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INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « V. PÂRVAN »

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# CAREERS IN THE GUARD OF THE DACIAN GOVERNOR

GEORGE CUPCEA \*

**Keywords:** Roman army, guards, *singulares*, *stratores*, centurions

**Abstract:** Elite guard units of the Roman army must have been as attractive as today for the young soldier. The election in such a unit would have been conditioned by a certain stature and presence, and access to it would grant special status and favour from important people. This is why many soldiers chose this career path in order to ensure for themselves a significant promotion that would take them from amongst the soldiers, to the ranks of the officers. Inscriptions from Dacia offer us several such examples and draw a rather clear picture of the conditions and prospects of a service in the guard.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** armata romană, gărzi, *singulares*, *stratores*, centurioni

**Rezumat:** Unitățile de elită, de gardă, ale armatei romane trebuie să fi fost la fel de atrăgătoare pentru un tânăr soldat ca astăzi. Selecția într-o astfel de unitate era condiționată de o anumită statură și calități fizice, iar accesul la ea aducea cu sine avantajul statutului special și favoarea persoanelor importante. Din acest motiv mulți soldați alegeau această cale în cariera lor, pentru a-și asigura perspective serioase de promovare, din rândul simplilor soldați în rangurile de ofițeri. Inscripții din Dacia ne oferă câteva astfel de exemple, care redau destul de clar condițiile și perspectivele unui serviciu în unitățile de gardă.

Since the time of the Republic, most of the superior officers of the Roman army had the right and need to organize for themselves units of guard. These guards could be elected in the same manner during the Principate, from the allied auxiliaries, in units of both infantry and cavalry<sup>1</sup>. The particular status of these guards was expressed at that time as *pedites* and *equites extraordinarii*. The name *singulares* may or may not have been in use at that time, however, their existence as guards of the provincial governor is attested since the beginning of the Principate and their name is simply describing their manner of recruitment<sup>2</sup>.

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, a consular provincial governor had a very large and varied administrative military staff, formed by men elected from the legions, where they held several inferior ranks<sup>3</sup>. Apart or, perhaps, complementary to this staff, the governor also had more than one unit of guard. One of these units, the *stratores*, was composed of men elected from the legions, and the other two, *equites* and *pedites singulares* of those from the auxiliary units.

The *strator*, as a legionary guardsman of the governor, is ranked higher than the auxiliary *singulares*. According to the *Digesta*<sup>4</sup> he is part of the legionary corps of *immunes*<sup>5</sup>. Their group is probably identical to the 200 legionary guardsmen of Arrian<sup>6</sup>. They seem to have been part of the *officium consularis*, not

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<sup>1</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For a more recent work on the *officium consularis* in Dacia, see Cupcea 2012.

<sup>4</sup> 50.6.7.

<sup>5</sup> Domaszewski 1908, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian, *Ektaxis* 1-10.

organized in a *numerus*<sup>7</sup>, but more likely an independent group inside the governor's staff, with their own officers and centurions<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes they are under the same command like the *pedites singulares*, meaning a legionary centurion as *centurio strator*<sup>9</sup>. Their duties are similar or complementary to those of the *singulares*, especially as messengers, but they are described as guards by more than one ancient literary source<sup>10</sup>. It has been suggested that they are simple stable boys. However, the evidence seems to point to an elite unit, similar to the *equites legionis*, even if they are, at least in part, infantrymen<sup>11</sup>. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD they were probably one of the election sources for the *stablesiani* and *protectores*<sup>12</sup>.

The *singularis* can be either an infantryman or a horseman, elected from the auxiliary units of the provincial army to serve in the proximity of the governor, as guard. Once elected, he became attached to one of the two *numeri* units, *equites singulares* and *pedites singulares*, which have their organization and ranks borrowed from their units of origin. The election manner is similar to the formation of the auxiliary *vexillationes*. For example, the procurator of Noricum had a horse guard commanded by eight *decuriones*, therefore divided in as many *turmae*, close to 240 men<sup>13</sup>. The same situation is noticeable in the headquarters of the procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, where the *equites singulares* were commanded by two *decuriones alae*, one *decurio cohortis*, one *duplicarius* and three *sesquiplarii alae*, all these *principales* calling themselves *beneficarii*. The *equites singulares* of a consular governor were probably as large as an auxiliary *ala*. Even the legionary legates who were also praetorian provincial governors had a guard of *singulares*<sup>14</sup>.

The *equites* and *pedites singulares* have the same organization and ranks as the *ala* and the *cohors*. More precisely, the following are attested: for the *equites* – *decurio princeps*, *decurio*, *duplicarius*, *sesquiplarius*, *summus curator* or *curator*, *actarius*, *optio*, *praeco*, *stator*, *stationarius*; for the *pedites* – *centurio*, *optio*, *signifer*; in general – *vexillarius*, *aedituus*, *librarius*, *beneficiarius*<sup>15</sup>.

The commanders of these *numeri* are legionary centurions bearing the title of *praepositus*<sup>16</sup>. Tactically, *decurio* and *duplicarius*, respectively *centurio* and *optio* are the commanders and deputies of the subunits, either *centuriae* or *turmae*. Among the standard-bearers, the *vexillarius* carries the standard of the entire unit and the *signifer* that of the subunit. Although the *imaginifer* or *tablifer* are missing from the records (unlike the *equites singulares Augusti*), they must have existed or, in any case, some similar ranks. The *aedituus*, *turarius* and *victimarius* are performing the religious acts of the unit, the sacrifices<sup>17</sup>. *Actarius* and *summus curator* have bureaucratic duties. The first one holds the account of resources and the second attends their actual sharing. The *summus curator* seems to be responsible for the entire unit, therefore being assisted by several *curatores* for each *turma*, although the evidence for this is present only with the *equites singulares Augusti*. In the *pedites* unit, the role of the *optio* is that of a Lieutenant, considering the analogies with other types of units<sup>18</sup>.

The *equites singulares Augusti*, as their praetorian colleagues, have no *actarii*, probably because they both use the free corn destined for the Capital, but their provincial colleagues have no such advantages. This is also confirmed by the lack of *cornicularius* from amongst their ranks, also because they may still be enlisted in their unit of origin and not transferred in the *numeri* at the governor's headquarters. Moreover, the lack of any staff is due to the fact that the centurions or decurions in command have no right to recruit

<sup>7</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 11, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Speidel 1974, p. 543-544.

<sup>9</sup> Speidel 1974, p. 544.

<sup>10</sup> Josephus, *BJ* 3.115-126, 5.47-49; Arrian, *Ektaxis* 1-10.

<sup>11</sup> Speidel 1974, p. 545, note 18.

<sup>12</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 55 and 133.

<sup>13</sup> See now the entire discussion in Gugl *et alii* 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Domaszewski 1908, p. 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 31-32.

<sup>16</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 26-27, sometimes associated with decurions.

<sup>17</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 34. He may come from the *stratores*, and promote to *signifer cohortis*. He is probably a *sesquiplarius*. Speidel 1992, p. 137-139.

any military *officium*. From all these features one might be misled into thinking that the *singularis* is a rank. However, it is only a special task, the owner being an *immunis*, detached to the governor for protection<sup>19</sup>. The officers of the provincial *singulares* are often transferred from their unit of origin. The promotions inside the guard are very rare, a few examples from *pedes* to *eques*, or to *duplicarius*. When returning to his unit of origin, the *singularis* can retake his post as soldier, *immunis* or, due to the favour of the governor, be promoted to auxiliary centurion or decurion<sup>20</sup>.

Among the multiple tasks of the **legionary centurions**, one of the most important is that of training and leading the guard units of for the governor.

*Centurio strator* is the commander of the *pedites singulares* of the governor, and occasionally also of the *stratores consularis*<sup>21</sup>. The commander of the *equites singulares* of the governor served also as the *exercitator* (under the name of *praepositus campi*). Septimius Severus offered to the centurions in the governor's staff the same salary as that of the *primi ordines*. In provinces with no legions, these centurions come from the armies of the neighbouring provinces, as the case in Galatia<sup>22</sup>.

In the governor's staff, the centurions had a multitude of tasks, from which some that imply military command are highlighted as prestigious and profitable. As a general rule, legionary centurions bearing the title of *praepositus* or *curam agens* led the *pedites* or *equites singulares* of the governor. Both titles are typical for temporary command posts and go very well with the governor's guards, which are rather detachments than entire units. In provinces with no legion, a *decurio alae*, or a *centurio cohortis* could also lead them, bearing the title of *princeps praetorii*. Towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the same centurion was in command of the *pedites singulares* and *stratores* of the governor of Lower Germany, but this does not look like a general rule, rather a conjuncture, connected to the statute of escort of the *stratores*. The rank of these centurions is not known; however it was presumed that of *primi ordines*. Such explicit cases exist, but no general idea can be drawn from them, because some of them are in command of legionnaires - *stratores* and others of auxiliaries - *singulares*<sup>23</sup>.

Beside these titles, legionary centurions were also detached for the training of the *equites singulares*, as *exercitatores*. In one particular case, the functions of commander and training officer seem to be combined (*praepositus simul et campidoctor*). More than one such trainer was probably commissioned for the *singulares* of a province, as it can be deducted from the analogy to the *equites singulares Augusti*, where for 1,000 horsemen they had four *centuriones exercitatores*. The *pedites singulares* could also have had such *exercitatores*, considering the analogy to the *frumentarii Augusti*. The rank of these centurions is again not known, some of them could have been *primi ordines*, others only *evocati*<sup>24</sup>.

The role of these units as parade and exercise troops is well known, and justifiable through the assignment of legionary centurions as instructors and commanding officers. In fact, all guard units have the same kind of training officers, and it is also well known by now that horsemen of the emperor's guard are sent in the provinces as *centurio/decurio*, to promote a uniform standard in training. The situation must have been similar with the *equites singulares consularis*, they themselves being very well prepared and able to prepare others in the Roman way of war<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 37; 1981, p. 405-406, referring to *equites singulares praefecti Aegypti*.

<sup>21</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Domaszewski 1908, p. 98. CIL XIII 6801 from Mogontiacum mentions four centurions *supernumerarii leg. XXII: princeps praetorii, 7 strator (praep. stratorum et peditum singularium), praepositus equitum singularium, exercitator equitum singularium* (Speidel 1978, p. 27).

<sup>23</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 26-27.

<sup>24</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 28-29. But, as it can be seen from the career of M. Calventius Viator, it can be a very beneficial position, due to the vicinity to important persons (Speidel 1978, p. 29-30).

<sup>25</sup> From approximately 30 careers of *decurio alae/centurio cohortis*, five of them mention the quality *ex singulari/(bus)* (amongst them the one from Negrileşti, northern Dacian *limes*), which defines their way of promotion. In this sense, the *equites singulares* can be considered an officer school (Speidel 1978, p. 43, 51).

During its short existence, Dacia has provided us with lots of evidence concerning all military affairs, and therefore also the guards of the governor. All types of units are attested, even if only through tile-stamps: *pedites singulares*, *equites singulares* and *numerus singularium*<sup>26</sup>.

### STRATORES

**1. Aurelius Mucianus** (CIL III 7786 = IDR III/5 383, Apulum) dedicates a votive monument depicting an archer-like character in his position of *strator co(n)s(ularis)*. His name suggests a Thracian origin, not hidden under his recently obtained citizenship. Even with the obvious advantages of *Constitutio Antoniniana* we can notice some sort of local patriotism, when not even a legionary lower officer is inclined to hide his non-Roman origin.

**2. M. Ulpius Respectus** (AÉ 1930, 5 = IDR III/5 61; IDR III/5 180, Apulum) is known from two votive monuments discovered at Apulum, one of them dedicated to Diana *Augusta* and the other to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*. At the time of dedication, the owner is already retired from military life, both monuments mentioning this, as well as the rank held: *vet(eranus) ex str(atore) co(n)s(ularis)*. In the first text his wife is also mentioned, and in the second the legion of origin, although it would seem obvious. However, the explicit mention of *vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / Sev(eriana) ex str(atore) / co(n)s(ularis)* allows the precise dating of the inscriptions between AD 222-235<sup>27</sup>.

As for the owner of the monuments, his name implies old citizenship, possibly coming from a multiple generation military family in Dacia. In any case, he was enlisted in the legion *XIII Gemina* during the early Severan period, a fact which can attest the moment of the transition to local recruitment for the legions in Danube provinces<sup>28</sup>.

**3.** The legionary guard of the governor, *stratores*, dedicate a statue basis or an altar (AÉ 1983, 801 = IDR III/5 137, Apulum) to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, for the health of *G. C(?) Hasta, co(n)s(ularis) trium Dac(iarum)*<sup>29</sup>. The formula used in this case is interesting: *str(atores) ei(us) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)*. Although by this time the personal mentions, concerning the identity of the officer in command, were excluded from official nomenclature<sup>30</sup>, this case depicts a very personal proof of devotion, even service, probably due to the refreshment of the *stratores* guard with the appointment of the new governor. If this is so, then it can be an argument for the uniqueness of the *officium consularis* for each governor, although such a principle could not be applied rigorously.

A second very important mention of the monument is that it was erected at the orders of the legionary legate, Proculus. This is interesting because it established the boundaries of official religious acts in the military. It is well known that not even centurions could act religiously in the name of the legion or the *centuria*, this prerogative being reserved to the *primipilus*, who also acts only having the blessing of the legionary legate as *agens*. Therefore, this dedication must have been an official one because of the patronage of the legionary legate, who would answer to a request from the group of *stratores* elected from his legion.

**4. M. Valerius Alexander** (AÉ 1959, 316 = IDR II 38, Drobeta) is attested by his funerary monument. He died at the age of 73 as *vet(eranus) / [le]g(ionis) V [M(acedonica)] p(iae) c(onstantis) ex strat(ore) co(n)s(ularis)*. The epithet of the legion dates the monument to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>31</sup>, a fact that may raise arguments concerning the place of discovery. The close relation between the legion *V Macedonica* and Drobeta was confirmed by soldiers coming from this city, especially when the legion was garrisoned in Lower Moesia. Probably even after the transfer to Dacia, the recruitment from Drobeta continued. In any case, it is another example of the local recruitment being enforced from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

<sup>26</sup> Băluță, Berciu 1980, p. 116-121.

<sup>27</sup> IDR III/5 180.

<sup>28</sup> His wife, Aelia Valentina, also seems to originate from a family of citizens.

<sup>29</sup> A less well known governor of Dacia, probably from the second half of the reign of Commodus (IDR III/5 137).

<sup>30</sup> Dise 1997a, especially p. 277-279; as well as Dise 1997b.

<sup>31</sup> The same epithet could date the inscription later, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, according to Bărbulescu 1987, p. 27-28 *apud* Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 259.



**5-6. Tertius Iustus and Aelius (?)** (AÉ 2007, 1198, Apulum) are two of the soldier names engraved on a marble list discovered recently in the vicinity of *porta principalis dextra* of the legionary fortress in Apulum<sup>32</sup>. A series of ranked soldiers of the legion *XIII Gemina, immunes* and *principales*<sup>33</sup> appear on this list, as well as three centurial signs, apparently not recognised by the first editors<sup>34</sup>. These signs depict the *centuriae* after their position inside the legion, in this case those belonging to the centurions *princeps prior, hastatus prior* and *hastatus posterior*. In between all these ranks we find two *str(ator) leg(ati)*. Both of them seem to be enlisted in the *centuria hastati prioris*, but the actual rank is not clear. Even if it seems obvious (because of the association with *beneficiarius consularis* in the same inscription) that the monument is datable after AD 168, therefore these *stratores* are part of the guard of the legionary legate, the unique case of Ti. Claudius Maximus, at one time a *singularis legati legionis*, can help. Being established, in his case, that the legate was at the same time a governor<sup>35</sup>, this can extrapolate to the situation of the *stratores* in the current inscription<sup>36</sup>. However, the prudent thing to say is that the two men were guards of the legionary legate<sup>37</sup>.

The interesting fact of this text is the election of the two guardsmen from the same *centuria*, arguing that personal skills, favour and not hazard were the criteria for election.

**7. (C.?) Silius C.f. Vellina Crispinus** (AÉ 1977, 653 = IDR III/5 166, Apulum), originating in Aquileia, dedicates an altar to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, sometime between AD 153 and 156. His career is simply explained: 7 (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) / XIII G(eminiae) strator / L(ucii) Iu[l]i(i) Procu/li [l]eg(ati) Au[g(usti)] pr(o)/pr(aetore)*. This inscription presents two important events. First, it attests a simple career of a legionary, who was part of the governor's guard, and at the same time a legionary legate of *XIII Gemina*, as *strator*. Second, it indicates as accurately as possible the time of the actual promotion, meaning the governorship of Proculus, AD 153-156. Probably at the beginning of his mandate, Proculus chose Crispinus as his *strator*, and somewhere during the three years the promotion to the centurionate took place.

Thus, it is again proven that the closest officer to a soldier was his mentor and could propose or recommend his promotion. Although the appointment of legionary centurions is the prerogative of the emperor, at least in the cases of soldiers serving in more personal ways, the governor seemed to make the decision. On the other hand, it is important to notice that we are still in the time when gubernatorial *officia* are not clearly determined, in the sense that the soldiers serving his person still call themselves after the formula *rank + name of the governor + rank of the governor*. This was in practice since the beginning of the Principate until the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when the term *officium* comes into use, and the personal relation between the *officialis* and his superior becomes an institutional one<sup>38</sup>. It's therefore only logical that this change would have occurred in Dacia by the time of the appointment of the second legion and the consular governor.

## SINGVLARES

**8. Iulius Gracilis** (Piso 1994, 207-208; Speidel 1994a, 215-216; AÉ 1994, 1490 = IDR III/5 219, Apulum) is a very interesting case. Due to partial conservation of his limestone statue basis, his position and career were unclear for a while. An apparent ligature *BF* lead the first author into believing that the career was *b(ene)ff(iciarius) ex sing(ularibus)*. However such an association was never before proven, between a legionary (*beneficiarius*) and an auxiliary (*singularis*)<sup>39</sup>. It was by chance that both I. Piso and

<sup>32</sup> Initially published by Moga, Drâmbărean 2007, p. 175-179.

<sup>33</sup> Other listed ranks: *custos armorum, immunitus, beneficiarius tribuni, tesserarius, beneficiarius consularis, speculator*.

<sup>34</sup> Faure 2008, especially p. 297-299. For the centurial signs, see the recent works of Mann 1997 and Speidel 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Speidel 1970, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> In recent studies one can equate between the ranks of *strator consularis* and *strator legati*. Speidel 1992, p. 138-139.

<sup>37</sup> A rank also attested in CIL III 4317, 11108, 11300 and in other inscriptions.

<sup>38</sup> Dise 1997a, p. 277-279; also Dise 1997b.

<sup>39</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 90 was the first one doubting this.

M.P. Speidel reconsidered the monument in 1994, in the same issue of ZPE (103)<sup>40</sup>. Although both of them reject the above-mentioned reconstruction they propose different options for the career. Piso sees Gracilis as only a *[mi(les) n(umeri)] M(aurorum) Tib(iscensium) ex sing(ulari)*<sup>41</sup>, while Speidel argues that *singulares* are not elected from *numeri nationes*. Thus, considering the name and the obvious citizenship of the character, Speidel proposes *[7 (centurio) n(umeri) Pal]m(yrenorum) Tib(iscensium) ex sing(ularibus) / [co(n)s(ularis) or [dec(urio) n(umeri)] M(aurorum) Tib(iscensium) ex sing(ularibus) / [co(n)s(ularis)*, promoted from amongst the *singulares*. His argument is that most of the times *singulares*, especially the citizens, are promoted centurions or decurions in the *numeri nationes*, because these units need and have Roman citizen officers<sup>42</sup>.

Although a doubt-proof conclusion is impossible in this case, the most probable option seems to be that of Speidel, especially due to his arguments<sup>43</sup>. We, therefore, have a citizen *singularis* who doesn't mention his unit of origin, but following a prolific career in the guard of the provincial governor is promoted to centurion or decurion in one of the two *numeri* from Tibiscum. It actually seems that there was no term of service for these *singulares*, an extension of the 25 year period being possible in the case of no vacancy for promotion<sup>44</sup>.

**9. P. Aelius Crescens** (CIL III 1098<sup>1</sup> = IDR III/5 248; CIL III 1098<sup>2</sup> = IDR III/5 249; CIL III 1160 = IDR III/5 375, Apulum) had a significant religious activity in Apulum. The first two monuments are statue bases with identical text, to Mars and Victoria<sup>45</sup>. Two statues of the gods were probably erected on these bases<sup>46</sup>. They don't offer much information, except for a *duplicarius*, probably of the *equites singulares*<sup>47</sup>. The third monument, however, is a dedication to multiple unknown deities containing many more details concerning the career of the man paying for the building of the temple for these deities. The significance of one of the ranks gives us a new perspective on his career<sup>48</sup>. The abbreviation of *S C* for *singularis consularis* was repeatedly discussed<sup>49</sup>, leading to the common conclusion that the best reconstruction would be: *P. Ael. Cres/cens du(plicarius) / s(ummus) c(urator) eq(uitum) sin(gularium)...*

Considering this probable alternative, we can acknowledge a rather detailed career in the Dacian governor's horse guard. Crescens omitted his unit of origin because it was rather unimportant to him, as he was determined to pursue his career in the guard until retirement. He was probably convinced to do this by the promotion perspectives in this irregular unit, where he consequently stood on the ranks of *summus curator* and *duplicarius*. This is the natural order of promotion, although it is equally possible that *summus curator* would receive double pay<sup>50</sup>. However considering the *cursus* in this text and the other analogies<sup>51</sup>, this payment scheme is unlikely. The increase in pay happened later, when the promotion to *duplicarius* (deputy of the *singulares* decurion) occurred. On this occasion, he makes his three dedications in Apulum, and the fact that he is doing it while still in service may indicate a good perspective for the promotion to decurion.

<sup>40</sup> Piso 1994, p. 207-209 and Speidel 1994a, p. 215-217.

<sup>41</sup> Consequently, in IDR III/5 219, I. Piso exchanges *miles* with *eques*.

<sup>42</sup> To these we can add the arguments of M.A. Speidel 1993, p. 190-196, proving that *ex* in this case depicts a promotion.

<sup>43</sup> With the supplemental mention that the reconstruction should be *ex sing(ulari)*, as it will be argued below. See M.A. Speidel 1993.

<sup>44</sup> Holder 1982, p. 75; Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 31.

<sup>45</sup> IDR III/5 248: *Marti / et Victori/ae P. Ael. / Crescens / duplicar(ius) / posuit*; IDR III/5 249: *Marti / et / Victor/iae P. Ael. / Cresce/ns dupli(carius) / pos(uit)*.

<sup>46</sup> IDR III/5.

<sup>47</sup> Although his belonging to the legion *XIII Gemina* is not excluded, especially following the analogy of the numerous *duplicarii* of *V Macedonica*.

<sup>48</sup> *S C*. After IDR III/5 375, the reconstruction is: *P. Ael. Crescens du(plicarius) s(ingularis) c(onsularis) eq(uitum) sin(gularium)...* The same unlikely reconstruction is present in CIL III 4471, Carnuntum, cf. Speidel 1978, p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> Speidel 1978, p. 53-56, especially p. 56; Speidel 1992, p. 137-139; Davies 1976, p. 137-144.

<sup>50</sup> But he can also be a *sesquuplicarius* (Speidel 1992, p. 139 and note no. 8; and according to the inscription in discussion).

<sup>51</sup> CIL VIII 2094, Speidel 1992, p. 139, note no. 8.

**10. M. Aurelius Sila** (AÉ 1962, 208 = IDR III/5 358, Apulum – fig. 1) was known from a bronze statuette basis, presumed lost until recently. However, due to the courtesy of Prof. R. Wiegels from Osnabruck, it was rediscovered, and can be once more taken into consideration. The statuette is part of the collection of the August Kestner Museum in Hannover, and corresponds entirely to the lost monument from IDR III/5<sup>52</sup>. The small statue belonging to the god Sol is approx. 50 cm<sup>53</sup> high, and the basis has the inscription. The text restored by E. Zefleanu and consequently by I. Piso in IDR III/5 was: *M. Aurel(ius) Sila a/star(ius) eq(uitum) / sing(ularium) pro se et suos v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*. However, the freshly recovered monument reveals a slightly different inscription: *M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Sila actar(ius) ped(itum) / sing(ularium) pro se et suos (sic!) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*. We have, therefore, a trace of a ranking *singularis*, this time in the function of general secretary of the unit, *actarius*, a function attested previously only for the cavalry unit of the governor's guard. We have now a first proof of its existence in the pedestrian governor's guard also. Sila, whose cognomen seems to be of Latin origin, is not a simple literate soldier, but the curator of the entire unit archive, the *acta diurna*<sup>54</sup>. He omits his unit of origin, which may indicate that he was elected and immediately promoted to this rank. The rank is not very high, of *sesquiplicarius* or even *immunis*, but the perspective is good, due to his literate skills. Unlike the other *actarii* of Dacia that erect monuments to *Minerva Augusta*<sup>55</sup>, their protective goddess, this one makes a gesture of personal devotion to an Eastern deity, in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> - early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, in a context in which the cult of the Sun god was very attractive in Apulum.

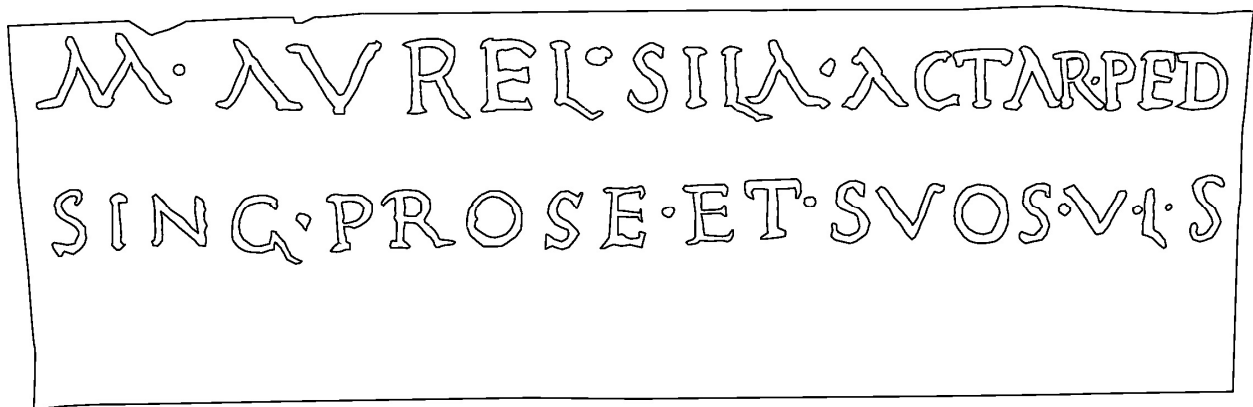


Fig. 1. The drawing of the recently rediscovered inscription of M. Aurelius Sila (Courtesy of Prof. R. Wiegels and the August Kestner Museum in Hannover).

**11-12. Aelius Genialis** and **Valerius** (CIL III 7799 = IDR III/5 477, Apulum) are both known from the funerary monument of the former. They both seem to have held a rank in the *equites singulares* of Apulum, but the erroneous reconstruction of the inscription from the lost monument<sup>56</sup> reads at least one of the careers unsure. The monument is dedicated *Ael(io) Genia[li] / ex singul(ari(bus)) / vix(it) an(nis) XXXII(?) vexillarius / Valerius libr(arius)...*, with the mention of *vexillarius* in Nominative, apparently an error because one would expect to be the rank of the deceased. The reconstruction of IDR III/5 proposes, even if not as final, the option that the two heirs of the deceased are comrades under the same *vexillum*, although such a denomination similar to *commilito* is not very common<sup>57</sup>.

If we accept the drawing from CIL as accurate, then this rank would belong to the first of the heirs, Valerius, who also mentions another, that of *librarius*. Such a career is not very natural, due to the

<sup>52</sup> I give thanks to Prof. R. Wiegels and Dr. F. Marcu for revealing this recent discovery and providing me with the necessary details concerning it. The bronze statuette was published recently by Prof. R. Wiegels (see Wiegels 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Not 30 cm as it was considered previously.

<sup>54</sup> For details concerning the *actarii*, Stauner 2004, p. 129-130.

<sup>55</sup> AÉ 1971, 399 = IDR III/3 111, Micia.

<sup>56</sup> IDR III/5 477.

<sup>57</sup> Lendon 2006, p. 270-276.

differences between the two ranks, but neither unheard of. At the same time, it would seem normal for a *vexillarius*, which may or may not be the deceased (if we presume a writing error), to pass his inheritance to a ranking comrade, even an *immunis librarius*. Considering that the disappearance of the monument makes an accurate conclusion impossible, I tend to accept the second option that would present us with two lower officers of an unknown cavalry unit, *vexillarius* and *librarius*, with the mention that the first was elected and promoted from the *equites singulares*<sup>58</sup>.

**13-14. Dasas and Bersius Ingenuus** (CIL III 7800 = IDR III/5 522; IDR III/5 312, Apulum) are also attested on the funerary monument of the former. Both have an Illyrian origin, and are professional cavalrymen and comrades in all the units they served in. Contrary to the opinion of IDR III/5, the two are soldiers (one of them *decurio*) of *ala Batavorum*, transferred and in one case also promoted to and from the *equites singulares*. Dasas, son of Scenobarbus is the deceased, dead at the age of 31, from which apparently served only 5 (or 15?), being transferred as *eques alae Batavorum* from amongst the *equites singulares*. In his case, the transfer is obvious, but it does not imply also a promotion. His heir, Bersius Ingenuus, known also from a monument in Apulum dedicated to a goddess, bearing the epithet *Regina*<sup>59</sup>, is a decurion of the same unit, *ala Batavorum*<sup>60</sup>. He was transferred and promoted from the *equites singulares*, as indicated by the expression *dec(urio) ex n(umero) eodem*<sup>61</sup>.

Precisely this companionship extended all throughout the common career of the two, in different units, produces the personal relation between them, which ends tragically with the inheritance left probably by the younger.

**15. P. Aelius Atilianus** (AÉ 1913, 54 = ILD 795, Negrilești, Bistrița-Năsăud) dedicates an altar to Diana and Silvanus, in an outpost on the northern *limes* of Dacia Porolissensis, to the north of the fort of Ilișua, close to it. The information on his career are *dec(urio) ex si/ng(ulari) (bus) co(n)s(ularis)*. Again, the applied formula indicates the promotion and transfer to *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, garrisoned at Ilișua, most probable as a decurion, where he could have previously served<sup>62</sup>. Thus, the presence of this person in this isolated outpost on the northern border is not so inappropriate, because he is part of the unit closest by, on the section of the *limes* under its jurisdiction. He is certainly an elite horseman, trained in the governor's horse guard at Apulum, and transferred afterwards as officer in one of the most important auxiliary cavalry units in Dacia.

As for his purpose and activity in this place, little can be said. It is a very wild and forested area on the border (hence the dedication to Diana and Silvanus), where a small outpost under the form of a mile castle have existed. In any case, it must have marked an important spot if the detachment of a decurion was considered necessary, probably leading a squadron of his *turma*<sup>63</sup>.

**16.** A similar situation is to be seen in the fragmentary inscription of an **unknown individual** (AÉ 1988, 947 = IDR III/5 631, Apulum), also a horseman in an auxiliary unit in Dacia. The name is lost, but the information regarding his career is preserved: *eq(ues) al(a)e / [Illyri]co(rum) ex / [n(umero) sing(ularium) v(icit)] an(nis) XXX(?)*. Thus, he was a horseman in *ala Illyricorum* (= *numerus equitum Illyricorum*), garrisoned at Brâncovenesti, transferred to and from the *equites singulares*<sup>64</sup>. This is another example of the training school for cavalry that is the governor's guard, an actual source for officers.

**17.** The funerary monument of **Mucasenus** (CIL III 1195 = IDR III/5 558, Apulum) depicts an identical case. The deceased, son of Censorinus, lived only 20 years and was a horseman in an unknown auxiliary unit, transferred to and from the *equites singulares*. He and his wife, Rescuturme, are of Thracian origins, as many other quality horsemen from the auxiliary units of Dacia.

<sup>58</sup> As proven by the formula *ex singul(aribus)/ex singul(ari)*, that indicates the promotion and transfer into another unit. M.A. Speidel 1993, p. 193-194.

<sup>59</sup> IDR III/5 312.

<sup>60</sup> *Contra* Piso in IDR III/5 522.

<sup>61</sup> M.A. Speidel 1993, p. 194.

<sup>62</sup> Again due to the formula in M.A. Speidel 1993, p. 194.

<sup>63</sup> Speidel thinks that he was a member of a hunting expedition, Speidel 1978, p. 91, no. 40.

<sup>64</sup> Other examples of transfers from and into this unit in Petolescu 2002, p. 132-133.

18. Another **unknown individual** (CIL III 7787 = IDR III/5 405, Apulum) dedicates a votive monument to an unknown deity, as [*de*]*c(urio) eq(uitum) sing(ularium)*. This is one of the few actual attestations of a decurion of the Dacian governor's horse guard.

### CENTVRIONES

Of all thirteen centurions of *XIII Gemina* that have mentioned any transfers or careers as centurions, only five mention their actual position in the legion, therefore no conclusion can be drawn from this part. Three of them are attested in extraordinary functions, one of them *exercitator equitum singularium* and the other two as *curam agentes* of construction vexillations. In the same way, very few of the centurions of *V Macedonica* give details on their centurionates. Three of them hold extraordinary posts, two being *praepositi numeri* for ex-guards, and one of them is *curam agens* for a sacred reconstruction. Of the four centurions *III Flavia Felix* that offer us details on their career, only one is detached to the governor's guard for training purposes.

19. **M. Ulpus Restitutus** (CIL III 14477 = AÉ 1901, 30 = IDR III/5 401, Apulum) is attested on a fragmentary altar or statue basis, along with a comrade centurion of the same legion, *XIII Gemina*. The first centurion attested is a *hastatus*, his name is unknown, as well as his exact position in the legion. It is very tempting to consider him as the *I hastatus prior*, usually simply known as *hastatus*, because no supplemental position, *prior* or *posterior* is given, this abbreviation being particular only for the first three centurions in the legion, *hastatus*, *princeps* and *primus pilus*. This consideration may come in handy for the discussion concerning the second centurion attested in the inscription, as 7 (*centurio*) *exercit(ator) eq(uitum)*. Although the mention *singularium* lacks, it is obvious, thus confirming a centurion of the legion assigned as instruction officer of the governor's horse guard.

Why is the exact position and rank of the first centurion important? It actually serves us in determining those of the second and implicitly the rank held by these *exercitatores*. It has been previously mentioned that the *praepositi* and *exercitatores* of the provincial governor's guard are considered to be *primi ordines*, even if evidence in this sense is scarce. It is also known that access into the line of the *primi ordines*, especially into the first three *priores*, was very difficult, a great honour, and probably would signify the serious perspective of obtaining the primipilate. In addition to this, the *primi ordines* are a distinctive group amongst the centurions of a legion, the only one actually, and they attend to various activities separately from their fellows. This also means religious dedications made in the exclusive name of the *primi ordines* or those including the other centurions, but making a clear distinction, as *primi ordines et centuriones legionis...*<sup>65</sup>. In this particular case from Apulum, we may consider that, again, the association was made between two members of the same order (*primi ordines*). However, Restitutus does not mention his rank in the legion, only the one in the guard; therefore we cannot consider him *princeps legionis* or even more *primus pilus*. The sensible conclusion that can be drawn from this association is that the current *exercitator* of the governor's horse guard was the previous *hastatus* of the legion.

Two extensions could be made from this. The first is that the promotion between the three highest ranks of legionary centurions was not made in a continuous series, yearly, as it was at one time argued, but it would include extraordinary functions and detachments during the time of waiting for a vacancy higher in the ranks. The second is that crucial functions at the provincial level, as are those of commander and trainer of the governor's guard, seem not to be entrusted to regular centurions, even if their experience in command would qualify them for it. Only the acknowledgement of their pure military and commanding skills through the promotion between the highest three centurions of the legion, leading double sized sub-units, confers them the necessary status and calibre for such a distinction.

20-21. **Ulpus Maximinus** (AÉ 1967, 410 = IDR III/3 237, Germisara) and **M. Verius Superstes** (CIL III 12574 = IDR III/3 262, Orăștioara de Sus) are attested on religious dedications to *Iupiter Optimus*

<sup>65</sup> Evidence for the separate treatment of the two categories: the speech of Hadrian at Lambaesis (CIL VIII 2532 = 18042), another dedication to Pius, also from Lambaesis (CIL VIII 18065), and two for Severus, from Mogontiacum (CIL XIII 6801) and Novae (AÉ 1993, 1364a).

*Maximus* and Diana. Both are centurions of *V Macedonica*, none gives his actual position in the legion, but both have extraordinary functions.

The first case poses a real problem in the decryption of the inscription. The monument is lost and all that we have left are three drawings, none relevant for what is of interest in this paper. However, the solution of I.I. Russu is that Ulpius Maximinus could have been a (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) V M[ac(edonicae)] Gord(iana?) p(rae)positus n(umeri) s(ingulariorum) p(editum) B(ritanicorum)* (sic)<sup>66</sup>. This reconstruction has more than one problem that will impend us from drawing a definitive conclusion.

Originally in the garrison of Upper Moesia, *pedites singulares Britannici* are moved to Upper Dacia by AD 110, being attested at Tibiscum, Drobeta and, as an organized *numerus*, at Germisara. This transformation has occurred sometime between AD 140<sup>67</sup> and 186<sup>68</sup>, and by the time of Severus we also know of the commander of the unit, a tribune<sup>69</sup>. In this case, the reconstruction of the inscription above is very doubtful, as one would assume that once commanded by a tribune, a unit remains in this situation for its entire existence<sup>70</sup>. The sole argument for the proposed reconstruction would be the tradition to assign the command of the provincial guard units to legionary centurions. However, by the time of Severus, almost one hundred years since their displacement from Britannia, these *singulares* surely lost their statute as a guard unit and have become an auxiliary one.

The legionary centurionate of Maximinus seems to be accurate, as it is rather clear in the inscription, no other rank being able to be abbreviated in such a short way. On the other hand, the *Gordiana* epithet of the legion seems a bit unclear, only in one partial reconstruction an S can be seen, which could lead us to *Severiana*, but at this time a *praepositus* would be more unlikely because of the evidence we have that the unit was commanded by a tribune. The following two letters cannot be reconstructed in a logical and connected way to the context, but again the P before the abbreviated name of the unit (*NSPB*) is clearly there. There are few options for the reading of this abbreviation as a military rank, and the author of IDR III/3 has chosen *p(rae)positus*, ignoring the other evidence concerning the command of the unit. The other such reading is *p(rinceps)*, the leading centurion of an auxiliary unit, probably also in charge with the training of the soldiers. This seems to be the only other possible option at this state of knowledge, considering the previously held rank of Maximinus, that of legionary centurion. Such a promotion is not common, but possible, as it could be only a determined transfer, associated to an extraordinary function of the centurion. But, as we mentioned before, a definitive conclusion in this case cannot be drawn.

The second case is a dedication to Diana, by a legionary centurion of *V Macedonica*, M. Verius Superstes, who was also *p(rae)positus n(umeri) G(ermanicianorum)*, for the health of the governor of Dacia between AD 176-177<sup>71</sup>.

The mentioned unit seems to be formed of *exploratores* coming from the Germanic provinces, and not *singulares*. A few tile-stamps are known for them, at their garrison in Orăștioara de Sus, and only one inscription concerning their commander, the one mentioned above<sup>72</sup>. In this case, no doubt can be cast upon the reconstruction, as the monument is fully conserved. Even if no connection to the subject of this paper is obvious, a theoretical one can be made, in the sense that it was customary to assign legionary centurions to the command of such irregular units, and that the centurions would not lose their spot in the legion, the temporary detachment being regarded as an extraordinary function, which would probably contribute to the owner's chances to promotion.

In this sense, this scenario could be also applied in the case of Maximinus, but only considering that by the time of Gordian the unit would miss its regular commander, the tribune, and that it would receive a temporary *praepositus* from the governor's office.

<sup>66</sup> According to IDR III/3 237.

<sup>67</sup> Eck, Pangerl 2012, p. 178-179.

<sup>68</sup> As it can be deduced from the RMD 123 diploma from Drobeta and CIL III 1396 = IDR III/3 243, Germisara. Petolescu 2002, p. 129-130.

<sup>69</sup> AÉ 1992, 1487; AÉ 1982, 833 = IDR III/3 213.

<sup>70</sup> Petolescu 2002, p. 130.

<sup>71</sup> C. Arrius Antoninus, Piso 1993, p. 106-117.

<sup>72</sup> Petolescu 2002, p. 131.

**22. M. Calventius Viator** (CIL III 7904 = IDR III/2 205, Sarmizegetusa; AÉ 1915, 42, Gerasa; CIL VIII 2532 = 18042, Lambaesis) had a very interesting career that developed during the first three decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Some of the conditions and promotions in his career have led to a very dramatic story connected to Viator<sup>73</sup>. However, it is not all supported by the evidence.

The first monument is an altar from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, dedicated to the Celtic goddess of horses, Epona, and to the goddess of cavalry exercise camps. In this inscription we find the first details about the career of M. Calventius Viator, (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) IIII Flaviae f(elicis) / exerc(itor) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) / C. Avidi Nigrini / leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*. It confirms the status of Viator as training officer of the horse guard under the governorship of Avidius Nigrinus in Dacia between AD 110/112 and 114<sup>74</sup>. He is detached from the *IIII Flavia* legion, at this time garrisoned in Dacia, at Berzovia, where he is a centurion. Nothing special here: a legionary centurion that is detached to the governor's guard to train the unit in the Roman military ways. We know of several other such tasks of the centurions concerning the governor guards. The first interesting fact that appears in this inscription is the full title of Viator, not simply *exercitator equitum singularium (consularis / legati Aug. pro praetore)*, but also including the name of the governor. This is a common practice during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, until the time of the establishment of the *officium consularis*, when the personal relation between the officer and his *officialis* becomes an institutional one. Therefore, we could argue that, at this time, the personal relations would play a significant role in the promotion and transfer prospectation of an officer, and more, that some posts are related in time to the mandate of the superior officer.

The second source is an altar from Gerasa, Arabia, dedicated to *Diana Augusta*, for the health of Emperor Hadrian. In this altar, some of the *equites singulares* of Hadrian (although not entitled *Augusti*), from the *VIII(?) turma*, led by Viator as *curam agens*, express their gratitude towards the goddess and the emperor. In this inscription, no connection to the previous career steps of Viator are made, he is only entitled as (*centurio*) *leg(ionis) VM[a]/cedonicae* and *curam agens* of the *singulares*<sup>75</sup>. There are several problems with this text and the conclusions that can be drawn from it. The most important is the dating, that can be established in three different time-spans: AD 117/118 (immediately after Hadrian became emperor), AD 129/130 (during Hadrian's visit in the East), or after AD 130 (during the Jewish revolt)<sup>76</sup>. The second issue in discussion is the lack of previous details of Viator's career. Whenever this monument was erected, post-dated the one from Sarmizegetusa, and therefore at least the first centurionate would be worth mentioning. But not the centurionate itself, rather the service in the personal guard of Nigrinus may have induced this inaccuracy. M.P. Speidel elaborated this very epic theory that Viator was the discloser of Nigrinus assassination attempt on Hadrian, and that through this gesture he became a personal guard of Hadrian, and he followed the emperor in all his journeys<sup>77</sup>. However, in one of his recent works, C.C. Petolescu argues against this theory, mainly due to dating reasons. By the time Hadrian came to the Danube, in the spring of AD 118, Nigrinus was already executed along with the other conjurers<sup>78</sup>.

In this case, how can we explain the apparently tight connection between Hadrian and Viator, in spite of the latter's service in the proximity of a mortal enemy of the emperor? Another detail seems to be important in the dating of the second monument: the lack of Imperial titles, except that of *pater patriae*, immediately refused by Hadrian, which is an important argument in favour of an early dating of the inscription<sup>79</sup>.

Most probably, the service of Viator in the provincial guard of Nigrinus ended with his governorship of Dacia, by AD 113/114<sup>80</sup>. Soon afterwards, the legionary centurion was transferred in *V Macedonica*, at Troesmis, in Lower Moesia, and perhaps left with a vexillation in Trajan's Parthian war. His connection to Hadrian could have occurred by the time that the future emperor became governor of Syria, Viator's

<sup>73</sup> Speidel 1994b, p. 47-49.

<sup>74</sup> Piso 1993, p. 19-23 and Petolescu 2005, p. 195; or, between 115 and 117, according to Piso 2013, p. 21-24.

<sup>75</sup> See also Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 60-61.

<sup>76</sup> Cheesman 1914, p. 13-16 *apud* Petolescu 2005, p. 196.

<sup>77</sup> Speidel 1994b, p. 47-49, 78, 91, 102 and 149-150.

<sup>78</sup> Petolescu 2005, p. 196-197.

<sup>79</sup> *Historia Augusta, Vita Hadriani*, 6; Petolescu 2005, p. 197.

<sup>80</sup> Petolescu 2005, p. 197.

experience in training horse guards ensuring him a rank in the Syrian governor guard. There is no evidence that he was an *exercitator* of this guard, only a *curam agens*, a term equal to *praepositus* and which implies full command<sup>81</sup>. Such a command is highly irregular for *equites singulares Augusti*, which have equestrian tribunes, but can be very useful in the dating of the inscription, probably very soon after the death of Trajan, when the guard of the governor of Syria became the first horse guard of Emperor Hadrian<sup>82</sup>.

A third mention of Viator is presumed in CIL VIII 2532=18042: the speech of Emperor Hadrian to *ala I Pannoniorum* in Lambaesis that would imply the fact that, by AD 128, the two are still together. However, no real detail can be extracted, and thus no conclusion<sup>83</sup>.

Returning to Dacia, M. Calventius Viator is one of the few examples of centurions in training of the *equites singulares*, especially in the period of the beginning of the province, when one could expect experiments in administrative practice, attested not only in Dacia. However, it is clearly visible that the changes in provincial administration from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century are not invented, but rather legal establishments of practices, already in place since the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The only question that remains is whether Viator was part of the *primi ordines* as *exercitator equitum singularium* of the Dacian governor, and if so, why did he not mention his promotion in *V Macedonica* as *princeps* or even *primus pilus*.

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This paper has attempted to search for every individual piece of evidence concerning soldiers involved in the guards of the Dacian governor. From this point of view, a few distinctions were made. First, we considered necessary a distinction between the legionary and the auxiliary units, *stratores* and *singulares*, and second, another distinction from the hierarchical perspective, between soldiers and centurions.

Concerning the first category, only one example can be dated before the arrival of *V Macedonica* in Dacia, when the legionary legate of *XIII Gemina* was also governor<sup>84</sup>. This is also clearly visible from the formula used in the inscription, that of *rank + name of the officer + rank of the officer*, typical only until the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, before the *officium consularis* came into existence and the personal relation between the soldier and the granter of his *beneficium* became an institutional one. Personal connections were of great value, as it can be seen from the case of no. 7, where the individual was elected and promoted to legionary centurion in the three-year mandate of his patron and superior officer. All the other examples are to be dated to the Severan period, maybe with the exception of no. 3, where, again, the formula is clearly different from the official one. The collective dedication of the *stratores* is made for the health of the governor, with the formula *stratores eius*, again one of great personal connotation, which can stand as an argument for the unicity of the *officium consularis*, or at least of the guard, for each governor.

The examples of nos. 5 and 6 are likely to be considered as *stratores legati legionis*, rather than *consularis*, especially because of the presence of *beneficiarius consularis* in the same list, and therefore they cannot contribute to our conclusion. We are left with three examples datable accurately in the Severan period, nos. 1, 2 and 4. Chronologically, no. 4 seems to be the earliest, in the last decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, a veteran of *V Macedonica*, former *strator* of the governor, dead at the age of 73, and buried at Drobeta. It stands as evidence for the special relation between Drobeta and *V Macedonica* in matters of recruitment, all throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, one of the best examples for local recruitment in the legions. No. 1 is clearly datable after *Constitutio Antoniniana*, because of the fellow bearing only Aurelius as *nomen* and his Thracian peregrine name as *cognomen*. He is an inferior legionary officer, guard of the governor, but we cannot say if he was already a citizen at the moment of the recruitment. In any case, it symbolizes the peak of the regionalization of the Roman army in all of its forms, including the legionary guards of the governor. Finally, no. 2 is contrasting from this point of view, because, even if contemporary with no. 1, he is part of

<sup>81</sup> Speidel 1994b, p. 91.

<sup>82</sup> Petolescu 2005, p. 197.

<sup>83</sup> Although Petolescu considers him a tribune of the *equites singulares Augusti* (Petolescu 2005, p. 198).

<sup>84</sup> No. 7.



a family of Roman citizens for at least a century, as their name indicates. During Severus Alexander's reign, he retired from service as a former *strator* of the governor. He was probably enlisted in *XIII Gemina* in the first decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and could have shared military service with the former peregrine of no. 1. It is another clear argument for the cosmopolitan Roman army of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Most of the reassessments of the evidence were concentrated on the second category, that of the *singulares*. Until the clarifying of several epigraphic formulas, as that of *ex singularibus*<sup>85</sup>, it was believed that most of the examples were of careers inside the guard, as *decurio ex singulari*. This reconsideration changes especially the statistics, leaving, for all the eleven *singulares* in Dacia, only three attestations of actual careers inside the guard. Nos. 9, 10 and 18 are the three such examples, only one of them revealing more than one post, if we exclude that of *singularis*. No. 9 is the most detailed career of this type, attesting at least two promotions inside the guard, from *singularis* to *summus curator* and again to *duplicarius*. The reading of *S C* as *summus curator* rather than *singularis consularis*<sup>86</sup> provided us with a typical auxiliary cavalry career that would probably lead the fellow to the rank of *decurio*, either in the guard or elsewhere. No. 10 attests in premiere the function of *actarius* in the *pedites singulares*, and only one promotion, that of *actarius peditum singularium*, but we cannot say from which post he was promoted, probably *singularis*. Even if direct promotion along with the election in the guard was irregular, it is not unheard of. Finally, no. 18 is a fully attested *decurio equitum singularium*, the only such case in Dacia and, moreover, one of the only four such attestations of decurions of the provincial governor's guard throughout the Empire<sup>87</sup>. It's too bad that for such an important character we have only a piece of monument that does not even reveal his name.

All the other examples of *singulares* have not developed their career in the guard, even if it was thought so in most of the cases<sup>88</sup>. The long debated case of no. 8 lead to the most probable conclusion, M.P. Speidel's one, arguing for a promotion to either centurion or decurion in one of the Tibiscum *numeri*, along with the transfer from the guard. The other two such cases are that of nos. 13-14 and 15. The first monument attests more than one such transfer and promotion. The deceased was transferred from the guard as *equus alae Batavorum*, and the heir was also promoted to decurion of the same unit. Finally, no. 15 is a decurion of *ala Tungrorum Frontoniana*, transferred and promoted from the guard of the governor, and detached with a mission on the *limes*. Three transfers from the guard seem not to be also promotions, because the owners are made simply *equites* of auxiliary units, *ala Batavorum*, *ala Illyricorum* and an unknown unit (nos. 13-14, 16 and 17). In the end, the double attestation of nos. 11-12 leaves us undecided if we have one or two careers. However, at least one of them included the *equites singulares* and probably the transfer and promotion into an *ala* as *vexillarius*.

The *singulares* in Dacia have many interesting and unique features in all the Empire. In one instance, that of officer training, the *singulares* have proven their role also in the army of Dacia, providing at least three decurions for Dacian *alae*, along with one *vexillarius* and three *equites* for the same kind of units. On the other hand, we are presented also with examples with careers inside the guard, with more than one post (very rarely attested), one of them leading to the very unique rank of *decurio equitum singularium*.

The third category gathers the legionary centurions that tied their career at one time with the governor's guard. It has been previously shown that this connection was made especially under the form of training or command. The legionary centurions were the training officers – *exercitatores* and the commanding officers – *praepositi* or *curam agentes* of these elite units of guard in the provinces.

Up to this moment, the evidence in Dacia is scarce, but interesting. First, no. 19 states a very important fact not only for the statistics of the *singulares* in Dacia, but also for the legionary centurions, revealing at least one very rare example of *hastatus legionis XIII Geminae*. If our previously presented hypothesis is correct, then it is again argued that the centurions entrusted with duties in the governor's guard must have

<sup>85</sup> In M.A. Speidel 1993.

<sup>86</sup> Originally proposed by Speidel 1978; 1992.

<sup>87</sup> Most of the examples are *decurio equitum singularium Augusti*, from Rome. Other *decuriones equitum singularium* seem to be CIL III 10360, in Lower Pannonia, CIL III 14513 from Viminacium and CIL III 14387f, from Heliopolis, even if Speidel 1978 considers eleven such examples. There is also one *centurio singularium*, at Brohl, in Upper Germany (AE 1923, 33).

<sup>88</sup> Nos. 11-12, 15, especially in the inscriptions corpora.

been *primi ordines*, only their special command skills and experience qualifying them for such missions. The examples of nos. 20-21 are only used here to enhance the customary practice in appointing legionary centurions as commanders of irregular units, especially those coming from provincial *singulares*. Finally, the long debated case of no. 22 is the epic story of M. Calventius Viator, able officer and acquaintance of Emperor Hadrian. The second example of a centurion in Dacia training the *equites singulares* will have a very prolific career following his leave from the army of Dacia. After leaving for the East as centurion of *V Macedonica*, he will be, even if only shortly, commander of the Emperor Hadrian's horse guard.

As a final conclusion, it can be said that the elite units of guard were as attractive as today for the young recruits. It can also be presumed that, as today, only the tallest, most handsome men were elected for such an honour<sup>89</sup>, and trained heavily for extraordinary tasks. After their training would have been completed, the skills and experience gathered in this way can be used for the training of other units. In this sense, the guards are transferred to their unit of origin or to another, many of them as officers in command, where they should use what they learned to train the other cavalymen in the Roman ways of war.

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<sup>89</sup> Speidel 1994b, p. 77.

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## STRATORES AND SINGVLARES

No.	Name	Rank	Unit	Dating	Source	Location
1	Aurelius Marcianus	<i>strator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	After AD 212	CIL III 7786 = IDR III/5 383	Apulum
2	M. Ulpius Respectus	<i>strator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	AD 222-235	AE 1930, 5 = IDR III/5 61, 180	Apulum
3	Collective	<i>stratores</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	AD 185-190	AE 1983, 801 = IDR III/5 137	Apulum
4	M. Valerius Alexander	<i>strator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	AD 190-200	AE 1959, 316 = IDR II 38	Drobeta
5	Tertius Iustus	<i>strator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	before AD 168	AE 2007, 1198	Apulum
6	Aelius ?	<i>strator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	before AD 168	AE 2007, 1198	Apulum
7	C. Silius Crispinus	<i>centurio strator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i> <i>XIII Gemina</i>	AD 152-156	AE 1977 653 = IDR III/5 166	Apulum
8	Iulius Gracilis	<i>decurio / centurio singularis cos</i>	<i>n Maurorum / Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium</i>		AE 1994, 1490 = IDR III/5 219	Apulum
9	P. Aelius Crescens	<i>duplicarius summus curator</i>	<i>n equitum singularium</i> <i>n equitum singularium</i>		CIL III 1098 <sup>1</sup> , 1098 <sup>2</sup> , 1160 = IDR III/5 248, 249, 375	Apulum
10	M. Aurelius Sila	<i>actarius</i>	<i>n peditum singularium</i>		AE 1962, 208 = IDR III/5 358	Apulum
11	Aelius Genialis	<i>vexillarius ? singularis cos</i>	?		CIL III 7799 = IDR III/5 477	Apulum
12	Valerius	<i>libraries</i>	?		CIL III 7799 = IDR III/5 477	Apulum
13	Dasas	<i>eques singularis cos</i>	<i>ala I Bataavorum ∞</i>		CIL III 7800 = IDR III/5 522	Apulum
14	Bersius Ingenuus	<i>decurio singularis cos</i>	<i>ala I Bataavorum ∞</i>		CIL III 7800 = IDR III/5 522, 312	Apulum
15	P. Aelius Atilianus	<i>decurio singularis cos</i>	<i>ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i>		AE 1913, 54 = ILD 795	Negrilești
16	Ignotus	<i>eques singularis cos</i>	<i>ala numeri Illyricorum</i>		AE 1988, 947 = IDR III/5 631	Apulum
17	Mucasenus	<i>eques singularis cos</i>	?		CIL III 1195 = IDR III/5 558	Apulum
18	Ignotus	<i>decurio</i>	<i>n equitum singularium</i>		CIL III 7787 = IDR III/5 405	Apulum

## CENTVRIONES

No.	Name	Legion / post	After the centurionate	Dating	Source	Location
19	M. Ulpius Restitutus	<i>XIII Gemina hastatus</i>	<i>exercitator eq singularium</i>		CIL III 14477 = AE 1901, 30 = IDR III/5 401	Apulum
20	Ulpius Maximinus	<i>V Macedonica</i>	<i>praepositus n sing ped Britannicianorum</i>	AD 238-244	AE 1967, 410 = IDR III/3 237	Germisara
21	M. Valerius Superstes	<i>V Macedonica</i>	<i>praep n Germanorum</i>	AD 176-177	CIL III 12574 = IDR III/3 262	Orăștioara de Sus
22	M. Calventius Viator	<i>III Flavia V Macedonica</i>	<i>exercitator eq singularium curam agens eq sing Aug</i>	Trajan-Hadrian	CIL III 7904 = IDR III/2 205 AE 1915, 42 CIL VIII 2532 = 18042	Sarmizegetusa Gerasa Lambaesis



## ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Darmstadt, München, Tübingen–Berlin
- ABSA – The Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens
- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpatica, Kraków
- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- Acta Classica – Acta Classica. Journal of the Classical Association of South Africa, Pretoria
- ActaHistHung – Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău
- ActaTS – Acta Terrae Septemcastrens. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European, Sibiu
- AÉ – L'Année Épigraphique, Paris
- Aegean Studies – Aegean Studies. Aegeus - Society for Aegean Prehistory, Athens
- AEM – Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
- Aevum – Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche. Vita e Pensiero – Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
- Agria – Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis. Dobó István Vármúzeum, Eger
- AHA – Acta Historiae Artium. Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- AHB – The Ancient History Bulletin (digital version only: <http://ancienthistorybulletin.org/>)
- AHR – The American Historical Review, Bloomington
- AIIA (Cluj-Napoca) – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca
- AInf – Archäologische Informationen, Mitteilungen zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Bonn
- AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca
- AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
- AJN – American Journal of Numismatics. American Numismatic Society, New York
- AJPh – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
- AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
- Am. J. Phys. Anthropol. – American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Journal of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/\(ISSN\)1096-8644](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1002/(ISSN)1096-8644))
- American Anthropologist – American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association, ([http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1548-1433](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1548-1433))
- American Antiquity – American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology, Washington
- ANarch – Archäologisches Nachrichtenblatt, Berlin
- AnB (S.N.) – Analele Banatului (Serie Nouă), Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
- AnSt – Anatolian Studies. British Institute at Ankara, Ankara
- Antaeus – Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
- Anthropology Today – Anthropology Today. Royal Anthropological Institute, London
- Antiquity – Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham, UK
- AntOr – Antiguo Oriente: Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente. Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina Santa María de los Buenos Aires
- AO – Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova
- AO .... Moskow – Arheologičeski Otkritja, Moskva
- Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
- ArchA<sup>5</sup> – Archaeologia Aeliana, Fifth Series. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle
- Archaeol. Rev. Camb. – Archaeological Review from Cambridge. University of Cambridge, Cambridge
- Archaeologia – Altum castrum online. Mátyás király Múzeum, Visegrád
- Archeometriai Műhely – Archeometriai Műhely a Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat interdiszciplináris kutatásokkal foglalkozó vitaülés-sorozata, Budapest
- ArchÉrt – Archeológiai Értesítő, Budapest

- ArchHung – *Archaeologia Hungarica, Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Budapest
- ArchKorr – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, Mainz
- ArchPolski – *Archeologia Polski*, Wrocław – Warszawa
- ArchRozhledy – *Archeologické Rozhledy*, Praha
- ArhMed – *Arheologia Medievală*. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
- ArhVestnik – *Arheološki vestnik*, Ljubljana
- AȘUI – *Analele Științifice ale Universității “Al. I. Cuza” din Iași*, Iași
- Athenaeum – *Studi di Letteratura e Storia dell’Antichità* pubblicati sotto gli auspici dell’Università di Pavia, Pavia
- AVANS – *Archeologické Vyskumy a Nálezy na Slovensku*, Nitra
- Banatica – *Banatica*. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
- BARBrSer – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, Oxford
- BARIntSer – *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, Oxford
- BayVgBl – *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*. Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Verbindung mit dem Bayerischen Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und der Archäologische Staatssammlung, München
- BCH – *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athènes–Paris
- BÉ – *Bulletin Épigraphique*, Paris
- BerRGK – *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main
- BIAUL – *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology (University of London)*, London
- BIDR – *Bulletino dell’Istituto di Diritto Romano*, Roma
- BJb – *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn*, Bonn
- BMN – *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca
- Britannia – *Britannia. Journal of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*, Cambridge
- BSNAF – *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, Paris
- BSNR – *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, București
- BUFM – *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas*, Wilkau-Haßlau - Langenweißbach
- Byzantina (Thessalonic) – *BYZANTINA. Annual Review of the "Byzantine Research Centre"*, Thessalonic
- Byzantinoslavica – *Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des Études Byzantines*, Slovanský ústav Akademie věd ČR, Praha
- C&M – *Classica et Mediaevalia: Danish Journal of Philology and History*, Aarhus
- Caiete ARA – *Caiete ARA. Arhitectură, Restaurare, Arheologie*. Asociația ARA, București
- CCA. Campania ..... – *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România*, București
- Chiron – *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, München
- CICSA – *Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice*, Universitatea București, București
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CN – *Cercetări Numismatice*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- ComArchHung – *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest
- CQ – *The Classical Quaterly*, The Classical Association, Cambridge
- CRAI – *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris
- Crisia – *Crisia*. Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea
- CSCA – *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*. University of California, Los Angeles
- Current Anthropology – *Current Anthropology*. University of California, Merced
- CW – *Classical World*. Temple University, Philadelphia
- Dacia – *Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie*, București
- Dacia N.S. – *Dacia (Nouvelle Série)*. *Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne*. Académie Roumaine. Institut d’archéologie « V. Pârvan », București
- DIR, C, I – *Documente privind Istoria României, sec. XI–XIII, C, Transilvania, I (1075–1250)* (eds.: I. Ionașcu, L. Lăzărescu-Ionescu, B. Cămpina, E. Stănescu, D. Prodan, M. Roller), București, 1951.



- Dolgozatok Cluj – Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségárából, Kolozsvár  
 Dolgozatok Szeged – Dolgozatok a M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Archaeologiai Intézetéből, Szeged
- EJA – European Journal of Archaeology. European Association of Archaeologists (<http://e-a-a.org/eja.htm>)
- Elbinger Jahrbuch – Elbinger Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift der Elbinger Altertumsgesellschaft und der städtischen Sammlungen zu Elbing, Elbing (1920-1941)
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
- Études Celtiques – Études Celtiques, Paris
- Evol Anthropol – Evolutionary Anthropology. Duke University, Durham NC
- FBW – Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart
- FHDR I-II – H. Mihăescu, G. Ștefan, R. Hîncu, V. Iliescu, V.C. Popescu (eds.), *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, București, 1964–1970
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie. Muzeul Județean Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- FontesArchPosn – Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses, Poznan
- FrühMitAltSt – Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, Münster
- Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
- Glasnik SAD – Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Belgrad
- H-Soz-u-Kult – Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften (<http://www.hsozkult.de/>)
- HambBeitrA – Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie. Universität Hamburg, Hamburg
- HCT – A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1945-1981.
- Hermes – Hermes. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
- HistoriaBuc – Historia, București (<http://www.historia.ro/revista#>)
- HOMÉ – A miskolci Hermann Ottó Múzeum évkönyve, Miskolc
- Homo – HOMO. Journal of Comparative Human Biology. Australasian Society for Human Biology, Elsevier Press (<http://www.journals.elsevier.com/homo/>)
- HZ – Historische Zeitschrift, Akademie Verlag GmbH, Berlin
- IDR – *Inscriptiile Daciei romane*
- IDRE – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996-2000
- IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- Il Mar Nero – Il mar nero : annali di archeologia e storia, Roma
- ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscriptii Latine din Dacia*, București, 2005
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- Int J Osteoarchaeol – International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
- JAMÉ – A Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
- J.Archaol.Sci – Journal of Archaeological Sciences, London – New York
- JDAI – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- JEA – Journal of European Archaeology, former name of EJA
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- J. Hum. Evol. – Journal of Human Evolution, Elsevier Press (<http://www.journals.elsevier.com/journal-of-human-evolution/>)
- JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
- JRA – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, Rhode Island

- JRA SS – Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, Portsmouth, Rhode Island  
 JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz  
 JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London  
 Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin  
 KölnJb – Kölner Jahrbuch. Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, Köln  
 Közlemények – Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár  
 Kuhn-Archiv – Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Landwirtschaftliches Institut, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Landwirtschaftliches Institut, Halle  
 Lethes – Lethes. Cadernos Culturais do Limia, Centro Cultural Popular do Limia, Ourense  
 LSJ – H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon Press (9th edition), 1940.  
 Lucentum – Lucentum. Universidad de Alicante, Alicante  
 Lumea veche – Lumea Veche, Revistă de umanioare, București  
 MAGW – Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Wien  
 MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest  
 Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș  
 MASP – Materiali po Arheologii Severnogo Pričernomorja, Odesa  
 MatArch – Materiały Archeologiczne, Kraków  
 MatArchNovHuty – Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty, Nova Huta  
 Materiały Starożytne – Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnosredniowieczne, Warszawa  
 MCA – Materiale și cercetări arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București  
 MCV – Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez. Casa de Velázquez, Madrid  
 MFME – A Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve. Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged  
 ML – R. Meiggs, D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford, OUP, 1969  
 Mnemosyne – Mnemosyne, A Journal in Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden  
 MSROA – Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego, Rzeszów  
 Mus.Afr. – Museum Africum. West African Classical Association, University of Ibadan – Department of Classics, Ibadan  
 Nor.Arch.Rev – Norwegian Archaeological Review, Taylor & Francis  
 NumZ – Numismatische Zeitschrift. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Wien  
 OMNI. Revue internationale de numismatique – OMNI. Revue internationale de numismatique, L’association OMNI (Objets et Monnaies Non Identifiés) – <http://www.identification-numismatique.com/> (<http://www.wikimoned.com/omni/>)  
 Palaeontologia Electronica – Palaeontological Association, England  
 Pallas – Pallas. Revue d’Études Antiques. Université de Toulouse le Mirail, Toulouse  
 PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha  
 PAPHs – Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore  
 PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M., Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster  
 Peuce – Peuce. Studii și Note de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea  
 Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și Cercetări de Istorie și Arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea  
 Phoenix – Phoenix. Classical Association of Canada, Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario  
 PIR<sup>2</sup> – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig  
 PLRE – *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, 3 vol., 1971, 1980, 1992

- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993
- Pomorania Antiqua – Pomorania Antiqua, Gdańsk
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Prace i Materiały – Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Łódź
- Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society – Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
- PV – Přehled Výzkumů, Brno
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Freie Universität, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- RadVM – Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja, Novi Sad
- Raport ... – Raport, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa. National Heritage Board, Warszawa
- RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften, Stuttgart, 1893 –
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- RechsArch – Recherches Archeologiques, Kraków
- RégFüz – Régészeti Füzetek. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București.
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- RevMédVét – Revue de Médecine Vétérinaire. Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire de Toulouse, Toulouse
- RFE/RL East European Perspectives – Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty
- RH – Revue Historique. Presses universitaires de France, Paris
- RhM – Rheinisches Museum. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Universität zu Köln, Köln
- RI S.N. – Revista Istorică. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- RIC – *Roman Imperial Coinage*, London
- RM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, Rom
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006
- RocznMuzGórnyBytom – Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu, Bytom
- RRH – Revue roumaine d'histoire. Academia Română, București
- RRHA – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Série Beaux-Arts. Academia Română, Institutul de Istoria Artei „G. Oprescu”, București
- RRSE – Revista Română de Studii Eurasiatice. Centrul de Studii Eurasiatice, Constanța
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea “Al. I. Cuza”, Iași
- Sargeția – Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva
- Sautuola – Sautuola. Instituto de Prehistoria y Arqueología “Sautuola”, Santander
- SCIM – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Medie. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie vecie (și arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Scripta Mediterranea – Scripta Mediterranea. Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto
- SHA – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
- SIB – Studii de Istorie a Banatului. Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara, Timișoara
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
- SMIM – Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie. Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București
- Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei – Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
- SpisyArch – Spisy Archeologického Ústavu v Brně, Brno
- SprawArch – Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Kraków
- ŚSA – Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Wrocław
- StComSatuMare – Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Satu Mare
- ŠtudZvesti AÚ SAV – Študijné Zvesti. Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra

- Syria – Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologi., Institut français du Proche-Orient, Paris
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Tibiscum – Tibiscum. Studii și comunicări de etnografie-istorie. Muzeul Caransebeș, Caransebeș
- TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
- Transilvania – Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania, Sibiu
- Transylvanian Review – Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca
- Ub. I – *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I* (eds.: F. Zimmermann, C. Werner), Hermannstadt, 1892.
- Ub. II – *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II* (eds.: F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Müller), Hermannstadt, 1897.
- Váci Könyvek – Váci Könyvek. Tragor Ignác Múzeum, Vác
- VP – Východoslovenský Právek, Košice
- Wiadomości Arch. – Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Bulletin Archéologique Polonais, Warszawa
- WJA – Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Würzburg
- ZA – Zeitschrift für Archäologie, Berlin
- Zborník SNM ... , Archeológia ... – Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea. Archeológia, Bratislava
- Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Muzeul Județean Arad, Arad
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
- ZRG – Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung, Köln