, so that it was placed on the southernmost possible segment, without significantly deforming its southern side. The dominant strategic position of this point called *Cetate* ensured the soldiers within the fort exceptional visibility over the interflow area of the above mentioned rivers. Near the fort, it is believed that a civil settlement developed on the same promontory as well, which most likely lay on the northern side of the plateau. This hypothesis is confirmed by both the flat configuration of the land in the respective area and especially by the clusters of ruins and artefacts that were visible on the surface of the site more than seven decades ago (Pl. II/1).²

This study attempts to present the results of the geophysical prospections carried out inside the fort. In order to outline a most detailed image of the internal planning of the fortification, we shall discuss the images we processed together with the most recent archaeological excavation results.

¹ Ștefan 1948, 141-142; Florescu 1960, 226-227, Bogdan-Cătănicu 1981, 60, Petolescu 1986, 510-514; Zahariade, Dvorski 1997, 7-23; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2015, 109-130; 2016. The forts at Târgșor, Mălăiești and Drajna de Sus string along the Teleajen valley, on a distance of 50 km, namely a day's march, while the fort at Voinești lies along the Târgului river valley, on the route of the future *limes transalutanus* and, without any doubt, in direct connection with the Rucăr fort and those located in south-eastern Transylvania. A special place is held by the Pietroasele fort as well (Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2015).

² Zagoriț 1940, 11.

Short history of research

The site was known as early as the '30s of the last century, when army surveyor colonel Constantin Zagoriț draws a detailed topographical plan of the entire area, including, among others, the Roman fort and the baths (Pl. II/1). The most important results of his work are the general and detailed plans of the Roman fort. The fort layout was drawn exclusively based on surveys of the elements visible at the surface at that time (ramparts and ditches), while today, some of the marked details can no longer be found in the field. It seems that the fort's sizes were calculated by Zagoriț by projecting the enclosure in the middle of the rampart, at its maximum points (180 × 150 m).⁵ The author located the main gate on the northern gate, called "*decumana*" (*sic!*).⁴ Zagoriț mentioned the find of a brick with the stamp of the V Macedonica legion⁵ and a Trajan's silver *denarius*. The same author provided information on the location of the civil settlement in the northern half of the fort, respectively that of the baths in the north-western proximity, at a lower elevation from the "Cetate" plateau (Pl. II/1). It is worth mentioning that the fort had a pentagonal shape, due to its southern side, designed according to the land configuration, as well as the fact that *porta praetoria* lay on one of the long sides, namely on the northern one. The western gate (*principalis dextra*) was placed by the intersection point of the enclosure with an access way into the fortification, in use until the inter-War period, when the above-mentioned plan was drafted.

The first systematic excavations in the fort were performed during two different seasons, in 1954 and 1985–1986. In 1954, Grigore Florescu and Expectatus Bujor excavated two trenches, on the northern rampart and in the central area of the fortification.⁶ Among the most significant results of the 1954 season we mention the outline of certain elements of the fortification system on the northern side of the fort – namely a *murus caespiticius*, as well as of a defensive ditch. Two parallel walls, set at 11.63 m one from the other, were identified in the excavated trench within the central area of the fort. They were interpreted as parts of the headquarters building (*principia*).⁷ According to the authors, the results of the 1954 season confirmed, first, the accuracy of the plan drafted by Zagoriț. Since the archaeological sections excavated in that year were not marked on any published topographical plan, the above statements are not highly relevant. The archaeological material yielded by the excavation consisted of pottery, items of military equipment and two bronze coins, struck under Trajan.⁸

Later, the surface of the fort and civil settlement were subject to a long decay process due to human activity. For a while, the site served as stone quarry to the local inhabitants, later the land was strongly affected by farming works. In 1985, the surface of the fort, civil settlement and baths was destroyed by the mechanical works carried out prior to the planting of an orchard. Thus, the site was strongly damaged, especially the northern and western sides of the fortification. The rescue excavations

⁵ Zagoriț 1940, 7.

⁴ Zagoriț 1940, 8.

⁵ This is impossible to confirm. Despite our efforts over the last years, we could not identify this brick in none of the museal collections.

⁶ Florescu, Bujor 1955, 271–279.

⁷ Florescu, Bujor 1955, 272–274.

⁸ Florescu, Bujor 1955, 274–277, Pl. I.

conducted then by Dan Lichiardopol targeted only a small part of the surfaces affected by levelling,⁹ particularly the eastern and western sides and the central area of the fort. Two parallel trenches were excavated on the eastern side of the fort. The results reconfirmed the structural elements of the fortification system that Florescu and Bujor had obtained on the northern side. Other two trenches, excavated in the central area of the fort fortification, parallel to that excavated by Florescu and Bujor, respectively on the western side of the fort, yielded, in our view, inconclusive results.

Recent archaeological excavations

The systematic research in the fort and baths from Mălăiești was resumed starting with 2011.¹⁰

As aforementioned, when Zagoriț's plan was drafted, there was no trial trench excavated, while later archaeological investigations (1954, 1985–1986) remained unmarked on topographical plans or sketches. For this reason, our recent research considered firstly to corroborate the results of former and recent archaeological excavations, respectively with the field notes of colonel Zagoriț.

The main results of the 2011–2012 archaeological investigations consist in identifying all fort sides and of the main fortification system elements. Also, since 2016 the archaeological investigations are aimed to exhaustively excavate a barrack-block located in the *praetentura sinistra*¹¹ (Pl. II/2).

Fortification elements on the northern rampart were investigated through trenches S1 (50 × 1.5 m) and S3 (30 × 1.5 m) and yielded two *fossae fastigatae*. Noticeably, the outward *fossa* was larger in size than the inward one. During the excavations no further elements of the rampart's structure could be identified, rampart which in 1954 still preserved sufficient elements of the *murus caespiticius*.¹² It could be also noted that the *via sagularis* was entirely destroyed by the development works of the orchard in 1985–1986.

The constituents of the eastern rampart, excavated by S2 (50 × 2 m), included: a *fossa* (7.5 m, depth 2.15 m); the *berma* (2 m wide); elements of the strongly flattened rampart, in which one could barely distinguish a few prints of turf bricks, belonging to the *murus caespiticius*; the *via sagularis* and the first part of a barracks.¹³

The southern rampart, cut by trench S5 (30 × 1.5 m), preserved two *fossae fastigatae*. Since they lay nearby the edge of the plateau, these ditches were so close that they were set up in a peculiar way, describing in cross-section an intermediary form between two “V”-shaped *fossa* and one ditch in “W” shape.

The western side of the fort has been strongly damaged by the farming works of the past century. Of the constitutive elements of the fortification we could identify a *fossa* and a small part of the *vallum* (Pl. II/2).

⁹ The Archive of the County Museum of History and Archaeology of Prahova, Ploiești.

¹⁰ The preliminary results of these investigations, still in progress, were published in the form of synthetic reports: Țentea et alii 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017.

¹¹ Țentea et alii 2016, 84.

¹² Florescu, Bujor 1955, 272.

¹³ Excavations of the barracks were extended on larger surfaces in the following seasons, in progress at this time.

Magnetometric research

To obtain additional information on the structure and land configuration of the fortification at Mălăiești, magnetometric surveys were carried out on the fort's surface and in areas of the civil settlement,¹⁴ in several seasons between 2013 and 2016.

Research method

For the fulfilment of the proposed aim, we chose to apply the method of assessing the vertical magnetic gradient from the fort's surface. Therefore, we used an installation composed of five "Fluxgate/Dr. Förster" vertical coils, set on a non-magnetic mobile support. The distance in-between the coils was of 0.50 m, so that surveys were taken by 2.50 m wide stripes. Counting on movement direction measures were taken at each 0.05 m. The magnetometric mapping was performed in rectangular perimeters, geo-referenced with the aid of a geodesic GPS. By using the real time correction signal ROMPOS, the system was 0.02-0.04 m in precision. The acquired topographical data were stored using the Romanian national projection system "Stereo 70". The acquired data were bilinearly interpolated. The results of data interpolation were represented in the form of a plan in tones of grey. The negative values, corresponding to lower magnetization of the investigated surface, are represented in lighter colour tones, while the positive ones in darker tones.

Overall during the research period, a surface of ca. 4 hectares was measured through this method in the fort at Mălăiești. The main challenge of this geomagnetic prospection project was raised by the existence of powerful interference factors. Namely, magnetic anomalies caused by the planting ditches of the orchard, dated in 1985. Due to the resemblance between the anomalies left by the structures of the Roman fort and those left by the 20th century intensive farming, it was impossible to completely distinguish graphically among the two types of anomalies. Hence, the magnetometric plan presented here contains structures of both types and origins, so that their separation is made only at an interpretative level (Pl. III/1). Thus, for the adequate understanding and interpretation of the magnetometric plan, we shall use as reference an orthophotograph¹⁵ (Pl. III/2), the topographic plan published by Zagoriț in 1940 (Pl. III/2; Pl. IV/2) as well as the plan of the archaeological excavations performed in the fort in 2011-2012 (Pl. II/2).

Results of the magnetometric prospection carried out in the fort

Despite all limitations imposed by the circumstances in the field, the magnetometric plan (Pl. III/1) can significantly complete the data regarding the structure of the fortification at Mălăiești and bring additional elements, corrections and cross-checks of the hypotheses originally based on Zagoriț's plan and the results of the archaeological excavations, presented briefly above.

¹⁴ For the resumption of the archaeological research, prior to the first campaign of 2011, a series of geophysical surveys was conducted on the entire fort surface. The results could not yet significantly enrich the level of our knowledge on the Roman fort at Mălăiești. For the results of those investigations see Frînculeasa, Frînculeasa, David 2014, 289-301.

¹⁵ Source - Agenția Națională de Cadastru și Publicitate Imobiliară, București (www.ancpi.ro).

As a preliminary note, we wish to mention that the poor preservation of the construction's structure is confirmed for the northern and north-western parts of the fortification, due to the extensive farming works carried out in the second part of the 20th century. We should also add that the consistent anomalies in the central part of the fort, marked as a string of white blanks set against a diffuse black background are the result of interferences with an average voltage pole on a north-south alignment (Pl. III/2).

Fortification ditches may be distinguished by the continuous darker print (magnetic anomaly). Two ditches on the western side and partially in the south-western corner may be clearly marked. On the southern side one may distinguish, a larger portion of the inner ditch and a smaller portion of the outer ditch. The ditches get closer to each other in the area cut by section S5 (Pl. III/2 - S5). On the northern side the enclosure is discontinuously visible, however the magnetometric information, as mentioned above, may be correlated with the archaeological one. The western side could only be identified by archaeological excavation (Pl. II/2 - S6).

The rampart is outlined by a light colour print (magnetic anomaly), doubling inwards the first *fossa* of the fortification on certain parts of the eastern and southern sides. Both on the eastern as well as on the southern sides, the ditches and ramparts in front of the gates are visibly discontinued. Empty spaces correspond to the internal routes of the main roads of the fort. On the southern side, the road path, which further runs to the south, is still visible after exiting the fort.

The fort's sizes on the exterior are of ca. 180 × 160 m. Calculations were made in the area nearby the gates, including the palisade.¹⁶ As shown above, the excavations conducted in 1954 on the northern side revealed that the palisade was supported by a turf-wall - *murus caespiticius* - designed to reinforce the rampart.¹⁷

The roads inside the fort may be distinguished rather clearly. The easiest to notice are two roads, crossing by the centre of the fort on parallel alignments, oriented approximately north-south. It may be seen that the central road (located in the proximity of the strong anomaly caused by the average voltage pole placed in the middle of the fort) exits the fort, crossing part of the enclosure where the *vallum* and ditch are discontinued, thus marking the place where a gate lay. The two parallel roads are no other than *via praetoria* and *via quintana*. Since the eastward road has at least one correspondence with the exterior, this indicates it was *via principalis*. Thus, the main road, *via praetoria*, is oriented east-south-east - west-north-west. The route of this road is affected by the anomaly recorded during surveys caused by the average voltage pole that sits in the middle of the fort. The projection on the eastern side of *via praetoria* corresponds to a visible break of the rampart and first defensive ditch. Most of the second ditch is topped by abundant vegetation, which did not allow magnetometric surveys to be done. Nevertheless, it may be partially seen on the plan in the south-eastern corner, being also identified by section S5 on the southern side.

¹⁶ As mentioned, Zagorîț suggested the sizes of 180 × 150 m (see above). Our measurements, due to the results of the 1955 archaeological research (when the rampart's structure was investigated in detail) took into consideration the interior rampart as well.

¹⁷ Florescu, Bujor 1955, 272, Fig. 1. See also Bogdan-Cătănciu 1993, 57, Fig. 4.

Contrary to data known so far, *porta praetoria*, the main gate of the fort, lies on the direction of the main access route to the area, namely the Teleajen river valley.

The plateau's slopes are rather steep on three sides of the fort (eastern, western and partially southern). As stated before, towards the north the plateau opens considerably, the land being occupied by the Roman civil settlement.¹⁸ In the area which corresponds to the gate on the eastern side of the fort, the hill slope was significantly modified, a platform that facilitated access inside the fort being created. This access stream was used on a constant basis until late in time, including over the last century, as evidenced also by the topographic plan published by Zagoriț (Pl. II/1). The configuration of this access area was changed after massive interferences in the soil, during 1985, when the upper part of the platform was blocked by the displacement of a significant quantity of earth from the Roman enclosure, which was hence destroyed.

Notes on the inner set-up of the fort

A few notes may be made regarding the internal layout of the fort. An appreciable number of barrack-blocks may be distinguished. In the *praetentura dextra*, where they are best seen, one may count six barrack-blocks. The same may be argued about *praetentura sinistra*, although not all barracks there are well noticeable on the magnetometric plan. These observations could be though very well correlated with the archaeological excavations (Pl. III/2). The barracks seem to be grouped two by two, without being double barracks. At this time, although the magnetometric plan gives no clear image, we may note that the sizes, orientation and structure of the buildings from *retentura* are almost identical with those in *praetentura*. If our observations are accurate, then the fort might have contained 24 barracks, which would correspond to an appreciable number of soldiers, should we choose the calculation formula where each barracks would accommodate approximately 80 people.

Since at this moment the archaeological research within the fort, due to administrative reasons, has focused on the barracks from *praetentura sinistra*, it is yet impossible to say whether there were buildings that fulfilled a mixed function of barracks and stables, so that the high number of resulting rooms (24 buildings \times 8 *contubernia*) could have accommodated only a smaller number of soldiers (2 or 3). Thus, there is still a possibility that each *contubernium* had a correspondent stable, forming the so-called *stable-barracks*, as seen in the cases of the forts at Wallsend or South Shields in Britannia or several forts from Germania.¹⁹

The circumstances at Mălăiești have a good parallel in the fort at *Llanfor*, dated during Vespasian's reign, in the 70s AD, where a similar number of barrack-blocks were recorded.²⁰ In the case of the barracks at Mălăiești it is impossible to specify the number of *contubernia*, as the magnetometric plan, resulted from our prospecting, is

¹⁸ The significant clusters of artefacts in the northern part of the fort were noted by both Zagoriț over seven decades ago (Zagoriț 1940, 11) and the 2011-excavation, when over the course of the investigation of the northern enclosure, we examined a portion of approximately 20 meters of the civil settlement too (Țentea et alii 2012, 129).

¹⁹ Hodgson, Bidwell 2004, 131–136, Fig. 1. As this study does not aim at a detailed analysis of recent archaeological research, we shall not further discuss interpretations based on other analogies.

²⁰ Hopewell, Hodgson 2012.

not clear enough, while the archaeological investigation of a whole barrack is not yet completed.

The headquarters building, *principia*, is not clearly distinguished on the magnetometric plan. As mentioned before, it was examined during the archaeological investigations of 1954. However, unfortunately, its location remained unmarked on a topographic plan. At this moment of the research, the buildings on the *latera praetorii* cannot be delimited either.

The linear magnetometric anomalies, darker in colour, which delimit all the spaces in *praetentura dextra* and *praetentura sinistra* may be identified as the gutters related to *via sagularis*. Their distinct mark on the magnetometric plan is due to their filling with archaeological material (pottery, daub and such) caused by the fortification's disuse.

Another definite fact is the presence on the magnetometric plan of two circular anomalies – one in the central part of the fort, south the *principia*, and another nearby the southern enclosure. Interestingly, on Zagoriț's plan, one may notice, in approximately the same places, circular clusters of building material or ruins (Pl. IV/2).

Conclusions

The investigations presented above relied on the method of measuring the vertical gradient of the Earth's magnetic field and have brought, together with the results of the archaeological excavations, a few new elements for a better understanding of the Roman fort at Mălăiești: its structure and the configuration of the architectural elements of the fortification, the rampart with two adjacent ditches. The analysis of the processed magnetometric plan allows us to confirm, to a great extent, the data collected by surveyor Constantin Zagoriț related to the size of the fort, specifically 160 × 180 m, adding up to 2.88 ha. The fort's internal set-up is well structured, indicating the layout of the barrack-blocks and the buildings of the central area.

The main gate of the fort, *porta praetoria*, laid on the eastern side, towards the Teleajen river valley, the main access way to the area.

Depending on barrack types, this fort might have accommodated the full strength of a *cohors milliaria peditata* or an *ala quingenaria*. Future prospecting shall be exclusively directed towards the civil settlement, which functioned, according to C. Zagoriț's descriptions, north of the fort.

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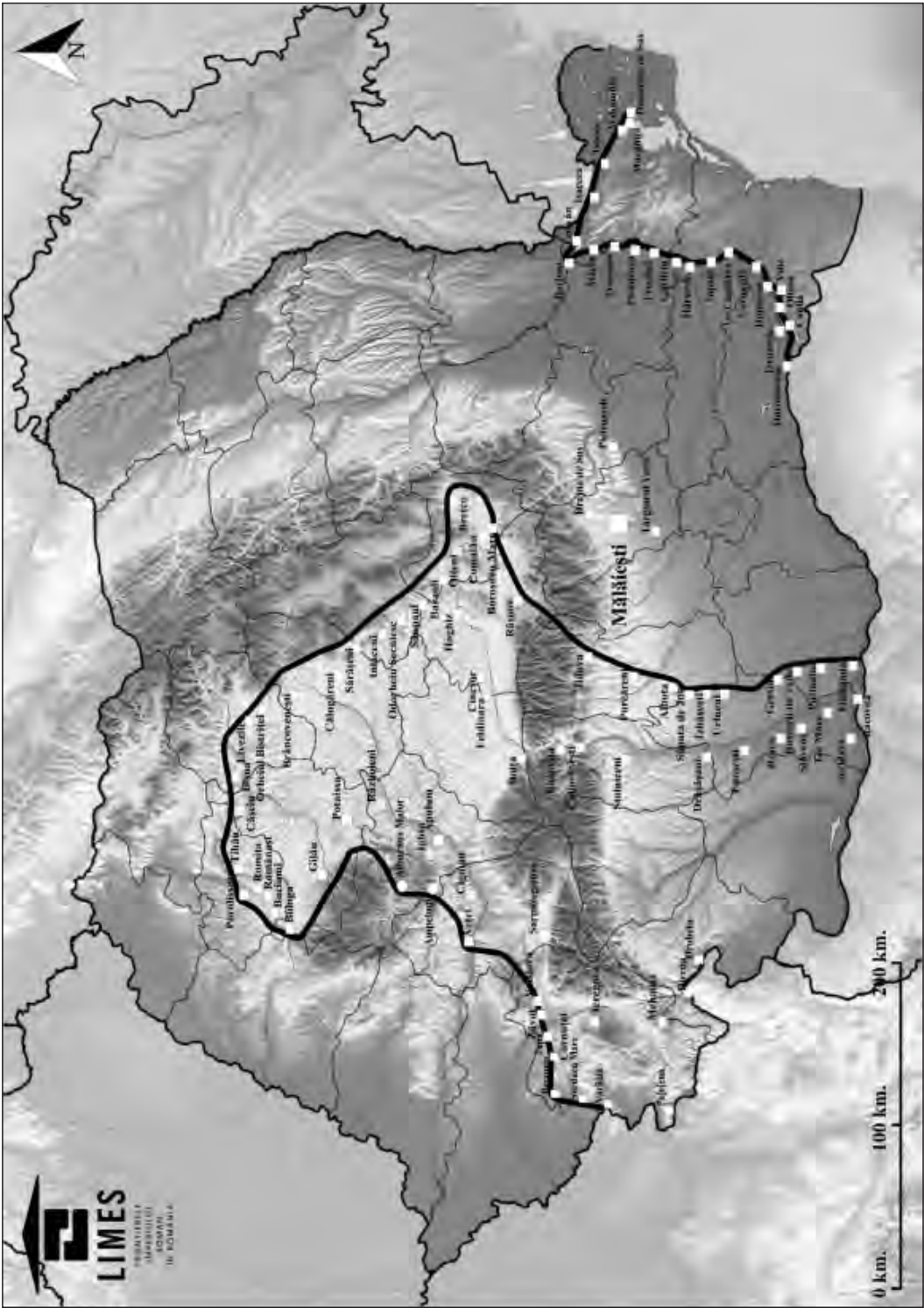
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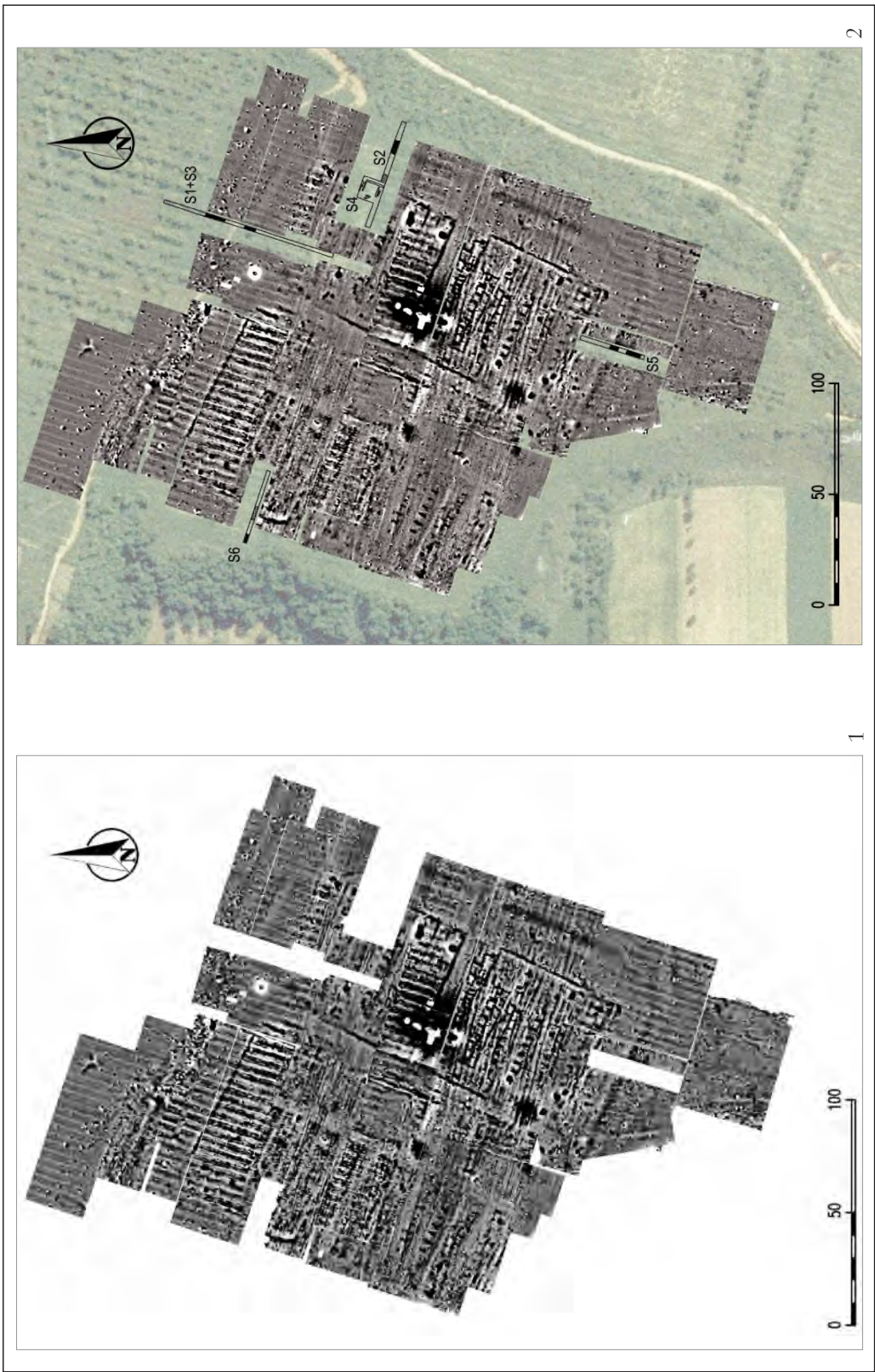
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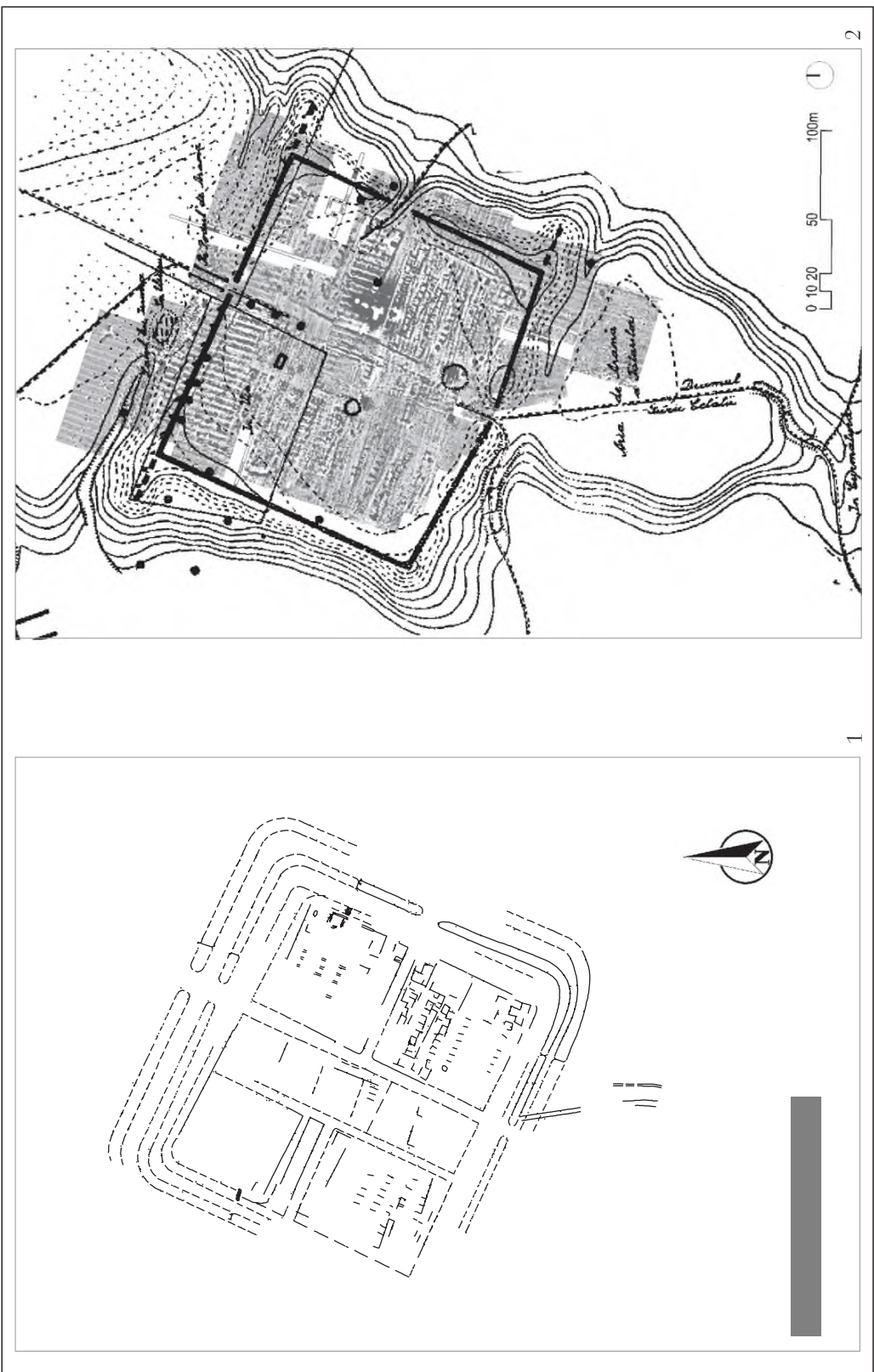
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Pl. I. The map of Roman Dacia and the fort from Mălăiești (after <http://www.limesromania.ro>, with our additions).



Pl. III. 1. Plan of the geophysical prospection in the fort at Mălăiești 2013-2016; 2. Plan of the geophysical prospection carried out in the fort at Mălăiești overlapping the general plan resulted from the archaeological excavations.



Pl. IV. 1. Layout of the fort at Mălăiești with the main elements identified by excavation and geophysical prospection; 2. Plan of the geophysical prospection carried out in the fort at Mălăiești overlapping the topographical plan drawn by Zagorîi (adapted after Pl. II/1).

ADDENDA: EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN ZU SPÄTANTIEN SILBER- UND GOLDBARREN*

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Abstract: In 2003, 2014 and 2015 we published two basic studies and a further paper on Roman silver and gold bars with stamps, hallmarks or other types of signatures of late antiquity. A characteristic feature of silver bars of this period is their double-axe shape. However, this form is not a canonical one in all periods of this era. In the center of the analysis of known Roman gold bars there stood in particular the findings of Crasna and Feldioara in Romania in the shape of 'sealing wax sticks'. This paper aims to add some supplementary remarks on several details that had not taken sufficient account in our earlier publications. Moreover, we shall give hints to new finds and depositories of older findings unknown so far. Finally, we shall draw attention on possible or real forgeries of the recent past.

Keywords: Gold and silver bars; late antiquity; Crasna; Feldioara; epigraphy; forgeries.

Zusammenfassung: In den Jahren 2003, 2014 und 2015 veröffentlichten wir zwei grundlegende Studien und einen weiteren Beitrag zu gestempelten oder auf andere Weise wie mit Punzen signierten römischen Silber- und Goldbarren aus spätantiker Zeit. Ein besonderes Merkmal der Silberbarren aus dieser Periode ist ihre Doppelaxt-Form, die allerdings insbesondere im Hinblick auf verschiedene Zeitabschnitte nicht kanonisch ist. Bei den Goldbarren standen und stehen insbesondere die gestempelten Barren in Form von 'Siegelackstangen' aus den Fundkomplexen von Crasna und Feldioara (Rumänien) im Zentrum der Untersuchungen. Der hier verfasste Beitrag versteht sich als Ergänzung zu verschiedenen Teilfragen, welche in den vorgenannten Abhandlungen nur am Rande bearbeitet werden konnten, zudem aber auch als Hinweis auf neue Fundstücke und unbekannte Verwahrorte älterer Objekte. Schließlich soll auf mögliche oder reale Fälschungen entsprechender Objekte in der jüngeren Vergangenheit aufmerksam gemacht werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Gold- und Silberbarren; Spätantike; Crasna; Feldioara; Epigraphik; Fälschungen.

Rezumat: În anii 2003, 2014 și 2015 am publicat două studii și o altă contribuție privind lingourile romane de argint și aur ștampilate ori marcate cu alte semne din perioada antică târzie. O caracteristică a lingourilor de argint din această perioadă este aspectul lor de secure dublă. Totuși, această formă nu este una deosebită pentru toate perioadele acestei epoci. În centrul studiului privind lingourile de aur romane cunoscute au stat mai cu seamă descoperirile de la Crasna și Feldioara (România), acestea având formă de bare plate cu ștampile. Această lucrare are în vedere adăugarea unor observații cu privire la mai multe detalii care nu au fost îndeajuns luate în considerare în publicațiile noastre anterioare. Mai mult, vom oferi sugestii privind noi descoperiri, precum și localizări necunoscute până în prezent ale unor descoperiri mai vechi. În cele din urmă, ne vom îndrepta atenția asupra unor falsuri posibile sau reale din trecutul apropiat.

Cuvinte cheie: lingouri de aur și argint; antichitatea târzie; Crasna; Feldioara; epigrafie; falsuri.

* Der Beitrag war auch Gegenstand eines Vortrags beim 19. Internationalen Kongress für Klassische Archäologie in Köln und Bonn (AIAC) vom 22. bis 26. Mai 2018.

Im Jahr 2003 veröffentlichten wir unsere Studie: „Silberbarren der römischen Kaiserzeit – Katalog und Versuch einer Deutung“.¹ Den Ausgangspunkt bildete der aktuelle Fund eines gestempelten Silberbarrens in Form einer Doppelaxt im elsässischen Biesheim-Oedenburg, möglicherweise das antike *Argentovaria*.² Das Gewicht dieses Barrens, das mittels eines Tarierspiefropfens sekundär justiert worden war, beträgt aktuell 315 g. Zwei entgegen gerichtete Stempel bestätigen ein Sollgewicht von *p(ondo) I (libram)*, also einem römischen Pfund, welches demnach um wenige Gramm unterschritten wird.³ Zudem werden durch die Stempelung ein ‚reiner‘ Silbergehalt (*argentum pusulatum*) garantiert und die Herkunft des Barrens aus den Silberschmieden (*argentariae*) von *Naissus*/Niš angezeigt (Pl. I/1). Der Typ dieses Barrens war und ist gut bekannt bei manchen Unterschieden im Einzelnen, was die Form derselben, aber auch die Gestaltung der Stempel oder die Signierung auf andere Weise wie Punzierung oder Ritzung betrifft. Diese typischen Merkmale zeichnen jedenfalls eine Gruppe von Barren aus spätantiker Zeit aus und heben sie von einfachem Rohsilber in unspezifischer Form und in der Regel ohne irgendeine Beschriftung ab.⁴ Solches Rohsilber war in der Regel zur weiteren Verarbeitung vorgesehen, etwa zu Schmuck oder Prunkgegenständen, wurde aber auch allein wegen des Metallwertes als Barren gehortet oder von staatlicher Seite eingefordert und etwa zur Münzprägung benötigt.⁵ Im weiten Sinne zählen die uns hier besonders interessierenden Barren zu den Donativen.⁶ Derartige Geschenke der kaiserlichen Zentralverwaltung gingen in verschiedenen Formen an (politische) Freunde oder auch Verbündete, insbesondere aber auch an das Militär, auf welche dieses bei bestimmten

¹ R. Wiegels, Silberbarren der römischen Kaiserzeit – Katalog und Versuch einer Deutung. Freiburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends 7 (Rahden/Westf. 2003) = Wiegels 2003.

² Zum spätantiken Biesheim-Oedenburg mit Praetorium und Festung siehe H.-U. Nuber/M. Reddé, Das römische Oedenburg (Biesheim-Kunheim, Haut-Rhin, France): Frühe Militärlager, Straßensiedlung und valentinianische Festung. Le site romain d'Oedenburg (Biesheim-Kunheim, Haut-Rhin, France): Les camps militaires précoces, le vicus et la forteresse de Valentinien. *Germania* 80, 2002, 169–241. – Ferner zur Geschichte des Ortes aufgrund neuer Aufschlüsse M. Reddé (Hg.), Oedenburg 1, 2 und 3. RGZM Monographien 79,1; 79,2; 79,3 (Mainz 2009, 2011 und 2018); zuvor Wiegels 2003, 61–63 mit der älteren Literatur.

³ In der Regel geht man von einem Äquivalent von 327,45 g zu einer römischen *libra* aus. Völlig unstrittig ist dies aber nicht.

⁴ Ein schönes Beispiel für Barren aus privater Produktion kann der Publikation des Tresors von Eauze (F) entnommen werden, siehe H. Guiraud, in: *Le trésors d'Eauze* (Toulouse 1992) 108 f. mit weiteren Belegen aus Gallien in Anm. 2. – Grundsätzlich F. Baratte, Quelques remarques à propos des lingots d'or et d'argent du Bas Empire, in: *Frappes et ateliers monétaires dans l'Antiquité et Moyen-Âge* (Belgrade 1976) 63–71. – Im Hinblick auf die Produktion von Barren besonders interessant I. Popović, Les productions officielles et privées des ateliers d'orfèvrerie de Naissus et de Sirmium. *L'Antiquité Tardive* 5, 1997, 133–144.

⁵ Im Gegensatz zu Gold gab es für Silber kein staatliches Monopol. Dies besagt nicht, dass sich der Staat bzw. in der Kaiserzeit die Principes nicht an der Nutzung von Silberminen direkt durch Verstaatlichung oder indirekt über Abgaben beteiligten. Hingewiesen sei an dieser Stelle nur auf die Bronzetafeln von *Vipasca* (*lex metallis dicta*) aus dem südlichen Hispanien aus hadrianischer Zeit mit den dort festgehaltenen Regulierungen für den Bergwerksbetrieb (CIL II 5181 = ILS 6891).

⁶ Wiegels 2003, 56 ff. mit der einschlägigen Literatur. Dazu neuerdings besonders hervorzuheben M. Beyele, Geschenke des Kaisers. Studien zur Chronologie, zu den Empfängern und zu den Gegenständen der kaiserlichen Vergabungen im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (Berlin 2011).

Anlässen wie Thronbesteigung eines Regenten oder besonderen Jahresfeiern – etwa den Quinquennalien, Decennalien oder Vicennalien eines Herrschers – gleichsam Anspruch erhob. Dieses trifft insbesondere auf die Spätantike zu und geht nicht zuletzt aus verschiedenen literarisch überlieferten Zeugnissen hervor. So berichtet etwa Ammianus Marcellinus (20,4,18), dass Julian bei seiner Thronbesteigung im Jahr 360 n. Chr. der Armee fünf Goldstücke und ein Pfund Silber versprach, wobei im Hinblick auf die Angabe zum Silber von besonderem Interesse ist, dass die Bemessung nach Gewicht und nicht nach einer Geldsumme erfolgte.⁷ Der ‚Brauch‘ derartiger Geschenke als solcher diente vor allem der Loyalitätssicherung und wurde bereits über einen weit längeren Zeitraum gepflegt, scheint aber im Laufe der Zeit aus einer freiwilligen Leistung mehr und mehr zu einer Verpflichtung geworden zu sein, deren Erfüllung die potentiellen Empfänger gleichsam voraussetzten und erwarteten. Angesichts der Bedeutung von Edelmetallbarren für die Zeitgenossen ist verständlich, dass nur eine vergleichsweise geringe Zahl derartiger Funde auf uns gekommen ist, da sie ihrem Wert entsprechend sorgfältig gehütet wurden. Für uns liefern insbesondere die signierten Barren in verschiedener Hinsicht wichtige Aufschlüsse über zentrale Zustände und Vorgänge in der Spätantike, für welchen Zeitabschnitt dieselben geradezu typisch sind.

Gleiches gilt für signierte Goldbarren, wobei jedoch derartige Barren noch seltener auf uns gekommen sind als Silberbarren. Der bekannte Fundbestand beschränkt sich im Wesentlichen auf zwei antike Hortfunde sowie einzelne, singuläre Zeugnisse. Goldbarren gehörten ihrem enormen Wert entsprechend auch nicht zu den Objekten gewöhnlicher oder regulärer Verausgabung an einen größeren Empfängerkreis. Auf sie sind wir aus konkretem Anlass, nämlich der Vorlage zweier bis dahin unbekannter Silberbarren, die aus privater Hand und modernem Handel mit antiken Münzen sowie Gold- und Silberobjekten stammten, im Rahmen einer weiteren Schrift im Jahr 2014 näher eingegangen.⁸ Während in der erstgenannten Publikation die katalogmäßige Erfassung und historische Analyse der Silberbarren im Vordergrund stand, ging es in der zweiten im Zuge der kritischen Bearbeitung der beiden Silberbarren aus sachlichen Gründen vor allem um einen Vergleich mit gestempelten Goldbarren. Die Aufarbeitung des genauen Bestandes an überlieferten Goldbarren erwies sich dabei gleichsam als eine Sisyphusarbeit, und dies trotz oder gerade auch wegen der voraufgehenden breit gestreuten, im Ergebnis aber diffusen Forschungslage seit dem Ende des vorletzten Jahrhunderts. Obwohl es sich dabei weitgehend um die Bearbeitung von lediglich zwei Hortfunden handelt, nämlich denjenigen von Crasna und Feldioara im heutigen Rumänien, ist es kaum möglich, die Anzahl der einst insbesondere bei Crasna geborgenen Goldbarren exakt anzugeben. Dazu entscheidend beigetragen haben diverse moderne Eingriffe vor allem in den Fundbestand von Crasna wie Zerstückelung einzelner Objekte, die

⁷ ... *quinos omnibus aureos (= solidos à 4,55g) argentique singula pondo promisit* (sc. Iulianus).

⁸ R. Wiegels, Zwei gestempelte Silberbarren und die spätantiken Goldbarren aus Siebenbürgen (München 2014) = Wiegels 2014. – Siehe ferner R. Wiegels, Zwei gestempelte Silberbarren und ein spätantiker Goldbarren aus Crasna (Rumänien), *FeRA* 27, 2015, 43–49 = *Dacia* 59, 2015, 371–375 = Wiegels 2015. – Ein längerer Exkurs zu den Goldbarren auch bei Wiegels 2003, 37–43.

Anfertigung primärer und sekundärer Kopien, der Verkauf in private Hände oder auch an öffentliche Institutionen quer durch Europa, Unterschlagung, gelegentlich auch mehrfacher Vertrieb mittels Auktionen oder auch zielgerichtete Anfertigung von Fälschungen.

Im Folgenden sollen einige Ergänzungen zu unseren früheren Zusammenstellungen und Überlegungen vorgenommen werden, welche auf aktuellen Erkenntnissen zu verschiedenen Fundstücken und dem Bekanntwerden neuerer Funde basieren. Zudem soll auf einige Besonderheiten aufmerksam gemacht werden, welche bereits zuvor an nicht immer leicht zugänglichen Stellen thematisiert wurden und daher offenbar mehrfach in aktuellen Diskussionen übersehen wurden. Ausgangspunkte bilden für die Silberbarren in erster Linie unsere Publikation aus dem Jahr 2003 und für die Goldbarren diejenige aus dem Jahr 2014. Ergänzend dazu greifen wir auch auf den Beitrag aus 2015 zurück. Der Sachlage entsprechend handelt es sich bei den aktuellen Beobachtungen um ganz verschiedene Aspekte, welche in Einzelfällen auch zur Korrektur an früheren Aussagen führen. Die großen historischen Zusammenhänge erneut zu thematisieren, besteht allerdings kein zwingender Grund.

1. Original oder Replik? – ein Silberbarren aus Silchester/*Callena*

In dem Auktionskatalog Whyte's (Dublin) vom September 1998 wurde ein doppelaxtförmiger, leicht bestoßener und gestempelter Silberbarren von 10 × 3–4,5 cm Länge × Breite und 146 g Gewicht angeboten (Pl. I/2).⁹ Angaben zu Fundjahr und Fundumständen fehlen ebenso wie eine Materialanalyse, jedoch wird als Fundort Silchester/*Callena*, Berkshire, in England angegeben. Wie wir schon zuvor vermerkt haben, entspricht der Stempel als solcher demjenigen auf einem doppelaxtförmigen Silberbarren aus London/*Londinium* und scheint auf den ersten Blick sogar aus demselben Stempelstock zu stammen (Pl. I/3).¹⁰ Die nur schwach ausgeprägte Doppelaxtform des eher etwas plump gestalteten Londoner Barrens unterscheidet sich aber deutlich von der sehr exakt ausgeführten des Barrens aus Silchester, die vor allem mit einem Exemplar aus Canterbury/*Durovernum* zu vergleichen ist.¹¹ Verschiedene Indizien lassen jedoch den zur Versteigerung angebotenen Barren bezüglich seiner Echtheit als verdächtig erscheinen. So ist das Gewicht ungewöhnlich niedrig und liegt beträchtlich unter $\frac{1}{2}$ *libra*. Weitere Auffälligkeiten betreffen die ungeklärten Fundumstände in einem gut erforschten Areal, sein Weg nach Irland und die Tatsache, dass der hier angesprochene Londoner Barren sich zeitweise in irischem Besitz befand.¹² Besonders zu notieren ist jedoch, dass auf unsere Anfrage hin laut

⁹ Whyte's Auctioneers of Fine Arts & Collectibles, Public Auction – 26 september 1998, Lot 79, mit der Bemerkung: "stated to be Roman, found at Silchester, Berkshire." – Siehe bereits die Bemerkungen hierzu bei Wiegels 2003, 86.

¹⁰ Hierzu bereits Wiegels 2003, 86. Allerdings kann angesichts der unterschiedlichen Gestaltung nicht der Barren als ganzer kopiert worden sein, die Gleichförmigkeit bezieht sich nur auf den Stempel selber. – Zum Barren aus London, der heute im British Museum, London, verwahrt wird, siehe Wiegels 2003, 86 Nr. 32. An seiner Fertigung in spätantiker Zeit bestehen keine Zweifel.

¹¹ Wiegels 2003, 88 f. Nr. 38 mit Taf. V 3.

¹² Seit langem bekannt sind Schatzfunde auf der irischen Insel, welche unter anderem spätantike Silberbarren beinhalten. So die Schatzfunde von Balline, Co. Limerick (Irland) und Ballinrees b. Coleraine, Co. Londonderry (Nordirland). Beide waren wiederholt und bis in jüngste Zeit Gegenstand der Forschung,

Mitteilung des Auktionshauses vom 31.01.2001 die Meinung über die Echtheit des Barrens geteilt sei: „Opinion is divided, but it appears to be a replica.“¹³ Wir schließen uns dieser Ansicht an und verzeichnen ihn als *later argenteus spurius*. Der Barren wurde bei der genannten Auktion trotz des vergleichsweise geringen Preises nicht verkauft und dem Eigentümer zurückgegeben. Ob er erneut angeboten wurde oder wird, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis bzw. bleibt abzuwarten.

2. Gefälschter Silberbarren

Vergleicht man aktuelle Preise für Rohsilber mit solchen für antike Barren, wird unschwer klar, dass kriminelles Vorgehen mittels Fälschungen im Fall des Erfolges einen beträchtlichen Gewinn in Aussicht stellt und ermöglicht. Man ist also gut beraten, insbesondere bei Vorlage von Objekten ohne oder mit zweifelhafter Herkunft deren Echtheit als Zeugnisse aus antiker Zeit sorgfältig zu prüfen. Ob dies immer gelang oder gelingt, steht dahin.

Im Jahr 2013 wurden uns von privater Seite zwei gestempelte Silberbarren vorgelegt, welche aus dem Münz- bzw. Kunsthandel stammten, aber in keinem inneren Zusammenhang miteinander stehen oder standen. Allerdings wiesen sie deutlich Gemeinsamkeiten mit spätantiken Barren verschiedener Art auf.

Einer der beiden Barren erweckte sofort unser Misstrauen (Pl. II/1). Wenig überraschend wurde wenig später in einer Londoner Auktion ein ganz ähnlicher, in mancher Hinsicht sogar identischer Barren angeboten (Pl. II/2). Da wir auf diese Barren in unserer Schrift aus dem Jahr 2014 und den Beiträgen des Jahres 2015 ausführlich eingegangen sind, erübrigt sich an dieser Stelle eine ausführliche Wiederholung der Argumentation. Wir glauben jedenfalls zuverlässig nachgewiesen zu haben, dass dieser Barren wie dessen Pendant in der Londoner Auktion gefälscht wurde.¹⁴ Wichtige Gesichtspunkte waren die für gestempelte Silberbarren ungewöhnliche Form, der Reinheitsgrad des Silbers und die Stempelung als solche, welche nur zu Goldbarren passt. Auf unsere Beweisführung hin wurde der in London angebotene Barren aus der Versteigerung herausgenommen. Dennoch hat es sich der Eigentümer offenbar

s. etwa J. C. Wilson (Hg.), *Late Iron Age and Roman Ireland. Discovery Programme Report ser. 8* (Dublin 2014), bes. Kap. 2. – Beim Coleraine-Hoard ist die frühere, missverständliche Angabe zur Anzahl an Barren zu korrigieren. Der Hort beinhaltet insgesamt (!) neun Barren, und zwar zwei doppelaxtförmige in drei Teilen, wobei die Zusammengehörigkeit zweier Teile erst Anfang der 70er Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhunderts festgestellt, jedoch bis heute nicht allenthalben zur Kenntnis genommen wurde. Daneben umfasst der Hort neben einer silbernen Schale, Münzen und Hacksilber zwei größere, flache und vier (nicht neun) schmale, dünne Barren. Nach der Metallanalyse beträgt der Silbergehalt der fünf ersten hier genannten Barren 91,4–94,7%, d. h. er ist etwas geringer als im Durchschnitt für Prunksilber bei einem höheren Kupferanteil. Bei den vier dünnen Barren liegen die Werte an reinem Silber bei 88,7–91,6%. Ihr Kupferanteil ist geringer als bei den fünf anderen Barren, dafür ist der Anteil an Blei und Zinn höher; zwei derselben weisen größere Spuren von Gold auf, bei dreien sind der Zink- und Eisenanteil bemerkenswert. Siehe dazu S. Marzinzik u. a., *The Coleraine Treasure from Northern Ireland: a consideration of the fittings*, in: F. Hunter/K. Painter (Hg.), *Late Roman Silver: The Traprain Treasure in context* (Edinburgh 2013) chapter 12 mit dem Schluss: „Perhaps the thin bar ingots are merely the result of recycling a mixture of silver and various metal scraps, melted together, possibly prior to purification by cupellation and subsequent re-use.“ Dazu weitere umfangreiche Literaturangaben. – Generell N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London 2006).

¹³ P. Geoffrey vom Auktionshaus White's in einem Email an uns vom 21.01.2001.

¹⁴ Wiegels 2014, 8–25; Wiegels 2015.

nicht nehmen lassen zu versuchen, den Barren an anderer Stelle, nämlich in Genf, an den Mann zu bringen, was dank der Aufmerksamkeit eines Sachkundigen allerdings erneut nicht von Erfolg gekrönt war! Eine Wiederholung des Versuchs, den Barren über den Antikenhandel zu veräußern, kann man wohl nicht ausschließen.

3. Doppelaxtförmiger Silberbarren

Im Gegensatz zum vorgenannten Barren sehen wir keinen Grund, an der Authentizität des zweiten aus dem Münzhandel erworbenen Barrens zu zweifeln (Pl. II/3). Er weist einen Stempel auf, der gut vergleichbaren weiteren zugeordnet werden kann und wie folgt zu lesen ist: *off(icianator) sec(undus) m(onetae) / Tr(everorum) pus(ulati sc. argenti) p(ondo) I (libram unam)*. Für die Begründung der Auflösungen und alles Weitere verweisen wir auf unsere primäre Publikation.¹⁵ Mit 302 g ist der Barren allerdings trotz eines Trarierpfropfens, der entsprechend der Metallanalyse einen geringeren Gehalt an reinem Silber beinhaltet als der übrige Barren, merklich untergewichtig gegenüber dem römischen Normgewicht von 1 *libra*, was auch hier der Stempel vorgibt.¹⁶ Augenfällig sind vor allem Parallelen zu Silberbarren aus Dierstorf (Huddesdorf, Gem. Raddestorf, Kr. Nienburg) in Deutschland.¹⁷ Kontrovers diskutiert werden die Auflösungen in der ersten Zeile, insbesondere von SEC (Kardinalzahl oder Namenskürzel), sowie in Z. 2 von TR (*Treverorum* oder *Tricorniensium*). *Tricornium*/Ritopek ist ein Donauhafen unweit von *Singidunum*/Belgrad. In der Nähe befindet sich die Minenregion von Sumadija, mit der insbesondere einige donauländische Forscher den Namen verbinden wollen und in TR die Abkürzung für (*metalla*) *Tr(icorniensia)* sehen.¹⁸ Dies erscheint uns wenig überzeugend, soll und braucht hier jedoch nicht erneut aufgegriffen zu werden.¹⁹ Am rechten unteren Ende des Barrens befinden sich Punzen in Form eines zweier gegenläufiger Haken, was wir in der Publikation aus dem Jahr 2014 hypothetisch und zweifelnd als verunglücktes „S“ verstanden, jetzt aber einem Vorschlag von Dan Dana gerne folgend eher als „VA“ in vertikaler Position ansehen wollen.

4. Zweifach veröffentlichter doppelaxtförmiger Silberbarren

Im Dezember 2000 wurde in einer Auktion in New York ein vollständig erhaltener, doppelaxtförmiger Silberbarren mit markanter Einflickung, Stempel und Ritzinschrift angeboten (Pl. III/1). Zu Fundort und Fundumstände wurden wie üblich keine Angaben gemacht.²⁰ Der Barren von 13,8 × 4,7–8,0 cm (Länge × Breite) wiegt etwa 320 g, was annähernd einer römischen *libra* entspricht. Nahezu in der Mitte weist er einen im oberen Bereich leicht verschliffenen Münzstempel auf mit der Büste

¹⁵ Wiegels 2014, 26–36.

¹⁶ Zu den Metallanalysen der uns bekannten Barren siehe die Zusammenstellung bei Wiegels 2014, 37 f.; zu den Gewichten und zu der Frage der Anlehnung und Abweichung von römischen Normgewichten Wiegels 2003, 15–18.

¹⁷ Wiegels 2003,

¹⁸ So nachdrücklich S. Dušanić, *Iz istorijekasnoantičkog rudarstva u Šumadiji* (= Notes on Late Roman Mining in Šumadija). *Starinar* 40/41, 1989/1990 (1991) 217–224, und wiederholt an anderen Stellen.

¹⁹ Dazu Wiegels 2003, 99 zu Nr. 58.

²⁰ TRITON IV. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Freeman & Sear, Numismatica Ars Classica AG, Sessions 1 & 2, December 5 (New York 2000) Nr. 710. – In unserem Katalog konnte dieser Barren gerade noch berücksichtigt werden, vgl. Wiegels 2003, 117.

von Constantius II (337–361 n. Chr.) im Perlkranz nach rechts mit Strahlenkrone und Paludamentum sowie der Umschrift D(ominus) N(oster) CONST[AN - TIVS] P(ius) F(elix) AVG(ustus). Nach Ansicht der Autoren im Auktionskatalog entspricht das Bildnis des Kaisers dem Obvers eines offiziellen Münzstempels. Anzunehmen sei am ehesten eine gallische Münzstätte, vermutlich Arles/*Arelate* oder auch Trier/*Augusta Treverorum*.²¹ Der Stempel bezeugt jedenfalls staatliche Garantie. Im oberen Bereich des Barrens befindet sich der eingemeißelte Name IVLI mit schräg nach unten geführter Haste des Buchstabens L. In *Iulius* vermuten die Kommentatoren den Empfänger eines Donativs, was allerdings nicht zweifelsfrei ist. Auf Grund entsprechender Funde aus dem Donaauraum mag sich hinter dem Namen auch eine Person verbergen, die mit dem Produktionsprozess des Barrens befasst war.

Anfang Januar 2012 wurde bei einer weiteren Auktion in New York erneut ein doppelaxtförmiger Silberbarren angeboten (Pl. III/2).²² Wie unschwer zu erkennen ist, handelte es sich dabei um dasselbe Exemplar, welches bereits 2000 zur Versteigerung stand. Allerdings war inzwischen eine Ecke abgeschlagen worden oder abgebrochen.²³ In der Beschreibung heißt es zum Namen Iulius: „apparently the mints official’s workman’s, or recipient’s name“. Zudem wird darauf verwiesen, dass dieser Silberbarren wohl in einer offiziellen Münzstätte produziert worden sei und das Bild des Kaisers samt seinem Titel wie auf einer Münze präsentiere.

5. Doppelaxtförmiger Silberbarren

Ein 2018 in einer Londoner Auktion angebotener Barren ähnelt weitgehend dem vorstehenden und stammt aus einer europäischen Privatsammlung (Pl. III/3).²⁴ Seine Maße betragen 11,7 × 6,3 cm (Länge × [größte] Breite). Sein Gewicht ist mit 343,45 g insofern eher ungewöhnlich, als es das Normgewicht von 1 *libra* um ca. 15–20 g übertrifft (!) – ganz im Gegensatz zu den ansonsten eher zu beobachtenden Abschlägen. Dies fällt umso mehr auf, als der Barren in den Abmessungen kleiner ist als der hier unter 4. verzeichnete Barren, dessen Gewicht trotz des Tarierpfropfens geringer ist. Da keine Metallanalysen vorliegen, enthalten wir uns aber irgendwelcher weiteren Spekulationen.²⁵ Der Barren ist auf dieselbe Weise signiert wie der vorstehende, also ebenfalls mit einem (demselben?) etwas verrutschten Münzstempel mit Bildnis von Constantius II in seiner Mitte und dem eingemeißelten IVLI. Es handelt sich aber zweifelsfrei um zwei verschiedene Exemplare. Ob sie etwa aus demselben Hort stammen, muss angesichts fehlender präziser Fundangaben offen bleiben.²⁶

²¹ Kommentar im Auktionskatalog.

²² Manhattan Sale III vom 03.01.2012 Nr. 225 mit guter Abbildung der Vorder- und Rückseite sowie einem Detailphoto des Münzstempels.

²³ Beiläufig sei erwähnt, dass sich der Schätzwert für den Barren zwischen 2000 und 2012 von 20.000 \$ auf 30.000 \$ erhöht hatte, ein deutliches Indiz für den gesteigerten Sammlerwert derartiger antiker Objekte.

²⁴ Roma Numismatics Ltd., auction XV, 5 April 2018, Los. Nr. 662 (London 2018). Der Startpreis ist auf 12000 GBP festgelegt.

²⁵ Der hier zur Diskussion stehende Barren scheint nach der Abbildung keinen Tarierpfropfen aufzuweisen, es sei denn, ein auffallender runder ‚Fleck‘ in der linken unteren Ecke indiziert eine derartige Justierung und beruht nicht lediglich auf einem diesbezüglich falschen Eindruck.

²⁶ Mit diesem Fund sinkt jedoch die Wahrscheinlichkeit, in Iulius den aktuellen Besitzer des Barrens zu vermuten, ausgeschlossen ist dieses natürlich nicht.

Insgesamt besitzen wir aktuell Kenntnis von acht Silberbarren unterschiedlicher Form mit einem runden Bildstempel eines Kaisers. Neben den beiden vorstehend genannten Barren sind die sechs weiteren alle Magnentius (Gegenkaiser 350–353 n. Chr.) zuzuordnen. Zwei derselben wurden in Ljubljana/*Emona* (Pl. IV/1–2)²⁷ und drei in Kaiseraugst/*Castrum Rauracense* (Pl. IV/3–5) geborgen.²⁸ Hinzu kommt noch ein weiterer Barren, der ebenfalls Magnentius zuzuweisen ist. Er wurde erstmals 1988 und dann erneut 2000 in zwei verschiedenen Auktionen zur Versteigerung angeboten (Pl. V/1).²⁹ Das Gewicht dieses Barrens beläuft sich auf 320 g; als Maße werden an der Basis 5,5 × 5,5 cm und oben 4,5 × 4,5 cm angegeben bei einer Stärke von lediglich 1,1 cm.³⁰ Einer letztlich allerdings nicht gesicherten Angabe zufolge stammt dieser Barren möglicherweise aus Kostolac/*Viminacium* in Serbien. Die nahezu quadratische, blockhafte Form dieses Barrens mit einer quer verlaufenden Beschädigung, über welche sekundär eine Silberbeschichtung gelegt wurde, entspricht weitgehend derjenigen eines Barrens aus Ljubljana mit nahezu demselben Gewicht. Neben dem Bildstempel weist dieser Barren noch einen Namensstempel CAQPS auf, dessen Auflösung abgesehen von PS = (*argentum*) *pusulatum* problematisch ist.³¹ Ein anderer Namensstempel, nämlich [---]FL(*avi?*), findet sich auf dem zweiten erhaltenen Barren aus Ljubljana. Dieser hat mit 9,7 × 5,9 cm (Länge × Breite) eine rechteckige Form, wiegt aber auch mit 630–640 g doppelt so viel wie der vorgenannte Barren und orientiert sich offenbar am Gewicht von zwei römischen Pfunden. Anders wiederum die an Bodenplatten erinnernden Fundstücke aus Kaiseraugst mit weiteren Markierungen neben dem Rundstempel mit Bildnis des Kaisers Magnentius. Diese Barren wiegen um 950 g und sind offenbar auf 3 *librae* justiert.³²

Soweit aus dem bisher vorliegenden Material weitergehende Schlussfolgerungen möglich sind, datieren die Silberbarren mit kaiserlichen Bildstempeln alle in die Zeit des Magnentius und des Constantius II, also in ein vergleichsweise kleines Zeitfenster.³³ Fertigung und Garantievermerke dürften in diesen Fällen in Münzstätten des Westreichs vorgenommen worden sein, am ehesten also in Trier. Der vergleichsweise geringe Fundbestand erlaubt aber nicht den umgekehrten Schluss, dass Barren ohne derartige Stempel nicht aus einer Münzstätte stammen. Die Frage nach den Produktionsorten lässt sich nur in einer umfangreicheren Untersuchung näher klären, wobei auch unterschiedliche Zeitspannen zu berücksichtigen wären.

²⁷ Wiegels 2003, 105 f. Nr. 67 und 68 mit Taf. XIII 2 a-c und XIII 3 a.b.

²⁸ Wiegels 2003, 102–104 Nr. 63–65 mit Taf. XII 1–3.

²⁹ Wiegels 2003, 117 f. Nr. 97 mit Taf. XVIII 5 a-d.

³⁰ Insgesamt vermittelt der Barren nach der Abbildung den Eindruck einer Basisfläche mit Aufsatz, jedoch wurde er in einem Stück gefertigt.

³¹ Abgekürzter Name oder Hinweis auf die Münzstätte von Aquileia?

³² Bei einem der Barren fehlt durch Abtrennung eines Stückes etwa ein Drittel; das Gewicht lässt sich aber weitgehend zuverlässig hochrechnen.

³³ Vgl. zur Münzprägung des Magnentius P. Bastien, *Le monnayage de Magnence (350–353)* (Wetteren² 1983), bes. 279 und Suppl. Pl. IX. – S. ferner bes. H. A. Cahn/A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*. Basler Beitr. Ur- u. Frühgesch. 9 (Derendingen 1984) 324 ff.

6. Goldbarren aus Feldioara

Aus dem rumänischen Feldioara (com. Viștea de Jos, jud. Brașov – früher Földvár bzw. Marienburg) konnten bislang fünf gestempelte Goldbarren sicher nachgewiesen werden, welche zu verschiedenen Zeiten und unter verschiedenen Umständen geborgen bzw. bekannt gemacht wurden.³⁴ Ein weiterer Barren, der vom Pflug zerstört oder stark beschädigt worden sein soll, galt als verschollen, verloren oder auch eingeschmolzen.³⁵ Bei unseren verschiedenen Recherchen auch im Internet sind wir auf die Abbildung eines Goldbarrens gestoßen, der sich nach Aussehen und Erhaltungszustand auf den ersten Blick von den übrigen uns bekannten fünf Goldbarren von diesem Fundplatz unterscheidet, dennoch aber eindeutig zu dem entsprechenden Ensemble gehört (Pl. V/2a).³⁶ Abgesehen von der Gewichtsangabe von 337,23 g und Identifizierung dreier Angehörige des kaiserlichen Hauses in einem Bildstempel als Valentinian I, Valens und Gratian (367–375 n. Chr.), der entsprechenden Stempeln auf anderen Goldbarren aus Feldioara entspricht, fehlen weitere Angaben zum Objekt in der uns vorliegenden Publikation.³⁷ Die Identifizierung der drei kaiserlichen Büsten bei diesem und vergleichbaren weiteren Stempeln ist nicht unbestritten und mag im Rückschluss mit der Vermutung zusammenhängen, dass der Schatz von Feldioara nach der von Rom verlorenen Schlacht bei Adrianopel 378 n. Chr. und dem Tod des Kaisers Valens auf der Flucht versteckt wurde, aber dann nicht mehr geborgen werden konnte. Dagegen vertreten andere Autoren mehrheitlich, wenngleich auch nicht einstimmig, die Ansicht, dass Gratian, Valentinian II. und Theodosius (379–383 n. Chr.) gemeint seien, was an dieser Stelle nicht entschieden werden kann.³⁸ Die drei Stempel des Barrens sind zwar stark beschädigt bzw. verschliffen, dennoch lassen sie sich weitgehend sicher lesen, zumal sie von anderen Barren des Fundplatzes bekannt sind. Der linke Stempel ist ein Textstempel mit der Legende KALYOPIVS / PRO SIC (Palmzweig – Stern – Palmzweig) im Perlkranz. In der Mitte befindet sich der bereits erwähnte ikonographische Stempel dreier Angehöriger des Kaiserhauses wohl mit zwei (oder drei?) Sternen im oberen Teil zwischen den Büsten und den nach innen gerichteten Buchstaben DDD bzw. NNN (= *domini nostri tres*). Rechts ist ein quer zur Längsrichtung des Barrens ein Bildstempel mit Darstellung der Tyche von Naissus und entsprechender Unterschrift NAIS noch gut zu erkennen. Damit entspricht die

³⁴ Wiegels 2014, 60 ff. mit der einschlägigen Literatur.

³⁵ Wiegels 2014, 60 f. mit Anm. 113.

³⁶ Entnommen ist die Abbildung einem Internetbeitrag zu Valentinian I bei armstrongeconomics.com – Zugriff am 12.03.2018.

³⁷ An gleicher Stelle findet sich auch eine gute Abbildung eines weiteren Goldbarrens (aus Bulgarien?), der 1909 versteigert wurde und dessen aktueller Verbleib offen war, s. Wiegels 2014, 71 Nr. 4 mit Abb. 32 (hier Pl. V/3). Dieser Barren ist mit zwei gegenläufig gerichteten, identischen Namensstempeln signiert. In der Mitte der Texte befindet sich die Darstellung einer Tyche, angeblich derjenigen von Karthago, was aber nicht unbestritten ist. – Aus gegebenem Anlass nicht zuletzt im Hinblick auf die Informationsquelle wäre es allerdings wünschenswert gewesen, wenn man eine direkte Bestätigung für die Existenz und den genauen Verwahrort des hier zur Debatte stehenden Barrens mit weiteren Informationen vor allem zu den Maßen erhalten könnte. So bleibt ungewiss, ob die Abbildung aus einer früheren Publikation stammt oder aktuell vom Barren selber oder einer Kopie (?) angefertigt wurde.

³⁸ Siehe dazu die Diskussion bei Wiegels 2003, 39 f. mit Anm. 241–245 und Wiegels 2014, 20 mit Anm. 23 f.

Stempelung derjenigen auf zwei anderen Barren aus Feldioara.³⁹ Man möchte zunächst vermuten, dass es sich um den vermissten sechsten Barren des Fundkomplexes handelt, wobei es aber unklar bleibt, wo genau und seit wann er sich am aktuellen Verwahrort befindet, worauf wir noch einmal nachdrücklich hinweisen wollen. Grundsätzlich könnte die bildliche Wiedergabe auch lediglich auf einem früheren Photo beruhen. Bei einem intensiven Photovergleich mit einem in der Staatlichen Münzsammlung in München befindlichen Barren, den B. und M. Overbeck erstmals 1985 als einen bis dahin unpublizierten Fund veröffentlicht hatten,⁴⁰ haben wir jedoch Bedenken gegen die Echtheit des an versteckter Stelle weniger eingehend besprochenen als allenfalls exemplarisch zur Kenntnis gegebenen Barrens (Pl. V/2b).⁴¹ Unseres Erachtens kann daher nach wie vor in der Frage nach der Anzahl der einst aufgefundenen Goldbarren in Feldioara keine endgültige Klarheit erzielt werden.

7. Versandete Spuren: Zu einigen Kopien von Goldbarren aus dem Hortfund von Crasna

Die Frage nach der Anzahl von Goldbarren, die im Jahr 1887 im früher ungarischen, heute rumänischen Crasna, com. Sita Buzăului, jud. Covasna, geborgen wurden, lässt sich bislang nur annähernd sicher beantworten, wie wir schon eingangs bemerkt haben. In der Forschung existieren diesbezüglich nicht nur unterschiedliche Zahlenangaben, die zwischen 15 und 20 Exemplaren schwanken, auch besteht keine Übereinstimmung dahingehend, an welchen Orten sich heute die einzelnen Barren bzw. zerstückelte Teile von denselben befinden. Da schon frühzeitig Abformungen in nicht geringer Zahl angefertigt wurden und es gute Gründe für die Annahme gibt, dass auch sekundäre Kopien weithin kursierten und nach wie vor etwa in Ausstellungen präsentiert werden, wäre eine eingehende Überprüfung der Kopien sinnvoll, soweit dies möglich ist, um hieraus gegebenenfalls auch Rückschlüsse auf die frühere Existenz nicht mehr vorhandener Barren ziehen zu können. Denn wie wir schon in unserer Publikation von 2014 dargelegt haben, ist wiederholt in älteren Zusammenstellungen die Rede davon, dass sich an verschiedenen Orten Kopien befinden würden mit Stempelfolgen, die anderweitig nicht bekannt sind und folglich nicht mit einem der erhaltenen und überprüfbaren originalen Barren übereinstimmen. Demnach wäre dann in erster Linie auf ein verlorenes Original zu schließen.⁴² Im Zuge unserer Nachforschungen ist es uns trotz des Bemühens von Kolleginnen und Kollegen in verschiedenen südosteuropäischen Ländern nicht immer gelungen, von den genannten Verwahrorten, Sammlungen und regionalen Museen, welche in der älteren Forschung

³⁹ Wiegels 2014, 66 Nr. 4 und 5.

⁴⁰ B. und M. Overbeck, Zur Datierung und Interpretation der spätantiken Goldbarren aus Siebenbürgen anhand eines unpublizierten Fundes von Feldioara. *Chiron* 15, 1985, 199–210; vgl. auch Wiegels 2014 66 Nr. 5 mit Abb. 29.

⁴¹ Dies betrifft die gesamte Form des Barrens mit manchen Details und die übereinstimmende Platzierung der Stempel auch bezüglich ihrer Richtung.

⁴² Wenig präzise ist diesbezüglich eine Bemerkung von O. Iliescu, *Nouvelles informations relatives aux lingots romains d'or, trouvés en Transylvanie. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 3, 1965, 269–281, 275 Anm. 14: „Dans quelques collections de Roumanie, publiques ou privées, l'auteur a identifié des galvanoplasties qui reproduisent des lingots dont les originaux sont restés inconnus jusqu'à présent.“ – Siehe Wiegels 2014, 13–15 bes. mit Anm. 13.

genannt werden, entsprechende Auskünfte, geschweige denn Abbildungen zu erhalten. Zudem erschwert die staatliche Neuordnung der großräumigen Landschaft nach der Auflösung Jugoslawiens in den frühen 90er Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts die Nachforschungen, da vor allem Kopien der Goldbarren von verschiedenen Museen in einem größeren Radius um den Fundplatz erworben wurden.⁴³ Von diesen anscheinend derzeit nicht zu behebenden Schwierigkeiten abgesehen wurden aber von mehreren zentralen Museen Europas dankenswerterweise wichtige Informationen geliefert und auch entsprechende Abbildungen zur Verfügung gestellt.⁴⁴

An einem Beispiel soll aufgezeigt werden, wie problematisch sich entsprechende Spurensuche erweisen kann, die letztlich auch nicht immer zum erhofften Erfolg führt.

Bei unseren bibliographischen Recherchen waren wir auf eine Abbildung von sechs Goldbarren aus Crasna gestoßen, welche sich im Museum Srem in Sremska Mitrovica (Serbien) befinden.⁴⁵ Die Barren waren für das Photo schön drapiert, die Stempel sind leider im Einzelnen nur schwer oder teilweise auch gar nicht zu identifizieren, weil sie verdeckt sind und die Abbildung Details nur unzureichend wiedergibt (Pl. VI/1). Obwohl dies nicht eigens angezeigt wurde, bestanden für uns keine Zweifel, dass es sich um Abformungen handeln muss. Verschiedene Versuche der direkten Kontaktaufnahme mit dem Museum schlugen leider zunächst fehl. Erst dank freundlicher Vermittlung von Dr. Nadežda Gavrilović Vitas, Senior Research Associate am Institute of Archaeology der Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Belgrad), der wir herzlich für ihre beharrlichen Nachfragen danken, erhielten wir die Bestätigung, dass es sich in der Tat um Kopien handelt, wie wir bereits 2014 feststellen zu können meinten.⁴⁶ Zudem glaubt man sich nach neuesten Informationen daran zu erinnern, dass die Abformungen der Goldbarren in Srem ihrerseits auf kopierte Stücke im Museum von Osijek (Kroatien) oder Sisak/*Siscia* zurückgehen könnten. Dies kann allerdings nur bedingt für Osijek zutreffen. Gedankt sei Frau Prof. Dr. Anamarija Kurilić (University of Zadar, Dep. of History), die uns die Kontaktaufnahme mit dem Museum von Osijek vermittelte. Von dem Curator of the Numismatic Cabinet des Museums von Osijek, Branislav Miličić, erhielten wir freundlicherweise die Nachricht, dass vor Jahrzehnten das Museum von Osijek vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien gegen einen entsprechenden finanziellen Ausgleich vergoldete Kopien habe anfertigen lassen, die dann wieder an andere Museen im früheren Jugoslawien zur Anfertigung weiterer Kopien ausgeliehen

⁴³ Wieweit im Einzelfall diese Museen die Wirren der Kriegsereignisse überstanden haben, kann hier nicht festgestellt werden. Bekannt ist, dass galvanoplastische Kopien bereits kurz nach dem Fund angefertigt und verbreitet wurden. Unklar ist, ob sie sich jeweils auf Dauer und bis heute am ursprünglich genannten Verwahrort geblieben sind und sich immer noch dort befinden. Genannt seien die Museen von Timișoara (Temeswar; Marienstadt), Brașov (Kronstadt), Deva oder auch Sf. Gheorghe.

⁴⁴ Genannt seien Budapest, Bukarest, London, München, Paris und Wien; keine Informationen übermittelte das Museo Nazionale in Neapel, s. im Einzelnen Wiegels 2014 mit den Nachweisen.

⁴⁵ I. Popović, *Marble Sculptures from the Imperial Palace of Sirmium*. *Starinar* 56, 2006, 153–166, 166 Abb. 5a = I. Popović, *Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica). Residenzstadt der römischen Kaiser und Stätte der frühen Christen*, in: U.Brandl/M.Vasić (Hrsg.), *Roms Erbe auf dem Balkan. Kaiservillen und Stadtanlagen in Serbien* (Mainz 2007) 17–32, 28 Abb. 11.

⁴⁶ Die Kopien sind aus Blei gefertigt und wurden mit goldener Farbe überzogen. Sie wiegen zwischen 220 und 290 g. – Einzelbilder konnten leider bislang nicht beschafft werden.

wurden. So möglicherweise an das Museum der Voivodina.⁴⁷ Es handelt sich damit zumindest um die zwei originalen Barren, deren Existenz in Wien allenthalben bekannt ist. Die Vorlagen für die Barren in Sremska Mitrovica können demnach nicht alle aus Osijek und zuvor aus Wien stammen. Andererseits mag man aus den Angaben immerhin so viel entnehmen, dass gerade die Barren aus Wien eine weitere Verbreitung mittels Abformungen erfuhren. Dass damit der geographische Kreis für die Anfertigung ‚unseres‘ gefälschten Silberbarren (s. oben) enger gezogen werden kann, mag man erwägen, denn seine Stempelung geht augenscheinlich auf einen gut dokumentierten Goldbarren in Wien zurück. Letztlich bleibt dies allerdings unbeweisbar.

In der hier vorliegenden Abbildung der kopierten Goldbarren in Sremska Mitrovica, scheinen die Nummern 1 und 4 – direkt oder indirekt – auf die in Wien befindlichen Funde zurückzugehen.⁴⁸ Nr. 2 basiert wohl auf einem in der Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles (Paris), befindlichen Barren,⁴⁹ bei Nr. 3 ist der mittlere Stempel leider verdeckt; wir vermuten aber als Vorbild einen Barren mit einer schon früh angefertigten galvanoplastischen Kopie in Timișoara.⁵⁰ Nr. 5 geht wohl auf einen Barren in Budapest,⁵¹ Nr. 6 zumindest indirekt auf eine weitere galvanoplastische Kopie in Timișoara zurück.⁵² Selbstverständlich handelte es sich bei den aktuellen Vorlagen nicht in jedem Fall zwingend um originale Barren. Die Anfertigung der Kopien dürfte nicht zuletzt den auf *Sirmium* verweisenden Bildstempeln mit der Tyche dieser in der Spätantike bedeutenden Stadt geschuldet sein. Ob weitere Spurensuche erfolgversprechend ist, bleibe dahingestellt.

8. Verschollen oder verloren geglaubt – eine neue Spur zum Goldschatz aus Crasna

Es war ein Glücksfall, dass wir bei unseren intensiven Recherchen über den Verbleib von Goldbarren aus Crasna und Feldioara im Internet auf eine Seite stießen, auf welcher das Museum der Bank of England (London) Eigenwerbung betrieb. Dort wurden unter anderem vier Goldbarren bzw. Barrenfragmente abgebildet, welche zweifelsfrei aus dem Goldschatz von Crasna stammen, die aber durchweg als verschollen, nicht auffindbar oder in Privatsammlungen eingegangen galten (Pl. VI/2). Auf unsere Anfrage an die Bank of England hin erhielten wir jetzt einige wertvolle Informationen, welche die von uns bereits aufgrund der Abbildungen getroffenen Identifizierungen erfreulicherweise bestätigen.⁵³ Unser Dank gilt Ellie Paton, Collections Officer of the Bank of England Museum. Ihrer Mitteilung zufolge

⁴⁷ Von weiteren interessierten Sammlungen ist auszugehen. Zuverlässige Hinweise liegen aber nicht (mehr) vor.

⁴⁸ In unserem Katalog Wiegels 2014, die Nummern 4 und 20.

⁴⁹ Wiegels 2014, Nr. 18.

⁵⁰ Wiegels 2014, Nr. 16; vgl. aber auch ebd. Nr. 15 und dazu in einem weiteren Abschnitt dieses Beitrags.

⁵¹ Wiegels 2014, Nr. 11.

⁵² Wiegels 2014, Nr. 13; vgl. aber auch zu Nr. 12.

⁵³ Die jeweiligen Literaturhinweise zu den einzelnen, im Folgenden kurz angesprochenen Barren, mögen der jeweiligen Diskussion bei Wiegels 2014 entnommen werden.

wurden die vier Barren 1929 bzw. 1935 bei zwei Auktionen von der Bank of England ersteigert. Sie stammen aus zwei verschiedenen Privatsammlungen.

1. Die Pl. VII/1 dokumentiert einen Barren, bei dem auf der rechten Seite ein Stück modern abgestemmt wurde (Inv. C 640/01). Das nicht mehr erhaltene Fragment muss einen Bildstempel mit der Tyche von *Sirmium* aufgewiesen haben, wie Vergleichsobjekte deutlich machen. Bemerkenswert ist trotz des Verlustes von etwa einem Fünftel der ursprünglichen Länge des Barrens sein mit 524,20 g relativ großes Gewicht. Der Barren muss demnach insgesamt mindestens 620 g gewogen haben. Er befand sich längere Zeit in der Hamburger Privatsammlung Consul Weber, die anscheinend (erstmalig?) 1909 versteigert wurde. 1929 gelangte dieser und ein weiterer Goldbarren (hier Nr. 3) aufgrund einer erneuten Versteigerung in die Bank of England.⁵⁴ Der Textstempel ist wie folgt zu lesen: LYCIANVS / OBR · I · SIC (Christogramm); der mittlere Bildstempel zeigt die Büsten dreier Angehöriger des Kaiserhauses wie auf anderen Exemplaren des Goldschatzes. Die linke Figur ist deutlich kleiner; dazu nach Innen gewendet links NNN, rechts DDD, also wiederum *n(ostri) d(omini) (tres)*. Insgesamt sind drei oder vier Barren mit dieser Stempelfolge bekannt.⁵⁵

2. Ein kleines Bruchstück (Inv. C 640/04) beinhaltet lediglich den Textstempel FL FLAVIANVS PRO SIC / AD DIGMA (Palmzweig) (Pl. VII/2). Dennoch kann es einem schon früh vierfach geteilten Barren zugewiesen werden, von dem sich das erste und das vierte Bruchstück aktuell im Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum in Budapest befinden. Die Bank of England verwahrt offenbar das zweite Bruchstück, das 1935 im Zuge der Versteigerung der Wiener Privatsammlung Franz Trau zusammen mit einem weiteren Barren – hier Nr. 4 – angeboten wurde.⁵⁶ Das Gewicht beträgt 110,2 g; das Gesamtgewicht des Barrens wurde mit ca. 428 g errechnet. Von den fünf Stempeln, die der vollständige Barren einst aufwies, ist der erste, zweite und fünfte nachweislich textgleich, der vierte ist ein nur teilweise erhaltener Lycianus-Stempel entsprechend dem im voraufgehenden Abschnitt genannten Exemplar. Der Beginn desselben zusammen mit einem dritten Stempel – höchstwahrscheinlich wiederum ein Flavianus-Stempel – ist verloren bzw. aktuell nicht nachzuweisen.⁵⁷

3. Der dritte in der Bank of England befindliche Goldbarren aus Crasna ist ein Bruchstück mit zwei eng aneinandergerückten Stempeln (Inv. C 640/02) (Pl. VII/3), welches anscheinend zu einem mindestens dreifach oder auch vierfach geteilten Barren gehört. Von diesem fünffach gestempelten Barren soll sich das erste Teilstück mit einem Flavianus-Stempel in Braşov befinden, was von uns bislang nicht verifiziert werden konnte. Das zweite Bruchstück mit zweifachem Flavianus-Stempel befindet sich im ungarischen Nationalmuseum in Budapest. Das dritte Fragment

⁵⁴ Wie wir bereits früher ermitteln konnten, handelt es sich um die Sammlung Consul Eduard Friedrich Weber – Hamburg, deren Zweite Abteilung: Römische und byzantinische Münzen (usw.) von J. Hirsch (München 1909) zusammengestellt wurde. Sie wurde später im März 1929 in Frankfurt a. M. unter dem Etikett „Vogel sale“ mit zwei Barren aus dem Hort von Crasna (lots 995 und 996) versteigert.

⁵⁵ Eine galvanoplastische Kopie eines Barrens, welche sich im Banatmuseum von Timișoara befinden soll, könnte auch auf einem der bekannten originalen Barren basieren, vgl. Wiegels 2014, 56 zu Nr. 16.

⁵⁶ Sammlung Franz Trau mit dem Auktionskatalog von A. Hess (Wien 1935) und zwei Barren (lots 4467 und 4468).

⁵⁷ Wiegels 2014, Nr. 8.

war Bestandteil der bereits erwähnten Hamburger Privatsammlung. Es handelt sich um das hier abgebildete Fragment mit einem kopfstehenden Flavianus-Stempel und einem Lycianus-Stempel. Das Gewicht beläuft sich nach ausdrücklicher Bestätigung entgegen einer fehlerhaften früheren Angabe auf 192,65 g.⁵⁸ Ob noch ein kleines, in Budapest befindliches anepigraphisches Stück rechts anschließt, lassen wir offen. Das Gesamtgewicht des ganzen Barrens muss jedenfalls über 460 g betragen haben. Insgesamt entspricht die Stempelfolge derjenigen auf anderen bekannten Goldbarren aus Crasna.

4. Dreifach gestempelt ist der vollständig erhaltene vierte Barren (Inv. C 640/03) (Pl. VII/4). Die Stempelung entspricht der hier unter 1. besprochenen Version, die auch durch weitere Exemplare belegt ist. Auch dieser Barren stammt aus der Sammlung Franz Trau. Sein Gewicht wird mit 520,45 g angegeben.⁵⁹

Zusammengefasst kann nunmehr eine beträchtliche Lücke geschlossen werden, was den Verbleib von wichtigen Bestandteilen des Hortes von Crasna betrifft. Damit kann auch die Unsicherheit über die Anzahl einstiger Fundstücke zumindest verringert werden. Sie nähert sich jedenfalls wieder eher der schon häufiger genannten Zahl von 15 Barren an, als dass mit mehreren weiteren unbekannten Exemplaren zu rechnen wäre. Aber ohne zuverlässige Auskünfte einer Reihe von lokalen Museen bleibt ein Fragezeichen.

Das hier zusammengestellte Addendum mag einmal mehr den laufenden, in Teilen auch überraschenden Erkenntnisfortschritt gerade auch zu spezifischen Fundobjekten aus der Antike aufzeigen, mahnt zugleich aber auch zur Vorsicht im Hinblick auf vorschnelle Garantie von Authentizität. Dies gilt nicht zuletzt für signierte Gold- und Silberbarren aus der Antike, zweifellos verlockende Objekte für die Anfertigung von Fälschungen oder auch von Repliken ohne unmittelbare, gewinnorientierte Täuschungsabsichten.

Rainer Wiegels

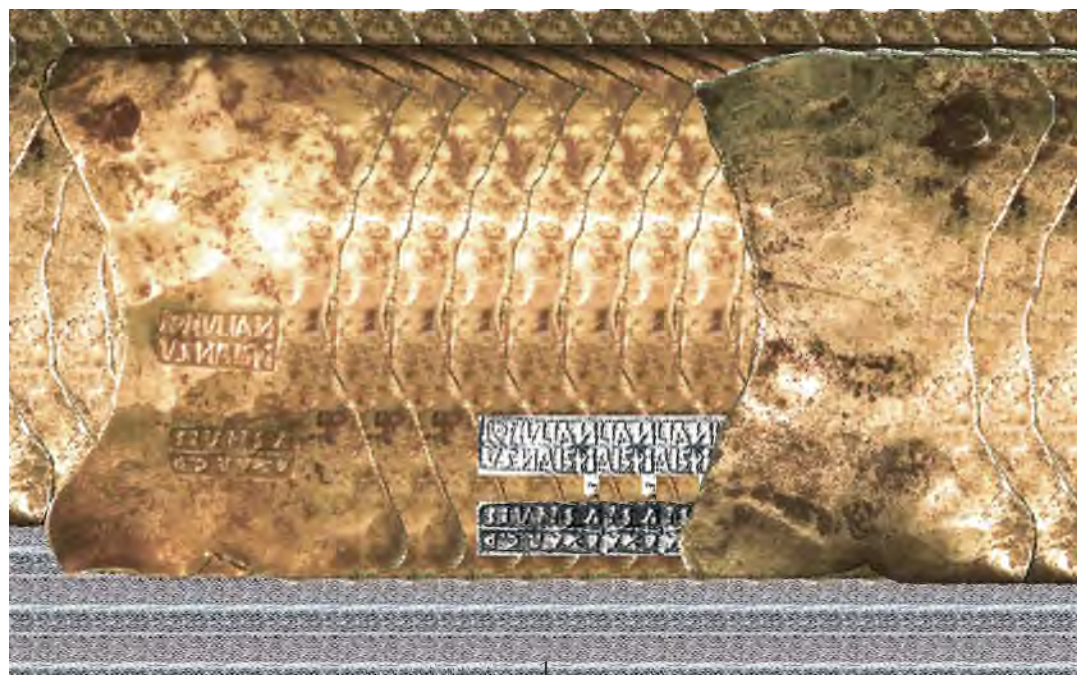
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⁵⁸ Genannt wurde ein Gewicht von 142,15 g, vielleicht ein Fehler in der Zuordnung, siehe Wiegels 2014, Nr. 7. Nach den erhaltenen übrigen Angaben errechnet sich jetzt ein Gewicht von 461,05 g.

⁵⁹ Wiegels 2014, Nr. 16.



2

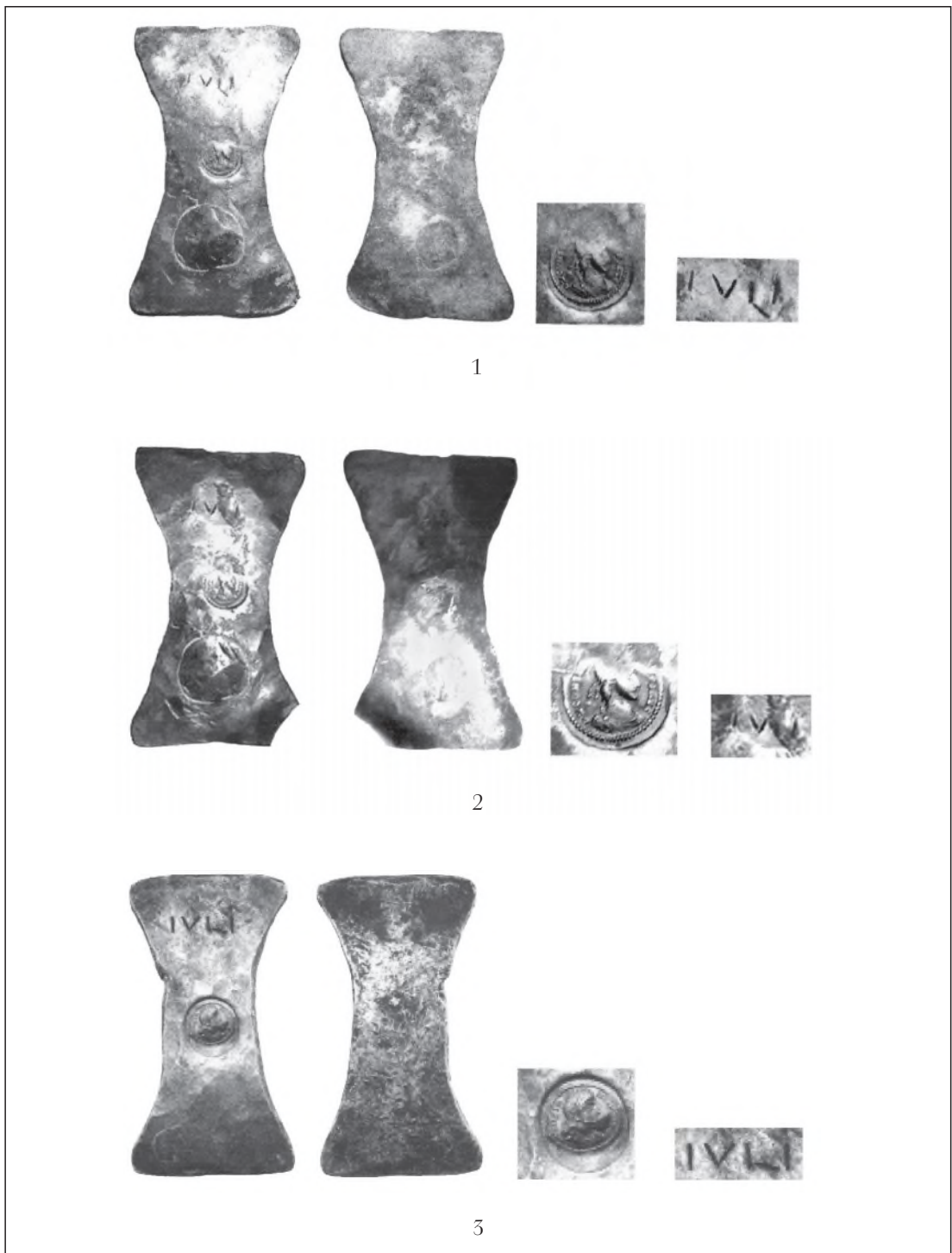


3

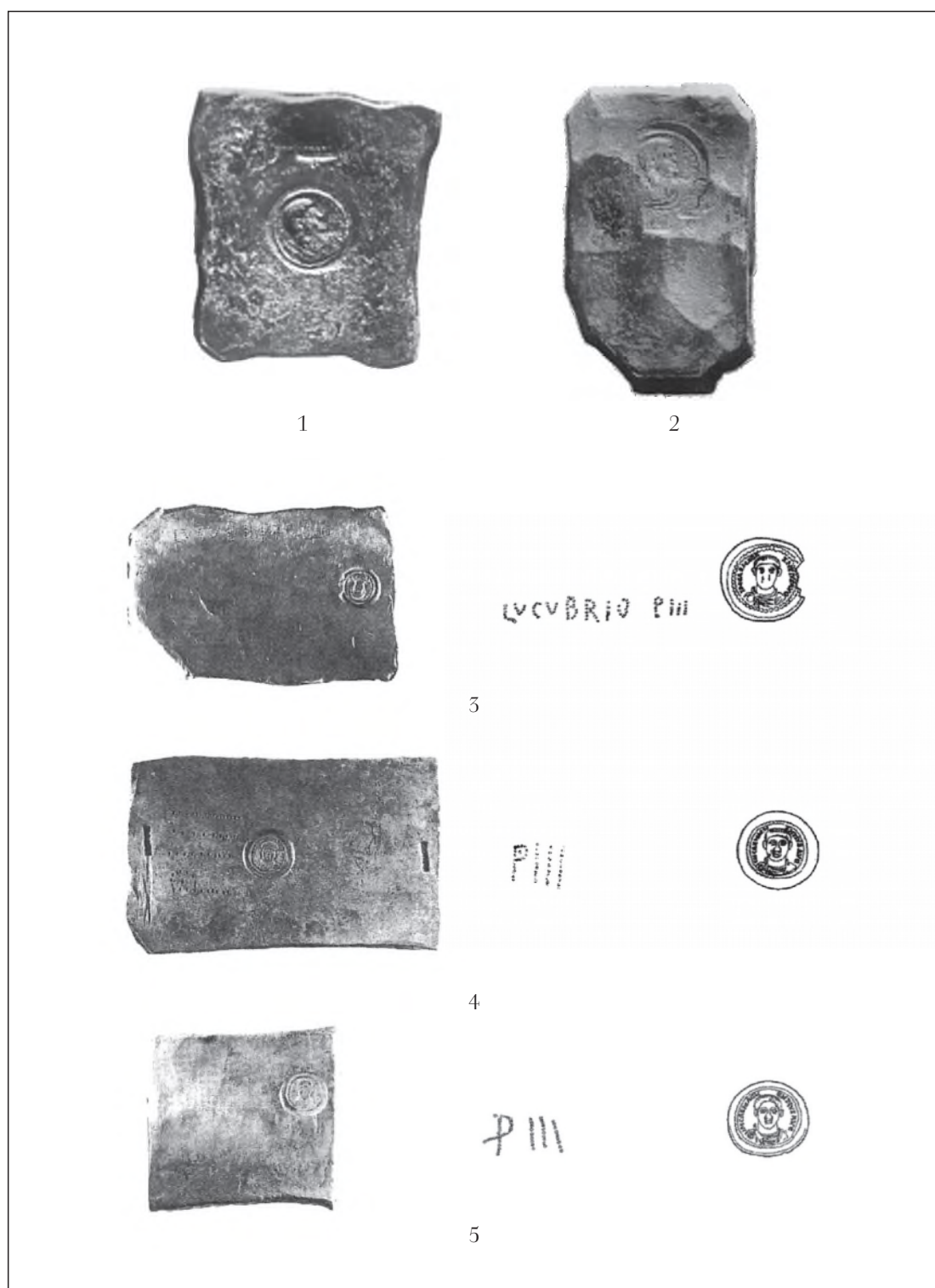
Pl. I. 1. Biesheim-Oedenburg (F): Silberbarren; Vor- u. Rückseite. Abb.: LDA Freiburg, Bodendenkmalpflege; 2. Silchester (GB) (?): Silberbarren. Abb.: White's Auctioneers, Dublin; 3. London (GB): Silberbarren. Abb.: Painter 1981, Abb. 32.



Pl. II. 1. Sammlung Degussa, München: Silberbarren. Abb.: Degussa Goldhandel GmbH;
 2. London (Auktion März 2015): Silberbarren. Abb.: London Roman Numismatic Limited
 2015; 3. Sammlung Degussa, München: Silberbarren; Vor- u. Rückseite. Abb.: Degussa
 Goldhandel GmbH.



Pl. III. 1. New York (Auktion Dezember 2000): Silberbarren mit Bildstempel des Constantius II; Vor- u. Rückseite; Details. Abb.: Classical Numismatic Group (Hg.), TRITON IV; 2. New York (Auktion Januar 2012): Silberbarren mit Bildstempel des Constantius II; Vor- u. Rückseite; Details. Abb.: Manhattan Sale III Nr. 225; 3. London (Auktion Januar/April 2018): Silberbarren mit Bildstempel des Constantius II; Vor- u. Rückseite; Details. Abb. Roma Numismatics Ltd., Lot 662.



Pl. IV. 1-2. Ljubljana (SLO): Zwei Silberbarren mit Bildstempel des Magnentius. Abb.: Cahn 1984; 3-5. Kaiseraugst (CH): Drei Silberbarren mit Bildstempel des Magnentius, Punzinschriften mit Gewichtsangaben P III (=p(ondo) III). Abb.: Cahn, Silberbarren, 1984, Nr. 66-68.



1



2a



2b



3

Pl. V. 1. Viminacium/Kostolac (SRB) (?): Silberbarren mit Bildstempel des Magnentius. Abb.: New York (Auktion Dezember 2000 [zuvor 1988 San Vicente/West Hollywood]) Sale III, 789; **2a.** Feldioara (RO) (?): Goldbarren - Kopie (?). Abb.: armstrongeconomics.com; **2b.** Feldioara (RO): Goldbarren in der Staatl. Münzsammlung München (D). Abb.: Staatl. Münzsammlung München; **3.** Bulgarien (?): Goldbarren. Abb.: armstrongeconomics.com.



1



2

Pl. VI. 1. Sremska Mitrovica (SRB): Kopien von Goldbarren aus Crasna (RO). Abb.: nach Popović 2007, 28 Abb. 11 (Photo: N. Borić); **2.** Crasna (RO): Goldbarren aus dem Hortfund in der Bank of England. Abb.: Bank of England Museum, London.



1



2



3



4

Pl. VII. 1-4. Crasna (RO); Goldbarren aus dem Hortfund in der Bank of England – Detailaufnahmen. Abb.: Bank of England Museum, London.

REVIEWS

David SORIA MOLINA, *Bellum Dacicum. Geopolítica, estrategia y conflicto en el Danubio bajo Domiciano y Trajano (85-106 d.C.)*, Signifer. Monografías y Estudios de la Antigüedad Griega y Romana, nº 50, Madrid-Salamanca: Signifer Libros, 2016, 671 pp.; ISBN-13: 978-84-16202-10-2; ISBN-10: 84-16202-10-9.*

Para ser sincero, debo decir que la primera impresión que obtuve de este libro antes de comenzar su lectura fue la de encontrarme ante un notable y pormenorizado estudio sobre las Guerras Dácicas de Trajano, evidentemente influido por su inconfundible título (*Bellum Dacicum*), pero también por las para mí muy conocidas imágenes de portada y contraportada: la primera, un detalle de una de las escenas de la Columna de Trajano; la segunda, una ilustración de Peter Connolly para un libro de divulgación sobre el ejército romano, ambientado precisamente en las campañas romanas en Dacia y que, allá por 1990, constituyó mi primer contacto con el conocimiento sobre ese pueblo de la Antigüedad que fueron los dacios¹ y que a la postre constituiría el núcleo de mis líneas de investigación.

Sin embargo, esa primera impresión no fue correcta, y debo decir que mi colega, Florian Matei-Popescu, del Instituto de Arqueología Vasile Pârvan, de la Academia de Rumanía en Bucarest, que realiza el prefacio del libro, yerra igualmente en su impresión inicial cuando comienza diciendo “A new book on the Trajan’s Dacian war”. Eso parece decir “uno más”, después del de Alexandru Simon Stefan de 2005² o el de Strobel de 1984³. Pero es que el libro de David Soria Molina es mucho más que un libro sobre las Guerras Dácicas de Trajano. El subtítulo se ajusta mucho mejor que el título a los contenidos y a la estructura de la obra –*geopolítica, estrategia y conflicto*– y marca con precisión el marco geográfico –el Danubio– y el cronológico –los reinados de Domiciano y Trajano–, entre los años 85 y 106 d.C. De modo que no, no es un libro sobre una guerra o guerras, no es un libro solamente sobre la Dacia y definitivamente no es un libro sobre las campañas militares desarrolladas allí por el emperador Trajano. Como digo, es mucho más, como iré mostrando en los próximos párrafos. Y de hecho, sólo con asomarnos al índice ya podemos intuir que las Guerras Dácicas de Trajano, aunque son el momento culminante de todo lo que trata David Soria en su pormenorizado estudio, no constituyen ni siquiera la mayoría del libro, dado que su desarrollo sólo ocupa unas 90 páginas (211-301) de las más de trescientas de redacción que tiene la obra, dejando aparte las restantes 350 páginas de apéndices, bibliografía e índices, que tampoco conciernen de forma única a las guerras de Trajano.

* Esta recensión ha sido realizada en Roma durante mi estancia en la Academia de Rumanía, gracias al soporte de una ayuda de movilidad del Programa José Castillejo 2017 del Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte de España.

¹ Connolly 1989.

² Stefan 2005.

³ Strobel 1984. Ver también Strobel 2006 y Strobel 2010.

¿Significa eso que la lectura del libro resulta decepcionante? Todo lo contrario. Resulta más estimulante, más compleja y más completa, y desde luego ofrece un panorama tremendamente enriquecedor de las perspectivas con las que el investigador afronta el estudio de la geopolítica y la diplomacia existente en toda la zona danubiana durante los siglos I a.C. y I d.C., y llegando hasta el reinado de Adriano. Y no sólo la perspectiva más tradicional y más conocida de la diplomacia romana, sus alianzas y enemigos, sino especialmente todo lo referente a las relaciones existentes entre los dacios, los pueblos germánicos, los pueblos sarmáticos y otros actores de ese espacio geográfico cárpato-danubiano ampliado hacia el Mar Negro, como las ciudades griegas o el Reino del Bósforo.

De hecho, en mi opinión, el estudio geopolítico es probablemente el mejor y más completo realizado hasta la fecha en lo relativo al espacio geográfico y la época concretados. Sólo por ello, el libro ya debería ser de consulta obligatoria para cualquier especialista interesado en la historia de los pueblos limítrofes del Imperio Romano. Más aún cuando, como decía más atrás, incide de forma muy significativa en una perspectiva alejada del habitual “romano-centrismo” existente en los estudios históricos del Imperio Romano. Bien es cierto que las fuentes escritas concernientes a esos pueblos, su historia, las relaciones entre ellos y las relaciones con el Imperio Romano son mayoritaria o únicamente romanas, con la consiguiente deriva hacia esa mencionada perspectiva de los historiadores. Pero el brillante análisis de otras fuentes, especialmente las arqueológicas y las iconográficas, y su contraste con las escritas – literarias y epigráficas –, le permiten al autor poder pintar un cuadro mucho más realista que lo que estamos habituados a contemplar cuando nos fiamos de las fuentes romanas y nos dejamos llevar en ocasiones por el carácter idealizado o estereotipado de algunas, o por el carácter propagandístico de esas mismas u otras. Si a ello le sumamos un uso constante de la lógica geoestratégica, del conocimiento del medio geográfico y de los factores ambientales, comerciales, sociales, religiosos, etc., el paisaje representado en ese cuadro se convierte en una obra de arte.

Mis palabras pueden sonar a panegírico, cual Plinio alabando a Trajano, pero incluso las obras de arte pueden tener aspectos mejorables, y el libro de David Soria no es una excepción en este sentido, como comentaré más adelante.

La parte redactada del libro, unas trescientas páginas, se divide en dos partes diferenciadas: la primera, dedicada al estudio de los contendientes en el espacio cárpato-danubiano; y la segunda, al análisis del conflicto bélico abierto desde época de Domiciano hasta la conquista de la Dacia por Roma y el establecimiento de la nueva provincia. Ya decíamos antes que la primera parte (pp. 21–186) es notablemente más amplia que la segunda, que además no sólo concierne a las Guerras Dácicas de Trajano (pp. 187–300). Por consiguiente, la primera parte dedicada a los contendientes no es un simple estudio preliminar, sino un bloque tremendamente importante dedicado a dilucidar dos de los tres temas planteados en el subtítulo del libro: la geopolítica y la estrategia en el espacio danubiano. Y el tercer tema, el estudio del conflicto, las guerras dácicas de Domiciano y de Trajano, constituye por tanto el objetivo de la segunda parte del libro.

La primera parte está organizada en cinco capítulos, que tienen a su vez una estructura similar, y que están dedicados al estudio de cada una de las agrupaciones de futuros contendientes en las guerras dácicas: los dacios, por un lado, y el Imperio Romano, por otro, son los más evidentes; los tres capítulos restantes se dedican a los sármatas del espacio danubiano –yácigos y roxolanos– y las ciudades griegas del norte del Mar Negro, a los pueblos germánicos del Danubio –bastarnos, buros, suevos y ligios– y al Reino del Bósforo y los sármatas aorsos de las estepas pónicas. Para cada uno de los casos –salvo para el romano– se analizan los precedentes históricos desde el siglo I a.C., se presentan las características internas, la estructura del ejército y de las fuerzas navales y fluviales, y la política exterior, con los aliados y enemigos de cada uno. Si en algunos casos, como en el de los dacios, obtenemos una visión homogénea, en otros, como en el de los pueblos germánicos del Danubio o los sármatas, la visión es muy heterogénea, ya que algunos de ellos eran aliados de los romanos, otros eran aliados de los dacios, algunos tienen sus propios conflictos entre ellos, exteriores o interiores –caso particularmente interesante el de confederación sueva– o incluso mantenían alianzas dobles y conflictos de intereses que les llevaron a cambiar de bando en algunos momentos –como ocurrió con los sármatas yácigos–. Por otra parte, la heterogeneidad presente en el mundo sármata resulta de particular interés, no sólo por cuanto yácigos, roxolanos, aorsos e incluso los siraces tienen intereses enfrentados entre ellos y fueron enemigos declarados en algunos momentos, sino porque, con una perspectiva más amplia del estudio, atreviéndose a salir de las fronteras que él mismo se ha impuesto, el autor habla de las consecuencias geopolíticas y estratégicas derivadas de la presencia y los conflictos de estos pueblos sarmáticos: por una parte, su influencia en las posteriores tácticas militares del ejército romano, con la adopción de la caballería pesada de tipo catafractario⁴; por otra, los ejes que quedan abiertos tras las Guerras Dácicas de Trajano –¡la historia sigue!–, que en lo que se refiere a los sármatas aorsos, les llevará más adelante a integrarse y a constituir una parte fundamental de la confederación alana.

De tremendo interés son las relaciones entre unos y otros, unas relaciones nada sencillas y que David Soria va desgranando, analizando y presentando con maestría, al tiempo que hace hincapié en los intereses en la región de cada uno de esos pueblos –a veces coincidentes, a veces enfrentados– y en sus fortalezas y debilidades tanto por su situación geoestratégica como por sus capacidades organizativas y especialidades militares, efectivos, tácticas, panoplia armamentística y capacidad de disponer de recursos militares sobre el medio acuático, de tremenda importancia en un espacio como el carpato-danubiano y por supuesto, en el pónico.

Pero el tratamiento compartimentado de cada uno de esos pueblos o grupos de pueblos en cada capítulo hace que el autor caiga en inevitables reiteraciones, incluso aunque él mismo afirme en algún momento que no desea caer en ellas. Pero si, por ejemplo, en el capítulo dedicado a los dacios, se analizan sus relaciones con los sármatas yácigos, se vuelve a hacer lo mismo en el capítulo dedicado a los pueblos germánicos, después se les analiza a ellos directamente en el capítulo dedicado a los sármatas

⁴ Aspectos ya desarrollados por el autor en publicaciones previas: Soria Molina 2011; Soria Molina 2012a; Soria Molina 2012b.

danubianos, en el capítulo dedicado al Imperio Romano se analizan también sus cambiantes relaciones, y en el capítulo dedicado al Reino del Bósforo y a los sármatas aorsos se analizan las relaciones una vez más... es evidente que hay cosas que se van a repetir. Lo mismo sucede con las referencias a algunos tipos de armamentos, extendidos entre esos diferentes pueblos. Pero la sensación de reiteración en algunos momentos no viene solamente de la información vertida, sino también de la repetición –muchas veces con absoluta exactitud– de un gran número de referencias a pie de página. Al realizar una lectura profunda y continuada del libro, prestando atención a cada referencia, el lector puede llegar en algún momento a experimentar la sensación de que le vuelven a contar –¿por segunda, tercera, cuarta, quinta vez?– la misma información o a remitir a las mismas fuentes. Al principio quizá no se note tanto, pero según avanza esa primera parte del libro, la sensación crece inevitablemente. Y digo inevitable porque es un efecto colateral negativo del gran aspecto positivo que presenta esta parte, que no es otro que la propia compartimentación, de modo que el libro también se convierte en una referencia fundamental para investigadores que trabajen específicamente sobre los pueblos germanos danubianos en los siglos I a.C. y I d.C., o sobre los sármatas, etc., y que quizá no estén interesados especialmente en las Guerras Dácicas ni en algunos de los otros pueblos que componían esa alianza que el autor ha denominado –muy oportunamente, en mi opinión– “Entente Dácica”, dado que el reino dacio, una formación de tipo estatal, constituyó el núcleo impulsor –el que le daba sentido y razón de ser– de esa gran alianza de los dacios con pueblos germánicos, sármatas e incluso ciudades griegas del Ponto en los que se daba una confluencia de intereses.

Precisamente, el análisis de las fuerzas y capacidades militares de esos pueblos realizado en el primer capítulo pone de manifiesto la que es también una de las mayores aportaciones del libro: la guerra naval y fluvial. Es la primera vez que se analizan en profundidad las Guerras Dácicas teniendo en cuenta las capacidades de operar con flotas fluviales por parte de los aliados de la Entente Dácica, sobre todo en lo que respecta a las ciudades de Tyras y Olbia, que evidentemente también operaban con flotas marítimas en las costas noroccidentales y occidentales del Mar Negro. Los argumentos manejados por el autor para descartar los cruces del Danubio helado en lo más crudo del invierno y al mismo tiempo sostener la existencia de una armada de la Entente y de una estrategia fluvial en el Danubio y en los principales afluentes de su curso inferior son muy consistentes y en la segunda parte del libro, la dedicada al desarrollo de las guerras, llevan éstas a una dimensión no conocida aún y definitivamente poco estudiada para la historia de los conflictos entre el Imperio Romano y el mundo bárbaro europeo. El estudio de David Soria, así, invita a revisar nuestras perspectivas sobre los conflictos entre romanos y bárbaros en otros frentes europeos, e incluso sobre las invasiones bárbaras de siglos posteriores. En este sentido, la ruptura de la imagen estereotipada y propagandística del bárbaro en confrontación con el análisis de sus verdaderas capacidades –en distinto grado según el pueblo y el ámbito concreto, y especialmente relevante en el caso de los dacios– es básica para poder entender las Guerras Dácicas y otros muchos conflictos de la época romana como algo mucho más complejo que el conflicto entre la civilización –la *oikumene* romana– y los atrasados pueblos bárbaros.

Tal es el interés que despierta la primera parte del libro que cuando llegamos al clímax, a los momentos en los que todos los factores cristalizan y desembocan en los conflictos armados, en las Guerras Dácicas de Domiciano y Trajano, y leemos esa segunda parte, quizá hasta nos sepa a poco. Pero esto es así porque después de la primera parte, podemos comprender la segunda mucho mejor. De hecho, sin la primera parte, la segunda no sería posible. Cuando en el desarrollo de los diferentes conflictos o fases de los conflictos asistimos a la intervención de los diferentes pueblos, a los análisis sobre las decisiones estratégicas tomadas por unos o por otros, a los movimientos, ataques, batallas terrestres y fluviales, y todo ello va además magníficamente acompañado por una serie de magníficos mapas –que, por su carácter moderno, dan la impresión de que estamos contemplando el despliegue de los cuerpos de ejército y divisiones alemanas en el ataque a la Unión Soviética durante la Operación Barbarroja en la Segunda Guerra Mundial– todas las piezas cuadran perfectamente en la cabeza y no resulta necesario profundizar en aspectos que ya han sido analizados en la primera parte del libro.

¿Pueden faltar detalles? Sí, pero al fin y al cabo, son sólo detalles. Por ejemplo, un análisis más exhaustivo de los relieves de la Columna de Trajano. Y no es que no haya un análisis de los relieves. Lo hay, destacando sobre todo la escena que probablemente se constituye en fundamental para sostener las tesis del autor: la escena C de la Columna, que representa a los enviados de los distintos pueblos hasta ese momento aliados de los dacios, a finales del 105 d.C., para negociar la paz con Roma. Probablemente –aunque es mi opinión– ese debería haber sido el motivo elegido para la portada del libro. Sin embargo, se eligió una de las escenas más cruentas de la Columna, en la que soldados de tropas auxiliares romanas le presentan al Emperador las cabezas cortadas de algunos enemigos. Bien, pues ello podría haber recibido un tratamiento un poco más extenso por parte del autor, dado que, además, son hechos que están directamente relacionados con la política desarrollada por Trajano en relación con la capital dacia, sus ciudades, sus templos, sus nobles, sus dioses, sus sacerdotes... Cuando analizamos las diferentes motivaciones para la acción romana, el autor se suma a los que consideramos que la religión habría jugado un papel importante en la resistencia armada de los dacios, dado que desde el siglo I a.C., con Burebista, constituía el centro de su unidad y cohesión, y no podemos excluir una aplicación de la experiencia romana en casos similares previos como Cartago, Corinto, Numancia o Jerusalén⁵: la destrucción del núcleo político y religioso dacio conllevaba la disolución de la estructura de tipo estatal que había sido encabezada por Decébalos, y la desaparición del centro religioso de Sarmizegetusa Regia tuvo como consecuencia la desaparición de todos los templos monumentales del mundo dacio, incluso de aquéllos emplazados más allá del territorio que quedó bajo la dominación romana en época provincial⁶. Las escenas de la Columna de Trajano son los únicos testimonios que pueden ofrecer algunos detalles sobre el asedio de la capital dacia, y aunque no se muestra de forma específica, resulta lógico que los romanos hubiesen desarrollado los mismos rituales previos de *evocatio* y *devotio* que se desarrollaron en los casos

⁵ Florea, Pupeză 2008; Pupeză 2010.

⁶ Glodariu 2006.

de esas otras destrucciones de ciudades, centros de poder⁷. Algunas escenas (XXIV, LXXII, CXIII) muestran a soldados romanos de tropas auxiliares con las cabezas de sus enemigos, que según la religión romana eran ofrecidas a las divinidades infernales ya fuera por una *devotio*, o en el campo de batalla⁸ o por una transgresión grave de la ley romana⁹. Es evidente que la presencia de estas escenas en la Columna podría indicar una *devotio* pronunciada contra los dacios y contra sus ciudades, para que fueran arrasadas y abandonadas. Este ritual habría venido después del de *evocatio*: en caso de haber sido efectuado, parece que los dioses de la ciudad, los dioses dacios –fueran cuales fueran– habrían decidido permanecer fieles a su pueblo, de modo que el mismo emperador, que como *pontifex maximus* detentaba la mayor autoridad sobre cuestiones religiosas, habría decretado la exclusión de las divinidades dacias del culto romano público o privado. La necesidad de arrasar el centro religioso del reino de Decébalo se superponía a la misma necesidad político-militar de la destrucción de Sarmizegetusa¹⁰.

Pero, en fin, detalles, en cualquier caso, que como mucho contribuirían a enriquecer un poco más el análisis de las escenas del desarrollo de las guerras, pero que en absoluto desmerecen un trabajo muy relevante y de alcance.

Si a todo lo ya dicho sobre las dos partes redactadas del libro y sobre el apéndice de mapas sumamos otros apéndices de gran interés, como el del Ejército romano y el *limes* danubiano, 85–119 d.C. (pp. 315–416), donde se presentan tablas con las unidades militares presentes y sus movimientos, así como la evolución del despliegue armado romano y los ejércitos presentes durante las distintas Guerras Dácicas de Domiciano y Trajano, y como los otros apéndices que reúnen todas las fuentes literarias sobre los conflictos (417–444), las epigráficas (445–482), numismáticas (483–500) y arqueológicas (501–536), con una bibliografía muy extensa (599–660) y unos índices analíticos –no muy extensos (663–671), pero muy útiles–, obtenemos el resultado final, que no es otro que el de encontrar en nuestras manos un libro que constituye un hito destacado en la historiografía sobre las Guerras Dácicas y en la historiografía sobre los pueblos danubianos limítrofes del Imperio Romano desde el siglo I a.C. hasta comienzos del siglo II d.C. Un libro que, por su importancia para la historia antigua rumana, la historia del Imperio Romano y de otros pueblos que hoy son estudiados también como parte de la historia antigua de naciones modernas, debería ser traducido probablemente al inglés para obtener el mayor impacto posible, que desde luego, merece tener, a tenor de lo que, con mayor o menor habilidad, he tratado de reflejar en estas pocas páginas.

⁷ Gustafsson 2000.

⁸ Macrobian. *Sat.* 3, 9, 7–9.

⁹ Plut. *Rom.* 22.

¹⁰ Carbó García 2013.

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RIGHT TO REPLY

DACIA IN ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY. MODERN HUMORS AND PERPLEXITIES

This text is aimed as a response to Mr. Karl Strobel's various stands against my book *Finding Arcobadara. Essay on the Geography and Administration of Roman Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca, Mega Publishing House, 2014.

He first mentions my book in his article entitled «*Römische Vici*» – «*Militärische Vici*» – «*Zivile Vici*»: *Kunstabgriffe der Forschung*, published in the volume *Römische Vici und Verkehrsinfrastruktur in Raetien und Noricum. Colloquium Bedaium Seebruck*, 26.–28. März 2015, München 2016, pp. 31–51, where on pages 36–37 he briefly notes that «auch S. Nemeti geht fehl in seiner These *kastrum territoriumque* und *vici militares...*» and in footnote 137 announces that two critical articles, to be discussed below, were under print. Mr. Strobel probably quoted from memory, as nowhere did I use the syntagm *kastrum territoriumque*, but *castellum territoriumque* as in *lex Rubria*.

The two critical articles, that mainly share the same text, are *Die Daker und Dakien. Ein Pseudo-Ethnos im Spiegel der sich wandelnden Ethnonymik und Toponymik*, in Monika Frass, H. Grassl, G. Nightingale, *Akten des 15. Österreichischen Althistorikertages Salzburg*, 20.–22. November 2014, Salzburg 2016 (DIOMEDES Sonderband), pp. 149–193 and *Das Bild Dakiens in der antiken Geographie und der untere Donauraum in der Kartographie des Ptolemaios zwischen Aktualität und Antiquiertheit*, in *Orbis Terrarum. Internationale Zeitschrift für historische Geographie der Alten Welt*, 14, 2016, pp. 194–228. The first half of the article *Die Daker und Dakien* ... deals with other issues and the text related to the geography of Dacia and to Arcobadara, that partially overlaps the text in *Das Bild Dakiens in der antiken Geographie*, is to be found on pages 169 through 187. These are two massive texts intended as syntheses of this issue, i.e. the geographic representation of Dacia in the ancient sources, and I shall not discuss the author's analyses and conclusions. I shall only dwell on those passages that distort and alter the meaning of the analyses in my work, *Finding Arcobadara*.

For reference, I employ the version published in the *Orbis Terrarum* periodical, *Das Bild Dakiens in der antiken Geographie...* I was surprised, even reading the abstract, that such ample syntheses, with such ambitious goals, need to deal with «*the non-existent place-name Arcobadara*» and with the theories that I have formulated on the matter: «Das jüngst und dem angeblichen Ortsnamen Arcobadara aufgebaute Thesengebäude für die Struktur der Provinz und die Angaben des Ptolemaios wird widerlegt», or in the English version «*The theories based in recent years on the non-existent place-name Arcobadara for the inner structure of the Roman province and the data given by Ptolemaios are to be refuted.*» (K. Strobel, *Das Bild Dakiens...*, pp. 194–195).

The latter sentence, that concludes the abstract, condenses the author's main objective, i.e. not to analyze the image of Dacia in ancient geography, but to refute

recent theories that start from the identification of Ptolemy's toponym of Arcobadara that Mr. Strobel deems inexistent.

The selection of topics regarding the geography of Dacia therefore follows the list of contents of my 2014 book:

1. «*Einleitung*» (p. 195–201) is an analysis of Dacia in the Roman geographic tradition and corresponds to my chapter *Before Ptolemy*, in *Finding Arcobadara...*, pp. 23–42, the only approach of the topic so far. K. Strobel takes over the data and the argument, frequently repeats that S. Nemeti is wrong, and eventually discovers a new topic that he deals with in detail.

2–3. «*Tabula Peutingeriana und Kosmograph von Ravenna*» (pp. 201–202) is, in fact, a brief introduction to the subsequent and richer chapter 3. «*Der anonyme Kosmograph von Ravenna*» (pp. 202–205). It is surprising how in an article dealing with the representation of Dacia in ancient geography, the most illustrative source, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, is almost ignored, as the author only discusses it in half a page. I do not believe this to be a coincidence, but I think that it is connected to the fact that in *Finding Arcobadara* the issue of Dacia on *Tabula Peutingeriana* is not approached as the source does not mention the road through eastern and north-eastern Dacia and thus neither does it mention Arcobadara. For the *Cosmographer of Ravenna* in my book I followed L. Dillemann's hypothesis regarding *patria Dardania* in the north of the Black Sea and I presumed that the so-called Phira – Certiae road through Eastern Dacia was in fact located in the northern areas of the Black Sea. Karl Strobel reaches the same conclusion.

4. The chapter «*Dakien bei Klaudios Ptolemaios*» discusses two chapters in *Finding Arcobadara* where I suggested a diverging interpretation of Ptolemy's data on Dacia, different from the old accepted theory holding that these data described pre-Roman Dacia between rivers Tisa and Dniester, with a few added Latin toponyms. The main hypothesis of my book, namely that Arcobadara should be localized in Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud County) on the north-eastern limes of the province of Dacia and not in Moldavia, contradicts this vision following the texts of Tocilescu – Pârvan – Vulpe (that Karl Strobel also accepted in his older work¹); this is probably the reason why he tries so hard to deny and to refute it. According to him, the hypothesis that the settlements between Ilișua (Arcobadara) and Râșnov (Cumidava) are on the eastern part of the province of Dacia contradicts Ptolemy's indications of coordinates (p. 214), and thus one understands that the mentioned settlements must remain in Moldavia.

The author thus reaches Chapter 5. «*Arcobadara und die vermeintlichen Distrikte der hadrianischen Provinzorganisation bei Ptolemaios*». The final chapter no longer follows the enounced titles *Die Daker und Dakien* and *Das Bild Dakiens in der antiken Geographie* respectively and is entirely dedicated to demolishing my book, *Finding Arcobadara*. I must confess I was flattered by the attention with which Karl Strobel analyzed this book of mine and his dedication in contradicting its analyses and hypotheses. He wrote two articles about Dacia in the ancient cartographic sources

¹ K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans: Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donaauraumes in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1984, p. 54, n. 76 (Piatra Neamț – Petrodava), n. 79 (Tisești / Târgu Ocna – Utidava), p. 55.

and in both he followed step by step my demonstration in *Finding Arcobadara*, ending them in an apotheotic manner by taking apart the central hypothesis of my book, in chapter 5. I appreciate the fact that he promoted my book (even if through bad publicity) in prestigious periodicals such as *Diomedes* and *Orbis Terrarum*.

I do not wish to approach here issues of research ethics, such as developing an author's ideas and repeating all the time the fact that he is wrong. The usual approach is to write a review, not two articles in order to criticize a book. In my opinion, Karl Strobel does not state anything essentially different than what I wrote in *Finding Arcobadara* regarding Dacia on Agrippa's map and in the cosmography of the Anonymous from Ravenna. Our divergences are minimal on the topic, except for certain assertions that he erroneously attributes to me because of too hasty a reading (p. 197, footnote 10, p. 196, footnote 8).

I just wish to make two remarks on the logics of scientific research:

1. *Lex parsimoniae* or «Occam's razor» holds that the simplest hypothesis has a greater chance of being correct. I read *terri[tor(ii)] [A]rcoba[da(re)nsis]* on the inscription from Ilişua because the five letters RCOBA were preserved in row 2. The inscription was found in the civilian settlement of the fort in Ilişua, on the north-eastern border of the province of Dacia, where Ptolemy's Geography locates a settlement called Arcobadara (accepting the approximate value of the coordinates of ancient Greek mathematical geography). I knew this was a corrupt form and that in manuscripts it also features as Arcobarada and others. Besides, I even chose the original form *Arcobara, with analogies in the local toponomastic fund. The name might have also been Arkorbardava as Karl Strobel wants (p. 220); the main facts do not change: the sequence RCOBA remains part of the ancient toponym, no matter the manuscript variants. The simple hypothesis is this: a toponym attested in an epigraphic and a cartographic source, in an appropriate area. What does Karl Strobel do? In order to reject at all cost my reading based on a toponym attested by Ptolemy, he simply invents a toponym attested nowhere: *territorium Ercobatorum* (p. 223). Who were the *Ercobati* and where did they come from to north-eastern Dacia? I think only Karl Strobel knows, but I cannot figure out how he can validate such a secondary, complicated hypothesis that requires a lot of extra arguments.

2. *Contra facta non valet argumentum*. These are the facts: an altar made of limestone was recently discovered, inscribed during the third century AD; two *magistri* from a rural settlement near the fort of ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana from Ilişua dedicated the altar to an abstract divinity (*Genius*), protector of an administrative unit (*Genius territorii*). The center of the said *territorium* was a settlement called Arcoba[ra, -dara, -rada, -rdava], the name of which is recorded by the inscription. The settlement is also attested in corrupted forms in the manuscripts of Ptolemy's Geography. The inscription was found near the fort, in the area with civilian habitation, not elsewhere. It is basic knowledge that an inscription found in Turda (Cluj County) that features letters M. S. POT must be completed as *m(unicipium) S(eptimium) Pot(aissense)* and that Turda is the ancient Potaissa, even if Ptolemy records it as Patrouissa and the Tabula Peutingeriana as Patabissa. The form Potaissa is attested by epigraphy that reflects the correct name of the settlement, not the corrupt forms in the geographic

sources. If Potaissa (Patrouissa, Patabissa) is Turda, then Arcobara (Arcobadara, Arcobarada) is to be located at Ilișua, not in Moldavia, not in the great pre-Roman Dacia, but on the eastern limes of the province of Dacia.

These are the facts; the rest are details and technicalities. I accept the fact that I also made errors in regard to certain details, that I might have gone too far at times with the hypotheses, but Karl Strobel has signaled them diligently and I raise no objections to that. I do not have his erudition, experience, and access to libraries. But I did not invent toponyms that did not exist and I did not limit myself to nineteenth-century theories that saw a great pre-Roman Dacia and that took advantage of the relaxed localization of those Ptolemaic *poleis* down to the Prut. I believe that I have cautiously interpreted Ptolemy's imprecise data and that an ancient settlement called Arcoba(-ra, -dara, -rada) existed on the eastern limes of the Roman province, to be localized in Ilișua. Karl Strobel has misinterpreted the given facts of this simple problem and he has criticized my work systematically, at times with an insistence that astonished me. Therefore I considered necessary to reply.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf.

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.
ActaCD	<i>Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis</i> , Debrecen.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology, Bordeaux – Moscow.
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.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, Boston.
Alba Regia	<i>Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis – Alba Regia</i> . A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	<i>Aluta</i> . Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
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.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.
Археологія	Археологія. 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.
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.
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-Inscriptionen des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart 1990.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCCA	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 .
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 Danuvinorum</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</i> – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): <i>Dacia</i> – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
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	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
Erdély	Erdély Honismertető Folyóirat. Az Erdély Kárpát-Egyesületnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Έργον	Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα.
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, <i>The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)</i> , I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, <i>edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de</i> .
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, Bucureşti – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, Bucureşti 1996, 2000.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
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> , Bucureşti 1976.
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> , Bucureşti 2005.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1882-1916.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , I-VI, Beograd 1976-1982.

InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937.
ISM	Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine, București 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JHS	The Journal of Hellenistic Studies, Cambridge.
Journal of Democracy	Journal of Democracy, Washington DC.
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology, http://jsa.sagepub.com/ .
Journal of Military History	Journal of Military History, Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	Journal of Religion and Health, Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségértárából, Budapest.
ΚρΧρον	Κρητικά Χρονικά, Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	<i>krisis/crisi</i> , Roma 2012.
KSK RBS	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtschaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle, Berlin.
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/ .
Libelli Archaeologici	<i>Libelli Archaeologici</i> , Budapest.
Libyca	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981 sqq.
L&S	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, A new Latin Dictionary, New York – Oxford 1891.
Lupa	<i>Ubi erat lupa</i> , www.ubi-erat-lupa.org .
MAL	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
Madrider Mitteilungen	Madrider Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
Marmatia	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
Medicina nei secoli	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.
MelBidez	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933–1934).
Memoria Antiquitatis	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis. 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, Warszawa.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redó 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	<i>Památky Archeologické</i> , Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PAT	<i>Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
PECS	R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, M. Holland McAllister (eds.), <i>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> , Princeton University Press 1976.
Peuce	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale “Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea.
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 Romani²</i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 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	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – <i>Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis, Acta Nova Musei Nationalis</i> , 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
Religion	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.
Revista Arheologică	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău.
RevBistriței	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, Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC - AD 69), 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, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, 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.
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. 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.
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.