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Postal address (materials sent for reviewing purposes and other correspondence):

Universitatea “Al. I. Cuza”, Facultatea de Istorie, Bulevardul Carol I, nr. 11, 700506 – Iași, Romania.

Tel.: (+04) 0232 201 615; Fax.: +(4) 0232 201 201, +(4) 0232 201 156;

Website: saa.uaic.ro; E-mail: saa.uaic.ro@gmail.com, blucretiu@yahoo.com.

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Editors' note

The journal *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* was established in 1983, at that moment as a volume dedicated to the memory of the reputed scholar from Iași, Nicolae Gostar. Though at the onset the journal was envisioned as a periodical, because of the financial and political difficulties of the era, its publishing only recommenced in 1995, appearing regularly since then.

Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica is edited by the Chair of Ancient History and Archaeology from the Faculty of History within the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, and publishes studies on the prehistory, ancient history and archaeology of, primarily, the Southeastern European area, but also of Europe and extra-European regions. After the first issue (1983), the journal underwent a steady evolution, to become one of the few Romanian publications with an up-to-date release schedule. The themes are varied, encompassing eras from prehistory to the Middle Ages and domains such as archaeology, prehistory, numismatics, epigraphy, anthropology, paleobotany, and paleofaunistics. Interdisciplinary studies enjoyed appreciable consideration during the last years, on account of the facilities available in the laboratories of the Chair of Ancient History and Archaeology. The journal was published mainly in circulation languages (the last three issues – 2012, 2013 and 2014 – exclusively in English, French, German and Italian – and has both printed (ISSN: 1224-2284) and on-line format (e-ISSN: 2392-6031). The editorial board focused its last years activity on the journal’s promotion and on increasing its accessibility in the virtual milieu. *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* has become, therefore, one of the most visible Romanian journals in humanistic field. In this context, the journal represented an instrument through which both consecrated specialists and young scholars published their work. In this respect, the journal has been included in prestigious international databases, like Scopus, EBSCO, DOAJ and ERIH PLUS.

Starting with this year, the editorial board has decided to change the journal’s of frequency of publication. There will be two issues per year and, if the acceptable articles proposed for the peer-review process will increase their number, we shall publish even 4 issues per year. We hope this will be in the benefit of the scientific world, if the scientific quality of the papers will be high. We thank all the contributors for their efforts and we assure the readers that we shall try to keep at high scientific standards the material we shall publish in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*.

The editors

ARTICLES

Some thoughts on settlement patterns.
Late Bronze Age habitat in the Șomuzul Mare basin*

Alexandru GAFINCU¹

Abstract. *The study aims to examine the prehistoric landscape in order to identify settlement patterns and relations between contemporary sites. In the Șomuzul Mare basin, Northeastern Romania, the local topography, resources and climate compelled its prehistoric occupants to adapt for a better exploitation of resources and protection. The archaeological database includes 30 archaeological sites dated to the Late Bronze Age discovered in the study area. GIS software was employed in order to gather information about the topographic and climatic characteristics of the areas where prehistoric sites were established. Slope, solar exposure, wind shelter and density maps, as well as the distances to the closest water source were used to identify settlement patterns.*

Rezumat. În acest studiu se dorește analiza mediului preistoric pentru a identifica modele de locuire și relații între așezări contemporane. Topografia locală, resursele și caracteristicile climatice au determinat comunitățile preistorice să adopte un anumit comportament pentru o mai bună exploatare a resurselor și protecție. Baza de date include 30 de situri atribuite perioadei târzii a epocii bronzului care au fost descoperite în bazinul hidrografic al Șomuzului Mare. Softurile GIS au fost utilizate pentru a obține informații referitoare la caracteristicile topografice și climatice ale zonelor în care au fost amplasate așezările. Hărțile pantei, expunerii solare, expunerii față de vânt și densității, cât și distanța față de apă au fost utilizate pentru a identifica modele de locuire.

Keywords: Noua culture, Eastern Romania, landscape archaeology, GIS, settlement patterns.

Introduction

The geographical characteristics of an area influenced the behaviour of all prehistoric human groups. The local topography, resources and climate determined prehistoric people to adapt, engendering a variety of ways or models that cannot be fully understood yet. Landscape archaeology provides a wide range of tools and methods to analyse and, in a certain rate, to understand and explain ancient ways of life. The manner prehistoric people occupied a region and the changes resulting from their activities offers some hints in this

* This work was supported by the strategic grant POSDRU/159/1.5/S/140863 "Project Doctoral and Postdoctoral programs support for increased competitiveness in Humanistic sciences and socio-economics" co-financed by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007–2013.

¹ "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași; alexandru.gafincu@yahoo.com.

direction. These slices of information can help us reconstruct, albeit partially, the landscape as saw by these people.

Analysing the settlement patterns from a certain region and in a limited period of time is a method to identify the relations between different communities, their relation and the resources allocation. In this kind of social system, every settlement, larger or smaller, has a predetermined purpose in the economy and hierachic organization².

The corroboration of such information can lead to the identification of micro- and macro-regional characteristics that can provide the starting ground for explaining human behaviour in its complexity.

Aim and method

This study aims to analyse the prehistoric landscape in order to identify settlement patterns and relations between sites. For this purpose, archaeological data, landscape information and GIS analysis have been taken into consideration. As is the case with all attempts to understand the landscape and the prehistoric behaviour, this analysis too has an inherent margin of error, conditioned by the selective availability of the published data, the inaccuracy of the GIS programs, or even the subjectivity of the author.

Some of the archaeological data comes from literature, but most of the information about the landscape and the characteristics of the sites' topography was collected during personal field surveys. The archaeological database includes 30 archaeological sites dated to the Late Bronze Age (henceforth LBA). From the 21 settlements already published³, only three sites were unidentifiable in the field due to anthropic impact (*Fălticeni-Vatra Târgului*, *Fălticeni-Şoldăneşti*, *Preuteşti-Livada lui Spânu Gheorghe*). Another nine sites are personal discoveries, part of them having been recently published⁴.

The spatial database includes shapefiles with points representing the sites and the hydrography digitized from topographic maps. A 5-meter resolution Digital Elevation Model was created by digitizing the elevation curves from a topographical map of the study area. This was used to evaluate the relationship between the site locations and topography. This information was manipulated using the tools provided by ArcGIS 9.3 and SAGAGIS, in order to generate different maps (slope, aspect, density, and wind shelter) and calculate distances.

The observations made during personal field survey will be pointed out in this paper. Prehistoric communities were closely linked with the topography and the resources found in the landscape they occupied. Through landscape analysis, the topographical characteristics of the LBA sites and their proximity can be used to identify settlement patterns. To analyse the relation between the sites and aforementioned factors, we must obtain data on the areas

² PARSON 1972, 127.

³ Among others: TEODOR, IONIȚĂ 1967; URSULESCU, MANEA 1981; NICULICĂ 2006; ANDRONIC 2008.

⁴ GAFINCU 2014.

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where the archaeological sites are located. On the basis of this information, the general characteristics can be observed, and the settlement patterns ascertained.

From the onset it must be stated that no LBA settlement of the study area has been investigated through archaeological digging. Stratigraphic information would undoubtedly be useful, but in their absence the observations have to rely on landscape analysis and field survey data.

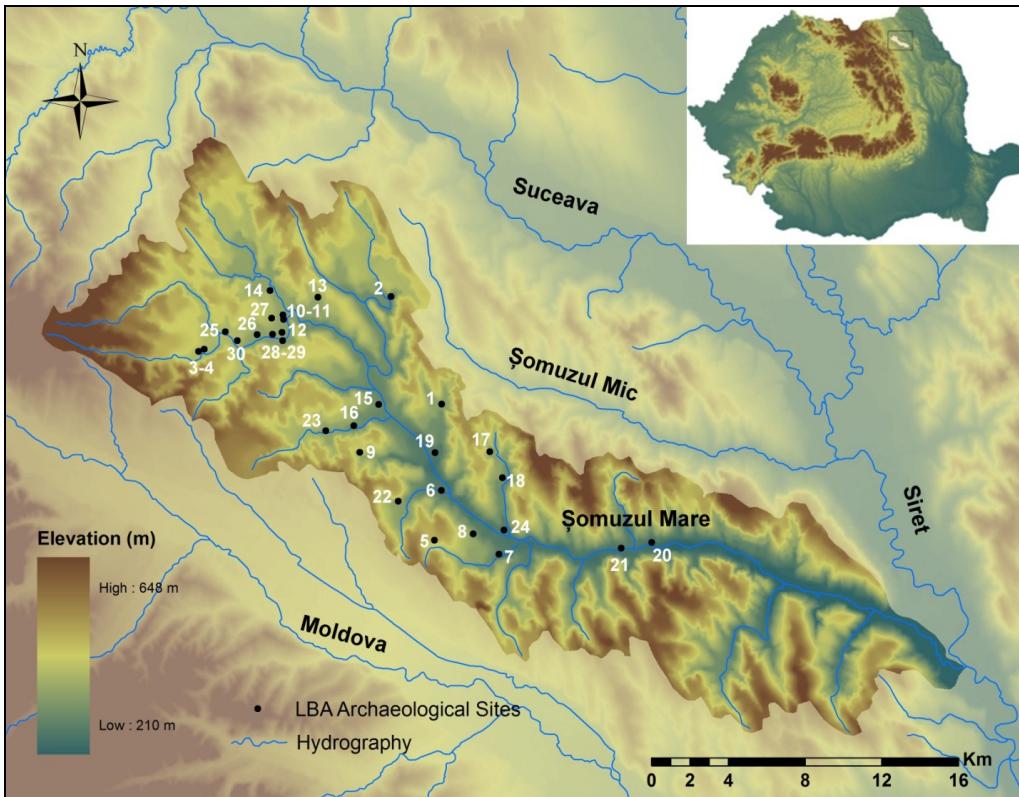


Figure 1. Geographic location of the hydrographic basin of the Şomuzul Mare River.

Study area

The characteristics of the landscape had a great effect on prehistoric behaviour, from choosing a settling place, to defining the relations with the neighbours. Depending on the natural resources existing in a certain area, those small-groups communities adopted a certain model for exploiting in an efficient way the available resources.

The study area overlaps a large region of the Suceava Plateau, spanning between the catchment basins of the Suceava River at the North, the Şomuzul Mic River at the North-East, the Siret River at the East, and the catchment basin of the Moldova River to the South and West (Figure 1). The slopes are mostly oriented on a North-West–South-East direction, and the Şomuzul Mare River closely follows the same direction. In the lower basin, the main

stream runs along a West–East direction, up to the confluence with the Siret⁵. The specific climate is conditioned by the strong winds that come from the North–West, making the valley of the river difficult to inhabit in cold season⁶.

The vegetation in the basin was transformed due to human activities, especially during the last century. Nowadays, forested areas can be found on the high slopes located in lower catchment of the Șomuzul Mare River, while the upper basin is dominated by forest-steppe vegetation⁷. The brown argiloiluvial and podzolic soils are associated with the forested zone. The brown and grey-brown soils appear on the slopes with southern and eastern exposure, being most suited for agriculture. Luvic soils can be found along the main river and its tributaries⁸.

Slope

The slopes from the basin of Șomuzul Mare River seems to be divided into three sections, which can be followed in LBA settling preferences (Figure 2). The upper basin is characterized by reduced slopes, especially near the main stream were most of the archaeological sites are located. In the middle basin, on the north-facing areas the slopes are stepper and difficult to inhabit. On the other hand, the south-facing slopes are more gentle, their bottom being most suitable for the LBA communities. The erosion processes have made the lower basin look like a deep canyon, with high slopes at the right of the river and middle and low slopes on the left. The most suitable areas to inhabit are the first terraces of the main river and its tributaries. Nevertheless, in this area were discovered only two LBA settlements, both of them located near the main river. Downstream, no LBA sites were discovered. This situation can be explained by the steep slopes or by scarce data due to the impossibility to conduct field surveying in the area. The first terraces are occupied by modern-day structures, and accordingly it is almost impossible to properly research the area.

The analysis of the sites shows that almost 57 % of them are located on a slope lower than 2°, 27% are between 2° and 4°, and only 16 % are between 4° and 8°, while the maximum value in the study area is 14.7° (Figure 3).

The slopes from the proximity of the LBA sites are different in the three divisions mentioned above. In the upper basin, along the main river, are located the sites on slopes between 0–2°, while the sites located on slopes higher than 3° are on the upper sectors of the tributaries. In the middle basin two situations appear: the sites discovered along the main stream are located on slopes lower than 2°, while the higher values are specific for the sites from the tributaries. The sites discovered along the main river in the lower basin appear in areas with slopes of 2–3 °.

⁵ GHEORGHIU, LUPU-BRĂTILOVEANU 1992, 479.

⁶ ERHAN, PLEŞA 1964, 191; ROŞU 1980, 409.

⁷ ROŞU 1980, 480–481.

⁸ BĂCĂUANU *et al.* 1980, 266.

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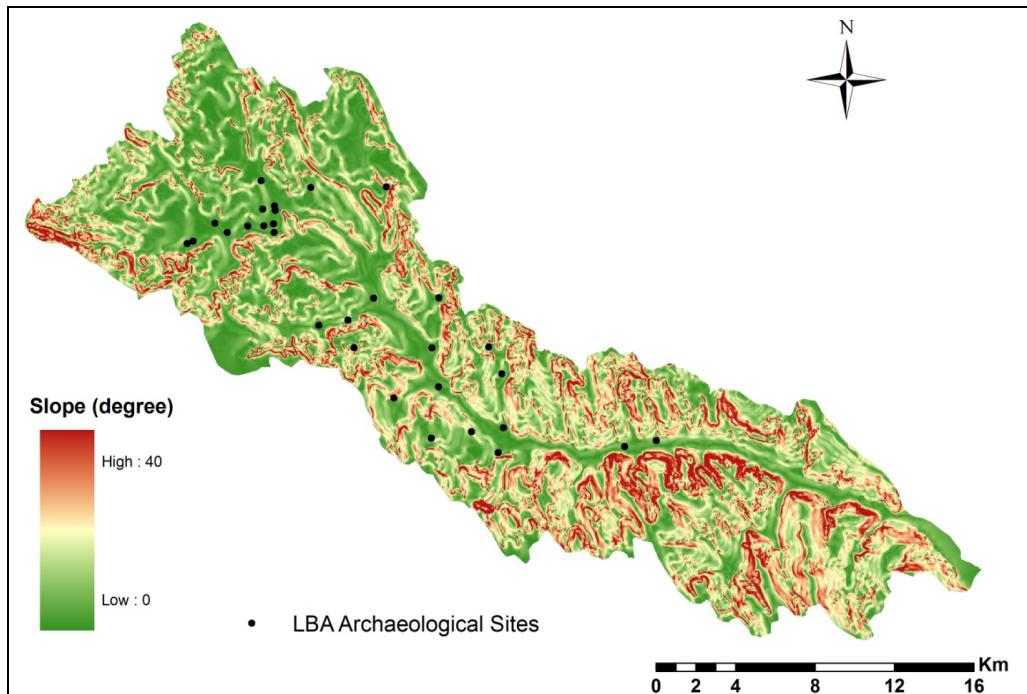


Figure 2. Slope map of the Şomuzul Mare basin.

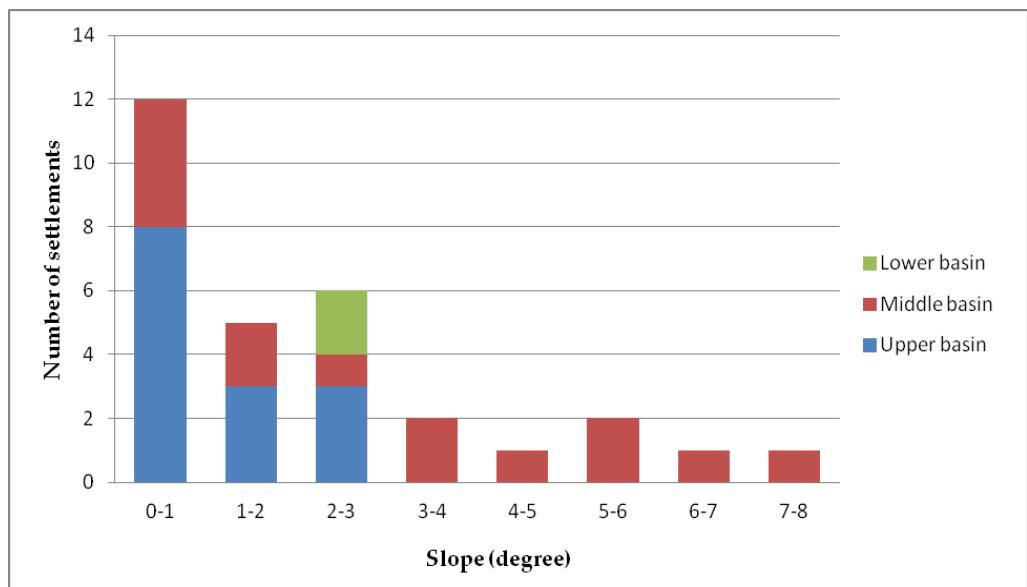


Figure 3. Histogram distribution of slope values for LBA settlements in the Şomuzul Mare basin.

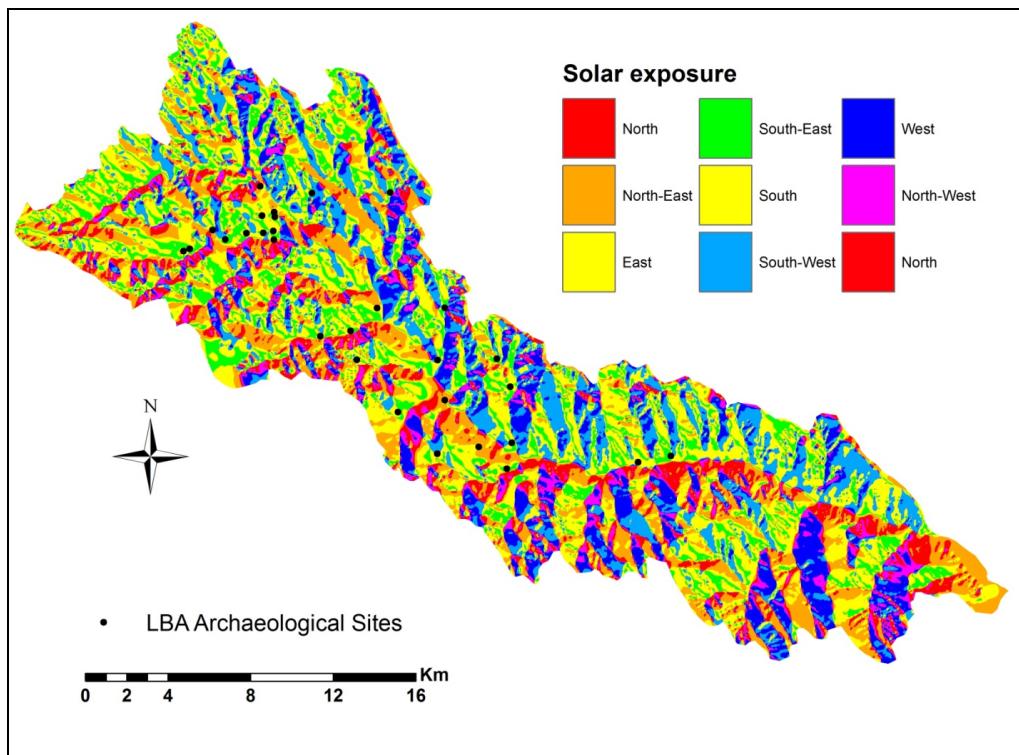


Figure 4. Solar exposure map of the Şomuzul Mare basin.

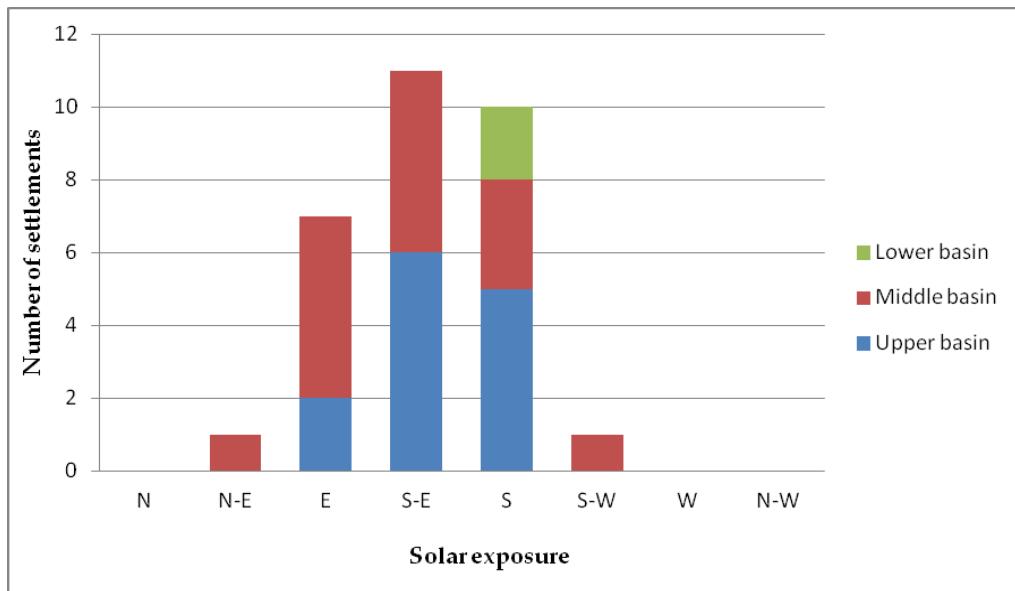


Figure 5. Histogram distribution of solar exposure values for LBA settlements in the Şomuzul Mare basin.

The distribution of the sites with respect to the slope is obvious. Most of the sites occupy slopes with low values, usually located along the Şomuz River, while the higher values appear on the upper sectors of the tributaries. We can say that the places with lower slopes are the most preferred locations for LBA sites. The areas with high slope values are not typical for Noua settlements and can be seen as a concession.

Solar exposure

The general orientation of the slopes, with high values to the North-West and low values to South-East, makes the south-facing slopes the most suitable for habitation. It seems that across the entire study area the sites are located in places with eastern and southern solar exposure (Figure 4).

The orientation of the slopes where sites were established follows the eastern and south side of the slope (Figure 5). Thanks to this exposure, the inhabitants of the LBA settlements were receiving increased solar radiation. The areas with East to South exposure have a few advantages: the amount of heat, essential during the cold season, is greater, while in early spring snow melts faster⁹.

Wind shelter

As the slope and aspect influenced prehistoric people to settle in certain places, the climatic factor would have been important as well. To determine which LBA sites are more or less wind-protected some spatial analysis can be done. The analysis was made with the Windshelter module in SAGA GIS, using a radius of 1 kilometre. Because there is no information about paleowinds from the study area, the present-day dominant wind direction was used (Figure 6).

As already mentioned, the dominant wind in the area come from the North-West, affecting especially the slopes with a northern exposure, while the bottoms of the south-facing slopes are the most protected. Furthermore, the main river is oriented almost in the same direction with the slope sides, which makes its valley hard to inhabit especially in the cold season¹⁰. However, on the tributaries there are some areas (Rădăşeni valley) that are more protected and the mean temperature is higher, being favourable for dwelling and agriculture¹¹.

In the Şomuz basin, a part of the archaeological sites were discovered in wind-protected places, while others in very exposed areas, and a certain pattern can be observed (Figure 7). In the upper basin most of the sites that are sheltered or have a moderate exposure are located on tributaries, while the exposed and very exposed sites are usually along the main

⁹ ASĂNDULESEI 2012, 141.

¹⁰ ERHAN, PLEŞA 1964, 191.

¹¹ GHEORGHIU, LUPU-BRĂTILOVEANU 1992, 480.

stream. This situation is more obvious in the middle segment of the Şomuz River. The sites located along the river are exposed and very exposed, and only in two cases they have a moderate wind-exposure. Conversely, the settlements which were discovered upstream the tributaries are located in sheltered places. In this area there is one exception, the settlement from Fălticeni-Buciumeni, which is located near the source of tributary, but it is exposed to the winds. On the last segment the sites are located along the main river, in areas with moderate exposure or sheltered.

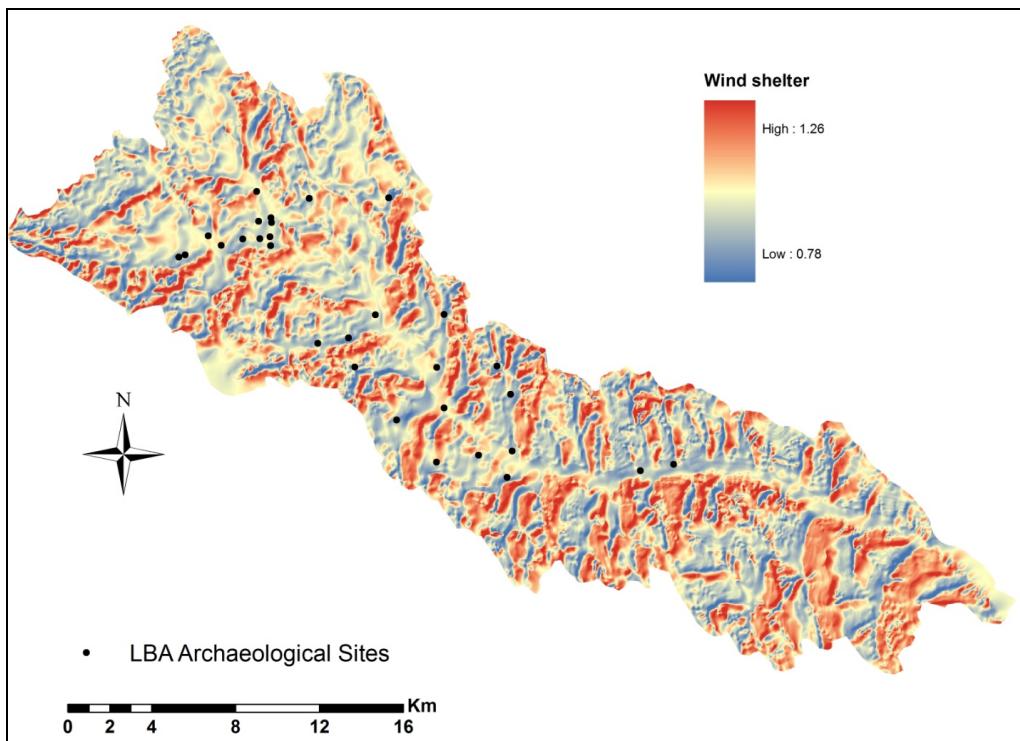


Figure. 6. Wind shelter map of the Şomuzul Mare basin.

Certainly, the most suitable places for the LBA communities to inhabit would have been the areas with moderate exposure to wind or the sheltered ones. We can observe that not all the settlements are located in such areas. In the middle basin a relation between the protected sites and the ones exposed can be identified. Here, most of the sites located at the junctions of the Şomuz River with its tributaries are exposed to the wind. Upstream, on each of these tributaries we can find at least one site, which is usually sheltered. There are only two settlements, Fălticeni-Vatra Târgului and Lămăşeni-Puntișoară II, which do not follow this pattern. In the second case a settlement has yet to be discovered near the junction of the Lămăşanca stream with Şomuzul Mare. The field surveys conducted in the area did not result in the discovery of the pair site. The only unexplored area where the site could be found remains in the perimeter of a contemporary village.

Some thoughts on settlement patterns. Late Bronze age habitat in the Şomuzul Mare basin

In the upper basin, the site distribution makes the relations between them to be difficult to follow. Here the wind-sheltered settlements mix with the exposed ones, and it is difficult to establish the pairs or groups. The geographical characteristics of this particular area, in particular the low relative elevation and slope oriented North-West to South-East, reduces the areas suitable to inhabit that are at the same time sheltered. As mentioned above, the high settlement density recorded in this area can be linked with the seasonality of the Noua people.

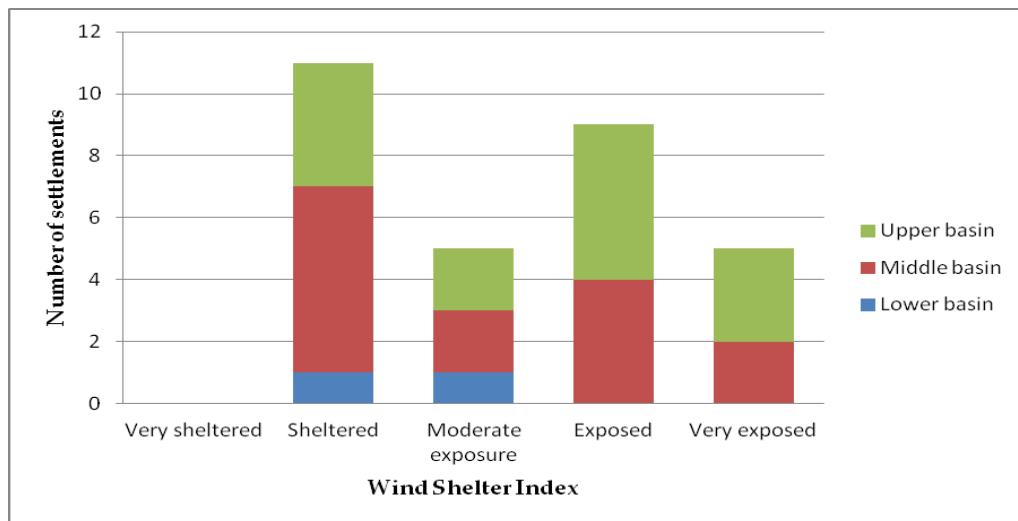


Figure 7. Histogram distribution of wind exposure values for LBA settlements in the Şomuzul Mare basin.

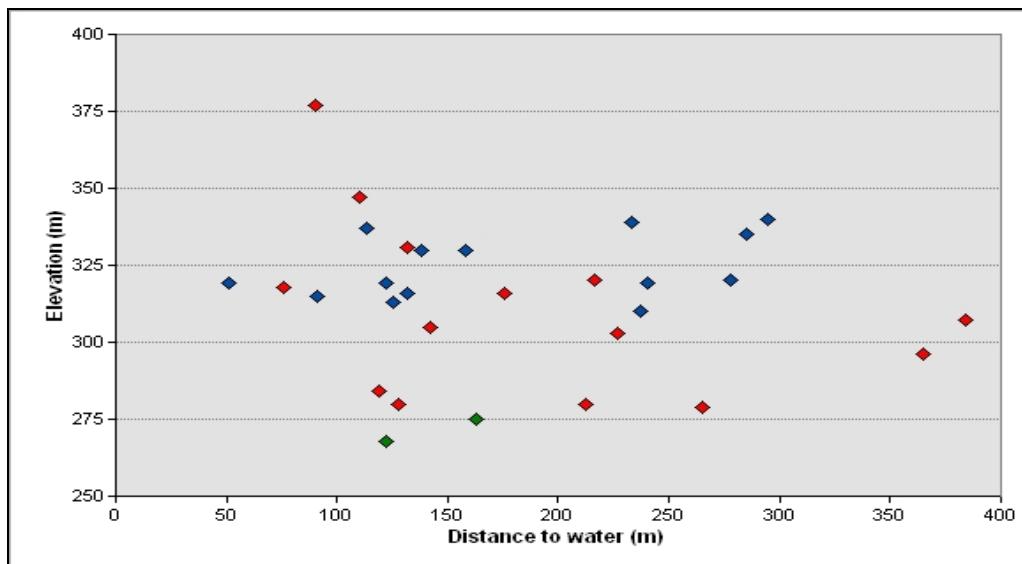


Figure 8. The distance between LBA settlements and the closest water source in the Şomuzul Mare basin.

Hydrography, distance to a water source and density

In the literature there is a constant debate about how important water is for LBA communities and the proximity of the settlements to a fresh water source¹². The study area is crossed from the North-West to South-East by the Şomuz River, while its tributaries are almost perpendicular on its course. Large marshy areas with rich vegetation appear along the main river and near each junction. These green patches can be used for grazing especially during dry summers when the vegetation from the slopes is almost exhausted.

Most of the LBA sites are located at a distance between 100 m and 300 m from the water source, with a mean distance of 180 m. The settlements were not established in the near proximity of the water courses to avoid flooding, only a few being located at distances lower than 100 m (Figure 8).

Another fact that should be noted is the proximity to junction or marshy areas. In the study area, the majority of the sites (28) are located near a wetland, either along the meadow of the main river, junctions or powerful springs.

Most of the settlements, whether located in upper, middle or lower basins, are located in the proximity of a stream, which could have provided fresh water supplies to the LBA communities. The low number of sites discovered at a distance lower than 100 m shows that these areas were avoided, due to the risk of flooding¹³.

Although the number of LBA sites discovered in the middle and upper basin is the same (14), these are distributed unequally (Figure 9).

A high density is recorded in the upper basin of the Şomuz River. Usually for Noua culture this kind of clustering is called “nest” and contains 4–5 settlements with “ashmounds”, located within a radius of 2–3 kilometres from each other¹⁴. In the mentioned area there are a few differences towards this model. First of all, the distance is relatively smaller and the density reaches 2.8 settlements per square kilometre. Secondly, in this area there is only one settlement with “ashmounds”, Cumpărătura–Ponoare, which is isolated in the eastern side of the Liteni Depression. In this area, the “nest” pattern is difficult to ascertain, although the number of settlement is consistent.

Nevertheless, the high number of LBA settlement can be associated with the seasonality of the Noua people. Here, most of the sites are small, rarely reaching one hectare. Probably, this site congestion is related to the resources existing in the area. The sites are located along the main river and secondary streams and have in the close proximity green patches with rich vegetation for grazing and fertile soils for agriculture. If the settlements were to coexist, there would be a constant struggle for resources.

¹² Among others: FLORESCU 1964, 146; VIERU 2012, 95–96; DIACONU 2014, 41.

¹³ PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1953, 448.

¹⁴ SAVA 2004, 71; SAVA 2005, 101.

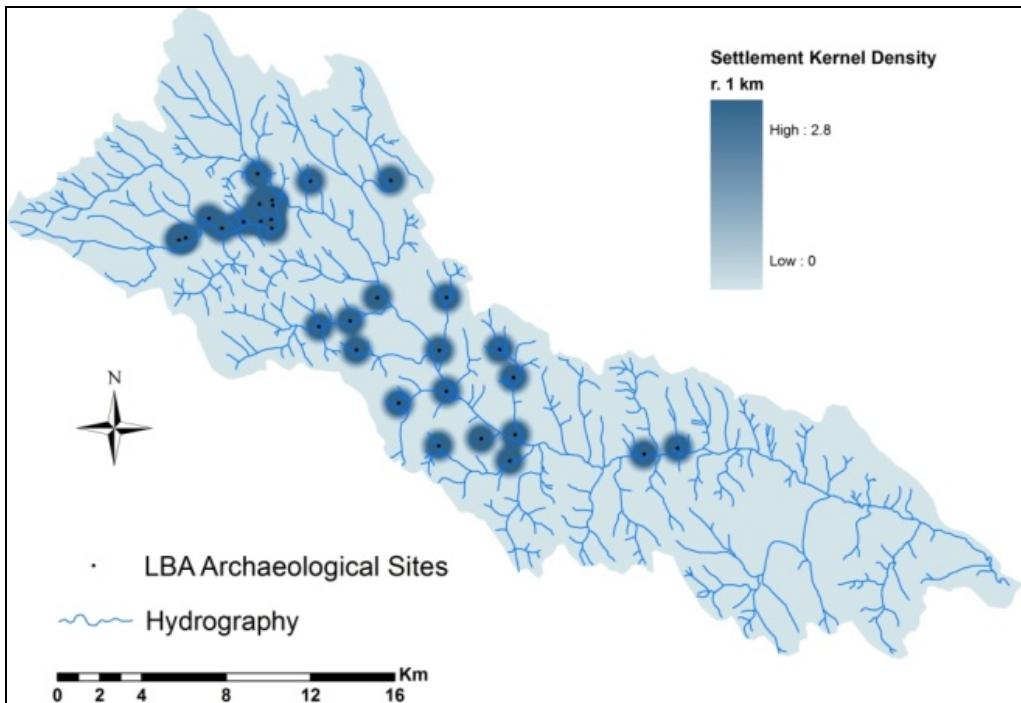


Figure 9. LBA settlement density in Şomuzul Mare basin

On the other hand, in the middle basin the sites are proportionate distributed and the resources equally shared. In this area the number of the settlements located along the main stream is smaller than the number of sites recorded near the tributaries. Every site discovered near the junction of the tributaries with the Şomuz River has at least a correspondent upstream the secondary stream.

Although the two settlements discovered in the lower basin (*Preuteşti-Livada lui Spănu Gheorghe* and *Preuteşti-Silişte*) are relatively close, the maximum density is one settlement per square kilometre. The area has patches with rich vegetation, especially along the Şomuz, but it seems that in this case it was not enough for the LBA cattle-breeders.

Stationary or temporary?

The literature on the characteristics of the Noua people features a constant statement: they were semi-nomadic/semi-sedentary people, with an economy based on animal breeding, with agriculture holding a secondary place in their economy¹⁵. Most of the osteological remains are from cattle, followed by sheep, goat and horse and, in a lower number, from pigs and wild animals. In the same community, some of the persons were shepherds, while others were practicing agriculture and craftsmanship¹⁶. The period of time a LBA community stayed

¹⁵ Among others see: FLORESCU 1964, 147–148, 165; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 2001, 285; SAVA 2004, 68–75; SAVA 2005, 66, 103.

¹⁶ SAVA 2005, 100.

in a temporary settlement depends of the quantity of resources existing in its proximity. After the resources exhausted, especially the grazing grounds, the community moved a few kilometres away. The areas with a high settlement density suggest the existence of this type of relocation caused by the permanent search of resources¹⁷.

One of the characteristics of the Noua culture is the existence of flattened mounds, of a greyish colour, called “ashmounds”. The diameter varies between 15 and 40 meters, and the height reaches 0.80–0.90 meters¹⁸. The archaeological diggings uncovered a layer with ashy soil of 0.60–0.80 m which contains artefacts, animal and human bones, houses, ovens, and pits¹⁹.

Corroborating the information existing about “ashmounds”, E. Sava considered them to be places inside or near the settlement with a cultic and economical purpose, used later as dump deposits²⁰. A large number of “ashmounds” have been associated with stationary settlements, while the sites where only a few were discovered have been considered a sign of seasonality. There were probably permanent settlements used during all seasons, while the temporary ones were used only during the warm season²¹.

After conducting diggings in the LBA site from Rotbav–La Părăuț (Brașov County) and combining the information from other sites, L. Dietrich showed that the existence of the “ashmound” is related to the economical and cultic activities carried out in the proximity of the settlement. This area is the place where the hides were processed, the discoveries suggesting large differences between the artefacts discovered inside the settlement and the “ashmound”²².

West of the Siret River and in particular in the study area, the number of settlements with “ashmounds” is low²³, the grey-coloured spots are clustered only in small groups and there are not visible all the time of the year²⁴. In the Șomuzul Mare basin there are mentioned only three, Cumpărtăura–Ponoare²⁵, Fălticeni–Siliște and Mihăești–Roșia²⁶, to which we can add other three, Mihăești–Siliște²⁷, Petia–Țântă²⁸ and Podeni–Vatra Satului²⁹. Although for the Fălticeni–Buciumeni settlement “ashmounds” are mentioned³⁰, the first papers did not

¹⁷ SAVA 2005, 101.

¹⁸ KAISER, SAVA 2006, 142.

¹⁹ SAVA 2005, 73.

²⁰ SAVA 2005, 91.

²¹ SAVA 2004, 71–72; Sava 2005, 101.

²² DIETRICH 2011, 131–142; DIETRICH 2013, 227–246.

²³ NICULICĂ 2006, 200.

²⁴ GAFINCU 2014, 237.

²⁵ NICULICĂ 2004, 423–430.

²⁶ GAFINCU 2014, 231, 232–233.

²⁷ Only one area with greyish soil is preserved, the rest of the site being located in the enclosed space of an orchard.

²⁸ One “ashmound” can be distinguished near the south-eastern limits of the site. In this area the soil is greyish and contains more artefacts and bones than the rest of the settlement.

²⁹ After the ploughing can be seen three grey-coloured spots.

³⁰ ANDRONIC 2008, 140.

suggested their existence³¹. During personal field survey in the area we did not find any traces of greyish soil and the aerial photographs do not show any changes in soil colour.

The presence or absence of the “ashmounds” was linked with the short inhabitancy period of the sites. Other explanation is related with the absence of this type of discovery from the surface³². The second case can be pointed out by the observations made during the diggings carried out at Mihălășeni-Lipovanu³³ and Piatra Neamț-Steagu Roșu³⁴, where the “ashmounds” were not visible on the surface, but the excavations uncovered layers with greyish soil³⁵. This situation is plausible but cannot be apply blindfolded in the study area.

Results and discussions

The analysis performed in the study area revealed a series of patterns of the Noua people settlements.

Always in search of rich vegetation, these cattle-breeders communities needed to adapt to the existing conditions and fairly share the resources from a restricted territory. While the aspect and the distance to a water source are the same across the entire area, some of the characteristics of the landscape show two models of adaptation.

The upper basin is the most populated and, at the same time, the most suitable place for economic activities. The slopes are gentle, receive more solar heat and the distance to water is relatively small. Along the main river, the low slopes cause the emergence of marshy areas with rich vegetation, preserved even during dry summers, so necessary for the sustenance of the herd.

On the other hand, this area has a big disadvantage. The low differences in elevation make the upper basin, at least in the areas where most of the sites were discovered, almost flat. This topography reduces the protected places that can be used during the cold winter. The wind shelter analysis shows that most of the sites are located in areas without protection.

This information argues for the seasonality of most of these settlements. From the 14 sites discovered here, only a few could be permanent, but in this state of research, without any excavations conducted in this area, it is difficult to say which were the temporary settlements and which the permanent ones.

The situation seems more clear in the middle basin. The sites located in the valley of Șomuz River have at disposal all the resources (water, vegetation, productive soils) and terrain condition (slope, aspect), but, with some exceptions, are exposed to wind. On the other hand, the settlements discovered on the upper sector of each tributary are sheltered, but the resources are scarce and the terrain is rougher. The symmetrical disposition of the

³¹ NICULICĂ 2006, 165, 200; NICULICĂ, APARASCHIVEI 2007.

³² VIERU 2013, 251.

³³ DASCĂLU 2007, 80.

³⁴ FLORESCU 1969, 85.

³⁵ DASCĂLU 2007, 80.

two types of sites on the tributaries makes us to assume that there was a close relation between them.

The low settlement density from the lower segment of the Şomuz River does not permit too many observations. Relying only on landscape characteristics and spatial analysis (slope, aspect, distance to water, density, wind shelter), it is difficult to say whether the settlements from the Preuteşti area were temporary or stationary.

Conclusions

Taking into consideration the landscape analysis and the archaeological data, a settlement pattern can be suggested. We consider that in the study area there are two types of LBA settlements:

a. The settlements where no “ashmounds” were discovered can be considered permanent, inhabited the whole year. The landscape characteristics show that this type of settlement is located in areas protected by wind, close to water sources, but with higher slope and poorer resources. Those are usually large settlements, with scattered ceramic fragments and adobe.

Certainly, there is the possibility that some of them could have “ashmounds” that aren’t visible on the surface. Until further research, which may prove their existence, we cannot say otherwise.

b. In the Şomuz basin the sites with “ashmounds” were discovered in areas with a lot of resources, but exposed to wind. Here, these sites seem to be an adaptation to a more effective exploitation of the available resources. Used only during the warm period of the year, this is the place where daily economical activities are performed and, probably, this is the place where from the herd is sent to the grazing grounds. The distance depends only on the rules applied in the shared landscape and the quantity of the available resources.

In the middle basin the relation between permanent and seasonal settlements is symmetrical, being related to the location along the course of the same tributary. On almost³⁶ each stream there are one or two sites with “ashmounds” and the permanent settlement located upstream. The situation is more complex in the upper basin. Here we can’t pair-up or group the temporary with seasonal settlements. Although there is mentioned one single site with “ashmounds”, it is possible that some sites, especially the ones discovered along the valley of the main river to be seasonal.

These models of land use and adaptation to resources, terrain and climatic conditions can be used as a starting point for the research of the LBA seasonality and movement. It should be mentioned that this situation applies to this study area, but it is possible to be valid for other spaces with similar characteristics (topography and resources).

³⁶ The sites where the “ashmounds” were not identified are located in nowadays inhabited areas (Fălticeni–Şoldăneşti) or in areas destroyed by human activities (Tarna Mare–În livadă).

List of settlements

1. Bunești-Școala Generală; 2. Cumpărătura-Ponoare; 3. Drăgoiești-Drăgoiasca I; 4. Drăgoiești-Drăgoiasca II; 5. Fălticeni-Buciumeni; 6. Fălticeni-Şelişte; 7. Fălticeni-Şoldăneşti; 8. Fălticeni-Vatra Târgului; 9. Lămăşeni-Puntişoară II; 10. Liteni-CAP; 11. Liteni-Cociorbă; 12. Liteni-La Fântânuță/Suhat; 13. Liteni-Izurcani; 14. Liteni-Şipoṭel; 15. Mihăești-Roşa; 16. Mihăești-Silişte; 17. Petia-Silişte; 18. Petia-Țântă; 19. Podeni-Vatra Satului; 20. Preuteşti-Livada lui Spânu Gheorghe; 21. Preuteşti-Selişte; 22. Rădăşeni-Dealul Heleştiiucului; 23. Rotopăneşti-La Ghilitoare; 24. Țarna Mare-În livadă; 25. Vornicenii Mari-Pârâul Velnîța; 26. Vornicenii Mici-La Grind; 27. Vornicenii Mici-Şes; 28. Vornicenii Mici-Hârb; 29. Vornicenii Mici-Sesii; 30. Vornicenii Mici - Şipoṭel/În lung.

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Some Roman coin finds from Southern Moldavia*

Lucian MUNTEANU¹, Sever-Petru BOȚAN², Aurora-Emilia APOSTU³

Abstract. We present in this paper three batches of Roman coins belonging to Roman Republican and Imperial hoards, from the collections of Museum of Vrancea in Focșani and Town Museum in Adjud. The coins were discovered in the following locations: I. Adjud (Vrancea County) (3 AR dated from C. Maianus to C. Mamilius Limetanus); II. Repedea (Străoane commune, Vrancea County) (4 AR, dated from M. Papirius Carbo to Ulpia Severina); III. Olăreni (Slobozia Bradului commune, Vrancea County) (6 AR, dated from Marcus Antonius to Marcus Aurelius and 1 AE – Constantinopolis type). In regards to the last two hoards we have serious doubts that the most recent coins actually belong to the initial findings.

Rezumat. Prezentăm în studiul de față trei loturi de monede romane republicane și imperiale aflate în colecțiile Muzeului Vrancei din Focșani și Muzeului Orășenesc din Adjud. Monedele au fost descoperite în următoarele puncte: I. Adjud (jud. Vrancea) (3 AR datați de la C. Maianus la C. Mamilius Limetanus); II. Repedea (com. Străoane, jud. Vrancea) (4 AR datați de la M. Papirius Carbo la Ulpia Severina); III. Olăreni (com. Slobozia Bradului, jud. Vrancea) (6 AR datați de la Marcus Antonius la Marcus Aurelius și 1 AE – tip Constantinopol). În ceea ce privește ultimele două loturi, avem serioase îndoieri că monedele cele mai recente aparțin descoperirilor inițiale.

Keywords: hoards, Roman *denarii*, *Barbaricum*, Moldavia, Museum of Vrancea.

In the collections of Town Museum in Adjud and the Museum of Vrancea in Focșani there are three batches of coins that could belong to some virtually unknown Roman hoards, found in the areas of Adjud (Bacău County), Repedea and Olăreni (Vrancea County) (Figure 1).

The first, located in the Museum in Adjud, consists of three Roman Republican *denarii* (Cat. I /1–3), which find their origin in a hoard discovered in the southern part of Adjud⁴. Taking into account the notes from the inventory registers of the museum we believe that this discovery could have been made in the 1970s–1980s of the last century.

One coin has a rectangular sign on the obverse and on the reverse another one with five points, forming a base down trapezium (Cat. I/3). We believe that in both cases, these symbols were deliberately made and represent countermarks. Identifying the issuers and the

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¹ Institute of Archaeology – Iași branch; lucanas2000@yahoo.com.

² Institute of Archaeology – Iași branch; sever_botan@yahoo.com.

³ Museum of Vrancea, Focșani; auroraemiliaapostu@yahoo.com.

⁴ BOBI 1999, 205, Tab. 10; 217, nr. 1; 282; 433, pl. CXXXI/1–3.

circumstances in which these operations were carried out are almost impossible to determine. In the scientific literature there are numerous attempts to interpret these symbols, which are to be found on Republican issues⁵. In the last years was renewed, with plausible arguments, the hypothesis of an official countermarking of these pieces in order to confer the low weight, worn or *fourrées* coins a new value prior to their insertion back on the market⁶. Unfortunately, this opinion seems to be refuted by the present situation, as our currency is made of good quality silver and its weight (3.68 g) is relatively close to the theoretical value of 3.86 g estimated for Republican silver issues from the mid-2nd century BC onwards⁷.

In terms of chronology, two of the three coins belong to the 2nd century BC, and the last one is dated in the second decade of the next century⁸. But this batch of *denarii* represents only a fraction of a hoard whose original size and chronological structure are unknown. Thus it is impossible to determine whether the chronological information provided by these three pieces is relevant for the whole discovery. North of the Danube are known several hoards of Republican *denarii*, sometimes associated with Greek coins, the last issues being dated in 89–80 BC⁹. But just as in the above-mentioned case, all these discoveries were only partially recovered, so that they don't represent a well-defined horizon of hoards concluded in the 80's BC. We have reasons to suppose that the Adjud hoard could be dated in a much later period than the three pieces suggest. Their high degree of wearing represents an evidence for a long time usage. One of them has countermarks that were applied after it has been minted. Moreover, V. Mihailescu-Bîrliba's studies have managed to demonstrate, with relevant numismatic and archaeological arguments, that the Roman republican coin appears in the East-Carpathian area at the end of the old era, continuing their intensively inflow in the 1st century AD¹⁰.

The last two batches are kept in Focșani at the Museum of Vrancea. The first one comes from a hoard discovered in 1970, at Repedea (com. Străoane), more precisely in the south-western part of the village. In 1974, five pieces were recovered ("4 silver *denarii* and a bronze one"), from Ion Pascal¹¹. Still, it seems that at the museum arrived only four of them ("3 AR. 1 Bz."), which are presented in this paper (Cat. II/1–4).

⁵ For elaborated discussions on this topic in the north-Danubian area, with old and recent bibliography, see CHIȚESCU 1981, 40–43; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 109–110; PREDA 1998, 285–286.

⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 110.

⁷ CRAWFORD 1974, 594–595.

⁸ For a different chronology, see BOBI 1999, 205, Tab. Nr. 10 ("date of first issue 107(99–94 BC; date of last issue: 83 BC"), 217 ("107–83 BC"). We believe that only the last two items were discussed, the last of them being wrongly identified.

⁹ For a repertoire of these discoveries, see MOISIL, DEPEYROT 2003, 27–32, nr. 1–16.

¹⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 112, 122; even the last theories of C. Preda seem to agree with such a chronological scenario (PREDA 1998, 293).

¹¹ BOBI 1999, 205, Tab. 10; 222, nr. 25; 282; 434, pl. CXXI. In the Museum's registers the coins appear to be discovered in Străoane.

One coin carries on the obverse a small cut (Cat. II/2), deliberately made in Antiquity with a sharp instrument (probably a chisel, knife etc.). There are numerous attempts to explain the incisions found on Republican *denarii*¹². The hypothesis of their usage in order to check the quality of the metal and weight of older coins, as in the case of countermarks¹³, finds no confirmation in this situation, for our item seems to have a high silver content and a normal weight.

We noticed the composition and the particular chronological structure of the Repedea batch. It consists of silver coins of various quality representing different denominations (*denarii, aureliani*), that can be dated within a broad chronological frame of almost four centuries. A heterogenous mix of this type appears to be very unusual and one can't find a similar analogy in the Roman monetary discoveries from Moldova. Most likely, the four coins belong to separate discoveries and can be dated in different periods. Thus, the three *denarii* (Cat. II/1-3) could represent a small part of a mixed hoard consisting of Republican and early Imperial coins, ending during Augustus. Such deposits are well represented East of the Carpathians¹⁴, here being encountered almost half of the discoveries made north of the Danube¹⁵. Currently we have information on 18 Augustan hoards, on the territory of present Moldavia¹⁶: Bordeşti (Vrancea County) (t.p.q. 16 BC)¹⁷, Buda (Vrancea County) (t.p.q. 2 BC-[?]4 AD)¹⁸, Coneteşti (Bacău County) (t.p.q. 15-13 BC)¹⁹, Cornii de Sus (Bacău County) (t.p.q. 19-18 BC)²⁰, Cucuteni (Iaşi County) (t.p.q. 2 BC-[?]4 AD)²¹, Drăgeşti (Bacău County) (t.p.q. 32-29 BC)²², Galaţi-Barboşi 1915 (t.p.q. 2 BC-[?]4 AD)²³, Odobeşti (Vrancea County) (t.p.q. 2 BC-[?]4 AD)²⁴, Pârgăreşti (Bacău County) (t.p.q. 15-13 BC)²⁵, Poiana 1928 (Galaţi County) (t.p.q. 15-13 BC)²⁶, Poiana 1938 (t.p.q. Augustus[?])²⁷, Poiana 1949 (t.p.q. 2 BC-[?]4 AD)²⁸, Poiana 1950A (t.p.q. 2 BC-[?]4 AD)²⁹, Puieşti (Vaslui County) (t.p.q. Augustus [?])³⁰, Răcătău 1969 (t.p.q. 8-7 BC)³¹, Sascut

¹² See mainly the hypotheses of GRANT 1969, 95-96 (the acceptance of base metal Roman coins by the recently conquered populations) and CRAWFORD 1974, 584-588 (the role of controlling the dies used for minting silver coins).

¹³ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1976, 144; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 110.

¹⁴ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 94, Tab. 3; 99 (11 hoards with t.p.q. in the time of Augustus, from a total of 18 Republican and early imperial hoards); MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2011, 477, 480, Pl. I (15 hoards, concluding at Augustus).

¹⁵ PREDA 1998, 20 (12 out of 28 hoards); MOISIL, DEPEYROT 2003, 23, 148-176 (15 out of 31); PĂRPĂUȚĂ 2006, 140, 485-490, Tab. III-IV (16 out of 36).

¹⁶ The last items coming from the 18 hoards that we registered, were identified with the help of RIC I².

¹⁷ CONSTANTINESCU 1978.

¹⁸ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, NICOALE. ASĂVOAIE 2002, 219-224; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2011.

¹⁹ BOLD 1959; CĂPITANU 1971, 289-290, 295, nr. 24-30; MITREA 1973, 407, nr. 30; CHIȚESCU 1981, 143-145, nr. 49.

²⁰ MITREA 1968, 452, nr. 40; CĂPITANU, BUZDUGAN 1969; CHIȚESCU 1981, 148-150, nr. 51.

²¹ MITREA 1975b, 322, nr. 64.

²² MITREA 1968, 451, nr. 34.

²³ SEVEREANU 1919; CHIȚESCU 1981, 171-177, nr. 84.

²⁴ CHIȚESCU 1975, 210-212.

²⁵ MITREA 1964, 376, nr. 32; CHIȚESCU 1981, 231, nr. 144 (Pîngărați, Neamț County)

²⁶ DUNĂREANU-VULPE 1934; CHIȚESCU 1981, 233-236, nr. 148.

²⁷ DIMITRIU 1939, 135.

²⁸ CHIȚESCU 1981, 236-237, nr. 151; MITREA 2011, 206-207, nr. 4.

²⁹ CHIȚESCU 1981, 237-240, nr. 152; MITREA 2011, 208-215, nr. 6.

(Bacău County) (*t.p.q.* 27–20 BC)³², Scurta (Bacău County) (*t.p.q.* 18–17/16 BC)³³ and Târgu-Ocna (*t.p.q.* 16 BC)³⁴.

The chronological structure of this hoard group is a particular one and resides in the presence of some substantial nuclei of *denarii*, dated in 80's and 40's BC³⁵, which depict the peak of Roman monetary production in the last century of the Republic³⁶. Unfortunately, this feature is not to be found in the Repedea batch, most likely because of its small size. There are present instead, some monetary issues dating from the 2nd century BC, a characteristic encountered in the bulk of the Republican and mixed hoards from Romania, which have very archaic features³⁷. They denote the local population's inclination for *denarii* of a certain quality³⁸.

The density of Augustan hoards east of the Carpathians was attributed to the existent stipendiary relations between the Roman state and the local power centres of southern Moldavia, on the Siret River³⁹. We do not know to what extent such an explanation can be drawn-out to our group of coins discovered in the vicinity of this area. The burial of those deposits at a date later date than indicated by the last issues, would have occurred in certain political, military or financial circumstances (monetary reforms), that can only be contemplated⁴⁰.

The coin from Ulpia Severina represents a particular discovery in the structure of the mixed hoard from Repedea. It is possible that it was artificially added in recent times, by the locals who recovered all four items⁴¹. The probable origin of this coin is to be found in the same area of Vrancea County, but we don't know whether it belongs to another hoard or may be a stray find. In the scientific literature are known quite a few monetary discoveries dated in the second half of the 3rd century AD, east of the Carpathians. In Focșani was discovered a hoard of *antoniniani* concluded with issues of Trebonianus Gallus-Volusianus, which was only

³⁰ CHIȚESCU 1981, 252, nr. 159 (last issue dated in 41–40 BC); MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014 (last issue in 32–31 BC, but we believe that the batch was not fully recovered; its ending date can be fixed during Augustus).

³¹ CĂPITANU, URSACHI 1971, 167–171, 183–185.

³² PÂRVAN 1914, 432–433; MOISIL 1915, 57, nr. 48.

³³ MITREA 1975a.

³⁴ CHIȚESCU 1981, 302, nr. 203.

³⁵ Relevant discoveries used for dating are those of: Conțești, Cornii de Sus, Galați-Barboși 1915, Poiana 1928, Poiana 1950a, Răcătău 1969.

³⁶ For the monetary production of this period, see especially BACKENDORF 1998, 191, 202, 535, Abb. 148–149; 542, Abb. 169–170; LOCKYEAR 2007, 37, 79, 158–159.

³⁷ LOCKYEAR 2007, 108, 167–168, 200–201 (a special feature to be found also at the Bulgarian hoards).

³⁸ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2013, 156.

³⁹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2011, 478, 480, Pl. I.

⁴⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 108; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2011, 478.

⁴¹ We know that the four coins were recovered from the villagers after at least four years (1970–1974) from the time of their discovery (BOBI 1999, 222).

partially recovered⁴². Isolated finds from the same period are known especially in the southern part of Moldavia, near the *limes*⁴³.

The last batch of coins presented in our study is attributed, as far as we know, to a hoard discovered at a shallow depth by vineyard workers in the spring of 1977 at Slobozia Bradului. From its initial structure, V. Bobi and A. Paragină—who were excavating in the same area at the C.A.P. centre—recovered seven items that can be found in the Museum's collection (Cat III/1-7). Unfortunately, in the works of the same author we noticed some discrepancies regarding both the accurate place of discovery and the number of discovered items. Thus, are listed both Olăreni⁴⁴ and Coroteni⁴⁵, villages, belonging to the same commune — Slobozia Bradului, situated half a kilometre away between them. Moreover, the author of the discovery states that the number of recovered items is eight and seven, respectively, only six of them being illustrated⁴⁶. On what's concerning the discovery place, although the first mention refers to Coroteni — being taken as such in the Museum's inventory, we believe that the correct version could be Olăreni. This village is mentioned in the latest studies of V. Bobi probably after revising primary information. We do not know the real number of recovered coins, but, nowadays in the Museum's collection are only seven items available for study.

We noticed the heterogeneous composition and the strange chronological structure of the Olăreni batch. It is composed by a “legion” *denarius*, Antonine imperial *denarii* and a commemorative bronze piece from the 4th century AD. The combination of all these coins in a single hoard, after the discoverers, is unlikely and would be a unique situation among the monetary finds of Moldavia. It is more plausible to consider that not all seven coins have the same origin. The six *denarii* (Cat. III/1-6) represent a distinct group, consisting of chronologically close items, with a relatively similar wearing degree and patina. These coins that might have been discovered together could be only a fraction of a well-represented imperial Roman hoard, largely encountered in the East-Carpathian *Barbaricum*.

Although the *denarii* batch from the Olăreni hoard is relatively small, one can formulate some remarks regarding its structure. One of the items lacks a small fragment (Cat. III/1), which, after our opinion, could have been deliberately cut. Such a situation occurs frequently in the imperial hoards from Moldavia and it has been explained quite plausibly, through the authorities' intervention, which, in crisis situations after the reign of Septimius Severus, adjusted old currency with a higher silver percentage and weight, in order to align them to newer inferior issues⁴⁷. Usually, the *denarii* weights of this batch, including that of Marcus

⁴² MITREA, CONSTANTINESCU 1978.

⁴³ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980, 155, 161, 184–189, Tab. 33.

⁴⁴ BOBI 1997, 61; BOBI 1999, 205, Tab. 10; 221, nr. 21; 282; 435, pl. CXXII "Olăreni").

⁴⁵ BOBI 1979, 310, nr. 3 ("Coroteni [...] during the field investigations of the area"); are discussed by MITREA 1984, 187, nr. 96 ("Coroteni"). The same settlement is indicated in the Museum's inventory register and on the coins' casing.

⁴⁶ BOBI 1999, 205, Tab. 10 (8 pieces recovered: 7 AR and 1 Bz); 221, nr. 21 ("Recovered 8 AR [...] I have recovered seven pieces"); 435, pl. CXXII.

⁴⁷ The opinion belongs to V. Mihailescu-Bîrliba and is to be found in almost all his works. See recently, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, ŞADURSCHI 2001, 57–58; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, NICOLAE, ASĂVOAIE 2002, 229 and footnote 9 (where are mentioned all the previous works).

Antonius⁴⁸, are quite close to the theoretical values for the silver issues, in this period⁴⁹. Most of these items are between 17 and 19 mm in size, and the axes are oriented predominantly in the opposite direction (at 6 o'clock). These remarks are comparable with the results obtained on significantly larger Roman imperial hoards from the East-Carpathian area⁵⁰.

In terms of chronology, the oldest issue dates from 31–30 BC, while the other *denarii* belong to the Antonine emperors, starting with Trajan. The latest issues were minted at the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' reign. Unfortunately, we cannot know whether this is the actual end-date of the original hoard that comprised the six items. The characteristics of this batch are common to most imperial coin hoards discovered in Moldavia, having *t.p.q.* during Marcus Aurelius – Septemius Severus reigns. Thus, the “legion” *denarii* which remained in use for a long period of time in the Roman world, are scarce finds in the Republican deposits of pre-Roman Dacia⁵¹ but relatively numerous in the imperial hoards found east of the Carpathians⁵². Moreover, almost all imperial hoards that are known in this area contain a considerable nucleus of pieces dated to Trajan – Marcus Aurelius⁵³. We can only assume that the Olăreni hoard, of which only six items were recovered, belongs to a larger group of imperial hoards from Moldavia, concluded at Marcus Aurelius – Septimius Severus. Unfortunately, because of the limited size of the studied sample, a more accurate chronology of this find is impossible to achieve.

In general, the main issues related to the presence of Roman imperial coinage in the East-Carpathian *Barbaricum* have been widely debated, and the results, some of them of utmost importance, are well known in the scientific literature⁵⁴, so that we will not insist here.

This batch of imperial *denarii* was added, probably in recent times, a bronze coin of Constantine's dynasty⁵⁵ (Cat. III/7). Undoubtedly, it does not belong to the Olăreni hoard, but represents a separate discovery, which could have been found in the same location or in the surrounding area. We have knowledge of a single batch of bronze coins dating from the 4th century AD, in Moldavia, whose origin was allegedly south of the Danube⁵⁶. Instead, isolated

⁴⁸ CRAWFORD 1974, 595. For a diminished weight of the "legion" *denarii* in Moldavia (3.00 – 3.60 g), see CHIȚESCU 1981, 31.

⁴⁹ Were taken into account the weight values of imperial *denarii*, estimated by DUNCAN-JONES 1994, 225, Tab. 15.5.

⁵⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1991, 60; MITREA, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2003, 202–204).

⁵¹ The hypothesis of a massive penetration of these pieces in Dacia, as *stipendia*, at a date close to their issue, was sustained by M. Chițescu (CHIȚESCU 1974, 151–153; CHIȚESCU 1981, 65–66). This theory was rejected with relevant arguments (WINKLER 1971, 97–105; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980, 40; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, 112; CRAWFORD 1985, 232; LOCKYEAR 2007, 171).

⁵² MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980, 40, 78, 81, 87, 91, 97, 99, 103, 119.

⁵³ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1979, 320–321; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980, 81, 87, 97, 100, 103, 109; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1991, 58; MITREA, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2003, 200.

⁵⁴ We refer to V. Mihailescu-Bîrliba's studies. Among them, see especially MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980, and recently, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2012.

⁵⁵ Most likely the mixing of the coins occurred between the moment of discovery (spring of 1977) and the time of their retrieval by the archaeologists (August 1977) (BOBI 1999, 221).

⁵⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, URSACHI 1988.

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finds of this kind in our area of research are more numerous⁵⁷, our item being possibly included in this category.

Through this brief presentation and interpretation of the three batches found in the county of Vrancea, we tried to fill with new information, the general frame of data regarding the monetary finds in a less researched area that is the southern part of Moldavia.



Figure 1. The place of discovery of the three hoards: Adjud (Bacău County),
Repedea and Olăreni (Vrancea County).

CATALOGUE OF COINS⁵⁸

I. Adjud (Vrancea County)

1. AR (denarius); 3.07 g; 16×18 mm; →; badly preserved; struck uncentred on the obverse and the reverse;

Av. X;

Rv. C•MAIA[NI]/[ROMA];

C. Maianus, Rome, year 153 BC (CRAWFORD 1974, 248, no. 203/1a) or years 135–134 BC (SYDENHAM 1952, 50, no. 427);
MOA inv. no. 15156.



⁵⁷ Recent publication of this type of coins — MUNTEANU, ONEL 2012. An up-to-date repertoire of the monetary discoveries from this period, north of the Danube, was made by LAZĂRESCU 2014.

⁵⁸ The following abbreviations were used in this Catalogue: for metals (AR – silver), metrological data (g – gram, mm – millimeter) and collections (MV – Museum of Vrancea, Focșani; MOA – Town Museum, Adjud). We are grateful to Dr Horia Dumitrescu (Director of the Museum of Vrancea, Focșani) and Ms Elena-Izabela Popovici (Adjud) for their help and support of our present research.

2. AR (*denarius*); 3.77 g; 15 mm; ←; badly preserved; struck uncentred on the obverse;

Av. M•CIPPI•M•F/X;

Rv. [RO]MA;

M. Cipius, Rome, years 115 or 114 BC (CRAWFORD 1974, 303, no. 289/1) or unidentified Italian mint, year 107 BC (SYDENHAM 1952, 72, no. 546);

MOA inv. no. 15157.



3. AR (*denarius serratus*); 3.68 g; 18×20 mm; ↙; very badly preserved; struck uncentred on the reverse;

Av. M•;

Rv. C•MAMIL/LIME[TAN];

C. Mamilius Limetanus, Rome, year 82 BC (CRAWFORD 1974, 375, 377, no. 362/1) or Italian auxiliary mint (B), years c. 82–81 BC (SYDENHAM 1952, 119, no. 741);

Obs.: on the obverse there is a rectangular countermark, placed between the bust of Mercury and *caduceus*; on the obverse there is another countermark with five points, forming a base down trapezium, near Ulysses' right hand;

MOA inv. no. 15158.



II. Repedea (Străoane com., Vrancea County)

1. AR (*denarius*); 3.66 g; 17×19 mm; ↗; very badly preserved;

Av. X;

Rv. [M•C]ARB[O]/ ROMA;

M. Papirius Carbo, Rome, year 122 BC (CRAWFORD 1974, 295, no. 276/1) or Italian mint, years 137–134 BC (SYDENHAM 1952, 49, no. 423);

MV inv. no. 15152.



2. AR (*denarius*); 3.86 g; 19×20 mm; ↙; badly preserved; struck uncentred on the reverse; an incision on the obverse (in the centre of the piece);

Av. X;

Rv. MN•AQVIL/ ROMA;

Mn. Aquillius, Rome, year 109–108 BC (CRAWFORD 1974, 314, no. 303/1) or southern Italian mint (Rhegium [?]), year c. 109 BC (SYDENHAM 1952, 74, no. 557);

MV inv. no. 15151.



3. AR (*denarius*); 3.81 g; 19×20 mm; ←; well preserved;

Av. AVGSTVS – DIVI•F;

Rv. IMP – •X/ ACT;

Augustus, Lugdunum, years 15–13 BC (RIC I², 52, no. 171a) or years 15–12 BC (BMC I, 79, no. 462) or year 15 BC (MER I³, 202, no. 1396–1397);



MV inv. no. 15153.

-
- 4.** AR (*aurelian*); 2.51 g; 20×21 mm; ↓; badly preserved;
Av. SEVERI – NAE AVG;
Rv. CONCORDIAE MILITVM/ V / XXI;
Ulpia Severina, Siscia, undated (RIC V.1, 317, no. 13) or
beginning of 275 (MIR 47, Tab. 19, no. 237/5, 9th issue) or autumn of
274 – spring of 275 (MER XII.1, 204, no. 953, year 9, phase 3);
MV inv. no. 15154.



III. Olăreni (Slobozia Bradului com., Vrancea County)

-
- 1.** AR (*denarius*); 3.86 g; 15×16 mm; ↖; very badly preserved;
struck uncentred on the reverse;
Av. [ANT•AVG]/ III•VIR•R•P•C;
Rv. [LEG] - I[III];
Marcus Antonius, mobile mint, years 32–31 BC (CRAWFORD
1974, 540, no. 544/16; SYDENHAM 1952, 196, no. 1220);
MV inv. no. 15167.



-
- 2.** AR (*denarius*); 3.39 g; 17×18 mm; ↓; badly preserved; broken
on exterior;
Av. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC;
Rv. P M TR P C – O – S V – I [P P] SPQR;
Traianus, Rome, years 114–117 (RIC II, 268, no. 343) or
middle/end of 115 – beginning of 116 (BMC III, lxii and 109–110, no.
541–544 var., Group IV) or 10 August/1 September 114 – 20/21
February 116 (MER IV, 102, no. 821–822 var. [reverse type no. 824])
or winter of 114 – beginning of 116 (MIR 14, 445, no. 519 [obverse
type – 519v; reverse type 519o²]);
MV inv. no. 15168.



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- 3.** AR (*denarius*); 3.42 g; 17×18 mm; ↓; badly preserved;
Av. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN H – ADRIANVS AVG;
Rv. P M TR P – COS – [III]/ PV – DIC;
Hadrianus, Rome, years 119–122 (RIC II, 356, no. 135b; BMC III,
278, no. 310) or first half of 125 (HILL 1970, 159, no. 269, 12th issue);
MV inv. no. 15164.



-
- 4.** AR (*denarius*); 3.07 g; 15 mm; ↓; badly preserved;
Av. FAVSTINA – AVGSTA;
Rv. AVGSTI – PII FIL;
Antoninus Pius: Faustina II, Rome, undated (RIC III, 93, no. 496;
BMC IV, 168, no. 1103–1104. Group VI) or years c. 147–161 (HCC II,
298, no. 18);
MV inv. no. 15165.



5. AR (*denarius*); 3.44 g; 18 mm; ↑; well preserved;

Av. M ANTONINVS AVG – ARM PARTH MAX;

Rv. TR P – XX IM – P IIII COS III/ PAX;

Marcus Aurelius, Rome, summer of 166 – December 166 (RIC III, 225, no. 159) or December 165 – December 166 (BMC IV, 441, no. 402 var., 4th issue) or August 166 – 9.12.166 (MIR 18, 110, no. 140–4[30], 13th issue);

MV inv. no. 15166.



6. AR (*denarius*); 3.54 g; 17 mm; ↓; well preserved;

Av. DIVVS ANTONINVS;

Rv. DIVO – PIO;

Marcus Aurelius: Divus Antoninus Pius, Rome, undated (RIC III, 247, no. 440) or undated (161 [?]) (BMC IV, 395, no. 69) or 1.1.162 – 9.12.162 (MIR 18, 100, no. 46–4[12], 3rd issue);

MV inv. no. 15163.



7. AE (*follis*); 2.32 g; 17 mm; ↑; badly preserved;

Av. CONSTAN – TINOPOLIS;

Rv. SMTSA (in exerga)

Constantinopolis, Thessalonica, years 330–333 (RIC VII, 524, no. 188) or years 330–335 (LRBC I, 20, no. 839);

MV inv. no. 15169.



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Sales et Salinae : le sel à Rome. Les salines de Cicéron et la salière d'Horace

Bernard Moinier

Abstract: *The author analyzes the mentions of salt and similar expressions at two Latin writers: Cicero and Horace. Cicero's perception about salt is more symbolic: salt is seen like an ingredient who gives taste to the spirit. Horace is interested more in culinary aspects.*

Résumé: *L'auteur analyse les occurrences du terme qui désigne le sel et les expressions apparentées chez Cicéron et chez Horace. Si, chez le premier, le sel est regardé plutôt dans un sens symbolique, comme un ingrédient qui donne plus de saveur à l'esprit, chez Horace, on observe son intérêt pour les aspects culinaires.*

Rezumat: *Autorul analizează diversele ocurențe ale termenilor desemnând sarea și derivațiile acesteia la doi autori latini, Cicero și Horațiu. Dacă în cazul primului autor, sarea este privită mai mult într-o manieră simbolică, precum un ingredient care dă mai multă savoare spiritului, la Horațiu, observăm că acesta este interesat mai mult de aspectele culinare ale problemei.*

Keywords: sel, salines, Cicéron, Horace, salaisons.

Pour se faire une idée du sel à Rome, on peut se livrer, à la manière de Pline, à l'inventaire des lieux de production ou des utilisations de cette substance dans les limites du monde connu. Une autre approche consiste à relever différents types d'occurrence où il en est question au propre et au figuré chez les auteurs qui ont fait allusion à cette substance dans différents contextes. On a choisi Cicéron pour la République finissante et Horace, pour les débuts de l'Empire. L'un y voit la pierre de touche de l'amitié, l'ingrédient qui donne du piquant aux traits d'esprit, et une production utile aux modalités variables. L'autre s'intéresse davantage aux aspects alimentaires sans pour autant négliger le culte rendu aux divinités domestiques. Même s'il ne représente que quelques grains, le sel donne de la saveur au quotidien.

Les salines de Cicéron

Dans la monographie qu'il a consacrée à Cicéron (106–43 av. J.-C.), Plutarque rapporte divers bons mots et autres saillies (*sales*) de l'orateur dont le sel était diversement apprécié, ses amis en tenant des sortes de recueil ou de répertoire (*salinae*). Vatinius, personnage aussi suffisant qu'insignifiant, reprochait un jour à Cicéron de ne pas être assez diligent (Plutarque, *Vie de Cicéron*, IX, 5). D'un ton rogue, il lui lança : « Si j'étais préteur, je serais moins

pusillanime ». Faisant allusion à son goitre, le préteur lui rétorqua : « Je n'ai pas le cou aussi large que toi ». Il évoquait, impitoyablement, son goitre, excroissance pathologique. Le terme de *struma* (*Att. II, 9*) est encore utilisé en médecine. Elle résulte d'une déficience en iodé et on la prévient en iodant le sel alimentaire.

Plutarque voit dans les plaisanteries mordantes une des qualités de l'orateur. Et d'en citer quelques unes. Elles ont la même saveur acide que celle qui précède. Aussi n'est-on pas surpris que « tout cela l'ait rendu odieux à bien des gens » (*Vie de Cicéron*, XXVI, XVII et XXVIII, 1). Il est désormais blâmable de se moquer des défauts physiques. Tourner en dérision ceux qui en souffrent est en effet contraire à la bienséance. Les vieux Romains éprouvaient moins de scrupules. De nombreux surnoms portés par les membres de familles anciennes tiennent à ce genre de disgrâce comme la verrue de l'aïeul de Cicéron...

Cicéron et ses amis

Cicéron aurait usé du ton le plus libre dans ses échanges avec Cérellia (*sales*), y plaçant, sans retenue, ces plaisanteries « plus salées que celles des Attiques et vraiment romaines » (*Fam. IX, 15*). Leurs lettres sont malheureusement perdues¹. Néanmoins il a d'autres correspondants avec lesquels il se livre à divers échanges sur le ton de la plaisanterie (*jocus*).

Prenant C. Trébonius en flagrant délit d'anthologie cicéronienne, il feint de s'étonner que celui-ci trouve « spirituels tous les bons mots que j'ai prononcés ». Qu'ils l'aient été ou non, question de goût personnel, ils le sont devenus car ils acquéraient un sel particulier (*fiunt narante te venustissima*) (*Fam. XV, 21*) une fois insérés dans le recueil composé et diffusé par cet obligeant ami. A croire qu'ils doivent plus à sa présentation qu'à leur teneur. « Pire, avant d'arriver à moi, le rire est presque totalement éteint (*quin etiam, antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis paene consomitur*) ». Autrement dit, le savoir-faire de Trébonius l'emporte sur le savoir-dire de Cicéron.

Dans sa lettre à P. Volumnius Eutrapelus envoyée de Cilicie entre 51 et 50 av. J.-C., Cicéron évoque l'*eutrapelia*, c'est-à-dire la facilité d'humeur, la souplesse d'esprit et le ton badin de son correspondant auxquels il le reconnaît dans sa correspondance. Surnom bien mérité que le sien ! En effet, Eutrapelus signifie enjoué². Il lui reproche d'être quelque peu négligent alors qu'il doit s'occuper de la propriété (artistique) de ses bons mots (*possessio salinarum mearum*) (*Fam. VII, 32*). Cicéron n'est pas satisfait que lui soient attribuées les plaisanteries de tout le monde, y compris celles de Sestius, auteur médiocre qu'il avait défendu en 56 av. J.-C., et dont se gausse Catulle, évoquant ses ouvrages indigestes (*nefaria scripta Sesti*) (*Poésies*, 44, 19–20).

Un jour de 46 Av. J.-C., Cicéron va dîner chez P. Volumnius Eutrapelus. Celui-ci le reçoit flanqué de Cythérис, une affranchie que le maître de maison apprécie pour sa plastique.

« – Voici le plus beau. Qui s'est couché à droite d'Eutrapelus ? Cythérис... Par Hercule, je ne m'attendais pas à la présence de celle-ci. Mais après tout Aristippe, à qui il était reproché d'être sous la coupe de Laïs, répondit : je suis avec elle sans être à elle (*Audi reliqua : infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit... Non mercule suspicatus sum illam adfore. Sed tamen ne Aristippus,*

¹ BOISSIER 1949.

² Réminiscence probable, Noël du Fail (1520-1591) a nommé un de ses personnages Eutrapel.

cum esset objectum habere eum Laida ; habeo, inquit, non habeor a Laide » (*Fam.* IX, 26). Dans la lettre à Pétus où il fait état de cette soirée, il avoue n'avoir pas, même dans sa jeunesse, recherché les faveurs des belles affranchies. Il fut un jeune homme austère, peu entreprenant auprès des femmes. Il ne les épargne pas dans sa correspondance car il est toujours prêt à jouer sur les mots au détriment d'autrui. Ses saillies sont appréciées mais elles lui font des ennemis parfois redoutables.

Eros et rosseries

Soulignant le caractère agressif de son éloquence, il est semblable à l'acharnement du roquet (*caninam facundiam exercuit*), disait Appius, frère de Clodius qui compta longtemps parmi les amis de Cicéron. Térentia, la première épouse de l'orateur, détestait le personnage ainsi que sa sœur Clodia qu'elle soupçonnait d'avoir des vues sur son époux que sa réussite rendait séduisant. A cet égard, Plutarque s'avance peut-être beaucoup (*Cicéron*, XXIX). Toujours est-il qu'elle excita son mari contre Clodius, se faisant l'écho des rumeurs qui donnaient à entendre qu'il avait de relations incestueuses avec ses sœurs, non seulement celle qui était mariée à Lucullus mais encore Tertia et Clodia, l'épouse de Metellus Celer. Les médisants la surnommaient *Quadrantaria*, celle qu'on a pour un quart d'as... Une fois la brouille consommée, il n'y eut plus entre eux qu'une implacable haine et mille mauvais procédés. Ils furent tels que Cicéron dut s'exiler. Après l'avoir chassé, P. Clodius Pulcher ravagea ses propriétés ainsi que sa maison de Rome. Sur ce, Milon tua Clodius lors d'une rixe entre factions politiques. Cicéron assura sa défense. La voix lui manqua et son client fut condamné.

Clodius le qualifie de consulaire cynique, de l'aveu même de l'orateur dans une lettre d'avril 49 adressée à Atticus (Att. II, 9). A quelques lignes de là, il fait allusion à Clodia : « *Illa Boώπης ad te est relatura* ». *Boώπης* est une épithète attribuée à Junon par Homère ; elle signifie « qui a de grands yeux ». En langage moins poétique, « qui a des yeux de vache »... Il faut comprendre que la belle aux yeux exorbités servait de femme à son frère comme Junon à Jupiter dont elle était la sœur. L'allusion au frère de notre Junon se précise : « *Boώπηδος nostrae consanguinens* ». (Att. II, 23). Dans une autre lettre, l'allusion à la liberté sexuelle dont elle userait est plus directe (Att. II, 1). Elle a trait aux places accordées aux clients des hommes politiques dans les combats de gladiateurs. D'où le dialogue qu'on peut restituer comme suit : « Mais ma sœur qui dispose de tant de places en sa qualité d'épouse de consul ne m'en donne qu'un pied. – Vous saurez bien lui faire lever les deux à l'occasion (*Sed soror, quae tantum habeat consularis loci, unum mihi solum pedem dat. Noli inquam, de uno pede sororis queri : licet etiam alternum tollas*) ».

Cicéron ne se gêne donc pas pour ironiser sur les relations, supposées d'une intimité particulière, entre Clodius et Clodia. Ce genre de trait au gros sel n'est pas très consulaire. Il insinue par ailleurs qu'elle est courtisée pour ses relations avec d'éminents personnages, Pompée et Crassus : « *Qui per Boώπηn ex ipso intelligere possis* » (Att. II, 22). De telles rosseries faisaient partie d'un jeu mondain sans incidence dans le domaine des affaires et de la politique. Cicéron envisagea un temps d'acquérir une propriété de Claudia dite « *horti Clodiani* » en recherchant un arrangement avec Lentulus, ou en faisant affaire directement

avec elle (*Att. XIII*, 29. On sait que cette dame possédait des « *hortos ad Tiberim* » où il était alors de bon ton de venir se baigner (*Pro Caelio*, 36).

Dans une lettre adressée à Atticus en novembre 44, il évoque le temps d'un fameux triumvirat : « *Sed illo tempore opus est quod fuit illis IIIviris* » (*Att. XVI*, 2). D'après les commentateurs, ce trait vise Fulvia, la troisième épouse d'Antoine, qui fut d'abord l'épouse de P. Clodius Pulcher, puis, devenue veuve, celle de C. Scribonius Curio, après avoir été sa maîtresse et celle d'Antoine du vivant de Clodius. Ces trois personnages sont associés dans la seconde *Philippique* où Cicéron dénonce leur politique démagogique.

Alimentaire, mon cher Pétus

Il est aussi capable de se moquer de lui-même. Répondant à Papirius Pétus qui ironisait sur ses talents militaires en Cilicie, il joue l'imperator de comédie, décidé « à entretenir une escadre légère sur la côte car, contre la cavalerie parthe, il n'y a pas d'arme plus efficace » (*Fam. IX*, 25). Et de conclure : « – Moi, petit plaisantin, qui t'ai servi de cible comme une pomme, je l'ai supporté allégrement (*Me autem a te ut scurram velitem malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli*) » (*Fam. IX*, 20). Dans l'expression *malis oneratum*, on devine un jeu de mots, *malum* renvoyant simultanément à malice et à pomme.

Au cours de la seconde partie de 46 av. J.-C., la correspondance de Cicéron reflète la variété et la densité des événements marquant cette époque. Il y a d'abord la montée en puissance de César à l'occasion de laquelle cet honnête citoyen relève avec un humour glacial la prolifération de personnages et de manifestations peu conformes à l'ancien esprit républicain. Des mesures sont prises qui réduisent les libertés publiques, notamment la promulgation d'une loi visant à restreindre les dépenses alimentaires de la population. Quand Cicéron prend Fabius Gallus à témoin des troubles intestinaux dont il souffre (*Fam. VII*, 26), il en voit l'origine dans cette loi somptuaire. « Je suis dégoûté des bettes et des mauves (*A beta et a malva deceptus sum*) », affirme-t-il. Surtout servies sans sel... Ceux qui ont une bonne table doutent des bienfaits d'un régime fondé sur les produits de la terre – *terra nata* – légumes de toutes sortes, herbes potagères, etc. Il n'appartient pas à César de décider ce qu'est une nourriture saine.

Parmi plusieurs lois prises pour restreindre les dépenses, dans le domaine alimentaire notamment, Aulu Gelle et Macrobe citent celle de Licinius. Il se pourrait que ce fût celle dont il s'agit ici car c'est la seule où apparaît l'expression *terra nata*. César en aurait repris les termes en faveur des fruits et légumes auxquels Cicéron déclare alors préférer les poissons et les huîtres. Comme il l'avoue à Papirius Pétus, « le temps est passé où je me contentais de vos saucisses et de vos olives » (*Solebam enim antea debilitari oleis et lucanis tuis*) (*Fam. IX*, 16, 8). Ailleurs, il se vante, par pure plaisanterie, d'avoir « expédié plus de paons que l'ami Paetus de pigeonneaux. Tu te délectes des ragoûts d'Haterius. Ici, j'ai ceux d'Hirtius » (*Fam. IX*, 18).

Des plaisanteries à la Romaine

Pendant l'interminable automne de 46 av. J.-C., Cicéron rédige un grand nombre de lettres, adressées aux correspondants les plus divers. Dans une missive au même Pétus, il se plait à souligner le talent dont celui-ci fait montre pour enfiler de fines plaisanteries. « Ce n'est pas le sel qu'on nomme attique mais l'ancienne plaisanterie à la romaine qui, à mon gré, lui est supérieure (*Accedunt non Attici, sed salsiores, quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales*) » (*Fam. IX*, 15).

Il s'en explique en donnant Granius et Lucilius comme références. Le premier n'était qu'un crieur public mais le sel de ses propos en relevait la teneur. Cicéron l'évoque à plusieurs reprises. Lucilius appréciait sa verve. Né en Campanie et mort à près de quatre vingt ans en 102–101 av. J.-C., Gaius Lucilius appartenait à l'ordre équestre. Parmi ses parents, une branche avait rang sénatorial, dont Manius Lucilius, grand-père de Pompée. Dans ses poèmes, il accable les arrivistes et les parvenus de son mépris de Romain attaché aux traditions. Il condamne tous ceux qui négligent la langue et la culture latines. La satire, genre où il excelle, lui permet de couvrir de sarcasmes ceux qui se laissent influencer par les modes exotiques et les avidités immorales. Sa liberté de ton est proche de celle d'Aristophane. Malheureusement, la véhémence et la verdeur des propos tombent à plat quand les allusions ne sont plus comprises ou que les fragments sont par trop incomplets. Près de soixante auteurs ont relevé de nombreux passages de ses satires. Ainsi devine-t-on que leur sel ne perdit pas sa saveur. En ce qui concerne les occurrences relatives au sel, il y a peu à relever chez Lucilius :

- saler les murènes (*sallere murenas*) (*Satires*, VIII, 16), formule qu'on retrouve chez Macrobe (*Sat. III*, 15, 7),
- le sel, panacée (*panaceam ubique salem*) (*Dubia*, 29), terme qui revient à reconnaître son caractère isotonique en vertu duquel il est utilisé depuis longtemps en thérapeutique.

En fait, le sel de Lucilius est à découvrir dans certaines tournures et jeux de mots. Par exemple, la fille qui a l'air de vanner du blé quand elle joue des hanches (*Sat. VII*, 13). A moins que ce ne soit l'inverse...

Parmi les lettres que Cicéron adresse à L. Papirius Pétus, il en est une est à marquer d'une cire rouge (*Fam. IX*, 16). Elle mérite de retenir l'attention à plus d'un titre. D'abord, il y fait allusion aux plaisanteries auxquelles son correspondant se livre volontiers (*Nunc venio ad iocationes tuas*). Les *iocationes* renvoient à un comique de situation tandis que les *sales* ressortissent du jeu de mots. Feignant la ruine, Pétus avait parodié un repas frugal offert à un certain Popilius que les commentateurs ont identifié avec M. Pompilius Andronicus qui, ayant fait voeu de pauvreté, s'en tenait à une nourriture des plus simples à base de fromage et de poisson salé, l'idéal étant la combinaison des deux, le *tyrotarichos*. « *Quem tu mihi Popilium, quem denarium narras, quam tyrotarichi patinam* ». Qu'est-ce donc que donc que ce plat de poisson salé au fromage associé au régime alimentaire de Pétus (*Att. XIV*, 16) ? Le *tyrotarichos* semble être chez Cicéron synonyme de rusticité (*Att. IV*, 8, 1). Il y revient pour opposer à la frugalité des epicuriens le charme des diners où une conversation familière est un gage de bonheur autant que les mets recherchés et les vins fins (*Fam. IX*, 24). Ajoutant la provocation à

sa verve diététique, il poursuit en affirmant qu'il a, pour sa part, repris l'habitude de faire bonne chère. En fait, que des amis se retrouvent et le bon vieux poisson salé sera apprécié (*ad tarychum antiquum redi*) (*Fam.* IX, 16, 9) ! Cicéron est plus porté sur les plaisanteries (*sales*) que sur les salaisons (*salsamenta*). « Attends toi à la visite d'un homme qui mange peu mais qui aime beaucoup à rire (*Non multi cibi hospitem accipies ; multi joci*) » (*Fam.* IX, 26).

Quelles salines ?

Le passage le plus digne d'intérêt est celui sur lequel s'achève cette lettre. Comment entendre les allusions aux salines de Cicéron ? On reprend ci-dessous sa version originale qui a donné lieu à des interprétations différentes alors que le texte latin est sans variante connue. « *De villa Seliciana et curasti diligenter, et sripsisti facetissime. Itaque puto me praetermissurum. Sales enim satis est, sannionum parum* » (*Fam.* IX, 16, 10 in Œuvres complètes, tome 16, Ed. Jos. Vict. Le Clerc Paris 1821, p. 264 – *Fam.* IX, 16, 10 i.e. CCCCLXXXVIII in *Correspondance* tome 7, Ed. Jean Beaujeu CUF Paris 2002, p. 48). Le Clerc traduit cette incidente comme suit. « Je suis fort satisfait des soins que vous vous êtes donnés pour la maison de Sélicius : ce que vous m'en dîtes est tout à fait plaisant. Il y a bien l'apparence que je ne finirai pas le marché ; non qu'il n'y ait assez de sel, mais il y a trop peu d'occasions d'en faire usage ». S'en tenant au sens figuré du sel et des salines Beaujeu préfère une autre lecture. « Pour la villa de Sélicius, tu as fait consciencieusement le nécessaire et tu m'as envoyé un rapport plein d'esprit ; aussi je crois que je vais laisser cette question de côté ; car il y a assez de plaisanterie, pénurie de bouffons ».

Le Clerc estime (notes, p. 309) que Pétus avait sans doute indiqué à Cicéron que ce domaine de Sélicius comportait des salines. Cicéron lui répond que s'il y a du sel, les débouchés font défaut. Selon toute vraisemblance, ces exploitations étaient loin de ce qu'on appellerait aujourd'hui le marché, rendant la vente du sel bien incertaine. Il ajoute que *sannio* ou *sanno* est celui aux dépens de qui on rit à force de *sales*. Le jeu de mots est parfait puisqu'il concerne les deux degrés de la plaisanterie. A suivre Beaujeu, il semble que le sens de cette boutade reste obscur. D'où les tentatives de correction évoquées dans les notes (p. 278) qui ne rendent pas l'interprétation de ce passage plus limpide. Il convient, assurément, de réserver une part égale au sens propre et au sens figuré de ce qu'écrit Cicéron. Sélicius serait disposé à traiter avec lui d'une propriété où se trouvent des marais salants. Auprès de son intermédiaire, Pétus, Cicéron ironise sur l'abondance de sel et se déclare réticent à traiter. « Je crois que je vais renoncer à cette affaire (*Puto me praetermissurum*) ». Pétus se défend ailleurs de lui avoir conseillé un tel achat (*Fam.* IX, 15, 3).

Sur le site d'Astura dans le Latium (à 60 km au Sud-Est de Rome) où il possédait un important domaine, les archéologues ont retrouvé les vestiges de vastes pêcheries où on peut supposer que du sel était nécessaire pour fabriquer des salaisons. En tout cas, on ne peut pas lui reprocher de méconnaître les marais salants. Lorsqu'il évoque la variété des ressources économiques de l'Asie, il souligne, parmi les conséquences de la guerre contre Mithridate, l'incapacité dans laquelle les publicains risquent de se trouver d'exploiter les salins sauf à y

maintenir au prix de grands dangers les nombreux esclaves que la récolte du sel requiert — *cum publicani familias maximas quas in salinis habent* (*De imperio Cn. Pompei*, VI, 16). On peut supposer qu'il connaissait là-bas les salins de Caunos (Carie) et quelques autres.

Cicéron admire à quel point la nature est généreuse. Aussi met-il l'accent sur l'utilité des ressources qu'elle procure. « Les hommes pourvoient à leurs besoins en partie avec des substances comme l'or et l'argent ou les produits de la terre [...] Les pierres nécessaires à notre usage ne se détacheraient pas de la terre, le fer, le cuivre, l'or, l'argent profondément enfouis dans celle-ci n'en seraient pas extraits sans l'intervention de la main de l'homme » (*Off. II*, 3, 13–4, 15). Il y revient volontiers. « On ne peut s'exprimer en détail sur l'utilité des fleuves, du flux et du reflux des flots de la mer [...] des mines de sel très éloignées du bord de la mer » (*Nat. déo. II*, 53, 132). Certains traduisent « *salinae ab ora maritima remotissimae* » par « des salines très éloignées des rivages marins ». L'ambiguïté du substantif *salina* le leur permet. Pourquoi écarterait-on l'hypothèse que Cicéron faisait allusion aux mines de sel fossile ? Il souligne que quantité de substances utiles se trouvent dans les entrailles de la terre (*Nat. Deo. II*, 64). Dans la Dacie romaine où il est admis que l'extraction du sel est pratiquée en grand, c'est le terme de *salina* qui prévaut pour en faire état. L'expression *conductor salinarum* revient à plusieurs reprises dans les inscriptions relevées dans cette province. Elle fait référence à l'exploitation des mines de sel. A noter pour mémoire que Vitruve précise le caractère minier de la technique utilisée avec l'expression « *salis fodina* » (*Arch. VII*, 3, 7). Solin préfère « *salinarum metallia* » à propos de la Sicile (*Coll. rerum memorab. V*, 9).

La pierre de touche de l'amitié

Aristote souligne que les hommes ne parviennent pas à bien se connaître tant qu'ils n'ont pas consommé un médimne de sel (*Ethique à Nicomaque*, VIII, 3, 8 — *Ethique à Eudème*, VII, 8). L'attention n'est pas tant attirée par cette unité de mesure que par la formule « selon le proverbe », ainsi que l'a souligné Paraschiv³. On devine une pratique antérieure à l'époque classique où un médium, le sel, confère au partage de la nourriture une signification qui va bien au-delà de la satisfaction de la faim. Cicéron le traduit en latin. « *Verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit* » (*De amicitia*, XIX, 67). Il faut des années à l'amitié pour se parfaire.

Que Cicéron se réfère à l'autorité d'Aristote ne témoigne pas seulement d'une communion de pensée mais aussi du respect de la tradition. Ce qui rapproche des hommes libres et bien nés, ce sont de relations de confiance, conditionnées par une bonne éducation. Elles vont au-delà du simple maintien d'un lien social (*in hominem societate tuenda*) grâce au savoir-vivre qui combine, dans la Rome républicaine, *benevolentia, benignitas, liberalitas, temperentia, modestia...* (*Off. I*, 20 — 42-52 — 142-143 — 159). Outre se rendre mutuellement d'opportuns services — *amicitia nostra, quae summis officiis ab utroque culta est* (*Fam. XV*, 14), les amis doivent se

³ PARASCHIV 2011.

témoigner une affection qui résiste à l'épreuve du temps et se renforce au gré des circonstances, surtout dans l'adversité. C'est là tout son sel.

Le décès de sa fille Tullia, la ruine de la République et les menées d'intrigants cupides emplissent Cicéron de chagrin et d'amertume. Tout s'en va à vau l'eau. Mieux vaut en « rire quand on peut (*Ridere igitur possumus*) » (*Fam. XV*, 18). Et avec ses amis, car l'amitié reste un des grands charmes de la vie. Mais aux années heureuses de l'amitié partagée avec Atticus et quelques autres s'oppose l'instant où il découvre que rire et plaisanter ne sont plus de saison. La mort est préférable à la privation du sel de la plaisanterie (*Moriar nisi facete*) » (*Att. XVI*, 11). Le 7 décembre 43 av. J.-C. Cicéron est assassiné par les sbires des triumvirs.

La salière d'Horace

Q. Horatius Flaccus naquit le sixième jour avant les ides de décembre sous le consulat de L. Cotta et de L. Torquatus (8 déc. 65 av. J.-C.), et mourut le cinquième jour avant les calendes de décembre sous le consulat de C. Marcius Censorinus et de C. Asinius Gallus (27 nov. 8 av. J.-C.), cinquante-neuf jours après Mécène, à l'âge de cinquante sept ans. Ses restes sont inhumés à l'extrême des Esquilines, à côté de la tombe de Mécène (Suétone, *Vie d'Horace*, 16).

Dans la vie d'Horace attribuée à Suétone, le poète est présenté comme le fils d'un affranchi qui aurait été collecteur d'impôts. D'aucuns l'ont prétendu issu d'un marchand de salaisons – *salsamentarius* – parce que, dans une dispute, quelqu'un lui avait lancé : « Combien de fois n'ai-je pas vu ton père se moucher avec le coude ! » Cette coutume assez fréquente dans les métiers de bouche est attestée dans la *Rhétorique à Herennius*, IV, 67. *Ut si salsamentarii filio dicas : quiesce tu cuius pater cubito se emungere solebat...* Il semble s'agir d'un sarcasme récurrent puisqu'on le relève ultérieurement chez un autre expert en rhétorique : *Oblitusne es quia salsamenta vendebas ?* (Macrobi, *Saturnales*, VII, 3).

Déjà dans la Grèce classique, tout ce qui tourne autour des salaisons ne suscite que dégoût et mépris. Au sens figuré *tarichos* ne désigne-t-il pas un balourd ? Marchand de cuir, marchand de boudin, marchand de salaison, c'est aux portes de la cité que chacun tient son nauséabond inventaire (Aristophane, *Cavaliers*, 1241-1255). On observe une belle constance dans l'opprobre jeté sur les représentants d'une profession qui a pourtant réussi à occuper une position notable dans les échanges durant l'Antiquité.

On rencontre chez Horace une vingtaine d'occurrences relatives au sel et à son utilisation dans la vie quotidienne des Romains. Elles figurent au sens propre de *sal*, *salis*, dans des acceptations métaphoriques et dans quelques termes dérivés comme *salinum*, la salière. Ces occurrences aident à percevoir, en dépit des bruits du monde, l'importance de cette substance que sa banalité pourrait occulter. Sa zone sémantique est large et sa force d'occupation symbolique suffisante pour assurer sa continuité lexicale (sel, sal, sale, sol, salt, Salz, zout).

Art de vivre

Sans pour autant courir le risque d'attribuer au sel alimentaire une place qu'il n'avait pas dans l'Antiquité par rapport aux diverses applications du sel, il paraît convenable d'entrer dans le vif du sujet en recherchant en quoi consiste l'art de vivre et les goûts culinaires du poète qui est à la fois l'ami de Mécène et d'Auguste et le contemplateur des mondanités et des ridicules où on les voit fleurir.

Horace estime qu'il n'est pas de bien supérieur à la vie tranquille. Tout y semble facile quand, loin de nourrir des ambitions politiques, on se contente du peu que laissent les mauvais choix et les usurpations. Pour être heureux il suffit que brille sur une table modeste la salière de ses pères – *paternum / splendet in mensa tenui salinum* (*Odes*, II, 16, 13-14). Pour être bien compris, il y revient en campant le chanteur Tigellius, artiste extravagant qui, dans ses moments de lucidité, a l'habitude d'assurer « Qu'on ne donne seulement une table à trois pieds, une coquille de sel blanc – *concha salis puri* – et une toge crasseuse qui me protège du froid (*Satires*, I, 3, 13-15). Il se montre plus modéré tout en allant à l'essentiel. « Du pain et du sel, voilà qui calmera un estomac qui crie famine – *cum sale panis / latrarem stomachum bene leniet* » (*Satires*, II, 2, 17-18). A noter que le pain reste relativement cher à Rome au début de l'Empire. Le menu peuple se nourrit surtout de bouillies préparées avec de la semoule. Elle est obtenue après grillage et concassage des épis de blé ou d'orge. Du sel grenu en assure la conservation. Pour ce qui est de la pâte à pain, on la fait avec de la farine qu'on mouille et qu'on pétrit avant d'y ajouter du sel (Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle*, XVIII, 21).

L'idée selon laquelle la vie vaut la peine d'être vécue n'est pas neuve. « Qu'une simple mesure t'abrite... Sache t'en contenter s'il s'y trouve un pain commun et si tu ne manques ni de pouillot, ni de thym, ni de ce gros sel amer si agréable à mêler aux aliments » (Léonidas de Tarente, *Anthologie Palatine*, 736). Ayant éprouvé une fortune adverse, Horace s'estime assez riche avec son petit domaine de la Sabine et prône la frugalité en matière de nourriture. Par exemple, un plat de poireaux ou de pois chiches, ou encore des œufs qui ne coûtent pas cher, et des olives noires (*Satires*, II, 2, 45-46). En ce qui concerne la conservation de ces dernières, on relève chez Columelle qu'il faut trois hémines de sel pour un modius d'olives, soit 820 g pour un volume de 8,7 litres (*Res Rusticae*, XII, 50, 2). Frugalité n'est pas avarice. Il se gausse d'Avidienus, un grigou qui mange des olives de cinq ans, ne tire son vin qu'une fois aigre et se sert d'une huile rance (*Satires*, II, 2, 55-59/80-85). Il est probable que, à l'instar d'un personnage de Plaute, il tienne la salière sous clef...

S'adressant à son voisin, il l'invite à la fortune du pot. Le cœur y est. « Si tu ne crains pas de manger des légumes dans une vaisselle ordinaire, Torquatius, je t'attendrai chez moi à la fin du jour » (*Epitres*, I, 5, 2-3). L'art de vivre, c'est aussi l'amitié. Il est tout naturel que de longues et solides amitiés soient rares, car les hommes qui en remplissent les conditions sont peu nombreux. Elles requièrent la consécration du temps et quelques goûts communs. Le proverbe dit justement qu'on ne peut pas bien se connaître les uns les autres avant d'avoir consommé ensemble au moins un médimne de sel. (Aristote, *Ethique à Nicomaque*, VIII, 3, 8). De même, Cicéron et ses amis ont coutume d'affirmer « qu'il faut manger ensemble bien des

boisseaux de sel pour être de vrai amis » (*De amicitia*, XIX, 67). Par delà les plaisirs partagés d'une bonne table grâce au sel, il y a les qualités humaines. « Homère qualifie le sel de divin parce que, mêlé aux aliments, il les accommode généralement à notre goût. Et les rend agréables. Mais l'assaisonnement le plus divin d'une table est la présence d'un ami » (Plutarque, *Propos de table* VII, 697d).

Sauces et salaisons

Sauces et salaisons sont aussi au menu, surtout chez les gens à la mode qui exigent une nourriture relevée, de nouvelles saveurs. Les sauces à base de poisson sont désignées en tant que *liquamen*, *muria*, *allex* et *garum*. *Liquamen* semble être le plus usité, en particulier chez Apicius. Néanmoins on ne le rencontre pas chez Horace.

La méthode de fabrication du *garum* comporte essentiellement deux phases. Les poissons (le plus souvent des clupéidés et des carangidés) sont jetés, non éviscérés, dans une cuve tandis qu'on y épand du sel ; ils macèrent et forment une bouillie qu'on fait réduire en l'exposant au soleil jusqu'à maturation. On soutire alors un jus ambré. Selon Pline l'Ancien, pour obtenir cette spécialité, on fait macérer dans du sel des intestins de poissons, et d'autres parties qu'il aurait fallu jeter, si bien que le fameux *garum* est la sanie de matières en putréfaction. Le plus raffiné se fait aujourd'hui à partir du scombre dans les cuves de Carthago Spartaria. On l'appelle *garum sociorum*, le garum de la Compagnie, dénomination de vente qui incite les gourmets à l'acheter sans barguigner. Mille sesterces permettent d'en obtenir environ deux conges ; et il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas de produit, excepté les parfums, qui ait pris tant de valeur. D'où la renommée des peuples qui le produisent (Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle*, XXXI, 43)⁴.

Avec le pain, les esclaves de Caton reçoivent un *pulmentarium* dans la composition duquel entrent de l'huile, du sel, des olives (après la récolte) ou de l'*allec* (*Agricultura*, 58). Il s'agit sans doute ici d'un rebut de sauce de poisson traité avec de la saumure ou d'une fabrication de celle-ci à partir de poissons quelconques. Ne serait-ce pas une sorte de pissalat ?

D'abord rebut du *garum*, l'*allec* n'était sans doute qu'une lie grossière et mal filtrée. Puis il est devenu un objet de luxe. Alors il a étendu son domaine aux huîtres, aux oursins, aux orties de mer, aux foies de surmulet, et l'on s'est mis à combiner salage et putréfaction de mille façons pour les plaisirs de bouche (Pline, *Histoire Naturelle*, XXXI, 44). Il rappelle qu'Apicius, obnubilé par le raffinement culinaire, a imaginé de faire périr le surmulet dans du *garum* de la Compagnie et d'extraire de son foie une sauce inédite – *allecem excogitare* (*Histoire Naturelle*, IX, 30). Du point de vue de l'archéologie, l'*allec* (*allex*, *halec*) paraît offrir de meilleures possibilités d'analyse que la *muria* et le *garum* qui sont des filtrats. Plus que l'appellation, trop souvent ambiguë, c'est le mode opératoire qui compte. Toutefois les recettes précises sont rares. Elles figurent dans une compilation attribuée à Cassianus Bassus dont des extraits se retrouvent dans un recueil tardif (*Géponiques*, XX, 46).

⁴ Voir aussi CURTIS 1991, 192; STERNBERG 2000, 148; ETIENNE, MAYET 2002, 44; DUMITRACHE 2014, 51 sqq.

En interprétant Manilius (I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.), on peut avancer que certaines étapes dans la préparation de la *muria* et du *garum* étaient semblables. *Muria* signifie à la fois saumure (sel en dissolution) et sauce de poisson. Seul le second mérite ici un commentaire. Les occurrences ne sont pas nombreuses. Pline (*Hist. Nat.* XXXI, 43) et Martial (XIII, 103) louent celle d'Antibes. Les mentions qu'on doit à Horace n'en sont que plus utiles. C'est rôti que le poisson est le meilleur selon Archestrate (IV^e siècle av. J.-C.). S'il est bouilli, le servir avec du vinaigre et du poivre blanc de préférence à une sauce banale – *muria* (*Satires*, II, 8, 53).

A propos d'une murène nageant dans la sauce, l'amphitryon précise : « Quant à celle-ci, voici ce qu'on y a mis. De l'huile vierge du Vénafre, du *garum* fabriqué à partir des sucs extraits des poissons d'Ibérie – *garo de succis piscis Hiberi...* (*Satires*, II, 8, 45–46). Il y a toujours une part d'équivoque dans les recettes. En suivant Horace, pour monter une sauce simple, on prend de l'huile douce mélangée à du vin ordinaire et à de la saumure – *muria* – qui a laissé son odeur dans un vase de Byzance (*Satires*, II, 4, 64–66). Cette ville doit sa fortune aux salaisons confectionnées avec les pélamides du Pont. Cela dit, n'est-ce pas là une sauce de salade, bien différente de la précédente, plus complexe et relevée avec du *garum* ? Ailleurs, il signale que le vinaigre de qualité est obtenu à partir du vin de Méthymne.

Chez l'opulent Nasidienus, le coq a recours à une variante du *garum*, l'*allec*. Il fait apporter aux convives un sanglier de Lucanie avec des petits plats de raves piquantes, de laitues, de l'*allec* et de la lie de vin de Cos (*Satires*, II, 8, 8–9). Certains cuisiniers sont inventifs. « C'est moi, dit Catius, qui, le premier, ai eu l'idée de mêler ensemble du raisin d'Albe et des pommes, de la lie et de l'*allec*, du poivre blanc et du sel gris – *piper album cum sale nigro* » (*Satires*, II, 4, 73–74). En revanche, pour la plupart des mets, le sel s'impose dans toute sa blancheur (*sal purus, candidus*). Ainsi en va-t-il d'une grue, découpée et désossée, saupoudrée et enfarinée – *membra gruis sparsi sale multo* – et servie avec du foie d'oie (*Satires*, II, 8, 87).

Rites antiques

Le sel de table est aussi le sel de la table, c'est-à-dire l'autel sur lequel sont faites les libations. Le cadre le plus fréquent est la famille. Le sel est contenu dans un récipient en argent, la salière – *salinum*, sauf chez les indigents qui se contentent d'une coquille – *concha*, ou d'une coupelle. Ainsi l'intendant Phidylé offre régulièrement le pain et le sel aux Lares et aux Pénates qui protègent la villa de son maître. Dans son ode à cette intendant au cœur pur, Horace témoigne qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'immoler un grand nombre de brebis pour apaiser les dieux. On y parvient moyennant « un peu d'orge et quelques grains de sel – *farre pio, et mica saliente* » (*Odes*, III, 23). Le poète expose avec sincérité que les dieux recevront volontiers cette offrande pourvu qu'elle soit offerte avec piété. *Saliente* rappelle que le sel est pétillant en raison de l'eau incluse dans ses cristaux. Il peut être séché au four (Festus, frag. 155). En tout cas, Phidylé espère que le culte qu'elle rend aux dieux familiers les satisfait sans qu'elle ait besoin d'y adjoindre des monceaux de viande, souvent objet de la convoitise des esclaves du domaine...

La mention par Horace de la *mola salsa* (*Satires*, II, 3, 200) n'est qu'une incidente rituelle dans un dialogue reconstitué où s'affrontent les héros d'Homère, histoire de se moquer de leurs aventures et de leurs extravagances. A Rome, les Vestales confectionnent la *mola salsa* employée dans les sacrifices lors des Lupercales (février), des Vestalies (juin) et des ides de septembre. Elles font griller des épis d'épeautre, lesquels sont ensuite broyés et moulus pour obtenir le gruau rituel – *far* – auquel est ajoutée la saumure sacrée (*muria*). Celle-ci est fabriquée à partir de sel grossier (*sal durus*) et/ou de sel ignigène (*sal coctus*) pour autant qu'on puisse faire foi aux commentaires tardifs de Servius (*Egl.* 8, 82). Les restes de cette préparation rituelle étaient jadis jetés dans le Tibre depuis le pont Sublicius.

La *mola salsa* est utilisée lors des sacrifices pour convoyer les offrandes jusqu'aux dieux. Vesta, déesse sans autre représentation que la flamme qui s'élève au dessus du feu, n'est pas la seule puisqu'à Janus, le dieu au double visage, le prêtre offre un gâteau salé et l'épeautre où se mêle le sel (Ovide, *Fastes* I, 128). A partir de 174 av. J.-C., les Vestalies sont plus prosaïquement célébrées par le collège des meuniers et des boulangers. A cette occasion, ils suspendent des miches au cou de leurs ânes et ornent les meules de fleurs (fresques de Pompéi). Les rites tournent au folklore quand leur signification échappe à la foule.

Mots d'esprit

Dans sa campagne, Horace est content de recevoir des amis, voire d'anciens compagnons de sa jeunesse. C'est l'occasion d'échanger des mots d'esprit — *sales*. Faut-il rappeler l'explication que donne Pline l'Ancien de cette métaphore ? Le sel est à ce point nécessaire qu'il désigne aussi les plaisirs de l'intelligence. « C'est en effet le sel qui est à l'origine de leur nom – *a sale enim appellantur*, et tout lagrément de la vie, la bonne humeur, la détente après les ennuis n'ont pas de mot qui les exprime mieux (*Histoire Naturelle*, XXXI, 88). Comme Cicéron, Horace apprécie les plaisanteries qui faisaient rire les vieux Romains, à l'exemple de celles qu'on relève dans le théâtre de Plaute – *at vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et / laudaveres sales* (*Art Poétique*, 270). Il s'en délecte, et d'autres d'un sel plus fin.

Dans le récit qu'il fait de son voyage de Rome à Brindes, il signale qu'au pont de Campanie, après Sinuessa, ses amis et lui trouvent un toit, du bois et du sel, ce qui est une manière élégante de reconnaître une hospitalité de bon augure (*Satires*, I, 5, 46). Nul ne doutera que jeux de mots et mots d'esprit fusèrent lors de cette équipée décrite d'ailleurs avec ce qu'il faut de pittoresque, sans outrepasser les règles de l'intelligence et de la discréption auxquelles sont attachés les hommes cultivés.

Les traits d'esprit sont les ornements de ses poèmes, notamment les satires, genre où nul ne lui aurait offert un meilleur modèle que Lucilius, déjà évoqué. Il lui arrive de critiquer le maître pour sa trop grande franchise. « J'ai dit qu'il composait trop vite des vers raboteux, certes, mais j'ai loué ce poète d'avoir répandu à pleine mains le sel sur la ville – *sale multo urbem defricuit* (*Satires*, I, 10, 1-4). Il faut entendre par là tout ce que Pline l'Ancien fait entrer dans sa définition.

Très honnêtement, Horace reconnaît : « La satire était ce que je pouvais faire de mieux mais, inférieur à Lucilius, son créateur, je n'aurais pas eu l'audace de lui ravir la couronne qui repose avec gloire sur son front » (*Satires*, I, 10, 46–49). Ailleurs, il s'interroge. « En quittant Rome pour mes montagnes, qu'avais-je de mieux à faire que des satires (*Satires*, II, 6, 16–17) ? La réponse tient dans l'héritage littéraire qu'il a laissé et qu'on ne cesse d'apprécier.

En parcourant les œuvres de Cicéron et d'Horace pour y relever les occurrences relatives au sel, on perçoit au fil des pages que cette substance est un révélateur de leur humanité. Une partie de leur caractère se découvre, certains éléments de leur sensibilité surgissent avec une intensité qui rend ces deux hommes singulièrement présents. On peut céder à la tentation de ces évocations fugaces. Il y a là comme un supplément d'âme qui donne tout son sens à l'anthropisation du sel.

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Life expectancy and age structure of the male population in Noricum.
Comparative approach*

Loredana PRICOP¹

Abstract. This study deals with the statistic results acquired for life expectancy of the male population in Noricum. They were compared with the data from other Danubian provinces (Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dacia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior) and from Roman Egypt. We stopped on the age-rounding process, analysing the rapport between rounded ages and unrounded ages at the level of the entire male sample. For an insight of the male population we compared the age structure values from all the Danubian province on three age categories, in terms of numbers and percentage.

Rezumat. Acest studiu tratează rezultatele statistice ale speranței de viață obținute pentru populația masculină din Noricum. Acestea au fost comparate cu datele din celelalte provincii dunărene (Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Dacia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior) și din Egiptul roman. Ne-am oprit asupra procesului de rotunjire al vîrstelor, analizând raportul dintre vîrstele rotunjite și vîrstele exakte la nivelul întregului eșantion masculin. Pentru o imagine de ansamblu a populației masculine, am comparat valorile structurii de vîrstă din toate provinciile dunărene pe trei categorii de vîrstă, atât din punct de vedere numeric, cât și procentual.

Keywords: life expectancy, age structure, male population, Noricum, rounded ages, unrounded ages.

Analysis of life expectancy and age structure of the population in Noricum was performed on a sample consisting of 934 individuals: 555 males, 351 females and 28 persons whose gender could not be determined, from funerary stones dating since the first three centuries of our era. Demographic variables were calculated separately by gender, using for this the Coale-Demeny model life tables². This model life tables rely upon a large number of unrounded life tables from many historical populations, though the bulk of the evidence comes from Europe. The authors created four geographic sets (West, North, East and South); of these, Model West is the most generalized and has the broadest statistical foundation and also produces the most reliable results for populations with very high levels of mortality³. Since Roman

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¹ "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași; pricoploredana@ymail.com.

² COALE, DEMENY 1983, 20, 22–24.

³ COALE, DEMENY 1983, 25, 33.

Noricum was such a population, we used Model West exclusively in this study (Model West, Level 4, Male).

Demographic variables and their abbreviations have been used previously by R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier in their work on the demography of Roman Egypt⁴ and by L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba in his study on Roman Dacia⁵: $l(x)$ gives the number of survivors to exact age x from a theoretical cohort of 100 000 newborns; $L(x)$ is the total number of years lived during the next n years by those who have attained age x and it is the sum of $l(x)$ and $l(x+n)$, multiplied by a coefficient ranging between 1.5 and 2.5. For variable $L(x)$ we used: coefficient 1 for ages between 95 and 115; 1.5 for ages 85 and 90; 2 for ages 75 and 80 and the coefficient 2.5 for the remaining ages. The quantity $T(x)$ is the total number of years remaining to the cohort, when it reaches age x , until the last member dies; it is the sum between $L(x)$ and $T(x+n)$. Dividing by $l(x)$ gives the average share in this total per person reaching age x . In terms of probabilities $e(x)$ is the mean of distribution of years to death for persons of age x and is called life expectancy. $q(x)$ is the probability that an individual of exact age x will die before age $x+n$, obtained by the operation $l(x) - l(x+n)/l(x)$. The last variable $m(x)$ is the number of deaths per person-years lived and is given by $l(x) - l(x+n)/L(x)$. The results are found in Table 1.

Table 1.

Age	$l(x)$	$L(x)$	$T(x)$	$e(x)$	$q(x)$	$m(x)$
0	100000	78388	3646982	36.469	0.00721	0.00919
1	99279	487385	3568594	35.945	0.03630	0.00739
5	95675	457205	3081209	32.204	0.08850	0.01852
10	87207	423872	2624004	30.089	0.05578	0.01147
15	82342	380627	2200132	26.719	0.15099	0.03266
20	69909	324772	1819505	26.026	0.14174	0.03051
25	60000	272972	1494733	24.912	0.18018	0.03960
30	49189	234682	1221761	24.838	0.09158	0.01919
35	44684	208555	987079	22.090	0.13306	0.02851
40	38738	188285	778524	20.097	0.05581	0.01148
45	36576	160357	590239	16.137	0.24630	0.05618
50	27567	131077	429882	15.594	0.09805	0.02062
55	24864	99997	298805	12.017	0.39128	0.09729
60	15135	71620	198808	13.135	0.10716	0.02264
65	13513	50897	127188	9.412	0.49337	0.13099
70	6846	30177	76291	11.143	0.23678	0.05371
75	5225	16936	46114	8.825	0.37933	0.11702
80	3243	12250	29178	8.997	0.11131	0.02946
85	2882	7294	16928	5.873	0.31263	0.12352
90	1981	5673	9634	4.863	0.09086	0.03172
95	1801	2161	3961	2.199	0.80011	0.66682

⁴ BAGNALL, FRIER 1994, 77, 100.

⁵ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 25.

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100	360	720	1800	5.000	-	-
105	360	540	1080	3.000	0.50000	0.33333
110	180	360	540	3.000	-	-
115	180	180	180	1.000	1.00000	1.00000

If we add the 28 individuals whose gender could not be determined, we have the following situation illustrated in the Table 2.

Table 2.

Age	$l(x)$	$L(x)$	$T(x)$	$e(x)$	$q(x)$	$m(x)$
0	100000	78388	3625674	36.256	0.00687	0.00876
1	99313	487132	3547286	35.718	0.03799	0.00774
5	95540	456687	3060154	32.030	0.08797	0.01840
10	87135	422810	2603467	29.878	0.05905	0.01217
15	81989	379070	2180657	26.596	0.15062	0.03257
20	69639	323325	1801587	25.870	0.14285	0.03076
25	59691	271867	1478262	24.765	0.17816	0.03911
30	49056	234130	1206395	24.592	0.09091	0.01904
35	44596	205827	972265	21.801	0.15384	0.03333
40	37735	183530	766438	20.311	0.05453	0.01121
45	35677	157372	582908	16.338	0.23558	0.05340
50	27272	129070	425536	15.603	0.10692	0.02259
55	24356	97767	296466	12.172	0.39435	0.09824
60	14751	69895	198699	13.470	0.10467	0.02209
65	13207	50170	128804	9.752	0.48050	0.12648
70	6861	30445	78634	11.461	0.22504	0.05071
75	5317	17152	48189	9.063	0.38706	0.11998
80	3259	12348	31037	9.523	0.10555	0.02785
85	2915	7459	18689	6.411	0.29399	0.11489
90	2058	5916	11230	5.456	0.08357	0.02907
95	1886	2400	5314	2.817	0.72746	0.57166
100	514	1028	2914	5.669	-	-
105	514	857	1886	3.669	0.33268	0.19953
110	343	686	1029	3.000	-	-
115	343	343	343	1.000	1.00000	1.00000

Like the female population of Noricum, life expectancy values decrease gradually, but not essentially, due to a better representation of younger ages. Underrepresentation of young and very young ages occurs also for the male population of Noricum. Life expectancy is, for example, 35.945 at age 1 and 26.719 for age 15. This considerable difference can be explained by the number of deceased recorded by the epigraphic sources (4 from 0 to 1 year and 94 – 16.93% of total – from 2 to 15 years). The percentages of the male children sample are: 0–10 years old – 12.79%, 11–20 years old – 17.29%, 21–25 years old – 9.9%; in other words, between

0 and 25 years old about 40% of the male population sample died. There are only four cases of deaths recorded before the age of 1 (a boy, whose name was not preserved, died at 8 months⁶; Q. Curiatus Festus⁷, another anonymous⁸ and Mocius⁹ dead at the age of 1 year old), meaning 0.72% of total, which raises many questions because the number of the deceased is very low for a population with a high mortality at birth and in the first year of life. On the other hand, life expectancy disposal on age categories seems more balanced than the female population of Noricum. For age groups 11–15 years old, 16–20 years old, 21–25 years old and 26–30 years old, life expectancy values are very close. The only disparities were recorded at ages 60, 70, 80 and 100, since the number of deaths from age groups 56–60, 66–70, 76–80 and 96–100 years old are overrepresented compared to the number of deaths in the age groups 51–55, 61–65, 71–75 and 91–95 years. We find it surprising that the life expectancy value at age 80 — 8.997 (about 9 years) is slightly higher than at 75 years old. Also, life expectancy at 100 years old is 5.000 (5 years), much higher than that of the 95 years old.

A part of our sample is represented by a segment of unstable population — soldiers (72 of 555, meaning 13%). If we add the 20 veterans mentioned in the inscriptions of Noricum, the percentage of individuals coming from the military increases — 16.57%. The highest mortality was recorded between ages 16–40 years old (242 men of 555 — that is 43.6%). This can be explained by the considerable number of soldiers whose age of death ranges between 16 and 40 years. Life expectancy at birth is 36.469, comparable to that of women population — 33.590. Based on the underrepresentation of young and very young ages and the overrepresentation of advanced ages, but also on the presence of eight centenarians and two individuals aged 110 and 120 years old, life expectancy at birth is likely to be lower, its value ranging between 30 and 35 years. After completion of the male sample by adding the individuals whose gender could not be determined on the basis of preserved texts and after maximum adjustment of the fragmentary ages, life expectancy at birth has a lower value than the original sample (36.256). This value can be explained by the fact that a number of 21 individuals out of 28 anonymous were under 35 years old, below the life expectancy value of the entire male sample.

To discuss the data obtained for the male population of Noricum, a comparison with the same demographic variables in other provinces may be suggestive (Table 3). The terms of comparison will be the values of life expectancy calculated by Bagnall and Frier for Roman Egypt¹⁰, by L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba for Roman Dacia¹¹, Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior¹² and those calculated by V. Pițtor for Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior¹³.

⁶ ILLPRON 21.

⁷ ILLPRON 1190.

⁸ ILLPRON 1354.

⁹ AJJ 41.

¹⁰ BAGNALL, FRIER 1994, 100.

¹¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 34.

¹² MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIȚTOR, COZMA 2007, 22–23, 53–54.

¹³ PIȚTOR 2012, 34, 91.

Life expectancy and age structure of the male population in Noricum. Comparative approach

Table 3.

Age category	Province						
	Noricum	Moesia Superior	Moesia Inferior	Dacia	Pannonia Superior	Pannonia Inferior	Egypt
0	36.469	41.491	41.390	37.828	37.263	39.579	25.260
1	35.945	41.034	41.063	37.651	36.665	38.930	36.131
5	32.204	38.491	37.856	35.519	33.715	34.187	40.568
10	30.089	35.174	34.472	32.114	30.340	31.205	37.568
15	26.719	30.772	30.278	28.497	26.341	29.568	33.990
20	26.026	28.747	28.833	26.053	24.157	26.252	30.648
25	24.912	26.271	25.993	23.620	22.630	24.907	27.795
30	24.838	23.259	22.562	21.985	21.391	22.326	24.971
35	22.090	21.224	20.858	19.129	19.514	20.762	22.231
40	20.097	18.933	18.850	17.999	18.811	18.097	19.585
45	16.137	15.645	15.894	15.270	15.955	17.069	17.087
50	15.594	14.879	14.970	15.136	16.960	15.050	14.495
55	12.017	11.410	10.844	12.663	13.122	13.277	12.295
60	13.135	12.663	11.044	12.637	13.577	9.867	10.034
65	9.412	10.094	8.800	9.717	10.111	10.717	8.079
70	11.143	10.439	9.524	9.228	9.868	6.513	6.314
75	8.825	8.356	6.778	5.574	7.027	6.749	4.574
80	8.997	9.653	6.601	6.283	6.941	3.066	3.459
85	5.873	7.196	5.788	4.810	6.401	4.373	2.508
90	4.863	12.954	6.004	3.620	5.337	4.246	1.772
95	2.199	9.898	3.004	2.748	2.004	4.000	1.236
100	5.000	19.498	1.511	1.000	2.000	1.000	-
105	3.000	16.489	1.000	-	-	-	-
110	3.000	13.209	-	-	-	-	-
115	1.000	10.489	-	-	-	-	-

Life expectancy at birth of the male sample in Noricum has the lowest value of all the Danubian provinces, but nevertheless remains considerably higher than in Roman Egypt. Significant differences between life expectancy values in Egypt and the values obtained for Danubian provinces are determined by overrepresentation of age groups (especially for advanced ages) and by a very high mortality in Egypt, recorded mainly among children and young people, due to the origin of epigraphic sources. It should be kept in mind that the sample used by Bagnall and Frier comes largely from the Fayoum region, where infectious diseases (affecting mostly newborns) were more common than in other regions¹⁴. Malaria and high temperatures favored an increase in infant mortality, a higher mortality than in the Danubian provinces, with a generally colder and probably healthier climate. Except closer values (at ages 1, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50 and 55 years old) and the figures obtained for younger ages

¹⁴ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 27.

(between 5 and 25 years, where the difference is very high), life expectancy of the male population in Noricum and that of Egypt differ by about 2–4 years. In Roman Egypt, life expectancy of the male population follows the same pattern seen in the case of female population: it has a very small value at birth – 25.260 due to the very high infant mortality common in this province; its value increases significantly to the age of 5 – 40.568 and then to decrease gradually and steadily to the age of 95 years (the last age category depicted in our table). The highest values of life expectancy at birth are encountered in both provinces of the lower basin of the Danube River: about 41 years and 5 months in Moesia Superior and 41 years and 4 months in Moesia Inferior. Starting with 80 years old, life expectancy values in Moesia Superior are the highest of all the Danubian provinces. It is hard to believe, for instance, that an individual who survived until the age of 90 years could expect to live an additional 13 years (12.954) or that a 100 years man has a life expectancy of 19.498 (approximately 19 years and 5 months). Adulthood and old ages are overrepresented in all six provinces. 56–60 years age category is overrepresented in Pannonia Superior, Noricum, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior; 66–70 years age category is overrepresented in Noricum (the higher life expectancy value), Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior and in Dacia, Noricum and Moesia Superior 76–80 years age category is overrepresented. It is interesting to note that in most cases the life expectancy of persons with the age ending in the digit 5 has lower values than individuals with age ending in the digit 0.

As regards the coefficient $q(x)$ (the probability that an individual of exact age x will die before age $x+n$), the data in Table 4 reflects the situation in the analyzed provinces:

Table 4.

Age category	$q(x)$ Noricum	$q(x)$ Moesia Superior	$q(x)$ Moesia Inferior	$q(x)$ Dacia	$q(x)$ Pannonia Superior	$q(x)$ Pannonia Inferior	$q(x)$ Egypt
0	0.00721	0.00962	0.01112	0.01613	0.00581	0.00348	0.32257
1	0.03630	0.05825	0.04493	0.01541	0.05641	0.00699	0.19523
5	0.08850	0.04467	0.04313	0.04609	0.04948	0.05986	0.05141
10	0.05578	0.01797	0.02458	0.04461	0.03470	0.10486	0.03967
15	0.15099	0.09524	0.11344	0.08950	0.10561	0.05857	0.05107
20	0.14174	0.08856	0.07583	0.09828	0.13818	0.13333	0.07110
25	0.18018	0.07607	0.06257	0.13744	0.15743	0.09743	0.07951
30	0.09158	0.12499	0.14113	0.09889	0.14186	0.14772	0.09175
35	0.13306	0.12637	0.14012	0.17033	0.20163	0.11334	0.10709
40	0.05581	0.09434	0.11112	0.12782	0.11614	0.20299	0.12838
45	0.24630	0.24306	0.23332	0.27587	0.30857	0.16981	0.14754
50	0.09805	0.11009	0.06524	0.16666	0.07438	0.20455	0.18383
55	0.39128	0.41236	0.38415	0.32856	0.33928	0.12857	0.22059
60	0.10716	0.21271	0.24392	0.17023	0.12163	0.44259	0.29059
65	0.49337	0.41307	0.47597	0.38465	0.38466	0.08829	0.37125
70	0.23678	0.18513	0.14825	0.16664	0.17502	0.48384	0.48085

75	0.37933	0.45454	0.44449	0.64997	0.48480	0.06260	0.62398
80	0.11131	0.25013	0.30002	0.42869	0.41480	0.73325	0.74498
85	0.31263	0.44452	0.42862	0.50000	0.40020	0.50000	0.86294
90	0.09086	-	-	0.50017	0.16637	0.50071	0.95201
95	0.80011	0.59987	0.50033	1.50000	0.99896	-	1.00000
100	-	-	0.99864	1.00000	1.00000	1.00000	-
105	0.50000	-	1.00000	-	-	-	-
110	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
115	1.00000	0.50078	-	-	-	-	-

According to the data from Egypt, at age 0 $q(x)$ value is very high (0.32257), then decreases to age 10 (0.03967), starting with this age can be seen a steady increase of $q(x)$. For Danubian provinces, $q(x)$ values are low at young ages (0–10 years), while for the middle and advanced age groups the values are slightly higher, but they do not follow a similar pattern with Egypt. Noricum, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior are provinces with unrepresented age groups in the male samples. When the values of variable $q(x)$, which designates the probability that an individual of exact age x will die before age $x+n$, are closed to 0.5 this means that in the next age category the number of people surviving until the following age is reduced to half¹⁵. For instance, in Noricum and Moesia Inferior half of the sample, who survives to age 65, dies by the age of 70 years; in Pannonia Inferior half of the male population sample which reaches to 75 years old, dies by the age of 80 years. The values of $q(x)$ in Noricum and in the other Danubian provinces are growing after the age of 45–50 years, but with some oscillations: age groups with age ending in the digit 5 have substantially increased values, while age groups with age ending in the digit 0 have lower values.

The age structure of the male population in Noricum is shown below in Table 5 and Figure 1.

Table 5.

Age category (years)	Number of survivors (percentage)
0–1	99.27
2–5	95.67
6–10	87.20
11–15	82.34
16–20	69.90
21–25	60
26–30	49.18
31–35	44.68
36–40	38.73
41–45	36.57
46–50	27.56

¹⁵ PIATOR 2012, 22.

51–55	24.86
56–60	15.13
61–65	13.51
66–70	6.84
71–75	5.22
76–80	3.24
81–85	2.88
86–90	1.98
91–95	1.80
96–100	0.36
101–105	0.36
106–110	0.18
111–115	0.18
116–120	0.001

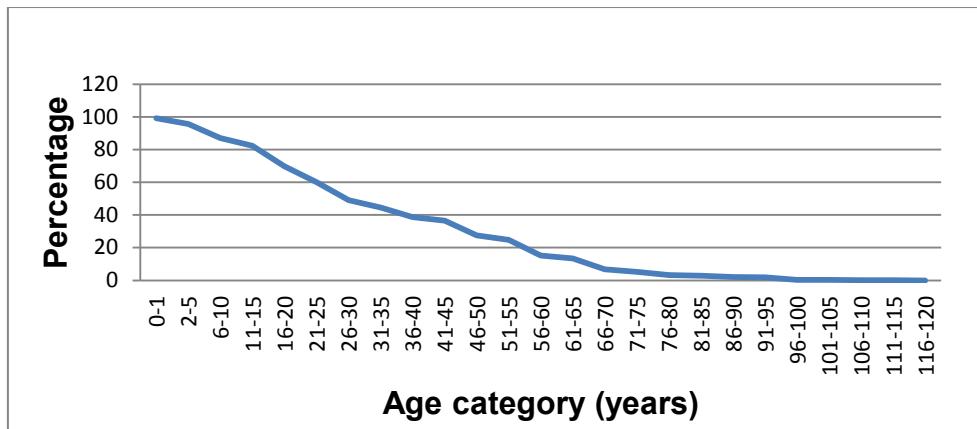


Figure 1.

Both table and chart gives an even clearer picture of the age structure of the male population in Noricum. We can distinguish some variables disproportions on certain age categories, determined largely by the nature of the used sources. Age categories 6–10 years, 16–20 years, 26–30 years, 46–50 years, 56–60 years and 66–70 years old are overrepresented. There are also certain underrepresented age groups as follows: 31–35 years (25 deceased), 41–45 years (12 deceased), 51–55 years (15 deceased), 61–65 and 71–75 years (9 deceased for each age category), 81–85 years (2 deceased), 91–95, 106–110, 116–120 years (one deceased), 101–105 and 111–115 (no deceased). As in the case of Dacia and Pannonia Superior, a large number of the male population died before the age of 35 years (307 – meaning 55.31%), which once again confirms the existence of a high mortality among the young (209 men died between 16–35 years).

The rapport between rounded ages and unrounded ages for the entire male sample of Noricum is illustrated in the Figure 2.

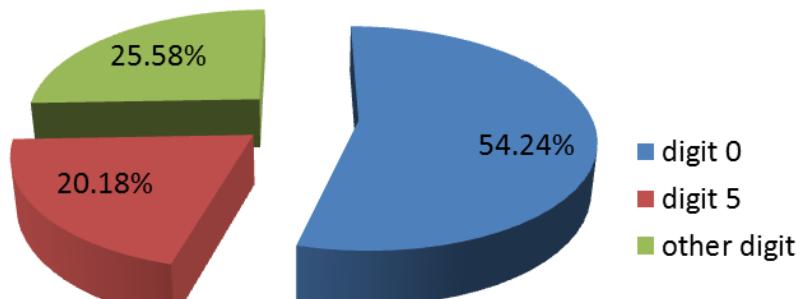


Figure 2.

In Noricum there are 301 persons (54.24%) with the age ending in the digit 0; 142 (25.58%) have the age ending in another digit, and only 112 (20.18%) have the age ending in the digit 5. The percentage of male with unrounded ages in Noricum (25.58%) is the lowest compared to the other Danubian provinces: Pannonia Inferior – 44%¹⁶, Dacia – 42%¹⁷, Moesia Inferior – 39.03%¹⁸, Pannonia Superior – 33.5%¹⁹ and Moesia Superior – 32.14%²⁰. In the case of ages ending in the digit 0, Noricum has the highest percentage among all the Danubian provinces – 54.24%, unlike the other provinces: Pannonia Superior – 45.4%, Moesia Inferior – 44.61%, Moesia Superior – 44.16%, Dacia – 42% and Pannonia Inferior – 41%. In regard to the ages with digits ending in 5, the percentage in Noricum (20.18%) is lower than that of Pannonia Superior – 21.1% and Moesia Superior – 23.7%, but higher than that of Moesia Inferior – 16.36%, Dacia – 16% or Pannonia Inferior – 15%. Regarding the male population of Noricum, ages which appear rounded are not always rounded. This is the case of roman soldiers. The length of military service is indicated unroundedly. However, there are situations where the dedicators have forgotten the age of death of the soldiers, but also circumstances in which the dedicators know both the range of military service and the age of the deceased. For instance, Publius Aelius Marcianus lived 20 years and has conducted three years of military service²¹, Marcus Aurelius Ursicianus reached the same age, after three years of military service²². Iulius Apricius died at the age of 25, after 6 years in the army²³, Caius Kanulanus Nepos dies, too, after 6 years in the army at the age of 25 years old²⁴. Aurelius Iustinus reaches the age of 30 years and dies after 10 years of service in the Roman army²⁵, Veponius Quartinus

¹⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 57.

¹⁷ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 38–39.

¹⁸ PIFTOR 2012, 99.

¹⁹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 27.

²⁰ PIFTOR 2012, 43.

²¹ AE 2003, 1320.

²² ILLPRON 1415.

²³ ILLPRON 984.

²⁴ ILLPRON 1276.

²⁵ AE 2004, 1089.

fulfilled only four years of military service and died at 35 years²⁶. Quintus Vettius Pollia²⁷ (*eques*), Florentinius Florus²⁸ (*eques*) and Septimius Secundinus²⁹ (*miles*) reached the age of 40 years old and committed 20 years of military service (the first two) and 15 years (the last one). Troucleimarus spent 26 years in the army and died at the age of 45³⁰, Tiberius Claudius Attucius dies at the age of 50, after 28 years of military service³¹, and Tiberius Iulius Fronto dies at the age of 50, after probably 25 years in the military³². Another soldier, whose name is illegible due to fragmentation of the inscription, has completed a vast military service of 45 years and died at age 65³³.

Table 6 captures the distribution of unrounded ages by age categories, as indicated in funerary inscriptions.

Table 6.

Age category (years)	Number of unrounded ages
0–1	4
1–4	14
6–9	32
11–14	13
16–19	21
21–24	16
26–29	8
31–34	6
36–39	2
41–44	2
46–49	6
51–54	5
56–59	5
61–64	4
66–69	1
71–74	2
76–79	0
81–84	1
86–89	0
91–94	0
96–99	0
101–104	0

²⁶ ILLPRON 528.

²⁷ ILLPRON 245.

²⁸ ILLPRON 1414.

²⁹ AJJ 13.

³⁰ ILLPRON 896.

³¹ AE 1974, 475.

³² ILLPRON 237.

³³ ILLPRON 1793.

Life expectancy and age structure of the male population in Noricum. Comparative approach

106–109	0
111–114	0
116–119	0

The unrounded ages of death are crowded in the first part of the male sample, which includes the categories of children and young people. Thereby, 100 ages of 142 (70.42%) are listed by the age of 25 years, 118 of 142 by the age of 45 years (83.09%) and 138 of 142 by the age of 65 years old (97.18%). After this age, only 4 mentions of unrounded ages were recorded, so over the years the age of death is likely to be forgotten and rounded by the dedicators. Therefore, the dedicators had better memory concerning the ages of death belonging to those individuals who died during childhood and adolescence. The agglomeration of exact ages up to less than 35 years old could also be due to the higher life expectancy at birth for males than for females. The male sample includes a number of military and veterans, whose age of death is often indicated with precision (for example, 25 soldiers from a total of 72 and one veteran of 20 registered have ages ending in other digits, besides 0 and 5).

As in the case of the female population in Noricum, there are precisely indicated ages (the exact number of months and days lived by the deceased). Babies (an anonymous dead at the age of 8 months³⁴), toddlers (like Primus – lived 2 years, - months and 16 days³⁵ and [---]us Valens – 2/3 years, 2 months and 2 days³⁶) and children (such as [---]ius – 7 years, 3 months and 16 days³⁷) are those whose age of death is precisely indicated and, moreover, in all four cases the dedicators are the parents, meaning the persons who know better the ages of their children. As regards the legal status, both the deceased and the dedicators are citizens. A percentage analogy of the unrounded age distribution with the others Danubian provinces is significant (see Table 7).

Table 7.

Age category	Percentage of unrounded ages by province					
	Noricum	Moesia Superior	Moesia Inferior	Dacia	Pannonia Superior	Pannonia Inferior
0–1	100	100	100	100	100	100
2–5	70	50	75	71.4	86	64.7
6–10	68.1	92.3	72.7	86.9	83.3	75
11–15	48.1	80	66.6	83.3	75	73.3
16–20	30.4	62.5	55.5	47.3	46.8	63.3
21–25	29.1	33.3	50	56.2	30.9	55
26–30	13.3	58.8	45.4	36.3	29.6	23
31–35	24	40	46.6	44.4	34.1	62.5

³⁴ ILLPRON 21.

³⁵ ILLPRON 169.

³⁶ ILLPRON 1356.

³⁷ ILLPRON 1356.

36–40	6	21.7	18.1	27.5	24	29.6
41–45	16.6	20	26.6	43.7	39.1	29.4
46–50	12	17.1	16.6	28.9	11.1	22.2
51–55	33.3	33.3	33.3	37.5	22.2	55.5
56–60	9.25	5	21.2	13.3	5.2	14.8
61–65	44.4	36.3	69.2	40	33.3	33.3
66–70	2.7	5.2	15.7	27.7	4	6.6
71–75	22.2	20	33.3	40	14.2	0
76–80	0	10	37.5	8.3	12.5	18.1
81–85	50	0	33.3	50	14.2	100
86–90	0	50	33.3	100	0	0
91–95	0	0	-	100	0	0
96–100	0	0	0	50	0	0
101–105	0	0	100	-	-	-
106–110	0	0	-	-	-	-
111–115	0	0	-	-	-	-
116–120	0	0	-	-	-	-

Age category from 0 to 1 year old holds a percentage of 100% for all provinces, which means that the deceased have only unrounded ages. The following categories, 2–5 years, 6–10 years and 11–15 years have high percentage values (the number of rounded ages is lower for this age groups), with two exceptions: in Moesia Superior 2–5 years age category has a value of 50% and 11–15 years age category from Noricum has the lowest percentage of the surveyed provinces — 48.1%. Age group 26–30 years in Moesia Superior presents a rather high value — 58.8%, the other provinces have values below 46%. The lowest percentage of unrounded ages of all six provinces, for 41–45 years age category, can be seen in Noricum — 16.6%. As regards the ages of mature adulthood (ages 50–80), after 70 years we find age groups represented only by rounded ages, such as: age groups 71–75 years in Pannonia Inferior, 76–80 years in Noricum, 81–85 years in Moesia Superior, 86–90 years in Noricum, Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, 91–95 and 96–100 years in Moesia Superior, Noricum and the two Pannonians, respectively Noricum, the two Moesias and the two Pannonias.

The rounded age distribution by age categories is shown in Table 8.

Table 8.

Age (years)	Number of rounded ages
5	6
10	15
15	14
20	48
25	39
30	52
35	19

40	31
45	10
50	44
55	10
60	49
65	5
70	36
75	7
80	11
85	1
90	5
95	1
100	8
105	0
110	1
115	0
120	1

The age of death ending in digit 5, unlike the ones ending in digit 0, are recorded in a relatively low number (112 of 413 – meaning 27.11%). Like the female population, rounded ages are centered round large age categories. Most of the rounded ages are recorded for ages starting from 30 years old – 296 persons of 413, meaning 71.67%. We notice that most rounded ages are recorded at 30 years old (52 persons), 60 years old (49 persons), 20 years old (48 persons), 50 years old (44 persons), 25 years old (39 persons), 70 years old (36 persons), 40 years old (31 persons), 35 years old (19 persons), 10 years old (15 persons), 15 years old (14 persons), 45 and 55 years old (10 persons for each age) and 100 years old (8 persons). Without doubt, for the vast majority of old ages (70, 75, 80, 90 and 100 years old), the figures are rounded. For a population with high infant and young people mortality, it is rather difficult to believe that some individuals have reached their old ages.

The male sample of Noricum includes eight ages of 100 years old, one of 110 and another one of 120 years old. The first man who died at the age of 100 years is Noibio³⁸. He is commemorated with his wife, Courtula, who died at the age of 70 years old, by their son. Vibius Secundus, veteran, died at 100 years old³⁹. The inscription was erected by the deceased, when he was still alive. The third centenary of the sample is Atiogus⁴⁰ commemorated together with his wife, Boniata, dead at the age of 60 years by his fellow freedman. Excingomarus appears in an inscription with his wife and sons, being commemorated by a nephew⁴¹. Celatus dies at 100 years, raising his own inscription⁴². Ateloudus⁴³, with his wife, is

³⁸ AE 1978, 604.

³⁹ AIJ 21.

⁴⁰ AIJ 51.

⁴¹ AIJ 89.

⁴² RIS 397.

mentioned in an epitaph probably built by his son. Tertius and Tertia, his wife dead also at the age of 100 years, are commemorated by Latinus, their son⁴⁴. The last centenarian, Diastumarus, is mentioned in an inscription with his wife, Coma, who died at the age of 75, and two sons, Viator and Crispus, dead at the age of 50 and 45 years old⁴⁵. The dedicator is unknown. Tertius, who died at the age of 110 years old, and his wife Respecta, dead at 90 years old, appear in an epitaph erected by Tertinius, their son⁴⁶. The oldest man in the sample, Mulio⁴⁷, dies at age 120 years old, being commemorated by Bonia, his wife. Among the elderly formerly mentioned, eight hold the legal status of *peregrinus*, one is a freedman and one obtained the Roman citizenship after the retirement from the army. If we analyze the dedicators of these inscriptions, we notice that, in six cases the inscriptions are raised by family members (wife, sons, grandson), in two situations the epitaphs are erected by the deceased during their lifetime, in one case the inscription is made by the fellow freedman of the deceased and in another case the dedicator is unknown. If in the case of unrounded ages the dedicators are most often the parents or rarely the wives or the brothers of the deceased, in the present situation appear as dedicated sons, wife and grandson (as the case may be), individuals who have less knowledge concerning the age of the deceased and thus tend to approximate it.

From the legal perspective, as regards the male sample in Noricum, the situation is found in Figure 3.

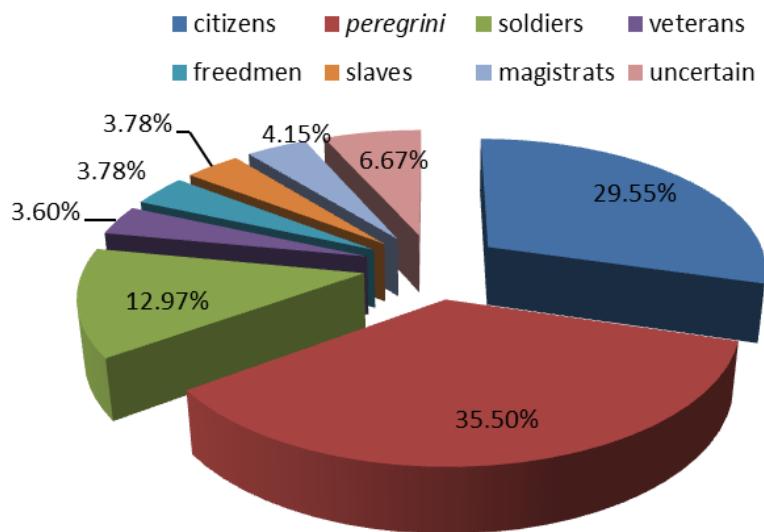


Figure 3.

⁴³ ILLPRON 1774.

⁴⁴ ILLPRON 1855.

⁴⁵ ILLPRON 1943.

⁴⁶ ILLPRON 922.

⁴⁷ AE 1990, 780.

From the 555 individuals composing the male sample in Noricum, 164 have the legal status of *cives* — 29.55%, 197 are *peregrini* — 35.50% (a high percentage compared to the other Danubian provinces, as in the case of female population), 21 are freedmen — 3.78%, 21 are slaves — about 3.78% and 37 persons have an uncertain legal status — 6.67%. Besides the legal status already mentioned, we have added three other categories: magistrates (23 persons — 4.15%), soldiers (72 persons — 12.97%), and veterans (20 persons — 3.60%). The magistrates would represent the wealthiest and most educated among the citizens and the *peregrini* and the soldiers and veterans are categories that do not come only from that province and that present high mobility. If we cumulate the percentages of soldiers, veterans and magistrates with the one of citizens of our sample, we notice that the citizens would represent the highest percentage in the male sample of Noricum (about 50%).

In the end, for an insight of the male population in Noricum, we will compare the age structure as shown in the epigraphic sources, based on three age categories: children and adolescents (0–20 years), young and adults (21–59 years) and elderly (60 years and over). The obtained values will be compared with those from the other Danubian provinces: Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Dacia, Pannonia Inferior and Pannonia Superior.

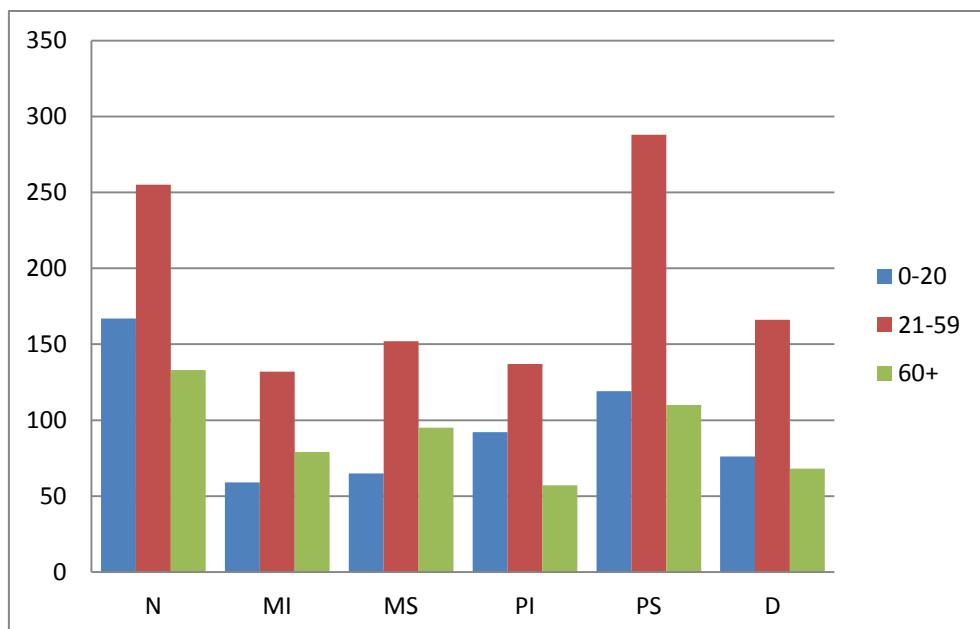


Figure 4. Number of deceased.

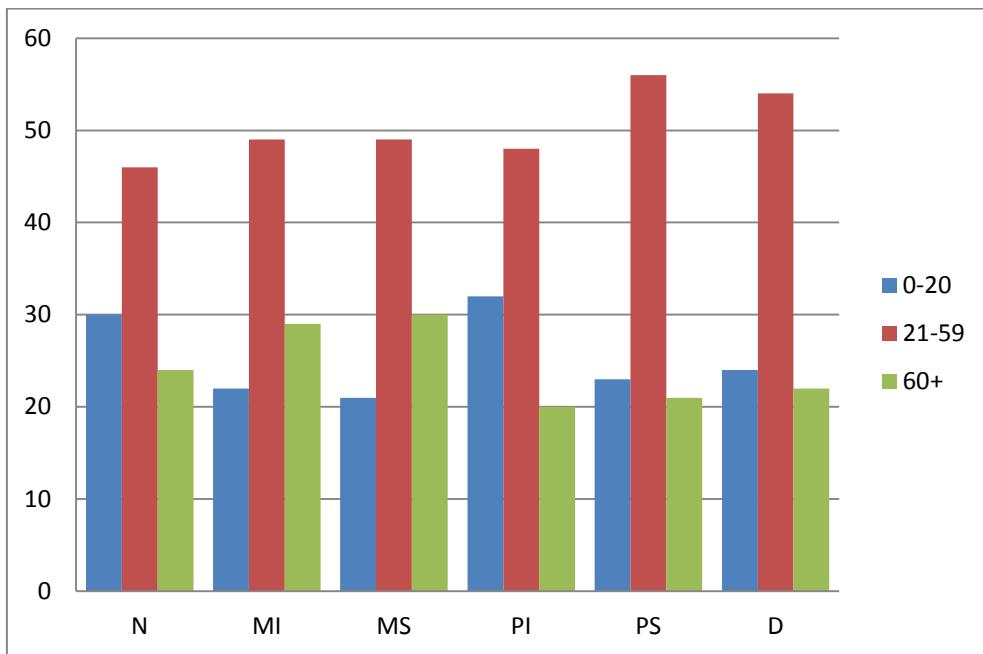


Figure 5. Percentage of deceased.

In terms of age structure, Noricum, which has the largest male sample of all the Danubian provinces, holds the highest numerical values for age groups 0–20 years and 60+, but stands in the second position, after Pannonia Superior, regarding 21–59 age category. In terms of precentage, the situation changes somehow. Thus, for children and adolescents, the first two ranks are holded by Pannonia Inferior (32%) and Noricum (30%), while the lowest percentage appears in Moesia Superior (21%). For the second category, the lowest percentage value appears in Noricum (46%), in the other extremity is Pannonia Superior, with the highest value (56%). As regards the third category, the elderly, the highest percentage appears in Moesia Superior (30%) and the lowest value in Pannonia Inferior (20%), Noricum holding in this case the third position with 24%. According to the data previously expressed, we notice that the male sample of Moesia Superior holds, in terms of numerical values, the third place in 60+ age category, but nevertheless has the highest percentage of old ages of death.

Life expectancy at birth for the male population in Noricum, according to epigraphic sources, is 36.469 (about 36 years and 5 months), comparable to that of women population – 33.590. Based on the underrepresentation of young and very young ages and the overrepresentation of advanced ages, but also on the presence of eight centenarians and two individuals aged 110 and 120 years old, life expectancy at birth is likely to be lower, its value ranging between 30 and 35 years.

Like the female population, rounded ages are centered round large age categories. Most of the rounded ages are recorded at the age of maturity (30 years old – 52 persons). The percentage of ages ending in the digit 0 in Noricum is the highest compared to the other Danubian provinces – 54.24%.

The principal sources for the study of life expectancy and age structure of the population in Noricum come from the epigraphic records. It is therefore particularly important to keep in mind the methodological obstacles, determined by the application of modern demographic models (such as the model life tables) on the information provided by the epigraphic documentation, which make the results of our analysis to be relative. They are as follows: social representativeness of the sample, age distribution of the population, *sex ratio*, origin place of the epitaphs, age rounding phenomenon.

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Ancient literary sources concerning fishing and fish processing in the Black Sea region*

Iulia Dumitache¹

Abstract. This article proposes a revision of the ancient literary sources concerning the conservation of fish stocks in the Black Sea region in Greek and Roman classical antiquity. The abundance and the chronological variety of the sources indicate, on the one hand, that these economic activities have always been part of people's lives, and on the other hand the quality of Pontic fish products, known from Britannia to Egypt. It seeks, in addition to spatial and chronological approach, the types of sources that are subject to submission, taking into account the category of recipients to whom they were addressed and the purpose for which they were written, in order to verify their typicality and credibility.

Rezumat. Articolul de față își propune trecerea în revistă a surselor literare antice cu privire la conservarea peștelui în bazinul Mării Negre în Antichitatea clasică grecească și romană. Abundența și varietatea cronologică a surselor indică, pe de o parte, faptul că aceste activități economice au făcut parte din totdeauna din viața oamenilor, iar pe de altă parte calitatea produselor halieutice pontice, binecunoscute în timp din Britannia până în Egipt. Se urmărește, pe lângă abordarea cronologică și spațială, tipologia surselor care fac subiectul studiului, în funcție de categoria de receptori cărora le erau adresate și scopul în care au fost scrise, cu scopul de a verifica tipicitatea și credibilitatea lor.

Keywords: Black Sea region, Antiquity, literary sources, fishing, fish processing.

Introduction

The theoretical and methodological assumptions underlying this study are closely linked to the idea that ancient social and economic phenomena should be viewed not only globally, but also in their local context. The existence of significant common features to emphasize the unity and the socio-economic development of the Roman world is limited by certain factors, such as: geographical units and regional cultural traditions; different semantics depending on the object of production or the agencies involved in production and distribution; chronological variability and historical changes affecting industry and commerce; the diversity of production systems.

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¹ “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, iuliadrim@yahoo.com.

The halieutic circuit comprises the potential of the exploitable biological resources of resources (fish resources and sources of salt) and the strategy of valorisation of this potential (processing and marketing the obtained resources). The artisanal transformation of fish uses all possibilities offered by nature for the exploitation of this categories of resource: all kinds of fish and all kinds of processing methods available in antiquity (salting, drying, smoking, used separately or combined); involves the development of perennial workshop networks, both individual and collective, but at the same time ensures a substantial income.

In recent years, there has been a quantitative and qualitative revival of interest in ancient economy, especially for the Roman times. However, with some notable exceptions, coastal and marine resources as a whole do not enjoy an intensive and meticulous research, in terms of importance held in the Roman economy. For Rostovtzeff, there was no doubt that fishing in certain regions of the ancient world, such as the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea must have played a key role in regional economic development². In 1985, the book T. W. Gallant, *A Fisherman's Tale*, published by the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Greece, expressed a sceptical vision over fishing and fish processing industry in ancient economy and diet, based on two arguments: the inefficiency of the ancient technology, and the inadequacy of the nutritional qualities of fish meat. The latest findings in the field contradict the theory of Gallant³, but the general view is still that aquaculture practices in antiquity were too rudimentary to have a considerable effect on the economy and everyday life.

However, the research polarizes the latinophone Mediterranean half of the Roman Empire. Anything the Black Sea produces, the Mediterranean can produce, too, and may produce even better. The significantly higher amount of sources (archaeological, epigraphic, iconographical) promotes not only a quantitative, but especially a qualitative growth of the studies in the field, whose main characteristic is interdisciplinary. The latest research focuses on: mapping and historical interpretation of the network of the circum-mediterranean fish processing centers⁴, paleolimnology and landscape archaeology⁵; archaeozoology, amphoric archaeology and epigraphy⁶; anthropology of food⁷.

If the Mediterranean and the western provinces enjoyed and are still enjoying a careful research, the circum-pontic area is still far to provide coherent and consistent results. The archaeological research undertaken in the Sea of Azov region, and in southern Crimea, on the one hand, and in the southern Black Sea and the Bosphorus, on the other hand, have unearthed numerous pottery workshops, and fish processing workshops that can provide an

² ROSTOVTEFF 1988, 196.

³ BEKKER-NIELSON 2005, 83-96; BEKKER-NIELSON 2012; LUND JACOBSEN 2005, 97-104; MARZANO 2013.

⁴ CARUSI 2008; BERNAL CASASOLA 2009; ROBINSON, WILSON 2011; MARZANO 2013.

⁵ AURIEMMA, KARINJA 2008; DI RITA, CELANT, MAGRI, 2010, 51-67.

⁶ BOETTO 2010, 243-255.

⁷ CURTIS 2009, 712-718.

overview on the amplitude of salted fish industry in the Hellenophone part of the Roman Empire⁸.

The literary and epigraphic sources from classical and Hellenistic periods show a substantial production of salted fish from the 5th century BC; this does not mean that such activities were not conducted even before. Therefore, we considered necessary the resumption of the information from the literary sources concerning the fish resources in the Black Sea.

As spatial delimitation of the Pontic area, we took into account the geographical definition stated by R. I. Curtis: “the lands bordering both sides of the Hellespont and Propontus, the Thracian Bosphorus, and regions surrounding the Pontus Euxinus and Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov). This area included portions of the provinces of Thrace, Moesia Inferior, Asia, Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, as well as the Crimea (Tauric Chersonese) and the semi-independent client kingdom of the Bosphorus, centered in the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Taman peninsula”⁹.

Properties of the Black Sea

Most of the sources prize the quantity and the quality of the pontic fish, no doubt due to the habitat offered by the sea¹⁰: the low salinity, calm waters, and the lack of predators:

“For that gulf is the sweetest of all the sea, watered as it is by infinite rivers of abundant water; and it has soft and sandy bays; therein are goodly feeding-grounds and waveless shores and caverned rocks and silty clefts and shady headlands and all that fish most love; but no fierce Sea-monster inhabits there nor any deadly bane of the finny race nor any of those which prey upon the smaller fishes—no coiling Poulpe nor Lobster nor Crab”¹¹; “the majority of fishes are eager for sexual intercourse throughout the springtime, and withdraw for choice to the Black Sea, for it contains caverns and resting-places which are Nature’s gift for Fishes. Besides, its waters are free from the savage creatures which the sea breeds. Only dolphins roam there, and they are small and feeble. Moreover it is devoid of octopuses; it produces no crabs and does not breed lobsters: these are the bane of small fishes”¹²; “all Fish that have a

⁸ Recent historical research is far from being extensive: BEKKER-NIELSON 2005 (ed.) is the most comprehensive synthesis on the subject to date; COLLIN BOUFFIER 1999, 37–50; LYTLE 2012, 253–303; YERMOLIN, FEDOSEEV 2013, 185–200).

⁹ CURTIS 1991, 118, n. 27.

¹⁰ PLINIUS, 9. 19: “Fishes of all kinds grow up exceptionally fast, especially in the Black Sea”, information taken from ARISTOTLE, *History of animals*, 6. 17: “Moreover almost all other fish also have a rapid growth, but that of all fish from Pont is still faster”. See also DION CHRYSOSTOMOS, 33. 24: „You are told that the people of Byzantium yonder, who dwell close beside the Pontus itself but a short distance outside its entrance [reap much profit from their situation], since from time to time fish are thrown out upon their shores without man’s intervention; but still no one would call Byzantines blessed because of the fish – unless he would say the same of cormorants – nor would call Egyptians blessed because of the Nile, or Babylonians because of their wall”.

¹¹ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 1, 595–637.

¹² AELIAN, *On animals*, 4. 9.

river or some lake near to their native sea, when they are about to spawn swim out of the salt water, choosing in preference to the waves water that is calm and not at all upheaved and lashed by gales. For the tranquillity of river and lake is well adapted to receive their offspring and to preserve their young from harm and from attack, both for other reasons and especially because of the absence or paucity of savage creatures. And lakes and rivers normally enjoy this freedom. That is the reason why the Euxine abounds in such a quantity of fish: it has not learnt to foster monsters. If it does breed the seal and dolphins, they are of the smallest, but from all other pests the fishes here are protected”¹³; “fishes of all kinds grow up exceptionally fast, especially in the Black Sea; this is due to the fresh water carried into it by a large number of rivers”¹⁴.

Species of fish

Most of the literary sources offer us general information about the fish from the Black Sea, mentioning their biological traits, their behaviour, and their migration¹⁵.

Although many different kinds of fish were caught and processed in salting factories from the Black Sea region, the tunny, and particularly the pelamys, was the most important¹⁶. Several cities drew specific mentioning sometimes even praise for their fish products. These included Sinope¹⁷, for its mullets; Parion, on the southern coast of the Hellespont, for its salted mackerel¹⁸; Byzantium, in the Thracian Bosphorus, which Eutydemus calls “the mother of salted tunny”¹⁹. Other cities in the Roman period which received praise for their fish products include Trapezus²⁰ and Chalcedon²¹, for their pelamydes; Tium and Heraclea Pontica²² for their tunny; and Panticapaeum²³, for its sturgeon.

¹³ AELIAN, *On animals*, 9. 59.

¹⁴ PLINIUS, 9. 19.

¹⁵ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 1, 595-599: When in spring the oviparous fishes are full of roe, some of them remain quietly in their homes, each tribe in its own place; but many gather together and pursue a common path to the Euxine Sea; see also AELIAN, *On animals*, 4. 9. For tunny, see AELIAN, *On animals*, 9. 42; PLINIUS, 9. 18; PLINIUS, 9. 20; ARISTOTLE, *History of animals*, 6. 17; for mackerel, see AELIAN, *On animals*, 10. 6: “It seems that the Spanish Mackerel of the Euxine imitate the Persian king who spends the winter at Susa and the summer in Ecbatana. For these fish pass the winter in the Propontis as it is called, since that region is warm, but in the summer they live about Aegialus, because the first-named sea affords them gentle breezes”; PLINIUS, 9. 19; ARISTOTLE, *History of animals*, 8. 13; for other species, see: PLINIUS, 9. 20: “Many pass the summer in the Sea of Marmara without entering the Black Sea; the same is the case with the sole, though the turbot does enter it. Nor does the sepias occur there, though the cuttle-fish is found. Of rock-fish the sea-bream and whiting are lacking, as are some shell-fish, though oysters are plentiful; but they all winter in the Aegean”; LUCIAN, *Dialogues of the courtesans*, 2 (perches); OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 1, 509-512 (breams); OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 1, 595-637; AELIAN, *On animals*, 9. 59 (dolphins).

¹⁶ See THOMPSON 1947, s.v. τύννος (79-90); πηλαμύς (197-199); THOMPSON 1932, 246-248; DUMONT 1976-1977, 96-117.

¹⁷ DORION, *apud* ATHENAIOS 3. 118c.

¹⁸ HERMIPPUS, fr. 63 (Edmonds ed.)

¹⁹ EUTHYDEMUS, *apud* ATHENAIOS 3. 116b. See also ATHENAIOS 3. 120f; 4. 132c-d (Diphilus); 3. 118b; 7. 303f (Antiphanes); 3. 117a; 7. 303e; 314e-f (Archestrates).

²⁰ STRABO, 7. 6. 2.

Archaeologists have uncovered bones of many species, such as anchovies, herring, sturgeon, sea roach, flounder, and mackerel²⁴. The most important study on the ancient ichthyofauna in this area refers to the bone remains from Olbia and Berezan of the Dnieper and Bug estuaries²⁵. The analysis of the material indicated the presence of predominantly large fishes: sturgeon, pike, and catfish, while carp and roach, though occurring in large amounts, seem to have been of secondary importance. Apparently this is due preference for fish living in areas of slow currents in the rivers.

Meanwhile, within the sites from Tyritake and Chersonesos dominates saltwater fish, most bones originating from species such as catfish and various types of sturgeons: sterlet, beluga, sevriuga, Russian sturgeon and pikeperch²⁶.

The analysis of the osteological material dating from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC from Pantikapaion, Phanagoreia and other settlements on the eastern cost of the Sea of Azov demonstrates that in this area the most consumed species was pikeperch, closely followed by different types of sturgeon. The material from the 2nd century BC from Pantikapaion corresponds roughly to that of Olbia. In the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, there was identified the largest share of carp bones²⁷.

Not so many texts refer to **fishing and fishing methods** in the Black Sea region. The most important writing belongs to Oppian, and dates from the early 2nd century AD²⁸, strongly influenced by a lost work of Leonidas of Byzantium (c. 100 AD) and Aristotle. Oppian mentions the use, by "Thracians and the inhabitants of Byzantium" of tridents in order to catch dolphins²⁹. He also remembers an ingenious device used by the fishermen in the Black Sea to catch young tunny:

"These the Thracians who dwell above the deep expanse of the Black Gulf capture in the unkindly season of winter by a cruel and unpleasant form of fishing under the bloody law of war and savage doom of death. They have a stout log, not long but as thick as may be, about a cubit in length. On the end of it are put abundant lead and many three-pronged spears set close together; and about it runs a well-twisted cable exceeding long. Sailing up in a boat to where the gulf is deepest, mightily they launch into the murky deep the pine-log's stubborn strength. Straightway with swift rush, weighed down by lead and iron, it speeds to the nether foundations of the sea, where it strikes upon the weak Pelamys huddling in the mud and kills and transfixes as many as it reaches of the hapless crowd. And the fishermen swiftly draw them up, impaled upon the bronze and struggling pitifully under the iron torture. Beholding them even a stone-hearted man would pity them for their unhappy capture and death. For

²¹ AULUS GELLIUS, 6. 16. 5.

²² AELIAN, *On animals*, 15. 5.

²³ STRABO, 7. 3. 18.

²⁴ CURTIS 1991, 121.

²⁵ MUNK HØJTE 2005, 140.

²⁶ MUNK HØJTE 2005, 140.

²⁷ MUNK HØJTE 2005, 141.

²⁸ On *Halieutica*, see BEKKER-NIELSEN 2005, 83-84.

²⁹ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 4. 521-522.

the spear-point has entered the flanks of one, the swift shaft has transfixed the head of another ; one is wounded over the tail, the groin of this, the back of that is victim of the bitter warfare, and yet another is pierced in the midst of the belly”³⁰.

Some other ancient fishing techniques presented by Oppian are by using semi-permanent nets or trap³¹, and light nets:

“The fishers set up very light nets of buoyant flax and wheel in a circle round about while they violently strike the surface of the sea with their oars and make a din with sweeping blow of poles. At the flashing of the swift oars and the noise the fishes bound in terror and rush into the bosom of the net which stands at rest, thinking it to be a shelter: foolish fishes which, frightened by a noise, enter the gates of doom. Then the fishers on either side hasten with the ropes to draw the net ashore. And when they see the moving rope, the fish, in vain terror, huddle and cower together and are coiled in a mass. Then would the fisher offer many prayers to the gods of hunting that nothing may leap out of the net nor anything make a move and show the way ; for if the Pelamyds see such a thing, speedily they all bound over the light net into the deep and leave the fishing fruitless”³².

Fish preservation formed a substantial portion of fishing activity in the Black Sea region from the pre-Roman period. Eutydemus stated that the Bosphorus³³ was rich in salted fish and that the inhabitants cut the fish into squares and pickled them³⁴. Cratinus uses the term *τάριχος Ποντικός*³⁵, and Pollux uses *ταρίχη Ποντικά*³⁶.

Greek terms designating salted fish products show that there were two main categories of products. First, *τάριχος* was a generic term designating any kind of pickled meat, but especially fish³⁷. The fish were used either whole or cut in pieces³⁸: *τέμαχος* was the name for products made from pieces of fish, while whole specimens were used for *τάριχος*. Salting begins with the direct contact between fish and salt and ended when the fish salinity was enough, on the one hand, to avoid the contaminating bacterial growth, and secondly to acquire the taste, aroma and consistency of specific products ready for consumption³⁹.

Products received specific names depending on the form in which they were handled, the degree of concentration of the brine or of the raw fish species or their age. Thus, *τρίγωνον*⁴⁰, *τετράγωνον*⁴¹, and *κύβιον*⁴² indicated the shape of salted fish; *ἀκρόπαστος*⁴³ (slightly salty),

³⁰ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 4. 535–548.

³¹ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 6. 637–648.

³² OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, 4. 566–582.

³³ For the discussion whether he refers to the Thracian or Cimerian Bosphorus see CURTIS 1991, 119.

³⁴ EUTYDEMUS *apud Athenaios* 3.116b

³⁵ CRATINUS, fr. 40 (Edmonds ed.).

³⁶ POLLUX, *Onomasticon*, 6. 48.

³⁷ ÉTIENNE, MAYET 2002, 8.

³⁸ DESSE-BERSET, DESSE 2000, 74.

³⁹ STERNBERG 2000, 148.

⁴⁰ ATHENAIOS, 3. 116c.

⁴¹ ATHENAIOS, 3. 116b.

⁴² ATHENAIOS, 3. 116e; 3. 118a-b.

⁴³ XENOCRATES *apud Oribasius* 2. 58. 150.

ἡεμιτάριχος⁴⁴ (with a moderate amount of salt), or τέλειον⁴⁵ (very salty) refers to the concentration of the brine in which the fish was preserved; τάριχος τιλτόν (salted fish with scales) and τάριχος λεπιδωτόν⁴⁶ (fish without scales) involves the use of certain special methods of production; ὑπογάστρια⁴⁷ (the stomach) indicates which particular part was used for conservation.

Commerce in salted fish products from the Black Sea area was also attested by the literary sources. The demand for fish may have begun since the 7th century BC⁴⁸ that being probably one of the reasons of the Greek colonization in the north of the Black Sea. Athens imported salted fish from the Hellespont and other areas of the Pontus Euxinus and Bosphorus⁴⁹. Demosthenes notes that salted fish was transported from Panticapaeum, in the Cimmerian Bosphorus (Strait of Kerch), to Theodosia in Crimea with an Athenian ship⁵⁰. Romans appreciated Pontic products since the 2nd century BC, when Cato the Elder decried the expense of τάριχος⁵¹ that may indicate “that commerce in the Western Mediterranean in salted fish from the Black Sea area was not fully developed or that only the most expensive kinds came from that region”⁵². Polybius, at his turn, registers Pontic salted fish among the most expensive merchandises imported in Greece⁵³. Horace, unlike other authors, who refer generally to Pontic products, specifically mentions Byzantium as an exporting city to the West⁵⁴. In the 2nd century AD, Galen refers to Pontic *salsamenta* as inferior to those of Spain⁵⁵. Strabo notes that since the times of Mithridates Eupator the Bosphorus had been subject to the Romans, but remarks that prior to that time the salteries of Lake Maeotis had sent salted fish to the Greeks⁵⁶. Pontic τάριχος was found also in Cleopatra’s Alexandria, as Plutarch remembers in *Life of Antony*⁵⁷. Lucian writes about “cuts of Pontic tunny”⁵⁸, brought by “the merchant traders, and particularly the Phoenicians among them, who not only sail into the Pontus or as far as Lake Maeotis and the Cimmerian Bosporus, but cruise everywhere in Greek and foreign waters; for these fellows comb every single shore and every strand, you may say, each year before returning late in the autumn to their own country. On the same principle,

⁴⁴ ATHENAIOS, 3. 117a; 118f.

⁴⁵ ATHENAIOS, 3. 120d.

⁴⁶ POLLUX, 6. 48.

⁴⁷ ATHENAIOS, 3. 116b; 7. 302d; 9. 399c.

⁴⁸ CURTIS 1991, 114.

⁴⁹ NICOSTRATUS, frs. 4-5 (Edmonds ed.); ANTIOPHANES, fr. 77 (Edmonds ed.); ALEXIS, fr. 77 (Edmonds ed.)

⁵⁰ DEMOSTHENES, *In Lacritum*, 934.

⁵¹ See POLYBIUS 31. 25. 5.

⁵² CURTIS 1991, 126.

⁵³ POLYBIUS 4. 38. 4.

⁵⁴ HORACE, *Satires*, 2. 4. 63-66.

⁵⁵ GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 3. 30. 5.

⁵⁶ STRABO 7. 4. 6.

⁵⁷ PLUTARCH, *Life of Antony*, 29. 3-4.

⁵⁸ LUCIAN, *Lexiphanes*, 6.

you should account them gods, even though most of them are pedlars and, it may be, fishmongers!"⁵⁹.

Conclusion

The Pontic fish resources enjoy the attention of ancient authors from classical Greece time to Late Antiquity. Most authors take the same information on fish migration and on the morphology of the Black Sea, seen as a geographical unit which includes the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis), the Bosphorus and the Marmara Sea (Propontis). But, with no exception, they prove that the Pontic salted fish was praised throughout the ancient world. There is more literary information on certain Pontic fish processing and selling centers, such as Byzantium. It is necessary to synchronize the sources literary, epigraphic, iconographic and, not least, archaeological.

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Epigraphie amphorique et prosopographie.
Etiquettes, marchandises, marchands^{*}

Iulia DUMITRACHE¹

Abstract. *The author tries to identify, based on epigraphic sources, and particularly on amphoric inscriptions, for Roman salted fish trade, following the same pattern as in the case of wine trade and oil trade, several families (whose members are consanguine or are placed under the authority of the same patron), implied, in one way or another, in the same type of business.*

Résumé. *L'auteur essaye, en partant des sources épigraphiques, et particulièrement des inscriptions amphoriques, à identifier, pour le commerce du poisson salé, tout comme dans le cas du commerce du vin ou d'huile, l'existence de certaines familles (dont les membres sont consanguins ou se trouvent sous l'autorité du même patron) qui sont impliquées, d'une manière ou d'une autre, dans le même type d'affaires.*

Rezumat. Autoarea încearcă, pe baza surselor epigrafice, în special a inscripțiilor amforice, să identifice, pentru comerțul cu pește sărat, ca și în cazul comerțului cu ulei sau vin, existența unor familii (ai căror membri sunt cosangvini sau aflați sub autoritatea aceluiași patron), implicate, într-un fel sau altul, în același tip de afaceri.

Keywords: Roman trade, amphoric epigraphy, *tituli picti*, *salsamenta*.

Malgré tous les débats idéologiques et scientifiques qui ont caractérisé le domaine de l'économie antique pendant le dernier siècle, à nos jours tous les chercheurs sont d'accord que la meilleure approche, bien que souvent longue et sinuose, est celle de la recherche interdisciplinaire². Un premier pas a été fait dans le domaine de l'épigraphie amphorique. Un modèle méthodologique a été appliqué avec succès par les chercheurs pour étudier divers autres secteurs économiques, tels que la production et la distribution de l'huile ou du vin, modèle qui actionne dans deux directions de recherche qui devrait être étroitement liées: l'analyse morphologique des vaisseaux et les informations épigraphiques qu'ils fournissent.

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¹ Université „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” de Iași, iuliadrim@yahoo.com.

² Voir SMITH 1980; BLOEMERS 1989; AQUERETTA, ASTIASARÁN, BELLO 2002; BAKERS, JAKOMET 2003; BAGNALL 2006.

Tout d'abord, en partant des œuvres d'auteurs tels que M. M. Beltran ou M. Ponsich³, aucune recherche sur les *tituli* des vaisseaux de *salsamenta* n'a été entreprise depuis des décennies à suivre le rythme de plus en plus nombreuses découvertes archéologiques⁴. Deuxièmement, il y a des lacunes terminologiques qui visent la quantité des inscriptions incluses dans le circuit scientifique, depuis que les fouilles en font ressortir de plus en plus⁵. La signification des épigraphes des *instrumenta domestica* constitue l'objet d'un différend entre les chercheurs⁶. L'opinion générale envisage l'existence d'importantes caractéristiques communes sous-jacentes au corpus épigraphique, conditionnée par les particularités de chaque ensemble d'inscriptions, en fonction de la zone géographique dans laquelle les épigraphes ont été rédigées et des traditions culturelles spécifiques; de l'existence des significations différentes, selon le type du support épigraphique, et, dans le cas des amphores, de leur contenu et des agents impliqués dans leur production et leur distribution; de la variabilité chronologique et des transformations historiques qui affectent la production et le commerce; enfin, de la diversité des systèmes de production dans lesquels ces pratiques épigraphiques sont générées⁷.

Bien que les informations fournies par les inscriptions sur les amphores de *salsamenta* ne sont pas si nombreuses, ni autant rigoureuses comme dans le cas des vaisseaux d'huile ou de vin⁸, elles peuvent être corroborées, en quelques cas, comme ceux que nous avons choisi, à d'autres mentions, pour identifier des détails onomastiques, familiales, professionnels et/ou associatifs qui servent à notre but.

Des mêmes noms, souvent précédés par le même prénom, sont certifiés dans plusieurs cas à Monte Testaccio, donc dans les activités commerciales liées à l'huile. Les associations professionnelles avaient besoin d'agents dans les points clés de la route commerciale. Ces agents jouaient un rôle important, principalement en termes financiers, et leur contrôle était assez difficile à assurer⁹. Dans ce cas, une solution simple était qu'un membre de la famille soit entraîné dans l'entreprise, en respectant la règle édictée par l'un des clients de Trimalchio: *longe fuit quisquis suos fugit... Numquam autem recte faciet qui cito credit, utique homo negotians*¹⁰.

Ainsi, les Baebii apparaissent dans *tituli picti* sur les amphores de *garum* découvertes à Rome¹¹. Baebius est un *nomen* fréquemment rencontré dans la Bétique, accompagné par les *praenomina* Marcus et Lucius. Ainsi, nous rencontrons M. Baebi à Astigi¹²; un L. Baebius Eros à

³ BELTRÁN 1970; PONSICH, TARRADELL 1965; PONSICH 1988.

⁴ LAGÓSTENA BARRIOS 1996; GARCÍA VARGAS 1998; BERNAL 1998a; BERNAL 1998b.

⁵ LAGÓSTENA BARRIOS 2001; LAGÓSTENA BARRIOS 2004.

⁶ CALLENDER 1993; MANACORDA, PANELLA 1993; REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 1977–78, 87–142; REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 1980, 131–152; REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 1986, 19–21; CHIC 1985.

⁷ AUBERT 1993, 172; LAGÓSTENA BARRIOS 2001, 280–285.

⁸ Voir la discussion dans BROCKAERT 2013, 291–293.

⁹ TCHERNIA 1980, 160.

¹⁰ PETRONIUS, 43. 6.

¹¹ CIL XV, 4704; 4734; 4735; 4750.

¹² CIL II, 1249.

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Cordoba¹³ et à Albacete¹⁴, en La Calzada¹⁵ et à Saguntum¹⁶. Un Quintus Baebius Eros est mentionné en 48 ou 54 ap. J.-Chr. aussi à Puteoli¹⁷. Il est bien connu que les membres des associations pouvaient être soit et fils, soit frères, soit, dans certains cas, patron et affranchi ou même co-affranchis. Ainsi, Lucius Baebius¹⁸, Marcus Baebius¹⁹ et Marcus Baebius Claricus²⁰, mentionnés à Rome dans la première moitié du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., étaient probablement parents, bien que le nom Baebius fût assez fréquent en Hispania.

Un autre exemple qui peut être étudié plus détaillé est celui de C. Calpurnius Placidus, qui apparaît mentionné dans un *titulus pictus* de Pompéi²¹ et qui peut être connecté à la famille de marchands des Calpurnii, de Puteoli. La *gens Calpurnia* était une des plus importantes familles du I^{er} siècle ap. J. Chr. et à laquelle un établissement rurale du territoire de Puteoli devait le nom, *vicus Vestorianus* et *Calpurnianus*. Ses membres ont été honorés par une inscription par les marchands de Syrie, d'Asie et d'Alexandrie²². Dans un graffiti de Wadi Meneh on rencontre un Laudanes, esclave de Calpurnius Moschas, sans doute affranchi de la gens Calpurnia. L'inscription nous offre quelques détails concernant l'organisation du commerce dans la région de la Mer Rouge. Le monument a été érigé dehors la saison de navigation, au mois d'octobre en 4 ap. J. Chr., ce qui fait de Laudanes plutôt le représentant du son patron au rôle de control sur les marchandises exportées vers, ou importées de l'Inde, qu'agent commercial.

La famille Annia est un autre exemple bien connu. Sur les tablettes des Sulpici apparaît un L. Annus Felix²³, dans un contrat de prête dans lequel le personnage signe comme *fideiussor* de P. Urvinus Zosimus. Un autre L. Annus, dont le *cognomen* est perdu, apparaît dans deux *tituli* sur des amphores de *garum* découvertes à Rome²⁴. Les Granii sont mentionnés parmi les grandes familles de commerçants de Puteoli et ont joué un rôle politique et économique important au temps de Sulla²⁵. Un tel Q. Iun. Granius apparaît dans un *titulus pictus* sur un récipient de *garum*²⁶.

Les Clodii représentent une autre famille dédiée au commerce, dont les membres sont mentionnés dans des *tituli picti* sur des amphores remplies également de *garum*²⁷, et d'huile²⁸. Dans ce cas, nous pourrions identifier une association familiale qui agissait pour une longue

¹³ CIL II²; CIL VII, 427.

¹⁴ AE 1990, 605.

¹⁵ AE 1984, 606.

¹⁶ Voir ALFÖLDY 1977, 7–13.

¹⁷ TPSulp. 5, 2.

¹⁸ CIL XV, 4704.

¹⁹ CIL XV, 4734; 4735.

²⁰ CIL XV, 4750.

²¹ CIL IV 5651.

²² CIL X, 1797.

²³ TPSulp. 57, 5.

²⁴ CIL XV, 4692; 4693.

²⁵ GABBA 1951, 258–260; SYME 1974, 92–93, n. 1.

²⁶ CIL XV, 4724.

²⁷ CIL XV, 4705.

²⁸ CIL XV 3243b; 3650.

période de temps. Pendant le II^e siècle ap. J. Chr., P. Athenio Clodius était *q(uin)q(uennalis) corporis negotiantium Malacitanorum*²⁹.

C. Hostius Agathemerus³⁰ apparaît dans les *tituli picti*, dans le champ β, sur des amphores de *garum* découvertes à Pompéi, et un C. Hostius apparaît dans les archives des Sulpicii³¹. Il se trait de C. Hostius Maronis, *signator* sur des *nomina arcaria*, un sorte de prête. Toujours à Puteoli est mentionné un *C. Hostius A.... / olearius ossa...*³², qui peut être connecté à un personnage nommé sur les amphores de Pompéi, d'autant plus que le nom Hostius est assez rare.

P. Attius Severus apparaît dans cinq cas dans des *tituli* peintes sur les amphores d'origine bétique découvertes à Rome, tous étant amphores d'huile³³. Un personnage avec le même nom apparaît sur une des tablettes des archives des Sulpicii³⁴, à Puteoli, datant de 38 ap. Chr. Primus, un esclave de P. Attius Severus, avait signé un *ναυλωτική*, donc un type de contrat pour le transport maritime et fluvial avec Ménélaos, un marchand d'origine orientale. En vertu du contrat, Ménélaos reçoit de Primus une somme de 1.000 deniers, comme assurance³⁵. P. Attius Severus peut être le propriétaire de la cargaison qui comprenait d'huile et du garum de Hispanie. Si cela était le même P. Attius Severus de Rome, et s'il est vraiment le propriétaire de la marchandise à être transportée à l'Asie Mineure, puis Ménélaos peut être identifié comme armateur ou *navicularius*. L'information est importante non seulement pour confirmer la présence d'un marchand de produits hispaniques à Puteoli, mais aussi parce qu'il met en évidence les liens commerciaux entre l'Ouest et la Méditerranée orientale. P. Attius Severus dirige une cargaison à Rome, tandis que l'un de ses esclaves a signé un accord commercial avec un marchand d'origine asiatique, qui peut-être allait de porter les produits de P. Attius Severus dans la Méditerranée orientale. Malheureusement, il n'a pas été jusqu'à présent identifié aucun *titulus pictus* confirmant cette hypothèse.

Quant à l'identité de P. Attius Severus, il y a plus de questions. Est-il originaire d'Hispanie, ou il est un italique? A Puteoli sont certifiés plusieurs Attii, la plupart d'entre eux portant le prénom de Quintus³⁶. Dans la Bétique est certifiée, de la même époque que le document de Puteoli, un certain C. Attius Severus³⁷. Des autres Attii apparaissent à Ostie³⁸, à Altino³⁹ et à Rome⁴⁰.

²⁹ CIL VI, 9677.

³⁰ CIL IV, 5605–5610.

³¹ TPSulp. 61.

³² CIL X, 1934.

³³ CIL XV, 3642; 3644; 3645; 4748; 4749.

³⁴ TPSulp. 78.

³⁵ ROVIRA GUARDIOLA 2005, 1264.

³⁶ CIL X, 2120–3.

³⁷ AE 1955, 21.

³⁸ AE 1914, 159; AE 1988, 202.

³⁹ AE 1981, 413.

⁴⁰ AE 1961, 116; AE 1983, 352; AE 1988, 574.

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M. Valerius Euphemos apparaît dans le champ β d'un *titulus pictus* sur une amphore trouvée à Pompéi⁴¹. Marci Valerii avec des *cognomina* différentes apparaissent assez fréquemment sur les amphores de type Dressel 20 (utilisées pour l'huile) et Dressel 7-11 (spécifiques pour le stockage et le transport des *salsamenta*⁴²), ce que nous a conduit à la conclusion que nous pouvons parler d'une famille des marchands qui vendent des produits différents. Un M. Valerius Euphemos apparaît sur deux tablettes à Puteoli, mais en aucun cas on ne peut pas établir une connexion entre le personnage et une certaine activité commerciale.

Si P. Attius Severus ne résidait pas dans Puteoli, ou du moins il n'était pas là au moment de la transaction commerciale, M. Valerius Euphemos y était, indiquant qu'il menait sa vie dans Puteoli sinon en permanence, au moins temporairement, et d'autre part que ses marchandises étaient là. Valerius est une nomenclature assez souvent rencontrée à Puteoli, donc nous ne pouvons pas se prononcer sur l'origine de cette famille.

Bien qu'il y ait peu de lumière et trop de coïncidences, les données présentées ici nous permettent de tirer des conclusions ou des jugements à propos de la composition de l'élite commerciale de la Bétique mentionnée dans les sources. La première conclusion concerne le fonctionnement de commerçants. P. Attius Severus et M. Valerius Euphemos montrent deux modes de fonctionnement complètement différents, normalement, si on considère la complexité du commerce de l'époque impériale. P. Attius Severus agissant par un esclave, Primus, et bien que ses produits ne sont pas documentés dans Puteoli, et même pas à Rome, leur activité est assez vaste, si on pense que sa marchandise, comme apparaît sur le document d'Asie Mineure, est arrivée sur les marchés orientales. Mais la possibilité ne doit pas être exclue que le marchand faisait partie de *statio betica* et sa présence à Puteoli soit due à un voyage d'affaires. M. Valerius Euphemos, cependant, fait partie de la société de Puteoli, comme il déclare les amphores y trouvées.

La plupart des personnages commercialisent plus d'un produit, et cela est une question digne d'attention, étant donné les points de vue de l'historiographie sur les commerçants spécialisés, mais aussi sur la démarcation ferme entre les produits. Bien qu'ils soient vendus sur différents marchés, le plus souvent, ils sont transportés par les mêmes personnes. Les personnages prouvent aussi l'existence de la *statio baetica* et ses relations avec les autres grands ports de commerce.

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Grand infrastructural projects and preventive archaeology in Romania*

Petre COLȚEANU¹

Abstract. The author presents a brief history of preventive archaeological research in Romania, in particular the investigations which took place on large infrastructural projects after 2000. The state of research, the problems facing the preventive archaeological research in Romania and their causes are analysed.

Rezumat. Autorul prezintă un scurt istoric al arheologiei preventive în România, în special investigațiile desfășurate după 2000 în cadrul proiectelor de infrastructură mare. Sunt analizate stadiul cercetării, problemele cu care confruntă arheologia preventivă în România, precum și cauzele acestora.

Keywords: contractual archaeology, preventive archaeology, grand infrastructure/highway, archaeological sites, Romania.

The term “contractual archaeology” is associated in the West with preventive archaeological research, which is conducted in general by private research institutions, under a commercial contract². Its evolution can be traced from the early 60's of the last century, when some major infrastructural and development projects took place in the West, it required a new approach on the matter of preserving the archaeological sites. Thus appeared the term “public archaeology”³. As this current research has developed on several directions⁴, which the “father” of this term, Charles McGimsey, called *public archaeology*, was redefined as *contract archaeology* or *Cultural Resource Management* (CRM)⁵.

This term was imported from the United States into Europe, initially in the United Kingdom. Strongly affected by the destructions of Second World War, with a heritage of inestimable value to humanity, within the economic revival of the '60s, Europe experienced a period of major investments in infrastructure, constructions of factories, restorations of monuments, etc. All these affected, in some way, the cultural heritage. To protect these monuments voices were raised within the scientific community and civil society, but also in

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¹ Faculty of History, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iasi; petrecolteanu@gmail.com.

² MCGILL 1995.

³ McGIMSEY 1972; MERRIMAN 2004; JAMESON 2004, 21–58.

⁴ BORŞ 2014, 90–96.

⁵ PYKLES 2006, 311–349.

the governmental institutions. The cultural heritage began to be seen as a development resource, non-renewable, and its protection as an obligation. There were established protection rules, codes of professional conduct and introduced terms such as *Cultural Resource Management / Archaeological Resource Management, Rescue Archaeology, Preventive Archaeology, Preservation by Record*, etc. Or as Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley concluded “*The past, its preservation, archaeology and the work of the hands of professional has archaeologists, academics, state and local government workers Employees. In this work the issue is paramount conservation planning, managing and rescuing the past is a vital concern*⁶.”

First of all, *contractual archaeology* in Romania is confused, sometimes to its very core, with *preventive archaeology*⁷. This has a long tradition in Romanian archaeology, especially after the Second World War. Alongside the *preventive archaeology* we have, what was called until 2006, *rescue archaeology*.

The main landmarks of the Romanian preventive and rescue archaeology can be found in abundance in the scientific literature.

First we have to mention the example of the complex researches generated by the construction of the Bicaz dam⁸. In this project were involved several institutes of the Academy and specialists from different professions, from archaeologists to architects, geologists, geographers, ethnographers, engineers etc. As a result of this effort there were investigated many endangered archaeological sites and were relocated churches with heritage value.

Another example is generated by the hydro-electric power station construction of the Iron Gates II⁹. The works dedicated to the construction of this unit triggered archaeological researches on the Danube Iron Gates¹⁰.

Unfortunately, for another major infrastructure work from the communist era, the Danube–Black Sea Channel, the data on archaeological findings are far fewer¹¹.

Another example of archaeological research that is worthy of mentioning was conducted by the archaeologists from Transylvania History Museum in Cluj County, in the 80's. Since there were about to perform different types of investments and landscaping jobs in several areas of Cluj County, archaeologists have conducted several field researches in those areas¹². The novelty of this project was the introduction, in the Romanian archaeology, of non-intrusive methods on a large scale, but also a partnership with a team of British archaeologists.

⁶ SHANKS, TILLEY 1992, 24–28.

⁷ ANGELESCU 2005.

⁸ PETRESCU-DÂMBOVIȚA, SPINEI 2003; NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR *et al.* 1959, 45–60; NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR *et al.* 1959, 57–83; NICOLĂESCU-PLOPȘOR *et al.* 1960, 37–47.

⁹ ROMAN 2010.

¹⁰ STÂNGĂ 1979, 275–276; BORONEANȚ 1980, 636–640; STÂNGĂ 1980, 641–646; CRĂCIUNESCU 1980, 647–651; STÂNGĂ 1986, 9–21.

¹¹ COMĂA 1951, 169–172; HARTUCHE, BOUNEGRU 1997, 17–104.

¹² DRAGOMIR *et al.* 1992, 919–924; LAZAROVICI, KALMAR-MAXIM 1992, 997–1009; LAZAROVICI, MEŞTER 1994, 86–105.

The first real project of contractual archaeology in Romania began in 2001. It was the establishment of “Alburnus Maior”¹³ National Research Program. This aimed to conduct archaeological researches in “Roșia Montana” area, in Alba County, before the gold mining¹⁴ in this surface began. Although debates were raised by groups that opposed the gold mining in the area, in terms of archaeological research there weren’t any objections. Substantial funding from the investors managed to create the framework through which the affected area was investigated and the results were published¹⁵.

Even if it isn’t an investment with public character, it’s worth mentioning the preventive archaeological research for the Florești–Polus Center project¹⁶.

Another important step in the development of contractual archaeology is related to the initiation of the “Autostrada” National Programme for Archaeological Research¹⁷. This is the improved and better structured successor of “Autostrada Transilvania” National Archaeological Research Programme¹⁸.

But what is the exact status of preventive archaeological¹⁹ researches in the field? At least for the large infrastructure projects we can make an eloquent analysis.

1. NADLAC-ARAD HIGHWAY — LOT 1 — KM. 0 + 000-22 + 200 (+ road linking km. 0 + 000-6 + 581)²⁰.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca, Arad Museum Complex.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in the autumn 2011, preventive archaeological research completed in April 2012

Archaeological sites identified: 9 sites.

a. Approved free area — 26.784 km — 93%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — nine sites.

2. NADLAC-ARAD HIGHWAY — LOT 2 — KM. 22 + 200-38 + 882²¹.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Arad Museum Complex.

Archaeological diagnostic and preventive archaeological research completed in the autumn of 2011

¹³ DAMIAN 2003.

¹⁴ GIMPCRM 2011.

¹⁵ SIMION *et al.* 2005; DAMIAN 2008.

¹⁶ ROTEA *et al.* 2008, 47–88; MUSTEATĂ *et al.* 2009.

¹⁷ Ordinul Comun MTI–MCPN nr. 653/2010.

¹⁸ OMCC 2040/2004.

¹⁹ Situation for May 2015. The data may be incomplete because the Ministry of Culture refused our access to the ministry archive regarding preventive archaeological research made with infrastructural projects, on account of the fact that they aren’t public information. Apparently, only the money that funded the research was public.

²⁰ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Nădlac Arad lot 1 Km. 0+000 – 22+200 (+ bretea de legătură km. 0+000 – 6+581), *mss.*

²¹ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Nădlac Arad Lot 2 Km. 22+200 – 38+882, *mss.*

Archaeological sites identified: 7 sites.

a. Approved free area — 14,907 km – 88%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 7 sites.

3. TIMIȘOARA–LUGOJ HIGHWAY — LOT 1 — KM. 44 + 500-54 + 520²².

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Institute of Archaeology and History of Art Cluj-Napoca

Archaeological diagnostic and preventive archaeological research completed in the autumn of 2011

Archaeological sites identified: 2 sites.

a. Approved free area — 9,720 km – 97%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 2 sites.

4. TIMIȘOARA–LUGOJ HIGHWAY — LOT 2 — KM. 54+000 – 79+625²³.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Banat Museum Timișoara County (diagnostic), National Museum of Unity in Alba Iulia (preventive research).

Archaeological diagnostic completed in February 2014 and preventive archaeological research started in august 2014.

Archaeological sites identified: 5 sites.

a. Approved free area — 24,865 km – 97%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — *we don't have access to this data.*

5. LUGOJ–DEVA HIGHWAY — LOT 1 — KM. 0+000 – 27+620 (+road linking km. 0+000 – 11+368)²⁴.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Banat Museum in Timișoara County.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in December 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in July 2012.

Archaeological sites identified: 4 sites (+ another 2 discovered during the archaeological research).

a. Approved free area — 37,488 km – 96%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — *we don't have access to this data.*

6. LUGOJ–DEVA HIGHWAY — LOT 2 — KM. 27+620 – 56+220²⁵.

²² Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Timișoara Lugoj Lot 1 – km. 44+500 – 54+520, mss.

²³ TĂNASE et al. 2015, 185–187.

²⁴ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Lugoj Deva, Lot 1 km. 0+000 – 27+620 (+ bretea de legătură km. 0+000 – 11+368, mss.

²⁵ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Lugoj Deva, Lot 2 km. 27+620– 56+220 , mss.

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Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Banat Museum in Timișoara (diagnostic), The County Museum in Satu Mare and The County Museum of History and Art in Zalău.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in March 2014 and preventive archaeological research completed in June 2014.

Archaeological sites identified: 6 sites.

a. Approved free area — 27,120 km — 95%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 6 sites.

7. LUGOJ—DEVA HIGHWAY — LOT 3 — KM. 56+220 – 77+361²⁶

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — “Vasile Pârvan” Archaeological Institute in Bucharest.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in May 2014 and preventive archaeological research completed in February 2015.

Archaeological sites identified: 4 sites.

a. Approved free area — 19,891 km — 94%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 4 sites.

8. LUGOJ—DEVA HIGHWAY — LOT 4 — KM. 77+361 - 99+500²⁷

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation in Deva County, The National History Museum of Romania.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in November 2013 and preventive archaeological research completed in April 2014.

Archaeological sites identified: 3 sites.

a. Approved free area — 21,489 km — 97%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 3 sites.

9. DEVA—ORĂŞTIE HIGHWAY — KM. 0+000 — 32+500²⁸

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — The National History Museum of Romania, Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation in Deva County, Brukenthal Museum — Sibiu and The National Museum of Unity in Alba Iulia

Archaeological diagnostic completed in July 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in November 2011.

Archaeological sites identified: 13 sites.

a. Approved free area — 26,567 km — 82%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 13 sites.

²⁶ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Lugoj Deva, Lot 3 km. 56+220- 77+361 , mss.

²⁷ RIȘCUȚA et al. 2011, 53–134; Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Lugoj Deva, Lot 4 km. 77+361-99+500, mss.

²⁸ In ANGELESCU 2012.

10. ORĂȘTIE–SIBIU HIGHWAY — LOT 1 — KM. 0+000 – 24+100²⁹.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — The National History Museum of Romania.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in December 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in October 2012.

Archaeological sites identified: 11 sites.

a. Approved free area — 20,930 km — 88%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 11 sites.

11. ORĂȘTIE–SIBIU HIGHWAY — LOT 2 — KM. 24+100 – 43+855³⁰.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — The National History Museum of Romania (diagnostic), The National Museum of Unity in Alba Iulia (preventive research).

Archaeological diagnostic completed in October 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in April 2013.

Archaeological sites identified: 4 sites.

a. Approved free area — 17,735 km — 90%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 4 sites.

12. ORĂȘTIE–SIBIU HIGHWAY — LOT 3 — KM. 43+855 – 65+965³¹.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — The National History Museum of Romania (diagnostic), Brukenthal Museum of Sibiu (preventive research).

Archaeological diagnostic completed in November 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in August 2012 (+ an archaeological research of a site on a deviation of DC - Apold — completed in May 2013).

Archaeological sites identified: 5 sites (+ 1 site on DC - Apold deviation).

a. Approved free area — 20,290 km — 92%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 6 sites.

13. ORĂȘTIE–SIBIU HIGHWAY — SIBIU — LOT 4 – KM. 65+965 – 82+200³².

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in September 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in January 2012, addition of an archaeological research for project modification for a third site — completed in July 2013.

Archaeological sites identified: 3 sites.

a. Approved free area — 15,110 km — 93%;

²⁹ In ANGELESCU 2012.

³⁰ In ANGELESCU 2012.

³¹ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Orăștie–Sibiu Lot 3 km. 43+855- 65+925 , mss.

³² In ANGELESCU 2012.

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates – 3 sites.

14. CERNAVODĂ–MEDGIDIA HIGHWAY — KM. 151+600 – 165+530³³.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — The National History Museum of Romania (diagnostic), Museum of National History and Archaeology in Constanța County (preventive research)

Archaeological diagnostic completed in November 2011 and preventive archaeological research completed in May 2012.

Archaeological sites identified: 4 sites.

a. Approved free area — 12,680 km — 91%;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 4 sites.

15. SEBEŞ–TURDA HIGHWAY — LOT 4 — KM. 53+700 – 70+000 (+Turda Road junction)³⁴.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — The National History Museum of Romania.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in July 2014 and preventive archaeological research completed in November 2014.

Archaeological sites identified: 8 sites.

a. Approved free area — 14,520 km — 89 %;

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 8 sites.

16. GILĂU–NĂDĂŞELU HIGHWAY — KM. 0+000 – 8+300 (+Nădășelu Road junction)³⁵.

Institutions involved in the archaeological research — Archaeology and History of Art Institute in Cluj-Napoca.

Archaeological diagnostic completed in July 2014 and preventive archaeological research completed in October 2014.

Archaeological sites identified: 2 sites (+ 1 archaeological site with no expropriation).

a. Approved free area — 7,900 km — 95%

b. The archaeological sites that were investigated and obtained discharge certificates — 2 sites.

It can be noted that for the 16 segments of highway analysed, the area that could initially be approved and on which the constructions could start immediately, after completing the archaeological diagnosis, is around 92.3% of the surface.

³³ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Cernavodă–Medgidia km. 151+600- 165+530 , mss.

³⁴ DAMIAN et al. 2015, 175–176.

³⁵ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Gilău–Nădășelu km. 0+000- 8+300 , mss.

It follows that only less than 10% of the area affected by the project, could have delays or increased costs due to the procedures conducted by archaeological investigations. The segments that has the most archaeological sites still had 88–89% of the free area, and those that had less sites have reached up to 97% of the free area.

A special case is Deva–Orăştie segment, on which there were identified 13 archaeological sites, and where the initially approved areas for construction represented only 82% of the total area of the segment. This was due to the position of the highway exclusively on Mureş Valley, where there is a high density of habitation that existed from prehistory to the contemporary era. In the period 2011–2014, there hasn't been a situation like the one described above.

The average number of archaeological sites for the 16 segments studied is 5.6%, but this figure is not relevant. Each of these sites has particular characteristics and the complexity of archaeological problems for a segment of highway can't be determined based only on the number of sites, but rather on the extent and the difficulty that involves their research.

If we want to compare research projects we can observe that there are discrepancies between the number of sites, their surfaces and the time it takes to research them. This is based on each research institution's ability to organise.

Thus, the site no. 4³⁶ (Miercurea Sibiului) on the Lot 3 of Orăştie – Sebeş highway, although it was limited to a length of 1 km, it was required for research only two months, since it was a prehistoric and a La-Tène settlement, with dwellings, pits and without being a multi-layered archaeological site. The site no. 5³⁷ (Şibot) on lot 1 of Orăştie – Sibiu highway, although it was limited only to a length of 350 m, it required 8 months for completion, as it was a necropolis and a large settlement from Roman times, with many masonry structures preserved.

In general, the archaeological sites identified on the direction of future highway are sites with an average length (of 200–250 m), with simple stratigraphy, without built structures, with a medium of 200 archaeological contexts (pits, dwellings, hearths etc.) and belonging to no more than two historical eras.

Over 90% of the identified sites are settlements / dwelling—because the area is suitable for human settlement—and less for cemeteries. Although feasibility studies were based solely on field surveys, the designing of the highway segments took into account the existence of the most important archaeological sites and they were avoided³⁸ (except for Deva–Orăştie segment, where there were researched two settlements found in the List of Historical Monuments — Turdaş and Şoimuş).

Firstly, it must not be taken into account as a benchmark the number of sites that are to be investigated, but rather the complexity of the sites discovered and their area. This requires carrying out an archaeological intrusive diagnostic.

³⁶ Raport de diagnostic arheologic Autostrada Oraştie–Sibiu Lot 3 km. 43+855– 65+925 , mss.

³⁷ BÂLTÂC et al. 2013, 230–232.

³⁸ This is the case of the south necropolis in the Roman city of Potaissa. The future highway Sebeş–Turda should've had archaeological research and a road junction on Câmpia Turzii–Gilău highway, over the Roman necropolis area. The project was modified and now it has been saved.

From the start, the field surveys conducted for feasibility studies should be ignored³⁹. Very often these were done on other itineraries, on areas much wider than the one affected by the project. At best they can show the presence of a nearby archaeological site, but can't mark its borders and neither can capture the degree of impairment of the investment.

It is therefore recommended the archaeological intrusive diagnosis. Its results should then be analysed properly and responsibly by archaeologists.

A well performed intrusive diagnosis can provide correct calculations of cost and time for each site individually. This should actually represent the basis of the research contract . When we are talking about time, cost and necessary resources to carry out an investigation we should start from the complexity of the archaeological site⁴⁰.

For the field archaeological research we should take into account all kinds of situations that could affect the smooth running of the research, from meteorological factors to the soil storage, generated during mechanical scaling⁴¹. Post-archaeological field research is equally important. We mustn't forget that research generates archaeological material — cultural heritage. These should be inventoried, restored and the results of the research published. All this means financial efforts for the institution that organised the research. These efforts can be seen in the final cost of the research.

Conducting an archaeological research, in contractual terms, it is much more complex than it seems at first sight. From the engineer's point of view, archaeology remains a problem. First of all, from the financial point of view. In most cases, a construction company, that won an auction, has very few money, or none at all, for archaeological research. The blame for this ignorance is on the beneficiary, because not knowing the specific problems of preventive archaeology accepts bids to an auction, which in our point of view are incomplete⁴². Therefore, very often, on the basis of the lowest price, the lack of adequate financial resources provided to archaeology or environmental protection have parted the bidders.

It is from this point that starts the disagreements between archaeologist – builder – beneficiary on sharing the liability for the fault of delays in project implementation.

³⁹ The so-called nonintrusive archaeological diagnoses type. They actually manage to distort the image complexity from archaeological point of view of an infrastructure project. The best example is that of Lot 2 Timișoara–Lugoj highway. Field evaluation carried out, by our fellow colleagues from Banat Museum, didn't identify any archaeological site. But intrusive archaeological diagnosis found five archaeological sites that would've been affected by the future highway (see TĂNASE *et al.* 2015).

⁴⁰ Even if it is more accurate than nonintrusive diagnosis type, the intrusive type has however limitations. In lot 1 Lugoj–Deva after archaeological survey were discovered two new archaeological sites (see footnote 22).

⁴¹ It is common practice that the storage facilities (waste dump) or borrowed pits are chosen by the engineers on terrains that were not researched by an intrusive diagnosis, and sometimes new archaeological sites are identified .

⁴² Until recently, auctions specifications requested specialty archaeological presence — a term which doesn't exist within the heritage legislation, which the engineers understood as archaeological survey.

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Beschäftigungen mit dem Klassischen Altertum in Suceava
(bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges)

Mircea IGNAT

Abstract. *The author presents the teaching and research activity in classical studies, as well the translations from Greek and Latin in Suceava up to 1944. These are proofs on the reception of Antiquity in Suceava and Bucovina, as an expression of the intellectual life.*

Zusammenfassung. *Die didaktische Beiträge, Studien über das klassische Altertum sowie Übersetzungen aus alten Autoren ausgeführten von Lehrern aus Suceava bis 1944 wurden in diesem Aufsatz vorgestellt. Sie sind die Beweise eines gewissen Geisteszustands, der in Suceava und in der Bukowina herrschte, wo die Rezeption des Altertums Teil des Zeitgeistes war.*

Rezumat. *Sunt prezentate contribuțiile didactice, studiile referitoare la antichitatea clasică, ca și traducerile din vechii autori realizate de profesorii suceveni până în 1944. Ele sunt mărturii ale unei stări de spirit ce domnea în Suceava și Bucovina, unde receptarea antichității reprezenta o componentă a spiritualității vremii.*

Keywords: Suceava, classical studies, translations from Greek and Latin.

Das Interesse für das klassische Altertum in Suceava ist eng mit der Gründung und der Entwicklung des dortigen Lyzeums verbunden.¹ 1860 gegründet, gehörte dieses zu jenen klassischen Lyzeen, die einen im ganzen österreichischen Kaiserreich gültigen Lehrplan hatten. In den folgenden Jahren bildeten sich allmählich alle acht Klassen, wobei das Schulprogramm der Lehre von klassischen Sprachen eine besondere Bedeutung zumaß. Die Latein- und Griechischstunden machten fast die Hälfte der wöchentlichen Stundenzahl aus. Mit einigen Veränderungen blieb diese Struktur bis 1918 erhalten.

Eigentlich sollte das Lyzeum ein rumänisches sein, aber da zu jenem Zeitpunkt sowohl die rumänischen Lehrer als auch die Lehrbücher fehlten, erfolgte der Unterricht mehrere Jahre auf Deutsch. Die ersten Lehrer wurden nach Suceava aus dem westlichen Teil des Kaiserreichs berufen und brachten eine gewisse Strenge und besondere Fähigkeiten im Gebiet des Altertums mit. Für verdienstvolle junge Rumänen wurden spezielle Stipendien ins Leben gerufen, damit diese Lehrer am Lyzeum in Suceava werden konnten. So kann man in der nächsten Zeit rumänische Lehrer für klassische Sprachen, die in Wien studiert haben,

¹ Über die angesehene Einrichtung gibt es mehrere Arbeiten, von denen wir die zuletzt erschienene zitieren: MORARU 2010 (für einige hier dargestellte Aspekte siehe S. 11–72).

antreffen. Die ersten sind: Ieronim Muntean (1864) und Stefan Repta (1877), aber es gab auch Stipendiaten, die den Wiener Aufenthalt bis zu zehn Jahren ausdehnten. Im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts gab es hier eine verdienstvolle, aus verschiedenen Ethnien gebildete Lehrerschaft, die den hohen Ansprüchen entsprach.

Die rumänischen Lehrer mussten für die Klassen mit rumänischer Unterrichtssprache verschiedenes didaktisches Unterrichtsmaterial publizieren. Wie die Kollegen der anderen Ethnien zeichneten sie sich auch für ihre interessanten klassischen Studien aus und hoben sich besonders durch Übersetzungen einiger klassischen Werke ins Rumänische hervor. Im Folgenden werden wir uns auf die rumänischen Veröffentlichungen von didaktischen Arbeiten für den Latein- und Griechischunterricht, auf die wissenschaftlichen Beiträge aller Lehrer aus Suceava und auf die Übersetzungen von klassischen Autoren beziehen.

Das Erstellen von Lehrbüchern in rumänischer Sprache war eine Notwendigkeit. Dieses sind entweder originelle Arbeiten oder Übersetzungen oder Überarbeitungen von bekannten Autoren jener Zeit. Dabei handelt es sich vorwiegend um Kommentierungen zu verschiedenen alten Autoren, die im Schulprogramm vorgesehen waren. Wir glauben nicht, dass unsere Liste mit solchen didaktischen Beiträgen (siehe Anhang I) vollständig ist, aber man kann feststellen, dass sich vor allem Dr. Eusebie Popovici und Lazar Vicol² hervorhoben. Auch nach der Vereinigung von 1918 wird die Tradition von Gh. Cârlan und vor allem von Dr. Constantin Gheorghian, dem Autor eines wertvollen Lehrbuches für Griechisch und eines griechisch-rumänischen Wörterbuchs, fortgesetzt.

Außer ihrer Lehrtätigkeit widmeten sich die Lehrer des Gymnasiums aus Suceava auch der wissenschaftlichen Forschung. Dem Zeitgeist entsprechend, gab das Lyzeum auch ein Jahrbuch heraus, in dem der Schulleiter einen ausführlichen Bericht zu allen im vergangenen Schuljahr stattgefundenen Ereignissen brachte. Zwischen 1862–1914 wurden 50 Bände³ mit unterschiedlichen Titeln⁴ veröffentlicht. Allen Jahrbüchern ging dem Bericht des Direktors ein umfangreicher von einem der an dem Lyzeum unterrichtenden Lehrer gezeichneter wissenschaftlicher Beitrag voraus. Für die Lehrer war es wahrscheinlich eine besondere Ehre, so ihre Gelehrsamkeit zu beweisen, indem sie die Gelegenheit erhielten, den Stoff, den sie vortrugen, weiter zu vertiefen und vorzustellen. Wir schließen auch nicht aus, dass das eine gute Förderungsmöglichkeit war.

Die meisten Studien wurden auf Deutsch veröffentlicht, selbst von rumänischen Autoren (Repta, Muntean, Vicol u.a.). Es gibt auch Beiträge in rumänischer Sprache (wie jener von A. Daszkiewicz von 1888), aber diese erschienen hauptsächlich nach 1900. Erwähnenswert ist auch die Tatsache, dass einige Autoren die lateinische Sprache bevorzugten (Victor

² Damit der kritische Apparat nicht zu überfüllt wird, gibt es drei bibliographische Anhänge, in denen alle bekannten didaktischen und wissenschaftlichen Beiträge sowie Übersetzungen aufgezeichnet sind.

³ Drei Jahre (1865, 1876 und 1886) erschien das Jahrbuch aus für uns unbekannten Gründen nicht.

⁴ Ursprünglich hieß dieses Jahrbuch *Programm des griechisch-orientalischen Gymnasiums in Suczawa* und nach 1872 das Programm ist des *Ober-Gymnasiums*. Nach 1897 erschien die Publikation unter dem Titel: *Jahresbericht des gr.-or. Ober-Gymnasiums*, der bis 1914 beibehalten wurde.

Nussbaum). Das Thema der Beiträge ist äußerst unterschiedlich: Geschichte, Weltliteratur⁵, Geographie, Psychologie und selbst Mathematik, obwohl das Lyzeum eine klassische Orientierung hatte. Deshalb kamen auch ein Drittel der Beiträge aus dem klassischen Bereich (siehe Anhang II — wir erwähnen, dass einige Beiträge auch in Broschüren erschienen sind). Ein kurzer Überblick über diese Beiträge (16 an der Zahl) zeigt gründliche Kenntnisse der behandelten Themen. Dieses ist vor allem einem gut ausgestatteten Dokumentationszentrum zu verdanken, was für eine Provinzstadt äußerst bemerkenswert ist. Der zwischen 1899–1900 veröffentlichte Bibliothekskatalog für Professoren zeigt das Vorhandensein der neusten Ausgaben der alten griechischen und lateinischen Autoren sowie auch einiger Arbeitsmaterialien, wie Wörterbücher und Enzyklopädien (über 400 Titeln), die Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Kaiserreich, aber vorwiegend in Deutschland herausgekommen waren.

Eine Durchsicht der Anhänge zeigt eine große Vielfalt von Themen, die sich entweder auf die griechische oder auf die lateinische Literatur, oder aber auf andere klassische philologische oder althistorische Beiträge beziehen. Zweifellos haben diese Studien nach einem Jahrhundert etwas von ihrem Wert verloren; sie können höchstens in einer exhaustiven Bibliographie erwähnt werden. Sie sind jedoch Aussagen eins gewissen Geisteszustands, der in einem kleinen Provinzstädtchen der Bukowina jener Zeit herrschte, und wo die klassischen Studien einen Teil jener Spiritualität ausmachten.

Außer dieser bescheidenen Wertschätzungen der klassischen Kultur gegenüber – wie oben gezeigt –, gab es in Suceava auch einige Übersetzungen aus den klassischen Autoren. Aus dem Lateinischen (Cicero) übersetzte Stefan Stefureac (1872) und aus dem Griechischen (Platon) Gh. Cârlan (1925), doch Vasile Bumbac (1837–1918) war der beste Übersetzer aus Suceava, der leider zu Unrecht in Vergessenheit⁶ geraten ist.

Vasile Bumbac war ein aktives Mitglied der rumänischen Studentengesellschaften in Wien, bei deren Sitzungen er verschiedene Vorträge hielt oder seine eigenen poetischen Schöpfungen vortrug. Er las auch aus seinen griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen vor. So stellte er in der Sitzung vom 23. Juni 1866 seine Übersetzung der „Apologie des Sokrates“ von Platon, in der vom 23. Oktober 1869 eine Ode von Ovid und am 22. Februar 1870 die Übersetzung und den Kommentar zur „XXI. Ode“ von Horaz vor⁷. Am 19. April 1873 hielt er den Vortrag „Übersetzungen aus den klassischen griechischen und lateinischen Epikern mit der Beibehaltung des originalen Meters“⁸, eine Beschäftigung, auf die er Jahre später zurückkommen wird.

Als Lehrer am Gymnasium in Suceava führte Vasile Bumbac sein poetisches Werk, das in verschiedenen Zeitschriften erschien, fort. Dieses ist heute von geringerer Bedeutung, eine

⁵ Zum Beispiel erschien der umfangreiche Beitrag (über 100 Seiten) von Moses Sigall über den im XIII. Jh. lebenden Dichter Konrad Würzburg, der ein Epos mit dem Titel: *Trojanerkrieg* geschrieben hat, in drei Jahrbüchern (1893, 1894 und 1897).

⁶ Ein allgemeiner Überblick zu Leben und Werk von V. Bambac siehe bei LOGHIN 1926, 112–127.

⁷ GRĂMADĂ 1912, 149–150.

⁸ GRĂMADĂ 1912, 152; MORARIU 1923, 80.

Seite für die literarische Geschichte⁹. Trotzdem nimmt er dank seiner Übersetzungen aus den klassischen Autoren und dank seines Versuchs für ein eigenes nationales Epos in der rumänischen Kultur einen wohlverdienten Platz ein.

Die literarische Atmosphäre der zweiten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts war von der Idee der Schaffung eines nationalen Epos beherrscht und es gab diesbezüglich mehrere Versuche, die aber alle unvollendet blieben. Vasile Bumbac hegte schon als Student in Wien diesen Wunsch. Er beabsichtigte in Versen über die „Niederlassung von Dragos in der Moldau“ zu berichten. Dieses Gedicht ist unter dem Titel „Dragoschiada“ bekannt. Es ist nicht der Ort, um näher darauf einzugehen, aber der Buchenländer Dichter, als guter Kenner des antiken Epos, verlieh seinen Versen einen angemessenen epischen Charakter. Er schrieb in der authentischen Mundart, verwendete hin und wieder Archaismen und das in einer Zeit der linguistischen Phantasien. Die literarischen Eigenschaften dieses Epos-Anfangs (leider wurden nur die ersten zwei Lieder veröffentlicht) wurden sehr geschätzt und galten als bester Versuch dieser Art¹⁰. Unvollendet erschien dieser Epos-Anfang in einer Zeitschrift mit kleiner Auflage und geriet in Vergessenheit. Wir haben ihn deshalb hier erwähnt, weil er eng mit Bumbacs Arbeit als Übersetzer aus den Autoren der Antike verbunden ist.

Soweit uns bekannt ist, hat Vasile Bumbac zeit seines Lebens die Übersetzung eines Fragments aus der „Ilias“ (1882) und eines aus Ovids „Metamorphosen“ (1906), beide im Originalmetrum herausgegeben. Wir können nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, dass dieses die einzigen veröffentlichten Übersetzungen sind. Unter den Handschriften des Dichters, die im Bukowina-Museum in Suceava aufbewahrt werden, gibt es noch zwei weitere unbekannte Übersetzung aus dem Horaz (siehe Anhang III). Vasile Bumbac hatte den Ehrgeiz, eine vollständige Version der „Aeneis“ auf Rumänisch herauszubringen, was ihm auch gelungen ist.

Als Vasile Bumbac 1869 das erste Lied seines Epos „Dragoschiada“ veröffentlichte, unterstrich er u.a., in der Einleitung, dass „das griechische und lateinische epische Meter schwer in den rumänischen Gedichten anzuwenden ist“¹¹. Deshalb verwendete er Verse von 13–14 Silben, die sich reimten, und eiferte I. Heliade Radulescu Versuch eines misslungenen Epos nach. Die Auffassung des Autors bezüglich der Unmöglichkeit des Hexameters in der rumänischen Sprache wegen der vielen Vokale wird sich im Laufe der Jahre ändern. Wir wissen nicht, wie weit der 1873 gehaltene und oben erwähnte Vortrag diese Änderung widerspiegelt, aber in der 1872 erschienenen Übersetzung eines Fragments der „Ilias“ benutzte er schon den Hexameter. Als Vasile Bumbac 1887 den IV. Gesang der „Aeneis“ (siehe Anhang III) herausbrachte, verwendete er für die Übertragung erfolgreich den Hexameter. Dieses Problem beschäftigte ihn so sehr, dass er zur Übersetzung eine Einleitung in deutscher Sprache verfasste, in der er auf mehr als zehn Seiten auf die rumänische Phonetik und Prosodie einging. Hier tritt der Autor als strenger Philologe zutage, der sich für seine

⁹ LOGHIN 1926, 127.

¹⁰ IORGA 1967, 129–135.

¹¹ LOGHIN 1926, 121.

Übersetzungen eine möglichst wortgetreue Wiedergabe des alten Textes wünscht. Am Ende dieser Übersetzung bringt er weitere sechs Seiten mit Erklärung der selten gebrauchten Wörter (Archaismen, Regionalismen usw., manchmal mit ihrer Ethymologie).

Mit der Übersetzung dieses Gesanges, eines der dramatischsten und bezauberndsten Teile der „Aeneis“, probierte Vasile Bumbac verdienstvoll seine Gewandtheit aus. Er berichtete, dass er die ersten sechs Gesänge beendet habe; in den nächsten Jahren brachte er sein gesamtes Werk zu Ende. Wir vermuten, dass er immer wieder mit Verbesserungen auf den gesamten Text zurückkam. Die Sprache, die er bei der Veröffentlichung des ersten Gesanges des Epos (erst 1911!) verwendete, ist viel lebhafter und wohlklingender als 1887. Mehr als 25 Jahre arbeitete er an dieser Übersetzung, die praktisch unbekannt blieb. Nur zwei Gesänge wurden in einer Zeitschrift mit geringen Auflagen in einem Städtchen am Rande des Österreich-Ungarischen Kaiserreichs veröffentlicht, die in Rumänien nicht erschien. Dadurch blieben die Bemühungen des Autors unbekannt. In der Zwischenzeit erschien 1896 in Rumänien die hervorragende, von der rumänischen Akademie¹² preisgekrönte, Übersetzung von George Coșbuc. Selbst danach arbeitete Bumbac wahrscheinlich weiter an der Beendigung seines Werkes, ohne Cosbucs Übersetzung zu Rate zu ziehen, um sich – einem Zeitzeugen zufolge¹³ – nicht beeinflussen zu lassen.

Von dem Übersetzer aus Suceava sind trotzdem zwei Handschriften überliefert worden: eine befindet sich bei der Rumänischen Akademie¹⁴ (die wir leider nicht direkt kennen) und eine andere in Suceava. Die letzte ist Teil eines Sammelbandes des gesamten dichterischen Werkes von Vasile Bumbac. Die Übersetzung erscheint als eine Abschrift (ohne Korrekturen), was uns vermuten lässt, dass es sich um eine endgültige, neuste Variante handelt.

Wir sind auf diesen Aspekt näher eingegangen und zwar nicht wegen seiner Einmaligkeit sondern vor allem wegen seiner besonderen Übersetzungsqualitäten. Natürlich gibt es auch ungeschickte Ausdrücke und öfters kommt „der Lehrer und Alphilologe zu Wort als der Dichter“¹⁵. Bumbac hatte aber unbestreitbar Talent für die epische Dichtkunst, das er in der „Dragoschiada“ bewies und das auch N. Iorga hervorhob, der bezüglich der „Aeneis“-Übersetzung sagte, dass sie zwar „einige Ungeschicklichkeiten“ aufweise, aber „teilweise energischer als die Übersetzung von Coșbuc, viel gleichmäßiger, ja beherrschter“ sei; es gebe „hier eine Art Bauernenergie, eine gewisse Kühnheit, die oft neue Formen findet“¹⁶. In Anbetracht dieser Tatsachen stellen wir uns die rhetorische Frage, ob es einen Verlag gäbe,

¹² Siehe die letzte und beste Ausgabe: Vergil, Aeneis, Übersetzung von George Coșbuc, von Stella Petecel betreute Ausgabe, Bukarest 1980, Univers-Verlag.

¹³ MORARIU 1923, 323.

¹⁴ LASCU 1974, 475, Nr. 1419. Wir wissen nicht, unter welchen Umständen diese Übersetzung zur Rumänischen Akademie gekommen ist (als Variante?). Wir vermuten jedoch, dass hier bezüglich der Datierung der Handschrift ein Fehler unterlaufen ist. 1870 war Bumbac noch Student in Wien und 1887 berichtete er, dass er nur die ersten Gesänge übersetzt habe.

¹⁵ LOGHIN 1926, 125.

¹⁶ Apud MORARIU 1923, 323.

der es heute wagen würde, einen jahrhundertalten Text zu publizieren, während die klassische Literatur im allgemeinen ausgegrenzt wird?

Nach der Vereinigung von 1918, in der Zwischenkriegszeit, verminderte sich die Beschäftigung mit der Klassik, aber sie ging nicht ganz zurück (siehe Anhang I-III). Obzwar das kleine Provinzstädtchen nicht die Kraft zur Bildung eines echten Zentrums für klassische Studien hatte, war es trotzdem für die Söhne der klassischen Schule aus Suceava eine gute Grundlage, die sie auf ihren Weg zu den verschiedenen Universitätszentren Rumäniens mitnahmen und wo sie sich dann zu den besten Altphilologen des Landes entwickelten (Vasile Grecu, Dimitrie Marmeliuc, Haralamb Mihăiescu und andere). Sie machten sich durch eine Menge von gründlichen Studien und Übersetzungen bemerkbar, die allen allzu gut bekannt sind. So kann auch die ertragreiche Tätigkeit von Eusebiu Camilar, dem Übersetzer aus Aristophanes, Aischylos und Ovid, hervorgehoben werden. Die viel zu oft vorgenommenen Reformen im Unterrichtswesen haben brutal eine kaum begonnene Tradition, die weiter oben angeführt wurde, abgebrochen. Das Wiederaufgreifen in den 60. Jahren von humanistischen Klassen war nur ein mattes Aufflackern einer aus dicker Asche aufgetauchter Flamme, die aber allmählich ganz erloschen wird.

Anhang I

DIDAKTISCHE ARBEITEN

- Gherasim BULIGA, *Comentar la „De bello Gallico”*, lib. I, Suceava, 1899.
Gheorghe CÂRLAN, *Elementar latin, pentru clasa a II-a* (nach Hauler und Vicol), Suceava, 1923.
Constantin GHEORGHIAN, *Curs de limba elină - Exerciții și gramatică*, ed. II-a, Suceava, 1929, 353 pp.
Eusebie POPOVICI, *Exerciții latine. I. Sintaxa cazurilor*, Suceava, 1896.
Idem, Exerciții latine. II. Sintaxa modurilor, Suceava, 1897.
Idem, Comentar la „De bello Gallico”, lib. IV, Suceava, 1899.
Idem, Comentar: Iulii Caesaris, „De bello Gallico”, lib. II-III, vol. I-III, Suceava 1899–1900.
Idem, Comentar la Tit Livi, „Ab Urbe condita”, lib. I, Suceava, 1903; 1908²; 1914³.
Idem, Gramatică latină elementară (Übersetzung nach Schmidt und Thumser), Suceava, 1909.
Idem, Exerciții latine pentru clasa I (nach Hauler), Suceava, 1912.
Severin PROCOPOVICI, *Vocabular și comentar la „Memorabilia Alexandri Magni”*, Suceava, 1898.
Idem, Comentar la Titi Livi, „Ab Urbe condita”, lib. XXI, Suceava, 1903.
Lazăr VICOL, *Gramatică latină elementară* (Übersetzung nach Gehler, Schmidt u. Thumser), Suceava, 1896.
Idem, Elementar latin, pentru clasele I-II (Übersetzung), Suceava, 1896 und 1897.
Idem, Sintaxa limbii latine (Übersetzung nach Schmidt und Thumser), Suceava, 1897.
Idem, Vocabular și comentar la biografiile lui Cornelius Nepos (broșura I: Miltiades, Temistocles, Aristides, Cimon), Suceava, 1898.

Anhang II

KLASSISCHE STUDIEN, DIE IN SUCEAVA ERSCHIENEN SIND

- Vasile BUMBAC, *Die Conjugation im Romänischen in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Lateinischen*, in: „Programm”, 1884, 3–32.
- Animpodist DASZKEWICZ, *Constantin cel Mare și unii dintre contemporanii săi*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1888, 3–37.
- Idem, Împăratul Marc Ulpian Traian (98–117 d. Chr.). Prelegere ținută la 16 martie 1893, la clubul „Clubul român” din Suceava*, Cernăuți, 1895, 16 p.
- Emanuel DWORSKI, *Die Livianische Schilderung der Belagerung von Veii, dargestellt als Sage und als solche erklärt (Ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Livius als Historiker). Vergriffen*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1875,
- Joseph FLEISCHER, *Vorschläge zur Berichtigung des Katull – Textes*, in: „Jahresbericht”, 1898,
- Constantin GHEORGHIAN, *Filosofia lui Horaț*, Suceava, 1922, 116 p.
- August KLIMPFINGER, *Die bucolische Poesie. I. Theocritus und Vergilius*, in: „Programm” 1867, 3–58.
- Idem, Die bucolische Poesie. II. Theocritus und Vergilius*, in: „Programm” 1868, 3–66.
- Jul. KOBYLAŃSKI, *De enuntiatorum finalium apud Sophoclem usu ac ratione*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1889, III–XXII.
- Hieronymus MUNTEAN, *Ueber die Zeit und Absicht der Tragödie des Sophokles „Oedipus auf Kolonos”*, in: „Programm” 1878, p. 3–75.
- Victor NUSSBAUM, *De morum descriptione Plautina*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1895, 3–37.
- Eusebius POPOVICI, *Die schwachbetonten lateinischen Vokale im Rumänischen*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1906, 3–56.
- Ştefan von REPTA, *Cicero's Kampf mit den zeitgenössischen Rednern*, in: „Programm” 1872, 3–44.
- Emil SIGALL, *Platon Ethik im Dialoge „Gorgias”*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1892, 3–40.
- Lazăr VICOL; *Die Negation im Lateinischen (I)*, in: „Jahresbericht”, 1890, p. 3–46.
- Idem, Die Negation im Lateinischen (II)*, in: „Jahresbericht” 1891, 3–44.

Anhang III

ÜBERSETZUNGEN¹⁷

- Vasile BUMBAC, *Despărțirea lui Hector de Andromache (traducere din „Iliada” lui Homer, cântul al VI-lea, v. 312–496) – n. sub metru originalul, care este exametral, s-a păstrat în traducere* [Übersetzung aus der „Ilias“ von Homer, IV. Lied, Verse 312–496), mit Originalmeter, dem

¹⁷ Zu den weiter unten angeführten Übersetzern zählen wir auch Dr. Ioan Bilețchi-Albescu (1881–1962), erst Schüler, dann selbst Lehrer (1907–1909) im Lyzeum von Suceava, versetzt dann nach Câmpulung Moldovenesc, fleißiger Übersetzer aus Aristophanes („Die Wolken“, „Die Frösche“, „Die Vögel“): siehe Lascu 1974, Nr. 307, 309, 313 und 314. Es wird behauptet, dass ein Teil seiner Übersetzungen als Handschrift geblieben ist (SATCO 2004), worüber wir jedoch nichts wissen.

Hexameter, der in der Übersetzung beibehalten wurd], in: „Aurora română II, 1882, nr. 6, 88–90.

Idem, Romänische Uebersetzung des IV. Gesanges aus Virgils Aeneide mit Beibehaltung des Originalmetrums, in: „Programm” 1887, 3–38.

Idem, Din Metamorfozele (Prefacerile) lui Ovidiu Nasone: Introducere (I, 1–4). Cele patru generații (epoce, evuri, vârste (I, v. 89–162), in: „Junimea Literară” III, 1906, 11–12 (Originalmeter).

Idem, Cântul I al „Aeneidei” lui Virgiliu, in: „Jahresbericht” 1911, 3–21.

Idem, Oda a 4-a din cartea a IV-a a „Odelor” lui Horațiu, Handschrift 1863 (Buchenlandes Museum in Suceava).

Idem, Horaț și Lydia (Oda a 9-a din cartea a III-a a „Odelor”), Handschrift ohne endliche Teil (Buchenlandes Museum in Suceava).

Idem, Virgiliu, Aeneida. Traducere în forme originale. Bibl. Acad. Ms. rom. nr. 5283. 1870. 355 f.¹⁸

Idem, Aeneida, Handschrift ohne Jahr (Buchenlandes Museum in Suceava); mit die alle 12 Liede.

Gheorghe CÂRLAN, Plato, Protagoras, Suceava, 1925, 64 p.

Ştefan ȘTEFUREA¹⁹, Întâia cuventare filipică a lui M. T. Cicerone contra lui M. Antonius. Bibl. Acad. Ms. Rom. nr. 4924, f. 159–174. 1872²⁰

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¹⁸ Apud Lascu 1974, 457, nr. 1419.

¹⁹ Das Pseudonym des Lehrers Ştefan Ștefureac (1845–1893) aus Suceava, als Student in Wien.

²⁰ Apud Lascu 1974, 319, nr. 229.

Eugenia Beu-Dachin, *The Latin language in the inscriptions of Roman Dacia*,
Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 276 pages.

Cet ouvrage, présenté comme thèse de doctorat en 2011, s'avère nécessaire, puisqu'il vient de compléter un tableau (encore à dessiner) du latin des provinces danubiennes et, en extrapolant, il est important pour la recherche du phénomène d'acculturation dans la province romaine de Dacie. Il était tout à fait naturel qu'une telle démarche viendrait de la part d'une chercheuse ayant des compétences de philologue et d'historien à la fois, et elle est venue de la part d'Eugenia Beu-Dachin, qui réunit dans sa formation ses qualités. L'achèvement de la thèse sous la direction du Professeur Ioan Piso constitue aussi une prémissse d'une réussite scientifique.

Eugenia Beu-Dachin affirme dans le chapitre introductif du livre que son intention n'est pas de souligner l'aspect du latin parlé et de proposer une réalité linguistique qui est presqu'impossible à identifier, mais de suivre la forme standard où le latin a été utilisé (p. 21), en fondant l'argumentation sur les informations fournies par les sources disponibles. Cette modestie ne doit pas nous mettre en erreur: nous disposons finalement d'un ouvrage bien réalisé, qui remplit un vide dans l'historiographie de la Dacie romaine. En rajoutant le livre récent de Roxana-Gabriela Curcă (*Elenism și romanitate în Moesia Inferior. Interferențe etnice și lingvistice – Hellénisme et romanité en Mésie Inférieure. Interférences ethniques et linguistiques*, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Iași 2012), nous bénéficions d'une image plus ample de la situation linguistique au Bas-Danube à l'époque du Haut-Empire. Pourtant, la modestie de l'auteur l'empêche parfois de suivre ses argumentations d'ordre historique plus loin, ou d'achever ses démonstrations d'une manière plus audacieuse.

Je n'insisterai trop sur la structure de l'ouvrage: elle est logique, avec une introduction, puis des particularités de langue concernant la phonétique, la morphologie, la syntaxe et le lexique, ainsi que les conclusions finales. L'auteur utilise comme fondement documentaire les inscriptions de Dacie (d'ailleurs, le seul type de sources disponibles) et aux inscriptions faut-il nous rapporter au long de ce livre.

L'introduction permet à Eugenia Beu-Dachin l'occasion d'un récit historiographique qui prend en compte non seulement les questions générales sur le latin dans l'Empire romain, mais aussi des ouvrages sur le latin dans diverses provinces (les Gaules, les Hispanies, les Pannonies). Même si pour l'espace danubien certains traits et particularités du latin ont été abordés dans les livres de Haralambie Mihăescu et de Iancu Fischer, l'appel à l'épigraphie, et surtout à l'épigraphie de la Dacie a été assez faible. Cette double approche (l'analyse des problèmes généraux de langue et l'investigation des particularités linguistiques dans les inscriptions des autres provinces) facilite la construction technique de cet ouvrage. La démarche historiographique du chapitre introductif représente le fondement sur lequel les autres chapitres seront structurés. Digne d'intérêt est également la base de données sur

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laquelle l'auteur construit sa recherche. Eugenia Beu-Dachin est convaincante en nous montrant comment les multiples moteurs de recherches pour diverses particularités d'ordre linguistique lui ont facilité et ordonné le travail.

On constate, dès le début, que les variations les plus nombreuses du point de vue linguistique se retrouvent en phonologie. Eugenia Beu-Dachin analyse en détail les changements de la norme dans les cas des voyelles, des diphongues, des consonnes, en investiguant les problèmes d'écriture dans les inscriptions. Toute cette enquête se déroule en même temps avec la comparaison des textes rencontrés dans autres provinces latinophones, comme les Gaules, les Hispanies, les Germanies et les Pannonies. Certainement, on aurait trouvé d'exemple pour d'autres particularités qui sont attachés, comment l'auteur le saisit (et je la conseille d'exprimer plus fermement son opinion), d'un *epigraphic habit provincial* et non forcément des phénomènes linguistiques (comme, par exemple, les multiples syncopes de la voyelle *i* ou les autres formes particulières dans lesquelles cette voyelle est transcrise, la syncope *d'u* l'utilisation de *p* au lieu de *b*, *k* versus *c*, *p* au lieu de *ph*, *p* au lieu de *ph* etc.) J'interviendrais sur quelques questions de détail. En ce qui concerne l'inscription *IDR III/5, 15* (p. 52), je recommande à Eugenia Beu-Dachin d'avoir un regard comparatif aux latinismes des inscriptions grecques des provinces latinophones et hellénophones (l'analyse de ces termes dans des *corpora* connues par l'auteur, de P. Kovacs pour la Pannonie et de L. Ruscu pour la Dacie, mais aussi des contributions modernes comme celles d' A. Rizakis¹ ou de R.-G. Curcă²). L'auteur affirme également que le nom du dédicant de l'inscription *IDR III/2, 283*, serait Anicetos Hermadios, transcrit sans la désinence *s*. (p. 74). Le texte est le suivant: *Soli In/victo M/itrae Ani/ceto Her/madio / votum / soluit / l(ibens(m(erito)*. L'éditeur du texte fait connexion entre Anicetus et Invictus, en suggérant qu'il s'agit de la rédaction en grec de l'épithète du dieu. En tenant compte de la configuration onomastique et de la possibilité que Hermadios (certainement un esclave) soit aussi nommé Anicetus, je suis ici enclin de donner raison à I. I. Russu. En ce qui concerne les césures, considérées parfois erronées par l'auteur, il faut dire que les lapicides étaient moins intéressés de ces formes correctes et l'arrangement de l'espace dans les inscriptions ne constituait pas toujours une de leurs problèmes prioritaires.

Le même schéma méthodologique (comme dans le cas de la phonétique) est suivie en ce qui concerne la morphologie et la syntaxe, l'auteur appelant aux exemple d'autres provinces latinophones. J'espère que dans ces cas, le répertoire des exemples appartenant à telles provinces (comme chez le nominatif singulier *-os* au lieu de *-us*, chez le génitif pluriel *-orum* et *-um*, l'utilisation du datif singulier *socro*, la forme syncopée de parfait, la préposition *ad* avec l'accusatif, le génitif de l'âge). Je m'arrête de nouveau aux questions de détail qui, sans diminuer la qualité de l'ouvrage, doivent être signalées: dans le cas de la formule *Dis Manibus*, on ne peut pas savoir dans tous les cas si le nom se trouve au datif ou au nominatif ou si le monument avait été déjà acheté avec la formule rédigée le moment où le nom a été rajouté. En premier lieu, dans le cas des noms féminin à la première déclinaison, la terminaison est la

¹ RIZAKIS (ed.) 1996.

² CURCĂ 2004, 247-251.

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même au datif et au génitif. D'un autre côté, l'utilisation du nom du défunt au nominatif représente une pratique épigraphique avant l'émergence de la formule *Dis Manibus*, qui se maintient même après un certain temps (d'ailleurs, la rédaction du nominatif après *Dis Manibus* sous le Haut-Empire constitue un indicateur de datation plus haute). Enfin, ceux qui rédigeaient pouvaient décider sur le cas du nom même dans le moment après la transcription de la formule *Dis Manibus*. L'utilisation du prénom *ego*, à l'exception des textes tardives, est attestée seulement dans l'épitaphe de Marcellina d'Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (*IDR* III/2, 430), qui est un *carmen epigraphicum*. C'est un type de texte où l'apparition dans cette forme du prénom est prévisible. Eugenia Beu-Dachin, par l'analyse effectuée, considère que la Dacie est raccordée, du point de vue de la morphologie de la langue, à la situation de l'Empire. Son mérite est de l'avoir démontré.

Le chapitre sur le lexique utilisé dans les inscriptions de Dacie groupe la liste des mots sélectionnés dans l'ordre alphabétique. On évite ainsi, comme l'affirme l'auteur-même, leur regroupement par catégories sémantiques ou d'une autre nature, en constituant un instrument de travail plus accessible au lecteur. L'analyse est correctement effectuée. Je remarque les observations compétentes et convaincantes pour le sens des mots *communucus*, *contubernium*, *danistarius*, *proba* etc. Dans certains cas, elles pourraient être améliorées. Par exemple, le mot *alumnus* a suscité des débats en connexion au statut juridique des *alumni*. Je rappellerai les analyses pertinentes de B. Rawson et de H. S. Nielsen³, liées aux textes littéraires et épigraphiques de Rome et d'autres provinces occidentales de l'Empire. Une référence au fragment de Pline l'Ancien, *Nat. hist.*, 12, sur l'*opobalsamum*, afin de voir l'origine de la plante et les circonstances de son arrivé en Europe, était peut-être utile.

Les conclusions générales de l'ouvrage me semblent pertinentes. Le résultat peut sembler pour certains un peu décevant: la Dacie fait partie, du point de vue du contenu des inscriptions, dans la catégorie des textes pauvres en ce qui concerne le message, la rédaction du texte, la richesse du vocabulaire et des structures syntaxiques, pour paraphraser l'auteur. La plupart des variations d'ordre linguistique rencontrées dans les inscriptions de Dacie se retrouvent aussi dans les textes épigraphiques des autres provinces latinophones de l'Empire. Eugenia Beu-Dachin essaye d'expliquer l'absence de la langue vernaculaire de Dacie par la brève occupation romaine et par la colonisation massive. Je suis d'accord, mais des restes de la langue vernaculaires sont très difficile à détecter même dans le cas des autres provinces occupées pour une période plus longue par les Romains: autrement dit, l'effort d'Eugenia Beu-Dachin est louable, mais je ne suis pas sûr qu'il peut fournir davantage par comparaison avec ce qu'on sait sur d'autres provinces ou, encore plus laconiquement dit, si la Dacie peut constituer un modèle dans telles interprétations. L'auteur-même semble un peu déçue par les habils standardisés des inscriptions, comme elle s'exprime vers la fin du livre. Mais il faut pourtant dire qu'il s'agit d'un résultat auquel Eugenia Beu-Dachin est arrivée par démonstration, à suite d'une analyse minutieuse, menée avec attention. Qu'il nous plaît ou

³ RAWSON 1986, 175; NIELSEN 1987, 141-188; Sur les *alumni* (en général ou en particulier) voir aussi BELLEMORE, RAWSON 1990, 1-19; WEAVER 1991, 166-171; WEAVER, WILKINS 1993, 241-244; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006, 24-25.

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pas, nous avons pour l'instant seulement les inscriptions à notre disposition; par leur interprétation du point de vue linguistique, on possède une image d'un attachement de la province de Dacie à l'*epigraphic habit* des provinces latinophones de l'Empire. Dans cette théorie doit croire encore plus fort Eugenia Beu-Dachin. Et ceci n'est pas du tout un résultat décevant.

Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba

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