ACTA

MVSEI NAPOCENSIS

61 / I / 2024

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS

61/I

MINISTERUL CULTURII
MUZEUL NAȚIONAL DE ISTORIE A TRANSILVANIEI

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS 61/I

PREHISTORY-ANCIENT HISTORY-ARCHAEOLOGY

CLUJ-NAPOCA
2024

EDITORIAL BOARD:
Editor-in-chief: Eugenia Beu-Dachin
Assistant Editor: Irina Nemeti
Felix Marcu, Florian Matei-Popescu, George Cupcea.

Illustrations: Dana Gheorghe Șerban and the authors.
Cover: TD Studio.
Technical editing and printing: MEGA Print SRL, Cluj-Napoca.

HONORARY SCIENTIFIC BOARD:
Mihai Bărbulescu (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Werner Eck (Köln, Germany), Rudolf Haensch (Munich, Germany), Manfred Hainzmann (Graz, Austria), William Hanson (Glasgow, United Kingdom), Ian Haynes (London, United Kingdom), Marietta Horster (Mainz, Germany), Péter Kovács (Piliscsaba, Hungary), Fritz Mitthof (Vienna, Austria), György Németh (Budapest, Hungary), Coriolan H. Opreanu (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Constantin C. Petolescu (Bucharest, Romania), Ioan Piso (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Tudor Soroceanu (Berlin, Germany), Rainer Wiegels (Osnabrück, Germany).

Founder: Constantin Daicoviciu

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

ISSN 1454–1513

Copyright: © Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei and the authors.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

MALVINKA URÁK, BORIS KAVUR
Counts, Celts, and old collections. The history of an exceptional archaeological discovery: the Celtic "grave" from Silivaş (I) 9

FLORIAN BOIŞTEANU
Funerary representations of the *Norico-Pannonian* feminine clothing in Roman Dacia 41

FELIX MARCU, TEODOR MUNTEAN
The Roman Transalpina 69

LUCIANA NEDELEA
Roman kitchenware, *culinae* and areas indicative of cooking activities in the legionary fortress from Potaissa 99

MONICA GUI, SORIN COCIŞ
A piece of mail armour from the archaeological excavations on Victor Deleu Street, Cluj-Napoca 149

LUCA-PAUL PUPEZĂ, ADRIANA ISACU
A unique Roman jar from an unknown context 169

ANDRA-CEZARA COMIATI
A Roman face pot discovered at the auxiliary fort from Gherla 183

SORIN NEMETI, IRINA NEMETI
Ara Martis. Notes on an anepigraphic altar from Dacia 191

BENOIT ROSSIGNOL
La carrière d'Ulpius Cerialis et les guerres de Marc Aurèle [The career of Ulpius Cerialis and the wars of Marcus Aurelius] 203

ALEXANDRA PREDA
Beads associated with the Gepid Period in the Eastern Pannonian basin. Typology and ways of wearing 225

PÉTER KOVÁCS
On the death of the Hun King Ruga 277

ÁDÁM SZABÓ
The *Codex Csíksomlyoviensis* – Codex Ms 43/Tq-136h (*Cicero, Frontinus, Horatius, Vegetius*). Preliminary Report 295

EUGENIA BEU-DACHIN, SORIN NEMETI
Modern *Shabtis* and "Egyptianizing" artifacts in Transylvanian Collections 319

REVIEWS

G. Cupcea, *Latin Inscriptions from the Legionary Fortress of Apulum*, TYCHE Supplementband 16, Wien 2024, 212 p., ISBN 978–3-903207–75-2 (**Ștefania Dogărel**) 331

Oana Stănciulescu, *Capcana unui compromis. Securitatea și arheologia. 1947–1967* [The Trap of a Compromise. Security and Archaeology. 1947–1967], Ed. Vremea, București 2023, 362 p., ISBN 978–606-081–190-9 (**Radu Mârza**) 333

Edisa LOZIĆ, *Funerary Monuments in the Interior of the Roman Province of Dalmatia*, E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 11, Ljubljana 2021, 210 p., 978–961-05–0097-1, ISBN 978–961-05–0541-9 (**Constantin-Cristian Dascălu**) 337

IN MEMORIAM

CONSTANTIN-ADRIAN POP (24.05.1938–30.12.2023) (by **Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț**) 341

Abbreviations 345

ARTICLES AND STUDIES

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 9–39

COUNTS, CELTS, AND OLD COLLECTIONS. THE HISTORY OF AN EXCEPTIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERY: THE CELTIC "GRAVE" FROM SILIVAȘ (I)

MALVINKA URÁK, BORIS KAVUR

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.01

Abstract: This paper is the first in a series examining the history and cultural significance of the decorated Celtic helmet from the grave of Silivaș, which belonged to Count Teleki Domokos' private collection. That collection, which included items from significant archaeological sites in Transylvania, reflects the political and intellectual dynamics of southeastern Europe in the early 20th century. As a noteworthy example of the La Tène period military equipment, the helmet warrants a re-evaluation of its history a century after its initial publication. Using a microhistorical approach, the paper traces the biography of this significant Celtic assemblage and the interconnected lives of stakeholders – state officials and private collectors – united by a shared interest in the past. Spanning the late Austro-Hungarian Empire through the interwar period to the aftermath of World War II, it highlights the assemblage's navigation of public and private spheres amidst political and cultural upheaval. Focusing on Count Domokos Teleki and his engagement with the Transylvanian Museum Society, the paper investigates the fate of his private collection during World War I. By using unpublished archival materials and correspondence, it reconstructs the assemblage's discovery, exchange, display, and scholarly treatment while exploring the emotional and intellectual contexts of those involved. The Mureș River serves as a symbolic boundary reflecting the shifting identities of that era.

Ultimately, this narrative illustrates how material culture and personal motivations intersected with broader historiographic trends, providing new insights into Transylvania's cultural legacy during a pivotal moment.

Keywords: microhistory; artefact biography; helmet; Silivaș; counts; old collections; Celtic archaeology.

Rezumat: Lucrarea de față reprezintă prima parte dintr-o serie dedicată examinării istoriei și semnificației culturale a coifului celtic decorat descoperit în mormântul de la Silivaș, care a făcut parte din colecția privată a contelui Teleki Domokos. Această colecție, ce cuprindea artefacte provenite din situri arheologice de importanță majoră din Transilvania, reflectă dinamica politică și intelectuală a Europei de Sud-Est de la începutul secolului al XX-lea. Coiful, o piesă remarcabilă de echipament militar din cultura La Tène, necesită o reevaluare a istoriei sale, la un secol după prima menționare științifică.

Adoptând o abordare microistorică, lucrarea urmărește biografia acestui important ansamblu de obiecte celtice, precum și a celor implicați în destinul său – de la funcționari de stat la colecționari privați – uniți de un interes comun pentru valorificarea trecutului. Analiza acoperă perioada finală a Imperiului Austro-Ungar, epoca interbelică și anii de după cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial, subliniind modul în care acest ansamblu a navigat între sferele publice și private în contextul unor tulburări politice și culturale semnificative.

Lucrarea se concentrează pe rolul contelui Domokos Teleki și pe relația acestuia cu Societatea Muzeului Ardelean, investigând soarta colecției sale private în timpul Primului Război Mondial.

Prin valorificarea unor surse arhivistice nepublicate și a corespondenței contemporane, studiul reconstituie procesul de descoperire, schimb, expunere și interpretare științifică a artefactelor, explorând în același timp contextul emoțional și intelectual al actorilor implicați. În acest cadru, râul Mureș funcționează ca o frontieră simbolică, reflectând identitățile fluctuante ale epocii.

În final, narațiunea ilustrează felul în care cultura materială și motivațiile individuale s-au intersectat cu marile curente istoriografice, oferind noi perspective asupra moștenirii culturale a Transilvaniei într-un moment definitoriu din istoria sa.

Cuvinte-cheie: microistorie; biografia unui artefact; coif; Silivaș; conți; colecții vechi; arheologie celtică.

Public and private collections

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a significant shift from antiquarianism towards establishing research institutions and formalisation of archaeology as a profession. This period has represented a pivotal stage in establishing this discipline. The transition was facilitated by the emergence of scientific associations focusing on history and archaeology, followed by anthropology. In parallel was the process of founding public museums, often affiliated with state entities, particularly gaining momentum from the 1880s onwards. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, nationalism significantly impacted European political and cultural thought. It particularly influenced the development of heritage studies and museums. National identity was strengthened through the preservation of cultural heritage, with museums playing a key role in promoting national narratives. Governments and elites used archaeological findings, monuments, and historical artefacts to legitimise modern nation-states and assert cultural distinctiveness, especially in multi-ethnic empires like Austria-Hungary. However, this emphasis on nationalism often led to selective historical interpretations that marginalised certain groups and reinforced political agendas. As a result, museums became powerful tools for shaping collective memory and national identity, but at the expense of more inclusive and diverse histories.[1] This process first occurred in the western and northern parts of Europe, then extended to the east, gradually reaching Transylvania.[2] Cluj (Kolozsvár) (Pl. XIII/1) was no exception to this movement. The Transylvanian Museum Society, founded after decades of concerted efforts in 1859, was born from the vision and determination of the local nobility and intellectuals.[3] During its early years, the cultural institution expanded its collections mainly through acquisitions and donations. Its blooming period started with Béla Pósta (1862–1919) (Pl. I/2),[4] considered the founding father of the Cluj School of archaeology.[5] By exhibiting its tangible heritage, the Society aimed to educate the public about the region's past, fulfilling its mission to serve as a custodian of Transylvania's cultural legacy.[6] This period is marked

[1] About the influence of nationalism on political and cultural thought, with particular emphasis on creating museums, see, for example, Gavrilović 2008; Trofanenko 2008; Aronsson, Elgenius 2014; Kavur 2014, 106–117.

[2] Trigger 1990, 65–67, 70–103. For the most recent overview of the history of archaeology in Romania, see Bărbulescu 2022.

[3] Szabó T. 1942, 26.

[4] The original, poor-quality black and white photographs were enhanced with the help of AI software.

[5] Vincze 2014; Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2017, 40; Szabó 2018

[6] EME Jegyzőkönyv 1859, 4–8; EME Alapszabályai 1905, 3, §1.

by well-documented excavations, ensuring a remarkable growth of the Coins and Antique Collection. Its financial status, on the other hand, did not reflect the same development, making it dependent on the generosity of the local nobility throughout its existence. Their annual membership fees and substantial monetary donations supported the noble cause of preserving and disseminating Transylvania's rich history.[7]

Count Domokos Teleki (1880–1955) (Pl. I/1; Pl. II/1) was one of such founding members of the Society, and the moments of his interaction and relation with the staff of the institution are well documented by a series of letters preserved in different archives. Born in 1880 in the Széki branch of the Teleki family, he grew up surrounded by a long-standing interest in history and antiquities.[8] His collection of Turkish carpets dating back to the time of the Transylvanian Principality brought him renown. The collection attracted international attention when it was showcased at the 1914 exhibition at the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, creating a sensation. [9] Notably, the idea for the exhibition was conceived by the count himself.[10] His assessments, as well as his interaction with the members of the Museum Society, are somewhat twofold. Following his enthusiasm, he ventured into amateur archaeology and excavated at several locations in Transylvania, such as the basin of Lăpuș, Suciu de Sus[11] or Moigrad – Porolissum.[12] While these efforts may not have met the archaeological standards of that time, due to a lack of professional knowledge for creating the subsequent missing adequate documentation in the field or afterwards, they nonetheless reflected his deep interest in uncovering the past. We must acknowledge the Count for attracting the specialists' attention to several significant archaeological sites. From the archaeological finds he unearthed during his excavations and antiquities purchased from various parts of the world, completed with ethnographical items and family relics, he established a private museum housed between the walls of his estate from Gornești (Gernyeszeg) (Pl. XIII/2), located on the castle's first-floor west wing corridor (Pl. III).[13] The collection was not only shown to his aristocratic friends and companions but also to specialists and official delegations. Even more, the Count himself guided tours through the collections for the visitors. For instance, on July 2nd, 1933, the Hungarian National Grand Meeting organised by the Magyar Party, a Hungarian political party of post-war Romania, took place, and all congress participants visited the castle and museum under the Count's guidance.[14]

Renowned experts of the time published some of the Roman age discoveries due to the Count's enthusiasm and public interest.[15] Lately, there has been increasing interest in the finds of this once-existing private collection. Some of the artefacts that entered the custody of the museum from Târgu Mureș have been published in papers that presented

[7] Vincze 2014, 43–89.
[8] Paulovics 1944, 86.
[9] Bíró 1938, 63.
[10] Györgyi 1913, 208; Csányi 1914, 63.
[11] Kacsó 2008, 13.
[12] Teleki 1908.
[13] Bíró 1938, 63.
[14] Erdélyi Lapok 1933, 8; Keleti Ujság 1933, 2; Magyar Nép 1933, 403.
[15] Paulovics 1944, 86–96.

them chronologically.[16] Still, according to present knowledge, neither an overview of the collection nor an inventory list was produced or published. Based on the available correspondence related to this topic (Appendix 5; Pl. VIII)[17] and subsequent scientific publications,[18] it is difficult to determine precisely when, between the end of the first and the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, the collection was put on display. At the moment, the most solid information about its presentation, and thus far, the most comprehensive account of the Counts' antique collection, appeared on December 8th 1912, in the Science and Literature feuilleton of the Budapest-based political daily, Az Ujság.[19] As stated by this newspaper article titled 'Art Treasures of the Telekis', Count Domokos Teleki transformed one of the castle's spacious corridors into a museum, displaying his collection in eight showcases (Pl. III).

According to the description, the first showcase exhibited Egyptian artefacts: parts of mummies, scarabs, statuettes, and pots; in addition, stone and bronze age artefacts from Transylvania, such as stone axes, serpentine arrowheads, and bronze pickaxes were to be found. In the second showcase, bronze objects and tiles from the "tile barn" of Gornești were shown; in the third showcase, the "urns" and other Bronze Age "relics" of the Bronze Age cemetery of "Moczira" from Suciu de Sus (Felsőszőcs), were placed. The fourth showcase was filled with prehistoric finds from the Count's excavations in various parts of Transylvania. The fifth showcase primarily featured artefacts from the Roman Age. These artefacts came from the point named "Zayk-rész" in the locality of Tetétlen, Hungary, as well as finds from Aquincum (Budapest) and the Roman fort of Cristur (Maroskeresztúr). Other Roman Age objects from various parts of the country were also displayed. In the sixth showcase, the artefacts from the fort of Cristur continued, completed with "a pile" of finds from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa). The seventh and eighth showcases contained family heirlooms and Hungarian goldsmiths' art relics. Various pieces of clothing from the crypt in the Teleki Garden in Ocna Mureș (Marosújvár) were displayed here. Among them was an almost intact embroidered silk dolman and a pair of silk stockings. From the crypt discovered in the church of Gornești (Gernyeszeg), the remaining fragments of clothing and jewellery of Mihály Teleki and his wife, Judit Vér, such as pelisse-lanyard, earrings, rosary, bracelet, pendant and Judit Vér's belt were exhibited. Among the family jewels, ornamental vessels, and weaponry, the gilded silver cups of Mihály Teleki and Judit Vér, marked with 1675, and a wooden drum canteen made in a similar style from 1678 stand out.

Common interests

In addition to being a patron of the arts and culture, Count Teleki maintained a professional relationship with the Transylvanian Museum Society's director, Béla Pósta. For donating to the Society the 17th century architectural elements, silver works, and several other valuable artefacts discovered on his property in Cluj (Kolozsvár), the Museum

[16] Man 2011; Fábián 2016a; Fábián 2016b; Fábián 2017; Fábián 2017–2018; Fábián 2018a; Fábián 2018b; Fábián 2019; Crăciun 2020.

[17] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV.

[18] Bíró 1938, 63.

[19] Az Ujság 1912, 18.

Society obliged itself to expertise his coin collection and restore the assemblage of artefacts from the Celtic grave from Silivaș.[20]

A significant document shedding light on this collaboration is a letter[21] addressed to him by Béla Pósta, dated January 25th 1906. This letter (Appendix 1; Pls. IV–V), which runs to three and a quarter pages, meticulously addresses three distinct topics. Firstly, it details the age and provenance of a silver sugar container left for identification at the Museum Society by the Count himself. After this introduction, the letter delves into the internal organisation and operations of the Museum Society. It invites the Count to become a member, highlighting the successful establishment of museology principles within the Society's departments. It also underscores the Society's ambition to become a leading heritage and cultural institution in Transylvania.

In the concluding segment, attention turns to an assemblage of artefacts known as the "La Tène-style finds". Béla Pósta respectfully requests the Count to provide additional details on these artefacts' precise location and excavation conditions. He expresses his desire to publish the discovery in the Society's newly established journal, noting that drawings of the items have already been completed and that the only hurdle in the realisation of this publication is the lack of essential information about the discovery conditions.

In a letter[22] dated February 4th, 1906, the Count replies to Béla Pósta from Budapest (Appendix 2; Pl. VI), expressing his desire to join the Museum Society as a founding member. He further acknowledges his limited knowledge of the circumstances leading to the discovery of the La Tène finds due to their unearthing outside a formal archaeological excavation. Instead, they were found during ploughing, and he received them as a gift from Count Ádám Teleki only a few years before. However, he assures Béla Pósta that as soon as he returns to Transylvania, he will diligently document all the available information. In the letter's closing paragraph, the topic changes to a carpenter from whom the Count awaits the price offer for the wooden showcases for the antiquities.

True to his promise, he writes[23] to Béla Pósta from Cluj (Kolozsvár) on February 14th (Appendix 3; Pl. IX/1), explaining that the objects were discovered a few years before during ploughing at the border of Silivaș (Pl. XIII/4), situated on the estate of Count Ádám Teleki. He expresses his regret not having had the opportunity to visit the site until then, hoping that he would be able to do so within the year, thus gaining more insight into the circumstances of the find.

On February 17th, 1906, Béla Pósta promptly responds[24] to the Count (Appendix 4; Pl. VII), expressing gratitude for the notification regarding the finds. He emphasises the discovery's significance for the research of the La Tène period, underscoring his reluctance to forgo a professional excavation of the site. With utmost propriety, he requests the Count to seek approval for the excavation from Count Ádám Teleki. Additionally, he assures the Count that the Association would fully support and cooperate with him should he decide to lead the excavation himself. In the closing part of his address, he expresses his

[20] Vincze 2014, 178.

[21] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, files 56–57.

[22] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV.

[23] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV

[24] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, file 58.

and the institution's gratitude for accepting the invitation to join the Museum Society. He emphasises that this gesture ensures the interest of the younger generation of wealthy individuals who follow his example.

On February 26th, Béla Pósta sends a letter[25] to the Count (Appendix 5; Pl. VIII), shedding light on the Count's intention to create a museum at his estate. The one-and-a-half-page letter mainly deals with cost issues, specifically the pricing of a carpenter company that had executed showcases for the Museum Society years prior. The company is now demanding nearly twice the amount from the Count. In the closing lines of the letter, the Society's director informs the Count that he will patiently wait until summer when the Count has agreed to visit the discovery site and provide all the necessary information on the findings from Silivaș.

The artefacts in question are succinctly presented in a series of documents,[26] including a regrettably unfinished draft (Appendix 7; Pl. X) and the outline drawings and measurements of the artefacts (Pl. XI). These sketches and the short description are the only documents that offer us a glimpse of the finds' initial states of preservation. Since the locality of Silivaș (Oláhszilvás) is mentioned as a place of discovery, we can assume that the documents originate from a date posterior to February 14th, 1906, relying on the information from the Count's latest letter (Appendix 3; Pl. IX/1).

Six years must elapse until another update surfaced regarding the artefacts in our interest. As indicated by an acknowledgement[27] issued by Count Domokos Teleki on November 11th 1912 (Appendix 6; Pl. IX/2), the 11 "La Tène-style" iron objects and the 629 assorted pieces of coins, which he had submitted to the Coins and Antiquity Collection for identification, were returned to him by the Museum Society's Director without any noted deficiencies.

The following written evidence related to the discovered La Tène items is documented in the registry book of the Transylvanian Museum Society,[28] where, on 20th May 1920, these items were registered as part of the Coins and Antiquity Collection of the Society. As an observation, it was noted that these items were a gift of the Count, and they were transported to the Society by Sándor Ferenczi in the interval of 30th November – 2nd December 1918.[29] Along with them, 73 other finds, which covered a wide time range from prehistory to modern times, were entered into the inventory list. These artefacts include axes, knives, spearheads, swords, helmets, intricately decorated bronze vessels and recipients, and accessories such as brooches, buttons, and spurs. Additionally, there are bronze statues of divinities from classical antiquity. The discovery location was noted in case the information was available for the individual find.

The La Tène artefacts were recorded in nine inventory numbers, which were more or less consecutive and comprised 11 fragments. According to the description, the assemblage consists of an iron fibula (P 7843/IV 1892);[30] an iron helmet and its neck guard, broken into

[25] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, file 60.

[26] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV

[27] Colecția MNIT, C1, 2167/2.

[28] ENM Registers, volume V (III 8869/IV 3784; N 1438/N 1579).

[29] ENM Registers, volume V (III 8869/IV 3784; N 1438/N 1579), 98.

[30] The inventory numbers that begin with the letter 'P' are the new numbers assigned during the revision of the museum's collection in the second half of the past century. On the other hand, the numbers that begin

two pieces (P 7842/IV 1900 a-c); two spearheads made of iron (P 7844/IV 1901–1902); the blade of a curved iron knife (P 7845/IV 1903); one prehistoric iron knife (P 7846/IV 1904); a fragment of a sword's blade corroded together with the chape end (P 7847/IV 1905); two sword blade fragments made of iron, one assumingly being part of the previous fragment, corroded together with the chape end (P 7848–7849/IV 1906–1907). For unknown reasons, their location was never added to the registry book. The assemblage was first published in 1925 in the Praehistorische Zeitschrift by Márton Roska (1880–1961) (Pl. I/3) and presented as the grave inventory of a Celtic warrior from Silivaș (Pl. XII).

The question arises: What happened between 1912 and 1918, and what events led to incorporating these finds into the Museum Society's collection?

The Teleki Collection in Crisis: War, Evacuation, and the Struggle for Ownership

To understand the causes and motivation behind the actions that answer our question, we must delve into the history of the early 20th century. Although Transylvania and its people remained in the exact geographic location, due to political and administrative changes, its borders were redrawn on multiple occasions throughout these times, locating it, from an administrative point of view, from one monarchy to another. During the First World War, Transylvania was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and fought for the Central Powers, while its southern and eastern neighbour, the Kingdom of Romania, joined the war on the Allied Powers' side, causing the regions to fight on opposing sides.[31] One of the demarcation zones followed the Mureș River, and after the Belgrade Convention, the Romanian troops were approaching Transylvania. The moment of crossing this line became imminent in the late autumn of 1918.[32] These events significantly threatened the safety of Count Domokos Teleki's private collection in Gornești and the esteemed 60.000–70.000- volume family library in Târgu Mureș,[33] situated alongside this conventional border. Due to a series of events, eventually culminating in the Central Powers' loss of the war, Transylvania was unified with the Romanian Kingdom on December 1st 1918, at the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia (Pl. XIII/6), ratified in 1920 at the Trianon treaty.[34]

According to a November 30th 1918 diary entry made by Lajos Kelemen (Pl. I/4), who was the secretary of the Transylvanian Museum Society at the time, Béla Pósta convened a meeting of the Museum Society's and the University Library's management on the previous day. On this occasion, a (not yet surfaced) letter recently sent by Count Domokos Teleki was presented to the participants, revealing that the Count appealed for Béla Pósta's and the Transylvanian Museum Society's help on repeated occasions, this time begging for urgent assistance in the evacuation of the esteemed Teleki Library (Pl. XIII/3), and the transportation of the bronze finds from his antiquities collection, which he wishes to send to the Museum Society for safety reasons. In response to this plea, Béla Pósta tasked

with Roman numerals are the original inventory numbers given to the items when they were first added to the collection.

[31] For a detailed discussion on the matter, see Torrey 2011, 45–60, 91 onwards; Hitchins 2013, 304–332; Rauchensteiner 2014, 331–332, 667 onwards.

[32] Ormos 1983, 60, 73; Hitchins 2013, 325; Romsics 2018, 109/map.

[33] Teleki 1930, 323.

[34] Torrey 2011, 45–60.

Lajos Kelemen with saving the Teleki library, while Sándor Ferenczi was entrusted with transporting the antiquities to Cluj.[35]

Lajos Kelemen voiced his frustration and dissatisfaction with the seemingly futile evacuation effort. He expressed scepticism about the likelihood of successfully evacuating the library, citing the lack of crucial information regarding whether the books had been packed for transport. Despite much deliberation and argument, he ultimately declined to participate in the call to action, criticising the delayed and disorganised nature of the rescue operation.[36]

On the other hand, Sándor Ferenczi (1894–1945) (Pl. I/5; Pl. II/2), a student of Béla Pósta and a daily wage intern at the Coins and Antique Collection, accepted the task without hesitation, even though he had returned from the Tyrolean battlefield just a few days prior. At noon the same day, November 30th, after issuing and obtaining the necessary certificates, he embarked for Gornești. However, he encountered a setback as the Hungarian railway company did not operate a train further north, to the direction of Gornești. Nonetheless, he met Count Teleki in Târgu Mureș, who provided him with his civilian clothes to avoid being captured by the approaching Romanian troops since he was still dressed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire's military officer's uniform. On December 1st, coinciding with the momentous Alba Iulia decision declaring the unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, Ferenczi faced challenges in finding a wagoner willing to transport him to Gornești, given that the Count's estate lay within enemy territory. Eventually, he reached Gornești and meticulously selected the most valuable and transportable pieces from the antiquities collection. Under darkness, he crossed the enemy lines once more and returned to Târgu Mureș. On December 2nd, following an adventurous but fortunate journey, Ferenczi safely delivered the selected archaeological material to Cluj, ensuring its preservation and integrity.[37]

In the aftermath of the war and during the period between the two world wars, the political and administrative changes that affected Transylvania have also brought about an ideological shift in academic life. As a result, many of the Transylvanian Museum Society's and the former Franz Joseph University's staff members were either marginalised or forced to emigrate.[38]

In the summer of 1919, a disagreement emerged involving Domokos Teleki and the management of the Transylvanian Museum Society. As a third party, after 1929, the Institute of Classical Studies, formed around the Museum of Antiquities, entered the dispute, too. The cause of the conflict was the ownership of the bronze and iron artefacts transported to Cluj in 1918. This dispute continued until December 1931.[39] Count Teleki aimed to retrieve the Bronze Age pottery assemblage from Suciu de Sus, housed at the Museum Society for study and publication, along with the 82 metal finds he sent to Cluj for safekeeping. In a

[35] Kelemen, Sas 2017, 618.

[36] Kelemen, Sas 2017, 618.

[37] Ferenczi, Ferenczi 2005.

[38] For the transformation process from the Transylvanian Museum Society to the nowadays National Museum of Transylvanian History, see Ardoș, Mirel 1984; Vincze 2014; Mitu 2022. For the history of the University from its foundation till the Second World War, see Fodor 1999; Gaal 2001; Csucsuja 2012; Hunyadi 2012; Sălăgean 2012; Murádin 2013.

[39] Colecția MNIT, C1, 3737; C1, 3742; C1, 3752/1–14.

letter dated January 11th, 1921, the Count argued for the return of these artefacts, pointing out that the Suciu de Sus material had been with the Museum Society for over a decade and yet not worked up or published.

Conversely, he claimed that he agreed with the late Béla Pósta about the bronze finds and wished to reclaim them. Furthermore, the Count notified the Museum Society of his intention to bequeath his entire collection to them after his and his wife's passing. Still, until then, he personally desired to enjoy the finds acquired under such challenging circumstances.[40] However, due to Béla Pósta's passing, who was the director in charge during the 1918 rescue operation, and the inability to locate the original recognition letter authorising the transfer and outlining the terms and conditions, the Institute of Archaeology concluded, based on a written statement from Sándor Ferenczi dated December 18th 1931[41] and an annotation in the registry book[42] indicating that Count Domokos Teleki donated the finds that the 82 artefacts could not be returned to the Count, as they were deemed donated items. However, they agreed, that the pottery from Suciu de Sus could be returned to him without delay.[43]

In the troubled period that followed, the written sources concerning our findings became scarce. This was likely due to the onset of World War II, which further complicated scientific life in Cluj. In 1940, following the Second Vienna Arbitration, the Romanian State relocated King Ferdinand I Romanian University to Sibiu, while the Hungarian Franz Joseph University, which had taken refuge in Szeged, was returned to Cluj. Turmoil escalated, and by September 1944, the Hungarian government ordered the evacuation of Cluj due to the advancing front.[44]

Two letters from this time period have been preserved, and they are important to our story. In the first one[45] dated February 4th, 1941, that Count Domokos Teleki received from Sándor Ferenczi, the events of the 1918 rescue operation are mentioned with the expressed hopes of the expeditor that the Count does not hold any hard feelings towards him. Ferenczi explains that he acted as a soldier and followed orders when he took the finds away from the Count's collection. Furthermore, in a personal tone, he expressed his intention to apply for the title of valour for his services on the battlefields and in the nation's service during the wartimes, seeking the Count's patronage and support, hoping that the Count's acknowledgement of this brave act of rescuing the finds would enhance his application.

A second letter[46] addressed to the Count, issued on March 1st from the same sender, as a reply to a hitherto undiscovered answer from February 20th 1941, reveals that the Count has no hard feelings towards him for executing the orders when transporting the selected finds to the Transylvanian Museum Society. Still, he informs Ferenczi that he no longer recollects the details of the rescue operation and, therefore, does not sign the recommendation necessary for the promotion to the title of valour.

[40] Colecția MNIT, C1, 3752/2.
[41] Colecția MNIT, C1, 3752/10.
[42] ENM Registers, volume V (III. 8869-IV. 3784; N. 1438-N. 1579).
[43] Colecția MNIT, C1, 3752/11.
[44] Murádin 2013, 39–40.
[45] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, files 80–81.
[46] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, files 82–85.

Was the Count's memory truly fading, or were there other motivations behind his rather diplomatic answer?

Epilogue

During the analysed period, professional and personal relationships deteriorated or drifted apart, cultural institutions' existence was challenged, tangible heritage was endangered, and human life was lost in the two wars. Bela Pósta passed away before seeing the collapse of what he had built. The relationship between his two students, Roska and Ferenczi, began to show signs of strain around the time of the political transition at the end of the First World War, and the conflict intensified during the 1936 conceptual trial against Roska. Ferenczi's written testimony, instead of supporting Roska, appeared to undermine his case deliberately. This animosity escalated further, culminating in 1942 when Roska lodged a formal complaint with the National Valour Chair opposing Ferenczi's inauguration as a member of the Order of Valour.[47] The conflict ultimately tarnished the reputations of both individuals to some degree.

In a poignant snapshot from 1943 (Pl. II/2), Sándor Ferenczi is captured for the last time alongside his wife, Erzsébet Farkas, and their two sons, István and Géza. Having valiantly served in both world wars, he went to his unmarked mass grave in June 1945 while in Russian captivity, under the impression, as his February 4th 1941 letter to the Count reveals, that had he not participated in the rescue mission of those selected artefacts, they would still be safe in the castle. The historical events contradicted him.

Enduring multiple sieges, the Teleki castle from Gornești and its valuables fell victim to the Second World War, later of the Communist Regime. When the family fled the front, they left behind a fully furnished, operating castle that was first ransacked by the German army, then the villagers took what they could, only for the last blow being dealt in 1944 by the Red Army,[48] who transformed the castle's ground-floor rooms into a horse stable. As bedding, the documents of the family archive were laid.[49] With this occasion, most of the Count's antique collection disappeared. He died in 1955 in Hungary, never returning to Transylvania. Some items of his private collection were rediscovered and entered the collection of the Mureș County Museum in the middle of the previous century.[50] Today, the surviving family documents, still displaying the horseshoe imprints and manor with pigeon feathers stuck in them, are dispersed at the different branches of Romania's and Hungary's National Archives and cultural institutions. Unfortunately, we might never learn the true extent of the antique collection and its actual loss.

Márton Roska survived both World Wars and outlived the other performers of this story. He was sentenced to prison for nationalistic ideas but was later granted amnesty. After getting fired from his position, he had an interlude of teaching at Debrecen. Later, he was rehired at Cluj but left again in a self-imposed exile. After a teaching period at the University in Szeged, he continued to work at the Institute of Geology until his death.[51]

[47] M. Lezsák 2021, 306 (Source no. 25).

[48] Oláh-Gál 2023, 55.

[49] Berekméri 2014, 42.

[50] Oláh-Gál 2023, 56.

[51] Gáll 2012; Vincze 2005; Vincze 2014, 158–167; Vincze, Vincze 2014.

These letters exchanged between an archaeologist and a representative of the nobility illustrate the challenges a specialist faces in perfecting its discipline and a 'gentleman dilettante's' pursuit of an intellectual passion. Their differing financial backgrounds set them apart, but their mutual interest in the past brings them together. However, they are all actors of the same stage: a boiling Europe, the cradle of newly forming states, where the knowledge of past and national identity is gaining never-before importance.

The 82 artefacts, housed today in the National Museum of Transylvanian History collection, survived thanks to the joint effort of these actors, who once shared the stages of a changing social and administrative order. Besides their intrinsic value as archaeological artefacts, these objects also serve as a historical testimony of a turbulent Époque and as a memento, that during wartimes, not only our present and future but our past are endangered, too.

APPENDIX

Hungarian transcription and English translation of the document paragraphs referring to the Silivaș finds

1. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 25th January 1906[52]

Méltóságos Uram!

(…) Van azonban egy másik kérésem is; abban az új folyóiratban, amely az átalakulás folytán a múzeumi érdekeket is hivatva lesz szolgálni, most már szeretném publikálni azt a La Tène ízlésű leletet, amelyet Méltóságod ásatott föl és amely még most is intézetünknél van. Mint Méltóságod tudja, a rajzok már elkészültek, így hát a publikálás megtörténhetik, de szükséges, hogy Méltóságod a leletnek pontos lelőhelyét, a föltalálás körülményeit megírja. Arra kérem tehát, szíveskedjék ezt a leírást nekem a lehető legrövidebb idő alatt elkészíteni és megküldeni. Mikor ezen kérésemet szíves figyelmébe ajánlom, közeli válaszát kérve, megkülönböztetett tisztelettel maradtam,
Kolozsvárt, 1906. jan. 25.

Dr. Pósta Béla
egyet. ny. r. tanár,
igazgató

Your Excellency,

(…) I have yet another request; in the new journal which, following the transformation, will also be dedicated to serving the interests of the museum, I now wish to publish the La Tène-style find that Your Excellency unearthed and which still remains with our institution. As Your Excellency is aware, the drawings have already been completed, so the publication can proceed. However, it is necessary for Your Excellency to provide the exact location of the find and the circumstances surrounding its discovery. I therefore kindly ask that you prepare and send this description to me at your earliest convenience. While commending this request to your gracious attention and eagerly awaiting your prompt response, I remain, with the highest respect,

[52] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, files 56–57.

At Cluj, 25th January 1906.

Dr. Pósta Béla
professor emeritus,
director

2. Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Béla Pósta, 4th February 1906[53]

Budapest 1906 II/4

Igen Tisztelt Igazgató Úr!

(…) A La Tène leletre nézve nagyon kevés adat áll rendelkezésemre mert a leletet szántás közben találták s én csak pár évben kaptam ajándékba a földtulajdonostól, Teleki Ádám gróftól. Kedden utazom haza Erdélybe s akkor onnan majd megírom az összes rendelkezésemre álló adatot.
(…)

ifj. Gróf Teleki Domokos

Budapest 4th February 1906

Most Honoured Director,

(…) Regarding the La Tène find, I have very little data at my disposal, as the discovery was made during ploughing, and it was only a few years later that I received it as a gift from the landowner, Count Ádám Teleki. I shall be travelling back to Transylvania on Tuesday, and from there, I will write to you with all the information available to me.

Count Domokos Teleki, the young

3. Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Béla Pósta, 14th February 1906[54]

Gernyeszeg 1906 II/14

Igen Tisztelt Igazgató Úr!

A kérdéses La Tène ízlésű leletre nézve csakis a következő adatok állnak jelenleg a rendelkezésemre:

Az illető tárgyakat pár évvel ezelőtt szántás közben találták Oláh-Szilvás község határában a Gróf Teleki Ádám birtokán.

A tárgyakat aztán Gróf Teleki Ádám nekem ajándékozta. Még eddigelé nem volt alkalmam a lelőhelyet megnézni, de reménylem talán ez évben eljutok oda és akkor majd többet fogok megtudhatni a leletkörülményekről.

Maradtam igaz tisztelője:
Dr. Teleki Domokos

[53] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV.
[54] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV.

Gornești, 14th February 1906

Most Honoured Director,

Regarding the La Tène-style find in question, only the following information is currently available to me:

The objects were discovered a few years ago during ploughing on the estate of Count Ádám Teleki in the vicinity of the village of Oláh-Szilvás.

Count Ádám Teleki then graciously gifted the objects to me. I have not yet had the opportunity to visit the site, but I hope that I shall manage to do so this year, at which point I shall be able to learn more about the circumstances of the find. I remain your true admirer.

Dr. Domokos Teleki

4. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 17th February 1906[55]

Méltóságos Uram!

Az oláhszilvási leletre vonatkozó szíves értesítését nagyon köszönöm, de a leletet sokkal érdekesebbnek tartom, semhogy belenyugodhatnék abba, hogy a lelőhely szakszerű feltárását meg ne kísértsük. Azért arra kérem a Méltóságodat hogy kegyeskedjék rajta lenni, hogy amennyire csak lehetséges a leletnek helye pontosan megállapíttassék. Nagyon szeretném, ha azon a helyen régiségtárunk rendezhetnek szakszerű ásatást és azért kérem, hogyha lenne kegyes erre nézve az engedélyt Teleki Ádám gróf úrnál kieszközölni számunkra. Ha Méltóságod maga akar ott ásatni, akkor természetesen intézetünk ennek útjába nem akar állni. Mindenesetre lesz olyan szíves és ezekre vonatkozólag bennünket tájékoztat.

(…)

Kolozsvárt, 1906. febr, 17.

Alázatos szolgája,
Pósta Béla
egyet. ny. r. tanár,
igazgató

Your Excellency,

I am most grateful for your kind notice regarding the Oláhszilvás find, but I consider the discovery far too intriguing to acquiesce to the idea that we should forgo a proper excavation of the site. Therefore, I respectfully request Your Excellency to be so gracious as to ensure that the precise location of the find be determined insofar as possible. I would be most pleased if we could arrange for our antiquities department to conduct a professional excavation at the site. Thus, I kindly ask you to procure the necessary permission from Count Ádám Teleki on our behalf. Should Your Excellency wish to conduct the excavation personally, our institution will, of course, not stand in the way of such a plan. In any case, we would be most obliged if you would be so kind as to inform us regarding these matters.

Cluj, 17th February 1906.

Your humble servant,
Pósta Béla
professor emeritus,
director

[55] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, file 58.

5. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 26th February 1906[56]

Méltóságos Uram!
(…)
A szilvási leletre vonatkozó Újabb értesítést nagyon köszönöm és türelemmel várok a nyárig.

Kvár 1906 II./26 alázatos szolgája,
Dr. Pósta Béla

Your Excellency,
(…)
I am most grateful for the latest notice regarding the Szilvás find and patiently await further information until summer.

Cluj, 26th February 1906 your humble servant,
Dr. Pósta Béla

6. Count Domokos Teleki's acknowledgement, November 11th 1912[57]

Elismervény

11 darab La Tène ízlésű vastárgyat és 629 db. különböző korú és anyagú érmet, amelyek meghatározás végett voltak az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum érem- és régiségtárában, nevezett intézet igazgatóságától hiány nélkül visszavettem.

Kolozsvár, 1912 november hó 11én

Dr. gr. Teleki Domokos

Receipt

I hereby acknowledge the receipt of 11 La Tène-style iron objects and 629 coins of various ages and materials, which were held at the Coin and Antiquities Collection of the Transylvanian National Museum for the purpose of identification, and I have received them back in full from the management of the aforementioned institution.

Cluj, 11th November 1912

Dr. ct. Teleki Domokos

7. Unfinished draft presenting the finds from Silivaș, n.d.[58]

Az oláhszilvási La-tène leletek.

1906-ban gróf Teleki Domokos úr az alábbiakban közölt La-tène ízlésű leleteket mutatta be az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum érem- és régiség tárában. E leletekről akkor nem tudott többet mondani, minthogy az abban levő tárgyakat pár évvel a bemutatás előtt szántás közben találták Oláh-Szilvás

[56] SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918, file 60.
[57] Colecția MNIT, C1, 2167/2.
[58] MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV.

község határában gróf Teleki Ádám birtokán, aki azokat a bemutatónak ajándékozta. A leleteket az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeumban hagyta bemutatójuk preparálás végett azzal az ígérettel, hogy bár addig a lelőhelyet nem volt alkalma megnézni, de reméli hogy még a bemutatás évében eljuthat oda és akkor majd többet fog megtudhatni a lelet előfordulásának körülményeiről. Ezt az ígéretet a gróf úrnak nem volt alkalma beváltani mostanáig, most pedig a leleteket magával kívánja vinni és így, miután a La-tène ízlés emlékeinek kelet felé való elterjedésének szempontjából egyáltalán nem jelentőség nélkül való az erdélyi e nemű leleteknek közlése, kötelességünknek tartjuk, hogy a leletet mielőtt az a mindenkinek rendelkezésére álló múzeumból elkerül, a szakkörnek tudomására hozni.

A lelet legfontosabb darabja egy vas sisak, melynek teste …

The Oláhszilvás La Tène Finds

In 1906, Count Domokos Teleki presented the following La Tène-style finds at the Coin and Antiquities Collection of the Transylvanian National Museum. At that time, he could not provide further information beyond the fact that the objects had been discovered a few years prior during ploughing in the vicinity of the village of Oláh-Szilvás, on the estate of Count Ádám Teleki, who generously donated them to the presenter. The finds were left at the Transylvanian National Museum for preparation by the presenter, with the promise that although he had not yet had the opportunity to visit the site, he hoped to do so within the same year of the exhibition, at which point he would be able to learn more about the circumstances of the find. Unfortunately, the count has not had the chance to fulfil this promise until now, and he wishes to take the finds with him. Therefore, as the dissemination of such finds from Transylvania is by no means insignificant in light of the spread of La Tène-style artefacts towards the East, we consider it our duty to bring this find to the attention of the scholarly community before it leaves the museum, which is accessible to all.

The most significant piece of the find is an iron helmet, the body of which …

Bibliography

Ardoș, Mirel 1984	A. Ardoș, M. Mirel, *Muzeul Județean de Istorie din Cluj-Napoca la a 125-a aniversare*, ActaMN, 21, 1984, 673–684.
Aronsson, Elgenius 2014	P. Aronsson, G. Elgenius (eds.), *National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010: Mobilization and legitimacy, continuity and change*, Routledge, 2014.
Az Ujság 1912	*A Telekiek mükincsei*, Az Ujság, (Ujság), Budapest, 1903–1944, X. évf. 291. szám, Vasárnap, 1912. Deczember 8., 17–18.
Bărbulescu 2022	M. Bărbulescu, *Istoria arheologiei în România*, București 2022.
Berekméri 2014	G. Berekméri, *A gernyeszegi Teleki-kastély árnyékában*, ME. DOK Média-Történet-Kommunikáció, 2014, 9, 2, 41–53.
Beu-Dachin, Nemeti 2017	E. Beu-Dachin, I. Nemeti, *Arheologia clujeană. O privire din culise. Catalog de expoziție*, Cluj-Napoca 2017.
Bíró 1938	J. Biró, *A gernyeszegi Teleki-kastély*, Budapest 1938.
Bíró 1943	J. Biró, *Erdélyi kastélyok*, Budapest 1943.

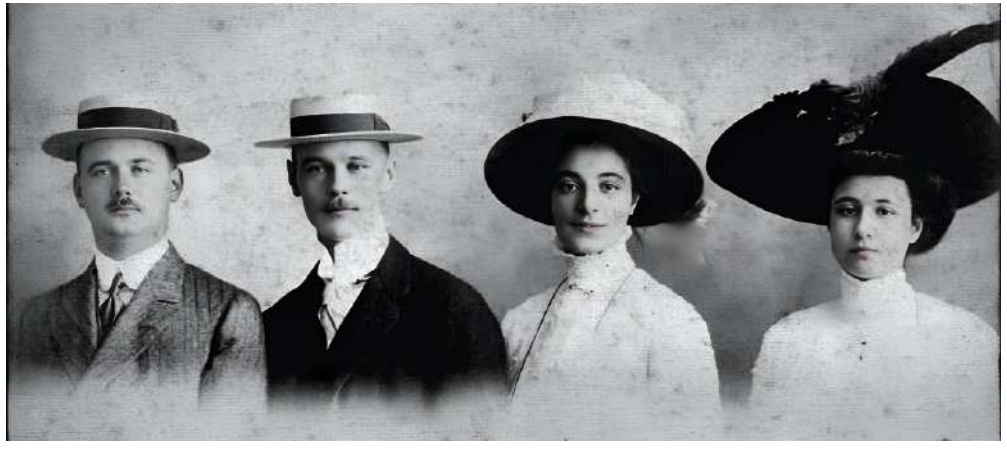
Colecția MNIT, C1	Colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, Contemporană fonds, Colecția de Istorie a Muzeului.
Crăciun 2020	C. Crăciun, *Die altägyptischen artefakte des Kreismuseums Mureș, Rumänien*, Marisia, 2, 2020, 97–100.
Csányi 1914	K. Csányi, *Erdélyi török szőnyegek*, Magyar Iparművészet (K. Györgyi ed.), 17, 2, 1914, 63–67.
Csucsuja 2012	I. Csucsuja, *Universitatea „Ferenc József" între anii 1872–1919.* In: O. Ghitta (ed.), *Istoria Univestității „Babeș-Bolyai"*, Cluj-Napoca 2012, 127–184.
EME Jegyzőkönyv 1859	*Az erdélyi muzeum-egylet alakító közgyűlésének jegyzőkönyve*, Kolozsvár 1859.
EME alapszabályai 1905	*Az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület Alapszabályai*, Kolozsvár 1905.
ENM Registers	Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum, Érem- és Régiségtár, Inventory Registers, volume V (III 8869/IV 3784; N 1438/N 1579). Archival Fonds of The National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca.
Erdélyi Lapok 1933	A Magyar Párt résztvevői Gernyeszegen. Erdélyi Lapok (Új Lapok, Magyar Lapok), Nagyvárad, 1932–1944, II. évf. 147. szám, Szerda, 1933. Julius 5., 8.
Fábián 2016a	I. Fábián, *"The Tales of the Castle". Lost and Rediscovered Artifacts from the Teleki Collection from Gornești.* In: I. Boldea (ed.), *Globalization and National Identity. Studies on the Strategies of Intercultural Dialogue. History and Cultural Mentalities Section*, Târgu Mureș 2016, 324–330.
Fábián 2016b	I. Fábián, *"The Tales of the Castle" (II). The prehistoric pieces of the Teleki collection from Gornești*. In: I. Boldea, D.-M. Buda (eds.), *Convergent Discourses. Exploring the Contexts of Communication. History and Cultural Mentalities Section*, Târgu Mureș 2016, 218–225.
Fábián 2017	I. Fábián, *Two Medieval Swords from the Teleki Collection from Gornești*, In: I. Boldea, C. Sigmirean (eds.), *Debating Globalisation. Identity, Nation and Dialogue. Section: History, Political Sciences, International Relations*, Târgu Mureș 2017, 335–340.
Fábián 2017–2018	I. Fábián, *Statuaria de piatră romană din colecția Teleki-Gornești (The Roman Stone Statues from the Teleki Collection-Gorneşti)*, Libraria. Studii și Cercetări de Biologie, 16–17, 2017–2018, 404–412.
Fábián 2018a	I. Fábián, *Inscripții imperiale și votive din colecția Teleki-Gornești. Imperial and votive inscriptions from the Teleki collection of Gornești*. In: S. Forțiu (ed.), *In Memoriam Marian Gumă, Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie, Timișoara, 24 noiembrie 2018, Vol. 2: Metode Interdisciplinare*, Szeged 2018, 431–438.
Fábián 2018b	I. Fábián, *The Funerary Monuments without Inscriptions from the Teleki Collection of Gornești*. In: I. Boldea, D.-M. Buda, C. Sigmirean (eds.), *Mediating Globalization: Identities in Dialogue. Section: History, Political Sciences, International Relations*, Târgu Mureș 2018, 146–151.

Fábián 2019	I. Fábián, *Bronze weapons and tools from the Teleki collection-Gorneşti*. In: I. Boldea, C. Sigmirean, D.-M. Buda (eds.), *Multiculturalism Through the Lenses of Literary Discourse. Section: History, Political Sciences, International Relations*, Târgu Mureş 2019, 74–78.
Faragó 1999	*J. Faragó, A Ferenc József Tudományegyetemtől a Bolyai Tudományegyetemig*. In: J. Faragó, M. Incze, I. Katona Szabó, K. Sebestyén (eds.), *A Kolozsvári Bolyai Tudományegyetem 1945–1959*, Budapest 1999, 11–21.
Ferenczi, Ferenczi 2005	S. Ferenczi, G. Ferenczi, *Kincsek kalandos mentése*, Hazanéző. A korondi FIRTOS Művelődési Egylet folyóirata, 16, 1, 2005, 12–14.
Gáll 2012	E. Gáll, *Márton Roska and archaeology in Transylvania: from early 20th to 21st century. Some critical notes to the Hungarian-Armenian scholars early medieval studies and recent evolution of archaeology in Transylvania*, Acta Archaeologica Carpatica, 47, 2012, 127–165.
Gaal 2001	Gy. Gaal, *Egyetem a Farkas utcában. A kolozsvári Ferenc József Tudományegyetem előzményei, korszakai és vonzatai*, Kolozsvár 2001.
Gavrilović 2008	L. Gavrilović, *Museums and Geographies of (National) Power*, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ, 56, 2, 2008, 37–52.
Györgyi 1913	K. Györgyi (ed.), *Régi erdélyi szőnyegek kiállítása*, Magyar Iparművészet, 16, 5, 1913, 208.
Hitchins 2013	K. Hitchins, *România 1866–1947*, Bucureşti 2013.
Hunyadi 2012	A. G. Hunyadi, *Universitatea Regală Maghiară „Ferencz József" din Cluj (1940–1944)*. In: O. Ghitta (ed.), *Istoria Univestității „Babeș-Bolyai"*, Cluj-Napoca 2012, 185–200.
Kacsó 2008	C. Kacsó, *Contribuții la cunoașterea ceramicii de tip Suciu de Sus*, RB, 22, 2008, 9–27.
Kavur 2014	B. Kavur, *Devet esejev o (skoraj) človeški podobi*, Založba Univerze na Primorskem, Koper 2014.
Kelemen, Sas 2017	L. Kelemen, P. Sas, *Napló I. (1890–1920)*, Kolozsvár 2017.
Keleti Ujság 1933	*A Magyar Párt nagygyülésének tagjai Gernyeszegen megkoszorúzták a hősök emléktábláját*, Keleti Ujság (Keleti Magyar Ujság), Kolozsvár, 1918–1944, XVI. évf. 150. szám, Szerda, 1933. Julius 5, 2.
M. Lezsák 2021	G. M. Lezsák, *Régészeti iskola a kincses városban (1940–1944). László Gyula kolozsvári évei*, Budapest 2021.
Magyar Nép 1933	*A Magyar Párt megkoszorúzta a hősök emléktábláját a gernyeszegi templomban*, Magyar Nép, Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1921–1944, XIII. évf., 28. szám, 1933. Julius 15, 403.
Man 2011	N. Man, *Aşezarea romană de la Cristeşti*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.
Mitu 2022	M. Mitu, *Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, Magazin Istoric, Octombrie, 2022, 38–42.
MNM RAHA, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Régészeti Adattár, Hagyatéki Gyűjtemény, Pósta Béla hagyaték, 2003.223/XXV.
Murádin 2010	J. Murádin, *Gróf Teleki Géza és a Művészház erdélyi kapcsolatai*, Korunk, 8, 2010, 84–90.

Murádin 2013	J. K. Murádin, *The Hungarian University of Transylvania in the Transitory Post-War Years (1944–1945)*, Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies, 4, 2013, 39–50.
Oláh-Gál 2023	E. Oláh-Gál, *Nobile Officium – Az erdélyi magyar történelmi családok XX. századi sorsa*, Székelyföld Alapítvány, Csíkszereda [Miercurea Ciuc] 2003.
Ormos 1983	M. Ormos, *Padovától Trianonig 1918–1920*, Budapest 1983.
Paulovics 1944	I. Paulovics, *Dacia keleti határvonala és az úgynevezett „Dák"-ezüstkincsek kérdése*, Kolozsvár 1944.
Rauchensteiner 2014	M. Rauchensteiner, *The First World War: And the End of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1914–1918*, Wien 2014.
Romsics 2018	I. Romsics, *Erdély elvesztése 1918–1947*, Budapest 2018.
Sălăgean 2012	M. Sălăgean, *Universitatea din Cluj între 1919 și 1944.* In: O. Ghitta (ed.), *Istoria Univestității „Babeș-Bolyai"*, Cluj-Napoca 2012, 127–184.
SJC AN, Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918	Serviciul Județean Cluj al Arhivelor Naționale, Arhivele Oraşului Cluj, Fond Teleki de Szék din Dumbrăvioara, Dosar 918.
Szabó 2018	Cs. Szabó, *Béla Pósta (1862–191).* In: Smith, C. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, Springer, 2018.
Szabó T. 1942	A. Szabó T., *Az Erdélyi Múzeum- Egyesület története és feladatai*, Kolozsvár 1942.
Teleki 1908	D. Teleki, *Porolissumi ásatások*, Erdélyi Múzeum, 1908, Új folyam, 3, 25 évf. 4. sz., 260.
Teleki 1930	D. Teleki, *A marosvásárhelyi Teleki-könyvtár története*, Erdélyi Múzeum, 1930, Új folyam 1. (35.) kötet 10–12. sz.
Torrey 2011	G. E. Torrey, *The Romanian Battlefront in World War I*, Lawrence 2011.
Trofanenko 2008	B. Trofanenko, *Dare we know the nation? Considering the nexus of discursive leveraging and identity.* In: Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 29, 2, 2008, 257–272.
Vincze 2005	Z. Vincze, *Roska Márton, a kolozsvári régészeti iskola megalapítója*, Honismeret Szövetség Folyóirata, 33, 5, 2005, 7–15.
Vincze 2014	Z. Vincze, *A kolozsvári régészeti iskola a Pósta Béla-korszakban (1899–1919)*, Kolozsvár 2014.
Vincze, Vincze 2021	Z. Vincze, Z. Z. Vincze, *Roska Márton áldozata*, Kolozsvár 2021.

Malvinka Urák
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
themalvinka@gmail.com

Boris Kavur
Univerza Na Primorska, Slovenia
boris.kavur@upr.si



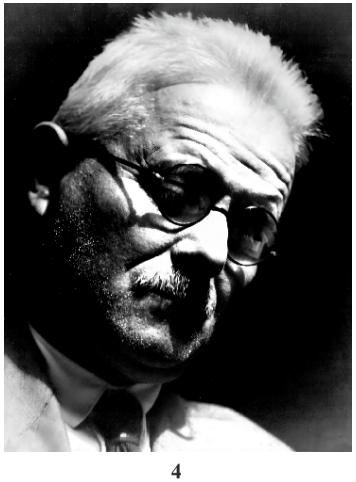
1



2



3



4



5

Pl. I. 1. Group photography with (from left to right) Count Domokos Teleki, his brother, Count Géza Teleki, Judit Bánffy, Zsuzsanna Bánffy; **2.** Béla Pósta; **3.** Márton Roska; **4.** Lajos Kelemen; **5.** Sándor Ferenczi.



1

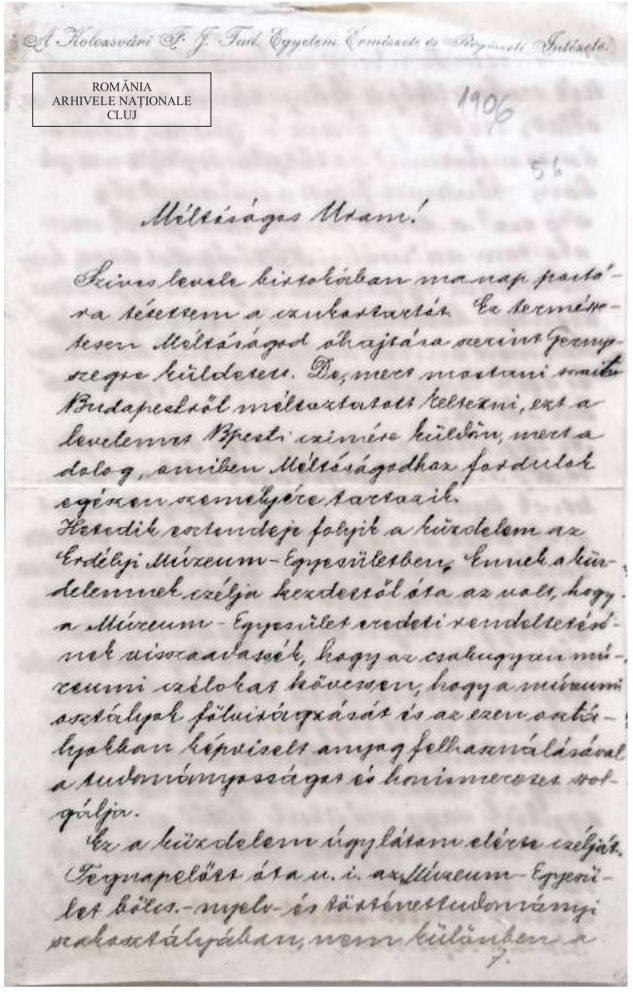


2

Pl. II. 1. Group photography with (from left to right) Count Domokos Teleki, his son, young Count Mihály Teleki, and her wife, Countess Edina Teleki; **2.** Group photography with Sándor Ferenczi (in military uniform), his wife, Erzsébet Farkas, and his two sons, István and Géza.



PI. III. Photography of the ground-floor corridor of the Teleki-castle from Gornești, with the eight showcases displaying the Count's antique collection.


ROMÂNIA
ARHIVELE NAȚIONALE
CLUJ

1906

56

Méltóságos Uram!

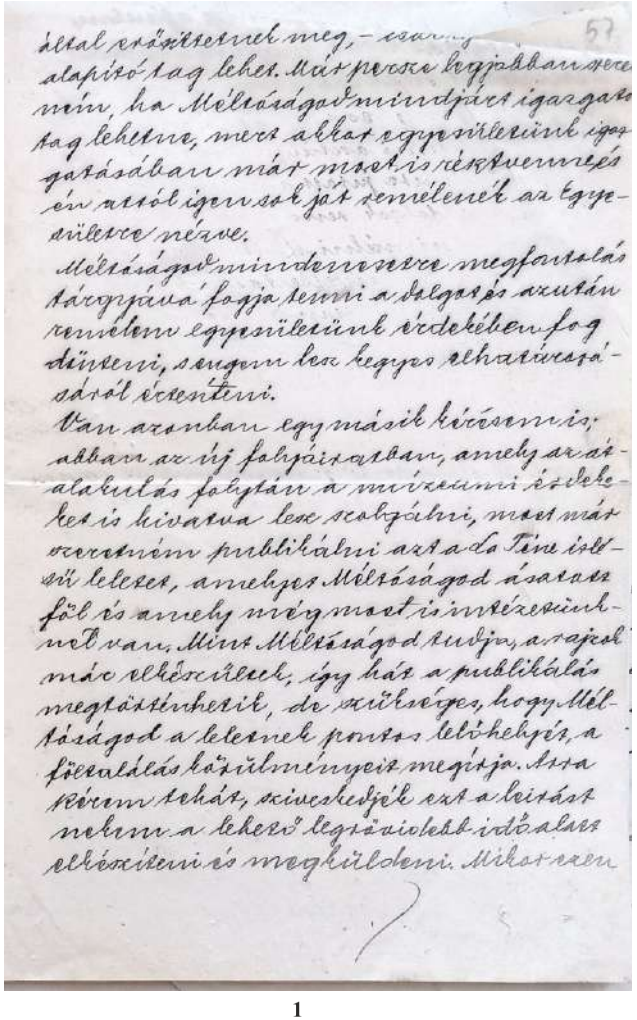
Kívánom levele birtokában ma nap partá-
ra részletem a czukorkarácsát. Ez természe-
tesen Méltóságod óhajtására szerint Jeremy-
szegre küldetett. De, mert mostani szabó
Budapestről változtatott kelleni, ezt a
levelemmel Pest-i czimére küldöm, mert a
dolog, amiben Méltóságodhoz fordultak
egészen személyére tartozik.
Részint rövidség folyik a küzdelem az
Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesületben, ennek a küz-
delemnek czélja kezdetétől óta az volt, hogy
a Múzeum-Egyesület eredeti rendeltetésé-
nek visszaadassék, hogy az csakugyan mú-
zeumi czélokat kövessen, hogy a múzeumi
osztályok felügyázása és az ezen osztá-
lyokban képviselt anyag felhasználásával
a tudományosságos és honismeretet szol-
gálja.
Ez a küzdelem úgy látszik elérte czélját.
Tegnapelőtt ártam u. i. az Múzeum-Egyesü-
let bölcs.-nyelv- és társtörténettudományi
szakosztályában, nem különben a

1

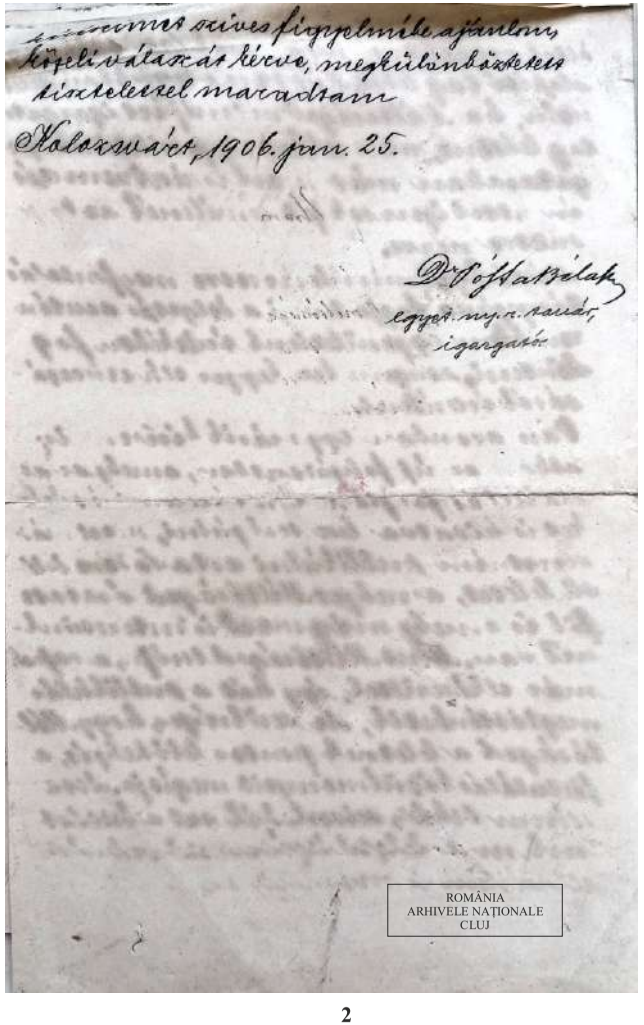
természettudományi szakosztályban, amely
két szakosztály a könyvtárral, régiségtárral,
állat-, növény- és ásványtárral, tehát az
összes múzeumi osztályokat foglalja ma-
gában, győzelmesen jutott a múzeumi elv.
Míg ezek a dolgok rendbe nem jönnek, nem
akartam animálni Méltóságodat arra, hogy
a Múzeum-Egyesületbe tagúl belépjen. Most
azonban határozottan kérem erre Méltóságo-
dat, mert annak az egyesületnek hatalmas
és egész Erdély területére kiható egyesületté
kell válnia.
Az egyesület rendes tagja évi 8 korona fizet
tagdíjat. Alapító tagok azok, akik az egyesü-
letnek legalább 200 korona, igazgató tagok
azok, akik az egyesületnek legalább 1000 ko-
ronát adományozással egyszersmindenkorra.
Természetesen azt csak Méltóságod dönthet-
el, hogy minőben tagja óhajt lenni; részem-
ről azonban szeretném, ha legalább alapító
tagúl méltóztatnia belépni. Óhajtom
ezt azért, mert úgy elnökünk, mint két
alelnökünk már idősebb ember. Tartsa
meg az Isten őket sokáig, de ha esetleg
egyikük vagy másikuk kidől részemről
ezen állások egyikén Méltóságodat lát-
nám legszívesebben. Ám de alapszabá-
lyaink szerint elnök és alelnök, akik
élethossziglanra választatnak és D. Teleki

2

Pl. IV. 1-2. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 25th January 1906.

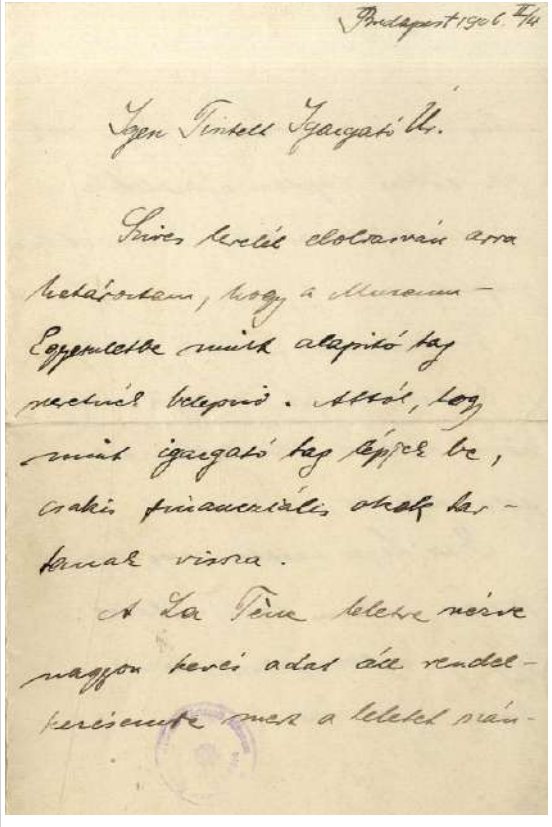


1

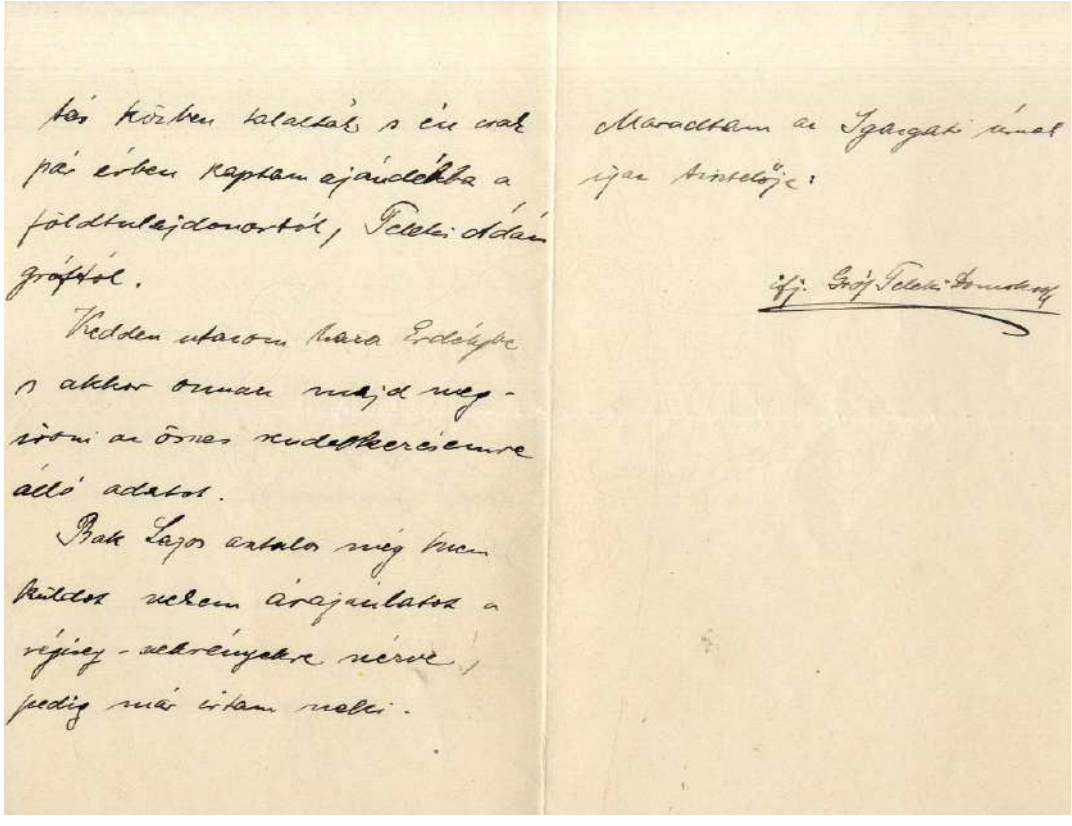


2

Pl. V. 1-2. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 25th January 1906.

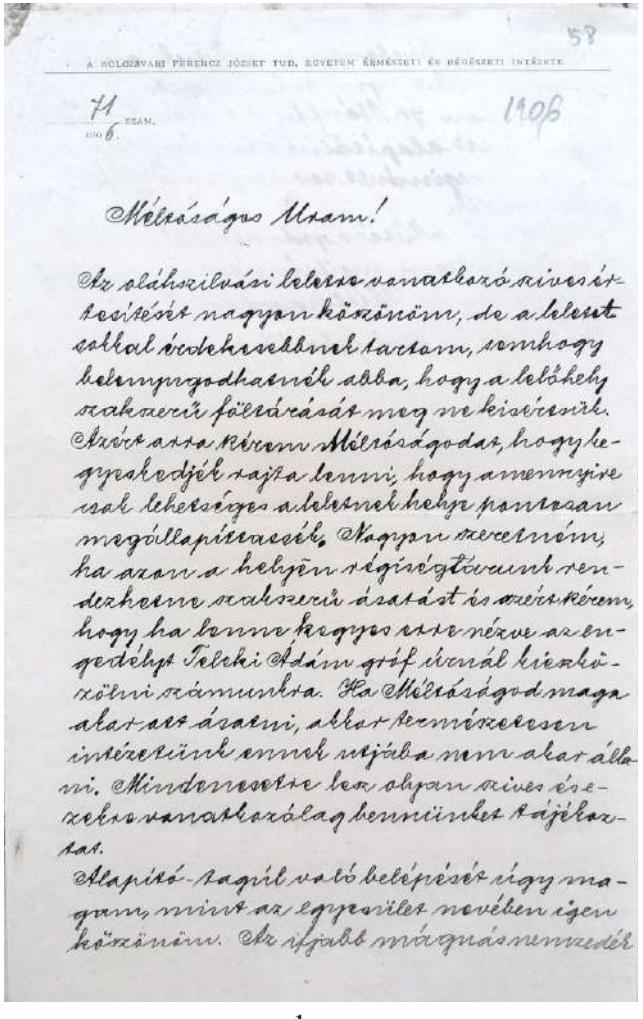


1



2

Pl. VI. 1-2. Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Béla Pósta, 4th February 1906.



A KOLOZSVÁRI FERENCZ JÓZSEF TUD. EGYETEM ÉRMÉSZETI ÉS MŰSZAKI INTÉZETE

71 szám.
ex 6.

1906

Méltóságos Uram!

Az alábbi vásári leletre vonatkozó szíves értesítését nagyon köszönöm, de a leletet csakhamar érdekesebbnek tartom, semhogy belenyugodhassak abba, hogy a lelőhely szakszerű felderítését meg ne kíséreljük. Azért arra kérem Méltóságodat, hogy legyen szíves rajta lenni, hogy amennyire csak lehetséges a leletnek helye pontosan megállapíttassék. Nagyon szeretném, ha azon a helyen régészetünk rendezhetne szakszerű ásatást és azért kérem, hogy ha lenne kegyes erre nézve az engedélyt Teleki Ádám gróf úrnál kieszközölni számunkra. Ha Méltóságod maga akar arra ásatni, akkor természetesen intézetünk annak útjába nem akar állani. Mindenesetre lesz olyan szíves és ezekre vonatkozólag bennünket tájékoztatni.

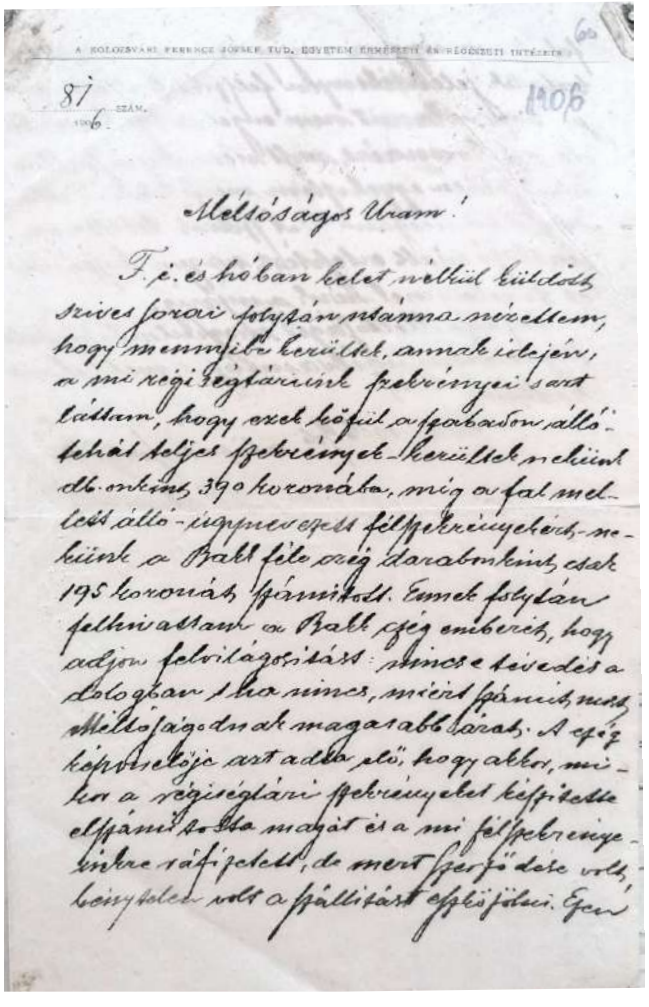
Alapító-tagúl való belépését úgy magam, mint az egyesület nevében igen köszönöm. Az ifjabb márgás nemzedék

érdeklődését kívánatosnak nekünk, amiegyesületünkre igen szoláz jelent.
Legújabban Gr. Bánffy Miklós úr Ő méltósága lépett alapítóink közé, így hát a szépen megindult szervezkedésünk folytatódik.
Fogadja Méltóságod megkülönböztetés tiszteletem nyilvánítására, melyhez maradtam Méltóságodnak
Kolozsvárt, 1906. febr. 17.

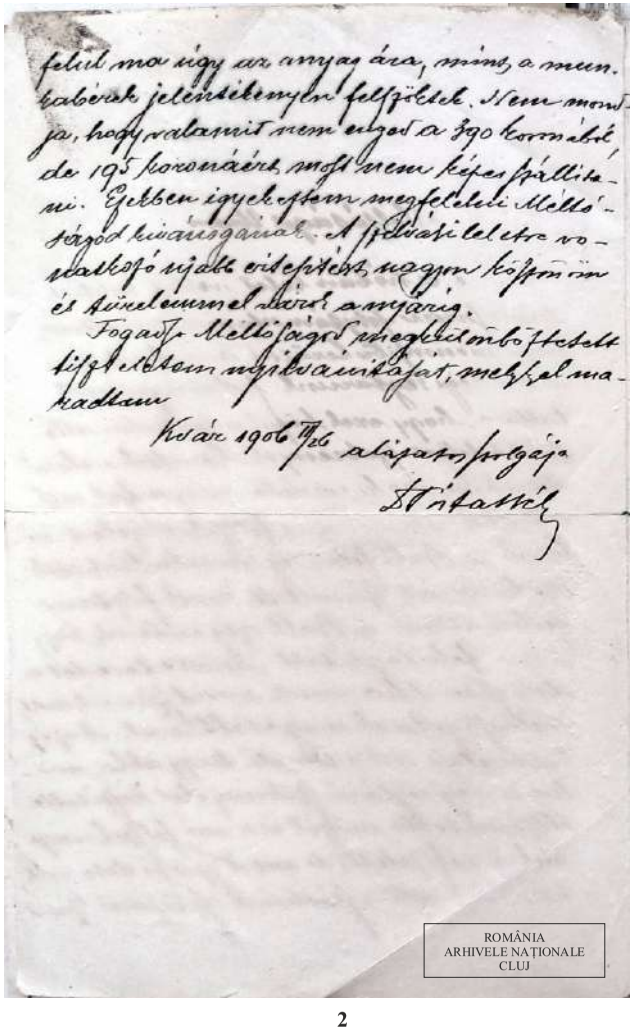
alázatos szolgája
Pósta Béla
egyet. m. r. tanár,
igazgató.

1 2

Pl. VII. 1-2. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 17th February 1906.

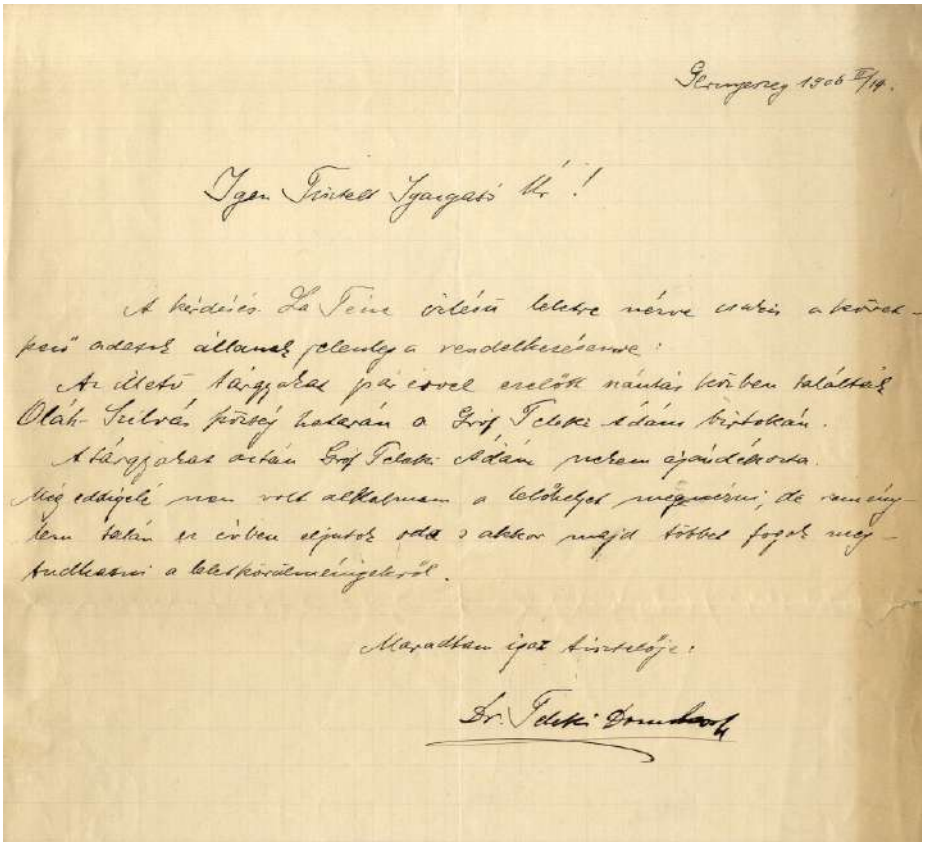


1



2

Pl. VIII. 1-2. Béla Pósta's letter to Count Domokos Teleki, 26th February 1906.



Kolozsvár 1906 II/14.

Igen Tisztelt Igazgató Úr!

A kérdéses La Tène írésű leletre nézve csakis a bevándorlási adóval állunk pályán a rendelkezésemre.

Az illető tárgyakat pár évvel ezelőtt nálunk letétben találtak Oláh Zsibrán pőrsöj határában a Gróf Teleki Sámu birtokán.

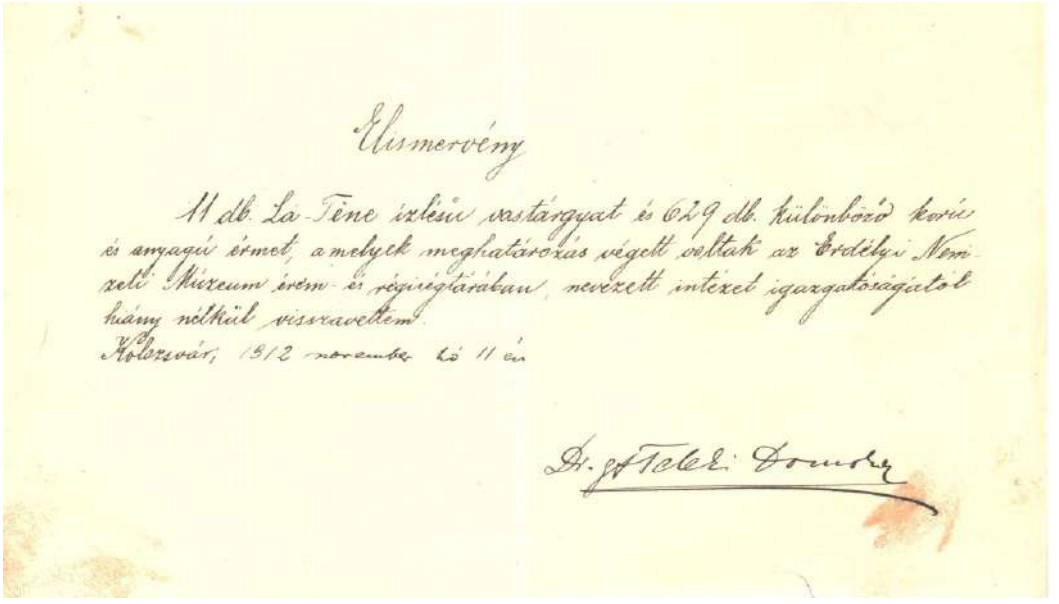
A tárgyakat akkor Gróf Teleki Sámu részemre ajándékozta.

Még eddigelé nem volt alkalmam a lelőhelyet megtekinteni, de remélem talán az évben sikerül azt s akkor majd bővebb fogok megbízásáról a beszerzésemről.

Maradtam igaz tisztelője:

Dr. Teleki Domokos

1



Elismervény

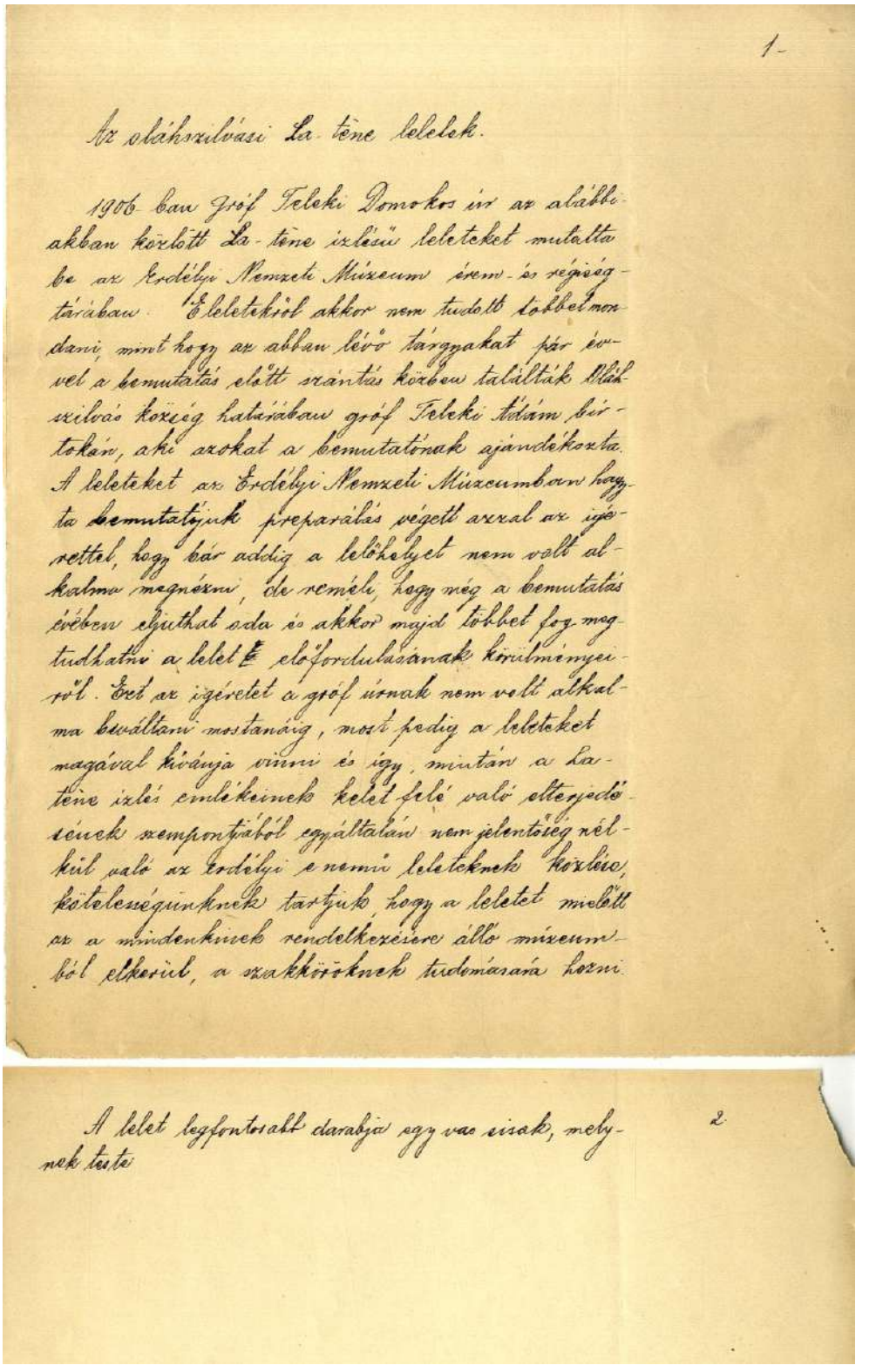
11 db. La-Tène izlésű vastárgyat és 629 db. különböző korú és anyagú érmet, a melyek meghatározás végett voltak az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum érem- és régiségtárában nevezett intézet igazgatóságától hiány nélkül visszavettem.

Kolozsvár, 1912 november hó 11 én

Dr. gf Teleki Domokos

2

Pl. IX. 1. Count Domokos Teleki's letter to Béla Pósta, 14th February 1906; **2.** Count Domokos Teleki's acknowledgement, November 11th 1912.



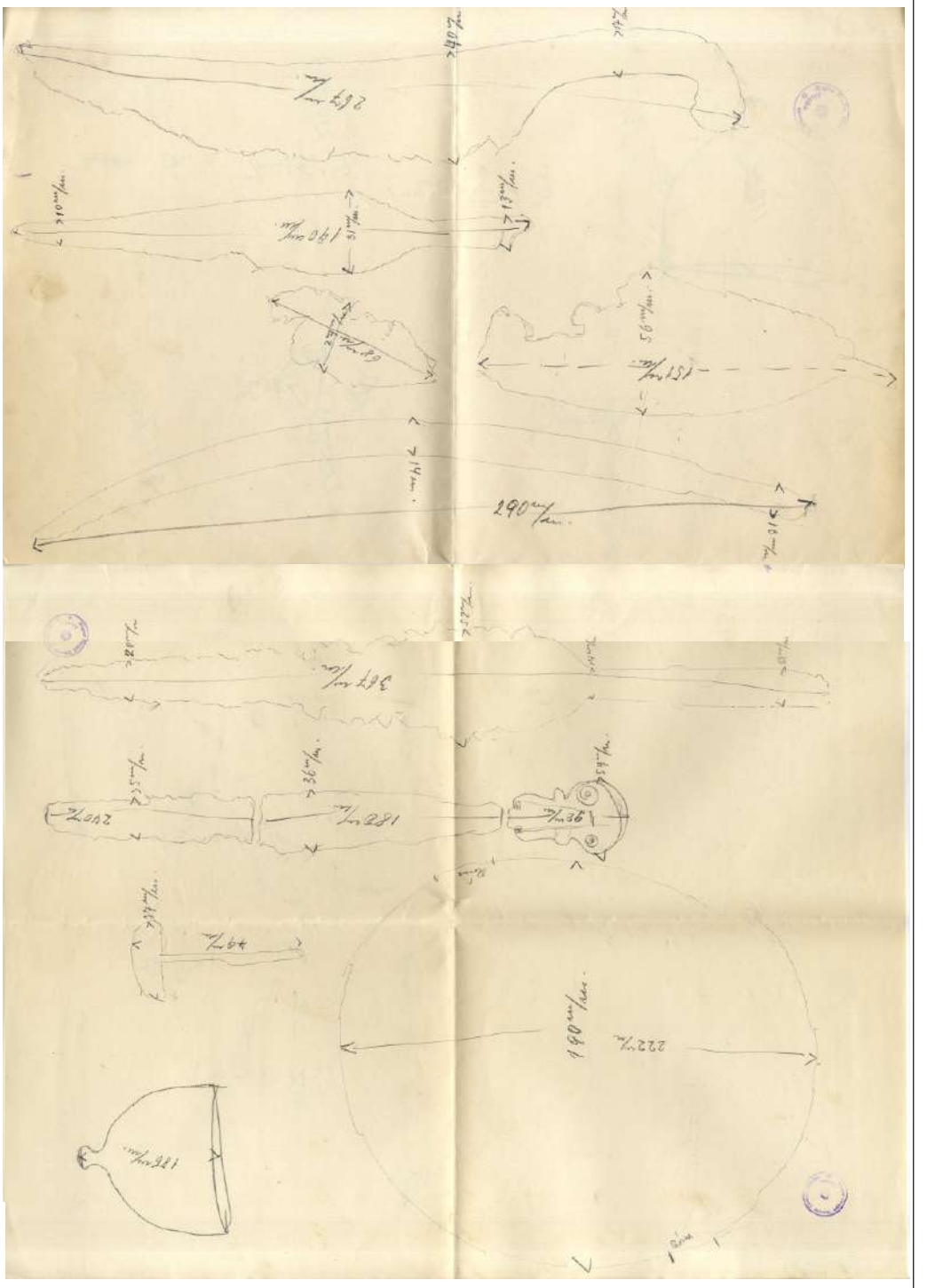
1-

Az oláhszilvási La-tène leletek.

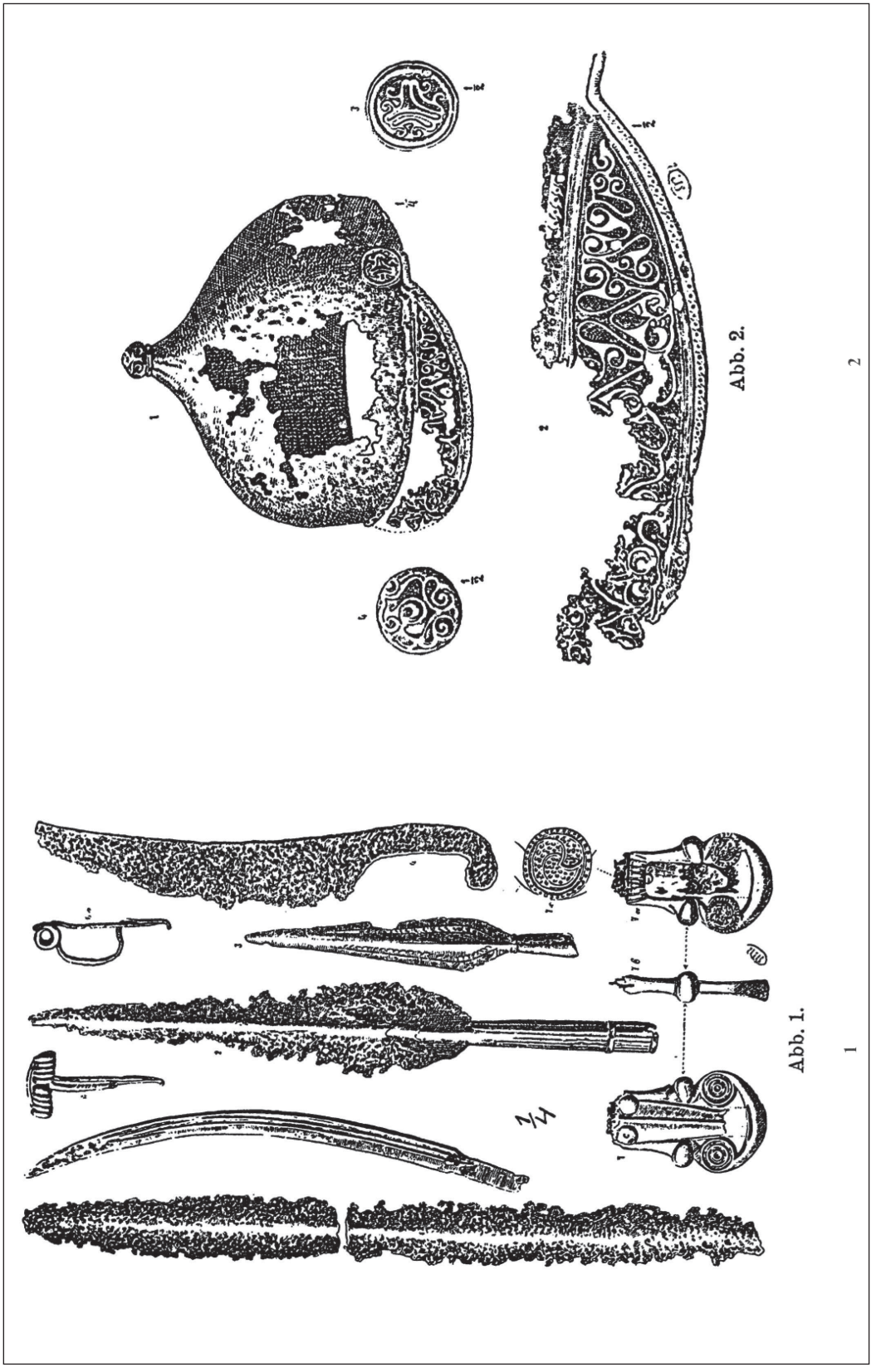
1906-ban Gróf Teleki Domokos úr az alábbiakban közölt La-tène ízlésű leleteket mutatta be az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum érem- és régiségtárában. Eleleteiről akkor nem tudott többet mondani, mint hogy az abban lévő tárgyakat pár évvel a bemutatás előtt szántás közben találták Oláhszilvás község határában gróf Teleki Tódám birtokán, aki azokat a bemutatónak ajándékozta. A leleteket az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeumban hagyta bemutatójuk preparálás végett azzal az igérettel, hogy bár addig a lelőhelyet nem volt alkalma megnézni, de reméli, hogy még a bemutatás évében eljuthat oda és akkor majd többet fog megtudhatni a lelet előfordulásának körülményeiről. Ezt az igéretet a gróf úrnak nem volt alkalma beváltani mostanáig, most pedig a leleteket magával kivánja vinni és így, miután a La-tène ízlés emlékeinek kelet felé való elterjedésének szempontjából egyáltalán nem jelentőség nélkül való az Erdélyi e nemü leleteknek közlése, kötelességünknek tartjuk, hogy a leletet mielőtt az a mindenkinek rendelkezésére álló múzeumból elkerül, a szakkörökneck tudomására hozni.

2

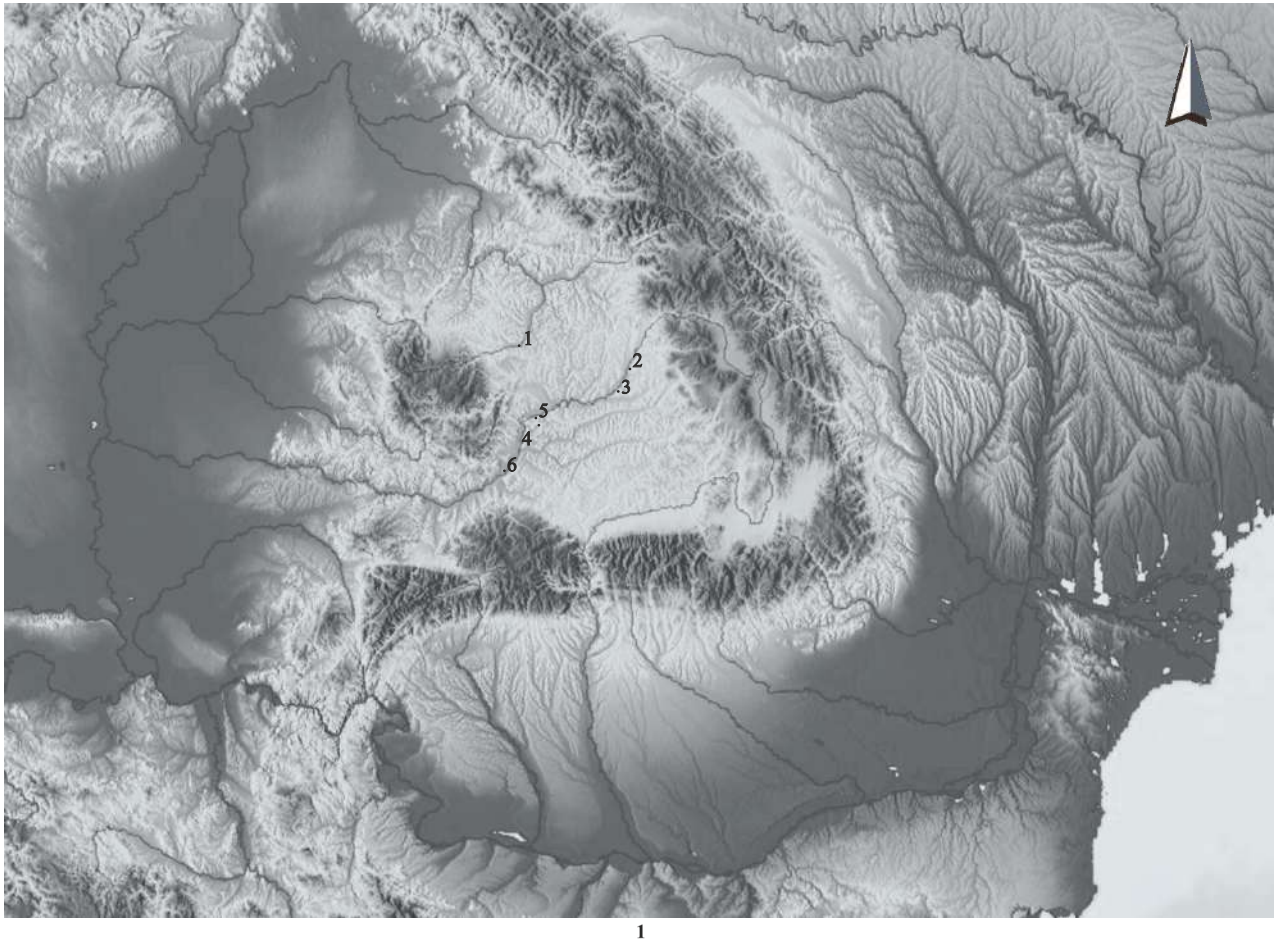
A lelet legfontosabb darabja egy vas eszak, melynek teste



Pl. XI. Sketches and measurements of the fmds from Silivaș, n.d.



Pl. XII. 1-2. Drawings of the finds from Silivaş.



1

Pl. XIII. Map presenting the localities mentioned in the text: **1. Cluj/Kolozsvár**, the location of the Transylvanian Museum Society; **2. Gornești/Gernyeszeg**, the location of Count Domokos Teleki's estate; **3. Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely**, the location of the Teleki Library; **4. Silivaș/Oláhszilvás**, the discovery place of the Celtic assamblage; **5. Ocna Mureș/ Marosújvár**, the location of Count Ádám Teleki's estate; **6. Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár**, the location of the Great National Assembly of Alba Iulia from 1st December 1918.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 41–68

FUNERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *NORICO-PANNONIAN* FEMININE CLOTHING IN ROMAN DACIA[*]

FLORIAN BOIȘTEANU

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.02

Abstract: The present research aims to bring together and to analyse the representations of the *Norico-Pannonian* clothing from Roman Dacia. They appeared as a way of expressing identity in Noricum and Pannonia and also in regions where former settlers of these two provinces had been colonized. I have identified twenty-seven cases, most of them coming from Dacia Superior. The typological analysis is realized on the representations of *peplos*-like tunics, bonnets, brooches and torques. In case of the *peplos*-like tunics, I have only identified five cases, at Apulum, Cristești and Șeica Mică. The bonnet is the most spread garment, being registered in nineteen cases, and it has the highest variety. Moreover, it is the only element found in association with Roman clothing. When it comes to the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches, only the type with two knobs is represented on ten monuments. In three cases there are different types of brooches; in the first one it is about a pair of knee-shape brooches, discovered at Târnava (Sibiu County), also from Târnava comes a representation of strongly profiled brooches, and in the third case, coming from Cristești, it is about a depiction of hinged-pin brooches. Torques appear on seven monuments, usually being rendered in complete representations of the *Norico-Pannonian* clothing.

Keywords: funerary representations; feminine dress; bonnet; *Norico-Pannonian* brooches; torques.

Rezumat: Studiul de față își propune să repertorieze și să analizeze reprezentările vestimentației norico-pannonice din Dacia romană. Acestea apar în Noricum și Pannonia, dar și în zone unde au fost colonizați foști locuitori ale acestor două provincii, ca modalitate de manifestare a identității. Am identificat douăzeci și șapte de cazuri, majoritatea provenind din Dacia Superior. Analiza tipologică este realizată pe reprezentările de tunici de tip *peplos*, bonete, fibule și *torques*-uri. În ce privește tunicile de tip *peplos*, am indentificat doar patru cazuri, la Apulum, Cristești și Șeica Mică. Boneta este piesa vestimentară cea mai întâlnită în reprezentări, în douăzeci și unu de cazuri, și prezintă cea mai mare varietate. Mai mult, este singurul element găsit în asociere cu vestimentație romană. Fibulele norico-pannonice apar pe zece monumente, fiind reprezentat tipul cu două nodozități. În trei cazuri avem tipuri diferite de fibule. Într-unul este vorba de o pereche de fibule cu piciorul în formă de genunchi, descoperit la Târnava, de unde mai provine și o reprezentare de fibule puternic profilate, iar în al treilea caz, de la Cristești, este vorba de o pereche de fibule cu balama. *Torques*-uri apar pe șapte monumente, în general făcând parte din reprezentări complete ale vestimentației norico-pannonice.

Cuvinte-cheie: reprezentări funerare; vestimentație feminină; bonetă; fibule norico-pannonice; torques.

[*] I would like to thank PhD Sorin Nemeti and PhD Sorin Cociș for providing me great advice and bibliography. I also thank PhD Marius Ciută and PhD Nicoleta Man for providing me high quality images to some of the monuments.

1. Introduction

Identity represents one of the main subjects of the Roman studies published in the last couple of years.[1] One of the aims of these studies is to understand how the local people tried to show their cultural and local affiliation. One of the ways of showing this was by wearing the traditional clothes which were also represented on funerary monuments,[2] thus making the provincial clothing very diversified.[3] One of the regions with a representative type of clothing is the *Norico-Pannonian* one, whose varied dress has been already researched,[4] excepting the exemplars erected in Roman Dacia by the Norico-Pannonian colonists. Therefore, the goal of this article is to make a contribution to the research of the *Norico-Pannonian* feminine dress in Roman Dacia, by creating a typology based on the ones already realized by J. Garbsch and U. Rothe. Moreover, I will also analyse the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches, which are linked to this costume as essential elements.

2. A brief presentation of the *Norico-Pannonian* feminine clothing

In spite of being identified pretty early, a monographic study of this type of clothing was pubblished only in 1965, when J. Garbsch coined the term of *norisch-pannonische Frauentracht*, thus ignoring the variety and the wide-spreading area of the *costume* that he saw as unitary and narrow.[5] U. Rothe has given the main arguments not to call it *the Norico-Pannonian costume*[6] anymore:

– the spreading area is larger, comprising the Rhine region, the Middle Danube region and Dacia;[7]

– the wide variety of dress types that can be found[8] and the variety of brooch types represented with *Norico-Pannonian* clothes[9] contradict the idea that only the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches with two knobs (A 236, A 237) and the brooches with little wings (A 238) are characteristic for this kind of garment.[10]

The *Norico-Pannonian* dress is characterized by a long tunic, which is covered by a *peplos*-like garment with no sleeves. The outer dress was fastened with two brooches (usually *Norico-Pannonian* types) on the shoulders, and a belt[11] was worn at the waist. Usually, the married women worn a headgear and a cloak.[12]

---

[1] For more information about the concept of *identity*, see: Diaz-Andreu, Lucy 2005; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; White, Beaudry 2009; Harlow 2012; Eckardt 2014; Ivleva 2017, 69–93.

[2] See Carroll 2013.

[3] A short introduction on the subject of provincial clothing can be found in: Croom 2010, 184–211.

[4] See Garbsch 1965; Rothe 2012.

[5] Garbsch 1965, 1.

[6] In this article I will still use the term *Norico-Pannonian*, but put in Italics, in order to show agreement with the conclusions reached by U. Rothe.

[7] Rothe 2013, 37. A wider spreading area, comprising also Dalmatia and Moesia Superior, besides Noricum and Pannonia, is given even before the appearance of J. Garbsch's book, see Čremošnik 1964, 760.

[8] Rothe 2012, 222. C. Sáró has researched the clothing variety from the North-Pannonian region in Sáró 2021, 343–353.

[9] Sáró 2018, 260–267.

[10] Garbsch 1965, 26.

[11] The belt is characterized by a variety of bronze fittings. J. Garbsch devided them in buckles (G1 a-c, G2 a-g), mounts with openwork decoration (B1 a-k, B2 a-k, B3 a-g, B4 a-d, B5 a-c, B6, B7 a-l), mounts with duck shaped endings (E1 a-c, E2 a-c, E3 a-g), boat shaped mounts (K a-c), strap-ending mounts (R1–4), rivets; Garbsch 1965, 79–106; Sáró 2022, 289–300. I could not identify any exemplar of these in Roman Dacia.

[12] Rothe 2012, 178–179.

The types made by U. Rothe for bonnet representations are dated from the 1st century AD to the beginning of the 3rd century.[13] The majority of monuments from Noricum and Pannonia related to this clothing are dated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD[14] while the brooches are dated from the end of the 1st century BC to the half of the 2nd century AD.[15] Therefore, a problematic aspect of dating is the fact that the depictions continued to exist a long period after the disappearance of the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches, thus leading to the conclusion that most of the depictions do not reflect the actual clothing dressed on daily basis, but merely the desire of the dedicator (family, friends, parents) to show an ideal image that can express different affiliations (cultural, religious) and social status.[16]

The origin of the dress goes far back to the Late Bronze Age, when the people of the Urnfield culture were wearing a garment fastened on the shoulders with a pair of pins, and then later, with a pair of brooches.[17]

3. History of research

Brief presentations of the previous research that marked the study of the *Norico-Pannonian* clothing have already been published before.[18] Therefore, I intend to present only the papers that have brought a contribution to the knowledge of this type of clothing in Roman Dacia.

The first mentions of this dress appeared in the work written by Octavian Floca and Wanda Wolski, where in their catalogue, they were emphasizing the fact that nine *aediculae* (three from Potaissa,[19] three from Cristești,[20] one from Napoca,[21] one from Șeica Mică[22] and one from Sâncraiu[23]) bear representations of the *Norico-Pannonian* dress. In the explicative part, the authors mentioned the main components of the costume and their area of spreading, taking the information from the articles written by I. Čremošnik and J. Fitz.[24] They ignored J. Garbsch's work and, thus, there is no classification realized for the mentioned depictions.

L. Țeposu Marinescu denied the existence of the *Norico-Pannonian* dress, saying that the female clothing from the province of Dacia is pure Roman. The only time that she recognized the *Norico-Pannonian* dress is on the funerary *aediculae* from Cristești, where the female servants of the funerary banquet are completely dressed in it.[25] The same idea is also maintained in the book from 1982, although she mentions the headwear of the females depicted in the funerary *stelae* from Potaissa and Sâncraiu (Cluj County), she does

[13] Rothe 2012, 200–211.
[14] Wedenig 2008, 1140–1143, 1146.
[15] Garbsch 1985, 563–564.
[16] Rothe 2009, 28–29, 78.
[17] Hägg 1996, 139–141.
[18] Rothe 2012, 137–140; Rothe 2013, 34–36; Sáró 2018, 259–260.
[19] Floca, Wolski 1973, 15, figs. 44–46.
[20] Floca, Wolski 1973, 16–18, figs. 66–67, 69.
[21] Floca, Wolski 1973, 23, fig. 76.
[22] Floca, Wolski 1973, 29, fig. 104.
[23] Floca, Wolski 1973, 29, fig. 107.
[24] Floca, Wolski 1973, 41–42.
[25] Țeposu Marinescu 1976, 131.

not identify them as *Norico-Pannonian* bonnets.[26] She also specifies the pair of *Norico-Pannonian* brooches with two knobs worn by Ulpia Maximilla and the pair of winged brooches depicted on a *stela* from Cristești.[27]

In the context of reassessing the funerary *stelae* from Roman Dacia, L. Bianchi tangentially deals with the existence of *Norico-Pannonian* clothing representations. He identifies seventeen monuments, most of them coming obviously from Apulum (three exemplars).[28] Even though he did not realise a typology, he noticed that most of the representations have a familial ambient.[29] In the article published in 2006, L. Bianchi briefly refers to some of the same monuments.[30]

A. Husar noted that the Eraviscan costume is the most spread variant in Roman Dacia, being observed in five cases, in contrast to the Norican type which has been observed in four cases,[31] When it comes to the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches, six representations are mentioned,[32] contrasting with the case of the brooches with little wings that have only one representation registered[33]. The subchapter dedicated to the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches is characterized by a cultural-historiographical typology, thus the type with two knobs is divided in two categories, the main criteria being their morphology and the production methods. The brooches with little wings are all integrated in only one category. The total number counted by A. Husar is twenty-one.[34]

The first article dedicated to the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches appeared in 1995, written by S. Cociș, who has designed a typology of the pieces with little wings[35]. In his monography dedicated to the brooches from Roman Dacia, one can find the main typologies dedicated to these types. The first type, the one with two knobs, is divided in six subtypes (11a, 11b1–2, 11c1–2, 11d)[36] and the second type is also divided in six subtypes (12a-b, 12c1–2, 11d1–2).[37] The main inspiration are the typologies of J. Garbsch[38] and O. Almgren.[39] Seven funerary representations that depict *Norico-Pannonian* brooches are only mentioned in the conclusions.[40]

---

[26] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 55.

[27] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 56.

[28] Bianchi 1985, 90–92; Apulum (fig. 71 N 92, 76 N 94), Brucla (fig. 66 N 212), Potaissa (fig. 112 N 213), Șura Mică (N83), Sâncraiu (fig. 118 N 157), Bologa (fig. 120, N 218), Cristești (fig. 77 N 135, N 140), Apoldu de Sus (fig. 63 N 208), Șeica Mică (N 85), unknown finding place (fig. 65 N 220), Napoca (fig. 83 N 160), Sălișteа (N 134), Târnava (N 86).

[29] Bianchi 1985, 92.

[30] Bianchi 2006, 271.

[31] Husar 1999, 188–189; Eraviscan type (AE 11–13, AE 34, S 20), Norican type (AE 28–29; AE 52; S 16).

[32] Husar 1999, 180.

[33] Husar 1999, 189.

[34] Husar 1999, 179–183.

[35] Cociș 1995, 499–503.

[36] Cociș 2004a, 72–73.

[37] Cociș 2004a, 73–75.

[38] Garbsch 1964, 26–79.

[39] Almgren 1923, 108–109.

[40] Cociș 2004a, 158–159; Seven monuments are mentioned in Apoldu de Sus, Apulum, Cristești, Războieni and Șeica Mică. A distribution map of the representations has been published in the same year, see Cociș 2004b, 424, Pl. XV.

C. Ciongradi has tried to include the representations from Apulum, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Micia into J. Garbsch's typology. Thus, M/M 4 (no. 20) and S/A 24 (no. 3) are identified as Garbsch H 5 and S/A 28 (no. 8), S/A 60 (no. 9), Sc/A 1 are classified as Garbsch H 2 and H 3. S/A 19 is also identified as Garbsch H 3 (no. 4). The only monument (aedicula) coming from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa classified by C. Ciongradi is Ae/S1 (no. 24), the headgear depicted there having analogies amongst the monuments of Garbsch H 2 type.[41] She has rightly asserted that the brooch representations cannot be used to date the monuments, because there are major differences between the period of use of the brooch type and the style of depicting the whole monument, the haircut, the way of depicting the eyes and so on.[42] In our case, the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches are used in the first half of the 2nd century AD, but most of the funerary depictions of these types are dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD, some of them being dated even later, at the beginning of the 3rd century AD.[43]

The monographic study of the Roman settlement from Cristești has brought a contribution to the knowledge of funerary representations of the *Norico-Pannonian* clothing. N. Man mentions five monuments that depict elements of this type of clothing.[44]

In conclusion, some remarks can be drawn regarding the history of research:

– as a secondary subject, the *Norico-Pannonian* dress from Roman Dacia did not benefit of any typological and exhaustive study;

– some monuments are misclassified: a funerary *aedicula* from Potaissa, which depicts a funerary banquet of four people, a *cathedra* and a *mensa tripes*, where the women are wearing some sort of bonnet, identified as a *Norico-Pannonian* headwear.[45] First of all, it is very well known that the cultural elements from the Middle Danube are scarcely represented at Potaissa,[46] comparing to other cities from Dacia, such as Apulum or Napoca. Second of all, the funerary banquet with four people represents one of the cultural particularities brought by the *Legio V Macedonica* from Troesmis.[47] Therefore, there are very low chances that this headwear is *Norico-Pannonian*. Another misidentification was made by A. Husar in the case of the *aedicula* from Cășeiu,[48] where a funerary banquet with two people is depicted, a woman sitting on a *cathedra* and a man lying on a *kline*, with no doubt, the woman is wearing only a vail on her head.[49] L. Țeposu Marinescu wrongly identified the depicted brooches on a monument from Cristești as brooches with little wings,[50] but actually the main feature of the type with two knobs is very well represented and thus here we talk about this type of brooches. Also from Cristești, a funerary relief depicting clothes resembling with the *Norico-Pannonian* ones was mistakenly interpreted

[41] Ciongradi 2007, 34–35.
[42] Ciongradi 2007, 34.
[43] Ciongradi 2007, 34.
[44] Man 2011, 218, no. 1; 219, no. 5; 222, no. 1; 223, no 1–2.
[45] Bianchi 1985, 91; Husar 1999, 189.
[46] Bărbulescu 2015, 22–23.
[47] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 48; Bianchi 1985, 101–102; Nemeti, Nemeti 2017, 36.
[48] Husar 1999, 189.
[49] Bâltâc, Știrbulescu, Ștefan 2015, 173.
[50] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 56.

as displaying *Norico-Pannonian* brooches with two knobs.[51] The extended shape of the head and the absence of the two knobs have led us to the conclusion that probably hinge-pin brooches are represented in this case.

4. The *peplos*-like tunic

J. Garbsch identified four types of this tunic (M 1–4),[52] as well as U. Rothe (O 1–4),[53] but I was able to identify only two of them in Dacia – M 1(O 1) and O 2. In order to be classified, the whole garment needs to be depicted, therefore only a few representations have fulfilled this requirement.

Type one (Garbsch M 1; Rothe O 1): the tunic is characterized by a bouffant aspect in the lower part, appearing in Eastern Noricum and some parts from Western Pannonia.[54] I have identified it at Cristești (Pl. V/3–4; Pl. VI/1) on three aedicula walls, on which the females were depicted as funerary banquet servants,[55] and Apulum on only one monument, where the whole body of the deceased is depicted, but only the lower part has been preserved (Pl II/6).[56]

Type two (Rothe O 2): It is defined by a straight long *peplos*-like tunic letting only a small part of the undergarment to be seen. A part of the tunic is crossed on the right shoulder, where is fastened by a brooch. It is only represented in the region of Virunum.[57] Only one case is identified in Roman Dacia, on a funerary *stela* from Șeica Mică (Sibiu County) (Pl. VIII/1), where a Roman citizen from Noricum (from the Virunum area) is depicted with his family.[58]

Therefore, the peplos-like tunic appears only in three places, Apulum, Cristești and Șeica Mică and most of them are subtypes coming from Noricum (Cristești and Șeica Mică).

5. The bonnet

The bonnet is divided by U. Rothe in three major categories: those mostly found in Noricum (H 1.1.1.; H 1.1.2.; H 1.1.3.; H 1.1.4.; H 1.2.1.; H 1.2.2.), those specific to Pannonia (H 2–5) and the last one is represented by the types found in both provinces (H 6–9).[59] Out of twenty-seven funerary representations, nineteen contains representations of bonnets: twelve are Norican, two Pannonian and five transregional (Pl. X/1). The bonnet is the only garment represented with Roman clothing, this combination reflecting an image of the imperial culture, although, the preservation of this element remains to be studied further.

Type one (Garbsch H 1; Rothe H 1.1.1.): the bonnet has a trapezoidal shape and is dated between the middle of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the next one.[60] The

[51] Cociș 2004b, 421.
[52] Garbsch 1965, 4; Garbsch 1985, 554–555.
[53] Rothe 2012, 183–190.
[54] Rothe 2012, 183.
[55] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 204, 212–213, nos. 26, 64, 66; Man 2011, 222–223, nos. 1–3.
[56] LUPA 19424.
[57] Rothe 2012, 183.
[58] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 62; LUPA 14991.
[59] Rothe 2012, 198–211.
[60] Rothe 2012, 200.

only exemplar of this type identified in Dacia comes from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, where a funerary *aedicula* presents two females probably dressed in a Roman garment, one of them holding an infant in her hands (Pl. VII/2).[61]

Type two (Rothe H 1.1.2.): The edge of the bonnet is represented by a thick band of cloth. It is dated from the beginning of the 2nd century AD to the beginning of the 3rd century AD.[62] Three registered exemplars have been discovered at Apulum, representing a funerary medallion of a family (Pl. II/4),[63] a fragmentary funerary *stela* from which only the upper right corner and the woman's head have survived (Pl. III/4),[64] and a funerary aedicula wall with two registers preserved, in the below register there are represented two women wearing *Norico-Pannonian* clothing (Pl. IV/2).[65] Another family *stela* appeared in the Roman settlement at Cristești. The monument is fragmentary, only the right half has been preserved with the representation of the woman and one of her children, and half of the inscription (Pl. V/2).[66] The Cotu Successi's funerary *stela* from Șeica Mică depicts a representation of this type of bonnet (Pl. VIII/1).[67]

Type three (Rothe 1.1.3.): The edge is well defined. The rest of the bonnet is designed as a whole. It is dated between the half of the 2nd century AD and the first part of the 3rd century AD.[68] The exemplars of this type were found at Apulum. The first one is part of a funerary pillar dedicated to a couple (Pl. II/2),[69] and the other one is supposed to be a *stela* of a family, where the female is best preserved (Pl. III/1).[70]

Type four (Garbsch H 4; Rothe H 1.1.4.): The bonnet covers only a small part of the head and hair, appearing from the last quarter of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD.[71] I have registered two cases at Apulum and one at Târnava. The first is a fragmentary funerary *stela* with the representation of the woman dressed in complete *Norico-Pannonian* clothing, even though the headgear is difficult to be differentiated from the hair (Pl. I/3).[72] The second one is very badly preserved, only the faces of the two characters are intact. It had entered in historiography as a medallion, but due to the advanced level of fragmentation it is hard to determine exactly the type of monument (Pl. III/3).[73] The last one, coming from Târnava, is a funerary medallion of a family couple (Pl. VIII/2).[74]

---

[61] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 208, no. 43; Ciongradi 2007, 214, Ae/S1; LUPA 15078. (Analogy: LUPA 838).

[62] Rothe 2012, 200.

[63] Ciongradi 2007, 253–254, M/A 4; Bâltâc, Știrbulescu, Ștefan 2015, 202, no. 205; LUPA 21942 (Analogy: LUPA 878).

[64] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 115, no. 54; Ciongradi 2007, 178, S/A 62 (Analogies: LUPA 593; 833).

[65] Ciută, Boișteanu 2024.

[66] IDR III/4, 140; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 123, no. 83, Bianchi 1985, 123, no. 83; Man 2011, 219, no. 5.

[67] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 62.

[68] Rothe 2012, 200, 204.

[69] Ciongradi 2007, 229–230, Sc/A 1 (Analogy: LUPA 834).

[70] Ciongradi 2007, 168, S/A 28 (Analogies: LUPA 3627, 13333).

[71] Rothe 2012, 203.

[72] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 122–123, no. 82; IDR III/5, 1, 499; Ciongradi 2007, 167, S/A 24 (Analogy: LUPA 895).

[73] Pop, Moga, Aldea 1972, 505, no. 7; Ciongradi 2007, 255, M/A 10 (Analogy: LUPA 495).

[74] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 196, no. 35; LUPA 15097.

Type five (Garbsch H 2; Rothe H 1.2.2.): it appears only in the region of Flavia Solva, the bonnet having a curved design and covering only a part of the hair. The type is dated between the middle of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD.[75] The only two exemplars found represent fragmentary funerary *stelae* from Apulum and Cristești. In the case of the monument from Apulum, only the upper right corner is preserved and the woman's head (Pl. III/2).[76] The *stela* from Cristești misses the inscription and a bit from the left part, otherwise the depictions are in a decent state of preservation (Pl. V/1).[77]

Type six (Rothe H 2): the bonnet is tight, plain, with a defined margin.[78] The only exemplar comes from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. It is about the fragmentary funerary *stela* of Ulpia Chelidonia and Lucius Cassius (Pl. VII/1).[79]

Type seven (Rothe H 6): the bonnet is made of a thick band of cloth wrapped around the head. This type has appeared only in Aquincum.[80] The only exemplar is a well-preserved funerary medallion from Aiud (Alba County), depicting a family. The woman is wearing a Roman garment along with a torc and a *Norico-Pannonian* bonnet (IV/14).[81]

Type eight (Rothe H 7): the bonnet is plain and tight. The areal distribution is very large, finding this type of bonnet from Gaul to Dacia.[82] It is the most spread type from Roman Dacia, registering five monuments. Two of them were discovered in Apulum: the *stela* of Ulpia Maximilla is one of the most interesting funerary monuments from the North-Danubian province, displaying a family medallion in the middle with Ulpia Maximilla wearing *Norico-Pannonian* garments (Pl. II/1).[83] The other one is a family *aedicula* (Pl. IV/1).[84] Another funerary medallion belonging to this type was discovered in Micia. Here, beside the *Norico-Pannonian* bonnet, the woman is holding an apple in the right hand as well as her husband is holding a parchment scroll in the left hand (Pl. VI/2).[85] From Târnava comes another monument, a funerary medallion. It is not well preserved, especially in the area of the faces, but enough to see the shape of the bonnet and to analyse it typologically (Pl. VIII/3).[86] The last monument is spotted in Sâncraiu (Cluj County), an *aedicula* with full-length representation of the commemorated persons, where the female is wearing a *pallium* and a *stola* but also a *Norico-Pannonian* bonnet (Pl. IX/1).[87]

[75] Rothe 2012, 203–204.

[76] Ciongradi 2007, 177, S/A 60.

[77] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 116, no. 59; IDR III/4, 146; Man 2011, 218, no. 1 (Analogy: LUPA 304).

[78] Rothe 2012, 205.

[79] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 141, no. 165; Ciongradi 2007, 142, S/S 7.

[80] Rothe 2012, 209.

[81] Ciongradi 2007, 85, Taf. 115, Brucla. (Analogy: LUPA 6519).

[82] Rothe 2012, 209.

[83] IDR III/5, 608; Ciongradi 2007, 164, S/A 19.

[84] Ciongradi 2007, 202, A/A 6.

[85] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 191, no. 14; Ciongradi 2007, 258–259, M/M 4; LUPA 15040 (Analogy: LUPA 4064 – it is not only an analogy for the bonnet, but also for the way of displaying the characters).

[86] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 60; LUPA 17360.

[87] Floca, Wolski 1973, 28, no. 88; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 221, no. 107.

6. Brooches on funerary monuments

J. Garbsch associated all this kind of representations to only two types of brooches: the *Norico-Pannonian* brooches with two knobs (A 236–237) and the brooches with little wings (A 238).[88] But, actually, there are also other types of brooches represented,[89] although we have to admit the fact that most of the representations are related to the first two mentioned types. In the case of Roman Dacia, I have identified thirteen representations of brooches (Pl. X/2).

Brooches with two knobs (A 236–237): the main features of this type are represented by an eight-coil spiralled resort, two discoidal or bulging knobs designed on the surface of the bow, rectangular, perforated or frame-worked catch-plate and foot button.[90] These brooches were firstly classified by O. Almgren,[91] then J. Garbsch realized a detailed typology,[92] which was adapted to the province of Dacia by S. Cociș.[93]

I have identified ten representations of these brooches coming from Apoldu de Sus, Apulum, Cristești, Șeica Mică and Războieni. Due to the fact that the practice of depicting brooches on funerary monuments is profoundly marked by the craftsman's skill and originality, it is hard to associate them with subtypes of the archaeological artefacts, but in some cases, this could be done. Therefore, there are three subtypes represented: A 236c subtype can be distinguished by its bulging knobs and it can be identified on three monuments (Pl. I/1; Pl. VI/3; Pl. VIII/1); A 236h subtype is divided by S. Cociș in 11c1 and 11c2, based on the fact that 11c1 contains the exemplars that exceed 7 cm in length.[94] This can be also applied to the representations, thus 11c1 is registered in six cases (Pl. I/2–3; Pl. III/1; Pl. IV/2; Pl. V/2; Pl. VI/1); and 11c2 in one case (Pl. II/1).

Brooches with little wings (A 238): This type is characterized by an eight-coil resort and two curved *wings* that have four buttons at the peak. The catch-plate is usually perforated with motifs and curved *zig-zag* lines. First typology was proposed by O. Almgren.[95] As in the case of the first type, these brooches were reassessed by J. Garbsch.[96] Afterwards, W. Jobst tried to classify them in three groups, after the perforated and incised ornaments on their surface.[97] H. Sedlmayer applied her own typology to the exemplars found at Ovilava-Wels. She divided them in three categories after the curving grade of

[88] Garbsch 1965, 26.

[89] Garbsch 1985, 570–571; Sáró 2018, 260–267.

[90] Cociș 2004a, 72.

[91] Almgren 1923, 109. He divided them in two types, A 236 and A 237, based on dating (The A 236 supposes to earlier and strongly linked to Late Iron Age artistic style).

[92] Garbsch 1965, 26–43 for type A 236 and 43–49 for type A 237. This typology takes into consideration much more physical and morphological characteristics. Therefore, A 236 is divided from a to n, and A 237 from a to d.

[93] Cociș 2004a, 72–73. Based on J. Garbsch's typology, S. Cociș divided the exemplars found in Roman Dacia in six subtypes (11a, 11b1–2, 11c1–2, 11d).

[94] Cociș 2004a, 72.

[95] Almgren 1923, 108.

[96] Garbsch 1965, 49–77.

[97] Jobst 1975, 49.

the needle-holder when it joins to the bow.[98] Then, S. Cociș realized the typology of the exemplars discovered in Roman Dacia, resuming only to J. Garbsch's typology.[99]

There is no case of funerary depiction of these brooches in Dacia. The same phenomenon is also observed in Noricum, while in Pannonia there is a large number of such representations in the 2nd century AD.[100]

Several considerations can be made regarding the dating. There is a discrepancy between the dating of the artefacts (in the case of Dacia, dating is in the first half of the 2nd century AD)[101] and the dating of their representations in the funerary monuments. Seven out of ten representations are dated in the second half of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the next one (Pl. XI).[102] Even though, once with the research progress, some subtypes have been proven to end their usage at the end of the 2nd century AD (A 236 h and m,[103] and Merczi 4[104]), only A 236 h has been found in Roman Dacia and also represented on the funerary monuments. Another explanation could be the fact that the craftsmen took as inspiration older funerary monuments with representations of brooches, or all these monuments were realized only by craftsmen originating from the *Norico-Pannonian* communities and had a clear image of the *Norico-Pannonian* dress and, therefore, of these types of brooches.

Another way of reconstructing the *Norico-Pannonian* dress is by discovering pairs of brooches in funerary context, as in the cases of Avanches-Champlix (Switzerland)[105] and Potzneusiedl (Austria).[106] This case does not apply for Roman Dacia, because the exemplars discovered in funerary context are very few and none registered as a pair.[107]

Representations of other types of brooches: there are three cases of representations of other types of brooches, two coming from Târnava and one from Cristești.

One of the two funerary monuments coming from Târnava presents, in a familial context, a woman wearing strongly profiled brooches on her shoulders (VIII/26). The origin of this type is placed in the Alps and northern Italy,[108] from where they succeeded to spread especially in the Danubian provinces. In Dacia, it is dated largely in the 2nd century AD and is very diverse, thus S. Cociș registered seventy-one subtypes.[109]

[98] Sedlmayer 1995, 36–37. The first type has a long and smooth curving, the second one has a short curving and the last one a sharp curving.

[99] Cociș 2004, 73–75.

[100] Garbsch 1985, 556, Tab. 2.

[101] This dating was verified by studying the discoveries from the brooch workshop at Napoca, see Cociș 2019, 18–28.

[102] See nos. 2–4, 15, 17–18, 26 from the Catalogue.

[103] Hinker 2017, 71.

[104] Merczi 2017, 151–152.

[105] Demetz 1999, 31, note 70. The discovery of a grave with a pair of brooches with little wings (A 238 n 2) dated to the end of the 1st century BC.

[106] Saunderson, Grömer, Formato 2022, 30, 33–34. In four graves (99, 101, 215, 240) have been discovered pairs of *Norico-Pannonian* brooches placed on the shoulders. Graves nos. 99, 215 and 240 contained brooches with little wings and no. 101 brooches with two knobs.

[107] There are seven exemplars coming from Apulum-„Stația de salvare" (Bounegru 2017, 59–60, Pl. XLIII/9), Apulum-„Dealul Furcilor" (Bolog 2017, 224, no. 1745, 251), Berghin (Cociș 2004, 182, no. 605); Cașolț (Ardevan 2011, 185, no. 11), Moreşti (Cociș 2004, 182, no. 615), Soporu de Câmpie (Cociș 2004, 182, no. 614).

[108] Demetz 1999, 32–33.

[109] Cociș 2004, 45–70.

On the other monument from Târnava is depicted a pair of knee-shape brooches with rectangular headplate (Böhme 21;[110] Jobst 12B[111]) (Pl. VIII/2). This type is dated between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 3rd one, and is considered in older studies as soldier brooches.[112] The monument from Târnava proves once again that this type is also worn by females. Analogies in Roman Dacia can be found at Brâncovenești,[113] but those are representations of men wearing the *sagum*.

Hinge-pin brooches appear on a monument from Cristești (Pl. V/1), and a third brooch is fastened at the chest. Most probably, considering the large extension of the bow, they belong to the Alesia or Aucissa types. These types originate in Gaul and northern Italy,[114] and their large spreading in the Empire is caused by the fact that they are popular amongst the soldiers,[115] although, starting with Augustus, these brooches started to be also worn by civilians,[116] what could explain their usage in some cases as feminine accessories.[117]

7. Funerary representations of *torques*

The torque is a neck accessory that appeared in the Middle Bronze Age and starting from the Hallstatt period it can be found in reach graves.[118] It can be manufactured from noble metals (silver, gold) and also from bronze.[119] It is taken and adapted by the Roman soldiers as accessory fastened on centurion armour.[120] The torque appears depicted on funerary monuments as a female accessory most often in north-eastern Pannonia, where K. Kuzmová have identified thirty-two monuments and divided them in two types.[121]

The artefact has not yet been discovered in Roman Dacia,[122] but it is represented on funerary monuments as part of the *Norico-Pannonian* clothing. I have identified seven representations at Apulum, Brucla, Cristești, Șeica Mică and Târnava.

Type one (Kuzmová 1): The torque is large, represented on the chest. The exemplars found in Pannonia are dated in the first half of the 1st century AD.[123] Such cases are registered at Brucla[124] (Pl. IV/3) and Șeica Mică (Pl. VIII/1)[125], where it can be recognized by its twisted shape.

---

[110] Böhme 1972, 20–22.

[111] Jobst 1975, 60–61.

[112] Böhme 1972, 21–22. The pieces found in Roman Dacia are dated in the same timeframe, see Cociș 2004, 95.

[113] Protase, Zrínyi 1994, Pls. XLVII/4, XLVIII/4.

[114] Fougère 1985, 302, 321.

[115] Fougère 1985, 318.

[116] Riha 1979, 114.

[117] An analogy was found at Környe (Komárom-Esztergom County, Hungary), see Sáró 2018, 265, 271, fig. 8.7/9.

[118] Harding 2007, 33.

[119] Harding 2007, 33.

[120] Benea 2008, 132.

[121] Kuzmová 2008, 546.

[122] Benea 2008, 132–133.

[123] Kuzmová 2008, 547, 550.

[124] Ciongradi 2007, 85, Taf. 115, Brucla.

[125] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 62; LUPA 14991.

Type two (Kuzmová 2): the torque is narrower and thicker than in the first type and is represented tight on the neck.[126] The exemplars associated to this type are dated later in the second half of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd one.[127] This type has been identified at Apulum (Pl. I/3; Pl. III/1),[128] Cristești (Pl. V/1)[129] and Târnava (Pl. VIII/2–3).[130]

K. Kuzmová's chronology is not available for cases belonging to Dacia, because the two types are depicted on monuments dated in both halves of the 2nd century AD.

8. Conclusions

The *Norico-Pannonian* dress appeared in former La Tène communities from the Middle Danube and the Rhine integrated in the Roman Empire and extended in Roman Dacia as a way of expressing identity by the colonists that had come from the regions of Noricum and Pannonia, as numerous analogies have showed us. Most of them appeared in Dacia Superior (Pl. IX/2). This can be explained by the fact that Legio XIII Gemina had been moved to Apulum (where most of the representations come from) from Poetovio (Pannonia Superior),[131] and Norican groups were colonized in east and south of Intra-Carpathian Dacia.[132] A still open question is the absence of a solid number of representations in Dacia Porolissensis, considering that it had beneficiated of a significative mass of people coming from Noricum and Pannonia.[133]

9. Catalogue:

Apoldu de Sus

1. Funerary medallion; H = 93 cm, W = 87 cm, Depth = 21 cm; first half of the 2nd century AD; MNB, inv. no. A1392 (2120); LUPA 15037 (Pl. I/1).

Apulum (Alba Iulia)

2. Funerary *stela*; H = 61 cm; W = 47 cm; *D(is) [M(anibus)]*; second half of the 2nd century AD; MNU; inv. no. 8218; IDR III/5, 466; Ciongradi 2007, 160, S/A 7; LUPA 11070 (Pl. I/2).

3. Funerary *stela*; H = 123 cm; W = 53 cm; *D(is) [M(anibus)] / L(ucius) /? Celeia vet(eranus) [---vix(it)] an(nis) LXXXI? C [---]*; second half of the 2nd century AD; MNU; inv. no. 122; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 122–123, no. 82; IDR III/5, 499; Ciongradi 2007, 167, S/A 24; LUPA 11139 (Pl I/3).

4. Funerary *stela*; H = 217 cm; W = 112; *D(is) M(anibus) / Ulp(iae) Maxsimil(la)e p/osuit Artorius Victor coniugi bene / [mere]nt[i vix(it)] an(nis) XXV/[---]*; end of the 2nd century AD; MNU; inv. no. 184; IDR III/5, 608; Ciongradi 2007, 164, S/A 19; LUPA 11690 (Pl II/4).

5. Funerary pillar monument; H = 50 cm; W = 67 cm; Depth = 47 cm; second half of the 2nd century AD; MNU; Ciongradi 2007, 229–230, Sc/A 1; LUPA 15328 (Pl II/5).

[126] Kuzmová 2008, 547.

[127] Kuzmová 2008, 550.

[128] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 122–123, no. 82; IDR III/5, 499; Ciongradi 2007, 167, S/A 24, S/A 28.

[129] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 116, no. 59; IDR III/4, 146; Man 2011, 218, no. 1.

[130] Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 60; 196, no. 35.

[131] See Moga 1985.

[132] Husar 1999, 107.

[133] See the onomastic analysis made for this province: Paki 1998.

6. Funerary relief; H = 55 cm; W = 42 cm; Depth = 22 cm; MNU; LUPA 19424 (Pl II/6).

7. Funerary medallion; H = 85 cm; W = 73 cm; Middle of the 2nd century AD; MNIR; inv. no. I4494; Ciongradi 2007, 253–254, M/A 4; Bâltâc, Știrbulescu, Ștefan 2015, 202, no. 205; LUPA 21942 (Pl II/7).

8. Funerary *stela*, H = 49 cm; W = 55 cm; Beginning of the 2nd century AD; MNU, without inv. no.; Ciongradi 2007, 168, S/A 28 (Pl. III/1).

9. Funerary *stela*, H = 69 cm; W = 40 cm; Depth = 20 cm; first half of the 2nd century AD; MNU; inv. no. 461; Ciongradi 2007, 177, S/A 60 (Pl. III/2).

10. Funerary medallion; H = 27,5 cm; W = 33 cm; Depth = 11 cm; first half of the 2nd century AD; MNU, inv. no. 384; Popa, Moga, Aldea 1972, 505, no. 7; Ciongradi 2007, 255, M/A 10 (Pl. III/3).

11. Funerary *stela*; H = 65 cm; W = 52 cm; Depth = 20 cm; 2nd century AD; MNU inv. no. 463; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 115, no. 54; Ciongradi 2007, 178, S/A 62 (Pl. III/4).

12. Funerary *aedicula*; H = 99 cm; W = 59 cm; Depth = 46 cm; Beginning of the 2nd century AD; MNU; inv. no. 7857; Ciongradi A/A 6a, b, c (Pl IV/12).

13. Funerary *aedicula*; H = 95 cm; W = 74 cm; Depth = 13 cm; 2nd century AD; Private collection; Ciută, Boișteanu 2024 (Pl. IV/2).

Brucla (Aiud)

14. Funerary medallion; H = 103 cm; W = 119 cm; Depth = 22 cm; first half of the 2nd century AD; MNIR; inv. no. 66446 (MIA 5475); Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 194, no. 25; Ciongradi 2007, 485, Taf. 115, Brucla; Bâltâc, Știrbulescu, Ștefan 2015, 200, no. 203 (Pl. IV/3).

Cristești

15. Funerary *stela*; H = 110 cm; W = 75 cm; Depth = 22 cm; second half of the 2nd century AD; *D(is) M(anibus) [---]*; MJM; inv. no. 4901; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 116, no. 59; IDR III/4, 146; Man 2011, 218, no. 1 (Pl. V/1).

16. Funerary *stela*; H = 129 cm; W = 61 cm; Depth = 16 cm; *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Finitus[---.fil(ius)] / vi(xit) an(nos) [---] / f(ilius) (h)er(es) p(osuit) [---] / et Supi[nus---] / f(ilius) an[n(orum)---]*; 2nd – 3rd century AD; MJM; inv. no. 4902; IDR III/4, 140; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 123, no. 83; Man 2011, 219, no. 5 (Pl. V/2).

17. *Aedicula* wall; W = 180 cm; W = 62 cm; Depth = 15 cm; end of the 2nd century AD – beginning of the 3rd century AD; MJM; inv. no. 4900; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 212, no. 64; Man 2011, 222, no. 1. (Pl. V/3).

18. *Aedicula* wall; H = 40 cm; W = 70 cm; Depth = 18 cm; end of the 2nd century AD; MJM; inv. no. 4897; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 204, no. 26; Man 2011, 223, no. 2 (Pl. V/4).

19. *Aedicula* wall; H = 106 cm; W = 76 cm; Depth = 14 cm; second half of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century AD; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 213, no. 66; Man 2011, 223, no. 1 (Pl. VI/1).

Micia (Vețel)

20. Funerary medallion; H = 107 cm; W = 32 cm; Depth = 82 cm; middle of the 2nd century AD; MNIR, inv. no. 38952; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 191, no. 14; Ciongradi 2007, 258–259, M/M 4; LUPA 15040 (Pl. VI/2).

Războieni-Cetate

21. Funerary *stela*; H = 60 cm; W = 70 cm; Depth = 15 cm; *[- Ae]l(ius?) Se[da]tus v(ixit) Se[rva]tus? / [- – -]*; 2nd – 3rd century AD; MNIT, inv. no. v 60980; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 218, no. 106; IDR III/4, 75 (Pl. VI/3).

Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Sarmizegetusa)

22. Funerary *stela*; H = 119 cm; W = 89 cm; Depth = 19 cm; *D(is) M(anibus) / Ulp(iae) Chelido/ni vix(it) an(nis) XLVI / L(ucius) Cassius / [---]*; first half of the 2nd century AD; MCDR; inv. no. 2198; IDR III/2, 446; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 141, no. 165; Ciongradi 2007, 142, S/S 7 (Pl. VII/1).

23. *Aedicula* wall; H = 135 cm; W = 85,7 cm; Depth = 16,5 cm; first half of the 2nd century AD; Muzeul de Arheologie Sarmizegetusa; inv. no. 1491; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 208, no. 43; Ciongradi 2007, 214, Ae/S1 (Pl. VII/2).

Șeica Mică

24. Funerary *stela*; H = 347 cm; W = 106 cm; Depth = 26 cm; *D(is) M(anibus) / Cotu Successi f(ilia) / cives Norica vix(it) / an(nos) LV Cl(audius) Latinus / posuit coniugi ben/e merenti h(ic) s(ita) e(st)*; 2nd century AD; MNB, inv. no. A 3432 (7205); IDR III/4, 91; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 62; LUPA 14991 (Pl. VIII/1).

Târnava

25. Funerary medallion; H = 59 cm; W = 48 cm; Depth = 15 cm; MNB; inv. no. A1532; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 196, no. 35; LUPA 15097 (Pl. VIII/2).

26. Funerary *stela*; H = 107 cm; W = 92 cm; Depth = 22 cm; *D(is) M(anibus) / Prima Macri / fi(lia) an(norum) L Secu/[nd---]*; second half of the 2nd century AD; MNB, inv. no. A 1534 (3064); IDR III/4, 94; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 117, no. 60; LUPA 17360 (Pl. VIII/3).

Sâncraiu

27. Funerary stela; H = 130 cm; W = 75 cm; Depth = 30 cm; second half of the 2nd century AD; MNIT; inv. no. IN 21460; Floca, Wolski 1973, 28, no. 88; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 221, no. 107 (Pl. IX/1).

Bibliography

Almgren 1923	O. Almgren, *Studien über nordeuropäische Fibelformen*, Leipzig 1923.
Ardevan 2011	R. Ardevan, *Colecția arheologică a lui Michael Luister și vestigiile de la Cașolț*, BHAUT, 13, 2011, 183–191.
Bărbulescu 2015	M. Bărbulescu, *Arta romană la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 2015.
Bâltâc, Știrbulescu, Ștefan 2015	A. Bâltâc, C. Știrbulescu, A. Ștefan, *Catalog colecție Lapidarium. I. Piese greco-romane*, București 2015.
Benea 2008	D. Benea, *Ateliere de prelucrare a bronzului, argintului și aurului în Dacia romană*, BHAUT, 9, 2008, 107–179.
Bianchi 1985	L. Bianchi, *Le stele funerarie della Dacia. Un'espressione di arte romana periférica*, Roma 1985.
Bianchi 2006	L. Bianchi, *I monumenti funerari della Dacia. Nuovi studi, note integrative e precisazioni*, Archaeologia Classica, 57, 2006, 245–298.

Bolog 2017	A. C. Bolog, *Necropola romană de la Dealul Furcilor-Podei (campaniile 2008–2012)*, Cluj-Napoca 2017.
Bounegru 2017	G. V. Bounegru, *The Northern Necropolis from Apulum "Ambulance Station" 1981–1985. Necropola nordică de la Apulum „Stația de Salvare"*, Cluj-Napoca 2017.
Böhme 1972	A. Böhme, *Die Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel*, Mainz 1972.
Carroll 2013	M. Carroll, *Ethnicity and Gender in Roman Funerary Commemoration: Case studies from the empire's frontiers.* In: S. Tarlow, L. Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, Oxford 2013, 559–579.
Ciongradi 2007	C. Ciongradi, *Grabmonument und sozialer Status in Oberdakien*, Cluj-Napoca 2007.
Ciută, Boișteanu 2024	M. Ciută, F. Boișteanu, *A funerary monument from Colonia Aurelia Apulensis, recovered by an unexpected path*, JAHA, 11, 1, 2024, 101–110.
Cociș 1995	S. Cociș, *Fibules à ailettes du type norico-pannonien de la Dacie romaine.* In: F. E. König, S. Rebetez (eds.), *Arculiana: Ioanni Boegli anno sexagesimo quinto feliciter peracto amici discipuli collegae socii dona dederunt*, Avenches 1995, 499–503.
Cociș 2004a	S. Cociș, *Fibulele din Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 2004.
Cociș 2004b	S. Cociș, *Norico-Pannonian Brooches from Roman Dacia*. In: L. Ruscu, C. Ciongradi, R. Ardevan, C. Roman, C. Găzdac (eds.), *ORBIS ANTIQVVS. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj-Napoca 2004, 405–424.
Cociș 2019	S. Cociș, *The Brooch Workshops from Dacia and the other Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Cluj-Napoca 2019.
Čremošnik 1964	I. Čremošnik, *Die einheimliche Tracht Noricums, Pannoniens und Illyricums und ihre Vorbilder*, Latomus, 23, 4, 1964, 760–773.
Croom 2010	A. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, Amberley 2010.
Demetz 1999	S. Demetz, *Fibeln der Spätlatène-und frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in den Alpenländern*, Leidorf 1999.
Diaz-Andreu, Lucy 2005	M. Diaz-Andreu, S. Lucy (eds.), *Archaeology of Identities: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, London 2005.
Eckardt 2014	H. Eckardt, *Objects and Identities. Roman Britain and the North-Western Provinces*, Oxford 2014.
Floca, Wolski 1973	O. Floca, W. Wolski, *Aedicula funerară în Dacia romană*, BMI, 42, 3, 1973, 3–52.
Fougère 1985	M. Fougère, *Les fibules en Gaule Meridionale de la conquête à la fin du Ve siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 1985.
Garbsch 1965	J. Garbsch, *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*, München 1965.
Garbsch 1985	J. Garbsch, *Die norisch-pannonische Tracht*, ANWR, II, 12, 3, 1985, 546–577.

Harding 2007	D. W. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, London 2007.
Harlow 2012	M. Harlow (ed.), *Dress and Identity*, BAR 2356, Oxford 2012.
Hägg 1996	I. Hägg, *Textil und Tracht als Zeugnis von Bevölkerungsverschiebungen*, Archäologische Informationen, 19, 1996, 135–147.
Hinker 2017	C. Hinker, *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im Spiegel der Kleinfunde aus dem Stadtterritorium von Flavia Solva. Ein Addendum zur Monografie von Jochen Garbsch unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Neufunde seit 1965*, JÖAI, 86, 2017, 33–105.
Husar 1999	A. Husar, *Celți și germani în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 1999.
Ivleva 2017	T. Ivleva, *'Active brooches': theorising brooches of the Roman north-west (first to third centuries AD)*. In: T. F. Martin, R. Weetch (eds.), *Dress and Society. Contributions from Archaeology*, Oxford 2017, 69–93.
Jobst 1975	W. Jobst, *Die römischen Fibeln aus Lauriacum*, Linz 1975.
Kuzmová 2008	K. Kuzmová, *Torques-Darstellungen auf den römischen Grabsteinen Nordpannoniens*. In: C. Franek, S. Lamm, T. Neuhauser, B. Porod, K. Zöhrer, *Thiasos. Ferstchrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien 2008, 545–552.
Man 2011	N. Man, *Așezarea romană de la Cristești*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.
Merczi 2017	M. Merczi, *Ergänzungen zur Typologie der norisch-pannonischen Flügelfibeln in Nordost-Pannonien anhand der Grab- und Siedlungsfunde von Budaörs-Kamaraerdei Flur*. In: E. Droberjar, B. Komoróczy (eds.), *Römische und germanische Fibeln in Mitteleuropa (Archäologie der Barbaren 2012)*, Brno 2017, 143–155.
Moga 1985	V. Moga, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane: Legiunea a XIII-a Gemina*, Cluj-Napoca 1985.
Nemeti, Nemeti 2017	I. Nemeti, S. Nemeti, *La scène du banquet funéraire en Dacie romaine: l'image renversée du quotidien des vivants*, RAE, 44, 2017, 35–46.
Paki 1998	A. Paki, *Populația din Dacia de nord în lumina izvoarelor epigrafice*, unpublished PhD thesis, Cluj-Napoca 1998.
Pop, Moga, Aldea 1972	C. Pop, V. Moga, I. Al. Aldea, *Noi medalioane funerare lucrate aparte din Dacia Superior*, ActaMN, 9, 1972, 505–516.
Protase, Zrínyi 1994	D. Protase, A. Zrínyi, *Castrul roman și așezarea civilă de la Brâncovenești (jud. Mureș). Săpăturile din 1970–1987*, Marisia, 23–24, 1994, 73–169.
Riha 1979	E. Riha, *Die römischen Fibeln aus Augst und Kaiseraugst*, Augst 1979.
Rothe 2009	U. Rothe, *Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire*, BAR 2038, Oxford 2009.
Rothe 2012	U. Rothe, *Clothing in the Middle Danube provinces*, JÖAI, 81, 2012, 137–231.
Rothe 2013	U. Rothe, *Die norisch-pannonische Tracht – gab es sie wirklich?*. In: G. Grabherr, B. Kainrath, T. Schierl (eds.), *Relations Abroad. Brooches and other elements of dress as sources for reconstructing interregional movement and group boundaries from the Punic Wars to the decline of the Western Roman Empire*, Innsbruck 2013, 34–48.

Saunderson, Grömer, Formato 2022	K. Saunderson, K. Grömer, L. C. Formato, *Missing Link: Early Roman textiles and Norico-Pannonian female dress from Potzneusiedl, Austria*, ATR, 64, 2022, 28–38.
Sáró 2018	C. Sáró, *Roman fibulae as part of women's costume: examination of tombstones from Komárom-Esztergom County*. In: L. Borhy, K. Dévai, K. Tankó (eds.), *Celto-Gallo-Roman. Studies of the MTA-ELTE Researsch Group for Interdisciplinary Archaeology*, Paris 2018, 259–279.
Sáró 2021	C. Sáró, *Tradition and Romanization by the attire of the Eraviscus tribe*, DissArch, 3, 9, 2021, 337–357.
Sáró 2022	C. Sáró, *Norico-Pannonian Belt Accesories from North-Eastern Pannonia*. In: T. B. Balogh, O. Láng, P. Vámos (eds.), *AQUINCUM ÆTERNUM. Studia in honorem Paula Zsidi*, Budapest 2022, 289–309.
Sedlmayer 1995	H. Sedlmayer, *Die römischen Fibeln von Wels*, Wels 1995.
Țeposu Marinescu 1976	L. Țeposu Marinescu, *Despre îmbrăcămintea populației din provincia Dacia*, MN, 3, 1976, 125–132.
Țeposu Marinescu 1982	L. Țeposu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*, BAR 128, Oxford 1982.
Wallace-Hadrill 2008	A.Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2008.
Wedenig 2008	R. Wedenig, *Die norisch-pannonische Tracht im epigraphischen Kontext. Zur Datierung der beschrifteten Grabsteine bei J. Garbsch*. In: C. Franek, S. Lamm, T. Neuhauser, B. Porod, K. Zöhrer, *Thiasos. Ferstchrift für Erwin Pochmarski zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien 2008, 1135–1146.
White, Beaudry 2009	C. L. White, C. Beaudry, *Artifacts and personal identity*. In: T. Majewski, D. Gaimster (eds.), *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, New York 2009, 209–277.

Florian Boișteanu
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
florianboisteanu@yahoo.com



1



2



3

Pl. I. 1. Funerary medallion from Apoldu de Sus (LUPA 15037; http://lupa.at/15037); **2.** Fragmentary funerary *stela* from Apulum (LUPA 11070; http://lupa.at/11070); **3.** Fragmentary funerary *stela* from Apulum (LUPA 11139; http://lupa.at/11139).



1



2



3



4

Pl. II. 1. Fragmentary funerary *stela* from Apulum (LUPA 11690; http://lupa.at/11690); **2.** Fragmentary funerary pillar monument from Apulum (LUPA 15328; http://lupa.at/15328); **3.** Fragmentary funerary relief from Apulum (LUPA 19424; http://lupa.at/19424); **4.** Funerary medallion from Apulum (LUPA 21942; http://lupa.at/21942).



Pl. III. 1. Fragmentary funerary *stela* from Apulum (after Ciongradi 2007, 168, S/A 28); **2.** Fragmentary funerary *stela* from Apulum (after Ciongradi 2007, 177, S/A 60); **3.** Fragmentary funerary monument from Apulum (after Ciongradi 2007, 255, M/A 10); **4.** Fragmentary funerary *stela* from Apulum (după Ciongradi 2007, 178, S/A 62).



1



2



3

Pl. IV. 1. Funerary *aedicula* from Apulum (LUPA 15331; http://lupa.at/15331); **2.** Aedicula wall from Apulum (photo by M. Ciută)**; 3.** Funerary medallion on pedestal with lions from Brucla (after Ciongradi 2007, 485, Taf. 115, Brucla).



Pl. V. 1. Funerary *stela* from Cristești (photo by N. Man, MJM); **2.** Funerary *stela* from Cristești (photo by N. Man, MJM); **3.** *Aedicula* wall from Cristești (after Man 2011, 222, no. 1); **4.** *Aedicula* wall from Cristești (after Man 2011, 223, no. 2).



1



2



3

Pl. VI. 1. *Aedicula* wall from Cristești (photo by N. Man, MJM); **2.** Funerary medallion from Micia (LUPA 15040; http://lupa.at/15040); **3.** Funerary *stela* from Războieni-Cetate (MNIT, v 60980), photo by S. Odenie, ©MNIT.



1



2

Pl. VII. 1. Funerary *stela* from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (LUPA 15021; http://lupa.at/15021); **2.** *Aedicula* wall from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (LUPA 15078; http://lupa.at/15078).



1



2

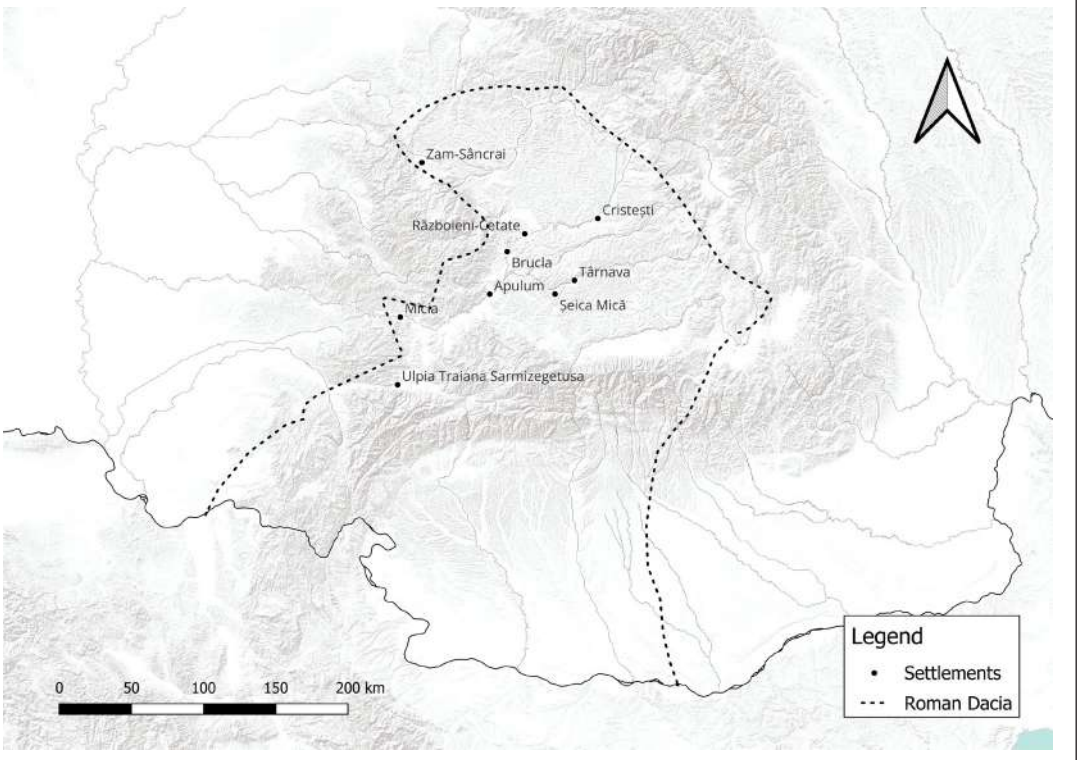


3

Pl. VIII. 1. Funerary *stela* from Șeica Mică (LUPA 14991; http://lupa.at/14991); **2.** Funerary medallion from Târnava (LUPA 15097; http://lupa.at/15097); **3.** Funerary *stela* from Târnava (LUPA 17360; http://lupa.at/17360).

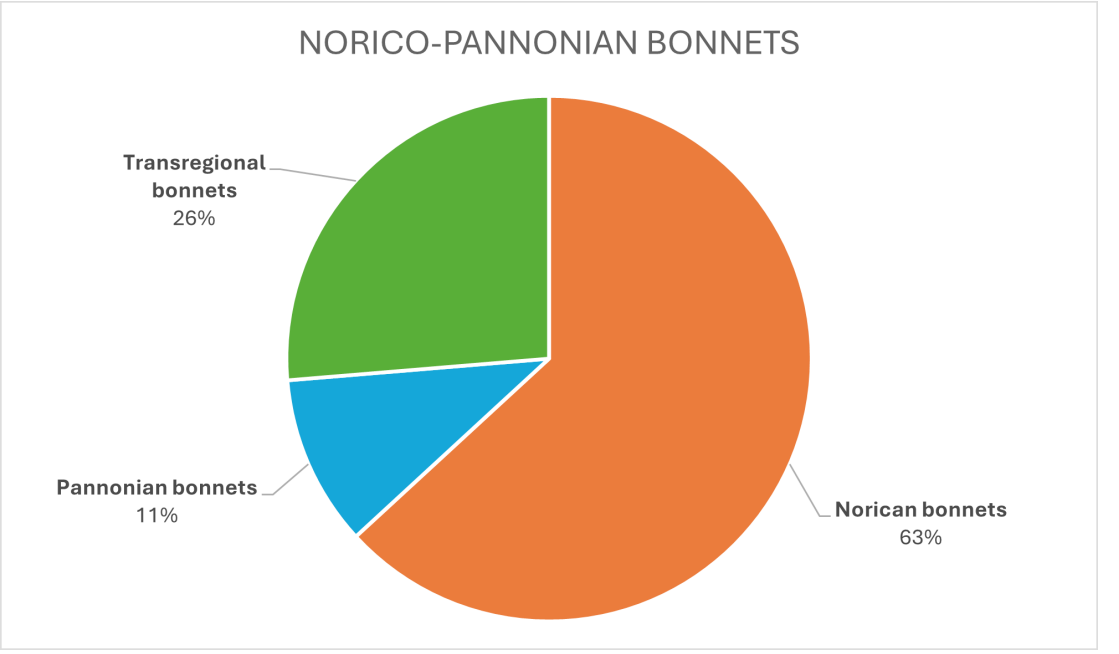


1

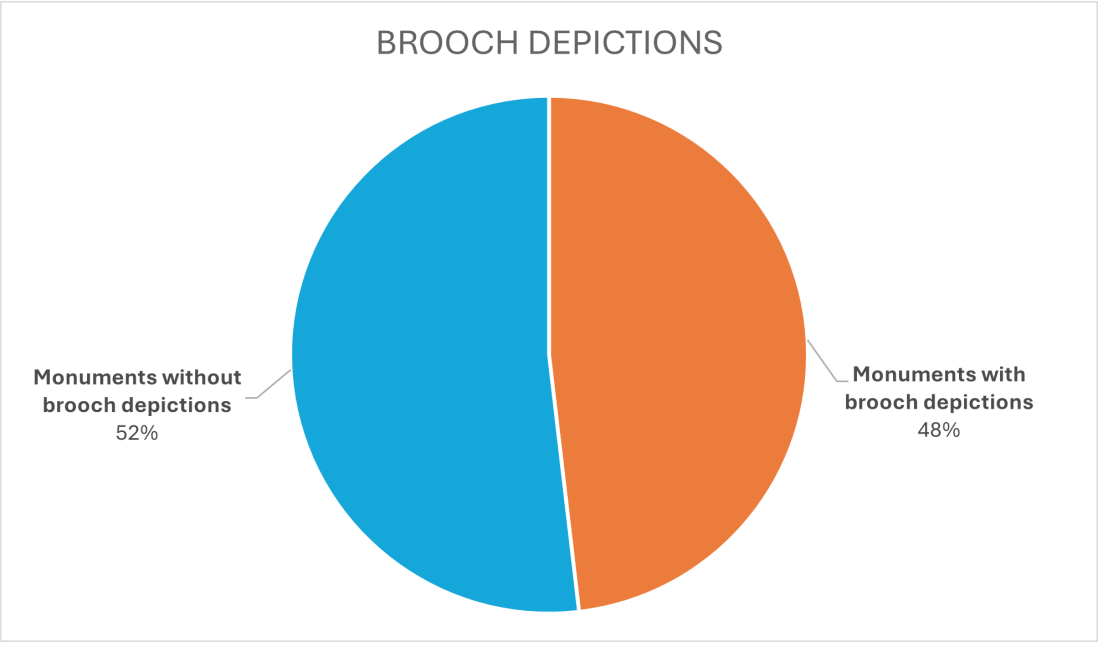


2

Pl. IX. 1. Funerary *stela* from Sâncraiu (LUPA 12326; http://lupa.at/12326); **2.** Spatial distribution of the *Norico-Pannonian* representations.

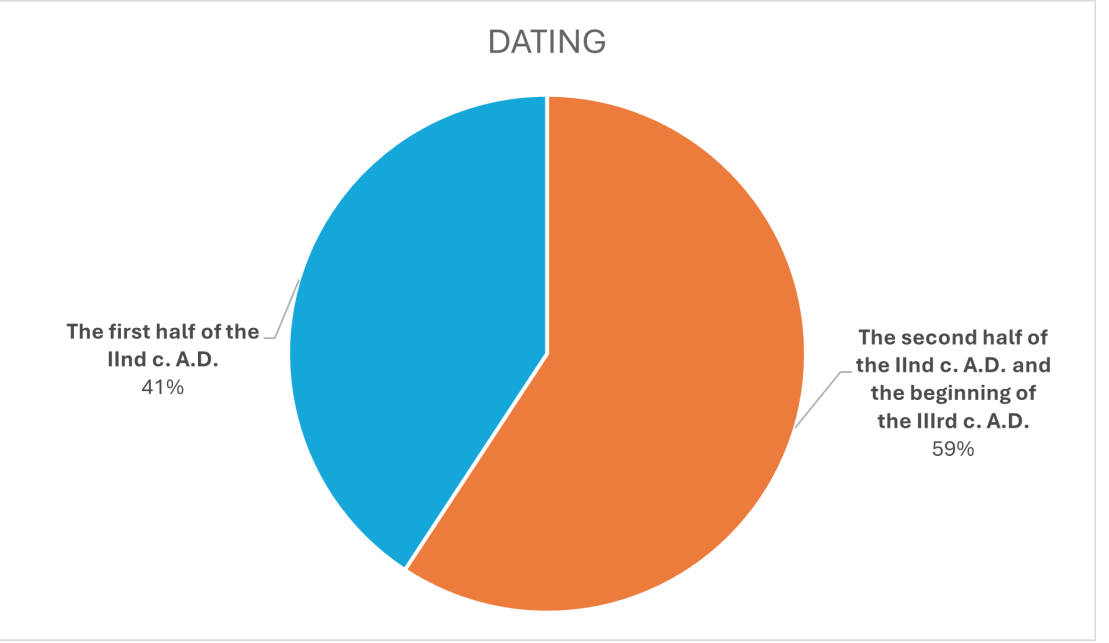


1



2

Pl. X. 1. Origin of the *Norico-Pannonian* bonnets subtypes from Roman Dacia; **2.** Brooch depictions from Roman Dacia.



Pl. XI. Dating distribution of the monuments in Roman Dacia.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 69–97

THE ROMAN TRANSALPINA

FELIX MARCU, TEODOR MUNTEAN

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.03

Abstract: This study investigates the Roman Transalpina route and its relation to the modern Transalpina road (DN67C) in the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains. By analyzing newly identified marching camps at Rânca and Poiana Muierii alongside previously known sites like Crac-Găuri and Vârful lui Pătru, the paper reconstructs the Roman military advance towards the Dacian fortresses. Using digital tools such as Airborne Laser Scan (ALS) and Least Cost Path (LCP) analysis, the research clarifies the trajectory of Roman routes, highlighting the strategic planning behind their construction. The inclusion of these camps in the UNESCO World Heritage List underlines their historical significance, offering insights into Roman logistics and mountain warfare.

Keywords: Roman temporary camps; marching camps; Roman roads; Transalpina; Parâng Mountains; Șureanu Mountains; Roman military strategy; Dacian Wars; UNESCO World Heritage.

Rezumat: Acest studiu explorează ruta Transalpinei romane și legătura sa cu Transalpina modernă (DN67C) din Munții Parâng și Șureanu. Prin analiza unor castre de marș recent descoperite la Rânca și Poiana Muierii, alături de situri cunoscute precum Crac-Găuri și Vârful lui Pătru, analiza reconstruiește avansul militar roman către cetățile dacice. Utilizând instrumente digitale precum ALS și analiza LCP, cercetarea clarifică traiectoria rutelor romane, subliniind planificarea strategică din spatele construcției lor. Includerea acestor castre pe Lista Patrimoniului Mondial UNESCO evidențiază importanța lor istorică, oferind perspective asupra logisticii și tacticilor militare romane în teren montan.

Cuvinte-cheie: castre romane temporare; castre de marș; drumuri romane; Transalpina; Munții Parâng; Munții Șureanu; strategie militară romană; războaiele dacice; Patrimoniu Mondial UNESCO.

The Modern Transalpina

The Transalpina[1] (DN67C) is a spectacular route that traverses the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains, connecting Oltenia to Transylvania. The road reaches a maximum altitude of 2,145 meters at Urdele Pass and spans a total length of 148 km, linking Novaci (Gorj County) to Sebeș (Alba County). It also crosses other mountain passes, such as Tărtărău and Mutinu.

Constructed during the reign of King Carol II in the 1930s, the road is also known by its alternative name, the "King's Road".[2] According to historical accounts, the king traveled

[1] In medieval sources, this term was used to describe Wallachia, but it also referred to territories in Transylvania, with "Alps" serving as a general equivalent for "mountain" (e.g., Giurăscu 1943, 8, 118, 346, 355), regardless of direction.

[2] The idea of constructing the road appears to have preceded its actual realization. The need for a project to create a road crossing the Parâng Mountains was mentioned as early as 1731, envisioned to follow the old transhumance route between Novaci and Sebeș (Florea 2002, 49). Implementation began much later, based

along this route with his family on an official journey, personally attending its inauguration in 1939.

The most challenging segment of the road lies in the section closed to traffic during winter, stretching from Obârșia Lotrului to the northern entrance of the Rânca resort. The elevation gain to Urdele Pass is 845 meters, with an average grade of nearly 2.82%.

The Transalpina was rebuilt by the German army during World War II for strategic purposes, subsequently modernized multiple times during the post-communist era, and completely rehabilitated between 2009 and 2012. It remains a seasonal route due to weather conditions.

Sources

References regarding the use of the Transalpina during the Middle Ages and the modern period are scarce and indirect but relatively diverse. These include historical accounts, archaeological findings, geographical studies, and specialized works describing road infrastructure from those times.[3]

It is generally "known" that the "King's Road" essentially paved an older path historically used, particularly by shepherds, and known as the "Devil's Path". This trail served as a route for transhumance, connecting Transylvania to Oltenia.[4]

On the First Military Survey Maps of the Habsburg Empire, several routes, likely trails, cross the mountains in this area. The route of interest begins in the Novaci Streini area, passes through Rânca (which did not yet exist at the time), but diverges from today's Transalpina route. Instead of continuing near Urdele Peak, it veers northwest, crossing the Lotru River near Groapa Seacă Pass. From here, it splits into two directions: one heading north through Tărtărău Pass, resembling the modern Transalpina, and another heading northwest through Poiana Muierii and Smida Mare.

The latter route reaches a crossroads at the pass between Auşeu Peak ("Vurvu Ausohely") and Pătru Peak ("Vurvu lu Petri"). From this point, one of the main routes

on plans by engineer A. Diaconovici from the late 19th or early 20th century, initiated by lawyer D. Brezulescu. An intriguing anecdote suggests that Prime Minister Gh. Tătărăscu himself traversed the shepherds' path on horseback in 1934, traveling from Novaci to Rânca: https://adevarul.ro/stiri-locale/targu-jiu/secretele-fabuloasei-transalpina-cum-s-a-1604523.html.

[3] Some Romanian or Transylvanian chronicles might indirectly reference trade routes and mountain roads. For instance, Mihail Moxa's Chronicle (1620) (*Cronograful lui Mihail Moxa*, Mihăescu 2006) and other contemporary chronicles mention transit routes between Wallachia and Transylvania. On Giovanni Morando Visconti's map from 1699, the only roads crossing the mountains from the south are depicted as those along the Olt River ("Via Carolina") and the one through Vulcan Pass. P. M. Florea (2002, 49) also notes Austrian plans to develop a road in this region: https://maps.hungaricana.hu/en/HTITerkeptar/367/view/?bbox=5974%2C-7897%2C19040%2C-1404). Indeed, in the first half of the 18th century, only a narrow path is mentioned in this area, starting from Polovragi through Novaci and heading toward Sebeșul Săsesc, with no apparent potential to be transformed into a proper road, despite the aspirations of "His Excellency". The capital of Oltenia was established in Târgu Jiu, from where access could be ensured via Bumbești, over the mountains at Plaiul Jiului, and then "along the old road" through Vulcan Pass to Baru, the first customs point in Transylvania. Replacing the old road through this pass – the only accessible route at the time – with one through the Jiu Valley was suggested, as it would have been far easier than the route along the Olt Valley (as described by Friedrich Schwantz von Springfels and reproduced in Holban et alii 1997, especially 49, 59–60).

[4] It is by no means certain that the pejorative term refers to the route of the future Transalpina. Transhumance paths, in fact, typically follow the mountain ridges.

follows the dirt road still used today to access the Șureanu Ski Resort via the Aușel chairlift and the Curmătura and Șureanu drag lifts. This route bypasses Șureanu Peak to the south, continuing beyond Comărnicel Hill ("Dl. Komarnitzel").[5]

From here, the ridge road, after passing near Negru Hill ("Dealul Niagra"), splits again at Șinca Saddle. One branch heads west ("Dealul Stjaua mika – Dealul Godian – Dealul Munșel mare"), while the other leads northeast ("Dealul Batrina – Dealul Šipša mika – Dealul Groscior").

Roman and Contemporary Mountain Trails

It was hypothesized that the route passing through the Roman camp on Muntele Bătrâna and the one at Muncelu-Lăutoarea – or possibly both – could have provided access to the Dacian fortress at Cugir.[6] However, it seems more likely that the route did not cross the Cugir Valley all the way to the Muncelu-Lăutoarea camp, as the direct route was simpler. This path is followed today by two modern mountain trails: 22MN11 (red triangle, Cugir – Șureanu Cabin), which branches off at Șinca Saddle and passes through "Muntele Bătrâna"; and 22MN12 (red dot, Prislop Cabin – Curmătura). These trails reconnect near Tău Lupșii.

Other routes proposed in 2020 suggested a path from or to the Dacian fortress at Bănița, passing through the known Roman camp at Jigorul Mare. Another route, running parallel to the "King's Road," remains less clearly defined, particularly regarding its exact course. The Roman camp at Crac-Găuri, which was thoroughly analyzed in a relatively recent study, also featured in these considerations (see *infra*).

Another route used by the Romans during their advance toward the Dacian fortresses in the Șureanu Mountains, whether originating from Țara Hațegului or Vulcan Pass,[7] entered the mountains near Ohaba Ponor, crossing Poiana Omului.[8]

[5] On the First Military Survey (1769–1773), part of the Habsburg cartographic efforts, transhumance routes and narrow trails are often depicted traversing the mountain ridges. However, no clear indication exists that these paths aligned with the route of the future Transalpina, as such roads were primarily used for seasonal pastoral activities rather than structured infrastructure: https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/firstsurvey-transylvania/?layers=142&bbox=2617332.8359696907%2C5901654.595075699%2C2639260.7084590006%2C5910502.181099707). Similarly, on the Second Military Survey (1853–1858; 1869–1870): https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/secondsurvey-transylvania/?layers=54&bbox=2620024.927089735%2C5699575.494894274%2C2630988.8633343903%2C5703999.287906278). The southern boundary of the province, likely marked in some places by a narrow trail (depicted with a thin brown line as "Feld- u. Waldwege"), was monitored by observation posts ("Wacht Hütte") and runs along the Lotru area. It follows Groapa Seacă Pass, through Poiana Muierii ("Pojana Majeri"), toward Vârful lui Pătru ("Vurvu Petru"), and further north. The actual border turns eastward after passing Poiana Muierii and Vârful Sălanele, aligning with today's county boundary between Hunedoara and Alba. These routes, still used by shepherds today, follow the mountain ridges and mathematically determined contour lines.

[6] From the camps on Dealul Comărnicel, considered an important intersection, the roads diverge after Dealul Negru and Muntele Rovina into two main routes. The first route heads west through Șteaua Mică to Godeanu and then to Muncelu, from where it descends to Sarmizegetusa Regia. The second route follows the ridge from Muntele Bătrâna, through Șipcia and Dealul Groșilor, reaching Preluca Groșilor and continuing to Muncelu-Lăutoarea, eventually arriving at the fortress of Căpâlna (Marcu, Szabó 2020).

[7] Stefan 2005, 577.

[8] Marcu 2024.

The Roman Transalpina

In the collective mindset, the myth that the modern Transalpina overlaps with an ancient Roman road is widely entrenched, a notion frequently echoed in various media publications. However, there is no evidence to support the idea that it follows the same route as the modern road.

It is evident that the Roman route must have connected key stopping points, which were likely the marching camps established en route to the Dacian fortresses (Pl. I/1). As of now, the only known Roman camps along the route crossing the mountains toward the Dacian fortresses are those at Crac-Găuri (Pl. I/2) and Vârful lui Pătru (Pl. III/1). From there, the route leads to the fortifications on Comărnicel (Pl. III/2).[9]

The marching camps in the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains were recently added to the UNESCO World Heritage List as part of Sector 8 of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire – Dacia nomination (https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1718/).

The Roman Camp at Crac-Găuri

The Roman camp at Crac-Găuri is located 250 meters southeast of Coasta lui Rus Mică and 50 meters from Valea Găuri. Initially, the first toponym was preferred,[10] but later the second became more commonly used.[11] The camp lies east of Curmătura Țiganului and the small peak known as La Urși, north of Valea Găuri, south of Șaua Huluzu and Tăul Huluzu, and west of Zănoaga or Căldarea Găuri.

The camp has an irregular shape, with a variable width ranging from 145 meters (on the northern side) to a maximum of 171 meters (on the southern side) and a maximum length of 290 meters, covering an area of approximately 4.16 hectares (Pl. XIII/3).[12] It is situated on a steep slope with a maximum incline of about 30%, featuring an elevation difference of approximately 75 meters.[13] The upper part, located to the north, lies on a gentler slope and features *tituli* at the front, along the middle of the side, and laterally near the corners of the fortification. Furthermore, where the steeper slope begins, a linear anomaly visible in the Digital Terrain Model (DTM) divides the camp into two sections, with the upper section covering 2 hectares (Pl. II).[14]

The camp appears isolated in the Parâng Mountains, at a considerable distance from the Roman fortifications in the Șureanu Mountains. The nearest camp, located at Vârful lui Pătru, is approximately 25 km away. Crac-Găuri camp has been compared to the stone-enclosed camp at Bumbești Jiu-"Gară". Roman troops are thought to have reached the

[9] The routes were analyzed in Oltean 2012 and Teodor et alii 2018.

[10] The camp was first identified in 2008 with two-thirds of the camp located on a slope with a gradient of 23.46% (Oltean 2012, 512–519, i.56–57).

[11] Published more comprehensively in Teodor et alii 2018.

[12] The measurements were conducted on a DTM (Digital Terrain Model), using the axis of the ditches as reference.

[13] It is assumed that the purpose was to reduce the visibility of the camp from the north (Vârful Ciobanului), suggesting defensive purposes, Teodor et alii 2018, 82.

[14] Similar to the double camp at Comărnicel, these are considered annexes for housing pack animals (Teodor et alii 2018, 83), though the arguments are insufficient, as the structures at Comărnicel are more likely to represent different phases of the fortification.

camp via Arșeni – Chiciura Mocirlii – Muncel – Moldivișu (21 km), where a rest stop would have been necessary.[15]

After descending from Vârful Muncel, the proposed route merges with the current trail marked with a red cross, which runs from Crasna to Vârful Parângul Mare and continues toward the newly discovered camp.

The distance from the Crac-Găuri fortification to the one between Platoul Aușel and Vârful lui Pătru appears reasonable for a day's march (25–26 km), but it would have been challenging along mountain paths. The route to Vârful lui Pătru passed through Groapa Seacă Pass and Poiana Muierii,[16] as noted earlier, following the old trails marked on Habsburg military maps. This path also marked the border between Transylvania and Romania until 1918.

Two new fortifications were recently discovered along this route, further clarifying the path taken by the Romans and revealing the patterns they adhered to in constructing and positioning their marching camps.

Newly Identified Temporary Camps

1. Rânca

The first Roman camp definitively identified south of the well-known camp at Crac-Găuri is located at the exit of the Rânca tourist resort (Pl. IV/1–2). The modern Transalpina road intersects the site in at least two points. The camp is positioned where the most challenging ascent towards Vârful Păpușa begins, not far from the base of the Rânca chairlift (Novaci commune), just west of Mușetăia Stream and south of Păpușa Stream, between kilometers 34 and 35 of DN67C.[17]

The camp's ditch is clearly visible in Airborne Laser Scan (ALS) imagery but less discernible on the ground, as the rampart has been flattened, as a clear fact in the topographic profiles, where the only visible anomalies are the ditches.[18] The northwest side

[15] The distance from Bumbești-Gară to Vârful Moldivișu is calculated at 21 km, making a stop necessary, either at Muncel or Moldivișu, cf. Oltean 2012, 515. This route is also accepted by other authors, Teodor et alii 2018, 86, n. 5.

[16] The same assumption was made previously regarding "an old border road," with the speed of Roman soldiers calculated at 2.5 kph, resulting in a journey of 10.5 hours, Oltean 2012, 517–520. For other mathematical calculations of Roman soldiers' speed, see also Teodor et alii 2018, 85–88, tab. 1.

[17] Kilometer 0 is considered to be in the locality of Bengești-Ciocadia. We extend our thanks to dr. Dinu Bereteu for pointing out the anomalies observed here on Google Earth in January 2023. The camp had been presented prior to this publication, most recently by the first author during the session titled "New Research on the Northeastern Limes of the Roman Province of Dacia," held on December 15, 2023, in Bistrița-Năsăud and organized by the local museum. Additionally, the camp was visited during the evaluation of the sites proposed for inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List under FRE-Dacia. This evaluation, conducted in the summer of 2023, was organized by the National Museum of Transylvanian History in collaboration with the National Heritage Institute and ICOMOS for the assessor Dr. Adrien Olivier. Ultimately, it was collectively decided not to include the site in the Nomination File due to risks associated with the modern road and the expansion of the ski resort. By the summer of 2024, these risks were underscored when three A-frame cabins were constructed in the northern corner of the camp.

[18] Airborne Laser Scanning (ALS) is a remote sensing technology that uses laser pulses emitted from an aircraft to measure distances to the Earth's surface. These measurements generate high-resolution 3D models of the terrain, including ground features and vegetation, by filtering out non-ground points. The ALS measurements were conducted in December 2023 in the frame of the National Limes Program, implemented

of the camp is not straight but curved, with a 12-meter-long interruption in the ditch about 25 meters from the northern corner. A *titulum* is formed approximately 11 meters in front of the fortification wall. The enclosure has an irregular rectangular shape with rounded corners, measuring approximately 240 × 186–254 meters (roughly 810 × 630–860 Roman feet) and covering an area of 5 hectares. The curvature of one of the sides is difficult to explain, as it is not related to the landscape or the terrain (Pl. XIII/2).

Midway along the short southwestern side, the ditch is again discontinuous, forming a second *titulum* constructed 9 meters in front of the southern wall. The ditch in this section is about 7 meters long, confirming the camp's attribution as a temporary Roman fortification.[19]

The camp is located approximately 9 km as the crow flies from the Crac-Găuri fort, situated on a slope with an average incline of around 7,80%, with the highest point ▲1840 m and the lowest ▲1754 m (Pl. V. Profile 1). Due to the terrain, this is the most challenging section of the entire Transalpine sector. To determine the optimal trail Least Cost Path (LCP), several possible pedestrian routes between the two fortifications were analyzed (Pl. VI/1).[20]

It is difficult to establish an alternative route to Șaua Urdele other than one passing by Vârful Păpușa and Vârful Urdele. The Romanul Stream to the west forms a U-shaped glacial valley that had to be bypassed, as evidenced by the construction of the modern Transalpina (DN67C) (Pl. IV/1–2). It is unclear whether the ancient path exactly overlaps with the modern road. The LCP analysis suggests that it would have climbed to Vârful Păpușa (▲2136 m) and followed the ridge to Vârful Urdele (▲2145 m).

---

by the Ministry of Culture through the National Museum of Transylvanian History, with the aim of clarifying the Roman strategy in this sector. The flight was conducted by SC Primul Meridian SRL, using a RIEGL VQ 1560i aerial laser scanning system, mounted on a Diamond DA42 aircraft, to ensure a density of 6–8 points/m², with an accuracy and precision of 20 mm.

[19] Hyg., *de mun. castr.* 49–50; Jones 2009.

[20] Least Cost Path analysis is a method used in GIS to determine the most efficient route or connection between two points based on a cost surface. The cost surface is a raster layer where each cell represents the "cost" of traversing that area, such as slope, land cover, or other constraints. To calculate the optimal path (LCP) through mountainous terrain, a python script was created and used in QGIS. This script implements an advanced GIS model, utilizing topographic data to determine the most efficient route. Initially, a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) is processed to generate a slope raster using the gdal: slope function, which calculates the slope of each cell by analyzing elevation variations between adjacent cells, resulting in a raster that represents the slope gradients of the terrain. The parameter max_slope = 20 is set to represent the maximum allowable slope, reflecting physical and logistical limitations. The cost surface is then created using gdal:rastercalculator with the formula (A <= 20) * A + (A > 20) * 1000, where A is the slope raster. In this formula, cells with a slope ≤20° receive a cost equal to the slope value, indicating the relative difficulty of traversal, while cells with a slope >20° are assigned a prohibitive cost of 1000, representing impassable areas or major obstacles. The vector layers for the start and destination points, named start_point and end_point, are loaded in QGIS to define the points between which the optimal path is calculated. The cumulative cost and direction rasters are computed using the grass7:r.cost function, which evaluates the minimum travel cost from the starting points across the cost surface, generating a cumulative cost raster that indicates the total cost required to reach each cell and a direction raster that records the optimal travel direction between cells. Finally, the least-cost path is extracted using grass7:r.drain, which traces the optimal path from the destination points back to the starting points, based on the cumulative cost and direction rasters. This results in a shapefile that represents the calculated optimal path, integrating slope constraints and the terrain's topography.

From Șaua Urdele, two routes can be inferred: one shorter and the other twice as long. The first route heads northwest, circling south of Vârful Cărbunele and descending into the Coasta Petresei Valley, reaching Valea Lotrului. It partially follows the modern mountain trail marked with a red cross (12MN07: Obârșia Lotrului Cabin – Șaua Piatra Tăiată).[21] From Valea Lacului, it ascends to the Crac-Găuri camp.

An alternative route, also highly plausible, runs along the main ridge of the Parâng Mountains, which coincides with the current administrative boundary between Hunedoara, Gorj, and Vâlcea Counties. This itinerary is further supported by the partial overlap with the current mountain trail running from Curmătura Oltețului in the east to Petroșani in the west (red stripe, 12MN01). While the entire trail is long and challenging, the section of interest – following the ridge – is of moderate difficulty. This route intersects both the LCP-generated path and the Transalpina (DN67C), overlapping with the latter at Șaua Urdele and the La Coasta Crucii Saddle.

From Șaua Urdele, the trail continues along the ridge through Șeile Mohorul and Pleșcoaia, passing Vârful Setea Mare (▲2365 m) to Șaua Piatra Tăiată, covering approximately 7 km. From there, it diverges from the main trail and follows another marked path (22MN17) northward. This route serves as a key link between the central areas of the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains and is believed to have been used by Roman soldiers during the early Dacian wars.

The mountain trail is divided into several segments. The first leads from Șaua Piatra Tăiată to Groapa Seacă Pass (DN 7A) (blue stripe, 12MN06), passing Vârful Coasta lui Rus (2300 m) and Vârful Găuri (▲2244 m). After approximately 4.5 km, it reaches the Crac-Găuri camp.

The only drawback of this route is that it involves a significant detour, resulting in a total distance of nearly 15,5 km, compared to the 11 km indicated by the LCP analysis.

2. Poiana Muierii

The second recently identified Roman camp is located midway between the Crac-Găuri camp and the one at Vârful lui Pătru, in the saddle south of Vârful Poiana Muierii (▲1756 m) (Pl. VI/2).[22] It is visible in aerial photographs and ALS scans (Pl. VII/2), though faintly, making its identification challenging. On Google Earth, if you know what to look for, parts of the northern and western sides of the camp can be discerned. A dirt road runs through the camp, likely overlapping with the path marked on Austrian maps. Today, this path corresponds to the administrative boundary between Vâlcea and Alba Counties.

From the eastern part of the saddle, almost entirely occupied by the fortification and near its southeastern corner, Pravăț Stream originates. The camp's ditch, as visible, forms a rectangle with rounded corners, enclosing an area of approximately 4.80 hectares.

ALS scans reveal all sides of the camp, though none are fully intact (Pls. VIII/1–2; XIII/4). The eastern side is slightly curved. Two interruptions in the enclosure can be distinguished, each with a short ditch extending in front. One is at the middle of the northern

[21] The classification was taken from the 1:50.000 maps in the "Munții Noștri" collection.

[22] Poiana Muierii continues to hold significant symbolic importance (both social and religious), as it remains the site of one of the largest mountain fairs ("Nedeie"). A border guard post was used here until 1918 (Oltean 2012, 519–520, 562–568), and the construction of a monastery is currently in the planning stage.

side, extending about 12 meters forward, while another is approximately 80 meters from the northeastern corner, projecting about 15–16 meters ahead of the main ditch. A faintly visible counterpart can also be observed on the northern side, about 75 meters from the northern corner, extending 18 meters in front of the enclosure.

The route from Crac-Găuri to Vârful lui Pătru was previously assumed, as discussed earlier, to pass through Poiana Muierii, which lies just north of this newly identified fortification. This path, still used by shepherds today, follows the former border trail and coincides with the current blue-striped marked trail (22MN17: Groapa Seacă Pass – Șureanu Cabin), a main route connecting the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains.

The route continues along the 12MN06 trail described earlier, which terminates at Groapa Seacă Pass (DN 7A). This segment is of moderate difficulty, with sparse markings, and continues north past Vârful Buha (▲1860 m) and Vârful Pravăț (Cotul Ursului: ▲1893 m) before descending into the low saddle (▲1668 m) where the camp is situated.

Conclusions

The route described above represents the mountainous portion of one of the paths taken by the Romans from the Danube during the Dacian Wars, overlapping with shepherds' paths and mountain trails (Pl. VIII/2). The exact starting point of this way is unknown, though it likely originated near Drobeta Turnu-Severin, where the large Roman camp at Schela Cladovei is documented by L. F. Marsigli and later by P. Polonic.[23] However, little is known about how this road connected to the modern Transalpina. The temporary camp at Bumbești-Pleșa, located on the right side of the Jiu River, seems to have been a stop along the route toward Vulcan Pass, which may have served as an alternative Roman route.

Another marching camp, possibly linked to the discussed Transalpina route, may have existed in this region, potentially identified as the Bumbești-Vârtop fort.[24] Naturally, there must have been additional stops between Schela Cladovei and Bumbești, given the distance of approximately 100 km, requiring at least four intermediary points. Similarly, another stop must have existed between Bumbești-Jiu and the mountainous ascent, as the distance to Novaci is about 35 km.[25]

It is also possible, though less likely, that the Romans approached from the east, even though the Dacian fortress at Polovragi, located approximately 15 km away, probably no longer existed in the 1st century AD.[26]

[23] With dimensions of 650 × 575 steps (1 step ≈ 0.75 m, 21 ha) (Condurățeanu 2017, 62–63, fig. 1) or 650 × 575 m (37.37 ha) (Tudor 1978, 300–301; Gudea 2001, 81; Stefan 2005, 279).

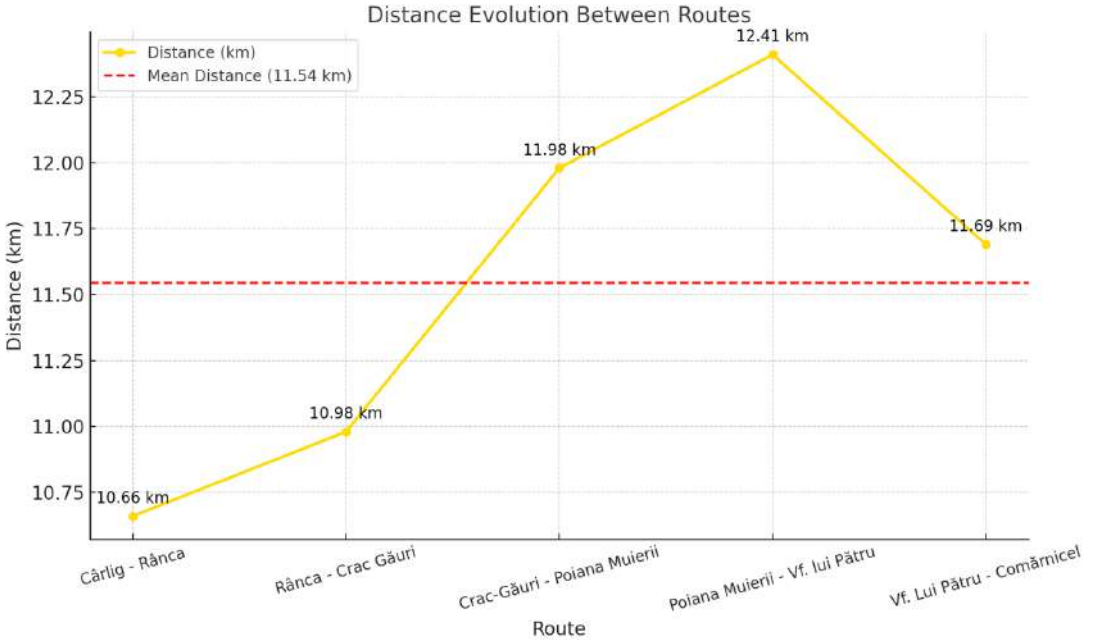
[24] The "earthen" camp is located approximately 800 m north of the better-known stone-enclosed fort. However, based on what remains, it does not appear to have been very large (126 × 115 m) (Tudor 1940, 18–20, 28–29). D. Oltean is "as certain as possible" that the unit stationed at the Bumbești-Gară camp is the one that reached Comărnicel, with stops at Coasta lui Rus Mică and Vârful lui Pătru, as these have identical dimensions (Oltean 2002, 424–425). This was later contradicted, based on differing chronologies, with the more likely starting point considered to be the camp at Bumbești-Vârtop (Teodor et alii 2018, 84, n. 4), which is even smaller (1.44 ha). The latter forts have similar dimensions, although the size of the first one is uncertain due to partial destruction by the Jiu River, leaving one nearly intact side measuring 167 m (Marcu 2009, 120).

[25] The route through Puținei – Cătune – Pinoasa is mentioned (Tudor 1978, 270).

[26] This is another alternative suggested by other authors; see Stefan 2005, 574; Teodor et alii 2018, 87–88. I. Glodariu, however, argues that it existed until the Dacian Wars, Glodariu 1983, 80–82.

The distances between the camps at Bumbești, Crac-Găuri, and Vârful lui Pătru – over 30 km and 25 km respectively – seemed too great to be covered in a single day.[27] This analysis aimed to determine the path taken by Roman soldiers toward the Dacian fortresses along the most challenging route through the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains by identifying two additional camps along this route: those at Rânca and Poiana Muierii. The first, as shown, served as a stop on the way to the Crac-Găuri camp (Pl. I/2), while the second acted as an intermediate point between the fortifications at Crac-Găuri and Vârful lui Pătru (Pls. VI/2; VII/1).

This reveals a Roman pattern in the mountains, with stages between camps measuring approximately 11.5 km, indicating highly precise planning of the route. The fact that this path only partially overlaps with the modern Transalpina is unsurprising, as the Romans avoided steep inclines, such as those between Urdele Pass and Obârșia Lotrului. Instead, they likely used mathematically determined contour lines, much like those used by shepherds for centuries and reflected in today's tourist trails.



Exhaustive calculations regarding the off-road marching velocity of Roman soldiers indicate an optimal daily distance of around 11.25 km, with 15–17 km being relatively easy to cover.[28] Thus, the average distance of 11.50–12 km between stops along the Roman

[27] It is assumed that the 36.2 km distance along the mentioned route from Bumbești to Crac-Găuri was covered in a single day, partly due to the lack of resistance from the Dacians. The first "Dacian resistance" is recorded near the last fort, at Vf. Ciobanul Mare, where the "first mountain battle" took place in Șaua Huluzu, cf. Oltean 2012, 518. Other authors, however, suggest that it would have taken 2 or even 3 days to cover the distances between Bumbești and Crac-Găuri and then to Vârful lui Pătru, estimating a total of 5 days of marching and thus implying the existence of additional camps along this route, Teodor et alii 2018, 86–87.

[28] S. Kaye provides a detailed analysis of the marching velocity of Roman soldiers on standard roads compared to their British or American counterparts. He concludes that the optimal speed for Roman legionaries was between 4.58–4.82 kph on standard roads and 2.41 kph on rough terrain, Kayle 2013, 24–28.

Transalpine route leading to the intersection point at Comărnicel is logical and consistent (Pl. IX/2).

Efforts to identify additional fortifications south of Rânca to clarify the route have thus far met with limited success. Based on the established pattern, ALS scans were used to search for anomalies at an average distance of 11–12 km (Pl. X/1). Notable terrain features were observed near La Cârlig at kilometer 31 of the modern Transalpina and 10.66 km south of the Rânca camp (Pls. X/2; XI/1; XIII/1). While linear anomalies are visible to the west, north, and south of this point, they are not distinct enough to confirm the presence of a Roman fortification.[29] On the left side of the road, uphill, continuous traces are clearly visible, partially overlapping a modern path. Slightly higher up, on the right side of the road, an elongated, irregular rectangular shape can be seen, with its western side, clearly visible, measuring approximately 290 m. To the south, another perpendicular side measures 123 m and curves northward, remaining visible for about 80 m.

Approximately 1.3 km further south, on the eastern slope of Dealul Scărița (Pls. XII/1; XIII/1), north of Plaiul Mare, additional traces reveal a faint rectangle outline to the east. This area, however, is characterized by steep ravines. The north-south side, which is the most distinct, measures over 350 m in length. A southern perpendicular ditch extends 50 m before terminating at a ravine. A possible eastern side spans approximately 90 m, but no definitive northern boundary is discernible, except for a feature on the west that is perpendicular to the northern end of the north-south axis and visible for about 270 m (Pl. XI/2).

In conclusion, the Transalpine route traversing the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains has become clearer, even though the section south of the mountains remains less defined. The camps at Rânca and Poiana Muierii have clarified the Roman pattern of advance toward the Dacian fortresses. From Poiana Muierii, the route spans just over 12 km, following shepherds' paths and current mountain trails (22MN17) past Vârful Ciuha (La Holoangă, ▲1663 m), Șaua Sălanele, and Vârful Smida Mare (▲1774 m). After Șaua Gura Potecului, the path ascends to Vârful lui Pătru (Pl. XII/2), from where, reaching Comărnicel is relatively easy (Pl. XII/3).

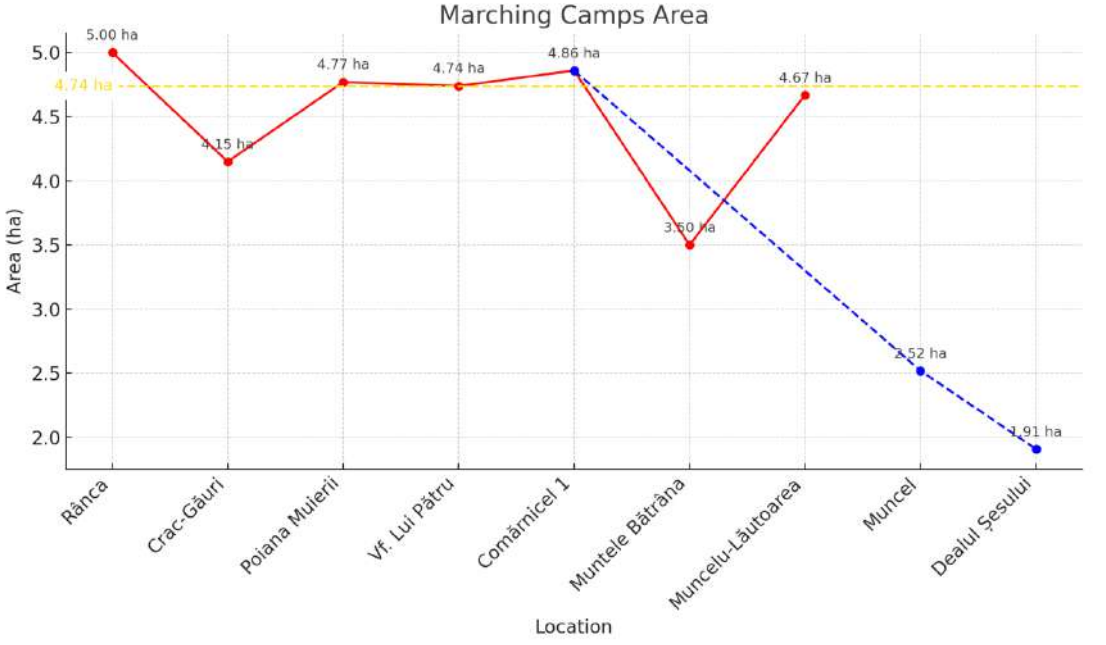
The modern mountain trail mentioned continues to Șureanu Cabin near Iezerul Șureanu, passing the Auțel ski slopes. However, to follow the Roman path, the trail diverges left from the Șureanu slopes (1, 2, 3) to intersect the red triangle-marked trail (22MN11: Cugir – Șureanu Cabin) that passes by Vârful Șureanu (▲2059 m). While this analysis does not address routes beyond the Comărnicel camps, it is worth noting that the last mentioned mountain trail continues toward Sarmizegetusa Regia, passing through Vârful Șteaua Mare (▲1730 m) and Vârful Șteaua Mică (▲1665 m). It intersects other trails leading near Vârful Godeanu (▲1656 m) and Muncel (▲1507 m), ultimately connecting to the Dacian capital.

Not far from Comărnicel, in Șaua Șinca, another trail branches off toward the camps on Muntele Bătrâna and Muncelu-Lăutoarea, eventually reaching the Dacian fortress

[29] Battles also took place in the area during World War I, so any anomalies may belong to this historical context, potentially indicating trenches. However, the main military operations occurred in the autumn of 1916 near Târgu Jiu and along the Jiu Valley, when Romanian soldiers blocked the southward advance of German and Austro-Hungarian forces, Alexandrescu et alii 1987, 778–779.

at Căpâlna.[30] Compared to the study that analyzed the two camps, we must make some corrections based on the new data obtained from ALS. The northern side of the camp on Muntele Bătrâna was previously impossible to detect, but it is now clearly visible, revealing an area of 3.5 hectares (Pl. XIII/7). On the other hand, the lateral *tituli* are not visible, except for the one on the southern side. However, the enclosure ditch is not interrupted in its vicinity, which seems unusual.[31] The camp at Muncelu-Lăutoarea is now also more clearly visible, where an additional feature, a possible *clavicula*, can be observed on the northern side (Pls. VIII/1/4; XIII/8). This feature would have been expected to face inward, as seen at Comărnicel and in most camps where it occurs, although it is much rarer compared to *tituli*.[32]

It is interesting that in almost all the camps discussed here, the rampart is nearly completely flattened, with the only visible elements being the enclosure ditches, unlike the temporary camps known in other parts of the Roman Empire.[33] The camps along the route under discussion vary slightly in shape but are generally rectangular (Pl. XIII), with their enclosures sharing common features, such as interrupted ditches forming *tituli*. *Claviculae* are visible only at the Comărnicel 1 camp (Pl. XIII/6) and the one at Muncelu-Lăutoarea (Pl. XIII/8).



[30] For several alternatives, see Marcu, Szabó 2020.

[31] It was assumed that the fortification on Muntele Bătrâna covers maximum 4.80 ha, mainly because the northern side was not clearly visible, Marcu, Szabó 2020, fig. 17.

[32] Typically, a *clavicula* is formed by curving the rampart and the ditch of the enclosure inward, always positioned on the right side of those entering. This creates a semicircular path designed to prevent direct access for attackers and to expose them to vulnerability on their right side, where the sword was traditionally held, Jones 2009 (especially Tab. 1.2, which highlights exterior *claviculae* for some camps); Bödecker 2012; Bödecker 2013, 131–132.

[33] Of course, an earthwork is formed by digging a ditch, so they should coexist, as is the case with Cawthorn C (N. Yorks), see Jones 2009, 13. For details regarding the typical shape of the camp's ditch at Muncelu-Lăutoarea, see Annexes, code 8.13 (https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1718/documents/).

The dimensions of the fortifications from Rânca to Comărnicel 1, as well as those on Muntele Bătrâna and Muncelu-Lăutoarea, are similar, further evidence of the comparable size of the Roman units that constructed them.[34] Notable exceptions are the Crac-Găuri camp, which stands out due to its unusual shape and position, and the camp on Muntele Bătrâna, which is the smallest along the route. The three or four fortifications at Comărnicel differ in size, with one having an irregular shape.[35] The small camp, conventionally named Comărnicel 1, is the closest in size to those on the Parâng Mountain route.[36] If we consider the theoretical estimate of 500–650 soldiers per hectare,[37] it means that along this route, between 2500 and 3000 soldiers would have advanced, equivalent to 5–6 legionary cohorts.

It is certain that the itineraries of the Roman armies were clearly and meticulously planned, as is the case with any professional military force, regardless of how challenging the routes may have been. Variations in the shapes and sizes of fortifications are evident, making it impossible to reconstruct all the strategies employed by the Romans. However, it is clear that they advanced along multiple paths toward the Dacian fortresses, marked by temporary camps and other traces, such as those found in conflict zones like Cioclovina-Ponorici.[38]

The purpose of this note was to identify a pattern in the advance of Roman armies through the mountainous region, aided by the discovery of two new marching camps located along the most challenging and longest route. This Transalpine itinerary began in the south, crossing the Parâng Mountains and extending into the Șureanu Mountains, with one of its final destinations likely being the fortress at Căpâlna. While it partially overlaps with the modern Transalpina, the routes beyond the intersection point at Comărnicel become more challenging to trace, as the distances and the areas occupied by the camps are no longer as consistent (Pl. XIV).

The distance to the nearest camp on Muntele Bătrâna is shorter, and from there, the next leg of the route continues towards the Dacian fortress at Căpâlna, the ultimate destination. However, the distance of over 17 km to Căpâlna is somewhat long. The fortress at Cugir could have been reached directly from Bătrâna, but the distance of over 25 km suggests that, if this was indeed an itinerary and they did not attack the fortress from the north, there were likely one or two additional camps along the route.

The sizes of the camps at Muncel,[39] if it is one, and Dealul Șesului[40] are also significantly smaller, indicating that the itinerary analyzed here heads towards the northeast. However, if it heads northwest, the forces must have been divided between the two or possibly other camps. The distances from Comărnicel towards Dealul Șesului and Muncel are also relatively long (c. 15 km).

[34] The dimensions of the areas may vary; in general, they were calculated considering the slopes, using the center of the ditches as reference, as the ramparts are usually flattened.

[35] For detailed images, see Micle et alii 2016, 735–737, where it is identified as Comărnicel III.

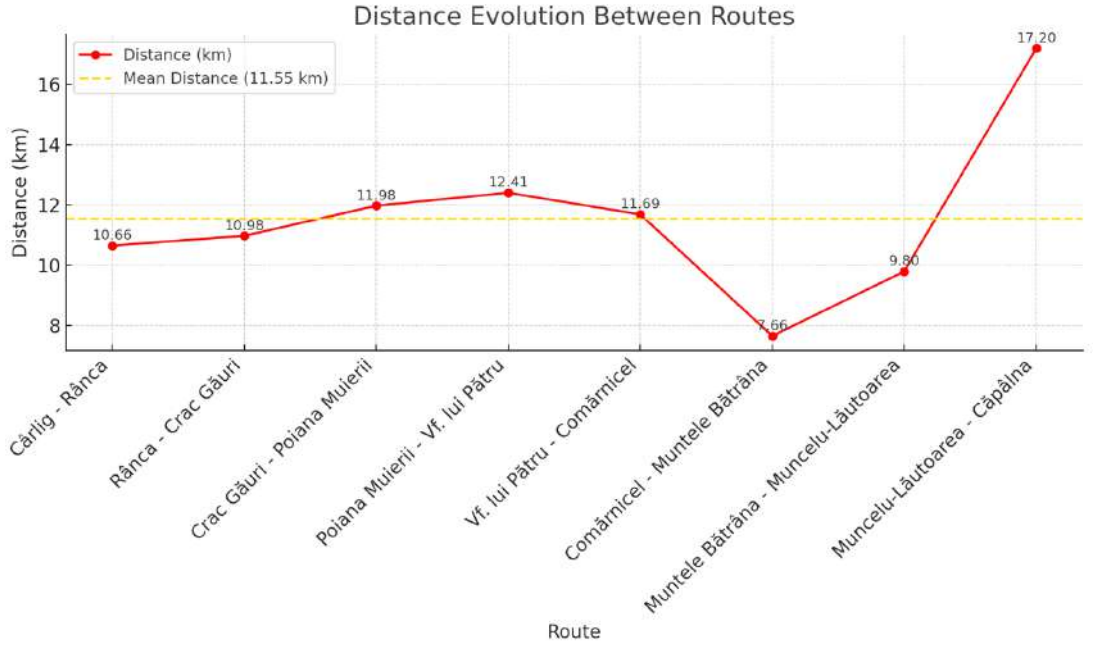
[36] It is certain that the fortification on Comărnicel, which appears to have an annex, actually represents different phases of construction – initially smaller, later expanded. In the nomination dossier for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire – Dacia, which includes detailed information on these fortifications, it is conventionally designated as 8.6.2: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1718/.

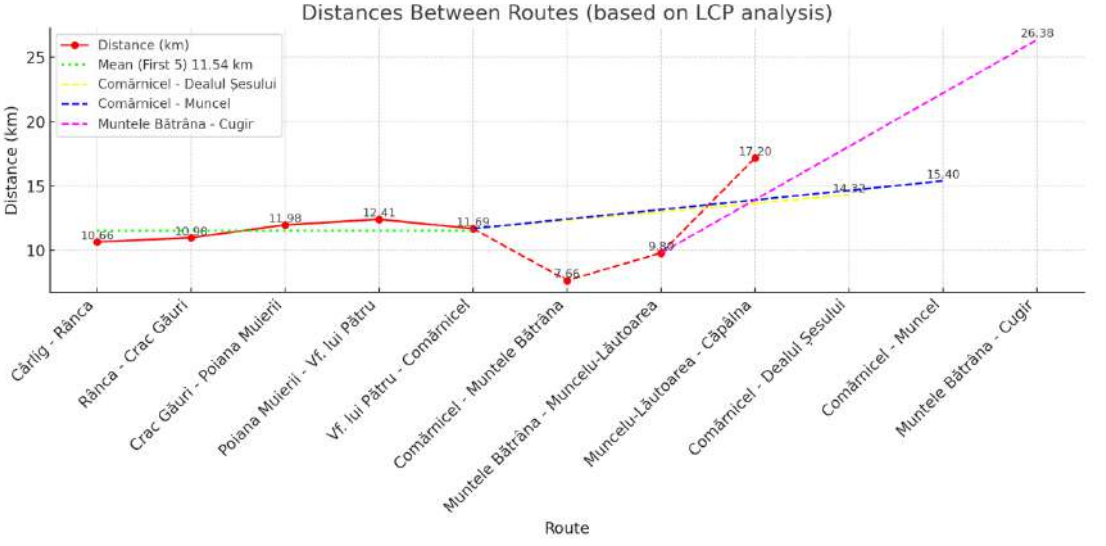
[37] Jones 2012, 109–120; Costa-Garcia 2019, Table 2.

[38] Marcu 2024.

[39] There are doubts that it is a Roman camp, Teodor, Peţan 2018a.

[40] Oltean, Hanson 2017, fig. 5.





The exact timeline of these events remains uncertain either. At Comărnicel 1, evidence of two phases of occupation is visible, suggesting the possibility that this route was first used during the First Dacian War. From Comărnicel, it is relatively easy to reach the fortresses at Bănița and *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, with the additional fortifications in this area demonstrating that it served as a key intersection point used during both Dacian Wars.

It remains unclear what the itinerary of the Roman troops in the Șureanu Mountains generally was, but we hope to have clarified to some extent one of the important attack routes and the pattern that the Romans followed across the Parâng and Șureanu Mountains. The forts at Comărnicel hold the key to resolving this question.

Bibliography

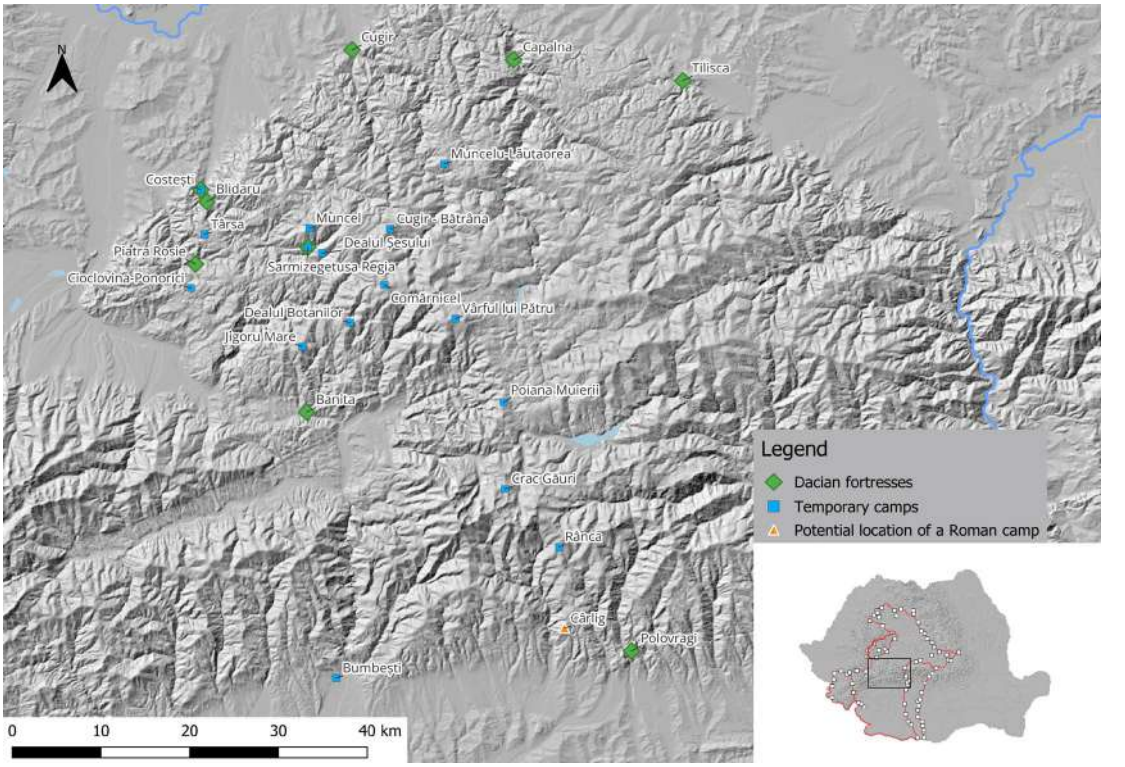
Alexandrescu et alii 1987	V. Alexandrescu et alii, *România în anii Primului Război Mondial*, 2, București 1987.
Bödecker 2012	S. Bödecker, *Römische Übungslager im Hinterland von Bonn.* In: P. Henrich (ed.), *Der Limes vom Niederrhein bis an die Donau*, Stuttgart 2012, 21–27.
Bödecker 2013	S. Bödecker, *Entdeckung römischer Übungslager im Kottenforst durch Airborne Laserscan*. In: J. Kunow, M. Trier (eds.), *Archäologie im Rheinland 2012*, Stuttgart 2013, 131–133.
Condurățeanu 2017	B. Condurățeanu, *Roman fortresses and sites along the Lower Danube: reconsidering a nineteenth century source in the light of modern cartography and satellite imagery*. In: E. C. de Sena, C. Timoc (eds.), *Romans in the Middle and Lower Danube Valley: Case Studies in Archaeology, Epigraphy, and History, 1st Century BC – 5th Century AD*, BAR IS 2882, Oxford 2017, 61–82.
Costa-Garcia, Gago, Fonte 2019	J. M. Costa-Garcia, M. Gago, J. Fonte, *The reassessment of the Roman military presence in Galicia and northern Portugal through digital tools: archaeological diversity and historical problems*, Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry, 19, 3, 2019, 17–49.
Florea 2002	P. M. Florea, *Transporturile în Țara Românească (secolul XIV-XIX)*, București 2002.
Giurăscu 1943	C. C. Giurăscu, *Istoria Românilor*, II, București 1943.
Glodariu 1983	I. Glodariu, *Arhitectura dacilor, civilă și militară (sec. II î.e.n.-I e.n.)*, Cluj-Napoca 1983.
Gudea 2001	N. Gudea, *Die Nordgrenze der Römnischen Provinzen Obermoesien. Materialen zu ihrer Geschichte (86–275 n.Chr.)*, JRGZM, 48, 2001, 3–118.
Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Cernovodeanu 1997	M. Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători străini despre țările române*, IX, București 1997.
Jones 2009	R. H. Jones, *"Lager mit claviculae" in Britannia.* In: W. S. Hanson (ed.), *The Army and Frontiers of Rome*, Portsmouth (RI) 2009, 11–24.
Jones 2012	R. H. Jones, *Roman camps in Britain*, Gloucestershire 2012.
Kayle 2013	S. Kayle, *Observations on marching Roman legionaries: velocities, energy expenditure, column formations and distances*, 2013, (https://bandaarcgeophysics.co.uk/arch/Roman_legionary_marchingV2.html).
Marcu 2024	F. Marcu, *A battlefield of the Dacian Wars*. In: H. van Enckevort, M. Driessen, E. Graafstal, T. Hazenberg, T. Ivleva and C. van Driel-Murray (eds.), *Strategy and Structures along the Roman Frontier. Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies 2*, LIMES XXV, 2, 2024, 439–446.
Marcu, Szabó 2020	F. Marcu, M. Szabó 2020, *New data on the Roman temporary camps in Șureanu Mountains*, ActaMN, 57, 1, 2020, 63–88.

Mândescu 2019	D. Mândescu, *Drumuri și trecători peste Carpați – primele reprezentări în cartografie*. In: C. Croitoru (ed.), *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in honorem Professoris Ionel Cândea septuagenarii*, București – Brăila 2019, 485–522.
Micle, Hegyi, Floca 2016	D. Micle, A. Hegyi, C. Floca, *Urme peste timp: topografierea castrelor romane de marş din Munții Șureanu*. In: D. Micle, A. Stavilă, C. Oprean, S. Forțiu (eds.), *ArheoVest IV: In Honorem Adrian BEJAN, Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie, Timișoara, 26 noiembrie 2016*, Szeged 2016, 715–744.
Mihăescu 2006	D. Mihăescu, *Cronografele românești*, București 2006.
Oltean 2012	D. Oltean, *Regii dacilor și războaiele cu romanii*, Deva 2012.
Oltean, Hanson 2017	I. Oltean, W. S. Hanson, *Conquest strategy and political discourse: new evidence for the conquest of Dacia from LiDAR analysis at Sarmizegetusa Regia*, JRA, 30, 2017, 429–446.
Rădvan 2007	L. Rădvan, *Drumuri de țară și drumuri de oraș în Țara Românească în secolele XVII-XVIII*. In: L. Rădvan (ed.), *Orașul din spațiul românesc între Orient și Occident. Tranziția de la medievalitate la modernitate*, Iași 2007.
Stefan 2005	A. S. Stefan, *Les guerres Daciques de Domitien et de Trajan: architecture militaire, topographie, images et histoire*, Rome 2005.
Teodor, Pețan, Hegyi 2018	E. S. Teodor, A. Pețan, A. Hegyi, *A 'new' Roman temporary camp in Parâng Mountains*, CA, 25, 2018, 77-90.
Teodor, Pețan 2018a	E. S. Teodor, A. Pețan, *Comments on the morphology of the hillfort from Muncel*. In: S. Forțiu (ed.), *ArheoVest VI, 2, In Memoriam Marian Gumă (1951–1998). Interdisciplinaritate în arheologie*, Szeged 2018, 683–706.
Tudor 1978	D. Tudor, *Oltenia romană*[4], București 1978.

Felix Marcu
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
felix.marcu@mnit.ro

Teodor Muntean
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
teodor.muntean@mnit.ro

Plans[41]



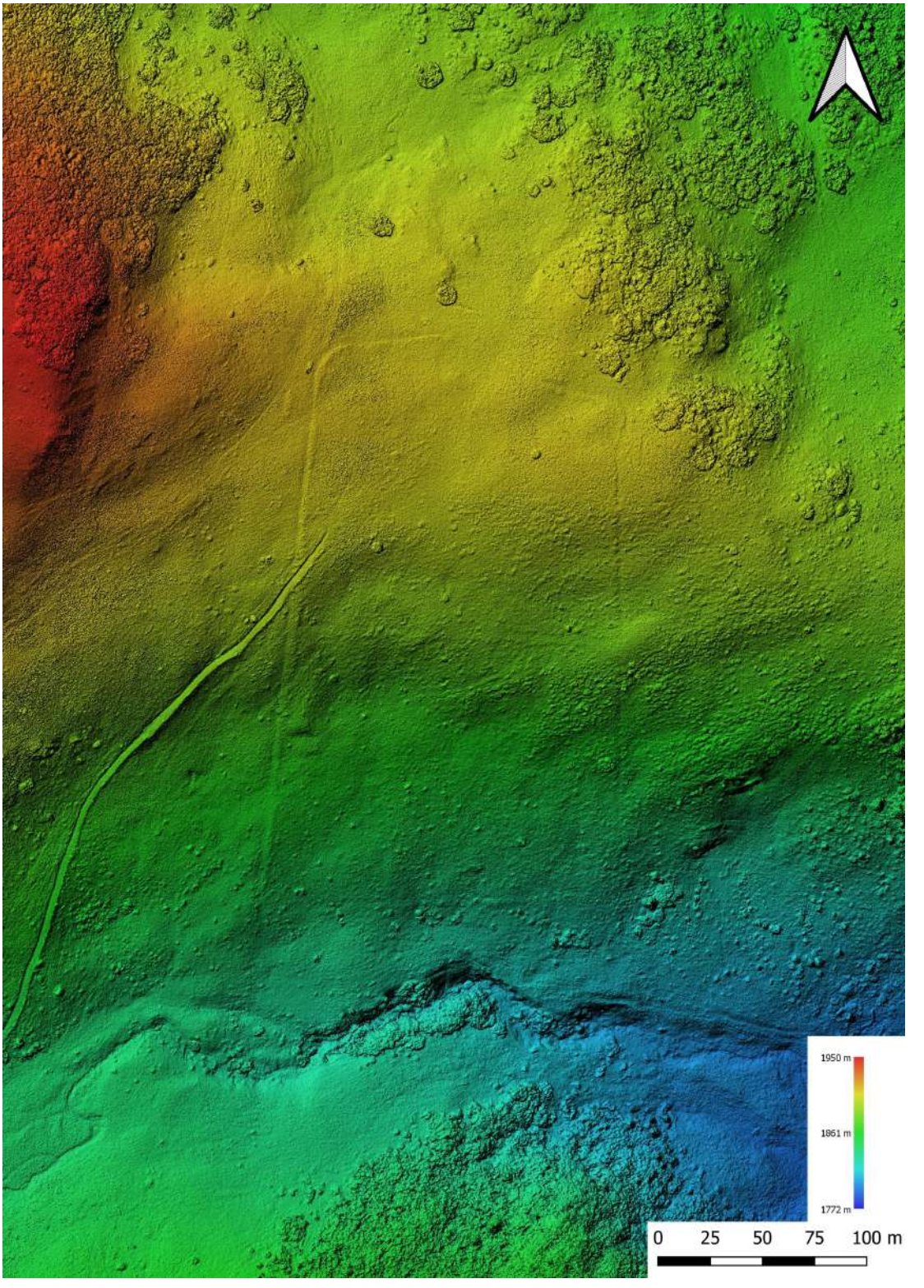
1



2

Pl. I. 1. Location of the marching camps and the Dacian fortresses in Șureanu and Parâng Mountains; **2.** The camp at Crac-Găuri, located in the lower section of the image (taken towards Vârful Setea Mare).

[41] The maps were created and processed by the authors. The aerial photographs were taken by Felix Marcu, except where otherwise noted. The ALS, LCP, and DTM data were processed by Teodor Muntean.



Pl. II. The camp at Crac-Găuri (DTM).



1



2

Pl. III. 1. The camp at Vârful lui Pătru (photo taken towards Poiana Muierii); **2.** The camp at Comărnicel (photo taken towards Vârful lui Pătru).

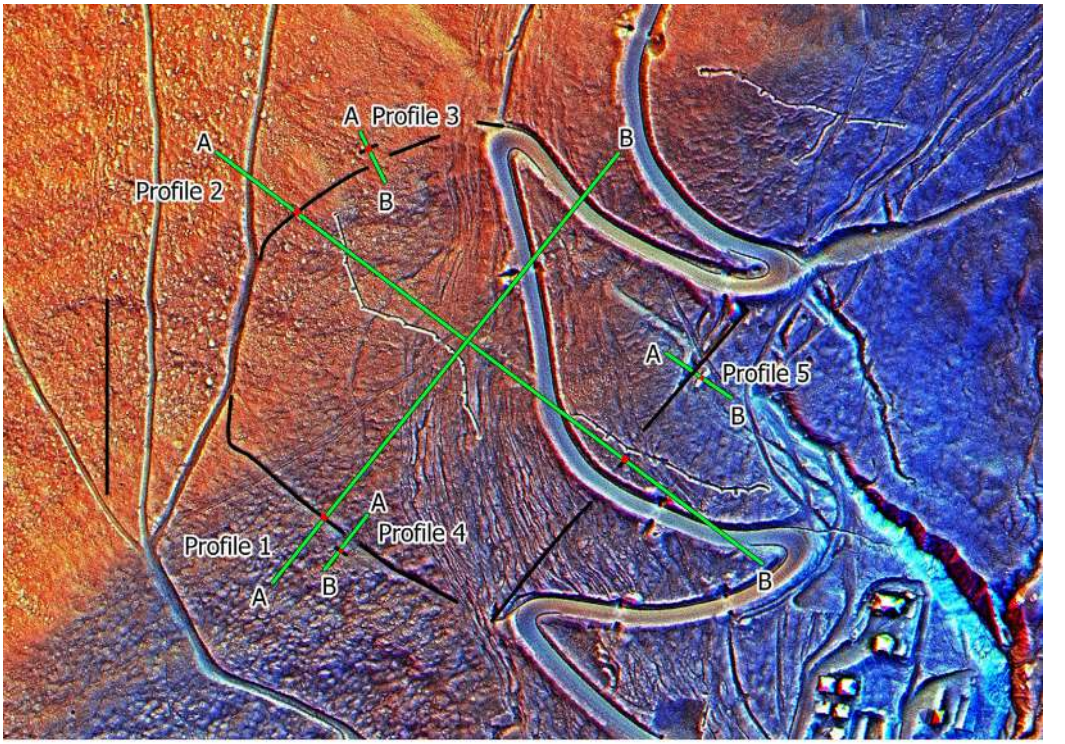


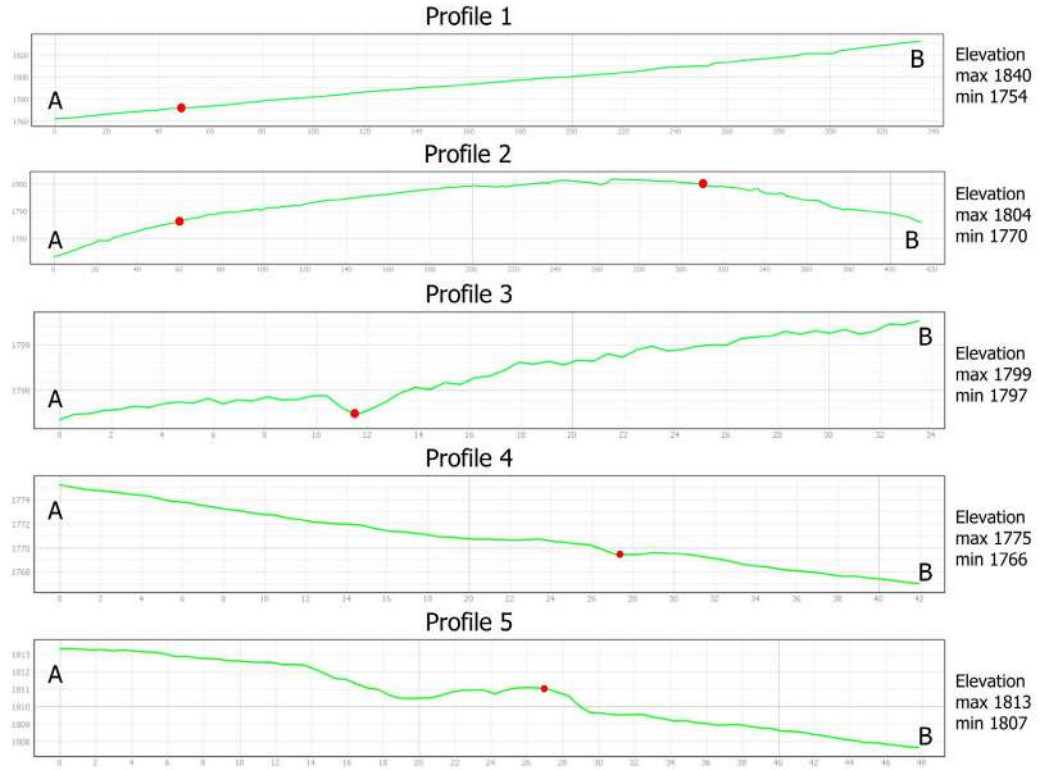
1



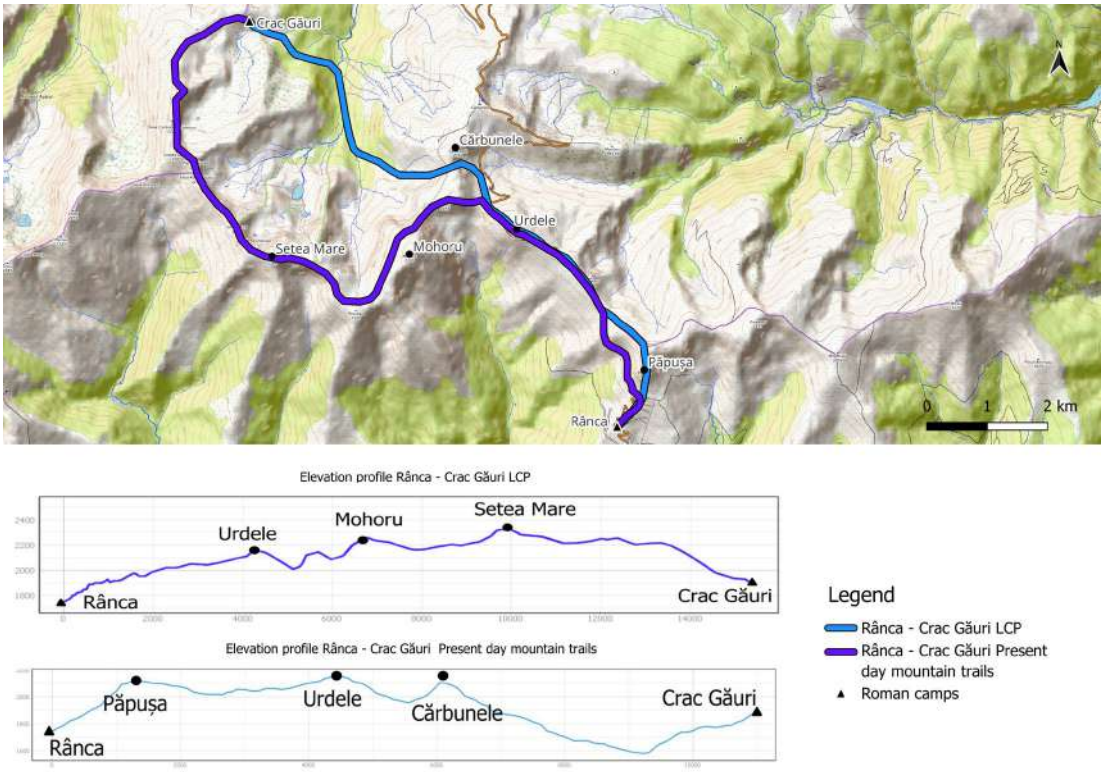
2

Pl. IV. 1–2. The camp at Rânca (1. photo taken towards Muntele Mohoru: ▲2337; 2. photo taken by M. Szabó towards Rânca ski resort, ©MNIT).





Pl. V. ALS measurements at the camp at Rânca.



1

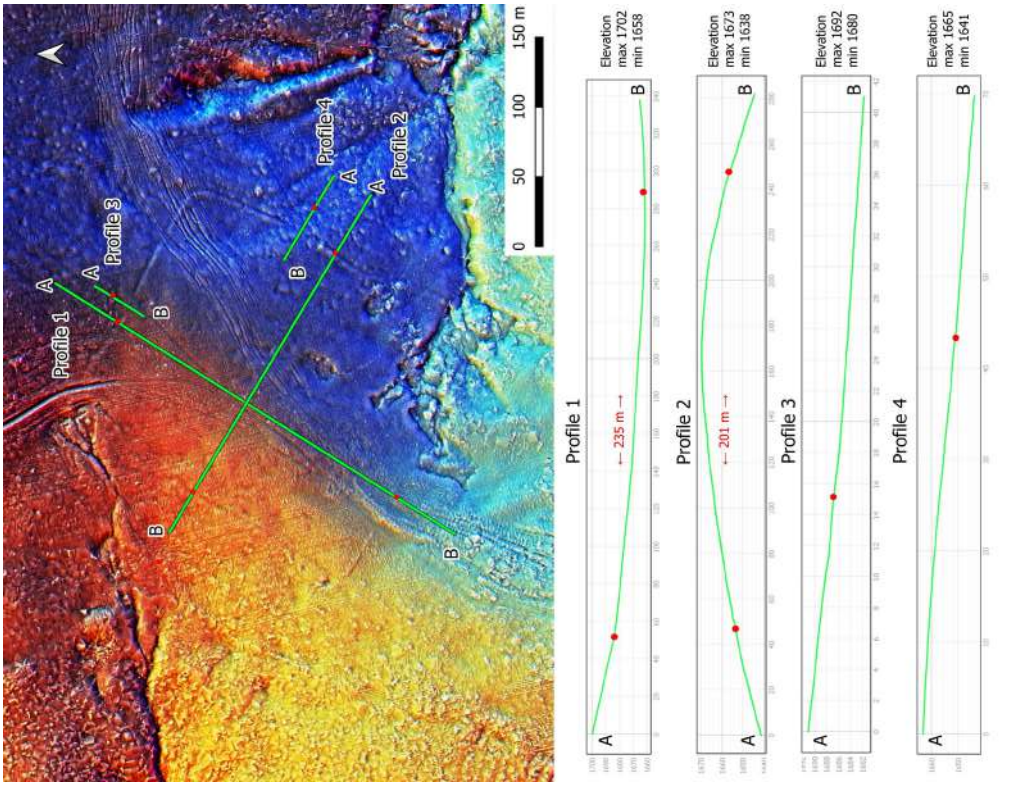


2

Pl. VI. 1. LCP between the camps at Rânca and Crac-Găuri; **2.** The camp at Poiana Muierii, located in the lower section of the image (taken towards Parâng Mountains).

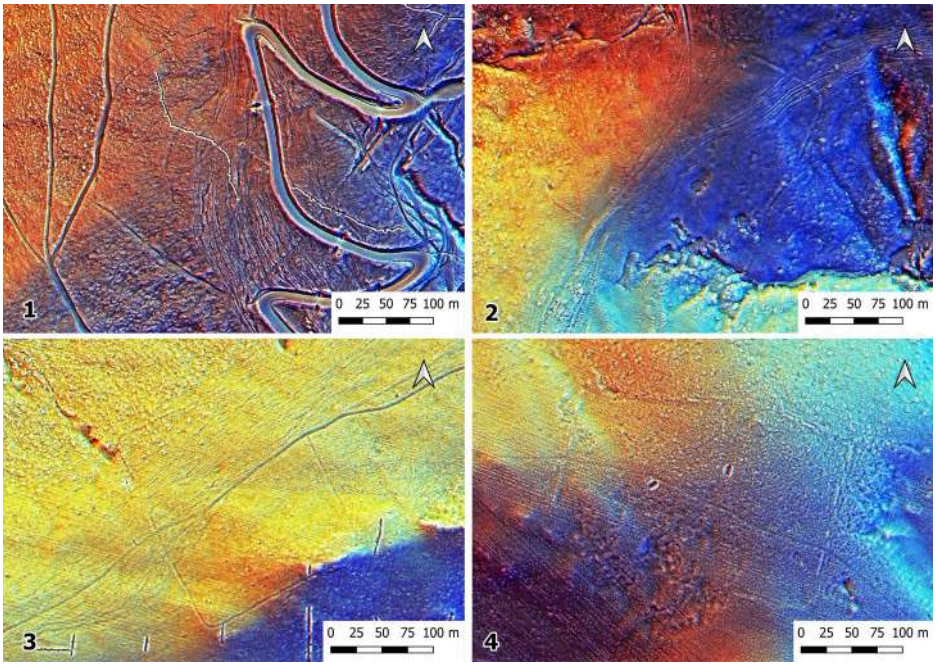


1

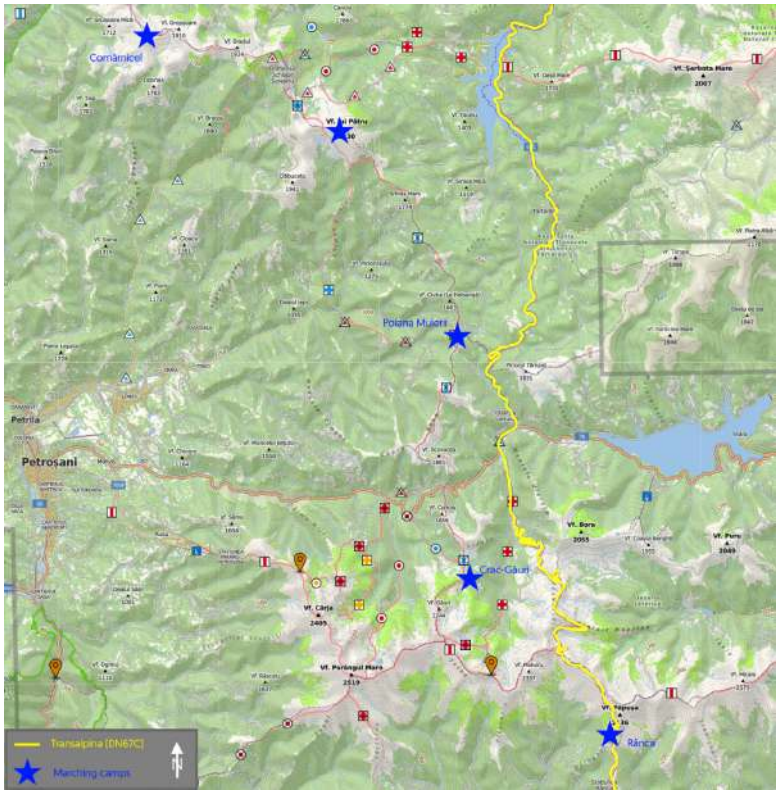


2

Pl. VII. 1. The camp at Poiana Muierii, located in the middle left of the image, marked with a red line (taken towards Vârful lui Pătru); **2.** Anomalies on ALS at Poiana Muierii.

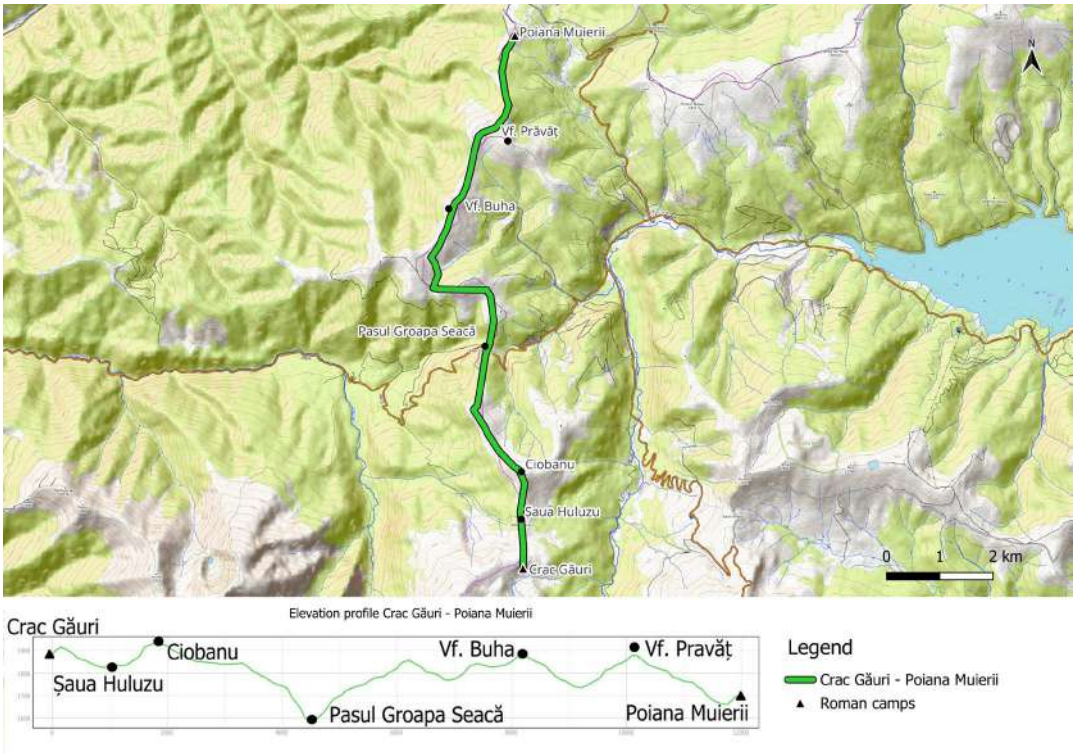


1

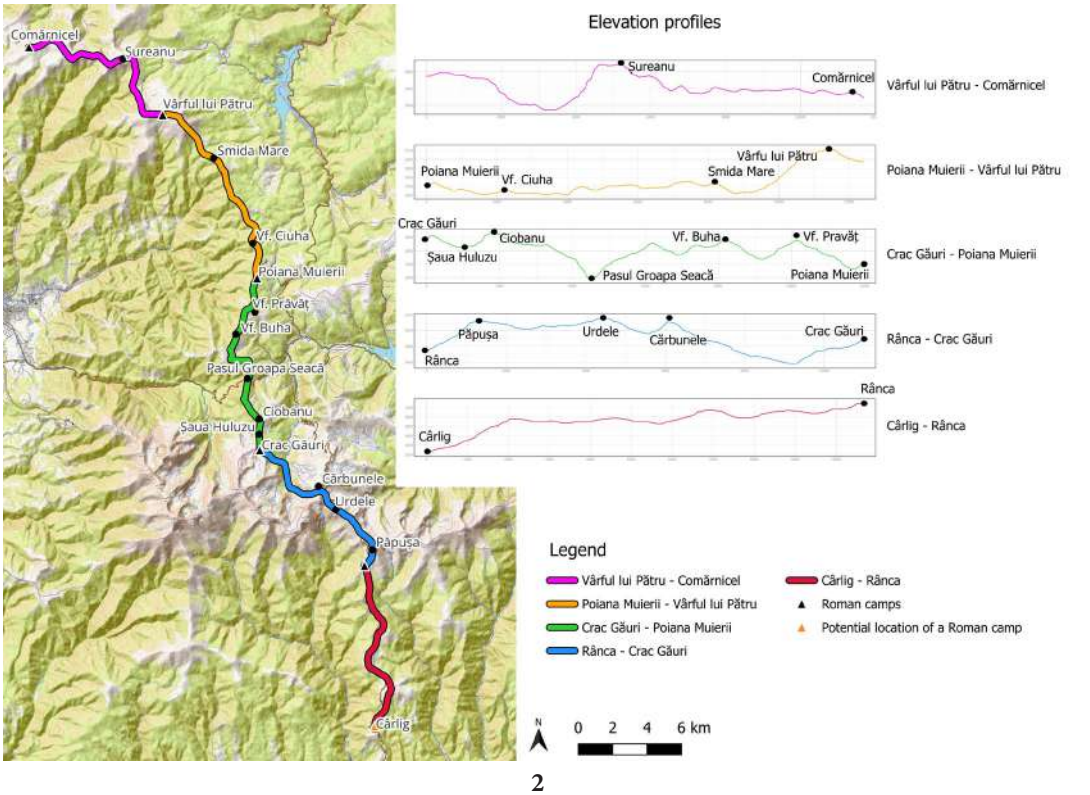


2

Pl. VIII. 1. ALS measurements at: 1. Rânca; 2. Poiana Muierii; 3. Bătrâna; 4. Muncelu-Lăutoarea; **2.** The position of the marching camps in relation with Transaplina (DN67C) using the background of the "Munții Noștri" map.

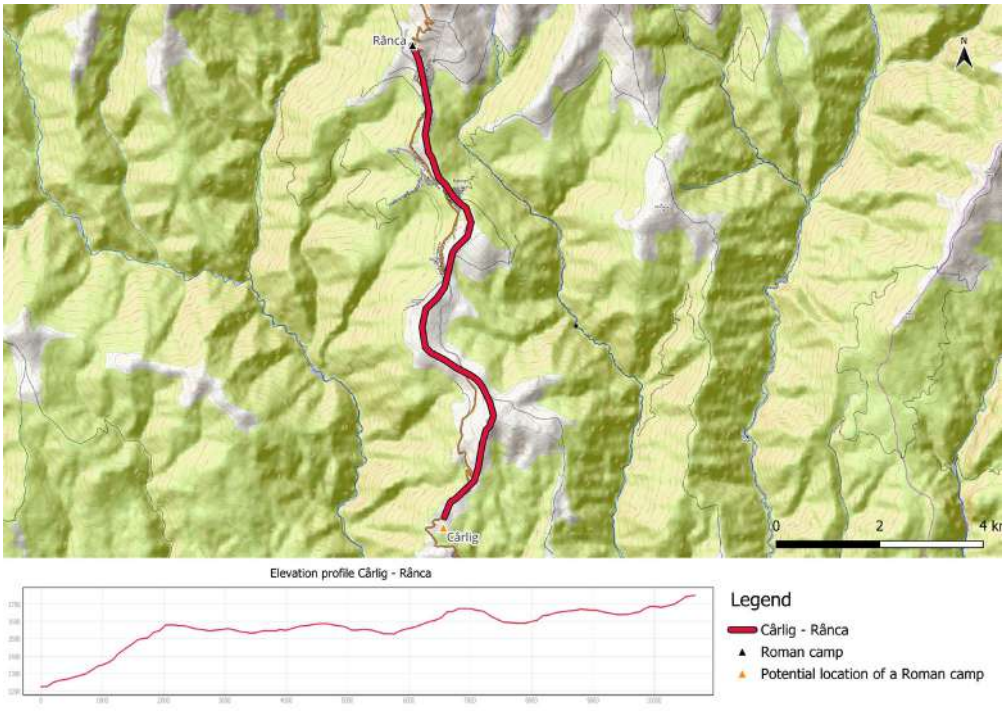


1

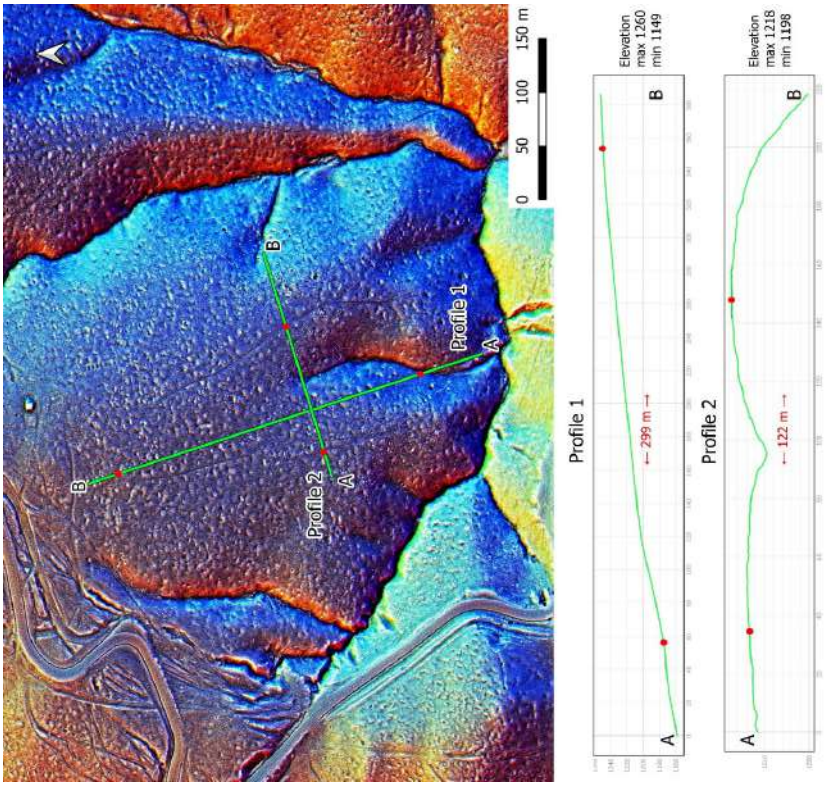


2

Pl. IX. 1. LCP between the camps at Crac-Găuri and Poiana Muierii; **2.** LCP analysis.



1

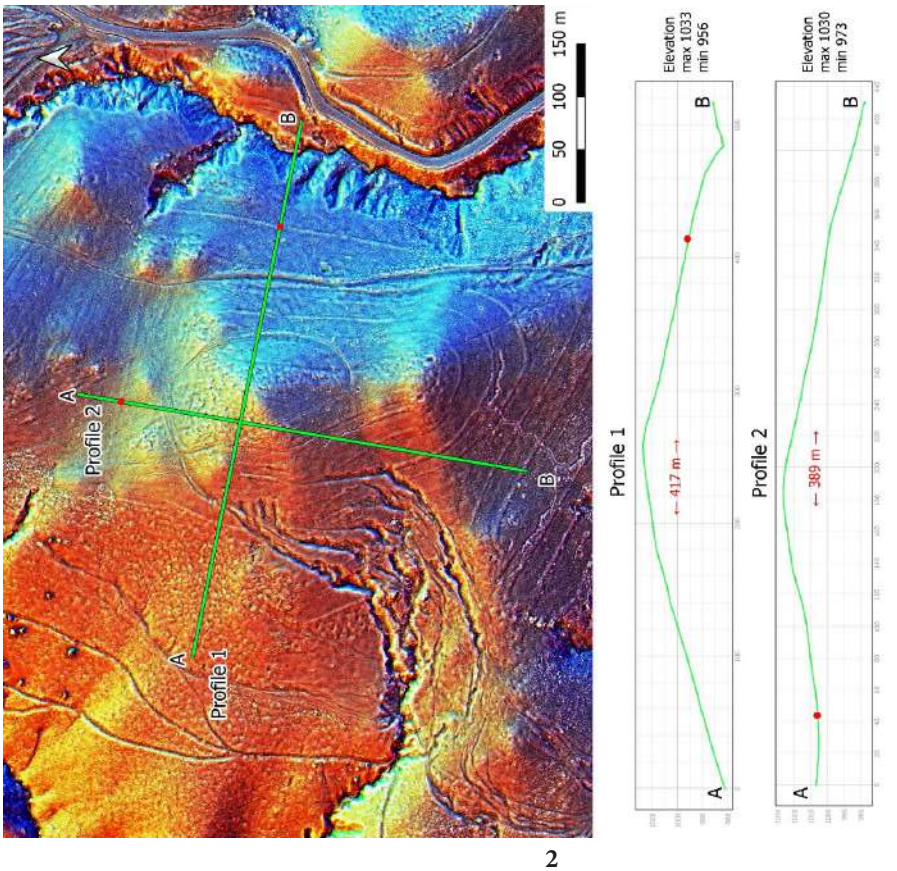


2

Pl. X. 1. LCP between "La Cârlig" and the camp at Rânca; **2.** Anomalies on ALS in "La Cârlig" area.



1

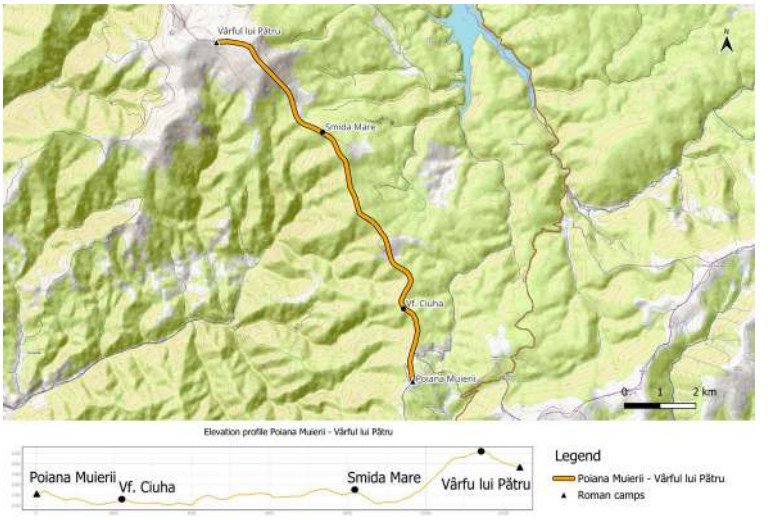


2

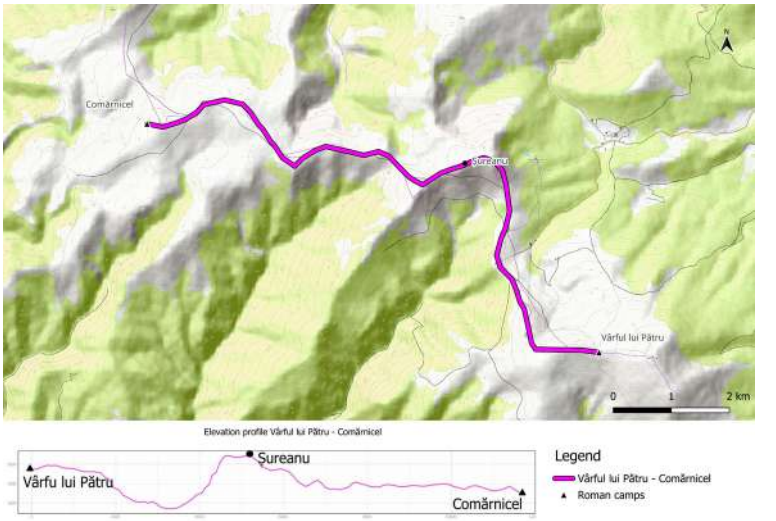
Pl. XI. 1. The area of the anomalies on ALS, positioned in the central-left region of the image, north of "La Cârlig" area (taken towards Vârful Cerbu (right): ▲1586 m and Muntele Mohoru (left): ▲2337; **2.** Anomalies on ALS close to Scărița Hill.



1

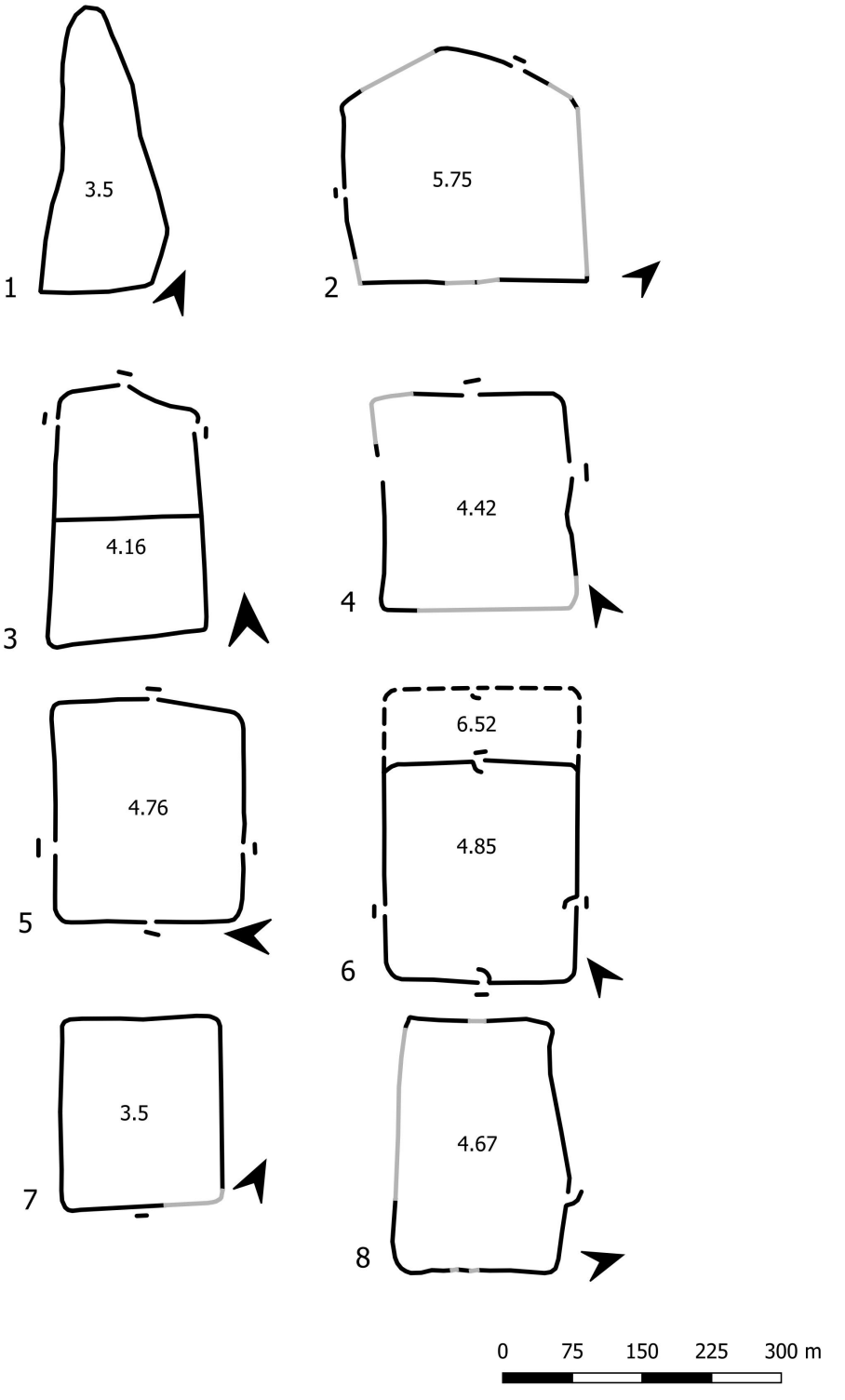


2

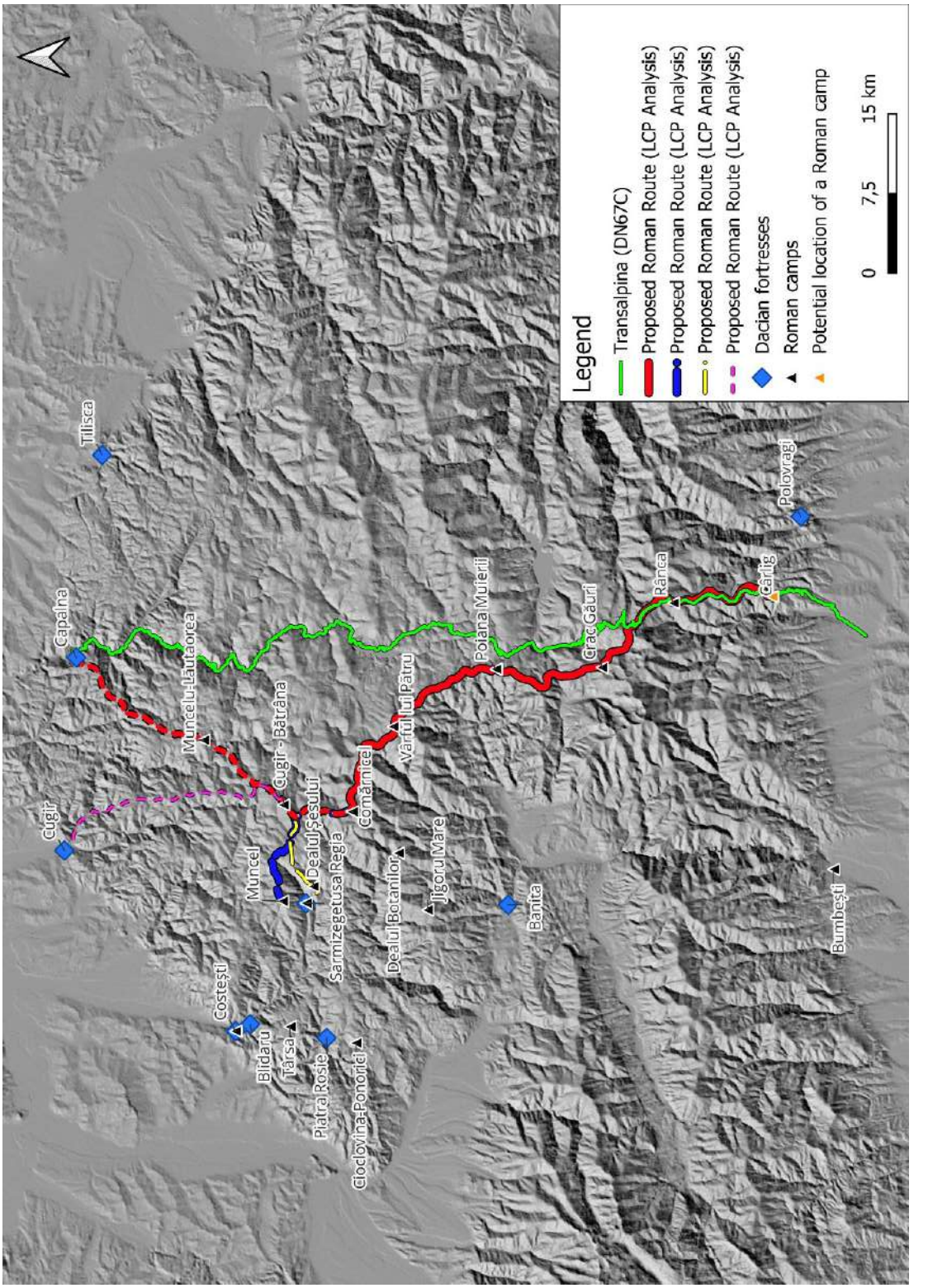


3

Pl. XII. 1. The area of the anomalies on ALS, located in the central area of the image, close to Scărița Hill (taken towards Novaci); **2.** LCP between the camps at Poiana Muierii and Vârful lui Pătru; **3.** LCP between the camps at Vârful lui Pătru and Comărnicel.



Pl. XIII. 1–8. The shapes of the marching camps.



Pl. XIV. The Roman and modern Transalpina.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 99–147

ROMAN KITCHENWARE, *CULINAE* AND AREAS INDICATIVE OF COOKING ACTIVITIES IN THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS FROM POTAISSA

LUCIANA NEDELEA

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.04

Abstract: The aim of this research effort focuses on offering a larger and more complete picture of all kitchenware forms utilized by *legio V Macedonica* within the legionary fortress from Potaissa. The need for such information for this particular fortress arises especially due to the intriguing lack of areas which are normally designated only for cooking, such as kitchen/*culinae*, hearths within the military barracks, bakehouses, ovens etc. Another peculiar aspect is the presence of large quantities of tableware and cookware within the legionary baths/*thermae*. While in theory we know where and how the soldiers could have cooked their food, my hope is that through analyzing the totality of kitchenware discovered in this garrison we could observe patterns which would then offer direct insight into possible areas indicative of cooking activities. Of the circa 10.000 individual ceramic wares I have analyzed for this military camp, a total of 607 (6.07 %) represent forms employed in food preparation and cooking activities. Based on their shape and functionality, the *vasa coquinatoria* assemblages at Potaissa can be divided in six main groups: 1) strainers (four types); 2) mixing bowls (eleven types); 3) *mortaria* (Category A – one type; Category B – four types; Category C – eight types); 4) frying/baking pans (seven types); 5) pots (thirteen types); 6) lids (six types). Two further forms will make for separate studies.

Keywords: *legio V Macedonica*; Roman kitchenware; typology; *culinae*; military logistics.

Rezumat: Principalul scop al acestei cercetări constă în conturarea unei imagini de ansamblu asupra tuturor formelor din grupa veselei de bucătărie utilizată de către *legio V Macedonica* în castrul legionar de la Potaissa. O astfel de analiză este necesară în condițiile în care, pe parcursul anilor, cercetările arheologice au indicat lipsa unor spații evidente în garnizoană care ar fi putut servi la gătirea mâncării, precum bucătăriile/*culinae*, brutăriile, vetrele din barăcile militare sau cuptoarele pentru copt pâinea. Un alt aspect interesant se conturează prin prezența unei cantități mari de veselă de masă și de bucătărie în băile militare/*thermae*. Deși în teorie știm unde și cum și-ar fi putut găti mâncarea acești soldați, cercetarea în ansamblu a veselei de bucătărie descoperită în castru ar putea indica pattern-uri concrete în identificarea unor spații destinate activităților culinare. Din cele aproximativ 10.000 de vase individuale cercetate pentru acest castru legionar, 607 (6.07%) reprezintă forme utilizate în pregătirea și gătirea alimentelor. Plecând de la forma și funcționalitatea lor, *vasa coquinatoria* de la Potaissa pot fi clasificate în șase grupuri principale: 1) strecurători (patru tipuri); 2) castroane (unsprezece tipuri); 3) *mortaria* (Categoria A – un tip; Categoria B – patru tipuri; Categoria C – opt tipuri); 4) tăvi (șapte tipuri); 5) oale (treisprezece tipuri); 6) capace (șase tipuri). Două forme adiționale vor fi tratate în studii viitoare.

Cuvinte-cheie: Legiunea V Macedonica; veselă romană de bucătărie; tipologie; *culinae*; logistică militară.

Introduction

The idea and need for this particular research effort started taking roots while working on my doctoral thesis,[1] which dealt with the subject of Roman pottery discovered at the legionary fortress from Potaissa (nowadays Turda, Cluj County, Romania), the headquarters of *legio V Macedonica* from 170 AD until the Roman military withdrawal from Dacia.[2] In the roughly 100 years they were stationed here, the legion consumed large quantities of drinkware, tableware and kitchenware, resulting in approximately 10.000 individual vessels (mostly waste) to be recovered throughout the 45 years of systematic archaeological research.

In an effort to offer more insight into the kitchenware I was analysing, one of the most challenging endeavours seemed to be that of identifying studies and gathering examples of direct archaeological evidence for 2nd and 3rd century AD permanent cooking spaces within Roman military garrisons (mainly forts and fortresses), or areas indicative of cooking activities through the analysis of material culture in military contexts (especially for Roman Dacia). Even though it is generally agreed that in military context there are no central facilities regarding food preparation and its consumption,[3] there is clear evidence that culinary activities seem to focus repeatedly in specific areas of the garrisons, forming a pattern (rampart/*intervallum*/*via sagularis*, the barracks/*centuriae* and their *contubernia*, the commander's house/*praetorium*, the headquarters building/*principia*, or the gate towers). In most studies, mentions of this nature are brief, resuming to purely stating the nature of the discovery and the functionality of the space.

The same issue seemed to persist even for the legionary fortress at Potaissa, where despite the fact that extremely thorough and systematic archaeological investigations had been carried out since 1971, one could not ignore the total absence of spaces which are normally designated only for cooking, such as kitchen/*culinae*, bakehouses, hearths within the military barracks, baking ovens etc.[4] Surely, a military presence such as *legio V Macedonica* would have required serious logistics when it comes to everyday cooking. More over, an additional challenge surfaced after identifying large quantities of drinkware, tableware and cookware in what at that time seemed to me like an unusual area, namely the baths/*thermae* of the legionary fortress at Potaissa. The aformentioned aspect has therefore raised the issue of dining within the baths and cooking in the *praefurnia*.[5] This, in turn, is a subject which is only seldom discussed in literature, making it difficult to redefine preconceived ideas regarding spaces that seemed to have clearly predefined functionalities.[6]

[1] Nedelea 2020a, PhD Thesis.

[2] Bărbulescu 1987; Bărbulescu 1997.

[3] Roth 1999, 44–45; Petruț 2018, 19.

[4] Bărbulescu 1987; Bărbulescu 1991, 22–30; Bărbulescu 1994; Bărbulescu 1997; Bărbulescu 2012; Bărbulescu 2015; Bărbulescu et alii 2019; Bărbulescu 2020, 421–439; Bărbulescu et alii 2020; Nemeti et alii 2017.

[5] Nedelea 2019, 192.

[6] Hope 1905, 367; Daniels 1959, 139–145; Gudea 1980, 256–362, 302; Greep 1986, 50–51; Zienkiewicz 1986a-b; Contincello et alii 1990, 188; Webster 1992, 111–121; Gudea 1997a, 36; Matei, Bajusz 1997, 109–111, 123; Fagan 1999, 33–34; Hoss 2005, 25; Țentea 2015, 123–126.

Even though in theory we have extensive knowledge on how and where soldiers could have cooked their food within military garrisons,[7] in reality, archaeological evidence of this nature is not as abundant as one would expect. Many military garrisons have yet to have an explanation for where such cooking activities took place with certainty (if possible). The fortress of *legio V Macedonia* at Potaissa is one of these examples, where discussions regarding cooking areas had been missing until very recent years.[8]

Therefore, it is my hope that a thorough analysis of the Roman kitchenware discovered in the investigated areas of the Potaissa fortress (580 × 408 m, 23,66 ha in size)[9] will possibly indicate a sequence of locations where cooking activities could have taken place, and that it will also bring more insight into the issue of tableware and cookware being present in its baths/*thermae*. The analysis of the ceramic assemblages will be paired with all relevant archaeological information regarding this site, as well as similar situations identified across the Roman Empire.

Cooking spaces in military context in the Roman Empire and the Dacian provinces

At the edge of the Roman Empire, in Britannia, evidence for cooking activities in military context have been noted at: 1) the fort of Caernarfon (Segontium) (a centurion's quarters with a sequence of ovens in a kitchen range – dated to Period 3 of the barrack; a series of ovens located on the rear of the east rampart were allotted to specific barracks and had been the scene of general cooking activity – dated to Period 6; changes in the cooking arrangements of the earlier periods – communal organization based on the *contubernium* and century – are noted due to the increasing number of jars/cooking vessels by the beginning of the 4th century AD);[10] 2) the legionary fortress from Inchtuthil (Pinnata Castra/Victoria) (a series of minor structures such as ovens, cook-houses, water-tanks and latrines have also been identified in the space of the *intervallum* on the north-west flank);[11] 3) the legionary fortress of Caerleon (Isca) (peristyle house with kitchen – dated 75–100 AD);[12] 4) the auxiliary fort from Housesteads (Vercovicium) (a kitchen with one oven in Room 2 of the *praetorium* – dated 122–140 AD; a bakehouse with three ovens on the east and north rampart, dated to the late 2nd – early 3rd century AD; each barrack block was allocated one oven, and thus indicating the existence of organized breadmaking by century);[13] 5) Gloucester (Glevum), the second-period fortress (baking ovens and domestic activities have been noted in the *principales*' quarters); 6) the legionary fortress at Colchester (Camulodunum) (some *contubernia* of the barracks seem to have been heated by hearths, thus allowing for cooking activities as well);[14] 7) the auxiliary fort of Wroxeter (Viroconium) (seven periods of ovens and cook-houses were identified south and east

[7] Davison 1989; Davison 1996, 153–182; Junkelmann 1997; Roth 1999; Campbell 2009.

[8] Bărbulescu 2020, 421–439; Nedelea 2020b, 143–164.

[9] Bărbulescu 2020, 421–439.

[10] Casey et alii 1993, 33, Pl. 3.1; plan TS4, fig. 3.9; 309.

[11] Pitts, St. Joseph 1985, 68; 195, fig. 49; 196, PI. XXXIII A-B; 197, fig. 50.

[12] Boon 1987, 46; Zienkiewicz et alii 1993, 27–140.

[13] Charlesworth 1975, 17–42, fig. 1; Crow 2004, 39; Rushworth 2009a, 38–41, fig. 3.10 – bakehouse; 40, fig. 3.11.

[14] Crummy 1977, 71, 73; Webster 1988, 35; 55.

to the *intervallum* roads);[15] 8) the legionary fortress at Lincoln/*Lindum* (cook-houses on the northern part of the rampart/*intervallum* area);[16] 9) the auxiliary fort at Chesterholm (Vindolanda) (bread ovens in the *intervallum* space);[17] 10) the legionary fortress at York (Eboracum) (a series of early 2nd century AD tile-based hearths or ovens were observed along a wall line at the south-eastern edge of the *praetentura*; animal bone evidence and a plant assemblage suggests the preparation of food nearby);[18] 11) the fort from South Shields (Arbeia) (a sequence of ovens have been identified along the precinct walls of the mid-Antonine stone fort/Period 4B);[19] 12) the stone fort from Gelligaer (a 2nd century AD kitchen has been identified in the commander's quarters/*praetorium* – building 6).[20]

One of the most impressive examples of kitchen in military context comes from Germania Superior, namely the legionary fortress from Windisch (Vindonissa): a) an officer's kitchen/*culina centurionis* pertaining to the 1st century AD, and one of the few examples of a Mediterranean-style kitchen (26 m^2 size) in the northwestern provinces has been discovered here; it was equipped with an L-shaped raised hearth and had an inventory of at least 400 vessels;[21] the hearth was utilized for food preparation such as boiling, cooking, roasting, and perhaps baking;[22] b) an additional, smaller kitchen (11 m^2 size) with a hearth consisting of two layers of bricks has also been identified in a centurion-quarter situated in the western *retentura*; c) a bakery belonging to *legio XXI Rapax*.[23] For the Upper German-Raetian Limes, examples of cooking spaces in military context can also be found at: 1) the Saalburg fort (44 baking ovens in its *intervallum*; hearths and cooking platforms made of tiles have been observed in the barracks);[24] 2) Lorch (hearths within the *contubernia* of the military barracks);[25] 3) Heidenheim an der Brenz (Aquileia) (hearths within the *contubernia* of the military barracks; it was proven that soldiers here cooked simple meals through boiling and frying).[26]

In Pannonia Superior, a "Backstube" with a sequence of four round baking ovens was identified in front of the rampart along the *via sagularis* pertaining to the legionary fortress at Vindobona.[27] In Moesia Inferior, a 3rd century AD kitchen has been identified in the headquarters building/*principia* of the legionary fortress from Novae.[28]

For the Dacian provinces, cooking spaces in military context have been observed at: 1) the auxiliary fort from Slăveni (domestic activities have been noted in the vicinity of the south-western tower of the fort following the discovery of lids and baking pans

[15] Webster 1988, 123–129; 133, 6.11; 135, 6.13.

[16] Webster 1988, 149.

[17] Bowmann, Thomas 1994, 163–164 (Vindolanda tablet no. 194 regarding the acquisition of "panaria – IIII" – bread baskets); Junkelmann 1997, 94–96; Swan 2008, 49.

[18] O'Connor 1987, 6; Cool et alii 1995, 1552–1553, fig. 709.

[19] Bindwell, Speak 1994, 17, fig. 2.4.

[20] Brewer, Cymru 2011, 13.

[21] Flück et alii 2022; Meyer-Freuler 2022, 195–210; Häberle et alii 2023, 1–36, fig. 4.

[22] Häberle et alii 2023, 21, fig. 10.

[23] Moosbrugger-Leu et alii 1959–1960, 5–23.

[24] Jacobi 1930, 8–19; Junkelmann 1997, 95, abb. 42–43.

[25] Campbell 2009, 49.

[26] Johnson 1983, 172, fig. 131.

[27] Hoffmann 2002, 895–896; Mosser 2010, 60–62, fig. 8–9; Mosser 2015, 76–89, fig. 7.3.

[28] Sarnowski 2018, 55–356.

with secondary burning which seemed to have been utilized for breadmaking on open hearths);[29] 2) the auxiliary fort from Căşeiu (Samum) I (hearth identified in the area of the *intervallum*);[30] 3) the auxiliary fort from Căşeiu (Samum) II (an early 3rd century AD kitchen was identified in room no. 15 pertaining to Phase 3 – reconstruction in stone – of the commander's house/*praetorium* situated in the *latus dextrum* of the fort;[31] a hearth and domestic activities have been noted in the northern bastion of the *porta praetoria*; the use of the *praefurnium* of heated room 4 pertaining to the headquarters building/*principia* in domestic activities; hearths in connection to domestic activities have been observed in the barracks pertaining to the *retentura dextra* of the fort);[32] 4) the auxiliary fort from Gilău I (an early 2nd century AD kitchen and domestic activities have been noted in the quadrant of room "b" of a double barrack situated in the *praetentura* of the fort);[33] 5) the auxiliary fort from Gilău III (a late 3rd century AD kitchen with a repurposed *praefurnium* was identified in the *praetorium*/commander's house);[34] 6) the auxiliary fort from Buciumi (a kitchen equipped with heating system was identified in the commander's house/*praetorium*; four hearths were identified in barrack 5 situated in the central part of the *praetentura sinistra* – their use is however uncertain, the authors being inclined to believe that the building might have been used as a *fabrica*);[35] 7) the small stone fort from Tibiscum (a kitchen has been identified in the *porta praetoria* following the discovery of large quantities of kitchenware and other domestic waste);[36] 8) the auxiliary fort at Romita (Certiae) (a late 2nd century AD kitchen with a circular hearth and storage room has been observed in the *porta praetoria* of the fort; 32 flagons had been stacked together in the eastern corner of the eastern tower);[37] 9) the auxiliary fort from Moigrad (Porolissum) (an early 3rd century AD oven is mentioned along the walls of the water reservoir/garbage dump disposal building – the functionality is, however, unclear);[38] 10) the auxiliary fort at Feldioara (a hearth and domestic activities have been noted for the *porta principalis sinistra*, the western bastion;[39] hearths comprised of rows of tiles and domestic activity have been observed in barrack no. 1).[40]

The issue of the missing cooking spaces within the legionary fortress at Potaissa

As presented in the previous chapter, for most military garrisons where such evidence is available, cooking activities seem to have focused in the area of the rampart/*intervallum*/*via sagularis* (cook-houses, bakeries, ovens and hearths), the barracks (hearths), the commander's quarters (kitchen equipped with ovens or hearths), the headquarters building

[29] Gamureac 2015–2016, 127–136.
[30] Isac 2003, 67, 209, fig. 4.
[31] Isac 2003, 143; Găzdac, Isac 2007, 22.
[32] Isac 2003, 89, 132–133, 192.
[33] Găzdac, Isac 2007, 33.
[34] Găzdac, Isac 2007, 39.
[35] Gyemant, Gudea 1984, 180; Gudea 1997b, 29; Găzdac, Pripon 2012, 5–6, figs. I–IV.
[36] Benea, Bona 1994, 32–33; Benea 2018, 41.
[37] Matei, Bajusz 1997, 43; Pls. LXI-LXII, XVIII (flagons/pitchers); Pl. CX (hearth).
[38] Gudea 1997c, 41, d.
[39] Gudea 2008, 35, 46, fig. 18/1–2.
[40] Gudea 2008, 47; 341, fig. 7; 353, fig. 24.

(kitchen and the *praefurnia* pertaining to the heating system/*hypocaustum*), and in some instances even the towers of the gates (kitchen equipped with hearths).

As of now, at Potaissa there is no evidence that any cook-houses, bakeries, ovens or hearths have existed in the spaces along the fortresses' inner precint wall. The commander's house/*praetorium*, where we would normally find the lavishly equipped kitchen, has not yet been identified.[41] Hearths related to domestic activities are completely missing from the barracks[42] and the overall layout of the fortress. A square-shaped hearth (75 × 75 cm) composed of several layers of bricks was identified in Room 2 of the headquarters building/*principia* (*armamentaria* of the northern flank). Due to the lack of any domestic activities in this room, it was concluded that the hearth was most likely utilized for small military equipment and harness repairs.[43] A second hearth was identified in room B of space ABCD. Its use remains unknown for now.[44] Heated rooms and their *praefurnia* make an appearence only in several buildings: 1) first phase of Room 14 of the headquarters building/*principia*, believed to be a *schola* initially (*armamentaria* of the northern flank);[45] 2) 3rd century AD phase of Room 15 pertaining to the headquarters building, believed to be an office initially (southern flank);[46] 3) Rooms E and E' of the headquarters building have each *praefurnia* on the inside, situated on the ground floor of the chamber (western flank); 4) Rooms B, C, B' and C' of the headquarters building have each *praefurnia* situated on the outside (western flank);[47] the heated rooms of the western flank were believed to be *officia* or *scholae*; 4) Room I, J (*praefurnium* mentioned), and K of the headquarters building (eastern flank);[48] 5) the heated rooms of the baths/*thermae* (*praefurnia* situated on the outside);[49] 6) a round *hypocaust pila* and *tubuli* fragments have been recovered from a *contubernium* pertaining to a group of barracks situated in the *retentura* (uncertain location), leading the author to believe that at least some of the rooms were heated (there is no further evidence to support this theory).[50]

The above presented information constitutes everything we know so far regarding the presence (or lack) of hearths and ovens within the legionary fortress at Potaissa. None of these spaces had been identified as kitchen or put in connection with any cooking activities until my recent analysis of the pottery assemblages discovered here.[51]

[41] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 32.

[42] Bărbulescu 1987, 169; Bărbulescu 1997, 33; Nemeti et alii 2017, 162; 104–105 – regarding my identification of a new ceramic form for Potaissa and Roman Dacia, which was utilized as a portable stove (*foculus*/*foculi*).

[43] Bărbulescu 1987, 144, fig. 28.

[44] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 24–25, fig. 19.

[45] Bărbulescu 1987, 144, fig. 34.

[46] Bărbulescu 1987, 139, 148, fig. 37; Bărbulescu 1997, 30.

[47] Bărbulescu 1987, 154–164, fig. 42.

[48] Bărbulescu 1987, 137; Bărbulescu 1994, 101, Pl. IX/2.

[49] Bărbulescu 1997, 37; Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 47 (Space G), 53 (*Apodyterium* N), 54 (*Tepidaria* M and L), 65 (*Caldarium* K), 73 (*Caldarium* I).

[50] Bărbulescu 1997, 35.

[51] Nedelea 2017, 83–106; Nedelea 2018, 117–159; Nedelea 2019, 182–248; Nedelea 2020b, 143–164; Nedelea 2020c, 89–99.

The issue of cooking, eating and drinking in military baths

Large quantities of drinkware, tableware and kitchenware have been discovered in the *thermae* of *legio V Macedonica* at Potaissa. The ceramic assemblages discovered here amount to 2323 individual vessels, representing the largest quantity of pottery identified for any of the researched spaces within this fortress.[52] The finds come from the interior of the rooms, the *praefurnia* (closed rooms equipped with ovens), as well as the drainage canals and the imidiate vicinity of the baths.[53] As some drinking activities do not seem abnormal for the *thermae* (Mart. 11.82), eating and especially cooking are not usually associated with these spaces.

The issue of cooking within Roman baths has been raised as early as the 50s, following the discovery of large quantities of kitchenware in the military baths at Caerleon, Castell Collen, Weißenburg, Dover and Ribchester.[54] Some specialists have speculated that these vessels could have entered the space of the baths at random.[55] In my opinion however, the ammounting evidence in favour of eating within the baths and cooking in their *praefurnia* makes it hard to believe that all these discoveries across the Empire are a result of pure coincidence. Even by ignoring the discovery of large quantities of tableware and kitchenware, there are still clear indications that food was consumed inside the baths of the Roman world: 1) poppy sead bread (*panis quadratus*), wild radishes (*Raphanus raphanistrum*), damson plums (*Prunus domestica*), and medlar fruits (*Mespilus germanica*) at the Silchester public baths;[56] 2) olives, eggs and animal products at Caerleon fortress baths;[57] 3) olives, dates, cereal and plums at Pompei;[58] 4) shells (*Venus casina, Pecten jacobaeus, Patella*, *Donax trunculus*, *Pecten*, *Cerastoderma glaucum*, *Hiatella arctica*) and animal bones (sheep/goat, pig, fowl) have been recovered from *Herculaneum*'s Forum Baths,[59] etc.

For the Dacian provinces, mentions of this nature are very scarce: 1) the auxiliary fort from Bologa (pottery and large quantities of animal bones have been recovered from both the interior and the exterior of the baths);[60] 2) the fort from Romita (Certiae) (glass vessels and pottery have been recovered from heated room – no. 5/*caldarium*, as well as the cold room – no. 6/*frigidarium*);[61] 3) the auxiliary fort from Brețcu (pottery was discovered in the baths)[62]; 4) Alburnus Maior (pottery was discovered in the baths);[63] 5) an important observation is the discovery of intact cooking pots and ceramic sherds in the *praefurnia* of the baths from Micia;[64] 6) cooking pots dated in the first half of the 3rd century AD have been identified in the *praefurnia* of the bath house (*balneum*) of *legio VII Claudia* from

[52] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 182–220.
[53] Nedelea 2019, 182–248.
[54] Daniels 1959, 139–145; Greep 1986; Zienkiewicz 1986.
[55] Greep 1986, 50–51; Zienkiewicz 1986, 20; Webster 1992, 111–121; Fagan 1999, 33–34; Hoss 2005, 25.
[56] Hope 1905, 367.
[57] Zienkiewicz 1986, I.
[58] Contincello et alii 1990, 188.
[59] Koloski-Ostrow 2008, 224–256.
[60] Gudea 1997, 36.
[61] Matei, Bajusz 1997, 109–111.
[62] Gudea 1980, 256–362, 302.
[63] Țentea 2015, 123–126.
[64] Marinescu et alii 1975, 223.

Cioroiul Nou.[65] Besides domestic activities, some of these *praefurnia* were also employed in metalurgical work.

Based on all the information available today, there is undisputed proof that cooking, eating and drinking were recurrent activities in the baths or their *praefurnia*.

Analysis of the kitchenware discovered in the legionary fortress at Potaissa

The ceramic assemblages selected for this study (kitchenware) come from systematic archaeological campaigns carried out within the fortress starting with the year 1971.[66] A total of approximately 10.000 individual vessels have been recovered during the archaeological seasons carried out in an effort to unearth the fortification elements of the fortress (1957, 1973–1977), the west gate/*porta decumana* (1976–1977, 1979), the south gate/*porta principalis dextra* (1993), the north-western curtain bastion (1975), the main roads of the fortress – *via praetoria*, *via principalis*, *via decumana* (1978–1979, 1988, 1993), the drainage canal of the north-western corner (1976), the headquarters building/*principia* (1974, 1978–1988, 1994–1995), the barracks – *centuriae cohortis I miliariae* situated in the *latus praetorii dextrum* (1990–1992, 2011), *centuriae cohortium quingenariorum* situated in the *latus praetorii sinistrum* (1971–1974, 1976–1977, 1981), *centuriae cohortium quingenariorum* in the *retentura sinistra* (1987–1989), *centuriae cohortium quingenariorum* situated in the *retentura dextra* (1991), *centuriae cohortis quingenariae* in the central area of the *retentura* (1987–1989), *centuriae cohortium quingenariorum* situated in the *praetentura sinistra* (2012–2016), the granaries/*horrea* situated in the *latus praetorii sinistrum* (1950–1952, 1971–1973, 1984), the military baths/*thermae* situated in the *praetentura dextra* (1993, 1995–2007).

Of the circa 10.000 individual vessels I have analyzed for this fortress, a total of 607 (6.07 %) represent forms employed in food preparation and cooking activities. Based on the firing technology employed in the manufacture of these vessels at the point of origin, two main groups have been identified: a) oxidized firing (99.51% – 604 vessels); b) reduced firing (0.49% – 3 vessels). Both local and imported ware have been observed for these two groups, to which I have allocated the following codes (Table 1):

Table 1: Codes Technology Group		
Oxidised (iron-rich clays fired to orange, orange-brown, red)	Potaissa Oxidised Wares	**POT/OX**
Reduced (fabrics fired grey, black)	Potaissa Reduced Wares	**POT/RE**
	Imported Reduced Wares	**I/RE**
Red/brown slipped (Samian-type imitations)	Potaissa Samian/*Sigillata*	**POT/RS**
Samian/Sigillata	Imported Samian/*Sigillata*	**I/SA**
Terra Nigra	Imported Wares	**I/TN**

Based on their provenance and quality, the following codes were allocated (Table 2):

[65] Bondoc 2015, 38, 106–108, Pls. LIII-LIV.

[66] Bărbulescu 2020, 421–439.

Table 2: Codes Provenance and Quality	
Category A	Import
Category B	Potaissa local fine wares/local imitations
Category C	Potaissa common wares

Based on fabric composition, four main groups have been identified, and the following codes have been allocated (Table 3):

Table 3: Codes Fabric Group	
Coarse (fabrics occurring in both oxidised and reduced state)	**CO**
Semi-coarse (fabrics occurring in both oxidised and reduced state)	**SECO**
Semi-fine (fabrics occurring in both oxidised and reduced state)	**SEFI**
Fine (fabrics occurring in both oxidised and reduced state)	**FI**

Based on their functionality and form, the kitchenware/*vasa coquinatoria* group at Potaissa can be divided in six main groups: 1) strainers; 2) mixing bowls; 3) *mortaria*; 4) frying/baking pans; 5) pots; 6) lids. Large storage vessels (*dolia*), and the pinch-mouthed flagons (coarse ware) were not included in this research, and will make for a separate study.[67]

Category A vessels have their own type, as they are well established forms within the Roman Empire (Samian imports). However, all kitchenware forms pertaining to Category B and C have been manufactured at Potaissa, and they have been divided in types based on their shape variant. The following codes have been allocated (Table 4):

Table 4		
CODE	**EXPANSION**	
18POTSTR/C/I	Strainer, Potaissa, Form 18, Category C, Type I	Pot shape, thick and flat base, round rim
18POTSTR/C/II	Strainer, Potaissa, Form 18, Category C, Type II	Bowl shape, flat base, straight lip
18POTSTR/C/III	Strainer, Potaissa, Form 18, Category C, Type III	Bowl shape, flat base, round lip
18POTSTR/C/IV	Strainer, Potaissa, Form 18, Category C, Type IV	Pot shaped, ring base, round rim
14POTMB/C/I	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type I	Flared, round rim
14POTMB/C/II	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type II	Flared, round rim, decorated with one groove
14POTMB/C/III	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type III	Flared, round rim, body – three grooves

[67] Nedelea 2022, 155–171 – regarding the use of pinch-mouthed flagons (coarse fabric) for hot liquids.

Table 4		
CODE	**EXPANSION**	
14POTMB/C/IV	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type IV	Flared, slightly protruding, horizontal rim
14POTMB/C/V	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type V	Flared, wide rim
14POTMB/C/VI	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type VI	Flared, strongly protruding rim
14POTMB/C/VII	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type VII	Flared, double rim
14POTMB/C/VIII	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type VIII	Flared, oblique rim, decorated with two grooves
14POTMB/C/IX	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type IX	Flared, horizontal rim – two grooves
14POTMB/C/X	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type X	Flared, horizontal rim – three grooves
14POTMB/C/XI	Mixing bowl, Potaissa, Form 14, Category C, Type XI	Flared horizontal rim, carinated body
13POTM/B/I	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category B, Type I	Oblique, straight rim
13POTM/B/II	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category B, Type II	Horizontal, thick round rim
13POTM/B/III	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category B, Type III	Local imitations – Curle 11
13POTM/B/IV	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category B, Type IV	Curved, continuous, thick rim
13POTM/C/I	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type I	Large basin, rim decorated with one groove
13POTM/C/II	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type II	Large basin, rim decorated with two grooves
13POTM/C/III	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type III	Large basin, horizontal rim
13POTM/C/IV	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type IV	Medium basin, oblique rim
13POTM/C/V	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type V	Medium basin, arched, strongly protruding rim
13POTM/C/VI	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type VI	Medium basin, small, round rim, three grooves on the body
13POTM/C/VII	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type VII	Medium basin, strongly protruding rim
13POTM/C/VIII	*Mortarium*, Potaissa, Form 13, Category C, Type VIII	Small basin, short, round rim

Table 4		
CODE	**EXPANSION**	
15POTPAN/C/I	Frying pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type I	Straight, slightly oblique wall, continuous rim
15POTPAN/C/II	Frying pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type II	Slightly curved wall, continuous rim
15POTPAN/C/III	Frying pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type III	Oblique wall, horizontal rim – two grooves
15POTPAN/C/IV	Frying pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type IV	Oblique wall, horizontal rim – three grooves
15POTPAN/C/V	Frying pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type V	Oblique wall, horizontal rim – four grooves
15POTPAN/C/VI	Frying pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type VI	Straight, slightly oblique wall, continuous rim, groove on the outer surface
15POTPAN/C/VII	Frying/Baking pan, Potaissa, Form 15, Category C, Type VII	Non-stick, straight, slightly oblique wall, continuous rim
16POTPOT/C/I	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type I	Slightly flared, round rim, flat base
16POTPOT/C/II	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type II	Flared, round rim, flat base
16POTPOT/C/III	Jar/Pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type III	Flared, thick, round rim, ring base
16POTPOT/C/IV	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type IV	Flared, round rim, small handles, flat base
16POTPOT/C/V	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type V	Flared, round rim, large handles, flat base
16POTPOT/C/VI	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type VI	Flared, horizontal rim, flat base
16POTPOT/C/VII	Jar/Pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type VII	Slim, horizontal rim decorated with three groves, cylindrical neck, ring base
16POTPOT/C/VIII	Jar/Pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type VIII	Thick round rim, cylindrical neck, ring base
16POTPOT/C/IX	Jar/Pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type IX	Thick, horizontal rim – three groves, cylindrical neck, ring base
16POTPOT/C/X	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type X	Horizontal rim – two grooves, flat base
16POTPOT/C/XI	Milk pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type XI	Small round rim, cylindrical neck, handles, red slip, grooves on the body, ring base

Table 4		
CODE	**EXPANSION**	
16POTPOT/C/XII	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type XII	Flared, slightly oblique rim, flat base
16POTPOT/C/XIII	Cooking pot, Potaissa, Form 16, Category C, Type XIII	Flared, oblique rim, flat base
17POTLID/C/I	Lid, Potaissa, Form 17, Category C, Type I	Large button-shaped handle, oblique wall, round rim
17POTLID/C/II	Lid, Potaissa, Form 17, Category C, Type II	Large button-shaped handle, oblique wall, horizontal/flat rim – four grooves
17POTLID/C/III	Lid, Potaissa, Form 17, Category C, Type III	Small button-shaped handle, curved wall, round rim
17POTLID/C/IV	Lid, Potaissa, Form 17, Category C, Type IV	Small button-shaped handle, slightly oblique wall, inverted round rim
17POTLID/C/V	Lid, Potaissa, Form 17, Category C, Type V	Medium button-shaped handle, built-in stopper, round rim
17POTLID/C/VI	Lid, Potaissa, Form 17, Category C, Type VI	Medium button-shaped handle, continuous rim

Based on the quantitative and spatial distribution of all kitchenware discovered here, the following results have been noted for each particular form:

1) *Mortaria* (Table 5): of the 607 kitchenware forms, 69 vessels (11.36%) represent *mortaria*. It is the most versatile form, with vessels pertaining to all categories, and a total of 14 types. Category A is represented by Curle 11 imports, in both oxidized and reduced firing techniques (Pl. VI/1–6). Category B is represented by 4 types of local Samian imitations (Pl. VI/7–8; Pl. VII/1–7; Pl. VIII/1–4). Category C is represented by 8 types of locally produced common wares (Pl. VIII/5–7; Pl. IX/1–5). None of the categories have presented any manufacturer stamps or decor. The closest element to a stamp is represented by two parallel prints, left behind by a set of what looks to be two thin planks of wood (Pl. VIII/7a-b). In general, pottery stamps are almost absent from this fortress.[68] There is a clear preference for fine wares when it comes to this form, as 44 of the 69 vessels represent imports and local sigillata imitations, with Category B/Type III being the most numerous (18 vessels – Table 11). Within the fortress, the locations with most *mortaria* discoveries have been the "*Basilica*" and "*Basilica*/N" of the baths. Other notable locations are: Room I/*principia* and the *praefurnium* pertaining to Room K of the baths. They also make an appearance sporadically in some of the *contubernia* of the barracks (Table 5).

[68] Nedelea 2020d, 39–70.

Table 5: *Mortaria*	A	B					C								Total
	SA	R E	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	T VIII	
Principia/Well Room I	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Principia/Room E	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Principia/Courtyard	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Thermae/Room K/ *Praefurnium*	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Thermae/*Basilica*	-	-	3	1	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Thermae/N/*Basilica*	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	5	1	12
Thermae/Canal I	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
Thermae/Canal II	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae/*Caldarium* I/ *Praefurnium*	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Thermae/Room N	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack III/Room B	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack IV/Room L	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack IV/Room M	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack VI/Room C	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Retentura sinistra/ Barrack II/Room D	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Retentura dextra/ C I	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Retentura dextra/ C V	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Retentura dextra/ CVII	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Praetentura sinistra/ Barrack I/Room 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Praetentura sinistra/ Barrack I/Room 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Praetentura sinistra/ Barrack II/Room 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Praetentura sinistra/ Barrack II/Room 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Praetentura sinistra/ Barrack III/Room 8	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Praetentura sinistra/ Barrack IV/Room 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Praetentura dextra/ Barrack West of the *thermae*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	11	2	9	3	18	1	4	1	1	1	7	1	9	1	69

2) Mixing Bowls (Table 6): of the 607 kitchenware, 61 vessels (10.05%) represent mixing bowls. A total of 11 types have been distinguished for this particular form. The wares belong only to Categories B and C (Table 11). The most numerous is Type VI of Category C (common wares), with a total of 32 vessels, more than half of the total (Table 6; Pl. II/3–7; Pl. III/1–6; Pl. IV/1–7; Pl. V/1–6). The locations where mixing bowls have been discovered in the largest quantities are: the *praefurnium* of Room K (12 vessels), "*Basilica*" of the baths (10 vessels), "*Basilica*/N" of the baths (7 vessels), and *Apodyterium* N of the baths (6 vessels).

Table 6: Mixing Bowls	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	T VIII	T IX	T X	T XI	Total
***Principia*/Courtyard**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae*/*Basilica	1	-	-	-	-	7	-	1	-	-	1	10
Thermae*/N/*Basilica	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	7
***Thermae*/Canal II**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Thermae*/Canal I**	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
***Thermae*/Room K/*Praefurnium* N**	-	-	-	4	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	12
***Thermae*/Room N**	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
***Thermae*/*Apodyterium* N**	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-		-	6
***Thermae*/*Tepidarium* L**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/ Porch**	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Retentura dextra*/C VIII**	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/ Barrack I/ Room 1**	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/ Room 7**	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/ Room 8**	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/ Room 4**	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/ Room 5**	-	-	-		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/ Room 7**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack III/ Room 7**	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	7	2	2	6	5	32	1	1	1	3	1	61

3) Strainers (Table 7): of the 607 kitchenware, 13 vessels (2.14%) represent strainers (Pl. I/1–5; Pl. II/1–2). It is the least numerous type of all forms employed in food preparation, and overall, one of the least numerous forms found within the fortress. A total of 4 types have been distinguished, Type IV being the most numerous. The location where the largest quantities of strainers have been identified is "*Basilica*/N" of the baths (7 vessels).

Table 7: Strainers	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Total
Thermae*/N/*Basilica	2	1	1	3	7
Thermae*/*Basilica		-	-	1	1
***Thermae*/*Caldarium* I**	1	-	-	-	1
***Thermae*/Canal I**	-	-	-	1	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/Barracks West of the *horrea*/ Barrack IV/Room B**	1	-	-	-	1
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 1**	-	-	-	1	1
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 8**	-	-	-	1	1
Total	4	1	1	7	13

4) Frying/Baking Pans (Table 8): of the 607 kitchenware, 59 vessels (9.72%) represent frying/baking pans (Pl. IX/6–9; Pl. X/1–8). A total of 7 types have been distinguished, Type I being the most numerous. The locations where the largest quantities of pans have been identified are: Room I and J of the headquarters building (13 vessels), ground floor of *tribunal* H of the *basilica*/*principia*, and the *praefurnium* pertaining to Room K. They also appear in "larger" quantities in some of the *contubernia* of the barracks as well: C VIII (*retentura dextra*), Barrack I/Room 1 and Barrack II/Room 7 (*praetentura sinistra*).

Table 8: Pans	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	Total
***Principia*/Room I**	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
***Principia*/Room J**	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	7
***Principia*/Room 13**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Principia*/Room E'**	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Principia*/*Basilica*/Room H**	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Thermae*/Room K/*Praefurnium	6	-	1	-	1	-	-	8
Thermae*/N/*Basilica	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Thermae*/Room H**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/Porch**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/Room L**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/Room M**	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/Barracks West of the *horrea*/Barrack III/Room S**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/Barracks West of the *horrea*/Barrack IV/Room B**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack I/ Room A**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack II/ Room D**	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
***Retentura dextra*/C VI**	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
***Retentura dextra*/C VIII**	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack III/Room 8**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room 7**	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	4

Table 8: Pans	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	Total
Praetentura sinistra/Barrack I/Room 1	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	4
Praetentura sinistra/Barrack I/Room 8	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Praetentura sinistra/Barrack IV/Room 10	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Porta decumana	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Total	42	1	2	9	1	1	3	59

5) Pots (Table 9): of the 607 kitchenware, 300 vessels (49.42%) represent pots (Pl. XI/1–28; Pl. XII/1–7). A total of 13 types have been distinguished, Type V being the most numerous, followed by Type I and Type VI. The locations where the largest quantities of pots have been identified are: a) "*Basilica*/N" of the baths (30 vessels); b) *praetentura sinistra* – Barrack I/Room 1 (30 vessels), Barrack IV/Room 10 (30 vessels), Barrack III/Room 8 (24 vessels).

Table 9: Pots	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	T VIII	T IX	T X	T XI	T XII	T XIII	Total
Thermae/N/*Basilica*	6	2	-	-	8	8	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	30
Thermae/*Basilica*	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Thermae/Canal I	2	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Thermae/Room J/ *Praefurnium*	1	-	-	-	8	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	12
Thermae/*Apodyterium*	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae/*Caldarium* I	-	2	-	-	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Thermae/*Caldarium* K	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Thermae/Room K/ *Praefurnium*	-	-	-	-	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Thermae/Room N	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae/Room M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack IV/P	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack IV/Room K	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack IV/Room L	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Latus praetorii dextrum/ Barrack IV/Room M	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Latus praetorii sinistrum/ Barracks West of the horrea/ Barrack III/Room S	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Latus praetorii sinistrum/ Barracks West of the horrea/ Barrack IV/Room B	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11

Table 9: Pots	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	T VIII	T IX	T X	T XI	T XII	T XIII	Total
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/ Barracks West of the horrea/ Barrack IV/Room D**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/ Barracks West of the *horrea*/ Barrack IV/Room C**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/ Barracks West of the *horrea*/ Barrack IV/Room F**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/ Barracks West of the *horrea*/ Barrack IV/Room I**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack I/ Room A**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack I/ Room D**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack II/ Room D**	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack III/Room D**	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
***Retentura dextra*/C VII**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura dextra*/C VIII**	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 1**	5	11	-	-	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	30
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 2**	4	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 3**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 4**	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 6**	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 7**	-	5	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 8**	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	8
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room 4**	4	3	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	13
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room 5**	2	1	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room 6**	-	1	-	1	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9

Table 9: Pots	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	T VII	T VIII	T IX	T X	T XI	T XII	T XIII	Total
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room 7**	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack III/Room 6**	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack III/Room 7**	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack III/Room 8**	3	6	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	24
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack IV/Room 10**	5	2	-	-	13	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	30
Porta decumana	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		3	-	-	11
Total	68	44	12	5	73	60	1	4	7	1	3	21	1	300

6) Lids (Table 10): of the 607 kitchenware, 105 vessels (17.30%) represent lids (Pl. XII/8–17; Pl. XIII/1–11). A total of 6 types have been distinguished, Type I being the most numerous (92 vessels). The locations where the largest quantities of lids have been identified are: a) *praetentura sinistra* – Barrack I/Room 8 (2 vessels), Barrack I/Room 1 (10 vessels); b) "*Basilica*/N" of the baths (8 vessels). Similarly to pots, the vast majority of the lids seem to focus in the *contubernia* of the barracks.

Table 10: Lids	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	Total
***Principia*/Room I**	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Principia*/Room J**	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae*/N/*Basilica	7	1	-	-	-	-	8
Thermae*/*Basilica	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Building "ABCD"/Room C	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Thermae*/*Caldarium* I**	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae*/Room J/*Praefurnium	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Thermae*/Room K/*Praefurnium	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Thermae*/Canal I**	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack III/Room B**	6	1	-	-	-	-	7
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/Porch**	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/Room L**	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
***Latus praetorii dextrum*/Barrack IV/Room M**	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/Barracks situated West of the *horrea*/Barrack III/Room S**	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/Barracks situated West of the *horrea*/Barrack IV/Room B**	3	-	-	-	-	-	3

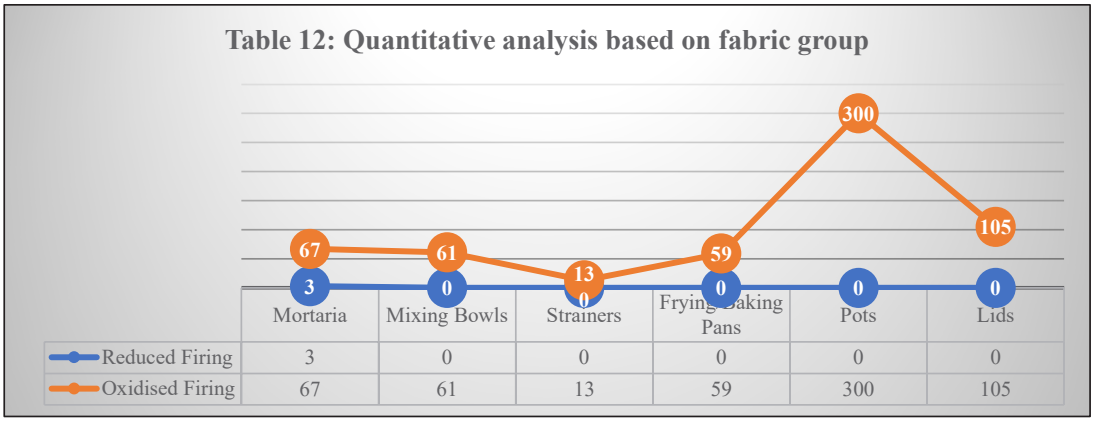
Table 10: Lids	T I	T II	T III	T IV	T V	T VI	Total
***Latus praetorii sinistrum*/Barracks situated West of the *horrea*/Barrack IV/Room I**	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Retentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room D**	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Retentura dextra*/C I**	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
***Retentura dextra*/C V**	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Retentura dextra*/C VI**	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
***Retentura dextra*/C VII**	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
***Retentura dextra*/C VIII**	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 1**	9	-	-	1	-	-	10
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 4**	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 5**	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 6**	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 7**	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack I/Room 8**	7	-	1	-	1	3	12
***Praetentura sinistra*/Barrack II/Room 3**	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Praetentura dextra*/Barrack West of the *thermae	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Porta decumana	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	92	2	2	3	1	5	105

Based on technology, fabric, quality and provenance, the quantitative analysis of all kitchenware identified in the legionary fortress at Potaissa has shown the following results (Table 11): a) all strainers belong to Category C (POT/OX), group SEFI (13 vessels); b) the groups SECO (22.951% – 14 vessels), SEFI (67.213% – 41 vessels) and CO (9.836% – 6 vessels) have been identified for mixing bowls, of which 20 vessels belong to Category B, and 41 to Category C (POT/OX); c) imports come only in the form of *mortaria*, and this particular shape is the only one to have all three quality and provenance categories (Category A – group FI, I/RE – 2 vessels; FI, I/SA – 11 vessels; Category B – group SEFI, POT/RS – 30 vessels, POT/RE – 1 vessel; Category C – group CO, POT/OX – 5 vessels; SECO, POT/OX – 7 vessels; SEFI, POT/OX – 12 vessels; SEFI, POT/RE – 1 vessel); d) all frying/baking pans belong to Category C (oxidized), with group CO, POT/OX representing 61.017% (36 vessels), group SECO, POT/OX representing 33.898% (20 vessels), and group SEFI, POT/OX representing 5.085% (3 vessels); e) all pots belong to Category C (oxidized), with group CO, POT/OX representing 60.33% (181 vessels), group SECO, POT/OX representing 37.33% (112 vessels), and group SEFI, POT/OX representing 2.33% (7 vessels); f) all lids belong to Category C (oxidized), with group CO, POT/OX representing 34.29% (36 vessels), group SECO, POT/OX representing 40.95% (43 vessels), and group SEFI, POT/OX representing 24.76% (26 vessels).

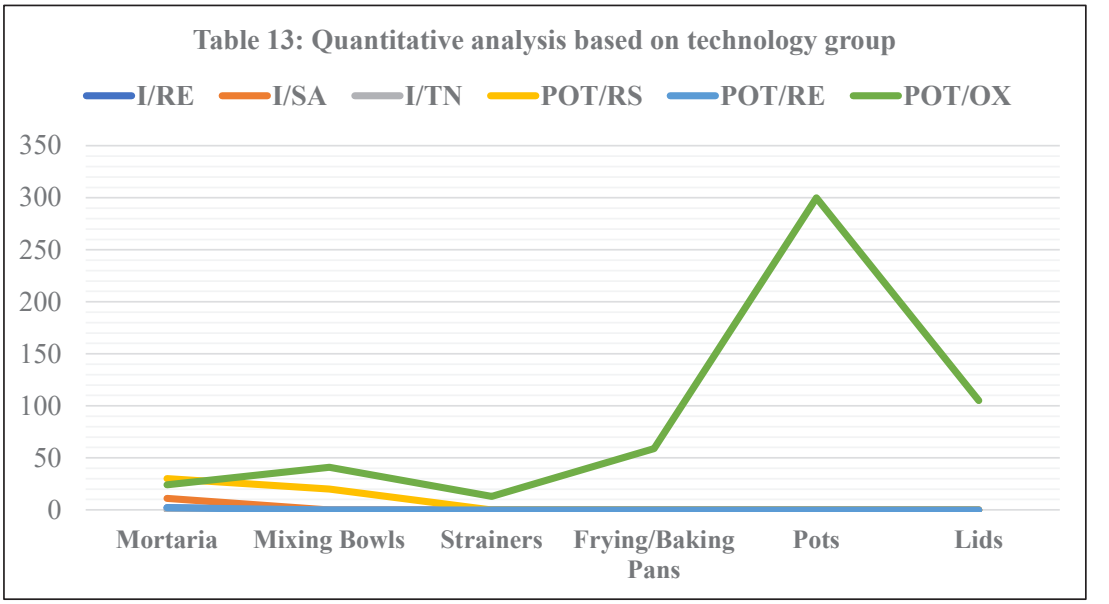
Table 11

Codes Provenance and Quality	Codes Fabric group	Codes Technology group	*Mortaria*	Mixing bowls	Strainers	Frying/ Baking pans	Pots	Lids	Total
Category A	FI	I/RE	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
		I/SA	11	-	-	-	-	-	11
		I/TN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		POT/RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Category B	SEFI	POT/RS	30	20	-	-	-	-	50
		POT/RE	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Category C	CO	POT/OX	5	6	-	36	181	36	264
	SECO	POT/OX	7	14	-	20	112	43	196
	SEFI	POT/OX	12	21	13	3	7	26	82
		POT/RE	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total			69	61	13	59	300	105	**607**

The only reduced wares identified for this functionality group belong to Category A, I/RE (2 *mortaria*) and Category C, POT/RE (1 *mortarium*), in favor of oxidized ware (Table 12).



In total, Category A, FI represents 2.14% (13 vessels – I/RE and I/SA) and Category B, SEFI represents 8.4% (51 vessels – POT/RS and POT/RE). Category C is divided in groups CO, SECO and SEFI; group CO represents 43.49% (264 vessels), group SECO represents 32.29% (196 vessels), and group SEFI represents 13.67% (83 vessels – POT/OX and POT/RE). Therefore, Category C, group CO represents almost half of all kitchenware, pots and lids being predominant (Table 11; Table 13).



Cooking habits of *legio V Macedonica* at Potaissa and new results regarding the location of kitchen and cook-houses within the fortress

Following the analysis of all kitchenware identified within the legionary fortress at Potaissa,[69] the following observations can be made in regards to the cooking habits of the legion: a) pots and lids are predominant, indicating a strong preference for the preparation of simple and quick meals through boiling (porridge/stews/*puls*), especially among the lower ranks (Table 9;10); out of the 300 pots, 204 have been discovered in the military barracks (Table 14); b) traces of secondary burning and soot still visible along the inner and outer edges of the lids implies recurrent cooking on open hearths[70] or portable stoves[71] (Pl. XII/9, 14, 17; Pl. XIII/6, 7, 8, 11); c) the quality of the lids does not seem to play an important role when cooking, as both coarse, semi-coarse and semi-fine wares have been used in these activities; however, only coarse fabric pots have been utilized for cooking directly on heat sources; d) traces of soot have also been noted on the bodies of the cooking pots, confirming the use of open hearths or portable stoves (Pl. XI/2, 3, 10, 14); e) very large vessels used in food preparation (mixing bowls, *mortaria*, strainers) are concentrated only in the area of the baths (*praefurnia*, *Basilica*, *Basilica*/N), suggesting the preparation of meals in larger quantities in these spaces (perhaps communal meals, or breadmaking); f) smaller cooking vessels concentrate in the *contubernia* of the barracks, suggesting the preparation of smaller quantities of food (perhaps per *contubernium*, or even for individual use); g) most pots are rather small in size (1–2 liter), being in favour of individual use (Pl. XI–XII); h) most lids do not exceed 10–15 cm in diameter, underlining the predominant use of smaller-sized pots (Pl. XII–XIII); out of the 105 lids, 78 have been discovered in the

[69] Nedelea 107, 83–106; Nedelea 2019, 182–248; Nedelea 2020b, 143–164; Nedelea 2020c, 89–99; Nedelea 2020d, 39–70; Nedelea 2020e, 97–156.

[70] Breeze 1983, 54.

[71] Nedelea 2018, 117–159.

military barracks; i) baking/frying pans have been identified in most areas of the fortress, however, fried or baked meals do not seem to be as popular as those prepared through boiling (Table 8);[72] j) the majority of the non-stick baking pans have been identified in the *principia* of the fortress and the *praefurnia* of the baths, suggesting breadmaking in these areas; k) the overall preference for fine ware *mortaria* (imports and local production) suggests the consumption of sauces, spreads or soft, cream based meals, perhaps like the famous *moretum* (Pl. V–VIII; Table 5); l) strainers in ceramic form make only a sporadic appearance within the fortress (13 vessels), and they do not seem to have been utilised very often in food preparation, unless there was a preference for this form in metal;[73] out of the 13 strainers identified in the fortress, 10 have been discovered in the baths (Table 14); m) most pots and lids have been identified in the barracks, and most *mortaria* and strainers have been recovered from the bath area.

Table 14

LEGIONARY FORTRESS				*Mortaria*	Mixing bowls	Frying pans	Strainers	Pots	Lids	Total count
Principia (headquarters)	Eastern Flank	Room I		-	-	6	-	-	2	8
		Well/Room I		4	-	-	-	-	-	4
		Room J		1	-	6	-	-	1	8
	Northern Flank	Room 13		-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Western Flank	Room E'		2	-	2	-	-	-	4
	Basilica	Room H		6	-	-	-	-	-	6
	Courtyard	-		3	1	-	-	-	-	4
Total										35
Centuriae (barracks)	*Latus praetorii dextrum* (*Cohors I miliaria*)	Barrack III	Room B	2	-	-	-	-	7	9
		Barrack IV	Room K	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
			Room L	2	-	1	-	1	6	10
			Room M	3	2	3	-	8	11	27
		Barrack VI	Room C	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Latus praetorii sinistrum (*Cohors quingenaria* situated west to the *horrea*)	Barrack III	Room S	-	-	1	-	3	1	5
		Barrack IV	Room B	-	-	1	1	11	3	16
			Room C	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
			Room D	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
			Room F	-	-	-	-	1		1
			Room I	-	-	-	-	1	2	3

[72] Nemeti et alii 2017, 152.

[73] Mustață 2017, 97, catalogue no. 26 (Pl. XXI/26); 98, catalogue no. 27 (Pl. XXI/27).

Table 14

LEGIONARY FORTRESS				*Mortaria*	Mixing bowls	Frying pans	Strainers	Pots	Lids	Total count
Centuriae (barracks)	*Retentura sinistra*	Barrack I	Room A	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
			Room D	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
		Barrack II	Room D	1	-	2	-	1	-	4
		Barrack III	Room D	-	-	-	-	4	2	6
	Retentura dextra	C I		1	-	-	-	1	1	3
		C V		1	-	-	-	-	2	3
		C VI			-	2	-	-	5	7
		C VII		1	-	-	-	1	1	3
		C VIII		1	2	3	-	2	1	9
	Praetentura sinistra	Barrack I and porch	Room 1	2	4	3	1	31	10	51
			Room 2	-	-	-	-	7	-	7
			Room 3	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
			Room 4	-	-	-	-	3	3	6
			Room 5	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
			Room 6	-	-	-	-	6	6	12
			Room 7	-	1	2	-	5	2	10
			Room 8	3	2	3	1	11	12	32
		Barrack II	Room 3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
			Room 4	1	2	-	-	13	-	16
			Room 5	-	1	-	-	10	-	11
			Room 6	-	-	-	-	9	-	9
			Room 7	1	3	3	-	4	-	11
		Barrack III	Room 6	1		-	-	4	-	5
			Room 7	-	2	-	-	3	-	5
			Room 8	2	-	1	-	23	-	26
		Barrack IV	Room 10	1	-	1	-	30	-	32
	Praetentura dextra	Barrack west to the *thermae*		1	-	-	-	1	-	2
Total										**356**
Thermae (military baths)	Room H	-		-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Room J	*Praefurnium*		-	-	-	-	12	1	13
	Room K	*Praefurnium* North		2	5	-	-	8	-	15
		Praefurnium South		1	6	7	-	5	-	19
		Praefurnium West		-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	Room N	-		1	1	-	-	1	-	3

Table 14									
LEGIONARY FORTRESS			*Mortaria*	Mixing bowls	Frying pans	Strainers	Pots	Lids	Total count
Thermae (military baths)	Room M	-			-	-	2	-	2
	B/North	-	16	7	-	7	28	8	66
	Basilica	-	5	10	-	1	5	4	25
	Canal I	-	4	3	-	1	5	2	15
	Canal II	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	3
	Tepidarium L	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	Apodyterium N	-	1	5	-	-	1	-	7
	Caldarium I	*Praefurnium*	6	-	-	1	15	1	23
	Caldarium K	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
	Space "ABCD"	Room C	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Total									201
Porta Decumana (West Gate)			-	2	-	-	11	2	15
TOTAL COUNT			78	62	50	13	301	103	607
			Mortaria	Mixing bowls	Frying pans	Strainers	Pots	Lids	

Based on the functionality of the buildings, the quantitative and spatial analysis of all forms pertaining to the kitchenware group has indicated the following results for each investigated area (Table 14): a) the headquarters building/*principia* – 35 vessels (16 *mortaria*, 1 mixing bowl, 15 frying/baking pans, 3 lids); b) the barracks/*centuriae* – 356 vessels (25 *mortaria*, 19 mixing bowls, 27 frying/baking pans, 3 strainers, 204 pots, 78 lids); c) the baths/*thermae* – 201 vessels (36 *mortaria*, 40 mixing bowls, 8 frying pans, 10 strainers, 87 pots, 20 lids); d) the west gate/*porta decumana* -15 vessels (2 mixing bowls, 11 pots, 2 lids).

The rooms where most kitchenware is concentrated are (Table 14): a) adjacent Rooms I and J of the heaquarters building; b) Barrack IV of *cohors I miliaria* in adjacent Rooms L and M; c) Barrack IV of *cohors quingenaria* situated west to the *horrea*, Room B; d) *cohors quingenaria* situated in the *praetentura sinistra* – Barrack I/Room 1 and 8; Barrack II/Room 4 and 7; Barrack III/Room 8; Barrack IV/Room 10; e) *praefurnia* to Room J, K and I of the baths; f) "*Basilica*" and "*Basilica*/N" of the baths; g) west gate – *porta decumana*.

Based on my observations, I propose the use as kitchen/*culinae* or cook-houses for the following spaces within the legionary fortress at *Potaissa*:

1) Rooms I-J of the headquarters building/*principia*:[74] a kitchen functioned with certainty on the eastern flank (southern wing) of the headquarters building, in the adjacent Rooms I (3,70 × 9,10 m) and J (5,40 × 9,10 m). An "L-shaped" *hypocaust* installation (1.70 × 1.20 m) and its centered oven were identified in the eastern half

[74] Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 27, fig. 22; 28, fig. 23; 30.

of Room J.[75] This installation most likely functioned as a raised hearth, in similar fashion to the situation discovered in the commander's quarters at Vindonissa.[76] Of the more striking features of this *culina* is the water well that was dug in the interior of Room I (2 meters from its western wall).[77] The diameter of the borehole measured 1,20 m. The rich ceramic and glassware repertoire (Table 14),[78] as well as the bucket walls recovered from its bottom indicate intense domestic activities in this room. A coin dated during the time of Herennia Etruscilla was recovered from the water well, indicating that it was in use until the military withdrawal from Roman Dacia.[79] This kitchen was preparing meals for the *schola* situated on the eastern flank of the headquarters building (southern wing).[80] The vast majority of the kitchenware identified in this space are frying/baking pans, suggesting a preference for fried or baked meals among the officers of the headquarters building. Fine ware *mortaria* also indicates the consumption of perhaps sauces, or soft cheese spreads like the famous *moretum*. Large quantities of storage, drinkware and tableware have also been discovered here (178 individual vessels in total).[81]

2) Room E' of the headquarters building/*principia*:[82] a kitchen functioned with certainty on the western flank of the headquarters building, in Room E'. This room was equipped with an oven in its interior,[83] in similar fashion to Room E of the same flank (there are no domestic activities in Room E). Curiously, the kitchenware discovered here (Table 14) indicates the same preference for meals prepared through frying or baking, sauces and soft spreads as observed in Rooms I and J of the *principia*. It has to be mentioned that bigger quantities of *mortaria* (6 vessels) have also been identified on the ground floor of *tribunal*/Room H, which is in imediate proximity to Room E'. The ground floor of Room H had different functionalities, while the upper floor which acted as the *tribunal* was divided through a podium (*suggestus*).[84] Room E' has also yielded large quantities of storage, tableware and drinkware (95 individual vessels in total).[85] A similar situation has been observed for the legionary fortress from *Novae* (kitchen on the same flank of the *principia*).[86]
3) The *praefurnia* of the baths (Pl. XIV/1–2). Based on all evidence, cook-houses must have functioned in the enclosed rooms (*praefurnia*) that housed the ovens fueling the heating system of the baths.[87] These rooms are large enough to allow for domestic activities: a) *praefurnium* M (3,30 × 3,75 m); b) *praefurnium* L (4,80–4,90 × 5,40

[75] Bărbulescu 1987, 140.
[76] Flück et alii 2022; Meyer-Freuler 2022, 195–210; Häberle et alii 2023, 1–36, fig. 4.
[77] Bărbulescu 1987, 139, Pl. XIII/2.
[78] Nedelea 2020b, 143–164.
[79] Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 27.
[80] Nedelea 2020b, 143–164; Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 30.
[81] Nedelea 2020e, 97–156, 364, Pl. XLII; Nedelea 2020b, 143–164.
[82] Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 54, figs. 70–71; 60, fig. 77; Nedelea 2020b, 143–164.
[83] Bărbulescu et alii 2020, 59.
[84] Bărbulescu 1987, 154, fig. 23.
[85] Nedelea 2020e, 97–156, 364, Pl. XLII; Nedelea 2020b, 143–164.
[86] Sarnowski 2002, 164–165; Sarnowski 2018, 355–356; Bărbulescu 2020, 421–439; Nedelea 2020, 143–164.
[87] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 54.

× 6 m);[88] c) *praefurnium* K (4,90 × 4 × 4,50 m);[89] d) east and south *praefurnia* I.[90] In total, 74 vessels of the 607 kitchenware identified for the whole fortress were discovered in these spaces. The largest quantities of kitchenware come from the *praefurnia* pertaining to Room K (35 vessels), followed by the *praefurnia* to Room I (23 vessels). Both pots and frying/baking pans have been discovered here (Table 14). The presence of these open ovens in enclosed spaces does not exclude the possibility of bread having been baked there for the *centuriae* (*panis militaris*/*panis castrensis*).[91] As observed in previous examples, organized breadmaking by *centuria* has been noted at Housesteads (Vercovicium), where each barrack block was allocated one of the three ovens belonging to the bakehouse situated in the east and north rampart.[92] In support of these spaces being used as cook-houses, I can mention that most knives discovered during archaeological excavations at the thermal complex have been attributed to the spaces adjacent to the baths, and not the baths themselves.[93] Large quantities of storage, tableware and drinkware have also been identified here (366 vessels from all the *praefurnia*).[94] Culinary activities in the *praefurnia* of the baths are noted in other parts of Roman Dacia as well. Intact cooking pots and other ceramic sherds were discovered in the *praefurnia* of the baths from Micia,[95] and cooking pots dated in the first half of the 3rd century AD have been identified in the *praefurnia* of the bath house (*balneum*) of the detachment of the *legio VII Claudia* from Cioroiul Nou.[96] At Potaissa, the *praefurnia* were so well suited for domestic activities, that they were "lived in" even in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

4) "*Basilica*" and adjacent space "*Basilica*/North" pertaining to the *thermae*. Of all spaces of the baths (and the fortress), the largest quantities of kitchenware have been recovered from the "*Basilica*" (29,60 × 10,34 m) – 25 vessels,[97] and "*Basilica*/North" (29 × 7 m) – 66 vessels (Table 14).[98] They are also the spaces where the largest quantities of storage, tableware and drinkware have been identified within the whole fortress.[99] The functionality of these two rooms was considered uncertain,[100] however, based on all the evidence, in my opinion they represent a kitchen and a storage space. It is very possible that these spaces are connected to breadmaking. The majority of very large vessels employed in the preparation of food (strainers, mixing bowls, *mortaria*) have been recovered from these spaces, indicating cooking on a larger scale, perhaps for communal purposes. Some of the mixing bowls reach a diameter of even 40 cm. Pots

[88] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 57, fig. 120; 62, figs. 135–137; 63, figs. 138–141.

[89] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 68.

[90] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 76, figs. 176, 189.

[91] Davies 1971, 125–126; Junklemann 1997, 94–96; Roth 1999, 21; Whittaker 2004, 105.

[92] Charlesworth 1975, 17–42, fig. 1; Crow 2004, 39; Rushworth 2009a, 38–41, fig 3.10 – bakehouse; 40, fig. 3.11.

[93] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 154.

[94] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 192, fig. 358.

[95] Marinescu et alii 1975, 223.

[96] Bondoc 2015, 38, 106–108; Pls. LIII-LIV.

[97] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 87, 93 (V 1–4, figs. 221, 225).

[98] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 95.

[99] Nedelea 2019, 200, fig. 367.

[100] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 151.

have been identified here as well, indicating a preference for boiled meals. Of the 13 strainers identified within the fortress, 7 of them were identified in space "*Basilica*/North", and one in "*Basilica*". Surprisingly, no pans have been identified here at all. However, they are found in larger quantities in close vicinity, in the *praefurnia* of the baths. Another curious element which seems to tie these two spaces to the *praefurnia* is the discovery of extremely large quantities of ceramic braziers/*foculi* in "*Basilica*/North" (close to 600 vessels).[101] This ceramic form was utilized by the legion as a portable stove, and had different uses: space heating and warming up meals – through the use of coals/ambers. One feature of these portable stoves is the presence of a thick layer of lime on the inner surface (similar to *turibula*). Coincidently, four lime-slaking basins (V 1–4) have been discovered in the "*Basilica*".[102] Most likely, these portable stoves were stored in "*Basilica*/North/", prepared with lime in "*Basilica*", filled with ambers in the *praefurnia* nearby, and then taken and utilized where it was needed in the fortress.[103] Some food could have also been warmed up or prepared on these portable stoves/ceramic braziers, but it is hard to prove. All archaeological material discovered here suggests an intense use of the "*Basilica*" and "*Basilica*/North",[104] and it is my opinion that the activities that took place in these two spaces are also tied to the domestic activities observed in the *praefurnia* of the baths.

5) West gate/*porta decumana*. The presence of large quantities of kitchenware, tableware and drinkware in the space of the gate indicates the existence of a kitchen in that area (Table 14).[105] Of the total of 81 individual wares which have been recovered from this space, 15 represent kitchenware (pots, lids, mixing bowls). Although it might seem strange, these gates were mostly lived in. There is strong evidence for domestic activities and the presence of kitchen in the towers of the gates in other forts from Roman Dacia as well (see first chapter of this study): a) a kitchen existed in the *porta praetoria* of the small stone fort from Tibiscum;[106] b) a kitchen was noted in the *porta praetoria* of the auxiliary fort at Romita (Certiae);[107] c) a kitchen was identified in the northern bastion of the *porta praetoria* of the auxiliary fort from Căşeiu (Samum);[108] d) a kitchen has been observed in the western bastion of the *porta principalis sinistra* at Feldioara.[109]

Conclusions

The analysis of all kitchenware forms at Potaissa has concluded in the identification of five spaces which are directly linked to cooking and domestic activities, and in my opinion should be considered kitchen, respectively cook-houses. Two kitchen (Rooms I-J and Room E') have been identified on the eastern and western flanks of the headquarters building/

[101] Nedelea 2018, 117–159; Nedelea 2019, 221.
[102] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 87, 93 (V 1–4, figs. 221, 225).
[103] Nedelea 2018, 117–159.
[104] Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 96.
[105] Nedelea 2023, 299–318.
[106] Benea, Bona 1994, 32–33; Benea 2018, 41.
[107] Matei, Bajusz 1997, 43, Pls. LXI-LXII, XVIII (flagons/pitchers); Pl. CX (hearth).
[108] Isac 2003, 89.
[109] Gudea 2008, 35, fig. 18/2.

principia, and they are to be put in connection with the existing *scholae* on these flanks. A third kitchen has been identified in spaces "*Basilica*" and "*Basilica*/North", adjacent to the baths. In my opinion, this kitchen is strongly connected to the cook-houses identified in the *praefurnia* of the baths (Pl. XIV), and most likely utilised for breadmaking. Similarly to other forts of Roman Dacia, a fourth kitchen at Potaissa has been identified in the *porta decumana* of the fortress.

At Potaissa, the main ceramic forms utilized strictly for cooking on portable stoves/braziers or in ovens are pots (300 individual vessels) and pans (59 individual vessels). Curiously, even though hearths seem to be completely missing from the military barracks/*centuriae* of the fortress, the overwhelming majority of cooking pots and lids have been recovered from these buildings (204 of the 300 existing pots; 78 of the 105 existing lids). In the absence of hearths, portable stoves/braziers were most likely put in use, and the extremely large quantities of *foculi* discovered at Potaissa (including the barracks)[110] could account for some of them.

The soldiers prepared and ate their food in their barrack blocks, and the small-sized pots and lids (10–15 cm mouth diameter) indicate that at least some of these vessels were made for individual use. Porridge/*puls* (grains boiled in water and flavoured with salt) seems to be the everyday „go-to" meal, to which they could add self-procured ingredients that were not included in their „daily" military rations (for example vegetables, fruit, milk, honey, spices, herbs, meat etc.). The presence of 1578 individual local imitations of Dragendorff 44 type bowls (tableware) in the fortress corroborates these results, as they are found preponderantly in the barracks (1046 of the 1578 bowls of this type were discovered in the *centuriae*).[111] Its design was extremely versatile, fitting large portions of both liquid and dry meals, and it is the most numerous type among all vessels discovered for this fortress (15.78% of the 10.000 individual wares). The rib across the body offered a good grip for both hands, and due to its practical shape, the soldiers could even eat out of these bowls by placing them on their lap. Frying pans are not nearly as frequent in the barracks as pots, indicating that if they did eat roasted or grilled meat, it was prepared without the use of ceramic vessels. It is also possible that the majority of the meat, including fat, was prepared through boiling. Apicius does confirm that simple recipes for pork fatback/*laridum* – which was included in the military rations/*cibaria* – were much appreciated in the Roman world. One such recipe was *laridi coctura* (*De re coquinaria*, 7/XI/290), which suggested to cover the pork fatback with water and cook it with plenty of dill. After it was cooked, it was sprinkled with a little olive oil and a trifle of salt. The zooarchaeological study of the faunal remains discovered in the military barracks situated in the *praetentura sinistra* of the fortress has indeed indicated an overall preference for pork meat among the soldiers of *legio V Macedonica* at Potaissa, followed by smaller quantities of beef, mutton and very rarely chicken.[112] Only one faunal remain has indicated contact with fire as a result of grilling or frying. However, the consumption of meat on the bone in the barracks brings forth additional issues regarding the military rations. We know that in theory each

[110] Nedelea 2018, 117–159.

[111] Nedelea 2020d, 39–70 – regarding *graffiti* identified on Dragendorff 44 type bowls in the fortress; Nedelea 2023, Plate V/Chart 6.

[112] Nemeti et alii 2017, 152–159; 153, Table 1.

soldier received a „daily" ration which included small quantities of meat/cured pork fatback (*laridum*), and in literature it is presented as an ideal situation in which the meat is already cut and given as an exact quantity to the individual soldier. Therefore, three questions arise: 1) was this meat on the bone a part of their rations? 2) if it was a part of their rations, was it issued per *contubernium* or *centuria* as a larger cut of meat on the bone, which was meant to be divided equally among its soldiers? 3) or, was this meat on the bone self-procured, in addition to their individual rations?

If the soldiers of the lower ranks seem to have accomodated to rather simple meals, cooked through boiling and sporadically frying, grilling or baking, the overall majority of kitchenware identified in the headquarters building – mainly pans – indicates a preference for fried, roasted or baked meals among their officers.

The presence of large quantities of luxury *mortaria* shows an affinity towards soft cheese spreads (*moretum*) and sauces among both lower and higher ranks of the personnel.

Based on all observations, it is very possible that the ovens of the cook-houses (*praefurnia* to the baths) were also used for breadmaking (*panis militaris*), as their position within the fortress is ideal for such activities.

If analysed in large quantities, pottery assemblages can offer an insight into the functionality of spaces. For the first time, this study has provided new data regarding the position of kitchen and cook-houses within the fortress, as well as information regarding culinary activities within the military baths and their *praefurnia*. New data regarding the cooking habits of the legion have also been observed, with a clear difference between the diet of the soldiers and that of the officers. It has also brought forth a new ceramic shape which was utilized as a portable stove/brazier, thus offering an explanation to the enigma of the missing hearths within this fortress. In conclusion, the analysis of all kitchenware from the legionary fortress at Potaissa has once more confirmed cooking patterns and habits which have been observed not only in the military milieu of Roman Dacia, but also that of the Roman Empire.

Bibliography

Bărbulescu 1987 — M. Bărbulescu, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea V Macedonica și castrul de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 1987.

Bărbulescu 1991 — M. Bărbulescu, *Das römische Legionslager von Potaissa (Rumänien)*, AW, 22, 1, 1991, 22–30.

Bărbulescu 1994 — M. Bărbulescu, *Potaissa. Studiu monografic*, Turda 1994.

Bărbulescu 1997 — M. Bărbulescu, *Das Legionslager von Potaissa (Turda)/Castrul legionar de la Potaissa (Turda)*, *Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Dacia Porolissensis No. 7/Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis nr. 7*, Zalău 1997.

Bărbulescu 2020 — M. Bărbulescu, *Castrul legionar de la Potaissa (Turda). 45 de ani de cercetări arheologice*, CA, 27, 2020, 421–439.

Bărbulescu et alii 2019	M. Bărbulescu (ed.), M. Andone-Rotaru, C. Bărbulescu, M. Bărbulescu, T. Bărbulescu, A. Cătinaș, I. Fábián, F.-Gh. Fodorean, P. Huszarik, M. Munteanu, L. Nedelea, I. Nemeti, S. Nemeti, *Termele din castrul legionar de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 2019.
Bărbulescu et alii 2020	M. Bărbulescu (ed.), C. Bărbulescu, M. Bărbulescu, T. Bărbulescu, A. Cătinaș, I. Fábián, F.-Gh. Fodorean, M. Munteanu, L. Nedelea, I. Nemeti, S. Nemeti, T. Varga, *Principia din castrul legionar de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 2020.
Benea 2018	D. Benea, *Castrul roman de la Tibiscum*, Timişoara 2018.
Benea, Bona 1994	D. Benea, P. Bona, *Tibiscum*, București 1994.
Bidwell, Speak 1994	P. Bidwell, S. Speak, *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort*, I, Newcastle upon Tyne 1994.
Bondoc 2015	D. Bondoc, *Cioroiul Nou. Edificiul termal (balneum) al legiunii VII Claudia/The bath house (balneum) of Legio VII Claudia*, Craiova 2015.
Boon 1987	G. C. Boon, *The legionary fortress of Caerleon-Isca: a brief account*, Caerleon 1987.
Bowmann, Thomas 2003	A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses)*, 3, London 2003.
Brewer, Cymru 2011	R. J. Brewer, A. Cymru, *Caer Rufeinig Gelliger Roman Fort*, National Museum Wales 2011.
Campbell 2009	D. B. Campbell, *Roman Auxiliary Forts 27 BC-AD 378*, Oxford – New York 2009.
Casey et alii 1993	P. J. Casey, J. L. Davies, J. Evans, *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975–1979*, CBA Research Report 90, Council for British Archaeology, London 1993.
Charlesworth 1975	D. Charlesworth, *The commandant's house, Housesteads*, Archaeologia Aeliana, s5, 3, 1975, 17–42.
Contincello et alii 1990	B. Conticello et alii, *Riscoprire Pompeii/Rediscovering Pompeii, Exhibition by IBM Italia, New York City, IBM Gallery of Science and Art, 12 July – 15 September*, Rome 1990.
Cool et alii 1995	H. E. M. Cool, G. Lloyd-Morgan, A. D. Hooley, *The Archaeology of York, The Small Finds*, 17, Dorset 1995.
Crow 2004	J. G. Crow, *Housesteads, A Fort and Garrison on Hadrian's Wall*, London 2004.
Crummy 1977	P. Crummy, *Colchester: The Roman Fortress and the Development of the Colonia*, Britannia, 8, 1977, 65–105.
Daniels 1959	C. M. Daniels, *The Roman bath house at Red House, Beaufront, near Corbridge*, Archaeologia Aeliana, s4, 37, 1959, 85–176.
Davison 1989	D. P. Davison, *The barracks of the Roman Army from the 1st to 3rd centuries AD*, BAR IS 472 (i), Oxford 1989.
Davison 1996	D. P. Davison, *Military Housing*. In: I. M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, Exeter 1996, 153–182.
Fagan 1999	G. G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*, Michigan 1999.

Isac 2003	D. Isac, *Castrul roman de la SAMVM – Căşeiu I. Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis / The Roman auxiliary fort SAMVM – Căşeiu. Handbook of archaeological monumnets from Dacia Porolissensis*, 9, Cluj-Napoca 2003.
Flück et alii 2022	M. Flück, T. Lippe, C. Meyer-Freuler, S. Streit, *Zu Gast bei Offizieren in Vindonissa. Von der spätlatènezeitlichen Befestigung zur Grossküche eines Offiziersgebäudes. Auswertung der Ausgrabung Windisch-Römerblick 2002–2004*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa 26, Brugg: Kantonsarchäologie Aargau 2022.
Găzdac, Isac 2007	C. Găzdac, D. Isac, *The auxiliary forts from SAMVM (Căşeiu) and Gilău*, Cluj-Napoca 2007.
Găzdac, Pripon 2012	C. Găzdac, E. Pripon, *The Roman auxiliary fort from Buciumi (Roman Dacia, Romania)*, Cluj-Napoca 2012.
Gamureac 2015–2016	Ş.-E. Gamureac, *Remarks on the Roman pottery from Slăveni fort. Report of the pottery discovered during 2008 archaeological excavations*, Oltenia, 22–23, 2015–2016, 127–136.
Greep 1986	S. J. Greep, *Coarse pottery.* In: J. D. Zienkiewicz (ed.), *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon, II: The Finds*, 1986, 50–96.
Gudea 1980	N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de la Breţcu*, ActaMP, 4, 1980, 306–362.
Gudea 1997a	N. Gudea, *Das Römergrenzkastell von Bologa – Rescvlvm / Castrul roman de la Bologa – Rescvlvm*, Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis, 1, Zalău 1997.
Gudea 1997b	N. Gudea, *Das Romergrenzkastell von Buciumi / Castrul roman de la Buciumi*, *Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis*, 2, Zalău 1997.
Gudea 1997c	N. Gudea, *Das Römergrenzkastell von Moigrad – Pomet. Porolissum 1 / Castrul roman de pe vârful dealului Pomet – Moigrad. Porolissum 1*, *Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis*, 5, Zalău 1997.
Gudea 2008	N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de la Feldioara / Das Römerkastell von Feldioara*, Cluj-Napoca 2008.
Gyemant, Gudea 1984	A. Gyemant, N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de la Buciumi. Propuneri pentru o reconstituire grafică, I–IV*, ActaMP, 8, 1984, 165–209.
Häberle et alii	S. Häberle, S. Deschler-Erb, M. Flück, P. Rentzel, A. Schlumbaum, P. Vandorpe, *"Fine dining" in the Roman provinces: an interdisciplinary study of a peristyle house kitchen at the legionary camp of Vindonissa, Switzerland*, JRA, 36, 2, 2023, 1–36.
Hoffmann 2002	B. Hoffmann, *The rampart buildings of Roman legionary fortresses*. In: P. Freeman et alii (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Amman, Jordan 2000, 895–899.
Hope 1905	W. H. St. J. Hope, *Excavations on the Site of the Roman City at Silchester, Hants, in 1903 and 1904*, Archaeologia, 59, 333–370.
Hoss 2005	S. Hoss, *Baths and Bathing: the culture of bathing and the baths and thermae in Palestine from the Hasmoneans to the Moslem conquest; with an appendix on Jewish rituals baths*, BAR IS 1346, Oxford 2005.

Jacobi 1930 — H. Jacobi, *Kastell Saalburg – Die Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1925–1928*, Saalburg-Jahrb. 7, 1930, 8–34.

Jilek, Breeze 2007 — S. Jilek, D. Breeze, *The Detritus of Life: the Contribution of Small Finds to Understanding Smaller Military Installations.* In: R. Hingley, S. Willis (eds.), *Roman Finds: Context and Theory. Proceedings of a conference held at the University of Durham*, Oxford 2007, 199–213.

Johnson 1983 — A. Johnson, *Roman Forts of the First and Second Centuries A.D. in Britain and the German Provinces*, London 1983.

Junkelmann 1997 — M. Junkelmann, *Panis Militaris: die Ernährung des römischen Soldaten oder der Grundstoff der Macht*, Mainz 1997.

Koloski-Ostrow 2008 — A. O. Koloski-Ostrow, *The City Baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum*. In: J. J. Dobbins, P. W. Foss (eds.), *World of Pompeii*, New York 2008, 224–256.

Marinescu et alii 1975 — L. Marinescu, L. Mărghitan, C. C. Petolescu, *Thermele romane de la Micia. Raport asupra săpăturilor din anii 1971–1974*, CA, 1, 1975, 217–229.

Matei, Bajusz 1997 — A. V. Matei, I. Bajusz, *Castrul roman de la Romita – Certiae / Das Römergrenzkastell von Romita – Certiae*, *Ghid al monumentelor arheologice din Dacia Porolissensis*, 4, Zalău 1997.

Meyer-Freuler 2022 — C. Meyer-Freuler, *Keramik Sp.2.2.* In: M. Flück et alii, *Zu Gast bei Offizieren in Vindonissa. Von der spätlatènezeitlichen Befestigung zur Grossküche eines Offiziersgebäudes. Auswertung der Ausgrabung Windisch-Römerblick 2002–2004*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa 26, Brugg: Kantonsarchäologie Aargau, 2022, 195–210.

Mosser 2010 — M. Mosser, *Befunde im Legionslager Vindobona. Teil V: Das Intervallum an der westlichen Lagermauer – Vorbericht zu den Grabungen Am Hof in den Jahren 2008/09*, Fundort Wien 13, 2010, 50–74.

Mosser 2015 — M. Mosser, *The legionary fortress of Vindobona (Vienna, Austria): change in function and design in the late Roman period.* In: R. Collins M. Symonds, M. Weber (eds.), *Roman military architecture on the frontiers. Armies and their architecture in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2015, 76–89.

Moosbrugger-Leu et alii 1959–1960 — R. Moosbrugger-Leu, E. Ettlinger, J. Huld, *Grabungen 1959 Areal Oelhafen*, Jahresbericht Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa 1959–1960, Brugg 1960, 5–23.

Mustață 2017 — S. Mustață, *The Roman Metal Vessels from Dacia Porolissensis*, Cluj-Napoca 2017.

Nedelea 2017 — L. Nedelea, *Analiza materialului ceramic*. In: S. Nemeti, I. Nemeti (eds.), *Studii asupra granițelor romane din Dacia. Castrul legionar de la Potaissa. I. Centuriae din praetentura sinistra*, Cluj-Napoca 2017, 83–106.

Nedelea 2018 — L. Nedelea, *Foculi (fire pots) discovered at the legionary fortress of Potaissa. Case study: centuriae from praetentura sinistra*, ActaMN, 55, 1, 2018, 117–159.

Nedelea 2019 — L. Nedelea, *Ceramica.* In: M. Bărbulescu (ed.), M. Andone-Rotaru, C. Bărbulescu, M. Bărbulescu, T. Bărbulescu, A. Cătinaș, I. Fábián, F.-Gh. Fodorean, P. Huszarik, M. Munteanu, L. Nedelea, I. Nemeti, S. Nemeti, *Termele din castrul legionar de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 2019, 182–248.

Nedelea 2020a	L. Nedelea, *Vesela romană din castrul legionar de la Potaissa / The Roman pottery from the legionary fortress at Potaissa*, PhD Thesis, Cluj-Napoca 2020.
Nedelea 2020b	L. Nedelea, *"The pottery whisperer". Scholae within the principia of the Potaissa legionary fortress in the 3rd century AD*, ActaMN, 57, 1, 2020, 143–164.
Nedelea 2020c	L. Nedelea, *Local and imported ware discovered in the legionary baths from Potaissa. Military life in Roman Dacia*, RCRF Acta 46, 2020, 89–99.
Nedelea 2020d	L. Nedelea, *Graffiti, Tituli Picti and Manufacturer Stamps Identified on Roman Earthenware from the Potaissa Legionary Fortress (2nd-3rd centuries AD)*, Studia UBB, 65, 1, 2020, 39–70.
Nedelea 2020e	L. Nedelea, *Ceramica*. In: M. Bărbulescu (ed.), *Principia din castrul legionar de la Potaissa*, Cluj-Napoca 2020, 97–156.
Nedelea 2022	L. Nedelea, *A rare find at the legionary fortress from Potaissa: two 3rd century A.D. import terracotta oinochoai (pinch-mouthed flagons) as private imports*, ActaMN, 59, I, 2022, 155–171.
Nedelea 2023	L. Nedelea, *A statistical analysis of the Roman pottery discovered within the perimeter of the porta decumana pertaining to the Potaissa legionary fortress*, Apulum, 60, 2023, 299–318.
Nemeti et alii 2017	S. Nemeti, I. Nemeti (eds.), *Castrul legionar de la Potaissa. I. Centuriae din praetentura sinistra*, Cluj-Napoca 2017.
O'Connor 1987	T. P. O'Connor, *Bones from Roman to Medieval deposits at the City Garage, 9 Blake Street, York*, Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 196/87, 1987.
Petruț 2018	D. Petruț, *Pottery and military life. Ceramic assemblages from the barracks of the auxiliary fort at Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis*, Cluj-Napoca 2018.
Pitts, St. Joseph 1985	L. F. Pitts, K. K. St. Joseph, *Inchtuthil: the Roman legionary fortress. Excavations 1952–65*, Britannia Monograph series, 6, Blairgowrie 1985.
Roth 1999	J. P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C. – A.D. 235)*, Boston 1999.
Rushworth 2009a	A. Rushworth, *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station. Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954–95*, I, *Structural report and discussion*, Swindon 2009.
Rushworth 2009b	A. Rushworth, *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station. Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954–95*, II, *The material assemblages*, Swindon 2009.
Sarnowski 2002	T. Sarnowski, *Intra fines Imperii. Centrum obozu w Novae: wykopaliska 1997–2002*, Światowit. Rocznik Instytutu Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 4 (45), 2, 2002, 164–165.
Sarnowski 2018	T. Sarnowski, *In medio castrorum legionis I Italicae at Novae Preserved Remains, 3D Virtual Modelling and Full-size Visualization on the Original Site*. In: C. S. Sommer, S. Matešic (eds.), *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ingolstadt 2015*, Mainz 2018, 356.

Swan 2008 — V. G. Swan, *Builders, suppliers and supplies in the Tyne-Solway region and beyond*. In: P. Bidwell (ed.), *Understanding Hadrian's Wall: Papers from a conference held at South Shields, 3rd-5th November, 2006, to mark the publication of the 14th edition of the Handbook to the Roman Wall*, South Shields 2008, 49–82.

Țentea 2015 — O. Țentea, *Bath and Bathing at Alburnus Maior / Băile Romane de la Alburnus Maior*, Cluj-Napoca 2015.

Webster 1988 — G. Webster (ed.), *Fortress into City. The Consolidation of Roman Britain, First Century AD*, London 1988.

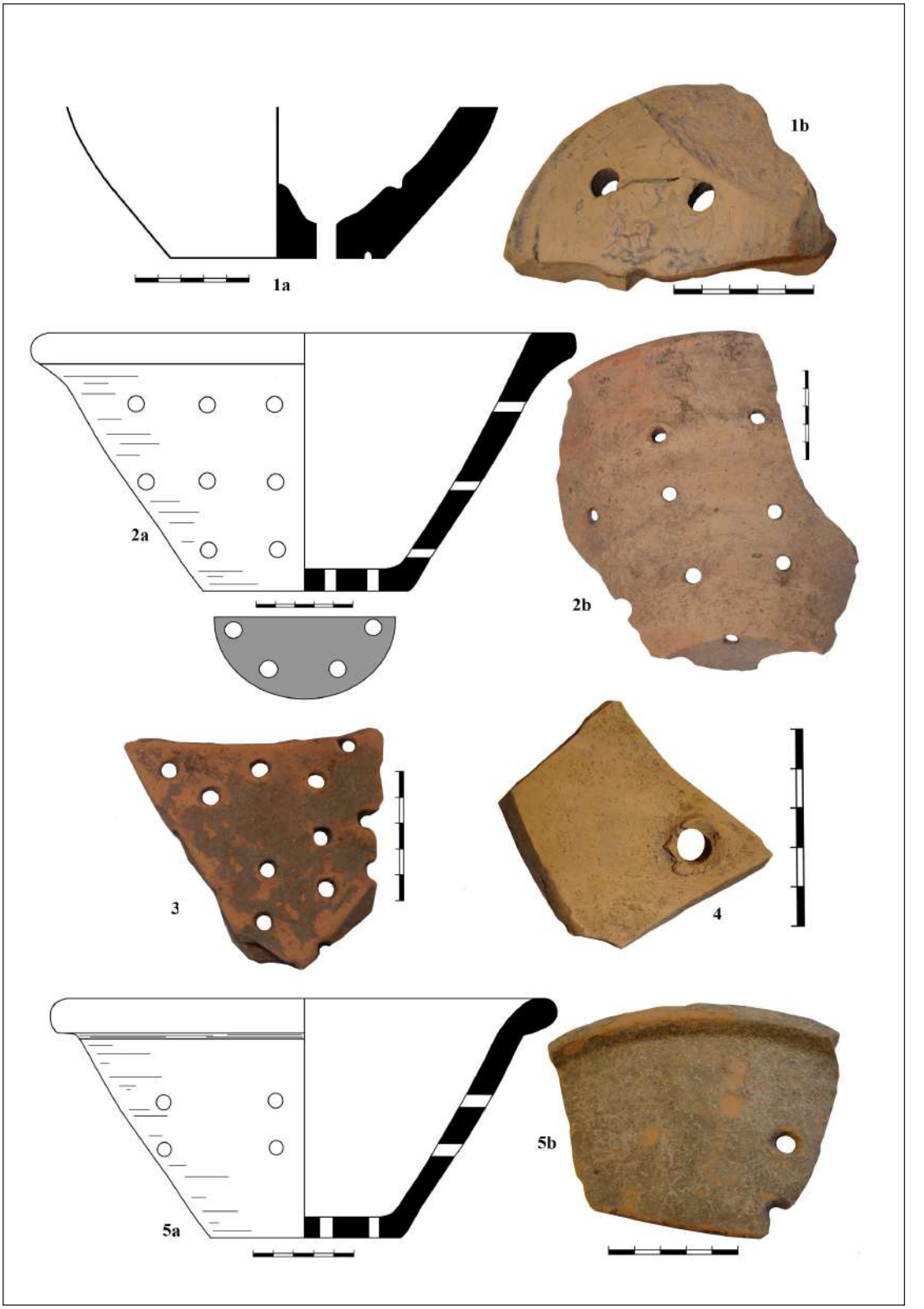
Webster 1992 — P. Webster, *Roman Pottery in South-East Wales: An Introduction*. In: R. Perrin (ed.), Journal of Roman Pottery Studies, 5, 1992, 111–121.

Zienkiewicz 1986a — J. D. Zienkiewicz, *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon, I, The Buildings*, Cardiff 1986.

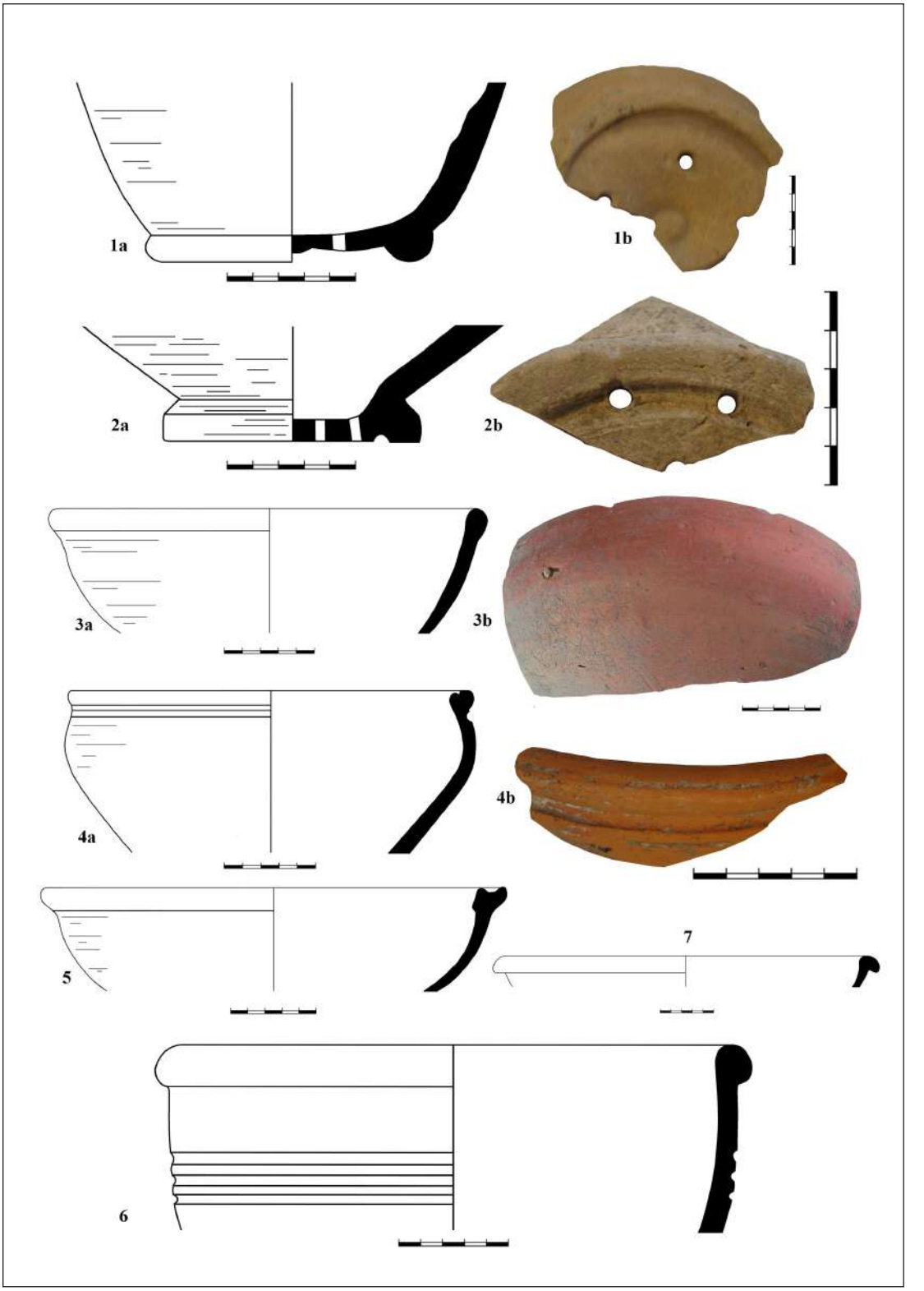
Zienkiewicz 1986b — J. D. Zienkiewicz, *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon, II, The finds*, Cardiff 1986.

Zienkiewicz et alii 1993 — D. Zienkiewicz, J. Hillam, E. Besly, B. M. Dickinson, P. V. Webster, S. A. Fox, S. Hamilton-Dyer, A. E. Caseldine, P. A. Busby, *Excavations in the Scamnum Tribunorum at Caerleon. The Legionary Museum site 1983–1985*, Britannia, 24, 1993, 27–140.

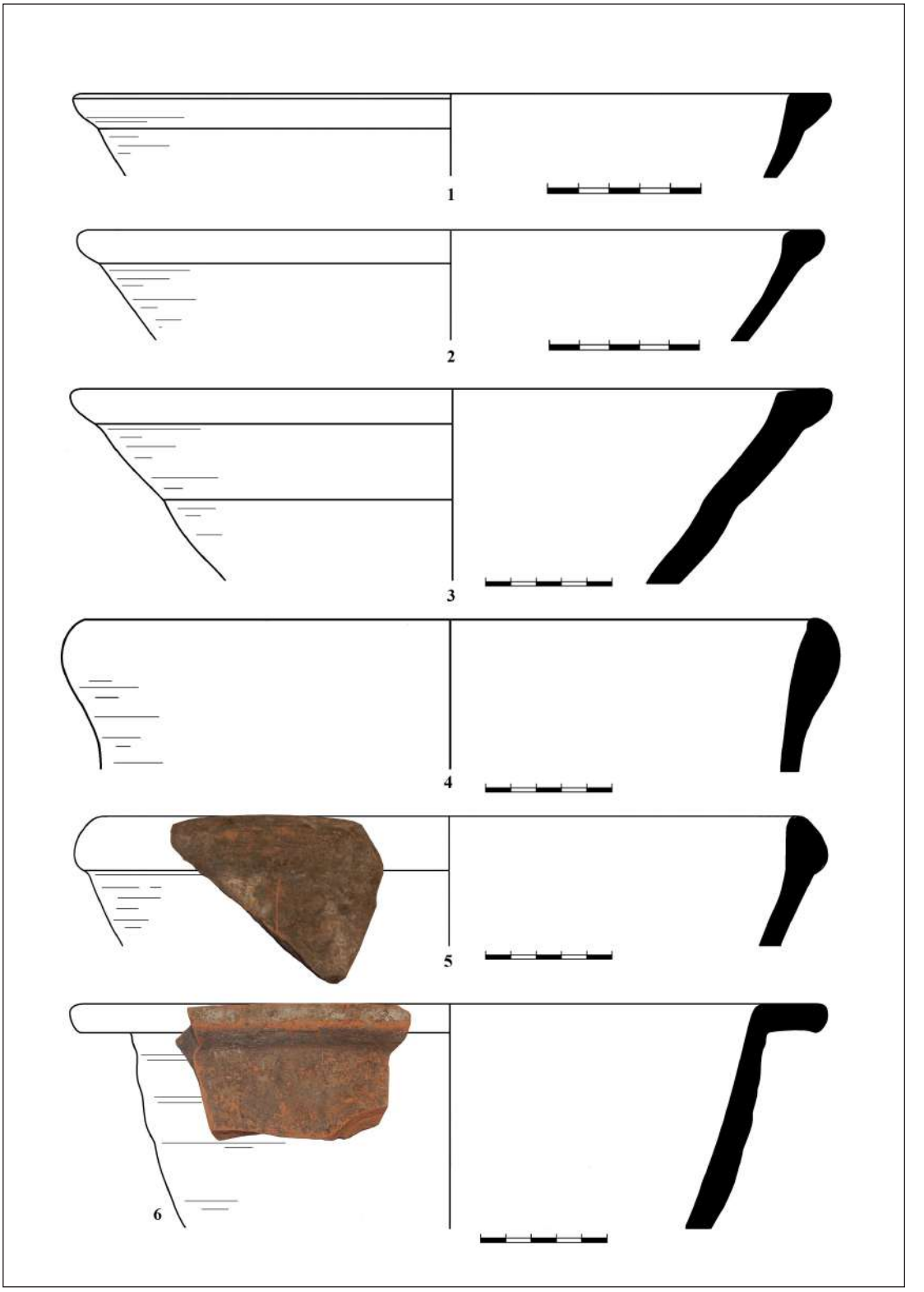
Luciana Nedelea
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
email: nedelealuciana753@yahoo.com



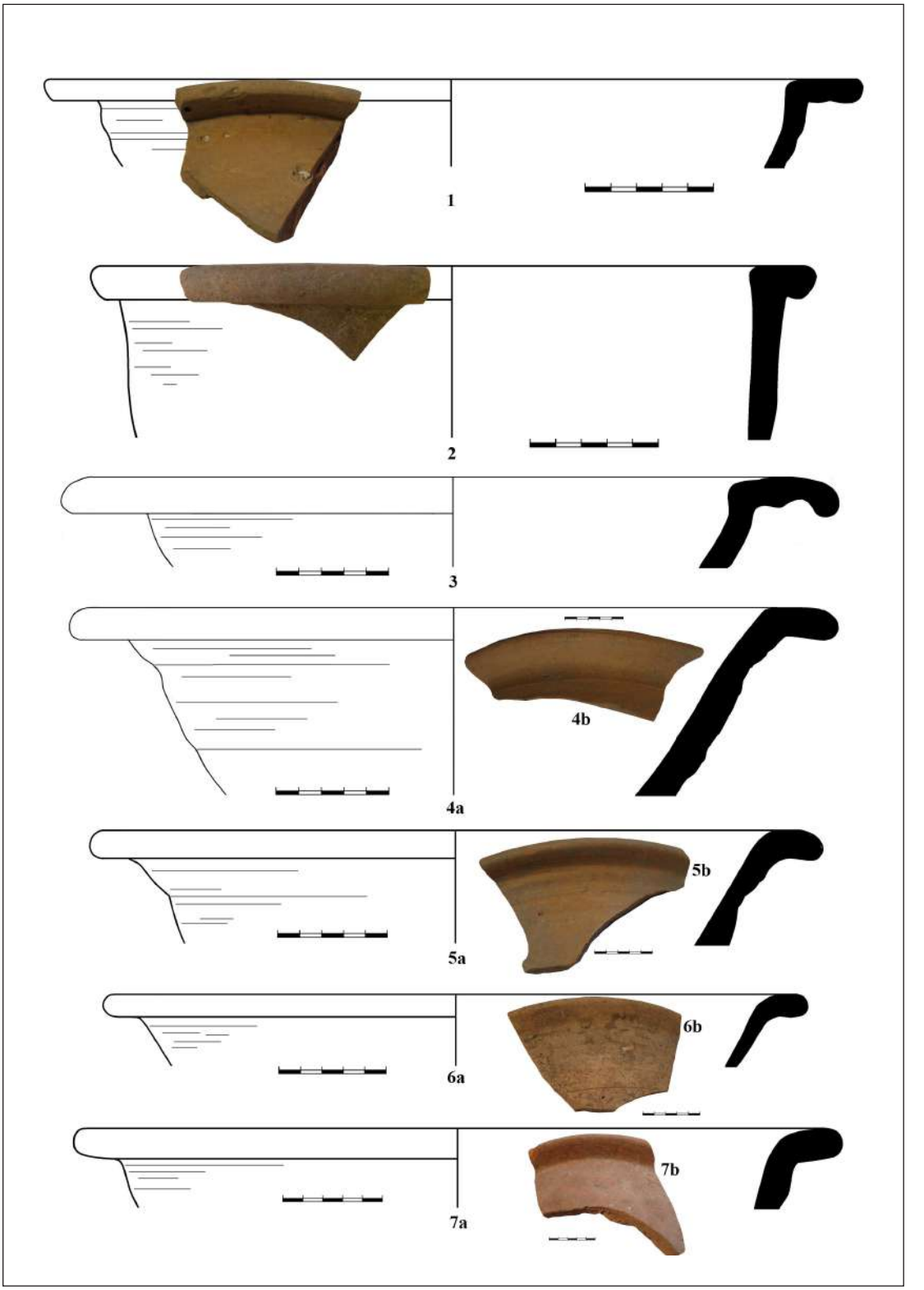
Pl. I. Strainers: **1.** Type I; **2–4.** Type II; **5.** Type III (© photos and drawings – author's work).



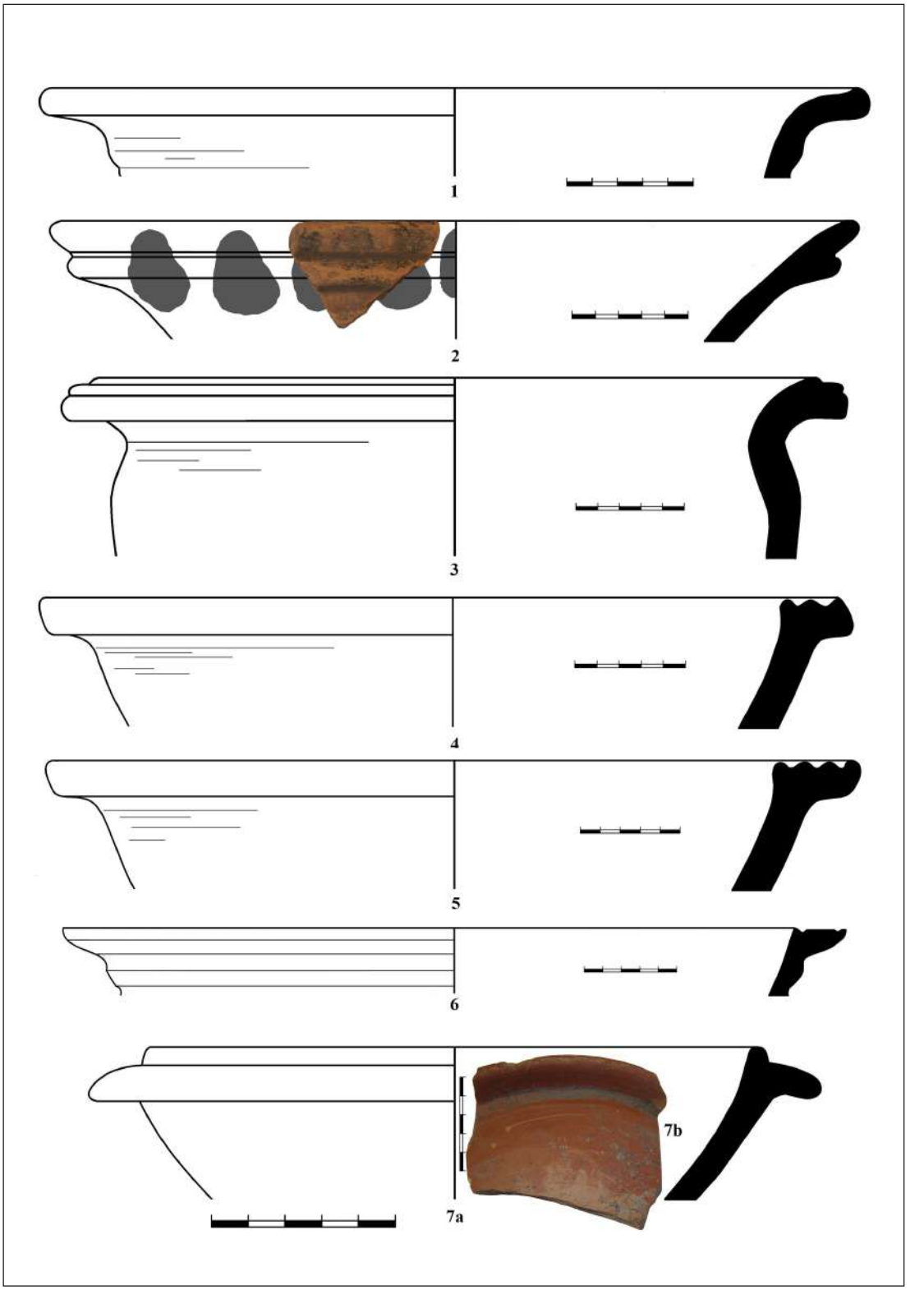
Pl. II. Strainers: **1–2.** Type IV; Mixing bowls: **3.** Type I; **4–5.** Type II; **6–7.** Type III (© photos and drawings – author's work).



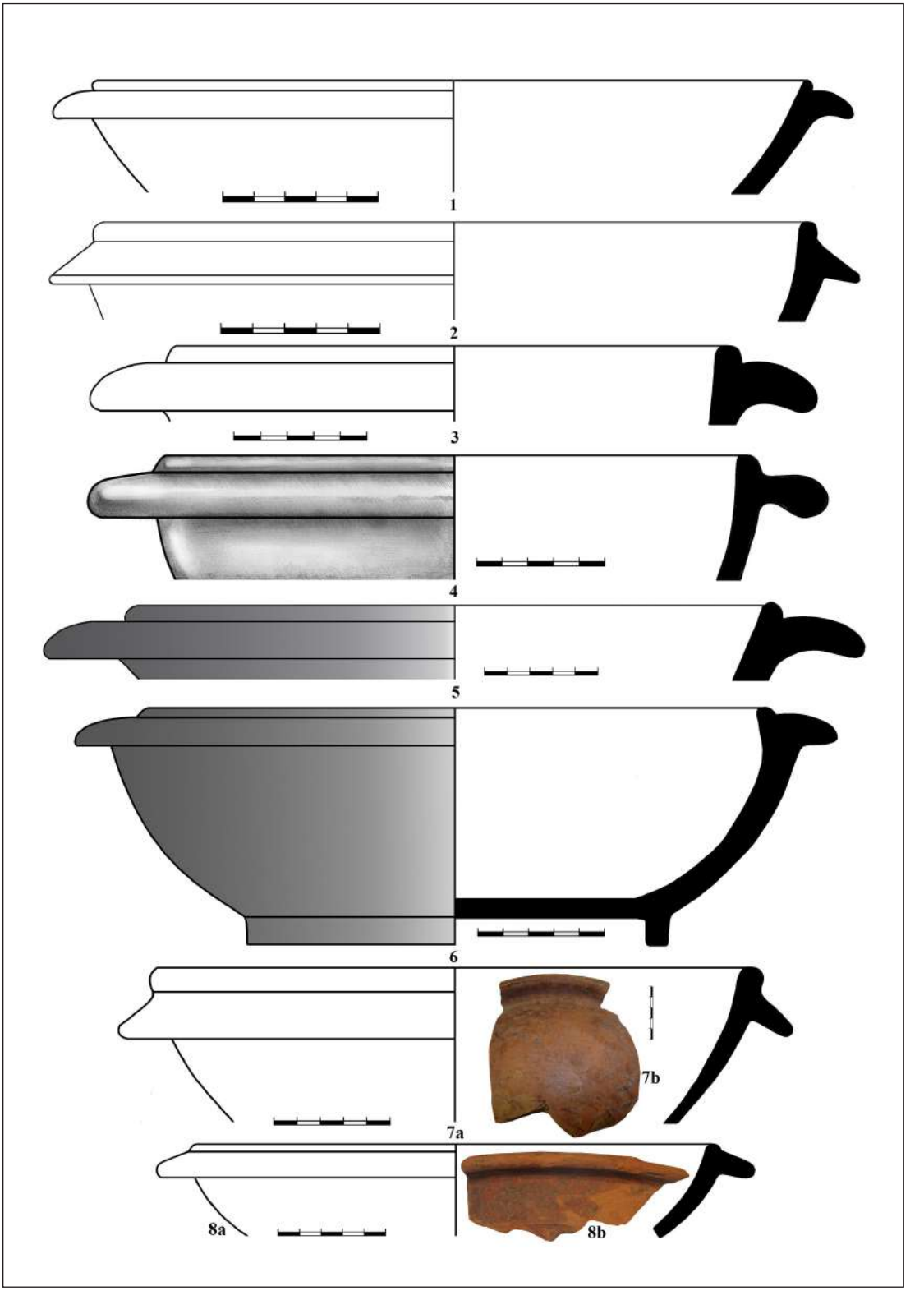
Pl. III. Mixing bowls: **1–3.** Type IV; **4–5.** Type V; **6.** Type VI (© photos and drawings – author's work).



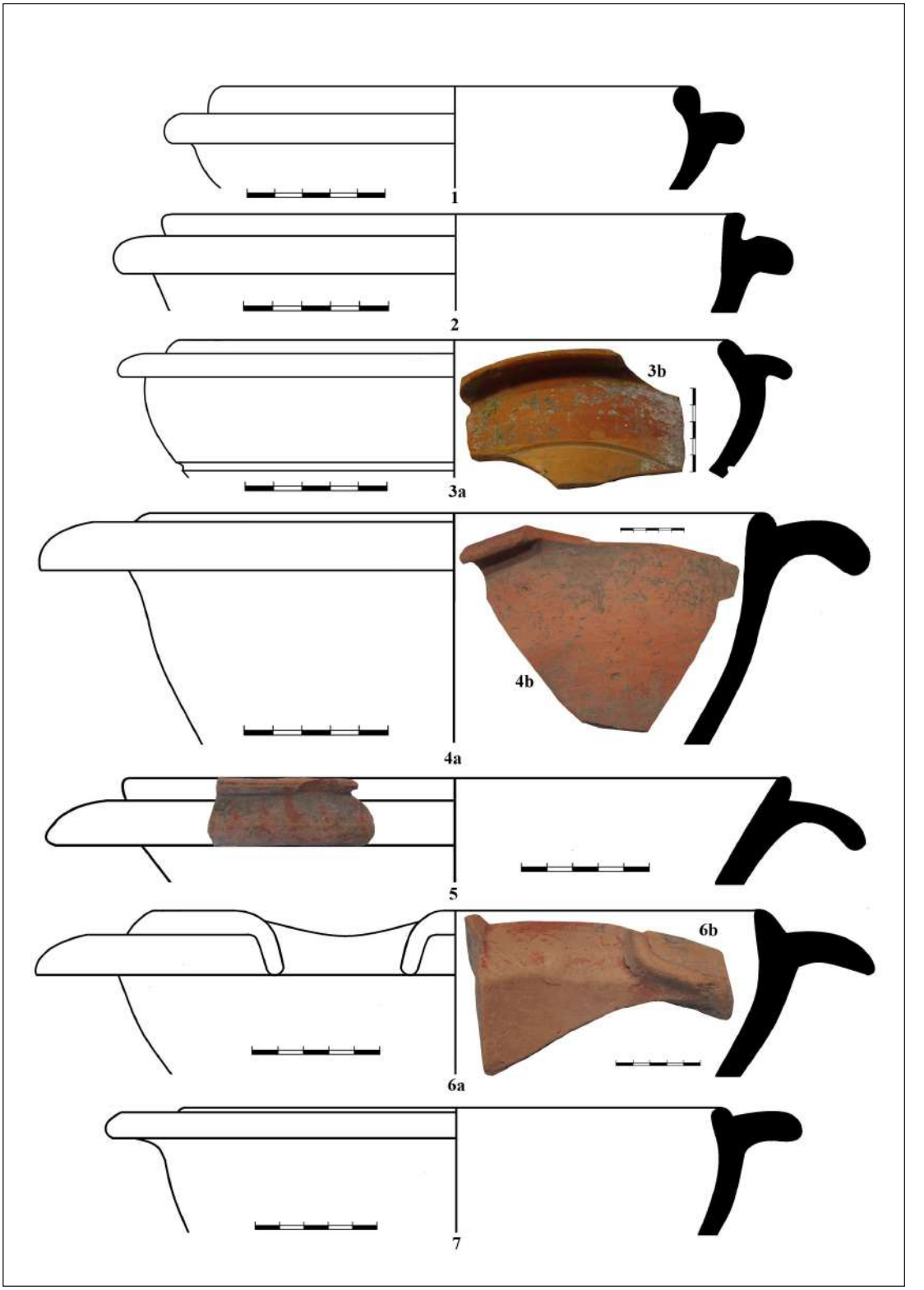
Pl. IV. 1–7. Mixing bowls, Type VI (© photos and drawings – author's work).



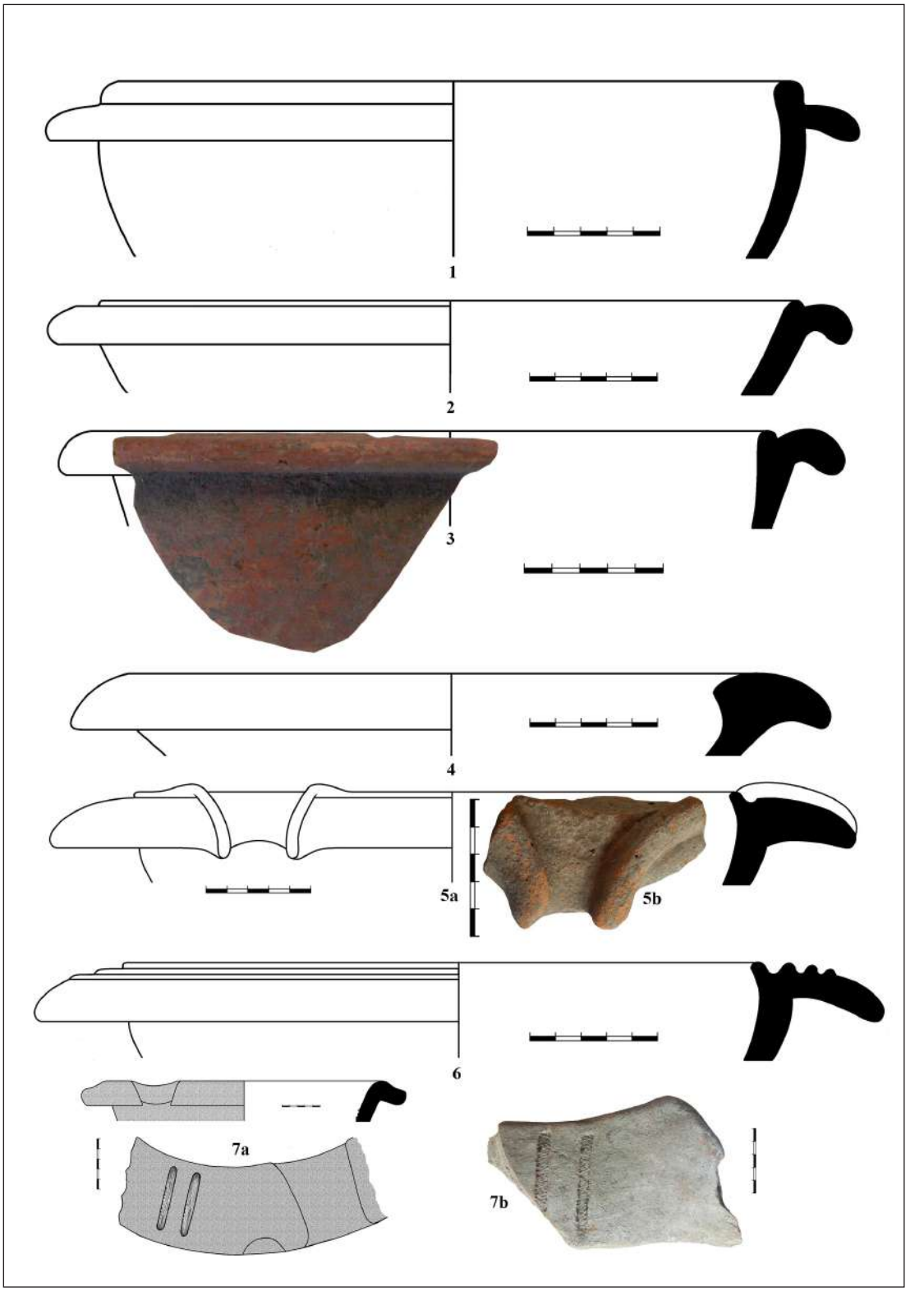
Pl. V. Mixing Bowls: **1.** Type VI; **2.** Type VII; **3.** Type VIII; **4.** Type IX; **5.** Type X; **6.** Type XI; *Mortaria*: **7.** Category A, Curle 11 (© photos and drawings – author's work).



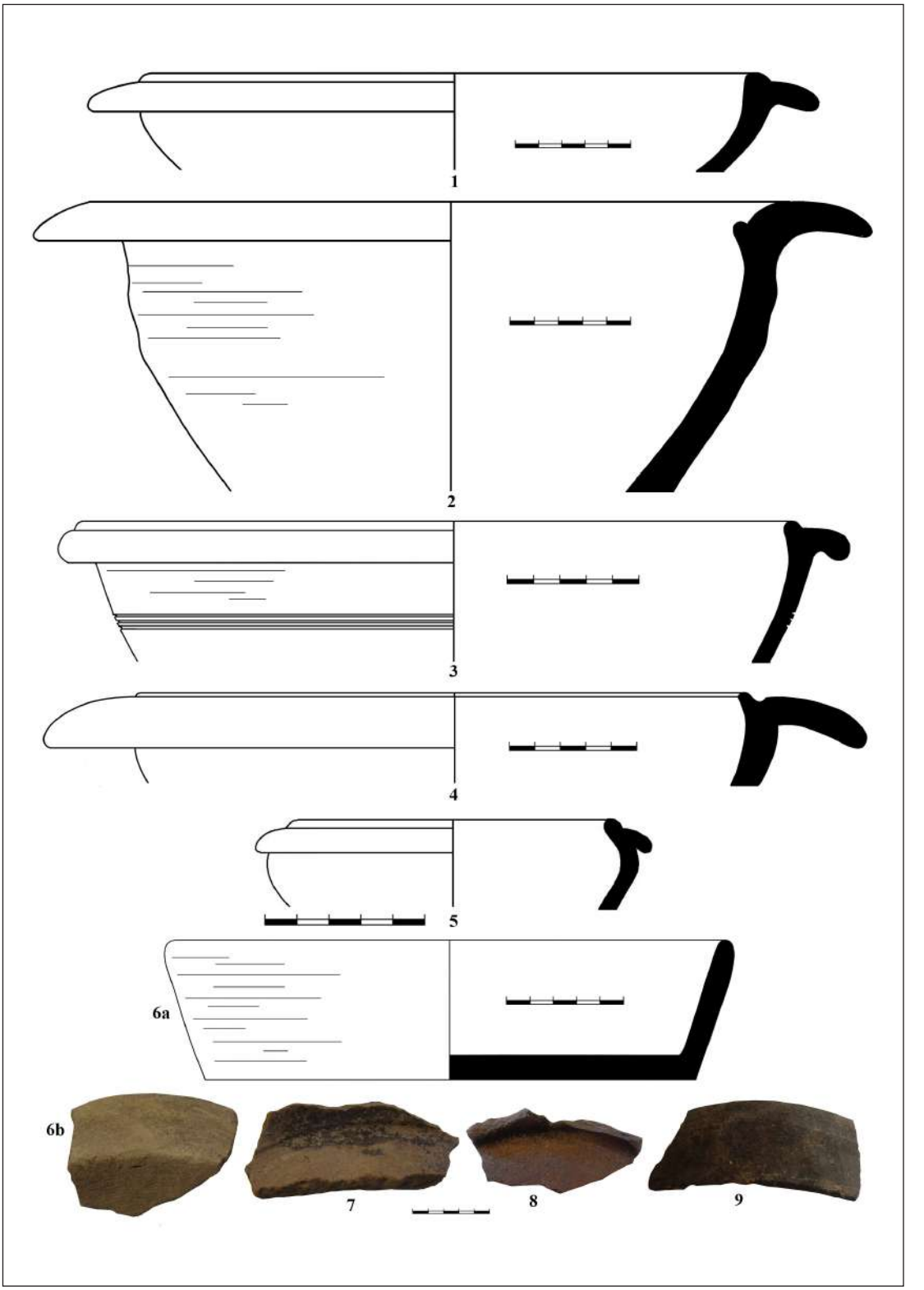
Pl. VI. *Mortaria*: **1–3.** Category A, Curle 11; **4–6.** Category A, reduced firing; **7–8.** Category B, Type I (© photos and drawings – author's work).



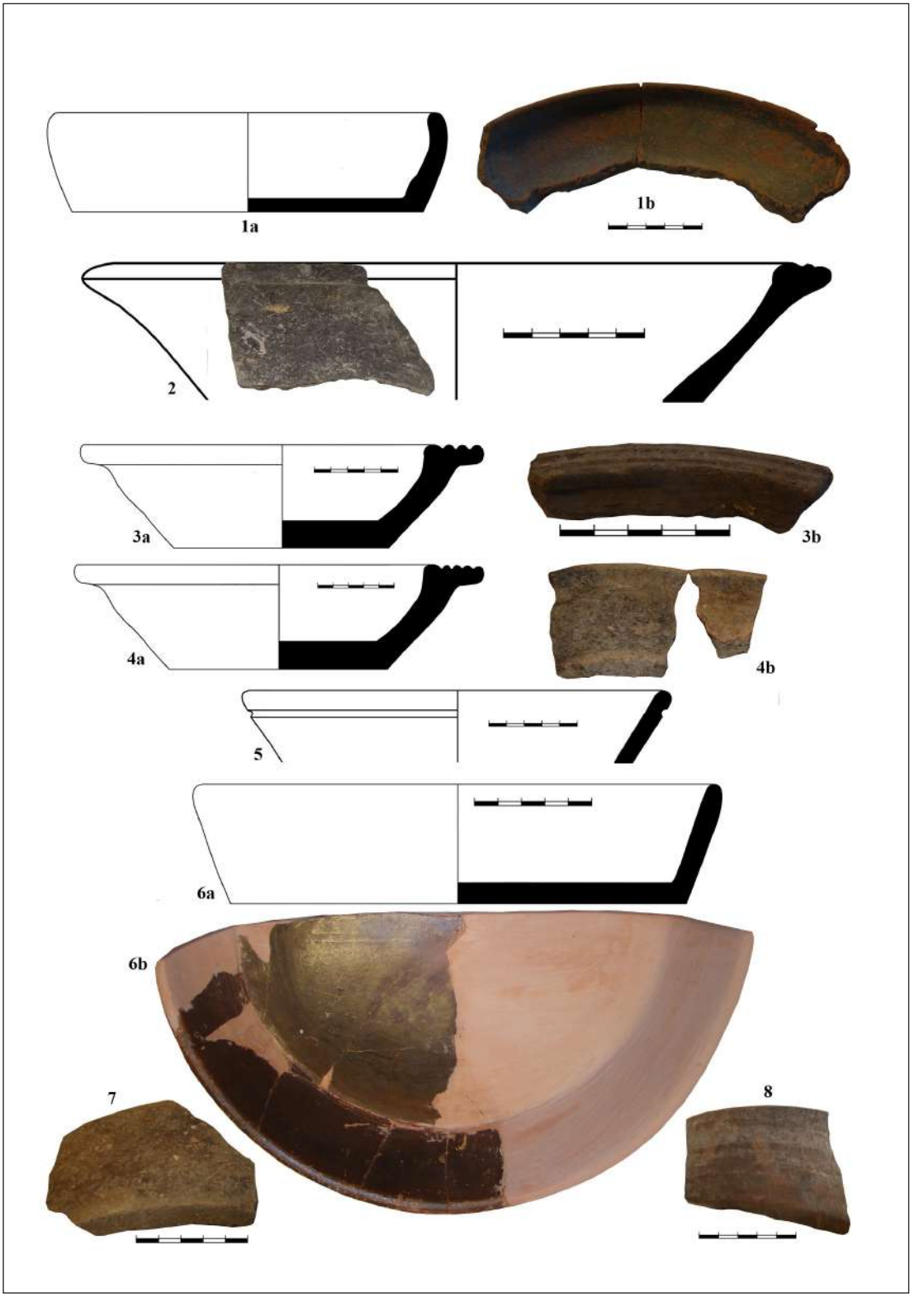
Pl. VII. *Mortaria*: **1–2.** Category B, Type II; **3–7.** Type III (© photos and drawings – author's work).



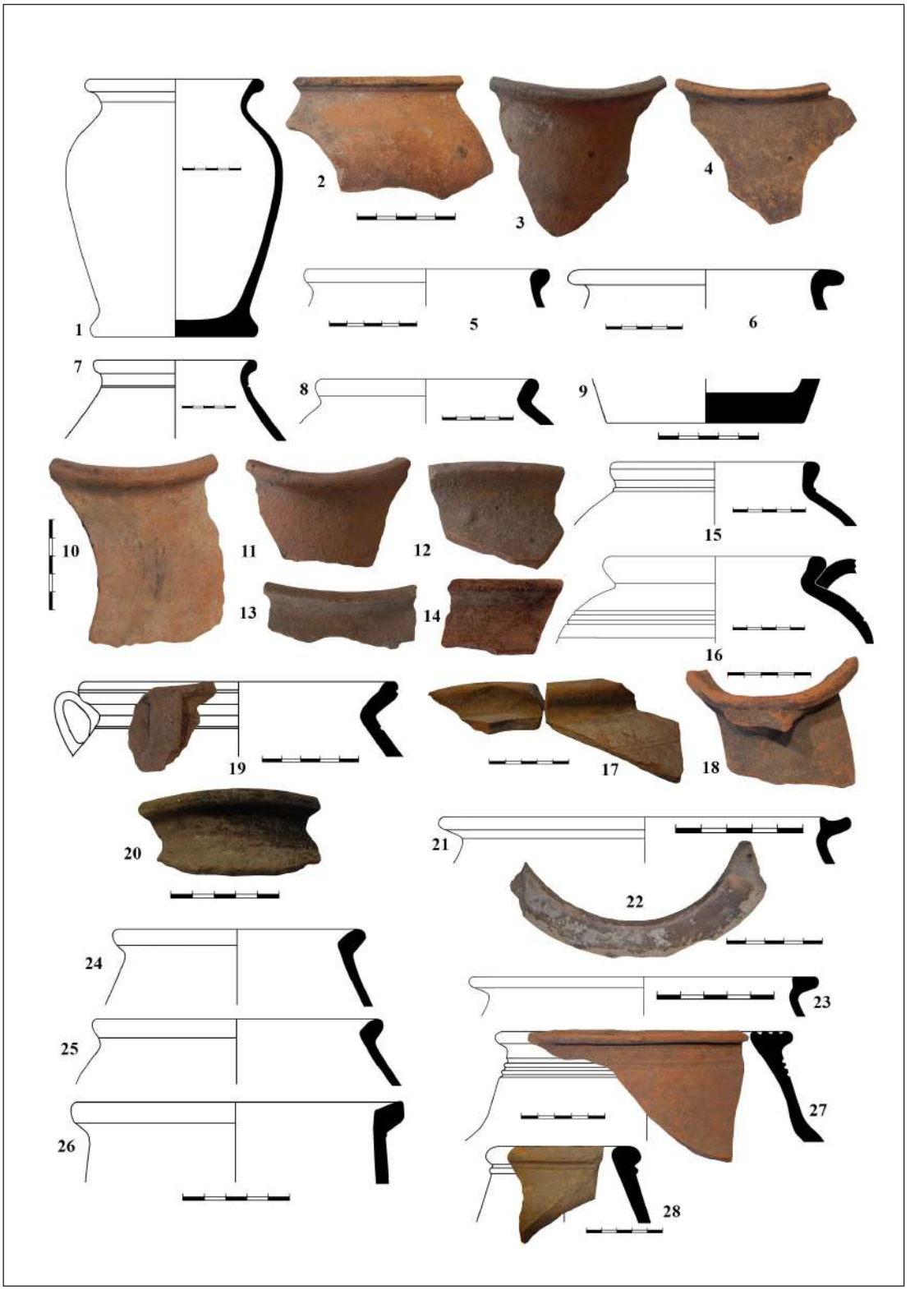
Pl. VIII. *Mortaria*: **1–3.** Category B, Type III; **4.** Type IV; **5.** Category C, Type I; **6.** Type II; **7.** Type III (© photos and drawings – author's work).



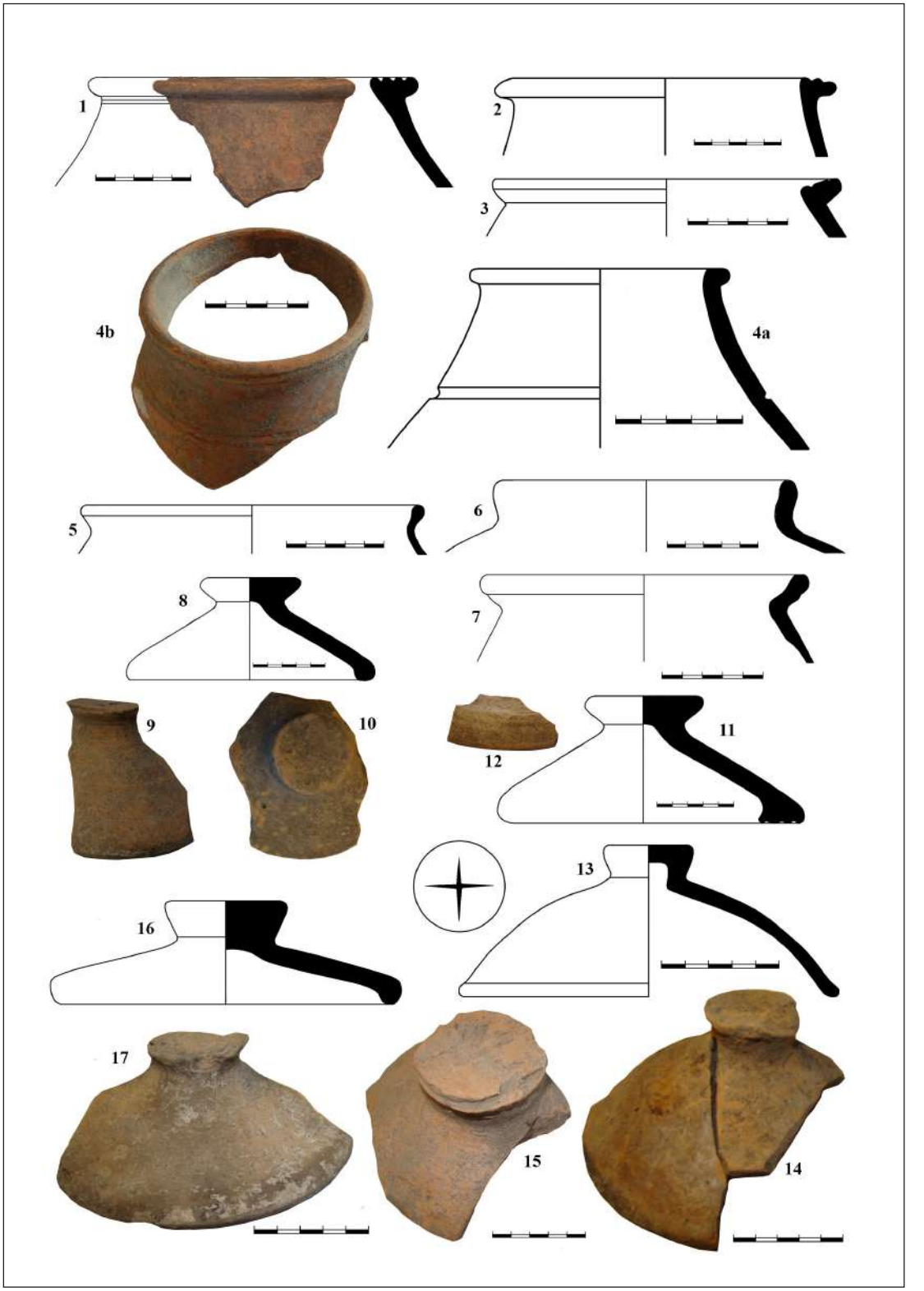
Pl. IX. *Mortaria*: **1.** Category C, Type IV; **2.** Type V; **3.** Type VI; **4.** Type VII; **5.** Type VIII; **6–9.** Frying pans – Type I (© photos and drawings – author's work).



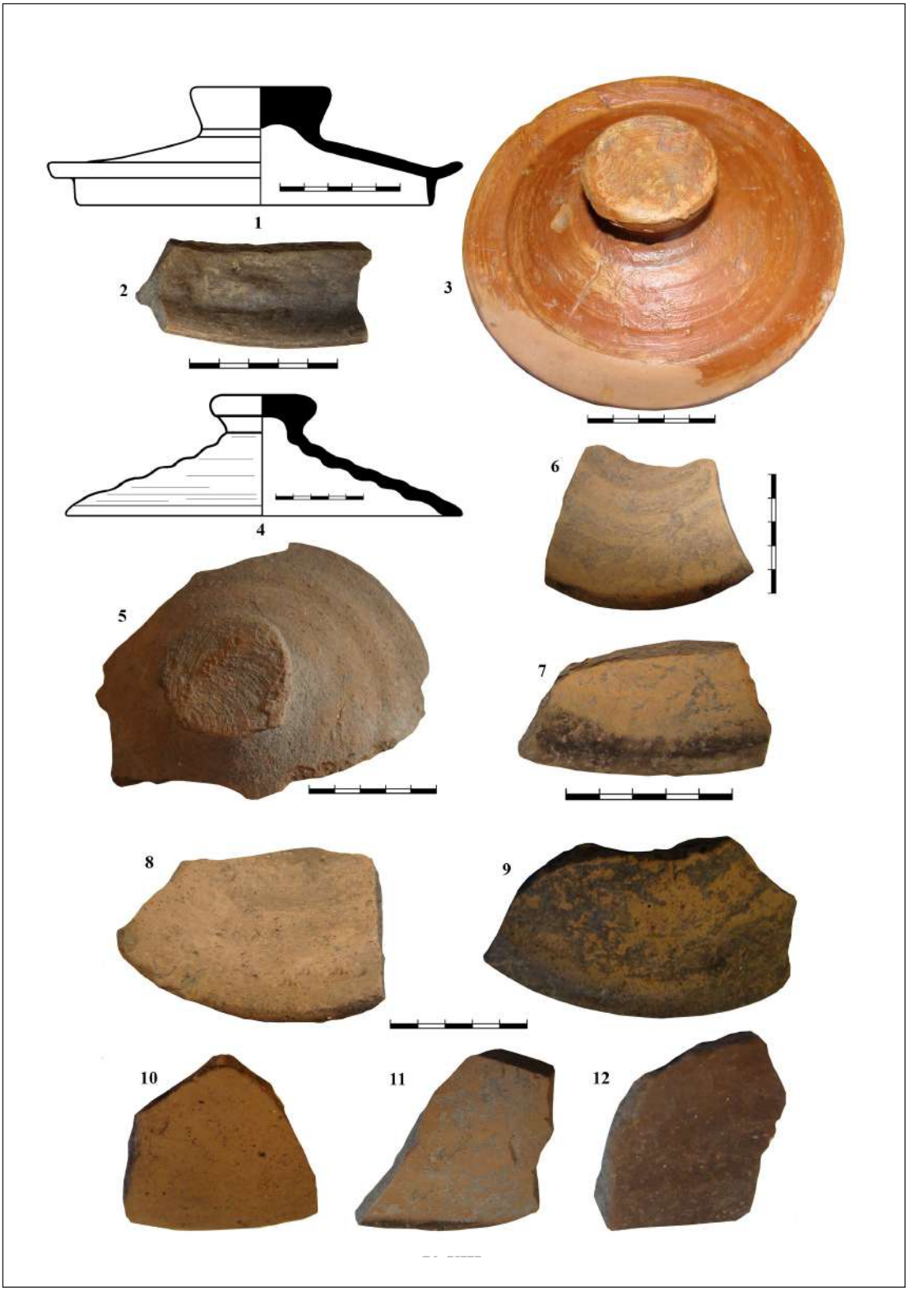
Pl. X. Frying/Baking pans: **1.** Type II; **2.** Type III; **3.** Type IV; **4.** Type V; **5.** Type VI; **6–8.** Type VII (© photos and drawings – author's work).



Pl. XI. Pots: **1–6.** Type I; **7–14.** Type II; **15–18.** Type III; **19–20.** Type IV; **21–23.** Type V; **24–26.** Type VI; **27.** Type VII; **28.** Type VIII (© photos and drawings – author's work).



Pl. XII. Pots: **1.** Type IX; **2–3.** Type X; **4.** Type XI; **5–6.** Type XII; **7.** Type XIII; Lids: **8–10.** Type I; **11–12.** Type II; **13–15.** Type III; **16–17.** Type IV (© photos and drawings – author's work).



Pl. XIII. Lids: **1–3.** Type V; **4–11.** Type VI (© photos and drawings – author's work).

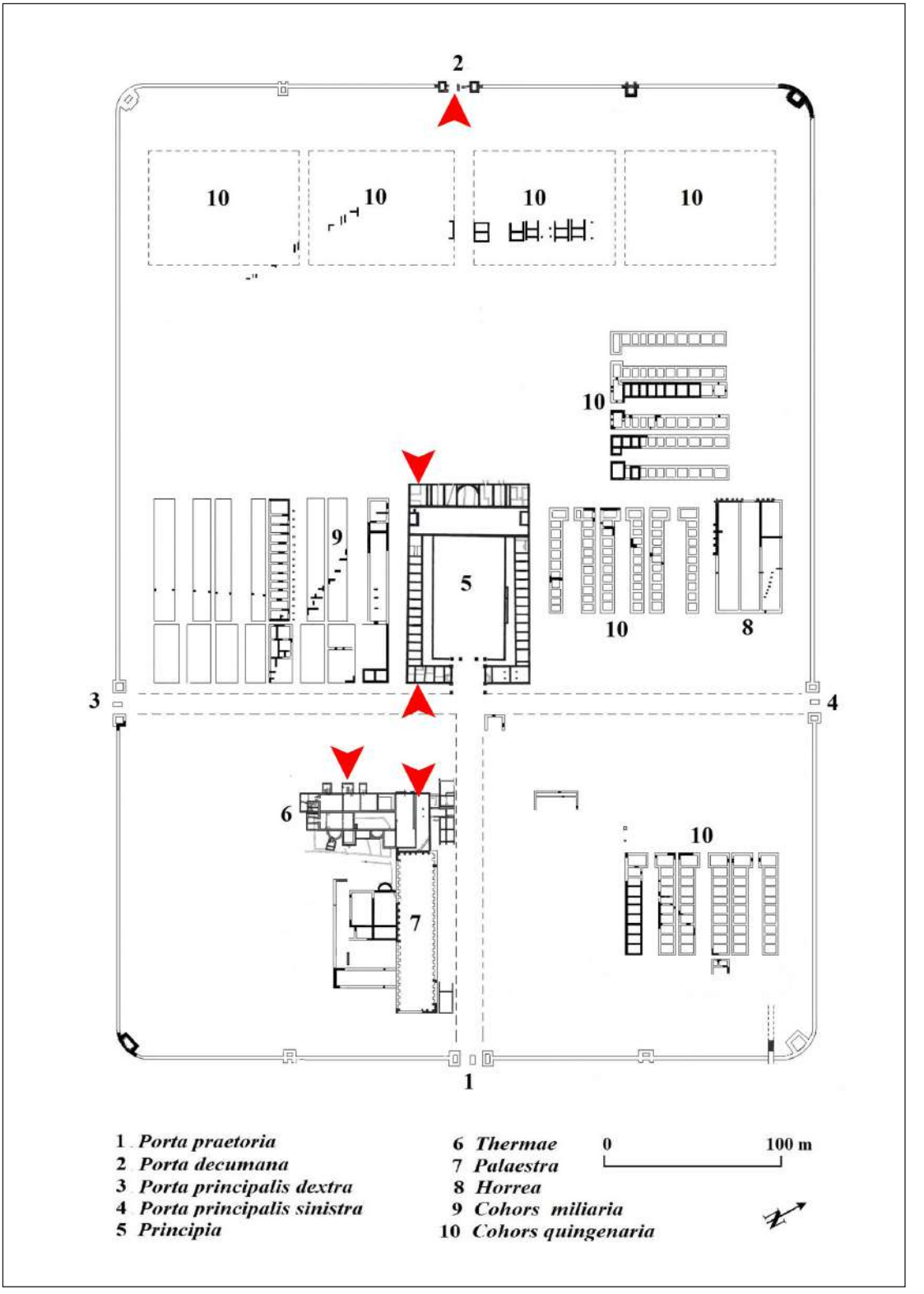


1



2

Pl. XIV. 1–2. Kitchen/*culinae* in *praefurnia* M, L and K of the baths (© photos and reconstructions – after Bărbulescu et alii 2019, 57, figs. 120, 122, 294).



Pl. XV. The legionary fortress from *Potaissa* – location of the kitchen and cook-houses.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 149–167

A PIECE OF MAIL ARMOUR FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS ON VICTOR DELEU STREET, CLUJ-NAPOCA

MONICA GUI, SORIN COCIȘ

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.05

Abstract: The present paper analyses a large piece of mail armour found during archaeological excavations in Cluj-Napoca, no. 1 Victor Deleu Street. In the course of this research, important traces of the ancient Roman town of Napoca came to light. The mail shirt may belong to the latest phases of Roman habitation, but, in the absence of an undisturbed find context, a later date cannot be excluded. The artefact was subjected to a series of detailed investigations, including X-ray and CT scan. The poor state of preservation, however, means that many uncertainties still remain. After the technical description, other issues, such as deposition and possible dating, are addressed. Assuming a Roman date for the mail, the presence of a military item in a civilian context is further discussed.

Keywords: Roman military equipment; mail armour; Roman Dacia; Napoca.

Rezumat: Articolul prezent analizează un fragment de armură de zale de dimensiuni considerabile, descoperit în cursul săpăturilor arheologice desfășurate în Cluj-Napoca, pe strada Victor Deleu, nr. 1. Aceste cercetări au evidențiat vestigii importante ale orașului roman Napoca. Armura ar putea avea legătură cu ultimele faze ale locuirii romane, dar, în lipsa unui context arheologic sigur, o datare mai târzie nu poate fi exclusă. Deși fragmentul a fost supus unor investigații amănunțite, inclusiv radiografie și tomografie computerizată, datorită stării slabe de conservare rămân multe incertitudini. După descrierea tehnică, alte aspecte, cum ar fi depunerea sau posibila datare, sunt luate în considerare. Presupunând o datare în epoca romană, prezența unui articol de echipment militar într-un context civil este de asemenea discutată.

Cuvinte-cheie: echipament militar roman; armură de zale; Dacia romană; Napoca.

Introduction

The present paper analyses a large piece of mail armour found during the archaeological excavations carried out at no. 1 V. Deleu Street,[1] in Cluj-Napoca, where important traces of Roman habitation were brought to light. In absence of an undisturbed context, however, the artefact cannot be securely dated to the Roman period. If indeed Roman, it would represent an important find for the province of Dacia, as mail fragments discovered to date are usually much smaller and are rarely ever published. This situation is in stark contrast with the wide use of the so-called *lorica hamata* in the Roman army, with various designs of mail armour being worn by infantry and cavalry, legionary and auxiliary

[1] The find is now in the collection of the Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. v 66632. We wish to thank Dr. M. A. Wijnhoven, who kindly read and commented on an earlier draft of this paper. Whatever errors the present paper may contain are our own responsibility.

soldiers alike.[2] Moreover, the essentially civilian context in which it was found deserves further consideration.

The archaeological site on V. Deleu Street

The archaeological research that took place between 1992 and 2001, with a further campaign in 2012,[3] greatly contributed to our understanding of the development of Roman Napoca. During the excavations, a part of a residential area was unearthed, the chronology of which spanned from the settlement of the colonists at the beginning of the 2nd century AD to the abandonment of the province after the middle of the 3rd century. Three timber phases and two stone phases were evidenced: the first timber phase corresponds to the arrival of the settlers, the irregular structures of the second timber phase relate to the *vicus*, while the third timber phase, which attests the existence of a street grid, can be dated to the municipal period. The construction of two stone buildings at the middle of the 2nd century marks the first stone phase, while their partial rebuilding at the beginning of the 3rd century represents the second stone phase. Each stone phase had two sub-phases, the last of these consisting of repairing works.[4] Obviously, the stone phases are better represented. The two buildings, conventionally called C1 and C2, were only partially researched, but enough of their plan was outlined to realise that they represent two houses, separated by a narrow walkway. The houses were part of an *insula* situated close to the northern side of the town wall.[5] The excavations also revealed some traces of the medieval and modern habitations (11th-12th, 14th-15th, 17th-18th centuries).[6] Unfortunately, the 3rd century and later structures had been more or less severely affected by modern construction works prior to the beginning of the archaeological excavations.[7]

Find context of the mail armour

The piece of mail was found in the area of building C2. The chronology and partial layout (Pl. I/1) of this house are quite well understood.[8] C2 had two courtyards, the largest (a) allowing access from the street, while the smaller one (d) was more private. Room b was situated to the east of the courtyard and may have served as a storage or kitchen. Some of the most exciting discoveries of the entire site were there made, all related to the second stone phase, dated after the beginning of the 3rd century. A pit was dug into the first floor of the first sub-phase and a vessel containing a small gold piece and 1269 coins (mostly *denarii*) ending with issues of Severus Alexander was placed inside.[9] Moreover, a curious

[2] For the evidence relating to the relevant period for our study, i.e. 2nd-3rd centuries AD, see Wijnhoven 2022, 113–125.

[3] See Cociș et alii 1995a; Cociș et alii 1996; Cociș et alii 1997; Cociș et alii 1998; Cociș et alii 1999; Cociș et alii 2002; Cociș et alii 2013.

[4] Cociș et alii 1995b.

[5] Cociș et alii 1995b, 637–638; Ardeleanu 2015.

[6] Cociș et alii 1995b, 639; Cociș et alii 1997; Cociș et alii 2002; Țiplic et alii 2004.

[7] Cociș et alii 1995b, 635, n. 1.

[8] The following description of the rooms and their probable destination is summarised from Cociș et alii 1995b, 637–638 and Ardeleanu 2015, 48–50; see also the archaeological reports Cociș et alii 2002 and Cociș et alii 2013. It must be noted that the naming conventions used to designate various spaces sometimes differ in the reports and papers.

[9] Cociș et alii 1995a, 637–638; the monetary hoard was published by Găzdac et alii 2010.

assemblage of metal objects, which may have been stored in a cupboard or chest, or hidden in room b, was found on the same floor.[10] This was followed by a burning layer that was subsequently levelled and a new floor was built over, marking the second sub-phase. On this new floor, a few coins of Philippus Arabs were found. From this sequence of events, most notably the failure to retrieve the monetary hoard and the metal objects, it appears quite clearly that the house had changed residents after a calamity.[11] At the back of the large courtyard a the room c was situated, the plan of which was modified between phases, but remained heated throughout its existence. This room may have had access to the smaller paved courtyard d. The back-room e was accessed from courtyard d through corridor f. An altar to Silvanus Domesticus, dated to the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 3rd centuries was found in the debris of the corridor.[12] The altar may have stood in the courtyard,[13] or in a small apse or niche within the corridor wall.[14] Back-room e was only partially uncovered in the 1990s (Pl. I/1). The excavation was resumed in that area only in 2012, but, because of the modern buildings, it was impossible to determine room e's western side (Pl. I/2). The partial dimensions of the room are of 7 × 4.23 m. An archaeological trial trench through its *opus signinum* floor revealed the following stratigraphic sequence: three timber phases dated up to the middle of the 2nd century, were succeeded by a stone construction with a renovation phase, then a new stone construction with two renovations lasting until the middle of the 3rd century. All the rooms or compartments in this part of the building, including room e, were provided with a hypocaust installation. Archaeological contexts dated to the 15th and 16th centuries were also recorded.[15]

The piece of mail, which is the subject of the present paper, was found during the 1990s excavation, on the *opus signinum* floor of the room e, above a pit, at a depth of less than 0.5 m from the modern ground level (Pl. II/1). Unfortunately, this area of the site had been affected by modern constructions. Consequently, it remains uncertain if the armour belongs to the last Roman phases, or to the later medieval habitation. Even if the archaeological context cannot provide a totally secure dating, a Roman timeframe seems entirely plausible. Therefore, in the rest of the paper the mail will be treated as potentially Roman, without excluding a later date. This issue will be further addressed in the concluding discussion.

Mail description

The artefact was extracted as a mass of corroded iron. On suspicion that it may be a piece of mail armour, the lump was X-rayed and, based on the result, it was mechanically cleaned. Afterwards, it was treated with tannin to stop further degradation.[16] Comparing the initial X-ray image (Pl. II/2) with a recent CT-scan (Pl. III),[17] it is clear that, due to

[10] Mustață, Cociș 2024; see also Mustață et alii 2010, 237.

[11] Găzdac et alii 2010, 14–15; Mustață, Cociș 2024.

[12] Cociș et alii 2004; in this paper, C2 is called L1 and room e is called C4.

[13] Cociș et alii 2004, 239.

[14] Ardeleanu 2015, 50.

[15] Cociș et alii 2002, 107; in the report C2 is called L1, room e is called C4 and corridor f is called C1; Cociș et alii 2013 – in the report, room e is called C2d-a, while room f is designated as C2d-b & c.

[16] We thank R. Cordoș for the insight.

[17] The CT-scan was made by Dr. Marius Călin, to whom we are grateful.

the poor state of the metal core, not all of the initial artefact visible on the X-ray could be preserved. In order to make it easier to reference the different parts of the irregular mass of mail, its four 'sides' were conventionally marked (a)-(d) on the illustrations. A quite large fragment from side (a) is currently missing. This is a particularly twisted area, which continues with an expansion towards the (b) side. Another significant expansion-like part is missing from side (c), towards (b). One may wonder if the preserved expansion on side (b) and the lost expansion on side (c) could actually represent sleeves. Small fragments are also missing from sides (d) and (b). The unnaturally straight edge of the lost expansion, as well as the chip on side (d), going through all the mail layers, are indicative of post-depositional damage. Since the older X-ray image cannot provide volumetric information, it is not possible to determine if the 'top' and 'bottom' of the lump were entirely preserved, but this does not seem very likely.

In its current state, the mail shirt appears as a solid oval-shaped lump with a flat base, made up of two large fragments (Pl. IV–V). It weighs 3.524 kg. Its maximum length (including the expansion) is of 30 cm, its maximum width of 22 cm, having a thickness of circa 4.5 cm. All sides present at least 5–6 rows of interconnected rings (Pl. IV/2, V/2). The approximate length of the expansion on side (b), measured on the exterior, from where it breaks from the bulk of the lump, is of 27 cm.

Mail construction and design

In order to determine the construction of the mail coat, apart from the visual inspection and the older X-ray image, a CT-scan was also employed. We were thus able to visualise the lump slice by slice, in both horizontal and vertical planes (Pl. VI). Unfortunately, due to the corrosion and packed character of the artefact, the investigations were less informative than hoped for.

The construction of the shirt most likely followed the common 4-in-1 weaving pattern, with four solid rings joined by a riveted ring, resulting in alternate rows of riveted and solid rings. Visually, this construction would have appeared as one row being oriented in a direction, the following in the opposite direction and so on (Pl. VII/1–2). This was, after all, the standard weaving pattern seen in virtually all European mail, with very few exceptions in antiquity.[18] While this construction may not be particularly visible on the surface (Pl. VII/3–4), the existence of rows with alternate orientations can also be grasped from the X-ray and CT-scan.

Despite our best efforts, we were not able to positively identify riveted rings. Some of the visible rings appear to present small holes or rivet heads, but these are very few in numbers (Pl. VII/5–6). Alternatively, what appears as rivets or rivet holes may actually be corrosion products or even the ends of snapped rings. As such, given the poor condition of the mail and the inconclusive X-ray and CT-scan, we can neither confirm nor infirm the existence of riveted rigs, or even differentiate between solid and riveted or butted rings for that matter. It should be mentioned, however, that it is highly unlikely that butted rings were employed instead of riveted rings, as such a construction would have weakened the armour and is only attested in very few special circumstances, such as decorations or repairs.[19]

[18] Wijnhoven 2022, 211–214.

[19] Wijnhoven 2022, 201–207.

It was likewise difficult to find rings on the surface that appear to be less affected by corrosion, the diameter of which could be measured. The maximum external diameter was measured with digital callipers, but in all cases the rings were only partially visible (Pl. VIII/1–6). Therefore, we cannot be sure of their actual shape, i.e. whether circular or oval. In the few instances in which a more significant part of the ring was visible, the shape appears to be fairly circular. Of the six measured rings, two had a diameter of around 6 mm (6.18 mm and 6.23 mm) and two of around 7 mm (7.03 mm and 7.28 mm) (Pl. VIII/1–4). One of the selected rings seems to have a diameter of only 5.6 mm (Pl. VIII/5), but it is not entirely certain that the measured shape is that of a complete and undamaged ring. For comparison, an obviously corroded example, the size of which had greatly expanded, measures 8.41 mm (Pl. VIII/6). Measurements carried out on the CT-scan point to the same general external diameter of the rings, with values between 5.1 mm and 7.4 mm (Pl. VIII/7). These values, however, should only be taken as rough guides. Due to the compact character of the mail, it was impossible to isolate certain rings and assess their position within the lump. As such, it was only possible to measure the 2D projection of 3D rings. Moreover, is not even certain that what was measured constitutes the actual shape of the ring. While not very accurate, the values do point to fairly small rings. On the surface, we were able to identify only one ring which did not seem to be too affected by corrosion and was also exposed enough to be able to discern its profile and measure its thickness. This particular ring has an apparently oval cross-section, 1.21 mm thick, but a rectangular cross-section cannot be altogether excluded. Some of the snapped rings appear quite circular in section, but the corrosion and conservation treatment prevents us from being certain about this aspect.

The X-ray and CT-scan did not show any copper alloy fittings. If Roman, it is highly doubtful that the shirt under discussion was of the type with shoulder guards fastened on the chest with copper alloy hooks, which fell out of use by the beginning of the 2nd century.[20] Although subsequent shirts are generally thought to have been closed with copper alloy breastplates, no other finds of mail armour, with the exception of the one from Bertoldsheim, were found in association with such fittings, a fact which is especially notable in the case of complete or nearly complete examples.[21]

Assuming a mid-2nd – mid-3rd century date, the sleeved shirt would have had a simple design modelled on the tunic pattern.[22] If the expansion on side (b) (Pls. II/2, III–V) is indeed a sleeve, then it would be a somewhat longer sleeve, but this identification remains uncertain. Three quarters or long sleeves likely came into use during the 3rd century.[23] This design is evidenced by representations, which also indicate that mail shirts of the period became more voluminous, longer and loose fitting, covering more of the body than before.[24]

Deposition of the mail

Notwithstanding the loss of some substance after discovery, the lump of mail has a roughly circular shape and a flat base (Pls. III–V). Judging by experience with replica

[20] Waurick 1982, 119–120; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 95; Wijnhoven 2022, 97–113, 242.

[21] Wijnhoven 2022, 153, n. 1.

[22] Wijnhoven 2018, 558–262; Wijnhoven 2022, 239–242.

[23] Croom 2001, 57.

[24] Waurick 1982, 121; Wijnhoven 2022, 124–131.

shirts, it would seem that this form is consistent with the shirt being dropped vertically while stored in a bag or in a heap.[25] As it was found on the *opus signinum* floor of room e, it is possible that it was dropped right there.

In order to get an idea of how much of the armour is actually present, it may be useful to compare it in terms of weight to other complete or almost complete mail shirts of the Roman period. Since weight greatly depended on the size of the rings, both in terms of diameter and thickness,[26] only some of the more similar examples in these respects were selected. As mentioned before, the mail from the V. Deleu excavation now weights 3.524 kg. A complete 3rd century mail shirt found in a barracks of the fort at South Shields is particularly instructive, as the external diameter of its rings (circa 7 mm) and their thickness (1–1.8 mm) are comparable to ours. That shirt preserved a weight of 5.440 kg after conservation.[27] Another similar piece, displaying 7 mm rings, was found in the fort at Wallsend, in a period 3 (late 3rd to 4th centuries) demolition layer of a barracks. The piece weighted 5.788 kg after cleaning.[28] In the *vicus* of Rainau-Buch, a complete mail shirt, together with a helmet of Niederbieber type, was deposited at a bottom of a well in the middle of the 3rd century. Its rings were marginally bigger, the solid ones having an external diameter of 7.5 mm and the riveted of 10 mm. Even so, the shirt also weighted 5.7 kg.[29] A probably almost complete specimen discovered at Stupava, north of the Danube, in a Roman complex dated to the middle of the 2nd century, weighted 5.44 kg, having rings with an external diameter of 7–8 mm and a thickness of 1–1.8 mm.[30] On the other hand, a mail shirt from Lyon, deposited around AD 260 in a wooden box, together with other items of a soldier's clothing and equipment, weighted 8.5 kg, having rings with a diameter of 8 mm and a thickness of 1.25 mm.[31] A fragmentary but probably mostly complete mail armour from Weiler-la-Tour, dated to the late 4th century, had solid rings with an external diameter of 8.5 mm and 12–15 mm riveted rings, weighing a little over 7 kg.[32]

Evidently, this comparison has only limited value. Apart from ring size, weight was also determined by the length of the shirt and the length of its sleeves. Moreover, due to corrosion processes, the current weight can be quite misleading as to the actual weight of the original artefact. As such, two entirely similar mail shirts could weigh very differently, depending on their state of preservation. Volume may provide a better indication, but it is difficult to calculate for such irregular artefacts. Nevertheless, if the piece of mail found on V. Deleu was similar to some of the above-mentioned examples, then the present lump could roughly represent 50–60% of the initial shirt, with all the due reservations. As already pointed out, the X-ray (Pl. II/2) indicates that, compared to its state immediately after discovery, significant parts are now missing. Moreover, even when discovered, there were already signs of unnaturally straight breakage, indicating that it had suffered post-depositional damage. Whether all these broken parts could together make up the rest of the

[25] Croom 2001, 57.
[26] Wijnhoven et alii 2021, 114–116.
[27] Croom 2001, 55–57.
[28] Croom 2003, 217.
[29] Greiner 2008, 97–98.
[30] Turčan 2023, 188–189.
[31] Martin-Kilcher 2021, 644–646.
[32] Waurick 1982, 111.

mail coat cannot be determined, but it can be stated that what is left represents a significant part of it. Unfortunately, all these uncertainties and variables make it impossible to assess whether a complete shirt had been originally deposited, or only a fragment.

Discussion

One of the most important unresolved issues regarding the mail coat from the excavation on V. Deleu Str. is its chronology, which cannot be definitely decided neither based on context, nor on design and construction details.

First of all, because the archaeological layer in which it was discovered may have been disturbed, the find spot cannot be taken as diagnostic for the deposition date of the artefact. Nevertheless, the depositional practice may offer a clue. The occurrence of complete or nearly complete mail shirts, even in civilian contexts, seems to be more frequent in the Roman period than during medieval times, although more research is needed to confirm this impression.[33] Second, since the technological process of mail making remained fundamentally the same throughout the very long period of use of this type of armour,[34] it is extremely difficult to place an archaeological piece of mail, in absence of a dated context, along this timeframe. The state of the mail fragment under discussion, with the rings fused together by corrosion, means that there can be no question of determining construction techniques, design, tailoring, style etc., which would have been key in dating it.[35]

As M. Wijnhoven's research shows, a differentiation between Roman and earlier or later mail, as well as between contemporary Roman and non-Roman manufacture, is possible based on ring characteristics.[36] Unfortunately, the poor state of the mail shirt found on V. Deleu Str. obscures even some of the most basic aspects of its construction. Thus, the direction of the overlap of the ends of riveted rings, which is one of the most significant differences between Roman and later mail,[37] could not be observed in this case.

The only parameter that was possible to measure to a certain extent is the dimension of the rings. Ring size can aid the dating, but not conclusively. Our mail, with external ring diameters ranging from 6.23 mm to 7.28 mm, would have an average diameter of 6.68 mm. If Roman, then, according to Wijnhoven's results,[38] it could be dated to the 2nd century AD. Given the small number of measured rings, perhaps an average of 7 mm could also be considered, pushing the dating to the 3rd century. The author warns, however, that average ring diameter cannot be used as dating index, but the range between the largest and smallest rings in each century can provide a good indication. Taking this into consideration, with a ring diameter of over 6 mm and under 14 mm, the piece of mail can be placed anywhere between the 3rd century BC and the 10th century AD.[39] While Wijnhoven's computations stop at the 10th century, a much later date could also be theoretically assigned to the shirt found on V. Deleu Str. For instance, numerous mail shirts discovered on the territory of Suceava County, dated between the 13th and 15th centuries, display the same 4-in-1

[33] M. A. Wijnhoven, personal comment.

[34] Wijnhoven 2022, 183–209; see also Burgess 1953.

[35] On this subject, see Wijnhoven 2018; Wijnhoven 2022, 223–257.

[36] Wijnhoven 2022, 259–311.

[37] Wijnhoven 2021; Wijnhoven 2022, 265–275.

[38] Wijnhoven 2022, 261–264, Fig. 11.3.

[39] Wijnhoven 2022, 264–265, Tab. 11.1.

construction, with rings diameters mostly of 10 mm, but also smaller.[40] To conclude the matter of chronology, all that can be stated with certainty about the piece of mail found in Cluj-Napoca is that, while not confirming a Roman dating, the parameters that can be measured do not contradict it either.

If the shirt is indeed Roman, such a large fragment is singular in the province of Dacia. Although much smaller pieces are known from various sites,[41] their number is limited and publication is lacking. The assumption that the mail from V. Deleu was deposited in the Roman period, probably during the latest phases of habitation, raises the issue of its occurrence in a purely civilian context. The problem of the presence of military equipment in urban settlements has been discussed,[42] including for Dacia.[43] The possible explanations are numerous: the existence of earlier military bases, the presence of individual soldiers, the settlement of veterans who kept their equipment for display or in storage, the employment of detachments for safety or construction works, the deposition of equipment as votive offerings, the non-military use of military items, the outburst of military conflicts, the presence of military men in the staff of different officials, either on visit, or in residence etc.

Many of the possibilities outlined above are plausible in the case of the mail under discussion. Although Napoca was one of the very few essentially civilian urban centres of Dacia, the army was never far away. The nearest military base was the auxiliary cavalry fort at Gilău, garrison of the *ala Siliana*, located at a distance of circa 18 km. The legionary fortress at Turda – Potaissa, around 30 km away, was also close. Moreover, Napoca became the seat of the financial procurator of Dacia Porolissensis after Marcus Aurelius' provincial reorganisation, the *praetorium procuratoris* being located not far from the residential area on V. Deleu Str.[44] The close relation between commanders and officers of the *ala Siliana* on the one hand, and financial procurators and town officials on the other, is of note.[45] Active and retired military men, officers, as well as simple *milites*, are attested at various moments in Napoca and its surroundings.[46] This shows that some form of military presence in the town was not uncommon. A piece of evidence that is more closely related chronologically to the potential deposition date of the mail shirt is an altar for Sol Invictus, dedicated in Napoca by an *ala civium Romanorum*. This troop, likely different from the *ala Siliana c. R.*, could have been brought in Dacia towards the middle of the 3rd century, in the context of some conflict events, the occurrence of which is also suggested by the buried hoard and the destruction layers seen in the houses unearthed on V. Deleu Str.[47] Nevertheless, despite numerous archaeological excavations carried out in Cluj-Napoca throughout the ages, we are unaware of any similar discoveries involving unequivocally military items. If found relatively *in situ*, its use for display purposes, to boast the owner's military career, cannot be completely excluded, although the shape of lump indicates that it was ultimately stored.

[40] Vasilescu 1969, 50–53, Figs. 4–7.

[41] E.g. an early 2nd century fragment from Berzovia mentioned by Petculescu 2006, 450–451, Fig. 20.

[42] E.g. Bishop 1991; Nicolay 2007, 173–237.

[43] Dawson 1990.

[44] Beu-Dachin et alii 2015, 150–152.

[45] See Ciongradi 2014, 166–167, 177.

[46] E.g. CIL III 854 = CIL III 7657; CIL III 864 = CIL III 7663; CIL III 865, p. 1380; CIL III 866; ILD I 543; ILD I 544, 554, 561, 568; ILD II 968.

[47] Opreanu 2009.

An alternative interpretation to a direct military presence in the domestic building C2 is suggested by the recently published lot of metal artefacts from the same house. Rather than scrap metal, these artefacts appear to represent 'spare parts', attesting not only recycling, but also reuse, repurposing and refurbishment; incidentally, the lot also included two fragments of decorated copper alloy sheet, which probably came from military equipment.[48] If Roman, the mail shirt likely belongs to a later sub-phase. Even so, both discoveries would have as background the difficult situation just before the abandonment of Dacia, which would justify the hoarding of valuable resources, whatever their origin and means of procurement.

Bibliography

Ardeleanu 2015	S. Ardeleanu, *Reconstruction proposal for the Roman houses C1 and C2 in Deleu Street, Cluj-Napoca*. In: S. Cociș, V. A. Lăzărescu, M. Gui, D. A. Deac (eds.), *Ad Finem Imperii Romanii. Studies in honour of Coriolan H. Opreanu*, Cluj-Napoca 2015, 45–63.
Beu-Dachin et alii 2015	E. Beu-Dachin, C. A. Roman, P. Pupeză, *Aurelius Annianus, procurator in Napoca*, EN, 25, 2015, 147–165.
Bishop 1991	M. C. Bishop, *Soldiers and military equipment in the towns of Roman Britain*. In: V. A. Maxfield, M. J. Dobson (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, Exeter 1991, 21–27.
Bishop, Coulston 2006	M. C. Bishop, J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment. From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, Oxford 2006.
Burgess 1953	E. M. Burgess, *The mail maker's technique*, AntJ, 33, 1953, 48–55.
Ciongradi 2014	C. Ciongradi, *Monumente von Prokuratoren der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis*, ActaMN, 51, 1, 2014, 161–186.
Cociș et alii 1995a	S. Cociș, A. Paki, V. Voișian, *32. Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj, B. Strada Victor Deleu*, CCA, Campania 1994, 1995, 24.
Cociș et alii 1995b	S. Cociș, V. Voișian, A. Paki, M. Rotea, *Raport preliminar privind cercetările arheologice din strada Victor Deleu în Cluj-Napoca I. Campaniile 1992–1994*, ActaMN, 32, 1, 1995, 535–652.
Cociș et alii 1996	S. Cociș, V. Voișian, A. Paki, *41. Cluj-Napoca, Jud. Cluj, Strada Victor Deleu*, CCA, Campania 1995, 1996, 35–36.
Cociș et alii 1997	S. Cociș, V. Voișian, A. Paki, Zs. Molnar, *26. Cluj-Napoca, Jud. Cluj: II. Str. V. Deleu*, CCA, Campania 1996, 1997, 14.
Cociș et alii 1998	S. Cociș, V. Voișian, A. Paki, *20. Cluj-Napoca – str. V. Deleu, jud. Cluj*, CCA, Campania 1997, 1998, 17.
Cociș et alii 1999	S. Cociș, Zs. Molnar, A. Paki, V. Voișian, *36. Cluj-Napoca. Str. Deleu*. CCA, Campania 1998, 1999, 31.
Cociș et alii 2002	S. Cociș, I. Nemeti, V. Voișian, F. Fodorean, *71. Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj, Punct: Str. Deleu*, CCA, Campania 2001, 2002, 107.

[48] Mustață, Cociș 2024.

Cociș et alii 2004 — S. Cociș, E. Beu-Dachin, V. Voișian, *Un altare votivo a Solvano, scoperto a Napoca*, ActaMN, 39–30, 1, 2002–2003 (2004), 235–239.

Cociș et alii 2013 — S. Cociș, Sz. Ferencz, A. Dobos, V. A. Lăzărescu, S. Mustață, C. H. Opreanu, A. Ursuțiu, K. Cumurciuk, M. Bajusz, V. Voișian, *85. Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj. Punct: str. V. Deleu nr. 1*, CCA, Campania 2012, 2013, 159–160.

Croom 2001 — A. T. Croom, *A ring mail shirt from South Shields Roman fort*, The Arbeia Journal, 6–7, 1997–1998 (2001), 55–60.

Croom 2003 — A. T. Croom, *The finds and North African style pottery*. In: N. Hodgson, *The Roman Fort at Wallsend: Excavations in 1997–1998*, Tyne and Wear Museums Archaeology Monograph 2, Newcastle upon Tyne 2003, 183–230, 246–249.

Dawson 1990 — M. Dawson, *Roman military equipment on civil sites in Roman Dacia*, JRMES, 1, 1990, 7–15.

Găzdac et alii 2010 — C. Găzdac, S. Cociș, A. Alfödy-Găzdac, L. Călian, *The Roman Imperial Hoard from Cluj-Napoca*, Cluj-Napoca 2010.

Greiner 2008 — B. A. Greiner, *Kettenpanzer (lorica hamata)*. In: B. A. Greiner, *Rainau-Buch II. Der römische Kastellvicus von Rainau-Buch (Ostalbkreis). Die archäologischen Ausgrabungen von 1976 bis 1979*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg Band 106, Stuttgart 2008, 97–101.

Martin-Kilcher 2021 — S. Martin-Kilcher, *Un équipement militaire du IIIe siècle trouvé à Lyon (Rhône)*. In: C. Leger, S. Raux (eds.), *Des objets et des hommes. Études offertes à Michel Feugère*, Drémil-Lafage 2021, 643–658.

Mustață et alii 2012 — S. Mustață, S. Cociș, V. Voișian, *Instrumentum balnei from Roman Napoca. Two iron vessels discovered on the site from Victor Deleu Street*, EN, 22, 2012, 235–252.

Mustață, Cociș 2024 — S. Mustață, S. Cociș, *Recycle, repair and reuse in Roman Napoca. The case of an 'antiquarian-restorer' from the site at Victor Deleu Street (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)?* In: D. Bartus, Zs. Mráv, M. Szabó (eds.), *Proceedings of the XXIst International Congress on Ancient Bronzes*, Dissertationes Archaeologicae Supplementum 4, Budapest 2024, 333–349.

Nicolay 2007 — J. Nicolay, *Armed Batavians. Use and Significance of Weaponry and Horse Gear from Non-military Contexts in the Rhine Delta (50 BC to AD 450)*, Amsterdam 2007.

Opreanu 2009 — C. H. Opreanu, *Templul lui Deus Sol Invictus de la Napoca. Contribuție la topografia și istoria orașului antic*, Studia UBB. Historia, 54, 2009, 127–140.

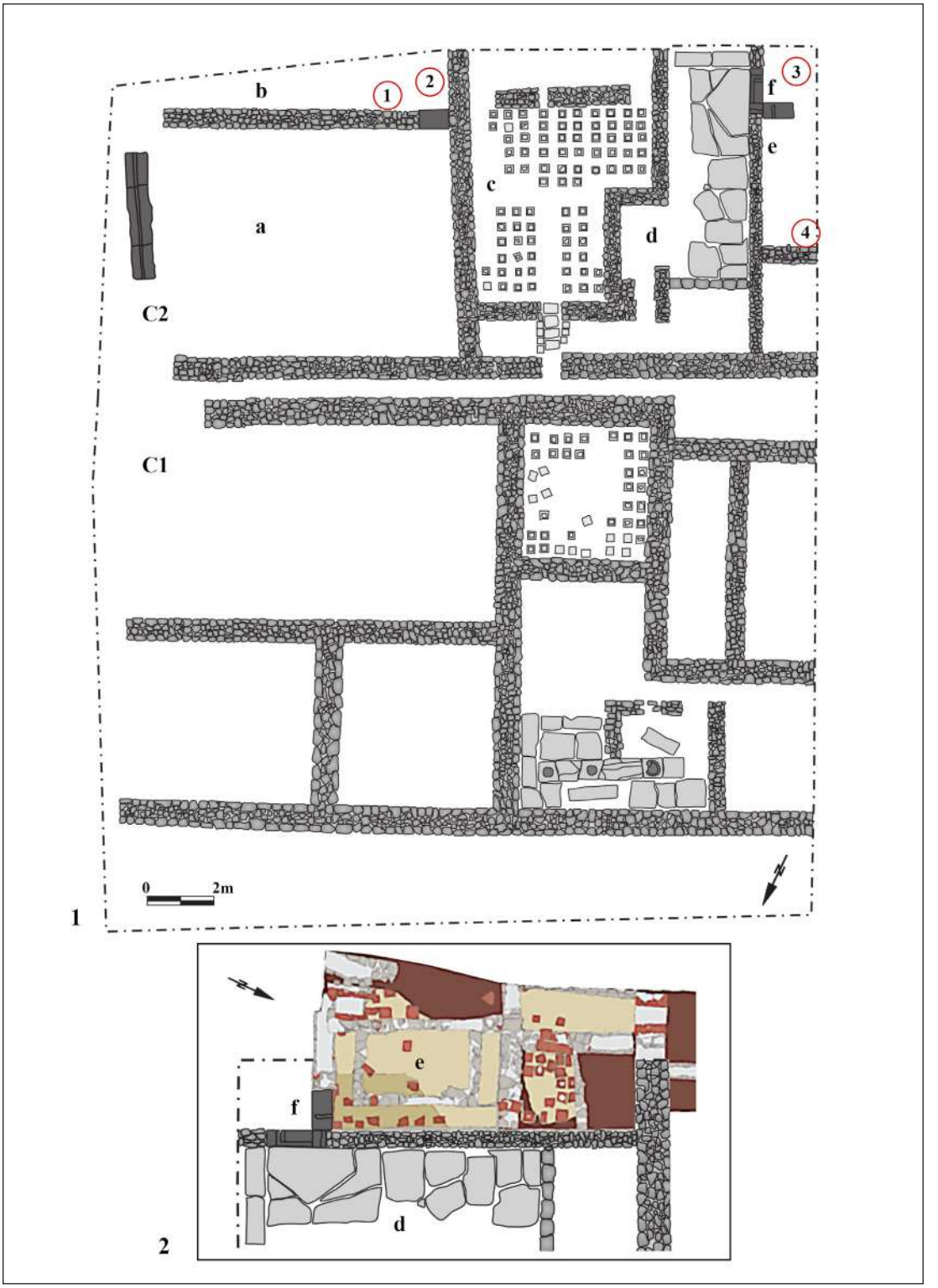
Petculescu 2006 — L. Petculescu, *Armamentul roman în Dacia la începutul secolului II d.Chr*. In: E. S. Teodor, O. Țentea, (eds.), *Dacia Augusti Provincia. Crearea provinciei. Actele simpozionului desfășurat în 13–14 octombrie 2006 la Muzeul Național de Istorie a României*, București 2006, 441–458.

Turčan 2023 — V. Turčan, *Militáriá zo stavebného komplexu z doby rímskej v Stupave*, Študijné zvesti archeologického ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 70, 1, 2023, 185–192.

Țiplic et alii 2004	I. M. Țiplic, S. Cociș, V. Voișian, *Descoperiri medievale timpurii în Cluj-Napoca, Str. V. Deleu*, RB, 18, 2004, 195–208.
Vasilescu 1969	Al. Vasilescu, *Drumurile „tătărești" în lumina noilor descoperiri arheologice din județul Suceava*, Studii și Materiale – Muzeul Suceava, Suceava, I, 1969, 43–65.
Waurick 1982	G. Waurick, *Die römische Kettenrüstung von Weiler-la-Tour*, Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte, 34, 1982, 111–130.
Wijnhoven 2018	M. A. Wijnhoven, *Laid out Flat: Mail Making in the Roman Period*. In: C. S. Sommer, S. Matešic (eds.), *Limes XXIII. Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ingolstadt 2015*, Mainz 2018, 555–563.
Wijnhoven 2021	M. A. Wijnhoven, *Clockwise or Anti-clockwise? A Method for Distinguishing Roman from Medieval Mail Armour*. In: S. Hoss (ed.), *The Production of Military Equipment – Fabricae, Private Production and More, Panel 9.1*, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 48, Heidelberg 2021, 25–46.
Wijnhoven 2022	M. A. Wijnhoven, *European Mail Armour. Ringed Battle Shirts from the Iron Age, Roman Period and Early Middle Ages*, Amsterdam 2022.
Wijnhoven et alii 2021	M. A. Wijnhoven, A. Moskvin, M. Moskvina, *Testing archaeological mail armour in a virtual environment: 3rd century BC to 10th century AD*, Journal of Cultural Heritage, 48, 2021, 106–118.

Monica Gui
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
monica_gui@ymail.com

Sorin Cociș
Institute of Archaeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca
scocis@yahoo.com



Pl. I. 1. Houses C1 and C2; spaces within C2: a-f; finds (in red circels): 1. monetary hoard; 2. lot of metal objects; 3. altar to Silvanus; 4. mail armour (based on Cociș et alii 2012, Pl. II and Cociș et alii 2004, Fig. 1); **2.** Detail – plan of room e after the 2012 campaign, not to scale (based on Cociș et alii 2013, 353).

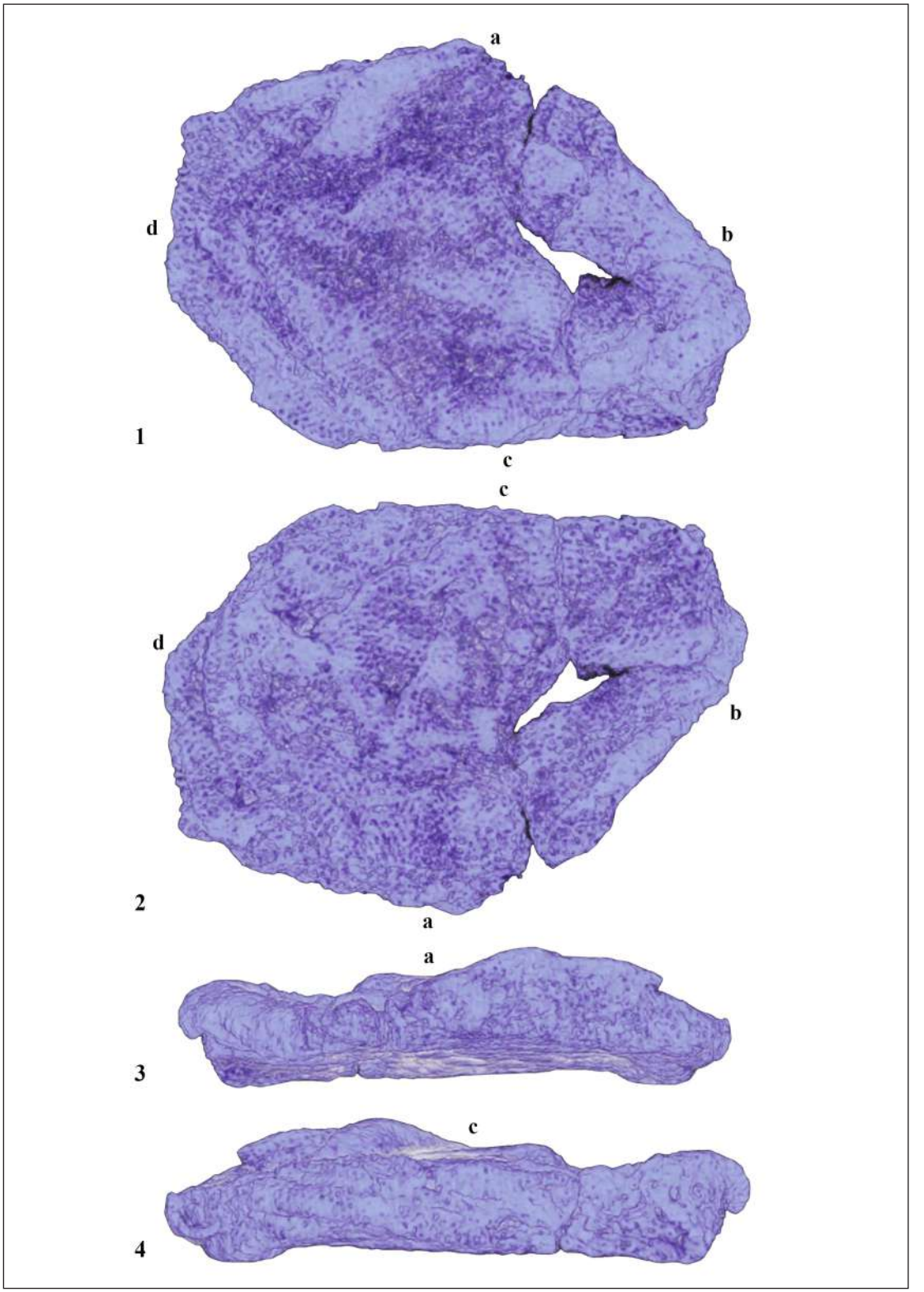


1

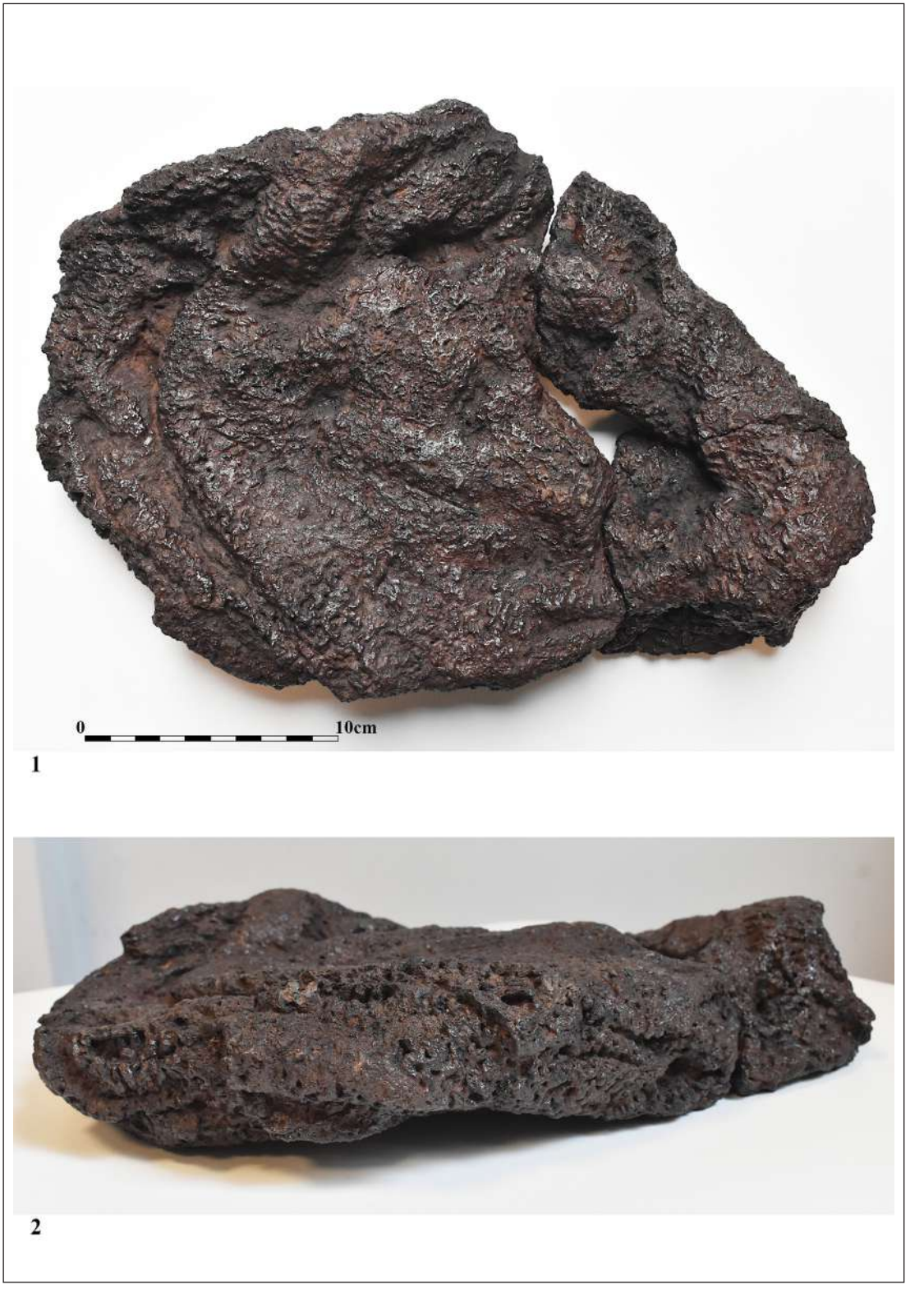


2

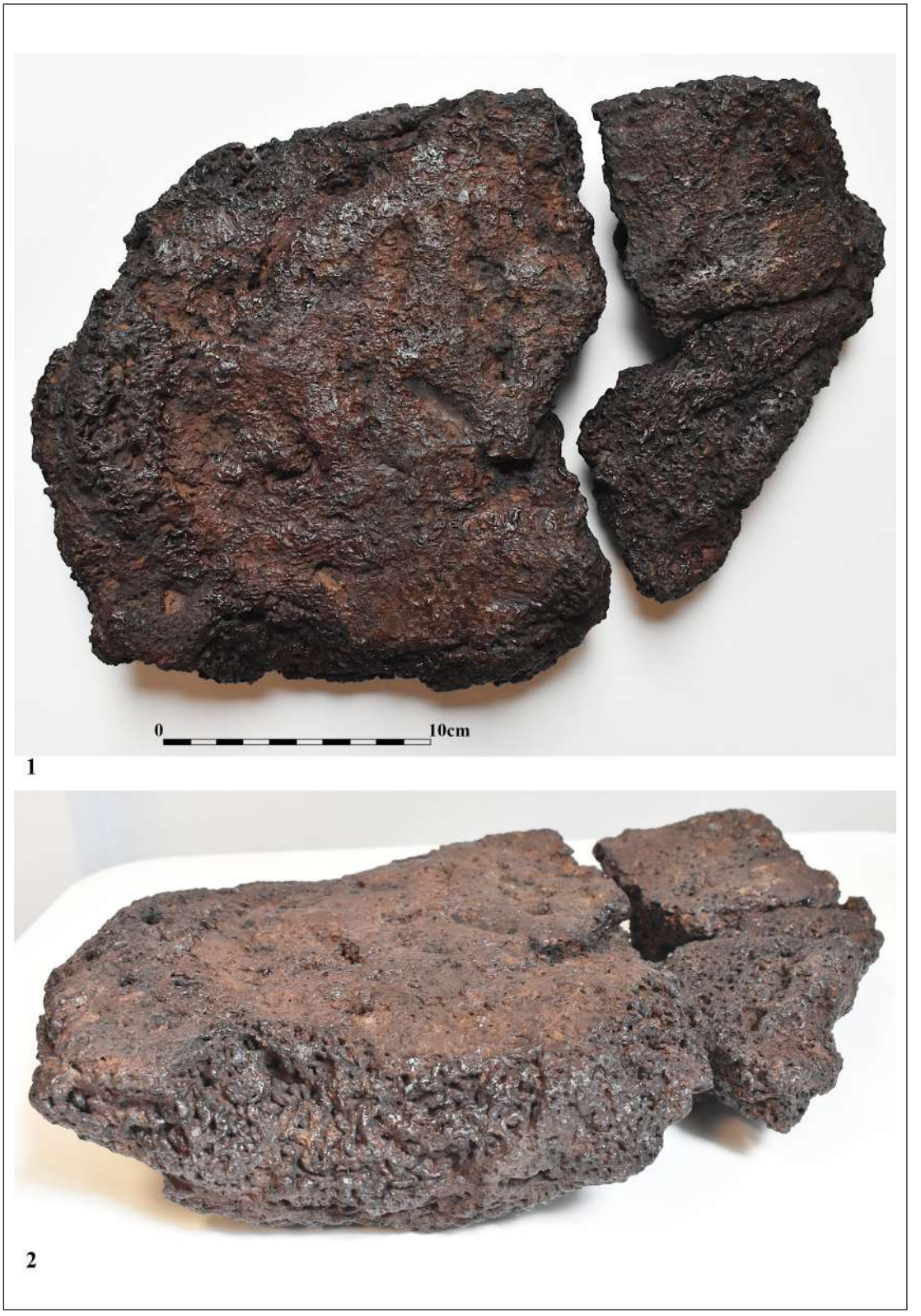
Pl. II. 1. Room e during the 1990s excavation – the red circle marks the approximate find spot of the mail on the *opus signinum* floor (photo by S. Cociș); **2.** X-ray of the mass of corroded mail before restoration, with the sides of the artefact marked a-d.



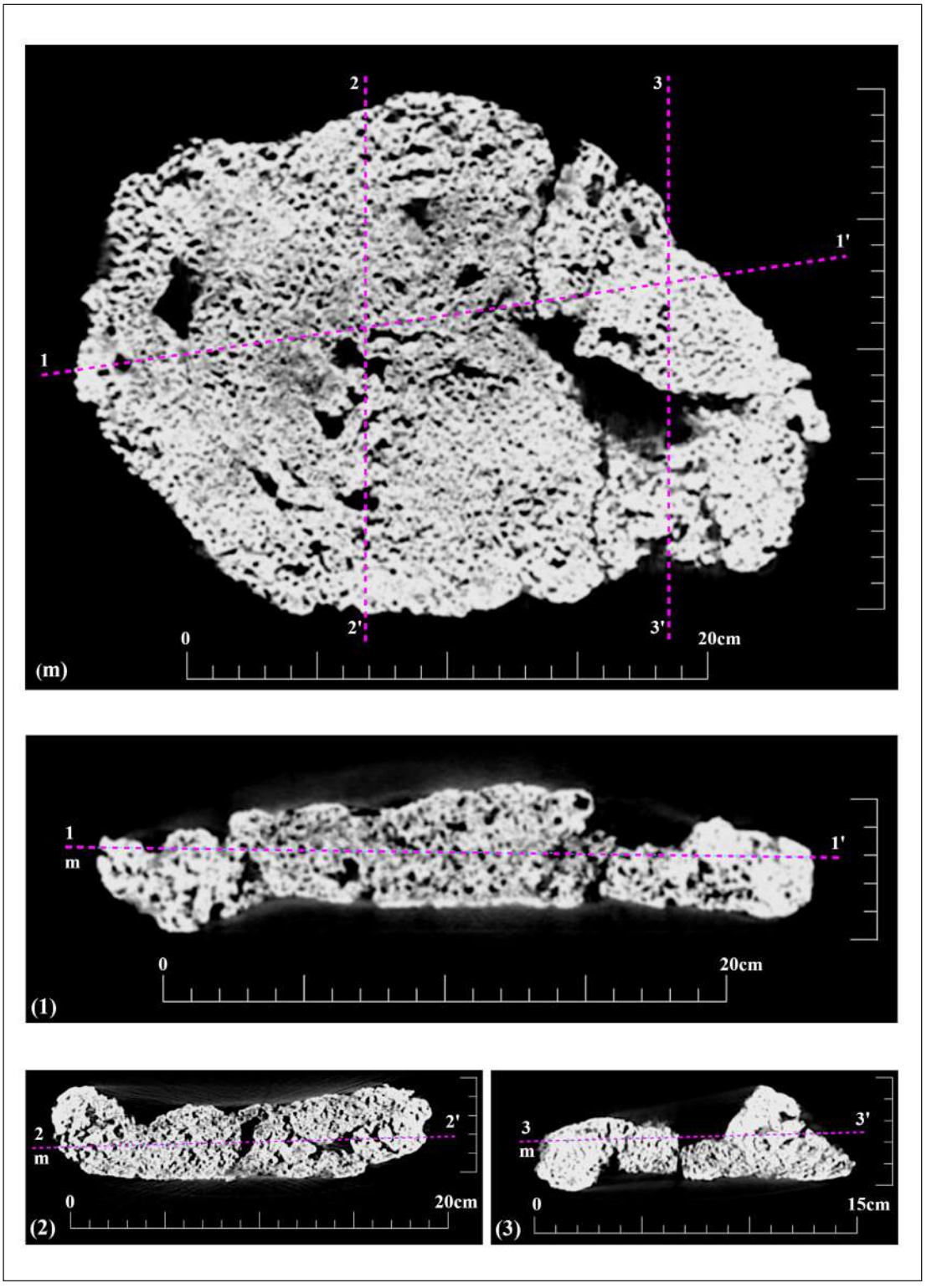
Pl. III. 3D visualisation of mail CT-scan using Volumetric Rendering Technique (VRT): **1.** Top view; **2.** Bottom view; **3.** Lateral view – side a; **4.** Lateral view – side c.



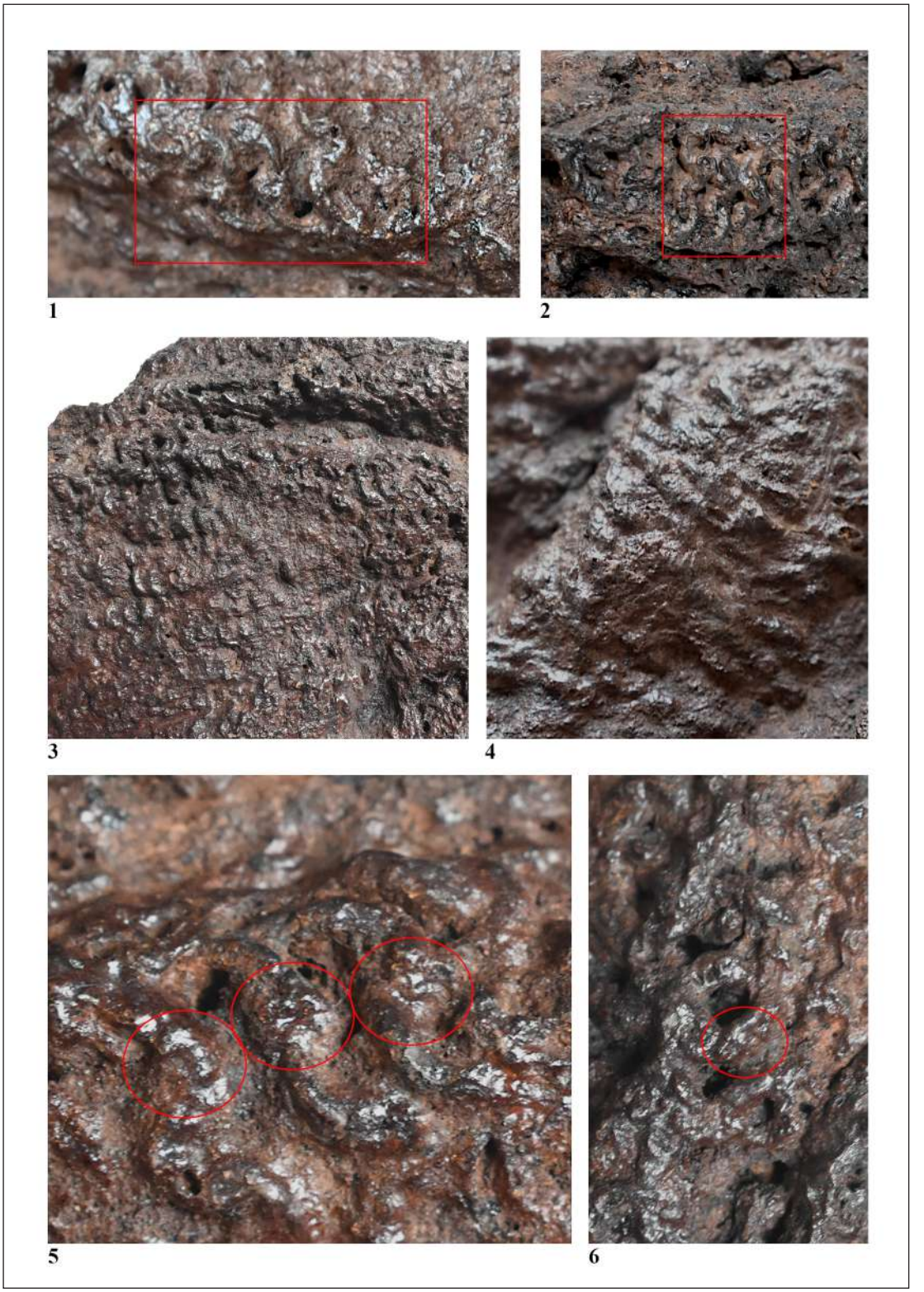
Pl. IV. Mail shirt: **1.** Top view; **2.** Lateral view – c side, not to scale (photos by M. Gui).



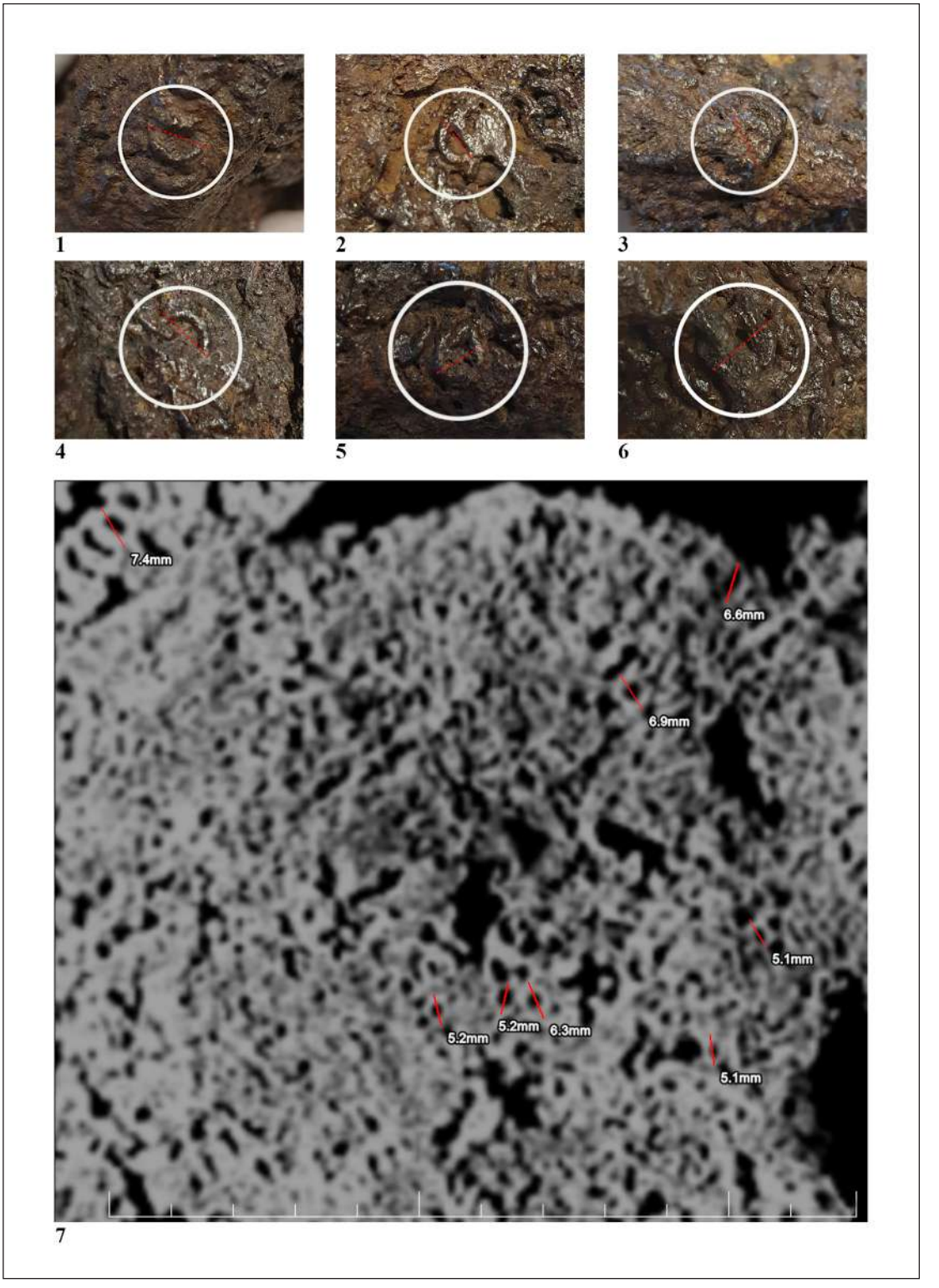
Pl. V. Mail shirt: **1.** Bottom view; **2.** Lateral view – a side, not to scale (photos by M. Gui).



Pl. VI. CT-scan of the piece of mail in its current state: (m) – horizontal slice approximately through the middle of the lump; (1)-(3) – vertical slices across the piece in the positions indicated by axes (1–1'), (2–2') and (3–3').



Pl. VII. 1–2. Alternating row directions suggestive of the 4-in-1 weaving pattern; **3–4.** Detail views of the surface of the artefact; **5–6.** Possible riveted ends marked by red circles (photos by M. Gui).



Pl. VIII. 1–6. Ring diameters (d) measured with callipers: 1. d = 7.28 mm; 2. d = 6.18 mm; 3. d = 6.23 mm; 4. d = 7.03 mm; 5. d = 5.63 mm; 6. d = 8.41 mm (photos by M. Gui); **7.** Ring diameters measured on the CT-scan (the red line marks the measured diameters).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 169–182

A UNIQUE ROMAN JAR FROM AN UNKNOWN CONTEXT

LUCA-PAUL PUPEZĂ, ADRIANA ISACU

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.06

Abstract: The present article offers an analysis of a seemingly typical Roman jar, if we consider the manufacturing technique, fabric and its typology. However, the vessel was decorated with motifs which are rather specific to Late Iron Age (Dacian) pottery traditions. Although the context of discovery is unknown, it can be presumed with a level of certainty. Despite this, the mix of Roman technology and possible Dacian decorative elements make this jar particularly important.

Keywords: Dacian; Roman pottery; alveolar belt; fir tree; Căşeiu (?).

Rezumat: Articolul de faţă oferă o analiză a unui vas roman aparent tipic, dacă luăm în considerare tehnica de fabricaţie, materialul şi tipologia acestuia. Cu toate acestea, vasul a fost decorat cu motive care sunt mai degrabă specifice tradiţiilor ceramice din Epoca Fierului Târziu (epoca dacică). Deşi contextul descoperirii este necunoscut, acesta poate fi presupus cu un anumit grad de certitudine. În ciuda acestui fapt, amestecul de tehnologie romană şi posibile elemente decorative dacice fac ca acest vas să fie deosebit de important.

Cuvinte-cheie: dacic; ceramică romană; brâu alveolar; brăduţ; Căşeiu (?).

Artefacts without a clear discovery context are avoided by researchers because they often raise more questions than answers. This is also the case of the jar presented in this paper. However, its particular mix of Roman and possible Dacian elements deserves special attention.

The jar

The jar belongs to the National Museum of Transylvanian History collection.[1] It was preserved in a fragmentary condition. The only three remaining shards are part of a wheel-thrown vessel with a rounded, everted rim and bulging body (Pls. I/1–6, II/1). Made from fine fabric, it is covered by a partially preserved high-quality red slip. The core has a different nuance than the reddish yellow colour of the container, obtained through oxidation firing. It is made from a fine fabric whose core has a different nuance than the reddish yellow colour of the exterior, and it is covered by a partially preserved high-quality red slip (fabric – Munsell 7.5YR 8/4, slip – Munsell 10YR 6/8).

An alveolar belt with relatively small alveoli was applied under the rim of the vessel. There is a similar belt on the body of the vessel, near the area of the maximum diameter. The space between the two belts was filled with motifs made before firing, by excision, similarly

[*] We thank Cătălin Cristescu for translating the text into English and Viorica Rusu-Bolindeţ for her observations and suggestions.

[1] Inv. no. v 66176.

to the "cut glass" technique: small sized alveoli arranged in rows or circles, as well as fir trees with downwards branches. The ornaments seem to have been organized in registers, separated by alveoli rows. The first register contained two fir trees and an alveoli circle in-between. The second one showed a fir tree with an alveoli circle on top, and another incised motif resembling a half-rendered fir tree. Considering the vessel's diameter (rim diam. 16 cm, max. diam. 20 cm, base diam. 10.5 cm) and the placement of the patterns, two other decorative registers should have probably adorned the rest of the jar.

Roman fabric, Dacian ornaments

The technique, fabric and shape of the jar are typically Roman. Analogies from the Roman province of Dacia (2nd–3rd centuries AD) are numerous. Vessels of this type belong to the category of common provincial wares, especially containers used for storing or cooking food.[2]

What makes this jar atypical for a Roman vessel is its decoration. Alveolar belts and fir trees on vessels discovered in Roman Dacia are considered to be of local Late Iron Age / Dacian Kingdom tradition (1st century BC – 1st century AD).[3] Late Iron Age tradition decorations and vessels have been discovered in most of Dacia's Roman forts (Bologa,[4] Buciumi,[5] Căşeiu,[6] Gilău,[7] Ilişua,[8] Jupa,[9] Moigrad[10] etc.) as well as settlements and cemeteries.[11] Even so, applied belts appear rarely on wheel-thrown Roman provincial jars, placed immediately under the rim, or in the area of the maximum diameter (Pls. III/4–5; IV/9). These possible local influences are reflected in the decoration of Roman wheel thrown vessels mainly through belts with incised straight or wavy lines (Pl. III/10).[12] It is worth mentioning that, during the period of the Dacian Kingdom, the alveolar belt is rarely present on wheel-thrown vessels, which were decorated mostly with incised, burnished or painted motifs.[13]

The alveolar belt is more frequently found on handmade pots from Roman Dacia, also interpreted as following a local Late Iron Age tradition, that of Dacian jars (Pl. III/6–9, 11–12).[14] In these cases, the belts are composed mostly of large alveoli. Roman pots of this

[2] Popilian 1976a, 86–90, Pls. XXXIII–XXXVI; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 410–414, Pls. XCV, XCVI.

[3] Negru 2003, 22–33, with the bibliography.

[4] Gudea 1969, 503–508; Cupşa 2009, 105–116.

[5] Gudea 1970, 299–311.

[6] Cupşa 2009, 383–505.

[7] Marcu, Ţentea 1997, 221–233.

[8] Gaiu 2015, 65–92.

[9] Rogozea 1988, 165–176.

[10] Gudea 1989, 501–502.

[11] Protase 1971, 135–160; Popilian 1976b, 279–286; Protase 1976, 17–72; Popilian 1980, 64–100; Protase 1980, 27–165; Popilian 1982, 42–67; Popilian, Niţă 1982, 87–92; Gudea 1989, 502–503, Pl. XCVI; Ardeţ 1991, 137–142; Mitrofan 1993, 124–125, Pl. 53; Negru, Ciucă 1997, 23–29; Popilian, Bondoc 2014, 126–153, 190–196; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 102–103; Cristescu 2023, 111–116.

[12] Popilian 1976a, 136–137, Pl. LXXV/956–958; Negru 2003, 53–54, Pl. 21/177, 178; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 112–113, Pls. XIX/73, XX/76–78.

[13] Crişan 1969, 161–163.

[14] Protase 1971, 135–160; Protase 1976, Pls. XLI–XLIII; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1986, 201–211; Gudea, Moţu 1988, 229–250; Rogozea 1988, 165–180; Ardeţ 1991, 137–142; Marcu, Ţentea 1997, 221–233; Negru 2003, 35–54; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 107; Gaiu 2015, 65–92.

type were generally used for cooking or for storing food; the Dacian jars had the same utility.[15] Scarcely, alveoli or alveolar belts appear also on Roman provincial cup-lamps, also considered of Dacian tradition (Pl. III/1–3).[16] However, alveoli of different sizes or alveolar belts appear on some Roman vessels that are obviously not related to any Late Iron Age / Dacian tradition, such as the *turibula*.[17]

The incised fir tree motif represents a special case for provincial Roman pottery. Usually, the fir tree is depicted especially on Roman handmade jars of local Late Iron Age tradition.[18] On these vessels, in some cases, the fir tree is associated with an alveolar belt (Pl. III/6). There are also few examples in which the fir tree is present on Roman provincial cup-lamps of Dacian tradition (Pl. III/1, 3).[19]

The vessel in discussion is one of the few wheel-thrown pots bearing this pattern from Roman Dacia (Căşeiu[20] – Pl. IV/6, Drobeta[21] – Pl. IV/1, Ilişua[22] – Pl. IV/8, Micăsasa[23] – Pl. IV/6, Sighişoara[24]). But, on some Roman vessels, the decoration can be difficult to identify as such (for example on a handle from Ilişua[25] – Pl. IV/5, or on a bowl from Slăveni[26] – Pl. IV/2). The repertoire of Roman ornaments includes numerous representations that can easily be considered as representing something similar to a fir tree. It is possible that, in some cases, what we consider to be fir trees are actually stylized representations of some vegetal or even geometric motifs. For example, a variety of such fir tree-like ornaments appears on numerous *paterae* from Roman Dacia[27] (Alba-Iulia, Cluj-Napoca, Gilău[28] – Pl. IV/3, 4, Micăsasa, Moigrad etc.). Also, fir tree-like patterns (leaves, palmettes, trees) appear on stamps and stamped ornaments on various Roman vessels.[29]

In the time of the Dacian Kingdom, the fir tree was incised before or after firing on a variety of containers (cup-lamps, jars, jugs, or "fruit bowls"), sometimes burnished or even painted (Pl. V/1–12). It is rendered vertically (rarely horizontally or oblique), with upwards or downwards branches. In some cases, the fir tree represents an independent decorative pattern, occupying the entire wall of the vessel, or it is associated with buttons or alveolar belts. On the wheel-thrown containers, the motif is burnished, rarely incised.[30] After the defeat of the Dacian Kingdom, the fir tree continued to be used in the ceramic decorative

[15] Crişan 1969, 207–212.

[16] Negru 1998, 27–42; Ţentea, Marcu 2000, 67–81; Negru 2003, 48–51.

[17] Popilian 1976a, 116–118; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 1996, 97–102; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 371–374.

[18] Protase 1980, 157–165.

[19] Negru 1998, 27–42; Ţentea, Marcu 2000, 67–81; Negru 2003, 48–51.

[20] MNIT, inv. no. v 59909.

[21] Stîngă 1998, 84, Pl. XXX/3; Iliescu 2018, Fig. 5/4.

[22] MNIT, inv. nos. v 8234 and v 8235. In the same site a clay stamp with a fir trees-like pattern was found (Gaiu 2002, 166, Fig. 6/5; Rusu-Bolindeţ, Botiş 2018, 45, no. 101).

[23] MNIT, inv. no. v 42818. Mitrofan 1993, Pl. 58/5; Mitrofan 1995, Pl. 7/3.

[24] Spânu 2015, 42, Fig. 2/143.

[25] MNIT, inv. no. 2604.

[26] Popilian 1976b, Fig. 1/3.

[27] Rusu 1997, 329–332, Taf. XVIII.

[28] MNIT, inv. nos. v 46756 and v 46757. Rusu 1997, 331, Taf. XI/3.

[29] Popilian 1976a, Pls. XVII, LXXVIII; Popilian 1976b, 281, Fig. 1/1, 2, 4; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 258–259; Filip 2008, 237–243, with the bibliography.

[30] Crişan 1969, 210–211; Comşa 1994, 315–334; Costea, Bălos 2001, 217–242.

repertoire belonging to Dacians living outside the Roman province.[31] Rarely, the fir tree motif appears on materials other than pottery.[32]

Concerning the significance of the fir tree in the Dacian Kingdom, it was regarded as the *axis mundi*, a symbol of life (with upwards branches, on jars) or of death (with downwards branches, on cup-lamps).[33]

The diversity recorded during the time of the Dacian Kingdom (vessel shapes, firing methods, assemblages) is not present during the time of the Roman province Dacia. However, the complexity of the decoration on the aforementioned vessel exceeds any representation before the conquest of the Dacian Kingdom. The use of registers seems to be also a Roman feature. The placement of fir trees in an area marked by alveolar belts is common for pre-Roman pottery, but its association with rows of alveoli disposed in circles is lacking from the Dacian repertoire. On Dacian jars, the motif is present alongside circular buttons, laid sometimes on the top (Pl. V/8, 11, 12), just like the abovementioned alveoli circles.

If indeed this type of decoration is of local Dacian tradition, it is possible that the adaptation of the fir tree pattern could also imply an adaptation of its initial significance. Yet, considering the gathered information, this is just a hypothesis without consistent evidence to back it up. Nevertheless, the fir tree had many meanings in the Roman world as well, most of them unrelated to the Dacian milieu.[34]

The provenance

The exact place of the discovery of the jar is unknown. The jar fragments were found in 2013 in Professor Dan Isac's office, in Cluj-Napoca. Yet, the above-mentioned analogies from the Roman province Dacia and the Dacian Kingdom are not accidental.

The fact that Dan Isac had pottery sherds in his office should not come as a surprise to anyone. In fact, pottery sherds belonging to several other sites from Roman Dacia were discovered alongside the abovementioned jar (mostly found at the Roman auxiliary fort from Căşeiu, Cluj County).[35] However, the ceramic fragments from those sites were accompanied by adequate documentation, unlike the jar in discussion. Judging by the fact that Dan Isac accurately recorded any archaeological data, the only plausible explanation is that he knew exactly where the vessel came from, and thus there was no need for additional documentation on the item. But, as far as we are concerned, we may never know where the fragments came from, as this question was left without an answer by Dan Isac's untimely death in 2013.

We can only assume that the jar was probably found at the Roman site of Căşeiu, Cluj County. The site was researched by Dan Isac from 1980 until 2012, the year before

[31] Bichir 1973, Pls. 51/3, 52/8–10; Bichir 1976, Figs. 1/3, 3/1; Comşa 1994, 331–332; Costea, Bălos 2001, 222.

[32] Comşa 1994, 318; Costea, Bălos 2001, 217–242.

[33] Comşa 1994, 318; Costea 2008, 157–172; Costea, Bălos 2001, 220–224; Costea et alii 2009, 266–270.

[34] DA, Paris, 2, 1, s. v. *Diana* (P. Paris); DA, Paris, 3, 2, s. v. *Mithra* (F. Cumont); DA, Paris, 4, 2, s. v. *Saturnalia* (J. A. Hild). Among the examples from Dacia, those from Micăsasa and Drobeta have the fir tree associated with a bull's head or a bull, scenes which can easily be associated with the cult of Mithras.

[35] Isac 2003, 59–119.

his death.[36] The fragments of the jar under discussion were not published and are missing from the monography dedicated to the vessels from this site.[37] Thus, we can assume either that the jar was not discovered in the site, or that it was discovered after the completion of the monographic study. The second hypothesis seems more plausible: the fragments were probably discovered at Căşeiu, during the archaeological excavations from 2009–2012.[38] That would explain why the fragments were still on Dan Isac's desk and not in the museum's deposit, similarly to the material discovered in the previous archaeological campaigns.

The common Roman wares found in the auxiliary fort from Căşeiu were made of a relatively good quality fabric and were well burned, mostly oxidized. Wheel-thrown jars are the most numerous. The repertoire of decorative elements is rather limited.[39] Cooking containers (jars, *patinae*, *mortaria*, strainers, and lids) represent almost half of all common vessels found in the fort so far.[40]

At Căşeiu, handmade pottery is scarce in comparison to wheel thrown provincial pottery. Some of these vessels are considered to be of local Late Iron Age tradition. Their fabric is coarse and the burning is mostly uneven. The vast majority are black or brown in colour. Within this ceramic category, jars are the most numerous, followed by bowls, lids and cups.[41] Medium sized, the handmade jars have a biconical shape and an everted rim. The fabric is coarse, in brownish and darkish colours. Slightly different, several types of jars fit these general features. The few decorated exemplars have round buttons, alveoli, alveolar belts and incised lines.[42]

The aforementioned monographic study focused only on the vessels discovered in the Roman fort from Căşeiu. Near the fort, a military *vicus* was also excavated, but most of the material discovered here is still unpublished.[43] It is possible that the vessel comes from here. In addition, mixed Roman and Late Iron Age tradition vessels were found in the military *vicus* near the fort at Căşeiu.[44]

Considering all these findings from Căşeiu, the jar found in Professor Dan Isac's office would fit the general context.[45]

Conclusion

The presence on a Roman vessel of alveolar belts and fir tree ornaments may very well be the result of local Late Iron Age / Dacian influence, but other possibilities cannot be excluded. Based on the information collected until this moment it is difficult to determine who produced this jar (Roman/Dacian?) and why.[46] The discovery context might have

[36] Isac 2003, 28; Isac et alii 2013, 38–40.

[37] Cupşa 2009, 383–505.

[38] C. Cupşa's PhD Theses was defended in 2009, but the latest archaeological materials from the site taken into consideration were discovered in 2008.

[39] Cupşa 2009, 383–387.

[40] Cupşa 2009, 389–497.

[41] Cupşa 2009, 498–510.

[42] Cupşa 2009, 498–505.

[43] Isac et alii 1998, 14–15.

[44] Isac et alii 1998, 14–15; Ţentea 1999, 129.

[45] Pupeză, Isac, Cupşa 2020, 335–342.

[46] Popilian 1976a, 279–286; Protase 1980, 152–153; Gudea, Moţu 1988, 236; Ţentea 1999, 126–127; Nedelea 2019a, 411–418; Nedelea 2019b, 180–182; Pupeză, Isac, Cupşa 2020, 341.

brought useful data in these matters. We can only hope that relevant clues will be found in the numerous pages of the archaeological documentation left from Professor Dan Isac, currently under study. Even without a certain archaeological context, the presented jar might be one of the most eloquent examples of a Dacian-Roman product, in its entirety.

Bibliography

Ardeț 1991 — A. Ardeț, *Ceramica dacică și de tradiție celtică de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, Thraco-Dacica, 12, 1991, 137–142.

Bichir 1973 — G. Bichir, *Cultura Carpică*, București 1973.

Bichir 1976 — G. Bichir, *Les Daces libres de l'époque romaine à la lumière des données archéologiques*, Thraco-Dacica, 1, 287–308.

Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1986 — I. Bogdan-Cătăniciu, *Ceramica dacică din castellum de la Rucăr*, ActaMN, 22–23, 1986, 201–211.

Căpitanu 1987 — V. Căpitanu, *Ceramica geto-dacică descoperită în dava de la Răcătău*, Carpica, 18–19, 1987, 103–213.

Căpitanu 1992 — V. Căpitanu, *Noi contribuții la cunoașterea civilizației geto-dace în Bazinul Siretului Mijlociu. Cetatea dacică de la Răcătău (antica Tamasidava)*, Carpica, 23, 1992, 129–192.

Căpitanu 1994 — V. Căpitanu, *Cestile dacice ornamentate din dava de la Răcătău*, Carpica, 25, 1994, 45–72.

Comșa 1994 — M. Comșa, *Brăduțul (arborele vieții) pe ceramica geto-dacică și semnificația sa simbolică*. In: P. Roman, M. Alexianu (eds.), *Relation Thraco – Illyro – Hellenistiques*, București 1994, 315–334.

Costea 2008 — F. Costea, *Decorative Motives or Religious Symbols? Attempts to Interpret the Decorations on Dacian Pottery (Part 2) / Motive decorative sau simboluri religioase? Încercări de interpretare a decorațiilor de pe un vas dacic (partea a 2-a)*, Angustia, 12, 2008, 157–172.

Costea, Bălos 2001 — F. Costea, A. Bălos, *Un brăduț sculptat în piatră descoperit în fortificația dacică de la Racoș – Piatra Detunată (jud. Brașov)*. In: V. Crișan, G. Florea, G. Gheorghiu, E. Iaroslavschi, L. Suciu (eds.), *Studii de istorie antică. Omagiu profesorului Ioan Glodariu*, Cluj-Napoca 2001, 217–242.

Costea et alii 2009 — F. Costea, V. Sîrbu, R. Ştefănescu, L. Savu, A. Bălos, *O ceșcuță dacică cu valențe cultuale descoperită la Racoș-Piatra Detunată, județul Brașov (A Dacian cup with cult meanings found in the fortification from Racoș-Piatra Detunat, Brașov County)*. In: A. Zanoci, T. Arnăut, M Băț (eds), *Studia archeologiae et historiae antiquae: Doctissimo viro Scientiarum Archeologiae et Historiae Ion Niculiță, anno septuagesimo aetatis suae, dedicatur*, Chișinău 2009, 263–276.

Cristescu 2023 — C. Cristescu, *Așezarea de epocă romană*. In: M. Rill, R. Mateescu (eds.), *O (ne)obișnuită așezare. Cercetările arheologice de la Șura Mică – Râșloave*, Cluj-Napoca 2023, 110–116.

Crișan 1969 — I. H. Crișan, *Ceramica daco-getică. Cu specială privire la Transilvania*, București 1969.

Cupșa 2009 — C. Cupșa, *Ceramica din castrele romane de la Bologa și Cășeiu. Considerații asupra vaselor de uz casnic (Ceramics from the Roman Forts of Bologa and Căşeiu. Approaches over the Common Pottery)*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca 2009.

Filip 2008 — C. C. Filip, *Ceramica ștampilată de la Porolissum*, Cluj-Napoca 2008.

Gaiu 2002 — C. Gaiu, *Grupul de cuptoare de ars ceramică de la Ilișua*. In. C. Gaiu (ed.), *Ateliere și tehnici meșteșugărești. Contribuții arheologice*, Cluj-Napoca 2002, 161–197.

Gaiu 2015 — C. Gaiu, *Ceramica lucrată cu mâna din castrul roman de la Arcobadara/ Ilișua*, RB, 29, 2015, 65–92.

Glodariu, Moga 1989 — I. Glodariu, V. Moga, *Cetatea dacică de la Căpâlna*, București 1989.

Gudea 1969 — N. Gudea, *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Bologa*, ActaMN, 6, 1969, 503–508.

Gudea 1970 — N. Gudea, *Ceramica dacică din castrul roman de la Buciumi*, SCIVA, 21, 2, 1970, 299–311.

Gudea 1989 — N. Gudea, *Porolissum – Un complex arheologic daco-roman la marginea de nord a Imperiului Roman*, Zalău 1989.

Gudea, Moțu 1988 — N. Gudea, I Moțu, *Despre ceramica provincială lucrată cu mâna din castre. Observații arheologice cu specială privire la câteva castre din Dacia Porolissensis*, ActaMP, 12, 1988, 229–250.

Isac 2003 — D. Isac, *Castrul roman de la SAMVM – Căşeiu / The Roman auxiliary fort SAMVM – Căşeiu I*, Cluj-Napoca 2003.

Isac et alii 1998 — D. Isac, A. Isac, F. Marcu, O. Țentea, *Cășeiu, jud. Cluj*, CCA, 1998, 14–15.

Isac et alii 2013 — D. Isac, A. Isac, I. Socol, *Cășeiu, jud. Cluj*, CCA, 2013, 38–40.

Iliescu 2018 — I. A. Iliescu, *The pottery workshops at Drobeta*. In: V. Rusu-Bolindeț, C. A. Roman, M. Gui, I. A. Iliescu, F. O. Botiș, S. Mustață, D. Petruț (eds.), *Atlas of Roman pottery workshops from the provinces Dacia and Lower Moesia/ Scythia Minor (1st–7th centuries AD) (I)*, Cluj-Napoca 2018, 157–173.

Marcu, Țentea 1997 — F. Marcu, O. Țentea, *Ceramica lucrată cu mâna din castrul roman de la Gilău*, ActaMP, 21, 1997, 221–233.

Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1996 — V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Turibula. Concerning the origin and the utilisation of a pottery category from the Lower Danube*, RCRF Acta, 33, 1996, 97–102.

Mitrofan 1993 — I. Mitrofan, *Așezarea romană de la Micăsasa*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca 1993.

Mitrofan 1995 — I. Mitrofan, *Materiale și ustensile folosite de olarii romani*, Apulum, 32, 1995, 175–188.

Nedelea 2019a — L. Nedelea, *An overall insight in the production and consumption of pottery among native rural communities within 2nd and 3rd century A. D. Roman Dacia*. In: S. Nemeti, D. Dana (eds.), I. Nemeti, E. Beu-Dachin, L. Nedelea, T. Varga, *The Dacians in the Roman Empire. Provincial Constructions*, Cluj-Napoca 2019, 395–428.

Nedelea 2019b	L. Nedelea, *Fact or hype? A critical analysis of publications that discuss the issues concerning the continuity of Dacian ceramic traditions in the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD of rural Roman Dacia*. In: S. Nemeti, E. Beu-Dachin, I. Nemeti, D. Dana (eds.), *The Roman Provinces. Mechanisms of Integration*, Cluj-Napoca 2019, 179–220.
Negru 1998	M. Negru, *Considerații privind cești le dacice modelate cu mâna descoperite în Dacia romană*, AO, S. N., 13, 1998, 27–42.
Negru 2003	M. Negru, *The Native Pottery in Roman Dacia*, Oxford 2003.
Negru, Ciucă 1997	M. Negru, I. Ciucă, *Ceramica dacică lucrată cu mâna descoperită în așezarea civilă a castrului roman de la Enoșești-Acidava*, AO, S. N., 12, 1997, 23–29.
Popilian 1976a	G. Popilian, *Ceramica romană în Oltenia*, Craiova 1976.
Popilian 1976b	G. Popilian, *Traditions autochtones dans la céramique provinciale romaine de la Dacie Méridionale*, Thraco-Dacia, 1, 1976, 279–286.
Popilian 1980	G. Popilian, *Necropola daco-romană de la Locusteni*, Craiova 1980.
Popilian 1982	G. Popilian, *Necropola daco-romană de la Daneți*, Thraco-Dacica, 3, 1982, 42–67.
Popilian, Bondoc 2014	G. Popilian, D. Bondoc, *Așezările daco-romane de la Locusteni*, Craiova 2014.
Popilian, Niță 1982	G. Popilian, T. Niță, *Necropola daco-romană de la Leu*, Oltenia, 4, 1982, 87–92.
Protase 1971	D. Protase, *Așezarea și cimitirul daco-roman de la Obreja (Transilvania)*, ActaMN, 8, 1971, 135–160.
Protase 1976	D. Protase, *Un cimitir dacic din epoca romană de la Soporu de Câmpie*, București 1976.
Protase 1980	D. Protase, *Autohtonii în Dacia. I. Dacia romană*, București 1980.
Pupeză, Isac, Cupșa 2020	P. Pupeză, A. Isac, C. Cupșa, *Dacian pottery in Roman contexts. The fort of Cășeiu (Samum)*, RCRF Acta, 46, 2020, 335–342.
Rogozea 1988	P. Rogozea, *Ceramica dacică din așezarea romană de la Tibiscum*, Tibiscum, 7, 1988, 165–180.
Rusu 1997	V. Rusu, *Griffe keramischer Paterae aus dem römischen Dakien*, ActaMN, 34, 1, 1997, 325–388.
Rusu-Bolindeț 2007	V. Rusu-Bolindeț, *Ceramica romană de la Napoca. Contribuții la studiul ceramicii din Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 2007.
Rusu-Bolindeț, Botiș 2018	V. Rusu-Bolindeț, F. O. Botiș (eds.), *The supply of ceramic goods in Dacia and Lower Moesia: imports and local developments. Exhibition catalogue*, Cluj-Napoca 2018.
Stîngă 1998	I. Stîngă, *Viața economică la Drobeta în secolele II–VI p. Ch.*, București 1998.
Spânu 2015	D. Spânu, *Mica necropolă din secolele II–III p. Chr. de la Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor*, Marisia, 34–35, 2014–2015, 39–56.
Teodor 1984	S. Teodor, *Descoperiri din epoca Latène în zona Neamțului*, Thraco-Dacica, 5, 1984, 123–137.

Trohani 1999 — G. Trohani, *Ceramica geto-dacă din secolele II a. Chr. – I p. Chr. din Câmpia Română*, PhD Thesis, University of Bucharest, 1999.

Ţentea 1999 — O. Ţentea, *Semnificația prezentei ceramicii de tradiție Latène în Dacia romană*, RB, 12–13, 1999, 123–132.

Ţentea, Marcu 2000 — O. Ţentea, F. Marcu, *Observații asupra cești dacice din perioada romană și post romană*, RB, 14, 2000, 67–85.

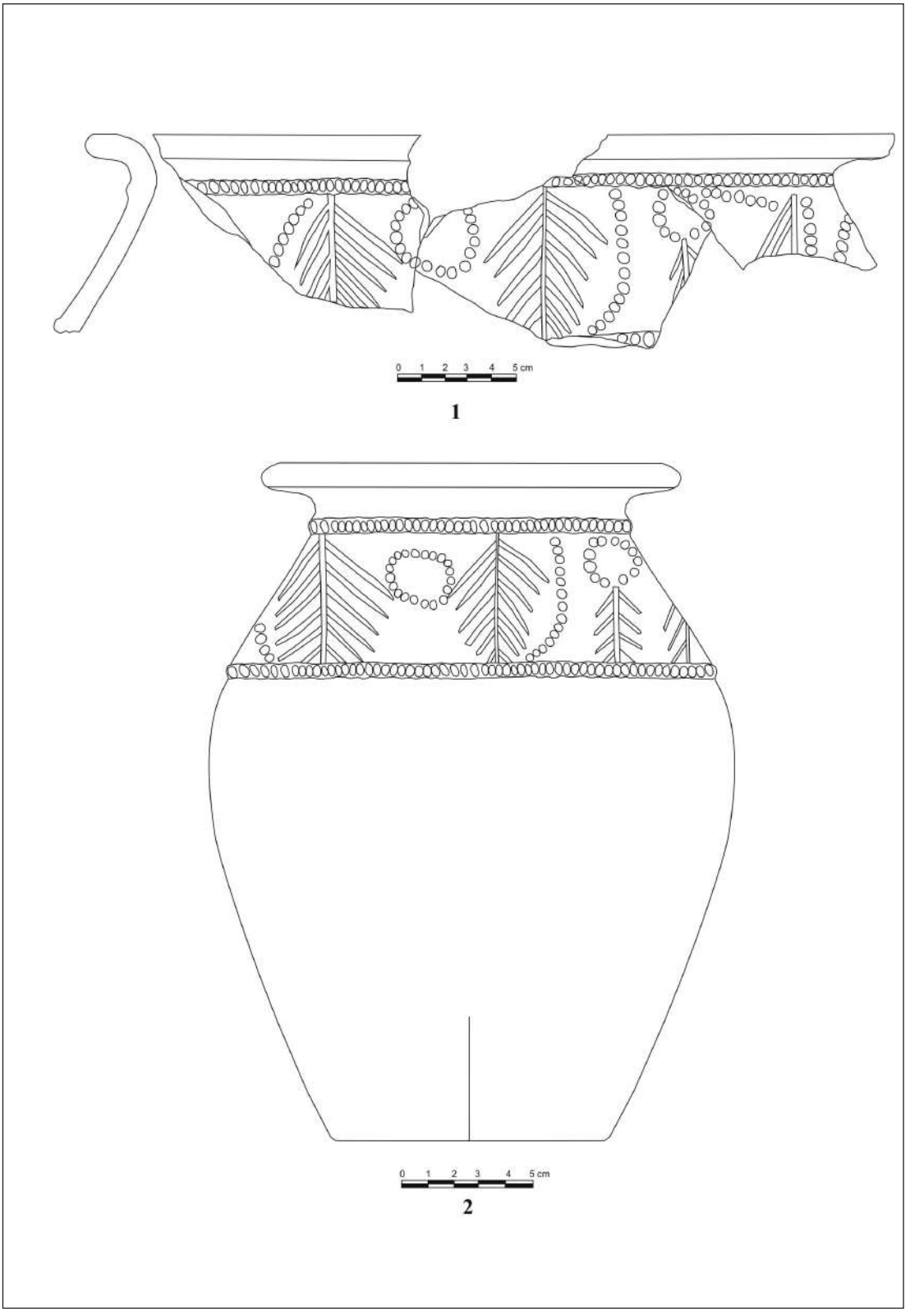
Vulpe, Teodor 2003 — R. Vulpe, T. Teodor, *Piroboridava. Aşezarea geto-dacică de la Poiana*, București 2003.

Paul Pupeză
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
paulpupeza@yahoo.com

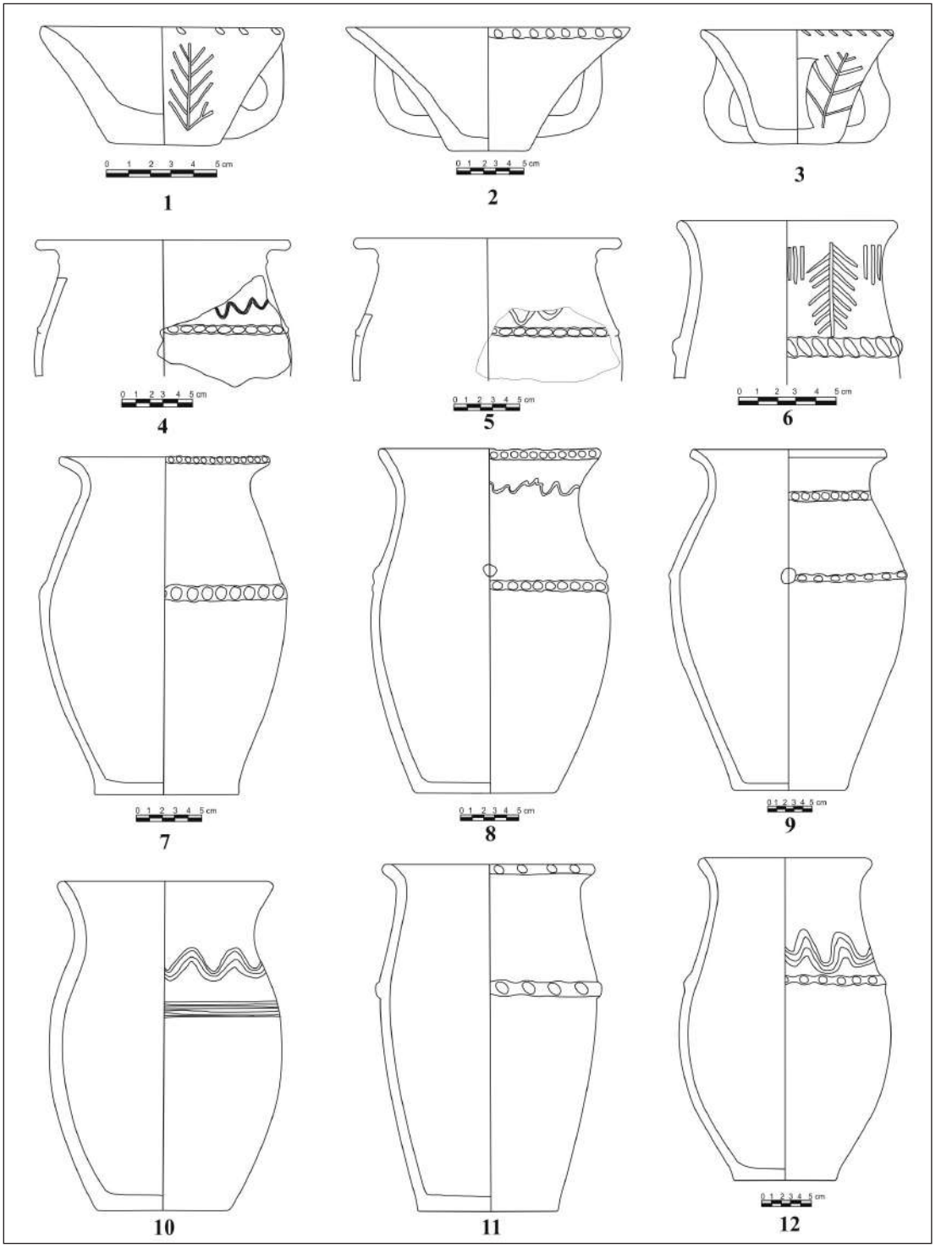
Adriana Isacu
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
aisacu@yahoo.com



Pl. I. The jar: **1–3.** Fragments; **4–6.** Restoration (photos made by S. Odenie, MNIT).



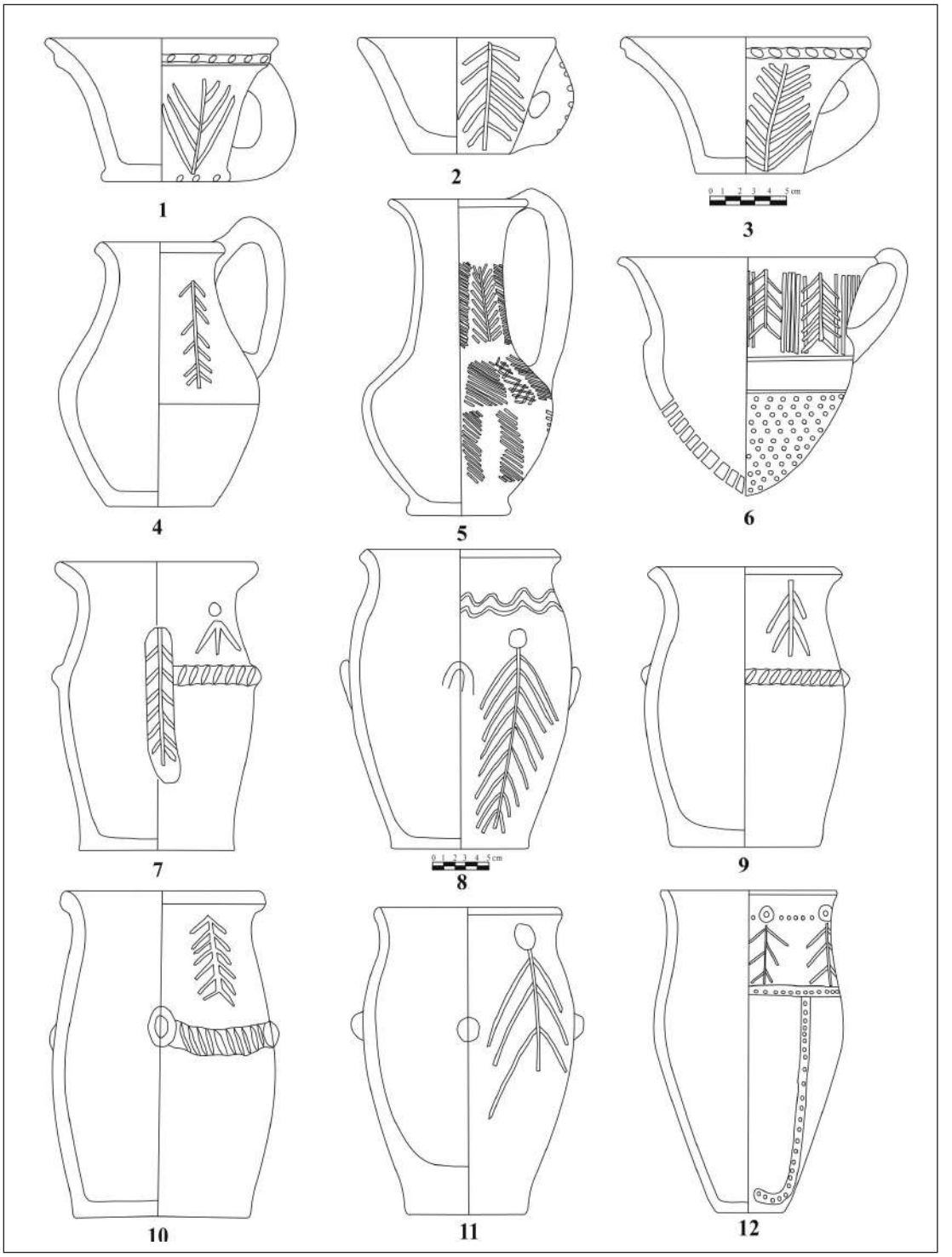
Pl. II. The jar: **1.** Fragments; **2.** Visual reconstruction (drawings made by the authors).



Pl. III. Late Iron Age tradition pottery from Roman Dacia: **1, 3.** Obreja (after Negru 2003, Pl. 16/131, 17/149); **2, 8, 10.** Locusteni (after Popilian 1976a, Pl. LXXIV/941, 945, LXXV/956); **9, 12.** Locusteni (after Negru 2003, Pl. 5/42, 7/57); **4, 5.** Cluj-Napoca (after Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, Pl. XX/77, 78); **6.** Ilişua (after Gaiu 2015, Fig. 1/10); **7.** Enoşeşti (after Negru, Ciucă 1997, Fig. 1/1); **11.** Sopor (after Protase 1976, Pl. XLI/5).



Pl. IV. Roman pottery with fir tree and alveoli decoration: **1.** Drobeta (after Stîngă 1998, Pl. XXX/3); **2.** Slăveni (after Popilian 1976b, Fig. 1/3); **3–4.** Gilău (photos made by S. Odenie, MNIT archive); **5, 8.** Ilișua (photos made by S. Odenie, MNIT archive); **6.** Cășeiu (photo made by S. Odenie, MNIT archive); **7.** Micăsasa (photo made by S. Odenie, MNIT archive); **9.** Moigrad (photo made by S. Odenie, MNIT archive).



Pl. V. Dacian pottery with fir tree and alveoli decoration: **1.** Ocniţa (after Comşa 1994, Fig. 1/8, 3/6); **2.** Borniş (after Teodor 1984, Fig. 16/1); **3.** Răcătău (after Căpitanu 1994, Pl. XIV/5); **7.** Răcătău (after Căpitanu 1987, Fig. 27/1); **9**. Răcătău (after Căpitanu 1992, Fig. 35); **4.** Ciugud (after Crişan 1969, Pl. LXI/7); **5.** Poiana (after Comşa 1994, Fig. 5/6); **6, 10.** Poiana (after Vulpe, Teodor 2003, Figs. 156/2, 218/2); **8.** Căpâlna (after Glodariu, Moga 1989, Fig. 41/1); **11.** Borduşani (after Trohani 1999, Fig. 105/5).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 183–189

A ROMAN FACE POT DISCOVERED AT THE AUXILIARY FORT FROM GHERLA

ANDRA-CEZARA COMIATI

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.07

Abstract: During the 1980s, extensive rescue excavations have been carried out at the Roman auxiliary fort from Gherla, leading to the discovery of large quantities of pottery sherds. Among them, one certainly stands out due to its intriguing decorative element: an anthropomorphic face. Whose representation is it, what was it used for, and how did it become part of a soldier's belongings, are just some of the questions this paper aims to answer.

Keywords: Gherla; face pot; auxiliary fort; *ala II Pannoniorum*; Dacia Porolissensis.

Rezumat: Săpăturile arheologice de salvare efectuate la începutul anilor '80 în castrul auxiliar roman de la Gherla au condus la descoperirea unor cantități impresionante de fragmente ceramice. Dintre acestea, un vas se remarcă datorită unui element decorativ intrigant: o față antropomorfă. Cui îi aparține chipul, ce funcționalitate a avut acest vas și cum a ajuns să facă parte din repertoriul de bunuri ale unui soldat, sunt doar câteva dintre întrebările la care acest studiu își propune să răspundă.

Cuvinte-cheie: Gherla; vas antropomorf; castru auxiliar; *ala II Pannoniorum*; Dacia Porolissensis.

While face pots have been considered a rarity in the Roman period, new evidence from the Western provinces reveals that they were more commonly used than we previously thought. Regarding their appearance, these vessels distinguish themselves primarily through one main decorative element which depicts male faces in applied relief, most often manufactured in very rudimentary fashion. Occasionally, some of the features may be incised, and, very rarely, painted. The face is usually rendered in three ways:[1] a) with eyes and mouth half-open; b) with the eyes and mouth open; c) eyes open, mouth closed.

The earliest Roman face pots have all been discovered in military sites along the Upper German-Raetian Limes and appear to belong to the legionary pottery repertoire of this region during the first half of the 1st century AD.[2] All evidence points out that it was the Roman army who introduced and spread face pots into the European provinces. G. Braithwaite[3] elaborates on two possible starting points from which these artefacts could have evolved: the first one follows the well-established European face urn tradition, found along the Danube during the Neolithic period, in the Scandinavian Peninsula and Northern Germany during the late Bronze Age, in Northern Poland during the Iron Age,

[1] Culică 1976, 567.
[2] Braithwaite 1984, 100.
[3] Braithwaite 2007.

and in the Etruscan "dolio" funerals. The second one is influenced by the face beakers found in Northern Italy and the Middle Danube, which seem to be a fusion between the east-Mediterranean, naturalistic vases, and the stylized face masks of early Celtic art.[4]

The correlation between the Roman-era face beakers and the Roman army is best represented in the case of Raetia: in the regions where legions were not stationed, the face beaker tradition did not occur. Another example is Northern Italy in the 1st century AD, where face beakers appear in regions with the highest number of legionaries. Northern Italy also served as the starting point from which a series of campaigns to conquer Dalmatia, Moesia and Pannonia were undertaken, so it is no wonder that Italian face beakers appear on military sites along river routes down to the Danube. This pattern continues to be seen in all provinces conquered and incorporated into the Empire, where legionary troops recruited from Northern Italy are spreading face beakers in all regions where they settled, particularly in the Balkan provinces.[5]

There is no strong evidence that face beakers were taken up by the civilian populations of the provinces, besides the military frontiers. Even in the cases where they have been found in areas other than the frontiers, there is strong evidence of former military presence, that resulted in continuing contacts with the army such as veteran settlements. Following the pattern established above, it should be no surprise that, with one exception, all face beakers found in Dacia were discovered in military forts and fortresses. One fragment was discovered inside a barrack block at Bologa;[6] five were recovered from Buciumi: one was found inside the south tower of the *porta principalis*,[7] another two in Barrack block 4,[8] one in Barrack block 5 and one inside the *praetorium*;[9] one at Porolissum;[10] one at Potaissa,[11] inside Barrack I / Room K (*contubernium*); one at Romita;[12] two at Războieni-Cetate;[13] two at Cristești;[14] one at Râșnov,[15] inside a barrack block; one at Drajna de Sus;[16] one at Romula.[17]

The only exception was found in a pottery workshop from Micăsasa.[18] This occurrence may be explained by Vivian Swan's theory that the Roman army might have carried pattern books to provide local potters with a general idea of the types of vessels they wanted to manufacture, instead of transporting the actual vessels for the potters to replicate.[19] Micăsasa

[4] Braithwaite 2007. The first two chapters go into great detail about the history of Neolithic and pre-Roman face pottery tradition.

[5] Braithwaite 2007, 325–336.

[6] Gudea 1977, 83, fig. 18/8; Braithwaite DAN type 6.

[7] Gudea 1977, 42, pl. LI/3; Braithwaite DAN type 25.

[8] Gudea 1977, 42, pl. LIV/A, B; Braithwaite DAN type 26.

[9] Gudea 1977, 42, pl. LIV/2, 4; Braithwaite DAN type 31.

[10] Gudea 1985.

[11] Nedelea 2020, 230, pl. I.

[12] Matei, Bajusz 1997, 54, 123, 180 (pl. XXXVI/2).

[13] Bounegru, Varga 2019, 221–232.

[14] Man 2011, 146; 364, pl. LXXXVI.

[15] Gudea, Pop 1971, 49, fig. 35; Braithwaite DAN type 11.

[16] Ștefan 1945–1947, 131, fig. 13/1; Braithwaite DAN type 30.

[17] Ștefan 1945–1947, 131, fig. 13/3.

[18] Mitrofan 1991, 176, pl. 12/1.

[19] Swan 1981, 129.

is known as one of the biggest pottery manufacturing centers of Dacia, and therefore, the discovery of such an artefact in one of the most militarized provinces of the Empire should not come as a surprise.

During the rescue excavations that were carried on in the 1980s within the auxiliary fort from Gherla, numerous pottery sherds have been found, some of them being stored at the National Museum of Transylvanian History and the majority of them housed by the History Museum from Gherla.

The pottery fragment tackled in this paper has part of the rim and body of a vessel still preserved, making it easy to identify it as a beaker. The rim has a diameter of 8 cm and the shard measurements are 5 cm in width and 4.2 cm in height. It was manufactured out of a fine, compact fabric that has a reddish-yellow color (Munsell 7.5YR 6/8 Reddish Yellow); there are small-sized inclusions within the fabric; a red engobe has been applied on the whole surface of the body (Munsell 10R 4/6 Red). The applied relief features that make out the male face can be observed in close proximity to the rim of the pot: an arched, notched eyebrow, with the edges pointing almost straight downwards, forming a semicircle, and a coffee bean-shaped, half-open eye. The features are modeled by hand and some elements were sketched by incision in the raw paste (*ante cocturam*) with a hard instrument: the eyebrow's hairs are rendered schematically with short, oblique lines, and the eyelids are also roughly marked with a horizontal line.

Unfortunately, the details of its discovery were lost. However, we know that these excavations were focused mainly on *retentura sinistra*, meaning that the beaker was most likely found in one of the barrack blocks.[20] The piece is stored at the National Museum of Transylvanian History, inv. no. v 31241.

The question of whose faces are represented on these pots has lingered in literature for quite some time. The generally accepted theory is that some of them, at least, represent stylized versions of the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman masks, simplified and standardized after years of freehand copying these images. The masks depict the familiar figures belonging to the Greek Bacchic tradition: the Gorgon, Dionysos/Bacchus, Ariadne or Persephone, Hercules, satyrs, maenads, sileni, and the theatrical masks, both tragic and comic, of the theatre of Dionysos.[21]

The face staring back at us from Roman-era Gherla is a so-called "serene" face mask, a simple, nondescript face, with no distinct features.[22] These types are extremely common in Italy, and they are very similar to the "blank" masks on the Etruscan face beakers, some of which are considered to be copies of the earliest Greek head vases representing a young Bacchus or a satyr. This particular type is also the most widespread face pot mask in the provinces, particularly in the Rhineland, where it has become the standard Rhineland face pot mask[23].

The contexts in which they were found indicate that these face pots were probably used in a variety of everyday domestic rituals, performed at *lararia* (the house shrines); these religious rituals were associated with the cult of Dionysos-Bacchus-Liber and his

[20] Protase, Ardevan 1983, 299–303.

[21] Braithwaite 2007, Appendix I, 407–421.

[22] For analogies, see Braithwaite 2007, 359, fig. M2.

[23] Braithwaite 2007, 71–127.

companions, but it is worth mentioning that when they occur in sanctuaries or temples of smaller size (cellar-like structures), those have been identified as *Mithraea*[24] or *Dolichena*[25]. The Bacchic mask was often used for its protective purpose – they were hung up as terracotta masks inside and outside the house, attached to the roofs as antefixes, or painted on walls or doors.

The face beaker discovered at Gherla was thus most likely used in a domestic ritual, performed by a soldier or a group of soldiers for protection, something they did either daily, or occasionally. The lack of any archaeological context, besides the knowledge that it came from inside the fort, makes it a bit harder to date the beaker. It is also almost impossible to know whether it was made in a local workshop, or if we are dealing with an import. The general quality of the fabric, as well as that of the slip, are unlike that of any other vessels discovered at Gherla thus far. This could be an indicator that the vessel was imported or had arrived at the auxiliary fort with the unit that built the garrison, namely *ala II Pannoniorum*. This observation, in turn, raises further questions regarding the origins of the beaker.

Ala II Pannoniorum was probably founded as early as the reign of Augustus, shortly after the defeat of the Pannonian revolt in 9 AD. We know that during this time, five *alae* and eight cohorts were established, and the *ala II Pannoniorum* was certainly among them.[26] During the reign of Emperor Domitian, it was moved to Moesia Superior. From here, the unit will participate in Trajan's Dacian wars. After the end of the second war, the troop was stationed at Gherla, and it stays there until Emperor Aurelian decides to abandon the Dacian Province.[27]

For most of its existence *ala II Pannoniorum* was stationed in several Danubian provinces, with the exception of the few years it spent in Syria at the beginning of the Flavian Dynasty.[28] Given that these types of vessels could have a long life thanks to the purpose they were intended for, it is not too far- fetched to think that it was manufactured in Moesia and brought to Gherla when the troop was mobilized to build the fort there. There is no evidence to suggest that the vessel was produced locally. The fabric and the slip are very different from those normally identified in locally produced wares, underlining once more the idea that it could have been an import. Further fabric analysis may reveal whether this vessel was manufactured at Gherla or not.

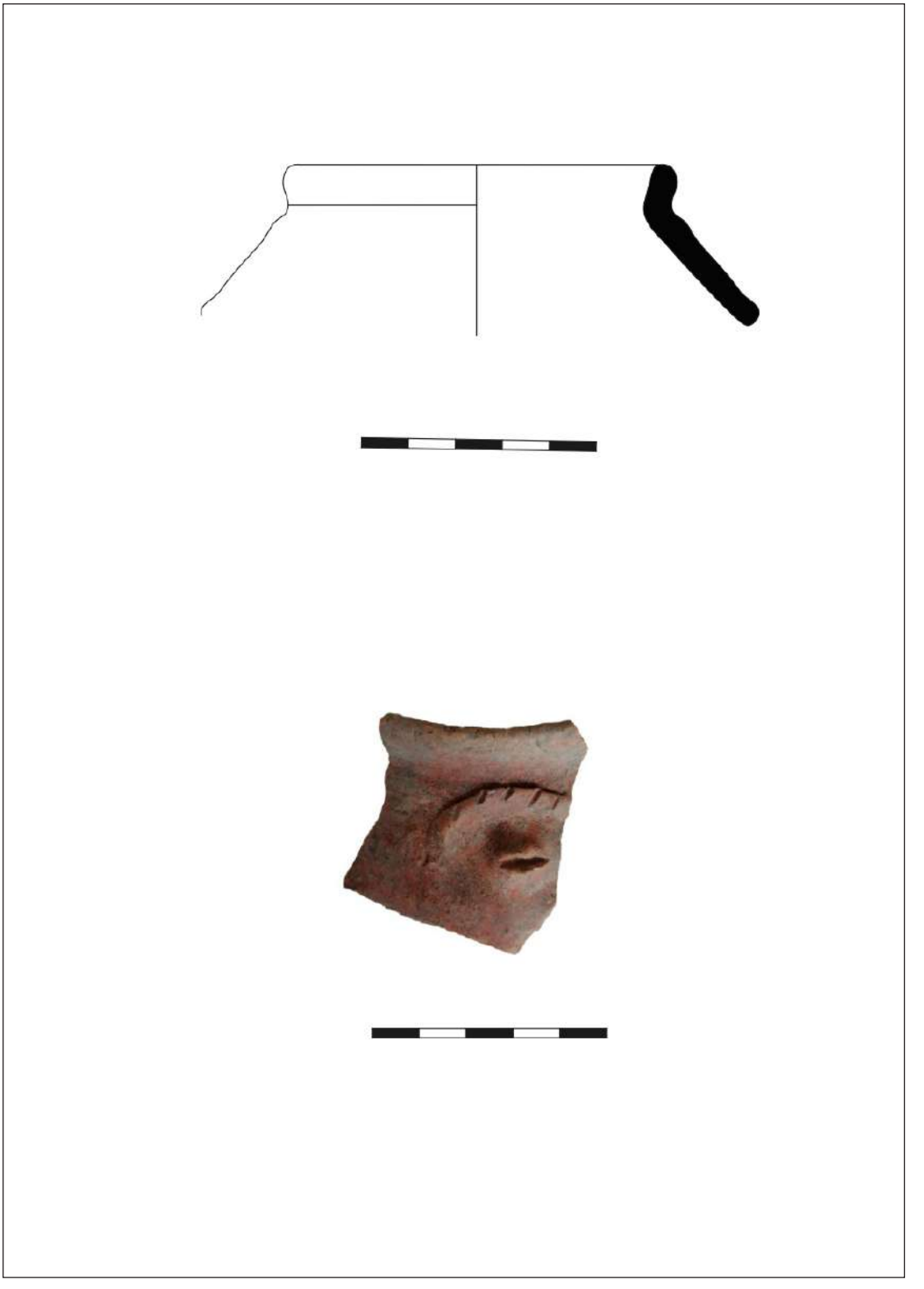
[24] Braithwaite 2007, 391.
[25] Schumacher 1911, 346.
[26] Holder 1980, 112.
[27] Ardevan 2007, 140–155; Petolescu 2002, 74.
[28] Ardevan 2007, 139–140, Zăgreanu, Ardeleanu 2010, 489.

Bibliography

Ardevan 2007	R. Ardevan, *The Ala II Pannoniorum in Dacia*, Apulum, 54, 2007, 139–155.
Bounegru, Varga 2019	G. Bounegru, R. Varga, *Two face pots from the vicus of Războieni-Cetate (Alba County)*. In: S. Nemeti, E. Beu-Dachin, I. Nemeti, D. Dana (eds.), *The Roman provinces. Mechanisms of integration*, Cluj-Napoca 2019, 221–232.
Braithwaite 1984	G. Braithwaite, *Romano-British face pots and Head Pots*, Britannia, 15, 1984, 99–131.
Braithwaite 2007	G. Braithwaite, *Faces from the past: a study of Roman face pots from Italy and the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, BAR IS 1651, Oxford 2007.
Culică 1976	V. Culică, *Roman vases with human faces*, SCIVA, 27, 4, 1976, 567–571.
Holder 1980	P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR IS 70, Oxford 1980.
Isac 2001	D. Isac, *Das Militärdiplom aus dem Jahr 151 N.Chr. von Samum (Cașeiu) und die Datierung der Prokuratur des "Macrinius Vindex" in Dacia Porolissensis*, ActaMN, 38, 1, 2001, 49–60.
Garbsch 1989	J. Garbsch, *Das alteste Militärdiplom für die Provinz Dakien*, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblatter, 54, 1989, 137–151.
Gudea 1972	N. Gudea, *Castrul roman de la Bologa*, Apulum, 15, 1972, 121–150.
Gudea 1977	N. Gudea, *Das Römerlager von Buciumi*, Brașov 1977.
Gudea 1990	N. Gudea, *Über die glazierte Keramik aus der 2–3 Jahrhundert u.Z. in den dakischen Provinzen*, RCRF Acta, 27–28, 1990, 155–169.
Gudea, Pop 1971	N. Gudea, I. Pop, *Das Römerlager von Rîșnov. Cumidava*, Brașov 1971.
Man 2011	N. Man, *Așezarea romană de la Cristești*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.
Matei, Bajusz 1997	A Matei, I. Bajusz, *Castrul roman de la Romita – Certiae*, Zalău 1997.
Mitrofan 1991	I. Mitrofan, *Les recherches dans le centre céramique de Micăsasa*, RCRF Acta, 29–30, 1991, 173–200.
Nedelea 2020	L. Nedelea, *A fish-eyed misfit glaring back from antiquity*, ActaMN, 57, 1, 2020, 223–231.
Paribeni 1926–1927	R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps. Saggio sulla storia e sui tempi dell'imperatore Traiano*, Messina 1926–1927.
Petolescu 2002	C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, București 2002.
Pferdehirt 2004	B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz 2004.
Protase, Ardevan 1983	D. Protase, R. Ardevan, *Săpăturile de salvare de la Gherla*, Materiale și cercetări arheologice 15 (Brașov), 1983, 299–303.
Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008	D. Protase, N. Gudea, R. Ardevan, *Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Castrul auxiliar de la Gherla*, Timișoara 2008.
Schumacher 1911	K. Schumacher, *Gesichtsgefässe römischer Zeit*, Die Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, 5, 1911, 342–345.

Spaul 1994	J. E. H. Spaul, *Ala². The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Roman Imperial Army*, Andover 1994.
Speidel 1970	M. P. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus*, JRS, 60, 1970, 142–153.
Strobel	K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1984.
Swan 1981	V. G. Swan, *Caistor-by-Norwich reconsidered and the dating of Romano-British pottery in East Anglia*. In: A. S. Anderson, A. C. Anderson (eds.), *Pottery research in Britain and North West Europe*, BAR IS, 123/I, 1981, 123–155.
Ștefan 1945–1947	G. Ștefan, *Le camp romain de Drajna-de-Sus*, Dacia, 11–12, 1945–1947, 115–144.
Wagner 1938	W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938.
Zăgreanu, Ardeleanu 2010	R. Zăgreanu, S. Ardeleanu, *Țigle și cărămizi ștampilate inedite descoperite la Gherla*. In: H. Pop, I. Bejinariu, S. Băcueț-Crișan, D. Băcueț-Crișan (eds.), *Identități culturale locale și regionale în context european. Studii de arheologie și antropologie istorică,* Cluj-Napoca 2010, 489–500.

Andra Cezara Comiati
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
comiatiandra@yahoo.com



Drawing and photo of the pot, MNIT inv. no. v 31241 (©author's work).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 191–201

ARA MARTIS. NOTES ON AN ANEPIGRAPHIC ALTAR FROM DACIA

SORIN NEMETI, IRINA NEMETI

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.08

Abstract: The study analyzes a monument published in 1916 by Buday Árpád, who considered it a funerary altar. It is mentioned that it belonged to the museum's old collection, without any reference to the place of discovery, only that it came from Transylvania. All the interpretations from previous publications are unanimous in considering this altar as funerary, despite the absence of any funerary symbolism. The shape and decoration of the altar, as well as the presence of the *focus*, are typical for votive altars in the province of Dacia. The altar belongs to the category of altars with the capital decorated with a triangular pediment and *puluini*. The type of the altar, the Jovian symbolism and even this main representation argue for interpreting the monument in a religious context. The figure with the armour, helmet, sword or *pugio* and the spear in his left hand is, in fact, a naïve representation, typical of provincial art, of the god Mars.

Keywords: *ara*; Roman provincial art; votive; Mars; Dacia.

Rezumat: Studiul de față analizează un monument publicat în anul 1916 de Buday Árpád, care l-a interpretat ca fiind un altar funerar. Se specifica faptul că acesta aparținea colecției vechi a muzeului, fără nicio referire la locul descoperirii, doar aceea că provenea din Transilvania. Toate interpretările din publicațiile anterioare sunt unanime în a considera acest altar ca fiind funerar, în ciuda absenței oricărei simbolistici funerare. Forma și decorul altarului, precum și prezența *focus*-ului, sunt tipice pentru altarele votive din provincia Dacia. Altarul face parte din categoria altarelor cu capitel decorat cu un fronton triunghiular și *puluini*. Tipul de altar, simbolistica ioviană, precum și reprezentarea principală pledează pentru interpretarea piesei într-un context religios. Figura cu armură, coif, sabie sau *pugio* și lancea în mâna stângă este, de fapt, o reprezentare naivă, tipică artei provinciale, a zeului Marte.

Cuvinte-cheie: ara; Roman provincial art; votive; Mars; Dacia.

Dacian provincial art is characterized by the use of numerous models and a typological diversity of monuments. The artistic canons are the same as in neighboring provinces, but sometimes workshops innovate and produce monuments that combine different features or deviate from the canon. Such is the case of an altar with an unknown place of discovery stored in the collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca.

Anepigraphic altar (Pl. I/1).
Place of discovery: unknown; from Transylvania.
Current location: MNIT, inv. no. v 31808 (MIC 8).

Bibliography: Buday 1916, 86–87, no. 12, fig. 12; Florescu 1930, 110–111, no. 63, fig. 52; *RR*, 269, G191, pl. 91; Civiltà, 253–254, G130; Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 25, 165, no. 21, pl. XX, A21; Gramatopol 1982, 155, pl. VII/2; Gui, Petruț 2018, 121–122, fig. 5.
Material: tuff.
Dimensions: 103 × 50 × 47 cm.
State of preservation: preserved almost entirely; fragmented in the upper part and the central side.
Description: The altar is decorated on three sides, while its back is plain. The capital is decorated with two pediments placed above the central sides alternating with balusters (*puluini*) placed above the lateral sides, of which only the right side element is preserved. The circular *focus* is placed centrally among all these elements. Although it is partially destroyed, the *corona* of leaves can be seen, tied with a *tenia* that surrounds it. The front pediment (partly damaged) is decorated with the image of two water birds facing each other, rendered schematically, with their long-beaked heads turned towards the corners of the monument. On the preserved baluster, there is a bundle of thunderbolts depicted longitudinally (Pl. I/2). The circular end of the baluster is destroyed at the front, but the specific decoration of concentric circles is preserved on the back. The destroyed baluster certainly had the same decoration. Under the pediment, the profile consists of a listel, a Lesbian *cyma recta* decorated with acanthus leaves, and a row of *denticuli* placed above another listel. The base of the monument is similarly decorated. On the main side, where the inscription should have been placed, the image of a standing male figure is rendered in a frontal position. The portrait is damaged, with the nose and mouth destroyed, but it is clear that the figure is beardless. The man is wearing military attire. On his head, he is wearing a helmet with the cheek guards attached under his chin and probably decorated with the *crista*? (This part of the relief is broken, but a protuberance is visible above the top of his head. He is also wearing a short-sleeved *tunica* ending in *pteruges*, while his calves are protected by greaves. On his left hip, there is a *pugio* or *gladius*, rendered in an undersized format, attached with a *balteus.* In his right hand, he is holding a spear which is resting upright on the ground, and in the left, partially destroyed, a *patera* with which he is making libations above a small altar. The feet are positioned on the base of the altar, but the tips are broken off. The artistic rendering is rather rudimentary, marked by schematism, rigidity and lack of proportions.
Dating: 2nd-3rd century AD.

The monument was published in 1916 by Buday Árpád, who interpreted it as a funerary altar. It is mentioned that it belonged to the museum's old collection, without any reference to the place of discovery, only that it came from Transylvania.[1] Recent rock analyses have shown that it is a crystallo-vitroclastic tuff, which is a part of the "Dej Tuff Complex", a rock with a compact, fine-grained crystallo-vitroclastic structure, which develops massively in the northern part of the Transylvanian Basin (the area between the villages of Șoimeni, Vultureni, up to the Bistrița-Bârgaie area). Investigation of geological samples taken from several monuments in the Roman Lapidarium collection of the National Museum

[1] Buday 1916, 86–87, no. 12, fig. 12.

of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca led to the identification of several monuments made of this material. These come from Căşei, Dej, Ciumăfaia, Gherla, and Sic. Naturally, the sources were diverse, as this type of material was extracted from several quarries. The ancient quarries have not, however, been archaeologically attested.[2] The rock analyses do not indicate the precise location of the workshop where the altar was carved, but they do narrow down the area of origin of the piece to Dacia Porolissensis.

Gr. Florescu classifies the monument as a funerary altar: B.1 „Altari composti di tre elementi: basamento, tronco e coronamento. II. Altare con base e cornice lavorate nello stessso blocco".[3]

Lucia Ţeposu Marinescu also maintains its classification as a funerary altar: category I.B "Altars".[4] The author emphasizes that it is an interesting monument which has, on its main side, a "soldier" depicted in an inferior style compared to the decorative part and remarks that: "it gives the impression that it is an *ad hoc* addition without analogies in funerary art. There are remote analogies in votive sculpture, as for instance the pilasters decorated with deities or mythological figures".[5]

M. Gramatopol also classifies the altar as funerary. However, while the author offers several examples for simple funerary altars with architectural profiling and inscription, for those with "anthropomorphic representation in high relief on the entire surface of one of the sides", he only provides this altar from the collection of the museum in Cluj-Napoca as an example.[6]

The altar was recently listed by M. Gui and D. Petruţ among the funerary monuments depicting soldiers, in the category of representations of soldiers wearing battle equipment. According to the authors, the figure is dressed in a short-sleeved *tunica* ending in *pteruges*, wearing an atypical helmet and carrying a sword attached to a *balteus*, while holding a spear in his right hand. They consider the representation, with the exception of the libation with the *patera* on an altar, to be typical of the image of a soldier. However, the authors also mention the possibility that the image may depict a martial deity, for which they point to an altar of Mars from Housesteads as an analogy.[7]

The interpretations from previous publications are therefore almost unanimous in considering this altar as funerary, despite the absence of any funerary symbolism. The shape and decoration of the altar, as well as the presence of the *focus*, are typical for votive altars in the province of Dacia.

The altar from the collection of the museum in Cluj-Napoca belongs to the category of altars with the capital decorated with a triangular pediment and *puluini*. Such altars are known in intra-Carpathian Dacia in a relatively small number and illustrate the presence of a more elaborate model in comparison with the variants of altars with triangular pediments and acroteria decorated with rosettes and acanthus leaves or altars with simple capitals.

[2] Wollmann 1973, 112–113, 117–118; Nemeti, Săsăran, Săsăran 2015, 298–299.
[3] Florescu 1930, 105–123 (funerary altars).
[4] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 25, 165, no. 21, pl. XX.
[5] Ţeposu Marinescu 1982, 25.
[6] Gramatopol 1982, 155, pl. VII.2.
[7] Gui, Petruţ 2018, 121–122, fig. 5; analogy from Housesteads – RIB I 1596.

There is no typology of votive altars for the entire province, but upon publishing such monuments from different locations, they have been identified as a distinct type with several variants. Among the altars from Alburnus Maior (Roşia Montană, Alba County), there is a variant of altars with a triangular pediment and *puluini* close to the original model (*Pulvinibekrönung, Variante 1*).[8] The remaining variants (3–4) are in fact the incised sketching of the front side of such a capital with a triangular pediment and balusters.[9] Two altars from Porolissum (Moigrad, Sălaj County) have been classified as type II, with a pediment decorated with *puluini.*[10] From Potaissa, four altars with a similar capital decoration are known, classified here as type VI, with a triangular capital and balusters.[11] Two of them with dedications to Mars and Mercurius with the same epithet (*consentiens*) are beautifully decorated and neatly carved.[12] The other two, for Mercurius and Silvanus, are more rudimentarily carved, without details of the pediment decoration.[13] Similar altars are known from other areas of Dacia. Two examples are known from Micia, one of which has a square *focus*.[14] A rather rudimentary and schematic altar with a triangular pediment and *puluini* is known from Cigmău (Hunedoara County). Most altars of this type, however, come from Apulum (Alba Iulia, Alba County), where variants with and without a circular *focus* at the top appear.[15] Two altars dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus by two freedmen of Aulus Tapetius Antoninus,[16] Amethystus and Epius, are worthy of note. In the first case, a bucranium with garlands is carved on the cornice between the *puluini*,[17] while on the second one, two protomes of adjoined water birds are sketched between the *puluini* (Pl. I/3).[18] This altar, dedicated by the freedman Aulus Tapetius Epius to the supreme god, somewhere in the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, is the model for the altar in the old collection of the Transylvanian Museum. Its front is damaged, but it is still possible to identify the model with the two protomes of adjoined water birds, as on the altar from Apulum.

The *denticuli* decoration is a less common element on votive altars in Dacia, but it can be seen on the lower part of a votive altar from the fortress of Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County)[19] or on a recently published relief from Moldovenești (Cluj County).[20]

As for the monument itself, the analogies identified lead to the conclusion that we are dealing with an anepigraphic votive altar. The altar has a *corona*-shaped *focus* for votive sacrifices. Most altars of this type, with a pediment decorated with *puluini*, with or

[8] Ciongradi 2009, 40–42, no. 4–7, Tab. 6/4,6, 7/5–7.

[9] Ciongradi 2009, 26, 139, Tab. 3.

[10] Zăgreanu 2016, 211, 217, 226–227, A6, pl. IV/A6, A7, pl. IV/A7; ILD 677, 678.

[11] Nemeti, Zăgreanu 2024, no. 70, 72, 73, 81, pl. IV/53, pl. V/55, 56, 60.

[12] CIL III 897, 898; Lupa 6766, 6732.

[13] Bărbulescu, Cătinaș 1992, 113, no. 2, fig. 7; Russu 1955, 103–104, no. 3, fig. 3.

[14] IDR III/3, 71: altar, 120 × 63 × 43 cm, *focus*; IDR III/3, 140: altar, 90 × 40 × 32 cm.

[15] IDR III/5, 109: altar, 73 × 40 × 36 cm, *focus*; IDR III/5, 157: altar, 88 × 57 × 41 cm, *focus*; IDR III/5, 80: altar, 95 × 40 × 43 cm; Ciobanu 2004, 259–260, fig. 1–4.

[16] IDR III/5, 55.

[17] IDR III/5, 167: altar, 110 × 65 × 57 cm.

[18] IDR III/5, 168: altar, 88 × 57 × 39 cm.

[19] Nemeti, Chiorean 2022, 57–58, pl. I.1.

[20] Nemeti, Cupcea, Csók 2022, 177–178, no. 6, pl. III/1.

without a *focus*, are dedicated to Jupiter,[21] but also to other deities such as Venus,[22] Mars,[23] Mercurius,[24] Apollo,[25] Neptunus,[26] Silvanus,[27] or to various Genii.[28]

Many votive altars with *puluini* are known in the Roman Empire.[29] Most of them have a *focus* and additional symbols on the lateral sides (usually vessels, a cup and a *patera*), which directly refer to preliminary sacrifices, libations and burnt offerings in honour of the gods. More numerous than the votive altars with simple, undecorated capitals and no *focus*, these beautifully decorated altars with *puluini* equipped with a *focus* are used in cultic practice.

The idea that this altar from the old collection of the Cluj museum has a religious significance and is not a funerary altar is also supported by the iconographic program.

The balusters are decorated with the bundle of thunderbolts (*fulmen*), the essential attribute of the supreme god of the Greco-Roman pantheon, Zeus-Jupiter. The preserved one also features a geometrically rendered bundle of thunderbolts, with the ends resembling arrowheads, and tied with bands or ribbons. The bundle of thunderbolts, together with the sceptre, are some of the main attributes of Zeus-Jupiter,[30] along with the eagle, and they pertain to the category of attributes of confirmation and recognition.[31] In this case, the attribute is not directly associated with the represented god, but rather decorates balusters symbolizing the sacredness of the altar.[32] It cannot be a symbolic attribute substituting for the supreme god, due to its secondary role in the iconographic program. Just as the cup and *patera* symbolize liquid libation, the *fulmina* flanking the *focus* symbolizes the sacredness of the altar, the fact that it is consecrated to the gods of Olympus whose ruler is Jupiter.

The interpretation of the monument in a funerary context by Buday Á. began with the identification of the figure represented on the main side of the altar as a deceased soldier making the gesture of libation with the *patera* on an altar. This interpretation was later taken up in syntheses on funerary art in Dacia, although Lucia Țeposu Marinescu pointed out analogies from votive art. The representation was interpreted as an *Opferszene*, as a funerary sacrifice.

The character of the altar, the Jovian symbolism and even this main representation argue for interpreting the piece in a religious context. The figure with the armour, helmet,

[21] IDR III/3, 218; IDR III/5, 157, 167, 168 (*Iupiter Optimus Maximus*); IDR III/5, 109 (*Iupiter Depulsor*).

[22] IDR III/3, 140.

[23] CIL III 897 (Mars); Ciobanu 2004, 259–260, fig. 1–4 (*Mars Toutaticus*).

[24] CIL III 898; Bărbulescu, Cătinaș 1992, 113, no. 2, fig. 7.

[25] Ciongradi 2009, 40–41, nos. 5, 7.

[26] Ciongradi 2009, 41, no. 6.

[27] Russu 1955, 103–104, no. 3, fig. 3.

[28] IDR III/3, 71 (*Genius Miciae*); IDR III/5, 80 (*Genius fabrum*); ILD 677, 678 (*Victoria Imperatoris* and *Genius publici portorii Illyrici*).

[29] CSIR Carnuntum, Suppl. 1, no. 272, Tab. 77 (*Genius centuriae*), 278, Tab. 82 (*Genius castrorum et Iupiter Optimus Maximus*), 291, 292, Tab. 83, 2997, Tab. 88, 313, Tab. 93 (*Iupiter Optimus Maximus*), 337, 338, Tab. 99 (Mars), etc.

[30] LIMC VII, 1, 1997, s.v. *Zeus/Iupiter*, 428–431, no. 56–97 – sceptre and thunderbolt (F. Canciani).

[31] Bărbulescu 2003, 161, 165–167.

[32] *Fulmina* generally represented on the lateral sides of the altars dedicated to Jovian figures – CSIR Carnuntum, Suppl. 1, 294, Tab. 84, 332, Tab. 97, Abb. 33 (Carnuntum); Lupa 10331 (Welzheim), 6994 (Großbrotzenburg), 4769 (Thörl-Maglem), 5411 (Kostolac), 5733 (Sisak), 6924, 6296, 6297, 6931, 6932 (Obernburg am Main), 7116, 7125 (Stockstadt), 14934 (Mainhardt), etc.

sword or *pugio* and the spear in his left hand is, in fact, a naïve representation, typical of provincial art, of the god Mars. The only attribute absent from the composition is the shield placed beside the legs, on the right, but in this context it is a secondary attribute. The other martial attributes are well illustrated. The figure is wearing military attire with the short-sleeved *tunica* and *pteruges* (probably a simplified depiction of a *lorica musculata*, an interpretation also indicated by the presence of the greaves), the helmet (*cassis*), and the greaves. The weapons are also specific to Mars: the spear (*hasta*) and the sword (*gladius*) or dagger (*pugio*) on the right hip. The shield is replaced by a small altar (*arula*) on which the god is pouring liquid from a *patera* (*phiala*).[33]

There are thousands of depictions of gods in ancient art making libations on an altar, and there are various attempts in modern literature to explain this apparent paradox of the god making a libation. In addition, there are numerous depictions of deities holding in their hand, as a secondary attribute, the *phiala* or *patera*, an attribute which, in religious language, refers to this ritual gesture. The libations or burnt offerings of incense are a preliminary, introductory phase of religious ritual and are intended to attract the attention of the divinity and introduce the worshipper to the sacred realm where the gods dwell. There are several attempts to explain why the gods are depicted on monuments in this way, from Greek painted pottery to the monuments of Imperial period art. The gods depicted on votive reliefs are not statues, but active figures in action. A god holding a *phiala* in his hand, in the act of libation, would represent, according to Erika Simon, the deity's readiness to respond to the requests of the worshippers and to listen to them, which K. Ch. Patton called *divine reflexivity*.[34] For P. Veyne, the gesture of libation made by humans or gods is a mark of belonging, provisional or permanent, to the sphere of the sacred. The *patera* in the hands of the gods is a common attribute, just as the halo of the Christian saints, the author concluding that "la phiale ou patère sert donc à rendre avec quelque redondance qu'un dieu est divin et saint".[35]

The iconography of the rendered figure is that of a deity making libations on an altar. The pose, attributes and attire all point to the god Mars, as he is depicted in the Imperial period. Iconographically, he can be classified as type C (*Censorenfries*), a type that refers to Mars from the Censors frieze on the altar of Ahenobarbus (1st century AD). The type is repeated in the art of the Imperial period, in stone and bronze sculpture (**Pl. II/1–2**). It differs from type U (Mars Ultor), more popular after the consecration of the temple in the Forum Augustum, simply because the god is beardless and has a youthful appearance.[36] Several such depictions of Mars are known in stone sculpture, on reliefs or altars, in various provinces of the Roman Empire.[37]

The altar is added to those already known which illustrate the cult of this god in Dacia.[38] In the age of Augustus, at the beginning of the Empire, the god's identity is

[33] ER VIII, 2005, s.v. *Libation*, 5432–5435 (H. D. Betz).

[34] ThesCRA, I, 2004, s.v. *Libation*, 237–253, v. 242, 244 (E. Simon).

[35] Veyne 1990, 19–20, 25–26.

[36] LIMC II.1, 1984, s.v. *Ares/Mars* (E. Simon, G. Bauchhenss), 520, no. 90–107, Typus C (Censorenfries): Stehend, unbärtig, mit (meist korintischem) Helm, Panzer und Beinschienen, die Lanze haltend, während die andere Hand Schild oder Schwert hält oder sich auf den Schild stützt.

[37] Lupa 6332, 6338, 6407, 9223, 22515.

[38] Popescu 2004, 52–54.

reimagined[39] to emphasize his role as patron of the gens Iulia (hence the popularity of the legend of the link between Mars and Venus popularized by the literature of the Augustan age) and, implicitly, father of the Roman people.[40] The statue of Mars Ultor from the temple inaugurated in the Forum of Augustus in 2 BC became the standard image of this martial god, clad in armor and armed.[41] The military patronage of Mars is introduced in the official ideology of the Imperial Age, where associated with Victoria, he corresponds to the martial ideal conveyed by the emperors.[42] The popularity of the cult of Mars among soldiers[43] is also due to the fact that it plays an important role in the economy of the rituals of that official religion of soldiers, as testified by the Feriale Duranum (223–227 AD), where five sacrifices to Mars are mentioned in the preserved part from January to May (with the possibility that there were also *feriae* on October 15 and 19 in the lost part).[44] As shown by the altar[45] and statue bases[46] from Apulum dedicated by P. Aelius Crescens to Mars and Victoria or by the expression on the altar of Eggius Proculus, there was the custom of simultaneously dedicating an altar and a figurative representation (statue or relief) to the god Mars: *aram et signum Martis posuit*.[47] The altar with *puluini* discussed here was probably doubled in the place of worship by a votive altar with an inscription where the name of the god and of the dedicant could be read.

Bibliography

Bărbulescu 2003	M. Bărbulescu, *Interferențe spirituale în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 2003.
Bărbulescu, Cătinaș 1992	M. Bărbulescu, A. Cătinaș, *Inscripții dintr-un templu de la Turda*, EN, 2, 1992, 111–124.
Buday 1916	À. Buday, *Rómaikori kőemlékeinkből, Dolgozatok*, 16, 2, 1916, 71–91.
Ciobanu 2004	R. Ciobanu, *Mars Toutaticus*, Apulum, 41, 2004, 259–266.
Ciongradi 2009	C. Ciongradi, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler aus Alburnus Maior*, Cluj-Napoca 2009.
Civiltà	*Civiltà romana in Romania*, a cura di A. Gallina, Roma 1970.

[39] On Mars before the Imperial period: Wissowa 1912, 141–152; Dumézil 1970, 205–245; in the provinces – Toutain 1907, 252–260.

[40] Fink 1971, 422–429, no. 117;Franconi 2014, 146.

[41] LIMC II.1, 1984, s.v. *Ares/Mars* (E. Simon, G. Bauchhenss), 515–516, nos. 24 a-d, 25–50.

[42] Toutain 1907, 254–256, common temples or dedications for Mars and Victoria (AE 1900, 72; AE 1901, 234; CIL III 11889; CIL III 5898; CIL VII 1068).

[43] Domaszewski 1895, 33–36.

[44] Franconi 2014, 147–148.

[45] IDR III/3, 375.

[46] IDR III/5, 248, 249; for interpretation as doubles: Bărbulescu 2003, 201–211; Rădeanu 2006, 323–324.

[47] Cupcea 2024, 85–88, no. 7 (photo lupa 23329).

Cupcea 2024	G. Cupcea, *Latin Inscriptions from the Legionary Fortress of Apulum*, Tyche Supplementband 16, Vienna 2024.
Domaszewski 1895	A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst 14, I, 1895, 1–121.
Dumézil 1970	G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, I, Baltimore – London 1970.
Fink 1971	R. O Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland 1971.
Florescu 1930	Gr. Florescu, *I monumenti funerari della Dacia Superior*, EDR, 4, 1930, 72–148.
Franconi 2014	T. Y. Franconi, *Provincial Cults of Mars in the Roman Empire*. In: *Roman in the Provinces. Art on the Periphery of Empire*, Boston 2014, 145–153.
Gramatopol 1982	M. Gramatopol, *Dacia antiqua. Perspective de istoria artei și teoria culturii*, București 1982.
Gui, Petruț 2018	M. Gui, D. Petruț, *Soldiers and their monuments for posterity: manifestations of martial identity in the funerary iconography of Roman Dacia*. In: G. Cupcea, R. Varga (eds.), *Social Interactions and Status Markers in the Roman World*, Oxford 2018, 115–138.
Nemeti, Săsăran, Săsăran 2015	I. Nemeti, L. Săsăran, E. Săsăran, *Monumenti scultorei nelle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Storia della Transilvania. Studio sulle officine e le cave di pietra della Dacia Porolissensis*. In: C.-G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Cult and votive monuments in the Roman Provinces. Proceedings of the 13th International Colloquium on Roman Provincial Art, Bucharest – Alba Iulia – Constanța, 27th of May – 3rd of June 2013*, Cluj-Napoca 2015, 295–304.
Nemeti, Chiorean 2022	S. Nemeti, P. Chiorean, *Legio VII Claudia at Potaissa*, CCA, 29, 1, 2022, 57–62.
Nemeti, Cupcea, Csók 2022	S. Nemeti, G. Cupcea, Zs. Csók, *Roman inscriptions and sculptural fragments from Moldovenești and Bădeni*, ActaMN, 59, 1, 2022, 173–195.
Nemeti, Zăgreanu 2024	S. Nemeti, R. Zăgreanu, *Votive altars from Potaissa. Models and decorative patterns as evidence from stone workshops*, forthcoming.
Popescu 2004	M. Popescu, *La religion dans l'armée romaine de Dacie*, București 2004.
Rădeanu 2006	V. Rădeanu, *Comportament epigrafic în Dacia Superior în secolul al doilea d. Chr. Studiu asupra dubletelor altar – bază de statuie*. In: E. S. Teodor, O. Țentea (eds.), *Dacia Augusti Provincia. Crearea provinciei*, București 2006, 311–328.
Russu 1955	I. I. Russu, *Descoperiri și achiziții ale Muzeului raional Turda*, Din activitatea muzeelor noastre, Cluj, 1955 [1956], 100–106.
Țeposu Marinescu 1982	L. Țeposu Marinescu, *Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*, BAR IS 128, Oxford 1982.

Veyne 1990 — P. Veyne, *Images de divinités tenant une phiale ou patère [La libation comme « rite de passage » et non pas offrande]*, Mètis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens, 5, 1–2, 1990, 17–30.

Wissowa 1912 — G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München 1912.

Wollmann 1973 — V. Wollmann, *Cercetări privind carierele de piatră din Dacia romană,* Sargetia*,* 10, 1973, 105–130.

Ză̆greanu 2016 — R. I. Ză̆greanu, *Votive statue bases and votive altars from Porolissum*, ActaMN, 55, 1, 2016, 203–248.

Sorin Nemeti
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
nemeti.sorin@gmail.com

Irina Nemeti
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
irinanemeti9@gmail.com



1



2



3

Pl. I. 1. Altar from the Cluj museum (photo S. Odenie, ©MNIT); **2.** The upper part of the altar (photo S. Odenie, ©MNIT); **3.** The altar from Apulum dedicated by A. Tapetius Epius (photo *lupa.at*, no. 11505).



1



2

Pl. II. 1. Mars on the lateral side of the altar from Augsburg (photo *lupa.at*, no. 6338); **2.** The relief of Mars from Durostorum (photo *lupa.at*, no. 22515).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 203–224

LA CARRIÈRE D'ULPIUS CERIALIS ET LES GUERRES DE MARC AURÈLE

BENOIT ROSSIGNOL

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.09

Abstract: The career of Ulpius Cerialis and the wars of Marcus Aurelius. We reconsider a recently published equestrian career from Vinča, which is the career of Marcus Ulpius Cerialis. He was *praepositus* during the Parthian war of Lucius Verus (AD 161–166) and commanded legionaries from Cappadocia and auxiliaries from Hispania. His second military decorations were obtained during the Germanic war from 169 to 175, but was awarded to him during the triumph of 176. Consequently, we propose a new chronology of his career and link it with other important actors of Marcus Aurelius' reign.

Keywords: Roman Empire; equestrian *militia*; procurator; Marcus Aurelius; Lucius Verus; *praepositus*; Parthian war; Marcomannic wars; Dacia.

Résumé: Nous revenons sur la carrière équestre de Vinča récemment publiée qui est celle de Marcus Ulpius Cerialis. Son poste de *praepositus* doit être placé durant la guerre parthique de Lucius Vérus (161–166) et concernait outre des légionnaires de Cappadoce des auxiliaires venus d'Hispanie. Ses secondes décorations furent obtenues dans le cadre de la guerre germanique de 169 à 175, mais remises lors du triomphe de 176. En conséquence nous proposons une nouvelle chronologie de sa carrière qui peut être mise en relation avec celles d'autres personnages importants du règne de Marc Aurèle.

Mots clés: Empire romain; milices équestres; procurateur; Marc Aurèle; Lucius Vérus; *praepositus;* guerre parthique; guerres marcomanniques; Dacie.

Rezumat: În articol se reia o carieră ecvestră de la Vinča, recent publicată, aceasta fiind cariera lui Marcus Ulpius Cerialis. El a fost *praepositus* în timpul războiului partic al lui Lucius Verus (161–166 p. Chr.) și a comandat legionari din Cappadocia, precum și auxiliari din Hispania. A doua sa decorație militară a fost obținută în timpul războiului germanic din 169–175, dar i-a fost acordată în timpul triumfului din 176. În consecință, propunem o nouă cronologie a carierei sale și îl punem în legătură cu alți actori importanți ai domniei lui Marcus Aurelius.

Cuvinte-cheie: Imperiul Roman; miliție ecvestră; procurator; Marcus Aurelius; Lucius Verus; *praepositus*; războiul partic; războaiele marcomanice; Dacia.

Une inscription de Mésie supérieure trouvée à Vinča près de Belgrade et portant une nouvelle carrière équestre remarquable datant du règne de Marc Aurèle a été publiée en 2024[1]. L'analyse et les interprétations qui en ont été proposées ont déjà considérablement

[1] Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023. Nous reprenons et développons dans cet article les éléments présentés au séminaire d'épigraphie du laboratoire HiSoMA le 4 juin 2024, nous remercions tous les participants pour leurs interventions, en particulier F. Bérard, S. Demougin, P. Faure. Nos remerciements vont aussi à Dan Dana pour sa relecture et ses suggestions. Les erreurs et oublis restent nôtres.

éclairé ce texte. Un certain nombre de points restent cependant discutables ou perfectibles. Nous voulons proposer ici, une édition améliorée du texte et des éléments de commentaires destinés à proposer une chronologie et une interprétation légèrement différentes de la carrière et des postes qui la composent.

1. Proposition de restitution

À partir de la publication initiale et de ses photographies, nous proposons le texte suivant (voir la figure):

[M(arco)] Vlp(io) M(arci) fil(io) Quir-
[in(a tribu)] Ceriali, d(ecurioni?) Laure(n)s,
[pro]c(uratori) cent(enario) Dac(iae) Apul(ensis), praef(ecto)
[alae] I Ulp(iae) Cont(ariorum), praef(ecto) alae
[I ou II Ara]ụacor(um), praef(ecto) alae Saba[s]-
[ten(ae) i]n Mauret(ania), trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis)
[III C]yren(aicae), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Thrạc(um)
[in C]ạppad(ocia), praep(osito) uexillation(um ou *-ibus)*
[leg(ionum) X]II Fulm(inatae) et XV Apoll(inaris) et uexi-
[llat(ionis)] n(umeri) Hisp(anorum) in bello Parthic[o]
[sub?] duob(us) Impp(eratoribus) Antoninọ
[et Ve]ṛo donis donat(o) cor[o]-
[na] mural(i) uallar(i) hastis
[pur]is II, item in expedition[e]
[Ger]man(ica) sub Antonino et
[Comm]ọḍọ I[mp]p(eratoribus) ḍọṇịṣ
[donat(o) ---]
[---]
[---]

L. 1: même si on ne peut exclure que le personnage ait eu un *praenomen* différent de celui de son père, la restitution du *praenomen* Marcus dans la lacune gauche reste la plus probable. L. 2: « *[--- pr(aetor)?] Cerial(is?) i(ure?) d(icundo?), Laure(n)s (!)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023. La restitution d'une fonction rare attestée seulement à Bénévent n'est pas satisfaisante car outre qu'elle fait fi de la ponctuation de la ligne, elle néglige l'interprétation la plus simple pour *Cerialis*, à savoir le *cognomen* du personnage, et crée une difficulté en privant le dédicataire de *tria nomina* complets. On ne peut qu'envisager la tribu avant le *cognomen*. Compte-tenu de la largeur de la lacune gauche *[ina (tribu)]* ne semble pas possible, sauf à supposer une ligature IN, mais le texte ne semble pas avoir de ligature dans sa partie gauche. On peut se demander, il faudrait le confirmer par autopsie, si un petit I ne se trouve pas en fin de ligne 1, auquel cas la lacune initiale de la ligne 2 ne contiendrait qu'un N (elle paraît trop étroite pour accueillir NA compte tenu de la taille des lettres). Il nous semble qu'il y a une ponctuation entre D et L.

L. 3: « *[L(auinas?), pro]c(urator)...* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023. La restitution [PRO]C s'impose mais ne remplit peut-être pas tout à fait la lacune, il n'est pas sûr qu'il y

ait pour autant vraiment la place pour une lettre de plus, en particulier si on s'aligne sur les lignes 7 à 9 où la taille de la lacune peut être bien évaluée. La formule *Laurens l(auinas)* est attestée[2], mais le plus souvent les deux termes sont abrégés de la même manière[3]. Nous optons pour la restitution qui semble la plus économique et la plus probable.

L. 4: « *[alae]* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution s'impose, la présence d'*alae* en toutes lettres à la fin de la ligne entraîne une restitution sans abréviation en début de ligne. Comme on ne peut rien imaginer d'autre entre *praef(ecto)* – clairement abrégé à la ligne précédente – et *alae*, la ligne 4 donne une bonne idée de la largeur de la lacune.

L. 5: « *[±2 Ara]uacor(um)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution [ARA] s'impose et l'on peut effectivement hésiter entre les deux unités, la I ou la II. Il nous semble, mais sans certitude, que l'hypothèse « *[I Ara]uacor(um)* » convient mieux à la lacune de quatre lettres à la ligne précédente et aussi sans doute à la ligne suivante. Nous serions tentés de voir, sur la photographie, des traces d'un S à la fin de la ligne.

L. 6: « *[sten(orum) i]n* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, l'identification de l'unité s'impose, si le S se trouvait à la ligne précédente la présence de 4 lettres dans la lacune conviendrait bien à ce que l'on observe à la ligne 4 et à la ligne inférieure.

L. 7: « *[III C]yren(aicae)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution s'impose, comme rien d'autre ne peut être imaginé entre *leg(ionis)* à la ligne supérieure et *III Cyren(aicae)*, on a, sur cette ligne aussi, une bonne idée de la largeur de la lacune. En fin de ligne, une trace du C final semble visible.

L. 8: « *[in Ca]ppad(ocia)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution s'impose, l'extrémité du premier A semble se deviner, on reste ici sur une lacune d'un peu moins de 4 lettres.

L. 9: « *[leg(ionum) XI]I* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution est imposée par le surnom de la légion, la longueur de la restitution correspond très bien aux restitutions des lignes précédentes. La première haste verticale du XII semble sur la cassure et visible en partie.

L. 9–10: « *et vexi(llatione)*|*10 [± 4 i]n Hisp(anias)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la logique d'énumération du cursus (ordre inverse) et le titre de *praepositus* impose de rattacher cette fonction à la précédente, on ne peut donc pas la placer chronologiquement après 166 et la précision *in Hispanias* n'est pas envisageable car la fonction précédente, d'où dépend la position de *praepositus* est déjà située *in Cappadocia*, on voit mal en outre l'intérêt stratégique pour Rome d'envoyer en Hispanie des troupes venues d'Anatolie surtout dans l'hypothèse d'une réponse (que l'on devait souhaiter rapide) à une menace urgente. L'abréviation *uexi(llatione)* de la ligne précédente ne semble pas non plus devoir être retenue, nous n'avons pas retrouvé de parallèles, *uexillatio* est plutôt abrégé *uex(illatio)* ou *uexil(latio)*, parfois *uexillat(io)*. La proposition *uexi*|*[llatio]n(is) Hisp(anicae)* (ou les propositions similaires formulées à l'ablatif ou au pluriel) est séduisante et aurait du sens, mais elle se heurte à la longueur de la lacune, sauf à imaginer des ligatures importantes, mais l'ordonnancement du texte s'y oppose: la partie gauche est plutôt aérée et sans ligature, les lettres liées, ou de plus petite taille, n'apparaissent que dans la partie droite du texte, en général en fin de ligne. Nous proposons *uexi*|*[llat(ionis* ou *-e)] n(umeri) Hisp(anorum)*.

[2] CIL V 6494; EDR108606.

[3] *E.g.* CIL V 2044; EDR073927.

Avec 4 lettres cette solution convient bien à la lacune et nous semble pouvoir avoir du sens dans le cadre de la carrière de Cerialis, mais aussi des guerres du règne de Marc Aurèle (voir *infra*).
L. 10: en fin de ligne on peut envisager un petit O sans doute en partie inséré dans le C.
L. 11: « *[ab] duob(us)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution est correcte du point de vue du latin et des formules épigraphiques, toutefois elle est trop brève pour la lacune. On diminue un peu la partie vide de la lacune en supposant *[sub] duobus* formule moins correcte que *ab* mais qui est celle employée, plus bas, dans la suite du texte pour les décorations suivantes.
L. 12: « *[et Ver]io (!)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, même si des traces de lettres précèdent le O, la présence d'un I ne nous semble pas claire sur les photographies, nous préférons conserver un texte normal. La lecture *[et Ver]Ịo* prend un peu plus de place mais peut rester compatible avec la lacune qui est un peu plus grande à cette endroit. En fin de ligne la place est disponible pour un petit O.
L. 12–13: « *cor(ona)*| *[aur(ea)?]* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, il est très peu probable que Cerialis ait reçu trois couronnes car c'est un niveau de décoration convenant à un sénateur, les chevaliers pour l'époque antonine ont en général une seule couronne. Avec deux couronnes assurées Cerialis est déjà parmi les chevaliers les plus décorés de son époque[4], on proposera donc simplement de poursuivre le mot sur la ligne 13: « *cor[o|na]* » ce qui convient bien à la lacune qui est aussi occupée par une large partie du M initial de *murali*.
L. 14: «| *[± 4]s* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023 qui font observer que le terme *hastis* n'est pas toujours suivi de *puris* (c'est une séquence très courante quand même). Ils envisagent aussi: « *hastis [ve|xilli]s II* »[5], sans toutefois considérer réellement la taille des lacunes (« the division of the lines is purely conjectural »). De fait, cette dernière restitution ne semble pas convenir aux lacunes droite et gauche: il n'y a pas la place pour le mot *[uexilli] s* quelle que soit la coupe que l'on veuille faire, en revanche avec une lacune d'environ 4 lettres *[puri]s* satisfait complètement à l'espace disponible, de plus, la photographie semble montrer un sommet de haste avant le S, aussi nous pointons le I de *puris*.
L. 15: « *[Ger]man(ica)* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, la restitution s'impose. En fin de ligne, il nous semble que la partie gauche de la barre horizontale du T final est perceptible sur la photo, nous pointons la lettre en conséquence plutôt que la placer entre crochets.
L. 16: « *[Comm]odo [---]++[---]++++S[.]* » Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, le sommet des 6 dernières lettres se laisse bien voir sur les photographies ainsi que le sommet de haste après le dernier O de *Commodo*, la restitution de la ligne nous semble assurée.
L. 17 et suivante: ces lignes sont totalement manquantes, la pierre étant brisée dans la ligne 16, toutefois le terme *donato* s'impose après *donis*, il faut sans doute imaginer une énumération des décorations au moins aussi précise que pour les précédentes, ce qui représente au moins deux lignes de texte, ainsi si l'on reprend les formulations des décorations précédentes (et il faut penser qu'on avait sans doute des décorations plus importantes, peut-être du niveau de celle de Macrinius Vindex), on obtient, en conservant la longueur des lignes en nombre de lettres, le texte suivant:

[4] Maxfield 1981, 177.
[5] Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 80.

[donat(o) corona mural(i)]
[vallar(i) hastis puris]
[II ---]

Il ne s'agit là que d'une restitution *exempli gratia* destinée à montrer qu'il faut sans doute envisager au moins une vingtaine de lignes pour le texte complet, car la fin du texte devait encore mentionner des dédicants.

2. Le dédicataire: Marcus Ulpius Cerialis

Le dédicataire de l'inscription était un citoyen romain membre de l'ordre équestre avec une carrière bien entamée. Il faut absolument lui restituer une onomastique normale correspondant aux pratiques des citoyens romains de son rang et de son époque. Après la mention du *praenomen*, du *nomen*, de la filiation et de la tribu, la Quirina, en ligne 1, il est nécessaire de rechercher un *cognomen*. Son absence n'est pas envisageable et la lacune de la ligne 2 n'est pas suffisante pour l'accueillir[6]. Il faut noter aussi que sans être absolument systématique la ponctuation dans l'inscription est plutôt régulière et significative, il n'y a pas de raison de couper le terme *Ceriali* et il faut donc le comprendre comme le *cognomen* du personnage, et cela ne saurait surprendre. Notons qu'il s'agit du seul terme de l'inscription qui permet de s'assurer qu'elle était rédigée au datif.

Le gentilice *Ulpius* et le *praenomen* du père, sans doute aussi celui du personnage, indiquent une citoyenneté remontant, d'une manière ou d'une autre, au règne de Trajan et remontant donc sans doute à deux générations. Cerialis débute sa carrière équestre vers 161, il est donc né au plus tard au début des années 140 et il est donc très probable que son père soit né à la fin des années 110, l'entrée dans la citoyenneté est donc sans doute plutôt due au grand-père. On ne saurait préciser avec certitude les causes qui ont porté cette famille à la citoyenneté puis à l'ordre équestre. L'origine géographique de la famille est à cet égard un élément déterminant. Même si les circonstances de découverte de l'inscription l'ont coupé de son contexte archéologique immédiat[7], on peut sans doute considérer qu'elle provient de la région de Belgrade et donc de Mésie supérieure. Or aucun poste dans la carrière de Cerialis ne se rapporte à cette province. Sauf à supposer que l'inscription soit une pierre errante venue de Dacie – ce qui n'est pas complètement impossible –, il faut trouver une explication à la présence d'un monument honorant Cerialis dans la région de Belgrade. En l'absence d'un dédicant, dont la mention a sans doute été perdue avec la fin du texte, et de formule particulière, la nature même de l'inscription n'est pas certaine. Toutefois on peut observer que le texte rédigé au datif peut convenir à une épitaphe et que le support, issu d'un remploi, ne semble pas le meilleur pour une base de statue honorifique. Peut-on penser que l'inscription soit issue d'un mausolée ou d'une tombe provenant d'une propriété appartenant à Cerialis et donc lui assigner une origine locale? Aucune certitude n'est possible mais l'hypothèse nous semble valoir la peine d'être explorée, sans pour autant exclure d'autres possibilités. Les *Ulpii* sont très nombreux en Mésie supérieure[8].

[6] Comme le notent Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 77, des *cognomina* commençant par Quir- sont connus, mais il faut noter d'une part qu'ils sont très peu fréquents: OPEL IV 20. D'autre part on peut penser que le rédacteur de l'inscription aurait cherché, précisément, à dissiper une équivoque possible avec la tribu.

[7] Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 71–74.

[8] OPEL IV 179 en recensait plus de 81.

Quelques-uns sont connus à Singidunum, en particulier *Marcus Ulpius Trophimus*, un sévir augustal ayant reçu les ornements décurionaux[9]. Ce personnage, probablement un affranchi aisé comme le sont souvent les *augustales*, était-il un affranchi impérial installé dans la région où l'affranchi de puissants *Ulpii* locaux? On ne saurait le préciser mais sa femme Claudia Valentina peut être liée à une autre grande famille locale[10]. La présence d'*Ulpii* dans la notabilité locale à Singidunum n'a rien d'étonnant et leur origine peut être cherchée à la fois dans la présence militaire romaine dans la région mais aussi dans les notables locaux romanisés accédant précocement à la citoyenneté, la municipalisation de Singidunum se situant au plus tard sous Hadrien[11]. La tribu Quirina, très répandue dans l'Empire, ne s'oppose pas à une origine locale, elle est attestée à Singidunum[12].

Le *cognomen* Cerialis est banal sans être des plus fréquents[13]; il n'était pas jusqu'alors véritablement attesté en Mésie supérieure[14]. Des homonymes sont connus, mais il n'y a pas de raison de les rapprocher de notre personnage compte-tenu de la banalité des éléments onomastiques: Marcus Ulpius Balsilus Cerialis à Lepcis Magna[15], Marcus Ulpius Cerialis à Rome[16], L. Ulpius Cerealis à Gerasa au milieu du IIe s.[17], Marcus Ulpius Cerealis procurateur attesté en Tripolitaine sous Septime-Sévère[18]. L'onomastique de notre personnage livre donc peu d'information, si ce n'est l'indication d'une citoyenneté remontant à l'époque de Trajan. Dans le cas où il faudrait retenir une origine locale pour Cerialis, il serait probablement le plus ancien chevalier romain originaire de Mésie supérieure connu[19].

La fin de la ligne 2 constitue le seul élément véritablement énigmatique du cursus car sans parallèle exact connu. À la fin de la formule onomastique on pourrait attendre une indication de l'*origo*, même si cela est moins fréquent dans les ordres supérieurs de la société romaine. Toutefois la séquence *Laures* renvoie probablement aux *Laurentes Lauinates* comme l'ont bien vu les premiers éditeurs[20]. Cerialis doit donc sans doute être placé parmi les chevaliers qui furent inscrits, à titre honorifique et dans un but religieux et rituel, dans le peuple « fictif » des *Laurentes Lauinates*[21]. La manière de l'exprimer n'est toutefois pas courante et semble assurément maladroite: il est peu probable que le terme *Lauinas* ait figuré sur la pierre, et la lettre D n'a pas de sens évident. On peut envisager

[9] CIL III 14534, 1; IMS I 47.

[10] On connaît plus tard sur le territoire de Singidunum un Claudius Valentinianus chevalier romain: ILIug I 24; IMS I 76; IDRE II 311.

[11] L'histoire institutionnelle de Singidunum est moins bien connue que celle du *municipium Aelium Viminacium*, mais il est peu probable que Singidunum n'ait pas été municipalisé quand l'agglomération de l'autre camp légionnaire de la province le fut. Cf. Nikolić 2023, 15–16.

[12] CIL III 1664; IMS I 26.

[13] OPEL II 51.

[14] Il faut exclure du compte RMD I 2 et AE 2011, 1118 puisque Sextus Vettulenus Cerialis était gouverneur de Mésie et ne reflète donc pas l'onomastique locale.

[15] ILAfr 2; IRT 753.

[16] CIL VI 29150; EDR160081.

[17] AE 1930, 101; SEG VII 830; Welles 1938, 164.

[18] IRT 388 et 440; cf. PIR² V 806.

[19] Pour une liste des chevaliers connus: Mrozewicz 1999, 66–69.

[20] Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 77–78. On exclura l'idée d'une erreur du lapicide pour *Olaure(n) s(is)*, c'est-à-dire venant d'Olaurum.

[21] Scheid, Granino Cecere 1999, 101–104 et 109–112, part. 110.

que le D renvoie à une fonction au sein des *Laurentes* où l'on connaît des *decuriones*[22]. La formulation est toutefois incorrecte car on attendrait *decurioni Laurentium*. Peut-on penser que le rédacteur du texte a pu envisager *Laurens* comme un adjectif de *decurio*, en perdant de vue que le texte, où les désinences sont en général absentes, était au datif? Enfin, comme le suggéraient, mais sans le retenir, les éditeurs le développement *d(omo) Laurens* pourrait aussi être envisagé. Une telle formule n'impliquerait pas à notre avis de considérer nécessairement notre personnage comme originaire d'Italie, de nombreux *Laurentes Lauinates* sont connus en province, y compris dans les provinces danubiennes, même si jusqu'à présent aucun n'était connu en Mésie supérieure[23]. L'inscription dans le *populus Laurens*[24] n'équivalait toutefois apparemment pas à un changement d'*origo* puisque le *Laurens Lauinas* Servilius Diodorus est dit *domo Girba ex Africa*[25].

3. Chronologie du cursus

Dans l'énumération des postes, comme le montrent clairement la procuratèle placée en premier et l'ordre des milices, le cursus de Cerialis suit un ordre inverse; toutefois dans sa dernière partie concernant les décorations, la formulation du texte suit l'ordre chronologique en mentionnant d'abord la guerre parthique puis l'expédition germanique. L'appartenance aux *Laurentes Lauinates*, s'il s'agit bien de cela, indiquée en ligne 2 ne se trouve probablement pas à sa place chronologique, c'est un indicateur de dignité et de statut rejeté en début d'inscription. Rassembler les décorations en une séquence séparée des fonctions dans lesquelles elles ont été gagnées n'est pas exceptionnel, ni l'adoption de deux ordres d'exposition dans le même texte[26]. Il faut donc considérer l'ordre d'exposition des différents postes comme rigoureux et placer les fonctions des lignes 8 à 10 au début de la carrière. À cet égard, la transition d'une séquence à l'autre se fait dans le texte par le biais de l'expression *in bello Parthico* qui peut renvoyer autant à la fonction de *praepositus* comme nous le verrons qu'à la mention des décorations.

Cerialis fut décoré deux fois et ses décorations donnent les éléments les plus précis pour dater sa carrière. Les premières décorations ont été données *[sub* ou *ab] duob(us) Impp(eratoribus) Antonino [(et) Ve]ro*, c'est-à-dire Marc Aurèle et Lucius Vérus. Ces décorations se rapportent à la guerre parthique, mentionnée juste avant sur l'inscription. Elles furent sans doute conférées à l'occasion du triomphe de la fin 166[27], c'est en tout cas le *terminus ante quem* qu'il faut retenir. La partie du texte décrivant les secondes décorations n'est pas complète, mais il faut noter l'originalité de la formulation, les dons sont reçus *sub Antonino et [Comm]odo I[mp]p(eratoribus)*, la préposition habituellement employée étant *ab*. La préposition de la première indication de décoration se trouvant dans la lacune gauche, on ne peut dire si la première formulation suivait la formulation habituelle ou bien si elle utilisait déjà la préposition *sub*. Le conflit dans lequel Cerialis s'illustra à

[22] CIL XIV 301 (ILS 6180); EDR031390. Nous remercions Eugenia Beu-Dachin pour sa suggestion à propos de la lecture *decurioni Laurens*.

[23] Scheid, Granino Cecere 1999, 104.

[24] CIL XIV 2070 (ILS 6183).

[25] AE 1998, 282; EDR093665.

[26] *E.g.* CIL XI 2112; IDRE I 130; EDR170396 et CIL II 4461 (cf. p. 981) (ILS 2661); IDRE I 171 et CIL X 3733 (ILS 2083); EDR161546 (dans ce dernier cas on observe bien aussi l'ordre inverse puis l'ordre chronologique).

[27] Rossignol 2020, 247 et 581, n. 8.

nouveau est précisé: *in expedition[e| Ger]ṃan(ica)*. Les opérations militaires menées dans la région du Danube durant les règnes de Marc Aurèle et Commode apparaissent dans les inscriptions sous plusieurs appellations qui ont pu soulever la perplexité des historiens[28]. Trois conflits furent désignés comme *expeditio Germanica*[29] qui furent distingués par des adjectifs ordinaux, la première *expeditio Germanica* ne pouvant bien sûr être désignée comme *prima* que rétrospectivement, au plus tôt une fois que l'empereur eut à intervenir à nouveau dans ce qui devenait l'*expeditio Germanica secunda*[30]. Cette dernière est en général comprise comme le conflit qui eut lieu entre 178 et 180[31], mais d'autres interprétations ont pu être avancées[32]. L'inscription de Cerialis ne semble pas comporter d'adjectif ordinal dans sa formulation, d'une part il ne semble pas y avoir assez de place dans la lacune de la ligne 15 pour placer le chiffre II et d'autre part l'adjectif est le plus souvent formulé en toute lettre[33]. Les décorations lui furent remises par Marc Aurèle et Commode. Même si Commode ne fut associé au conflit puis au pouvoir de son père qu'à la fin de la première partie des guerres germaniques, à partir du moment où il rejoignit Marc Aurèle sur le Danube au moment de l'usurpation d'Avidius Cassius en 175, sa mention associée à celle de Marc Aurèle convient à des décorations pour l'*expeditio Germanica* menée avant 175. Nous connaissons, certes, la remise de décorations sur le théâtre d'opérations immédiatement après la bataille avec le cas, assez exceptionnel, de Valerius Maximianus[34] après sa victoire sur Valaon. De manière plus ordinaire sans doute, Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes est dit décoré par Marc Aurèle seul et donc avant 175[35], c'est aussi le cas pour un centurion anonyme[36]. Toutefois Commode est aussi associé aux décorations remises à Bassaeus Rufus pour les opérations antérieures à 175, peut-être car ses décorations furent remises lors du triomphe de la fin 176[37]. Par ailleurs, il semble que les gens décorés dans les conflits de la période 178–180 reçurent surtout leurs décorations par Commode seul[38], à la fin du conflit,

[28] Filippini, Gregori 2014, 102–103, n. 44.

[29] CIL V 2155 (ILS 1574); EDR099155; cf. Cresci Marrone, Tirelli 2022, 151–152, 165.

[30] CIL VI 8541 (ILS 1573).

[31] Cela est bien visible dans les carrières de Valerius Maximianus (AE 1956, 124) et Claudius Candidus: CIL II 4114 (ILS 1140); RIT 130; CIL II².14 975.

[32] Filippini, Gregori 2014, 102–103, n. 44.

[33] L'inscription de Chaeron (CIL V 2155 voir supra note 29) constitue l'exception: Filippini, Gregori 2014, 102–103, n. 44.

[34] AE 1956, 124.

[35] AE 1920, 45; ILAf 281.

[36] CIL VI 41278; EDR093527.

[37] Bassaeus Rufus est décoré *ob victoriam Germanicam et Sarmatic(am)| [A]ntonini et Commodi Augg(ustorum)*: CIL VI 1599 = 31828 = 41141; EDR093411, cf. Rossignol 2007, 152. On peut aussi songer que le titre d'Auguste est rapporté à Commode rétrospectivement comme sans doute dans le cas de Pomponius Vitrasius Pollio *comes M(arci) [Antonini]| [et Co]mmodi Augg(ustorum) expediti[onis Germani|cae Sar]maticae*: CIL VI 1540, 31675, 41145; EDR093415.

[38] On peut retenir les cas de Valerius Maximianus pour ses dernières décorations (AE 1956, 124 *in fine*), de Ragonius Urinatius Larcius Quintianus (CIL VI 1502 [ILS 1124]; EDR092717 et CIL VI 1503; EDR092718 et CIL V 2212; EDR097604, cf. PIR² R 17), du centurion anonyme de l'inscription CIL VI 41278 (EDR093527 pour ses secondes décorations) et de Plautius Felix Ferruntianus (CIL VIII 619; 11780 [ILS 2747]; AE 1969/1970, 580), où le nom de Commode a été martelé; sur ce cursus voir Di Vita-Evrard 1995. À juste titre Filippini, Gregori 2014, 115 repousent la restitution *ob vi]ctor(iam) belli Germ[a]nic(i)| [secundi* à la toute fin de l'inscription de Iulius Vehilius Iulianus et proposent *[et Sarmatici…]*: CIL VI 31856; 41271; EDR093523. Cf. Filippini, Gregori 2014, 103.

après la mort de Marc Aurèle, peut-être lors du triomphe de la fin 180. Le *terminus post quem* de l'inscription est donc le début 177, après le triomphe, et la fonction militaire dans laquelle Cerialis fut décorée pour la seconde fois doit être placée avant la fin 176, et plus probablement avant la fin 175, moment où le pouvoir considéra la paix comme obtenue sur le Danube et se tourna vers une remise en ordre de l'Orient.

Enfin la chronologie de la carrière doit être examinée au regard des acquis de la prosopographie pour la période considérée. D'une part il faut considérer le parcours de Cerialis au regard de celui des autres titulaires des postes qu'il a occupé. D'autre part il faut l'envisager par rapport aux autres carrières similaires, celles des chevaliers qui ont débuté leur carrière à la fin des années 150 ou au début des années 160. À cet égard plusieurs parcours sont particulièrement intéressants[39] et doivent être systématiquement comparés à celui de Cerialis: ceux de Cominius Clemens[40] et de Iulius Vehilius Iulianus[41], décorés eux-aussi durant la guerre parthique, comme peut-être Iulius Corinthianus[42], ceux de Macrinius Auitus Catonius Vindex[43] et de Valerius Maximianus[44], décorés tous deux dans les années 160 et tous les deux commandants, comme Cerialis, de l'*ala Contariorum*, celui aussi de Pertinax[45], contemporain et contenant aussi une procuratèle en Dacie, celui de Valerius Lollianus[46], *praepositus* de vexillations auxiliaires dans la guerre parthique. Enfin, lorsque cela est possible, il faut confronter la trajectoire de Cerialis avec celle de ses supérieurs hiérarchiques, en particulier les membres de l'ordre sénatorial ayant exercé des fonctions de commandement militaire ou de gouvernement dans les mêmes provinces au même moment. On sait depuis un article séminal de Geza Alföldy[47] consacré à Pompeianus, Pertinax et Maximianus combien une telle démarche peut-être parfois féconde, même s'il faut souligner combien le cas qui avait été envisagé était particulier[48].

[39] Nous donnons ci-après les principales références pour ces personnages; par souci de concision, elles ne seront pas reprécisées systématiquement ensuite.

[40] Parmi les inscriptions mentionnant Cominius Clemens, une seule précise ses décorations et ses milices équestres (AE 1890, 151); Lettich, 1994, 74–77, n° 24; EDR093746; le reste de la carrière est bien lisible sur CIL V 8659 (ILS 1412); Lettich, 1994, 69–74, n° 23; EDR093708; cf. PIR² C 1266; Pflaum 1961, 501–504, n° 184; PME C 222; Piso 2013, 181–187, n° 92; Rossignol 2018, 168, 175–176.

[41] CIL VI 31856, 41271; Filippini, Gregori 2014; EDR093523; cf. PIR² I; Pflaum 1961, 456–464, n° 180; PME I 136.

[42] CIL III 1193 (ILS 2746); IDR III.5 542; il est absent de PIR², p. 201; Pflaum 1961, 492–493; PME I 49; voir les remarques de Bérard 2004b, 544, une datation sévérienne est tout aussi possible, elle est privilégiée par le commentaire des IDR III/5.

[43] CIL VI 1449 (ILS 1107); AE 1967, 16; cf. AE 1969–1970, 13; IDRE I 17; EDR110750 et Cass. LXXI (LXXII), 3, 1 (*Exc. de leg.* 6); cf. PIR² M 22; Pflaum 1961, 510–513, n° 188; PME M 4; Maxfield 1981, 179–180; Fitz 1993, 834–836; Rossignol 2004, 562–579, n° 71; Piso 2013, 275–288, n° 121; Rossignol 2020, 320–321, 596, n. 21.

[44] Pflaum 1955 (d'où AE 1956, 124); Pflaum 1961, 476–494, n° 181bis; Alföldy 1974 (= 1987, 326–342); PME V 23; Fitz 1993, 618–623, n° 349; Piso 1993, 224–235, n° 53; Rossignol 2004, 782–824, n°106; Piso 2013, 260, n° 111; Filippini, Gregori 2014; PIR² V 125; Rossignol 2020, 226, 329, 351–353, 364, 603, n. 5.

[45] AE 1963, 52; AE 1988, 331; SHA, Pert. 1–2; PIR² H 77; Pflaum 1961, 451–454, n° 179; Alföldy 1974 (= 1987, 326–342); PME H 9; Fitz 1993, 607–616, n°346; Piso 1993, 117–130, n° 25; Rossignol 2004, 387–473; Piso 2013, 259–260, n° 110; Rossignol 2020, 179, 226, 297–298, 329, 350–351, 353, 568 n. 6, 602 n.1.

[46] CIL III 600, inscription dont l'établissement du texte fut difficile et qu'il faut désormais consulter dans LIA, 188 avec son commentaire détaillé dans Haensch, Weiß 2012 (AE 2012, 1298).

[47] Alföldy 1974 (= 1987, 326–342).

[48] Sur ces limites Rossignol 2018, 167–168.

La chronologie de la carrière de Cerialis doit donc être compatible avec la chronologie des carrières des autres titulaires de certaines des fonctions qu'il a exercées. C'est surtout le cas pour le commandement de l'*ala I Ulpia Contariorum*: on sait que Macrinius Vindex la commanda à la fin des années 160, fort probablement en 169, et que Valerius Maximianus la commandait en 175 – et cela sans doute depuis un certain temps[49]. Il nous semble difficile de placer le commandement de Cerialis après celui de Maximianus car cela étirerait trop sa carrière. Cerialis a effectué quatre milices équestres, il faut donc lui supposer un temps de service d'une douzaine d'années environ[50]. Toutefois, compte-tenu de l'exercice de ces milices en temps de guerre on peut songer que la durée de service a pu être un peu plus longue, le conflit amenant à retenir dans les cadres les officiers ayant fait leurs preuves. Cependant si Cerialis succède à Maximianus à la tête de l'*ala Contariorum* son service se termine vers 178, or pour qu'il puisse être décoré *in bello Parthico* tout en servant *in Cappadocia*, il doit participer aux opérations qui précèdent l'installation de Sohaemus en Arménie et la prise du titre *Armeniacus* par les empereurs, en 164[51]. Cela place donc le début de sa première milice au plus tard en 162 (il est bien plus probable qu'elle ait débuté en 160 ou 161): placer la fin des milices en 178 semble bien trop tardif. Il faut donc faire de Cerialis le prédécesseur immédiat de Maximianus, ce qui date sa procuratèle en Dacie de 173–175 environ.

4. De la Cappadoce à l'Arabie: Cerialis durant la guerre parthique

4.1. *Praefectus cohortis I Thracum*

La carrière de Cerialis débute de manière assez classique directement par sa première milice, une préfecture de cohorte à la tête d'une cohorte *I Thracum* en Cappadoce, on ne peut donc préciser les circonstances de son entrée dans l'ordre équestre. Comme l'ont noté les premiers éditeurs, le nombre important de cohortes *I Thracum* rend difficile, voire impossible, l'identification de l'unité[52]. Quelques observations complémentaires sont toutefois possibles. En l'état actuel des connaissances, il ne semble pas qu'une *cohors I Thracum* ait fait partie durablement de la garnison de la province de Cappadoce[53]. Il est

[49] C'est en 175 qu'il reçoit un commandement extraordinaire sur une unité de Marcomans, de Naristes et de Quades pour accompagner Marc Aurèle *ad uindictam Orientalis motus* (AE 1956, 124). Selon Alföldy 1974, 207, il aurait été à la tête de la I Contariorum depuis 173.

[50] Devijver 1999, 242 pour une durée « normale » de 3 ans pour une milice, comme pour toute carrière ou trajectoire sociale, il devait y avoir des gens avançant plus vite et d'autres bien plus lentement.

[51] Rossignol 2020, 214–220.

[52] Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 78–79. On ajoutera à leur bibliographie: Bérard 1995, 348–349 et 2004b, 544 pour une discussion des différentes *coh. I Thracum;* Sartre-Fauriat 2016 pour la *coh. I Augusta Thracum equitata* en Arabie.

[53] Speidel 2009, 606 n. 60; Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 78–79. On ne possède de diplômes militaires se rapportant à l'armée de Cappadoce que depuis quelques années seulement (AE 2004, 1913 et RGZM 7; AE 2004, 1920 et AE 2014, 1656 et Speidel 2009, 605–606). Ils éclairent la situation au tournant des Ier et IIe s. Auparavant la principale source disponible pour reconstituer la garnison provinciale était le texte d'Arrien relatant sa marche contre les Alains, qu'il fallait compléter par les informations tirées de la *Notitia Dignitatum* et des découvertes épigraphiques éparses en Anatolie ou par la mention de la Cappadoce dans des carrières équestres, comme celle de Cerialis (ainsi IDRE II 417; AE 1996, 1630; AE 2010, 1739; PME U 5, l'inscription AE 1968, 528 ne mentionnait pas la Cappadoce) et CIL VI 3654; AE 1974, 226; AE 1977, 183; EDR076721; PME V 28 et CIL IX 2649 (ILS 2732); EDR128031; PME, S 36 et CIL IX 2958; EDR131206; PME, O 2). Pour des bilans récents sur l'armée de Cappadoce: Speidel 2009 et Eck, Pangerl 2014.

donc possible que nous ayons affaire à une unité déplacée en raison de la guerre contre les Parthes, et cela peut-être dès la montée des tensions et la mobilisation qui eurent lieu à la fin du règne d'Antonin le Pieux[54]. Durant la guerre parthique de Trajan, la cohorte *I Thracum Syriaca* de Mésie inférieure fut engagée en Cappadoce[55]. On peut penser toutefois que s'il s'agissait à nouveau de cette unité le surnom *Syriaca* aurait été indiqué. Il faut exclure la possibilité que la cohorte ait été la *I Thracum* de Pannonie supérieure qui tenait habituellement sa garnison à Ad Statuas[56], elle semble en effet présente dans la province au regard des diplômes conservés[57]. De même les deux cohortes *I Thracum* de Pannonnie inférieure, la *I Thracum civium Romanorum Germanica* et la *I Thracum civium Romanorum*, sont présentes dans les unités libérant des soldats dans un diplôme de la province daté de 162[58]. Il est aussi possible, compte-tenu des lacunes de notre documentation, qu'il s'agisse d'une unité *I Thracum* déplacée en Cappadoce de manière plus durable. L'hypothèse avancée par les premiers éditeurs de la *I Thracum* attestée auparavant en Égypte mérite d'être considérée avec attention[59], mais on ne peut exclure un déplacement de l'unité de Bretagne, de Dacie ou d'Arabie... Enfin, il faut noter que Valerius Maximianus, dont la carrière est très proche de celle de Cerialis, débute aussi ses milices par la préfecture d'une *cohors I Thracum*. Toutefois il y a peu de chance qu'il s'agisse de la même unité, et Maximianus peut avoir commencé sa carrière plutôt dans une des cohortes *I Thracum* de Bretagne[60] ou de Pannonie[61].

4.2. *Praepositus vexillationum*

C'est dans le cadre de cette première milice en Cappadoce, lors de la guerre contre les Parthes, que Cerialis exerça la fonction de *praepositus* pour un ensemble de vexillations: comme on l'a dit la logique chronologique d'exposition du cursus impose cette interprétation ainsi que la nécessité de rattacher la fonction, temporaire, de *praepositus*, à un autre poste plus ordinaire, occupé dans le cadre des milices pour notre cas, comme cela est l'usage dominant[62]. La composition des vexillations, avant tout les légions de Cappadoce, confirme par ailleurs l'hypothèse d'une mission en lien avec l'exercice du commandement auxiliaire en Cappadoce.

Avant d'analyser cette composition, il faut considérer la chronologie de la mission. Cela exige d'anticiper un peu sur l'analyse de la suite de la carrière: Cerialis est ensuite

[54] Voir *infra* note 63.

[55] Speidel 2009, 606 n. 60: l'épitaphe inédite d'un de ses soldats doit être confrontée à la carrière de Sentius Proculus (AE 1926, 150; AE 1992, 1689); PME, S 25; et à l'enseignement des diplômes militaires (AE 2005, 1710): Eck, Pangerl 2005, 59. Voir aussi Matei-Popescu 2010, 233–234.

[56] RIU III 640 pour le début de l'époque sévérienne, la garnison à Ad Statuas à l'époque antonine se déduit bien de l'ordre topographique des diplômes: Visy 1986, 505.

[57] RMD III 176 et V 430 datés de 161, RMD I 62 daté de 163 et AE 2018, 1290 daté du début des années 160. Sur les unités auxiliaires de Pannonie, voir Lőrincz 2001.

[58] AE 2010, 1854; AE 2019, 2069.

[59] Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, 79.

[60] Dans ce cas là, Valerius Maximianus aurait suivi Statius Priscus de la Bretagne vers la Cappadoce: Birley 1985, 79–80; Fitz 1993, 620.

[61] Piso 1993, 229.

[62] Sur ce point essentiel Bérard 2004, 1071, nn. 105–106. Sur les vexillations, la synthèse de Saxer 1967 doit être mise à jour

nommé en Arabie. Or deux des gouverneurs d'Arabie sous lesquels il a pu servir, on le verra, ont aussi participé antérieurement à la guerre parthique. Cerialis passa donc fort probablement de Cappadoce en Arabie pour suivre un de ces deux personnages. Si l'on retient le premier des deux personnages, le commandement des vexillations doit être placée à une date précoce dans la guerre parthique – au plus tard début 162 –, alors l'inscription de Cerialis constituerait un témoignage important sur les premières phases de la guerre et éventuellement sur le dispositif romain au lendemain de la défaite d'Elegeia. Pour le comprendre, il faut replacer la mission de Cerialis dans son contexte, et rappeler surtout les conséquences de la nouvelle datation du cursus de L. Neratius Proculus. Les mouvements de troupes du côté romain, en vue du conflit avec les Parthes, avaient commencé avant la mort d'Antonin le Pieux et la guerre était annoncée au plus tard fin 160-début 161[63]. Neratius Proculus à ce moment était chargé de mener des vexillations en Syrie. Il est fort possible que c'est aussi à ce moment que fut décidée la mission de Iulius Geminius Marcianus, *legatus Augustorum super uexillationes in Cappadocia*[64]. En effet Geminius se trouve ensuite à la tête de l'Arabie dès 162 au plus tard comme le montrent plusieurs milliaires à son nom datés de la seconde puissance tribunicienne de Lucius Vérus (10 décembre 161–10 décembre 162)[65]. Sa mission en Cappadoce est une fonction extraordinaire clairement liée à un contexte conflictuel, or elle n'a pas pu être improvisée à partir d'une présence antérieure de Geminius en Cappadoce: son poste précédent était le commandement de la légion *X Gemina* à Vindobona sur le Danube[66]. On peut certes envisager qu'après l'annonce de la défaite d'Elegeia à Rome, Marc Aurèle et Lucius Vérus aient envoyé Geminius vers la Cappadoce depuis la Pannonie, mais si l'on tient compte des temps de transports, il faut envisager une présence en Cappadoce très brève. Sa mission se comprend mieux si on considère que, tout comme Neratius, il fut envoyé vers l'Orient pour sa mission sur les vexillations avant la mort d'Antonin, puis qu'il servit en Cappadoce au début du règne conjoint de Marc Aurèle et Lucius Vérus avant d'être envoyé en Arabie dans la première moitié de 162 au plus tard sans doute, au moment où d'autres officiers pouvaient arriver pour prendre la relève sur le front de la Cappadoce et de l'Arménie sous le contrôle direct de Statius Priscus, ce dernier arrivant probablement dans la région avant Lucius Vérus[67]. La fonction de Marcianus étant de rang prétorien, il devait diriger en Cappadoce une force équivalente à une légion sous les ordres du gouverneur consulaire de la province. Il est possible de supposer que Cerialis ait servi sous ses ordres, à la tête d'une partie des vexillations, puis l'ait suivi en Arabie. Si l'hypothèse est exacte nous gagnons un aperçu non négligeable sur la chaîne de commandement en Cappadoce depuis le niveau consulaire jusqu'au niveau des officiers équestres, en même temps que la composition des vexillations dirigées par Marcianus s'éclaire en partie. Si en revanche, Cerialis a suivi le

[63] Weiß 2007; Haensch, Weiß 2012, 450; Rossignol 2020, 156; Wheeler 2022, 150–151.

[64] ILAlg II 634. Sur Geminius: PIR² I 340; Sartre 1982, 83, n° 10; Fitz 1993, 602–603, n° 343; Rossignol 2004, 494–507, n° 61; Gatier 2022, § 44 n. 60.

[65] *E.g.* Welles 1938, 259 et CIL III 14149, 23 et AE 1904, 63 et AE 1998, 1447a; pour des documents récemment découverts sur sa présence en Arabie: Harahshah, Seigne 2013, 510 et AE 2016, 1796.

[66] On ne peut pas supposer que Cerialis soit lui aussi venu de Pannonie supérieure aux côtés de Geminius puisque, comme on l'a vu plus haut, la cohorte *I Thracum* de Pannonie supérieure n'est pas celle qui s'est déplacée en Cappadoce.

[67] Rossignol 2020, 179, 184–188, 194.

successeur de Marcianus en Arabie, à savoir Antistius Adventus, il faut placer son action à la tête des vexillations un peu plus tardivement, au moment de la contre-offensive romaine en direction de l'Arménie et du Caucase.

Nous pouvons alors revenir sur les vexillations dirigées par Cerialis. Nous comprenons l'intitulé de son poste comme: *praep(ositus) uexillation(um* ou *-ibus) [leg(ionum) X]II Fulm(inatae) et XV Apoll(inaris) et uexi[llat(ionis)] n(umeri) Hisp(anorum)*. Cerialis dirigea des détachements de soldats tirés des deux légions de Cappadoce[68] et de troupes venues d'Hispanie. Que le commandement de Cerialis ait été décidé avant ou après le désastre d'Elegeia, il faut penser qu'une grande partie des deux légions de Cappadoce avait échappé à la défaite, ou que les rangs des deux légions furent rapidement renforcés par les soldats des vexillations légionnaires envoyées depuis d'autres provinces. Placées sous l'autorité de Cerialis, les vexillations des deux légions de la province servaient ensemble, comme le font, plus tard, vers 175–177, les vexillations installées à Kainepolis sous l'autorité d'un tribun de cohorte et d'un centurion[69]. On connaît aussi des vexillations de la légion *XII Fulminata* seule à Trapezus[70] et à Amorium[71], dans la province d'Asie, à des dates moins précises. L'engagement des soldats de la *XV Apollinaris* dans le conflit contre les Parthes est un peu mieux documenté que celui des soldats de la XII, la *XV Apollinaris* semble avoir participé au moins en partie aux opérations en Mésopotamie[72]. Enfin, il semble bien que des détachements des deux légions de Cappadoce aient participé aux guerres du Danube dans les années 170[73].

Sous les ordres de Cerialis les soldats des deux légions de Cappadoce étaient accompagné d'un détachement de soldats venus d'Hispanie. La restitution *uexi|[llatio] n(is) Hisp(anicae)* serait la plus simple, mais elle ne peut pas être retenue en raison de la taille de la lacune[74], aussi proposons-nous de lire *uexi|[llat(ionis)] n(umeri) Hisp(anorum)* et de comprendre qu'on avait ajouté aux légionnaires de Cappadoce un détachement de soldats tiré d'une unité formée par des auxiliaires d'Hispanie[75]. L'unité est désignée comme *numerus*, il s'agit donc d'une unité particulière, nous y reviendrons. Qu'une vexillation en soit tirée n'est pas surprenant, cela est bien attesté pour de telles unités[76]. La participation de détachements venus d'Hispanie dans la guerre parthique est une nouveauté, mais elle

[68] Sur la *XII Fulminata*: RE, XII.2, 1925, s.v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling), 1329–1837. RE, XII.2, 1925, s.v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling), 1705–1710; Bertrandy, Rémy 2000. Sur la *XV Apollinaris*: RE, XII.2, 1925, s.v. *Legio* (E. Ritterling), 1747–1758; Wheeler 2000.

[69] AE 1910, 161; ILS 9117, cf. Saxer 1967, n° 275–276; Wheeler 2000, 299–301.

[70] CIL III 6745; Saxer 1967, n° 274.

[71] CIL III 353.

[72] Bilan sur l'action de la *XV Apollinaris* entre 161 et 166 dans Wheeler 2000, 297–299.

[73] Cela est mieux visible pour la XV: Wheeler 2000, 298–299. On ne peut exclure que la XII ait aussi envoyé des soldats: Kovács 2009, 148.

[74] En bonne méthode nous supposons que ni le lapicide ni le rédacteur de l'inscription n'ont fait d'erreur, on exclut donc l'idée qu'il puisse s'agir d'un détachement de la *coh. II Hispanorum* présente en Cappadoce: Speidel 2009, 606, part. n. 58 pour une confusion *II Hispanorum* / *in Hispanorum*.

[75] Si les soldats d'Hispanie avaient été des légionnaires on aurait simplement ajouté le nom de la légion *VII Gemina* aux noms des légions de Cappadoce. Sur la présence fréquente d'auxiliaires attachés aux vexillations légionnaires: Saxer 1967, 119.

[76] Saxer 1967, 130–132; on peut considérer notamment AE 1948, 219: *uexil(latio) n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum) [morant(es)]| cast(ello) Dimm[idi*, il faut aussi penser à la *vexill(atio) eq(uitum) Illyr(icorum)* de CIL XVI 75 et RMD V 376, ou encore à la *vex(illatio) [e]qq(uitum) Mauror(um)* de CIL VIII 9047; 20736 (ILS 2767).

n'est pas surprenante. L'existence d'un *numerus Hispanorum* peut s'expliquer de plusieurs manières. On peut songer d'abord à une unité constituée à partir des unités auxiliaires d'Hispanie, sur le modèle du commandement de Varius Clemens sous Antonin le Pieux qui fut *praef(ectus) auxili(ari)orum in Mauretaniam Tingitanam ex Hispania misso[r]um*[77]. Des soldats auxiliaires réguliers sont prélevés dans des unités, parfois de plusieurs provinces, pour former une unité provisoire, souvent de cavalerie. Il est certain que de telles forces venues d'autres provinces ont participé à la guerre parthique en raison du cursus de Valerius Lollianus. La troupe commandée par Iulius Corinthianus, mais peut-être seulement sous les Sévères, avait été composée de la même manière à partir de soldats dont la garnison se trouvait en Dacie[78]. Toutefois, on pourrait aussi penser que ces soldats d'Hispanie ne venaient pas des troupes régulières mais constituaient une troupe de renfort sur le modèle des *symmachiarii* d'Hispanie connus sous Trajan[79], sans oublier les *Cantabri* présents dans les *nationes* du traité du Pseudo-Hygin[80]. Sans être impossible l'hypothèse nous semble moins probable. Peut-on enfin faire le rapprochement avec le *numerus Maurorum Hisp.* connu en Dacie au IIIe s.?[81]. On préférera l'éviter, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, car *Hisp.*, dans le nom de cette dernière unité, reste mal compris et n'a pas reçu de développement faisant l'unanimité[82]. Cerialis étant dans sa première milice, les vexillations placées sous ses ordres ne formaient pas nécessairement une unité numériquement très importante. On ne peut savoir quel fut leur emploi tactique, ni si Cerialis exerçait sa fonction de *praepositus* quand il gagna ses décorations.

4.3. *Tribunus legionis III Cyrenaicae*

On l'a vu, l'exercice de la deuxième milice, dans la légion *III Cyrenaica*, doit être confronté à notre connaissance des fastes de la province d'Arabie, le gouverneur de la province étant aussi le légat de la légion. Trois gouverneurs se succèdent dans la période durant laquelle Cerialis pu effectuer son tribunat militaire. Il s'agit d'abord de Iulius Geminius Marcianus, dont le gouvernement peut être placé approximativement entre 162 et 165. Puis Antistius Adventus[83] fut à la tête de la province entre 165 et 168 environ avant d'être remplacé par Claudius Modestus qui put rester en poste jusque vers 170[84]. Les carrières de Marcianus et d'Adventus nous sont bien connues. Tous deux ont participé à la guerre parthique, et on peut donc imaginer pour l'un comme pour l'autre que Cerialis ait suivi en Arabie l'officier sous les ordres duquel il avait servi en Cappadoce lors de la guerre parthique. Le cas de Iulius Geminius Marcianus est à cet égard le plus intéressant. Il fut en effet, on l'a vu, *legatus Augustorum super uexillationes in Cappadocia*, et cette fonction peut

[77] CIL III 5212 (ILS 1362a) et 5215 (ILS 1362b).

[78] Sur Lollianus et Corinthianus voir supra, on peut aussi citer, pour l'époque de Trajan plutôt, l'unité dirigée par Paconius Proculus: CIL VI 32933 (ILS 2723); IDRE I 21, cf. PME P 5.

[79] AE 1926, 88; AE 1935, 12; Rossignol 2016, 276.

[80] Ps.-Hyg., *De munitionibus castrorum*, 30.

[81] *E.g.* CIL III 1149 (ILS 3558); IDR III/3, 325; voir Petolescu 1983 (= Petolescu 2021, 267–268).

[82] Bilan dans Rossignol 2016, 279–280.

[83] PIR² A 754; Sartre 1982, 27–29, 84, n° 11; Rossignol 2004, 56–73, n° 11; Rossignol 2020, part. 185, 207, 214, 224–225, 289–290. Pour la chronologie de son passage en Arabie voir surtout AE 2004, 1591–1592 et 1612–1613 et le bilan par Gatier 2022, § 42.

[84] Claudius Modestus est pour nous surtout un nom présent sur la célèbre inscription de Ruwāfa, il apparaît aussi peut-être à Petra et Bosra: Gatier 2022, § 43.

éclairer singulièrement le rôle de *praepositus* de Cerialis. Toutefois, il semble que l'action d'Antistius Adventus toucha aussi l'Arménie et le Caucase[85] et on pourrait donc imaginer que le commandement de Cerialis se plaça durant ces opérations avant son déplacement, avec son supérieur, vers l'Arabie. Toutefois la question se pose des opérations qu'Adventus mena après 164 à un moment où les armées romaines se tournaient en direction de la Mésopotamie: le cursus de Cerialis ne reflète pas ce tournant. En outre l'attacher à Adventus décale sa seconde milice vers 166–168, et la chronologie de la suite de son cursus se trouve décalée d'autant. Il nous semble alors que dans ce cas, il est plus difficile ensuite de concilier l'enchaînement des commandements de Macrinius Vindex, de Cerialis et de Valerius Maximianus à la tête de l'*ala Contariorum*.

5. Les préfectures d'ailes

La troisième milice de notre personnage le déplaça jusqu'en Maurétanie césarienne à la tête d'une aile qui s'y trouvait depuis au moins le règne d'Hadrien[86]. Le gouverneur de la province entre 167 et 169 est Baius Pudens[87], il est possible que Cerialis servit sous ses ordres. La troisième milice de Cerialis fut prolongée ou déplacée, sans doute en raison de la situation militaire sur le Danube et il fut placé à la tête d'une autre aile, une *ala Arauacorum*. Que Cerialis ait dirigé deux ailes quingénaires ne veut pas nécessairement dire qu'il a accompli totalement deux fois le temps d'une milice[88]. Deux ailes portant l'ethnique *Aravacorum* sont connues. Il s'agit d'une part de la *I Hispanorum Arauacorum* installée en Pannonie à Celamantia[89], non loin de Brigetio et de la légion *I Adiutrix*. D'autre part, il s'agit de la *II Arauacorum* qui avait sa garnison en Mésie inférieure à Carsium[90]. On ne peut trancher avec certitude entre les deux unités, toutefois la *I Aravacorum* est peut-être à privilégier. D'une part une seule haste pour le numéro convient mieux à la lacune. D'autre part si Cerialis est déplacé de Maurétanie sur le Danube en raison des impératifs militaires, il paraît plus logique qu'il soit nommé dans la zone la plus exposée qui était sans doute à ce moment plus la Pannonie que la Mésie. S'il fallait bien retenir la I, Cerialis présenterait une succession aile-aile milliaire semblable à celle de Valerius Maximianus.

À la tête de l'*ala Arauacorum*, en Pannonie ou en Mésie, Cerialis avait indéniablement démontré sa valeur militaire puisqu'il fut retenu pour une quatrième milice et placé à la tête de l'*ala I Ulpia Contariorum*. Cette unité, installée à Arrabona[91], est bien connue grâce à de nombreuses inscriptions. Unité d'élite, elle prit régulièrement part à des guerres

[85] CIL VI 41119; EDR093391.

[86] Haensch, Sartre 2022.

[87] PIR² B 36; Pflaum 1961, 422–434, n° 173; Christol, Magioncalda 1989, 58–60. Le gouvernement de L. Septi[---] Petro[nianus] ne se place pas nécessairement juste avant celui de Pudens, et n'est pas obligatoirement à placer dans les années 160, mais peut-être bien antérieur: AE 1958, 156; cf. Christol, Magioncalda 1989, 20, 127.

[88] Pertinax accompli deux commandements dans sa deuxième milice, il est *retentus* (*SHA*, *Pert*. II, 1; le terme se retrouve pour Sulpicius Felix: IAM II, 307–308) mais sans pour autant passer 6 ans dans la province de Bretagne: il y arriva après s'être illustré dans le début de la guerre parthique, donc au plus tôt en 162, et sans doute plus tardivement, et il faut penser qu'il exerce sa troisième milice sur le Danube au plus tard en 167.

[89] Visy 1986, 505.

[90] ISM V 94 et CIL III 7603a; ISM V 95a. Voir Matei-Popescu 2010, 188–190.

[91] Pour des dédicaces religieuses du commandant de l'unité à Arrabona: CIL III 4359–4362 et RIU I 246.

situées loin de la Pannonie, et participa notamment à la guerre parthique de Lucius Verus[92]. La carrière de Cerialis prend place par ailleurs dans une période particulièrement bien documentée. Deux autres commandants de l'aile sont connus, nous l'avons-vu, à une époque sensiblement contemporaine. Tous deux présentent des carrières remarquables et fortement commentées par l'historiographie. Celle de Valerius Maximianus offre un parcours très similaire à celui de Cerialis, car l'officier originaire de Poetovio avait aussi participé à la guerre parthique. Surtout le passage de Maximianus dans l'*ala Contariorum* peut être assez bien daté. Dans son cursus le poste arrive immédiatement avant sa fonction de *praepositus* à la tête de détachements de Germains dans le contexte du *motus Orientalis*, l'usurpation d'Avidius Cassius, on se trouve donc en 175. On ne sait depuis combien de temps alors Maximianus était à la tête de l'unité, mais il faut remarquer qu'il avait obtenu ce commandement avec un délai. La fameuse inscription de Zana faisant connaître son cursus précise en effet qu'il reçut sa quatrième milice après avoir tué, de ses mains, le roi des Naristes Valao, mais fut maintenu, avec cette nouvelle dignité, à la tête de l'*ala Arauacorum*. Le passage de Vindex dans l'*ala Contariorum* est moins bien daté nous le verrons mais il est de toute manière assez antérieur. Il faut donc penser que Cerialis et Maximianus commandèrent l'*ala Contariorum* l'un après l'autre, avec, on l'a dit, fort probablement une antériorité de Cerialis. Observons aussi que si Cerialis était attaché à Antistius Adventus et a accompli son tribunat en Arabie entre 166 et 168, le passage dans les trois ailes est assez rapide avant que Cerialis ne cède la place, à la tête de l'*ala I Contariorum* à Maximianus. C'est l'hypothèse dans laquelle le temps consacré aux milices pourrait être le plus bref (il reste quand même au minimum sans doute légèrement supérieur à une dizaine d'années). La chronologie des milices de Macrinius Catonius Vindex a été discutée[93]. On sait grâce à Cassius Dion qu'il s'est illustré en dirigeant des cavaliers face aux Langobards et aux *Obii*[94]. Cette action fut longtemps datée vers 167, il semble désormais qu'il soit impossible de la placer avant la mort de Vérus[95]. Or Vindex fut décoré, durant ses milices, par un seul empereur et avec des décorations de rang particulièrement élevé. On peut donc penser qu'il commandait la *I Contariorum* dans l'opération décrite par le fragment de Cassius Dion. Il faut penser qu'il quitta sans doute ce commandement rapidement ensuite pour occuper une procuratèle financière en Dacie Malvensis. Dans ce cas là, il est tout à fait possible que Cerialis lui succède, fin 169 ou en 170. Cela convient bien en tout cas au rythme que l'on peut attendre pour la durée des milices. Remarquons au passage que dans cette hypothèse, le commandement de l'*ala I Aravacorum* devient disponible pour Maximianus au moment où l'on pourrait situer la fin de sa missions extraordinaire à la tête de vexillations sur le Danube. Rien n'oblige toutefois à ce que nos trois personnages se soient nécessairement directement succédés: la durée réelle des milices ne suivait pas toujours la norme. En outre, on le sait le tournant des années 160 à 170 est marqué par un contexte d'épidémie et des défaites pour l'armée romaine. On ne peut donc exclure qu'entre nos trois personnages, il y ait eu des commandants à la tête de l'*ala Contariorum*, avec des fonctions plus courtes

[92] Rossignol 2020, 186. Elle est absente de RMD I 62 et mentionnée dans Luc., *Quom.*, 16.

[93] Résumé des débats dans Piso 2013, 279–281, la nouvelle datation du fragment de Dion a considérablement simplifié la question.

[94] Cass. LXXI (LXXII), 3, 1 (*Exc. de leg.*, 6).

[95] Sur la date: Juntunen 2013; Rossignol 2020, 320–321 et 595–596, n. 20–21.

et peut-être un destin moins heureux. En l'état actuel de nos connaissances, et au regard de la prosopographie des fonctions équestres, il nous semble cependant que la succession Vindex, Cerialis, Maximianus, entre 169 et 175, est satisfaisante. Quoiqu'il en soit, à la tête de la *I Contariorum* durant la période d'affrontement avec les Germains du Danube, Cerialis occupait un poste très exposé, mais aussi très privilégié, l'amenant sans doute à travailler avec Maximianus, qui était à la tête de la *I Aravacorum*, avec Pertinax à la tête de la légion *I Adiutrix*, avec Pompeianus, et sans doute parfois directement sous le regard de l'empereur.

6. Les décorations

Cerialis fut décoré à deux reprises, lors de la guerre parthique d'une part, dans une *expeditio Germanica* de l'autre. Nous ne reviendrons pas sur la chronologie des décorations abordée plus haut. Il reste cependant à considérer leur niveau. Ce dernier est inconnu pour les récompenses durant l'*expeditio Germanica* puisque l'inscription est brisée à cet endroit. Pour ses actions dans la guerre parthique, Cerialis reçut deux couronnes (murale et vallaire) et deux lances pures. Ce sont des décorations particulièrement élevées pour un chevalier à l'époque antonine. Les cas connus présentent le plus souvent une seule couronne[96]. Macrinius Vindex se distingue avec deux couronnes, deux lances pures et deux *uexilla*, se plaçant donc au-dessus encore de Cerialis. Toutefois, il faut remarquer que Cerialis a reçu de telles décorations pour des actions menées lors de sa première milice. Si l'on veut admettre que les décorations se rapportaient rigoureusement au rang de leur titulaire, il faut probablement penser que comme dans le cas contemporain de Claudius Fronto pour les sénateurs[97], les décorations de Cerialis ne se rapportent pas à sa place hiérarchique au moment où il a été décidé de le décorer – au début de la guerre parthique – mais à sa place hiérarchique au moment où les décorations furent remises, c'est-à-dire lors du triomphe de 166. Il faut observer que les décorations de Cerialis sont supérieures à celle de Cominius Clemens[98] qui a été décoré après avoir servi comme tribun de légion dans la guerre parthique. Cela pourrait amener à penser que dans l'automne 166, au moment du triomphe, Cerialis avait déjà été affecté à sa troisième milice, quittant l'Arabie pour la Maurétanie, tandis que Clemens n'avait pas encore reçu son affectation en Rhétie. Toutefois, il semble que l'organisation des décorations équestres ait été bien moins rigide que pour l'ordre sénatorial[99] et donc, malgré l'attachement des Romains au rang et à la hiérarchie des dignités, il faut peut-être expliquer l'importance des décorations de Cerialis par les circonstances particulières de ses mérites.

7. Procurator Daciae Apulensis

Cerialis est désormais le premier procurateur de Dacie Apulensis que nous connaissons après la création de la province des Trois Dacies[100]. Jusqu'à présent le plus

[96] Maxfield 1981, 177.

[97] Maxfield 1981, 133.

[98] AE 1890, 151; Lettich 1994, 74–77, n° 24; EDR093746: *[donis milit(aribus) donato]| expedition[e Parthica corona]| murali has[ta pura ab Impera]|torib(us)* etc.

[99] Maxfield 1981, 182–183.

[100] Sur les fonctions procuratoriennes en Dacie et l'administration des provinces daces: Piso 2013.

ancien des procurateurs de Dacie Apulensis, après la réforme de 168, était Cominius Clemens, que l'on pouvait placer vers 175–177. Clemens, on l'a dit, a aussi été décoré pendant la guerre parthique. Sa carrière toutefois est bien moins brillante que celle de Cerialis: il n'obtint pas de quatrième milice. Entre sa dernière milice qu'il faut placer en Rhétie, sous le gouvernement de Desticius Severus, et sa fonction en Dacie, il faut placer deux procuratèles sexagénaires puis une centenaire: il est chargé du vingtième des héritages en Hispanie citérieure, puis de la gestion de la *familia* des gladiateurs pour la Transpadane, puis enfin il est nommé sous-préfet de l'annone. Entre sa troisième milice et la Dacie, il y a donc trois postes quand il n'y en a qu'un pour Cerialis, et même en supposant une troisième milice plus longue pour notre personnage, il arrive quand même plus rapidement en Dacie. En supposant des procuratèles de deux ans, la fonction de Clemens en Dacie était placée vers 175–177[101]. Compte-tenu de la formulation des décorations de notre personnage, il faut penser que l'inscription fut rédigée au plus tôt début 177, et qu'à cette date Cerialis était encore procurateur en Dacie. Cela allonge la carrière de Clemens, mais sans être rédhibitoire. Cela signifie aussi pour notre personnage une procuratèle de Dacie assez longue. Même si certaines carrières montrent une rotation rapide des postes, comme pour les procuratèles de Valerius Maximianus, des durées plus longues ne sont pas non plus impossibles, même période, Titus Aurelius Calpurnius Apollonides semble avoir eu une très longue procuratèle de Mésie inférieure[102].

En privilégiant l'hypothèse qui l'attache, à ses débuts, à Iulius Geminius Marcianus, nous proposons donc la chronologie suivante pour la carrière de Cerialis:

c. 160-début 162	*praefectus cohortis I Thracum in Cappadocia et praepositus vexillationibus legionum XII Fulminatae et XII Apollinaris et vexillatione numeri Hispanorum*
162–165	*tribunus legionis III Cyrenaicae*
165-c. 167	*praefectus alae Sebastenae in Mauretania*
c. 167-fin 170	*praefectus alae I (?) Aravacorum*
c. 170-c. 173/174	*praefectus alae I Contariorum*
c. 173/174–177	*procurator Daciae Apulensis*

La carrière de Cerialis est remarquable; comme celle de Valerius Maximianus, dont elle est fort proche, elle témoigne de la sélection d'officiers compétents durant les guerres du règne de Marc Aurèle, et des liens entre officiers équestres et sénatoriaux. Cerialis semble avoir précédé Maximianus, peut-être en raison d'un avancement plus rapide. Honoré d'une quatrième milice, et deux fois décoré, Cerialis avait devant lui la perspective d'une belle carrière procuratorienne. Cette dernière s'arrête toutefois au rang centenaire, peut-être en raison de son décès. Si sa famille est bien originaire de Mésie, sa carrière représenterait aussi un témoignage important sur l'intégration des élites des cités du Danube et ferait encore plus écho à celle du Pannonien Valerius Maximianus.

[101] Piso 2013, 184.

[102] Rossignol 2015, 64.

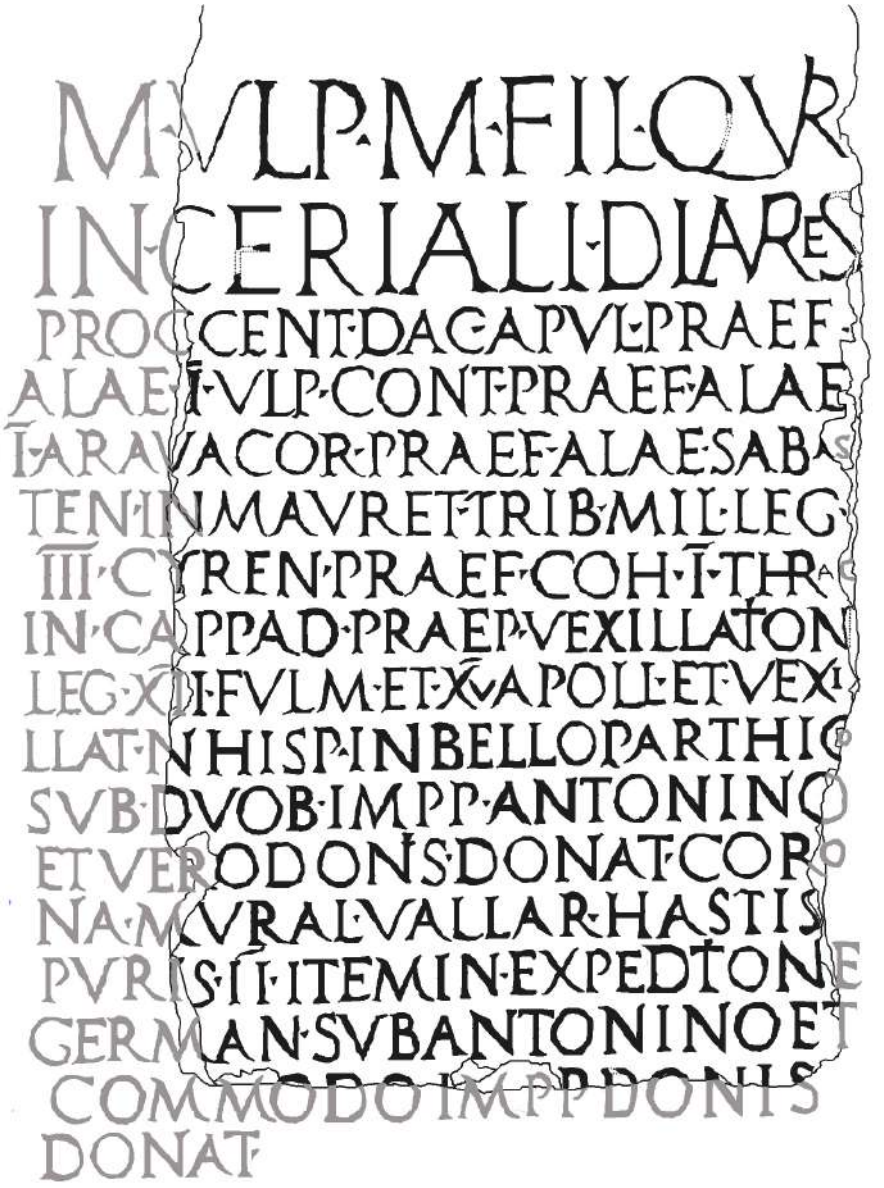
Bibliographie

Alföldy 1974	G. Alföldy, *P. Helvius Pertinax und Valerius Maximianus*, Situla, 14–15, 1974, 189–215.
Alföldy 1987	G. Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962–1985*, Amsterdam 1987.
Bérard 1995	F. Bérard, *Un nouveau procurateur à Aime en Tarentaise. Savoie*, Gallia, 52, 1995, 343–358.
Bérard 2004a	F. Bérard, *Un nouveau cursus sénatorial à Allonnes (Sarthe)*, MEFRA, 116, 2, 2004, 1039–1112.
Bérard 2004b	F. Bérard, compte-rendu de H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum. Pars sexta. Laterculi alarum ‑ cohortium – legionum*, AC, 73, 2004, 543–545.
Bertrandy, Rémy 2000	F. Bertrandy, B. Rémy, *Legio XII Fulminata*. In: Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (éds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du congrès de Lyon, 17–19 septembre 1998*, Lyon 2000, 252–257.
Birley 1985	E. Birley, *Britain, Pannonia and the Roman Army*. In: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres*, Vienne 1985, 75–81.
Christol, Magioncalda 1989	M. Christol, A. Magioncalda, *Studi sui procuratori delle due Mauretaniae*, Sassari 1989.
Cresci Marrone, Tirelli 2022	G. Cresci Marrone, M. Tirelli, *Altinum, Iulia Concordia e Opitergium nel 169 d.C.: profili di città fra prima linea e retrovia*. In: F. Chausson, G. Cresci-Marrone, B. Rossignol (éds.), *Altino 169 d.C. Intorno alla morte dell'imperatore Lucio Vero*, Venise 2022, 145–174.
Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023	A. Crnobrnja, S. Ferjančić, V. Ninković, *A New Latin Inscription from Vinča near Belgrade*, Starinar, 73, 2023, 71–87.
Devijver 1999	H. Devijver, *Les relations sociales des chevaliers romains*. In: S. Demougin, H. Devijver, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (éds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque international de Bruxelles-Leuven, 5–7 octobre 1995*, Rome 1999, 237–269.
Di Vita-Evrard 1995	G. Di Vita-Evrard, *Légionnaires africains en Pannonie au IIème siècle ap. J.-C.* In: G. Hajnoczi (éd.), *La Pannonia e l'Impero Romano. Atti del convegno internazionale « La Pannonia e l'Impero Romano », Accademia d'Ungheria e l'Istituto Austriaco di Cultura. Roma, 13–16 gennaio 1994*, Milan 1995, 97–114.
Eck, Pangerl 2005	W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Traians Heer im Partherkrieg. Zu einem neuen Diplom aus dem Jahr 115*, Chiron, 35, 2005, 49–67.
Eck, Pangerl 2014	W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Das vierte Diplom für die Provinz Galatia et Cappadocia, ausgestellt im Jahr 99*, ZPE, 192, 2014, 238–246.
Filippini, Gregori 2014	A. Filippini, G. L. Gregori, *Procuratores Augusti et praepositi uexillationibus ab Imperatore missi*: *le missioni speciali di L. Iulius Iulianus e di M. Valerius Maximianus a confronto*. In: S. Demougin, M. Navarro Caballero (éds.), *Se déplacer dans l'Empire romain: approches épigraphiques*, Bordeaux 2014, 85–120.

Fitz 1993	J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in die Römerzeit*, II, Budapest 1993.
Gatier 2022	P.-L. Gatier, *Le temple de Ruwāfa dans la province romaine d'Arabie*. In: C. Durand, J. Marchand, B. Redon, P. Schneider (éds.), *Networked Spaces. The Spatiality of Networks in the Red Sea and Western Indian Ocean*, Lyon 2022, 245–284 (nous citons l'édition électronique https://doi.org/10.4000/books.momeditions.16411).
Haensch, Weiß 2012	R. Haensch, P. Weiß, *Ein schwieriger Weg. Die Straßenbauinschrift des M. Valerius Lollianus aus Byllis*, MDAI(R), 118, 2012, 435–454.
Haensch, Sartre 2022	R. Haensch, M. Sartre, *Un Syrien de l'armée de Mauretania Caesariensis et sa famille*, AntAfr, 58, 1, 2022, 27–34.
Harahshah, Seigne 2013	R. Harahshah, J. Seigne, *Jarash, Spring 2013*, ADAJ, 57, 2013, 503–517.
Juntunen 2013	K. Juntunen, *The Lost Books of Cassius Dio*, Chiron, 43, 2013, 459–486.
Kovács 2009	P. Kovács, *Marcus Aurelius' Rain Miracle and the Marcomannic Wars*, Leyde-Boston 2009.
Lettich 1994	G. Lettich, *Iscrizioni romane di Iulia Concordia (sec. I a.c.-III d.c.)*, Trieste 1994.
Lőrincz 2001	B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit*, I (*Die Inschriften*), Vienne 2001.
Matei-Popescu 2010	F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Bucarest 2010.
Mrozewicz 1999	L. Mrozewicz, *Munizipalgesellschaft und römische Ritter. Das Beispiel der Nordprovinzen des Römischen Reiches*. In: S. Demougin, H. Devijver, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (éds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque international de Bruxelles-Leuven, 5–7 octobre 1995*, Rome 1999, 31–78.
Nikolić 2023	D. Nikolić, *Municipium Aelianum*, Balcanica, 54, 2023, 7–19.
Petolescu 1983	C. Petolescu, *Numerus Maurorum Hisp.*, Gerión, 1, 1983, 327–330.
Petolescu 2021	C. C. Petolescu, *Armata romană din Dacia*, Bucarest 2021.
Pflaum 1995	H.-G. Pflaum, *Deux carrières équestres de Lambèse et de Zana*, Libyca, 3, 1955, 134–154.
Pflaum 1960–1961	H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, Paris 1960–1961.
Piso 1993	I. Piso, *Fasti Provinciae Daciae. I. Die senatorische Amtsträger*, Bonn 1993.
Piso 2013	I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae. II. Die ritterlichen Amtsträger*, Bonn 2013.
Rossignol 2004	B. Rossignol, *Étude sur l'Empire romain en guerre durant le règne de Marc Aurèle (161–180)*, thèse de doctorat soutenue sous la direction de M. Christol, Paris 2004.
Rossignol 2007	B. Rossignol, *Les préfets du prétoire de Marc Aurèle*, CCG, 18, 2007, 141–177.
Rossignol 2015	B. Rossignol, *Gouverneurs et procurateurs dans un temps de menaces: l'administration impériale de la province de Thrace durant le règne de Marc Aurèle (161–180)*, Studia Classica Serdicensia, 4, 2015, 39–77.

Rossignol 2016	B. Rossignol, *Nouvelles unités auxiliaires et troupes de renforts dans les guerres du règne de Marc Aurèle*. In: C. Wolff, P. Faure (éds.), *Les auxiliaires de l'armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés. Actes du sixième congrès de Lyon, 23–25 octobre 2014*, Lyon 2016, 251–292.
Rossignol 2018	B. Rossignol, *Collaboration et collusions? Réflexions sur les rapports entre chevaliers et sénateurs des Julio-claudiens aux Antonins*, CCG, 29, 2018, 161–185.
Rossignol 2020	B. Rossignol, *Marc Aurèle*, Paris 2020.
Sartre-Fauriat 2016	A. Sartre-Fauriat, *Mothana-Imtān: un village de garnison en Arabie*, Syria, 93, 2016, 67–81.
Sartre 1982	M. Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine*, Bruxelles 1982.
Saxer 1967	R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Cologne 1967.
Scheid, Granino Cecere 1999	J. Scheid, M. G. Granino Cecere, *Les sacerdoces publics équestres*. In: S. Demougin, H. Devijver, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (éds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque international de Bruxelles-Leuven, 5–7 octobre 1995*, Rome 1999, 79–189.
Speidel 2009	M. A. Speidel, *The Development of the Roman Forces in Northeastern Anatolia. New Evidence for the History of the exercitus Cappadocicus*. In: M. A. Speidel, *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart 2009, 595–631.
Visy 1986	Z. Visy, *Die kryptotopographische Truppenaufzählung in den Auxiliardiplomen von Pannonien*. In: W. Eck, H. Wolff (éds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die Römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, Cologne – Vienne 1986, 482–517.
Weiß 2007	P. Weiß, *Militärdiplome und Reichsgeschichte: Der Konsulat des L. Neratius Proculus und die Vorgeschichte des Partherkreiegs unter Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus*. In: R. Haensch, J. Heinrichs (éds.), *Herrschen und Verwalten. Der Alltag der römischen Administration in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Böhlau – Cologne 2007, 161–172.
Welles 1938	C. B. Welles, *The Inscriptions*. In: C. H. Kraeling (éd.), *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, 355–616.
Wheeler 2000	E. L. Wheeler, *Legio XV Apollinaris*: *From Carnuntum to Satala – and Beyond*. In: Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (éds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du congrès de Lyon, 17–19 septembre 1998*, Lyon 2000, 259–308.
Wheeler 2022	E. Wheeler, *Verus' Parthian War: Some Notes on Recent Work*. In: W. Eck, F. Santangelo, K. Vössing (éds.), *Emperor, Army, and Society. Studies in Roman Imperial History for Anthony R. Birley*, Bonn 2022, 147–159.

Benoit Rossignol
Avignon Université / HiSoMA (UMR 5189)
benoit.rossignol@univ-avignon.fr



Proposition de restitution. Notre schéma est tiré d'un fac-simile fait à partir de Crnobrnja, Ferjančić, Ninković 2023, fig. 3, il est surtout destiné à illustrer nos propositions et à manifester la taille des lacunes. Pour les lettres restituées (en gris) nous avons procédé à des copiés-collés à partir des lettres conservées disponibles dans la zone adjacente pour des lignes de même taille (par exemple LLAT en ligne 10 est identique à la séquence LLAT de la ligne 8 privée cependant de la ligature TI). DAO B. Rossignol.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 225–275

BEADS ASSOCIATED WITH THE GEPID PERIOD IN THE EASTERN PANNONIAN BASIN. TYPOLOGY AND WAYS OF WEARING

ALEXANDRA PREDA

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.10

Abstract: This study, divided into two parts, analyzes the beads that are part of the costume of the inhabitants of the area of Gepid domination in the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century AD. The first part is a revised version of the typology, resulting from the research of material from funerary contexts and hoards included in my master thesis. The second part tackles how the beads were combined and worn, and who the wearers were, based on the typology and the material studied.

Keywords: beads; Gepid period; material culture; typology; garb elements.

Rezumat: Acest studiu, structurat în două părți, analizează mărgelele care fac parte din costumul locuitorilor din zona de dominație gepidă în a doua jumătate a secolului al V-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al VI-lea p. Chr. Prima parte reprezintă o versiune revizuită a tipologiei, rezultată din cercetarea materialului provenind din contexte funerare și tezaure, inclusă în lucrarea de masterat. În partea a doua este prezentat modul în care erau combinate și purtate mărgelele, precum și cine erau purtătorii, pe baza tipologiei și a materialului studiat.

Cuvinte-cheie: mărgele; perioada gepidă; cultură materială; tipologie; elemente de costum.

Introduction

The Gepid period in the eastern Pannonian basin refers to the independent Gepid Kingdom or Gepidia, which, according to written sources, dates between the year 454 AD, when the Gepids defeated the sons of Attila at Nedao, and 567 AD when the Gepids were defeated by the alliance of Avars and Lombards, after which the Avar Khaganate overtook the Gepid territory.[1] The Gepid Kingdom at its peak, between 474 and 504, when the Gepids held control up to and including Sirmium,[2] included territories which now belong to three states – the east of Hungary, the west and center of Romania, and the north of Serbia – largely delimited by the Danube to the west, the river Sava to the south and the Carpathian Mountains to the north and east.[3]

Beads represent an element of dress discovered in abundance in tombs and some hoards from the discussed area and period. Some types attracted the attention of researchers

[1] Jord. *Get.* 5, 12, 50; Men. 12.

[2] City lost to the Goths in 504 and recovered by the Gepids in 536. Mirković 2017, 106–107.

[3] For a clearer image of the discoveries and some discussions regarding delimitations see: Bóna, Nagy 2002a; Cseh et alii 2005, Karte 1; Stanciu 2011, fig. 184; Dobos 2011, fig. 1; Bugarski, Ivanišević 2019; Rácz 2019, 776–777.

and proved that beads can offer valuable information for archaeological research. Amber beads are considered characteristic elements of the Gepid material culture and, due to their chemical composition, an indicator of the relations with the Baltic area.[4] *Augenperlen* (eye beads), with a red body and blue eyes, are a characteristic element of the Avar material culture and, in our case, an indicator of their influence; moreover, given that they are encountered in the specified geographical area starting with contexts dating from the mid-6th century AD, these also serve as a chronological clue.[5] Gold beads decorated in *cloisonné* style have been dated to the 5th century AD and, as such, serve as a chronological indicator as well.[6] Millet beads, with their impressive numbers and notably small size, were remarked as a type prevalent in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, but that appeared and disappeared in different variations of colours and shades of colours during the Late Roman and Migration Periods.[7]

Recently, detailed analyses and publications have started to be carried out for other types and beads in general, often on a site-by-site basis. However, a comprehensive typology for the beads of this period has not been published until now, which represents a gap in the research of this category of objects. In this paper, we publish a revised version of the typology that came as a result of our research regarding the beads from this period conducted for our master's dissertation.[8] In total, we took into account 59 sites, 327 contexts, and 6993 individual pieces. Given the large amount of information at our disposal, we also take this opportunity to try and clarify the existing image regarding who wore beads and how the different types were generally used in the dress of the people associated with this material culture.

The current state of research

The evolution in archaeological research towards a narrower specialisation of each archaeologist, together with the development of new research techniques and advances in the technologies adopted,[9] are factors that encourage greater attention to previously overlooked details. In this light, beads started to receive growing attention, and with this opportunity, the little artefacts proved that they offer valuable information towards completing the image we have regarding multiple aspects of the past, such as craft practices and techniques, economic relations, social stratigraphy, the evolution of material culture, religious beliefs, etc.[10] This environment led to a change in the way beads are approached, and in the past thirty years they went from artefacts that rarely received adequate descriptions and sometimes were only mentioned in passing, to proper descriptions and analysis that serve to increase the information that can be extracted.[11] In some cases,

[4] Csallány 1941, 135; Curta 2001, 271.

[5] Csallány 1961, 348, 352–353; Harhoiu 2004–2005, 292; Pásztor 2008, 307–324.

[6] Horedt, Protase 1970, 194; Harhoiu, Gora 2000, 57–58; Lăzărescu 2019, 97.

[7] Párducz 1959, 366; Pásztor 2008, 316, 318–319; Dobos, Opreanu 2012, 19.

[8] Preda 2023.

[9] Bonneau et alii 2014, 35–46.

[10] To name just a few of the works focusing on this material dated in the Migration Period: Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985; Ihm, Sasse, Theune 1994; Siegmund 1995; Pásztor 1997; Gopkalo 2008.

[11] Some examples are: Bratei 3 in Bârzu 2010, Floreşti-Polus in Mustaţă et alii 2009, Turda princely grave in Bărbulescu 2008, Viminacium II in Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 51–117, and sites like

interdisciplinary research was conducted on beads. Mineralogical analyses have been done for pieces from Viminacium II and the princely grave from Turda to determine the origin and processing method of the raw material.[12] Microscopic analyses have been used as well, for the determination of the production method, on glass pieces from Florești-Polus.[13] Closer attention is being given to beads in studies focused on particular research questions as well. Alpár Dobos' paper dealing with the issue of grave robbery, in which beads are discussed, raises the question of their value as a material that could have been stolen or intentionally abandoned.[14] An interesting study by Daniel-Călin Anton, recently published, pays particular attention to beads and combinations of bead types in different phases, during the typological analysis and the realisation of a synthesis of the local society living in the centre of Transylvania between the 5th and 8th century AD.[15]

Studies that approach beads from the space and period of interest as a singular subject are still rare, of which we can name two: an article that published the analysis with multiple non-invasive methods of selected pieces from Cluj-Cordoș,[16] and a paper that publishes the comparative analysis of some pieces from Bratei 3 and the Slave necropolis from Sărata Monteoru, for which a selection of pieces was examined in terms of composition using IBA analyses.[17]

Methodology

The research is based on material that comes from isolated graves, necropolises and hoards, where the material is best represented, both from a quantitative point of view and in terms of how the beads were worn. The database is composed mainly of published material. As such, the information to which we had access was limited to the level of detail present in these works. For this reason, for sites where the research was published before the importance of beads as archaeological artefacts was consolidated, the information is incomplete. An exception from this situation is the necropolis at Vlaha-Pad, for which, although not all the information used has been published, we have received access to it thanks to the director of the archaeological excavations PhD Ioan Stanciu, researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Art History, Cluj-Napoca, and to PhD Luciana Rumega-Irimuș, who wrote her bachelor thesis on the bead inventory from this necropolis and expanded the research of this material to the larger Gepid territory in her master dissertation.[18]

Although we have tried to collect all available published material for the sites in Romania and Serbia, the large amount and the time constraint made it necessary to restrict the selection of sites when it came to those in Hungary. This has led to the inclusion of only nine of the best-documented and material-rich necropolises in the area, together with

Magyarcsanád-Bökény and Szolnok-Szanda in Bóna, Nagy 2002 and Cseh et alii 2005. A special mention is the yet to be published site at Vlaha-Pad for which we are aware of the efforts made to analyse this material, including mineralogical analyses and string reconstructions.

[12] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 51–117; Mârza 2008, 311–316.

[13] Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 431–432.

[14] Dobos 2014, 135–162.

[15] Anton 2022.

[16] Ionescu, Gherghari 2002, 295–302.

[17] Bugoia et alii 2020, 150–157.

[18] Irimuș 2008; Rumega-Irimuș 2010.

a further eight sites, representing individual tombs and small groups of tombs, chosen to ensure a fair representation of the whole area throughout the entire period of Gepid domination (Pl. I).

The selection of material was guided by the establishment of a clear definition of what we consider to be a bead: an object that can be strung together and has one or more perforations, that pierce the body from one end to the other, following, not always perfectly, the axis of the object. The definition is intentionally limited to the morphology of the object, disregarding the function, which allows the avoidance of some complications that can appear in the organisation of such a typology. One such case is represented by the difficulty in separating beads from pendants, which this definition solves by clarifying the position of the perforation in the object.[19] However, it is not perfect, and a problem that remained was that of differentiating beads from spindle whorls, since no easily observable morphological attribute (material, shape, perforation, common size, etc.) represents a clear and constant difference.[20] This was solved using the research and burial context, which led to the exclusion of what fit the typical spindle whorls of the period, clay pieces of various sizes practical for their purpose, present in grave inventories in small numbers, usually found in the lower part of the skeleton. This left us with just one situation of clay beads in G. 2 found next to the Roman road at Floreşti-Polus, where fifty-eight minuscule millet-type pieces, i.e. too small to be considered whorls, were found in the chest area.[21] Millet beads identified as made of clay are present in other sites from the Migration Period as well, such as G. 9 and G. 10 from Botoşani-Dealul Cărămidăriei.[22] However, pieces that had part of compositional analysis, such as those in G. IV from Cluj-Cordoş and Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad, ended up being proven to be made of glass, despite looking like clay.[23] Without closer investigations, we believe that it cannot be determined whether the millet-type beads are clay or glass. Spindles made of other materials, even semi-precious stones, have rarely been observed.[24] This rarity, and the consensus on the use of large beads as pendants that were hung from the belt,[25] does not allow the exclusion of such pieces from our analysis without the presence of examinations that bring further arguments in favour of their use as whorls.[26]

Even with these limitations, we have reached a number of 59 sites, and 6993 beads, of which: 6028 glass, 452 amber, 65 limestone, 47 carnelian, 44 gold, 17 garnet (one almandine), 13 bronze, 9 coral, 7 rock crystal, 7 chalcedony, 5 bone, 3 silver, 3 shell, 2 agate,

[19] In the simplest forms, pendants can differ from beads just by the position of the perforation. Usually, pendants are perforated at one end. Although some researchers, such as H. C. Beck (Beck 1928) do not agree with this differentiation, in our case, this is the only way in which the two can be clearly separated; shapes that differ from beads only by the position of the perforation have variants that also have features not found in beads. Examples of this are trunked pyramid-shaped bone pendants with incised circles in G. 131 from Kiszombor B (Török 1936, 110).

[20] For an introduction to some approaches to differentiation, see: Mazăre 2012, 103–109.

[21] Opreanu 2012, 5–6, Abb. 4/1a-1b.

[22] Harhoiu 1998, 163–164.

[23] Hica, Ferenczi 2006, 932/5; Irimuş 2008, 24.

[24] Kornbluth 2016.

[25] Martin 1995, 652–661, 673–675, 678; Vida 1999/2000, 367–377, Abb. 4; Garam 2011, 63–93.

[26] An example of such studies was realised by G. Kornbluth investigating usage patterns on rock crystal pieces from Merovingian sites: Kornbluth 2016.

1 marble, as well as 220 of uncertain material[27] and 70 of unknown materials. There are also eight contexts for which, although beads were present, their number is unknown, and these are only considered where they provide information about the spread of materials, types or specific modes of wearing. We consider that, although the database collected is not exhaustive, it is sufficient to be representative of the material in the area and period of interest and, as such, enough to organise a typology.

For the first phase of the analysis, the material was organised into a catalogue which was the main working tool, from which useful information was then transferred to the typology tables and various other tables and percentages. The characteristics of beads considered in the analysis are: material, type, shape, colour, method of manufacture, decoration, state of preservation, dimensions, and position *in situ* correlated with the condition of the grave at discovery. Incomplete information in some publications produced limitations, a part of these categories had to be marked as unknown in many cases and the analysis was adapted accordingly. For this reason, although colour shades have been shown to represent valuable distinctions for material cultures and chronology,[28] due to the frequent lack of their specification, this aspect could not be capitalised on. As such, to avoid complicating it with the few cases of shades known, the typology only uses the base colour, but in the text of the article we maintain the specification of shade in the few cases mentioned directly where it is known. A similar situation occurs in the case of dimensions; we sorted the material in normative categories, which also allowed the use of beads with only approximately known sizes, those with dimensions between 0–0.5 cm are noted as minuscule, those between 0.6–1 cm noted as small, those between 1.1–2 cm noted as medium and the ones over 2 cm noted as large. When discussing manufacturing methods, the available information showcases several possibilities. For most materials worked in a solid state, a general use of cutting, carving and lathe work can be assumed, however, no further distinction, as far as frequency of method according to subtype, can be made without more detailed research.[29] Precious metal pieces were realized through the modelling of a sheet by striking, cutting and shaping with a mould, in some cases with further applied wire or cloisonné style decoration.[30] Glass pieces were realized by working hot glass by wrapping (wound beads) or pulling (drawn beads) and, in some cases, modelling with special tools or moulds.[31] For these last pieces as well there are not enough known cases to establish the frequency of method used for the subtypes, especially as far as the basic methods of wrapping and pulling go, while others represent very specific techniques that deserve separate attention.[32]

[27] These include the fifty-eight previously discussed clay beads from Florești-Polus.

[28] Pásztor 2008.

[29] Some detailed analyses do exist: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 53–58; Mârza 2008, 311–316; Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 431–432.

[30] Oanță-Marghitu 2014, 619, 621, 631; Horedt, Protase 1972, 187, 193, 202–203; For a general ideea of what cloisonné style is: Harhoiu, Gora 2000, 16–17.

[31] General discussions of manufacture: Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, 12; Francis 2002, 90–91; Pion, Gratuze 2016; Neri, Gratuze, Schibille 2019, 1108. Mentions and discussions for the manufacture of beads from our database: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 51–53; Mârza 2008, 315–316; Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 431–432; Bugoia et alii 2020.

[32] Some examples of these specific types that do have studies realised for them are gold in glass beads and millefiori beads, see Boon 1977 and Volkmann, Theune 2001.

These factors led us to exclude this category as a general typological characteristic until further research.

In the creation of the typology itself, trying to avoid further fragmentation for the study of beads, we used as a starting model the already existing typology for beads closest to the space and period of interest, which Adrien Pásztor realised for the row grave cemeteries dating to the early and middle Avar periods in Hungary.[33] Although we maintained the methodology, as well as most of the names and order of the types and subtypes, where applicable, due to the intentional open format of the model, we were able to adjust it easily to the needs of the material in the database. In order to correctly frame and describe the artefacts from an international point of view, we also used works on beads by researchers from other spaces, such as Magdalena Tempelmann,[34] Oksana Gopkalo,[35] Peter Ihm, Barbara Sasse and Claudia Theune,[36] Siegmund Frank,[37] Sherr Lois Dubin,[38] Karlis Karklins,[39] Horace C. Beck.[40]

Organization of the typology

From the process of separating and defining the material, twelve primary types were obtained, and they are represented using Roman numerals (Pl. II–IX). Nine of the types are characterised by the basic geometrical shape of their body, although it is only rarely perfect: I. Sphere and sphere derivates, II. Cylinder and cylinder derivates, III. Segmented cylinders, V. Conical frustum and derivates, VI. Pyramidal frustum and derivates; VII. Quadrilateral prisms, VIII. Non-quadrilateral prisms; IX. Irregular prisms; X. Prisms with cut corners. However, the particular characteristics of some of the pieces did not allow their summarisation by a geometrical shape. Type IV. Millet refers to pieces that can have multiple shapes (sphere, pressed sphere, ring, disc, cylinder, cone), but form a united type due to their diminutive size (dimensions between 0,2–0,5 cm), a trait that has led to the identification and naming of the type since 1959.[41] Moreover, their small size and large numbers make any approach to separate and qualify the pieces by geometrical shape an expensive effort without satisfaction or utility. Type XI. Imitation shapes include beads which, as the name suggests, are joined together by the fact that they have the form of specific things. These are objects perforated to become shape-retaining beads, such as a seashell, as well as, beads modelled to imitate an object, such as a ceramic vase, or a thing, such as a human head. The last type XII. Indeterminable shapes refer to beads for which there are known images but their irregularity does not allow categorization. Beads whose shape is unknown have been considered outside the typology for other traits that might be relevant to our research and are marked when mentioned as unknown type.

[33] Pásztor 1997.
[34] Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985.
[35] Gopkalo 2008.
[36] Ihm, Sasse, Theune 1994, 425–435.
[37] Siegmund 1995, 37–55.
[38] Dubin 2015.
[39] Karklins 2012.
[40] Beck 1928.
[41] Párducz 1959, 366.

Each of the main types was further separated into variable numbers of subtypes, depending on how many clear and consistent differences in the base shape were identified. These subtypes are represented by the first set of Arab numerals in the identification code. A series of traits known more consistently – material, size and colour – allowed us to form an image regarding the order in which variations of these traits are more common for each subtype. As such, it could be established for which materials each subtype was observed, arranged in the main typology table, in a column, top to bottom, from most common to least common. The only ones that do not factor in the numbers from the typology table are those for which the exact subtype could not be determined from the available information, but they are not fully indeterminable or unknown. There is also a column for the sizes of the subtypes of each material, placed in order, from left to right and top to bottom, with their order and relation to each other clarified by the mathematical signs >, =, <. A last element for which consistent characteristics could be established for the subtypes is available only for glass pieces, that being their colours, arranged in the same way as the sizes. As an extension to the typology, the glass beads can be further separated by decor when such an element is present, this is added to the identification code of subtypes through a second set of Arab numerals, from 01 to 11 (Pl. X).[42]

Who wore beads and how did they wear them?

The two base traits by which human remains can be distinguished are age and biological sex. In the analysed database there are a total of one hundred and four sets of remains from sixteen sites for which anthropological investigations were conducted and published either independently or the results were used in other published studies about the site (Pl. XI). For other eighty-three graves from twenty-five necropolises, these aspects have been identified through archaeological observation based on things such as the size of the skeleton and the grave inventory (Pl. XII). Beads appear predominantly in the graves of mature individuals belonging to the female sex with a total of ninety sets of remains, forty-five determined anthropologically. These are followed in frequency by the graves of children, with a total of fifty-nine cases, thirty-three with anthropological determination. There are also eleven graves, six determined anthropologically, considered to belong to juvenile individuals, six female and one male. The third most frequent group, skeletons of mature-age males, are presented at the end because the two sets of graves show a large difference, the anthropologically examined remains, with twenty cases, are almost triple the number determined archaeologically, with seven cases. The way beads were used by this group must also be considered here since in twelve of the cases it is related to weapons, which are associated in turn with male individuals; nine of these cases are anthropologically analysed. The remaining eleven anthropologically analysed ones continue to be almost three times the number of the remaining archaeologically determined ones; this makes it

[42] Although gold beads are also decorated, the models present rarely have perfect analogies, and specific models are unique to each grave in the database. As such, we considered them individual instances and we opted for no further separation in the typology. See: Horedt, Protase 1970, 19, 194; Horedt, Protase 1972, 169, 175, Pl. IV, Pl. XVI; Oanță-Marghitu 2014, 619, 621, 631. Even in the case of the analogies mentioned for those from Someșeni by Horedt and Protase we see variation, such as those from Gáva, where there is no row of cells in the middle of the pieces and the cells present on the sides are tear shaped, not triangular. See: Hampel 1911, V. 1–3.

clear that, although by no means as frequently as those of the female sex, male individuals wore beads more frequently than traditionally believed, in ways associated with them, which we will mention in the relevant sections.

Their status in a stratified society is another important aspect of who individuals are, however, an investigation is complicated by the frequency of grave disturbance, a common occurrence in the Migration Period.[43] Moreover, the total of the inventory in a grave would have to be used, which means an investigation that exceeds the limitations of the current study. Given these factors, we can only affirm a general image formed by looking at some examples of the graves present in our database that are undisturbed and those disturbed, partially or completely, that have an observable high social status through particularly valuable artefacts. The gathered database shows that beads are present in the graves of individuals belonging to all social groups. Those with the most modest of social conditions can be exemplified through G. 3 from Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor III with only three glass beads, G. 136 from Szolnok-Szanda with one glass bead and an iron belt buckle and G. 8 from Viminacium-Burdelj, with twenty-two glass beads and a bone comb.[44] A moderate condition can be assumed for graves like G. 2 from Szöreg-Téglagyár, with twenty beads, one amber, another limestone and the rest of glass, a bone comb, an iron knife, an iron buckle, a fragment of a smaller iron buckle, a perforated bronze plaque and two nails.[45] Similarly, but in this case, also representing a presumed warrior is G. 64 from Szöreg-Téglagyár, with a clay vase, a bronze belt-buckle, a smaller bronze buckle, bronze rivets, an iron knife, fire steel, spatha, limestone bead and wood fragments from the handle of the iron knife and the spatha scabbard.[46] Lastly, some graves of those from higher classes are, G. year 1968 from Apahida, G. 2 from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás and G. 50 from Moreşti-Hulă, all having various quantities of pieces made of precious materials, the one from Apahida being the richest with multiple gold items.[47]

To understand how the beads were worn, the position at discovery as related to the skeleton and the combinations of pieces found together must be used, but for both of these, the information that we have is incomplete. Often, only the general area is known, there are graves with partial or complete disturbance, and in other cases, the state of the grave is uncertain due to lack of specificity at publication or harsh decomposition of the skeleton due to the high acidity of the soil. However, undisturbed graves are not completely lacking; as such, we start the analysis for each proposed mode of wearing from these and use the data from other graves only when it is relevant and by keeping in mind the state of the graves.

In one-hundred forty-two graves with beads in a known position, out of two hundred thirty, these artefacts were discovered in areas such as the head, the neck and the chest, with only thirty-seven being undisturbed (Pl. XIII). Since sixteen graves have beads in multiple areas, there are twenty-seven graves with beads in the area of the skull, eighty-two with them around the neck and fifty in the area of the torso (Pl. XIII). Typically, beads found in

[43] For a discussion on the subject, see: Dobos 2014.

[44] Harhoiu et alii 2020, 166, 168, 340, Abb. 117; Bóna 2002b, 219, 220, Taf. 47/136; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 140, 141, Pl. 2.

[45] Nagy 2005b, 124, Taf. 47/2.

[46] Nagy 2005b, 131, Taf. 58/64.

[47] Popescu 1974, 223, 227–228, Taf. 11–12; Horedt, Proase 1972; Lovász 2005, 51–52, Abb. 3, Taff. 30–33.

these areas are thought to have been worn as necklaces since this is the most common way of wearing them worldwide. There are, however, cases with other proposed possibilities, and, given that these are fewer, we will first address them to exclude the material from the analysis of necklaces.

The possibility of sewing beads onto clothes was brought up for our database concerning the one hundred sixty-six beads of type IV (millet), from the grave discovered in 1996 in the *thermae* at Potaissa.[48] As an argument for this, fragments of textile rusted to the fibulae were used, on which there are imprints, in one case of one of the cylindrical coral beads and, interestingly, in the other to three beads seeming to form the shape of a flower.[49] The likelihood of such a practice is encouraged by the minuscule dimensions, high numbers at discovery and the well-documented analogies for the practice of sewing beads onto clothing, found nearby in the material culture from the Sarmatian period.[50] Another possible use for these beads appears in G. 4 from Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii, where the recorded pattern formed inside the grave is a curved line that overlaps in places, which illustrates as more likely their wear in a long necklace.[51] From our information, it seems that Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad presents a similar situation but with only some segments preserved.[52] In G. 2 from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás, it is reported that at discovery there were two to three rows of millet beads packed close together in the neck area that, due to their fragile condition, got destroyed during extraction.[53] This could mean a necklace but since no images were realised before their destruction, there is no way to confirm the exact placement and way of wearing. These cases make us rethink the grave at Potaissa, where, given the small dimensions of the textile fragment with the imprint of three beads, 5 × 0,7 × 0,3 cm, and the fact that it does not go over the margins of the imprint enough to showcase the presence of spaces in the pattern,[54] it cannot be considered conclusive, as it could also simply be a small segment of a multi-layered necklace. In the other graves from our database where millet beads have been found, no detailed or clear position of them is known, only their area of discovery being mentioned, which makes it difficult to affirm whether the practice of sewing the beads onto clothing was truly present or how widespread it was compared to their wear as necklaces.

The forty-four graves with millet beads do present an interesting situation in that those for which the sex and age were determined, the individuals are only of female sex or children. Graves determined to belong to the female sex through anthropological analyses, namely: G. 4 from Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii, G. 3 from Floreşti-Polus, G. year 1996 Potaissa-*thermae*, G. 3 from Szolnok-Szanda, G. 1420 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja and the juvenile G. 6 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi.[55] Other fifteen were identified

[48] Bărbulescu 2008, 32–34, 60–61.

[49] Bărbulescu 2008, 32–34, 60–61, Pl. XLVI/1; Boroş, Vajda 2008, 318–319.

[50] Stoyanova 2011, 128–135, 162–165, Fig.4–7; Grumeza 2021, 172–174, 199, Fig. 12.

[51] Dobos, Opreanu 2012, 19, 149, Pl. 6.

[52] Irimuş 2008, 49–50, Pl. XXI.

[53] Lovász 1999, 239.

[54] Bărbulescu 2008, Pl. XLVI/1; Boroş, Vajda 2008, 318.

[55] Dobos, Opreanu 2012, 19–20, 66, 110, 138, Pl. 7/4, Pl.35/9; Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 442–444, Pl. V; Bărbulescu 2008, 33, 60–61, Pl. XI/5; Bóna 2002b, 203, 304, Taf. 30/3.3; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 209, 211, Pl. 36/1420.1; Trifunović 2006, Fig. 9/5, Photo 158.

archaeologically: Cx. 103 and G. 2 from Floreşti-Polus, G. 12, G. 30 and G. 73 from Moreşti-Hulă, G. 2 from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás, G. year 1972 from Slimnic, G. 11 and G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. II and G. V from Valea lui Mihai – Garden of Crişan, G. 6, G. 14, G. 16, G. 34 from Viminacium-Burdelj.[56] Children are fewer in number, but not by a lot. Anthropologically analysed are five cases: G. 8 from Čurug- Stari Vinogradi, Cx. 41B from Floreşti-Polus, G. 51 from Kiszombor-B, G. 1582 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja and G. 102 from Szolnok-Szanda.[57] Archaeologically, eight others were identified: G. 14 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, G. 3, G. 50, G. 51, G. 74 from Moreşti-Hulă, G. 48 from Viminacium-Burdelj, Cx. 0387 and Cx. 0848 from Vlaha-Pad.[58] The other graves that contain millet beads are: G. IV from Cluj-Cordoş, G. 17, G. 83 from Moreşti-Hulă, G. 277 from Kiszombor-B, G. 32, G. 138, G. 175, G. 184 from Szentes-Bereckhát, G. II and G. IV from Szentes-Kökényzug, G. 33 and G. 63 from Viminacium-Burdelj; Cx. 0450, Cx. 1118 from Vlaha-Pad.[59]

Beads found in small numbers in the area of the chest toward one side and in the lower area, as well as some of those found in the lumbar region, under or around one of the fibulas, with a high degree of separation from other beads, can be associated with the wear of a pendant made of beads hanging by the fibula. Such a pendant has been proposed as an element of the fibula-focused dress from the early migration period in the larger Merovingian area.[60] The only cases in which such a use can be affirmed with certainty are those undisturbed graves where a fibula is also present in the same spot or near, as is the case for G. 2. from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás, G. 56, G. 59, G. 66 and G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug.[61] This context has also been noticed in two graves with skeletons of uncertain status G. 1 from Ártánd-Lencsésdomb and G. 50 from Szentes-Kökényzug.[62] To these, we could add G. 28 and G. 29 from Viminacium-Burdelj, where although the beads are further from the fibula than usual, their placement could be explained through displacement during the process of decomposition.[63] In G. 29 the proximity to other beads found on the

[56] Lăzărescu 2019, 84, 86, 89, Fig. 5/2, Fig. 8/3; Opreanu 2012, 5, 6 Abb. 4/1a-b; Popescu 1974, 217–222, 229, 233, Taf. 4/3, Taf. 7/10, Taf. 16/7; Lovász 1999, 239; Glodariu 1974, 483–489; Csallány 1961, 27, 37–38, Taf. III/3, Taf. XVIII/3; Stanciu 2011, 368, 625, Pl. 16/II.1, V. 9; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 138–143, 148–149, Pl. 1/6.1, Pl. 2/14.3, Pl. 3/16.2, Pl. 4/34.2.

[57] Trifunović 2006, Fig. 11–3; Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 452–453, Pl. XVI/4; Csallány 1961, 175, CXII; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 210, 212–213, Pl. 37/1582.5; Bóna 2002b, 215, 316, Taf. 41/102.2.

[58] Csallány 1961, 141–142; Nagy 2005a, 100–101, 252, Taf. 22/14.5; Popescu 1974, 214–215, 223, 225, 228–229, 234, Taf. 1/2.3, Taf. 12/1.4, Taf. 13/1, Taf. 17/1; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 154–155, Pl. 8/48.2; Irimuş 2008, 47–48, 52, Pl. VI/6, Pl. X/9, Pl. XIV, Pl. XVI/24, Pl. XX; Anton 2023, 316–317.

[59] Hica 2006, 930–931, 938, Fig. 1/3; Popescu 1974, 218, 220, 231, 236, Taf. 5/6, Taf. 19/5; Csallány 1961, 26, 74, 83, 86, 88, 187, Taf. I/3, Taf. II/4, Taf. LXII/4, Taf. XLIX/21–22, Taf. LI/1, Taf. LXXIX/1, Taf. CLIII/8; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 146–148, 157–159, Pl. 4/33–2, Pl. 9/63.11; Irimuş 2008, 50, 60–61, Pl. VII, Pl. VIII, Pl. IX, Pl. X/7, Pl. XII, Pl. XV, Pl. XVII, Pl. XXI, Pl. XXIV; Anton 2023, 318.

[60] The wear of beads hung from the fibulas is sometimes considered for rows found on the chest, strictly between the two fibulae, and they can also be associated with wire rings, however, these cases were not observed in our database. On the matter see: Martin 1995, 654, n. 90, 670–675; For specific examples of pendants mentioned in the bibliography for our database: Csallány 1961, 38, 230; Horedt 1979, 189–190; Rácz 2019, Fig. 23/b.

[61] Lovász 2005, 51–52; Rácz 2016, Abb. 12/5; Csallány 1961, 32–35, 38, Abb. 6/5–7.

[62] Mesterházy 2005, 54–55; Csallány 1961, 31.

[63] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 145–147, Pl. 4/28.3, 149, Pl.5/29.2.

left side of the basin[64] makes it difficult to ascertain whether the one found in the lumbar area was indeed worn separately in the described manner or together with the rest in a different manner and moved by an unidentified phenomenon from the original placement. In disturbed and partially disturbed graves, it is difficult to make any assumption on this matter, as both fibulae and beads are typical for the upper part of the body, and a disturbance could create a false image, as such we did not include them in this analysis.

To analyse the composition of this dress element we exclude the least likely context of G. 29 from Viminacium-Burdelj. In five of the remaining graves, the beads are present in sets of threes. In G. 50, G. 66 and G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug, there are two glass beads on each side of one central one made of amber.[65] In G. 1 from Ártánd-Lencsésdomb all the beads are made of amber.[66] The last case with three pieces, G. 56 from Szentes-Kökényzug, has one glass bead, one of amber and one of limestone.[67] The other three graves have a different number of beads each, one glass bead in G. 59 from Szentes-Kökényzug, two glass beads in G. 28 from Viminacium-Burdelj and five glass beads with one of amber from G. 2. from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás.[68]

For specific characteristics of the beads found in these circumstances, the first noticeable element is that with only one exception, where the bead is small the other cases contain either only large pieces or combine large and medium-sized beads without a specific pattern. To type I. 03 belong thirteen beads, of which eight are of glass and the rest of amber, and this type is present in four graves, always with more than one piece. Those of this type whose colour is known are two white, one with a grey hue and one white with a green hue, one dark blue and other five, some blue and some green, but the exact number of each is unknown. There are three glass beads of type I. 01.01 from two graves, one in which the two beads of this type are the only ones found. The one found together with other types has a base of unknown colour and is decorated with blue dots and the two found together are one blue and one violet with white, yellow and red dots. Type II. 06 includes two pieces, one of amber and one of glass, which come from two different graves, where they were combined with other types of beads, without a common model. Types I. 04, II. 12 and VII.02 have only one exemplar each, all glass, the first two are found combined with other types while VII. 02 is found alone. Type II. 03 also has only one exemplar and is combined with other types but it is made of amber. The colour is known for all three, types I. 04 and VII. 02 are blue, while type II. 12 is white. As such, with only one exception, the beads are sphere or cylinder subtypes, and the ones made of glass are blue, white and green.

It is noticeable that most of the graves for which the wear of pendants attached to the fibula is likely are from the area of the Tisa Basin, with a particular concentration in the site at Szentes-Kökényzug. This mode of wearing seems to only appear in the graves of adult individuals considered to belong to the female sex, however, only one of the graves has had anthropological analyses (Pl. XI, Pl. XII). It also seems to have been a mode of wearing preferred by people from higher social classes, since, except for the two graves with only

[64] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 149, Pl.5/29.3–4.

[65] Csallány 1961, 31, 35, 38, Abb. 6/5.

[66] Mesterházy 2005, 54–55.

[67] Csallány 1961, 32.

[68] Csallány 1961, 33–34; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 145; Lovász 2005, 51–52.

glass beads, all other graves have multiple items of precious metal in their inventories, usually at least a pair of gilded silver fibulas.[69] This also suggests that the two graves with poorer inventories might represent instances of other social groups adopting this fashion and adapting it to their possibilities. For G. 59 from Szentes-Kökényzug, given that it belongs to the necropolis where beads worn as fibula pendants were observed the most, this is especially plausible, however we must mention that a pair of silver earrings was also found in this grave, as such we are not talking about the poorest social group.[70] In the case of G. 28 from Viminacium-Burdelj only a pair of iron fibulas and an iron belt buckle are present, but this mode of wearing seems to be unusual for the area, as such harder to explain.[71]

Now that the cases where beads from the areas associated with necklaces were worn differently have been separated and discussed, we can analyse the rest of the material to form an idea about necklaces. For the Gepid material culture necklaces being present and worn can safely be affirmed due to graves where the position at discovery has been recorded and the beads are present as continuous or segmented curved lines in the parts of the body where a necklace would be and looking as such an item does when it lays naturally. As expected, we find this situation in undisturbed graves: G. 44 Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug and Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad.[72] There are also two cases of partially disturbed graves, Cx. 41B from Floreşti-Polus and G. 36B from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, where such patterns also indicate that the beads were not moved in the areas of discovery as a byproduct of the disturbance.[73] The same situation occurs in graves of uncertain status for which we have G. 94 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug, G. 170 from Szolnok-Szanda, Cx. 0224, Cx. 0387 and Cx. 1118 from Vlaha-Pad.[74] There are also two disturbed graves from Carei-Bobald where this seems to be the case, however, the numbers of beads found aligned are small, with a row of five together with two other beads found aligned close under in G. 112 and a row of three with a fourth one further to one side from G. 103.[75] In the disturbed G. 4 from Fântanele-Dâmbul Popii, the beads form a necklace but the position does not correspond to the natural wear of one, instead suggesting that during the disturbance the still intact string of beads was moved out of its original position.[76]

Most beads suggesting the wear of a necklace were found in graves belonging to adult individuals of the female sex, children and juveniles of various social classes. However, these items are not missing from graves belonging to adults of the male sex as is the case in three graves analysed anthropologically M. 94 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza, M. 197, M. 389

[69] Csallány 1961, 31–35, 38, Abb. 6/5–7; Lovász 2005, 51–52; Mesterházy 2005, 54–55; Rácz 2016, Abb. 12/5; Csallány 1961, 32–35, 38, Abb. 6/5–7.

[70] Csallány 1961, 33–34.

[71] Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 145.

[72] Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 53, Abb. 23/44; Csallány 1961, 37–38, Abb. 6/2; Irimuș 2008, 49–61, Pl. XXI; Anton 2023, 316–317.

[73] Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 452–453, Pl. XV; Nagy 2005a, 104–105, Abb. 5/36.

[74] Csallány 1961, 31, 130, Abb. 3/2; Bóna 2002b, 223, 225, Abb. 89/170; Irimuș 2008, 40–41, 46, 60–61, Pl. XX, Pl. XXIV. Anton 2023, 315–316, 318.

[75] Gindele 2020, Pl. 18, Pl. 20.

[76] Dobos, Opreanu 2012, 19, 66, 109, Pl. 6.

from Kiszombor-B and one grave with the sex determined archaeologically G. from year 1988 from Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60 (Tab. XI and Tab. XII).[77] There does not seem to be an explanation that relates to social status which could motivate the presence of beads in male graves since the four examples have inventories that suggest a variety in societal groups. The grave discovered in 1988 from Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60 has an inventory that seems to indicate that the individual belonged to a higher social class, containing multiple weapons a gold bead and fragments with gold gilding.[78] G. 197 from Kiszombor-B might also belong to a higher status person however it is an uncertain grave and the inventory is only the necklace which is made of amber and glass beads together with two silver pendants.[79] G. 94 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza has quite an ordinary inventory in general, a bone comb, a bronze bow fibula with an animal head foot and an iron buckle, the only precious material being found in an unknown number of the beads from the necklace that are made of garnet and amber.[80] Lastly, G. 389 from Kiszombor-B has a truly poor inventory formed by just two glass beads and a bone comb, however, this grave also has an uncertain status as the overlapping Arpadian grave makes it impossible to see whether it had parts of the inventory extracted or not.[81] These cases raise questions regarding those cases determined archaeologically as belonging to the female sex where the presence of necklaces was taken as an indicator.[82] Even so, it remains that the presence of such an element in the graves of people belonging to the male sex is a rare occurrence, as illustrated by sites where extensive anthropological analyses took place.

For the sizes of necklaces, there is a great variety, even if we look only at the undisturbed graves. The least amount refers to the wear of a single bead at the neck as is the case in the grave discovered in 1988 from Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-Zsilinszky U. 60 as well as G. 136 and the adult skeleton in G. 222 from Szolnok-Szanda.[83] Only three beads were found in G. 3 from Sighișoara-Dealul-Viilor, G. 24 and G. 79 from Szolnok-Szanda.[84] Four exemplars are found with the child skeleton in G. 222 from Szolnok-Szanda, G. 57 and G. 74 from Szöreg-Téglagyár.[85] Twenty beads are found in G. 4b from Sirmium-1a and G. 65 from Szentes-Kökényzug.[86] For the rest with numbers under thirty, there is only one case each: five beads were found in G. 44 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, six beads in G. 34 from Viminacium-Burdelj, nine in G. 45 from Szolnok-Szanda, ten in G. 2 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, eleven in G. 1 from the same necropolis, twelve from G. 38

[77] Csallány 1961, 130, 183, 192, Taf. CXXXII/12, Taf. CCXXXIII/12, Taf. CL/1; Török 1936, 112, 120; Istvánovits, Nepper 2005, 47, 244, Taf. 14/5.

[78] Istvánovits, Nepper 2005.

[79] Török 1936, 112; Csallány 1961, 183.

[80] Csallány 1961, 130.

[81] Török 1936, 120; Csallány 1961, 192.

[82] We find such a situation in graves from Bratei III: Bârzu 2010, 42, Abb. 28/a.

[83] Istvánovits, Nepper 2005, 47, 244, Taf. 14/5; Bóna 2002b, 219–220, 232, 234, 321, 328, Abb. 94/222.1, Taf. 47/136.1, Taf. 54/222.1.

[84] Harhoiu et alii 2020, 166, 168, 547, Taf. 4/3.1–2; Bóna 2002b, 205, 212, 232, 306, 312, Taf. 32/24.1, Taf. 38/79.2.

[85] Bóna 2002b, 234, 328, Abb. 94/222.16, Taf. 54/222.16; Nagy 2005b, 130, 132, 287, 290, Taf. 57/57.1, Taf. 60/74.2.

[86] Pejović, Lučić 2011, 398, 400, 402, Fig. 7/46.5, Fig. 9; Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 64, 203, Pl. 1/6; Csallány 1961, 34–35, Taf. III/19.

from Viminacium-Burdelj and twenty-two in G. 8 from Viminacium-Burdelj.[87] From the remaining graves with numbers between thirty and three-hundred ninety-three, they are largely composed of type IV, which, come with the possibility of being sewn onto clothing, especially when found in the area of the chest. In order of numbers, these are: G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. 8 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, G. 48 from Viminacium-Burdelj, G. 6 from Viminacium-Burdelj, G. 6 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, Cx. 103 from Florești-Polus, G. year 1996 from Potaissa-*thermae*, Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad, G. 50 from Moreşti-Hulă.[88]

There is only a small number of cases where beads thought to have formed necklaces are not predominantly glass pieces. Usually, these exceptions are graves where amber beads are predominant: G. 350 from Kiszombor-B with thirteen of amber, two glass and one garnet; G.121 from Noșlac with twenty-three amber, ten glass and one carnelian, G.2 from Singidunum, seventeen amber, ten glass and one carnelian, G. 4 from Socodor, with eight amber and one shell; lastly G. 197 from Szolnok-Szanda, with six amber and one glass.[89] In two cases, all the beads are made of amber G. 243 from Kiszombor-B with six exemplars and G. 11 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény with eight.[90] In other instances, the predominant materials for beads that might form necklaces are semiprecious stones. In G. 170 from Szolnok-Szanda all thirty beads are made of carnelian.[91] In G. 157 from the same necropolis, the number of rock-crystal beads is four, the same as those of glass, and they are found together with other two beads made of carnelian and amber.[92] Although we may not know the full composition of the deposited necklaces in these cases, since five of the graves are of uncertain status, two have been disturbed, and the last two have decayed skeletons (Pl. XIII), these beads were likely predominant anyway, as it is unlikely that at the opening of the grave, artefacts made from these valuable materials would not be extracted. Doubt could be brought for the amber beads since their use declined in the first half of the 6th century AD but there is proof that amber continued to be used by those that could obtain it and pieces were even discovered and reused.[93] Although beads made out of valuable materials might have had apotropaic value, wearing many at once was likely also a way to signal social status. Due to the state of the graves and their rather poor inventories, the exact degree of this is uncertain, the only two which can bring arguments towards a good social standing of the deceased through other inventory items are G. 121 from Noșlac,

[87] Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 53, 119, 286, Abb. 53/44, Taf.14/44.2; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 140–141, 148–151, Pl. 2/8, Pl. 4/34, Pl. 6/38, Fig. 48/11–17, Fig. 49/21, 22, 24; Bóna 2002b, 207–209, 308, Abb. 87/45.5, Taf. 34/45.5; Trifunović 2006, Fig. 8/1, 4, Photo 157.

[88] Csallány 1961, 37–38, Taf. XVIII/3; Trifunović 2006, Fig. 9/5, Fig. 11/1, Photo 158, Photo 159a; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 138, 139, 154, 155, Pl. 1/6, Pl. 8/48; Lăzărescu 2019, 84, 86, 89, Fig. 5/2, Fig. 8/3; Bărbulescu 2008, 33, 60–61, Pl. XI/5; Irimuș 2008, 50, Pl. VII, Pl. VIII, Pl. IX, Pl. X/7, Pl. XV, Pl. XXI; Anton 2023, 316–317; Popescu 1974, 223, 225, 228, Taf. 12/1–4, Horedt 1979, 167–168, Abb. 82/4, Abb. 83/8.

[89] Török 1936, 119; Csallány 1961, 190, CXXIV/13; Harhoiu 1998, 181; Dobos 2013, 256; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 108, 127, 149, Fig. 5/2, Pl. 1, Fig. 2/3; Popescu 1956, 78–79, Fig. 36/7–8; Csallány 1961, 145; Barbu et alii 1999, 118; Bóna 2002b, 230, 326, Taf. 52/197.1.

[90] Török 1936, 114; Csallány 1961, 185, Taf. CXLI/23, 26–27; Banner 1926, Fig. 15/15; Csallány 1961, 141; Cseh et alii 2005, 100, 251, Taf. 21/11.

[91] Bóna 2002b, 225, 324, Taf. 50/170.1.

[92] Bóna 2002b, 222, 322, Taf. 48/157.2.

[93] For a discussion on the evolution of its use see: Curta 2007.

where a gilded silver belt buckle and silver fittings were found and G. 2 from Singidunum where gold earrings were present.[94]

In G. 67 and G. 79 from Szolnok-Szanda the only beads found around the neck are five and respectively three made of limestone.[95] Although we keep in mind that G. 67 has a decayed skeleton, these situations remain anomalies in our database, being the only cases with multiple medium and small limestone beads in this area. Such pieces worn around the neck occur frequently instead, in the material culture associated with the Sarmatian period.[96] This necklace can be used as an indicator of the strong cultural connections of the defunct to the Sarmatian society which is likely their culture of origin. Moreover, the necklace can be used as an argument to date the grave to the beginning period of the necropolis, the first decades of the 6th century AD, and the other pieces of inventory do not contradict this dating.[97]

The pieces forming a necklace tend to vary in size with the smallest ones having the highest numbers while large ones have the lowest numbers. In cases where the necklaces have been reconstructed, large beads are typically used as central elements. These are usually positioned together as is the case for: G. 63, G. 100, G. 118, G. 134, G. 2083 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja I; Cx. 0450, G. 44 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok and G.14 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény.[98] The idea that the beads with the biggest dimensions were worn in the centre of necklaces is strengthened by the fact that these are often made of amber and semiprecious stones (Pl. II–IX), which, given their value, would only be natural to be placed front and centre. Moreover, such a way of organizing the stringing of beads is the most logical from a practical perspective as well, because the heavier beads placed at the centre maintain the necklace in a more stable position while wearing due to weight distribution.

When it comes to the combination of different types of beads for necklaces, no special characteristic models were observed.[99] Six of the types made of glass are the most numerous and widespread.[100] In order from most numerous to least, they are I. 03, II. 06, I. 01, II. 01, II. 02, II. 05. These are however the most long-lasting and common forms for beads, without special significance by shape alone, and no other known characteristics that are specific to the studied period. We find these in most necklaces, combined with pieces of other types and materials, usually present in comparatively smaller numbers. However, that is not always the case and is typically untrue for graves where type IV. 01 is present. There are no types, from one material or another, that were not discovered in the area associated with wearing necklaces, on the contrary in some cases unique pieces appear

[94] Dobos 2013, 256; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 127.

[95] Bóna 2002b, 211–212, 311–312, Taf. 37/67.2, Taf. 38/79.2.

[96] Bârcă 214, 130–131; Grumeza 2014, 101–102; Georgescu, Bălărie 2017, 119–138.

[97] Bóna 2002b, 211, 311, Taf. 37/67.2.

[98] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Fig. 71–73, Fig. 77–78; Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 53, Abb. 23/44, 288, Taf. 14/44.2; Csallány 1961, 141–142; Nagy 2005a, 252, Taf. 22/14.5.

[99] Although such an approach was not part of our research, we plan to explore it in the close future. The research done and published by A. Pásztor for the early and middle Avar period shows that the use of software can shed a more certain light on the matter: Pásztor 2008.

[100] We exclude from here type IV. 01 as its large numbers are first and foremost due to the large amounts found in individual graves and not a generally widespread use.

only in this area in multiple or singular exemplars such as: II. 09, III. 04, III. 05, V. 05, VI. 01, VI. 07, IX. 04, X. 05, etc. Any other investigations regarding the composition of necklaces would need an investigation using computer programs due to the large amounts present in some of the graves.

Together with the beads in the composition of necklaces we sometimes find pendants of various types. In the necropolis of Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, G. 2 contains a button-shaped bronze sheet pendant and G. 8 contains perforated Roman coins, a conical bronze sheet pendant, a pyramidal animal bone pendant and an amphora-shaped glass pendant.[101] Perforated Roman coins were also found in G. 65 from Szentes-Kökényzug and G. 222 from Szolnok-Szanda, the graves having one such coin each.[102] At the necropolis of Viminacium-Burdelj, G. 48 contains animal bone pendants of irregular shape and G. 63 contains a peltiform shaped fragment of a pendant made of bronze sheet.[103] In the Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok necropolis, G. 44 contains a trapezoidal bronze pendant.[104] To these seven undisturbed graves, we can add another six of uncertain state. G. IV from Cluj-Cordoș contains a gilded silver, crescent moon pendant.[105] The same type of pendant, but without being mentioned to be gilded, appears in two exemplars from G. 197 Kiszombor-B, and one from Cx. 1118 Vlaha-Pad.[106] This last grave also contains a cross-shaped pendant made of silver.[107] Cross-shaped as well, but of a different type, is the bronze pendant with a round rock-crystal inlay found in G. 350 from Kiszombor-B.[108] In G. 32 from the same necropolis a pendant made of a perforated animal tooth was discovered.[109] Lastly, from G. 3 in Szolnok-Szanda comes a fragmented bronze pendant of uncertain original shape.[110] In graves disturbed in antiquity, pendants were found in three cases, a perforated deer tooth from G. 111 from Carei-Bobald, a bronze pyramidal pendant in G. 31 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény and a conical amber pendant in G. 8 from Singidunum.[111] Pendants are not a prerequisite for necklaces, and, as we will see, they are not only present in necklaces, subsequently such items cannot be used as indicators towards a way of wearing in cases where the exact placement of the objects is unknown.[112]

Now that the general image for necklaces has been established, we must mention separately G. 2 from Szöreg-Téglagyár and G. 45 from Szolnok-Szanda, two undisturbed

[101] Trifunović 2006. The amphora-shaped piece is probably a reused object from a context belonging to the La Tène period, between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC, and, although by our definition it is a pendant, in the specialised literature for the period, it is described as a bead. For an introduction in the study of such pieces see: Rustoiu 2015.

[102] Csallány 1961, 34–35, Taf. III/19; Bóna 2002b, 232, 234, 328, Abb. 94/222, Taf. 54/222.

[103] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 154, 155, 157, 159, Pl. 8/48.3, Pl. 9/63.2.

[104] Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 53, 119, 286, Abb. 53/44, Taf. 14/44.4.

[105] Hica, Ferenczi 2006, 930, Fig. 1/1.

[106] Csallány 1961, 183, Taf. CXXXII/12; Irimuș 2008, 59–61, Pl. XVII, Pl. XXVIII; Anton 2023, 318, 359, Taf. 9/1118.1.

[107] Irimuș 2008, 59–61, Pl. XVII, Pl. XXVIII; Anton 2023, 318, 359, Taf. 9/1118.2.

[108] Csallány 1961, 190, Taf. CXXIV/12.

[109] Csallány 1961, 173, Taf. CXI/19.

[110] Bóna 2002b, 203, Taf. 30/3.5.

[111] Gindele 2020, 42, Pl. 19/2; Nagy 2005a, 103, Taf. 24/1; Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 128, Pl. II/8.3.

[112] Some examples where the position of the pendants inside the grave is unknown: isolated grave from Ártánd-Lecensédomb: Mesterházy 2005, 54, Taf. 5/Streufunde.2; the grave discovered in 1965 at Domoszló-Vizitároló: Bóna 2002a, 27–28, Taf. 4/5.

graves with nineteen respectively nine beads.[113] The compositions of these bead groupings suggest that they are necklaces. Most of the beads are glass, combined with one amber bead each, and in G. 2 a limestone one as well. G. 2 has fifteen small beads and four medium-sized ones, the amber and limestone ones being part of these four. G. 45 has five small ones, one uncertain whether medium-sized or small and three large with the amber ones being one of these three. From these, there are two common subtypes II. 03, with five exemplars, four from G. 2, and V. 02 with two exemplars, one each. The rest appear in only one of the two. From G. 2, four II. 04, three I. 03, two VII. 03, two X. 03, two of unknown type and one each I. 05 and II. 02. From G. 45, one each II. 06, II. 10, II. 12, VI. 03, IX. 02, XI. 02. While we know that glass beads from G. 2 are white, green and yellow, and those from G. 45 are red, yellow, green and black, the exact number of each is not clear. The only item found together with these is a bronze bell from G. 45,[114] which is also found together with necklaces. What sets these two cases apart is that the positions of the beads deviate from the usual, as they were found on the sides of the body, in one case between the ribs and the left arm, in the other between the ribs and the right arm.[115] This could signify the presence of a chest pendant having the structure of a necklace, however, given that there is no fibula present, another possibility to consider is that, rather than being worn, were simply deposited within the grave and represent an object from another family member that has a symbolic purpose.[116] Both graves were anthropologically analysed and G. 45 was identified as being the grave of a child, while G. 2 was determined to be that of an adult of female sex (Pl. XI).

Other common areas where beads were discovered are the basin and along the legs. These beads are often thought to have been worn in association with a belt, a custom often found during the Migration Period, which progressively gained prominence, starting with the 5th century AD, and observed in Sarmatian, Merovingian, Longobard and Avar sites, for the latter the belt costume being the most elaborate.[117]

Except for the undisturbed graves, all other categories can be considered only when other context elements are present with the beads and even for these a sceptical eye must be maintained avoiding those that present anomalies from the image formed by undisturbed graves. The wear of beads in association with a belt can be confirmed in graves where belt buckles and fittings have been noticed in the lumbar or pelvis areas or where fittings are present along the legs. The undisturbed graves where belt elements have been found are: G. 50 from Moreşti-Hulă; G. year 1996 from Potaissa; G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. 24, G. 145 from Szolnok-Szanda; G. 18, G. 19, G. 29, G. 38, G. 63 from Viminacium-Burdelj.[118] To these can be added the partially disturbed and uncertain graves where such elements are present in their natural position: G. 111 from Carei-Bobald; G. 11, G. 29 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza; G. 77 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok; G. 88, G. 95, G. 131,

[113] Nagy 2005b, 124, 277, Taf. 47/2; Bóna 2002b, 207–209, 308, Abb. 87/45, Taf. 34/45.

[114] Bóna 2002b, 208, 308, Abb. 87/45, Taf. 34/45.6.

[115] Nagy 2005b, 124; Bóna 2002b, 208–209, Taf. 34/45.

[116] A discussion regarding depositions from family in the graves of children: Halsall 2009, 302–303.

[117] Vaday, Istvánovits, Kulcsár 1989; Garam 2011; Rácz 2022, 245–247, Fig. 1/1–4.

[118] Popescu 1974, 223, 225; Bărbulescu 2008, 44–53; Csallány 1961, 37–38; Bóna 2002b, 205, 220; Nagy 2005b, 125–126; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 145–146, 149–151, 157–159, Pl. 5/29, Pl. 6/38, Pl. 9/63.

G. 189 A, G. 225, G. 287, G. 297 from Kiszombor-B; G. 13 from Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom; G. 121 from Noşlac; G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. 64, G. 73 from Szolnok-Szanda; G. 16 from Szöreg-Téglagyár; G. 14 and G. 16 from Viminacium-Burdelj.[119] In the case of G. 146 and 247 (B) from Kiszombor-B, belt elements were present in the grave, but their position at discovery is not known.[120] The same situation is partially present, only the position of the belt buckle is unknown, in G. 29 from Viminacium-Burdelj.[121] Those that are disturbed are considered only with hesitation, and attention to the context: G. year 1968 from Apahida; G. 167 from Bratei-III, G. 14 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, G. 35 from Moreşti-Hulă, Cx. 1068 from Vlaha-Pad, G. 1758 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja.[122]

For the cases where no belt elements were found, a possible explanation is the use of a textile or leather sash, fastened by tying. Such a mode of wearing has no distinctive elements to be noticed archaeologically, however, items found in the area of the basin and along the legs, typically associated with a belt are still present. Such an element of dress is shown as existing in the period, not for the discussed people, but through the visual representations from Byzantine art.[123] Due to the lack of any other context, of elements that can affirm its presence, we can only consider the undisturbed graves as indicative, because from others, elements indicating the belt could have been extracted. As such, we are talking about G. 32 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény; G. 2 from Sirmium-Octagon; G.29, G. 46 from Szöreg-Téglagyár; Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad; G. 3 from Viminacium-Burdelj; G. 1420 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja.[124] Cx. 1068 from Vlaha-Pad could also belong to this list, as the only other elements found are two silver appliques.[125] In G. 32 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény there is also an iron band under the bead, which could have been attached to either one of the discussed fastening items.[126]

In G. 29 from Szöreg-Téglagyár, there is no belt, but at the waist is a fibula,[127] which could have either been used to fasten the sash or just the clothing itself, and the beads could have been hanging from it directly like the previously discussed chest pendants. In other cases there are both a belt buckle and a fibula, at the waist: G. 12 from Moreşti-Hulă; G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. 73 from Szolnok-Szanda; G. 19 from Szöreg-Téglagyár.[128] In G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug the beads seem more connected to the fibula, placed to

[119] Gindele 2020, 42, 162, Pl. 19; Csallány 1961, 127–128, 178–182, 184, 187–188; Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 64–66, Abb. 31; Török 1936, 108–109, 113, 116; Simonyi 2005, 206–207, Abb. 3/13; Popescu 1974, 229; Harhoiu 1998, 181; Dobos 2013, 256; Bóna 2002b, 202, 210–212, Abb. 86/64, 73; Nagy 2005b, 125; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 140–146, 149, Pl. 2/14, Pl. 3/16, Pl. 5/29.

[120] Csallány 1961, 30–31, 177, 180, 185–186, Abb. 3.

[121] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 145–146, 149, Pl. 5/29.

[122] Horedt, Proase 1972, 167, 171–172, Fig. 5; Bârzu 2010, 221, Abb. 190; Nagy 2005a, 100–101; Popescu 1974, 223–224; Irimuş 2008, 58–59, Pl. XXIII; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 214, 217, Pl. 39/1758.

[123] Martin 1995, 630, 660–661, Abb. 1, Abb. 35; Vida 1999/2000, 371, 373–375, Abb. 5–6.

[124] Nagy 2005a, 103–104, Abb. 5/32; Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 71, 88, Pl. 10; Bóna 2002b, 207–209, Abb. 87/46; Nagy 2005b, 127, 129; Irimuş 2008, 50–51, Pl. XXI; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 138–139, 209, 211, Pl. 1/3, Pl. 36/1420.

[125] Irimuş 2008, 58–59, Pl. XXIII.

[126] Nagy 2005a, 103–104, Abb. 5/32.

[127] Nagy 2005b, 127.

[128] Popescu 1974, 217–219; Csallány 1961, 30–31, Abb. 3; Bóna 2002b, 202, 211–212, Abb. 86/73; Nagy 2005b, 126.

its right and left, but above the belt buckle,[129] here it is likely that the fibula pendant was moved lower to fit in with the changing fashion in which the belt was gaining prominence as the focal point of the garb in contrast to the previous one in which the fibulae placed at chest level were the focal point.[130]

Elements of dress found inside the grave, that can offer answers to exactly how these beads were attached, are rare, usually it is assumed that a strap made of perishable material was used to string and tie the beads as a pendant. In the cases where belt fittings were observed along the legs, the beads were likely attached to the strap that these fittings adorned. In our database beads have been observed at the ends of the row of fittings, as is the case for G. 77 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, G. 121 from Noșlac, G. 64 and G. 73 from Szolnok-Szanda.[131] The situation is likely to be the same for G. 16 from Szöreg-Téglagyár, although, for this case, the fittings are between the leg bones and the beads on the exterior of the left knee, and this could be due to the placement at burial. [132] In the case of G. 149 from Kiszombor-B the fittings and beads were found together, but we do not know their exact position in relation to each other.[133] In two other cases, G. 24 from Szolnok-Szanda and G. 29 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza, part of the elements used to hang the beads could have been iron chains, as fragments of interlocked links were found above the bead in one case, and in a pile next to the belt buckle together with the bead in the other.[134]

Thick bronze rings cast in one piece have been found in the area of the pelvis together with beads in two cases: G. 88 and G. 189 A from Kiszombor-B.[135] These rings are elements of the belt that could be used to hang the beads and other elements by tying them onto the rings using a perishable material, likely leather straps, fabric or yarn.[136] In another case, G. 111 from Carei-Bobald**,** a ring made of bronze wire, with twisted ends, was found with the beads.[137] This kind of ring is proposed to have been used to string beads onto it, through their perforations.[138] However, since none of the beads were found strung in such a manner in our case, another possibility is that the ring was used like the previous ones, as an element that the beads, strung on perishable material, were tied to, the ring then being used to attach the beads to the belt, forming together a pendant. A solid ring was also found in G. 67 from Szolnok-Szanda, and this one is however more elaborate, having humped decoration and an eyelet; it has been proposed that it might be a piece decorating a bag.[139] Given the small size of the only bead found together with it, only 1.6 cm in length and even smaller diameter, in comparison to the ring that has a diameter of 5.5 cm, without

[129] Csallány 1961, 30–31, Abb. 3.

[130] Martin 1995, 670–678.

[131] Nagy 2002b, 64–66, Abb. 31; Dobos 2013, 256; Bóna 2002b, 202, 210–212, Abb. 86/64, G. 73.

[132] Nagy 2005b, 125.

[133] Csallány 1961, 181.

[134] Bóna 2002b, 205. For G. 29 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza, the chain was considered to be a fragment of chainmail at publication. Csallány 1961, 128.

[135] Csallány 1961, 177, 182, Taf. CXXXIV/8, Taf. CCXLIV/3.

[136] Burzler et alii 2002, 142, 147, 173–174, 208, Grab. 455, Grab. 480.

[137] Gindele 2020, 42, 162, Pl. 19.

[138] Martin 1995, 670–678. For a case where the findings illustrate this: G. 63 from Singidunum-III: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, Figs. 62, 65, 74.

[139] Bóna 2002b, 211, Taf. 37/67.4.

the eyelet, meaning there is not much impact from the bead as a pendant, it is unlikely that the ring was used to hang it. Moreover, the bead is very similar to those found at the neck, white in color, possibly chalk, cylindrical in shape and medium-sized, so it could be a piece that has been moved, which is why this grave is not included here.

Pendants were also found together with the beads in these areas, likely hanging together; in the necropolis at Kiszombor-B, in G. 131 there are two pyramidal bone pendants and in G. 189 A there is a bronze bell fragment.[140] A Roman coin was also found in the relevant area in G. 117 from Szöreg-Téglagyár, however, it is broken and no perforation can be noticed, as such it is uncertain if it was used as a pendant.[141]

The number of undisturbed graves is, in this case, sufficient to establish some concrete examples of the number of beads that may be present, but these are too few to determine a concrete pattern of occurrence. The most common situation is the appearance of a single bead, which occurs in six graves, in the lumbar and pelvic areas, in G. 32 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, G. 2 from Sirmium-Octagon, Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad, G. 1420 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja, and along the legs, in G. 50 from Moreşti-Hulă and G. 145 from Szolnok-Szanda.[142] In three graves, G. 2 from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás, G. 19 from Szöreg-Téglagyár and G. year 1996 from Potaissa, groups of three beads were found, in the first case along the legs, in the second case on the left of the basin, and for the last case, in the lumbar area, and stuck together.[143] Two beads were found in two undisturbed graves, both from Szöreg-Téglagyár – in G. 29 at the pelvis, and in G. 46 along the legs. In two graves as well, G. 6 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi and G. 18 from Szöreg-Téglagyár, there are groups of five beads.[144] In the rest of these cases, each number of exemplars appears only once in undisturbed contexts. In G. 38 from Viminacium-Burdelj, four beads were present at the pelvis.[145] Seven beads were found together along the legs in G. 63 from Viminacium-Burdelj.[146] The highest amount of beads found in one area appears in G. 29 from Viminacium-Burdelj where eight exemplars are at the basin, however, they are split into two groups of four, one on the left side and one on the right lower side, the first group being only glass beads and the second only amber beads.[147] Given that they are separated by exact area and material, it is unclear whether these form a single row or two separate pendants. In cases where beads appear in only one of the relevant areas, their numbers go over eight only in uncertain graves. For these, as the number of beads increases and

[140] Csallány 1961, 179–180, 182.

[141] Nagy 2005b, 134.

[142] Nagy 2005a, 103–104, Abb. 5/32; Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 71, 88, Pl. 10; Irimuş 2008, 49–51, Pl. XXI; Anton 2023, 316–317; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 209, 211, Pl. 36/1420; Popescu 1974, 223, 225, 228; Bóna 2002b, 220.

[143] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 150, 151, Pl. 6/38; Rácz 2016, Abb. 11, 5; Bărbulescu 2008, 33, 36, 59–60, Pl. V/1. Given the grave plan, we initially believed that the beads in the grave from Potaissa might have been worn as fibula pendants, seeming to be positioned under the displaced right fibula and very close but above the belt buckle. However, having been given further information about their position at discovery by the person responsible for their extraction, prof. PhD. Sorin Nemeti, who affirmed that they were immediately next to the belt buckle, we decided to include this case here.

[144] Nagy 2005b, 125–126, 127, 129; Trifunović 2006, Fig. 9.

[145] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 150, 151, Pl. 6/38.

[146] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 157–159, Pl. 9/63.

[147] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 145–146, 149, Pl. 5/29.

only a general position is known, the likelihood increases that the beads may have had another use.

There are also examples of undisturbed graves, where beads were found at the waist and along the legs, with no observable continuity between the two, forming separate pendants or in some cases, having been used in different ways. The two for which it is most likely that the beads were separate pendants are G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug, with six beads found at the basin and one found at the level of the middle of the femur, and G. 3 from Viminacium-Burdelj, with four beads at the basin and one found on the outside of the left femoral bone.[148] In G. 24 from Szolnok-Szanda four beads were placed to the left of the basin, closer to the left wrist, three others along the left arm, towards the middle of it, these being placed above the belt, itself present at the left femoral bone, while one last bead from this grave was found at the right knee in between the leg bones.[149] Those found along the arm, having their placement above the belt buckle, could either be a pendant attached to the belt with a displaced position, or an element whose possible mode of attachment and use are unclear.

Even if limited, this restricted analysis showcases that beads worn hanging from the fastening element of the clothing are usually present in small numbers, most frequently in only one exemplar. This image remains quite consistent with the other graves as well, where from a total of twenty-seven graves for which the presence of this mode of wearing is likely, most often, only one bead was found, with nine cases: G. 11 and G. 29 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa; G. 146, G. 247 B and G. 287 from Kiszombor-B; G. 35 from Moreşti-Hulă; G. 64, G. 73 from Szolnok-Szanda; G. 1758 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja I.[150] Following close, there are seven graves with three beads: G. 111 from Carei-Bobald, G. 77 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok; G. 88 from Kiszombor-B; G. 14 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény; G. 121 from Noşlac; G. 16 from Viminacium-Burdelj; Cx. 1068 from Vlaha-Pad.[151] In third place of frequency for uncertain and disturbed graves are graves with two beads, for which there are five cases G. 189 A and G. 297 from Kiszombor-B; G. 13 from Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom; G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. 16 from Szöreg-Téglagyár.[152] The only other cases of bead numbers that repeat are four and six exemplars for which there are two graves each G. 131 from Kiszombor-B and G. 14 from Viminacium-Burdelj[153] respectively G. 167 from Bratei-III and G. year 1968 from Apahida.[154] There are also two graves for which the number of beads found is unique to each one: G. 95 from Kszombor-B with five beads, and G. 225 from Kiszombor-B with eight beads.[155]

[148] Csallány 1961, 37–38, Abb. 6; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 138–139, Pl.1/3.

[149] Bóna 2002b, 205.

[150] Csallány 1961, 127–128, 180, 185–187; Popescu 1974, 223; Bóna 2002b, 210–212; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 214, 217, Pl. 39/1758.

[151] Gindele 2020, 42, 162, Pl. 19; Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 64–66, Abb. 31/77; Csallány 1961, 141–142, 177; Nagy 2005a, 100–101; Harhoiu 1998, 181; Dobos 2013, 256; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 142–143, Pl. 3/16; Irimuş 2008, 58–59, Pl. XXIII; Anton 2023, 317, 359, Taf. 9/1068.

[152] Csallány 1961, 30–31, 182, 188, Abb. 3; Simonyi 2005, 206; Nagy 2005b, 125.

[153] Csallány 1961, 179–180; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 140, 141, Pl. 2/14.

[154] Bârzu 2010, 221, Abb. 190; Horedt, Protase 1972, 167–169, Fig. 5.

[155] Csallány 1961, 178, 184.

In terms of the types of beads found hanging from the belt, we will present the undisturbed graves in parallel with the rest of the graves in the database to show all possible types and situations present for this way of utilizing beads. Pendants are present in the graves of every group of people; twenty-seven of the graves are considered to belong to adult females, with eighteen identified anthropologically, eight graves are attributed to children, three identified anthropologically, four graves were attributed to adult males, two identified anthropologically, and two graves were identified anthropologically as juvenile females (Pls. XI, XII). Using the undisturbed graves, we can see that all social groups used bead pendants, from those that belong to people with a higher social status such as the grave from the Thermae at Potaissa, G. 50 from Moreşti-Hulă, G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug and G. 19 from Szöreg-Téglagyár,[156] to some of the poorer ones, G. 2 from Sirmium-Octagon, G. 24 from Szolnok-Szanda, G. 46 from Szöreg-Téglagyár.[157]

Beads worn attached to the belt, regardless of grave status, placement or method, are usually glass or amber, with seventeen of glass and thirty-eight of amber in undisturbed graves, while in the other graves, thirty-one respectively eighteen were found. Beads of these materials are also those that were found in most graves; from the undisturbed graves twelve contained amber beads and nine contained glass beads, while from the other graves, eleven contained amber beads and thirteen contained glass beads. The third in frequency are limestone beads, with two exemplars from two undisturbed graves, and eleven found in nine uncertain graves. The last material with multiple exemplars is gold, but all the beads come from the grave from 1968 at Apahida. Every other material appears only once, a rock-crystal piece found in the uncertain G. 131 from Kiszombor-B, a garnet bead found in the uncertain G. 95 from Kiszombor-B, a calcedony one in uncertain G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug and lastly a bone bead in the undisturbed G. 3 from Viminacium-Burdelj. There are also three beads of uncertain material, either glass or amber from G. 2 Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás, and two beads of unknown materials, both from uncertain graves in the Kiszombor-B necropolis, G. 247 B and G. 297. In the richer graves there is a tendency for amber beads in the pendant structure, and three of the four undisturbed ones, where we find only glass beads, are poorer (G. 32 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, G. 2 from Sirmium-Octagon, G. 24 from Szolnok-Szanda).[158] This doesn't seem to be a definitive rule, as in G. 3 from Viminacium-Burdelj, where only an iron fibula and a bone comb are present, there are four amber and one bone bead and in G. 29 from Szöreg-Téglagyár which, although not the richest in inventory, contains a bronze button fibula with almandines, and is the fourth grave with only glass beads.[159]

Most often beads worn as pendants have large sizes, with fifty-seven exemplars, twenty-five from undisturbed graves and thirty-one from the other ones. The next size is medium, for which we have thirty-eight exemplars, twenty-seven from undisturbed graves

[156] In these three graves, the inventory contains, among other things, silver fibulae; in the first two and the last grave mentioned, the fibulae are gilded. Bărbulescu 2008, 32–39; Popescu 1974, 223, 225, 228; Csallány 1961, 37–38; Nagy 2005b, 126.

[157] Besides the bead, the first one contains only a bone comb, the second one some iron items (a buckle, a chain, a knife) and a bone comb, and the last one only an iron knife. Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 71; Bóna 2002b, 205; Nagy 2005b, 129.

[158] Nagy 2005a, 103–104; Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 71, 88, Pl. 10; Bóna 2002b, 205.

[159] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 138–139; Nagy 2005b, 127.

and twelve from the rest. For small-sized beads, we have twenty-two, five from undisturbed graves and seventeen from uncertain ones. For the rest of the beads, the size is unknown or could not be determined exactly. When discussing the distribution in graves, the sizes maintain their order, large beads remain the most frequent, present in eight undisturbed and seventeen uncertain graves, medium beads appear in nine undisturbed graves and eight uncertain graves, while small exemplars are found in only four undisturbed and five uncertain graves. The reduced spread in the distribution of small beads despite their numbers in the uncertain graves is explained by the cases where multiple beads are found together, such as G. 167 from Bratei III with six small glass beads and one large and G. 225 from Kiszombor-B with five small glass beads, two medium amber ones and one large limestone bead.[160] Small beads also differentiate themselves by the fact that they are almost exclusively glass with only three amber ones, while large and medium beads are predominantly amber, with twenty-three respectively twenty-five. From the other materials found with sizes known only the bone bead is medium sized and the other ones are large.

For beads found in these areas, regardless of their other characteristics, the main types are I and II. As usual, the predominant subtype is I. 03, with eighteen pieces from nine undisturbed graves and sixteen from nine uncertain ones. Less typical is the fact that subtype II. 03 is the next one in frequency, with seventeen beads from five undisturbed graves and eleven from five uncertain graves, this is due to the strong presence of amber beads, a material for which this subtype ranks third in number overall, having a total of forty-eight such exemplars, of which twenty-two occur here. The same situation is the case for subtype I. 02, in which the six beads are the gold pieces discovered at Apahida, and in the database, only two other beads of this subtype appear. The rest of the I and II subtypes found do not stray far from the frequency observed for the whole of the material. We found five exemplars, from five graves each, of subtypes II. 02, II. 06, V. 04, all besides the first one having three pieces each found in undisturbed graves. Subtype II. 05 also has five exemplars but from four graves, the only undisturbed grave being the one with two of these beads. Four beads of subtype I. 01 appeared in two graves, one undisturbed. Three of each appear for I. 04, from three separate undisturbed graves, and for II. 01, from two of the other graves. Only two beads were found for I. 05, from two separate undisturbed graves. One each for II. 08, II. 11, which is the only one from an undisturbed grave, II. 12**,** and one bead that could only be attributed to type II. From the other types found (III, V, VII, VIII, X and XI), only two subtypes have more than one exemplar, with two beads each, III. 02 from only one grave, and XI. 03 from two separate graves, of which one is undisturbed. The other subtypes found in undisturbed graves are V. 01, V. 07, VII. 01, X. 01, and from the rest V. 02 and VIII. 01. Lastly, there are seven beads for which the subtype could not be established with certainty, one that could be I. 03 or II. 03, five that can be determined as VII. 02 or VII. 03, and one that could be X. 02 or X. 03. None of these are from undisturbed graves. Those subtypes found in large numbers are common, while other subtypes are often found in only one or two graves, which leads to there being no recurring significant model of composition other than this simple format.

The glass beads found are mostly blue – eighteen exemplars, four are dark blue and come from four separate graves, two of which are undisturbed, three are "purple-blue" and

[160] Bârzu 2010, 221, Abb. 190, Taf. 27/167; Csallány 1961, 184, Taf. CXXXVII/ 2–4, 9–13.

come from one grave (G. 29 from Viminacium-Burdelj), while the others are described as just blue – five from three undisturbed graves and six from two uncertain graves. The purple-blue ones are all decorated, two belong to subtype I. 03.01 and one to I.01.01, they have white, yellow and red dots, while two of the dark blue beads also belong to I. 03.01, but in this case the dots for each bead are in only one colour, either white or yellow. Then follow four green beads, each from separate graves, two from undisturbed graves and two from other graves, and finally three white beads, only one from an undisturbed grave. There are also two brown beads, translucid with silver foil, and reddish-orange; these colours were found in one grave each, none undisturbed. The colors gray, red, and black occur in one case each, coming from different graves, each disturbed. There is also one reddish-black bead with white longitudinal stripes (I.01.06) that comes from the same grave as the black one (G. 189 A from Kiszombor-B) and lastly, one fully covered in white, yellow and red wavy lines (I. 01.04), from an undisturbed grave, the same one as the before mentioned purple-blue beads. No pattern can be noticed for the combination of colours, each case being different.

From three of the discussed graves, G. 11 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa, G. 146 from Kiszombor-B and G. 64 from Szolnok-Szanda, besides the pendants there are other groups of beads found in a separate area of the lower body, with higher numbers, mostly of glass, than those observed in undisturbed graves for pendants. In G. 11 twenty-seven beads of amber and silver foil glass come from the area of the right forearm, in G. 146 eleven exemplars, one bronze and the rest glass, from under the basin, in G. 64 thirteen glass beads were on the left of the basin.[161] These groupings further distinguish themselves through their high numbers of small beads, in G. 11 and G. 64 all the glass beads are small, in G. 64 the amber one is medium-sized, and in G. 146 nine glass beads are small, and another bead, and the bronze one are medium-sized. Added together with the pendant beads, they would have created disparities between them and the material in undisturbed graves. This was considered a sign that another use was possible or that they formed a different category of pendants.

In nine other cases, such groupings were found in the lower part of the body without the presence of the separate pendants. From the only undisturbed grave, G. 2 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, twenty-one glass beads appear in this manner, however, there is a gap between seven on the left side of the waist and fourteen along the left femur.[162] From Kiszombor-B, in G. 118, there are four of amber, two of garnet and forty-three of glass, from the left pelvis to the left arm, in G. 149 there are one limestone, two of glass or amber, two of glass or limestone, and eleven of glass, from the basin area; finally in G. 276 (B) there are four of amber and twenty-five of glass, from under the basin.[163] At Moreşti-Hulă this situation appears in G. 12, where there are eight uncertain (of glass or amber) and twenty-eight probably of glass, always situated at the basin; in G. 73 there are sixty-six beads, eight of amber, one of calcedony, and fifty-seven of glass; finally, in G. 74 there are

[161] Csallány 1961, 127, 180, Taf. CXXXIV/16, Taf. CCXXXIII/9; Török 1936, 110; Bóna 2002b, 210, 310, Taf. 36/64.4.

[162] Trifunović 2006, Fig. 1/2, Photo 157.

[163] Török 1936, 116, 119; Csallány 1961, 179, 181, 187, Taf. CXXVII, Taf. CXXVIII, Taf. CXXXVI.

nine beads, all of glass.[164] The last two cases come from two separate necropolises, G. 2010 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja I, with twenty-one glass exemplars from the base of the basin, and Cx. 1060 from Vlaha-Pad, with ten beads also made of glass, from the upper part of the left femur.[165] There is a proportion in the use of different materials for the beads that are found together, so glass beads predominate and beads of other materials are fewer and take centre stage. The beads found in these graves are mostly small, thus one hundred ninety-four exemplars are of small size, and they are combined with fifty-three medium-sized beads, twenty-four minuscule beads, and ten big ones. Out of these graves, six were identified as belonging to adults of the female sex, three anthropologically, other three were identified as children graves, two through anthropological analysis; finally, grave G. 2010 was anthropologically determined as belonging to an adult male (Tab. XI–XII).

The types of beads from the twelve graves follow the frequency of types found in general, the gathered material is mostly formed of types I or II, with smaller contributions from other ones, in this case types III, IV, V, VII, IX and X. The main subtypes are I. 03, with ninety-two beads coming from eight graves. From eight other graves, subtype II. 05 is represented by twenty-five exemplars and II. 01 by twenty-two. From seven graves, subtype II. 06 offers thirty-one exemplars. Spheres and derivates of spheres are eighteen – I. 01, in four graves, five – I. 04, from two graves, and one – I. 05. Cylinders and derivates are six – II. 02, from four graves, two – II. 11, from one grave, two – II. 12, from two graves, and one for each of the following subtypes: II. 03, II. 07, II. 08 and II. 10. We also have subtypes of segmented cylinders – four III. 01, and one III. 03 from the same grave. There are also twenty-three millet beads (IV) which come from two graves. Cone and cone derivates are represented by five V. 04 beads from two graves, and two V. 01 beads from one grave. Quadrilateral prisms are present with three subtypes, each subtype present in only one grave, fourteen VII, three VII. 03 and one VII. 01. Two beads are prisms with unequal sides of two different subtypes, IX. 01 and IX. 03, each from a different grave. Lastly, polyhedric beads are present in two subtypes with two X. 02 beads, in two separate graves, and one X. 01 bead. There are also five beads with undetermined subtypes, two I. 03/II.03 beads, from two separate graves and one of each I. 03/I. 06, II. 05/II. 08, II. 05/V. 03. Here too, although there are the main subtypes found in most graves, there is no clear pattern in how they are combined with each other and with the others. We cannot discuss the typical colours, since for only seven of the graves the colours are known, and for only three the exact number for each colour is known.

For this situation, the only items that can be directly associated with these beads are pendants and they appear in only three graves. One perforated Roman bronze coin and four pyramid and cone-shaped bone pendants occur in G. 276 (B) from Kiszombor-B.[166] Another perforated Roman bronze coin is present in Cx. 1060 from Vlaha-Pad.[167] A button pendant made of bronze sheet is present in G. 2 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi.[168]

[164] Popescu 1974, 217–219, 229, 233–234, Taf. 4/3, Taf. 16/6.

[165] Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 218–219, Pl. 40/2010, Fig. 54; Irimuș 2008, 55–57, Pl. XI, Pl. XVIII, Pl. XXII; Anton 2023, 317, 359, Taf. 9/1060.

[166] Csallány 1961, 187, Taf. CXXXVI/3–9.

[167] Irimuș 2008, Pl. XVIII/26, Pl. XXII/15.

[168] Trifunović 2006, Сл. 8/9.

The structure of these groups of beads is very similar to the structure of the necklaces, with a variety of types, mostly small and made of glass and just a few larger or of a different material that served as the centre of the structures together with pendants. In view of this, one possibility is that they are necklaces deposited in the grave without being worn, with symbolic significance, similar to the already discussed cases from the upper part of the body found in G. 2 from Szöreg-Téglagyár and G. 45 from Szolnok-Szanda. The placement of beads inside G. 2 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi shows that they could also have been attached at the waist, serving the same function as pendants.[169] These are the most credible uses in our opinion. Another explanation is that these groupings represent a decoration sewn onto a bag that has disintegrated, since in some cases they are found in more of a disorganized bunch in a small space, and are often small.[170] However, these cases have no other contextual clues that might suggest this mode of bead use, moreover in five other graves in which the use of beads with a bag can be affirmed, which will be discussed below, the beads found share no similarities to these groupings.

The presence of waist-bags and the correlation of such an item with beads can be confirmed for some of the undisturbed graves. In G. 65 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, in the left side of the lumbar area, on a discoloured rectangular surface measuring 17 × 7 cm, an iron knife, an iron fragment, a blue glass bead of subtype I. 01 attached to the knife by rust, a flint, and fire steel were found in an organized structure.[171] These details show that the items were placed in a bag. Although the bead could be thought to have decorated the bag, since it is rusted to the knife and no fabric imprints are known from between them, it is more likely, that it was also inside the bag. Although there are fewer details known in the case of G. 20 from Szöreg-Téglagyár it is a similar situation, having one small white glass bead of subtype II. 02, found below the pelvis, together with several iron objects, a knife, a wire rusted onto the knife, a bent nail and a round fragment, with three flints and a fragment of lead sheet.[172] There are no details that could bring information regarding the way this bead was used here. G. 74 from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok presents different but also strong indicators for the possible presence of a bag, with four beads, a medium-sized, blue, decorated with white dots, glass bead of type II. 06.01, one medium-sized amber bead of type I. 03 and two large amber beads of types II. 06 and V. 04, on the outside of the left shin bone, together with pieces of partially processed amber, which were likely meant to be beads although they are unperforated.[173] The fact that the amber pieces were unperforated and unfinished makes it clear that these would not have been hung and that more likely they were placed inside a bag, while the perforated beads could have both been used to decorate the bag or placed inside. This is, however, a unique case in the database, since in no other case have pieces been found that could not have been hung, and we cannot ignore the possibility of these being simply placed inside the grave while the perforated ones were simply hung by the belt.

[169] Trifunović 2006, Fig. 1/2.
[170] Popović, Kazanski, Ivanišević 2017, 71, 88, Pl. 10; Bóna 2002b, 210.
[171] Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 60–62, 291, Abb. 28/65, Taf.17/65.
[172] Nagy 2005b, 126, 281, Taf. 51/20.
[173] Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 63–64, 294, Abb. 31/74, Taf.20/74.

The circumstances of discovery in the case of undisturbed graves can be extrapolated and taken as indicators for the presence of bags in other graves as well. Such a case is the partially disturbed G. 199 from Szolnok-Szanda, where the small glass bead of subtype I. 03 was found on the left side of the pelvis, together with an iron knife, a whetstone and a comb that slightly overlap each other, as well as a small bronze buckle, fire steel and flint.[174] Here, the bead is at a slight distance from the other items, which might indicate its presence on the outside of a bag, decorating it or something used to tie it closed. In G. 337 B from Kiszombor-B, an iron knife, fire steel, a small iron buckle and a bel button were found together, with beads.[175] We do not know anything specific about the beads, in this case, and we cannot say how they were used.

Of these graves, the sex has been anthropologically determined for four skeletons, three are male – two adults and one juvenile, while the fourth one represented by the grave with unfinished amber pieces is a female juvenile (Pl. XI). The fifth grave is archaeologically identified as belonging to a male individual (Pl. XII). It seems that the presence of a bag could be considered a predominantly male custom with the juvenile female grave being either an exception or misidentified by us or anthropologically. From a social point of view, three of the graves stand out, as each has elements that suggest an occupation for the deceased: a double-pronged harpoon from G. 65 suggests fishing, a lance in G. 337 B could indicate a warrior, and finally, the unfinished amber pieces from G. 74 might indicate a bead manufacturer.[176] Other items discovered in these five graves remain consistent with those found with the beads, being simple objects made of iron, bronze and bone, suggesting a medium social level.[177]

One last way beads were used refers to those that were found along the sides of the body and its lower part, together with a spatha, thought to have served as pendants attached to the weapon.[178] This is believed to be a custom of Eastern origin that was adopted by Germanic people during the Hun rule.[179] A widely circulating interpretation of their use is as magic sword pendants, assuming that the deceased believed these to have magic properties.[180] The more practical uses proposed are that beads of this type were either belt-scabbard attachments or, more likely in our opinion, given their various placements inside the grave around the upper part and the handle of the spatha, as sword-knot endings, element in a rope or leather strap used to secure the grip on the weapon handle, by wrapping around the hand and wrist.[181] In the gathered database, there are eight cases of undisturbed graves, all of them having limestone beads: G. 17 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény; G. 68 from Szentes-Kökényzug; G. 6, G. 88, and G. 168 from Szolnok-Szanda; G. 23, G. 64, and G. 69 from

[174] Bóna 2002b, 229–230, 327, Abb. 93/199, Taf.53/199.

[175] Török 1936, 119, Csallány 1961, 190.

[176] Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 60–64, 111, 291, 294, Taf. 17/65.2, Taf. 20/74.5,7–8.

[177] Nagy 2005b, 126; Bóna 2002b, 229–230; Török 1936, 119; Csallány 1961, 190.

[178] Bârzu 2010, 238, Abb. 232, Taf. 35/214; Csallány 1961, 142; Nagy 2005a, 100, 251, Taf. 21/9; Bóna 2002b, 214, 315, Taf. 41/95.

[179] Werner 1956, 25–37; Nagy 2005b, 169, 173.

[180] Werner 1956, 25–37; Nagy 2005b, 169; Gaiu 2011, 48, 106; Stanciu 2011, 366; Biborski, Kaczanowski 2013, 423–430.

[181] Kazanski 2013, 510.

Szöreg-Téglagyár.[182] Two others are present in uncertain graves: G. 310 from Kiszombor-B, with a glass bead, and G. 1876 from Viminacium-Više Grobalja I, with an amber bead.[183] Finally, four are found in disturbed graves: G. 214 from Bratei III, with a bone bead, G. 8 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, with a limestone bead; G. 95 from Szolnok-Szanda, with a marble bead, G. year 1926 from Valea lui Mihai-Garden of Alex Stantz, with an amber bead.[184] For all twelve graves where the sex was determined, the skeletons were identified as adult males, nine being anthropologically analysed. This situation shows that while limestone beads in this context can be, considered a characteristic of the Gepid material culture in the 5th and 6th centuries, from the Hungarian plains,[185] that is not the case for the rest of the area under Gepid domination, represented by only three graves, two with amber beads and one with a bone bead.

Nine beads, representing the majority, are of subtype II. 02; of the undisturbed graves, two are of subtype II. 03 and one is of subtype II. 06; from the uncertain graves, the glass bead is of subtype I. 01, and the amber ones are of subtype I. 03. All beads seem to be large, except for the glass one, which at discovery had the measurements of a small exemplar, however, given that it is heavily damaged, its original size could be large or at least medium. There is a remarkable majority for the type of bead found in these cases; this leads us to think that we could extrapolate this information to determine that even in a disturbed grave where a spatha is not present, the same situation was true. A perfect case for this is G. 9 from Magyarcsanád-Bökény, where the limestone bead, of type II. 02, is large, and it is placed in the area of the basin.[186] However, there are cases in which such beads are present in contexts that suggest other ways of use that do not allow this. In the uncertain G. 94 from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza, a large limestone bead of type II. 02 was found at the neck, together with other beads likely forming a necklace.[187] In G. 18 from Szöreg-Téglagyár three large amber beads of type I. 03 were found between the legs, together with other beads as part of a pendant.[188]

In most graves of the database, one can identify only one of the discussed ways of using beads, predominantly in necklaces, and belt pendants, but, as we have seen in the case of those discovered in the lower part of skeletons, there are also situations in which several modes are possible. Because many graves are of uncertain or disturbed status, we cannot establish the frequency and spread of each combination, but we can name some examples from the undisturbed graves. Both a necklace and what seems to be a fibula pendant placed at the waist is found in G. 49 from Szentes-Kökényzug. Necklaces were also found together with belt pendants, some found at the waist, as is the case for G. 6 Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, G. 38 Viminacium-Burdelj, and Cx. 0450 from Vlaha-Pad, and some found along the legs – G. 50 Moreşti-Hulă. Also, in G. 2 from Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, there is a necklace, combined with the string of beads that seems to hang from the belt. In the case of G. from

[182] Csallány 1961, 35–36, 142, Abb. 5; Nagy 2005a, 101; Bóna 2002b, 202–203, 212–213, 224–225, Abb. 86/6, Abb. 87/88, Abb. 89/168, Nagy 2005b, 126–127, 131–132.

[183] Csallány 1961, 188–189, Taf. CXLVII/6; Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 216, 217, Pl. 39/1876;

[184] Roska 1931, 70–72, Stanciu 2011, 367–368, 622, 793, Pl. 13/6, Pl. 182/2.

[185] Nagy 2005b, 173.

[186] Csallány 1961, 141; Nagy 2005a, 100.

[187] Csallány 1961, 130, Taf. CCXXXIII/12.

[188] Nagy 2005b, 125–126, 280, Taf. 50/18.

1996 discovered at Potaissa, the mixture of necklace and belt pendant could be combined with beads sewn onto the clothing. G. 81 from Szentes-Kökényzug combines a necklace with a fibula pendant, and a belt pendant. Lastly, in G. 2 from Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás depending on our considerations of the millet beads there is either a necklace or beads sewn onto clothes together with a fibula hanging pendant and a belt hanging pendant. The bags and sword pendants were not found in combination with any other item.

Conclusion

These artefacts, which can be both easily overlooked because of their size and overwhelming due to the large quantities in which they are present, are an integral component of the clothing of the people from the Gepid period, being present for all the categories of people that could be distinguished in various quantities depending on aspects like function, category of people and personal preferences or beliefs. It has been shown that they had multiple functions, such as necklaces, fibula pendants, belt pendants and sword knot beads. Besides these, there are also some possibilities of use that are not certain and would benefit from further research, such as beads sewn on clothes or bags and the practice of depositing necklaces in the grave. Although in some cases they are similar, each way of wearing beads has its own preferences in terms of the aspects of the beads used and the way to combine them. Some kinds and uses appear to be more closely associated with certain people, distinguished by traits like geographical region, which suggests regional differences, as seen for limestone sword-knot beads and fibula pendants, aspects like the possible profession of individuals, as seen for sword-knot beads, probable cultural ties as noted for the necklace of small limestone beads, or the sex of the skeleton, as seems to be the case for the bag-associated ones. However, while beads can present important clues in completing the image we have about the people of the past, the observed pattern of use and composition cannot be considered as unbreakable rules which can be used to identify other aspects in a vacuum, and as the case of necklaces showed, deviations from the typical can always appear which is why every aspect of a grave must be considered with caution. Although this study has many limitations, in the end we can positively argue that it succeeds in forming an overall image of the types of beads and their use in the Gepid period, according to today's information, while also acknowledging that in many aspects further research is needed, research in which we intend to take part.

Bibliography

Anghel, Blăjan 1974 — G. Anghel, M. Blăjan, *Sondajul de salvare de la Sânmiclăuș (jud. Alba)*, Apulum, 12, 1974, 319–329.

Anton 2022 — D. C. Anton, *Kernsiebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter*, Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, 382, Bonn 2022.

Banner 1926 — J. Banner, *Jelentés a Magyarcsanád-bökényipróbaásatásokról / Les fouilles de Magyarcsanád et Bökény (Abrégé)*, Dolgozatok/Travaux, 2, 1926, 72–122.

Barbu et alii 1999	M. Barbu, P. Hügel, G. P. Hurezan, E. D. Pădureanu (eds.), *Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului Inferior. Județul Arad*, Timișoara 1999.
Bartucz 1936	L. Bartucz, *A kiszombori temető gepida koponyái*, Dolgozatok/Travaux, 12, 1936, 178–203.
Bărbulescu 2008	M. Bărbulescu, *Mormântul princiar germanic de la Turda. Das germanische Fürstengrab von Turda*, Cluj-Napoca 2008.
Bârcă 2014	V. Bârcă, *Sarmatian vestiges discovered south of the Lower Mureș River. The graves from Hunedoara Timișană and Arad*, Cluj-Napoca 2014.
Bârzu 2010	L. Bârzu, *Ein gepidisches Denkmal aus Siebenbürgen. Das Gräberfeld 3 von Bratei (bearbeitet von R. Harhoiu)*, Cluj-Napoca 2010.
Beck 2006	C. H. Beck, *Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants, (1928)*, BEADS, 18, 2006.
Biborski, Kaczanowski 2013	M. Biborski, P. Kaczanowski, *Magic sword pendants*, JAMÉ, 55, 2013, 423–430.
Boon 1977	G. C. Boon, *Gold-in-Glass Beads from the Ancient World*, Britannia, 8, 1977, 193–207.
Bonneau et alii 2014	A. Bonneau, J. F. Moreau, R. G. V. Hancock, K. Karklins, *Archaeometrical analysis of glass beads: potential, limitations and results*, BEADS, 26, 2014, 35–46.
Boroș, Vajda 2008	D. Boroș, C. Vajda, *Investigații asupra textilelor și rășinilor naturale*. In: M. Bărbulescu, *Mormântul princiar germanic de la Turda. Das germanische Fürstengrab von Turda*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 317–327, Annex VII.
Bóna 2002	I. Bóna, *Domoszló-Vizitároló (Kom. Heves)*. In: I. Bóna, M. Nagy (eds.), *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, Budapest 2002, 27–28.
Bóna 2002b	I. Bóna, *Szolnok-Szanda*. In: I. Bóna, M. Nagy (eds.), *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, Budapest 2002, 197–237.
Bóna, Nagy 2002a	I. Bóna, M. Nagy (eds.), *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, Budapest 2002.
Bóna, Nagy 2002b	I. Bóna, M. Nagy, *Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok*. In: I. Bóna, M. Nagy (eds.), *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, Budapest 2002, 34–189.
Bugarski, Ivanišević 2019	I. Bugarski, V. Ivanišević, *The Gepids in Serbian archaeology: Evidence and interpretations*, In: T. Vida, D. Quast, Z. Rácz, I. Koncz (eds.), *Kollaps – Neuordnung – Kontinuität. Gepiden Nach Dem Untergang Des Hunnenreiches., Tagungsakten der Internationalen Konferenz an der Eötvös Loránd Universität, Budapest, 14. – 15. Dezember 2015*, Budapest 2019, 275–306.
Bugoia et alii 2020	R. Bugoia, A. Măgureanu, D. Măgureanu, Q. Lemasson, *IBA analyses on glass beads from the Migration Period*, NIM-B, 478, 2020, 150–157.
Burzler et alii 2002	A. Burzler, M. Höneisen, J. Leicht, B. Ruckstuhl, *Das frühmittelalterliche Schleitheim – Siedlung, Gräberfeld und Kirche*, Schaffhausen 2002.
Chirilă, Chifor 1977	E. Chirilă, I. Chifor, *Un mormânt din secolul V de la Țaga (jud. Cluj)*, ActaMP, 1, 1977, 181–186.

Choyke, Bar-Yosef Mayer 2017	A. M. Choyke, D. E. Bar-Yosef Mayer, *Introduction: The Archaeology of Beads, Beadwork and Personal Ornaments*. In: D. E. Bar-Yosef Mayer, C. Bonsall, A. M. Choyke (eds.), *Not just for Show. The Archaeology of Beads, Beadwork and Personal Ornaments*, Oxford (Philadelphia) 2017, 1–4.
Crișan, Opreanu 1991	I. H. Crișan, C. Opreanu, *Un mormânt de secolul V e. n. de la Fântânele*, EN, 1, 1991, 113–126.
Comșa, Ignat 1971	M. Comșa, D. Ignat, *Graber aus dem 6 Jh. in Mediaș*, Dacia S. N., 15, 1971, 349–351.
Csallány 1941	D. Csallány, *A szentes-nagyhegyi gepida sírlelet (1939) és régészeti kapcsolatai*, AErt, 2, 1941, 127–161.
Csallány 1961	D. Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden im Mitteldonaubecken (454–568 u. Z.)*, Budapest 1961.
Cseh et alii 2005	J. Cseh, E. Istvánovits, E. Lovász, K. Mesterházy, M. Nagy, I. M. Nepper, E. Simonyi, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005.
Curta 2001	F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs History and Archaeology of the lower Danube Region c. 500–700*, Cambridge 2001.
Curta 2007	F. Curta, *The Amber Trail in Early Medieval Eastern Europe*. In: C. Chazelle, F. Lifshitz (eds.), *Paradigms and Methods in the Early Medieval Studies. The New Middle Ages*, New York 2007, 62–79.
Dobos 2011	A. Dobos, *The Reihengräberfelder in Transylvania after 100 Years of archaeological Research*, AAC, 47, 2011, 171–206.
Dobos 2013	A. Dobos, *Gepizii din Transilvania în epoca avară timpurie din perspectiva arheologiei. Probleme legate de cercetarea cimitirelor cu morminte dispuse în șiruri paralele*, ActaMP, 35, 2013, 247–270.
Dobos 2014	A. Dobos, *Plunder or Ritual? The phenomenon of Grave Reopening in the Row – Grave Cemeteries from Transylvania (6th-7th centuries)*, Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica, 18, 2, 2014, 135–162.
Dobos, Opreanu 2012	A. Dobos, C. H. Opreanu, *Migration period and early medieval cemeteries at Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County)*, Cluj-Napoca 2012.
Dubin 2015	S. L. Dubin, *The World Wide History of Beads. Ancient. Ethnic. Contemporary*, London 2015.
Evison 1976	V. I. Evison, *Sword Rings and Beads*, Archaeologia, 105, 1976, 303–315.
Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009	S. Ferencz, S. Nagy, V. A. Lăzărescu, *Necropola din secolul al VI-lea p. Chr.* In: S. Mustață, F. Gogâltan, S. Cociș, A. Ursuțiu (eds.), *Cercetări arheologice preventive la Florești-Polus Center, jud. Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca 2009, 431–432.
Finály 1889	H. Finály, *Az Apahidai sirlelet*, EME Bölcselet, 6, 5, 1889, 414–415.
Francis 2002	P. Francis Jr., *Asia's Maritime Bead Trade 300BC to the Present*, Honolulu 2002.
Gaiu 2011	C. Gaiu (ed.), *Gepizii. Războinici și artizani. Catalog de expoziție*, Bistrița 2011.
Garam 2011	É Garam, *Gehängegürteltracht der awarenzeitlichen Frauen im 6.-8. Jahrhundert*, AErt, 163, 1, 2011, 63–93.

Gál 2009	Sz. S. Gál, *Analiza antropologică a materialului osteologic provenit din necropola din secolul al VI-lea p. Chr.* In: S. Mustață, F. Gogâltan, S. Cociș, A. Ursuțiu (eds.), *Cercetări arheologice preventive la Florești-Polus Center*, Cluj-Napoca 2009, 475–488.
Gál 2012	Sz. S. Gál, *Osteological analysis of human remains*. In: A. Dobos, H. C. Opreanu, *Migration period and early medieval cemeteries at Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County)*, Cluj-Napoca 2012, 93–96, Appendix 1.
Gáspár 1931	J. Gáspár, *Gepiden Gräber in Ungarn*, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 61, 1931, 285–291.
Georgescu, Bălărie 2017	A. Georgescu, A. Bălărie, *The story of a Sarmatian grave rescued by Florin Medeleț at Gelu (Variaș comm., Timiș County)*, SCIVA, 68, 1–4, 2017, 119–138.
Gindele 2020	R. Gindele, *The Gepidic Settlement and Cemetery from Carei-Bobald*, Nyíregyháza 2020.
Glodariu 1974	I. Glodariu, *Ein Grab aus dem 5. Jahrhundert in Slimnic (Rumänien)*, Germania, 52, 2, 1974, 483–489.
Gopkalo 2008	O.Gopkalo, *бусы и подвески черняховской культуры* (Beads and pendants of the Cherniachov Culture), Kiev 2008.
Grumeza 2014	L. Grumeza, *Sarmatian cemeteries from Banat (late 1st – early 5th centuries AD)*, Cluj-Napoca 2014.
Grumeza 2021	L. Grumeza, *The Sarmatian Cemetery of Mitoc-Malu Galben (Botoșani County/RO): 60 Years Later*. In: V. Cojocaru, A. I. Pázsint (eds.), *Migration and Identity in Eurasia: From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, Cluj-Napoca 2021, 167–200.
Halsall 2009	G. Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992–2009*, Leiden 2009.
Hampel 1911	J. Hampel, *A gavai sirlelet (Szabolcs m.),* AErt, 31, 1911, 135–147.
Harhoiu 1998	R. Harhoiu, *Die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Rumänien*, București 1998.
Harhoiu 2004–2005	R. Harhoiu, *Allgemeine Betrachtungen zum Bestattungssittenbild Siebenbürgens im 4. und bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Dacia N. S., 48–49, 2004–2005, 283–334.
Harhoiu, Gora 2000	R. Harhoiu, D. Gora, *Aurul migrațiilor / Das Gold der Völkerwanderungszeit*, București 2000.
Harhoiu et alii 2020	R. Harhoiu, N. Boroffka, R. Boroffka, E. Gáll, A. Ioniță, D. Spânu, *Schäßburg – Weinberg (Sighișoara – Dealul Viilor) II. Archäologische Grabungen bei der Fundstelle „Gräberfeld / Necropolă,* Târgoviște 2020.
Hica, Ferenczi 2006	I. Hica, Ș. Ferenczi, *Morminte prefeudale inedite la Cluj-Napoca – cartierul Cordoș*. In: C. Gaiu, C. Găzdac (eds.), *Fontes historiae: studia in honorem Demetrii Protase*, Cluj-Napoca 2006, 929–938.
Horedt 1979	K. Horedt, *Moreşti. Grabungen in einer vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Siedlung in Siebenbürgen*, București 1979.
Horedt, Protase 1970	K. Horedt, D. Protase, *Tezaurul de aur din epoca migrațiilor de la Cluj-Someșeni*, ActaMN, 7, 1970, 185–199.

Horedt, Proase 1972	K. Horedt, D. Protase, *Al doilea mormânt de la Apahida. Das zweite Fürstengrab von Apahida (Siebenbürgen)*, Germania, 50, 1972, 163–220.
Ihm, Sasse, Theune 1994	P. Ihm, B. Sasse, C. Theune, *Merovingian Glass Beads: An Essay of Classification*. In: H. H. Bock, W. Lenski, M. M. Richter (eds.), *Information Systems and Data Analysis. Prospects – Foundations – Applications. Proceedings of the 17th Annual Conference of the Gesellschaft für Klassifikation e.V. University of Kaiserslautern, 1993*, Heidelberg – Berlin 1994, 425–435.
Ionescu, Ghergari 2002	C. Ionescu, L. Ghergari, *Identificarea gemologică a componentelor unui șirag de mărgele din secolele V – VI, descoperit în zona Cordoș (Municipiul Cluj-Napoca, România)*, Angustia, 7, 2002, 295–302.
Irimuș 2008	L. Irimuș, *Mărgele în portul feminin merovingian. Studiu de caz- cimitirul gepid de la Vlaha*, BA thesis, Babeș-Bolyai Univeristy, 2008.
Istvánovits, Nepper 2005	E. Istvánovits, I. M. Nepper, *Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60.* In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 46–49.
Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002	V. Ivanišević, M. Kazanski, *La nécropole de l'époque des Grandes Migrations à Singidunum*, Singidunum, 3, 2002, 101–157.
Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006	V. Ivanišević, M. Kazanski, A. Mastykova, *Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des grandes migrations*, Paris 2006.
Karklins 2012	K. Karklins, *Guide to the description and classification of glass beads found in the Americas*, BEADS, 24, 2012, 62–90.
Kazanski 2013	M. Kazanski, *Barbarian Military Equipment and its Evolution in the Late Roman and Great Migration Periods (3rd-5th c. A.D.)*. In: A. Sarantis, N. Christie (eds.), *War and Warfare in late Antiquity. Current Perspectives*, Leiden – Boston 2013, 493–522.
Kiss 1984	A. Kiss, *Über eine Silbervergoldete gepidische Schnalle aus dem 5. Jahrhundert von Ungarn*, FolArch, 35, 1984, 57–76.
Kiss 1995	A. Kiss, *Die Werkstätten der Gräberfunde des Gepidenkönigs Omharus von Apahida (Siebenbürgen)*, AArchHung, 47, 1995, 305–318.
Kornbluth 2016	G. Kornbluth, *Merovingian Rock Crystal: Practical Tools and Status Markers*. In: A. Willemsen, H. Kik (eds.), *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities*, Turnhout 2016, 49–55.
Lăzărescu 2019	V. A. Lăzărescu, *Debating the early phase of the Migration Period necropolis at Floreşti-Polus Center, Cluj County, Romania*. In: T. Vida, D. Quast, Z. Rácz, I. Koncz (eds.), *Kollaps – Neuordnung – Kontinuität. Gepiden nach dem Untergang des Hunnenreiches. Tagungsakten der Internationalen Konferenz an der Eötvös Loránd Universität*, Budapest 2019, 81–110.
Lipták, Marcsik 1977	P. Lipták, A. Marcsik, *Kora népvándorlás kori embertani leletek Kelet Magyarországon. Újabb adatok a mesterséges koponyatorzítás kérdéséhez*, A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, 57, 1977, 35–40.
Lovász 1999	E. Lovász, *Hun és germán jellegű leletek borsod Megyében*, A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, 37, 1999, 237–265.

Lovász 2005	E. Lovász, *Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás*. In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 50–53.
Martin 1995	M. Martin, *Tradition und Wandel der fibelgeschmückten frühmittelalterlichen Frauenkleidung*, JRGZ, 38, 1995, 629–680.
Mazăre 2012	P. Mazăre, *Definirea şi clasificarea artefactelor preistorice destinate torsului: fusaiolele*, Terra Sebus, 4, 2012, 103–131.
Mârza 2008	I Mârza, *Analiza podoabelor din chihlimbar, coral şi sticlă*. In: M. Bărbulescu, *Mormântul princiar germanic de la Turda*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 311–316.
Mesterházy 2005	K. Mesterházy, *Ártánd-Lecensédomb*. In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 54–56.
Mirițoiu, Constantinescu 2008	N. Mirițoiu, M. Constantinescu, *Analiza antropologică a scheletului*. In: M. Bărbulescu, *Mormântul princiar germanic de la Turda. Das germanische Fürstengrab von Turda*, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 217–258, Anexa 1.
Mirković 2017	M. Mirković, *Sirmium. Its History from the First Century AD to 582 AD*, Sremska Mitrovica – Novi Sad 2017.
Mikič 1999	Ž. Mikič, *Die Gepiden von Viminacium in der Völkerwanderungszeit*, AA, 57, 3, 1999, 257–268.
Mikič 2007	Ž. Mikič, *Некрполе из периода сеобе народа у Виминацијуму – Антрополошка ревизија*, Архаика, I, 2007, 209–217.
Mikič 2008	Ž. Mikič, *Deux nécropoles de la Grande migration des peuples à Viminacium*, Balcanica, 38, 2008, 45–55.
Mikič 2015	I. Mikič, *Population of Viminacium during the Migration Period – segment without artificially deformed skull*, Starinar, 65, 2015, 107–119.
Miladinovič-Radmilovič 2011	N. Miladinovič-Radmilovič, *Matériel ostéologique humain des tombes des Ve et VIe siècles*. In: I. Popović, V. Ivanišević, M. Kazanski (eds.), *Sirmium à l'époque des grandes migrations*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2017, 93–124.
Mustață et alii 2009	S. Mustață, F. Gogâltan, S. Cociș, A. Ursuțiu (eds.), *Cercetări arheologice preventive la Florești-Polus Center, Jud. Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca 2009.
Nagy 2004	M. Nagy, *A Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomoki gepida temető (elemzés)*, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve: Studia Archaeologica, 10, 2004, 129–239.
Nagy 2005a	M. Nagy, *Magyarcsanád-Bökény*. In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 97–116.
Nagy 2005b	M. Nagy, *Szöreg-Téglagyár (Kom. Csongrád)*. In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 120–202.
Németi 1967	J. Németi, *Descoperiri funerare din sec. V e.n. lângă Carei*, ActaMN, 4, 1967, 499–507.
Nepper 2005	I. M. Nepper, *Derecske-Újpatika*. In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 204.
Neri, Gratuze, Schibille 2019	E. Neri, B. Gratuze, N. Schibille, *The trade of glass beads in early medieval Illyricum: towards an Islamic monopoly*, Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences, 11, 2019, 1107–1122.

Oanță-Marghitu 2014	R. Oanță-Marghitu (ed.), *Aurul și Argintul Antic al României: Catalog de expoziție*, Râmnicu Vâlcea 2014.
Opreanu 2012	C. H. Opreanu, *Ein Frauengrab aus der Völkerwanderungszeit von Cluj – Polus (Rumänien)*, AKB, 42, 2012, 113–121.
Párducz 1959	M. Párducz, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hunnenzeit in Ungarn*, AArchHung, 11, 1959, 309–391.
Pásztor 1997	A. Pásztor, *Typologische Untersuchung der früh- und mittelawarenzeitlichen Perlen aus Ungarn*. In: U. von Freeden, A. Wieczorek (eds.), *Perlen: Archäologie, Techniken, Analysen; Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 11. bis 14. November 1994*, Bonn 1997, 213–230.
Pásztor 2008	A. Pásztor, *Ergebnisse der typochronologischen Untersuchung awarenzeitlicher Perlenfunde in Ungarn – Perlentracht in der Früh- und Mittelawarenziet*, Antaeus, 29–30, 2008, 307–324.
Pejović, Lučić 2011	З. И. ПејовИћ, Б. Р. ЛучИћ, *Некропола из периода сеобе народа са локалитета 1а Сирмијума*, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja. Arheologija, 20, 1, 2011, 389–412.
Pion, Gratuze 2016	C. Pion, B. Gratuze, *Indo-Pacific glass beads from the Indian Subcontinent in Early Merovingian Graves (5th-6th century AD)*, Archaeological Research in Asia, 6, 2016, 51–64.
Popescu 1956	D. Popescu, *Cercetări arheologice în Transilvania*, MCA, 2, 1956, 41–250.
Popescu 1974	D. Popescu, *Das gepidische Gräberfeld von Moreşti*, Dacia N. S., 18, 1974, 189–238.
Popović, Ivanišević, Kazanski 2017	I. Popović, V. Ivanišević, M. Kazanski (eds.), *Sirmium à l'époque des grandes migrations*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2017.
Preda 2023	L. A. Preda, *Mărgele în inventarul funerar al mormintelor culturii gepide, între a doua jumătate a secolului al V-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al VI-lea*, Master degree Thesis, Cluj-Napoca 2023.
Protase 1960	D. Protase, *Ein Grab aus dem V. Jahrhundert aus Cepari (Transsilvanien)*, Dacia S.N, 4, 1960, 569–576.
Rácz 2016	Z. Rácz, *Zwischen Hunnen- und Gepidenzeit. Frauengräber aus dem 5. Jahrhundert im Karpatenbecken*, AArchHung, 67, 2, 2016, 301–360.
Rácz 2019	Z. Rácz, *Who were the Gepids and Ostrogoths on the Middle Danube in the 5th century? An archaeological perspective*. In: A. Bursche, J. Hines, A. Zapolska (eds.), *Migration period between the Oder and the Vistula*, Warsaw 2019, 771–789.
Rácz 2022	R. Rácz, *Kronológiai kérdések, külkapcsolatok, viselet. A jutasi 196. női sír öltözetének értékelése a pannoniai langobard kori női temetkezések tükrében*, In: A. Türk (ed.), *Hadak útján. A népvándorláskor fiatal kutatóinak XXIX. konferenciája. Budapest, 2019. november 15–16*, Budapest 2022, 243–276.
Rosner 1971–1972	G. Rosner, *Előzetes jelentés a Gyönk-Vásártér úti avar temető feltárásáról II*, A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, 2–3, 1971–1972, 85–222.

Rumega-Irimuș 2010 — L. Rumega-Irimuș, *Moda feminină în lumea gepidă – portul mărgelelor*, MA thesis, Babeș-Bolyai Univeristy, 2010.

Rustoiu 2015 — A. Rustoiu, *Amphora-shaped glass and coral beads. Distant cultural connections in the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the Late Iron Age*, AKB, 45, 3, 2015, 365–376.

Siegmund 1995 — F. Siegmund, *Merovingian Beads on the Lower Rhine*, BEADS, 7, 1995, 37–55.

Simonyi 2005 — E. Simonyi, *Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom*. In: J. Cseh et alii, *Gepidische Gräberfelder im Theissgebiet*, II, Budapest 2005, 205–208.

Stanciu 2011 — I. Stanciu, *Locuirea teritoriului nord-vestic al României între antichitatea târzie și perioada de început a epocii medievale timpurii (mijlocul sec. V – sec. VII timpuriu)*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.

Stanciu 2019 — I. Stanciu, *Northwestern territory of Romania (Upper Tisza Basin) in the last third of the 5th century and in the 6th century*. In: T. Vida, D. Quast, Z. Rácz, I. Koncz (eds.), *Colapse – Reorganization – Continuity. Gepids after the fall of the Hun Empire. Proceedings of the International Conference at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 14th-15th December 2015*, Budapest 2019, 143–184.

Stefanović 2002 — S. Stefanović, *The necropolis of great migration from Singidunum: anthropological analysis*, Singidunum 3, 2002, 159–178.

Stoyanova 2011 — A. Stoyanova, *The Second and the First Half of the Third Century AD Female Costume Accessories in the Cemetery of Neyzats*. In: I. N. Khrapunov (ed.), *Exploring the Cemetery of Neyzats: Collected Papers*, Simferopol – Kristiansand 2011, 124–165.

Szeniczey, Hajdú, Marcsik 2018 — T. Szeniczey, T. Hajdú, A. Marcsik, *Skeletal remains of the Gepid period in the Great Hungarian Plain. Literature review*. In: Sz. S. Gál (ed.), *The Talking Dead 2. Past and Present of Biological Anthropology. The Heritage of Török Aurél's Oeuvre New results from ancient tuberculosis and leprosy research*, Cluj-Napoca 2018, 109–121.

Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985 — M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska, *Die Perlen der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum*, Mainz 1985.

Török 1936 — G. Török, *A kiszombori germán temető helye népvándorláskori emlékeink között*, Dolgozatok/Travaux, 12, 1936, 101–154.

Trifunović 2006 — S. Trifunović, *Археолошко налазиште Стари виногради (Archaeological site Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, Backa Region, Vojvodina Province, Serbia),* 2006, https://muzejvojvodine.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/Curug-StariVinogradi/arheolosko_nalaziste_curug_stari_vinograd/5-vek- grobovi/index_en.html (23.05.2024).

Vaday, Istvánovits, Kulcsár 1989 — A. H. Vaday, E. Istvánovits, V. Kulcsár, *Sarmatian Costume in the Carpathian Basin*, Klio, 71, 1989, 107–114.

Varga, Bernert, Fóthi 2003 — P. Z. Varga, Z. Bernert, E. Fóthi, *Antropológiai adatok a Szolnok-Szanda germánkori temetőhöz*. In: K. Penksza, Z. Korsós, I. Pap (eds.), *Magyar Biológiai Társaság III. Kárpát-medencei Biológiai Szimpózium*, Budapest 2003, 313–316.

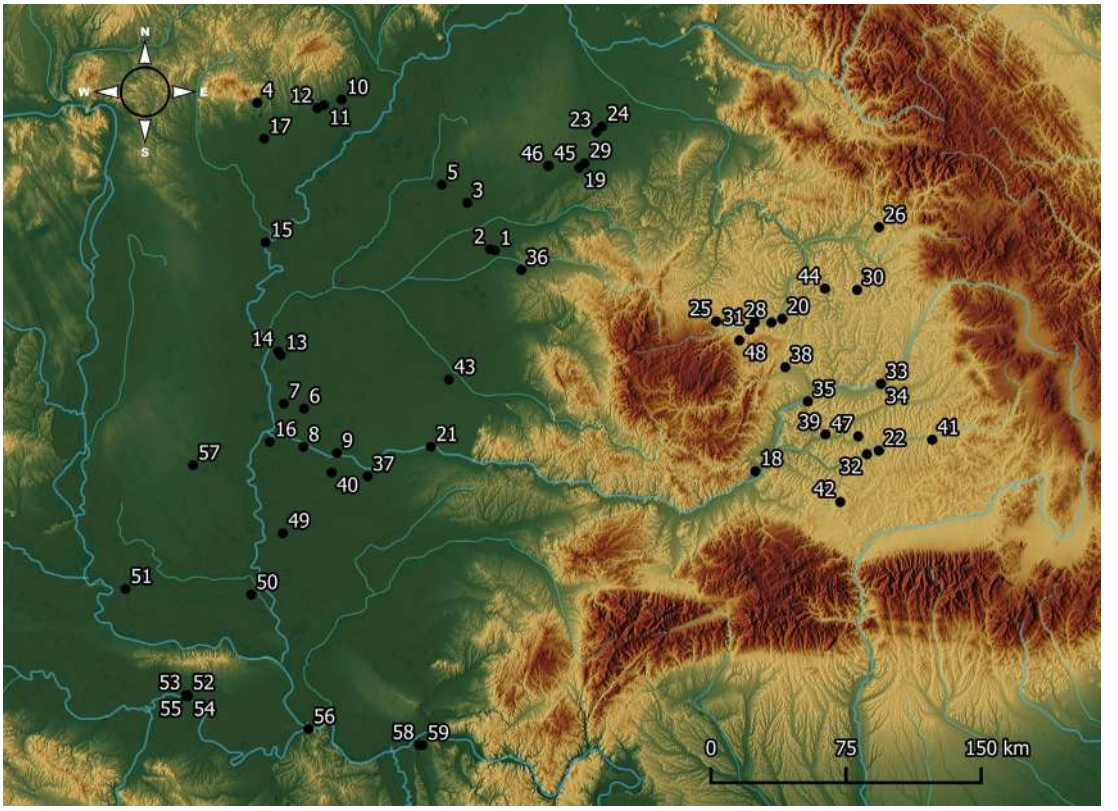
Vida 1996 T. Vida, *Bemerkungen zur awarenzeitlichen Frauentracht*. In: D. Bialeková, J. Zábojník (eds.), *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Symposium Nitra 6. bis 10. November 1994*, Bratislava 1996, 107–124.

Vida 1999/2000 T. Vida, *Die Ziergehänge der awarenzeitlichen Frauen im Karpatenbecken*, AArchHung, 51, 1999/2000, 367–377.

Volkmann, Theune 2001 A. Volkmann, C. Theune, *Merowingerzeitliche Millefioriperlen in Mitteleuropa*, EAZ, 42, 2001, 521–554.

Werner 1956 J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches*, München 1956.

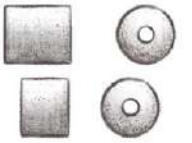
Alexandra Preda
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
preda.alexandra98@gmail.com



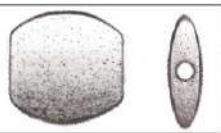
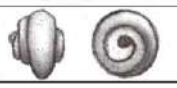
Pl. I. Map of the sites. Hungary: 1. Ártánd-Lencsésdomb, 2. Biharkeresztes-Toldi Útfél, 3. Derecske-Újpatika, 4. Domoszló-Vizitároló, 5. Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60, 6. Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza, 7. Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok, 8. Kiszombor-B, 9. Magyarcsanád-Bökeny, 10. Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom, 11. Mezőkövesd-Kertje a István Németh, 12. Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás, 13. Szentes-Bereckhát, 14. Szentes-Kökényzug, 15. Szolnok-Szanda, 16. Szöreg-Téglagyár, 17. Tarnaméra-Fehér István Homokbányája, Romania: 18. Alba Iulia-La Staicu, 19. Andrid-Dâmbul Morii, 20. Apahida, 21. Arad-Micălaca, 22. Bratei III, 23. Carei-Bobald, 24. Carei-Căpleni, 25. Căpuşu Mare, 26. Cepari-Cârligate, 27. Cluj-Cordoş, 28. Cluj-Someşeni, 29. Dindeşti-Grădina lui Negreanu, 30. Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii, 31. Floreşti-Polus, 32. Mediaş, 33. Moreşti-Hulă, 34. Moreşti-Podei, 35. Noşlac, 36. Oradea-Salca Gheţărie, 37. Periam, 38. Potaissa-Thermae, 39. Sânmiclăuş-Gruişor, 40. Sânnicolau Mare-Fosta Ţiglărie, 41. Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor III, 42. Slimnic, 43. Socodor, 44. Ţaga-Grădina lui Nicolae Cociş, 45. Valea lui Mihai-Garden of Crişan, 46. Valea lui Mihai-Garden of A. Stantz, 47. Velţ, 48. Vlaha-Pad, Serbia: 49. Bočar-Pesak, 50. Čurug-Stari Vinogradi, 51. Karavukovo, 52. Sirmium-1a, 53. Sirmium-Sit 3, 54. Sirmium-Mačvanska Mitrovica, 55. Sirmium-Octagon, 56. Singidunum, 57. Subotica, 58. Viminacium-Burdelj, 59. Viminacium-Više Grobalja.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation	Material	Dimensions	Colours of glass beads
I. Sphere and sphere derivatives	01.	Sphere		glass	small > medium	white > colourless > brown > blue = black > green = yellow > red > gray
				amber	medium > small > large	
				chalcedony	large = medium	
				carnelian	small > medium	
				gold	small	
	02.	Grooved sphere		gold	large	white = colourless
				glass	medium = minuscule	
	03.	Pressed sphere		glass	small > medium > large > minuscule	white > blue > iridescent > yellow > green > brown = orange > red > violet > gray = pink = colourless
				amber	medium > large > small	
				carnelian	small > medium = large	
				agate	large	
				rock crystal	medium	
				limestone	small	
				silver	small	
				bronze	minuscule	
	04.	Lobed pressed sphere		glass	small > medium	blue = white = green > black = brown(?)
				carnelian	small	
	05.	Hemisphere		glass	medium	black/yellowish-red (?)
				rock crystal	medium	
				limestone	medium	

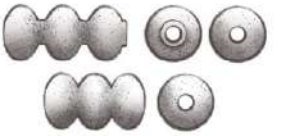
Pl. II. Typology. Type I.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation	Material	Dimensions	Colour of glass beads
II. Cylinder and cylinder derivates	01.	Long cylinder		glass	small > medium > large = minuscule	white > blue > black = green > red > yellow > orange = colourless = brown/ violet.
				amber	medium > large	
				limestone	large > medium	
				silver	minuscule	
				Bronz	medium	
				coral	small = minuscule	
				bone	large	
	2.	Short cylinder		glass	small > medium > minuscule	white > blue > green > red > yellow = brown = black = pink > orange > brown/ violet (?)
				amber	small = medium > large	
				chalcedony	large	
				garnet	*	
				limestone	large > medium	
				coral	minuscule	
				bone	large	
				shell	small	
				marble	large	
	03.	Disk		glass	small > minuscule ≥ medium	white > green = blue > yellow > red ≥ colourless = brown/ green(?)
				amber	medium > large	
				limestone	large > small > medium	
				silver	small	
	04.	Cylinder with a rounded end		glass	medium ≥ small	blue/ green = black/ yellow
	05.	Cylinder with curved sides		glass	small > medium > large ≥ minuscule	black > blue > white = brown > red > green > colourless
				amber	medium > large > small	
				agate	large	
				garnet	*	
				limestone	large	
				bronze	medium	
				bone	medium	

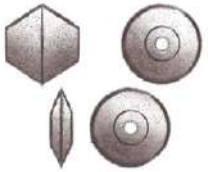
Pl. III. Typology. Type II.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation of shape	Material	Dimensions	Colour of the glass beads
II. Cylinder and cylinder derivates	06.	Short cylinder with curved sides		glass	small > medium > minuscule > large	white > blue > black > brown = red >yellow > orange green > purple = colourless
				amber	medium > large > small	
				garnet	small	
				limestone	small > large > medium	
	07.	Pressed cylinder		glass	medium > small	green = pink/orange = blue/ green
				amber	small > medium	
	08.	Pressed cylinder with curved sides		glass	medium >small	blue > red = white = yellow = black/ yellow
				amber	small > medium	
				carnelian	small	
	09.	Cylinder with rounded ends		glass/ carnelian	medium	*
				calcareous paste	medium	
	10.	Long coiled cylinder		glass	small > medium > minuscule	black > blue > red > white > yellow = brown.
				gold	small	
	11.	Short coiled cylinder		glass	small > minuscule	black > red
	12.	Short cylinder with longitudinal grooves		glass	small > medium > large	white > blue = red > green
				coral	small	
	13.	Short cylinder with latitudinal incised lines		amber	medium	*
	14.	Collared cylinder		gold	small > medium	*
	15.	Collared cylinder with latitudinal groves		gold	medium	*

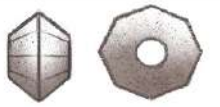
Pl. IV. Typology. Type II.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation of shape	Material	Dimensions	Colour of glass beads
III. Segmented cylinders	01.	Segmented cylinder, sphere-shaped segments		glass	small > medium	black = blue > blue/ white/ red/ green
	02.	Segmented cylinder, pressed sphere-shaped segments		glass	small > medium	brown > black > black/ yellow = blue/ white/ red/ green
	03.	Segmented cylinder, cylinder-shaped segments		glass	small > medium	brown = black/ yellow
	04.	Segmented cylinder, curved sides cylinder-shaped segments		glass	small > medium	black/ yellow > blue/ green = blue/ white/ red /green
	05.	Deformed segmented cylinder		glass	small > medium	black
IV. Millet	01.	Millet		glass clay (?)	minuscule	brown > black > gray > green > yellow > white > blue

Pl. V. Typology. Type III and IV.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation of shape	Material	Dimensions	Colour of glass beads
V. Conical frustum and derivates	01.	Cone		glass	medium > small	*
				amber	medium> small> large	
				garnet	medium	
	02.	Truncated cone		glass	small	white > green > transparent = brown = bluish-black
				amber	medium	
				rock crystal	large	
	03.	Biconical		glass	medium	white = blue = bluish-black = blue/ brown (?)
				amber	medium > small > large	
				carnelian	small	
				gold	large	
	04.	Truncated biconical		glass	small	white = gray = green = black/ yellow + 10 blue/ red/ green/ white
				amber	large > medium	
	05.	Cone with the bigger end rounded		glass	small > medium	white
				amber	medium > small	
				garnet	medium	
	06.	Heart		amber	small	
	07.	Grooved cone		amber	medium	

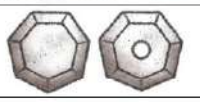
Pl. VI. Typology. Type V.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation of shape	Material	Dimensions	Colour of glass beads
VI. Piramidal frustum and derivates	01.	Pyramidal frustum		glass	small	blue = green = orange
				carnelian	small	
	02.	Triangular bipyramidal frustum		amber	medium	
	03.	Bipyramidal frustum		glass	small	*
				amber	medium	
	04.	Rectangular bipyramidal frustum		glass	medium	red
				amber	medium	
	05.	Pentagonal bipyramidal frustum		rock crystal	large	
	06.	Hexagonal bipyramidal frustum		glass	medium	blue = green
	07.	Heptagonal bipyramidal frustum		glass	medium	green
	08.	Octagonal bipyramidal frustum		rock crystal	large	

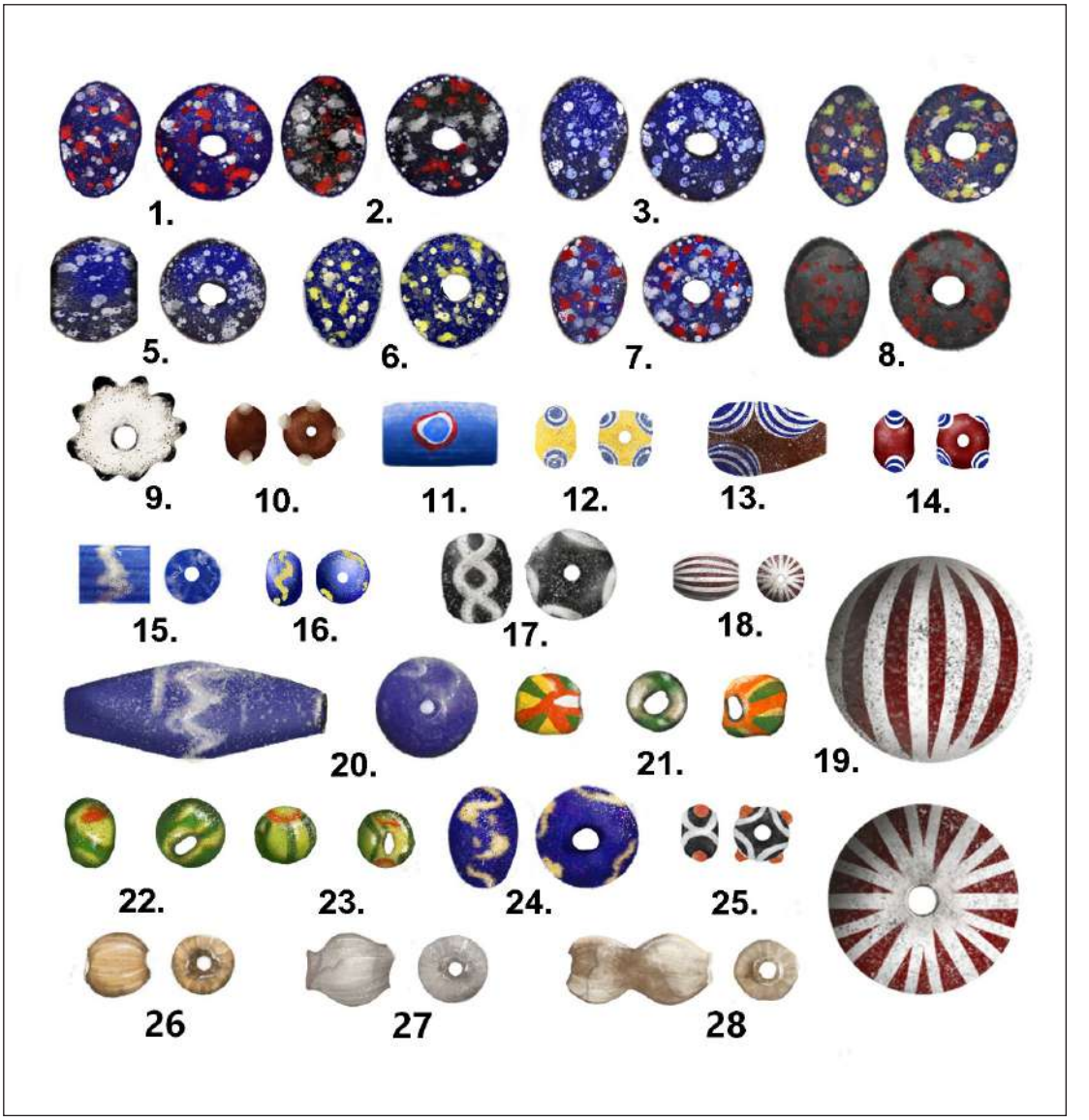
Pl. VII. Typology. Type VI.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation of shape	Material	Dimensions	Colours of glass beads
VII. Quadrilateral prism	01.	Short quadrilateral prism		glass	small > medium > minuscule	red = orange > blue + 3 blue/ green/ red
				carnelian	medium	
				garnet	small	
	02.	Long quadrilateral prism		glass	small > medium	blue
				carnelian	medium	
				garnet	*	
	03.	Rectangular prism		glass	small > medium	blue > white > orange + 3 blue/ green/ yellow/ white
VIII. Non-quadrilateral prisms	01.	Hexagonal prism		glass	medium ≥ small	blue > black = green
	02.	Heptagonal prism		glass	small	*
	03.	Octagonal prism		glass	medium	*
IX. Irregular prisms	01.	Scalene triangle prism		glass	small = medium	gray-greenish
				amber	medium	
	02.	Irregular quadrilateral prism		glass	small	green > blue = red > violet > pink = orange = green/ red/ white
				amber	medium > small	
				limestone	*	
	03.	Long irregular hexagonal prism		glass	medium > small	green > blue = white
				carnelian	medium	
	04.	Short irregular hexagonal prism		glass	small	green

Pl. VIII. Typology. Types VII, VIII and IX.

Type	Subtype	Shape	Representation of shape	Material	Dimensions	Colours of glass beads
X. Prisms with cut corners	01.	Short prism With cut corners		glass	small	blue
				garnet	small	
				gold	medium	
	02.	Long prism with cut corners		glass	small	blue > yellow > green-gray = red + 2 yellow/ blue/ green
				carnelian	small	
				garnet	medium > small	
	03.	Flattened prism with cut corners		glass	small > medium	blue > green = white = red + 2 blue/ green/ yellow/ white
				carnelian	medium > small	
	04.	Heptagonal prism with cut corners		glass	small	blue
	05.	Irregular prism with cut corners		glass	small	blue
XI. Imitation shapes	01.	Amfora		glass	small	*
	02.	Vase		glass	*	Blue
				amber	small	
	03.	Human head		amber	medium	*
	04.	shell		shell	medium	*
XII.	Indeterminable			glass	medium > small	*

Pl. IX. Typology. Types X, XI and XII.



Pl. X. The decor variants made of glass, presented in the order of the identification code number from 01 to 11: **1–8.** Impregnated dots; **9–10.** Dots that come out in relief; **11–13.** Peacock eyes; **14.** Peacock eyes that come out in relief; **15–16.** Wavy lines; **17.** Interlocking wavy lines; **18–19.** Parallel longitudinal straight lines; **20.** Straight and wavy lines combined; **21–13.** Irregular interlocking lines; **24.** Wavy lines and dots; **25.** Interlocking wavy lines and dots; **26–28.** Gold and silver in glass beads.

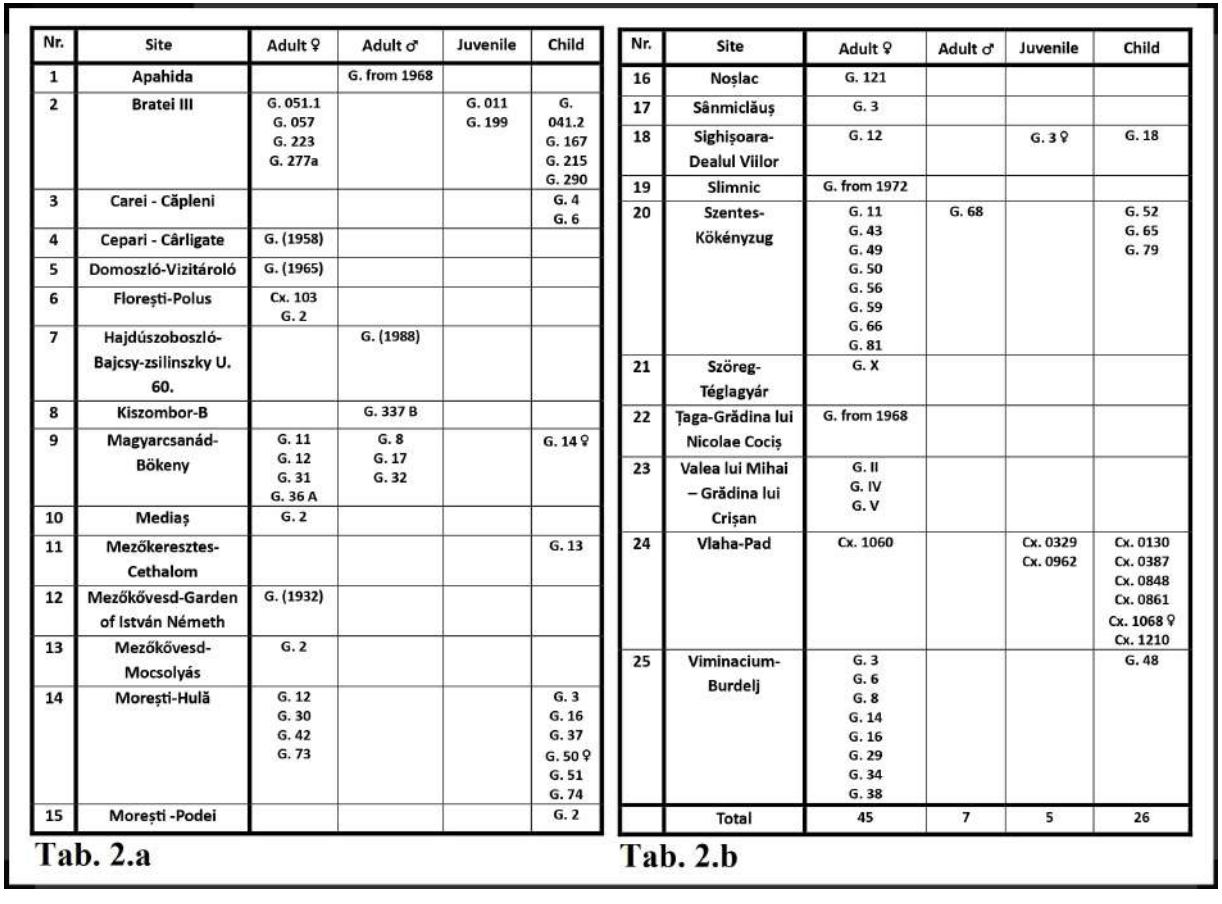
Nr.	Site	Adult ♀	Adult ♂	Juvenile	Child
1	Ártánd-Lencsésdomb	G. 1			
2	Biharkeresztes-Toldiútfél		G. 13		
3	Carei Bobald			G. 111 ♀	G. 103 G. 112
4	Čurug- Stari Vinogradi			G. 6 ♀	G. 1 G. 2 G. 8
5	Fântânele	G. 4			
6	Florești - Polus	G. 3			Cx. 41B ♀
7	Hódmezóvásárhely-Gorsza	G. 11 G. 29 G. 59 G. 93	G. 94		
8	Hódmezóvásárhely-Kishomok	G. 2 G. 37 G. 77 G. 105	G. 65	G. 74 ♀	G. 12 G. 27 G. 44 ♀
9	Kiszombor-B	G. 40 G. 146 G. 178 G. 189 (A) G. 225 G. 232 G. 243 G. 297	G. 197 G. 287 G. 310 G. 389?		G. 51 G. 95 G. 118 G. 276B
10	Potaissa-Therme	G. (1996)			

Tab. 1.a

Nr.	Site	Adult ♀	Adult ♂	Juvenile	Child
11	Singidunum	G. 2 G. 8			
12	Sirmium -1a	G. 5			G. 4 b ♀
13	Szolnok-Szandai	G. 3 G. 18 G. 24 G. 64 G. 67 G. 73 G. 79 G. 145 G. 157 G. 222	G. 6 G. 10 G. 88 G. 95 G. 168	G. 110 ♀ G. 199 ♂	G. 2 ♀ G. 45-46 G. 80-81 G. 102 ♀ G. 124 ♀ G. 130 ♀ G. 136 ♀ G. 139 G. 197 G. 201
14	Szöreg-Téglagyár	G. 2 G. 16 G. 18 G. 19 G. 29 G. 46 G. 83 G. 117	G. 20 G. 23 G. 64 G. 69	G. 39 ♀	G. 42 G. 57 G. 74 ♀ G. 84
15	Viminacium-Burdelj				G. 62 G. 63
16	Viminacium-Vise Grobalja	G. 206 G. 1420 G. 1461 G. 1516	G. 1318 G. 1758 G. 1876 G. 2010		G. 134 G. 1582 G. 1804
	Total:	45	20	6	33

Tab. 1.b

Pl. XI. Anthropologically identified graves according to sex and/or age. 1. Lipták, Marcsik 1977, 35–36; 2. Lipták, Marcsik 1977, 41; 3. Gindele 2020, 111–126; 4. Trifunović 2006; 5. Gál 2012, 94; 6. Gál 2009, 478–481; 7. Gáspár 1931; 8. Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 38, 40, Abb.17b, 42, 46, 49–50, 53–54, 61–62, 63–66, 75–76 and Nagy 2004, 169–173, 195, 1. Kép: 2; 9. Bartucz 1936, 180–181, Táb. 1; 10. Mirițoiu, Constantinescu 2008; 11. Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 127–128 and Stefanović 2002; 12. Miladinovič-Radmilovič 2017, 115, Tab. 1, 117, Tab. 4, 118, Tab. 5; 13. Bóna 2002b, 203–234 and Varga, Bernert, Fóthi 2003, 14. Nagy 2005b, 122, Abb. 2, 124–134; 15. Mikič 2015, 108–109; 16. Mikič 2007 211, tab. 1, Mikič 2015, 110.



Nr.	Site	Adult ♀	Adult ♂	Juvenile	Child
1	Apahida		G. from 1968		
2	Bratei III	G. 051.1 G. 057 G. 223 G. 277a		G. 011 G. 199	G. 041.2 G. 167 G. 215 G. 290
3	Carei - Căpleni				G. 4 G. 6
4	Cepari - Cârligate	G. (1958)			
5	Domoszló-Vizitároló	G. (1965)			
6	Florești-Polus	Cx. 103 G. 2			
7	Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60.		G. (1988)		
8	Kiszombor-B		G. 337 B		
9	Magyarcsanád-Bökeny	G. 11 G. 12 G. 31 G. 36 A	G. 8 G. 17 G. 32		G. 14 ♀
10	Mediaș	G. 2			
11	Mezőkeresztes-Cethalom				G. 13
12	Mezőkövesd-Garden of István Németh	G. (1932)			
13	Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás	G. 2			
14	Moreşti-Hulă	G. 12 G. 30 G. 42 G. 73			G. 3 G. 16 G. 37 G. 50 ♀ G. 51 G. 74
15	Moreşti -Podei				G. 2

Tab. 2.a

Nr.	Site	Adult ♀	Adult ♂	Juvenile	Child
16	Noșlac	G. 121			
17	Sânmiclăuș	G. 3			
18	Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor	G. 12		G. 3 ♀	G. 18
19	Slimnic	G. from 1972			
20	Szentes-Kökényzug	G. 11 G. 43 G. 49 G. 50 G. 56 G. 59 G. 66 G. 81	G. 68		G. 52 G. 65 G. 79
21	Szöreg-Téglagyár	G. X			
22	Țaga-Grădina lui Nicolae Cociș	G. from 1968			
23	Valea lui Mihai – Grădina lui Crișan	G. II G. IV G. V			
24	Vlaha-Pad	Cx. 1060		Cx. 0329 Cx. 0962	Cx. 0130 Cx. 0387 Cx. 0848 Cx. 0861 Cx. 1068 ♀ Cx. 1210
25	Viminacium-Burdelj	G. 3 G. 6 G. 8 G. 14 G. 16 G. 29 G. 34 G. 38			G. 48
	Total	45	7	5	26

Tab. 2.b

Pl. XII. Anthropologically identified graves according to sex and/or age. 1. Horedt, Protase 1972; 2. Bârzu 2010, 42, Abb. 28. a, 174–175, 182, 184, 190, 232–233, 238, 242–243, 264, 269; 3. Stanciu 2011, 327–239; 4. Protase 1960, 569 and Harhoiu 1998, 169; 5. Bona 2002a; 6. Lăzărescu 2019, 83 and Opreanu 2012, 1; 7. Istvánovits, Nepper 2005; 8. Csallány 1961, 190; 9. Nagy 2005a, 99, Abb. 2, 100–105, 113–114; 10. Comșa, Ignat 1971; 11. Simonyi 2005, 206; 12. Csallány 1961, 235; 13. Lovász 2005, 51–53; 14. Popescu 1974, 214–215, 217–234; 15. Horedt 1979, 154–156; 16. Kiss 1984, 58, n. 3 and Harhoiu 1998, 181; 17. Anghel, Blăjan 1974, 323; 18. Harhoiu et alii 2020, 340, 343, 346; 19. Glodariu 1974; 20. Csallány 1961, 27, 30–38; 21. Nagy 2005b, 123; 22. Chirilă, Chifor 1977; 23. Stanciu 2011, 368; 24. Irimuș 2008, 39, 42, 46, 52–56, 58–59, 62; 25. Ivanišević, Kazanski 2006, 138–150.

State of the grave	Area of the skull	The cervical area	Shoulders and thoracic region
Undisturbed	Szolnok-Szanda: G. 136; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0450.	Čurug-Stari Vinogradi: G. 2, G. 6, G. 8; Floreşti-Polus: Cx. 103; Hódmezóvásárhely-Kishomok: G. 44; Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás: G. 2; Moreşti-Hulă: G. 50; Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor: G. 3; Sirmium-1a: G. 4b; Szentes-Kökényzug: G. 65, G. 81; Szolnok-Szanda: G. 79, G. 222; Szöreg-Téglagyár: G. 57, G. 74; Viminacium – Burdelj: G. 6, G. 8, G. 38, G. 48; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0450.	Čurug- Stari Vinogradi: G. 1, G. 8; Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás: G. 2; Potaissa-Therme: G. year 1996; Szentes-Kökényzug: G. 56, G. 59, G. 81; Szolnok-Szanda: G. 24, G. 45; Szöreg-Téglagyár: G. 2, G. 23, G. 64; Viminacium – Burdelj: G. 34, G. 48; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0450.
Partially disturbed	Bratei III: G. 048; Carei-Căpleni: G. 6.	Bratei III: G. 219a; Carei-Căpleni: G. 4; Floreşti-Polus: Cx. 41B; Magyarcsanád-Bökeny: G. 12, G. 36B; Viminacium – Burdelj: G. 14.	Floreşti-Polus: Cx: 41B; Sirmium-Mačvanska Mitrovica: G. 149.
Decayed skeletons	Szentes-Kökényzug: G. 43; Szolnok-Szanda: G. 197.	Floreşti-Polus-Edge of the roman road: G. 2; Moreşti Hulă: G. 3, G. 16, G. 17, G. 30; G. 51, G. 73, G. 74, G. 83; Slimnic: G. year 1972; Szentes-Kökényzug: G. 11, G. 49, G. 52; Szolnok-Szanda: G. 3, G. 67, G. 102, G. 124, G. 130, G. 139, G. 157, G. 170; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0130, Cx. 0224, Cx. 0387, Cx. 1118.	Moreşti-Hulă: G. 12; Slimnic: G. year 1972; Szentes-Kökényzug: G. 50; Szolnok-Szanda: G. 157, G. 170; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0130, Cx. 0224, Cx. 0329, Cx. 0387.
Unclear state of skeleton	Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60: G. year 1988; Kiszombor-B: G. 31, G. 140, G. 146, G. 277; Sirmium-Site 3: G. 1; Szolnok-Szanda: G. 110; Ţaga – Garden of N. Cociş: G. year 1968.	Cepari-Cârligate: G. year 1958; Dindeşti-Garden of Negreanu: G. year 1966; Hódmezóvásárhely-Gorzsa: G. 59, G. 94; Kiszombor-B: G. 32, G. 88, G. 95, G. 125, G. 178, G. 197, G. 230, G. 243, G. 276(8), G. 350, G. 351, G. 389; Magyarcsanád-Bökeny: G. 21; Mediaş: G. 2; Noşlac: G. 121; Szentes-Kökényzug: G. II. Valea lui Mihai-Garden of Crişan: G. V; Viminacium – Burdelj: G. 33.	Ártánd-Lecensédom: G. 1; Cluj-Cordoş: G. IV; Kiszombor-B: G. 40, G. 189 (A); Socodor: G. 4; Szentes-Kökényzug: G. II, G. V.
Disturbed	Bratei III: G. 107, G. 215, G. 290; Carei- Bobald: G. 103, G. 112; Hódmezóvásárhely-Kishomok: G. 27, G. 37; Magyarcsanád-Bökeny: G. 31; Moreşti-Hulă: G. 38; Moreşti-Podei: G. 2; Szöreg-Téglagyár: G. 39; Viminacium-Vise Grobalja I: G. 2055; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0848.	Bratei III: G. 051.1, G. 057, G. 199; Carei- Bobald: G. 103; Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii: G. 4; Magyarcsanád-Bökeny: G. 14; Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor: G. 18; Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 0409, Cx. 1243;	Bratei III: G. 011, G. 041.2, G. 181, G. 223, G. 277a; Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii: G. 4; Hódmezóvásárhely-Kishomok: G. 2; Kiszombor-B: G. 34; Magyarcsanád-Bökeny: G. 11, G. 31; Sânmiclăuş – Gruişor: G. 3; Singidunum: G. 2, G. 8, G. 55; Viminacium-Vise Grobalja I: G. 1318, G. 1461. Vlaha-Pad: Cx. 1210;

Pl. XIII. All the cases of beads found in the upper part of the body and the state of the graves they were found in. Information from: Ártánd-Lecensédom: Mesterházy 2005, 54–55; Bratei III: Bârzu 2010, 174–175, 182, 184–187, 199, 221, 226–227 232–233, 239–243, 264, 269, Abb. 92, Abb. 104, Abb. 109, Abb. 111, Abb. 116, Abb. 142, Abb. 202, Abb. 219, Abb. 233, Abb. 237, Abb. 241, Abb. 287, Abb. 299; Carei-Bobald: Gindele 2020, 40, 42, 161, 163, Pl. 18, Pl. 20; Carei-Căpleni: Stanciu 2011, 61–21, 327–328; Cepari-Cârligate: Protase 1960 and Harhoiu 1998, 169; Cluj-Cordoş: Hica, Ferenczi 2006, 930–931; Čurug-Stari Vinogradi: Trifunović 2006, Сл. 1, Сл. 3, Сл. 7; Dindeşti-Garden of Negreanu: Németi 1967; Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii: Crişan, Opreanu 1991 and Dobos, Opreanu 2012, 19–20, 66, 109, Pl. 6; Floreşti-Polus: Ferencz, Nagy, Lăzărescu 2009, 452–453, 471, Pl. XV; Opreanu 2012 and Lăzărescu 2019, 84–88, Fig. 4; Hajdúszoboszló-Bajcsy-zsilinszky U. 60: Nepper 2005; Hódmezővásárhely-Gorsza: Csallány 1961, 128, 130; Hódmezóvásárhely-Kishomok: Bóna, Nagy 2002b, 42, 45–46, 48–49, 53, 90–93, Abb. 18/27, Abb. 20/37, Abb. 23/44, Abb. 41; Kiszombor-B: Török 1936, 104–105, 108–120 and Csallány 1961, 173–174, 177–188, 190, 192; Magyarcsanád-Bökeny: Csallány 1961, 141–142 and Nagy 2005a, 100–101, 103 105, 303–304, Taf. 73/1, Taf. 74/1; Mediaş: Comşa, Ignat 1971; Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás: Lovász 2005, 51–52, Abb. 3; Moreşti-Hulă: Popescu 1974, 214–215, 217–220, 223, 229, 231; Moreşti-Podei: Horedt 1979, 154–155, Abb. 71/1; Noşlac: Harhoiu 1998, 181 and Kiss 1984, 58 n. 3; Potaissa-Therme: Bărbulescu 2008; Sânmiclăuş-Gruişor: Anghel, Blăjan 1974, 322; Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor: Harhoiu

2020, 166–168, 340, 347, Abb. 117/4, Abb. 120/6; Singidunum: Ivanišević, Kazanski 2002, 108, 127, 128, 133, 149, 150, 153; Sirmium: Popović, Ivanišević, Kazanski 2017, 60, 64; 60, 69–70, 83, 87, Fig. 12/c-d, Pl. 4/2, Pl. 9; Slimnic: Glodariu 1974; Socodor: Popescu 1956, 78–79; Szentes-Kökényzug: Csallány 1961, 26–27, 30–35, 37–38; Szolnok-Szanda: Bóna 2002b, 203, 205, 207–209, 211–212, 215–216, 218–220, 222–223, 225–226, 230, 232, 234, Abb. 87/45, 88; Abb. 89/170, Abb. 94/222,; Szöreg-Téglagyár: Nagy 2005b, 124, 126, 128, 130–132, 141, Abb.7; Ţaga – Garden of N. Cociş: Chirilă, Chifor 1977; Valea lui Mihai-Garden of Crişan: Stanciu 2011, 368, 625; Viminacium: Ivanišević, Kazanski, Mastykova 2006, 138–142, 146–152, 154–155, 209–211, 220–221, Pl. 1/6, Pl. 2/8,14, Pl. 4/ 33, Pl. 5/34, Pl. 6/38, Pl. 8/48, Pl. 36/1461, 1318, Pl. 40/1210, Pl. 41/2055; Vlaha-Pad: Irimuş 2008, 38–42, 45–47, 49–52, 59–64, Pl. XX, Pl. XXI, Pl. XXIV, Pl. XXXI.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 277–294

ON THE DEATH OF THE HUN KING RUGA

PÉTER KOVÁCS

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.11

Abstract: This paper refers to the history of the Huns in the period 420–440, with a special regard to the circumstances of King Ruga's death. Based on the reports of the ecclesiastical historians Socrates, Theodoret and John of Nikiou, Ruga's death was due to Emperor Theodosius' prayer and to divine aid. The common source was the lost speech of Patriarch Proclus, in which he linked Ruga's name to the people of Rhos, in Ezechiel's prophecy. The Hun King suddenly died in 434, most probably before the start of his campaign against eastern Rome.

Keywords: history of the Huns; Classics; Late Antiquity; King Ruga.

Rezumat: Această lucrare face referire la istoria hunilor în perioada 420–440, acordând o atenție specială circumstanțelor morții regelui Ruga. Pe baza relatărilor istoricilor ecleziastici Socrates, Theodoret și Ioan de Nikiou, moartea lui Ruga s-a datorat rugăciunii împăratului Teodosie și ajutorului divin. Sursa comună a fost discursul pierdut al patriarhului Proclus, în care acesta lega numele lui Ruga de poporul Rhos din profeția lui Ezechiel. Regele hun a murit subit în 434, cel mai probabil înainte de începerea campaniei sale împotriva Imperiului Roman de Răsărit.

Cuvinte-cheie: istoria hunilor; studii clasice; Antichitatea târzie; regele Ruga.

The exact chronology of the period 420–440, the date and circumstances of the death of the Hun King Ruga, the Hun incursions and the peace treaties with the Eastern and Western Roman Empire are uncertain, and it is therefore a very obscure period in Hun (and Roman) history, due to contradictions in the sources.[1] In this paper, I will focus on the sources, date and circumstances of the death of the Hun ruler, and its biblical parallels.

Among the highly contradictory sources, it is certain that (possibly following 416,[2] but more likely after Uldin's incursion in 408), taking advantage of the Persian war in

[1] See Güldenpenning 1885, 329–330; Seeck 1921, VI, 244–245, 460, n. 283; Németh 1940, 89; Homeyer 1951, 34–35; Stein 1959, 281; Altheim 1969, IV, 189; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 91–94; Croke 1977; Croke 1984; Winkelmann 1989, 225–227; Bóna 1991, 52; Zuckerman 1994, 159–163; Brandes 1997, 32–36; Wirth 1999, 39, 48–52; Thompson 1999, 79–81, 253; Stickler 2002, 110; Kelly 2009, 110; Hughes 2012, 105; Brandes 2012, 478–482; Rosen 2016, 105; Kim 2016, 68, 75–76.

[2] Olymp. *Frag*. 27: πάραυτα καὶ μετ΄ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος πᾶσαν ἐπιτρέχει τὴν Θράκην, ἔμελλε δὲ μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ τὸ τῶν Οὔννων καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαρματῶν καταδραμεῖσθαι τό τε Ἰλλυρικὸν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Θράκην.

The fragment is preserved in the work of Patriarch Photius. According to the narrative of the historian, during the reign of Constantius (instead of Theodosius II, ruler of eastern Rome), a Thracian governor named Valerius (PLRE II, Valerius 4), treasure was found buried on the border of Thrace and Illyricum. The governor, hurrying there on the emperor's orders, found three silver statues of barbarians with bound hands, which had been earlier erected to keep barbarians back. The removal of the statues was immediately followed by a Gothic and then a Hun-Sarmatian invasion. The exact date of the event referred is uncertain: it has been suggested that it occurred during the reign of Constantius II (cf. RE, VII, 1948, s.v. *Valerius* 14 (W. Enßlin), 2298) (but

Eastern Rome, the Huns invaded the diocese of Thrace via the Lower Danube in 422 (Marcellinus Comes *Chron. Min.* II, p. 75).[3] Opinions are divided on the success of the campaign (whether it reached the vicinity of Constantinople or not), but the latter event is correctly connected to the data of ecclesiastical historians, especially to the account of Theodoret (*H. E.* V.37) by B. Croke. An edict of the *Codex Theodosianus* dated to March 422 (VII.8.13), which regulates the accommodation of soldiers returning from or departing on a campaign (in the lower levels of the towers of the city walls), however, clearly indicates a war situation near the capital.[4] It is very plausible that this campaign ended with the *foedus* referred to in Priscus *Exc.* 1, and under which Constantinople agreed to pay a yearly tax of 350 pounds of gold.[5]

In 425, in the context of the civil war against Iohannes, the Eastern Roman troops who had helped Galla Placidia and Valentinian III may have faced the Huns again, as the Byzantine troops led by Ardabur and Aspar reached Salona via Pannonia and from there they reached Aquileia by land (*It. Ant.* 270,1–272,7) and Italy by sea (Philostorgius XII.13 = Olymp. *Frag.* 43), apparently on the Sirmium – Salona road (*It. Ant.* 267, 13–269, 7).[6] Nevertheless, the 60000 Huns who had been summoned by Aetius as federates of the usurper did not arrive in Italy until after the death of the counter-emperor. After John's death, Aetius also obtained pardon for sending the Huns home, which he achieved again only at the cost of a good deal of gold and hostages (Philostorgius XII.14), but the Huns *ad propria reversi sunt* (εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἀπεχώρησαν), i.e. they returned to their own land (Comes *Chron. min.* I, p. 470, Philostorgius XII.14).

Probably based on this new *foedus*, Goths and Huns fought in Africa under Sigisvult against Boniface around 428 (Pseudo-Augustinus *Ep*. IV PL 33 (1805) col 1095).[7] Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History* handed down a completely different version of the latter event based on other sources (VII.43, although he himself had already reported the events earlier: VII.23.8), according to which the Hun troops led by Ruga would not have returned home, but were about to invade the provinces (VII.43.1 ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν κατατρέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα), which would have been prevented only by divine help through the prayer of Theodosius (43.2), which follows: killed by a thunderbolt Rua (43.3),[8] his troops plagued by plague (43.3), those remaining are consumed by fire (43.3), terror of the barbarians

at that time there could not have been a Hunnic incursion), while it is more likely that the reign of Valens is meant to be the reign of the Goths, during whom the Gothic and subsequent Hun-Sarmatian (Alan) invasions did indeed take place (Matthews). Treadgold's chronology of historical work dates the events to 416 (but with a narrative of an earlier invasion under Constantius II), while Croke 1977 dates the events to 421–422 and link them to the Hun invasion of 422. The Goths and Sarmatians would have participated in the campaign as Hunnic federates. However, the often inaccurate historian (or perhaps his source around 426) most probably referred back to the events of 376–378. Cf. Matthews 1970, 79–97, esp. 96; Croke 1977, 358–365; Blockley 1981, 27–48, 107–112, esp. 164, n. 20; Gillett 1993, 1–29, esp. 15–16; Treadgold 2004, 709–733, esp. 715–717.

[3] Güldenpenning 1885, 329; Seeck 1921, VI, 86; Stein 1959, 281; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 76; Croke 1977; Bóna 1991, 47; Croke 1995, 13, 74–75; Thompson 1999, 35; Kim 2016, 64.

[4] Holum 1977, 153–172; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 76.

[5] Blockley 1983, 379–380, n. 2–3.

[6] Nagl 1908, 34–35; Nagl 1948, col. 2233; Oost 1968, 179, 188; Salisbury 2015, 139–140.

[7] de Lepper 1941, 43; Wijnendaele 2015, 82.

[8] Constas 2003.

(43.4). The famous speech of the patriarch Proclus, discussed in detail below, would have taken place at this time (43.5–6).

According to the latter, Ruga would have died in 425, which is chronologically impossible, since: the speech of Proclus could only have been delivered in 434 or later, when he took his office; according to Priscus *Exc.* 1, two consuls were ambassadors at Ruga, Plinta and Dionysius, the latter of whom held the office only in 429 (PLRE II, Plinta and Dionysius 13). Here we are obviously confronted with the error of an ecclesiastical historian, who sometimes strangely linked historical events (even contemporary events) during the reign of Theodosius II,[9] and who wrongly connected Ruga's death to the events of 425.[10] What could have caused Socrates' error? The historian was obviously aware of the death of the Hun ruler and the related speech of Proclus, which he tried to link to a specific historical event. This, however, was hardly successful. Theoretically, it could not be excluded that the returning Huns had to be expelled from Pannonia, but this completely contradicts the other written sources, which state that Aetius and Rome made another peace (treaty) with the Huns. Nor can the much disputed passages of Marcellinus Comes (*Chron. Min.* II, p. 76) and Jordanes (*Getica* XXXII.166) concerning 427 be reconciled with the narrative of Socrates, since John was executed in May 425,[11] and the return of the Huns was hardly delayed for two years. The diocese of Illyricum (including Pannonia II) was under Western control until Valentinian's wedding in 437, but later Eastern Rome controlled Pannonia II with Sirmium (cf. Cassiodorus *Variae* XI.1.9, Jordanes *Romana* 329).[12] That is why the Huns besieged and occupied Sirmium and the entire province during the war in 441–442 against East Rome. Priscus mentioned the successful siege of the city (*Exc.* 8.77) and the taking of its citizens as prisoners of war (*Exc.* 8.86). Jordanes (or more likely his source, Cassiodorus) could only have meant the western part of the Empire by Romans because of the mention of the (Visi) Goths.[13]

Based on Socrates' account (VII.43.5–6), Proclus, the later canonized patriarch of Constantinople, who took office in May 434, held a homily with a great success (the historian mentioned this speech twice, but it has been unfortunately lost[14]) on the prophecy of Ezekiel about the threat to Israel from the north (*Ezek.* 38,6 and 15) and the people of Rhos, Mishokh and Thobel, and he drew a direct parallel between the fate of Ruga and the Huns and them. This may have been done because the biblical prophecy foretold that God's wrath would fall on the ruler and his troops in the form of lightning, a shower of

[9] Moravcsik 1958, 509; Leppin 1996, 136, 276–277; Wallraff 1997, 133; Urbainczyk 1997, 175; Bäbler, Nesselrath 2001, 133; van Nuffelen 2004a, 274, 424; van Nuffelen 2004b, 195–199; Socrate de Constantinople 2007, 147, n. 2–3.

[10] Croke 1977.

[11] Seeck 1919, 350.

[12] Kovács 2022, 313–326.

[13] Seeck 1876, 70, 81; Güldenpenning 1885, 263–265; Seeck 1921, 106; Alföldi 1926, 86–88, 94–95; Stein 1959, 318, 322; Altheim 1962, 188; Várady 1969, 278–299; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 77–81; Croke 1977, 354, n. 25, 360–361; Wolfram 1979, 318; Demougeot 1979, 516, 525; Zecchini 1983, 50, 145–146; Bóna 1991, 50; Croke 1995, 77, no. 427.1; Gusso 1995, 572; Thompson 1999, 30, 71; Wirth 1999, 43–44; Stickler 2002, 41–42, 106–107; Hughes 2012, 335–337; Jordanes 2020, 88–89, 97, 299, n. 563. For his sources see Mommsen 1882, p. XXIX, XXXIX; Mommsen 1894, 54; Enßlin 1949, 72; Nagy 1967, 159–186; Várady 1976, 441–488; Croke 1995, 77, no. 427.1; Gusso 1995, 557–622, esp. 572.

[14] He mentioned earlier Proclus' speeches: VII.28.3.

sulphur, hail and hail (cf. *Ezek*. 38:2, 22 and 23, and John *Rev*. 20.8).[15] The identification was apparently due to the unexpected death of the Hun ruler and the similarity of his name (Ῥούγας) to Rhós (Ῥώς), as centuries later the name was applied to the Russians (Rus) (cf. Cedr. p. 551ʺἜθνος δὲ οἱ Ῥὼς Σκυθικὸν, or Zonaras XVI.5.1).[16] On the other hand, there is nothing new in the identification of the Huns with the Gog's and Magog's peoples.[17] The parallel, which had previously been applied to the Goths after 378 on the basis of the similarity of the names Gog-Goth, began to be applied to the Huns, and sometimes to nomadic peoples in general, in Latin, Greek and Syriac ecclesiastical literature after the shocking Hun invasion of the Eastern provinces in 395:[18] Andreas Caesariensis *Comm. in Ap.* 63 416C εἶναι δὲ τὸν Γὼγ καὶ Μαγὼγ τίνες μὲν Σκυθικά ἔθνη νομίζουσιν ὑπερβόρεια, ἅπερ καλοῦμεν Οὐννικά.[19] In this respect, their Nordic origin played an important role (see the term 'Nordic wolves' used by Jerome for the Huns (*septentriones lupi*): *Ep*. LX.16). According to the Syriac-Christian legend of Alexander the Great, the ruler had 3000 smiths and 3000 coppersmiths make a gate 12 cubits high and 9 cubits wide to close the Caucasus Gate (Derbent Gate, or more likely Alan (Dariali) Gate) (267).[20] According to the legend, the descendants of Gog and Magog, prophesied by the prophet Ezekiel, would come out from the north behind the gate (*Ezek.* 38–39 (and *Gen.* 10.2), resp. *Acts* 20.7–10 (already with Magog)) to overthrow Rome and Persia.

Despite the unlikelihood of Socrates' version of the event, the story survives in Cassiodorus' exact Latin translation of the Greek text (*Historia Tripartita* XII.12: a translation of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Socrates, Sozomenus and Theodoret, omitting Theodoret's version[21]). It can also be found in the originally Coptic-language chronicle of the events up to the Muslim conquest written by John, bishop of the Egyptian city of Nikiou at the end of the 7th century (Ioannes Nikiou *Chron.* LXXXIV.81–86), or more correctly in

[15] Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 91–94; Croke 1977; Croke 1984; Winkelmann 1989, 225–227; Brandes 1997, 32–36; Thompson 1999, 81; Brandes 2012, 478–482.

[16] Brandes 1997, 35–36.

[17] Anderson 1932; Németh 1940, 144–145; Czeglédy 1957, 231–249 = Czeglédy 1958, 3–20 = Czeglédy 1985, 336–353; Winkelmann 1989, 225–227; Brandes 1997; Kmoskó 2004, 28–46, 72–96; van Donzel, Schmidt 2009; Aerts 2011, 23–36; Brandes 2012; Humphries 2020, 44–57; Kovács 2021a, 57–61, 71–73, 85, 130–131.

[18] Hier. *Ep*. LX.16, *Ep*. LXVII.8; Claudian. *In Ruf*. II,28–35, *In Eutr*. I,245–258; Theodoret *Explanatio in Ezechielem* 1204; Philost. XI.8; Socr. VI.1.5–7; Soz. VIII.1.2; Priscus *Exc*. 8.139–142; Ioann. Lyd. *De mag.* III.52; Isid. *Etym*. IX.2.66; Chron. *Ed*. 40 (incursion in July), *Liber Calipharum* (Chr. 724) 136.20–137,9 (the territory of Sophene, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Cappadocia and Galatia involved, freeing captives); Ps.-Dion. I, 187.17–188.14 (Roman counter attack, siege of Ziatha); Josh. *Styl.* 9 243.2–8 (the negligence of Rufinus and Addaia); Cyrillonas Mamre 586–587, vv. 243–284 (second incursion); Euphemia 4, 46.2–8 (the advance to Edessa, the role of Addai); *Vita sc. Ephraemi* 36; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 51–59; Thompson 1999, 31–32; Greatrex, Greatrex 1999, 65–75; Kovács 2021a, 43–51, 56–57, 89–91.

[19] The identification of Gog and Magog: Aug. *De civ. dei* XX.11; Quodvultdeus *Liber de promissionibus et praedicationibus Dei* IV.13.22; Andr. *Comm. in Ap.* 63; *Chron. Pasch.* I,46 (Goths, Sarmatians and Scythians), and without the mention of the Huns: Ambr. *De fide* II.XVI.137–138; Hier. *Comm. in Ezechielem Prophetam* lib. XI, prooem. and cap. 38, *In Isaiam* 30.27–33, *Libr. Hebr. quaest. in Gen.* ad cap. X vers. 2; Oros I.16.2 (only Goths); Jord. *Get.* IV.29, *Chron. min.* II p. 268, 304, Isid. *Etym.* IX.2.27, Aeth. 39 (only the Goths were mentioned, the Massagetae are omitted) and Jos. *Ant. Jud.* I.123, Theod. *Expl. in Ez.* PG 81, 1204 (only Scythians).

[20] Regarding his archaeological research see: Sauer et alii 2020.

[21] Mazza 1986, 210–244; van Hoof, van Nuffelen 2017, 1–26.

its Ethiopic translation,[22] or in the Syriac chronicle (*Zuqnin Chronicle*, *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum I*, 158.26–159.3). This work is linked to Dionysius' name, but was written earlier in the 8th century (covering events up to 775, the main source for this period of the 5th century was Socrates).[23]

Theodoret of Kyrrhos (c.393–458/466) refers twice in his works)[24] to the Eastern Roman version of the death of Ruga, independently of Socrates,[25] but he has probably deliberately omitted the Ezekiel parallel of Proclus.[26] In his five-volume *Church History*, written somewhat later than Socrates (c. 448), he discussed the events up to 429.[27] He also mentions in this work, in connection with Theodosius' characterization (V.37.1), that a godly ruler wins God's support in wars (and this cannot be connected to the imperial edict of 435 mentioned in chapter 3 that ordered the destruction of the pagan shrines: *Cod. Theod*. XVI.10.25). In this context, he mentions first the Thracian campaign of Ruga, the storm that destroyed the barbarian army threatening Constantinople (4), and then the Persian war (the one of 421 or 440), where similar divine help comes (5). According to him, the Persians launched the campaign because of the Roman army's preoccupation with other wars (obviously with the Huns).[28] Theodoret also returns to the event in his commentary on the Book of Psalms written after 435 (but certainly before 449) (*Comm. in Psalmos* XVII.14 (PG LXXX, 977), where he mentions the storm that destroyed the northern barbarians (i.e. they cannot be identified with the Persians).[29]

The description of the campaign in the works of Socrates and Theodoret, especially the latter one, corresponds to that of the campaign of 422 reported by Marcellinus Comes, the area of operations being *dioecesis Thracia* (i.e. the Lower Danubian provinces), and Theodoret suggests that it may have threatened Constantinople too.[30] No other campaign against Eastern Rome between 420 and 440 is attested. This Hun invasion may have been prevented by a storm of divine assistance, possibly due to a period of prolonged rain, which is preserved in Christian tradition and attributed to the *pietas* of Theodosius II. The divine aid that helped pious (*pius*) Christian rulers became an almost constant theme in Late Roman and early Christian historiography,[31] especially since the weather miracles of Trajan and especially Marcus Aurelius, as the Roman troops were also helped by storms and lightning against the northern barbarians. For this reason, contemporary authors could

[22] *The Chronicle of John* 1916, 100; Yirga 2020, 75, 79.

[23] *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum* 1949, 158,26–159,3.

[24] *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum* 1949, 158,26–159,3.

[25] Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 91–94; Croke 1977; Croke 1984; Winkelmann 1989, 225–227; Zuckerman 1994, 159–163; Brandes 1997, 32–36; Brandes 2012, 478–482.

[26] Theod. *Expl. in Ez.* PG 81, col. 1217A/C: "Ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάζω οὐ μόνον Ἰουδαίων τὴν ἄνοιαν, ἀλλὰ καί τινων, τὸ μὲν Χριστιανικὸν ὄνομα περικειμένων, τοῖς Ἰουδαικοῖς δὲ μύθοις προσεχόντων καὶ τοῦ Γὼγ καὶ Μαγὼγ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν οὐ γεγενῆσθαι λεγόντων, ἀλλ' ἔσεσθαι προσδοκώντων. …, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν γενήσεται, …. Winkelmann 1989, 226–227; Brandes 2012, 481.

[27] Théodoret de Cyr 2009, 489, n. 2.

[28] See Holum 1977; Croke 1984, but dated later Greatrex 1993, 1–14, esp. 2–5; Greatrex, Lieu 2002, 44–45, n. 67. Because of the breach of the peace treaty and the mention of the earlier war (V.37.6) discussed by Theodoret in the sequel, the later date is more likely.

[29] Theodoret of Cyrus 2000, 126; Croke 1984, 73–74.

[30] Croke 1977; Croke 1984.

[31] Speyer 1978, col. 1107–1172; Klein 1991, 117–138, esp. 131–133; Kovács 2009, 145–146.

justifiably attribute the success against the Huns to divine assistance, which of course does not exclude the siege of the capital and storms that prevented the advance of the Huns,[32] just as the strong wind (bora) that aided Theodosius I in the battle of Frigidus in 394 could have had a real basis.[33]

The date of Ruga's death is preserved only in the *Latin Gallic Chronicle* (both editions (452 and 511)) of unknown authorship that continued the Jerome's *Chronicon*: *Chron. Gall.* 116, 589: AD 434.[34] The Chronicle places the death of Ruga at the very end of a series of entries relating to Aetius' flight to the Huns and his return (433–434).[35] According to this entry, Aetius, who had been defeated in internal political struggles, *per Pannonias* fled to the Huns (Prosper Tiro *Chron.* 1310, *Chron. min.* I, p. 473).[36] Here he sought Ruga's help (*Chron. Gall.* 452, 112, *Chron. min.* I p., 658) and returned to Roman territory (*impetrato auxilio ad Romanum solum regreditur*). From the continuation of the Gallic Chronicle, it is also clear exactly what the word *'auxilium'* (help) meant: *Hugnos in auxilium suum ad Romanum advocat solum*, i.e. he himself invited the Huns to Roman territory (511, 587 VIII, *Chron. min.* I, p. 659). According to the chronicle, in the following year (434) the great Hun king Ruga died, and to the report it was added: *cum quo pax firmata*, with whom the peace was signed (*Chron. Gall.* 116, *Chron. min.* I, p. 660).[37] According to these sources, another Western (peace) treaty was concluded after 425 with Ruga, which probably involved the cession of part of Pannonia.[38] It is also sure that this peace was not identical with the *foedus* of Margum as it was concluded by Ruga. The date of Ruga's death (434), which is based on the *Gallic Chronicle*, can only be questioned with very serious objections.

The problem is complicated by the first surviving parts of the fragmentary history of Priscus Rhetor (*Exc.* 1 and 1.1), which began with the reign of Attila (and Bleda) (434/435 AD).[39] One of the first tasks of the new rulers was to negotiate a settlement of the deteriorated and war-threatening Hun-East Roman feud, which was achieved through the peace treaty of Margum described by Priscus (*Exc.* 1.1). In this fragment he mentions the death of Ruga for the first time, but in a previous excerpt he also reported about the events during at the end of Ruga's reign (Exc. 1 that followed Jordanes in Getica XXIV.126 = Frag. 1 Blockley[40]). According to this account, the Huns were seeking to fight other

[32] Speyer 1978, col. 1107–1172.

[33] See the contributions in: Bratož 1996.

[34] *Gallische Chroniken* 2017, 154, 238; further Muhlberger 1990, 136–192, esp. 173, 182; Burgess 2001, 52–84.

[35] Zecchini 1983, 161–165; Stickler 2002, 88, 107–108; Hughes 2012, 86–87.

[36] Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 86–90, 93; Demougeot 1979, 517–519, 525; Zecchini 1983, 161–164, 208; Bóna 1991, 52; Thompson 1999, 71; Stickler 2002, 88–89, 112; Hughes 2010, 86–87, 96. His route is far from ruling out the possibility that parts of Pannonia were not already under Hun rule, since the fleeing magister could have reached the Huns most quickly by the Rome – Dalmatia – Savia – Pannonia secunda route.

[37] Maenchen-Helfen's hypothesis (Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 93) that the latter peace should be understood as a treaty with Eastern Rome can hardly be correct, since the Gallic Chronicle, with one or two exceptions, recorded only Western events, and in the previous above cited entry the Huns had entered Roman territory, and therefore a new peace treaty was necessary. Cp. Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 456–457 counts with eastern interpolations, but see also Muhlberger 1990, 144–146.

[38] Kovács 2021b, 83–106.

[39] Blockley 1981, 50–51.

[40] Blockley 1983, 379–380, n. 1–3; Jordanes 2020, 281, n. 466.

barbarian tribes near the Danube who had treaties with Constantinople, and demanded the extradition of Hun fugitives who had fled to Roman territory, which led to the threat of war (λύειν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην ἀπειλῶν). The confidence of Ruga and the plight of the Romans were justified by the fact that Aspar and a large part of his troops had taken part in the (unsuccessful) African campaign against the Vandals.[41] These were also the reasons why the negotiations began to be settled through the envoys of Plinthus and Dionysius, and the Hun Eslas. The negotiations during Ruga's life obviously did not lead to any results, which may have led to war conflicts (probably a Hun incursion). This fact later necessitated the peace of Margum already during Attila's and Bleda's rule (Exc. 1.1). On the other hand, a major war could not have broken out, as other sources do not mention it. The only reason for its omission was Ruga's unexpected death. This could have been caused by a lightning strike (recorded by Socrates and Theodoret), but in any case, it was the reason for the speech of the Patriarch Proclus (from May 434). The chronological problem raised by Maenchen-Helfen in Priscus' story is that Epigenes (one of the Roman envoys to the court of Attila and Bleda) is mentioned by the Greek historian as *quaestor sacri palatii*, an office he held only from 438 (at that time still *magister epistolarum*: PLRE II, Epigenes). This observation has led to the postponement of Ruga's death until years later (438 or even later) (Maenchen-Helfen), and also to the splitting of the time of the ruler's death and the date of the envoy's visit (Zuckermann).[42] However, following Blockley and Croke, we do not believe that either is necessary. In the latter case, we should have to assume a state of war of at least four years that is not attested in the written sources, as would the lack of an annual stipend. After 433/434, however, Ruga is no longer mentioned in the western sources, even though in the first case all the Gaulish campaigns in alliance with Aetius and Western Rome[43], including the defeat of the Burgundians, would have taken place under Ruga's rule and not Attila's, which goes against contemporary and later Germanic tradition. The conflict between Attila and Gudrun, who avenged her father's death, in the Edda, or in Poeta Saxo (III v. 25–37)).[44] For this reason, it is most likely that Epigenes' office as *quaestor* was mistakenly dated back in time by Priscus (as in other cases).[45]

In summary, there is no need to change the date of Ruga's death in 434, his death could have been tragically sudden on the eve of another war against Eastern Rome (possibly after the campaign had already begun, which was recorded as a military success for the emperor

[41] Bleaker 2022, 55–63.

[42] Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 91–94; Croke 1977; Croke 1984, 63–64; Winkelmann 1989, 225–227; Bóna 1991, 52; Zuckerman 1994, 159–163. The weakness of Zuckerman's argumentation is that we do not know exactly when the peace treaty of Margum was signed. It could have been either in 434 or 435, and the peace treaty with the Vandals slipped into 435, at which point Constantinople was hardly stable. Epigenes' authority was justified not by his office but by his legal and apparent rhetorical proficiency (as later in the case of Priscus), which gave him a prominent role in the compilation of the *Codex Theodosianus* after December 435.

[43] Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 83–84, 97–98, 99, n. 444; Thompson 1999, 72–79.

[44] Moravcsik 1967, 59–83; de Boor 1932; Williams 1981; Cordt 1984.

[45] Croke 1977, 357; Blockley 1983, 380, n. 4, 390, n. 102 (a similar case can be observed in the story of Herculanus, who became consul only later).

in Constantinople[46]), as Thompson had already assumed.[47] The similarity of names (Rua/Ruga/Rugila-Rhos) was the basis for the biblical parallelism in Proclus' speech, and Socrates and Theodoret erroneously linked the death of Ruga with earlier events (in 425 in Italy and 422 in Thrace).

Appendix – The relevant sources

422 AD

Marcellinus Comes Chron. min. II, p. 75

Hunni Thraciam uastauerunt.

The Huns devastated Thrace (translation by B. Croke).

Codex Theodosianus VII.8.13 = Codex Iustinianus XII.40.7 422, 3 March

Idem aa. Eustathio praefecto praetorio.

Devotissimos milites ex procinctu redeuntes vel proficiscentes ad bella muri novi sacratissimae urbis singulae turres in pedeplanis suis suscipiant.

The same Augustuses to Eustathius, Praetorian prefect. Our loyal soldiers returning from combat service or setting out for war shall take for themselves the ground floor rooms of each tower of the New Wall of this sacred City (translation by C. Pharr).

425 AD

Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II.8: *Quibus permotus Iohannis Aetium, id temporis curam palatii, cum ingenti auri pondere ad Chunos transmittit, notus sibi obsidatus sui tempore et familiari amicicia divinctos, cum mandatis huiusmodi: cum primum partes adversae Italiam ingressae forent, ipse a tergo adoriretur, se ad fronte venturum.*

John was incensed and sent Aetius, who was then Governor of the Palace, to the Huns with a great sum in gold, for they were already well-known to him from the days when he was their hostage, and they still accepted him as their friend. Aetius bore the following message: as soon as the enemy troops had entered Italy, the Huns were to attack them from the rear and he himself would come to meet them as they advanced (translation by L. Thorpe).

Chron. Gall. 100 Chron. min. I p. 658: *Aetius Gaudenti comitis a militibus in Galliis occisi filius cum Chunnis Iohanni opem laturus Italiam ingreditur.*

Aetius, the son of Gaudentius Comes, who was killed by his soldiers in Gaul, attacks Italy with the Huns to bring Iohannes help.

Prosp. Chron. 1288 Chron. min. I p. 470... *data venia Aetio eo, quod Chuni, quos per ipsum Iohannes acciverat, eiusdem studio ad propria reversi sunt.*

Aetius was pardoned because the Huns, who had been called in through him by Iohannes, had returned to their own land through his intercession.

Cassiod. Chron. 1211 Chron. min. II p. 155... *Valentinianus imp.... Hunosque, qui in Italia erant Iohanni praesidio, per Aetium mira felicitate dimovit.*

[46] The fragmentary inscription on the column of Theodosius II in Hebdomon can refer to this event too (but a large part of the inscription is hypothetically restored) (Croke 1977, 365–366): AE 1947, 185 *D(ominus) n(oster) Theodos[ius Pius Felix August]us / Imperator et [fortissimus triumfato]r / [gentium barbararum pere]nnis [et ubiqu]e / [victor pro] votis sororum pacato / [orbe Rom]ano celsus exultat*. Cf. Makridou 1938, 170–173; Demangel 1945, 35–38; Stichel 1982, 98–99, No. 100.

[47] Thompson 1999, 80–81.

The emperor Valentinian... had the Huns, who had come to John's aid in Italy, miraculously removed by Aetius.

Philostorgius XII.14(=Olymp. *Frag.* 43.2) Ὅτι Ἀέτιος ὁ ὑτοστράτηγος Ἰωάννου τοῦ τυράννου μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς βαρβάρους ἄγων μισθωτοὺς εἰς ξ΄ χιλιάδας παραγίνεται·... καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι χρυσίῳ καταθέμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντες, εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἀπεχώρησαν.

Aetius, John the usurper's lieutenant, arrived three days after his death, leading as many as sixty thousand barbarian mercenaries.... The barbarians were persuaded to lay aside their anger and their arms with the assistance of gold, and having given hostages and accepted pledges, they retired to their own lands (translation by Ph. R. Amidon).

Socrates VII.23.8 Ἄσπαρ δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρδαβουρίου υἱὸς μαθὼν καὶ τὸν πατέρα παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου κατέχεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας βαρβάρων ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τοῦ τυράννου παρεῖναι εἰδὼς, οὐκ ἔσχεν ὅ, τι καὶ πράξειεν.

Aspar the son of Ardaburius, having learned that his father was in the usurper's power, and aware at the same time that the party of the rebels was strengthened by the accession of immense numbers of barbarians, knew not what course to pursue (translation by Ph. Schaff).

Priscus Frag. 30.1 Blockley (= Ioann. Ant. Frag. 201)... τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πλακιδιαν, ἥτις τοῦ Βαλεντινιανοῦ μήτηρ ἦν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα νέον ὄντα ἐπετρόπευσε διὰ τῆς τῶν βάρβαρων συμμαχίας..... and he (sc. Aetius) protected Placidia who was the mother of Valentinian, and his young child by making an alliance with the barbarians (sc. Huns)...

Socrates VII.43

1 Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου ἀναίρεσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, οὓς ἐκεῖνος πρὸς βοήθειαν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκάλεσεν, ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν κατατρέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα. 2 Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος, συνήθως τὴν περὶ τούτων φροντίδα ἐπέτρεψε τῷ Θεῷ· εὐχαῖς τε σχολάσας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐξήνυσεν ἃ ἐζήτει λαβεῖν· οἷα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο τοῖς βαρβάροις καλὸν ἐπακοῦσαι. 3 Θνήσκει μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ ἔξαρχος, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Ῥούγας, βληθεὶς κεραυνῷ: λοιμός τε ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ὑπ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων διέφθειρε: καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξήρκεσεν: ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατελθὸν πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἀνάλωσεν. 4 Θνήσκει μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ ἔξαρχος, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Ῥούγας, βληθεὶς κεραυνῷ· λοιμός τε ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ὑπ΄ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων διέφθειρε· καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξήρκεσεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατελθὸν πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἀνάλωσεν. Καὶ τοῦτο εἰς δέος μέγιστον τοὺς βαρβάρους κατέστησεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ὅτι πρὸς ἔθνος γενναῖον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ΄ ὅτι πλέον ὑπὸ ἰσχυροῦ Θεοῦ βοηθουμένους ἐφεύρισκον. 5 Καὶ τοῦτο εἰς δέος μέγιστον τοὺς βαρβάρους κατέστησεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ὅτι πρὸς ἔθνος γενναῖον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ΄ ὅτι πλέον ὑπὸ ἰσχυροῦ Θεοῦ βοηθουμένους ἐφεύρισκον. 6 Ἡ δὲ προφητεία ἔστιν αὕτη·Καὶ σὺ, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, προφήτευσον ἐπὶ Γὼγ ἄρχοντα, Ῥὼς, Μοσὸχ, καὶ Θόβελ. Κρινῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν θανάτῳ καὶ αἵματι, καὶ ὑετῷ κατακλύζοντι καὶ λίθοις χαλάζης. Καὶ πῦρ καὶ θεῖον βρέξω ἐπ΄ αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ΄ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς ἔθνη πολλὰ μετ΄ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ μεγαλυνθήσομαι, καὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι, καὶ γνωσθήσομαι ἐναντίον πολλῶν ἐθνῶν· καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ Κύριος.

Σφόδρα μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐθαυμάσθη ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πρόκλος. Τῷ δέ γε βασιλεῖ διὰ τὴν πρᾳότητα καὶ ἄλλα μὲν πλεῖστα παρεῖχεν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια· ἓν δὲ κἀκεῖνο.

After the death of the usurper, the barbarians whom he had called to his assistance against the Romans, made preparations for ravaging the Roman provinces. The emperor being informed of this, immediately, as his custom was, committed the management of the matter to God; and continuing in earnest prayer, he speedily obtained what he sought; for it is worthwhile to give attention to disasters which befell the barbarians. For their chief, whose name was Rougas, was struck dead with a thunderbolt. Then a plague followed which destroyed most of the men who were under him: and as if this was not sufficient, fire came down from heaven, and consumed many of the survivors. This filled the barbarians with the utmost terror; not so much because they had dared to take up arms against a nation of such valor as the Romans possessed, as that they perceived them to be assisted by a mighty God. On this occasion, Proclus the bishop preached a sermon in the church in which he applied a prophecy out of Ezekiel to the deliverance effected by God in the late emergency, and was in consequence much admired. This is the language of the prophecy:
'And thou, son of man, prophesy against Gog the prince of Rhos, Mosoch, and Thobel. For I will judge him with death, and with blood, and with overflowing rain, and with hail-stones. I will also rain fire and brimstone upon him, and upon all his bands, and upon many nations that are with him. And I will be magnified, and glorified, and I will be known in the eyes of many nations: and they shall know that I am the Lord.'
This application of the prophecy was received with great applause, as I have said, and enhanced the estimation in which Proclus was held. Moreover, the providence of God rewarded the meekness of the emperor in various other ways, one of which was the following (translation by Ph. Schaff).

Cassiodorus Historia Tripartita XII.11.3 *Ob quam causam hostes suos extra belli certamina subiugabat, sicut ostenditur in Iohanne tyranno et facta post hoc perditione barbarum.* 12.1 *Post interitum namque tyranni barbari, quos ille contra Romanos suum evocaverat in auxilium, parati erant Romanorum fines invadere.* 2 *Haec audiens imperator consuete hanc sollicitudinem deo commisit et orationibus occupatus cito promeruit, quod quaesivit. Quae enim provenerunt barbaris, enarranda sunt.* 3 *Dux enim eorum nomine Rugas fulmine percussus interiit, secutaque pestis maximam partem eorum hominem interemit.* 4 *Quae res barbaros in formidine magna constituit, non solum qui contra gentem Romanorum fortissimam arma levare praesumpserant, sed quia sic eos a forti deo iuvari conspiciebant.* 5 *Tunc enim Proclus episcopus de prophetia Ezechiel coram ecclesia faciens sermonem de collata salute ab omnibus est laudatus. Cuius prohetiae verba sunt haec: Et tu, fili hominis, prophetiza in Gog principem, Ros, Mosoch et Thobel. Iudico enim eum morete et sanguine et imbre diluvii et lapidibus grandinis; et ignem et sulphur pluam super eum et omnes, qui cum eo sunt. Et post pauca: Et scient, quia ego sum dominus.*

Ioann. Nikiou Chron. LXXXIV.81: In the days of this emperor also the barbarians who had survived the defeat of John the usurper reunited and proceeded to invade the Roman territories. 82. And when the Godloving emperor was informed of this event, he meditated, as was his wont, and turned his thoughts to our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ-praise be unto Him-and he fasted and prayed. 83. And he was merciful to the poor and compassionate to the destitute and he devoted himself to the works which are pleasing to God with integrity and that which is beyond (all) these works. 84. He commanded Proclus and all the priests and monks to pray to God on his behalf that victory should be given to

him over his adversaries and that his efforts should not be exerted in vain. 85. And God heard his prayer and the barbaric chief named Roilas died. Indeed, God struck him with a thunderbolt (and) he was speedily destroyed, and many of them died by this death which was sent from God. And fire likewise came down from heaven and destroyed those that remained (translation by R. H. Charles).

Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum I. Ed. J.-B. Chabot. CSCO 121. Löwen, 1949, 158,26–159,3 = The Chronicle of Zuqnīn. Parts I and II. From the Creation to the year 506/507 AD. Edited and translated by Amir Harrak. Piscataway 2017, 324 (211).

Eo tempore, Iohannes regionem Romae magnae vastare voluit, cum multis Barbaris, qui congregati cupiebant diripere Romam et omnia Italiae Occidentalia loca. Id audivit imperator. Pro more autem suo, ad Deum remisit totam sollicitudinem suam, et ei commisit totam rei curam, assidue perseverans in oratione; nec multum moratus est quin quae petebat acciperet. Fulmen enim e coelo cecidit et eorum ducem perculsit cremavitque cum multis e Barbaris qui cum eo erant. Reliqui vero gravi lue et morbis perempti sunt; et demum ignis de caelo descendit et multos ex eis qui superant absumpsit. Res autem magnum terrorem iniecit Barbaris, cum viderent Romanos a Deo adiuvari, et ipsos sine proelio perire; et a dicione illorum discesserunt (translation by J.-B. Chabot).

The year seven hundred and forty-seven (AD 435/436):... During this time, John wanted to destroy the land of great Rome, with numerous barbarians. When they gathered wanting to destroy Rome along with the western Roman provinces of Italy, the emperor heard about it. As his habit was, he submitted the whole matter to God, committing to him the management of this affair. While he was engaged in intense prayer, he did not wait long to obtain what he begged for, for lightning came down from the sky and struck their chief, burning him down along with many among the barbarians who were with him. As for the rest, they were destroyed by a severe and exhausting plague, and finally fire came down from the sky and consumed many of those who survived. This put the barbarians in great fear, for they realized that the Romans were assisted by God, while they were themselves destroyed without battle; then they moved from the Roman land (translation by Amir Harrak).

427 AD

Marcellinus Comes Chron. Min. II p. 76 *Pannoniae, quae per quinqueginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt.*

The Pannonian provinces which had been retained for fifty years by the Huns were retaken by the Romans (translation by B. Croke).

Jordanes Getica XXXII.166 *Nam duodecimo anno regni Valiae, quando et Hunni post pene quinquaginta annorum invasam Pannoniam a Romanis et Gothis expulsi sunt...*

And so, in the twelfth year of the reign of Vallia, when the Huns had been expelled from Pannonia by the Romans and the Goths after an occupation of virtually fifty years (translation by P. van Nuffelen and L. van Hoof).

433 AD

Chron. Gall. a. 452, 112 Chron. min. I p. 658: *Cum ad Chunorum gentem, cui tunc Rugila praeerat, post proelium se Aetius contulisset, impetrato auxilio ad Romanum solum regreditur.*

After the battle, Aetius went to the Huns, then led by Rugila, arranged for their help and returned to Roman territory.

Chron. Gall. a. 511, 587 VIII Chron. min. I p. 659: *Aetius magister militum Hugnos in auxilium suum ad Romanum advocat solum, quibus rex erat tunc Ruga.*

Aetius, magister militum, summoned the Huns, of whom Ruga was then king, to his own aid on Roman soil.

434 AD

Chron. Gall. 116 (red. a. CCCCLII) Chron. min. I p. 660: *Rugila Rex Chunorum, cum quo pax firmata moritur, cui Bleda succedit.*

Rugila, the king of the Huns, with whom the peace treaty was concluded, died and succeeded by Bleda.

Chron. Gall. 589 (red. a. DXI) Chron. min. I p. 661:

Defuncto Ruga Attila rex.

With the death of Ruga, Attila became king.

Theodoret H. E. V.37.4: καὶ γὰρ ἡνίκα Ρωΐλας, Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων ἡγούμενος, τόν τε Ἴστρον διέβη μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστης καὶ τήν τε Θρᾴκην ἐδῄου καὶ ἐληΐζετο καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα πολιορκήσειν τε καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ αἱρήσειν καὶ ἀνάστατον ἠπείλει ποιήσειν, σκηπτοῖς ἄνωθεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρηστῆρσι βαιῶν καὶ αὐτὸν κατέφλεξε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν κατανάλωσεν ἅπασαν. 5 Τοιουτότροπόν τι κἀν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ πεποίηκεν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀσχολίαν μεμαθηκότες κατὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ἐστράτευσαν, τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης παραβεβηκότες σπονδάς, ἐπεκούρει δὲ τοῖς πολεμουμένοις οὐδείς (τῇ γὰρ εἰρήνῃ τεθαρρηκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ἑτέρους πολέμους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψεν),...

So, when Rhoïlas, Prince of the Scythian Nomads, had crossed the Danube with a vast host and was ravaging and plundering Thrace, and was threatening to besiege the imperial city, and summarily seize it and deliver it to destruction, God smote him from on high with thunderbolt and storm, burning up the invader and destroying all his host. A similar providence was shown, too, in the Persian war. The Persians received information that the Romans were occupied elsewhere, and so in violation of the treaty of Peace, marched against their neighbours, who found none to aid them under the attack, because, in reliance on the Peace, the emperor had dispatched his generals and his men to other wars.

Comm. in Psalmos XVII.14 (PG LXXX, 977): Ταῦτα καὶ ἐφ› ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἐγένετο ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔναγχος γεγενημένοις πολέμοις καὶ τοὺς ἀρκτῴους Βαρβάρους ἐπελθόντας ἡμῖν χαλάζῃ καὶ πυρὶ κατηνάλωσεν...

These things often happened in the wars of our time, the Lord destroyed the northern barbarians who attacked us with hail and fire...

Priscus Exc. 1: Ὅτι Ῥούα βασιλεύοντος Οὔννων, Ἀμιλζούροις καὶ Ἰτιμάροις καὶ Τονώσουρσι καὶ Βοΐσκοις καὶ ἑτέροις ἔθνεσι προσοικοῦσι τὸν Ἴστρον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὁμαιχμίαν καταφυγγάνουσιν, ἐς μάχην ἐλθεῖν προῃρημένος ἐκπέμπει Ἥσλαν, εἰωθότα τοῖς διαφόροις αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις διακονεῖσθαι, λύειν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μή γε πάντας τοὺς παρὰ σφᾶς καταφυγόντας ἐκδοῖεν. Βουλευομένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων στεῖλαι πρεσβείαν παρὰ τοὺς Οὔννους, πρεσβεύειν μὲν ἤθελον Πλίνθας καὶ Διονύσιος, Πλίνθας μὲν τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, Διονύσιος δὲ τοῦ Θρᾳκίου γένους, ἀμφότεροι δὲ στρατοπέδων

ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἄρξαντες τὴν ὕπατον παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχήν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδόκει Ἥσλαν παρὰ τὸν Ῥούαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρότερον τῆς ἐκπεμφθησομένης πρεσβείας, συνεκπέμπει Πλίνθας Σηγγίλαχον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, πεῖσαι τὸν Ῥούαν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἑτέροις Ῥωμαίων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

While Roua was king of the Huns, he chose to campaign against the Amilzouri, Itimari, Tounsoures, Boiski and other peoples who dwelled along the Istros River who were seeking refuge in alliances with the Romans. He sent Eslas, his usual minister in disputes between himself and the Romans, to threaten dissolve the existing peace unless the Romans handed over everyone who had fled to them. While the Romans were considering sending embassy to the Huns, Plinthas and Dionysios volunteered to serve as ambassador. Plinthas was a man of Scythian origin, Dionysios a Thracian. Both had held the Roman consulship and were currently serving as generals. Roua before the embassy would be sent out, Plinthas sent with him Sengilachos, one of his confidants, to persuade Roua When it became apparent that Eslas was returning to Roua before the embassy would be sent out, Plinthas sent with him Sengilachos, one of his confidants, to persuade Roua to negotiate only with him, not with any other Roman (translation by J. F. Given).

Jordanes Getica XXXV.180: *Is namque Attila patre genitus Mundzuco, cuius fuere germani Octar et Roas, qui ante Attilam regnum tenuisse narrantur, quamvis non omnino cunctorum quorum ipse. Post quorum obitum cum Bleda germano Hunnorum successit in regno...*

Now, this Attila was fathered by Mundzucus, whose brothers were Octar and Rua, of whom it is said that they ruled before Attila, although, not over all of those over whom Attila ruled. After their death, he succeeded to the throne of the Huns with his brother Bleda (translation by P. van Nuffelen and L. van Hoof).

434/435 AD

Priscus Exc. 1.1: Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ῥούα καὶ περιστάσης τῆς Οὔννων βασιλείας ἐς Ἀττήλαν [καὶ Βλήδαν add. N.], ἐδόκει τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ Πλίνθαν πρεσβεύεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτούς.

After Roua died and the kingship of the Huns devolved upon Attila and Bleda (translation by J. F. Given).

Bibliography

Aerts 2011 — W. J. Aerts, *Gog, Magog, dogheads and other monsters in the Byzantine World*. In: A. A. Seyed-Gohrab, F. Doufikar-Aerts, S. McGlinn (eds.), *Embodiments of Evil: Gog and Magog. Interdisciplinary Studies of the 'Other' in Literature & Internet Texts*, Leiden 2011, 23–36.

Alföldi 1926 — A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien II*, Berlin – Leipzig 1926.

Altheim 1969 — F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen I–IV*, Berlin – New York 1969[2].

Anderson 1932 — A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's gate, Gog and Magog, and the inclosed nations*, Cambridge 1932.

Bäbler, Nesselrath 2001 — B. Bäbler, H.-G. Nesselrath (eds.), *Die Welt des Sokrates von Konstantinopel. Studien zu Politik, Religion und Kultur im späten 4. und frühen 5. Jh. n. Chr. Zu Ehren von Christoph Schäublin*, München – Leipzig 2001.

Bleaker 2022 — R. A. Bleaker, *Aspar and the struggle for the Eastern Roman Empire, AD 421–71*, London – New York – Dublin 2022.

Bóna 1991 — I. Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich*, Budapest 1991.

de Boor 1932 — H. de Boor, *Das Attilabild in Geschichte, Legende und heroischer Dichtung*, Bern 1932 (Darmstadt 1963[2]).

Brandes 1997 — W. Brandes, *Anastasios ὁ δίκορος. Endzeiterwartung und Kaiserkritik in Byzanz um 500 n. Chr.*, ByzZ, 90, 1997, 24–63.

Brandes 2012 — W. Brandes, *Gog, Magog und die Hunnen: Anmerkungen zur eschatologischen „Ethnographie" der Völkerwanderungszeit*. In: W. Pohl, C. Gantner, R. Payne (Hrsg.), *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World. The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300–1100*, Burlington 2012, 477–498.

Bratož 1996 — R. Bratož, *Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit – Zahodni Ilirik in severnovzhodna Italija v poznorimski dobi*, Ljubljana 1996.

Burgess 2001 — R. Burgess, *The Gallic Chronicle of 452*. A New Critical Edition with a Brief Introduction. In: R. W. Mathisen, D. Shanzer (eds.), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul. Revisiting the Sources*, Aldershot 2001, 52–84.

Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum 1949 — *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum*. I. Ed. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 121, Löwen 1949, 158,26–159,3 = *The Chronicle of Zuqnīn. Parts I and II. From the Creation to the year 506/507 AD*, Edited and translated by Amir Harrak, Piscataway 2017, 324 (211).

Constas 2003 — N. Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity. Homilies 1–5*, Texts and Translations, Leiden – Boston 2003.

Cordt 1984 — E. Cordt, *Attila – flagellum dei, Etzel-Atli: zur Darstellung des Hunnenkönigs in Sage und Chronistik*, Trieste 1984.

Croke 1977 — B. Croke, Evidence for the Hun invasion of Thrace in A.D. 422, GRBS, 18, 1977, 347–367 = *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th-6th Centuries*, Aldershot 1992, Nr. VII.

Croke 1984	B. Croke, Dating Theodoret's "Church History" and "Commentary on the Psalms", Byzantion, 54, 1984, 59–74 = *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th-6th Centuries*, Aldershot 1992, Nr. XII.
Croke 1995	B. Croke, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus: A Translation and Commentary*, Sydney 1995.
Czeglédy 1958	K. Czeglédy, *A szír Nagy Sándor legenda*, MTA Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományok Osztályának Közleményei I3, 1958, 3–20 = Magyar Őstörténeti Tanulmányok, Budapest 1985, 336–353 = *The Syriac legend concerning Alexander the Great*, AOrientHung, 7, 1957, 231–249.
Demangel 1945	R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon*, Paris 1945.
Demougeot 1979	E. Demougeot, *La formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares de l'avènement de Dioclétien au début du VI siècle*, Paris 1979.
van Donzel, Schmidt 2009	E. van Donzel, A. Schmidt (eds.), *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, Leiden – Boston 2009.
Enßlin 1949	W. Enßlin, *Des Symmachus Historia Romana als Quelle für Jordanes*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 3, 1948, München 1949.
Gallische Chroniken 2017	*Gallische Chroniken*, Ediert von Jan-Markus Kötter und Carlo Scardino. Einleitung und Text, Paderborn 2017.
Gillett 1993	A. Gillett, *The date and circumstances of Olympiodorus of Thebes*, Traditio, 48, 1993, 1–29.
Greatrex 1993	G. Greatrex, *The two fifth-century Wars between Rome and Persia*, Florilegium 12, 1993, 1–14.
Greatrex, Greatrex 1999	G. Greatrex, M. Greatrex, *The Hunnic invasion of the East of 395 and the fortress of Ziatha*, Byzantion, 69, 1999, 65–75.
Greatrex, Lieu 2002	G. Greatrex, S. N. C. Lieu (eds.), *The Roman Eastern frontier and the Persian wars II. AD 363–630. A narrative sourcebook*, London – New York 2002.
Gusso 1995	M. Gusso, *Contributi allo studio della composizione e delle fonti del Chronicon di Marcellinus Comes*, Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris, 61, 1995, 557–622.
Güldenpenning 1885	A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II*, Halle 1885.
Holum 1977	K. Holum, *Pulcheria's Crusade A.D. 421–422 and the Ideology of Imperial Victory*, GRBS, 18, 1977, 153–172.
Homeyer 1951	H. Homeyer, *Attila: Der Hunnenkönig von seinen Zeitgenossen dargestellt. Ein Beitrag zur Wertung geschichtlicher Größe*, Berlin 1951.
van Hoof, van Nuffelen 2017	L. van Hoof, P. van Nuffelen, *The Historiography of Crisis: Jordanes, Cassiodorus and Justinian in mid-sixth-century Constantinople*, JRS, 107, 2017, 1–26.
Hughes 2012	I. Hughes, *Aetius. Attila's Nemesis*, Barnsley 2012.

Humphries 2010 — M. Humphries, *'Gog is the Goth': biblical barbarians in Ambrose of Milan's De fide*. In: R. A. Flower, C. M. Kelly, M. S. Williams (eds.), *Unclassical traditions. I. Alternatives to the Classical past in Late Antiquity,* Cambridge 2010, 44–57.

Jordanes 2020 — Jordanes, *Romana and Getica*. Translated with an introduction and notes by Peter van Nuffelen and Lieve van Hoof, Liverpool 2020.

Kelly 2009 — Chr. Kelly, *Attila the Hun: Barbarian Terror and the Fall of the Roman Empire*, London 2009.

Kim 2016 — H. J. Kim, *The Huns*, London – New York 2016.

Klein 1991 — R. Klein, *Das Regenwunder im Quadenland*. In: *Bonner Historiae Augustae Colloquium 1986–1989*, Bonn 1991, 117–138.

Kmoskó 2004 — M. Kmoskó, *Szír írók a steppe népeiről*, Budapest 2004.

Kovács 2009 — P. Kovács, *Marcus Aurelius' rain miracle and the Marcomannic wars*, Leiden – Boston 2009.

Kovács 2021a — P. Kovács, *Fontes Hunnorum. Az európai hunokra vonatkozó antik forrásaink I. A kezdetektől Kr. u. 395-ig*, Budapest 2021.

Kovács 2021b — P. Kovács, *Pannonia vége és a hunok*, SEP, 12, 2021, 83–106.

Kovács 2022 — P. Kovács, *Amissio Illyrici. The "loss of Illyricum" in the fifth century*. In: W. Eck, F. Santangelo, K. Vössing (eds.), *Studies in Roman imperial history for Anthony R. Birley*, Bonn 2022, 313–326.

de Lepper 1941 — J. L. M. de Lepper, *De rebus gestis Bonifatii comes Africae et magistri militum,* Nijmegen 1941.

Leppin 1996 — H. Leppin, *Von Constantin dem Großen zu Theodosius II. Das christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret*, Göttingen 1996.

Maenchen-Helfen 1973 — O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The world of the Huns. Studies in their histories and culture*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1973 = *Die Welt der Hunnen: Eine Analyse ihrer historischen Dimension*, Wien – Köln 1978.

Makridou 1938 — Th. K. Makridou, *Kion kai andrias Theodosiou tou Neoterou*, Thrakika, 10, 1938, 170–173

Matthews 1970 — J. F. Matthews, *Olympiodore of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D. 407–425)*, JRS, 60, 1970, 79–97.

Mazza 1986 — M. Mazza, *La historia tripartita di Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore: metodi e scopo*. In: S. Leanza (ed.), *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro*, Catanzaro 1986, 210–244.

Mommsen 1882 — Th. Mommsen (ed.), *Iordanis Romana et Gotica*, MGH AA V, Berlin 1882.

Mommsen 1894 — Th. Mommsen (ed.), *Chronica Minora II*, MGH AA XI, Berlin 1894

Moravcsik 1926–1932 — Gy. Moravcsik, *Attilas Tod in Geschichte und Sage*, Körösi Csoma-Archivum, 2, 1926–1932, 83–116 = Studia Byzantina, Budapest 1967, 59–83.

Moravcsik 1958 — Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I. Die byzantischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkenvölker. II, Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Berlin 1958.

Muhlberger 1990	S. Muhlberger, *The fifth-century Chroniclers*, Leeds 1990.
Nagy 1967	T. Nagy, *Reoccupation of Pannonia from the Huns in 427 (Did Jordanes use the Chronicon of Marcellinus Comes at the writing of the Getica?)*, AAntHung, 15, 1967, 159–186.
Németh 1940	Gy. Németh (ed.), *Attila és hunjai*, Budapest 1940 (repr. 1986).
van Nuffelen 2004a	P. van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix et de piété. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène*, Leuven – Paris 2004.
van Nuffelen 2004b	P. van Nuffelen, *Socrates van Constantinopel en de antieke christelijke geschiedenisfilosofie*, Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal-, Letterkunde en Geschiedenis, 57, 2004, 195–199.
Rosen 2016	K. Rosen, *Attila. Der Schrecken der Welt*, München 2016.
Sauer et alii 2020	E. W. Sauer et alii, *Dariali: The 'Caspian Gates' in the Caucasus from Antiquity to the Age of the Huns and the Middle Ages: The Joint Georgian-British Dariali Gorge Excavations and Surveys of 2013–2016*, Oxford 2020.
Seeck 1919	O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste fiir die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.*, Stuttgart 1919.
Seeck 1921	O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt I–VI*, Berlin 1921[4].
Speyer 1978	W. Speyer, *Gewitter*. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum X*, Stuttgart 1978, col. 1107–1172.
Stein 1959	E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire.* Vol. I: J.-R. Palanque (ed.), *De l'Etat romain à l'Etat byzantin (284–476)*, Paris 1959.
Stichel 1982	R. H. W. Stichel, *Die römische Kaiserstatue am Ende der Antike*, Roma 1982.
Stickler 2002	T. Stickler, *Aetius. Gestaltungsspielräume eines Heermeisters im ausgehenden Weströmischen Reich*, München 2002.
The Chronicle of John 1916	*The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiou*, Translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic text by R. H. Charles, Oxford 1916.
Theodoret of Cyrus 2000	Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the psalms. Psalms 1–72*, Translated by Robert C. Hill, Washington 2000.
Théodoret de Cyr 2009	Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire ecclésiastique II (Livres III–V)*, Introduction Annick Martin. Traduction Pierre Canivet. Revue et annotée par Jean Bouffartigue, Annick Martin, Luce Pietri et Françoise Thelamon, Paris 2009.
Thompson 1999	E. A. Thompson, *The Huns*, Oxford 1999.
Treadgold 2004	W. Treadgold, *The Diplomatic Career and Historical Work of Olympiodorus of Thebes*, The International History Review, 26, 2004, 709–733.
Urbainczyk 1997	Th. Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople. Historian of Church and State*, Ann Arbor 1997.
Várady 1976	L. Várady, *Jordanes-Studien. Die Werke des Jordanes und das „Chronicon" des Marcellinus Comes. Die Selbständigkeit des Jordanes*, Chiron, 6, 1976, 441–488.
Wijnendaele 2015	J. W. P. Wijnendaele, *The Last of the Romans: Bonifatius – Warlord and comes Africae*, London – New York 2015.

Wallraff 1997 — M. Wallraff, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person*, Göttingen 1997.

Williams 1981 — J. Williams, *Etzel der rîche: the depiction of Attila the Hun in the literature of Medieval Germany: with reference to related Byzantine, Italic, Gallic, Scandinavian and Hungarian sources (450–1300)*, Bern 1981.

Winkelmann 1989 — F. Winkelmann, *Die Bewertung der Barbaren in den Werken der oströmischen Kirchenhistoriker*. In: E. K. Chrysos, A. Schwarz (eds.), *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, Wien – Köln 1989, 221–235.

Wirth 1999 — G. Wirth, *Attila. Das Hunnenreich und Europa*, Stuttgart 1999.

Yirga 2020 — F.-S. S. Yirga, *The Chronicle of John of Nikiu: Historical Writing in Post-Roman Egypt*, PhD Dissertation, Ohio 2020.

Zecchini 1983 — G. Zecchini, *Aezio, l'ultima difesa dell'Occidente romano*, Roma 1983.

Péter Kovács
Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba
kovacs.peter@btk.ppke.hu

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 295–317

THE *CODEX CSÍKSOMLYOVIENSIS* – CODEX MS 43/TQ-136H (*CICERO, FRONTINUS, HORATIUS, VEGETIUS*). PRELIMINARY REPORT

ÁDÁM SZABÓ

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.12

Abstract: The 14th century codex, which belonged to the library of the Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó / Schomlenberg, today a district of the municipality of Miercurea Ciuc / Csíkszereda / Seklerburg, Harghita County) from the 1700s at the latest, became part of the Bibliotheca Telekiana collection (Teleki Téka), today Teleki-Bolyai Library in Târgu Mureș (Mureș County), in the early 19th century. The codex contains the works *De legibus* by Cicero (1st century BC), *De re militari* by Vegetius (4th-5th century AD) and *Strategemata* by Frontinus (1st century AD). In addition to these, in the late medieval or early modern period, the first part of Horace's *Ode* I.28 was added, in a hitherto unknown version. The parts of the codex were made in the same workshop, probably in Soissons, France, in the first third of the 1300s. There is no break between the works, and the volume was designed, probably to order, with this structure containing the three works in mind from the outset. Three different handwritings and three different types of abbreviations, belonging to the same period, as well as initials, can be distinguished, suggesting that there were at least three copyists. Instead, only two illuminators can be identified. The copyists attributed one of Vegetius' books to Cicero and gave the same title to the books of Frontinus and Vegetius. Cicero's book bears the correct title, inserted between books II and I of Vegetius. Abbreviations and omissions of passages are also frequent in the codex. Subsequent readers and owners wrote notes in the margins. The book was restored and bound in the early 19th century, after 1816. Because of its importance and place of provenance, we propose the name "Codex Csíksomlyó" / "Codex Șumuleu Ciuc", Codex Csíksomlyoviensis, along with the current identification MS43/Tq-136h. The codex is unpublished, and the critical edition and facsimiles are in progress.

Keywords: Cicero; Frontinus; Horatius; Vegetius; codex; 14th century, Bibliotheca Telekiana; Șumuleu Ciuc / Schomlenberg; "Leiben" watermarks; 19th century.

Rezumat: Codicele din secolul al XIV-lea, care a aparținut bibliotecii Mănăstirii Franciscane din Șumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó / Schomlenberg, astăzi cartier al municipiului Miercurea Ciuc / Csíkszereda / Seklerburg, jud. Harghita) începând cu anii 1700 cel târziu, a ajuns în colecția Bibliotheca Telekiana (Teleki Téka), astăzi Biblioteca Teleki-Bolyai din Târgu Mureș (jud. Mureș) la începutul secolului al XIX-lea. Codicele conține lucrările *De legibus* a lui Cicero (sec. I a. Chr.), *De re militari* a lui Vegetius (sec. IV–V p. Chr.) și *Strategemata* lui Frontinus (sec. I p. Chr.). Pe lângă acestea, în evul mediu târziu sau în perioada modernă timpurie, a fost adăugată prima parte din Oda I.28 a lui Horațiu, într-o versiune necunoscută până acum. Părțile codicelui au fost realizate în același atelier, probabil în Soissons, Franța, în prima treime a secolului al XIV-lea. Între opere nu există pauză, iar volumul a fost conceput, probabil la comandă, ținându-se cont de la bun început de această structură conținând cele trei opere. Se pot distinge trei scrieri de mână diferite și trei tipuri de abrevieri, aparținând aceleiași perioade, precum și inițiale, ceea ce sugerează că au existat cel puțin trei copiști. În schimb, pot fi identificate doar două anluminuri. Copiștii au atribuit una dintre cărțile lui Vegetius lui Cicero și au dat același titlu cărților lui Frontinus și Vegetius. Cartea lui

Cicero poartă titlul corect, inserată fiind între cărţile II şi I ale lui Vegetius. Abrevierile şi omisiunile de pasaje sunt, de asemenea, frecvente în codice. Cititorii şi proprietarii ulteriori au scris însemnări pe margini. Cartea a fost restaurată şi legată la începutul secolului al XIX-lea, după 1816. Datorită importanţei sale şi a locului de proveniență, propunem pentru acest codice denumirea „Codex Csíksomlyó" / „Codex Şumuleu Ciuc", *Codex Csík-Somlyoviensis*, care să se alăture identificării actuale MS43/Tq-136h. Codicele este inedit, ediția critică şi facsimilurile fiind în curs de realizare.

Cuvinte-cheie: Cicero; Frontinus; Horatius; Vegetius; codex; secolul al XIV-lea; Bibliotheca Telekiana; Şumuleu Ciuc / Csíksomlyó; filigrane „Leiben"; secolul al XIX-lea.

In the following, I will give a preliminary presentation of a still unpublished medieval codex containing texts of Latin authors, which has recently become known to scholars of antiquity and medieval studies, and which is related to Şumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó / Schomlenberg), and Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda / Seklerburg, Harghita County). The facsimile and critical edition of the codex is in progress, in collaboration between the Mureş County Library / Teleki-Bolyai Library / Bibliotheca Telekiana (Târgu Mureş) and Ludovika University of Public Services (Budapest) and the University's Research Workshop on Roman State and Provincial Administration. Thanks also to my library colleagues for their help here as well.[1]

Where the codex becomes known[2]

In 1905, Lajos Szádeczky published an annotated critical edition of the Sekler Chronicle of Ciuc (*Csíki Székely Krónika*), written in Latin, which became known at the end of the 18th century, in 1796.[3] He also included in the volume the full text of the chronicle and its previously unpublished early 19th century translation into Hungarian, structured and annotated by György Zágoni Aranka (Aranka György Zágoni). Among the notes of the latter, I came across a reference to a manuscript book containing works by Roman *auctores*.[4] According to this note, the book used to be located in Ciuc (*Csík*), which was

[1] I thank Dr. Monica Avram, director of the Mureş County Library, for her contribution to the facsimile edition, and especially Klára Lázok, director of the Teleki-Bolyai Library for her support in the study of the codex and in the preparation of the edition, and György Kovács-G. associate of the library for the photographs and technical data.

[2] I have published a short review in Hungarian in relation to the military history of the codex in Seklerland, in Kis, Petrik, Toldi 2023, 329–348. At that time, I had only a few photographs available, therefore I'll correct the errors and mistakes here and I'll fill in the missing data.

[3] „*Deductio, et Connotio excepta A° 1533. per Andreám Máttyás, coram Veres Deák, Mathia Györffy, et Gabriele Istán Nobilibus Siculis Sedis Csik; Denuo descripta per Petrum Veres et Stephanum Bors, Nobiles Sedis Csik Principatus Transylvaniae A° 1695. Die 14. mensis Marty. Continens origines Siculorum, et facta Heroum, ac Primorum Sedis Csik, Gyergyo, atque Kászon. Transumpta per me Joannem Nep. Farkas. Presbyterum Saecul. A° 1796.*" See Szádeczky 1905 who successfully argued that the chronicle is a forgery.

[4] Szádeczky 1905, 137: 'György Aranka: „*b) Hogy az hadi mesterségben a' mái Székellyeknek vitéz eleji sem lehettek járatlanok éppen, onnan is vetek hozzá, hogy ezelőtt egynehány esztendőkkel Csíkban járván, nagy csudálkozással és vigasztalásomra találtam ott a többi között egy régi barát írással még a' XV. száznak elejin írt könyvet kézirásban, mellyben vagynak legelől Cicero de Re Militari; azután De Legibus et Religione; Flavii Vegetii Renati Epitome Rei Militaris Libr. IV. Frontini de Re Militari L. IV.*" i.e. b) That the warrior ancestors of the Seklers of today could not have been unversed in the art of war, I may add, from the fact that, some years ago, while I was in Ciuc, I found there, to my great astonishment and consolation, among others, a with old

then an individual administrative unit in Transylvania (*sedes Csík*), today part of Harghita County in Romania.

The aesthetician, philosopher, historian, literary translator, poet and writer György Aranka (1737–1817) was a key figure in the cultural organization of the Grand Duchy of Transylvania during the Enlightenment. Among other things, he founded in the 1790's the Transylvanian Philological Society (*Erdélyi Nyelvmívelő Társaság*) and the Transylvanian Society for the Publishing of Manuscripts (*Erdélyi Kéziratkiadó Társaság*).[5] Beside manifold activities, in 1794 he set out to write a work "On the Sekler Nation" (*A székely nemzetről*), which remained in manuscript form.[6] In 1796, the secular priest (*clericus secularis* i.e. not a monk) of Şumuleu Ciuc, János Farkas Nepomuk, sent the Transylvanian Society for the Publishing of Manuscripts, actually to György Aranka, a Latin copy of the Sekler Chronicle of Ciuc (*Csíki székely krónika*, abbr. *CsSzK*) he completed on November 18th of the same year. This was beneficial both for Aranka's ongoing work on the history of the Sekler nation and for his editorial activity. He translated the Latin text into Hungarian, edited, i.e. structured the text, dividing it into sections, and prepared it for printing in 1797. He intended the work to become Volume II of the publications issued by Transylvanian Hungarian Philological Society (or Transylvanian Society for the Publishing of Manuscripts)[7] under the title "An Annotated Translation of the Chronicle of Ciuc" *(A krónika magyar fordítása és magyarázó jegyzetek)*.[8]

Eventually, Lajos Szádeczky published the manuscript and the original Latin text in 1905, incorporated into his thorough work discussing the matters around the Sekler Chronicle of Ciuc.[9] On the very first page of the Hungarian translation of the chronicle, under the second note headed by *b)*, in a footnote attached to a statement in the text related to the Seklers art of war and their belligerence, taken from *Tripartitum* and from *Diploma Leopoldinum*,[10] György Aranka mentions the fact that in Ciuc he had come across a 15th century manuscript book containing "*Cicero de Re Militari followed by De Legibus et Religione and Flavii Vegetii Renati Epitome Rei Militaris Libr. IV. Frontini de Re Militari L. IV*".[11]

In his note, Aranka does not mention the exact time and place of him finding the manuscript, a copy unknown both to Ancient- and Medieval studies, neither researchers in Classical philology nor experts in Codicology have any notion of its existence. In order to prove this, it is enough to check known manuscripts of the text by Vegetius, a well-researched domain with a long-standing tradition in manuscripts. Based on the literature

monk letters wroted manuscript from the XV century, in which are *Cicero De Re Militari*; then *De Legibus et Religione*, *Flavii Vegetii Renati Epitome Rei Militaris Libr. IV*, *Frontini De Re Militari L. IV*.

[5] Balogh 1981: György Aranka. Bíró, Egyed 2018, 9–154.

[6] Szinnyei 1981.

[7] Cf. Egyed 2018, 89–108.

[8] Szádeczky 1905, 135–137, 168 with details of the relevant work of György Aranka.

[9] Szádeczky 1905, 93–134 (Latin), 137–168 (Hungarian).

[10] *The Sekler Chronicle of Ciuc* (*CsSzK*): *"[…] bellicarum expertissima"* / I. Werbőczy, *Tripartitum* (see M. Bak, Banyó, Rady 2005) pars III, tit. 4: *"[…] rerum bellicarum expertissimi"* ("the most practised of warfare"; *CsSzK*: *"[…] a genere humnano bellicosissimo gente"* / *Diploma Leopoldinum* (see Lukinich 1918, 564–566) 14: *"[…] genus hominum bellicosissimum"* ("the most pugnacious species of humankind"); Szádeczky 1911, 39 also recalls attention to this.

[11] Szádeczky 1905, 137.

stretching to the year 2008, no Şumuleu Ciuc (or even Târgu Mureş) copy is recorded among the almost 350 Vegetius manuscripts known to have existed before the age of the printing press, while even on the territory of Romania, more specifically in Transylvania, a single manuscript copy is listed.[12] The latter is still unpublished, it belongs to the library of the Alba Iulia "Batthyaneum". It has excellently traceable origins, and previously it used to belong to cardinal count Christoph Anton Migazzi (1714–1803), Bishop of Vác (Hungary), Prince-Archbishop of Vienna.[13]

The current inventory of the Şumuleu Ciuc Franciscan Library[14] does not contain such a codex.[15] The modern printed version[16] of the library's five known inventory lists (1727, 1734, 1753, 1777, 1826) contain no such title. There were no other libraries in Şumuleu Ciuc or in the region of Ciuc in the period under discussion. The volume containing the inventories of the Franciscan Library for the years in between 1753 and 1826 came to light in 1985. It was found in a walled-up window booth of the refectory in the Şumuleu Ciuc convent (monastery). The Franciscan monks (*fratres*) hid it, along with other books, between the years 1944–1948.[17] Before that period, László Fejérpataky had examined the volume in 1908 and recorded the titles of the thematic units in writing,[18] but these were not published until 1999, and they contained only the titles of the thematic units and the related page numbers.[19]

Between 1985, when the volume *Album bibliothecae Venerabilis Conventus Csík Somlyoviensis 1753–1826*[20] was found, and the year 1997, Anikó Deé Nagy had the opportunity to research the pages of the inventory list presented as a volume. On the 179th numberless front page[21] (*recto*) of the 1753 inventory list, *Albvm Bibliothecae Ven[erabilis] Conventvs Csik Somlyoviensis continens omnes libros quoad speciem, numerum, quantitatem et inscriptum Anno Christiano 1753tio.* she found the following registration: "*Flavii Vegetii Renati Epithomia (!) rei militaris antiquus – liber scriptus 4-to*."

Ever since the Medieval Ages, copies made of treatises on military science by Vegetius and Frontinus have frequently been collated within a single volume.[22] Neither the 1727 nor the 1734 inventory list contain any works on military science by Roman authors under

[12] Cf. Lang (ed.) 1885, XVI–XXXIII; Shrader 1979, 280–305; Jakó, Manolescu 1987, 112–113; Richardot 1998, 189–191 (Annexe I); Reeve (ed.) 2004, XV; Kákóczki 2012, 30–41.

[13] "*Alba Iulia, Bibl. Batthyani (sic!), III.42 (f. 53–80) s. XIV; 81 f; or: Austria?; olim Cardinal Christophoro Migazzi of Vienna*" (Shrader 1979, 286; Richardot 1998, 191). On cardinal Migazzi see e.g. Beke 1871; Wolfsgruber 1890; Kulcsár 1965; Lajtos 1942.

[14] Cf. Boros 1943; Muckenhaupt 1999, 22–23.

[15] Miercurea Ciuc, Sekler National Museum of Ciuc (*Csíki Székely Múzeum*), The Franciscan holdings of Şumuleu Ciuc (*Csíksomlyói Ferences állomány*), Nr. 4168.

[16] See the year 1727 and the year 1734 registers in Zvara 2008, 44–72, 72–92. See the year 1753 and the year 1826 registers in Muckenhaupt 1999, 110–111. Cf. Glósz 1885; Fodor 1991. See especially Jenő Ábel's notes in the library of the Şumuleu Ciuc convent (monastery) = Ábel ms.; Fejérpataky 1908.

[17] Muckenhaupt 1999, 11–36.

[18] Fejérpataky 1908, f. 3r.

[19] Muckenhaupt 1999, 110–111.

[20] Its registration number: (I. 23.) A VI 5/5272.

[21] The *verso* of the page is empty, cf. Muckenhaupt 1999, 110 (with the page numbers of the register at the bottom of the page).

[22] E.g. the ms. Perizonianus F. 17 f. 66, University of Leiden (saec. 15). Cf. Lang (ed.) 1885, XXXII–XXXIV; Sevensma 1946, 21–23; Shrader 1976, 65–66. See especially note 48 below.

the title given in 1753. Based on these facts, the works of these military scientists might have ended up in the Franciscan Library between the years 1734 and 1753. Nevertheless the library inventory lists for the years 1727 and 1734 contain a work by Cicero without a title (the list from 1727 might even contain two such entries, even though that might be the same copy registered twice, as belonging to two different locations).[23] The three works had still been copied onto the parchment pages of the codex continuously, in the order Vegetius-Cicero-Vegetius (further parts)-Frontinus, so where one work ends, the other follows on the very same page (Pl. III). This leads to the conclusion that the original volume must have been assembled according to this strange structure, moreover, the first authorial name in the first line is quite legibly that of Cicero, but the title and the text that follow belong to the work of Vegetius. The librarian monk (*frater bibliothecarius*) of the age must have not been aware of the fact that Cicero had no work entitled *De re militari*. Also, the above might yield the possibility of the codex entering the convent library already before the year 1727, without being inspected in detail or by an adequate professional, and it might have ended up in the catalogue attached to the first legible authorial name, an exercise repeated in the 1734 inventory list and corrected in 1753.

Accessing the codex in Târgu Mures (Marosvásárhely)

The next possible and logical location of the codex, based on the available data, is Târgu Mureş, both because of the local connections György Aranka had there and because of the famous collection of rare books and codexes of the Bibliotheca Telekiana (*Teleki Téka*).

One of the five codexes of the Bibliotheca Telekiana, in the exact order of the inventory list, with works by Cicero, Vegetius and Frontinus, are exactly the ones listed by György Aranka. According to the recommendation inscribed on the first page of the codex,[24] the volume was a gift from György Aranka to count Sámuel Teleki, fond of ancient authors, their works lacking from his collection.[25]

The missing details regarding the fate of the codex can be filled in by reading the volume published by Elemér Jancsó in 1955 under the title *Documents of the Transylvanian Philological Society*,[26] more specifically the transcript of the 27th meeting of the Society held on September 4th 1797.[27] The protocol records a report by György Aranka covering his one year study trip in the Ciuc region, also mentioning a manuscript volume borrowed – with an obligation to return it – from the Şumuleu Ciuc Franciscan Library, entitled *De re militari*, wich contains Vegetius' and Frontinus' *De re militari*, and Cicero's *De legibus*.[28] Accordingly, he borrowed from the Franciscan Library, in late 1796 or early 1797, the codex mentioned in note b), on page 1 of the translation of the *Sekler Chronicle of Ciuc*

[23] Cf. Zvara 2008, 60, 68 (from 1727), 88 (from 1734).

[24] „M[éltóságos] Gr[óf] Teleki Sámuel Ur Ex[ce]l[lenciá]jának Erdélyi Könyves Gyüjteménye közé ajánllya Tisztelettel Aranka György m[aga] k[ezével]." i.e. 'To the Transylvanian Books Collection of His Excellency Count Teleki Sámuel the Most Gracious, with his own hand, György Aranka respectfully commends it.' (See here Fig. 1.)

[25] Cf. Deé Nagy 1976, 111–134.

[26] Jancsó 1955.

[27] Jancsó 1955, 241–246.

[28] Mentioned by Dávid 2009, 91, 137.

(*CsSzK*).[29] Having the combination of circumstances so far presented in mind, despite the title presented in incomplete form in several sources, the book on the Franciscan Library list seems to be one and the same with the codex mentioned and borrowed by György Aranka.[30] György Aranka had borrowed the codex containing the three works and then he gave it away as a gift, so the codex ended up at the Bibliotheca Telekiana as part of the count Sámuel Teleki heritage.[31] The codex rebound by the beginning of the 19th century belongs to the collection of the Bibliotheca Telekiana,[32] today known as the Teleki-Bolyai Library (Mureş County Library), under registration number MS 43/Tq-136h.

I hereby recommend, as the first communicator of the codex, the reference *Şumuleu Ciuc Codex* / *Csíksomlyó Codex* i.e. *Codex Csíksomlyoviensis (MS 43/Tq-136h)* for the future, in accordance with the practice of naming by place of discovery. … *habent sua fata libelli*.[33]

Remarks on the form and content of the codex

Below I will make a few comments on the form and content of the codex, taking into account the plans for the forthcoming facsimile and critical editions.[34]

The dimensions of the bound codex are 232 × 170 × 36 mm. It has 357 pages written on paper (*codex chartaceus*), doubled by 15 pages bound at the front in the 19th century, the first of which is glued to the cover, and by 6 pages bound after them, the first of which is mounted on the last page of the codex as a ligature, while the last is glued to the cover. Based on the formal characteristics of the present cover, the codex was rebound in cardboard covers and leather spine at the beginning of the 19th century, so its current cover is not the original 18th century or even earlier version. Its spine covered in brown leather carries the following authorial names and work titles separated by wider horizontal lines, from top to bottom: *Cicero*| *De re militari*| *et*| *legibus*|| *L. Vegetius*| *De re*| *militari*|| *Frontinus*| *De re*| *militari*. György Aranka had listed the same thing, with slight modifications, as follows: Cicero de Re Militari; followed by De Legibus et Religione; Flavii Vegetii Renati Epitome Rei Militaris Libr. IV. Frontini de Re Militari L. IV.

The order of authors is the same on the back of the book as in the above quoted list by György Aranka: Cicero, Vegetius, Frontinus; all three are well known authors (*auctores)* of the Roman era, whose works were widely read and copied in later ages. The actual order of authors in the codex is as follows: Vegetius (under Cicero's name), Cicero, Vegetius (continued under his own name), Frontinus, and in cursive handwriting at the very end,

[29] The closing date of the Sekler Chronicle of Ciuc (*CsSzK*) was 18 November 1796, the date of the report was 4 September 1797.

[30] Cf. Deé Nagy 1997, 176, n. 93.

[31] Cf. more Egyed 2000, 137. Note: Ferenc Toldy mentioned a so-called "Aranka Codex" in the Bibliotheca Telekiana (Teleki Téka) in 1862 (Toldy 1862), which was never identified or found later, neither there nor elsewhere under this name, and today since 1884 the codex mentioned by Toldy is considered to be identical with the existing *Codex Teleki* (No. 374) with old Hungarian linguistic relics, see Volf 1884, XXII–XXIII, i.e. not identical with the *Codex Csíksomlyoviensis* discussed here.

[32] See *Bibliotheca Samuelis Com. Teleki de Szék Pars Quarta Novas Accessiones ad tres priores partes complexa*, Viennae, MDCCCXIX, p. 6: "M. T. CICERO (pag. 99.)| – - - - – De re militari et de Legibus Libri| III. Adjacent: VEGETIUS et FRONTINUS de re militari. 4to. maj. Codex Chart. MS. Sec. XV. med.".

[33] Terentianus Maurus (1286): *De litteris, de syllabis, de metris.* See Cignolo (ed.) 2002, 93.

[34] The facsimile edition of the codex is planned for this year, and the volume of the transcribed and essayed text is scheduled for 2025.

a later quotation from Horatius, which is nowhere specified, nor is Horatius mentioned as author above the strophe on the codex page in question. The titles given to the works in the codex and their association with authors are therefore problematic in several cases, and in one case the author's name is erroneous.

First, it is not known whether Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero, 1st century BC) wrote *De re militari*, either among the surviving or among the lost writings that we know of. Nor is his *De re militari et legibus* known, nor is his *De legibus et religione*, mentioned by György Aranka. There is no work in which the word *religione* appears in the title. Only one of the title-elements appears in the title of one of his philosophical works written in dialogue between 54–51 BC, *De legibus*,[35] and it is found in the codex.

The full name of the author referred to as Vegetius by both common readers and scholarly literature is Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus (4th/5th centuries AD), thus the form L. Vegetius on the spine of the book is incorrect, while the version used by Aranka is correct; the omission of the *praenomen* Publius does not account for any error. The title variant on the spine of his work on military science[36] compiled between the years 383 and 540 AD is correct, as is the title variant mentioned by Aranka, even though what is currently listed as *Epitoma* using a Latin word, frequently featured in the past in the Greek form *Epitome*. Vegetius' work appears under both title variants, while the title form mentioned by György Aranka is also philologically correct, even mentioning the existence of 4 books.

The title of the work on military science, a collection of case studies assembled after 84 AD by Frontinus (Sextus Iulius Frontinus, 1st/2nd centuries AD) is *Strategemata*, and is also known as *Sexti Iuli Frontini Strategematon libri IV* in critical editions.[37] In his case, thus, the title *De re militari* roughly covers its content, even though it is incorrect, while Aranka's title version *L(ibri) IV* is correct.

These strange or unfamiliar title variants illustrate a titling practice still under construction for the works of the *auctores*, while partly reflecting erroneous knowledge from the 18th century or even earlier.

The ex libris of Sámuel Teleki, printed by copper engraving, signed "*Nagy s.*", is on the inner front cover, topped by his name with his coat of arms framed by the chain of the Order of Saint Stephen (*Ordo Equitum Sancti Stephani Regis Apostolici*).[38] Under the ex libris there is a pencil mark underlined three times, with the notation Tq-136h. On the top of the next page is the following handwritten Hungarian text: "*Vegetius, Frontinus*| *és Cicero, De re militari libri I–IV. áll. Corvina, Aranka György ajándéka*." (Vegetius, Frontinus| and Cicero, De re militari libri I–IV. all(egedly) Corvina, a gift from György Aranka.) The codex certainly does not belong to the *Corvina* group of codexes, neither its age nor its execution match those of the Corvina codexes. In King Matthias Corvinus' collection ('*Bibliotheca Corviniana*'), the books of Vegetius and Frontinus stood in separate *Corvina* volumes. That of Vegetius is lost or hidden in an unknown location, while the Frontinus *Corvina* has lately appeared in Krakow.[39] Next after 5 blank pages, there are 7

[35] See e.g. the critical edition of De Plinval (ed.) 1959. Cf. Dyck 2003, 5–12.

[36] See e.g. the critical edition of Reeve (ed.) 2004.

[37] See e.g. the critical edition of Gundermann (ed.) 1888.

[38] Cf. Gödölle, Pallos 2014.

[39] According to the testimony of Galeotto Marzio (Juhász (ed.) 1934, cap. 10. 9) King Matthias read the works of Vegetius and Frontinus, and quoted them, but the Vegetius *corvina* seems to have been lost for the

pages numbered in pencil on the odd-numbered pages only, filled with handwritten notes. Samuel Teleki was primarily interested in the manuscript background of the codex, and he commissioned his assistant Imre Szentgyörgyi (Emericus Szentgyörgyi) to compare the contents of the codex with a newly published text by Vegetius *De re militari.*[40] This was finalized in Vienna in 1816, by recording his results on seven pages, starting with page III, which was later inserted and bound. This also means that the *terminus post quem* of the current binding of the codex is after 1816. Following these, on the last uniform page, he recorded his brief general annotations in a Latin characteristic of the time and of his own professional status. Then the codex proper begins. Its first page has turned a grayish color, is stained, slightly damaged, the upper outer corner is torn (Pl. II), while the torn edge shows traces of fragmentary lettering of an earlier handwritten comment (or ownership note). Judging by the dirtier colour of the first page compared to the cleaner appearance of the other pages, the codex must have been left unbound for a long time, and this page must have been the top one. At the very top, in slightly sloppy black ink script, probably written later over the page, is the now generally accepted purely Latin version of the title, also used in modern prints: *Epitoma rei militaris*. The handwriting might be that of György Aranka, from the beginning of the 19th century. At the bottom are lines handwritten in black ink by György Aranka, recording his gift to Sámuel Teleki. The elliptical-shaped stains at the top and bottom of the pages indicate that hands have turned the pages. These appear in the first half and towards the end of the codex, while the pages in between are clear. The pages were numbered in pairs, unnumbered and numbered one at a time from left to right, then in pencil, using Arabic numbers in the upper right corner, up to 50, then every tenth page to 100, followed by 107, then 110 and 111, then 117, then 120, after that every tenth page up to 170, while the page number attached to the last pair of pages is 179. The last filled page (179) is damaged and is soiled in the same way as the first page, which means that this could be the last page before binding. Fragments of this were mounted on another new sheet of paper made in the 19th century. There are three watermarks on this one. Six blurred letters are visible at the bottom left, the mirror image of Leiben (Pl. VII/2a), in the upper left quarter is a circle with two downward facing characters L and B, and the watermark is reversed in relation to the page (Pl. VII/2b). The Leiben watermark may refer to the

time being; for a long time it was believed that the Frontinus *corvina* was lost, cf. Csontosi 1890, 210 (bottom of page); but recently the Frontinus *corvina* of King Matthias (Florence, 1467) has become known from the collection of the Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich (Czartoryski Museum, Krakow 1514 I Rkps).

See https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/12078/edition/11889/content and/or https://corvina.hu/hu/corvina/virtualis-corvinak/cod1514-hu/. To the *corvina* books e.g. Ábel 1879; Csapodi, Csapodiné Gárdonyi 1967.

[40] This can only be the „*God. Stewechii Commentarius, ad Flavi Vegeti Renati libros, De Re Militari. Nunc primùm figuris aeneis illustratus. Cui accedunt Loca aliquot a Francisco Modio Brug. in Sexto Julio Frontino notata. Vesaliae, Apud Andream ab Hoogenhuysen, Typog. Ordin. cIↃ IↃ c L xx. / God. Stewechii commentarius ad Fl. Vegetium Renatum De Re Militari. Vesaliae Typis Andreae ab Hoogenhuysen A°. 1670*" volume, Imre Szentgyörgyi refers to it as Vesaliensis in his commentaries on the frontispieces. The volume contains commentaries not only on Vegetius but also on Frontinus, as well as corrections to an earlier edition of Frontinus. The 1670 edition was the latest edition of the work of the period, first published in this form in 1592, redacted by the Dutch historian Godescalcus Stewechius (Gottschalk Stewech, 1551–1586), but edited by the Flemish historian Franciscus Modius (Frans de Maulde, 1556–1597) of Brugge (Brugensis), with the addition of commentaries by the Dutch historian Petrus Scriverius (Peter Schrijver, 1576–1660).

settlement in the Melk district of Lower Austria, where a paper mill was also in operation for a short time from the end of the 18th century until it was converted into a textile mill.[41] The second watermark probably also refers to the locality, with an abbreviation L B = *L(ei) b(en)*(?). On the same paper, another watermark is visible in the centre of the inner edge, in contact with the binding: a circle with two vertical parallel lines (Pl. VII/2c). All three belong to the early 19th-century paper, mounted as reinforcements, and not to the codex, so they provide no information about the date or production of the codex.[42] I have not seen a watermark elsewhere in the codex. On the last page there are some letters which are visible from the other side of the paper, some of which are legible (see the Appendix below), but these too require further investigation. During the binding in the early 19th century, the damaged pages were repaired by mounting, gluing and restoration, which can be noticed in several places at the beginning and the end of the codex.

The codex starts with the second book of Vegetius' work (under Cicero's name), followed by the work of Cicero, and then by the first book of Vegetius, after which comes the text of Frontinus. The codex is not finished, the omission of the decoration of the initials begins already in the text of Vegetius, and in most of the text of Frontinus the more modest initials are only marked in their place, and the model letter is written in.

For each of the *auctores*, there are three distinct, steady hands and styles that can be identified in the codex, with a general Gothic aspect, not far from the humanist minuscule script, but still using the *bastarda* letters situated between the *notula* and the *textualis* types.[43] Out of the three, the writing styles of two of the hands *(scriptor)* are closer, but the codex was alternately and sequentially written by at least three copyists. The illuminators or rubricators highlighted the initials and guiding letters using the same colours, red and blue (Pls. II–III). However, the elaboration of initials and initial letters is different in the texts of Vegetius, Cicero and Frontinus. The main difference between the two types of initials is that, in one version, they are decorated with light, thin lines of floral ornamentation, with vines extending to the margin (Vegetius, Cicero), while in the other they are not (Frontinus). However, the first line of Frontinus' text is also decorated with an initial in a similar style to the preceding Vegetius and Cicero texts, with the change of initial style occurring from the next page onwards. The simple initials used continuously in the Frontinus text are elegant. Even if three copyists can be identified, there must have been only two illuminators or rubricators, one of which did not finish the job in the case of Frontinus' text. In addition to the initials decorated with plant motifs, the texts also include highlited sentence-beginner letters (*litterae notabiliores*), and the unadorned blue and red initials of the Frontinus text have a small identifying mark inside them. These were written in the larger space left for the initials by the copyist for the illuminator or the rubricator to know which letter to draw. Beside general similarities, there are a set of formal and usage-related differences linked to personal style and education, especially in what pertains to abbreviations *(brachygraphia)*. Among these, there are plenty of examples for *suspensio*, *truncatio*, *contraction*, but also for *superpositio*, and for other agreed marks:.,:, ', 2, 3, 4, 9, c, &, overlining, underlining etc. During the 18th century, Adriano Capelli standardized, synthesized and published in 1793

[41] Cf. https://www.leiben.gv.at (03.09.2024).

[42] I have not found yet their parallel, cf. e.g. https://vizjel.webnode.hu/; https://www.memoryofpaper.org/.

[43] Cf. Jakó, Manolescu 1987, 145–147.

his handbook on the system of abbreviations of earlier eras, which has been in use until today and has been published in many editions.[44]

Compared to the Vegetius text with its ornate initials and highlighted letters (Pls. I–II), the Frontinus manuscript has, with one exception, simple initials painted in blue and red, and the copyist has applied the abbreviation technique much less offensively (Pls. III–IV). The Cicero text contains letters stronger and bolder in form and colour than the other two, with almost no initials, but they are identical in style with the initials of the preceding Vegetian text. Most of them, however, have only letters highlighted by a separate red line on the back, and their abbreviations are stronger (Pl. V). The letters in all three handwritings are of a lively, rich black colour. The author's name and titles on the headings are originally written in red, now slightly faded letters in the texts of Vegetius and Frontinus, while in the opening and closing sections of certain books we find lines or fragments of lines of lighter colour. In Vegetius' text, when they appear, the lines that refer to the content are also lighter in colour.

The margins of the Vegetius manuscript are slightly wider, but the lower one is larger, while the Frontinus manuscript is placed relatively centrally between the wide margins. The Cicero manuscript is also centred on the page, but has narrower margins. This suggests a connection between the relatively slightly differing margins and the preferences of the actual copyist.

Compared to the lines on the page, the first line of the original text on the first page is now heavily faded (Pl. I). The line reads as follows: *Marcus Tulius (!) Cicero De Re Militari*. The initial R of the first line of the text partially overlaps the title line. Based on the handwriting, the title line is original and immediately solves the puzzle of where the title *De re militari* comes from, linked to Cicero's name both in György Aranka's texts and on the book spine. The error must have thus occurred when the Vegetius text was copied, as this was not an uncommon case in the Middle Ages.[45] The continuation is even more interesting, as the text starts with Book II of the Vegetius text, with neither a table of content nor an introduction. Moreover, in addition to frequent abbreviations, the copy omits considered pieces of Vegetius' original text, and it shows several errors in transcription and various rewordings introduced for the sake of shortening, is also inaccurate, even grammatically lax in places, to the point of lack of meaning. Copyists usually marked abbreviations above or bellow the occurrence, or at the end of words, by ordinary marks. Certain words occur in phonetical transcript, which suggests historically and geographically determined Latin pronunciation.[46] Due to abbreviations and collations, and also to copying errors deteriorating the meaning of the text, reading must have been a challenge for those lacking the exercise and the required level of Latin knowledge. It is the work of a different hand than the manuscripts of the Frontinian and Ciceronian texts, and not only the letter forms but also the structure of the codex show that all three texts were copied at the same time, and intended for the same codex.

The appearance of Cicero's text with its vivid letters is pleasing to the eye. The first letter (page pair 8) is similar to the initials of the preceding passage of Vegetian's text (Book

[44] Cf. Capelli 1928, IX–XLIV, XLV-XLVIII (with the known abbreviations).

[45] Cf. e.g. Kákóczki 2012, 153 (n. 757/1).

[46] E.g. *federati* instead of *foederati*, *qe* instead of *que*, *aties* instead of *acies*, *prelio* instead of *proelio* etc.

II) under his name, likewise the first letters of the main parts of the book (page pairs 21, 25, 26, 32). In between the text the copyist marked the beginnings of new sentences by leaving wider spaces. He has highlighted in red the left stem of the sentence opening letters *(litterae notabiliores)*. The copyist also structured the text, but not according to dialogue or text structures. In an almost random manner, he frequently collated the sentences of the two protagonists within a paragraph, even cutting certain sentences in half by this practice. He marked the names of the dialoguing parties with respective capital letters placed between sentences, and these are of lighter shade. He used various abbreviations, using common signs. He wrote a few words cut in half, as if the elements were distinct expressions and also copied others erroneously, and there are instances of words written using the wrong grammatical form. He left out certain portions of the text. He consistently used *m* for the letter pairs *in* and *ni*, the letter *c* can, in some places, be wrongly used for *t*, and not all letters are clearly spelt. The reader wonders whether the copyist had an adequate knowledge of Latin or knew how to read correctly, otherwise he must have been careless in his work, done it in haste, or used a poor copy as a source in the first place. It is the work of a different hand from the manuscript texts of Vegetius and Frontinus.

The copyist of Frontinus' text used lighter letters for titles within the books. He chiefly shortened words by a single letter, very rarely leaving out more, marking mid-word shortenings with customary overbars. He chose to leave letters *i* without a dot, with a very few exceptions, and omitted letters from words now and then. There are wider spaces left in between sentences, but no disjunctive marks were used.

At the top of the pages of Vegetian's text are the author and title of the work, and the book number, alternating from page to page, as in Frontine's text, but the title here is the erroneous *De re militari* version instead of *Strategemata* or *Strategematon* libri, i.e. this error was also made in the drafting of the text at a time when untitled auctorial works had not yet developed a titling convention. In the case of the Ciceronian text, there is also a blank header, but usually the author and title appear at the top of the pages. There are also corrections in the Vegetian text and marginal notes that dissolve abbreviations, and to a lower extent in the Frontinian text, but less so in the Ciceronian text, which also has corrections. On one page of the Vegetian text, for example, the word *catafracta*, which was copied with a spelling error and appears several times in the text, has been corrected by the careful and well-informed reader into *cataracta*, correctly.[47] (Pl. II)

Beginning with the 13th century, these texts of Frontinus and Vegetius were as a rule bound together.[48] This might explain the similar title given by the two in the case of *Codex Csíksomlyóviensis*. In post-ancient eras, from the viewpoint of cultural history, the two texts on military science are organically linked.

There is no way of knowing why the work of Vegetius begins with Book II, and why is it followed by Cicero's *De legibus*, and Book I of the very same Vegetius. Either the copyist was distracted or there might have been an original copy in which Book II of Vegetius' work survived beside Cicero's *De legibus*, as a work on military science by Cicero. Fact is that the name of the author in the authorial line is incorrect, while the title is valid and

[47] See Vegetius *Epit.* IV.4: "*… in cuius ingressu ponitur cataracta, quae anulis …*"

[48] Cf. more Gundermann (ed.) 1881, 83, and n. 22. The tradition continued into the age of printing, cf. Mazal 1987, 19, and n. 108.

is also correct in the page captions, even though the pages in the Vegetius book at the beginning of the codex bear no authorial names. The author and title of Cicero's book beginning on even page no. 8 are correct, and so are the variants in the captions recorded until even page no. 47, at the mid-section of which Cicero's book ends. It is followed by Book I of Vegetius' work until the mid-section of the right page of page pair 111. Here, without any special transition, follows Frontinus' work (Pl. III) up to page pair 179. The opening initial of the Frontinus text adapts to the Vegetius manuscript, the initials starting to differ from the next page.

The texts are much more beautiful in appearance than legible, and the most intact seems to be that of Frontinus. Their composition and use of abbreviations must have put readers through an ordeal, but with a good knowledge of Latin and of the usual abbreviation marks,[49] these texts are fairly readable, so the codex is functional. It must have been read, even if not by many, as the good condition of its pages attest, otherwise the title *De religione* would not have been suggested for Cicero's book, as this could have only been done in knowledge of its content, because no works by him under such title are known. Judging by the frequent corrective marginalia made in different hands, the Vegetius' work has certainly been read even by experts.

In the light of the pages read so far, none of the work contains as yet unknown portions of text, at most newly written variants that can be easily identified when compared to critical editions. Text variants and errors point almost certainly to the handwritten and not printed originals, and despite recommendations from György Aranka, the codex dates back to an earlier period than the beginning of the 15th century. Based on graphic parallels, I would rather suggest the last decades of the 14th century; but on the basis of the colours of the parchment and the characteristics of the colours used for the initials, as well as on the experience of his own paleographic research, Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi believes the texts of the codex were copied in the first half of the 14th century, more precisely between 1310 and 1330, in Soissons, now part of France.[50] In terms of the history of the Carpathian Basin, the codex dates back to the age of the Anjou (Angevin) kings.[51] The most comprehensive database and its sub-databases, as well as other related databases,[52] contain only one watermark from the early 15th century onwards from Soissons, so no contemporary watermark in the codex is to be expected.

The subject of the codex reflects the interest of an educated Transylvanian, late medieval – renaissance or early modern – modern leader from the Sekler region, whose status and responsibilities required him to acquire the works of Vegetius, Frontinus and Cicero.

At least one of the owners of the codex must have been sensitive to topics of Greek philosophy and Roman golden and silver age poetry because he saw fit to copy at the end of the codex a strophe from an ode of Horace, and probably recorded at least one quotation from Martialis (cf. Appendix below), the letters of which have yet to be deciphered.

[49] Cf. Capelli 1928, IX–XLVIII.

[50] I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Szabolcs Szuromi Anzelm O. Praem.

[51] Cf. e.g. Csukovits 2013.

[52] Cf. https://www.memoryofpaper.org/ Soissons (03.09.2024)

A new, late middle age – early modern age variant of Horace's *Carmen* I.28

The codex contains a special text as well, which originally was not part of it. At its very end, after Frontinus' text, someone, probably one of its several owners, wrote the first strophe of an ode of Horatius: *Ode* 28 ("To Archytas") from Book I (Carmina I. carmen XXVIII.) without the name of the author and with no other mark. He noted, or gave it for a title on his own the following: "epitaph of the philosopher Archytas". He has most likely written the strophe down from memory, or less probable copied or learned it from a yet unknown manuscript. As compared to variants known today and the version accepted in critical editions, the transcript contains a few smaller differences owing to a slip of the pen and a few more significant differences, so this is a new manuscript variant of the strophe. The letters ***v*** are written with ***u***, which I did not take into account, nor did the lack of a comma in verse 2, between the words *cohibent* and *Archíta*, for a significant difference. The first letters of verses 3 and 5 are slightly damaged but recognizable. The strophe written at the end of the codex with its specific title and very clear abbreviations and intonation marks is letter by letter the following (Pl. VI), while I have marked differences in form in bold letters and differences in content in underlined bold letters:

„epítaphium Archite ph/í.,
1. *Te marís et* ***terre****, numeroq$_{\overline{3}}$ carentís* ***arene***
2. *Mensorem cohibent* ***Archíta****,*
3. *Pulueris exigui prope* ***líttus*** *parua matinum*
4. *Munera, nec quic˜q$_{\overline{3}}$ tíbí* ***<u>profuit</u>***
5. *Aereas tentasse domos, anímoq$_{\overline{3}}$ rotundum*
6. ***Percurisse <u>celum</u>*** *morituro.*"

V. 0. / (*-losophi*). V. 1., 5. $_{\overline{3}}$ = *-ue;* V. 4. ˜$_{\overline{3}}$ = *-quam*.

As opposed to words written in slightly different variants or with omitted letters, in verse 4 *profuit* stands where *prodest* should be, in verse 6 *celum* stands instead of *polum*. The substitution of *aereas* for *aerias* in verse 5 is a registered version.[53] Another, not striking character of the noted stanza is that its verses begin with capital letters and every other verse is indented.

Appendix: The back of the last codex page is mounted, as mentioned. On transluminal inspection, however, it shows a faint black cursive script reversed in mirror, faded by the 19th

[53] See Shorey, Laing (eds.) 1919, 1.28 (https://www.perseus.tufts.edu): "*Te maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae| mensorem cohibent, Archyta,| pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum| munera nec quicquam tibi prodest| aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum| percurrisse polum morituro.*" Cf. "Gai. M. Sever. MMDCCLX. MMDCCLXVII Q. Horatius Flaccus. Opera et commentarii" http://www.horatius.net/la/ / http://www.horatius.net/la/index.xps?3.128 (03.09.2024) with the known text variants:

1	*te maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae*	known variant: *arenae*
2	*mensorem cohibent, archyta,*	known variants: *messorem, choibent, architа/architha/arcytha*
3	*pulveris exigui prope litus parva matinum*	known variant: *latum*
4	*munera, nec quicquam tibi prodest*	known variants: *nec, nequi quam, tibi quicquam*
5	*aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum*	known variants: *aereas – aetherias*
6	*percurrisse polum morituro.*	known variant: *percuisisse*

century paper and glue, at the top of the last codex page (179). The first line of the lettering, which is translucent on the page, is a centrally placed name Martialis, the fragmentary lines below which will be deciphered later. The letter ***t*** is written in a character similar to the letter ***s*** or ***c***. The Horatian quotation suggests that the poetry-loving owner may have copied an epigram of Martialis on the top of the next page (Pl. VII/1).

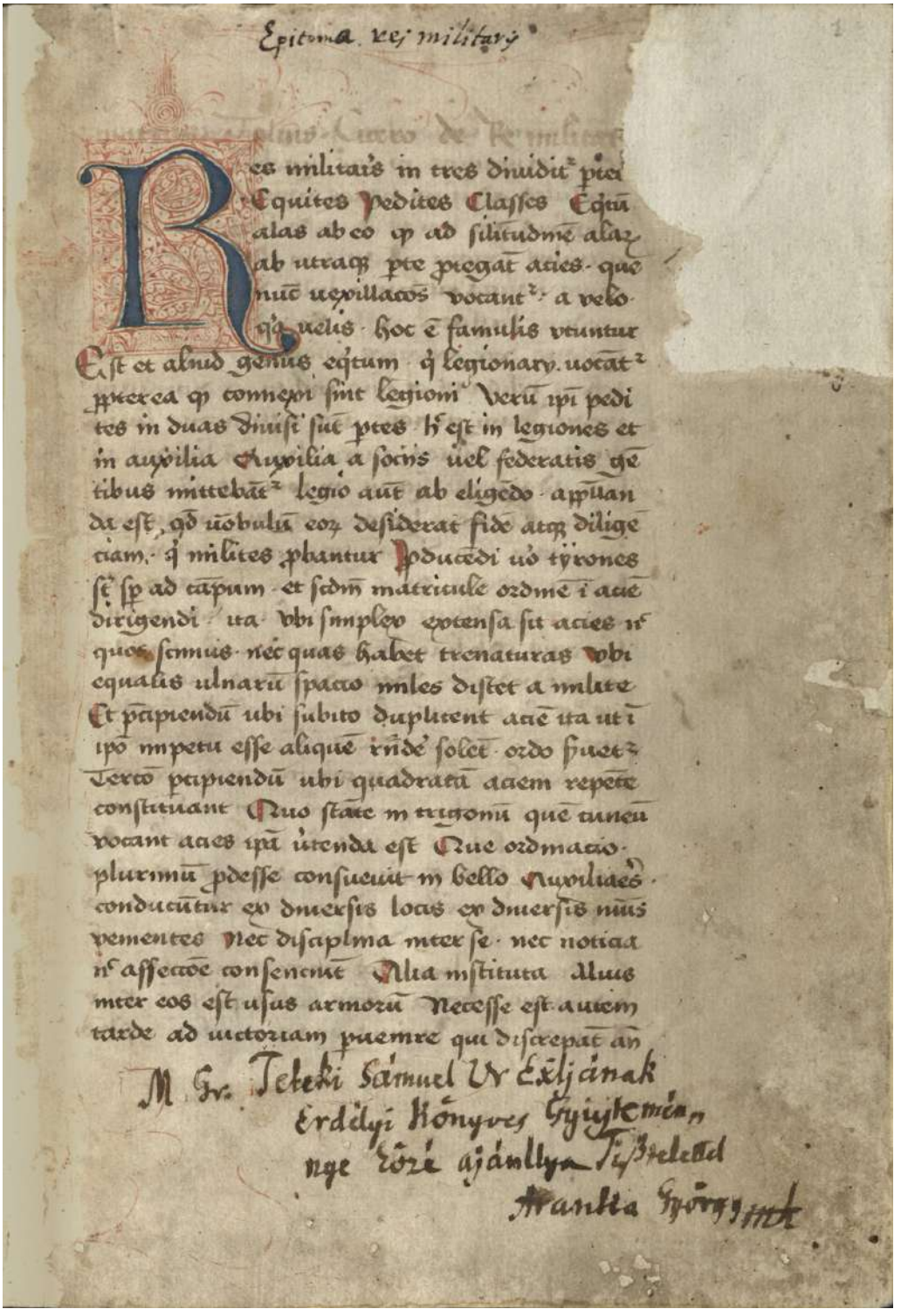
Bibliography and literary sources

Ábel 1879	J. Ábel, *Corvincodexek*, Budapest 1879.
Ábel ms.	*Ábel Jenő jegyzetei a csíksomlyói rendház könyvtárában*, MTAK, Archive, Mss 335/6.
Balogh 1981	E. Balogh, *Aranka György*. In: E. Balogh (ed.), *Romániai magyar irodalmi lexikon: Szépirodalom, közírás, tudományos irodalom, művelődés I. (A-F)*, Bukarest 1981.
Beke 1871	A. Beke, *Index manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyanianae*, Károly-Fehérvár 1871.
Bíró, Egyed 2018	A. Bíró, E. Egyed, *Aranka György és a tudomány megújuló alakzatai*, Kolozsvár 2018.
Boros 1943	F. Boros, *Csíksomlyó, a kegyhely*, Kolozsvár 1943.
Capelli 1928 [1793]	A. Capelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum*, Leipzig 1928 [1793].
Cignolo (ed.) 2002	Ch. Cignolo (ed.), *Terentiani Mauri De litteris, de syllabis, de metris*, Hildesheim 2002.
Csapodi, Csapodiné Gárdonyi 1967	Cs. Csapodi, K. Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Budapest 1967.
Csontosi 1890	J. Csontosi, *Hadtudományi könyvek Mátyás király könyvtárában*, Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 1890, 130, 1, 199–210.
Csukovits 2013	E. Csukovits (ed.), *L'Ungheria angioina*, Roma 2013.
Dávid 2009	P. Dávid, *„Itt van a' legvégső óltára Pallásnak." Erdélyi tudományos intézmények a XVIII. század végén*, PhD Thesis, Szeged 2009.
De Plinval (ed.) 1959	G. De Plinval (ed.), *M. Tullius Cicero De Legibus*, Paris (Belles Lettres) 1959.
Deé Nagy 1976	A. Deé Nagy, *Teleki Sámuel és a Teleki Téka*, Bukarest 1976.
Deé Nagy 1997	A. Deé Nagy, *A könyvtáralapító*, Kolozsvár 1997.
Dyck 2003	A. R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Legibus*, Ann Arbor 2003.
Egyed 2000	E. Egyed, *Kivévén könyveimet és írásaimat és más kézírásokat…* In: E. Egyed (ed.), *Olvasó nappal, író este. Esszék, tanulmányok, találkozások*, Kolozsvár 2000, 133–169.
Egyed 2018	E. Egyed, *A journál. Az Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvmívelő Társaság első félévre szánt lapszámai*. In: A. Bíró, E. Egyed, *Aranka György és a tudomány megújuló alakzatai*, Kolozsvár 2018, 89–108.
Fejérpataky 1908	L. Fejérpataky, *Csíksomlyói jegyzetek*, 1908 július 14–18, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Folia Hungarica, 1525.

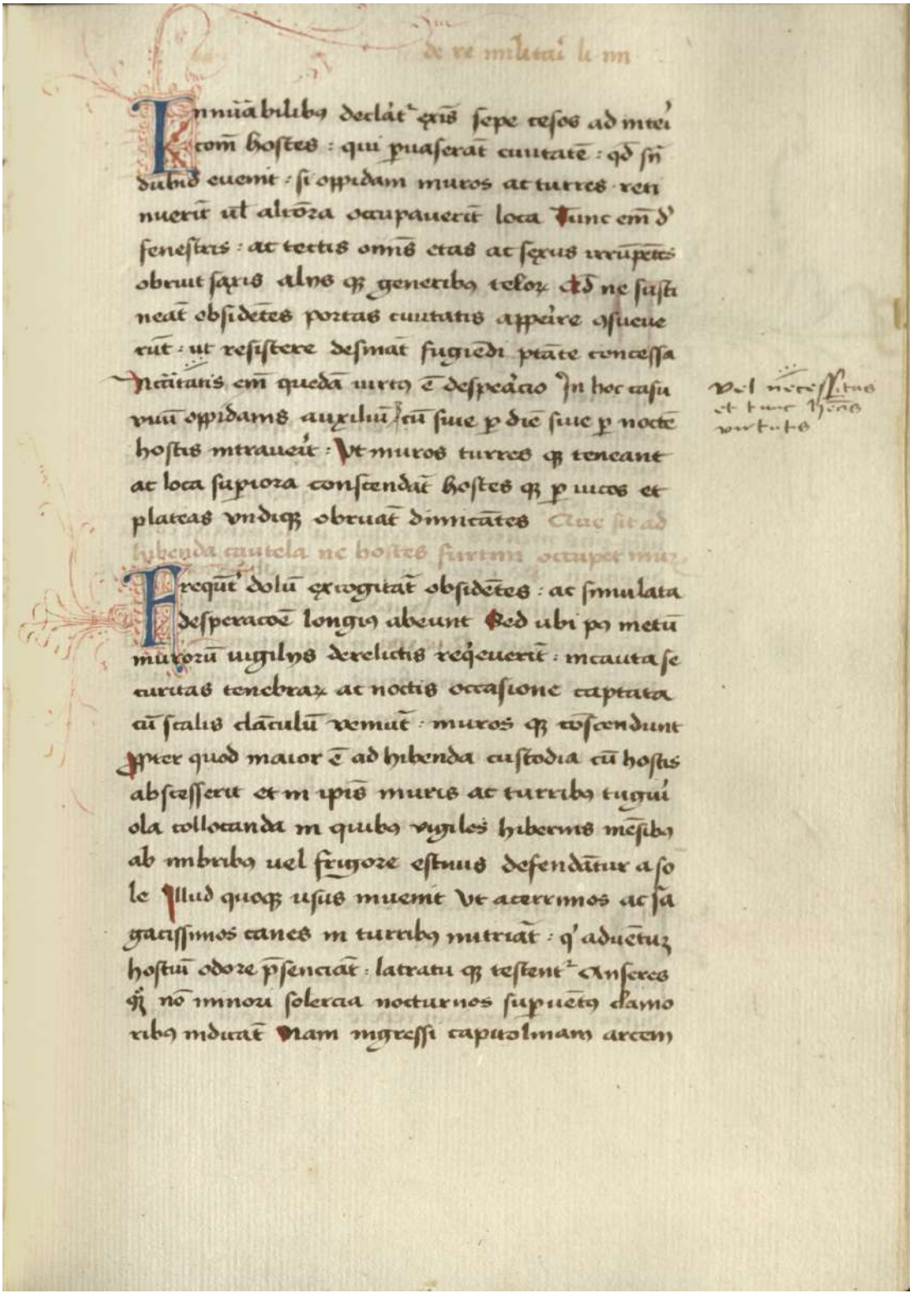
Fodor 1991	S. Fodor, *A csíksomlyói ferences-könyvtár kincseiről*, Csíkszereda 1991.
Juhász (ed.) 1934	L. Juhász (ed.), Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae ad ducem Iohannem eius filium liber*, Lipsiae (B. G. Teubner) 1934.
Glósz 1885	M. Glósz, *A Csik-Somlyói Szent-Ferencz-rendi szerzetesek könyvtárában található régi magyar könyvek jegyzéke*, Csik-Somlyó 1885.
Gödölle, Pallos 2014	M. Gödölle, L. Pallos, *Szent István lovagjai*, Budapest 2014.
Gundermann (ed.) 1881	G. Gundermann, *De Iuli Frontini Strategematon libro quo fertur quarto*, Commentationes Philologae Jenenses, Leipzig 1881.
Gundermann (ed.) 1888	G. Gundermann (ed.), *Iuli Frontini Strategematon libri IV*, Lipsiae (B. G. Teubner) 1888.
Huffman 2005	C. Huffman, *Archytas of Tarentum: Pythagorean, Philosopher and Mathematician King*, Cambridge 2005.
Jakó, Manolescu 1987	Zs. Jakó, R. Manolescu, *A latin írás története*, Budapest 1987.
Jancsó 1955	E. Jancsó, *Az Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvmívelő Társaság iratai*, Bukarest 1955.
Kákóczki 2012	B. Kákóczki, *Vegetius: Epitoma rei militaris – Az „Epitoma" hatása a középkori (had)tudományos irodalomra*, PhD Thesis, Debrecen 2012. (cf. more B. Kákóczki, *Vegetius hadtudományi munkájának utóélete a középkorban*, Gödöllő 2013. shortened version of the dissertation)
Kis, Petrik, Toldi 2023	P. Kis, I. Petrik, L. Toldi (eds.), *„Zászló alá magam csaptam fel". Ünnepi tanulmányok a 65 éves Csikány Tamás dandártábornok tiszteletére*, Budapest 2023.
Kulcsár 1965	P. Kulcsár, *Catalogus incunabulorum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae*, Szeged 1965.
Lajtos 1942	J. Lajtos, *Gróf Migazzi Kristóf Antal váci püspöksége: Episcopatus Christophori Antonii Card. Migazzi*, Budapest 1942.
Lang (ed.) 1885	C. Lang (ed.), *Flavi Vegeti Renati Epitoma rei militaris*, Lipsiae (B. G. Teubner) 1885.
Lukinich 1918	I. Lukinich, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódítás korában 1541–1711*, Budapest 1918.
M. Bak, Banyó, Rady 2005	J. M. Bak, P. Banyó, M. Rady, *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")*. Edited and translated by J. M. Bak, P. Banyó and M. Rady, with an introductory study by L. Péter, The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, vol. V, Budapest 2005.
Mazal 1987	O. Mazal, *Die Spätantike Literatur im Buchdruck des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: Acta Bibliothecaria, 1987, 9, 4, 1–76.
Muckenhaupt 1999	E. Muckenhaupt, *A Csíksomlyói Ferences Könyvtár kincsei, könyvleletek 1980–1985*, Budapest – Kolozsvár 1999.
Reeve (ed.) 2004	M. D. Reeve (ed.), *Flavius Vegetius Renatus, Epitoma rei militaris*, *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, Oxford 2004.
Richardot 1998	Ph. Richardot, *Végéce et la Culture Militaire au Moyen-Age (Ve-XVe siécles)*, Paris 1998.

Sevensma 1946	T. P. Sevensma, *Codices Manuscripti IV. Codices perizoniani*, Leiden 1946.
Shorey, Laing (eds.) 1919	P. Shorey, G. J. Laing (eds.), *Q. Horatius Flaccus (Horace). Carmina (Horace, Odes and Epodes)*, Chicago 1919.
Shrader 1976	Ch. R. Shrader, *The Ownership and Distribution of Manuscripts of the De re militari of Flavius Vegetius Renatus Before the Year 1300*, PhD Thesis, New York 1976.
Shrader 1979	Ch. R. Shrader 1979, *A Handlist of extant Manuscripts containing the De Re militari of Flavius Vegetius Renatus*, Scriptorium, 1979, 33, 2, 280–305.
Szádeczky 1905	L. Szádeczky 1905, *A csíki székely krónika*, Budapest 1905.
Szádeczky 1911	L. Szádeczky 1911, *Még egyszer a Csíki Székely Krónikáról*, Budapest 1911.
Szinnyei 1981	J. Szinnyei 1981, *Aranka György (zágoni)*. In: J. Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái I. (Aachs-Bzenszki)*, Budapest 1981.
Toldy 1862	F. Toldy, *Az ó s középkori magyar irodalom története*, Pest 1862.
Várady 1963	L. Várady, Vegetius: *A hadtudomány foglalata*. In: I. Hahn (ed.), *A hadművészet ókori klasszikusai*, Budapest 1963.
Volf 1884	Gy. Volf (ed.), *Régi magyar codexek és nyomtatványok: Döbrentei codex. – Teleki codex*, Nyelvemléktár 12, Budapest 1884.
Wolfsgruber 1890	C. Wolfsgruber, *Christoph Anton Kardinal Migazzi. Fürsterzbischof von Wien*, Saulgau 1890.
Zvara 2008	E. Zvara (ed.), *Katolikus intézményi könyvtárak Magyarországon. Ferences könyvtárak 1681–1750.* Függelék: Plébániák és más rendházak könyvtárai, Budapest 2008.

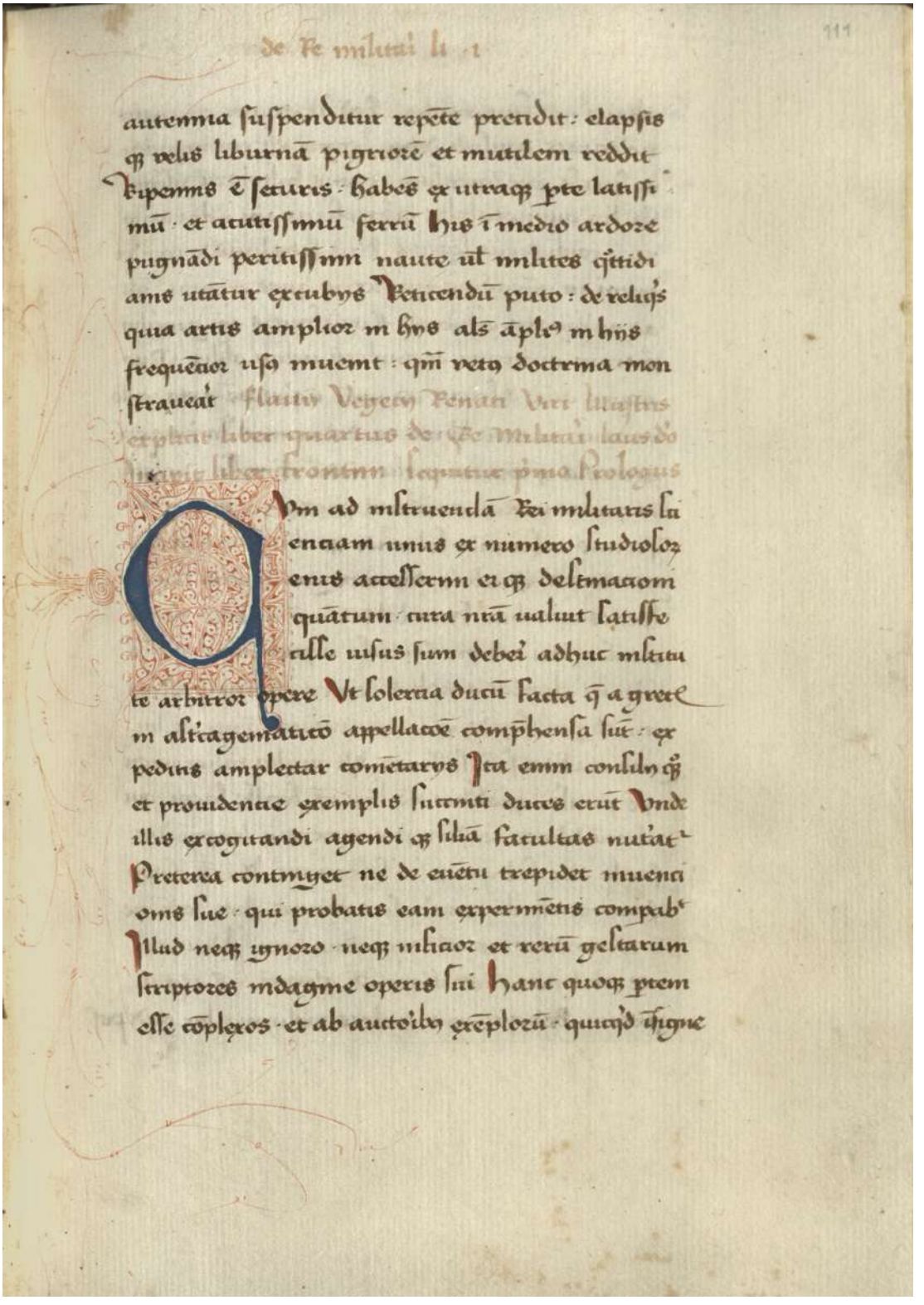
Ádám Szabó
Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest
szabo.adam@hnm.hu, szabo.adam@uni-nke.hu



Pl. I. The first page of the codex with lines from Vegetius' work (Book II of the *Epitome*), missing book introduction, and incorrect title: *Marcus Tulius (!) Cicero De re militari*, with a good title inscription by Imre Szentgyörgyi or György Aranka (?) and a dedication by György Aranka (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureş).



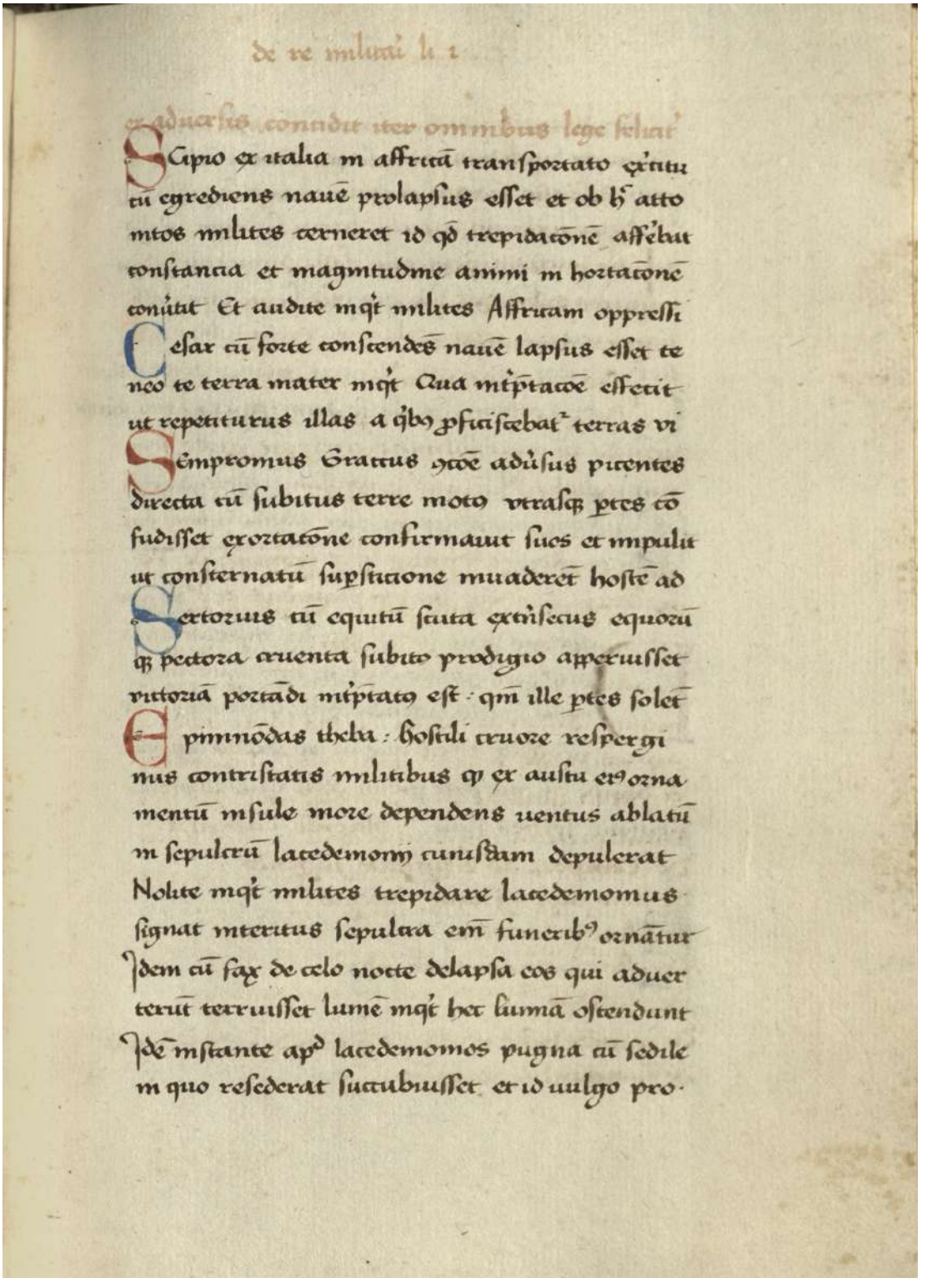
Pl. II. An intermediary page of the codex with lines from Vegetius' work (Book IV of the *Epitome*), with corrective marginal notes (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureș).



autemnia ſuſpenditur repete prendit: elapſis
q̄ relis liburnā pigriorē et mutilem reddit
Vipemns ē ſeruris. habēs ex utraq̄ pte latiſſi
mū. et acutiſſmū ferrū his i medio ardore
pugnādi peritiſſmm naute ut mlites cſtidi
ams utātur exeubys Vencendū puto: de reliq̄s
qua artis amplior m hys als āplo m hns
frequēcor uſo muemt: qm̄ reto doctrina mon
ſtraueat

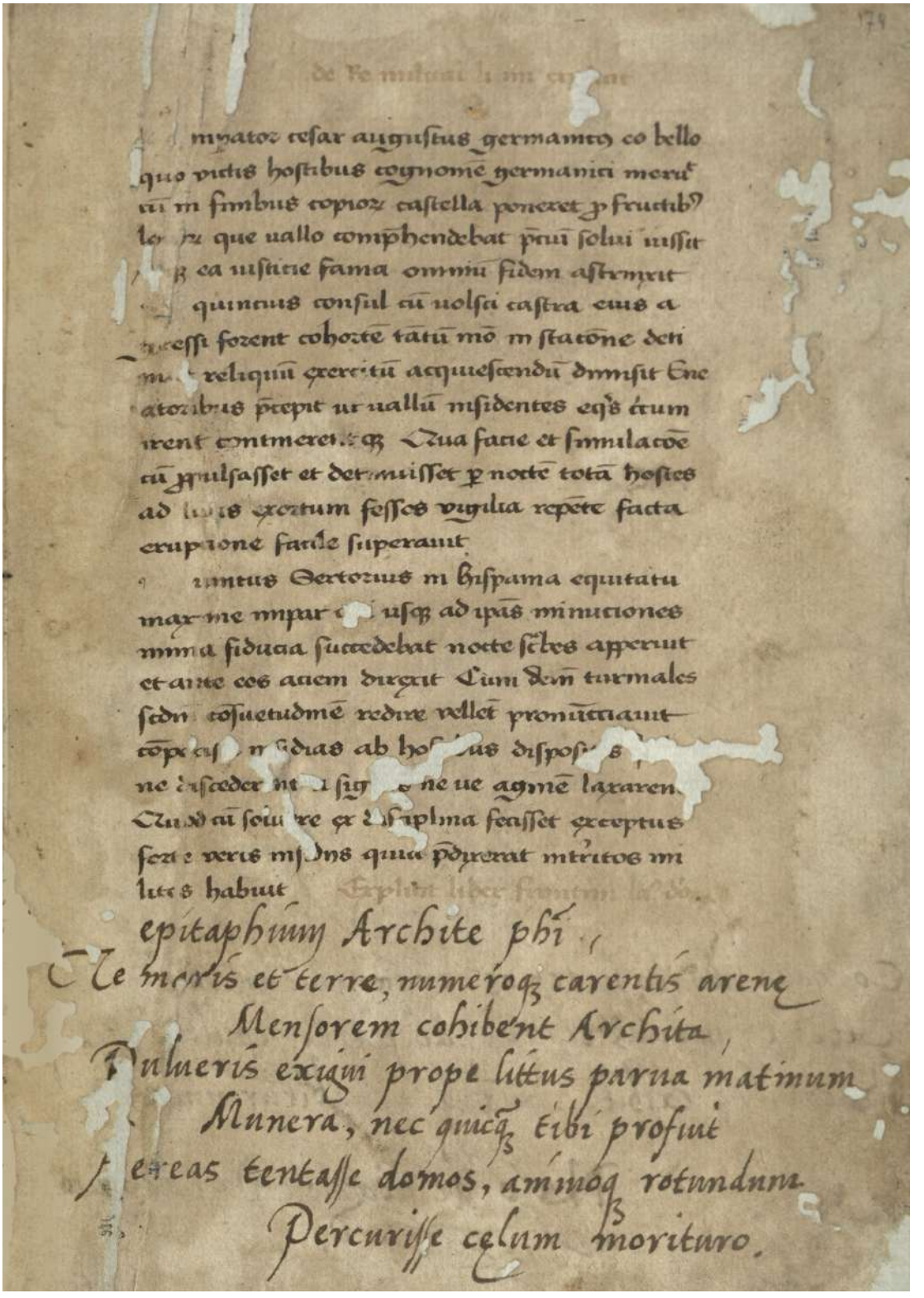
Qm ad mſtruenda rei mlitaris ſa
enciam unus ex numero ſtudioloz
enis accesserm et q̄ deſtmacom
quātum cura nra ualuit ſatisfe
cisse uſus ſum debei adhuc mlitu
te arbitror opere Vt ſolerna ducū facta q̄ a grece
m alticagematicō appellacē comphensa ſut: ex
pedins amplectar cometarys Pra emm conſilio q̄
et prouidenae exemplis ſutrmti duces erut Vnde
illis excogitandi agendi q̄ ſibā facultas nutiat
Preterea contmyet ne de euētu trepidet muena
oms ſue: qui probatis eam experm̄ēns compb
Illud neq̄ ygnoro neq̄ mhiaor et rerū geſtarum
ſcriptores mdagme operis ſui hanc quoq̄ prem
eſſe cōpleros et ab auctoribz exēplorū quicq̄d ſligne

Pl. III. An intermediary page of the codex with the end of Vegetius' text and the beginning of Frontinus' text (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureş).



Pl. IV. An intermediary page of the codex with lines from the Frontinus' work (*Strategemata* Book II), with the erroneous title *De re militari* on the header (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureş).

Pl. V. An intermediary page of the codex with lines from Cicero's text (*De legibus* III) (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureş).



Pl. VI. The last page of the codex (179/357) with a hitherto unknown version of the first strophe of Horace, *Carmen* I.28. (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureş).



1



2a



2b



2c

Pl. VII. 1. On the last (179/357) page of the codex, the first line of the cursive inscription with the name *Martialis*, mirrored from the next, mounted page (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureș; the picture is mirror-inverted, sharpened, the background faded, Á. Sz.); **2.** 19th century watermarks on the back of the last (179/180) page of the codex: **2a.** LEIBEN at the bottom of the page, mirror-inverted to the left, as seen here; **2b.** on the same page, in the upper left quarter of the circle, two characters upside down L and B, perhaps *L(ei)b(en)*(?); **2c.** on the same page, the larger part of the circular watermark in the inner margin, centered along the binding (bottom on the other side): a circle with two vertical parallel lines (Photo György Kovács-G., Bibliotheca Telekiana, Târgu Mureș; the pictures are sharpened, the backgrounds are faded, the marks are thus highlighted, Á. Sz.).

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 319–328

MODERN *SHABTIS* AND "EGYPTIANIZING" ARTIFACTS IN TRANSYLVANIAN COLLECTIONS

EUGENIA BEU-DACHIN, SORIN NEMETI

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.13

Abstract: This article presents four objects from the collections of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, produced in the modern era, and which refer to ancient Egyptian culture. Two of them are modern *shabtis*, and the other two are objects made in the Egyptian style. The modern *shabti* statuettes were moulded in Egypt in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with the intention to imitate ancient objects and to be sold as souvenirs for tourists. The other two modern bronze objects are of Egyptian inspiration and do not copy authentic Egyptian artifacts.

Keywords: museum collections; modern *shabtis*; modern art; Egyptian style.

Rezumat: În acest articol sunt prezentate patru obiecte din patrimoniul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, realizate în epoca modernă, care fac referire la cultura egipteană antică. Două dintre ele sunt statuete *ushabti* moderne, iar celelalte două sunt obiecte lucrate în stil egiptizant. Statuetele *ushabti* moderne au fost modelate în tipar în Egipt, la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea, intenția fiind aceea de a imita obiecte antice, cu scopul de a fi vândute drept suveniruri pentru turiști. Celelalte două obiecte de bronz moderne sunt de inspirație egipteană și nu copiază artefacte autentice egiptene.

Cuvinte-cheie: colecții muzeale; statuete *ushabti* moderne; artă modernă; stil egiptean.

The 19th century was a period of rapprochement with the values of antiquity, when various noblemen and intellectuals began to collect antiquities, which were later donated to specialized institutions, such as the Transylvanian Museum Society in Cluj.[1] During the same period, the making of forgeries by imitating antique objects also increased.[2] This practice began to lose ground with the development of scientific research. Appreciation of the values of antiquity is also closely linked to increased travel in the 19th century, when visiting Egypt and other exotic locations became a target for many culture enthusiasts. The desire of having artifacts of historical value in their personal collections led travelers to acquire various objects, of which some were authentic, others were modern souvenirs.

In Egypt, there has been a dynamic preoccupation with making souvenirs for tourists, by imitating ancient objects, preferably small in size, which were then sold in the pyramid area.

This article presents four objects belonging to the heritage of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, that have been part of private collections and at the beginning of the 20th century were donated to the Transylvanian Museum Society. They were produced in the modern era, but refer to ancient Egyptian culture. The decision to publish them

[1] Mitu 2019, 57–72; Țeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000, 14–16; Mitu 2022, 11–20.

[2] Nemeti 2022, 111–119.

together came as a result of the fact that they all recall ancient Egypt, despite their different characteristics and purposes. Two of them are modern *shabtis*, and the other two are objects made in the Egyptian style. The modern *shabti* statuettes were moulded in Egypt in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the intention was to formally imitate ancient artifacts to be sold as souvenirs for tourists. They do not entirely respect the authentic features and symbolism of *shabtis*, and the text inscribed on them has no specific meaning. The other two objects, made of bronze, are of Egyptian inspiration and do not copy authentic Egyptian artifacts.[3]

Since the pieces presented here are of considerable age, they became objects of historical value, beeing proof of the interest in reproductions, imitations, as well as of the influence of certain styles of ancient culture in the realization of modern artifacts. It is therefore important that these objects are brought to public attention.

1. Modern *shabti* statuette

Various terms have been used to describe unauthentic *shabti* statuettes,[4] such as "forgery", "fake", "tourist art", the last being considered more appropriate, as it is not clear whether or not these objects were produced with the intention of deceiving the buyer. Daniel Potter[5] pointed out several features of them: their height of 16–18 cm, their appearance of an unburnt ceramic object, lack of glaze, blackish appearance, unfinished back, unauthentic inscription.



Fig. 1. Modern *shabti* statuette (photo S. Odenie, ©MNIT).

[3] We decided to publish here the small bronze object representing a female sphinx and the male bronze statuette, as in the past these pieces were classified in the Egyptian collection of the Transylvanian Museum among "Egyptian forgeries".

[4] Van Der Spek 2008, 163–189; Potter 2022, 279–286.

[5] Potter 2022, 279–286.

Location: MNIT, inv. no. v 1666 (II 4416).

The item was registered in the ledger of the Transylvanian Museum Society, with the indication that it is the donation of Dr. Kőváry Ernő, physician from Hunedoara.
Origin: Egypt.
Dating: late 19th – early 20th century.
Sizes: H 18.6 cm; Max. W 5.3 cm; Th. 4 cm.
Material, technique: dark-grey clay, moulding.
State of preservation: good.
Description: Modern *shabti* figurine, mummiform. It is made of clay, moulded, with only the front decorated and the back hand-smoothed. The execution is atypical, so that the wig, which was supposed to be tripartite, is in fact bipartite, with only the front locks represented. Secondly, there is no back pillar, and the representation of the agricultural implements is different from the authentic statues, as the latter are erroneously represented as flail-sceptres. These are visible at the front. While the authentic statues show the hoe and the pick, here the same symbol is depicted on both shoulders. Then the hieroglyphic inscription, which is supposed to be a fragment from Chapter VI of the Book of the Dead, is in fact a string of meaningless signs.[6] The lack of detail on the sides and back, as well as the traces of smoothing (possibly with a knife blade) of these parts, are clear indications of a modern *shabti*.



Fig. 2. Fake *shabti* figurine and its mould, British Museum, inv. no. EA43407.

[6] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA43407.

The base consists of a trapezoidal plinth, which supports the feet. The figure has a plaited false beard with fir-needle-like striations. The arms, covered by the garment, are crossed on the chest. The face is oval, the ears are large and the eyes well defined.

Modern *shabtis* are among the most sought-after souvenirs that have been produced since the first half of the 19th century in Egypt,[7] and are intended mainly for tourists.

The British Museum owns such a statuette, together with its mould (inv. no. EA43407). The dating of the two objects is, according to the description on the museum's website, either late 19th or early 20th century (Fig. 2). The pieces were acquired in 1907.

References: unpublished.

Analogy: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA43407; the same figurine, together with its mould, published in: Wakeling 1912, 47, pl. VI, no. 4; Jones 1990, 249–250, no. 272; the mould length is 19.5 cm.

2. Modern *shabti* statuette



Fig. 3. Modern *shabti* figurine (photo S. Odenie, ©MNIT).

Location: MNIT, inv. no. v 1665 (II 4417).

The piece was registered in the ledger of the Transylvanian Museum Society, with the indication that it is the donation of Dr. Kőváry Ernő, physician from Hunedoara.

Origin: Egypt.

Dating: last decade of the 19th century – early 20th century.

Sizes: H 17.3 cm; Max. W 5.2 cm; Th. 4.5 cm.

[7] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA43407.

Material, technique: dark-reddish brown clay, moulding.
State of preservation: good.
Description: Modern *shabti* figurine, mummiform. It is made of clay, moulded, with only the front decorated and the back hand-smoothed. The execution is atypical, so that the wig, which was supposed to be tripartite, is in fact bipartite, with only the front locks represented. There is no back pillar, and the representation of the agricultural implements is different from the authentic statuettes, as the latter both seem to be seed bags. These are visible at the front. The lack of detail on the sides and back, as well as the traces of smoothing (possibly with a knife blade) of these parts, are clear indications of a modern fake.

The base consists of a trapezoidal plinth, which supports the feet. The figure has a false beard. The arms are crossed on the chest. The face is round, with large ears and well defined eyes. An *uzeh* is visible on the chest.

References: unpublished.

Analogy: Modern *shabtis* which show features similar to the item presented here: Dumfries Museum, DUMFM: 1967.I.2, see in Potter 2022, 281, fig. 1; Queensland Museum, H14418, at https://collections.qm.qld.gov.au/objects/SH13115/shabti-modern-daily-dress-type.

3. Bronze sphinx



Fig. 4. Bronze sphinx (photo S. Odenie, ©MNIT).

Location: MNIT, inv. no. v 1699 (4280).

The piece was registered in the ledger of the Transylvanian Museum Society as part of a batch, with the specification that the objects come from various donors and that they are forgeries.

Origin: unknown.

Dating: 19th century?

Sizes: H 17 cm; Sphinx H 3.7 cm; Diam. 3.5 cm.

Material, technique: bronze, casting.

State of preservation: good.

Description: Small bronze cast statuette of a female sphinx. The statuette is only 3.7 cm high, placed on a disk-shaped base with a diameter of 3.5 cm, which continues with a 13.3 cm long prismatic rod. The rod is notched on all edges, as if it was intended to be inserted into a wooden support. The sphinx stands on its front paws and has an arched back following the circumference of the base. It has a human face with long, shoulder-length hair and wears a diadem on its head. The face is inexpressive, with conventionally marked features. Other human anatomical elements are the breasts, depicted in a naturalistic manner. The body, with its fur outlined by incisions, the front paws, one of the visible hind paws and the tail are of a lion. The stylistic details, the atypical position of the body of the theriomorphic figure and the functional character of the piece indicate that this sphinx is most likely a modern decorative object. The sphinx appears in Western art in various forms: the Egyptian sphinx, reclining and wearing the *nemes*, the Greek sphinx, seated and generally winged. In the case of here presented object – the small female sphinx, it should be classified in the cathegory of the classical sphinx, which no longer has Egyptian features.[8] A good analogy for this small-scale item is the sphinx – standard spike with inscription – from the Kemény Józef collection.

References: unpublished.

Analogy: The model for this object was probably a more elaborate bronze sphinx from the Kemény József collection, published by J. F. Neigebaur in 1851. This sphinx has long hair and a diadem, has no breasts and is winged. It stands the same, on its front paws, on a square plinth, under which there is a long, prismatic iron rod. On the three sides of the base there is an inscription consisting of 20 signs (pseudo-letters, glyphs), identified as Germanic runes or letters of the Greek alphabet. J. F. Neigebaur identifies the piece with a *standard top* (Standartenspitze).[9] The inscription has been read in various ancient and modern languages and the glyphs have been interpreted as belonging to different alphabets. A detailed study by N. Vlassa certified the piece as authentic and read the inscription in Greek as a dedication to the Egyptian sphinx-like deity Tithoes (Ioa Ioa Tithie Re Harmae, for Iao Iao Tithoes Re-*Harmachis*).[10] The Sphinx of Potaissa has thus joined the list of discoveries of several studies on the spread of Egyptian cults in Dacia.[11] A recent study considers that the inscription uses letters of an archaic Greek alphabet and reads it in

[8] Humbert 1994, 22.

[9] Neigebaur 1851, 216, no. 211.

[10] Vlassa 1980, 133–153.

[11] Bărbulescu 1994, 165; Nemeti 2005, 352, no. 13; Bărbulescu 2009, 83–84.

proto-Hungarian.[12] All these attempts to identify the glyphs with the letters of a known alphabet and the translation of the inscription into Greek, Gothic and Hungarian show us that we are dealing with a modern decorative object. The glyphs are a pseudo-alphabet with signs borrowed from archaic Greek and runic alphabets to transcribe a legend of the image into the Hungarian of the modern age.



Fig. 5. Drawing of the item belonging to the Kemény József collection (*Lugosi Fodor András kézirata* BCUCLUJ_FCS_MS754VIII, 56).

4. Bronze statuette



Fig. 4. Bronze statuette (foto S. Odenie, ©MNIT)

[12] Revesz 2023, 1–15.

Location: MNIT, inv. no. v 1693 (4215).

In the ledger of the Transylvanian Museum Society Mike Sándor was mentioned as donor.

Origin: unknown.

Findspot: unknown.

Dating:?

Sizes: H 9.5 cm; Th. 3.3 cm.

Material, technique: bronze, casting.

State of preservation: good.

Description: The bronze statuette depicts a nude male figure standing on a disk-shaped base, counterposed, with his weight resting on his left leg, and with his right leg flexed. The left hand is held up and brought to the chest, while the left hand is brought to the pelvis. In both hands he is holding unidentifiable objects (vases?). The figure is depicted with a bird-shaped head with a prominent beak, possibly Toth (ibis-headed). The statuette is moulded together with the disk-shaped base, and the hands are joined with the torso of the figure, which indicates rather a full bivalve casting mould and not a lost wax casting. The anatomical and physiognomic details are very sketchy, so it is not possible to say what type of animal head the artist intended to represent. It does not look like a jackal's head (which would identify it with Anubis), but rather a bird's head (a falcon, and in this case it would be a Horus, or an ibis, representing Thoth). The identification with the ibis-headed Thoth is, however, unlikely. Usually the ibis beak is depicted long and curved. The anthropomorphic statuette with animal or bird head belongs to the domain of Egyptian theriomorphic deities and it is a modern artefact.

Bibliography: unpublished.

The reason for creating the here published pieces was either commercial, as in the case of the *shabti* statuettes, mass-produced in order to be sold to tourists as souvenirs, or utilitarian, and in this case the items were designed with Egyptianizing features. Some traits of the two *shabti* statuettes betray their lack of authenticity, such as the unfinished back, the lack of the back pillar, and the hieroglyphs, which are figurative rather than intended to convey the characteristic message.

As far as the female sphinx statue is concerned, it should be noted that it does not meet the necessary iconographic elements. It is a female figure with a diadem, long hair and breasts, in accordance with the Greek canon of the Oedipean sphinx. The body is that of a lion, with paws and tail depicted as such, missing wings.[13] The Potaissa sphinx reproduces the Aegean iconography of the Tun Harmachis sphinx of Heliopolis, a male demon with a human head and the body of a winged lion. The piece in the collection of the Transylvanian Museum depicts a Greek female sphinx in a curved, wingless, and unnatural pose.[14]

The bronze male statuette of the nude, bird-headed male god does not correspond to any iconographic canon of Horus known in the Hellenistic-Roman era. There are several

[13] LIMC, VIII.1, 1997, s.v. *Sphinx*, 1149–1174 (N. Kourou et alii): 1163 (female sphinx), 1164 (wingless sphinx).

[14] Good analogies for this model of a non-winged female sphinx are to be found in the decorative sculpture of the XVI–XVIII centuries, see Peignot 1968, 19, figs. 4–6.

versions of the hieracocephalic Horus, but he is always dressed in either Egyptian or military costume. The god is never nude and has a *pschent* on his head. He is depicted as a warrior god, dressed in military costume and with martial attributes (spear).[15]

Bibliography

Bărbulescu 1994 — M. Bărbulescu, *Potaissa. Studiu monografic*, Turda 1994.

Bărbulescu 2009 — M. Bărbulescu, *Cultele egiptene la Potaissa.* In: M. Bărbulescu, *Signum originis. Religie, artă și societate în Dacia romană*, București 2009, 77–90.

Jones 1990 — M. Jones (ed.), *Fake? The art of deception*, Berkely – Los Angeles 1990.

Humbert 1994 — J.-M. Humbert, *Egyptomania: A Current Concept from the Renaissance to Postmodernism*. In: J.-M. Humbert, M. Pantazzi, Chr. Ziegler (eds.), *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730–1930*, Paris – Ottawa, 1994, 21–26.

Mitu 2019 — M. Mitu, *Data on the Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Transylvanian History. The Contribution of the Baron Balázs Orbán to the creation of the Egyptian Collection of the Cluj History Museum*, ActaMN, 56, 2, 2019, 57–72.

Mitu 2022 — M. Mitu, *Establishment of the Egyptian Collection of the History Museum in Cluj (second Half of the 19th Century – Early 20th Century)*. In: E. Beu-Dachin, I. Nemeti (eds.), *Gods and Mortals in ancient Egypt. The Egyptian Collection*, Cluj-Napoca 2022, 11–20.

Neigebaur 1851 — J. F. Neigebaur, *Dacien aus den Ueberresten des klassischen Alterthums, mit besonderer Rücksicht aud Siebenbürgen*, Kronstadt 1851.

Nemeti 2005 — I. Nemeti, *Isis din colecția Botár*. In: C. Mușețeanu, M. Bărbulescu, Doina Benea (eds.), *Corona laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Țeposu Marinescu*, București 2005, 349–365.

Nemeti 2022 — S. Nemeti, *Despre o statuetă falsă din colecția Kemény József*, RB, 36, 2022, 112–119.

Peignot 1968 — J. Peignot, *Du sexe des sphinx*, L'Oeil, 161, May 1968, 12–21, 82.

Potter 2022 — D. Potter, *A Note on Modern (Fake) Shabtis as Tourist Art*, JEA, 108, 1–2, 2022, 279–286.

Revesz 2023 — P. Z. Revesz, *Inscription on a Naxian-Style Sphinx Statue from Potaissa Deciphered as a Poem in Dactylic Meter*, Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry, 23, 3, 2023, 1–15.

van der Spek 2008 — K. van der Spek, *Faked antikas and "modern antiques": The production and marketing of tourist art in the Theban Necropolis*, Journal of Social Archaeology, 8, 2, 2008, 163–189.

[15] LIMC V.1, 1990, s.v. *Horos*, 538–542 (M.-O. Jentel).

Țeposu-Marinescu, Pop 2000 — L. Țeposu-Marinescu, C. Pop, *Statuete de bronz din Dacia romană*, București 2000.

Vlassa 1980 — N. Vlassa, *Sfinxul de bronz de la Potaissa*, Potaissa, 2, 1980, 133–153.

Wakeling 1912 — T. G. Wakeling, *Forged Egyptian Antiquities*, London 1912.

Eugenia Beu-Dachin
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
genibeu@yahoo.com

Sorin Nemeti
Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
nemeti.sorin@gmail.com

REVIEWS

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.14

G. Cupcea, *Latin Inscriptions from the Legionary Fortress of Apulum*, TYCHE Supplementband 16, Wien 2024, 212 p., ISBN 978–3-903207–75-2.

George Cupcea is a Romanist archaeologist with epigraphy concerns, who started his epigraphic quest during his doctoral studies dedicated to the military careers identified in the province of Dacia, with numerous subsequent studies on the same general topic.

Latin inscriptions from the Legionary Fortress of Apulum is a comprehensive volume that brings together the epigraphs discovered in the legionary fortress of Apulum (today Alba Iulia). The largest part is represented by new inscriptions discovered during the rescue excavations led by professor Nicolae Gudea in the years 2010–2011 at the *principia* of the fort, but the author also accomplished a valorisation in a new perspective of some older, already published pieces.

Cupcea's archaeologist formation seeps through at every step, as his focus is always first on the context and only secondly on the pieces discussed. The structure of the book is also a work of attention to detail, meticulously organized and written in a virtually flawless English language. The book is structured in 14 parts, divided, whenever necessary, into smaller topics. He follows a clear methodology, of presenting first the epigraph (technical details, transcript, reconstruction, and translation of text), proceeding from there on to argue his proposed reading with both archaeological and historical evidence. Every Latin term is translated and clarified, every particular situation encountered is discussed, making the book a very easy read, even for those less versed in epigraphic riddles.

The study starts with an acknowledgments section, addressed in particular to the tutors who have guided the author over the last few years in the necessary research for the present study, followed by a brief and on-point introduction. This is in fact the much-needed context regarding the overall province of Dacia and a historical and archaeological close-up on the evolution and research of Roman and post-Roman Apulum in which the epigraphic texts will be presented and discussed.

Parts 3 through 7 represent the core of the book and are dedicated each to an assemblage of inscriptions, grouped according to their find spot. Each part opens with a somewhat lengthy introduction on the general functionality and layout of the space in which the items to be discussed were discovered, in fact once again a close-up on the context. The inscriptions are presented in detail, with technical data and reading and interpretation of text based on well-researched analogies. Each part includes *Appendices* comprising the numerous analogies referenced throughout the text.

Parts 3–6 are dedicated to the *principia*, the official, administrative building of the fort, and comprise a total of 9 epigraphs, 6 of which are novel. By way of context, the author also puts forward an interpretation for the use of space in which they were discovered. Whenever revisiting already published items, Cupcea does it after a thorough investigation of the previous interpretation and of his own approach. Each particularity encountered is dealt with separately and in full, be it a technical aspect of the slab or a curiosity of the

text. This is also a way for the author to pinpoint a certain moment in the existence of the military camp of Apulum.

Part 7 deals with 7 previously published pieces, which had been discovered in areas other than the *principia*. Their text is rediscussed and reinterpreted in accordance with the author's already established approach. By way of carefully reading the text and associating it to the findspot of each item, the author manages once again to bring convincing arguments for a reinterpretation on the use of space inside the legionary fortress, a most impressive discovery being that of a *carcer* in *retentura dextra*.

Part 8 is an overview of previously discovered epigraphs from the same legionary fortress, mainly occasioned by the 18th century building of the Vauban citadel or reused as building material in the Middle Ages. This last survey falls within the scope of completing the epigraphic image of the fortress in terms of dedicatory habits, devotional practices and general structure of the legion and its inhabited space. The problematic findspot of these items, either found in secondary position or having just the general findspot 'cetate', is cautiously taken into account, but exploited to a maximum whenever possible, in order to get a relevant interpretation of the piece.

Part 9, ostentatiously entitled "Epilogue", transcends the usual "Conclusions" and encompasses remarks on the military ranks, duties, careers, and practices, be them military, devotional or social, notable moments in the history of the province, like imperial visits, but also on the use of space and how it should be recognised and reconsidered beyond the architectural features, all without truly verbalizing it.

Parts 10–14 serve a utilitarian purpose, comprising comprehensive lists of illustrations, tables, appendices, abbreviations, bibliography, and indices. Finally, the numerous plates referenced throughout the book are placed at the end of the book, organised from macro (map with the location of the province, updated plan of the fortress and its surroundings etc.) to micro (each inscription discussed and technical photos taken during excavations for relevant archaeological contexts).

George Cupcea's previous work transpires from how meticulously his interpretations are explained. The present book reveals a clever understanding of the subject and, thus, surpasses a simple corpus of inscriptions, as they are both the object of study and the means by which the author identifies and explains not only dating and reading of the text, but also behaviours that seep through the overall epigraphic habit, from principles of the military to overarching province- and empire-wide practices. It is based on thorough research and a broad discussion of the epigraphs in their relevant archaeological and historical context, with carefully placed footnotes, especially whenever a certain affirmation might be up for further debate. The aim of the book is, thus, achieved, in the form of a monographic study of some of the most valuable inscriptions from the capital of the Dacian province.

Ștefania Dogărel
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
stefaniadogarel@yahoo.ro

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.15

Oana Stănciulescu, *Capcana unui compromis. Securitatea și arheologia. 1947–1967* [The Trap of a Compromise. Security and Archaeology. 1947–1967], Ed. Vremea, București 2023, 362 p., ISBN 978–606-081–190-9.

In recent years in Romania, several books have been published on the issue of the "Securitate", files of some personalities and professional groups during the Communist era. The book published by Oana Stănciulescu last year also falls into this trend.

The book is originally a doctoral thesis defended at the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest. It is divided into five chapters, the first of which is introductory (*Securitatea, arma cu care a fost controlată o întreagă societate* ["Securitate", the weapon with which an entire society was controlled], p. 37–112). The most valuable are chapters II (*Arheologi români sub lupa organelor de represiune. Urmăriri și racolări* [Romanian archaeologists under the watchful eye of the repression organs. Pursuits and recruitments], p. 113–239) and III (*Încercarea de infiltrare a exilului românesc și a mediului academic occidental. Studii de caz: Dionisie Pippidi și Radu Vulpe* [The attempted infiltration of the Romanian exile and the Western academic environment. Case studies: Dionisie Pippidi and Radu Vulpe], p. 240–273), possibly chapter V (*Institutul de Arheologie și Securitatea* [The Institute of Archaeology and the "Securitate"], p. 294–316), in which the actual subject of the book is presented. Chapter IV (*Interesul Partidului Muncitoresc Român pentru cercetarea arheologică. Securitatea și formarea limbii și poporului român* [The interest of the Romanian Workers' Party in archaeological research. The "Securitate" and the formation of the Romanian language and people], p. 274–293) would have been more appropriate at the beginning of the book.

Beyond these organisational aspects, the subject of the book is spectacular, at least for a historian or a connoisseur of the era and the professional group of archaeologists (and historians). The sources themselves are spectacular, the materials contained in the "Securitate"[1] files kept at *The National Council for the Study of the "Securitate" Archives* (CNSAS). These are tracking files and network files, as some archaeologists were tracked by the "Securitate" or were informers, and sometimes they were in both situations. But this category of sources, although amazing, is problematic at the same time. It represents the response of some informers to the questions and stimuli of the "Securitate". As the content of the book shows, the notes are often written in the purest wooden language and say exactly what the "Securitate" officers wanted to hear/read or… they say nothing. Sometimes informers give vent to their own frustrations or animosities towards their colleagues. On the other hand, the notes are sources resulting from the effort of the "Securitate" to find out information (certain information!) about the life and activity of some people or even some institutions, and they are tendentious from the beginning. When they ask questions, when they create files, or when they draw conclusions (which can sometimes lead to criminal

[1] The Department of State Security. "Securitate" was the common name given to the Romanian Intelligence Service during the communist period. It was for most of its existence under the administrative subordination of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

prosecution), the "Securitate" officers (who are themselves very diverse in intellect and professional training) do so intentionally, to follow, to verify, to incriminate people. They are not doing it for the sake of truth. In other words, the historical sources (because the documents from CNSAS are historical sources!) resulting from the "Securitate" files are not immaculate historical information that must be taken as such, but on the contrary, they must be read very carefully, in a mirror, and above all corroborated with other categories of sources, to reach what historians and archaeologists want: the historical truth. Getting into the "Securitate" files of historians and archaeologists, after knowing their lives and work from many other sources, is a challenge. This is exactly what we have experienced recently reading documents from the "Securitate" file of Petru Comarnescu, an important Romanian writer, publicist, art historian, and philosopher ("agent Anton") in the book edited ten years ago by Lucian Boia.[2] Returning to the archaeologists in Oana Stănciulescu's book, many of them are referred to in Petre Alexandrescu's memoirs, published in 2022.[3]

Many archaeologists wander through the pages of Oana Stănciulescu's book. Some well-known names are: Ion Nestor, Ioan I. Russu, Radu Vulpe, Dionisie Pippidi, Emil Condurachi, Petre Alexandrescu, Eugenia Zaharia, Dumitru Berciu, Scarlat Lambrino, Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Vladimir Dumitrescu, Kurt Horedt, Dinu Adameșteanu, Constantin Daicoviciu. Not all of them were in a relationship with the 'Securitate', or at least not according to the text.

The book is not a monograph; it cannot claim to be a synthesis, but is rather a case study. It was built around the files that the author consulted; it is not an analysis of the stated subject of the book (the relationship between archaeologists and the "Securitate"). This results from the structure of the book and the way it is constructed. The author writes mainly about archaeologists from Bucharest; of course, other archaeologists, from Cluj, Iași or Constanța, also appear in the files and then in the pages of the book (see the substantial pages dedicated to Cluj historian and archaeologist Ioan I. Russu, p. 137–154, but also to Kurt Horedt, another archaeologist from Cluj, who immigrated to West Germany in 1981, p. 154–155).

Many times, the author does not notice the nuances in the informative notes consulted. As we showed above, sometimes the informers – when they did not want to harm the person about whom they gave the informative notes – stated banalities or uninteresting aspects, as Radu Vulpe did, for example, about Dionisie Pippidi (p. 183–186). Another aspect in which the book is deficient is the general context of Communist Romania, and especially the context of Romanian historiography under the Communist regime. The author points out in many cases the biographies of archaeologists and the fact that some of them were educated in the era before the war, some even abroad, but she does not notice the general landscape of Romanian historiography.

Undoubtedly, the sources used by Oana Stănciulescu are interesting and precious. This can be seen in chapters II and III, the latter dedicated to the attempts of the "Securitate" to infiltrate the Romanian exile in Western Europe and even certain groups of foreign historians or archaeologists. This clearly results from the book about Petru Comarnescu,

[2] Boia 2014. See also https://peregristorii.wordpress.com/2024/06/30/petru-comarnescu-5-o-alta-fata/.

[3] Alexandrescu 2022. See also https://peregristorii.wordpress.com/2023/01/22/petre-alexandrescu-continentul-scufundat-conversatii-despre-trecut-polirom-2022-prezentare-de-carte/.

cited above. Equally precious are the documents concerning the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, which, however, is not the only archaeology institute in the country, or in any case not the only institution where archaeologists worked. There are several research institutes (of Cluj, Iași) and dozens of museums, in which hundreds of archaeologists worked, and they were also under the watchful eye of the "Securitate". This makes us think that the title of the book does not quite match its content.

Another argument in this sense is the time period stated in the title of the book: the years 1947–1967. Not just by chance, but systematically, the research leaves this chronological level, reaches and even dwells on the 1970s, even on the 1980s, so there was no need to specify the period in the title. The "Securitate" files presented in the book that talk about archaeologists span the entire duration of the Communist regime.

After reading the content of the follow-up files, the author identifies some of the main research themes of Romanian archaeology: the Roman and Dacian-Roman continuity, respectively the presence of Slavs and the migratory populations in general in the sites on the territory of Romania. It also mentions, adjacently, the research carried out in Dobrogea, all these research themes being well represented because they are in fact the major themes pursued by archaeologists from Bucharest. The author almost does not mention the Dacian archaeological research (the long-term excavations carried out in the Orăștie Mountains, Grădiștea de Munte, Costești, etc.), and most of the Roman archaeological research (Transylvania, Oltenia, etc.), because they are missing from the "Securitate" files she consulted. But this does not mean that they are completely absent from the landscape of Romanian archaeology from the Communist era, on the contrary.

There are several aspects that stand out to the historical or academic reader. Many times, the sources presented extensively in the book do not benefit from a footnote, so the reader does not know if the respective phrases belong to the author, and if they are taken from sources... from which sources? Some information is annoyingly repeated (e.g., on pages 208–211). When introducing a new archaeologist, the author writes a few sentences about him in the text, and a few more sentences in the footnote (e.g., page 137, regarding Ioan I. Russu). On page 255, the author provides a brief biographical introduction of Radu Vulpe in the text and also in a footnote, after frequently referring to him in the previous pages. In the footnotes, the consulted works are often cited roughly, as if it were a work in progress. Some quoted titles are wrong. There was no SCIN magazine (p. 309), but SCIV ("Studii și cercetări de istorie veche" [Studies and research of ancient history]), a magazine that appeared in 1950, and which in 1974 became SCIVA ("Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie" [Studies and research of ancient history and archaeology]). In general, the critical apparatus is incompletely and carelessly drawn up. With chapter V, the book ends abruptly, without any conclusions.

Despite all the above observations, Oana Stănciulescu's book is an important work. It circulates numerous sources resulting from the research of the "Securitate" files belonging to the CNSAS, and also questions the en bloc approach of entire professional categories in their relationship with the "Securitate" agencies. Along with historians and archaeologists, it would be worth studying *in extenso* the files of physicians, engineers, workers in factories and enterprises, of artists, teachers of primary and secondary schools, and other professional categories.

Biblography

Alexandrescu 2022	P. Alexandrescu, *Continentul scufundat. Conversații despre trecut*, București 2022.
Boia 2014	L. Boia (ed.), *Dosarele secrete ale agentului Anton: Petru Comarnescu în arhivele Securității*, București 2014.

Radu Mârza
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
rmarza@yahoo.com

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.61.16

Edisa LOZIĆ, *Funerary Monuments in the Interior of the Roman Province of Dalmatia*, E-Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniae 11, Ljubljana 2021, 210 p., 978–961-05–0097-1, ISBN 978–961-05–0541-9.

Throughout time, people expressed themselves in many ways that show the complexity of techniques and beliefs. Whether functional or spiritual, the creations of humanity offer insight into the aspects of living in different epochs. For Antiquity, the primary sources are the starting point of a process that reveals stories about people that gave them shape.

In the case of the Roman Empire, funerary monuments are a large and relevant category. At a first glance, they show how people wanted to be perceived by posterity and their perspective on the after-life. After a more in-depth analysis, they can help to define many aspects of the past: characteristics of the local art, organization of the process of production, transportation routes and usage of limestone sources. These are the main points that Edisa Lozić focuses on in *Funerary Monuments in the Interior of the Roman Province of Dalmatia*.

The author is an assistant professor (specialized in classical and spatial archaeology) at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 2018, the book was initially under the title *Proizvodnja nagrobnih spomenikov v notranjosti rimske province Dalmacije*. Three years later, the translation had a major role in popularizing a work that can provide a methodological model for other provinces.

In 210 pages (four chapters besides the introduction, the conclusions and the 128-page catalogue), the author is using all the information given by the funerary monuments to define possible scenarios about how the stonemasonry production was organized in the interior of the province. This area of study was chosen in order to observe stonemasonry in an environment that was difficult to traverse and had few options for water transport, according to the author. The answers can only be obtained through a multidisciplinary study.

This implies a petrographic analysis (second chapter) of the monuments that can make a connection between the place of the discovery and the most probable provenance of the material. The typological analysis (third chapter) is also relevant in showing how form and iconography can differentiate workshops. With the information obtained from this approach, the spatial distribution of the types, subtypes and variants (fourth chapter) is given to make a clearer picture of the production process (fifth chapter). This is possible by rejecting uniformity and presenting the characteristics of certain groups of monuments. Individual cases are also mentioned.

Funerary stelae, urns and lids are the main categories that give an overview. Other monuments (either not numerous or in a precarious state) were not used to define other types. The provenance of the material is assumed to be not larger than the radius of 30 km around the place of the discovery, geologist Igor Rižnar being the one that performed the macroscopic analysis of the monuments. The Basic Geological Map of the SFRY was also

relevant in comparing the lithological descriptions of the monuments with the location of the limestone resources of the area.

Limestone is defined with the help of the A, B (B_D, B_K, B_M), C, H and T variants and then analyzed within the zones numbered seven to sixteen (in accordance with the number of figures and discussed on the basis of the cardinal points). The maps give a clear image of the coordinates that sculptors had to adapt to in order to procure the material. The typological classification (figs. 17–20) also helps in visualizing a summarized version of their work.

The typology was made by following the main shape of the monuments and the decorations. This resulted in A (A1, A2) and B (B1–5) type stelae, A (A1 and A2) and B-E type urns and A-C lids. By using all the epigraphic information, a relative chronology is given to all the types. This can help specialist who are trying to identify cultural influences on the territory of other provinces. It also gives an insight into the evolution of the local art.

The stones do not remain silent and they tell the story of the people who commissioned them. The funerary altar (cat. no. 146) from Breza can be mentioned here (p. 28). The limestone from which it was made from is not to be found in the nearby area. Judging by the social status of the clients (members of the local aristocracy), the conclusion that it was brought from somewhere else is very possible. The stylistic influences from *Salona* have a major role in identifying a possible origin, as the author mentioned.

Another interesting case is found in Bihać, where decorations of the cinerary urns and lids are thought to be made freehand by small workshops (p. 62). The arguments supporting this theory are: the large number of the monuments, the different dimensions of the monuments (so lack of standardization) and the fact that the limestone is found close to the surface (and it can be cut easily). These two cases can summarize the main points of the work.

The author gets to the conclusion that there is no big production center for one particular zone, but many centers with different workshops. Also, the Ward-Perkins and Russell models of production are included as possibilities. In the first one, quarry workshops deliver the semi-finished monuments to the distribution centers, where the decoration is added. The second model puts accent on the power of the client, commissions being the start of the process mentioned above (p. 11). Also, the author does not exclude cases where the shape and the decorations are made in the same workshop.

The study is well-organized, which makes it easy to read. Every step of the analysis is described carefully and the written information is in harmony with the figures. Also, the author is aware of the limits of the work (not all monuments went through a petrographic analysis and the role of the commissioners is difficult to pinpoint). As it is suggested in the final, the same analysis can be applied to the coastal region of Dalmatia.

Constantin-Cristian Dascălu
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
christian_dascalu@yahoo.com

IN MEMORIAM

Acta Musei Napocensis, 61/I, 2024, p. 341–344

CONSTANTIN-ADRIAN POP
(24.05.1938–30.12.2023)



The news of Constantin (Dinu) Pop's death around the last New Year's Eve saddened us and made our desire to pass into a better new year even more intense! Each time, on Holidays or other important occasions, Dinu used to call and congratulate us, maintaining our friendly relations, which have become increasingly rare nowadays! Thus we managed to keep a relationship of collegiality and, above all, of friendship, built over time, even though he and his wife, Viorica Pop, were retired, which lasted thanks to Dinu's perseverance in contacting those of us who were his soul family, besides his natural family!

Constantin Pop was born on May 24, 1938 in Bucharest, and he was the successor of teachers of schools from Blaj. He graduated from the general school and from the "Titu Maiorescu" (now "I. L. Caragiale") High School in the capital between 1945 and 1955. He became a student of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Alma Mater Napocensis in 1958, following the career of his paternal grandfather, Ștefan Pop, whom he loved and admired. During his university studies (1958–1963) his tutor was the young Hadrian Daicoviciu, then assistant professor at the Department of Archaeology of the above-mentioned faculty. After graduation, he was assigned to the Museum of History of Transylvania in Cluj, where he worked as a museographer throughout his professional life, from 1963 to 1999.

He was an archaeologist of the Roman period, and his scientific concerns were particularly focused on the Roman provincial art, contributing to the valorization of the sculptural monuments in the collections of the National History Museum in Cluj or in other museums in the country, as well as to the publication of those discovered on various archaeological sites in Roman Dacia. He has also focused his scientific research on bronze artifacts of artistic value, and his efforts were crowned with a doctoral thesis entitled *Figurative Bronzes in Roman Dacia*, coordinated by Professor András Bodor, PhD, and defended within the Alma Mater Napocensis in 1998.

As an archaeologist, Constatin Pop took part in archaeological excavations organized by the institution in which he worked. Thus, he was a member of the archaeological teams of excavations at the auxiliary forts at Buciumi (1969–1971), Bologa, Poiana Selei, Gherla, at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, the capital of the province Dacia (extended period, between 1973–1999), at Cluj-Napoca, at the excavation of the south-eastern Roman necropolis from Cipariu Square (1985–1990) etc.

As a museographer, Constantin Pop contributed to the organization of the permanent exhibition of the History Museum of Transylvania, respectively of the sections dedicated to the Dacian and Roman civilizations, and to the Egyptian one. He has also participated in similar activities in the organization of the Dacian and Roman Sections of the National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest, in the organization of the Sarmizegetusa Museum (a section of the Deva History Museum) and of the section dedicated to ancient history at the Gherla History Museum.

At the same time, he was a member of the national team that was responsible for prestigious international exhibitions such as "Römer in Rumänien", organized by the Cluj Museum in collaboration with the Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln (12 February – 18 May 1969); "Civiltà romana in Romania", Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni (February – April 1970); "Illyrians and Dacians / Illyres et daces", an exhibition organized in collaboration with the National Museum in Belgrade and toured to Ljublijana, in 1971–1972; "The Civilization of the Geto-Dacians in the Classical Period / La civilisation classique des Daco-Gètes", an international exhibition toured between 1979 and 1981 to 10 European countries (Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, Holland, Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Bulgaria, Poland and Austria), and so on. All of them were accompanied by remarkable catalogues, in which Constantin Pop made the descriptions of bronze artefacts and of sculptural monuments. He also participated in the organization of national or temporary exhibitions such as "Egyptian Antiquities in Romanian Collections" (1988), "The Treasures of the Two Sarmizegetusa", "Masterpieces of Roman Art in Dacia" (1995–1996), "The Great Roman Ceramic Centre of Micăsasa. Crafts – Art – Beliefs" (1995–1996), "*Miles Romanus* in the province Dacia" (1997), in which he played an important role both in the organization and in the editing of the catalogues that accompanied the above-mentioned exhibitions.

His scientific activity is quantified in five co-authored volumes: *Castrul roman de la Buciumi. Contribuții la cercetarea limesului Daciei Porolissensis* [The Roman camp of Buciumi. Contributions to the research of the *limes* of Dacia Porolissensis], Cluj 1972 (in

collaboration with Eugen Chirilă, Nicolae Gudea, Vasile Lucăcel); *Monumente sculpturale romane în Muzeul de Istorie Turda* [Roman sculptural monuments in the Turda History Museum], Cluj 1973 (in collaboration with Magda Jude); *Figured Monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, Sarmizegetusa Monograph 2, BAR IS 55, Oxford 1979 (in collaboration with Dorin Alicu and Volker Wollmann); *Statuete de bronz din Dacia romană* [Bronze statuettes from Roman Dacia], Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Monografii I, București 2000 (in collaboration with Lucia-Țeposu Marinescu). To these must be added no less than 280 contributions – articles and studies – dedicated in particular to Roman provincial art, published in specialized journals, in the proceedings of congresses, conferences, symposia and national and international sessions, to which are added studies dedicated to different categories of artefacts and files published in the catalogues of prestigious national and international exhibitions, reviews, popularization articles in various local publications (the magazines "Tribuna", "Observator cultural", the newspapers "Făclia" and "Adevărul de Cluj", etc.).[1]

His scientific activity was also highlighted by his participation in numerous international congresses and conferences – first of all those dedicated to provincial art and figurative bronzes (his main specialization), such as the congresses on ancient bronzes in Freiburg (1988), Madrid (1990), Nijmegen (1992), as well as the Romanian-Swiss colloquia organized in Deva (1991), Bern (1993) and Tulcea (1995). At the same time, Constatin Pop was present throughout his professional career (including the period after his retirement) at a considerable number of scientific sessions, conferences, symposia and national colloquia. Many of his scientific papers, both national and international, have been published, as mentioned above.

He also carried out a very prolific editorial activity, as an editorial secretary of the journal of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, *Acta Musei Napocensis*, from 1988 to 1992, then, starting in 1994, after the separation of the publication into two parts, of the series Prehistory – Ancient History – Archaeology (*Acta Musei Napocensis* 26–30, I/1) until 1995.

Dinu Pop was a very good specialist in the field of Roman provincial art, a dedicated museographer, a reliable teammate on archaeological sites, a good colleague, an open, helpful, cordial, non-conflictual person. He had a fulfilling family life, with his wife Viorica, a specialist in the medieval and modern eras at the museum in Cluj, with his daughter Andreea and grandchildren Karina and Luca, and he even had the chance to be a great-grandfather, enjoying the birth of the last descendant of the family, Ava.

For his entire professional activity and for his human qualities, all of us who knew him will keep a beautiful memory of a dear colleague and friend, who unfortunately has gone to Heaven.

Requiescas in pace, amice carissime!

[1] The list of Constantin Pop's publications can be found in Bibliografia Daciei romane 2003; Bibliografia Daciei romane 2006–2007. For the list of articles, studies, reviews published in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, see Călian 2000–2001.

Bibliography

Bibliografia Daciei romane 2003	S. Cociș, F. Marcu, O. Țentea, *Bibliografia Daciei romane (1919–2000)*, Cluj-Napoca 2003.
Bibliografia Daciei romane 2006–2007	S. Cociș, O. Țentea, *Bibliografia Daciei romane, 2001–2005*, EN, 16–17, 2006–2007, 343–344.
Călian 2000–2001	L. Călian, *Acta Musei Napocensis. 35 ani de activitate editorială (1964–1999)*, ActaMN, 37–38, 2000–2001, 395–457.

Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț
National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca
viorusu1@yahoo.com

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.archeo.ens.fr/IMG/pdf/annee_philologique_abrev_revues.pdf

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timişoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timişoara.
ABL	C. H. E. Haspel, Attic black-figured lekythoi, Paris 1936.
ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic black-figure vase-painters, Oxford 1956.
ACD	*Acta classica Universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis*, Debrecen 1968-.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secţiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
Acta Carnuntina	*Acta Carnuntina*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, Carnuntum.
ActaMN	*Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	*Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău.
ActaTS	*Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology, Bordeaux – Moscow.
Acta Siculica	*Acta siculica*. Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888-.
Aegaeum	*Aegaeum*. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP, Liège.
AEM	Archäeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
Aetas	*Aetas*. Journal of history and related disciplines, Budapest.
AFEAF	L'Association Française pour l'Étude de l'Âge du Fer, Paris.
Agora 32	The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 32: J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, Princeton 2008.
AGRW	R. S. Ascough, P. A. Harland, J. S. Kloppenborg, Associations in the Greco-Roman World. A Sourcebook, Waco, TX 2012.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIA Iași	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași.
AIJ	V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien, Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.

Alba Regia	*Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis – Alba Regia*. A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	*Aluta*. Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
American Anthropologist	American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association.
AMS	Asia Minor Studien. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
AnDob	Analele Dobrogei, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța.
Angustia	*Angustia*. Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
Annales HSS	*Annales*. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin – New York.
AO (S. N.)	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Altens Orients und des Alten Testament, Kevelar/Neurkirchen-Vluyn, Münster.
Apulum	*Apulum.* Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Aquila Legionis	*Aquila legionis*. Cuadernos de estudios sobre el Ejército Romano, Universidad de la Rioja.
Arrabona	*Arrabona.* A Győri Múzeum évkönyve. Győr.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.
Археологія	Археологія. Спілка ароехеологів України, Kiev.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Archaeologia Bulgarica	*Archaeologia Bulgarica*, Sofia.
Archeologia	Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, Warszawa.
ΑρχΔελτ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Αθήνα.
ArchHung	*Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Arcaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae*, Budapest.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
Argesis	Studii şi comunicări. Seria Istorie, Muzeul Judeţean Argeş.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arheologia (Sofia)	Arheologija. Organ na Archeologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia.
Arheologie și Studii Clasice	Arheologie și Studii Clasice, București.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
ARYS	ARYS. Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades, Instituto de Historiografía "Julio Caro Baroja", (UC3M), Madrid.
Ausgrabungen und Funde	Ausgrabungen und Funde: Nachrichtenblatt der Landesarchäologie, Berlin 1956–1995.
Avram, PPEE	A. Avram, *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa*, Colloquia Antiqua 8, Louvain – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2013.
Balcanica	Annual of the Institute for the Balkan Studies, Belgrad.

Banatica	*Banatica*, Reşiţa.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCEN	Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, Paris 1888.
BHAUT	*Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis*, Timişoara.
BMC	H. Mattingly, R. Carson (eds.), Coins of the British Museum, London 1923.
BSAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France.
BSNR	Buletinul Societăţii Numismatice Române, Bucureşti.
Bulgaria	I. Jordanov, Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 1: Geographical names, Agato, Sofia 2003; Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 2: Family names, Agato, Sofia 2006; Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 3: SOCASTO, Sofia 2009.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie, Bucureşti.
Caiete ARA	Revistă de Arhitectură, Restaurare şi Arheologie, Bucureşti.
Carpica	Revista anuală a Complexului Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu", Bacău.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în Bucureşti. Muzeul de Istorie şi Artă al Municipiului Bucureşti.
CAG	Carte archéologique de la Gaule 10, L'Aube, Paris 2005; Carte archéologique de la Gaule 6, Les Alpes-Maritimes, Paris 2010.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CBI	E. Schallmayer et alii (eds.), *Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 1990.
CBC	*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, W. Herwig (ed.), Vienna 1979.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Bucureşti.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI*, Leyden 1989.
CCDJ	Cultură şi civilizaţie la Dunărea de Jos, Călăraşi.
CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), *Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni*, EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, *Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii*, Leyden 1985.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf.
CIA	Kircchoff et alii (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berlin 1873 sqq.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I–IV, Berlin 1828–1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum*, HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863 sqq.
CILA	J. González (ed.), Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía, Sevilla 1989–1991, I–III.
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, I–II, The Hague 1956, 1960.

Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*.
Classica et Christiana	*Classica et Christiana*. Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CLE	F. Buecheler (ed.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Leibniz 1895–1897.
CMG	*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*.
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, *Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis*, Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, *Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuvinorum*, I–II, Leiden 1969–1976.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice, București.
CNT	*Corpus Nummorum Thracorum*: https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/
Coll. Antropol.	*Collegium antropologicum*, School Of Biological Anthropology, Zagreb.
CommArchHung	*Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae*, Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Romîne, București.
CPL	*Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*.
Crisia	*Crisia*. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani.*
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
Cumidava	*Cumidava*. Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.
DA	Ch. V. Daremberg, Ed. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments, Paris 1877–1919.
Dacia (N. S.)	*Dacia* – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
Diacronia	Diacronia. http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/journal/about
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. *Annales Musei Debreceniensis de Frederico Déri nominate*, Debrecen.
DissPann	*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Budapest.
DIVR	D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României*, București 1976.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichita romane, I–III, Roma 1895–1922.
DO	Ph. Grierson et alii, Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Wittemore Collection, I–V, DO Research Library, Washington D.C. 1966–1999.
Dobrudža	Dobrudža. Études Éthno-culturelles, Sofia.
Documenta Praehistorica	*Documenta Praehistorica*, Ljubljana.

Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie, Kolozsvár [Cluj] 1910–1919, 2006-; Szeged 1925-
Drobeta	*Drobeta*, Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
EAIVR	Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României, București 1994-.
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/).
EDCS-J	EDCS-Journal. Open Peer-Reviewed Online Journal on the basis of EDCS Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby, Manfred Clauss, Anne Kolb, Wolfgang A. Slaby, Barbara Woitas.
EDR	*Ephemeris Dacoromana*. Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma, Roma.
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyvei, Kolozsvár [Cluj] 1859 sqq.
EN	*Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	*Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum*, Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
Erdély	Erdély Honismertető Folyóirat. Az Erdély Kárpát-Egyesületnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Ἔργον	Ἔργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα.
Études et Travaux	Études et Travaux. Annual of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.
FolArch	*Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest.
FPA 1–7	P. Kovács (and B. Fehér 1–2) (ed.), *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae*, 1–7, Budapest 2003–2013.
Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.
GED	W. Ph. Lehmann, Gothic Etymological Dictionary, Leiden 1986.
Gephyra	*Gephyra*: Journal for the Ancient History and Cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, Akdeniz University, Antalya.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrade.
GLIA	S. Mitchell, D. French, The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
GVI	W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften. 1. Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin 1955.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbenk Heidelberg, edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de.

A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. *Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati*, Miskolc.
Hierá	*Hierá.* Collana di studi storico-religiosi, Cosenza.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTÉ	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, I–XXII, Deva 1880–1913.
IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.
IDR	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, I–III, Bucureşti – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie, I–II, Bucureşti 1996, 2000.
IEW	J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1–2, Bern – Munich 1959, 1969, 2005[5].
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGB	G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, I–V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956–1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure), Bordeaux – Paris 1997.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în româneşte, însoţite de indici şi comentate, Bucureşti 1976.
IGLS	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Paris 1929 sqq.
ILAf	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Châtelain, Inscriptions latines d'Afrique, Paris 1923.
ILAlg	Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, 1864 sqq.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, I, Sofia 1989.
ILCV	Ernst Diehl: *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, Berlin 1925–1967.
ILD	C. Petolescu, Inscripţii latine din Dacia, Bucureşti I, 2005; II, 2016.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, *Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices*, Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I–IV, Berlin 1882–1916.
IMS	Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, I–VI, Beograd 1976–1982.
INMV	Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej – Varna, Bulgaria.
InscrItal	*Inscriptiones Italiae*, Roma 1937.
ISM	Inscripţiile din Scythia Minor greceşti şi latine, Bucureşti 1980 sqq.
Istros	*Istros*. Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JAHA	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology. The journal of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.
Journal of Democracy	Journal of Democracy, Washington DC.

JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology, http://jsa.sagepub.com/.
Journal of Military History	Journal of Military History, Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	Journal of Religion and Health, Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Budapest.
ΚρΧρον	Κρητικά Χρονικά, Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	*krisis/crisi*, Roma 2012.
KSK RBS	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtscaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle, Berlin.
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
LANX	LANX. Rivista della Scuola di specializzazione in Beni archeologici dell' Università deli Studi di Milano, Milano.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/.
Libelli Archaeologici	*Libelli Archaeologici*, Budapest.
Libyca	*Libyca*. Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 1981 sqq.
LIMES	Buletin Limes. Frontierele Imperiului Roman în România. Publicație susținută de Comisia Limes România.
L&S	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, A new Latin Dictionary, New York – Oxford 1891.
Lupa	*Ubi erat lupa*, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.
MAL	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
Madrider Mitteilungen	Madrider Mitteilungen. Deutches Archäeologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	*Marisia.* Studii şi materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Judeţean Mureş, Târgu Mureş.
Marmatia	*Marmatia*, Baia Mare.
Masson, OGS	Masson, OGS = O. Masson, *Onomaslica Graeca Selecta I–II*, Paris 1990.
MCA	Materiale şi cercetări arheologice, Bucureşti.
Medicina nei secoli	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.
MelBidez	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933–1934).
Memoria Antiquitatis	*Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis*, Piatra Neamț.
MGAH	*Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae*, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.
MGH AA	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, Hannover – Berlin 1826 sqq.
MGH SRG	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*.

MGH. SRM	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Hannover 1896.
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in Folio)*.
Michmanim	Michmanim.The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Haifa University.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.
Musaios	*Musaios*, Muzeul Județean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. *Acta Comparitionis Litterarum Universalis*, Budapest.
Novensia	*Novensia:* badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warsawa.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OnomThrac	D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum. Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie*, Μελετήματα 70, Athens 2014.
OpArch	Opvscvla Archaeologica Radovi Arheološkog zavoda -Opuscula Archaeologica Papers of the Department of Archaeology, Zagreb.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, I–IV, Budapest 1994–2005.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
Orghidan	V. Laurent, La collection Orghidan, Paris 1952.
Oriens et Occidens	*Oriens et Occidens.* Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben, Stuttgart.
ORL	ORL. Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches.
Ősrégészeti Levelek	Ősrégészeti Levelek. Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest.
PamátkyArch	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PAT	*Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum*, Cluj-Napoca.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
PECS	R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, M. Holland McAllister (eds.), The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, Princeton University Press 1976.
Peuce	*Peuce*. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion", Tulcea.
PF 5	U. Mandel, Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die "Oinophorengruppe" und Verwandtes, Pergamenische Forschungen 5, Berlin – New York 1980.
Phil.-Hist. Klasse	Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Berlin.
Phoenix	*Phoenix*. Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PG	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, Harvard University 1857.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Berlin 1897–1898.

PIR²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*², Berlin 1933 sqq.
P. Lond	F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell (eds.), Greek Papyri in the British Museum, London 1893–1917.
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris (eds.), Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I–III, Cambridge 1971–1992.
P. Mich.	Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection.
Pontica	*Pontica*. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	*Potaissa*. Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
Probleme de Muzeologie	Probleme de Muzeologie, București.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RAN	Repertoriul Arheologic Național, http://ran.cimec.ro/
RB	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
RCRF Acta	*Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta.*
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – *Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis*, *Acta Nova Musei Nationalis*, 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
Religion	Religion, http://www.tandfonline.com/.
Religious Studies	Religious Studies. An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge.
Rheinisches Museum	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Köln.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca 1992.
RepHargita	V. Cavruc (ed.), *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Harghita*, Sfântu Gheorghe 2000.
Revista Arheologică	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău.
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.
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Brill series.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, I–II, Mainz – Bonn 2004.
RIB	The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Oxford 1965 sqq.
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage, London 1923-
RIT	G. Alföldi, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, Berlin 1975.

RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns, I–VI, Budapest – Bonn 1972–2001.
Rivista storica dell'antichità	Rivista storica dell'antichità, Roma.
Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia	Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, Milano.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, I–V, London 1978–2006.
RMI	Revista Monumentelor Istorice, Bucureşti.
Romanian Journal of Archaeology	Romanian Journal of Archaeology, http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm.
RMR	R. O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, Cleveland, Ohio 1971.
RPC I	A. Burnett et alii, Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69), London, Paris 1992.
RPMK	Th. F. X. Noble (ed.), From Roman provinces to Medieval kingdoms. Rewriting Histories, New York – Abingdon, Oxon 2006.
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar – 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.
RRE	Religion in the Roman Empire, Erfurt.
RSS	A. Mócsy, T. Szentléleky, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, Budapest 1971.
SA	*Studia Archaeologica*, Roma.
SAA	*Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, Iași.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Saldvie	Saldvie: Estudios de prehistoria y arqueología. Open Access Journal.
Sargetia	*Sargetia*. Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
Savaria	*Savaria*. A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője, Szombathely.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wiessenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft.
SCIV(A)	Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche (şi arheologie – since 1975), Bucureşti.
SCN	Studii şi cercetări de numismatică, Bucureşti.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923 sqq.
Silber und Salz	R. Slotta, V. Wollmann, I. Dordea, *Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum « Das Gold der Karpaten – Bergbau in Roşia Montană » vom 27. Oktober 2002 bis zum 05. August 2003*, IV (*Einleitende Aufsätze, Reiseberichte sowie geologische und mineralogische Literatur*), Bochum 2002.

Situla	*Situla.* Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani – *Dissertationes Musei Nationales Labacensis*, Ljubljana.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra.
SMMIM	Studii şi materiale de muzeografie şi istorie militară, Bucureşti.
SMSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.
Social History of Medicine	Social History of Medicine, Oxford.
Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Mitteilungen der Museen des Komitates Somogy, Kaposvár.
SpecNov	*Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Institutis Historiae Antiquae et Archaeologiae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*, Pécs.
StComBrukenthal	Studii şi comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
StComSatuMare	Studii şi comunicări, Satu Mare.
Studii de Preistorie	Studii de Preistorie, http://arheologie.ro.
SympThrac	*Symposia Thracologica*. Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, Bucureşti.
TabCerDac	I. I. Russu, *Tabulae Ceratae Dacicae*. In: IDR, I, 1975, 165–256.
TED'A	Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona.
Terra Sebus	*Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, Sebeş.
ThesCRA	M. Greenberg (ed.), *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, Los Angeles 2004.
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae.*
Thraco-Dacica	*Thraco-Dacica*. Institutul de Tracologie, Bucureşti.
TIR	*Tabula Imperii Romani*.
Tisicum	*Tisicum*. A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
TitAq	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, *Tituli Aquincenses*, Budapest 2009 sqq.
Transactions Philadelphia	University of Pennsylvania. Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia.
Transylvanian Review	Transylvanian Review. Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.
TRHR	P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum*, Budapest-Bonn 2005.
Tyragetia	*Tyragetia*. Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn.
Zentraleuropäische Archäologie	Zentraleuropäische Archäologie. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
Ziridava	*Ziridava*. Complexul Muzeal Arad.

Institutions:

CEROR	Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Occident Romain, Lyon.
ICEM	Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion" Tulcea.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCDR	Muzeul Civilizaţiei Dacice şi Romane Deva.
MIR	Muzeul de Istorie Roman.

MIT	Muzeul de Istorie Turda.
MJA	Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești.
MJERGC	Muzeul Județean de Etnografie și al Regimentului de Graniță Caransebeș.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MJSM	Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
MNA	Muzeul Național de Antichități, București.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MNM = HNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum = Hungarian National Muzeum, Budapest.
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia.
MȚC	Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
NMB	The National Bardo Museum, Tunis.