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ECONOMICAL LIFE IN NOUA CULTURE IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN LATE BRONZE AGE

MIHAI WITTENBERGER

The Noua culture received its name from I. Nestor on the basis of the finds from Noua, nowadays a neighbourhood of Braşov city[1]. It is the last of the Transylvanian Bronze Age cultures, integrated into the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex, defined as such by S. Morintz[2]. Its formation area is somewhere in the northern-Pontic steppes. What is specific of this culture is its extraordinary ability to adapt to the local conditions. I am referring to the rapid takeover of the indigenous way of life and a strong cultural and ethnic interference[3], whose traces can be found in nearly all archaeological discoveries from Transylvania. Until recently, most investigations used to classify Noua populations as being nomads or semi-nomads. Basing myself on archaeological discoveries, I had a hard time agreeing with this idea, because this period was characterised by a real economic "boom" being the most prolific in the entire Bronze Age.

The present paper is an attempt, based on and limited by the amount of the available information, to shed light over the character of the economy existing within the Transylvanian Noua culture. Starting from the inventory of the settlements discovered, one can outline an image of the economic life in Noua communities: osteological remains testify about animal breeding; carbonized grains, as well as the tools discovered bring forward important data on crop cultivation, the diet and household economy at the time. The presence of bronze items and of moulds provides an image, although incomplete, of the metallurgy at the end of the Bronze Age.

[1] Nestor 1932, 116–117.

[2] Morintz 1978, passim.

[3] Wittenberger 2006a, 146–155.

Occupations

1. Animal breeding

I prefer using the term "animal breeding" instead of "herding", because it avoids an inappropriate interpretation of an important economic activity. Contrary to some older theories, identifying the breeding of big-horned cattle as the main occupation[4], I believe that Noua culture was characterised by a mixed economy, both agricultural and pastoral. Although statistically cattle bones are more numerous, osteological analyses have proven that there were plenty of other domesticated animals, as well: ovicaprids, pigs, horses, and activities connected to crop cultivation have also been archaeologically testified.

At the few Noua sites in Transylvania where statistical analyses have been carried out on osteological material, the results reveal a relatively even number of big-horned cattle and ovicaprid individuals. Of course, this bestows upon cattle a bigger quantitative weight, to the detriment of smaller animals. However, the following remark is called for: taking into account the existence of small communities and of relatively small agricultural areas, the presence of ovicaprids and big cattle on the same pastures is practically impossible! Under these circumstances, the system most likely to be used and still in use today is probably that of separate herds. Thus, ovicaprids were herded to other pastures than those visited by big cattle, or taken to fields big cattle had already been on. The presence of several species of domesticated animals in the settlements proves that Noua culture bearers were practicing animal breeding differently than nomadic populations; it is common knowledge that the latter were (and still are) specialized in the breeding of only one type of animal (either cattle or ovicaprids), to which can be added – maybe – horses and dogs[5]. N. I. Schishlina studied the pastoral system of populations in the Caspian steppes throughout the Bronze Age[6]. Three theories are hereby enumerated, theories that have obviously evolved, following the accumulation of information. Gryaznov's theory, dating from 1955, reveals the shepherds' uninterrupted daily movement; Schilov, in 1975, believed that small groups migrated on a seasonal basis ; and Rassamakin, in 1994, considered that there used to be a mixed economy: both pastoral and agricultural. This third system seems to resemble the most the one in the Carpathian arch.

[4] Florescu 1964, 162; Haimovici 1990, 127; Sava 2005, 143–159.

[5] Sherratt 1982, 92.

[6] Shishlina 2001, 347–349.

Referring to the bearers of the Noua culture, it must be emphasised that breeding activities played a very important role in their economy. That is what made some authors argue that Noua population would be semi-nomadic[7]. However, I believe that, should one analyze attentively the information on the fauna in Noua settlements, a more nuanced image could be outlined on their animal breeding activities.

Comparative table of the fauna in Noua settlements, broken down to percentages per number of individuals

Moldavia, according to A. C. Florescu and S. Haimovici[8]

Settlement	*Bos taurus* %	*Ovis aries / capra hircus* %	*Sus scrofa domesticus* %	*Equus caballus* %	*Canis familiaris* %	*Wild animals* %
Valea Lupului-Iaşi	62.13	18.03	9.37	8.10	0.65	1.75
Piatra Neamţ-Ciritei	65.08	7.77	9.84	6.39	1.65	9.18
Bîrlad	53.09	18.99	10.53	14.65	0.23	2.51
Gîrbovăţ level 2	65.74	18.43	8.90	4.50	0.45	1.98
Gîrbovăţ level 1	59.19	24.96	8.93	4.25	0.45	2.22

Bessarabia, according to O. Levitţki and E. Sava[9]

Settlement	*Bos taurus* %	*Ovis aries / capra hircus* %	*Sus scrofa* domesticus %	*Equus caballus* %	*Canis familiaris* %	*Camelus bactrianus* %	Birds %	*Wild animals* %
Petruşeni	64.5	19.2	9.7	6	0.03	0.02	0.05	7.3

Transylvania, according to G. El Sussi[10] and D. Bindea[11]

Settlement	*Bos taurus* %	*Ovis aries / capra hircus* %	*Sus scrofa domesticus* %	*Equus caballus* %	*Canis familiaris* %	*Birds and unidentified* %	*Wild animals*
Deuş	29.5	32	14.5	5	1	5.5	12.5
Mera	35.2	33.4	15.6	7.3	0.8		7.7
Zoltan	28	32.6	19.2	8.2	0.8		11.2

[7] Florescu 1964, 142; Haimovici 1964, 182; Haimovici 1990, 62; Sava 2005, 143–159.

[8] Florescu 1964, 165.

[9] Levitţki, Sava 1992, 130.

[10] El Sussi 2002, 153–174.

[11] Bindea, Ph.D. thesis, kind information.

The herein presented data reveal significant differences between Transylvania and Moldavia, related to the representativeness of certain animal species. A comparison with the Wietenberg culture can help understand the mutations occurring within the Noua culture.

Wietenberg culture, Derşida[12]

Bos taurus %	*Ovis aries/ Capra hircus* %	*Sus scrofa domesticus* %	*Canis familiaris* %	*Equus caballus* %	*Wild animals* %
25.7%	28.3	25.1	5.6	3.7	11.3

It can be noted that there is a close connection between the Wietenberg and Noua cultures, related to the representativeness (in percentages) of big cattle and the ovicaprids. Furthermore, it seems that porcine have had a wider representativeness in the Wietenberg culture.

Skipping the strictly quantitative data related to the presence of the various species in Noua settlements, an interesting element, also revealed by statistics, is the animals' sacrification age. In the case of cattle and horses, most of the individuals are adult: 56.3% mature horses; 87% mature cattle; 97% adult and subadult porcine; 70% juvenile ovicaprids. As for ovicaprids, the juvenile sacrification ratio is almost the same nowadays. The birth rate and family characteristics make possible the recovery of all the needed individuals in spring, the reproductive maturity period being of about 8 months. On the basis of data from the Zoltan settlement, G. El Sussi[13] argues that 34% of the cattle were exploited for productive purposes: traction, milk and meat (66%). Quite probably, big breeding cattle were only sacrificed when they reached full maturity or in special cases (accidents, illness, lack of fodder). The existence of a special interest in cattle has also been proven by the presence of castrated animals[14], used exclusively for traction and meat.

2. Hunting and fishing

As proven by archaeological findings, other frequent occupations were hunting and fishing. The presence of wild boar, bear, rabbit, stag and bison bones are eloquent in this respect, even though they do not exceed 10% of the total

[12] Bindea, unpublished, kind information.

[13] El Sussi 2002, 159.

[14] El Sussi 2002, 166.

number of individuals. Most probably, in winter hunting was one of the most important occupations. The discovery of antler skates, both in Moldavia: Cavadineşti, Bărboasa, Truşeşti and in Transylvania: Sebeş[15] and Mera, ***pl. 1*** could be an argument in favour of this idea. At Zoltan[16] and Mera have been discovered arrowheads, harpoons and fishing hooks ***pl. 2***, ***pl. 3***, ***pl. 4***. The specialization of the arrowheads proves that hunting was a relatively important occupation, although seasonal. In the area dominated by the Noua culture, besides tubular arrows having an eastern origin, exceptionally well-crafted three-edged arrows have been found. They were meant for precision shooting appropriated for hunting big animals. In the case of the arrows from Mera, one can notice that the angle between the three sides is perfect: 120^0. Moreover, the guiding edge perpendicular on the string is 2 mm taller than the other two, which gives the arrow an impressively precise rotation and ballistic trajectory[17]. Naturally, these arrows could also be used as weapons. A fishing pin made of bronze was discovered at Zoltan ***pl. 3/2***, with analogies in eastern-European, Uralic areas[18]. The presence of his type of pin in Transylvania's eastern regions can be explained by the eastern tradition, which obviously the bearers of the Noua culture did no longer preserve. The impressive dimensions of the pin must also be noted, as it shows the rivers' abundance in fish, at that time.

I believe that the following conclusions can be outlined about animal breeding and hunting among Noua populations in Transylvania:

- There is a remarkable difference in what the representativeness of big-horned cattle is concerned between eastern-Carpathian areas and Transylvania: 61.62% of the total number of individuals, as compared to 30.9%. The difference is caused by the different specificity of the Transylvanian relief, on the one hand, and on the other, by the traditions of the indigenous populations.
- The representativeness of ovicaprids is significantly bigger in Transylvania, 32.66%, as compared to 17.89% in eastern regions.
- From a quantitative viewpoint, big cattle represented the main source of nourishment.
- The fact that about 87% of cattle were sacrificed when reaching maturity shows that they were also used for labour, which is also emphasised by the presence of castrated animals.

[15] Florescu 1991, 321.
[16] Cavruc 1998, 226–228.
[17] Dobroiu 1982, 27.
[18] Cavruc 1990, 125–126; Grigoryev 1998, 114.

- The presence to a bigger percentage of game in settlements in Transylvania can indicate on the one hand a significant preoccupation for this activity, and on the other, the abundance of wild animals.

3. Agriculture

Next to animal breeding, crop cultivation was another very important occupation. The discovery of many hoes, "tupic" bone sickles or sickles made of bronze, with a hook or a tongue attached to the handle is conclusive evidence in this respect. Many grinding mill fragments were discovered at Buza, Mera, Deuş, Nicoleni and Zoltan. Moreover, in Deuş, Mera and Buza were discovered carbonized grains: wheat (*Triticum monococum* and *Triticum dicocum*), rye (*Saecale saecale*), chick peas (*Cicer arrietinum sp*) and buckwheat (*Fagyparum sagitatum*)[19]. The placement of cereals in graves as offerings (Cluj – Banatului St.) is yet another piece of evidence of the agricultural activities practiced – it is common knowledge that the placement of cereals as offerings is an exclusive attribute of agricultural, sedentary populations. E. Sava identified five kinds of wheat in the eastern-Carpathian area: *Triticum aestiva*, *Triticum compactum*, *Triticum Spelta*, *Triticum dicocum* and *Triticum monococum*, apart from leguminous plants such as millet, buckwheat and peas, and cereals like rye and barley[20].

The discoveries made up to now do not allow for a clear identification of the way in which the land was worked; quite probably, a crop rotation system was used. The hoes, coulters and the various tools that could by used in agriculture indicate the presence of a subsistence agriculture, but allowing for a big enough diversity of cereals and vegetables to satisfy the needs of a small community. From the site at Buza were uncovered two items that could be hoes[21], ***pl. 5***. The two items made of young cervid antler must have been used as hoes or coulters. The third one, made of mature cervid antler has a slot for the fastening of a more solid piece, made of stone or bronze, ***pl. 5/1***. The presence of flat stoves can indicate the way bread was made. It is no mystery that even nowadays, in Eastern Europe and in the Uralic areas, respectively in the Near East, unleavened bread is still used. Similar to the Spanish tortilla or to Greek bread, it could be baked on the stoves existing in dwellings, without requiring a strong fire or the existence of a bread oven.

[19] Analyses carried out by N. Salontai Ph.D., University of Agricultural Sciences and Veterinary Medicine of Cluj-Napoca.

[20] Sava 2005, 159.

[21] Wittenberger 1994a, 152.

The data presented herein allow for the following conclusions:

- Next to animal breeding, agriculture was an important occupation and was based on a variety of cereal and vegetable cultures;
- The presence of specialized tools, corroborated with the existence of mixed cultures of cereals and vegetables indicate a stable and diversified agriculture, requiring an agricultural cycle of over a year.

4. Stone processing

Directly related to agriculture, stone processing was a burning necessity. As we were arguing, there is a series of tools to indicate the fact that agriculture was practiced. If sickles made of a pig's jaw could indeed have been used[22], the same thing cannot be said about sickles made of stone, known as *Krummesser*. Items belonging to this category were discovered in several Noua settlements[23], the present paper exemplifying those from Ozd[24] no. 253, Mureş County, and Buza, Cluj County, ***pl. 6***, where geological identifications have also been made. Other Noua sites attesting such tools are: Chintelnic and Tonciu[25], Ocnița[26] and Sighişoara[27].

Curved knives made of stone appear as early as the pre-Bronze Age[28] and continue to be used throughout the entire Bronze Age, up until the Hallstattian Age. Such items are present within the following cultures: Tei[29], Otomani[30], Füzesabony[31], Wietenberg[32], Monteoru and Sabatinovka[33]. Their function is not completely clear, but they most probably had a cult-related role, also connected to agricultural practices. An argument in this respect is the discovery made at the Sălacea sanctuary, in an Otomani environment, where several *Krummesser* were found, in groups of three[34]. In eastern-Carpathian areas, there are many such

[22] Florescu 1991, 288.
[23] Florescu 1991, 332–335.
[24] Marinescu 1993, 7.
[25] Marinescu 1995, 49–125.
[26] Marinescu 1993, 6–7.
[27] Baltag 1979, 90–91.
[28] Roman 1976, pl. 9/16–17.
[29] Leahu 1966, 5.
[30] Ordentlich 1972, pl. 15/8.
[31] Banner 1959, fig. 26/5.
[32] Boroffka 1994, 121; Rotea 2000, 41, pl. type 1/22.
[33] Florescu 1964, 157–159.
[34] Chidioşan, Ordentlich 1975, 15–26.

pieces, generally polished, made from Dniester flint[35]. Those from inside the Carpathian arch are convex, polished and have a triangular section.

Moreover, tools made of stone seem to have been very special items to be used for commercial exchanges. Thus, following analyses on several stone objects discovered in Noua settlements, their (approximate) origin can be specified. Microscopic analyses on thin sections have been carried out on a few items, in order to find out their area of origin. For the items from Ozd, Mureş County, the sources are different. Item no. 7143, is made of rhyolitic chlorite-sericite schist, a metamorphic rock from the epizone, with a massive structure, a greyish-greenish colour, originating from the southern-Apuseni Mountains, probably the Valley of the Mureş River, the Sebeş-Deva area. The *Krummesser* no. 7756 is made of pyroxene andesite, feldspat chlorite, with an extremely fine fundamental mass, originating from the Bîrgăului Mountains. The third item analyzed, the one from Buza, is made of a slightly metamorphosed detrital limestone, the source being the southern-Apuseni Mountains, probably the Valley of the Mureş river, ***pl. 7***.

In almost all Noua settlements have been discovered fragments of grinding mills, items quite common in a settlement characterised by agricultural activities. They are present both in dwellings and outside them. Since we do not have at our disposal any un-broken piece *in situ*, it is hard to tell whether there was any rule related to their location.

Made of hard rocks, grinding mills have concave active parts, with highly visible traces of use. Several fragments of grinding mills have been discovered at Buza, made of different rocks[36]. Thin sections were carried out on six of the fragments, in order to identify their area of origin. Photographs taken under a microscope +N, enlarged 40, respectively 60 times, revealed the fact that the rocks are pyroxene andesite, and some items consist of feldspats and porphyritic hornblende. It is noteworthy that they originate from the Bîrgăului Mountains area. One of the pieces is part of a parallelipipedal, slightly concave grinding mill made of volcanic rock, originating from the Dej area. Several fragments of grinding mills were uncovered from Deuş, section S1. As the material was fragmentary, the initial shape of the grinding mills could not be identified, but it is noteworthy that some were made of red andesite, and others of dacite. The closest source of rhyolitic dacite is Poieni, on the Valley of the Criş river, outside the area taken by the Noua culture in Transylvania. Some small fragments of grinding mills made of rhyolitic dacite, also coming from the Poieni source, Cluj County, have been discovered at Mera, Cluj County, as well.

[35] Florescu 1991, 335–336.

[36] Săsăran, Wittenberger 2008.

In the Pălatca settlement, which we believe to be quite uncommon, several fragments of grinding mills made of different materials have been discovered. As they were probably coming from a bronze processing workshop, it is possible for them to have been used to crush the material to be melted. In the immediate vicinity, at Petea, near Pălatca, a fragment of a grinding mill made of grey granite was discovered, originating from the Oriental Carpathians.

5. Mining and metallurgy

This chapter in itself can be the object of an ample research thesis, as it has already been. However, I believe it necessary to make a few general precisions, given the economic context of the Noua culture, and to refer to concrete findings that can bring forward new data related to one of the most developed stage in bronze metallurgy. From a chronological viewpoint, the presence of the Noua culture overlaps almost perfectly the peak in the evolution of bronze metallurgy and mining.

Mining. There are no certain archaeological data related to the mining practiced by the Noua culture, but it was probably not different from any other moments in the Bronze Age. The menhir from Mihăieşti, Bistriţa-Năsăud County, representing a miner[37] or a mining deity, is one of the few pieces of evidence attesting the fact that in intra-Carpathian regions the extraction of useful ore was an important activity. The presence of bronze pickaxes in bronze deposits could be yet another element attesting this activity, as well as the legend of the "Golden Fleece"[38]; as it is common knowledge that until the discovery of mercury, gold dust decantation was carried out by the means of a sheep skin, technique still in use today in the Caucasian area, and in the Apuseni Mountains until the beginning of the XXth century.

The metals used in the age under discussion are copper, gold, tin, lead and silver. The constant presence of iron, about 3.5% in common bronze objects, can be explained by the "local mark" of Transylvanian ore. Nevertheless, the presence of obvious traces of rust on some of the items dated to the time-period in which the Noua culture was present makes me believe that sporadically iron pieces were used as well, possibly from imports. The main technique used in the mining of copper deposits was, quite probably, washing gold sand and copper-silver dust. Transylvanian deposits are to the greatest extent "complex deposits", but the

[37] Rotea 2002/2003, 11; Rotea 2004, 707.

[38] Rotea 2002/2003, 9.

mining of mineral outcrops using the fire-water technique cannot be excluded, either. Tin, which shall be discussed further on, was most probably brought in from the Woody Carpathians (Carpații Păduroşi) through commercial exchanges, but it is also possible for it to have been obtained, just like lead, by washing sands containing heavy metals. Complex mineral ore containing lead and tin can be found in hydrothermal veins, also connected to neogene magmatism phenomena. The main utilised mineral is lead sulphide, which is mined nowadays as well, in Baia Borşa, Chirlibaba, Rodna, Bălan, Baia de Arieş, Roşia Montană etc.

Salt mining is also connected to mining and to bronze metallurgy. The relationship between the two activities has been argued by many specialists[39]. It is known that in the Neamț area, the Noua populations used to mine salt from salty springs, as proven by the findings from Oglinzi[40]. The massive presence of Noua findings along the Mureşului, Someşului and Tîrnavelor Valleys[41] in the proximity of salt sources cannot be accidental, and the rock salt outcrops from Cara, Cojocna, Pata, Ocna Dej, Valea Florilor, Cluj County; Uriu, Bistrița County or Uioara, Alba County have most definitely been mined. It is certain that salty fountains/springs have also represented a major salt source. Several sources of natural brine are still in use today: Vîlcele, Valea Florilor, Cojocna, Corpadea, Căian, Boju, Morişti, Iuriu de Cîmpie, Pata, Gheorgheni, Cluj County; Sărmăşel, Mureş County, Ocna Sibiului, Sibiu County; Figa and Blăjenii de Jos-"Salt Fountain", Bistrița County. There probably are many more others, and I believe that a mapping of these sources related to the period under discussion would be worth the effort.

The discovery made at Valea Florilor, situated on the southern-western ridge of the salt massif from Turda, brings forward a very interesting dating element. The wood items discovered here, very well preserved because of the high concentration of sodium chloride, have been dated using the radiocarbon method and belong to the Noua culture. The calibration average indicates the year 1250 BC[42], therefore the time in which the Noua culture was active in the Transylvanian Plain.

In the bronze deposits from Uioara, but not exclusively, many winged flat picks used in salt mining have been discovered. Among others, salt is used even nowadays for polishing bronze items. It was also indispensable for animal

[39] Ackner 1856, 24; Alexianu, Dumitroaia, Monah 1992, 162–163; Harding 2000; Rotea 2002/2003, 7–17.

[40] Dumitroaia 1992, 36–42.

[41] Wollmann, Ciugudean 2005, 98.

[42] Wollmann, Ciugudean 2005, 100–101.

breeding, as all herbivores need this mineral. Most definitely, although we do not have any material evidence dating from the Bronze Age, salt was one of the items used in trading.

Metal processing. Unlike other materials, bronze items do not have an explicit cultural or ethnic connotation[43], because bronze metallurgy is the most advanced technical element of an entire age, spreading over a large area, sometimes having an extended period of use. Precisely because of that, most bronze items cannot be regarded as elements with a precise cultural framing. An example is the *Rollenadel*-type pin, whose existence begins in the mid-Bronze Age and lasts till the Hallstattian Age, or the Transylvanian socketed axe, with all its variants, which has a wide utilisation area, respectively a long period of use.

The presence of types of objects originating from another area than the one into discussion cannot be denied, as they can represent objects traded, used and spread by a certain culture, in our case, the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex. Among these, the most noteworthy are the knobbed pins, most probably used as fibulae and the oriental sceptre-axes from Drajna and Larga[44], but also the daggers with median rib from Şercaia[45], Sibiu County and Caşinul Nou, Harghita County[46], having a three-stepped blade. Both pieces resemble Peschiera-type daggers, but have strong affinities with items from the Sabatinovka environment[47]. Knobbed pins, just like notched shoulder bones have been attested neither before, nor after the Noua culture. I therefore consider that the two objects are artefacts typical for this culture.

According to some of the specialists, the new models have been accompanied by a new technology[48] based on a Cu-Sn alloy. V. Cavruc considers the events in the western Siberia and eastern Urals to have caused the expansion of the Seima-Turbino phenomenon, having the Sintaşta culture as link[49] and from here, through the Srubnaia culture, it would have reached the Eastern Carpathians, subsequently infiltrating into Transylvania throughout the Noua culture formation process. Although tempting, I do not believe that this hypothesis can be supported archaeologically, even though one cannot deny the fact that some bronze objects have eastern influences, indeed: knobbed pins imitating knobbed stone sceptres,

[43] Bruck 1999, 313–345.

[44] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1989, 73–74.

[45] Mentioned in several articles, the item was not available to me.

[46] Crişan 1989/1993, 248.

[47] Klochko 1993, 43–45, pl. 1–2.

[48] Dergacev 1997, 135–205.

[49] Cavruc 1997, 72.

the Golourov-type two-handled socketed axes[50], the sickles with hooks apparently imitating, "tupic" bone sickles widespread east of the Carpathians.

Based on the data available, we cannot refer to a discontinuity between Middle and Late Bronze Age metallurgy, when the Noua culture was present in Transylvania, quite probably because of the influences of the Wietenberg-tradition indigenous element, which undoubtedly held the secret of processing tin bronze. An argument in this respect is bronze processing technology, which has not changed essentially, but suffered improvements. Thus, from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age up to the Hallstattian Age, the percentages of tin in the alloy only suffered small modifications, in order to have a better alloy equilibration. The increase, broken down into stages, ranges between 0.04–9%, 1.9–7.1%, and 4.1–8.4%[51]. What is important is the increase of the average and the emergence of a Transylvanian "local mark", with about 3% Fe. Corroborating data from Transylvania with the information provided by Chernîkh related to the chronology of copper and bronze artefacts, one can notice that artefacts made of a Cu-Sn alloy emerged in about the same historical moment in: Syria, Altai, Central Asia and, last but not least, the Carpathian area, all around 2000–1800 BC[52]. Under these circumstances, I believe that the above-mentioned idea, according to which the Cu-Sn alloy would have an eastern origin lacks archaeological support. It is much more natural to consider that the same technological phenomenon was taking place in about the same historic moment, in different places.

I believe that the quantitative and qualitative leap is the result of the local Wietenberg tradition interferences with a great cultural area: the eastern-European one, represented by the Noua and the entire series of deposits Uriu-Domăneşti. An argument in this respect is the socketed axe group from Oinac in the southern Carpathians, which imitates the Transylvanian-type socketed axe[53], ***pl. 16***. There is a deposit type to attest Transylvania in the "Noua period", characterised by a relatively reduced number of items and by the uniformity of the inventory. These items are small, mostly unbroken, usually sickles, socketed axes, and spearheads: Mociu[54], ***pl. 9***, Cîmpeneşti, Cluj County. This is the fundamental difference between the "Noua Age" and the early Hallstattian age, in which almost all the pieces discovered had been intentionally broken, like in Vîlcele II[55] or Uioara[56].

[50] Dergacev 1997, 138.

[51] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 18.

[52] Cernîkh 1992, 67–71.

[53] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 78–79.

[54] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 64, pl. 56, with older bibliography.

[55] Soroceanu 1988, 249–261.

[56] Soroceanu, Istrate 1975, 32; Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 23–24, pl. 114–117.

West of the intra-Carpathian area have been discovered a few Arpăşel-type deposits, as defined by K. Kacsó[57]. This type of deposit is very frequent in northern-western Romania, in the Cehăluț area, where they probably got to the Noua environment from. It is highly probable for some Otomani pottery models to have also reached Transylvania through the Cehăluț group, which had a strong Otomani component.

Bronze findings are classified in three groups: those from settlements, necropoleis and deposits.

The predominant findings in settlements are pins, with or without buttons, piercers and a few spearheads. Comparing spearheads from Transylvania to those from the eastern-Carpathian area, one can note that, while the weapons used inside the Carpathian arch were very similar, if not identical to those in the Suciu-Lăpuş, Otomani or Cehăluț area; east of the Carpathians, the weaponry is Sabatinovka-type[58], like in: Ţigăneşti, Rogojeni, Stuhuleț[59].

Necropoleis have a different inventory. Weapons, sickles and socketed axes are not to be found, necropoleis revealing only jewellery items: knobbed pins, buttons, lockeringes or bracelets.

The deposits from the "Noua Age", belonging to the Uriu-Domăneşti series[60] are different than contemporary ones belonging to the Suciu-Lăpuş area, both by composition and by quantity. Those in the Noua area are small deposits, made of a few unbroken items, usually sickles with hooks and socketed axes: Suatu, Cara, Cătina, Corund, Cluj I, Cluj II, Cluj IV, Mociu, Zimbor, Valea Largă, Topliţa[61] etc. A few deposits: Uriu, Iara, Aiud etc. also contain knobbed pins, saws and fragments of weaponry. One can see that, unlike in Arpăşel-type deposits, deposits in the Noua areas have not revealed pendants or other jewellry. It must also be noted that deposits in this horizon do not contain intentionally broken pieces, like those from Uioara or Vîlcele II. Most sharp items (sickles, swards, daggers) had been broken or bent before being placed there. Without going into further details, I believe that these are offerings made to honour a Chtonian divinity, maybe "mother earth" – the one who offered the metal and who was not to be hurt?

Among the numerous deposits and isolated items discovered, a significant one is the settlement at Pălatca, which is not only a settlement proper, but also a

[57] Kacsó 1995, 81–131.

[58] Klochko 1993, 43–55.

[59] Florescu 1991, 282–283.

[60] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 51–80.

[61] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977.

bronze processing workshop[62]. The presence of bronze moulds, slag, burnt stones and of two bronze anvils of different types are arguments in this respect. One of the items is a replica of an "oxhide"-type Cypriot ingot ***pl. 10/a***.

It is not known for sure whether the blacksmiths settled down in the proximity of one or several Noua settlements, but it is certain that pottery elements, pins with four protuberances, notched shoulder bones and *kantharos*-type vessels are pieces of evidence placing the settlement from Pălatca in the Noua environment. There is a Noua settlement nearby (Petea) and a Noua grave as well, at Arburaş. Metallographic analyses indicate a local replica of an oxhide Cypriot ingot, due to the high percentage of iron – 3.07%[63], as compared to the percentage usually encountered in such items, which does not exceed 0.1%. Technical data related to the findings from Pălatca have been kindly provided by M. Rotea, the author of the discovery. The only item having a different composition is an anvil ***pl. 10/b***. Besides the peculiar shape[64], this anvil has a concentration of 18.5% lead, 80.94% copper and only 0.91% iron, tin being completely absent. The massive presence of lead, obviously not accidental, is probably due to the need for an elastic resistance in the anvil. Without the lead, due to its rigidity, the anvil could break. Not all anvils had the same role. Their functions were probably different, according to the products that had to be made.

There is an item discovered near Dej at the beginning of the XXth century, which is a mixture between the socketed axe with a concave mouth model, typical for the Late Bronze Age and Early Hallsttat, and a hammer. Although the item was inventoried by the National History Museum of Transylvania in 1918, it was considered to be a forgery because of its unusual shape. The centre of mass, quite unbalanced as compared to other socketed axes, makes it impossible for the item to have been used as a socketed axe. A macro-photograph of the item ***pl. 11/2*** clearly indicates that the flat end was used as a hitting surface. The "mushroom" created is typical of the tools in any mechanical workshop. Most probably, the item was used as an anvil for the processing of fine bronze pieces using the cold hammering technique.

Moreover, a meteorite, ***pl. 10/c,*** was discovered in the Pălatca settlement. The interesting part, besides the rarity of such an item, is that one of the ends had been carved in prehistoric times. Chemical analyses indicate a percentage of over

[62] Rotea, Rotea 1997, 13–19.

[63] Rotea, Mair 2009 (under press).

[64] Rotea 1997.

80% manganese and 10% iron. It is possible for blacksmiths from the Late Bronze Age to have used such an ore source, the metals being in an almost pure state.

I believe it is important to highlight the fact that the presence of a replica of an "oxhide" ingot displaying local characteristics, as well as the percentage of iron, in the time of the existence of the original items, proves that cultural, commercial and technical connections were fast, solid and stretching over extended areas.

In the perimeter of several Noua settlements have been discovered moulds, either unbroken or fragmentary. A few moulds and fragments of moulds have been discovered at Pălatca, all baring traces of use. Both the moulds from Pălatca and those from Nicoleni, Lacu and Dobric are made of volcanic tufa from Dej. A fragment of a mould identical to those in the Cehăluț environment was discovered at Cluj-Mănăştur. This is the same discovery as the one in which I. Kovács's dragon and "reels" were found in 1911, ***pl***. ***12***. The "reels" are in fact a representation of oxhide ingots. Very probably these small artefacts are offerings for a god of fire. The "dragon" is similar with the dragon from Lichitişeti, from Moldavia[65].

As previously mentioned, the items discovered in deposits differ from those from necropoleis and from settlements. The most frequent bronze items discovered in other contexts than in deposits are: knobbed pins (Cluj, Buza, Pălatca, Mera, Deuş, Zoltan, Dumbrăvița etc.); sickles (Zoltan, Rotbav, Apahida, Mociu); socketed axes (Bistrița, Dumitrița); spearheads (Deuş, Mociu, Rotbav) and bronze moulds (Pălatca).

Even though they did not have control over the ore, the bearers of the Noua culture were undoubtedly ore users, and even imposed several distinct types and models. The items belonging to the bearers of the Noua culture are bone sickles with hooks, (probably) tupic, and knobbed pins, widespread over the entire Noua culture area, including east of the Carpathians. Major deposits in Transylvania have been dated to the Br.D-HaA_1 chronological bracket, concomitantly with the presence of the Noua culture in this area. The presence in deposits of items originating from areas far away, like the Caucasian-type socketed axe from the Uioara deposit cannot be accidental, even though it is immediately subsequent to the Noua culture, or the sceptre decorated with a bird's beak discovered at Uriu, the sceptre axe from Drajna – Moldova – also of eastern provenience or the sceptre axes discovered at Larga, belonging to the Suciu area[66].

Related to bronze items dated to the Transylvanian Noua Age, I have to mention the fact that the bronze items deposit from Vîlcele II, Feleacu village, Cluj

[65] Florescu 1991, 97, fig. 95/1.

[66] Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 16, pl. 49.

County was dated by T. Soroceanu to the Br. D-Ha A, but the vessel in which the items were deposited was dated to the Noua Age[67]. The *Passamanterie*-type fibula fragment places the discovery into the Cincu-Suseni series, therefore Ha A1! Should this chronological attribution be correct, the question which arises is: to which culture belongs the deposit I from Cluj[68], made of 10 items, 7 socketed axes and three sickle fragments, which most certainly belong to a previous period, but certainly a post-Wietenberg one? Transylvanian socketed axes are part of the same typological series as the "Oinac"-type ones, which can be attributed to the Noua culture. The presence of fragmentary items makes me believe that the Cluj I deposit must be attributed to Ha A1, probably being contemporary to the Vîlcele II one, attributable to the period immediately following the Noua Age. These latter also have a Transylvanian origin, as proven by the findings from the northern-western part of the intra-Carpathian area. Such items have also been discovered in the Someşului Valley, at Cernic, Sălaj County[69]. Most probably, these artefacts were "exported" south of the Carpathians, either directly or through itinerant craftsmen.

Besides bronze ones, gold items have also been attributed to the Noua culture. However, they are rare and have been generally discovered in graves, like the lockeringe discovered in the necropolis from Cluj-Banatului Str., the lockeringe from Moreşti, the string of beads with four protuberances from Boarta, which have not been 100% proven to belong to the Noua culture, ***pl. 13***. It is possible for some of the bracelets discovered in small treasuries to belong to the period under discussion as well, but due to the absence of precise information, I prefer not to discuss them here.

6. Exchanges

Although difficult to attest archaeologically, trade was most definitely an important component of economic life. The presence of bronze items of eastern provenience in Transylvanian deposits, the presence of beads made of Mycenian glass discovered in Cluj[70], of the Baltic amber discovered at Cioclovina[71], and also that of the Transylvanian type socketed axes in the extra-Carpathian area are

[67] Soroceanu 1988, 249–261.
[68] Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 122.
[69] Bejenariu 2005, 134, fig. IV/3.
[70] Wittenberger 2006b, 107.
[71] Rotea 1995, 88.

pieces of evidence attesting a stable and long-lasting commercial exchange. The discovery of the "oxhide" bronze ingot at Pălatca suggests a more wide-spread trade, as indicated by the Cypriot origin of this type of item. The presence of the biggest deposits of bronze items in the immediate vicinity of salt sources cannot be accidental, although they only partially belong to the period under discussion. Since in Hungary commercial routes have been established ever since the Bronze Age[72], trading bronze, tin, etc., it is unconceivable for such routes not to have existed inside the Carpathian arch. Moreover, Transylvania's biggest rivers were natural communication ways and the fact that they were used in other periods, as well (Roman and medieval) is, in my opinion, yet another argument to support this idea.

The existence of major commercial routes is more than certain. The fact that major communities (cultures) settled in some often unfavourable areas can be explained either by the fact that they probably controlled some commercial routes or vital natural resources, or both. We must visualize Europe being criss-crossed by major commercial routes connecting the more developed South to the other regions. These regions, although not equally highly developed economically and culturally, were producers of goods that were necessary in any society of the time. Thus, tin was mined in today's Slovak and Czech Republics, gold and probably copper were mined in the Apuseni Mountains and salt in the Transylvanian Plain and Plateau. Amber was imported from the Baltic Sea and glass was produced in Mycenian workshops. Moreover, archaeological findings represent important evidence attesting the existence of commercial routes. The skeleton of a Bachtrian camel from Asia was discovered in an ash hill in Moldova (Petruşeni) belonging to the Noua culture. Steppe cultures, Andronovo for instance, used this animal intensively[73]. Referring to the classical cultures of the Bronze Age in this area, it is important to remember that each of the major cultures had control over specific natural resources. Thus, in Transylvania, the Wietenberg culture had control over salt, a vital element both for men and for animals. Thanks to the geographical location and as a consequence of the relief configuration, the Wietenberg culture played a key role both for extra-Carpathian products and for those having a western origin.

The discovery, in Transylvania alone, of over 5000 kg bronze items[74] cannot be accidental. Should one analyze the geographical spread of bronze deposits, it would be noted that most of them are in the vicinity of major salt

[72] Kovács 1966, 22–47; Kovács 1977, 152.

[73] Bulliet 1975; Kuzmina 1994, 66.

[74] Rusu 1972, 29; Petrescu-Dîmboviţa 1977, 23.

deposits. Moreover, gold deposits are also to be found in the same area; 30 deposits, with a total number of 3100 items, most of them made from Transylvanian gold[75]. Quite probably, all the bearers of the Wietenberg culture also held the secret of the making bronze artefacts; the presence in the areas dominated by these cultures of the most numerous and the biggest deposits being an argument in this respect.

The Otomani culture controlled metalliferous resources in the Woody Carpathians and the Bükk Mountains, as well as the commercial routes coming from Transylvania and along the Tisza/Tisa river. The Suciu de Sus culture held all the resources from the Maramureşului Mountains area: salt, gold, silver and controlled the access in the Valleys of the Someş and upper Tisza/Tisa rivers[76]. The bearers of the Monteoru culture held the passes in the Curve Carpathians and probably the enormous salt resources in the area.

As Prof. Christian Christiansen once said in a private conversation, there must be three accumulation levels related to the ore, the raw product. First, there are the miners, those who hold the secrets of the ore deposits and lodes and knew which rock is active and which is not. Unfortunately, they are the hardest to attest archaeologically, due to the absence of financing projects focused on archaeo-mining (a most honourable exception is represented by the studies of V. Wollmann and H. Ciugudean). The second important segment is that of the people controlling the production, bringing an added value to the raw material (generally moulds) through their work, turning them into usable artefacts. Then, there is a third level, also very important, made of the traders and of the people controlling commercial routes. It is quite natural for the people producing the raw material not to need fortified settlements…everybody needed them.

It is common knowledge that from a cultural viewpoint, the bearers of the Noua culture had an eastern origin, being part of the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni greater cultural area. It is not impossible for this particular culture to have been the link between eastern Andronovo-type cultures. The discovery of a Bachtrian camel in a Noua ash hill in the Republic of Moldova[77] seems to confirm this idea. The active role played by the Noua culture in the commercial exchanges of the time cannot be denied.

[75] Rusu 1964, 29–64.

[76] Bader 1978, 63–66.

[77] Sava, Levițki 1995, 31–32.

7. Household crafts

Spinning, *weaving and sewing*. Vegetal fibres, like flax and hemp and animal fibres, like wool were quite necessary for making clothes. These fibres were probably used by the Noua environment, as well. Even though no discovery of grains from technical plants has been documented yet, it can be assumed that the bearers of the Noua culture, like others in prehistoric times, knew how to harvest them from a natural environment. Animal fibres, like wool, were undoubtedly widely used. Evidence to support this idea is provided by the numerous spindle whorls, post-ends and hand loom weights discovered. On the basis of the data available, it can be noted that they were all made of fired clay. Hand loom weights were tronconical, which enables us to believe that the vertical hand loom was widely used. It is possible that the pig jaws discovered in dwellings were used as hand loom combs. Such objects are still in use today. Bone needles were used for sewing.

Skin processing. As previously indicated, animal breeding was one of the basic occupations of the bearers of the Noua culture and skin processing is directly connected to it. Information related to the techniques used in skin processing is unavailable, but they were undoubtedly used, especially in cold seasons. A. C. Florescu launched the hypothesis according to which notched bones, like shoulder bones, ribs or hooves may have been used for skin degreasing[78], but salt was surely used besides these, as well.

Bone processing. Bone artefacts are omnipresent among Noua findings, being "truly commonplace", as A. C. Florescu used to say[79]. I do not wish to insist upon the typology of bone artefacts; briefly, they can be categorized as: notched bones (shoulder bones, ribs, hooves), generally made of mature cattle bones; knives, made of long cattle or horse bones; pins, piercers, spatulas, made of horse or ovicaprid bones; spikes and piercers made of stag and bison bones, ***pl***. ***2***, ***14***, ***15***.

Clay processing. I will not approach the pottery of the Noua culture in this subchapter, I will only deal with clay processing. It is common knowledge that not every type of clay is good for making pottery, just as the clay layers for the walls of the dwellings, incorrectly called adobe, could not have been processed without prior knowledge of the characteristics of clay. This clay must be plastic and non-contractile. Otherwise when dry, it would simply crack.

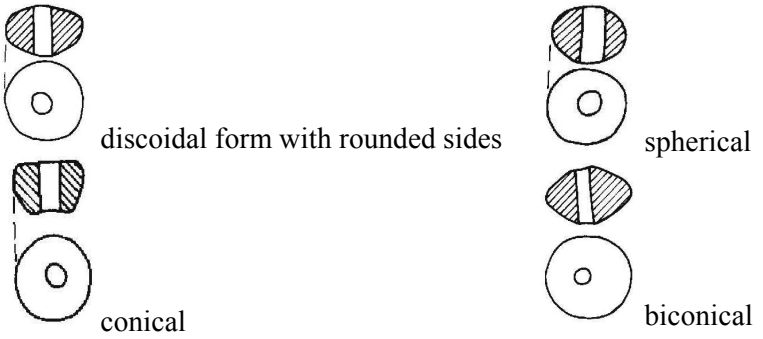
[78] Florescu 1964.

[79] Florescu 1964, 19.

Many clay objects have been discovered in settlements, coming from spinning and weaving tools, but also rush lights and toys. Some cult objects were also made of clay, like votive statues and chariots.

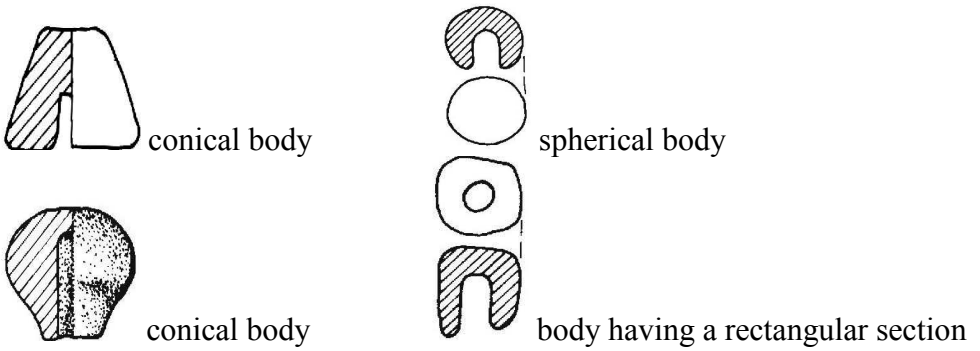
Spindle whorls.

Based on the information available, the Noua culture is much poorer regarding this type of findings than other cultures of the Bronze Age. However, several types of spindle whorls have been discovered:



Post-ends

Very few such objects have been discovered, and they can be attributed to the following types:

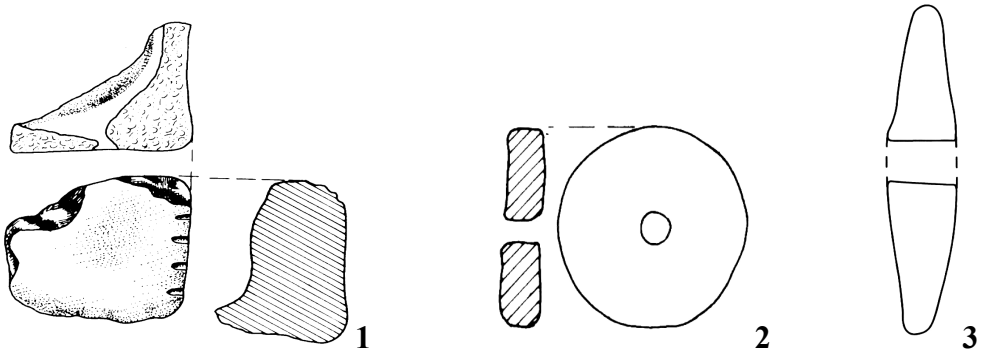


Weights

The items discovered so far can be attributed to one category, but this does not exclude the existence of other models. Having different dimensions and weights, they had a pyramidal shape, a rectangular section, one or two perforations in the upper part. Such items have been discovered at Deuş-Lunga, Deuş-Apreşul de Jos, Buza, Mera etc.

Chariots and small wheels

Although frequent in mid-Bronze Age cultures, these items are rare finds within the Noua culture. Several discoveries were attested to previous or partially contemporary cultures – both in a Wietenberg, Otomani or Suciu environment[80], and in a Monteoru[81] or Tei[82] environment. For western cultures and cultural groups, these items were not rare[83], but they have been rarely encountered within the Noua culture. A few pieces were discovered in Moldova[84]. A fragment of a chariot was found inside the Carpathian arch, at Buza[85]. For this piece from Buza, I suggested the classification as an A2-type, according to the shape, and according to the decoration, the classification as a C type, according to C. Schuster[86]. According to the material in pit no.1, the item can be attributed to the final stage of the Transylvanian Noua culture. The objects from Iclod also belong to the same period. I also know that two chariot wheels have been discovered in Noua settlements, at Dumitrița – 2 and Deuş-Apreşul de Jos – 3.



Toys?

Based on my knowledge, the object discovered in the necropolis from Band is the only item belonging to the Noua culture that can be attributed to this category. Similar items existed in the Neolithic Age, the Iclod group[87].

[80] Bader, Dumitraşcu 1970, pl. 4–6; Ordentlich, Chidioşan 1975, 27–44; Bader 1978; Boroffka 1994, 167–168; Rotea 1999, 102–103.

[81] Căpitanu, Florescu 1969, pl. 7; Oancea 1976, 199, pl. 4/5.

[82] Leahu 1963, 15–47; 1963, 179–270; 339–372; pl. 36/7; Ulanici 1979, pl. 9/6; Schuster 1995, 148; Schuster, Popa 1996, 117–137.

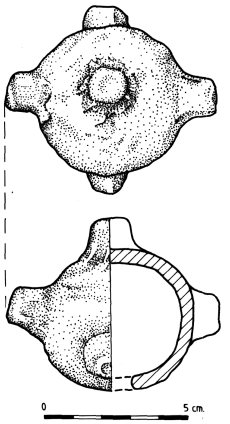
[83] Petrovszky, Gumă 1979, 127; Rogozea 1995, 83.

[84] Florescu, Florescu 1990, pl. 31/3, 7–9, 97/2.

[85] Wittenberger 1997, 703–715.

[86] Schuster 1996, 118.

[87] Maxim kind information.



I have tried in the present paper to re-create a fragment of the organisation and economic dynamics existing in Noua settlements in Transylvania, as indicated by the discoveries up to the present moment and based on my way of understanding them. It is regrettable that some of the specialists keep clinging to clichés originating from a political ideology and having no archaeological support. There is no doubt that the information related to this subject will be enriched further on, as more and more Noua objectives will be investigated.

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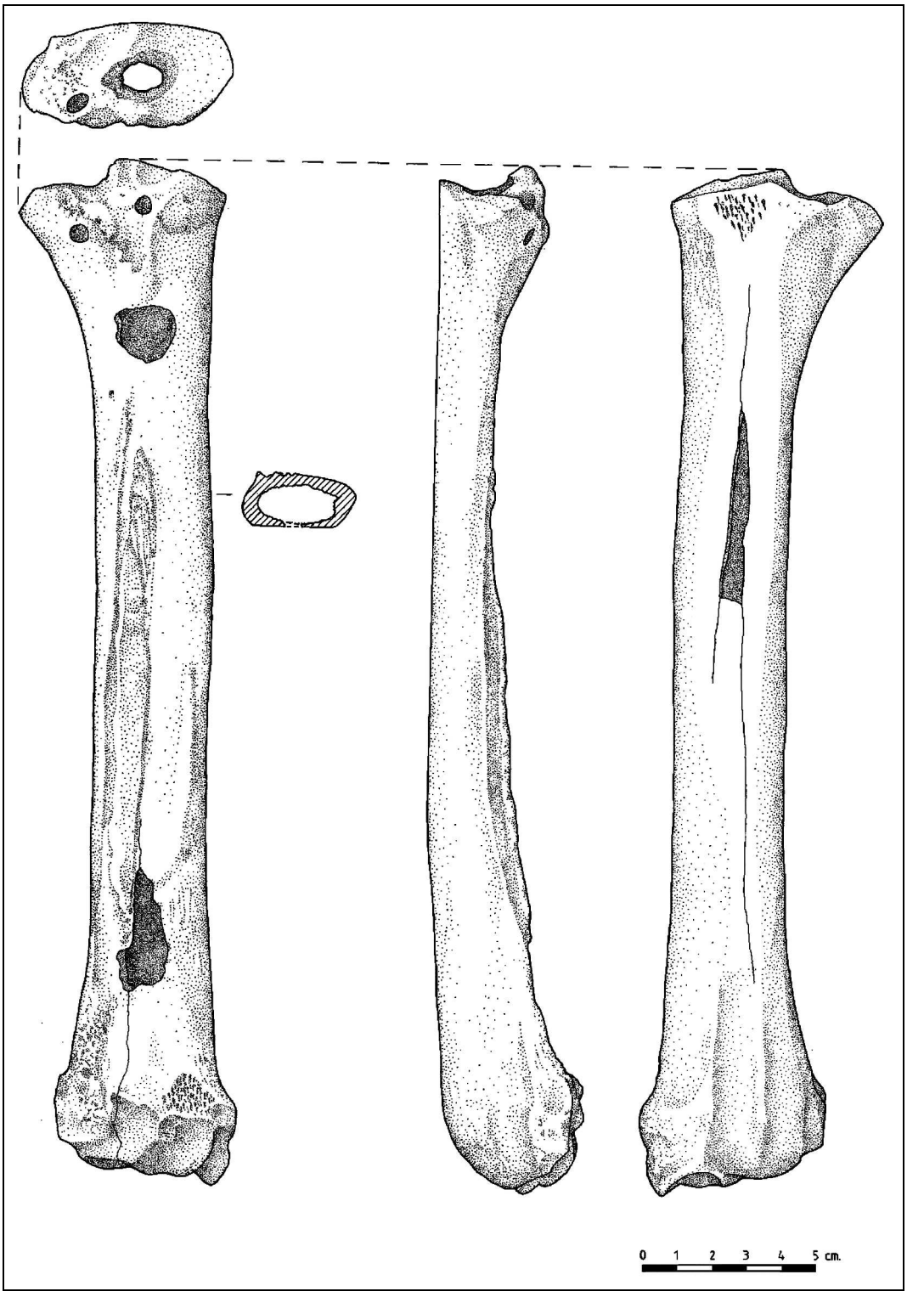
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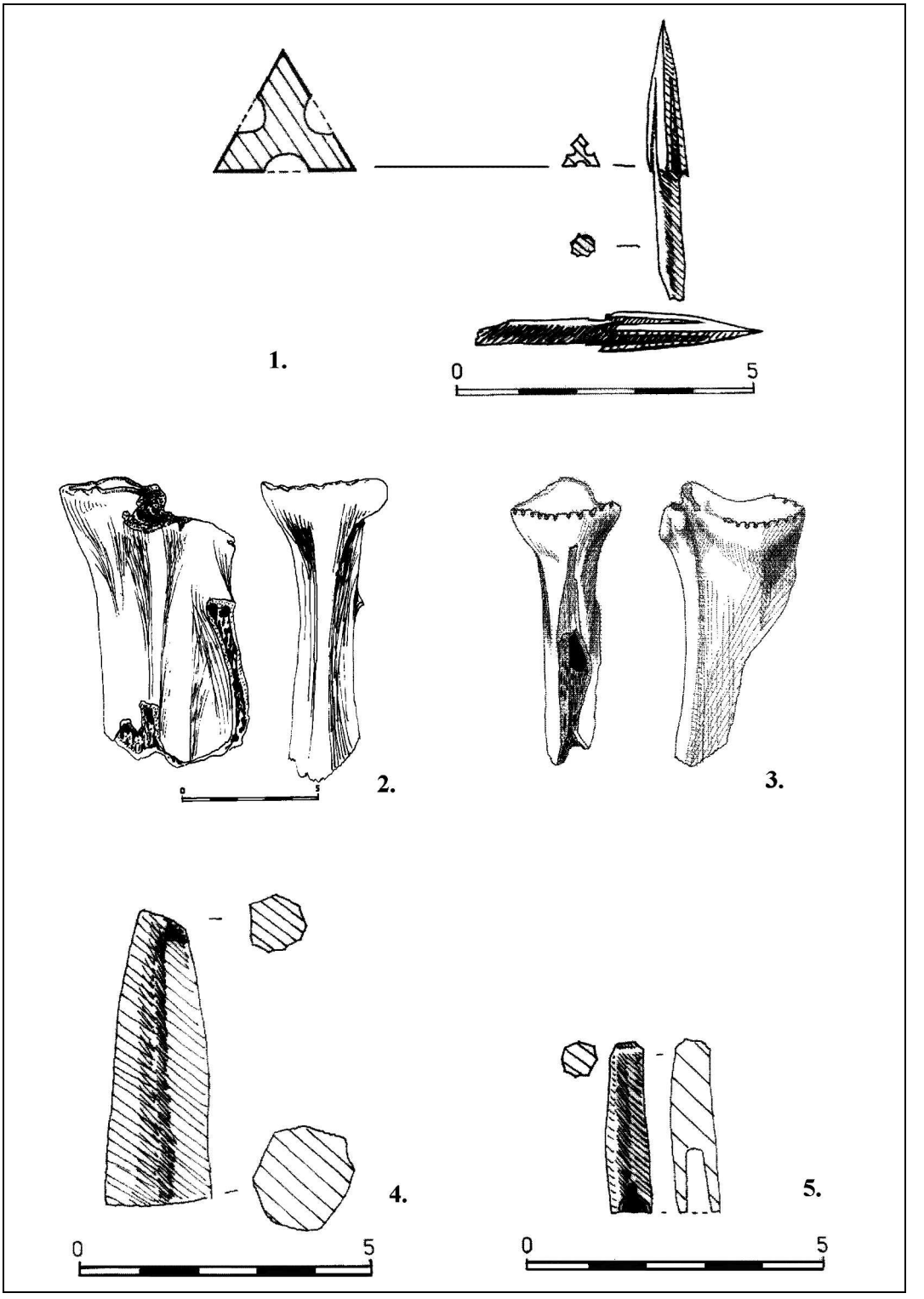
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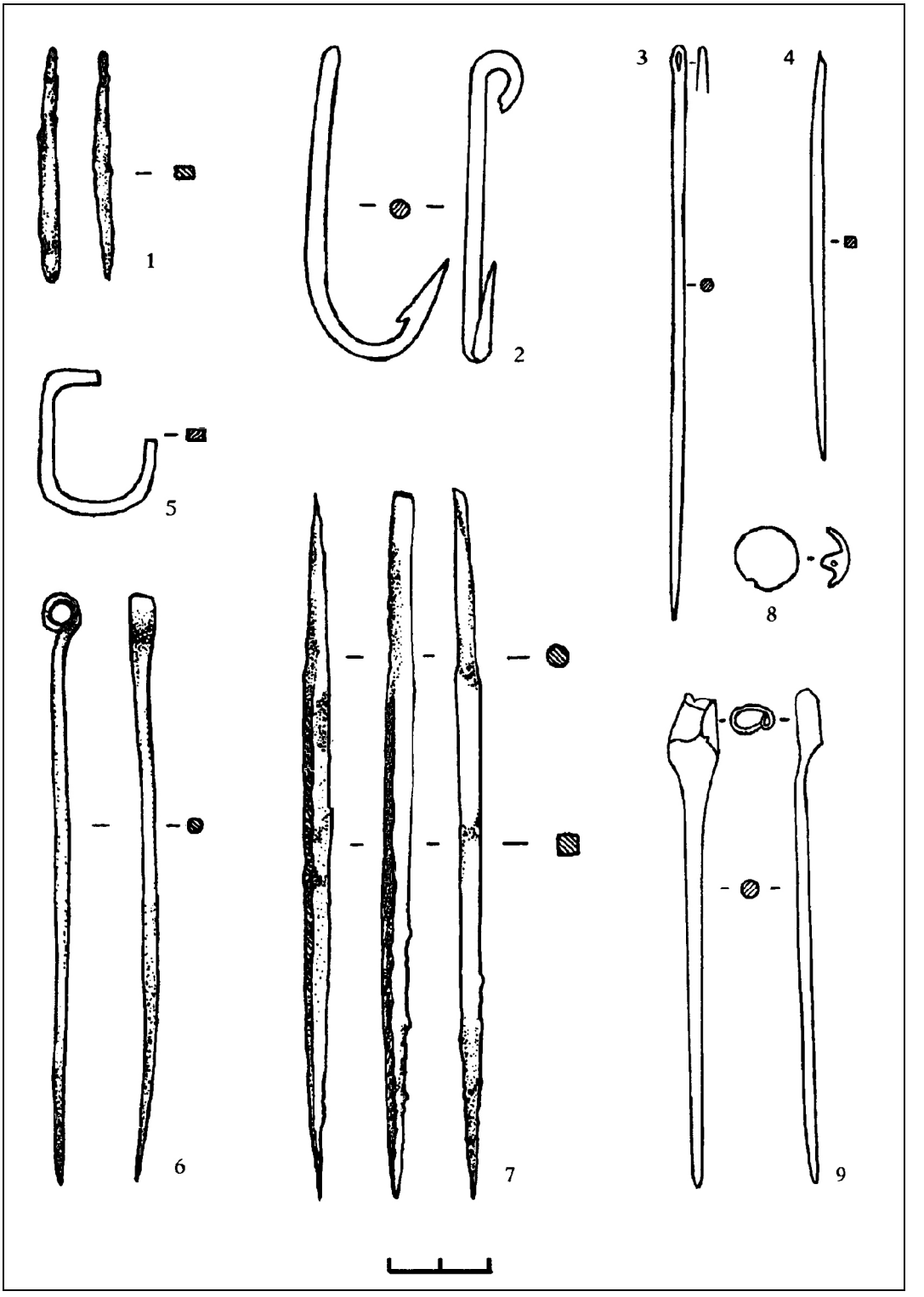
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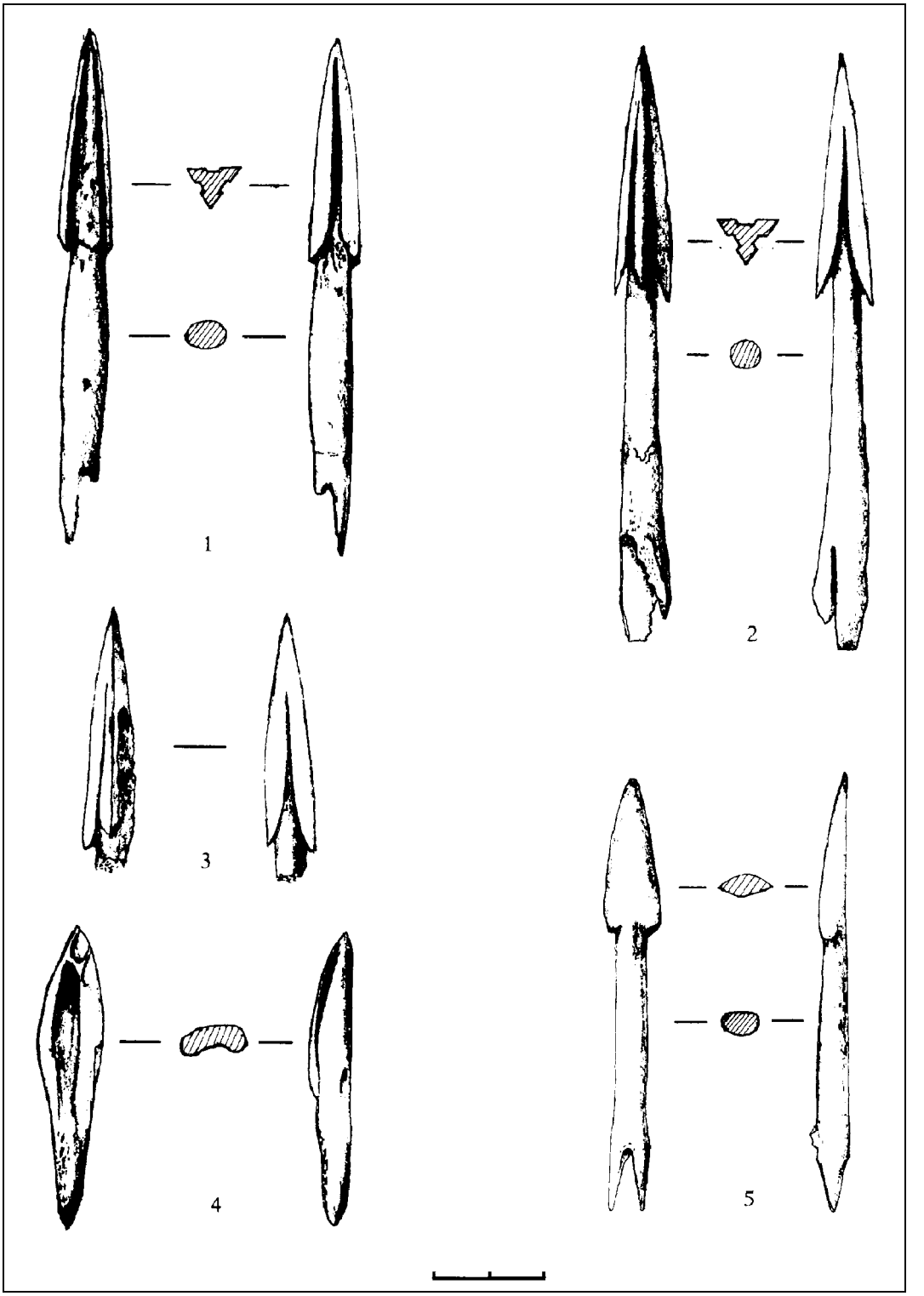
Pl. 1. Mera L1. Skate from dear bone.



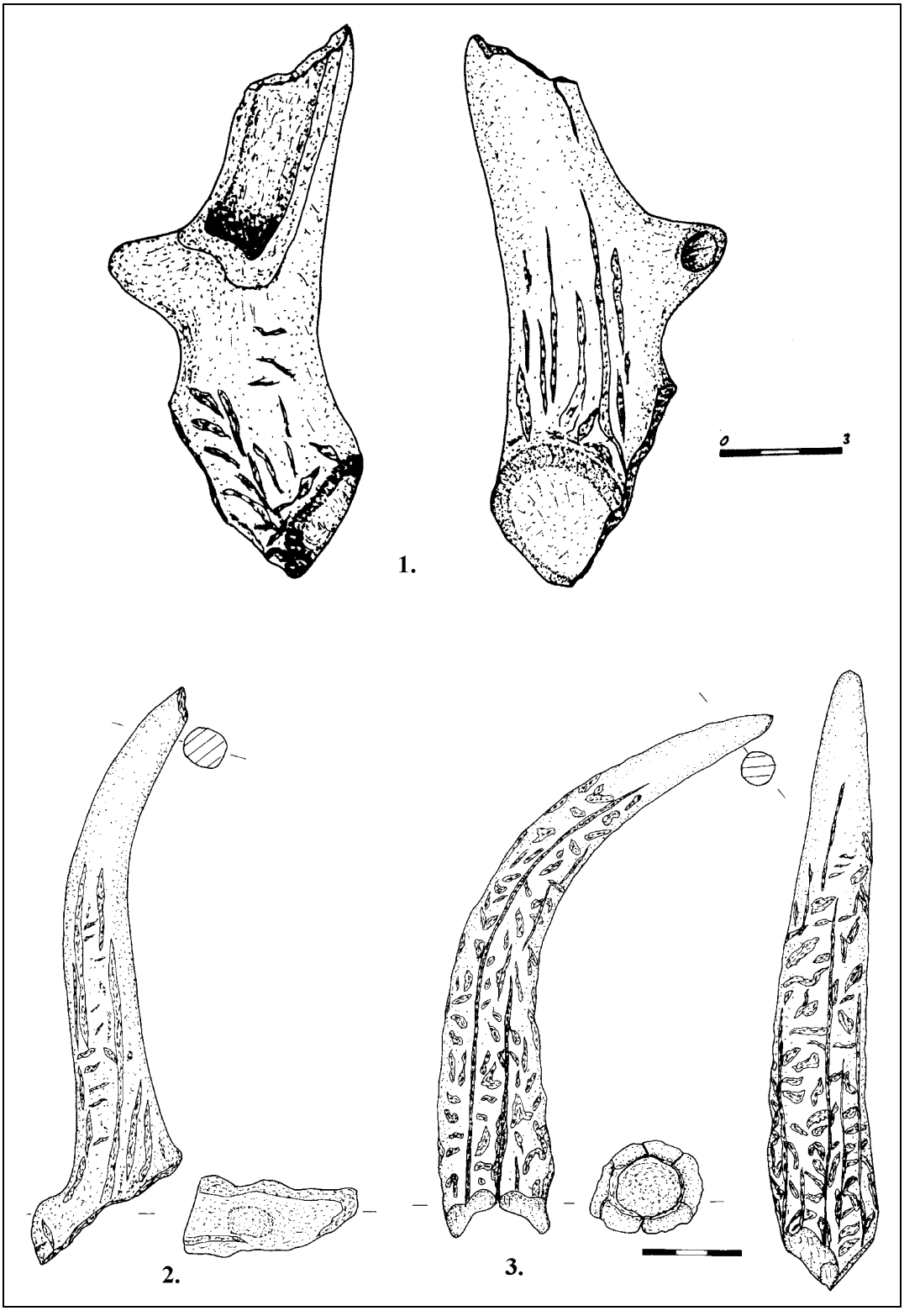
Pl. 2. Mera-"Cuimel", 1 – arrow head; 2, 3 – shoulder bones; 4 – buffalo bone tool; 5 – small bone tool.



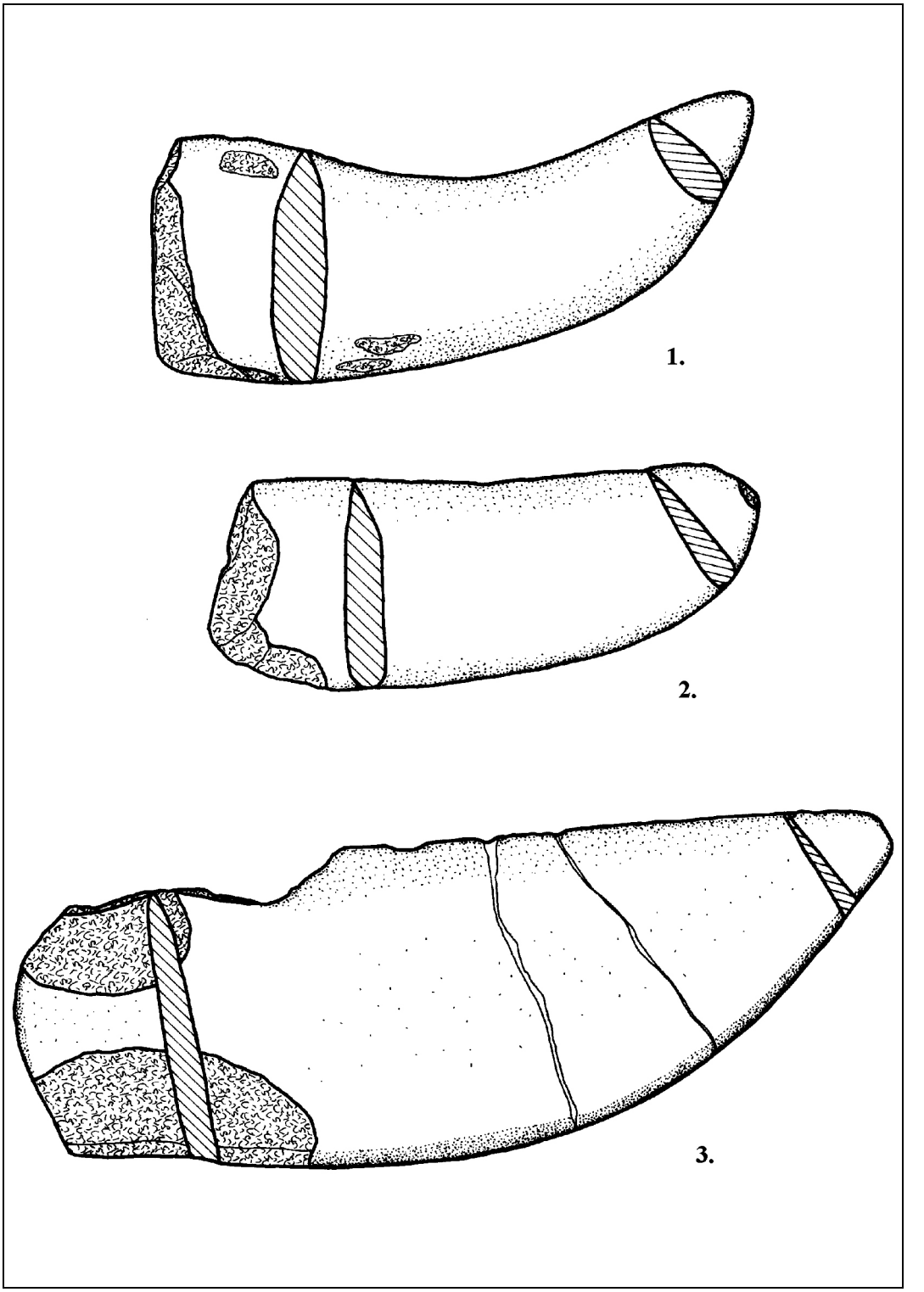
Pl. 3. Zoltan-“Cariera de Piatră”, bronze tools (after V. Cavruc).



Pl. 4. Zoltan-“Cariera de Piatră”, arrow heads (after V. Cavruc).



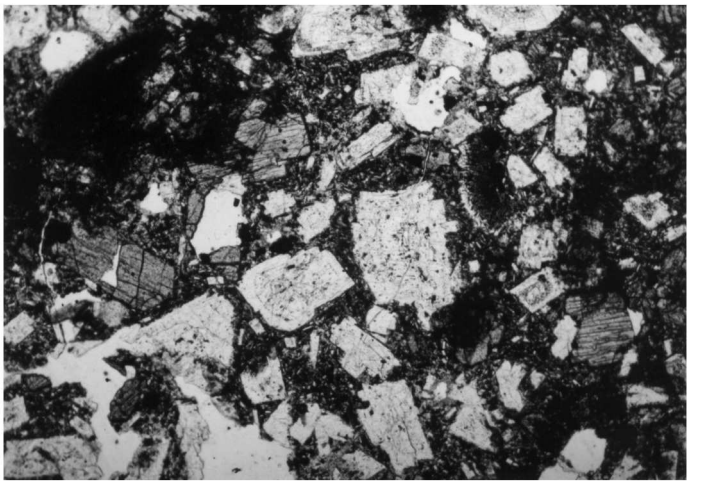
Pl. 5. Buza-“După Lab”, hoes.



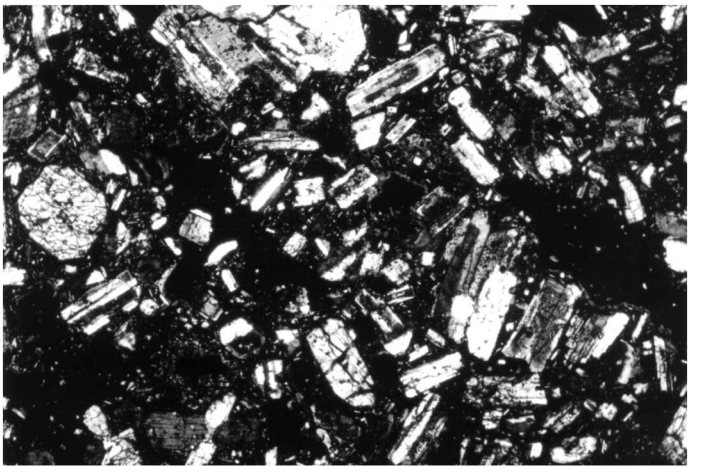
Pl. 5. Buza-“După Lab”, Krummesser.



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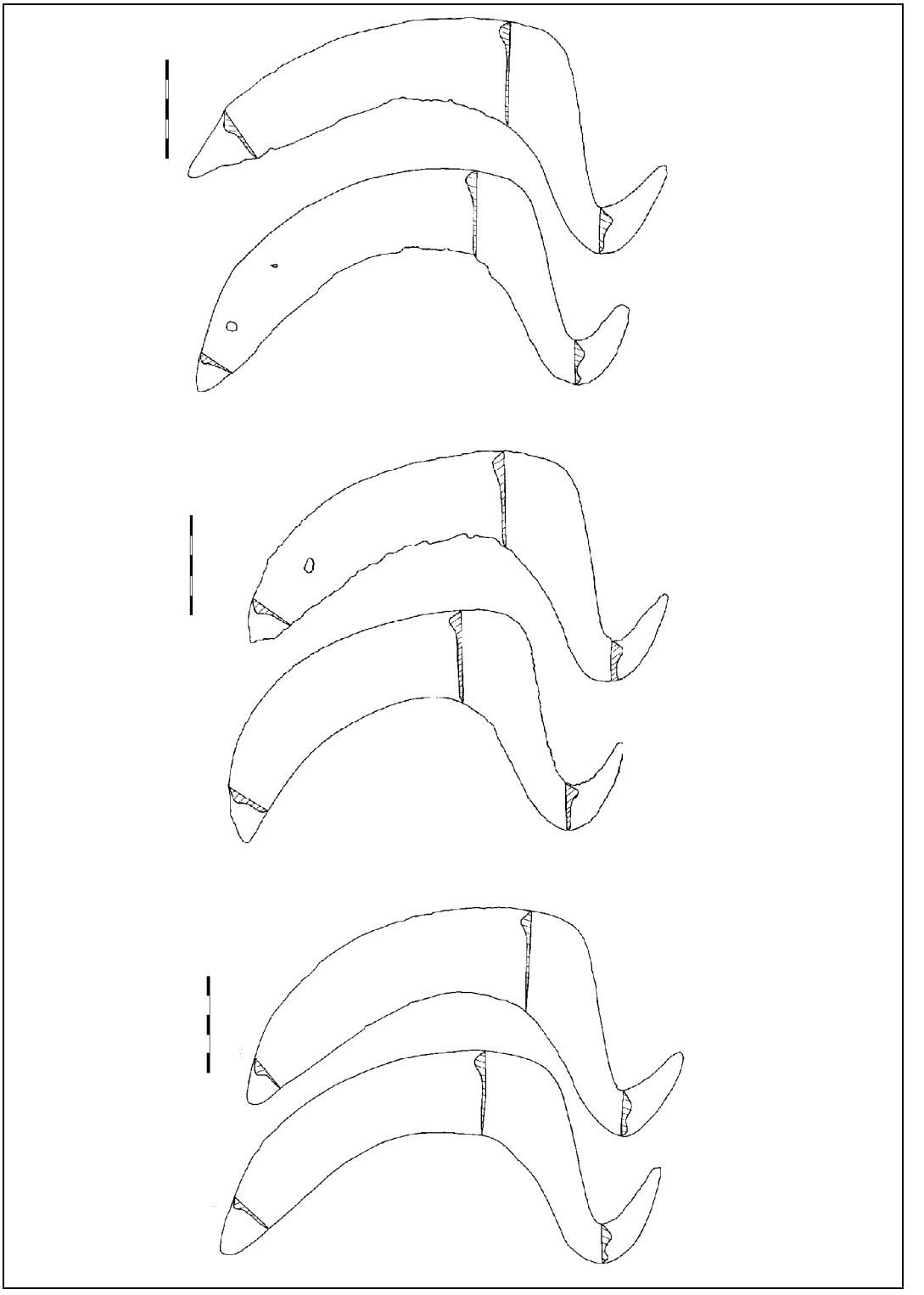


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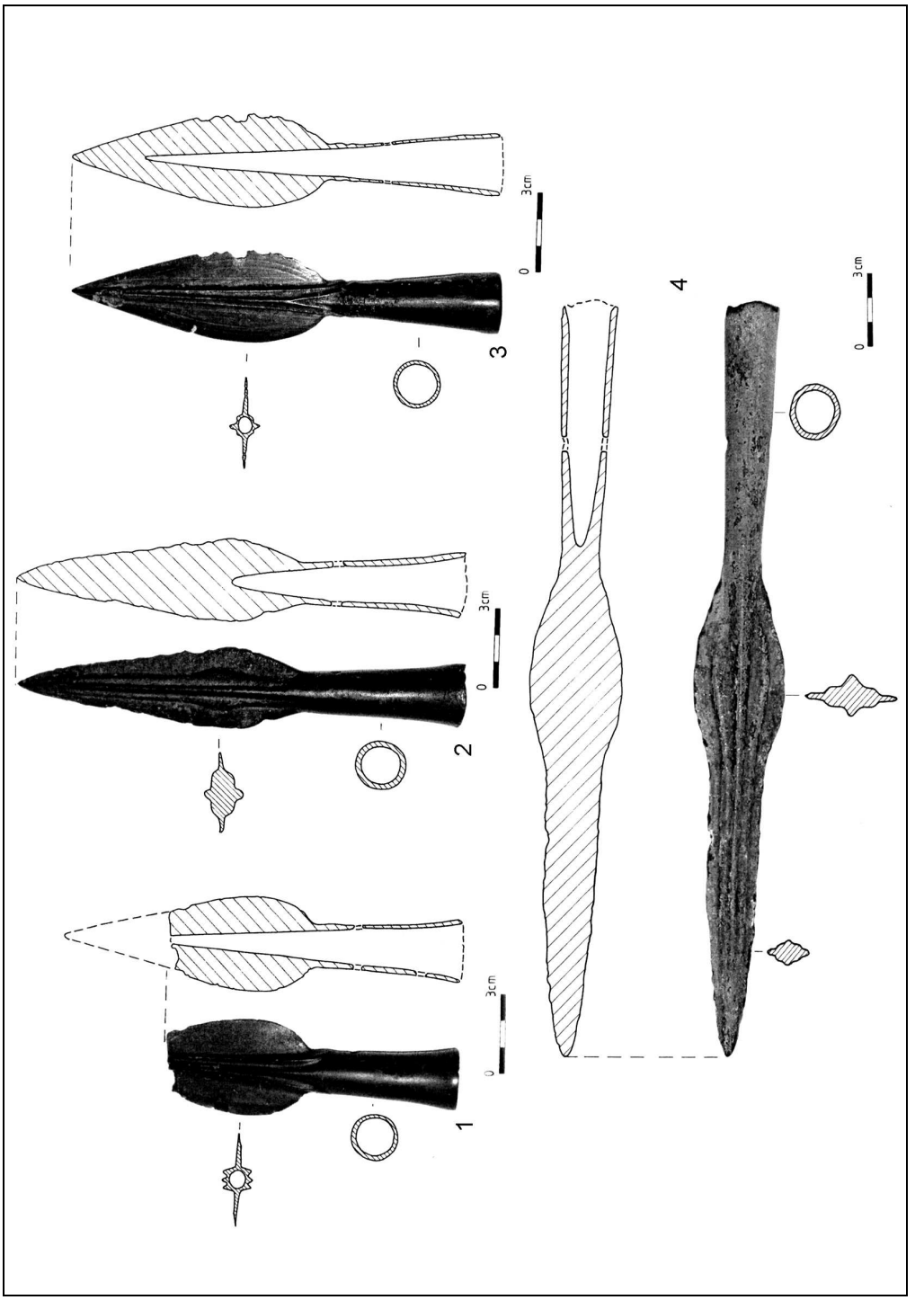


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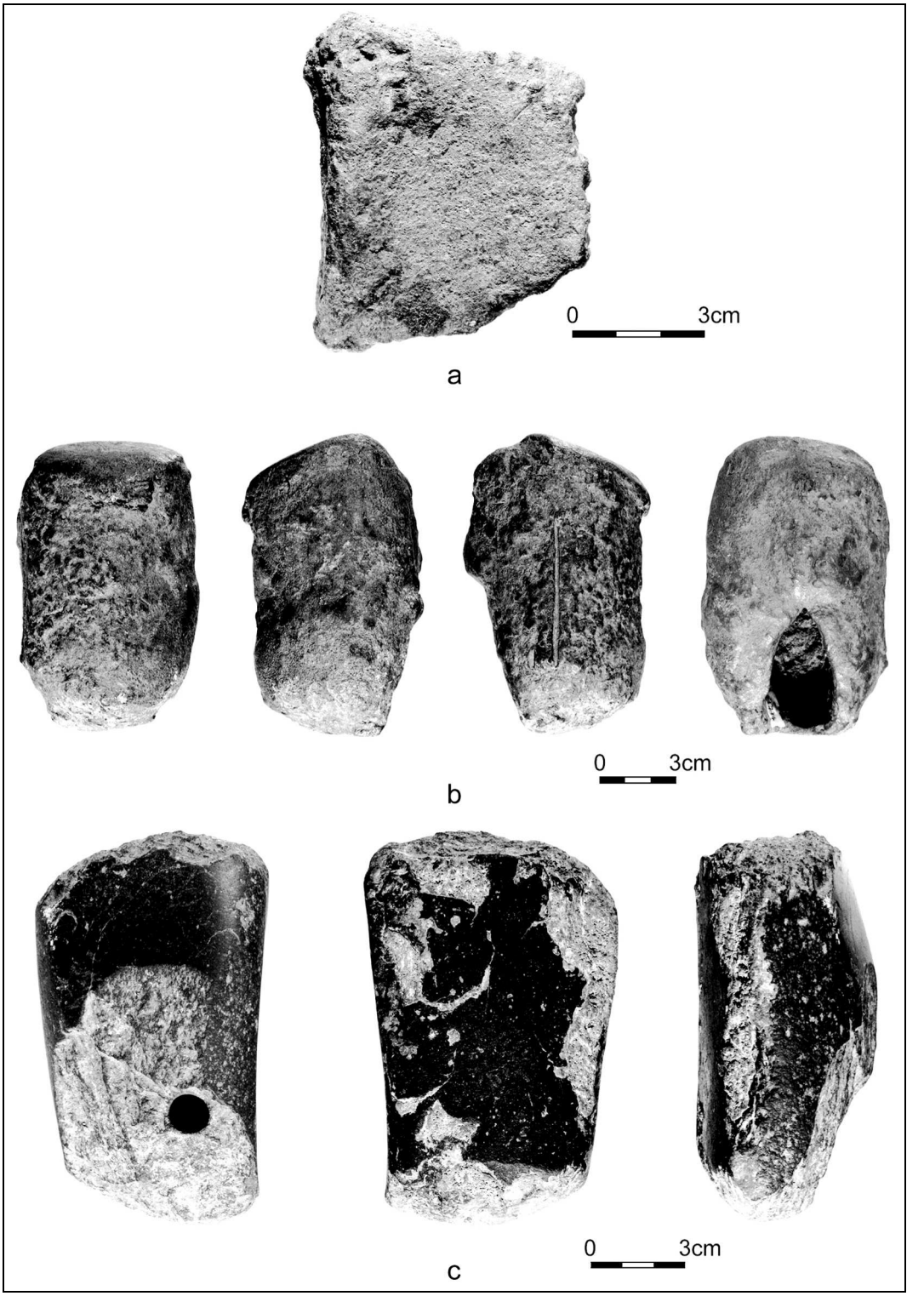
Pl. 7 Buza, Cluj County fine sections on grindining mills – andezit with piroxen, sours: Munţii Bârgăului, Valea Someşului Mare.



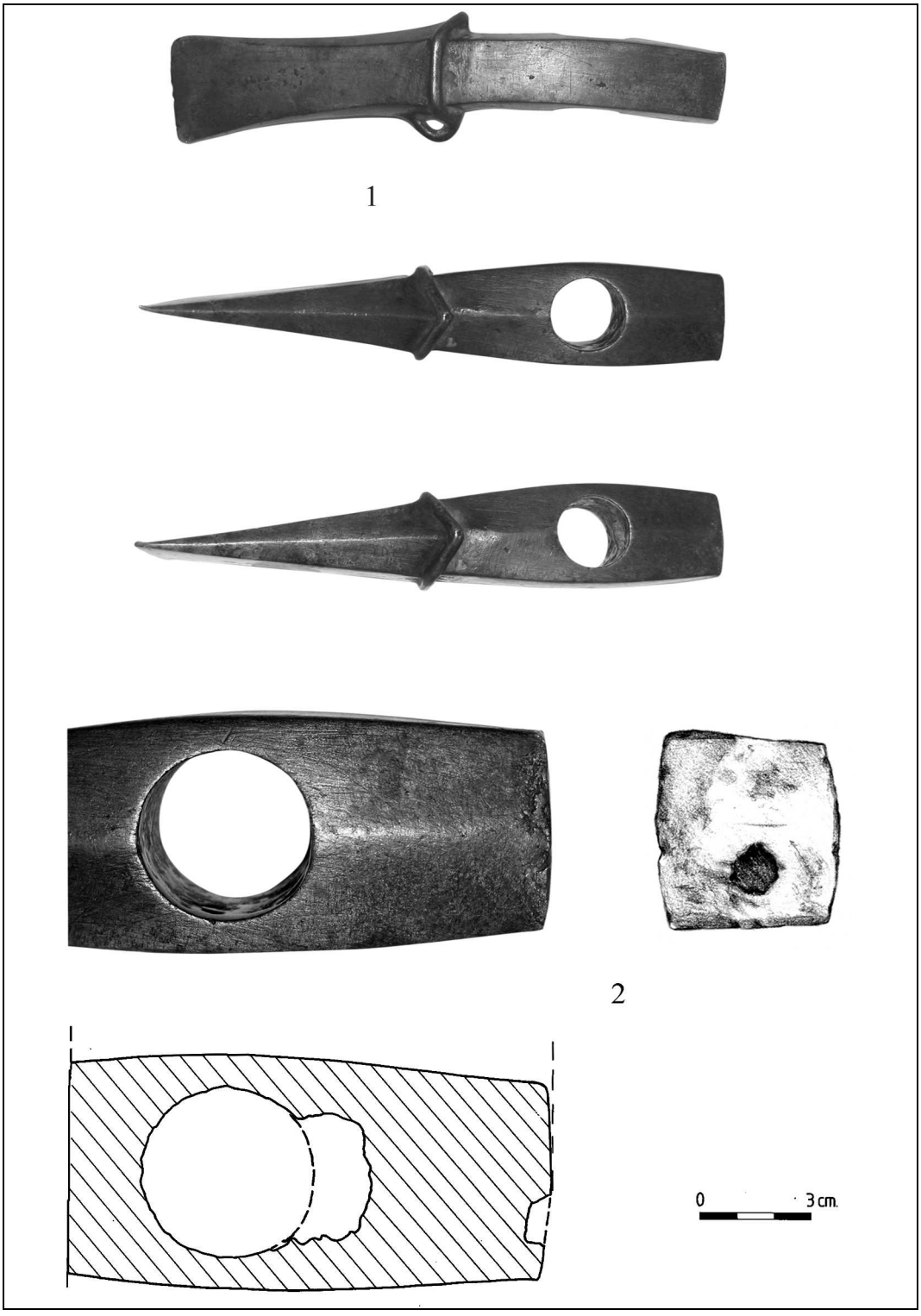
Pl. 8. Bronze sickles deposit from Moeciu, Cluj County.



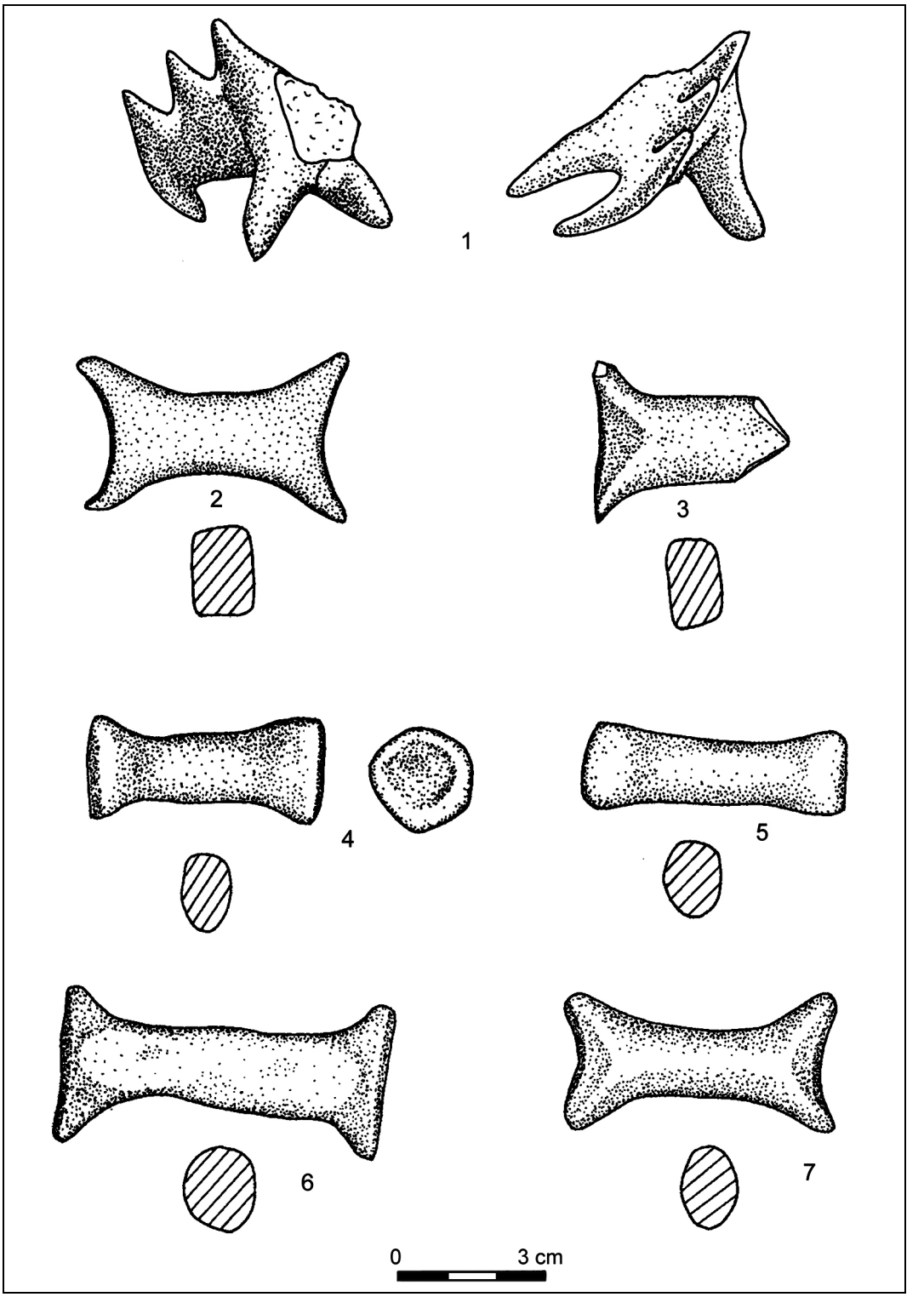
Pl. 9. Spearheads. Cluj. 1 – Vâlcele; 2 – Moldovenești; 3 – Mociu; 4 – Cheile Turzii.



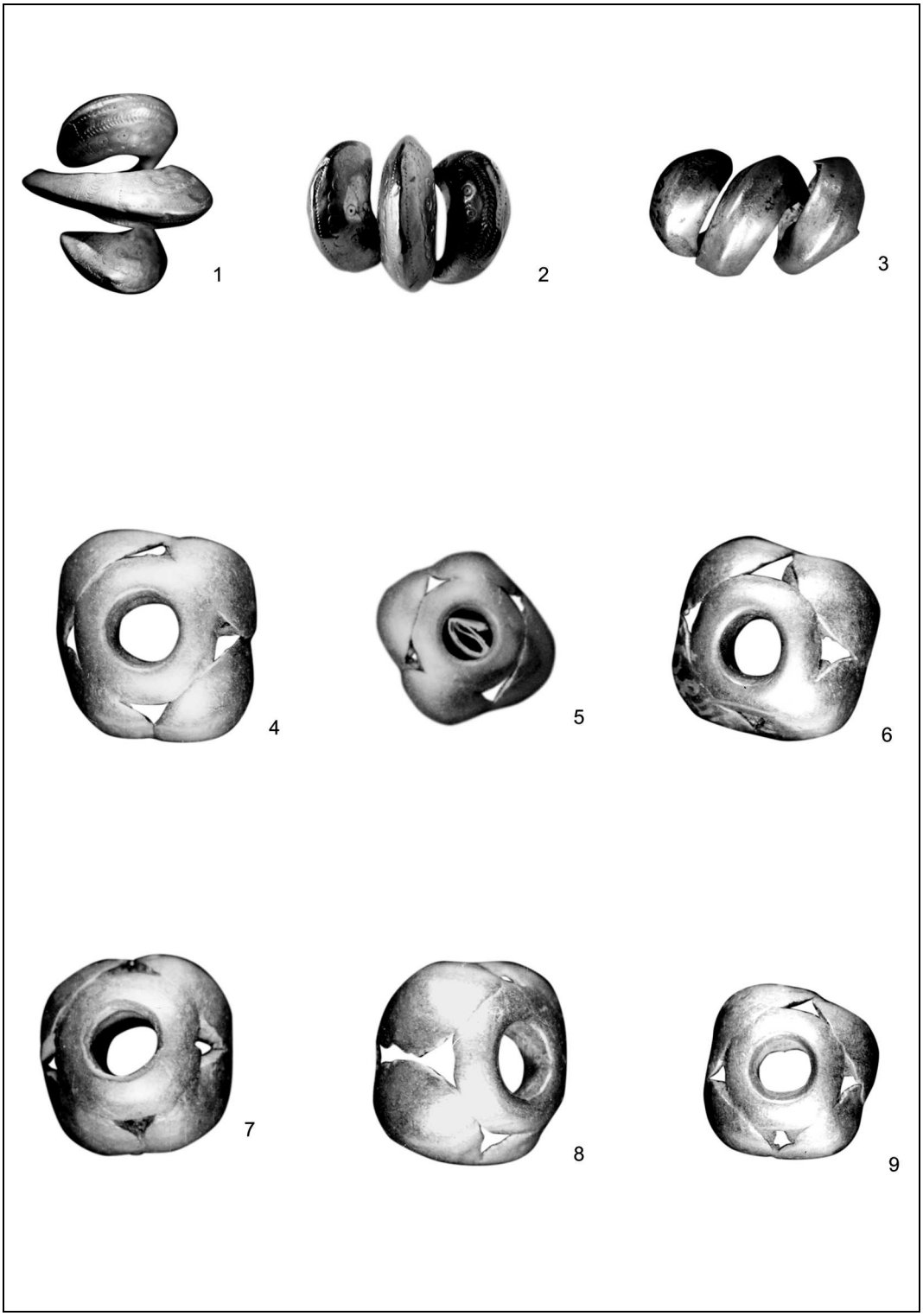
Pl 10. Pălatca 1 oxhide ingot 2 anvil 3 metheorit.



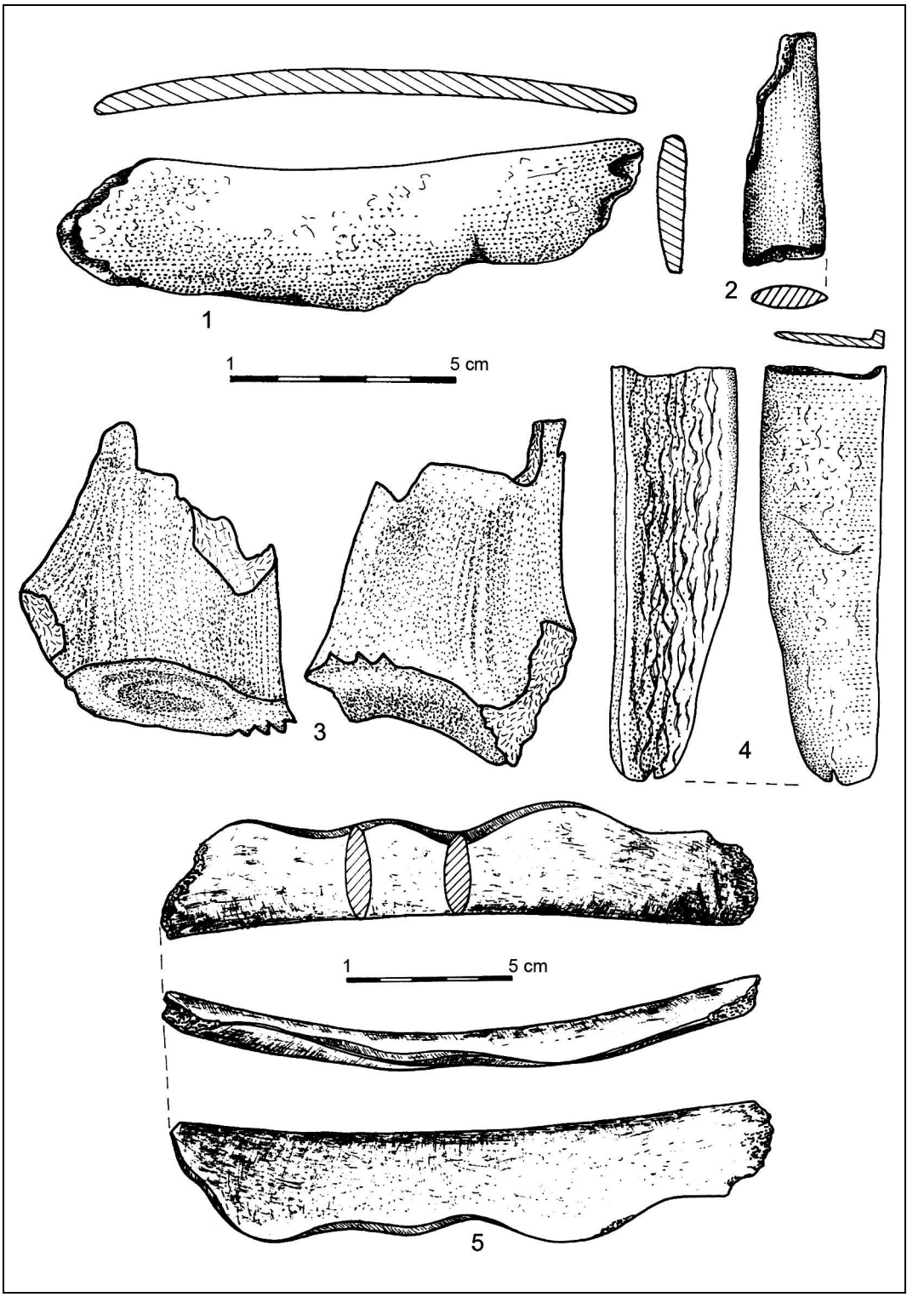
Pl. 11. Small bronze anvil.



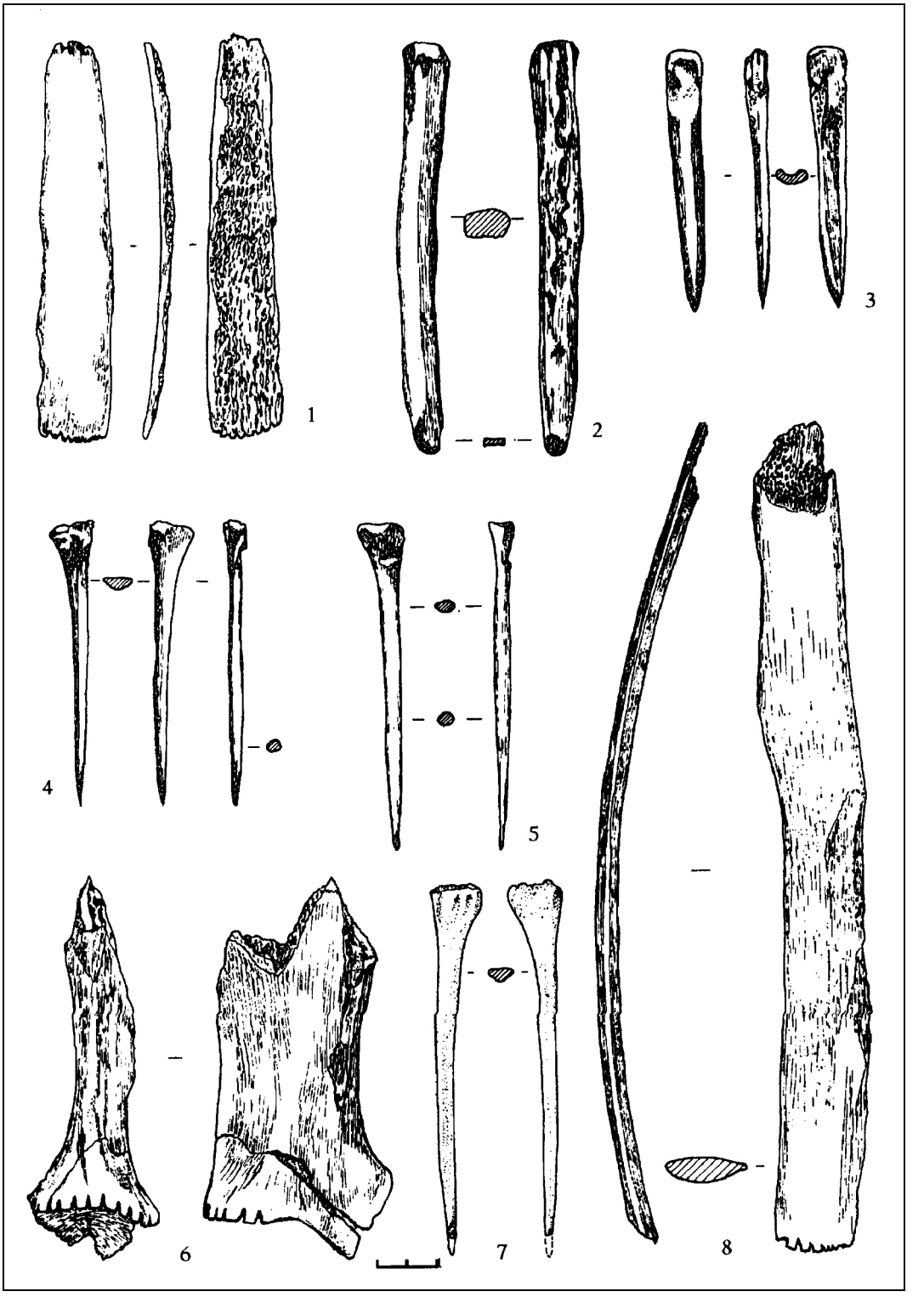
Pl. 12. Cluj-Mănăştur, 1 – dragon 2–7 – oxhide representations.



Pl. 13. Gold hair rings, 1 – Moreşti; 2 – Băgău; 3 – Cluj-Banatului st.; 4–9 – Gold bent from Boarta, Sibiu county.



Pl. 14. Buza-"După Lab"; 1–5 – Bone tools from Gr. Nr. 1. Cluj County.



Pl. 15. Bones tools from Zoltan (after V. Cavruc).



Pl. 16. Socketed axes (Transilvanyan Axes) from Noua founds.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 47–88

FLOREŞTI-*POLUS CENTER*. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

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PAUL PUPEZĂ, TIBERIU TECAR, LUMINIŢA SĂSĂRAN

Introduction

The archaeological investigations carried out at Floreşti-*Polus Center*[1] (Pl. 1) will most certainly represent a benchmark for archaeological research in Transylvania and beyond, both for the Prehistoric and Ancient period. We are taking advantage of this occasion[2] to reveal some preliminary observations[3] regarding the investigations that we have coordinated in the framework of this program: sectors C and K5–6[4] (Pl. 2). Because of the large area that had to be

[1] It is the efforts of many undergraduate, graduate or MA students (Magyarosi Attila, Bereczki Judith, Piroska Eszter, Derzsi Csongor, Király József, Kisgyörgy István, Balázs Bence, Kedves Timea, Demjén Andrea, Ioana Chira, Ştefan Budaşcu, Oniga Erika, Kovács László, Kürti Andrea, Geréb Ádám, Puskás Henrietta, Pinkovai Bernadett, Erőss Zsuzsa) that made it possible for the archaeological research to unfold in the most appropriate conditions and allowed for the site documentation to be drafted in due time. We would like to use this opportunity to thank them, once more.

[2] For the first mention of the findings, see: M. Rotea, M. Tecar, Sz. Nagy, P. Pupeză, L. Săsăran, T. Tecar, *Floreşti-Polus Center. Arheologie şi termoluminiscenţă*, in C. Cosma, S. Varvara, M. Gligor (eds.), Radioactivitatea mediului. Vârste absolute prin metode nucleare de datare, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 160–180.

[3] The huge amount of archaeological material could only be partially processed up to the present moment, in spite of the hard work of the archaeologists and restorers (O. Bianu, G. Turculeţ, D. Sima, D. Boroş, C. Rotaru, R. Cordoş and T. Tomescu) involved in this operation. Therefore, we are not able, for the time being, to present in detail all the archaeological complexes identified (there are about 400 of them), nor can we reach any final conclusions.

[4] Since the beginning of the investigations, in August 2006, until October the same year we were the ones to coordinate the works on the entire site. Subsequently, general coordination responsibilities were taken over by D. Alicu, Ph.D. This is being mentioned in order to explain the presence in this article of several finds from sectors A and B.

archaeologically discharged and especially due to the type of findings, the excavation technique used was a full cleaning followed by the investigation of each complex separately – in sector C, and a partial cleaning associated with stratigraphic sections in sector K, where, besides funerary complexes dating from the Bronze age or the Migration period, we found, unlike in sector C, habitation complexes – either Prehistoric or dating from the Migration period. The area investigated per se was quite impressive, stretching over 6,6 ha.

Physical – geographic framework[5]

Localization. The archaeological site *Polus Center* is situated in Floreşti village, on the left side of the national road Cluj-Napoca – Oradea, in the area known as *Şapca Verde*. It is bordered to the west by the Gârboului Valley, and to the south by the Răzoarele hill, which goes on to the south along the Boşorului Valley, and changes its name into the Gârboului hill.

Relief. Morphological particularities are determined mostly by the Someşul Mic river valley axis. Basically, the land physiognomy is determined by this valley, which is 1–2 km wide at the level of the floodplain and terrace I. The other terraces are present only fragmentarily. The determining factor that led to the formation of the present-day relief is the ratio between the monoclinal structure corresponding to the edge of the Transylvanian basin and the modelating action of the Someşul Mic river. The valley of the Someşul Mic river is characterized by an accumulative relief made of two levels: a lower one, measuring 2–3 m, affected by heavy overflows in heavy rain, called the Floodplain, and a second one, 4–6 m high (the second terrace) made of sands, different types of gravel and coluvial material (brought in from the neighbouring slopes) in various degrees of solidification and of grass coverage. The second terrace stretches over the centre of the village Floreşti and the third terrace, whose level is 20 m, is also located on the left bank of the Someşul Mic river and has steep slopes. The relief of the village is characterized by two genetic relief types, determined by the interaction between the subjacent structures and the environment conditions, to which human activity has also contributed, to a certain extent. The sculptural relief (landforms) is made

[5] The general geographical bibliography consulted was: Monografia geografică a RPR, Bucureşti 1960; P. Coteţ, Geomorfologia României, Bucureşti 1973; V. Mihăilescu, Geografia fizică a României, Bucureşti 1980; V. Cristea, C. Baciu, D. Gafta (eds.), Municipiul Cluj-Napoca şi zona periurbană: Studii ambientale, Cluj-Napoca 2002.

of lower levelling surfaces (450–550), affected by (fluvial) slope processes (torrentiality, ravines, superficial land slippage). Generally, the slopes can be grouped into two types: a) subsequent slopes, with severe deteriorations and important lithologic variations, which confer a steps-like character, which can be found on the cuesta strata forming the left edge of the Someşul Mic river. These slopes are affected by short streams, having a torrential character imposing an accelerated deterioration; b) monoclinal-type slopes form the northern slope of the Feleacului hills, with running water eroding sharply into the soil, ravines, compression creep and land slippage being the main processes affecting this category of slopes. The fluvial accumulation relief is made of the wide floodplains in the valley of the Someşul Mic river, the narrow, shallow valleys of the affluent of the Someş river to the right, the shoulders of terrace IV (30–35 m) and VI (100 m) and the dejection cones and glacises from the junction of the floodplain and the slopes. The most frequent processes affecting the floodplain are compaction and suffusion. Altitudinal differences reach about 250 m.

Climate. The territory on which Floreşti village is situated belongs to the temperate-continental area. The mean annual temperature is +8 °C, which reveals a thermal potential slightly lower than that of the Transylvanian basin. This is due to the Someşului Valley – a depression corridor allowing for the penetration and stagnation of the masses of cold air from the NE and thus produces local temperature inversions, especially during the night. The mean minimum temperature is –4 °C in January and the mean maximum temperature is +18 °C in July, thus the difference is 22 degrees, which reveals the moderate character of the climate. The mean annual precipitation is 650 mm, with higher values in spring and summer. The dominant winds blow from the NW and the dominant direction is SW. Thus, Floreşti is situated in the Transcarpathian climatic province, whose specific characters are enumerated above.

Soils. The soils in the area are quite diversified for a relatively confined space dominated by the floodplain of the Someş river. The most fertile soils can be encountered on the higher, relatively dry parts of the floodplain, and are mostly made of haplic and luvic chernozems. Calcaric leptosols are strictly related to the presence of the Eocene limestone and are mostly encountered in the Pusta area and in the front of the cuesta of the river Someş. The most widespread local soils are clayey residual soils, represented by haplic luvisols taking up most of the stable slopes South from the village and by albic luvisols, which appear insularly on interfluves.

Hydrography. From a hydrologic viewpoint, the area belongs to the hydrographical basin of the Someş river. The hydrographical network is made of a

segment of the Someşul Mic river, from its origins to the confluence with the Nadăş river and the affluent flowing into it from the right: Feneşului, Vulpii, Sânaslăului, Tăuţului (Boşorului), Gârbăului Valleys. Good quality ground water reserves are significant, both in the alluvial beds of the Someş river and its affluent, and in depth, especially in the coarse limestone beds, where the quality increases considerably.

Flora and fauna are typical of hill and mountain regions.

The Bronze Age

The Bronze Age is one of the periods abundantly represented in the finds from the archaeological investigation at Floreşti-*Polus Center*, be they from the Early, Middle or Late period.

For the Early Bronze Age, noteworthy in this context are the finds belonging to the Coţofeni[6] culture, represented in the investigated area by a few isolated archaeological complexes, which will be published in detail in the near future. Among these, a few stand out in sector K5, placed along a precinct road (Pl. 2). From the very beginning, it is important to make the precision that this is not a compact cultural layer belonging to this culture, but a settlement of temporary character, characterized by heaps of archaeological material found at a distance from one to another. An identical situation has been encountered in Deva-*Lenin Str*.[7]. The pottery, which makes most of the archaeological material unearthed is mostly undecorated and belongs to the coarse and semi-fine pottery categories. From a typological viewpoint, the following must be mentioned: amphoras, large bowls, jars, two-handle pots and cups (Pl. 4–12). The ornaments are mostly made by wide and deep incisions creating the impression of grooves; also, impressed decorations and appliqué ribs are the most typical (Pl. 4–12). They are arranged as hatched bands, buried triangular frames, "fir leaf" etc. (Pl. 4–12). All these elements indicate the presence of an early stage in the evolution of the Coţofeni culture. Several sites belonging to the 1st stage of the Coţofeni culture

[6] The dating of this culture has been drawing the attention of specialists, and no consensus has been reached up to the present moment. For some elements, see: P. Roman, Cultura Coţofeni, Bucureşti 1976, with bibliography; M. Rotea, *Contribuţii privind bronzul timpuriu în centrul Transilvaniei*, Thraco-Dacica 14, 1993, 65–86; H. Ciugudean, Eneoliticul final în Transilvania şi Banat: cultura Coţofeni, Timişoara 2000, with bibliography.

[7] M. Rotea, *Locuirea Coţofeni de la Deva-Strada Lenin*, Sargetia 20, 1987, 475–479.

have been discovered in Transylvania[8], the earliest being those containing pottery decorated with grooves belonging to the same type, previously reported, from Deva-*Lenin Str*. or the pottery discovered most recently at the site Vinerea-*Tăbârâşte*[9], which still preserves the influences of the horizon Cernavodă III-Boleraz[10]. In relation to this horizon, the human habitation from Floreşti-*Polus Center* seems to be more recent (Coţofeni Ic after P. Roman[11]). A few typological and stylistic elements support (fine incisions, angular band and triangles) this viewpoint (Pl. IV/4; VI/1; V/7–8).

For the Middle Bronze Age, in sector B were investigated several archaeological complexes (dwellings, pits) belonging to the Wietenberg culture (it is common knowledge that the notion was introduced following the investigation of C. Seraphin at Sighişoara-*Wietenberg/Dealul Turcului*, dating from 1899–1904, research carried on by K. Horedt in 1938 and I. Andriţoiu between 1991 and 1994). Monuments from this culture spread throughout the entire Transylvania and have evolved according to four different phases. Although they are extremely numerous, only about 50 sites provide archaeological material that can be worked on for relevant progressive structures. Among them, the site at Derşida – investigated by N. Chidioşan in 1963–1965, 1969 and M. Rotea in 1999–2000 – has an exceptional place in this culture's area, first and foremost because of the unique stratigraphic scale it provides. Four stages have been defined to express the evolution of the culture, whose content is different, according to the opinion of the researcher[12]. Most of them contained a big amount of pottery specific to the classical phase of this culture (phase III). The various types of entwined spirals and meandres decorating the walls of the recipients are a plea in favour of this framing (Pl. 13). Obviously, the most frequent ornaments are those in relief or those with incisions shaped as bands. Seldom are surfaces separated in two, three or four areas, therefore seldom can we refer to a metope style, adopted most probably

[8] See *supra* note 6.

[9] C. I. Popa, *Contribuţii la cunoaşterea perioadei de tranziţie în bazinul hidrografic al Cugirului (II)*, Sargetia 27, 1999, 51–101.

[10] For this viewpoint, see: C. I. Popa, *op. cit*., 51–101 and H. Ciugudean, *op. cit*., 47.

[11] P. Roman, *op. cit*., 36–38.

[12] For this culture, see for instance: K. Horedt, *Die Wietenbergkultur*, Dacia N.S. 4, 1960, 107–137; N. Chidioşan, Contribuţii la cunoaşterea tracilor din nord-vestul României. Aşezarea Wietenberg de la Derşida, Oradea 1980, with bibliography; I. Andriţoiu, Civilizaţia tracilor din sud-vestul Transilvaniei în epoca bronzului, Bucureşti 1992, with bibliography; N. Boroffka, Die Wietenberg-Kultur, Bonn, 1994, with bibliography; I. Andriţoiu, A. Rustoiu, Sighişoare-Wietenberg. Descoperiri preistorice şi aşezarea dacică, Bucureşti 1997; M. Rotea, Pagini din preistoria Transilvaniei. Epoca bronzului, Cluj-Napoca 2008; Idem, Cultura Wietenberg, Cluj-Napoca 2009.

under the influence of other contemporary cultures. We have good analogies from the Wietenberg site of Cluj-Napoca – *Strada Banatului*[13].

The most numerous discoveries belong to the Late Bronze Age. It is worth mentioning in this context the incineration necropolis made of over 20 graves and the inhumation necropolis belonging to the Noua culture, made of over 140 graves, both investigated in sectors C and K. The first appears as an incineration enclave in an ocean of inhumation, but we still have to get relevant arguments to be able to reveal the chronological connection between the two necropoleis, even though we are inclined to believe that their evolution was characterized by a partial synchronism.

The practice of cremating the dead and placing the cinerary remains in urns is an extremely old one and was widely used in Transylvania throughout the Bronze Age, in the Wietenberg environment[14]. Next to urns (Pl. XVIII/1, 3–4), in the pits of the incineration graves from Floreşti-*Polus Center* were found offering vessels, jewellery made of bone (pin), stone (pendant), bronze (bracelet) or gold (lockeringe). Some of these objects accompanied the deceased on the pyre (the pyre must have been in another place, away from the cemetery, because its traces have not been found). In a singular case (grave M 29)[15] (Pl. XVIII/3; XIX/2), was the urn placed in a box made of shaped stone blocks; this was probably a princely "tomb", because a gold item (the first one in a tomb of this type) was found between the charred bones of the deceased (the isolated position of the deceased in relation to the compact group of incineration tombs supports this idea, as well). The urn is a 22.5 cm tall amphora with a mouth diameter of 18 cm and with two handles. The rim is decorated with triangular impressions arranged in a "wolf-teeth" decoration pattern, with a row of simultaneous stitching placed diagonally on the mouth of the vessel, a band with circular impressing filled with horizontal S-shaped incisions and four spirals made by wide stitching, all placed on the neck and shoulder of the vessel. The gold item is a B-type lockeringe, according to Eugenia Zaharia's typology[16]. We have very good analogies both from

[13] M. Rotea, M. Wittenberger, *The ritual complex of Wietenberg Culture*, *Cluj-Napoca (Transylvania)*, AMN 36/I, 1999, 3–25.

[14] See s*upra* note 9.

[15] M. Rotea, M. Tecar, Sz. Nagy, P. Pupeză, L. Săsăran, T. Tecar, *Floreşti-Polus Center. Arheologie şi termoluminiscenţă*, in C. Cosma, S. Varvara, M. Gligor (eds.), Radioactivitatea mediului. Vârste absolute prin metode nucleare de datare, Cluj-Napoca 2008, 160–180; M. Rotea, Pagini din preistoria Transilvaniei. Epoca bronzului, Cluj-Napoca 2008.

[16] E. Zaharia, *Die Lockenringen von Sărata-Monteoru und ihre typologiyschen und chronologischen Beziehungen*, Dacia N.S. 3, 1959, 103–134.

Transylvania (Alba-Iulia, Braşov or Moreşti)[17] and from Hungary (Kölesd-Hangospuszta or Kengyel)[18], dated to the Middle and Late Bronze Age[19]. It is also noteworthy that another tomb has been found-noted as M 30 (Pl. XVIII/3; XIX/2), on the northern side of this box, containing a smaller urn. The relationship between these two persons is impossible to sketch (the fact that they were deposited there simultaneously and their bonding cannot be accidental) until we receive the results of the anthropological and DNA analyses[20]. However, what is unequivocal is the idea of the two complexes' union.

From a cultural viewpoint, we believe that the incineration graves' group belongs to the discoveries that we attributed to the Deva-Bădeni group[21]. The settlement investigated by the team led by our colleague F. Marcu in the southern part of sector B also belongs to this cultural horizon, and it must not be mistaken for the Wietenberg III site. Viewpoints related to this archaeological entity are divergent[22], but the information available these days is increasingly abundant, therefore a re-assessment of this subject looking through the lens of the new discoveries is much needed.

The scarce evidence preserved from the peoples that used to practice cremation in ancient times shows quite undoubtedly that the aim was a quick and definitive separation of the soul from the body. The incineration of dead bodies, be they princes or common people, is at the same time an expression of the care not only for the deceased, but also for the living, as the latter will not be disturbed by the presence of the former. We can ask ourselves where this practice comes from, since it is not the easiest way to make a corpse disappear (burial is simpler and less costly). According to some researchers, this practice would have appeared out of practical reasons with nomadic peoples, who did not have any permanent

[17] D. Popescu, Cercetări arheologice în Transilvania, Bucureşti 1956, 158–212; E. Sava, Die Bestattungen der Noua-Kultur, Kiel 2002, 44, 188, with bibliography.

[18] A. Mozsolics, *Der Goldfund von Kengyel*, Acta Arch Hung 9, 1958, 253–263; T. Kovács, *Bronzezeitliche Schmuckgegenstände*, *Waffen und Goldschätez*, in Prähistorische Goldschätze aus dem Hungarische Nationalmuseum, Budapest 1999, 37–63, with bibliography.

[19] D. Popescu, *op. cit.*, 162; E. Zaharia, *op. cit.*, 103–134; A. Mozsolics, *op. cit.*, 253–263; T. Kovács, *op. cit.*, 37–63; E. Sava, *op. cit.*, 44, 213–220; M. Wittenberger, Cultura Noua în Transilvania, Cluj-Napoca 2008, with bibliography.

[20] Anthropological analyses are about to be completed, thanks to the efforts of our colleague Sz. Gál.

[21] M. Rotea, *Penetraţia culturii Otomani în Transilvania*, Apulum 31, 1994, 39–58.

[22] See for example: H. Ciugudeanu, Cercetări privind epoca bronzului şi prima vârstă a fierului în Transilvania, Alba-Iulia 1997, 65–81; N. Boroffka, *Probleme ale sfârşitului culturii Otomani în Transilvania*, in Romanian Journal of Archaeology 1, Bucharest, 2000; M. Wittenberger, *op. cit.*, passim.

settlements and who could thus carry their dead with them, in pottery vessels. According to others, reasons of a religious nature must be looked for (the incineration itself could be considered an offering) which also imply a higher level of abstraction. We believe that this second opinion should be embraced in the attempt to explain the present situation[23].

As for the inhumation necropolis belonging to the Noua culture (the Noua archaeological culture notion was introduced in specialized literature by I. Nestor in 1934, having as starting point the investigation led by J. Teutsch, carried out in 1901 in Braşov), the territory occupied by this culture – more particularly this cultural complex – was extremely wide, encompassing Transylvania up to the Apuseni mountains, Moldova, Wallachia, Dobrogea and part of the Ukraine. In Transylvania, Noua culture has a specific facies, which unfolds along different phases. The first encompasses Wietenberg influences, the second is a classical one, and the third is a final stage, marking the transition to subsequent cultural realities. The settlements in Transylvania, insufficiently investigated, provide a mixed ceramic material, including contemporary cultural realities from this entire area. On the other hand, necropoleis have more unity from all points of view: the quasi-exclusiveness of inhumation graves, the fact that the deceased were placed in a squatted position on the left or the right side in plain pits, the inventory made of ceramic pots with two handles, jars, bag-type ceramic vessels, more rarely lockeringes made of gold or bronze, bracelets or pins made of bronze, etc.[24] The last monograph dedicated to funerary discoveries encompasses 710 graves, out of which 695 are inhumation and 15 incineration graves, most of them being grouped in the area between the Oriental Carpathians and the Prut river; in Transylvania about 140–145 graves are mentioned[25] . It must be mentioned from the beginning that it appears to be not only the largest necropolis in Transylvania, practically doubling the number of graves known for this area, but also as one of the most complex in this culture's entire areal. Unfortunately, the archaeological material has only been partially processed so far. However, some observations can be made. The deceased were placed in a *s*quatting position and have beside them recipients of different types: ceramic pots with two handles and button, bag-type ceramic vessels, jars (Pl. XIV/1–3; XV/1–2, 4; XVI/2–3; XVII/2–6), etc. Offering

[23] M. Rotea, Cultura Wietenberg, Cluj-Napoca 2009, with bibliography.

[24] For the Noua culture, see for example: A. C. Florescu, Repertoriul culturii Noua – Coslogeni din România. Aşezări şi necropole, Călăraşi 1991; I. Andriţoiu, V. Vasiliev, *Câteva consideraţii asupra culturii Noua în Transilvania*, Apulum 27–30, 1993, 121–146; E. Sava, *Die Bestattungen der Noua-Kultur*, Kiel 2002; M. Wittenberger, Cultura Noua în Transilvania, Cluj-Napoca 2008.

[25] E. Sava, *op. cit*., 97–108, 230, with bibliography.

vessels were placed on the bottom of the pit, in front of the skeleton, at the level of the head or thorax, more seldom at the back of the skull, in the rib area or next to the legs. The inventory of some graves also contains items made of bone, bronze or even gold, but they are few. The grave noted as M 115a (Pl. XVII/6) is included in this latter category, as it had in the skull area, more precisely at the nape of the neck, a B-type lockeringe[26] made of gold.

The grave pits have an oval or rectangular shape; sometimes they are almost square and are often marked by stones. Skeletons placed in stone circles or covered with stone mantles have also been found. As for the position of the skeleton, we have unearthed severely, moderately or slightly crouched skeletons (Pl. XIV–XVII).

The dating of the necropolis is a complex issue, which shall be discussed in detail once all the data available are fully processed. For the moment, the most certain dating is Bronze D, taking into account the inventory of pottery uncovered, but also the bronze and gold items found. At the same time, we have significant data that do not exclude the possibility to exceed this chronological interval in both senses.

The most well-known among the discovered inhumation graves[27] is the one named "Romeo and Juliet"[28], a double grave dated to the Bronze Age from a strictly archaeological viewpoint (a more precise chronological dating is still uncertain), in which the skeletons of two young people are placed one in front of the other, in a crouched position (Pl. XIV/3; XIX/1). A feature that is unique for the entire Carpathian Prehistoric area is the fact that they lower limbs are intertwined, and the entire ensemble suggests an intimate relationship, a deep feeling of unity, of love between the two. Anthropological analyses carried out by our colleague S. Gal confirm the fact that these are two teenagers (13–15 years old), a boy and a girl. Therefore, we are drawing closer and closer to the idea we have set as our working hypothesis, inspired by the title of one of W. Shakespeare's plays. We are only one step behind, as we still lack the result of the DNA analyses, in order to eliminate the last obstacle in the way of this spectacular interpretation: the possibility for them to be brother and sister. This discovery has a good analogy in the findings of our colleague E. Menotti, made in Northern Italy, near Mantova[29].

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[26] E. Zaharia, *op. cit.*, 103–134.

[27] Mention must be made of the fact that in the same area as the Noua necropolis, a small inhumation necropolis was researched, belonging to the early Bronze Age. The separation of the tombs without an inventory or with an atypical one has not yet been completed.

[28] M. Rotea, M. Tecar, Sz. Nagy, P. Pupeză, L. Săsăran, T. Tecar, *op. cit.*, 160–180; M. Rotea, Pagini din preistoria Transilvaniei. Epoca bronzului, Cluj-Napoca 2008.

[29] La Gazzetta di Mantova, 6 februarie 2007.

The Second Iron Age (3rd – 2nd centuries BC)

Generalities. The Celts' penetration inside the Carpathian arch at the mid–4th century BC sheds new light over the situation of these territories, some of which were integrated into the central-European Celtic world, but there are still many unknowns.

The Celts settled mainly in two geographic areas: the Mureş – Târnave river basin (Aiud[30], Bratei[31], and Mediaş[32]) and the Upper basin of the Someş river (Apahida[33], Fântânele[34] and Dipşa[35]). Early artefacts – early Dux fibulae and bracelets with thicker ends or with a *Steckverschluss* – type fastening system – appear from the very beginning in the two areas mentioned[36], which is a clue supporting the idea that they were occupied concomitantly. The last horizon of the Celtic presence in the area can be mapped around the second half of the 2nd century BC (Panic[37], Pişcolt[38], Seuşa[39]).

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[30] M. Roska, *A Kelták Erdélyben (Les Gaulois en Transylvanie)*, Közlemények 1–2, 1944, 55–76.

[31] I. Nestor, E. Zaharia, *Raport preliminar despre săpăturile de la Brateiu*, *jud*. *Sibiu*, Materiale 10, 1973, 191–202.

[32] I. Nestor, *Keltische Gräber bei Medias*, Dacia VII–VIII, 1937–1940, 159–182. M. Blăjan, G. Togan, *Descoperiri celtice şi dacice inedite la Mediaş şi în împrejurimile sale*, AMP 2, 1978, 39–51.

[33] Şt. Kovacs, *Az apahidai őskori telep és La Tène temető*, in Dolgozatok 11, 1911, 57–127. I. H. Crişan, Materiale dacice din necropola şi aşezarea de la Ciumeşti şi problema raporturilor dintre daci şi celţi în Transilvania, Baia Mare 1966, 46–51, fig. 20; Idem, *Necropola celtică de la Apahida*, in AMN VIII, 1971, 37–70, pl. IX, XVI.

[34] L. Vaida, *Cimitirele celtice din nord-vestul Transilvaniei*, Arhiva Someşană 3, 2004, 375–392.

[35] K. Horedt, *Zwei keltische Gräberfunde aus Siebenbürgen*, Dacia 9–10, 1941–1944, 189–200.

[36] V. Zirra, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Keltiscen Latène in Rumanien*, in Dacia N. S. XV, 1971, 171–238. V. Sîrbu, *Dacii şi celţii din Transilvania şi vestul României*, in Fontes Historiae. Studia in Honorem Demetrii Protase, Cluj-Napoca 2006, 191–220.

[37] A. Rustoiu, Fibulele din Dacia preromană (sec. II î.e.n – I e.n.), Bucureşti 1997, 34, fig. 19/1.

[38] I. Nemeti, *Necropola celtică de la Pişcolt*. *I*, in Thraco-Dacica VIII, 1987, 49–74; Idem, *Necropola celtică de la Pişcolt*. *II*, Thraco-Dacica 10, 1989, 75–114; Idem, *Necropola celtică de la Pişcolt*. *III*, Thraco-Dacica 13, 1992, 59–112. V. V. Zirra, *Contribuţii la cronologia relativă a cimitirului de la Pişcolt. Analiză combinatorie şi stratigrafie orizontală*, SCIVA 48, 2, 1997, 87–137.

[39] I. V. Ferencz, M. Ciută, *Finds from Seuşa (Alba county) belongins to Middle Latène*, in Les celtes et les thraco-daces de l'est du bassin des Carpates, Cluj-Napoca 2000, 22–50.

In the settlements and the necropoleis belonging to the Celts, materials that are not specific for their civilization were discovered (Apahida[40], Ciumeşti[41], Fântânele[42]), proving the existence of a native population in the area, cohabitating with the non-indigenous one. Moreover, some discoveries dating from this period have a strong local character and can be attributed to the indigenous population (Berea[43], Moreşti[44], Porț[45] and Zalău[46]).

The complexes. *Pit-House 1* had an approximately circular shape, a maximum diameter of 6 m, and was buried about 0.50 m into the ground (Pl. XX). The inventory of the complex included two iron fibulae, hand-manufactured pottery fragments or made on the potter's wheel, a firedog, a spindle whorl, animal bones, as well as the lower part of a stone grinding mill.

The prevailing hand-manufactured pottery has chips crushed and mixed into the fabric, is made by oxidized and reduced combustion, most of the times incomplete, and has brick-reddish-brownish or blackish colours. The most frequent are fragments originating from medium biconical vessels, with straight or slightly curved walls, decorated with buttons and alveolar waves, or from pots with incurving rims and a pointed or slightly bulging profile (Pl. XXII/1, 3–13).

The production of the vessels made on the potter's wheel has a better quality, with sand and mica-schist as grease-removers, and very seldom graphite. The combustion is complete, completely reduced, and the colour is black – in various tones, sometimes the walls are covered in a glossy slip. The most frequently encountered shape is the bowl having a flaring rim, straight or slightly incurving, arched walls and incised lines as decoration (Pl. XXII/2). A few of the fragments come from cups with one handle, probably biconical.

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[40] I. H. Crişan, Materiale dacice din necropola şi aşezarea de la Ciumeşti şi problema raporturilor dintre daci şi celți în Transilvania, Baia Mare 1966, 46–51, fig. 20; Idem, *Necropola celtică de la Apahida*, AMN 8, 1971, 37–70, pl. IX, XVI.

[41] I. H. Crişan, *op. cit*., 5–18, 33–39, fig. 3, 11–17. Vl. Zirra, *Locuiri din a doua epocă a fierului în nord-vestul României*. *Aşezarea contemporană cimitirului Latène de la Ciumeşti şi habitatul indigen de la Berea (jud. Satu Mare)*, StComSatu-Mare 4, 1980, 39–84, pl.VII–XLI.

[42] L. Vaida, *op. cit*., 375–392.

[43] Vl. Zirra, *op. cit*., 39–84, pl. XLIII–XLIX.

[44] K. Horedt, Moreşti. Grabungen in einer vor – und frühgeschichtlichen Siedlung in Siebenburgen, Bucureşti 1979.

[45] H. Pop, P. Pupeză, *Dacians and Celts in the Northwestern Romania*, in V. Sârbu, L. Vaida (coord.), Thracians and Celts, Cluj-Napoca 2006, 188–189, pl. V–VIII.

[46] A. V. Matei, H. Pop, M. Andraş, D. Băcuieț-Crişan, *Zalău – Dealul Lupului (jud. Sălaj)*, in Cronica Cercetărilor Archaeologice din Romania (campania 2003), Bucureşti 2004, p. 375–378; H. Pop, P. Pupeză, *op. cit*., 185–187, pl. II–III.

In the proximity of this house, about 20 m SE, another complex took shape, *Pit-House 2*, buried 0.60 m into the ground (Pl. XXI/2). Its shape is different than the house previously described, as this has an almost square shape, with a 3.85 m long side and rounded angles. The complex was partially destroyed by a medieval building.

The material uncovered was exclusively pottery, hand-made or wheel-made, its specific features being identical to those of the material previously described, found in the previous pit-house. The material includes vessels having straight or slightly arched walls, decorated with buttons and alveolar waves, as well as bowls with inward rim, a pointed or slightly bulging profile, hand-manufactured (Pl. XXIII/1, 3, 5, 7–12). The novelty is represented by the relief decoration as a simple band. The bowl is the most widely represented type from all the types of vessels made on the potter's wheel, with a flaring rim and arched walls. What is noteworthy is the discovery of black vessel footrings made on the potter's wheel, made of a fine fabric, burn reduced, with a bulging shape, similar to a shield-*umbo*. Most of them are decorated with incised lines covering the entire diameter of the vessel, including the inside (Pl. XXIII/2, 4, 6).

An atypical bronze fibula, as well as a couple of atypical pottery fragments was uncovered from a pit, about ten metres south from the *Pit-House 2*. The precarious preservation condition of the fibula made its recovery impossible. Furthermore, no profile could be rounded off completely from the ceramic fragments.

Besides the discoveries previously mentioned, no archaeological material specific to this period was recovered, the cultural layer being almost inexistent following the mechanized intervention carried out for the construction of the commercial complex.

Chronology. As an overall, the archaeological material coming from the inventory of these complexes belongs to the 3rd – 2nd centuries BC. The only more precise chronological clue is provided by the iron fibulae in *Pit-House 1*. Such fibulae, identified in variable sizes, were discovered in almost all the sites from the La Tène period inside the Carpathian arch. They are dated to the last part of the 3rd century BC and mostly to the 2nd century BC[47].

Ethnical attribution. By analyzing only the material uncovered from the *Polus Center* area, one cannot make a precise ethnical attribution of the findings,

[47] The earliest exemples from the intra-Carpathian area are to be found at Pişcolt (I. Nemeti, *Necropola Latène de la Pişcolt*, *jud*. *Satu Mare*, in Thraco-Dacica 13, 1992, fig. 6/3, 7/1, 9/3, 15/9, 24/1), dated exclussively to the Latène C1 period. Most of them are classified as belonging to the transition period from the Latène C1 to C2 and Latène C2 (V. Zirra, *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des keltischen Latène in Rumänien*, Dacia N. S. 15, 1971, fig. 8/7–9).

as they include both objects that have an indisputable Celtic origin (iron fibulae, wheel made bowls) and items specific to the local, Dacian-Getic environment (biconical cups, pots manufactured by hand). In fact, the recreation of the framework in which interethnic relationships evolved is difficult if only based on elements belonging to the material culture, sometimes extremely scarce. The presence in the findings of a mixed material, Celtic or autochthonous, assumes the existence of strong bonds between communities or even a common dwelling in the same settlements.

Conclusion. Without being a remarkable discovery, from the viewpoint of the general framework, the archaeological complexes from the La Tène period uncovered at *Polus Center* have their degree of importance indeed, as they bring forward new clues regarding the society from the Second Iron Age in the intra-Carpathian area, confirming once more the complexity of the ethnical relationships that were forged here throughout the 3rd – 2nd centuries BC.

The Gepidic Period

The Gepidic Period is one of the best represented, thanks to the richness and diversity of the findings identified at this site. Habitation traces were identified both by the complexes specific to a settlement and by the discovery of a large number of graves that could be dated to this period.

The settlement was located on the first two terraces of the Someş river, at the bottom of the Răzoarele Hill, avoiding the marshy soil, and ended in the area where the slopes of the hill were steeper. Following the extensive archaeological research carried out in this area, the surface on which the settlement was stretching was delimited on three sides, the only area allowing for expansion being west from the SW angle of the *Polus* commercial complex building. A kiln and a firing pit, and several other pits having various destinations and dimensions were uncovered from the area investigated by this team (sectors C and K). The number of dwellings in this area was undoubtedly higher, but the fact that they are not among the present archaeological findings is due to several factors, such as working conditions[48], the soil characteristics[49] or the intensive agricultural activity in the

[48] Due to the advanced phase of the construction works, large surfaces situated in the immediate proximity of the dwellings (under the right wing of the Polus Center Commercial Complex, the one towards Floreşti) could not be archaeologically researched.

[49] In some areas, due to the color of the earth, the identification of the archaeological complexes was almost impossible, they only became fully outlined at clay level.

area. Therefore, the surface dwellings and annexes were almost entirely destroyed. Their traces are marked by a big number of pottery fragments and animal bones scattered over large areas, thus excluding the possibility for archaeological complexes to be outlined.

The dwellings identified had a rectangular or quadrilateral shape, with rounded corners. Their sides were 2.40–3.60 m long, enclosing 7 to 10 m^2 of living space. They are all dwellings half buried into the ground, with the floor about 0.20–0.50 m lower than the ancient trampled surface. The presence of post-pits was recorded in only one case (L 2), at the mid-western side (Pl. XXIV). The lack of these post-pits implies either the fact that the roof structure was supported by wooden plates, placed on the outside[50], or the fact that walls were made of horizontal beams or intertwined rods[51]. In our case, such traces were not identified at the site.

The archaeological material gathered from the filling and from the floor of the dwellings is mostly made of pottery fragments and animal bones, but there are other items present as well, although to a lower extent, such as tools, jewellery and other clothing items.

Among household utensils unearthed at the site, the following can be mentioned: biconical spindle whorls made of clay, pierced cone-shaped weights made of fired clay, clustered on the floor of dwelling L 4 and probably used on the vertical hand loom. These items probably indicate the fact that this building used to be a weaving workshop. The traces of another craft were found in the dwelling area, where several processed bone fragments, among which antlers were discovered; therefore we can assume that there used to be a bone processing workshop somewhere in the area.

The jewellery items uncovered are: a fragment of an open-ended bronze bracelet, uncovered from the filling of dwelling L 6, having semicircular shape, a circular section and flattened ends decorated with two rows of incised dots and a comb, also originating from the filling of dwelling L 6. This is a bilateral bone comb with bronze rivets, discovered fragmentarily, decorated with an X-shaped vertical lines made by incision.

Only two of the uncovered pits really stand out (G 7 and L 9), both because of their dimensions and thanks to the archaeological material gathered from their

[50] D. Gh. Teodor, Teritoriul est-carpatic în veacurile V–IX e.n., Iaşi 1978, 15; I. Mitrea, *Regiunea centrală a Moldovei dintre Carpaţi şi Siret*, *în secolele VI–IX e.n*., Carpica 12, 1980, 67.

[51] C. Cosma, *Aşezări şi tipuri de locuinţă în spaţiul Transilvaniei intracarpatice în secolele V–VI d.Chr*., in S. Mitu, Fl. Gogâltan (eds.), Viaţă privată, mentalităţi colective şi imaginar social în Transilvania, Oradea-Cluj 1995–1996, 41–42.

filling. Both had an oval shape, straight walls and straight or slightly concave footrings. Their function is yet to be established, but their filling indicates the fact that ultimately, they were used as waste pits. First and foremost, the archaeological material coming from these pits is made of large quantities of pottery fragments and animal bones, several fragments of bilateral bone combs, bone piercers and needles, an iron fibula, as well as a fragment of a small handle made of a transparent, greenish glass.

The conclusion of the first hand research carried out is the fact that the complexes discovered in sectors C and K belong to a more extended habitation area stretching over a few hectares. Analyzing the plan of the resulting findings, it seems that they were at the outskirts of the ancient settlement. Taking into account the function of the complexes uncovered, we can assume that they were part of the "industrial" area of the settlement.

Besides the complexes mentioned, in the area where the parking lot of the *Polus Center* commercial centre is planned, in the vicinity of sector K5 were discovered another 13 Gepidic complexes (5 dwellings, 7 pits and a fountain). Following the first stage of the research, they were dated to the end of the IVth century – the first half of the Vth century BC[52]. The chronological delimitation, as well as the demarcation of the various habitation phases can only be made after the complete processing of the archaeological material originating from these complexes.

Necropolis. The *Polus* Necropolis can be considered among the most important evidence, attesting the Gepides' presence in this region. Its importance increases, according to how much of it can represent the funerary area of as many contemporary or successive settlements in its immediate proximity. The necropolis belongs to the horizon of the burial "sites with graves placed in parallel rows (*Reihengräberfeld*)" that characterize the Gepidic world from the second half of the Vth century AD to the mid-VIth century.

The necropolis has not been fully researched. In some areas, due to the advanced stage of the construction works, archaeological excavations could not be carried out, and a rather big part of the area was not included in the investigation project. This future extension area (still untouched to the present moment) is situated north from the central necropolis area, delimitated by the commercial centre parking lot and the DN 1 national road Cluj-Napoca – Oradea on the one hand, and the *Polus Center* foot bridge and Metro store, on the other. Due to these,

[52] S. Cociş et alii, Floreşti, com. Floreşti, jud. Cluj, Punct: Şapca Verde, in Cronica cercetărilor archaeologicale din România. Campania 2007, Bucureşti 2008, 137–138.

the necropolis extension limit could be estimated only lengthwise, having an EW orientation, on about 200 m.

The 99 graves discovered in the C and K sectors were displayed in rows, following the NS direction. Here and there, some were found grouped together, but the distance among them or among the graves that make them is not constant. These groups of graves can be the burial place of families. In cases when the outline of the pit could be discerned on the surface, most of the funerary complexes had a rectangular shape and rounded corners. The graves had been dug in yellowish clay and then filled back up with the same clay. This made the identification of the grave pits that had not been disturbed subsequently more difficult. The general orientation of the graves was WE, with small detours towards the south. The presence of coffins was noted in a couple of cases, as indicated by the clamps discovered and by the wood impression preserved in the filling and on the bottom of the pit. Traces of textile materials or skin, which could attest the existence of a shroud, have not been found. Generally, the skeletons were placed on their backs with their arms and legs stretched.

Grave pillage is a generally encountered phenomenon in this necropolis. In almost all the cases, the intervention pit was perfectly outlined in the yellowish-brownish earth filling the grave. The manner in which graves used to be signalled in ancient times has not yet been archaeologically recorded, but it is certain that these intervention pits were outlined with great accuracy on the surface of the graves, usually in the area corresponding to the chest and pelvis of the deceased, where the objects of interest would most likely be located. The exact moment in which this action took place is unknown, but the position of the bones show that at the time of the pillage, there were no ligaments left, so there must have been quite a long time between the burial and the pillage.

The skeletons of adolescents and adults are more numerous than those of babies, and those of children under 3 years of age are lacking almost completely. D. Csallány's observation according to which men, women and children were not buried in separate strips of land, but according to the chronology of the deaths[53] is not valid in our case. The lack of the small children category from this site cannot be explained by the acidity of the soil[54], but by the fact that children were buried outside of the cemetery, in a separate area, where no archaeological excavations

[53] D. Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden in Mitteldonaubecken (454–568 u.Z.)*, ArchHung 38, Budapest 1961, 295.

[54] The few graves preserved indicate the fact that the bones were truly less well-preserved, but they were by no means totally decomposed.

have been performed so far. Only one double grave has been identified, in sector C: right by the skeleton of a woman (M 17) there was that of a child (M 32) both discovered at the same depth.

Interposed graves or cases of superposition have not been recorded at this site. In some cases, the artificial manipulation of the skull was noted. The on site observations were then confirmed by the anthropological analyses, whose outcome was that this practice was widely used in the community[55]. In Central Europe, deformed skulls grew increasingly numerous due to the Huns' settling down, and after their domination ended, this practice was given up on a broader scale, preserved only in some well-delimited territories, like the Tisza Plain for the Gepides, Crimea for the Goths and the northern part of the Caucasus for the Alans[56]. Among the Gepides, this practice was also encountered in the Avar period[57].

Except for the undisturbed graves (these being quite rare), the funerary inventory recovered is quite modest, made of clothing items, few jewellery items and some weapons. The common inventory (found both in the graves of women and in those of men) is made of combs, knives, pottery and footwear-related items. The combs discovered at *Polus Center* are included in the category of double-toothed combs, and were made of three plates made of antlers, held together by three or more iron or bronze rivets. Some were decorated with straight lines, in an undulated or in a zigzag shape, made by incision. The knives were discovered in the pelvis area or by the legs. From the viewpoint of the shape, all items were single-edged, had a straight blade, those found in the graves of women and children being smaller. The habit of making offerings in graves is represented by the few pottery vessels usually found in the proximity of the skull. They were all made on the fast wheel, out of a fine fabric, had a greyish colour and were decorated by stamping or had a polished decoration. The presence of these vessels does not exclude the possibility of other offerings being made (not identified during the excavations) like wooden recipients or pieces of meat with no bones.

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[55] The human osteologic material was analysed by anthropologist Gál Szilárd, to whom we give thanks for the information revealed.

[56] I. Hica-Cîmpeanu, A. Mureşan, *Un mormânt din secolul al VI-lea e.n. la Sighişoara*, Marisia 8, 1979, 762.

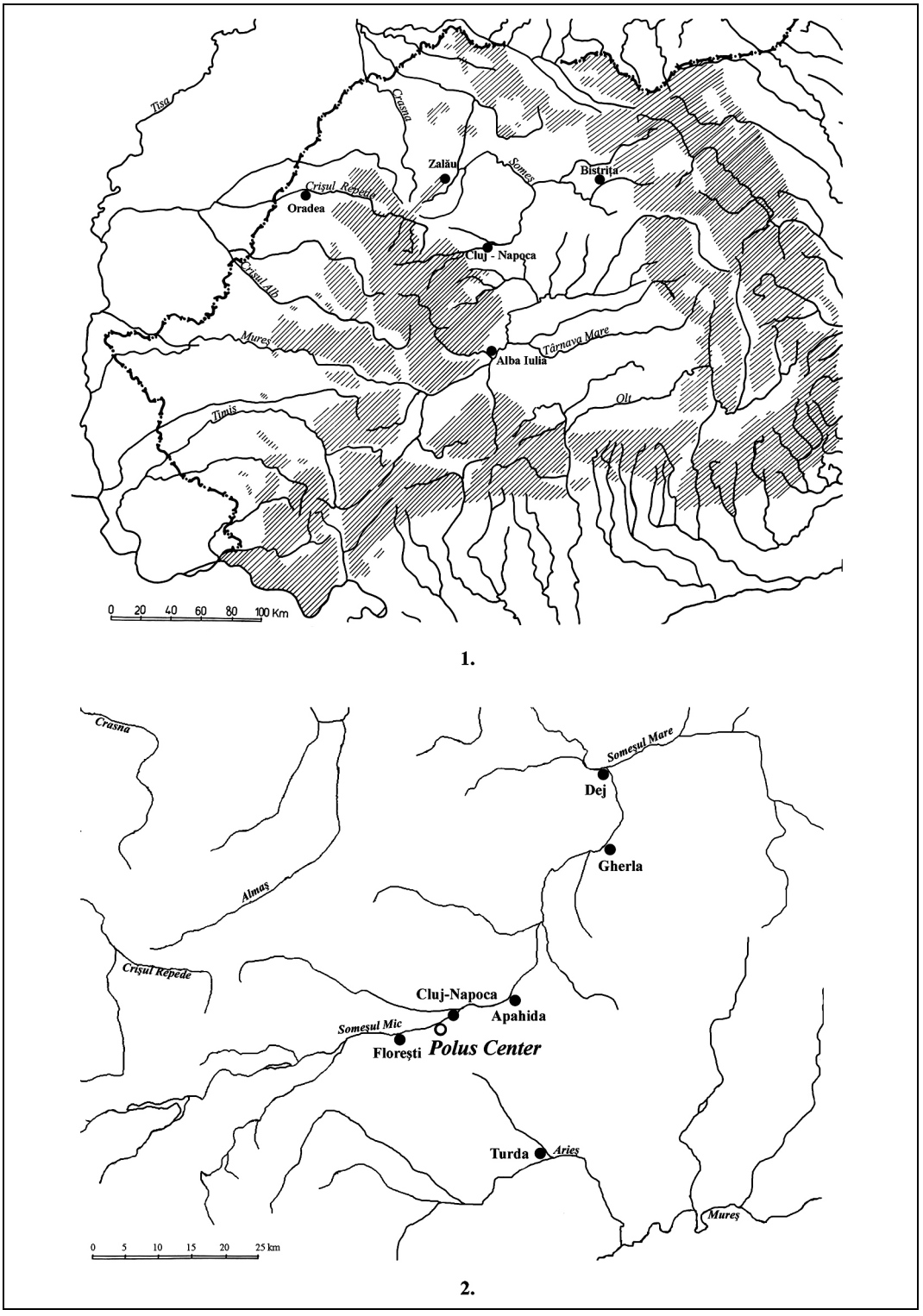
[57] I. Bóna, M. Nagy, *Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (kom. Csongrád)*, in Gepidische Gräberfelder am Theissgebiet I., Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae, Budapest 2002, 146; P. Lipták, A. Marcsik, *Kora népvándorláskori embertani leletek Kelet-Magyarországon. Újabb adatok a mesterséges koponyatorzítás kérdéséhez (Antropologische Funde in Ostungarn aus der Frühvölkerwanderugszeit. Neuere Angaben zur Frage der künstlichen Schädeldeformation)*. in A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen 1976, 1977, 42, table 5.

The inventory of men's graves encompassed clothing or decoration items, weapons and household objects. Among the clothing items, buckles are the best represented. The presence of several buckles in men's graves is a widely encountered phenomenon, as 3 or even 4 types of buckles were discovered in the same grave. The biggest and the most imposing was the belt buckle, followed by a smaller one used for attaching weapons, clothes buckles, the smallest being the bag clasp. The belt buckles discovered were medium-sized and were attached by the means of two or several rivets. They were made of iron, bronze or, more seldom, silver. The presence of small bags has been confirmed both by on-site observations and by the discovery of small buckles made of bronze or silver in the pelvis area. Their inventory includes various widely-used objects, such as firesteel and flint.

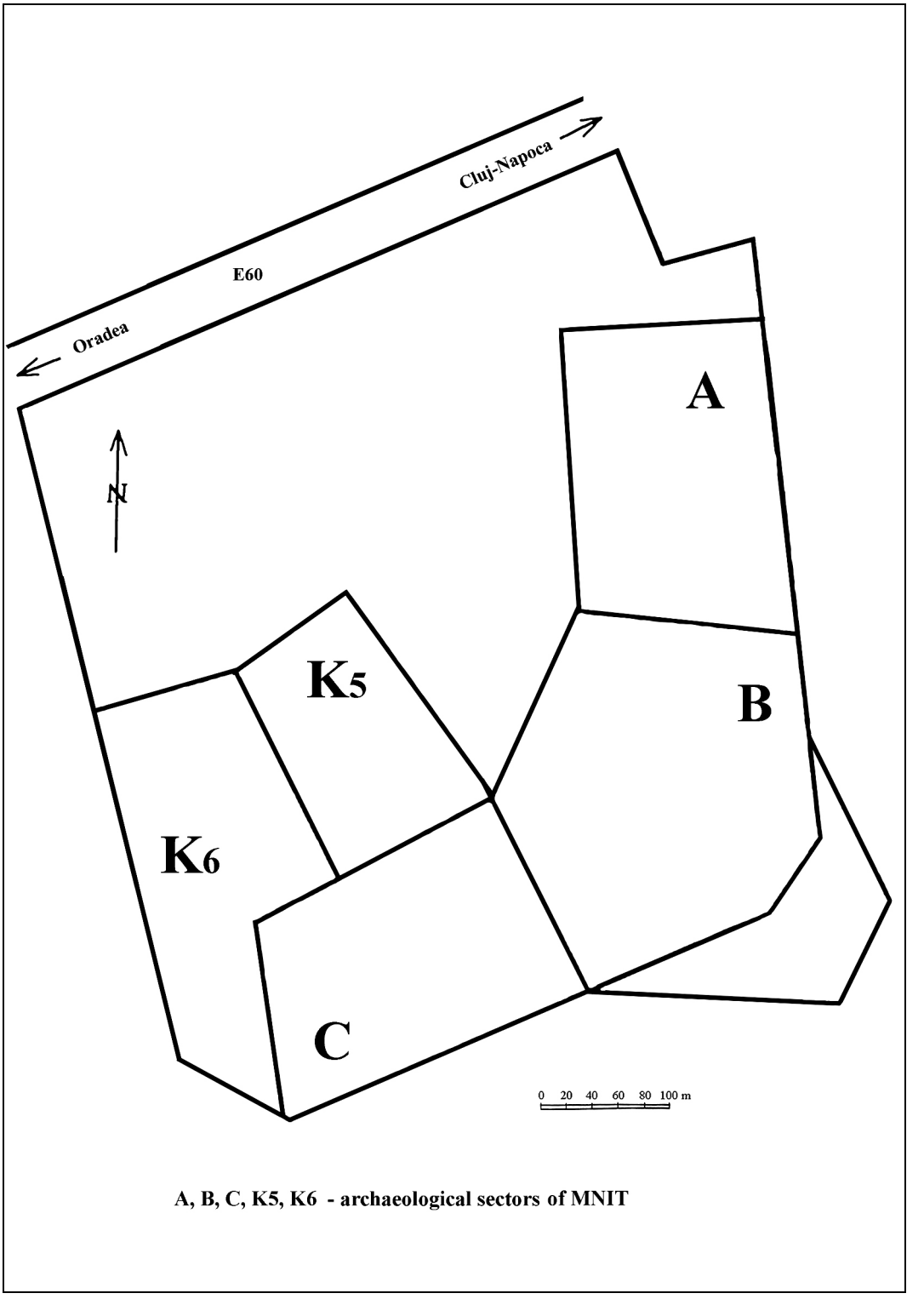
In the *Polus Center* necropolis, no fully equipped warrior was found. Defensive equipment (shield, helmet, shirts) is completely lacking from the graves' inventory. A few offensive weapons were discovered, meant to be used in close fighting (sabre, sword, spearhead and axe). Weapons used in distance fighting, represented by different types of arrowheads (two-edged or triple-edged) were uncovered more frequently.

The inventory of women's graves is richer, as proven by the few graves that had not suffered subsequent interventions. They are made of clothing and jewellery items and household objects. The jewellery unearthed encompasses crescent shaped lockeringes, made of silver and bronze, or earrings with massive polyhedral ends. The jewellery to be worn around the neck included strings of beads, made of amber or glass of various types and sizes. Crescent shape pendants were sometimes found, and more seldom silver beads. On the shoulder and in the chest area fibulae made of bronze and more seldom silver, were found. The buckles discovered in women's graves were medium-sized, and were made of bronze or iron. Women's graves also comprised spindle whorls, generally found in the pelvis area.

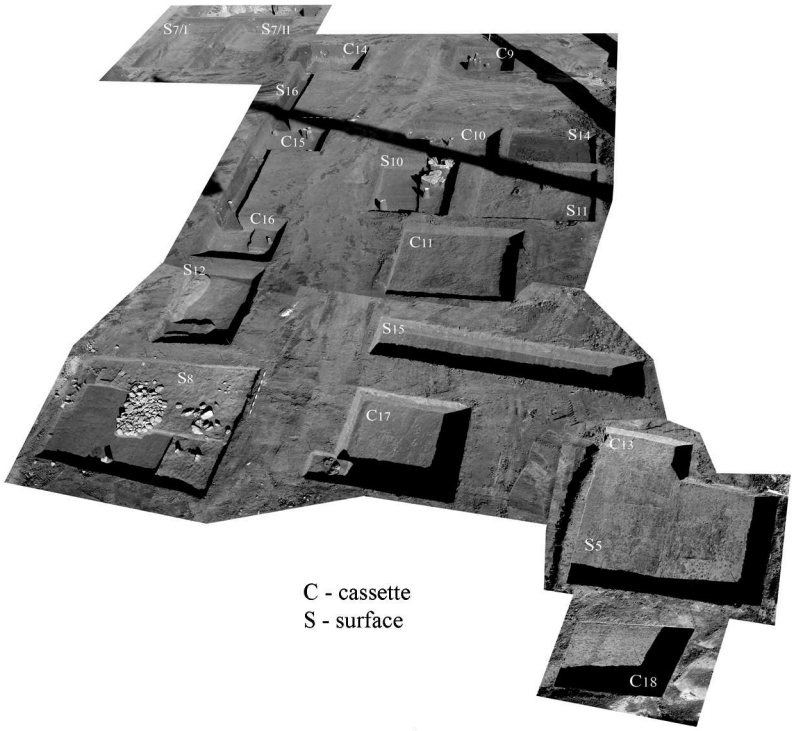
As for the dating, a first-hand analysis of the artefacts indicates the fact that the existence of the *Polus Center* necropolis began at the mid-Vth century AD. It was in use until the mid-VIth century AD. A final analysis of the inventory discovered will shed more light on these chronological limits.



Pl. I. 1. Map of Transylvania; 2. Map of Someşul Mic Valley.



Pl. II. Polus Center, archaeological sectors of MNIT.

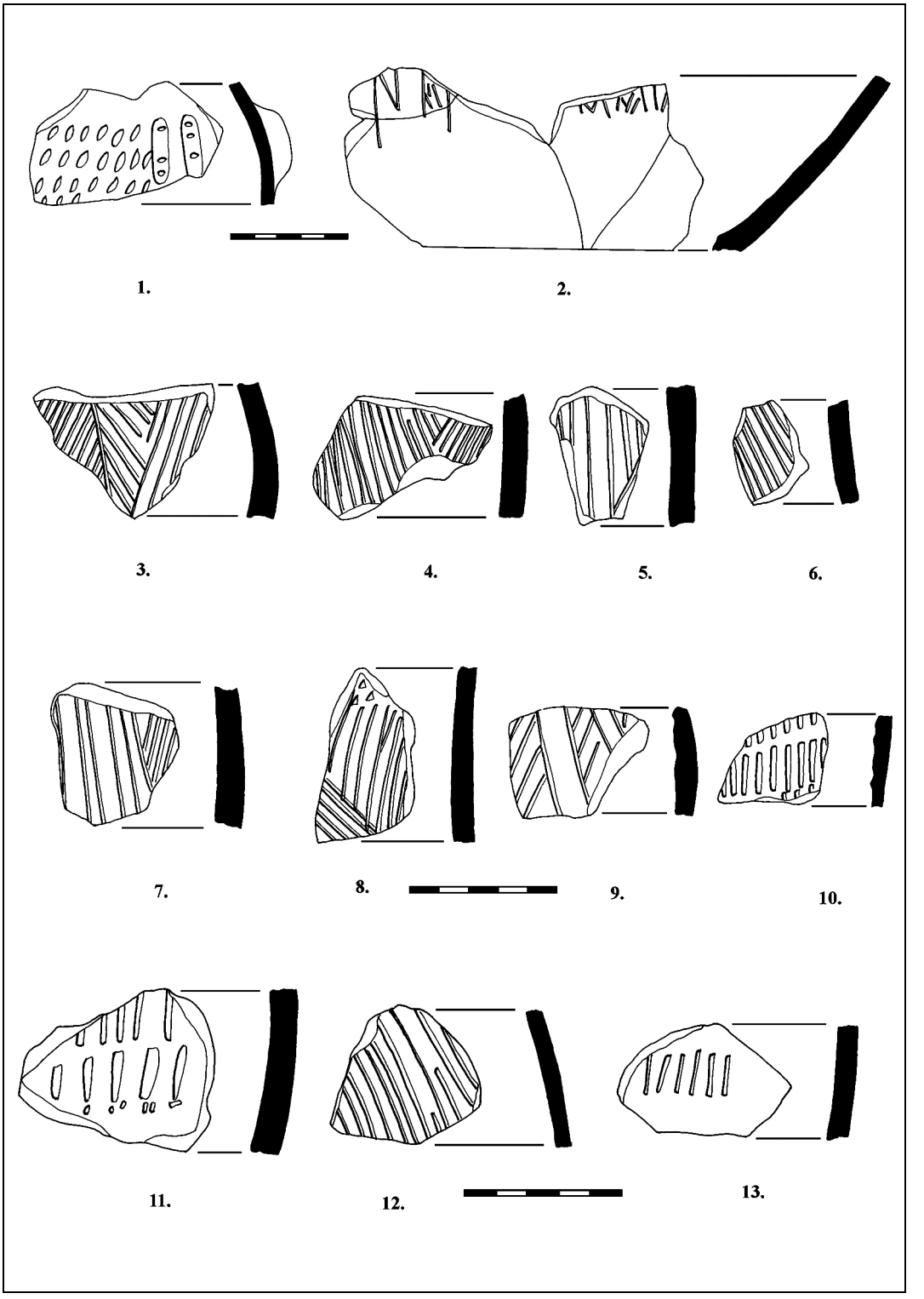


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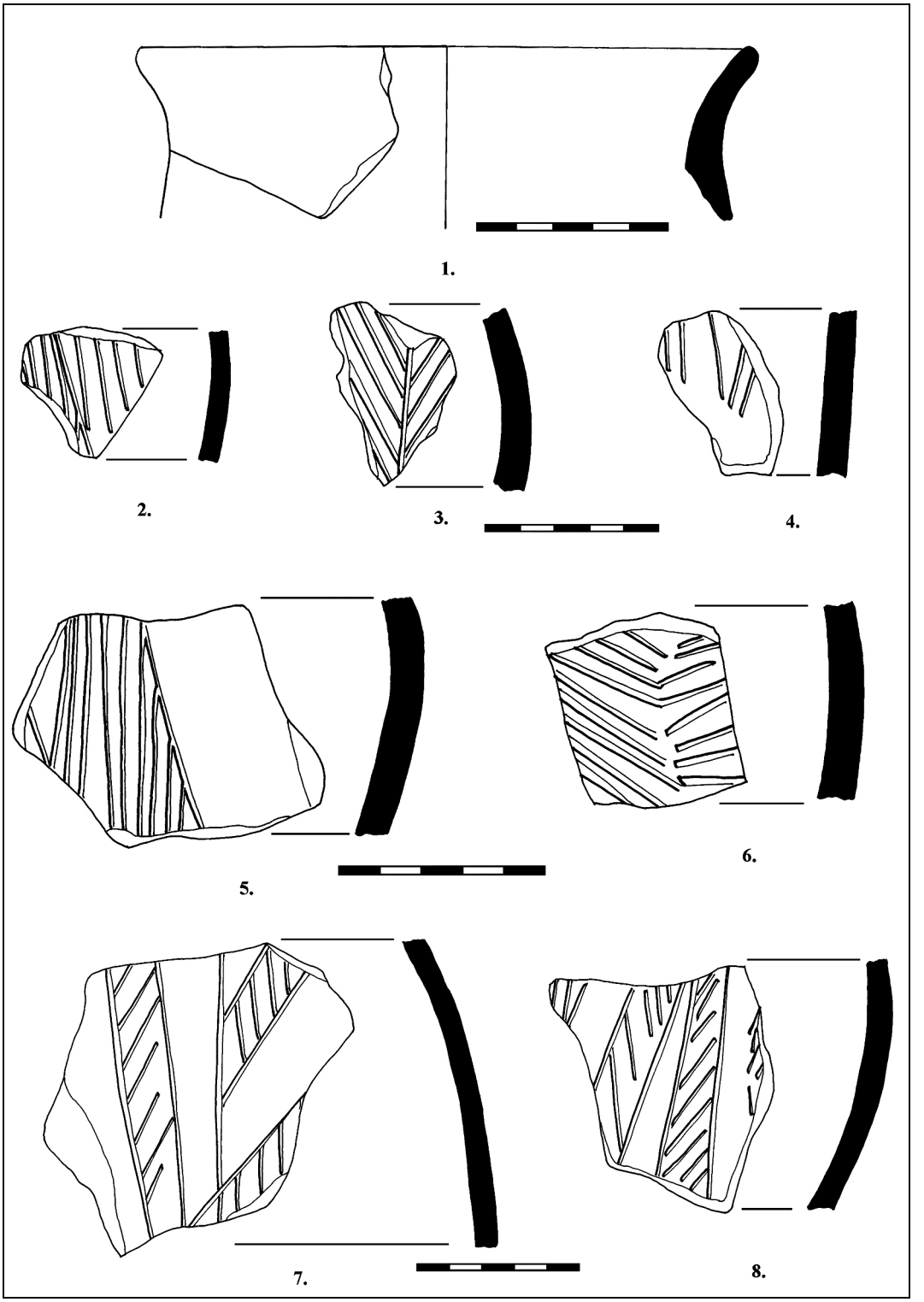


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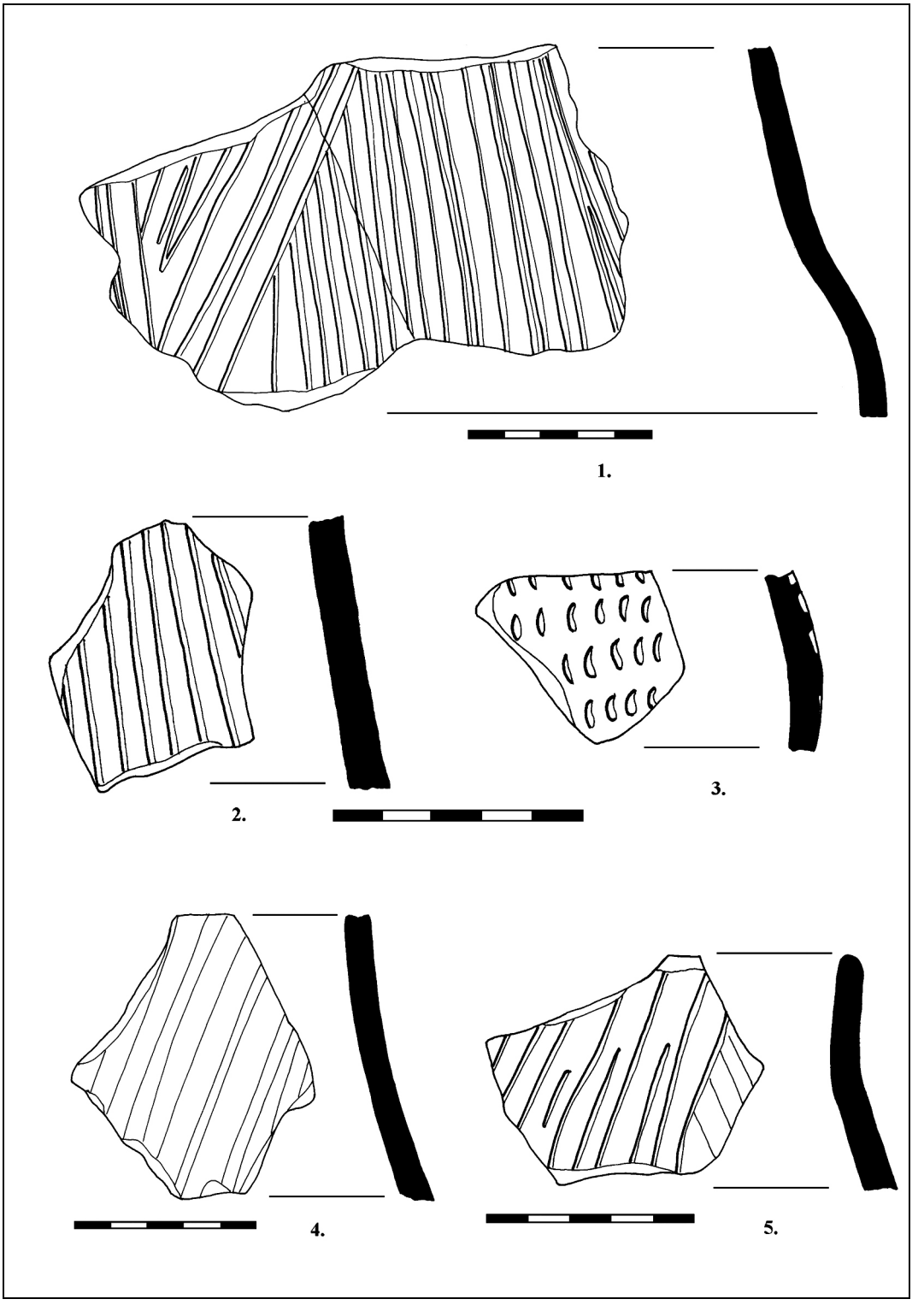
Pl. III. 1. Upper view of Sector C; 2. Partial view of Sector K6.



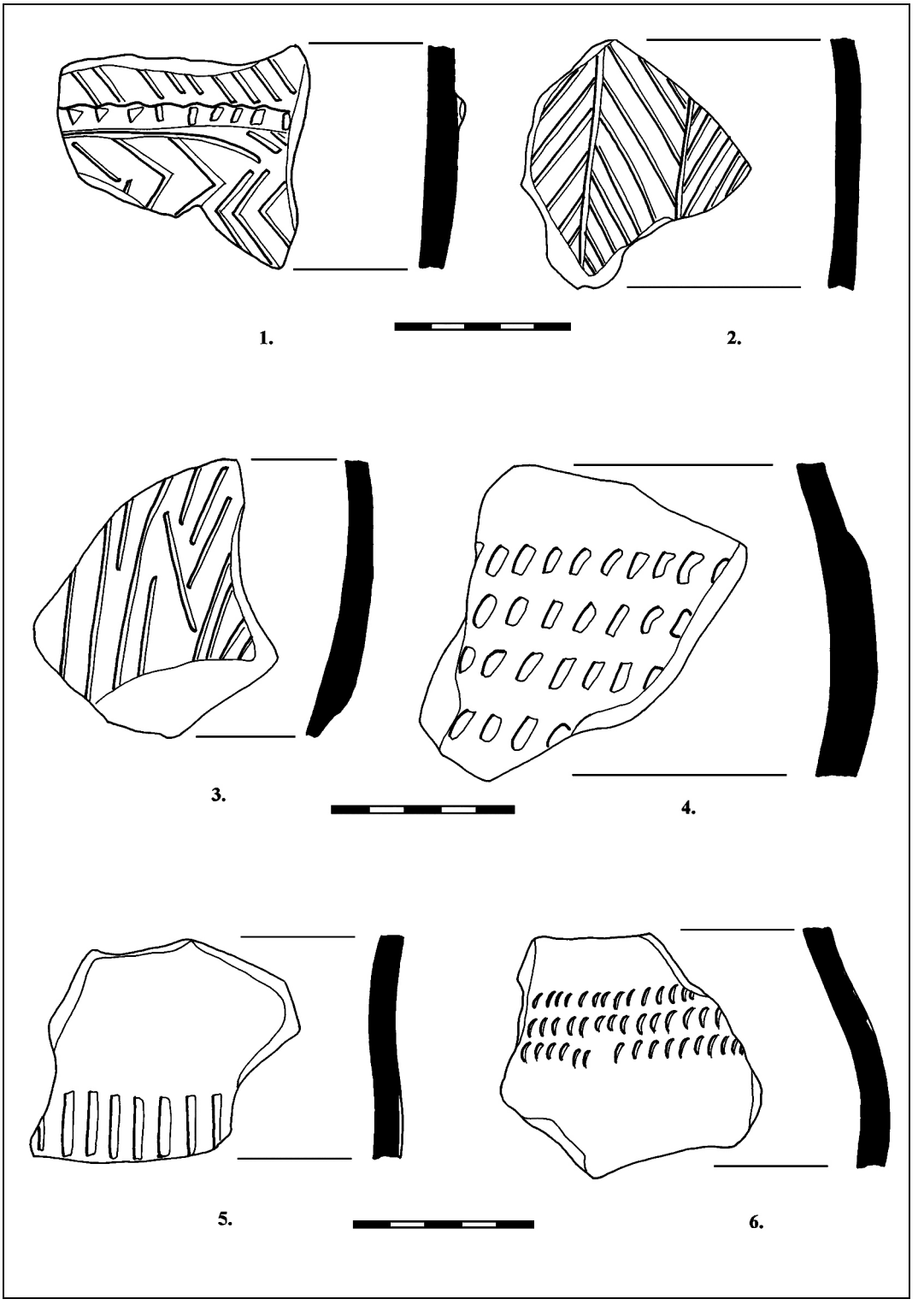
Pl. IV. Sector K5, Coțofeni Culture pottery.



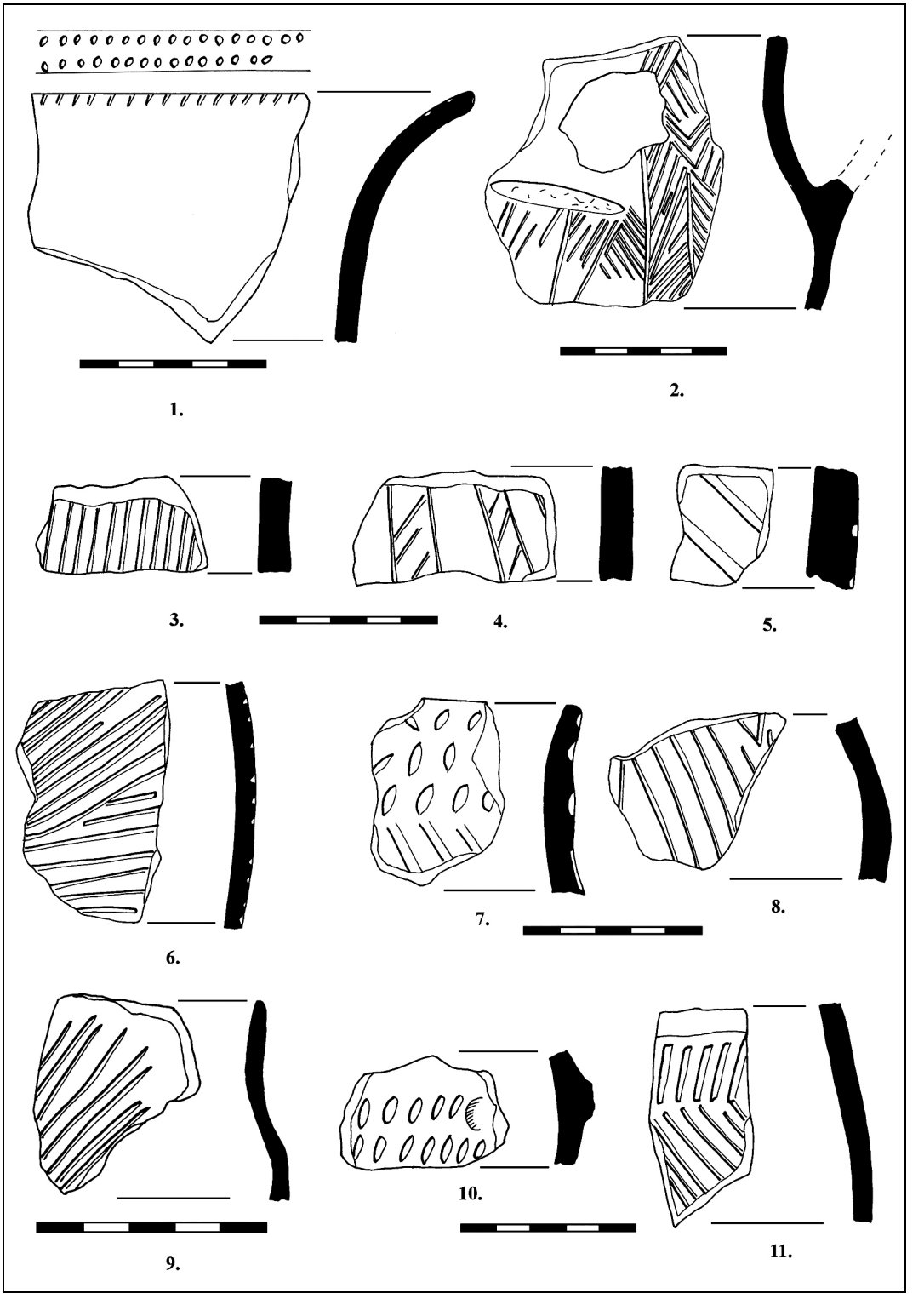
Pl. V. Sector K5, Coţofeni Culture pottery.



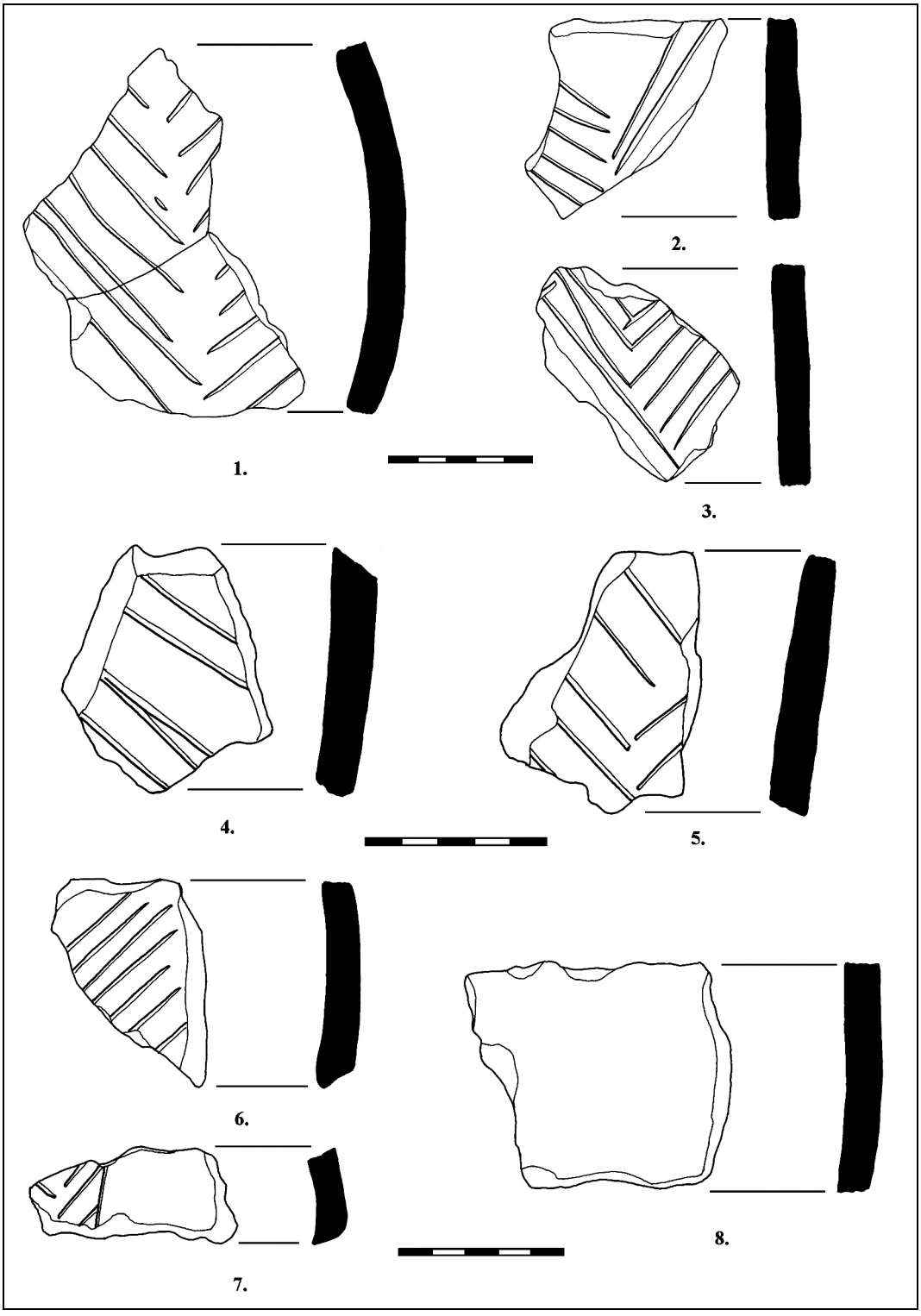
Pl. VI. Sector K5, Coțofeni Culture pottery.



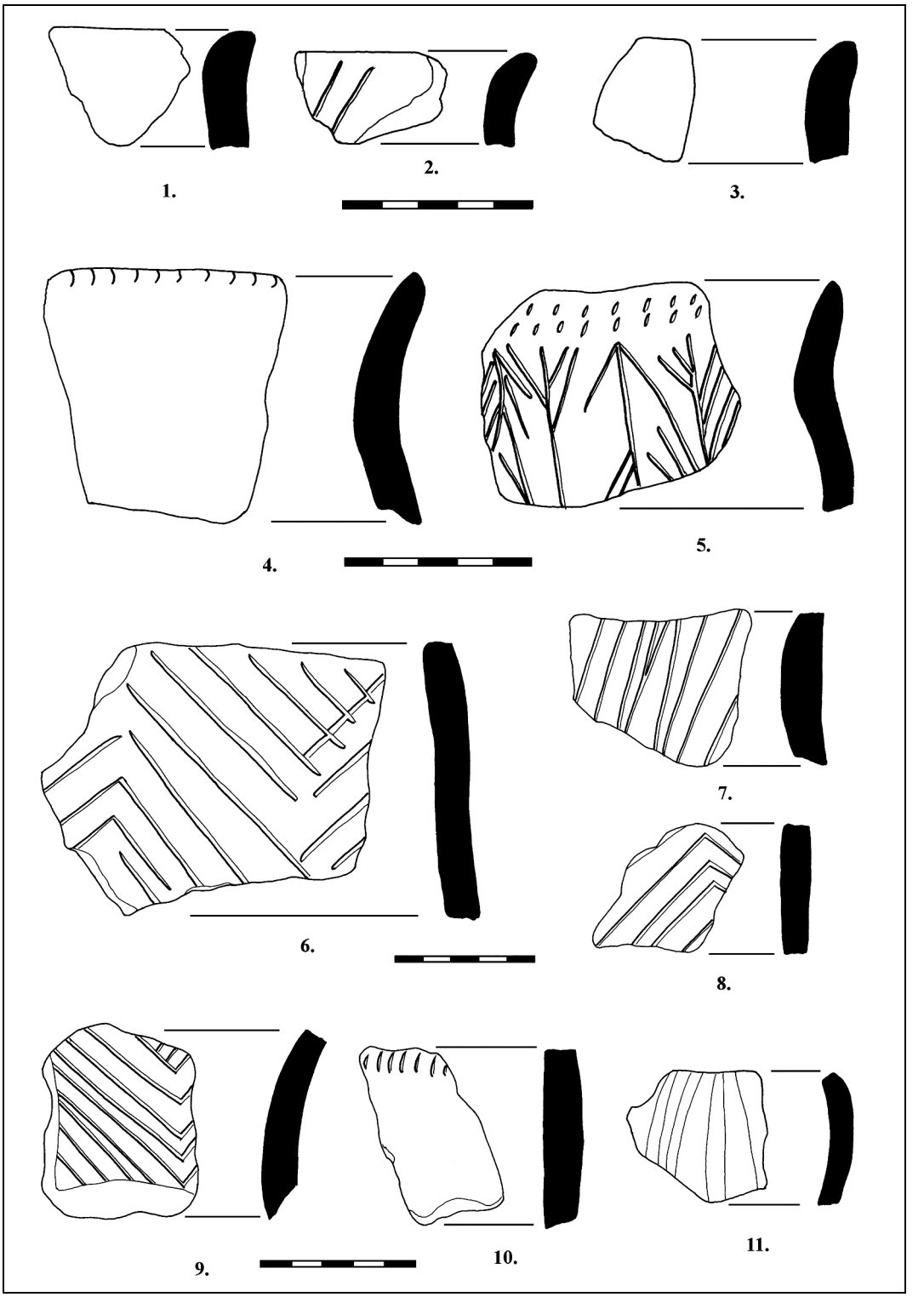
Pl. VII. Sector K5, Coţofeni Culture pottery.



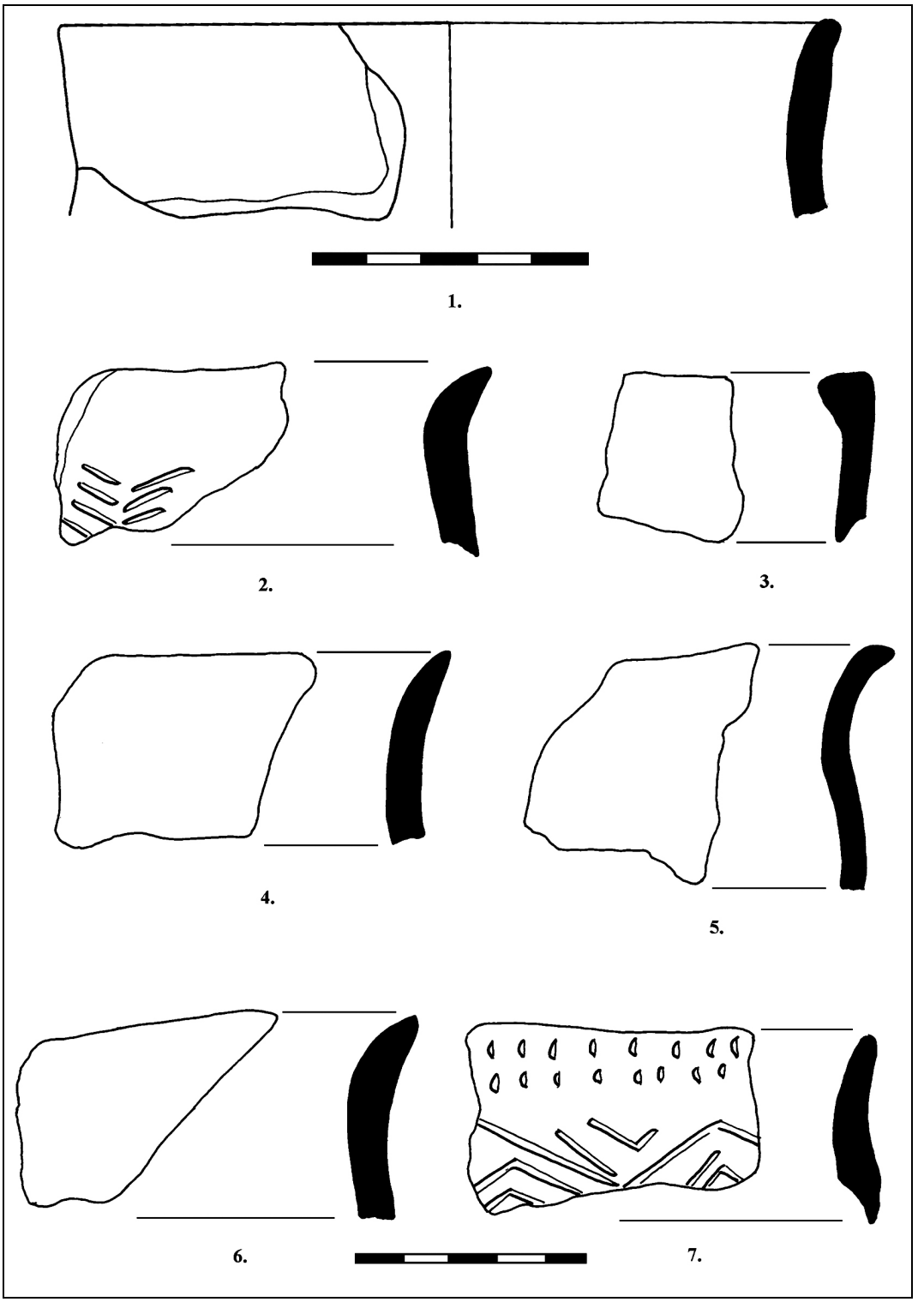
Pl. VIII. Sector K5, Coțofeni Culture pottery.



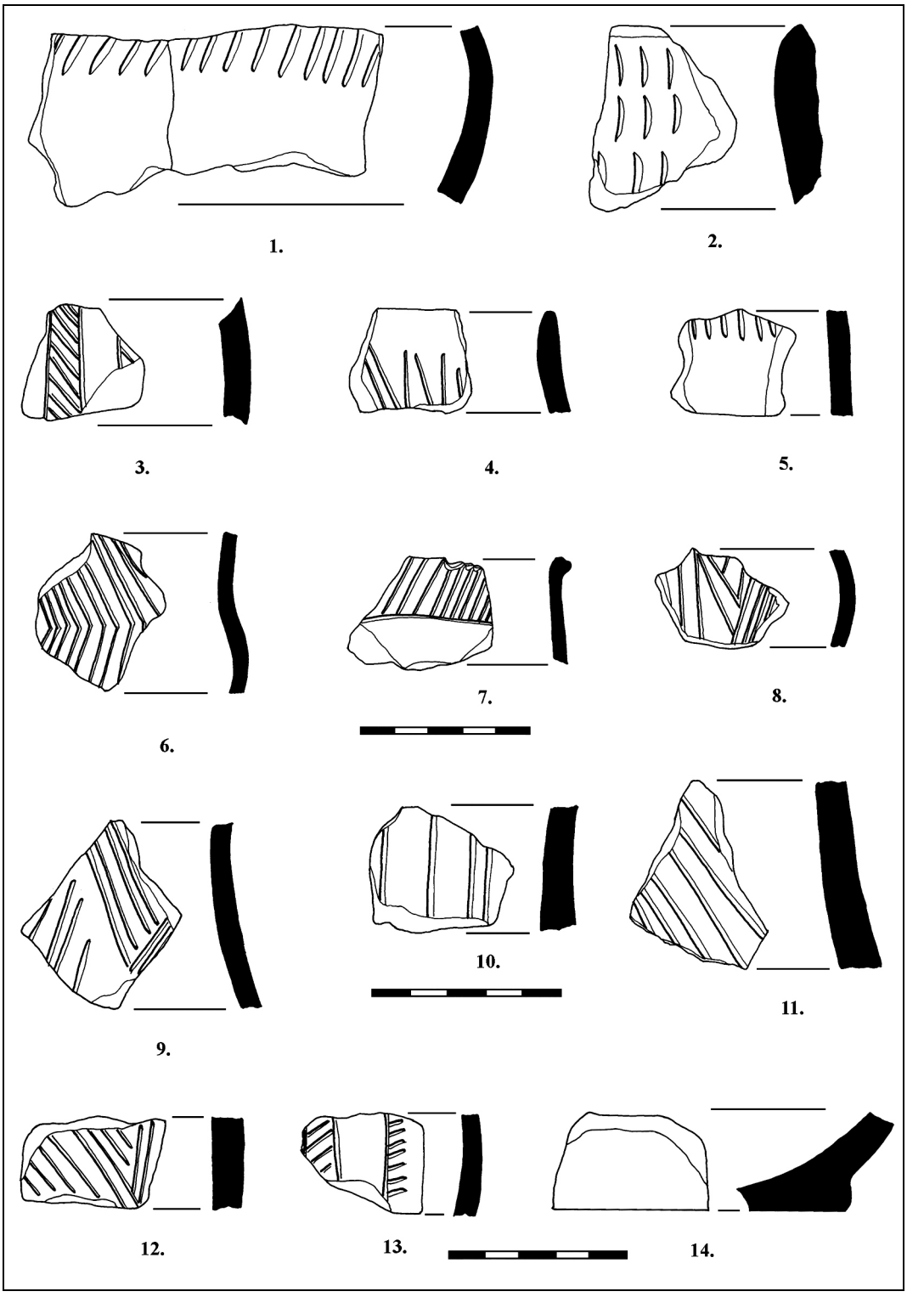
Pl. IX. Sector K5, Coţofeni Culture pottery.



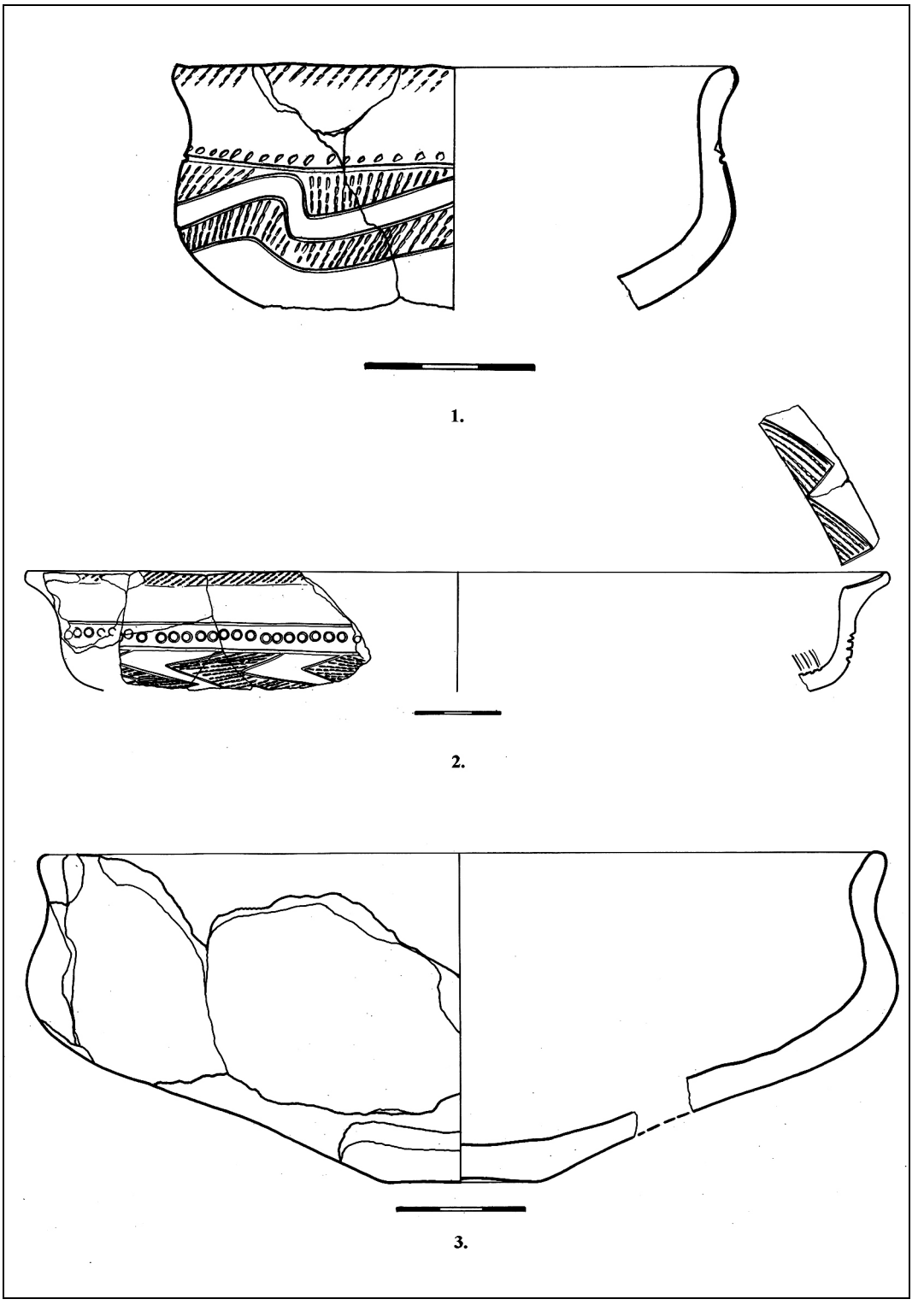
Pl. X. Sector K5, Coțofeni Culture pottery.



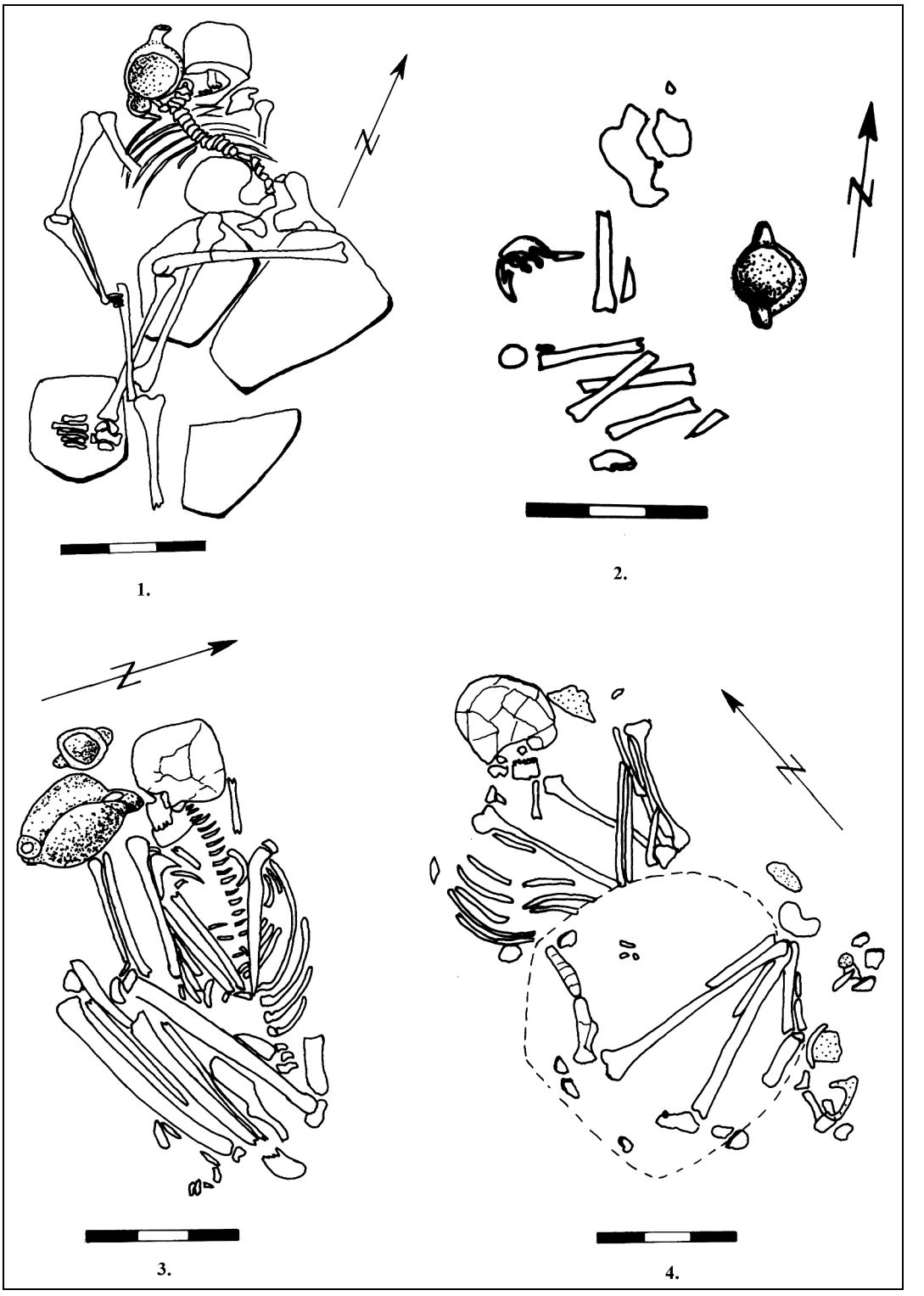
Pl. XI. Sector K5, Coţofeni Culture pottery.



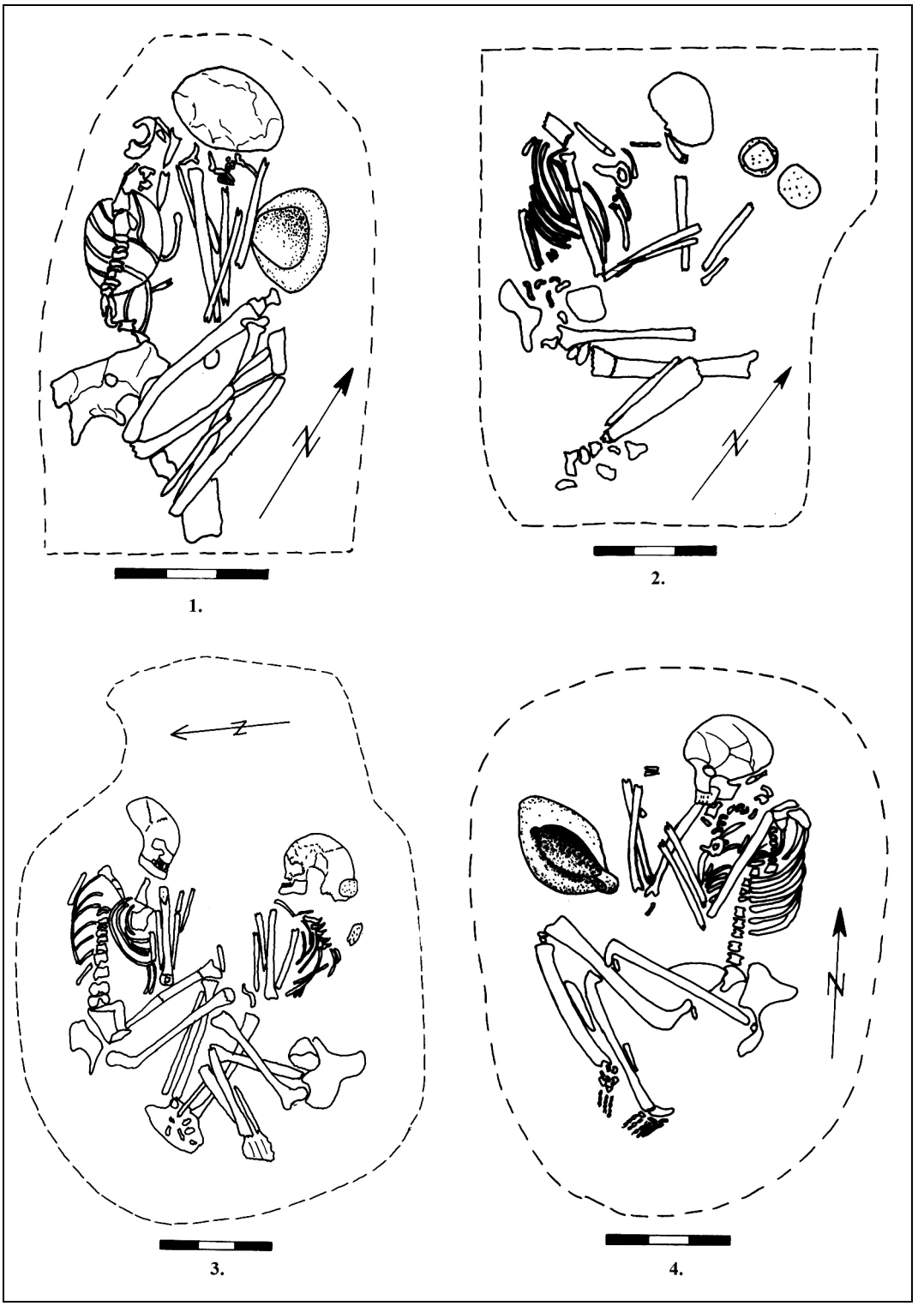
Pl. XII. Sector K5, Coțofeni Culture pottery.



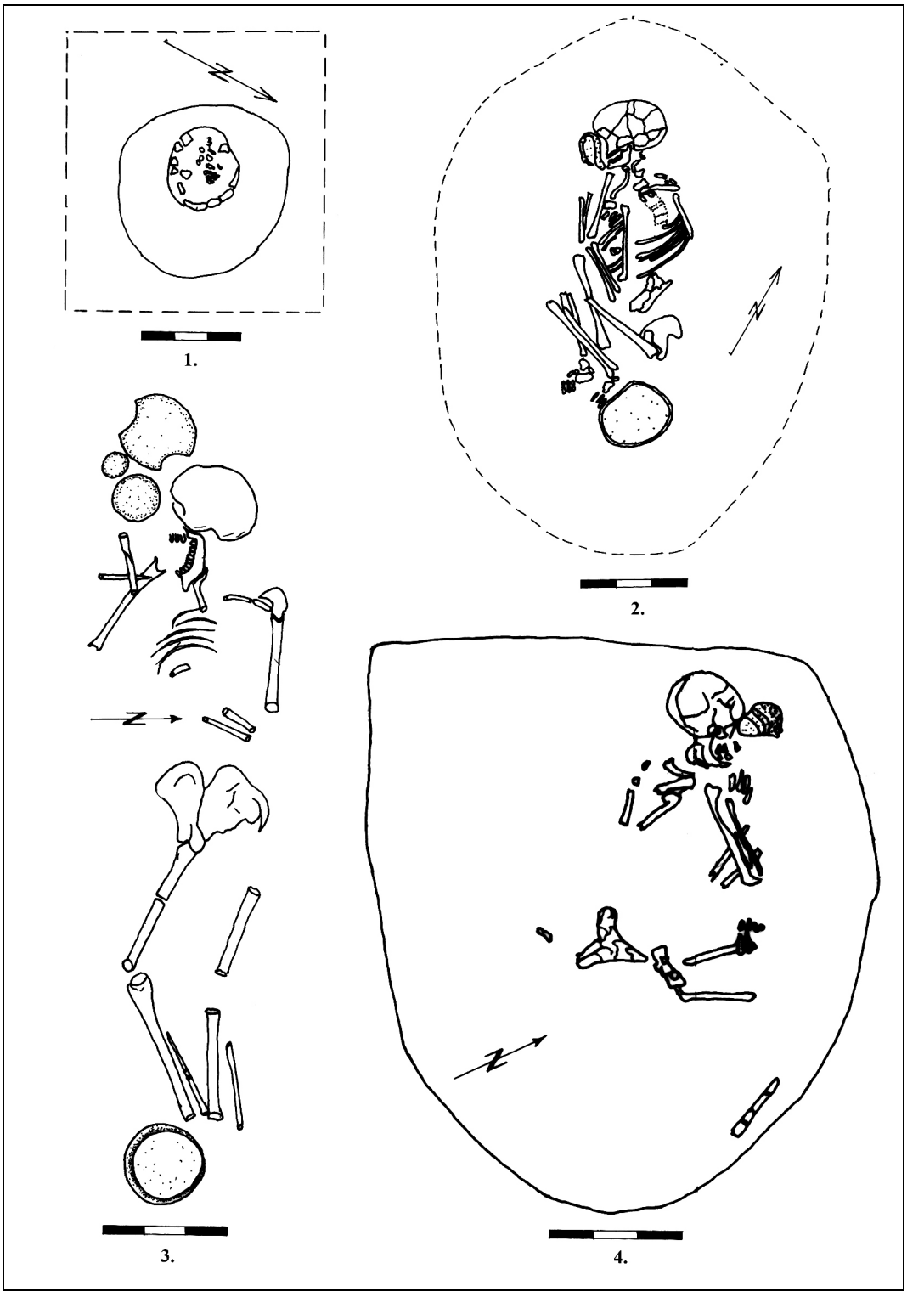
Pl. XIII. Sector B, Wietenberg Culture pottery.



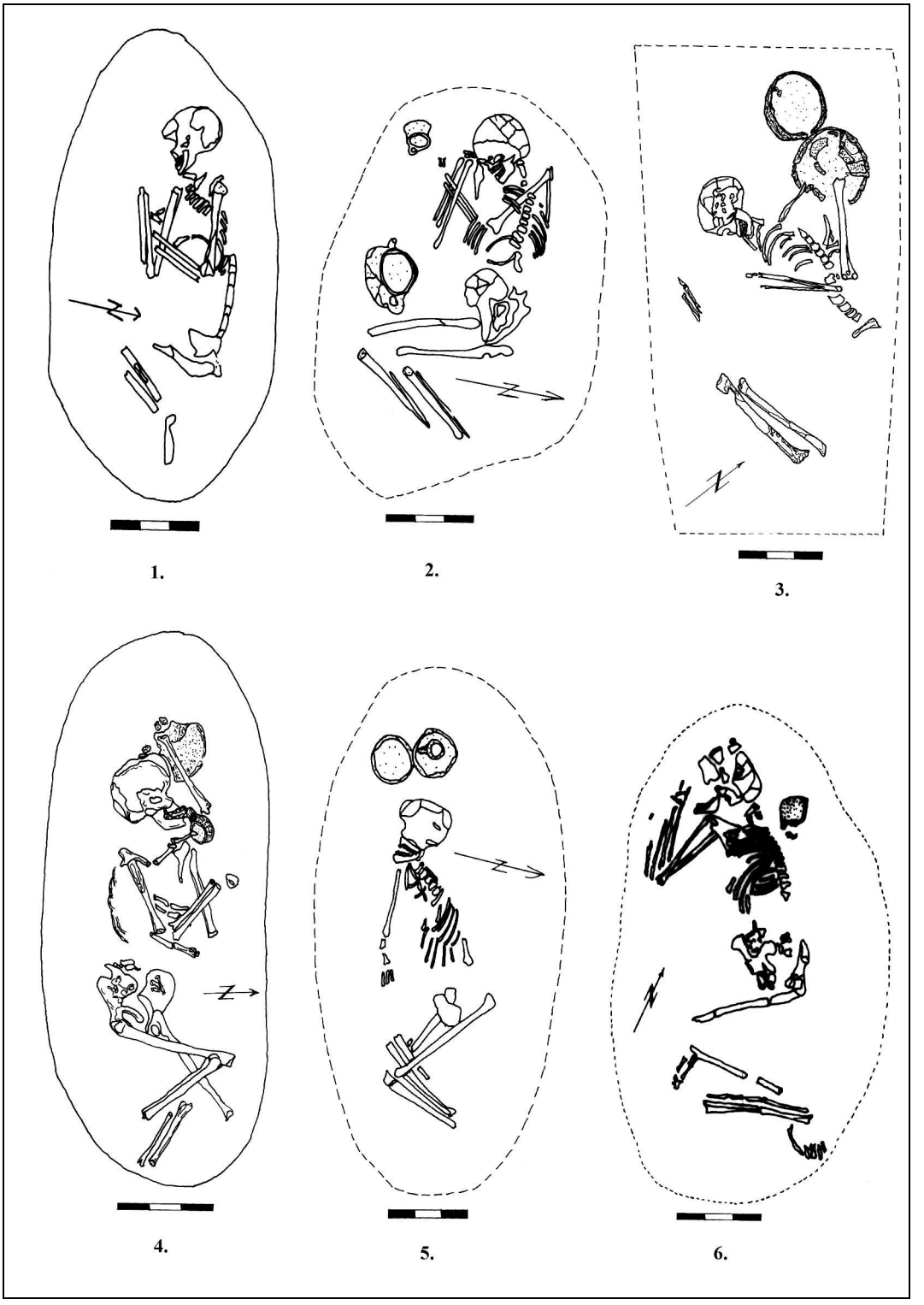
Pl. XIV. Sector C, Bronze Age graves.



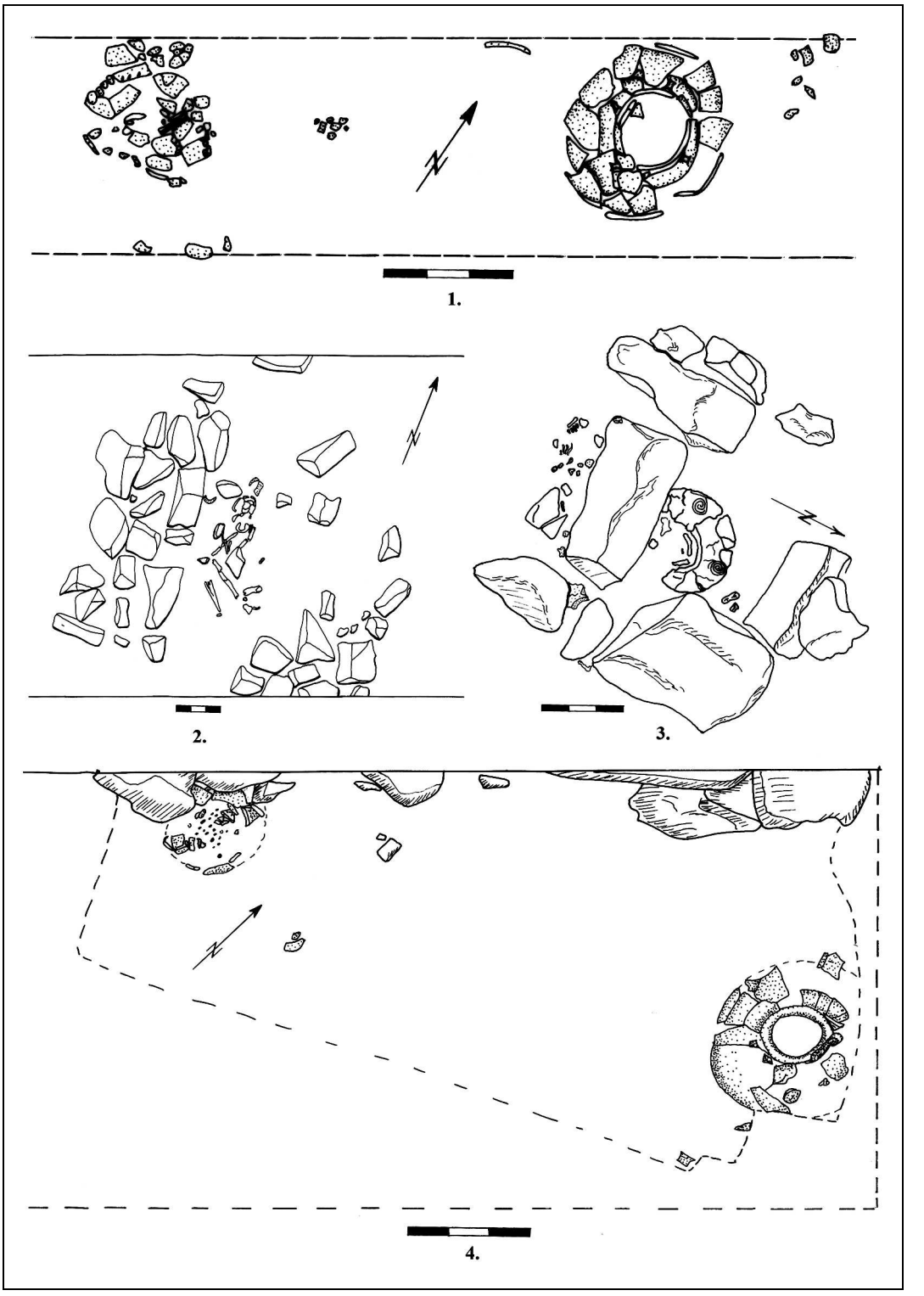
Pl. XV. Sector C, Bronze Age graves.



Pl. XVI. Sector K5, Bronze Age graves.



Pl. XVII. Sector K5, Bronze Age graves.



Pl. XVIII. Sector K6, Bronze Age graves.

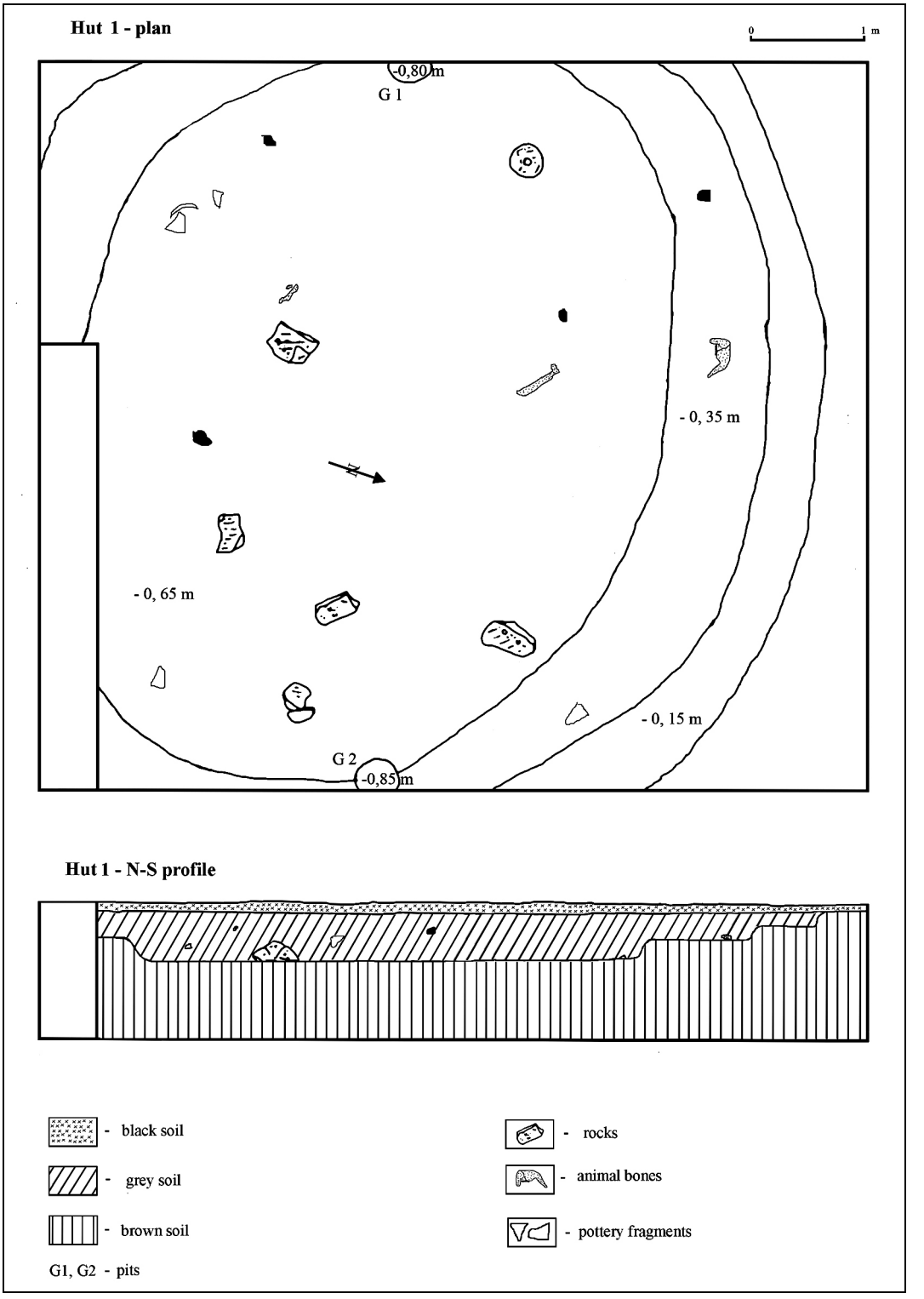


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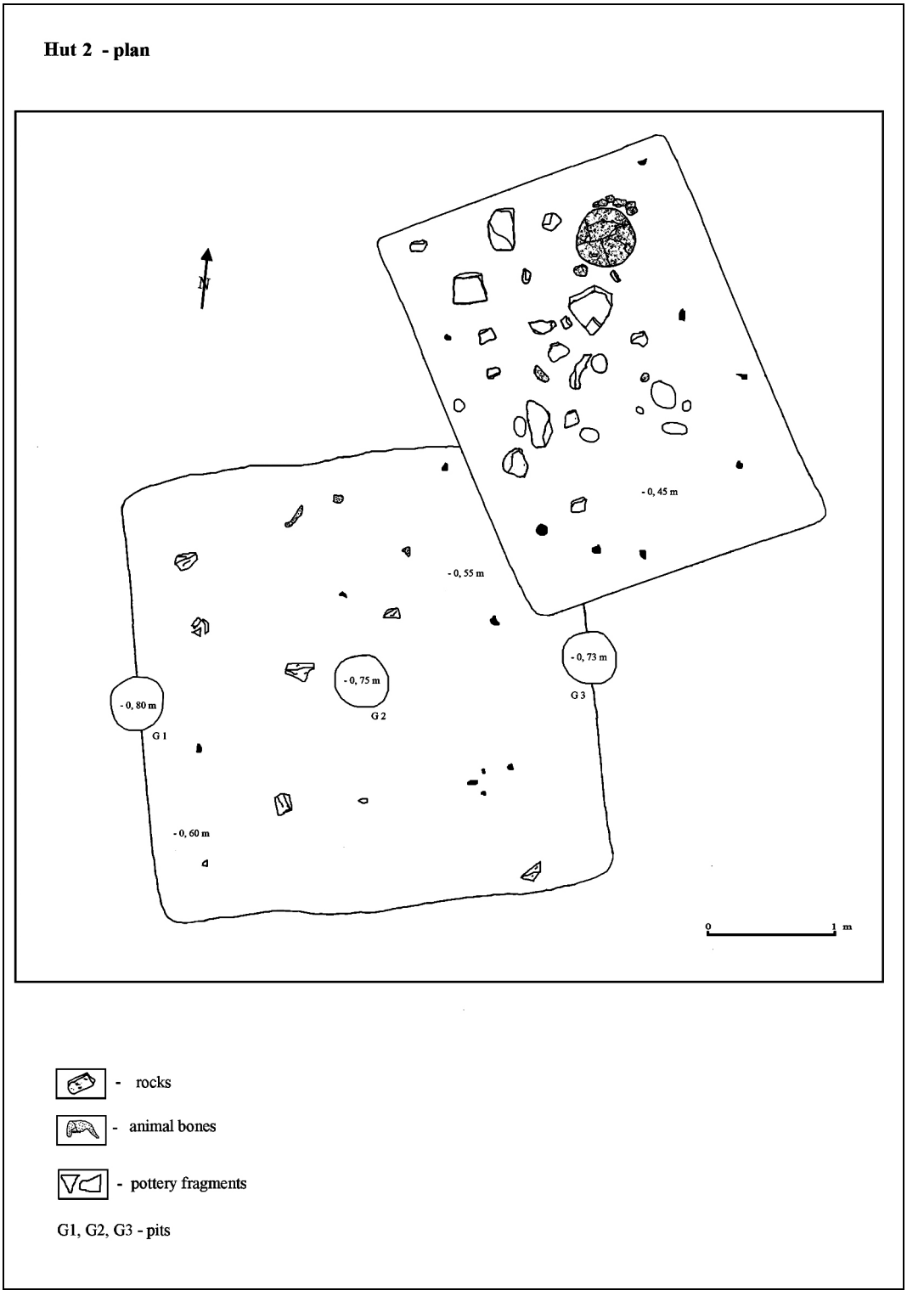


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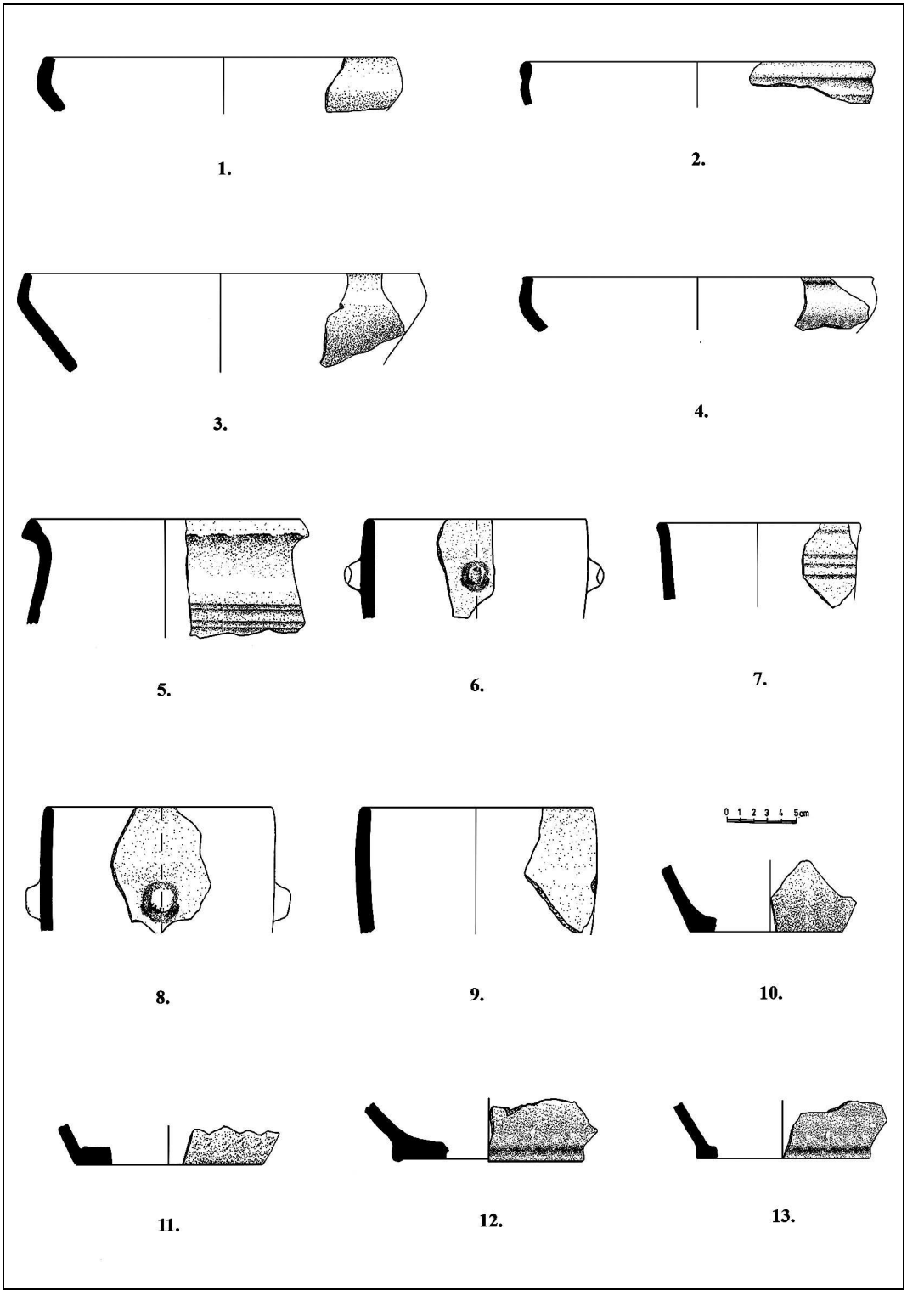
Pl. XIX. 1. Sector C, Bronze Age grave, so called of "Romeo and Juliet";
2. Sector K6, Bronze Age grave.



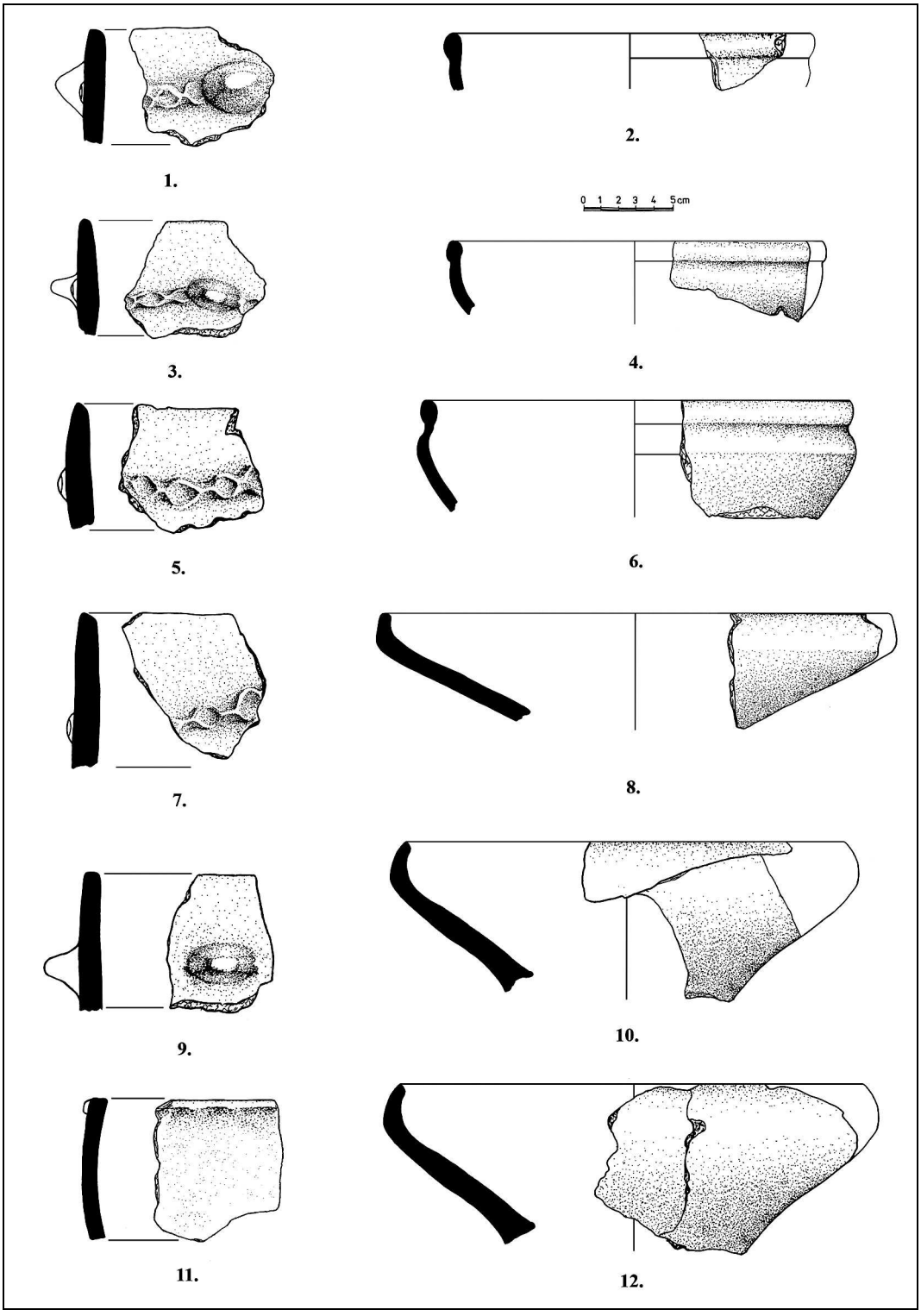
Pl. XX. Sector A, Pit-House 1, The Second Iron Age.



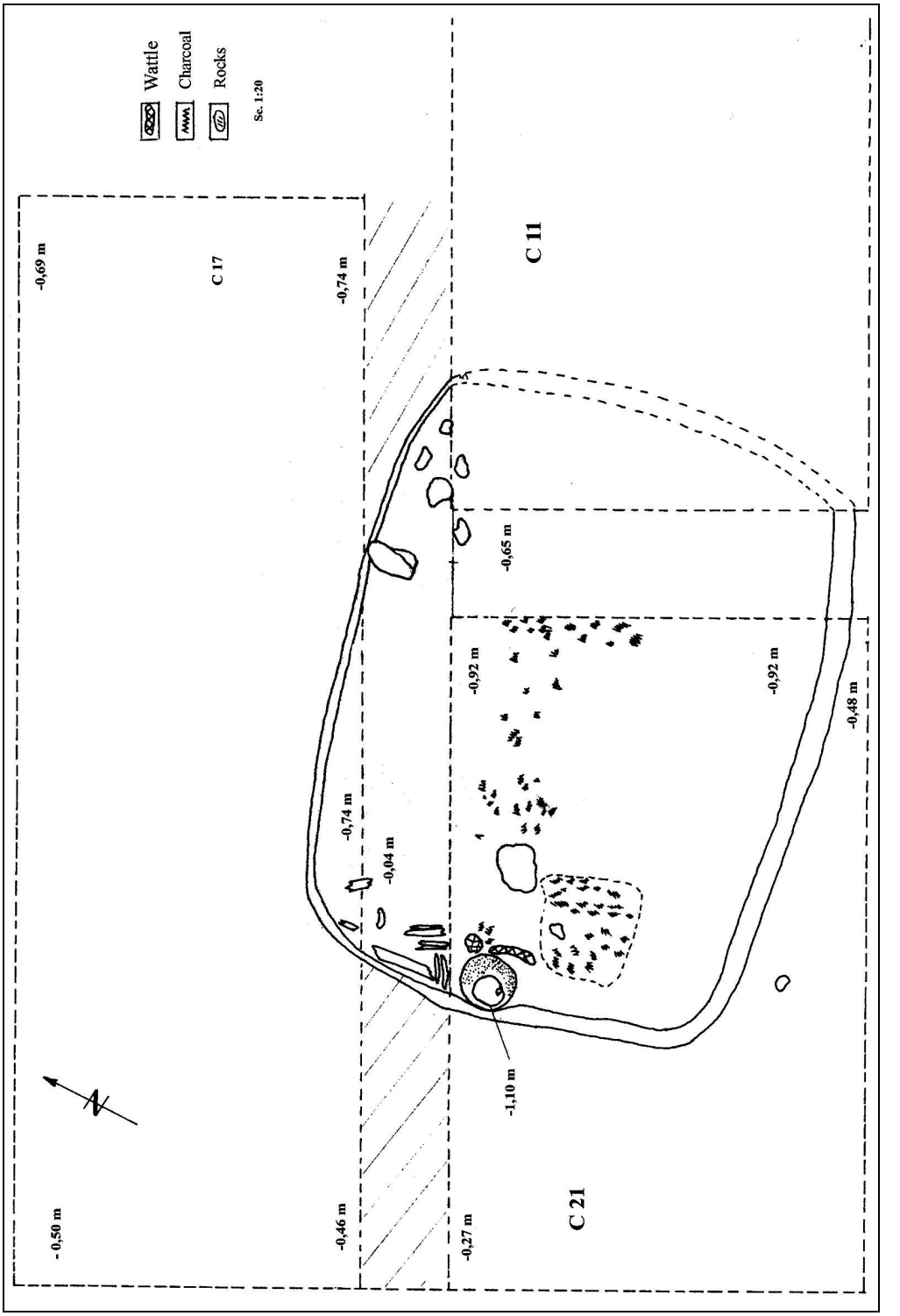
Pl. XXI. Sector A, Pit-House 2, The Second Iron Age.



Pl. XXII. Sector A, The Second Iron Age pottery from Pit-House 1 and Pit-House 2.



Pl. XXII. Sector A, The Second Iron Age pottery from Pit-House 1 and Pit-House 2.



Pl. XXIV. Sector K6, Dwelling L2 (plan), Gepidic period.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 89–109

PRE-ROMAN DACIA WITHIN THE TRADE WITH THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN WORLD. EASTERN SIGILLATA B

MARIANA-CRISTINA POPESCU

Eastern Sigillata B, a pottery class emerging by the end of the 1st century BC in Asia Minor, under the influence of Italian sigillata, is firstly diffused in the basin of the Aegean Sea and sporadically in the Pontic basin[1]. During their maximum dispersion period, that coincides with the decline of the Italian workshops and the workshops manufacturing *Eastern Sigillata A* (third quarter of the 1st century A.D. – second half of the 2nd century A.D.), their distribution area expands, encompassing part of Crete, western Greece, southern Italy and the coasts of the Adriatic Sea[2].

The issue of the north Danube penetration of Hellenistic and Roman pottery, within the territory inhabited by the Geto-Dacians, during the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. is poorly mirrored by the Romanian archaeological literature, in spite of numerous references on the discovery of "imported pottery", "Hellenistic and Roman pottery", "Hellenistic-Roman pottery", "terra sigillata" etc. within numerous Geto-Dacian sites either systematically researched or only surveyed[3].

[1] It is believed that the production centre or centres are located somewhere in the Tralles area, yet, insofar, the hypothesis has not been confirmed by the archaeological research (Atlante II, p. 49; Malfitana 2002, p. 141); for the description of *Eastern Sigillata B* see Atlante II, p. 49–52; for a Romanian abstract see Popescu 2006, p. 265–266.

[2] Atlante II, p. 52; for a study regarding the distribution of classes of *Eastern Sigillata*, including *Eastern Sigillata B*, within the sites in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea, see Malfitana 2002, p. 133–157.

[3] Regularly, the Hellenistic and Roman pottery is signalled by excavation reports; it is reviewed within special sections, either partial or complexly compiled within certain articles and site or areas monographs; it is either mentioned within studies addressing the issue of Hellenistic and Roman imports in general; for instance: Sanie 1973, p. 407–435; Sârbu 1982, p. 99–125; Sârbu, Atanasiu

The theme benefited of a complex approach within the ample frame of the work concerning the "*Dacian Trade with the Hellenistic and Roman World*" drafted by Ioan Glodariu[4], who considered in ensemble, the Hellenistic and Roman influences supported and fully contributed to the development of the Geto-Dacian civilization. The author's remarks regarding the diffusion of the Hellenistic and Roman pottery within the territory, its origin and the evolution of the trade with Hellenistic and Roman pottery, still apply[5]. We must additionally mention the study on the painted ware in Hadra style discovered in the Romanian territory[6] and a note describing the *Eastern Sigillata B* unearthed in the settlement of Poiana (Galați county)[7].

Subsequent the analysis of the Hellenistic and Roman pottery of the 2nd century B.C. and 1st century A.D. discovered in Geto-Dacian sites east of the Carpathians, within the territory comprised between Olt river and the Danube and a few sites inside the Carpathian arch (pl. 1, map / no. 3, 10, 11), I succeeded to identify an important lot of *Eastern Sigillata B*, which constitutes the theme of the present article[8].

Beside the samples from Poiana, already published[9], the catalogue comprises 18 items uncovered in the Geto-Dacian settlements on the mid and lower course of Siret river: Brad and Răcătău, Bacău county and housed with the collections of the History Museums of Roman and Bacău[10].

1983, p. 11–42; Teodor 1994, p. 73–123; Ursachi 1994, p. 208–225; Crişan 2000, p. 132; Vulpe, Teodor, 2003, p. 89–95, 321–334.

[4] Glodariu 1974, p. 40–54, 140–150, 209–233.

[5] Glodariu 1974, p. 46–47, 51–52.

[6] Lungu,Trohani 2000, p. 137–162.

[7] Popescu 2006, p. 265–273.

[8] M.-C. Popescu, "Cultural interferences in pre-Roman Dacia. The imported pottery"; doctoral thesis defended at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca in 2008, ms; the Geto-Dacian settlements where was discovered Roman pottery analyzed in this work are following: 1. Barboşi (Galați county), 2. Bâtca Doamnei (Neamț county), 3. Brad (Bacău county), 4. Buridava (Ocnița, Vâlcea county), 5. Cernat "Pământul lui Robert" (Covasna county), 6. Covasna "Cetatea Zânelor" (Covasna county), 7. Ipoteşti (Olt county), 8. Pecica (Arad county), 9. Piatra Şoimului (Neamț county), 10. Poiana (Galați county), 11. Răcătău (Bacău county), 12. Sprâncenata (Olt county), 13. Zimnicea (Teleorman county) (see pl. I/map).

[9] Popescu 2006, p. 265–273; two remarks are worth mentioning regarding the published items from Poiana: the present catalogue does not include two fragments identified, under reserve, as form Hayes 80 and the cup Hayes 36, since among the items subsequently processed we identified *Pontic Sigillata* with similar fabric and slip; the plate fragments Hayes 57 are incorporated with form Hayes 58 in the current catalogue.

[10] I would like to thank this way, Mr. Vasile Ursachi and Mr. Viorel Căpitanu for amiably allowing me to process the material uncovered from within the sites where they led the archaeological research.

Although the material is largely fragmentary and poorly preserved, I managed to distinguish, based on details particular to each obvious form of the analyzed fragments, nine Hayes forms used in the household, which may be grouped in two functional categories: tableware service and drinking cups.

The tableware are represented mainly by plates. Among them most numerous are forms Hayes 4 (no. 1, pl. 2), Hayes 6 (no. 2–3, pl. 2/2), Hayes 7 (no. 4–9, pl. 2/9), Hayes 8 (no. 10–14, pl. 2/10), Hayes 58 (no. 19–27, pl. 2/20, 23; pl. 3/24–25), defined by the following: rounded fine rim, with or without a groove in the upper part; vertical wall (on occasion slightly concave or thickened on the outside), with two outer mouldings, separated from wall by grooves; flat base or almost flat, angular junction between wall and base; and low ring. Such forms have a rather similar morphological evolution and therefore, their identification raises serious questions, especially when the material is poorly preserved.

They are supplemented by a few plates form Hayes 14 (no. 15–18, pl. 2/16), with more or less curved walls and flat base; with rounded junction between wall and bottom on the outside and, occasionally, angular on the inside; low ring, simple or beveled with flat or slightly rounded resting surface.

The same category of tableware also comprises a bowl form Hayes 60 (no. 28, pl. 3), with sloping wall, incurved rim with grooves below, both on the inside and on the outside, and straight angle-floor.

Drinking cups are represented by two forms Hayes – 32 (no. 29, pl. 3) and 68 (no. 30, pl. 3), with conical body and either concave vertical rim bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings or downturned bevelled rim; flat base and low rounded ring, including on the resting surface.

The fabric of which the analysed fragments are made of is homogenous, abounds in mica and consequently falls off easily. Greater attention is noticeable paid in the fabric refinement of the items belonging to the series of *Eastern Sigillata B1* (Hayes 4, Hayes 6, Hayes 7, Hayes 8, Hayes 14, Hayes 32). The fabric colour varies from red to reddish yellow and pink (Munsell 10 R 6/8 – 7.5 YR 7/6).

The slip is fine, dull, shiny or metallic, the majority of the analysed fragments preserving only parts of it. Alike the fabric, the slip on the series B1 fragments is more homogenous and much more adherent. The slip colour varies from red to reddish yellow and pink (Munsell 10 R 6/8 –7.5 YR 6/8).

The decoration elements are typical to the *Eastern Sigillata B* class. Rouletting decoration: simple or multiple lines arranged on the outer vessel surface, on both mouldings or only on the upper moulding, onto the rim or the

vessel floor; incised concentric circles, simple or double; and applied horizontal "S" pairs imitating double spirals specific to Italic Sigillata[11].

Potter's stamps were not found on the items discovered within the local environment. In the case of a single plate Hayes 58, early variant (no. 22, pl. 3/22a-b), the fashion that the slip and fabric of a small base portion inside, a circle sketched by a thin incised line, may suggest that the item was stamped.

Subsequent the forms presentation and chart 1 and 2, it may be inferred that functionally the vessels for food service prevails (93%), while best represented forms are Hayes 58 (31%). Forms Hayes 4, Hayes 60 and Hayes 68 (3% each) are less found. Concerning their quantitative distribution upon sites (chart 3), most items come from Poiana (44%), followed decreasingly by Răcătău (33%) and Brad (23%).

Unfortunately, data regarding the discovery contexts are either lacking or do not allow for chronological refinement of the time when each of the identified form reaches Geto-Dacian settlements, the duration of their usage and the fashion they reach such environment, either distinctly or in compact lots.

Obviously, the appearance date of each form represents a *terminus post quem*, and the final existence of Geto-Dacian settlements – at the beginning of the second century A.D., those from Brad and Răcătău[12], and in the mid of the second century A.D. (?) that from Poiana[13] –, a *terminus ante quem*, for the presence of *Eastern Sigillata B* in the north of the Danube.

Nonetheless, should the chronology established for each form (chart 4) be considered, it may be noticed that two thirds of the identified *Eastern Sigillata B* (19 items and 6 forms Hayes 4, Hayes 6, Hayes 7, Hayes 8, Hayes 14 and Hayes 32) date from the first half of the 1st century A.D.[14], while the others (11 items and 3 forms Hayes 58, Hayes 60, Hayes 68) – date from the second half of the 1st century A.D.[15].

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[11] Conspectus, p. 149.

[12] The end of the Geto-Dacian settlement of Brad – although there may be elements suggesting an earlier date – may be related to the wars by the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.. For a discussion regarding the end of the settlement of Brad, see Ursachi 1995, p. 26, 274–279. Regarding the stratigraphy and dating of the settlement of Răcătău, see Căpitanu 1992, p. 134–135.

[13] The date when the settlement of Poiana ceases to exist is not yet established. Previous publications concerning the site propose as final date either the end of the 1st century A.D. or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. (Vulpe, Vulpe 1927–1932, p. 344–351; Vulpe 1951, p. 179; Vulpe 1957, p. 145–146, 162–164). In exchange, recent publications mention that the last dwelling level from the settlement of Poiana dated from the beginning of the 1st century B.C. until mid 2nd century A.D. and it is believed that the settlement is definitively abandoned by the end of the 2nd century A.D. (Teodor 1992, p. 115–125; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 20–21).

[14] Atlante II, p. 54–56, 59; for form Hayes 14 see also Robinson 1959, p. 25.

[15] Alante II, p. 63–64, 66.

They diffuse differently within various sites, both as forms as well as chronology, a fact which may suggest direct connection with the sources in the case of each settlement, irrespective of the other. Hence, according to chart 5, one may notice that: plates Hayes 4 and Hayes 6, which date earlier, appear exclusively in the settlement of Brad (besides, one may infer that only *Eastern Sigillata B* from the first half of the 1st century A.D. may be identified here[16]); the forms Hayes 32, Hayes 60 and Hayes 68 emerge exclusively in the settlement of Poiana, where forms of the first half of the 1st century A.D. dominate, most early being plates Hayes 8, dated during the mid 1st century A.D.; at Răcătău, the earliest are plates Hayes 7, dated 25–50 A.D., while the quantitative ratio between the items of the first half of the 1st century A.D. and those belonging to the second half of the 1st century A.D. is rather balanced.

Insofar, the distribution area of *Eastern Sigillata B* limits to the settlements on Siret River. Does their absence from other Geto-Dacian settlements mirror a reality or a state of research?

The tableware of the Roman period, present from the beginning of the 1st century A.D. until the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. within the sites of barbarian Dacia, comes from two regions: the region of Asia Minor (*Eastern Sigillata B*) and the Pontic region (*Pontic Sigillata*), while *Western Sigillata* and other pottery classes corresponding to the 1st century A.D. is poorly represented (chart 6). The quantitative ratio between such pottery classes decidedly favours the *Pontic Sigillata* including within the sites where they may be found beside *Eastern Sigillata* B: Poiana, Brad and Răcătău (chart 7). Besides, during the first half of the 1st century A.D., the two Sigillata classes rather complete each other – the drinking ware belonging to the *Pontic Sigillata* class and the tableware to the *Eastern Sigillata B* class - whereas, during the second half of the 1st century A.D., the *Pontic Sigillata* would almost completely replace *Eastern Sigillata B*. The fact does not occur only north of the Danube, but is rather related to the beginning of the production of *Pontic Sigillata* – initiated under the influence of *Eastern Sigillata B* – and to the fact that, from the second half of the 1st century AD, they would dominate in the Pontic basin area and the neighbouring barbarian territories[17].

[16] Of the seven items identified in this settlement, only one footring sherd was doubtfully attributed to form Hayes 58 (see catalogue no. 19).

[17] Atlante II, p. 92–95; Zhuravlev 2000, p. 254–561; M.-C. Popescu, "Cultural interferences in pre-Roman Dacia. The imported pottery"; doctoral thesis defended the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca in 2008, ms.

The presence of *Eastern Sigillata B* north of the Danube does not necessarily prove direct relations with the workshops from Asia Minor. Such products, most probably, reach the Geto-Dacian sites to the extent they emerge within the Greek cities from the Pontic basin (most numerous analogies with the items identified within the Geto-Dacian sites being signalled here[18]), thus proving rather the range of the trade relations of the manufacturing centres.

Catalogue

Plates

Hayes 4

1. *Brad*, 1972, SXII, c 4, –0,50–0,70 m; M.R., inv. no. 21956; diam. 26 cm; pl. 2/1.
Fragment (ring, three-quarters of wall and most part of base missing). Vertical slightly concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Vertical thin rim with shallow groove on top. Groove on innerface of upper moulding. Angular junction between wall and base. Rouletting on outside upper moulding. Hard, fine light red fabric with mica (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8). Metallic red slip (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/8).
Hayes 4 (Atlante II, p. 53–54, tav. XI, 13).
It is related with the Arretine form Conspectus 18.1.2 (Conspectus 1990, p. 82, Taf.16).
Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 54).
Literature: Ursachi 1995, pl. 196/2.
Dating: Hayes 4 is produced beginning with the early 1st century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 54).

Hayes 6

2. *Brad*, 1971, SVI, c 3, 0,60–0,70 m; M.R., inv. no 14005; diam. 28 cm; pl. 2/2.
Very poorly preserved fragment (ring and three-quarters of wall and basemissing). Vertical wall bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin rim with deep groove on top. Wall meets base at angle. Base is almost flat. Micaceous, fine, pale red fabric (Munsell 10 R 7/4). Shiny light red slip (Munsell 10 R 7/6).
Hayes 6 (Atlante II, p. 54, tav. XI, 15).
Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 54).
Reference: Ursachi 1995, p. 218.
Date: 25–50 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 54).

3. *Brad*, 1972, SVIIA, c 4, –0,80 m; inv. no. 14014; diam. 28 cm.
Very poorly preserved fragment (ring and three-quarters of wall and base missing). Vertical wall bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin rim, with deep groove on

[18] Closest analogies with the identified items are found in the north of Pontus and at Histria: Alexandrescu 1966, pl. 81, XXV, 2; pl. 101, XXV`, 2; Zhuravlev 1997, p. 227–261; Zhuravlev 1998, p. 31–52; Zhuravlev 2002, p. 243–245, pl. 3; Suceveanu 2000, p. 23, pl. 3/22, p. 69, pl. 26/1.

top. Wall meets base at angle. Base is almost flat. Micaceous, light red fabric (Munsell 10 R 7/6). Dull red slip (Munsell 10 R 4/8).
Hayes 6 (Atlante II, p. 54, tav. XI, 15).
Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 54).
Dating: 25–50 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 54).

Hayes 7
4. *Brad*, 1977, SXVI, c 3, –0,40–0,70 m; M.R., inv. no. 16058; diam. 24 cm.
Restored (one-quarter of ring, wall and base preserved). Vertical slightly thickened outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin flat rim. Wall meets base at angle. Base is almost flat. Beveled low ring-foot with flat resting surface. Fine micaceous light red fabric (Munsell 10 R 7/8). Shiny red slip (Munsell 10 R 5/8).
Hayes 7 (Atlante II, p. 54–55, tav. XI, 18).
Other findspots: Panticapaeum (Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/3).
Literature: Ursachi 1995, p. 219, pl. 196/5, 322/3.
Dating: 25–50 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 54–55).

5. *Brad*, 1965, SXIII, c 3A, –1,10 m; M.R., inv. no. 13854; diam. 12 cm.
Fragment (ring and three-quarters of wall and base missing). Vertical slightly thickened outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thickened rim; shallow groove below. Wall meets base at angle. Base is almost flat. Fairly hard, fine fabric with mica; light red (Munsell 2.5 YR 7/6). Dull red slip (Munsell 2.5 YR 5/8).
Hayes 7 (Atlante II, 1985, p. 54–55, tav. XI, 18).
Other findspots: Panticapaeum (Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/3).
Reference: Ursachi 1995, p. 218.
Dating: 25–50 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

6. *Brad*, 1975, SXXI, c 23, –0,20–0,40 m; M.R., inv. no. 13896; 11 × 10 cm.
Fragment (one-quarter of base; wall mostly missing). Flat base. Moulding on bottom of the wall with groove above. Two concentric circles on the innerface of floor. Micaceous, hard, pink fabric (Munsell 5 YR 8/4). Metallic reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 7 (Atlante II, 1985, p. 54–55, tav. XI, 18).
Other findspots: Panticapaeum (Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/3).
Reference: Ursachi 1995, p. 219.
Notes: Hayes 7?
Dating: 25–50 A.D.? (Atlante II, p. 55)

7. *Răcătău*, 1975; SXVIII, c 9, –0,60- 0,80 m; M.B., inv. no. 32419; diam. 20 cm.
Fragment (one-quarter wall and base preserved). Vertical slightly thickened outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin thickened rim. Shallow grooves on bottom moulding and below. Angular junction between wall and base. Bottom almost flat. Fine, micaceous, reddish yellow fabric (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/6). Tin, dull, reddish yellow slip (Munsell 7.5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 7 (Atlante II, 1985, p. 54–55, tav. XI, 18).

Other findspots: Panticapeum (Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/3).
Dating: 25–50 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

8. *Răcătău*, 1971, SVIII, c 8, – 0,30, loc.; M.B., inv. no. 32184; diam.19 cm.
Fragment (one-quarter wall and base preserved). Vertical slightly thickened outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Flat rim with groove bellow; other slightly grooves on bottom of wall, inside. Angular junction between wall and base. Almost flat base. Fine, micaceous, reddish yellow fabric (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/6). Tin, dull, reddish yellow slip (Munsell 7.5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 7 (Atlante II, p. 54–55, tav. XI, 18).
Findspots: Panticapaeum (Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/3).
Dating: 25–50 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

9. *Răcătău*, 1970, SVI, c 5, –0,60–0,80 m; M.B., inv. no. 32173; diam.16 cm; pl. 2/9.
Fragment (rim and two-quarters wall and base missing). Vertical slightly thickened outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Two grooves bellow of top moulding and one on innerface of rim. Angular junction between wall and floor. Almost flat floor. Micaceous fine reddish yellow fabric (Munsell 5 YR 7/6). Shiny reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 7 (Atlante II, p. 54–55, tav. XI, 18).
Other findspots: Panticapaeum (Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/3).
Dating: 25–50 A.D.

Hayes 8
10. *Poiana*, M.T, inv. no. 1227; diam. 27,5 cm; diam. of ring 13 cm; H 5,5 cm; pl. 2/10.
Restored (half preserved). Vertical wall bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Flat rim. Angular junction between wall and base. Almost flat base. Rouleting on innerface of base. Hard fabric with mica, light red (Munsell 10 R 7/8). Metallic red slip (Munsell 10 R 5/8).
Hayes 8 (Atlante II, p. 55, tav. XI, 19). It is related with Arretine form Conspectus 20.4.1 (Conspectus 1990, p. 86, Taf.18).
Other findspots: Corinth (Atlante II, p. 55).
Reference: Teodor 1994, p. 80, cat. 6, fig. 2/1; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 323, cat. 799, fig. 236/1; Popescu 2006, p. 268, cat. 3, pl. II/2.
Notes: drawing after Vulpe, Teodor, 2003, p. 323, fig. 236/1.
Dating: mid first century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

11. *Poiana*, P. 1950, J8; M.T.; diam. 10 cm.
Small fragment of wall. Vertical slightly concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Deep groove on bottom moulding. Homogenous, fine, pink fabric, with mica (Munsell 2.5 YR 8/4). Shiny light red slip (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 8 (Atlante II, p. 55, tav. XI, 19). It is related with Arretine form Conspectus 20.4.1 (Conspectus 1990, p. 86, Taf. 18).

Other findspots: Corinth (Atlante II, p. 55).
Reference: Popescu 2006, p. 268, cat. 4.
Dating: mid first century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

12. *Poiana*, P 1950; M.T.; diam. 9 cm; diam. of ring 6 cm; H 3 cm.
Fragment (one-quarter wall and two-quarters of base missing). Vertical wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin rounded rim. Angular junction between wall and base. Low ring foot with flat resting surface. Two concentric circles on innerface of base. Micaceous, fine fabric, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 7/8). Shiny reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 8 (Atlante II, p. 55, tav. XI, 19). It is related with Arretine form Conspectus 20.4.1 (Conspectus 1990, p. 86, Taf. 18).
Other findspots: Corinth (Atlante II, p. 55).
Reference: Popescu 2006, p. 268, cat. 5.
Dating: mid first century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

13. *Poiana*, 1950, J 4; M.T.; diam.9 cm.
Fragment (ring and three-quarters of wall and base missing). Small size. Vertical wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin rounded rim. Shallow grooves on innerface of wall. Micaceous, porous fabric, light reddish brown (Munsell 5 YR 6/4). Dull reddish brown slip inside (Munsell 5 YR 4/4).
Hayes 8 (Atlante II, p. 55, tav. XI, 19). It is related with Arretine form Conspectus 20.4.1 (Conspectus 1990, p. 86, Taf. 18).
Other findspots: Corinth (Atlante II, p. 55).
Dating: mid first century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

14. *Poiana*, 1987, S –N1, –0,90 m; M.T. inv. no. 2272; H 2,4 cm.
Small fragment (ring and three-quarters of wall and base missing). Vertical wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Thin rounded rim. Fairly hard fabric with mica, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 7/6). Metallic reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 8 (Atlante II, p. 55, tav. XI, 19). It is related with Arretine form Conspectus 20.4.1 (Conspectus 1990, p. 86, Taf. 18, form 20.4.1).
Other findspots: Corinth (Atlante II, p. 55).
Reference: Teodor 1994, p. 83, cat. 16, fig. 2/6; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 324, cat. 809, fig. 236/9; Popescu 2006, p. 268, cat. 7.
Dating: mid first century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 55).

Hayes 14

15. *Poiana*, P. 1950, S. J, 13; M.T. inv. no. 2266 (marked 2072); diam.13,5 cm; diam. of ring 7,2 cm; H 3,1 cm.
Restored (two-quarters preserved). Curving wall. Thin rim. Flat base. Beveled low ring with flat resting surface. Slightly concentric circles on innerface of base. Fairly hard fabric with

mica, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 7/6) Shiny reddish yellow slip, mostly missing (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 14 (Atlante II, p. 56, tav. XII, 6).
Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 56); Athens (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61); Histria (Suceveanu 2000 type V, p. 23, pl. 3/22).
Reference: Teodor 1994, p. 79, cat. 2, fig. 27/4; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 322, cat. 795, fig. 235/3; Popescu 2006, p. 268, cat. 8.
Dating: uncertain, sometime during the 1st century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 56); it is related to form Robinson G31, dated first half of 1st century A.D. (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61).

16. *Poiana*, P. 1985, N', – 0,60 m; M.T. inv. no. 2267; diam. 13,6 cm; H 3,2 cm; pl. 2/16.
"…plate with incurved wall, rounded rim and ring-foot, covered inside and outside with red glaze; light brown patches on rim outside. Shallow concentric circles on base, inside. Thin reddish yellow fabric with sand inclusions. Two-quarters restored. IInd century B.C. – Ist century A.D." (Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 322, cat. 796).
Hayes 14 (Atlante II, tav. XII, 6).
Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 56); Histria (Suceveanu 2000 type V, p. 23, 3/22.)
Reference: Teodor 1994, p. 79, cat. 3, fig. 1/5; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 322, cat. 796, fig. 235/5; Popescu 2006, p. 269, cat. 9.
Notes: drawing after Vulpe, Teodor 2003, fig. 235/5.
Dating: uncertain, sometime during the 1st century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 56); it is related to form Robinson G31, dated during the first half of the 1st century A.D. (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61).

17. *Poiana*, M.T., inv. no 6282, old collection; diam. 14 cm; diam. of ring 7 cm; H 3 cm.
Restored (two-quarters preserved). Curving, shallow beveled wall. Thin rim. Flat base. Beveled low ring with flat resting surface. Slightly concentric circles on innerface of base. Fairly hard fabric with mica, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 7/6). Metallic reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 14 (Atlante II, tav. XII, 6).
Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 56); Histria (Suceveanu 2000 type V, p. 23, pl. 3/22).
Reference: Teodor 1994, p. 81, cat. 7, fig. 2/5; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 323, cat. 800, fig. 236/5.
Dating: uncertain, sometime during the 1st century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 56); is related with Robinson G31 form, dated during the first half of the 1st century A.D. (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61).

18. *Răcătău*, 1987, c 11, –0,40–0,60 m; M.B., inv. no. 33268; diam. 16 cm; diam. of ring 9 cm; H 3,8 cm.
Fragment (half preserved). Curving, shallow beveled wall. Thin rim with shallow groove on top. Flat base. Beveled low ring foot with resting surface flat. Groove at junction between baseand ring, outside. Fairly hard fabric, with mica, light red (Munsell 2.5 YR 7/8). Metallic reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 7/8).
Hayes 14 (Atlante II, tav. XII, 6)

Other findspots: Olbia (Atlante II, p. 56); Histria (Suceveanu 2000 type V, p. 23, pl. 3/22.)
Dating: uncertain, sometime during the 1st century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 56); is related to Robinson G31 form, dated during the first half of the 1st century A.D. (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61).

Hayes 58
19. *Brad*, 1976; SXIII, c 10 B, –1,40-1,60 m; M.R., inv. no . 13843; diam. of ring 7 cm.
Small fragment. Flat base. Low ring with flat resting surface. Rouletting (double circle) on innerface of base. Fine micaceous reddish yellow fabric (Munsell 5 YR 6/8). Metallic reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 5/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3).
Other findspots: Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.1, p. 237–238, fig. 6).
Reference: Ursachi 1995, p. 221, pl. 198/9.
Notes: Hayes 58?
Dating: 50–125 A.D.? (Atlante II, p. 63)

20. *Poiana*, M.T. inv. no. 6283, old collection; diam.13,9 cm; diam. of ring 10,2 cm; H 2,5; Pl. 2/20.
Restored (half preserved). Vertical slightly inner and concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Almost flat base. Angular junction between wall and base. Low ring with flat resting surface. Rouletting on mouldings and one "S" applied onto the wall. Fine micaceous fabric, light red (Munsell 2 YR 7/6). Dull light red slip (Munsell 2 YR 6/8)
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV,3). Later variant of form Hayes 4–8 (Atlante II, p. 63).
Other findspots: Histria (Alexandrescu 1966, pl. 81, XXV, 2; pl. 101, XXV,2; Suceveanu 2000 type XVIII, p. 70, pl. 26/1); Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.3, p. 237–238, fig. 3/3–9; Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/2).
Reference: Teodor 1994, p. 81, cat. 8, fig. 2/2; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 323, cat. 801, fig. 236/2; Popescu 2006, p. 269, cat. 10, pl. II/1;
Remark: drawing after Vulpe, Teodor 2003, fig. 236/2.
Dating: early variant is dated 50–75 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63).

21. Poiana, P. 50, L3; M.T.; diam. 14 cm.
Small part of wall and base. Vertical slightly inner and concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Angular junction between wall and base. Rouletting on mouldings and a small "S" applied onto the wall. Fine fabric, with mica, light red (Munsell 2 YR 7/6). Shiny light red slip (Munsell 2 YR 6/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3). Later variant of form Hayes 4–8 (Atlante II, p. 63).
Other findspots: Histria (Alexandrescu 1966, pl. 81, XXV, 2; pl. 101, XXV`, 2; Suceveanu 2000 type XVIII, p. 70, pl. 26/1); Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.3, p. 237–238, fig.3/ 3–9; Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/2).
Reference: Popescu 2006, p. 269, cat. 11.
Dating: early variant is dated 50–75 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63).

22. *Răcătău*, 1972, SX, c14, –1,20–1,40 m; M.B., nr. inv. 12191; diam. 12 cm; diam. of ring 7,6; H 3 cm; pl. 3/22 a-b.
Fully preserved. Vertical slightly inner and concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Almost flat base. Angular junction between wall and base. Low ring with flat resting surface. Rouletting on mouldings and two "S" applied onto the wall and circle on innerface of base. Fine fabric, with mica, light red (Munsell 2 YR 7/6). Shiny light red slip, almost missing (Munsell 2 YR 6/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3). Later variant of form Hayes 4–8 (Atlante II, p. 63).
Findspots: Histria (Alexandrescu 1966, pl. 81, XXV, 2; pl. 101, XXV', 2; Suceveanu 2000 type XVIII, p. 70, pl. 26/1); Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.3, p. 237–238, fig. 3/3–9; Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/2).
Dating: early variant is dated 50–75 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63).

23. *Răcătău*, 1970, passim; M.B., inv. no. 32410; diam. 16 cm; pl. 2/23.
Small part of wall and base. Vertical slightly inner and concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Almost flat base. Angular junction between wall and base. Rouletting on top moulding. Micaceous, fine, reddish yellow fabric (Munsell 5 YR 6/8). Dull, yellow reddish slip (Munsell 5 YR 5/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3). Later variant of Hayes 4–8 forms (Atlante II, p. 63).
Other findspots: Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.1, p. 237–238, fig. 3/1; Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/4).
Dating: later variant is dated 75–125 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63).

24. *Răcătău*, 1970, SIV, square 8; gr. 14; M.B., inv. no. 32181; diam. 16 cm; diam. of ring 12 cm; H 3 cm; pl. 3/24.
Fragment (very poorly preserved). Vertical slightly inner and concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. Almost flat base. Angular junction between wall and base. Low ring with flat resting surface. Rouletting on top moulding. Fine fabric with mica, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 7/6). Shiny reddish yellow slip, almost missing (Munsell 5 YR 6/8)
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3). Later variant of form Hayes 4–8 (Atlante II, p. 63).
Other findspots: Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.1, p. 237–238, fig. 3/1; Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/2,4).
Dating: early variant is dated 50–75 A.D.. (Atlante II, p. 63).

25. *Răcătău*, 1971, SVIII, c 1, gr. 1; M.B., inv. no. 32186; diam.20 cm; diam. of ring 14 cm; H 2,5 cm; pl. 3/25.
Fragment (half preserved). Vertical slightly inner and concave outside wall, bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings, separated from wall by grooves. The top moulding is thickened outside. Almost flat base. Angular junction between wall and base. Low ring with flat resting surface. Rouletting on the top moulding. Micaceous fine fabric, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 6/8). Shiny light red slip (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3). Later variant of form Hayes 4–8 (Atlante II, p. 63).

Other findspots: Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 3.1, p. 237–238, fig. 3/1; Zhuravlev 2002, fig. 3/2,4).
Dating: early variant is dated 50–75 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63).

26. *Răcătău*, 1980; SXXIII, c 2, gr. 1; M.B., inv. no. 32190; diam. of ring 11 cm.
Small part of base. Flat base, low ring, with flat resting surface. Rouletting on the innerface of base. Fine fabric, with mica reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 7/8). Poorly preserved shiny reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 5/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV, 3).
Notes: Hayes 58?
Dating: 50–125 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63)?

27. *Răcătău*, 1970, c 5, SV, –1,20 –1,40 m; M.B., inv. no. 32172; diam. of ring 9,5 cm.
Small part of base. Flat base, low ring, with flat resting surface. Two concentric circles on the innerface of base. Fine micaceous fabric, reddish yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/6). Shiny reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 58 (Atlante II, p. 63, tav. XIV,3).
Notes: Hayes 58 (?)
Dating: 50–125 A.D. (Atlante II, p. 63).

Bowl

Hayes 60
28. *Poiana*; 1926; M.T. inv. no. 1652; diam. 26 cm; pl. 3/28.
Fragment (one-quarter preserved). Sloping wall and incurved rim with two grooves below on the outside; one groove bellow on the inside. Flat base. Micaceous fabric, yellow reddish (Munsell 5 YR 7/6). Poorly preserved slip; reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 60 (Atlante II, p. 64, tav. XIV, 6).
Other findspots: Athens (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61 G 25); Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 1.1, p. 235, fig. 1/2).
Literature: Popescu 2006, p. 269, pl. II/3;
Dating: mid 1st century – mid 2nd century A.D. (Atlante II, p. 64); it is related to Robinson G 25 form, dated during the first half of the 1st century A.D. (Robinson 1959, p. 25, pl. 61).

Cup

Hayes 32
29. *Poiana*, 1982, S4; M.T. inv. no. 1280; diam. 13 cm; diam. of ring 5,7 cm; H 6 cm; pl. 3/29.
Restored (half preserved). Conical body and concave vertical rim bounded above and below on the outside by mouldings. Flat base. Low beveled ring with flat resting surface. Rouletting on the mouldings. Micaceous light red fabric (Munsell 2.5 YR 7/8). Poorly shiny light red slip (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 32 (Atlante II, p. 59, tav. XIII, 3).

Other findspots: Athens (Robinson 1959, p. 24, pl. 61, G 18); Belbek IV (Zhuravlev 1997, form 8.5, p. 240–241, fig. 4/14).
Literature: Teodor 1994, p. 86, cat. 30, fig. 3/12; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, p. 325, cat. 823, fig. 237/12; Popescu 2006, p. 267, cat. 1, pl. II/7.
Notes: drawing after Vulpe, Teodor 2003, fig. 237/12.
Dating: 25–50 A.D (Atlante II, p. 59); it is related with Robinson G18 form, dated during the first half of the 1st century A.D. (Robinson 1959, p. 24, pl. 61).

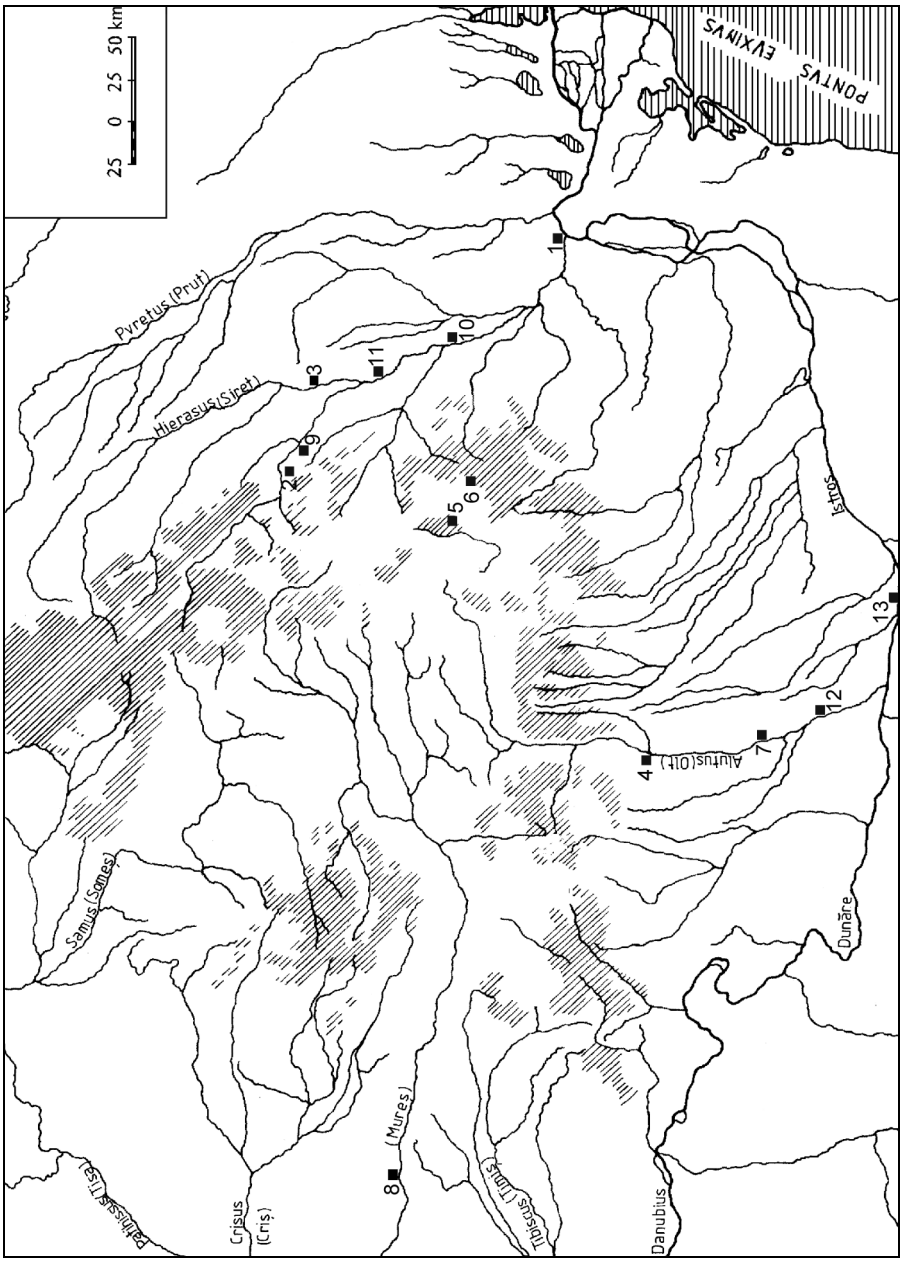
Hayes 68
30. *Poiana*, 1986 M; –2 m, X; M.T.; diam.12 cm; diam. of ring 6 cm; H 3 cm; pl. 3/30.
Fragment. (three-quarters of cup preserved). Conical body and downturned beveled rim. Vertical thin rim. Flat base. Beveled ring with flat resting surface. Two shallow grooves on the rim. Fairly hard fabric with mica, reddish yellow (Munsell 5 YR 8/4). Metallic reddish yellow slip (Munsell 5 YR 6/8).
Hayes 68 (Atlante, II, p. 66, tav. XIV, 18).
Literature: Popescu 2006, p. 269, cat. 13.
Dating: 50–75 A.D.; B1/2 (Atlante II, p. 66).

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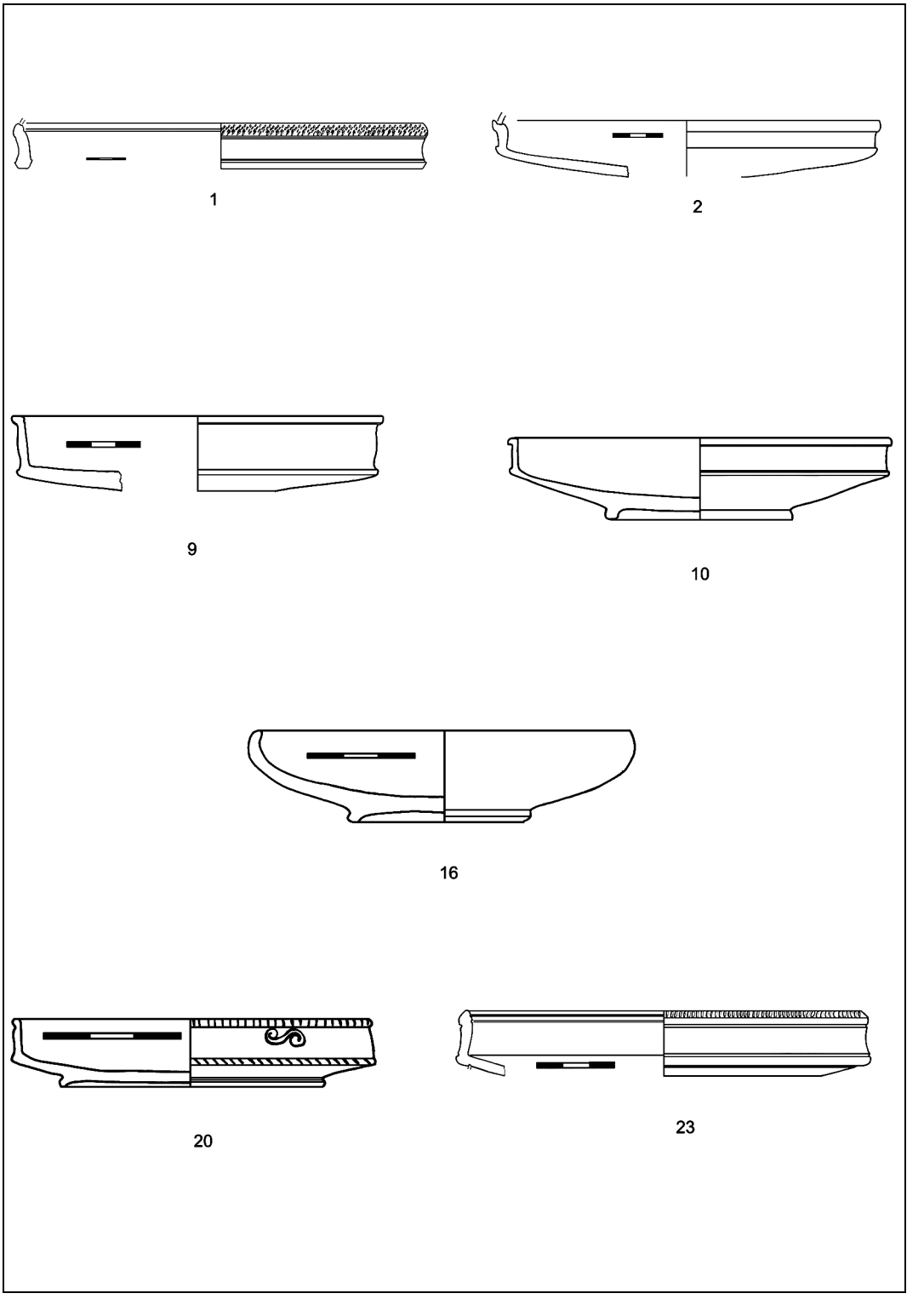
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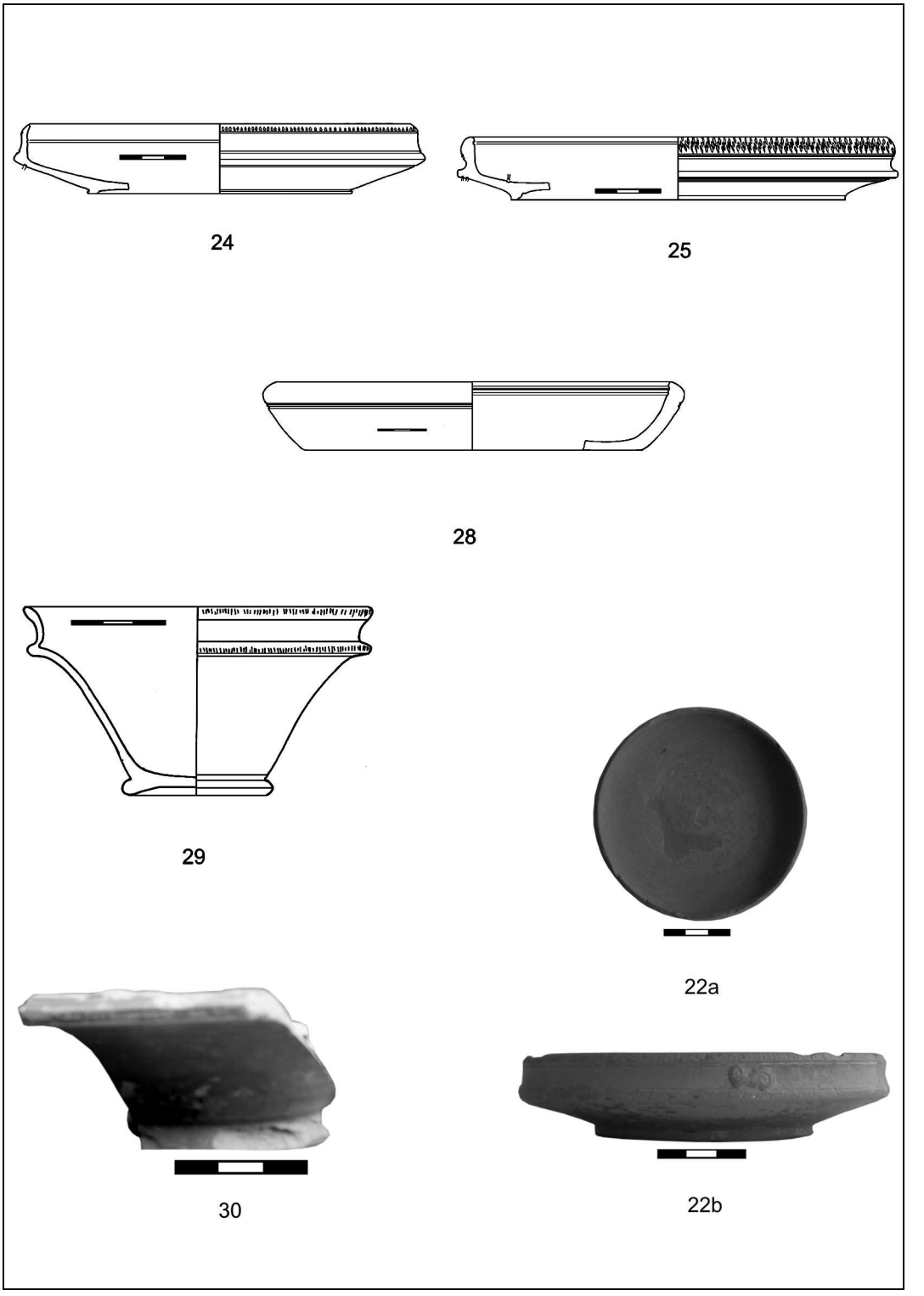
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Pl. 1. The map with Geto-Dacian settlements where was discovered Roman pottery: 1.Barboși (Galați county), 2. Bâtca Doamnei (Neamț county), 3. Brad (Bacău county), 4. Buridava (Ocnița, Vâlcea county), 5. Cernat "Pământul lui Robert" (Covasna county), 6. Covasna "Cetatea Zânelor (Covasna county), 7. Ipotești (Olt county), 8. Pecica (Arad county), 9. Piatra Șoimului (Neamț county), 10. Poiana (Galați county), 11. Răcătău (Bacău county), 12. Sprâncenata (Olt county), 13. Zimnicea (Teleorman county).



Pl. 2.



Pl. 3.

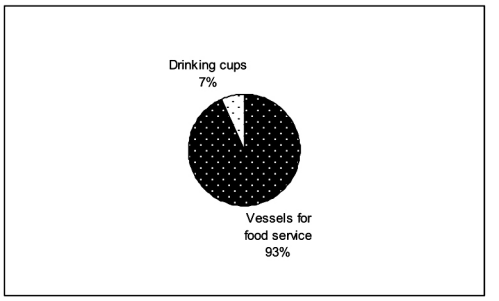


Chart 1.

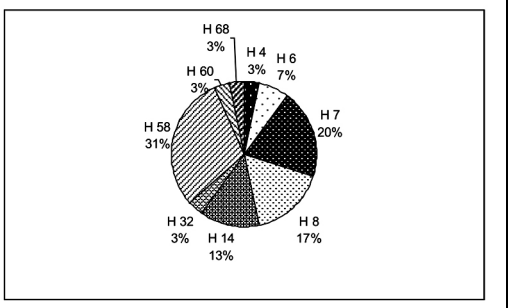


Chart 2.

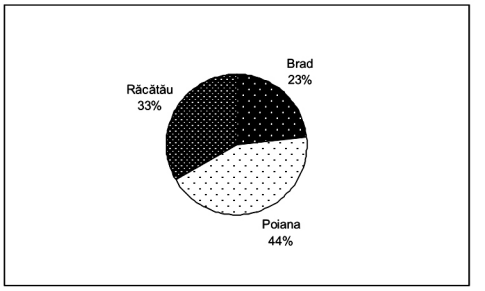


Chart 3.

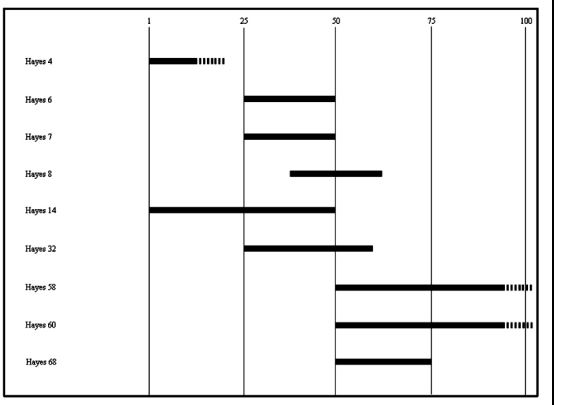


Chart 4.

Pl. 4.

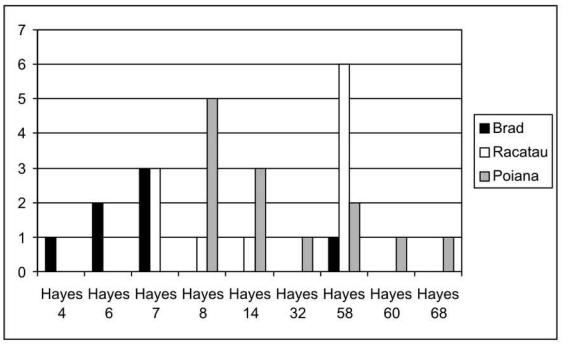


Chart 5.

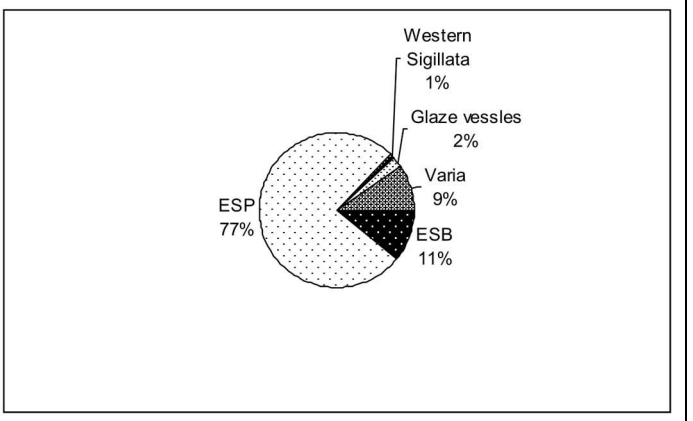


Chart 6.

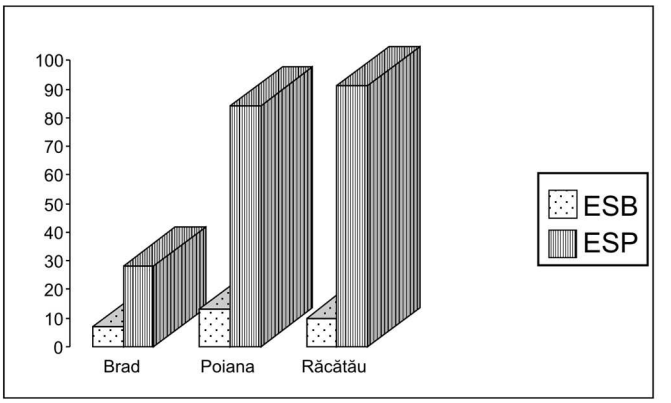


Chart 7.

Pl. 5.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 111–150

EMPEROR WORSHIP IN LATIN SETTLEMENTS OF LOWER MOESIA (1ST–3RD C. A.D.)

VALENTIN BOTTEZ

The extensive bibliography which deals with the imperial cult makes the approach of any analysis on the subject a difficult job. The overall direction of the imperial cult research points to the importance of the local context in which the cult appeared, context that shaped the latter's institutions and manifestations. This perspective led to the publication of works focusing on the imperial cult in certain areas of the Roman Empire[1]; we therefore have chosen to focus on the imperial cult in the province of Lower Moesia, a topic that constitutes our PhD topic. The present paper is part of the research undertaken in this context.

The study of the imperial cult in Moesia Inferior has to apply two types of standards, as the province was culturally and politically separated into two areas: 1) the area controlled by Greek cities on the Black Sea shore[2], to which one must add Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum further inland, both founded by Trajan but Greek by organization; 2) the area ranging from the Danube southwards to the Thracian border where, even though there existed a number of pre-Roman and pre-urban settlements, those that developed did so in the Roman urban system *ciuitas–municipium–colonia*, with its respective institutions. Given the complex and often different problems concerning these two areas, we have decided to focus in the present paper only on the second one which, *only conventionally*[3], we will call the Latin area.

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[1] Étienne 1958 [1974] for the Iberian Peninsula, Price 1984 for the province Asia, Liertz 1998 for the Germanies and Gallia Belgica, and of course D. Fishwick's vast work on the imperial cult in the Latin west, which expressed and followed this particular idea – Fishwick 1987, ix.

[2] Of which Histria, Tomis, Kallatis, Dionysopolis and Odessos formed a *koinón* at the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D.

[3] The sources show an important number of foreigners settled in this area, and of course there was the majority of the population, which was formed by Thracian tribes. We can only presume the

Twenty-five years ago Elias Bickerman[4] opened a sensitive discussion concerning the imperial cult, which attracted long interventions from the specialists' audience. It is not the place to present these discussions, but we would like to note that most scholars present agreed that the term "ruler cult" was a modern invention, and that we should treat each aspect of emperor worship in its cultural and historical context. We fully agree with this perspective and intend to conduct our investigation accordingly.

I) First, we will present the historical context in Moesia Inferior, emphasizing the military and urban aspects. Then we will proceed with the research of emperor worship, which we divide into two main sections:
II) The imperial cult proper, with subsections for the a) municipal and b) provincial cult (both with their respective institutions and manifestations);
III) Peripheral manifestations of the imperial cult.

I. The historical context

The monographic approach presents, in this case, a very interesting, yet difficult problem, caused by the specific situation in Moesia Inferior. Without developing this direction, we will focus on its main points of interest and their significance for the imperial cult.

Following a series of military conflicts (such as M. Terentius Varro Lucullus' campaign in 72–71 B.C., during the 3rd Mithridatic war, C. Antonius Hybrida's campaign in 62–61 B.C. and M. Licinius Crassus' campaign in 29–28 B.C.), the Thracian territory down to the river Danube entered the Roman sphere of influence[5]. This was followed by efforts from governors Lentulus and Catus concerning the pacification (the latter also moved 50000 Getae across the Danube – *Strabo* 7.10) of the area[6]. The province Moesia was created immediately afterwards, and comprised the area between the Morava and Timoc rivers.

involvement of Thracians in the imperial cult at a local or regional level, as there are no sources to prove it. Even so, one must take this aspect into consideration, as the example of the altar of the Three Gauls, the *Ara Ubiorum* and the *Arae Sestinae* (Fishwick 1987, 102–144) prove the effort made by Roman officials to involve local tribes in emperor worship. In any case, whether foreign or Thracian inhabitants, all sources concerning emperor worship in the non-Greek area of Moesia Inferior follow cult patterns established in the Latin West.

[4] Bickerman 1973.

[5] Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 24–34; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 22–35.

[6] Syme 1971, 49–58.

Two legions ensured the security in the area: *legio IIII Scythica* and *legio V Macedonica*. They were stationed, at least from Emperor Claudius' reign, at Viminacium (?) and Oescus respectively. This laid the premises for the development of important urban settlements at those sites.

Later on, Emperor Vespasian's reign marks the advance of military units along the Danube, which suggests the annexation of the eastern territories down to the Black Sea to the province[7]. The province was highly militarized, as it was defended by several legions: the *legio VII Claudia* (stationed at Viminacium–Kostolač), the *legio V Macedonica* (stationed at Oescus), maybe the *legio V Alaudae* and the *legio I Italica* (replacing the *VIII Augusta* at Novae from 69 A.D. onwards). Also, an important number of auxilia completed the province's defensive system[8].

Trajan[9] operated major changes in Moesia Inferior's military in conjunction with the Dacian wars, concentrating the major units on its eastern flank. He brought the *legio XI Claudia* to Durostorum and moved the *legio V Macedonica* from Oescus to Troesmis (the system was completed by *legio I Italica*, stationed at Novae). Over 20 auxiliary units were stationed in forts along the Danube in Moesia Inferior[10], some of them in newly-built forts, such as those at Rasova, Carsium and Barboşi. Also, the *classis Flavia Moesica*[11] had bases at Troesmis, Dinogetia, Noviodunum and Barboşi, with a further possible base at Halmyris[12].

Later on, the only major changes in the province's defensive system were the re-deployement of the *legio V Macedonica* in the Orient during Lucius Verus' Parthian campaigns, following which it was sent to Potaissa, in Dacia. From there it was brought back to Oescus in 271 A.D., following Aurelianus' retreat from Dacia.

From an administrative point of view, after the creation of the province of Moesia (organized around 15 A.D. as an administrative unit), several other units appeared in order to organize and incorporate the territories down to the Black Sea. As early as the reign of Emperor Claudius a *praefectus ciuitatium Moesiae et Treballiae* is attested in the area between Ratiaria and Oescus.[13] Another pre-provincial administrative unit was the *praefectura ripae Thraciae*, which covered the area along the Danube, from Dimum to the Black Sea. An important role was

[7] Suceveanu 1971, 118–120.

[8] Ţentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, *passim*.

[9] For Emperor Trajan's policy in the Lower Danube area, see Petolescu 2007, 84–91.

[10] Matei-Popescu 2004, 175–238.

[11] Aricescu 1977, 70–74.

[12] Suceveanu *et alii* 2003, 89–96.

[13] ILS 1349.

played in the area by Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, governor of Moesia between 56–66 A.D., who moved 100000 people inside the Empire's borders, probably to create a buffer zone[14].

In 86 A.D., province Moesia was divided into two units by Emperor Domitianus, Upper and Lower Moesia. The latter was bordered to the West by the Tibritza River, to the East by the Black Sea, to the North by the river Danube (even though its legions' military control covered the Wallachian plain), and to the South by the Thracian border (generally following the line of the pre-Balkans plateau, with a southern salient in the area of the Vit and Osăm Rivers), at an average of 60 km South of the Danube, but retreating to around 40 km South of it in the area of Nicopolis ad Istrum. On the Black Sea coast, the last Lower Moesian city was Mesambria. This was to change during Pertinax's reign[15] or at the beginning of Emperor Septimius Severus' reign, when Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum were transferred to Moesia Inferior – thus extending its central territory – and Mesambria to Thracia[16]. Finally, Aurelianus reduced the province, by incorporating its western part into the newly formed province Dacia Ripensis, and later on Diocletianus' and Constantine's reforms saw this area reorganized into two new provinces, Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor[17].

The information we presented above is important for our analysis for several reasons. From a geographical point of view, the province is a small one, representing mostly a strip of land along the *limes* – in geographical terms the Danube and the Black Sea. This defines its role inside the imperial system: it was a border province, with a high military profile centered on defending the Danubian front's eastern flank, weakened by the Wallachian salient.

The military aspect had an important influence on the province's urbanization. Even though in the territory which formed the province there existed a number of cities, such as the Greek cities along the sea coast – which always remained *ciuitates peregrinae* –, the province's interior contained only a small number of settlements, such as those implied in the title *praefectus ciuitatium Moesiae et Treballiae*. A series of settlements developed around Roman forts, such as those at Cius, Halmyris, Montana, Novae, Noviodunum, Oescus, Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca and Troesmis. Another category of urban settlements is that formed around a pre-Roman settlement and the local Roman fort's civil settlement,

[14] CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986 = IDRE I 113; Pippidi 1967, 306 (also for Pârvan's and Patsch's views on this subject).

[15] Boteva 1997, 37–38.

[16] Gerov 1979, 224–230.

[17] Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 154–155.

which follows the formula *castellum–canabae–ciuitas peregrina*[18] – such as settlements at Abrittus, Aegyssus, Arrubium, Axiopolis, Capidava, Carsium, Dimum and Durostorum. There are also newly-formed *ciuitates peregrinae* created probably immediately after the organization of the Roman province – *ciuitas Ausdecensium*, *Dianensium*, (L)ibida and Melta. There is also Tropaeum Traiani, which was a Roman civil settlement.

These 22 settlements, plus 8 Greek cities (out of which Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum were Trajanic foundations) seem to cover the province's surface with an urban network. The truth is that only very few of them became sizeable towns: Oescus (raised directly to the rank of *colonia* by Trajan)[19], Tropaeum Traiani (founded by Trajan, probably directly as a *municipium*)[20], Durostorum (although the civil settlement *canabae Aeliae legionis XI Claudiae* is the only recorded case where *canabae* receive juridical recognition before Septimius Severus[21], it is mentioned as a *municipium* only from Marcus Aurelius' reign)[22], Novae (*municipium* from the time of Marcus Aurelius)[23], Noviodunum[24] and Troesmis (a *municipium* from Marcus Aurelius[25] or Septimius Severus). To synthesize the information: two main periods of major urban development can be identified – the reigns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. These waves of urban development therefore coincide with organization / reconstruction periods following military campaigns. Development can also be seen in settlements of lower importance, especially starting with the Severan period, during which Moesia Inferior reached its highest level of development[26] – Melta (mentioned as a *ciuitas* in the 3rd century)[27] and Abrittus (mentioned as a *ciuitas* at the middle of the 3rd century)[28]. For the Latin part of the province, urban development was strongest in military settlements.

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[18] For an extensive analysis of the urban settlements, their territories and juridical status, as well as rural structures, see Bâltâc 2005, 69–95 and 117–129.

[19] Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 200. For the monumental character of the city's civic center see Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 208–211.

[20] Doruțiu-Boilă 1978, 245–246; Bărbulescu 2001, 119.

[21] Ivanov, Atanasov, Donevski 2006, 226 and 186–242 for the entire presentation of the *canabae* and their juridical status.

[22] Another view places the granting of *municipium* status during the reign of Caracalla – Doruțiu-Boilă 1978, 246–248.

[23] Gerov 1977, 300–301.

[24] Barnea 1988, 80.

[25] Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 167.

[26] For a comprising view on the province's evolution during the Severi see Boteva 1997.

[27] CIL VI 2736.

[28] Ivanov 1981, 50.

This situation has to be taken into account when examining the development of the imperial cult in the province. Even though we can presume that ceremonies which involved the worship or divine honoring of the emperors took place in all types of settlements, it is clear that a proper cult, with structures such as temples, altars and with public ceremonies could not be sustained by most of the small communities, which sometimes could not even sustain normal taxation[29]. The solid relation between urban structures and the evolution of the imperial cult has long been recognized, as emperor worship closely involved public civic institutions and, as a consequence, the urban elite. For an area with close ties to the Greek world, the foundation of two new Greek cities (Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis) followed the general pattern[30] and boosted the practice of the imperial cult.

II. The imperial cult

Some scholars[31] have tried to approach the imperial cult as an ensemble of god-like honors (*isotheoi timai*), a social and political practice different of a proper Greek or Roman cult[32]. For our part, we agree with F. Millar that, as long as we have temples, priesthoods and altars dedicated to the imperial persons, imperial sacrifices and religious feasts, we cannot deny the imperial cult the name of "religion" without implying the same for all pagan cults[33]. Therefore these are the sources we will analyze in connection with the cult proper.

II.a. The municipal cult

Zlatozara Gočeva is the first author that made a separate analysis on the imperial cult in the Latin part of Moesia Inferior, concentrating on the relationship between the cult and romanization[34]. But the author failed to differentiate between monuments *for* the emperor and monuments *to* the emperor, as she considered throughout her work *pro salute* dedications[35] as monuments of imperial cult.

[29] It is the case of the κώμη Χόρα Δάγει – ISM I 378.

[30] Price 1984, 44.

[31] Following the general lines established by Nock 1930; Scott 1932; Nock 1934a.

[32] Among the arguments generally used are the facts that there are no prayers to the emperor, but only for him, that there are no imperial *ex uota*, that there are differences between the religious vocabulary used in traditional cults, and the one used in imperial cults, etc.

[33] Millar 2004, 300.

[34] Gočeva 1990; Gočeva 1998; there is also a short article on the imperial cult at Novae – Gočeva 1994– to which we did not have access.

[35] Fishwick 2004, 352–360: they are proofs of the dedicant's piety.

Nevertheless, Zlatozara Gočeva made some interesting remarks: at Oescus she considers the temple of Fortuna (built by Commodus) more appropriate for imperial cult ceremonies than the Capitoline temples in the forum. At Novae she emphasizes the role the legion's sanctuary played in the imperial cult, based on the discovery there of the finely carved head of a statue representing Emperor Caracalla[36] and several fragments of bronze statues that she relates to uninscribed statue bases. Zlatozara Gočeva also mentions in relation to the imperial cult the cult of Dea Roma (Aeterna)[37], of Victoria Augusta[38] and the temple of Sol Inuictus[39]. At Durostorum she also mentions a temple dedicated to Hadrianus and in his health[40].

Recently, D. Aparaschivei[41] has published an article on the *flamines* from Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior. Besides a prosopographical analysis (which we will not repeat in this paper) for each *flamen*, he correctly disapproves of the restitution *flam(en) Tit(i) Ve[sp(asiani)]* in ILBulg 75 from Oescus, proposing (following N. Sharankov's suggestion) the restitution *flam(en) et II ui[ral(is)],* which fits in with Oescus' urban status during the Antonines, as well as with a *flamen*'s usual public career.

Our own approach seeks to analyze emperor worship as it developed and manifested itself at different levels – public or private, and within different social categories.

As the imperial cult was first of all the duty of local authorities, we will start with priests of the official cult, the *flamines* and the *sacerdotes*. Then we will proceed with the private associations for lower social categories that did not have access to municipal priesthoods – the *Augustales* and the *cultores*. We will try to establish the type and location of shrines they celebrated the cult in, and finally we will analyze the imperial dedications.

[36] Sarnowski 1980.

[37] IGLNovae 45.

[38] IGLNovae 46.

[39] It is not clear if this is the temple and altars dedicated to *Sol Augustus*, located outside the Roman fort (Bottez 2006, 292–294 with bibliography) or the temple dedicated to *Sol Inuictus*, located inside the *principia* – Bunsch, Kolendo, Żelazowski 2003, 44–50).

[40] The temple and statue, mentioned by CIL III 7474, are dedicated to an unknown divinity, by the local Roman citizens and in the name of two imperial legates. The dedication is made to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and for the health of the emperor.

[41] Aparaschivei 2007.

Imperial *flamines*[42]

The *flamen* was one of the most important religious ranks in the Roman Empire, and it had its origin in the Archaic period. Emperor worship started using this type of priesthood precisely in order to confer the utmost prestige to the imperial cult, as sometimes the ruler's successor was also named his priest. It is the case of Marcus Antonius for Gaius Iulius Caesar and of Germanicus for Augustus. Once adopted, the emperor's flaminate seems to have been a major one, as during the Julii one of the conditions for becoming a *flamen Augustalis* was to belong to a patrician family[43] (similar priesthoods, implying great prestige and which were also adopted by the imperial cult, were the *solidalitates*)[44].

The imperial *flamen* was the priest that served in the combined cult of Rome and Augustus[45], or after the death of the first emperor in that of dead and living emperors. In the Latin West several terms were used – *flamen diuorum Augustorum*, *flamen diuorum et Augustorum*, *flamen Augustorum* etc. – which represented variants meant to indicate exactly to whom the cult was dedicated[46].

In Moesia Inferior only four *flamines* are attested:

Oescus:

1) Gaius Scopius Marcianus (ILBulg 75), 2nd c. A.D., after the reign of Hadrianus. He was also a *duumuir*[47]. Unfortunately, there is no other information concerning him to be found in other inscriptions in the province. Although the restitution proposed in ILBulg 75, which would make Gaius Scopius Marcianus a *flamen* of the deified Emperor Vespasian, is in accordance with the general religious policy of the mentioned emperor[48], it is difficult to see a continuation of his separate cult in the Antonine period. Therefore we accept D. Aparaschivei's version.

2) Marcus Titius Marci f. Papiria Maximus (ILBulg 16), 2nd c. A.D. Besides being a *flamen perpetuus*, he was also a *duumuir quinquennalis* and belonged to the equestrian order[49]. The perpetual priesthood was a mark of his important social standing, and could suggest a retention of his title and

[42] Gysler, Bielman 1994; Chastagnol 1980.

[43] For the entire issue see Lyasse 2007.

[44] Millar 1992, 355; their relation with the imperial *flamines* is yet unknown – Fishwick 1987, 162.

[45] Fishwick 1987, 98–149.

[46] Fishwick 1987, 269–281.

[47] Aparaschivei 2007, 92–93.

[48] Fishwick 1987, *passim*.

[49] Mrozewicz 1999, 68.

prerogatives after his annual term in office[50], maybe in a priestly college. Earlier in his career, when he was a *duumuir coloniae*, Maximus made a dedication to Mithras. We must stress that we find further connections between the imperial cult and mithraicism at Istros and Novae[51]. M. Clauss has shown the relation between the mithraic hierarchy and that of Roman public life, mentioning that for the Rhenan and Danubian regions mithraicism was an instrument of romanization, and therefore promoted by local authorities[52].

3) Titus Flauius Titi f. Papiria Valentinus (Ivanov 2005, 219–222), 193–235 A.D. He was also a *duumuir*, *praefectus saltus*, *patronus colegii fabrorum Oesc(ensium) et Apul(ensium)*, *patronus coloniae* and was a member of the equestrian order[53]. Both Valentinus and Maximus belong to the Papiria, and both are members of the equestrian order. This suggests that, once Trajan had raised the rank of Oescus to that of *colonia*, he also promoted a number of citizens to the order of equestrians, and thus laid the premises for the development of an active local aristocracy, as the careers of the two *flamines* prove[54]. The inscription was discovered in Building no. 5, in the eastern part of the forum, and was written on an impressive base (1.74 m high) for the *flamen*'s bronze statue. Building no. 5 seems to have been used for administrative purposes by municipal authorities[55], which underlines again the close relation between municipal civic and religious authorities.

Troesmis:

Caius Valerius Longinianus (ISM V 163), Severan period. He was also a *quaestor*, *aedilis* and *duumuir municipii*. His *nomen* is a common one in the inscriptions of Troesmis since the time of Hadrianus, when an important number of soldiers were honorably discharged – among them an important number of Valerii[56]. Longinianus could be the son or even grandson of one of *legio V Macedonica*'s veterans, and his career would be in line with the settlement's development from *canabae* to *municipium*.

[50] Aparaschivei 2007, 92, citing Hirschfeld.

[51] ILBulg 29; see Bottez 2006, 290–294 for the relation between the imperial cult and mithraicism at Istros, Oescus and Novae.

[52] Clauss 2000, 40–41.

[53] Mrozewicz 1999, 67.

[54] We would like to thank Mr. F. Matei-Popescu for this suggestion, and for all the support given during the redaction of this paper. Two other members of the Papiria are mentioned in inscriptions, both with public careers (ILBulg 18 and 70).

[55] Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 211.

[56] ISM V 136.

One notices that, even though in the same period other settlements became *municipia*, such as Durostorum, Novae and Noviodunum, or had already reached this status – such as Tropaeum Traiani –, only at Troesmis do we find the title *flamen*.

If we analyze all the inscriptions from Troesmis, we will find that only two inscriptions were certainly dated to Hadrian's reign, and as early as that date the *canabae legionis* were already organized. After Hadrianus the number of inscriptions increased and kept a constant level, without showing any remarkable change starting with the promotion to the status of *municipium*.

As far as religious matters are concerned, we find one dedication for Sol (ISM V 169), one for Honos (ISM V 163) and the only mention of an established cult – Marcia Basilissa, priestess of the dendrophori (ISM V 160). To this we oppose dedications to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and Liber pater (ISM V 162), one for the Capitoline Triad (ISM V 155), one just to I.O.M. (ISM V 164) and six for I.O.M. and for the health of the emperors (ISM V 154, 156–159, 167). It is a clear predominance of the state cult, which is also suggested by the mentions of three augurs (ISM V 166, 180, ISM II 244; the only other *augur* in the province is mentioned at Oescus – ILBulg 141 –, the other important cult center) and two pontifs (ISM V 151; other pontiffs appear at Oescus, ILBulg 17 and 75). In the *Tabula Imperii Romani* Troesmis is mentioned as the province's juridical (*conuentus*) and religious capital (siege of the *concilium prouinciae*)[57]. We do not know the exact arguments for this theory, which is very important, as usually the capitals of *conuenta* were also regional capitals for the imperial cult.

We find mentions of five public buildings in the epigraphs: one *tabularium* in Antoninus Pius' reign (ISM V 134), a temple built during Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus's reign (ISM V 135), another temple built by a private person during the 2nd c. A.D. (ISM V 161) and another built during Septimius Severus and his sons' reign (ISM V 167; the dedication is set up for Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and the three emperors). Finally, a very interesting monument is a capital from a temple dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Sarapis (ISM V 168), which is vaguely dated to the 2nd – 3rd c. A.D.

The I.O.M. dedications, the presence of augurs, pontiffs and the temple of I.O.M. Sarapis indicate the presence of an important centre of the official religion, and thus the presence of a *flamen* here is fully justified.

The information concerning the *flamines* in Moesia Inferior shows that they were of a high social status (which is in agreement with character of the traditional priesthood), and had their term in office as a crowning of a municipal career. If

[57] Gostar 1969, 73–74.

Oescus represented, from the moment it received colonial status from Trajan, an important centre for the official[58], as well as for the imperial cult, Troesmis developed as a military and religious centre throughout the Antonine period, and only starting with Marcus Aurelius it became a high-profile imperial cult centre.

The title of the priests, *flamen*, and the lack of the name of a specific emperor in the genitive after it, shows that the official state cult was dedicated to the living and deified emperors, a practical solution for both economical reasons (state imperial worship was unified, thus reducing costs) and ideological ones (by combining the cult of the living emperor – officially unfit for Roman citizens – with that of the *diui*, the former did not pose an ideological problem anymore).

The *sacerdotes*

Municipal priests bore different titles, depending on the local context. In the Three Gauls they usually bore the title *flamen*, but also of *sacerdos*[59]; in the Germanies and Gallia Belgica the titles also varied[60].

In Moesia Inferior we have only three mentions of *sacerdotes* in inscriptions[61]:

Tropaeum Traiani:

Flavius Petronius (Barnea 1977, 350–354), 270–300 A.D. He was a *sacerdos* and, along with Flavius Germanus, *decurio municipii Tropaei*, offered a votive altar to a divinity whose name is now lost. The joint offering between the imperial priest and the municipal magistrate is suggestive and shows that, even though poorly attested, at least in this case emperor worship had a direct relation with the local civic structures. And there is important information concerning municipal structures, as Tropaeum Traiani has yielded until now 8 inscriptions concerning this subject[62]. Our inscription is extremely interesting because of the very late date at which it was dedicated. The last quarter of the 3rd c. A.D. is a period when most institutions of imperial cult had disappeared, both in the Latin

[58] It is here that the only Capitoline temples have been excavated – Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 205–208–, and the third inscription mentioning a *flamen* was discovered in Building no. 5 in the forum – Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 209–211.

[59] Fishwick 2002b, 28; Gysler, Bielman 1994, 97–100.

[60] Liertz 1998, 213–215 for a list of *sacerdotes* and *flamines*.

[61] ILBulg 415 from Paskalevets mentions a [*...i*]*us Verus sacerd(os)*, but we cannot take it into consideration due to the monument's fragmentary state.

[62] AE 1964, 251 = AE 2004, 1270; CIL III 12465; CIL III 12466; CIL III 12473; CIL III 14214.02; CIL III 14214.04; CIL III 14214.06; IDRE II 337 = AE 1964, 252.

and in the Greek milieus. Yet, in Tropaeum Traiani municipal civil and religious life seems to continue even at this late date.

Emporium Piretensium:

[Secun]dinus (ILBulg 443), unknown date. He was a *sacerdos empori Piretensium* who set up a votive altar for his son, Aeternus. The *emporia* were regional commercial centers[63], developed around a market/fair that did not hold a city-status[64]. This is monument is up to the present moment the only proof of organized public cult in a non-urban structure.

Višovgrad:

The monument is a tombstone of a former priest, Lucius Petronius Sentius (ILBulg 410). Given the fact that he was a citizen, and there is no god name in the genitive following his title, we can presume that he had served as an imperial priest. As there is no information as to where the priest served, we can only suggest that he could have headed the imperial cult in a pre-urban settlement such as the *emporium Piretensium*.

The three monuments give very little information concerning the priesthood. One suggestion is that this function was held by citizens. The title – *sacerdos* – borne by the priests shows that they probably served the cult of living emperors[65]. Although we one would expect such priesthoods in urban centers such as Tropaeum Traiani, the presence of the official imperial cult in non-urban settlements is a surprising factor, and could imply new levels to which the imperial cult was implanted into public life in the province.

The *Augustales*

The *Augustales*, *seuiri Augustales* or *magistri Augustales* were private religious associations focusing on emperor worship[66]. They were different from other *collegia*, as they had a semi-official status (no doubt because the municipal authorities saw emperor worship as a commendable civic activity); the term *honor*

[63] Rougé 1966, 108.

[64] Robert 1946, 135.

[65] Fishwick 2002b, 294–295, but concerning the title of *sacerdos prouinciae* in the Danubian provinces.

[66] Premerstein 1895; Mourlot 1895; Ross Taylor 1914; Duthoy 1978, with a comprising overview of research up to that moment; Fishwick 1991, 609–616 for the object of their ceremonies; Tondel 1979 for the *Augustales* in the Danubian provinces.

used when describing *Augustalitas* is one argument in support of this theory (this also implied that every member had to pay a *summa honoraria* to the municipal treasury)[67].

Another argument is that even though these were private associations, their involvement in emperor worship and high public expenditure (celebration of public festivities and setting up public monuments) was highly appreciated by local municipal authorities, which bestowed upon them a series of honors in return. Among these were their insignia: the *toga praetexta*, the *lictores* with *fasces* for the *seuiri Augustales*, while the *ornamenta augustalitas* were the crown and the *fasces*[68]. They also had their own places in theaters and amphitheaters[69], and decurions would set up statues for them, paid of public funds[70]. But crucial for understanding the driving force behind the *Augustales* was the award of the *ornamenta decurionalia*, that showed they were worthy of decurional honors, denied to them only because of their lower social standing[71].

The *Augustales* and *seuiri Augustales* were probably made up of members (in the case of the *seuiri Augustales* the name implying a number of six) under 25 years old[72], elected annually[73]. Scholars tend to agree on the fact that they were usually freedmen[74] or first-generation citizens of non-Italic stoc[75], and came from a commercial/artisan background, which probably influenced their shaping of the institution of *Augustales* similar to a professional association. This explains the many titles which present the *Augustales* as a corporation[76]. A very important fact is that after serving their term in office, the *Augustales* kept their title and became part of an order placed (from a social point of view), beneath the decurions but above the plebs[77]. But, as J. H. Oliver remarks, some of them were

[67] Duthoy 1978, 1266; Gradel 2002, 230 considers that municipal authorities encouraged *Augustales* in their liberalities in order to spare the public budget, without actually involving them in public government.

[68] Duthoy 1978, 1268 and 1282.

[69] For example at Carnuntum they had reserved the *loca Augustalium* – Tondel 1979, 52. Nock 1934b, 634, shows that these reserved seats helped create a sort of class-consciousness. Kolendo 1981, 310 shows that their position was similar to that occupied by representatives of villages.

[70] Gradel 2002, 230.

[71] Duthoy 1974, 147.

[72] Duthoy 1978, 1282.

[73] Nock 1934b, 631; Duthoy 1978, 1277; *contra* Étienne 1974, 273.

[74] Nock 1934b, 631; Duthoy 1978, 1272.

[75] Oliver 1958, 492.

[76] Duthoy 1978, 1274 and 1285.

[77] Nock 1934b, 634; Duthoy 1978, 1289.

actually men of rank, situation which is presented by the scholar as a means to encourage new citizens to get involved in public matters and, in the meantime, to obtain personal fame, as for a municipal aristocrat there was no moral obligation to take up such a position[78].

This brings us to the role played by the *Augustales*, *seuiri Augustales* or *magistri Augustales* from a municipal and imperial perspective. Their public actions consisted mainly, as we have already mentioned, in liberalities of all kinds (which probably determined the decurions to choose *Augustales* among the richest citizens of lower standing)[79]. They also collaborated with the municipal *collegia* and, significantly, with the associations of *iuuenes*, as the latter's inscriptions mention *Augustales* with functions in their institutions, *Augustales* as patrons of *iuuenes* and special honors conferred to *Augustales* by the *iuuenes*[80]. This is significant, as one notices the same strong link between the *gerusiae* and the *epheboi* in the Greek cities; it is normal for local authorities to give a special attention to the education of the youth, not in the old ideal of soldier-citizens, but of citizens loyal to their supreme benefactor, the Emperor. And what better way was there to express their loyalty but in the form of emperor worship?

As to the precise religious role played by the *Augustales*, there remain many unknown factors. D. Fishwick[81] thinks it consisted mainly of vegetal or sometimes even animal sacrifices at their own altar, as well as public participations in processions, maybe carrying imperial images. Their dedications are to the emperor's *genius* or *numen*, to the *numen* of the imperial house, to the *lares Augusti*, to Augustan gods, Augustan abstractions etc.[82] On the whole, they basically had the same religious role as that of associations of imperial *cultores* and that of colleges; what differed was their social standing, also reflected in their name and semi-official character.

So, from the authorities' point of view, the *Augustales* reinforced the social structure by strengthening civic loyalty through emperor worship. From the *Augustales*' point of view, this system helped promote them on the civic scale. J. Tondel has studied in detail the social evolution of the *Augustales* and their families, and his conclusions[83] show that the peak of an *Augustalis*' career was to

[78] Oliver 1958, 492.

[79] Duthoy 1978, 1269.

[80] Jaczynowska 1978, 36–39; Nock 1934b, 629–630 notices the role played by the *seuiri* in the training of young men in cavalry exercises.

[81] Fishwick 1991, 613.

[82] Duthoy 1978, 1296–1299.

[83] Tondel 1979, 40–43.

occupy a position in their own institution, then a municipal magistracy (in the case of *Augustales* of free origin) or a honorific position in the municipal administration; their sons would have access to all municipal magistracies, which would be obtained or not, in direct relation with the father's *munificentia*[84] (normally only grandsons of freedmen had access to municipal magistracies). So usually no son of an *Augustalis* would take up his father's position, but rather one of his freedmen.

In Moesia Inferior we have *Augustales* mentioned in inscriptions in only two cities, Oescus and Novae:

Oescus:

1) Titus Iulius Capito (ILBulg 20), 161–168 A.D. Capito was a very important person[85]; along with his brothers C. Iulius Epaphroditus and Iulius Ianuarius he was responsible for the administration of the customs in the Illyricum circumscription, and is mentioned in several inscriptions: in Moesia Inferior at Almus (CIL III 6124)[86] and Lăžane – Malčika (ILBulg 441)[87], in Noricum at Atrans (CIL III 5121) and in Moesia Superior at Viminacium (IMS II 70). Titus Iulius Capito, like his brothers, was a freedman[88] who managed to make a successful public career. The inscription we are referring to shows he was honored by the *ordo* of *colonia Sirmium* and received from it the *ius sententiae dicundae*, he received *ornamenta decurionalia* from the *ordines* of the *colonia Vlpia Poetouio* in Pannonia Superior, the *colonia Vlpia Ratiaria* in Moesia Superior and the *colonia Sarmizegetusa* in Dacia Superior; he also received *ornamenta duumuiralia* from the *ordo municipii Romulensium* and he was a member of the *boule* in Tomis. In Oescus he received the priestly honors from the *ordo coloniae Oescensium*, that also set up his bronze statue through public collection and awarded him decurional and duumviral *ornamenta* by decree. And very important for our subject, he was also the patron of the *Augustales* in Oescus.

The first important information is that there existed an association of *Augustales* in Oescus, at least from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and that it was organized similarly to professional corporations and was led by a *patronus*. It is strange that only this late we have the first precisely-dated inscription to mention the *Augustales*, even though the city was thriving since the times of Emperor Trajan.

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[84] Kotula 1997, 35–38 – which resulted in a tendency to impose "municipal dynasties".

[85] See commentary of IDRE II 319.

[86] A slave from their administration, Hermes, makes a dedication here to their *genius*.

[87] The same slave, Hermes, makes a dedication to the *numina Augustorum*.

[88] De Laet 1949, 398.

In accordance to the honors usually sought by the *Augustales*, Titus Iulius Capito received municipal and colonial *ornamenta* in five cities in different provinces. All of these conferred on the receiver no real power, but the *ius sententiae dicundae* suggests that he had a certain, unclear role in tribunals[89]. All the honors received point out his important social and administrative standing in the area and, in turn, indicate that the *Augustales* in Oescus chose their leaders among the very influential and rich, but not necessarily among their co-citizens – there is no indication that Capito was from Oescus and he received important honors in many places. The function of patron of the *Augustales* is actually mentioned in the second-last place on the inscription.

2) Titus Aurelius Artemidorus (ILBulg 19), 217 A.D. He was *Augustalis* of Oescus, a freedman – he has a Greek *cognomen* and he dedicates the inscription to his patron. His patron was Titus Aurelius Flavinus[90] (from the Papiria), *princeps ordini coloniae Oescensium* and member in the council of five different cities, patron of the artisans' corporation in Oescus and decorated by Caracalla for his brave actions against the Cenni[91]. Thus, the freedman of the chief municipal magistrate sought the highest semi-official position he was allowed.

3) Lucius Valerius Eutyches (ILBulg 43), 2nd–3rd c. A.D. He was *Augustalis coloniae*, and made a votive offering. Again, the Greek *cognomen* indicates a freedman; there is a Lucius Valerius Dotianus (ILBulg 37) at Oescus, but no connection can be made between the two.

4) Marcus Disius G(ratus?) (ILBulg 23), 2nd–3rd c. A.D. He was *Augustalis coloniae Ulpiae Oesci* and made a votive offering to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. Although his *cognomen* remains unknown, there is a high possibility that he was a freedman of Marcus Didius Iulianus (ILBulg 44), a *duumuir coloniae*, as the latter's name is the only Marcus Disius in the colony. If this hypothesis is correct, we see again the pattern of a civic magistrate's freedman joining the ranks of the *Augustales*.

5) Unknown name (ILBulg 112), 2nd–3rd c. A.D. Only a few words, among which --- *augusț*[*alis* ---], are preserved from the inscription.

Novae:

Iulius Statilis (IGLNovae 39 = ILBulg 281), 180–250 A.D. He was an *Augustalis municipii Nouensium*, who made a votive offering to Dea Sancta

[89] As the *seuiri Augustales* had – Duthoy 1978, 1268.

[90] ILBulg 18.

[91] The ILBulg 18 restitution is [*adu*]*ersus hostes C*[*arpos*], but Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 202 shows that the inscription more likely refers ro the Cenni, against which Caracalla fought in 213 A.D.

Placida. No other Statilis appears in inscriptions in Novae. With no further indication, we cannot presume on his free or servile origin. We can only stress that the development of the local settlement into a *municipium* must have encouraged emperor worship, which was celebrated by the lower-class citizens through the association of the *Augustales*. Actually, the inscription offered by Iulius Statilis is the only one mentioning the *municipium*, and no other members of the municipal aristocracy appear in epigraphs. Even though at Novae there are several I.O.M. dedications and quite a few temples (for popular, "oriental" gods such as Isis and Sarapis, Mithras, Sol, Deus Aeternus and the Mother of Gods, in most cases related to the military milieu), it is clear that local aristocracy consisted mainly of superior ranks in the army, and that urban life was not significantly developed.

We must also mention the name Augustalis (ILBulg 438), attested in the inscription of a Bacchic association discovered at around Butovo. Also, at Ulmetum a Flavius Augustales dedicates an altar and a ceremonial table to I.O.M. and Silvanus, to the health of the emperor and of the members of a cultic association of *consacranis*[92]. J. Tondel[93] highlights the possibility that such *cognomina* could indicate an ancient *Augustalis* the family.

As primary observations on the *Augustales* in Moesia Inferior, it is self evident that the institution of the *Augustales* was not widespread in the Latin settlements of the province, as is the general situation with entire area. On over 2500 *Augustales*, *seuiri Augustales* and *magistri Augustales* inscriptions in the Empire, in Moesia Inferior there are only five certain inscriptions. Also, this institution seems to be (based on inscriptions discovered until now) a late development in the province, as even in Oescus they are certainly attested only as early as Marcus Aurelius. An impediment to the development of this institution must have certainly been the feeble urban development in Lower Moesian cities, as a dynamic public urban activity would have stimulated the creation of associations of *Augustales*; this, however, does not explain why at Troesmis, where we have attested an intense activity on the part of both municipal, as well as pre-municipal authorities, no *Augustalis* is mentioned.

The *cultores*[94]

Other institutions for imperial cult at a private level were cultic associations dedicated to different aspects of emperor worship. In inscriptions they

[92] See IGLNovae 24 and further on, on the *cultores*.

[93] Tondel 1979, 42.

[94] For corporate worship see Gradel 2002, 213–233.

are designated by the term *cultores domus diuinae* / *domus Augustae* / *larum Augustorum* / *imaginum domus Augustae* / *larum et imaginum doumus Augustae*, or the *collegium numinis dominorum* etc.[95] These titles also indicate the object of their cult – the imperial divine house and Lares, for which the made vegetal and animal sacrifices (as the decoration of the altar from Nola, CIL X 1238, suggests). As far as the social composition is concerned, these associations were usually made up of freedmen and even slaves[96], who worshipped the living emperor, not the *diui*.

We have no direct proof for the existence of such private associations in Moesia Inferior. What we do have are two dedications for the *domus diuina* (CIL III 12468 = AE 1894, 109 and CIL III 7601); although there is no proof they had anything to do with a private association focused mainly on emperor worship, we have evidence for private religious associations at Novae (IGLNovae 24; 205–211 A.D.) and Ulmetum (ISM V 66 and 67, dated to 178 and 191 A.D. respectively). The monuments from Ulmetum belong to an association of *consacrani Siluani Statoris*; the first monument is dedicated by the association's *quaestor*, and the second is dedicated to I.O.M. and Silvanus, for the health of the emperor and *consacranorum*. The association at Novae was called the *consacranis Iouianorum*, and it spared a certain Caius Staboratius, former *beneficiarius consularis*, the membership fee. What is very important for our subject is that the relief offered to the *consacranis* in exchange for their generosity bears the figures of the Capitoline Triad, with Emperor Septimius Severus represented as Jupiter. Therefore such private associations could also play a role in imperial worship, even though at a much lower key.

Places of worship. Imperial shrines and shrines used for imperial worship

Imperial worship complexes were extremely varied in type. There were imperial temples, altars and shrines, but there were also shrines improvised in pre-existing buildings, there was worship of the emperor as a *synnaos theos* in another god's temple, in imperial porticoes or agonistic complexes.

As far as imperial temples are concerned, there is practically no typology to be drawn out, as their characteristics changed due to local particularities. But several characteristics of the municipal temples have been noticed by H. Hänlein-Schäfer[97]:

[95] Gradel 2002, 217, 220; for the cult of the *domus diuina* also see Fishwick 1991, 423–435.

[96] Gradel 2002, 222–223.

[97] Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 31–36.

1) some of the municipal imperial temples were built in the *forum* / *agora* in order to take advantage of the prestigious position offered by the civic centre[98]; these temples tend to be bigger than those of other divinities; 2) others were built in ports, and insured their dominant position by high *podia*, thus marking the dominance of the Roman power (Eresos, Caesarea, Alexandria); 3) some temples were built on naturally dominant locations, such as hills or mountains in the city; 4) and many imperial temples used pre-existent shrines which enjoyed important local, regional or even international prestige, such as those built on the Acropolis in Athens, in the Asklepion in Messene etc.

As far as Moesia Inferior is concerned, we would like to begin by saying that there is only one direct mention of a temple in the province's Latin settlements (CIL III.1 7597). There are a series of temples mentioned at Troesmis (ISM V 135; ISM V 161), Durostorum (CIL III 7474), or Cloşca (ISM V 238), whose gods remain unknown.

In the case of the *flamines*, worship must have taken place in a public and prestigious context, in or around the *forum*. For Oescus, Zlatozara Gočeva[99] mentions the temple of Fortuna as a more likely place of imperial worship[100], rather than the Capitoline temples. Even though it is very possible that imperial worship took place in Fortuna's temple, it is hard to see the official municipal cult celebrated for the emperor as a *synnaos theos*. Our opinion is that the official imperial cult must have been celebrated in a temple or at an altar within the civic centre, maybe even in architectural (physical or axial) connection to the Capitoline temple. No such building has been discovered yet, to our knowledge.

At Troesmis it is difficult to emit any hypothesis, as excavations did not reveal the early Roman city. The official temple or altar must have been located in the civic centre. But in which of the two urban centers present there? Hopefully, future excavations will bring some kind of answer to this problem.

The *sacerdos* at Tropaeum Traiani could have served in a temple, but most likely at an imperial altar located in the public area around the *basilica forensis*. As for the priest in *emporium Piretensium* (modern Slomer), we presume he served at an altar, such as the one in *pagus Scunasticus* in Dalmatia[101]. But there is also the possibility of a rural temple.

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[98] See also Schalles 1992, 193–194; 196: in certain cases Capitoline temples, the traditional religious centres within the civic ones, were replaced by imperial temples.

[99] Gočeva 1998.

[100] AE 1987, 893.

[101] Abramič 1955, 235–236.

For example CIL III.1 7597 mentions a temple and *arca* (treasury coffer? probably a piece of religious furniture) dedicated to Emperor Caracalla by a certain […]*rius*, in the name of the Roman citizens residing in *uicus Cleuant*[...]. Unfortunately, the place of discovery is unknown. Although it was a custom for inhabitants of rural settlements around a city to set up monuments in those cities in order to obtain maximum visibility, it is hard to imagine the same for a temple, as this type of monument implied constant heavy expenses. Therefore we assume that this was a rural imperial temple, probably run by a *sacerdos*. The monument on which the text was inscribed is described in the corpus as the base of the emperor's statue. This would give us the image of a temple of Caracalla, with the emperor's cult statue and religious furniture inside.

The *Augustales* functioned in their own cult building, which housed the altar at which they worshipped the emperors. These buildings were usually located in the vicinity of forums or civic centers[102], "within easy reach of the municipal altar or temple of imperial cult"[103]. In Oescus the portico Building no. 6 (incompletely excavated), opposite the Capitoline temples, is a likely candidate for a cult-building for corporate imperial worship[104]. In Novae we have no information concerning the ground plan of the civic centre, and therefore can only presume that the cult building of the *Augustales* functioned in connection with it.

Other private corporations must have had the imperial altar, or an altar at which they also worshipped the emperor or imperial house, in the building in which their *collegium* functioned. No such buildings have been identified yet in any sites in Moesia Inferior, but at Lăžane – Malčika (maybe brought from Nikopol?) two altars with similar dedications (ILBulg 441 and 442: to the imperial imperial *numen* and the *genius publici portorii*) suggest the existence of a local cult building in which imperial worship was celebrated at a corporate level.

The *basilica forensis*[105] in Tropaeum Traiani presents a very interesting archaeological situation: its main (northern) entrance was blocked at a later date by an annex, which has an apse at its eastern end. Initially considered a Christian chapel, it was later on identified as a *uestibulum*, and as a consequence could have contained a pagan shrine in its apse[106]. Because of its connection to the civic basilica, this shrine could have represented one of the places where imperial worship was celebrated in a public setting in the city.

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[102] See the case of Sarmizegetusa in neighboring Dacia – Piso 2006, 167–169.

[103] Fishwick 1991, 613.

[104] Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 211.

[105] Built during the reign of Constantine, according to Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 200.

[106] We would like to thank Prof. Alexandru Barnea for this information.

Following future excavations, special attention should be paid to a possible role of civil basilicas in emperor worship in urban settlements in Moesia Inferior. This type of building started to have – usually in military settlements – apart from an administrative role, an increasingly religious one, especially in connection to emperor worship[107]. The situation in Tropaeum Traiani seems to confirm this in a civil settlement.

More information on cult buildings in which public imperial worship, but not the official cult, was celebrated, comes from the military milieu. Sources as the *feriale Duranum*[108] and wall paintings from the same site prove that public imperial celebrations were part of military life, and it involved both simple soldiers and officers[109]. In Novae, a military shrine existed in the southern part of the *principia*, and in this rectangular room was discovered the head of a statue of Emperor Caracalla[110], which – as mentioned above – Zlatozara Gočeva relates, along with fragments of bronze statues, to uninscribed statue-bases also found there. This suggests that some kind of imperial worship or honoring took place there.

The temple dedicated to *Sol Augustus* in Novae is also to be related to the military milieu, as it was dedicated by the fort's prefect[111] and provided a public context for a form of imperial worship[112]. It is unfortunate that the dimensions and general characteristics of such an important and interesting monument were not published. The only information we have is that this temple had a S-N orientation, and that in its longitudinal axis three altars were set, one with the dedication *Soli Augusti* (the central altar), another with the name of the dedicant, T. Flavius Sammius Terentius, the fort's prefect. The third altar and two other monuments were recuperated from the former *mithraeum* that existed on the same spot (destroyed by the Gothic invasions). The temple of *Sol Augustus* was probably built during Aurelianus' reign, and it demonstrates the strong connection solar and imperial theology played in this area.

Object of worship in the imperial dedications

Dedications *to* the emperor

In the Latin settlements of Moesia Inferior only four monuments dedicated to emperors as divinities were discovered:

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[107] Schalles 1992, 194.

[108] Fishwick 1991, 593–608.

[109] Fishwick 1992.

[110] Sarnowski 1980.

[111] Bottez 2006, 292–294.

[112] For the close relation between solar theology and the imperial cult see Turcan 1978.

At Pliska was discovered a monument consecrated to the two emperors (AE 1944, 11): *Augg(ustis)* / *sa(c)r(um)*. The formula indicates a sacred act performed to the emperors as divine beings.

The same formula, followed by a *pro salute* dedication, was used on an altar set up in Nicopolis ad Istrum[113] by Lucius Oppius Maximus and Lucius Oppius Ianuarius, priests of the Mother of Gods and Liber Pater respectively, members of the *uexillum Nouensium Oppianorum*. We have included this monument in our analysis because, even though set up in Nicopolis ad Istrum, the monument was dedicated by two priests from Novae and sheds light on the type of imperial ceremonies that were celebrated in the headquarters of the *legio I Italica*.

A dedication to Sabina Tranquillina, called *sanctissima*[114]*,* was discovered at Belimel, but was probably set up in *civitas Montanensium* (CIL III 14211.09 = IDRE II 316 = AE 1896, 116; 241–244 A.D.). It was dedicated by the *cohors Gemina Dacorum Gordiana*[115].

Finally, there is the inscription from Durostorum (AE 1985, 727), dedicated to the *bona conscientia*, to the emperors and the emperors' *numen*. The association of the emperors with a deified abstraction was a common practice, used to show the qualities of that emperor's reign, as well as to provide an ideological solution for worshiping an emperor during his lifetime[116]. In this inscription the dedicant clearly went one step further, placing the emperor on a divine scale.

The imperial *numen*

The imperial *numen* was clearly the most popular object of imperial worship in the area we focus upon. The imperial *numen* has been the subject of many analyses[117], because it involves the problem of the emperor's divinity. The

[113] Tsarov 1995.

[114] Although this formula marks a difference between the empress' divinity and that of a traditional god, as does the epithet θεά used often in inscriptions at Nicopolis ad Istrum (IGB II 613, 618, 619, 623, 626, 631, 632, 633, 634 and 640), it nevertheless reflects a common view of imperial divinity.

[115] Adding an imperial epithet to a military unit was a way of honoring the emperor, and at the same time the permission to adopt the imperial epithet was a statement of the good relation between that unit and its emperor. Apart from the above-mentioned cohort, the *legio I Italica* was called *Antoniniana* under Caracalla and Elagabalus, and *Seueriana* under Septimius Severus – Bunsch, Kolendo, Żelazowski 2003, 45 with bibliography.

[116] Fishwick 1991, 455–474.

[117] Fishwick 1991, 375–422 (which reunites several revised previous articles) with comprising bibliography, Pötscher 1978; Gradel 2002, 234–250.

idea supported by many scholars is that the *numen* represented the inner functional property of a god, his quintessential property, that which makes him a god[118]. The cult of the *numen Augusti* was instituted by Tiberius immediately after Augustus' death, thus establishing the emperor as an intermediary being between man and divinity; the new cult served as an important instrument for romanization in newly conquered or pacified territories[119]. One of the main problems approached by researchers was if *numen* in inscriptions refers to living or dead emperors.

One finds mentions of the imperial *numen* at:

Durostorum (AE 1985, 727; 161–169 A.D.) in the above-mentioned dedication to *bona conscientia*, *nn(ostrorum) Impp(eratorum)* and *n*[*um(ini)*] *Augg(ustorum)*. As the dedication is for the the two living emperors, it is likely that the inscription is referring to the *numina* of the *diui*.

Lăžane – Malčika[120] (ILBulg 441; 161–168 A.D.), in one of the inscriptions mentioning the three brothers in charge of the *publicum portorium Illyrici et ripae Thraciae*. The dedication is made to the *numen* of the emperors and the *genius p(ublici) p(ortorii)*. It is very likely that the dedication refers to the *numen* of the living emperor. The person who sets up the monument is Hermes, a slave in the administration of the customs service.

A similar inscription was later set up in the same place as the previous (ILBulg 442; 182 A.D.) and is dedicated to *I.O.M. et num(ini) Aug(usti) n(ostri) et p(ublici) p(ortorii)*. D. Fishwick considers that the third divinity is also the *genius p(ublici) p(ortorii)*, and that the lapicid left out *genius*, mentioned in the first inscription, in order to save space. The monument was set up by slave of the customs administration. The two inscriptions are very similar and fit the description of corporate emperor worship celebrated by freedmen, their slaves and imperial slaves. All this evidence suggests the existence of a local cult, probably celebrated at a corporate level (see above, at cult buildings for corporations), starting with the time of Marcus Aurelius.

At *ciuitas Montanensium* (modern Montana; Montana II 3; 235 A.D.) an altar is dedicated to the *numen perpetuus* of Maximinus Thrax by the *n(umerus) c(iuium) R(omanorum)* [[*Maximinianus*]][121] *deuotus numini maiestatique eius*.

The formula *deuotus numini maiestatique eius* / *eorum* is an established formula that appears early in the 3rd century A.D.[122] and becomes very popular

[118] Fishwick 1991, 383; Gradel 2002, 235.

[119] Fishwick 1991, 388–390.

[120] These two inscriptions are treated in Fishwick 1991, 386, as coming from Nicopolis ad Istrum.

[121] For imperial epithets of military units, see above n. 115.

[122] Fishwick 1991, 388; Gundel 1953.

among soldiers in the western provinces.[123] Although it does not always constitute a proof of the actual worship of the imperial *numen* –as is the case of the inscription dedicated to the perpetual imperial *numen* in the previous inscription–, the formula shows that by the third century the cult of the imperial *numen* had become an integrant part of public religiosity.

In Latin settlements from Moesia Inferior we find it, apart from the above-mentioned inscription, again at *ciuitas Montanensium* (modern Montana; CIL III 14211.09 = IDRE II 316 = AE 1896, 116; 241–244 A.D.), where the already-presented dedication to Sabina Tranquillina was set up by the *cohors gemina Dacorum Gordiana miliaria deuota numini maiestatique eius*.

In the same city the *cohors III colecta deuota numini maiest(atis) eius* (Emperor Valerianus), represented by its tribune, Aelius Maximus, set up an altar (Montana II 4; 253–259 A.D.).

In Oescus a monument was dedicated to Emperor Diocletianus by the praetorian prefects Afranius Hannibalianus and Iulius Asclepiodotus (ILBulg 8; 285 A.D.), both devoted to the emperor's *numen* and *maiestas*.

In Tropaeum Traiani we also fiind the formula, once on a fragmentary inscription (CIL III 12471; 3rd c. A.D.), and again – slightly modified – on the inscription marking the city's reconstruction under Constantine and Licinius in 316 A.D. (IGLR 170; 316 A.D.), dedicated by the praetorian prefects *numini eorum semper dicatissimi*.

The gathered evidence indicates that the cult of the imperial *numen* in Moesia Inferior seems to have been celebrated especially by the military, often as a collective cult rendered by an entire unit, led by their officer. This makes us think of the ceremony represented by a wall painting in Dura[124], in which an officer offers incense in front of the statues of Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordianus III, as well as of the public religious feasts mentioned by the *Feriale Duranum*. The formal honoring of the emperor's *numen* in inscriptions was also part of the administrative authorities' obligations, even though it probably consituted a formality. The best level at which the proper cult is attested is the corporate level, where members of (religious?) assoctiations set up altars for the imperial *numen* (the evidence at Lăžane – Malčika).

Domus diuina

D. Fishwick considers that, even though initially the term *domus diuina* signified the 'house of the *diuus*', in time it came to represent the imperial family

[123] Fishwick 1991, 391.

[124] Fishwick 1992, 64.

as successors of deified emperors and thus likely to be deified as well – hence the divine character[125]. The cult of the divine imperial house seems to have been celebrated mostly at the level of religious associations[126].

Two inscriptions mentioning the *domus diuina* were discovered in Latin settlements of Moesia Inferior, one set up in Tropaeum Traiani (CIL III 12468 = AE 1894, 109; 3rd c. A.D.) by Quintus Lucilius Piscinus, centurion of the *legio I Italica*. It is dedicated *in hon(orem) d(omus) d(iuinae)* and *Soli inuicto sacrum*, which suggests that we are not dealing with a religious cult proper, but more with an awareness of the divinity of the imperial institution. To the same conclusion leads the another inscription, with an unknown findspot (CIL III 7601), dedicated [*In honore*]*m d*[*omus diuinae*] and to the emperor.

Augustan epithets

The attachment of the genitive *Augusti* / *Augustorum* or the epithet *Augustus* / *Augusta* to the name of a god in an inscription intended to profoundly associate the living emperor to that respective divinity, to appropriate its specific powers for the emperor and his family. Still, D. Fishwick explains, in time this practice became a custom that meant just to express the dedicant's loyalty[127], and in no way can these formulas mean that the dedicant identified the god with the emperor[128], This seems to be confirmed in Moesia Inferior, where apart from dedications for gods with the Augustan epithet, monuments for the same gods with their simple name were discovered – the case of Diana at Montana (29 inscriptions alone and five together with Apollo), where the hunting goddess had a popular cult, Bonus Euentus (IGLNovae 3, 5, 6 and 7) and the Quadriuiae at Novae (IGLNovae 42). Yet the relief of the Capitoline Triad (IGLNovae 24) and probably the relief of Hercules, dedicated to Hercules Augustus (ILBulg 421, see below), could suggest that isolately, this was not the case, and dedicants identified their emperor with a certain god's attributes[129].

The following table presents the evidence of Augustan Gods attested in the area of interest.

[125] Fishwick 1991, 423–435.

[126] Gradel 2002, 216–219.

[127] Fishwick 1991, 446–448.

[128] Fishwick 1991, 453.

[129] A certain case comes from Tomis – Bordenache 1965, 221–222 and fig. 10, where a bust of Tranquillina (?) represented as Isis was discovered.

LOCATION	AUGUSTAN EPITHET	DEDICANT	REFERENCE	DATE
Almus (Lom)	Nemesis Augusta	Caesius Amandus beneficiarius	AE 1900, 198.	?
Montana	Diana Augusta	P. Ael. Clemens *b.c leg. I Italicae* and Aurelia Rufina	Montana II 19	Around 250 A.D.
Montana	Diana Augusta	C. Aemilius Donatus, *c. leg. XI Claudiae*	Montana II 18	150–200 A.D.
Montana	Diana Sancta Augusta	T. Flavius Iulius, *c. leg. I Italicae* and *praepositus numeri ciuium Romanorum*	Montana II 30	200–250 A.D.
Montana	Diana Lucifera Augusta	Sergilianus, *uilicus*	Montana II 32	200–250 A.D.
Nikopol	Diana Augusta	Arius Coryphus, *p. p. leg. I Italicae*	ILBulg 143	211–217 A.D.
Novae (Svištov)	Diana Augusta	M. Ulpius Peregrinus, *trib. Leg. I Ital.*	IGLNovae 10	180–230 A.D.
Novae (Svištov)	Victoria Augusta Panthea sanctissima	L. Maximus Gaetulicus, *p. p. leg. I Ital.*	IGLNovae 46	184 A.D.
Novae (Svištov)	Quadriuiae Augustae	Fortunatius Lucius	IGLNovae 41	101–250 A.D.
Novae (Svištov)	Bonus Euentus Augustus	Maesius *p. p.*	IGLNovae 4	182 A.D.
Novae (Svištov)	Sol Augustus	T. Flauius Sammius, *praef. kast.*	Najdenova 1998, 171–172, nos. 2–3.	270–275 A.D.
Pavlikeni	Hercules Augustus	Maximus Baradi	ILBulg 421	?
Tropaeum Traiani	Neptunus Augustus	*uexil. leg. I Ital. M(oesicae) et V Ma(cedonicae) D(acicae) Trop*[*ae*]*i (agens) sub curam Eptidi(i) Modesti (centurionis) leg. V Mac. et Valeri Clementis (centurionis) leg. I Ital.*	Popescu 1964, 198, n. 73.	?

What is evident from these inscriptions is that four out of thirteen were set up by soldiers. Moreover, the "augustified" gods are usually those usually invoked by soldiers – Diana, Nemesis, Hercules, Sol[130] and Victoria. An interesting occurrence is the invoking of Neptunus Augustus at Tropaeum Traiani, a city nowhere near a body of water, by an entire unit. One should more likely search for the evidence of an earthquake maybe?

II.b. The provincial cult

One of the most important instruments of imperial control in the Latin West and in the meantime the most prestigious political battleground for the provincial elites was the provincial cult and its priesthood. These issues have been the subject of several analyses, among which the most important are the works of R. Étienne, J. Deininger, and D. Fishwick; for the Greek East the fundamental work is that of S. R. F. Price[131].

The cult evolved from local to regional and finally to provincial level[132]; it aimed at reuniting representatives – *legati* – of all the civic communities in a particular province in the common celebration of emperor worship at a provincial shrine. This allowed the respective communities to develop a special relationship with the emperor through ambassadors sent to inform emperors of honors decreed by the provincial assembly, and in return to ask for certain privileges or favors.

The provincial priest[133] bore the title of *flamen* or a *sacerdos*, followed by his position's area of exercise. The priest was chosen, without regard of the juridical status of his hometown, from among the *legati* to the *concilium prouinciae*, and was always the member of wealthy aristocratic families. The receival of the provincial priesthood usually marked the peak of a brilliant municipal career, usually suggested by the formula *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus*[134].

For Moesia Inferior, the problem of the provincial cult was briefly described by J. Deininger[135], who noticed the scarcity of information on the provincial cult in the Danubian provinces, mentioning the two provincial priests at Troesmis, which he considered the provincial centre.

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[130] Alongside the altar dedicated to *Sol Augustus* there is another, dedicated to *Sol inuictus*, recuperated from the ancient *mithraeum* (Najdenova 1998, 171, nr. 1).

[131] Étienne 1974; Deininger 1965; Price 1984; Fishwick 1987 and the monographical volumes Fishwick 2002a; Fishwick 2002b and Fishwick 2004.

[132] Fishwick 2002a, *passim*.

[133] Fishwick 2002b, 291–309.

[134] Fishwick 2002b, 299.

[135] Deininger 1965, 113–115, 120.

E. Korneman, D. Fishwick, Zlatozara Gočeva and lately D. Aparaschivei[136] support the idea of the provincial cult centre at Oescus, as a more developed urban centre and seat of four municipal *flamines*. D. Fishwick is not convinced of the location of the provincial centre at Troesmis, and dates the inscription mentioning Tiberius Vitales before the mid 160's, when the *legio V Macedonica* was moved to Potaissa. As before Marcus Aurelius Troesmis was not an urban centre, the location of the provincial centre there is unlikely, and D. Fishwick supports the idea that Oescus was the provincial centre of Moesia Inferior[137].

The two inscriptions mentioning the provincial priests were, as mentioned, discovered at Troesmis. The first one is ISM V 194, dated vaguely to the second c. A.D – hence the chronological problem rose by D. Fishwick. The former *beneficiarius*, veteran of the *legio V Macedonica* and former provincial priest Tiberius Vitales, who lived for sixty years, set the tombstone during his lifetime. Strangely enough, Tiberius Vitales was not a Roman citizen, a fact that D. Fishwick explains by a lack of citizens at Troesmis[138] – another case of a non-citizen provincial priest is Albinus Albui in Lusitania (AE 1946, 201). We do not necessarily agree with this, as one of the founding stones of the civil settlement at Troesmis is the Hadrianic honorable discharge for around 300 soldiers of the *legio V Macedonica* (ISM V 137), and there are quite a number of citizens mentioned in later inscriptions. Nevertheless, the choice of a non-citizen for what was supposed to be the province's highest magistracy remains a mystery, the only possible explanation being that Vitales had an important position locally, which resulted in his receiving the provincial priesthood.

The second inscription (ISM V 151; 218–222 A.D.) is written on the base of a statue of Emperor Elagabalus, set up by *T(itus) Fl(auius) Nouius Rufus leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* and *M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Antipater sacerd(os) prouin(ciae) et bis duumuiral(is)*, who set up the monument *ob hon(orem) pontif(icatus)*. The priest was a citizen of Greek origin, who probably held the provincial priesthood in the middle of his municipal career, which he later resumed and became pontifex, the function he held at the moment of the dedication.

As far as the priestly title is concerned, D. Fishwick noticed that in Moesia Superior, as well as in the Danubian region, the title *sacerdos prouinciae* indicates that the cult focused on the living emperor at an altar, without the joint cult of the

[136] Kornemann 1901, 135; Fishwick 1978, 1234; Gočeva 1990, 142–144; Aparaschivei 2007, 95–96.

[137] Fishwick 2002a, 179–180 and Fishwick 2004, 183.

[138] Fishwick 2002b, 286.

goddess Roma[139]. Also, the formula *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus*, popular in many provinces, is not used here, and instead the priest's *cursus* is noted.

Regarding the problem of the provincial centre, we think that there are several points to be considered:

a) there are not one, but two mentions of the provincial priest at Troesmis, and none elsewhere;
b) the provincial priesthood was a prestigious position, which would surely have been mentioned in the many inscriptions set up by officials at Oescus starting with the beginning of the second century; no such mention appears, even though many other priesthoods are attested;
c) as we have mentioned in our analysis of municipal priesthoods, beginning with the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Troesmis became an important urban and religious centre, thus becoming eligible for housing the provincial assembly;
d) D. Fishwick's dating of the inscription mentioning Tiberius Vitales can be set back after the *legio V Macedonica* left and Troesmis became a *municipium*[140], as there is at least one inscription (ISM V 160) mentioning a veteran of the legion that can surely be dated after 170 A.D. Therefore his main argument can no longer stand.

Although this would be an exception, our conclusion is that there was no provincial assembly of Moesia Inferior until Marcus Aurelius' reign. It is hard to believe that an institution with such an important public profile would not appear in sources that comprise several hundred inscriptions (inscription that otherwise mention numerous public positions and institutions). And the motive for this absence lies precisely in this public profile. A provincial cult implied important expenses on the part of the representatives, as well as the member communities. Until the time of Marcus Aurelius, apart form Oescus and the Greek cities[141], Moesia Inferior was made up of non-urban communities that could hardly be expected to support such a high-profile institution. It is quite possible that Oescus, clearly the strongest centre of imperial cult, played a regional role until the 160's. But, if so, it was unofficial. The first established provincial cult is mentioned twice, only at Troesmis, and that is where we would place the provincial shrine.

[139] Fishwick 2002b, 294–295.

[140] We must also remember that, as mentioned above, the provincial priest was not necessarily chosen from cities of the highest juridical status – Fishwick 2002b, 297–298.

[141] Which, by the way, abound in sources concerning the federal emperor worship celebrated by the West Pontic *koinon*.

III. Peripheral manifestations of the imperial cult

The imperial cult, as we have seen, was not a unitary religious phenomenon, as it was spread in all the social segments and took different shapes according to the different local contexts. Apart from information concerning imperial worship, we will present further monuments concerning phenomena indirectly connected with the imperial cult.

Cult of Roma

The cult of goddess Roma[142] was set up when Roman influence grew in the Greek East, and was a form of worshiping the Roman power, along with cults dedicated to Roman generals[143] and gods that symbolized the good relationship between the Greeks and Romans[144]. During the Principate goddess Roma became an associate of Augustus in the imperial cult[145] and, when appearing separately, represented the power and dominance of the Roman state.

In Latin settlements of Moesia Inferior the established cult of Roma is attested only at Oescus (ILBulg 75)[146]. Here *Cl(audius) Ael(ius) Optim*[*us*] *pontif(ex) et h*[*ar(uspex)*] *col(oniae), sacerd(os)* [*deae*] *Rom(ae)* set up a honorary inscription to the wife of *flamen* Gaius Scopius Marcianus, mentioned above. We do not agree with the possibility of a joint cult of Rome, the living emperor and the *diui*[147] at Oescus, as the title of the *flamen* would have mentioned it. Instead, the priest is clearly in charge only of the goddess', and not of a combined imperial cult. But at the same time it is clear that the cult of goddess Roma gravitated in the sphere of the traditional state and official imperial cults, having as *sacerdos* a person as important as the city's *pontifex* and *haruspex*. From a social point of view, the priest of Roma had probably received his citizenship during Hadrian's reign, and belonged to the local aristocracy.

The other two inscriptions are dedicated to the deified city of Rome. At Durostorum (Donevski 1976, 62–63, nr. 3; 235–236 A.D.) the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* Domitius Antigonus, his wife and two sons set up a monument dedicated

[142] Mellor 1975.

[143] Fishwick 1987, 46–47.

[144] One such case is the temple of Concordia in Kallatis, where the treaty between the city and Rome was set up – ISM III 1.

[145] Fishwick 1987, *passim*.

[146] The cult of Roma was also celebrated in Greek cities such as Odessos (IGB I^2 48) and Nicopolis ad Istrum (IGB II 701).

[147] Aparaschivei 2007, 93.

Diuinib[*u*]*s Romae aeternae* and *Ge*[*ni*]*o prouinciae*, and at Novae – Svištov (IGLNovae 45) an altar or statue base was consecrated to *Vrbs Roma Aeterna*.

Public spectacles

The imperial cult was primarily a public phenomenon, and as such was conceived to dominate public festivities and entertainment, in order to obtain maximum popularity. In the case of imperial cult buildings we have stressed the fact that their location was chosen in such a way as to connect to traditional religious and civic centres in order to obtain the same prestige. The same applied to public spectacles, so besides imperial festivities, during traditional ones imperial cult features such as processions, sacrifices etc were introduced. Therefore each public event was deliberately related to emperor worship or honoring.

Games and banquets were among the favorite public events, and constituted occasions for the manifestation of the imperial cult, making it impossible to study emperor worship without devoting special attention to these phenomena[148].

In Moesia Inferior we have a special situation concerning such public festivities. In the province's Greek[149] cities we have numerous and important sources concerning both religious festivities (imperial or not) and public games, with an important role played by gladiatorial fights[150]. Yet in Latin settlements we have practically no such information.

The only references concerning the logistics of public games we managed to find are two inscriptions from Montana. The first one (Montana II 9; 147 A.D.), is dedicated to Diana by the tribune *c(o)h(ortis) I Cil(icum)* and mentions the capture of bears and bisons for the imperial combats with beasts given by Antoninus Pius to celebrate 900 years since the foundation of Rome[151]. The other inscription (Montana II 1) mentions two soldiers specialized in hunting – *im(m)unes uen(atores) Iul(ius) Longinus et Fl(auius) Valerius***.** Even though there is no mention of gladiatorial or beast fights in the Latin settlements, such soldiers must have provided animals for the province's Greek cities that did put up such shows.

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[148] The bibliography on the subject is impressive, which forces us to mention only the most important general contributions: Robert 1971; Fishwick 1987, 574–590; Ville 1981; Newby 2005.

[149] In Istros, Tomis, Kallatis, Dionysopolis, Odessos, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis.

[150] Initially considered by scholars a typical Roman practice that failed to gain ground in a culturally different Greek East, it was proved by L. Robert as a very popular public activity in both old and new Greek cities.

[151] Velkov, Alexandrov 1988, 273.

Imperial statues

Another phenomenon indirectly related to emperor worship is the practice of setting up imperial statues in public spaces. We will exclude from our analysis cult statues in temples or at altars (such as the one set up in the temple of Caracalla – CIL III.1 7597) or religious gold or silver imperial statues[152] such as that of Commodus offered by En[ni]us Repertu[s] in a temple in Dionysopolis or those mentioned by Ovid in his house[153].

Imperial statues were not only honorary monuments: they were also endowed with the ability of offering sanctuary, which demonstrates their religious attribute.[154] Such monuments were present in all urban settlements, and even though they had no role in the cult, they transmitted the idea of the emperor's divinity.

So far we have identified in Moesia Inferior the following imperial statues / statue bases:

LOCATION	OBJECT OF THE DEDICATION	MONUMENT	DEDICANT	DATE (A.D.)	REFERENCE
Axiopolis	Iulia Domna	statue base	*nautae uniuersi Danuuii*	193–211	CIL III 7485
Durostorum	Faustina Minor	statue head	?	169–176	Bordenache 1965, 219 and fig. 6
Durostorum	Severus Alexander?	statue head	?	222–235	Ivanov, Atanasov, Donevski 2006, 138 and fig. 18.
Durostorum	Gordian III	statue head	?	241	Bordenache 1965, 221 and fig. 9
Durostorum	Aurelianus/ Tacitus/ Florianus?	statue head	?	270–280	Bordenache 1965, 222, and fig. 11
Novae	Septimius Severus	statue base	*primi ord(ines) et centurion(es) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae)*	195–196	ILNovae 57b
Novae	Septimius Severus and sons	statue base	?	198	ILNovae 63

[152] Pekáry 1985, 66–80.

[153] Ov. Pont. 4. 9. 109 sq.

[154] Gaius Inst. 1. 53; Plin. Ep. 10. 74. 1 – these cases show that demanding sanctuary at the emperor's statue was an actual practice. Not that it was always respected – Pekáry 1985, 130. Pliny also made suspected Christians offer wine and incense to the emperor's statue, which he had brought along with statues of other gods – Plin. Ep. 10. 96.

LOCATION	OBJECT OF THE DEDICATION	MONUMENT	DEDICANT	DATE (A.D.)	REFERENCE
Oescus	Hadrianus	statue base	?	117–138	ILBulg 5
Oescus	Traianus Decius		?	249	ILBulg 7
Oescus	Antonine empress	statue	?	100–150	Bordenache 1965, 220 and fig. 7
Sexaginta Prista	Septimius Severus	statue base	the people of Nicopolis ad Istrum[155]	202	Velkov 1986, 28.
Sucidava	Commodus	statue and base	Claudius Xenophon imperial procurator, Zoticus and Salvianus, *uilici*	180–192	CIL III.1 8042
Troesmis	Elagabalus	statue base	M. Ulpius Antipater, *sac(erdotalis) prouin(ciae)* and the Roman governor T. Flauius Nouius Rufus	218–219	ISM V 151

The Antonine empress from Oescus is a colossal statue, which indicates that the princess was represented as a *diua*. As far as the colossal statue of Emperor Aurelianus / Tacitus / Florianus from Durostorum, it is difficult to believe that it was the representation of a *diuus* and not of an emperor-god, as in those troubled times it is hard to see emperors supporting cults dedicated to their predecessors. The statue set up by the former provincial priests with the help of the provincial governor, marking the former's taking up the office of *pontifex*, shows the strong connection between the imperial cult, the traditional state cult and the practice of setting up statues.

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The following conclusions can be drawn from the facts presented above.

The historical and geographical contexts of the province Moesia Inferior indicate that its small dimensions and low degree of urban development in the "Latin area" are a direct consequence of its initially predominant military role. During the 1st c. A.D., the space covered by the future province Moesia Inferior

[155] The fact that the statue was set up by the people of Nicopolis ad Istrum prompted V. Velkov to support the theory that at that moment Sexaginta Prista was part of its territory – Velkov 1986, 28.

had no urban settlements (apart from the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast, which represent a different historical phenomenon and therefore are not treated in the present paper). In the 2nd c. A.D. there are two important phases of development: 1) the reign of Trajan, who raised Oescus to the rank of *colonia* and founded Tropaeum Traiani (probably directly as a *municipium*) and 2) the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who probably raised Durostorum, Noviodunum, Novae and Troesmis to the rank of *municipium*, inaugurating a period of urban development that continued during the Severi.

These data are suggestive when compared to the chronology of the monuments directly or indirectly related to emperor worship.

First of all, no monuments related to emperor worship appear before the reign of Trajan. And when they finally appear, it is only at Oescus, which clearly played a very important role in the official cult of the emperors.

Secondly, in the rest of the province's Latin area no monuments of emperor cult are certainly dated before the reign of Marcus Aurelius; most important, all priesthoods or cult associations are dated with certainty only starting with Marcus Aurelius' reign. And with the emperor-philosoper's reign Troesmis emerged as a very important municipal centre of state cults (proved by I.O.M. dedications, the presence of augurs and pontifs) and emperor worship, the latter headed by an imperial *flamen*. Moreover, Troesmis is the only attested seat of the provincial cult. Other smaller municipal centres of imperial worship in this period were Novae (with a college of *Augustales* and other cult associations) and Tropaeum Traiani (a *sacerdos* mentioned late in the 3rd c. A.D.). Small centres in non-urban settlements existed at *emporium Piretensium*, *uicus Cleuant*..., probably at Lăžane–Malčika / Nikopol and maybe at Višovgrad.

The end of emperor worship should be placed in the interval 270–300 A.D., when an imperial *sacerdos* still functioned at Tropaeum Traiani, the emperor was associated with Sol in the temple at Novae and a colossal imperial statue was dedicated at Durostorum, despite the hardships endured by the entire area during the invasions and military anarchy.

We can also infer that emperor worship must have been celebrated, in a non-institutionalized manner (that is not in imperial shrines), in all military centres, as indicated by monuments from Novae, Durostorum, Axiopolis, Sucidava and Montana. These celebrations could take place both inside and outside the military compounds, as is the case of the temple of *Sol Augustus* at Novae or the setting up of dedications to Diana Augusta in Montana (obviously in the goddess', and not in an imperial temple).

From a social point of view, even though there were clear class distinctions, emperor worship was celebrated at every social level. And as M. P. Charlesworth (quoted by A. D. Nock) put it:

> **…while the classes were all closely related to Augustus, they were sharply separated from one another.**[156]

The general scheme looked as follows:

1) At the top of the municipal hierarchy the official imperial cult focused on the *diui*, was closely related to traditional state cults and was headed by *flamines* at Oescus and Troesmis; the provincial cult, focusing on the living emperor and attested at Troesmis, represented the peak of the municipal career.
2) Lower-profile official cults focusing on the living emperor (headed by Roman citizens bearing the title *sacerdos*) existed at Tropaeum Traiani, *emporium Piretensium* and maybe Višovgrad. The last two locations could suggest a network of small centres of emperor worship in non-urban settlements.
3) For freedmen and slaves of well-to-do status and with public-career aspirations there were private associations for emperor worship, such as the colleges of *Augustales* in Oescus and Novae, which represented the key to social promotion.
4) The lower categories of citizens, freedmen and slaves must have also used private associations, focused on emperor worship or not, to show their loyalty; no imperial-worship association is directly attested (maybe the monuments from Lăžane–Malčika indicate such an institution), but religious associations are attested at Novae and Ulmetum; also, there were the usual colleges, such as the *nautae uniuersi Danuuii* in Axiopolis, which could undertake manifestations related to emperor worship. Private religious associations should not necessarily be considered a rare occurrence, as their members could not afford high expenses[157] and they are therefore rarely attested by monuments such as those from Novae and Ulmetum.

Although present in most of the important Latin Lower Moesian centres, emperor worship was less developed here than in other provinces and even than in Greek cities on the Black Sea coast. It seems to have emerged as a late development, boosted by imperial initiative and urban development and in direct relation to them.

[156] Nock 1934b, 636.

[157] The altar from Nola is an exception explained in Gradel 2002, 219, as it was a reused altar.

This explains its feeble development even in the Severian period when, in contrast to the province's Greek cities, no imperial feasts or games are attested.

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L'INSCRIPTION MONUMENTALE DE L'ENTRÉE DANS LE *FORUM VETUS* DE SARMIZEGETUSA*

IOAN PISO

En 1993, neuf fragments d'une inscription monumentale en calcaire ont été trouvés dans de trous modernes devant le tétrapyle servant d'entrée dans le *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa (fig. 4). J'ai établi le texte suivant (fig. 1)[1] :

[Imp(erator)] Ca[es(ar)] Diṿ[i] Ṇẹ[r]v[a]e f(ilius) Nerva Trai[a]ṇ[us]
[Aug(ustus) Germanicus] Ḍ[acicus p]ọntif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [X.? i]ṃ[p(erator) VI]
[co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriae) col(oniam) Ulpiam Trai]ana[m Augusta]ṃ Dacic(am) [Sar]ṃịẓ[egetusam fecit].

* Abréviations: Dacia felix = Dacia felix. Studia Michaeli Bărbulescu oblata (éd. S. Nemeti et alii, Cluj-Napoca 2007 ; Diaconescu 2004 = Al. Diaconescu, Statuaria majoră în Dacia romană I–II, Cluj-Napoca (sur CD) ; Diaconescu 2006–2007 = Al. Diaconescu, *Inscripția monumentală de la intrarea în forul traianic al Sarmizegetusei. O reconsiderare*, dans : EN 16–17, 2006–2007, p. 95–106; Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2002–2003 = R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, *Les fouilles du forum vetus de Sarmizegetusa. Rapport général*, dans : AMN 39–40, 2002–2003, p. 59–154 ; Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006 = R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, *Rapport archéologique*, dans : Le *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa I (éd. I. Piso), Bucarest 2006, p. 41–210; Piso 2005 = I. Piso, An der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 2005 ; Piso 2006 = I. Piso, *Corpus epigraphicum*, dans : Le *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa I (éd. I. Piso), Bucarest 2006, p. 211–339 ; Piso-Diaconescu 1999 = *Testo epigrafico*, *supporto architettonico e contesto archeologico nei fori di Sarmizegetusa*, dans : XI Congresso Internazionale de Epigrafia Greca e Latina. (Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997). Atti, Rome 1999, p. 125–137.

[1] Le texte, signalé par I. Piso, dans le catalogue de l'exposition d'Ancone, *Traiano. Ai confini dell'Impero*, Milan 1998, p. 276, n° 212 (= AE 1998, 1084), a été assumé par Al. Diaconescu et par R. Étienne chez Piso-Diaconescu 1999, p. 126–127, Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2002–2003, p. 87, n. 35, p. 89, pl. XIX, Ep. 1 et a été accepté par C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 54–56/3–4, 2003–2005, p. 367, n° 1011 et dans ILD 237.



Fig. 1. – I. Piso, première variante.



Fig. 2. – Al. Diaconescu, première variante.



Fig. 3. – Al. Diaconescu, seconde variante.

Problématiques restèrent les fragments *d* et h. Dans la reconstitution graphique j'ai placé le fragment *d* en bas, à une certaine distance du fragment *e* (fig. 1), en supposant que dans une inscription aussi officielle le nom de la colonie devait être complet, notamment *colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, quel que fût le cas où il se trouvait. Ce n'est qu'après quelques hésitations que j'ai placé le petit fragment *h* à droite du fragment *g*, car j'avais remarqué qu'il présente sur le côté gauche une marge, celle d'un des blocs qui constituent l'inscription, et que cette marge était trop proche de la marge du fragment *g*. À ce moment-là je ne pouvais pas identifier un autre endroit convenable, où un M de la deuxième ligne se serait trouvé au-dessous d'une haste de la première ligne. Le grand problème de cette inscription restait le manque du fragment contenant le chiffre de la puissance tribunicienne. Le chiffre *X* (a. 106), qui résultait de ma reconstitution graphique, je l'ai prévu d'un signe d'interrogation.

Récemment, Al. Diaconescu a mis en question le texte de l'inscription et son interprétation[2]. Sa démonstration porte sur deux éléments essentiels: le fragment *d* se colle à la partie inférieure, gauche, du fragment *e* et le fragment *h* doit être éliminé. L'une des conséquences en est que la trace visible dans la partie inférieure, gauche, du fragment *e* n'appartient pas à un M, mais bien à un E. Une autre conséquence est que ce que j'avais considéré comme un D appartenant à *D[acicus]*, ce serait en réalité un O appartenant à *[p]ontif(ex)*. Le nom de la colonie se trouverait donc au datif[3] et non à l'accusatif et il lui manquerait l'épithète *Augusta*. Quant à la structure du texte, Al. Diaconescu s'est inspiré de la reconstitution récente, dûe à Zs. Mráv, d'une inscription de Poetovio[4]. Il en résulta la lecture suivante (fig. 2)[5] :

[Imp(erator)] Ca[es(ar)] Div[i] Ne[r]v[a]e f(ilius) Nerva Trai[a]n[us]
[Aug(ustus) Germanicus] D[acicus p]ontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [? i]m[p(erator) VI]
[co(n)s(ul) V-VI? p(ater) p(atriae) forum col(oniae) Ulpiae Trai]anae Dacic(ae) [Sar]miz[egetusae dedit].

[2] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 95–106.

[3] Il ne s'agit pourtant pas d'une *dativus commodi*, comme croient Al. Diaconescu et C. H. Opreanu (dans : Dacia felix, p. 609), mais bien d'un datif d'attribution.

[4] Zs. Mráv, dans : Epigraphica I. Sudies on Epigraphy (éd. György Németh et Péter Forisek), Debrecen 2000, p. 80, 92, pl. I = AE 2000, 1189 : *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) / Germanicus Dacicus po]ntife[x maximus / tribunicia potestate - - - imp(erator)] IIII co(n)s(ul) V [pater patriae / coloniae Ulpiae Trai]anae Poet[ovionensium / forum(?) dedit]* ; la même argumentation chez C. H. Opreanu, loc. cit. (n. 3).

[5] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 96 sqq., 104, fig. 2a.

L'inscription monumentale ne serait donc pas une inscription de fondation, mais bien une inscription de construction du premier forum de Sarmizegetusa. Pour des raisons de « pédanterie » Al. Diaconescu propose ensuite, *exempli gratia*, une place aussi pour le fragment *h* dans une variante de lecture, à laquelle, selon ses propos, il ne croit pas (fig. 3)[6] :

[Imp(erator)] Ca[es(ar)] Div[i] Ne[r]v[a]e f(ilius) Nerva Trai[a]n[us] Opt(imus) Aug(ustus)]

[Germanicus Dacic(us) Parthicus p]ontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [XXI i]m[p(erator) XIII co(n)s(ul) VI p(ater) p(atriae)]

[forum col(oniae) Ulpiae Trai]anae Dacic[ae Sarmizegetusae dedit].

Je reconnais volontiers que le fragment *d* se colle au fragment *e* (fig. 4) et qu'une solution dans la direction proposée par Al. Diaconescu est tout-à-fait probable. Je ne peux pourtant accepter le ton arrogant de mon ancien étudiant et doctorant[7]. Il n'est pas justifié en premier lieu parce que Al. Diaconescu s'est assumé à plusieurs reprises mon texte et mon interprétation, autrement dit, ils sont devenu un bien commun. Il l'a fait une première fois en 1997, lorsque je l'ai invité à présenter ensemble à Rome, lors du XI[ème] Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, une conférence sur les monuments épigraphiques des forums de Sarmizegetusa[8] ; une seconde fois en 2002–2003, quand nous avons signé, Robert Étienne, moi-même et Alexandru Diaconescu, un substantiel rapport préliminaire sur le *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa[9]; la troisième fois en 2006 dans le rapport final de la monographie sur le même *forum vetus*[10]. Voilà pourtant qu'en 2006–2007 il combat ce qu'il avait soutenu peu de temps avant. Aura-t-il eu une révélation immédiatement après la parution de la monographie ? Non, car dans ce cas il aurait dû reconnaître qu'il a changé d'avis. On a donc tous les motifs de croire que Al. Diaconescu a évité de contribuer avec sa part aux ouvrages communs. C'était la seule possibilité de prouver que son génie était supérieur aux capacités conjuguées des autres auteurs de la fouille. Voilà un bel exemple de collégialité et d'éthique professionnelle[11] !

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[6] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 101, 104, fig. 2b.

[7] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 95 avec n. 3, 100. Al. Diaconescu affirme (p. 95) qu'il a été invité à publier cet article dans EN (sous cette forme ?) par C. Opreanu, lui aussi un de mes anciens étudiants et doctorants.

[8] Piso-Diaconescu 1999, p. 126–127.

[9] Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2002–2003, p. 87–88, avec n. 35.

[10] Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 73–74, 95.

[11] On peut aller même plus loin que cela. Depuis peu, Al. Diaconescu a publié ma lecture de l'inscription d'une base de statue de Porolissum, en utilisant ma reconstitution graphique (Diaconescu

L'inélégance de Al. Diaconescu apparaît plus clairement encore dans la critique sans ménagements contre la date que j'aurais proposé pour l'inscription en discussion[12], notamment 106, en comptant probablement sur le fait que personne n'aura la curiosité de lire ce que j'ai vraiment écrit là-dessus. La reconstitution que j'avais proposée, *trib(unicia) pot(estate) [X?]*, pourvue d'un signe d'interrogation, indiquerait vraiment l'année 106, mais voici mon commen-taire : « La fondation si rapide de la première communauté romaine en Dacie pourrait trouver des explications d'ordre tant affectif que politique. Il faut pourtant accepter qu'une reconstitution graphique ne peut pas garantir une datation. Ensuite, le premier gouverneur de Dacie a été selon toutes les probabilités Iulius Sabinus, alors que Sarmizegetusa sera fondée sous son successeur, D. Terentius Scaurianus[13]. Du point de vue de la reconstitution graphique, l'année la plus pro-bable reste 106. Si l'on ne l'accepte pas, il faut convenir que dans la ligne 2 on peut faire plus aisément de la place pour *XI* (a. 107), *XII* (a. 108), éventuellement pour *XV* (a. 111), que pour *XIII* (a. 109) ou *XIIII* (a. 110)[14] ». Or, Al. Diaconescu évite de faire mention de mes réserves. D'autre part, il oublie que je me suis fortement opposé à la théorie qu'il a lui-même soutenu de longues années, selon laquelle Sarmizegetusa aurait été fondée non seulement en 106, mais exactement le jour du 18 septembre 106.

Enfin, l'explication des attaques contre moi peut être trouvée dans une note[15], dans laquelle on condamne le fait que mon seul nom se trouve sur la couverture de la monographie. J'en ai été non seulement l'initiateur et un des auteurs, mais aussi l'éditeur. Rien ne m'empêche dans la nouvelle situation d'évoquer dans quelques mots un chapitre douloureux de l'archéologie roumaine, que j'avais passé, par pudeur, sous silence dans la préface que j'avais écrit en 2006[16]. C'est moi qui ai invité en 1989 aussi bien M. Robert Étienne que Alexandru Diaconescu de participer aux

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2004, p. 212–213, n° 33), évidemment sans ma permission et sans citer la source; voir I. Piso, AMN 41–42, 2004–2005, 185–188.

[12] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 100–101.

[13] CIL III 1443; IDR III/2, 1; Piso 2006, p. 214–216, n° 2; les mêmes manières chez C. H. Opreanu, dans : Dacia felix, p. 609.

[14] Piso 2006, p. 214; cf. Piso, TransRev 10/2, 2001, p. 19 = Piso 2005, p. 440 : « Malheureusement, le fragment qui contenait le chiffre de la puissance tribunicienne de Trajan n'a pas pu être retrouvé. Si, conformément à la reconstruction graphique, le chiffre était X, nous nous trouverions en 106. La fondation de la colonie immédiatement après la fin de la guerre n'a en soi rien de surprenant. Pourtant, une reconstruction graphique offre une solution probable, mais pas de certitude » ; une argumentation semblable chez Piso-Diaconescu 1999, p. 127 ; Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2002–2003, p. 87–88.

[15] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 95, n. 3.

[16] Piso, Le *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa I, Bucarest 2006, p. 9–10.

fouilles du *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa[17], les moyens financiers étant été pourvus par le Ministère Français des Affaires Étrangères et par l'Univer-sité Babeş-Bolyai de Cluj. Comme le gros des fouilles était terminé en 1994, le manuscrit complet aurait dû être présenté en 1996, pour être publié dans la série Pierre Paris de l'Université de Bordeaux, sous l'édition de Robert Étienne, Ioan Piso et Alexandru Diaconescu. C'est Alexandru Diaconescu qui s'est engagé à écrire seul ou en collaboration les appendices sur l'architecture, la sculpture, le fer, le bronze et la céramique. Or, malgré les lettres désespérées de M. Robert Étienne, il a été aussi le seul à ne pas tenir sa promesse. En 1998 nous avons perdu un généreux financement de la part du Ministère Français des Affaires Étrangères pour la publication de la monographie en France. En 2001, M. Robert Étienne s'est vu, à grand regret, contraint de renoncer à l'édition du livre, en nous laissant, à Alexandru Diaconescu et à moi, le soin de le publier. En 2006, dix ans après le premier délai, Al. Diaconescu n'avait toujours pas rempli ses obligations. En revanche, il avait utilisé beaucoup de résultats des fouilles communes dans ses propres ouvrages[18]. Je me suis alors décidé de sauver au moins partiellement les fouilles du *forum vetus*, en premier lieu le rapport archéologique et l'épigraphie. Je l'ai pu faire à l'aide de M. Dumitru Radu Popescu, le directeur de l'« Editura Academiei » et de M. Jean Leclant, le secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. C'est ainsi qu'a pris naissance le premier volume de la monographie du *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa, que j'ai dédié au grand homme et au grand ami qui est M. Robert Étienne et qui avait, d'ailleurs, constamment soutenu mes efforts. Que ce n'était que mon nom qui pouvait paraître dans ces conditions sur la couverture, c'était une question de bon sens. Pendant que le volume était sous presse, Al. Diaconescu a

[17] Sur la feuille de titre de cette publication (Le *forum vetus* de Sarmizegetusa I (éd. I. Piso), Bucarest 2006), dans le sommaire et dans le contenu du volume la contribution de chacun a été scrupuleusement notée. Que Al. Diaconescu aurait été co-directeur des fouilles, comme il s'en vante partout (Diaconescu 2004 I, p. 188; idem, dans : Roman Dacia. The Making of a Provincial Society (éd. W. S. Hanson, I. P. Haynes), Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2004, p. 91), c'est complètement faux.

[18] Le même sort a frappé tous ceux qui ont eu l'imprudence de collaborer avec Al. Diaconescu. En 1994 j'ai initié avec deux minéralogistes de Universität für Bodenkunde de Vienne, M. Harald Müller et M. Bernd Schwaighofer, et avec un minéralogiste de l'Université de Cluj, M. Marcel Benea, un projet sur le marbre en Dacie, financé par le Ministère Autrichien de l'Enseignement. Évidemment, les résultats exceptionnels de cette recherche n'ont pas été publiés et le financement autrichien pour la publication a été perdu pour le simple motif que Al. Diaconescu a manqué d'écrire sa moitié du catalogue. En revanche, il n'a pas manqué d'utiliser les résultats de ces très coûteuses analyses sur le marbre dans ses ouvrages (Diaconescu 2004 II, passim) et de tirer les conclusions historiques à son propre nom (Diaconescu 2004 I, p. 468 sqq.).

fait, par une lettre adressée à M. Dumitru Radu Popescu, une dernière tentative d'en bloquer la publication, mais on n'en a pas tenu compte.

Revenons maintenant au fond du problème, notamment au nouveau texte de l'inscription monumentale de l'entrée du *forum vetus*. Si on l'accepte, il faut convenir que le nom officiel et complet de la colonie manquait sous Trajan de l'épithète *Augusta*[19]. Une statue a été érigée à Q. Ianuarius Q. f. Collina Rufus Tavio, *flamen*, *q(uin)q(uennalis) prim(us) pro imp(eratore)*, par *l'ordo col(oniae) Ulp(iae) Trai(anae) Dacic(ae) Sarmizeg(etusae)*[20]. Il est raisonnable de s'imaginer que le premier empereur auquel la colonie ait offert la magistrature suprême aurait été son fondateur[21]. Ce n'est donc pas par hasard que l'épithète *Augusta* manque aussi de cette inscription. En revanche, l'épithète *Augusta* apparaît en toute certitude sous Hadrien[22].

Al. Diaconescu, après avoir éliminé de la discussion le fragment *h*, put se permettre de compléter n'importe quel chiffre de la puissance tribunicienne. Pour des raisons historiques et archéologiques il prit en considération les chiffres *XV–XXI* et donc les années 111–117[23]. Il est vrai que, si dans l'inscription il s'agit de la dédicace du forum et non de la fondation de la colonie, il faut compter avec une première période de fonctionnement du forum en bois et avec une seconde période, celle de la construction du forum en pierre[24], ce qui nous rapporterait vers la fin du règne de Trajan. Cette reconstitution de Al. Diaconescu pèche pourtant par le fait qu'elle ignore le fragment *h*. Ce n'est pas de la bonne methode. On est contraint d'intégrer dans la *schéma* chaque fragment significatif, même s'il gêne la théorie privilégiée. Tant que l'on l'ignore, on ne peut accepter aucune solution.

Il faut placer le fragment *h* dans un nouvel endroit, où sous une haste de la ligne 2 se trouve un M de la ligne 3. Pour se défendre contre des reproches,

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[19] Cf. Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 101.

[20] CIL III 1503 = ILS 7134 = IDR III/2, 112.

[21] Voir Piso 2005, p. 353. Sur le lingot en plomb trouvé lors des fouilles du *forum vetus* (AE 2005, 1300 = Piso 2006, p. 220–222, n° 6) le nom de la ville est *c(oloniae) Ulp(iae) D(acicae) S(armizegetusae)*. Ici manque aussi bien *Augusta* que *Traiana*, mais l'inscription est loin d'avoir un caractère officiel.

[22] CIL III 1445 = IDR III/2, 70 (a. 118); pour les monuments érigés à Sarmizegetusa pour Hadrien voir Piso, dans : Epigraphica II. Mensa rotunda epigraphiae Dacicae Pannonicaeque (éd. György Németh-Ioan Piso), Debrecen 2004, p. 81–88.

[23] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 100–101; dans la reconstitution graphique (p. 104, fig. 2a) il a introduit le chiffre XV (= a. 111).

[24] Voir pour ces phases Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 41 sqq., 65 sqq.

Al. Diaconescu place *exempli gratia* le fragment *h* vers le début de l'inscription[25]. La haste appartiendrait au *P* de *IMP* et le *M* à *GERMAN*. Pourtant, Al. Diaconescu affirme qu'il ne croit pas dans cette variante. Elle exigerait les épithètes *Germa-n(icus) Dacic(us) Parthicus* dans la ligne 2 et l'épithète *Opt(imus)* dans le nom impérial de la ligne 1. Cela nous apporterait aux deux dernières années, 116–117, du règne de Trajan, ce que Al. Diaconescu n'est pas préparé à accepter. Cette solution est pourtant la seule à tenir compte du fragment *h* et je suis convaincu qu'elle constitue un bon point de départ.

Selon cette variante, la ligne 2 devrait commencer par les épithètes triomphales de Trajan, que j'abrégerais plutôt *[Ger]m(anicus) [Dacicus Parthicus]*. Cela signifie que le nom proprement-dit de l'empereur, y compris les épithètes *Opt(imus)*[26] et *Aug(ustus)*, se trouve dans la ligne 1, ce qui constitue un avantage aussi bien sur ma première variante que sur la première variante de Al. Diaconescu. Il serait, ensuite, convenable de supposer les trois lignes ayant la même longueur, bien que cela ne soit pas obligatoire pour la ligne 3. Si elles étaient d'une longueur égale, je compterais dans la ligne 2 avec l'abréviation *trib(unicia) pot[est(ate)]*[27] et pas avec *trib(unicia) pot(estate)*, et dans la ligne 3 avec *[pater patriae]*[28] et pas avec *[p(ater) p(atriae)]*. Ce qui dérange dans la reconstitution de Al. Diaconescu est surtout le rapport entre le complément indirect au datif et le complément direct à l'accusatif: *– – – forum col(oniae) Ulpiae Trai]anae Dacic(ae) [Sar]miz[egetusae dedit]*. La construction dans l'esprit du latin est sans doute: *[– – – col(oniae) Ulpiae Trai]anae Dacic(ae) [Sar]miz[egetusae forum dedit]*[29].

L'épithète *Parthicus* exige la puissance tribunicienne *XX* ou *XXI*[30] et l'acclamation impériale *XIII*, plutôt que *XII*[31]. Nous nous trouvons en tout cas en 116 ou en 117, comme dans le cas du grand monument (B. 1)[32], interprété comme trophée érigé dans la cour du forum[33].

[25] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 101, 104, fig. 2a.

[26] La même abréviation dans CIL III 12470 (Tropaeum Traiani).

[27] Voir, par exemple, CIL X 1634 (Puteoli).

[28] Voir, par exemple, l'inscription de Poetovio, mentionnée plus haut, n. 4.

[29] Comme probablement aussi dans l'inscription de Poetovio.

[30] Trajan porte l'épithète *Optimus* à partir de 114 et l'épithète *Parthicus* à partir du 20 ou du 21 février 116 ; voir P. Kneissl, Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser, Göttingen 1969, p. 77–78, 198 ; D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle, Darmstadt 1990, p. 123.

[31] Avant le 8 septembre 116; voir D. Kienast, loc. cit.

[32] AE 2003, 1515 = Piso 2006, p. 217–219, n° 4.

[33] Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 139–141, 202.

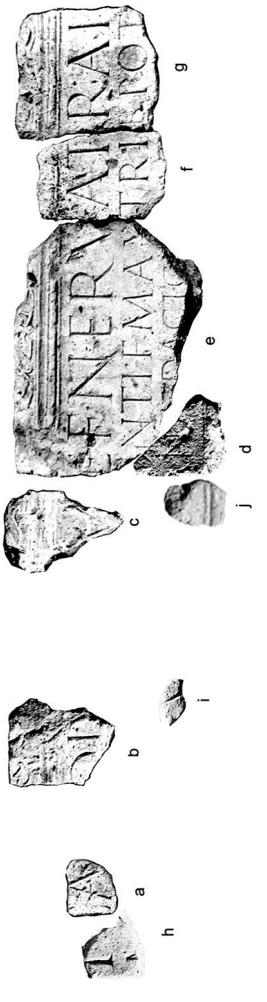


Fig. 4. – Les fragments de l'inscription.



Fig. 5. – I. Piso, seconde variante.

Si la ligne 3 était aussi longue que les autres, il resterait vers la fin de la ligne une lacune d'environ 6 lettres. On pourrait donc compter non seulement avec le forum, mais aussi avec une annexe de celui-ci. On peut envisager, par exemple, un *forum cum propylo* ou un *forum cum groma*. Devant le tétrapyle qui sert d'entrée dans le forum proprement-dit se trouve une construction qui protège la construction de la *groma*[34] et qui peut être interprétée aussi comme *propylon*[35]. Enfin, le prédicat peut être aussi bien *fecit*, comme dans ma première variante, que *dedit*. Le premier verbe donne l'idée de « construire », le second de « faire don ».

J'ai réussi à identifier un dixième fragment de l'inscription (*j*). Il appartient à la partie inférieure et mesure 19 × 13 × 6 cm. On y distingue la bordure moulurée d'en bas, le bout de la queue d'un *R* et le début d'une haste. Les traces appartiennent soit aux lettres *R* et *P* de *pater patriae*, soit aux lettres *R* et *A* de *Trai[anae]*. Le fragment *j* n'a pas de place au-dessous du fragment *f*. Pour l'insignifiant fragment *i*, il peut être placé n'importe où.

J'avais établi que l'inscription a été écrite, après la construction du tétrapyle, sur six blocs. Al. Diaconescu combat aussi cette affirmation, en soutenant que l'inscription aurait été écrite sur seulement quatre blocs[36]. Cela signifierait qu'un seul bloc, celui qui contient les fragments *d*, *e*, *f* et *g*, aurait une longueur de 190 cm. Or, parmi les 1000 blocs de construction conservés, on ne trouve aucun de ces dimensions. L'inscription a été écrite sur des blocs tout-à-fait normaux, de 80–90 cm. En les examinant, on constate aisément que les fragments *d-e* appartiennent à un bloc et les fragments *f-g* à un autre. On reste donc à six blocs.

Voici, en fin de compte, la variante qui, selon moi, s'approche le plus du texte de l'inscription monumentale de l'entrée du forum de Sarmizegetusa (fig. 5) :

[Im]p(erator) Ça[es(ar)] Diṿ[i] Ṇẹ[r]v[a]e f(ilius) Nerva Trai[anus Opt(imus) Aug(ustus)]

[Ger]m(anicus) [Dacicus Parthicus p]ọntif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot[est(ate) XX ou *XXI imp(erator) XIII co(n)s(ul) VI]*

[pater patriae coloniae Ulpiae T]ṛạ[i]anạẹ Dacic(ae) [Sar]mịz[egetusae] forum(?) cum(?) .....(?) dedit(?)].

[34] Sur cette construction à Lambaesis voir F. Rakob, S. Storz, MDAI(R) 81, 1974, p. 262–275.

[35] Nous savons peu de chose sur ce propylon sous Trajan et avons supposé qu'il a été érigé dans la phase II B (fin du règne de Trajan) ou dans la phase II C (sous Hadrien). Les quatre colonnes en marbre sont plus tardives, de la période d'Antonin le Pieux – début du règne de Marc Aurèle; voir Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 90, 96–98.

[36] Diaconescu 2006–2007, p. 96–97, 104, fig. 2a.

Comme l'inscription n'est conservé qu'en proportion de 30%[37], je ne prétends pas que la discussion soit close. Dans l'interprétation du *forum vetus* le nouveau texte apporte pourtant des changements significatifs.

On avait déjà parlé d'un dialogue porté par Trajan et la colonie fondée par lui au long du *cardo maximus*, depuis le monument de la *groma*[38] jusqu'au grand monument de la cour du forum (B. 1)[39]. À ce qu'il semble maintenant, ce dialogue porte sur le moment de la dédicace du forum. L'accomplissement sous Trajan du forum en pierre est représenté par la phase II B, qui, après la démolition totale du forum en bois, est pourvue de portiques intérieur[40]. L'inscription du tétrapyle annonce que Trajan a donné ou a fait construire pour la colonie un forum. Elle porte la date de la dédicace du forum, qui a eu lieu en 116–117, vers la fin du règne de l'empereur. La colonie s'en revanche en érigeant dans les mêmes années 116–117 le grand monument de la cour (B. 1) *conditori suo*[41]. Il s'agit peut-être d'un trophée commémorant une bataille qui aurait eu lieu dans la zone au début de l'année 105[42]. En discussion entre aussi le monument de la *groma*[43]. Sur les fragments d'inscription qui lui appartiennent on peut reconnaître le nom de Trajan. Il n'est pas exclu que la bien connue inscription CIL III 1443 = IDR III/2, 1[44] appartienne en réalité au même monument de la *groma*. C'est ici que l'on fait une allusion à l'acte de fondation de la colonie. La situation ressemble à celle d'Uchi Maius en Afrique[45]. Là on remercie l'empereur fondateur par un arc, ici probablement par un autel. Les nouvelles lectures ne nous aident pas à préciser la date de la fondation de la colonie.

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[37] Diaconescu (2006–2007, p. 95) ne manqua pas de constater ce détail statistique.

[38] Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 96–98.

[39] Piso 2005, p. 442–443.

[40] Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 90. Cette phase se prolonge par endroits jusque sous les premières années du règne d'Hadrien, quand sont finis les derniers aménagements intérieurs, comme le pavement de la pièce 36, sous lequel on a trouvé un trésor monétaire daté des années 121–122 (op. cit., p. 165–166).

[41] AE 2003, 1515 = Piso 2006, p. 217–219, n° 4.

[42] Pour les arguments voir Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2006, p. 69–72.

[43] Piso 2006, p. 217, n° 3.

[44] Nouvelle lecture et interprétation chez Piso 2006, p. 214–217, n° 2 (aussi chez Piso-Diaconescu 1999, p. 126–128; Étienne-Piso-Diaconescu 2002–2003, p. 88, n. 36) : *Auspiciis / [Imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) Divi Nervae f[il(ii) / Nervae] Traiani Augusti / [Germ(anici) Dac(ici)] condita colonia / [Ulpia Traiana Augusta] Dacica / [Sarmizegetusa] per / [D(ecimum) Terenti]um Scaurianum / [legatum] eius pro pr(aetore) / [- – -]*.

[45] M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri, L'Africa Romana 14, 2002, p. 2338–2356 = AE 2001, 2086 (= CIL VIII 26262).

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NOTE SUR LE *TERRITORIUM ARCOBADARENSE*

IOAN PISO

Au printemps de 1989, dans le *vicus* près du camp auxiliaire d'Ilişua[1] a été trouvée, pendant le labour, la partie droite d'une base en tuf volcanique. La pièce mesure 95 × 32 × 32 cm ; les lettres, qui présentent plusieurs ligatures, sont hautes de 6,5–5,5 cm. D. Protase, C. Gaiu et Gh. Marinescu ont décrit la pièce, ont reproduit les lettres qu'ils ont pu distinguer, mais n'ont offert aucune lecture[2]. La publication proprement dite est due, dix années plus tard, à V. Wollmann et R. Ardevan. Voici le texte qu'ils ont établi[3] :

[De]o Terri-
[…]rcoba(e)
[Au]r(elius) Sal(vius)
[et A]el(ius) No-
[mu]s mag(istri duo)
[Pude]nte et Ael-
[ian(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

Dans les lignes 1–2 les deux auteurs supposèrent une divinité « exotique » inconnue. Les deux *magistri* se seraient trouvé à la tête du *vicus* et auraient accompli un acte votif au nom de toute la communauté. On n'a pas réussi à identifier les deux consuls et, par ceci, à dater le monument.

[1] Voir l'essentiel sur le camp et le *vicus* de Ilişua chez D. Protase, C. Gaiu, Gh. Marinescu, Revista Bistriței 10–11, 1996–1997, p. 27–110 ; F. Marcu, Organizarea internă a castrelor din Dacia, sous presse.

[2] Op. cit., p. 57.

[3] V. Wollmann, R. Ardevan, dans : Fontes historiae. Studia in honorem Demetrii Protase (éd. C. Gaiu, C. Găzdac), Bistrița – Cluj-Napoca 2006, p. 673–675, n° 7, p. 678, fig. 13–14 (photo et dessin).

Un nouveau progrès a été récemment réalisé par S. Nemeti et M. Bărbulescu en ce qui concerne les deux premières lignes, où ils ont lu: *[Geni]o terri/[t(orii) A]rcoba(darensis)*[4]. Ces auteurs ont reconnu dans l'inscription d'Ilişua la localité *Ἀρκοβάδαρα*, mentionnée par Ptolémée en quatrième place dans sa liste de 44 *πόλεις* de Dacie[5]. Le résultat est important en premier lieu pour l'identification de ce nom antique avec l'important camp situé sur le limes nord de Dacie ; ensuite, en partant de cette localité sûre, pour la possibilité d'identifier sur le terrain d'autres *πόλεις* de Ptolémée[6] ; en troisième lieu, par l'information qu'Arcobadara était le chef-lieu d'un *territorium*. *Arcobadara* est considéré par S. Nemeti et M. Bărbulescu un toponyme celtique[7].

Une première question qui se pose concerne la datation de l'Arcobadara de Ptolémée. La liste des *πόλεις* contient cinq localités portant de noms romains (*Ulpianum*, *Salinae*, *Praetoria Augusta*, *Angustia*, *Aquae*)[8]. C'est un bon argument pour dater les données contenues dans cette source déjà du temps de Trajan[9]. On trouve dans la liste *Ζαρμιζεγέθουσα τὸ βασίλειον*. Il n'y a pas de doute qu'il s'y agit dans ce cas de l'ancienne capitale des rois daces, qui était devenue un camp romain[10] et figurait encore sur les itinéraires. C'est une raison de plus, s'il en était encore besoin, d'identifier Sarmizegetusa Regia à Grădiştea Muncelului. En revanche, de la liste de Ptolémée manque la colonie de Sarmizegetusa. Il ressort de cette lacune que la liste a été rédigée probablement tout de suite après la constitution de la province, mais avant la fondation de la colonie. Nous nous trouvons donc immédiatement après la constitution de la province, en 106 ou peu après[11].

Selon S. Nemeti, les *territoria* ne se seraient développés des districts militaires qu'à partir d'Hadrien[12]. Qu'est-ce qu'on comprend cependant par des districts militaires? Tout simplement les unités territorielles créées par les Romains et mises au début sous l'autorités d'officiers. À mon avis des *territoria* et des

[4] S. Nemeti, M. Bărbulescu, EN 16–17, 2006–2007, p. 108–109.

[5] Ptol. 3, 8, 4.

[6] S. Nemeti, M. Bărbulescu, op. cit., (n. 4), p. 110–111 et surtout S. Nemeti, dans : Dacia Augusti provincia. Crearea provinciei (éd. E. S. Teodor, O. Ţentea), Bucureşti 2006, p. 281–282.

[7] S. Nemeti, M. Bărbulescu, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 111–112; cf. D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste, Wien 1957, p. 25, qui range *Ἀρκοβάδαρα* parmi les toponymes thraces.

[8] Cf. S. Nemeti, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 279.

[9] Voir la discussion sur la datation chez S. Nemeti, op. cit., p. 278 sqq.

[10] Voir pour celui-ci I. Glodariu, AMN 26–30, 1989–1993, p. 22–24.

[11] Voir I. Piso, dans : Römische Provinz. Begriff und Gründung (éd. I. Piso), Cluj-Napoca 2008, p. 325–326.

[12] S. Nemeti, op. cit., p. 282–283.

regiones ont été organisé dès la constitution de la province et ont reçu très vite le droit de se choisir des *magistri* et par ceci un certain degré d'autonomie[13].

S. Nemeti et M. Bărbulescu n'ont rien changé dans les lignes 3–7. Les lignes 3–5 contiennent les noms des deux *magistri*, qui, selon V. Wollmann et R. Ardevan, s'appelleraient *[Au]r(elius) Sal(vius) / [et A]el(ius) No/[mu]s*.

Beaucoup plus importants que les noms des *magistri* sont ceux des consuls des lignes 6–7, car ce sont eux qui déterminent la datation de l'inscription. Selon les éditeurs précédents, Pudens et Aelianus seraient les *consules suffecti* « de l'année 195–196[14] », ce qui est faux. Tout d'abord, les *consules suffecti* et les consuls en genéral ne peuvent pas exercer la magistrature suprême pendant deux années de suite. Ensuite, C. Valerius Pudens et C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus, s'il s'agit d'eux, ne peuvent pas être datés avec précision[15]. Enfin et surtout, il n'y a que des documents d'un caractère spécial, comme les diplômes militaires, qui étaient datés aussi par les *consules suffecti*. Une telle datation s'adressait en premier lieu aux autorités et servait comme mesure de sécurité. Pour tous les autres textes et dans toutes les occasions on utilisait pour la datation exclusivement les *consules ordinarii*, donc ceux qui entraient en magistrature le 1 janvier. Or, le texte d'Ilişua n'a pas été émis par la chancellerie impériale et, d'autre part, de modestes citoyens du point le plus septentrional de Dacie ne pouvaient pas connaître la date exacte de l'entrée et de la sortie de la magistrature des *consules suffecti*. Au lieu de discussions inutiles là-dessus, il vaut mieux de concentrer notre attention sur les deux dernières lignes de l'inscription.

Tout d'abord, *-nte* peut être la terminaison non seulement de *[Pude]nte*, mais aussi de *[Praese]nte*. Ensuite, la ligature AE n'existe pas et le second consul porte un *cognomen*, dont la première syllabe est *Al-*. La solution correcte est *[Praese]nte et Al/[bin(o)] co(n)s(ulibus)*. Nous avons affaire aux consuls de l'année 246 p. Chr. Dans la liste de A. Degrassi on les trouve sous les noms de C. Bruttius Praesens et C. All– – – Albinus[16]. Une constitution émise le 7 janvier 246 pour des militaires des cohortes prétoriennes nous apprend aussi le *nomen* du second consul: *[C(aio) B]ruttio Praesente et [C(aio) A]llio Albino co(n)s(ulibus)*[17].

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[13] Voir pour ces catégories de communautés W. Langhammer, Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Magistratus municipales und der Decuriones, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 4.

[14] S. Nemeti, M. Bărbulescu, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 108.

[15] C. Valerius Pudens a été *cos*. *suff*. vers 194 (P. M. M. Leunissen, Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.), Amsterdam 1989, p. 231) et C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus avant 198 (Leunissen, p. 234). Rien n'indique qu'ils auraient exercé le consulat ensemble.

[16] A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano, Roma 1952, p. 68.

[17] M. M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas III, London 1994, n° 199 ; information de Werner Eck.

Sur la pièce d'Arcobadara on peut faire quelques petites remarques supplémentaires. Il ne s'agit pas d'un autel, mais bien d'une base d'une statue représentant un génie. Bien que le texte soit en lignes générales assez clair, l'abus de ligatures laisse ouvertes plusieurs possibilités pour la reconstitution de la partie gauche du champ de l'inscription. On pourrait, par exemple, trouver de place pour les *praenomina M(arcus)* et *P(ublius)* des deux *magistri*. Les *nomina Aurelius* et *Aelius* sont probables, les *cogomina Salvius* et *Nomus* possibles. Pour le premier cognomen il y a au moins une douzaine de possibilités, de *Salvianus* à *Salutaris*[18], pour le second existe aussi la solution *Notus*[19].

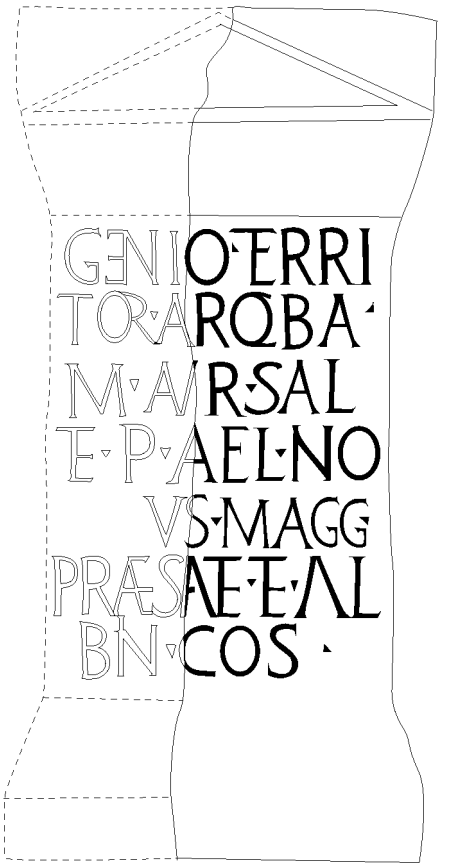


Fig. 1. Inscription de Ilişua.

En fin de compte, le texte prend la forme suivante (fig. 1) :

[Geni]o terri-
[tor(ii) A]rcoba(darensis)
[M(arcus)? Au]ṛ(elius) Sal(- – -)
[et P(ublius)? A]el(ius) No-
[..]s magg(istri)
[Praese]nte et Al-
[bin(o)] co(n)s(ulibus).

Ce monument érigé en 246 ap. J.-Ch. par les magistri du *territorium Arcobadarense* suggère que l'athmosphère dans le nord de la province était encore paisible. Ce n'est que l'année suivante que la province va s'inflammer à la suite de la grande attaque des Carpes[20].

[18] Voir H. Solin, O. Salomies, Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1994, p. 395–396.

[19] Op. cit., p. 369–370.

[20] Voir I. Piso, dans : In memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu, Cluj 1974, p. 301–309 ; idem, An der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 1995, p. 51–59.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 167–176

LA COHORS I AUGUSTA ITURAEORUM EN DACIE*

IOAN PISO, FELIX MARCU

La *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, recrutée dans la population arabe des *Ituraei*[1], avait appartenu à l'armée de Pannonie, où elle apparaît dans les diplômes

* On a utilisé les abréviations suivantes : Dacia Augusti provincia = Dacia Augusti provincia. Crearea provinciei (éd. E. S. Teodor, O. Țentea), Bucarest 2006; H. Devijver, PME = Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum I, Leuven 1976; II 1977 ; N. Gudea, Limes = Der dakische Limes. Materialien zu seiner Geschichte, dans : JRGZ 44, 1997, p. ∗1–∗113 ; Limes 1997 (1999) = Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (Zalău 1997, éd. N. Gudea), Zalău 1999; B. Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen = Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit, Wien 2001 ; Orbis antiquus = Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis (éd. L. Ruscu et alii) ; C. C. Petolescu, Auxilia = C. C. Petolescu, Auxilia Daciae, Bucarest 2002 ; RMM = M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman Military Diplomas, London 1978 sqq. ; K. Strobel, Dakerkriege = Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans, Bonn 1984; J. Szilágyi, Ziegelstempel = Die Besatzungen des Verteidigungssystems von Dazien und ihre Ziegelstempel (= Diss. Pan. II/21), Budapest 1946 ; E. Tóth, Porolissum = Porolissum. Das Castellum in Moigrad. Ausgrabungen von A. Radnóti, 1943, Budapest 1978.

[1] Voir pour cette troupe C. Cichorius, RE IV/1 (1900), 305 ; V. Christescu, Istoria militară a Daciei romane, Bucarest 1937, p. 189 ; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus, Berlin 1938, p. 157–158 ; J. Szilágyi, Ziegelstempel, p. 30; I. I. Russu, AMN 6, 1969, p. 171 ; idem, SCIV 32/1, 1972, p. 73 ; idem, dans : Actes du IXème Congrès d'études sur les frontières romaines (Mamaïa, septembre 1972), Bucarest-Cologne-Vienne 1974, p. 221 ; N. Gudea, AMP 2, 1978, p. 67 ; J. Beneš, Auxilia Romana in Moesia atque Dacia, Prague 1978, p. 42 ; I. Piso, D. Benea, ZPE 56, 1984, p. 280; K. Strobel, Dakerkriege, p. 136; E. Dąbrowa, ZPE 63, 1986, p. 222 ; C. C. Petolescu, AMN 34, 1997, p. 114, n° 47 ; idem, Auxilia, p. 116, n° 49 ; C. Timoc, Analele Banatului 7–8, 1999–2000, p. 377–385 ; J. Spaul, Cohors^{2}. The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army (= BAR International Series 841), Oxford 2000, p. 440 ; B. Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen, p. 37, n° 27 ; O. Țentea, dans : Orbis antiquus, p. 806–815 ; idem, Trupele siro-arabe de pe limesul dunărean al Imperiului Roman, Diss. Cluj 2007 (en cours de publication) ; E. Nemeth, dans : Dacia Augusti provincia, p. 45–46.

militaires du 13 juin 80[2], du 28 février 98[3] et du 19 novembre 102[4]. Toujours de Pannonie proviennent deux stèles funéraires appartenant à des soldats de cette unité[5]. Le diplôme de 102 suggère que la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* aurait participé à la première guerre dace, intégrée dans un corps d'armée pannonique[6]. Qu'elle ait participé aussi à la seconde guerre guerre, c'est sa présence dans la nouvelle province qui l'indique. Ici elle est attestée par les diplômes du 16 février 110[7] et du 3–4 mai 114[8] sous le nom de *(coh.) I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum sag(ittariorum)*. L'unité manque du diplôme du 14 octobre 109[9]. Ici la *(cohors) I Aug(usta) Ituraeorum*, se trouvant sur la huitième place, devrait être identifiée plutôt à l'*ala I Augusta Ituraeorum*[10].

Où la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* a-t-elle stationné sous le règne de Trajan? Des traces pas très sûres on en trouve aussi bien à Buciumi qu'à Porolissum. Selon N. Gudea, deux tuiles portant l'estampille *Coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae)*, avec une écriture rétrograde, ont été trouvées dans les couches inférieures du camp de Buciumi[11]. L'absence de l'ethnonyme peut paraître curieuse, mais si une seule cohorte porte dans la zone l'épithète *Aug(usta)*, l'omission est explicable. Un fragment d'une inscription en calcaire, trouvé toujours à Buciumi, a été attribué à la même unité (fig. 1)[12]. Les auteurs de la monographie sur le camp de Buciumi ont remarqué que le nom de la troupe se trouve dans la dernière ligne conservée. On y distingue encore le bout de la seconde haste du *H* et le chiffre *I* avec une barre au-dessus, tout comme un interval jugé suffisant pour un supposé

[2] CIL XVI 26.

[3] CIL XVI 42.

[4] CIL XVI 47.

[5] B. Lőrincz, M. H. Kelemen, Klio 79, 1997, p. 178 sqq., n° 1 = B. Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen, p. 269, n° 375 ; Zs. Visy, Specimina nova 5/1, 1989 (1992), p. 29 sqq. = B. Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen, p. 269, n° 376.

[6] K. Strobel, Dakerkriege, p. 136, n. 207.

[7] CIL XVI 57 = IDR I, D II.

[8] RMD IV 226.

[9] RMD III 148.

[10] Voir I. Piso, Fasti provinciae Daciae I. Die senatorischen Amtsträger, Bonn 1993, p. 10–11, avec n. 6. Dans le même diplôme la *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria* a été rangée parmi les ailes; voir aussi C. C. Petolescu, SCIVA 42/1–2, 1991, p. 86.

[11] N. Gudea, Das Römergrenzkastell von Buciumi, Zalău 1997, p. 24–25; voir encore J. Szilágyi, Ziegelstempel, p. 59, pl. XIX, n° 279; I. I. Russu, SCIV 10/2, 1959, p. 316, n. 1; E. Chirilă, N. Gudea, V. Lucăcel, C. Pop, Das Römerlager von Buciumi. Beiträge zur Untersuchung des Limes der Dacia Porolissensis, Cluj 1972, p. 117, pl. CXXXIX; N. Gudea, Limes, p. *42–*43. Dans le musée de Zalău se trouve la tuile inv. Bb. 107 (CC 236/69).

[12] E. Chirilă et alii, op. cit. (n. 11), p. 116–117, pl. CXXXIX.

A. Pourtant, les lettres *VG* de la première ligne, appartenant au nom de l'empereur, sont si étroites, que l'on a de la peine à les dater du début du IIème siècle. D'autre part, la circulation des unités militaires au IIIème siècle échappe, faute de diplômes militaires, à notre contrôle. Il vaut mieux, à notre avis, à éliminer cette inscription de notre discussion.



Fig. 1.

L'hypothèse de N. Gudea, selon laquelle la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* aurait construit à Buciumi le camp en bois et en terre et aurait été remplacée en 114 par la *cohors II Nervia Brittonum*[13], est, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, acceptable. Le départ de l'unité d'*Ituraei* pour l'expédition parthique de Trajan expliquerait pourquoi on ne la retrouvera plus tard sur le même emplacement.

La même estampille *coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae)* a été identifiée aussi à Porolissum (fig. 2) dans un nombre réduit d'exemplaires[14], ce qui ne constitue pas une preuve pour la présence de la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* à Porolissum. Un transport de tuiles pouvait toujours être envoyé de Buciumi à Porolissum. D'autre part, l'agglomération de troupes à Porolissum est déjà aussi grande[15], qu'on a du mal à y ajouter une nouvelle unité d'*Ituraei* ; ceci d'autant plus que la présence ici d'une seconde cohorte d'*Ituraei*, la *cohors I Ituraeorum*[16], apparaît comme possible. Une petite digression sur ce sujet ne sera pas inutile.

Une estampille assez curieuse, ITV, appartiendrait selon N. Gudea soit à la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, soit à la *cohors I Ituraeorum*[17]. Deux types assez

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[13] N. Gudea, op. cit. (n. 11); idem, Limes, p. ∗42; voir aussi E. Nemeth, dans : Dacia Augusti provincia, p. 45–46. Pour les camps successives de Buciumi voir aussi F. Marcu, dans : Dacia Augusti provincia, p. 154–157.

[14] Selon I. I. Russu, loc. cit. (n. 11), y ont été trouvé trois exemplaires, parmi lesquels deux fragmentaires; cf. N. Gudea, AMP 13 (= Porolissum. Un complex daco-roman la marginea de nord a Imperiului Roman), 1989, p. 167, qui affirme le contraire, notamment qu'à Porolissum ces estampilles auraient été trouvé en grand nombre. Pourtant, aucun exemplaire n'a été découvert par A. Radnóti en 1943 (E. Tóth, Porolissum, passim). Un fragment provenant de Porolissum se trouve dans le dépôt du musée de Cluj (inv. Tp IV/16).

[15] Voir N. Gudea, AMP 13, 1989, p. 159 sqq.

[16] Elle apparaît sous ce nom dans les diplômes militaires du 14 octobre 109 (RMD III 148) et du 16 février 110 (CIL XVI 57 = IDR I, D II).

[17] N. Gudea, AMP 13, 1989, p. 167, 524, n° 1–2, p. 978, pl. CXIX/3 ; idem, Limes, p. ∗48.

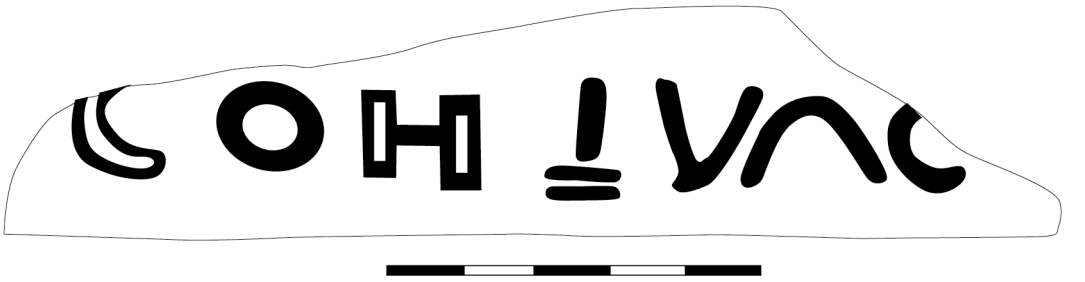


Fig. 2.

proches d'estampilles, CHS∞ – *c(o)h(or)s (milliaria)* et CHSIJ∞ – *c(o)h(or)s I I(turaeorum) (milliaria)*, ont été aussi attribués à la *cohors I Ituraeorum*[18]. Une variante de la même estampille a été découverte dans le camp de Romita, ce qui fit Al. V. Matei et I. Bajusz croire que la *cohors I Ituraeorum* aurait partagé ce camp avec la *cohors VI Thracum*. Sous le régne d'Hadrien, elle aurait été transféré à Porolissum lors de l'arrivée de la *cohors II Britannorum* à Romita[19]. C'est difficile à le croire, étant donné que la *cohors I Ituraeorum* manque de tous les diplômes militaires de Dacie Porolissensis. Une autre difficulté surgit du nom de l'unité, qui dans les diplômes mentionnés s'appelle tout simplement *(cohors) I Ituraeorum*, sans *sagittariorum* et sans (*milliaria*). Il est permis de supposer que les *Ituraei* étaient en général des archers, mais on ne peut pas expliquer d'une manière satisfaisante le manque de (*milliaria*). On a supposé que l'unité aurait doublé ses effectifs en Dacie[20] et que déjà au IIème siècle elle se trouverait en Thrace comme *cohors milliaria*[21]. Un *[Σε]κοῦνδος Κορνο[ῦτος]* était *[ἔπαρχος] (praefectus)* ou *τριβοῦνος (tribunus) [χώρτης..] μειλιαρίας Ἰτυραί[ων]*[22]. Ce qui s'oppose à l'identification c'est que la province était encore gouvernée par un procurateur – *[ἐ]πιτροπεύοντος [τῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐπαρχείας]* –, qui nous renvoie à l'époque Claude – Trajan[23]. Par conséquent, la *cohors I Ituraeorum* des diplômes daces de 109 et 110 n'est pas à identifier à la *cohors Ituraeorum ∞* de Thrace[24]. On a alors

[18] Voir surtout E. Tóth, Porolissum, p. 50–51, pl. 16, et O. Ţentea, dans : Orbis antiquus, p. 811, 814–815, pl. I–II.

[19] Al. V. Matei, I. Bajusz, Das Römergrenzkastell von Romita-Certiae, Zalău 1997, p. 67–81, 91–93.

[20] E. Dąbrowa, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 228, avec n. 56.

[21] O. Ţentea, dans : Orbis antiquus, p. 809–810.

[22] AE 1907, 50 = IGR I 1462 (Serdica).

[23] H. Devijver, PME II, p. 723.

[24] D. L. Kennedy (ZPE 50, 1983, p. 258, n° 9), identifia une *cohors I Ituraeorum ∞* de l'armée de Vespasien en Judée à la *cohors I Ituraeorum* de l'armée de Dacie de 110 et à l'unité *milliaria* de Thrace.

le droit de se demander si dans les estampilles CHS∞ et CHSIJ∞ de Porolissum ne se cache pas une autre unité, éventuellement une troisième cohorte d'*Ituraei*, non mentionnée dans les diplômes[25]. *Non liquet!*

Revenons maintenant à la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*. Elle est rangée parmi les troupes de Dacie Supérieure par les diplômes du 23 février 144[26], du 13 décembre 157(?)[27], du 8 juillet 158[28], du 1 avril 179[29] et probablement par le diplôme des années 136/138[30].

Un certain [- - - Ge]mellus, chevalier romain, érigea à Sarmizegetusa un monument probablement votif, dont l'inscription est conservée en état fragmentaire[31]. Sa première milice équestre semble avoir été la préfecture d'une *coh*. *I Aug*. À juger d'après la photographie faite par A. Buday, la lettre avant la cassure est un *T* et non un *I* (fig. 3). Par conséquent, on a affaire plutôt à une *cohors I Augusta Thracum* stationnée en Pannonie Inférieure qu'à la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*[32]. Gemellus a érigé le monument à Sarmizegetusa soit parce qu'il provenait de cette colonie, soit parce qu'il commandait, comme seconde milice équestre, un *[n(umerus)] Palmyr(enorum) Orien[talium?]* dans le voisinage de la colonie[33]. Il serait donc mieux d'éliminer l'inscription de Sarmizegetusa de la discussion sur la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*.



Fig. 3.

[25] E. Tóth (Porolissum, p. 50–51) avait déjà pensé à une *c(o)h(ors) s(agittariorum) (milliaria)*.

[26] AE 1935, 111 = CIL XVI 90 = IDR I, D 14.

[27] CIL XVI 107 = IDR I, D 15.

[28] ILS 2006 = CIL XVI 108 = IDR I, D 16.

[29] AE 1987, 843 = RMD III, 123.

[30] AE 2002, 1223 = RMD IV 384.

[31] A. Buday, Dolgozatók 4, 1913, p. 257 ; C. Daicoviciu, Dacia 1, 1924, p. 251 ; I. I. Russu, AMN 6, 1969, p. 171 ; N. Gostar, Sargetia 14, 1979, p. 663–664 ; cf. AE 1979, 486 ; IDR III/2, 348 ; I. Piso, AMN 24–25, 1987–1988, p. 163–164, n° 1.

[32] Voir N. Gostar, I. I. Russu et I. Piso (n. 30) ; pour la *cohors I Augusta Thracum* de Pannonie Inférieure voir B. Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen, p. 42–43, n°s 43–45.

[33] Voir pour cette unité, dont on sait très peu de choses, I. Piso, D. Benea, ZPE 56, 1984, p. 294, n. 207. Chez C. C. Petolescu, Auxilia, p. 143 persiste encore l'erreur qu'il s'agirait d'un *numerus Palmyrenorum O(ptatianensium)*.

On ignore la garnison d'au moins deux unités auxiliaires mentionnées par les diplômes de Dacie Supérieure: de la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* et de la *cohors I Augusta Thracum sagittariorum*. En tenant compte que ces cohortes sont des troupes d'archers, I. Piso et D. Benea avaient supposé en 1984 qu'elles auraient été placées sur la ligne fortifiée Lederata-Tibiscum, moins connue par les archéologues, afin d'être opposées aux Sarmates[34]. Malgré les recherches qu'on y a faites depuis, on n'en a trouvé aucune trace[35].

Il se peut que l'on n'ait pas découvert tous les camps du *limes* de la province ou bien que tout le matériel épigraphique significatif n'ait pas encore vu le jour. Tout aussi possible est cependant que l'on n'ait pas correctement lu ou interprété le matériel épigraphique découvert. Prenons le matériel tégulaire trouvé dans trois camps situés à peu de distance l'un de l'autre sur le limes du nord-est de la Dacie Supérieure: Călugăreni (Mikháza), Sărățeni (Sóvárad) et Inlăceni (Énlaka)[36]. Selon N. Gudea, de Călugăreni[37], de Sărățeni[38] et de Inlăceni[39] proviendraient aussi bien les estampilles CPAI que les estampilles CPALP (fig. 4).

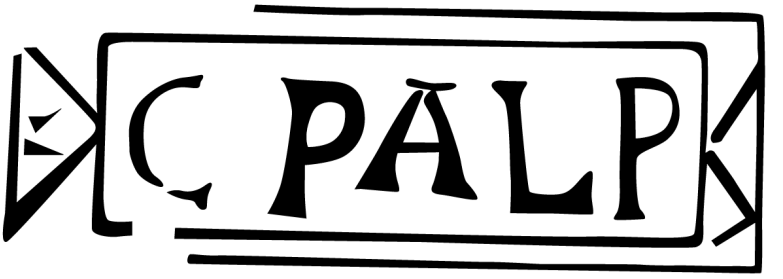


Fig. 4.

Que les dernières aient été lues *c(ohortis) p(rimae) Alp(inorum)*[40], est tout-à-fait normal. Pourtant, à l'exception des auteurs du CIL, qui n'ont avancé aucune

[34] I. Piso, D. Benea, op. cit. (n. 32), p. 280.

[35] E. Nemeth, dans : Dacia Augusti provincia, p. 44, n. 46.

[36] Voir la carte militaire de Dacie chez N. Gudea, Limes, p. ∗10–∗11.

[37] Op. cit., p. ∗57–∗58.

[38] Op. cit., p. ∗58–∗59.

[39] Op. cit., p. ∗59–∗60.

[40] CIL III 1633, 23 = EphEp IV 203 = CIL III 8074, 8 a-c, e ; G. Téglás, AEM 3, 1879, p. 112, n° 22 ; J. Szilágyi, Ziegelstempel, p. 56, pl. XVII, n°s 260–262 ; Z. Székely, MatArh 7, 1961, p. 186; idem, MatArh 8, 1962, p. 334 ; IDR III/4, 212–213 (Sărățeni) ; N. Gudea, AMP 3, 1979, p. 192–193, n°s 1–2, 5–8 ; IDR III/4, 299, 1–7 (Inlăceni) ; M. Macrea, Dacia 8, 1964, p. 152, n. 40 ; N. Gudea, AMP 3, 1979, p. 192–193, n°s 3–4 (Napoca).

lecture[41], à cette unité ont été attribuées aussi les estampilles CPAI[42]. La conclusion en a été que la *cohors I Alpinorum* a stationné simultanément ou successivement à Călugăreni et à Sărățeni[43]. Pour le camp de Inlăceni, on y connaît par une base de statue érigée en 129 pour Hadrien la *cohors VIII Raetorum c. R. eq(uitata) tor(quata)*[44] et, par des inscriptions en pierre et par de nombreuses estampilles, la *cohors IIII Hispanorum*[45].

Personne ne s'est demandé pourquoi dans l'estampille CPAI la lettre *L* ou les lettres *LP* ont été remplacées par un *I*. Personne ne s'est demandé non plus dans quelle proportion les estampilles CPAI et CPALP ont-elles été trouvées dans les camps mentionnés. Tout d'abord, il n'y a aucune preuve que des estampilles CPAI auraient été trouvées dans le camp de Călugăreni. D. Protase a publié dans son rapport de fouille huit estampilles, toutes portant les lettres CPAI[46] tandis que I. I. Russu a reproduit dans IDR 12 estampilles, dont dix CPAI et deux CPALP[47]. Le même auteur admet pourtant que six tuiles proviennent de la collection du prêtre du village ; or, la distance entre Călugăreni et Sărățeni n'est pas grande. Enfin, les neuf estampilles trouvées pendant les fouilles faites les dernières années dans le camp de Călugăreni par les collègues Nicoleta Man et Dan Cioată portent sans exception les lettres CPAI (fig. 5 a-d)[48]. En revanche, toutes les estampilles

[41] CIL III 8074, 8d; cf. G. Téglás, AEM 11, 1887, p. 238 n° 1 ; idem, ErdM 5, 1888, p. 242 ; F. Deák, AÉrt 12, 1878, p. 268–269 : *cohors pedestris alpensis prima(?)*.

[42] J. Szilágyi, Ziegelstempel, p. 56, pl. XVII, n°s 257–258 ; D. Protase, AMN 2, 1965, p. 213 ; H. Daicoviciu, dans : Römer in Rumänien, Köln 1969, p. 118, C 34 ; idem, dans : Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970, p. 137, C 26 ; I. I. Russu, dans : Actes du IXème Congrès d'études sur les frontières romaines (Mamaïa, septembre 1972), Bucarest-Cologne-Vienne 1974, p. 223 ; IDR III/4, 220 ; N. Gudea, Limes, p. *57–*60.

[43] Elle n'est identique ni à la *cohors I Alpinorum equitata*, ni à la *cohors I Alpinorum peditata* de Pannonie; voir pour celles-ci B. Lőrincz, Hilfstruppen, p. 27, n° 1, et p. 28, n° 4 ; pour la cohorte de Dacie voir récemment C. C. Petolescu, Auxilia, p. 81–82, n° 17.

[44] AE 1960, 375 = IDR III/4, 263.

[45] N. Gudea, AMP 3, 1979, p. 190–192, n°s 1–30 ; IDR III/4, 301–302.

[46] D. Protase, AMN 2, 1965, p. 213.

[47] IDR III/4, 220.

[48] Nous exprimoms toute notre gratitude à Mme Nicoleta Man et a M. Dan Cioată pour nous avoir permis l'accès au matériel. Deux autres estampilles (inv. 2878 et 2879) avaient appartenu à la collection du lycée de Târgu-Mureş et une troisième a été apportée du château de Gorneşti, se trouvant entre Călugăreni et Brâncovenești. Deux estampilles aux mêmes lettres provenant de Călugăreni se trouvent dans le dépôt du musée de Cluj, inv. I/1913 et I/1914. Enfin, C. Daicoviciu (AISC I/2, 1928–1932, p. 59 = Dacica, Cluj 1970, p. 211) fait mention dans le camp de Călugăreni d'une estampille en *tabula ansata*, qu'il a lu *c(ohors) p(rima) A(lpinorum)*, mais où il s'agit très probablement d'une estampille CPAI fragmentaire.

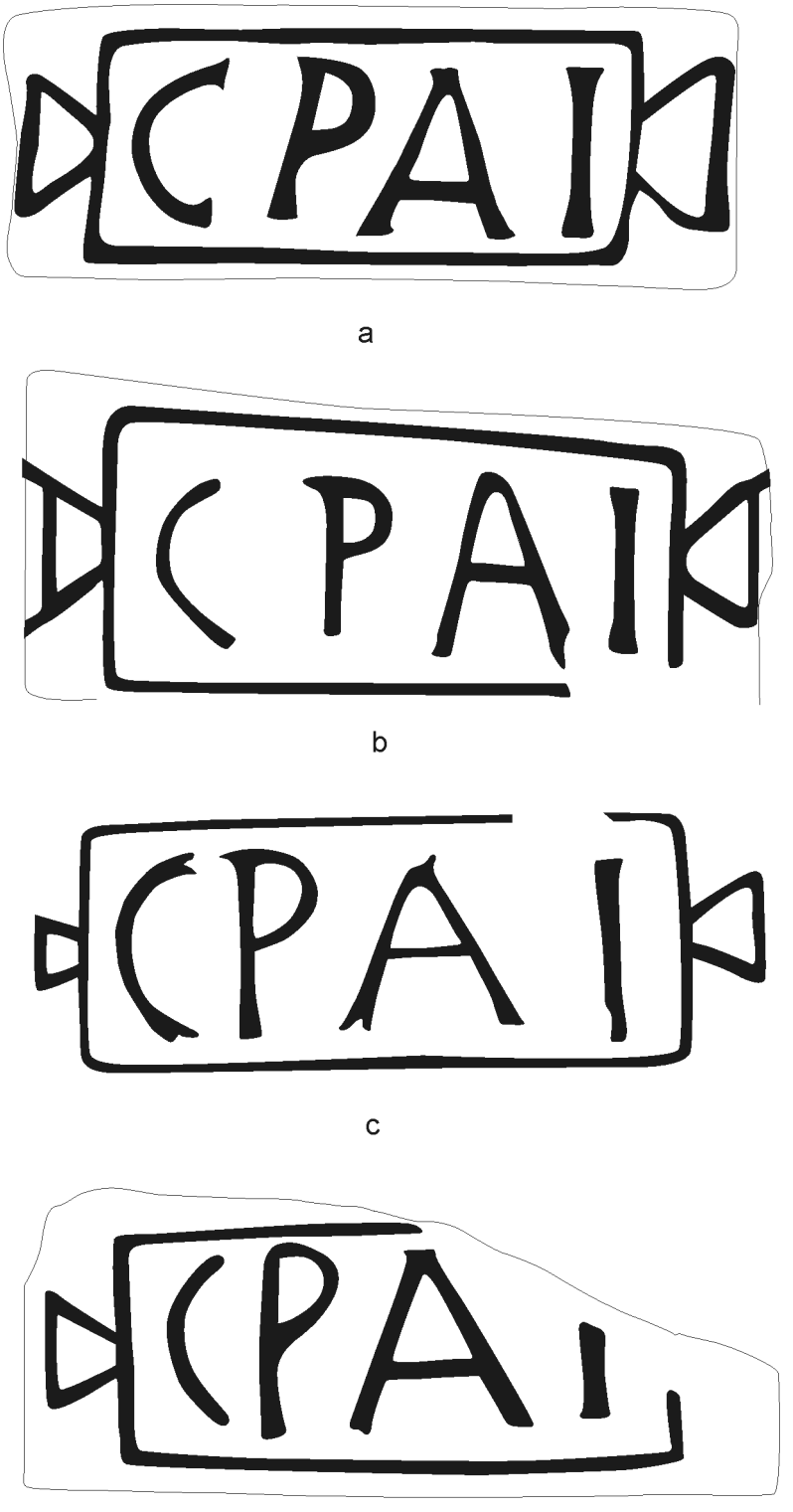


Fig. 5.

trouvées avec certitude à Sărățeni portent les lettres CPALP[49]. Ce sont toujours des estampilles CPALP qui ont été découvertes à Inlăceni[50].

Nous ne nions pas la possibilité qu'à Călugăreni puissent un jour être trouvées tout aussi bien des estampilles CPALP, car des transports de matériaux de construction entre les camps étaient fréquents. Il nous suffit pour le moment de constater que typiques du camp de Călugăreni sont les estampilles CPAI, tandis que du camp de Sărățeni typiques sont les estampilles CPALP. À Inlăceni les tuiles portant l'estampille CPALP auront été apportées du camp de Sărățeni, qui était le plus proche.

Examinons maintenant de plus près les estampilles CPAI. Pour celles trouvées dans le musée de Târgu Mureş, on distingue quatre types presque identiques (fig. 5 a-d)[51]. On constate pour tous ces types le même cartouche double, celui intérieur ayant la forme d'une *tabula ansata*, des lettres semblables et la même abréviation *P* pour *p(rimae)*. La dernière lettre se présente partout comme un *I* parfaitement clair, sans laisser de place ni pour la barre d'un *L*, ni pour un *P*. Or, quatre types d'estampilles signifient quatre *signacula*. Aura-t-on mis chaque fois, par la même erreur, un *I* à la place de *LP*? Ne serait-il pas plus logique d'admettre qu'on a mal lu ces estampilles et que la lecture correcte est *c(ohortis) I A(ugustae) I(turaeorum)*? Tout d'abord, cette cohorte doit exister quelque part en Dacie Supérieure, ensuite, dans deux camps ne pouvait pas stationner une seule unité et nous ne voyons pas, en fin de compte, pourquoi persister dans une lecture absurde. On pourrait redire que la même abréviation *p(rimae)* du numéral *I* prouverait qu'il s'agit de la même unité. C'est justement cette ressemblence qui a créé la confusion. En réalité, le voisinage de deux troupes peut très bien expliquer une certaine mode, qui, d'ailleurs, n'appartient exclusivement aux garnisons de Călugăreni et de Sărățeni. On la retrouve, par exemple, à Războieni-Cetate dans le nom de l'*ala I Batavorum* ∞: *a(la) p(rima) B(atavorum)*[52].

La conclusion de cette investigation est qu'à partir d'Hadrien le camp de Sărățeni appartient à la *cohors I Alpinorum*, tandis que dans le camp de Călugăreni il faut absolument placer la *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*. Les estampilles de

[49] Voir Z. Székely, MatArh 7, 1961, p. 186 ; idem, MatArh 8, 1962, p. 334 sur les estampilles découvertes pendant les fouilles; voir encore CIL III 8074, 8 a-c, e; J. Szilágyi, Ziegelstempel, p. 56, pl. XVII, n°s 260–262. Le même auteur hésite entre Călugăreni et Sărățeni pour les estampilles qui se trouvent dans le musée de Târgu-Mureş (op. cit., p. 56, pl. XVII, n° 257).

[50] IDR III/4, 299 ; N. Gudea, AMP 3, 1979, p. 192–193, n°s 12, 5–8. Un exemplaire se trouve dans le dépôt du musée de Cluj, inv. IN 6959 = T8 II/2.

[51] Inv. 2878, 1533, 2879 ; les autres sont inédites.

[52] Cf. IDR III/4, 79. La publication de toutes les estampilles tégulaires de Războieni-Cetate est en préparation.

Sărățeni on les lit *C(ohortis) p(rimae) Alp(inorum)*, celles de Călugăreni *Coh(ortis) p(rimae) A(ugustae) I(turaeorum)*. Par ceci, une des énigmes du *limes* de Dacie a été déchiffrée.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 177–184

L'AIGLE DE LA *LEGIO XIII GEMINA*[*]

VASILE MOGA, IOAN PISO, MATEI DRÎMBĂREAN

En été de 2006 les travaux de réhabilitation de la canalisation urbaine dans le parc central d'Alba Iulia ont affecté les structures des *principia* du camp de la *legio XIII Gemina*[1]. Dans les tranchées y creusées on a trouvé des traces d'anciennes fouilles, des portions de murs médiévaux en briques et, aussi, des blocs parallélépipédiques romains en calcaire, des tuiles portant l'estampille de la légion et de la céramique romaine.

La découverte la plus importante a été une base en calcaire (fig. 1) crevée transversalement au niveau du champ de l'inscription et avec le couronnement partiellement endommagé. Dimensions totales: 130 × 59 × 55 cm ; le champ épigraphique: 71 × 59 cm ; lettres: 5 cm. Le bandeau central du couronnement est décoré d'acrotères et, entre celles-ci, de deux vrilles, une de vigne, l'autre de lierre,

[*] Pour la lecture du texte et pour de nombreux conseils nous devons à notre collègue de Varsovie, Prof. Tadeusz Sarnowski, de chaleureux remerciements.

On a utilisé les abréviations suivantes : D. J. Breeze – B. Dobson, Roman Officers = Roman Officers and Frontiers (= Mavors X), Stuttgart 1993 ; B. Dobson, Primipilares = Die Primipilares, Köln-Bonn 1978 ; A. v. Domaszewski, Religion = Die Religion des römischen Heeres, Trier 1895 ; A. v. Domaszewski – B. Dobson, Rangordnung^2 = Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres^2, Köln-Graz 1967 ; R. Fellmann, Principia = Principia – Stabsgebäude, Stuttgart 1983, p. 17 ; E. Künzl, Waffenschmuck = Unter den goldenen Adlern. Der Waffenschmuck des römischen Imperiums, Regensburg-Mainz 2008 ; A. Johnson, Kastelle = Römische Kastelle des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Britannien und in den germanischen Provinzen des Römerreiches, Mainz am Rhein 1987 ; H. v. Petrikovits, Innenbauten = Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit, Düsseldorf-Opladen 1975, p. 75.

[1] Voir l'essentiel sur ce camp chez M. Rusu, AIIA Cluj 22, 1979, p. 49 ; V. Moga, Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea XIII Gemina, Cluj-Napoca 1985, p. 21–22, 35 sqq. ; N. Gudea, JRGZ 44, 1997, p. ∗107–∗108.



Fig. 1. Base en calcaire d'Apulum.

unies au milieu par un anneau[2]. Au sommet se trouve une mortaise au diamètre de 12 cm et profonde de 8 cm, servant à fixer la statue.

Le texte est pratiquement complet et ne pose pas de problèmes:

L(ucius) Aninius L(ucii) f(ilius)
Pap(iria) Firminus
Ṭridente equo
publ(ico) ex (trecenario)
p(rimus) p(ilus)
leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)
tetrastylum
ḟecit
et aquilam
argenteam
posuit.

Le nom de l'officier est *L(ucius) Aninius L(ucii) f(ilius) Pap(iria) Firminus Tridente*. *Aninius* est un *nomen* italique très rare[3], porté à Apulum aussi par un *immunis*, Aninius Fortunatus, qui se trouvait à la tête d'une briquetterie de la légion[4]. L. Aninius Firminus est inscrit, tout comme les autres citoyens de Tridentum, dans la tribu *Papiria*[5]. Le nom de la ville apparaît tantôt sous la forme *Tridentum*, tantôt à l'ablatif, *Tridente*[6]. La seconde forme peut être contaminée avec le substantif comun *tridens -tis*.

[2] Notre collègue Virginia Rădeanu, que nous remercions chaleureusement, a eu l'amabilité de nous indiquer les possibles analogies de la pièce. L'autel (base de statue) de Mars de Valea Sângeorgiului dans le territoire de Sarmizegetusa (CIL III 12577 = IDR III/3, 19) et la base de la statue funéraire de P. Aelius Theimes de Sarmizegetusa (CIL III 12587 = AE 1982, 830 = IDR III/2, 369) présentent des moulures et des décorations semblables, ce qui justifie de supposer des influences réciproques et la contemporanéité des trois pièces.

[3] W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, Berlin 1933, p. 144 ; H. Solin, O. Salomies, Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1994, p. 16.

[4] IDR III/6, 127 (rétrograde) : *Leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / Aninius Fortunatus* ; 128 (rétrograde) : *L(eg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) / Anini(i) Fortunati*.

[5] CIL V 5034, 5036 ; voir W. Kubitschek, Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum, Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae 1889, p. 115.

[6] Phlego, fr. 53 : *– – – ἀπὸ πόλεως Τριδέντου* ; Amm. Marcellinus 16, 10, 20 : *– – – per Tridentum iter in Illyricum festinavit* ; Laterc. Ant., p. 275 : *Tridento* ; Ptol. III 1, 29 : *Τριδέντε* ; Tab. Peut. III 3, 0 : *Tredente*, voir E. Weber, Tabula Peutingeriana. Kommentar, Graz 1976, p. 62 ; CIL V 5036 : *C(aio) Valerio / C(ai) f(ilio) Pap(iria) / Mariano / honores omnes / adepto Trident(i)* ou *Trident(e)* ; cf. Th. Mommsen, CIL V, p. 530–531 ; H. Philipp, RE VII A1 (1939), 102–103.

L. Aninius Firminus était chevalier romain – *equo publi(co)* (l. 3–4). Sa carrière militaire, ou bien ce qu'il avait jugé nécessaire d'en mentionner, se trouve dans les lignes 4–6: *ex (trecenario) / p(rimus) p(ilus) / leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*. Pour le poste de *trecenarius*, très difficillement à saisir, nous sommes tributaires à D. J. Breeze et B. Dobson[7]. Dans plusieurs carrières complètes[8] la charge de *trecenarius* était intercalée entre les centurionats de Rome et le primipilat. À Apulum le *ex trecenario* apparaît sans spécification. On peut avoir affaire à un *trecenarius cohortis praetoriae*[9] ou à un *centurio trecenarius legionis*[10]. Dans le second cas il s'agit certainement d'un centurionat appartenant aux *primi ordines*[11]. Le manque de précision est explicable. Face au primipilat, les détails de la carrière antérieure avaient peu de signification pour le public. La position de l'*equo publico* dans le texte, avant les charges militaires, semble suggérer que Firminus a été nommé centurion *ex equite Romano*, ce qui signifie qu'à son recrutement il était déjà chevalier romain[12].

L. Aninius Firminus se vante d'avoir construit un tétrastyle et d'avoir érigé un aigle en argent. Surtout le second acte s'inscrit parmi les obligations habituelles d'un primipile.

L'aigle était le symbole de la légion, ce qui en fait un objet de culte. Le *natalis aquilae* était célébré en tant que jour de naissance de la légion, tandis que la perte de l'aigle équivalait à l'anéantissement de la troupe[13]. L'aigle était placé dans l'*aedes* de la légion auprès d'une image portable auprès de la statue de l'empereur, d'une image portable du même empereur, des *signa* et des *vexilla*[14]. Il ne quittait

[7] D. J. Breeze – B. Dobson, EpSt 8, Köln 1969, p. 118–119 = iidem, Roman Officers, p. 106–107 ; cf. la littérature plus ancienne chez A. v. Domaszewski – B. Dobson, Rangordnung^2, p. IV, XXVI, 99–101 ; A. Passerini, Le coorti pretorie, Roma 1939, p. 89 sqq. ; DizEp IV 590–591.

[8] Voir les exemples chez D. J. Breeze – B. Dobson, EpSt 8, p. 120–122 = iidem, Roman Officers, p. 108–110.

[9] CIL X 5064 = ILS 2667 ; CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063.

[10] CIL II 4461 = ILS 2661 ; CIL VI 32709a = ILS 9190.

[11] Cf. B. Dobson, Primipilares, p. 59 ; AE 1993, 1364 et les commentaires là-dessus de T. Sarnowski, ZPE 95, 1993, p. 206–211.

[12] Pour l'appointement au poste de centurion directement de l'*ordo equester*, tout en restant membre de ce *ordo*, voir O. H. Zwicky, Zur Verwendung des Militärs in der Verwaltung der römischen Kaiserzeit, Zürich 1944, p. 90–93 ; A. v. Domaszewski – B. Dobson, Rangordnung^2, p. XXI ; B. Dobson, AncSoc 3, 1972, p. 193–194 = D. J. Breeze – B. Dobson, Roman Officers, p. 186–187.

[13] Voir A. v. Domaszewski, RE I/2 (1895), 317–318, avec les sources ; idem, Religion, p. 9 sqq.

[14] A. v. Domaszewski, Religion, p. 11-12 ; R. Fellmann, Principia, p. 17 ; H. v. Petrikovits, Innenbauten, p. 75 ; A. Johnson, Kastelle, p. 131 ; cf. M. Reddé, dans : Le camp romain de Louqsor (= MIFAO 83, éd. M. El-Saghir, J.-C. Golvin, M. Reddé, El-Sayed Hegary, G. Wagner), Le Caire 1986, p. 28–30; idem, JRA 17, 2007, p. 454–157 ; T. Sarnowski, BJb 189, 1989, p. 113–119.

ce domicile qu'avec la légion toute entière[15]. C'était le *primus pilus* qui veillait sur l'aigle de la légion[16] et qui, à l'occasion du *dies natalis*, lui dédiait des monuments dans la cour des *principia*[17].

Il est difficille à croire que L. Aninius Firminus aurait fait cadeau à la légion du symbole original ou qu'il l'aurait remplacé. Tout d'abord, comme on l'a vu plus haut, une légion naissait et disparaissait avec l'aigle. Ensuite, comme nous l'apprenons de Cassius Dio[18], l'aigle de la légion était en or[19]. Par conséquent, à Apulum il s'agit d'une réplique en argent, fixée quelque part dans la basilique ou dans la cour des *principia* sur la base en question et non pas dans l'*aedes*. Les analogies les plus proches pour des dédicaces d'aigles par des primipiles sont celles de Novae[20].

Le terme « tétrastyle » (*τετράστυλος= tetrastylus*) s'applique à une façade appuyée par quatre colonnes[21]. Il s'agit très probablement de l'*aedes* de la légion, qui représente la pièce centrale parmi les pièces situées au fond des *principia*[22], et non pas de l'entrée dans la cour des *principia*[23]. Le sanctuaire de la troupe s'appèle dans le camp auxiliaire de Regulbium (Reculver) de Britannie *aedes principiorum*[24], dans d'autres camps *aedes aquilae*, *νεώς*, *domus signorum*, *Capitolium* ou *Caesareum*(?)[25]. On a adopté par commodité pour tous les

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[15] Cassius Dio 40, 18, 1 : *ὁ γὰρ ἀετὸς ὠνομασμένος (ἔστι δὲ νεὼς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρσοῦς ἐνίδρυται· κατίσταταί τε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατοπέδοις, καὶ οὐδαμόσε ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων, πλὴν εἴ ποι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἐξίοι, κινεῖται).*

[16] Vegetius II, 8 : *centurio primipili*, *qui – – – aquilae praeerat*; cf. Tacitus, Annales 2, 17 : *– – – exclamat irent*, *sequerentur Romanas avis* [aquilas], *propria legionum numina*.

[17] C'est dans la cour des *principia* de Novae que des *primi pili* ont érigé des monuments à l'aigle, V. Božilova, J. Kolendo, L. Mrozewicz, Inscriptions latines de Novae, Poznań 1992, p. 41–42, n° 18 ; p. 54–58, n° 28 ; les autres monuments du même caractère chez B. Dobson, Primipilares, p. 155–160.

[18] Voir plus haut, n. 15.

[19] Voir pourtant le commentaire de E. Künzl (Waffenschmuck, p. 22), qui admet, à notre avis à tort, que l'aigle de la légion pouvait être aussi en argent.

[20] Voir plus haut, n. 17.

[21] Voir pour le terme R. Ginouvés, Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine III, Rome-Athènes 1998, p. 39–40.

[22] R. Fellmann, Principia, p. 17–18 ; H. v. Petrikovits, Innenbauten, p. 75–76 ; A. Johnson, Kastelle, p. 131 sqq.

[23] Cf. Le modèle des principia de Vindonissa chez R. Fellmann, Principia, p. 49, fig. 23.

[24] AE 1962, 258 = A. R. Birley, The Roman Government of Britain, Oxford 2005, p. 353 (= R. Fellmann, Principia, p. 68) : *Aedem p[rinci]piorum / cu[m b]asilica / su[b ...]r[...]io Rufino / co(n)s(ulari) / [...Fo]rtunatus / [praef(ectus)? fec]it*; cf. *[aedes] pri[ncip]io[rum]* du camp légionnaire de Novae chez J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Supérieure), Bordeaux 1957, n°s 58, 127, 131 (fragments réunis par T. Sarnowski).

[25] Voir pour les sources M. Reddé, JRA 17, 2007, p. 448 avec n. 8.

sanctuaires des camps légionnaires et auxiliaires le terme d'*aedes principiorum*. Le doute subsiste. Pour que les choses soient claires, L. Aninius Firminus aurait dû écrire, par exemple, *tetrastylum aedis principiorum* ou *aedis aquilae fecit*.

Sur une pièce appartenant à un fourreau de Mogontiacum (de l'ainsi-dite épée de Tibère)[26] on distingue clairement les quatre colonnes de la façade d'une *aedes* (fig. 2). Entre les colonnes centrales, surmontées par un arc, on voit l'aigle sur un support en forme de chapiteau ionique. Entre les premières et les dernières



Fig. 2. Pièce de Mogontiacum (d'après E. Künzl).

colonnes sont placés des *signa*. Il s'agit ici d'un fronton dit « syrien », souvent rencontré dans l'architecture religieuse[27]. En tenant compte de la largeur réduite des *principia*, une façade en forme de tétrapyle pour l'*aedes* des troupes auxiliaires est peu probable. Sur les couronnements de monuments de Blatoburgium (Birrens) et de Habitancum (Risingham) on peut, d'ailleurs, reconnaître des entrées simples entre deux colonnes[28]. En revanche, la largeur de l'*aedes* des *principia* légionnaires permet sans problèmes la construction d'un tétrapyle. Une *aedes* légionnaire occupe, selon H. v. Petrikovits[29], une surface de 60–110 m^2, celle de

[26] R. Fellmann, Principia, p. 45, fig. 19 ; E. Künzl, Waffenschmuck, p. 19, fig. 26.

[27] Voir R. Étienne, I. Piso, Al. Diaconescu, AMN 39–40, 2001–2002, p. 110, avec n. 87.

[28] RIB 2092 ; CIL VII 982 = RIB 1210 ; voir Fellmann, Principia, p. 43, fig. 17, p. 44, fig. 18, p. 70.

[29] H. v. Petrikovits, Innenbauten, p. 75.

Potaissa a une largeur de 11,60 m[30]. Dans celle-ci ont été découverts des fragments de colonnes, ce qui justifie la reconstitution graphique de quatre colonnes, qui ne pouvaient se trouver que sur la ligne de la façade[31].

Quant au nouveau texte d'Apulum, on ne peut pas s'imaginer que L. Aninius Firminus aurait construit l'*aedes* de la légion. Elle devait exister dès le début du camp. Le *primus pilus* pouvait faire une de deux choses: de réaménager l'entrée sur la ligne de la façade, en ajoutant ou en remplaçant les quatre colonnes, ou bien ajouter un pronaos en forme de tétrastyle. Le meilleur exemple en est le *pronaos* ajouté devant l'*aedes principiorum* du camp légionnaire de Novae (fig. 3)[32].

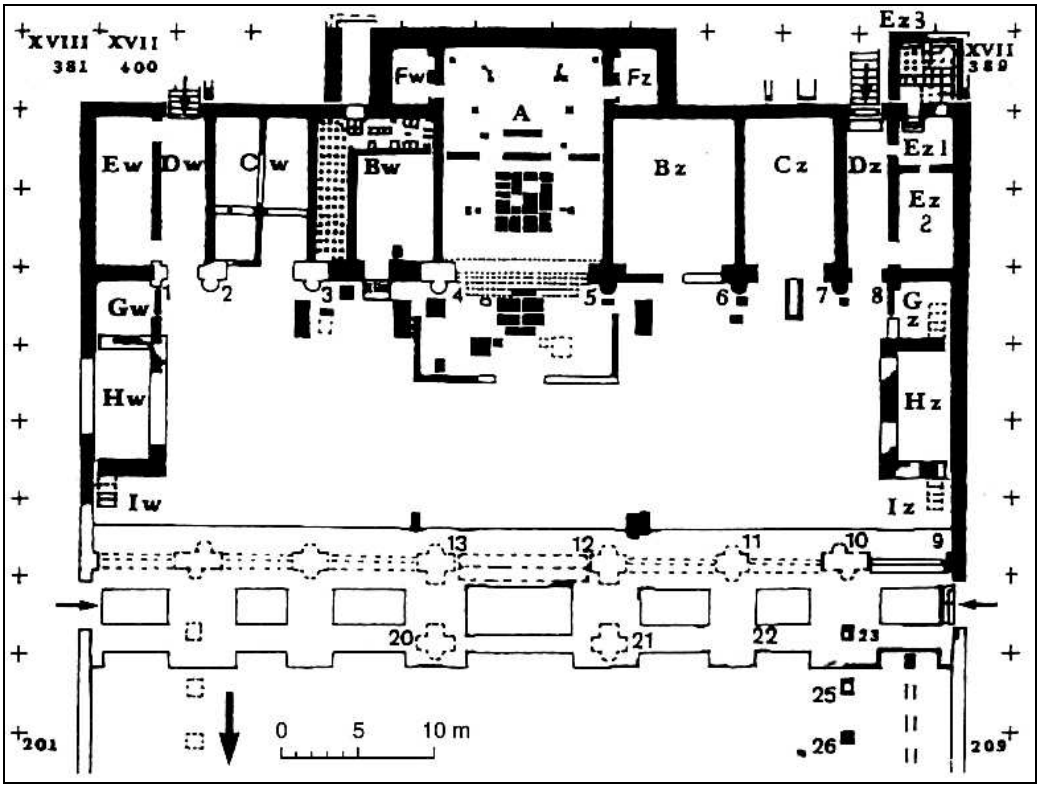


Fig. 3. La partie sud des *principia* du camp de Novae (d'après T. Sarnowski).

Le texte ne contient pas des éléments permettant une datation exacte. Le fait que le nom du *primus pilus* contient tous les éléments, y compris la tribu, n'est

[30] M. Bărbulescu, Din istoria militară a Daciei romane. Legiunea V Macedonica şi castrul de la Potaissa, Cluj-Napoca 1987, p. 157–158, où l'on trouve aussi d'autres exemples.

[31] M. Bărbulescu, op. cit., p. 125, fig. 23.

[32] Voir T. Sarnowski, dans : Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Exeter 1991, p. 303-307 ; Archeologia 51, 2000, p. 79–87, p. fig. 1–2; Archeologia 54, 2003, p. 65–75, fig. 1–2 ; Archeologia 56, 2005, p. 141–152, fig. 3 ; pour le camp légionnaire de Isca (Caerleon) voir H. v. Petrikovits, Innenbauten, p. 76.

pas un argument pour la datation du IIème siècle. Les inscriptions plus tardives de Novae contiennent les mêmes éléments du nom[33]. La datation des autres monuments dédiés par des primipiles à l'aigle plaide plutôt pour l'époque des Sévères. Comme la légion ne porte pas d'épithète impériale, le monument devrait être daté du règne de Septime Sévère ou de l'époque immédiatement antérieure.

[33] Voir plus haut, n. 17.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 185–210

NEUE DIPLOME FÜR DIE DAKISCHEN PROVINZEN

WERNER ECK, ANDREAS PANGERL

In den drei letzten Bänden der AMN konnten jeweils mehrere Diplome für die Provinzen in Dakien publiziert werden[1]. Inzwischen sind weitere Diplomfragmente bekannt geworden, die die von Traian eroberte Region, die zu Beginn der hadrianischen Zeit in drei Provinzen gegliedert wurde, betreffen. Sie werden hier vorgelegt, nach Provinzen geordnet und zeitlich gegliedert. Für keines der Diplome war eine genaue Herkunft zu ermitteln, doch dürften sie ohne Ausnahme und mit allergrößter Wahrscheinlichkeit aus dem östlichen Balkanbereich stammen.

Zusammen mit den neuen Diplomen, die zumeist bisher unbekannte Konstitutionen betreffen, steigt die Zahl der Bürgerrechtserlasse für die dakischen Provinzen auf insgesamt 54, die Zahl der Diplome auf insgesamt 75. Damit ist gerade auch für die Leitung der verschiedenen Provinzen in Dakien eine weit bessere Basis gegeben als noch vor zwei Jahrzehnten. Der schon erschienene Band der Fasti provinciae Daciae und der bald erscheinende zweite Band von Ioan Piso zeigen dies mit genügender Deutlichkeit[2].

[1] W. Eck – D. MacDonald – A. Pangerl, Neue Diplome für Auxiliartruppen in den dakischen Provinzen, AMN 38/I, 2001 [2003], 27 ff.; dies., Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen von Unterpannonien und der dakischen Provinzen aus hadrianischer Zeit, AMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003 [2004], 25 ff.; W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Ein Diplom für die Truppen von Dacia superior unter dem Kommando des Marcius Turbo im Jahr 119 n. Chr., AMN 41–42/I, 2004/5 [2007], 61 ff. – Dan Dana möchten wir für seine Hilfe bei der Klärung onomastischer Probleme danken, Peter Weiß, Paul Holder und Ioan Piso für kritische Hinweise. Anke Raßelnberg hat bei der Erstellung der Liste aller Diplome für Dakien geholfen.

[2] I. Piso, Fasti provinciae Daciae I, Bonn 1993.

I. Dacia inferior

1. Eine Konstitution Hadrians vom 17. Juli 122 für Dacia inferior

Fragment aus der rechten oberen Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 1 a-b). Die Tafel ist auf allen Seiten abgebrochen, rechts ist der Rand erhalten; die Tafel war mit einer Doppellinie eingerahmt.



Abb. 1 a-b.

Maße: Höhe: 3,7 cm; Breite 3,8 cm; Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 4 mm; innen: 5 mm. Gewicht: 8 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen[3]:

Außenseite:

[---]+++ẠRṾṂ
[ET II FL BESSOR ET III GALLO]R QVAE SVNT
[IN DACIA INFER SVB COCCEIO N]ASONE QVI
[NIS ET VICENIS PLVRIBVS STIPEND]IS EMERI
[TIS DIMISSIS HONESTA MISSIONE] QVORVM
[NOMINA SVBSCRIPT SVNT IPSIS L]IBERIS POS
[TERISQ EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET C]ONVB

Innenseite:

[POSTERISQ EORVM] ĊIṾIṬẠṬẸṂ [DEDIT ET CO]
[NVBIVM CVM VXO]RIBVS QVA[S TVNC HABVIS]
[SENT CVM EST CIVI]TAS IIS DAṬ[A AVT SI QVI]
vacat

Unsicher bleibt die Lesung der ersten, partiell noch erhaltenen Zeile der Außenseite.

[3] Die sicheren Ergänzungen werden hier sogleich eingeschlossen.

Das Diplom gibt nur einen einzigen Hinweis auf die Zeit und die Provinz, für die das Diplom ausgestellt worden war, mit dem Cognomen des Statthalters, das auf der Vorderseite größtenteils zu lesen ist: *[N]asone*.

Im Personennamenmaterial der PIR finden sich zwar einige Personen, die dieses Cognomen tragen[4], doch ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass eine dieser Personen mit dem hier genannten Statthalter identifiziert werden sollte. Einige gehören in die frühe Prinzipatszeit, in der noch keine Diplome ausgegeben wurden, wie L. Axius Naso, Valerius Naso und P. Viriasius Naso, für andere gibt es keinen Hinweis, dass sie überhaupt ein Alter erreichten, in dem sie eine solche Aufgabe, die Leitung einer Provinz, hätten übernehmen könnten, wie L. Aemilius Naso Fabullinus oder Iulius Naso. Doch ist seit Kurzem durch ein Diplom ein Cocceius Naso als Präsidialprokurator von Dacia Inferior im Jahr 122 bekannt:

RGZM 20: *quae [sunt in Dac(ia) infer(iore)] sub Cocceio Nason(e)*.

Der Name dieses Statthalters ist auch in zwei weiteren Diplomen zu ergänzen, die auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückgehen. In dem einen ist der Provinzname erhalten: *[quae su]nt in Dac(ia) infer(iore) sub [Cocceio Nasone]*[5], das andere darf man aus verschiedenen Gründen ebenfalls mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dieser Konstitution zuweisen[6], vor allem wegen des genauen Datums der Publikation in Rom: am 17. Juli 122[7].

Dieser Befund macht es recht wahrscheinlich, auch das neue Diplom Dacia inferior zuzuweisen, unter dem Statthalter Cocceius Naso und im Jahr 122 n. Chr. Für diese Datierung sprechen auch andere Elemente: Zum einen erscheinen noch kaum Abkürzungen im Privilegierungstext, die nach den ersten Jahren der Regierungszeit Hadrians deutlich häufiger werden. Zum andern sind nach RGZM 20 nur insgesamt acht Einheiten: drei Alen und fünf Kohorten angeführt, weshalb der Text auch nicht allzu lang ist. Deshalb kann auf der Innenseite des neuen Fragments der Text sehr locker geschrieben werden und unten noch erheblicher Platz unbeschrieben bleiben.

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[4] Siehe http://www.bbaw.de/cgi-bin/pir/pir-suche.pl sub verbo Naso.

[5] P. Weiß, ZPE 141, 2002, 242–245 Nr. 2; AE 2002, 1742; RMD V 361.

[6] Dieser Schluss ist zwar nicht absolut zwingend, da immer wieder verschiedene Konstitutionen am selben Tag veröffentlicht wurden; doch siehe in diesem Fall die Argumente bei W. Eck – D. MacDonald – A. Pangerl, AMN 39–40/I, 2002–2003, 34–37 Nr. 2 = AE 2003, 2042.

[7] Zwischen diesem und dem neuen Diplom gibt es keine textliche Überschneidung, weshalb man zunächst vermuten könnte, beide Fragmente könnten zum selben Diplom gehören; doch spricht die Schrift auf den beiden Fragmenten gegen die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Diplom. Eine Zugehörigkeit zu RGZM und RMD V 361 ist wegen Überlappung der jeweiligen Texte ausgeschlossen.

Der Statthalter Cocceius Naso ist ansonsten unbekannt. In RGZM heißt es im Kommentar zu Nr. 20, er gehöre zum ritterlichen Zweig der *gens Cocceia*; denn diesen habe es neben dem senatorischen Zweig sicher gegeben (S. 61). Diese Vorstellung ist einigermaßen bizarr. Eine *gens Cocceia* als eine definierbare Einheit gibt es notwendigerweise in der Kaiserzeit nicht, genauso wenig wie eine *gens Claudia* oder eine *gens Ulpia*. Dies sind zumeist unreflektierte moderne Konstruktionen ohne konkreten Inhalt. Es gibt natürlich zahlreiche Familien, die das *nomen gentile* Cocceius führen, ebenso wie andere den Familiennamen Claudius oder Ulpius. Doch die meisten dieser Familien, die auch in verschiedensten Städten und in weit von einander entfernten Provinzen leben, hängen in keiner Weise mehr verwandtschaftlich zusammen. Gerade dieser Zusammenhang aber wäre das Hauptkriterium, um von einer *gens* im römischen Sinn zu sprechen.

Das *nomen gentile* Cocceius führte auch Kaiser Nerva. Er hat wie viele Kaiser das römische Bürgerrecht verliehen, wobei die damit ausgezeichneten Personen wie oft üblich auch sein Gentile übernahmen. Doch dieser neue ritterliche Amtsträger kann nach allem, was wir sonst über römische Neubürger wissen, nicht zu einer Familie gehören, die erst von Nerva das Bürgerrecht erhalten hatte. Denn üblicherweise dauerte es deutlich länger, bis ein Mitglied einer solchen Neubürgerfamilie in den Ritterstand gelangen und dann sogar höhere prokuratorische Stellungen übernehmen konnte. Der Ritter Cocceius Naso sollte also zu einer Familie gehören, die schon länger zum römischen Bürgerverband gehörte. Dann aber müsste sie am ehesten aus Italien stammen, wofür im Übrigen auch das Cognomen Naso spricht. Denn die Heimat zumindest der Mitglieder des *ordo senatorius* bzw. *equester*, die dieses Cognomen führten, war ohne Ausnahme das Mutterland Italien[8]. Das dürfte auch für Cocceius Naso zutreffen[9].

Trifft jedenfalls die Identifizierung des Naso mit Cocceius Naso zu, dann kann man unter Einbeziehung von RGZM 20, RMD V 361 und AMN 39/40, 2002/2003, 34–37 Nr. 2 = AE 2003, 2042 folgenden Text rekonstruieren:

[Imp. Caes(ar), divi Traiani Parth(ici) f., divi Nervae nepos, Traianus Hadrian(us) Aug(ustus), pont(ifex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI, co(n)s(ul) III, proco(n)s(ul)

equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus), q(ui) mil(itaverunt) in al(is) III et coh(ortibus) V q(uae) app(ellantur) (1) --- et (2) Gall(orum) Cap(itoniana) et (3) Gall(orum) Atect(origiana) et (1) --- et (2) I Br(acar)aug(ustanorum) et (3) II Fl(avia)

[8] Siehe die Personen, die in PIR^2 vol. V fasc. 3, p. 337 f. aufgeführt sind.

[9] Vgl. dazu auch W. Eck in seiner Rezension zu RGZM in Bonner Jahrbuch 206, 2006, 353 f.

Numid]ar(um) [et (4) II Fl(avia) Bessor(um) et (5) III Gallo]r(um), quae sunt [in Dacia inferiore sub Cocceio N]asone, qui [quinis et vicenis plurib(usve) stipend]is emeri[tis dimissis honesta missione],

quorum [nomina subscripta sunt ipsis l]iberis pos[terisq(ue) eorum] civitatem [dedit et c]onub[ium cum uxo]ribus, qua[s tunc habuissent, cum est civit]as iis dat[a, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum is, quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.

a. d. XVI k. Aug. Ti. Iulio Capitone, L. Vitrasio Flaminino cos.] etc.

Von dieser Konstitution sind, wenn die Zuweisung des neuen Fragments zutrifft, inzwischen vier Kopien erhalten. Das ist schon deutlich mehr als die Zahl der Diplome, die üblicherweise aus einer Konstitution bekannt sind. So kann man davon ausgehen, dass 25 Jahre oder noch etwas früher relativ viele Rekruten in die betroffenen Einheiten aufgenommen worden waren. Diese waren eine Vierteljahrhundert zuvor freilich noch nicht in Dacia inferior stationiert, sondern in einer oder mehreren anderen Provinzen. Welche Provinzen dies waren, ist allerdings kaum festzustellen, da zwar sicher ist, dass die vier Diplome an Soldaten von mindestens drei verschiedenen Einheiten ausgegeben wurden, da die Namen der Präfekten ganz oder zum Teil erhalten sind; doch kennt man nur in einem Fall die konkrete Einheit, die *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*. Sie war jedenfalls vorher in Moesia inferior stationiert, von wo aus sie nach Dacia inferior transferiert worden war. Auch andere niedermösische Einheiten wurden in die jenseits der Donau neu erworbene Provinz Dacia versetzt. In Niedermösien aber hat es bereits 25 Jahre früher – 97 n. Chr. – offenbar relativ viele Entlassungen gegeben. Zumindest sind uns für dieses Jahr schon drei Diplome für die Truppen dieser Provinz bekannt: RMD II 140, sowie V 337 und 338. Diese Diplome sind freilich nur ein Teil der Folgen, die sich aus der Rekrutierung für Niedermösien im Jahr 97 fünfundzwanzig Jahre später ergaben; denn nicht wenige der 97 dort stationierten Einheiten sind ein Vierteljahrhundert später in anderen Provinzen eingesetzt, so dass der Umfang der Rekrutierung nicht allein aus RMD II 140, V 337 und 338 erschlossen werden darf. Da auch die meisten anderen der in der Konstitution von 122 für Dacia inferior aufgeführten Truppen, aus denen damals Veteranen ihre Privilegierung erhielten, ursprünglich aus Moesia inferior kamen, könnte jedenfalls ein Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Vorgängen bestehen.

2. Eine Konstitution Hadrians aus dem Jahr 134 für Dacia inferior

Fragment aus der rechten oberen Ecke von tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 2 a-b), dessen ursprünglicher Rand oben und rechts erhalten ist. Der Rahmen der Tafel wird von zwei leicht eingeritzten Linien gebildet. Sehr außergewöhnlich ist, dass auf der Innenseite von tabella I nicht wie üblich nochmals, beginnend mit der Kaisertitulatur, der Privilegierungstext steht; vielmehr erscheint hier derjenige Text, der normalerweise auf der Innenseite von tabella II steht, beginnend in dieser Zeit mit dem Tages- und Monatsdatum sowie den Namen der beiden Konsuln, die bereits in abgekürzter Form angeführt werden. Vermutlich wurde bei der Gravierung des Textes mit der Außenseite begonnen, dann aber wurden die Innenseiten verwechselt und so der normale Text der Innenseite von tabella II auf der Innenseite von tabella I eingetragen.



Abb. 2 a-b.

Maße: Höhe: 5,6 cm; Breite 4,2 cm; Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 4 mm; innen: 3 mm. Gewicht: 15 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:

[IMP CAES DIVI TRAIANI PART]HICI F DIVI NER
[VAE NEPOS TRAIANVS HADRIA]NVS AVG PONT
[MAXIM TRIB POT XVIII COS] III P P
[EQVITIB ET PEDITIB QVI MILITA]VER IN ALIS II ET
[COHORT II QVAE APPELL I CL GA]LLOR CAPITON ET
[--- ET II] FLAV NVMIDAR
[ET --- ET S]VNT IN DAC IN
[FERIOR SVB] QVINQ ET VIG

[INTI STIPEND EMERIT DIMISS H]ONEST MISSION
[QVOR NOMINA SVBSCRIPT SVNT] ✪[IPS]IS LIBER

Innenseite:
[---] NOV
[---]✪ MACRO COS

Der auf der Innenseite erhaltene Rest des Konsulatsdatums verwirrt zunächst. Denn die Ablativform *Macro* lässt zunächst an das Cognomen Macer denken. Doch kennen wir unter Hadrian, unter dem das Diplom wegen *p(ater) p(atriae)* in der Titulatur, nicht vor dem Jahr 128 ausgestellt worden ist, und zwar in den letzten Monaten des Jahres 134, das Suffektkonsulnpaar P. Licinius Pansa und L. Attius Macro. Das Cognomen des zweiten Konsuls ist im Nominativ aus zwei Dedikationen an Gottheiten in der Form Macro bekannt ist; da er die Weihungen persönlich veranlasst hat, die zudem an zwei verschiedenen Orten erfolgten, ist Macro sicherlich der richtige Name[10]. In dem Diplom hat der Schreiber offensichtlich an das weit häufigere Cognomen Macer gedacht und deshalb die Ablativform als *Macro*, statt *Macrone* geschrieben[11]. Genau diesen Irrtum findet man auch in zwei weiteren Diplomen[12]:

CIL XVI 79:
Innenseite: *a(nte) d(iem) XVII K(alendas) Oc(tobres) P. Licinio Pansa, L. Attio Macrone co(n)s(ulibus)*
Außenseite: *a(nte) d(iem) XVII K(alendas) Octobr(es) P. Licinio Pansa, L. Attio* ***Macro*** *co(n)s(ulibus)* und

CIL XVI 80:
Außenseite: *[a(nte) d(iem) XVII K(alendas) Nov(embres)] P. Licinio Pansa, L. [Att]io* ***Macro*** *co(n)s(ulibus)*.

Mit der Identifizierung des Konsulnpaars passt auch der Rest der Monatsangabe NOV zusammen; die bisher bekannten Zeugnisse für das Konsulnpaar führen in den September und Oktober. Vermutlich waren beide wie in dieser Zeit üblich für vier Monate, von September bis Dezember, im Amt.

Die Konstitution, die bisher noch nicht durch ein Diplom bezeugt war, wurde für die Soldaten von zwei Alen und vermutlich auch von zwei, eher nicht

[10] CIL III 4356 = 11077 (Brigetio) und II 5083 = Dessau 2289 (Legio).
[11] Dass man die Form als Abkürzung für *Macro(ne)* verstehen sollte, ist eher unwahrscheinlich.
[12] In RGZM 26, in dem die gleichen Konsuln genannt sind, ist Macros Name verloren.

von drei Kohorten ausgestellt. Die im Text noch lesbaren Namen der *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana* sowie die *cohors II Flavia Numidarum* sind mehrfach in Diplomen auch für Dacia inferior bezeugt. Eine der beiden fehlenden Alen könnte entweder die *ala I Asturum* oder die *ala I Hispanorum* sein.

Der Name des Statthalters fehlt in dem Diplom. Es könnte sich um einen Präsidialprokurator handeln, der zwischen Claudius Constans und Flavius Constans dort amtiert hat. Doch lässt sich das mit den zur Zeit vorhandenen Zeugnissen nicht entscheiden[13]. Folgender Text lässt sich rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator Caes(ar) divi Traiani Part]hici f(ilius), divi Ner[vae nepos, Traianus Hadria]nus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) [maxim(us), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVIII, co(n)s(ul)] III, p(ater) p(atriae)

[equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui milita]ver(unt) in alis II et [cohort(ibus) II quae appell(antur) I Cl(audia) Ga]llor(um) Capiton(iana) et [--- et II] Flav(ia) Numidar(um) [et --- et s]unt in Dac(ia) in[ferior(e) sub ---] quinq(ue) et vig[inti stipend(is) emerit(is) dimiss(is) h]onest(a) mission(e) [quor(um) nomina subscript(a) sunt ips]is liber(is) [posterisq(ue) eorum civitatem dedit ---

A(nte) d(iem) ---] Nov(embres) [Pansa et] Macro co(n)s(ulibus).

3. Eine Konstitution des Antoninus Pius aus dem Jahr 150 für Dacia inferior

Fragment aus der linken oberer Ecke von tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 3 a-b) links und oben ist der Rand erhalten. Zwei Linien rahmen die Tafel ein.

Maße: Höhe: 4 cm; Breite 3,9 cm; Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 4 mm; innen: 5 mm. Gewicht: 14 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen:



Fig. 3 a-b.

[13] Siehe dazu in Kürze den 2. Band der Fasti provinciae Daciae von I. Piso.

Außenseite:
IMP CAES DIVI [HADRIANI FIL DIVI TRAIA]
NI PARTHIC N[EP DIVI NERVAE PRON T AELI]
VS HADRIANV[S ANTONINVS AVG PIVS]
PONT MAX TRI[B POT XIII COS III P P]
EQVIT ET PEDI[T QVI MIL IN AL III ET NVME]
RO EQVIT ILLY[R ET COH VIIII QVAE APP I]
ASTVR ET HI[SP ET I CL GALL CAPIT ET I FL]
COMMAG[EN ET I BRACARAVG ET I TYR SAG]

Innenseite:
IMP CAES[---]
PARTHIC N[---]
DRIANVS [---]
POT XIII[---]

Das Fragment bezeugt durch die Namen der Einheiten, die erhalten geblieben sind, eine Konstitution für Dacia inferior. Die Abfolge der Einheiten, so wie sie noch zu erkennen sind, entspricht genau der, wie sie in RMD I 39 und IV 269 erscheinen; das erstere Diplom stammt aus dem Jahr 140, das zweite aus dem Jahr 146. Dieses neue gehört auf Grund der *tribunicia potestas XIII* auf der Innenseite in den Zeitraum vom 10. Dezember 149 bis zum 9. Dezember 150; freilich ist auch bei der *tribunicia potestas* die Ziffer *XIIII* nicht völlig ausgeschlossen, da sie am Bruchrand steht; dann wäre die Konstitution ein Jahr später ausgestellt; doch ist diese Lesung wenig wahrscheinlich. Das Dokument bezeugt jedenfalls sehr deutlich die Kontinuität der Besatzung von Dacia inferior in diesen Jahren.

Das Diplom dokumentiert eine bisher unbekannte Konstitution, die auf Grund des fragmentarischen Charakters des Diploms jedoch keine weiteren Informationen bietet. Der Statthaltername kann nicht ergänzt werden, da nicht bekannt ist, wer im Jahr 150 n. Chr. als Präsidialprokurator amtierte. Der rekonstruierte Text lautet folgendermaßen:

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi [Hadriani f(ilius), divi Traia]ni Parthic(i) n[ep(os), divi Nervae pron(epos), T(itus) Aeli]us Hadrianus [Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius] pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia)] pot(estate) XIII, [co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae)]

equit(ibus) et pedi[t(ibus) qui mil(itaverunt) in al(is) III et nume]ro eq(uitum) Illy[r(icorum) et coh(ortibus) VIIII q(uae) app(ellantur) I] Astur(um) et Hi[sp(anorum) et I Cl(audia) Gal(lorum) Cap(itoniana) et I Fl(avia)] Commag[en(orum) et I Bracaraug(ustanorum) et I Tyr(orum) sag(ittaria) et ---] etc.

II. Dacia superior

4. Konstitution für die Truppen von Dacia superior vom 29. Juni 120

Fast vollständige tabella II eines Diploms ist erhalten (Abb. 4 a-b), die leichte Ausbrüche an den Rändern, vor allem am unteren Rand sowie ein Loch in der rechten Seite aufweist. Auf der Außenseite sind noch die Spuren zu sehen, die die Verlötung der Kappe zum Schutz der Siegel hinterlassen hat. Das Konsulndatum auf der Innenseite scheint nachgetragen zu sein, da die Buchstaben sich vom sonstigen Text unterscheiden und auch deutlich größer geschrieben sind.

Maße: Höhe: 12,7 cm; Breite 16,5 cm; Dicke 0,5 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 6–7 mm; innen: 4 mm. Gewicht: 111 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Innenseite:
EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET CONVBIVM
CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT
CVM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SI QVI CAELIBES
ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT DVM
TAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS AD III K IVL
C PVBLICIO ⊙ MARCELLO COS
L RVTILIO PROPINQVO
ALAE HISPANORVM CVI PRAEST
C FIDVS Q F GAL LOREIANVS
EX GREGALE
ADIVTORI PSI F [BE]SSO
⊙
vacat
vacat
vacat

Außenseite:
L ATTEI ATTEIANI
M IVNI ⊙ EVTYCHI
P ATINI FLO[RI]
Q FABI ITI
L PVLLI ANTHI
T CLAVDI ⊙ EROTIS
P ATINI CRESCENTIS

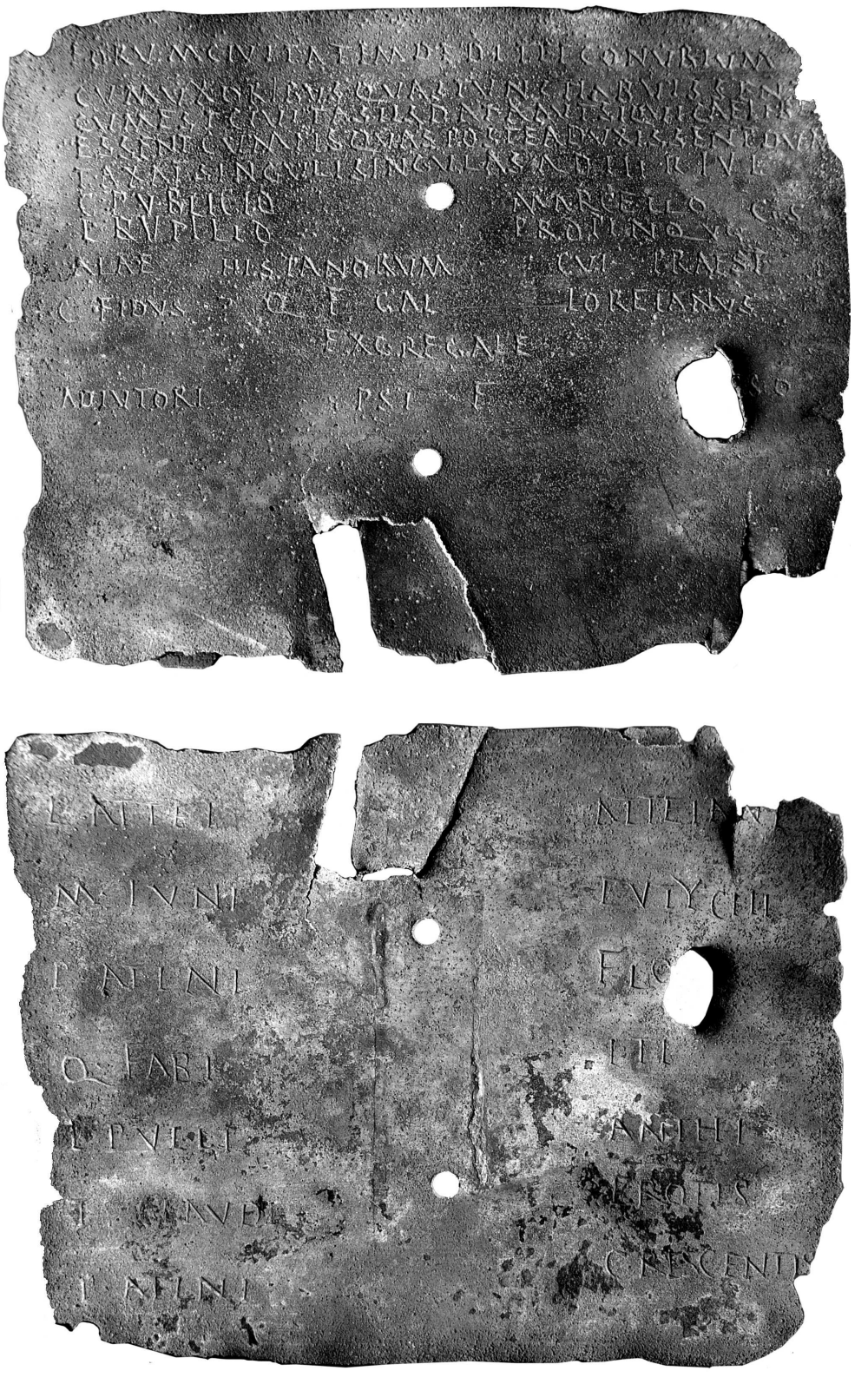


Fig. 4 a-b.

Die Konstitution Hadrians wurde am 29. Juni 120 in Rom publiziert, so wie auch eine Konstitution für die *Palmyreni sagittarii*, die ebenfalls in Dacia superior standen (CIL XVI 68; RMD I 17), und eine weitere Konstitution für die Provinz Macedonia (CIL XVI 67). In allen drei Dokumenten erscheinen die amtierenden Konsuln in derselben Form. Die gemeinsame Publikation verschiedener Bürgerrechtserlasse am selben Tag ist inzwischen mehrfach bezeugt.

Diese neue Konstitution wurde vermutlich ebenfalls für das Heer von Dacia superior ausgestellt, da die Einheit des Empfängers, die *ala Hispanorum* durch ein Diplom vom 12. November 119 als Teil dieses Provinzheeres bezeugt ist[14]. Im Jahr 129 gehört die *ala* dann zum *exercitus* von Dacia inferior[15]. Dass der Wechsel der Einheit von Dacia superior nach inferior in den wenigen Monaten zwischen dem 12. November 119 und dem 29. Juni 120 erfolgt ist, erscheint wenig wahrscheinlich, da sich die Lage im gesamten dakischen Gebiet, wo Dacia superior wegen der Stationierung der damals einzigen Legion die militärische Hauptlast zu tragen hatte, erst allmählich beruhigte. Wenn das zutrifft und die Einheit noch zu Dacia superior gehörte, dann ist im Diplomtext Iulius Severus als Statthalter genannt gewesen.

Wichtig ist aber, dass, wenn die Zuweisung an Dacia superior zutrifft, dann am selben Tag zwei verschiedene Konstitutionen für Truppen dieser Provinz veröffentlicht wurden: die Konstitution, die durch CIL XVI 68 und RMD I 17 (für die *Palmyreni sagittarii*) bezeugt ist, und dann diese neue für weitere Auxiliartruppen derselben Provinz. Zwei Konstitutionen für dasselbe Provinzheer an einem Tag sind auch sonst gelegentlich bezeugt, wie etwa für die Truppen von Moesia in den Jahren 75 und 78[16], sowie für Syrien im Jahr 88 und im Jahr 91[17]. Im Fall der beiden Konstitutionen, wenn sie tatsächlich für Dacia superior bestimmt sind, ist der Grund für die beiden separaten Ausfertigungen offensichtlich: Während die neue Konstitution nach der üblichen Urkundenform gestaltet ist,

[14] RMD V 351; so der Vorschlag von P. Holder, während Eck – MacDonald – Pangerl in AMN 38, 2001 (Anm. 1), 27 ff. ursprünglich die *ala Hispanorum Campagonum* vorgeschlagen hatten. Siehe jetzt die revidierte und ergänzte Fassung des Diploms vom 12. November 119 bei W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Ein Diplom für die Truppen von Dacia superior unter dem Kommando des Marcius Turbo im Jahr 119 n. Chr., Acta Musei Napocensis 41–42/I, 2004/5 [2007], 61 ff.

[15] CIL XVI 75.

[16] Siehe dazu zwei Aufsätze von Peter Weiß sowie von Werner Eck und Andreas Pangerl in Chiron 38, 2008, 269 ff. und 317 ff.

[17] W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Syria unter Domitian und Hadrian: Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz, Chiron 36, 2006, 205 ff.; P. Weiß, Die Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius, Chiron, 36, 2006, 249 ff.

also für Veteranen und ihre Kinder, wobei auch das *conubium* vergeben wurde, erhielten die *Palmyreni sagittarii* zwar noch während der Dienstzeit die *civitas*, jedoch nur sie selbst, nicht jedoch auch für etwaige Kinder; ferner wurde das *conubium* nicht gewährt. Diese Besonderheiten hätten, wenn man alle damals in Dacia superior stationierten Truppen in eine Urkunde zusammengeschlossen hätte, ein so kompliziertes Formular erfordert, dass man vermutlich deshalb die beiden Rechtsakte in zwei Urkunden fasste.

Das Diplom ging an einen Bessus mit dem römischen Namen Adiutor, dessen Vater mit dem Namen Psi angegeben wird. Der Name des Empfängers des Diploms ist recht häufig[18], allerdings kennt man bisher in dieser frühen Zeit noch kein Beispiel dafür, dass Soldaten, die aus Thrakien stammen, ein römisches Cognomen annehmen, außer sie haben bereits das Bürgerrecht und dann einen vollen dreigliedrigen römischen Namen.

Neu und nicht erklärbar ist der Vatersname Psi. Wie der Nominativ gelautet haben könnte, ist nicht klar, da der Name thrakisch ist. In einem Diplom ebenfalls für Dacia superior findet sich der Name *Heptapori Isi f. Besso*[19]. Man ist zwar versucht, in beiden Diplomen denselben Namen anzunehmen. Doch sind die Lesungen in beiden Fällen sicher.

Die *ala Hispanorum*, aus der der Veteran stammte, unterstand im Jahr 120 dem Präfekten C. Fidus Q. f. Gal(eria tribu) Loreianus. Diese Nomenklatur ist in zweierlei Hinsicht auffällig. Zum einen wird hier Fidus, das als Cognomen häufig bezeugt ist, als Gentile verwendet, was bisher nicht belegt zu sein scheint[20]. Dass es hier als Gentile angesehen wird, ergibt sich aus der Stellung der Filiation und der Tribus; das ist jedenfalls die wahrscheinlichste Erklärung. Ebenso ist offensichtlich das Cognomen Loreianus, das auf das Gentile Loreius zurückgeht, bisher nicht bezeugt[21].

Die Zeugen finden sich genau in dieser Reihenfolge auch auf den beiden Diplomen für die *Palmyreni sagittarii*, ebenso zum Teil in einem weiteren Diplomfragment, das eine zweite Kopie dieser neuen Konstitution darstellt. Dieses Fragment wird, wie uns Paul Holder dankenswerter Weise mitteilte, in Kürze von ihm publiziert werden. Die Rekonstruktion des Diplomtextes lautet:

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[18] Siehe OPEL^2 I 22.

[19] CIL XVI 108, 8. Juli 158.

[20] Bei H. Solin – O. Salomies, Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum, Berlin^2 1994, 79 kommt Fidus so nicht vor.

[21] Siehe Solin – Salomies (Anm. 20) 353; lediglich Lorenianus ist dort zu finden. Auch in der Datenbank Clauss ist der Name nicht vorhanden.

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius), *divi Nervae nepos*, *Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus)*, *trib(unicia) potest(ate) IIII*, *co(n)s(ul) III*

equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in ala/is --- et cohortibus --- quae appellantur Hispanorum et ---et --- quae sunt in Dacia superiore sub Iulio Severo quinque et viginti stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione

quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque] eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent, *cum est civitas iis data*, *aut si qui caelibes essent*, *cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas*.

A(nte) d(iem) III k(alendas) Iul(ias) G(aio) Publicio Marcello, *L(ucio) Rutilio Propinquo co(n)s(ulibus)*.

Alae Hispanorum, *cui praest G(aius) Fidus Q(uinti) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu) Loreianus*

ex gregale Adiutori Psi f(ilio) [Be]sso.

[Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam].

L(uci) Attei Atteiani; *M(arci) Iuni Eutychi*; *L(uci) Atini Flo[ri]*; *Q(uinti) Fabi Iti*; *L(uci) Pulli Anthi*; *Ti(beri) Claudi Erotis*; *P(ubli) Atini Crescentis*.

5. Eine Konstitution des Antoninus Pius vom September 152 für Dacia superior

Erhalten ist ein Fragment aus der linken Mitte von tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 5 a-b). Der Rand ist links noch bewahrt. Zwei nicht sehr tiefe Linien, die den Rahmen bildeten, sind noch erkennbar. Erhalten ist auch das linke Bindungsloch der tabella I.



Fig. 5 a-b.

Maße: Höhe: 5,5 cm; Breite 4,5 cm; Dicke 1,5 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 3 mm; innen: 4–5 mm. Gewicht: 21 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:
ET II GALL [---]
ET VEXIL EX[---]
MAVR GEN[---
DATIO SEVER[---]
PLVRVE STI[---]
✪
QVOR NOMIN[---]
ROMAN QVI EO[---]
NVB CVM VXO[---]
CIVIT IS DATA AVT[---]
DVMTAX SING[---]
C NOVIO[---]
L I[---]

Innenseite:
[---]IVI HADRIANI F[---]
[---]N DIVI NERVAE [---]
[---]VS ANTONINV[---]
[---]POT XV IMP II[---]
✪
[---]MIL IN A[---]

Das neue Diplom geht auf eine bisher nicht bekannte Konstitution des Antoninus Pius aus dem Jahr 152 zurück. Die Datierung ergibt sich aus der 15. *tribunicia potestas* des Pius, die vom 10. Dezember 151 bis zum 9. Dezember 152 geht. Im Jahr 152 amtierten ferner die Suffektkonsuln C. Novius Priscus und L. Iulius Romulus von Juli bis September, deren Namen im Diplom partiell noch zu lesen sind. Ihre Namen scheinen auf diesem Diplom nicht nachgetragen, sondern zusammen mit dem anderen Text geschrieben worden zu sein.

Mit diesen Suffektkonsuln sind noch weitere Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen datiert, so eine für die Truppen von Germania inferior vom 5. September[22], für die

[22] W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Neue Diplome für die Heere von Germania superior und Germania inferior, ZPE 148, 2004, 259 ff., RMD V 408; RGZM 35.

Flotte von Ravenna vom selben Datum[23] und für die Truppen von Pannonia inferior, wofür keine genauere Datierung erhalten ist; doch darf man vermuten, dass auch diese Konstitution am 5. September publiziert wurde[24].

Die Bürgerrechtsverleihung war für die Truppen von Dacia superior bestimmt. Das ergibt sich zum einen aus der Nennung des Statthalters Sedatius Severianus, dessen voller Name M. Sedatius Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Ti. Rutilianus Censor lautet und der am 1. Juli 153 seinen Suffektkonsulat antrat[25], wozu sich Gesandte aus Dacia superior nach Rom aufmachten, um ihren bisherigen Statthalter zu ehren[26]. Er war zumindest von ca. 151 bis wohl im Jahr 153 Legat von Oberdakien[27]. Sodann aber weisen auf Dacia superior auch die wenigen Namen von Einheiten hin, die in dem Fragment noch erscheinen:

II GALL[---],
VEXIL EX[---] und eine Einheit der
MAVR GEN[---].

Die an erster Stelle genannte Einheit, sicher eine Kohorte, ist vermutlich mit der *cohors II Gallorum Pannonica* identisch, die in Diplomen von 136/38[28] und 157[29] als Teil des Heeres von Dacia superior bezeugt ist. Allerdings könnte es sich auch um die *cohors II Gallorum Dacica* handeln, die ebenfalls in Dacia superior stand und die sowohl im Jahr 136/8[30] als auch im Jahr 144[31] genannt wird;

[23] CIL XVI 100.

[24] RMD III 167; das Datum dort muss jedenfalls von September/Oktober zu Juli-September verändert werden, da die beiden Konsuln, anders als dies noch bei A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari, Rom 1952, 43 angegeben ist, nicht erst in diesen Monaten im Amt waren, sondern von Juli-September, da die Amtszeiten der Suffektpaare jeweils drei Monate dauerten; siehe dazu W. Eck – A. Pangerl, Weitere Militärdiplome für die mauretanischen Provinzen,, ZPE 162, 2007, 235 ff.

[25] L. Vidman, Fasti Ostienses, Prag^2 1984, 51.

[26] CIL III 1562 = Dessau 3896.

[27] Piso, Fasti I (Anm. 2) 61 ff. Siehe zu seiner Person noch PIR^2 S 306, ferner J. Hienard, L'inscription de Poitiers dans l'honneur du sénateur Severianus. Trente ans après, in: Revue historique du Centre-Ouest, Poitiers, 6, 2007, 251 ff.; die Rekonstruktion des Monuments ist in der bei Hienard vorgeschlagenen Form nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Die Basis dürfte in Wirklichkeit wohl weniger breit gewesen sein.

[28] RMD V 384.

[29] CIL XVI 107.

[30] RMD V 384.

[31] CIL XVI 90.

auch in CIL XVI 107 vom Jahr 156 kann ihr Name ergänzt werden[32]. Auf Grund des in dieser Zeile danach noch vorhandenen Platzes müsste mindestens noch eine (wenn nicht sogar noch eine zweite) Kohorte gefolgt sein; doch lässt sich über den oder die Namen nichts aussagen, da in den Diplomen dieser Provinz die Einheiten nicht entsprechend ihrer Ordnungsziffer angeführt werden. Wie viele Einheiten im Text vorangegangen sind, entzieht sich uns völlig.

Wichtig sind die zu Beginn der beiden folgenden Zeilen genannten militärischen Abteilungen: zum einen *vexil(larii)*, die aus einer bestimmten Provinz kommen (deshalb *ex [---]*), und andererseits *Mauri gentiles*. Sie finden sich zusammen allein in einem Diplom für Dacia superior aus dem Jahr 158 und zwar in der Form: *et vex(illariis) Afric(ae) et Mau[r]et(aniae) Caes(ariensis) qui sunt cum Maur(is) gentilib(us) in Dacia super(iore)*[33].

Genau diese Formulierung aus CIL XVI 108 in das neue Fragment einzusetzen, ist freilich nicht möglich, da hierfür der Platz nicht ausreicht. Doch könnte der Text unter Berücksichtigung der für andere Zeilen relativ sicher zu erschließenden Buchstabenzahl etwa folgendermaßen gelautet haben:

ET VEXIL EX [AFRIC ET MAVR QVAE SVNT CVM]
oder vielleicht lediglich
ET VEXIL EX [MAVR CAES QVI SVNT CVM]
MAVR GEN[TIL IN DACIA SVPERIOR SVB SE]
DATIO SEVER[IANO LEG QVINQ ET VIGINTI]
PLVRVE STI[PEN EMERIT DIMISS HON MISS]
QVOR NOMIN[A SVBSCRIP SVNT CIVITATEM]
ROMAN QVI EO[R NON HABER DEDIT ET CO]
NVB CVM VXO[R QVAS TVNC HAB CVM EST]
CIVIT IS DATA AVT[CVM IS QVAS POST DVX]
DVMTAX SING[VLIS].

Bisher waren diese *vexillarii Africae et Mauretaniae Caesariensis* als Truppen angesehen worden, die erst unter dem Statthalter Statius Priscus aus Anlass eines Krieges gegen freie Daker und Jazygen ca. 157/58 in die Provinz nördlich der Donau abkommandiert worden seien[34]. Nunmehr aber sind sowohl *vexil(larii) ex [Afric(a) et Maur(etania)]* oder *ex [Maur(etania) Caes(ariensi)]* als

[32] Dankenswerter Hinweis von Paul Holder.
[33] CIL XVI 108.
[34] So z.B. Piso (Anm. 2) 70 f.

auch *Mauri gentiles* bereits für das Jahr 152 bezeugt. Der Grund für ihre Transferierung nach Dakien lag also weit früher, er kann nicht in irgendwelchen Kämpfen erst unter Statius Priscus gesehen werden. Doch scheint es in unserer Überlieferung keinen konkreten Hinweis darauf zu geben, worin man die Ursache sehen könnte. Doch muss es sich um ernsthafte Auseinandersetzungen gehandelt haben, da man sonst nicht aus Mauretania Caesariensis Truppen in die Provinz nördlich der Donau versetzt hätte; denn gerade in dieser Zeit waren in den beiden Mauretaniae Kämpfe im Gang, die dorthin die Absendung von Vexillationen aus Pannonien erfordert hatten[35]. Vielleicht war es die besondere Kampfesweise der Truppen aus Africa und Mauretania, die ihre Absendung nach Dakien bedingt hatte.

Folgender Konstitutionstext lässt sich rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) d]ivi Hadriani f(ilius), [divi Traiani Parthici] n(epos), divi Nervae [pron(epos), T(itus) Aelius Hadrian]us Antoninu[s Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia)] pot(estate) XV, imp(erator) II, [co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriae)

equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui] mil(itaverunt) in a[lis quae appel(lantur) --- et coh(ortibus) --- II Gall(orum) --- et vexil(lariis) ex Afric(a) oder *Maur(etania) Caes(ariensi) qui sunt cum] Maur(is) gen[tilib(us) in Dacia super(iore) sub Se]datio Sever[iano quinq(ue) et vigint(i)] plur(ibus)ve sti[pendis emer(itis) dimis(sis) hon(esta) mis(sione)] quorum nomin[a subscript(a) sunt civitatem] Roman(am), qui eo[rum non hab(erent) dedit et co]nubium cum uxo[ribus quas tunc habuissent cum est] civitas is data aut [cum iis quas postea duxissent] dumtax(at) sing[ulis.*

A(nte) d(iem) ---] G(aio) Novio [Prisco], L(ucio) I[ulio Romulo co(n)s(ulibus)] etc.

Im Jahr 152 ist eine recht große Anzahl von Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen des Antoninus Pius bezeugt. Es sind dies bisher:

RGZM 33	1 März	Prätorianer/Urbaniciani
RMD V 406	Apr./Juni	Pannonia superior
RMD 407 = ZPE 162, 2007, 235 ff.	April/Juni	Mauretania Caesariensis
CIL XVI 100	5. September	Classis Ravennas
ZPE 148, 2004, 259 ff., RMD V 408; RGZM 35	5. September	Germania inferior
RMD III 167	Juli/September?	Pannonia inferior
dieses Diplom	Juli/September	Dacia superior

[35] Siehe z. B. CIL XVI 99; RGZM 32; RMD V 398. 405.

Dies sind insgesamt sieben verschiedene Konstitutionen, die von Pius erlassen worden sind. Und doch dürfte auch dies nur ein kleiner Teil der Bürgerrechtserlasse sein, die in diesem Jahr die kaiserliche Kanzlei verließen[36]. Es ist auch bedeutsam zu sehen, dass bis zum Jahr 1955, als das Supplement zu CIL XVI erschien, überhaupt nur eine Konstitution aus diesem Jahr bekannt war. Seitdem sind sechs weitere bezeugt. Diese zeigen zwar nur einen winzigen Ausschnitt aus dem bürokratischen Alltag des Kaisers und seiner Büros; dennoch wird auf diese Weise deutlich, wie dicht gefüllt er in der Realität gewesen sein muss, wenn so relativ viele Vorgänge durch die Diplome noch heute erfasst werden können.

III. Dacia Porolissensis

6. Eine Konstitution von Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus vom 21. Juli 164

Fragment von tabella I eines Diploms (Abb. 6 a-b), das etwas mehr als die obere linke Hälfte des ursprünglichen Diploms repräsentiert. Links und oben ist der Rand erhalten, der Rahmen wird von zwei nur leicht eingetieften Linien gebildet. Rechts unten ist in Verbindung mit dem freien Platz am Ende der beschriebenen Fläche noch ein Bindungsloch zu sehen.



Fig. 6 a-b.

[36] Vgl. W. Eck, Die Ausstellung von Bürgerrechtskonstitutionen: Ein Blick in den Arbeitsalltag des römischen Kaisers, in: Amministrare un Impero. Roma e le sue province, hg. A. Baroni, Trento 2007, 89 ff.

Maße: Höhe: 7,7 cm; Breite 7,2 cm; Dicke 1 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 3 mm; innen: 4 mm. Gewicht: 46 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen:

Außenseite:
IMP CAESAR MARCVS AVR[---]
AVG ARMENIAC PONTIFEX [---]
NIC POTEST XIIX IMP I[---]
IMP CAESAR LVCIVS AVREL[---]
MENIACVS TRIBVN POT IV[---]
DIVI ANTONINI FILI DIVI H[---]
DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI [---]
DIVI NERVAE AD[---]
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI M[---]
TRIBVS QVAE APPELLANT II GA[---]
ET SILIAN CR ET I TVNGR FRO[---]
ET DVABVS I BRITTON ∞ ET I[---]
ET I HISPAN ∞ ET I BATAV ET I[---]
NERV BRITTON ∞ ET II BRITAN[---]
∞ ET I CANNANEF ET II HISP [---]
ET VI THRAC ET SVNT IN DAC[---]
SVB SEMPRONIO INOPEN[---]
vacat ❍

Innenseite:
IMP CAES LVCIVS AVRELIVS VE[---]
PONT MAX TRIB POT XVIII IMP[---]
IMP CAES LVCIVS AVRELIVS VERVS[---]
IIII IMP II PROCOS COS II DIV[---]
DRIANI NEPOTES DIVI TRAIA[---]
DIVI NERVAE AD[---]
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MIL[---]
LOR ET PANNON ET PANNO ET II TV[---]
❍
TON ∞ ET I BRITTANORM EQV[---]
NOR ∞ ET I AELIA GAESAT ET II NE[---]
∞ ET I HISPANOR ∞ ET I PANN[---]
LINGON ET VI THRAC[---]
SI SVB SEMPRONIO IN[---]
[---]PEND[---]

Das Diplom gehört zu einer großen Zahl von Kopien einer Konstitution, die von Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus am 21. Mai 164 für die Truppen von Dacia Porolissensis unter dem Präsidialprokurator Sempronius Ingenuus erlassen worden war. Bisher kennt man folgende mehr oder weniger fragmentarischen Diplome:

CIL XVI 185; RMD I 63. 64. 66. II 115. 116. 117. IV 289. Zusammen mit diesem neuen Diplom sind dies insgesamt neun Kopien dieses Erlasses. Das ist, wenn man von der Konstitution des Pius vom Jahr 160 für die Flotte von Misenum absieht, von der schon dreizehn Diplome bezeugt sind[37], die höchste Zahl von Urkunden, die auf denselben Bürgerrechtserlass zurückgehen. Ein spezifischer Grund, weshalb offensichtlich 25 Jahre früher, also im Jahr 138/9 n. Chr., so viele Rekruten in das Heer von Dacia Porolissenssis aufgenommen und dann folgerichtig sehr viele Veteranen im Jahr 164 dort entlassen wurden und ihre Privilegien erhielten, ist bisher nicht zu sehen. Doch eine besondere Situation im Jahr 138/9 ist zu fordern. Denn sonst müsste man besondere Überlieferungsbedingungen für diese Diplome voraussetzen, wozu aber kein Anlass zu bestehen scheint. Die Frage nach dem Grund für die hohe Rekrutierung im Jahr 138/9 bleibt zur Zeit offen.

Die Abfolge der drei Alen und zwölf Kohorten in der Truppenliste ist durch die vielen Kopien bekannt. Auf der Innenseite dieses Diploms sind mehrere Abweichungen vom sonst verwendeten Text zu beobachten. So wird nach der *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum* nochmals eine *ala Panno(niorum)* angeführt, was wohl eine partielle Widerholung des Namens der vorangehenden Einheit ist; dagegen fehlt die *ala Siliana*. Anschließend fehlt die Zwischenüberschrift *et cohortibus decem et duabus*. Auch schon am Anfang des Innentextes steht ein massiver Irrtum. Denn statt des Namens des Marc Aurel wird der des Lucius Verus gesetzt, wobei die Elemente der Titulatur dennoch die von Marcus sind. Dies lässt erkennen, dass die Überprüfung des Textes durch die sieben Zeugen keineswegs sorgfältig gewesen sein kann[38]. Folgender rekonstruierter Text ergibt sich für dieses Diplom[39] :

Imp(erator) Caesar Marcus Aur[elius Antoninus] Aug(ustus) Armeniac(us) pontifex [maximus tribu]nic(ia) potest(ate) XIIX imp(erator) I[I co(n)s(ul) III et

Imp(erator) Caesar Lucius Aurel[ius Verus Aug(ustus) Ar]meniacus tribun(icia) pot(estate) IV [imp(erator) II proco(n)s(ul) co(n)s(ul) II]

divi Antonini fili, divi H[a]driani nepotes, divi Traiani Parthici [pronepotes], divi Nervae ad[nepotes]

[37] W. Eck, Rom herausfordern: Bar Kochba im Kampf gegen das Imperium Romanum. Das Bild des Bar Kochba-Aufstandes im Spiegel der neuen epigraphischen Überlieferung, Rom 2007, 33 ff.

[38] Ausschließen kann man, dass das Diplom vielleicht eine Fälschung sein könnte.

[39] Es wird hier nicht versucht, die Fehler vor allem der Innenseite in die Rekonstruktion aufzunehmen.

equitibus et peditibus qui mil[itaverunt in alis] tribus quae appellant(ur) (1) II Ga[l]lor(um) et Pannon(iorum) et (2) Silian(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (3) I Tungr(orum) Fro[n]ton(iana) et cohortibus decem] et duabus (1) I Britonn(um) (milliaria) et (2) I [Britann(ica) equitat(a)] et (3) I Hisp(anorum) (milliaria) et (4) I Batav(orum) et (5) I Ael(ia) Gaesat(orum) et (6) II Nerv(iana) Britt(onum) (milliaria) et (7) II Britan[n(orum)] (milliaria) et (8) I Hisp(anorum) (milliaria) et (9) I Cannanef(atium) et (10) II Hisp(anorum) [et (11) V Lingonum] et (12) VI Thrac(um) et sunt in Dac[ia Porolissen]si sub Sempronio Inge[nuo proc(uratore) quinis et vicenis pluribusve sti]pend[is emeritis] etc.

7. **Eine Konstitution für Dacia Porolissensis**.

Kleines Fragment aus dem unteren Teil von tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist unten noch in einem kleinen Stück erhalten.

Maße: Höhe: 2,8 cm; Breite 1,7 cm; Dicke: 0,5 mm; Buchstabenhöhe: außen: 4mm; innen: 4 mm. Gewicht: 3 Gramm. Folgendes ist zu lesen:

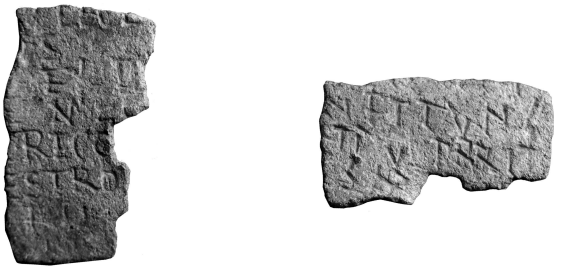


Fig. 7 a-b.

Außenseite:
[---]+ EAE[---]
[---]VS [---]
[---]EX PE[---]
[---]E N E[---]
[DESCRIPT E]T RECO[NITVM EX TABVLA AEREA]
[QVAE FIXA] EST RO[MAE IN MVRO POST TEM]
[PLVM DIV]I A[VG AD MINVERVAM]

Innenseite:
[---] ++++[---]
[GALL ET PANN ET SILIA]N ET TVNG [FRONT---]
[---]ET I VLP BRIT[T ∞ ---]
[---]ESA/∞ [---]

Zur Lesung: Außenseite letzte Zeile: I A sehr unsicher. Innenseite letzte Zeile: nach ES könnte man ein A oder ∞ lesen.

Das kleine Fragment macht es durch die auf der Innenseite erkennbaren Namen: einer Einheit der *Tungri* ohne Ordnungsziffer und eine *I Ulpia Brit[--]* ziemlich sicher, dass es sich um eine Konstitution für Dacia Porolissensis handelt. In dem vollständig erhaltenen Diplom RMD V 404 vom 24. September 151 wird eine *ala Tungrorum Frontiniana* genannt, der zwei *alae*, eine *Gal(lorum) et Pan(noniorum)* und eine *Silian(a)* vorausgingen. Hier ist offensichtlich von *Siliana* nur noch das *N* erhalten. In RMD V 404 folgt direkt auf die *ala Tungrorum Frontiniana* eine *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria*. Das kann in diesem Diplomfragment nicht der Fall sein. Vielmehr muss noch eine weitere Einheit zwischen den beiden genannten Einheiten gestanden haben. Welche das war, lässt sich nicht ermitteln. Jedenfalls kann dieses Fragment nicht eine weitere Kopie der Konstitution von RMD V 404 darstellen, ebenso wenig eine Kopie von einer der anderen für Dacia Porolissensis bekannten Konstitutionen[40]. Für die Zeitstellung des Diploms ist die sehr schlampige Schrift auf der Innenseite wichtig, weil dies die Zeit vor der Regierung des Antoninus Pius eher ausschließt. Andererseits erscheinen auf der Innenseite die Namen der einzelnen Einheiten, was in der Zeit zwischen 143/146 und 153 unterbleibt. Damit sollte das Diplom am ehesten in die Spätzeit des Pius oder in die ersten sieben Jahre Marc Aurels vor 167/68 gehören, als die Ausstellung von Bronzediplomen für eine bestimmte Zeit eingestellt wurde[41]. Mehr lässt sich für dieses Fragment nicht ermitteln. Der Text lautet in der Rekonstruktion:

[Imp. Caes. divi ---

equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis --- et cohortibus[42] *--- quae appellantur et Gal(lorum) et Pan(noniorum) et Silia]n(a) et Tung(rorum) [Front(oniana) et ---] et I Ulp(ia) Brit[t(onum) (milliaria) et --- et I Ael(ia) Ga]es(atorum) (milliaria) [et ---*

Alae/Cohortis --]EAE[--- cui praest ---i]us [--- expe[dite ---]E NE[---

Descript(um) e]t reco[gnit(um) es tabula aerea quae fixa] est Ro[mae in muro post templum div]i A[ug(usti) ad Minervam].

[40] Siehe die Liste aller Diplome in RMD V p. 681 ff.

[41] W. Eck – D. MacDonald, 33 ff. – A. Pangerl, Die Krise des römischen Reiches unter Marc Aurel und ein Militärdiplom aus dem Jahr 177(?), Chiron 33, 2003, 365 ff.

[42] Möglicherweise kam aber *cohortibus* erst nach der Aufzählung der Alen, was dann auf die Zeit ab ca. 158 verweisen würde.

Appendix:

Liste aller bisher bekannten Konstitutionen und Diplome für die dakischen Provinzen.

1. Dacia (6 Konstitutionen):

Datum	**Beleg**	**Provinz**
a. 109 Oct. 14	RMD III 148	Dacia
a. 110 Febr. 17	CIL XVI 57 RMD IV 220	Dacia
a. 110 Iul. 2	CIL XVI 163	Dacia
a. 110 (106 Aug. 11)	CIL XVI 160 RMD V 343	Dacia
a. 113(Dec. 17)/a. 114 (Mai 2/3)	RMD IV 225	Dacia
a. 114 Mai 3/4	RMD IV 226 = RGZM 16	Dacia

2. Dacia superior (19 Konstitutionen):

a. 119 Nov. 12	RMD 351 + AMN 41/42, 2004–2005, 61ff.	Dacia superior
a. 120 Iun. 29	CIL XVI 68 RMD I 17 RMD V 355	Dacia superior
a. 120 Iun. 29	AMN 43–44 Unpubliziert[43]	Dacia superior
a. 120 Mai 16/Iun. 13	RMD IV 232 = IDR III 5, 694	[Dacia superior?]
a. 121 April 5	RMD I 19 RMD V 357 ZPE 165, 2008, 213 ff. ZPE 166, 2008 (im Druck)	Dacia superior
a. 118/122	RMD I 20	[Dacia superior?]
a. 125 Dec. 10/ 126 Dec. 9	RMD V 367	Dacia superior
a. 124 Mai 16/ Iun. 13	RMD I 26	[Dacia superior?]
a. 126 Ian. 31/Febr. 12	RMD I 27 RMD I 28	Dacia superior
a. 120/126	RMD IV 237	Dacia superior
a. 123 April 14	RGZM 22	Dac. sup. + Dac. Porolissensis
a. 117/138	RMD II 92	(Dacia superior)
a. 136/138 Iul. 10/Dec. 10	RMD V 384	Dacia superior
a. 144 Febr. 23	CIL XVI 90	Dacia superior
a. 152 Sept.?	AMN 43–44	Dacia superior
a. 156 Dec. 13	CIL XVI 107	Dacia superior
a. 158 Iul. 8	CIL XVI 108	Dacia superior
a. 144/178	RMD II 122	Dacia superior
a. 179 Apr. 1	RMD II 123	Dacia superior

[43] Siehe die Mitteilung von Paul Holder oben zu Diplom Nr. 4.

3. Dacia inferior (12 Konstitutionen):

Datum	**Beleg**	**Provinz**
a. 122 Iul. 17	RGZM 20 RMD V 361 ZPE 141(2002), 242–245 + AMN 39/40, 25ff. AMN 43 (in diesem Band)	Dacia inferior
a. 129 Mart. 22	CIL XVI 75	Dacia inferior
a. 119/129	RMD V 374	Dacia inferior
a. 129 (Dec. 10)/ 130 (Dec. 9)	RMD V 376	Dacia inferior
a. 131/132	RMD V 380	Dacia inferior
a. 134 Nov.	AMN 43–44	Dacia inferior
a. 140 Dec. 13	RMD I 39	Dacia inferior
a. 120/140	RMD V 389	Dacia inferior
a. 146 Iul. 19	RMD IV 269	Dacia inferior
a. 150	AMN 43–44	Dacia inferior
a. 161 post Febr. 8/ 167	RMD II 121	(Dacia inferior?)
a. 167/168	RMD V 442	Dacia inferior

4. Dacia Porolissensis (17 Konstitutionen):

a. 123 April. 14	RGZM 22	Dac. sup. + Dac. Porolissensis
a. 123 Aug. 10	RMD I 21 RMD I 22	Dac. Porolissensis + Pan. inf.
a. 127 Apr. 14/30	RMD I 30	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 118/120 oder 126/128	RMD V 370	Dacia Porolissensis?
a. 125/128	RMD I 31	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 128 Jul./Sept.	Unpubliziert[44]	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 130 (Dec. 10)/ 131 (Dec. 9)	RMD V 378	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 133 Iul. 2	RMD I 35	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 135 (Nov. 14/Dec. 1)	RMD IV 248	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 138/142	RMD I 40 = RMD V App. Ia	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 151 Sept. 24	RMD V 404	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 154 Sept. 27	CIL XVI 110 RMD 47	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 161? Oct. 26	RMD III 177	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 164 Iul. 21	CIL XVI 185 RMD I 63 RMD I 64 RMD I 66 RMD II 115/65 RMD II 116 RMD II 117 RMD IV 287 AMN 43–44	Dacia Porolissensis

[44] Dankenswerte Mitteilung von C. Ciongradi, die das Diplom in Kürze in der ZPE publizieren wird.

Datum	Beleg	Provinz
a. 164?	RMD IV 289	Dacia Porolissensis
a. 123/168	RMD II 128	Dacia Porolissensis
ca. 153 – 167?	AMN 43–44	Dacia Porolissensis

Es sind also bisher insgesamt 54 Konstitutionen für die Provinzen in Dakien bekannt, die durch 75 Diplome bezeugt sind[45].

[45] Zwei weitere Diplome werden in Kürze von Peter Weiß publiziert werden.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 211–231

NEUE PARADERÜSTUNGEN AUS DAKIEN*

DAN ISAC, MIHAI BĂRBULESCU

Seit der Veröffentlichung im Jahre 1978 der bekannten Arbeit von Jochen Garbsch, *Römische Paraderüstungen*, blieb die Anzahl der als solche bezeichneten Stücke, die im römischen Dakien entdeckt und auch veröffentlicht wurden, sehr gering. Die einzigen Neuigkeiten zu diesem Thema brachte Liviu Petculescu. Dieser besprach bereits 1974 die drei damals bekannten Rüstungen (aus Porolissum, Buciumi und von irgendwo in der Kleinen Walachei)[1] und fügte 1987 zwei neue Stücke, ebenfalls aus Buciumi[2] und aus dem Kastell von Micia (Veţel)[3] hinzu. Derselbe Autor veröffentlichte 1982 eine Wangenklappe von Grădiştea Muncelului (Sarmizegetusa Regia)[4] neu, die aus der Zeit gleich nach dem römischen Rückzug aus Dakien im Jahre 106 n. Chr. stammte und besprach treffend 1987 die einzigen verzierten Helme in Rumänien, jener von Lunca Mureşului in Dakien[5] bzw. jener von Ostrov (Durostorum) in Niedermoesien[6].

Es ist noch zu erwähnen, daß 1987 Al. Diaconescu und C. Opreanu sehr knapp und nur als Zeichnung eine vollständige Roßstirn[7] veröffentlichten (Abb. 1),

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[1] Porolissum: Buday 1914, 73, Abb. 5/1; Petculescu 1974–1975, 81–82, Abb. 1/1; Buciumi: Chirilă, Gudea u. a. 1972, 74–75, Taf. LXXXIV-LXXXV; Petculescu 1974–1975, 82–83, Abb. 2/1; unbestimmte Siedlung in der Kleinen Walachei (Oltenia), Dacia Malvensis: Pârvan 1926, Abb. 15, Taf. 15; Petculescu 1974–1975, 83–84, Abb. 2/2.

[2] Petculescu 1987,159, Abb. 4/1a-b.

[3] Petculescu 1987, 159, Abb. 4/3.

[4] Petculescu 1982, 291–293, Abb.1.

[5] Petculescu 1987, 153, Abb. 1–4.

[6] Garbsch 1978, 73, Taf. 32.

[7] Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 157, Abb.1 – richtige Zuschreibung; Isac 1997, 54, Taf. XXV.

die aus den Grabungen 1976–1985 von Gilău (*porta decumana*) stammte. In derselben Publikation wurde die richtige Identifizierung eines Augenschutzkorbes von einer Roßstirn (Abb. 2) aus dem Auxiliarkastell Inlăceni (Dacia Apulensis)[8] veröffentlicht.

Dieser Sachverhalt entspricht heute nicht mehr den archäologischen Gegebenheiten. Langanhaltende systematische Grabungen im Legionslager von *Potaissa*-Turda (1972–2008, Mihai Bărbulescu) in der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis und in den Auxiliarkastellen von Gilău (1976–1985, Dan Isac) und *Samum*-Căşeiu (1986–2008, Dan Isac), beide in Dacia Porolissensis, fügten weitere 10 wichtigen Stücke zu den 14 Militärausrüstungsstücken hinzu, die bis dahin aus der als „Paraderüstungen" bezeichneten Kategorie bekannt waren.

Eine Zusammenfassung aller bisher im römischen Dakien entdeckten Stücke, die von den Soldaten verschiedener Truppengattungen sowohl bei Paraden, Turnieren oder Zeremonien als auch wahrscheinlich im Kampfe getragen wurden[9], erlaubt die Schlußfolgerung, daß mit nur wenigen Ausnahmen, wie z. B. Beinschienen, praktisch alle anderen Kategorien vertreten sind, manche davon massiv, wie z. B. die Panzerbeschläge.

Bei der Betrachtung der Karte des römischen Dakien (Abb. 3) und der Fundstellen solcher Artefakte ist heute folgendes festzustellen.

I. A. *Pseudo-attische Paradehelme* (Garbsch 1978, 4, 7; O 59–80):

1. Lunca Mureşului (Războieni-Cetate), (Dacia Apulensis) (Garbsch 1978, O 60a).

B. *Wangenklappen*:

2. Grădiştea Muncelului (Sarmizegetusa Regia) (Petculescu 1982, 291–293, Abb.1).

3.–4. *Samum* (Căşeiu) – bisher unveröffentlicht.

II. *Gesichtshelme*:

1. *Romula* (Reşca), Dacia Malvensis (Garbsch 1978, O 40).
2. Cincşor, Dacia Malvensis (Dragotă, 1987).
3. Gilău, Dacia Porolissensis – bisher unveröffentlicht.

III. A. *Roßstirnen*:

1. Gherla, Dacia Porolissensis (Ferri 1933, 353, Abb. 480; Garbsch 1978, K1).

[8] Gudea 1979, 258, Taf. XXIII/7; Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, Abb.2.

[9] Petculescu 1974–1975, 80.

2. *Apulum* (Alba Iulia) (Ferri 1933, Abb. 481).
3. Gilău, Dacia Porolissensis (Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, 157, Abb.1).

B. *Augenschutzkörbe*:

4. Inlăceni, Dacia Apulensis (Gudea 1979, 258, Taf. XXIII/7; Diaconescu-Opreanu 1987, Abb.2.

IV. *Medaillon* oder *Panzerplatte*:

1. Gherla, Dacia Porolissensis (Ferri 1933, 356, Abb. 481; Garbsch, R 16).

V. *Panzerbeschläge*:

1. *Porolissum* (Moigrad), Dacia Porolissensis (Buday 1914, 73, Abb. 5/1).
2–3. Buciumi, Dacia Porolissensis (1. Chirilă, Gudea u. a. 1972, 74–75, Taf. LXXXIV–LXXXV; 2. Petculescu 1987, 159, Abb. 4/1a-b).
4–8. *Potaissa* (Turda), Dacia Porolissensis – bisher unveröffentlicht.
9–10. *Samum* (Căşeiu), Dacia Porolissensis – bisher unveröffentlicht.
11. *Micia* (Veţel), Dacia Apulensis (Petculescu 1987, 159, Abb. 4/3).
12. Unbestimmte Siedlung in der Kleinen Walachei (Oltenia), Dacia Malvensis (Pârvan 1926, 9, 26, Abb. 15, Taf. 15).

Insgesamt gibt es im Lichte der gegenwärtigen Kenntnisse eine Anzahl von **24** Paraderüstungsstücken: 1 Helm, 3 Wangenklappen, 3 Gesichtshelme, 3 Roßstirnen und 1 Augenschutzkorb, 1 Medaillon oder Panzerplatte, 12 Panzerbeschläge.

Davon sind 10 Stücke unveröffentlicht und werden im Folgenden dargestellt: 2 Wangenklappen – *Samum* (Căşeiu), 1 Gesichtshelm – Gilău, 7 Panzerbeschläge – 5 aus *Potaissa* (Turda), 2 aus *Samum* (Căşeiu). Alle Stücke stammen aus systematischen Grabungen und deutlichen stratigraphischen Kontexten, außer den Stücken von *Samum*, von denen bekannt ist, daß sie in der Zwischenkriegszeit (1928–1929) in den Grabungen im Kastell gefunden wurden, die vom Klausenburger Professor Emil Panaitescu[10] geleitet wurden. Die Stücke sind heute verschollen, aber auf Originalfotos auf Glas festgehalten, leider ohne Maßstäbe.

Im Folgenden werden wir diese 10 unveröffentlichten Stücke vorstellen und nur eine knappe Diskussion zu dieser Gattung von Artefakten vorlegen. Die allgemeineren Betrachtungen, ikonographischen Untersuchungen oder Angaben

[10] Panaitescu 1929, 1–30; Isac 2003, 24–27.
[11] Siehe Isac 2003.
[12] Wie Anm. 10.

zur Bedeutung der Stücke aus verschiedenen Kategorien der sogenannten „Paraderüstungen", wurden schon seit einiger Zeit in der internationalen (von F. Drexel bis Hans Klumbach, Jochen Garbsch, und andere Autoren) oder rumänischen Literatur (besonders Liviu Petculescu) schon mehrmals diskutiert.

I.B. Wangenklappen

Das Kastell *Samum* (Căşeiu), auf dem Nordlimes der Provinz Dacia Porolissensis, war der ursprüngliche Sitz der *cohors II Britannorum milliaria*, die nach der Gründung der Provinz im Jahre 106 n. Chr. ein Holz-Erde-Kastell errichtete[11]. Nach dem Abzug der Truppe, zu Beginn der Regierung Hadrians, wurde sie von der *cohors I Britannica milliaria equitata* ersetzt, die die Befestigung Anfang des 3. Jh. n. Chr. in Stein umbaute (Abb. 4). Die ersten umfangreichen Grabungen wurden zwischen 1928–1929 vom Klausenburger Professor Emil Panaitescu durchgeführt; die Ergebnisse der Grabungen, mit der Ausnahme eines kurzen Berichtes[12], wurden nie veröffentlicht und das entdeckte archäologische Material ist größtenteils spurlos verschollen. Das Glück verfügte, daß eine Reihe von Originalfotos auf Glas das Bild bedeutender Inschriften, Steinskulpturen und Bronzegegenstände festhielten, darunter einige Paraderüstungsstücke, 2 Wangenklappen und ein Paar Panzerbeschläge, wie auch ein Hängenschurzschuppen von einer Statue, alles aus Bronze (Abb. 5). Der genaue Fundort im Kastell ist unbekannt und Schätzungen zu den Ausmaßen der Stücke können nicht gemacht werden. Die Fotos erlauben aber eine recht gute Untersuchung der Stücke und eine ausreichende typologische Eingliederung.

1. Rechte Wangenklappe (Abb. 6). Das Stück hat eine schnurförmige Einfassung; vor einem Hintergrund aus Schuppenmustern wurde die Büste des Ganymedes nach rechts dargestellt. Das Schuppenmuster ist mit jenem auf dem Helm und der Wangenklappe von Ostrov (Kreis Constanța), Niedermoesien (Garbsch 1978, 6, Nr. 3; O 58) völlig identisch; letzterer gehört zum „spitzovalen Helm"-Typ, der um die Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr. datiert wird. Dies ist aber nicht ausreichend, um unser Stück als zu einem solchen Helm zugehörig zu betrachten.

2. Linke Wangenklappe (Abb. 7). Aus dem Foto und trotz des Fehlens des Stückes ist es nicht schwer festzustellen, daß es sich um eine Wangenklappe handelt. Wir ziehen diese Möglichkeit vor, wofür die Neigung der Zentralgestalt und der schnurförmigen Einfassung zu sprechen scheinen, sowie die Biegung des

Stückes links oben und – vielleicht – die Verdoppelung des oberen Teils, mit möglichen Spuren von vier Öffnungen für die Befestigung am Helm. Die Zentralgestalt ist eine geflügelte Victoria nach rechts, mit einem Kranz in der Rechten. Dieselbe Gestalt erscheint auf einem Fragment, wahrscheinlich von einer Wangenklappe, von Weißenburg (Garbsch 1978, O 79), wie auch auf einer dreiteiligen Roßstirn von Straubing (Garbsch 1978, B 17).

II. Gesichtshelme

3. **Reitergesichtsmaske**. Sie wurde 1980 im Bereich der *porta principalis dextra*[13] des Kastells von Gilău gefunden (Abb. 8). Das Stück wurde auf dem Boden des „V"-förmigen Grabens des vergrößerten Holz-Erde-Kastells (Gilău II)[14] gefunden (Abb. 9), welcher Graben zugeschüttet wurde, um die *fossae* der Steinphase (Gilău III) einzurichten (Abb. 10, 11, 12).

Die Gesichtsmaske kommt von einem Helm vom Typ Garbsch A.2., Gesichtshelme mit zweiteiliger Ausführung (Gesichtsmaske und Rückteil). Mit Sicherheit hatte er auch einen Rückenteil aus Eisen, das fast vollständig zerstört ist. Daraus wurden einige Fragmente der Glocke entdeckt, mit Verzierungen, die die Haare suggerieren.

Die Maske (Abb. 13, 14, 15) ist 24 cm hoch, die größte Breite betrifft 20 cm; sie besteht aus Bronzeblech, das im Durchschnitt 1,5 mm dick ist. Sie stellt das Porträt einer Frau mit leicht adlerförmiger Nase dar, die Augen sind als längliche Schlitze durchbrochen, die Lider leicht skizziert. Auf der Stirn wurde eine *lunula* wiedergegeben. Ein Stirnband, das knapp als ein segmentiertes Band durchgeführt wurde, vervollständigt die Frisur.

Zwei runde Öffnungen am Rückenteil der Maske, oben und unten, bezeichnen die Befestigungsstellen, mit Nieten oder Lederriemen, der heute fehlenden eisernen Rückenseite des Helms.

Das Stück von Gilău gehört zum ikonographischen Typ Kohlert VI der Gesichtshelme mit „orientalisierender" Darstellung, von denen die nächste Analogie das Stück von Visegrád (Unterpannonien) darstellt (Abb. 16). J. Garbsch datiert diesen Typ allgemein nach dem zweiten Drittel des 2. Jh. n. Chr. bis zum Anfang des 3. Jh. n. Chr., mit der Möglichkeit, daß die frühesten Exemplare unter Trajan erscheinen. Der stratigraphische Kontext, aus dem das Stück kommt, erlaubt keine engere Datierung. Dies, weil die Gräben des Holz-Erde-Kastells der

[13] Isac, Diaconescu, Opreanu 1981, 85–97.

[14] Isac 1997, 37–38; 38–40; 54–56.

Phase Gilău II, die ab etwa 117/118 n. Chr. zu funktionieren begannen[15], als wegen der Ankunft der *ala Siliana* das kleine trajanische *castellum* erheblich erweitert wurde, um diese *ala quingenaria* beherbergen zu können, wahrscheinlich gegen das Ende des 2. Jh. zugeschüttet und geebnet wurden, als die Befestigung in Stein umgebaut wurde.

Das Stück von Gilău ist das dritte dieser Art, das in der trajanischen Provinz entdeckt wurde. Im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien (Abb. 17) befindet sich seit langer Zeit ein Gesichtshelm, das aus dem Flusse Olt stammt, aus der Gegend des Klosters Comanca, südlich der Ortschaft Reşca[16], dem antiken *Romula* in Dacia Inferior. Er gehört ebenfalls zum Typ Kohlert VI und die Namen zweier Eigentümer eingepunzt sind.

Die dritte Maske von einem Reitergesichtshelm wurde, wie es der Zufall will, ebenfalls im Flusse Olt entdeckt, aber in dessen Oberlauf, in der Nähe der Ortschaft Cincşor[17] (Abb. 18–19). Die Maske wurde mit dem Bagger zutage gefördert, zusammen mit römischen keramischen Fragmenten, alles vom Flusse von irgendwo flußaufwärts angeschwemmt, von Cincşor oder einem anderen Kastell oder Militärvicus am siebenbürgischen Olt (Dacia Malvensis).

Das Stück, das als von Cincşor stammend betrachtet wird, vom Typ Kohlert VI, ähnelt jenem von Gilău im Gesichtsausdruck, die Herstellung der Frisur ist aber verschieden. Die offensichtliche Verformung der stark abgeflachten linken Seite ist nicht, wie der Autor der Veröffentlichung des Stückes annahm, auf die Aufbewahrungsumstände im Boden oder der Zutageförderung durch den Bagger zurückzuführen. Das Stück wurde von Anfang an so hergestellt; man könnte vielleicht an einen Ausschuß denken oder, warum nicht, an eine Verformung des Gesichtes des Trägers. Die angenommene Herkunft des Stückes von Cincşor kann Probleme stellen, da es hier keine Reitereinheit gab; die im Kastell bezeugte Einheit war die *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*[18].

V. Panzerbeschläge

Aus Dakien waren bisher, wie bereits gezeigt, fünf veröffentlichte Stücke bekannt, je eines von *Porolissum* (Moigrad), *Micia* (Veţel), aus einer Ortschaft in der Kleinen Walachei (Oltenia) bzw. zwei Stücke von Buciumi. Die 7 neuen

[15] Isac 1997, 34–38.

[16] Garbsch 1978, O 40; Vlădescu 1981, 195–203, Abb. 1; Vlădescu 1983, 184, Abb. 125.

[17] Dragotă 1987, 276–280.

[18] Gudea 1997, 67–68. Nr. 44 (Cincşor, Kleinschenk).

Panzerbeschläge stammen: 5 aus dem Legionslager von *Potaissa* (Turda) und 2 aus dem Kastell *Samum* (Căşeiu); letztere sind verschollen, aber zusammen mit den Wangenklappen auf einem Foto der Zwischenkriegszeit belegt.

Die Stücke von Legionslager *Potaissa* (Abb. 20) wurden alle im Laufe der von Mihai Bărbulescu geleiteten Grabungen in den *principia* (Abb. 21)[19], in den *armamentaria* auf der Nordseite (Nr. 8, Abb. 26), in einem Raum zur *via principalis* hin (Nr. 5, Abb. 23), im Bereich der Südportikus (Nr. 4, Abb. 22) gefunden. Ihre Datierung kann nach 170 n. Chr. festgelegt werden, als die *legio V Macedonica* aus Troesmis in Niedermoesien hierher in die Provinz Dacia Porolissensis versetzt wurde[20]. Eines der Stücke (Nr. 6, Abb. 24) wurde zusammen mit Schuppen aus einer *lorica squamata* gefunden, ein Sachverhalt, der auch in Căşeiu angetroffen wird (Abb. 5). Dies stützt die bereits bekannte Tatsache, daß solche Stücke wahrscheinlich sogar im Gefecht über dem Schuppenpanzer am Hals getragen wurden[21], wie im Falle des Beschlages von Hrušica in Slowenien (Garbsch 1978, P 18). Ihre Typologie ist einheitlich, mit drei Registern, der Büste der Minerva in der Mitte, darüber der Adler, darunter ein oder zwei Schilder.

4. Rechter Panzerbeschlag (Abb. 22); 17, 2 cm hoch, 9,2 cm breit. Auf dem rechten Rand erscheint eine eingepunzte Inschrift, die wegen des Erhaltungszustandes des Stückes schwer lesbar ist; der letzte Name ist sicher CRESPVS, das erste Zeichen scheint jener für *centuria* zu sein. Der linke Rand hat 10 Öffnungen für die Befestigung am Schuppenpanzer. In der Mitte wurde die Büste der Minerva nach rechts wiedergegeben, im oberen Register der Adler, im unteren zwei gekreuzte Schulter.

5. Rechter Panzerbeschlag (Abb. 23); erhaltene Höhe 17,2 cm, erhaltene Breite 6,2 cm. Vom selben Typ wie der vorangehende, im mittleren Register die Büste der Minerva nach rechts, darüber der Adler.

6. Rechter Panzerbeschlag (Abb. 24); fragmentarisch; erhaltene Höhe 9,3 cm, Breite 6 cm. Darstellung der Büste der Minerva nach rechts, darunter ein Schild.

7. Rechter Panzerbeschlag (Abb. 25); 15, 2 cm hoch, 7,5 cm breit. Dieselben drei Register, mit Minerva in der Mitte, dem Adler darüber, dem Schild darunter.

8. Rechter Panzerbeschlag (Abb. 26); der schlechte Erhaltungszustand des Stückes erlaubt keine Feststellungen weiterer Einzelheiten.

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[19] Bărbulescu 1987, 122–164.

[20] Bărbulescu 1987, 22–24.

[21] Klumbach 1962, 187; Petculescu 1974–1975, 80.

Die letzten beiden Stücke (Abb. 27) kommen aus dem Kastell von *Samum* (Căşeiu) (Abb. 4) und wurden in den zwischenkriegszeitlichen Grabungen entdeckt. Sie sind nur als Originalfotos erhalten (Abb. 5), ohne Maßstab. Es sind dies die ersten Stücke dieses Typs aus Dakien, die als Paar entdeckt wurden und, wie auch im Falle von *Potaissa*, wurden sie von einem Fragment einer *lorica squamata* begleitet entdeckt.

9–10. **Rechter und linker Panzerbeschlag** (Abb. 27). Beim linken Beschlag sind die Befestigungsscharniere erhalten. Die Verzierung ist in zwei Registern dargestellt, die durch eine elegante Einfassung aus Punkten und Voluten, von Perlenlinien umgeben, getrennt werden. Auf dem linken Beschlag wurde die Büste des Mars wiedergegeben, auf dem rechten Minerva. In beiden unteren Registern erscheint je ein Seepanther.

Die 10 neuen Paraderüstungsstücke bringen die Gesamtzahl solcher Artefakte, die im römischen Dakien entdeckt wurden, auf eine bedeutende Zahl (24), was dieser Provinz eine besondere Bedeutung verleiht, angesichts der gleichmäßigen Verteilung dieser Stücke unter Legionen und Hilfstruppen gleichermaßen. Die Stücke von *Potaissa* scheinen von Legionären getragen worden zu sein, der Gesichtshelm von Gilău ist auch wegen der hiesigen Truppe (die *ala Siliana c.R.*)[22] ein für Reiter spezifisches Zubehör. In *Samum*-Căşeiu, wo beginnend mit Hadrian die Besatzungstruppe eine *cohors equitata milliaria*[23] war, kann angenommen werden, daß sowohl die Wangenklappen als auch die Panzerbeschläge in gleichem Maße sowohl von Reitern als auch von Fußsoldaten getragen wurden, denn der Schuppenpanzer wurde von beiden Kategorien von Soldaten benutzt.

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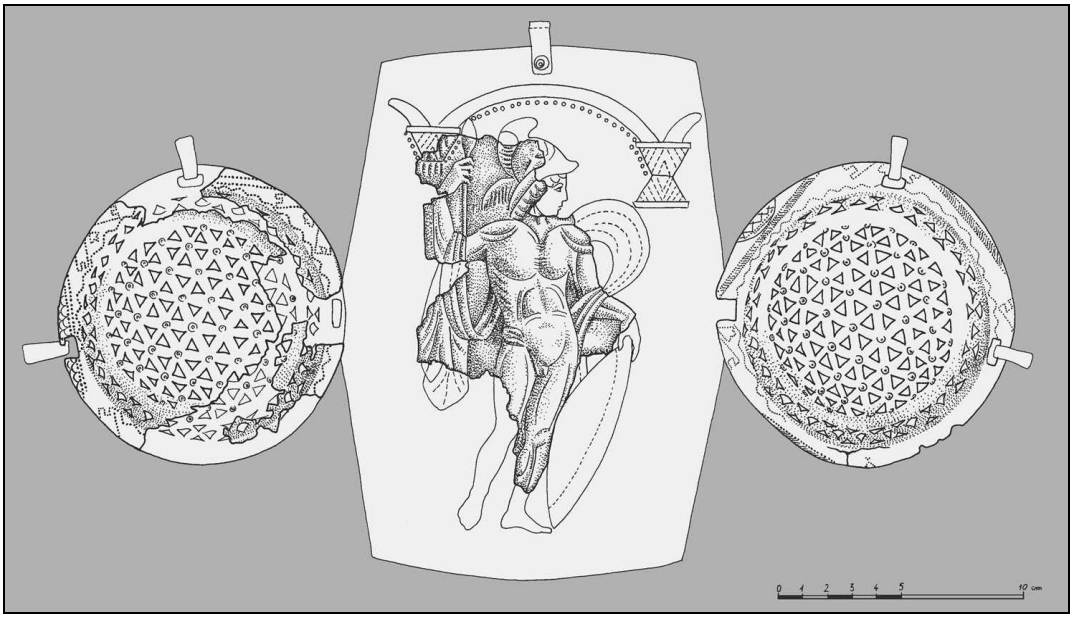


Abb. 1. Das Auxiliarkastell Gilău. Roßstirn
(Diaconescu, Opreanu 1987, Abb. 1; Isac 1997, Taf. XXV).

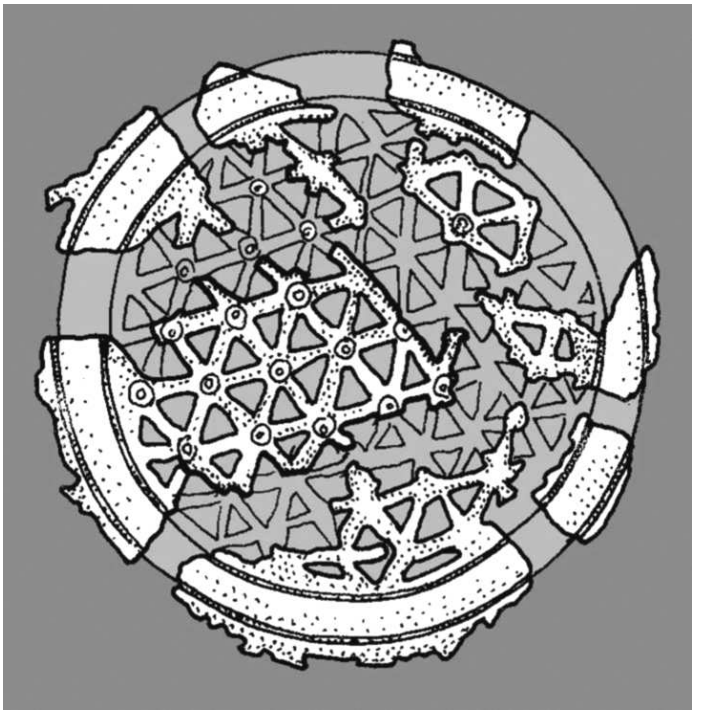


Abb. 2. Das Auxiliar-kastell Inlăceni (Dacia Apulensis).
Augenschutzkorb (Gudea 1979, 258, Taf. XXIII/7 als Schild *umbo* betrachtet;
Diaconescu-Opreanu 1987, Abb. 3 – richtige Zuschreibung).

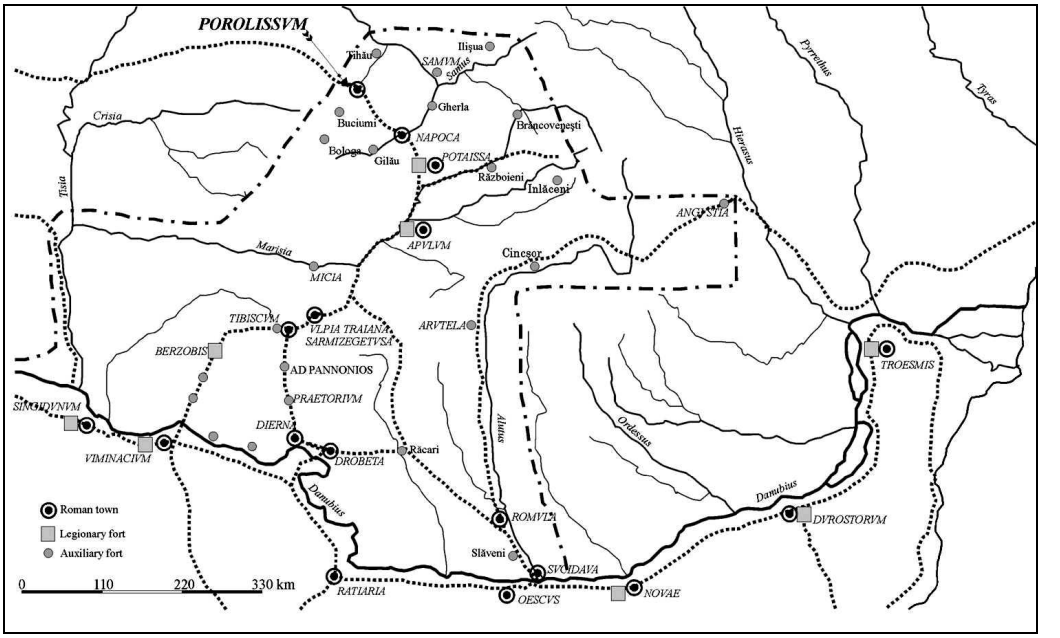


Abb. 3. Das römische Dakien.

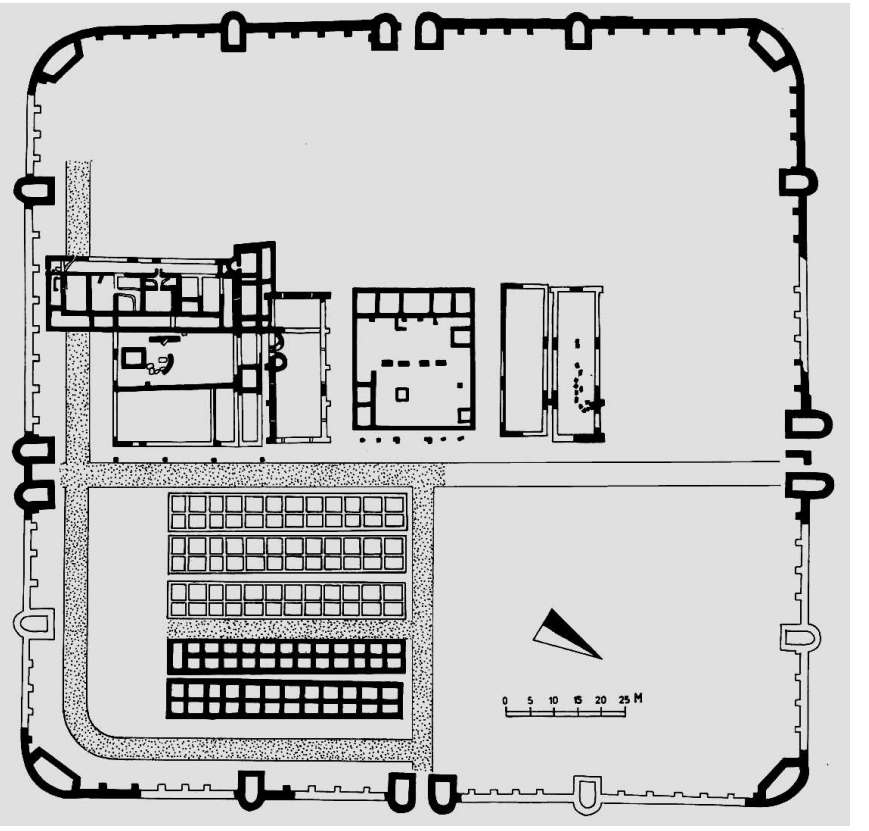


Abb. 4. Das Auxiliarkastell *Samum* (Căşeiu) (Isac 2003, Abb. 2).



Abb. 5. *Samum* (Căşeiu). Paraderüstungsbestandteile und Fragment einer Bronzestatue (Fotografie 1928–1929).



Abb. 6. *Samum* (Căşeiu).
Rechte Wangenklappe.

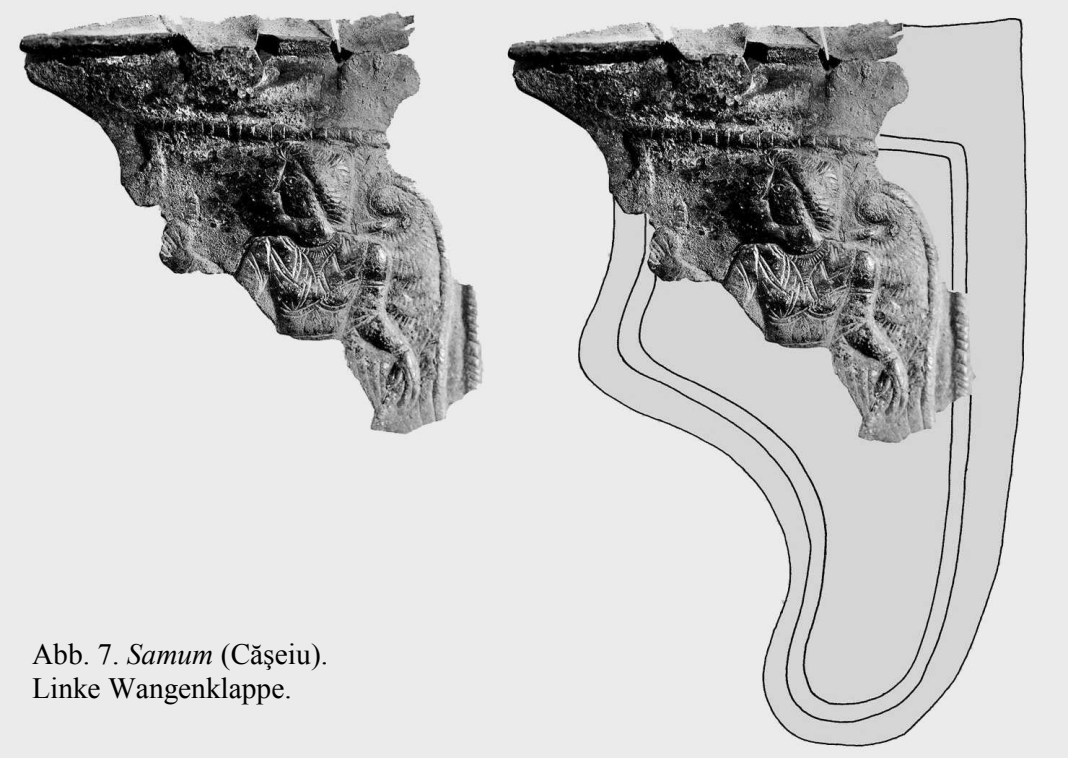


Abb. 7. *Samum* (Căşeiu).
Linke Wangenklappe.

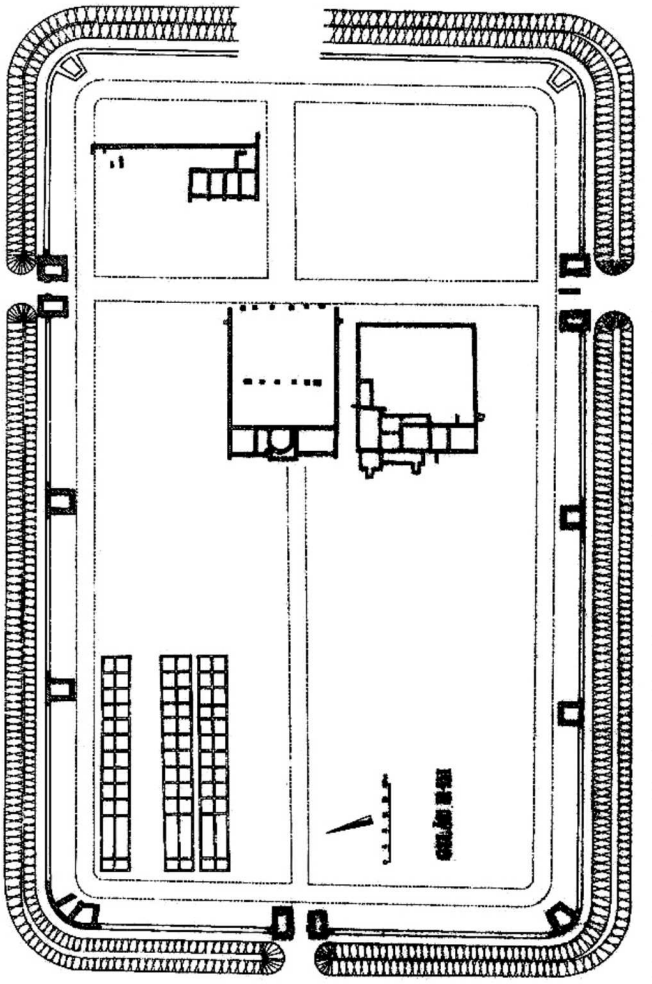


Abb. 8. Das Auxiliarkastell Gilău (Dacia Porolissensis). Phasen II–III (Isac 1997, 92, Taf. XI).

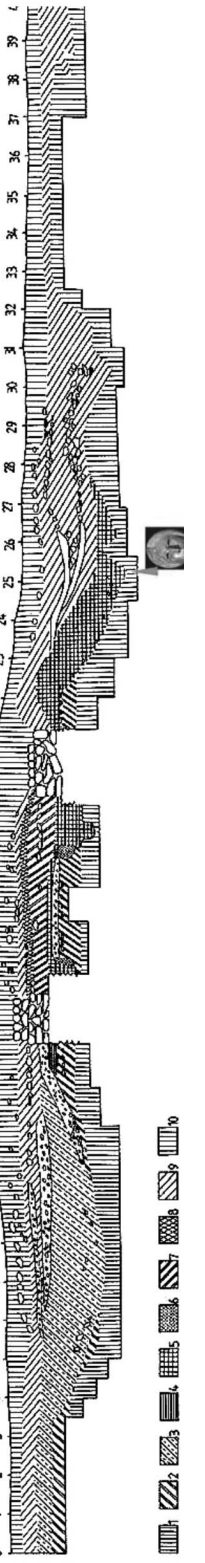


Abb. 9. Gilău. Das Verteidigungssystem in der *p. p. dextra* (Isac 1997, Taf. XXXII).

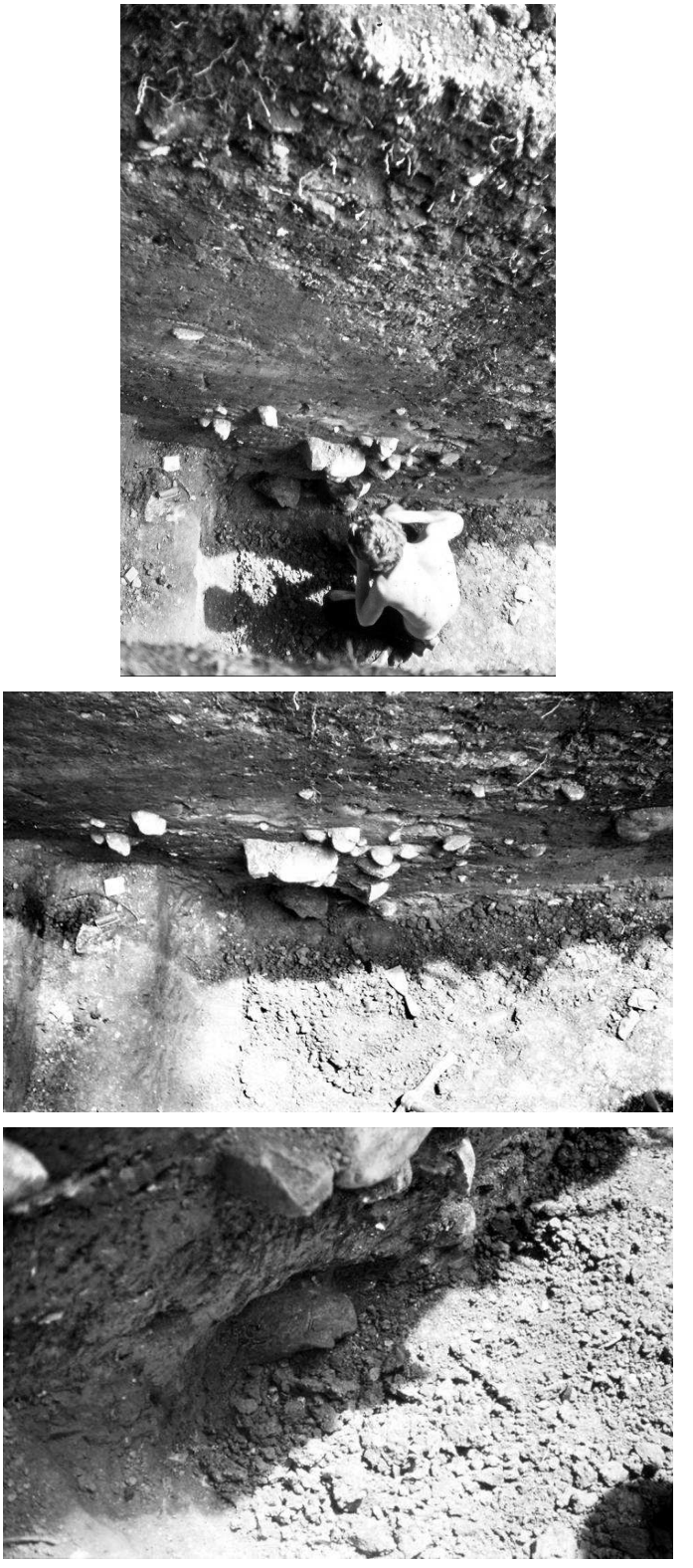


Abb. 10–12. Gilău. Der archäologische Kontext der Entdeckung des Gesichtshelmes.

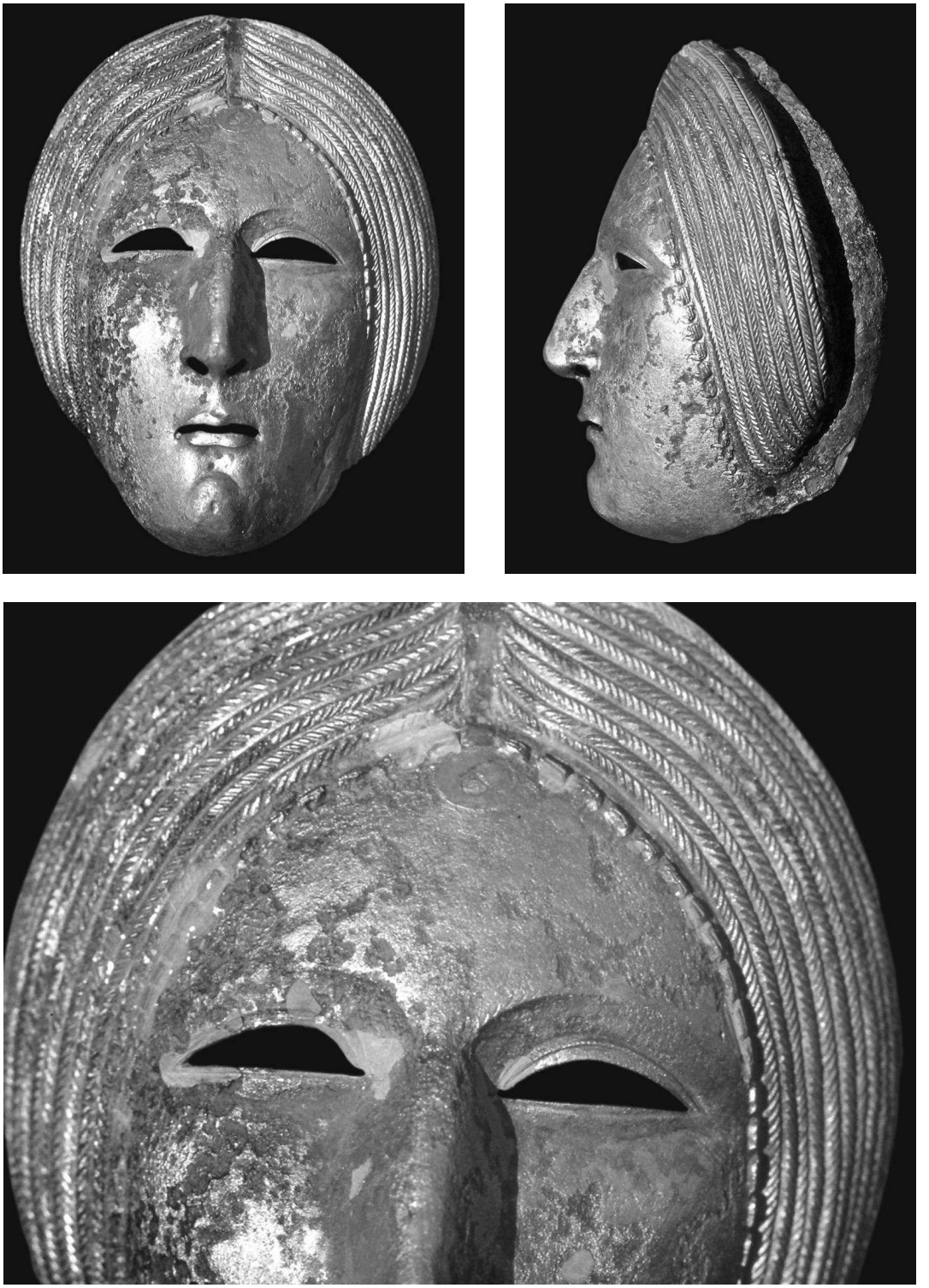


Abb. 13–15. Gilău. Gesichtshelm.



Abb. 16. Visegrád (Unterpannonien). Gesichtshelm (Garbsch 1978, O 42).



Abb. 17. Romula (Dacia Malvensis). Gesichtshelm (Garbsch 1978, O 40).





Abb. 18-19. Cincşor (Dacia Malvensis). Gesichtshelm (Dragotă 1987).

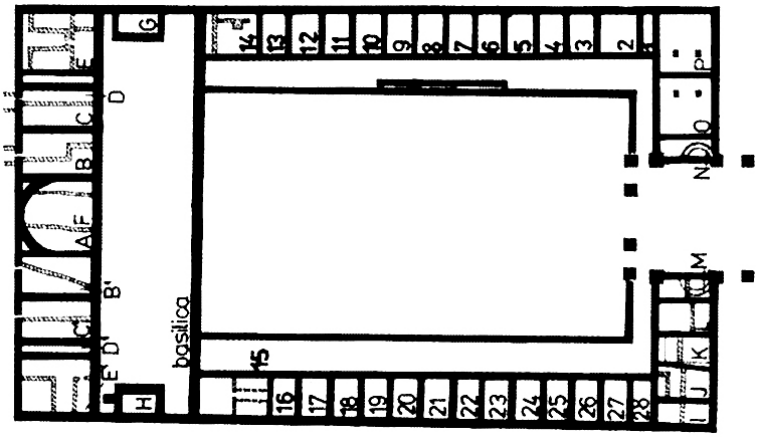


Abb. 21. Potaissa (Turda). Die *principia* (nach M. Bărbulescu).

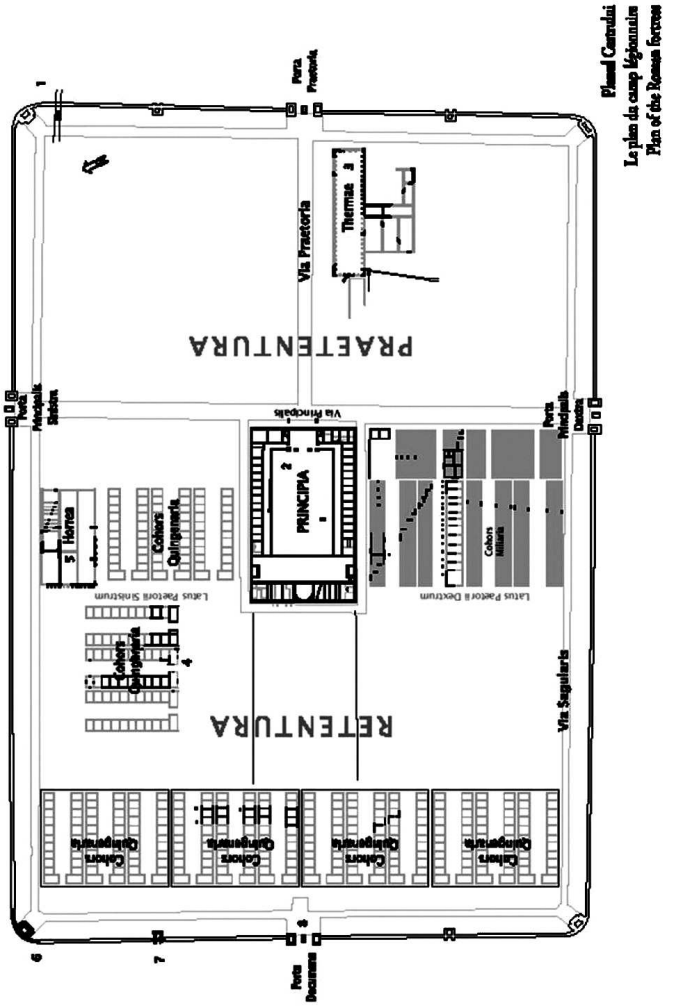


Abb. 20. Das Legionslager Potaissa (Turda) (Dacia Porolissensis) (nach M. Bărbulescu).

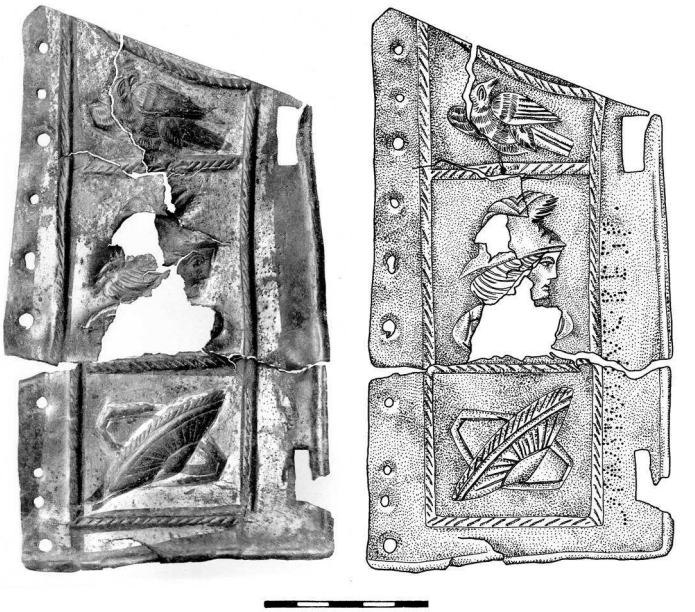


Abb. 22. *Potaissa*. Panzerbeschlag mit eingepunzter Inschrift.

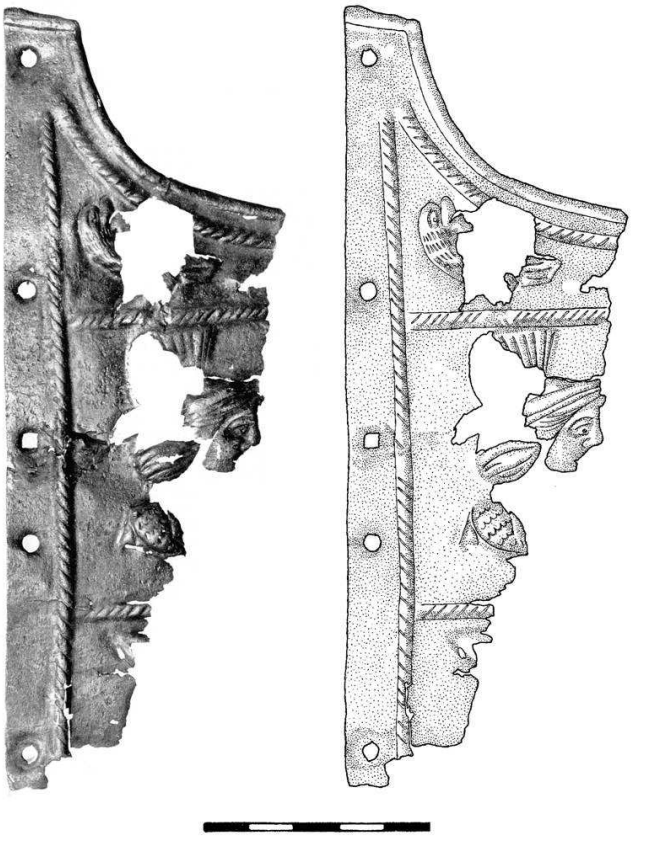


Abb. 23. *Potaissa*. Panzerbeschlag.



Abb. 24. *Potaissa*. Panzerbeschlag.

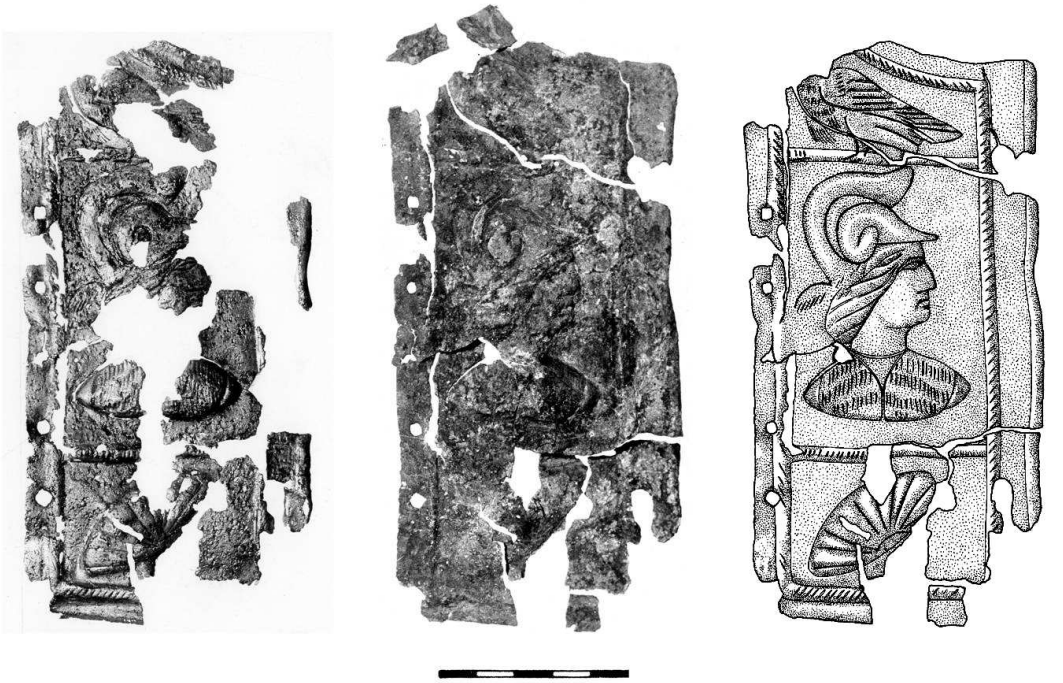


Abb. 25. *Potaissa*. Panzerbeschlag.

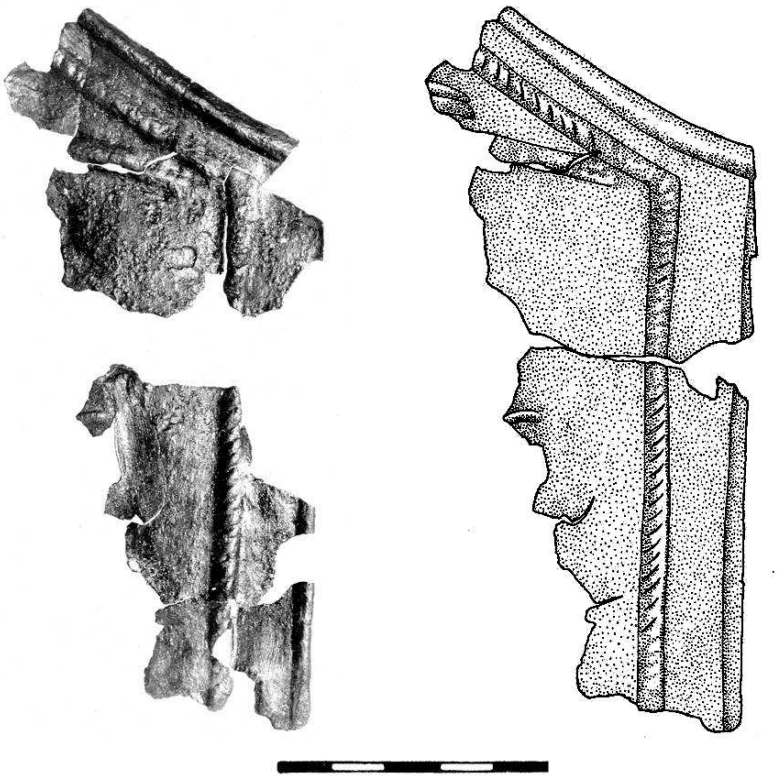


Abb. 26. *Potaissa*. Panzerbeschlag.



Abb. 27. Das Auxiliarkastell *Samum* (Căşeiu). Paar von Panzerbeschlägen.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 233–246

THE PEREGRINE NAMES FROM DACIA

RADA VARGA

The analysis of the peregrine names from Dacia can only begin with a detailed description of the methods chosen for it and of the reasons behind these choices.

First, we have to identify those who most probably have the peregrine status. Even if the onomastic still offers the most relevant clues, there is still a certain level of relativity, that cannot be ignored. We must keep in mind the possible existence of the "onomastical frauds", that consist in adopting, without full legal bases, a name suggesting a superior juridical status – that of a citizen. Equally, we must imagine that not all the fresh citizens cared to use their full new Roman name on all their inscriptions. They might, sometimes, cared about the practical advantages of the superior social status, but find no relevance in displaying the name, especially when a certain inscription comes as a more personal act of devotion. And, lastly, the peregrine name is theoretically mistakable for that of the slave.

Out of reasons connected to the accuracy of the statistical results, I have also done a second-level selection. More precisely, the soldiers that get to Dacia in the *auxilia* have never lived as simple peregrines in this province and the huge differences between the civil law and the military one make the separation of the two categories of inhabitants absolutely necessary. So, we will consider only the members of their families, mentioned in diplomas or inscriptions, about whom we can affirm that lived in Dacia as simple peregrines. Another special – and thus separate – case is that of the Alburnus Maior community. The fortuitous conservation of the wax tablets, as well as the uniquely vast archaeological excavations, brought to our knowledge a great number of inhabitants of this community. A generalization of the results obtained from the study of this group and generalizing them to the scale of the whole province can be, if not made with

full and great attention, method errors. This is due to the unitary character – socially, economically, juridically, ethnically – of this group, as well as because of the disproportionate number of inscriptions that we have here, disproportion that surely and naturally does not mirror the age's realities, but a series of historical circumstances.

Including a name into the category of peregrine names means excluding the possibility of his bearer to have been a slave. This problem has often been debated in historiography, but never clearly solved. In fact, it cannot be credibly clarified in general, as every case has its details, which make it unique. In the best case, a series of conclusions can be drawn, at the level of a population group or province, but even their accuracy can be justly put under questioning. Generally speaking, the inscriptions erected by members of the lower social strata give us poor information; simple and typified as technical and artistic realization, their epigraphic content is minimal as well. The information provided by them is usually not internally explicit enough for clarifying to us the juridical status of the dedicant or of that to which the inscription refers. Such a clarification is only possible through deductive means and analogies, which always are more or less equivocal.

Furthermore, because the present paper refers to the onomastics of the Dacian *peregrini*, not to them as a social or juridical category, I will not take into consideration those names that haven't been conserved in an understandable manner. As well, the results of this study might prove not to be definitive and further research and considerations might slightly change them. That's why, intentionally, I will not always present hard figures, but merely percentages. In some cases, the exact number of names is relevant and I will give it, but only with caution. All doubt given, this is how the picture of the peregrines from Dacia and their names looks like at this moment and even if the count will slightly change, the percentages will not be altered consistently.

One last amendment that I have to make concerning the statistic is that a single name (a single man, in fact, having a composed name) can appear in two etymological categories. There are quite a lot of mixed names, such as Δημητριος Αρζακει[1] or Atpatinius Rufi[2]. Normally, as the study concentrates on the names of the peregrines from Dacia and their onomastic habits, I will count these names in both categories.

[1] IDR III/3, 399.

[2] CIL III 1033, IDR III/5, 113.

Discussing the peregrines from Dacia, the "natural" analysis, the one that stands out by itself, is that of the Alburnus Maior community. But, as I have already stated, the deductions built on the conclusions drawn from here can be invalid. The identical or very much resembling ethnical and cultural background of the miners from Alburnus makes them not very relevant as term in the analogies concerning the whole province. Relevant could be the Illyrians from other spots, that live in eclectic environments and that can be used as a fitted sample for analyzing the ethnical group's epigraphic and onomastic practices. In other words, I consider we can use a peregrine group for broader analogies only if it doesn't have the features of a shut-down community.

At this point, it remains the problem of choosing the peregrine names, of including or not a name into this category. Theoretically, if a name isn't accompanied by an explicit patronymic, the character is a slave or a freedman[3]. But, taking into consideration the relativity of the presence or absence of the indicative *f(ilius)*[4], I have considered peregrine names all those that aren't denominated as something else by the content of the inscription, by undeniable specificities of the name or by an existent *terminus post quem*. So, at this moment, we have catalogued a total of 395 peregrine names from Dacia[5].

I will begin the presentation of the peregrine names of Dacia by discussing the two categories that cannot be treated as integrated and ordinary parts of the whole: the "military" names and those from Alburnus Maior.

The "military" peregrines are a very complex and complicated subject – and the inverted commas are necessary, as well as an explanation is. We will not refer to those who are part of the Roman army, to the militaries themselves, but to the whole human luggage that an army like the Roman one creates and engages.

Being a soldier in the auxiliary troops brought, probably as the main consequence, the reward of citizenship. Moreover, citizen rights were granted to the veteran's family: to his wife (a single wife, more exactly) and to the children born before the parents' legal marriage, as well as, of course, to the ones born afterwards. So, when we find an auxiliary soldier's family mentioned in a diploma, they have nothing left of the peregrine's status. As for the soldiers themselves, we cannot say what their status and/or connections to Dacia have been, before entering the army. The recruitment environments of the auxiliary troopers must be

[3] Solin 2003, XXXIX.

[4] Piso 1993, 320.

[5] Without a necessarily direct connection to our study, I must notice that the scarcity of peregrine names also comes as a proof of the much debated inexistence of the Latin communities of Dacia; for a more detailed, but also synthetic discussion, see Ardevan 1999.

seen as a large and diverse one; only a very small part of them can possibly come *castris*, from the *canabae* attached to the fortresses, statistically being impossible for a large segment of these soldiers to originate from this environment[6]. Only these ones, if, idealistically speaking, the diploma gives us the necessary details, can be included in the present analysis, because only they might have lived in the province with peregrine status and that is before recruitment.

In order to discuss the military milieu, the milieu of the auxiliary troops, we must not forget these soldiers' desires for integration. Their epigraphic manifestations – and we can safely consider the existence of an epigraphic consciousness on such a large social scale as a feature of the Roman Empire and of the world it created – are abundant in the militarized areas and they come as a proof of this desire to be a bearer of the Roman culture and an accepted part of it. As an example, in northern Britain, in the area where the military presence is massive, a quarter of the inscriptions are military (in Colchester, out of 13 funerary inscriptions, 4 belong to soldiers[7]). Obviously, this percentage does not mirror the population situation, but speaks about a way of expressing oneself.

Arriving to a point, from military diplomas we have, for Dacia, 37 names and from the military inscriptions, only 11 other names. By "military inscriptions" we understand those inscriptions, votive or funerary, that are erected by or for military staff. So, I have taken into consideration the peregrine names of the soldiers' relatives that are most probably present in Dacia due to the military and live in the environment of the army. Once again I mention that I am not to take into account, in this study, the soldiers' own names, from inscriptions of whatever kind, unless we have a good reason to believe they had lived in Dacia before recruitment as well. I have chosen to use only the explicit material, the one that literarily mentions characters connected to the Roman army. The names extracted from these inscriptions will thus enter the related statistics. About the bearers of the names revealed by the diplomas, we can assume they lived, at a certain point, as peregrines in Dacia. With one exception alone, *Acilius Sabini f. Dubitatus castris*[8], they are not the receivers of the diplomas, but members of their families, more exactly wives and children. Visible from the *diplomata* is that the amount of documents mentioning children is much larger than that of the wives, which are present only in a small part of the diplomas (the proportion is 4 to 1). Of course, this can be explained in many ways and probably the truth lies in the specificities

[6] Vittinghoff 1971, *apud* Vittinghoff 1994, 159.

[7] Mann 1985, 204.

[8] IDR I 18.

of every case. The etymology and linguistic structure of the names talk less about the peregrine onomastics of Dacia and more about the background of the soldiers that have served in *auxilia Daciae*. Anyhow, these characters cannot – and wouldn't be correct to – be ignored. Their bearers are an integrated part of Dacia's social life and their names are ultimately relevant for the big picture of the Dacian peregrine onmastics. So, **Table I** presents the "national" structure of these names. This segment of population constitutes the case where the name is most relevant for the true ethnic origin, a valid indicator of the area of provenience and will be taken into consideration as such.

Table I. The "ethnical" structure of the names from the military environment

"Ethnical" groups of names	**No. of names**	**No. of names from diplomas**	**No. of diplomas**	**No. of names from inscriptions**	**No. of inscriptions**
Celtic[9]	14	13	6[10]	1	1[11]
Italic	14	12	5[12]	2	2[13]
Syro-Palmyrean	6	3	1[14]	3	2[15]
Greek	6	6	2[16]	1	1[17]
Thracian	4	2	1[18]	2	2[19]
Illyrian	2			2	2[20]
German	1	1	1[21]		

The second specific category is that of the Illyrian names from Alburnus. They, of course, are not suitable for the etymological quantification. But what can be usefully quantified is the presence of the patronymic, as this is part of the onomastical practice and habit of the given community. I have tried to take into

[9] I will quote the inscriptions alone, without reproducing the names, out of reasons of clarity.

[10] IDR I 3 ; IDR I 4; IDR I 7; ILD 10 (though not as a certainty of origins indicative, I have considered Lucana a Celtic name, because of its heavy presence in the Gallic provinces – Onomasticon III 33); ILD 13; ILD 14.

[11] CIL III 809 – I have considered Ignota a Celtic name (Onomasticon II 192), though her husband's name, Mucapuis, is mainly Thracian.

[12] IDR I 2; ILD 10; ILD 18; ILD 20; ILD 32.

[13] IDR III/5, 615 ; CIL III, 12541.

[14] ILD 20.

[15] IDR III/1, 167; IDR III/1, 170.

[16] IDR I 10; ILD 20.

[17] ILD 706.

[18] ILD 32.

[19]IDR III/5, 558 ; IDR III/5, 559.

[20] IDR II 45 ; IDR III/5, 522.

[21] IDR I 2.

consideration the Illyrian names from Alburnus Maior, separating them into 3 categories: the ones that appear without a patronymic, the ones that appear with what we have assumed to be the father's name, but without filiations explicitly noted as such and the ones that come with the clear – and desired – *filius* (or *f.*), that clears completely the relationship between the two attested characters. What I have noticed is that none of the Illyrian characters use the mark of the filiation in their names. The Illyrians doing this, a total of 3 examples, so very few anyway, don't live inside the "national" community of Alburnus. Most of them (over 85%), do use a patronymic, but they don't nominate it as such. Only a very small, apparently incidental, percentage doesn't use the father's name as part of their own names. Thus, for this Illyrian community, we must simply accept a similitude with the Illyrians from Dalmatia. Here, G. Alföldy notices that the use of the patronymic in inscriptions is not so very customary[22] – or at least surely not compulsory. So, the use of the father's name remains at the personal choice of the one ordering the inscription or the ones writing and signing the contract, in the case of the wax tablets. We can easily see that in Dacia they do adopt the use of the patronymic, but they don't find the reasons for explicitating the relationship. What I must also mention is that, besides the fact that Dalmatia is one of the provinces quickly Romanized, quickly adopting the Roman gods[23] and trying to assume the Roman habits, they do not have a tradition in epigraphy, nor reasons to put an compulsory *f.* in their names, as the genitive was sufficient to clear the matter and reveal the family membership of the person.

Another question that is worth raising is the percentage of the Illyrians at Alburnus Maior (**Table II**). As they are not into question, I will not quantify the citizens' names, but only the peregrine ones. Of course, any statistics will confirm the first-hand impression, as the Illyrian segment of population is truly dominant, but the names and implicitly their bearers of other origins are also important in the demographical economy of this community. By *Illyrian* I understand names that have their origins in the Roman *Illyricum*; as this is an administrative term, imposed by the Romans, it doesn't represent an area truly united linguistically – and thus onomastically[24]. Just as observations, the Greek group is quite numerous and undoubtedly of significant economical and thus social importance. As well, both the Greek and the Italic groups of peregrines are doubled by groups of citizens, that surely increase their influence inside the community.

[22] Alföldy 1969, 11.
[23] Russu 1969, 134.

Table II. **Quantitative analysis of the "ethnic" extraction of the names from Alburnus Maior**

"Ethnical" group of names	Percentage of the group of names
Illyrian	74, 78%
Greek	11, 71%
Italic	9%
Celtic	2, 7%
Egyptian	0, 9%
Thracian	0, 9%

Leaving these two categories, that I have considered somehow distinct, aside, we will get now to the description and analysis of the names belonging to the great body of Dacian *peregrini*. Out of the reasons above enumerated, we will exclude the Illyrians (and the Illyrians alone, because the others appear in percentages similar to those of the whole Dacia, thus their presence is somehow linear in this community and at the scale of the province) from Alburnus Maior, as well as the characters that are known to us from military diplomas (but not those from the inscriptions as well), due to their doubtable presence and status in the Dacian society. Under these circumstances, we are left with a number of 270 names. A few general considerations can be made for a start, relating the peregrine onomastics to the "traditional" Roman one. First, we must point out that giving the father's name to the son, somehow customary in the Roman onomastics[25], is not a commonplace among these peregrines from Dacia. Then, there also must be mentioned that the peregrine *nomina nuda*[26], when they are of Latin etymology, can be Roman *praenomina*, *nomina* or *cognomina*.

We will now proceed to the quantitative analysis of the etymological structure of the Dacian peregrine names. To begin, we must signalize the presence of some names of very disputable origin and etymological roots, unique in their Dacian utilization. Just for exemplification, such names are Sameccus[27], that seems to have a Celtic sonority, but only appears in this inscription from Alburnus Maior[28], or Andrada and Bituvans[29], that could be Celtic or Illyrian names, but who's only mentioning is here[30], on the funerary inscription from Potaissa.

[24] Piso 2004, 273.
[25] Salomies 1987, 297.
[26] Rizakis 1996, 21.
[27] IDR III/3, 408.
[28] Onomasticon IV, 46.
[29] CIL III 917.
[30] Onomasticon I, 111.

But, generally speaking, the names from Dacia aren't, with these few exceptions, of three or four names, rare ones, whose origins couldn't be settled. So, I will present, in **Table III**, the statistic situation of the linguistic origins of the Dacian names.

Table III. **The structure of the names of the *peregrini* from Dacia**

"Ethnic" groups	**Percentage in Dacia**
Italic	29, 58%
Greek	26, 6%
Illyrian	19, 1%
Celtic	12, 35%
Thracian	7, 86%
Syro-Palmyrean	3,4%
Batavian	0, 37%
Iranian	0, 37%
Egyptian	0, 37%

What one immediately observes is the "classical" character of the peregrine names. The predominance of the Greek – Roman (Latin) names is undisputable and this says a lot about the background and education of many of these *peregrini*. Some of the Greek names, common as they are, can be genuinely Oriental and may conserve a regional and familial tradition. And if so the Greek names have or could have a certain degree of credibility as indicatives of an area of provenience, the Italic ones (not Roman, as that would mean something else, but Italic in etymology) have almost none, if not related to any other clues. So, we have pure Italic names, meaning that the name of the titular and that of the father are both Italic, like Atrius Maximi[31] – which is not a very common case – or that we simply have the Latin name of the titular, which appears alone on most of the inscriptions. But many of the times, the names of Italic origin appear associated with a name situated in a different etymological category, such as Antonius Nicanori[32] from Romula, who has a Latin name, but whose father bore a clearly Greek name, or as the very well-known Decebalus Luci[33], who bears the name of the Dacian king, but doesn't show a familial onomastic background that could ever prove his ethnic origins. It is hard to determine the origins of this man and of many more like him: is he a Dacian whose father had a Latin name or the member of a Latin family

[31] CIL III 1261, IDR III/3, 396.
[32] CIL III 8035 (1594), IDR II 349.
[33] Piso, Rusu 1990, 13–14, ILD 325.

who, out of a flick, named their son after the last king of the province they now inhabited? Of course, the data we have cannot give a clear answer on this matter.

Another interesting type of case where Latin names are involved is the one when they are followed by a national indicative, such as it is Procula Batava[34], from a funerary inscription from Tibiscum. She bears a clear Latin name, but we are indicated to believe that she is a Batavian; we could have never assumed that, without the clue given to us by the inscription. Other examples, relevant in their own way, can be found outside of Dacia: they are the names of characters such as Iulia Dacia[35], from Verona, or Fortunatus qui et Dacus[36], from Mauretania Caesarensis. They indicate to us a few characters, that might have had Dacian origins and that, theoretically at least, might have lived as peregrines in Dacia as well. Only that, more than anything else, these examples state the relativity of the Latin names and of their use, as both characters are indicated to us as coming from Dacia, either of Dacian origin or not, but their names look purely Italic.

So, I guess that the Latin names are the ultimate choice for the ones that don't want to take into consideration other choices. Maybe for the ones that are the most willing to integrate, or maybe of those with a week cultural education and a not – so – conservative family tradition.

At the *peregrini* from Dacia, with modest education and mixed or superficial cultural knowledge, we can't identify, when they bear Greek names, onomastic practices characteristic to the Oriental Greeks (such was, for example, the continuous use of the *cognomen* Nero[37], long after in the Occident it was "out of use"). Some of the Greek name bearers, such as Μύρων[38], even ignoring the details of the inscription, suggest through their names a Greek – language background. But many of the names seem to be mostly the result of a choice determined by the eclectic Roman provincial environment; they are more likely a cultural – historical element, rather than an etymological one[39]. We can assume that, just as in Rome[40], the Greek names are, for the Dacian *peregrini* a mark of their (low) social status, rather than an ethnical clue. The choices of names of the peregrines from Dacia can only be taken into consideration as national indicatives

[34] IDR III/1, 168.
[35] CIL V 3647, IDRE 155.
[36] CIL VIII 8562, IDRE 466.
[37] Solin 1996, 9.
[38] AE 1944, 20, IDR III/3, 432.
[39] Solin 2003, XXV.
[40] Solin 1971, 158.

with maximum prudence and without trusting them that much, when other indicatives lack.

The only ethnical group, definable as such, of peregrines, that is outstanding in Dacia, is that of the Illyrians. We can easily see how remarkable they are, in quantity, at least, by the big percentage of Illyrian names, all over Dacia and by the fact that this percentage has been obtained by excluding those from Alburnus Maior. As I have explained, this community is not fitted for statistics, but it is worth mentioning it, talking about the Illyrian peregrines of Dacia. Having the character of an alternative statistic, I have added **Table IV**, that shows the percentages of the peregrine names, with all the Illyrian names known to us included. Of course, the Illyrian names don't offer us the certainty of the blood origins of the bearer, but it surely comes as a better and more secure clue than the Greek or – especially – Italic names. On the other side, we cannot know more details about the character's background, as the names have similar structures and we could not tell if we are talking with any certainty about an Illyrian from Dalmatia or from Pannonia[41]. Even so, we can state that some of the names appear to have their origins in on or another area of the *Illyricum*. So, names as Epicadus[42] or Verzo[43] can be considered as originated from south-eastern Dalmatia[44], while most of the other Illyrian names spread all over the Pannonia-Dalmatian.

Table IV. **The structure of the names of the *peregrini* from Dacia (including the Illyrians from Alburnus Maior)**

"Ethnic" groups	**Percentage in Dacia**
Illyrian	46, 28%
Italic	22, 5%
Greek	20, 29%
Celtic	9, 4%
Others	1, 4%

The Celtic names are an interesting case as well. Remarkable about them is that, sometimes, they have a common root with the Latin names and so the origins remain debatable. Such is Seneca, a name heavily used in the Celtic regions of the Empire, which can equally be a derivation of *senex* or a corruption of the Celtic

[41] Paki 1998, 19.

[42] IDR I,32.

[43] IDR I, 36 ; CIL III 17, IDR I, 48; IDR III/3, 393 ; CIL III 1269, IDR III/3, 421; CIL III 1271, IDR III/3, 422; ILD 388 ; ILD 394.

[44] Katičić 1964, 28 *apud* Piso 2004, 290.

Senaca[45]. In the case of the Dacian peregrines, very few names have the proper Celtic root. Many are names of Latin etymology, but with a "history" in the areas of the Empire that have a Celtic substratum. Such are Quintianus (a distant derivation of Quintus, ultimately)[46], which we can find with a certain predilection in the *Galliae* and the *Hispaniae*, though it also has a solid presence in the Italian region[47]. Others, such as Prima/Primus (though Holder notices only the forms Primiacus, Primiciacus, Primillo, Primuliacus[48]), Quintus/Quinta, names that represent a ordinal numeral in Latin, to sum it up, appear with a great predominance in the Celtic provinces of the Empire, proving a liking of these inhabitants for them or possibly a pre-existent tradition. Of course, in this case of the Celtic-root names, with a specificity more accurate than that of the Greek and Latin names; so, names as Suadullus Titur (?)[49], where the second name seems to be a corruption and whose apparition in Dacia is not mentioned in *Onomasticon*[50], is of clear Celtic origin, as all the other mentioned apparitions of Suadullus come from Celtic-substratum provinces. Also, I have considered Surus[51] of Celtic origin, though it appears quite constantly in the whole western Empire and Holder gives it as "auch celtisch"[52]. So, concluding the paragraph, we can safely state that a certain number, not very small, of the Dacian *peregrini*, come from Celtic provinces and prove to bring with them – even if we talk about a first or further generation of "colonists" – the legacies of a certain cultural background.

Into the category of Thracian names, there are many doubtable ones. They speak about a certain substratum, but with few details, as well. A Thracian, even considering that he has not only the Thracian name, but also Thracian origins, can, nevertheless, come from the south of the Danube regions, as well as from Pannonia, for example[53]. Even so, names such as Mucatra/Mucapor[54] or Rescuturme[55] do have a clear Thracian belonging[56]. I have also included here what are assumed to be names of Dacian origins, as a separate category for these names

[45] Kajanto 1965, 16.
[46] AE 1903, 67, IDR III/3, 133.
[47] Onomasticon IV, 18.
[48] Holder, 1904, 1043.
[49] CIL III 961, IDR III/4, 98.
[50] Onomasticon IV, 96.
[51] CIL III 12548, IDR III/4, 71 and AE 1915, 35.
[52] Holder 1904, 1678–1682.
[53] Paki 1998, 19.
[54] CIL III 1195, IDR III/5, 558.
[55] CIL III 1195, IDR III/5, 558.
[56] Detschew 1957, 319–320 and 392.

seemed preposterous, first of all because we have three names denominated as Dacian in the Dacia province[57] and only Decebalus belongs to a person of peregrine status. If we had no other data, almost ironically and also proving the relativity of our sources, we would have the name Decebalus appear in 3 inscriptions in Moesia Inferior[58] and only once in Dacia (just as in Britannia, for example), which would indicate a Thracian origin, without the "help" of literary sources. Outside our statistics, but worthy as an example, we have a *Diuppaneus qui Euprepes*[59], whose epitaph is in Rome, but who, theoretically, could have lived, for a short while (he died at 18), as a peregrine in Dacia. Even so, at the level of the peregrine onomastics of the Dacian province and the analysis undertaken here, the separation of Dacian and Thracian names is irrelevant and insubstantial.

As it is easily visible, the other "ethnic" categories are weakly represented. What I have noted as Semitic names are of theoretical Palmyrian provenience and they apparently present Arabic etymology, as more than half of the names from Palmyra[60]. The other categories of names are represented by one, respectively two names and they are much too incidental for further discussions. As a note, I would add that, besides Ammonius[61] (possibly Hammonius) from Alburnus Maior, we have no other African names, not even Latin *cognomina* that were "popular" in North Africa, such as Mustacius or Mustacus[62].

Besides this quantitative analysis of the names from the whole province, another possible kind of study would be one inclined more towards demography than sheer onomastics. But, without ignoring this possible side, I will not making it the object of this study. The differentiated study of the peregrines from the urban environment and of those from the rural one will be attempted in the future, but from a mixed point of view. It is too much for a matter of onomastics and – in my opinion – too little for a demographical onset[63]. This question will be raised as a problem of epigraphical manifestation and percentage of inscriptions – not population! – in a different context.

Through their names, the *peregrini* who lived in Dacia mainly reveal a western background and a considerable will to adapt to the Roman culture. Also,

[57] Dana 2003, 167, fn. 17.

[58] Onomasticon II, 94.

[59] CIL VI 16903, IDRE 70.

[60] Stark 1971, XX.

[61] IDR III/3, 394.

[62] Kajanto 1965, 18.

[63] As a tentative in this way comes Ştefănescu, Balaci 2007, but the results are not convincing, as an unfortunate consequence of the scarcity of the sources.

some of them show a link with some local traditions and the desire to perpetuate certain onomastic customs. Mostly, they bear simple names, names that are popular all over the Empire or at least in a couple of provinces.

The final purpose of this study would be for the onomastics to reveal us some details about the Dacian peregrines. I have already stated my doubts, present in most cases, about the direct and indissoluble connection between the etymology of the name and the ethnic, blood origins of the name bearer. Without saying it is inexistent or that it isn't obvious in certain cases, I just consider it doesn't have to be generalized or taken for granted. The names show us a varied picture, where these inhabitants of the Dacian province are placed on different levels: different as education, different as conservatism and implicitly as will to integrate and socially different. Referring to the whole Dacia, as a general case, I believe that the peregrines' names provide information about the cultural environment of the Roman Empire, especially of the Latin-language provinces more than about certain areas of provenience.

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ABOUT THE TACTICS AND FIGHTING PARTICULARITY OF THE AUXILIARY INFANTRY IN ROMAN DACIA

PETRU URECHE

This study is part of a series of studies that look at the Roman army from a slightly different perspective: that of the tactics and strategy used according to the specific fighting of the populations forming the auxiliary units. This paper, alongside the others in this series, is not meant to be an exhaustive study of the auxiliary troops from the point of view of tactics and strategies. Thus, in order to know the Roman study strategy, literary sources and the geographic positioning of the fortresses are being used; other aspects, such as epigraphic and archaeological sources, were left aside, having been discussed enough up to the present moment. That is why it is possible for some troops to have been wrongly positioned, due to the use of epigraphic information alone. From this point of view, a much more complete work must be elaborated; it will study the Roman army's tactics and strategy, omitting none of the circumstances, and it will cover a wider surface. Moreover, I did not use a clear chronology here, divided into smaller periods of the history of the province Dacia, the entire study referring, chronologically speaking, to the centuries II–III.

The infantry probably represented the most important component of the Roman auxiliary troops. The troops made of heavy infantry, legionary troops, were completed with others, having a better mobility and greater diversity: the light infantry troops. Nevertheless, there was an auxiliary heavy infantry, as well[1]. In fact, some authors believe that all the auxiliary troops were armed as heavily as the legionary ones, except for some conscriptions used for skirmishment[2]. The infantry was very important in an armed conflict because it was the only one that could

[1] Ruscu, Ruscu 1996, 214.

[2] Goldsworthy 2007, 127.

conquer and maintain a certain position, that being its main function[3]. It was also often used, combined with archers, for supporting the cavalry[4]. The auxiliary infantry units were called *cohortes*[5].

The regular auxiliary Roman troops, the cohorts included, were divided in two categories, depending on the number of soldiers: *quingenariae*, which were made of six centuries and *milliariae*, of ten centuries[6]. The terms *quingenaria* and *milliaria* are approximate in this case, as well[7], a *quingenaria* cohort being made of approximately 480 soldiers and a *milliaria* of approximately 800 soldiers[8]. Death on the battlefield, the recruitment of an insufficient number of soldiers or some vexillations' departure in missions led to the variation in number of the soldiers in these troops, the number of soldiers present in the fortress being usually smaller than the theoretical number of soldiers in a troop[9]. Likewise, the structure and number of soldiers in a troop were influenced by the local conditions, the Roman military system being very flexible and capable of readjustment[10]. The number of soldiers the most important army subunits had indicates the type of conflict that was expected to take place in the area and the modifications of this number suggests changes in the military situation[11].

There were cohorts that had a cavalry contingent beside the infantry. These troops were called *equitatae*[12] and those solely of infantry were called *peditatae*[13]. We are going to discuss the *peditatae* cohorts here, the *equitatae* ones being the subject of another study[14]. Of course, the elements of equipment and the infantry-men's tactics in the *equitatae* cohorts are identical to those of the *peditatae* cohorts.

The auxiliary infantry benefited from a good management, thus having, just as the legions did, an advantage and superiority over the disorganized, non-Roman

[3] Goldsworthy 1996, 191.

[4] Goldsworthy 1996, 188.

[5] Cichorius 1900, 233; Spaul 2000, *passim*.

[6] Hyginus 28.

[7] Ureche 2009, forthcoming.

[8] Cheesman 1914, 25.

[9] Goldsworthy 1996, 24.

[10] Goldsworthy 1996, 13.

[11] Goldsworthy 1996, 13.

[12] Cichorius 1900, 235; Cheesman 1914, 28; Davies 1989, *passim*.

[13] Hyginus 28; Cichorius 1900, 235. From the entire range of classical authors, the term is to be found only in Hyginus, and in inscriptions, only as *Cohors I Alpinorum peditata*, to differentiate it from *Cohors I Alpinorum equitata*.

[14] Ureche 2009, forthcoming.

infantry troops[15]. The gradual regularization of the auxiliary troops is by no means evidence attesting that the soldiers lost the special abilities they were recruited for, but rather a proof of the fact that they became a part of the Roman army[16].

The well-ordered formations, with many rows in width, kept people in motion; thus, the troop could attack as a compact body[17]. Consequently, Arrian made up a fight line consisting in five to eight spear throwers, each row throwing over the heads of the ones in front of it; behind them, he placed a row of infantry bowmen and one of bowmen on horses, which shot above the spearmen[18]. These compact formations were extremely useful against heavy cavalry attacks; furthermore, because they were so compact, the Roman soldiers could not run away[19].

The Roman infantry used several fighting techniques: at the beginning of the fight, they attacked in wide formations, at high speed, to scare the enemies away and put them on the run[20]. This first attack was followed by several others, the soldiers not getting involved in individual duels except for very few situations; their purpose was staying alive, rather than killing an enemy[21]. Still, during these charges, individual duels were inevitable.

Intimidation tactics were an important factor that sometimes helped to obtain easy victories. Initially, the enemy was intimidated at the sight of a great number of people that went forward in disciplined formations, slowly or at great speed. That visual impression was important to most of the armies, the soldiers using different tricks to seem taller than in reality[22]. After creating this visual impression, the second intimidation phase they used was at auditive level. The noise was created with the help of different instruments[23] used by the armies in fighting signals, but the shouting, the noise made by men hitting their shields with the weapons, or the march of hundreds of men with a firm step were intimidating, as well[24]. This type of noisy movement was used by the Roman army in Polybius's time, this technique being used by other populations, too[25]. The intimidation could also be achieved by advancing slowly, quietly and it suggested imperturbability /

[15] Goldsworthy 1996, 20.
[16] Goldsworthy 1996, 21.
[17] Goldsworthy 1996, 178.
[18] Goldsworthy 1996, 177.
[19] Goldsworthy 2007, 138–139.
[20] Sabin 2000, 8.
[21] Goldsworthy 1996, 208.
[22] Goldsworthy 2008, 184.
[23] Plutarch, Crassus 23.7.
[24] Goldsworthy 1996, 195–197.
[25] Goldsworthy 2007, 134.

impassibility, even if this was only for show[26]. That implacable closeness usually created a stronger effect than the noisy advancing would have. It was first used in Caesar's time, and for it to be possible, a high standard discipline was required, to keep the formations as a dense mass, despite the natural instinct of the soldiers to scream and run towards the enemy line[27]. The only army of that time that was disciplined and organized enough for this type of advancement was the Roman one. The implacable closeness ended at a distance of less than 15 meters from the enemy, this one receiving a double shock: a physical one by the *pila* volley and a psychological one, induced by the fight shouts that were released at that moment[28].

The ability to go forward in a constant rhythm and throw the spears only from a short distance required a lot of self-control, and Roman soldiers were doubtlessly taught to have that[29].

The typical equipment of the auxiliary infantrymen consisted in a *lorica hamata* that had the same weight as the *segmentata* used by the legionnaires, a bronze helmet, an oval and flat shield, a *gladius* and a lance or short spears[30] (*iacula*). The *iacula*, no matter if warriors attacked or defended themselves, were the first weapons used in a fight to break the enemy line before coming to the hand to hand fight[31]. These weapons were superior to the legionary ones (*pila*) from the point of view of the ability to hit from a short distance[32]. An experiment dating from Napoleon the 3rd's time proved that a spear could be thrown 30–35 meters away[33]. In hand to hand fights, the *gladius* or the *spatha* were used most often, but it is possible for some of the units to have used the lance in this type of confrontation[34]. Considering this typical equipment of an auxiliary infantryman, it is believed that these troops were actually heavily armed, just like the legionary ones[35].

Most of the infantry troops represented on Trajan's Column and on funerary monuments seem to have as defensive equipment a helmet, *lorica hamata* or *squamata*, a long, oval and flat shield, unlike the legionary one that was

[26] Goldsworthy 1996, 197.
[27] Goldsworthy 2007, 134.
[28] Goldsworthy 2007, 134
[29] Goldsworthy 2008, 184.
[30] Goldsworthy 2007, 127.
[31] Peddie 1996, 81.
[32] Goldsworthy 1996, 20.
[33] Harmand 1967, 62, *apud* Luttwak 1976, 44.
[34] Goldsworthy 1996, 216.
[35] Goldsworthy 2007, 127.

semicircular. There is no proof that the auxiliary troops may have used *lorica segmentata*[36].

The shield used by the auxiliary troops was about 125 cm long and 64 cm wide. It was made up of three layers of wood stuck together, being 10 mm wide in the end. The iron *umbo* was placed a little above the centre. The shield had a vertical strengthening crossbar on the interior side that formed a vertical handle right where the *umbo* was on the other side. Both faces were covered in leather and there is no trace of any metallic strap on the side[37].

The infantry helmet left the face and ears uncovered, so that the soldier could see, hear, understand and follow orders[38].

The bowmen and slingers' equipment is a bit different from that of the regular troops (see *infra*).

In Dacia, the cohorts, the *peditatae* and the *equitatae* ones as well, were placed in the front line of the *limes*, having behind them the *alae*, which could intervene on a wider area, due to their mobility.

Cohorts recruited from various parts of the Roman Empire proceeded to Roman Dacia. The most famous troops are: the Gauls, the Hispanians, the Britons and the Thracians.

From the Gallic peditate cohorts in *Dacia*, the following have been confirmed: *cohors I Gallorum Dacica* and *cohors III Gallorum*. The first one's garrison is unknown, the second being stationed in the fortress from Ioneştii Govorei[39], then in Hoghiz. The Gallic cohorts were camped near river flows, *cohors III Gallorum* stationed in two fortresses on the *Alutan limes* and *cohors V Gallorum equitata* stationed on the Danube riverside, from where they could watch over the road from Drobeta to Berzobis.

Troops composed of Hispanians can be found on various parts of *Dacia*'s *limes*. Thus, as far as the *peditatae* cohorts are concerned, there was one in the north – in Românaşi (*cohors I Hispanorum pia fidelis*)[40], and one on the *limes Transalutanus*, *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* at Brețcu (Angustiae)[41].

A population that also gave many troops to the Empire even before the Flavian[42] dynasty was that of the Brittons. Three peditate cohorts of Britons saw

[36] Goldsworthy 1996, 216.
[37] Goldsworthy 1996, 211.
[38] Goldsworthy 1996, 213.
[39] Petolescu 1995, 257; Bejan 1998, 40.
[40] Bejan 1998, 40; Zahariade 1976, 479.
[41] Petolescu 2002, 85.
[42] Marcu 2004, 219.

action in Dacia: *cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*, *cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*, which was stationed in the fortress in Buciumi[43], and *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria*, which was initially stationed in Bumbeşti[44], then in Stolniceni[45].

There is a possibility for *cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria* to be identical to *Cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria* from Bumbeşti[46], the hypothesis concerning the identification of the first with *cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum milliaria* being excluded[47].

The troops in Buciumi guarded simultaneously two passes in the Meseş Mountains: Rag and Poic. The fortress was situated 3.5 km behind the Rag pass, beyond which lied the most important way of communication west of the *limes*, the road along the Crasna river[48].

The fortress in Bumbeşti controlled the Valley of the Jiu and one of the most important roads of Dacia as well, from Drobeta to Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, which passed through this valley.

The Thracians are also found within the Empire troops, especially in the *equitatae* cohorts, being a population of horse riders. The troops of Thracians in Dacia are: *cohors I Thracum*, *cohors VI Thracum equitata, cohors I Thracum c. R.*, *cohors I Thracum sagittariorum* and *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*.

Of all these, we know about the first two being *equitatae*. Little do we know about the places they were stationed in. *Cohors I Thracum c. R.* was used only for a little while in Dacia: after taking part in the Dacian wars, it appears in a *diploma* from 109 in Dacia and in 110, it is moved to *Pannonia Inferior*[49]. *Cohors II Flavia Bessorum* was stationed in a *castellum* in Rucăr during Trajan's time[50], and during Hadrian's time it was moved to *Dacia Inferior*, then later on, probably under Antonius Pius's reign, it was relocated to Cincşor (Braşov), on the upper Olt river[51].

There is little information about c*ohors I Thracum sagittariorum*, as well: we know it was stationed in *Dacia Superior* because it appears in their diplomas[52].

[43] Petolescu 1995, 245.
[44] Petolescu 2002, 91.
[45] Petolescu 2002, 92.
[46] Marcu 2004, 223.
[47] Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2001, 39–40; Weiss 2002, 250, *apud* Marcu 2004, 222.
[48] Dumitraşcu 1993, *apud* Gudea 1997, 7-8.
[49] Petolescu 1995, 270.
[50] Petolescu 2002, 84.
[51] Petolescu 1995, 240.
[52] Petolescu 1995, 270.

It was part of the infantry bowmen of Dacia, along with *cohors I Cretum*, *cohors I Antiochiensium, cohors I sagittariorum milliaria*, *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum* and *cohors I Ituraeorum*.

The Thracians and the Cretans used a long bow characterized by high performances (within a range of 210–230 m)[53], but which was not really the same as the composite bow used by Oriental bowmen. *Cohors I Cretum* was stationed in Banatska Palanka, from where they watched over the Drobeta - Berzovis road. It is assumed that *cohors I Antiochiensium* and *cohors I sagittatiorum milliaria*, which was recruited from Syria, were stationed in Tibiscum[54] and Drobeta[55] and may have been joined after 165.

The bowmen had to support other troops by standing behind them and shooting above. They were usually used to provide support to the heavy infantry against cavalry attacks, but they could not resist an attack by themselves[56].

The infantry bowmen used bows that were bigger and stronger than those of the infantry horsemen and their shooting range was wider[57].

All the bowmen in the Roman army used the Mediterranean technique of shooting, whether on foot or on horseback. The bow was held in the left hand, which was straightened ahead, and the right hand bent the bow spring up to the chin before releasing it. While being bent, the bow spring was held with a finger above the arrow and with one or two fingers under it[58].

There are lots of variants regarding the effective range of action of the arrows shot from a composite bow. Vegetius believed that the bowmen should train with a target that should be positioned 200 meters away[59], the French estimated that an arrow shot from a Roman bow would reach up to 165–175 meters[60], Bivar suggests a maximum distance of 230 meters and an effectiveness at 90 meters[61], and McLeod reduces the effective distance to 50–60 meters[62]. Saracen manuals support the idea that a professional bowman on horseback is capable to hit a target with the diameter of 90 cm from a distance of 70 meters, and the

[53] Peddie 1996, 92, Table 4.
[54] Benea 1980, 136.
[55] Benea 1976, 77 sqq.
[56] Goldsworthy 1996, 190.
[57] Coulston 1985, 245–246, *apud* Dixon, Southern 1992, 53.
[58] Goldsworthy 1996, 185.
[59] Vegetius 2. 23.
[60] Goldsworthy 1996, 184.
[61] Goldsworthy 1996, 184.
[62] Goldsworthy 1996, 184.

bowmen horse riders use less stronger bows, thus with a short range of shooting[63]. One of the main reasons behind these different opinions concerning the range of action of a Roman bow is the fact that the skillfulness of the bowman is more important than the bow's manufacturing technology[64].

The infantry archers' quiver was fixed by the *balteus*, as sculptural monuments show (a tomb stone in Walberdorf)[65], and that of the horse riders in the *equitatae* cohorts was usually worn on the right side of the saddle, behind the rider[66].

The recruitment of the Iturean archers, an Arab population that shared its domination together with the Nabateans in Syria, is testified from the beginning of the first Civil War[67]. These ones, on foot and on horseback, were frequently used by Caesar[68], while Pompeius preferred the ones from Crete[69].

The troops of Iturei in Dacia acted on the northern and north-western *limes*, being found in the fortresses from Romita and then Porolissum (*cohors I Ituraeorum*) respectively Porolissum and Buciumi (*cohors I Augusta Ituraerorum*)[70]. Regarding the Călugăreni stamps, Ioan Piso and Felix Marcu were both of the opinion that *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* was also stationed here[71].

The Iturean, Numidian and Cyrenian troops included other categories of infantry warriors besides the archers, as well. They were used in pursuit actions, after the enemy was forced to flee[72].

Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum, *cohors I Ituraeorum*, *cohors I Antiochiensium* were made of soldiers recruited from the Orient, who used the composite bow that had an action range of up to 330–365 m[73].

The sling was used, as well, besides the bow and spear, in order to sustain the infantry. The first two originate from the Orient and the sling is also signaled in David's fight against Goliath[74]. The usage of slingers in the Roman army is less

[63] Goldsworthy 1996, 184.
[64] Goldsworthy 1996, 184.
[65] Coulston 1985, 271, *apud* Dixon, Southern 1992, 57.
[66] Schleiermacher 1984, No. 23, *apud* Dixon, Southern 1992, 57.
[67] Țentea 2004, 805.
[68] Caesar, Bell. Afr., 20; Cicero, Philippicae, II, 112.
[69] Davies 1977, 261, *apud* Țentea 2004, 805.
[70] Țentea 2004, 808.
[71] Piso, Marcu 2008, 176-177.
[72] Ruscu, Ruscu 1996, 225.
[73] Peddie 1996, 92.
[74] Peddie 1996, 82.

clarified than that of the archers. The Cretans[75] and the Hispanians are mentioned to use slings beside swords and spears[76].

The slingers were probably included in other units, because cohorts of soldiers specialized in using the sling remains unknown[77]. They were gathered in special units in the light armed troops, especially the light infantry and probably archers, so that together they could offer support to the infantry[78]. The sling was a popular weapon because of its light weight and simplicity in the construction and usage. It is made of a piece of leather in which one puts the projectile and two side straps, out of which one is fixed by the hand one throws with and the other is held between the thumb and the index of the same hand. After one swing around the head, the strap between the fingers is released. The range of action is influenced by the throwing angle, the length of the side straps and by the thrower's force[79], as well as by the ability of the slinger or by the projectile's weight. Given these variables, it is difficult to establish the approximate range of action of the sling[80]. Still, they assume an approximate reach of 27–37 meters[81]. The projectiles were carried by the slingers of the Roman army in the folds of their cape, which was thrown over their left arm, just as it is shown on Trajan's Column[82].

Unlike the arrow or the spear, the projectile shot from the sling had the advantage that it could not be seen in the air and consequently, it could not be avoided. Likewise, it didn't have to penetrate the armour or the helmet to put the enemy out of action, which explains why, sometimes, the sling could be more dangerous than the bow[83].

Like the archers, the slingers had two possibilities of taking action: either they established a precise target and hit it, or threw as many projectiles as possible in the enemy area, leaving them to find them targets on their own. In this case, the skillfulness did not lie in the ability to hit a certain target, but in sending as many projectiles towards the enemy as possible. The second option was sometimes more useful, especially when the enemy made up a dense body[84]. Acquiring the habit

[75] Appian 2.71.
[76] Strabo 3.4.15.
[77] Goldsworthy 1996, 19, 186.
[78] Peddie 1996, 81.
[79] Peddie 1996, 82.
[80] Goldsworthy 1996, 186.
[81] Peddie 1996, P.92, Table 4.
[82] Richmond 1982, P.2, 19, fn 22, *apud* Peddie 1996, 82.
[83] Goldsworthy 1996, 186.
[84] Goldsworthy 1996, 186–187.

and then the great art of handling the sling was obtained, just like in the bow's case, by continuous practice[85].

In the marching column, the slingers, being the scouts[86], were frequently placed in front of the main body of troops.

The Batavian *alae* were considered to be elite forces, but the Batavian infantry is not inferior to them, either. *Cohors I Batavorum milliaria* operated in Dacia at Romita[87]. Tacitus mentions the Batavian cohorts that participated in conquering Britain and covered themselves with glory[88].

The Batavian cohorts were different from the rest of the cohorts in the Roman army, maybe due to their extraordinary skillfulness and even swimming talents[89], and to the fact that after crossing the river, they got out on the other side in formation[90]. This capability is due to Batavians' origin, they lived on the Rhine riverside[91].

In the description of the assault over the island Mona, Tacitus mentions that the Batavian infantrymen landed on the island in ships and the *equites* swam across with their horses, even if the water was extremely deep[92].

There is not very much to say about the other cohorts that acted on the territory of Dacia. Those troops were situated on the north-western border, in the east or inside the province. Thus, the following troops were on the north-western *limes*: *cohors I Cannanefatium* – testified in 164 in Tihău[93], *cohors V Lingonum* in *Porolissum*[94] and *cohors I Aelia gaesatorum milliaria*, which was stationed in Bologa[95]. These last ones took their name from *gaesum*, a special heavy lance, the weapon they used in fights[96]. The troop in Tihău was recruited from the Caninefatian people, who had an origin, language and virtues similar to the Batavi[97]. These troops were integrated in the defense line in the north-west of the

[85] Goldsworthy 1996, 186.
[86] Peddie 1996, 83–84.
[87] Petolescu 1995, 240.
[88] Tacitus, Historiae, IV, 12.
[89] Fleuret 1998, 126.
[90] Tacitus, Historiae IV, 12.1
[91] Fleuret 1998, 126.
[92] Tacitus, Annales XIV, 26.
[93] Petolescu 1995, 248.
[94] Petolescu 1995, 266.
[95] Petolescu 1995, 254.
[96] Petolescu 2002, 103–104.
[97] Tacitus, Historiae IV, 15.1.

province, formed by the fortresses of Tihău, Porolissum, Romita, Românaşi, Buciumi, Bologa.

Besides these, there still were a few to watch over the important roads of the province. Thus, on the imperial road from Drobeta to Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa were stationed two such troops. The first was *cohors III Campestris*, present only for a short while in Drobeta[98], then replaced by *cohors I sagittariorum milliaria*. Then the *cohors IV Cypria c. R.* was stationed on a very important road as well, the one that connects Drobeta to Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa through the Jiu Valley; they were garrisoned in the fortress from Bumbeşti-Jiu[99], where they could supervise and control the entire valley from. This troop's soldiers distinguished themselves by bravery in the wars against the Dacians, thus receiving Roman citizenship. The cohort was replaced here by *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria*[100].

Little do we know about the next three troops, the last ones that we are actually studying, the place where they were stationed being unknown. *Cohors Afrorum* was testified only once in an inscription in Rome[101], and the other two troops, *cohors I Pannoniorum veterana*[102] and *cohors I Montanorum*, participated in the second war against the Dacians[103], and then they went back to the provinces they came from. Therefore, in 110, *cohors I Montanorum* had already come back to *Pannonia Inferior*[104] and *cohors I Pannoniorum veterana* reappeared in *Moesia Superior* in the year 159[105].

The *cohortes peditatae* had an extremely important role in the campaign, where they took or maintained a special fighting position or fight line side by side with the legions they accompanied. Likewise, being disposed in an organized manner on several fight lines, they were extremely effective in the fights against barbarian populations, whose organization during the attacks was not brilliant. In peace time, these troops were stationed in fortresses on the *limes*, from where they watched over the neighboring populations and repelled their attacks with specific tactics, fundamentally aggressive and offensive, their defense being based on the counter-attack[106].

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[98] Petolescu 1995, 246.
[99] Petolescu 1995, 253.
[100] Petolescu 1995, 253.
[101] Petolescu 1995, 237.
[102] Petolescu 1995, 267.
[103] Petolescu 1995, 266.
[104] Petolescu 1995, 266.
[105] Petolescu 1995, 268.
[106] Goldsworthy 1996, 227.

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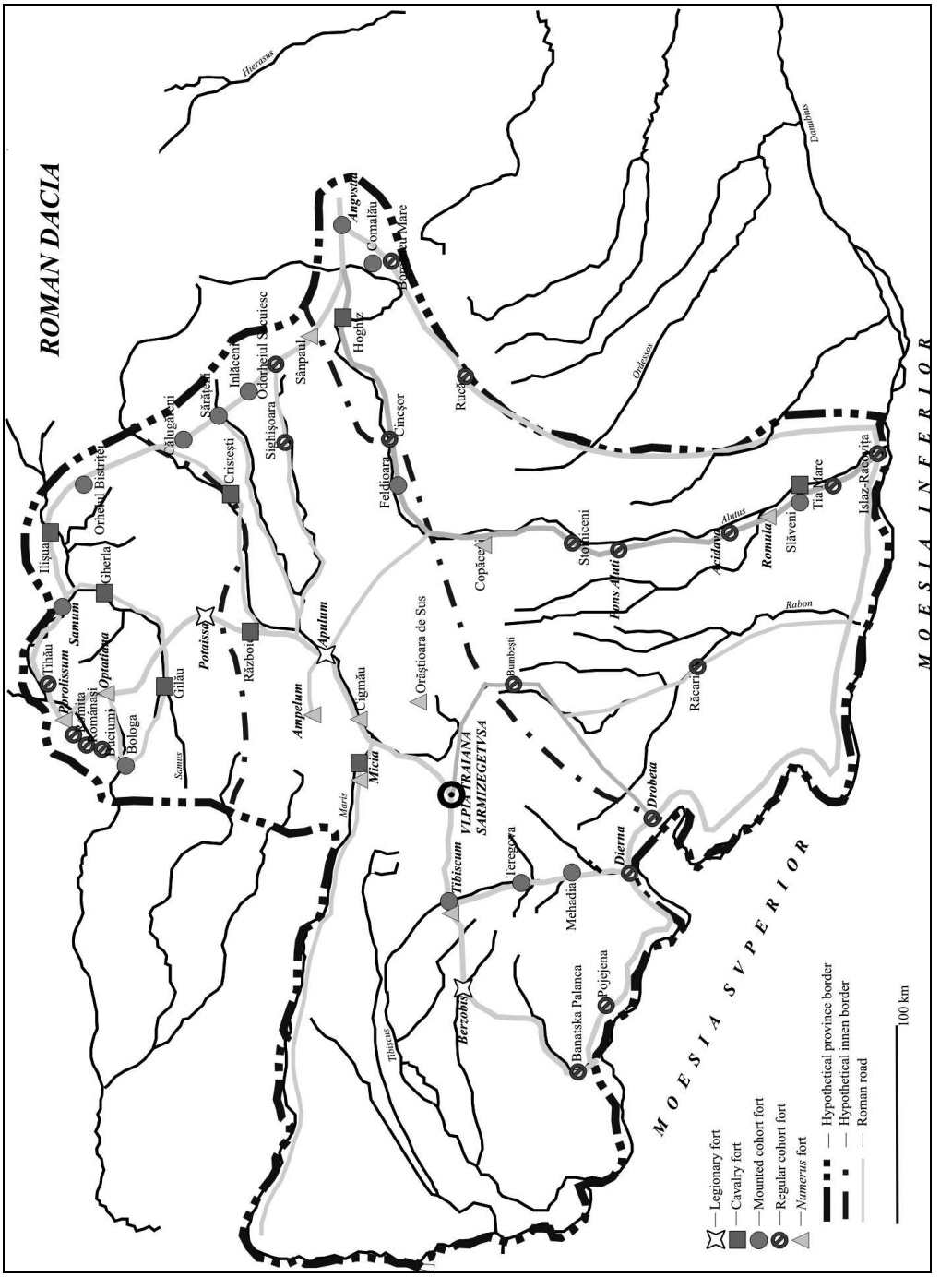


Fig. 1. Dacian units based their fighting style.

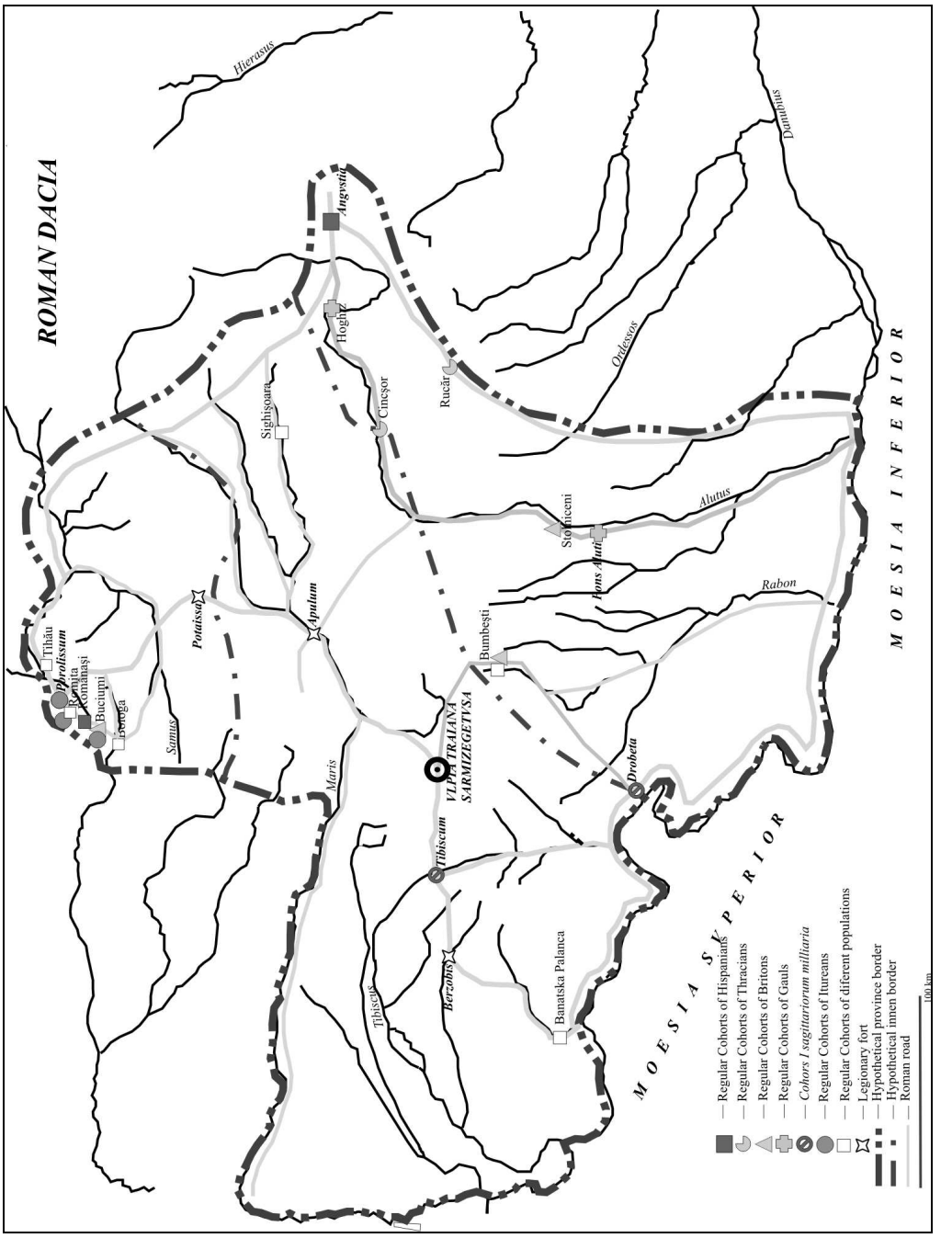


Fig. 2. The ethnic and provenience of the soldiers from the regular cohorts in Roman Dacia.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 263–279

SPECULATORES IN DACIA. MISSIONS AND CAREERS

GEORGE CUPCEA

Beginning with 168, the Dacian consular governor recruited his personal staff out of the two legions under his command, *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica*. The number of officials attested as belonging to his staff is close to one hundred, which explains why in Dacia we encounter one of the best substantiated *officium consularis*.

It should be mentioned, right from the beginning, that such a staff gathered at least two hundred people, mostly legionaires, standing on very different ranks, and having their own internal hierarchy. The men serving in this staff were divided into at least two categories. The superior part of the *officium* is crewed only with *principales*, high-ranked soldiers, receiving one and a half or double pay. They had passed the basic training in a legion, provided by the lower posts and the tactical ranks. The inferior part is occupied only by low-rank soldiers, *immunes*, most of them at the beginning of their careers, either technicians or secretaries[1]. The higher ranks have more general duties and larger responsibilities, and the lower, more specialized activities[2].

A partial reconstruction of the superior part of an *officium consularis*, in a province with only one legion, would look as follows: two *cornicularii*, two

[1] Also called senior-staff and junior-staff posts. Breeze 1974, *passim*.

[2] Austin, Rankov 1995, 151. The evidence for this *staff* is summoned by a series of epigraphical resources, throughout the Empire. CIL VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18, 57, at Lambaesis, count two *cornicularii*, two *commentarienses*, four *speculatores*, thirty *beneficiarii consularis*, four or five *quaestionarii* and a *haruspex*. No mention of the lower posts, and probably only half of a regular staff are attested, because it is well-known that the governor of Numidia (also legionary legate of *III Augusta*) shared his staff with the African proconsul. Another example is Tarraco, the capital of a one-legion province, where CIL II 4122 counts two *cornicularii*, two *commentarienses* and ten *speculatores*. CIL III 3524, at Aquincum, counts twenty *speculatores*, and CIL III 4452 from Carnuntum reveals three *cornicularii*, three *commentarienses*, and thirty *speculatores*.

commentarienses, ten *speculatores*, around sixty *beneficiarii*, about ten *quaestores* and maybe a *haruspex*, altogether about two hundred men having their own officers, plus the *singulares*[3].

The tasks of this staff were numerous and identical to those of the governor. The bureaucrats assist the governor in his most important mission, the administration and implementation of provincial justice. Thus, literary and epigraphical sources reveal these officers taking part in the actual enforcement of justice: centurions inquire, *cornicularii* supervise capital executions, *commentarienses* record every decision taken by the governor, *speculatores* carry out the death penalty, and *beneficiarii* or *frumentarii* assist it, *quaestionarii* lead inquiries or even tortures. Additionally, one of the main common task of all these *officiales* was to act as messengers throughout the province, or even the Empire.

The subject of this paper, *speculatores*, are a very interesting category in the governor staff, attending very different and important tasks. Their origin goes back to late Republic. They first appear in Caesar´s writings, involved in espionage missions, as their name implies, (*BG* II.11.2–3, V.49.8, 50.3; *BC* III.66.1, 67.1)[4]. Evidence of *speculatores praetorii* dates back to the time of the second triumvirate, consisting in a coin of Mark Anthony, or the use of such special troops by Augustus (a visit of such a *speculator* to Augustus is revealed by Suetonius, *Aug*. 74). He later instated them, together with the praetorian cohorts, and they begin to appear on monuments at about that time[5]. They seem to have had a special position in the *praetorium*. A praetorian soldier could become a *speculator* after he held at least one of the tactical ranks. He then became mounted and enlisted in the special corps of *speculatores praetoriani*, counting about three hundred men[6]. They acted as a campaign guard for the emperor and attend to special espionage missions (as those revealed by Suetonius, *Calig*. 44, or Festus 69.L[7]). They continued to be enlisted in the praetorian cohorts, even if, on several occasions, they seem to have been granted a special position (the separate mention of the praetorian cohorts and the *equites speculatores* by emperor Otho is listed in Tacitus, *Hist*. II.1, II.33)[8].

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[3] Austin, Rankov 1995, 152–153. Even if these calculations appear too mechanical, in fact, the size of the *officium consularis* depended on the size of the army that the governor had in command.

[4] Austin, Rankov 1995, 154; Ducos 1995, 51.

[5] Clauss 1973, 46. For the early history of the praetorian guard, see Keppie 1996.

[6] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 20; Durry 1968, 109. However, B. Dobson argues that their numbers are not exactly known (Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, X).

[7] An important explanation of *speculator* and *explorator* is provided by Festus, 69.L: *speculator hostilia silentio perspicit*, *explorator pacata clamore cognoscit*. Ducos 1995, 50.

[8] Durry 1968, 108; Clauss 1973, 47–48.

They most probably stand higher than the regular praetorians, on the same level as a tactical rank and can be promoted to *a quaestionibus praefecti* or *beneficiarius praefecti*. Furthermore, they have their own ranks, as revealed by Tacitus (*Hist*. I.25): *optio* and *tesserarius*[9], the existence of a *vexillarius* and the possibility of promotion to the centurionate being only presumed[10].

When Trajan became emperor, in the year 98, he brought to Rome his newly created guard, the *equites singulares Augusti*. He did not garrison them in the same fort as the praetorians, but had the *castra priora* built for them, on mount Caelius[11]. At about the same time, the corps of *speculatores* in the praetorian cohorts lost their role and importance, and maybe even disappeared as a distinct unit[12]. At one time in the 3rd Century they seemed to have re-emerged, in the time of emperor Philippus Arabs, bearing the name of *tectores*[13], but this thesis proved itself wrong, being based only on the analogy with *protectores* made by A. von Domaszewski[14].

By the time of mid-second century, when the consular governors' *officia* were established, came into light the other kind of *speculator* appointed to this staff, the one picked out from the legions of the province, the *speculator legionis*. The first to notice that this kind of officer is part of the *officium consularis* was A. von Domaszewski, due to the place of discovery for most of the monuments belonging to these *speculatores*, the *praetoria* of the governors[15]. Moreover, he was the first to state that these *speculatores* served only in the *officium consularis*, because only the governor posessed the capital jurisdiction[16].

The literary and epigraphical sources have revealed a great variety of tasks assigned to *speculatores*, as well as their organization and numbers. Inscriptions discovered at Tarraco, Carnuntum or Aquincum, which were mentioned earlier in this text[17], ennumerate the *speculatores* present in every *officium* of these provinces. Due to the different number of legions in these provinces, one can say that ten *speculatores* were recruited out of each legion to participate in the *officium*

[9] Ducos 1995, 50.

[10] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 20; Durry 1968, 108–110.

[11] Speidel 1994, 39.

[12] Durry 1968, 32; Speidel 1994, 43. They continue to be a simple rank in the praetorian cohorts, but are replaced by *frumentarii* and *equites singulares Augusti* (Clauss 1973, 56–57).

[13] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 20; Durry 1968, 110.

[14] Clauss 1973, 78–79. In fact, these *tectores* are a kind of *immunes* – technicians or workers.

[15] *Apud* Clauss 1973, 59.

[16] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

[17] *Supra*, no. 1.

consularis[18]. A very important fact is that they are also present in the staff of the governors in provinces with no legions. In this case, the recruitment was made from legions in the adjacent provinces, as is the case of Dalmatia (three legions), Lugdunensis (four legions), or Africa *proconsularis* (one legion – *III Augusta*)[19].

Their main task is to assist the governor in the implementation of justice in the province. This is why governors with no legion have such officers in their staff[20]. Most of the monuments attesting the *speculatores* were discovered in the *praetoria* of the provincial governors. Next to those, we encounter discoveries in other places, where *speculatores* were sent in their misions, the *stationes*. Such *stationes*, crewed with *speculatores*, were found in Dalmatia, at Metulum (CIL III 3021), in Upper Moesia, at Ulpiana (CIL III 8173), or in Lower Dacia, at Aquae - Cioroiu Nou (AE 1959, 330 = IDR II 141)[21].

The role of the *speculator* as a legal officer has been mentioned several times by literary sources, and assumed by most of the modern day scholars, beginning with A. von Domaszewski[22]. He attended to tasks concerning legal trials, in which case he had clerical duties. This is also certified by the perspective promotions of *speculatores* to other higher clerical ranks, like the *commentariensis* or the *cornicularius*[23].

Another very delicate mission of the *speculatores* was that of public executioner. This is mainly revealed by literary sources, like the *Digest* 48.20.6 or *St. Mark's Gospel* 6.27. They chose the place and organized the execution, even if supervised by a centurion, and they also applied the death penalty (Seneca, De benef. 3.25)[24].

Their most commonly mentioned task was, nevertheless, that of messengers, which arises from literary and epigraphical sources, throughout the 1st and 2nd centuries (Tacitus, Hist. II.73, Ann. II.12; Livy XXXI.24.4)[25]. They acted as messengers not only inside the provinces, but also outside them, being sent even to Rome to dispatch important messages to the emperor, together with the *frumentarii* and *singulares*. For their time spent in Rome, they were garrisoned alongside the other emissaries, in the *castra peregrina*[26].

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[18] Clauss 1973, 69; Austin, Rankov 1995, 151.

[19] Clauss 1973, 70.

[20] Clauss 1973, 69.

[21] Clauss 1973, 71. For the development of provincial *stationes*, see Dise 1996 and Dise 1997.

[22] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

[23] Clauss 1973, 72.

[24] Clauss 1973, 72–73; Austin, Rankov 1995, 151–155.

[25] Austin, Rankov 1995, 155.

[26] Rankov 1990, 180.

Some *speculatores* are attested as performing local police missions. Such is the case of a *speculator* in Lower Moesia, Tomis (AE 1960, 348), who handled the local police work of a district along the Black Sea shore [27]. All these various missions that we encounter in the case of *speculatores* indicate the full availability of these officials to any task that would appear and that they would have been entrusted with by the governor, regardless of the fact that it was, most of the time, some dirty job.

Most of the provincial *officia* throughout the empire have one or more active *speculatores* attested at one time. As previously mentioned, all kinds of governors, with or without legions in command, had a similar *officium* and recruited their men from where it was most available: Lusitania, Tarraconensis, Britannia, Upper and Lower Germany, Dalmatia, Upper and Lower Pannonia, Upper and Lower Moesia, Aegyptus, Africa *proconsularis*, Numidia, and, of course, Dacia[28].

No.	Name	Rank	Legion	Source	Location
1	P. Aelius Valerianus	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	IDR III/5, 721	Apulum
2	Ulpius Proculinus	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 990=IDR III/5, 31	Apulum
3	Statius Alexander	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	Apulum 40, 2007, 176–177	Apulum
	Collective	*speculatores*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 7794b=IDR III/5, 435	Apulum
4	Caius	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
5	Cocceius	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
6	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
7	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
8	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
9	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
10	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
11	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
12	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
13	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*XIII Gemina*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
14	Maximianus	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
15	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
16	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
17	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
18	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
19	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
20	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
21	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum

[27] Clauss 1973, 74, 99: *σπεκλάτωρ Ποντικός*.

[28] For detailed information of *speculatores* in other provinces, see Clauss 1973, 59–68.

No.	Name	Rank	Legion	Source	Location
22	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
23	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
24	*Unknown*	*speculator*	*V Macedonica*	CIL III 7688	Potaissa
25	A[ur.?] Germanus	*speculator*	*VII Claudia*	AE 1959, 330=IDR II 141	Aquae

In Dacia, this rank is very well attested, mostly because of one particular monument. A total number of twenty-four *speculatores* are known, plus a collective dedication. Each legion had an almost identical number of documented *speculatores*: *XIII Gemina* – twelve, *V Macedonica* – eleven, and in the unusual case of *VII Claudia* – one. The vast majority of these officers were present in the provincial capital, at the *praetorium consularis* – twenty-three cases, and only two such characters in other locations, Potaissa or Aquae-Cioroiu Nou. A unique monument caught the attention of every scholar previously interested in this matter. It is a marble plate[29], documenting the building of a *schola speculatorum*, the headquarters of their own *collegium*, part of the *praetorium consularis*. It also testifies for a number of twenty *speculatores* probably in place at that time.

Outside this monument, only five others attest this rank. A statue basis in Apulum[30], raised by **Ulpius Proculinus**, *speculator legionis XIII Geminae Gordianae*, tells about a dream order issued by Apollo for the reconstruction of the fountain of *Deus Aeternus*[31].

Another example comes from Apulum as well, where a votive altar or statue basis[32] is dedicated by **P**. **Aelius Valerianus**, called simply *speculator*, to a god/godess unknown, due to the bad state of the monument.

The next case is the outcome of a confusion. Two fragments of monuments were mistakently associated, and the result was a dedication to the governor P. Septimius Geta, brother of emperor Severus, by groups of *cornicularii*, *commentarienses* and *speculatores*. In fact, the two fragments do not belong together, leaving only the actual mention of the three officer groups, with no other information available[33].

[29] CIL III 14479 = AE 1901, 154 = IDR III/5, 426.

[30] CIL III 990 = IDR III/5, 31.

[31] A common practice in Apulum, according to Popescu 2004, 281. Dated between 238–244.

[32] IDR III/5, 721.

[33] CIL III 7794a = IDR III/5, 434 and III 7794b = IDR III/5, 435. The association was initially made by A. von Domaszewski, later asumed by M. Clauss (Clauss 1973, 64 and note no. 111), but the clarification came from I. Piso, in IDR III/5, where he argued that the two fragments do not belong together simply because the stone material is different. Therefore, the only fragment that remains in our interest is the second, CIL III 7794b = IDR III/5, 435.

At the other location of a legionary fortress in Dacia, Potaissa, on a list of veterans honouring a *sacerdotalis Daciae* dating from the 3rd century, an unknown veteran, former *speculator*, arrogates the highest position attested in the soldier staff posts of *V Macedonica*[34].

A more recent discovery reveals a soldier list engraved on a marble plate, also in Apulum, coming from the area around the *porta principalis dextra*, in the legionary fortress.[35] The list contains about fourty soldier names, and, for some of them, their ranks. Most of them are *principales*, standing on very different ranks. Out of the fourty, one single *speculator* is attested, **Statius Alexander**. There is not much more to be said about this monument, due to the scarce analysis in the publication, except the fact that it also contains three centurial symbols, engraved on the marble plate, which enables us to establish the sub-unit of most of the legionaries mentioned.[36] The *speculator* seems to be part of the century of the *princeps prior*. This is very important, stating, once again, that these *officiales* remain in their legions, even if on duty elsewhere.

A very special case is encountered in Aquae-Cioroiu Nou, in Lower Dacia. **A[urelius?] Germanus** is a *speculator legionis VII Claudiae [[Philippianae?]]* who dedicates an altar[37] to three divinities, Diana, Mercurius *gubernator* and the *genius stationis*. It seems to stand as a testimony for a *statio* located at Aquae, also proving the fact that not only the *beneficiarii consularis* managed these posts, as it has been confirmed by discoveries in other provinces[38]. Left to be discussed is the presence of a *speculator* coming from a legion not garrisoned in Dacia in one of the *stationes* in this province, and even his association to the *officium consularis* of Dacia. The latter is assumed by Clauss, who compared it to the situation found in provinces with no legions, like Dalmatia or Lugdunensis.[39] However, there is a small probability that this is the case here, because Dacia is in a completely different situation than the other two examples provided by Clauss, having two legions of its own, which was more than enough for the governor to draw his *officiales* from. Germanus is most likely a *speculator* coming from the *officium consularis Moesiae superioris*, dispached on a mission in Dacia[40].

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[34] CIL III 7688.

[35] Moga, Drâmbărean 2007, 175–179. The authors date the inscription at the beginning of the 3rd century.

[36] Faure 2008, 297–299.

[37] AE 1959, 330 = IDR II 141.

[38] *Supra*, no. 21.

[39] Clauss 1973, 71.

[40] Moreover, his dedication towards Mercurius *gubernator* would indicate a voyage that he has taken successfully, or is about to take. Popescu 2004, 282.

Back to the marble plate previously mentioned[41], we can certify that this is one of the most important epigraphical pieces of evidence for the superior part of an *officium consularis*. The soldier list revealed on this plate is as valuable as any other list in Lambaesis, Aquincum or Tarraco. The monument marks the construction of a *collegium speculatorum* headquarters inside the *praetorium consularis*[42] at Apulum, following an order of the governor, Mevius Surus[43], dedicated to the health of the two emperors, Severus and Caracalla, and the *Caesar* Geta. The men who actually paid for this edifice, are written on three columns, of which only few names and ranks are clearly visible.

On the first column, the names and ranks of three centurions and two *cornicularii* are mentioned, followed by other five partial names, with no mention of the ranks. On the second and third columns, the names of twenty *speculatores* are written, from which only three are exactly known. These *speculatores* are thought to have been the actual officers in state at that particular time, ten from each legion. If this is so, then we know about yet another twenty *speculatores*, even if not all of them have their name mentioned. The only three known officers are **Caius** and **Cocceius** from *XIII Gemina*, and **Maximianus** from *V Macedonica*. This fact is very important, and has been taken into consideration rather early on. A. von Domaszewski was the first to realize the importance of this list and compared it to the ones found in other provinces[44]. The confirmation for the number of *speculatores* each legion had to provide to the *officium consularis* came also from M. Clauss[45]. Finally, I. Piso also discussed the matter several times, revealing and completing the older discussions[46].

If the contents of the last two columns was a bit obvious to decrypt, the first one poses the important question: who are these higher officers, centurions and *cornicularii*? Since the beginning, they have been considered to be former *speculatores* who were promoted to these ranks. If this is so, than new and valuable information is available on the careers of the *principales*. The rank of *speculator* is considered to stand above the *beneficiarius consularis*, evidence for this being the number of promotions from the latter to the former.[47] Also, the *speculatores* attested at one time in a *statio* are thought to be former *beneficiarii*

[41] *Supra*, no. 29.

[42] As this is the place of discovery, according to Piso 1993, 158 and IDR III/5, XX.

[43] He governed Dacia in 198–199, Piso 1993, 156.

[44] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

[45] Clauss 1973, 64.

[46] Piso 1993, 156–158 and IDR III/5, XX and no. 426.

[47] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32; Clauss 1973, 75.

having returned with some kind of a mission in a familiar place after their promotion, but this is not necessarily appropriate for each case[48]. However, on several lists, one can recognize more than one *beneficiarius* that would later become *speculator* and is attested elsewhere[49].

The rank stands under the *commentariensis* and *cornicularius* and can be promoted to them[50]. These kinds of promotions inside an *officium* are clearly visible in many cases. The promotion to *commentariensis* is very well-documented[51], as well as the one to *cornicularius*[52]. The promotion to *optio speculatorum*[53], the headmaster of their *collegium*, is also possible and, beginning with Severus´ reign, even directly to the legionary centurionate[54].

To these examples it is proper to add the ones provided by the inscription from Apulum. In the first column, both the fourth and fifth soldier stand on the rank of *cornicularius*, **Aelius Valerius** and **Antonius Va(---)**. Had they been *speculatores* previously, than the two promotions would confirm the thesis about the direct promotion to *cornicularius* in the same *officium*. Following these two, we know nothing about the last five soldiers whose names are written in the first column. By assumption, one of them could as well be another *cornicularius*, for there should be three *cornicularii* in the *officium consularis* of every province with two legions[55]. On the other hand, this is not necessarily true, because there is no need for the third *cornicularius* to be a former *speculator* and therefore, part of their *collegium*. Leaving this as it is, there are still another four vacant places in the first column. They have been assumed to be *commentarienses*, former *speculatores* promoted to this rank[56]. This is highly probable and would indicate once again the fact that the promotion of *speculatores* to the next rank in the hierachy, the *commentariensis*, is the most regularly used practice for this kind of *officiales*[57]. However, a small problem arises: only three *commentarienses* are attested for a

[48] Clauss 1973, 75.

[49] As it is the case of C. Caecilius Felix, in CIL VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18, 57, from Lambaesis. Clauss 1973, 75 and note no. 179; Breeze 1974, 265.

[50] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 30.

[51] CIL II 4145 and 4179 in Tarraco; CIL XIII 1732 and III 2015 in Salona. Clauss 1973, 76; Breeze 1974, 265–266.

[52] CIL VIII 12128, Chusira. Clauss 1973, 76; Breeze 1974, 266.

[53] CIL III 14137, Alexandria. Clauss 1973, 76.

[54] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

[55] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 30. By comparison to other two-legions provinces, he states that *at least* two *cornicularii* are attested in this case, in Dacia.

[56] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 31; Piso 1993, 158 and IDR III/5, 426.

[57] For a detailed discussion about *commentarienses*, see Haensch 1995.

province with two legions and, since Dacia follows the main pattern, at least in this case, should display only three such clerks. This leaves room for yet another officer, placed at the end of the first column, but necessarily higher in rank than the twenty *speculatores*, and lower than the two already discussed.

This could only be the proper position for an *optio speculatorum*. This is the headmaster of their *collegium*[58], probably not higher in rank, but only in prestige, anyway, holding a post of mostly sacral duties. The promotion to this post is known from Alexandria, as well[59]; even if the actual promotion is doubtful, should we consider it only a special title grant[60]. Nevertheless, whether this title/rank was granted to one of the twenty *speculatores* in function at one time, or whether another officer was promoted to it, it is not actually known.

Another option for this position comes from elsewhere, but in the same manner. A marble plate from Aquincum[61] marks the rebuilding of the *schola speculatorum* in the *praetorium* of the governor Flavius Aelianus, in the year 228. It mentions the fact that the *schola* is being rebuilt by the people whose names are written lower on the monument. Following the name of the governor and the consuls in function, there is a list of twenty *speculatores*, ten from each of the legions in Lower Pannonia. Actually, the building is called *schola speculatorum legionum I et II Adiutricium piarum fidelium Severianarum*. No mentions of any higher rank, just like in the Apulum case, but the interesting fact comes from the end of the monument. The last row reads: *curante Aur. Pertinace frumentario*. As it can clearly be seen, the *collegium* had some prospective candidates, lower in rank, who probably expected the promotion to *speculator*, and have been trying to ensure tight relations and had a reputation built for. In the case of Aquincum, there is a *frumentarius*, one of the ranks standing lower in the hierarchy of the *officium consularis*, Aurelius Pertinax. He attends to the reconstruction of the *schola*, probably delegated by the *collegium speculatorum*. This can easily be the case for the monument in Apulum, as well. The only problem is that a *frumentarius* could not stand higher on the soldier list than a *speculator*. This being the case, it is possible for the list of the twenty *speculatores* to actually begin on the last row in the first column, hence leaving the last place available for the junior-rank officer that would have been attended to the construction.

Both of the solutions presented above are possible, though neither of them highly probable. A single fact remains: in the first column, there is at least one

[58] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

[59] *Supra*, no. 51.

[60] Clauss 1973, 76 and note no. 183.

[61] CIL III 3524.

place available for another soldier, obviously bearing a high rank in the *officium consularis*, connected in some manner to the *collegium speculatorum* and its *schola*.

There is still a very important matter that is left to be commented on. The first three officers mentioned on the list are all legionary centurions. Only **Ulpius Bacchius** is a centurion of *XIII Gemina*, and both **Iulius Tacitus** and **Claudius Claudianus** are from *V Macedonica*. It has been said, quite a long time ago, that beginning with Severus' reign, the *speculatores* could have been promoted directly to the centurionate[62]. However, other opinions tend to affirm that the examples provided by A. von Domasewski are mere exceptions. Moreover, M. Clauss states that the case of the inscription in Apulum, being a clear validation for such promotions, is an accident caused by the civil wars that occured when Severus came into reign[63]. Not even D. J. Breeze takes into consideration this version, when he says that in the *officium consularis* only promotions to the next, higher post, are possible, following a precise pattern: *frumentarius – beneficiarius consularis*, *beneficiarius consularis – speculator*, *speculator – commentariensis*, *commentariensis – cornicularius consularis*, *cornicularius consularis – centurio legionis*[64].

Nevertheless, the three cases of such a promotion occuring in Dacia, exactly at the end of the 2nd century cannot be ignored. At one time, we have three confirmations, that before the year 198, at least three *speculatores* from the *officium consularis III Daciarum* were promoted directly to the legionary centurionate. The cause for this promotion is, of course, only assumed. However, the practice was not to be used if it had been considered unacceptable for that period of time. Therefore, to say that this case is only an exception is not quite accurate. More likely, at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries, the changes that occur in the internal administration of the Roman army also include promotion practices, this being reflected by the cases of promotions such as these exposed earlier.

Last, but not least, a short debate is necessary, regarding the organization of these *speculatores*. Military *collegia* are well-known throughout the Empire. These 'associations of people involved in the same occupation' were thought to have been available only to *principales*, but other discoveries seem to reveal that

[62] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32. For other similar ranks in the *officium consularis*, like *beneficiarius*, see Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 33.

[63] Clauss 1973, 76.

[64] Breeze 1974, 269.

immunes were also allowed to do so. They appeared about the time of Hadrian's reign and multiplied considerably by the time of Severus[65]. It has been revealed that the military musicians, *tubicen*, *cornicen* or *bucinator*, who were clearly *immunes*, have an *optio* as a headmaster of their *collegium*[66]. Within the *cohortes equitatae*, the only clear atribute that indicates a special status of the *equites* is simply their ability to associate into a *collegium* and own a *schola equitum*[67]. Another category of simple soldiers that are able to associate like this are the military doctors. Of course, there are many kinds of *medici*, some of them *immunes*, other non-military, called *medici ordinarii*. However, they seem to be allowed to associate in such *collegia*[68]. Even veterans do it, although one could say that theirs is a civilian *collegium*[69]. It seems, however, that simple soldiers did not have this right, except for the legionaries in the first cohort, at least according to Hyginus[70].

In Dacia we have more than one civil *collegium* attested in the main cities of the province and, of course, some military ones. One of the most important is that one attested in the inscription at Apulum, revealing the construction of their headquarters[71]. It is a *collegium speculatorum*, confirmed elsewhere, as it has been presented above, having the same manner of organization and composition. Another inscription revealing the three apparently very well-connected groups of *cornicularii*, *commentarienses* and *speculatores*[72] seems to attest a *collegium* as well, maybe the same as in the previous case, esspecially if we take into consideration the place of discovery, which is also the *praetorium consularis*. Lower in the *officium consularis* stands the *quaestionarius*, a rank reserved only to the governor's staff, due to its police duties. Six such *quaestionarii* are attested on a list discovered in the *praetorium consularis* at Apulum, again revealing their attendance to a *collegium*[73]. There is only one other case of a *collegium* that has been confirmed in Dacia, that of *duplicarii alae*. Such a *duplicarius* dedicates a marble relief to the *optimum collegium duplariorum* from *ala I Hispanorum*, at Slăveni, in Lower Dacia[74].

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[65] Campbell 1994, 136.

[66] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 44.

[67] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 58.

[68] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 45. For more information about military *medici*, see Davies 1969 and Davies 1970.

[69] CIL III 11189, Carnuntum; Campbell 1994, 139.

[70] *Apud* Marcu 2006, 255.

[71] *Supra*, no. 29.

[72] CIL III 7794b = IDR III/5, 435.

[73] CIL III 7803 = IDR III/5, 459.

[74] AE 1963, 125 = IDR II 505.

About the headquarters of these *collegia*, there are some things to be said. They are called *scholae*, and are attested in inscriptions in various places in Dacia[75]. Outside the cases in Apulum, a few *scholae* are mentioned, in very different circumstances. A group of *beneficiarii* belonging to the office of governor L. Octavius Iulianus raise an altar to the *genius* of their own *schola*, in the legionary fortress' *principia*, at Potaissa[76]. This is the case of yet another *collegium* of *officiales* from the governor's staff[77], which, in a peculiar manner, have their headquarters in the legionary fortress, instead of the *praetorium consularis*. Perhaps this *schola* is only for the *beneficiarii consularis* that come from *V Macedonica*, and thus their meeting place here.

In the auxiliary units of Dacia, two cases of *scholae* are confirmed. In the first situation, two centurions *principes* dedicate an altar[78] to the *genius* of a *schola ordinatorum*, in Samum-Căşei, probably the headquarters of the *collegium* gathering the centurions and decurions of the unit stationed here, *cohors I Britannica* ∞ *c. R. equitata*[79]. A second dedication to *genius scholae* is made by a decurion of *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, in Ilişua[80], who contructs a temple, outside the auxiliary fort.

Returning to the most important inscription discussed in this paper, this is the foundation plate for a *schola speculatorum*. The rather later construction date – the years 198–199 – tends to induce the opinion that only by the time of Severus had the soldiers enough money and favor, that they were able to build a headquarters for their association. Thirty years later, we can witness the reconstruction of a similar *schola* in the provincial capital of Lower Pannonia, probably built at about the same time. This is to show that, most likely, the armies that fought for Severus in the civil wars were compensated in many ways. In any case, the role of these *speculatores* must have been very important in the administration of the province, since they are granted such privileges, as to keep their headquarters in the *praetorium consularis*, or since former such *officiales*,

[75] For the archaeological description of such buildings, and their presence in Dacia, see Marcu 2006, *passim*.

[76] CIL III 876. Octavius Iulianus governs the three *Daciae* between 200 and 202/203, Piso 1993, 159–161.

[77] Even if M. Bărbulescu considers them *beneficiarii legati legionis*. In such case, they should have expressed their gratitude towards their legate. Bărbulescu 1987, 73.

[78] CIL III 830 = 7631.

[79] Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 56–57. Especially because in the 3rd century auxiliary centurions are also called *ordinati*. However, D. Isac considers that this monument is raised by two *princip(ales)*, which not probable, though, Isac 2003, 45–46.

[80] CIL III 7626.

who later become even legionary centurions, do not forget their origin and actively participate in the organization of their association.

The *speculatores* of Dacia are in no way different from the ones in other provinces. They are attested regularly, to this contributing the soldier list in Apulum. We also encounter special situations, like that of Germanus, of *speculatores* in the time of their mission, dispached in adjacent provinces by their governor. The monuments in Apulum stand witness for very important aspects of their organization. On the one hand, we have the tight connection between them and their other colleagues in the superior part of the *officium consularis*, the *commentarienses* and the *cornicularii*. They were close even to the inferior ranks, like the *beneficiarius* or the *frumentarius*, as it was demonstrated in Aquincum. On the other hand, the right to associate in military *collegia* that can have their own headquarters built in the *praetorium* is also quite revealing. We should assume that favor was the main condition for a successful career and that, once admitted in this highest of circles, the governor's staff, a soldier would face a challenging but prolific service, that would eventually culminate in the promotion to the legionary centurionate. For the case of *speculatores*, this promotion would seem very close. As it can clearly be seen from the epigraphical discoveries, most of the *officiales* in the governor's staff are *beneficiarii*. One can assume that at least sixty of them were dispatched from every legion of the province. From this point onwards, the selection is very rigorous, because out of the sixty, only ten would eventually become *speculatores*. This can indicate that only the best of them would be selected for the highests post in the *officium* and for the prospective legionary centurionate[81].

The positions of *speculatores*, as well as other higher ones, are clearly a distinct part of the *officium*. Out of the twenty *speculatores*, three will become *commentarienses* at one time, other three *cornicularii*, and maybe some of the most meritorious, even centurions. Naturaly, we cannot deny the possibility of promotion to other outside ranks, like the auxiliary centurions or decurions, but such promotions have not been attested. The Apulum example is just one of the many of its kind confirming this high circle of *officiales* granted with substantial privileges, as that of the right to gather in a venue inside the *praetorium consularis*.

[81] M. Clauss thinks otherwise, due to a certain number of inscriptions mentioning *veteranus ex speculatore*. Clauss 1973, 77 and note no. 191. This should be looked upon especially from the chronological point of view, because, as it was clearly demonstrated, promotions into and from the *officium consularis* occured only in the second half of the 2nd century, and proliferated at its end and the beginning of the 3rd, Breeze 1974, 271.

The admittance in this superior part of the staff was not easy. It was very selective and many would seek it. It is most probable that the access to it would grant one the actual prospective promotion to the centurionate, this being the source of technical an clerical officers for the Roman army. Mainly at the end of the 2nd century, promotion practice would seek to procure centurions that are trained in tactics and command, as are those coming from the ranks of *signifer*, *optio* or *aquilifer*, and centurions trained in law and justice practices, or police and intelligence matters, as those coming from the *officium consularis*.

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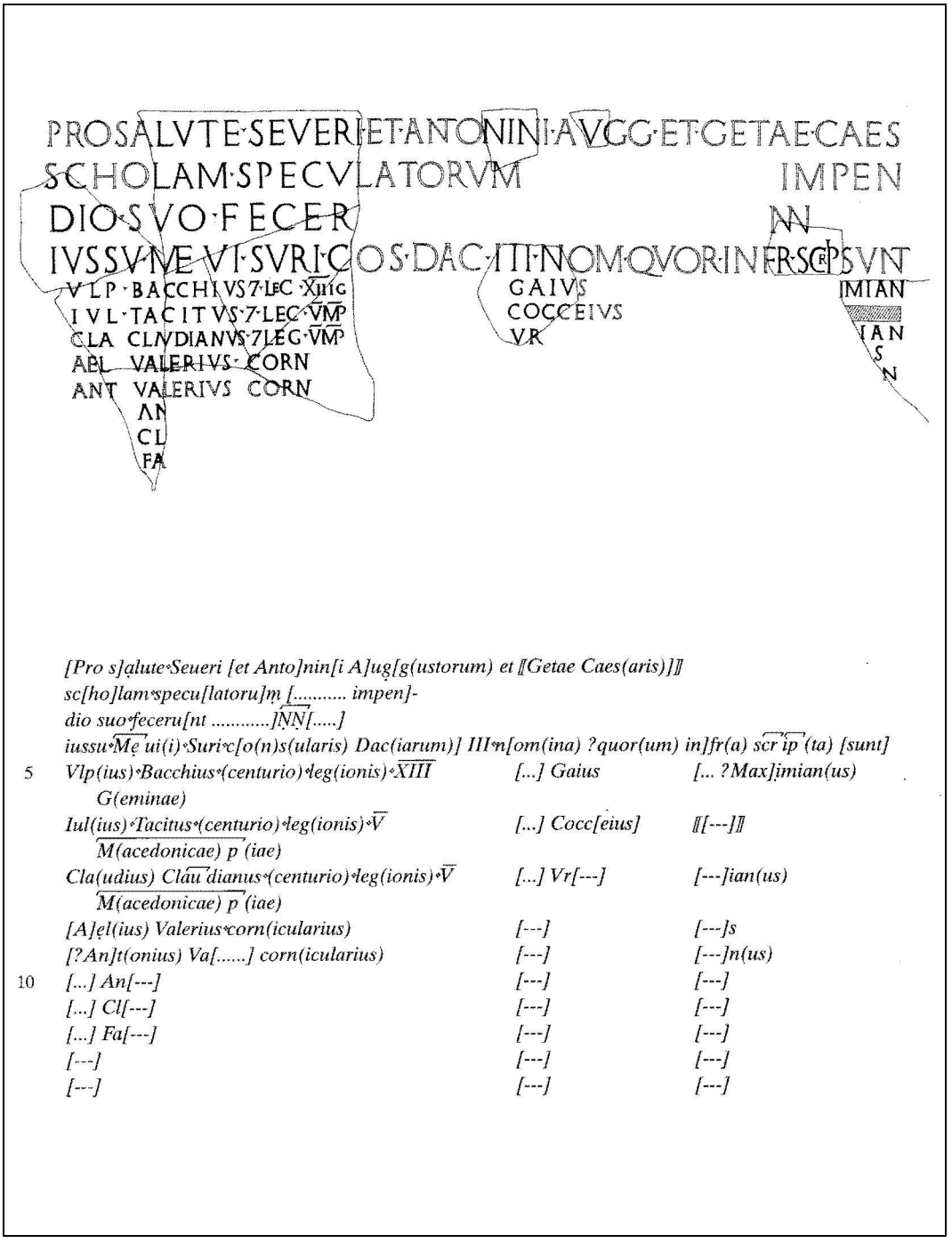
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[Pro s]alute Seueri [et Anto]nin[i A]ug[g(ustorum) et ⟦Getae Caes(aris)⟧]
sc[ho]lam specu[latoru]m [..... impen]-
dio suo feceru[nt .....]NN[.....]
iussu Me ui(i) Suri c[o(n)s(ularis) Dac(iarum)] III n[om(ina) ?quor(um) in]fr(a) scr ip (ta) [sunt]

5	*Vlp(ius) Bacchius (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)*	*[...] Gaius*	*[... ?Max]imian(us)*
	Iul(ius) Tacitus (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae)	*[...] Cocc[eius]*	*⟦[---]⟧*
	Cla(udius) Clau dianus (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae)	*[...] Vr[---]*	*[---]ian(us)*
	[A]el(ius) Valerius corn(icularius)	*[---]*	*[---]s*
	[?An]t(onius) Va[.....] corn(icularius)	*[---]*	*[---]n(us)*
10	*[...] An[---]*	*[---]*	*[---]*
	[...] Cl[---]	*[---]*	*[---]*
	[...] Fa[---]	*[---]*	*[---]*
	[---]	*[---]*	*[---]*
	[---]	*[---]*	*[---]*

CIL III 14479 = AE 1901, 154 = IDR III/5, 426, graphical reconstruction and the reading, after I. Piso.

Acta Musei Napocensis, 43–44/I, 2006–2007 (2008), p. 281–285



In memoriam

ADELA PAKI

La communauté assez restreinte des classicistes et des historiens de l'Antiquité de Roumanie a subi encore une perte douloureuse; le 21 avril 2008 est trépassée subitement notre collègue Adela Paki, épigraphiste et chercheur bien affirmé dans le domaine. Elle était âgée de 49 ans à peine...

Née le 6 janvier 1961 dans la ville de Lupeni de la vallée du Jiu, Adela Paki a bénéficié très tôt d'une bonne éducation. Elle a suivi le collège dans la ville natale, et puis le réputé lycée « Gheorghe Şincai » de Cluj, section littéraire. Depuis le lycée déjà elle a fait preuve d'un désir et d'aptitudes pour l'étude, d'une vaste culture et d'un réel penchant pour les langues. Assez tôt elle a opté avec conviction pour la profession d'historien de l'antiquité classique. Entre 1979 et 1983 elle a suivi les cours de la faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Cluj-Napoca, qu'elle a fini comme major de sa promotion. Dès les années de faculté elle a commencé à faire de l'archéologie romaine, aussi bien sur le chantier-école d'Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa que dans le cercle scientifique des étudiants. Et pendant toutes ces années elle a défini son domaine d'intérêt majeur, l'épigraphie antique, dont elle ne cessera de s'occuper par la suite.

Mais les conditions de l'époque ne favorisaient pas la poursuite de ces préoccupations pour une jeune personne. Depuis la licence et jusqu'en 1990 Adela Paki a travaillé comme professeur d'histoire à une école générale de la ville de Dej, faisant chaque jour une navette souvent difficile. En plus, elle avait déjà une

famille. Pourtant, elle n'a pas renoncé et, avec de grands efforts, elle a poursuivi l'étude de l'histoire ancienne et la recherche de la civilisation daco-romaine. Elle a pris part régulièrement aux campagnes archéologiques de Sarmizegetusa, a publié des contributions scientifiques, a étudié avec ténacité et s'est inscrite même au doctorat. Ce n'est qu'après le changement de régime en Roumanie qu'elle a réussi, à l'instar de bien de jeunes gens méritants, à obtenir un poste dans sa spécialité. En 1990 elle est entrée par concours comme conservateur archéologue au Musée National d'Histoire de la Transylvanie de Cluj-Napoca, où elle a travaillé d'abord comme conservateur, puis comme chercheur, jusqu'en 2007.

Elle a soutenu sa thèse de doctorat ayant comme titre « *La Population de la Dacie Porolissensis* » à l'Université de Cluj, en 1998 (ouvrage resté inédit). Entre temps elle avait publié un autre livre en collaboration. Elle a présenté et fait imprimer des études et des articles méritoires, la plupart traitant de problèmes d'histoire de la population daco-romaine, étudiée à partir des noms attestés épigraphiquement. Ces contributions ont mieux mis en valeur ses connaissances et ses aptitudes. Grâce à elles, Adela Paki a été connue et appréciée aussi bien en Roumanie qu'à l'étranger. Elle a participé à des symposiums et à des congrès de spécialité, quelques-uns de niveau international – tels les congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine de 1992 et 2002, les congrès d'archéologie classique de Tarragona (1993) et de Lugo (1996), ou bien les colloques roumano-suisses consacrés à la politique édilitaire dans les provinces de l'Empire romain. Dans le même sens, nous devons mentionner qu'elle a bénéficié d'une bourse de documentation de l'Université de Genève (1990) et d'une autre similaire de l'Université Columbus des États-Unis.

Mais l'épigraphie n'a pas été pour elle l'unique champ d'activité professionnelle. Elle a participé énergiquement aux collectifs de travail sur des chantiers archéologiques de sauvetage du département de Cluj (Becaş, Miceşti, Suceag, Chinteni, Cluj – rue V. Deleu etc.) ou aux fouilles de Roşia Montană. Elle a fait aussi un travail de conservateur, avec tout ce qu'il implique. Elle a participé à la rédaction de bibliographies de spécialité, ou à des actions de protocole et de publicité de l'institution.

Il faut mentionner également son implication civique après 1990, dans la presse, dans la vie politique ou dans l'organisation humanitaire « Amnesty International ». Pendant un certain temps du moins, Adela Paki a fait partie des intellectuels engagés et optimistes, qui ont soutenu l'évolution de notre jeune démocratie et y ont cru.

Probablement que sa santé fragile a souffert à la suite de tant d'efforts accumulés. Après son retour d'Amérique, son intérêt pour le domaine dans lequel elle s'était affirmée et sa force de travail ont diminué considérablement. Pourtant personne – même pas elle-même – n'a soupçonné comme elle était faible. Elle semblait même impatiente de vivre de nouvelles expériences. À la surprise de tout le monde, elle a renoncé à son emploi et par la suite également au travail de recherche en faveur d'autres préoccupations; de surcroît, elle est allée s'installer à la campagne, optant pour des valeurs écologistes. Une autre vie, une autre famille … Mais le temps n'a plus voulu patienter.

Disparue beaucoup trop tôt et regrettée par tous ceux qui l'ont connue, Adela Paki laisse derrière elle plus de trente ouvrages de spécialité imprimés, utiles et largement consultés. Mais surtout elle demeure dans le souvenir des collègues comme l'image d'une personne d'une belle et vaste culture humaniste, d'un chercheur passionné et compétent de l'Antiquité classique, d'une âme sensible et noble.

SIT SIBI TERRA LEVIS.

RADU ARDEVAN

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ABBREVIATIONS – ABKÜRZUNGEN – ABRÉVIATIONS

Die Abkürzungen im vorliegenden Band befolgen jene der L'Année Philologique. Solche, die dort nicht vorkommen, werden im folgenden aufgelistet:

AAH	*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest.
ACMIT	*Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
AHB	*The Ancient History Bulletin,* Calgary.
AE	*L'Année Épigraphique*, Paris.
AMN (= ActaMN)	*Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	*Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău.
Apulum	*Apulum. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia*, Alba Iulia.
ArhMold	*Arheologia Moldovei*, Iaşi.
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*, Oxford.
CA	*Cercetări Arheologice*, Muzeul Național de Istorie, Bucureşti.
CAH	*Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae*, Budapest.
Chiron	*Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, München.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichita romane*, Roma, I (1895) – III (1922).
EN	*Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
Epigraphische Studien	*Epigraphische Studien*, Bonn.
HSCPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Cambridge.
IDR	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucureşti – Paris.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie,* I–II, Bucureşti, 1996–2000.
IGB I	G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae, I, Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini. Editio altera emendata*. Serdicae.

IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, Violeta 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.
ILD	C. Petolescu, *Inscripţii latine din Dacia*, Bucureşti, 2005.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, I, Sofia 1989.
ILS (= Dessau)	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1882) – IV (1916).
IMS	*Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure,* Belgrade, 1986.
ISM	*Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, Bucureşti.
JRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz*, Mainz.
Marisia	*Marisia. Studii şi materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie*, Muzeul Judeţean Mureş, Târgu Mureş.
MCA	*Materiale şi cercetări arheologice*, Bucureşti.
Mel. Bidez	*Melanges Joseph Bidez,* Bruxelles, 1934 (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves,* Bruxelles, 2, 1933–1934).
Montana II	V. Velkov, G. Alexandrov (ed.), *Епиграфски паметници от Монтана и района*, София 1994.
OPEL	Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum, I–IV (B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, Budapest 1994–2002).
PBF	*Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, Berlin.
PIR^2	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*^{2}, Berlin 1933 sqq.
Pontica	*Pontica. Studii şi materiale istorice, arheologie şi muzeografie*, Constanţa.
PZ	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894 sqq.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungs-urkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, I–II, Mainz – Bonn 2004.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, London.
RMI	*Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, Bucureşti.
Sargeţia	*Sargeţia. Buletinul Muzeului Judeţean Hunedoara*, Deva.

SCIV(A)	*Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche* (*şi arheologie* – since 1975), Bucureşti.
SMMIM	*Studii şi materiale de muzeografie şi istorie militară*, Bucureşti.
StComSatuMare	*Studii şi comunicări*, Satu Mare.
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association,* Baltimore.
Thraco-Dacica	*Thraco-Dacica*. *Institutul de Tracologie*, Bucureşti.