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The "Public Image" of the Dacian Aristocracy

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In order to make this evaluation we took into account the main contributions published in synthesis works of the last decades which are considered as references for the study of the Dacian civilization from the „classical era" (*i.e.* 1st century BC – the Roman conquest). They were the basis on which school and university handbooks were drafted, and were considered as references for partial or special studies on certain aspects of the archaeology of that period.

The social history of pre-Roman Dacia has been researched during the last decades by archaeologists and historians of the antiquity in Romania, especially through the perspective of historical information and, partially, taking into account the archaeological discoveries. The local civilization from the times of the Dacian Kingdom (*i.e.* the period hat goes chronologically from Burebista to Decebal) has always been one of the most debated topics of the Romanian specialized studies (especially syntheses). Ancient historical references are mentioning this episode, when the regions north of the Danube entered on the contemporaries' sphere of interest. The rebuilt of that time aristocracy's profile is due to a large extent to the texts of Strabo, Dio Chrysostomos who is following Iordanes, Dio Cassius and Iordanes himself[1]. The lack of relevant information for a detailed analysis, clichés and the imprecision of these written sources lead to a simplified social picture, without too many shades.

First conclusion of the approach of the Dacian-Getae society in the works published before 1989 is the implicit or explicit presence of the general interpretative framework of Marx and Engels for property and social structures. According to the paradigm, the Dacian state appeared as a consequence of the splitting-up of the society in opposed social classes, as an instrument of social and economic domination of the aristocracy.

The Romanian historiography, including the one referring to the antiquity, which had often been subject to political pressure or manipulating tendencies, evolved within the limits allowed by the official ideology; moreover, other models of reconstruction of social and land-owning structures discussed by the contemporary anthropology and archaeology

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[1] For a critical analysis and an overview on the sources referring to social structures Petre 2004: cap.VI.

were inaccessible to the Romanian researchers because of their limited access to the western literature but especially because of the official ideological filter. The autochthonous and protocronist tendencies of the communist authorities in the '80s that aimed first of all at Burebista's „centralized and independent Dacian state" were also felt in the archaeological works; they sometimes led to more or less serious concessions to the scientific essence of the analysis[2] and devaluated by inflation the substance of some researched topics. We believe that this is one of the reasons why the debates on land-owning, social hierarchies, the existence and the ways of state manifestation are almost inexistent at present in the Romanian archaeological publications on the second Iron Age. Another possible reason is a methodological crisis of historical origin caused by the compromising of the historical materialism in the Romanian historiography in general, and especially in the one referring to proto-history. The abandon of this theoretical model brought reluctance (felt to certain authors dealing with the second Iron Age) to anthropology, sociology, history and economic theory works. The topics specific for social history or the organization of the society are practically inexistent on the agenda of scientific meetings and in most of the publications[3].

Under these circumstances, the scheme of the reconstructing Dacian society is explained by the deficiencies of the preserved written sources. Texts are speaking about „ (...) the nobles that were first called *tarabostesei*, and then *pilleati*" (Dion Chrysostomos *apud* Iordanes, *Getica*, 40) and about Deceneu who „ordered that the rest of the people be called *capillati*" (Iordanes, *Getica*, 72); Petrus Patricius's summary of Dio Cassius's work mentions „ (...) the *kometai*, who were less appreciated" (than the *pilophoroi*) etc[4]. The literary sources of several authors that approached this topic during the last decades are recurrent in two directions. All these authors agree on one issue: the existence of the status symbol – *pileus* as an expression of appartenance to the aristocracy (noble or sacerdotal).

Most of them identified the structure of a bi-partite society taking into account the scheme nobleman (*tarabostes, pilleatus, pilophoros*), respectively non-nobleman (*comatus, capillatus*)[5] while, according to Iordanes (*Getica*, 39), the first category, the aristocrats, also contained priesthood.

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[2] L. Boia 1997: 109-114.

[3] There is a remarkable theoretical approach of Fl. Gogâltan, a specialist in the bronze civilization, Gogâltan 2005: 11-43.

[4] See Zoe Petre's recent discussion, critique of texts and literature on: Petre 2004 250-251.

[5] Without giving an exhaustive list, we mention Daicoviciu 1972: 18; Daicoviciu 1981: 30-32; A. Bodor 1981: 7-22; Gostar, Lica, 1984: chapter .III-V; Glodariu 2001: 777-778; Glodariu 2003: 110-112 etc.

The other point of view sees those *kometai – capillati* mentioned in the texts as the members of a status between the aristocracy and the ordinary people. I. H. Crişan made a parallel with the knights (*equites*) of Gallia mentioned by Caesar[6], as he was seduced by the comparative argumentation on the realities in the contemporary Dacia and Vercingetorix's Gallia. Recently, using other arguments, Zoe Petre reopened the problem of the intermediary social status of this category that contains the professional warriors and the free owners – the basis of the Dacian army; these are the representatives of the second function of the Indo-European societies[7]. For the abovementioned author the restructured social hierarchy during Burebista's time was dominated by the high aristocracy (*pilophoroi*, *pilleati*) with a double qualification: military and sacerdotal.

In fact, this reasoning based on the subtle knowledge of contextual articulations of ancient texts is similar to H. Daicoviciu's less elaborated statement at that time: ancient texts refer to the social status (nobleman – non-nobleman) and not to the „social classes" (not as they were defined *illo tempore* by the Marxist doctrine), so that „a *comatus* could detain, due to his fortune or qualities, an important status in the society or at the king's court"[8]. At the same time, I. Glodariu admits that it is quite impossible that the *capillati-comati* category has been homogeneous, although he rejects the idea of the existence of a social intermediate category[9]. Without being explicit, the reference is the same: the apartenance to a noble status or to the ordinary one.

The approaches of the topic referring to the Dacian social structures in the Romanian archaeological literature implicitly contain this schematic content of ancient texts for several reasons (laconism, imprecision, ignorance, etc): hierarchies (besides the differences in the social status) must have been much more complex. Moreover, the developed image seems, for the same reasons, rather a blurred picture: the reason is the lack of clear marks for the evolution of those structures; such an evolution is inherent for any history-reality. The normal or imposed changes of tones throughout the years (between the traditional tribal nobility, with military profile, the ruling nobility, which detained functions[10], the access to status through fortune, personal qualities or influence) are probable. It is true that they are difficult to be identified starting from the existing sources; that is why they were left

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[6] Crişan 1977: 196-198.

[7] Petre: 256-258 „long-hair warriors might not be equal to the *pileati* (...) but I don't think that we should deduce that the long-haired were an exploited or marginal category". (the long-haired=*kometai, comati*).

[8] H. Daicoviciu 1981: 30-32.

[9] I. Glodariu 2001: 777-778.

[10] E.g. Al. Avram 1989: 21-25; Petre 2005: 250-251.

out by a positivist historiographical approach as "speculations". The source of authority has never been only birth; this is even less possible in a society with a strong military profile that experienced moments of expansion and institutionalization. We have to see in the concept of „élites" something more than the traditional aristocracy. At the same time, it should be researched if blood nobleness and the apartenance to aristocracy overlap perfectly. Most probably not – as the access to a high status or authority (power) could have also been obtained by personal value, services brought to the ruling power, bravery on the battlefield, usurpation etc. Of course, written sources offer very poor information in this respect, but there is an accepted hypothesis of a vertical mobility within upper categories of the Dacian society. These categories were not homogeneous. Another topic under debate is the possible genesis of some élites of other origin than blood nobleness that were imposed either locally or around the power nuclei, especially in Decebal's time.

However, it is certain that the existent written sources interrogated with traditional sensitivity can only offer the frustration of their informative limits. Moreover, their schematic structure underlines *ipso facto* the observation that reality must have been more complex. That is why we think it is appropriate to underlie T. Champion's correct point of view on the reconstitutive sources of the Celtic social structures: although, at first sight, ancient texts seem more appropriate for this approach than archaeology, they should be used with much prudence[11].

The Dacian Aristocracy – still an elusive image

Most of the above-mentioned authors agree on the military and sacerdotal components that formed the Dacian aristocracy. In fact, this double determination is based on Iordanes's text (*Getica*, 40), which speaks about the activity of religious institutionalization and clergy organization of the high priest Deceneu.

H. Daicoviciu stated that „military and clergy duties were probably separated and done by different members of the aristocracy"[12]; this point of view was also sustained by A. Bodor[13] who is speaking about the existence of a „secular aristocracy (the noblemen) and [of a] religious aristocracy (the priests)". N. Gostar and V. Lica seem to have adopted the same standpoint even if not explicitly. They analyze separately the two components, insisting,

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[11] Champion 1996: 86.
[12] H. Daicoviciu 1981: 34
[13] A. Bodor 1981: 21.

for example, on the image of a „warlike, strong and rich noble class"[14]. However, starting from the same text, I. Glodariu rejects the opinion according to which there were three categories in the Dacian world: a secular aristocracy, a religious aristocracy and, respectively, the ordinary people; in his opinion one could not distinguish between the first two[15].

At the same time, I. H. Crişan, following the logic of the tripartite hierarchy (noblemen=*pilleati*, *comati*=*equites*, commoners), agrees that the high clergy is chosen among the *pilleati*, while most of the priests are chosen among the *comati*[16].

In an interesting but less cited study, Al. Avram estimates that king Burebista's access to kingship caused a tendency of power centralization to the detriment of the local political, military and economic individualism which led to a change in the status of the traditional aristocracy, and implicitly in its status symbols[17] (the adoption of the *pileus*, the diminishing of the number of collective feasts – seen as a part of political and power relationships etc.).

Z. Petre is introducing another dimension: during Deceneu's time the top-class nobility characterized by the double vocation (they probably had both qualifications) changed its focus from the military to the sacerdotal. At the same time, these changes caused the increase of the military role of the *comati*, subordinated to the royal power, which was interested in strengthening its army[18].

It is obvious that the reconstruction of the Dacian aristocracy profile cannot start only from ancient written sources for the same above-mentioned reasons - the filters imposed by the interpretation schemes. The archeological and anthropological approaches can extent the investigation field by bringing new elements and new questions that need to be answered[19].

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[14] N. Gostar, V. Lica 1984: 67-68.

[15] I. Glodariu 2001: 777

[16] I. H. Crişan 1977: 196-197.

[17] Al. Avram 1989: 21-15. External marks of the social status are mentioned by I. Glodariu who asks himself if, during the Dacian Kingdom, there were any rules of the access to jewelry of different metals: gold seems to have belonged to the royal family, silver to the aristocracy and to priests, while bronze and iron to the inferior categories, I. Glodariu 2001: 772.

[18] Petre 2004: 255-261.

[19] Renfrew, Bahn 2000: *Investigating social ranking*: 209-210 present the categories of sites and material traces that can be identified archeologically and that provide information on the social organization of complex societies (élite residences, accumulation of wealth, figurative representations, tombs), as well as on the importance of ethno-archeological studies.

Archeology searching for the aristocracy

The amount of archeological information in the above-mentioned syntheses as compared to the use of ancient texts is surprisingly reduced, at least in the paragraphs and chapters that deal explicitly with the aristocratic phenomenon in the wider context of society. Most often the analysis was based mainly on ancient texts, while archeological references have been used to confirm their paradigms. Archeological data that usually contain indicators of „social ranking" are to be found generally in synthesis works or chapters dealing with material culture (architecture, imported pieces, jewelry, hoards, etc.). They have to be associated with methodological concepts: elite residences, consumption of prestige objects, obtaining, accumulation and redistribution of wealth.

There are interesting observations in the specialized studies dedicated to different archeological aspects. We can mention those that study the funerary phenomenon, which is one of the most important sources of social hierarchy identification.

In this respect, it is important to see the quantitative and qualitative dynamic of the funerary phenomenon that suffered major changes during the last part of the second Iron Age in Dacia.

It has been observed in several occasions the discrimination in the funerary treatment between the aristocracy and the ordinary people: this reality is seen in the disappearance of tombs and necropolises of the latter and the increase of the number of human bones discoveries in a non-funerary context (probably sacrifices); at the same time, there are significant inventories in burial mounds (arms, harnessing equipment) of the aristocracy[20] generally grouped around fortified settlements. It is obvious that the reasons of this special funerary behavior are based on ideology (religion). It has been correctly remarked that one of the possible causes was the deepening of social differences and the change in the religious background[21]. Moreover, aristocratic funerary rituals evolved during the above-mentioned period – especially towards its ending; during the 1st century BC the number of burial mounds decreases; they were found only in the eastern part of Dacia, and their structure is very simple, without arms[22]. It is interesting to see the lack of tombs in the region of the Orăştie Mountains (the region of Dacian Kingdom's capital, very densely populated during the last 150 years before the conquest

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[18] Babeş 1988: 3-29 registered this phenomenon especially from the 1st century BC, Sîrbu 1993: 39-40, 126-128 considers that this phenomenon started between the IIIrd and the IInd centuries BC.

[21] M. Babeş 1988: 22.

[22] M. Babeş 1988: 7; Sârbu 1993: 23.

and rich in traces that point out the presence of aristocracy: élite residences, imported bronze vessels, the function of Sarmizegetusa as religious and ceremonial centre)[23]. All these elements discovered through archeological research may indicate evolutions and substantial modifications of the aristocrats' positions and status in time (chronology) and space (geography). The absence or the small number of tombs during a period is an obstacle for the study of social structures or the aristocratic phenomenon. However, other indicators of the social status (e.g. *oppida* from Manching or Kellheim[24]) can successfully make up for that: the distribution of imports, arms, banquet equipment, and cart and harness gear pieces.

The brief overview on several aristocratic residences of that time emphasizes certain peculiarities. There are significant differences between the "dwelling towers" specific to the hill-forts in the area of the Dacian Kingdom's capital[25] on one hand, and the "palaces" (buildings with several rooms, larger than the common ones) from the fortified settlements on promontories or on the edge of upland terraces, such as those at Popeşti, Brad or Răcătău, on the other hand. In fact, at least at Brad and Răcătău (on the Siret river in the east of Dacia), archeological research demonstrated that the inhabitants renounced to fortifications in the 1st century AD[26], at a time when these *davae* were remarkable manufacturing and commercial centers. The location and aspect of the two categories of sites are different, so it is supposed that their functions and ways of exploiting the territory were different as well. Unlike the stone fortresses from inside the Carpathians, which were rather similar to a castle, the fortified settlements similar to the above-mentioned, include on their "acropolis" the residential area and public spaces (possible meeting places, sanctuaries and so on)[27]. All these elements and many others that deserve to be researched further on, lead to the following question – would not be possible, at least according to their "public" status, to have more types of Dacian aristocracy with a much more defined regional profile than one could have thought before.

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[23] Recently, an incineration burial mound has been discovered at Costeşti hill-fort, but no analysis of the funeral remainings has been done so far nor has it been published yet: Glodariu 1998 nr. 78, 1999: nr. 123, 1999 (2000): nr. 41.

[24] Sievers 2002: 167-173.

[25] Daicoviciu made interesting observations in this respect; he saw the appearance of Dacian fortresses as „a topographical <detachment> of a minority on a dominant position" – reflection of a social process Daicoviciu 1981: 34.

[26] Ursachi 1995: 104-105.

[27] Ursachi 2005: 621-634, Vulpe, 2005: 24-37, fig. 7.

The concept of "competition" specific to the military elites from the proto-historical Europe[28] has not been introduced until now in the Romanian archeological literature on pre-Roman Dacia. A source of endemic conflicts and, surprisingly, an indicator of progress, this permanent competition between the elites for power, fame and material wealth was a way of living and dying for the aristocracy and the warriors of the second Iron Age. Even if we agree that the period of Burebista's first Dacian Kingdom was characterized by centralization of the authority and the diminishing of the local political and military differences, it have not had a happy-end. The king's death was caused by an uprising, probably of the noblemen[29]. The political splitting up of his rule (by his "successors <who> broke up"!) is supposed to have restored at least partially the privileges of the traditional aristocracy – their specific spirit of competition. It is true that the Dacian raids against the Romans at south of the Danube and from Dacia's neighbouring regions were a constant of the last 150 years before the conquest and that the Roman pressure increased slowly, but certainly[30]. However, it should have been supposed that the post-Burebista Dacia was not characterized by peaceful relationships and the main concern of the elites must have been different from preparing their defense for the decisive wars with the Romans. Even if ancient texts that had been preserved up to the present do not explicitly refer to the internal conflicts, it is possible that some of the fortifications newly built or restored in Dacia during the second half of the 1st century BC until Decebal's reign had occasionally been supporting places in territories disputed between the "neighbours".

At the same time, the decision of some manufacturing and commercial centres on the Siret river (geographically open towards Dobrogea that was ruled by the Romans) to give up fortifications during the 1st century A.D., may suggest a political and economic orientation different from the one inside the Carpathians or an unusual feeling of security.

What remains to be done?

There were interesting contributions (both methodological and historical) to the study of the aristocratic phenomenon in different regions of the temperate Europe from the end of the second Iron Age. The regional or thematic[31] (the feasts, wine consumption, hunting, ideology, trade and the access to precious goods) approaches give new meanings to social

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[28] K. Lockyear 2004: especially 70.
[29] Strabo, VII, 3, 11.
[30] Daicoviciu 1972: 112-123.
[31] *E.g.* V. Guichard, F. Perrin ed. 2002 *passim*.

archeology and especially to the one that investigates the aristocratic phenomenon.

The contributions of the anthropological and social science research (*e.g.* history of the economy or sociology) were integrated among the methodological instruments of this field of research. Moreover, the regional study of the habitat from the point of view of hierarchy and specialized settlements on a given territory, as well as the accumulation and redistribution of goods (as they can be identified in tombs and settlements) offers information on property, the way of exploiting the environment and the centre-periphery relationships between the local and regional systems[32].

The interpretation of archeological discoveries from the perspective of social history brings new elements for the reconstruction of hierarchies from the end of the second Iron Age as compared to ancient texts. Based on the evaluation of some archeological discoveries, these recent approaches reveal new and inciting data. Thus, we could outline the profile of a prestigious military aristocracy during the second half of the 2nd century BC and the first half of the next century; they promoted military values and an ideology expressed by illustrative symbols[33]. At the same time, the more balanced re-evaluation, based on the methodology of the present archeology, of the Dacian monuments from the "classical" period suggested new hypotheses regarding social hierarchies and generated questions that research has to answer[34]. However, the number of these approaches is still very small.

T. Champion stated that the study of social structures by the means of archeology implies a process of theoretical interpretation and that we need a set of rules on which we should produce our judgments.[35] Or, we think that this theoretical dimension of methodological reflection is very rare in contemporary Romanian archeological research and in publications for the above-mentioned reasons. The moment is appropriate for such approaches, given the fact that the archeology from the second Iron Age in Dacia has a very important database collected in time: site monographs, monographs of archeological objects and syntheses. The existing archeological data can be used by certain methodological models already known in the international specialized literature for the creation of a real image of the aristocracy and of the whole social architecture in Dacia between the Ist century BC and the 1st century AD.

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[32]Kristiansen 1998 chap.VI: *Theoretical context*, especially: 44-62;
[33]Rustoiu 2002:11-61, 123-141.
[34]Lockyear 2004 loc. cit.
[35] Champion 1996: 86-87.

Abbreviations

Avram 1989 :   Al. Avram, „ Gedanken über den Thrakissch-Geto-Dakischen Adel", *St Cls,* , XXVI (1989): 11-25.

Babeş 1988:   M. Babeş, „Descoperiri funerare şi semnificaţia lor în contextul culturii geto-dacice clasice", *SCIVA*, 39, 1 (1988): 3-32.

Bodor 1981:   A. Bodor, „Structura societăţii geto-dacice", in *Studii dacice* (H. Daicoviciu ed.) (Cluj-Napoca, 1981) : 7-22

Boia 1997:   L. Boia, *Istorie şi mit în conştiinţa românească* (Bucureşti, 1997).

Champion 1996:   T. Champion, „Power, politics and status" in *The Celtic World* (M. Green ed.) (London-New York ,1996): 85-91

Crişan 1977 :   I. H. Crişan, *Burebista şi epoca sa*, 2nd edition, (Bucureşti, 1977).

Daicoviciu 1972:   H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană* (Cluj, 1972).

Daicoviciu 1981:   H. Daicoviciu, „Societatea dacică în epoca statului" in *Studiii dacice* (H. Daicoviciu ed.) (Cluj-Napoca, 1981).

Glodariu 2000 :   I. Glodariu and colab., in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice – campania 1997* (1998): nr. 78, 1998 (1999): nr. 123, 1999 (2000): nr. 41.

Glodariu 2001:   I. Glodariu, „Structura socială"in *Istoria românilor*, I (Bucureşti, 2001): 776-778

Glodariu 2003:   I. Glodariu, „Istoria şi civilizaţia dacilor (sec. IV a. Chr. – 106 p.Chr.)" , *Istoria Transilvaniei*, I (Cluj-Napoca, 2003) (I.A. Pop, Th. Nägler ed.): 67-136.

Gogâltan 2005 :   Fl. Gogâltan, „Funcţia socială şi economică a tell-urilor epocii bronzului din Bazinul Carpatic. I. Aspecte teoretice" in *Comerţ şi civilizaţie. Transilvania în contextul schimburilor comerciale şi culturale în antichitate* (C. Cosma, A. Rustoiu ed.) (Cluj-Napoca, 2005): 11-43.

Gostar, Lica 1984   N. Gostar, V. Lica, *Societatea geto-dacică*, (Iaşi, 1984).

Guichard, Perrin   V. Guichard, P. Perrin (ed.): *L'Aristocratie celte à la fin*
2002:   *de l'âge du Fer (du IIe s.av. J.-C. Au Ier s. ap. J.-C) Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray,l'UMR 5594 du CNRS, université de Bourgogne. Glux-en Glenne, 10, 11 juin*

	1999, (V. Guichard, F. Perrin ed.) (Glux-en-Glenne, 2002).
Kristiansen 1998:	K. Kristiansen, *Europe before History*, (Cambridge, 1998).
Lockyear 2004:	K. Lockyear, „The Late Iron Age background to Roman Dacia" in *Roman Dacia. The Making of a provincial society* (W.S. Hanson, I.P. Haynes ed.) (Porthsmouth- Rhode Island, 2004).
Petre 2004:	Z. Petre, *Practica nemuririi. O lectură critică a izvoarelor greceşti referitoare la geţi* , (Iaşi, 2004).
Renfrew, Bahn 2000:	C. Renfrew, P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, Thames & Hudson, 3rd edition (2000).
Rustoiu 2002:	A. Rustoiu, *Războinici şi artizani de prestigiu în Dacia preromană* (Cluj-Napoca, 2002).
Sievers 2002:	S. Sievers, „Les attestations d'une aristocratie de la civilisation des oppida dans le sud de l'Allemagne" in *L'Aristocratie celte à la fin de l'âge du Fer (du IIe s.av. J.-C. Au Ier s. ap. J.-C) Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray,l'UMR 5594 du CNRS, université de Bourgogne. Glux-en Glenne, 10, 11 juin 1999*, (V. Guichard, F. Perrin ed.) (Glux-en-Glenne, 2002): 167-173.
Sârbu 1993:	V. Sîrbu, *Credinţe şi practici funerare, religioase şi magice în lumea geto-dacilor*, (Brăila, 1993).
Ursachi 1995:	V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad* (Bucureşti, 1995).
Ursachi 2005:	V. Ursachi, "Spaţiul public în <<dava>> de la Brad" in *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu Dâmboviţa oblata*, (V. Spinei, C.M Lazarovici, D. Monah ed.) (Iaşi, 2005): 621-634.
Vulpe 2005:	Al. Vulpe, „50 Years of systematic archaeological excavations at the pre- and protohistoric site at Popeşti", *Dacia N.S.*, XLVIII-XLIX (2004-2005): 24-37.

The Getae "Gold and Silver Princes" (4th–3rd Centuries BC). Some Considerations

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Archaeological discoveries between the Balkans, Carpathians, Black Sea and Dniestr, be they chance findings or systematic research, reveal a number of vestiges with similarities that, corroborated with written sources, can be attributed to the Getae. A set of decorative works that show an ideology characteristic of the Getae confirm the existence of specific features that the Getae have but the rest of the Thracian peoples do not, as mentioned in written sources (Herodotus IV, 93-94).

We will now talk about vestiges that reveal the presence of strong structure and hierarchy in the Getae society, namely vestiges of residential centers, lavish tombs and precious metal treasures.

Why these? The residential centers mirror the prestige of the ruler and of the community, namely of the "society of the living", while the tomb is the image that the individual or the family have on how one will integrate in the "community of the dead", and burying treasures indicates the way they saw deities, namely those "invisible partners" that were always present in their worldviews.

Are these, in fact, evidence of Getae élites?

Obviously, it is difficult to know whether those that had these goods or were buried in these tumuli fall into the category of what we consider a society's "elite" nowadays. However, we can be sufficiently sure of a number of things.

It is beyond any doubt that the communities that raised such residential centers and that the persons that were buried in such impressive tumuli or owned such precious-metal treasures had important material and human resources at their disposal.

We can say they were the leaders, the rulers of those communities. Without any prestige, means to control and rule – sometimes by force, of course – they could not have imposed their wills and none of these monuments would have been erected.

The presence of a set of similar items, images and figurative scenes exposes an ideology common to the Getae aristocracy in the aforementioned area.

At the same time, these impressive brick or stone walls and the sets of precious-metal items stand proof of the existence in the Getae world of

skilled masons and craftsmen. Of course, it is possible Greek masters played a part here and there.

If we look at the geographical distribution of these three types of findings we will notice that they are concentrated in certain areas, which means centers of powers and authority were in those places (*Fig. 1*). One can notice three large areas with such findings, each of them supported either by the topography or by the closeness to major communication corridors or to the Greek centers. The first, and the most numerous one, consists of two clusters of findings, one on each side of the Danube, with the Sboryanovo-Sveshtari area as the pivot, and it constitutes a genuine "backbone" of the Getae world. The second area, comprising a line of discoveries running from Kavarna to Agighiol, is not far from the Black Sea coast, namely from the Greek colonies. The third is in the hilly region of northern Moldavia, between the Carpathians and the Dniestr, where we find the residential centers in Cotnari[1] and Butuceni[2], plus the treasure in Băiceni.

Also, the scarceness of these discoveries in the Danube Plain and southern Moldavia is visible, a situation caused by the geo-morphological context (plains, limited water sources, no stone) but also by the presence of Eastern, Scythian findings here[3]

In Oltenia, on Olt's lower course, we find the fortresses of Coțofenii din Dos[4] and Bâzdâna[5], the tombs in Cernele, the treasure in Craiova, plus the rhyton from Poroina (perhaps also the helmet from the Detroit Institute of Art and the goblet at the Metropolitan Museum in New York). In Wallachia, we would like to stress the fortresses in Albeşti and Orbeasca de Sus[6], the tombs in Peretu[7] and Fântânele[8], the tumular necropolis in Zimnicea[9], then the fortified center in Căscioarele-*D'aia parte[10]* and the tomb in Chirnogi[11]; in northern Dobrogea we find the fortresses in Beştepe and Beidaud[12], plus the tomb in Agighiol, while

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[1] Florescu 1971: 110-116.

[2] Niculiță, Teodor, Zanoci 2002

[3] Sîrbu 1983:11-41.

[4] Zirra et al. 1993: 79-157.

[5] Tătulea 1983: 218-221.

[6] Moscalu, Beda 1979: 368-370.

[7] Moscalu 1989:129-190.

[8] Mateescu, Babeş 1968: 283-291.

[9] Alexandrescu 1980: 19-126.

[10] Sîrbu 1994: 25-45.

[11] Şerbănescu 1999: 231-249.

[12] Simion 1977: 31-47; Simion, Lăzurcă 1980: 37-54.

northern Moldavia includes the fortress in Cotnari[13], the tombs in Cucuteni[14] and the treasure in Băiceni.

Residential centers. So far, we know of over one hundred fortified centers in the area between the Balkans, the Carpathians, the Black Sea and Dniestr[15], but the many gaps in their research, caused by objective or subjective factors, rarely allow for definite analyses and conclusions. This way, besides the uncertainties associated with narrower dating, often we cannot say whether we are dealing with fortified settlements, refuge fortresses or residential centers.

Furthermore, there are several known tumular necropolises, but very few fortified centers, in the region between the Balkans and the Danube, whereas things are exactly the opposite north of the great river. We are obviously witnessing a certain lack of strategy in the research, and not the absence of the other category of vestiges in these areas.

The fortifications were erected for several reasons, some of them having to do with external factors (the dangers posed by other peoples, such as the Scythians, Celts or the southern kingdoms), others with internal affairs (conflicts between the various Getae political structures), but it is obvious they were also major sites for trading, gatherings and means for the political leaders to affirm their prestige and authority. For instance, concentrating a large number of fortified sites - almost 20 - on the middle course of the Jiu river, including those in Coțofenii din Dos, Bâzdâna and Bucovăț, stands proof of the variety of their functions, because it is difficult to accept that so many residential centers could have existed on such a small area[16].

Out of the many fortified centers, we will talk about those in Sboryanovo, Coțofenii din Dos, Căscioarele and Butuceni because their features (surface, magnitude of fortifications, types of complexes and richness of inventory) makes these residential centers representative of the Getae world.

The Sboryanovo-Sveshtari region is the site of the most impressive concentration of such monuments – one polis, three tumular necropolises and a sacred enclosure - meaning we can assume this was the center of the Getae world for at least one century. The *polis*, probably the ancient Daudava, spread on around 8 hectares, has a wall with two wall-faces made of limestone blocks and emplecton, with a network of streets, edifices and altars. A rich inventory was found here, with imports from numerous

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[13] Florescu 1971: 110-116.
[14] Dinu 1995:103-126.
[15] Florescu 1971: 103-118; Sîrbu, Trohani 1997: 512-539; Zanoci 1998.
[16] Sîrbu, Trohani 1997: 512-539.

Hellenistic centers. One item worth mentioning is an inscription dedicated to the *Phosphoros* goddess, perhaps the community's protector[17].

The 3.5 ha site in Coțofenii din Dos is fortified with an impressive brick wall with two wall faces, 3.5-4.0 m wide, plus transversal walls acting as liaisons and partitioning the emplecton. One found dwellings with a rich and varied inventory, including Greek imports[18].

In Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*, on the left bank of the Danube, only 40km away from Sboryanovo, one is researching a residential center over 2 ha large, fortified, in various stages, with wooden walls, cut limestone blocks and unburned bricks. Besides dwellings and household annexes, one also found a decorated altar and two sanctuaries with fireplaces. Amphorae from numerous Greek centers, dated to 4th-3rd centuries BC, stand out from the varied inventory found here[19]. We are aware of over 10 unfortified settlements around this site, which gives us a rather accurate image of the manner in which the Getae communities grouped around a residential center and depended on it.

In Cotnari-*Cătălina*, in northern Moldavia, an enclosure of about 5 ha was researched partially. It was surrounded by an imposing fortification (ramparts?) that included longitudinal walls and transversal walls made of stone, as well wooden infrastructure. Households and household annexes were found inside the site[20].

In Butuceni, on the right-hand bank of the Răut, not far from where it flows in the Dniestr, one researched a residential center fortified with polished limestone blocks and bricks. We need to stress the presence of a possible round sanctuary and of the many 4th-3rd centuries BC Greek imports[21]. The residential center here is in the middle of a special concentration of other sites, many of them fortified.

Besides the important resources involved or the skills of the masons, the presence of cut-stone walls or of bricks, burned or not, in these residential centers, reveals that the Getae aristocracy was in line with a certain standard from the royal courts of the Mediterranean civilizations.

Unfortunately, we do not have enough data to identify the areas where such residential centers commanded authority or the type of relations among the dynasts/aristocrats that ruled them. However, one can assume, for instance, that there was some sort of hierarchy/dependency between the

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[17] Chichikova, Delev, Bozhkova 1992: 73-88; Stoyanov et al. 2004.
[18] Zirra et al. 1993: 79-157.
[19] Sîrbu 1994: 25-45.
[20] Florescu 1971: 110-116.
[21] Niculiță, Teodor, Zanoci 2002.

rulers in Sboryanovo and the aristocrat in Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*, based on the small distance between them, the differences in the size between the two residences, and on the center-periphery relationship. However, there may have been more than just one center of power. Similar to other kingdoms, the ruler could have been moving from one residence to another, accompanied by the court members, as the interests required.

Tombs of dynasts. Since there are very few written sources on eschatological beliefs and the manner in which the Thracians dealt with the dead (Herodotus V, 8), archaeological vestiges will have to support most of the analysis. However, as we all know, these are "opaque", which means many of the data on spiritual matters will remain unknown to us.

The region once inhabited by the Thracians also yielded impressive tumuli, sometimes with full-fledged temples and rich and silver treasures under them[22]. Why did the persons buried there and the communities that they came from undertook such efforts and gave up on such valuable items? It is obvious that only strong beliefs could have made the Thracians/Getae give up on such goods, personal or collective, without causing feelings of frustration in the families and communities.

What were those motivations?

Cremation was the predominant funerary rite for the northern Thracians in the 5th-3rd centuries BC, since we know of over 1600 cremation tombs but of only about 250 inhumation tombs[23]. However, about half of the latter are in the necropolis in Stelnica alone[24] .

In the case of dynasts and high-ranking aristocracy, on the other hand, inhumation seems to be the dominant funerary rite[25]. This is what happened to the tombs in the Sboryanovo-Sveshtari area[26], Agighiol[27], Peretu[28], Vraca[29], north of the Balkans or from the Kazanluk-Plovdiv region in southern Balkans[30].

If that is the case, how do we account for the different rites?

Can we conclude that normal inhumation reflects the beliefs of the Getae aristocracy – of the Thracian aristocracy, in general – that the "afterworld" was a projection of the life one had lived in until death? Is that

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[22] Gergova 1996; Rousseva 2000; Kitov 2005; Kull 1997₁: 200-466.

[23] Sîrbu 2002: 376-377.

[24] Conovici, Matei 1999: 99-144, plus the later discoveries!

[25] Sîrbu 2002: 374-393.

[26] Chichikova 1992: 143-163; Gergova 1996.

[27] Berciu 1969: 33-76.

[28] Moscalu 1989: 129-190.

[29] Torbov 2005.

[30] Kitov 1999: 1-20; 2005.

the explanation for erecting impressive tumuli, some of them "comfortable", for sacrificing horses and depositing personal goods, some of them of great value? Was the tumulus seen, in this case, as a final "palace" for the dead?

However, there have been situations where only parts or isolated bones from the dead were preserved, and the argument goes that we are dealing with repeated exposure and dismembering practices because the body was seen as a "recipient" that needs to be destroyed in order to free the "spirit", the only way to achieve immortality[31] . In this situation, was the tumulus just a transit site for the dead on his way to the place of the "immortals"? Do these practices mirror beliefs linked to the cult of Orpheus and Zagreus?[32]

Does cremation, which is encountered in the case of some high-ranking aristocrats, reflect a deeper "spiritualization" of the conceptions on the "afterworld" or just local and family traditions? Both in Sboryanovo-Sveshtari and in other areas, such as the tomb in Cucuteni[33] one encounters impressive funerary set ups where the dead were cremated.

Based on these different types of funerary set ups and rites for the dead, one can deduct the existence of varied notions on the "afterworld" in the Getae aristocracy.

However, we can make a very important observation: when it comes to the most impressive constructions - sometimes endowed with sculpted or painted rooms, and having the richest inventories - the dead were inhumed, such as in Ginina Mogila and tumuli 12 and 13 in Sboryanovo, then in Vraca, Agighiol, Peretu etc. Things are the same in the case of the tumuli in the southern part of the Balkan mountains[34].

We will bring only a few more cases into discussion.

There are over 100 known tumuli in the Sboryanovo-Sveshtari region, grouped in three necropolises, over 20 of which have been researched, which means we have essential data on the funerary beliefs and practices of the Getae aristocracy. It is obvious that some of the dynasts/aristocrats started building these funerary monuments during their lifetime because it is impossible to raise such tumuli, build funerary chambers (some of them with sculpted or painted scenes), over such a short interval, namely from the time of death to the moment the dead is placed in the tomb. The most spectacular tomb excavated is, of course, *Ginina Moghila*[35] (*Fig. 2*).

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[31] Gergova 1996: 129-140.
[32] Fol 1993; Gergova 1996: 129-140.
[33] Dinu 1995: 103-126.
[34] Mikoff 1954; Gergova 1996; Rousseva 2000; Kitov 2005; Torbov 2005.
[35] Fol, Chichikova, Ivanov, Teofilov 1986; Chichikova 1992: 143-163.

One noticed that certain clusters of tumuli are oriented according to certain constellations, that the tumulus and the constructions underneath were made in three stages, that the existence of uncovered facades and gliding doors, as well as the evidence of the way they were handled, reveals there had been repeated entries in the funerary chambers. Moreover, the presence of just parts of human skeletons or of isolated human bones, and the fact that they were mixed with animal bones or inventory items, reveals rituals that involved sacrifices and repeated exposures of the dead out in the open air[36]. Also, fireplaces (some of them decorated) and deposited offerings were found in some of the tumuli, which means that sacred rituals took place during and after the dead were buried.

However, it is difficult to decipher why such rituals stop at some point and the facades are covered for good. Also, where are the rich inventories that accompanied the dead initially? We can only assume that the dead and the goods that were with them were being protected, in particular while access to the funerary chamber was possible.

The differences between the size of the tumuli and the chambers underneath, the presence of sculpted or painted scenes in selected cases, variations in the richness of the inventory – they all point to differences in the social and political status of the dead. Despite the many unknowns, one can posit that the tombs here indicated a sacred place where some of the Getae elite, from the rulers to the court aristocracy, were buried.

But some of the dynasts or high-ranking aristocracy were buried in other places, such as in the tumuli in Agighiol[37] and Peretu[38]. Even though the set ups are not that imposing in these cases, the rich gold and silver inventories, plus the figurative scenes on some items, means they belonged to dynasts. Furthermore, the inventories in Agighiol and Peretu are richer and the iconography of the items is more complex than what was found in the Getae tombs north of the Balkans.

Another things to be stressed is that no representative iron or bronze weaponry – such as helmets, swords or sabers - was found in these princely tombs. Usually, one found lances or arrows. The fact that more than one skeleton were found in some of the tombs (e.g. six individuals in Sveshtari-*Ginina Moghila*) could mean those were "family vaults" for certain rulers because the age and sex patterns of the dead, as well as the state of the bones and of the horse remains rules out the possibility that these were human sacrifices[39].

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[36] Gergova 1996: 129-140.
[37] Berciu 1969: 33-76.
[38] Moscalu 1989: 129-190.
[39] Ivanov 1992: 135-137.

Is this a sign of hierarchy, of the center-periphery relationship, and of the need that the dead be buried in the land he ruled? We believe that a number of beliefs of the elites observed in other civilizations apply to the tumular tombs in the Getae world, in particular that of the Thracians[40]. The tumulus was associated with the mountain, with the center, it was a monument always visible. Burying the dead in his land secured the continuity of the connection between him and the land that he had ruled. From there, he could watch over those that followed, meaning that he was a symbol of identifying, even after death, with the territory and its people, since he irradiated and concentrated authority at the same time[41].

Then, there are a number of tombs or tumular necropolises with not so pretentious set ups, with the dead cremated or, much more rarely, inhumed, where weapons and offerings were found. Such are the tumular tombs in Găvani[42], Chirnogi[43], Zimnicea[44], Borovo[45], Drumevo[46], Yankovo[47], Branicevo[48] etc. They belonged to a warrior aristocracy, probably even bands of fighters serving dynasts. There are not many tombs found with full knight gear sets, such as in Ruec (formerly Jurukler): helmet, armor, lances and arrows, sword, bridle bits[49].

One should mention that very few weaponry items were found in plane tombs, usually arrowheads, which could mean that there were certain weapon-carrying restrictions for the common people.

The Treasures of the Basilei. In the area inhabited by the Getae (by the northern Thracians in general), one found – mostly by chance – many treasures with a number of similar features, both in terms of context of the discovery and of types of items and figurative representations, such as the findings in Băiceni, Craiova, Borovo, Lukovit and Letnica. These were not discovered in fortresses, settlements, sanctuaries or necropolises, meaning they can be considered isolated findings. However, fortresses or tumular tombs were almost always found rather close by (1-5 km). All in all, they include several categories of gold or silver items (ceremonial

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[40] Binford 1971: 108-143; Moris 1987; Bailey 2000: 23-28.
[41] Taylor 1986: 47-65; Kuhrt 1992; Bailey 2000: 23-28; Sîrbu 2000: 183-211.
[42] Sîrbu, Harţuche 2000: 139-153.
[43] Şerbănescu 1999: 231-249.
[44] Alexandrescu 1980: 19-126.
[45] Ivanov 1984: 17-18.
[46] Dremsizova 1965: 54-65.
[47] Dremsizova 1955: 61-83.
[48] Dremsizova 1962: 165-185.
[49] Velkov 1925: 174.

items, drink ware, and harness appliqués) with iconographic motives and scenes specific to the Getae but there are significant differences from one item to another[50].

The treasure in Băiceni includes a helmet, bracelets, appliqués and clothing buttons, plus harness appliqués, almost entirely of gold, weighing about 2 kg, which means they are ceremonial items for a dynast and his horse[51].

The "treasure" in Craiova comprises about 80 silver appliqués and harness links of various sizes and shapes, some of them with animal figurative representations, which makes it a set of items for several horses[52].

The treasure in Lukovit includes a valuable set of silver harness appliqués, most of them with animal, but also anthropomorphic representations[53].

The silver treasure in Borovo includes three rhytons, a bi-truncated vessel and a bowl, all of them with figurative scenes[54].

Of special importance is the treasure in Letnica, with 23 silver appliqués, 12 of which have animal representations and 11 have anthropomorphic representations – 8 with riders, two with female characters, and another is showing a hierogamy scene[55].

We also need to mention the discovery of isolated items of exceptional value, such as the helmet in Poiana-Coţofeneşti[56]) and the rhyton in Poroina[57], as well as other items with unknown origins, such as the silver helmet at the Institute of Art in Detroit[58] or the silver goblet at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, thought to be from the Iron Gates region[59].

It is beyond any doubt that these treasures, sometimes totaling kilograms of silver and gold, with specific items and figurative scenes, belonged to rulers or high-ranking dynasts.

However, it is much more difficult to establish why they were buried because, as we already said, they were not found in sanctuaries and are not in direct connection with any specific tomb. It is difficult to accept they buried so

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[50] Venedikov, Gerasimov 1979; *I Daci* 1997; *Ancient Gold* 1998.
[51] Petrescu-Dâmboviţa 1985: 171-185.
[52] Berciu 1969:123-146.
[53] Čičikova 1980.
[54] Zdravkova, Ivanov 2002.
[55] Venedikov 1996.
[56] Berciu 1969: 77-82.
[57] Berciu 1969: 153-160.
[58] Berciu 1969: 83-88.
[59] Berciu 1969: 89-93.

many treasures just because of imminent dangers, even though we cannot say what was the cultural motivation for each of these findings.

Symbols of power. Archaeological findings also show that there were types of items in the Thracian society that were signs of their bearers' social, military and political rank. This kind of categories includes ceremonial gear, feast tableware, chariots and horse harnesses, plus the figurative scenes and motives on them.

It is important that almost all of these items are made of gold, silver or gilded silver, which points not just to the significant resources that their owners had, but also to the sacred significance of these precious metals in the aristocracy's religious and mythological beliefs[60].

How were these goods accumulated? Some written sources claim this happened by way of gifts and trading taxes, wars and pillaging, and taxes paid by some of the Greek colonies or of the kingdoms in return for the protection offered by the stronger rulers. We have more detailed sources on such things in the case of the Odryisian kingdom (Thukydides 2, 97, 3-4; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7, 3, 26-33). That the duties and gifts offered by the Greek colonies to the Thracian dynasts were quite high we can guess from one of the purposes of the Lysimachus against Domichaites, namely canceling the Getae king's protectorate over them.

On what occasions did they wear such items? The investiture or religious ceremonies, receiving embassies, marriages and feats that took place at the courts of these high-ranking officials – all these were suitable occasions for the bearers of the items to display one's wealth and personal prestige.

The ceremonial gear consisted of helmets, cnemids, clothing accessories and adornments with rich figurative motives, of which we will discuss only the first two types, due to their special significance.

The special helmets in Băiceni, Agighiol, Peretu, Poiana-Coţofeneşti (Fig. 3/1-4) and the one at the Institute of Art in Detroit are original creations because such gold or silver items and their characteristic iconography were found only in the area inhabited by the Getae. It is worth mentioning that these items have not been placed on the heads of the dead in any discovery made so far, and in no representation are the characters wearing helmets[61].

One can also estimate that the cnemids, also made of gilded silver, are characteristic of the Getae aristocracy. We know of five items so far, all of them found in tombs, two in Agighiol (Fig. 4/1-2), one Vraca (Fig. 4/3)

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[60] Marazov 1994.
[61] Sîrbu 2004$_2$: 33-35; 2005: 143-162.

and, more recently, ***another*** in Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa[62]. The one found in Vraca[63] is similar to cnemid no.2 in Agighiol and, although a number of scenes are not the same between them, they both belong to the "Agighiol workshop". The iconography of the cnemids, most of it similar to that found on others types of items found in the Getae area is evidence they are reflecting a mythology specific to them.

The *ceremonial tableware* in the Getae region includes goblets and rhyta, phials, deep bowls and, more rarely, other types of recipients.

The iconography on the five known goblets is of special importance to the Getae religion and mythology, in particular because of the scene called "animal procession"[64]. Two of the goblets are from Agighiol[65] (Fig. 3/8-9) and one from the treasure in Rogozen[66] then there is the item from the "Iron Gates", currently at the Metropolitan Museum in New York[67] and another at the George Severeanu Museum in Bucharest[68].

The rhytons, be they silver or gold, played a particular role in the sacred life of the Getae (Fig. 4/4-6) in general, given not only their rich iconography, but also the scenes rendering people with such items in their hands, such as the rhyton in Poroina[69], the cnemids in Agighiol and Malomirovo, the helmet in Băiceni or the vessel in Borovo. We know of over 20 items found in the area that the Getae inhabited.

The phials were also of special importance, given their high numbers – 160 items found so far, 108 of which in Rogozen alone – but also the many items with inscriptions, such as in Agighiol, Peretu, Rogozen, Branicevo, Alexandrovo[70].

Although one found remains from ceremonial chariots just in Peretu[71] and Vraca[72], the important part they played in the life of the aristocracy is confirmed by the high number of horses inhumed in some of the tombs, such as in Agighiol – three animals[73] or Sveshtari-Ginina Mogila – six of them[74].

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[62] Agre 2005: 68-75.

[63] Torbov 2005, pl. 8, 21.

[64] Alexandrescu 1984: 91-97; Sîrbu, Florea 2000$_1$: 136-140; Sîrbu 2004$_1$: 79-80.

[65] Berciu 1969: 54-59, fig. 26-33.

[66] Marazov 1996: 222-242, fig. 138-139.

[67] Berciu 1969: 89-93, fig. 66.

[68] Gramatopol 1982: 94, fig. 25/d, 27/a,b.

[69] Berciu 1969: 153-160, fig. 106-110.

[70] Zournatzi 2000: 688-706.

[71] Moscalu 1989: 138-141, fig. 5-6, 17-18, pl. 62-63.

[72] Torbov 2005: 139, pl. 3.

[73] Berciu 1969: 38-39.

[74] Ivanov 1992: 135-136.

The gold and silver harness appliqués had a decorative role but the symbolism of the figurative representations on them indicates they were also mean tot enhance the power of the horse so that the aristocrat could reach its target (Fig. 5/1-4). The Thracian world is the site of a special type of harness appliqués that render highly stylized horse heads in a vortex. The most complete and spectacular series of appliqués comes from Letnica – 23 items, 8 of which depicts riders[75].

Gestures and images. The careful analysis of the many figurative representations on Thracian toreutics in general, and the Getae toreutics in particular, revealed a number of motives and scenes specific to them. What is their meaning?

The appearance of a constellation of basilei in the Getae world, in particular in the 4ᵗʰ century BC, generated an ideology that would emphasize their heroic and divine origin. However, in a society where writing was not used but in exceptional circumstances, an ideology could only express itself and be understood by way of a consistent iconographic program. We will now briefly introduce some of the images and scenes characteristic of the Getae aristocracy.

The rider and the sacred hunt. The most frequent scene in the Getae region, and in the Thracian world in general, is the rider, sometimes in armor, moving from the left to the right with a lance in hand, ready to attack[76] (Fig. 5/1,3-4). Sometimes, we have an explicit hunting scene rendered, such as on an appliqué in Letnica, where he is attacking a bear (Fig. 5/3), while on another in Lukovit he is attacking a lion (Fig. 5/4). The riders are often in attack positions, but the opponent is not shown. In other instances, they are holding a bowl in hand such as on an appliqué in Letnica (Fig. 5/2), or a rhyton, such as on **a greave** in Malomirovo, or the rider is showing the bow, such as on greave no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6a). We need to make a few things clear: there is no known instance in the toreutics scenes of a rider wearing a helmet or bearing a shield, there is no scene portraying a human confrontation or having the name of a deity inscribed on it[77]. For these reasons, we believe most of the scenes show the riders hunting, since this was one of the preferred pastimes of the aristocracy and a test of courage that the rulers had to display regularly. There are written sources supporting this (Herodotus I, 36-45), as well as other findings, the most spectacular being the gorgeous frescoes of the tomb in Alexandrovo[78].

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[75] Venedikov 1996.
[76] Sîrbu, Florea 2000₂: 23-43.
[77] Sîrbu 2004₁: 74-75.
[78] Kitov 2004.

Persons sitting on the throne, male or female, appear on a number of ceremonial items, such as the helmet in Băiceni (Fig. 5/8) or cnemid no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6b), or drink ware, such as the rhyton in Poroina (Fig.5/7) or the vessel in Borovo (Fig. 5/5). The character's high-ranking is revealed by both the throne, as a symbol of authority, and the sacred meaning of the unicorn bird, the rhyton and the phial held in hand.

Launching the spear/lance. The most frequent weapon discovered in the tumular tombs or appearing, in the iconography, in the hands of the riders, is the spear or lance. However, we need to make clear that it is never used to attack a human opponent. Rather, the moment it is launched or is already lodged in an animal, is showed, such as the appliqués is Lukovit (Fig. 5/4) and Letnica (Fig. 5/1,3), the mugs in Rogozen or the tomb in Alexandrovo. In our opinion, some of these scenes show the dynast before the investiture, namely when he was proving his skills. It is no accident that the animals attacked are stronger, sometimes ferocious (lion, bear, deer).

Showing the bow. There is not one scene where a character is firing the bow, be it in a fight or in a hunt. Instead, the bow is always held in hand, it is showed or is around the character, such as in the case of the male characters on the helmet in Băiceni (Fig. 5/8) or cnemid no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6a), or the female characters on mugs no. 155 and 157 in Rogozen. These are solemn scenes, given the presence of other symbols of power as well (throne, rhyton), and this means we are witnessing high-ranking characters, probably dynasts, in the case of the male characters, and goddesses, in the case of the female ones.

The unicorn bird-fish-hare scene appears on the helmets in Peretu that are currently at the Detroit Institute of Art, as well as on the goblets in Agighiol and Rogozen and the one at the New York Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 6/1-5). This motive is specific to the Getae art, as a result of the assimilation of Scytho-Siberian and Northern Italy motives[79]. Obviously, it is a symbolic scene, and not one depicting nature. The iconography indicates that the bird with horn is a central character in the "animal procession" (Fig. 3/8-9; 6/1-5), both because of its exaggerated size and because of the added horn. Some researchers believe that this scene indicates a divine being[80], or even that it represents the Great God[81]. However, we believe it is more likely that it stands for the dynast's rule over his kingdom in all its elements, as symbolized there, namely air (the eagle), earth (the hare) and water (the fish).

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[79] Alexandrescu 1984: 93-95.
[80] Alexandrescu 1984: 97.
[81] Crişan 1993: 142-152.

We need to emphasize that such representations are from findings of rich tombs or hoards, probably from basilei.

Sacrifices. The golden helmet from Poiana-Coțofeneşti has two scenes, unique in Thracian toreutics so far: on the cheek-piece, a male character with a shield is sacrificing a ram with the help of a dagger (Fig. 3/3; 6/9), while on the nape guard, on two levels, there are anthropo-demons and fantasy creatures holding a mammal's foot in mouth[82]. According to ancient beliefs, the sacrifice is a way to release the tensions within the community and re-establish the connections to the deities; perhaps sacrificing the ram is meant to dispel chaos and terror, as rendered on the metaphoric scene on the back of the head, thus returning equilibrium to the society[83].

Libation. A number of items from the Getic toreutics show male characters – and, rarely, female – with rhyton, bowls or drinking horns in hand, such as on the helmet in Băiceni (Fig. 5/8), the vessel in Borovo (Fig. 5/5), the rhyton in Poroina (Fig. 5/7), an appliqué in Letnica (Fig. 5/2), and greave no. 2 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6b). The solemn quality of the scenes, the throne and the meaning of these vessels in the Thracian illustrates the sacred nature of these characters.

Apotropaic eyes. The presence on all of the five gold and silver Getae helmets of the "apotropaic eyes" motive (Fig. 3/1-4) generated heated debates, and a common opinion was that the eyes were meant to strike horror in the enemies. However, we need to call attention to the fact that this motive does not show up on actual bronze or iron fight helmets, and there are no scenes showing the rulers wearing such helmets on their heads. In our opinion, the reasons behind this motive are twofold: the exophthalmic eyes indicated the ruler's power to "see all" and, thus, control all, but also helped the endeavoring character in his way to the "afterworld"[84].

Hierogamy. We have an unusual scene on an appliqué in Letnica, which shows a man and a woman in an erotic position, assisted by a female character standing up, with a mug and tree branch in hand (Fig. 6/8). One can interpret the scene as the union between a ruler and a goddess, either to show the divine origin of the royalty or to secure the authority and prosperity of the kingdom[85].

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[82] Berciu 1969: 77-82.
[83] Marazov 1978: 81-100.
[84] Sîrbu 2004₁: 55.
[85] Marazov 1992.

Discussion. The main theme of the Thracian toreutics is a male character, showed most of the times as a rider, but also as sitting on the throne. This shows up in all the types of complexes (tombs, treasures) and items. We would like to recall that the toreutics never shows human confrontations, that no inscription points to some sort of Thracian deity, and that the character is rendered in certain situations: often, it is hunting and, more rarely, performing sacrifices, in investiture scenes or in solemn positions with weapons (lance, bow) or vessels (rhytons, horns, phials) in hand (Fig. 3/2; 5/1-4, 6a).

Other scenes show female characters in various instances, sitting on the throne (Fig.4/4a; 5/7) or with wings, such as on mugs Rogozen[86]. It is worth mentioning the presence of female characters handing out crowns to riders, such as on the painted scene in Sveshtari-*Ginina Moghila* (Fig. 2/5) or on the ring in Malomirovo. In other cases, the female characters are just "watching over" scenes with male characters, such as on greave no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 4/1; 5/6). We also need to mention the presence of human heads, probably female, in the tombs in Peretu (Fig. 3/5) or Vraca (Fig. 3/6). We might be dealing with female deities handing out signs of power to the dynasts or just protecting them.

Who do these scenes render? Before trying to give an answer, we need to make a few general observations.

It is a sure fact that most of the toreutics items were made in workshops in Thracian territory, based on the large number of precious-metal items, on the matrices and device for decorating in metal that were found, as well as on certain types of items and specific scenes[87].

Obviously, the toreutic art is meant for the elites, since only they afforded items comprising kilograms of gold or silver, and the iconography illustrates an ideology specific to them.

The appearance and development of an exceptional Thracian toreutics during the 5th-3rd centuries BC shows a "thirst for art" in the aristocracy, a result of the need to address a society that used writing on extremely rare occasions, which means the image also served as a messenger, not just an aesthetic function.

At the same time, the Thracian art is a symbolic art because only those initiated in the "codes" could understand the decorative scenes and compositions. That is why it is very difficult to identify *what* the art said, *how* it said it, *who* did it address and *why*.

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[86] Marazov 1996.

[87] Alexandrescu 1974: 273-281; 1983: 45-66; Marazov 1992; Babeş 1993: 125-134; Tonkova 1995: 175-214; Kull 1997$_2$: 551-584.

We cannot be absolutely sure of the origin of the items nowadays, we cannot know for sure how the were introduced to the audience, nor can we find out the way the scenes were "read", what was the internal logic of certain myths, legends and hagiographies. It is as if the frames of a movie were mixed up and had no captions.

Furthermore, the few written sources are not entirely reliable information sources either, since they represent the Greek's viewpoint, they describe "the image of the other", not to mention the difficulties associated with the Greeks' understanding esoteric rites and beliefs from a "barbarian" world. To make things worse, there were certain mentalities in the writings of the Greek authors, which described the Thracian either as "savages" or as "sages", namely outside the civilization as the Greek society saw it[88].

As for the question in the beginning of the text – what were the Getic elites – we can say for sure that they existed, because they are archaeologically visible in certain items and in the iconography, but details are a matter of speculations (granted, speculations based on actual items and iconographic facts).

We can assume that the lay elite consisted of the rulers and their court, then by a high-ranking aristocracy and the bands of warriors. Starting with the 4th century BC, the number of tumular tombs and rich treasures skyrockets in the region of the northern Balkans, and the local princes have room for independent manifestations. This has a historical basis. On the one hand, the state of the Odryisians goes down under the blows of Macedonian king Philip II, in 341 BC, which means their kings were no longer able to manifest independently. On the other hand, the Scythian and Macedonian expeditions in the Lower Danube area and the relations with the Odryisian rulers allowed the Getae aristocracy to get to know their lavish courts. Furthermore, the possibility of obtaining stipends from the Greek colonies, plus the pillaging expeditions and the taxes on trade added a handsome amount to the wealth of the Getae aristocracy.

Although we do not have a great deal of substantial information on the power relations in the Getae world, there are a number of observations we can make, based on comparisons to the Odrysian kingdom[89], since they were structurally similar. It is very likely that both internal relations – between the Getae rulers and the high-ranking aristocracy or the bands of warriors – and "foreign" ones were based on gift exchanges[90] and matrimonial alliances set up during feasts.

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[88] Petre 2004**:** 70-126.
[89] Archibald 1998.
[90] Zournatzi 2000, p. 688-706.

Great treasures were accumulated over time, as seen in the case of the famous treasure in Rogozen, comprising 165 silver vessels (some of them gilded), dated back to the 5th-4th century BC, that were probably some dynast's "feast tableware", and included both items made in their own workshops but also other items from "gifts"[91]. It is beyond any doubt that the "institution of the gift"[92] played an important part in the Getae society, in particular, and in the Thracian one in general.

Similar in this respect are the ceremonies during the feasts held at the courts of Odryisian kings Seuthes (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7, 3, 26-33) and Dromichaites when they captured Lysimachus (Diodorus 21,12,2-6), ceremonies concerning the exchange of gifts and services and, possibly, matrimonial alliances[93]. The high value of the obligations and gifts that the Greek fortresses offered the Thracian rulers is visible in one of the reasons behind Lysimachus's expedition – removing the protectorate of the Getae ruler over them.

In control of vast riches, the Getae aristocracy created an ideology of its own, with some features different from that of other Thracian peoples. We need only mention the silver and golden helmets, cnemids, goblets, rhytons and harness appliqués with a certain specific decorative compositions, such as the "animal procession", the horned bird, the characters on the throne and the apotropaic eyes. All these items and scenes are signs of the Getae aristocracy's distinct worldview and its desire to stand out, to display their ethnic and social-political identity. It cultivated tight relations and gift exchanges with the Triballi or Odryisian aristocracies, as evidenced by the goblet in the Rogozen treasure, the cnemid in the Vraca tumulus or the greave in the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa tomb. Also, a number of vessels in the Triballi and Getae region seem to be gifts from Odryisian kings - see, in particular, the phials with the name Kotys[94].

It is difficult to claim that the explanation for this development of the Getae aristocracy lies in the desires of some periphery princes, that is, Getae princes, to imitate the center, namely the Odryisian kingdom. The timing of the peak of manifestations, namely mid-4th century BC, and the desire to have a proprietary mythology invalidate such an explanation, since they are signs of independence and the desire for a distinct identity. The Dromichaites moment is clear proof of this, even though we cannot take *ad litteram* everything written on it, including details on the capture of

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[91] Alexandrescu 1980: 233-244; Marazov 1996.
[92] Mauss 1923.
[93] Avram 1987: 185-188.
[94] Alexandrescu 1980: 233-244; Zournatzi 2000: 688-706.

Lysimachus (Diodorus of Sicily 21, 12, 2-6). Perhaps it is no accident that several monuments in Sboryanovo-Sveshtari dated back to the end of the 4ᵗʰ century – beginning of 3ʳᵈ century BC.

The lack of written sources means we cannot discuss several important issues, such as the size of these rulers' kingdoms, the hierarchical structure, their foreign relations etc, since these are exclusively a matter of speculations.

Was there a religious elite as well? Written sources prove the existence of an advanced religion in the Getae world (Herodotus IV, 93-95), one that was polytheist and anthropomorphic and had complicated rites[95]. It is impossible to believe such an advanced stage could exist without "specialists in the sacred' that would dedicate themselves to the cult's doctrine and practices. Unfortunately, very few sanctuaries and cult places are known for the 4ᵗʰ-3ʳᵈ centuries BC, such as Sboryanovo-*Kamen rid* and *Demir Baba Teke*[96], Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*[97], Butuceni[98] or those in the Silistra region[99]. Certain information is provided by a number of iconographic scenes, such as the sacrificed ram on the helmet in Poiana-Coţofeneşti (Fig. 6/9) or possible libations suggested by the male or female characters holding rhytons, drinking horns or bowls in their hands on the helmet Băiceni (Fig. 5/8), greaves in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6b) and Malomirovo, the appliqué Letnica (Fig. 5/2), the container from Borovo (Fig. 5/5) and the rhyton from Poroina (Fig. 5/7).

However, the question remains as to whether the basilei or the priests performed the sacred acts or did they complement each other somehow? It is not our purpose to debate this complex problem here because it needs a separate piece dedicated to it. We just want to introduce a piece of information about the siege sometime in the 4ᵗʰ century BC by king Philip II on the Odessos fortress, then under Getae protectorate, when their priests "that they call holy men and pious men, at once opening the gates came forward with *citarae* and dressed in white and, in song, implored their forefathers' gods to favor them and drive out the Macedonians" (Jordanes 65).

In all the cases we have talked about, except for the female character on the rhyton in Poroina, we seem to dealing with basilei because the characters are either riders, or wearing armor, but we have every reason to believe in the existence of priories of holy men.

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[95] Russu 1944-1948: 61-139.
[96] Balkanska 1998.
[97] Sîrbu 1994: 30.
[98] Niculiţă, Teodor, Zanoci 2002: 41-42, fig. 59.
[99] data from G. Atanasov.

Controversies and the impossibility to know more details aside, we can be sure of the existence of a Getae secular and religious aristocracy.

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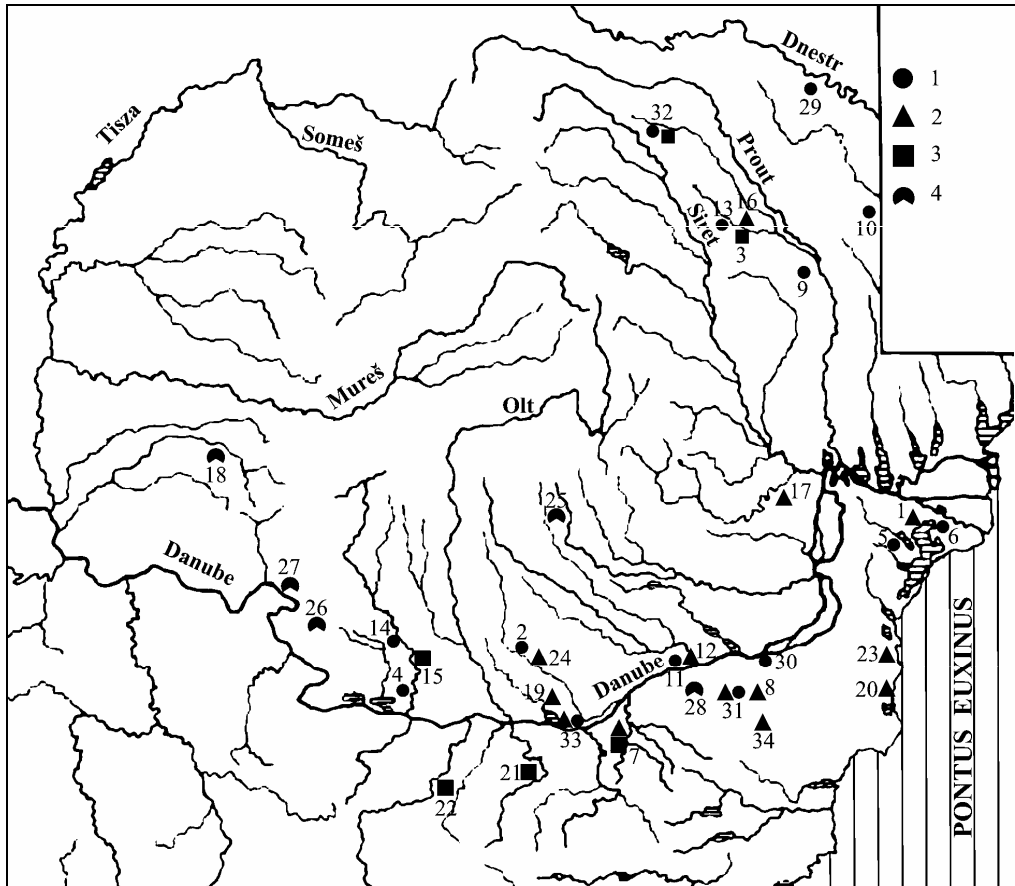
Fig.1. Main residential centers, tombs and treasures from the Getic world (4th-3th centuries BC).
Legend: 1 residential centers, 2 tumular tombs, 3 treasures, 4 isolated figurative artifacts.

List of settlements: 1 Agighiol, 2 Albeşti, 3 Băiceni, 4 Brâzdâna, 5 Beidaud, 6 Beştepe, 7 Borovo, 8. Branicevo, 9 Buneşti-Avereşti, 10 Butuceni, 11 Căscioarele, 12 Chirnogi, 13 Cotnari, 14 Coţofeni din Dos, 15 Craiova, 16 Cucuteni, 17 Găvani, 18 Găvojdia, 19 Fântânele, 20 Kavarna, 21 Letnica, 22 Lukovit, 23 Mangalia, 24 Peretu, 25 Poiana-Coţofeneşti, 26 Poroina, 27 "Porţile de Fier", 28 Razgrad, 29 Saharna, 30 Satu Nou, 31 Sboryanovo-Sveshtari, 32 Stânceşti, 33 Zimnicea, 34 Zlokucene.
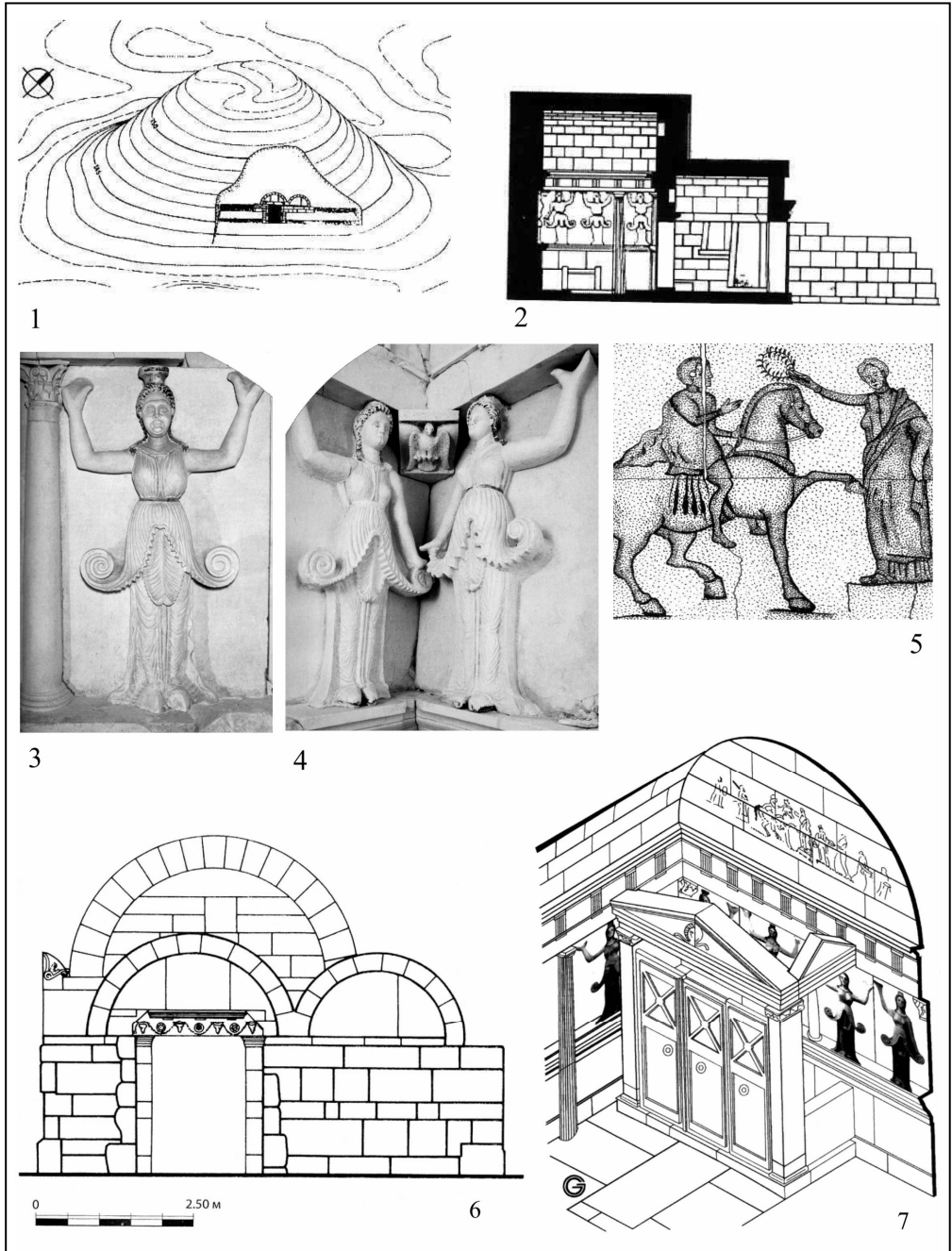
Fig.2 Sboryanovo-Svesthari, the *Ginina Moghila* tumulus.
1.verview, 2 longitudinal view, 3-4 caryatids, 5 fresco (detail), 6 tomb's
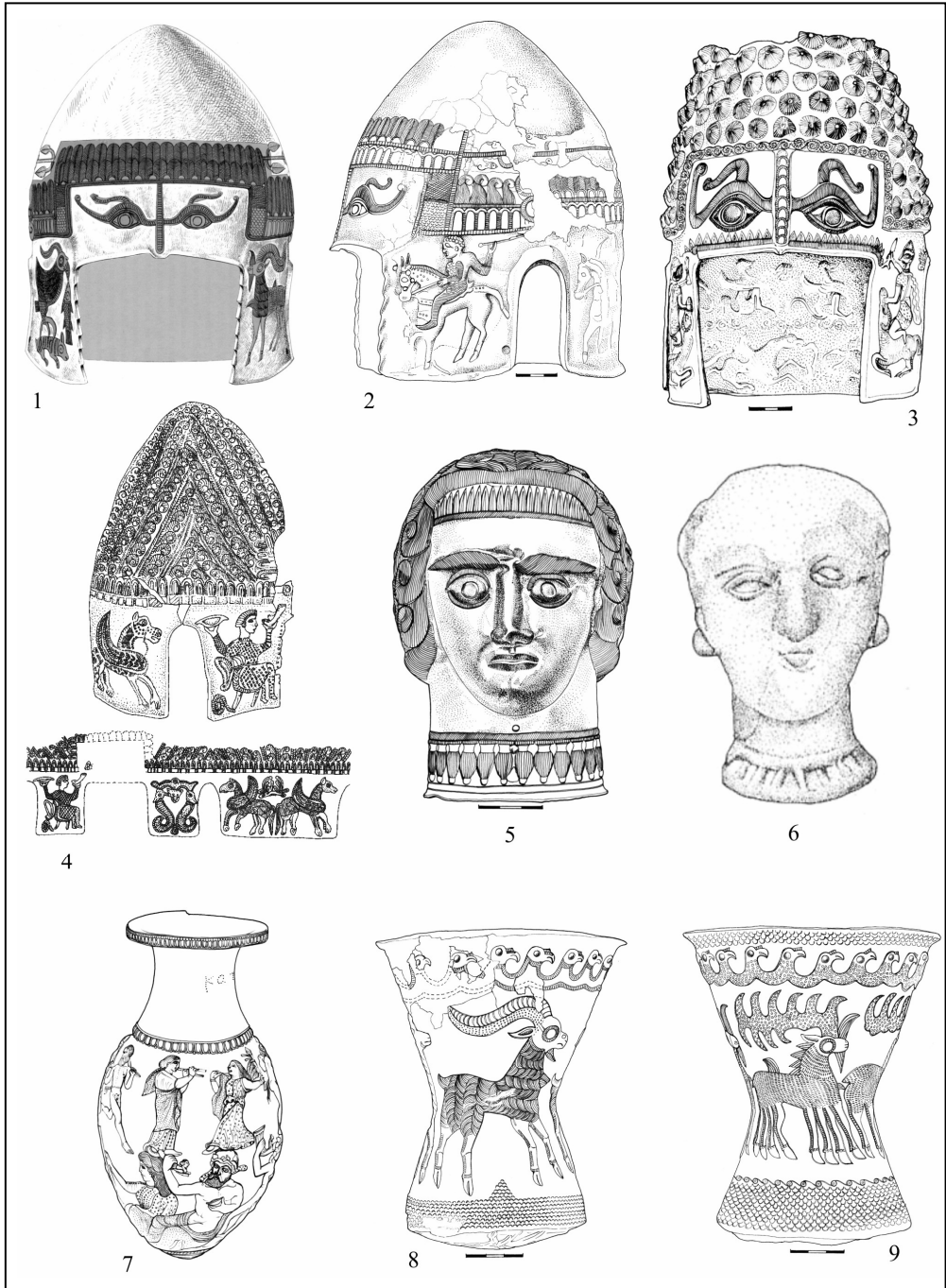façade, 7 naikos-recreation (from D. Gergova 1996; M.Chichikova 1992)

Fig.3. Helmets (1-4), human heads (5-6), vessel (7), goblets (8-9); 1-2.5.7-9 silver, 3-4 gold, 6 clay, 1,5 Peretu, 2,8-9, Agighiol, 3 Poiana-Coţofeneşti, 4 Vraca, 7 Borovo
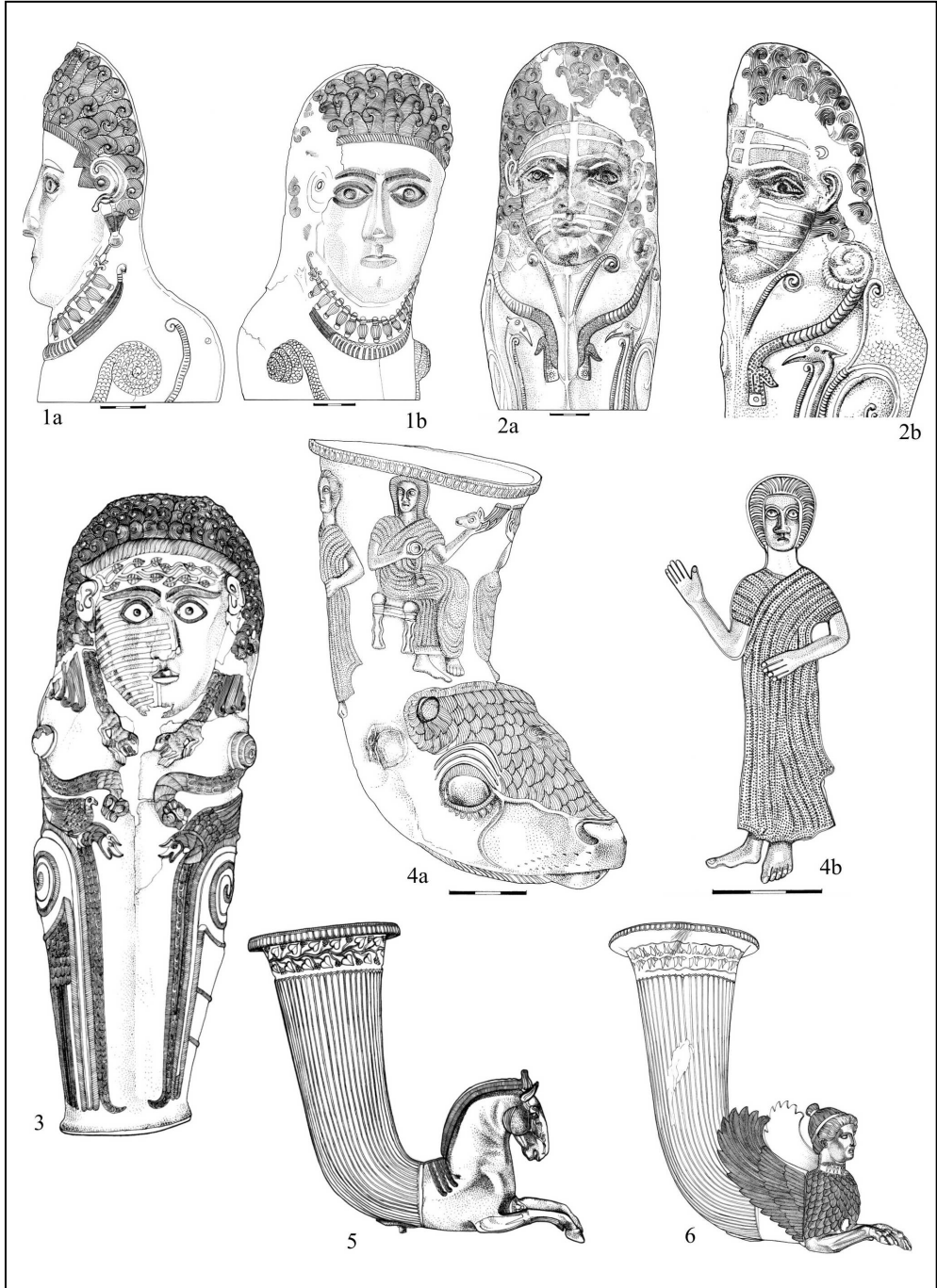
Fig. 4. 1-3 Greavs, 4-6 rhyta; 1-2 Agighiol, 3 Vraca, 4 Poroina, 5-6 Borovo
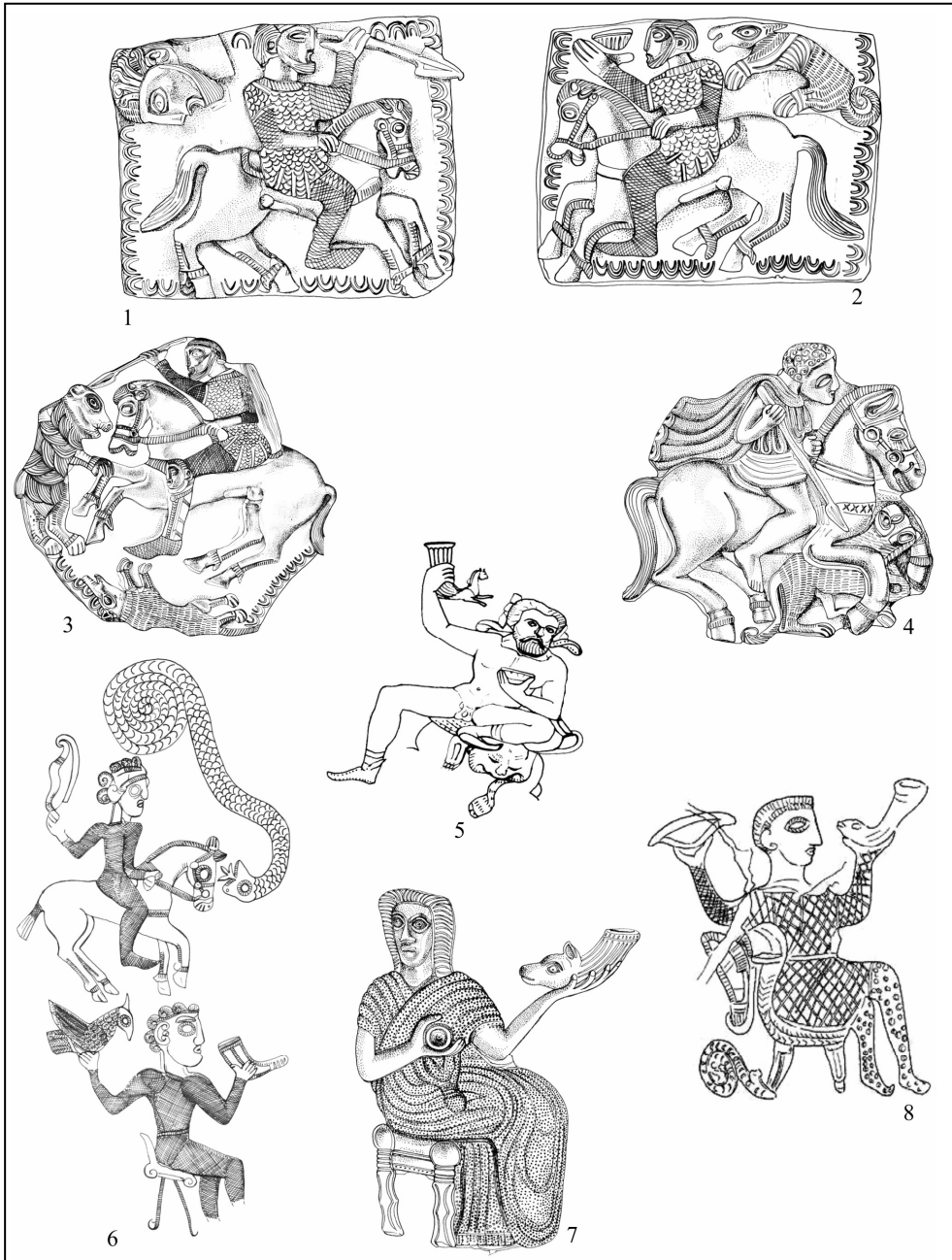
Fig.5. 1-4, 6 Riders, 5-8 characters on the throne. 1-4 harness appliqué, 5 vessel (detail), 6 greave (detail), 7 rhyton (detail) 8 helmet (detail); 1-7 silver, 8 gold. 1-3 Letnica, 4 Lukovit, 5 Borovo, 6 Agighiol, 7 Poroina, 8 Băiceni

Fig.6. 1-5 Bird with horn, 6 fantasy animal, 7 ibex, 8 hierogany scene, sacrificing the ram; 1 Rogozen, 2, 6 Agighiol, 3 Institute of Art Detroit, 4 Metropolitan Museum New York, 5, 7 Peretu, 8 Letnica, 9 Poiana-Coţofeneşti; 1-8 silver, 9 gold

A Journey to Mediterranean.
Peregrinations of a Celtic Warrior from Transylvania

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The grave of a Celtic warrior from Ciumeşti (Satu Mare, Romania), by its distinctive inventory, attracted the interest of scientific community right after its discovery in 1961. The famous iron helmet, decorated with a bronze falcon fitted on the calotte, is still a unique piece among the Celtic finds. Until now it was published in many exhibition catalogues, in syntheses concerning Celtic culture and civilization or in special studies. The main problem is that whole funerary complex was a casual discovery and its inventory was recovered and published in successive stages. This fact determined a series of confusions concerning the interpretation of the grave from Ciumeşti. Therefore it is necessary a typological and chronological re-evaluation of the inventory, which will offer a wider understanding of the grave's particularities and of its signification for the relationships between the Celts from Carpathians Basin and the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean area.

The history of a discovery

The funerary complex was found in 10th of August 1961, when a sand dune was levelled for building a new state-owned farm. On this occasion, artefacts were recovered from a circular pit with the diameter of around 1.2 – 1.5 m. Some finds were sent to the Baia Mare Museum and published by M. Rusu[1]. They include an iron helmet decorated with a bronze falcon, two bronze greaves, an iron javelin head (considered of a spear) and an iron chainmail (fig. 1). M. Rusu observed that all artefacts had no burning traces and, following the information from the discoverers, in the pit were no burnt remains or human bones (calcinated or not). This fact suggested a symbolic burial (cenotaph) or a ritual deposition. As for the chronological aspect, M. Rusu considered that whole inventory could be dated at the end of the 4th century BC (LT B).

The funerary complex from Ciumeşti was not an isolated deposition, but a part of a wider LT cemetery. Therefore systematic archaeological research was initiated in the cemetery (fig. 8/1) and the nearby contemporary settlement (fig. 8/2). Both have been excavated during the following years (1962, 1964-1965) and Vl. Zirra published the results[2]. In total were uncovered 32 graves –

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[1] Rusu 1969; Rusu, Bandula 1970.
[2] Zirra 1967 (cemetery); idem 1980 (settlement).

seven of inhumation, 21 with incineration in pit and four with incineration in urn. Other three graves with incineration in urn, previously considered contemporary with the LT cemetery and ascribed to local population[3], are earlier and belong to the First Iron Age[4]. V. Zirra has considered that despite of some earlier artefacts, the cemetery should be dated only in LT C, with an absolute date-range from around 230 to 130 BC.[5] In the same time I. H. Crişan[6] has sustained an earlier dating in LT B2. K. Horedt[7] observed that the cemetery of Ciumeşti began in LT B2 (after 275 BC), but most of the graves belong to the sub-phase LT C1. Today is much clear that whole cemetery is dating in the sub-phases LT B2b-C1[8], corresponding to the III and IV horizons of the cemetery from Pişcolt, in the same region[9]. The above-mentioned chronological limits generated some doubts concerning the dating of the rich grave that belonged to a Celtic warrior.

This chronological problem came again into discussion during the following years. Another part of the grave's inventory remained in the hands of a local worker, which participated at the excavations in 1961. The artefacts were recovered in 1973 by T. Bader (at Satu Mare Museum in that time) and published two years later by I. Németi[10]. The inventory includes an iron belt with lanceolated buckle, an iron element of a brooch, fragments from the chainmail and another fragment from a cheek-piece that belongs to the helmet, together with a large bi-truncated pot and a bowl (fig. 2/1-5). Some finds have burning traces, whereas the person who had them sustained that in the pit were also calcinated human bones. These new data demonstrate that it was a grave with incineration in the pit. I. Németi has opted for a dating in the sub-phases LT B2b-C1, similar with that of the whole cemetery.

In 1984 T. Bader has published another piece found in the cemetery's area – an iron horse-bit (fig. 2/7) of a type that is well known in northern Balkans[11]. However there is no evidence that the piece belonged to this grave[12],

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[3] Crişan 1966: 5-22; Zirra 1967: 48-52.

[4] Németi 2000/200: 62; idem 2003: 164.

[5] Zirra 1967: 114. Cf. idem 1991: 382 where the chronological limits 240-130 BC.

[6] Crişan 1966: 41; idem 1977: 70.

[7] Horedt 1973: 299-303.

[8] For Transylvania, absolute chronology for LT B2b correspond to around 280/277 – 250 BC and LT C1 to around 250-175 BC. See Horedt 1973: 302; Rustoiu 2000: 182-184.

[9] Cf. Németi 1975: 244-245; idem 1992b: 110.

[10] Németi 1975: 243-245.

[11] Bader 1984.

[12] Németi 1992a: 139 is writing that horsebit was found on the cemetery after the end of excavation.

as suggested by B. Kull[13]. The horse-bit is nevertheless important as evidence for the connections with the northern Balkans region. While re-drawing the finds from Satu Mare Museum, B. Kull added another fragmentary piece, which is probably a scissor[14] (fig. 2/6).

I have insisted on the history of discovery and recovery of the grave's inventory in order to solve a series of controversies concerning its character and chronology. Today it is rather clear that it was a grave with incineration in the pit. Some finds (helmet, greaves and javelin head) had no burning traces, while the chainmail was folded. This fact suggests that some of the objects were not laid on the pyre, but separately placed in the pit. A similar ritual treatment was observed also at Pişcolt, where in some graves the weapons and other iron objects, not burnt, were placed in other side of the pits, separated from the cremated human bones[15].

As for the chronology, it is evident that an early dating in the 4th century BC cannot be sustained. The successive publication of the whole inventory, together with a complete excavation of cemetery has brought important information. For a more precise dating, as well as for understanding the significance of this inventory, it is necessary a re-evaluation of the archaeological dossier and of historical context from a wider area.

Archaeological dossier

The pottery consists in a large pot (fig. 2/5) and a bi-truncated bowl (fig. 2/4), both wheel-made. Vessels of this type are frequent in cemeteries dated in LT B2b-C1 from the Carpathians Basin[16]. Closer analogies can be found even at Ciumeşti[17], but also at Pişcolt[18] or Apahida[19], to give only few examples. It was observed that in graves which belong to LT C1, were placed usually three vessels: a large pot, a bowl and a beaker[20]. Thus, the possible presence of an un-recovered drinking vessel in the grave from Ciumeşti should not be excluded.

The iron chain was made from elements of wire bent in the eight-like shape and fitted in the middle with a ring. The buckle of the belt has a lanceolated shape and was decorated with impressed circles. The chain has a number of small stick-like pendants (fig. 2/2). Such kind of belts, mostly from

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[13] Kull 1997, fig. 38/8.

[14] Kull 1997: 280-281, fig. 38.

[15] Németi 1993: 119.

[16] Németi 1988: 104, tip K5-6, fig. 9/10-11, 12/37-38 (big pot): 102, tip J2, fig. 8/26 (bowl).

[17] Zirra 1967, fig. 37-38 (big pot), 43 (bowl).

[18] Németi 1992b: 108, fig. 5/7-M 49, 6/7-M 52 etc. (big pot), fig. 13/4-M 88, 14/4-M 95 etc. (bowl).

[19] Zirra 1976: 143-144, fig. 11/4-5 (big pot).

[20] Németi 1988: 109; idem 1992b: 109; idem 1993: 120.

iron and rarely from bronze, are well-known in the Carpathians Basin and to the west are going up to Moravia and Bohemia, while to the south were found in Bulgaria[21]. These pieces appeared already in LT B2b, like it is the case of the belts from the cemeteries at Mištrin (grave 1) in Moravia, Vel'ká Maňa (grave 16), Chotin (grave 21) in Slovakia or Curtuiuşeni (grave 2/1968) in Crişana. In these complexes belts are associated with bracelets and ankle loops with small hollow semi-spheres or with tubular bracelets, early LT brooches with large knob on the foot or late variants of Paukenfibel. The great majority of these finds are coming from funerary contexts specific to LT C1, and are associated with bracelets with large hollow semi-spheres and with brooches of middle LT type[22]. In a peripheral region (the Scordiscan space or the Padea-Panaghiurski Kolonii area), variants of these chains were still in use during LT C2 (fig. 3).

These belts were found in graves without weapons and were associated with feminine jewellery and garment accessories. However, some exceptions have been noted, for example in the grave no. 62 from the Scordiscan cemetery at Belgrad-Karaburma, together with a complete panoply of arms was found also one such type of chain. Another fragment was found together with weapons in the grave no. 2 from Chotin, while at Mištrin and Horny Jatov – Trnovec n. Váhom were associated with iron sword chains. In the same time at Ižkovce (grave 12), in south-eastern Slovakia, a similar chain was found together with a dagger and a scissor. A. Rapin has observed that in the eastern Celtic area some types of iron chains which usually belonged to

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[21] BOHEMIA: Dobrá Vodá (Waldhauser et al. 1987, pl. 7/17-23). MORAVIA: Lednice (Filip 1956: 399, fig. 50/4, pl. 82/14); Mištrin – M 1 (Filip 1956: 401, pl. 85/8); Vyškov (Filip 1956: 410-411, fig. 50/5, pl. 82/11). SLOVAKIA: Chotin – M 2, 21 (Szabó 1995, fig. 72; Ratimorská 1975: 87, pl. 4/8); Horny Jatov-Trnovec n. Váhom – M 233 (Benadik et al. 1957: 23, fig. 5/5-8); Ižkovce – M 12, 14, 18, 19, 22 (Vizdal 1976: 159, 160-161, 164, 167, fig. 28/2, 31/3, 35/1-3, 37/11, 41/1); Vel'ká Maňa – M 16 (Filip 1956: 424, pl. 99/2-3; Benadik 1962: 383, fig. 15/3). TRANS-CARPATHIAN UKRAINE: Mukačevo (Jankovich 1931: 54, pl. 11/4; Kobal 1995-1996: 151, fig. 6A/1). POLAND: Glownina (Wozniak 1970 apud Németi 1992b: 107). HUNGARY: Bodroghalom – M 12, 17 (Hellebrandt 1999: 189, 191, pl. 69/1, 70/10-11). TRANSYLVANIA: Apahida – M 11 (Zirra 1976: 137, fig. 7/2-T 11); Ciumeşti – M 1961 and 36/1965 (Németi 1975: 243, fig. 1/1, 2/1; Zirra 1967: 44, fig. 23/III, 34/M36-III); Curtuiuşeni – M 2/1968, 4/1968 (Németi 1975: 244; Nánási 1973: 31, pl. 1/5,7); Pişcolt – M 48, 68, 79, 101, 106, 109 (Németi 1992b: 107, tip E 5); CROATIA: Kupinovo (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 82, pl. 10/1-1a); Malunje (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 87, pl. 21/8); unknown site (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970: 89, pl. 25/4). SERBIA: Belgrad-Karaburma – M 62 (Todorović 1972: 26, 68, pl. 23/8); Ritopek (Todorović 1971: 163, nr. 683: 74/2). OLTENIA and WALLACHIA: Bucureşti – Căţelu Nou; Corlate (Rustoiu 1996: 113-114, 200 with bibliography). BULGARIA: Komarevo; Montana; Panaghiurski Kolonii; Stoikite (Rustoiu 1996: 113-114, 200-201 with bibliography).
[22] See Bujna 1982: 337, tip 34.

feminine sets, have been adapted as chains for swords by the warriors, for example at Belgrad-Karaburma[23].

The chain from Ciumeşti belonged to a woman and a proof is the presence of small stick-like pendants, which would not be used on a sword chain[24]. Similar pendants were fitted also on chains made from pairs of twisted iron wires, which are again specific to feminine garment sets[25]. These observations are leading to a new hypothesis – a double burial with a man and a woman in the same grave. The absence of other feminine jewellery is nor unusual and an example is the incineration grave no. 11 from Apahida, where the only metallic piece is an iron belt.

Many other examples of double or even triple burial are known from Carpathians Basin. In some cases both deceased were inhumated, while in some others one was inhumated while the other one was incinerated, or both were incinerated. In the grave no. 28 at Vel'ka Maňa were discovered two skeletons, the first with feminine jewellery while the second had weapons and other masculine garment pieces[26]. In the same cemetery (graves no. 14 and 93) have been found other double burials, but with the skeletons buried at different depths[27]. At Pişcolt, in a double grave (no. 154-155, dated in LT C1), at the bottom of the pit were laid the burnt remains of a warrior together with his weapons, whereas at an upper level was buried a woman (?) together with fragments of an iron object[28]. Very relevant are other examples from the cemetery at Zvonimirovo, northern Croatia, which is still under research and comprises only incineration graves[29]. Upon anthropological studies it was observed that from a total of 63 graves, eight were either double or triple. In graves LT 43 and 46, on the bottom were laid in different 'packets' the burnt remains of a warrior (with weapons) and of a woman. In grave LT 47 the calcinated bones of the man were laid on the bottom, while those of a woman were placed on an upper level in the same pit[30].

These examples are offering a large range of possible situations. When the deceased (incinerated or inhumated) were buried at different depth in the same pit, it is possible to be a successive utilisation of a family grave. The cases when deceased were buried together suggest a concomitant burial. The

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[23] Rapin 1991: 359, fig. 6/B7; idem 1995: 280, fig. 3/A10.

[24] We are mentioning a grave with weapons recently found in the cemetery at Fântânele-La Gâţa, containing a sword chain with two pendants. Vaida 2003: 13, pl. 3/1.

[25] See the piece from Fântânele (Rustoiu 1996, fig. 113/1).

[26] Benadik 1978: 389, fig. 8/1.

[27] Benadik 1978: 390, fig. 7/1.

[28] Németi 1992b: 97-98, fig. 27.

[29] Tomičić, Dizdar 2005; Dizdar 2004: 43.

[30] Dizdar 2004: 46-50.

presence of many double graves containing warriors and women may not be unusual. M. Dizdar has supposed that is a voluntary sacrifice of the women which chose to follow their partners in the after-world[31]. M. Green, while referring to the prehistoric human sacrifices in Western Europe, has observed that in some archaeological contexts may be identified a ritual similar to *suttee*[32]. The existence of such practices was also suggested by ancient authors like Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VI, 19) or Strabo (XII, 3, 35).

Therefore, one may not exclude that also the grave of Ciumeşti could have been a double burial, as suggested by the presence of feminine belt.

Iron scissor (fig. 2/6) is a common artefact in graves containing weapons. Some good examples are in the graves from Pişcolt no. 207 (LT B2)[33], 8 (LT C1), 158 (LT C1)[34], or those from grave no. 5 at Zăuan (LT C1)[35]. Scissors were found also in feminine inventories, for example in graves no. 118 or 128 (dated in LT C1) at Pişcolt[36]. This type of scissors is very simple and was used during a long period.

The javelin head has the shape of a willow leaf with an elongated blade and an angular median nervure (fig. 1/2). Its dimensions (total length 22 cm, with the socket 8 cm and the blade 14 cm; socket's diameter 1.7 cm) and morphology indicate that the piece is a javelin[37] and not a spear, like it was initially identified. This type was well-known during a longer period, until late LT.

The piece under discussion is the only offensive weapon among the grave's inventory. Perhaps other weapons – sword, dagger or shield, were also present but were not recovered. However it would be hard to believe that a sword might have not been observed by the discoverers. Moreover all large and spectacular artefacts were first recovered. Therefore it is very possible that the javelin was indeed the only offensive weapon. In general, in graves belonging to warriors from the Carpathians Basin were found all weapons used along their lifetime, but sometimes an incomplete panoply was buried with them. It is significant that in the incineration grave no. 158 from Pişcolt, together with a javelin head was found a scabbard's hanger[38], but the latter was not deposed in the pit.

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[31] Dizdar 2004: 48-50.

[32] Green 1998: 183-185.

[33] Németi 1989, fig. 22/4.

[34] Németi 1992b: 107, fig. 1/6, 28/5.

[35] Németi, Lakó 1993: 80, fig. 6/2.

[36] Németi 1992b: 107, fig. 22/3, 23/6.

[37] Rapin 1988: 88, 97, 103, 128 with important methodological details.

[38] Németi 1992b: 97, fig. 28/4,8.

The helmet (fig. 1/1) belongs to the type with enforced calotte (Helme mit verstärkter Kallote). Such helmets had lateral triangular elements fitted with rivets having semi-spherical head. From these elements were hanged mobile cheek-pieces with same triangular shape and decorated with semi-spherical knobs similar to the rivets from the calotte. Most of these helmets were made from iron, but bronze pieces are not uncommon. Their distribution area is concentrated in the Carpathians Basin (fig. 4), and U. Schaaff has observed that these artefacts were a creation of the Celts from this region[39]. Similar helmets were found at Mihovo (Slovenia)[40], Batina (Croatia)[41], Ciumeşti and Apahida (bronze fragmentary piece)[42], in Transylvania. An iron plaque found in an incineration grave at Orosfaia (Bistriţa-Năsăud, Romania)[43] may be a fragment from a similar helmet. At the same time, an iron helmet was discovered in a grave at Lin in Albania[44], which was supposed to be of a mercenary. A similar helmet is depicted on the frieze of Athena Nikephoros temple at Pergamum[45]. Concerning dating, the pieces from Mihovo and Batina belong to a late sub-phase of early LT[46] (LT B2b), while those from Apahida and Orosfaia are dated in LT C1. This type of helmets was still in use during the first decades of the 2nd century BC when the 'weapons' frieze from Pergamum was made[47].

However the element which put aside the helmet from Ciumeşti is the bronze falcon which decorates the calotte. The bird was realistic made, very probably together with the helmet, as are suggesting some details of manufacturing[48]. After a while, some reparations were made and one wing was replaced with another piece made from a bronze of another quality. The general aspect of the falcon, with mobile wings, together with the symbolic meaning of this sign must have conferred a martial and imposing stature to the owner in front of his followers.

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[39] Schaaff 1974: 171-173, fig. 25 (distribution map); idem 1988: 300-301, fig. 14 (distribution map).

[40] Schaaff 1974: 171, nr. 1.

[41] Schaaff 1974: 171-172, nr. 2, fig. 23; idem 1988: 300, fig. 12-13; Todorović 1974: 62, fig. 35.

[42] Rusu 1969: 291-292, fig. 10; Zirra 1976: 142-144, fig. 11/1.

[43] Vaida 2000: 137, nr. 20, fig. 6/20 and p. 146.

[44] Ceka 1999: 329, nr. 1, fig. 1.

[45] Bohn 1885, pl. 46/3; Schaaff 1974, pl. 86.

[46] Schaaff 1974: 190-192; idem 1988: 300

[47] In general, it is considered that the 'weapons' frieze from the *stoa* of Athena temple at Pergamum was made in 183 BC, after Eumenes II's victory against Galati. Another hypothesis suggests that it was made after the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia, or that the weapons depicted by the monument are images of captures collected by the Attalids during many successful conflicts. See the entire discussion at Polito 1998: 91-95.

[48] For technical details see Rusu 1969: 272-275; Rusu, Bandula 1970: 4-7.

Diodorus (V, 30, 2) has written that Celts used to wear helmets decorated with horns or birds and animals, a fact which is illustrated also by the images from the Gundestrup cauldron. The warrior from Ciumeşti, an owner of such helmet, must have been an important person within his community and very probably he had a skilled artisan among his subjects, who was able to produce not only this helmet, but also other pieces of military equipment.

The chainmail (fig. 1/4). Diodorus (V, 30, 3) and Strabo (III, 3, 6 - C 154)[49], compiling probably from Poseidonios, are mentioning that some of the Celts used chainmails. Varro (*De lingua Latina*, V, 24, 116) considered that they were in fact the inventors of this military piece. The archaeological evidence is unfortunately not that clear. Most of the chainmails were destroyed following the burning together with the deceased on pyre, whereas others were damaged by oxidation. Most of them were found fragmentary, which hindered a typological analysis that might have clarified their origin, evolution or chronological aspects. At the same time, beside that most of the specialists are considering the chainmails as typical for Celtic military equipment many finds are concentrated in the area of Thracian communities from northern Balkan Peninsula (fig. 5). The distribution area of LT chainmails is covering, in different concentrations, territories from Asia Minor to the British Isles and from Denmark to northern Africa[50].

Earliest finds (10 – 12 pieces?) are coming from Hjortspring in Denmark, on Als Island, as a votive deposit found together with many other weapons in a wooden boat. The radio-carbon analyses indicate a dating at the

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[49] Strabo was writing about Celtiberi, but it is very possible to be a translation of a fact characterising the temperate Europe.

[50] TURKEY: Karalar – T. C (Arik, Coupry 1935: 140). GREECE: Samothrace (Waurick 1979: 324-327, fig. 196). ALBANIA: Selca e Poshtëne (Ceka 1988: 374, cat. 285; idem 1999: 332, nr. 13). BULGARIA: Doirentzi; Kălnovo; Mezdra; Smochan; Tărnava; Varbeshnitza; Zhelad (Torbov 2004). ROMANIA: Ciumeşti (Rusu 1969: 276-278, pl. 143-146; Rusu, Bandula 1970: 7-8, 11-13, pl. 8); Cugir – T 2, 3 (Crişan 1980: 82-83. Unpublished); Cetăţeni (Rustoiu 1996: 32-33, fig. 1/1; Vulpe 1976: 208); Poiana-Gorj; Popeşti – T 2, 3, 4; Radovanu; Răcătău (Vulpe 1976, fig. 5/17, 11/1, 15/1,16-20,25, 18/6-8). SLOVAKIA: Horny Jatov-Trnovec n. Váhom – M 460 (Benadik et al. 1957: 32, fig. 4/15, pl. 10/12). CZECH: Závist (Drda, Rybová 1995: 158-160). SWITZERLAND: Berna-Tiefenau (Müller 1986: 119-120, fig. 6-7; idem 1991, p. 527). FRANCE: Vielle-Tursan (Aubagnan) (Waurick 1979, p. 322-323; Boyrie-Fénié, Bost 1994: 159, fig. 112/1); Boé (Schönfelder 2002: 61-62, fig. 35). GREAT BRITAIN: Kirkburn (Stead 1991: 54-56, fig. 45). DENMARK: Hjortspring (Jensen 1989: 535; Randsborg 1995: 26-28). ALGERIA: Es Soumâa (Waurick 1979: 318-322). Some chainmails, like those at Zemplin in Slovakia or Stara Zagora in Bulgaria, belong to early imperial period. At the same time, pieces from Sarmatian milieu are combining rings specific to iron chainmails with bronze scales used for *lorica squamata*.

end of the 4th century BC[51], but the votive deposit itself might have been somehow later. According to K. Randsborg, whole inventory belonged to an expeditionary force which came very probably from northern Germany and attacked the local communities. The defenders managed to win the battle, thus the invaders' boat and weapons were offered as part of a ritual sacrifice[52]. The chainmails, according to the same researcher, originated from the Celtic central European space and were used by the leaders of this expeditionary force. Along with these pieces, other artefacts are also indicating a series of connections with central-eastern European area, or with the Balkans. This is the case of an iron sword with curved blade – *rhomphaia*[53], which was frequent in the Thracian space during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. All the above-mentioned artefacts may suggest that the expeditionary force was recruited from a larger European area.

Other chainmails from central (Závist, Berna-Tiefenau) and western Europe, with the exception of a piece from Vielle-Tursan (Aubagnan), which was found in a grave dated around 200 BC[54], are belonging to late La Tène period.

In the Carpathians Basin (fig. 5), earliest chainmail was found in an inhumation grave at Horný Jatov (Slovakia). Its inventory (a fragment of a scabbard, a sword's chain, brooches, etc.) suggests a dating at the end of LT B2. The piece from Ciumeşti, with the closing system having disks decorated in the Plastic Style, was initially dated earlier, but the remaining inventory indicates a later moment, after the above-mentioned grave from south-western Slovakia.

The chainmails from northern Balkans were usually discovered in funerary complexes belonging to Padea-Panaghiurski-Kolonii group, or in tumular graves from Burebista's Dacia, dated during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (LT C2-D1). During the same period, or a bit earlier, another similar chainmail was dedicated in the temple at Samothrace. Similar offerings of Celtic weapons were brought to other Greek temples, as testified by Pausanias (I, 12, 2-3) in his description of the victory of Pyrrhus against Antigonos and his Celtic mercenaries in 274 BC[55].

Chainmails were also used by the Celts from Asia Minor. The excavations in the royal cemetery of Tolistobogi tribe at Karalar (Turkey) uncovered fragments of such piece. Appian (*Syriaca* 32, 1-3), referring to the

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[51] Jensen 1989: 535; Randsborg 1995: 20.
[52] Randsborg 1995 passim.
[53] Randsborg 1995: 25, fig. 7.
[54] Boyrie-Fénié, Bost 1994: 160.
[55] Maier 1973: 470.

battle of Magnesia in 190 BC, is mentioning the presence of Galatian *cataphractarii* amongst Antiochus' mercenaries[56].

Although many chainmails were recovered only fragmentary, or in an advanced state of oxidation, some technical details concerning their manufacturing have been observed. In general, each chain loop was linked with other four similar pieces in order to ensure a high density and strength. Another observation concerns a variety of closing systems, which may have chronological relevance.

The chainmail from Ciumeşti was closed with a system made from a horizontal iron plaque which has decorated bronze disks, those from the external face having also a practical function[57]. A similar closing system was used also for the chainmail discovered in the tumular grave no. 2 at Cugir, dated in the first half of the 1st century BC[58] and perhaps also in the case of a piece from the tumulus no. 4 from Popeşti.

Another kind of closing system was made from two rods with S-like ends fitted together in the middle with a button, to form a sort of hinge (fig. 6/6). Chainmails with this system were found in northern Balkans at Doirentzi in Bulgaria[59] and in the tumulus no. 2 from Popeşti[60], as well as in England at Kirkburn[61]. The presence of such closing system at both extremities of Europe demonstrates again the mobility of artisans and warriors during the Second Iron Age. At the same time, in graves from northern Bulgaria was documented another closing system consisting in rectangular plaques and hooks[62] (fig. 6/1-5).

Other details concerning chainmails are given by the figurative representations from Athena Nikephoros temple at Pergamum and from Enserune, both monuments dating from the beginning or the first half of the 2nd century BC. For example, the pieces depicted at Pergamum have a closing system identical with those discovered in graves belonging to Padea-Panaghiurski Kolonii group from northern Bulgaria[63] (fig. 6/7-9). These are not the only military artefacts of northern Balkans origin which can be recognized here, because a curved dagger with a scabbard decorated with a ram's head[64] (fig. 7/2) has very close analogies in a grave from Corcova in south-western

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[56] Griffith 1968, p. 144 is questioning if this is not a confusion of the ancient author. However, the presence of *cataphractarii* to this battle is sure, being also described by Titus Livius (37, 40).
[57] Maier 1973: 467-468.
[58] Unpublished.
[59] Torbov 2004: 59, fig. 5C.
[60] Vulpe 1976, fig. 5/17, but with a wrong drawing.
[61] Stead 1991, fig. 45/e-f.
[62] Torbov 2004.
[63] Bohn 1885, pl. 44/1, 46/2, 49/4.
[64] Bohn 1885, pl, 45/2.

Romania[65] (fig. 7/1), as observed also B. Kull[66] (fig. 7/3). As for the statues from Enserune, here chainmails have a closing system similar to that one from Ciumeşti[67].

Therefore we should observe that earliest chainmails, with the exception of those from Hjortspring (but which may come from central Europe), were discovered in the Carpathians Basin. At the same time, most of the complexes containing such artefacts are concentrated in south-eastern Europe. In this case it is very probably that chainmails were a creation of the eastern Celtic world, which later travelled across larger areas.

Greaves. These were made from a single sheet of bronze, with a high percentage of tin. They were hammered as to copy the anatomic details of the legs. Only the right greave was better preserved[68] (fig. 1/3). Similar pieces, made to follow anatomic characteristics of the owner, appeared in Greece at the end of the Archaic age and were used during the Classical[69] and later the Hellenistic periods[70]. The right greave from Ciumeşti has a length of 46 cm which suggests an owner of about 1.80 – 1.90 m height. For example the Classical greaves from Olympia have lengths of about 39 – 41 cm[71]. Very probably the literary cliché about the height and sturdy stature of the Celts comparing with other populations had a base in reality.

The greaves are not simple imported goods, because their manufacturing required the exact measurements of warrior's legs. Two golden greaves from the so-called Filip II's grave at Vergina, which have different size and were made for a crippled man, are a significant example[72]. However, it is less probable that a Greek artisan could have made such artefacts in the Carpathians Basin following orders of local aristocrats, since the greaves from Ciumeşti are unique not only in this region but across the whole Celtic area. The activity of such a specialized artisan should have let more archaeological traces in the region. Therefore it is almost sure that the warrior from Ciumeşti has ordered the greaves from a Greek workshop in the Mediterranean area and they were made there. This was possible only because the warrior himself was present there.

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[65] Rustoiu, Sîrbu 1999: 12, fig. 1; Sîrbu, Rustoiu, Crăciunescu 1999: 218-220, fig. 2.

[66] Kull 2002: 208, fig. 17.

[67] Arcelin, Rapin 2002: 46-48, fig. 7-9, 13.

[68] Rusu 1969: 278-279, fig. 6; Rusu, Bandula 1970: 8, 13, pl. 13

[69] Kunze 1991: 76-80 (gr. IV); Jarva 1995: 96-97 (the anatomy group).

[70] See for example pieces found in northern Black Sea area: Galanina 1965.

[71] Kunze 1991: 117-120.

[72] Andronicos 1984: 186-189, fig. 150.

When and on what occasion this warrior arrived in the Mediterranean region, at such great distance from his homeland? The analysis of whole inventory indicates that the grave should be dated during sub-phases LT B2b-C1 or more precisely only in LT C1. K. Horedt has observed that this grave was placed in a peripheral area comparing with the earliest nucleus of the cemetery (fig. 8/1) which suggests a dating in LT C1[73].

Thus, the Celtic warrior's peregrination from Transylvania to the Mediterranean should be placed in the second half of the 3rd century BC, or at the beginning of the next century. The reasons for such a journey have to be integrated in the larger context of Celtic presence in the Hellenistic area during this period, motivated by mercenary activities.

The Celtic mercenaries in the east Mediterranean after the 'Great Expedition' in the Balkans

The 'Great Expedition' in the Balkan Peninsula in 280-277 BC (Polybius IV, 46; Iustinus XVII, 2, 7, XXIV, 4-8, XXV, 1, 1-5, XXXII, 3, 6-8; Titus Livius XVI; Pausanias I, 4, 1-5, X, 19-23 etc.), significantly influenced the evolution of Celtic civilization, but also the general atmosphere of the Hellenistic world. This large-scale action had a strong psychological effect over contemporaries, similar to the Celtic invasion in Italy and the conquest of Rome a century before. The failure of Celtic invasion and salvation of the sanctuary of Delphi remained for a long period as memorable events in the collective memory of the Greeks, comparable with the victory over Persian Empire in the Classical period.

Large masses of people were displaced and this generated demographic modifications across wide areas. Some of the Celts which returned in the Balkans founded new settlements both in regions already inhabited by La Tène communities and in new areas from the Carpathians Basin, like is the case of Scordisci or of the groups from south-eastern Slovakia. Such return to the homeland had effects that propagated until western Europe. Other groups of Celts occupied territories in Thrace – the Kingdom of Tylis[74] – and in Asia Minor[75].

Celtic warriors' contact with the Hellenistic world and especially permanent conflicts between the dynasts from eastern Mediterranean had offered a fertile environment for the flourishing of mercenariate[76]. Celts were enrolled in many armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms, from Macedonia to Epirus, in the service of Ptolemaic dynasty or of the new monarchs from Asia

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[73] Horedt 1973: 301, fig. 2.

[74] Domaradzki 1976; idem 1980; Strobel 1996: 232-236.

[75] Stähelin 1907: 6-18; Strobel 1996; Mitchell 1993: 15-26; Darbyshire, Mitchell, Vardar 2000.

[76] For the Celtic mercenaries see, among others, Hubert 1983: 296, 302-303; Szabó 1991a; idem 1991b: 20-21, n. 33 (with bibliography); Kruta 2000: 253-255.

Minor and even fighting for Attalos I, the conqueror of the Galatians. The presence of such mercenaries in Mediterranean armies was not a fundamental innovation because contingents of north Italic Celts were already recruited in the 4th century BC by the tyrants of Syracuse. However the extension of the area inhabited by Celtic communities toward eastern Europe and Asia Minor determined a translation of the enlisting 'markets'.

Areas and ways of recruiting. As underlined above, one of the most important effects of the 'Great Expedition' was the Celtic colonization of new territories. These regions represented during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC real reserves of mercenaries. This is the case of the Galatians' confederation from Asia Minor and of the Thracian kingdom with the capital at Tylis. Another source was represented by Celtic communities from the Carpathians Basin. Usually, ancient authors are not really precise when writing about the origin of various Celtic units from Hellenistic armies, but sometimes their identity can be identified from the general historical context.

One of the first monarchs who used Celtic mercenaries was Nicomedes I of Bithynia. He was in conflict with his brother Zipoites, who claimed the throne, and taking advantage of the presence of Leonnorios and Lutarios' armies near Bosporus, which were separated in 279 BC from the great Celtic army raiding the Balkans, enrolled them to solve the dynastic conflict (Titus Livius XXXVIII, 16). These events took place at the end of 278 or beginning of 277 BC[77].

A short period after the movement of these groups of Celts in Asia Minor, probably in 277 BC, Antigonos Gonatas defeated an expeditionary force near Lysimacheia[78]. This was the army of Keretrios, which moved to Thrace from the Carpathians Basin later than the army of Brennos and which had first a series of conflicts with the Getae and Triballi (Iustinus XXV, 1, 1-5). Survivors, lead by Kiderios were then recruited by the Macedonian king (Polyaenus 4, 6, 17). From this time onwards, Celtic mercenaries recruited along Thracians and Illyrians very probably from the Carpathians Basin (either from the nearby Scordiscan area or from the northern regions) were a common presence in the Antigonides' army. They are known among the effectives of Antigonos Doson, during the battle of Sellasia in 222 BC (Polybius II, 65). At the same time they were enlisted by Filip V for his campaign against Lycurgus of Sparta in 218 BC (Polybius V, 3).

Other European Celts were recruited by Pyrrhus after his return from the Italic campaign (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 26), while in the same period Ptolemaios II brought the first Celtic contingent (through the services of Antigonos Gonatas[79])

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[77] Stähelin 1907: 6-7; Mitchell 1993: 15-16; Strobel 1996: 236-257; Kruta 2000: 272-273.

[78] Piatkowski 1960: 193-198; Strobel 1996: 227-229.

[79] Szabó 1991a: 333.

in Egypt (Pausanias I, 7, 2). Later Ptolemaios IV, with the occasion of the fourth Syrian war against Antiochus III, recruited new groups, very probably from Europe, alongside Celtic and Thracian cleruchs (which were colonized in Egypt and had descendants able to fight - ἐπίγονοι[80]) (Polybius V, 65). In 218 BC Attalos I, imitating the action of Nicomedes I, brought over the Bosporus in Asia Minor an important contingent of Celts, the Aigosagii, to fight against Achaios (Polybius V, 77-78).

The dynasts from Asia Minor and mostly the Seleucids often resorted to the services of Galatians from Anatolia[81]. Very possible together with the Galatians were also involved groups that came from Europe, especially during the period when kings like Antiochus III controlled the northern coasts of Propontis or Thrace[82]. Moreover, the depiction of Celtic weapons and military equipment in Athena Nikephoros temple at Pergamum, archaeologically identified in northern Balkans, is another evidence for the connections between these two apparently distant spaces.

In conclusion, the presence of European Celts on the theatres of war from eastern Mediterranean was frequent and rather intense.

The information concerning the ways of recruiting is reduced and sparse, but some mechanisms used for contacting and recruiting Barbarian mercenaries can be identified from an analysis of the literary sources.

During the period of Celtic invasion in the Balkans the contact was directly with the leaders of some communities, since they were already in the region. The groups of Leonnorios and Lutarios, accompanied by their families, leaved the main expeditionary force, probably to colonize a new territory. Otherwise, their tribes (Tectosagii, Tolistobogii and Trocmii) settled later on the Anatolian Plateau. Nicomedes I taking advantage of their presence nearby, negotiated for their services[83] (Titus Livius XXXVIII, 16). Later, Attalos used the same way when enlisted the Aigosagii (Polybius V, 77-78, 111). The name of this tribe was not mentioned anywhere else. Together with the warriors were women and children, a fact which suggests that it was a new community emigrated from their homeland and brought over Bosporus by the king of Pergamum. Probably they came from the Kingdom of Tylis, taking into consideration that shortly after these events this state was destroyed by the nearby Thracians[84] (Polybius IV, 46). The demographic diminishing caused by a massive emigration may explain the weakness of this Celtic kingdom from Thrace. Of course, the Aigosagii may have

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[80] See Griffith 1968: 135-139.
[81] Griffith 1968: 166-167.
[82] Griffith 1968: 167.
[83] Recruiting conditions described by Memnon, fragments commented by Griffith 1968: 183 and Strobel 1996: 241-243.
[84] Domaradzki 1980: 55.

come also from other European areas. After the battle of Lysimacheia, Antigonos Gonatas negotiated with the new leaders of the surviving Celts, so they chose to fight in his army and later heroically died during the attack of Pyrrhus against Macedonia, after his return from Italy (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 26).

Celtic mercenary effectives were obtained also within diplomatic channels, using amicable or political relationships, when one of the partners had access to a recruiting 'source'. This system was often used in the Mediterranean area[85]. For example Ptolemaios II received some contingents sent in Egypt by Antigonos Gonatas. Very relevant is the periplus of a Celtic mercenary unit, probably from northern Italy. Polybius (II, 5; II, 7) indicates that they were initially banished by their own compatriots and were enrolled by Carthage during the first Punic war. Cantoned in Sicily (over 3000), they were guarding Acragas, when a conflict with the generals had started over their payment and as a result, they plundered the town. As a consequence they were sent to Eryx, where tried later to hand over the garrison and town to the Romans besieging them. Their action failed and some of the mercenaries (around 1000, because other 2000 were involved in the 'mercenaries' riot' in northern Africa – see Polybius I, 77) deserted at the Romans. The latter, after the turbulent Celts plundered a temple and became to troublesome for their new masters, embarked them for Epirus. In this new location they (about 800) have the task to guard the town Phoenice. Even in this case, they were not willing to fulfil their 'contract' and handed over the town to the Illyrian queen Theuta for a large sum of money. In conclusion we can draw the following 'scenario'. First whole contingent was probably recruited in the Syracuse emporium at Ancona (following a way which was in use for more than a century[86]), and then through the Sicilians they were enlisted by Carthage. After their deserting to the Romans, the latter sent them, probably after some diplomatic contacts, to the Epirots. A rather nefast choice, as has been seen.

In some specific situations, those who were looking for Celtic mercenaries used to send emissaries to distant areas of temperate Europe, to contact tribal leaders and negotiate recruiting conditions. Such emissaries were usually Greek officers, often mercenaries themselves, serving various monarchs. Strabo (X, 10) is describing the biography of an officer (a distant relative of the geographer from Amaseea), which is conclusive for the activity of such 'condotiers' during the Hellenistic period. He was Dorylaos the Tactician, an adviser of Mithridates V Euergetes, the king of Pontus. Strabo underlines that he had a vast military experience and got used with recruiting

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[85] Griffith 1968: 254-255, 257-259.
[86] Kruta 2000: 253.

mercenaries, therefore was often sent in Greece and Thrace with this scope, as well as in Crete, where was a major base for such bussines.

Similar military specialists were also used by Ptolemaios IV before the battle of Raphia. Polybius (V, 63) is writing that Agathocles and Sosibios, which were in charge with organising the Egyptian army, have sent emissaries to enlist foreign units. The sources are mentioning among them some 2000 new Celtic and Thracian recruits (Polybius V, 65), and in this case it is clear that the emissaries reached northern Balkans and perhaps even distant territories. Within the same passage, the Greek historian indicates that Echecrates of Thessaly, Phoxidas of Melitaia, Eurylochos of Magnesia and Socrates of Boeotia (together with Cnopias of Allaria) were in charge with organising and leading the army. All officers were Greeks and specialized in war actions, real 'condotiers' which gained experience through the campaigns of Demetrios and Antigonos.

A good example for the way of recruiting Barbarian mercenaries is illustrated by the episode of Germanic tribe of Bastarni[87] enlisted by Filip V (Titus Livius XXXIX, 35; XL, 5; XL, 57). The king sent a man called Antigonos to the Bastarni living near river Istros, to convince them to invade Italy. The embassy succeeded because the Bastarni moved to Macedonia in order to enter in the service of the king. In the meantime Filip died, so the mercenaries had to negotiate with his successor, Perseus. It is significant that Antigonos was accompanied by the Bastarnian Cotto, which suggests that tribal leaders were those which had the initiative and sent an emissary to the Macedonian king. This modality used by the Barbarians which offered their services, was very probably more often involved than the literary sources are suggesting. On the other hand, the moving Celtic communities were often preceded by 'negotiators' (Iustinus XXV, 1, 3-5), which were enabled to look for and to 'sign' such 'contracts'. Very probably the first contacts established preliminary conditions for recruiting and these had a major influence over the 'services' delivered by the mercenaries afterwards.

Fulfilling a 'contract'. G. T Griffith, analysing the phenomenon of mercenariate in the Hellenistic world, identified mechanisms and concrete elements of the 'contracts'[88]. The payment either for Greeks or Barbarians was negotiated from the beginning and was assured through two different systems which were complementary[89].

First, an advance payment was offered, or a regulate rate, in order to cover the maintenance of combatants (σιτώνιον). This part of salary was either in cash or goods and for the former, supplying markets was also provided.

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[87] For Bastarni culture see Babeş 1993.
[88] Griffith 1968: 264-316.
[89] Griffith 1968: 274-294.

When the army was in campaign, these markets were organised together with allies or partners that owned the territory where the military actions took place. In many cases supplies were actually provided through plundering of foreign territories. Pyrrhus had given permission to his Celtic mercenaries to rob the royal Macedonian tombs at Aigai, an episode that was condemned by the contemporaries and the next generation (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 26). This pillage was either the above-mentioned payment in advance or a sort of bonus for their successful actions.

The second element of payment, after the fulfilment of a contract was the salary itself (ὀψώνιον) and this was always in cash.

It was often observed that the Celts earned less than the Greeks[90], a fact which might have been attractive for the rulers interested by mercenaries. However, in many cases, Celtic mercenaries completed their smaller earnings with booties from the adverse defeated camps or from raids in the foreign territories.

All these ways of payment can be found in the case of Bastarni's recruited by the Macedonians of Filip V and later of Perseus and this can be a model for the relationships between the Barbarians and the Hellenistic military leaders (see Titus Livius XL, 57-58; XLIV, 26-27). As mentioned above, Filip V had sent Antigonos as emissary to the Bastarni, after he learned from their man Cotto about their availability. Titus Livius is not explicitly saying, but very probably the Macedonian emissary came also with the necessary payment in advance and this can be deducted from the successive events. Filip had a deal with the local rulers in order to assure a free crossing through Thrace together with access to the local markets, where his mercenaries would have been able to buy supplies using this advance payment. However, when the news of Filip's death arrived, a series of conflicts started because 'the Thracians were not interested by this trade and Bastarni were not happy with what was available'. Following these conflicts, some of the Bastarni chose to return, while the group of Clondicus negotiated another contract with Perseus. The payment at the end of campaign was of 10 stateri for each rider, 5 for an infantryman and 1000 for Clondicus. Even in this case the deal was not accomplished and Bastarni, after plundering regions from Thrace, probably as compensation, returned home.

The duration of such 'contract' was established according to the necessities – sometimes for a single campaign of several months, like was the case of the mercenaries recruited by Nicomedes I, or of the Aigosagi taken by Attalos I. Antiochus III used also a unit of Celts, probably Galatians when was forced to repress the revolts from eastern provinces (see Polybius V, 53, calling them Rhigosagi?). Later during the battle of Raphia, they were not in the

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90 Griffith 1968: 293; Kruta 2000: 255.

service of the Seleucid king[91], so they must have been employed only for the eastern campaign. In some other cases mercenaries were enlisted for longer 'contracts', especially when the military operations covered longer periods, or strategic necessities required their constant presence. This is the case of the units involved in guarding fortresses and the examples are Phoenike or Corinth, where the Celtic and Illyrian mercenaries organised a revolt in 265 BC (Plutarch, *Aratos* 38, 3; Trogus Pompeius, *Prol.* XXVI).

Celtic mercenaries and Hellenistic armies. The information offered by ancient authors concerning battles' details may be used for identifying Celtic specific military actions within a Hellenistic army. Their warlike spirit and the fact that 'all Gaulish people inspired great fear because of their ferocious way of fighting from very first moment' (Polybius II, 33) made the Celtic units to be among the most important and which were first sent into the battle. These units used their specific weapons – a long sword, spear and/or javelin and an oval shield, and included infantry completed sometimes with groups of riders lead by their commanders. Some of the latter fast learned Greek or the 'oficial' language, like happened with Autaritos (or Antaritos?), the leader of the Celts which set the revolt at Carthage (Polybius I, 80). Sometimes these Celtic units were under the command of Greek officers and they were placed at the extremities of a phalanx. On the other hand, given their lack of discipline, these units were often a cause of troubles, especially when they were not fighting. The Aigosagii recruited by Attalos I were not disciplined and when a moon eclipse took place (at 1st of September 218 BC) they refused to continue marching, thus the king dismissed them.

As we mentioned above, these units were also involved in guarding some fortresses or cities, but often this was a less efficient action because the mercenaries betrayed their master if a better recompense was offered.

The ancient authors are giving contradictory figures concerning the size of these forces. Nicomedes I had around 10000 warriors which were accompanied by a similar number of civilians, their families. Antigonos Gonatas defeated at Lysimacheia an expeditionary force of about 15000 infantrymen and 3000 riders, but after that 9000 were enrolled by the Macedonian king. Antigonos Doson recruited before the battle of Sellasia 1000 Celtic infantrymen, while Filip V and Eumenes II had only small cavalry units. Ptolemaios IV used at Raphia 2000 Thracians and Celts recruited from Europe, whereas at Magnesia the number of Gaulish-Greek riders following Antiochus was estimated at about 4000 (1500 placed in the right wing and 2500 in the left one). At the same time the garrison at Phoenike was only about 800 warriors.

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[91] The size of Seleucid army at Polybius V, 79, after Griffith 1968: 143-144.

When an entire 'nation' was enrolled, like was the case with the groups of Leonnorios and Lutarios, or with the Aigosagii, one has to presume that the number of combatants and their followers was rather high. Nevertheless, on certain occasions the units were reduced because only small groups of specialised warriors were enrolled, from communities which were not moving. Such units returned home after the end of their 'contract', if they were not recruited by another master afterwards. Even in this case, at least some of the warriors were accompanied by civilians and this phenomenon can explain the presence of some Celtic feminine artefacts in Greece. Among them are some bracelets or ankle loops found near Corinth[92], or in the region of Finike Gulf[93], on Asia Minor coast. These jewelleries are specific to central European Celtic area and were used by women which travelled together with their partners to Mediterranean.

Other information concerning the size of Celtic forces from Hellenistic area are provided also by archaeological evidence from temperate Europe. The votive deposit from Hjortspring (Denmark), previously mentioned, contained weapons of a defeated expeditionary force. Therefore it was estimated that a number of 60-80 warriors were included in this unit[94] or perhaps around 100, which represented a tribal group of around 3000-5000 people[95]. These figures indicate a different situation comparing with the information provided by ancient literary sources concerning the size of a Celtic unit.

Another example is the monumental trophy from Ribemont-sur-Ancre. This was also built after an invasion army was defeated sometimes around the middle of 3rd century BC. The aggressors' corpses were exposed within this trophy and they were about 500, which suggest that they belonged to an expeditionary force of about 5000 warriors. It was for sure a tribe coming from Lower Normandy (identified through the coins with the Lexovii or perhaps the Aulercii Eburovices) and which intended to attack the territories of Belgii[96]. The estimated number of warriors demonstrates the fighting capacity of a migrating tribe. Yet, even this figure is lower than the one provided by ancient sources which are describing the groups lead by Leonnorios and Lutarios, or by Keretrios.

For the cavalry units, two recent archaeological discoveries, one from Serbia and the second from France are illustrating the size of some operative groups, even that both are dating from late La Tène. At Veliki Vetren, in a

[92] Krämer 1961.
[93] Schaaff 1972.
[94] Jensen 1989: 533-535.
[95] Randsbog 1995: 38-42.
[96] Brunaux 2000: 103-105.

Scordiscan fortress situated in the middle Morava basin, was found a deposit containing 14 different horse-bits indicating the number of riders which formed a fighting unit. It is significant that together with the horse-bits were put also 14 spear heads, which represented the riders' weapons[97]. In France, near the Arvernii *oppidum* at Gondole was discovered a huge grave containing eight men (seven adults and one teenager) together with their horses[98], again an example for the size of a Celtic cavalry unit. Such groups were probably very efficient for rapid raids, but one has to suppose that a mercenary cavalry destined to major operations included many similar smaller units.

Another problem connected with the ways of setting up a group of mercenaries is the percentage of specialized warriors within a community. J. Bujna, which analysed La Tène cemeteries from Carpathians Basin, observed that around 18 % of the funerary complexes belonged to warriors[99]. However, if we proceed to a more detailed analysis concerning graves that can be dated after the Great Expedition in the Balkans (LT B2b-C1), from different micro-zones, results are different and rather surprising.

At Ciumeşti were excavated 33 graves, including the chieftain's one. Among them, three belonged to warriors and contained weapons (table 1). Other graves were destroyed before the systematic research, but their number was rather small, since the upper area of the sand dune where was found the main nucleus of the cemetery was undisturbed. Therefore the percentage of warriors within this community was probably around 9 %. This figure is very close to another concerning the horizons III and IV of the graveyard at Pişcolt[100], which is a good indication that the estimation is correct. At Pişcolt, graves containing weapons from the last two phases (from an area of the sand dune that was not affected by modern interventions and therefore was systematically excavated), are representing 9.75 % from the total of funerary complexes (most of the graves with weapons are dating from the horizon III – table 2). A quite similar situation was observed at Apahida[101]. From the total number of graves with an identified inventory, around 15 % belonged to warriors (table 3). However, many funerary complexes were destroyed (from an estimated total of 70-75), so it is very possible to have also here a percentage of warriors that was close to the cemeteries from Ciumeşti and Pişcolt. The above-mentioned figures are indicating the existence of rural communities with a small number of inhabitants and as a consequence, with reduced warrior elite.

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[97] Stojić 2003: 31-86.
[98] La cavalerie.
[99] Bujna 1982: 360.
[100] Németi 1992b.
[101] Zirra 1976.

This structure is however very different within communities which had settled in the Carpathians Basin after the withdrawal from Delphi. In the cemetery at Belgrad-Karaburma[102], the percentage of warriors buried during the second quarter of the 3rd century BC (LT B2b) is around 70 %; while of those from the next decades (LT C1) is only about 35 % (table 5). Even if some early graves have been destroyed by modern interventions, the ratio of warriors' graves is higher and this fact is significant for the warlike character of this community. The cemetery of Remetea Mare[103], in Banat (belonging to a Celtic enclave established here after the Great Expedition) contains a percentage of 35 % graves with weapons (table 4). Again, this percentage is close to Belgrad-Karaburma, even if almost half of the complexes were destroyed by modern interventions. The last example concerns the cemetery at Ižkovče[104], in south-eastern Slovakia, where around 40 % are graves belonging to warriors (table 6).

All these examples demonstrate the existence in the Carpathians Basin of at least two types of communities – rural groups with reduced warrior elite and others with a high percentage of warriors. In the first instance one has to presume that these communities with many warriors offered larger contingents of people for military campaigns and represented the main source of mercenaries. However, we should note that warriors were a distinct category within Celtic society, specialized and with a specific ideology. Therefore the process of recruiting people for raids or major expeditions, or for mercenary units, was more likely connected with the presence of some military leaders, whose prestige and authority was determinant. At the same time warriors belonged to a sort of 'caste' transgressing the tribal boundaries. The Great Expedition in the Balkans was based on individual recruiting[105], which means that under the command of some prestigious leaders were enrolled warriors that came from very different communities or regions. This system of setting up warlike groups looks to be confirmed by archaeology. For example the weapons from Hjortspring suggest, from a typological point of view, a larger recruiting area. Distribution over larger areas of some weapons and other military artefacts, around and after the invasion in the Balkans, might have been one result of a similar process[106].

Following these observations, the presence of the warrior from Ciumeşti in such a small community is not surprising. The military equipment suggests that during his lifetime, he was a chieftain with sufficient prestige to

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[102] Todorović 1972; Božič 1981; Guštin 1984.

[103] Medeleţ ms.

[104] Vizdal 1976.

[105] Kruta 2000: 245-246. See also Strobel 1996: 154-155, who is arguing that the cohesion of new migrating groups was based on the existence of warlike aristocracy.

[106] According to Szabó 1995; Rapin 1995; Bujna 1995.

organize military forces including warriors that were perhaps recruited from a quite large area. From this point of view it is significant that their arsenal was rather standardised, with all men having a sword, a spear and/or a javelin and a shield[107] (see tables 1-6[108]). Yet, the inventory of the grave from Ciumeşti stands out from others in the Carpathians Basin, but it is not singular. The grave containing a helmet found at Apahida[109], can be included in the same group of funerary complexes belonging to the Celtic military leaders.

We will never know precisely where the Celtic chieftain from Ciumeşti fought. However, by deciphering the mechanisms of Celtic mercenariate, we may presume that he was the head of a group of warriors which left the Carpathians Basin and enrolled in the service of a Hellenistic monarch from the second half of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd century BC. Perhaps they were enlisted by a nearby kingdom like Macedonia, but any other hypothesis may work. Very probably they were recruited by an emissary sent to find mercenaries. The warriors were accompanied very probably by their families and the chieftain's partner was later buried with him, as it was shown in a previous chapter.

The sunny coast of Mediterranean, together with the magnificence and refinement of the Hellenistic world, with all its opulence and luxury, must have fascinated the warriors from Carpathians. Their chieftain was looking to add new elements to his arsenal, similar to those used by the Greek officers, to whom he must had felt equal. Therefore he ordered a pair of greaves from a Greek workshop, because he might had considered these pieces merely as symbol of his high commanding status, equivalent to the position of the Greek officers. Such military equipment was never adopted by Celtic warriors and was not adapted to their ideological propaganda, like happened in northern Balkans during the period between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC, when flourished the Thracian 'princely' world, which used greaves richly decorated with ornaments and symbols[110]. As commander of a mercenary unit, the chieftain of Ciumeşti was better paid than his followers, so he could afford such new military pieces.

It is impossible to say how long these mercenaries stayed in the Mediterranean area, but for sure at least some of them returned home after the 'contract' or 'contracts' were fulfilled.

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[107] The grave no. 20 from Pişcolt contains only three iron arrowheads, without other weapons (Németi 1992b: 62, 108, fig. 3/7). Such artefacts, very rare in Celtic contexts, suggest that is a grave belonging to an indigenous archer and not to a Celt.

[108] Sometimes only few elements of personal weaponry were buried, for example in grave no. 4 from Remetea Mare a shield and a sword's chain were put, but the sword itself was spared (Medeleţ ms.)

[109] Zirra 1976: 142-144, fig. 11.

[110] Kull 1997: 291-294.

'Coming home'

The destiny of Celtic mercenaries was very different. Many lost their life on the Mediterranean battlefields, like the mercenaries of Antigonos Gonatas which heroically died under the swords of Pyrrhus army. The contingent of 4000 people called by Ptolemaios II tragically perished on a Nile island. The Aigosagii, when Attalos renounced to use them, were massacred until the very last man by Prusias of Bithynia. A similar fate had also their women and children.

Others were lucky. The groups led by Leonnorios and Lutarios have found another homeland and settled on the Anatolian Plateau. Other mercenaries involved in these frequent conflicts which marked the Hellenistic period, managed to return home. This is the case of the Celtic chieftain from Ciumeşti, which was buried in the cemetery belonging to his community.

In connection with the return of this group of mercenaries, we have to discuss the horse-bit found in the cemetery area and published by T. Bader. Unfortunately, the rest of inventory from this complex remains unknown. Similar horse-bits are known from Thracian space, in today Bulgaria, but from an earlier period – 5th and 4th century BC[111]. Two pieces found in Oltenia (at Viaşu[112] and another unknown site[113]), very close morphologically to the horse-bit from Ciumeşti, may be later dated. The find from Ciumeşti, coming from a cemetery which started in the second quarter of the 3rd century BC, indicates that such harnessing pieces were used during a longer period. Since they are not Celtic, we have to discuss the presence of such artefact in north-western Romania. In this respect, it is suggestive the way of negotiating diplomatic agreements in antiquity. Very often they were sanctioned by gifts exchanged between the partners of discussion and horses with their complete harnessing equipment were offered on many occasions (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 2; Titus Livius XLIII, 5; Tacitus, *Germania*, XV, 2). Since similar horse-bits are frequent in northern Balkans, we may presume that the piece from Ciumeşti is a result of a diplomatic agreement between a Celtic and a Thracian community. For example, such diplomatic contact might have been made when the group of mercenaries lead by the chieftain from Ciumeşti returned home. Of course, many other hypotheses can be formulated in this case. However, this horse-bit confirms the existence of some direct contacts with the Balkan space.

Another question concerns the possible influence of these peregrinations in the eastern Mediterranean area on the general aspect of Celtic civilization from the region. It has been considered that the Celts adopted

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[111] Werner 1988: 34-36.
[112] Werner 1988: 35, nr. 116.
[113] Werner 1988: 35, nr. 117.

coinage under the influence of mercenaries, which got used with monetised exchanges[114]. At the same time, it has been observed that penetration of some southern goods in temperate Europe was facilitated by the movements of these warrior groups. Therefore the Celtic milieu in north-western Transylvania, during this period when a mercenary group was involved in military activities in the eastern Mediterranean Basin, might be a significant sample for understanding the above-mentioned problems.

In the hoard from Turulung (Satu Mare), only partially recovered and containing coins of type Huşi-Vovrieşti, it was found a silver piece issued by Eumenes I at Pergamum in around 260 BC[115]. This is the only coin of this type found in the entire northern Danube area and Carpathians Basin therefore it may be a witness of the Celtic mercenaries' journeys to the south.

For the second problem concerning the Greek imports in Transylvania, ceramic vessels have been discovered at Cepari (Bistriţa-Năsăud) a *kantharos* dated in the second half of the 4th century to the beginning of the 3rd century BC, together with other ceramic fragments, at Berveni (Satu-Mare) a fragment of amphora with stamp from Chersonese, dated in the second half of the 3rd century BC, at Bratei (Sibiu) one *lekytos* from the 3rd century BC, at Şeica Mică (Sibiu) a fragment of *skyphos* found in the settlement and others in the cemetery, at Bratei-Aţel a beaker and at Apahida a ceramic imitation of a bronze vessel was found in the grave containing the helmet[116]. All these artefacts are not concentrated in a specific region and are few, which suggest merely an occasional import and not a constant commerce with the Hellenistic area. This should be compared with the large quantity of amphorae and other Hellenistic vessels dating from the same period and found in the eastern Carpathian region, which had consistent commercial connections with Greek centres[117]. Some of these pieces from inner Carpathian region might have been brought by same mercenaries. Others might have come from the Greek cities on the Black Sea Coast[118]. However, there is no evidence for a constant organized commerce with such goods in this region.

These journeys to Mediterranean did not influence the daily life of Celtic communities in the Carpathian Basin, like it happened with those established in northern Italy or in Thrace, which were subject to a process of

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[114] Kruta 2000: 255.

[115] Bader 1975: 81, 84, pl. VII/65; Preda 1998: 163, 118, is considering this piece as a later imitation.

[116] Zirra 1971: 175-176, n. 34; idem 1975: 52, pl. 1B/1-5; idem 1976: 144, 164, fig. 11/7; Glodariu 1974: 23-24 = 1976: 8; Németi 1986: 73-74, 76; idem 1992a.

[117] Glodariu 1974: 29, table 1, pl. II = 1976, p. 10-11, table 1, pl. II.

[118] Zirra 1975: 52.

acculturation and whose graves are full of southern artefacts[119]. The settlement at Ciumeşti, contemporary to the cemetery, belonged to a small rural community. Here were excavated eight huts (seven completely), which were spread across a large area[120] (fig. 8/2). V. Zirra has observed that there were groups of three or perhaps four huts and for each of them it was a larger hut sometimes having two rooms (fig. 8/3-4). Such pattern may indicate a social structure based on clans[121]. Their inventory consists of wheel-made ceramic vessels with Celtic specific forms. Together with them, hand-made local pottery (pots, bowls, etc.) was found and this is an argument for a cohabitation of the natives and Celts – a phenomenon specific to the La Tène horizon in the Carpathians Basin. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that traditional way of life in this community was not transformed or influenced by Mediterranean experiences of some of its members.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the grave of the warrior from Ciumeşti will continue to be a source of future reflections concerning the eastern Celtic civilization. Its unusual and culturally significant inventory will offer the chance for new approaches on the problem of relationships between the Carpathians Basin and the eastern Mediterranean region.

Although this important discovery was recovered and interpreted in successive phases, today many controversies have been solved. First, it is for sure that the grave cannot be dated in early La Tène period, since the inventory, as well as the general aspect of the cemetery, suggests a dating in the sub-phase LT C1, corresponding to the second half of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century BC.

The grave from Ciumeşti belonged, as I have tried to demonstrate above, to a warrior chieftain who organized a group of mercenaries involved in military actions in the eastern Mediterranean region. The greaves and all the military equipment are demonstrating this fact. On the other hand, this contact with the Hellenistic civilization had no influence on the traditional way of life in his community, as shown by archaeological evidence concerning the nearby settlement. However, we have to consider the warrior aristocratic elite as a factor of mobility, animating a rural milieu that was characteristic for the Celtic civilization before the apparition of *oppida*. The chieftain from Ciumeşti is therefore an example for understanding the role and functions of the warlike aristocracy during the middle La Tène, before the social re-shaping of the next period.

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[119] Kruta 2000: 200; Bouzek 2005: 97, fig. 7-9.
[120] Zirra 1980.
[121] Zirra 1980: 69-70.

ANNEXES:

Table 1: Ciumeşti

Grave no.	Swords	Spears	Shields	Helmet	Chainmail	Greaves	Dating
9	1	1	1				
12	1						LT C1
M 1961		1		1	1	1	
Graves with weapons							3
Graves without weapons							30
Warriors							9,09 %

Table 2: Pişcolt[122]

Grave no.	Swords	Spears	Shields	Arrow heads	Dating
40	1		1		
155	1	1			
158	1				LT B2b
8		2			
149		1			
10		1			
124	1	1			LT C1
120				3	
Graves with weapons					8
Graves without weapons					82
Warriors					9,75 %

[122] Grave no. 124 was dated by Németi (1989, p. 86, fig. 8) in horizon 2 of the cemetery from Pişcolt, but most probably it belongs to horizon 3: see Zirra 1997, p. 129, table 1.

Table 3: Apahida

Grave no.	Swords	Spears	Shields	Helmet	Dating
7	1	1	1		
9		1	1		
27.03.1900	1	3		1	LT B2b-C1
15.05.1900	1	1			
27.04.1900			1		
7.09.1901			1		
Graves with weapons					6
Graves without weapons					around 40
Warriors					around 15 %

Table 4: Remetea Mare

Grave no.	Swords	Spears	Shields	Dating
D1	1	1		
D2		1		
D3	1			
M 1	1	1		LT B2b
M 4	1		1	
M 9	1	1	1	
M 10	1	1	1	
Graves with weapons				7
Graves without weapons				13
Warriors				35%

Table 5: Belgrad-Karaburma

Grave no.	Swords	Spears	Shields	Dating
22	1	1		
23		1	1	
51	1	1		
62	1	1	1	LT B 2b
66	1	1	1	
71	1	1	1	
111	1	1		
26	1	1	1	
29	1	1	1	
33		1		LT C1
41	1	1	1	
324	1	1		
325	1	1	1	
Graves with weapons - horizon 1				7
Graves without weapons				3
Warriors				70%
Graves with weapons - horizon 2				6
Graves without weapons				11
Warriors				35,29 %
Warriors - horizon 1-2				48,14 %

Table 6: Ižkovce

Grave no.	Swords	Spears	Shields	Dating
1	1	1		
2	1	1		
3	1	1	1	
7	1	1	1	
8	1	1	1	LT B 2b-C 1
9		1		
10	1	1	1	
21	1	1		
24	1	1		
25	1	1	1	
26	1		1	
Graves with weapons				11
Graves without weapons				16
Warriors				40,74 %

Abbreviations

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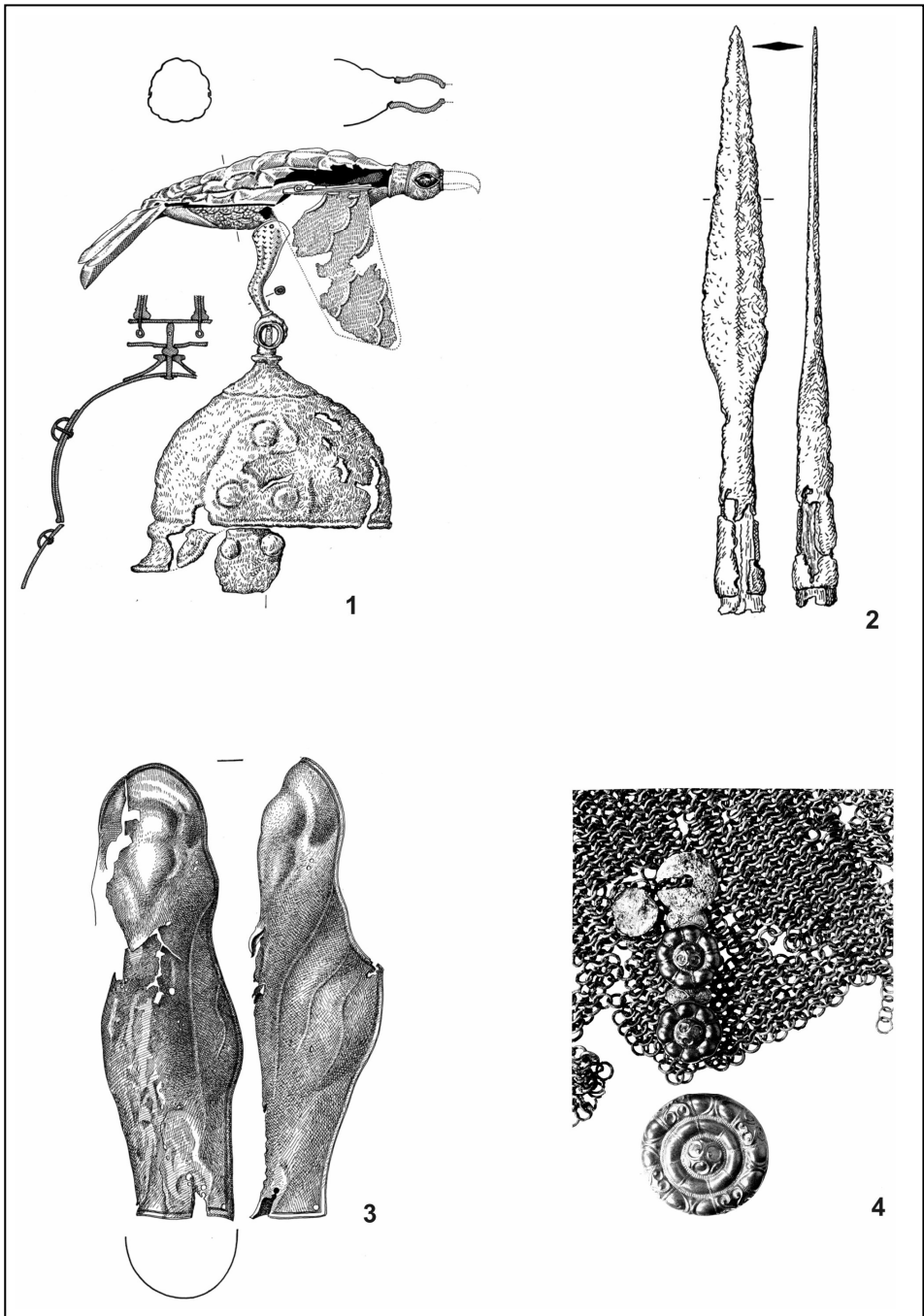
Fig. 1 – The inventory published by M. Rusu 1969 (different scales).
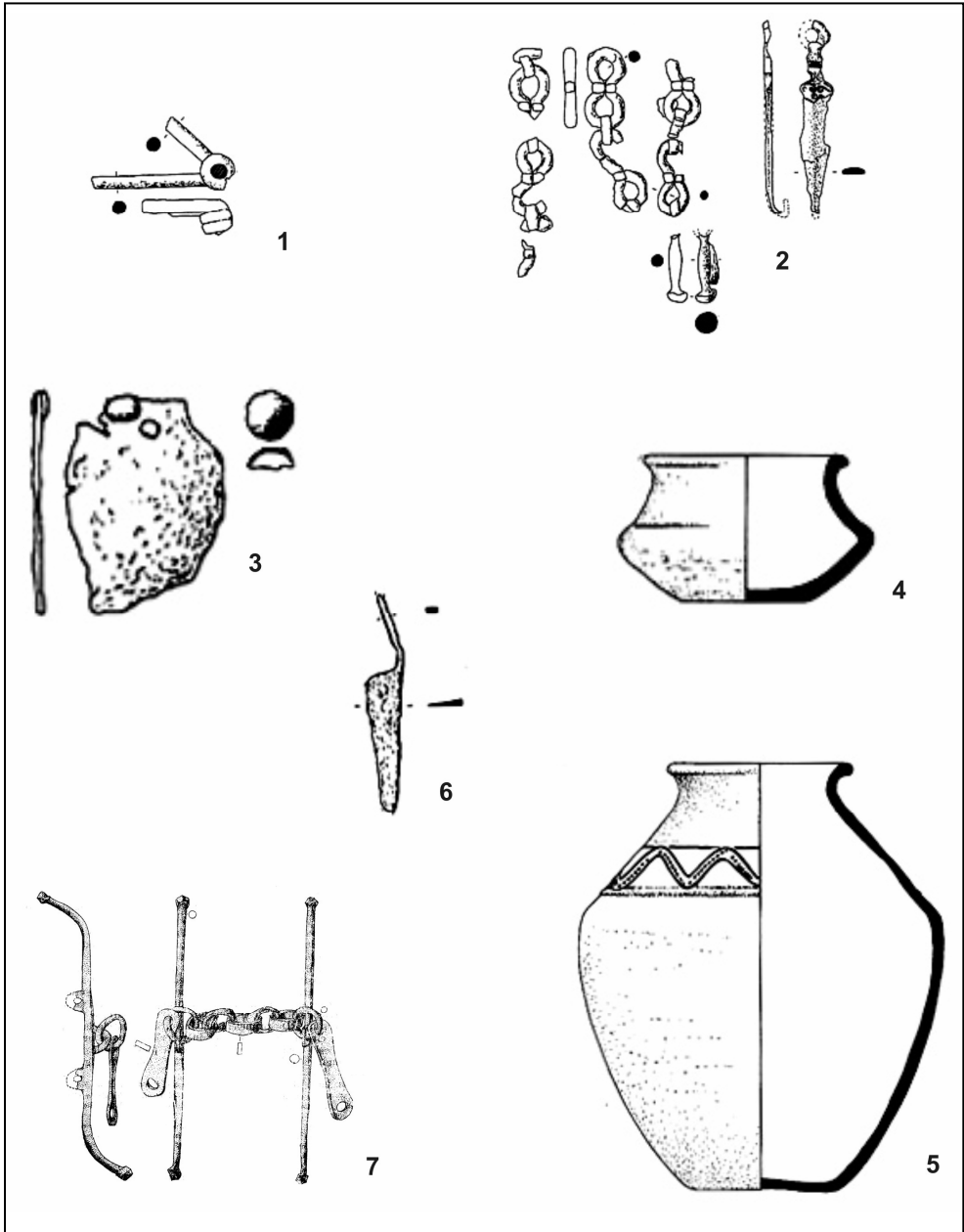
Fig. 2 – 1-5. Finds published by I. Németi 1975; 6. Scissor published by B. Kull 1997; 7. Horse-bit published by T. Bader 1984 (1-6 – after Kull, 7 – after Bader; different scales).
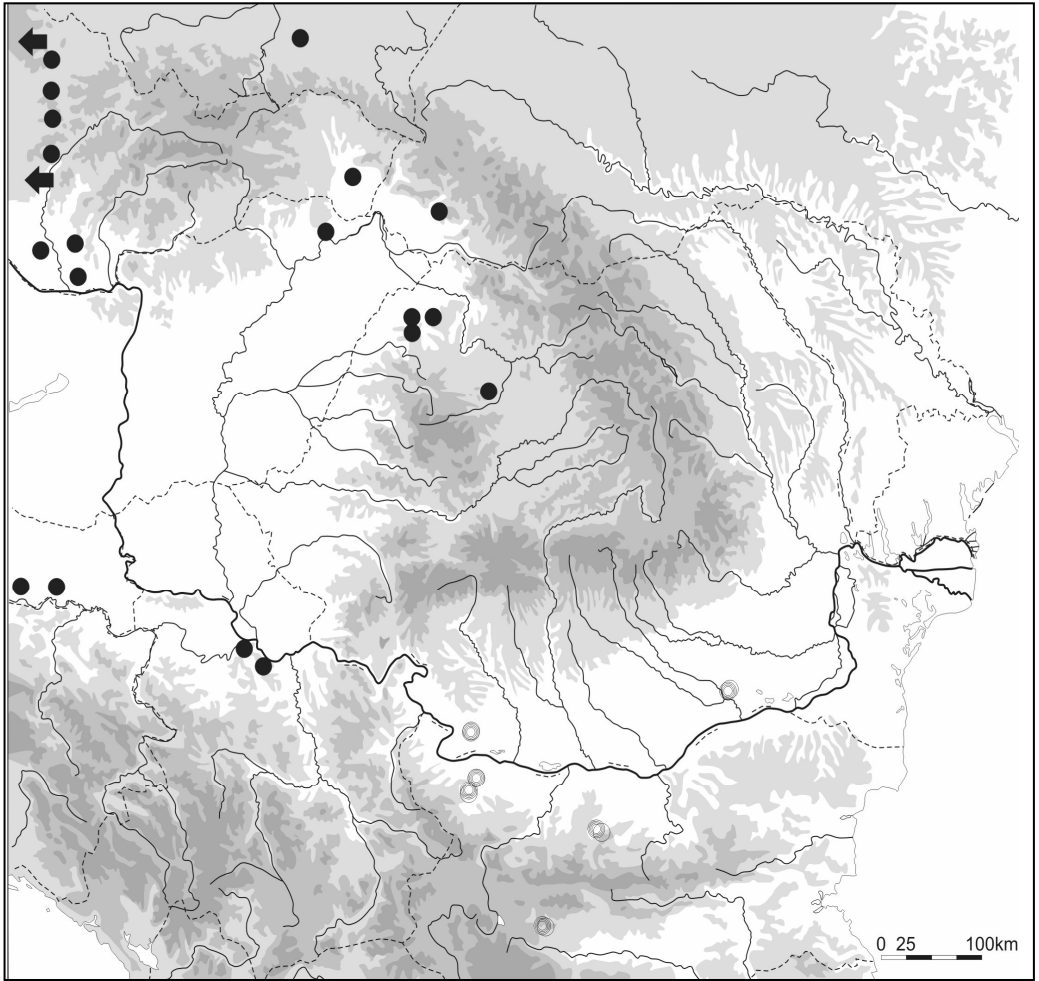
Fig. 3 – Distribution map for chains with eight-shaped loops, dated in LT B2b-C1 (black dots) and in LT C2 (concentric circles) – see note 21.
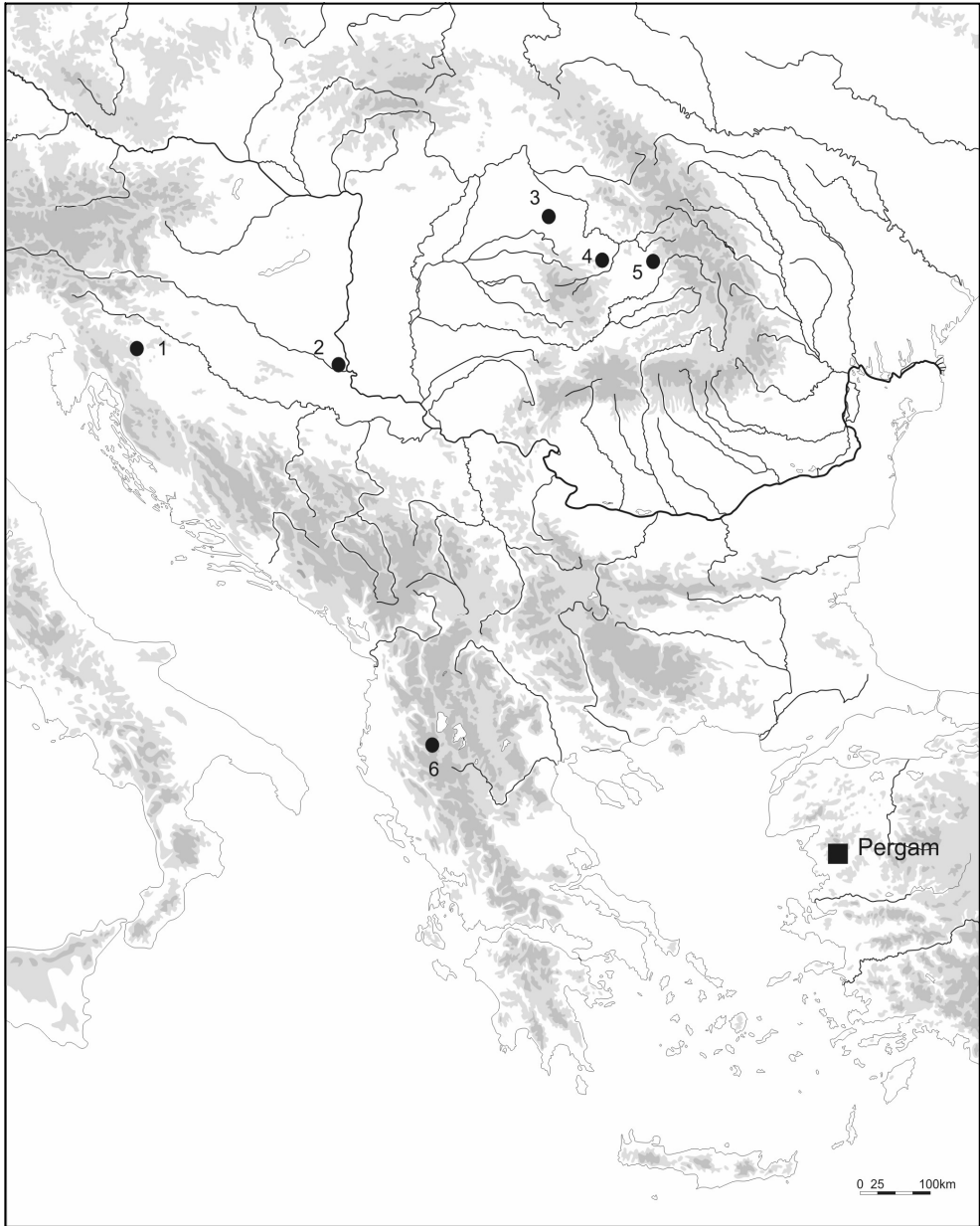
Fig. 4 – Distribution map for helmets with enforced calotte (Helme mit verstärkter Kallote): 1 – Mihovo; 2 – Batina; 3 – Ciumeşti; 4 – Apahida; 5 – Orosfaia; 6 – Lin.
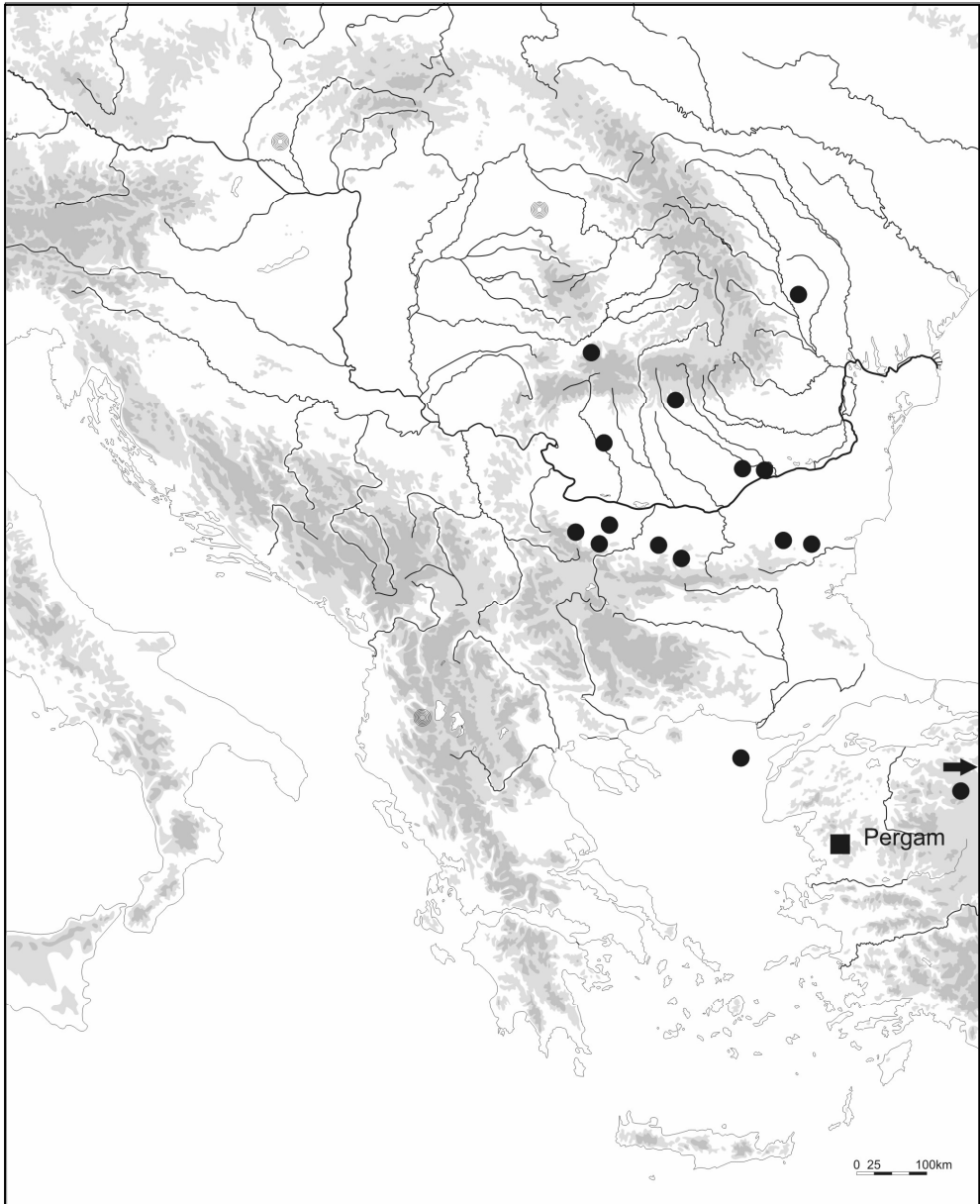
Fig. 5 – Distribution map for chainmails in the Carpathians Basin, Balkans and Asia Minor – see note 50 (pieces dated in LT B2b-C1 – concentric circles; pieces dated in LT C2-D – black dots).
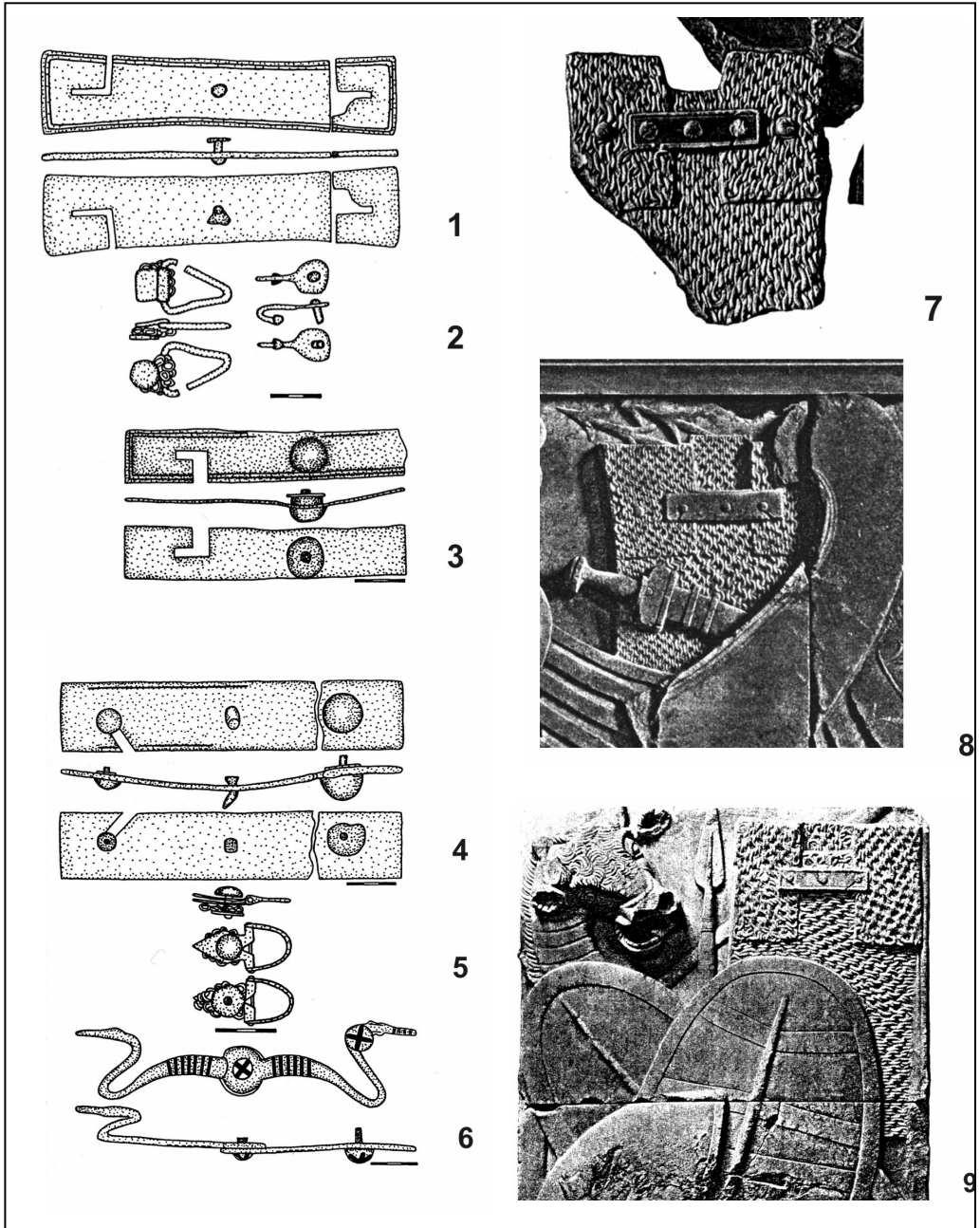
Fig. 6 – Closing systems for chainmails from northern Bulgaria (1-6) and chainmails' depictions at Pergamum (7-9). 1-6 – after Torbov 2004; 7-9 – after Bohn 1885.
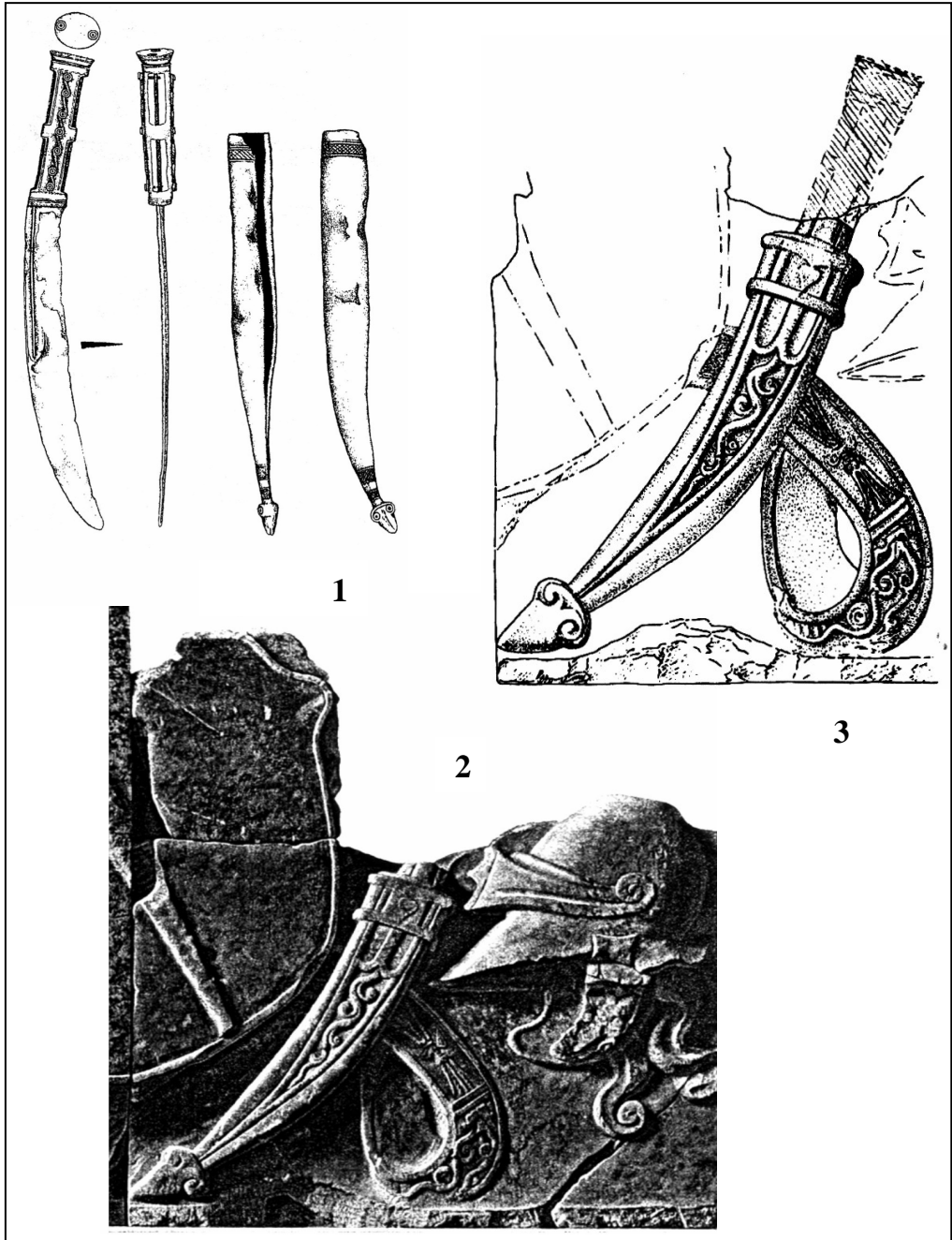
Fig. 7 – 1 – Curved dagger from Corcova (after Rustoiu, Sîrbu 1999 etc.). 2-3 – A similar dagger depicted at Pergamum (2 – after Bohn 1885; 3 – after Kull 2002).
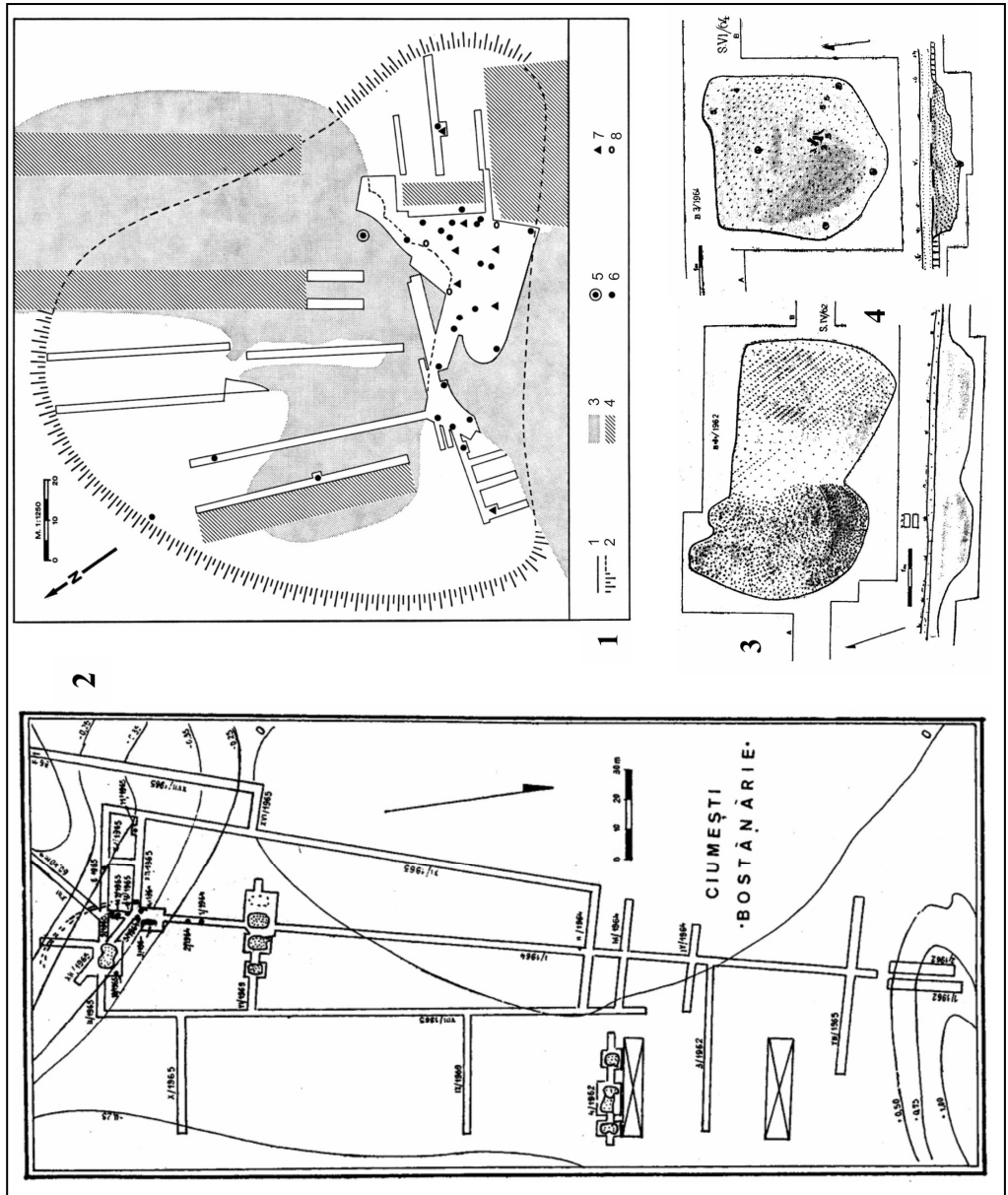
Fig. 8 – 1 – Plan of the cemetery at Pişcolt, after Rusu 1969 (1 – excavation's limits; 2 – sand dune's limit; 3 – limit of destroyed area before the beginning of systematic excavations; 4 – modern constructions; 5 – grave with helmet; 6 – LT incineration graves; 7 – LT inhumation graves; 8 – First Iron Age incineration graves. 2 – Plan of the settlement at Ciumeşti, after Zirra 1980. 3-4 – Dwellings from the settlement at Ciumeşti, after Zirra 1980.

Scenarios on the Dacians: The Indigenous Districts

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One of the R. Roesler's statements was that the year 106 AD marks the end of the Dacian State and Dacian people. After a long and bloodish war "das Land,..., seine besten und zahlreichen Volkskräfte verloren hatte..."[1].

This idea of the Dacians' extermination during the conquest wars, expressed organically in the second half of the 19th century by the Austrian and Hungarian scholars and, equally by those belonging to the Transylvanian Aufklärung, continue to exist even among today's historians[2]. This old idea is still shaping the few historical data concerning the fate of the Dacian people in the Roman Era.

Excepting the three literary fragments[3] that suggest "the huge looses suffered by the Dacians during the conquest wars", the arguments used in modern historical speech for the extermination of the Dacians are the *ex silentio* arguments. The three main Dacian absences in the Roman province are: a) the individuals with Dacian names, b) the indigenous names or epithets of the gods (or any kind of historical source for certifying the gods of the Dacians) and, c) the indigenous districts (administrative units that preserved the Dacians tribal structures)[4].

The Romanian historiography has always sustained the persistence and continuity of the Dacians in the new Roman province of Dacia, in spite of the fact that this opinion was contradicted by the ancient sources[5]. The notable absences, namely the onomastic, the gods and the indigenous districts, made them try to explain the singular position of this province among the others, from the point of view of the survival of the native peoples. All the explanations have as a starting point the particular position of Dacia, before the Roman Conquest, in the Barbarian World (a kingdom, highly centralised, characterized by the disolution of the tribal society), the

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[1] Roesler 1871: 44.
[2] Boia 1997: 83-114.
[3] Eutropius, *Breviarum,* 8. 6. 2; Iulian, *Caes.* 28, 327 C-D, p. 59-60 ed. Lacombrade; *Scholia in Lucianum,* ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig, 1906, 24. 16-.
[4] Balla 1974-1975: 142; about the absence of Dacian names and Dacian gods in the province of Dacia – Dana 2003: 166-186; Dana 2004: 430-448; Nemeti 2005, 185-218 (the chapter „The Religion of the Dacian in the Roman Period and *interpretatio Dacica"*).
[5] Protase 2000: 151-168.

special context of the wars against Romans (a huge amount of casualties especially among the male population, warriors and aristocracy), and the special measures taken by the Romans after the conquest (the displacements of the Dacians, destruction of the sanctuaries and interdictions applied to the Dacian' cults)[6].

Then, repeatedly emphasising the particularities of Dacia as a Roman province, the Romanian scholars have tried to explain the above noticed absences. It must also be shown that all these problems are intercorrelated and that all are derived from the idea of the extermination of the Dacians mentioned by literary sources (retained by some Romanian scholars also in an edulcorated variant: extermination of the warlike aristocracy and divine functionaries). The absence of the individuals bearing Dacian names in the epigraphical repertoire or Roman Dacia was seen as a result of the decimation of the native upper class. Because the use of epigraphical dedication is restraint to socially and politically active population groups, the conclusion was that "the upper class of native society in a province, which normally should be the first co-opted for the Roman administrative system,..., is missing"[7].

In order to tackle the problem of the administrative organisation of Dacians in the Roman province, there were proposed at least two complementary and partly opposed scenarios.

I. First scenario: absence of *civitates peregrinae*

The missing of any kind of information about the indigenous districts on the inscriptions is interpreted as a complete absence of the native *civitates peregrinae,* i. e. any kind of Dacian administrative structures that inherited the tribal organisation within the Dacian Kingdom before 106 AD[8] This scenario proceeds to explaining the administrative organisation of Roman Dacia taking into account this absence, without assuming that all the Dacian people was extermined (just the decimation of the elite is retained).

The model of the province organisation in the first decades after the conquest is perceived to be identical with that applied in the neighbouring provinces (Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia), in spite of the missing proofs. It was noticed that in Dalmatia, Noricum, the two Pannonia and the two Moesia provinces the native tribal communities had been organised in the form of *civitates peregrinae* ruled during the military occupation by *praefecti civitatis* (supervising officers selected from the centurions of the troops

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[6] Trynkowski: 1976, 81-88; Babeş 2000: 323-338.
[7] Ruscu 2003: 55; Ruscu 2004: 78-79.
[8] Ardevan 1998 : 92-95.

dislocated in the area). The tribal council is preserved, his members having been called *principes*. In a second phase of development this community gained a higher degree of autonomy, these *civitates* being now ruled by local aristocracy, *principes civitatis*. The further evolution towards the municipal status, transforms the local council into *ordo decurionum* and *principes* into *decuriones*.

The impossibility to identify such a model in the Dacian case is explained through "the absence of native structures able to sustain self-government,..., and then to suffer a process of Romanisation and to dedicate epigraphic inscriptions"[9]. Although, "the missing of the upper class of the native society" should be the explanation also for "the particular aspects of the organisation of the province Dacia after the conquest, different from the usual model"[10].

Unfortunately, the historical sources attesting this scenario also lack. The word *civitas* is known from two inscriptions: *civitas Paralissensium*[11] and *civitas Romulensium Malvensium*[12]. The general opinion is that in both cases the term is used in relation with two settlements which had gained the municipal status, and not *civitates peregrinae*[13]. There are in Dacia four individuals called *principes*, all treated as "the chieftains of some migrated peregrin clans"[14], but this quality is certain, in our opinion, just for Titus Flavius Aper from Splonum (Dalmatia)[15]. For M. Antonius Sabinianus and Aurelius Manneus, the title *princeps* could also mean magistrate in a rural settlement (like *principes locorum* from Moesia Inferior[16]), sub-officer in an auxiliary unit (e.g. *decurio princeps*)[17].

One could notice, also, the absence of the data about *praefecti civitatis, principes civitatis* or communities under military control (excepting, maybe, the so-called *regio Ansamensium* supervised by *beneficiari*[18]). To

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[9] Ruscu 2003 : 56-60.
[10] Ruscu 2003 : 55-56.
[11] Petolescu 2000: nr. 293 (Nedinum, Dalmatia).
[12] Petolescu 1996: nr. 179 (Hispalis, Baetica).
[13] Cocceius Umbrianus is *decurio*, *augur* and *pontifex* in *civitas Paralis(s)ensium*, then in *municipium Septimium Porolissensis*; only D. Tudor's sustain that *civitas* from this inscription is the name for a rural self-governing community; the opposed opinion was largely expressed by many scholars from Daicoviciu 1944: 17-21 to Petolescu 1996: 183.
[14] IDR III/ 1: 165, III/3: 345, CIL III 110: 838; Ardevan 1998: 94-95; Ardevan 1998 a: 47.
[15] Popescu 1967: 191-192.
[16] Avram 1984: 160-161.
[17] Speidel 1984: 189-195.
[18] On this *regio Ans.* – Daicoviciu 1969: 396-401; Opreanu 1994: 69-77; Isac 2003: 48-58; to be compared with *regio Montanensis,* Speidel 1984 a: 185-188.

emphasise the intrusion of the army in the civil life, N. Gostar has counted some soldiers which had become municipal magistrates in the Dacian towns[19].

The same idea of the dissolution of the Dacian tribal society before the conquest and "l'absence dans la Dacie devenue province de l'élite indigène, le principal interlocuteur social..." is found also in other scholarly works as an explanation of the particular system applied for the administrative organisation of the province, in absence of the indigeneous districts[20]. The view of Dacian Kingdom as a highly centralised state in 1st century B. C. - 1st century A. D. is sustained by a series of direct and indirect proofs: the cease of local mints in the time of Burebista, the fragment from Suda Lexicon (quoting Criton) about the royal functionaries heads of the fortresses ("simple functionaries of the states and not local aristocrats were recruited from the entourage of the king to command these forts")[21], the absence of the toponyms ends in -*dava* in the urbanised area of the province, and their presence only at the periphery[22]. The result of this centralised system should be the lack, in all kind of sources, of the names of the Dacian tribes, and is reflected also in the manner in which soldiers of Dacian origin indicated their *natio* or *origo*: in all known cases *natione Dacus* or simply *Dacus*, without the mention of the tribe (*natione Moesiacus* but also, *natione Dardanus, natione Thrax*, but also *natione Bessus*)[23].

Beginning with these assumptions, the Decebal's kingdom is seen as "a highly centralised system, controlling not only the armed forces and religious life, but also economic resources"[24]. As a result, the lack of the indigeneous districts is due to a militarised Roman administration: "the troop disposition shows the typical pattern of an occupation army, each unit controlling a certain area". In this case "a *centurio* or *primipilarius* of a legion, or the commanding officer of equestrian rank of an auxiliary unit, had under his jurisdiction non only the auxiliary fort and its Kastellvicus but also a larger territory, including local communities of *dediticii*, or *civitates stipendiariae*, which were not self-governing communities. Excepting the *territoria* of the towns, the provincial territory could be covered by Roman troops under such *praefecturae*"[25]. In order to sustain this assertion one possible argument would be the disposal of the *alae* in North-West of the

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[19] Gostar 1963 : 259-266.
[20] Opreanu 2004: 652-654.
[21] Diaconescu 2004: 123.
[22] Opreanu 2004: 654.
[23] For the formula used to indicate *origo* and *natio* see Ricci 1993: 141-208.
[24] Diaconescu 2004: 125.
[25] Diaconescu 2004: 127.

Transylvanian Plain (at Gherla, Ilişua, Brâncoveneşti, Cristeşti and Războieni-Cetate) and the pattern surprised in the South - West of Transylvania where the auxiliary forts are placed near the former Dacian fortresses but, in open space (the fort of Cincşor next to the Dacian fortress from Breaza, the fort of Feldioara next to those from Arpaşu de Sus). This pattern "seems to show that in most cases the army of occupation had taken over the admnistrative function of the citadels of the Dacian kingdom (...). In this way the pre-Roman administrative units, each associated with a citadel, were directly incorporated into the province, natives in the territory of an auxiliary unit probably received the inferior status of *dediticii*[26]. (...) Probably the Kastellvici of the auxiliary forts played the role of the *civitas* capitals of the Roman West, attracting natives from the surrounding region and ultimately contributing to their Romanisation"[27].

This variant of the first scenario is grounded on the fact that the *civitates peregrinae* are unattested, fact explained through the idea of the disolution of the tribal society in the age of the Dacian Kingdom. The idea of the extermination of the Dacian elite, even unexpressed, is implied by this scenario, where the Dacians are seen as a mass of *dediticii* under military control[28]. But, one could retain that from inscriptions it is not know no *praefectura*[29] and no commanding officer of an auxiliary unit as chief of an administrative rural community is known (Sextus Iulius Possesor is *curator civitatis Romulensium Malvensium* at the time when Romula is a self-governing city, a *municipium*)[30].

II. Second scenario: presence of *civitates peregrinae*

Complementary and partly opposed, a second scenario was build assuming that some native administrative structures existed in the province of Dacia.

On the inscription from Almaşu Mare there is attested the existence of a *vicus An[...*, read by A. v. Domaszewski as *vicus Anartorum*[31]. C. Patsch thought that this *vicus Anartorum* was the chief-place of a district of the tribe *Anartoi / Anartes* mentioned by Ptolemy and localised in the North-West of the province[32]. For H. Wolf, criticising C. Patsch's opinion, this case should

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[26] Diaconescu 2004: 128.
[27] Diaconescu 2004: 128.
[28] The latest critique of this scenario – Bogdan-Cătăniciu 2006: 959-967.
[29] Jacques, Scheid 1990 : 190: « Les préfets militaires ne sont plus attestés dans les provinces européennes après les Flaviens ».
[30] Petolescu 1996: 183.
[31] CIL III: 8060.
[32] Patsch 1937: 140.

not be treated as a proof for such an organisation, the *vici* (*vicus Anartorum, vicus Patavissensium* an *vicus Pirustarum*) being just rural settlements, and not *civitates*. The task of Sextus Iulius Possessor as *curator civitatis Romulensium Malvensium* is seen as a supervising mission of a neighbouring region (contemporary with the command of *numerus Syrorum sagittariorum*), a rural non-self-governing unit called with a general term *civitas,* instead of *regio* or *territorium*[33]. His conclusion was that "in Dacien sind nicht nur *curatores civitatis* anderweitig unbekannt, sondern auch,..., keine weiteren peregrinen Stammesgemeinden bekegt"[34].

The second scenario founded on the idea of the presence of the natives, of their elite and their administrative structures in the Roman province of Dacia, brings as a main proof the list of the Dacian "tribes" from Ptolemy's *Geography.* In the Ptolemy's work one could find, besides the list of the settlements from Dacia (with Dacian and Roman names), also a list of 15 "peoples" which are living in Ptolemy's Dacia[35]. For almost all scholars this *peoples / tribes*' names are the tribes of the Pre-Roman Dacia, before the Roman conquest, only the names of the towns are those from Roman province (C. Goos, Gr. Tocilescu, V. Pârvan, G. Schütte, R. Vulpe, A. Mocsy etc.)[36].

Few Romanian scholars have claimed the contrary. For C. Daicoviciu the names with the *-ensioi / -enses* suffix should be assigned to "rural administrative structures (*civitates*), and not to genuine Dacian tribes"[37], meanwhile for R. Florescu the peoples' names are "rural circumscriptions under military authority"[38]. I. I. Russu thought that the map of Dacia that Ptolemy transmitted to us are to be dated between 106 - 117 AD (including the tribal names), and drew the conclusion that "the Daco-Getian tribes are already named with forms of *ethnika - demotika* with Roman suffixes *-ensioi (ensi)*" being "more probably territorial structures,..., a kind of *civitates peregrinae*"[39].

The task of analysing and demonstrating this idea (the Dacian "tribes" from Ptolemy's list are in fact *civitates peregrinae* from Roman Dacia) was assumed by Ioana Bogdan- Cătăniciu[40]. In her opinion, the toponyms and the names of the "tribes" from Ptolemy's Geography belong to the first half of the 2nd century AD For establishing the chronological frame of

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[33] Wolff 1976: 111-116; see also Alföldi 1940: 29-30.

[34] Wolff 1976: 114.

[35] *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1883, III, 8, p. 442-451.

[36] Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1999: 224; Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1987-1988: 145-147.

[37] Daicoviciu 1960: 266.

[38] Florescu 1982: 544, n. 176, 547, n. 203.

[39] Russu 1981: 182-183.

[40] Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1999: 223-231; Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1987-1988: 145-162; Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1997: 11-12; Bogdan-Cătăniciu 1999a: 64-83.

Ptolemy's information regarding the Danubian area, Ioana Bogdan Cătăniciu takes into account the mention of three settlements on the bank of the Hierasos river, Zargidava, Tamasidava and Piroboridava. The Romanian scholar considers that the three settlements are located by Ptolemy North of Danube, in the vicinity of the province Moesia Inferior (*ad Moesiam*). As it is well known from Hunt's Papyrus, Piroboridava belonged to Moesia Inferior between 102 - 117/118 AD, then Ptolemy's map of Northern Danubian area should be dated after 117 / 118 when emperor Hadrian renounced at Moesian territories North of Danube[41]. After the analysis of Ptolemy's information, Ioana Bogdan Cătăniciu reaches the conclusion: „ ... le suffixe –enses ajouté au nom d' une localité forme le nom de la majeure partie des « peuplades » de la Dacie ptolémaique (…), mais ces noms sont propres à des créations territoriales romaines et non à des tribus daces" (i. e. „divisions territoriales, c'est à dire *civitates* de la Dacie au commencement du règne d'Hadrien…")[42]. Thus, all these "tribes" are located on a modern map inside the province of Dacia: *Anarti* and *Teurisci* in the Western and North – Western part, the *Coestoboci* in the North-Eastern part, near Orheiul Bistriței, *Predavenses* in the Apuseni Mountains, *Rhatacenses* in the central zone of Transylvania, *Caucoenses* in Harghita County, *Buridavenses* on the Olt river, *Cotenses* on the Pârâul Negru and the upper valley of the Olt river, *Albocenses* on the Timiș river, *Saldenses*, near to the Danube, *Potulatenses* in the North – Western part of Oltenia, *Senses* near Slatina, *Ciagisi* and *Piephigi* in the Oltenia's plain. All these names are no more that Dacian tribes organised by the Romans in the form of *civitates peregrinae* (some bearing genuine tribal names such as Anarti, Teurisci, Coestoboci, Biephi, Piephigi, Ciagisi, some names derived after the tribal capital, *Predavenses* from Predava, Buridavenses from Buridava, Potulatenses from Potula etc.)[43] .

This scenario does not offer information about the evolution of such *civitates*, about their transformation into administrative Roman structures. All the sources are connected to the moment when Ptolemy drew his IXth map of Europe.

III. Today's data or the third scenario ?

The two main ideas of modern historical Dacian *logos,* that of the extermination of the Dacian population during the conquest wars and that

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[41] Bogdan – Cătăniciu 1999: 223-231; Bogdan – Cătăniciu 1987-1988: 145-162, Bogdan – Cătăniciu 1991: 60.
[42] Bogdan – Cătăniciu 1991: 62.
[43] Bogdan – Cătăniciu 1987-1988: 154-158.

of a highly centralised state in the time of Decebal's reign found little support in the repertoire of ancient sources.

An honest historian can't solve the problem of the cruel fate of the Dacians after the conquest basing his analysis only upon a general assertion (Eutropius), a rhetoric statement (Emperor Julian) and an anecdote (Lucian, quoting Crito). There is another example where modern historians are going too far with their conclusions: following Crito's text about the existence of a "function aristocracy "in the Dacian Kingdom during Decebal's reign, namely some functionaries charged with the control over the fortifications, some over the pastures[44], they create a picture of a centralised state, with no parallel in barbarian world[45].

The issue of Ptolemy's data is far more complicated. For drawing the IX-th map of Europe Ptolemy use several independent packets of information connected with the period 106 -118 AD [the existence of the province Dacia / after 106 AD and the town Nicopolis ad Istrum / after 110 AD, the absence of the province Dacia Inferior / before 118-120 AD, legio IV Flavia garrisoned at Singidunum / after 117-118 AD][46]. The so-called Dacian "tribes" belong to the same chronological frame, and their presence raise two different set of problems: a) what is hidden behind this etnonyms? and b) where the tribes could be located on the modern map of North-Danubian region?

a) From 15 names of the "tribes", only six are genuine etnonyms: *Anarti, Teurisci, Coestoboci, Biephi, Ciagisi* and *Piephigi,* the others nine being names derived from a name of the town, built with the suffix - *≈νσιοι / -enses*: *Predavenses, Rhatacenses, Caucoenses, Buridavenses, Cotenses, Albocenses, Potulatenses, Saldenses* and maybe *Senses*. From others sources are known only *Buridava*[47], *Potula*[48] and *Saldae*[49], but similar unattested settlements should be **Predava* (or **Piedava,* mss. X *Πιεδαυ≈νσιοι*), **Rhataca, *Alboca* and the others. In the neighboring provinces there are known a lot of tribes with genuine tribal names, not derived from localities: for example *Sevaces, Alauni, Norici, Ambidravi* in Noricum, *Azali, Latobici, Varciani, Boii, Oseriates*

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[44] Crito, FrgHist 200, F 5, see Petre 2004: 669.

[45] Dana 2000 : 48-50.

[46] Strang mss.: 30-31.

[47] Miller 1916: 554.

[48] *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia,* IV, 14, 6, ed. M. Pinder, G. Parthey, Berlin: 1860, 204; Daicoviciu 1969: 298 interpreted Canonia Potula from Geographus Ravennas as a distorsion of Centum Putea from Tabula Peutingeriana, quite improbable because of the existence of *Potulatenses* in Ptolemy's Geography.

[49] Pârvan 1926: 247.

in Pannonia Superior, *Amantini, Hercuniates, Breuci, Aravisci, Scordisci* in Pannonia Inferior, *Iapydes, Maezaei, Dindari, Ditiones, Cerauni, Daursii, Pirustae, Scirtiones* in Dalmatia, and many others quoted by Ptolemy[50]. In Dalmatia there are also *Narensii* and *Docleatae*, with the names derived from Narona and Doclea. The same situation is found in the two Moesia, where the tribal names are combined with etnonyms built with suffix *–enses*. In Moesia Superior besides *Dardani* and *Moesii*, there are also *Tricornenses* (from Tricornium) and *Picenses* (from Pincum), meanwhile in Moesia Inferior, besides *Triballi, Troglodytae, Peucini* and *Crobyzi*, one could also find *Oetenses, Obulenses, Dimenses* and *Appiarenses[51]*.

It is a *communis opinio* the fact that the "tribes" recorded by Ptolemy at the beginning at the 2nd century AD in Noricum, Dalmatia, the two Pannonia and the two Moesia are *civitates peregrinae,* indigenous administrative structures in Roman provinces[52]. This interpretation is even more obvious when we talk about the "tribal" names build with the suffix –*enses*. *Narenses* are those who are living on the Narenta river, in *conventus Narona*,[53] and with the names *Tricornenses, Picenses, Dimenses* etc. are designated some indigenous administrative structures developed around the settlements such Tricornium, Pincum or Dimum, garrisons of some auxiliary units. This Moesian districts are born before the year 86 AD[54] or after the re-organization of Danubian *limes* during Trajan's Dacian Wars[55]. The similar manner of designation and the same chronological frame show that Predavenses, Buridavenses or Potulatenses are also some districts from the new province or Dacia during the Trajan's reign, probably under military control, inhabited or not by the natives.

b) As far as the location on the modern map of this "tribes' is concerned, we have to notice since the beginning the fact that Ptolemy does not offer precise information, *i.e.* co-ordinates expressed in latitude and longitude, like for settlements, only a vague disposal from North to South: "*Habitant Daciam in septentrionali parte, si ab occasu incipimus ..., infra hos…, infra quos eodem ordinem, …atque infra hos, ... infra quos in meridiana regione…"[56].* The whole map of Dacia reconstructed after Ptolemy's co-

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[50] *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1883, II, 13, 2, p. 286-287; II, 14, 2, p. 290-291; II, 15, 2, p. 298; II, 16, 5, p. 309-312.
[51] *Geographia,* III, 9, 2, p. 452-453; III, 10, 4, p. 463.
[52] Mócsy 1974: 66-70.
[53] Wilkes 1969: 165.
[54] Mócsy 1974: 66, 68.
[55] Poulter 1980: 729-744.
[56] *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1883, III, 8, 3, p. 444.

ordinates has nine rectangular grids on longitude, and five on latitude. It is obvious that Ptolemy has disposed the names of the "tribes" in order to cover the whole very distorted on longitude map of Dacia following his system 3 grids on longitude / 1 grid on latitude. Thus, all the names of the "tribes" were conventionally disposed in 3/1 grids in order to fill up the entire space divided then in 15 geometrical units (1 unit = 3 grid on longitude / 1 grid on latitude). This purely conventional system is responsible for the presence of Buridavenses in the center of Transylvania, near Apulum and Germisara, and not in Oltenia where others sources locate the settlement Buridava (on the Olt river, at Stolniceni as we can see in Tabula Peutingeriana). Thus, an attempt to transpose the Ptolemy's Dacian "tribes" on a modern map is meant to fail.

Interpreting in this manner Ptolemy's map of Dacia a modern historian could retain that in Dacia, during Trajan's reign, there were some districts with names derived from settlements (Predavenses, Potulatenses, Albocenses etc.) and, maybe, some neighboring tribes (Anarti, Teurisci, Coestoboci etc.). The *poleis'* names and the *tribes'* names are indigenous, so we can conclude that the natives are still living in the province at this time. It is hard to say if these districts are under military control, but we are able to answer positive by means of a comparison with the Moesian districts of Tricornenses, Picenses, Dimenses or Appiarenses. These districts co-existed with the territory of *colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa,* and we don't have any kind of information on them after Hadrian's re-organization of Dacian provinces. Beside new *municipia* like Napoca, Drobeta and maybe Romula, from this Trajanic districts are born also some rural self-governing communities, called *territoria* or *regiones* having as *chef-lieux* some *Auxiliarvici*: the territory of *pagus* Micia, *territorium Sucidavense,* the territory around Samum called *regio Ans(amensium).* The absence of explicit sources restrains the possibility to emphasize the role played by the natives within this Roman administrative structures.

Abbreviations

Alföldi 1940:   A. Alföldi, *Daci e romani in Transilvania,* (Budapest, 1940).

Ardevan 1998:   R. Ardevan, *Viața municipală în Dacia romană,* (Timișoara, 1998).

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	l'Empire romain, II ème – IV ème siècle après J. C., III, (Tulcea, 1998), p. 45-55.
Avram 1984 :	Al. Avram, „Observaţii cu privire la autonomiile rurale din Dobrogea romană (secolele I-III e. n.) ", *SCIVA,* 35, 1984, 2, p. 158-169.
Babeş 2000:	M. Babeş, „Devictis Dacis. La conquête trajane vue par l'archéologie", *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques (Hommage à Petre Alexandrescu à son 70ᵉ anniversaire),* (Bucarest, 2000), p. 323-338.
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Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1987-1988 :	Ioana Bogdan-Cătăniciu, „Ptolemeu şi provincia Dacia", : *ActaMN,* XXIV-XXV, 1987-1988, p. 145-162.
Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1991 :	Ioana Bogdan–Cătăniciu, „À propos de civitates en Dacie", *EphemNap,* I, 1991, p. 59-67.
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Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1999 :	Ioana Bogdan–Cătăniciu, „Ptolémée et la province de Dacie", *Dacia N. S.,* 34, 1999, p. 223-231.
Bogdan–Cătăniciu 1999a :	Ioana Bogdan-Cătăniciu, „Napoca *pomoerium* şi *territorium*. Ipoteze de lucru ", Napoca 1880 de ani de la începutul vieţii urbane, (D. Protase ed.), (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), p. 64-83.
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Boia 1997:	L. Boia, *Istorie şi mit în conştiinţa românească,* (Bucureşti, 1997).
Daicoviciu 1944:	C. Daicoviciu, *Nesciendi ars ..,* (Sibiu, 1944).
Daicoviciu 1960:	C. Daicoviciu, *Istoria României,* I, (Bucureşti, 1960).
Daicoviciu 1969:	C. Daicoviciu, *Dacica,* (Cluj, 1969).
Dana 2000:	D. Dana, „Proprietate publică sau privată la daci. Dezbaterile istoriografice şi raţiunile lor", *Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei,* (ed. V. Orga, I. Costea), (Cluj-Napoca, 2000), p. 48-59.
Dana 2003:	D. Dana, „Les Daces dans les ostraca du désert oriental de l'Égypte. Morphologie des noms daces", *ZPE,* 142, 2003, p. 166-186.

Dana 2004:   D. Dana, „Onomastique est-balkanique en Dacie romaine (noms thraces et daces)", *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, (Cluj-Napoca, 2004), p. 430-448.

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Florescu 1982:   R. Florescu ed., V. Pârvan, *Getica,* (Bucureşti, 1982).

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Miller 1916:   K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana,* (Stuttgart, 1916).

Mócsy 1974:   A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia,* (London and Boston), 1974.

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Pârvan 1926:   V. Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei,* (Bucureşti, 1926).

Petolescu 1996:   C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (Ier – IIIe siècles),* I, (Bucureşti, 1996).

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Petre 2004:   Zoe Petre, „Pilophoroi et Kometai: points de vue sur les structures de la société gétique", *Orbis*

	antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis, (Cluj-Napoca, 2004), p. 667-675,
Popescu 1967:	Em. Popescu, „Aspecte ale colonizării şi romanizării în Dacia şi Scythia în lumina unor inscripţii din muzee bucureştene", *StCls,* IX, 1967, p. 182-194.
Poulter 1080:	A. G. Poulter, "Rural communities (vici and komai) and their role in the organization of the limes of Moesia Inferior", *Roman Frontier Studies 1979. Papers presented at the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies,* BAR Int. Ser. 71, 1980, p. 729-744
Protase 2000:	D. Protase, *La continuité daco-romaine,* (Cluj-Napoca, 2000).
Ricci 1993:	Cecilia Ricci, "Balcanici e danubiani a Roma", I-II, *Prosopographica,* Poznan, 1993, p. 141-208.
Roesler 1871:	R. Roesler, *Romänische Studien. Untersuchungen zur älteren Geschichte Romäniens,* (Leipzig, 1871).
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Ruscu 2004:	D. Ruscu, „The supposed extermination of the Dacians: the literary tradition", *Roman Dacia. The Making of a Provincial Society,* (ed. W. S. Hanson, I. P. Haynes), (Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 2004), p. 75-85.
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Speidel 1984:	M. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies,* (Amsterdam, 1984).
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Strang mss.	A. Strang, *Ptolemy's Geography of the Lower Danube Region or Analysing Ptolemy's Ninth Map of Europe,* mss., p. 1-35.
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The Historical Names of the Dacians and Their Memory: New Documents and a Preliminary Outlook

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This study will focus on a domain quite subject to controversy: the names of the Dacian kings in the literary sources (with the problem of their localization and chronology) and the Dacian names in general. After (1) a concise display of the sources, with their peculiarities and limits, this paper seeks to lay emphasis on the new discoveries, then (2) to analyze the names of the Dacian kings and chiefs, in order (3) to compare them with the names of Dacian individuals attested all over the Roman Empire and to discuss those characters (popular or historical), and finally (4) to focus on the case of the king *Decibalus*, the Dacian historical name *par excellence*.

1. The Sources: Limits and New Discoveries

The sources concerning the Dacian history are in general very limited; as for the names[1], the situation is even more problematic. We know

[1] For the Thracian onomastics, the repertory of D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Vienna, 1976[2]) is still useful, but it is also questionable on many topics and outdated in others, especially for the Dacian names. More recent overviews: I. Duridanov, *Thrakisch-Dakische Studien. I. Die thrakisch und dakisch-baltisch Sprachbeziehungen* (Sofia, 1969); Vl. Georgiev, "La formation et l'étymologie des noms des rois thraces et daces", *Linguistique Balkanique* 24/1 (1981): 5-29 (Daco-Getic names and etymologies: 20-23); Vl. Georgiev, "Thrakische und dakische Namenkunde", *ANRW,* II.29.2 (1983): 1195-1213 (Dacian names: 1212); I. Duridanov, "Thrakische und dakische Namen", in E. Eichler et alii, *Namenforschung: Name Studies: Les noms propres* (Berlin-New York, 1995), 820-840 (Dacian names: 831-837). The previous inquiries of the Dacian names (particularly of the kings) were, because of this indigent documentation, very schematic: I. I. Russu, *Daco-geții în Imperiul Roman (în afara provinciei Dacia traiană)* [Rom.: *The Daco-Getae in the Roman Empire (Outside the Province of Trajanic Dacia)*] (Bucharest, 1980) (esp. 46-56); C. C. Petolescu, "Dacii în armata romană" (Rom.: *The Dacians in the Roman Army*), *Revista de Istorie* 33 (1980): 1043-1061; Idem, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane* (Rom.: *Auxilia Daciae. Contributions to the Military History of the Roman Dacia*) (Bucharest, 2002) (esp. 47-50). The best analysis of the Thracian language (with a pertinent critique of the previous scholars and a warning against the etymologies): C. Briwhe-A. Panayotou, "Le thrace", in Fr. Bader, ed., *Langues indo-européennes* (Paris, 1997), 181-205. I am grateful to my colleague Robin Nadeau (Montreal) for the revision of my English. The translations from ancient sources are mainly from the Loeb collection; for the text of the literary sources, I utilized essentially the *Teubner* and *Budé* editions.

only the names of some kings and some of the companions of theirs, and in many cases we do not dispose of any chronological or geographical information. Moreover, no Dacian feminine name is known before the Roman conquest[2]. Therefore, the Romanian historians were inclined to increase as much as possible the number of these kings, especially for some periods and regions more obscure[3], and many of their assumptions deserve to be scrutinized. This study will try consequently to correct some of those hazardous hypothesis which are common in the Romanian historiography. Furthermore, with the exception of some inscriptions conserving the names of several kings (Βυρεβιστας, Θιαμαρκος - if he is really a king, which is doubtful -, *Scorilo*, and especially *Decibalus*)[4], all these names are transmitted by a handwritten tradition, and in many cases we are dealing with a *corrupted* literary tradition. This was to be expected, anyway, since these names certainly sound too "barbarian" for the Roman ears - writing to his friend Caninius Rufus, who intended to compose a poem in Greek about the Dacian wars, Pliny the Younger points (*Ep.* 8.4.3): *Non nullus et in illo labor, ut barbare et fera nomina, in primis regis ipsius, Graecius versibus non resultent*, "Another problem arises out of the barbaric names, especially that of the king himself where the uncouth sounds will not fit into Greek verse" (transl. B. Radice). As we will see, some of these Dacian names in the literary sources are certainly inaccurately transmitted to us (Δεκαίνεος < Δεκινεος, Οὐέζινας < Αουεζινας, *Oroles* < Ρωλης/*Roles*, *Coryllus* < *Scorilo*), and the new inscriptions, ostraca and military diplomas help us to

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[2] I do not treat here of the few names of some kings before Byrebistas, almost all south of the Danube: Ἰσάνθης (king of the Krobyzoi), Δρομιχαίτης (presented as king of the Getae but also of the Odrysae), Κοθήλας and his daughter Mhvda ("Thracian" king, but most probably of the Getae), Ζαλμοδεγικος (unspecified, but without any doubt king of the Getae, cf. the theonym ΣάλμοξιςΖάλμοξις in Herodotus 4.94-96). Except Dromichaites, all other names are not attested yet for individuals.

[3] For the history of the Pre-Roman Dacia, see the authoritative book of H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană* (Rom.: *Dacia from Byrebistas to the Roman Conquest*) (Cluj, 1972); and the recent *Istoria românilor* (Rom.: *History of the Romanians*), I (Bucharest, 2001). For more recent views of the Daco-Roman wars, see: R. Syme, *Danubian Papers* (Bucharest, 1971); K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn, 1984); Idem, *Die Donaukriege Domitians* (Berlin, 1989); Idem, "Dakien, der Donauraum und Rom: ein spannungsreiches Wechselverhältnis", in *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (Cluj, 2004), 146-158.

[4] See I. I. Russu, "Die griechische und lateinische Schrift im vorrömischen Dakien (König Thiamarcos, Decebalus und Scorilo)", in D. M. Pippidi, and E. Popescu, eds., *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VIIᵉ Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977)* (Bucharest, 1977), 33-50.

correct them. Still, some names are waiting for a better explanation in the light of other and more reliable documents.

Nowadays, we dispose of a more faithful, precise and vast documentation concerning the Dacian names in the Roman Empire. Besides some Dacian slaves (and freedmen), particularly in Italy[5], we know today the names of a large number of Dacian soldiers, especially in the auxiliary units (but also in the fleet, the legions, and the two elite units in Rome, the Praetorians and the *equites singulares Augusti*). Some inscriptions were already known, but the Dacian names were not always easily recognizable. Except for these few inscriptions, we have a better knowledge of the Dacian onomastics since 1990 with two categories of new materials of invaluable help for us. All these fresh data deal with the names of Dacian soldiers serving in the Roman army: a) the ostraca (mostly unpublished) from the Oriental Desert of Egypt, attesting that a large number of soldiers were recruited under Trajan[6]; b) the military diplomas (present on the market of antiquities), where the number of Dacian recipients is substantial[7]. Other known inscriptions will be analyzed therefore according to these new discoveries.

The impact of the Roman conquest of Decibalus' kingdom (106) was extremely important: soldiers, slaves and other categories of Dacians were present after the conquest in many provinces of the Empire[8]. Strangely, in the Roman province of Dacia, only one Dacian name is certainly known, and all other attempts of the Romanian historians (pressed by political and ideological reasons to "demonstrate" the continuity of the native population) are doubtful, if not plainly untrue[9]. The

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[5] After G. G. Mateescu, "I Traci nelle epigrafi di Roma", *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 1 (1923): 57-290, see now C. Ricci, "Balcanici e danubiani a Roma. Attestazioni epigrafiche di abitanti delle province Rezia, Norico, Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmazia, Mesia, Macedonia, Tracia (I-III sec.)", in L. Mrozewicz, and K. Ilski, eds., *Prosopographica* (Poznan, 1993), 151-152 and 189-190 (for the Dacians); H. Solin, "Thrakische Sklavennamen und Namen thrakischer Sklave in Rom", in *Studia in honorem Georgii Mihailov* (Sofia, 1995), 433-447.

[6] See D. Dana, "Les Daces dans les ostraca du Désert oriental de l'Égypte. Morphologie des noms daces", *ZPE* 143 (2003): 166-186 (henceforth: *DacesZPE*).

[7] Before 1990, there were known only one or two diplomas granted to Dacian soldiers; now, the known number is at least 30. When their find-spot is known, it is always northern Bulgaria.

[8] See A. Bodor, "Contribuţii la problema cuceririi Daciei" (Rom.: *Contributions to the Question of the Conquest of Dacia*), *ActaMN*, 1 (1964): 137-162; J. Trynkowski, "Urmările demografice ale cuceririi Daciei de către romani" (Rom.: *The Demographic Consequences of Dacia's Roman Conquest*), *ActaMN*, 13 (1976): 81-88.

[9] In the Romanian historiography, the common opinion was that Thracian and Dacian names are identical or hardly separable, and an expression was commonly used: "Thraco-

nationalistic tone of these debates (continuity vs. extinction, natives vs. Roman colonists, overstatement of the indigenous element) must be surpassed, in order to allow new studies based on the unbiased analysis of our present evidence (be it as unsatisfactory as it is now) instead of ideological convictions.

On the contrary, in Moesia Inferior and in the north-eastern corner of Moesia Superior (as well as in the distant Olbia), we dispose of an already large number of inscriptions bearing Dacian names; strangely, these documents were not well exploited until recently, because the attention of the Romanian historians was directed almost exclusively to Roman Dacia and, implicitly, to the present "national territory". Most of these names are names of soldiers, and this prevalence of the Dacian solders from Moesia Inferior (today's northern Bulgaria) is also obvious on the military diplomas granted to soldiers qualified as *Daci*. As we will see, typical names of Dacian kings (attested north of the Danube) are present all over the province of Moesia Inferior, where the ethnic composition was complex: Getae and Dacians, Moesians and Thracians (some of the later colonized by the Romans, as the *Bessi* and the *Lai*, but also many soldiers in the auxiliary units and in the legions)[10]. Despite a majority of peregrine

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Dacian names". This view was used to illustrate both the thesis of the continuity of the native population (namely the homogeneity of the "Thraco-Dacian" onomastics) as well as of the rapid romanisation of the "Thraco-Dacians" in the new province: see I. I. Russu, "Tracii în Dacia romană", *ActaMN,* 4 (1967): 85-105; D. Protase, "Les rapports entre Romains et Daces dans la province de Dacie", in D. M. Pippidi, ed., *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* (Bucharest-Paris, 1976), 493-500; Idem, "Der Forschungsstand zu Kontinuität der bodenständigen Bevölkerung im römischen Dazien (2.-3. Jh.)", *ANRW,* II.6 (1977): 997-988; I. I. Russu, "L'onomastique de la Dacie romaine", in *L'onomastique latine. Paris, 13-15 octobre 1975* (Paris, 1977), 353-363; and, more recently, D. Protase, "L'anthroponymie thraco-dace et l'origine ethnique des porteurs dans les inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Quelques observations", in R. Frei-Stolba, and H. E. Herzog, eds., *La politique édilitaire dans les provinces de l'empire romain. IIème - IVème siècles après J.-C.* (Bern, 1995), 157-165; Idem, in *Istoria românilor*, II: 142-143. In fact, nowadays the distinction between the Dacian and the Thracian onomastic stocks is obvious, and the analysis of the "Thraco-Dacian" names present in Roman Dacia reveals that they are, almost all, plainly Thracian names (of soldiers recruited from Thracia): see D. Dana, "Onomastique est-balkanique en Dacie romaine (noms thraces et daces)", in *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (Cluj, 2004), 430-448.

[10] Dacians were also deported/colonized south of the Danube: by Sextus Aelius Catus at the beginning of our era (Strabo 7.3.10: 50,000 persons), and by the governor of Moesia, Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus ca. 57-67 AD (*CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 3608 = IDRE I 113: 100,000 Transdanuviani*). But they were also natives: an inscription from Tropaeum Traiani establishes ca. 177-178 AD the boundaries between the Daci and the c(ivitas) Ausdec(ensium), this later being the result of a Thracian colonization (*CIL III 14437² = IDRE II 338*).

name formulas, many of the Dacian names are present in the context of the Greek or Roman onomastics, in a variety of associations[11].

2. The Names of Dacian Kings and Chiefs

This section will display the names of the Dacian kings and chiefs, in a chronological order. After a brief discussion of their transmission (handwritten and/or epigraphic), these names will be analyzed in the context of their onomastic system: other occurrences of the same name for simple individuals, or related elements, as well as their frequency or popularity, according to the present state of research.

a. Byrebistas and Dekinais

The king Byrebistas[12], which created a vast kingdom in the middle of I BC, after defeating the Celts, plundering Pannonia, Illyricum and Macedonia, and occupying all the Greek cities of the western shore of the Black Sea between Olbia and Apollonia, appears in some literary and epigraphic sources. Strabo names him Βυρεβίστας (7.3.5, 16.2.39) and Βοιρεβίστας (7.3.11-12), whereas Jordanes speaks of *Burvista* (*Get.* XI, 67, using the lost *Getica* of Dio Chrysostomus, *FGrHist* 707 F 4); in his case, the name is slightly corrupted (especially in the case of *-v-* which stands for *-b*). Two contemporary Greek inscriptions confirm as genuine the form transmitted by the text of the geographer: Βυρεβιστας and Βυραβειστας in the famous decree for Akornion of Dionysopolis (*IGB* I² 13, after BC 48); and Βυρεβιστας in Mesambria (*IGB* I² 323). Despite many Romanian historians, I think that Byrebistas was also recorded in the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, but his name was certainly corrupted in the summary of Justinus (*Prol.* XXXII): *incrementa Dacorum per Burobusten regem*[13].

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[11] See, in general, S. Hornblower, and E. Matthews, eds., *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence* (Oxford, 2000); S. Salway, "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from *c*. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700", *JRS,* 84 (1994): 124-145.

[12] The Romanian monograph of I. H. Crişan, *Burebista and his Time* (Bucharest, 1978) is very influenced by the nationalist tone of the epoch; the recent study of Al. Suceveanu ['Πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος (βασιλεὺς) τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης βασιλέων': IGB I², 13, Z. 22-23", *Tyche* 13 (1998): 229-247] is problematic. On the name: Detschew 96 (and 80, s.v. Bour-); Russu 97, s.v. *Bur-*.

[13] *Burobusten* Seel and von Gutschmid : *Rubobusten* **p** : *Rubobosten* (*-boten* **Q**) **t**. The form *Ruboboston* reflects a banal metathesis. Two opinions are discussed in the Romanian historiography: a) a different king, before Byrebistas (the common opinion): C. Daicoviciu, "Rubobostes = Burebistas?", *ActaMN,* 6 (1969): 459-463; b) the same king: Vl. Iliescu, " Rubobostes oder Burobostes? Zu Trog. Pomp. Prol. XXXII", *StCls,* 10 (1968): 115-122. It is noticeably that no Thracian names in *rub-* are attested.

No example of this compound name is known, but we may mention two Dacian names having the same first element *bur-*: a patronymic (*Damanaeus Buri*) at *Savaria* in Pannonia Superior (*RIU* 120); and *Pueriburis Dabonis f(ilius) Dacus*, soldier in *ala I Augusta Gallorum* of Mauretania Tingitana (diploma of 153, Oct. 26: Pferdehirt nr. 34)[14].

Another important historical personage is the high-priest of Byrebistas, whose image is very idealized by the same literary sources, Strabo and Jordanes[15]. Or, in the source most quoted, Strabo's book VII, it is now unequivocal that his name is corrupted. Here are its forms:

- book VII - 7.3.5: Δεκαίνεος (variant Δεκαίνεως **A Pletho**); 7.3.11: Δεκαίνεον (Acc.) (**B²Sv Pletho**; variants: καινεόν **AW** : καὶ νεόν **C** : δὲ καὶ νεόν **B**);

- but, in book XVI (16.2.39), *all* the manuscripts conserve a more faithful form - Δεκίνεος **F** : Δεκινέος **Cmowxz** : Δεκιναῖος **Dhi**. Likewise, the *Epitome Vaticana* (**E**: *Vatic. gr.* 482, from XIV AD), preserves the form Δεκινεός[16]. Considering the examples below, it is now clear that the initial form of the name in Strabo's text was ΔΕΚΙΝΕΟΣ or ΔΕΚΙΝΑΙΟΣ; the second part of the name is already in a Greek form. The widespread form in *Dekai-* must be most likely replaced by the form *Deki-*, according to the handwritten tradition. Jordanes, abridging in the middle of VI AD the *Historia Gothorum* of Cassiodorus, gives an even more idealized image of this personage, named *Dicineus*[17]. This form in *-neus* is in fact the Latin transcription for the indigenous form *-nais*, and many other Dacian names in *-neus* have, in Latin writing, the same ending: *Dama-n(a)eus, Der-naius, Diurpa-neus*.

In addition, old and new testimonies allow us to affirm that the genuine form of his name was *Dekinais*, according to more epigraphic occurrences of homonymous persons. The most interesting case is the one of a Dacian soldier from *Persou* (Bir Umm Fawakhir) in the Oriental Desert of Egypt, named Dekinais (*O. Krok.* I 98: Δεκιναις): in the beginning of AD 109, he has sent a letter to Kaikeisa (another typical Dacian name,

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[14] For the second element, cf. a Thracian compound name (but where it is in the first position): Βεισταβακης (*LGPN* IV 67). The simple name *Buris*/Βουρις occurs too in Thracia (*LGPN* IV 74). Further, this element is also present in two Dacian toponyms: *Buridava* (Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 3.10.8: Bouridauhvnsioi; *TP* 7.5: *Burridava*; *P. Lond.* 2851) and **Buricodava*, in Moesia Inferior, attested by the ethnic/*origo* of *Aurel. Victor Perburidavensis qui et Buricod(avensis)* in an inscription from *Novae* (*ILB* 317).

[15] See D. Dana, "Notes onomastiques daco-mésiennes", *Il Mar Nero* 5 (2001-2003): 83-86 (about the names of Dekinais and Avezinas).

[16] G. Kramer, *Strabonis Geographica*, III (Berlin, 1852), 306 (for 16.2.39, crit. app.) and 448 (*Epitome Vaticana*).

[17] Jordanes, *Get.* V, 39 (*Dicineum*); XI, 67: *Dicineus* (*Diceneus* **OB**); XI, 69: *Dicineus*; XI, 71; XI, 73 (the last passages are from the *Getica* of Dio Chrysostomus, *FGrHist* 707 F 4).

elsewhere named Καιγιζα) concerning the rumor that the prefect of Egypt (at that time Servius Sulpicius Similis) ordered to detach "all the Dacians" (πάντες οἱ Δάκες) in order to bring them to Alexandria. It is obviously the same name as the high-priest of Byrebistas[18]. Moreover, this name was quite common amongst the Dacians:

(1) Straža (reg. of Târgovište, Moesia Inferior), a dedication to a native god made by Δικηναις Διουρπου (*IGB* V 5281 = *CCET* II 534). We will discuss afterwards the root *diurp-*, which is very common;

(2) the patronymic of a soldier from the *coh. III Brittonum veterana equitata* (diploma of 151, Jan. 20, for Moesia Superior): *Siasi Decinaei f(ilio) Caecom( ) ex Moes(ia)* (Pferdehirt nr. 31). *Caecom( )* is therefore a new Dacian settlement in Moesia Superior;

(3) *Rapidum* (Mauretania Caesariensis): epitaph of *Decineus*, called *frater* (most likely "companion" than "brother") of the veteran *Folvius* (sic) *Felix* (*AÉ*, 1951, 144)[19];

(4) *Luceria* (Apulia): epitaph of *L(ucius) Trebius Dicinai*, freedman (*AÉ*, 1983, 211).

    The name *Dekinais* - and its graphic variants Δεκινεος, Δεκιναις, Δικηναις, *Dicineus*, *Decin(a)eus*, *Dicinai* - is therefore a typical Dacian name within it is easy to distinguish the two elements (which are never present in the names of the Thracians):

a) first element *deki-* (see below for *Decibalus*). It is useful to note the various writings of the theme *deki-* (*deki-*, *dike-*, *diki-*)[20];

b) second element *-nais*, which is characteristic for other Dacian names, such as *Dama-nais* (the most popular Dacian name[21], except *Decibalus*), **Diurpa-nais* (see below), *Dier-nais* (another common name).

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[18] On Dekinais, see: J. Coman, "Décénée", *Zalmoxis* 3 (1940-1942): 103-160 (nationalistic approach); R. Vulpe, in *Studia Thracologica* (Bucharest, 1976), 62-68; Z. Petre, "A propos des sources de Jordanès, *Getica* 39-41 et 67-72", in L. Boia, ed., *Études d'historiographie* (Bucharest, 1985), 39-51; V. Lica, *Scripta Dacica* (Brăila, 1999), 96-109 [ch. *Nugae Decaeneicae* (sic!),] and 156-167 (ch. *Vates Decaeneus*); J.-M. Flamand, s.v. *Dicineus* (D 100), in R. Goulet, ed., *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, II (Paris, 1994), 764-766; Z. Petre, *Practica nemuririi. O lectură critică a izvoarelor greceşti referitoare la geţi* (Rom.: *The Practice of the immortality. A Critical Reading of the Greek Sources concerning the Getae*) (Iaşi, 2004), 208-248. For the name: Detschew 124, s.v. Δεκαίνεος (with erroneous parallels); Russu: 101.

[19] The editor considered this form "absolument aberrante" [M. Leglay, "Reliefs, inscriptions et stèles de Rapidum", *MÉFR,* 63 (1951): 74-75, nr. 24]. It is not preposterous any more.

[20] We may note another name in *deki-*: a soldier *Decinsa Dax* at *Kaine Latomia* (Umm Balad in Egypt), from the *coh. II Thebaeorum* (unpublished ostracon, new reading by Hélène Cuvigny, to whom I am grateful for the information).

b. Cotiso, Roles/ Ρώλης, Δάπυξ, Ζυράξης, Δικόμης

Around BC 30, in the context of the Roman civil war but also of the campaigns of Crassus against the Thracians, the Getae and the Bastarnae, several kings of the Dacians and Getae are known. More Latin sources attest a Dacian king named *Cotiso*[22], defeated at this moment: Horace, *Carm.* 3.8.18 (*occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen*, "crushed is the band of Dacian Cotiso"), Suetonius, *Aug.* 63.2 (*dein Cotisoni Getarum regi*), and Florus 2.28.18 speaking that "The Dacians cling to the mountains" (*Daci montibus inhaerent. Inde Cotisonis regis imperio etc.*)[23].

At the end of book LI of Cassius Dion, we are informed about the two campaigns of the proconsul of Macedonia M. Licinius Crassus in Thracia and Moesia (BC 29-28): a) in BC 29 against the Dacians and the Bastarnae (51.23.2); b) in BC 28-27, against the Thracians and the Getae[24]. As a result of his victories, the general will be celebrated for his triumph *ex Thraecia et Geteis* on the 4th of July 27[25]. Using as a pretext the presence of the Bastarnae under their king Deldon in the Balkans, Crassus chases them and won a first battle on the river Ciabrus (today Cibrica, north-western of Bulgaria). He is thereafter assisted by Rholes, king of some of the Getae (51.24.6-7) (ἔπειτα ʽΡώλου οἱ Γετῶν τινων βασιλέως), and crushed all the Bastarnae. Rholes became then inevitably friend and ally of Octavianus (the title *socius amicusque*)[26]. In a second campaign, Crassus fights against the

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[21] See *DacesZPE*: 172-173; D. Dana, "Sur quelques noms fantômes thraces et daces", *ZPE,* 154 (2005): 295-297.

[22] Cf. *PIR*² C 1544, where it is distinguished of the king remembered by Suetonius as *Coson* (*PIR*² C 1536: whose name is maybe on the coins of the type ΚΟΣΩΝ). The identity of the person named on the coins is still debatable.

[23] Suetonius - *cosoni** M : *cosoni* GV : *cosini* X : *Cotisoni* edd.; Florus - *gotisoni* **B** : *concissonis* **gT** : *Cotisonis* edd. For the name: Detschew 257 (who is maybe right with the assumption of a derivation from the Thracian name Κοτυς).

[24] Cf. also Titus Livius, *Per.* 134 (*Bellum adversus Basternas et Moesos et alias gentes a M. Crasso … referuntur*) et 135 (*Bellum a M. Crasso adversus Thracas*); and Florus 2.26 (*Bellum Moesicum*); *Epitome de Caesaribus* 1.7 (*[Augustus] Getarum populos Basternasque lacessitos bellis ad concordiam compulit*). See A. Mócsy, "Der vertuschte Dakerkrieg des M. Licinius Crassus", *Historia,* 15 (1966): 511-514.

[25] *Acta triumph. Capitol.*: *ex Thraecia et Geteis* (*CIL* I², p. 50); *Tabula trimph. Barber.*: *exs Traechia et [Gete]is* (*CIL* I², p. 77).

[26] *PIR*² R 76. Cf. another paper of V. Lica, "Φιλορώμαιος οδερ φιλόκαισαρ", *BJ* 192 (1992): 225-230; for a similar hypothesis concerning Dapyx's brother: V. Lica, "Fatum Dapyx's Brother, Getarum Rex (Cassius Dio, 51.26.1-3)", in *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (Cluj, 2004), 887-894. All etymologies proposed so far for the form *Oroles* (considered related to the Thracian name Ολορος) are more than doubtful: Detschew 345, s.v. *Oroles*, and 341, s.v. Ολορος, *Oroles*, quotes Tomaschek and Kretschmer (as

Moesians, then once more the Bastarnae and the Thracians. Meanwhile, as Rholes (ʹΡώλης) was in war against Dapyx, another king of the Getae (51.26.1: Γετῶν τινων καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ)[27], to be localized in Scythia Minor, Crassus comes in Rholes' help. After a siege, Dapyx is killed; then Crassus attacks a second king (somewhere in the north of Scythia Minor), Zyraxes, whose most strongly defended fortress was Genucla (ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐερκέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχῆς τεῖχος); finally, Zyraxes escapes north of the Danube (51.26.5-6).

It is highly probable that ʹΡώλης (as named in Cassius Dio), one of the king of the Getae and an enemy of the Bastarnae, is the same person as the Dacian king *Oroles* in the résumé of Pomponius Trogus by Justinus 32.3.16, in an anecdote concerning precisely his conflict with the Bastarnae. Despite the large consensus of the Romanian historiography, who prefers to see two distinct kings (Oroles of the Daci, in southern Moldavia and south-eastern Transylvania, around BC 200; Rholes of the Getae in Scythia Minor, around BC 30), I propose to see Rholes and Oroles as the same king who lived around BC 30 somewhere in the NE of Bulgaria and fought against the Bastarnae with his Roman allies. It is very easy to explain a corruption in the manuscript tradition, where the Greek sequence ὁ ʹΡώλης (in *scriptio continua*: ΟΡΩΛΗΣ) becomes, in Latin, *Oroles*[28]. The same name is found twice later for two other persons: the patronymic of an ephebe at *Dionysopolis* after 212 AD (*IGB* I² 14 col. C₁₅): Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μερκούριος Ρωλη; the patronymic of a Dacian soldier from *coh. VII Thracum* in a diploma of 178, 23 March, for Britannia (*RMD* III 184 = *IDRE* II 474): *ex equite Thiopo Rolae*[29] *fil(io) Daco*. Moreover, we know also a related name

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parallels: Gr. ὄρνις, Goth. *ara* "eagle", Old Bulg. *orilu*, "eagle"); Russu 114, s.v *Oroles* (the same etymology).

[27] The intestine wars between different Dacian dynasts are mentioned again by Cassius Dio (51.23.8, in the context of the support offered to Mark Anthony) and by Strabo (7.3.11).

[28] See my paper "Oroles ou Rholès? (Justin 32.3.16)", *Dacia* (forthcoming). Previous studies: Vl. Iliescu, "Cînd a trăit regele Oroles? (Iustinus, XXXII, 3, 16)" [Rom.: *When Lived the King Oroles? (Iustinus, XXXII, 3, 16)*], *ArhMold,* 7 (1972): 377-381; V. Lica, "Oroles = ΡΩΛΗΣ (Rholes)? (Iustinus, XXXII, 3, 16 - Trogus Pompeius, *Prologul* XXXII şi Cassius Dio, LI, 24, 6-7; LI, 26, 1)", *AUI. Istorie,* 33 (1987): 1-8; V. Lica, "Pompeius and Oroles, *Dacorum rex*", *Tyche* 13 (1998): 135-151 [= *EphemNap* 7, (1997): 11-29]; V. Lica, *The Coming of Rome in the Dacian World* (Konstanz, 2000) (Coll. *Xenia*), 230-250 (*Appendix I: Oroles-Akornion-Pompeius*). See now the critique of Lica's conjectural theories: K. Strobel, "Dakien, der Donauraum und Rom : ein spannungsreiches Wechselverhältnis", in *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (Cluj, 2004), 146-158

[29] *Thiodo* Roxan (*RMD*); but the correct reading is *Thiopo. Rola* is the Latin writing of Ρωλης, compare *Zura* and Ζουρης.

formed with the suffix *-zi*, attested in Egypt: Ρολουζις ορ Ρουλιζις (*DacesZPE*: 179). There was then a Dacian root *rol-*, whereas no Dacian or Thracian names in *orol-* are known.

As for as the name Δάπυξ is concerned, no parallels are known. On the contrary, for the third king named by Cassius Dio, Ζυράξης, it is highly probable that the name[30] is corrupted, because it is very similar with a frequent Dacian name, *Zurozi*, of whom many graphical variants are known. More precisely, this name occurs twice in *Olbia*, in the lists of *stratēgoi*, at the end of I-beginning of II AD (*IOSPE* I² 84: Ζουροζις Γετομουσου; *IOSPE* I² 102: Πουρθακης Ζουροζιου - *Purthakes* being an Iranian name); in *Odessos*, a certain Ζουραζ[ις], son of the archon, agoranom and Apollo's priest M. Αὐρ. Σκοντις (*IGB* I² 162 + *IGB* V 5046 = *CCET* I 60 = *GSMI* 71, first half of III AD); in Rome, *Vibia Dacia* who made the epitaph of his son *L. Vibius Zuro[zi]Aptasae fili[us]* (*CIL* VI 28848 = *IDRE* I 72); in Egypt (*Mons Claudianus*), as patronymic of the Dacian soldier Thiathithi: Ζουραζι (*DacesZPE*: 180-181). It occurs very likely also in two damaged inscriptions from Moesia Inferior: *Aemil. [Z?]urozi* at *Utus* (*CIL* III 12358 = *ILB* 127 = *GSMI* 428); Λ(ούκιος) [Ζου]ραζεις [Ο]ὐα[λ]έρι[ου] at Pliska (*IGB* II 790 = *IGB* V 5362). Recently, we may note another occurrence of this name in a diploma of 131, 31 July, for Mauretania Caesariensis: the wife of the Dacian recipient of the *coh. I Flavia Musulamiorum*, recruited in 106 (year of the conquest) is *Zispier Zurosi fil(ia) [Daca]*[31]. The same name is also attested in the Thracian realm, but only twice[32].

A certain Δικόμης ὁ Γετῶν βασιλεύς is mentioned by Plutarch as an ally of Mark Anthony in BC 31 (*Ant.* 63.7), with no further details. I suspect that it is a name in *dike-*, maybe corrupted.

c. Comosicus

In his precious but inaccurate catalogue of Dacian kings after Dicineus[33], Jordanes mentions a certain *Comosicus* (*Get.* XI, 73). His name is

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[30] For this name: Detschew: 196; Russu: 130.

[31] W. Eck, and A. Pangerl, "Neue Militärdiplome für die Truppen der mauretanischen Provinzen", *ZPE*, 153 (2005): 188-194.

[32] Cf. an inscription from *Pizus*, Thrace (*IGB* III 1690 col. B₂₆): Ζουραζεις Αυλουζενεος; a late inscription (IV/V AD) from *Scythopolis*, Palestine (*SEG* VIII 45): … Βουραειδεις, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος· υἱὸς Ζουραζιο, καλιγάριο{ι}ς, πατρίδος Θράκης, πόλεως Ἀδρ<ι>ανοπόλει.

[33] H. Daicoviciu-J. Trynkowsky, "Les rois Daces de Burébista à Décébale", *DaciaN.S.*, 14 (1970): 159-166. I refute their statement that there were two different kings, one named Scorylo (brother of Duras-Diurpaneus and father of Decibalus) and another named Coryllus. For N. Gostar, "Dinaştii daci de la Burebista la Decebal" (Rom.: *The Dacian Dynasts from Byrebistas to Decebalus*), *SCIVA*, 35, 1 (1984): 45-53, Decebalus is the same

perhaps corrupted (more Dacian and Thracian names are more or less distorted in the *Getica*: *Medopa*, *Gudila*, *Sithalcus*, *Burvista*, *Coryllus*, *Dorpaneus*), but at least the first element, *coma-*, is typical for several Dacian names: **Comacissa* in Egypt (*DacesZPE*: 174 - written Κομακισσα and Κομακιζα); a patronymic in Genitive at *Tropaeum Traiani* in Moesia Inferior (*CIL* III 14214[12] = *CCET* IV 3 = *IDRE* II 336= *GSMI* 269: *Daizi Comozoi interfectus a Castabocis*); recently, a new name *Comadices*, in a diploma of 131, 31 July, for Mauretania Caesariensis, as son of a Dacian recipient enlisted in 106[34].

d. Θιαμαρκος

Thanks to an inscription on a provision vase discovered at Ocniţa in Oltenia (south-western Dacia), a new Dacian king (or only a potter) is known in the end of I BC-the beginning of I AD: Θιαμαρκος. Two fragments were initially published as (in Gen. or Nom.): βασιλε[ως ορ ύς] Θιαμαρκο [υ ορ ς] (*IDR* II 599). But the discovery of another fragment lead finally to the reading Θιαμαρκος ejpoivei (*SEG* XXX 862); another fragment has [Θι]αμαρ[κος][35]. Whatever may have been his status (more probably a potter?), the name is Dacian[36] and occurs for a soldier discharged in AD 195 from the *legio VII Claudia* of *Viminacium* (*CIL* III 14507 = *IMS* II 53 = *IDRE* II 308): *M. Aur. Thiamarcus, Rat(iaria)*. Moreover, it is almost certain that the same name was hidden under a Greek name in a diploma of 178, 23 March, for Britain, as patronymic of the Dacian soldier discharged from the *coh. II Gallorum veterana* (*RMD* IV 293)[37]: *ex equite Thiae Timarchi f(ilio) Daco*. This must be an assonant name for a "barbarian" form: *Thiamarcus* > Τίμαρχος > *Timarchus*. The root *thia-* is extremely popular among the Dacian names (see *DacesZPE*: 179-180) and never occurs for Thracian names.

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king as Diurpaneus, whose name was not popular before; Decebalus would be a *supernomen*, a *Siegname* (the second element meaning "king"); this theory acquired a certain popularity, and is nowadays always stressed in V. Lica's writings.

[34] W. Eck, and A. Pangerl, *Neue Militärdiplome für die Truppen der mauretanischen Provinzen*, 188-194.

[35] See D. Berciu, *Buridava dacică* (Rom.: *Dacian Buridava*) (Bucharest, 1981), 137 fig. 24, 138 fig. 25, 286 Pl. 112.

[36] For the element **marko-*, presumably "horse" (but it is more judicious to mistrust the etymologies), see I. Duridanov, "Les noms du cheval dans la langue thrace", *Linguistique balkanique*, 24/3-4 (1991): 36. The same element occurs in two Thracian feminine names: Σισομαρκη (*LGPN* IV 312) and Ζιαμαρκη (*LGPN* IV143).

[37] The find-spot of the diploma is Bulgaria (cf. *RMD* IV, p. 547), therefore Moesia Inferior.

e. Scorilo, Diurpaneus, Δούρας, Αουεζινας, Βίκιλις, Διῆγις, Decibalus

An anecdote from Frontinus 1.10.4, in the context of the Roman civil wars of I AD, informs us about a certain *Scorylo dux Dacorum*. This king is obviously the same as the wise *Coryllus rex Gothorum*, who reigned for 40 years, mentioned by Jordanes (*Get.* XII, 73), where the name is slightly corrupted (loss of the initial -*s*-). His name appears also on some stamps in *Sarmizegetusa*, the capital of Dacia, previous to the Roman conquest: *DECEBALVS* and *PER SCORILO* (*IDR* III/3 272): once again, this *Scorilo* may have been king or only the potter[38]. At least for the first two cases, we are dealing with the same person, a king who ruled before *Diurpanais and Decibalus. The same name occurs later at *Aquincum* (Pannonia Inferior) for a freedman: *Scorilo, Ressati libertus, domo Dacus* (*CIL* III 13379 + p. 2328,21 = *IDRE* II 282). Further, it is maybe present at *Vindolanda* (Britannia, on Hadrian's Wall), in a list of soldiers: *Scoruilos̨* (*T. Vind.* III 608₈)[39]. *Scorilo/Scorylo/<S>coryllus* is formed on the element *skori*-, who is found in several Thracian names[40], with the productive suffix -*lo* (variant of -*la*).

Another Dacian king before *Decibalus* was *Diurpanais*, on whom the preserved literary sources are not very clear, unfortunately. He is told to be the king who plundered Moesia in AD 85 when the governor C. Oppius Sabinus was killed; furthermore, he defeated the army of Cornelius Fuscus, the prefect of the praetorium who died in the expedition beyond the Danube (c. AD 86). The lost source are the *Historiae* of Tacitus (F 6), who is namely quoted by Orosius 7.10.4: … *nam quanta fuerint Diurpanei Dacorum regis cum Fusco duce proelia quantaeque Romanorum clades, longo textu evoluerem, nisi Cornelius Tacitus, qui hanc historiam diligentissime*

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[38] More different opinions (Latin or Dacian language): J. Trynkowski, "Încă o dată despre 'Decebalus per Scorilo'" (Rom.: *Once More about "Decebalus per Scorilo"*), *ActaMN,* 16 (1979): 507-511; D. Protase, "'Decebalus per Scorilo' în lumina vechilor şi noilor interpretări" (Rom.: "*Decebalus per Scorilo" according to Old and New Views*), *Thraco-Dacica,* 7 (1986): 145-156; C. Poghirc, "Autour de *Decebalus per Scorilo* (*IDR*, III 3, nr. 272)", in *Studia in honorem Georgii Mihailov* (Sofia, 1995), 365-370. The inscription is most likely in Latin (*Scorilo* is not declined, as a barbarian name), not in Dacian.

[39] The authenticity of the name *SCORILO* on a ceramic fragment from Borniş (Dragomireşti, dep. of Neamţ, Moldavia), from II-III AD (R. Popovici, "Antroponim dacic scris cu litere latine în aşezarea de la Borniş-Neamţ (secolele II-III e. n.)" [Rom.: *Dacian Name Written with Latin Characters in the Settlement of Borniş-Neamţ (II-III centuries AD)*], *ArhMold,* 13 (1990): 155-160 = *AÉ,* 1991, 1353) is very problematic.

[40] *Scoris*/Σκωρις and Σκωρισεισος (*LGPN* IV 313); the second name, a compound, occurs in *Odessos*, and is perhaps Dacian. See also the name Ζεισκωρις (*LGPN* IV 142).

contexuit etc., "For the mighty battles of Diurpaneus king of the Dacians, with the Roman general Fuscus, and the mighty losses of the Romans, I should now set forth at length, if Cornelius Tacitus, who composed the history of these times with the greatest care etc." (transl. C. H. Moore). Jordanes, using the same lost text of Tacitus, gives the name as *Dorpaneus*, which is a slightly corrupted variant (*Get.* XIII, 76-77). We ignore if he is the same person as a certain Δούρας[41], presented as the king who transferred the power to Decibalus in two fragmentary Greek texts: a) *Excerpta Valesiana* 284 (Cassius Dio 67.6.1): ὅτι Δούρας, οὗ ἡγεμονία ἐγίγνετο, ἑκὼν αὐτῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ τῷ Δακῶν βασιλεῖ ὅτι δεινὸς κτλ., "Duras, to whom the sovereignty belonged, had voluntarily abdicated it in favor of Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, because the latter was shrewd etc." (transl. E. Cary); b) the same Δούρας is mentioned in an anonymous fragment in *Suda* Θ 413, as a person enjoying a certain authority in the Dacian royal entourage; we are dealing maybe with an abbreviated or corrupted name form. However, this form is present in the suffixed name *Durazis* in Moesia Inferior (Dolna Bešovica, reg. of *Montana*) (*CIL* III 12392 = *ILB* 155 = *GSMI* 525) as a *frater* of a Thracian legionary.

But the name **Diurpanais* is certainly attested for Dacian persons at least three times: the *stratēgos* Δυρπαναις Ὠφελίωνος at *Olbia* (*IOSPE* I² 106); a patronymic in Moesia Inferior (Metodievo, reg. of Preslav): Αβεζεινας Δορπανας (*IGB* II 771 = *CCET* II 415)[42]; finally, a (presumably) slave in Rome: *Diu<r>paneus qui (et) Euprepes, Sterissae f(ilius), Dacus* (*CIL* VI 16903 = *IDRE* I 70)[43]. Every document present a different form of the same name, we may note - and this is rather a rule than an exception for the transcriptions of the "barbarian" names in Greek or Latin evidence.

In fact, the element *diurpa-, -* who has never occurred in the Thracian realm -, is typically Dacian (see *DacesZPE*: 177) and very frequent in the formation of other names:

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[41] *PIR*² D 208; for Diurpaneus: *PIR*² D 110. The name: Detschew 141 (s.v. *Diopanes, Diuppaneus*) and 150 (s.v. Δορπανας, presented erroneously as originating from the root δορ-, p. 149); Russu 104 (doubtful etymology).

[42] The reading Αβεζε[λ]μις in Kazarow and Mihailov is not confirmed by the picture of the document (see *IGB* II, Tab. 102; for a better picture: *CCET* II/1, Taf. LXXV).

[43] For this "barbaric" *agnomen*, see I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (Helsinki, 1966), 26 and 28; H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personnennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, III (Berlin-New York, 2003²), 1476. The hypothesis of C. Ricci that this Diurpaneus was of royal status seems too speculative to me ("*Principes et reges externi* (e loro schiavi e liberti) a Roma e in Italia", *RAL*, S. IX, VII (1996): 583-384, nr. 12). His patronymic occurs maybe on a military diploma for Africa from AD 127 (*AÉ*, 2002, 1752 = *RMD* V 368): … *Flavio Steri[ssae? f(ilio) Daco] et Nattopori f(ilio) [eius et --- f(ilio)/fil(iae) eius] et Duccidava[e fil(iae) eius]*.

-a simple name in Moesia Inferior (Straža, reg. of Tărgovište), in a dedication to a native god: Δικηναις Διουρπου (*IGB* V 5281 = *CCET* II 534); and in Egypt (*Mons Claudianus* and *Didymoi*), as *Diurpo* and Διουρπα (see *DacesZPE*: 177);

-*Diurpagisa interfectus a [sta]tionariis* at *Timacum Minus* in Moesia Superior (*CIL* III 8266 = *IMS* III/2 108)[44];

-Δουρποκις/Δουρπακις at *Mons Claudianus* and a corrupted (?) name Διουρπλιζ at *Didymoi* in Egypt (*DacesZPE*: 177);

-a feminine name on a diploma of c. 133/140 for Dacia Porolissensis, as wife of *Didaecuttis L[--- f(ilius) Dacus?]* of the *coh. II Augusta Nerviana milliaria Pacensis*: *et Diurpae Dotu[si? fil(iae) uxori eius Dacae?]*[45].

-a suffixed feminine name on a diploma of c. 117/138 (unknown province), as the daughter of the recipient: *Diurpina* (*RMD* IV 225, where the name is wrongly given as *Dourpina*).

In the abridged text of Cassius Dio concerning the expedition of L. Tettius Iulianus (AD 88), an anecdote relates the amazing treachery of a Dacian chief who simulated his death after the terrible battle and ran away during the night. Presented as the second in command after Decibalus, his name is written Οὐέζινας (67.10.2); therefore, in the Romanian literature, he is always named *Vezina*. But the new evidence allows us to correct his name and restore its genuine form.

In 1988, M. P. Speidel republished an inscription from *Talmis* (Kalabsha, Lower Nubia) with the following reading[46]: *A(ulus) Vizina mile(s) coh(ortis) I Lus(itanorum) (centuria) Flavi*. He recognized a Thracian name, quoting Detschew and the name Οὐεζίνας[47]. Or, this name was also

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[44] See now M. F. Petraccia Lucernoni, "*Stationarii* o *latrones*?", in G. Angeli Bertinelli, and A. Donati, eds., *Varia epigrafica. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000* (Faenza, 2001), 339-343.

[45] W. Eck, D. MacDonald, and A. Pangerl, "Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen von Unterpannonien und die dakischen Provinzen aus hadrianischer Zeit", *ActaMN*, 39-40, (2002-2003): 46-48 (reading *Didaecuttio*). The soldier was not recruited from Dacia, but from Moesia Inferior (for further details, see D. Dana, and F. Matei-Popescu, "Soldats d'origine dace dans les diplômes militaires", forthcoming).

[46] In fact, Avizina of Talmis wrote two times his name: (1) Z. Žaba, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (Prague, 1974), nr. 234 (*MIZINA*, but it must be read *AVIZINA*); (2) Z. Žaba, nr. 237 + 238 (corrected by M. P. Speidel, "Nubia's Roman Garrison", *ANRW*, II.10.1 (1988): 790-791): *Avizina, mile(s) coh(ortis) I Lus(itanorum) (centuria) Flavi* [*MIZINA* Žaba : *A(ulus) Vizina* Speidel : *Avizina* Cuvigny].

[47] Cassius Dio 67.10.2 (Οὐεζίνας τὰ δεύτερα μετὰ Δεκέβαλον ἔχων, "Vezinas, who ranked next to Decebalus"); Detschew 347; Russu 127. For this title, see H. Volkmann, "Der zweite nach dem König", *Philologus* 92 (1937-1938): 296 and 315; for the Iranians, see É. Benveniste, *Noms et titres en iranien ancien* (Paris, 1966), 51-65 (ch. *Le second après le roi*).

present on several ostraca from *Didymoi* (Khashm al-Minayh) and *Krokodilô* (al-Muwayh) in Egypt, written Αυιζινα, Αουιζινα, Αουιζινας (see *DacesZPE*: 172), mentioning the name of one or more Dacian soldiers under Trajan's reign. Therefore, the correct reading of the Kalabsha inscription would be without a doubt: *Avizina mile(s) coh(ortis) I Lus(itanorum) (centuria) Flavi*.

Actually, the occurrences are of this name more numerous. A *graffito* on *terra sigillata* (c. AD 160-200) from Britain (*Condercum*/Benwell, Northumberland) gives us a supplementary confirmation: *AVESINA* (*RIB* II 2501[84])[48]. This name seems also attested in Moesia Inferior (Metodievo, reg. of Preslav) in a dedication to a native god (*IGB* II 771 = *CCET* II 415, first half of III AD) made by Αβεζεινας Δορπανας. As we have already seen, the patronymic is a typical Dacian name. In conclusion, this name was quite common at the time of the Roman conquest. Consequently, the correction of Cassius Dio's text is now assured: Αουεζινας instead of Οὐεζίνας, because it was corrupted at a certain moment (with the drop of the initial A). This quite common name became hence *Avezina*/*Avizina*.

Another Dacian chief from the Daco-Roman wars' era was Βίκιλις, a companion (ἑταῖρος) of Decibalus who revealed to the Romans the location where the royal treasure was hidden (Cassius Dio 68.14.5). No other attestation of this name is known, and we ignore if that name is either genuine or corrupted. Once again, as in the case of Avezinas, names of Dacian chiefs are transmitted by sources only for their anecdotal interest. The same is true for some kings as Rholes ("Oroles") and Scorilo, for whom, only by chance, we dispose of other testimonies.

Two sources acknowledge us the name of another important personage, namely Decibalus' brother: Martial 5.3 (*Degis*) and Cassius Dio 67.7.2-3 (Διῆγις)[49]. It was Diegis who was sent by his brother to Domitian and who received the crown as an allied/subjected king in AD 89. The form in *die-* is certainly genuine, as well in the names in *diern-* (sometimes *dern-*) and in *-pier* (instead of *-per*), which is without any doubt a Dacian phonetic peculiarity (see *DacesZPE*: 176). Moreover, this name is attested at *Istros* in a suffixed form, Δεγιστίων (*ISM* I 193 col. I[12], catalogue of the *gerusia* from AD 138). Instead of the reading Μεγιστίων (Crönert, Pippidi, recently even *LGPN* IV 226), the stone clearly puts Δεγιστίων (as Pârvan and Russu): this supposes a suffixed form **Degista*, and thereafter the addition of a Greek hypocoristic suffix ιων. The same element occurs in the

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[48] R. P. Wright, "Roman Britain in 1939. II. Inscriptions", *JRS,* 30 (1940): 188, nr. 22 ("But no parallel is forthcoming for a name *Avesina*. The word is complete").
[49] *PIR*[2] D 86; absent in Detschew; Russu 101-102.

interesting compound name of the dynast Ζαλμοδεγικος (*ISM* I 8, decree from Istros, III BC).

Finally, for the last Dacian king, *Decibalus*[50], the matter is by far the best documented. His name is present in various literary sources, contemporary as well as ulterior, and in numerous inscriptions. As a rule, we may observe two basic forms of his name in the literary sources:

-*Decibalus* in *almost all Latin sources*: Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.74.1; *SHA* 24.10.8; Aurelius Victor, *De Caes.* 13.3; Eutropius 8.2.2 (and the Greek version of Paeanius: Acc. Δεκίβαλον); Hieronymus (the translation of Eusebius' *Chronic*, p. 194, 5b Helm); Jordanes alone has the form *Decebalus* (*Rom.* 217). More interestingly, there is also a Greek source who supports the same form in *deki*-, namely John Lydus, *De mag.* 2.28 (Dat. Δεκιβάλῳ)[51], quoting Crito, *FGrHist* 200 F 1;

-Δεκέβαλος in the *Greek and especially Byzantine references*: Cassius Dio, books 67 and 68 (résumé of Xiphilinus); Themistius, *Or.* VIII 110 C; Petrus Patricius (*FHG* IV 185); *Suda* E 1864 and U 483; *Schol. Luc. Icar.* 16, p. 104 Rabe; Kekaumenos (fol. 207ʳ, p. 224 Spadaro, in a corrupted form: Δεκαβάλου); Zonaras, *Hist.* 11.21; John Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.34.63 and 78.

In the Greek and Latin inscriptions, the same two basic forms are present:

-stamps in *Sarmizegetusa*, before the conquest: DECEBALVS (*IDR* III/2 272);

-inscription in *Heliopolis* (Syria), with the *cursus honorum* of a C. Velius Rufus: … *et bello Marcommanorum Quadorum Sarmatarum adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Decebali, regis Dacorum* (*ILS* 9200 = *IGLS* VI 2796 = *IDRE* II 406);

-inscriptions in Rome (*CIL* VI 1444 = *ILS* 1022 = *IDRE* I 6: … *Traian[us …] Dacicus gentem Dacor(um) et regem Decebalum bello superavit*) and the *Fasti Ostienses* for AD 102 and 106 (*IDRE* I 94 and 96: *[caput] Decibali*);

-inscription in Cyrene (*AÉ*, 1929, 2 = *SEG* IX 101 = *IDRE* II 421): και; ὁ κύριος Νέρβας Τ[ραϊανὸς Σεβαστὸς τὸν τῶν Δακῶν μονάρ]χον Δεκίβαλλον ἔλαβε [---].

-the famous epitaph of his *captor*, Ti. Claudius Maximus, found at Grammeni (near *Philippi*, in Macedonia) (*AÉ*, 1969-1970, 583 = *IDRE* II 363)[52]: *quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Ranisstoro*;

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[50] *PIR*² D 19; C. C. Petolescu, *Decebal, regele dacilor* (Rom.: *Decebalus, the king of the Dacians*) (Bucharest, 1991).

[51] All editors give the form Δεκεβάλῳ (as I. Bekker, R. Wünsch, A. C. Bandy) but the unique manuscript of Lydus has the form Δεκιβάλῳ.

[52] See M. Speidel, "The Captor of Decebalus. A New Inscription from Philippi", *JRS,* 60, (1970): 142-153 [= *Roman Army Studies*, I (Amsterdam, 1984), 173-187].

-several inscriptions on *terra sigillata* made by L. Cosius, c. AD 110-120, at La Graufesenque (Gallia) (*CIL* XIII 10013; *IDRE* 190 a, 191, 192)[53]: *DECIBALV[S]*, *DECIBALE*, *DECIB[---]*.

In the light of these evidences, and more precisely of the preference shown by Latin authors, the form *Decibalus* seems more common than the form *Decebalus*, nevertheless widespread in the modern historiography[54]. More interesting, the name was very popular in the imperial period, and is the most documented of all Dacian onomastics. Nowadays, we may signal 19 other bearers of this name. Strangely, in the Roman province of Dacia, only one example is known - who is quite recent -: a dedication of a golden tablet to the Nymphs at *Germisara* (Geoagiu) made by a certain *Decebalus Luci* (*AÉ*, 1992, 1483), whose status is unknown (peregrine?; freedman?). In addition, it is the only undeniable native name in this province. Otherwise, the majority of the occurrences concerns the south of Danube, namely Moesia Inferior, with no less than 8 examples:

-*Cresce(n)s Deceb(ali)* in an album of a Dionysiac association from Butovo-Nedan (reg. of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*) of AD 227 (*CIL* III 6150 = *ILB* 438 = *IDRE* III 327);

-Δικέβαλος Δικεδο̣|[υ], dedication to Diana at the sanctuary of Obedinenie (reg. of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*) (*IGB* II 709 = *IDRE* II 329);

- *Fla(vius) Decebalus*, veteran of the *legio I Italica*, in an epitaph from *Novae* of c. AD 222-235 (*ILatNovae* 54 = *IGLNovae* 82 = *IDRE* II 324 = *GSMI* 395);

- *Valerius Decibal(u)s*, son of *Valerius Marcus* (veteran of the *legio XI Claudia*), at *Durostorum* (*CIL* III 7477 = *IDRE* II 332);

- Ειθια Δικεβαλι in a dedication for a native god from Dobroplodno (reg. of *Odessos*) in III AD (*CCET* II 365 = *IGB* V 5328 = *IDRE* II 331);

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[53] See more recently A. W. Mees, *Modelsignierte Dekorationen auf südgallischer* terra sigillata (Stuttgart, 1995), 138-139, Taf. 34-35.

[54] Considering the present evidence, the statement of M. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus*, p. 151 n. 99 - "The form *Decebalus* is found more often than the form *Decibalus* on Latin inscriptions" - is not pertinent anymore. Russu knew and gave only 9 occurrences of the name (*Daco-geții*, 51-52). The recent *OPEL* (1999, II: 94) gives only 5 occurrences of this name in the European Latin provinces, although their numbers is double. Etymologies (mostly assumptions): Detschew 124 (cf. Lat. *decet*); Vl. Georgiev, "Raporturile dintre limbile dacă, tracă și frigiană" (Rom.: *The Rapports between the Dacian, Thracian, and Phrygian Languages*), *StCls*, 2, (1960): 47 (as Detschew; second element: "power, force"); Russu 101 (in the family of "to honor"); D. Slușanschi, "Traco-dacii și idiomurile lor", in L. Wald, and D. Slușanschi, *Introducere în studiul limbii și culturii indo-europene* (Rom.: *Introduction to the Study of the Indo-European Language and Culture*) (Bucharest, 1987), 109 n* (probably "holder of power"); C. Poghirc, "Kulturelle Aspekte des thrako-dakischen Wortschatzes", in W. Meid, ed., *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* (Innsbruck, 1987), 197 ("king of the Dacians"!).

- *Diurdanus Decibali veteran(us)* at *Sacidava* (*AÉ*, 1998, 1141 = *IDRE* II 339 = *GSMI* 282);
- Ναιετων Δεκεβάλου at Topraisar (reg. of *Tomis*) in the first half of III AD (*SEG* XL 605 = *SEG* XLIII 493 = *IDRE* II 348);
- *Dicebalus exarchus* at *Salsovia*, in IV AD (*IRomTard* 272 E$_6$ = *IDRE* II 342) - the latest occurrence.

Besides, this name was very popular among the soldiers (and slaves/freedmen) of Dacian origin all over the Roman Empire, and first of all in Rome and in Italy:

- Rome: -an *eques singularis Augusti* named *Silvin(ius) Decibalus* in a catalogue of 10 June 203 (*DKR* 58 A$_8$ = *IDRE* I 48);
  -*Sex(tus) Rufius Decibalus* (*CIL* VI 25572 = *IDRE* I 71), maybe a freedman;
  -mark on an amphora on the Monte Testaccio (a slave?): *Deceb(alus)* (*CIL* VI 2797 = *IDRE* I 80: *DECIIb*);
- Italy: -Δεκιβαλος in a Dionysiac catalogue at Torre Nova (Campania) (*IGVR* 160 col. VII$_{89}$ = *IDRE* I 105) (servile condition);
  -a freedman at *Asisium* (Umbria): *T. Vibatius Decibalus* (*AÉ*, 1989, 299 = *IDRE* I 120);
- twice in Britain: *Deciba[lus]* at *Banna* (Birdoswald, base of the *coh. I Aelia Dacorum*) (*CIL* VII 539 = *CIL* VII 866 = *RIB* I 1920 = *IDRE* I 236); *graffito* on *terra sigillata* at *Cilurnum* (Chesters, Northumberland): *Deciba[li]* (*RIB* II 2501.156: *DIICIBA[*);
- Pannonia Superior: *Iul(ius) Decibalus* in an *album collegii* of AD 188 at *Savaria* (*CIL* III 4150 = *RIU* I 22 = *IDRE* II 264);
- Egypt: father of the soldier Thiais at *Mons Claudianus*: Δεκιβαλ( ) (*DacesZPE*: 175);
- Mauretania Caesariensis: son of *Diurdanus Damanaei f(ilius) [Dacus]*, soldier recruited in 106 and discharged in 131: *et Decibalo f(ilio) e[ius]*[55].

Decibalus is a compound name: a) the first element *deki-*, as in the name *Dekinais*; b) a second element *-balus*, also very frequent in the Dacian onomastics (*Densibalus*, Δεζιβαλος, *Dribalus* - see *DacesZPE*: 185). The popularity of these names in *deki-* explains the likely existence of an assonant name[56], based on the same element *deki-*, namely *Decianus*. This is almost certain for an *eques singularis Augusti*, in a diploma of 230, 7 Jan. (*CIL*

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[55] W. Eck, and A. Pangerl, *Neue Militärdiplome für die Truppen der mauretanischen Provinzen*, 188-194 (published as *Decebalo*; but the picture seems to support the reading *Decibalo*).

[56] For this category of assonant names, see now the pertinent observations of M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, "Réflexions sur les anthroponymes "à double entrée" dans le monde romain", *AC*, 74 (2005): 225-231.

XVI 144 = *ILS* 2009 = *IDRE* I 166 = *DKR* 76): … *ex equite domini n(ostri) Aug(usti) M(arco) Aurelio Deciani fil(io) Deciano, colonia Malve(n)se ex Dacia*. The soldier was born therefore in the territory of *Malva*, in Dacia Inferior). His father bears as a simple name (having a peregrine status) the same (*cognomen*) *Decianus*, which is a strong argument for an assonance name. Another example must be the case of Αὐρήλιος Δεκιανός at Dlăžko in Moesia Inferior (reg. of Šumen) (*IGB* II 777).

f. Ziais, Pieporus, Tiatus, Natoporus, Drilgisa

An inscription from Rome, around AD 171-200, informs us about a Dacian royal family of the tribe of the *Costoboci* (north-eastern Dacia, outside the province): *D M, Ziai Tiati fil(iae) Dacae, uxori Piepori regis Coisstobocensis. Natoporus Drilgisa aviae cariss(imae) b(ene) m(erenti) fecer(unt)* (*CIL* VI 1801 = *ILS* 854 = *IDRE* I 69)[57]. The onomastics of this royal family are not without parallels:

- for the feminine name *Ziais* there is a Thracian feminine name *Zia* attested at Karaisen, in Moesia Inferior (*CCET* II$_2$ 674 = *ILB* 349 = *GSMI* 351)[58];
- *Tiatus* is maybe a name in *thia-*, typical for Dacians (see *DacesZPE*: 179-180);
- *Pieporus* has as second element the frequent *-por*: the name was perhaps written in a fragmentary graffito on *terra sigillata* from *Brocolitia* in Britain (Carawburgh, Northumberland): *Piep*[---] (*RIB* II 2501.436);
- *Natoporus* has the same second element *-por*; two other occurrences are known: a soldier *Natopor* at *Mons Claudianus* in Egypt (see *DacesZPE*: 178); a recent military diploma of 127 from Africa (*AÉ*, 2002, 1752 = *RMD* V 368), where the soldier *Flavius Steri̦[ssae f(ilius) --- Dacus?*] has a son *Nattoporis* and a daughter *Duccidava*. We may add a similar name formed on the element *nat-* with the productive suffix *-zi/-si*: a military diploma of 127, 20 Aug., for Germania Inferior, discovered near Glava, reg. of *Montana* (north-western Bulgaria, in Moesia Inferior) (*IDRE* II 472 = *RMD* IV 239): … *coh(ortis) IIII Thracum p(iae) f(idelis) … ex equite [¹⁻²]sae Natusis f(ilio) Daco*.
- as for *Drilgisa*, two other occurrences are known: *Aurel. Drigissa vet(eranus)* at *Securisca*, in Moesia Inferior (*CIL* III 14421 = *ILB* 133 = *GSMI* 420); *T. Aur. Drigissa, Rat(iaria)*), a legionary discharged in AD 195 from the *legio VII Claudia* of *Viminacium* (*CIL* III 14507 = *IMS* II 53 = *IDRE* II 308). Therefore, *Drilgisa* is a variant with the infix *-l-* of this compound name (*dri-* and *-gissa*)[59].

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[57] More recently C. Ricci, "*Principes et reges externi*, 578-579, nr. 9, about the circumstances of their presence at Rome (refugees or hostages, in the context of the Marcommanic wars).

[58] And two other compound Thracian feminine names: Ζιαμαρκη and Ζιασαλβη (*LGPN* IV 143).

[59] For these typical elements of Dacian onomastics, see *DacesZPE*: 185.

3. Popular or Historical Names?

As we have seen, we know only a limited part of the Dacian historical names; and we ignore for most of them if they are popular or rare. Almost all etymologies proposed so far (mainly by Bulgarian and Romanian linguists) seem to be quite unreliable to me, and it is very dangerous to propose historical conclusions on the ground of previous speculations regarding the "translation" or the "essence" of the native names. Furthermore, it is inadequate to describe some names as aristocratic only on a simple assumption - we ignore their meaning as well as their frequency and utilization. Many of the names of the kings are compounds, and reflecting *maybe* aristocratic values (Byrebistas, Comosicus, *Diurpanais, Decibalus, Pieporus), but they are also simple (Rholes, Dapyx) or suffixed (Zyraxes, Scorilo). As a rule, the two bulks of data (names of historical persons; names of particulars) are not equal, and the comparison is not pertinent or possible, at least today.

Nonetheless, some brief considerations are possible, illustrating the importance (and the limits) of the name studies. A tenacious theory of V. Lica (following N. Gostar) asserts that the name of *Decibalus* is an attributed name/title after the victory over the army of Fuscus. Accordingly, the king Diurpaneus took this "Siegname", which was not popular before. This theory is highly speculative and finds no reliable support. Nowadays, we may firmly affirm that the name *Decibalus* was used and perhaps popular before the date ascribed by Gostar and Lica to its "invention" (c. AD 86): because the father of Thiais, Dacian soldier recruited after 106 by the Romans and sent in Egypt, is named precisely Δεκιβαλος. We ignore his age, but this Δεκιβαλος was certainly born at least some 15-20 years before the Dacian victory from AD 86 (around AD 65-70), and received his name at a time when Decibalus was not yet king. Other Dacian soldiers in Egypt are named *Avizina*, Αυιζινα, Αουιζινα, Αουιζινας, as the (presumptive) general of Decibalus in AD 88: this name was then common in the Dacian onomastics at the time of the conquest (they were born at least by that time).

One question arises then: were all these names - Avezinas, Decibalus, Dekinais, *Diurpanais, Rholes, Scorilo - popular or historical names? The answer is unequivocal only for the name Decibalus, as we will see below. For all the other names, the very fact that we ignore almost everything about the popularity of most of them as well as the onomastic practices of the common people in Pre-Roman Dacia or "Moesia" does not allow us the give a pertinent answer. Judging from the names (and the patronymics) of the Dacian soldiers recruited in Egypt and in Mauretania Caesariensis immediately after the conquest, the most popular names were not "historical": *Aptasa*, *Damanais*, *Dida*, *Diernais*, *Diurdanus*. "Historical"

names were also present: but it is very important to stress that - with only one exception - all of them were transmitted by sources outside the Roman province of Dacia: a) soldiers and slaves/freedmen in Italy and in the Empire; b) in a much larger extent, in regions inhabited by Dacians outside the Roman province (and the historical kingdom): Moesia Inferior, but also the north-eastern corner of Moesia Superior and Olbia. In the second case, the rapport with the Dacian kings and chiefs (north of Danube) is not clear, but the linguistic and onomastic continuity is now obvious. Maybe Dekinais is not an "innocent" name, taking into account the fact that it is nonetheless highly frequent (5 persons, of whom two came south of the Danube). There are some Dacian names who were very popular in the second and third centuries, but we ignore if they were historical names or simply popular: *Aptasa, Damanais, Diernais, Diurdanus, Tara, Zura*; more names in *-diurpa* and *thia-*. Most likely, the names *Avezina* and *Zurozi* (cf. Ζυράξης) were also popular names, without reference to historical persons.

We know that the demographic consequences of the Roman conquest were very dramatic, since some sources speak even of an extinction of the Dacians - which is certainly an exaggeration[60] -, but the truth is that the native population is very scantily present in both archaeological and especially epigraphic documentation. The only worthy exception is *Decebalus Luci*. No other Dacian name is assuredly certified; moreover, no native god is known for Roman Dacia, which is another intriguing phenomenon - and unusual in the Roman Empire[61]. On the contrary, Dacian names as well as native divinities are present all over the territory of Moesia Inferior, where the local population is much more visible in our documentation. The following table illustrates plainly this situation which appears to be unique in the Roman Empire: the names of the native population are almost absent in Roman Dacia (the territory of the ancient kingdom), whereas our evidence is quite revealing for the Dacians inhabitants outside the province or for those recruited as auxiliary soldiers or taken as slaves all over the Empire.

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[60] Crito *FGrHist* 200 F 2 (*Schol. Luc. Icar.* 16); Julian the Emperor, *Caes.* 327 CD; Eutropius 8.6.2. See now M. Babeş, "'Devictis Dacis'. La conquête trajane vue par l'archéologie", in Al. Avram, and M. Babeş, eds., *Civilisation grecque et cultures antiques périphériques. Hommage à Petre Alexandrescu à son 70ᵉ anniversaire* (Bucharest, 2000), 323-338; D. Ruscu, "The Supposed Extermination of the Dacians: The Literary Tradition", in W. S. Hanson, and I. P. Haynes, eds., *Roman Dacia. The Making of a Provincial Society* (Portsmouth (Rhode Island), 2004), 75-85 (the most pertinent analysis).
[61] See now the documented and critical monograph of S. Nemeti, *Sincretismul religios în Dacia romană* (Rom.: *The Religious Syncretism in Roman Dacia*) (Cluj, 2005), esp. 185-218: no Dacian divinity is clearly attested in the province.

Names of historical persons	Roman Dacia	Dacian population outside Roman Dacia (Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Olbia)	Other provinces of the Roman Empire (soldiers, slaves, freedmen)
Avezinas		x	xxx
Bikilis			
Byrebistas			
Comosicus			
Dapyx			
Decibalus	x	xxxxxxx	xxxxxxxxxx
Dekinais		xx	xxx
Diegis			
Dikomes			
*Diurpanais		xx	x
Drilgisa		xx	
Duras			
Natoporus			xx
Pieporus			x
Rholes		xx	
Scorilo			xx
Thiamarkos		xx	
Tiatus			
Ziais			
Zyraxes		xxxxx	xxx

Finally, another important observation is that the new evidence stresses the distinctions between the Dacian and the Thracian onomastic stocks, despite some common elements (as -*por*, by example). So, north of Danube (or, more precisely, north of the Balkans), no kings or chiefs are bearing the typical Thracian royal names as Kotys, Rhoimetalkes, Sadalas, Seuthes, Teres; even more interesting is the fact that the most popular Thracian names and elements (*Bithus*, *aulu-*, *diza-*, *muca-*, *-tralis*) are totally absent in the Dacians' names constructions. Reciprocally, we find no *Decibalus* among the Thracians, and no example of typically Dacian elements (*coma-*, *deki-*, *diurpa-*, *dri-*, *-gissa*, *-nais*, *-thia*). The pertinence of this distinction is strengthened by the fact that the rapport between the evidence of Dacian and Thracian names is heavily disproportional (in the favor of the Thracian names, for whom the documentation is very rich); therefore, the absence of Dacian onomastic elements (recently revealed) south of the Balkans is not fortuitous but significant. Nowadays, it is easy to make the difference between these populations, which were too many times seen as homogenous - therefore, the concept of "Thraco-Dacian(s)" is certainly inadequate and confusing. Despite these oversimplifications, very

popular mainly in the Romanian historiography, the area inhabited by the Thracian complex was too vast to be unitary[62], and the geographical and chronological distinctions are more evident with every new document. Historical and geographical contexts were too often neglected, both because of the quality of the sources and the ideological assumptions. It is no longer the case to continue on this commodious way.

4. *Decibalus*, a Definitely Historical Name

Even if Decibalus remains in the Late Latin and Byzantine historical literature one of the most formidable antagonists of the Empire, his name will stand for at least two/three centuries the very mark of the "Dacianess" and the most notorious king of the Dacians. Slaves (and freedmen), soldiers and civilians will bear his name until the Late Roman Empire: the 19 occurrences tell a lot on his popularity. In Moesia Inferior, it is the most frequent native name, as it is also the most common amongst all the Daco-Moesian anthroponyms.

We ignore if the original name of the slaves (and freedmen) named *Decibalus* in Italy and at Rome was really *Decibalus*, or if - which is very probable - the masters gave to their (very likely) Dacian slaves a "historical" name, that of the enemy of the Empire who was finally defeated; in this case, as a servile name, it would symbolically mark again the preeminence and the domination of the Roman power over the conquered natives. We know that many slaves in Rome were used to bear Greek and mythological names, but also "historical" names, especially ones of Oriental kings, both of a distant past and of a direct enemy, namely the Parthian kingdom. As the recent repertory of Heikki Solin shows, such prevailing names in the servile milieu were *Arsaces*, *Cyrus*, *Mithridates*, *Pacorus*, *Tigranes*, *Tiridates*, *Pharnaces*[63]. After 106, it was maybe in vogue to name his slave *Decibalus*, especially if he was of Dacian descent.

However, as for the Dacian soldiers named *Decibalus*, their name certainly reflects the choice of their family, and in the case of the *cognomina* - for those having the Roman citizenship - their *deliberate choice*[64]. There are

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[62] At least 4 onomastic territories are now evident inside the *Thracian complex*: a) the (strictly) Thracian one (*grosso modo*, the future province of Thracia); b) the "Daco-Moesian" group (Dacia, Moesia Inferior, north-western Moesia Superior); c) the Occidental Thracian group (Oriental Macedonia, southern Moesia Superior, western Thracia); d) finally, the Bithynian group.

[63] H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, I (Berlin-New York, 2003²), 240-244.

[64] Cf. A. Morpurgo Davies: the study of a personal name "may be highly revealing if we are interested in the cohesion and cultural continuity of a specific community - it tell us something not only about the natural preservation or otherwise of onomastic

some persons for whom we ignore their status, but a majority of those who are named *Decibalus* revolves in a military milieu: 3 patronymics of soldiers, 5 soldiers, and 2 children of soldiers. This name is extremely popular, especially in Moesia Inferior (8 mentions all over the province), and the choice of this name could not have been made without any allusion to the defeated king. It is very interesting to see how the Dacians south of Danube, who never were under *Decibalus*' rule, perpetuated his memory. On the other hand, we may wonder if this name was not reminiscent of a certain suspicion for the Romans: the number of Dacian soldiers (in the auxiliary troops, but also in the legions) bearing this name was not unimportant: maybe it was also seen as a guarantee of a good warrior. Very suggestive, a Dacian soldier recruited in 106 (perhaps a captive?) - the exact year of the defeat and suicide of the last Dacian king -, and sent in Mauretania Caesariensis (at the other edge of the Empire) named his first born son precisely *Decibalus*. After the king who is seen by the sources as the type of perfidious enemy, all these *Decibali* will now fight for the Empire: the continuity of this onomastic suggests an association - and not a conflict - of both local identity and integration in the Roman structures. Staying Dacian from the viewpoint of their onomastic strategies (manifest in the case of the *cognomen Decibalus*), the Dacian soldiers were also fitting in the provincial or more large structures of the Roman Empire, and first of all in the army, which was for them (as for the Thracians) the most appropriate - if not the only - way of integration and subsequently of social ascent.

Among the foreign historical names popular in the Roman Empire we may mention *Hannibal*, other major adversary, denomination which is quite common in the north of Africa[65] but also in Italy, where more slaves/freedmen were used to bear his name[66], many centuries after the death of the famous Punic general. Much later, even a derivative *cognomen*

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characters, but also about a set of deliberate choices in name-giving and name-preserving" ["Greek Personal Name and Linguistic Continuity", in S. Hornblower, and E. Matthews, eds., *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence* (Oxford, 2000), 24].

[65] For example (in *CIL* VIII): 508 (*[H]annibal*); 9429 = 20954 (*Namphamon Annobalis*); 17180 [= *ILAlg* I 1406] (*Anob(al) Gaetul(lus)*); 22671 c [= *IRT* 300] (*Annobalis*); 23638 (*Rufus Anobalis*); 25309 (*Annibal*); 25902; 25980 (*Felix Annobalis*); 27541 (*Annobal*); *ILAlg* I 1524 (*Cresce(n)s Anob[alis]*); *IRT* 24 (*Anobal*); *IRT* 269 (*Annobal Rusonis*); *IRT* (*[A]nobalis*); *IRT* 321 (*Annobal Rufus*); *IRT* 322 (*Annobal*); *AÉ*, 1975, 869 (*Cornelius Annibal*); *AÉ*, 1985, 910 (*Anniba[l]*); *AÉ*, 1999, 80 [*(centuria) Iuli Hannibali*]. See now the considerations of Y. Le Bohec, "L'onomastique de l'Afrique romaine sous le Haut-Empire et les *cognomina* dits 'africains'", *Pallas* 68 (2005): 229.

[66] *CIL* V 4920 (*Annobalis*); *CIL* VI 6461 (*Hannibalus*); *CIL* VI 23782 (*Papirius Annibalus, nation(e) Italo*); *CIL* VI 38429 (*Hannibalus*); *AÉ*, 1979, 271 (a freedman *Hannibal*).

Hannibalianus is attested for a person of a very high status[67]. More interesting is the case of the Numid king *Iugurtha*, whose name is quite frequent in the northern Africa during the imperial period, and preferred even by persons of higher status[68]. But in their case, it is noteworthy that the majority of the examples of those names occurs more centuries later, as a mark of both local identity and historical reference to great men of the past - and more precisely of their past - (even if enemies of the Romans). On the contrary, the name *Decibalus* is popular immediately after the Dacian defeat and the definitive collapse of the Dacian kingdom, and is attested even in the Roman army: in this case, the difference must be of only one or more generations - with the noticeably exception of the *Decibalus* born in Mauretania Caesariensis. It is to be expected that new documents will improve our image.

Shortly after the middle of the third century, there was a rumor (however transmitted in the *SHA*) that the usurper *P. Cassius Regalianus* (or *Regilianus* in *SHA*), one of the military emperors who came originally from the Balkano-Pannonian area and was proclaimed emperor by AD 260[69], was a descendant of the lineage of Decibalus: *[Regilianus] fuit, quod negari non potest, vir in <re> militari semper probatus et Gallieno iam ante suspectus, quod dignus videretur imperio, gentis Daci<a>e, Decibali ipsius, ut fertur, adfinis* (*SHA* 24.10.8), "It cannot, indeed, be denied that he had always won approbation in warfare and had long been suspected by Gallienus because he seemed worthy to rule; he was, moreover, a Dacian by birth and a kinsman, so it was said, of Decibalus himself" (transl. D. Magie). This period match with an era where this name was no longer the one of a perfidious enemy, but that of a great king of the past. It has become an appropriate denomination for whoever came from the Lower Danube and looked for a noble origin (as *Silvinius Decibalus*, rider in the imperial guard at the beginning of III AD). All proves that *Decibalus* became synonymous

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[67] *Afranius Hannibalianus*, consul in AD 292 (*PIR²* A 444 = *PLRE* I 407).

[68] See J.-M. Lassère, "Onomastica africana XVII/XVIII: gentilices romains d'origine africaine", in Cl. Briand-Ponsart, ed., *Identités et culture dans l'Algérie antique* (Rouen, 2005), 189-190, with all the occurrences of this name (and the example of the name Hannibal). The case of *M. Flavius Virrius Iugurtha, eques Romanus, flamen perpetuus, decurio splendidissimae Coloniae Carthaginiensium* honored by the *ordo* of Timgad in the middle of III AD (*CIL* VIII 17909) is highly significant.

[69] See I. I. Russu, *Daco-geții*, 57-58; *PIR²* R 36. Nowadays, his Dacian origin is not sure anymore, since one of his forefathers was maybe the consul *suffectus* of 202 recently known in a military diploma: *Publius Cassius Regallianus* (Pferdehirt nr. 45); see W. Eck, "Prosopographische Bemerkungen zum Militärdiplom vom 20.12.202 n. Chr. Der Flottenpräfekt Aemilius Sullectinus und das Gentilnomen des Usurpators Regalianus", *ZPE,* 139 (2002): 208-210.

of Dacia or more precisely of the Dacians, and that the association was automatic. This historical name was therefore highly relevant for both the native population (from Dacia and Moesia Inferior), who perpetuated its memory over centuries, and for the Romans: there was no better name to remind the former power of the Dacian kingdom.

Abbreviations

AÉ   *Année épigraphique* (Paris).
CCET   *Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii*, I-V (Leyde, 1972-1984) (*ÉPRO* 74).
CIL   *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I-XVII (Berlin).
DacesZPE   D. Dana, "Les Daces dans les ostraca du Désert oriental de l'Égypte. Morphologie des noms daces", *ZPE* 143 (2003): 166-186.
Detschew   D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Vienna, 1957 = 1976²).
DKR   M. P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti* (Cologne, 1994).
GSMI   S. Conrad, *Die Grabstelen aus Moesia Inferior. Untersuchung zu Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonographie* (Leipzig, 2004).
IGB   G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, I-V (Sofia, 1958-1997).
IDR   *Inscripţiile Daciei romane* (Rom.: *The Inscriptions of Roman Dacia*) (Bucharest, 1975-).
IDRE   C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (Ier-IIIe siècles)*, I-II (Bucharest, 1996-2000).
IGLNovae   J. Kolendo, and V. Božilova, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)* (Bordeaux, 1997).
IGLS   *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, I-VI (Paris, 1929-1967).
IGVR   L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, I-IV (Rome, 1968-1990).
ILAlg   *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (Paris-Alger).
ILatNovae   V. Božilova, J. Kolendo, and L. Mrozewicz, *Inscriptions latines de Novae* (Poznan, 1992).
ILB   B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae* (Sofia, 1989).
ILS   H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, I-III (Berlin, 1892-1916).

IMS	F. Papazoglou, ed., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure* (Belgrade, 1976-).
IOSPE I²	B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, I² (Sankt-Petersburg, 1916 = repr. Hildesheim, 1965).
IRomTard	Em. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România* (Bucharest, 1976).
IRT	J. M. Reynolds, and J. P. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome-London, 1952).
ISM	*Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris* (Bucharest, 1980-).
LGPN IV	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, and R. W. V. Catling, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. IV. Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea* (Oxford, 2005).
O. Krok. I	H. Cuvigny, *Ostraca de Krokodilô. La correspondance militaire et sa circulation (O. Krok. 1-151)* (Cairo, 2005).
OPEL	B. Lörincz, and F. Redö, eds., *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, I-IV (Budapest-Vienna, 1994-2002).
Pferdehirt	B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, I-II (Mainz, 2004).
*PIR*²	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III* (1933-).
P. Lond.	*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, I-VI (London, 1893-1917, 1974).
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I-III (1971-1992).
RIB	*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I-II (Oxford, 1965-1995).
RIU	*Die römischen Inscriften Ungarns* (Budapest-Amsterdam, 1972-).
RMD	M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, I-IV (London, 1978-2003); P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, V (Oxford, 2006, forthcoming).
Russu	I. I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor* (Rom.: *The Language of the Thraco-Dacians*) (Bucharest, 1967²) (= 1959).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923-).
T. Vind. III	A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, and J. Pearce, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses)*, III (London, 2003).

Practica nemuririi. O lectură critică a izvoarelor greceşti referitoare la geţi.
       [The Practice of Immortality. A Critical Reading of the Greek Sources
       Concerning the Getae]. By *Zoe Petre*.
Iaşi: Polirom, 2004, 398 pp.

       Zoe Petre's recent book is an event in the space of the Romanian historiography on the Antiquity, which is still marked by nationalism and positivism. Due to an intellectual evolution that permitted her to know and practice history differently, the author oriented towards the "Getae ancestors". Thus, she applied in Romania the spirit of the Annals and of the French school of historical anthropology of ancient Greece. As she was interested in the topic of the otherness, her discourse has always been one of the otherness, which is even more remarkable in the context of the Romanian historiography. Refusing to see the Getae as our "ancestors", she proposes to give this to the "great Thracian thinkers" in their otherness and function of the *Greek* myths and stories. In fact, the image that the Greeks had of the Thraces is the image of the Other that gives them back their own image.

       After a very pertinent introduction (pp.7-11), we discover the following chapters: I. [The Immortality of King Charnabon] (pp. 21-69), II. [The Bravest and Fairest Thraces] (pp. 70-126), III. [Zalmoxis King and God] (pp. 127-170), IV. [About Feasts and Marriages] (pp. 171-207), V. [The Search for the Lost Author] (pp. 208-248), VI. [Kings, Priests and Warriors] (pp. 249-289), VII. [The Universal City] (pp. 290-303), VIII. [Getika] (pp. 304-361), IX. [Another Form of Immortality] (pp. 362-382), X. [Conclusions] (pp. 383-388).

       Zoe Petre keeps the substance of her articles on the Thraces' otherness, their role in the Greek imagination, as well as the myth of Zalmoxis[1], but she adds new parts to it, forming a framework that aims at "demolishing" historiography, which is obsessed by the national discourse (see, for instance, her critique of the "Dacian-Getae" concept); at the same time she proposes a new way of reading sources and a new approach on the Getae society. Thus, it results that in the Greek literature the Getae are an image of the otherness, which is only rarely affected by real events; consequently, the *athanatizontes* Getae are a part of the Greek imagination of the otherness. Their land is a joint between the Greek centralism/normality and the absolute otherness of the Scythes (the game between a close otherness of the Greeks and the distant otherness of the Scythes); Zalmoxis is included in the motif of the Stranger who came from far, expressing the wisdom of the borders. The Getae, as a collective character, evolve in the Greek literature like other imaginary characters, but individually, as representatives of the world's borders who illustrate the image of the Other: the radically opposed (king Charnabon); the example of purer humanity (king Dromichetes); the example of sacred and governing wisdom (Deceneus). Finally, the Getae practitioners of immortality are *personae fictae*, an inextricable mixture of historical reality and projections of the Greek imagination, which define themselves as opposed to the different forms of the Stranger.

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[1] For example: "Les Gètes chez Hérodote", AUB. Istorie, 33, 1983, pp. 17-23; "A propos des sources de Jordanès" 39-41 and 67-72"], in L. Boia (ed.), *Études d'historiographie*, Bucureşti, 1985, pp. 39-51; "Les Thraces dans les mythes grecs: entre le même et l'autre", *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires,* 1987 (3), pp. 4-10; „Les Thraces et leur fonction dans l'imaginaire grec" , *AUB. Istorie*, 40, 1991, pp. 53-58; "Le mythe de Zalmoxis", *AUB. Istorie*, 42-43, 1993-1994, pp. 23-36.

One of the hypotheses of the book is that, apart from Herodotus' source on Zalmoxis, which is rather ironic (the result of the Greeks of Pontus's colonial folklore), there was another one, a "positive" one, contemporary of Herodotus; the latter is supposed to be the basis of Pythagoras' tradition from the south of Italy (Philolaos' circle?). Before the middle of the 4th century BC, Zalmoxis as a character is completely adopted by the Greek discourse (as we do not know new external sources). "In different ways, the fabulous character of Zalmoxis reappears as an example of the Greek discourse on the limits of its own civilisation: a character between the universe of the city and the mysterious borders of the *œcoumene*, the symbol of an ephemeral world; he could absorb the Greek education but also bring primordial wisdom in the world of the city, which is a proof of the universal vocation of the philosopher" (p. 170). In this tradition, Zalmoxis is not a slave anymore, but he is inserted among legislators; this new hypostasis, which also belongs to the Greek imagination, give birth to *[Zalmoxis's Novel]*, Plato's text (*Charmides)*, where the character of the Thracian doctor is imaginary) and to the one of Poseidonios', which is very important in the legend (the literary legend, of course) of Zalmoxis. In the author's opinion, the interpretation of Zalmoxis given by the philosopher of Apamea would be the nucleus of Strabo's and Diodorus' texts and maybe of those of Dio Chrysostom (whose lost *Getika* served Cassiodorus' and Jordanes' proposals). Inside the framework of these literary traditions, Herodotus' ironic story transforms gradually in a testimony on the barbarian wisdom of the borders (again as compared to Pythagoras). By choosing to translate the participle *athanatizontes*, which became an epithet of the Getae, as "those who practice immortality rituals" and relating the verb *apollumi* (Herodotus 4.94, for those who die and go to Zalmoxis) to a death on the field of honour, Z. Petre proposes an interpretation of the sacrifice for Zalmoxis as an initiation rite of the Getae warriors, in a comparative vision at the Indo-European level. The essence of the rite through which the Getae reached immortality would have been the heroic and violent death in the fight; like Odin, Zalmoxis seems to have possessed and spread sovereignty; consequently, he is a first-range god (p. 130). Thus, Z. Petre destroys M. Eliade's theory on the chronological and symbolic relation between Zalmoxis's sacrifice and "occultation", but she preserves the essence of his thesis, which is the centralism of initiation rites in the Getae religion.

In her book, Zoe Petre starts an inquiry of literary sources, from Herodotus to other Byzantine authors, on the *Getae* collective character; this is done through a re-immersion in the context of information on the Getae" (p. 7), one more reading of the sources in their language (warning that we should not over-interpret them), a constant comparison with ancient Greece, an updated bibliography both on the Getae historiography and on the one of the ancient authors analysed. It is a discourse on the Getae otherness as seen by the Greeks, but a totally different one in the context of the Romanian historiographer. We have to repeat that her methodological principles are totally new for the Romanian analysis of Zalmoxis. Z. Petre invites us to be cautious; by insisting on the lack of archaeological testimonies on the "Zalmoxis doctrine", she estimates that we should content with exploiting literary sources (very few) and doing cautious comparative research. The Getae from the historical sources could not be mixed up with the "real" Getae, as they are part of a Greek discourse on the otherness: an otherness situated on the territory of the possible, the ambiguous and something in the middle, which is part of the essentially Greek dialectics of the

Same and the Other. Moreover, Zalmoxis's central place in the Getae religious historiography is supported only by the image given by the Greek literary tradition. It is also important to see the distinction between the two versions of Herodotus (Getae's rites and Greeks of Pontus's history) that neither have the same source nor the same degree of credibility. Given the lack of other documented sources on Zalmoxis after Herodotus, the rest is only a mass of re-elaborations; thus, it would be useless to speak about a reform of Deceneus during which Zalmoxis would have lost his sovereign place (p. 270). It is even more important to admit that the fundamental postulate of the Getae's specificity in the traditional historiography is a pure product of the ancient identity imagination, over-interpreted by a romantic modern ideology of the well-known origins, whose climax is V. Pârvan's *Getica* (Bucharest, 1926); under these circumstances, Z. Petre estimates that writing about the "Getae immortality" is doing different exegeses of an inexistent object (p. 94).

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A keleti kelták. A késő vaskor a Kárpát-medencében.
[The Eastern Celts. The Late Iron Age in the Carpathian-Basin].
By *Szabó Miklós*.
Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2005, 212 pp.

Having an experience of 43 years, having written more than 450 articles, essays, studies and books concerning history, art and society of the Late Iron Age and Ancient Greece, professor of the Eötvös Lóránd University from Budapest, today full member of the Hungarian Academy, correspondent member of the Reial Academy from Barcelona and of the France Academy, honorary member of the Greece Archaeological Association the Hungarian archaeologist Szabó Miklós comes up with a new work.

As the writer acknowledges on the first and last pages of his work, the book is a reviewed edition of the ones published earlier (*A kelták nyomában Magyarországon* in 1971, translated in French, German and English, reviewed in 1976 and *Les Celtes de l'Est* in 1992). This new version is justified by the recent researches, mainly from Hungary which implied the need of reconsidering some problems. This re-examination had to be supported by new images and annexes, but the structure of the book was not changed.

When opening the book in the first pages one can find a double sheet with a periodical table. Observing the data from this table, it becomes clear that the author addressed his work not only to the group of specialists engaged in the research of the Late Iron Age, but to the common reader as well. Near the absolute dating one can find the main relative chronology of the Iron Age and the subdivisions of these periods. The column where the main events of Celtic history are sketched is followed by the table with the evolution of this population's art.

The **INTRODUCTION** discusses the characteristics of non-Mediterranean Europe at the dawn of the La Tène period. The expansion and conquest of the Celts meant for this region the first possibility of cultural unity. For most of these places it was the start of historical age. For the Carpathian Basin, the Late Iron Age was marked by the arrival, hegemony and decline of Celtic population. In the modern

times it was an inspiration for writers (Macpherson, but Petőfi too), it resulted in the so called "Celtomania" movement or the cult of druids. In the 19th century the first researches at Alesia or Bibracte took place.

In 1856 the site of La Tène was discovered and Hildebrand defined the Celtic period of the Iron Age. Other important researchers like G. de Mortillet, E. Desor, F. Pulszky, S. Berger, G. Bulliot, J. Déchelette, J. L. Pič, and K. Miske clarified the characteristics of the Celtic materials. The 20th century brought the first monographic studies for the Carpathian Basin (L. Márton and I. Hunyadi). As a "reaction" to the work of J. Filip, systematic researches were opened and important artefacts brought to light in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia. The fall of the political systems from the '90s facilitated interdisciplinary researches like environmental archaeology, aerial-photography. The construction of highways brought and still brings sensational discoveries.

In these circumstances, a synthesis became necessary, though antique sources are often ambiguous and from the first period of Celtic presence most of the data is retrieved from cemeteries while from the end of this period mostly from settlements were excavated and even if the chronology of the Celtic coinage sometimes aggravates the purpose.

The first part discusses the **HISTORY** of Eastern European Celts. The author starts the first chapter with a question: **Who were the Ancient Celts***?* And he gives three different ways of defining them.

The first one could be the antique sources. Regarding the name of this population, we find out that Herodotus called them for the first time *keltoi*, the name *Galatai* appeared for the fist time in the 3rd century, while the Romans mentioned the name *Galli* in 385 B.C.

Linguistic researchers try to determinate the area where Celtic languages were spoken, the language being one of the most important elements of unity.

The archaeology examines the Celtic materials, and separates two major groups of finds: those from the Hallstatt period and from the La Tène period.

But the three approaches do not always match each other. There is a lack of linguistic elements, and archaeological materials can not be attributed to any ethnic element. On the other hand the antique sources, in some cases, erroneously define populations as being Celtic.

The chapter called **The Middle Danube Region before the Celts** focuses on two kinds of regions: one where the Celtic civilization born and the second where it penetrated, separating western and eastern Celts. Our data on *The Ancient Geographical Knowledge* of Celts are ambiguous; the narrations of Caesar, Hekataius or Herodotus are obscure. *The Inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin before the Celts* were considered – without any palpable evidence – the Illyrians, and Thracians. In the Hungarian Transdanubia there was the tribe of Pannons with a late Hallstatt character, while in the Hungarian Plane and Transylvania Scythian populations reigned. The hypothesis that the Scythians were preceded by Dacian population is considered incorrect, since they are mentioned in the 4th century without the region where they lived in that period.

The next chapter, **The Migration of the Celts in the Carpathian Basin**, commences with the part called *The Invasion as the Antique Authors Saw it*. The author quotes writers like Titus Livius or Justinus, who used the work of Trogus Pompeius to prove that the conquer of Rome from the second decade of the 4th

century was contemporary to the accession in Pannonia. The tribes left their native lands because of congestion. While the authors cite not only the name of the tribes, but also their settlements from Italy, concerning the Middle Danube region these information are missing.

Since the '70s, *The Archaeology of the Celtic Invasion*, had to deal with objects dated in the 5th or at the very beginning of the 4th century B.C (Pilismarót-Basaharc, Dunakanyar, Bučany, Traisental, and Sopron-Krautacker). It is hard to tell now if these archaeological finds are the remains of certain contacts or they point to an actual presence of Celts. Anyway, the statement that the La Tène civilisation preceded the migration of Celtic population in the region appears to be true.

The conquest of the territory of Slovakia, Romania and Serbia can be dated somewhere in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century. The finds from the 4th century can be considered eclectic due to the heterogeneous character of the population. This can be the reason why the antique authors do not mention any name of tribes. These newcomers could be the *heteireia*s, those armed corps whose symbol was the dragon-paired scabbards spread from England to Romania. An important remark is that the new territory of the Celts was at the intersection of two main roads: the south-north and the east-west ones.

In the second half of the 4th century there can be observed a consolidation of the power of Celts, proved by the local pottery or bronze workshops. Therefore the region becomes the eastern centre of La Tène civilization, from where the new offensive was about to begin. It is the period when the Celtic envoys visit Alexander the Great.

In the chapter **Attacks Against the Hellenistic World** the synthesis of the *Antique Narrations* about the events is made. The reports of Trogus/Justinus let us believe that the hinterland for the invasions of the Balkans was the Middle Danube region. It started with the defeat of the Illyrian tribe of the *Autariati* about 310 B.C. and continued after the death of Lysimachos around 281 B.C. with the blast of Macedonia and Greece. The narrations about the offensive against the Hellenistic world are fragmentary and they are not earlier than the age of Augustus. The reconstruction of the events from the region between Bulgaria and Middle-Greece is the most difficult.

The history of the years 280 and 279 is more elucidated. We have information about the army of Belgios, who conquered the Illyrians, reached Macedonia where he defeated Ptolemaios Keraunos in 279 and – inexplicably – returned where he came from. We also know about Brennos and Akichorios and the twenty thousand warriors who left their army under Leonnorios and Lutarios somewhere in Dardania. The battle from the oracle of Delphi which took place in the snow-storm from 279 B.C. and after which Brennos took his own life is related by Cicero. The third wave of the Celtic offensive was leaded by Kerethiros. Defeated by Antigonos Gonatas the Celts were enrolled in his army.

The antique sources do not mention the origin of these groups. Brennos is believed to have come from the western sea but other authors refer to him as a member of the tribe of *Prausios* or *Trausos* located in the Carpathian Basin or the Balkans. Belgios is considered to belong to the tribe of *Belgae*, but the description of the way "back home" given by Trogus/Justinus points to the Middle Danube region.

The author of the book inquires: how could these expeditions be characterised: as a migration, colonisation or raids? The answer comes from

Diodorus, who mentions the chariots with children and women; so the reason of this movement of population seems to be an overpopulation of the native regions.

In the part *The Testimony of Archaeology* the discoveries which stanchion the narrations of written evidence are enumerated. The demographic explosion is proved by the settlements from Bohemia starting with the 5th century. The dispersion of the graves containing weapons from the Lt.B2 points out the eastern advancement. These data refer to the fact that the region became the hinterland of the invasions. It can be easily proved in the case of Pečine or Karaburma. These are evidence of the initial peacefulness of the colonisation in these regions.

The Celtic archaeological artefacts of the expedition are only a few, because the intruders remained for a short time in the area, as shown by the bracelet from Isthmia, the fibula from Delphi, another bracelet from Finike and the bronze mounting from Mezek. For a long time all of the materials manufactured in Greece were considered trophy of the invasions. But the coins of Philip the 2nd indicate the existence of a peaceful exchange between the two populations.

The author continues with an important chapter regarding **The Effect of the Fiasco from the Balkans**. The first quarter of the 3rd century is characterised by movements of populations and territorial reorganizations. We do not have information about the characters of the invasion, but the antique sources mention new leaders. *The Celtic Kingdom from Thracia* was founded in 277 BC by Komontorios with the participation of the Celts lead earlier by Brennos. We do not know the aspects of their culture, because the kingdom of Tylis can not be identified. In 212–213 BC they submitted to the Thracians. *The Galatai from Anatolia* were the separatist troops of Leonnorios and Lutarios. Defeated by Antiochus the 1st they were settled near the river Halys, a region later called Galatia. In the 3rd century the *Celts* were *in East*, in the region of Olbia. *The Return to West* was not a problem of great interest for the antique writers. Only two groups of population are mentioned in the narrations.

The *Volcae Tectosages* were considered – erroneously – responsible for robbing the oracle of Delphi and carrying it to Tolosa. According to Caesar in the 1st century BC these people lived in the area of the *Hercynia silva* and Pannonia.

The history of the *Scordisci* is better known. They formed the army of Brennos and they lived in the area of rivers Drava and Sava before the invasion of the Balkans. After the invasion they returned to the same places under the leadership of Bathanattos and mixed with the populations from the Balkans as it is shown in the cemetery of Karaburma.

The Global "Celtisation" of the Carpathian Basin can be sketched based on archaeological evidences. It is the period characterised by the domination of *Taurisci* in Transdanubia. In the Hungarian Plane the settlements and cemeteries confirm the Scythians and Celtic mixture.

The return of the Celts in the Carpathian Basin according to antique authors started in 277 BC, while the Middle La Tène period started somewhere around 260 BC. The autonomic cultural evolution from the second half of the 3rd century brought a series of new artefacts. The mercenary meant a grouped migration, since the warriors were accompanied by their whole family and in several cases they did not return to the prior places. The appearance of Celtic coins at the middle of the 3rd century can be linked to mercenary.

The Migration to West following the invasion of the Balkans resulted in the repopulation in the 3rd century of settlements and cemeteries from Champagne abandoned earlier in the 5th century. These warriors reached Brittany too, as shown by the appearance of dragon-paired scabbards in the Thames. The *Volcae Tectosages* coming from eastern Europe settled in Toulouse.

The migration of the ***Boii*** in the Carpathian Basin meant the beginning of a new era. They were forced to leave northern Italy after the defeat of their coalition with Hannibal and settled in peaceful conditions near the *Taurisci* somewhere in the north-western part of the Carpathian Basin. The ***Taurisci*** populated the western and eastern sides of the Alps.

As shown by Strabo, ***The Scordisci*** flourished *in the 2nd Century* BC. There were two separate groups: the big *scordisci* and the small *scordisci*, the latter living in Oltenia, too. They were redoubtable warriors, between 179–156 BC they expanded downwards to the Adriatic Sea; in 141 BC they conquered the Dardanians and advanced in Thracia getting into conflict with the Romans, who defeated them in 135 BC but the war continued till 109 BC

The Power Structure of the Carpathian Basin changed in the 2nd century. There were three major forces: the *Boii*, the *Scordisci* and the *Taurisci*. The concrete region of them can not be defined. The author denies the hypothesis of J. Filip regarding the migration of the *Boii* from the so called *Boiohaemus.* He points to the possibility of arriving from South-West Slovakia or eastern parts of Austria. They are responsible for the appearance of Roman *aes grave*, of the pottery with human faces or the handles with anthropomorphic figures, like the ones from Kakasd, Kosd, Blandiana, etc. These are categorically Etruscan-Italian influence.

The Celtic Culture in the 2nd Century B.C. (190–120 BC, the Lt.C2 period) is characterised by continuance. The Hellenistic influences had been stopped and their place was taken by the impact of Balkans. From another perspective, one can observe a regional distinction which illustrates the three power-spheres.

The chapter **The Waver of the Balance in the Eastern Celtic World** discusses *The Fall of the Scordisci* which was preceded by the invasion of Macedonia in 114 BC. The Roman army of M. M. Rufus defeated them in 109 BC and in 88 and 81 BC Scipio Asiagenus was celebrating his victory over the *Scordisci*. After these losses they vanquished, some of them inhabiting the islands from Severin. The Pannons appeared in their territory.

One of the ***Sequels of the Cimbrian Invasion*** could be the ceasing of most cemeteries at the end of the 2nd century B.C. It was the period when the commerce with the Romans prospered.

The Oppidum-Culture was – wrongly – considered for a long time the defensive response of the Celts against the Roman and Cimbrian expansion. These were the result of an economic evolution preceding with decades the Cimbrian invasion, influenced by the Mediterranean region, defined by a united character and "globalisation" from Mont Beuvray till Velem Szentvid. This mirrored in the well-structured organization of these settlements in the region inhabited by the *Boii*, impossible in the circumstances of defence. For instance the gate of the *oppidum* from Bratislava was made of stone, and it also seems to have had a coin-mint of the Biatec-type with symbols from the Etruscan-Italian iconography. These facts prove that the influence of Cisalpine Gallia was major what concerns the birth of these Pannonian *oppida*, the urban settlements. Important *oppida* are researched in the area of *Scordisci*

(Gomolava, Židovar, Stari Slankamen, Privlaka, Veliki Vetren) and *Eravisci* (Budapest, Esztergom, Százhalombatta, Zemplin), too.

A decisive moment of **The End of the Celtic Independence** was marked by the rise of *Burebista and the Dacians*. From Strabo's narration clearly states that the collapse of Celtic power in the Middle Danube region was not the result of the Roman conquest, but of the consolidation of Burebista's reign between 82 and 44 B.C., who defeated the *Scordisci*, then the coalition of the *Boii* and *Taurisci*. It is the moment (60 BC) when the *oppidum* from Bratislava was demolished.

The Emigration of the Boii in Noricum and the coalition with Helvetians was the consequence of the Dacian wars. Even under the circumstances of leaving the conquered territories after the death of Burebista, the relations of *The Celts after the Dacian Offensive* radically changed. The coalitions were abandoned and the kingdom of Noricum could start its expansion towards east.

The part called *Archaeology: Queries and Facts* treats the relation between the antique sources and archaeological finds, the latter one missing in the major part of the Celtic area for the 1st century BC They are present at Beograd, Slovenia or Karaburma, but no cemetery is known in the north of the Carpathian Basin.

A relation between *Scordisci* and Dacians for the 2nd century BC is proved by a grave from Vršac-At from Serbia, and also in South Slovakia. Nevertheless, the presence of Dacian pottery in Transdanubia can not yet be explained with historical facts. The power balance between the Celts and the Dacians in the Hungarian Plane in the 1st century BC is also unexplained.

One of the most important characteristics of the *oppida*-culture is the painted pottery connected to the *Boii* from the end of the Middle La Tène period, showing a cultural progress and –maybe – historical events as well.

The Celtic Coins from the 1st Century BC can not be considered historical sources without objections. The greatest part of the Celtic coins is dated in the 1st century B.C. although they can easily be earlier. The status and the right of coinage can be hardly argued.

The Roman Conquest was facilitated by the Dacian wars. Pannons became thus the new enemy. *The Roman Operations* aimed at the town of Siscia in order to create a safe zone for Aquileia and to build an offensive against Dacians. After the death of Burebista the Romans were able to connect Macedonia to Italy. Caesar was planning to levy an army against Burebista; this became possible in 29–28 for M. L. Crassus. The occupation of Moesia was commanded from Siscia. From 15 BC the *Scordisci* were allies of the Romans against the Pannons under the command of Tiberius.

The Course of the Roman Conquest had three periods: 1. conquest of western Pannonia (16–15 BC); 2: assign of the area between the rivers Drava and Sava (13–9 BC); 3: incorporation of north-eastern Pannonia in the 1st century AD.

The chapter **Sarmatians, Germans, Dacians** discusses about *The Iazyges* who populated the eastern side of the Danube and *The Kingdom of Maroboduus* and Marcomans in the north of the Carpathian Basin and Boiohaemum. *The Persistence of the Celtic Culture* is proved by the Púchov Culture in the northern highlands of *Barbaricum*. After the death of Burebista, the Dacians kept their pre-eminence in Slovakia, Transylvania and Banat. The inscription from Brigetio mentioned an *interprex Dacorum* in the 3rd century AD and the need of a translator meant that on

the other side of the Danube in South Slovakia there was an important Dacian population.

The second part of the work treats the **WAY OF LIFE, LANGUAGE AND RELIGION** of the Celts. The antique sources are trite, and they only refer to the tribes of the invaders. One of the most important questions of the **Political Organization and Society** can be considered the *Tribes and Power Sphere*. They are unknown for the period before 280/279 BC Trogus Pompeius relates about the Celts who enslaved the autochthonous population. But in the case of *Scordisci* and *Taurisci* only the elite was formed by Celts.

There is the example of *Tectosages*, the tribe which split in two after the invasion of the Balkans. One of them appears in the West of Europe.

The power sphere is a modern concept and means that a population admits the authority of a Celtic population without loosing in every case their identity. It is the case of *Boii.* We know about coalitions concerning the *Boii* and *Taurisci* from the period of the Dacian wars. Another coalition involved the Dacians and *Scordiscii.*

The Structure of Society can be rebuilt from the structures from Galatia described by Strabo and they are influenced by Hellenistic elements. The tribe-parts which formed the *koinon Galaton* were divided in 4 tetrarchys and they were leaded by *tetrarchs* attended by a *dikastes* (judge) and a *stratophylax* (captain). The leaders meeting place was at Drynemeton, the common shrine. We know from Caesar about the *pagus* (can be linked to the tetrarchy) which is the subdivision of *civitas*, divided into four parts. The pagan Ireland was also divided into four parts.

The Role of the Celtic Coinage in the first period was not the commercial value. The coins were silver imitations of 2nd Philippe's, Alexander's, Audoleon's or Antigonos Gonatas' coins. They appear mainly in depots. The difference between the evolution of *Boii* and *Eravisci* is also reflected in their coinage.

The Cemeteries and the world of the dead reflect the world of the living ones. In the beginning the Celts practiced inhumation. In the 3rd century because of the influence of native populations, incineration became the new and predominant rite. The 20–30 % of the graves from necropolis belongs to warriors. Another quarter belong to rich women and half of graves had a poorer inventory.

According to Caesar, **The Warriors** or *equites* meant the dynamic factor of the society. They lived in small, dispersed settlements. The leaders differed in armament and not in wealth. It is the example of the grave from Ciumeşti and the graves with chariots. The anthropomorphic vessels such as the ones from Dinnyés, Szendrő, and the decorated spears like the one from Mannersdorf or the rare helmets and gold *torques* can be connected to warrior leaders, too.

These warriors were free, armed yeomen. They lived in modest houses, like the autochthons. They were surrounded by henchmen mentioned by Polybios and Caesar, as well. Pausanias describes the *trimarkisia*, which means that the equestrian and his two member company formed a tactical unit. Cavalry became important from the 3rd century as it is shown by the new sword types, the spurs and the two wheeled chariots.

The houses from **The Settlements** of the Celts can be reconstructed using the model of the ones discovered at Sajópetri. The rectangle ones were deepened about 50 cm, had 4–5,5 m in length and they were about 2–3,5 m wide. The roof was sustained by two stakes. The prime materials were wood and clay.

Several farms or – as Caesar called them – *aediciae* had been discovered on the territory of France till now. The structure of society is reflected by the *oppidum* culture with its differenced residential areas, merchants' and manufacturers' territory, sanctuaries, etc. Regarding the pottery, manufacturers, in some cases (Sopron, Sajópetri), determined their area before the settlement received an urban character. But the houses were the same as earlier.

According to Caesar, **The Clergy** had the second most important influence for the Celts. The druids were the intellectual elite; they were philosophers and theologians, teachers and judges. The archaeology is rarely able to determine such discoveries. Some graves containing ritual artefacts like the ones from Pogny, Pottenburg or Ludas could be considered as belonging to druids. Pompeius Trogus mentions the augurs. Dated at the beginning of the 3rd century in France several sanctuaries became common place for the rituals of one tribe. It completes the situation described by Strabo for *Drynemeton*.

The Economical Life is characterized by multilateral influences. The military successes and productive agriculture are the topic of **The Iron and Metal Crafts.** The iron industry of Europe relies on the Celtic iron industry. In the Carpathian Basin the first workshops appeared in the 4th century. Traces of minerals extractions are documented at Salgótarján, Sajópetri and Cecejovce. In Celtic settlements several iron tools like awls, files, saws, nippers and engravers were discovered. The information about the bronze workshops is missing for the early period although beautiful brooches and other artefacts were made of this metal since the 4th century. It is the situation of mints, too.

The Agriculture is related to the evolution of iron crafts. Most tools like saws, axes, long knives, plough-shares, plough-barrows, wood spits, hacks, sickles or scythes did not change their forms until the 19th century. The climate of the La Tène period was a wet one, and therefore the cultivated cereals were the rye and the oat, but the barley, wheat and panic-grass was present, too. The cereals were kept in hoppers and in some cases in structures built on stakes. They used a fixed and a flexible stone for milling. The main fruits were the cherries, plums, grapes and sloes. There is information about the commerce with wines from Italy, but the Celts were known as great beer drinkers.

The role of **Husbandry** is proved by the bone remains from settlements and cemeteries. They practiced hunting (boar, deer, and roe) and fishing but most remains pertain to domestic animals (pig, horse, dog, bull, ram and duck). These archaeological evidences let us build an image of the diet of the Celts.

The Processing of Wood and Skin, Weave and Spun, Pottery were the complementary occupations. Celtic carpenters, tanners and skinners were savvy. The wheel-made pottery appeared before the Celts, in the 5th century BC It led to the simplification of forms and a serial production industry. In the 4th century BC pottery workshop centres were formed in Transdanubia. The diffusion of vessels reaches a point as far as 75 km.

The Commerce of the Celts can be hardly reconstructed. The indigenous artefacts can come from heist or by exchange. But a commercial connection with the surrounding populations can be supposed beginning with the 4th century BC The "amber route" passed trough the Celtic regions and it meant a permanent connection with Gallia Cisalpina. The *Scordisci* were the mediators in the commerce with the

Balkans. Although coinage is dating from the 3rd century it did not have commercial role, which was characterized by exchange and barter.

The subdivision **In the Wake of the Disappeared Language** discusses the geographical, tribal and personal names. But the existing information is not enough to reconstruct the spoken language and its dialects. Among the tribal names there can be distinguished two categories: the classic ones, like *Boii*, *Tectosages* or *Belgae* and the other group, formed by names taken from the Carpathian Basin such as *Scordisci*, *Eravisci* and *Hercuniates*. The Pannonian cities are often named after Celtic settlements. It is the situation of the ones ending in –dunum (Singidunum-Belgrad, Noviodunum, Carrodunum), -briga (Brigetio-Komarno) or –bona (Vindobona-Vienna, Arrabona-Győr, Bologna). The etymology of Aquincum (Buda), Savaria (Szombathely) and Scarbantia (Sopron) is not deciphered.

Roman inscriptions preserved quite a lot Celtic forenames, and the Pannonian language mentioned by Tacitus is not Illyrian, but of *Eravisci.* In the 2nd century B.C. Celtic languages in Eastern Europe were spoken only by *Boii* and *Eravisci*.

A progress in the research of Celtic writing was made in 2003, by analyzing the marks on the bottom of pottery containing graphite from the region of Bavaria, Bohemia, Karinthia and Hungary, from the 1st century BC.

Referring to the **Gods and Cults** of the Celts Caesar said that "Every tribe of Gallia is superstitiously religious". The antique author adapted the situation he encountered to the Roman pantheon (*interpretatio romana*). Even in this case, these sources are the most valuable evidence, because the representations are hard to explain and they reflect an important Roman influence. The Celtic religion was polytheist, with gods having sometimes the same attributes. On inscriptions from the Continental Celtic Reign there are over 400 god names, but 300 of them appear only once. Nevertheless, they are missing in the Carpathian Basin till the Roman conquest. Because the romanization of Pannonia was slow, the whole concept of the inhabitants changed before the actual conquest took place.

The Representation of Gods in the La Tène Period was not a habit of the Celts. For the 3rd century B.C. the human masks and vegetal motives on the Hungarian scabbards are common. The connection with the god Lugus of this representation is only a hypothesis. The images from coins combine the Greek archetypes with Celtic symbols like the wheel, triskele or circle.

One of the Celtic **Gods** was *Teutates – Teutatnus*. The name means "the father of the tribe" and it was coupled to Jupiter as it is shown by an altar from Gellérthegy and twelve others from Bölcske where I.O.M.T. (Iovi Optimo Maximo Teutato) appears in an inscription. Lucanus sometimes confuses Teutates with Mars and in other cases with Mercury. In the Irish pantheon the apposite for Teutates is Dagda, having as attributes the cauldron and the maul. While the *Eravisci* connected Teutates/Teutanus to Jupiter, the western Celts combined the Roman god with Taranis.

Esus appears on the coins of *Boii* frequently. He can be connected to the cult of trees and nature. The name means "respectable". In some cases human sacrifices were offered to him. His pear in the roman pantheon was Mercury.

The *Bird-equestrian* appears on coins from Transdanubia and East Hungary and he can be considered the representation of Lugus–Mercury.

The *boar* from Báta can be considered a La Tène amulet, too. Tacitus in his work *Germany* mentions the tribe of *aesti*, who worshiped the boar as the mother

goddess which helped them in battle. On the cauldron from Gundestrup the boar appears in the company of a deer beside *Cernunnos*–Dis Pater, the god of other-world. In Gallia Mercurius appears as an alternative for *Moccus*, the pig-god, too.

The competence of *Mother Goddesses* was the fertility but sometimes the other-world too as shown by the name of *Fatae* mentioned at Savaria. It was combined with the cult of Diana, Silvanae and Nemesis. The *Healing Gods* were *Grannus* (his image was interpreted as Apollo) and *Sirona* (Hygiena). Apollo formed pair with the oracle *Belenus*. Other names of gods like *Sedatus, Marmogius* and *Latobius* also appear on inscriptions.

The Local Cult of Silvanus and Hercules can be explained by the veneration of *Sucellus* as Silvanus and a god of war in the person of Hercules.

The most important *Representations and Cults* are related to stone-made statues like the one from Badacsony. In Celtic regions many "Janus" statues had been discovered. He represented the present and the other-world in the same time. Some rituals can also be deciphered from the *Eravisci*'s painted vessels.

There are only a few **Sacrifices, Communion Places,** and **Shrines** known. The ones from Pákozd, with pits near a spring, can be compared to the sanctuary from Libenice. These sanctuaries are evidence of human sacrifices and the veneration of skulls among the Celts. At Pilismarót the sanctuary was in the cemetery, like at Liptovská Mara. Pits containing full or partial animal skeletons (Keszthely, Szakály, Sé, Sopron) can be connected to the cult of *Cernunnos*. At Sajópetri, near the pit containing horns of deer, an agricultural cultic pit was discovered. In many cases weapons and jewels were thrown in the rivers. This was meant to protect the crossing of waters or – when they were the limit of a territory – to protect against invaders.

The two-headed statue from Badacsony and the statue from Százhalombatta are considered *Findings Referring to Shrines*. Roman narrations refer to a sanctuary honouring Teutatus at Gellérthegy. *The Cult of the Death* is better known from discoveries. The cemeteries from Ménfőcsanak, Sárosd, Dubnik, Palárikovo, Maňa had an inner delimitation with trench, forming the place of the cult of ancestors. The Celts practiced inhumation with objects used in their lifetime. Animals like the boar were placed together with the knives used in sacrifices. According to Caesar, Celts believed in the migration of souls. Lucanus refers to the other-world of Celts which geographically was considered being a part of this world. Maybe the graves with chariot can be connected to this belief.

In the 3rd century, the belief of the Celts changed and the burial rite became incineration. The soul of the dead was sent to the sky purified in the fire.

The third part of the work discusses the Celtic **ART**. From the beginning of the 20th century **The World of the Celtic Art** has been reconsidered. It was the period of the artistic re-evaluation of the antiques after the reform of the modern arts. A description of the artistic taste of the Celts is given by Diodorus who describes it very different from the Greek one. An important step in the research of Celtic art was the work of P. Jacobsthal from 1944. The later discoveries from Bohemia or the Carpathian Basin supplemented these issues.

The art of the La Tène period grew from the western hallstattian art from the first half of the 5th century BC, influenced by Etruscan and Greek motives combined with a specific, original style.

The Art of the Eastern Celts was influenced as a consequence of the relations between newcomers and natives, but they never broke the relations with

the homelands. The specific of the Celtic province from the Middle Danube was not only the society or economy but mostly the art.

The Beginning (5th century BC–beginning of 4th century BC) of Celtic art can be sketched based on the evolution of bowls with horned handles. They are present since the Hallstatt D period and in the second half of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th century they were wheel-made too. These are the testimonies of cohabitation and reciprocal influences of indigenes and autochthons.

The Stamped Decoration consisted of simple or concentric circles combined with arches. F. Schwappach considered that Jacobsthal's "early style" can be divided in vegetal style and the eastern arch style. But the second one appears in Armorica as well.

Though the pottery was a local product, at the very beginning the *Metal craft* was not specific to the region. The brooches were brought from Dürrnberg, Bavaria, Bohemia or Slovakia as a result of the expansion. Others are the result of Italian connections. The belt membranes from Stupava, the brooch from Slovenské Pravnó, the linchpin from Unterradelberg are decorated with human masks in the "early style" manner. This early period is characterized by the expression of Celtic art and the opening to the local habits. The synthesis is specific for ceramics and some of the bronze workshops.

The Period of Forming (4th century BC) is characterized by the Duchov–Münsingen type discoveries. The Italian influences are very important in this period. The west-east axis resulted in works like the incised plate from Pilismarót, scabbards with dragon-lyres or the motive of swastika. These are not imports; they were made in this region. From the works of metal craft, the brooches with circles and animal heads (Sopron, Győr, Litér, Pilismarót, Szentendre, Püspökhatvan, Pecica, Donja Dolina or Matzelsdorf) can be connected to local artificers. All these ornaments illustrate a geometric concept about art. The animal motive is not local, they existed in the 5th century's La Tène art, too (Dürrnberg, Ostheim, Oberwittighausen).

A frequent question of the historian of arts refers to the represented animal, which can be griffin or dragon. The author opts for the second one.

The second half of the 4th century BC is characterized by an increased influence of local traditions.

The Critical Period started at the end of the 4th century BC and lasted till the beginning of the 3rd century. It is the era of organizing the invasions against the Hellenistic world. It is the period of the "Waldalgesheim style" whose origins were erroneously considered as being in the Rhine region. The new discoveries prompted that the style's genesis is connected to *Sennons* and *Boii* from the region of Bologna. The author recommends a new name for this: 'continuous vegetal style', which points to the Etruscan and Greek palmetto motives. The discussions about the geographical origins can not be considered closed in the case of the spear from the National Museum of Hungary or the bronze object from Brunn am Steinfeld. In some cases (Sopron, Alsópél) vessels reproduce the ornaments of bronze objects.

The Italian-Celtic artistic influence is found on the incised scabbards too. Analogies for the one from Rezi-Rezicser are known at Monte Bibele, where a bronze craftsman applied the technique on iron.

The Dragon-Pair Motives appeared at the beginning of the 4th century. They are dispersed from the Thames to the Carpathian Mountains and from Warsaw to Belgrade. A classification was given by De Navarro who determined 3 types and who also considered them – erroneously – of Scythian influence. The archetype

appears in the Etruscan region and for the first time in Celtic art at Bussy-le-Château. They are characteristic beginning with the first decades of the 3rd century BC (Kosd, Szob, Radostyán, Dubnik, Košice, Rezi, Somogytúr and Osijek).

The Culmination of Eastern Celtic Art started in the 3rd century and lasted until the 2nd century B.C. The most specific artistic tendency was *The Hungarian Sword Style*. These are the results of the local evolution from the "Waldalgesheim style". This style was contemporary to some *Experiments* like the scabbards from Potypuszta or Graz. These pieces combine the "early" and the "Waldalgesheim styles".

The Birth of the Hungarian Sword Style, as it was shown, can be considered as an evolution of the Italic influenced "Waldalgesheim style". The lyre motive appears separately (Litér) or combined (Voivodina) with the vegetal motives. The scabbard from Tapolca proves that the craftsmen who decorated the object in the new style knew every detail of the Waldalgesheim art, too. The dating of the new style is not clearly proved by archaeology yet it is mostly based on artistic analyses. One of the most important evidence for this matter is the sword from the 40th grave from Pişcolt which was repaired and redecorated three times.

The Classification of the "Hungarian" Swords distinguished two major types. *The First Group* is the earlier and it contains motives from the "Waldalgesheim style" combined with geometric and oriental ornaments too. The swords from Kósd, Lovasberény, Pişcolt, Drňa and Voivodina, the scabbards from Szob, Cernon-sur-Coole, Montbellet, Iža, Ižkovce and Halimba can be mentioned. This style reached France and Ireland too, where its motives became part of the Irish Scabbard Style, but – as the discovery from Pavolche demonstrates – it was also present in Thracia.

Artefacts of *The Second Group* are known from Transdanubia, North-East Hungary, Slovakia and Yugoslavia and they are 50 years later than the first group. The most important finds are the scabbards from Bölcske, Magyarszerdahely, Šimanovci, Brežice, Brestovik and Sremski Karlovci. One major characteristic is the existence of motives in relieves like the ones on the scabbard from Dobova. The sword from Cernon-sur-Coole from Champagne or Gournay-sur-Aronde from Picardia represents the connection between these regions and the Middle Danube.

The influences of the "Hungarian Sword Style" are present in the "Swiss Sword Style" as well. Stylistic elements can be recovered from pottery (Káloz) or iron mounting (Brno) too. The style became outmoded at the middle of the 2nd century BC.

The Iconography of Sword Decorations initially consisted of vegetal motives. Their meaning is a challenge for the modern science too. The most frequent motive is the palmetto and its derivations, like the mistletoe. They are the company of the deity together with two animals. Another motive – derived from the "Waldalgesheim style" – is the human mask. The human face is realised with vegetal motives (Batina). The tendrils can also form animal heads, like on the spear from Csabrendek, sometimes combined with geometric motives (Szob). The dragon-pair is considered to have a figurative sense: the monsters protect the tree of life and also the owner of the sword.

The motives from scabbards, swords and spears are more than some apothropaic symbols. They probably point to the presence of the gods, too.

The Plastic Style was defined by P. Jacobsthal and it referred to the combination of plastic motives with vegetal and "early style" ornaments. The genesis of this style can be traced in Bohemia. It started in the last 30 years of the 4th century BC and lasted till the fist quarter of the 3rd century BC before the *oppidum* period. The main pieces are unique so the workshops can not be localized.

One of the most important elements of *The Parade Weapons* is the phalera from Ciumeşti with the well-known helmet. The triskele and lyre points to the "early Celtic style" but the helmet can be considered one of the masterpieces of the "plastic style". The same style characterizes the boar from Báta. The anthropomorphic representations on the haft of swords (Dinnyés, Szendrő) are characteristic for the "plastic style", too. Sometimes they are combined with vegetal ornaments (Szob, Kupinovo). The yin-yang motive appears on a scabbard from Balassagyarmat. These ornaments also appear on bosses. The end of the axle of the chariot from Cristurul Secuiesc is decorated with spirals forming human mask.

The relation between *Jewellers and Warriors* is reflected in the funeral discoveries. The Hellenistic art represents warriors wearing torques. The one from Hercegmányok made in the "plastic style" is dated in the post invasion period and analogous pieces are known in Toulouse, brought there by the *Tectosages*.

The Geographical Extension of the Style is wide. The centre was Bohemia and western Slovakia. *The First Phase of the Plastic Style* can be recognized on brooches and stamped bracelets. They mirror the evolution of the "early style" with founds in Austria, Slovakia and Hungary. It is the ornament of late Duchov-type brooches, too.

The Second Phase developed in Bohemia from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. It is the ornament of hollow knobbed bracelets and of knobbed embossed brooches. The main motives are the embossed "S"-shapes, triskele and yin-yang. The Carpathian Basin is not rich in discoveries of this kind. These ornaments, in some cases, are related to non Celtic populations like the bracelet from Vršac which is assigned to Dacians.

The Koiné-Art defines those artistic elements which are reflecting the influences of the autochthons and neighbouring populations. This style can not be found in the western Celtic regions. *The Hellenistic Influence* is reflected by the coins of Philip the 2nd. The relations were ceased due to the invasion of Macedonia. In the 3rd century these connections were started again.

The Kantharos was unknown in the western regions. It shows the influence of the Balkans, but some of them had local origins dating from the 5th century BC. *The Sea Dragons* like the ones discovered at Jászberény depict Hellenistic and Thracian influences, too. *Pearls with Masks* had their origins in the Punic amulets which arrived at the Black Sea around the second half of the 4th century BC and were popular in Thracia.

The Eastern Celtic Coinage was the consequence of Mediterranean influences. They imitated the coins of Philip the 2nd and appeared in the 3rd century. They can be seen as filled with religious concepts and of a high artistic value.

Illyrian and Thracian Elements can be found in the *Scordiscian* area. The *Astragal-belts* were parts of the "national costume" of the Pannons and it was also worn by the *Scordisci* (Beograd, Rospi Ćuprija, Osijek, Dunaszekcső, Regöly).

Filigree and Granulation was also a Thracian and Illyrian influence, preceding the invasion of Balkans (Szentlőrinc, Pilismarót, Kósd, Rábatamási, Osijek, Erdut, etc.). *The Fake-Filigree Jewels* imitated the filigree mainly in bronze but they were not soldered only teemed. These pseudo filigrees were of two types. The first one was originally from Bohemia and represented the plastic art (Palárikovo, Pélpuszta). The second group was produced in the Carpathian Basin and dates from the beginning of the 3rd century BC.

Brooches and Bracelets use these techniques, too. The Bölcske type brooches evolve from the Münsingen type brooches (Rezi, Aszód, Dvory nad Žitavou, Pruniş). The piece from Mistřin is the evidence of diffusion in north. The artefact from Cluj combines fake-granulation with fake-filigree. Some bracelets decorated in these techniques are unique pieces (Chotin, Ratka, Palárikovo, Maňa, Hurbanovo, Mikulčice, etc.). One of the most beautiful artefacts is the one discovered in 2000 at Ludas.

The Mixed Style emerged from the combination of La Tène art with the traditions of the Balkans. It is represented by the discoveries from Szárazd-Regöly. The modern researches proved that the treasure was produced in one workshop. Although some pieces date back to the 7th or 6th century BC, the treasure can be dated after the half of the 3rd century or maybe 2nd century BC. The Illyrian motives are much numerous than the Celtic ones, so the workshop was probably somewhere on the territory of the *Scordisci*. This style influenced the German art as well.

The Brooches with Eights can be connected to the fake-filigree and they are characteristic to the eastern regions from Slovakia to Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. They were widely spread from the middle of the 3rd century BC till the *oppida* period.

The Zoomorphic Ornament on Pottery is specific to the *kantharos* type. They have predecessors in the First Iron Age, too. *The Scythian Component* can be spotted in the eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin. The jug with one handle is an evolved form of the Greek *kyathos* known from Histria. These forms appeared in Transylvania, the Hungarian Plane (Szentes-Vekerzug, Tápiószele) and Slovakia (Chotin). The Celts adopted the form beginning with the 3rd century (Pişcolt, Sanislău). They used the stamps, incisions, geometric and spiralled motives.

The Koiné-Phenomenon can be described by analyzing the vessel from Lábatlan. The struggle of animals is illustrated with geometric shapes. It is also the case of some vessels from Kosd and Csobaj. The zoomorphic or anthropomorphic decorations from the handle of Celtic vessels (Novo mesto, Balatonederics, Kakasd, Kosd, Rozvány, Blandiana) can be found on Scythian pottery, too (Kosd, Körösszegapáti).

The Art of Oppida is the art of the 1st century BC. The major part of *Stone Sculptures* dates from this period: the gate from Pozsony, the two-headed statue from Badacsony, the head from Százhalombatta, showing *in statu nascendi* the eastern Celtic sculpture. They seem to have carved antecedents. *The Achievements of Bronze Crafts* are shown by the discoveries from Slovenia like the Novo mesto type helmets, scabbards, brooches. At Veleki Vetren, several peaces were decorated with triskele. The Laminc type belt membranes are also the products of this era.

The World of Potters was also connected to the Balkans. The Illyrian-Pannon *kantharos* was preferred by *Scordisci,* but in the Middle Danube region as well (Velem-Szentvid, Esztergom, Gellérthegy-Tabán). The pottery decoration was geometric, too. Painted vessels are known from settlements like Braunsberg, Bratislava, Devin, Esztergom, Budapest, Békásmegyer, Százhalombatta, Beograd, Rospi Ćuprija, Ajmana - all along the Danube with a prosperous period in the 1st century B.C.

The Coinage of Oppida reflects a Roman influence. The Biatec-type has its origins in the Republican coins. The *Gesichtstyp* or *Oberleiserberg*-type reflects the connections with Cisalpine and Noricum.

THE EPILOGUE discusses the situation of the Celts during the period and after the Roman conquest. After being defeated by the Dacians the Celts could not be

considered a real danger easing the Roman expansion. It was not the same situation in the case of the Pannons. Thus, while the Celtic administrative organization was kept in the Middle Danube region (*civitas Boiorum, civitas Eraviscorum, civitas Varcianorum*) the Pannons' was reduced. The majority were leaded by Roman officers. In some cases, local *principes* were commissioned to rule the territory, but they were already romanized.

The *Eravisci* kept their autonomy even in the 3rd century AD. The statues and inscriptions preserved Celtic elements till Marcus Aurelius. They relate about the preservation of language although the Roman habits were already assumed. The ritual importance of the chariots and cut heads is reflected on gravestones. After the Roman retreat the Celtic presence left no evidences.

This work could not be deprived of **ANNEXES**. The first of them creates an image of the Celtic decorative motives, illustrating and describing them. The glossary of *Folks and Tribes* alphabetically organized characterizes in only one sentence every tribe used in the lecture. Another merit of the author is the ***Repertory of the Settlements*** with Celtic discoveries used in his work, organized alphabetically and providing bibliographical information for each tribe.

The books ends with a well organized ***Bibliography*** starting with the antique sources and the bibliography of the Celtic history, to the regional archaeological researches, cemeteries, settlements and Celtic art, weaponry, metal crafts, coinage or pottery. Other topics are the political, social and economical relations, linguistics and religion.

After reading the work of Szabó Miklós the reader achieves a complex image about presented topics. These kinds of works covering such extensive geographical regions justify the admiration of scientists involved in this field. In many chapters and subdivisions the author suggested that the problems under discussion are not definitely solved. After his works from 1971, 1976 and 1992 the author considered that the issue needed reconsideration. It is the assignment and challenge of all researchers to fill in the white blanks and contribute to a more complete image in the future.

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Atlas-Dicţionar al Daciei Romane.
[Atlas-Dictionary of Roman Dacia]. Edited by *Mihai Bărbulescu*.
Cluj: "Tribuna" Press, 2005, 147 pp.

Such kind of publication was need in the Romanian field of Roman History and Archaeology for a long time. The strong increase of the state of research in this field on the territory of the former province of Roman was an important benefit so this publication could bring together the latest information on various aspects of the Roman History of Dacia.

As one can easily notice this publication is a product of an impressive team work of what we may call "the school from Potaissa". As it is mentioned in the foreword, the book consists of two main parts (see p. 7-9). The first part is mainly destined for students and professors of history and archaeology, as well as those

interested in the study of Roman history. The second part contains the archaeological map of Roman Dacia including the latest information that could be mapped.

Right from the first view it can be noticed the specific feature of this book. The introduction to this atlas-dictionary consists of a large explanation of key-terms for this type of publication: 'cartography' and 'aerial photogrammetry'. We just want to add here that beside the aerial and terrestrial photogrammetry at the moment there is a strong and increasing field of underwater photogrammetry (including the field of archaeology, see the work of Paul Chapman and Pierre Drap - *Underwater photogrammetry. Integration of field recording, visualization and virtual reconstruction in underwater archaeology.*

The introduction is followed by few general maps (maps I – V) in order to familiarize the reader with the location of the province within the Roman Empire (map I) the main road network in Dacia and surroundings (map II). The last three maps (III – V) point out the administrative changes that occurred in the province of Dacia from the set up of the province in the time of Trajan through the reign of Hadrian and in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

With these maps we see the original method of presentation for this book. The maps are the kernel around which are grouped the terms of the dictionary part of this publication. This way of presentation lead to a better and easy connection between the subject of map and terms explained in the dictionary. Therefore, after the presentation of map come the list of governors and procurators from Dacia followed by the explanation of a series of key-terms (e.g. *legatus Augusti provinciae*, *procurator Augusti provinciae*, *provincia*).

From topographical point of view starting with map VI we meet another shape of the map of Roman Dacia, different from the one on maps I, III-V. This "new" map of Roman Dacia will be use as standard fore the rest of maps in this book.

It must be pointed out here the good quality of drawing in the case of these maps which makes easy the reading of maps and clearly draw the attention towards the topic of the map. A debate that may be issued here is the way to present an administrative unit as the Roman Dacia is. The maps appear pointing only towards the territory of the province with no geographical realities around the border. In the fall of 2000, with the occasion of the release of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* by Richard J.A. Talbert (ed.), (Princeton University Press, 2000), a monumental work and a reference with permanent value, there was a debate at the Ashmolean Museum Oxford on this issue. The conclusion was that at least in the case of special works as the atlases are each administrative should be represented in its geographical ambient in order to help the reader for a correct image on the geographical/ topographic/ economic and many other aspects that a map can reveal. Not to be misunderstood, the observation above does not diminish the high utility of thematic maps, on contrary, we just try to make some suggestions for the future editions of this book.

Map VI is dedicated to the Roman roads from Dacia which are divided in main roads and secondary ones. For the first time the milestones found on the former territory of Dacia are mapped together. The map is joined by key-terms each of them with elaborate explanations and where the case, some useful illustrations (details of Roman roads from Dacia, detailed maped of segments of Roman roads, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with those segments regarding Dacia) are provided.

Maps VII – X are dedicated to the evolution of the urbanism process in Roman Dacia. The reader can easily notice the increase of number of town in Roman Dacia starting with the reign of Trajan till the reign of Septimius Severus when the Dacian towns reached their highest number. These maps are completed by plans of some of the town such as Apulum, Romula and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. At the same time, the dictionary adjacent to these maps mainly consists of useful brief history of the mapped towns. Other terms complementary to these maps are connected to the specialists in building a town (*architectus*, *mensor*), the planning of a town (*decumanus* and *kardo maximus, insula*) and its leadership (*duumviri, quattuorviri, quaestores*, *ordo decurionum*). There is a short explanation for each of these terms as well as the evidence of thir presence in the towns from Roman Dacia. Also we must mention here the list of towns from Dacia in which these are divided by their juridical statute as *municipium* or *colonia* (p. 41).

Maps XI represents a premiere as a map for Roman Archaeology in Romanian. On this map are laid out those facilities offered by the use of waters, mainly the water supply (here documented as aqueducts), and the benefits of water (baths and resort stations). The spots are mentioned according to their status (civilian/ military baths, archeological/epigraphical evidence of aqueducts)

Map XII comes with the distribution of the amphitheatres and temples in Roman Dacia. Unlike the previous map here the edifices are presented based on their archaeological/ epigraphical evidence or just hypothetical statute.

The dictionary which follows the last two maps bring large and useful explanations on various terms connected to the two the maps. The explanations are assisted by a rich illustrations consisting of drawings and photos representing various aspects of Roman architecture, building techniques and functionality of edifices. In fact one can say that here it has been completely crossed the border from a dictionary to an encyclopaedia. An observation can be made here concerning the quality of some of the drawings. The authors were keen to reproduce here the original plans for various edifices but this has strongly diminish the quality of illustrations, (e.g. the fort bath from Slăveni – p. 50; the legionary baths from *Potaissa* – p. 51; the overall plan of *Sucidava* – p. 52; the bath complex from *Germisara* - p. 52; the overall plan of *Micia* – p. 52), especially if we compare these drawings to the others of excellent quality also presented in this book. With the nowadays IT technology this inconvenient could have been easily fixed (a simple suggestion, just redrawing those plans in Corel Draw, for instance) together with other aspects such translated the legend of the plan of Micia from English into Romanian as all the other legends documented in this book are. This observation may apply also for other old illustrations used here.

Map XIII shows the non-urban settlements which were mapped following important archeological discoveries. This another important map, especially that the authors have mapped only those spots where the quantity and quality of the artifacts could led us to interpret the spot as a rural settlement. On this line we may like to suggest that for the next edition also the rural settlement of Căşeiu can be added on this map, especially due to the systematic archaeological research carried out at the site in the last 10 years.

Like in the case of the map with urban sites of Roman Dacia the terms in the dictionary following the map of rural sites is followed by the explanation of terms directly connected with the rural life (e.g. *magistri, pagus, vicus*). Still, the most

important part in this case is the list of concordance between the ancient names of localities from Roman Dacia and their name today (p. 54-55). The author used his efforts to put together various ancient sources (Ptolemaios, the Geographer of Ravenna, the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* the wax tablets from *Alburnus Maior* – Roşia Montană and inscriptions) and the result was an impressive list (at the present state of research) with names of ancient localities of Roman Dacia.

Map XIV is dedicated to the distribution of the *villa rustica* in Roman Dacia joined by large explanation of what defined this term and the situation of these *villae rusticae* in Dacia.

Map XV offers, we may affirm, a complete image upon the layout of forts (legionary and auxiliary forts). If one will look at this map will realize why Dacia is considered as one of the most militarized provinces of the Roman Empire. In the case of this map, maybe it would have been a better idea if the map would have been drawn according to the historical background. Thus, on a map of Roman Dacia in the time of Trajan the reader would understand much better the location of forts such as Drajna de Sus, Mălăieşti, Pietroasele, Târgşor, which on the present map they are located in the "nomen's land".

The dictionary adjacent to this map provides us with a large number of terms explained in detail assisted by plans and photos of various forts and buildings within the forts from Dacia.

Starting with map XVI till the map XXI the book is focused on the economical aspects of Roman Dacia. Map XVI familiarizes the reader with the main geographical and relief units of both former Roman province fo Dacia and today country of Romania. Then the following maps present the natural resources of Roman Dacia (map XVII); the craftsmen production - in fact the location of various workshops known at the moment for Roman Dacia (map XVIII); the evidence of *collegia* (the gilds) (map XIX) and the distribution of the customs and the fiscal offices (map XX) while the map XXI is dedicated to the external trade (mainly focused on the imports). For such a wide spectrum as the economical life of Dacia was the dictionary of terms in this field is also impressive by its wide range of definitions, explanations, illustrations.

Map XXII is one of a special interest as it comes with a new aspect in the cartography of Roman Dacia. The map is a case-study showing the presence of immigrated groups of Celtic an Germanic communities in Roman Dacia. The identification of these communities has been done based on the evidence offered by Celtic onomastics, Celtic auxiliary units, religious and funerary monuments, brooches and pottery.

Map XXIII reflects the burial rites documented in Dacia and which demonstrates the dominance of the cremation rite upon the inhumation. There are also mentioned necropolises with a mixture of the two rites. The dictionary presents here the explanation of the ritual and techniques for the two rites of burial.

The last two maps are dedicated to the hoards retrieved on the territory of the province of Dacia (map XXIV) and a case-study the horizon of hoards all buried in AD 245 during the Carpic attack (*sic* !).

Unfortunately, the "numismatic" part is the weak link of this publication. The number of errors is surprisingly high, running from simplist definitions of terms to old and totally wrong explanations of notions. From a scientific point of view this part is in a strong contradiction with the rest of the book.

The map of hoards from Roman Dacia (map XXIV) pretends to have gathered all the hoards from Roman Dacia. Still are missing a series of hoards to mention here examples such as Frânceşti (County of Vâlcea) (1365 coins), *Napoca* (1270 coins), Dumbrăvioara (County of Mureş) (300 coins). At the same time, the way of presentation of the number of hoards is misleading the reader. In many localities mentioned on the map have been found more than just one hoard (e.g. *Apulum* - 7 hoards; *Ulpia Traiana* – 7 hoards/monetary deposits) but the map does not reflect such a reality.

Concerning the second "numismatic" map (XXV) we confront here with a totally mistaken conception of interpreting a horizon of hoards as well as with the accuracy of research. Firstly, the author completely ignored a specific aspect of hoard finding: initial number of coins and the preserved number of coins. The danger in this case is that we have no certainty that amongst the missing coins were not ones with a later date of issue than the latest coin preserved. In the case of hoard from Gura Padinei from circa 400-500 coins only 5 (!) have been identified. The same situation applies in the cases of hoards from Band (found in 1872) we do not know the total number of coins of this hoard and only 20 are preserved; Hărănglab hoard – unknown initial number of coins, 71 preserved; Turnişor hoard – found in 1868, is missing today, the information preserved mentioned 1 coin of Philip I (!); Câineni-Călineşti hoard – 235 coins, missing today, no precise identification of coins; Slobozia – circa 3000 coins, partially recovered, no precise identification of coins; Ocolna hoard – circa 200 found, 100 preserved, no precise identification of coins. Then, the other hoard left shows the lack of analyze of the last coins of the hoards. In the case of hoards Jieţi-Popi, Galicea Mare, Ioneşti, the coins of Philip I are dated in the period AD 244-247, as they were all found in isolated spots, except the human desire to believe in something, there are no other arguments that those coins were issued before or during the year AD to fit with the map! In the cases of hoards from Ighişu Nou and Bârca (the last debates suggest a single hoard divided in 4 parts) the latest coin belongs to…Trajan Decius (AD 249-251). Not to mention here the total ignorance of the *terminus post quem* position that the coins usually offer to us.

The dictionary of numismatic terms reveals another series of errors. The *antoninianus* is considered a creation of Caracalla instead of minting, issued in the time of Caracalla. Then the precise silver alloy mentioned - 430‰ – just solved a problem of generations of numismatists. No mention of debasement of alloy till we have a "nickel" depicting the emperor's head with radiate crown. The specific of this coin for identification is (radiate crown for emperor, crescent for empress) is totally omitted.

The same situation applies to other denominations. In the case of *aureus* the author does not know that also Constantine Ist still struck *aureii* at the beginning of his reign. Like in the case of *antoninianus*, the *aureus* is mentioned as having a constant weight (7.25 gr.!) for the entire period of its existence, no mention of debasements such those in the times of Septimius Severus or Gallienus.

In the case of other denominations such as *dupondius, quinarius*, *semis, as* the definitions are given in one sentence at a basic level. A methodological mistake is to consider the finding of small quantity of some denominations (especially those of small size) as a proof for a low production of such denomination (e.g. *quinarius*), not to mention the lack of knowledge concerning the imperial policy on these denominations. In the case of "provincial issues" owing to the absence of a definition

on what are in fact these monetary issues the reader can be easily misled to believe that only the cities of *Viminacium* and *Ulpia Traiana* has issued such coinages.

What has surprised me in a book published in 2005 was to see the conception which was rejected already in the 20ᵗʰ century. I refer here to the explanation and comments on what a "coin hoard/treasure" means to the author. The definition goes like in the old good time of the romantic era of numismatics: "An assembly of ancient coins found together (with or without a container) represents a treasure". Then, in the following sentences the author contradicts himself mentioning that the saving money in purpose constitutes coin hoards while the hazardous gatherings of coins are coin deposits (*sic*!).

And the theory on coin hoards continues on the same line: "based on the period of accumulation can be divided as having a quick accumulation (1 generation) or slow accumulation (more generations)" (!). I must confess here that this definition I had to learned when I was an undergraduate student in my first year (1990), it seems that nothing changed since despite the vast literature on the subject! The author still believes on the old theory that the date of minting = date of loss/hoarding. Other affirmation that raises questions mark is that referring to the owners of hoards. Without any arguments the author decides that according to the value of hoards their owner were mainly modest individuals (!). The majority of hoards were found in isolated places or near the roads, do we know if they represent the whole fortune of the owner or it could be just part of his wealth? These errors did not only apply in the case of numismatics but for instance at the list of the emperors for the time of the province of Dacia (p. 15). Here the emperors Caracalla and Geta, although they have received the title of *Augustus* already in AD 198 and AD 209 they are considered emperors only during their joined (AD 211-212) or sole reign (AD 212-217). In the case of Gallienus the author makes no difference between joint reign of Gallienus with his father Valerianus I (AD 253-260) and his sole reign (AD 260-268).

Also, another negative aspect of the dictionary mentioning the numismatic terms is the absence of very important notions which had a heavy impact in the history of the Roman Empire: monetary reform, financial crisis, inflation, counterfeiting, mint and its organization, minting authority etc.

The colored illustration brings to the reader useful details on various areas presented in a modern design using digital technology (e.g. satellite image of the region of Roşia Montană – Bucium – Zlatna; digital and 3D models for the segment of the Roman road *Napoca* – Gilău and). The rest of colored illustration depicts different Roman sites and the most important edifices from Roman Dacia (e.g. the amphitheatre, the temples' area, the procurator's house and the forum from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*; the *principia* and the baths from the legionary fort of *Potaissa*; the amphitheatre and the baths from *Micia*; an Austria military map which in the 19ᵗʰ century still mentioned a Roman fort and "Trajan's road" at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* – Vàrhely.

The first part of this book ends with a selective bibliography where the reader can notice some of the sources used to set up the maps and the dictionary.

The second part contains the archaeological map of Roman Dacia. It is another contribution of a highest importance for historians and archaeologists of Roman Dacia. The territory of the province was divided in quadrants which allowed us to have a detailed view on the numerous aspects that such a map can depict: urban, rural and military sites; mining spots (salt-, iron-, copper- led-, silver-, gold-

mines; baths, harbors, bridges, roads; temples, amphitheatres, necropolises, workshops). At the same time, the map is assisted by a very useful index of the localities mentioned on the map (p.139-147).

At the end, the best words to reflect the high importance of this book are those of the editor of this book, Professor Mihai Bărbulescu, that this atlas-dictionary is "in fact almost a *history of Roman Dacia*, as there are only few aspects which are not covered by these maps". We can say here that this book, by an overall view, can be framed for certain in that category of books with a permanent value.

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Armata în sud-vestul Daciei romane / Die Armee im Südwesten des Römischen Dakien.
[The Army in Southwestern Roman Dacia]. By *Eduard Nemeth*.
Timişoara: Mirton, 2005, 225 pp.

The book is a monograph on the Roman army in the south-western part of the Roman province of Dacia, the present-day Romanian Banat. This choice has the advantage of concision and precision in handling a region which constitutes a geographically well-delimited area, although it never was an administrative or any other kind of unit in the Roman age. It also has the setback of having in the past offered fodder for a great many controversies on mostly minor issues, which the author has had the good sense of giving no more space to than they deserve in connection with his chosen topic. The book is based in an integrated way on archaeological as well as literary and epigraphic sources, it covers all aspects of the chosen topic, from geography of the area to deployment and displacement of military units to border shifting to broad Imperial policy regarding this area as part of a Roman province.

The introduction presents the geographical data of the chosen territory and the history of archaeological and historical research in the area. Thence, the book is structured in chronological order. The first chapter discusses the relation between Romans and Dacians from the first century AD to the foundation of the province of Dacia. The author begins with the statements of ancient authors in this respect and goes on to examine the archaeological evidence for the direction and routes of Roman penetration into the Banat during the Dacian wars of Domitian and Trajan. The second chapter tackles the first phase of the Roman defensive system in south-western Dacia, namely the reign of Trajan, by analyzing the Roman camps along the penetration routes into Dacia: the fortifications on the "western road" (Banatska Palanka – Vršac – Vărădia – Surducul Mare – Berzovia – Jupa) are well dated to Trajanic times, while the camps on the "eastern road" (Orşova – Mehadia – Teregova – Jupa) must be assumed, are as yet however not attested archaeologically. The third chapter presents the defensive system from Hadrian to the "Marcomannic wars", the changes brought about by the two administrative reforms which took place in this interval, the changes in the deployment of military units, especially under Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. The following chapter, from the Severi to Aurelian, discusses the changes that occurred in this part of the province, especially due to the Barbaric pressure on the whole of the province. The choice of the chronological order by emperors renders repetitions

inevitable and leaves too little space for a continuous discussion on any given unit or issue. The highly controversial issue of the abandonment of Roman Dacia under Gallienus is briefly summarized; the author opts for continued Roman presence, at least in eastern Banat, under this emperor. The chapter ends with a discussion of the new fortifications on the left bank of the Danube, which illustrate the new concept of frontier security after the Roman withdrawal from Dacia. The fifth chapter, on the south-western border of Roman Dacia, begins with a discussion of the meaning of the term "limes" and its interpretation in modern literature; goes on to the debate which raged in Romanian literature on this issue; and proceeds to the presentation of the penetration of the Roman armies into Dacia during Trajan's Dacian wars. The author stresses the almost complete lack of Roman fortifications and vestiges in the western part of the Banat, except for the road along the river Mureş, which led into Pannonia. While identifying the territory under Roman military and administrative control with eastern Banat only, the author shows that the *provincia* of the governor of Upper Dacia included western Banat also; this territory remained outside the organized province, but was controlled by the Romans, in order to keep an eye on the Barbaric populations between the provinces of Dacia and of Pannonia. The final chapter briefly repeats the main results of the book, two annexes summarize the Roman military units (including their prosopography) stationed in south-western Dacia and their location in this area. The book's illustrations consist in five not very attractive maps showing Roman and Dacian military objects in the Banat, the possible course of the provincial border and the internal borders of the Dacian provinces, as well as several plans of auxiliary forts.

The book includes a second half, consisting in the exact translation of the Romanian text into German. It becomes thus comprehensible to a wider readership without losing the Romanian one. This trend has made itself increasingly felt in Romanian literature in recent years, but beyond making a brave attempt to transgress linguistic borders, such approaches raise their own troubles, since the barrier to be transcended is not linguistic alone. The author here addresses at the same time a wide readership with an international outlook and one which until fairly recently was much more parochial; the result is either too much or too little explicitness. For instance, one might have expected more elaboration on the term "limes" and its general handling in literature (p. 71), as well as on the distinction between administrative, ethnic and military borders (p. 81).

The book minutely describes a limited border area and offers a large amount of data and interpretations of a segment of the Dacian limes. It is thus highly useful in reconstructing the overall image of the Roman border defence on the Lower Danube.

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Statuaria majoră în Dacia romană.
[The Statues in Roman Dacia]. By *Alexandru Diaconescu*.
Cluj: Nereamia Publishing House, 2005 (electronic edition).

The book, in a CD format, is one of the first books on ancient history published as such in Romania. CD format published books have become rather a well recognized fact in other European countries, while entire books and compendiums found their place on the internet. It is not my intention to eulogize

such book types: beside inherent advantages (rapid data search and find, data storage on the personal laptop and easy access anytime anywhere) a few disadvantages have become obvious: the scholar's prestige is involved (as recognition is weighed in books) when compared to having one's books available for people with no access to latest technologies on the shelves of any traditional library. Therefore, the book's printed format is forthcoming.

The book discusses the statues in Roman Dacia. The author explains within the introduction that it is partly based on his PhD thesis maintained with the "Babeş-Bolyai" University from Cluj in 1998. It has two tomes and additional plates. The first tome (470 p.) is structured in nine chapters and a concluding chapter, as follows: Chapter I, The individual's image with Greek and Roman statues (p. 15-100); Chapter II, Pedestrian statues (p. 100-149); Chapter III, Equestrian statues (p. 149-184); Chapter IV, Chariot statues (p. 184-249); Chapter V: Complex honorary monuments (p. 249-280); Chapter VI, Funerary monuments of the elites. The statues of the deceased and their architectonical context (p. 280-321). Chapter VII, Votive and cult statues (p. 321-375); Chapter VIII, *Ornatus et status*. The Roman social establishment reflected in honorary and funerary monuments (p. 375-421); Conclusions: Statues, an often ignored component of the provincial Roman art from Dacia (p. 421-470). Tome II (297 p.) comprises the monuments catalogues with comments and bibliography as follows: Bronze Statues (Cat. B); Male stone statues (Cat. P. I); Female Stone statues (Cat. P. II); Votive and cult statues catalogue (Cat. V); Epigraphical Catalogue (Cat. E. I). Bases of imperial statues; Bibliography (p. 303-337). The 74 best quality roman numbered plates represent the catalogue support.

From the very beginning the author underlines the vast content of the research theme and especially its multiple interdisciplinary aspects (epigraphy-archaeology-art history) specific for recent Greek and Roman studies. The constant reference to classic prototypes represents a work method substantiating the entire book; thus the text integrates a series of prototype pictures so both scholars and undergraduates would consider it a useful instrument of research.

The author makes permanent references to Greek and Latin authors and monographs which he examined during research tenures with the Universities from Köln and Berlin, yet a series of personal contributions to the issues under study are apparent. Thus, in chapter I, the analysis of the role of ancient statues in the Greek world, the author underlines as opposed to Ridgway (B. S. Ridgway, The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture, Princeton, 1977) that *kouroi* statues within sanctuaries do not represent but in a few instances the god Apollo or the Dioscuri as they are supposedly "oranti". Chapter II on pedestrian statues discusses various types and their typology proposed by specialists starting from the drapery type of the *paludamentum* (K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen*, Berlin, 1978; H. R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen. Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlichen Skulptur und Architektur*, Bd. 10, Mainz am Rhein, 1990; S. Stone, *The Toga: from national to ceremonial costume*, in: J. L. Sebesta, L. Bonfante ed., *The World of Roman Costume*, London, 1994, 13 ff; V. Kockel, *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verhältnis des spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts. Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur* 12, Mainz am Rhein, 1993, 15-24.) and recommends a new typology based on several previously established. The basic typological criterion is the character's pose bearing

clearly defined significance for the ancient viewer. Therefore, three basic types each with two sub-types are suggested upon iconographical features. The legs' position, similar or different from classic prototypes is set as secondary typological criteria. The author determines variants through combining all three drapery types of the *paludamentum* with the suggested iconographical types. He is not mistaken when disregarding the adornment as typological principle. When analyzing the monolith bases of the pedestrian statues from Sarmizegetusa, the author obtains a dating method by comparing the proportions of the bases surely dated epigraphically and the proportions of their epigraphic fields. Chapter IV considers mostly the chariot statues within the Roman world, *seiuga, quadriga, biga*, since they did not benefit thus far by monographs. The analysis takes Thamugadi as reference point, given that 90% of the *forum* inscriptions have been preserved therein. Based on text dimensions or proportions the author attributes them to various statue bases. He reaches the conclusion that the majority of the carriage monuments were dedicated to emperors, rarely to governors. Dacian chariot statues are being identified upon bases found within the forum from Sarmizegetusa. By shape and dimensions they are attributed to *quadrigae* bases. The following two chapters seem to be digressing from the theme under study. Thus, chapter V deals with the complex honorary monuments, as, the author explains, large dimension inscriptions do not necessarily belong to triumph arches and bases of chariot statues, but to other prestigious forms of the honorary monuments as well. Herein are discussed the monuments erected by local communities or individuals in public squares. Chapter V regards the funerary monuments of the elites, the statues of the deceased and their architectonical context, analysing funerary precincts and the oecomorphe and naomorph mausoleums. The book ends with a chapter of social analysis and social reflection within the statuary symbolism from Roman Dacia. The concluding chapter ponders the stone sculpture, characteristics, workshops, chronology, while reaching a most important conclusion: the major Dacian statues does not cover generally the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD as previously established, but the mid 2nd century – mid 3rd century AD (150-250). The author chooses a new approach to the "provincial art" notion by placing Dacia in between the east and west of the Empire. The western influence is ethno-linguistical and cultural, while the Greek impact is shown in engineering, architecture and arts, relating mostly to the civilization sphere. The western culture is present mostly in the common art, while eastern civilization was felt in the provincial elites' art. Tome II comprises the catalogue of the bronze and stone statues, votive and cult statues, as well as an epigraphic catalogue of the statue bases. The abbreviations (p. 297-337) are to be found by the end of the tome. Their survey indicates the huge amount of studies the author examined as to draft his academic discourse.

The book represents, by the theme of study and interdisciplinary features an impressive, unique, and at the same time necessary historical treatise for the national specialty literature. Following the book of Mrs. Lucia Teposu-Marinescu on the funerary monuments from Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis published in 1982, the research of the provincial art was put in a shade. The book of Alexandru Diaconescu equals studies internationally known. Any critics, inherent to the vast research field, while contemporary research restricts to special themes, do not diminish the author's contribution. I would mention the lack of a chapter on method and chronology that would argue the method applied and the chronological criteria used. Although they become obvious by browsing the catalogue, I consider that such a

chapter would have been a programmatic, non-replaceable instrument for anyone studying the Dacian provincial art. Another minor fault appears to be the study of collateral issues as the oecomorph and naomorph mausoleums and the funerary precincts (chapter VI). Therein are examined the plates bearing mausoleum, *loculus* and *arcosolium* inscriptions without a thorough study of the issue and detailing. The author believes when investigating the functionality of altars and votive statues bases (chapter VII) that in the altars case, the donation was not the monument itself but the offering, while in statue case the donation was the statue and its base altogether. There are cases, though, of altar dedications with the offering carved on the upper part of the altar (M. Mattern, *Ein rätselhafter Weihaltar aus Chester, Grafschaft Cheshire, England*, in: G. Brands/J. N. Andrikopoulou-Strack/D. Dexheimer/G. Bauchenß (ed.), *Rom und die Provinzen. Gedenkschrift für Hans Gabelmann*, Mainz, 2001, 116 f; B. P. Stuart, J. E. Bogaers, *Nehalenia. Römische Steindenkmäler aus der Oosterschelde bei Colijnsplaat*, Leiden, 2001, A 43, A 46, B. 37.), while the altar in its entirety functioned as an offering as it was a "Weihstein". Libations could have been made close to the god's statue, in the case of votive statues, as shown by G. Alföldy (G. Alföldy, *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria. Epigraphische Quellen*, Heidelberg, 1984, 36). Amongst strictly technical faults I could note the contents' lack of subchapter mentions, which would have eased leafing through the book, while the text previous to chapter VIII mentioned Vol. I, 2 although Vol. I, 1 does not exist. These are yet small details and they bring no prejudice to the value of this impressive historical treatise. It is a pity the book is not translated. I' d suggest a future German or English version, as it would be rather a misfortune such a valuable study remained accessible to only a restricted public and did not enter the international circuit.

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Sincretismul religios în Dacia romană.
        [The Religious Syncretism in Roman Dacia]. By *Sorin Nemeti*.
Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005, 423 pp.

An exhaustive study concerning the religious syncretism in Roman Dacia can only be desirable as it has been a necessity in order to have a better and more accurate understanding of the religious phenomena from the trajanic province. Although the task was not an easy one, due to the lack of antique written sources, to the complexity but also ambiguity in which the term syncretism was used during the time in the science of religions, Sorin Nemeti succeeded in isolating those religious behaviors that can be characterized as syncretic, using a strong methodological framework in the analysis of the epigraphic and sculptural monuments from Roman Dacia.

The book is the result of a PhD research at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca. In present the author is lecturer at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University, History and Philosophy Faculty, Ancient History and Archaeology Department, Cluj-Napoca.

Contents: *Preface* (p. 5-8); *Motivation* (p. 9-10); *I. Introduction* (p. 11-26); *II. Religious Syncretism. Methodological Problems* (p. 27-78); *III. Ethnical structures and local cults in Dacia. Interpretatio antiqua and religious integration mechanisms* (p. 79-218). *IV.*

Internal syncretism and the logic of addition (p. 218-322); *V. Conclusions* (p. 323-326); *VI. Repertory of the epigraphic and sculptural monuments* (p. 327-380); *VII. Ilustrations* (p. 381-392); VIII. *Bibliographical abbreviations* (p. 393-396); *IX. Resume* (p. 397-419).

After over viewing and analyzing in the *Introduction* the main tendencies that accompanied the study of religions of Roman Dacia during the time and the development of the science of religions with its methodology , the author places his research at the boundaries "*between history and religious phenomenology, between the evolutionist interpretation and the structural one*" (p. 21). The purpose is not a presentation of the divine characters, which would only lead towards a history of religions of the province, but an analysis of the syncretic processes: "*the deities' mechanisms of integration (interpretationes) and the additional tendencies (the henotheism)*" (p. 10). In the same time he stresses on the clichés which have been applied to the antique polytheism by the modern interpretation, due to a wrong approach, tributary to the modern way of thinking (p. 21-26).

The methodological aspects are discussed in the second chapter: *Religious Syncretism. Methodological problems*. The author starts from the observation that the vague use of the term syncretism in the history of religions has determined "*a dispersion of its precise meaning*" (p. 30) and it generated numerous confusions and wrong interpretations. None of the definitions given to the syncretism can illustrate the entire rage of phenomena of this type from the ancient religions (p. 31). The variety and complexity of the antique polytheism, the fact that every divine figure can be interpreted as a particular case, determined Sorin Nemeti to plead for what he called "*the inconsistence of typologies*" (p. 39). In these conditions a typology of the syncretic phenomena from Roman Dacia would turn out to be useless and the only way to obtain a proper understanding is by establishing the ways and mechanisms that produced syncretism in the ancient world (p. 39).

An applicable definition for syncretism can be obtained only "*by establishing the parameters of the phenomenon in ancient world, by isolating some essential criteria and by underlining some ways of establishing*" (p. 40). Two main parameters in the analysis of syncretism are considered *time* and *ambiguity*. Any syncretic phenomenon has an evolutionary character and it can be called syncretic only a new form with distinctive characteristics from the parts that contributed to its creation.

The author distinguishes between two types of syncretism: "*syncretism from within*", caused by external factors and "*syncretism from without*" which appears inside a religious system, without any external contribution. The mechanisms that determine the appearance of the first one are: *interpretation*, *confrontation*, *a comparative vision* (association as way of comparison) and in the second case: *addition* (henotheistic tendencies) and *alienation* (dissolution).

Another debated problem is the one of *interpretatio antiqua* (with its forms: *interpretatio graeca*, *interpretatio romana*, and also *interpretation barbara*) as a way of producing "*syncretism from within*" through "*confrontation, comparison, interpretation of equivalent religious ideas and finally confrontation until a new one appears*" (p. 68). A special attention is also given to the sincretic religious phenomena which appear as a result of comparisons inside the Greek and Roman religious system and produce divine figurers that can be characterized as additional, henotheistic or even monotheistic.

From this point of view the research on the syncretism from Roman Dacia is conducted taking in account the two types of syncretism established by the author.

Chapter III: *Ethnical structures and local cults in Dacia. Interpretatio antiqua and religious integration mechanisms*, is dedicated to the analysis of the religious behaviors of the colonists (Illyrians, Africans, Celts and Germans, Palmyreans) brought in Dacia once the province was constituted, an entire subchapter dealing with the problem of the Dacian religion during the roman period.. Sorin Nemeti tries to establish and characterize the way in which the traditional religious heritage of these newcomers confronted with the official roman religion in a new territory, in terms of *Romanization –resistance to Romanization* and *acculturation-contra acculturation*. It is stressed on the fact that in the cases of mixture between a barbarian god and a Greek-roman one, mixture that has been often considered *interpretatio Romana*, it is more likely to deal with a barbarian interpretation than a Roman one (p. 80).

Debating the problem of the Illyrians' religion (p. 80-102), the author notices their preference for the divinities that also played an important part in their territory of origin: Neptunus and Nimphae, Ianus Geminus, Silvanus and Diana, Apollo (Sorranus). But with the exception of some epithets that suggest a direct local Dalmatian tradition (Aptus Delmatarum, Apollo Pirunenus, Naon, Maelantonius, Sideri), the gods have roman names and the dedications are made in Latin. In the same time they worship deities form the official pantheon (Venus, Fortuna, Liber, Mercurius etc.), fact that indicates their disposability towards Romanization.

The Africans from Roman Dacia (p. 102-129) show the same type of the religious behavior as the ones from home. Their preferences are the same as the ones from the North-African provinces: Saturnus, Caelestis, Aesculapius, Liber Pater, Hercules etc. but under the Latin name they see their Punic-Barbarian gods: Ba'al Hammon, Tanit, Eshmoun, Shadrapha, Milk'ashtart. The author proves that the Maurs from Micia worship the same deities as the ones from Numidia and Africa Proconsularis.

A slightly different situation is observed in the case of the Celts and Germans (p. 129-164). The divine figures they adore find their correspondent in the Norico-Pannonian and in the western Celtic and Germanic territories from where they came. This origin is usually indicated by using the Celtic/German correspondent together with the classical name of the god. We find in Dacia deities like Apollo Granus, Mars Toutaticus, Mars Camulus and Hercules Magusanus etc. But there are cases when the identity of the gods can be determined starting from iconographical aspects (Brigantia) and associations (Sucellus and Nantosuelta).

The analysis of the Palmyreans' religion from the province (p. 164-185) determines the author to consider them among the most traditionalist groups of colonists. Although sometimes in Dacia different aspects of a deity are emphasized in comparison with the ones from home (the case of Malakbel), the general religious lines follow the civic religion from Palmyra. Bêl is worshiped at Porolissum, an important role plays among the Palmyreans especially Malakbel, but gods as Iarhibôl and Aglibôl are also present. In analyzing the foundation inscription from the temple dedicated to the *Dii Patri* from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Sorin Nemeti identifies in Bêl Bêl Hamon, Fenebal and Manavat the home gods of a Canaanite-Arabian tribe from Palmyra, Bene Agrud (p. 175-178).

A special attention is dedicated to Azizos from Edessa (p. 179-185). The epigraphic monuments from Dacia reveal a double nature of the god: a masculine martial aspect of the star Venus, the morning star (*phosphorus*) and a solar god, a god of oracles due to his identification with Phoebus Apollo and Apollo Pythius.

The problem of the Dacian religion in the Roman period (p. 185-202) is solved in a "negative" way by the author. The lack of written sources, of epigraphic and figurative monuments doesn't allow any identification of the presence of *interpretation Dacica*. The theory of the Dacian origin of the Danubian Riders cult is not certain, a Moesian origin being more probable (p. 200-216).In this conditions the solution proposed is a total conversion of the Dacian autochthons to the Roman religion after the conquest of Dacia.

Sorin Nemeti continues his research in the fourth chapter, *Internal syncretism and the logic of addition*, from the point of view of what he defined as "*syncretism from within*".

The first part of the analysis (p. 219-269) is dedicated to the phenomena of identification of Zeus/Jupiter, as a supreme god, with different supreme gods of the populations integrated in the classical world. In Dacia this identifications are present and are of Syrian-Phoenician origin (Iupiter Dolichenus, Iupiter Turmazgades, Iupiter Heliopolitanus, Iupiter Hierapolitanus, Iupiter Balmarcodes), of Galatian origin (different forms of Zeus like Tavianus, Bussumarius, Bussurigius, Narenos, Sardendenos/Sarnendenos, Sittacomicos), of Thracian origin (Zeus Zbelsurdos) and of Celtic and Celtic Norican.Pannonian origins (Taranis and Iupiter Depulsor).

Another debated problem is the one of the henotheist divine figures represented in Dacia by Theos Hypsistos, Deus Aeternus and Iupiter Summus Exuperantissimus (p. 269-306). After stressing on the error of interpretation, tributary to F. Cumont's identifications of the oriental origins of these gods, the author presents Theos Hypsistos and Deus Aeternus as divine figures which present monotheist tendencies, with a cult influenced in some proportion by the Judaic monotheism, but with no possibilities of identification with the Judaic Yahveh. Iupiter Summus Exuperantissimus is considered only a divine figure created in the medioplatonic environment, during the reign of Commodus, to serve the imperial theology.

The evolution of henotheism is analyzed also in the cult of Sol (p. 306-316), which can be observed only at its beginnings in Roman Dacia, and in the appearance of pantheist deities like Isis (p. 316-322).

The study is accompanied by a repertory of the epigraphic and sculptural sources, part of it being illustrated. Also the English resume makes the book accessible for the international research.

Sorin Nemeti succeeded, for the first time in the Romanian historical research, to offer a complete image of the syncretism from Roman Dacia. His main contribution can be observed on two levels: the elaboration of an original methodology for the Danubian province which allowed him to isolate those phenomena which can be characterized as syncretic and the bringing of pertinent solutions sustained by a solid bibliography, letting aside the clichés of interpretation from the Romanian and international historiography.

The author proves a high critic sense, his solutions are new and well documented in a logical and well structured discourse. *Religious Syncretism in Roman Dacia* will represent from now on the starting point of any attempt of studying the religious phenomena from Roman Dacia.

Sɪʟᴠɪᴀ Mᴜsᴛᴀᴛ̦ᴀ̆
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General Bibliographical Abbreviations:

ACD	*Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecenensis,* Debrecen, (Hungary)
AISC	*Anuarul Instututului de Studii Clasice*, Cluj (Romania)
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*, The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston University (U.S.A.)
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* Berlin-New-York (Germany-U.S.A.)
ArhMold	*Arheoogia Moldovei,* Iaşi (Romania)
AUB Istorie	*Analele Universităţii din Bucureşti, seria Istorie,* Bucureşti (Romania)
AUI	*Analele Universităţii „Al.I. Cuza"*, Iaşi (Romania)
Alba Regia	*Alba Regia. Az István Király Múzeum Közleményei,* Székesfehérvár (Hungary)
ActaMN	*Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca (Romania)
ActaMP	*Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău (Romania)
Analele Banatului	*Analele Banatului*, Timisoara (Romania)
Apulum	*Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis*, Alba Iulia (Romania)
ArchRozh	*Arheologicky Rozhledy*, Praga (Czech Republic)
ArheologijaSofija	*Arheologija. Organ na Arheologiceskija Institut i Muzei*, Sofia (Bulgaria)
Banatica	*Banatica.* Muzeul Judeţean Reşiţa (Romania)
B.A.R.	*British Archaeological Reports*, Oxford (U.K.)
BerichtRGK	*Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommision des Deutsche Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main (Germany)
CCDJ	*Cultură şi civilizaţie la Dunărea de Jos,* Călăraşi (Romania)
Cercetări arheologice	*Cercetări arheologice,* Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Romîniei, Bucureşti (Romania)
CercetIst	*Cercetări istorice*, Muzeul Moldovei, Iaşi (Romania)
Crisia	*Crisia.* Muzeul Ţării Crişurilor, Oradea (Romania)
Dacia(N.S.)	*Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie*, I (1924) - XII (1947); *Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, N.S.,* I (1957), Bucureşti (Romania)
EphemNap	*Ephemeris Napocensis,* Institutul de Arheologie şi Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca (Romania)
GNBPlovdiv	*Godišnik na narodnja muzej,* Plovdiv (Bulgaria)
Helis	*Helis*, Archaeological Museum and Institute Sofia, Historical Museum Isperih (Bulgaria)
Historia	*Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte,* Stuttgart (Germany)
IDR	*Inscripţiile Daciei romane*, Bucureşti (Romania)
Izvestija Sofia	*Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut*, Sofia (Bulgaria)
JRGZM	*Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz (Germany)
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies,* London, (U.K.)
Marmatia	*Marmaţia,* Muzeul Judeţean Maramureş, Baia Mare (Romania)
MCA	*Materiale şi cercetări arheologice*, Bucureşti (Romania)
MÉFR	*Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, Roma (Italy)

PamArch	*Pamjàtki archeologické*, Praga (Czech Republic)
PBF	*Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, München (Germany)
Peuce	*Peuce*, Institutul de Studii Eco-muzeale, Tulcea (Romania)
Pulpudeva	*Pulpudeva.* Academie Bulgare des Sciences, Institut de Thracologie, Sofia (Bulgaria)
PZ	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Leipzig-Berlin (Germany)
Revista Bistriţei	*Revista Bistriţei,* Complexul Muzeal Bistriţa-Năsăud (Romania)
SCIV(A)	*Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche (şi arheologie)*, Bucureşti (Romania)
SlovArch	*Sloveska Archeologia*, Nitra (Slovakia)
Starini	*Starini, Journal of Balkan Archaeology*, Sofia (Bulgaria)
StAntArch	*Studia Antica et Archaeologica*, Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza", Iaşi (Romania)
StCls	*Studii Clasice*, Bucureşti (Romania)
StComSatuMare	*Studii şi comunicări*, Satu Mare (Romania)
Thraco-Dacica	*Thraco-Dacica*, Institutul Român de tracologie, Bucureşti (Romania)
Tyche	*Tyche. Beiträge zur Alte Geschichte, Papirologie und Epigraphik*, Wien (Austria)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papirologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn (Germany)