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# PHYSICIANS AND MEDICINE IN THE ROMAN ARMY OF MOESIA INFERIOR<sup>1</sup>

DAN APARASCHIVEI\*

„...let them (the soldiers) be attended by the physicians without charge”<sup>2</sup>

**Key words:** Roman army, physicians, ancient medicine, Moesia Inferior.

**Abstract:** Together with the reorganization of the Roman army during the Principate, the State naturally recognized the necessity of introducing a medical system based on professional practitioners. Focused on the healing of war wounds, and also of diseases soldiers would acquire while in *castra*, the Roman military medical system included personnel who first of all complied with military laws. Their hierarchy depended on the rank gained, and also on the acquired professional training and education, probably, in civilian life.

The density of military units garrisoned on the Danubian Limes of Moesia Inferior province allows us to outline the interesting diversity of the physicians who served both the legions and the auxiliary and naval units. Based on the epigraphic sources, at least six possible physicians with different appellations were identified, some of these being unique within the empire: *medicus*, *medicus legionis*, *medicus cohortis*, *medicus alae*, *medicus vexillationis* and *medicus duplicarius*. The *valetudinarium* from Novae, one of the best preserved military hospitals in the Ancient World, adds to the illustration of the complex situation of the medical system of the Roman Army in the Lower Danube region.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** armata romană, medici, medicina antică, Moesia Inferior.

**Rezumat:** Odată cu reorganizarea armatei romane în timpul Principatului, recunoașterea de către stat a necesității introducerii unui sistem medical bazat pe practicieni profesioniști a venit ca un fapt firesc. Axat pe vindecarea rănilor de război, dar și a bolilor pe care soldații le dobândeau în *castra*, sistemul medical militar roman cuprindea personal care se supunea legilor militare, în primul rând, și care era ierarhizat în funcție de rangul obținut, dar și după pregătirea profesională dobândită, probabil, în mediul civil.

Densitatea unităților militare cantonate în special pe limesul danubian al provinciei Moesia Inferior a favorizat identificarea unei diversități interesante a medicilor care deserveau atât legiunile, cât și trupele auxiliare sau navale. Pe baza mărturiilor epigrafice, au putut fi atestați șase posibili medici militari, cu apelative diferite, unele dintre ele unice în Imperiu: *medicus*, *medicus legionis*, *medicus cohortis*, *medicus alae*, *medicus vexillationis* și *medicus duplicarius*. *Valetudinarium*-ul de la Novae, unul dintre cele mai bine păstrate spitale militare antice, contribuie, la rândul-i, la ilustrarea unei situații complexe a sistemului medical roman din armata de la Dunărea de Jos.

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<sup>2</sup> „...a medicis gratis curentur”: SHA, *Divus Aurelianus*, 7.8.

One of the universally accepted facts about the development of medicine in the Ancient World is that the Greek medicine is one of its fundamental stages. As to the application of medical knowledge by medics within the Greek armies, the ancient authors give only sparse information. The activity of certain *iatroi* is outlined, treating the wounds of the soldiers.<sup>3</sup> „He who wishes to practice surgery must join the military and follow mercenary armies; for thus he will become experienced in this requirement”<sup>4</sup>. This is one of the recommendations offered by the father of medicine, Hippocrates himself, to aspiring physicians. However, there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of a specialized medical corps in the Army during Greek Antiquity.

Some memorable events in the political history of the Greco-Roman world, such as the victory of the Roman general Aemilius Paulus at Pydna, in 168 BC, followed by the transformation of Greece into a Roman province, favored the adoption and the development by the Romans of a large number of features which were culturally Greek. Knowledge disseminated through medical manuscripts, physicians and training centres for future practitioners was assumed and adapted until medical practice became an art, *tehné*, performed at institutional level, under the patronage of the Roman state. The changes were not immediate, however. In 219 BC the employment of the first public physician in Rome is attested. He was the Greek Archagathus, *vulnerarius*. However, information is still scarce for the Republican era, the military area included<sup>5</sup>. The attitude towards the treatment of wounds was quite superficial. It seems that Roman soldiers attended to the wounds received in battle themselves<sup>6</sup>. The writings of the ancient authors, as well as the artistic imagery of the time, link battle wounds and their treatment to heroism.<sup>7</sup> This led to a certain perceived “stoicism” throughout the Roman Republican armies<sup>8</sup>.

The situation changes radically around the time of the emergence of the Principate. Following the growing influence of the military and the reorganization of the Roman army, the need for a means of control for such a dispersed force (on the borders, in provincial garrisons, on deployment in war zones) becomes evident. P. Baker, who provides an in-depth analysis of the impact the medical science had on the Roman military, advances the opinion that the medical corps is one of the few components that was uniformly developed in all military units<sup>9</sup>.

The development of this service is based on several measures taken by Roman leaders. Caesar granted the right of citizenship to practitioners of the medical arts and organized a specialized medical corps within his armies. Since the time of Augustus the privileges of the liberal-arts practitioners multiplied. These included physicians. Positive repercussions also affected the military.<sup>10</sup> The epigraphic

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<sup>3</sup> Xenoph., *Anb*, III.4.30; Xenoph., *Const. Laced*, XIII.7. As to their origins, it is possible that they were helots or foreigners: Salazar 2000, p. 71. Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe and Clitophon*, IV.10) mentions one physician assigned to the army, while Philo of Byzantium (*Mechanical Syntax*, V.94.12.24) mentions the medical services provided to the mercenaries involved in one of the wars of the time. Procopius (*Goth*.VI.II.25) gives the detail that after nightfall the medics attended the wounded taken from the battlefield.

<sup>4</sup> Hipp., *Medic*, 14.IX. 220 L (translation from Salazar 2000, p. 73).

<sup>5</sup> Tit.Liv., II.47.12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, V.36.3; Tacit., *Ann.*, IV. 63, but references see, also, in Polyb., III.66.9; Plin., *NH*, XXIX.6 and Sen., *Epist.Mor.*, XCV.15. For details in Salazar 2000, p. 75-78.

<sup>6</sup> Polyb., III.66.9; Plutarch, *Crassus*, 25.5; Tacit., *Ann.*, IV.63.

<sup>7</sup> Onasander (*Str.* I. 10) offers an eloquent piece of information: „The word of a general is more effective than the art of surgeons who follow the armies to tend to the wounded; for these focuses on treating the wounds, while the general revives the spirits and exhorts the brave”.

<sup>8</sup> Scarborough 1968, p. 255.

<sup>9</sup> Baker 2004, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> This initiative originated, according to literary sources, in the trust that Augustus had in his personal physician, Musa, to whom he even raised a statue: Suet., *Aug.*, 59. For the career development of Antonius Musa the physician, a disciple of Asclepiades of Bytina, see Krug 1984, p. 208. The physicians of the Imperial House enjoyed important advantages, both financial and in terms of prestige and influence. Since Augustus, the physicians and their families were tax-exempted: Dio Cassius, 53.30; *Codex Th.*, 13.3.4,10. Moreover, they were free of public

material and archaeological sources in general, as well as contemporary authors provide much of the information about medical science within the military environment. Thus, one can build a synthetic image about the impact of the medical phenomenon on this vital sector of the Roman society. Moreover, the acknowledgment of the utility of medical services by civilian decision-makers is shown by the remuneration of the specialists and the building of hospitals from public funds. This is also confirmed by the relatively large number of *medici* who practiced mainly in the border regions during the Principate. The justification of this allotment is quite logical. In this period, the military is at peak organizational level, and medical services become indispensable, a reality also emphasized by the numerous edicts issued in favor of medics by several emperors. Moreover, the border regions were the “hottest” area of the Empire, and the density of military units was, evidently, much higher. In conclusion, it is normal that medical structures are better established, especially in these sensitive areas.

Moesia Inferior is both one of the most complex and one of the most historically interesting provinces of the Empire. The physicians mentioned by the inscriptions, the health-care devoted edifices, as well as other elements arise in this area of interest. However, in order to understand the context of the development of medical services within the Roman military, I will present a short summary of medical personnel present in the sources throughout the Empire.

### **Military physicians and some aspects of the medicine in the Roman Empire**

The first studies on the application of professional medical practice within the ancient military environment, which date back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, led to the conclusion that there was no medical corps in the Roman military.<sup>11</sup> This opinion was contradicted as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, the main directions of research reached the conclusion that the army was provided with the services of trained medics to attend to the soldiers' wounds.<sup>13</sup> At the end of 60s a polemic contributed to progress in the subject. J. Scarborough<sup>14</sup>, V. Nutton<sup>15</sup> and R. Davies produced several new ideas about the organization of the medical corps. During the last two decades, Ch. Salazar<sup>16</sup>, J. Wilmanns<sup>17</sup> and P. A. Baker<sup>18</sup> also established some innovative points of reference in their approach to the subject.

The great majority of these conclusions was produced on the basis of the data provided by literary sources, but the really comprehensive studies accorded equally important attention to specific archaeological finds.

obligations: *Codex Th.* 13.3.3, 8, 10. For the other imperial edicts in favor of physicians, see Oliver 1989, n<sup>o</sup> 38, p. 121-123 and p. 588-590.

<sup>11</sup> In a work of around 1750 (*The Manners and Customs of the Romans*), the French author concluded that there is no evidence for the existence of an organized medical corps within the Roman army: Baker 2004, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Simpson 1856.

<sup>13</sup> Domaszewski 1908, p. 45-47; Haberling 1910, p. 4-12; Meyer Steineg 1921, p. 99-103. For references from before 1960, see Scarborough 1968, note 1, while the opinions formulated up to the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century are detailed in Baker 2004, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Scarborough 1968, p. 254-261; Scarborough 1969. One of the basic ideas of his research is that only higher ranks were provided with dedicated medical assistance.

<sup>15</sup> Nutton 1969, p. 260-270; Nutton 1995, p. 71-88; Nutton 2004. He argues, against Scarborough, that all soldiers, from the legions or the auxiliary units, regardless of rank, benefited from the same system of organized medical assistance. The same line of argument is offered by Davies 1969a, p. 208-232; Davies 1969b, p. 83-99.

<sup>16</sup> Salazar (2000) focuses on the manner of approach the ancients, i.e. the physicians, their patients and the contemporary authors, had toward treating the battle wounds.

<sup>17</sup> Wilmanns (1995a, p. 171-188 and 1995b) argues, based on inscriptions and archaeological finds, that the legions were provided with a more complex medical apparatus, while the auxiliaries were offered the services of only one medic or from the lower-ranked staff, such as *capsarii* or *marsi*.

<sup>18</sup> Baker (2004) focuses her argument on the importance of archaeological sources in the study of ancient medicine.

While embarking on an exhaustive study of the Roman military medical phenomenon, one must take into account two dimensions: prevention and treatment.

The location of the military camps,<sup>19</sup> the maintenance of hygiene and a set of general rules for communal living were among the measures of prevention. The first edifices built after the camp perimeter was raised were the baths (*thermae*). These were constructed either within or near the *castra*, and supplied with water of the best quality. The water came from nearby rivers and sources but, quite often, was brought by means of aqueducts (*aqueductus*) from considerable distances.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, wells (*fontes*), cisterns (*cisternae*), sewer systems (*cloaca*), and toilets (*latrinae*) were essential components in the urban setting of the *castra*<sup>21</sup>.

The soldiers inhabiting these military camps were required to pass the *probatio* as early as their recruitment, consisting of the criteria of age,<sup>22</sup> height<sup>23</sup> and health.<sup>24</sup> Vegetius gives details about what a recruiting officer should watch for<sup>25</sup>. Once they passed muster, the soldiers were provided with adequate food<sup>26</sup>, while physical exercises helped them to stay in optimal physical and mental shape.<sup>27</sup>

The idealized descriptions from literary texts also correspond to the preserved artistic depictions of contemporary soldiers. One example which is often invoked is Trajan's Column, on which Roman soldiers are shown with a perfect muscular tone.

But who cared for the soldiers when they were wounded or ill? It is evident, judging from the sources, that the medics treated, on one hand, violent traumas and on the other illnesses which also occurred in peacetime. Specialized medical personnel dealt with wounds or diseases related to the warzone or occurring otherwise. It decided whether certain soldiers were to be discharged on medical reasons,<sup>28</sup> to be treated in hospitals or to be allowed to continue their convalescence in the barracks, etc.

One of the Vindolanda (Chesterholm, England) tablets presents the report made by one auxiliary unit, *cohors Tungrorum*, in 90 AD. It says that out of the 296 troops, 265 were in good condition, while

<sup>19</sup> The ancient authors recommended certain sites as adequate for raising the camp: „...*loci salubritas eligatur*”: Veg., *Mil.*, 1.22; „*Locis, ne in pestilenti regione iuxta morbosas paludes, ne aridis et sine opacitate arborum campis aut collibus, ne sine tentoriis aestate milites commorentur*”: Veg., *Mil.*, 3.2.

<sup>20</sup> Dirty water was considered to be the main cause of disease: „*Nec perniciosus vel palustribus aquis utatur exercitus; nam malae aquae potus, veneno similis, pestilentiam bibentibus generat*”: Veg., *Mil.*, 3.2.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson 1983, p. 202-214; Baker 2004, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> This parameter is difficult to establish with accuracy, even though some calculations were carried out on the inscriptions. Wilmanns (1995b, p. 46, note 105) remarks that in 75% of the documented cases, the age of recruitment was between 17 and 20.

<sup>23</sup> This criterion is mentioned by Veg., *Mil.*, 1.5 and *Codex Th.*, 7.13.3.

<sup>24</sup> One eloquent source is Herod., 4.9.5: „He ordered the youths to form in rows so that he might approach each one and determine whether his age, size of body, and state of health qualified him for military service”. Also, two Egyptian papyri mention that the soldiers went through physical examination to be checked for special marks or scars, in order to be identified on the battlefield if fallen, as well as to have their eyesight thoroughly checked: Davies 1969a, p. 211 and 222; Baker 2004, p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Veg., *Mil.*, 1.6: „*Sit ergo adulescens Martio deputandus vigilantibus oculis, erecta cervice, lato pectore, umeris musculosis, valentibus brachiis, digitis longioribus, ventre modicus, exilior clunibus, suris et pedibus non superflua carne distentis sed nervorum duritia collectis*”: „look hard at the face, eyes and entire conformation of the limbs, to choose an able soldier. The person chosen should have alert eyes, a straight neck, broad chest, muscular shoulders, strong arms, long fingers, small stomach, slender buttocks and calves and feet that are not swollen by surplus fat, but firm with hard muscle” (translation from Baker 2004, p. 38).

<sup>26</sup> Davies 1971, p. 122-142.

<sup>27</sup> Details on the daily activities of the soldiers see in Davies 1974, p. 299-338.

<sup>28</sup> When discharging the wounded soldiers back to their units, the medics had to attest to their state of health: *Codex Just.*, 12.36. 6. For example, a whole unit in Vindobona was disbanded because of disease. See also in Baker 2004, p. 41.



31 were in need of medical attention. Out of these, 15 suffered from various illnesses, (*aegri*), six were wounded (*volnerati*, but not necessarily in combat), while 10 suffered from eye diseases (*lippientes*).<sup>29</sup>

The question that arises immediately is: who could be recruited into this medical corps that cared for the wounded and, generally, for the incapacitated from the army units?

The Greek tradition, which is indisputably definitive for the development of Roman medicine, had an essential role in the preparation and training of this professional category. From this background historiography concluded that most of the medics were Greek.<sup>30</sup> Within the military, it is true that quite a high number of medics bore Greek names. Many of them joined the army to accede to citizenship, an easy way for non-Romans enrolled in the auxiliary units. However, the approximately 100 inscriptions dated at the time of the Empire show the high degree of popularity of this profession, also among Romans<sup>31</sup>.

The status of the military medics remained uncertain for quite a long time, as was in fact the case of the civilian physicians as well. The first medic mentioned in an inscription is Sextius Titius Alexander, who was employed with the 5<sup>th</sup> Praetorian cohort in 82 AD<sup>32</sup>, while Cicero is the first Roman author who mentions army medics<sup>33</sup>.

Since their emergence as a separate corps, i.e. from the times of Caesar, the medics were attached to various military units. They were *immunes*, i.e. allotted special tasks, which exempted them from the daily duties of ordinary soldiers. This is the way they appear in inscriptions or in literary texts, as *optiones valetudinarii*, *capsarii*, *medici* and other persons with the duty of caring for the suffering: *qui aegris praesto sunt*.<sup>34</sup>

*Optiones valetudinarii* seems to be the administrative staff of the military hospitals, but one cannot be sure if they also had medical duties.<sup>35</sup> The epigraphic sources also reveal the presence of *optiones convalescentium*, who might be also involved in the actual tending of the sick<sup>36</sup>. It is certain that the *optiones* were assigned to the *valetudinaria*.

*Capsarii*<sup>37</sup> and *marsi*<sup>38</sup> were charged with cleaning and bandaging the minor wounds. *Capsarii* were part of the medical corps of the army but, being regarded more like medical orderlies with relative minor responsibilities, it was thought that they might be garrisoned with the auxiliaries and not with the legions.<sup>39</sup> Trajan's Column depicts a soldier who is considered by some scholars to be a *capsarius* of this kind who

<sup>29</sup> Bowman, Thomas 1994, n° 154. See also Allan-Jones 1999, p. 136. For the specialists in ophthalmology, see Jackson 1996, p. 2228-2251.

<sup>30</sup> Salazar 2000, p. 79. In fact, Pliny the Elder relates that: „In spite of its utility, the medicine is, among the Greek science, the only one not practiced by the Romans”: Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIX. 8. His assertions must be rethought as referring more probably to the Republican period.

<sup>31</sup> Wilmanns 1995b, p. 139-257.

<sup>32</sup> CIL VI, 20.

<sup>33</sup> Cic., *Tusc. Disp.*, II.XVI.38; Salazar 2000, p. 78.

<sup>34</sup> Aside the medical staff, there were other specialized support personnel employed with the military units, with similar status: „...*optio valetudinarii, medici, capsarii, et artifices et qui fossam faciunt, veterinarii, specularii, fabri, sagittarii, aerarii...et qui aegris praesto sunt...omnes inter immunes habentur*”: Tarruntenus Paternus, *Digest*, 50.6.7.

<sup>35</sup> Only a few *optiones valetudinarii* are mentioned throughout the whole Empire: Italia – CIL VI, 175, 31145; AÉ 1973, 53; Gallia Belgica – CIL IX, 1617; Germania Inferior – CIL XIII, 8011; Pannonia Inferior – AÉ 1937, 181; Wilmanns 1995b, n° 65, p. 217; Numidia – CIL VIII, 2563.

<sup>36</sup> CIL VI, 1057, 1058; CIL X, 3478, with details in Baker 2004, p. 43.

<sup>37</sup> Their name comes from *capsus*, the bandage box. The *capsarii* are mentioned a few times throughout the Empire: Germania Superior – CIL XIII 5623 (first like *miles legionis* and then *capsarius*), CIL XIII, 11979 (*Genius capsariorum*); Pannonia Superior – ILS 9095; Pannonia Inferior – AÉ 1986, 594 (*miles capsarius legionis*), CIL III, 13386 (*equus capsarius*), ILS 9169 (*capsarius cohortis*); Numidia – CIL VIII, 2563 (*capsarii, discentes capsariorum legionis*).

<sup>38</sup> Seldom mentioned in inscriptions: Numidia – CIL VIII, 2618 (*ex marso legionis*), 2564 (*marsus legionis*).

<sup>39</sup> Wilmanns 1995b, p. 173. Another hypothesis states that they were specialists in treating the snake and scorpion bites, in the regions where these were a menace: Plioreschi 1998, p. 548 and notes 60-61.

attends a wounded soldier.<sup>40</sup> His clothing is identical to those of the wounded comrades he attends to. This is, however, a natural result of the war-zone conditions governing his practice. It is quite difficult to ascertain if this person is part or not of the medical corps of that unit, and not only because of his clothing. Certain literary sources describe soldiers tending to each other's minor wounds, without waiting for a medic.<sup>41</sup> It is quite plausible that, due to battlefield conditions, the lack of medical personnel was acute and the soldiers tended the wounds themselves, at least until more complex care became available.<sup>42</sup>

What is hard to believe, in our opinion, despite some literary sources, is the information that the care of the medical corps was restricted to the officers, excluding the ordinary soldiers.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that medical care was prioritized according to rank,<sup>44</sup> but even in this case, the rank-and-file must have been attended by a practitioner employed by the state. The main purpose of the medical corps remained, without any doubt, to return the wounded back to the battlefield as quickly as possible and in the best physical condition.

The epigraphic sources mostly mention the *medici*. More often than not, the word *medicus* is accompanied by appellations confirming his affiliation with a military unit (*medicus alae*, *medicus cohortis*, *medicus legionis*, *medicus duplicarius*), designating his specialty (*medicus clinicus*<sup>45</sup>, *medicus chirurgus*<sup>46</sup>), as well as other ones which are more difficult to interpret (*medicus castrensis* or *castrorum*<sup>47</sup>, *medicus ordinarius*<sup>48</sup>, *miles medicus*<sup>49</sup>). Compared to civilian physicians, who must have

<sup>40</sup> Davies 1969b, p. 84; Wilmanns 1995b, p. 135; Baker 2004, p. 43 unlike Salazar (2000, p. 82) who is more circumspect, and Scarborough (1969, p. 254) who declares that this is an ordinary soldier.

<sup>41</sup> Tacitus (*Hist.*, II.45.3), describing the battle of Bedriacum, in 69 AD, mentions that the soldiers tended each-other's wounds: „*isdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant*”. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (IX. 50.5) describes soldiers who applied false bandages to avoid being sent into battle. In conclusion, the ordinary soldiers were knowledgeable enough to use the bandages when needed.

<sup>42</sup> It is difficult to evaluate accurately the number of medics in one military unit. Wilmanns (1995b, p. 70) calculated that, for the around 400.000 troops of the Roman army in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the number of medics required was approximately 600-800, i.e. 10 medics per legion.

<sup>43</sup> Velleius Paterculus, II.114.1-2. Scarborough (1969, p. 68-70) argues for this hypothesis.

<sup>44</sup> The Hippocratic Oath, as well as other sources, both epigraphic and literary, recommends that the priorities are established according to the gravity of affliction, and all patients must be treated equally, regardless of their social status. These ethical principles were applied mostly in theory, off course. An interesting 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD inscription mentions a civilian physician of Athens, Sarapion, and describes the responsibilities of an “authentic” physician, which are practically the same from the Hippocratic Oath: „... in this state of mind, like a savior god, who cares equally for slaves, paupers, rich people and kings and spreads his care upon all, like a brother” (adapted translation from Samama 2003, p. 35 and n° 22).

<sup>45</sup> A *medicus clinicus cohortis* is mentioned in Italia: CIL VI, 2532.

<sup>46</sup> The appellation reveals that this medic was a surgeon, *medicus chirurgus cohortis*: AÉ 1945, 62.

<sup>47</sup> These medics were most probably assigned to the *castra*. Only three inscriptions mention them: Italia – CIL VI, 31172; Gallia – CIL XIII, 1833 and AÉ 1937, 180.

<sup>48</sup> *Medicus ordinarius* is regarded as the rank equivalent of a centurion: Davies 1969b, p. 89; Wilmanns 1995b, p. 80-88; Salazar 2000, p. 88. For the opinion that this was „first soldier in his duties, not a physician”, see Scarborough 1968, p. 258. There are few such medics attested throughout the Empire, all from different units: legions (Raetia – CIL III, 5959, 6532; Pannonia Superior – CIL III, 4279; Numidia – CIL VIII, 18314), auxiliaries (CIL VII, 690), *numeri* (Germania Superior – CIL XIII 11979), which implies a coherent organization of the medical system within the army. See details in Baker 2004, p. 44 and appendix 2, n° 7, 18, 22, 39

<sup>49</sup> The title of *miles medicus* is quite ambiguous, but it seems to suggest that these medics were not part of the officer corps. Only three examples were found throughout the Empire (Pannonia Superior – CIL III, 4061, Germania Inferior – CIL XIII, 7943, Pannonia Inferior – CIL III, 14347.5 and, possibil, in Dalmatia – AÉ 1903, 376). Baker (2004, p. 44) is of the opinion that the *miles medici* were ordinary soldiers who were exempted from work only in case of emergency, in order to help attending to the wounded. There is also the hypothesis that the title of *miles* would indicate that the respective medic received his training after joining the army: Nutton 1969, p. 268.

searched for employment with communities affluent enough to pay their fees, the medics within the military had their pay assured<sup>50</sup>.

The activities of all these practitioners of the Hippocratic arts were recognized as useful and even praised and given high status.<sup>51</sup> Could all these people be regarded as within the frame of what Galenus described as “authentic physician”?<sup>52</sup> The famous doctor of emperor Marcus Aurelius is an exemplary example for the image of the ideal physician. Both in civilian life and in the military, the training of medics was an important component.<sup>53</sup> If one takes into account the young age of death of some military medics, as mentioned by the epigraphic sources, it is quite improbable that they acquired enough experience, even though they started training in the adolescence.<sup>54</sup> This situation apparently supports the hypothesis that the army medics were not formally trained beforehand, but they were trained on the job, during their army service<sup>55</sup>. In our opinion, there was a difference between the physicians who, after a period of practice as civilians, joined the army for various reasons, and members of the medical corps with superficial, probably on-the-job, training. It is not impossible that their remuneration was differentiated according to these factors. Actually, in the following we will carry out a more in-depth analysis on the relationship between the professional training of physicians in civilian life and one of the army medics.

### Military medics from Moesia Inferior

Epigraphic sources give the most accurate evidence for the existence of a medical corps within the army of Moesia Inferior. The various inscriptions linked to the military units in the Danubian province, as well as throughout the rest of the Empire, name the units in which these specialists were employed, their training and experience, or, possibly, their rank in their respective military unit or within the medical corps.

Aurel(ius) Artemo<sup>56</sup> is a medic mentioned by a 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD inscription (appendix, n<sup>o</sup>. 1)<sup>57</sup>. His unit, *legio XI Claudia*, was headquartered over 250 kms away, at Durostorum<sup>58</sup>, but a *vexillatio* of this

<sup>50</sup> Wilmanns 1995b, p. 85 and 101.

<sup>51</sup> There are, though, voices in the ancient literature condemning careerism, the lack of training and, implicitly the uselessness of the doctors. Even Galenus, one of the most famous member of the profession, condemns the moral decay of some of his fellow physicians, who practiced medicine only for the love of silver (*chrēmatismos*), for immunities (*aleitourgēsia*) or for glory (*philodoxia*). Details in Vegetti 1994, p. 1676-1677. As a result of this attitude, the names of some practitioners of the Hippocratic arts also appear on curse tablets (*defixiones*): Samama 2003, n<sup>o</sup> 480, 494, 506 and p. 36. One such document from military environment includes the name of Artemidoros, the medic of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Praetorian cohort: SEG 14, 1957, 615.

<sup>52</sup> Vegetti 1994, p. 1672-1695.

<sup>53</sup> A young man aspiring to master the medical arts was supposed to be intelligent but also to have studied beforehand such disciplines as arithmetic and geometry and to be tutored by the best teachers of his time. He was also to keep himself away from worldly vanities and to be able to discern truth from falsehood: Boudon 1994, p. 1421-1467.

<sup>54</sup> T. Aelius Martialis, *medicus cohortis*, dies 22 (AÉ 1903, 290); M. Valerius Longinus, *medicus legionis*, at 23: IDR II, 42. In the Hellenistic times, the medical training was supposed to take six years, as an Egyptian document gives evidence: Ellis Hanson 1989, note 1. Galenus himself went to study many years, in various centres across the Empire: Pergamum, Smyrna, Corinth, and Alexandria. For the stages of one's training in the medical profession, see Boudon 1994, 1425-1429. There is information about medics who could acquire, theoretically, the necessary knowledge in only six months (Thessalus of Tralles, one of the leaders of the Methodist sect and Nero's personal physician, is contested even by Galenus in his works: Pigeaud 1993, p. 565-598).

On the other hand, military medics who died at advanced ages are also attested: Allius Quartio, *medicus cohortis...veterinarius*, at 85 (CIL VI 37194), just like G. Papius Aelianus, *medicus ordinarius legionis* (CIL VIII, 18314), but also P. Calventius Germanus, at over 70 (CIL VIII, 2834).

<sup>55</sup> Scarborough 1968, p. 260.

<sup>56</sup> See *Onomasticon* I, p. 178 for the spread of this *cognomen*.

<sup>57</sup> CIL III, 7449; Gummerus 1932, n<sup>o</sup> 431; Velkov, Alexandrov 1988, p. 271-277.

<sup>58</sup> For the history of this legion in Moesia Inferior see Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 133-141.

legion was garrisoned at Montana, the place of discovery of the inscription.<sup>59</sup> This person is mentioned at the end of a short list of *principales* of this detached unit, after the *tesserarius* and the *tubicen*, but before the *immunes venatores*. He attended 76 troops of the unit. Literary sources clearly include the medics among other army specialists, in the category of *immunes*, i.e. soldiers exonerated from the daily work and not part of the fighting force.<sup>60</sup>

The inscription, found in the territory of Montana, at Almus, confirms that the medics, at least part of them, were also included in the category of *principales*, even though they were in lower-ranking positions.<sup>61</sup> First of all, one may remark on the fact that this medic serving in a *vexillatio* is not a simple soldier receiving standard payment, like any other *munifex*. He had been raised to a higher rank.<sup>62</sup> It is not impossible that the members of the medical corps were organized in a well-ordered hierarchy. The newly recruited could thus benefit from the experience of the older medics, who had higher ranks.

As for the denomination with which Artemo appears in the inscription, *medicus*, without the name of the unit or any other appellation, is a situation that also appears in the case of other medics in the provincial military.<sup>63</sup>

Another medic is mentioned in a funerary inscription of Carsium (appendix, n° 2).<sup>64</sup> Quintus Erucius Victor<sup>65</sup>, *medicus cohortis*<sup>66</sup>, was active some time during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, most probably in an auxiliary cohort about which there is no information as to its place of origin. In this Danubian centre so far only cavalry units, *alae*,<sup>67</sup> are documented. In this context, one can assume either that this medic served somewhere else and came back home, or that the inscription originated in a different area. There is also the possibility that the medic transferred here, after serving in a different garrison. A medic could pass from one unit to another, in certain conditions. This is the case of a certain Telesporus, who served first with *ala Indiana Gallorum* in Germania Superior and then with *ala III Asturum*, in Mauretania Tingitana.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>59</sup> The location of this legion, at a such a large distance, is remarkable, if one considers the fact that there was another, much closer legion, the 1<sup>st</sup> Italica, headquartered in Novae. For some hypotheses, see Rankov 1983, p. 52-54.

<sup>60</sup> Arrian, *Tact.*, 248; Asclepiodotus, I.1; Onasander, *Str.*, I.13-15.

<sup>61</sup> For the *principales* of a legion, see Breeze 1974, p. 263 -278.

<sup>62</sup> This medic was remunerated as *sesquiplicarius*: Wilmanns 1995b, p. 78 and n° 72.

<sup>63</sup> Italia - L. Iulius Helix, *medicus* (CIL VI, 19); Britannia - Hermogenes, *iatros* (CIG XVI, 2547); Antiochus, *medicus* (AÉ 1969/70, 291; Marcus Aurelius..., *medicus* (RIB 1028); Germania Inferior - Albanus, *medicus* (AÉ 1975, 634); Priscus, *medicus* (AÉ 1953, 246); Pannonia Inferior - Marcius Marcellus, *medicus* (CIL III, 3413); G. Iulius Filetio, *medicus* (CIL III, 3583); Palestina - Callimorphus, *iatros* (Wilmanns 1995b, p. 229, n° 75); Egypt - Serapammon, *iatros* (Wilmanns 1995b, p. 235, n° 80); Alcimius, *iatros* (Wilmanns 1995b, p. 236, n° 81); Numidia - P. Calventius Germanus, *medicus* (CIL VIII, 2834).

<sup>64</sup> ISM V, 103.

<sup>65</sup> About the italic origin of the *nomen* Erucius see Schulze 1991, p. 112 and p. 411, while for its spread in the European provinces, see *Onomasticon* II, p. 122. As for the *cognomen* Victor, this is very frequent in the Lower Danube region: *Onomasticon* IV, p. 167-168.

<sup>66</sup> The appellation of *medicus cohortis* is very frequent throughout the Empire, either in relation with the Praetorian cohorts, or with the provincial auxiliaries. For the medics serving with the Praetorian cohorts, see Domaszewski 1908, p. 15, 26. The epigraphic sources document these medics in: Italia - CIL VI, 37194 (*medicus cohortis veterinarius*); SEG 14, 1957, 615; CIL VI, 2532 (*medicus clinicus cohortis*); AÉ 1945, 62 (*medicus chirurgus cohortis*); CIL VI, 20, 212, 1058, 1059, 2594; AÉ 1952, 143; AÉ 1917, 18, 118; Britannia: CIL VII, 690 (*medicus ordinarius cohortis*); Germania Superior - CIL XIII, 6621, 7415, 11767; Pannonia Superior - CIL III, 10854; Moesia Superior - AÉ 1903, 290; Egipt - Wilmanns 1995b, n° 79, p. 234 and Samama 2003, n° 415 (*medicus bis cohortis*).

<sup>67</sup> For the presence of *ala II Hispanorum et Aravacorum* at Carsium, see Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, p. 64; ISM V, 94, 95, 102, but also Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 189; for the location of *ala Gallorum Flaviana* at Carsium, see Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, p. 63; for arguments against it, see Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 185.

<sup>68</sup> Wilmanns 1995b, p. 194-196, n° 46.

Troesmis is the origin of a hypothetical Aelius Aurelianus, *medicus alae* (appendix, n° 3).<sup>69</sup> This medic served with the *ala* that covered the region from which the 5<sup>th</sup> legion Macedonica was withdrawn, sometime at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>70</sup> At the level of the Empire, the medics serving with such units (*alae*) are mentioned rarely.<sup>71</sup> We do not know any details concerning the medical activity of our man in the region.

From the same important 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century Danubian centre comes T. Rascanius Fortunatus, from the Pollia tribe, born in Faventia, in the region of Emilia Romagna.<sup>72</sup> N. Kirova believes that he might be a military medic.<sup>73</sup> As we noted above, on the level of the whole Empire, there are *medici* present in the inscriptions without any appellation, who served in the army, as proven clearly by the epigraphic documents. In the case of this person we do not have any element that would place him with some military unit. On the basis of this situation we decided to include him among the civilian physicians.<sup>74</sup> There is however the opportunity to reopen the issue of the relations between the certain military medics and the civilian environment on one hand, and between the public physicians and the military units in the surrounding area, on the other. Considering the coexistence, on a relatively small area, of a *castrum* and several civilian settlements (*canabae* or *vici*) followed, in time, by Roman cities and towns (*civitates*, *municipia* or *coloniae*), these relations are natural and cannot be ignored, even though they are documented mostly by indirect evidence.

Valerius Longinus, a medic who served with the 7<sup>th</sup> Claudia legion, headquartered in Viminacium, in Moesia Superior, received *ornamenta decurionalia* from the city of Drobeta, in Dacia,<sup>75</sup> probably for services rendered to the city.<sup>76</sup> The fame and the importance of such benefactors, servants of the Hippocratic arts, made possible their inclusion among the city's notables. The benefits were mutual, obviously. On one hand, the medic used his abilities in the service of the community, for which he was rewarded with honors; on the other hand he acquired experience practicing on patients who were unavailable in the military units.

Telesporus, the medic mentioned above, after his military service with several units, became *medicus salariarius* in the town of Ferentium, in Italy.<sup>77</sup> The army medics needed plenty of experience before attempting to treat women and children, considering the considerable difference between their practice in the army and in civilian life.

If up to the present we do not know exactly the recruitment conditions or the previous training of the army medics,<sup>78</sup> i.e. after some years of practice as a civilian physician or after some time served in the ranks, we can, however, assume with a certain degree of certitude that the setting of a medical practice within a community at the end of military service was one choice followed by many army medics.

In the same respect, the temporary commissioning of the civilian physicians as army medics is quite probable. Two medics from Moesia Inferior, identified by the inscriptions found within the *valetudinarium* of Novae, Aelius Macedo<sup>79</sup> and Διόδωρος<sup>80</sup>, might have been civilian physicians of this

<sup>69</sup> ISM V, 170.

<sup>70</sup> About the *legio V Macedonica* in Moesia Inferior see Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 35-53.

<sup>71</sup> Germania Superior – M. Ulpius Telesporus, *medicus alae* (CIL XI, 3007).

<sup>72</sup> ISM V, 193.

<sup>73</sup> Kirova 2010, p. 84-85; M. Octavius Firmus, a physician from Nicopolis ad Istrum is included in the same category. The arguments for it are, in our opinion, insufficient.

<sup>74</sup> Aparaschivei 2010, p. 144-145.

<sup>75</sup> For honorifics and *ornamenta* in the Roman world see Kolb 1977, p. 239-259; Serrano-Delgado 1996, p. 259-271.

<sup>76</sup> CIL III, 14216,09; AÉ 1897, 84; IDR II, 42; Benea 1974-1975, p. 303-306; Wilmanns 1995b, p. 222-224, n° 70.

<sup>77</sup> André 1987, p. 124; Wilmanns 1995a, p. 176-178.

<sup>78</sup> For some plausible hypotheses regarding the recruitment of medics, see Plioreschi 1998, p. 551-552.

<sup>79</sup> AÉ 1998, 1134; Kolendo 1998, n° 7, p. 62-64; Aparaschivei 2010, p. 144.

<sup>80</sup> IGLNovae, 176; Kolendo 1998, n° 8, p. 64 and note 43; Aparaschivei 2010, p. 144.

kind who were employed in the military hospital at the *castrum* of legion 1<sup>st</sup> Italica. The *valetudinaria* are the only hospitals in the Roman Empire with management staff, a complex organization and adequate work conditions so that the civilian physicians would wish to work in conditions of this kind.

In this context, a funerary stele from Odessus, a Grek city from the same province, that records Ασκληπιιάδης, ἀρχιατρὸς, the public physician, it is more interesting<sup>81</sup>. In the lower register of the monument are represented five pieces of the Roman military equipment: the shield (*clypeus*), the armour (*lorica*), the helmet (*galea*), the sword (*gladius*) and the greaves (*cnemides*). These elements might suggest that he could be, sometime, physician in the army<sup>82</sup>.

In case battles occurred within the territory of the city or near it, or even in an allied city, it is probable that physicians working within the community were commandeered by the military.<sup>83</sup> One *medicus clinicus* with a Praetorian cohort in Rome was considered to be a civilian physician, also working for the army.<sup>84</sup>

Consequently, it is possible that Rascanius Fortunatus as well, from his position of public physician employed by the community of Troesmis (which is still the active hypothesis), was employed temporarily by the legion 5<sup>th</sup> Macedonica, without necessarily being enrolled in the army. In the same vein, Aelius Aurelianus might have used his surgical skills to heal some patients within the community of Troesmis.

At Barboși, in a *castrum* located on Danube left shore, watching the northeastern border of Moesia Inferior, a certain Veturius<sup>85</sup>, *medicus legionis I Italicae* (appendix, n° 4) is mentioned.<sup>86</sup> After the withdrawal of legion 5<sup>th</sup> Macedonica from Moesia Inferior, around 167-168 AD, the sector was assigned to legions 1<sup>st</sup> Italica and 11<sup>th</sup> Claudia, and it is possible that this medic came to Barboși with a detached unit of the legion headquartered at Novae. Veturius is mentioned with his appellation of *medicus legionis*, even though it is certain that he served with only a detached unit of this legion, perhaps a *vexillatio*. The appellation *medicus legionis* is the most frequent throughout the territory of the Empire<sup>87</sup> also designating, it seems, medics assigned to subunits within the legion.

On a marble monument of Tyras,<sup>88</sup> dedicated to the gods of medicine, Aesculapius and Hygeia, appear two army medics who attended to the units garrisoned in this center at the mouths of the Dniester at the end of 2<sup>nd</sup>- beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (appendix, n° 5).<sup>89</sup>

<sup>81</sup> IGBulg 150; Samama 2003, n° 94; Aparaschivei 2010, p. 146-147.

<sup>82</sup> See also Nutton 1977, n° 79.

<sup>83</sup> There are several cases during Greek Antiquity where situations of this kind are recorded. In one Cypriot inscription of 478-470 BC, the representatives of the city of Idalion are grateful to Onasilos and his brothers, a family of physicians, for services rendered through treating the wounded from a battle, without asking for payment: : Samama 2003, n° 367. Then, there is the medic Hermias of Cos, who is evoked in a decree of the city of Gortyna, in Crete, for five years of work treating both soldiers and civilians: Samama 2003, n° 106. For more details, see Salazar 2000, p. 69.

<sup>84</sup> Baker 2004, p. 45.

<sup>85</sup> The *cognomen* Veturius is quite frequent even in Moesia Inferior: *Onomasticon* IV, p. 164.

<sup>86</sup> ISM V, 299.

<sup>87</sup> Beside the simple *medici legionis* (Germania Superior – CIL XIII, 5208, 6700; Noricum – CIL V, 4367; Pannonia Inferior – AÉ 1937, 180, *Codex Just.*, 10.52. 1, AÉ 1923, 14, CIL III 3537, 3583, CIL III, 14347.5 - a *miles medicus legionis*, Dacia – IDR II, 42, Egypt – CIG 4766, 5088, Africa-Numidia – CIL VIII, 2872, 2951) the *medici ordinarii legionis* are also mentioned, as well as one *medicus stipendiis* of a legion from Pannonia Inferior – CIL III, 14349.

<sup>88</sup> This Pontic city enters a new stage of its existence from the time of Vespasian, when it is placed in dependency to the province of Moesia Inferior: CIL III, 781, with Mommsen's extended commentary.

<sup>89</sup> Karyskovskij 1987, p. 53; AÉ 1995, 1350; Sarnowski 1995, p. 326. At Tyras the inscriptions mention several military units originating in Moesia Inferior: *legio I Italica* (AÉ 1925, 78); *legio V Macedonica* (one very interesting inscription attests that this legion was assigned authority in the region since Trajan: Doruțiu-Boilă 1972, p. 46; see also AÉ 1925, 77, 78; AÉ 1934, 112; AÉ 1990, 868, 869, AÉ 1991, 1362), *legio XI Claudia* (AÉ 1925,

Lucius Papirius Olymphius<sup>90</sup>, *medicus vexillationis*, appears together with Numerius Seius Ga(rgil?)ius<sup>91</sup>, *medicus duplicarius classis Flaviae Moesiaca* as dedicators of this votive monument, *pro succesu M. Attali Placidi*. It is quite clear that the first person served with a *vexillatio* of legion 1<sup>st</sup> Italica detached to Tyras, while the second was with the *Classis Flavia Moesica*<sup>92</sup>, which had a *statio* here, but which was subordinated to the commander of the land forces. Normally, this inscription would express the gratitude of the two medics for their commander, on the occasion of his promotion or after the successful end of a mission.<sup>93</sup> However, as the monument is dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygeia, the reason why the two medics dedicated the inscription might be related to the restored health of Placidus.<sup>94</sup> In our opinion, the adaptation of the expression *pro successu* to the meaning of victory against disease, or a heavy wound, might be justified. In fact, the power of healing symbolism, of gratitude for overcoming the disease is argued for by several situations throughout the Empire. For example, one monument raised by the *hastatus legionis I Italicae ex trecenario*, uncovered within the *valetudinarium* of Novae shows on its sides a palm branch and a crown of laurel, evidently symbols of victory, accompanying the *vota* dedicated to the gods of medicine. As such, the interpretation that these images require, taking into account the place and context of the dedication, is one leading to the victory over the illness that held the dedicator inside the military hospital of the *castrum*.<sup>95</sup>

Going back to the medics of our inscription, for the first one the appellation of *medicus vexillationis* is the only occurrence so far attested in the territory of the Empire. This diversifies even more the known appellations received by the members of the medical corps and complicates implicitly the analysis of their ranks and attributions. For the medics serving with a *vexillatio* there is no explicit mention of the appellation *medicus vexillationis*, but one *miles medicus vexillationis*<sup>96</sup> and one *miles medicus*<sup>97</sup> are known. In Moesia Inferior there are also mentions about one *medicus legionis* and one simple *medicus* who were serving, most probably, again with units of the *vexillatio* type. It is possible that these appellations suggest something more than a simple payment-based hierarchy of the practitioners of Hippocratic arts, i.e. *miles medicus*, receiving standard pay, *medici* ranked with the *principales*, remunerated with 1.5 standard pay and *medici duplicarii*, who received double pay.<sup>98</sup>

The second medic, N. Seius Ga[rgil]ius, *medicus duplicarius*, was attached to a unit of the *Classis Flavia Moesica*, headquartered at Noviodunum. As confirmed by the cases of other naval units, medical services were provided by *medici duplicarii*.<sup>99</sup> We do not have enough details about this medic, but one may assume that this is the only occurrence of a physician serving with a provincial naval unit. Only Axius, *medicus ocularius classis Britannicae*, is mentioned by Galenus, but his activity seems to be only

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78), *classis Flavia Moesica* (AÉ 1990, 870 and AÉ 1995, 1350). For the findings of *tegulae* associated with these units, see Sarnowski 1995, p. 328 (the map).

<sup>90</sup> The *nomen* Papirius is frequent mainly in Italy (*Onomasticon* III, p. 123-124), while the *cognomen* Olymphius is not attested within the Empire.

<sup>91</sup> The restitution of the name was proposed by Karyskovskij 1987, p. 53. Regarding Seius, see *Onomasticon* III, p. 162-163, while about the spread of the possible *cognomen* Gargilius, see *Onomasticon* II, p. 164.

<sup>92</sup> For the history of navy army from Danube see Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 245-249.

<sup>93</sup> Sarnowski 1995, p. 326.

<sup>94</sup> We are grateful to our colleague F. Matei-Popescu for his suggestions in this direction.

<sup>95</sup> Kolendo 1998, p. 60-61, n° 5.

<sup>96</sup> Wilmanns 1995b, n° 66, p. 217-219.

<sup>97</sup> Wilmanns 1995b, n° 38, p. 185-186.

<sup>98</sup> T. Flavius Euprepetus (CIL VI, 3910) is mentioned first as *miles classis praetoriae Misenensis* and then as *medicus duplicarius*, which might suggest a promotion: Wilmanns 1995b, p. 166-167.

<sup>99</sup> For *duplicarii*, „the ones receiving double pay”, see Sander 1959, p. 239-247 with details. For the medical services within the naval units see Nutton 1970, p. 66-71.

temporarily within the military.<sup>100</sup> All the other *medici duplicarii* found in the sources serving with naval units were in Italy.<sup>101</sup>

Another inscription from Tyras, of 115-116 AD, is dedicated to a centurion of legion 5<sup>th</sup> Macedonica,<sup>102</sup> and it mentions a certain Marcus Valerius, *val(etudinarius)* (appendix, n° 6). This appellation, without mentioning *optio*, is not present in any other epigraphic document. Our person is listed after other two names of *principales*, most probably from a detached unit of legion 5<sup>th</sup> Macedonica garrisoned in Tyras. These are Cornelius Vitalis *actuar(ius)*<sup>103</sup> and Iul(ius) Iamblic(hus), *eq(ues)*. In this context, this possible *optio valetudinarius* was most probably related to his activity in a military hospital, either on-site, in Tyras<sup>104</sup>, or in another *castrum* within the province of Moesia Inferior, perhaps Troesmis, where the headquarters of legion 5<sup>th</sup> Macedonica were located.

An analysis of the affiliation of the six army medics documented in Moesia Inferior show that one was part of *legio XI Claudia*, one of *Classis Flavia Moesica*, another two from auxiliary units, *alae* and *cohortes*, while the last two served with *legio I Italica*. This unit stayed a long time in the Danubian region with the headquarters located at Novae, where is also the only *valetudinarium* of the province is attested archaeologically. It is certain that a body of medical specialists worked within this military hospital, practicing the medical arts at the highest level available in the period.

### The *valetudinarium* from Novae

The military hospitals built within *castra* represent an answer given by the Romans to the issue of sickbay isolation.<sup>105</sup> In the places where the sick or the wounded could not be transported to a city, where they could be treated properly, the military administration constructed hospitals of this kind. This seems to be an exclusively Roman idea, as these types of institutions are not attested before the reign of Augustus. Before that, the wounded were installed in special tents raised inside the camps.<sup>106</sup>

Without drawing a ground plan of such a *valetudinarium*, Hyginus mentions its location within the *castrum*: above or beyond the commanding officer's house (*praetorium*).<sup>107</sup> Such buildings were located, supposedly, in many of the important *castra* especially the legion ones, but also in some of

<sup>100</sup> Gal., *De compositione medicamentorum*, 4.8.

<sup>101</sup> *Medici duplicarii* are attested in the naval units stationed in Italia, *classis praetoria Misennsis* and *classis praetoria Ravennas*: CIL VI, 32769; CIL X, 3443; CIL X, 3441; CIL VI, 3910; CIL X, 3444; CIL X, 3442 (*medicus duplicarius triere*); CIL XI, 29 (*medicus duplicarius nave*); CIL XI, 6944; AÉ 1984, 337.

<sup>102</sup> AÉ 1990, 869. Centurion M. Ennius Illadianus appears, also, in another inscription from Tyras: AÉ 1990, 868.

<sup>103</sup> For this position in the legion's roster, see Domaszewski 1908, p. 38-39. *Actuarius* (*actarius*), included among the *principales* of a legion in Classical Roman times, was helping the *cornicularius* with his duties in the *tabularium*, and was himself assisted, probably, by the *librarii*. During the Late Roman Empire they were working for the paymaster's office and their activity is regulated by a law issued by emperor Anastasius: Rea 1996, p. 162. Rostovtzeff, Bellinger, Hopkins, Welles (1936, pl. XLIV.1) edited the text of an inscription with the name of a certain Heliodoros, *actuarius*. The interesting fact is that the in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the *aktouarios* is mentioned as the one handing out the prizes to the winners in the chariot races, while later they were described as well-regarded physicians, possibly ones attached to the imperial court: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1991 (*aktuouarius*).

<sup>104</sup> The existence of a *valetudinarium* at Tyras may be discussed: Karyskovskij 1987, p. 55.

<sup>105</sup> Initially, these buildings were the places for treating sick slaves in domains in the countryside: Col., *De Re Rustica*, XI.1.18. See also Krug 1984, p. 207.

<sup>106</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 6.38. After Nutton (1969, p. 262), the oldest *valetudinarium* attested, Haltern, follows a ground plan that seems the result of a cluster of tents, *tentoria*. Other opinions indicate the hospital of Carnuntum as the oldest in the Roman world: Haberling 1909, p. 457.

<sup>107</sup> Hyginus, *Mun. Castr.*, 4 also gives the reason for this location. It was one of the quietest areas of the *castrum*: „*ut valetudinarium quietum esse convalescentibus posset*”.



the auxiliaries'.<sup>108</sup> The authority over the hospital was given to the commander of the camp, the *praefectus castrorum*.<sup>109</sup>

The legion hospitals in the border regions are famous, like the ones along the Rhine, on the Danube and in Britannia: Haltern,<sup>110</sup> Novaesium-Neuss<sup>111</sup>, Bonn<sup>112</sup>, Vetera I and II<sup>113</sup> (Germania Inferior), Vindonissa<sup>114</sup> (Germania Superior), Lauriacum<sup>115</sup> (Noricum), Carnuntum<sup>116</sup> (Pannonia Superior), Inchtuthil<sup>117</sup> (Britannia Inferior), Caerleon<sup>118</sup> (Britannia Secunda), to which is added Novae, in Moesia Inferior. In these hospitals diseased soldiers or those with heavy wounds were treated. Light wounds were treated by medical staff right on the battlefield. On the other hand, the ones requiring a longer convalescence were discharged as soon as they could walk, in order to free the beds. They were sent to recover in the barracks or, in graver cases, they were permanently discharged.<sup>119</sup>

The *valetudinarium* of Novae was uncovered within the *praetentura* of the legion *castrum* during the archaeological excavations carried out by a Polish-Bulgarian team in the 70s of 20<sup>th</sup> century and is one of the best preserved buildings of this type in the Empire.

This spectacular building was raised during Trajan's reign on the location of the former Flavian *thermae*,<sup>120</sup> in the area of the *scamnum*.<sup>121</sup> The Dacian wars played an important role in the decision to secure a special space for the wounded coming from the battlefield. The hospital was built most probably with government funding, by the soldiers of the legion headquartered here, I Italica, with help from other military units.<sup>122</sup> Its dimensions were 80×73 m, with an interior court of 42.40×32.60 m.<sup>123</sup> The rectangular structure consisted in two rows of rooms, separated by a roundabout corridor. The importance of hygiene and the organized spacing of the sick-hall, elements found in all such constructions throughout the Empire, were confirmed by archaeological finds. The floors of beaten earth were repeatedly remade, a sign that cleanliness was paramount for such an establishment.<sup>124</sup> Several medical

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<sup>108</sup> The inscriptions mention the existence of *valetudinaria* in at least two auxiliary forts: at Stojnik, in Serbia (*cohors II Aurelia nova miliaria equitata* – CIL III 14537), but also at Beroea (Alep), in Syria (*cohors IIII Lucensium* – AÉ 1987, 952). Archaeological finds could provide evidence for more, but without the assurance that some of the edifices identified as *valetudinaria* could have been used exactly for this purpose: see the sites from Housesteads, Wallsend, Valkenburg, Wiesbaden, Oberstimm, Künzing, Hodd Hill, Pen Llysten, Fendoch: Press 1994, p. 95-96; Allan-Jones 1999; Baker 2002, p. 71.

<sup>109</sup> Veg., *Mil.*, II.10; CIL III, 34 13. Details about these *praefecti* in Dobson 1974, p. 413-415.

<sup>110</sup> Schnurbein 1974, p. 68-70.

<sup>111</sup> The first military hospital discovered by archaeological excavations: Koenen 1904, p. 111-112; Waterman 1970.

<sup>112</sup> Petrikovits 1960, p. 42-43, and pl. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Schultze 1934, p. 54-63.

<sup>114</sup> Krug 1984, p. 206, fig. 91.

<sup>115</sup> Veters 1977, p. 364; Press 1994, p. 98.

<sup>116</sup> Obermeyr 1967.

<sup>117</sup> Pitts, Joseph 1985.

<sup>118</sup> Boon 1972.

<sup>119</sup> In regard to the capacity of the sick rooms in military hospitals, for example at Inchtuthil, the hypothesis was put forward that the rooms could accommodate four beds. Other opinions vary this number from two to eight: Allan-Jones 1999, p. 136. More details in Press 1990, p. 332, note 10.

<sup>120</sup> Dyczek 1997, p. 43-44; Dyczek 2000, p. 89-103.

<sup>121</sup> Press 1985, p. 367-371; Press 1987, p. 171-184; Press 1990, p. 327-334; For the location of other *valetudinaria* throughout the territory of the Empire see Schultze 1934, p. 54-63, while for the Danube region Press 1994, p. 93-100.

<sup>122</sup> Several stamps of *legio I Minerva Pia Fidelis* were uncovered, from a detached unit apparently working on the construction here: Dyczek 2002, p. 686.

<sup>123</sup> Its dimensions are comparable to the ones of the military hospital of Carnuntum: Press 1990, p. 328.

<sup>124</sup> Press 1990, p. 330.

instruments were uncovered and identified inside the perimeter of the hospital.<sup>125</sup> The corpus of such finds from the *castra* of the province is quite inconsistent. The majority of medical instruments were found in the Greek cities on the Pontic shore or in the Greek foundations of Trajan.<sup>126</sup>

The consultation rooms, the storage rooms for drugs and foodstuffs were located around the sick-halls, together with therapy and relaxation rooms, the kitchens and other ancillary spaces.<sup>127</sup> Each hospital was different, according to its space for treating the sick as well as its building technique. The construction was supposed to provide hygiene, light, heating, security, access to bathrooms and *latrinae*, relaxation space as well as to the temples arranged inside.<sup>128</sup>

The care for the physical well-being (that concerned the medics and their auxiliary) was completed in every such establishment by spiritual care provided by the specific cult spaces. The porticoed courtyard of the Novae hospital included a *sacellum*, inside which altars were found bearing inscriptions, statue bases, a fireplace for offerings, images of the healing gods and other religious object.<sup>129</sup>

The main altar of this small temple was dedicated to Aesculapius by the legion headquartered in Novae, probably even since the foundation of the hospital, with a simple, official formula: *Aescula/pio sacrum/leg(io) I Ital(ica)*<sup>130</sup>. This altar, together with other elements, led to the conclusion that the temple in the interior court was dedicated only to Aesculapius. The Goddess Hygeia could have had another small temple within the hospital, if one analyzes another, later, inscription.<sup>131</sup> Independent of the official activities, the patients and the medics offered private *vota* to the divinities in charge of healing.<sup>132</sup>

The hospital was under the care of the *praefectus castrorum*, while the *optiones valetudinarii* were in charge of its management. Besides the *medici* who were practically the main body of professionals, the medical staff also included *capsarii*, medical assistants and medical orderlies.<sup>133</sup>

The *valetudinarium* of Novae functioned until the time of Caracalla or later.<sup>134</sup> It is possible that its maintenance became too costly or inefficient, as more of the legion's subunits were detached all over the province. On the basis of the numismatic finds, it was concluded that between the reigns of Elagabalus and Gordian III the hospital might have been used only partially. In a third phase, from the middle of 3<sup>rd</sup> century, its functioning cannot be ascertained any longer, while from Gallienus to Claudius III only the temple of Aesculapius was used by the civilian population. More

<sup>125</sup> Dyczek 2002, p. 687 (it is about spatulas, probes, hooks, needles).

<sup>126</sup> Kirova 2010, p. 285 (the map).

<sup>127</sup> Dyczek 2002, p. 686.

<sup>128</sup> Schulze 1934, p. 56-58; Press 1987, p. 182.

<sup>129</sup> Dyczek 1997, p. 47; Dyczek 1999, p. 495-500; Kolendo 1998, p. 55-70. A very interesting parallel may be drawn with the situation encountered nowadays in our hospitals, where the compound includes at least one chapel, if not a majestic church. Times have changed, but people make the same connection, when their health is involved, between the powers of man, even though he is a doctor, and the power of God.

<sup>130</sup> Kolendo 1998, p. 56, n° 1; AÉ 1998, 1330. One base of a silver statue of Aesculapius must be added to the evidence; a gift presented by the entire legion to the healing god, through its commander: Kolendo 1998, p. 58-60, n° 4; AÉ 1998, 1331.

<sup>131</sup> This is a monument dedicated by the governor of Moesiae Inferior, Vitrasius Pollio, around 156-158 AD: *[Hy]giae leg(io) I [Ital(ica) \_ \_ \_]/[dedicatum per T(itum) Vitrasium Po]llionem // [eg(atum) Aug(usti) p(ro)pr(aetore)* - Kolendo 1998, p. 57, n° 2; IGLNovae, 18; to it must be added the base of a silver statue of Hygeia (remained unidentified): Kolendo 1998, p. 58, n° 3.

<sup>132</sup> Kolendo 1982, p. 72-75, n° 2, 3, 5; Kolendo 1998, p. 60-64, n° 5-9.

<sup>133</sup> Unfortunately, we do not possess clear attestation of medics or other medical staff working in the *valetudinarium* of Novae. The only medics mentioned in the inscriptions found within the hospital are Aelius Macedo (AÉ 1998, 1134) and, maybe, Δι□δωρος (IGLNovae, 176), most probably civilian physicians working in this military hospital.

<sup>134</sup> Dyczek, Szubert, Sarnowski 1988, p. 512-515; Dyczek 2003, p. 7-20.

recent research found that at least the sacred area in the hospital courtyard was used after the abandonment of the hospital.<sup>135</sup>

To conclude, the disappearance of the *valetudinarium* of Novae happened within a larger context, with a favorable political situation, encouraged by the troop movement, as well as by the changes in the demographic of the *castrum*.

According to Hyginus, an establishment of this kind must have existed in each garrison.<sup>136</sup> Unfortunately, archaeological research of the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD fortifications of Moesia Inferior has given only poor information. Therefore the hospital of Novae remains the only one excavated and studied archaeologically, up to the present. If the auxiliaries' *castra* or *castella* with small garrisons could have located medical activities in specially raised tents, the legion camps, such as the one of Troesmis, Durostorum or Oescus, it is very possible to that a hospital of this kind could have been built.

### Conclusions

Therefore, with regard to Moesia Inferior, army medics are quite well represented. This situation takes into account the concentration of troops in the South-Danubian region. The diversity of attested appellations stands proof for the existence of a complex specialized medical corps within the provincial army.

As is the case for the rest of the Empire, in the Lower Danube region, the most frequent testimonies for a complex medical system, using qualified military personnel, date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The inscriptions that mention the military medics are exclusively in Latin and were found in *castra* of the units stationed on the Danube line. From the Greek Pontic cities epigraphic documents comes from Tyras. Actually, here was found the only monument on the territory of the province dedicated by two military doctors to Aesculapius and Hygeia. In Moesia Inferior there are few centres where soldiers offered such *vota* to the gods of healing.<sup>137</sup>

A frontier province such as Moesia Inferior, with a large army, required the presence of a complex medical system. This fact is proven by the identification of an interesting range of medics serving with the units garrisoned here: a *medicus*, a *medicus alae*, a *medicus cohortis*, a *medicus legionis*, a *medicus vexillationis* and a *medicus duplicarius*. The last two are the most interesting people as a result of the new information they bring. The job-title of the medic serving with a *vexillatio* of legion 1<sup>st</sup> Italica is the only such example known on the territory of the Empire, while the medic of *Classis Flavia Moesica* is the only example from a provincial naval unit. The activities of military medical personnel in the borderlands of the Empire were the same as in other areas of the Empire and even in Rome itself. The seriousness with which the Romans regarded medical care, the military included, may also be deduced from the construction and maintenance of the military hospital of Novae, with funds from the state treasury, one of the best preserved such edifices in the Roman world.

Epigraphic sources mentioning medics from Moesia Inferior attests to the presence of civilian physicians in the Greek colonies of the Pontus Euxinus west shore and in the cities founded under the Roman rule, Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum especially. Instead, the military medics are concentrated on the Danubian *limes*, and are integrated with the units garrisoned here. The language of the inscriptions also proves this reality. If, in the case of the civilian physician and doctors' associations, there are only three Latin and seven Greek inscriptions,<sup>138</sup> in the case of the military medics all the inscriptions are in Latin. In the same

<sup>135</sup> Dyczek 2005, p. 231-232.

<sup>136</sup> Hyginus, *Mun. Castr.*, 4.

<sup>137</sup> In Novae there are six epigraphic testimonies (IGLNovae, 16, 17, 18; Kolendo 1998, n° 1, 4, 6), one in Montana (Velkov, Alexandrov 1994, n° 71), ten at Glava Panega (Bulgaria) (ILBulg 200, 203, IGBulg II, 513, 514, 515, 518, 520, 521, 529, 541) and one in Horia (Tulcea county, Romania) (ISM V, 239). Details on the soldiers' religion in Moesia Inferior see in Alexandrov 2010 and for Aesculapius and Hygeia, especially p. 111-120.

<sup>138</sup> Aparaschivei 2010, appendix, n° 1-10.

context, only L. Papirius Olymphius and Aurelius Artemo, military medics, seems to be of Greek origins, while five out of seven civilian physicians are Greek or of Greek origin.<sup>139</sup>

No ancient source mentions a clear separation between medicine practiced in the civilian environment and that practiced by army medics. On the contrary, civilian physicians working for the army and military medics retiring as civilian practitioners working for the urban communities demonstrate the mutually beneficial cooperation. They mingled together. In these conditions, we do not believe that we are wrong to assert that there is a medical activity specific to the military, even if only by means of the existence of a medical corps consisting of specialists remunerated by the state. Even though army medics, first of all, obeyed military discipline, we tend to believe that the hierarchies established in this domain were based not only on the soldierly experience but on the medical one as well. As the hypothesis of the purely rank-and-file origin of the medics is unconvincing, we believe that there was a definite connection with the civilian part. The closeness to civilian settlements, the achievement of qualifications required for practice, which, according to Galenus, consisted of many stages and required conditions that could only be provided by the civilian environment, as well as the need of the medics to practice after their discharge, are only some of the arguments for our opinion. Thus, for the medics from Moesia Inferior, this intersection between civilian practice and military medicine might happen, especially on the Danubian *limes*, where the sources mention units garrisoned near civilian settlements.

We argue, therefore, not only for the recognition beyond any doubt of the existence of a well-organized medical system in the Roman army, but for the existence of a medical corps, of specialists as well, specialists well connected with the civilian environment, both before and after their period of service.

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<sup>139</sup> Aparaschivei 2010, p. 148.

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## Appendix

### Epigraphic sources concerning the military physicians from Moesia Inferior

#### 1. Aurelius Artemo – medicus (legionis) (vexillationis?)

*T(iti) Flavi]/Longini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)/vexillat(io) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)/ sub cura Fl(avi) Maximi |(centurionis) leg(ionis)/eiusdem Severo et Sabiniano/b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) Ulpius co(n)s(ulibus) Alexander/principales tes(serarius) Iul(ius) Aeternalis/tub(icen) Aurelius Postumus cornice<n>/Valerius Rufus med(icus) Aurel(ius) Artemo/im(m)unes ven(atores) Iulius Longinus et Fl(avius)/Valerius c(o)hor(tis) I Calpurn(ius) Tertianus/Val(erius) Felix Fla(vius) Valens Aurel(ius) Pedito Fla(vius) (H)ercl(a)/Aurel(ius) Tiberinus/Iul(ius) Marcus Aurelius/Cerfonius c(o)hor(tis) II Aurelius Appianus Fla(vius)/Reginus Aurel(ius) C(h)aireas/Val(erius) Fronto Iulius/Claudianus c(o)hor(tis) III Iuliu(s) Horten(s)is Aelius/Martial<i>s Val(erius) Valens Anton(ius) Valens/Ponti(us) Pontianus Val(erius) Antonius Val(erius) Rufus/Clau(dius) Ianuarius c(o)hor(tis) IIII Ael(ius)*

*Paulus Aur(elius)/Germanus Aurel(ius) Sanc(tus) Val(erius) Maximus/Anto(nius) Valens Iul(ius) Valens Val(erius) Longus Ulp(ius)/Bassus Fl(avius) Primus c(o)hor(tis) V Ael(ius) Apollodoru(s)/Aeli(us) Sabinus Iul(ius) Flaccus Aur(elius) Helenus/Aur(elius) Artemo Cocceius Long(us?) Atil(ius) Crispus/Aur(elius) Quadratus Ael(ius) Apelles Fl(avius) Alexander Iul(ius)/Nigrinus Ael(ius) Antullinus Ael(ius) Victorinus Cervius/Maximus Val(erius) Firmus Ael(ius) Flavinus Petro(nius) Valens/[Au]r(elius) Longinus Val(erius) Valens Iul(ius) Alexander Aur(elius) Agatho/[c]les Iul(ius) C[a]pito Umi(dius) Quadratus Mum(mius) Celer Tri[---] Valen(s)/[F]l(avius) Tertius Aur(elius) [Te]rtullinus Fl(avius) Po[n]tianus Mu[m(mius)] Niger/Val(erius) Valens Fl(avius) Lon[g]inus Iul(ius) V[---]/Aur(elius) Vindex Aur(elius) Decimus [---] Q[ui]ntus Val(erius) [---]E[---]/decurio Pompon[us] H[er]culanus ex/eq(uite) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)*

(Montana (Mihailovgrad, Bulgaria); CIL III, 7449; 155 AD)

2. Quintus Erucius Victor, *medicus cohortis*

*D(is) M(anibus)/Q(uito) Erucio Victori medico coh(ortis)*

(Carsium (Hîrșova, dep. Constanța, Romania), CIL III, 7490; ISM, V, 103; second c. AD)

3. Aelius Aurelianus, *medicus alae*

*D(is) [M(anibus)]/Ael(ius) [---]/Aur[elia]/nus [---]/med[icu]/s al[ae] [---]/N[---]/Ael(i-) M[---]/lib(ert-) I(?) [---]*

(Troesmis (Iglița-Turcoaia, dep. Tulcea); CIL III, 6205; ISM V, 170; late second c. AD)

4. Veturius, *medicus legionis*

*[V]etu/[ri]us m/[ed]icu/[s] le]g(ionis) I It(alicae)/[l]ibente] a(nimo) v(otum) s(olvit)*

(Barboși (dep. Galați, Romania); CIL III, 7517; ISM V, 299; late second-early third c. AD)

5. Lucius Papirius Olympanicus, *medicus vexillationis*; Numerius Seius Ga(rgil?)ius, *medicus duplicarius*

*[A]sclepio et Hygi(ae)/[pro] successu M(arci) Ata/[li] Pl[acid]/[i] |(centurionis) le]g(ionis) I Ital(icae) L(ucius) Pa/[piri]us Olympanicus me/[dic]us vexil(lationis) et N(umerius) Seius Ga/[---]ius medicus duplicar(ius)/[clas]sis Fl(aviae) Moes(iacae) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*

(Tyras (Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyy, Ukraine); AE 1995, 1350; late second-early third c. AD)

6. Marcus Valerius, *valetudinarius(?)*

*M(arco) Ennio/Illadiano/(centurioni)/leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)/Cornelius Vita/lis actuar(ius) Iul(ius)/Iamblic(hus) eq(ues) M(arcus)/Valer(ius) val(etudinarius) [---]*

(Tyras (Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyy, Ukraine); AE 1990, 869; 115-116 AD)



## ABRÉVIATIONS

- ARMSI – *Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii istorice*, București.
- ActaMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
- AÉ – *Année Épigraphique*, Paris.
- ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds.), Berlin - New York.
- Archeologia – *Archeologia*, Varșovia.
- Britannia – *A Journal of Roman-British and Kindred Studies*, London.
- BJ – *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, Bonn.
- CCA – *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România* (valable à <http://www.cimec.ro>), București
- CCARB – *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna.
- Chiron – *Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, München.
- CIG – *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin.
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptiorum Latinarum*, Berlin.
- CRAI – *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris.
- Dacia – *Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne*, București.
- EphemNap – *Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.
- ESA – *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, Helsinki.
- FgHist – *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby, Berlin-Leida, 1923.
- HSCPh IDR II – *Inscripțiile Daciei romane, II, Oltenia și Muntenia*, culese, însoțite de comentarii și indice, traduse în românește de G. Florescu și C.C. Petolescu, București, 1977.
- IGBulg – *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, G. Mihailov (ed.) I, *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini* 2, Sofia, 1970; II, *Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae*, Sofia, 1958; III/2, *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. A territorio philippopolitano usque ad oram Ponticam*, Sofia, 1964.
- IGLNovae – *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)*, V. Božilova, J. Kolendo, (eds.), Bordeaux, 1997.
- ILBulg – *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, B. Gerov (ed.), Sofia, 1989.
- ILS – *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, H. Dessau (ed.), ed. a IV-a, 1974.
- ISM V – *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor, grecești și latine. V. Capidava-Troesmis-Noviodunum*, reunite, însoțite de comentarii și index, traduse în română de E. Doruțiu-Boilă, București, 1980.
- JDAI – *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin.
- PAS – *Prähistorische Archäologie Südost europas*, Berlin.
- REB – *Revue des Études Byzantines*, Paris.
- RÉSEE – *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, București.
- RMM.MIA – *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente istorice și de artă*, București.
- RIB – *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, R.G. Collingwood, R.P. Wright (eds.), Oxford, 1965.
- SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn.





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