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HEROS EQVITANS IN THE FUNERARY ICONOGRAPHY OF DACIA POROLISSENSIS. MODELS AND WORKSHOPS

IRINA NEMETI*, SORIN NEMETI**

Keywords: Dacia Porolissensis, rider, horse, iconography, funerary, stonemason workshops, Roman provincial art.

Abstract: Our study aims at performing a detailed iconographical analysis of a series of funerary monuments in Dacia Porolissensis - *aediculae* and *stelae* - depicting a rider in various positions. The items under discussion are mostly preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, having been discovered in *Potaissa*, *Napoca*, Gherla, Gilău, *Porolissum*, and Sutoru. A close analysis of stylistic details in the depiction of horses and riders on the above mentioned monuments allowed us to observe certain specificities of stone carving workshops in northern Dacia.

Cuvinte-cheie: Dacia Porolissensis, călăreț, cal, iconografie, funerar, ateliere de prelucrare a pietrei, artă provincială romană.

Rezumat: Studiul de față reprezintă o analiză iconografică detaliată a unei serii de monumente funerare din Dacia Porolissensis - *aediculae* și *stelae* - care descriu un călăreț în diferite ipostaze. Artefactele în discuție se află în colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei din Cluj-Napoca și au fost descoperite la *Potaissa*, *Napoca*, Gherla, Gilău, *Porolissum* și Sutoru. Analiza stilistică a detaliilor pe care le prezintă caii și călăreții de pe aceste monumente ne permite să observăm anumite particularități ale sculpturii în piatră din nordul Daciei.

In the repertory of funerary monuments in Dacia, the image of the rider is among the frequently employed iconographic themes. Funerary monuments in the province that include the depiction of a rider in various positions are, according to their architectural and sculptural type, among the most wide-spread types of monuments in intra-Carpathian Dacia: *aedicula*, *stela* and, in a single case, the upper part of a funerary monument. One notes that this funerary symbol was only used in the repertory of workshops in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis¹.

From the perspective of iconographic patterns, in the province of Dacia one encounters the following categories²:

- A. 1. Heros standing in front of the horse (LIMC I. A. I, no. 23-25);
- A. 2. Heros on horseback: a. alone, without attributes, holding the horse's reins (LIMC, II. A. I. 1, no. 68-82); b. holding a lance in his right hand, without attributes (LIMC II. A. I 2, no. 155-160); c. accompanied by an acolyte (LIMC II. A. 2 a, no. 267-280);
- B. 1. Heros as hunter, depicted alone (LIMC II. B. I, no. 444-448);
- B. 2. Heros hunting (hunted animal - deer/stag), accompanied by a dog (LIMC II. B. I a, no. 449-452; II. B. I h-i, no. 519-523);

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Project CNCSIS – PN – II – RU – TE – 2011 - 3 – 0131 “Digital Corpus for the virtual exploration of the Antiquity. Art and text on Roman monuments from Dacia”.

¹ Nemeti 2003, p. 296-320.

² Classification according to LIMC VI. 1, 1992, s. v. *Heros equitans*, p. 1019-1081 (A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, H. Koukoulis-Chrysanthaki, V. Machaira, M. Oppermann, P. A. Pantos, I. Popović). – For Dacia there is no example belonging to the category ‘C’ in this classification.

D. Heros soldier / warrior, with an enemy lying on the ground (LIMC II. D. 1, nos. 620-622)³.

Some iconographic motifs can also be found in the Balkan-Danubian area (Heros as hunter)⁴, while others are mostly encountered in the Rhine area (Heros as soldier, with an enemy lying on the ground)⁵.

Our analysis envisaged a group of 18 monuments, mostly preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, that were discovered in Potaissa, Napoca, Gherla, Gilău, Sutoru, and Porolissum. The analysis of stylistic details of their depictions has revealed the existence of several common models / patterns initially employed by the main workshops (located in the main cities of the province, i. e. Napoca, Potaissa, and Porolissum) and then distributed in satellite-workshops active in the *vici militares* from the surrounding areas (Gilău, Gherla, Sutoru)⁶.

Unlike in the south-Danubian provinces (Moesiae, Thracia), in Dacia Porolissensis the main motifs only included types A.1. and A. 2. a-c, Heros standing in front of the horse and Heros in epiphany (with its different variants)⁷. One remarks from the very beginning the absence of types B. 1-2, Heros as hunter and D. Heros soldier / warrior, with an enemy lying on the ground. Also, in Dacia there is no iconographical identity between votive and funerary monuments, as is the case in the south-Danubian area in the case of Heros / Thracian Rider and the deceased turned into a hero under the guise of the Thracian Rider (where on funerary monuments the hunting rider is associated with a boar, dog, altar, tree and coiled snake etc.)⁸. One must also note in Dacia Porolissensis the absence of a motif common on military *stelae* from the Rhine area, i. e. the soldier on horseback trampling under his horse's hoofs a fallen enemy (the motif is attested in Dacia Superior on the *aedicula* walls from Șeica Mică and Cristești and the *stela* from Târnăveni – Botorca)⁹. Through the analysis of models employed in the iconographical composition of funerary monuments in Dacia Porolissensis we will attempt to establish their origin and to identify the workshops that employed them.

Among the group of monuments depicting the horseman, one can distinguish, according to iconographic types and especially the stylistic details of each representation, several models or iconographic "patterns". The identification of these patterns is based on a close analysis of the anatomical depiction and proportions of both horse and rider.

Model 1 includes items depicting the rider in epiphany; the horse is depicted at a walk, either to the right or to the left, according to the type of monument. All six monuments (**nos. 7, 8, 10**, p. I/1-3; **6, 18, 13**, pl. I/4-6) employing this model are *aedicula* walls with the image of the rider placed in the upper row.

The model is defined by several elements: the horse is depicted with one of the forelegs raised (always the leg in the background), bent and slightly rounded, while the other foreleg (in the foreground) is depicted extended and somehow rigid; the legs touching the ground suggest that the animal is taking a wide step, so that the fix foreleg in the foreground is visibly closer to the foreleg in the background. The animal's muzzle is lowered. The horse's tail is combed and seems braided. The legs are disproportionately long compared to the rest of the body. Elements of tack are also depicted. The rider's head is turned to face the viewer, fully or in semi-profile; his hair is trimmed short, he wears *tunica manicata*, with draping rendered clumsily through parallel lines, *chlamys* hanging behind, and *bracae*; the shoes are not individualized but simply a continuation of the trousers. The rider holds the reins with the hand in the foreground and his visible leg is too long compared to the proportions of the rest of his body.

There are six monuments decorated with this "model": two side walls of the same *aedicula* discovered in Sutoru (**nos. 7** and **8** – pl. I/1, 2) and probably a fragment from a left *aedicula* wall found in the same settlement (**no. 10**, pl. I/3), another from Gherla (**no. 13** – pl. I/6), one from Porolissum

³ The categories are presented in detail and illustrated by examples from Dacia in Nemeti 2003, p. 296-301; see also Ciongradi 2007, p. 116-117 (14.3. Reiter- und Pferdedarstellungen).

⁴ Oppermann 2006, *passim*; Slawisch 2007, Taf. 2/ AnUm1, 4/ P3, P4, 17/HaUm4, 18/Ko1, As1, 19/ K2, 20/ D1, etc.

⁵ Koepp 1921, p. 14-18; Ferri 1931, p. 64, 216; Gabelmann 1973, p. 132-204.

⁶ Alexandrescu Vianu 1982, p. 209-214.

⁷ Bianchi 1985, p. 123-124 (models in Dacia usually contain the image of the man riding the horse at a walk, just like in Pannonia, where the scene spread along the limes starting with the first half of the first century A. D.); Hofmann 1905, p. 49-53 (III. Der Reiter-Typus), nr. 29, fig. 35.

⁸ Bordenache 1965, p. 261; for example, the funerary *stelae* in Conrad 2004, no. 68, 323, 103, 106, 70, 69, 71, pl. 49/1,2,4; 50/1, 2, 4; 51/1; heroic interpretation in Alexandrescu Vianu 1980, p. 355-363.

⁹ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 213, no. 66, p. 214, no. 74, p. 129, no. 113.

(discovered in a secondary position in Jibou) (**no. 18** – pl. I/5), and one from an unknown location (**no. 6** – pl. I/4). The latter is very similar to depictions of riders from Gherla and Gilău. One strange stylistic detail – several parallel incisions placed obliquely on the horse's neck – can also be noted on the well known votive *stela* with a depiction of the Thracian Horseman found in Gilău¹⁰. This element can be an argument supporting the discovery site of the above mentioned *aedicula* wall in Gilău.

Model 2 includes three monuments showing the same iconographic type, i. e. the rider in epiphany, placed on two lateral *aedicula* walls (**no. 13** – pl. I/6, **no. 17** – pl. II/1) and one *stela* (**no. 5** – pl. II/3). As a distinctive detail one notes the fact that one of the horse's forelegs is raised high, sometimes at an angle wider than 90 degrees. The animal's ears are pointy, placed on the top of its head. Like in the previous cases, the muzzle is lowered, the tail is knotted and braided and elements of tack are also depicted. The rider is seen turned towards the viewer, fully or in semi-profile, with the same type of portrait and haircut. He wears *tunica manicata*, often more draped than on the previous model, and the chlamys is wider, sometimes flowing in the wind. The rider wears *bracae*, but the shoes, rendered schematically, are typical through their pointy and slightly upturned tips. One notes the same disproportionately long leg of the rider.

The *aedicula* walls were discovered in Gherla (**no. 13** – pl. I/6, **no. 17** – pl. II/1). On both of them the depiction of the rider is placed in the upper register, associated with depictions of the deceased or two gladiators. The only *stela* that can be included in this group was found in Gilău (**no. 5** – pl. II/3). It is a profiled, epigraph *stela* with the decoration placed in two registers. The rider is in the lower register, moving towards a pedestrian acolyte, while the upper field of representation includes the Moesic-type funerary banquet that dates the monument to the end of the 2nd century or later¹¹. A good analogy is another *stela* from Gilău, showing the funerary banquet with more participants¹².

Model 3 includes monuments decorated with images of another iconographic type - a *calo* holding the reins of two affronted horses¹³. There are three monuments in this group, a funerary *stela* from Sutoru (**no. 9** – pl. II/4), a side *aedicula* wall from Gherla (**no. 11** – pl. II/5), and a fragment that might belong to either one of the above mentioned architectural types, also discovered in Gherla (**no. 14** – pl. II/6). *Calo* is depicted in the center of the image, standing, fully turned towards the viewer, wearing a short *tunica manicata* fastened around the waist, with simple draping rendered through incisions. Saddles and horse tack elements are depicted on both horses. As for the stylistic details, one must note that the two horses on the monument from Sutoru are depicted rearing. On the monuments from Gherla, the horses resemble closer the depictions that we included in model 1. The depiction of their braided and knotted tails is only visible on these two monuments, but lacks on the *stela* from Sutoru. In all three cases the scene features in the upper row of the monuments. On the *aedicula* wall from Gherla the scene is associated with the depiction of the funerary banquet, while a representation of Attis decorates the other side.

Model 4 only includes two monuments discovered in Gherla (**no. 16** – pl. III/2) and Potaissa (**no. 1** – pl. III/1). The first item is probably a *stela* (its small dimensions make the identification difficult) while the second is a right side wall of an *aedicula*. The rider holds a lance in his hand depicted in the foreground and with the other holds the reins. As stylistic details one notes the disproportion between the rider's body and the too-long leg and the excessive proximity between the rider's torso and the horse's neck; the latter was probably due to the artist's clumsy attempt of depicting movement, i. e. the horse galloping. In case of the item from Potaissa, showing the horse entirely, one can say that the animal's depiction resembles that of horses on monuments illustrating model 2.

Model 5 includes a single item, a *stela* discovered in the *territorium* of the city of Napoca (**no. 2** – pl. III/3). The rider is depicted in the company of a pedestrian acolyte, represented very close to the horse.

¹⁰ Buday 1926, p. 9-10; Isac, Diaconescu 1980, p. 132-134, no. 15, fig. 15; Pop 1989, p. 269-274; Nemeti 2000, p. 327-336.

¹¹ Bianchi 1974, p. 170; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 48 (local workshop in Potaissa, active in the end of the second century A.D. – beginning of the third century A.D., after the settlement there of the V Macedonica legion brought in from Troesmis in 168/169); Bianchi 1985, p. 100-102.

¹² CIL III 847a = 7651; Florescu 1930, p. 86, no. 14, fig. 12; Isac, Diaconescu 1980, p. 120-121, no. 4, fig. 4; Bianchi 1974, p. 175 sqq., fig. 8; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 128, no. 108; CL - MNIT inv. no. v. 15.848 (I 6911).

¹³ Hofmann 1905, p. 39-40, no. 27, fig. 25 (Brigetio).

The rider wears a slightly draped mantle, fixed on the right shoulder with a round fibula, and holds the horse's reins in his right hand. The acolyte wears a draped *tunica manicata*, chlamys, and a *puggio* in his right hand.

Model 6 also includes a single item, a profiled *stela* with medallion discovered at Gilău, but repeatedly (and erroneously) published in the existing bibliography as having been found at Napoca (**no. 3** – pl. III/4). The model consists of the rider on foot in front of the horse that he holds by the reins. The rider wears a draped *tunica manicata*, *bracae*, and shoes with pointy and slightly upturned tips. On one hand he holds the reins and with the other a lance touching the ground. The horse has one of its forelegs raised very high while the other legs are straight and excessively long. The stylistic details in the depiction of the horse and of the rider's shoes are again somehow similar to what we defined as model 2.

The lower row of the *stela* includes two such affronted riders. The upper row contains the deceased's bust representation, placed in a circular niche, flanked by two *genii*.

Model 7 is somehow complementary to the previous one since it refers to depictions of *bigae* and not riders. Naturally, the iconographical type is very different, but we chose to include it here since it shows several similarities in the depiction of the horses, a key-image in the present study. The type features on two side *aedicula* walls from Gherla (**no. 12** - pl. II/5 and **no. 15** – pl. III/6). In both cases, the image consists of a *biga* seen from the side. The two horses are rendered completely different than those discussed above: they have one foreleg raised, elements of tack and, in a single case, knotted and wavy tails; their images are also rendered differently - with strong members and robust bodies.

*

The issue of stone carving workshops in Dacia Porolissensis was approached in several studies focusing on provincial art of series of monuments produced in settlements from this area. A. Bodor argued in favor of the existence of at least one stone carving workshop in Napoca, probably located somewhere inside the city precinct, besides the workshop that must have been located in Gura Baciului, inside the limestone quarry. According to him, the monuments from Napoca, especially the funerary ones, show original traits. The technical means are the same (referring to *aedicula* walls) – carved-out the surface, the characters' heads rendered in high relief, elements of dress depicted with rich folds. The monuments envisaged by Bodor might be dated to the Severan Era¹⁴. K. Torma supported the existence of the stone carver workshop in Gura Baciului. She identified the discoveries of Roman buildings from “coasta Mănăşturului” (“Monostori oldal”) with the edifices used as homes by stone carvers working in the stone quarries¹⁵. C. Pop supports the existence of several stone carving workshops in Napoca, due to the large number and variety of discovered monuments. The specific style of monuments from Napoca allows researchers to discuss a possible sculpture school that developed an individual “style”¹⁶. Lucia David (Marinescu) and V. Pinteau believed that such a school from Napoca produced the family-type *stelae* from Dacia Porolissensis¹⁷.

Lucia Țeposu Marinescu discussed the issue of workshops from Dacia Porolissensis starting from stylistic traits. Besides the workshop in Napoca (with a style characterized by the use of rectangular cartouches, symmetry, and equilibrium of the scenes) the author mentions a workshop in Potaissa (distinctive stylistically through the specific portraits and a preference for scenes including the funerary banquet on funerary monuments). The funerary monuments from Gherla, Cășei, Ilișua, Gilău seem to have been carved by soldiers or local artisans due to their deeply naïve representations¹⁸.

M. Bărbulescu noted the local character of funerary monuments in Potaissa, remarking the fact that sculptors active in this settlement were specialized in the creation of *aediculae*. As for the stylistic details, he noted the frontal view of the characters depicted on funerary monuments and a typical manner in the depiction of portraits¹⁹.

¹⁴ Bodor 1960, p. 44-47; Bodor 1985-1986, p. 193-198; Bodor 1987-1988, p. 193-221.

¹⁵ Torma 1880, p. 21-22.

¹⁶ Pop 1968, p. 486-488; Pop 1999, p. 216-217.

¹⁷ David, Pinteau 1966, p. 462.

¹⁸ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, p. 72.

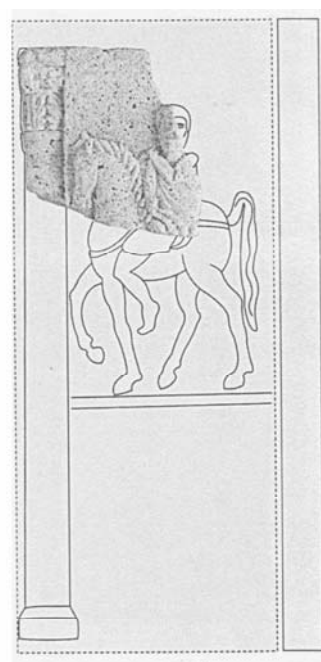
¹⁹ Bărbulescu 1994, p. 158.



1



2



3



4

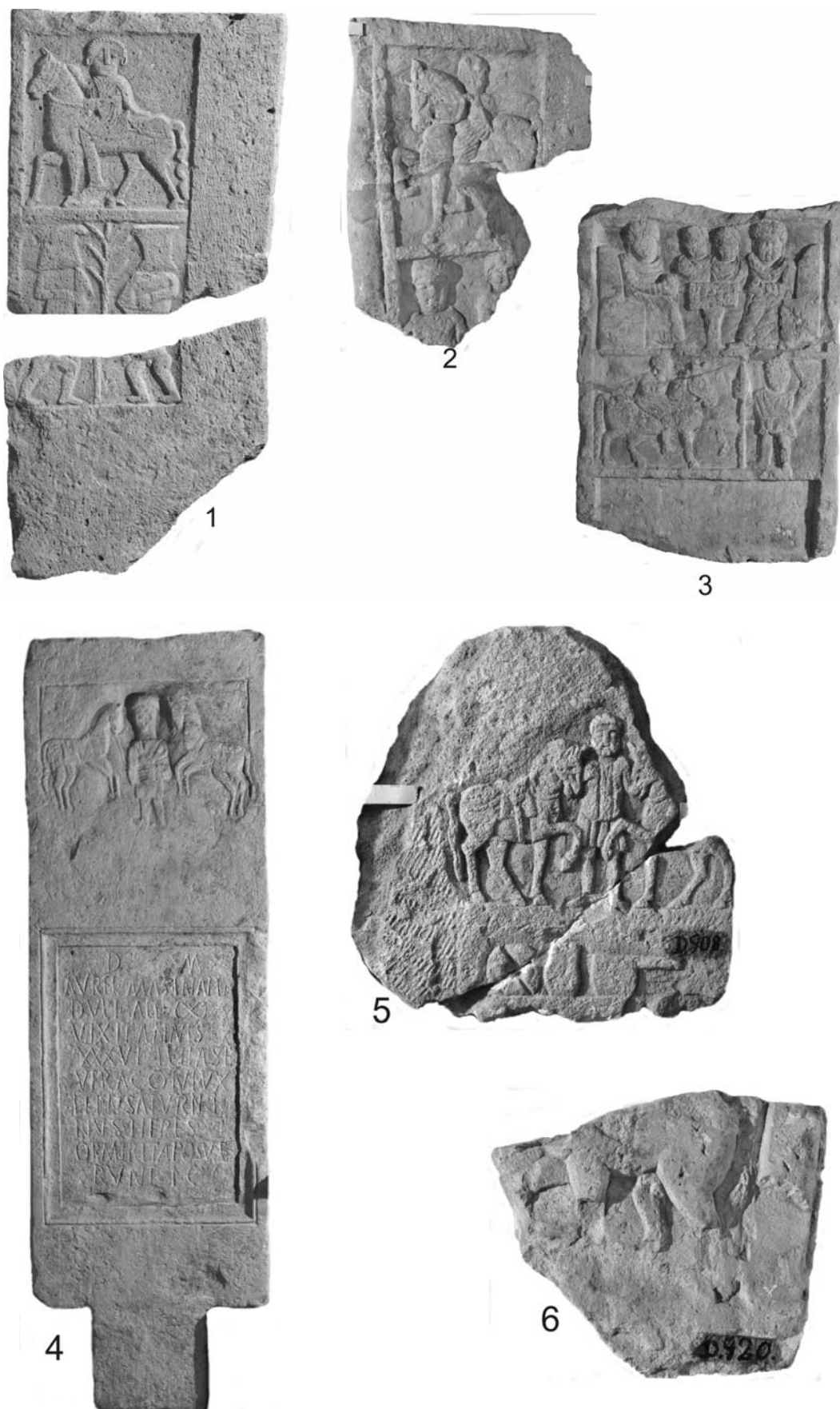


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6

Pl. I



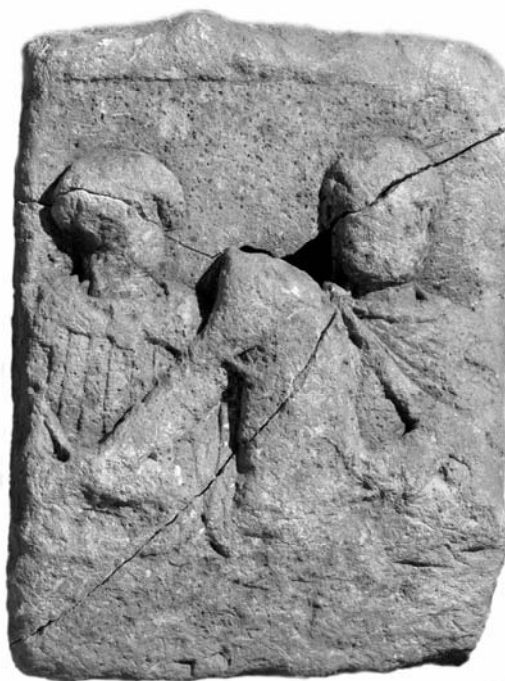
Pl. II



1



2



3



4



5



6

Pl. III

According to Lucia Țeposu Marinescu and N. Gudea, the workshop in Porolissum, provisioned by local stone quarries, can be identified through a peculiar style employed in the decoration of several types of monuments; in the case of funerary iconography one can note the stylistic details and the typical elements in the representation of the deceased's costume on family funerary *stelae*²⁰.

D. Protase, N. Gudea, R. Ardevan, and R. Zăgreanu believe in the existence of a stone carving workshop in Gherla that might have been organized as the one in Napoca. The workshop in Gherla produced raw, naïve items, similar to those in other military settlements, especially large-size funerary monuments²¹. As for the funerary monuments discovered in Sutoru, S. Cociș, R. Zăgreanu, and D. Tamba believe they were locally produced or in one of the workshops close to the fort, probably those in Porolissum²².

Considering this general context, we now turn to the discussion of new information on the sculpture workshops in Dacia Porolissensis obtained from the analysis of the distribution of the seven models of rendering the deceased on horseback discussed above.

One must note that monuments depicting the deceased on horseback are grouped around certain centers (considering the number of discovered monuments and the variety of models employed). In Gherla, where ala II Pannoniorum was camped, one encounters five out of the seven models (we should note the fact that the absent models are unique ones, depicting two men with spears in front of their horses, as seen on the items from Pata (**no. 2** - pl. III/3) and the *stela* from Gilău (**no. 3** - pl. III/4). This indicates that soldiers fighting on horseback settled there show a predilection for such images on funerary monuments and that the workshop in Gherla used models employed in Napoca, Porolissum, but also Potaissa (model 4 can be seen on two items, one from Gherla and the other from Potaissa).

Model 1 features exclusively on *aedicula* walls from Gherla, Gilău, and Sutoru, i. e. precisely the settlements where cavalry units were camped.

Model 2 has as prototype the most elaborate item recently discovered in Șoimeni²³ (*aedicula* wall) which probably defines the workshop from Napoca. The roughly crafted *stelae* from Gilău perpetuated this model during a later era (between the end of the 2nd century A. D. and the beginning of the 3rd century A. D.), as indicated by its association with the "Moesic banquet" with several participants.

The image of the rider (the stylistic and anatomical details in the depiction of horse and rider) was employed as landmark in the identification of the specifics of local workshops in Dacia Porolissensis. The analysis must be completed by the inclusion of other types of funerary monuments in order to define the repertory and style of each stone carving workshop in this Northern Province.

REPERTORY OF THE THE MONUMENTS

POTAISSA

1. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. III/1.

CL: MIT - inv. no. 2568; limestone; D: 41 x 35 x 12 cm; PD: Turda (Potaissa); Dating: 3rd century.

Bibliography: Jude, Pop 1973, p. 14, pl. XI/2; Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 18, no. 46, fig. 60; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 78; Nemeti 2003, p. 318, no. 24, fig. 13.

Right side architectural wall of a funerary *aedicula* "in antis", decorated with two registers and bordered by a column with undecorated shaft. Only the upper part of the item has been preserved; the lower register is missing. Due to the item's poor state of preservation one cannot identify the type of capital. The relief is framed by a simple border. The image contains a rider turned to the right; his head is turned towards the viewer but one cannot distinguish the character's physiognomic details; he seems to be wearing a *tunica manicata*; in his right hand, he holds a lance horizontally. The horse is depicted with lowered muzzle and raised, bent left foreleg.

PATA – territorium NAPOCAE

2. Funerary *aedicula* wall (?); pl. III/3.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. IN 23.197; limestone; D: 54 x 41 x 17 cm; PD: in the village of Pata, Cluj County, in a secondary position, initially discovered in the end of the previous century in a site called "Pusta grofului" on the boundary of Pata village, left of the country road leading to the village of Gheorgheni; Dating: 2nd-3rd century.

²⁰ Marinescu 1977, p. 129-134; Gudea 1989, p. 200-201.

²¹ Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 124; Zăgreanu 2004, p. 158-160; Zăgreanu 2007, p. 266.

²² Cociș, Zăgreanu, Tamba 2009, p. 59.

²³ Nemeti, Marcu 2014, p. 232-234.

Bibliography: Vasiliev 1967, p. 476-478, fig. 1a-b; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, S 105, pl. XI; Nemeti 2003, p. 314, no. 6, fig. 9.

Funerary profiled *aedicula* wall (?). Only the upper part of the monument has been preserved, in a poor state due to its reuse adapted to household functions. The image is framed by a simple, rectangular border, measuring 6 cm in width. To the right one can see the bust of a rider turned to the left. The portrait is in a poor state of preservation, thus one cannot distinguish his face's traits, but he seems to be depicted with rich short hair. The character wears a mantle fixed with a round fibula on the right shoulder and holds the reins in his left hand. Only the horse's head and neck have been preserved, but one can still see elements of tack. The horse is depicted in an unnatural position and is too small compared to the rider. Another character is depicted on the left side; he is on foot, wears a *tunica manicata* with roughly suggested draping, a chlamys over the tunic, and holds a *pugio* or a *gladius* in his left hand that is bent at the elbow. On his head he seems to wear a "bonnet" bent on the sides (?). The artistic qualities of this item are modest.

GILĂU

3. Funerary *stela*; pl. III/4.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. v. 15.864 (I 822); limestone; D: 111 x 90 x 17 cm; PD: Gilău, on the hill bordering the village, on the site called Veresmart, close to the spring of Căpuș; Dating: end of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century.

Bibliography: Münsterberg, Oehler 1902, c. 94 (erroneously published as having been discovered in *Napoca*; the error was later perpetuated in specialized literature); Florescu 1930, p. 100, no. 40, fig. 34; *RR*, p. 264, G 173, pl. 95; *Civiltà* p. 249-250, G 112; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, S 158; Nemeti 2003, p. 314, no. 7, fig. 15.

Profiled funerary *stela* with circular niche, medallion. The item is partially preserved; both the upper and lower parts (with the inscription) are missing. Only a small part of the inscription field is preserved, under the border. The decoration is placed in two registers framed by a border consisting of a listel. The bust of the deceased woman, flanked by *genii*, is placed inside a medallion, in the upper row. The medallion is bordered by a *corona* made of laurel leaf; a rosette is placed in the center, in the lower part. The shell-type niche has typical striations, rendered in a rather simple and clumsy fashion. The bust of the deceased woman can be seen inside the niche, but her face was destroyed. She wears a draped garment, with roughly rendered folds on the chest, and her head is probably covered by the *palla* that falls on her shoulders as well. The medallion is flanked by a *genius* of each side. They are depicted in nude, in static poses; the upper part of their body is rendered in front view, while their feet are represented in profile: one leg is extended, supporting the weight of their body, while the other is bent from the knee, pushed backwards and only touching the ground with the tip. The head of the character on the left has not been preserved, but was probably identical to the head of the character on the right: round face, full cheeks and lips, wide nose, round, slightly exophthalmic eyes, long hair reaching the shoulders, arranged in curls framing the face. The *genius* on the left holds an oversized grape bunch in his left hand extended towards the medallion; the lower part of the grape bunch rests on the molding that forms the border separating the two rows. In his right hand, raised and bent at the elbow, the *genius* holds an object that can no longer be identified since that part of the monument broke off. The *genius* on the right also holds two objects: an unidentified item (due to the monument's degradation in time) in his right hand extended towards the medallion and a *thyrsos* (?) in his left hand, raised and bent at the elbow. Two affronted riders are depicted in the lower row. The horsemen are represented on foot, in front of their horses that they lead by the reins. The riders are depicted in front view, in slight contrapposto, more visible in the posture of the character on the right. Their portraits resemble those of the *genii*: full cheeks and lips, round eyes. Their hair is cut short and rendered through parallel tresses that seem to have been combed back, exposing the high forehead and ears; the latter are rendered rather clumsily, somehow seen in front view. The two characters wear short tunics, reaching above their knees, with long sleeves, fastened around the waist and with ample draping rendered simplistically through numerous incisions. They wear long trousers and shoes with slightly upturned tips. With one hand they hold the reins and with the other a lance in vertical position. The anatomical details of the horses are depicted: muzzle, eyes, ears, mane, and tail – the latter two marked by parallel incisions. The proportions are unnatural, i.e. the horses' legs are too long. Both animals are depicted with one foreleg raised, bent in un-anatomical positions. On the margin, the *stela* is decorated with wine stalks and grape bunches.

4. Funerary *aedicula* side wall; pl. II/2.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. v. 15.810 (IN 1323); limestone; D: 75 x 60 x 15 cm; PD: Gilău; Dating: 3rd century.

Bibliography: Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 24, no. 75, fig. 25; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 72; Nemeti 2003, p. 316, no. 15.

Left side architectural wall of a funerary *aedicula* "in antis". The item is preserved fragmentarily, lacking the lower part and most of the right side. To the right it has an unworked border where it meets the central wall of the funerary monument. The left border is marked by a column with undecorated shaft (and capital and base undistinguishable to the poor state of preservation). The field of the relief is compartmented in two registers. The upper register contains the depiction of a rider on horseback, leading his horse at a walk to the left. The man's face is completely destroyed.

He wears a sort of short *tunica* reaching above his knees; the draping is suggested through sketchy incisions; he also wears a mantle (?) and shoes with slightly upturned tips. His upper body seems small in comparison to the length of his legs. The horse is depicted with the raised right foreleg, bent in an unnatural anatomical position. The mane is barely sketched, the tail depicted slightly raised, and elements of tack can be seen in the image. In the lower register one can still partially identify two characters, i.e. the deceased. The man, represented to the left, has a round face, full cheeks and lips, a strong nose, and slightly exophthalmic eyes. His hair is cut short and combed back. On his bust one still notes a *tunica* with folds rendered through sketched incisions. To his right one can see a woman, whose head is partially preserved. One notes the same type of portrait with full cheeks and lips and large round eyes. Her long hair is combed in a middle parting and tied at the nape; several slightly curled tresses reach her shoulders. The item shows traces of lead minium on the entire surface.

5. Funerary *stela*; pl. II/3.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. I 6909; limestone; D: 122 x 87 x 25 cm; PD: Gilău (secondary position, found reused as building material in a fence on the property of Galus Viktor; since 1900 in the collection of the museum in Cluj); Dating: end of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century.

Bibliography: Florescu 1930, p. 88, no. 18, fig. 15; Isac, Diaconescu 1980, p. 121, no. 5, fig. 5; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, S 109.

Profiled *stela* with inserted relief field, divided in two registers. The item is broken in both the upper and lower parts and has been restored. The scene of the funerary banquet is depicted in the upper register. Two couples of female characters, each on one *cathedra*, are depicted flanking a single-legged *mensa* with rectangular top represented as seen from above, supporting confusingly rendered foods. One has difficulties in identifying their dress (*tunica* or *palla* on top). In their right (or left, respectively) hand each holds a *rython*. The sketched busts of two characters can be seen above the table, on an un-bordered *kliné*. The hands that usually hold the cups are missing. The character on the left seems to have the same hair style as the women of the *cathedrae*, in a middle parting. The head of the other character on the *kliné* is hard to describe since the *stela* is strongly corroded. The lower row contains the depiction of a rider walking his horse to the right, wearing a *tunica* and a *sagum* flowing at his back. A *calo* wearing a short *tunica* is depicted in front of him, holding a spear in the right hand and an unidentified object in his left raised hand. The relief is rough, sketchy, showing neglect for details. The banquet scene was simplified and the composition is over symmetrical. The inscription filed was left blank, but it was lined in preparation. The item was probably never sold. It was painted with red minium that has survived on the entire surface of the monument.

UNKNOWN, probably GILĂU

6. Funerary *aedicula* side wall; pl. I/4.

CL: MNIT – MIC 298; limestone; D: 58 x 59 x 13 cm; PD: unknown; according to its style, the item seems to have been discovered in Gilău; according to A. Bodor the item was produced in the workshop from Napoca; Dating: second half of the 2nd century – first half of the 3rd century.

Bibliography: Ferri 1933, p. 322-324, fig. 420; Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 30, no. 93; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 24.

Right side profiled wall of a funerary *aedicula* "in antis" decorated on both sides. The item is partially preserved; missing lower part. The left margin is unworked, at the meeting point with the central wall of the funerary monument. On the lower part of the wall one sees a rider going to the right, leading his horse for a walk. The character's portrait, turned to face the viewer, has been destroyed. One can still notice his short hair and some anatomical details such as his ear. The rider wears a short *tunica* reaching above his knees, with long sleeves and draping roughly rendered through parallel incisions; he wears a mantle (?) hanging on his back. He holds the reins with his right hand. One notes an obvious disproportion between the two sides of the rider's body due to his unnaturally long legs (leg). The horse raises its left foreleg. The stone carver has rendered harness straps, the horse's mane marked by parallel incisions, and its long tail that seems somehow braided. The animal's neck is also covered in parallel oblique incisions. This strange stylistic detail – parallel oblique incisions on the horse's neck – can also be found on the votive *stela* with the depiction of the Thracian Rider found in Gilău. This element can be an argument supporting the discovery of the *aedicula* wall in Gilău. The horse's legs are depicted long and thin. The lower row of the relief is missing. Two characters are rudimentarily depicted on the outer side: they wear helmets (?) ending in a prominence, some sort of rigid collar, and their busts are rendered as cylinders. The character on the left holds a *pugio* (?) in his bent right hand, threatening the other who in turn points an unidentifiable weapon at his opponent's throat. This seems to be a confrontation between two gladiators. Lucia Țeposu Marinescu interpreted the characters as two *genii cucullati*.

SUTORU

7. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. I/1.

Bibliography: Panaitescu 1932, p. 91-103, B, pl. II/4, 6, 7; RR p. 254, G 134 (H. Daicoviciu); Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 26, no. 83, fig. 102; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 73; Nemeti 2003, p. 317 – 318, no. 21; Cociș, Zăgreanu, Tamba 2009, p. 55-57, no. 4, pl. III, fig. 1, 2.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. v. 15.779 (IN 15); limestone; D: 121.5 x 55.5 x 12 cm; PD: Sutoru (*Optatiana*), discovered on the border south of the old church in Zimbor (Sălaj County), together with the other side wall of the *aedicula* (inv. no. v. 15.780) and a funerary altar (inv. no. v. 15.778); Dating: 3rd century.

Right side architectural wall of a funerary *aedicula* “in antis”. The item was broken in two in the lower half and has been restored. Above, on the right, the wall has an orifice on the side where it was connected to the rest of the monument; inside the orifice one can still see traces of lead, an indication that the construction was also connected to an upper part, probably an architrave that continued it. The right margin is decorated with a Corinthian column with capital and base, with undecorated shaft, without grooves. On the left, the stone was left raw over 13 cm, i.e. the part where it was connected to the central wall. The wall is decorated in two rows separated by a simple stripe; the surface is slightly lower in the central area, thus the image is placed inside a boat-shaped field. The upper row includes a rider, leading his horse at a walk towards the right and looking forward. The portrait is rather effaced, but one can still notice his short hair, round cheeks, full lips, and thick nose. He wears a short *tunica manicata* reaching above his knees and on his shoulders a mantle fastened with a fibula on the right side. He wears long trousers and shoes with slightly upturned tips (?). He holds the reins in his right hand. The tack also includes a strap depicted over the horse’s chest and another over his croup (?), with a decorative element. The horse raises its left foreleg that is bent in an unnatural position. Anatomical details are also depicted; the carver tried to render the mane through curled tresses and the combed raised tail by parallel incisions. One notes the lack of anatomical proportions in both rider (upper body too small compared to the legs) and horse (depicted with unnaturally long legs). Traces of minium are still visible. The lower row includes a woman, standing, in half-profile to the right, clumsily rendered (her lower body is depicted in front view while her upper body as seen from right half profile). Her portrait shows similarities with that of the rider: round cheeks, full lips, flat nose. Her hair is gathered in a loop at the nape of her neck, fixed with a *taenia*, and she seems to be wearing a diadem on the top of her head. The woman wears a long dress reaching her ankles; the draping is roughly rendered through almost parallel incisions. On top, she wears a sort of *chiton* with long sleeves, fastened around the waist. In her lowered left hand she holds a pigeon and in her right, bent from the elbow, an apple.

8. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. I/2.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. v. 15.780 (IN 16); limestone; D: 121 x 55.5 x 12.5 cm; PD: Sutoru (*Optatiana*), discovered on the border south of the old church in Zimbor (Sălaj County); Dating: 3rd century.

Bibliography: Panaitescu 1932, p. 91-103, B, pl. II/4, 6, 7; *RR* p. 254, G 134 (H. Daicoviciu); Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 26, no. 83, fig. 102; Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, AE 73; Nemeti 2003, p. 317 – 318, no. 21; Cociș, Zăgreanu, Tamba 2009, p. 55-57, no. 4, pl. III, fig. 1, 2.

Left side architectural wall of a funerary *aedicula* “in antis”. It was once part of the same monument as the previously described item. The relief is poorly preserved, strongly worn-out. Above, on the left, the wall shows an orifice on the side where it was connected to the rest of the construction; inside the orifice one can still see traces of lead, thus indicating the existence of an upper part, probably an architrave that continued the monument. The left side is decorated with a column-like element (probably like the previous item (inv. no. v. 15.779), with Corinthian capital and base and undecorated shaft, without grooves). On the right, the stone was left unfinished over 13 cm, the part where it was connected to the central wall. The decoration is placed in two rows. The upper row includes a rider leading his horse at a walk to the left and looking forward. The image is unclear due to the monument’s poor state of preservation but it seems obvious that the decoration of the right wall is replicated here. A woman is depicted in the lower register standing, probably in a slight half-profile to the left, wearing a long dress. In her right raised hand, bent at the elbow, she holds a round object; in her lowered left she also holds an unidentifiable object.

9. Funerary *stela*; pl. II/4.

CL: MNIT – L 351; limestone; D: 254 x 78 x 10 cm; PD: Sutoru (*Optatiana*), Sălaj County; Dating: 3rd century.

Bibliography: CIL III 7644; Florescu 1930, p. 85, no. 12; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, S 112; Cociș, Zăgreanu, Tamba 2009, pp. 53-67, p. 54-55, no. 3, pl. II, fig. 3.

Profiled funerary *stela*, with inserted relief field. The item underwent several destruction phases. In the upper decorative register, the image is placed inside a rectangular unfinished (?) frame. One can identify a *calo* standing between two affronted horses. The man is seen from front view. The portrait is no longer visible, but one can note the short hair combed back. He wears a roughly draped *tunica manicata* reaching above his knees. His legs are depicted in a rudimentary fashion and seem to be too short. He holds the reins in his hands bent on his chest. The horses are rearing. The carver depicted their manes, braided tails, saddles and harness straps. In the lower part, inside a *cyma*-type profiled border, one reads the following inscription: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(i) Masinni / dupl(icari) al(a)e (miliariae) / vixit annis / XXXVI Iulia Se/vera coniux / et Fl(avius) Saturni/nus heres / ob merita posue/runt f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).*

10. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. I/3.

CL: MIAZ – inv. no. CC 231/2010; CC 232/2010; limestone; D: 34 x 33 x 11 cm; 50 x 43 x 12.5 cm; PD: Sutoru, inside the *castrum* ditch; Dating: end of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century.

Bibliography: Cociș, Zăgreanu, Tamba 2009, p. 53-67, p. 57, no. 5, pl. IV, fig. 1a-d; no. 6, pl. III fig. 1d, 2d.

Left side architectural wall of a funerary *aedicula* “in antis” decorated in two registers. Two fragments from the left side of the item are preserved, i.e. the upper register (partially) with the depiction of the rider turned to the left. The border of the item is decorated with the depiction of a column with undecorated shaft and Corinthian capital (also carved on the other side of the wall). The rider turns his face towards the viewer; his portrait has round cheeks, eyes rendered schematically through incisions, straight nose, slightly sketched lips, and he has short hair. The character wears a draped *tunica manicata* and a chlamys on top; the latter forms a V-shaped fold near the neck and is fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder. Only the head and neck of the horse are visible; the mane is nicely carved with tresses. The second fragment from the lower decorative row is bordered by a column with preserved base, also carved on the other side of the wall. The fragment contains the depiction of a *camillus* (absent head). He wears a draped tunic, reaching down to his knees, and sandals. In his right hand he holds a jug, while with his left he grabs the corner of a piece of cloth; the other end hangs on his shoulder. The item is rather well carved. The lower row is identical to that on other *aedicula* walls from Sutoru and they were clearly produced by the same workshop.

GHERLA11. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. II/5.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. D 908; sandstone; D: 56 x 55 x 12 cm; PD: Gherla; Dating: 2nd century.

Bibliography: Ornstein 1903, p. 114-115, no. 3, fig. 35; Buday 1916, p. 83-84, fig. 8, no. 8a; Florescu 1930, p. 83, no. 8, fig. 8; Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 70, fig. 88-89; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 27; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 79, no. III. 3. f. 2/1, pl. XXVII/1p. 82, III. 3. f. 2/3, pl. XXX/3.

Right side profiliated wall of a funerary *aedicula* “in antis” decorated on both sides. The relief is worn-out; only one part of the item’s upper register is visible. The left margin was left unworked; it was the part where it was connected to the central wall of the funerary construction. On the inner side, the relief consists of two rows separated by a three-centimeter-wide border. The upper row contains the depiction of a *calo* holding by the reins two affronted horses. The character is depicted from front view, with his hands extended towards the horses. The man has short hair, beard, and roughly rendered facial traits – wide round eyes and wide nose. He wears a *tunica manicata* fastened around the waist, only rendered in its general lines, and *bracae* (?). The horses are depicted with one raised foreleg (that in the foreground), bent in unnatural positions; the rendering of the tails suggests they were somehow braided; one can also see details of harness and saddle. The lower row only preserves some elements: a *panis quadratum*, a cup, and a *patera*. On the outer side one can identify Attis standing, leaning on a *pedum*, wearing a wide and short tunic, coat, and Phrygian cap. The portrait is rendered rudimentarily: round cheeks, full lips, round big eyes, wide nose. His hair reaches down to his shoulders.

12. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. III/5.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. D 845; limestone; D: 105 x 71 x 18 cm; PD: Gherla; Dating: end of the 2nd century.

Bibliography: Ornstein 1903, p. 114, fig. 34; Florescu 1930, p. 84, no. 9, fig. 9; Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 24, fig. 71, no. 90; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 67; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 83, III. 3. f. 2/2, pl. XXXI/2.

Right side profiliated wall of a funerary *aedicula* “in antis”. The fragmentarily preserved item is broken both in the upper and lower part; it is also corroded. It seems that the carver left his work unfinished. The wall is decorated in two registers framed by a simple border. The upper register contains the depiction of a *biga* turned to the right. Its seat and wheel are rendered rather realistically. The male character driving the chariot has rounded, strong, and rudimentarily rendered facial characteristics. He wears a *tunica* that reaches above his knees and holds the whip in his right hand and the reins in his left. The carver has suggested elements of horse tack and anatomical details; the horses raise their right foreleg. The lower row depicts a character, but only the top of his head is still visible, due to the item’s poor state of preservation. He seems to be a man with short hair.

13. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. I/6.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. D 912, D 913, D 914; sandstone; D: 58 x 74 x 13 cm; PD: Gherla; Dating: end of the 2nd century – 3rd century.

Bibliography: Floca, Wolski 1973, p. 24, no. 72, fig. 91; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 68; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 81, III. 3. f. 2/3, pl. XXIX/3.

Left side profiliated wall of a funerary *aedicula* “in antis”. Only part of the upper left corner of the wall is preserved, broken into three fragments; restored. The right edge of the item is left unworked, since this was the area where the wall was connected to the central wall of the funerary construction. The wall was decorated with two registers bordered by a listel. One can still distinguish a rider leading his horse at a trot to the left. Only the muzzle, body, and

forelegs of the horse are visible, the hoof of the left hind leg and the rider's leg. The horse is rather well carved, with raised right foreleg, nicely arranged tail hanging in slight curls along the body. The rider wears a draped short *tunica* reaching above his knees. The left leg seems unnaturally long.

14. Funerary *stela*; pl. II/6.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. D 920; limestone; D: 37 x 41 x 15 cm; PD: Gherla; Dating: 3rd century.

Bibliography: Țeposu Marinescu 1974, 3, p. 424, no. 5; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 71.

Fragmentary funerary monument (*stela*, *aedicula* wall?). Only one part of the item's right side is preserved. From the entire relief, one can only partially see the body and legs of a horse turned to the left. Its right foreleg is raised, bent in an unnatural position. One can also note the animal's nicely arranged tail. The horse was probably part of a scene with two affronted horses, either flanking a central standing character or not. The item's border is probably decorated with a column, but only its undecorated shaft can still be seen.

15. Side wall of a funerary *aedicula*; pl. III/6.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. D 900; limestone; D: 55 x 33 x 20 cm; PD: Gherla; Dating: 3rd century.

Bibliography: Țeposu Marinescu 1974, 3, p. 424, no. 3; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, AE 70; Husar 1999, p. 201, p. 201; Gudea 1996, p. 110; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 79, no. III. 3. f. 2/1, pl. XXVII/1.

Left side profilated wall of a funerary *aedicula* "in antis"; preserved in fragments. The decoration is placed in two registers separated by a simple frame. In the upper register one can see a cart pulled by two horses; a mature man wearing a *tunica* and a child are depicted in the cart. The cart's axle and wheel are depicted. The horses are shown at a walk, with the right foreleg raised and bent in the front. One can also note elements of horse tack. The lower field probably contains the funerary banquet scene (depiction in a poor state of preservation).

16. Funerary *stela* (?); pl. III/2.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. v 58.590; volcanic tuff; D: 30 x 53.5 x 15 cm; PD: Gherla (*castrum*); Dating: 2nd-3rd century.

Bibliography: Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 81, III. 3. f. /5, XXVIII/5.

Funerary *stela* (?) preserved in fragments. Only the upper part, with the upper left corner, is preserved. The monument has been destroyed and the upper part of the image is rather effaced. It might be another type of monument (relief from a funerary base, an element from a funerary mausoleum etc.) but due to its poor state of preservation, one can no longer determine the type with certainty. The relief was placed in two registers. On a small part of the left side of the plaque one can still see a molding (a listel and a *cyma*?) that would normally indicate the left side wall of an *aedicula* (it was thus published previously), but the rider is turned to the right not to the left, which indicates that the item could be part of another type of monument. The upper half of the upper row is preserved, with the depiction of the rider leading his horse at a gallop to the right. Another character on foot was probably seen standing in front of the rider. The horseman's head was completely destroyed. In his left hand he holds the reins and in his right hand the lance pointing downwards. He wears a short *tunica* with long sleeves that reaches down to above his knees. The sheath of a *gladius* is attached to his belt; the weapon's grip is depicted as being circular. The sheath is almost entirely visible; it is depicted vertically, leaning over the right leg. The horse's reins are represented realistically, just like the animal's anatomical details – muzzle, right eye, and mane rendered through simple parallel incisions. From an artistic perspective, the work is rudimentary.

17. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. II/1.

CL: MNIT – inv. no. v 58.594; volcanic tuff; D: 106 x 53 x 12 cm; PD: Gherla, in the *castrum retentura*; Dating: 2nd-3rd century.

Bibliography: Zăgreanu 2004, p. 97, no. II/8; Protase, Gudea, Ardevan 2008, p. 82, III. 3. f. 2/2, pl. XXX/2.

Right side wall of a funerary *aedicula*. The monument is broken in two and is in a rather poor state of preservation. The decoration consists of two registers separated by a three-centimeter-wide border. The upper register depicts a rider moving to the left. His head is turned to face the viewer and his physiognomy is rendered roughly – exophthalmic eyes, wide nose, large ears in front view; the hair is rendered through parallel line suggesting short hair combed back. The character wears a *tunica manicata* reaching above his knees and a mantle folded on the chest and hanging on his back. The two elements of dress are draped. Under the *tunica*, the rider probably wears *bracae*. One notes the erroneous proportions of his body; the upper body is too small compared to the extremely long legs. The horse's tack is rendered in details and the braided tail reaches the ground. The right foreleg is strongly bent but still touches the ground; the artist forgot to depict it raised from the ground in order to suggest the intended movement. The lower part of the horse's legs are unnaturally thin. The lower row consists of two gladiators fighting; a tree is sketched between them. The gladiators wear helmets (conic in shape in case of the man on the right and trapezoid in shape in case of the man on the left); they carry round shields, short swords and seem to be naked. Their movement is only suggested by the rendering of their legs; the rest of their bodies are extremely static. The artistic rendering is of artisan quality.

POROLISSVM

18. Funerary *aedicula* wall; pl. I/5.

CL: built in the wall of the Fleischer house in Jibou; D: 78 x 60 cm; PD: presumably found in the necropolis of Porolissum.

Bibliography: Daicoviciu 1937-1940, p. 324, fig. 21; Nemeti 2003, p. 316, no. 16.

Right side architectural wall of a funerary *aedicula* "in antis", decorated in two registers framed by simple listel. Just one part of the monument's upper register is preserved. One can still see the scene with the rider leading his horse at a walk to the right. The horse's hind legs and the rider's head are not preserved. The man wears a short *tunica manicata* reaching above his knees, fastened around the waist, worn under a chlamys and on top of *bracae*; he wears simple shoes and holds the reins of the horse in his right hand. One notes the obvious disproportion between the leg which is much too long and the body. The animal holds its muzzle down and raises its left bent foreleg very high. Despite the monument's poor state of preservation, one still notes that the left hindleg, brought forward, is very close to the right foreleg. Elements of tack are also depicted.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- ActaArchCarp – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia
ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ArchRozhledy – Archeologické rozhledy, Praga
ACMIT – Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
ActaMN (AMN) – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj
ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
AD – Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. Μελέτες. Athina : Tameio Archaiologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.
AÉ – Année Épigraphique, Paris
AEM – Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien
AEMTh – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
AIIA – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași
AION Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Napoli
AISC – Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AJA – American Journal of Archaeology, Boston
AJPH – American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
AMNG I.1 – B. Pick, *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.1. Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1898.
AMNG I.2 – B. Pick, K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.2. Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, Berlin, 1910.
Anali – Anali. Spisania za istorija, clasičeska kultura i iskustvoznania, Sofia
AncWestEast – Ancient West & East, Leiden
AnnBolland – Annalecta Bollandiana, Bruxelles
ANRW – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Berlin – New York, 1972–1998
Apulum – Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchWarszawa – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa
ArchAnz – Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
ArchBulgarica – Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArchÉrt – Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKorr – Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
ArhMold – Archeologia Moldovei, Iași
Arkheologiya (Kyiv) – Arkheologiya. Natsional'na akademiya nauk Ukraini. Institut Arkheologii, Kyiv.
ArhPregled – Arheološki Pregled, Belgrad
ArheologijaSofia – Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija i Muzej, Sofia
ASGE – Arheologičeskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, Leningrad.
AÚSNitra – Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra
Balcanica – Balcanica. Annuaire de l'Institut des Études Balkaniques, Bucarest
BAR Int. Ser. – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford.
BBKL – *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 20 vols., Herzberg, 1975–2002
BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes, Paris
BCMI – Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
BHAUT – Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis, Timișoara

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- BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
- BNSR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BNF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
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- BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
- BS – *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vol., Roma, 1961–1970
- BSAcad. – Buletin Științific al Academiei Republicii Populare Române. Seria Științe istorice, filologice și economico-juridice, București
- BullÉp (BÉ) – Bulletin Épigraphique, Paris
- ByzZ – Byzantinische Zeitschrift, München
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice în București, Muzeul Municipiului București, București
- CArch – Cahiers Archéologiques, Paris
- CCG – Cahiers du Centre Gustav-Glotz, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris
- Cercetări Arheologice – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CIMRM – J. M. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, 2. vol., 1956–1960.
- CIRB – V. V. Struve et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*, Leningrad, 1965
- CJ – The Classical Journal, Athens
- CN – Cercetări numismatice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
- ClAnt – Classical Antiquity, Berkeley, California
- CRAI – Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris
- CRR (Grueber) – H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, 3 vol., London, 1910
- Dacia – Dacia. Fouilles et recherches archéologiques en Roumanie, București
- Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
- DACL – *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 15 vols., Paris, 1899
- DECA – *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien*, Paris, 1990
- DHA – Dialogues d'Histoire ancienne, Université de Franche-Comté, Paris
- DNP – Der neue Pauli, Stuttgart
- DID – *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, București, 1965–1971
- DissPann – Dissertationes Pannonicae. Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestensis provenienties, Budapest
- DIVR – D.M. Pippidi (ed.), *Dicționar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic – sec. X)*, București, 1976
- DHGE – *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 29 vols, Paris, 1912–2008
- Dolgozatok – Régészeti Dolgozatok Dissertationes Archaeologicae, Budapest
- EDR – *Ephemeris Dacoromana*. Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma
- Epigr.-Travaux – *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977)*, recueillis et publiés par D. M. Pippidi et Em. Popescu, București, 1977
- EphemNap (EN) – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
- FHDR I – II – *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes*, I-II, București, 1964–1970
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Județean Bistrița Năsăud, Bistrița
- EAIVR – Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României (ed. C. Preda), București, 1994
- ED – Ephemeris Daco-Romana, Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, București–Roma
- ÉPRO – Études préliminaires aux religion orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden
- FHG – C. Müller (ed.), *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 6 vol., Paris, 1855–1878
- File de Istorie – File de Istorie, Muzeul Județean Bistrița Năsăud, Bistrița
- FÖ – Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien.
- GGM – C. Müller (ed.), *Geographi Graeci minores*, Paris, 1882
- GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Duke.
- IDR – *Inscripțiile Daciei romane*, 1977–2001
- IDRE – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, București, 1996–2000

- IGB – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vol., Sofia, 1958–2001.
- IG VII – W. Dittenberger (éd.), *Inscriptiones Graecae VII : Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin 1892.
- IGR – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, Paris
- IGUR – *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Rom
- IK – *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn
- ILB – B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Sofia, 1989
- ILD – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, București, 2010
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II (1902), III (1916)
- INHA – Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris
- ISM – *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor*, București, I (1983), II (1987), III (1999), V (1980)
- ISTA – Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité, Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut, Sofia
- IzvestijaŠumen – Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej, Šumen
- JAMÉ – A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeums von Nyíregyháza, Nyíregyháza
- JGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
- JÖAI (ÖJh) – Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien
- JHS – Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- KSIIMK – Kraskie Soobščeniija Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva – St. Petersburg
- KSIAU – Kraskie Soobščeniija Instituta Arheologii Ukrainy, Kyiv
- LEC – *Les Études Classiques*, Bruxelles
- LGPN – *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford
- MAN – Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institut, London
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetari Arheologice, București
- MitrArd – *Mitropolia Ardealului*, Sibiu
- MRR – E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885–1886.
- Mühlhäuser Beiträge – Mühlhäuser Beiträge, Mühlhausen
- NK – Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
- ODB – *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., New York–Oxford, 1991
- OPEL – *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Wien
- OrChrPer – *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma
- QS – Quaderni di storia, Roma
- QTNAC – Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità classiche, Lugano
- PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
- Pest Megyei múzeumi füzetek, Szentendre
- Peuce – Peuce, Tulcea
- PME – H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 5 vol., Louvain, 1976–1993.
- PIR – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I-III*, ed. II, Berlin-Leipzig.
- RB – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița Năsăud
- RA – Revue archéologique, Paris
- RE – Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893 sqq.
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques, Paris
- REL – Revue des Études Latines, Paris
- RevBistriței – Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
- RIB – Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London
- RIR – Revista istorică română, București
- RIU – Römische Inschriften Ungarns, Budapest
- RMD – M.M. Roxan, P. Holder, *Roman Military Diplomas*, 5 vol., London, 1978–2006.
- RN – Revue Numismatique, Paris
- RPAN – Revista de preistorie și antichități naționale, București
- RRC (Crawford) – M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vol., Cambridge, 1974
Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–

- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie, București
 Sargetia – Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
 SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie vecie (și arheologie), București
 SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București
 SCȘ Cluj – Studii și cercetări științifice, Cluj
 SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979–1980, Amsterdam 1979–2005, Boston 2006–.
 SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne
 SP – Studii de Preistorie București
 Specimina Nova – Specimina Nova. Dissertationes ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Ianno Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
 SNGCop – *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen 1944–2000.
 SNR – Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, Lausanne
 Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
 StCl – Studii Clasice, București
 StComPitești – Studii și Comunicări, Pitești
 StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări, Sibiu
 StTeol – Studii Teologice, București
 Studien und Forschungen – Studien und Forschungen, Offenbach am Main
 TAM – Tituli Asiae Minoris, Wien
 TD – Thraco-Dacica, Institutul de Tracologie, București
 TGF – A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, editio secunda, Teubner, Leipzig, 1926
 TIB – *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Wien, 1976; 1991, 2008
 TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
 TLG – *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
 TRE – *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin-New York, 1977-2002
 Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
 VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
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